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A SKETCH OF NORTHERN SAHAPTIN GRAMMAR

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PREFACE

The sketch of the grammar is based on materials obtained in a number of trips. The first was in July and August, 1926, when, at the suggestion of Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University, Klikitat texts and grammatical notes were collected. The expenses were shared by research funds of Columbia University and by myself. The second trip of June, July, August and early September, 1927, was occupied with recording texts in Klikitat and ta'ɪ̈npapam (upper Cowlitz) and grammatical studies in the latter; the expenses were covered by a grant from the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. In 1928 and 1929 several short visits were devoted to translation and recording of additional Klikitat texts; these trips were partly under the auspices of the department of anthropology of the University of Washington and partly under the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. While conducting the linguistic party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fé, on Umatilla reservation, Oregon, in July and August 1930, incomplete notes were secured by me in additional northern Sahaptin provincialisms, yumati'la, walu'la and palu·'s. Mr. William H. Gilbert, graduate student at the University of Chicago, also recorded in walu'la; Mr. Carl Voegelin, graduate student at the University of California, recorded in yumati'la; I am indebted to these men for various suggestions.

Throughout the sketch only two groups of provincialisms are referred to, first those spoken in the Yakima reservation region, Washington, and here called northwest Sahaptin, secondly those spoken in the Umatilla reservation region of northern Oregon. The sketch is skeletal; a more satisfactory picture will be available in time, when further studies clarify obscure points and reveal additional material. To show the language as a living organism texts of sufficient dialectic variety will be published.[1]

The divergences of the Klamath-Modoc group on the one hand and the Cayuse-Molale group on the other are so great as to demand independent treatments. The Nez Percé language is being studied; see p. 97 below. The structure of Nez Percé possesses intimate similarity with the kindred language described here.

I am exceedingly indebted to Mr. Verne F. Ray for assisting in determining tribal boundaries and for drawing the map; we have not been able to give definite boundaries—the map is offered as a temporary visual aid in noting the relative positions of some of the more important dialect groups in the Sahaptin area.

I acknowledge personal indebtedness to Dr. Franz Boas especially, for his interest, aid and encouragement during several years; also to several friends, for assistance and stimulation.

MELVILLE JACOBS

Seattle, 1930

[1] *Northwest Sahaptin Texts, I, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*, vol. 2, No. 6, 1929. Additional texts will be printed, if possible, in the same series. The Columbia University press is now bringing out a larger volume of texts in Klikitat and ta'ɪ̈npapam.

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Map showing the Sahaptin speaking peoples in the middle of the 19th century . . . 94

A SKETCH OF NORTHERN SAHAPTIN GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

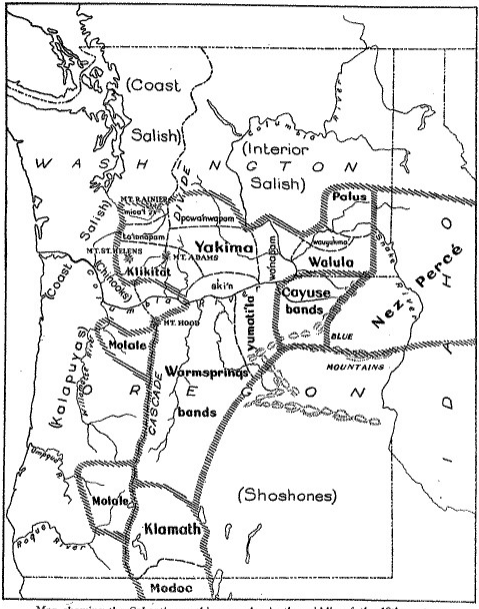
GEOGRAPHY

The sketch of northern Sahaptin is valid in detail for only two groups of bands in a very much larger linguistic family which now seems one of the most extensive in the western United States. The family is composed of four or five or more language groups each sufficiently peculiar and specialized—and until recently so sketchily or even meagrely known—that evidence was not available to demonstrate genetic identity. A southerly language of the stock is Powell's so-called Lutuamian, spoken in two similar California-Oregon dialects, Modoc and Klamath. A central or west central language is Waiilatpuan, spoken by the Molale and Cayuse of northern Oregon; this language is very nearly extinct. The northern language of the family, with its four or more dialects, was originally termed Sahaptian (Shahaptian by Powell). I suggest that all these languages be tentatively designated a stock and called Sahaptin, and that the northern dialects (Powell's Shahaptian) be divided in linguistic terminology as follows: 1. northern Sahaptin, including the northwest Sahaptin, Warmsprings, walu'la-palu'ɜ, and Umatilla; 2. the Nez Percé groups.

In 1894 Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Director Powell of the Bureau of American Ethnology placed Lutuamian and Waiilatpuan with the Nez Percé and northern Sahaptin in one greater stock; the hypothetic unification was based on the slender vocabulary evidences then available for Waiilatpuan, Nez Percé, and northern Sahaptin; it was recommended that the stock be named Shahapwailutan. Should we follow the logic according to which such language stock labels were devised I fear we may soon need a term clumsier and stranger than Shahapwailutan, since under closer study Maidu and other languages may be added to the stock. It seems to me that we may conveniently extend the meaning of the short and familiar term, Sahaptin, for the stock we are delimiting. Dr. W. Schmidt's use of "Oregonian" is, I think, not satisfactory, because of the presence of several non-Sahaptin local languages in Oregon and because the range of the Sahaptins exceeds the boundaries of the state of Oregon.

To prove the existence of so considerable a stock I have in my possession manuscript comparative notes which I believe are adequate; they are based upon my northern Sahaptin and Molale field notes, Molale texts and grammatical notes of Dr. L. J. Frachtenberg (copied from originals in the Bureau of American Ethnology) and the Klamath grammar and texts of Dr. Albert Gatschet, published in 1891. Though I have made no specific notations of Maidu material, readings of Dixon's grammar[1] have made me suspect that this language of northeastern California will be found either genetically affiliated with the large Sahaptin group, or possessed of very much in common with it. As to the position of the other Oregonian and California "Penutian" languages, I do not have sufficient acquaintance with either published or manuscript materials to speak with confidence, though cursory readings show that these languages share many traits with

[1] Bureau American Ethnology, Bulletin 40, part 1.



Map showing the Sahaptin speaking peoples in the middle of the 19th century.

Sahaptin. A certain amount of morphologic material will probably be found common to Sahaptin and Uto-Aztekan, whatever the nature of the relationship between the two may have been; impressions of Uto-Aztekan were obtained in reading a manuscript on Southern Paiute Grammar, by Dr. E. Sapir. The eventual disentangling, relating and stratifying of morphologic materials and processes employed in common by these and other languages of the western states offers interesting prospects both to linguists and ethnologists; it seems not improbable, as Dr. Boas has pointed out, that there were prolonged eras during which profound morphologic borrowing occurrred throughout the region and that such borrowing complicates the history of language and stock relationships.

The northern group of our Sahaptin stock is Powell's Shahaptian; this language is spoken by two divisions, one of which does not understand the other. The division to the northeast is Nez Percé, in central Idaho. The other division extends over a larger territory in northern Oregon and southern Washington; possibly tribal or speech drifts northwards and westwards within recent centuries caused a wide scattering of bands. In the latter group are the Warmsprings, Tenino, John Day and other tribes of north central Oregon now resident on Warmsprings reservation in west central Oregon; the Wallawalla (walu'la) and Umatilla near Pendleton, Oregon, and the Palus (palu'š) of southeastern Washington now resident on Umatilla reservation, northeastern Oregon; and the northwest Sahaptins proper, most of whom now live on Yakima reservation, south central Washington. The northwest Sahaptins number seven or eight tribal aggregations in south central Washington; the small ski'n tribe (Rock Creek and Fallbridge people), the large Yakima and pcwa'nwapam tribes, the wa'napam and perhaps others east of the Cascades; in or west of the Cascades the large xwa'lxwaipam or Klikitat band of the Lewis, White Salmon and Klickitat Rivers, the fair sized ta'inapam band of upper Cowlitz River people, the tiny band of Meshal (mica'l) or upper Nisqually River people, and perhaps other insignificant Cascades bands north of the Nisqually River.

Mr. Arthur C. Ballard of Auburn, Washington, told me that he thought there were some small Sahaptin speaking bands, or at least rather numerous speakers of Sahaptin, living in several river valleys immediately west of the Cascades and north of the upper Nisqually mica'l tribe. In the lack of a single field or historic note from such unidentified and problematic persons, it may be suggested that if they do exist as persons or as independent groups we may expect to find them speaking dialects akin to mica'l, which my ta'inapam interpreter says is probably pcwa'nwapam; the report of their existence may be interpreted as evidence of numerous Sahaptin speaking persons resident in Coast Salish up-river villages; the upper Nisqually mica'l themselves, very likely a true tribal unit of one or two villages, give evidence of substantial and recent drifts of Sahaptin (pcwa'nwapam) speech from east of the Cascades into the timbered Salish speaking country west of the Cascades. The Sahaptins of the wooded western Cascades river valleys, whether they be eastern Nisqually, eastern Cowlitz or Lewis river residents, are not modern representatives of spectacular mass incursions or migrations into Salish territory. It is probable that generations of quiet friend-

ship, intercourse and intermarriage of Coast Salish speakers and Sahaptin speakers effected a gradual northwest Sahaptin advance. The Sahaptins of the eastern slopes of the Washington Cascades, the Yakima and pcwa'nwapam, were wont to seek mates among their Coast Salish friends beyond the Cascades passes; the entire Sahaptin advance may have been caused by such a slow infusion. It is possible that much of the blood and culture of the upper Nisqually, upper Cowlitz and other coastal up-river bands continued to possess a large Coast Salish content, while speech boundaries moved westwards and northwards imperceptibly, at Salish expense. Certainly neither Coast Salish nor Sahaptin natives themselves mention, in narrative or myth, a movement of Sahaptins; they have no appreciation of such an advance, though we are obliged to postulate it.[2]

The grammatical sketch was constructed originally in 1927-1928 on the basis of notes obtained from speakers of two Cascades dialects, Klikitat (xwa'łxwaipam) in 1926 and upper Cowlitz (ta'ɪpnapam) in 1927. The tribal names employed should be explained because Klikitat has suffered confusion in popular usage. While used most often for the xwa'łxwaipam of the Lewis, White Salmon and Klickitat rivers, it has been applied frequently to the adjacent ski'n and Yakima bands, while the upper Cowlitz ta'ɪpnapam—who must not be grouped with the xwa'łxwaipam either linguistically or geographically—are very often termed Cowlitz Klikitats. Apparently Klikitat has been used by whites to apply to Sahaptins living in and about the Cascades of Washington. In reality the term Klikitat covers no general native language, cultural or tribal grouping. For the purpose of more exact description I apply Klikitat solely to the xwa'łxwaipam band, not to ski'ns, Yakimas, or ta'ɪpnapam.

The notes on xwa'łxwaipam and ta'ɪpnapam will be found valid in most details for ski'n, Yakima, pcwa'nwapam, mica'l or other northwest Sahaptins; among these northwest Sahaptins a few immaterial phonetic changes and morphologic specializations that sound amusing but never unintelligible to the speaker of an adjacent band, and some scores or hundreds of unimportant vocabulary and idiomatic details are all that make for provincialism or dialect boundaries. Examples in the grammar are of ta'ɪpnapam (upper Cowlitz) provenience, unless otherwise noted.

The yumati'la, walu'la and palu·'s provincialisms spoken on the Umatilla reservation of northern Oregon constitute a dialect intelligible to all the northwest Sahaptins and like tha latter differ with one another in minor morphologic and vocabulary detail. Northwest Sahaptin and Umatilla reservation dialects have a number of interesting morphologic and phonetic points of difference, in spite of mutual intelligibility. Our northwest Sahaptin notes are far more complete than our Umatilla reservation notes.

The bands now resident on Warmsprings reservation, Oregon, understand and are understood by the other northern Sahaptins; no careful recording of their provincialisms is available, as far as I know; the present sketch should be roughly valid, no doubt, for the Warmsprings bands.

[2] See J. Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, Univ. Wash. Publ. Anthrop., 1928, and L. Spier and E. Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, in the same series, 1930, for discussions of Sahaptin movements.

LINGUISTIC WORK IN SAHAPTIN LANGUAGES

A small elementary grammar of Yakima came from the pen of the Jesuit Father Pandosy about 1860. There is a grammar in Latin of the Nez Percé language, written about 1890 by the Jesuit Father Morvillo; in it are presented many of the fundamentals of Sahaptin morphology cast in a Latin mold. The book is rarely found in libraries.[3] There have been printed a number of Sahaptin texts of Jesuit or Presbyterian origin and entirely of Christian religious content, the majority in Nez Percé, a few in walu'la and Yakima. Phonetically these books are out of date and linguistically of slight use. The Bureau of American Ethnology possesses a vocabulary of Nez Percé; the utility of this material is in doubt. Lately Dr. Franz Boas, with the cooperation of Mr. Archer Phinney, a Nez Percé resident in New York, has conducted researches in Nez Percé linguistics. Mr. Morris Swadesh, graduate student of the University of Chicago, and Mr. Charles W. Wisdom, graduate student of the University of Arizona, obtained Nez Percé notes as part of their studies in the 1930 Laboratory of Anthropology linguistic party.

About 1890 Dr. Albert Gatschet published a voluminous dictionary and grammar of Klamath (with Modoc, formerly termed the Lutuamian stock). The work is of the phonetic standards of the 80's: revision is needed. Verification of the grammar is also advisable. On the whole it should be judged a very fine work for its day; it was one of the first grammars of an exotic language to be drawn analytically according to the nature of the language and not according to Latin and Indo-European structural models. Dr. J. de Angulo, of Berkeley, California, has recorded in the closely related Modoc dialect.

In the Cayuse and Molale group (Waiilatpuan) Dr. Leo J. Frachtenberg obtained (1910-1911) a manuscript of texts and grammatical notes from a Molale survivor; the manuscript is in the Bureau of American Ethnology. Additional Molale field studies were made by me in 1928 and 1929; a grammar and texts are being prepared. I hope to obtain Cayuse notes in 1931. Several persons resident on Umatilla reservation are reputed speakers of this language.

NORTHERN SAHAPTIN MATERIALS AND INFORMANTS

In northwest Sahaptin I possess a large number of mythological and other texts in xwa'łxwaipam (Klikitat) and ta'ɪnapam (upper Cowlitz) and a few in Yakima and pcwa'nwapam (see footnote, p. 87). xwa'łxwaipam interpreters were as follows: Peter McGuff, of White Swan, Yakima reservation, Washington. McGuff's languages as a child were Cascades and Wishram upper Chinook and English. As he had xwa'łxwaipam relatives and had lived long among xwa'łxwaipams he spoke their language easily, with little accent. He spoke perfect English, upper Chinook and Chinook jargon. I am told he died in 1928, aged about 50. A few xwa'łxwaipam texts were translated by Samson Quaempts, a xwa'łxwaipam from the White Salmon river country. Quaempts is over 20 years of age. Other

[3] *A Numipu or Nez Percé Grammar, by A Missionary of the Society of Jesus in the Mountains.* DeSmet, Idaho. 1891. Copyright Rev. J. M. Cataldo.

xwa'ɬxwaipam texts were translated by J. J. Spencer, a brother-in-law of Samson Quaempts, in the late twenties. Spencer is mainly xwa'ɬxwaipam, partly Yakima and Umatilla in speech.

All the ta'ɪɒnapam (upper Cowlitz) text translation and most of the basic grammatical material of this sketch were obtained from Sam N. Eyley, Jr., of Morton, Lewis county, Washington. His mother is part Coast Salish Cowlitz and part ta'ɪɒnapam, his father is Yakima; both have resided so long among the upper Cowlitz ta'ɪɒnapams that young Eyley has heard little except ta'ɪɒnapam and English, though he knows the vocabulary peculiar to his father's band; he is one of the last dozen or so upper Cowlitz who speak a fairly pure dialect. He is about thirty-five years of age. His wife is, I think, purer ta'ɪɒnapam; however, English is spoken at home more than native except for the frequent intervals when there are Indian visitors.

Walu'la-palu·'s grammatical notes were obtained from Cy Johnly, aged twenty-one, a remarkably traveled and excellent interpreter. Other grammatical notes were (in walu'la) from Wade Minthorn, aged about thirty-five, and (in yumati'la) from Allan Pa'tawa, aged about fifty-seven, and Celestine Minthorn, aged about eighteen.

A SKETCH OF NORTHERN SAHAPTIN GRAMMAR

SOUNDS USED

Acoustically northern Sahaptin is much less harsh than the neighboring Salish and Chinook stocks and somewhat less so than the related Molale-Cayuse language. It is by no means a language beautiful to hear, though it seems fairly soft and musical when contrasted with these neighbors. It enjoys a local reputation for being a pleasant sounding Indian language, a reputation that would suffer no serious comparison with the more euphonious Kalapuya and other languages to the south and southwest. Occasional clusters of velar and exploded consonants remind one of the harsher phonetics of the north. Though tone serves no grammatical function apart from accent, the high and falling tones of accented syllables (in northwest Sahaptin especially) are so high and fall so far in pitch as to make speech almost notably musical. However, the absence of sonants and sonant continuants, the rare occurrence of intermediates, and the prominence of the surd continuants give the language a predominantly breathy content. Stress accent with its accompanying high tone is quite strong in the northwest Sahaptin bands and therefore easily approximated by an English speaking person. Stress accent is gentler, subtler, more difficult for strangers, on Umatilla reservation.

In both phonology and morphology no attempt is made to present the sounds with a phonetician's minuteness and finesse. Indication of the essential sound "points" is all that has been attempted.

Important errors will undoubtedly be found. I fear that in my earlier work I have been rather frequently inaccurate in recording certain sounds: for example, the k and q series have been confused upon occasion, various diphthongs such as ii, ei, ei, and others have been obscured, and quantity sometimes recorded faultily. My only excuse is inexperience on the earlier trips and subsequent lack of opportunity for checking over all the material.

The symbols used are recommended in the report of a Committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages."[4] A few variances from the standard transcription should be noted: intermediate B, D, G were written P, T, K, (because these sounds lean more to unaspirated surd than to sonant stops) in the first volume of northwest Sahaptin texts published in the University of Washington series. In the grammar and subsequent publications intermediates will be printed B, D and G.

VOWELS

There are four primary vowels, a or ä, i, u and ə. The vowels as a whole may be schematized in this manner:

a, ä	a·, ä·	ω·	ai, äi	au, äu
i	i· (ei)	e·	iu	
u	u·	ω·	ui	
ə	ə·			

[4] No. 6, Vol. 66, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, (Publication 2415) Washington, 1916.

Throughout the grammar and texts it seems peculiarly convenient to standardize by printing *a* for all the provincialism variants from a to ä. In Klikitat and Yakima I hear a sound, a (as in Mann), or a sound varying around a point somewhere between a and the a in French patte (low-mixed-wide in Sweet's terminology). In upper Cowlitz ta'ɪ̈npapam I hear a sound about a point somewhere between the a of patte and ä, perhaps closer to ä. On Umatilla reservation I hear a sound whose norm is between ä and ɐ, but closer to ä; a is again printed, for greater comfort in dialect comparisons. a or its variants is the most frequently occurring sound of northern Sahaptin.

The sound written i and i· is, again employing Sweet's terminology, mid-high, front, narrow; it is, roughly, somewhere near continental "open" i, i and e. When short and in an accented syllable its acoustic quality simulates—to English ears —"open" i—as in English "fit." Long i· is acoustically more "closed," to the English auditor, sounding as in English "feet."

The sound written u and u· is "mid-high, back, narrow, round." It is roughly near continental u, "open" u and o. Short accented u like short accented i is acoustically seemingly more "open" in quality—as in English "foot"—than the unaccented and long u·—English "fool"—and i·—English "feet."

The obscure vowel ə simulates closely the "mid, back, narrow" vowel, as in English "but," especially in an accented syllable. Normally it is duller and more obscure. The frequent use of a true obscure vowel is a very striking feature of northern Sahaptin.

ω·, "low, back, narrow, round," as in English "paw." The sound is perhaps peculiar to ta'ɪ̈npapam Sahaptin; it has not been heard in other northern Sahaptin dialects. When a is followed by consonant glide w before obscure ə, the resultant two-moraed awə heard in other dialects becomes ω· in ta'ɪ̈npapam.

xwa'ɫxwaipam	ta'ɪ̈npapam
a'wəna	ω·'na
iwapa'wəxina	iwa'pω·xina
awə'lk	awə'lk, ω·'lk

Another type of shift to ω· is found in some pronoun accusatives:

tu·'n	tω·'n
tu·'man	tω·'man
iku·'man	ikω·'man
iku·'nək	ikω·'nək

Another case is in a verb directive suffix:

iwiya'nawiyu·na	iwiya'nawiyω·na

One other example of perhaps still a different type: kω·'cxi, possibly, maybe. ω· should not be associated in the vowel system with u, a vowel of quite different "point" in the present system. Apparently at least two and possibly additional variant sound drifts have converged recently to produce the modern ta'ɪ̈npapam ω·. The certain death of ta'ɪ̈npapam in a short time will prevent us watching this development of a new and interesting set of sound changes.

Another equally important drift in both ta'ɪnapam and pcwa'nwapam is from i· to e·. The rule for the shift is possibly as follows: where i· of x̣wa'ɬx̣waipam is felt to be pseudo-diphthongal i^{i}, e· appears in pcwa'nwapam and ta'ɪnapam. Thus ɔni·'ɒ or ɔni^{i}'ɒ, but wɛ·'mi. e· is "mid, front, wide," as in English "air." Other examples of changes to e· in elements of morphologic order:

x̣wa'ɬx̣waipam	ta'ɪnapam
ttmayi·'ma	ttmaye·'ma
i·na't'ca	e·na't'ca (same shift for all persons)
i'tci·n	i'tce·n
t'cat'ci·'nya	t'cat'ce·'nya
pi·ma'-	pe·ma'-

A number of morphologic elements and verb roots have e· in ta'ɪnapam, i· in other dialects. For example, -wɛ·- (related to -wi·-), -nɛ·-, -le·- (related to -nai- and -lai-), -tɛ·-, -le·ɬwɔn-, pe·ma'-, etc. Many independent words have e· in ta'ɪnapam, i· in other dialects: tawɛ·'ɒ, quiet; tce·'c, water, river; kaske·'s, creek, brook.

The diphthongs are well developed in northern Sahaptin, though iu and ui are much less common than ai and au. ai is frequently heard alternatively as ei or ɛi. It has not been found possible to explain this remarkable variation within one dialect. Examples are iwiya'laina which appears occasionally as iwiya'leina; iwina'inaka as iwine'inaka. Diphthongs seem lengthened for rhetorical purposes only; I have recorded no organically long diphthongs.

Pseudo-diphthongs are frequently heard. Long i· appears acoustically as rearticulated or pseudo-diphthongal i^{i}, with pronounced palatal y stricture when i· is final. ɔni·'ɒ or ɔni^{i}'ɒ; ti·'n or ti^{i}'n; ana'wi· or ana'wiyi or ana'wi^{i}.

From band to band occur many superficial dialect sound variations in morphologic elements, of which the following is only one interesting example: the Yakima-x̣wa'ɬx̣waipam suffix -daxnai is -daxni in ta'ɪnapam, -daxna in walu'la and palu'ɬs.

Two vowels appear unvoiced. First, u, as in -wautk^{u}-, kwa'ix^{u}, ətə'q^{u}; these are primarily rounded palatals and only secondarily vowels. Secondly, the obscure vowel, ə, when surrounded by surds in an unaccented syllable, frequently loses sonancy or even disappears acoustically; if speech be very slow it reappears as a sonant. The obscure vowel never loses sonancy if the syllable to which it belongs receives the accent. Thus: a'sx̣xna, or a'sx̣əx̣na, but always isx̣ə'x̣na.

GLIDE VOWELS

Glide u. After i and before x̣w a prothetic glide u may appear. The resulting i^{u} diphthong may count as a short vowel in length; it sounds very brief; the utterance amounts organically to i followed by rounded x̣. An example is iwi'^{u}x̣tcka.

Glide i. After all vowels save i and before consonantal y, glide i may appear. It does not count in syllable length and sounds brief; it adds no length value to either preceding or succeeding syllable. An example: kaya'su, ka^{i}ya'su.

Between t and p may be heard and inserted i. We record the following examples: ni·'ptipa or ni·'ptpa, at two (at two o'clock); na·'ptipa (walu'la).

Prothetic ə-. This is a very striking phenomenon. It seems hard to formulate rules for its occurrence. It is possibly the remain of an original glottal stop functioning as a consonant, and an obscure vowel, thus: 'ə-. The explanation seems valid in a few of the subjoined words upon direct inspection. The fact that the initial glottalization is now very weakly sounded and more often omitted makes us hesitate to accept this explanation. The following ta'ɪpnapam words occur with ə-. It is not always unaccented. When accented, as in 'ə'na, the glottal stop frequently appears.

əwi'nc, man	ənə'n, horn	əsti'yas, bracelet
əwi'sqaqa, robin	anə'ninc, buck	əsxə'p, younger brother
əpə'n, louse	ələ·'x, much, many	əcu''əcu, lungs
əpə'p, hand	əmi', gopher	əcxi', pitch
əpə'x, skin, hide	əni·'ɒ, house	əsi'p, younger sister
ətə't, tooth	ənu'wa, fire-cleared land	asti''asti·ns, a root of the Columbia interior
ətə'tcinc, foot log	əsə'x^u, salmon egg (in walu'la-palu·'s, asə'x^u)	
ətə'q^u,difficult	əsti', awl	əmu', snowshoe

The word for coyote in palu·'s is spi'lya; in walu'la it is əspi'lya. The initial unaccented ə- of the following words express the second person possessive for relationship terms. These are ta'ɪdnapam relationship terms: ə·ka'ə, your mother's brother; ənə'c, your elder sister; əmə'x, your father's brother. In the diminutive duplication of ə'm, mouth, ə·m'əm, tiny mouth, we may note the glottal stop; it need not be inferred that ' is consonantal. Prothetic ə before initial w- is often—in rapid speech—acoustically prothetic u-. Thus əwi'nc is sometimes heard as uwi'nc, əwi'nap as uwi'nap. The texts offer warrant for querying, if prothetic ə be in reality 'ə-, are cases of syllables beginning with vowels, written i-, a- and so on, functionally 'i- and 'a-? That the evidence is against this hypothesis is seen in such a case as a'- prefixed to a verb commencing with i-, where we record, then, a'wi-. Thus: i'taxciya, he awakened him; a'witaxciyac, I awakened him. If what is heard as i, were felt to be 'i, then not a w-glide but probably the a''i form would have been retained. When pa'- is prefixed there is a glottal stop, indeed. It is not clear why there is a glide inserted when a'- is prefixed and a stop retained or inserted when pa'- is prefixed. In pronunciation of words beginning with vowels, prothetic ə or any vowel, the initial glottal stop may be acoustically either indifferently present or absent, and is especially likely to be absent when the initial syllable is unaccented; when accented the initial closure release may be heard. That some initial vowel cases may be in reality glottal stop plus vowel receives confirmation from another source: some verbs, e.g., -'əca-, -ac-, -at-, are frequently found with the stop apparently assuming a consonantic function.

TABLE I. CONSONANTS AND CONSONANT GLIDES

	STOP		CONTINUANT		AFFRICATIVE		NASAL	LATERAL		LATERAL AFFRICATIVE	
	surd	glottalized	sonant	surd	surd	glottalized	sonant	sonant	surd	surd	glottalized
BILABIAL	(B) p	ṗ	w				m				
LINGUO-ALVEOLAR	(D) t	ṭ		s	ts	t'θ, t's	n	l	ɬ	tɬ	t'ɬ
MID C-SOUNDS				c	tc	t'c					
ANTERIOR PALATAL			y								
MID-PALATAL	(G) k	k̇		x							
same, rounded	(GW)kw	k̇w		xw							
BACK PALATAL, VELAR	q	q̇		χ							
same, rounded	qw	q̇w		χw							
FAUCAL				h							
same, rounded				hw							

SEMI-VOWEL OR CONSONANT GLIDES

These are w and y, which function syllabically and phonetically as consonants, and are properly treated as consonants. n also functions as a glide.

After the high vowel i and before another vowel consonant glide y is heard; it is of true consonantic value. Thus: iwiya'nawiya, anahuiya'i, itcəmu'kiya, pχwi'yac.

After the high vowel u and before another vowel consonant glide w is heard. Thus: kaya'suwai. After the mid-vowel ə and before another vowel w is heard: a'wata, a'wutpa, a'wilkwa, a'wanpa. Note that when a'- precedes root -nəp- or -np-, for purposes of this case n is considered ən or syllabic n.

Between u and y, a more or less decided glide w labialization may appear; no length value is changed. Thus: iku'ʷyana.

The long i· vowel frequently suffers rearticulation, with an inserted faint y glide stricture. Thus: i·tcu'cana, i·ʸtcu'cana; ana'wi·, ana'wiʸi.

When a word or syllable containing a diphthong or pseudo-diphthong is lengthened for purposes of emphasis or clarity, the proper glide semi-vowel, w or y, is inserted between the diphthongal elements. Thus: χa'iχ, χa·'yaχ.

Consonant glide n-. A number of cases of grammatically inorganic glide n-, nə-, or na-, appearing initially in a morphologic element, are explicable only by positing the use of n as a glide consonant. The following ta'ipnapam morphologic elements, all enclitics or suffixes, may contain n-, nə-, or na-, after certain sounds. The enclitic pronouns (p. 126): -(na)c, -(na)pac, -(na)nam, -(na)mtk, -(na)m. After final simple vowels, and even final diphthongs in walu'la-palu·'s, na may be dropped: a'unac, kunac or kuc, ku·'knac, i'χwinac or i'χwi·c. The customary suffix -χa (p. 204) appears as -nəχa or -nχa after final χi, χ, χw,-la, -ɒ; thus: a'pinawəχinχana, itta'waχnəχana, ikwala'nχana, i'ya'χnəχapa, isu'χwənəχana, iku'ɒkupnəχana. Directive suffix -u· (p. 200) appears as -yu· or -nu·; after ai or a, nu· appears: a'wayalainu·na, a'winanu·χana, iwi'nanu·pəχnai. Past tense suffix -a (p. 207) appears as -ya or -na·. -na appears after all the modal and aspect suffixes except the momentaneous. Noun suffix -i may appear as -yi or -ni (-li) (p. 224). Verb momentaneous suffix -kik appears as -nkik (p. 204). Verb directive suffix -m(a) appears as -nəm(a) (p. 199). Noun suffix -awas appears as -nawas after a vowel (p. 216). Formal accusative suffix -an has initial n (-nan) after all sounds other than -i, -a, and -n (p. 227). In using the formal possessive suffix, after -ʙ or -n, -mi appears; after all other endings -nəmi or -nmi appear, with rare exceptions (p. 228).

CONSONANTS

The intermediate (printed in small capital) stops form a true series phonemically and acoustically in the system of sounds; in acoustic effect they are close to unaspirated surds; they lean more to slight sonancy than to surd articulation. At present they are of little or no moment from a grammatical, functional viewpoint since aspirate surd enunciation never causes obscurity or change of meaning. However, their completely regular appearance in predictable forms and positions shows that they are felt to be independent phonemes. The direction of their

historic development can not be described. They are originally surds .At present we can determine upon one law which predicts only some of the intermediates; the others seem vestigial. None of the intermediates seem easily explicable as members of an ancient series of true non-surd sounds. They are all most plausibly and simply explained as due to an old mechanical phonetic law singling out certain surds in certain syllabic positions for a variant unaspirated enunciation. The following may be formulated for their present occurrence:

In syllables of form VC, CVC_1, where the sound "closing" the syllable is not a glottalized stop, acoustic rendition of the stop will be invariably intermediate, not surd. Syllabic divisions are indicated by hyphens in the following examples:

i-la'ʁ-wai-ka	ə-ni-'ɒ
a'-yaɒ-naŋ	ə-pə'ʁ
pa'-xaɒ	paɒ-'a'-ɖi-nu-na
ta-ma'n-wiŋ	a'-nək
i-t-kwa'n-tcai-ka	i-la'ɣ-piɒ-'ui-ca
nə-wi'ɒ-ka	pi-ya'ʁ

Note that final G is less decidedly media in quality than final ʁ and ɒ; there is no word or syllable final velar G or q in the language; velar G has never been heard.

Not all cases of CVC_1, VC syllabic form follow the rule; more accurately, the rule is perhaps that those stops which are an historically recent accretion in final C position do not become intermediate, but remain surd.

A small number of morphologic elements, roots and quasi-roots are found possessing certain invariable media stops.

These prefixed and anterior verb root elements, all of CVC_1V_1 form, contain an intermediate each: caɒa'- (and plural, saʁ- and caŋ-), verb causative prefix; caɒu·'-, verb root "blow;" pa'ʁa-, verb reciprocal prefix. These are all apparently old elements in the language. Other anterior roots of similar CVC_1V_1 form, but of clearly recent compounding and formalization, have no intermediate; thus, -waɒa'-, whose elements wa- and -pa- are still clear; -ti'pa-, of which -ti- and -pa- are quite recognizable; and so on.

The following anterior roots of CC_1V or CVC_1 or CV form: -ɒwa-, with a sharp instrument (-twa- in walu'la and palu·'s); -naG-, carry, bear. Before -n, G may be found changed to ŋ, thus: -naŋnin-.

The following suffixed verb elements contain intermediate stops; all these elements are undoubtedly old in the language: -ɒa, future-exhortative; -ɒaxnai (Yak.); -ɒaxni (taiɒ.); -ɒaxna (walu'la, palu·'s), possibility; -ɒai, purposive.

The following prefixed noun element contains an intermediate: aɒwa'i-, dead, deceased. The following pronoun prefix: aɒa'-. The following enclitics: -ɒya, comparative; -naɒac, -naɒ, first person plural; -maɒac, second person plural. It is interesting to note that -nanac is found as one of two forms used interchangeably, -naɒac and -tac. In the latter, intermediate ɒ gives way to surd t.

The following roots and independent words contain organic intermediates: -cuGw-, -cuG-, learn, know; -pəɒya-, pierce, stab, spear (-pətya- in walu'la and palu·'s); xaʁiimi', knife (xaʁiimi' in walu'la and palu·'s).

The intermediates of the given morphological elements and roots perhaps represent the remains of a formerly commoner type of element in the pattern of sounds of northern Sahaptin. The inorganic intermediates of final syllabic or final word position perhaps have a history of recent origin and development, more or less apart from the few old vestigial appearing intermediates.

In walu'la-palu·'s the intermediates are relatively few. Stopped consonants final in syllables or words rarely become intermediate as in northwest Sahaptin but remain like other surds. There are several exceptions, like the following, which may change to surds upon occasion: -ani·'ɒ, house; -wa·'ɒ, possibly; final -ɒ of certain verb roots; -tcu·ɒ-, drink; -sinwiɒ-, speak; -xwi·ɒ-, whistle; -ɬxwɒ-, hold; -cmu·ɒ-, swim; -tamaciɒ,- sweat; -tcanuwiɒ-, make basket; -ɬkaɒ-, fire; etc.

The morphologic elements in walu'la-palu·'s that retain intermediates are also far less in number than in northwest Sahaptin. Elements found containing intermediates are, for example, the following; in each case a surd may be heard occasionally: -ɒa, future; -ɒaχna, conditional; -caɒa-, -caɒ-, causative; -tɬuɒ-, jump; -ɒam-, -ɒama-, throw; -ɒau-, at night; -nac-, carry; -tkwaɒ-, hand; -ɒwa·-, in company with; -a·'ɒtit, ten; -anac-, we; -ɒa, skeptical query; etc.

Intermediates in walu'la-palu·'s word roots were found in the following examples, among others: -waiχɒi-, run (-waiχti- in northern Sahaptin); -yat'iɒi-, be wet (p if unaccented; -yat'ipi- in northwest Sahaptin); -ɒt'ik-, punch; -ɒtya-, stab; -tcinci-, vomit; -aɒ'a-, elsewhere.

The true surds are on the average not aspirated as strongly as English surds; they sometimes approach the French surds; however, they receive varying degrees of aspiration.

The glottalized sounds are on the whole uttered with almost as startling a crackle as the fortis glottalized sounds of the Salish language to the west and north. They are given far more explosive effect than is found in the coast Oregon languages such as Kalapuya and Athabaskan. However, from speaker to speaker there is considerable variation. On the whole, the detonation of northern Sahaptin glottalized consonants may be described as roughly between the Washington coast Salish groups and Oregon non-Salish coast groups but closer to their Washington neighbors. Glottal closure and glottal release seem approximately coterminous with the tongue contact and release; glottal release is hardly heard following the tongue release, but it does follow ever so slightly.

The sound written t'θ has been recorded in the walu'la-palu·'s group only, by Mr. William Gilbert and myself. Professor Boas tells me that it occurs in Nez Percé; Messrs. Charles Wisdom and Morris Swadesh do not report hearing it used by the Cayuse band speakers of Nez Percé. In walu'la-palu·'s t'θ occurs in the following instances: 1. Where t' (of northwest Sahaptin) would precede -awa; that is, where northwest Sahaptin or Umatilla have -t'awa-, walu'la-palu·'s substitutes -t'θu·-; obviously this t'θ is a late development in walu'la-palu·'s, the stages having been almost certainly from a primal t'awa—still retained in the other provincialisms—, perhaps through t'u·, to t'θu·. The sound is historically the alveolar glottalized stop (p. 103), which has suffered affricatization, not to t's, but to t'θ; this involved a shift to tongue contact ahead, to a place for dental friction, rather

than to one for posterior alveolar friction. The cause for the movement forward in tongue contact position, to anterior t, is obscure. The sound may have been written anterior t̠ alternatively, but the affricative character of articulation induced us to use the symbol for the glottalized affricative. The sound may be borrowed from the large neighboring Nez Percé tribe; the absence of the sound from other northern Sahaptins, its comparative rarity in walu'la-palu·'s and its presence in at least some Nez Percé groups indicate a probably modern borrowing. 2. In ti·na'ɐt'θat, kick (-ti·na-, foot) the analysis of -ɐt'θa- is in doubt; -t is the nominalizer, thing. In it'θu'kʷnamc, (walu'la) he heard the noise coming, the root -t'θukw- is unfamiliar to me. In the case of i'yat'θi'ya, (walu'la) he roasted it, or u·'t'θi'ya, it was cooked, the walu'la root -t'θi- is certainly a cognate of the northwest Sahaptin root -t̠awa-, roast.

In a single word t'la'gʷ, all, ɣ is uttered with mouth rounding throughout. Properly, superscript ʷ should be printed above, not following the ɣ. There is no unvoiced u vowel succeeding ɣ in this word, which is monosyllabic.[8]

Unlike Molale, consonant lengthenings or geminations occur very rarely if at all in northwest Sahaptin; the dialect prefers to drop one of two identical consonants brought into contact if it can do so without sacrificing syllabic weight. However, in slow speech, such adjacent consonants will be heard as lengthened consonants; in rapid speech a short consonant will be heard. Gemination seems fairly common in the Umátilla reservation provincialisms. We may find in ta'ipnapam, iti'yat·iyapna (from "iti'yatiyapna") in slow speech, or iti'yatiyapna in rapid speech. Note that there is no loss of syllabic weight in the second form when contrasted with the ideal form in parentheses. The form of slow speech with long t· involves an increment of quantity which is felt as awkward and for rhythmic propriety is not permitted. Another example, the second being preferred: cwa'tac·wat̠ac, cwa'tacwat̠ac.

Initially and terminally, in words and syllables of words, apparent consonant clusters are found. There are no true clusters according to my feeling for native rhythm and syllable prosody. When we find a syllable like -ɐɣɔɣ- in the word isɣa'ɣna, he was angry, I incline to think that while -ɐɣɔɣ- is root unit, it is syllabically two units, ɐ- and -ɣɔɣ, where ɐ- may be termed either a short or reduced or extra-short syllable,—the term is not significant—and -ɣɔɣ an ordinary short syllable. Again, in the word a'unatk, now let us, the pronoun unit -natk is syllabically complex, final -k being a reduced syllable. In ina'tciks, the final syllables are -tcik, short, and -s, short or reduced. Corroboration of such an analysis may be found in the cases where reduced syllables receive stress and become ordinary short syllables. Thus a'ppyana, and ipa'pyana, where the one case, -ppya-, spear, may be thought of as having a pp cluster. In short, if by consonant clusters we mean groups of consonants with phonemically present but mute short or mute reduced syllables, then any cluster of consonants is possible, except for the cases of adjacent identical consonants discussed on p. 112, and for adjacent sonant or intermediate consonants, which never occur.

[8] I have heard the identical monosyllable, also an independent word, having entirely different signification, in Clackamas Chinook. It is instructive to encounter the same phonetic mechanism in a very different language of the Columbia region.

SOUND CHANGES

QUALITATIVE VOWEL CHANGES

They may be (1) due to contact influences; (2) due to rhetorical needs; (3) for grammatical purposes; (4) the contraction of awa of northwest Saphatin to u· in walu'la-palu·'s.

1. CONTACT INFLUENCES

In a combination such as wiya''iksiks, the initial i of iksi'ks is assimilated to the a preceding the stop, so as to give wiya''aksiks. This is the sole recorded example of progressive assimilation.

The vowel u is regressively assimilated to i before a syllable wi, as in pa'-yu- plus -(w)in, which becomes payi'win.

Cases of regressive vowel assimilation: changing a to i before i. This change occurs in all the dialects for pina'-, self, which becomes pini'-. The examples given are in walu'la-palu·'s, where such assimilation may occur with elements other than pina'-: iki''ilawi'ya, he tasted it (-ka-, mouth, eat; -ilawi-, try); pi·ni''ilama'ka, he hid (pi·na-, self; -lama-, disappear); tu·'ntiwana'xna, I wonder what it could be (tu·'n, what thing; -ta, wonder; iwana'xna, it could be).

A regressive change, a to u, before u; occurring only in walu'la-palu·'s. pu'u·'-nakwa, they left him alone (pa-, they; a'-, him; -w-, glide; -anakw-, leave, desert; see pa'a-, p. 143); lilt'ci·'mt'ciuni', (walu'la-palu·'s) big eared (lilt'ci', big; mət'si'u, ear; -ni, being). Note that initial reduplication in lat'ci' would be normally *lalət'ci' or *llət'ci' or *lələt'ci'; in this single recorded example lilt'ci' is found, indicating regressive assimilation of the first ə to i.

When the verbalizer -i is suffixed to a noun ending in au, the inserted glide -w- before -i functions as consonantal -w-, u of the diphthong disappears, leaving -awi. Thus, c'pa'u, ball; -c'pa'wi-, to play ball.

A corollary: when w succeeds au, the u may disappear. Thus, -tau- plus -wina-, itawi'nana; -tau- plus -wiya'nawi-, itawiya'nawiya.

In an unaccented CVC_1 (or CC_1VC_2)syllable, where V is ə and the C sounds are surd, ə is unvoiced and disappears acoustically: a'sχəχna, a'sχχna, isχa'χna.

2. RHETORICAL NEEDS

The obscure vowel ə when long and accented might frequently be heard as ɑ.

Long vowels may be heard receiving a sort of diphthongal treatment: they are pseudo-diphthongized or weakly rearticulated; most often, however, they remain pure vowels. Thus, ti'ɪn, oni'ɪn, ku'ᵘk, for ti·'n, oni·'n, ku·'k.

Rhetorical vowel lengthenings are exceedingly common phenomena in the dialects heard. Usually, medial or final vowels are lengthened. Some speakers even slip into falsetto on rhetorically lengthened vowels. The lengthening may develop into complete rearticulation of the vowel, but this is rare: a·'···a'winana, he went far away. Thus, ələ'χ, ələ·'·χ, much, many; χələ'k, χələ·'·k, (χwal.), much, many; t'la'χ, t'la·'χ, all; nt'ci', nt'ci·'·, big; anamna'n, anamənə·'·n, wherever; χwi'mi, χwi·'·mi, high, above.

a, in an unaccented syllable, and especially when final, may be dulled frequently in rapid speech and obscured to appear acoustically ə. This phenomenon is omnipresent but has not been recorded in the texts because of the irrelevance of the shift to matters of linguistic moment. It is an unimportant, mechanical matter; the change of quality appears necessarily consequent upon rapid or slovenly speaking of the language.

3. GRAMMATICAL DEVICES

In some few irregular plural formations the following appears: accent shifts, and a change is made from a to e·'. Thus, a'cam, wife; ace·'ma, wives.

A regular vowel change and accent shift appears correlative with the addition of personifying noun suffix -ya. The vowel shift is from unaccented ə to accented e·' (i·' in Yakima and xwa'łxwaipam). Thus, pə't'cam, wild cat; pt'ce·'mya, pt'ci·'mya, Wild Cat as person.

The following shift from unaccented i to accented a' appears; it represents a rarely used grammatical process, perhaps related to the adverb formation process below (p. 140): ciyə'x, good, good thing; ca'yəx, all right again.

An a or e· vowel of nouns changes to ai (in northwest Sahaptin) in the diminutive form of certain nouns ending in -c or -s; the latter undoubtedly represent an old noun forming suffix. Thus nu'q̓wac, throat, neck; nukwa'inukwai, little throat; wa'se·s, canoe; wasa'iwasai, tiny canoe.

An important parallelism of aya and e· occurs frequently: ita'mayaťana, ita'me·ťana; iwi'yaťana, iwi'ye·ťana.

The shift from awə and u· to ω·, discussed under vowel phonology (p. 100), may properly be remarked upon here again.

In the diminutive duplication of ta'xc, willow, to taxə'staxəs, little willow, in addition to the change of accent and consonant shift appears a vowel change from accented to unaccented a.

A vowel shift of grammatical order appears in the vocative of kin terms, when hallooing to a distance. Thus nə'ka, brother! na·'ka, brother! (hallooing).

Verb roots of CVC_1 form, where V is ə, regularly form independent adverbs of quality or manner by changing ə to e·, correlatively with other changes (see p. 140).

Note the unusual changes from ə to i· and u to ə. The examples are xwa'łxwaipam: tə'nux, different, different thing; a'tuxnəma ti·'nəxyauka, he came to a still different place (a'tuxnəma, he came to; -yau, into; -ka, now).

A somewhat analogous change, perhaps rare, has been recorded in an adjective with comparative prefix mai-. The example is from xwa'łxwaipam, the change from ə to e'i or e·': maine·'t'si, larger (mai-, more; nt'ci', nə't'ci, big).

4. CONTRACTION OF AWA TO U· IN WALU'LA-PALU·'S

In most cases—in very frequently employed words—where awa is primary and would be expressed in northwest Sahaptin, u· appears in walu'la-palu·'s.

Illustrations in the left hand column are northwest Sahaptin, in the right column, walu'la-palu·'s.

a'wa, he has, there is	u·'
a'watca, it was, he had	u·'tca'
itxa'wapawəxina, he dropped it	itxu·'pawəxi'na
pawa', they are	pu·'
pawa'tca', they were	pu·'tca'
-ta'was, thing with which	-t'θu·'s
-tawəx-, smoke tobacco	-tu·x-
-tcawa-, drink	-tcu·-
tca'wac, (xwal.) water	tcu·'c
pina'wapcana, he braided his hair	pi·nu·'pca'na
ina'wanpa, she sang slowly	inu·'npa

Note u·dxa'c, a'wawa·dxac, I tore it by shaking or swinging it. A slightly irregular but cognate example: miya'wəx, chief, also becomes miyu·'x in walu'la-palu·'s. And iwiya'wəxina, he lost it going along, becomes iwiyu·'xi'na.

A short pu' form is recorded; it is intelligible that in rapid speech pu·' sometimes shortens.

Anterior position verb roots like -pa-, -wa-, -tca-, do not usually contract with a -wa- element following.

VOWEL ELISIONS

In rapid speech the final vowel of a declarative verb ending in -a may be quantitatively reduced, or partly unvoiced, or even completely elided; or it may be heard qualitatively as ə. Before a following word that begins with a- vowel a preceding final -a may be completely lost in rapid speech. Thus, iwa'iwaina, iwa'iwainə, or iwa'iwain^{h}, he hallooed. The rule is related to the law for regressive assimilation (p. 108): unaccented final a may be thus weakened or elided when followed by an initial i of the following word. In slow speech such elision will not occur, the final -a being given normal quality and mora value. In rapid speech both quality and mora value may disappear entirely. The following example is of a sentence spoken fairly carefully, and then quite hastily: a'cɒ əni·'ɒpa iwa'tca, a'cɒəni·'ɒpiwa'tca, he is inside in the house. A special and frequent case of the same kind occurs in the following; in each example the first word was spoken slowly and the second rapidly: pa''iyaɒnana, pi·'yaɒnana, he was killed; pina''iyaɒnana, pini·'yaɒnana, he killed himself; a'caɒa'iwaiwiya, a'caɒi·waiwiya, they were fastened on her.

When -wu- is an unaccented one moraed syllable, u tends, the more rapid the speech, to be quantitatively reduced, or partially unvoiced, or even entirely elided. The remaining w is syllabic, of one mora. iwutu'tkwatana, iw^{w}tu'tkwatana, iwtu'tkwatana, he went and ate; iwut'ca'ka, iw^{w}t'ca'ka, iwt'ca'ka, it opened its

mouth. An analogous weakening of i appears, for the same reason: xwiya'tc, xw'ya'tc, xwya'tc, sweat house; xiya'u, x'ya'u, xya'u, dry; iwiya'nawiya, iw'ya'-nawiya, he arrived.

In palu·'s an irregular elision of i before y has become stereotyped in several forms of some common verbs; ini'ya and pa'niya (northwest Sahaptin) become inya' and pa'nya (palu·'s) respectively; ikwi'ya, (northwest Sahaptin) he went, becomes ikwya' (palu·'s).

Certain verb suffix combinations appear regularly with the -a of final durative -ca suffix elided. These combinations are first, the directive towards the speaker plus the durative or present tense, -mc, -ms: iqwəni'nəmc, he is packing it in this direction; iwa'mc, ikwi·'tamc, he is coming in this direction; and secondly momentaneous and present tense -kikc, -kiks: iqwəni'nkikc, he packed it away then; tu'xənkiks, he returned then. These forms are quite common, final durative or present -ca rarely appearing with preceding directive -m, and only occasionally with preceding momentaneous -kik or -ik. The elision of final -a in these combined forms seems an old linguistic process.

A common case of vowel assimilation occurs with the insertion of the applicative-referential-possessive verb suffix -ani, -ni, -ɛ·ni. Thus, itkwa'tana, he ate it; itkwa'ti·niya (xwal.) he ate his. Only the a and no other element is assimilated, excepting the cases given on p. 201.

Other cases of vowel elision: a'utika awə'k; in rapid speech: a'utikawə'k.

VOWEL BREAKING

Examples of adverb formation characterized by vocalic breaking have been noted elsewhere (p. 140).

In walu'la-palu·'s a considerable number of words of different types appear with broken diphthongs, or broken organically long vowels, or broken short vowels, or broken CVC_1 syllables, that are not broken in the cognate northwest Sahaptin words; in most cases the walu'la-palu·'s forms appear to be secondary.

northwest Sahaptin	walu'la-palu·'s
pa'ic, perhaps	pa''ic
-kup-, break	-ku'p-
ku'c, that manner	ku'u'c
-t'ac-, quench fire	-t'a'c-
-t'sa'k-, near, join	-t'sa'k-
ni·'x, ciya'x, good	ci'i'x (ni·'x, ni'i'x—both yumati'la)
pu'wi, snow	pu'u'i
-ti·t-, break wind	-ti'it-
-na·m-, wear, erase	-na'am-
-palyu·-, gamble (bone game)	-pa'alyu·-
ma·'l, how far?	ma'a·'l
kwa·'lk, that far, that long	kwa'a'lk
ya'pac, grease, tallow	ya'a'pac (walu'la only)

QUALITATIVE CONSONANT CHANGES

1. ASSIMILATION OF LABIALIZATION BY AN ADJACENT CONSONANT

Where kw precedes x the kw is unrounded to k and the following x rounded to xw. Thus, -wautkw- plus -xana, iwa'utkxwana, he would camp; -wiya·nakw- plus -xana, a'wiya·nakxwana, he would desert. Where x^u precedes -ka the rounding infects k: t'ła·'x^u plus -ka, t'ła·'x^ukwa, all now. A correlative, irregular shift is found in kwənki'nek, which is often pronounced kwənkwi'nek. This change or variation was heard in northwest Sahaptin only.

2. UNROUNDING

kw possibly in some cases loses rounding before durative-present verb suffix -ca. Thus, -cuGw- plus -ca, -cuGca. This is no certqin generalization, since -cuGa (lacking rounded o) is also found, where no -ca can have effected the change. Speakers vary within one dialect in this usage. Some say a'cuGwa, some a'cuGa. No explanation can be offered.

3. UNVOICING OF FINAL LABIALIZED CONSONANTS

All labialized or rounded consonants in final position appear with loss of w sonancy; they end with breathed ^{u}: ətə'ɫ^u, əsə'g^u, kwa'ix^u. In t'ła·'x^u, all, the rounding is coterminous with the enunciation of x and no final ^{u} appears.

4. NASAL ASSIMILATION IN PLURAL ACCUSATIVE

When accusative case suffix -(n)an (-na in walu'la-palu·'s) is suffixed to an adjective or noun having distributive plural -ma suffix, the initial glide n of -(n)an changes to m; a factor of consonantic harmony seems to be operating. Thus, ti·'nma plus -(n)an, ti·'nmaman; ti·'mmama (walu'la, palu·'s).

5. DISSIMILATION AND OTHER PHENOMENA DUE TO CONTIGUITY OF IDENTICAL CONSONANTS

When two identical continuants adjoin, one may be lost, though its quantity is retained in a lengthening of the preceding vowel. ta'inapam plus -mi', taipnapa·mi'. And, x^u adjacent to x gives simple x^u. Thus, t'ła·'x^u plus -xac, t'ła·'x^uac.

Reduplicated kw is not tolerated. One kw loses rounding. No cases of adjacent rounded consonants are known. Thus, i'kwa·l reduplicated, i'kkwa·l.

No cases of adjacent glottalized consonants are known in northwest Sahaptin. Thus, kaiwa' reduplicated, kkaiwa'. A few examples of adjacent glottalized consonants were found in walu'la and palu·'s.

k initially in a new syllable, after k final in a preceding syllable, becomes tc (or, rarely and irregularly, c). Thus, a'mtcənik plus -kan, a'mtcəniktcan; a'nak plus -knik, a'naktcəniktcnik. A corollary: when the k that changes to tc is initial in the momentaneous -kik suffix, the entire suffix is changed to -tcitc, a matter of consonantic harmony. Thus, -waik- plus -kika, iwa'iktcitca. However, complications arise in the present momentaneous tense. -kik plus -ca appears thus, when following a root with final k: -wat'cak- plus -kik plus -ca, iwat'ca'kcikc.

ɬ after k becomes t'c: patcuGwa·'k plus -ka, patcuGwa·'kt'ca; i'ɫkwak plus -ka, i'ɫkwakt'ca.

In walu'la-palu·'s, kwə't, soundly, appears with -tca, comparative, giving kwə't·ca, soundly indeed. Note the true gemination: the t position holds over into the next syllable, giving an acoustic effect of long t, though phonemically there is merely a long tc affricative, t of kwə't being phonemically assimilated, acoustically surviving.

6. CHANGES FROM INTERMEDIATE OR SURD TO GLOTTALIZED CONSONANTS

Following a verb root of form CVC_1, certain verb posterior roots and suffixes seem to affect C_1 (when an intermediate or surd stop) and glottalize it, depending apparently upon rapidity of speech; the more rapid, the more the likelihood of $-C_1$ being glottalized. Elements bringing about such a change are -nin-, -ui, and nominalizer -awas. Example: -nak- plus -nin- ina'knɨnxa. This is especially likely to happen when -D is added to the verb root and precedes such a suffix. -dans- (from English, danse) plus -D plus -ui, ida'nsitɨuina; -laxpi- plus -D plus -ui, ila'xpin'uica or ila'xpitɨuica. In these cases the history of the change seems clear; final -D is succeeded by -'ui; in rapid speech the glottalization infects -D; eventually t' developed. Other examples: wisanita'was, wasata'was, iqə'ptɨuina.

In walu'la-palu·'s note that prefixation of mak-, more (p. 242), before kwa-'a·'lk, so long, gives makwa'a·'lk, taller; one k is assimilated, the other becomes glottalized.

7. CONSONANT CHANGES TO EXPRESS DIMINUTIVE, IN NORTHWEST SAHAPTIN

In sections below, p. 136 and p. 139, changes representing functioning morphologic devices are discussed. However, there are instances of changes from -ka to -t'ca, c to s, n to l and perhaps others that may represent an old diminutive shift now invariably made and no longer implying a diminutive idea; some shifts may indicate a process of consonant harmony.

asma·wi·satu', (walu'la, palu·'s) old ladies (cma·'wic, old lady)
ikalu'laqiya, she finished making the awl-made basket (-naqi, finish);
itcanu'winaqi'ya (walu'la, palu·'s)
pa'wilalakwa, he ran on leaving him hastily (-anakw-, leave)
iqalala'ticana, it rolled on (-nati-, go on)

These cases may, on the other hand, fit in rather with instances of some obscure condition that affects certain root compounds or certain old groupings, and not others. Thus, -t'ca, not -ka, (p. 234) is a suffix following personal pronoun roots, where no diminutive idea is implied. And -le-, into the water, is even more common than -ne- (p. 188). Further, we find anamolous cases like the following:

iwəsala'tiya, he went away to hunt (-nati-, go away)
iwa'lsikwa·na, he learned (-wan-, see)
isa'nsikwa·na, he taught him (can-, plural causative)

8. DIMINUTIVE SHIFTS IN WALU'LA-PALU·'S

The diminutive consonant changes (pp. 136 and 139) of northwest Sahaptin serve in walu'la-palu·'s in myth recitation only; to express diminutive size, pity

or affection walu'la-palu·'s uses duplication, not consonant changes; when a myth is told the raconteur indulges in profuse employment of all the so-called diminutive consonant shifts.

9. CONSONANT CHANGES TO EXPRESS AUGMENTATIVE

In a very few cases we find traces of an old process the converse of the diminutive process: lilt'ci·mt'ciuni', (walu'la, palu·'s) big eared (ləṭ'ci', big; məṭ'si'u, ear; -ni, being).

10. AN IRREGULAR CHANGE

Note: ts to t's: a'ts, sister; a't'ssi'n, two sisters.

11. ł ALTERNATES OCCASIONALLY WITH S OR C

Though it is certain that such cases are not fortuitous, we are unable to explain the consonant change. In each case the dialect seems to tolerate two forms, one using c or s, the other ł, one or the other form being felt archaic.

almamatu', asma·wi·satu', (walu'la, palu·'s) old woman
pa'nkuli, (walu'la, palu·'s) owner of the horse or dog (?); (kusi'kusi, dog; ku'si, horse; pa'n-, owner of -?)

12. MISCELLANEOUS SHIFTS

From dialect to dialect irregular shifts may be noted. Regular shifts, of probable augmentative or diminutive mechanism origin, are presented above. We note below a few cognate words with different consonants in different dialects; no reasons for the drifts apart can be offered at present. Additional examples will be found, in all likelihood.

k and ts. tiska'i, skunk; tistsa'i (walu'la, palu·'s)
ṭ and t'c. ṭa'ṭ.c, (palu·'s) grasshopper; t'ca't'cc (walu'la)

CONSONANT ELISIONS

The m of second person singular pronoun enclitic -nam may drop out before wa' in rapid speech. The same thing happens to the plural form -pam. There is a true -na form (for -nam) on Umatilla reservation.

mə'niknamwa', from where are you? or mə'niknawa'
mə'nikpamwa', from where are you (plural)? or mə'nikpawa'
kunam wa'utkᵘna, and you will camp; or kunawa'utkᵘta

Where two m's or n's adjoin, one may drop out in rapid speech; or a single long m· or n· may be heard.

mi'cnam mi·'xa, how do you do it? or micnam·i·'xa or mi'cnami·'xa
hu'inam mi'c, how that you are unable to? or hu'inam·i'c or hu'inami'c
an- plus nt'ci'; a'n·t'cint'ci·ma

A pronominal -k always drops out before the -xi suffix. Thus kpə'nək plus -xi; kpə'nxi. The form a'nagtcənik has also been heard a'natcənik, where -k

(G) dropped out before tc. Final k drops out before -tca, (walu'la, palu·'s) comparative, in the following: tca·na'k, this (accusative) thing; tca·na'tca, this thing rather.

Final -c or -s suffix of many nouns drops out when the personifying -ya'i suffix is added. Thus, tu'wiɬac, grizzly bear; tuwiɬa'ya, Grizzly as person; łukwa'c, timber rabbit; łukwa·'ya, Timber Rabbit as person. Final -c or -s suffix of nouns disappears in diminutive reduplication. See p. 136.

Initial wə- syllable of verb roots -wəqɛ·- or -wuqɛ·- and -wəxɛ·- is assimilated to a preceding accented a'- element, resulting in no loss of mora and giving au diphthong initially. Thus, -wəxɛ·- plus pa'-, pa'uxɛ·na; -wəqɛ·- plus a'-, a'uqɛ·na.

When two t's (one or both may be intermediate) adjoin, one drops out. There is no loss of mora, since the lost t (-D) was in a CVC_1 syllable. Examples: ku'D-kuD plus twa'i, ku'Dkuowai; tcilwi't plus -Dya, tcilwi'Dya.

When two k's adjoin, one is not heard. The rule is as for adjacent t consonants. However, note that where -kan follows a back palatal consonant, it does change to -tcan (p. 112).

imiyu·'kut (walu'la, palu·'s) to you somebody says (imiyu·'k, to you; -kut, somebody says)

tca'ikut, (walu'la, palu·'s) towards here they say (tca'ik, towards here; -kut, they say)

SYLLABLES AND QUANTITY

For internal word rhythm and weights the syllabic unit, not a mora unit, is primary. Syllables are of two basic types, short or light and long or heavy. Each type is composed of syllables of several kinds differing somewhat in length and weight. The heavyweight syllables are approximately two or more moras. The short or lightweight syllables are approximately one mora, or less than one mora, and are distinctly two kinds: the ordinary short syllable of almost precisely one beat or mora, and an extra light, extra short, reduced or mute syllable of something less than a beat; the latter syllable is composed of a single unvoiced or surd consonant; it is always adjacent to another consonant; in the spoken language so frequent and important are reduced, mute or extra lightweight syllables in feeling the pulse of syllabic rhythm that we may not be unjustified in calling them a third basic type of syllable; it should be remembered that genetically they are merely normal short syllables unvoiced and further shortened; their origin lies in mechanical muting of an unaccented and originally CV syllable, where C is surd and V is ə. In acoustic effect they seem components of consonant clusters. From the viewpoint of a native's prosody feeling, I think they are still closely related to short syllables.

In the examples the syllables referred to are delimited by dashes; such delimitations have no acoustic significance.

Extra light, reduced or mute syllables of less than one mora quantity:

iwa'u-t-kʷ-ta, t-kwa'taɒ, k-pɔ'nɔk, kunam-t-k, iwi'-p-pyana

Light syllables may be a vowel, a continuant, a CV syllable, a VC syllable and a CVC_1 syllable.

a'-yaɒ, i'-nɔk, a'-wɔna (V)
c-p̣a'u, ɬ-kwi', n-t'ci' (C)
i-wi'-nana, n-t'ci', pa-la-la'i (CV)
i-'a'ɒ-nana, pa'-'ɔn-a (VC)
pi'c-pic (jargon), iya'nawi-kik-c, i-thu'ɒ-na (CVC_1)

Heavy syllables may be a long vowel, a diphthong, combinations of consonant plus long vowel or diphthong, and all the preceding closed with a final consonant.

ana'w-i· (V·)
a'u, a'u-ku·'k, u'iɒ-pa (VV_1, VV_1C)
iwiya'nawi-yu·-na, la-we·-latla', t'ca-t'ce·'n-ya, ti·'n, ə-lə·'ɣ ($CV\cdot$, $CV\cdot C_1$)
i-wa'u-na, c-p̣a'u, hu'i, i-wa'iɣ-tiya (CVV_1, CVV_1C_1)

In many particular cases it is very hard to decide what is a syllable unit, or the relative weight of a syllable. Natives differ in feeling for this aspect of word prosody. According to the above classification, spil-ya'i would be composed of a light and a heavy syllable. But acoustically it is often spi-l'-ya'i, hence composed of light, light and heavy syllables. So frequent is syllable pattern variation that this generalization must be added: rhetorical factors or differences in the prosodic habits of individuals provide variety in the patterns for syllable weights.

STRESS

Stress and high tone are one phenomenon in northern Sahaptin; they are very strongly marked in northwest Sahaptin. In the latter group, ordinary words have only one syllable accented and no secondary stress; freshly compounded words may have two equally stressed syllables; these syllables seem felt as independent words from the point of view of stress. In the Umatilla reservation dialects there may be two, three or four accented syllables to a word, each accent gentle, with only slightly higher tone; the rules for stress in these dialects are quite elaborate. In all dialects the syllable that has the stress takes high or falling—that is, high to normal—tone. Short vowels have high tone; long vowels or diphthongs in accented syllables have falling tone, high to normal.

Two moraed or heavy monosyllabic words invariably take stress with falling —high to normal—tone. In these examples we indicate tone beside primary stress: â'u, tî'n, wâ'u, cpâ'u, hâ'i.

Two moraed or heavy syllables, in words where the heavy syllable receives stress, are tonally high or falling, depending on rapidity of speech; in slow speech the stressed heavy syllable is heard as falling, in rapid speech as high. These examples are also provided with tone signs: wâ'unaqcac or wá'unaqcac, spilyâ'i or spilyá'i, ku'ô·'na or ku'ô·'na, iwinanê·'na or iwinané·'na.

Stressed syllables in words of two or more light syllables invariably have high tone; the fall to normal occurs during the mora or syllable succeeding the stressed mora. If there be no succeeding syllable the tone remains high. Thus, indicating tone and stress both, iwá', miyá'nac, iwiyá'nawiya.

One moraed or light monosyllabic words are invariably stressed and have high tone. A tonal glide back to normal is rarely heard, either in the monosyllable, or in the succeeding mora or word. Thus, wá', ná'xc, t'sá', má'n, kwó'k, ɬá'p.

In the texts monosyllabic elements or words may be found unstressed (with normal tone), as if contrary to the rule that a monosyllabic word has stress (and high tone). Wherever such an element or word appears it is probably felt by the native as a proclitic of the succeeding word and in fast dictation would have been recorded so; because of the necessity for slow speech in dictation, it was heard and recorded as an independent word. This is conspicuously true of the phrase and sentence connective ku-, which is never stressed or given high tone; it seems to function as a proclitic in spite of independent position in slow speech.

Other apparent exceptions to the rules governing accent are a'uku·'ɢ, auku·'k, a'uku·k, a'uku', a'uku, auku', auku. The factors responsible for such tonal-accentual phenomena are not satisfactorily analyzed. These words are combinations of independent elements which may have normal stress carrying high or falling tone; the seeming lack of regularity in the stresses of these connective elements may be due partly to rhetorical and traditional stylistic factors in utterance, much as in English where "and" or "and so" receive varying stresses and tones during a narration.

Where ku-, and, and then, takes pronominal enclitics, neither tone nor accent appears in the resultant word. The pronominal enclitics never take word stress, and ku- does not appear stressed. The compound of ku- and such an enclitic is closely bound, of course, to the succeeding verbal complex, and it is rather symptomatic of analytic leanings in Sahaptin that this connective-pronoun word is placed independently before the verb it belongs to. Example: kunam pa'ɖinuna, and then you saw me (ku, and then; -nam, you).

Stress is very rarely used to perform morphological services. However, homonyms may be cited where differences in the meaning and use of the homonymous words are provided solely by a change in stress. Examples: pa'wa'tana, (you) struck at me, (or) hit him (pa'-, me or him; -wa'ta-, strike); pawa'ťana, they struck at – (pa-, they). The grammatical role played by stress is very narrow because the only homonyms in the language are those containing pa- or pa'-.

In adverbs, particles and many nouns that are devoid of affixes, it seems impossible to determine rules for the presence of stress; accident, traditional usage, many unascertainable factors seem to have play.

Wherever morphologic affixes are used, stress is governed rigidly by such grammatical factors. Definite rules may be formulated, based on the affixes present. In walu'la-palu-'s, stress is given to all roots and all sorts of morphologic elements that may or may not take word stress in northwest Sahaptin. Rules for stress in the verb of northwest Sahaptin follow.

In the noun certain affixes take word stress invariably; other noun affixes never take stress. The following affixes are always given stress in the noun in which they occur. They are post-positions. -pama', -ɢwa-'k, -i'k, -ti'k -(y)a'i, -(nə)mi'.

These suffixes take stress even if other affixes are added, with the following exceptions: -pama' takes precedence over all others save possessive -mi' which is always the accented mora wherever it be used, again with one exception: final position ta'ipnapam noun suffixes -aipa'χ and -χana'tt supersede even -mi''; they occur rarely. Examples: twanitasyainəmi', pactənpamatəmnəmi', cicpacnəmixana'tt.

In the verb, stress is largely governed by the pronominal, modal and temporal ideas expressed in the verb. The root is stressed if nothing else is stressed.

Prefixed third person a'-, if present, always takes verb stress: a'winaika, a'winana, a'pnu-na, a'χatamapyuka.

Similarly for prefixed pa'- which is second third person indefinite object, prefixed pa'- which is first person singular object where the subject is second person singular, and pa'- of the reciprocal pa'ʁa- prefixes. Examples: pa''iyatnana, pa'ɖinunam, pa'ʁa'ana.

In most other cases in the verb, stress is on the initial syllable of the verb root complex unless one of the following derivational affixes appear.

These suffixed elements invariably obtain word stress: -i'k, -a'i, -a'c, -pama', -a'taɒ.

These prefixes and anterior root elements invariably obtain word accent except where one of the above suffixes also occurs, when the suffix receives the accent; or where prefixed a'- or pa'- occurs. pina'-, pɐma'-, pa'ʁa-, -i-'nəm-, -mi-ma'-, -wiya'-, -waya'-, -wapa'-, -tama'-, -χənə'm-, -caʁu'-, -tuna'-, -χa'tama-, -wica'-, -wəsla'-, -su'-.

Anterior root -qala-, roll, is almost never accented even though it be the initial syllable of the verb root; accent goes instead to the immediately following root element. Exceptions are cited p. 170. Examples: iqalala'tiya, he rolled along; iqalali'na, it rolled about.

A subtle and important difference between the very closely related walu'la and palu·'s provincialisms is the peculiar and rather infrequent final verb past tense -ya' accentuation of palu·'s; this phenomenon has been noted only in palu·'s. See under vowel elision, p. 111. All known palu·'s examples are found here.

na·'man·a' inya', he gave it to us all (in walu'la, use ini'ya, he gave it)
inmi'yau ikwya', he went over to my place (in walu'la use ikwi'ya, he went along)
ku·cna'ikai ikwya', he did it for that purpose (in walu'la, use iku'ya, he did it)

An important and striking phenomenon peculiar to walu'la-palu·'s is the mechanism whereby verb aspect and tense suffixes receive stress if they be followed by suffixes or enclitics. Corollary of this is the walu'la-palu·'s rule that where aspects precede tense suffixes or aspects appear together the next to the last element receives stress; thus, -χa'na, -ca'na, -ca'ɒa and so on. In these dialects, -na'χna appears with stress if not followed by a suffix or enclitic.

it'liya'wiya'χac, he is already dead (-t'liyawi-, die; -(y)a, past tense; -χac, probably I feel)
ipayu'wica'χacɒa, he must be ill (-payuwi-, be ill; -ca, present; -χac, probably; -ɒa, no doubt)
wi'naɒaχna'tca·c a'u, I would rather go now (-wina-, go; -ɒaχna, would; -tca, rather; -c, I)
iwiya'ləmɟica'na, he went along with his eyes shut (-wiya-, go along; -ləmɟi-, eyes shut; -ca, continuative; -na, past)

It may be, however, that one of the essential accentual drifts in the walu'la-palu·'s verb has been towards the penultimate syllable, in addition to the general Sahaptin accentuation of root syllables, one root in northwest Sahaptin, one or more than one in walu'la-palu·'s. Evidences of penultimate accents are numerous and many stresses seem otherwise inexplicable; they occur if the final syllable be unaccented; the suggestion above concerning accentuation of penultimate aspect elements may be valid as part of this hypothetic rule.

pi·na'kat'liyawi'ya, he died from his food (-t'liyawi-, die; -ya, y glide and past tense -a)
ina'kataχci'ya, he awakened while eating in a half doze (-taχci-, awaken)
iwiya'nawi'ya, he arrived (-wiyanawi-, arrive)
ana·tkwa'ta'ta, so that we may eat (-tkwata-, eat; -ta, future tense)
iwiya'kucti'ka, he committed an error (-kucti-, miss, be wrong)
iwa'iyiyawi'ca, he is doing poorly, he is down and out

ənaˈna niˈtaˈmac, he promised to give it to you (-ni-, give; -ta, future; -mac, I-you)
itu·ˈχiˈya, he smoked (-tu·χi-, smoke)

In the Umatilla reservation bands, or at least in waluˈla-paluˈs, when more than one verb root is present each receives stress, unless the following circumstances intervene.

If -caˈ, -χaˈ, or -tɑˈ be penultimate, or some directional suffix, the first of two or more roots is stressed:

itaˈuskaucaˈna, he was frightened when it was dark
itɑχnɑˈmwa·yatˈaˈna, he moved it with his foot

If there be an accented prefix besides, we may find no root stressed, or the second of the two roots stressed:

aˈyaχaintcacaˈna, he poured it on top
itχaˈyautaniˈtcən, it floated away

Note a few examples of waluˈla-paluˈs verbs with coordinate roots, each stressed:

itiˈχkəˈnka, he covered the hole with his hands
ilaˈmɑiˈna, he shut his eyes
icapaˈlcɬəˈχa, he made them stick

If there are three roots the first and third may be stressed:

itamaˈwa·laˈtχa, he threw it into the fire
itcaˈwa·naˈita, he pulled it out of the ground

Verb prosody for verb prosody, waluˈla-paluˈs and northwest Sahaptin differ markedly. Connected utterance is less heavily swinging, more softly singsong, in the former group. We have not supplied all the rules for verb stress in waluˈla-paluˈs; the mechanism is subtle and rich, and demands more minute analysis.

In northwest Sahaptin the only certain cases of coordinate stresses in words not compounds were in the verb forms iwaˈtcaˈ, he was; pawaˈtcaˈ, they were. In recording texts, this phenomenon unfortunately remained unnoticed; we recall certainly, however, that not all cases of iwaˈtcaˈ and pawaˈtcaˈ were pronounced with two stresses, so that in this regard the texts must be partially correct.

In the demonstratives, relatives and independent pronouns, some rules may be formulated. Prefixed third person definite iˈ- is always given the word accent when it appears. Thus iˈtcəna, iˈkwənamək, iˈlcu·nik. However, in the absence of iˈ- the first syllable, that is, the pronoun root, receives the word stress, except where one of the suffixes listed as accented noun suffixes appears; they, as in the noun, receive word stress. And in exception to this rule are the following which take word stress: -niˈki, -niˈkin, -niˈn, -əˈk (accusative), -aˈtˈca, -ksaˈ, -kayaˈi.

Adverbs of manner and quality derived from root verbs are accented on the second syllable: tˈsiˈeˈχ, niˈeˈχ.

Bisyllabic nouns when duplicated take the accent on the second syllable: ku'ci, kusi'kusi; pcwa', pcwa'pcwa.

In waluˈla-paluˈs enclitics may receive stress. Thus, calaˈwica·ˈc, I am tired.

Waluˈla-paluˈs noun-pronoun-adverb accentuation follows the rules given for northwest Sahaptin. We will not note minor stress divergences.

MORPHOLOGY

INTRODUCTORY

The language in its treatment of experience uses five types of roots, varieties of affixes and a few sound change processes.

Of the five types of roots the first two are of major importance, the second two of relatively lesser importance, the fifth is dispensable; for ordinary expression the first four must be used. In order they are as follows: first, activities, events, movements, emotions, effects, which are symbolized for expression by verb roots. Second, things, places, objects, persons, number, qualities, which are symbolized by a more diversified set of noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral, kin-term roots. However, many things, places and so on may be expressed with nominalized verb roots; such roots are the most important type of noun root element employed. Third, personal pronoun ideas, evidential and other "modal" ideas, expressed by loosely appended proclitics and enclitics. Fourth, connecting and relational strands, ideas of order or sequence in location, ideas of manner of activity and so on; such materials are symbolized by independent conjunctions and adverbs, the latter often verb derivatives. Fifth, emotional, interjectional outbursts expressed by independent interjectional elements. These are groupings of what are felt to be roots or virtually independent elements.

On the other hand a great variety of ideas are expressed by affixation. Affixes peculiar to noun and pronoun express certain groups of ideas; other ideas are expressed by different kinds of affixes in verbs.

In addition, mechanical sound processes or changes are employed to symbolize certain other ideas. Whether the root be noun or verb, sound duplications and shifts to other sounds serve to express ideas of distributive plural number and diminution in size.

The ideas expressed by the root—whether noun or verb—, by elements appended thereto, and by sound changes, will be treated at length.

The expression of some ideas and the materials or sound processes used for their expression show more virility than is given to the expression of other ideas that seem to survive as remains of an older time in the history of the language. Judgments of the probable age of ideas and processes are made in appropriate places.

MORPHOLOGIC PROCESSES

The morphological or mechanical processes used in the expression of ideas are compounding, proclisis, enclisis, suffixation, duplication and reduplication, consonantic change, vocalic change, change of stress. Full descriptions of the processes of prefixation and suffixation and the ideas subject to such treatment are reserved for later presentation in the discussion of verbs and verb derivatives and the group of nouns, adjectives and pronouns. The other processes and the ideas expressed by means of them will be treated immediately.

COMPOUNDING

VERB COMPOUNDS

Compound verb roots are one of the most striking features of Sahaptin morphology; the processes of their formation are discussed in the sections on the verb root complex, pp. 153 to 197.

NOUN COMPOUNDS

There are almost no nouns that are properly speaking compound nouns. Many of the nominalized verbs are composed of compounded verb roots; in this sense there are compound nouns. The following are examples of true noun compounding:

talawi'mciyəkc, testicle-ear-ornament (ta'la, testicle; wi'mciyəkc, ear ornament)

wəxalki'ya (Yakima) bow legged (wəxa', leg; ki'ya, hook, bend)

In these rare cases one compounded element has lost stress. Evidently the welding of elements is such that the compound is felt to be a simple word, unlike the other compounds of the language.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOUNDS

Genuine, though loose compounds of two independent words, tca'u, no, not, or certain nouns in first position, and interrogative pronouns in second position, occur frequently and represent an important linguistic process. Both words receive stress and function as independent words, though their position is in each case that of a compounded element that has lost only independence of position.

tca'umənə'n, nowhere, in no place (tca'u, no; mənə'n, whereat)

tca'umi'c, in no manner (mi'c, how, why, in what manner)

tca'utu·'n, nothing (tu'n, thing)

tca'uci·'n, no person, no one (ci'n, who)

pa'icci·'n, if so and so (pa'ic, if, perhaps, maybe; ci'n, who)

ələ·'xmic, all sorts of ways how (ələ·'x, many; mi'c, in what manner)

t'la·'xᵘci'n, everybody (t'la·'xᵘ, all)

An enclitic may be inserted after the first element of the compound. The enclitics are felt to be tightly enclitic to the first element; the final element is felt

as relatively loosely compounded, since upon occasion, or in slow speech, it may drop away entirely, becoming an independent word.

tca'unamənaˈn, you at no place or time (tca'u, no; -nam, you; mənaˈn, whereat)

tca'unami'c, you in no manner (tca'u, no; -nam, you; mi'c, in what manner)

kumanmi'c, and you do possibly? (ku, and -m, you; -an, doubt; mi'c, in what manner)

Genuine compounds of personal, demonstrative or interrogative pronoun, personal pronoun and modal enclitics and the verb wa' or wa'tca', be, have, are formations of common occurrence. Stress appears in those places where it would normally appear were the compounded elements free. The pronominal and modal enclitics are felt tightly attached to the pronoun; the verb is felt loosely compounded with what has preceded.

i'tcənəknamwa', here you are or have (i'tcənək, hereat; -nam, you; wa', are)

i'kwaknacwa'tca, that I was or had (i'kwak, that; -nac, I; wa'tca, was)

i'nəknacwa', I have (i'nək, I; -nac, I; wa', have)

nəmi·'cwa', it is mine (nəmi', mine; -c, I; wa', have)

imksa'pyaxamtaxwa', are you all alone? (imksa', you alone; -pya, rather; -xa, probability; -m, you; -tax, really indeed? wa', are)

The affirmative particle i·', "yes," and the particle and connective a'u, now, now then, coalesce to give an idiomatic compound form i·"a'u, translated variously as "very well then," "all right," "all right, yes," and so on. This compound feels rather closely knit and old; its parts do not separate with comfort even in very slow speech.

The following phrase or sentence connectives are compounds of independent elements, in each case a true connective a'u, now then, or ku, and then, and a demonstrative element containing at least demonstrative ku-, it, that. Connective ku and demonstrative·ku may be cognate (see p. 258).

a'uku', and then (a'u, now then; ku, and then)

kuku·'k, and then next (ku, and; ku·k, next, that time, that time after)

a'uku·'k, now next, now next in order (a'u, now; ku·k, next)

ku'a'uk·'k, and so then next, and so next in order

These compounds are felt as rather tightly welded, and must be fairly old.

a'u, now then, also coalesces with other elements from time to time. Thus, a'uciya'x, very good now (ciya'x, good).

Other compounds: tca'u'awə'k, we can't find it (tca'u, not; awə'k, just); tca·'wək, I can't find it.

PROCLISIS

Undoubtedly proclisis is in native feeling a process distinct from prefixation. Proclitic elements are freely moving; they may be attached almost indifferently before any word; prefixed elements are rigidly attached to certain types of words. Most of the numerous pre-positional elements of the language are prefixes, and they are of a variety of kinds and degrees of fixity of attachment and clarity of signification; many are perfectly clear and specific in meaning. On the other hand, the number of proclitics is small. Proclitics are of two types, pronouns, and one or two connectives.

PROCLITIC PRONOUNS

They may be attached to any word, most commonly to the verb of which they are subject. They are used when an idea of intention, desire, command, exhortation, and so on, is expressed in the verb. In ta'ɪpnapam such a sentence, in addition, would be closed with glottal closure -' enclitic (p. 133). The series of proclitic pronouns is as follows; forms peculiar to walu'la-palu-'s are indicated after semi-colons.

ac-, I
apac-, we, excluding person addressed (exclusive)
anam-; ana-, we, including only speaker and person addressed (dual inclusive)
amtk-, we, including persons addressed (plural inclusive)
am-; anam-, you, singular number
apam-, you, dual and plural number
apap-, they, dual and plural number
amac-, I (nominative), plus you, singular number accusative or referred to
amapac-, I or we (nominative), plus you, dual or plural number accusative or referred to
an-; ana-, third person singular, dual, plural

The series contains a common initial a- element; minus this element the series is identical with the enclitic pronoun series (p. 126), excepting the n of an-. The n of the an- form is inexplicable; no suggestion can be given for its origin. Like apap-, an- is used for dual-plural.

The proclitic pronouns effect a fundamental classification of the stock of idea experience into two large categories; on the one hand all activities that are prosaic, sequential, descriptive; on the other hand, using these proclitics, activities that are colored by emotion, desire, authority, denial, skepticism, and the like. The latter category of ideas also receives expression in the final sentence enclitic glottal catch -' of ta'ɪpnapam and the verb suffix -pa (p. 206) which covers pretty much the range of this category.

The pronoun proclitics are not related merely to the pronoun enclitics. Scattering examples of other enclitic-proclitic pronoun elements appear from time to time, representative of less active and perhaps older linguistic processes. One is the inserted m, c, nam, pam, mac, mapac found within the compound modal enclitic -x-ap (p. 132). The proclitic pronouns should be compared also with the pronoun prefixes aca-, ama-, ana-, which are the same genetically (p. 244).

Examples of pronoun proclitics:

i'kucnya'a'n ipa'kuxa, that is how to do it (i'kuc, in that manner; -nya, rather; ipa'kuxa, third person subject customarily does it)

acwɛ·'tkwatana', could I eat before going? (-wɛ·-, go; -tkwata-, eat)

acnɛ·'x ɛ·na't'ca pasa'ipta, so that they might feed me (nɛ·'x, better; ɛ·na't'ca, me; pasa'ipta, they might feed)

an'itkwa'tata, anpə'nək itkwa'tata, let him eat it (itkwa'tata, he will eat; pə'nək, he)

an'ələ'x a'wata tkwa'tat, it will be, it would be a great deal of food for him (ələ'x, much; a'wata, will be; tkwa'tat, food)

Examples from walu'la-palu·'s:

ac'i·'n na'na, let me take it! (i·'n, I; na'na, take away)

anana'pi·na'na, let us two take it! (na'pi·n, we two; na'na, take away)

anacna'pi·na'na, let us two (not you) take it!

anamtkwa'ta'ta, so you may eat (-tkwata-, eat); apamtkwa'ta'ta, so you (plural) may eat; ana·tkwa'ta'ta, so we may eat; ana'itkwa'ta'ta, so he may eat; anapatkwa'ta'ta, so they may eat; amapactkwa'tapatk, you better go eat

ana'a'u pacana'ku'ppa, let them break it (a'u, now; pacapa'ku'ppa, they may break it)

kwna''ana'a'u pana'na, let them take it over there (kwna', yonder; a'u, now; pana'na, they take it)

ku'u'c'ana pa'a'kux, that is how they always did it (ku'u'c, in that manner; pa'a'kux, they do)

Note that in certain cases a proclitic may appear infixed in a compound or it may be enclitic to a word; positional irregularities are especially characteristic of both proclitic and enclitic; they are due to the freedom with which these elements are always used, and also to somewhat uncrystallized and variable patterns of word grouping and sentence order.

CONNECTIVE PROCLITICS

The other type of proclisis, a much looser type, is represented by a single word and its derivatives, the phrase and sentence connectives ku-, and, and then; a'uku', and then, and so on, which in rapid speech may join to any succeeding word as true proclitics and in slow speech are invariably independent words. Examples: ku'iwi'nana, and then away he went (iwi'nana, he went away); auku-'iwi'nana, and then, next, he went away.

ENCLISIS

Like prefixation and proclisis, suffixation and enclisis are two ends of one type of process whose elements may be found in many degrees of fixity of affixation. A vital distinction must be made between proclisis-enclisis and affixation; so called enclitics and proclitics may be attached freely to any sort of a word, while a suffix or prefix goes only with certain kinds of words. Enclisis is undoubt-

edly in native feeling a process entirely distinct from suffixation, as proclisis is distinct from prefixation.

The following elements have no independent existence and may be loosely and freely attached as enclitics to any word in the sentence. Elements after semicolons are peculiar to walu'la-palu·'s except where χwa'łχwaipam is indicated.

PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS

-c, -nac; -ac, I, me, mine
-ɒac, -aɒac, -naɒ, -tac, (etc.), we, us, ours; exclusive of person addressed (exclusive)
-nam, -nanam, -nan; -na, -na·, we, us, ours; including only speaker and person addressed (dual inclusive)
-mtk, -namtk; -tk, -natk (χwał.), we, us, ours; inclusive of persons addressed (plural inclusive)
-m, -nam; -na, you, yours; singular number
-pam, you, yours; dual and plural number
-paɒ, -pat, they, them, theirs; dual and plural number
-mac, I, nominative, plus you, singular number accusative; (also) yours, singular number
-maɒac, -matac, I or we, nominative, plus you, dual or plural number accusative; (also) yours, dual and plural number; (also) you! (dual and plural) imperative—first person object

In the first person -na(ɒ) is quite likely primary and -naɒac secondary, -na(n) primary and -nanam secondary. Perhaps na(ɒ) and na(n) are of one origin, going back to an original non-singular first person form. The (a)c of -naɒac is undoubtedly in origin a first person (singular) element used to exclude the person addressed; ɒ is very possibly an old plural suffix; (a)m of -nanam is apparently in origin a second person (singular) element used to include the person addressed. -naɒ and -naɒac, -nan and -nanam, seem interchangeable in everyday use.

-mtk, -tk (χwał.) of the first person plural is very likely, with na(ɒ) or na(n), an older dual-plural first person form, in origin conveying no especial inclusive or exclusive signification. When historically the inclusive and exclusive were expressed, they were constructed with other forms. -mtk, -tk is possibly related to the imperative suffix, p. 208.

-mac seems a form transparently compounded of second person m and first person (a)c. Similarly for -maɒac, where ɒac is perhaps composed of a plural ɒ element and a first person (a)c, as in -naɒac above.

The t in -naɒac, -namtk, -paɒ and -maɒac represents, I judge, a vestigial element for plural number. Note that t is the element indicating plural number in the imperative suffixes (p. 208). Very likely the ancient history of Sahaptin will be found to reveal t as plural suffix in the personal pronouns.

The -pa of -pam and -paɒ are, I surmise, cognate. The m of -pam is the familiar basic second person element, the ɒ of -paɒ is plural ɒ. Hence -pa- may be a remain of an ancient non-first person plural base. See p. 143. I should not

think it wise to press such hypothetic analysis of -pam and -pat were not corroboration found in the third person plural pronoun verb prefixes pa-, ipa'- and pa'ba- (pp. 143 to 145), which may be cognates.

Initial na- in -nac, -namtk, -nam and possibly -nanac and -nanam, is now an element of no morphologic value; it functions as inorganic constituent analogous, for example, to initial n- of the many other morphologic elements having inorganic glide n- (p. 104). na- may or may not be omitted after the verb suffixes -xa, -ca, -na, and -pa. In walu'la-palu·'s glide na is virtually absent in these pronouns, being retained only in the -nam forms, which become -na, clearly a recent development.

wi'naxanac or wi'naxac, I have been going (-wina-, go; -xa, customary); wi'naxa'c (walu'la, palu·'s)

wi'nacanac or wi'nacac, I am going (-ca, durative); wi'naca'c (walu'la, palu·'s)

wi'nananac or wi'nanac, I went (-na, past); wi'nana'c (walu'la, palu·'s)

wi'nananac or wi'nanac, I shall go (-na, future); wi'nata'c (walu'la, palu·'s)

The second and simpler form is more common. After ku, and, na may also be dropped. Thus: kunac or kuc, and then I, me, or mine; kuc (walu'la, palu·'s).

Examples of the three relational roles of an enclitic (nominative, accusative, possessive) will be given using -(na)c.

kunac a'wənpa, then I got it (ku, and then; a'wənpa, got it); kuc a'-wənpa (walu'la, palu·'s)

kunac iwa'npa, then he got me (iwa'npa, he got)

kunac iwa'npaniya, then he got mine (iwa'npaniya, he got it from)

In normal rapid speech the most frequent position is as enclitic to some connective or adverb immediately preceding the verb to which the enclitic is related.

kupan a'waiku·na, then they went across to him (ku, and then; a'waiku·na, went across to him)

a'unac ana'wi·, now I am hungry (a'u, now; ana'wi·, am hungry); a'uc, walu'la, palu·'s) now I

a'unac i't'iiyawiɲa, now he will kill me (i't'iiyawiɲa, will kill)

tca'unamənan i'kuc a'waiwaita, (xwai·) do not cry out at all like that (tca'u, not; mənan, whereat, at all; i'kuc, in that manner; a'waiwaita, will halloo)

Where the phrase or sentence is merely the verb itself, no connective or other independent word appearing, the enclitic pronoun normally attaches to its verb.

a'waiwaitanam (xwai·) you ought to cry out, call out (a'waiwaita, will halloo)

iqi'nunac, he saw me (iqi'nuna, he saw)

The pronoun enclitics are so free in their attachments that occasionally in slow speech there may appear momentary hesitancy to join them to their proper word with the result that they seem "lost" in the sentence; in such a predicament they may be rendered either—to acoustic perception—as independent words, or

they may be found joined to their own verb as quasi-proclitics. Thus in normal rapid speech: a'uku·'kpaɒ a'wəna, then they told him (a'uku·'k, and then; a'wəna, told him). In slower, hesitant speech: a'uku·'k paɒ'a'wəna, then they told him. Cases are not rare in reflective, hesitant utterance when the enclitic is heard floating quite independently between words.

An idiomatic enclitic pronoun usage: a'umacwa', that is pretty good talk (you speak well indeed; a'u, now; -mac, yours; wa', is).

c and more commonly m appear in certain unusual and perhaps irregular enclitic or incorporated positions (p. 132). In relationship terms the following appears; note also the shift of accent to the enclitic: tila'm, your grandfather (ti'la, grandfather); kala'm, your grandmother (ka'la, grandmother).

The various usages of pronoun enclitics when associated with modal enclitics are more appropriately given in the following treatment of modal enclitics.

MODAL ENCLITICS

The only difference in positional usage of modal enclitics when contrasted with pronominal enclitics is that while the latter sometimes get "lost," the former are invariably firmly attached as enclitics somewhere in the sentence. There is one exception: the compound, χactχ, which appears as an unstressed but independent word. Another modal enclitic, -', a mere glottal stop, occurs only at the end of a phrase or sentence.

The pronominal and modal enclitics combine in a variety of forms. The pronoun enclitics in general precede the modal enclitics, except when combined with -ɒya and -χa, which occur in the order named and which are followed by the pronoun enclitics; schematically the sequence of enclitics is -χi, -ɒya, -χa, the pronouns, the remaining modals, -'. The modal enclitics are:

-χi, too, also, again, the very same. This is also treated as a noun-pronoun-complex modal suffix (p. 234). As suffix it seems more freely employed than any other noun suffix, and occasionally, rather infrequently, it is found enclitic to verbs and other elements. It might be thought of as functionally somewhere on the borderline between true enclisis and noun-pronoun loose suffixation, with a large residuum of usages wherein it is an idiomatic, tightly suffixed element. A few of the latter forms are cited here, others are found especially in the sections on adverbs and demonstratives.

a'unac a'cuɢwa·caχi, now I know also (-cuɢwa-, know)
tca'uχiɒya, not yet (tca'u, not)
pa''icχi icaɒa'ku'ɒpaɒ, (walu'la, palu·'s) he might break it (pa''ic, maybe); icaɒa'ku'ɒɒaχna'χi, he ought to be able to break it
a'nat'caχi, again; a'nt'caχi (walu'la, palu·'s)
i'mt'caχi, (walu'la, palu·'s) you also (i'm, you; -t'ca, now)
kwa'a·'lkχi iwa', (walu'la, palu·'s) he is as tall as he (kwa'a·'l, so far; iwa', he is)
kwa'χi ina'nana, (walu'la, palu·'s) he took the very same one (kwa', that; ina'nana, he took)
kwiya·'mχi, (walu'la, palu·'s) certainly, surely

-kaɣ, formerly, once upon a time

i'kwɔnakaɣ inica·'tuna, he used to live over there (i'kwɔna, over there)
i'tcɔnakaɣ inica'ikɣana, he used to live here (i'tcɔna, at this place here)

-aɣ, wish, desire, hope

kwɔnə'knacaɣ, I wish I were there (kwɔnə'knac, at that place I)
ɔni·'ɒpacaɣ, I wish I were home (ɔni·'ɒpac, home at I)
a'ɒnaikcnacaɣ, I wish I were dead (aɒnaikcnac-, dead I)
nɔmi·'caɣ wa'nɑɣni, I wish they were mine (nɔmi', mine)
a·'na i'kwaknacaɣ tkwa'taikɒaɣni, I wish I could eat that (i'kwaknac, that I)

-(y)a'kuɒ, so so-and-so has said, hearsay evidence; -kut (walu'la, palu·'s). The context tells how many—one or more—have supplied the hearsay evidence. Glide y appears after vowels a, i and u.

kɔ'tuyakuɒ a''ttawaɣca, they say he grew up fast (kɔ'tu, rapidly)
a'wayakuɒ pĉi·'niks, he says there is a girl (a'wa, there is)
a'swanakuɒ a'wa, he says he has a boy, according to him he has a boy, he says there is a boy (a'swan, boy); taɣnu·'tcɔmtkut u·' (walu'la, palu·'s; taɣnu·'tcɔmt, boy; u·', it is)
iya'nawiyu·tamakuɒ, he says he is going to come to you (-yanawi-, arrive); iwiya'nawiyu·ta'nakut, (walu'la, palu·'s) they say he is going to come to you (-na, you)
tca'ikut ikwi'yanɔ'mc, (walu'la, palu·'s) they say he is coming this way (tca'ik, here; ikwi'yanɔ'mc, he is traveling towards here)

-ɒya, -ɒi, on the other hand, rather, on the contrary. A weakly contrastive comparative, with not quite the fullness and insistency of contrast implied by the English translations. It is usually most fitly translated by "rather". It occurs invariably first in enclitic position, before -ɣa and the pronominal and final modal enclitics. In very rapid speech before an initial i- of a following word, the form -ɒi may be used to effect coalescence with the following word (see vowel elision, p. 110).

ɾaiwa'ɒya, he is shorter (ɾaiwa', short)
pɑlksa'ɒyatɣ iwa'', is he alone? (pɑlksa', he alone)
imɑksa'ɒyaɣamtɣwa'', are you alone? (imɑksa', you alone)
i·'nɑmɑlə'ɣɒya ini'ya, he gave me much more than (i'nam, more; ɑlə'ɣ, much)
tca'u a'uɒyamac twa'nɑɒa, no, I shall follow you (tca'u, no; a'u, now; -mac, I-you)
a'nakuɒyac a'witaɣcinɑɣni, oh, if I could only awaken him (anaku, if, when)
a'unawa''wi'ncɒya nɔmi'yau, you are indeed more of a man than I am (wi'nc, man)
iwa'cɒya spilya'i, (ɣwat.) it is only Coyote (iwa', he is; -c is in doubt—it may be enclitic -c below; spilya'i, Coyote)

Note the elision in the following:

inɛ·'xiyiɒya iwa'ɒaχni, inɛ·'xiyiɒiwa'ɒaχni, it ought to be repaired (inɛ·'-xiyi, repaired)

kusi'kusiɒya iwa', kusi'kusiɒiwa', it is only a dog (kusi'kusi, dog)

-tca, (walu'la, palu·'s) rather, on the contrary, on the other hand, indeed. This is identical in meaning and use with -ɒya (and -ɒi) of northwest Sahaptin.

hu'itcac a'wiya'χna, I simply can not find it at all (hu'i, unable; -c, I; a'wiya'χna, find it)

ku'u'ɔtca pa'a'kuχ, that is how to do it (ku'u'c, in that manner; pa'a'kuχ, they customarily do)

qa'a'utca"iwa' inmi'yau, he is lighter weight than I (qa'a'u, light; iwa', he is; inmi'yau, to mine)

la'a'ktcami'c icχa'witi·'ta, it might happen that it will rain (la'a'k, possibly; mi'c, how; icχa'witi·'ta, it might rain)

la'kastca a'ukl iwa', it is only a mouse (la'kas, mouse; a'ukl, only; iwa', it is)

anami'ctca·pɔ'n'ɔ'nta, whatever he might say (anami'c, whatever he; pɔ'n, he; ɔ'nta, might say)

wi'naɒaχna'tca·c, I would rather go (-wina-, go away; -ɒaχna, ought; -c, I)

imksa'tcana'a'wa", are you alone? (imksa', you alone; -na, you; a'wa', are; -', query)

a'una wa'ɒa aluɖa'ɒtca, (walu'la) now you will be merely a frog (a'u, now; -na, you; wa'ɒa, will be; aluɖa'ɒ, frog)

-χa, probability. If we eliminate affixes, pronominal or modal (indicating the evidence used to ascertain the probability), χa- seems to have this basic meaning. It is never found as an independent element lacking suffixed pronouns, -c, or -aɒ.

-c, evidence by personal conviction. An element found only with preceding -χa. By itself it conveys apparently an idea of evidence based upon visual or personal experience and conviction. This element, with the aid of additional comparative dialectic material, may be found remotely related to nominalizer -c, or to first person pronoun enclitic -c. Examples of the use of -χac are below.

-χac, probably, according to personal conviction or appearances. Historically -χa, conveying an idea of probability, and -c, personal conviction.

pɔ'nɔkχac i'yaɒnana, I am convinced he died (pɔ'nak, he; -aɒna-, die)

χtu'χac iwa', he certainly must be strong (χtu', strong); ɖwɔlta'pχac iwa' (walu'la, palu·'s)

tu·'nχac iwiya'kucti'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he must have done something wrong (tu·'n, what thing)

ipayu'wi·ca'χac, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is ill (-payuwi-, be ill)

it'liya'wiya'χac, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is already dead (-t'liyawi-, die)

χactχ, perhaps, probably, very likely about, it must be. This is a peculiar compound of enclitics -χac and -tχ; it seems able to break away frequently from its

enclitic position and set up duty on its own, functioning both in meaning and position much as any independent adverb.

-xa plus pronoun enclitics, -c, -m, -na, etc. The resulting compound entities, -xa·c, -xam, -xana and so on, are felt to be enclitics.

i·ʼʻa'uxam a'yaxa, yes, now it seems you must have found them (i·ʼʻa'u, yes now; a'yaxa, found them)

imaksa'pyaxamtəxwa", are you indeed alone? (i'maksa, you only; -pya, rather, indeed; -tx, skepticism; wa', be; -', query)

tcilwi'pyaxam, (Yak.) you must have done wrong (tcilwi't, bad, wrong; -pya, rather)

tu·'nxa·c wiya'kuctika, (walu'la, palu·'s) I must have done something wrong (tu·'n, what thing); tu·'nxana wiya'kucti'ka, you must have done something wrong

payu'wi·ca'xa·c, (walu'la, palu·'s) I must be ill (-payuwi-, be ill); payu'wi·ca'xana, you must be ill; t'la·'x^{u}ana· payu'wica, we are all ill (t'la·'x^{u}, all; note assimilation of x to -xa)

Note above that -xa may take both pronoun suffixes and enclitics like -tx. Further examples of such usage are included below in the treatments of -tx, -ap, etc.

-ap, mildly suspicious doubt and reserve. This enclitic is probably not as much used in Yakima as in ta'ipnapam. It provides an implication of reserve, doubt, a guess with varying content of suspicious doubt. It may be added to a word directly or suffixed to other enclitics, especially to -xa; it is always in final position, excepting glottal -'. If pronouns follow -xa, -ap follows the pronouns. One may query whether -ap have some remote relationship to noun suffix and nominalizer -p (-t); without more dialectic material it is impossible to do much with this problem; in fundamental meaning there seems enough in common of factual, nominalizing basis, to warrant suspicion of relationship. Examples of simple use of -ap without -xa:

kumapmi'c pa'cucca, by the way! do you know who I am? (kum, and you; mi'c, why, how; pa'cucca, you know me)

tu·'nap iwa', what can it be? (tu·'n, thing, what; iwa', it is)

tw·'nacap a'puxsaika, what was it that I kissed? (tw·'nac-, what I)

tca'upatap a'ikcana, they did not hear them (tcaupat- not they)

mana'nacap ku'ya, where did I put it? (mana'nac-, where I)

ci·'nap iwa', who can it be? (ci·'n, who; iwa', it is)

Note that ci·'n iwa'p would not be approved, perhaps because the native feels confusion of meaning from a final -t (or -p) which sounds so close to future tense -pa, -ta suffix after a vowel. In general -ap is attracted positionally to an adverb, noun or demonstrative that may precede the verb, so that the verb action is colored by -ap without the speaker feeling confusedly that a clipped -pa or -ta future is being used after the last vowel of the verb. Examples of -ap after -xa:

ipa'xwiyaxap, he must have stolen it (-paxwi-, steal)

i'tcanaxap pawa'utk^{w}cana, here probably they camped (i'tcana, at this place)

pa'yuχad iwa', he must be ill (pa'yu, ill)
pə'nəkχad i'yanənana, he probably killed it (pə'nək, he)
la''akχad iwi'nana, maybe he went (la''ak, maybe)
tcilwi'dyaχad, (I) must have done wrong (tcilwi'dya, wrong rather)
ana'uχad, because

Examples of -ad after -χa and pronominal elements. -pad and -mtk are the only pronouns not yet found employed in this setting, though they may be permissible here.

tcilwi'dyaχacad, I must have done wrong (tcilwi'dya, wrong rather); tcilwi'dyaχamad, you must have done wrong
a'wiyanənanaχacad, I must have killed it (-iyanə-, kill)
pa'yuχacad wa', I am probably ill (-payu-, ill); pa'yuχamad wa', you are probably ill
i·mi'nəkχapamad, you (dual and plural) probably

-da, -ta, (walu'la, palu·'s) mildly suspicious doubt and reserve; without it being known to be so, not realizing it to be so, query in some wonderment. -ad of northwest Sahaptin and walu'la-palu·'s -da are no doubt cognate. It is also evident that the latter carries some other meanings for which the examples should be carefully examined. Can future tense -ta suffix be related? we only surmise the possibility. Examples of simple enclisis of -ta, -da without -χa, and without pronominal enclitics preceding:

ci·'nta iwiya'nawi'ya, who came? (ci·'n, who; iwiya'nawi'ya, he came)
mə'ita pu·', how many are there? (mə'i, how many; pu·', they are)
ma'a'lkta iwa', how long is it? (ma'a'lk, how long; iwa', it is)
mənа·'ta iwa, where is he, I wonder? (mənа, where; iwa', he is)
tu·'nta iwa'daχna, tu·'ntiwa'daχna, what could it be, I wonder? (tu·'n, what thing; iwa'daχna, it would be)

Examples of -da, -ta after -χac. Note that we find no examples of -χa plus -da, though they may yet be found; -da must follow the compound enclitic -χac. In northwest Sahaptin there are on the other hand numerous cases of simple -χa plus -ad. Note that -χac in every case indicates third person verb subject.

ḳwəlta'pχacda'iwa', ḳwəlta'pχacdiwa', no doubt he is strong (ḳwəlta'p, strong; iwa', he is)
it'liyawiya'χacda, he must have died without anybody knowing it (-t'liyawi-, die)
ipayu'wi·ca'χacda, he must be ill (-payuwi-, be ill)
t'ła·'χ^{u}acda papayu'wica, they must all be ill but they do not realize it (t'ła·'χ^{u}, all; pa-, they; -payuwi-, be ill)
tuwa·ti'tac χa'cda iwa', it must be a grizzly, but I am not sure (tuwa·-ti'tac, grizzly; iwa', it is)
pa'yaχna'χacda, he must have found it but he was not sure himself that he had (pa'-, it; -yaχ-, find)
ci·'nχacda iwa'daχna, I wonder who it could be (ci·'n, who; iwa'daχna, it could be)

mənaˈχacta paˈˈniˑˈka, I wonder where he put it (mənaˈ, where; paˈ-, it; -niˑkˑ, put)

maˈlχacta puˑˈ, I am wondering how many there are (məˈl, how many; puˑˈ, they are)

Examples of -ɒa, -ta after -χa plus pronouns; also after pronoun enclitics without -χa. All these cases are, of course, of actions or states with first or second person subject. Any third person subject is expressed by -χac above; compare first person singular -χaˑc.

payuˈwiˑcaˈχaˑcɒa, I must be sick and I do not know it (-payuwiˑ, be ill; -ac, I)

mənaˈχaˑcta aˈuniˑˈka, I wonder where I put it (mənaˈ, where; -ac, I; -niˑkˑ, put)

payuˈwiˑcaˈχanaɒa, you must be sick and you do not realize it (-na, you)

mənaˈχanaˈmta aˈuniˑˈka, mənaˈχanaˈta aˈuniˑˈka, I wonder where you put it (-nam, -na, you)

maˈaˈlknamtawaˈ, I wonder how tall you are, I wonder how long you are staying (maˈaˈlk, how long or tall; -nam, you; -waˑ, be)

maˈaˈlkmactawaˈ, I wonder how long yours is (-mac, your)

mənaˈχanaˑˈta wiˈnaɒa, I wonder where we will go to (mənaˈ-, where; -naˑ, we; wiˈnaɒa, will go)

aˈwiyaχaˈnɔnacɒaˈaˈu, at last I have found it but I am not sure it is the right one (aˈ-, it; -wiˑ, go; -yaχ-, find; -nac, I; aˈu, now)

-tχ, -tɒχ, skeptical query: "Is it really so, indeed?" Examples of simple use of -tχ with no other enclitic:

tuˑˈntχ iwaˈtca, what was it? (tuˑˈn, what; iwaˈtca, it was)

maˈltχ paˈniya, how much did he give him? (məˈl, how much; paˈniya, gave him)

iˈkuctχ, so that's the way! (iˈkuc, in that manner); kuˈuˈctχ (waluˈla, paluˑˈs)

Examples of compounded use of -tχ with other enclitics. Note that personal pronoun enclitics may be infixed between -ɒya (-tca) and -tχ, when these occur together.

ciˑˈnamtχ aˈwaniktcitca, what did you name it? (ciˑˈnam, who or how you)

iməksaˈɒyamtɒχwaˈˈ, are you alone? (iməksaˈɒyam, you alone rather; waˈ, are)

pəlksaˈɒyatχ iwaˈˈ, is he alone? (pəlksaˈɒya, he alone rather; iwaˈ, he is)

χactχ, perhaps, maybe (see above under -χac)

imksaˈtcanatχˈaˈwaˈ, (waluˈla, paluˑˈs) are you alone? (imksaˈ, you alone; -tca, rather; -na, you; aˈwaˈ, are)

ciˑˈnχactχ iwiyaˈnawiˈya, I wonder who came (ciˑˈn, who; iwiyaˈnawiˈya, he came)

-ˈ. This enclitic has been found in taˈiɒnapam and waluˈla-paluˑˈs. It occurs in final position as the very last element of a phrase or sentence; it is employed when feelings or ideas of interrogation, permission, exhortation, desire, hope, com-

mand, negation and so on have been expressed in the body of the phrase or sentence (p. 206).

tca'u', no!
wi'nam', come here!
tca'u wa'tani-', do not strike it!
acwɛ-'tkwatapa', could I eat before going?
mi'c'a'u', ready? is it ready?
tca'unam t'cə'ckca', are you lying?
mi'cnam na'unadjikɛ·ca tca'u', have you finished it yet? maybe no? (tca'u, no)

In walu'la-palu·'s the employment of -' seemed not quite so frequent or regular; however, it seems to supply the same emotive content as in ta'innapam. It is interesting that geographically intervening dialects like pcwa'nwapam, Klikitat, ski'n and Yakima have not yet been heard employing -'. Examples from walu'la-palu·'s:

pəlksa''iwa'', is he alone?
i·maksa'pamwa'', are you alone?
imksa'tcana'a'wa'', are you alone?
a'unatxnana'na', did you already take it?
a'unac tkwata'ta', could I eat now?

Note however that in the following walu'la-palu·'s sentence the -tx suffix supplies all the doubt sentiment; the -' is omitted. imksa'tcanatx'a'wa', are you alone?

PREFIXATION

All prefixed elements are derivational, none are pure relational or syntactic. There are several kinds of prefixes in the verb: one group expresses a variety of third person pronominal ideas; another group expresses a variety of modal, adverbial and numeral ideas. In the nouns, adjectives and pronouns are a relatively small number of prefixed elements expressing heterogeneous ideas that can not be classified with profit; some are so loosely attached as to approach proclisis. A few prefixes for special ideas are found with relationship terms. The detailed treatment of prefixes is given with each of the various parts of speech, verb, noun and so on.

SUFFIXATION

The process of suffixation takes up the greater burden of grammatical work. The considerable and varied elements used may be organized under two general headings.

a. Formal elements that give no meaning increment but relate words to one another syntactically. There are a very few such suffixed elements found only in the group composed of nouns, adjectives and pronouns. The formal concepts given expression are two subjective or nominative concepts, possessive, objective, and connective of two.

b. Derivational elements that limit or add to meaning. These are of great numbers and many kinds, in both verb and the group composed of nouns, adjectives and pronouns. A brief outline of the ideas expressed by such suffixed elements follows:

The verbs suffix a group of imperative elements, a large group of general directives, a group that may be classed as "modal," a large group of semi-temporal, durational or aspect elements, a large group of nominalizers, some suffixes that make participles, adverbs and so on, and miscellaneous extremely fossilized elements that comparative dialect work may explain.

There may be suffixed pronominalizers to the pronominal roots, and in the group of nouns, adjectives and pronouns as a whole there may be suffixed a group of elements expressing concepts of number, various ideas of location in space and time, ideas classifying things as regards sex, rank, language, age, season, people, and other more specific notions, a group of elements roughly entitled "modal," a group of verbalizers and so on. There are special groups of derivational suffixed elements for numerals and relationship terms.

These elements are examined in detail in the sections on the various parts of speech.

DUPLICATION AND REDUPLICATION

Under this heading we include several morphologic processes.

There are two types of noun and verb duplication, one being simple duplication to express distributive plural number and one—not used in the Umatilla reservation idioms—occurring hand in hand with consonant changes to express diminutive nuances. A few rare duplications seem to express other ideas, but they represent processes of no great moment in the language; a few seem related to distributive plural duplication. The others are undoubtedly survivals; some serve to express ideas of augmentation or intensification.

Of reduplicative processes we find in noun, adjective and pronouns initial and medial consonants repeated to express distributive plural number; there are a few cases of single-consonant repetition to express continued state or condition. In verb stems of $CV{\cdot}C_1$ form, adverbs of quality or manner may be made directly from the stem by breaking and reduplicating the medial vowel; a glottal catch is heard between the two vowel articulations. The process is considered in detail elsewhere (p. 140). A few variant reduplications occur, that cannot be fitted in any of these categories. The processes follow in detail.

DISTRIBUTIVE PLURAL DUPLICATION

In the verb the root or root complex is duplicated. In the noun the entire word or noun complex is duplicated, the accent falling within the first half. Affixes are never duplicated.

itca'we·nwe·nxa, he shook and shook it
ike·'ke·cana, he looked and looked
iti·'yat·iyana, he laughed and laughed (-tiya-, laugh)
ita'maslislina, he turned it over more than once (-sli-, turn)

ənix̣'bəni·ɒ, many houses (əni·'ɒ, house)
i'lkwasilkwas, many sticks (i'lkwas, stick)
iwənə'ʙwənəbcana, he handled it (-wənəp-, take, handle); kuc tca'u a'wənəbnəbɒax̣ni, I would not bother about it, handle it
kuc pca'npcanpx̣a, I take them by handfuls, bunches (-pca-, bunch; -nəp-, or -np-, take)
kucku'ck awa'k, on that way, that way, that way (one after another did it that way; kuc, that way or manner)
lət'ci'lt'ci, (walu'la, palu·'s) great big ones (nt'ci', large)
iwa'ikwaiknəx̣, (walu'la, palu·'s) he crossed back and forth (-wai-, cross to opposite side)
məsa'məsa iwa', (walu'la, palu·'s) he is a funny chap (iwa', he is; məsa', funny)
ix̣apəpə'pca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is nervous, shivering

OTHER DUPLICATIONS

An idea of iteration is expressed by the same process:

ii·'k̓wi, all day long (k̓wi', day)
x̣a'ix̣, all night long (ix̣a'ix̣na, it dawned)
na'x̣cka, one now (na'x̣c, one; -ka, now)
ma'isx̣, morning
ii·'k̓wili·k̓wi, day after day, every day
ix̣aix̣a'ix̣na, it was thus, morning after morning
nax̣ckana'x̣cka, one after another, one by one, every time a different one;
nax̣t'cana'x̣t'ca (walu'la, palu·'s)
maisx̣ma'isx̣, (palu·'s, walu'la) day after day

Related ideas of augmentation, intensification, exaggeration, emphatic exactitude; they are kin to the above:

i'kwənək, at, to that very place
pəlksa', he alone (pəl-, he; -ksa', alone)
ilksa', by myself (il-, I)
nt'ci', big
tci·'waɒ, (x̣wal.) full
i'kwənəkikwənək, right at that very spot
pəlksa'pəlksa, he entirely alone
ilksa''ilksa, all by myself, all alone I
nt'cint'cili', a very big salmon (-li, being, condition or manner)
tciwaɒtci'waɒ, (x̣wal.) entirely full
tsə'x̣tsəx̣, (x̣wal.) warm
i·'nəmkwənikwənikyau, a good deal further on (i·'nəm, more; -yau, to, towards)

DIMINUTIVE DUPLICATION, WITH CONCOMITANT CONSONANT AND VOWEL CHANGES

The consonant and vowel changes that are made with such duplication are as follows: All velar or back palatal consonants change to mid-palatal consonants: q, qw, q̓, q̓w, x̣, x̣w become k, kw, k̓, k̓w, x, xw. In addition n changes to l, c to s, s to c, tc and t'c change to ts and t's. Where a noun ends in -c or -s nominalizer suffix the vowel preceding -c or -s suffix, if it be a or ɘ, is usually changed to ai diphthong, and final -c or -s is dropped. The accent in diminutive duplica-

tion is given to the second syllable of the diminutive when the normal form is bisyllabic.

pcwa′, rock	pswa′pswa, pebble
a′ɖpac, stomach	akpa′yakpai, little stomach
ɖi′yac, buttocks	kiya′skiyas, little buttocks
a′tca·c, eyes	atsa′yatsai, little eyes
wa′sɛ·s, canoe	wasa′iwasai, little canoe
nu′ɖwac, throat	nukwa′inukwai, little throat
ɖwi′χtcən, axe	kwixtsa′lkwixtsəl, hatchet
spi′lya, coyote	cpi′lyacpilya, little coyote
əpə′χ, hide	əpə′xəpəx, tiny hide
əni·′ɒ, house	əli·′ɒəli·ɒ, little house

Sometimes a word given diminutive duplication contains no consonant or vowel elements that come under the above rules of change for the diminutive. In such a case the word is merely duplicated. There is no consonantal change for the diminutive in walu′la-palu·′s.

apa′s, (walu′la, palu·′s)hide	apə′χapəχ (walu′la, palu·′s) small hide
waχa′, foot	waχa′waχa, (walu′la, palu·′s) small foot
wata′m, lake	wata′mwatam, pond
əni·′ɒ, (walu′la) house	əni·′ɒəniɒ, (walu′la, palu·′s) a small house
əpə′ʙ, hand	əpə′pəpəʙ, little hand
kaiwa′, short	kaiwaka′iwa, very short
ə′m, mouth	ə′m′əm, tiny mouth
ətə′ɒ, tooth, teeth	ətə′ɒətəɒ, tiny teeth

The accent in kaiwaka′iwa is not according to rule.

REDUPLICATION

Initial reduplication is occasionally used to express distributive plural in nouns, adjectives and pronouns, not in verbs and verb derivatives, with the possible exception of some doubtful initial repeated w's in verb root complexes.

ɖwəlta′p, (walu′la, palu·′s) strong	ɖwɖwəlta′p, (walu′la, palu·′s) strong ones
tma′i, unmarried girl	ttmayi·′ma, same, plural ttmayi′yin, same, dual; ttma′yi·n (walu′la, palu·′s)
ta′χc, willow	tta′χc, willows
kaiwa′, short one	kkaiwa′, short ones; kkaiwa′ (walu′la, palu·′s)

Note the consonant dissimilation, k to k, since northwest Sahaptin does not tolerate adjacent glottalized consonants; in rare cases walu′la-palu·′s permits them.

i′tca·l, so long a one this one	i′tctca·l, so long those
i′kwa·l, so big that one	i′kkwa·l, so big those
kwa′a·′lk, (walu′la, palu·′s) so long, that long (they were)	kkwa′a·′lk, (walu′la, palu·′s) all of them (were) that long

Note the unrounding of kw, due to the rule that the first of two adjacent rounded consonants loses rounding. Initial i'- is the definite pronoun prefix; only the root is duplicated in pronoun reduplication—which thus is fundamentally a distributive plural duplication.

ləṭ'ci', (walu'la, palu·'s) big	lilṭ'ci·'mṭ'ciuni', (walu'la, palu·'s) big pair of ears, big eared (məṭ'si'u, ear; -ni, being, condition)

Note initial l reduplication and change of ə (*ləlṭ'ci') to i apparently for the sake of vocalic harmony.

i'ke·ɒ, baby	i'kke·ɒma, babies

The apparent medial duplication may, with material from other dialects, turn out a true case of initial distributive reduplication.

Final distributive plural reduplication. Only the following examples are known:

st'sa'ɒ, night	st'sa'tt, many nights
na'χckwla'wit, (walu'la, palu·'s) one day, one evening	na'pt kwla'witit, two days; mə'ta·t kwla'witit, three days; pi'napt kwla'witit, four days; na'χc kwla'witit, the whole day

It may be that final -t and -it of the above examples represent an ancient plural t affix (see plural t in the pronoun, p. 249), but I incline to interpret the forms as final reduplication, the i of -it being determined by preceding i.

Medial augmentative reduplication: kə'tu, fast; kəttu', very fast. No other certain example has been found. The following may prove to be similar in process: χtu', strong; χttu', strong (?).

Irregular initial and medial reduplications to express steadily continued, progressive condition.

χa'iχ, through the night	χa·'yəχ or χayaya'iχ, all through the night
-lkaʙ-, be fatigued	a'unacwa' lkka'ʁka, now I am becoming fatigued (a'unacwa', now I am)
-tawaχ–, grow	itta'waχna, he grew on, he grew up; ittu·'χca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is growing
-χtu-, be strong	a'uku χttu'ka, then he became stronger and stronger (a'uku, and then)
qa'a'u, (walu'la, palu·'s) light weight	qa'a'a'u iwa', it is becoming heavier and heavier (iwa', it is)

Related to this process is the following: iɬwi', day; ii·'ɬwi, all day long. From the point of view of formal process used this may be subsumed under vowel changes, though from the point of view of historic origin it is perhaps proper to place it here.

Miscellaneous reduplication: kwa·li', kwa·lali', dangerous being; kwalali', (walu'la) a fierce, brave, very powerful person or being.

SOUND CHANGE

CONSONANT CHANGES

There has been found only one live type of consonant change to serve morphologic purposes. This is—in northwest Sahaptin—the process for the formation of the diminutive, wherein back palatal consonants become mid-palatal, n, tc and t'c shift to l, ts and t's respectively, and s and c alternate. Such consonant shift to express the diminutive may occur with or without duplication; when combined with duplication (and vowel changes in certain cases) the total process is the one described above, p. 136. The following are examples of formation of diminutive by means of consonant shifting alone.

tu·'n, thing	tu·'l, little thing
nt'ci' əwi'nc, big man	nt'si' əwi'nc, a pretty big man
iksi'ks əwi'nc, a small man	ikci'kc əwi'nc, a tiny man

Such diminutive forms occur with great frequency in the recorded northwest Sahaptin texts and in conversations overheard. The northwest Sahaptin speaker has here a peculiarly delicate and subtle mechanism for giving expression to varied nuances, distinctions and evaluations in speech. The merest faint depreciation, the slightest tint of the ludicrous, a touch of pity or concern may be suggested by a hasty consonant change.

In walu'la-palu·'s the very same consonant process merely characterizes the rhetoric of myth narration, distinguishing it from normal speech.

One irregular quasi-diminutive form: na'χc, one; lə'χs, the sole one, the very last one, merely one.

A consonant change in some doubt is the following: ł to s, to express the diminutive. Only one example has been obtained. See above on alternation of ł and s (p. 114). ka'ła, grandmother; ka'sa·, grandchild!

VOWEL CHANGES

In this connection the section on phonetic vowel changes should be compared (p. 108). Vowel processes that effect morphologic changes are treated here.

Vowel lengthening. Medial or final vowels may be lengthened to express augmentation in size, area or number. The change is a matter of rhetoric.

χwi'mi, up above	χwi·'··mi, way up above
t'la'χ^{u}, all	t'la·'··χ^{u}, every one, absolutely all of them
χələ'k, (χwał.) many	χələ·'··k, very very many
nt'ci', big	nt'ci·'··, very very big

Vowel changes occurring in the formation of the diminutive of nouns ending in suffixed -c or -s. The final vowel changes to ai diphthong (see p. 136).

wa'sɛ·s, canoe	wasa'iwasai, tiny canoe
nu'ɖwac, neck	nukwa'inukwai, little throat

When a verb root or compound root contains a CVC_1 syllable, an independent adverb of manner, quality or condition, or an adjective may be formed by changing the vowel to long a· or ɛ·.

-sχaχ-, be in anger	sχɛ·'χ, angry, angrily
-t'ɬχw- or -t'ɬaχʷ-, be all	t'ɬa·'χᵘ, t'ɬa'ə'χᵘ, all of them
-kəkəm-, be full	ka·'kəm, full
-kwl- or -kwəl-, grind fine	kwa·'l, finely ground
-ikaʙ-, be fatigued	ia·'kəʙ, tired
-t'ik- or -t'ək-, break	t'ia·'k, broken
-q̇wactaɴ-, be with open eyes	q̇waɛtɛ·'ʙ, eyes open
-ləmq̇i-, shut eyes	la·'mq̇i, with shut eyes

When the verb stem is composed of two consonants with intervening long vowel, an independent adverb or adjective may be formed in the following manner: ɛ· changes to i'ɛ·' (in χwa'ɬχwaipam i· changes to i'i·'), a· changes to a'a·'. The process may be called medial reduplication or perhaps better, vocalic breaking.

-nɛ·χ-, (-ni·χ-, χwat.), make good, be good, repair	ni'ɛ·'χ (ni'i·'χ, χwat.), well, excellently
-t'sɛ·χ-, make easy, be easy	t'si'ɛ·'χ, easily
-t'la·p-, be shallow or low water	t'ɬa'a·'p, shallow, low
-la·k-, forget	la'a·'k, forgotten

In walu'la-palu·'s we record -χwam-, ascend, above, becoming χwaya·'m, high above; the form χwam is found in χwa'mtcnik, on top (-knik, place on, from). Note that $V'V_1$ of northwest Sahaptin is VyV_1 in walu'la-palu·'s, at least in this case; more walu'la-palu·'s examples of this type must be sought. In walu'la-palu·'s -pai-, be at the edge, becomes pa''ai, at the edge. Note the irregular accent on the first syllable. Note -ciyaχ-, be good; ca'yaχ, all right again; i is felt to be an obscure vowel, and suffers change to a in accord with the usual pattern for vowel change when adverbs are formed from verb roots.

Various vowel changes occur in the expression of the formal accusative, changes of quality and length both; these changes have been found in most of the pronouns and in the accusative of certain adjectives and nouns ending in -i.

i'nt'ca, I also	ɛ·na't'ca, to me also[6]
i'nək, I	ɛ·nə'k, to me[6]
pə'nt'ca, he also	pɛ·na't'ca, to him also
pə'nək, he	pi·nə'k, to him also
tu·'n, thing	tω·'n, thing (accusative)
nəmi', my	nəmɛ·'n, my (accusative)[6]
kwa·li', dangerous being	kwa·lɛ·'n, dangerous being (accusative)

In each case of ɛ· and ω· substitute i· and u· respectively in χwa'ɬχwaipam. We find also, irregularly, a'cam, a'cɛ·pa, in ta'inapam.

[6] The change is regular through the entire paradigm of persons, in singular and plural.

Personifying suffix -ya causes a vowel shift in the final vowel of the word, if it be the obscure vowel, which changes to ɛ·; in χwa'ɬχwaipam the analogous change is to i·.

pə'tcəm, wild cat	pət'cɛ·'mya, Wild Cat
t'cə't'cən, wren	t'cat'cɛ·'nya, Wren

One example of a sort of medial vowel reduplication to express an idea of continued progress or state has been found; there is a change from obscure ə to i·: ɬkwi', day; ɬi·'ɬkwi all through the day, all day long. This process is akin to the process discussed above (p. 137) where initial consonant reduplication and medial vowel lengthening or reduplication are used to express the same idea.

STRESS

Only one such change of morphologic utility has been noted. See above, p. 118.

THE VERB AND VERB DERIVATIVES

The most complicated element in Sahaptin is the verb.

Five verb positions are found; these element positions are proclitic, prefix, verb stem complex, suffix and enclitic. Each position except proclitic may be composed of more than one element. The absolute minimum is stem plus suffix. The order of elements in every position is rigid, invariable—with very rare exceptions; there may appear three or four prefixes and three or four suffixes; the relative order of these elements is predetermined. Altogether some fifteen or more positions may be sketched in the abstract, though in the case of any one verb only a limited choice of elements is made.

Verbs may take proclitics, of course: connectives or subject pronouns.

Verb prefixes may be classified in two successive positions in the verb, the first group almost never having more than one member, the second group less rarely having two. In first prefixed position are rather formally employed third person pronominal elements; in second position there occur modal and numeral prefixes.

The verb stem is not always an indivisible unit. Functioning as stem there may occur simple stems with perhaps hopelessly meaningless and fossilized suffixed elements; for the purpose of picturing the language at the present time these elements must be identified with the stem; if a history of the language be attempted these elements may be set apart. The verb stem may be composed either of a true simple stem that occurs independently, or it may be a compound stem or stem complex whose members express differing phases of the action. Three or four roots may be compounded. Two is the more frequent number. In the possession of such a polysynthetic stem process Sahaptin resembles in method certain other American Indian languages.

Verb suffixes may be classified in four successive positions, each of the first three positions being composed of no more than one member, with the rarest exceptions. In first position after the stem occur nominal verbalizers if the stem be originally an independent noun. In second position after the stem are elements expressing rather formal concepts of direction and reference of the action. There are modal ideas in third position. In last suffixed position occur elements defining the time of duration of the verb action; these elements are very commonly compounded and their order in such compounds is according to invariable rules; the modal suffixes are combined with them so that the generalization as to the relative word order of modal and time suffixes is not to be applied too literally.

Finally, the enclitics, of two kinds, pronominal and modal and in the order given in the section on enclitics.

After outlining the order of elements in the verb we present the elements added to verb stems to form several kinds of verb derivatives; there are nouns, participles, infinitives and so on, formed structurally upon a basis of verb stems or root complexes.

Most events and actions are described with nouns, pronouns, adverbs, and so on, and one verb, treated as we shall discuss below. However, in exceedingly rare cases two verbs may be used, one verb a particle, felt somewhat as an adverb

or adjective—the verb root is used—, the other verb an auxiliary do, make, be. The process is only roughly analogous to the Chinookan method of particle and auxiliary verb, but unlike Chinook the Sahaptin process is neither very alive nor frequently used; note especially that the action verb is felt adjectivally. The usage seems arbitrarily idiomatic. A few examples are noted, after which will be undertaken the lengthy analysis of the usual Sahaptin verb.

tu·ˈnaχaˈcna ku"p ikwiˈya, (waluˈla, paluˈs) I wonder what he broke (tu·ˈn, what; -na, accusative; -χac, apparently; -na, wonder; -ku'p-, break; ikwiˈya, he did, he made)

ku"p ikuˈna (waluˈla, paluˈs) it might break

tˈlaˈp iwa', (waluˈla, paluˈs) take it away! away with it! (iwa', it is); tˈlaˈnχ iwa' (northwest Sahaptin)

p̀o·ˈχ aˈtχanana spilyaˈi, (χwał.) lo! and Coyote got an idea (aˈtχanana, became; spilyaˈi, Coyote)

yu·ˈn aˈtχanana waˈsas, (χwał.) the canoe moved (-yu·-, move; aˈtχanana, became; waˈsas, canoe)

PREFIXES

Verb prefixes may be divided into two groups in successive order and varying function. In first position is a group of third person pronominal elements of quasi-formal or syntactic function. Some of the elements may be compounded with certain others.

i-, third person singular-collective definite known subject. It is remotely possible that this element is related to i'- definite prefix of demonstrative pronouns (p. 258). It is compounded with pa- and paˈna-.

iwiˈnana, he went away (-wina-, go on)

iˈiˈyanana, he killed him (-iyanna-, kill)

pa-, third person distributive plural definite known subject. Perhaps related to root pa- for the third person independent pronoun, and perhaps also to enclitic plural -pam and -pan (p. 126); the forms below, ipa'- and paˈna-, are also likely cognates.

pawiˈnana, they went away (-wina-, go on)

papayuˈwica, (waluˈla, paluˈs) they are ill (-payuwi-, be ill)

paˈaˈnana, they died (-anna-, die)

paˈiˈyanana, they killed him (-iyanna-, kill)

In waluˈla-paluˈs we note considerable usage of paˈa'- in addition to pa-. For paˈa'- see under a'; we subjoin further illustrations from waluˈla-paluˈs.

paˈaˈpaχwiˈya, they stole it (-paχwi-, steal)

kuˈuˈc paˈaˈkuχ, that is how they do it (kuˈuˈc, in that manner; -ku-, do; -χ, customarily)

pakyuˈna spilyaˈina, paˈaˈkyuˈna spilyaˈi, they went to Coyote (spilyaˈi, Coyote; -na, accusative)

paˈaˈɬxwnaniˈya, they took his (-ɬxwn-, take; -ani, referential)

a'-. A pronominal element used for two forms: one, before intransitive verbs whose subject is singular or plural and which express relative passivity or existentially, as contrasted with verbs expressing activity or motion and capable of taking an object—which e.g. would receive prefixed i- or pa-; secondly, before a transitive verb to express third person subject and third person object in singular or plural number. See initial a'- of a'pina- and a'pama- below, wherein an obviative subject distinction receives clear expression, coupled with a reflexive object form.

spilya'i a'wəna i'ctapa, (χwa'ɬχwaipam form; in ta'iɒnapam ω·'- would be found for initial a'wə- of χwa'ɬχwaipam; see p. 100) Coyote told his son (spilya'i, Coyote; ə'na, told; i'ctapa, son, accusative)

a'watca spilya'i, Coyote was there (wa'tca', was)

ci·'nəmnac a'paχwiya, who stole it from me? (-paχwi-, steal)

a'twanana sχa'pa, he followed the younger brother (-twana-, follow)

a'pinatamane·'na, he cast himself into the water (pina-, self; -tamane·-, throw into water)

pənəmi'nək a'wa, it is his (wa, is); pe·mi'nək a'wa, it is theirs

a'tamunək, tell it to him! to them! (addressing one person; -tamu-, relate, tell)

a'nitk, give it to them! (addressing more than one; -ni-, give); a'nim, give it to him! (addressing one)

ata·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he put it into his pocket

a'tə'lpca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is crazy

ta'i ani'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he made it flat (ta'i, flat)

tci'' ayi'kca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is sitting right here (tci', here; ayi'ka, he sat down)

a'msanac, (walu'la, palu·'s) I laughed at what I heard (-msa-, laugh at)

a'χalali'tcən, (walu'la, palu·'s) it is rolling along; a'uχalala'tamika, it rolled down hill

a'na'amna, (walu'la, palu·'s) it became worn out (-na'am-, wear out)

Our inadequate walu'la-palu·'s notes offer evidence that a'- may also occur after other third person prefixed pronouns, and also after wina-, fast. Additional research may clear up this usage. It seems to supply an explicit third person verb object, though more often omitted and left to context in walu'la-palu·'s.

pa'a'cuɢwa·na, they learned it (pa-, they; -cuɢwa-, learn)

pa'a'tkwataniya, they ate his (pa-, they; -tkwata- eat; -ni, referential)

pi·na''asə'piya, he covered himself (pi·na'-, self; -səpi-, cover)

iwina''acuwana, he butchered it rapidly (i-, he; wina'-, fast; -cuwa-, butcher)

ω·'-. See above for a'-. This is basically a'wə-; it is found only in the ta'iɒnapam dialect. It is a recent phonetic assimilation that has not been made by the other dialects. The presence of ω· in lower Cowlitz Salish and the extreme intimacy of the upper Cowlitz ta'iɒnapam with these Salish neighbors suggest a possible stimulant or origin for ω· in ta'iɒnapam. Wherever prefixed a'- precedes -ə or -wə in ta'iɒnapam, ω·'- is the resultant.

spilya'i ω·'na i'ctapa, Coyote told his son; spilya'i a'wəna i'ctapa (χwaɬ.)

ipa'-, third person distributive plural definite strange and unknown subject or merely indefinite subject, usually plural number by implication. i- may add definiteness of reference to the subjects, who are strangers; the idea of indefinite subject may merely indicate paucity of knowledge about the subject, who is referred to pointedly (with i-).

ipa'ɋinuna tca'uma, one of those now dead saw it (-ɋinu-, see)
ipa''yaχna miya'nac, one of those people gave birth to a child (-yaχ-, find, give birth to)
mi'wi ipa'nicailcχana, long ago people dwelt there (-nicaik-, dwell)
tca'umun ipa'winaχa, no one goes there (-wina-, go away)
tca'u ipa'yanawiya, no one came (-yanawi-, arrive)
tu'win ipa'tχatamtca'ca, (walu'la, palu·'s) something fell on him (tu'win, thing, nominative; tχa-, uncaused; -tam-, throw, fall)
i·'kuc ipa'wata ti·'nma, (χwał.) that is how the future people will be (i'kuc, in that manner; wa'ta, will be; ti·'nma, the people)
tca'umu'n ipa'wanilcχa, the name is never uttered by anyone (-wanik-, name)
i'kucɒya'a'n ipa'kuχa, this is the proper way to do it (-ku-, make, do)

pa'-, third person singular accusative. When it is desired to indicate as object one of two persons or things referred to a so-called obviation distinction may be made; the mechanism employed is apparently entirely different from the obviative process of Kutenai and Algonkin. The element pa'- indicates that the former or first of two persons or things is the person or thing object of the verb action; the second or latter of the two persons or things is subject of the verb action and invariably appears as subject noun or pronoun with syntactic nominative -i in suffixed.

ku'iwi'nana, kupa''ana spilya'yi·n, and he went, and Coyote told him (ə'na, he told)
pa'ɋinuna əwi'nci·n, the man saw him (-ɋinu-, see; əwi'nc, man)
pa'caɔniya ima'mayi·n, the old woman asked him (-caɔni-, ask)
pa'wilakuɒku'ɒna, (walu'la, palu·'s) the wind shook it (-wila-, wind; -kuɒkuɒ-, do and do, work)
pa'tu·na, (walu'la, palu·'s) lightning hit it
pa'lkwica, (walu'la, palu·'s) it is covered over (-lkwi-, cover)
pa'sapilu'na (walu'la, palu·'s) he made fun of him or them
pa'tiwi'ya (walu'la, palu·'s) he beat him up (-tiwi-, fight)
pi·'t'liyawiya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he killed him (pa'- is assimilated to -i'-t'liyawi-; i-, transitivizer; -t'liyawi-, die)

pa'- first person singular accusative, with verb subject in second person singular. Phonetically identical with the third person obviative, this suffix functions differently.

tu·'nam pa'niɒa i'tcən, what will you give me for this? (ni'ɒa, will give)

pa'ɒa-, pa'pa-, reciprocal. The numbers of subject and object are not indicated. Possibly pa'ɒa is a compound, historically, of two pa- elements. a'- and i- may be prefixed.

pa'ʁataχtaimana, they traded (-taχtaima-, trade)
pa'ʁaḍinuna, they saw one another (-ḍi-, see)
pa'ʁa'iyaɒnana, they killed each other (-iyaɒna-, kill)
pa'ʁaɒapa, they took one another, they married (-nəp-, take)
a'paʁa'ana, they told one another (-ən-, tell)
lə'ḳp a'paʁakuya, they winked to one another (ku'ya, did; lə'ḳp, wink)
pa'pauctu·na·'ɒac, (walu'la, palu·'s) we met (-uctu·-, meet)
ipa'patu·kca'na, ipa'tu·kca'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) they saw each other (-tu·k-, see)

pina'-, pi·na'-, reflexive, singular accusative. This suffix is clearly the accusative of the independent personal pronoun, singular number; see p. 251. pᴧ seems basically and historically the root element for the third persons, n is perhaps a personifying or pronominalizing element, singular number, and a' or na' perhaps pronominal accusative. pina'- seems of relatively recent specialization in its present reflexive function. What happened is that the accusative form of the independent pronoun (now pe·nə'k or pi·nə'k) was placed anterior to the verb to convey the reflexive idea; pronominalizer -k, a loose element in the independent pronoun series, perhaps was unused, or if used dropped away; pe·na' or pi·nə', pina', may have been the drift, with a parallel joining to the verb as prefix. When pina'- is prefixed no other third person pronoun may be attached except a'- (see below).

pi·na'ca'χt'ika, (walu'la, palu·'s) he cut himself (-caχ-, cut thru; -t'ik-, rend)
pina'tancka, he burned himself (-tanck-, ignite); pi·na'ta'ncka (walu'la, palu·'s); pi·na'tancka'χana, (walu'la, palu·'s) you burned yourself
a'pinawaχeina, he lay himself down (-waχi·-, throw down)
pina'mtḳwi·tam, (χwaɬ.) you will avenge yourself; pina'mtḳwitac, I will avenge myself
pina'cacaχana, he "blanketed" or covered himself (-caca-, cover over); pi·na''asəḍi'ya (walu'la, palu·'s; -səḍi-, cover)
a'pinawalaḳwaiḳwaina, he tied his hair in front
pina''iyaɒnana, pini'yaɒnana, he killed himself (-iyaɒna-, kill; note assimilation of -a' to i-; the first example is of slower speech; see p. 108)
pi·nu·'pu·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he dressed (-wapu·-, dress; note assimilation of pi·na'- to -wapu·'-)

pe·ma'-, pi·ma'-, pama'-, themselves. See above, pina'-. The history of pina'- applies analogously to pe·ma'-, which is merely the same form (pə- or pi-) with the suffix -(m)a) for distributive plural number. The accusative independent pronoun is pe·manə'k; pe·- is the accusative basis, -ma, plural distributive; the remainder never became fixed in the prefixed reflexive.

pe·ma'wi"χtcka, they undressed themselves
pama'ta'ncka, (walu'la, palu·'s) they burned themselves (-tanck-, burn); pama'tanckta'pam, you may burn yourselves
pama''asə'piya, (walu'la, palu·'s) they covered themselves (-səḍi-, cover)

Note the use of a'- before the reflexives (pina'-, pina''a-, pama'-, pi·ma'-, etc.). The origin of this usage is obscure; it was first satisfactorily explained by our palu·'s interpreter. We cannot be certain that a'- is akin to the a'- forms above. In the following examples a'- seems obviative in meaning, referring to another and related third person subject.

pi·na'wəxi'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he lay down (-wəxi-, lie down); a'pina-wəxi'na, he (the other person) lay down, it of his lay down

pama'wiwəxi·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) they lay down; a'pamawiwəxi·'na, they (belonging to them) lay down

pi·na''asə'p̓iya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he covered himself (-səp̓i-, cover); a'pi-na'asə'p̓iya, the other one covered himself

pama''asə'p̓i'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) they covered themselves; a'pama-'asə'p̓i'ya, they (their children or those belonging to them, we mean) covered themselves.

pi·ni''i-, (walu'la, palu·'s) pretend, make oneself as if (sing.) Seemingly both transitive and intransitive verbs may be used. The form is the true reflexive personal pronoun considered directly above; i-, no doubt the transitivizer below, would indicate that the form signifies, more literally, self-made-verb, that is, he made himself as if he were so and so.

pi·ni''iwi'na'na, he made believe he was going to go (-wina-, go away)

pi·ni''ipayu'wi'ya, he made believe he was ill (-payuwi-, be ill)

pi·ni''icaxt'ika, he pretended he had cut himself (-cax-, cut thru; -t'ik-, rend); pi·ni''ica'xt'ikcana'tca·c, I pretended I had cut myself

pa·ma''i-, (walu'la, palu·'s) pretend (plural). See pi·ma'- above. Note by comparing the independent personal pronoun paradigm, p. 254, that this form is a cognate of the singular form, pi·ni'('i)-. However, note that while pi·na'- has been assimilated to pi·ni'-, no analogous shift from pa·ma'- to *pa·mi'- is found.

pa·ma''iwi'naca'na, they pretended they were going to go (-wina-, go away)

In second prefixed position is a varied group of modal or adverbial and numeral elements, some fifteen odd in total number and when compounded occurring in predictable order. For the purpose of such positional order it is possible to organize the collection into sub-groups; such sub-groups organize the elements into groups the members of which express related or contrasted ideas.

1.

i'-. Makes intransitives transitive.

i'a'pnana, he died

it'iiya'wiya, (xwał.) he died

i'i'yapnana, he killed him

i'i't'iiyawiya, (xwał.) he killed him; iwiya''it'iiyawiya, he killed him on the way

ni·'x̣, good, well
ita'x̣ciya, he awakened
itu'x̣na, he returned
ici'i·x̣na (walu'la, palu·'s) he did like it

i'i'nɛ·x̣inaniya, he fixed it for him, made it good for him
i'i'taxciya, he awakened him
i'i'tuxna, he returned it to him
i'ci'i·x̣na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he fixed it

2.

i'ma-, be expected to, be promised to, expectedly, supposedly
i'i'mamiya, he was supposed to or he promised to give (-ni-, give)
i'i'mayanawica, he has promised to come (-yanawi-, arrive, come)
i'i'mamiʼacica, he is expected to sing (since he agreed and promised to do so; -miʼaci-, sing); i'mamiʼacicam, you promised you would sing (and it is expected that you will)

wutu'-, impulsively, take a sudden notion to, sudden resolve
iwutu'winanɛ·ʼana, he took it into his head to go into the water for a swim (-winanɛ·-, go in to swim)
iwutu'ʼtkwatana, he went and ate anyhow (-tkwata-, eat)
iwutu'winana, he up and went (-wina-, go away)

uta'-, utu'- (walu'la, palu·'s; same as above)
iuta'tuxna, he became tired of waiting and returned home (-tux-, return home)
iuta'taxci'ya, he finally awakened (-taxci-, awaken)
iuta'pnuna'x̣ac, he became tired of waiting and went to sleep (-pnu-, sleep)

3.

na'-, implies the existence of another activity, usually talking, singing or making a noise of some kind, going on at the same time as the verb activity to
ina't'ciwiucana, he spoke and worked simultaneously (-t'ciwiu-, speak)
ina'winana, he went along crying, singing, speaking (-wina-, go)
ina'x̣nicana, as she dug roots she did so and so (-x̣ni-, dig roots)
ina'lɛ·q̇wakna, he swallowed it while doing so and so (-lɛ·q̇w-, swallow)
ina''ikənka, he headed him off, obstructed him and spoke persuasively to him (-kən-, obstruct)
ina'p̣i·'x̣na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he cried a little, he cried now and then (-p̣i·x̣-, cry)
ina'wiyaxwi·'ɒna, (walu'la, palu·'s) he went along whistling (-wiya-, go along; -xwi·n-, whistle)
inu·'npa, (walu'la, palu·'s) she sang slowly, she sang now and then (-wanp-, sing)

wɛ·'-, wi·'-, motion away parallel to or immediately after the completion of the verbal action. Certainly a cognate of root -wi-, go; in many cases it is not possible

to decide whether wɛ·~ (wi·-) is used as prefix or as anterior root, as in the last two examples.

iwɛ·'wina'utpa, he dressed hurriedly and went (wina-, hurriedly; -utp-, dress)
iwɛ·'wicaʙniya, he went and asked many people (wi-, many; -caʙni-, ask)
iwɛ·''ɔna, the last he said was, he said so and so and then left (-ɔn-, speak)
iwɛ·'wina inɛ·'χinanicana, he fixed it for me and went on (-wina-, go on)
iwɛ·'t'ɬqwɔɔna, he caught it as it went (-t'ɬqwɔɔ-, catch)
iwɛ·'tawaχicana, he had a short smoke (-tawaχi-, smoke)

wa·'- (walu'la, palu·'s; same as wɛ·'- above)

iwa·'tu·χi'ya, he smoked before he left or before he died (-tu·χi-, smoke)
iwa·'tkwata'na, he ate and left or died (-tkwata-, eat)
iwa·''ɔna, he said it before he left (-ɔn-, say)
iwa·'wanpca'na, he sang before he left or died (-wanp-, sing)

4.

Three ideas of manner appear in this group.

la-, all alone, slowly, leisurely. Possibly we are dealing with two forms of independent origin; the two meanings seem a little remote. See under na- above for possibly related forms, and -la-, fire (p. 176).

pala'tkwatana, they took their time eating (-tkwata-, eat)
ila't'cɛ·qt'cɛ·q, he cried by himself, he cried because of the fire (-t'cɛ·q-, cry, wail)
ila''alaina, he went alone to the water, he went to the water because of the heat of the fire (-alai-, to the water; see -la-, fire, p. 176)
ila'tkwanaiti'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he walked along slowly (itkwa'naiti'ya, he walked along)
ila'tcanu'wica, (walu'la, palu·'s) she took her time making the soft bag (itcanu'wica, she was making a soft bag)
ila''aika, he sat down alone (-ai-, sit down)
ila'watca, he was there all alone (watca, was)
ila'winanɛ·cana, he swam alone (-winanɛ·-, swim)
ila'tχanana, he remained alone (-tχana-, be there)
ila'laχpiya, he stayed with him and doctored upon him (-laχpi-, doctor upon)

wina'-, rapidly. Possibly -wi-, anterior root of motion and -na, directive, away; or a variant usage of compound verb root -wina-, go away. Undoubtedly the prefix and the verbs are cognates though the history of the two be indeterminable without dialectic comparisons.

iwina'wucuwana, he got ready hurriedly (-wucuwa-, be ready)
iwina'cuwana, he hurriedly butchered it (-cuwa-, butcher) (walu'la, palu·'s: iwina''acuwana)

iwina'cacana, hurriedly he covered it (-caca-, cover over)
iwɛ'wina'utpa, he dressed hurriedly and went (wɛ-, go; -utp-, dress)
iwina'tkwata'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he ate before he was supposed to, he ate before he left (-tkwata-, eat)

ɣa-, tɣa-; qa-, tqa-, accidentally, unassisted, uncaused, of its own volition; effortlessly, in surprise, suddenly, immediately. These elements have been placed together tentatively because it has not been found possible to determine invariable rules for the appearance of one or the other; undoubtedly ɣa- and tɣa-, qa- and tqa- are respectively groups of different signification, though possibly related in origin. ɣa- and tɣa- usually mean "unassisted, accidentally," qa- and tqa- usually mean "suddenly, immediately;" walu'la-palu·'s uses tɣa-, not ɣa-.

iɣa'tutant'ika, he accidentally bumped and cracked his head against it (-tutant'ik-, bump head)
iɣa'wɔnaika, itɣa'wɔnaika, the tree fell
iɣa'pcawiya, a bunch fell accidentally (-pcawi-, bunch fall)
iɣa'tamanɛ·na, he fell into the water (-tamanɛ·-, cast into water)
iɣa'tiltaɣna, of its own volition or power it (the auto) went uphill (-ti-, back, bottom; -itɣ-, ascend)
ɣa'taɣciyac, I awakened for no apparent cause (-taɣci-, awaken)
iɣa'ilka, itɣa'ilka, it broke, fell to ruin of itself (-ilk-, break, destroy)
itɣa'ɣwaina, he stumbled and fell body flat upon it (-ɣwai-, be prone)
pa'tɣatki·na, he looked at him suddenly in surprise (-tki-, glance at, look)
itɣa'pamanu·na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he fell into the water (-pamanu·-, cast into water)
itɣa'sunina, he rode upon the animal (-su-, on all fours; -nin-, go about)
itɣa'mamunaika, he was lying there dead (-mamu-, lie down)
itɣa'tkwaina'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) the tree fell
a'qatiwana, all of a sudden there was an odor (-tiwa-, smell)
iqa'tamunɣana, he told him immediately (-tamu-, tell, relate)
paqa'winana, they went on peacefully (-wina-, go on)
a'tqatcaikna, he arose immediately (-tcaik-, arise)

5.

A small group of numerals. These elements tell the number of the verbal action, and by implication, the number of objects causing the action or being acted upon. One anterior root, -pca-, inanimate, collective, might well be included here, though it functions as root rather than as prefix; the occasional vagueness of demarcation between prefixes and roots is well shown by the anomalous use of -pca- (p. 160).

wi-, wu-, wə-, distributive plural action and by implication a distributed or plural number of objects acting or acted upon. In certain cases, especially when another element indicates distributive plurality, the wi-, wu-, wə- prefix takes on the meaning, "all." wi- is preferred in Yakima; wu- is preferred in ta'ɪpnapam, though wi-forms are not unacceptable.

pawi'watca, pawu'watca, there were persons standing about here and there (wa'tca', were); ələ'x̣ pawu'wa (pawi'wa) i'tcənək, there are many of them about here (wa', are)

pɐ·ma'wiwəxicana, they were lying about here and there (-wəxi-, lie)

iwi'pɒyana, he knifed him all over (-pəɒya-, stab)

iwi'ɬəx̣wna, they had saliva running from their mouths (-ɬəx̣w-, saliva run)

iwi'caʙa'ɬalaka, he flattened many (caʙa'-, causative; -ɬala-, flatten); iwi'waɬalaka, he pounded them flat

pawi'winana, they all went (-wina-, go away)

pawi'winanɐ·na, they all swam there (-winanɐ·-, go in the water)

iwi'wənpa, he got some here, some there (-wənp-, get, take, hold)

iwi'sɬkwa, he tied a lot of knots

itcu·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he took a drink (-tcu·-, drink); iwi'tcu·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) the bunch of them drank

iɬx̣wə'ɒ.ca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he held it in his hand; paɬx̣wə'ɒ.ca, they held it in their hands; iwi'ɬx̣wəɒ.ca, they held the things in their hands; pawi'ɬx̣wəɒ.ca, everyone has something in his hand

iwi'walsa'kca, (walu'la, palu·'s) they are story-telling of days gone by (-walsak-, tell old story)

pa'icnam a'wəwanikta, if you name it many times (-wanik-, name)

The last example is also explicable by postulating verb root initial reduplication to express distributive plural (p. 137). Some obscure plurals, perhaps related in origin, or possibly in origin root complex initial reduplications:

iwa't'ɬka, he clubbed him to death; iwa'ut'ɬka, he clubbed them to death (-t'ɬk-, break, kill; -wa-, by pounding, clubbing)

wəc-, bunch of persons, human collective. wə- may be related to the element above, and -c may be an element supplying an idea, "human." Compare enclitic -c (p. 130) and nominalizer -c (p. 216), both of which supply ideas where a human element enters.

pawɔcwa'utkᵘna, a bunch of people camped there (-wautkᵘ-, camp over night)

6.

caʙa'-, causative or instrumental, singular. Only one other element occurs with analogous plural formation. This is -tama- and its plural -tam- (p. 159).

icaʙa'luna, he made it burn (-lu-, burn)

icaʙa'ɬalaka, she flattened it (-ɬala-, flatten)

icaʙa'ɖika, he hung it up (-ɖi-, fasten upon)

icaʙa'lɖwəx̣na, he buried him in the mud (-lɖwəx̣-, bury, cover in)

pawicaʙa'lɬwikx̣ana nu·na's, they would cover over the white camas roots with ashes (wi-, plural; -lkwi-, cover over); icaʙa'caʙalkwi'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he had him cover or bury it

itx̣a'capalɬku'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he made the other person scare him suddenly (tx̣a-, uncaused, sudden; -lku-, frighten)

icapa'ctka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he made half hitches (-ct-, tangle or half

caʙ-, saʙ-, causative or instrumental, plural

isa'ɔsikwa·na, he taught him (-sikwa-, show); iwi'saɔsikwa·na, he taught many people (wi-, plural)

a'caʙwawət'caka, he pieced them together (-wawət'cak-, piece together)

saʙwɛ·npia', the repeater of the remarks of the medicine doctor (-wɛ·np-, answer; -ia', person, one who)

ica'pɑ́ika, (walu'la, palu·'s) she hung them up to dry (-ɑ́i-, fasten up on)

isa'pku·'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) she gathered them (-ku·k-, gather)

ica'pctka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he tangled it (-ct-, tangle or half hitch)

THE ROOT COMPLEX

If a large random selection of unanalyzable verb stems be grouped according to types of stem formation, the most frequent types are probably basically CV and $CVC_1V_1(C_2)$. C is consonant, V vowel, C_1C_2 other consonants, V_1V_2 other vowels.

Onomatopoetic stems are frequently CVCV or CVC_1CVC_1. Whether the formation of such stems be due to a rule involving duplication or to a prevailing stem pattern is not certain; the rarity of CVCV or CVC_1CVC_1 roots not onomatopoetic indicates a simple duplication rule. The following are examples of transparently onomatopoetic roots: -hat'swi-, sneeze; -t'skli-, tear, rip; -t'lk-, break or rend; -wawa·, bark (of a dog); t'li'(yaa), expectoration; hwi'hwil, slippery; -duɑ́u-, cough; -ha·cha·c-, breathe. The following examples of non-onomatopoetic duplication may be usual root duplications to express distributive plural action (p. 135) or they may be verb roots that occur only in duplicated form because of inherent non-singular content of meaning: laplɔpci·'n, (palu·'s) they are having a fine time; iwa'iwaina, he hallooed. The comparative rarity of verb onomatopoesis is unexpected in view of the pervasive intercourse of some Sahaptins and upper Chinookans.

Stems apparently VC, $VC(V_1)$, $(C)VC_1C_2$, and so on are infrequent and very often seem basically (C)VC and $(C)VC_1(V_1)$, or are employed thus. Note -ən-, say; -usa-, (-wc-, -wɔc-, -wəsa-) move, hunt; -ilk-, break, destroy; -aɒna-, die.

Stems of simple CV form are common. The following random selection was quickly made: -wa-, be; -ku·, halt; -ɑ́i-, fasten or stick upon; -yu·-, scare away; -nɛ·-, into water; -t'sa-, near; -qu-, rap, knock; -wai-, go through or across; -ni-, make; -tɛ·-, be inside clothes; -ku-, make, do, fix.

Stems of CVC_1 form and apparently unanalyzable are commonest. Nevertheless it is likely that their numbers may be reduced by the probability that a suffixed $-V_1$, $-C_2$ or $-V_1(C_2)$ has been worn down. Then CVC_1 stems would be found to fall in with the large $CVC_1V_1(C_2)$ group below. Follows a list of CVC_1 stems picked at random: -nin-, go about; -yaɣ-, find; -ɣwəl-, loosen, release (l may be a suffix); -t'lk-, break, rend; -tɔc-, quench fire (c may not belong); -t'cɛ·q-, howl, cry; -pik-, hold; -kɑn-, obstruct; -t'sik-, poke (k may be a suffix); -haik-, descend (k may be a suffix); -yun-, shake (n may be a suffix); -wɛ·n-, shake; -nɔp-, get, take; -t'ct-, rip, tear; -təm-, speak language; -t'səɣ-, defecate; -ɑ́əɣ-, scratch; -t'ləɣw-, be all; -wautkw-, camp overnight; -tlub-, jump; -til-, scatter about; -na·m-, erode; -tuɣ-, return home.

The following stems of $CVC_1V_1(C_2)$ form are incapable of present analysis. They are also common. In walu'la-palu·'s, u· replaces -awa- constituents of certain roots, but the u· forms are no doubt not primary. -yawau-, cry, halloo (-yu·yu·- in walu'la, palu·'s); -taima-, sell; -tcawa-, water, drink (-tcu·- in walu'la, palu·'s); -mit̓aci-, sing; -k‹t̓a-, be irritable, cranky; -cucw-, know, learn; -sikwa-, teach; -lamai-, be lost or out of sight; -caca-, cover over; -t̓ala-, flatten; -wəxi-, -uxi-, drop, release, lose; -pəɔya-, stab, spear; -tiya-, laugh; -palai-, crazy; -likɔ-, bend; -t'ciwiu-, speak; -tamu-, tell; -mamu-, lie down; -tiwa-, small; -t'iiya-, die; -lkap-, be tired; -tawax̣-, grow (-tu·x̣-, in walu'la, palu·'s); -t̓uti-, stand; -tuxwən-, shoot.

Stems of form $CC_1V(C_2)$ are frequent. It is probable that they are all really members of the above group of $CVC_1V_1(C_2)$ forms. That is to say $CC_1V(C_2)$ is really $C(V)C_1V_1(C_2)$, where V, being originally obscure ɔ, has dropped out. -lkwak-, be frightened (k may be a suffix); -pyu-, water to land; -qli-, notch; -sli-, turn (s may not belong); -pni-, launch; -pnu-, sleep; -lkwik-, cover over (-k may be a suffix); -tkwata-, eat; -x̣tu-, be strong; -tqu-, be a hole; -pxwi-, think; -nt'cu-, sleep; -x̣ni-, dig.

Examples are found of $CC_1V(C_2)$ roots that change to $CVC_1V_1(C_2)$ for morphologic purposes; they make more likely the conclusion that $CVC_1V_1(C_2)$ is the original pattern for many of the forms listed as $CC_1V(C_2)$. lk̓wi', day; li·'kwi, all day long; nt'ci', big; mainɔ't'ci, bigger.

If Sapir's hypothesis of a discernible "Penutian" stem pattern be sustained by later comparative studies, the frequency and perhaps dominance of the $CVC_1V_1(C_2)$ stem pattern in northern Sahaptin may be found an important link in the chain of evidence.[7]

In the stem complex of the verb two or three root positions appear.

Elements in anterior stem position number one hundred or more. Some are found as independent verb roots, perhaps the majority are never independent roots but must be compounded with other verb roots of posterior position. All limit, localize, by referring specifically to some precise action, manner, time or body part, the meaning of the posterior verb root or roots.

The central position roots are very few; they express various ways of going. They may belong more properly with the anterior roots.

The non-independent or rarely independent true posterior roots number many scores. Exactly how many it is perhaps too soon to determine. Their meaning is usually specific, like anterior roots. The vast number of true independent verb stems occur in the same position as a compound of central-posterior roots.

The relatively lesser numbers of anterior elements, their types of functioning and of limiting the meaning of the succeeding element or elements, and the fact of their preceding a larger number of truly independent roots, compound roots and dependent posterior roots, almost inclined us to denominate them quasi-prefixes. But it can not be maintained that anterior roots are true prefixes: tagging them prefixes or alternatively, anterior roots or quasi-roots, does not properly

[7] Consult *A Characteristic Penutian form of stem*, by Edward Sapir, International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 2, p. 58, January 1921.

describe their usage, which varies from nearly genuine prefixation to true compounding and in some cases complete root independence. It is sometimes difficult to say where elements may no longer be called prefixes and are rather anterior roots. It is possible that some or all of the elements of second prefixed position should be considered anterior roots, in initial position; my feeling is that the given classification is most convenient.

From a conceptual point of view, Sahaptin—like other languages—has come down to our time with a conventional selection of groups of idea aspects or facets of discussed situations, activities and happenings of experience; these chosen idea aspects receive formal and necessary expression. Certain concepts, a few ideas of very general motion, are given to one small group of central position non-independent roots which compound with other and larger groups of roots in anterior and posterior position; the anterior group qualifies the general motion with specific statements of type of body motion, location of the action in relation to a body part and so on. The posterior group qualifies and points general motion with directional or other ideas. The Sahaptin verb is most conveniently described as constructed of a root complex in one, two or three main parts, each part conventionally expressing certain descriptive aspects of an activity. Every activity or experience must for purposes of linguistic expression be taken apart in that manner; so that for example certain motional, directional and body manner facets of the activity are given expression. Such piecing and picturing of linguistically conventionally selected facets of actions must be the linguistic fate of actions that receive expression.

If it be objected that the assumption made that there is "felt" to be a root complex is an assumption not based on evidences of native grammatical handling of such a complex as a unit, cases of actual handling—duplication—of such a whole may be cited; to express distributive plural activity, the whole of the unit called the root complex may be duplicated thus: a'we·tunawainat·unawainapna, he kicked and kicked it (-tuna-, with the foot; -waina-, motion away).

In listing anterior, central and posterior stems it will be assumed unless otherwise indicated that each element given appears only when compounded with some other independent or similarly non-independent stem; when an element also appears independently, with merely appropriate affixes, such occurrence will be mentioned; but only such independently occurring elements will be listed as appear more frequently in some fixed status in root compounds, where they supply in more or less conventional formal manner some selected aspect of experience which must be expressed in the particular case.

ANTERIOR VERB ROOTS

The hundred odd verb roots in anterior root position form groups that appear in definite position in a verb having more than one anterior root.

In first anterior position are roots specifying the time when the act occurs: -tau-, night; -mai-, morning; -mi·ma'-, of yore.

Anterior roots in next position (2, p. 156) express general ideas of movement and existence: -wi-, go; -ya-, go along; -wa-, be. They compound with various anterior roots.

Anterior roots (3, p. 157) expressing body members most commonly used or kinds of body activity like pushing, pulling, reclining, and so on: -pa-, hand, wield; -tca-, mouth, pull; -wa-, implement; -tama-, place, lie down; and others.

In the following miscellaneous group (4, p. 160) is the remainder and the most numerous body of anterior roots. The order of the list is of no consequence. The roots are given in several more or less significant sub-groupings of roots arranged because of similarity of meaning and function. Two may occur together, in fixed order, (indicated by examples of known cases) but such complexities are rare; others compound with one another. Body part manner and instrumental elements are listed together, elements of tool shape employed are together, and others are too heterogeneous to warrant sub-groupings. The list contains an embarrassingly large number of roots for which in each case so few examples have been obtained that no clear meaning can be discerned. When more of the language and the dialects of the language are known, obscurities of this kind may be clarified. The roots of this position include -pca-, bunch of things; -ca-, knife cut; -wisx-, sew; -wica-, canoe, long implement or paddle; -owa-, sharp implement; -su-, long object; -wantam-, knees; -tuta-, head; -mc-, ear; -su-, on all fours; -tx-, -tuna-, foot; -tkwan-, lower arm; -ti-, privates; -ka-, -tcwau-, eat; -mtca-, mouth; -sapxw-, crawl; -wanya-, hop; -sm-, sit; -tkwa-, walk; -nag-, carry; -qu-, pack; -tlun-, jump; -tcx-, urinate; -t'sx-, defecate; -cmu-, swim; -qala-, roll; -t'e-, speak; -canu·-, blow; -tamanta-, drag; -tm-, heart; -wan-, eyes; -tkwai-, lie, spread; -ma-, -xu-, ground; -wula-, wind; -la-, fire; -lan-, clothes; -twa-, snow, rain; -wca-, move away; -cxam-, angrily; -tcm-, in fear; -pna-, in pain; and many others.

Anterior roots follow in detail.

1.

-tau-, at night time

a'taunaxtixana, it would cry at night (-naxti-, cry)
a'ukupac ta'utkwatana, then we ate at night (-tkwata-, eat)
ita'utkwa·nxana, he would walk in his sleep
ita'ulkwaocana, he had a nightmare, he was scared during the night (-lkwak-, be frightened)
ita'ucaxna, he yawned
ita'ukelaca, it is cranky from oversleeping, from sleeping too much
ita'ukumna, he overslept
itawiya'nawiya, he arrived at night (-wiyanawi-, arrive)
ita'utaxci'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he awakened in the evening (-taxci-, awaken)
ita'uqqa'wiya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he talked in his sleep
tca'u ita'uhu·li·'ca, (walu'la, palu·'s) the wind is not blowing tonight (tca'u, not; -hu·li·-, blow)

-mai-, (walu'la, palu·'s) in the morning. ma'isx, tomorrow, morning, is a noun.
ima'itaxci'ya, he awakened in the morning (-taxci-, awaken)
ima'icmu·'na, he took a swim in the morning (-cmu·-, swim)

ima'ipi'χənəχ, it always cries mornings (-p̓iχ-, cry)
tca'u ima'ihu·li·'ca, the wind is not blowing this morning (tca'u, not; -hu·li·-, blow)

-mi·ma'-, old, of yore. Also occurs as independent adjective and verb root, and with nouns (p. 214) as prefix or proclitic.

wut'u mi·ma' iwa', he is too old
imi·ma'tamna, he spoke of things of yore (-təm-, speak)
mi·ma'wiɒ, olden times, things of yore

2.

-wi-, move, go. The most frequently adjoined posterior root element is directive -na. It is welded with ya-, to give compound anterior root -wiya- below; and also with directive -na to give prefix wina-, rapidly (p. 149). Prefix wɛ·- and central root -wɛ·- are cognates; the element wi, go, is ancient and has specialized in variant directions; it never occurs unbound, it is always with -na, -ya or some other root.

-wiya-, while going along, upon the way. An old compounded root: -wi-, go, -ya-, probably the anterior root meaning "along, go along." In one case only it seems used as independent verb root with noun forming -ɒ added: wi'yaɒ, far away, the place far away. Compound root -wiya- functions as simple anterior root.

iwiya'pyuka, he got out of the water (-pyu-, out of the water)
iwiya'ɒwaica, he accompanied him (-ɒwai-, accompany)
iwiya'ninχa, he would travel round and about (-nin-, go about)
iwiya'kukcana, he halted on the way (-ku-, halt)
a'wiyaɬamaika, it lost its way, on its way it became lost (ia'mai, out of sight)
iwiya'yaχna, as he went along and found, on his way he found (-yaχ-, find)

-wiyaus- (walu'la, palu·'s). Very likely -wiya- is the element noted directly above, go along; -us may be -wɔca-, -uca-, move, noted below on p. 178. Example: iwiya'us'ayi'ka, he stopped to take a rest (-yik-, -ai-, sit).

-wa-, be upon, be there, about and around, exist about. This is an element of broad, indefinite, obscure signification. Very likely it has the same origin as the independent verb -wa-, be, exist, have. Like -wi- it is compounded with -ya-: -waya-. It is also compounded with -pa-: -wapa- (p. 158); with -sam-: -wasəm- (p. 167); possibly with -ptəm- or -təm-: -wanɬam- (p. 162); and with -χ: -waχ-.

iwa't'lakna, it made a pool or puddle
itwa'nana, he followed after him; iwatwa'nana, he followed his tracks (-twana-, follow after)

-waya-. For -ya-, see p. 157. This is essentially a central rather than anterior root, if its most frequent usage be the criterion. Nevertheless there are many cases where the absence of any other anterior root leaves one free to interpret -waya- as anterior root, as in the illustration: iwaya'lɛ·na, it neared the water (-lɛ·-, towards, into water).

-ya-, while going along. Compounds are made with -wi- and -wa-; see above; such compounds are more frequent than -ya- alone.

iya'ɒwaica, he is accompanying him (-ɒwai-, accompany)
iya'x̣wɬe·na, he went along and took a drink (-x̣wɬe·-, drink lying prone)
iya'wəx̣eina, he lost it, going along (-wəx̣ei-, lose)
a'yapikcana, she held them as she went on (-pik-, hold)

-ya-, go along in the water, with or by means of or in water, float. It is likely that -ya- above and this element are cognates. It is only when it retains this meaning that it compounds with -x̣.

iya't'lpi·na, he got wet
a'yawɛ·q̇ika, he became fastened upon something as he floated along (-wɛ·q̇i-, go and be fastened upon)
iya'tilu·'na, iti'lu·'na (walu'la, palu·'s) he sat in the water (-ti-, sit; -lu·-, in water)
iya'winacana, it was high with flood water
iya'wainacana, it drifted on in the water

-yax̣-, water, with water, in or into water. Compounded of ya- above and -x̣ (p. 181). In walu'la-palu·'s both -yax̣- and -yu·c- are employed.

iya'x̣cana, he poured it in (-c-, inside)
iya'x̣tana, he poured it out (-t-, outside)
iya'x̣waika, he waded across stream (-wai-, go across)
iya'x̣ʷnatiya, he waded some distance in the water (-nati-, go along)
iwiya'x̣t'ɔckna, he quenched the fire with water (-t'ɔc-, quench fire)
a'yax̣taxciya'c, (walu'la, palu·'s) I awakened them by pouring water on them (-taxci-, awaken)
pi·na'yax̣taxci'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he awakened from drinking and dozing (-taxci-, awaken)
pi·na'yax̣payuwi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he got sick from drinking (-payuwi-, be ill)
iya'x̣t'ɬ̣xwa, (walu'la, palu·'s) he has no more to drink, he just finished drinking (-t'ɬ̣xw-, be all)

3.

-pa-, with the hand or fingers, push with the hand, thrust, wield, push. This element must be related to the independent noun əpə'n, hand. The root is found frequently in the form -pan-; see below; -n may be accusative -n of a number of anterior roots (p. 181). -pa- is compounded with preceding -wa-; see -wapa- above.

ipa'le·na, he put it into the water (-le·-, into water)
ipa'pyuka, he took it out of the fire with his hands (-pyu-, out of the fire)
ipa'quqʊ·na, he rapped (on the door; -qu-, rap)
ipa'k̇ɔnka, he closed it (-k̇ɔn-, close, obstruct)
ipa'wailatax̣na, he pushed him into the fire (with his fist; -wailatax̣-, into the fire)

iwapa'tɬ'ika, he killed it (any small bird, animal, child; -wa-, on, upon; -tɬ'k-, break, kill)
ipa'ƙuctikxana, he would strike it and miss it (-ƙucti-, lose, miss)
ipa'wɑcpa, he stunned him with a blow of the hand (-wɑcp-, blow on head, stun)
ipa'ɖwɑkna, he poked at him with a stick
ipa'ts'ɑkwɑɒnɑxana, he raped her

-paв-, hands, fist

ipa'ʙt'smuisa, he is warming his hands at the fire
ipa'ʙtɬ'ika, he hit him with the fist (-tɬ'k-, break, rend, blow)

-wa-, with an implement. See -wa-, p. (p. 156).

iwa'ƙwɔctika, he struck and missed (-ƙwɔcti-, miss)
iwa'wɛpyuka, he jerked it out of the water (-wɛ-, go; -pyu-, out of water)
iwa'tɬalaka, he pounded it flat (-tɬala-, flatten)
iwa'ƙulka, he broke it open (-ƙul-, open)
iwa'wɑcpa, he struck him senseless (-wɑcp-, stun)
iwa'ƙu'ipska, (walu'la, palu's) he chopped off boughs
iwa'ƙu"pa, (walu'la, palu's) he broke it by shaking or swinging it (-ƙu'p-, break)

-wapa-, action with the hand upon something. Compounded of -wa-, with an implement—in all likelihood—and -pa-. For -pa-, hand, see p. 157.

iwapa'ƙuctika, he lost hold of it, it slipped from his hand (-ƙucti-, lose, miss)
iwapa'tɬ'ika, he killed it (implying the killing of anything very small, done with the hands; the thing killed may be a bird, small animal or child; -tɬ'k-, break, kill)
iwapa'ts'ɑ:ka, he neared it with his hands (-ts'ɑ:-, near)
iwapa'tɔckna, he put out the light with his fingers or hand (-tɔc-, quench fire)

-waχ-, cut upon, chop at with an implement. The compounded -χ element seemingly adds a notion of "through, to completion, severance."

iwa'χaвna, he cut the wood (with a "fro," a steel wedge of pioneer days, used to split logs lengthwise)
iwa'χtɬ'ika, he chopped it off with one blow of the axe (-tɬ'k-, break); iwa'wɑχt'ika, he chopped and chopped it off (with the axe)

The last example illustrates the point that -wa- is felt to be part of the root complex and not a mere instrumental prefix. What seems to have happened here is initial reduplication of the root complex to express distributive plural action.

-tca-, pull, lift with the hand; with the teeth or mouth. It is also used with obscure causative signification. The fundamental idea expressed seems that of pulling, whether it be with the hands or teeth.

a'tca'inawik, test it by pulling it, lifting it! (-inawi-, try, test)
itca'χwɔika, she pulled them out of the ground (-χwɔl-, loosen, extract)

pa'tca'aikəm, help me arise by lifting me! (-aik-, arise)
itca'quka, he pulled on the reins
pa'tcawɛ·ltɑxna, he helped him ascend by pulling him up (with rope or hand; -wɛ·ltɑx-, go above)
itca'yatana, he led it elsewhere and tied it there (-yata-, be elsewhere)
itca'wɛ·slika, he turned it round to the other side (-wɛ·sli-, go round, turn)
itca'kwəctika, he removed (his clothes; -kwəcti-, lose, apart)
itca'liqəka, he pulled and bent it (-liqə-, bend)
itca'yu·pyu·pna, he shook it (-yup-, or -yu·-, shake, move)
itca'wɛ·nwɛ·na, he shook him, the dog shook it about (with its teeth)
itca'npa, he bit him, he held it with his teeth (-nəp-, get, hold)
a'tcat'ika, he bit him to death (-t'ik-, break, kill)
itca'cuqwa·na, he learned what it was by tasting it (-cuqwa-, learn, know)

With obscure causative meaning:

itca'tɛ·nana, he was obliged to tell (-tɛ·na-, relate, tell)
itca'talaka, she pounded and flattened it (-tala-, flatten)
itca'ikəqca, he has the hiccoughs
itcapala'iwiya, he became insane (-palai-, out of mind)
itca'ilka, he broke it by accident (-ilk-, break, destroy)

With unknown significance:

itca'p̓i'x̣na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he wanted to cry and wanted to laugh, he cried every now and then, he cried a little (-p̓ix̣-, cry)
itca'naxtiya, he whimpered (preferred for animal rather than human crying; -naxti-, cry)

-tix̣-, (walu'la, palu·'s) with the hands

iti'x̣lumuilumu'ina, he softened the hide by working on it with his hands
iti'x̣licta'x̣a, he sewed or patched it on
iti'x̣tamana'ita, he pulled it out of the hole with his hands
iti'x̣kə'nka, using his hands he covered the hole (-kən-, cover a hole, close)

-tic-, (walu'la) throw. Example: iti'cwalaitq̓i'ya, he threw them onto the beach (-walaitq̓i-, come ashore).

A varied list of significations is attached to the elements -tam- and -tama- which follow. It is suggested that they be compared for a possible common origin with -ta- and -tan-, (p. 177) etc.

-tam-, place, lie, throw (plural acts or objects)

ita'mkastilakx̣ana, he would go gather crabs (-kastila-, crab)
tamku'ikui; tamst'sə'lt'səl (walu'la, palu·'s), hail
ita'mkukna, he piled them up; ita'mkuku·na, he gathered the little things; ita'mku'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he piled them up here and there
ita'mslika, he turned them over (-sli-, turn); ita'mstsli'ka (walu'la, palu·'s)

-tama-, place, lie down, throw (singular). Used as independent verb also. Note that cana- and can- (p. 151) give the only analogous case where both singular and plural forms occur in a verb root.

ita'matcinciya, he vomited lying down
ita'macana, it has been placed on it
iwe·'tamacana, he was lying on it
itama'tipna, he broke wind while lying down (-tip-, break wind)
itama'le·ɬwəcna, he swallowed it while lying down (-le·ɬwə-, swallow)
ita'makwəctika, he threw it at him and missed (-kwəcti-, fail, miss, lose)
itama·'ta, he took him outside (-at-, inside to outside)
ita'mapyuka, he took it with his hand out of the water (-pyu-, out of the water)
ita'mawailtcale·na, he threw it into the water (-wailtcale·-, into the water)
itama'yawəka, he soaked it in the water
ixa'tamahaika, it fell accidentally (xa-, accidentally; -hai-, down below)
itama't'cqʷkca, he threw and broke it, crashed it
ita'maslika; itama'stsli'ka (walu'la, palu·'s) he turned it around or over (-sli-, -tsli-, turn)
itama'we·xalu·ka, he threw it beneath (-we·xalu-, go beneath)

-tama- is probably felt as compounded with a number of other elements; note the following example, with xa: a'wixatamaxt'ikaniya, he dropped it down in order to cut off his; for -xatama- see p. 175; for -x compare -cax- (p. 161), -wax- (p. 158). Also see p. 172. Obscure usages:

a'tamatkina, he peeped at them (-ki- or -tki-, peep, glance)
ita'mayat'ana, he delayed, put it off till later (-yat'a-, be elsewhere)

4.

-pca-, bunch of things, inanimate collective. While in meaning and occasional function -pca- seems to go with wi-, wu-, and wəc-, in usual function and position -pca- is an anterior root. It forms frequent compounds with -wi-, fall and -nəp-, take.

ipca'npa, he took a bunch, a handful (-np-, take)
ələ'x a'pcanpcana, he got many handfuls of them (ələ'x, many)
ixa'pcawiya, a bunch fell down accidentally (xa-, accidentally; -wi-, fall down)
ipca'tana, he put a bunch inside (-at-, be inside)
ipca'le·na, he put a bunch into the water (-le·-, into water)
ipca'we·haika, he threw down a bunch (-we·hai-, move downwards)

-ca-, cut at with a knife. Compare -wa- (p. 158). Like -wa-, -ca- takes suffixed -x to indicate severance.

ica'qlika, he made a notch in it with a knife (-qli-, notch)
ica'ɬluka, she cut his hair

isani'ya, she trimmed it with scissors (-ni-, make); isa·ni·'xa, she trimmed, cleaned it by scraping, with knife or scissors
ica'lkwika, by means of the plow he covered it over (-lkwi-, cover over)
ica'kwəctika, he cut at it with a knife and missed (-kwəcti-, miss, lose)
ica'xanna, she sliced it (cheese, bread), he sliced the wood (to make planks); ca'xapc, plank
ica'naḍiya, he finished cutting (-naḍi, finish)
ica'qwə'lka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he cut a hole into it (-qwəl-, hole)

-cax-, cut through. Compounded of -ca- and -x (p. 181). See -ca-, -wa-, -wax-, -yax-, above. Note the plural -cxə-; compare cas- and tam-. Example: ica'xt'ikaniya, he cut his off with a knife (-t'lk-, break off).

-cxə-, cut through, plural. Example: icxə't'lka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he cut off slices (-t'lk-, break).

-wisx-, sew. Also used independently. Perhaps -sx- is the root for sew; -wi- may be the root, go.
iwi'sxcana, she has been sewing
iwi'sx.wat'cəka, she sewed on trimmings (-wat'cək-, fasten on)
iwi'sxtimana, she sewed on marks (i.e., she embroidered; -tima-, mark)

-tax-. Not clear. Example: ita'xsxəca, he is making a gill net (-sx-, sew).

-wica-, boat, canoe; with, by means of or in a canoe. Also used independently.
iwicana'tiya, he went away in a boat (-nati-, go away)
iwicana'tcika, he came back in a boat (-natcik-, bring back)
iwica'nwicanxa, he used to boat or canoe around
iwica'pniya, he started out in a boat (-pni-, launch)
iwica·'naḍiya, he took the rear end of the boat (he captained it; -naḍi-, finish, complete)
wica·'nək, the rear end of a boat, the stern (a'nək, behind)
wica'watui, the front of a boat, the bow (watui, ahead)

-wica'-, by means of a long implement; paddle. Undoubtedly related to -wica- above.
iwica'tcauka, he pried it open with a long implement (pole, rod, crowbar, axe)
iwica'ilka, he broke it apart by prying at it with a long tool (-ilk-, break)
iwica'xwalka, he pried it out with a long implement (-xwal-, loosen out)
iwica'lkwika, he covered it with a plough (-lkwi-, cover over)
iwica'ḍpna, he cohabited with her
wica'xtuwitk, pull, paddle harder! (-xtu-, be strong, energetic)
iwica'ḍpa, iwica'ḍəpna, (walu'la, palu·'s) he tightened it with a wrench
iwica'xəlpa, (walu'la, palu·'s) he pried it open (-xəlp-, open)
iwica'təḍi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he paddled ashore (-təḍi·-, go ashore)
iwica'wi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he paddled out into the river
iwica'ipxa, (walu'la, palu·'s) he paddled downriver (-ipx-, go downriver)
iwica'nx, (walu'la, palu·'s) he paddled here and there

-wisa- (walu'la, palu·'s). Not clear. -wsa- may be a cognate root (p. 178). Example: iwisa'kyu·'na, he reached for, sneaked up to, went slowly close to it (-kyu·-, reach for in order to seize).

-ɒwa-, -twa-, with a sharp implement

iɒwa'χwəɨka, he got it loose (with a sharp stick or crowbar; -χwəɨ-, loosen)

iɒwa'q̣əχna, he gave it a scratch (with a nail; -q̣əχ-, scratch)

pina'ɒwaq̣aɒkca, he scraped himself (he shaved himself with a razor)

itwa'ilka, he broke the tiny thing with a stick (-ilk-, break, destroy)

iɒwa'ti·ɬka, he scattered them (with foot, hand, or stick)

a'ɒwatcauka, he uncovered, raked them up (the ashes with a stick or poker)

itwa'ku'ipska, (walu'la, palu·'s) he took off twigs and leaves with a knife

twa·'timat, (walu'la, palu·'s) lines, marks, tatooing, rock markings (ti'mat, marking)

-su'-, long object, with a long object

isu'te·na, he put the long thing into his garment (-te·-, insides, clothes)

sute·na'was, knife holder, pouch

isu'we·pa·na, he separated them with a long stick (-we·pa·-, go apart, separate)

isu'we·nitcapana, he stuck the pole into the brush (-we·nitcapa-, go into brush)

isu'we·ne·naka, he poked the long thing inside (-we·ne·na-, go within, inside)

isu't'ɬəχwəna, she was completely worn out with copulating (-t'ɬəχw-, be all)

isu''yu'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he moved it a little with a stick

-waʙtəm-, on the knees. Probably a compound of -wa-, be, and -ptəm- or -təm, which has not been found without -wa-. Compare -əm with -nəm of -χnəm-, -təχnəm- and -təχwnəm-, p. 181. Also note cognate -əmtəm- of walu'la-palu·'s. Example: iwa'ʙtəmnaika, he got on his knees (-ai-, sit, go down).

-əmtəm-, (walu'la, palu·'s) on the knees. əm- can not be explained, unless it be like accusative -ʙ and related to it; but compare -mtca-. For -təm see directly above.

ə'mtəmna'ika, he got down on his knees

ə'mtəmwina'na, he went along on his knees (-wina-, go along)

ə'mtəmstsli·'ka, he turned around while on his knees (-stsli·-, turn)

-tuta-, head

itu'taslika, he turned his head about (-sli-, turn)

ixa'tutaʙt'ika, he bumped, cracked his head against it accidentally (χa-, accidentally; -t'ik-, break)

tu'tanik, hair on the top of the head

itu'tale·na, he put his head into the water (-le·-, into water)

χu'tutai, tu'tai, (Yakima, χwał.) pillow

ituta'wəlpa (the animal) swung its head about
itu'talwatiya, he shook his head

-mc-, -məc-, hear, ear. Note in the first example the use of a nominalizer; -mc- is felt to be an independent root element.

məcyu', ear
iməcya'uyauna, because of hearing crying, it cried
imɔcta'ɔna, he heard but did not understand; mɔctɛ·'ɔ, deaf
imɔcma'mana, he is ranting insanely (from power illness) and dying
wi'mciyakc, (walu'la, palu·'s) ear ring

-su-, on hands and feet, on four legs

isuni'na, he went about on all fours (-nin-, go about)
isuna'tiya, he went away on his hands and feet (-nati-, go on)
itxa'sunatiya, he rode away on it (on some animal; txa-, unassisted; -nati-, go on)

-tsu- (same meaning). Apparently identical with -su-. Initial t is inexplicable, though analogous cases should be compared: thus xa- is found as txa-, qa- as tqa-, -ɔmɔ- as -tcmɔ-. Example: itsuna'tiya, he went away on hands and knees (-nati-, go away).

-taxa-, lap (?). The meaning is uncertain. Example: ita'xanpxana, she would hold it in her lap (-nɔp-, take, hold).

-tx-, -txɔ-. This form is rarely or never found without -p, suffixed to give -txɔp-; or -nɔm, suffixed to give -txwənɔm-. -txɔ- seems primal, or perhaps -tɔ-.

-txp-, -txɔp-, foot, with the foot

itɔxpna'inaka, he slipped the shoes on, he put his feet inside them (-naina-, inside)
itɔ'xpwainainaka, he put his foot inside the hole (-wainaina-, go through inside)
itɔxplalɛ·'na; ita'xplalu·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he put his foot into the water (-lalɛ·-, -lalu·-, go into water)
a'wiyatɔxnuwainana, (perhaps Yakima) he kicked at it

-txwnɔm-; -txgnɔm- (walu'la, palu·'s), foot. See -txɔ- and -txɔp- above, also -ɔm of -wa'ntɔm-. Used as object of action.

itɔ'xwnɔmtcalɛ·na, he placed his foot in the water (-tcalɛ·-, into the water)
itɔ'xwənɔmpyuka, he took his foot out of the water (-pyu-, out of the water)
itxatɔxwnamla'pna, accidentally he got one of his feet into the fire (txa-, accidentally; -lan-, into the fire)
itɔxnɔ'mwa·naina'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he put his leg or foot into the hole (-naina-, into a hole)
itɔxnɔ'mlukwi'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he covered it with his foot
itɔxnɔ'mwa·yata'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he moved it with his foot (-yata-, move elsewhere)

-tuna-, by means of the foot. Used instrumentally. This form suggests that t-, ta- or tu- may be fundamental for "foot." Compare -tkwa-, walk; -taxp-, -taxwənəm-; and especially -tuwiya-, in the examples below. ' -na may be the familiar directive (p. 198). Examples of the cognate walu'la-palu·'s form, -ti·na'-, are below.

itunaʻtɬ̓acka, he put out the fire with his foot (-tɬ̓ac-, quench fire)
itunaʻtʻɬ̓ka, he broke it by placing his foot on it (-tʻɬ̓k-, break)
itunaʻwaine·naka, he got it inside by means of his foot (-waine·na-, go through inside)
itunaʻyω·ʻna, he scared it with his feet (by stamping)
itunaʻɬ̓wactika, he kicked it off his foot (-ɬ̓wacti-, lose hold)
aʻpinatunawe·nata, he gave himself a kick to the outside and so got out (from the monster; pina-, self; -we·nat-, go outside)
xaʻtunaqʷtcac, a sharp something got in my foot (-qutca-, be stuck with a sharp thing)
itu'nauqalalatiya, he rolled it on with his foot (-qalalati-, roll)
itu'wiyana, he gave him a lot of kicks
itunaʻilka, he broke, destroyed it by standing on it (-ilk-, break, destroy)

-ti·na'-, (walu'la, palu·'s) by means of or there on the foot

iti·naʻɖ̓ali·ʻka, he bent it by stepping on it (-ɖ̓ali-, bend)
iti·naʻpta'na, he gave it a kick, he kicked it away
iti·naʻqwəʻtka, he got a nail or thorn in his foot
iti·naʻʻauxalalaitiʻya, he used his foot rolling it (-auxala-, roll)
iti·naʻʻyuʻka, he just moved it a little with his foot
iti·naʻɖ̓utcka, the shoe came off in walking or from kicking
iti·naʻtaika, he used his foot to flatten it (ta'i, flat)

-tkwaʙ-, hand, lower arm. Used as object of the action. Compare final -p of -toxp- and -paʙ- (p. 181); also -pa of the cognate walu'la-palu·'s form -tkwapa-.

itkwaʻʙte·na, he put his hand in his pocket (-te·-, into the clothes, insides)
itkwaʻʙqʷtcac, I got a thorn in my hand (-qutca-, be stuck with a sharp thing)
itkwaʻʙliɖ̓aka, he bent his own arm (-liɖ̓ə-, bend)
itkwaʻʙtcaika, he handed it to him
itkwaʻʙwaine·nək, put your hand inside it! (-waine·na-, go through inside)
itkwaʻʙwe·nt'ɬ̓ka, he bumped him with his lower arm (-we·nt'ɬ̓k-, bump)
itkwaʻpalu·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he put his hands into the water (-lu·-, into the water)
itkwaʻptu'xa, (walu'la, palu·'s) he stretched out his arm or arms
itkwaʻpsu·naʻinaka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he got a splinter in his hands or fingers
patkwaʻʙwa·lu·ʻka, (walu'la, palu·'s) they held up their hands (-wa·-, be; -lu·k-, up in air)

-txaʙ-, in or on the hand. Only the following example known. Perhaps related to -tkwaʙ-. Note -ʙ (p. 181). itxaʻpsuyatka, he got a sliver in his hand.

-ti-, buttocks or anus; bottom side; privates; sit. It is also compounded with -pa: see -tipa- below. See cognate -tisəm- below. Note independent use with nominalizer -ɒ.

iti'ɒna, he broke wind; ti'ɒ, Skunk's musc or gas from the bowels; ti·'ɣt, nati·'ɣt, pubic cower ("g-string")
iti'kwicna, he squatted
iti'twiniya, she put her buttocks to his
iti'tcaika, he arose from a sitting position (-tcaik-, arise)
iti'ɣtuya, he strained to break wind (-ɣtu-, be strong)
iɣa'tiqʷtca, unwittingly he sat upon the sharp thing (ɣa-, accidentally; -qutca-, be struck with a sharp thing)
a'qatipslakika, they folded their legs (to hide their privates)
itiwəsɣə'lana, it wriggled, shuffled, scraped (the worm or chicken)
iti'ltəɣca, it is ascending, going up on it (the worm, bird or animal is going up the tree; -ltəɣ-, ascend)
iɣa'tihaika, it went down into it (the auto into the ditch; ɣa-, accidentally; -hai-, down below, descend)
iti'lu·'na, iya'tilu·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he sat in the water
iti'ɣt'ika, (walu'la, palu·'s) he broke it by sitting on it (-t'lk-, break)

-tipa-, upon the buttocks or bottom side. Probably -ti- and -pa, which may be the noun locative post-position or accusative -p, (-ʁ) of -tɣɣp-, -tkwaʁ-, -paʁ-, etc.

iti'patwa, he slept squatting
iti'panaika, he sat down and squatted there (-n-, glide n, p. 104; -ai-, sit)
iti'panina, he went about in a squatting posture (-nin-, go here and there)

-tisəm-, seated. The meaning is not clear; in the ta'iɒnapam example, it seems to function reflexively. See -ti-, -səm-, -tcmə-.

iti'səmwanpca'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he was seated singing (-wanp-, sing tamanwis song)
iti'səmtɛ·nana, iti'səmnu·tca, he was speaking to himself (-tɛ·-, -nu·-, speak)

-ka-, -naka-, (walu'la, palu·'s) eat, while eating, because of eating. -naka- is in some doubt: na- may be a prefix (p. 148). -ka- occurs independently of other roots.

ka''wiɒ, feast
ika'naḍiya, he finished eating (-naḍi, finish)
a'kat'lɣɣwna, they ate it all (-t'lɣɣw-, be all)
ika't'sikna, she bit, chewed at it (in the myth, to eat head lice); ika't'si·t'si·nɣana, she would bite at and eat them (his head lice)
ikat'lina'cana, he spit on it
ika'ci·i·ɣpaɣna, (walu'la, palu·'s) he would prefer to eat it (-ci'i·ɣ-, be good; -paɣna, would)
paka''ni·kaniya, (walu'la, palu·'s) they left food for so and so
pi·na'kat'liyawi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he died from or while eating (-t'liyawi-, die)

ina'kataχci'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he awakened from dozing and eating (-taχci-, awake)

pi·na'kapayuwi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he became ill while or after or from eating (-payuwi-, become ill)

ina'kapnu'na, (walu'la) after eating he went to sleep (-pnu-, sleep)

iki''ilawi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he tasted it (-ilawi-, try, test)

-mtca-, -əmtca-, taste, with the teeth or mouth. Possibly -ka- or -tca- (p. 158) or both are cognates. m may be ə'm, mouth, or more probably accusative -əm as in -əmtəm- (p. 162). See -əm, p. 181.

imtca''ilawiya, he tried it by tasting it (-ilawi-, test, try)

ə'mtcalku''pa, (walu'la, palu·'s) he broke it with his teeth (-ku'p-, break)

ə'mtcayat'lpi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he moistened it with his mouth (-yat'lpi-, wet)

ə'mtcata·'ntχi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he held it in or with his mouth

-t'c-, eat. See -tca- (p. 158). Example: it'cɒwɛ·'ɒa, he will eat in his company (-ɒwɛ·, accompany).

-tcwau-, while eating

itcwa'ut'ciwiuna, while eating he spoke (-t'ciwiu-, speak)

itcwa'u'yaχna, he found it in his food while eating (-yaχ-, find)

itcwa'umitaciya, at eating time he sang (-mitaci-, sing)

itcwa'utiɒna, he broke wind while eating (-tiɒ-, break wind)

itcwa'u'ana'kwa, (walu'la, palu·'s) he left his food (-anakw-, leave, desert)

itcwa'utu·'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he saw it while eating (-tu·k-, see)

itcwa'upayu'wiya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he became ill while eating (-payuwi-, be ill)

-ma-, mouth. Meaning not certain. Compare with ə'm, mouth and -mtca-, with mouth.

ima'kwikwina, he munched though he had nothing in his mouth

ima'ɖpa, he shut his mouth, he pouted, he grimaced, refusing to speak

-muka-, with the mouth. Compare with -ma- above. Example: imu'kanaɒnana, imu'kanpa, he held it in his mouth (-nəp-, take, hold).

-tkwa-, food, eat (?). Meaning not certain.

itkwa'tana, he ate

tkwalwi'pt, evening meal, supper

-sapχw-, crawl, creep on all fours. Possibly saɒ-, causative prefix (p. 152), and -χw-, ground (p. 174). Expresses manner. Compare -su- and -tsu-, p. 163.

isa'pχwnatiya, it (the baby) crawled, crept along (-nati-, go on along)

isa'pχwχalu·ka, it (the baby) crept underneath (-χalu·-, beneath)

isa'pχwt'sswika, it returned on hands and knees, the old man returned slowly (perhaps tottering upon a cane; -t'sswi-, turn and come back)

isa'pχwəltəχna, he ascended (the steep trail) on hands and knees (-ltəχ-, ascend)
isa'pχwnaita, (walu'la, palu·'s) it crawled outside

-waɒya-, -watya-, hop, limp
iwa'ɒyalatiya, he hobbled, limped along (the cripple walked along; -lati-, go along)
iwa'ɒyaltəχna, it hopped up above (the bird hopped up the branch; -ltəχ-, ascend)
iwa'tya'anwi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he limped along

-səm-, sit; be down upon. -səm- or -sm- may be basic for this idea; -wacəm- and -tisəm- appear to be later compounds; -tcmə- and -smə- must be cognates.
isə'm'a'ikca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is sitting down (-ai-, sit)
pa'səmɖinuna, (pcwan.) she sat down and saw (-ɖinu-, see)

-wacəm-, -wasəm-, sit on. Apparently -wa-, be on, about, and -səm-, sit. For -səm-, compare -tcmə- below, undoubtedly a cognate root. Expresses manner of motion or instrumentality.
iwa'səmlu·na, he burned his sitting down place (-lu·-, burn)
iwa'səmt'alaka, he sat upon and flattened it (-t'ala-, flatten)
iwa'səm'ainac, she sat upon my lap, upon mine (-ai-, sit)
iwa'cəmnatiya, it got about on its seat (the baby fidgeted or moved about while sitting; -nati-, go along)
iwa'səm'ilka, he broke or destroyed it by sitting on it (-ilk-, break, destroy)
ya'wacəmlɛ·ɒ, name of a ripple in the Cowlitz River, some five miles below Cowlitz Falls (-ya-, go along, water; -lɛ·-, in water)
iwa'səmwalpta'ikca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is singing (-walptaik-, sing)

-tcmə-, sit, sit up. Compare -wasəm-, -səm-, -smə-, -cəm-, -tcəm-. Compare initial t of tχa-, tqa-, -tsu-. Expresses action preceding or parallel to another activity.
itcmə'waiχtiya, he was sitting, then ran away (-waiχti-, run)
itcmə'wilalakwa, he was sitting, then went away leaving it there (-wilalakw-, go and leave, desert)
itcmə'tcaika, he sat up from a reclined position (-tcaik-, arise)

-smə- (same)
ismə'pluna, he slept while sitting, he slept through it (-plu-, sleep)
isma'ikcana, he was sitting down (-ai-, sit)
ismə'mit'acicana, he was sitting while sitting down (-mit'aci-, sing)
ismə'tctiɒnacana, while sitting there she was making a hard basket (-tctiɒ-, make a basket with an awl)

-sm-. Not clear. Example: isma't'lawina, he desired it or her (-at'lawi-, ask for).

-tkwa-, walk. Also an independent root. Expresses manner of activity.
patkwa'ntkwana, they are walking about, strolling around (in town)

itkwa'waikcana, he crossed over at a walking pace (-wai-, go across); ila'tłkwawaikna, he crossed over walking slowly (-la-, slowly)
itkwa't'sswina, he walked back (-t'sswi-, return back)
itkwa'ninəmc, he is walking in this direction (-nin-, go about; -m, towards this way)
itkwana'tica, it is walking (a baby, for the first time; -nati-, go on along); itkwana'iti'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he has just started in to walk again
itkwa'χwa·mi'ca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is walking uphill (-χwa·mi-, go up above)
itkwa'ipxa, (walu'la, palu·'s) he walked downstream (-ipχ-, downstream)
itkwa'nχ, (walu'la, palu·'s) he walked here and there; itkwa'nca, he is walking around

-wa·-, (walu'la, palu·'s) walk, go along. Compare the central root -wa·-, p. 183. It is fairly certainly cognate. -wa·wi-, -waya- and other elements are no doubt also composed of -wa·-.

iwa·'k̓ənka, he ran to meet him, he headed him off (-k̓ən-, obstruct)
iwa·na'nṗana, he bumped into the post while walking (-anṗa-, against)

-χa-, lean. Translation not certain.

iwa'χanṗa'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he leaned against the post (-anṗa-, against)
a'tamaχanṗama, he rested, leaned against it (-tama-, place)

-wa·wi-, (walu'la, palu·'s) stop going. -wa·- may be walk; -wi may be the completive, halt element noted below, p. 195.

iwa·'winalu·ka, he stopped to urinate (-łu·k-, urinate)
iwa·'wiyat'sə'χna, he stopped to defecate (-t'səχ-, defecate)

-naɢ-, -nak-, carry, take. Before a sonant we find -naɢ-, before a surd -nak-. Apparently -nag- is primary in northwest Sahaptin, -nak- in walu'la-palu·'s.

ina'k̓ni·na, he carried it about (-nin-, about here and there; note the inorganic glottalization)
inaɢnu'wiya, he kept, retained, preserved, took care of it
pana'kslikcana, they passed them around, one to another (-sli-, turn, around)
ina'łktaχna, he carried it up above (-łtaχ-, ascend)
a'naɢ.waixtiya, he ran along carrying it (-waixti-, run)
ina'ɢaca, he carried it inside (-ac-, outside to inside)
naksi'kwa·pamac, I shall take you there and show you (-sikwa-, show)
a'nakcmuwaika, he carried it as he swam across (-cmuwai-, swim across)
ina'kta'mika, (walu'la, palu·'s) he carried it riverwards (-tami-, go riverwards)

-naɢ- has taken idiomatic significations: in some cases the meaning seems to be "with, together with, in company with."

pana'ɢ.wautkca miya'naɢnan, they camped there with the child (-wautkw-, camp over night)

ina'ɢmaχwina, he cohabited with her (-maχwi-, lie and sleep) ina'ɢant'cuna, (χwat.) he cohabited with her (-nt'cu-, sleep)
a'laɢmamunaikmapaɒ, they took the baby to sleep with them (-mamunai-, lie down to sleep)
ina'klət'ci·'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he made it big (lət'ci', big)

-na-, carry. Possibly an old form basic to -naɢ-, or an eroded form of -naɢ-; for k of nak see -k (p. 196).

ina'nana, he took him along
ina'tcika, he brought it back
ina'ita, (walu'la, palu·'s) he carried it outside
ina'ica, (walu'la, palu·'s) he carried it inside

-qu-, -qwə-, pack, carry as a pack. Indicates kind of body activity or motion. Pack in the northwest United States means to carry an article or bundle, usually on the back.

iqu'ltəχna, he packed it up hill (-ltχ-, ascend)
iqu'haika, he packed it down hill (-hai-, descend)
iqwəni'nəmc, he is coming this way with a pack (-nin-, go about; -m, towards this way)
iqwəna'tiya, he packed it away (-nati-, go on along)
qwəninqwənina', a peddler (-nin-, go about; -la', person)
a'qwəyaχ.waikma, he carried it and waded across with it

Note that -qwə- precedes -yaχ-. Apparently the feeling is that -yaχ.waik-, wade across, is one unit, and relatively posterior to anterior -qwə-. The example of -yaχ- following -qwə- illustrates that the terms anterior and posterior do not represent invariable positions.

-tłuɒ-, -tłup-, jump, leap. Also an independent root. Compare -t'cai-, which is an alternative form in walu'la-palu·'s. -tłup-, not -tłuɒ-, occurs in walu'la-palu·'s.

itłu'ɞwaitcalɛ·na, he jumped into the water (-waitcalɛ·-, into the water)
itłu'ɞwayawaika, he leaped across (the road or creek; -wayawai-, go across, over)
itłu'ɒna, he jumped over it, he did jump; tłu'ɒ, a jump
a'watłuɒnac tkwala', I landed a trout
itłu'pwa·la'tχa, (walu'la, palu·'s) he jumped into the fire (-latχ-, into fire)
itłu'pwa·lu·'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he jumped high up (-lu·k-, up above)

-t'cai-, (walu'la, palu·'s) jump. Employed exactly like -tłup-; both forms are found in walu'la-palu·'s. Correlative -tłup- forms may be noted above for each example of -t'cai-.

it'ca'iwa·lu·'ka, he jumped high up
it'ca'ina, he did jump
it'ca'iwa·la'tχa, he jumped into the fire

-tcəx-, urinate. Also an independent root. Compare -t'səx-, defecate, for likely relationship.

itcə'xna, he urinated
itcəxa'tana, he went to urinate
itcə'xtutica, he is standing urinating (-tuti-, stand)
itcə'xtɛ·na, he urinated and soiled his clothes (-tɛ·-, insides, clothes)
itcə'xlailəkca, he urinated into it (-lailə-, into, inside)

-lu·k-, (walu'la, palu·'s) urinate. Also, like -tcəx-, an independent root, and used in second or third position.

ilu·'klalata'na, he urinated into it
ilu·'kna, he urinated
ilu·'ktxa'tcikca, he is urinating standing
iwa·'winalu·ka, he stopped to urinate

-t'səx-, defecate. Also an independent root. Compare -tcəx-, urinate, for probable relationship.

it'sə'xna, he defecated; a'wat'səxənəma, he defecated
it'sə'xtɛ·na, he defecated and soiled his clothes (-tɛ·-, insides, clothes)
it'sə'x'aikca, he is sitting and defecating (-ai-, sit, squat)
wɛ·t'sə'xsanlica, I'll defecate and ask them (-wɛ·-, go; -sanli-, ask)

-cmu-, swim. Compare -cu·-, p. 163. -cmu- is a stem appearing independently, at least in Umatilla reservation speech.

icmu'waika, he swam over (-wai-, go across)
icmu't'sswika, he swam back (-t'ssw-i-, turn back and go the other way)
ima'icmu·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) in the morning he swam (-mai-, morning)
icmu·'ca'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he was swimming

-cu·-, (walu'la, palu·'s) swim. Possibly -cu·- occurs only dependently where -cmu- would be employed in the northwest dialects.

icu·'wa'ika, he swam across (-wai-, go across)
icu·ni'nx, he is always swimming around here and there (-nin-, here and there)

-yu·c-, (walu'la, palu·'s) wade. Compare -yax- of the northwest dialects, p. 157. Historically -yu·c- may contain -ya-, and perhaps -wa- and c of -cu·-.

iyu·'cwa'ika, he waded across (-wai-, go across)
iyu·'cwa'ipxa, he waded downstream (-ipx-, go downstream)
iyu·'cwa·wa'ina, he waded into the middle of the stream
iyu·'cunanx, he waded here and there

-qala-, roll. Compare -qana- and -xala-, which have the same meaning but appear less often.

iqa'lat'sswika, it rolled back, returning (-t'sswi-, turn and go the other way)
iqala'xalu·ka, it rolled underneath (-xalu·-, beneath)
iqalali'na, it rolled along, about (-lin-, go about)

iqalala'ticana, it was rolling on (-lati-, go on)
itu'nauqalalatiya, he rolled it on with his foot (-tuna-, with the foot; -lati-, go on)

-qaɒa-, roll. Another form of -qala-, -χala-.
icaɒauqaɒala'tiya, he made it roll along with his hands (caɒa-, causative; -lati-, go on)
itunauqaɒala'tiya, he rolled it along with his foot (-tuna-, with the foot; -lati-, go on)

-te·-, speak, call, tell, narrate. With directive -na compounded it is an independent root complex, -te·na-, speak. Compare -tu·-, -tmi- and -təm- (also -təmna-), which may be cognates. With -na it appears independently.
ite·'lkwəɒca, the narration frightened him (-lkwak-, frighten)
pina'te·naχtiya, he wept at his own narration (pina'-, self; -naχti-, cry)
ite·'nana, he said so; itca'te·nana, he was forced to say so, to tell
ite·'taχciya, he called and awakened him (-taχci-, awaken)
ite·'ləχwna, he talked and won him over to it

-tu·-, (walu'la, palu·'s) talk, tell. See -te·-, -təm-, -tmi-, -təmna-.
itu·'taχci'ya, he awakened him by talking (-taχci-, awaken)
pa'a'tu·pi'χna, they did make him cry when they told him (-pix-, cry)
pa'tu·kwa'laka, he made him glad in telling him it (-kwala-, be glad)
itu·'yait'cu'ka, he scared him by saying something (-yait'cu-, fear)

-tmi-, heart. Undoubtedly a cognate of təmna', heart; also of noun suffix -təm, language (p. 222). As anterior root, it is used instrumentally. In walu'la-palu·'s -təmna- and -tmi- both occur.
itmi'yuna, he schemed, planned, figured it out (also used in walu'la, palu·'s); tmi'yu, scheme, plan
itmi'cuqwa·na, he found it out deep in his heart (-cuqw-, learn, know); a'tmicuqwa·nac, I found out in my heart it was so
itmi''awiya, he (the shaman) tested with his heart (to learn the cause of the sickness; -awi-, try, test)
itmi'q̇ananiya pχwi'yac, he saw his (the other person's) thoughts with his heart
itmi·'na, she had her first menses

-təmna-, (walu'la, palu·'s) in heart, know, love. təmna', heart, is a noun common to all the northern dialects. It appears as independent and first position verb root in walu'la-palu·'s.
itəmna'ca, he liked it, he liked her
itəmna'tu·'ka itəmna'cuqwa·'na, he saw it and knew it (-tu·k-, see; -cuqw-, know)
itəmnana'χca, (tain.) he is telling; itəmnanaχa'ta̱χ, (walu'la, palu·'s) he likes to tell stories

-cabu·'-, -capu·'-, blow with breath, by means of blowing with the breath. Used instrumentally. -capu·- is used in walu'la-palu·'s, not -cabu·-.

icabu·'lka, he blew at it with his mouth
icabu·'təckna, he blew out the light (-təc-, quench fire)
icabuwiya'wicana, he (the shaman) has been doctoring by blowing upon
icapu·'pχwa, (walu'la, palu·'s) he blew at it, he cooled it by blowing at it

-tamanta-, pull, drag, lead; drag with a rope (walu'la, palu·'s). Perhaps -tama- (p. 159) is compounded with a succeeding element -nta-. The whole element is used instrumentally or as a manner of action parallel with the action expressed by the posterior element. In walu'la-palu·'s, pulling or dragging with a rope is implied, while -tsasu- is used for dragging with the hands.

a'tamantapyukma, he pulled, took it out of the water onto shore (-pyu-, out of water)
itama'ntatiya, he dragged, pulled it along (-ti-, go along)
itama'ntatkəxna, he led it (the horse) uphill (-ktəx-, ascend); itama'ntaχwa·mi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he dragged it uphill with a rope (-χwa·mi-, ascend)
itama'ntatunika, he led, pulled it upstream (-tuni-, upstream)
itama'ntatcapana, he led, pulled it into the woods, brush (-tcapa-, into brush); itama'ntanitcapa'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he dragged it into the brush with a rope (-nitcapa-, into brush)
itama'ntapaicka, he pulled it into full sight (-paic-, in sight)

-tsasu-, (walu'la, palu·'s) drag with the hands. -tsa- is no doubt -tca-, pull with hand or teeth (p. 158); -su- is doubtfully the element (p. 162) meaning long object. Certainly -tsasu-, like -tamanta-, is a compound of ancient lineage.

itsa'sunaiti'ya, he dragged it along
itsa'sulaitqi'ya, he dragged it ashore, he dragged it out of fire
itsa'suχwa·mi'ya, he dragged it uphill (-χwa·mi-, ascend)
itsa'suqwa'lka, he dragged it out of the brush, he dragged it into sight; itca'suqʷlka, he pulled it through and out
itsa'sunitcapa'na, he dragged it with his hands into the brush (-nitcapa-, into brush)

-tuna-, shake. It is impossible to determine the nature of a relationship between this element and the homonym for "foot" (p. 164), because of distance apart in meaning.

ituna'watiyac, he shook his belly at me
itula'q̇wəd̨wəpya, he shook his backbone
itula'wəχayac, he shook his foreleg at me (wəχa', leg)
ituna''cu'cuwiyac, he shook his lungs at me ('cu''cu, lungs)
a'tunacuka, they threshed the grain

-cnəm-, (walu'la, palu·'s) look. The correlate in the northwest dialects is -wan-. Each example in walu'la-palu·'s uses central root -wa·- (p 183). -nəm is conceivably related to -nəm and -əm discussed on p. 181. Compare -ləm-, p. 173.

icnə'mwa·na'ita, he looked outside (-wa·-, be, be through or yonder; -nait-, go outside)
icnə'mwa·xwa·mi'ya, he looked up above (-wa·-, be; -xwa·mi-, ascend)
icnə'mwa·nitcanwi'ya, he looked down below

-wan-, by sight, with the eyes
iwa'ntwanana, he followed it by looking at it (-twana-, follow after)
iwa'nwe·haika, he looked down below (-we·hai-, go below, descend)
iwa'nwe·itəxna, he followed him in sight high above (-we·itəx-, ascend, go above)
a'unam pa'want'ləxwca, now you see me for the last time (pa'-, me; -t'ləxw-, be all, last)

-wal-. Perhaps an older form of -wan- above. In one problematic form, ilɵəli·'na, only 1 is found; this may indicate that in -wan-, -wal-, -walɵm-, l or n is basic, the other elements, wa- and -ɵm, are secondary.
amacwa'lsikwa·na, in order that I might learn by watching you (amac-, so that I-you; -sikwa-, show, learn)
iwa'lsikwa·na, he learned
walsa'kwit, (walu'la, palu·'s) myth, ancient story
ilɵəli·'na, he looked back (-li-, turn)

-walɵm- (walu'la, palu·'s). Correlate of -wal- of the northwest dialects. -ɵm may be related to objectivizer -nɵm and -ɵm, p. 181. Compare -lɵm- below.
iwa'lɵmsikwa'na, he took lessons (-sikwa-, teach)
ci·'nac u·'lɵmsi·kwa'ta, in whose manner shall I make it?

-lɵm-, close, shut (eyes). Analysis uncertain. Found with -q̇i-, see, only.
ilɵmq̇i'na, he shut his eyes (-q̇i-, see); ilə'mq̇i·'na (walu'la, palu·'s)
la·'mq̇i, with eyes shut forever
iwiya'lɵmq̇ica'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he went along with his eyes shut (-wiya-, go along)

-pa-, be situated, placed (?). -pa- may have affiliation with either the noun locative suffix (p. 229), or anterior root -pa- (p. 157).
ipa'laica ɵni·'ɒ, a house is situated upon the very edge of the water (-lai-, in or to water)
ipa'haikca, it (the rocky side of the mountain) slopes downwards (-hai-, go down below, descend)
ipa'st'sati'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) it became foggy (st'sa't, dark)

-wayu·wi-, go in river. Analysis uncertain. Compare -tkwa-, -tkwai-.
iwayu·'witiya, (the fish) went down river
iwayu·'witunika, (the fish) went up river

-tkwa-, go in river. Analysis uncertain. -tkwai- seems the correlate in walu'la-palu·'s. Example: itkwana'tiya, the fish went up river.

-tkwai-, (walu'la, palu·'s) go in river. Meaning in doubt.
itkwa'ituni'kca, fish are going upriver (-tuni-, upriver)
itkwa'ipəɔ'χca, fish are going down river (-pəɔ-, downstream)

-tkwai-, -tkwɛ·-, lie, be spread, spread out on the ground, lie down. Also used independently, and more often so.
iχa'tkwaipatukca, there is a puddle (χa-, uncaused; -patu-, be situated); itkwa'ipatu'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) there was a small pool of mud or water
itkwa'inaka, she spread them out (the berries to dry)
itkwa'ica, it lies there
tkwa'c, cedar splint berry drying mat
a'tkwɛ·tiqanaika, he got on his belly on the ground
itχa'tkwaina'ka, (walu'la, palu·'s) the tree fell (tχa-, uncaused)
itkwa'iwa'ika, (walu'la, palu·'s) he placed it across over it (-wai-, across)

-tkwɛ·-. See -tkwai-, above, of which it is probably a cognate. Example: a'tkwɛ·-ɖika i'lkwaspa, he rested it (the canoe), placed it on, crosswise on (the limbs of a tree; -ɖi-, fasten, fix upon).

-tkwɛ·-. Meaning uncertain. Example: a'tkwɛ·pat'sakaniɒa, (in order to) put it together (-t'sa-, near, join).

-tkwɛ·-. Not clear. Example: itkwɛ·'wawənəma, it slipped, escaped past.

-tkwa-. Not clear. Example: itkwa'slikta, he will turn around (-sli-, turn).

-ma-, -mə-, ground, soil, roots. Used as verb, root dig, when compounded with directive -na.
ma·'c, əma·'c, many roots thickly about in the soil
ima'nana, she went away to dig roots; ima·'na'na (walu'la, palu·'s)
ita'umanaca, she has gone away digging in the night time (-tau-, at night)
ima'nawiya, she returned from root digging (-wi, return); ima·'natwi'ya (walu'la, palu·'s)
ima'χwina, he lay down
ima'munaika, he lay down to sleep; itχa'mamunaika, he was stretched out dead (tχa-, involuntarily)
imaɛma'mana, he is lying down dying and ranting insanely
pana'ɡmamunaikχana, they would take the baby and sleep with it (-naɡ-, carry, take, bear)
mə't'sai, root
imə't'lknəma, she broke her root digger (-t'lk-, break); ima·'t'lknəma, she pried up the root
mət'lə't'lk, mud

-χu-, -χw(ə)-, ground, soil, on the ground, reclining. With suffixed -l (p. 196) it seems more often to have lost its original meaning of "ground" and come to mean merely "extract," though in many cases the idea of extraction from the soil has

remained. It is possible that plural causative prefix saʁ- joined with it anciently to give anterior root -saʁxw-, crawl on hands and knees. Undoubtedly cognate are -xni-, dig roots, and anterior root -xnəm- below.

ixni'ya, she dug roots

ixwə'lna, it worked out from the ground; itca'xwəlka, he worked it out, extracted it from the ground

ixwə'slikxana, he would turn over as he lay there (-sli-, turn)

ixwna'npana, she slept with him (-anpa-, against)

ixwlɛ'na, he reclined at the water to drink it (mouth to the water and lying flat; -lɛ-, in or to the water)

ixu'tilka, while asleep he scattered his coverings (-til-, scatter)

ixu'talaka, he lay on it and flattened it (-tala-, flatten)

xu'tutai, pillow (-tuta-, head)

ixwnitca'caca, (walu'la, palu's) he lay on her

ixwa'ina, he lay upon her; itxa'xwaina, he accidentally (stumbled and) lay upon him (txa-, accidentally)

ixwəna'inaka, he went inside prone, head first (-naina-, go inside)

itxa'xwəɒ.ca, they lay scattered about (txa-, uncaused); ixwa'ɒ.ca, there is stuff lying about

-xnəm-, hole. See -xu-, ground. Compare -xni-, dig roots. Compare -nam of -təxwnəm- (p. 181).

ixnə'mna, he dug a hole

ixnə'mqu·ika, he dug all the way through

-xa-. Compare -xu-, ground; -xni-, dig roots; and -xnəm-, hole. It is possibly a cognate of these elements. Example: ixalu·'ka, he went underneath.

-xatama-, drop down, lie down. Apparently an old compound: -xa- perhaps conveying the idea of "ground," -tama-, put, place.

a'xatamatkwatana, he lay down and ate (-tkwata-, eat)

ixa'tamailka, he broke it by dropping it (-ilk-, break, destroy)

ixa'tamainaka, it dropped down inside

-wəsla-, -wsla-, -usla-, -sla-, breeze, wind. The -sla- form is less frequent. Compare with -wila- below. -la- may be primary.

wəsla't'saikt, a wind; sla't'saikt, (perhaps Yakima) a wind

pa'wəslailkaniya, the wind blew it down to pieces (-ilk-, break)

pa'wəslawainana, the wind blew it away (-waina-, fly away)

pawəsla'təcka, the wind put out the fire (-təc-, quench)

pawəsla't'ikna, the wind broke it (-t'ik-, break)

wəsla'yawau, the cry or whistle of the wind (-yawau-, cry out)

wəsla'yunpupna, the wind shook it (-yuɒ-, shake)

-wila-, (walu'la, palu's) wind

pa'wilata'cka, the wind put out the fire (-ta'c-, quench)

pa'wilatxatkwaina'ka, the wind made the tree fall (txa-, uncaused; -tkwaina-, lie on ground)

pa'wilakutku'pna, the wind shook it (-kutkuɒ-, do, work)

-la-, fire, burn, because of the fire or heat of the fire. Compare anterior root -lac- and posterior roots -lu·-, -laɒ-, and -latx-, burn, all possibly cognate. -l-, -lə- or -la- may be an old element for fire or firewood. Also compare -i'lkʷ-, burn, and i'lkwəc, wood, stick, fire wood. In walu'la-palu·'s, -lu·- and -la- are both used, -lu·- less frequently.

ila''alaina, he went to the water on account of the fire (-alai-, to the waterside)

ilaɬə'lkca, the fire is smoking; ila'qu''cχca, (same, walu'la, palu·'s)

ila'wiyatana, it burned

la'χwi·χt, hot, warm; ila'χwe·χma, the weather became warm

ila'wainana, it burst, popped, exploded

ila't'ce·qt'ce·qna, he cried from the pain of the burn (-t'ce·q-, cry, squeal)

a'lawaitcaika, they were burned up

ila'we·slika, he turned around because of the heat of the fire (-we·sli-, move and turn; the same word in walu'la-palu·'s is ila'tɬwastsli·'ka)

la''luiyi, charcoal, burned wood; la'qucquc, (walu'la, palu·'s) charcoal

a'ləmkʷcana, it was steaming; ila'mula'it.ca, (walu'la, palu·'s) it is boiling or steaming

ilaʃxiyawina, he dried them (salmon or clothes; -xiyau-, dry)

ila'tuχca, (walu'la, palu·'s) the fire is scattering sparks

ila'wa·qwə'lkca, (walu'la, palu·'s) light is visible in there

ila'qaixi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he lit the light

ila't'ci'iti'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) the light blinded him

-lu·-, (walu'la, palu·'s) because of fire, with fire

ilu·'ɒi·'χna, the fire made him cry (-ɒi·χ-, cry)

ilu·'t'lχwa'χac, it all burned (-t'lχw-, all)

ilu''ilaχiya'wica, she is drying them over the fire (-χiyau-, dry)

-ləc-, crackle, pop, burn with little explosions, glimmer, glitter, twinkle. Compare l- with -la- and -lu·- for likely common origin; compare -c of -t'ac-, quench (p. 194).

ilə'cqaixica, the lights are glimmering, twinkling, showing (qa'iχ, light, dawn)

ilə'cwainana, the fire crackled and spluttered

i'lkwəc inu·' lə'c·, the fire is making a sound: lə'c·

ilə'cɬalkca, fires are smoking

-laʙ-, wear an article of clothing, clothes. Note again final -ʙ, which may indicate that the element is used as object of the verb action. -la- may mean "warm, heat" and -ʙ, object; -laʙ- is literally then, "warm thing."

ila'ʙ'inawiya, he tried it on (the hat or coat; -inawi-, try, test)

ila'ʙwaika, he put on the article of clothing in the wrong manner (-wai-, wrong)

ila'ʙna·mka, he wore out the article of clothing (-na·m-, erode, wear away)

-lawe·c-. Not clear. Example: ilawe·cpa'ɒyanac, it stung me (-pəɒya-, spear, stab).

-ta-, -taɣ-, -tap-, -tam-, -tama-, and other compound elements having -ta- may possibly be of one origin in Sahaptin, all expressing a basic idea of supernatural power. At present this can not be more than a hint for dialectic comparisons.

-ta-, life (?). Meaning not clear.

papata'witclaka, it shortened his life

iwa'itana, he "had powered" him, he poisoned him by causing a tamanwis illness to be lodged in him (-wai- may mean "bad, wrong")

iwata·'ya, he killed him (by magic tamanwis power); iwata'ina (same, walu'la, palu·'s)

-ta-, hit, shoot, light, power (?). Meaning unclear. Compare the element for torch light, -tap-, below. Perhaps compounded to give -tama- (p. 160).

iwa·'ta, (walu'la, palu·'s) he went to seek a power

ita''amca, (walu'la, palu·'s) dark thunder clouds are coming

ita·'na, lightning hit it; pa'tu·na (walu'la, palu·'s)

ita'paqca, it burst (the boil)

ita'tquka, he made a hole with a bullet (-tqu-, hole)

pa'i'tanpatana, they went to fetch the shot deer (-nəp-, get, take)

ita''awinciya, he wounded it; ita'ku'pa (walu'la, palu·'s)

ita'ilka, itama'ilka, he threw something at it and broke or destroyed it (-ilk-, break, destroy)

itanamu'təmna, he prayed or blessed

italapu'caka, he said the blessing (the grace at meals)

ita'munaniya, he talked (to his tamanawis power); ita'muna, he informed him, told him the news

itawiyu·'tana, he informed him (of the situation, of the future)

ita'manƥana, he lit the light

-tap-, torch light. Also independent. Undoubtedly -ta- and object -p (-ʁ).

ita'ptsuka, he set them on fire

ita'pqaixiya, he made a torch light (qa'ix, dawn, light)

i'tapina, he went with a torch light; i'tautapina, he went with a torch light by night (-tau-, at night time)

ta'pas, torch light, lantern light

-taɣ-, oven (?). Analysis uncertain. Perhaps -ta- is the element discussed above, and -ɣ a suffix (p. 181).

itaɣna'inaka, she put it inside the oven (-naina-, put inside)

ita'maka, (walu'la, palu·'s) she roasted them in the oven

-cɖe·c-, shade. Also an independent root.

cɖe·'c, the shade; cɖi·'c (walu'la, palu·'s)

icɖe·clu·'kca, he is going into the shade because of the heat

ilacɖi·clu·'kata'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he went into the shade

-twa-, snow, rain. There are independent roots for both snow and rain: -puwi-, snow; -taɣ'taɣ-, rain. It seems impossible to indicate whether snow or rain is

meant by -twa-; context frequently tells. Used both instrumentally and as kind of activity.

itwa'tuχna, it rained, so he returned (-tuχ-, return home)
itwa'tuχnu·ka, it rained, so he went under a shelter
itwa'χnicana, while it rained she dug roots (-χni-, dig roots)
itwana'naca, it is snowing
itwa'nanaɒnaḍiya, it stopped snowing (-naḍi, finish); itwa'naḍita'-ťaca, (walu'la, palu·'s) it will stop snowing soon
itwa'lkwika, the snow covered it over (-lkwik-, cover over); pa'twa-lkwi'kca, (walu'la, palu·'s) it is covered with snow

-tiya-. Meaning uncertain. Example: iti'yanəpa, he stole it, took it (-nəp-, take, get).

-t'cəm-. Meaning not clear.

a'caʙat'cəmnika, he wrapped it all up (mat, meat and all)
it'ca'mni·na, he wrapped it up (the corpse, before burial)

-n(ə)ka-. Perhaps tying firmly, tightly. Example: inka'ctka, (walu'la, palu·'s) he made a knot (-ct-, half hitch or tangle).

-wala-, knot (?). See -wa- (p. 156) for possible relationship. Meaning not clear.

wala'ḍiki·, wrapped up, tied up; walaḍikla', sheriff or constable (literally, person who knots or fastens; -la', person)
iwa'lat'sumka, he tied a knot (on the end of the sack)
iwa'laḳuika, he tied it up, knot fashion; u·'lakwi·knək (walu'la, palu·'s)
wa'lakwaikwaiki, hair tied in one knot
wala'ʙt'iki, tied, belted (above the hips); walaʙt'lka'was, girdle band or belt (of men and women, four or five feet long, tied round twice)

-wəca-, -wca-, -uca-, -uc-, move away (?). Meaning uncertain. Certainly a cognate of the stem below. See -wiyaus-, p. 156.

iwəswa'utksa, (χwaɬ.) he halts to camp for the night (-wautku-, camp over night)
a'wəcanakwa, they left him all by himself (-a·nakw-, leave, desert)
a'wəcana, he moved off, left there; pauca'nana, (walu'la, palu·'s) they moved away
i'kwənəkpam waca'tcikta, you will move away to there
a'wəctaimana, he met, encountered him; a'uctu·na'c, (walu'la, palu·'s) I met him

-wəsa-, -wusa-, -usa-, hunt. Meaning not certain.

iwusali'lχana, he would go about hunting (-lil-, go about here and there)
a'wəsalatiχana, he would go away to hunt (-lati-, go on along)
iusala'iti'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he went hunting big game

-palai-, be unconscious, senseless, demented, drunken. Much more commonly used independently.

ipa'laitəmcana, he talked dementedly (because of drink; -təm-, speak, language); itcapala'itəmcana, he talked dementedly (because insane)
ipala'ina, he was intoxicated; pala'i, senseless, demented, drunk, innocent, unwitting, foolish

-tɣuɣ-, run. Only one example is recorded in the northwest dialects: itɣu'ɣtɬamaika, he hid nearby (-tɬamai-, out of sight).

-tɣa·ɣ-, (walu'la, palu·'s) run. -wuit- seems preferred if only one person runs; -tɣa·ɣ- seems preferably although not invariably plural. There are not sufficient examples.

itɣa·'ɣlamaku·'na'c, he did hide from me (-ɬama-, disappear)
patɣa·'ɣwa'ika, they ran across (-wai-, across)
patɣa·'ɣtsli·'ka, they ran around him (-tsli-, around)
patɣa·'ɣ'a'nakwa, they ran away from him (-anakw-, leave, desert)

-wuit-, (walu'la, palu·'s) run. Example: iwu'ita'nakwa, he ran away from him (-anakw-, leave, desert).

-wan-. Meaning not certain. Perhaps -wa- and objective -n. Example: iwa'nyaʔana, he washed his hands.

-cɤəm-, -ucɤəm-, (walu'la, palu·'s) in anger, in fear, not desiring it, in negation, frustrated. -m is no doubt an objective root suffix (p. 181).

icɤa'mwiyanawi'ya, iucɤa'mwiyanawi'ya, he came angrily (-wiyanawi-, arrive)
icɤa'mnatci·'ka, he refused to take it, he brought it because he did not want it (-natcik-, bring)
icɤa'mpi·ɣna, she cried in frustration because she could not do it (-pi·ɣ-, cry)
icɤa'mwi·na'na, she went away because she was afraid to stay (-wina-, go away)
icɤa'mpant'lka, he punched him in anger (-pant'lk-, hit with fist)

-cɤam-, (ɣwaɬ.) in disgust or anger, because of being disgusted or angry, disgustedly or angrily

sɤe·'ɣ, angrily; isɤa'ɣna, he was angry
icɤa'muɣiya, he threw it away disgustedly (-waɣi-, throw away)
icɤa'mwina, he went away in disgust and anger (-wina-, go away)
icɤa'mnaɣtica, she is crying because she is angry (-naɣti-, cry)
icɤa'mti·na, he was angry and hit him (-ti·-, hit, strike)
icɤa'mwiyanawiya, he came angry (-wiyanawi-, arrive)

-tcəm-, (ɣwaɬ.) in fear, because of being afraid. -m must be the object suffix (p. 181) as in -cɤam- and -cɤəm-; walu'la, palu·'s -tca- indicates the basic form.

itcə'mwiyanawiya, he came in fear (-wiyanawi-, arrive)
itcə'mwina, he ran away in fear (-wina-, go away)
itcə'mwiuqi·na, he dropped it in fear (-waqi-, throw down, drop)
itcə'mnaɣtiya, he was afraid and cried (-naɣti-, cry)

itcəmna'tiya, (taiɒ.) he ran away from him, he escaped (-nati-, go on along)

-tca-, (walu'la, palu·'s) in fear. No doubt basic to -tcəm- above. Example: itca'p̓i·χna, he cried in fear.

-pna-, (χwal.) in pain, because of being hurt or ill. p- may be secondary, -na- primary, as indicated by walu'la, palu·'s -na-.

ipna'natcika, he came in pain, he came because he was sick or hurt (-natcik-, bring back)

ipna'nanana, he went away because it hurt or because he was ill (-nana-, carry or take away)

-na-, (walu'la, palu·'s) in pain. No doubt a cognate of -pna- above. Compare -na- above, p. 148.

ina'p̓i·χna, he cried in his pain (-p̓i·χ-, cry)

pina'nana'na, he went away in pain (pi·na'-, self; -na'na, away plus past tense)

-twa-, follow, pursue (?). Meaning not certain. Compare posterior roots -dwai- and -dwa- (p. 194), go with, accompany, follow. Also compare -twapa-. Example: itwa'nana, he followed him.

-twapa-. Not clear. Compare -twa-, follow. Examples: a'twanatiya, she ran after them; pa'sunwapatiya, he followed after, behind.

-tχ-, -təχ-, exchange (?). Meaning not certain. Example: itəχta'ima, he traded, he exchanged it (-taima-, sell); itχtu·'na (walu'la, palu·'s).

-ma-. Doubtful. Example: i'malamaika, he made an error.

-wiɬɖa-. Meaning not clear. Appears independently. Examples: iwi'ɬɖpa, he scratched, clawed him (a few times); iwiɬɖa'npa, he scratched, clawed him (once).

-wiska-. Meaning not clear. Example: iwi'skanpa, he squeezed it, pinched it (the crab or insect).

-tuχs-, (walu'la, palu·'s) point, end

itu'χswa·lu·'lkca, it is pointing up (-wa·-, be; -lu·k-, up in air)

itu'χswa·nitcanwi'ya, it is pointing down (-wa·-, be; -tcanwi-, down below)

itu'χswa·na'inaka, it is pointed in, inside (-wa·-, be; -naina-, inside)

-uta-, (walu'la, palu·'s) a few (?). Example: iuta''mcɖwala'ina, he made some mistakes (-mcɖwalai-, made a mistake).

-inm-, -inam-, more, a little more. This adjective modifier (p. 242) may be prefixed to -χtu- when the latter is a verb root; inəm- then functions as anterior root. Example: inəmaχtu'naχana, he ran faster (-χtu-, be strong, energetic).

-m-. A very obscure element, found in the following: a'mɬkwi·na, he followed. It may be accusative m below.

5.

A few suffixes attach to anterior roots and change their meaning. These suffixes are -p, -nəm, or -m and -x.

-x, out, into, through, all the way through, severed. This suffix also attaches to posterior roots (p. 196) but less frequently. The meaning, while not always clear, is usually something of completion, accomplishment. We list anterior roots with probable or certain -x; for detailed exemplification refer to citations above. -yaχ-, water; -waχ-, chop through; -tamaχ-, throw; -tix-, hand; -caχ-, cut through; -təχ-, -tχ-, foot.

-p, -ʙ, -pa. This is probably suffixed to anterior roots making them objects of the action of posterior roots. In meaning the effect is to supply incorporated object nouns; there is no morphological nominalization; the native perhaps feels merely locative or accusative -pa suffix—to which -ʙ, -p, -pa are no doubt historically kin—or he may feel only a more precisely objectified anterior element. Roots with attached -ʙ, -p, -pa are -pan-, fist; -təχp-, foot; -tkwap-, forearm; -tχap-, hand; -tipa-, on buttocks; -tap-, torch; -laʙ-, garment. Perhaps -wapa- can be included in the list. Note below several root elements with suffixed -nəm, -əm that behave similarly.

-nəm, -əm (-m). It seems that the function of -əm or -nəm (basically -m) is also to make a noun object of the anterior root adhered to; though the element seems older and more buried, its function must be like that of -ʙ, -p, -pa, above. n of -nəm is perhaps the familiar glide consonant (p. 104). Initial m of -mtca- (p. 166) may be related; -tca- would then be -tca-, pull, mouth, p. 158. Examples of suffixed -nəm: -χnəm-, hole; -təχwnəm-, -təχnəm-, foot. Roots perhaps containing -əm or -m are -wanʇəm-, -əmtəm-, on knees; -cnəm-, look; -waləm-; -cχəm-, -cχam-, in anger; -tcəm-, in fear.

CENTRAL VERB ROOTS

Roots in central position rarely appear independently. They take a posterior root or both anterior and posterior roots. They are perhaps to be conceived as anterior roots because of usage anterior to posterior roots; -wɛ·- (-wi·-) and -waya- are also commonly used as simple anterior roots. The central elements express kinds of movement.

1.

-wɛ·-, -wi·-. Perhaps a cognate of -wi-; perhaps compounded with -ɬ. The meaning is abstract, conveying something of progressive moving, going.

a'nag.wɛ·natcika a'swan, the boy brought it back (-nag-, carry, bear; -natcik-, bring back)

iwa'nwɛ·haika, he looked down below (-wan-, follow in sight; -haik-, below, descend); iwa'nwɛ·ɬtaχna, he looked up above (-ɬtaχ-, above, ascend)

iwa'wɛ·pyuka, he jerked it out of the water (-wa-, pull, stick; -pyu-, out of the water)

a'yawɛ·ɖika, he caught and fastened upon something as he floated along (-ya-, in the water; -ɖi-, be fastened upon)

itca'wɛ·slika, he turned it round to the other side (-sli-, turn); ila'wɛ·slika, he turned round because of the heat of the fire, he turned his other side to the fire (-la-, fire)

itama'wɛ·χaluˑka, he threw it beneath (-tama-, throw; -χaluˑ-, beneath)

isu'wɛ·nɛ·naka, he poked the long thing inside into it (-su-, long thing; -nɛ·na-, through inside)

a'pinatamawɛ·paˑna, he threw himself off the road to the side (pina'-, self; -tama-, throw; -paˑ-, apart, aside, separate)

itama'ntawɛ·nata, he led, pulled it outside (-tama'nta-, pull, drag; -at-, inside to outside)

iwɛ·'lɬkuˑna, he went to meet them

iwɛ·'lɬkwika, it became foggy (-lɬkwi-, cover over)

iwɛ·'pniya, he launched it (-pni-, launch)

iwɛ·'pɔckca, there is dew (-pɔck-, be dew)

iwɛ·'p̣ɔnkma, he came into slight (-p̣ɔnk-, appear)

a'wɛ·tχaika, he landed (-tχ-, land ashore)

-wai-, motion over, across, through space, in or upon and through. Perhaps related to -wi-, -wɛ·-, -waya-, and so on. The meaning is clear; as independent root it means "go across." It is perhaps compounded with -l, and also with directive -na to give an idiomatic root compound meaning "fly," "float" or "go through space."

iwa'ika, he went across

itɬu'bwaiktcalɛ·na, he jumped into the water (-tɬuʙ-, jump; -tcalɛ·-, into the water); ipa'waitcalɛ·na, he shoved him into the water (-pa-, push)

itɔ'χpwainainaka, he put his foot inside the hole (-tɔχp-, foot; -naina-, through to the inside)

a'lawaitcaika, they were burned up (-la-, fire)

icaʙa'wailatɔχna, he shoved him into the fire (caʙa'-, causative; -latɔχ-, into the fire)

iwailuˑ'lcna, he was lifted up, hanged (-luˑ-, in the air); a'tamawailuˑka, he threw it up into the air (-tama-, throw; -luˑ-, into the air)

iwa'i'ata, he dished it out, placed it out (on the mat spread; -at-, inside to outside)

iwa'inana, it flew away (-na, away); ita'mawainaɒna, he threw it off, away, outside (-tama-, throw); ituna'wainana, he kicked it away (-tuna-, foot); iya'wainacana, it floated away (-ya-, water)

-waya-. Probably a cognate of -wai-, and usually the same in meaning; perhaps also more remotely a cognate of -wɛ·- and -wi-. Some of the examples may be in origin -wa-, be upon, and -ya-, water.

itɬu'bwayawaika, he leaped over, across (-tɬuʙ-, jump; -wai-, cross over); isu'wayawaika, he thrust across his long thing (-su-, long object)

ita'mawayalɛ·na, he threw it close to the water (-tama-, throw; -lɛ·-, to the water); iwaya'lɛ·na, he neared the water

-wa·-, (walu'la, palu·'s) be (?). Forms in -wai-, -waik-, -waya- and -wɛ·- of the northwest dialects have -wa·- correlates in walu'la-palu·'s. Thus itlu'ʁwayawaika, (taiɒ.) he jumped across, is itlu'pwa·wa'ika in walu'la-palu·'s. Other examples of -wa·- follow. Note that -wa-, be, may be only the free form of this central root; so that -wai-, -waya-, -wɛ·- of other dialects may be less archaic than -wa·- of walu'la-palu·'s., and may stem from it. However, it is not improbable that -wa·- is related to -waya- or -wai-, and I am inclined to judge these latter as possible kin to -wi-, go. No conclusion should be reached in such hypothetic matters: the need is for more dialects to record and compare.

itlu'pwa·nu·'na, he jumped into the water (-tłuᵽ-, jump; -nu·-, into water; in ta'ipnapam the form is itlu'ʁwaitcaleina); itlu'pwa·lu·'ka, he jumped high up (-lu·-, up high)

icnə'mwa·χwa·mi'ya, he looked up above (-cnəm-, look; -χwa·mi-, ascend; iwa'nwɛ·itɑχna, (taiɒ.) he followed him in sight high above; -wan-, look; -itɑχ-, ascend)

itkwa'iwa'ika, itkwa'iwa·wa'ika, he placed it across over it (-tkwai-, lie; -wai-, across)

itama'wa·nanᵽa'na, he threw it against it (-tama-, throw; -anᵽa-, upon, against)

itɑχna'mwa·yatɑ'na, he moved it with his foot (-tɑχnəm-, foot; -yatɑ-, move elsewhere)

2.

-l. This is a suffix occurring with central root -wai-. Compare in method the elements appended to anterior roots (p. 181) and the elements appended to posterior roots (p. 196). Example: itlu'ʁwailtcalɛ·na, he jumped into the water (-tłuʁ-, jump; -wai-, through; -tcalɛ·-, into the water).

POSTERIOR VERB ROOTS

The following types of roots and elements occur in posterior verb root position. One, the mass of true root elements of the language, including roots generally independent, many merely frequently independent, some more commonly if not invariably dependent; secondly, a few directive suffixes that historically have adhered to roots in oft used compounds, have lost suffix status and are felt as true posterior roots; thirdly, fossilized elements of obscure signification (like -l,-l and especially -ɬ); these are also attached to anterior or medial roots.

Of the true independent and dependent roots in posterior position only those are listed that are either invariably or very frequently dependent, or, while often independent nevertheless serve quasi-formally to express ideas that must be expressed in combination with other (anterior) ideas correlatively expressed. The list as given is not complete even for ta'ipnapam; it is merely typical of the kind of roots that are compounded as often as they are independent. When the root is known to appear independently the fact is noted. Most roots in this position are at least capable of independent usage, only a few never occur independently. On the whole there is considerably less feeling of morphologic formalization and subservience than we find in the dependent anterior roots.

1.

-(n)anɒ-, move next to or into or against

wana'nɒas, large, black, red headed woodpecker (-wa-, be -?)

waladɟcla'lɒani, fastened upon it (upon the cradle board)

a'tamaxanɒama, he rested, leaned against it (-tama-, place); iwa'xanɒana, he leaned on it (-wa-, be on)

ixwɔna'nɒa·na, she slept by him (-xwɔ-, ground, lie)

xwɔla'lɒas, pennywinkle; papoosed baby

iwɛ·na'nɒana, he bumped against it, it passed against or by it (-wɛ·-, go); iwa·na'nɒana (walu'la, palu·'s) he bumped into the post while walking

-nin-, here and there. As -lil-, this root exhibits fossilization in certain root compounds.

isa'pxwninxana, it would go about on hands and knees (-sapxw-, crawl, creep)

isuni'na, it went about on all fours (-su-, on all fours)

iwusali'lxana, he would go hunting (-wusa-, hunt)

a'tipalilma, he moved about here and there in a squatting posture (-tipa-, squatting)

a'tkwaliltkwalilma, he would walk about (-tkwa-, walk)

-ti-, go along. See -nati- for more common uses of -ti-.

iwa'ixtiya, he ran on

pa'suɒwapatiya, he followed and ran after or behind

itama'ntatiya, he led, pulled, dragged it along (-tama'nta-, drag, pull)

iwayu·'witina, it went downstream (-wayu·wi-, go down river)

-nati-, go along. Probably -na and -ti-. the former probably directive -na, the latter the root of motion above.

isa'pxwnatiya, it crept, crawled along (-sapxw-, crawl, creep)

iwica'natiya, he went away in a boat (-wica-, boat)

isuna'tiya, he went away on his hands and feet (-su-, on all fours)

itcɔmna'tiya, he escaped, ran away from him

iya'x^{u}natiya, he waded some short distance into the water (-yax-, wade)

iqwana'tiya, he packed it along (-qwɔ-, pack)

-lati-; -laiti-, (walu'la, palu·'s) go along, go onwards. Cognate of -nati-. The shift from n to l is possibly made for the motive of consonant harmany; with -qala- prefixed, -lati-, never -nati-, is used. No diminutive nuance seems intended, though historically the form may be explained that way. Note iqalala'ticana, it was rolling along (-qala-, roll); l of -lati- seems explicable either by the assumption of an old law of consonant harmony, or by assuming a diminutive process operative. Other examples: iwasala'tiya, he went away to hunt (-wasa-, hunt); iusala'iti'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he went hunting big game (-usa-, hunt).

-quχ-, -qᵘχ-, move an object a short distance away
icaʙaʼqᵘχna, he moved it a short distance (to another part of the room)
ituna'qᵘχna, he moved it a bit with his foot (-tuna-, foot)
itca'qᵘχna, he moved it (-tca-, pull, place)

-tuni-, upstream
iwayu·'witunika, it went up river (the boat or fish)
itama'ntatunika, he led or dragged it up river (-tama'nta-, pull, drag)

-tami-, towards the river
iwɛ·'tamika, he went to the river, towards the river (-wɛ·-, go)
a'watamika, he went away to the river

-lt̓u-. Not clear. Example: iwɛ·'lt̓ukχana, he ran or got on the road again (-wɛ·-, go).

-lt̓ku-. Not clear. Example: iwɛ·'lt̓ku·na, he ran to meet him (-wɛ·-, go).

-anakw-, leave, desert, part from. Possibly the -na- element is the familiar directive. The root occurs independently.
iwiya·'nakwa, he left him there
a'wɔcanakwa, they left him all by himself
itca·na'kwa, he desired no more of it and left it (-tca-, put, place); tca·-nakwa', a left over
icaʙa''anakwa, she made him leave her, she weaned it (caʙa'-, causative); ana'kwɔn, a deserted husband or wife; i'a'nakwa, he left her; pa'ʙa-'anakwa, they left one another (pa'ʙa-, reciprocal)
pa'wilaləkwa, he ran on and hastily left him (-wila-, go on)

-ku-, stop, cease, halt
wɛ·'yaḵuktk, stop a while before going on!
iwiya'ḵukcana, he halted on his way (-wiya-, while going along)
pawɛ·'ku·na, they stopped to rest before going on again (-wɛ·-, and then went)

-it-, ascend. Compounded with -χ very frequently: -itəχ-.
iwɛ·'itna, he went up (the animal went up the tree, or he walked or ran up the hill; -wɛ·-, go)
itu'wɛ·itna, he jumped up on it (-tun-, jump; -wɛ·-, go)

-itχ-, -itəχ-, ascend. -it- above and suffix -χ (p. 196).
iwa'nwɛ·itəχna, he looked up above (-wan-, look; -wɛ·-, go)
isa'pχwəltəχna, he ascended (the steep trail) on hands and knees (-sapχw-, on all fours)
pa'tcawɛ·itəχna, he helped him up (by pulling him up with a rope; -tca-, pull)
ita'mawɛ·itəχna, he got it, threw it up there on top (by placing, throwing, pushing it there; -tama-, throw, place)

-hai-, descend, go below, fall. Also appears as an independent root.

iha'ika, he fell down
iqu'haika, he packed it down below (-qu-, pack)
iwa'nwɛ·haika, he looked down below (-wan-, follow in sight, look; -wɛ·-, go)

-lɋx-, in the ground, to the ground

icaʙa'lɋxna, he buried, cached it (caʙa'-, causative)
ipa'lɋxna, he plunged it into the ground (-pa-, push, put); a'χapalɋxna, he plunged to the ground in suicide (χa-, uncaused)

-lp-, come into view

iwiya'lpa, he came to the summit (-wiya-, go along)
iwaya'lpu·na, he came into sight from out of the place where he was (-waya-, go through)
a'yaqalpu·kikapaᴅ, they came out of the woods into the open

-wi-, down, fall down below

ixa'pcawica, it is dropping down (rain, hail)
tini'wan a'walawiya, blood dropped down, dripped down
ica'puwiyana, he unpacked, unloaded it (-cap-, pack)

-yat'a-, be elsewhere; the first example given is in doubt. Compare -t'a- (p. 193).

iwa'ɴyat'ana, he washed his hands
ita'mɛ·t'ana, ita'mayat'ana, he put it in another place a short distance away (-tama-, put, place)
ipa'yat'ana, he transplanted it; he put it in another place in the ground (-pa-, put)
ina'gyat'ana, he carried it a short distance away (-nag-, carry)
itca'yat'ana, he led it (the animal) to another place (-tca-, pull)
iwi'yɛ·t'ana, they moved it from where it was (-wa-, go, move)

-lu·-, be in the air

ixalu·'ka, he went beneath (-xa-, below)
ita'mawailu·ka, he threw it up into the air (-tama-, throw; -wai-, through)
iwalu·'ca, (χwat.) it is dangling there (-wa-, be around, about)
pa'nag.wɛ·lu·ka, it took her aloft (-nag-, carry; -wɛ·-, go)
iwailu·'kna, he was lifted or hung, he raised the bet

-xalu·-, be beneath. This is very likely -xa-, and -lu·- above, the former tentatively anterior root, the latter definitely a posterior root. It seems, however, that -xa- is an old element that is still found only with -lu·-. -xalu·- also appears as an independent root.

itama'wɛ·xalu·ka, he threw it beneath (-tama-, throw; -wɛ·-, go)
ixalu·'ka, he went beneath
isa'pχwxalu·ka, he crept underneath (-sapχw-, creep, crawl)
iqala'xalu·ka, it rolled underneath (-qala-, roll)

-tcai-, arise, raise, motion upwards. Occurs independently.

a'tqatcaiktcitca, he stood up suddenly
iti'tcaika, he arose from a sitting position (-ti-, bottom side, buttocks)
iqu'tcaika, he arose with the pack, started to go with it (-qu-, pack)
ipa'witkwantcaika, the strangers held up their hands (-ipa'-, they the strangers; -tkwan-, hand)
itca'ilxana, it was up-pointed; ipa'tcaikca, it is up-pointed (-pa-, place)

-lan-, into the fire. See prefixed la- (p. 176) for a cognate root. Also occurs with appended -x (p. 196) or perhaps -la- is compounded with -tx- to give the related form -latx- below. Example: itxatəxwənəmla'nna, accidentally he put one of his feet in the fire (txa-, accidentally; -təxwnəm-, foot).

-latx-, -latax-, into the fire. See -la(n)- above. The analysis may be -la-, fire; -tx-, -tax-, into fire, out of the water. Example: ita'mawɛ·latəxna, he threw it in the fire (-tama-, throw; -wɛ·-, go).

-tx-, -tax-, into the fire (?). Example: pa'tamatəxa i'lkwəcyau, he threw her into the fire (-tama-, put, throw).

-tx-, -tax-, out of water, land on shore (?)

a'wɛ·txaika, he landed on shore (-wɛ·-, go)
a'txaiki, landing
a'naklamatəxna, they came out of the water with it (-nac-, carry)
a'yawɛ·ptəxna, he landed (-ya-, water)

-pni-, launch, take forth and out

iwica'pniya, he started out in a boat (-wica-, boat)
a'nakpniya, he took it out (from the place where he had it; -nak-, carry, bear)
iwɛ·'pniya, he launched it (-wɛ·-, go)

-pa·-, separate, remove, apart, get away from. The element -pa-, into the brush, seems in position and meaning similar to this element; they may be examined for possible single origin.

isu'wɛ·pa·na, he separated them with a long stick (-su-, with a long stick; -wɛ·-, go)
ita'mawɛ·pa·xana, he threw it aside (-tama-, throw; -wɛ·-, go)
iwiya'pa·xana, he got off the trail (-wiya-, while going along); iwɛ·'pa·xana, he ran off, got off the road
pa'nawiyapa·na, they left each other (pa'na-, reciprocal; -wiya-, go along)
itca'wɛ·pa·na, he pulled them apart, away (-tca-, pull; -wɛ·-, go)

-pa-, into the brush, woods. For compounded forms see -tcapa-, -nitcapa-, below.

iwa'pana, he went into the woods
iwiya'ipa, (Yak.) he came out of the woods
iwɛ·'nitcapana, he went into the thicket or brush or woods (-wɛ·-, go); isu'wɛ·nitcapaxana, he thrust the pole into the brush (-su-, pole)

-tcapa-, into the forest, wood, brush. The signification -tca- is in doubt. -pa- is clearly "into the forest, wood, brush." Example: itama'ntatcapana, he led or dragged it into the woods (-tama'nta-, drag, pull).

-nitcapa-, into the brush, woods. -pa- (p. 187) is possibly primary, meaning "into the brush, woods." -tca- and -nitca- are probably the most frequently compounded with -pa. A possible cognate -nitca- appears independently in Yakima; when independent in ta'ĭpnapam it is -nika-.

isu'wɛ·nitcapana, he stuck the pole into the brush (-su-, pole; -wɛ·-, go); ita'mawɛ·nitcapana, he threw it into the thicket (-tama-, throw)

ini'tcataχana, ini'kataχana, (Yak.) he took him there

-nɛ·'-, into the water. See cognate -nɛ·na-, -naina-, -lɛ·-, -lai-.

itamanɛ·'na, he placed it in the water (-tama-, place)

iwinanɛ·'na, he went into the water (for a swim; -wina-, go on)

-lɛ·-, -lai-, towards the water (a short distance to the water). See cognate -tcalɛ·-, -nɛ·-, -nɛ·na-, -naina-, etc.

itcalɛ·'na, he placed it in the water

itaχplalɛ·'na, he put his foot in the water (-taχp-, foot)

ipca'lɛ·na, he put a bunch of them in the water (-pca-, bunch)

iχwlɛ·'na, he reclined to the water to drink it (lying on the belly, mouth in the water; -χw-, prone)

a'wayalaina, he came down to the river (-waya-, go;) iwaya'laina, iwaya'lɛ·na, he neared the water, went towards the water

ita'mawailtcalɛ·na, he threw it in the river (-tama-, throw); ita'mawayalɛ·na, he threw it close to the water

ala'ikan, towards the water (-kan, towards); alaila'ma, people by the water, the Yakimas (-lama, persons)

-naina-, motion to the inside. See cognate -nɛ·na-. Also compare -ac- (p. 189).

itaχpna'inaka, he put his feet in the shoes (put on the shoes; -taχp-, foot); ita'χpwainainaka, he put his foot inside the hole (-wai-, thru)

iχwɔna'inaka, he went inside prone, head first (-χwɔ-, prone)

itaχna'inaka, she put it inside the oven (-taχ-, oven)

itcɔ'χlailɔka, he urinated in it (-tcaχ-, urinate)

-nɛ·na-, motion to the inside

ita'mawainɛ·naka, he threw it inside (-tama-, throw; -wai-, through; icaɒa'wainɛ·naka, he shoved him inside (-caɒa'-, causative)

iwɛ·lɛ·'lɔkca, it (the little fish) went into it (into the fish trap; -wɛ·-, go)

-tca-. Compare -nika-, -nitca- (Yak.). -tca- may be a cognate of anterior root -tca- (p. 158). Here it seems to convey an idea that the activity proceeded to where the root indicates—to the water or woods, for example.

ithu'ɒwailtcalɛ·na, he jumped into the water (-thuʙ-, jump; -wai-, through; -lɛ·-, in the water)

itama'ntatcapana, he dragged it into the brush (-tamanta-, drag; -pa-, apart into the woods or brush)

-tcalɛ-, right into the water. See -lɛ- and -tca-. ita'mawailtcalɛ·na, he threw it into the water (-tama-, throw); ipa'waitcalɛ·na, he shoved him into the water (-pa-, push); itu'ɜwailtcalɛ·na, he jumped into the water (-tiuʁ-, jump).

-pyu-, out of the water, out of the fire. Also an independent element.

ipyu'ɒna, it came out of the water

iwa'wɛ·pyuka, he jerked it out of the water (-wa-, with a stick, pull, be; -wɛ·-, go); iwɛ·'pyuka, he came out of the water in haste

iwiya'pyuka, he got out of the water (-wiya-, go along)

itama'ntapyukma, he pulled, dragged it from the water (-tama'nta-, pull)

-yau-, (walu'la, palu·'s) over, above

iwatliqya'una'na, he stepped over him

iwati·xsya'una'na, he stepped over him (-wati-, step)

itama'waiya'una'na, he threw it over and beyond him (-tama-, throw; -wai-, across)

-at-, from the inside to the outside. Also an independent root.

i'a'ta, he went outside; i'a'ɒ.camc, he is coming out towards this way; a'tk, go outside!

a'pinatunawɛ·nata, he gave himself a kick to the outside and so got out (of the monster) (pina-, self; -tuna-, with the foot; -wɛ·-, go)

ita'mawainapna, he threw it outside (-tama-, throw; -wai-, go, through)

-ac-, from the outside to the inside. Also an independent root.

i'a'ca, he went inside

ina'ɔaca, he carried it inside (-nac-, carry)

-np-, -nəp-, seize, get, hold. Also occurs pseudo-independently with directive non-root -a'ca functioning as posterior root in this one case.

inpa'cana, he took it away from him (-a'ca, directive upon, from)

ita'ɣanpɣana, she would hold it (the baby) in her lap (-taɣa-, lap-?)

iwə'npa. he got it, seized it, held it

iti'yanəpa, he stole it, took it

iwina'npa, he went and got it (-wina-, go away)

-kwəcti-, -kwcti-, -kucti-, lose, miss, fail. -ti- may be compared with -ti-, motion away. The root appears independently.

iwapa'kuctika, he made a grab at him but failed to get him; it slipped from his hand (-wapa-, with the hand upon)

ituna'kwəctika, he kicked it off his foot (-tuna-, foot)

ita'makwəctika, he threw it at him and missed (-tama-, throw)

itca'kwəctika, he removed (his clothes; -tca-, pull)

ica'kwəctika, he cut at it and missed (-ca-, cut)

ikwəcti'ya, it got disconnected; ikwəcta'ina, he missed it (he guessed wrongly when playing the hand game)

-lkwi-, cover

icaʙaˈlkwika, he covered it over (caʙaˈ-, causative)
iwicaˈlkwika, it was covered by ploughing (-wica-, plough)
iwɛˈlkwika, it became foggy (-wɛˈ-, go, become)
itwaˈlkwika, snow covered it (-twa-, snow, rain)
ituna'lkwika, he covered it by scraping stuff on it with his foot (-tuna-, with the foot)

-tcau-, uncover, open

aˈpwatcauka, he raked it up, uncovered it (the ashes, e.g.; -pwa-, sharply pointed tool)
itcaˈtcauka, he pulled off the cover (-tca-, pull, hands, teeth)
icaʙaˈtcauka, he opened it (caʙaˈ-, causative)
wicaˈtcauka, he pried it open (-wica-, wedge)

-ɣwl-, -ɣwəl-, ring, encircle. Example: itaˈmawɛɣwəlka, he threw it and ringed it (as in throwing horseshoes; -tama-, throw; -wɛˈ-, go).

-tqu-, hole

aˈtcatquka, he made a hole in it (-tca-, causative)
icaˈtquka, he made a hole by cutting (-ca-, cut)
itaˈtquka, he made a hole with a bullet (-ta-, shoot)
iɣənəˈmtquka, he made a hole by digging (-ɣnəm-, dig)

-liq̇ə-, bend

itcaˈliq̇əka, he bent it (with hands and fingers; -tca-, pull, with hand)
iwaˈliq̇əka, he bent it (by striking; -wa-, blow, strike)
iwəslaˈliq̇əka, the wind bent it (-wəsla-, wind)
itkwaˈʟliq̇əka, he bent his arm around (-tkwaʙ-, forearm, hand)

-q̇w-, -q̇wə-, poke. ipaˈq̇wəkna, he poked him, gave him a poke or dig (with the hand or a short stick; -pa-, hand, push).

-qʷtca-, sharp thing into (as nail, sliver, thorn)

ipaˈqʷtca, he put, thrust it in (the key, thorn, e.g.; -pa-, push, with hand)
itkwaˈnqʷtcac, a thorn got into my hand (-tkwaʜ-, upon the hand)
ɣaˈtunaqʷtcac, a splinter, nail, thorn (e.g.) got into my foot (ɣa-, accidentally; -tuna-, foot)
iɣaˈtiqʷtca, he sat on the thorn (ɣa-, accidentally; -ti-, bottom side)

-suyat-, receive sliver into

ituna'suyatka, he got a sliver in his foot (-tuna-, foot)
itɣaˈʜsuyatka, he got a sliver in his hand (-tɣaʜ-, hand)
iɣaˈsuyatka, he cohabited with her

-t'si-, into the eye. -t'si- may be related to -ki-, and therefore to -q̇i-, see. As -t'si- it has perhaps taken specialized and narrower signification. It occurs independently.

ipaˈt'sikɣana, he poked him in the eye (-pa-, hand, push)
t'siˈ'ni, one eyed

ilawɛ·t'si'tiya, he blinked, was blinded because of the light (of the sun; -la-, fire; -wɛ·-, go)

-t'si-, crunch, bite and chew
ika't'sikna, she bit and split, crunched (the head louse; -ka-, eat)
isaɲa't'sika, he made it go t'sa'k, pop! when he bit and killed it (the head louse; saɲa'-, causative)

-ku·l-, open up. Possibly -l is a suffix (p. 196) and -ku- primary.
itca'ku·lka, he opened it (-tca-, pull with hand)
ituna'ku·lka, he kicked it open (-tuna-, foot)
iwa'ku·lka, he broke it open (-wa-, strike with hand or implement)
ixənə'mku·lka, he dug an outlet (-xənəm-, dig in ground)

-qwł-, -qwəł-, untie or through and out. The meaning is not precisely determined.
a'tcaqwəlka, he untied (the knot)
itsa'suqwə'lka, he dragged or pulled it through and out (-tsasu-, drag with the hands)

-sƛ̓kw-, tie a knot on a string. Also used independently.
iwi'sƛ̓kwa, he tied some knots
itsa'sƛ̓kwa, he tied a knot

-t'sum-, tie a knot. The meaning given is not certain.
iwa'lat'sumka, he tied a knot (on a sack)
iwa'wət'sumka, he tied knots on sack after sack (-wa-, on, upon)

-q̓i-, be fastened, caught, stuck upon
caɲa'q̓ikanipapam, you will hang it up (on a tree) for me (caɲa'-, causative)
iwɛ·'q̓ika, he was caught on it (-wɛ·-, go); iya'wɛ·q̓ika, as he floated along he got stuck upon (a limb in the water; -ya-, float)
wala'q̓iki·, tied up, wrapped up
ita'mawɛ·q̓ika, he threw it onto it (-tama-, throw; -wɛ·-, go)
ipa'wɛ·q̓ika, he stuck a pointed thing into it (-pa-, put, push)

-t'ct-, tear, rip. Also independent.
ipa't'ctkxana, he would tear it (with finger, stick, deer hide beater; -pa-, hand, push)
iɒwa't'ctkxana, he would tear it with a little stick (-ɒwa-, small, sharp stick)
t'cta'ɒni, torn to pieces
iwi't'ctka, she tore it into many pieces (wi-, distributive plural)
pa'tcat'ctkaniya, it tore his (garment; -tca-, cause, pull, teeth, hand)

-li-, turn, around. It is fairly clear that -li-, while never appearing independently, is compounded with a number of elements that precede it; thus, -xwli-, -sli-, -skli-, -t'sli-, -t'skli- and others, each seemingly an old and compact root unit.

-xwli-, turn on the ground. -xw-, ground and -li-, turn. The unit functions as posterior root, though -xw- is in origin anterior root (p. 174). Example: a'natcamxwlikxana, while singing he would turn over rocks on the ground (na-, while singing; -tca-, pull, with hand).

-skli-, -skli-, turn, around about. The form -skli- usually seems Yakima in feeling to a ta'inpampam, though some -skli- forms are not off color. The origins of s and k in this root are uncertain.

itca'wɛ·slika; itca'wɛ·sklika, (Yak.) he turned it round to the other side, he righted it by hand (-tca-, pull by hand; -wɛ·-, go)
itu'taslika, he turned his head about, he looked to the side (-tuta-, head)
itu'naslika, he turned it about with his foot (-tuna-, foot)
pana'kslikcana, they passed them around one to another (-nak-, carry)
ixwə'slika, he turned over as he lay there (-xw-, prone)
iwɛ·'slika; iwɛ·'sklika, (Yak.) it went over to one side, it became one sided (-wɛ·-, go)
iwiya'slika; iwiya'sklika, (Yak.) he went around it (-wiya-, go on along)
skəli·' ənì·'ɒpa, all round the house (ənì·'ɒ, house; -pa, at)
paskli·'na, they went round and about (inside the room or house)

-t'skli-, -t'sli-, remove, come apart or off. Note that -kli- and -li- are as interchangeable in this form as in -sli- and -skli-, above. The origin of t's, like s in -sli-, is in doubt. An independent adverb, basically from this root, is t'sakla'i, pulled off.

itsa't'sklika, he pulled it off (the button, tire, cover; -tsa-, pull)
ituna't'sklika, from walking it came off (the heel of the shoe, for example; -tuna-, foot)
a'wat'sklika, his head was chopped off (-wa-, chop)
a'wit'sklika, he took them off (the ants, for example)
a'sat'slika, it (his hand) was cut off (-sa-, cut)

Compare the following, where l- may be from anterior root -wan-, look, and ɢ is the k employed in the roots immediately above: ilɢəli·'na, he looked back, backwards.

-tip-, bounce. Example: itunatti'pna, he kicked it and it bounced away (-tuna-, with the foot).

-qu-, knock, rap, beat

ipa'ququ·na, he knocked (on the door; -pa-, with the hand, push)
ituna'quka, he beat or drummed with his feet (-tuna-, foot)
itca'quka, he pulled (on the reins; -tca-, pull)

-t'lk-, rend, smash, crash into, break, kill

ituna't'lka, he broke it by placing his foot on it (-tuna-, foot)
imə't'lkn̥əma, she broke her root digger (-mə-, ground)
itama't'lka, he broke it by throwing (-tama-, throw)

A number of anterior roots take -x̌ (p. 181) before -t'ik-.

ica'x̌t'ika, he cut it off (-cax̌-, cut through)
iwa'x̌t'ika, he chopped it off (-wax̌-, chop through)
a'wixatamax̌t'ikaniya, he dropped it down in order to cut off his (x̌a-, uncaused; ground)

Other cases of -t'ik- appear with accusative -ʁ attached to the preceding anterior root.

ix̌a'tutant'ika, he bumped his head (x̌a-, accidentally; -tuta-, head)
iwɛ·'nt'ika, he bumped into it (-wɛ·-, go)
itkwa'nwɛ·ʁt'ika, he bumped him with the lower arm (-tkwaʁ-, lower arm)

-t'cq^{u}-, smash, break

iwa't'cq^{u}kca, he broke it
itama't'cq^{u}kca, he threw it and broke it, he threw something at it and broke it (-tama'-, throw); ix̌a'tamat'cq^{u}ka, he dropped it and it smashed (-x̌atama-, accidentally drop)

-ilk-, break, break to pieces

iwica'ilka, he broke it apart by prying at it with a long tool (-wica-, with long tool)
iwa'ilkaniya, he broke it with a club or axe, he smashed it (-wa-, by clubbing, hitting)
pa'wəslailkaniya, the wind blew it down into pieces (-wəsla-, wind)
ituna'ilka, he broke it by standing on it (-tuna-, foot)
itca'ilka, he destroyed or broke it by accident (-tca-, causative)
iwa'səm'ilka, he destroyed, broke it by sitting on it (-wasəm-, sit)
ix̌a'tamailka, he broke, destroyed it by dropping it (-x̌atama-, drop); itama'ilka, ita'ilka, he threw something at it and broke it (-tama-, throw; -ta-, shoot, throw)
itx̌a'ilka, ix̌a'ilka, it became old and fell to ruin (x̌a-, uncaused)

-t̓a-, beat, strike

iwa't̓ana, he struck him
pa'wamat̓aka, he smashed him up, beat him to pieces

-wəcp-, -wcp-, -ucp-, strike senseless

ituna'wəcpa, he struck him senseless with a blow from the foot (-tuna-, foot)
iwa'wəcpa, he struck him senseless with a blow (of stick or stone; -wa-, by wielding)
ipa'wəcpa, he struck him senseless with a blow of the hand (-pa-, with the hand)

-wai-, be wrong, do wrongly. Example: ila'nwaika, he put on the article of clothing in the wrong manner (-lan-, clothes).

-ucx-, quit, stop

itxa'ucxca, he is stopping
itk̓wa'ucxa, he just stopped walking (-tk̓wa-, walk)

-tcai-. Meaning not clear. Example: iwiya'tcaikna, it became no good (the water, e.g.).

-lk̓u-, -lk̓wə-, frighten, fear. Appears as independent root.

itxa'lk̓uka, it was suddenly afraid (txa-, uncaused)
ita'ulk̓wəkcana, he was frightened during the night (-tau-, night)
lk̓wɛ'lk̓ʷ, lk̓wə'lkni, frightened; ilk̓wə'kna, he feared him
itɛ'lk̓wəkca, the account frightened him (-tɛ'-, tell, relate)

-t'cu-, fear. Example: iwiyɛ't'cuna, he became frightened (-wiya-, while going along).

-t'ca-, eat. Note that accompanied by -ɒwɛ'- it may appear without other roots. See anterior root -t'c- (p. 166).

wiya't'cakac, I arrived just in time to eat
it'cɒwɛ'na, he ate with him (-ɒwɛ'-, in company with)

-t̓ku-, be lazy. The meaning is not clear.

ila'wiyat̓kʷca, he is being lazy
wiya't̓kulam iwa', he is lazy (iwa', he is)

-tci-. Not clear in meaning.

ina'tcika, he brought it (-na-, carry)
waca'tcikta, will move away (-waca-, move away)

-tux-, return home. Ordinarily occurs alone as in the first example; found in true combination only in the instance below.

itu'xna, he returned home
iwiya'nawitu'xɒa, (walu'la, palu's) he will come back (-wiyanawi-, arrive)

-t̓ə-. The compound root -t̓ac-, quench fire, is common. The precise meaning of -t̓ə- or -t̓əl- is in doubt.

it̓ə'cna, he quenched the fire
ilat̓ə'lkca, the fire is smoking

-tsu-. Not clear.

ita'ptsuka, he set fire to them (-tap-, torch)
ila'tsuka, he burned (his head hair)

-tcai-. Not clear. Example: a'lawaitcaika, they were burned up (-la-, fire).

2.

-ɒwai-, -ɒwɛ'-; -ɒwa'-, -twa'- (walu'la, palu's), together with, in company with. Also a noun suffix (p. 217). Note the familiar vowel shift, ai or ɛ' of northwest Sahaptin to walu'la-palu's a'.

ixɑ'ɒwaica, he is courting, wooing her, he talked to her; ipa'ʙaɣɒwaica, they are courting, talking to one another (paʙa-, reciprocal)
iwiya'ɒwaica, he accompanied him (-wiya-, go along)
iwiya'twa·'na (walu'la, palu·'s); wiya'ɒwai, the companion of a person
itkwa'taɒwɛ·na, he ate with him (-tkwata-, eat); itkwa'taɒwa·'na (walu'la, palu·'s)
iwinaɛ·ɒwɛ·'na, he has been swimming with him (-winaɛ·-, swim)
ila'aikɒwɛ·'na, he sat down by him (-la'aik-, sit down)
ixnɒwɛ·'cana, she was digging with her (-xni-, dig roots)
iku'ɒkuɒwɛ·na, he worked with him (-kutkut-, work; iku'tkuɒwa·'na (walu'la, palu·'s)

But note ixɑ'twaica, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is chumming with or talking with him. This exception may indicate that -twai- is an older, -twa·- of walu'la-palu·'s a more modern form; and on the other hand -xətwai- may be merely borrowed from northwest Sahaptin. Again we need more dialects to warrant a decision.

-la-, person, one who. Like -təm- below, this does not belong properly to the verb roots; it is the personifying noun suffix (p. 218). The resultant noun is once again verbalized by the addition of -i. -la- is clearly a secondary part of a compound root, not an original verb root itself. Example: i'inəmla'ica, it is thundering (-inəm-, sound).

-təm-, language, speech, speak. See -təm, language; compare -la- above. -təm- may function as suffix or posterior root. In the forms given it is felt as posterior root, excepting one case where it seems part of the independent root -təmna-, here used usually as verb root.

itcapala'itəmcana, he has been talking insanely (-palai-, out of mind)
itanamu'təmna, he prayed, blessed
pa'natəmnaca, they are pals ("heart" to one another; paʙa-, reciprocal)
ayaya'ctəmcam, you are making a lot of unnecessary fuss, worthless talk (ayaya'c, awkward, embarrassed)
imima'təmna, (Yak.) he told about the ways of olden days (-mima'-, of yore)
iwanu'təmna, he suffered pains (the swallowing ogre did)

3.

A number of suffixed directives and modals compound with certain root elements and when so attached function as if they were posterior roots and integral in the root complex. This phenomenon is possibly a clew to the history of other obscure elements in the next section, which completes the verb root complex.

-wi; -twi (walu'la, palu·'s; p. 198). This suffix rarely appears in a root complex. Example: iwiya'nawiya, he arrived (-wiya-, go along; -na, away).

-na (p. 198). -na, unlike -wi, -twi, is frequently present in the root complex of a number of verbs. Examples: iwi'na, he went away; iwiya'nawiya, he arrived (-wiya-, go on; -wi, return); ima·'na'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) she went root digging (-ma·-, dig roots).

-a'ca (p. 200). This suffix is very rarely found as part of a root complex. Example: inpa'cana, he took it from him (-nəp-, seize).

-ta. Possibly -ta, go away in order to (p. 198). Examples: i'ɔ'mtaikca, she is residing at her husband's parents (ɔ'm, husband); ɔ'mtanaɒ, a married woman residing with her husband's parents.

-ui (p 203). This suffix is also found as a completely independent root, thus, u'ip, the beginning; -ui- is not infrequently a root in function. Examples: wa'tui, the first one, ahead; iwa'tuina, he was ahead.

4.

The following obscure appended elements are usually final in the root complex, follow the posterior roots and in some cases perhaps relate in function to the elements appended to anterior roots (p. 181).

-x. Compare anterior root suffix -x (p. 181). Example: ita'mawɛ·ltəxna, he got it up above there (-tama-, throw, place; -wɛ·lt-, go above).

-l, -əl, go in, through, out. The meaning is not certain. Example: ixwa'lna, it worked out from the ground (-xw-, ground).

-k. This element is of frequently recognizable signification and function; it is one of the most common and important morphologic elements. It serves to make a verb of a basically adjective root: ta'i iwa', flat it-is; ita'ika, (walu'la) he flattened it. Or, it renders an intransitive verb stem transitive: iska'uca'na, (walu'la) he was scared; iska'uka, he scared him. -k is probably essentially a transitivizer, like prefixed i-, p. 147; however, no noun or pronoun object need be expressed if the context provide the idea of the element that is being acted upon. -k, too, frequently seems to add only something of completion, accomplishment; it may be related to imperative -k (p. 208) and pronominal -k (p. 247). Note that verb -k is, like -t below, felt to be part of the root complex rather than a true suffix.

ina'tcika, he brought it back (-na-, bring, carry)
ituna'kwactika, he kicked it off his foot (-tuna-, with the foot; -kwɔcti-, lose hold)
ipa'kwakna, he gave him a dig or poke (-pa-, hand, push; -qwa-, poke)
itsa't'sklika, he pulled it off (-tsa-, pull; -t'skli-, come apart or off)
ipa't'sikxana, he poked him in the eye (-pa-, push, hand; -t'si-, in the eye)
wala'qiki·, wrapped, tied up (-qi-, fastened or attached upon)
ipa't'sakana, he pieced or joined them together (-pa-, put, push; -t'sa-, join or near)

-ɒ, -t. This phoneme seems especially peculiar to many duplicated roots or root complexes which lack -ɒ in their simple unduplicated form. It also follows roots or root complexes that end in a vowel, before a suffix beginning with n-, s- or glottal stop. There is clearly no increment of meaning. Surd -t replaces intermediate -ɒ in walu'la-paltu's.

a'wɛ·tunawainat·unawainaɒna, he kicked and kicked it
itu'titutib.ca, he was standing about—here and there (itu'tica, he is standing)

iwa'ɬapwaɬapna, he struck and struck it; iwa'ɬana, he struck it
tɛ·tɛ·p.la', the "shot" or hunter
ica'nap.capap.cana, he was carrying them about

In non-duplicated roots, especially before -naɖi, -ui and -sim. See -wi, -twi, return (p. 198).

ipyu'pna, it came out of the water (-pyu-, out of water)
itcɛ'p.simiχa, he is always drinking (-tcɛ·-, water, drink); itcɛ'p'uica, he is just starting to drink
a'tkwatapnaɖiya, he finished eating it (-tkwata-, eat)
iwa'capnaɖiya, he finished dancing (-waca-, dance)
anakuc a'ɖinupuina, when I saw him for the first time (-ɖinu-, see)
ila'χpin'uica, he is just beginning to doctor upon him
iwi'nat'uina, (walu'la, palu·'s) it is walking for the first time

SUFFIXES

The elements suffixed to the verb root complex include verbalizers, directives, quasi-modals and time aspects. There may be a directive and a referential together, two modals and as many as three aspects.

1.

Verbalizer suffixes. Two elements are used to make verb roots of basically noun or adjective roots. By far the most common one is -i.

-i

waɬi'ɬacita'ɬani, fond of telling myth stories (waɬi'ɬac, myth)
i'a'lχaiχica, it is moon shining, the moon is shining (a'lχaiχ, moon)
wisi'kitapapac, we are going to go blackberrying (wisi'k, blackberry)
paha'psitana, they went hop picking (ha'ps, hops—using the English word)
pa'a'ɬiti·tana, they went huckleberrying (a'ɬiɒ, huckleberry)
ikpɔ'siya, it became cold (kpɔ's, cold)
imyu·χu'wica, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is well off, he is upper or chieftain class (miyu·'χ, chief)

-pa'

ayappa'ɬani, fond of women (a'yap, woman); ayappa'ɬacana, he was desirous of, in love with her
ampa'ɬani, always wanting a man (a'm, husband)
waɬi'ɬacpa'ɬani, fond of hearing stories (waɬi'ɬac, story)

2.

The directives and applicatives. Some of the directives occasionally attach to root complexes (p. 195). The problem with this group is to determine rules for their order when adjoining other suffixes. The elements are given roughly in the order in which they appear in the total verb-suffixes-complex.

The applicatives may be set apart in a category by themselves; they are possibly vaguely felt to express ideas not quite consonant with the ideas expressed by directives. However, in order to escape overfine classifications it is judged satisfactory for a functional description to place the applicatives roughly with the directives.

-wi; -twi, -wi (walu'la, palu·'s), return, come back from. Note the fossilization of -wi in -wiyanawi- (p. 195) and perhaps in other cases. t of walu'la-palu·'s -twi is probably inorganic, employed (like -t before certain verb suffixes, p. 196) to provide contour, end, to the verb root before -wi. Northwest Sahaptin -wi is no doubt older than walu'la-palu·'s -twi; but after roots ending in C walu'la-palu·'s uses simple -wi.

iwəsala'tuwiya, he returned from hunting (-wəsalati-, go hunt); iusala'ititwi'ya, itkwa'ipwi'ya (walu'la, palu·'s; both roots mean hunt big game)

ipəɒya'wiya, he came back from spearing fish (-pəɒya-, spear fish)

itəmna'wiya, she came back from berry picking (-təmna-, go pick berries); itəmnu·'twi'ya (walu'la, palu·'s)

ima'nawiya, she came back from root digging (-mana-, go dig roots); ima·'natwi'ya (walu'la, palu·'s)

-ata, -ta, go away in order to

iwə'npatana, he went to get it (-wənp-, get, obtain)

isa'ipatana, he went to feed him (-saip-, feed, share food with)

iwisi'kitana, he went black berrying (wisi'k, blackberry; -i, verbalizer)

ipa'alyu·'ta'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he went to play bone-gamble (-pa'alyu·-, play bone-gamble)

As part of a root complex: i'i·'χatanɒi·χatanɒnɔχa, he would often go washing (-i·χ-, wash).

-ntci, (walu'la, palu·'s) direction away from here. If the present tense be expressed, -c is suffixed, if the past tense not -na but -tca is employed finally (p. 207). The correlative direction-this-way form is -nəm (p. 199). n is doubtless glide n (p. 104) and -tci is basic.

icu·ni'tcic, he is swimming away (-cu·-, swim)

iyu·'yu·ntci'tca, he hallooed in the other direction (-yu·-, halloo)

itχa't'cilu·ntcic, he looked away in the other direction

a'cantci'tca, he went inside slowly (-ac-, outside to inside)

itwapi·'ntcic, he is pursuing or running after him

ina'tcikantci'tca, he took it to the next place

-na, motion or direction away; indeed. A very old directive, through long affiliation often adhering to roots and felt as part of the root complex (p. 195). In other cases felt looser and merely suffixed. It is possible that -(n)a, past time and directive -na are ancient cognates. It is not always possible to determine whether final -na is past tense or directive. In most cases it is likely that while past tense is implied by final -a, the directive is felt as expressed. In other cases, illustrated

below, -n or -na also undoubtedly supplies an idea of insistence, conviction, emphasis on the truth of the statement; this is especially well brought out in walu'la-palu·'s examples.

iptu'wa, he placed it, set it (there); iptu'na, it was already placed, set (there)

icapu'ina, (walu'la, palu·'s) he pushed it away; icapu'ina'na, he did push it away

i·wa·'ɖəxaica, (walu'la, palu·'s) he tore it as he went along (-ɖx-, tear); i·wa·'ɖəxani'ya, he tore it as he went along, he did

-ma, -m, -nəma, -nəm, direction toward this way. The second form, -m, appears with -c, -ɒa, and -kik following. In walu'la-palu·'s the present tense is usually -nəmc, the past tense -nəma. nə is inorganic glide (p. 104).

pa'a'cuɢwa·ma, (walu'la) they found it out (pa-, they; -cuɢwa·-, know)

iwi'nama, he came this way (-wina-, go away)

iwa·'kiyu·'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he ran to him; iwa·'kiyu·'ma, he ran towards this way to him

ikwi·'tamc, he is on his way here; ikwɛ·'tama, he came in this direction (-kwi·ta-, -kwɛ·ta-, travel)

iwa'ikma, he crossed to this side (-wai-, cross over)

iti'yama, he laughed at us or at our direction (-tiya-, laugh)

itama't'sswikma, he sent back (returned, in reply) the letter (-tama-, send, put; -t'sswi-, turn back)

a'cmuwailcma, he swam towards this way, to them (-cmuwai-, swim across); icu·ni'nəmc, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is swimming towards this way (-cu·-, swim)

a'naxtima, they wept at the sight of it (-naxti-, weep)

With glide n or nə.

a'yawaunəma, he called out (-yawau-, call out); iyu·'yu·nə'ma, (walu'la, palu·'s) he hallooed in our direction (-yu·-, halloo)

a'wat'səxanəma, he defecated (-t'səx-, defecate)

iɖi'nunəma, he looked our way (-ɖinu-, look); itxa't'ciluna'mc (walu'la, palu·'s) itwapi·'nəmcna'c, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is running after me (-nac, me)

ihwi·'nəma'c, (walu'la, palu·'s) he whistled to me (-hwi·n-, whistle; -c, me)

-i'tcən, -ni'tcən, (walu'la, palu·'s) go along by. Our examples indicate—perhaps not conclusively—usage only with present tense implied. n may be glide n (p. 104).

a'xalali'tcən, it is rolling along

iwayi'tcən, it is flying

iwa'ixɒi'tcən, he is running (-waixɒi-, run)

icu·ni'tcən, he is swimming by (-cu·-, swim)

ilu'yəxti'tcən, ilu'ixti'tcən, he is riding along

iya'utani'tcən, he is floating along

-a'ca, on, upon, onto. A somewhat obscure suffix probably appearing only with certain elements anterior, such as the root -nəp-, and with the root-appended or directive elements -k and possibly -na. The idea conveyed by -a'ca seems approximately "upon, onto, reference to or action upon a thing or person." Simple use of -a'ca is found in the following example: inpa'cana, he took it away from him (-nəp-, take, get). -na'ca, -ka'ca, are no doubt secondary forms: na seems to be directive -na or glide n (p. 104), and is no doubt one or the other in every case. k is probably the transitivizer of roots (p. 196). Examples with n and k:

itamanutəmna'cana, he prayed for him (-tamanutəm-, pray)
ikat'lina'ca, he spit on it (-kat'li-, spit); ika't'lina'ca'na (walu'la, palu·'s); ikat'lina'catana, (taip.) he went and spit on it
itcəxna'cana, he urinated on it (-tcəx-, urinate); iłu·'kna'ca'na (walu'la, palu·'s; -łuk-, urinate); itcəxna'catana, he went and urinated on it; itcəxna'catata'ana, he wanted to go urinate on it
paqaixna'cana, daylight came (-qaix-, light)
paxawatika'cam, you stepped on me (xa-, unwittingly; -wati-, step); iwa'tika'ca'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he stepped on it
awalawika'cana, it dropped or fell on him (-walawi-, fall below)

-ai, (walu'la, palu·'s) action upon another person's possession. Compare -(a)ni below, which usually signifies action for the sake of another person, whatever is acted upon. This suffix specifies that the thing acted upon belongs to another person. The -a'ca suffix of northwest Sahaptin may be related if not identical in meaning with -ai.

iwi'kwətka'ica, she is pulling out his hairs; iwi'kwətkca, he is pulling out his own hairs (wi-, distributive; -kwət-, pull out)
icxə't'ika'ica, he is still cutting them off; icxa't'ika, he cut them off (-cxə-, plural cut through; -t'ik-, rend)
itca'kwlka'ica, he is chewing on the thing belonging to the other person (-tca-, pull, teeth)
pu·'pikaica'na, she was washing his (shirt); pinu·'pikaca'na, he was washing his own
iwa·'ca'ica, he is riding the thing belonging to the other person; iwa·'ca'-na, he is riding it (his own); iwa·'caica·'c, he is riding mine (-wa·ca-, ride)
i·'pa'tukaica·'c, he is putting up my tipi; i·'pa'tukca, he is putting up a tipi
a'umas wəxa' aliya'ita, (walu'la) now I will make a leg for you (a'u, now; -mas, I you; wəxa', leg; -ni-, make)
pa''i·'xca, pa''i·xa'ica, he is washing his (the other man's) body (-i·x-, wash the body)

-u·, -yu·, -nu·, to, towards, in the direction of

kuc hu'i mu'n pa'a'cu·baxnai, so that they could not get inside to me (-ac-, outside to inside)
iwe·'łtku·na, he ran to meet them (-łtku-, encounter)
iwa'iku·na, he crossed over to him (-wai-, cross over)

iwinanpu·'nac, he went and got it for use against me (-winanp-, go get)
a'wayalainu·na, he got to the water to where they were (-wayalai-, go to the water)
a'laťalku·cana, the smoke went into his eyes ("it smoked to him;" -laťal-, smoke)
təmnu·ta'tani, likes to go berry picking (-təmna-, pick berries)
a'winanu·χana, he would go to him (-wina-, go away); mi'cmac wi'nanu·dəχni, may I come over to you? (mi'c, how, what; -mac, I-you)
ipəbyu·'na, he went salmon spearing (-pəbya-, spear)

-ni, -ani-, -e·ni, -i·ni, -ne·ni, -ni·ni, for the sake of, for; action on object belonging to another person. This suffix, like walu'la-palu·'s -ai, may be called an applicative or referential; it is also a quasi-possessive. After a root or root complex ending in a vowel, the final root vowel disappears (unless it be -u) and -e·ni (-i·ni) is suffixed. -ai expresses the idea of action upon an object belonging to another, in walu'la-palu·'s.

iya'χa, he found it; iya'χnaniya wati'kc, he found his tracks, he found the tracks for him (-yaχ-, find; wati'kc, tracks)
iku'ya, he did it, he fixed it; ikwe·'niya, he fixed, repaired, did it for him, he fixed his (-ku-, do, fix)
itłqwə'bna, he grabbed it; itłqwə'bnaniya, he grabbed his (he grabbed somebody's something; -tłqwəb-, grab)
i'i'ne·xiya, he fixed it; mi'cmac i'ne·xinanina, may I fix it for you? may I fix yours? (-ne·xi-, make good, repair, fix)
ita'wana, he roasted it; ita'we·niya, he roasted it for him, he roasted his (-tawa-, roast)
ina'nana, he took it away; ina'ne·niya, he took his away; ina'nani'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he took it for him (-nana-, take away)
ituna'waina, he kicked him; itunawaine·niya, he kicked his (kicked something of somebody else; -tunawai-, kick away)
icχə't'lkani'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) he cut them for him (-cχə-, plural cuts through; -t'lk-, rend)
iwa·'caniya·'c, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is riding it for me (-wa·ca-, ride)

3.

A loose group of quasi-modals and time aspects, roughly in this order: modals more often first, aspects more often second, but certainly not in all cases thus; they overlap in order: no sharp line can be drawn. The elements of the combined groups will be given in the approximate order of their appearance.

-χə, -uχə, -nχ, -nəχ, -nəχə, nearly, almost, pretty nearly. n is inorganic glide (p. 104).

imałama'ikχnac, I pretty nearly made a mistake
tqa'uqeinχnac, I nearly fell (-tqauqei-, fall)
i'i'yanaχna, he almost killed him (-iyanа-, kill)
itłu'bnaχna, he nearly jumped it (-tłuв-, jump)
ica'kuci·χna, he nearly cut him

-tx̣au, at once, immediately

i'actx̣a'una, he went inside immediately as soon as he came (-ac-, outside to inside)

iqa'naxtɪptx̣auna, he cried immediately (qa-, suddenly; -naxti-, cry)

itcɐ·'tx̣auna, he drank immediately (as soon as he arrived; -tcɐ·-, drink)

i'yanpatx̣auna, he killed him directly (as soon as he saw him; -iyanpa-, kill)

iwɐ·neinactx̣auna, he went in immediately, in haste (-wɐ·neinac-, go inside)

it'iya'witx̣a'una, (walu'la, palu·'s) he died at once (-t'iiyawi-, die)

-sim(i), always, all the time, just only. Compare the homonymous noun suffix -sim (p. 233). The origin of (i) in -simi is in doubt.

itcɐ·'ɒ.simix̣a, he is always drinking (-tcɐ·-, drink liquor; pi·na'tcu·ɒ.si'-mica, (palu·'s, walu'la) he drinks all the time (-tcu·-, drink)

it'ciwi'uɒ.simix̣a, he is always talking (-t'ciwiu-, talk)

ita'ukunkuɒ.simix̣a, he works at night only (-tau-, at night; -kunkuɒ-, work)

-naq̣i, complete, finish. This element may also be used as posterior root and as independent noun in one case in the Yakima dialect; it occurs as independent verb in one walu'la-palu·'s example. In the first three examples -naq̣i is posterior root.

ika'naq̣iya, he finished eating (-ka-, eat)

iwɐ·'naq̣iya, he finished going through (-wɐ·-, go)

ica'naq̣iya, he finished cutting (meat, hay, e.g.)

iwa'npnaq̣ita'taca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is going to stop singing (-wanp-, sing)

i'i·'x̣naq̣iya, she finished washing clothes (-i·x̣-, wash)

ila'x̣pɪɒnaq̣iya, he finished doctoring (-lax̣pi-, doctor upon)

iwica·'naq̣iya, he took the rear of the boat, he captained the boat (-wica-, boat)

a'tani·ɒnaq̣iya, he finished putting on the shirt (-tani-, shirt)

ina'unaq̣iya, he completed it; -nau- has not been recognized apart from -naq̣i, which again seems to be a posterior root

ikalu'laq̣iya, she finished making the awl made basket (-kalu-, make basket with awl)

naq̣ica'pa, (Yak.) at the end

i·'naq̣i, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is finished; a'una i·'naq̣i, I agree with you, I agree to do it

-t̓a, -a't̓a, desiderative; wish, desire

iq̣i'nwat̓ana, he wanted to see it (-q̣i-, see)

ayapa't̓ani, fond of women (a'yap, woman); ampa't̓ani, (walu'la, palu·'s) she is always seeking a man (a'm, husband)

itcəx̣na'catat̓ana, he wanted to go urinate on it (-tcəx̣-, urinate; -na'ca, upon; -ta, go to)

təmnu·'ta't̓ani, likes to go berry picking (-təmna-, go berry picking; -ta, go to); itəmnu·ta't̓ax̣, (walu'la, palu·'s) she likes to go pick berries

ipnu'waʧakɛ·cana, he was starting to get sleepy (-pnu-, sleep; -kɛ·-, begin)

tcɛ·'ʧani, thirsty (-tcɛ·-, water, drink; -ni, being in a condition of)

icapa'ku'pa'ʧaca, (walu'la, palu·'s) he wants to break the stick (capa'-, causative; -ku'p-, break)

-pyata, start, commence

iwɛ·'ltəxpyata, it is starting to ascend (-wɛ·ltəx-, ascend)

iwɛ·'ltəxnaʤipyata, it is almost to the top (-naʤi, completive)

-kɛ·, inchoative at time of another action; -kai (xwaɬ.)

ila'xwɛ·xkɛ·cana, he was beginning to get warm (-laxwɛ·x-, be warm)

ipnu'waʧakɛ·cana, he was starting to get sleepy (-pnuwaʧa-, want to sleep)

icu'ɢt'cɛ·na, when he saw him again he recognized him directly (-cuɢ-, know, recognize; ɢ becomes t'c after ɢ)

i'a'nawikɛ·ca, he has begun to be hungry (-anawi-, hunger); a'nawikaica, (xwaɬ.) he was beginning to be hungry

iwa'cakɛ·ca, he has already begun to dance (-waca-, dance)

iwiya'ɬkankɛ·cana, he had begun to get tired (-wiyaɬkan-, become tired)

iwinakɛ·'cana, he had already gone away (-wina-, go away)

iwucu'capnaʤikɛ·ca, he has already gotten ready (-wucucapnaʤi-, complete preparations)

-ui, -'ui, inchoative, for the first time, begin, be ahead, first. Like the directive elements, and like -naʤi and -sim(i), -ui (-'ui) may function as posterior root as in the first two examples. Besides, ui may be independent root, verb or nominalized verb. The form is no doubt basically -ui, not -'ui.

wa'ʧui, the first one, leader

iwa'ʧuina, he was ahead

As independent verb root and noun:

anaku u·'ya ti·tca'm, when the land first began to be (anaku, whenever; ti·tca'm, land)

u'ip, the beginning

u'ippa, at the beginning

As suffix to a root complex, which is usually completed with -t, after which -'ui is added. The -t is significant phonetically not morphologically.

ikalu''uina, she has started to make the-awl-made-basket (-kalu-, make basket with awl)

itcɛ·'p'uica, he has just begun to drink (-tcɛ·-, drink)

pawa·'capuica, they have just begun to dance (-wa·ca-, dance); wa·'cat-'u'in, (walu'la, palu·'s) he just started in to dance

ila'xpip'uica, he has just begun doctoring (-laxpi-, doctor upon)

iwiya'ninwiyaniuip.ca, it (the baby) is walking about for the first time (-wiyanin-, go here and there)

iʤə'pʧuina, he shot for the first time (he had never shot before; -ʤəp-, shoot)

ida'nsiťuina, she began to dance (for the first time in her life)

ila'ɣwi·ɣt'u'inən, (walu'la, palu·'s) it is beginning to be hot (-la'ɣwi·ɣ-, be hot)

In walu'la-palu·'s an important distinction is made when using -ui with the past tense -na or -n suffixes. -uin means simply "began," -uina means "began for the very first time." For examples see under -a and -na, p. 207.

-kik, -ik, -tcitc, -itc, momentaneous. An independent particle, tci'ca, right now, at once, immediately, is probably a cognate of this suffix. Consonant glide n appears in certain cases (p. 104).

itə'ɣťəɣtcitca, just then it rained (-ťəɣťaɣ-, rain)

ixa'tamainaɑtcitca a·'n, the sun set then (-ɣatama-, fall down; -ai-, set, sit; a·'n, sun)

ina'tciɑtcic, he just brought it (-natcik-, bring)

ƙuma' iwa'npkilkc, he has begun to sing, he just started singing (-wanp-, sing); ƙuma' iwa'npnaɖikilkc, he just finished singing (-naɖi, completion)

ƙuma''awə'k iwina'ika, he just went away (-wina-, go away)

ƙuma''awə'k ina'unaɖikika, he just completed it (-naunaɖi-, complete)

ƙuma' iwa'ixtikc, he just started to run away (-waixti-, run away)

With consonant glide n. Compare walu'la-palu·'s directive -ntci, which takes past tense -tca; these phenomena may be related.

a'ɣtunkilka, he put more energy into it then (-ɣtu-, be energetic)

a'waipəɣonkika tce·'c, the water flowed out (-waipəɣ-, flow through and out; tce·'c, water)

-ɣa, -nɣa, -naɣa; -ɣ, -nɣ, -naɣ (walu'la, palu·'s), usitative, customary. May be compounded with any other aspect, thus: -ɣaɒa, -ɣacaɒa, -ɣana, -ɣacana, -ɣaca, -kikɣana, -ťaɣana, etc. n is glide n (p. 104).

iwi'naɣana, he used to go away, he would usually go away (-wina-, go away)

itce·'ɒ.simiɣa, he is always drinking (-tce·-, drink; -simi, always)

iku'ɒkunaɣa, he is always working (-kuɒkuɒ-, work)

a'pinawaɣinɣana, he lay himself down (pina-, self; -waɣi-, lay down)

itta'waɣnaɣaɒa, he will grow up (-ttawaɣ-, live and grow)

ikwala'nɣaɒa, he will be happy, glad (-kwala-, be glad)

isu'ɣwənaɣana, he drank it with a spoon (-suɣw-, spoon)

When -ɣa or -naɣa occur finally in walu'la-palu·'s, and no other temporal element is present, the form employed may be -ɣ or -naɣ (-nɣ). But after a, -ɣa remains; and -ɣa is also employed in cases where the abbreviated form seems equally acceptable; after i, -ɣ usually appears.

pənmitə'mki·c si'nwiɣ, I talk his language (pənmitə'mki, with his language; -c, I; -sinwi-, speak)

ku'u'c ə'nɣ, that is how it is said (ku'u'c, in that manner; -ən-, speak, say)

ma'n wi'naxa, where (I) go to (ma'n, whereto; -wina-, go)
ila'tkwanxa, he is walking about all the time
a'xwai ila'xpix, he still doctors (a'xwai, still, yet; -laxpi-, doctor)

-ca. Not clear and in some doubt.

iwa'ixticaikc, a moment ago it was running away there (-waixti-, run away)
iwa'ixticamc, he is running this way
i'a'ɒ.camc, he is coming out towards this way (-aɒ-, inside to outside)

-ca, -c. In certain forms -ca appears; in others -c. -c forms are commonly after directive -m, giving -mc, an almost invariable change; after the momentaneous suffix, giving -tcic, -kikc, -ikc; before enclitic pronouns like -nac, -mac, with initial consonant; and in miscellaneous instances cited. In walu'la-palu·'s it receives stress if suffixes or enclitics follow. The suffix covers a concept described by the terms durative, continuative and present tense; with the momentaneous suffix it expresses momentaneous present time. With other times or aspects not past or future it expresses continued action, duration from the past through the present and sometimes into the future. With the past or future (-cana, -caɒa) it is used to express continued duration. Lacking any other time aspect it indicates continued present time or duration of the activity from past through present into future time.

a'wit'liyawicnac əwi'naɒ, (xwal.) I have killed a deer (-it'liyawi-, kill; -nac, I)
iwənə'panicnac, he took mine (-wənəpani, take from; -nac, mine)
ikwi·'tamc, he is on his way here (-kwi·ta-, travel on)
ina'tcictcic, he has just brought it (-natcik-, bring)
kuma' iwa'npkikc, he has just begun to sing (-wanp-, sing)
iya'nawikikca, iya'nawikikc, he has just been getting here (-yanawi-, arrive)
a'ɒnacmac əwi'nc, your husband died (-aɒna-, die; -mac, yours)
itkwa'ica, it lies there
ila'cqaixica, the lights are twinkling (-ləcqaix-, twinkling)
iwi'naca, he is going away (-wina-, go away); iwi'nacana, he had been going away; iwi'naxaca, he customarily goes away; iwi'naxacana, he had customarily been going away; iwi'nacana, he will be going away
payu'wi·ca'xa·c, (walu'la, palu·'s) I am evidently ill (-payuwi-, be ill; -xa, probably; -c, I)
iwa·'caica·'c, (walu'la, palu·'s) he is riding mine (-wa·ca-, ride; -c, me, mine)
u·'etca pənmi·'n, (walu'la, palu·'s) it is his (-u·'-, be, have it; -tca, rather; pənmi·'n, his)

In walu'la-palu·'s both directive -ntci, away, and directive -(nə)m, in this direction, take -c, not -ca.

itχa'tˈcilunə'mc, he looked in our direction; itχa'tˈcilu·ntcic, he looked in the other direction
itwapi·'nəmcna'c, he is running after me
itwapi·'ntcic, he is running after him

-ən, -n, -dən (walu'la, palu·'s). See -a, -na. This suffix is important and unfortunately very much in doubt. It may be a special aorist for walu'la-palu·'s; we are not sure. It seems to indicate specific happenings or situations in present or past time. Note that the interpreter sometimes employed "did" in translating. Additional field study is needed: we suspect that clarification of this suffix will throw light on past tense -(n)a.

ila'χwi·χən, it is beginning to get warm (-laχwi·χ-, be warm); ila'χwi·χ-t'u'idən, it is beginning to be hot
iwapa't'tikən, he did crack the louse
iti'patu·n, she is stooping to dig
iwi'skanpən, he did pinch him
icaba'ku'pən, he broke it
idə'uχca'χən, he yawned
iwuwa'kən, he had a nightmare

-da, -ta. An important and common suffix. It expresses a set of ideas and emotions including future time, optative, exhortative, tentative, dubitative, desiderative sentiments, and so on; the context seems to select one or another of these ideas, which from the native point of view amount to, so to speak, variations on the same theme. The suffix may appear after any tense or modal suffix except past tense -(y)a, -(n)a. Compare with enclitic -' (p. 133), which expresses about the same thing.

iwi'nada, he will go, he might go (-wina-, go away)
a'uc wa'ta, (walu'la, palu·'s) now I will be (a'uc, now I; -wa-, be)

-daχnai (Yak., χwal.); -daχni (taid.); -daχna (walu'la, palu·'s), conditional. Not used with -ca, -(n)a, -da. Future -da may form part of this suffix.

kunam inə'ɖwəndaχni, she might or could swallow you (-nəɖwən-, swallow, gulp)
hu'inami'c a'midaχni, you never could do anything to her (hu'inami'c, unable you how; -mi-, do)
ka'tu·c t'si'ɛ·'χ cmu'waiudaχni, I could swim across easily (ka'tu·c, easily I; -cmuwai-, swim across)
əni·'tinac wa'daχni anaku tca'u ilu'daχni, I would have had a house had it not burnt (-wa-, be, have; əni·'dinac, housed I; anaku, when, if; tca'u, not; ilu'daχni, it would burn)
tu·'nχacta iwada'χna, (walu'la, palu·'s) I wonder what it could be? (tu·'nχacta, what indeed I wonder? -wa-, be)
i'kwənc wi'nadaχna, (walu'la, palu·'s) if I could only go there (i'kwən, to that place; -c, I; -wina-, go away)

-tca, -tca′, past tense. Used in northwest Sahaptin only with the verbs -wa-, be, exist, have, and -nu·-, speak.

iwa′tca, iwatca′, iwa′tca′, he was, he had; iwi′watca, there were many there

inu·′tca, he spoke

In walu′la-palu·′s -tca is found in addition as past tense after directive -ntci, away. -tca seems very much vestigial in northern Sahaptin.

ina′tcikəntci′tca, she took it to the next place (-natcik-, carry, bring)

iyu·′yu·ntci′tca, he hallooed in the other direction (-yu·-, halloo)

-a, -(y)a, past time; -(n)a, past time and direction of activity is away (-ma, direction of activity is towards the speaker). -a is used after a momentaneous (-kik, -ik, -tcitc) suffix; -ya appears after all other syllables ending in final -i or -u·, n may be inorganic n glide, p. 104, or it may be directive -na (p. 198); -a may be used after other tense and modal verb suffixes except future -ɒa. It is not used after -nu·-, say, and -wa-, be (see -tca above).

ina′unaq̇iya, he finished eating (-naq̇i, completive)

iya′nawikika, he just arrived (-yanawi-, arrive; -kik, momentaneous)

pa″ana, he said to him (-ən-, say)

iwɔ′npa, he took it (-wənp-, take)

iwi′nacana, he would go away (-wina-, go away); iwi′naɣana, he used to go away

In walu′la-palu·′s, -a, -ya, -na, -ma receive stress if followed by suffixes or enclitics.

iwa·′tɨɣunaniya′c, he grabbed mine

iwa·′tɨɣunaniya′na, he grabbed yours

ihwi·′nəma′na, he whistled to us (-hwi·-, whistle; -na, us)

The past tense (in -ya) of two of the most common palu·′s verbs is of special interest because of shift of accent from the root to -ya suffix and an assimilation of i of the verb root to y of the suffix. Thus, ini′ya, (northwest Sahaptin and walu′la) he gave it, becomes in palu·′s, inya′; similarly ikwi′ya becomes in palu·′s, ikwya′, he went. Inorganic n (or directive -na, we can not always be sure which is implied) is used, with the exceptions noted above, when the preceding element ends in a syllable with final -a vowel or final diphthong:

iwi′nana, he went away (-wina-, go away)

ina′tɨxanana, (ɣwal.) he spoke (-natɨxana-, speak)

iwa′tana, he struck him (-watɨa-, strike, hit)

iwa′tuina, he came in first (-wa′tui-, be first)

iɨxə′bwaina, he accompanied him (-ɨxəbwai-, accompany)

Note from the following examples that the walu′la-palu·′s speaker may say that such and such an activity occurred for the very first time, it was the initial occasion for the occurrence of the activity; to express this, -na is used, contrasting with -n to express mere occurrence of the action. Thus:

pa'alyu·'t'u'in, they commenced to play the bone game (pa-, they; -alyu·-, play the bone game; -(t')ui, inceptive); pa'alyu·'t'uina, they commenced playing the bone game for the first time; they played their very first bone game

wa·'cat'u'in, she started to dance (-wa·ca-, dance); iwa·'cat'u'ina, she danced for the first time

It is probable that all cases of absence of final -a from verb tense suffixes are significant for meaning, not phonetic elisions. It may be that -n is an aspect or tense independent of a past tense -na (p. 206).

THE IMPERATIVE

Mild orders are expressed with the ordinary future -pa suffix. Blunt, forthright commands are expressed by adding imperative suffixes to the verb root complex. -k seems the essential imperative element. It should be compared with verb suffix -k (p. 196); possibly they are remote cognates, sharing an idea of "doing, completing, accomplishing." The demonstrative root ku-, that, may be compared with these elements for possible genetic connection. -t appears where a dual or plural number of persons are commanded to act. -m expresses first person object and is possibly a cognate of -m directive suffix (p. 199), "to, towards this way." -n(a) is inorganic glide (p. 104).

-m. Command addressed to one person, the object of the action the first person, one or more. m is in origin either the familiar proclitic-enclitic pronoun, second person singular, or directive -m (p. 199). The latter hypothesis seems more plausible; compare -mtk below, where -m is even more probably directive -m in origin.

pa'tamunəm, tell it to me! (pa'-, me; -tamu-, tell)

pa'nim, give it to me! (pa'-, me; -ni-, give); tca'iknim (walu'la, palu·'s); ni'm, give it to us!

pa'tcaxtuwim, pull me! tug on me! (pa'-, me; -tcaxtu-, pull energetically)

-(ə)k. Command addressed to a single individual; if transitive the object is third person.

pnu'watək, go to sleep! (-pnu-, sleep)

ω·'natək, go tell him! (-anatə, go tell); a'wənatək (χwał.)

a'tk, go outside! (-at-, inside to outside)

a'ck, go inside! (-ac-, outside to inside)

a'tcaxtuwik, pull him! them! (-tcaxtu-, pull)

mi'tacik, sing it! (-mitaci-, sing)

-tk. Command to a dual or plural number of persons. The verb may be intransitive or have a third person object.

pnu'watatk, go to sleep! (-pnu-, sleep); pnu'wata'tk (walu'la, palu·'s)

ω·'natatk, go tell him! (-anata, go tell); a'wənatək (χwał.)

a'canitk, go ask him (-cani-, ask)

a'ttk, go outside! (-at-, inside to outside)

a'ctk, go inside! (-ac-, outside to inside)

a'tcaxtuwitk, pull him! them! (-tcaxtu-, pull)

-mtk. Command to a dual or plural number of persons. The verb is active and the object is first person, any number.

wi'namtk, come here! (note that -m may be interpreted as directive (p. 199) or as part of -mtk; possibly the two m's are of one origin)
ta'munəmtk, tell it to us! (-tamu-, tell); ta'lwaskaʼmtk, (walu'la, palu's) tell it to me!
ni'mtk, give it to me! to us! (-ni-, give)
tca'χtuwimtk, tug on me! on us! (-tcaχtu-, pull)

VERB DERIVATIVES

To any verb root complex may be added elements making verb derivatives that can be called roughly nouns, infinitives and participles. All these derivatives take enclitics (p. 125). In addition, adverbs may be formed from verb roots by a process of medial vowel reduplication or "breaking."

DERIVED NOUNS

Nearly a dozen noun forming suffixes are added directly to verb root complexes. The resultant noun forms are treated in the section on nouns (p. 215).

DERIVED PARTICIPLES

-i·, -(n)i or -(n)i·, -(iy)i, -i[1], being, having, manner, condition, state. Like -(n)ai and -(t)ik, this element is a cognate of a noun suffix (p. 224). However, -(n)i or -(n)i· is invariable for the verb derivative; the noun may or may not drop n, according to rules for the appearance of n as glide (p. 104). The participializer is probably essentially -i·.

ɖlu'ni, bald headed
t'ctəɒni', torn to pieces
lu'ni, burnt (-lu·-, burn)
ayaɒpa'ʈani, always desiring a woman (a'yaɒ, woman; -pa, verbalizer; -ʈa, desire)
tca'u waʼʈani, do not strike it! (-waʈa-, strike)
tca'u ɬi·'kwi wi'nani, do not be gone long! (-wina-, go away)
pi'kcani, holding so and so (-pik-, hold)
kwala·'ni, happy, glad (-kwaɬa-, be happy)
pakənka'cani, trapped, caught, dammed in (-kən-, obstruct)
ɖayuli', skinny (a nickname; -ɖayu-, be thin)

-nai. A cognate of -ni, -li, -i. Example: t'ɬaχna'i, bent, twisted, broken.

-tcimai, (walu'la, palu's) never, not at all. This may be more properly a verb aspect suffix; it seems with the few examples at hand to belong roughly with the participles.

iwaʼpi·ktci'mai, she does not want to or never washes clothes (-waʈpi·k-, wash clothes)
wanptci'mai, she never sings, she does not know how to sing (-wanp-, sing)

pa'alyu·tci'mai, he does not play bone gamble at all (-pa'alyu·-, play bone gamble)

-ɒik, -ik, while, during. Identical with the homonymous noun suffix (p. 226).

-i'nc, while, during. -c is possibly related to durative-present -ca (p. 205). Compare cognate noun suffix -inc (p. 225).

aiki'nc itkwa'tana, he ate while sitting down (-ai-, sit down)
tutiyi'nc itkwa'tana, he ate while standing up (-tuti-, stand)
anawi'nc ita'χciya, he got up, awakened and was hungry (-anawi-, be hungry)

DERIVED INFINITIVES

-ɒai, -ai, to, with which to, for the purpose of. This is also noun suffix -ai (p. 232). Compare -ɒ, -t (p. 196).

tca'uɒai tkwa'tɒai, nothing to eat (tca'u, not, nothing; -tkwata-, eat)
tca'unac tu·'nwa' pa'ḍwaɢɒai, I do not have anything with which to stick you (-paḍwa-, stick, poke)
tca'unacɒai pnu'ɒai, I, unable to sleep (tca'unac, not I; -pnu-, sleep; note the remarkable affixation of -ɒai after enclitic -nac)

DERIVED ADVERBS

In the treatments of reduplication (p. 138) and of qualitative vowel changes (p. 140) it is remarked that certain processes involving changes in vowel quantity and quality in the verb stem and occasionally also medial vowel reduplication or vocalic breaking, were employed in verb roots (if CVC_1, $CV{\cdot}C_1$ or $CVC_1V_1C_2$) to give derived adverbs of quality and manner. See p. 140 for illustrations.

NOUNS, ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS

The roots employed are most often initially consonantic. A large number of nouns are verb root complexes nominalized with a nominalizing suffix. It is difficult to generalize about the syllable form of nouns as a whole; many, not verbs in basis, are apparently originally bisyllabic.

The nouns and allied elements are easier to analyze for component elements than the verb. There are relatively less elements and positions. There are comparatively very few prefixes. All types of nouns, derived from verbs or true nouns, all adjectives, and all pronouns are handled roughly alike in the linguistic machinery; they take most of the numerous derivational noun suffixes or postpositions and the few relational suffixes. The prefixes, however, are specialized for nouns, adjectives and pronouns, and serve with the roots and certain specialized derivational suffixes to characterize the words as this or that type of noun, adjective or pronoun.

The noun-pronoun-adjective complex may be schematized for the order of component element as follows: 1. The prefixes, a few numerals in the common noun and groups of specialized or miscellaneous elements, one group each for certain of the nouns, the adjective and the pronouns. 2. The stems, which may be (in common noun and adjective) nominalized verb roots or root complexes or true noun roots. There are unique pronominal roots for each of the pronominal ideas expressed. There are perhaps no true adjective stems; many nouns may be used as adjectives to modify the meaning of other nouns though in form they appear as nouns; a special set of prefixes only occasionally employed, sets apart the adjectives as a true group. 3. The suffixes, of the following types and occurring in the following positions: verb root nominalizers for nouns; positionals and locatives, sometimes compounded in fixed order; numerals; formal syntactic or relational elements; suffixes for pronouns; modal elements, sometimes compounded in fixed order.

A complete list of affixes will be given for each part of speech: noun, relationship term, numeral, adjective, pronouns. But where for example the adjective and pronouns use elements also used in the same manner in the noun—this is true for most of the affixes—then the element is merely cited where it occurs and examples may be found in the complete list of elements occurring attached to true nouns.

The noun and elements affixed to the noun are discussed first.

PREFIXES

1.

Several numerals. More truly compounded numeral roots are discussed below under noun compounds (p. 218).

cχə-, sχə-, one, full. Probably a cognate of na'χc, one; la'χs, the last one (p. 240).
sχəma'isχpa, the day after tomorrow (ma'isχ, tomorrow; -pa, at, upon)
cχəwati'm, day before yesterday (wati'm, yesterday)

Table 3. Noun Structure

PREFIXES	ROOT COMPLEX	SUFFIXES		
1.		1.	2.	4.
cx̣ə-, sx̣ə-, one, full		-yai, -a'i, -ya, -a·'ya, -i'ya, personifier	-ik, and all	-pa, location; accusative
naʁ-, two		-pam, -pama; -pu, people	-in, dual	-pama, thing for, from
pa-, reciprocal		-ac, -as, -tac, -wac, site	-ma, distributive	-pama'pa, day beyond
2.		-ti·, person, rank	3.	-paink; -pain, at, along by
ana-, oh, well		-ic, owner	-nəm, nominative	-laikən, right at edge of
3.		-'u·ta'c, former, former owner	-in, nominative	-yau, to, into, for; accusative
c—yi', owner		-tu, ancient, deceased	-nan, -an, -n, -i·n, -ɛ·n; -na, accusative	-kan, towards
t-, distributive		-wiyat, future person	-nəmi', -nmi', -mi', possessive	-knik, -knina̱k, place from
a'n-, deceased		-wai, future		-ki, with
tcalu-, kalu-, kind, basketry		-uks, sex	1, cont.	-ai, -ɒai, -yai, -wai, for the purpose of
pi·'-, personifier		-tam, -təmt, language	-piyaɒ, covering	-wakwɬ; -wa·kuɬ, like, resembling
ata·'-, nata·'-, giant		-mitci, season of year	-paix̣t, covering	-x̣uc, ahead
tu'-, wufu'-, too much		-tal; -it, time of year	-nuɒ, less	-tx̣au, further
mi·ma'-, ancient		-mim, latest period of year	-liyau; -kx̣u', old, ancient	5.
wali·'m-, skin		-pas, -pac, receptacle	-tiyawi'c, very old	-sim, only
		-wip, part	-wit, very, becoming	-pu, of the bunch
		-li·ma', therein, thereon	-aipa'x̣, outlet	-ataɒ, nearly
		-yaɒ, of them	-x̣anatt, source	-xi, also
		-i·, -yi·, -ni·, condition	-inc, being	-ka, now

sxə'tunawainaɒ, just one kick (tunawainaɒ, kick)
cxəputa'ʁtiɒ, one hundred (puta'ʁtiɒ, hundred)
cxə'pcanptki, with one handful (pca'npt, handful; -ki, with)
cxə'lətai, a hard basketful (lətə'i, hard basket)
sxə'nəḍwənsim, one swallow, one gulp only (nəḍwən, swallow; -sim, only)

naʙ-, nap-, two, only two. From ni·'pt, na'pu, two (p. 240).
na'ʁtunawainaɒ, two kicks (tunawainaɒ, kick)
na'ʁpaʁt'lkt, two punches (pa'ʁt'lkt, punch)
na'pxap, two on together, one with or over the other
na'pi·npt, two pairs

pa-, reciprocally, mutually, one to another, pair. Compare with paʙa-, reciprocal verb prefix, for possible relationship. Also compare anterior root -pa-, place, situation. See numeral prefix pa- (p. 240), which is cognate.
pawəxa'ki, foot to foot (sitting sole of foot to sole of foot, person opposite person; wəxa', foot; -ki, with, by means of)
pa'ənu'tki, (walu'la, palu·'s) belly to belly
patwa'lxa, mutual enemies (twa'lxa, enemy)
pa'wi'nc, both men (wi'nc, man)
pa'ala', pair of hands, the two hands of a person (a·la', hand)
pamə́cyu', the two ears of a person (mə́cyu', ear)

pa-. Not clear. Example: ələ'xnac pa'kkwa·li·n a'wiyaɒnacamc, I have killed all sorts of dangerous beings (kwa·li', a dangerous being).

2.

ana-, oh, well. An interjection indicating a mood of musing along. This is the general exclamation of pain or dismay, ana·'. It apparently may lose strength of feeling and virtually be prefixed to the noun complex; from the native point of view it is usually an independent interjection, not a prefix.

3.

Miscellaneous noun prefixes.

c-. Used correlatively with suffixed -yi. Compare with -i·, manner, condition, state, suffix of derived adverbs and nouns (p. 224). c-yi expresses "the owner, possessor of the."
ckusiyi', the owner of the horse (ku'si, horse)
cni·ɒyi', the owner of the house (ənі·'ɒ, house)
cayaɒyi', the husband, owner or possessor of the woman (a'yaɒ, woman)

pən-, (walu'la, palu·'s) owner of. Unfortunately only one example has been noted, so that the analysis is tentative. ku'li, may mean "master;" pən- may be a third person singular personal or possessive pronoun: pə'nkuli, the owner of the dog or horse.

t-. Perhaps a true distributive plural prefix; note that t is a plural element elsewhere (p. 208). Examples: ƙinwa'i iwa'tca, he was funny (ƙinwa'i, funny); a'upamwa' tƙinwa'ima ti·'nma, you are funny persons.

a'n-, deceased; (perhaps also) gone, past. Not used before terms of relationship and felt as "old style," definitely archaic, by younger ta'ipnapams.

a'nti·nma, the people who are dead (ti·'nma, people)

a'nwapsuχwiᴅ, the lore and knowledge of the ancients (wapsu'χwiᴅ, knowledge)

anwi'm, last year (ma'isχ nəwi'm, next year)

mi·ma'-, (walu'la, palu·'s) ancient. The native speaker very likely feels mi·ma to be an independent adverb or noun, and a rare and loose proclitic when employed before nouns as in the unusual examples following. For the sake of not complicating the analysis to an extreme the element may be categorized here among the infrequent noun prefixes. It is historically the same as the verb anterior root (p. 156).

mi·ma''əni·ᴅ, ancient house (əni·'ᴅ, house)

mi·'ma'wapu·'t, old time clothes

wali·'m-, (walu'la, palu·'s) skin. Another virtually compounded element.

wali·'mtɬa'm, moccasin (tɬa'm, footwear)

wali·'m'əni·'ᴅ, tipi (əni·'ᴅ, house)

tcalu-, kalu-, kind, name, style, design. Note the intimate relation between k and tc. kalu- possibly means in origin awl-made-basket-work.

tcalu'ta'ali'ya, the basket design of ta'ali'ya (a myth personage)

tcalutcya'unu, salmon gills

tcaluwa'xlikt, marked, spotted, irregular, zigzag design

tcalukwəsə's, pointed, sharp, ascending steps design (kwəsə's, sharp)

tcalu·'timat, (walu'la, palu·'s) basket design (-tima-, mark)

pi·'-, personifier. Also used in Skunk's "language" in the myths where Skunk is a personage.

pi·'tiska·ya, (pcwan.) Skunk (as person in the myth age); tiska·'ya, Skunk as person (taiᴅ. and χwal.)

pi·'χwayama, (pcwan.) Eagle (as person in mythic times)

pi·'spilya, pi·'spilyai, (pcwan.) Coyote (as person in mythic times); spilya'i, Coyote as person (taiᴅ. and χwal.)

ata·'-, nata·'-, great, enormous, giant. Apparently an old prefix. It has been found in the following words only.

ata'tcɛ·'c, ocean (tcɛ·'c, water, river); ata'tcu·'c (walu'la, palu·'s)

nata'pyuc, a giant snake (pyu'c, snake)

nata·'nucnu, an enormous nose (nu'cnu, nose)

nata·'ləkəs, large wood rat (larger than wuci', wood rat; ləkəs, mouse)

tu'-, wutu'-, too, too much. wutu'- is more commonly used. Felt as very loosely prefixed to nouns and adjectives both. For additional examples of usage with adjectives, see p. 243.

ťu'st'saD, too dark, too much darkness (st'sa'D, darkness, dark)
ťu'payu, wuťu' pa'yu, too ill (pa'yu, ill)
ťu'laχwe·χt, too hot (la'χwe·χt, hot)
ťu'q̓wəcəm, too meanly mischievous (q̓wəcə'm, mischievous)
wuťu'watam, too deep (wata'm, lake, deep)
wuťu' pala'ini, too drunk (pala'ini, drunken)

The word element in Yakima corresponding to prefixed ťu and wuťu is wa'uka; -ka is the familiar noun modal suffix.

c-. Not clear. Example: cqipqipacnəmi', name of a creek near Longmire Springs, Rainier National Park, Washington.

n-. In doubt. Examples: niya'tc, trousers; yatsi'lyatsil, baby pants.

ROOT COMPLEX

The following types of noun stems and stem formation have been noted:

1. Stems incapable of analysis and to which noun affixes are mechanically attached. A large number of nouns are of this type.

2. Stems that change for dual and distributive plural; the various forms take affixes like nouns of group 1. The following are the only known stems of this type; in every case of a second form the latter is walu'la-palu·'s.

ptí·'niks, tu·'χanat, girl; ptíli'yi·n, aptíli·'n, two girls; ptíli·'ma, aptíli·'ma, three or more girls; ptíli·mi', of those girls

a'swan, taχnu·'tcəmt, boy; ami'si·n, ami·'sin, two boys; ami'sma, ami·'sma, three or more boys; ami'si·nan, two boys (accusative); ami's-maman, boys (accusative)

a'cam, wife; a'cami·n, two wives; a'ce·ma, a'ca·ma, three or more wives

3. Noun stems always exhibiting original duplication, or less often, reduplication. A considerable percentage of the words for wild life and plants are bisyllabic, duplicated in form. Thus, slí'kslik, cricket; χa'tχat, duck; wawa', mosquito; q̓wa'sqwas, crane; etc. The list runs into the scores or hundreds.

4. Verb stems nominalized by the derived adverb formation process (p. 140). The following is the only example recorded in northwest Sahaptin: χa''aB, room (-χa·B-, go into next room).

5. A large percentage of words functionally nouns are verb root complexes nominalized with one or another suffix; nominalizer suffixes may be called classifiers. Such nominalizers follow:

-D, -t, thing resulting from the action or used in the action, the essence of the activity. Compare with -c, thing done by or used by a person. -D (or -t) expresses the thing in itself, rather an abstract idea, in contrast to -c which implies some action or thing related specifically to a person. Examples:

tkwa'taD, food (-tkwata-, eat)
twa'caD, the stew (-twaca-, stew)
namu'nD, name, term (-namu-, name)

ana'kwaɒ, deserted spouse (-anakw-, leave, desert)
pnu·'ɒ, sleep (-pnu-, sleep)
ana'wiɒ, hunger (-anawi-, be hungry)
la'χpiɒ, doctoring (-laχpi-, doctor upon)
te·'naɒ, a word (-te·na-, speak, tell)
ɫɖi'wiɒ, game (-ɫɖiwi-, play)
wa'itaɒ, the tamanwis sickness or sickness cause (-waita-, poison or lodge bad power in someone)
pa'yuwiɒ, the sickness (ordinary matter of fact illness due to natural non-power causes; -payu-, be ill)
tce·'ɒ, a drink of water or liquor (-tce·-, water)

A number of final -c, -s nominalizer elements are of one origin, and are now specialized in varying forms and significations, though most still convey a basic notion: done or used by a person.

-c. The name of the resultant of the action or the action itself, done by a person, or the thing used by a person. Compare -ɒ, above, meaning "thing used" irrespective of a person. Examples of -c:

tχa'nac, happenings of persons, things that have happened to persons, events, customs of the past (-tχana-, happen)
la'χpic, patient, the person being doctored upon (-laχpi-, doctor upon)
χni'c, roots dug by persons, root (-χni-, dig roots)
tkwa'tac, food eaten by someone (-tkwata-, eat)
nɒtka'ckc, knot (-ntkack-, tie in a knot)
wa'itac, the magic power cause of the tamanwis sickness according to the shaman's diagnosis (-waita-, lodge bad tamanwis power in someone)
wati'kc, step of a person, track, foot print (-watik-, step)

Large numbers of nouns contain -c where the idea conveyed by the suffix is negligible or lacking entirely; in these cases -c is the same suffix but probably relatively old in usage. Thus,

lu·'c, a burn (-lu·-, burn)
tca'wac, alcoholic drink (taiɒ.); water (χwal.; -tcawa-, drink water)
tce·'c, (taiɒ.) river (-tce·-, water)

-as. A cognate nominalizer. su'χwas, spoon (-suχw-, spoon); su·'χas (walu'la, palu·'s); wa't'likas, drum stick.

-ac. Also cognate. t'ɒ'χt'ɒχwac, rain clouds, black clouds going to the east (-t'ɒχt'ɒχ-, rain); ɫɖa'mac, unfinished moccasin leather (ɫɖa'm, moccasin).

-as, person, one who. Example: ku'ɒkutas, worker (-kuɒkud-, work).

-a'was, -na'was, place or thing for the purpose of. n is secondary, appearing after a vowel (p. 104). Frequently nominalizer -ɒ is used and -a'was suffix. a' may be related to verb suffix -a'ca, upon, on (p. 200). See walu'la-palu·'s -t'θu·s below. Examples of -a'was:

wənpa'was, handle (-wənp-, take, hold, get)
łɖiwiɬa'was, plaything (-łɖiwi-, play)
łɖiwina'was, play place
pinaɖinuta'was, looking glass (pina-, self; -ɖinu-, see)
taimana'was, store (-taima-, sell)
taimanawasla', storekeeper (-la', person)
tkwatana'was, eating place (-tkwata-, eat)
tsɛ·na'was, cup (-tsɛ·-, drink)
wautkᵘna'was, sleeping place (-wautkᵘ-, camp over night)

-t'θu·'s, (walu'la, palu·'s) place or thing for the purpose of. u· has replaced awa of northwest Sahaptin in this case as in others noted above (p. 100). -t'θu·'s is historically inorganic -t, discussed p. 196, and -a'was, discussed directly above. Examples:

łxwɔt'θu·'s, handle
pina'tukt'θu·'s, mirror (pina-', self; -tuk-, see)
atu·'t'θu·'s, a store (-atu·-, sell)
aikt'θu·'s, chair, chair seat (-ai-, sit)

In the last case -t'θu·'s occurs rather by analogy than by -t plus -awas; no case of ᵘa'ikt is recorded.

-na'ł, -ya'ł, -na'c, -a'c, one who never, one who has not yet, one who is unable to. ł and c must be closely related consonants in this case. n is very likely not glide n but rather directive n. When n is used the idea conveyed is of inability, "one who could never do" so and so. However, after final -a and -u, n seems necessary. More examples are needed to make clear the use of this suffix. Examples:

miɬacina'ł, he who is incapable of singing (-miɬaci-, sing); miɬaciya'ł, he who has not sung yet
t'ciwiuna'ł, he who is incapable of speaking (-t'ciwiu-, speak)
pχwipχwina'ł, one who never thinks, an absent minded person (-pχwi-, think)
tkwatana'ł, he who has not eaten yet (-tkwata-, eat)
cmaɬana'ł, Face-never-washed (a personal name; -cmaɬa-, wash face and hands)
ayatya'ł, never-a-woman, a confirmed bachelor, or a man who has never had intercourse with a woman (a'yaᴅ, woman)
anawiya'ł, person who never has an appetite (-anawi-, hunger)
tkwata'c iwa' łi·'łkwi, he has not eaten all day yet (-tkwata-, eat)
ayaya'c, backward, bashful, does not care to think or do anything
maɬana'c, unclean, lascivious, addicted to sexual indulgence (maɬa', clean)

-ni, (walu'la, palu·'s) never desire to. Examples:

ku'uɬni', never eats much, never hungry (-ku'uɬ-, be full, have enough)
tnə'mni, never eats much, never hungry (-tnəm-, be full, have enough)

-ɒwai, mate, companion. A cognate of the verb posterior root (p. 194).

łɖi'wiɒwai, playmate (-łɖiwi-, play)

təmnu'ɒwai, təmani'ɒwai, berry or fruit picking companion (-təmnu-, -təmani-, pick berries or fruits)
wat'sulaɢɒwa'i, trout fishing companion
wəsalilɒwa'i, hunting companion (-wəsalil-, go about hunting)
wiya'ninɒwai, travelling companion (-wiyanin-, travel about)
dansiɒwa'i, dancing companion
ɖwəcɔ'miɒwai, companion in mischief (-ɖwəcɔ'm-, be mischievous)

-la', -lam, person, one who. Final -m should be compared with final -m of -pam. Examples:

paɣwi'lam, thief (-paɣwi-, steal)
cicpacla'ma the Cispus (River) people
anəkla', (palu·'s, walu'la) the last person (a'nak, behind)
wacala', rider, cowboy (-waca-, ride upon)
waiɣtila', runner, racer, auto (-waiɣti-, run on); wila''uila', (walu'la, palu·'s) runner (-wila-, go; -'ui, ahead)
patiyala', person who jeers at others, snob (-tiya-, laugh)
kwɛ·tala'ma, travellers (-kwɛ·ta-, travel on)
tkwatala', eater, cannibal (-tkwata-, eat)
laɣwɛ·ɣla', fever (-laɣwɛ·ɣ-, be hot)

-m. Not known from other examples. anwi'm, last year; ma'isɣ nəwi'm, next year (məta'ptiɒ anwi'kt, thirty years).

-lu. Not known from other examples. pa'ɒyalu, spear—, a creek site near Morton, Lewis County, Washington (-pəɒya-, spear).

-yu, -iu. Not known from other examples. məcyu', ear (-məc-, ear, hear); mət'si'u (walu'la, palu·'s); tmi'yu, scheme, plan (-tmi-, heart, mind; see -təm-, p. 195).

-nu. Examples:

wa'a'wənu, (palu·'s) mud hen
cəkca'knu, (palu·'s) ground hog
wucwu'cnu, (palu·'s) brush chicken
tə'ɒnu, (palu·'s) ground squirrel (tə'ɒ may mean tooth)

Note also nu'cnu, nose; ka'cinu, elbow.

6. True compounds of two nouns, the first a numeral, occur in walu'la-palu·'s. The compounded numerals are identical in function with numeral prefixes cɣə- and nab-, and represent perhaps a less broken down condition of the latter process of numeral prefixation. Examples:

naɣca''pcanpt, one handful (əpca'npt, two handfuls)
məta''əpca'npt, three handfuls
pina'pcanpt, four handfuls
paɣa''əpcanpt, five handfuls
laɣsa'ti·na'ɪt'θat, one kick only (ti·na'ɪt'θat, a kick)
naɣca'ti·na'ɪt'θat, one kick
məta''ti·na'ɪt'θat, three kicks

pina'ti·na'ɲt'θat, four kicks
paχa'ti·na'ɲt'θat, five kicks
naχcə'taχu'ntat, one berry basketful (ta'χuntat, a berry basket)
na'ptaχu'ntat, two berry basketsful

An exceptional form is na'χcikwla'wit, one day. Note inorganic i following na'χc, one. Walu'la-palu·'s offers isolated examples of other true noun compounds. Several adjectives, like numerals, may join to nouns. Thus:

lilt'ci·'mt'ciuni', big eared (lət'ci', big; mət'si'u, ear; -ni, being, having)
lət'ci'wanala'ma, Columbia River Indians near White Bluffs (lət'ci', big; wa'na, river; -la', person; -ma, plural)
yaka'ʼaucnikc, bearskin spread (ya'ka, bear)

SUFFIXES

1. A considerable number of miscellaneous specific locatives and other post-positional or suffixed elements follow, if more than one, occurring in the order given. Some may be called classifiers, like the preceding group, though they do not nominalize verb roots. They attach directly to true nouns or to nominalized verb roots.

-a'i, -ya'i, -ya, -a·'ya, personifier. When the noun to be personified has final -ac, this element may drop out and -(y)a'i take its place. If the noun has final -as, -ya may be suffixed. There are, however, several exceptions to these rules. If the noun have a final stop, -ya is added and the vowel preceding the final stop lengthened and given word accent. If the noun have final -ai, -a or -ya is suffixed, i is consonantized to glide y, giving in effect -a·'ya; in some cases however, another -ai is added, i becomes y, giving -aya'i. If the noun have a final vowel, -ya'i is suffixed. Nouns in walu'la-palu·'s that end in consonants suffix -ya'i. Examples:

spilya'i, Coyote (as person in mythologic times; as animal, spi'lya)
χwacχwa·'ya, Blue Jay (as person; as bird, χwa'cχwai); qwacqwacya'i, (walu'la, palu·'s) Blue Jay (as bird, qwa'cqwac); χwacχwaca'ya, "blue jay" (to blue jay, as "teddy bear" is to brown bear)
pi·'tiska·ya (pcwan.); tiska·'ya, tiskaya'i, Skunk (as person; as animal, tiska'i); tistsaya'i, (walu'la, palu·'s) Skunk (as animal, tistsa'i)
anahuiya'i, Brown Bear (as person; as animal, anahu'i); yakaya'i, (walu'la, palu·'s) Bear (ya'ka, bear)
tuwita·'ya, Grizzly Bear (as person; as animal, tu'wita·c); twati·tacya'i, (walu'la, palu·'s—twati·'tac, grizzly as animal); wa·panlaya'i (walu'la, palu·'s)
lukwa·'ya, Timber Rabbit (as person; as animal, lukwa'c)
conwa'i, poor fellow!
pət'ce·'mya, Wild Cat (as person; as animal, pə't'cəm); pt'ci·'mya (χwal.); qa·pya'i, (walu'la, palu·'s—qa·'p, wild cat as animal)
ka·la'sya, Coon (as person; as animal, ka·la's)
t'cat'ce·'nya, Wren (as person; as bird, t'ca't'cən)
t'lalakya'i, Deer (as person; as animal, t'la'lək); yamacya'i (walu'la, palu·'s—ya'mac, deer as animal)

ƛwayawiya'i, Cougar (as person; as animal, ƛwayawi')
x̣wayamaya'i, Eagle (as person; as bird, x̣wayama')
ƛwa·liya'i, Dangerous Person (as mere dangerous being, ƛwa·li')
twinpacya'i, twilpa'i, Bow (ordinary bow, twi'npac)
wawu·kyaya'i, (walu'la, palu·'s) Bull Elk (wawu·'kya, bull elk)
taci·pkaya'i (walu'la, palu·'s) Elk, female (taci·'pka, female elk)

In walu'la, we find spilyi' miya'las, Coyote baby. As animal, spi'lya, coyote, is basic. -i may be a clipped diminutive of -a'i.

-i'ya, personifier. The analysis is in doubt. Examples: acwani'ya, a slave (a'swan, boy); ta'taci'ya, Soft-basket Person (a well known female ogre of the mythology; ta'ťac, a large soft basket used for gross articles).

-pam, -pama, people, persons. Probably -pa, at, place (p. 229) and -m, for which compare -ƚam. Possibly -m is an old element meaning persons, or the ones from. See -pama' below, for a probably related form, and -ma', pronoun suffix, p. 263.

t'ikwi'lipam, the Cowlitz Indians
x̣wa'ɬx̣waipam, the Klikitats
ta'inapam, the upper Cowlitz Indians (ta'inən, the Tieton River, Washington)
pcwa'nwapam, pcwa'nwapam or Kittitas Indians (also called pcwa'-napam in other dialects; pcwa', rock; pcwa'unapam in walu'la, palu·'s)
waya'mpam, Warm Springs Indians
pactənpama'təm, the language of the white people (pa'ctən, Boston—a Chinook jargon word; -təm, language)

-pu, (walu'la, palu·'s) people, tribe. No doubt a borrowing from Nez Percé of words containing -pu suffix. Nez Percé -pu and northern Sahaptin -pam are cognate. Example: walawa'lapu, the palu·'s-walu'la tribes.

-ac, -as, site, place, locality, patch, tree, bush, shrub, etc. Compare -c, -as, -ac, -awas, no doubt cognates. Also note -wac below. The common element is -c or -s, the nominalizer "thing-done-by-a-person" (p. 216).

ta'uwiyanika'c, (walu'la, palu·'s) permanent residence (ta'uwiyanak, residence, camp)
wultci'yac, deserted underground house site (wultci', underground house)
əni·'tac, unoccupied house site (əni·'p, house); ni·sa'utas (walu'la, palu·'s; implies that the house itself is gone)
suspa'nas, strawberry patch (suspa'n, strawberries)
a'ťitac, huckleberry patch (a'ťip, huckleberries)
wəx̣a'iwasas, paddle or ash tree (wəx̣a'iwas, paddle)
cəcku'pa·c, hemlock
cqipqi'pa·c, devil club

-wac (walu'la, palu·'s). The northwest Sahaptin form -ac is cognate; w is very likely inorganic glide, not used in northwest Sahaptin except after -a, -au, or -u, but now employed for perhaps all cases in walu'la-palu·'s.

suspa'nwac, strawberry patch (suspa'n, strawberries)
wiunu'wac, huckleberry patch (wi'unu, huckleberries)

-tac. Same as above, and probably cognate. See t, p. 196. Example: ilkwə'ctac, dead fireplace (i'lkwəc, fire).

-ac. Analysis in doubt.

na'ɣc ɬkwi', one day; ne'ipt ɬkwi', two days
mə'taɒ ɬkwi'yac, three days
pa'ɣaɒ ɬkwi'yac, five days (and similarly, with suffixed -ac, for higher numerals)

-ic, (walu'la, palu·'s) owner. Perhaps -i, condition or manner, and nominalizer -c.

ti·tca'mic, landowner (ti·tca'm, land)
əni·'tic, houseowner (əni·'t, house)

-'u·ta'c, (walu'la, palu·'s) former, former owner. u· is probably awa, -t may be nominalizer, -ac is probably -c nominalizer.

əni·'t'u·ta'c, former houseowner (əni·'t, house)
ti·tca'm'u·pa'c, former landowner (ti·tca'm, land)
ti·'la·ki'u·ta'c, ex-wife (ti·'la·ki, wife)
əwi'nc'u·ta'c, ex-husband (əwi'nc, husband)
i'nɣai'u·ta'c, my former friend (i'n-, my; ɣa'i, friend)

-wiyat, (walu'la, palu·'s) future person, person-to-be. wiya may be related to verb root -wiya-, go along; -t may be nominalizer.

ti·'la·kiwiyat, wife-to-be (ti·'la·ki, wife)
əwi'ncwiyat, husband-to-be (əwi'nc, husband)
ti·tca'mwiyat, landowner to be, eventual landowner (ti·tca'm, land)
əni·'twiyat, eventual houseowner (əni·'t, house)

-wai, (walu'la, palu·'s) future, eventual. Example: ta'uwiyanik.wai, future residence (ta'uwiyanik, residence, camp).

-ti·, (pcwan.) person, class, rank. Probably a cognate of independent noun ti·'n, person. This suffix has been heard only in pcwa'nwapam. Example: miya'-wəɣti·, a chief person, an upper class person of rank of chief (miya'wəɣ, chief). Note directly below the form aɣwsanati'ma, which alternates in walu'la-palu·'s usage with aɣwsanatu'ma. In this case -ti may be historically -tu. Or, -ti above may be related to -tu; we have data insufficient for discussing the matter.

-tu, deceased, ancient

aɣwsanatu', aɣwsanatu'ma, aɣwsanati'ma, (walu'la, palu·'s) old men (ɣwə'sanat, old man)
ɣwəsa·tu', the old man, long deceased, of ages ago (ɣwə'sa·ɒ, old man)
ɨmamatu'win, the deceased old folks of yore (ɨma'ma, old woman); ɨmamatu', old lady (deceased, of yore); aɨmamatu', (walu'la, palu·'s) old women

asma·wi·satu', (walu'la, palu·'s) old ladies (lma'ma, cma·'wic, old lady); note that the plural of the feminine word lma'ma, old woman, not masculine χwə'sa·ɒ, old man, is used to express the idea, old folks

-təm, language, speech. Cognate of posterior verb root -təm- (p. 195) and the same in meaning. Note -təmt of walu'la-palu·'s below.

kwinaiłpama'təm, the Quinault people's language
pactənpama'təm, the language of the white people (pa'ctən, white person)
pətənpama'təm, the language of the forest people (Puget Sound Salish)

To speak of one's own language, the forms i'tcickink or i'tcickinkinki (p. 264) are used.

-təmt, (walu'la, palu·'s) language, speech. -təm above is no doubt basic; final -t is probably nominalizer -t, p. 215.

cu·yaputə'mt, English language (cu·ya'pu, white people)
ciwani·cta'mt, waupama'təmt, Nez Percé language
wailatə'mt, old Cayuse language
yakmu·tə'mt, Yakima language

-ťimc. Not known. Example: wəχa'ťimc, a tendon or muscle above the heel and ankle, in the back of the leg, perhaps the tendon of Achilles (wəχa', leg).

-mic. Not clear. Example: pa'tcumic, midnight (pa'tcu, half, halfway).

-ɢwa·'k. Found only in the examples given. Perhaps related in part to ɢw-, that, demonstrative root; also compare -a·'kwən (p. 266). patcuɢwa·'kyau, to as far as the very middle (pa'tcu, half way; -yau, to, towards); patcuɢwa·'k tcɛ·'c, in the middle of the stream, mid-stream (tcɛ·'c, stream).

-ɯks, sex, kind. There is only one recorded example, and the meaning is in doubt. ayatu'ks, female sex (a'yan, woman); iwa' ayatu'ks ku'si, it is a female horse (ku'si, horse).

-mitci, season of year

a'nmitci, winter season
χma'mitci, summer time
wa'wəχamitci, spring time
tiya'mitci, autumn

-ťal, time or period of year (in regard to ripening of this or that food). See -it below.

suspa'nťal, strawberry time (suspa'n, strawberries)
wisi'ɢťal, blackberry time (wisi'k, blackberries)

-it, (walu'la, palu·'s) time of year. This suffix serves as -ťal serves in northwest Sahaptin.

suspa'nit, strawberry time (suspa'n, strawberries)
wi'unuwit, huckleberry time (wi'unu, huckleberries)

sa'χatit, blackberry-raspberry time (sa'χat, blackberry, raspberry)
tctca·'witat, serviceberry time (tctca·', serviceberry; -at is inexplicable)

-mim, the most recent time or period (in regard to ripening of this or that food)
a'ťipmim, this last huckleberry time (a'ťin, huckleberries)
suspa'nmim, this last strawberry time (suspa'n, strawberries)

-pas, -pac, receptacle. Probably compounded of -pa (p. 229) and -as or -ac (p. 216). In walu'la-palu·'s, suffix -pama' is employed, not -pas (see -pama', p. 229).
watsu'qtpas, tomahawk case (watsu'qt, tomahawk); wa·tsuqtpama' (walu'la, palu·'s)
tuni'spas, fire-making-tools container, match box (tuni's, matches, fire making implements); tunispama' (walu'la, palu·'s)
pa·'lapas, dollar or money container, purse (pa·'la, dollar, money—from Chinook jargon; χaχaikpama', (walu'la, palu·'s) purse
nəwa'ipac, coffin, casket, trunk

-wiп, part, part of it, portion, aspect, essence. Final -p may be compared with nominalizer -p (p. 215) for possible common origin. This suffix provides nouns of abstract meaning.
tkwa'tапwiп, the food or eatable part of it (tkwa'tap, food)
i'lkwaswiп, the woody part of it (i'lkwas, wood)
łamtə'χwiп, the head part (łamtə'χ, head); təlpi'wit (walu'la, palu·'s)
ka·'pnamwiп, the length of it (ka·'pnam, long); kwa'a·'lkwit (walu'la, palu·'s)
nət'ci·'wiп, the size, the bigness of it (nət'ci·', big); łt'ci'wit (walu'la, palu·'s)
ma·'l t'sa·'wiп, how nearby is it? (t'sa', near)
ma·'l wi'yapwiп, how far off is it? (wi'yap, far away)
kə'tuwiп, rapidity, speed (kə'tu, fast); qa''auwit (walu'la, palu·'s; qa''au, fast)
mi·ma'wiп, old times (mi·ma', long ago)
χtu'wiп, strength (χtu', strong); q̓walтə'pwit (walu'la, palu·'s; q̓walтə'p, strong)

-ti·ma', (walu'la, palu·'s) thereon, therein, thereto. -ma', one or ones from, pronoun suffix, p. 263, is probably compounded with -ti.
tcu·'cti·ma', the water in it (tcu·'c, water)
ya'a'pacti·ma', the grease on it (ya'a'pac, grease)
wiunuti·ma', berry stains (wi'unu, berry)
lə'łxti·ma', dirt (lə'łx, soil, dirt)
i'ucti·ma', urine on body or garment (i'uc, urine)
la'q̓u'cxti·ma', soot
a'pca·t.ti·ma', foecal filth on it (a'pca·t, feces)
pi''ckuka nusuxti·ma'ki, (walu'la) they smeared him with salmon grease (pi''ckuka, they smeared him; nu'suχ, salmon; -ki, with)

-yaD, of them, of theirs

pci'DyaD, the father of them (pci'D, father)

piya'ʁyaD, the elder brother of them (piya'ʁ, elder brother)

-yi. Used only with prefixed c- (p. 213). Compare with -i· below, a probably cognate suffix. For examples see p. 213.

-i·, -yi·, -ni, -ni·, being, having, condition, state, manner. Identical with the participializer of verb roots (p. 209). Compare c-yi above (p. 213), which may be partly cognate. Note glide n and y.

lilt'ci·'mt'ciuni', (walu'la, palu·'s) big eared (lət'ci', big; mət'si'u, ear)

ta'qmai·, with a hat on, hatted (ta'qmai, hat)

pcwa'pcwayi·, with many rocks upon it, having many rocks (pcwa', rock)

a'tcaci·, having eyes (a'tcac, eyes); na'pt atca·cni' (walu'la, palu·'s) two eyed (na'pt, two)

wəχa'yi, having legs (wəχa', leg); wəχa·ni' (walu'la, palu·'s)

na'ti·χti, wearing the pubic cloth (na'ti·χt, pubic cover)

mi'cnawa' pə'pi·, have you a daughter? (pa'ʁ, daughter; mi'cnawa', are you? have you?)

mi'cnawa' χanilmi'yi, have you a knife? (χanilmi', knife)

əni·'ti·iwa', he has a house (əni·'D, house; iwa', he is, he has)

ɖayuli', Skinny (ɖa'yu, thin)

χtu'wi, strong, hard (χtu', strong)

tsəma·kli', a negro (tcəmu'k, black)

-piyaD, clothes, blanket, skin clothes

anahu'ipiyaD, bear furs for clothes (anahu'i, brown bear)

χwacχwa'ipiyaD, blue jay skin or feather blanket (χwa'cχwai, blue jay)

-paiχt, clothes, blanket, skin clothes

cɖwəla'paiχt, mountain beaver hide blanket (cɖwəla', mountain beaver)

anahu'ipaiχt, bear furs for clothes (anahu'i, brown bear)

-nuD, -nut, less, lacking, not having

tkwatatnu't, (walu'la, palu·'s) no food left, camp that has used up its food (tkwa'tat, food)

ta'lanuD, castrated animal (ta'la, testicles); talanu't (walu'la, palu·'s)

atcacnu'D, eyeless (a'tcac, eyes)

wəχanu'D, legless, one-legged (wəχa', leg); wəχa·nu't (walu'la, palu·'s)

ayaDnu'D, wifeless, bachelor (a'yaD, woman); ti·la·kinu't (walu'la, palu·'s; ti·la·ki', wife)

-liyau, -lyau, ancient, old. Note walu'la-palu·'s -łgu.

u'tpasliyau, an old blanket (u'tpas, clothes, blanket)

ku'siliyau, an old horse (ku'si, horse)

əni·'ɒliyau, an old house (əni·'D, houcse)

łɖa'mliyau, an old shoe (łɖa'm, moccasin)

mətu'łəlyau, an old speckled sore-back spawning salmon near death (mətu'la, spawning white Chinook salmon)

-ɨxu', (walu'la, palu·'s) ancient, old. Note northwest Sahaptin -ɨiyau. ɨ of -ɨxu and -ɨiyau must be cognate.

wali·'mɨɬamɨxu', old moccasin (ɨɬa'm, footwear)
wa·'samta'tcaiɨxu', old buffalo blanket
ku'siɨxu', old horse
əni·'pɨxu', old house
t'aɣu'iɨxu', very old tipi

-tiyawi'c, (palu·'s) very old. Unfortunately only one example was obtained: su·'ɣastiyawi'c, an old, old spoon (su·'ɣas, spoon).

-wit (walu'la, palu·'s). Examples are few: they suggest intensification or emphasis or becoming-more-so.

cma·wi'cwit, a real old woman (cma·'wi'c, old woman)
ɣwəsana'twit, an aging old man, a real old man (ɣwa'sat, old man)

-aipa'ɣ, outlet or mouth of river. Compare the word for the Yakima Indians: aipaɣla'ma, people at the river mouth. -aipɣ- or -ipɣ- is also an independent verb stem meaning go down river; i·pə'ɣca, it is flowing or going downstream.

cicpacaipa'ɣ, mouth of the Cispus River (ci'cpac, Cispus River)
ctcilaipa'ɣ, mouth of the Cowlitz River (ctci'l, Cowlitz River)

-ɣana'tt, source of river, lake at source of river

cicpacɣana'tt, the source of the Cispus River
nuɑt'salɣənəmɨxana'tt, the source (a lake) of the south fork of the Newaukum River

-inc, while, during, having, being. Compare cognate -inc, p. 210. The meaning is not clear. -i, condition, manner participializer is perhaps initial. -inc is especially common finally in place names, though perhaps in origin rather a participializer or gerund.

ənə'ninc, the largest deer, buck (ənə'n, horn)
məle·si'nc, name of a rocky place for goats in the ta'iɒnapam country
t'sli'tinc, name of a rock mountain in the Cispus River valley, Washington
ətə'ɒ.cinc, a foot log
anawiyi'nc, hungry (they were; -anawi-, be hungry)
cɑ̨umə'tins (a place name; cɑ̨umə'ɒ, iron wood)
aitə'minins, name of a prairie
nuwaɣa'minc, "fire cleaned over," name of a mountain near Longmire Springs, Rainier National Park, Washington
wa'ʁtacinc, "bird feather," name of a mountain near Mt. Rainier (wa'p-tas, feathers)
tɬu'ɣtɬəɣinc, a mountain near Mineral, Lewis County, Washington
ɣwiyatɬi'nc, a mountain near Morton, Lewis County, Washington (-ɣwiya-, sweat)
əsti''əsti·ns, a root found in the Yakima region

ta·χi'nc, a person who has a ta·'χ, guardian spirit
pcuwi'nc, name of a creek emptying into the Cowlitz River near Ohanapecash Hot Springs, Washington
wɛ·'tcχinc, cedar board, cedar
χtu'wincki (Yak.) (hit it!) as hard as you can! (χtu', energy, strong)
tani'nc, arrow point (-ta-, shoot)

2. A group of numerals suffixed after the preceding elements.

-i'k, all, and all. Compare -ik, -tik (p. 210).
pcwayi'kpat inu'q̓wna, (χwał.) he swallowed them rock and all (pcwa', rock; -pat, them)
ni·'bti'k, both, the two of them (ni·'pt, two)
mətati'k, all three (ma'tap, three)
wase·si'k, canoe and all (wa'sɛ·s, canoe)
pa'it'liyawita'taca spilya'inan icti'k, (χwał.) they wanted to kill both Coyote and his sons (pa'it'liyawita'taca, they went to kill; spilya'i, Coyote; i'ct, son)

-in, dual number. Also, connective of two nouns.
ami'sin, two boys (a'swan, boy)
ptili'yin, two girls (pti·'niks, girl)
na'pu əwi'ncin, two men (wi'nc, man)
na'puwinam pa'q̓inuna, two of them saw you (-am, you)
əwi'nc a'yatin pawatca', a man and his wife were there (wi'nc, man; a'yap, wife; pawatca', they were)
paya'nawiya i'tci napuwə'k a'camin, he and his wife arrived here (a'cam, wife; paya'nawiya, they arrived; i'tci, here; napuwə'k, both)
spilya'i pawatca' i'ctin, there were Coyote and his son (i'ct, son; spilya'i, Coyote)

-ma, distributive plural number, of them. Compare pronoun suffix -ma', p. 263.
ami'sma, boys (a'swan, boy)
ttmayi·'ma, the unmarried girls (tma'i, unmarried girl)
əwi'ncma, the men (əwi'nc, man)
ptili·'ma, girls (pti·'niks, girl)
na'χcma pa'a'pnana, one of them died (na'χc, one)
na'χcmac patuχwə'nana, one of them shot me (na'χc, one; -c, me)
ələ'χma, many of them, many (ələ'χ, many)
t'la·'χ^u^ma, all, all of them (t'la'χ^u^, all)
a'cɛ·ma, wives (a'cam, wife)

3. Relational suffixes follow numeral suffixes -ma and -in. The nominative forms (-in and -nəm) more usually attach to subjects of singular number and are used only with subjects of transitive verbs taking pronominal objects. The accusative and possessive forms are commonly found with nouns of any number. See the pronouns for additional uses of these relational elements.

-nəm, nominative. Suffixed to the usually singular subject of a transitive verb whose object is not third person. Note now -nəm is incorporated within the pronoun complex, as in kwənə'mək, that one; pənə'mək, he (p. 252). -nəm may or may not be used: the speaker may choose to use it for clarity and elegance of speech.

i'i·'cnac tsma·k^{w}li'nəm, the negro won over me (i'i·'cnac, he beat me)
itkwa'tɛ·niyac i·'kwnəmək patkwatała'nəm, that fellow, the cannibal, ate mine (itkwa'tɛ·niyac, he ate mine; i·'kwn, that one; patkwatała', cannibal)
kum kwənə'mək wa'ɖic i'ani'ta, then she can save your life (kum, then you; kwən, that one; wa'ɖic, alive; i'ani'ta, she will make)
icu'gwa·tam natu'tasanəm, my father will find you out (icu·'gwa·tam, he will find you out)
mi'cnac kwə'k i'ə'nxana pt̓i·'niksanəm, I wonder what the girl told me? (mi'cnac kwə'k,I wonder how to me; i'ə'nxana, she spoke; pt̓i·'niks, girl)
ipá'ʁt'ika əwi'ncnəm, the man punched me (əwi'nc, man)
tu'nəmnac itca'npa, what bit me? (tu-, what? -nac, me; itca'npa, he bit)
i'kwnəməgnac i'i'yaɒnaɒa, that one will kill me (i'kwn, that one; -nac, me; i'i'yaɒnaɒa, he will kill)

-in, nominative. A comparable element suffixed to the usually singular object of a transitive verb which takes a third person pronoun object. -in may be incorporated in a pronoun complex, like -nəm and -mi'. Like -nəm, -in need not always be used, but better speech prefers it.

t'la'χ^{u} ta·'la pa''i·cna a'swani·n, the boy beat him out of all his money (t'la'χ^{u} ta·'la, all money; pa''i·cna, him beat; a'swan, boy)
pa''ɔna a'swanin, the boy said to him (pa'-, him; -ɔna, told; a'swan, boy)
pa'ɖinuna əwi'ncin, the man saw him (əwi'nc, man)
tu'win pa'walawikacana, something dropped on him (tu-, which, what, thing; -walawi-, fall down)

-n, -an, -nan, -i·n, -e·n, accusative; -na (walu'la, palu·'s). Again, like nominative -nəm and -in, the accusative suffix is not demanded, but it is usually preferred. The form is employed for the object when the subject is third person, or the verb is imperative or future-hortatory.

wi'nak kwə'niktcnik tɕe·'cnan, go across the water! (wi'nak, go! kwə'niktcnik, across; tɕe·'c, water)
i'ə'na a'swane·n, he told the boy (i'ə'na, he told); i'ə'na na'puwi·nan əwi'nci·nan, he told the two men (na'pu, two)
iɖi'nuna wi'ncnan, he saw the man (iɖi'nuna, he saw); iɖi'nuna t̓a'taci'yan, he saw the Soft-basket Person (t̓a'taci'ya, the Soft-basket Person)
a'caɒniya tika'imaman, she asked the dishes (a'caɒniya, asked; tika'ima, dishes); a'caɒniya χaɒilmɛ'man, she asked the knives (χaɒilmi', the knife)
a'wituχna u·'tpc pt̓i·'niksan, he returned the clothes to the girl (a'wituχna, he gave them back; u·'tpc, clothes; pt̓i·'niks, girl)

panaksi'ƙwatana a'swanɛ·n, he showed it to the boy (a'swan, boy)
a'tɑmnanaχna ptí·'niksan, he thought of the girl (ptí·'niks, girl)
icaba'ku''pən i'luka'sna, (walu'la, palu·'s), he broke the stick (i'luka's, stick)
a'tχawatilcaɛ·niya waχa' χwałχwɛ·'lyan, he stepped on the leg of Meadow Lark (tχa-, accidentally; -wati-, step; χwałχwɛ·'lya, Meadow Lark)
a'uku pa''ɔna spilya'inan χwałχwɛ·'lyayin, then Meadow Lark said to Coyote (pa''ɔna, he said to him; spilya'i, Coyote; χwałχwɛ·'lyayin, Meadow Lark, nominative)
tkwatala' a'watca ti·'nmaman, he was an eater of people (tkwatala', eater, cannibal; a'watca, was; ti·'n, people; note that ti·'nmaman is felt as the object of transitive verb -tkwata-, eat, nominalized)

After final -i in ta'idnapam, -ɛ·n appears; long (probably not diphthongal, see p. 101) -i·n thus changes to -ɛ·n; in other dialects -i·n is retained. Compare accusative ɛ· and u· in the pronouns (p. 248). Words, not sentences, are given; each is in the accusative, with the basic nominative form in parentheses: ƙwa·lɛ·'n, the dangerous being (ƙwa·li'); ƙwa·li·'n, the dangerous being (other dialects); nɔmɛ·'n, mine (nɔmi'); nɔmi·'n, (other dialects) mine; χasilmɛ·'man, the knives (χasilmi'); ƙusi'ƙuse·n, the horse (ƙusi'ƙusi). After some cases of final -n, ta'idnapam may add accusative -ɛ·n, other dialects -i·n: a'swanɛ·n, the boy (a'swan); a'swani·n (other dialects). After other cases of final -n, accusative -an may be added: ami'si·nan, the two boys (ami'si·n, two boys); ti·'nan, people, person (ti·'n). After final -a, -n is suffixed for the accusative: χwacχwa·'yan, Blue Jay (χwacχwa·'ya). After all other noun root endings, -nan is suffixed for the accusative: a'yaɔnan; spilya'inan; lukwa'cnan; t'ła·'χʷnan; qu'yaχnan; imi'nɔknan; ɔpɔ'ʁnan; etc. If the accusative suffix be added after the distributive plural suffix (-ma), the form is -maman: ti·'nmaman; a'yaɔmaman; iksi'ksmaman; t'ła·'χʷmaman; etc.

-pa, accusative. Note that -pa is almost invariably employed only after relationship terms (p. 239), instead of -an or -na. However, in a rare case or two accusative -pa occurs after an ordinary noun. This seems a stylistic choice, perhaps an archaicism. Thus, kumanu'suχpa t'ła'χʷpa a'tχuna, (walu'la) they had gotten all the salmon (nu'sux, salmon; t'ła'χʷ, all; -tχu-, take, get).

-mi', -nɔmi', -nmi', possessive. After final n, l, a bilabial, and sometimes a vowel, -mi is suffixed. In all other cases, -nɔmi' or -nmi' is used. n is a glide, p. 104. Compare -aɔmi', the possessive suffix of the relationship terms (p. 239). Compare Upper Chinook a'mɔni (footnote, p. 229).

ti·nɔmi', ti·nmi', of the people (ti·'n, people)
aswanɔmi', aswanmi', of or belonging to the boy (a'swan, boy)
piyaɔmi', of the elder brother (piya'ʁ, older brother)
ctcilmi', of the Cowlitz River (ctci'l, Cowlitz River)

Where -m is final the vowel preceding -m may be lengthened, and only -i appear suffixed; but sometimes the vowel is untouched and m lengthened.

taidnapam·i', belonging to the ta'idnapams or upper Cowlitz Indians

aipaχla·mi′, of the Yakimas (a′ipaχla, a Yakima)
wata·mi′, of the lake (wata′m lake)

In a χwa′ɬkwaipam myth Coyote cries out to the Chinook salmon he has made, i′ləm ali′ɒ, my thing-made! Note that i′ləm is clipped mythical Coyote language for inmi′, where -nmi′ is possessive suffix.

4. A half dozen or more locatives and other post-positions may appear when no pure relational suffix is used. The locatives or post-positions function rather strikingly like the Latin dative and ablative and together with the pure relational suffixes (3) have led some students to remark that Sahaptin has case suffixes. This is a true statement if it be qualified with the observation that the so called case elements are of two kinds, one purely relational (3), the other specifically locational and in the latter case, many more in number than the analogous two—dative and ablative—of Latin.

-pa, location, place, at, by, in, for. It is compounded with succeeding elements to give probably each of the following: -paink, -pama′, -pas. It has probably been borrowed by Upper Chinook.[8] -pa, accusative suffix of relationship terms (p. 239), is no doubt cognate.

ɬkwi′pa, in (so and so many) days (ɬkwi′, day)
skwi′pa, early in the morning
cma′cpa, in, upon the bed (cma′c, bed)
tu′panam, about or concerning what did you? (tu-, what; -nam, you)
iluˑ′na waχa′pa, he was burned on the leg (waχa′, leg)
əwincənəmi′pa, at the man's (əwincənəmi′, of the man)
tənunyainəmi′pa, upon Deer's horn
ci′i′χ iwa′ tkwa′tapa, (walu′la, paluˑ′s) it is good to eat (ci′i′χ, good; iwa′, it is; tkwa′tan, food)
ma′ɬpa wiyuˑ′tukpa iwi′na′na, (walu′la, paluˑ′s) he went away a few days afterwards (ma′ɬ, so much; iwi′na′na, he went away)

-pama′, thing for, from, place for; receptacle, holder (walu′la, paluˑ′s). Very likely compounded of -pa (above) and -ma′, one or ones of, pronoun suffix, p. 263. Compare -pam (p. 220); compare Upper Chinook -bama[8]; see -pama′pa below; compare -pas (p. 223).

wa′tatpama′, (walu′la, paluˑ′s) drumstick for skin drum (-wata-, strike)
ta′uwiyanaikpama′, (walu′la, paluˑ′s) camp ground (ta′uwiyanik, residence, camp)
tunispama′, (walu′la, paluˑ′s) match box
pətənpama′tam, the language of the forest people (Puget Sound Salish)
ɬaχwpama′, saliva apron (for children)
mitipama′, a person from down below (in myth of theft of fire from the sky people; mi′ti, down below)
waikanacpama′, fishing place (waika′nac, fish); lawiyalatpama′ (walu′la, paluˑ′s)
kuppama′, place to get (-ku-, make, do); kutkutpama′, (walu′la, paluˑ′s) working tool (-kutkut-, work, do)

[8] *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40 Part 1, edited by Franz Boas, pp. 650-654 (Post- in by

sχwiyatanpama', thing for wiping
tci·tanpama', place to get water at (-tci·ta-, go to get water)
tkwatanpama', an eating place, eating stuff (-tkwata-, eat)

-pama'pa (walu'la, palu·'s). This seems to be -pama' and -pa compounded. It conveys the idea, the day beyond, in the following examples.

wati·mpama'pa, day before yesterday (wati·'m, yesterday)
maisχpama'pa, day after tomorrow (ma'isχ, tomorrow)

-laikɔn, (walu'la, palu·'s) right at the side or edge of. The verb root -lai-, -lɛ·-, into or by water, may be cognate.

tcu·'claikɔn, right on the edge of the water (tcu·'c, water)
wata'mlaikɔn, right beside the lake (wata'm, lake)
ptɔ'nlaikɔn, right on the edge of the brush, woods (ptɔ'n, woods, brush)

-paink, at, by, at the place of, along near, close by. Possibly -pa (p. 229) and pronominal suffixes -nk (p. 247). But note verb root -pai-, be right at the edge; -pai- may be basic to verb and suffix.

ctcɔ'ppaink, along on the road (ctcɔ'p, road)
nəmipa'ink, at my place (nəmi', mine); pɛ·mipa'ink, at their place (pɛ·mi', theirs)
a'laipaink, along the water side, (alai, waterside)
aχmipa'ink, some distance from the river bank or away from the shore (a'χmi, some little distance inland from the waterside)
tcu·'cpa'ink, (walu'la, palu·'s) along or close to the stream (tcu·'c, river)

In walu'la-palu·'s we also find -pain: tsa''atpa'in, at once, in a very little while.

-yau, into, to, for. It is also used for the object of verbs of sensory activity, seeing, hearing, and so on. Compare -yu·k (p. 253).

ki·'wayau, to some other place
tu'yau pawa', for what purpose have they come? to get what? (tu-, thing, what); kuc tca'u tu'yau, not for anything would I
iyə'na wa'npɔyau, he heard his singing (wa'npt, singing); pa'ikna wa'npyau (walu'la, palu·'s); iyə'nχa i'tcickinkyau, he understands (hears) our language (i'tci·ckink, our language)
pa''ai tcɛ·'cyau, by the side of, right next to the water (tcɛ·'c, water)
paya'nawiya ti·'nmami'yau, they came to a place belonging to the people (ti·nmami', of the people)
ixa'tamainaocac məcyu'yau, it got into my ear (məcyu', ear)
kwayawiyainəmi'yau, to Cougar's place (kwayawiya'i, Cougar; -nəmi, of)
a'unawa' i'nəmχtupya nəmi'yau, now indeed you are stronger than I am (nəmi', my, mine)
pa'qinunəm tcɛ·'byau, watch me drink! (pa'qinunəm, watch me; tcɛ·'b, drink)
a'tamaχanpama i'lkwasyau, he rested or leaned against the wood (i'lkwas, wood)
pa'walaitqi'ya łə'lχyau, (palu·'s) they came ashore to him (łə'lχ, beach)

pakyu·'na spilya'ina pnu'yau, (walu'la) they went to Coyote while he was asleep there (pakyu·'na, they went to; spilya'i, Coyote; -na, accusative; pnu', sleep)

pa'tu·ka wu'ityau, (walu'la, palu·'s) he saw him escape (pa'-, him; -tu·-, see)

Note this χwa'ɬχwaipam example: a'wiyanawiya ti·'nayaupawa', he came to where people were (a'wiyanawiya, he came; ti·'n, people; pawa', they are). -a after ti·'n may be a glide, or less likely a vestigial accusative. Another example: iwa'iχtiya ti·'nayau, he ran to the people (iwa'iχtiya, he ran).

-kan, to, towards, in the direction of. After -k it is -tcan; and also in some few other cases cited. It is remotely possible that -kan is an old compound of -k and accusative -an.

χəwu'ckan, towards the brook (χəwu'c, brook)

ki·'wakan, to anywheres at all, to somewhere else

nəmi'kan, towards me (nəmi', my, of me)

aipa'χkan, towards Yakima

t'ci'kwikan, towards sundown time

χwɛ·'mitcan, towards up above (χwɛ·'mi, up above); χwa'mtcan (walu'la, palu·'s)

mi'titcan, towards down below (mi'ti, down below)

wi'yatcan, further, further on (wi'yaɒ, far off)

i'kwaktcan, towards that (i'kwak, that)

In pcwa'nwapam -tcan is frequently heard -tca; analogously, in walu'la-palu·'s the relational accusative is -na, not -nan. Final n's are not very stable in northern Sahaptin.

iwi'nana wi'yatca, (pcwan.) he went far away (wi'yaɒ, far away)

iwi'nana əmi·'titca, (pcwan.) he went down below (əmi·'ti, down below)

kwə'niktca, (pcwan.) across to the other side (kwənik, across, the other side there)

Note in the following example (from walu'la-palu·'s, though the point is valid for all dialects) that the numeral adjective suffixes -yau when the noun takes -kan. Thus: na'χcyau əni·'ɒkan pawi'na'na, they went to another house (na'χc, one; əni·'ɒ, house; pawi'na'na, they went).

-an (walu'la). It is not determined whether this be a form of -kan or relational -an. The former is more likely since northwest dialect -an or -nan becomes -na in walu'la-palu·'s. Example: pa'walaitɬi'ya łə'ɬχan, (walu'la) they came ashore to him (łə'ɬχ, beach; łə'ɬχkan was also recorded).

-kənik, -knik, from, away from, place from which. Used much with pronouns (pp. 264, 266). After final -k it is -tcənik, -tcnik; and also in some variant cases. It is fundamentally -kni or perhaps even -ni; compare this with participializer -ni·, -i·.

ta'ɬa·cknik, pa'tχanuknik, (walu'la, palu·'s) from the mountains

tca'wackənik, (χwał.) away from the water (tca'wac, water); tcɛ·'cknik (taiɒ.); tcu·'cknik (walu'la, palu·'s)

i'catknik, across from the other side
wu'tkaci·knik, (walu'la, palu·'s) across from the other end of the inside of the house
a'naktcənikteənik, right behind (a'nak, behind; the form a'natcənik has also been heard, -k dropping out)
χa'iχknik, (walu'la, palu·'s) from the east
wa'tuitcənik, in front place, in front (wa'tui, first, ahead); anu·'qtcnik (walu'la, palu·'s); wa'tuitcənik da'nsnan, before the dance

-kəninək, -kninək, from, place from which. See also under pronoun suffixes (pp. 253, 264). Undoubtedly -kni or perhaps -ni again is the basis. Final -nək may consist of the pronominal elements discussed below, p. 247. We can not determine upon the distinction in meaning, if any, between -knik and -kninək; -knik is used more after nouns, -kninək more after pronouns.

iḍa'mkninək, from her shoes (iḍa'm, moccasin)
χa'iχtkninək, from the east (χa'iχt, east)
mi'tikninək, from on below there (mi'ti, below)
wəχa'kninək, from, by, at the legs (wəχa', leg)
łamtə'χkninək, at the head (łamtə'χ, head)
a'tamantapyukma tci·'ckninək, he dragged it out of the river (tci·'c, river)

-ki, by means of, with, in the manner of. Also used frequently after pronoun roots (pp. 253, 264, 266). Compare Upper Chinook (footnote, p. 229).

nt'ci'ki, loudly (nt'ci', big, large)
pawəχa'ki, with feet to feet (pa-, pair, reciprocal; wəχa', foot)
ku'ɒnaḍiyam i'tcənki, are you done with this? (i'tcən, this thing)
χaʙiłmi'ki, with or by means of the knife (χaʙiłmi', knife)

-ai, -yai, -wai, for the sake or purpose of, to. A cognate of verb root infinitivizer, -tai, -ai (p. 210). After a back vowel w is the inserted glide; after a forward vowel or k or q, glide y appears.

nt'ci'yai t'ła'łakyai, (it is) for big deer (nt'ci', big; t'ła'łək, deer)
a'tḍixca əwi'ncai, she desired him for a husband (əwi'nc, man, husband)
ciya'χ kaya'suwai, good for arrows (kaya'su, arrow)
tca'unac a'cucwa·ca kumi'cai iwi'nana, I do not know why he went (ku, that, and; mi'c, why)
waika'nacai, for fishing purposes (waika'nac, fish)
kum a'tusχta imikaya'i a'yatai, you may choose one for your wife, to be your wife (im-, you; -kayai, personal pronoun form corresponding to noun -ai, and cognate; a'yaɒ, woman, wife)

-ɒai, for the sake or purpose of, to. A cognate of verb infinitivizer -ɒai (p. 210) and noun -ai above. For -ɒ see p. 196. ciya'χaɒiwa' miya'nacinai, it might be good to keep it as our child (miya'nac, child). Note that after final c and with -ɒai the form is -cinai. In the case of pronominal mi'c taking -ɒai the form is also mi'cinai. -ɒai is possibly used where the noun or pronoun base, as in mi'c(i) and miya'nac(i) above, is felt as verbal, and the resultant form with -ɒai as in-

finitive. Thus miya'nacipai is an infinitive meaning to child, to have as a child; miya'nacai is a nominal form meaning for the child's sake; mi'cipai means for what action, to do what with, a fundamentally infinitive form; mi'cai means why, and is nominal in feeling. Translations do faint justice to the native forms. The quasi verbal usage is so unusual as to justify leaving this material in the section on noun suffixes.

-wa'kwəł, -wa'kwł, -wa·'kuł, resembling, like. This is possibly anciently -wa-, be (p. 156), demonstrative kw-, that, and demonstrative suffix -ł, so much in size or quantity.

tkwalawa'kwəł, trout like, smelts; nusuxwa·'kuł, (walu'la, palu·'s) like salmon (nu'suχ, salmon)

əwincwa'kwəł, like a man, mannish (əwi'nc, man); wincwa·'kuł (walu'la, palu·'s)

talatalawa'kwəl, pears (ta'la, testicles)

sətχwəswa'kwəł, (Yak.) root resembling, corn (sə'tχwəs, an edible root similar to onions)

camtcacwa'kwəł, name of a place where mountain goats are found, in the Cispus River valley, Washington (ca'mtcac, red orange face paint)

-χuc, first, ahead, in front, in the lead

əwi'ncχuc, the man first, ahead (əwi'nc, man)

i'mχuc, you first (im-, you)

i'tcixuc nəmi·'nχuc wəχi'pa, (χwał.) I will throw this one of mine first (i'tci, this; nəmi·'n, mine; wəχi'pa, will throw)

na'pamχucnac wiya'nawi (palu·'s, walu'la) the second time I came (na'pam, second time; -nac, I; wiya'nawi, came)

-txau, further on, more. Perhaps more properly an adjective suffix.

inəm·i'tiyautχau, still further below inside (i'nəm-, more; mi'ti, down below; -yau, to, towards)

maiwi'yatχau, a little further than before (mai-, more; wi'yaɒ, far on)

t'sa'txau, nearer, still closer than usual (t'sa', near)

imi'taciya ił'ɬkwitχau, he sang more, further (ił'ɬkwi, for some time, a little while)

iwa'npa wi'yatictχau, (walu'la, palu·'s) he sang longest (iwa'npa, he sang; wi'yatic, long time)

5. Modal suffixes in several positions because often compounded.[9] These are almost enclitics in feeling and in freedom of attachment.

-sim, only, just, merely. Also used as verb suffix (p. 202), and a frequent pronoun suffix.

əwi'ncsim, the man only (əwi'nc, man)

na'puwinsim, only the two of them (na'pu, two)

[9] -ataɒ, almost, pretty nearly. This modal suffix is in doubt.

a'umac twa'nana t'sa'yausim, I shall follow you at only a little distance away (t'sa', near; -yau, to, towards)
kukwa'isim pawi'nana, they (both) went away at the very same time (pawi'nana, they went)
t'sa'simka, nearby now (t'sa', near; -ka, now)

-pu, (walu'la, palu·'s) partitive, "of the bunch." Compare -pu, people (p. 220), with which this is probably identical.

na'pupu, just two of the bunch (na'pu, two)
na'pusimpu, only two of the bunch (-sim, only)
mə'tausimpu, only three of the bunch (mə'tau, three)

-xi, also, same. See the demonstrative pronouns (p. 264) where it is often found in somewhat changed and idiomatic signification. This element is much freer in its attachments than any other suffix, though most often it is not felt as enclitic; only -ka approaches it in freedom of affixation. A few cases of the use of -xi as true enclitic are cited under enclitics (p. 128).

pat'sa·'na wi'yapyauxi, they came near to it though to where it was still some distance away (wi'yap, far on, -yau, to, towards)
kpə'nxika a'tusxta, you must choose that very same one again now (kpə'n, that aforementioned one; -ka, now; -m, you)

-ka, now, now again. After final k or x it is -t'ca. It is exceedingly loosely attached, only little less so than -xi, except in a few forms.

hu'ikamu'n a'winɛ·xinaxni, he was unable to repair it (hu'i, unable; mu'n, at all, then)
na'xcyauka əni·'pyau, to another house now (na'xc, one; -yau, to, towards)
naxt'cana'xt'ca, (walu'la, palu·'s) one by one (na'xc, one)
t'sa'simka, the time is near now when (t'sa', near; -sim, only, just); t'sa'-paka, nearby now (-pa, at); mait'sa·'ka, nearer now (mai-, more)
patcuGwa·'kt'ca, towards half way (patcuGwa·'k, half way on)
ana'wiyika, hungry now (ana'wiyi, being hungry)
t'la·'x^{u}kwa, all now, the last one now (p. 112, for rounding of k to kw; t'la·'x^{u}, all)
ki'wapaka, in a different place again
nəwi'pka, nəwi'ka, (xwal.) indeed, truly, to be sure
a'utika, merely, just (auti is not known apart from -ka)
tə'knika, (walu'la, palu·'s) instead
ku tca'uka a'watca tika'ima, and there were no more dishes there (tca'u, not; ku, and; a'watca, there were; tika'ima, dishes)
tə'nuxnankam a'wənpkikc, you are taking a different one now (tə'nux, different one; -nan, accusative)

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

These are handled like nouns and given the affixes listed for nouns. In addition, relationship terms take the following elements closely affixed; in some cases there are found under analysis certain elements practically buried.

PREFIXES

1.

aɒwa'i-, atwa'i-, deceased. Compare a'n-, deceased, which is used before ordinary nouns (p. 214).

aɒwa'i'ɔtil, your dead grandfather (ɔti'l, your grandfather)
aɒwa'i'inkuli, my deceased master (referring to a child: ku'li, child or master)
aɒwa'ipcit, the deceased father (pci't, father)

In the following walu'la-palu·'s word the noun is felt to be a relationship term, hence the usage of atwa'i-: atwa'ilt'cilt'ci'ma, deceased elders, ancestors (lt'ci', big; lɔt'ci'lt'cima, elders of the tribe).

2.

na-(-as), first person singular possessive. Used when the subject of the term is an older person. Probably a cognate of first person singular n (p. 251). Appears invariably with suffixed -as.

natu'tas, my father
aɒwa'ina'ilas, my deceased mother
nali·'las, (palu·'s) my aunt, my father's half sister
na'a'las, my father's mother
napu'cac, (palu·'s) my father's father
natɔ'χas, (palu·'s) my mother's brother

i'n-, first person singular possessive. Used when the subject of the term is a younger person or in-law, husband, wife or friend. In contrast, na- indicates elders, and perhaps symbolizes conventional respect towards them. in- is a cognate of the independent pronoun in-, and of course of first person *n (p. 251).

i'nmict, my son (there is some doubt concerning m; it may be possessive -mi or inmi' vestigially prefixed before a front vowel)
i'npɔʁ, my daughter
i'nkaks, my younger brother or male cousin (of a male)
i'nχai, my friend
i'npnuk, my sister-in-law (of a male)
i'npcac, my father-in-law, son-in-law (of a male)
i'nskai, (χwai.) my brother-in-law (of a male)

Again note initial inm-, in the following examples, before initial a-:

i'nmawiɬat, my brother-in-law (of a male)
i'nmatc, my sister-in-law (of a female)
i'nɔmam, my husband (a'm, husband)
inma'cam, my wife

ə- (a-, i-), second person singular possessive. Used, like na-, for elders, and also for younger brother and sister. Contrast with im-, used for younger persons.

ətu'ᴅ, your father
ənə'c, your elder sister or female cousin
əku'ks, your younger brother or male cousin (of a male)
əti'l, your mother's father
əpu·'c, your father's father
əka'l, əkə'l, your mother's mother (note the irregular variant form: weakening of a to ə is rare in Sahaptin)
əχə'χ, your mother's sister
aci'c, your father's sister (normal second person ə- is changed to a- for no known reason; there seems no phonetic objection to əci'c)
(i'l, your mother; seemingly ə- is dropped or assimilated: ə'i'l, involving a V'V$_1$ combination, seems impossible phonetically in Sahaptin)
(ya'c, yaca'ʙ, your elder brother or male cousin; ə- is probably assimilated to the following y, in these cases and yu'ks below)
(yu'ks, your younger sister or female cousin, of a female)
(a'l, your father's mother; another ə- assimilation; see i'l above)
(pa'ts, your younger brother or male cousin, of a female: an irregular form, where ə- is inexplicably absent)
(tsni'ts, your younger sister or female cousin, of a male; another irregular form where ə- is absent)

im-, second person singular possessive. Used, like in-, for younger persons, in-laws, husband, wife and friend. Cognate of second person singular independent personal pronoun, im-, and of basic second person *m (p. 250).

imi'ct, your son
i'mpəʙ, your daughter
i'mtila, your daughter's child (of a male)
i'mpitəχp, your sister's child (of a male)
i'mpnuk, your sister-in-law (of a male); your brother-in-law (of a female)
i'matc, your sister-in-law (of a female)
i'mcəwəχ, your son-in-law (of a female); your mother-in-law (of a male)
i'mam, your husband
i'mχai, your friend

tu-, second person singular possessive. The usage is in doubt. Possibly it is old ta'ipnapam, or more properly one of the other dialects. It can not be French. Only one example is known: tu'tilam, your grandfather.

p-, pə-, pi-, pa-, third person singular or third person possessive singular. Clearly related to the independent third person pronoun (p. 249). It seems a fossilized element which in most instances has no possessive signification, serving to symbolize forms that are not used for first or second person possessive. The first and second person possessive prefixes may be prefixed to forms with buried p; see na-, in-, ə- and im- for examples. The third person basis is *p (p. 249). Independent possessive adjectives (or pronouns) may precede these forms; this is usually done

for clarity, specificity of reference or emphasis; the formal na-, in-, ə- and impossessive pronoun prefixes are clear in meaning but serve only for the singular. Examples of the use of independent possessive pronouns:

inəmi′ pci′ɒ, my father
pənəmi′nək pa′tct, his younger brother
ɛmi′nək pci′ɒ, your (plural) father

All forms having p- follow. Some few may not possess a true p- and may have to be set aside at a later time; they are placed in parentheses.

pci′ɒ, father
ptca′, daughter
(pa′ɒ, elder sister or female cousin)
piya′ʁ, elder brother or male cousin
pa′tct, younger brother or male cousin (of a female)
pta′ɣ, son's child (of a female)
pu′ca, father's father (also vocative); pu′sa (same, and vocative for son's son)
paɣənə′c, son's child (of a male)
pɣa′ɣ, daughter's child (of a female)
paɣə′ɣ, mother's sister (note irregular pa-)
pici′c, father's sister (note irregular pi-)
pi′maɣ, father's brother
pi′təɣ, mother's brother
pi′təɣp, sister's child (of a male); pi′ti! (same, vocative)
pi′nuwac, pi′wunac, distant relation
paɣiya′ɣ, brother's child (of a male); pa′ya! (same, vocative; note irregular pa-)
pa′mt, brother's son (of a female); pa′mta! (same, vocative)
(pu′ɒ, brother's daughter [of a female]); pa′wai! (same, vocative)
psi′ts, sister's daughter (of a female); pi′si! (same, vocative)
pnu′k, sister-in-law (of a male), brother-in-law (of a female; same, vocative)
pca′c, father-in-law, son-in-law (of a male; same, vocative)
pna′tc, daughter-in-law, parent-in-law (of a female; same, vocative)

n-. Four vocative terms, each for younger sibling, seem to have buried initial first person n in common; this seems an element quite as old if not older than p- above.

nə′ka! younger brother! (or) male cousin! (male calling); na·′ka! (same, yelled)
ni′ya! younger sister! (or) female cousin! (female calling); niya·′! (same, yelled, in endearment, or wailed)
nə′tca! younger sister! (or) female cousin! (male calling)
nə′pa! younger brother! (or) male cousin! (female calling); ləpa·′·! (same, in endearment or wailed)

ROOTS

I will present in a separate paper all recorded relationship terms in their hypothetic root form. Additional terms ought to be revealed with future work in the field.

SUFFIXES

1.

-as. In every case of prefixed na- to express first person singular possessive for elders, first person -as is suffixed at the same time. See under na- for examples. Basic and cognate c or s should be noted, p. 251.

-a, -ə. -i. These non-pronominal suffixes characterize the vocative of relationship terms. -i seems secondary and probably appears for vocalic harmony. Vocative suffixes are not applied to in-laws, husband, wife or friend, or to relationships at further remove than the ones here given. Rhetoric lengthening is employed (1) finally, to express an especially insistent command, or affection for the one who is summoned or for the deceased relative who is being mourned and wailed to; (2) medially, also to express an insistent command.

tu'ta! father! tuta·'·! dear father! tu·'ta! tə'ta! (same, palu·'s)
i'la! mother! wife! ia·'·! dear mother! i·'la! (same, palu·'s)
tə'ta! son!
na'na! elder sister! (or) female cousin! nana·'·! dear sister! (or) cousin!
nə'ka! younger brother! (or) male cousin! (male calling) na·'ka! (same, with greater emphasis, yelled)
ni'ya! younger sister! (or) female cousin! (of a female) niya·'·! (same, with greater emphasis, in endearment or when wailing)
nə'pa! younger brother! (or) male cousin! (of a female) ləpa·'·! (same, in endearment or when wailing; note the diminutive nuance, which is perhaps ancient)
pu'ca, pu'sa! father's father! son's child! (of males) (pu'ca occurs often when summoning a grandfather, pu'sa, a diminutive nuance, when calling a grandchild)
si·'la! (palu·'s) sister's daughter! mother's sister!
tə'ɣa! (palu·'s) mother's brother!
mə'ma! (palu·'s) sister's son!
pi'si! sister's daughter! (of a female)
i'ti! sister's son! (of a female)

-m, your. m is fundamental for second person singular in proclitic, enclitic, independent pronoun and other pronoun elements (p. 250). This form seems to be a survival, from the point of view of function. Known cases are cited.

i'i'yanana tuta'm, your father will kill you
tu'tilam, your grandfather (ti'la, grandfather; tu-, your)
kala'm, your grandmother

2.

-c. Some buried element of second person pronominal signification, noted only in the terms, your elder sibling.

ya'c, yaca'p, your elder brother or male cousin
ənə'c, your elder sister or female cousin

3.

Formal Suffixes.

-(n)mi, possessive. Used as in nouns. Some examples:

ilami'kan, to your mother (-kan, to, towards)
tutami'kan, to your father

-aвmi', -pmi', possessive. An irregular form used in relationship terms only; compounded of p with the usual -mi'. p may be related to accusative -p, -pa, also found only with relationship terms (compare p. 228).

ictanmi', of the son
kalanmi', of the grandfather (ka'ia, grandfather)
ptcaвmi'kan, towards his mother's (ptca', mother)
patctpmi'ki, because of her younger brother (pa'tct, younger brother)

-aв, accusative. An irregular formal accusative, possibly related to -aп of the irregular formal possessive -aвmi', above: kala'п, to the grandmother (ka'ia, grandmother).

-pa, accusative. A common formal accusative for relationship terms. After final -p, only -a is added. Perhaps related to -aв above.

xa'ipa, to the friend
t'la'kspa, to the female friend
a'twanana sxə'pa, he followed (his) younger brother (sxə'p, younger brother)
a'tspa i·'xaniya, she washed her sister's hair (a'ts, sister)
ω·'na pna'tcpa, he told his daughter-in-law (pna'tc, daughter-in-law)
ω·'nxana piya'pa, he would tell his elder brother (piya'в, elder brother)

Certain irregular forms suffix -a before formal suffixes. The process may be of phonetic, not formal significance; certainly at the present time -a adds no increment of meaning.

i'ctapa, son (accusative)
i'nmictanəm, my son (nominative)
a'mapa, husband (accusative)
i'mictan, your son (accusative)

NUMERALS

The numerals are used as nouns or adjectives with no change of form; as adjectives they most commonly precede the nouns they modify. They take certain affixed elements and other forms peculiar to themselves.

The only numeral prefix is pa-, by, mutually. The pa- noun prefix (p. 213) is cognate.

pa·na'pu, pan·a'pu, (walu'la, palu·'s) two by two
pamə'tau, (walu'la, palu·'s) in triplets

A few of the numeral roots are prefixed to (p. 211) or compounded with (p. 218) nouns.

The numeral roots, two, three, four, five and ten seem primarily animate with a buried -u or -au animate suffix, and add -ɒ to give inanimate forms. -ɒ is probably -ɒ, thing, nominalizer of verb roots, p. 215. In northwest Sahaptin, from one through ten, eight unanalyzable roots are employed; only numeral four (two-two or by-two) and numeral eight (five-three) seem derived. The system is pure decimal. In the Umatilla Reservation provincialisms numbers six, seven and eight are secondary, constructed by compounding a basic five element, ui-, and the simple numerals, one, two and three; this makes possible animate forms for seven and eight (uina'pu, uimə'tau), in walu'la-palu·'s.

Connective ku, and, or sometimes -wiya-, perhaps a cognate of verb root -wiya-, is compounded with numerals, thus: ten-ten and five-ten and three: 153; -wiya- is not employed on Umatilla Reservation.

Few numeral systems are indeed more simple in structure. The only irregularities are the use of a pseudo-diminutive form of numeral one to mean the-very-last-one or the-only-one, and the animate forms. The cognate numeral noun prefixes and compounded numerals (pp. 211 and 218) should be noted.

Suffix -ʁʁɪɒ, -ɪɒ, which is possibly a cognate of numeral ten (pu'təmt), is added to the first ten numerals to give, for example, two-ten or twenty, three-ten or thirty and so on. One hundred is ten-ten.

Hypothetic roots forms are suggested in brackets.

1. na'χc [*χc, *cχ—see p. 211]; lə'χs, the very last one, the sole one, merely or only one
2. ni·'pt (inanimate) [*ni·p, *nap—see p. 212]; na'pu (animate); na'pt, na'pu (walu'la, palu·'s)
3. mə'taɒ (inanimate) [*mət, *mat]; mə'tau (animate)
4. pi'ni·pt (inanimate) [see two]; pi'napu (animate); pi·'napt, pi'napu (walu'la, palu·'s)
5. pa'χaɒ (inanimate) [*paχ]; pa'χnau (animate)
6. ptə'χninc [*ptχn]; uila'χs (walu'la, palu·'s)
7. tu'sχas [*tusχ, *tusk]; tu'skas (χwał.); uina'pt, uina'pu (walu'la, palu·'s)
8. paχatuma·'ɒ; uimə'tat, uimə'tau (walu'la, palu·'s)
9. t'smə'st [t'sms]; t'smə's (χwał.)
10. pu'təmɒ (inanimate) [*putm]; pu'tumu (animate); pu'təmt, pu'tmu (walu'la, palu·'s)

11. putəmpkuna'χc, putəmɒwiyana'χc; pu'təmtkuna'χc (walu'la, palu·'s)
20. ni·'ntiɒ (ni·'pt, two, plus -iɒ); na·'ptit (walu'la, palu·'s)
21. niɒtiɒkuna'χc, ni·ntiɒwiyana'χc
30. məta'ntiɒ (mə't-, three, plus -ntiɒ); mətа·'ntit (walu'la, palu·'s)
40. pi'ni·ntiɒ
50. pa'χantiɒ
60. ptəχninceʼiɒtiɒ; ptəχninca'ntiɒ (χwal.)
70. tusχəseʼintiɒ; tusχəsa'ntiɒ (χwal.)
80. pəχatʃuma·te'iɒtiɒ; pəχatʃumata'ntiɒ (χwal.)
90. t'smɒseʼintiɒ; t'smɒsa'ntiɒ (χwal.)
100. puta'ntiɒ, na'χcputa'ntiɒ; puta·'ntit (walu'la, palu·'s)
101. putantiɒkuna'χc, putantiɒwiyana'χc

Half is in usage virtually an analogous numeral root: wu'tk; i'cat, half, side, is also used to mean half. Other nouns are less frequently employed as if they were true numerals; examples are given below, with the suffixes.

SUFFIXES

-ɒ, -t, inanimate thing. Compare p. 215. ni·'pt, mə'tɒɒ, pi'ni·pt, pa'χɒɒ, pəχatʃuma·'ɒ, pu'tɒmt.

-(ɒɒ)iɒ; -(eiɒɒ)iɒ (taiɒ.), ten. After final -pt, only -iɒ is added. ni·'pɒiɒ, pi'ni·ɒɒiɒ, etc.; na·'ptit, mətɒ·'ntit, etc. (walu'la, palu·'s); ptəχninceʼiɒɒiɒ, tusχəseʼiɒɒiɒ, pəχatʃuma·te'iɒɒiɒ, t'smɒseʼiɒɒiɒ, occur in ta'iɒnapam; in other dialects heard, a appears instead of ta'iɒnapam ei.

-am, -ams, -amk, times occurring. Note the use of ələ'χ and perhaps other nouns as numerals.

ələ'χam, many times (ələ'χ, many)
mətə·'m, three times (mə't-)
pina'pa·m, four times (pinap-)
pa'χa·m, five times (pa'χ-); pa'χnam (pewan.)
uina'pam, (walu'la, palu·'s) seven times
li'sχam, at a single, only once; li'sχam, li'sχams (walu'la, palu·'s); lə'χsams, lə'χsam (walu'la)

Note lisχ-, cognate of na'χc, lə'χs, and prefix cχə- (p. 211). The form lisχamk has been recorded; its meaning is in some doubt.

-ɒɒac. Not clear. Example: pa'χatɒɒac, five baskets full of, five basketsful.

-pa, at, by. The noun suffix (p. 229). With some numerals -i is incorporated between numeral and -pa. Examples: ne'iptipa or ne'ippa, at, by two (o'clock)· pa'χatipa, in five (baskets, e.g.).

-(w)ə'k, -ə'k, all. Examples: napə'k, (walu'la, palu·'s) both; mətawə'k, the three of them, all three; pinapuwə'k, the four of them, all four.

Note the loss of c from na'χc in the following irregular form in walu'la-palu·'s: naχt'cana'χt'ca, one by one. The corresponding northwest Sahaptin form is regular: naχcka'na'χcka.

ADJECTIVES

Sahaptin has no true adjectives that function very differently from nouns. But there occur a number of nouns or other elements that precede and in a sense modify nouns and are given the same affixes that are carried by the succeeding noun. Many of these precedent elements functioning adjectivally also occur as true independent nouns. A number of elements otherwise classified as verb derivative independent adverbs and independent particles may be used as adjective modifiers. The numerals are perhaps grammatically adjectives.

PREFIXES

The following prefixes are found with adjectives and characterize the adjective pattern. Occasionally they occur elsewhere; for example, mai-, χanai-, inəm- are each found compounded before χtu' to function in a verb root complex.

mai-, a little more. At times mai- is felt to be so free as to appear as an independent adjective or adverb in very slow speech. mak- in walu'la-palu·'s is cognate.

maikə'tu, a little faster (kə'tu, fast)
maina'ṭ'ci, a little bigger (nə'ṭ'ci, big, large); maina·'ṭ'si (χwal.)
maiksi'ks, a little smaller (iksi'ks, small)
mai a'swanχi əwi'nc, a man still a boy (unmarried young fellow)
maimi'ti, a little lower, further down (mi'ti, down below)
mait'ii'ks, in a moment, a little later (t'ii'ks is rather a particle or adverb than primarily an adjective or noun)

mak-, (walu'la, palu·'s) a little more. Note mai-, the cognate form in northwest Sahaptin. For -k see p. 247. Note the familiar vowel shift, ai of northwest Sahaptin to a.

ma'kwapta'i, he is smaller (wapta'i, small)
ma·k.wi'yat, further on (wi'yat, far away)
mak.wi'yatic, a little longer time (wi'yatic, long time)
ma·kwa'niktχau, a little bit further (-tχau, further on)
ma·kə'tu, faster (kə'tu, quick)
maqa'a'utχau, the fastest of them all
ma·kwa'a·'lktχa'u, the tallest
ma·'kmi·'ti, a little further below (mi'ti, below)
ma·'lχwaya'm, a little further up above (χwaya'm, above)

χana'i-, not so much, rather a little, not very, some little

χana'iksiks, not so very small (iksi'ks, small)
χana'iwatam, a little deep, not very deep (wata'm, deep, lake)
χana'iikwi, a little longer in time (ikwi', day, time)
χana'iwiyan, not so very near, a little bit further on (wi'yan, far on)

i·'nəm-, a good deal more

i·'nəmt'ci, a little bigger (nt'ci', big; note the irregular assimilation of n of nt'ci')

i-'nəmkətu, a good deal faster (kə'tu, fast)
i-'nəmt'sayauka, some nearer now (t'sa', near; -yau, to, into; -ka, now)
i-'nəmɬ̓kwipa, further off than before (ɬ̓kwi', day, time; -pa, at, place)
i-'nəmwiyanpyau, further off (wi'yap, far away; -yau, to)
i-'nəmkwənikwənioyau, a good deal further on
inəmkiwapa'ka, in still another place (she was)

u'inəm-, (walu'la, palu·'s) a good deal more. Cognate of i-'nəm above. Initial u is inexplicable and seems secondary; inəm is probably basic.

u'inəmkə'tu, a good deal faster (kə'tu, fast)
u'inəmwi'yatxau, a good deal further (wi'yat, far away; -txau, further)

wiya'-, the very, most. The superlative form. Compare with verb root -wiya- (p. 156), to which it may be related.

wiya·'nt'ci, the very biggest (nt'ci', big); wiya'lt'ci (walu'la, palu·'s)
wiya''askiks, the very smallest (iksi'ks, small); wiya'waptai (walu'la, palu·'s; wapta'i, small)
wiya'watui, the very first one (wa'tui, first, ahead)
wiya''anək, the very last one (a'nək, last, behind)
wiyaciya'x, the very best one (ciya'x, good)
wiya'kətu, the fastest (kə'tu, fast)
wiya'xalu·kt, the furthest underneath, the most inward thing (underwear, i.e.; xa'lukt, beneath, underneath)

tu'-, wutu'-, too, too much. See nouns (p. 214), before which these prefixes also appear; they are so free as to be virtually proclitics. Compare walu'la-palu·'s a·ta·-.

tu'laxwe·xt, too hot (la'xwe·xt, hot)
tu'qwəcəm, too mischievous (qwəcə'm, mischievous)
tu' pa'yu, too ill (pa'yu, ill); wutu' pa'yu, too ill
wutu' təcxa'u, (he is) too fat (təcxa'u, fat)
wutu' mi·ma', (he is) too old (mi·ma', old)

a·ta·-, (walu'la, palu·'s) too, too much. Note ata-, giant, noun prefix, (p. 214) which is surely related. tu'- and wutu'- have not been recorded in walu'la-palu·'s.

a·ta·iwa'i, too slow (iwa'i, slow)
a·ta·t.cxa'u, too fat (t.cxa'u, fat)
a·ta·kə'tu, too fast (kə'tu, fast)

nəm- or mən-, (?) again, try once more. In doubt; only one example was obtained (nəmnəwi'nka) and unsatisfactorily interpreted.

ROOTS

Almost any verb root, simple root or compound of roots, may be employed adjectivally if meaning permit. An example: -xalu·k-, be below, wiya'xalu·kt, furthest in. Noun roots employed adjectivally are many; if meaning permit, a noun may turn adjective in function. Conversely, adjectives may be used as nouns. Of the many words used now as noun, again as adjective, it is impossible to say what they were primarily since at present they are felt as either one or the

other according to context and temporary function. Familiar examples of such words are the numerals, place names, the following words and others: iksi'ks, little, the little one; nt'ci', big, the big one; wata'm, deep, pond; ciyə'x, good, the good one; tcilwi't, bad, the bad one; mi·ma', old, the old one; ɬwca'm, mischievous, the rascal; miya'wəx, of upper class, head man.

INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Though the different kinds of independent pronouns are on the whole treated alike and share the specifically pronominal suffixes and suffix combinations, they must be classified precisely, however, into three groups, personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, that are characterized on the one hand by different bases or roots and on the other hand by certain specialized affixes.

The three kinds of pronominal ideas are expressed by three groups of basic pronoun roots. First, the independent personal pronouns proper, the loosely and freely proclitic and enclitic personal pronouns—which indeed receive more frequent use than the independent forms—and which were discussed on pp. 124 and 125, the more formal verb-prefixed third person personal pronouns, reciprocals, and reflexives treated on p. 143, and various other affixed personal pronoun elements, especially those used with relationship terms (p. 235). Secondly, the demonstratives, including several stems, and differing from other pronouns in frequently taking a prefixed element (i'-) which expresses definiteness and specificity of reference. And thirdly, interrogative roots.

The independent personal pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives, besides having at least one of the uniquely pronominal affixes in common, (-k), take locative post-positions, modal suffixes and formal, relational case suffixes of nouns and adjectives and are thus treated syntactically so like nouns and adjectives as to warrant classification with nouns and adjectives in one whole of nouns-adjectives-pronouns; in northern Sahaptin, the grammarian may set apart the verb complex and verb derivatives and their functions sharply indeed from the internally more variable group of noun-adjective-pronominal forms.

There are special personal pronoun prefixes or proclitics found with all the independent pronouns. The following have been noted for northwest Sahaptin: aca- or anac-, ama- or anam-, ana-, apama- or anapam-, ananam-, and so on. ana- is the most common. See table 4 for walu'la-palu-'s variants. The -c- or -nac-, -m- or -nam-, -pam-, and -nanam- components are, of course, the proclitic-enclitic personal pronouns (p. 124). -n- is also familiar as proclitic third person pronoun. Initial and final a, the latter lacking in walu'la-palu-'s, can not be given satisfactory explanation. In these forms an idea of "ever, whichever, whatever, whoever," etc., is expressed; subordinate clauses are provided (see syntax, p. 271). The proclitic series elements are most closely related in form and meaning. There is no reason to believe that examples may not be found of apata-, amaca-, and so on, corresponding to familiar proclitic forms. These prefixed or proclitic pronominal elements function as pronoun proclitics; but no very serious wrench to meaning, perhaps only stylistic discomfort, would be felt if they were prefixed to elements other than pronouns. Such cases are found in hesitant

TABLE 4. PRONOUN STRUCTURE

PREFIXES[1]	ROOT COMPLEX			POST-POSITIONS
	Roots	Suffixes		
1. (may be true proclitics) aca-, anac-; ac-, I ananam-; anana-, we ama-, anam-; ana-, you, sing. apama-, anapam-; apam-, you, pl. [amaca-, you] ana-; an-, third person [apata-, they] etc. 2. au-, now, then 3. i'-, definite[2]	1. Personal in-, 1st person na-, 1st person im-, 2nd person pə-, 3rd person 2. Demonstrative tc-, this ku-, kw-, that kp-; kwa·p-, that aforementioned kw-, that latter yu- (walu'la), yau- (palu·'s), that beyond pai- kai- t'la'x^{u}, all[3] wi'yap, afar[2] mi'pi, below[3] i'cap, side[3] 3. Interrogative m-, what? t-, what thing? c-, who?	1.[4] -in, dual -ma, distributive 2.[4] -nəm, nominative -in, nominative -mi', -nmi', possessive -n, -an, -nan, accusative 3. -c, manner -a·l, distance -ai, -aik, time[6] -ai, -aik, direction towards which[6] -əl, quantity -am[5] -a·kwən; -uwatcn, so and so[5] 4. -n, thing, person	5. -k, -ək -tən, kind, thing[6] -na; -ni, place[6] -ainkai; -aikai, for the purpose of[6] -ω·c[6] -ϵ·n, -ϵ·nk[5 6] -a·n[5 6] -alϵ·, -lϵ·[6] -man, since[6] -ma·, ones from[6]	-ki'nkinki, language[6] -təm, language[4 7] -paink; -pain, at[4] -t'ca, also[4] -kaya'i, for the purpose of -yau, to, for[4] -yu·'k, for the sake of; -yu'k[7] -ki, with[4] (-nk may follow) -kni, with, from[4] (-nk may follow) -cnikisim, by—only[4] -ni, condition[4] -xi, also[4] -ksa', only[7] etc.

[1] Elements after semi-colons are walu'la-palu·'s forms; inferred forms are in brackets.
[2] May be considered part of the pronoun root complex.
[3] Basically nominal rather than pronominal.
[4] Used after nouns also.
[5] Used after interrogatives only.
[6] Used after demonstratives only.
[7] Used after personal pronouns.

speech in northwest Sahaptin though in fluent narrative the invariable position is pre-pronoun. The following illustrations are from ta'inapam.

anakwəna'k, to wherever (kwəna'k, there at that place)
acaku·na'k, the one that I, whichever one I (ku·nə'k, that one accusative)
anakwi·nanəmi'nək, whoever the two (kwi·nanəmi'nək, of the two)
anapə'nək, he who (pə'nək, he)
anamu'nam, whenever you (mu'nam, when you)
kuc kwənə'k a'yaχnapa ku·nə'k amakpa'nək pa'waχinaniχapa, and there I could find the one you left for me (kpə'nək, that aforementioned one; pa'waχinaniχapa, left for me); anakpə'nək, whichever one
anaci'n, whoever (ci'n, who)
a'umac wi'napa acakwənə'k wa' a'yap, I am going to where my wife is (kwənə'k, at that place where; wa', is; a'yap, wife)
ama'i'kwənək, to the place (you spoke about; i'kwənək, to that place)
anakwa·'lk, however tall, big, far away (kwa·'lk, so much)
anakwə'lk a'tɬ̣ixcata, as many as you desire (kwə'lk, so many)
anaku, at whatever time (ku, then, time); anaku·'k, whenever you; anamku·'k, whenever we; apamaku·'k, if you will indeed then; anacku·'k, whenever I
anakwənki'nək, with whatever one (kwənki'nək. with it)

The prefixed or proclitic series of walu'la-palu·'s differs slightly. For apama- we find apam-. For ama- or anam- we find ana-, in form identical with third person ana-. For aca-, ac- has been found. In other words we find the proclitic pronouns only (p. 124). This is significant, since it indicates that final -a of the northwest Sahaptin series may be secondary.

apamtu·'ntca ɨχwa'ta, take whatever one you want to! (tu·'n, what thing; -tca, rather; ɨχwa'ta, will take, take!)
anama·'ntca i'n wi'nata, go wherever you want to! (ma·'n, where; -tca, rather; i'n, you; wi'nata, will go, go!)
anamna'tci'iwa', wherever she is (mna', where; -tca, rather; iwa', she is)
anaci'ntca icapa'ku'pa, whoever broke it (ci'n, who; -tca, rather; icapa'ku'pa, he broke it)
a'cma·ni'tca i'n ə'nta, whatever I say (ma·ni, whatever manner; -tca, rather; i'n, I; ə'nta, might say)
anamu·'ntcana wi'namta, whenever we come (mu·'n, when; -tca, rather; -na, we; wi'namta, may come); anamu·'ntca wi'namta, whenever you come; anamu·'ntca iwi'namta, whenever he comes; acmu·'ntca wi'namta, whenever I come

The following seems an idiomatic compound of prefixed ana- and suffixed -t'ca (p. 234), though the analysis is in some doubt; a'nat'ca, a'nat'caxi, again, another time again, in the same way once again.

The following elements appear in two of the three types of independent pronouns; though not common to all pronouns they may, with ana-, etc., be described as the uniquely pronominal affixes. First, an affix employed in independent personal and demonstrative pronouns only.

-k, -ək. No concept seems expressed by this element; it is almost a formal pronominalizer of personal and demonstrative roots; it is not found after interrogative roots. Compare verb transitivizer -k (p. 196). Examples:

i'nək, pə'nək, i'kwak, kpə'nək, pənəmi'nək, i'kwənək, etc.
t'la·'χᵘ i'tcik a'lχaix, all this month (i'-, definite; tc-, this)
i'tcənək ti·tca'mpa, in this land (i'tcən-, this definite thing)
i'tci i'kwak, right now, at this present time, for a certain time in the past until right now (i'tci, this here; i'kw-, definite that or time)
i'tci i'ku·k, not right now but in a little time
i'kuck, in exactly that manner (i'-, definite; ku-, that; -c, manner)
mə'niknawa', where do you come from? (mən-, what place)

Affixes employed in demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

-n, thing, object, place, individual

i'kwən, that, that thing or place or one, to that place
i'tcən, this thing, this place or one
kpə'n; kwa·pə'n (walu'la, palu·'s), it aforementioned
tu·'n, what? what thing? tə·'n (same, accusative)
ci·'n, who? which person?
mɛ·'n, where? what place? mə'nik, from where, what place? mu'n, when, whenever, however

-c, manner, way

ku'c, i'kuc, in that manner (i'-, definite; ku-, that); kucku'ck, on and on in that manner, that way many times
i'tcic, in this manner (i'-, definite; tc-, this); i'tcickink, in this manner, this language (-ki, with, by means of); i'tcəcχi, in this kind of way also (-χi, also)
mi'c, in what manner? (m-, how, what); mi'ckənik, from what source, in what way, by what means? (-kənik, from, source, from which)

-a·l, distance in space or time

iwa' analkwa·'lk djiᵘm, he is as tall as Jim (ana-, as; kw-, that; kwa·'lk, so much in size or distance); i'kwa·l, i'kwa·lk, just so far, just that far away (i'-, definite); kwa'a·'lk iwi'na'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) he went that far away (iwi'na'na, he went); kwa'a·'l, kwa'a·'lk, so long, that long
i'tca·l, i'tca·lk, just this far, just this far away
ma·'l, how far, how long? (m-, interrogative, inanimate); tsauma·'l, in no long time, in just a little time (tsau-, negative); ma'a'lkna ku'ca'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) how long did you take to do it? (-na, you; ku'ca'na, did do)

-əl, size, quantity, number

i'kwəl, so big, that big, that many (i'kw-, definite that); kwə'lχi st'sa'ᴅ, every night (-χi, also; st'sa'ᴅ, night); a'niyac kwə'lχi, I shared as

much; kwə'l iwatca', (walu'la, palu·'s) it was this big (iwatca', it was)

kwɛ·'ik, the total space

mə'i, how big, how much, how many? (m-, interrogative, inanimate); mə'ɪpan ikwi'pa, in a few days, a few days after (ikwi', day; -pa, at, on)

Relational elements, appearing in all types of independent pronouns (see in nouns, p. 226).

-nam, nominative. This element is often incorporated, since pronominal -k or -ək may follow it, closing the pronoun complex. It is found incorporated only in the following forms, final or before -k. In all other forms it succeeds the pronoun complex, functioning as with nouns. Examples: pənə'mək, he; i'tcənəm, i'tcnəm, this one; kwə'nəm, kwənə'mək, kwnə'mək, i'kwənəmək, i'kwnəmək, i'kwnəm, i'kwnəm, that one.

-in, nominative. This element may be incorporated also, though found so in the following forms only: kwi·'nik, that one; tci·'nik, this one. Other exemplification of nominative usage: tu'win, what thing. Possibly -n of tu·'n, what thing? ci·'n, what person? and other pronouns, is historically only nominative -in elided to -n.

-mi', -nmi', -nəmi', possessive. This element is also incorporated in many cases, and is far more common than the nominative forms. It may appear after the personal pronoun roots, and after c-, ku- and tc-. Examples: pənəmi'nək, pənmi'nək, his; kunəmi'nək, kunmi'nək, kwənəmi'nək, its, that's; cmi', ci·nmi', in whose manner? tca'u a'cuca kucimi'n a'wa 'acu''acu, he did not know whose lungs they were (ku-, and; c(i)-, who; -n, pronominal -n); wa'nanyanam ta'nuɣ tci·mi'knik ti·nmami'knik, (ɣwal.) you will be different from these people (wa'pa, will be; -pya, rather; -nam, you; tə'nuɣ, different; ti·'n, people; -knik, from).

-n, -an, -nan and other accusative forms. The mechanism for accusative formation in pronouns is in the larger number of cases characterized either by shift of accent to final -ə'k or -i'k correlative with certain pronoun complex vowel changes such as u to u· or ω·, ə to ɛ· (or i·, in dialects other than ta'ɪpnapam), or the latter vowel changes alone in the interrogative forms. The vowel changes are perhaps related to accusative vowel shifts in nouns (p. 228). Examples of pronoun accusative forms: ɛ·na'k, ɛ·ma'k, pɛ·na'k, me, you, him; i·'na, pa·na'k (walu'la, palu·'s); ku·na'k, tcɛ·na'k, iku·na'k, itcɛ·ni'k, that, this, that definite, this definite; tca·na'(k) (walu'la, palu·'s); mɛ·'n, tω·'n, tω·'man, tω·'ntω·n, to where, what thing, what things, things; ma·'n (walu'la, palu·'s); note assimilation of final -k before the comparative (-tca) enclitic in the following walu'la-palu·'s example: tca·na'k, tca·na'tca; this, accusative; this, accusative, rather. And note məna'n, at what place, where? the simple noun accusative -an may be the element suffixed in this case.

INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The independent personal pronouns sometimes function as adjective pronouns, as if one said "it is mine," and as in older English one said "mine house."

The order and content of elements are as follows. First, the personal pronoun complex proper, in four or five parts, the root occurring first. Secondly, many suffixes and post-positions, some already cited for the noun. The personal pronoun complex of northwest Sahaptin has the ending -k, -ək, -nək, when suffixes, post-positions or enclitics follow; this may or may not hold for walu'la-palu·'s forms.

The parts of the personal pronoun complex follow in detail; 1, 2, 3 and 5 describe the personal pronoun complex proper, 4 describes common post-positions.

1. Roots. There must be a fairly close and recent genetic connection between the second and third person roots for independent personal pronouns on the one hand, and the proclitic-enclitic second person elements and the third person verb prefixes on the other hand. The proclitic-enclitic first person elements and the independent pronoun base for first person seem perhaps less closely related. These matters are considered more intensively below. The semantically though not historically fundamental independent pronoun roots are:

in-, first person singular nominative
nap-, first person dual (possible cognate of nap-, two)
na-, first person plural nominative
im-, second person singular nominative
p-, pə-, third person singular nominative

In order to acquire tentative, hypothetic perspectives of personal pronoun history a summary and comparison of affixed, proclitic, enclitic and independent personal pronoun roots is undertaken at this point. In table 5 are hypothetically early or primary forms for these various types of personal pronouns; in parentheses are forms and parts of forms certainly secondary.

The verb imperative suffixes (p. 208) are probably not personal pronouns in origin and demand no attention here.

Some third person pronoun verb prefixes are also very likely not true personal pronouns in origin, others are. i- (p. 143), which seems a cognate of demonstrative pronoun prefix i'- (p. 258), is demonstrative in feeling; i of ipa'- (p. 145) is perhaps cognate. a'- (p. 144) appears similarly no personal pronoun in origin but rather some modal or demonstrative. Reflexives pina'- or pi·na'- (p. 146), pe·ma'- or pi·ma'- (p. 146) are clearly and basically pə(n)- above, hence offer no problem. pa- (p. 143), with cognate pa of ipa'- (p. 145) and pa'ʁa- (p. 145), is perhaps an ancient personal pronoun element, non-first person and dual-plural; however, this pa-, non-singular third person, may well be a cognate of p- or pə-, singular independent, leaving p- as the basic, oldest third person form, which through long contact with suffixes differentiated into two forms, p- and pa-, expressing singular and non-singular. Prefix pa-, accusative (p. 145) is, again, very likely a cognate of p- or pa-. I do not know what to postulate for the history of pa-, you-me (p. 145). For other pronominal elements the story seems clearer and simpler. The independent, affixed, proclitic and enclitic forms seem

TABLE 5. PERSONAL PRONOUN ROOTS

	Proclitic	Enclitic and irregular forms	Verb prefix	Prefix of kin terms	Suffix of kin terms	Independent
First person singular	c	c		na, in	as	in
dual	(nam)	na(n), (am)				na(p)
plural	(nac), (mik)	na(p), (ac)				na
Second person singular	m	m		ə, im, tu	m	im
dual	pa(m)	pa(m)				im
plural	pa(m)	pa(m)				im
Third person singular	n		i, p, a, pa	p		p
dual	pa(p)	pa(p)				p
plural	pa(p)	pa(p)				p

to possess historically two sets of pronouns in all persons in the singular. For third person, however, proclitic n (p. 124) may eventually rule out since it may be merely a cognate of pronominalizer -n (p. 247); this is frankly a guess. In the second person singular there remain two basic roots, ə and m, with a third queer

vestigial tu- (p. 236), which can not be explained. In the first person singular, n and c remain. In the first person non-singular, basic n or na is possibly secondary, related to independent n or in, leaving c as probable older non-independent first person form. In the second and third persons, non-singular, the dual-plural pa element seems as if it may have overlaid or replaced earlier forms based on true personal pronoun roots; only one personal pronoun root survival in non-singular forms survives: the use of im for dual and plural in the independent pronoun. The second person -c element found buried in the "your elder sibling" forms of the relationship terms (p. 239) is perhaps either too ancient or too remotely determinable to be relevant to our general pronominal reconstruction.

I venture this hypothetic summary: to serve various functions the personal pronouns originally had two sets of radicals in first and second persons singular, and very possibly two sets in third person singular, though at least one may be demonstrative in origin; secondly, all present dual-plural forms are later, secondary. It should be interesting for our reconstruction of the linguistic relationships and histories of the region to see how this analysis bears up under comparative study of the known related Nez Percé, Klamath and Molale, and possibly the Maidu and other so called "Penutians" that may be found to have grammatical material in common with Sahaptin.

The independent personal pronoun roots exhibit root vowel changes in singular and plural for the accusative; in plural only, for the possessive relational form. These vowel changes occur with correlative suffixing of relational elements. The vowel changes are analogous to the accusative vowel change in the noun and in other pronouns (p. 262). In detail the vowel changed forms are:

	roots	accusative singular and plural, not dual
1st person	in-	ɛ·n-
1st person	na-	nɛ·-
2nd person	im-	ɛ·m-
3rd person	pə-	pɛ·-
	roots	possessive plural, not singular or dual
1st person	na-	nɛ·-
2nd person	im-	ɛ·m-
3rd person	pə-	pɛ·-

2. Numeral suffixes and changes. These are the familiar noun dual and distributive plural suffixes: -in, dual; -ma, distributive plural. Vowel changes also occur. Accent shifts to the final pronoun complex element, thus: -i'k, or -ə'k. In the various "cases" the forms appear as

	dual	distributive plural
nominative	-i·n	-mə
accusative	-i·n(i)	-m(a)
possessive	-in(a)	

3. Relational or case suffixes and case changes. Relational elements (p. 227) may be suffixed to the pronoun complex proper, ending in northwest Sahaptin, as it always does when there is suffixation, with pronominal -k, -ək. However, the accusative and possessive may have special and somewhat rare forms, where these formal concepts are expressed within the pronoun complex by a combined mechanism of internal vowel changes (1. above) and—for the possessive—incorporation of the possessive formal element directly after the numeral elements, and—for the accusative—the hypothetically likely incorporation of -a'- or -na'- or a related survival; the elements that close the complex follow immediately after. There is also a certain though rare survival of a similarly incorporated -nəm, nominative; pa'nək or pənə'mək (p. 255). The assumed incorporation of an accusative appears in some cases as mere shift of word accent to final -ə'k, correlative with vowel change. In the dual accusative an obscure -ni- appears incorporated. The incorporated possessive element is the familiar -mi'; in the dual possessive an unusual -na(nəmi)- form is incorporated.

4. Post-positional modal and locative suffixes, the same ones used as noun post-positions (p. 229), may be attached after the base with its numeral and relational elements; when post-positions are used, pronominal final -k or -nək does not appear. Two suffixes, modal, occur here only and in no other place: -ksa'; -yu'k or -yu·'k; one, -yu'k, is probably related to an old and familiar noun locative suffix or post-position (-yau). Examples of post-positional usage with independent personal pronouns:

-paink; -pain, at, by, at the place of (p. 230). It is suffixed to possessive base forms. Thus, nəmipa'ink, my own one; imipa'ink, your own one; pənmipa'ink, his own one.

-t'ca, also, now (p. 234). This element is a cognate of -ka, which occurs after nouns; -t'ca occurs after pronouns; the consonant change—seemingly a diminutive nuance—is inexplicable. -t'ca may be used after nominative, possessive and accusative bases. See the paradigm below for examples.

-kaya'i, for the purpose or sake of (p. 262). This element is compounded of -k or -ka (p. 247), and -ai or -yai, the familiar noun suffix (p. 232). -kaya'i follows the possessive base forms. See the paradigm below for examples.

-təm, (walu'la, palu·'s) language. See examples, p. 222. The post-position -ki seems invariable with -təm, after pronouns. Thus, ima·mi'təmki, your language· pənmitə'mki, his language.

-ki, with, because of (p. 232). It follows the possessive forms. It is basic to the suffixes -ki'n(ək) and -kni·'n(ək). For examples see the paradigms below.

-ki'n(ək), with, because of. Basically the same as the above, with pronominal -n and often -k or -ək added. See -kni·'n below and -ki above. -ki is basic, -n pronominal suffix (p. 247). -k is lacking in walu'la-palu·'s. A paradigm from walu'la-palu·'s is given below. Note that the suffix attaches to the possessive bases.

-ki'nχi. Also the same as the above, substituting modal -(n)χi for pronominal suffix -k. Note that -n may be glide n (p. 104), not pronominal -n. See the -ki·'n paradigm below.

-ɑni'kisim, done by only. In origin, -kni or -knik is the familiar noun suffix (p. 231); -sim is the familiar noun modal suffix (p. 233). This compound suffix appends to the nominative bases of the personal pronoun. Examples: inɑəni'kisim, done by me myself; and for the other persons similarly: imɑəni'kisim, pənɑəni'-kisim, namaɑəni'kisim, etc.

-kni'n, -kɑni'n(ək), -kɑni'nχi, -kni'nχi, thencefrom, place from which, with (p. 232). Final -(n)ək is rarely missing, and then usually because replaced by -χi. -kɑni or -kni is the familiar basis of noun suffix -kɑnik, -knik. Note above, under -ki'n, that -ki, -ki·'n, -kni·'n, with or without -(n)ək (in walu'la-palu·'s, -k is not found after these elements), are correlative forms, expressing the same idea. See the -ki·n, -kni·n paradigm below.

The following two elements occur in position and function like the previous familiar elements; but they are elements found only after personal pronoun root, numeral and relational suffixes.

-yu·'k, -yu'k, to, for the sake of, for the purpose of. This suffix may be historically -yau, to, for, towards, the familiar noun suffix (p. 230), and pronominal -k. It appends to a possessive base. Examples are from walu'la-palu·'s, which prefers shorter -yu'k. inmiyu'k, inmi'yau, for my sake; i·miyu'k, for your sake; pənmiyu'k, for his sake.

-ksa', alone, only. Found nowhere else. See the paradigm below.

-χi, also (p. 128). This familiar quasi-enclitic and noun post-position (p. 234) will always be found in final position if compounded with any of the preceding. If added directly to a relational element, to -kin, or to -knin, it functions as the other members of this group in closing the preceding complex and rendering final -k unnecessary. Examples of usage: pənmi'nχi, his also; pma·'χi, those same ones also or again.

5. The pronominal complex ending, -k, -ək, -nək. The form may or may not be attached to the personal pronouns directly after the possessive suffix. It is invariably in -paink and -yu·'k, seemingly old in each case. It may or may not follow -ki and -kni. It is never used after -t'ca, -kaya'i, -ksa', -χi. It is final in every other personal pronoun complex except those expressing a possessive idea; it precedes the many noun suffixes that may then be appended. The n element may be inorganic glide n (p. 104).

We append the more useful pronoun paradigms.

Paradigm of the pronoun complex nominative bases to which modal and locative suffixes like -t'ca, -ksa, -knik are added. The xwa'ɬxwaipam and walu'la-palu·'s forms are almost identical; the latter are indicated, when variant, after a semicolon:

	nominative bases
first person singular	in-, il-
dual	napi·n(i)-; lapi·l(i)-
distributive plural	namə-, lamə-; nama·-
second person singular	im-
dual	imi·n(i)-; imi·l(i)-
distributive plural	ima-; i·ma-
third person singular	pən-, pəl-; pi·ni-, pi·li-
dual	pi·ni-, pi·li-; pi·ni(k)-
distributive plural	pma-; pma(k)-

Paradigm of the simple independent pronoun in ta'ipnapam; forms after semicolons are from walu'la-palu·'s:

	nominative	accusative	possessive
first person singular	i'nək, I; i'n, i·'n	ɛ·nə'k, me; i·'na	nəmi', inmi', nəmi'nək, inmi'nək, mine
dual	napi·ni'k, we; na'pi·n	napi·ninə'k; na'pi·naman	napinanmi', napinanmi'nək; napi·nami'
distributive plural	namə'k, we; na'ma	nɛ·manə'k; na·'man	nɛ·mi', nɛ·mi'-nək; na·mi'

second person singular...	i'mək, you; i'm, i-'m	ɛ·mə'k	imi'nək; imi·'n
dual.....	imi·ni'k	imi·ninə'k; imi·namanə'k	iminanmi'nək; imi·nami·'n
distributive plural...	imə'k; i·mə'k	ɛmanə'k; i·manə'k, ima·mana'k	ɛ·mi'nək; ima·mi·'n
third person singular.....	pə'nək, pənə'mək, he, she, it; pə'n, pənə'm	pɛ·nə'k; pa·nə'k	pənmi'nək; pənmi·'n
dual.....	pi·ni'k	pini·ninə'k; pi·namana'k	pinanmi'nək; pi·nami·'n
distributive plural...	pmə'k; pma'k	pɛmanə'k; pa·mana'k	pɛmi'nək; pa·mi·'n

Paradigm of the personal pronoun with suffixed -t'ca, only now, alone:

	nominative	accusative	possessive
first person singular.....	i'nt'ca, I alone, I only, I myself	ɛ·na't'ca, me only	i·nmi't'ca, mine only
dual.....	napi·ni't'ca; na'pi·nt'ca		
distributive plural...	nama't'ca; na'ma·t'ca		nɛmi't'ca
second person singular...	i'mt'ca	ɛ·mana't'ca	ɛ·mi't'ca
dual.....	imi·ni't'ca		
distributive plural...	ima't'ca; i·ma'·t'ca	ɛ·mana't'ca	
third person singular.....	pə'nt'ca	pɛ·na't'ca	pɛ·mi't'ca
dual.....	pi·ni't'ca; pi·ni'kt'ca		
distributive plural...	pəma't'ca; pma'kt'ca	pɛ·mana't'ca	

Paradigm with suffixed -ksa′, alone. The suffixed idea, "alone, merely, just," seems to have caused use of the diminutive (l for n) in most of the forms dictated by the ta′ıdnapam interpreter:

	nominative	accusative	possessive
first person singular	iləksa′, inksa′, I alone; i·lksa′	ɛ·ləksa′, me alone	ləmiksa′, mine only
dual	lapi·liksa′		
distributive plural	lamɔksa′; lamaksa′	nɛ·maləksa′	nɛ·miləksa′
second person singular	imɔksa′; imksa′	ɛ·maləksa′	imiləksa′
dual	imi·liksa′		
distributive plural	imaksa′		ɛ·miləksa′
third person singular	pəlksa′	pɛ·ləksa′	pənminəksa′
dual	pi·liksa′		
distributive plural	pmaksa′	pɛ·maləksa′	pɛ·minəksa′

Paradigm of possessive base forms; to these are suffixed -yu·′k, -yu′k, -pa′ink, -kaya′i, -ki, -ki·n, -knin, which are necessarily suffixed to possessive base forms only. ɛ· becomes i· in χwa′lχwaipam; forms after semi-colons are from walu′lapalu·′s:

	possessive bases
first person singular	nəmi-, inmi-
dual	napinanmi-; napi·nami-
distributive plural	nɛ·mi-; na·mi-
second person singular	imi-, i·mi-
dual	ɛ·minanmi-; imi·nami-
distributive plural	ɛ·mi-; ima·mi-
third person singular	pənmi-
dual	pɛ·minanmi-; pi·nami-
distributive plural	pɛ·mi-; pa·mi-

Paradigm with -ki, -ki·n, -kni·n, from walu'la-palu·'s; these suffixes attach to the possessive bases:

first person singular	inmi'ki, inmiki·'n, inmikni·'n, with my or mine
dual	napi·namiki·'n, napi·namikni·'n
distributive plural	na·miki·'n, na·mikni·'n
second person singular	imiki·'n, imikni·'n
dual	imi·namiki·'n, imi·namikni·'n
distributive plural	ima·miki·'n, ima·mikni·'n
third person singular	pənmiki·'n, pənmikni·'n
dual	pi·namiki·'n, pi·namikni·'n
distributive plural	pa·miki·'n, pa·mikni·'n

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The demonstratives are used both as demonstrative adjectives and as independent pronouns, as in English. They perform the work of relative pronouns, for which the language makes no special provision (see ana-, etc., p. 244). The order of elements is first, prefixes, secondly, the demonstrative complex proper; thirdly, a group of post-positions common to the larger group of nouns, adjectives and pronouns. The demonstrative complex and its affixes follow in detail:

1. Prefixes.

a'u, now, then next. The independent connective is freely present or absent as a compounded word, proclitic or true prefix in the following forms. The usually clear meaning of a'u is more or less obscured and dulled in the examples given.

a'uku', and so then
auku'ck, and so now in that manner (ku'ck, in that manner)
aukuckni'nk, all at once, all of a sudden
auku·ni'k, in the same way as before
aukω·'c, possibly, up to the present time, still, yet
aukucyu·'k, in plain sight
auka'ink, right away, directly, immediately
aukwla·', aukla', part way, a little; aukla'kxi, a short distance away, nearby
aukna·', once again, the same; aukna·'k, still, yet, until a certain time
aukwa'ink, still the same, no different
t'sa' aukwa't, (walu'la, palu·'s) such and such a quantity (t'sa', near; kwə't, that quantity)

i'-, definite, specific reference, known. Used directly preceding a demonstrative root and rarely elsewhere. See p. 265.

i'kwənək, i'kwnək, i'kwən, to that place (kwənə'k, kwnə'k, at that place; in walu'la-palu·'s, kwə'nik)

i'kuc, in that manner (ku'c, that manner; only ku'u'c is found in walu'la-palu·'s)

i'tci, this thing (tc-, this); tci·' (walu'la, palu·'s)

i'tcənək, i'tcnək, hereabouts, in this definite region (tcə'nək, this place; in walu'la-palu·'s, tcə'nik); i'tcən, (walu'la, palu·'s) to here, to this place here

i'ku·k, at that time (ku·'k, then, that time then)

i'kwənkinək, with that one there (kwənki'nək, by means of it or that one)

i'ku·nik, in exactly that direction (ku·ni'k, in that direction)

i'kwəninək, i'kwninək, upon that side (kwəni'nək, kwni'nək, from there)

i'ku·manək, to those persons (ku·mənə'k, those persons)

i·'mən, to where?

2. Demonstrative roots. The principal roots are ku- or kw-, that; tc-, this; kp-; kwa·p- (walu'la, palu·'s), that or those previously mentioned; kw-, that, the latter one. A number of other elements receive less common but genuine demonstrative pronoun treatment; these elements are wi'yan, far away; t'la·'x^{u}, all, and some more noun roots of which any known examples are given.

ku-, kw-, that, that one. It is possibly related to connective ku, and. Phrase or clause subordination is effected by this demonstrative root—or connective, however the native conceive it; the forms of the members of the subordinate clause are in no way altered by ku when it is given relative pronoun usage.

tca'umac a'cuowa·ca ku mi'cai iwi'nana, I do not know why he went (mi'cai, for what; iwi'nana, he went); tca'unac a'cuowa·ca ku me·'n iwi'nana, I do not know where he went to (me·'n, where)

a'umac ani'yaninə kumne·'x pa'tamunna, I shall make it for you in order that you will then inform me (-m, you; ne·'x, good; pa'tamunna, will inform me)

pa'icnam a'wəwanilkta əla·'x ku tə'xtə̀xta, if you name it many times (then, as a result) it will rain (tə'xtə̀xta, it will rain)

anami'c awə'k ite·'naxa ku t'swa'i, anything he says is so (t'swa'i, true, straight); anami'ctca·'ə'nta ku· t'sa·' (walu'la, palu·'s; t'sa·', true)

Some more or less idiomatic uses: ku·'xi, at the very same time also; ku·'kxi, and then the very same time again also. Some common uses of ku- or kw- follow. See passim among the demonstrative affixes for a larger variety of uses and forms.

kwə'nik (walu'la, palu·'s); kwna', kwni' (palu·'s only); kwnə'k (northwest Sahaptin), at a good distance over there

kwa·'lk, so tall or long or far; kwa'a·'l, kwa'a·'lk (walu'la, palu·'s)

kwə'i, so much or big

kwa·li'sim, always

With the prefixed pronoun, ana- (p. 244), etc.: anaku, if, whenever, while then, during, at the time that.

anakuɒyac a'witaχcipaχni, if I could only awaken him! (-ɒya, rather; -c, I)

anaku ila'tuticana, while he was standing there

ɔni·'ɒinac wa'paχni anaku tca'u iłu'ɒaχni, I should have a house now had it not burnt (tca'u, not; iłu'ɒaχni, it would burn)

anakuc ya'nawikika, when I got there (-c, I)

pa''iyaɒnata anaku itkwa'ślikta, she will kill him if he turns (itkwa's-likta, he will or would turn)

With prefixed definite i'-: a'umac i·'ku, (χwaɬ.) now I agree with you, that suits me (a'umac, now I-you). The word kwa'k, which now functions as particle, seems in origin kw- and pronominalizer -k; it means "I wonder, suppose, guess, imagine;" example:

mi'cnackwa'k a'yaχta, I am not certain whether or not I can find it (mi'c, what, how; -nac, I; a'yaχta, might find it); micni'kin nac-kwa'k a'yaχta, I wonder how I might find it (micni'kin, in what manner)

A usage probably related to kwa'k is noted in walu'la-palu·'s: kuwa·'taku·'. Pronominal enclitics follow kuwa·'. -taku·' is inexplicable.

kuwa·'taku·' ma·'n, don't know where to (ma·'n, where to?)

kuwa·'taku·' tu·'yai, I do not know for what purpose (tu·'yai, for what purpose?)

kuwa·'ctaku·'mna' a'wiyaχɒaχna, I wonder where I might find it (-c, I; mna', where? a'wiyaχɒaχna, might find it)

kuwa·'ntaku·'cinmi' u·', I do not know where they are (cinmi', belonging to whom? u·', they are)

In some examples with compounded or prefixed a'u, kw- appears unrounded. Thus, aukna·', once again, the same; aukna·'k, still, yet, until a certain time; aukla' or kwla·' or aukwla·', part way, a little.

tc-, this. The uses of tc- are less numerous than those of ku-; it serves no relative pronoun function; it gives no forms analogous to anaku-. It is a simple demonstrative adjective, found most often with prefixed definite i'- in northwest Sahaptin, lacking i'- in walu'la-palu·'s.

tci·', (walu'la, palu·'s) this here

tcɔ'nik, (walu'la, palu·'s) over here

i'tcna ti·tca'mpa, in this land

i'tctɔn, this sort of thing

i'tcickinkipki, this language of ours

i'tcimacwa', here is your (-mac, yours; wa', be, have); tci'macwa' (walu'la, palu·'s)

i'tci i'ku·k, now, at the present time

kp-; kwa·p- (walu'la, palu·'s), it or that person or persons aforementioned, so and

so previously referred to. This is a very common pronoun. The relational elements -nəm, -in, -an, -nan, never precede -k, but follow the root complex.

kpəʼn, kpəʼnək, that one aforementioned
kwa·pəʼn, (waluʼla, paluʼs) that one aforementioned; kwaʼpi·niʼk, dual; kwaʼpmaʼk, plural

kw-, that, that one or ones, the latter one or ones, that definite specifically indicated person, thing or situation (also plural). I do not have a clear and satisfying definition of the meaning of this element. It seems to imply more pointed reference than ku-, and refers as much to precisely indicated circumstances and situations as to things or persons. Prefixed iʼ- is not found in waluʼla-paluʼs examples, nor suffixed -k.

iʼkwak, that, those, that thing there; kwaʼ (waluʼla, paluʼs)
iʼkwaknacwaʼ aʼyati·n, those are my two women (-nac, I; waʼ, are, have; aʼyati·n, two women); kwaʼnacwaʼ, (waluʼla, paluʼs) that is or those are mine
iʼkwa, over there, in plain sight over there, there yonder
kwaʼxi, again (-xi, also)
aʼumac aukwəʼk, now let that one be yours or be your own one (aʼu, now; -mac, yours)
miʼcnam iʼkwak paʼwinanu·cana, why have you come to me in such a manner? (miʼcnam, how or why you? paʼwinanu·cana, have come to me)
kwaleʼ·lək, just a few moments ago, a short time ago
kwaʼ·lkskwiʼpa, this morning
iʼkwak kpəʼnək ackuʼnəʼk iʼnək aʼwitʼliyawiya, that is the very one I killed (kpəʼnək, that aforementioned one; ackuʼnəʼk, that I there; iʼnək, I; aʼwitʼliyawiya, killed it)

pai-. Not clear and in some doubt. paʼic, perhaps, maybe; kupaʼilk, just commencing, just at the moment that, just for a few moments; kpaʼilk, (waluʼla) a while ago, not long ago; kupaʼilk imiʼtacicana, he was just beginning to sing (imiʼ-tacicana, he was singing); kupaʼinxi, at the same time again, and in the same manner again (-xi, also, same).

kai-. Not clear. Possibly k is unrounded and originally kw-. Example: aukaʼink, right away, directly, immediately.

yu-, (waluʼla, paluʼs) that yonder; yau- (possibly preferred in paluʼs in certain forms). Some related forms occur in Klikitat; the other northwest Sahaptin provincialisms should be examined for additional examples.

yuʼk kwaʼpmaʼk puʼ, those are the ones (kwaʼpmaʼk, those aforementioned; puʼ, they are)
yuʼk kwa·pəʼn iwaʼ, that is the one (kwa·pəʼn, that aforementioned; iwaʼ, it is)
yulmiʼlək, anybody; yaulmilɔkiʼ, (preferred paluʼs) anybody
yulmiʼləknac maʼn wiʼnaxa, I go any place I want to (-nac, I; maʼn,

where; wi'naχa, go); yaulmi'ləknac ma'n wi'naχa (preferred in palu·'s)

The following examples are from northwest Sahaptin.

yu·'k iwi'nana χa'iχtkan, he went far away towards the dawn (from χwa'łχwaipam; iwi'nana, he went; χa'iχtkan, dawnwards)

t'la·'χ^{u}nanam tu·'n kunam yalmi'lək a'kupkupa, you will work carelessly at everything (from χwa'łχwaipam; t'la'χ^{u}, all; -nam, you; tu·'n, thing; ku, and; a'kupkupa, will work)

kucyu·'k, (tain.) in plain sight there

t'la'χ^{u}, all. The noun t'la'χ^{u}, all, receives quasi-pronominal treatment in a number of cases. For pronunciation see p. 107.

t'la·'χ^{u}mək, all of them, the whole lot of them

t'la·χ^{u}maki'nək, by means of them all together they

t'la'χ^{u}kwəninək, from every place, from all directions; t'la·'χ^{u}kwnik (walu'la, palu·'s)

anat'la·'χ^{u}tun, of as many kinds as there are

wi'yap, far away. Probably a compound verb root, -wiya- (p. 156). -p is probably nominalizer (p. 215). The element is most frequently an independent particle, but sometimes receives treatment as if a demonstrative pronoun root. Thus, wi'yapkəninəkχi, a little further away yet.

mi'ti, below. Another particle or noun sometimes treated like a demonstrative pronoun root. Thus maimi'tikəninək, maimi'tikwninək, from some distance below there; maimi'tikəlilək, just a little bit further below.

i'cap, half, side. Still another noun employed like a demonstrative pronoun base. Thus, i'capkninək, on the other side; i'capkəninəgyau, to the opposite side; i'capkənik, i'catknik, the other side, across from the other side (for the same idea kwə'niktcənik is also used).

Note that the suffix most often employed with t'la'χ^{u}, wi'yap, mi'ti and i'cap is noun post-position -kninək. After all, these elements only occupy border land between nouns and pronouns, and are usually nominal rather than pronominal in feeling.

3. Numeral suffixes. These are -in, dual; -ma (-mə), distributive plural. See the probably derived -ma' suffix directly below (p. 263). Examples: kwi·ni'k, tci·ni'k, those two, these two; kumə'k, tcəmə'k, those, these.

4. Relational suffixes and relational phenomena. Suffixes used are the familiar noun relational elements -n, -an, -nan; -in; -nəm; -mi', -nmi'. See examples above. Certain phenomena peculiar to demonstratives are as follows.

-V·ni'k, -ni. This is a sort of accusative or directive form, perhaps constructed on the same principles as the accusative of personal pronouns (p. 251). Basic nominative forms like i'tcən, i'kwən, i'tcnək or tcə'nək, i'kwnək or kwənə'k, become accusatives in this form: itcə·ni'k, in this direction, towards this way;

ku·ni'k, i'ku·nik, towards that way, in that direction, towards that general direction; i'ku·ni, in or towards that general direction, more aside! give me room! This related idiomatic usage occurs frequently: auku·ni'k, the same way as before, it was just like it was before. Possibly related to these accusative forms are the following: maikwa'nik, a little further on (ma'i-, more); ma·'kwa'nik (walu'la, palu·'s); kwa'n, (palu·'s) further beyond there; maikwan‹·'ktcan, towards some distance further on (-tcan, to, towards).

5. Suffixes expressing various ideas of distance, location, size, manner, time, etc. These elements rank with -k as elements closing the demonstrative pronoun complex; -k may follow -n, -a·l, -ai, -ə·l.

-n, thing, object, individual (p. 247).

-c, manner, way (p. 247).

-ai, time, definite moment, immediate spot or time; -aik (walu'la, palu·'s). Compare -ainkai, kai-. Examples:

kukwa'isim pawi'nana, at the very same time they (both) went away; kku·'ksim (walu'la); kwa'isim (palu·'s)

kukwa'ink ite·'nana, and right then he spoke in reply

aukwa'ink iwa', he is still the same (neither better nor worse)

anakwa'ink iya'nawicana, at about that time he arrived

mi'wikwa'ink patc‹·'taxana, long ago they would go fetch water (mi'wi, a long time ago)

kwa'inxi, at the same time

-ai (walu'la); -aik, (palu·'s) in the direction of

kwa'i, (walu'la) to yonder, towards that direction; kwa'ik (palu·'s)

tca'i, (walu'la) to here, towards this direction; tca'ik (palu·'s)

-a'inkai, -na'inkai; -a'ikai, -na'ikai (walu'la, palu·'s), for the purpose of. One example of ainkai was found in northwest Sahaptin; the dialect should be examined again for this element. One -ai is the familiar post-position, for the purpose of (p. 232). -k is pronominal -k, p. 247.

kucna'inkai, just for that very purpose; ku·cna'ikai (walu'la, palu·'s)

kwəna'inkai, for that purpose

kuca'inkai, meanly, mischievously, for mischief's sake (in pcwa'nwapam. "for good use")

-na, place, location, region, territory, country. -a may be basic; n may be pronominal place n or glide n. Compare aukna', etc. (p. 259). Note that -nə'k and -nik serve analogously.

i'tcəna, i'tcna, in this region, district, country, hereabouts; tcna' (walu'la. palu·'s)

i'kwəna, i'kwna, in that district, at that locality, at a good distance there; kwni' (palu·'s); kwna' (walu'la)

kukwəna·'k, and right there at that spot

-ni, (palu·'s) location. -i may correspond to -a of place -na. This may indicate again that n is pronoun -n, and -a and -i are separate elements. -ni serves exactly as -na. Example: kwni', a good distance away there.

-a·n (walu'la, palu·'s). It may be that the interrogative suffix -a·n is used here, analogically, after kw-. Thus, kwa·'nma·'n, to somewheres, to some place or other.

-a·l, distance in space or time. See above.

-ał, size, quantity, number. See above.

-tən, thing, kind, sort. Almost certainly a recent specialization and fossilization of the word tu·'n, thing.

kwətə'nxi, the very same kind of thing also (-xi, also)
i'tcətən, this kind of thing
i'kwətən, that kind of thing
anakwətə'nəknacwa', whatever I have (-nac, I; wa', have)
tca'unacmu'nwa' i'kwətənak, I have not that sort of thing, I am not that sort of thing

-e·'c. Meaning not clear. anakwe·'c mə'l itq̇i'xca, how much does he want for it (mə'l, so much; itq̇i'xca, he wants).

-e·nk. n and k are familiar. The e· element is inexplicable, but no doubt related to e· of -e·c. Example: kwe·'nktcəninək, from that time on.

-ale·' or -le·'. Not clear. Examples: kwale·'lk, recent, fresh, a short time ago; kwale·'sim, always, at every time.

-ω·'c, possibility. Not clear. Examples: kω·'c, possibly; kω·'cxi iya'nawiba, he might possibly arrive here; kω·'cxi it'ə'x̣t'ax̣ta, it might rain; aukω·'c, still, yet, up to the present time.

-mən, subsequent to, since, after; -man(k) (walu'la, palu·'s). Not clear. Compare -e·nk. Examples: ku·mə'nək, since that time; ku·ma'nk (walu'la, palu·'s).

-ma', one or ones belonging to or from. Probably distributive plural -ma (p. 226) specialized to provide this element. With this secondary meaning and use, it compounds, no doubt, to form -pama' (p. 229), -pam (p. 220), -lima' (p. 223) and perhaps other suffixes. Examples are from walu'la-palu·'s.

tcnama·'n iwa' ku''pna, the one that belongs here is broken (tcna', this here; iwa', it is; -ku'p-, break)
kwnama' a'uniknik, put back that one that belongs there! (kwna', that there)
tcna'ma·na' pa'sanaki·ka, it cleaned up the ones that belong here

6. Post-positional elements succeeding the pronoun complex. They correspond in function to noun locative and modal suffixes or post-positions and are in almost every case cognates of such noun suffixes.

-ki, -kink, -kinək, with, by means of (p. 232). Compare -kinkinki, a derived form.

i'tci·ckink, with this way or manner here, with our language; iyə'nxa i'tci·ckinkyau, he understands our language
i'tcənki, by means of this
i'kwənki, kwənki'nk, i'kwnkink, by means of that
t'la·χ^{u}maki'nək, by means of them all together (t'la'χ^{u}, all)

-kəni, -kənik, -kni, -knik, -tcnik, place from which (p. 231)

i'cankənik, i'catknik, kwə'niktcənik, the other side, across from the other side
kwə'nəgtcənigyau, (he saw him) from the opposite side
tcəni'nəktcənik, this side
tci'ku·'ktcnik, (walu'la, palu·'s) from now on

-kəninək, -knink, -tcninək, place from which (p. 232)

aukuckni'nk, all at once, all of a sudden
i'ku·kəninək, i'kwəktcəninək, from this time and on, from now on, from then on
wi'yankəninəkχi, a little further away yet
i'cankəninəkyau, to the opposite side
kwe·'nktcəninək, from that time and on
ku·'ktcəninək, i'ku·ktcəninək, when that is done then
i'kwaktcəninək iwa' tcilwi'n, that one is bad (pointing to it)
maimi'tikəninək, from some distance below there

-ninək, -inək; -ni·'n (walu'la), away from, upon, from, side

i'tcəninək, from this place, from right here, upon this side; tcəni'nək, on this side
kwəni'nək, from that place next, the next one on from there (is); a'wata kwəni'nək, he got out from inside it; i'kwəninək, from that place, on that side; kwəni'naktacwa', that is the place we come from
tcəni'nəktcənik, this side
kwni·'n, (walu'la) on the other or opposite side
tcni·'n, (walu'la) on this side

-kinkinki. A complex suffix composed of -kink, with, by means of (p. 253); -ki, with; -ɒ, nominalizer. Example: i'tci·ckinkinki pa'wanikχa, it is said thus and so in our language (i'tci·c, this way).

-ni, manner. See p. 224. Example: ku'cni, in that manner.

-χi, also (p. 234). Some forms of near idiomatic meaning contain this familiar noun modal element. i'kwənχi, to that place also; kwa'χi, again, once more; ku·'kχi, (walu'la, palu·'s) at that time.

7. Pronominal element -k, -ək, -nək. Compare p. 247. This closes the demonstrative complex proper, in the absence of elements of section 6 and some elements of section 5; it may or may not be used after the possessive form. It

may be used with certain of the post-positional elements of section 6, where indicated; when so used they are felt in the demonstrative complex; it is also found after many root suffixes of section 5, and in such case similarly closes the root complex.

8. Following the demonstrative complex proper are relational and other noun suffixes and post-positions.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Interrogatives are handled about the same as demonstratives; the most striking differences—apart from the different roots used—are the rarity of the characteristic demonstrative definite prefix i'-,—though the indefinite pronoun prefix ana- (etc., see p. 244) is much used—and the absence of final pronominal -k. Both directive vowel change and formal accusative are used as in the demonstrative. The interrogatives never occur adjectivally. The order of elements is as follows:

1. Prefixes. Indefinite proclitic pronouns, ana-, etc. (p. 244), and definite i'-. i'-, definite, specific reference, known. This typically demonstrative prefix has been found only with m-; examples of such usage are rare.

icu'gwa·na ku'i·'mən iwi'naɒa, he knew exactly where he should go (icu'gwa·na, he knew; ku, and, that; iwi'naɒa, he should go)
i·'mən iwi'na'na, (walu'la, palu·'s) where did he go to?

2. Interrogative roots. These are m-, what place, number, size, quantity? t-, what thing? c-, what person? The most used of the three is m-, which is broader in signification.

3. The relational elements may follow at once, or may succeed the root complex. The relational suffixes are the familiar noun and pronoun elements already discussed.

4. Elements expressing size, manner, etc.; these may close the interrogative root complex. -c, manner, way; -n, place, thing; -a·l, distance; -ət, quantity, have been discussed above. -a·l, -ət, and -am below suffix only to m-, what? not to t- or c-. In palu·'s and walu'la we note mu·'l and mu'l in the following examples; the corresponding or alternative walu'la (not palu·'s) and northwest Sahaptin element is ma'la; it is not certain that m- (of mu·'l and mə'la) is the interrogative root. makmu·'l, (palu·'s) less (mak-, more); ma·kmə'la (walu'la, palu·'s); mu'l, (walu'la) so much, a little quantity of it.

-la. Note that mu·'l (palu·'s) is not certainly analyzed. The following is the parallel walu'la form which may be used also in palu·'s: ma·kmə'la, less: makmu·'l (palu·'s).

-am. Used only after m-. Possibly related to the proclitic-enclitic second person pronoun (p. 249) but more likely a partitive, related to distributive plural -ma (p. 226).

ma'm maɒacwa' pa'tct, where is your younger brother? (maɒac, yours; wa', be); ma'm·acwa', where is your? ma'm u·' pənmi·'n, (walu'la, palu·'s) which is his? (u·', a'wa, it is; pənmi·'n, his)

ma'mknik, from where or from which have you or are you? ma'mknik a'wa panmi'nək, which one is his? (a'wa, is; panmi'nək, his)

tca'u a'cuɢwa·na kuma'm piyaʙmi', he did not know which one was his brother's (ku, that; piyaʙmi', of the elder brother)

-e·n. This must be the same in origin as the e· accusative elements of the personal (p. 251) and demonstrative (p. 261) pronouns. Examples: me·'n, to where, where towards? ce·'nacaɒ awalsi'kwa·ta, who is the person from whom I could learn it? (-ac, I; -aɒ, query; awalsi'kwa·ta, might learn).

-a·'kwən, so and so, whatever it be. Possibly -kwən is demonstrative kw-, and pronominal -n is suffixed. However, compare -atcn below, an undoubtedly cognate form for walu'la-palu·'s.

ta·'kwən, such and such a thing

wa'cnac ta·'kwən, I have such and such things, namely (wa'cnac, I have)

ca·'kwən, so and so, an indefinite person, what's-his-name

pawi'nana ca·'kwənin, certain persons went (pawi'nana, they went away)

iwəca'naɒa mənа·'kwənyau, he will move on to such and such a place (iwəca'naɒa, he will move on)

-(uw)atcən, -(uw)atcn, (walu'la, palu·'s) so and so, whatever it be

cu'watcən, somebody or other; cu'watcənma (same, plural)

tu'watcən, such and such a thing, whatever it be called

tu'watcna icaʙa'ku'pa, he broke that unnamed thing

The following example is not quite clear: tu'watsatna a'kwi'ya, why did you do it? (-na, you; a'kwi'ya, did it).

5. Noun post-positions (p. 229).

-ki(n). The familiar noun suffix -ki, with, by means of. Final -n is pronominal, p. 247. Examples: mi'ckin, how? in what manner? tu'kin, with what thing?

-ni(n). The noun suffix of manner, condition (p. 224). Final -n is pronominal, p. 247; compare -ki(n) above. Examples:

kutca'umicni'n, there is no way to

micni'n kucaɒ cu'ɢwa·ta, I wonder how I could learn to (kucaɒ, that-I-query; cu'ɢwa·ta, might learn)

acma·ni'tca i·'n ə'nta, (walu'la, palu·'s) whatever I say (ac-, I; ma-, what; -tca, indeed, rather; i·'n, I; ə'nta, might say)

tca'ucma·'ni a'winaqi'ya, (walu'la, palu·'s) there was no way I could do it (tcau, no; -c, I; a'winaqi'ya, complete it)

-nikin. See -kin above. -ni is the noun suffix above.

hu'imicni'kin, in no manner, (there was) no means by which (hu'i, unable)

micni'kin nackwə'ka'yaχta, I wonder how I might find him (nackwə'k, I wonder; a'yaχta, might find him)

-kəni, -kni, -kənin, -knin, -kənik, -knik, -kəninək, -kni'nək (p. 231). Examples: mi'ckənik, from which place? ma'mkənik, which one of those? etc.

-ai, -ɒai, to, for which reason, for the sake of. Same as the noun suffix (p. 232). mi'cipai is an infinitive; mi'c is treated as a noun changed to a verb root by suffixed -i (p. 197). -ai (in a x̣wa'lx̣waipam example) also may follow t- directly; this may be a secondary contraction, historically.

tu'wai mi'cipai, who do (you)? tu'yai, (walu'la, palu·'s) for what thing?
mi'cai, why? for what reason or purpose?
ta'i'i'mək tx̣a'nacana tkwi·'nɒn, (x̣wał.) why have you become a Chinook salmon? (i'mək, you; tx̣a'nacana, have become; tkwi·'nɒn, Chinook salmon)

-yau, to, for, towards. Same as noun suffix, p. 230. Example: tu'yau pawa', what do they want? what are they here for? (pawa', they are).

-pa, at, by. Noun suffix, p. 229. Examples: tu'panam, for what reason did you? ma'ipan łkwi'pa, a few days after (łkwi'pa, day-at).

CONNECTIVES

There are probably only three true connective elements: ku, and; uwa'la, or, disjunctive; -wiya-, and, used like ku- in the higher numerals. In native feeling they often serve as proclitics, like some other particles that are not connectives. ku is also used as one element in many compounds (p. 123). a'u, now, then, often serves to carry along thought in virtual connective fashion. The dual numeral suffix -in (p. 226) functions as connector of two things.

ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

Adverbs and particles are either derived from verb roots (p. 210) or are simple unanalyzable stems. A number of the latter play a conspicuous role in idiomatic speech. Many take modal noun suffixes and are handled as nouns. The prefix nɔm- (meaning unknown) was found with nəwi'pka (x̣wał.). A fairly frequently employed form of adverb or semi-interjectional particle is provided by the verb root with prefixed ma-, mə-; the root takes word stress. ma- implies an idea of violent, startling completion, severance, finality, lo! pop! crash! smash! or whatever action the verb expresses. Examples are x̣wa'lx̣waipam, though the form occurs throughout northwest Sahaptin.

ma·x̣wa's, pulled clear off!
mat'ła'k, broken! (-t'łk-, break); ma·x̣a't'łk, cut clear off (-x̣, severance)
maƥə'k, split!
maha'u, ma'ha'u', right into it!
maxawa't, hawawa·'t, clear through
maƥə't a'kuya, he put it way in (-ku-, do, make)
məst'sə't, it is dark all of a sudden (st'sa'ɒn, darkness)
məqa'iɣ, it is light all of a sudden (qa'iɣ, light)

A tentative list of non-derived adverbs and particles is appended.

a'u, now, and now then; frequently compounded (pp. 123, 257) and one of the most commonly used words of the language; it often serves as connective or conjunction, very much like ku and the other ku forms

a'utika, just, merely (-ka, noun modal suffix, p. 234)
aukə'ł, only
aukəla'u, aukla'u, be quiet!
aukω·'c, until the present, still, yet (pp. 257, 263)
awa'k, ω·'k, just, just then, right on, really so, even
awiyω·'k, even so, at that, all in all anyhow, nevertheless
ayu''ayu, (χwaɬ.) with ill intent
a'nauχɪd, a'nauχad, because (-χad, enclitic, p. 131); forms such as ana'uχacan and ana'uχamad are common: apparently anau- is basic; ana'utca, (walu'la, palu·'s) so it seems, seemingly
a'nt'ca, a'nt'cica, (walu'la, palu·'s) again, once more (-t'ca, now)
a'nχa, instead
a'tcna, (walu'la, palu·'s) merely, just, for fun
a'χui, (walu'la, palu·'s) still, yet
i·', e'i, yes, very well
inwi'm, (walu'la, palu·'s) last year; anwi'm (northwest Sahaptin)
wa''au, away with, be rid of, more than, worse, still more
wa·'ɒ, (walu'la, palu·'s) wonder, ought
watcma'i, matcma'i (perhaps Yak.), however, nevertheless
ya·'nwa, at any time, permanently
pa'ic, perhaps, may be, it is possible that; pa''ic (walu'la, palu·'s)
patukini·'ki, a hard job, hard work to (-ki may be instrumental suffix)
pka'il, (walu'la, palu·'s) just a few moments ago
mi·'mi, (walu'la, palu·'s) long long ago; mi'wi (northwest Sahaptin)
miskili', with difficulty (perhaps mi'c, p. 265; -ki, p. 232, and -li, p. 224.)
tamawə'n, (walu'la, palu·'s) too much, too
ta·'minwa, always, all the time
ta'napat'ca, falsely, in pretense, making believe (-t'ca, now)
ti'ca, let's!
tmɛ·'nwa, hopeless, no more hope, for a good while
nəwi'ka (χwaɬ.); nəwi'ɒka, indeed, surely, truly
nɛ·'χ, supposing, providing, better that, good (verb root, "be good")
nəku'k, (walu'la, palu·'s) at once, immediately
sa·'kau, (χwaɬ.) convinced (perhaps from -cuGw-, know)
tca''au, slowly opened, open
tsa''ad, (χwaɬ.) for a little while, a little while after
tsa''atpa, tsa''atpa'in (walu'la, palu·'s), pretty quickly now; tsa''anpa'ink, (χwaɬ.) soon after
tca'u, no, not, gone, absent
tcɛ·'lak, less than
tsi'was, (walu'la, palu·'s) right close by
tci'ca, (χwaɬ.) let's see (compare ti'ca)
t'sa''an, in a short time (t'sa, near; compare tsa''at)
kə'a'u, it might happen that
kə'tu, the better to, quickly, rapidly
ka'a'u, even at that, nevertheless, although

ka'it'sa'ɣ, (walu'la) why that's right! indeed!; ki·t'sa'ɣ (palu·'s)
kami'c, well then, how about it? (mi'c, how, what?)
katəɣ, katɣ, intending to, with the intention of; katəɣ'a', it is only merely
kuwa·', (walu'la, palu·'s) I don't know (p. 259)
kwə't, soundly (asleep)
kwə'k, wonder, I wonder (p. 259)
kwə·'c, cold dead, out of mind, senseless
kwə·'lisim, (walu'la, palu·'s), all the time (-sim, only; p. 233)
kuma', frequently, momentaneous, a moment, shortly ago
kwə'c, too much, too heavy
qə'lt, (walu'la, palu·'s) right close by
ɖa''au, tight shut
la''ak, probably, possibly
latcaxa·', nonsense! tommyrot! what's the use!
li'k, quiet! silence! (usually li'knam, silence, you!)
tla'pɣau, a mere, even, just, merely; tla'pɣwi, (ɣwal.) even though, altho
t'la', soon
t'la'naɣ, while, merely, just, but away with it! let it go! t'la'p (walu'la, palu·'s)
t'laɣpa'u, it made no difference
t'li'ks, pretty soon, in a little while
ha''ai, pleased, satisfied, unless, if not, not until
ha'i, should perchance it be that
hawawa·'l, maɣawa'l, (ɣwal.) clear through (see derived adverbs above)
hu'i, unable to

SYNTAX

In the verb and noun-pronoun analyses certain syntactic matters receive detailed attention. This section assembles syntactic material.

1. Word order is subject to pattern preferences, to stylistic choices, to tendencies, not to invariable rules. Relational elements of nouns provide additional clarity. A common pattern for word order is followed by all speakers and may be summarized as follows.

Usually a connective, then an independent pronoun, or just the latter, is first in the sentence, and followed perhaps by an adverb.

a'u iwa'tca ti·'n, now then there were people (a'u, now, then)
ku hu'i iwapa'wəxi·na, and he could not get rid of it (ku, and)
kupan a'uku·'k wi'yan ina'inakta wi'yan, it would carry them far, far away (ku-, and; -pan, them)
kuk itu'ɣna əni·'okan, and then he returned home (kuk, and then)
kuck paku'ya ti·'nma tkwa'tat, that is how the people made food (kuck, in that manner)
kukwni·'nək a'winana, from that place he went on (kukwni·'nək, and from that place

The verb more usually precedes first noun subject, then noun object. Adjective or adjective pronoun modifiers of nouns precede the nouns they modify; adverbs the verb.

i'kuc ə'na pənmi'nək isxə'ʙ, that is what his younger brother said (i'kuc, in that manner; ə'na, spoke; pənmi'nək, his; isxə'p, younger brother)

ku a'winana a'swan, then the boy went (ku, and then; a'winana, went; a'swan, boy)

ku'a'ukuˑ'k paɒ'a'wəna spilya'inan, and then they told Coyote (ku'a'ukuˑ'k, then next; paɒ'a'wəna, they told)

kuk a'nat'caxi ya'nawiya iksi'ks ptï'ˑniks, then again a little girl came (kuk, then; a'nat'caxi, again; ya'nawiya, came; iksi'ks, little; ptï'ˑniks, girl)

a'unan ita'imunta miya'wəxnəm, the chief is going to tell us news now (a'u, now; -nan, us; ita'imunta, he will tell news; miya'wəx, chief; -nəm, nominative)

paˑ'lai a'wiyanawiya xwə'saˑɒ, unknowing, he came to an old man (paˑ'lai, unaware; a'wiyanawiya, came; xwə'saˑɒ, old man)

i'kucnac pakuˑ'xa a'yaɒma, that is what the women do to me (i'kuc, in that manner; -nac, me; pakuˑ'xa, they customarily do; a'yaɒma, women)

Enclitic pronouns, subject, possessive or object, attach most commonly to the first word (connective, independent pronoun, adverb) of a sentence.

kwənə'knac wa'utkwa, there I camp (kwənə'k, at that place; -nac, I; wa'utkwa, camp)

a'unac i'nək kuc a'wiyuɒyuɒta, now I will go and scare it (a'u, now; -nac, I; i'nək, I; ku, and, that; -c, I; a'wiyuɒyuɒta, will scare it)

a'unam i'tcninəknam a'ikcaikc pawana'pna a'yaɒma, from this side you may hear the women singing (a'u, now; -nam, you; i'tcninək, this side; a'ikcaikc, hear; pawana'pna, they sing; a'yaɒma, women)

There is usually no change of word order for interrogative sentences. An interrogative pronoun usually precedes the verb, followed by a noun or pronoun subject or a noun in apposition to the interrogative pronoun subject. The thing about which the query is made may be emphasized by placing it preceding the verb.

ciˑ'n iwa' i'tci əwi'nc? who is that man? (ciˑ'n, who; iwa', he is; i'tci, this; əwi'nc, man)

muˑ'nam kwaˑli' pa'nəqukta? when, dangerous one, will you swallow me? (muˑ'n, when; -nam, you; kwaˑli', dangerous one; pa'nəqukta, will swallow)

tuˑ'nxac i'tci iwa' iwaluˑ'kca? what can this be, dangling here? (tuˑ'n, what; -xac, evidently; i'tci, this; iwa', it is; iwaluˑ'kca, it is dangling)

Most commands are couched in mild imperative form; the sentence is then simple declarative, the verb taking future-exhortative -ta (p. 206). Thus: a'unam wi'nata! you go now! (a'u, now; -nam, you; -wina-, go).

The more strident imperative form (p. 208) is used with nouns following it. Thus, wi'nak pt́ə'χanukan! go to the mountain! (wi'nak! go! pt́ə'χanu, mountain; -kan, towards).

2. Relational suffixes indicate nominative, accusative or possessive status of nouns, adjectives and pronouns; see p. 226 and elsewhere for discussion and examples. Post-positions provide other relational and subordinate expression; they are discussed p. 229 and on.

3. Subordinate clauses or phrases have initial ku, that (p. 258), or pronouns compounded with prefixed pronouns (aca-, ama-, etc., p. 244). See the proper sections for discussions and examples.

4. In quotes and direct discourse, remarks are often treated as a sentence-object of the verb. Not only are remarks turned into object clauses, but Sahaptin may throw into object clauses any statements of sensory or ideational activity. Thus, for "He saw them coming," Sahaptin says, "He saw 'now they are coming'." iḍi'nuna "a'u pawa'mc" (iḍi'nuna, he saw; a'u, now; pawa'mc, they come); tca'u a'cuɢwa·cana "mi·'nacwi'na?" he did not know "Where am I going?" (tca'u, not; a'cuɢwa·cana, knew; mi·'n, where; -ac, I; wi'na, go).

5. Phrase and sentence connection is taken care of by these connectives: ku, and (p. 267); derivatives and compounds like ku'k, a'uku'k, kuku'k, ku'a'uku'k (p. 123); the adverb a'u, now, then (p. 123). These words are initial in phrases or sentences, and serve to continue the thread of thoughts and events. -in (p. 226) is suffixed to the second of two nouns connected by "and;" thus, əwi'nc a'yatin, the man and the woman (əwi'nc, man; a'yat, woman). -wiya- and ku serve to connect the parts of higher numerals (p. 240).

INTERJECTIONS

True interjections are most frequently unanalyzable and of onomatopoetic origin. Since the list obtained is fragmentary it is deemed best to append only unanalyzable members, unclassified and arranged in alphabetic order. From time to time many more should be gleaned from the texts obtained.

'ə', (χwał.) aha! what? (Coyote, in myth)
əmu"əmu, how cute! how cunning!
ə'na'a', (χwał.) oh dear me! (Coyote, in myth, checking himself)
əli·', (χwał.) oh dear! (fear)
a·', (χwał.) gasping of mythical swallowing monster when dying
a·'··, 'a·'··, (walu'la) aha! notice! oh dear, please!
'a', a', a·'··, ā···, aha! (taking sudden notice); hush!
'a''a''a''a', (χwał.) Coyote's whoop of triumph (in myth)
â···, (χwał.) ah! indeed! so that's how! (Coyote in myth)
'â·'â·'â·, look! look!
'â·'â·'â·, Skunk crying in pain (in myth)
aŭ···, (χwał.) aha! that is just fine! (in myth)
a·pi·'··, a·'·pi, what's that! gee! oh dear! (surprise, concern)
a·pu·'··, (χwał.) Deer's wail of pain (in myth)

a·'··na, ana·'·, an$_{\varepsilon}$·'··, anu·'·, a·'nanana, cries of pain, grief, concern, mild terror, shocked astonishment; a·'··la (walu'la); ana·'i (χwał. myth, Grizzly's crying); a'la', a·la·', ala·'··, (χwał.) aha! oh dear! oh! greetings! (fearfully)

a'kailu, hurrah! (in myth)

a·'···h^{u}, ə·'χ^{u}, (χwał.) Grizzly's sigh and fatigue when greeting a person she has long sought (in myth)

ê····, e·'··, oh, yes! i·'·, i·', yes!

i·'··, (χwał.) oh dear, I wonder! or, a yawn (in myth)

i·'···, far far away

i·'··ti, (χwał.) lo and behold! (in myth)

i·'hi·'hiya·'·, (χwał.) oh me! oh my! (Coyote's wailing before his decapitation, in myth)

u·'···, (χwał.) surprise at a visit or at something new (in myth)

ŭ···, (χwał.) oh! why indeed? (in myth)

u'lulululu, the scream of agony of the Soft-basket woman (in myth)

u'huhuhuhu, cry of fear at excessive rocking of the canoe (in myth)

ŭ···h^{u}c, (χwał.) Grizzly sighing and puffing from exhaustion (in myth)

wəsɛ·'χ, wəsi·'χ, take care! don't! watch out!

wa', woof! bark of a dog

wa·'·wa·'·, (χwał.) Buzzard's cry (in myth)

wa·'x.wa·'χ.wa·'χ, (walu'la) frogs croaking (in myth)

ya''a'a'a···, hurrah! (Coyote, in myth)

y$_{\varepsilon}$·'··, (χwał.) but no no no! (in myth)

p'ə·u, (χwał.) explosion of Flint monster (in myth)

p^{u}p^{u}p^{u}, Coyote blowing white ashes on Skunk (in myth)

m̂· m̂· m̂·, (χwał.) weeping of Turtle Dove (in myth)

ma'u', cat's meow

ma'lalalalal, water bubbling in a well (in myth)

t'ɬ'ɬ'ɬ', t^{u}ɬ^{u}ɬ^{u}ɬ^{u}, Coyote spitting at his sisters to imitate rain (in myth)

cə̂····, sound of mountain torrent or waterfall (in myth)

tcu', ready!

ɖe'i, phew! what smoke! (in myth)

χa'pppppp, (χwał.) salmon flapping on a beach (in myth)

la·'··, aha! (surprise, joy)

lɛ·, lɛ·, e·'·le·'··, oh dear! (despair, terror); oh yes indeed! I had forgotten!

la·'···, (χwał.) Swallowing monster regurgitating people (in myth)

t'ła'pt'ła'pt'ła'p, (walu'la) Coyote drinking (in myth)

ha'ha'ha', (walu'la) Coyote's laughter (in myth)

h$_{\varepsilon}$·'··, (χwał.) fear, terror, astonishment (in myth)

hi·'···, Wild Cat's crying (in myth)

hu hu'hu', (χwał.) laughter of Coyote and of the Soft-basket woman (in myth)

INDEX OF MORPHOLOGIC ELEMENTS AND COMPOUNDED VERB ROOTS

The elements are listed in the following alphabet order; for convenience, intermediates are classed with surds, w rounding is treated as organic w, and diphthongal combinations are treated as if composed of two phonemes. The alphabet: ə, a, ɛ, i, e, ω, u, w, y, ʙ and p, p̣, m, ᴅ and t, t́, n, s, c, ts, tc, t'θ, t's, t'c, ɢ and k, k̦, x, q, q̣, χ, l, ɬ, tɬ, t'ɬ, h, '.

The elements listed are those referred to and illustrated by examples in the grammatical sketch. There are many posterior roots that are only less often compounded than roots cited here. The place for these and all other root elements should be in a complete dictionary of the language.

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SPECIMEN TEXTS AND ANALYSES

KLIKITAT TEXT*

a'watca[1]	spilya'i[2]	a'yaD[3]	a'yati·n[3]	a'watca[1]	spilya'i.[2]
There was	Coyote	woman	and woman	there was	Coyote.
a'watca[1]	miya'nac	na'pu,[4]	na'xc	a'yaD	na'xc	əwi'nc
There were	children	two,	one	female	one	male
miya'naci·n.[3 5]	ku·k[6]	a't'liyawiya[7]	a'yaD	miya'nac.	spilya'i[2]
two children.	Then	died	female	child.	Coyote
pa·'·yu[8]	a'pχwina.[9]	ku'ana'χtiya.[6 10]	ku'a'nat'caxi[6 11]	na'χc
very much	felt sorry.	And cried.	And again also	one
əwi'ncka[12]	a't'liyawiya.[7]	ku'a'uku·k[6 13]	pilya'i[14]	pa·'···yu[8]
male now	died.	And now then	poor Coyote	very much
a'pχwina.[9]	ku'a'wənа[15]	a'yaDnan[16]	"a'unac[17]	wi'naDa[18]
felt sorry.	And told	wife	"Now I	shall go away
wi·'yaD[19]	ti·tca'm.	ku[6]	a'unac[17]	pa·'·yu[8]	kka'usa[20]	inmi'[21]
far away	land.	And	now I	very much	feel lonely	my
na'pu[4]	miya'naci·n."[3 5]	ku'a'uku·k[6 13]	a'winana[22]	spilya'i[2]
two	two children."	And now then	went away	Coyote.
"a'unac[17]	wi'na[22]	wi'yaDkan."[19 23]	ku'a'winana.[6 22]	a'uku·k[13]
"Now I	go	towards far away."	And went away.	Now then
ku	wi·'yaD[19]	a'winana.[22]	kutca'u[6]	a'cuGwa·cana[24]	"mi·'nac-
and	far away	went away.	And not	was knowing	"To where
wi'na?"[26]	kuχactχ[26]	iwi'nana[27]	χwi·'mikan[28]	ku'a'wiyanawiya[29]
do I go?"	And seemingly	he went on	towards above	and arrived
wa'na	iwa'.[30]	ku	a'ɖinuna[31]	palala'i	pawa'[32]	ti·'nma[33]
river	it was.	And	saw	many	they were	persons
i'canknik.[34]	ku'a'waiwaina[35]	"waya.'···waikəmtk!"	tca'upan[37]
on the opposite side.	And called out	"Cross over to me!"	Not they
a'ikna.[38]	ca'a·'·n[8]	pawa'[32]	ti·'nma.[33]	a'nat'caxi[11]	a'waiwaina.[35]
heard him.	Unaware	they were	persons.	Again	called out.
tca·'upan[8 37]	a'ikna.[38]	ku	a'uku·k[6 13]	a't'saχna[39]	a't'ssi·nan[40]
Not they	heard him.	And	now then	defecated	two sisters
ku	a'wəna,[15]	"a'maDac[41]	ta'imunəmtk[35 42]	mi'c[43]	i·'kwa[44]
and	told them,	"Now you	tell me!	How	over there
pawa'[32]	ti·'nma?[33]	tca'unac[17 37]	patɖi'χca[32 46]	ɖi'nunyau."[31 46]	ku
they are	persons?	Not me	they desire	to appearances."	And

* Told by Joe Hunt. Published with free English translation, p. 227, *Northwest Sahaptin Texts*, 1, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 6, 1929.

pa″ənа[15 47]	a′t′ssi-n[40]		"tca′unamənа′n[48]		i′kuc[43 44 49]		a′wai-	
told him	two sisters		"Not you at all		in that manner		should	
waiɒa.[50]	pa′icnam[48 51]		tca′wacpa[52]		ɣwənа′inakta[50 53]		kunam[6 48]	
call out.	If you		in the water		crawl down in		and you	
a′kuɒa[1 50 54]	tca′wacpa[52]		əmi′ti		si′nwiɒa[50 55]		kunam[6 48]	
should do it	in the water		underneath		should speak		then you	
kətu′	pəyi′kta."[56]		i′kuc[43 44 49]		pa″ənа[15 47]		a′t′ssi-n.	
quickly	they would hear."		In that manner		told him		two sisters.	
ku-k[6]	ku′ck[57]	a′kuya.[54 58]	ku	a′waiwaina[35]		əmi′ti		
Then	in that manner	did it.	And	called out		underneath		
tca′wacpa[52]	kupaɒ[57]	ku-′k[6]	a′yikna.[56 59]	"′á!		inu-′[60]		
in the water	and they	then	heard him.	"Aha!		he speaks		
ti-′n.	a′waɣawaiku-tk!"[36 61]		kupaɒ[57]	a′waiku-na[35 62]		tca′u		
a person.	Cross over to him!"		And they	went across to him		not		
tu′kin[63]	wa′saski[64]	a′utikapaɒ[65]	a′wənpa[66]	spilya′inan[2 16]		ku-k[6]		
with thing	with boat	merely they	got him	Coyote		then		
a′pinaqinuna[67]	kwənə′k[68]	iqa′wa[69]	ti-nmami′pa...[70]					
saw himself	at that place	he suddenly was	at the place of the people...					

ANALYSIS

1. a′-, pronoun prefix before intransitive verb expressing existentiality, condition, state; see 9; -wa-, be, have, verb root; -tca, past tense, verb suffix used with -wa- and -nu-, speak.

2. spi′lya, coyote; -a′i, personifying noun suffix.

3. a′yaɒ, woman; -i-n, dual noun suffix, used also as connective of two things.

4. nap-, two; -u, animate or human numeral suffix.

5. miya′nac, child; -i-n, dual noun suffix.

6. ku-, kw-, that; either this demonstrative pronoun root, or 'connective ku, and; -k, pronoun complex final suffix perhaps related to verb root complex final -k (36) and perhaps conveying an idea of completion, through.

7. a′-, state (1); -t′iiyawi-, die, a compound verb root not satisfactorily analyzed; -wi- may be "fall" or "return;" t′ii′yas, spit; -ya, past tense with y inorganic palatal glide after high i.

8. Rhetorical vowel lengthening indicating augmentation or emphasis.

9. a′-, third person object of transitive verb, or 1; -pɣwi-, feel, think, verb root; n may be related to directive -n verb suffix, or to past tense -a, where n is inorganic glide used after certain roots.

10. ku-, and, proclitic connective or independent particle; a′-, state (1); -naɣti-, cry, verb root complex not analyzed; na- may be verb prefix, sound, cry; -ti- may be verb posterior root, go along; -ya, past tense (7).

11. ku-, and (10); a'nat'ca, again, possibly compounded of ana-, third person proclitic pronoun, ever, and -t'ca, now, noun-pronoun modal suffix; -xi, also, again, noun modal suffix or enclitic.

12. ɔwi'nc, man; ɔ is inorganic prothetic glide; -ka, now, noun modal suffix.

13. ku-, and (10); a'uku·k, an idiomatic compound functioning as a connective of sentences; a'u, now, then, independent particle; ku·k, then next (6).

14. pilya'i, see spilya'i (2); s may be omitted to express pity, affection, humorous depreciation.

15. ku-, and (10); a'-, third person accusative (9); -w-, inorganic glide after a and before another vowel; -an-, say, verb root; -a, past tense.

16. a'yaɒ, woman; -aya- may be a verb root, "have a big time, amuse;" -ɒ may be verb root nominalizer, thing; -(n)an, accusative noun relational suffix; n is inorganic.

17. a'ʉ, now, then, independent particle and quasi-connective; -nac, I, enclitic first person singular pronoun with inorganic n glide after au; the word would be a'uc, without glide na, in walu'la-palu·'s.

18. -wina-, go away, verb root complex; -wi-, go, verb anterior root; -na-, posterior root, originally suffixed directive -na, away; -ɒa, future, intentive, exhortative, mild imperative verb suffix.

19. -wiya-, go along, probably a verb root complex in origin; -wi-, go, verb anterior root; -ya-, go along, verb anterior root here used posteriorly in conjunction with -wi-; -ɒ, verb root nominalizer, inanimate. The analysis is hypothetic.

20. -kkau-, feel sorry, verb root with probable initial reduplication to express continued state; -sa, verb continuative suffix, normally -ca; consonant change from c to s is common for the diminutive or to express pity, sorrow or affection.

21. in-, I, root of first person, independent personal pronoun; mi'-, of, belonging to, possessive noun or pronoun relational suffix.

22. a'-, intransitive (1); -wina-, go away (18); -na, either past tense verb suffix with inorganic glide n (9), or -n, away, verb directive suffix, and past tense -a.

23. wi'yaɒ, far away (19); -kan, to, towards, noun and pronoun post-position.

24. a'-, third person accusative (9); -cuɢwa·-, know, verb root; -ca, continuative verb suffix (20); -na, past tense verb suffix (9).

25. mi·'n, where to? accusative with i·; m-, what, where, interrogative pronoun root; -n, thing, place, pronoun suffix; -ac, I (17); -wina-, go away (18).

26. ku-, and (10); ɣa-, probability, modal enclitic always compounded, here with enclitic -c, meaning according to personal conviction; often compounded with enclitic -tɣ, dubitative, in final position; ɣactɣ seems to function as an independent adverb but without word stress.

27. i-, definite third person nominative verb prefix; -wina-, go away, (18); -na, past tense, with inorganic n (9).

28. xwi'mi, up above, place up above, a probably derived adverb sometimes used nominally; -xwa·mi- is a walu'la-palu·'s verb meaning "go above;" -kan, towards, noun post-position (23).

29. ku-, and (10); a'-, intransitive (1); -wiyanawi-, arrive, reach, come, verb root complex; -wi-, go; -ya-, go along; -na-, away, a fossilized directive in

the root complex. The analysis is hypothetic. -a, past tense with inorganic glide y (7).

30. i-, definite (27); -wa-, be (1).

31. a'-, accusative (1 or 9); -q̇inu-, see, compounded verb root of uncertain analysis; -q̇i-, see; -na, past (9).

32. pa-, definite third person plural nominative, verb prefix; -wa-, be (1).

33. ti'ɲ, person; -ma, noun distributive plural suffix.

34. i'can, half, across; -knik, from, place from which, at, noun and pronoun post-position.

35. ku-, and (10); a'-, intransitive (1 or 9); -waiwai-, call out, cry out, verb root; by its very nature the action is plural, hence duplication; -na (9).

36. -wayawai-, go across, compound verb root (8); -waya-, go along; -wai-, cross; -k, suffix final in verb roots, expressing completion of action, or transitive action; -mtk, strong imperative command to more than one person, with first person object; -m, first person object; -t, plural number addressed; -k, imperative; -k may be related to verb suffix -k (6) and pronominal -k (6).

37. tca'u, not, no, independent particle; -pan, third person plural pronoun enclitic, they, them.

38. a'-, accusative (1 or 9); -ik-, perhaps a compound verb root; -i- or -(y)i-, hear, and -k, transitivizer (36); -na, past (7).

39. a'-, intransitive (1); -t'ɘɑx-, -t'ɘx-, defecate; -na, past (9).

40. a'ts, sister; -in, two, dual noun suffix; -an, accusative, noun relational suffix. The glottalized form is inexplicable; s indicates an aberrant reduplication of ts.

41. Either an elided form, a'umanac; a'u, now, independent particle; -manac, enclitic personal pronoun, I-you (plural) or yours (plural), or imperative you! (plural) -me! Or proclitic amanac; a- expresses exhortation, etc.

42. -taimu-, inform, relate, recount, tell; in ta'inapam, -tamu-; -tɘ- means speak, tell, in ta'inapam; -nɑmtk, imperative (36); na, inorganic glide.

43. m-, what? interrogative inanimate pronoun root; -c, manner, pronoun suffix.

44. i-, definite, demonstrative pronoun prefix (8); kw-, that or those latter, demonstrative pronoun root; -a, place, region, demonstrative pronoun suffix.

45. pa-, they (32); -tq̇ix-, wish, desire, like; -tq̇i- may be basic; possibly even -q̇i- is verb root "see;" t may be plural number; -x may be a verb root suffix; -ca, present (20).

46. -q̇inu-, see (31); -n, thing, nominalizer of verb roots; -yau, to, towards, into, noun post-position.

47. pa'-, him, third person accusative, subject indicated by context; -an-, say, speak, tell (15); -a, past (9).

48. tca'u, not (37); -am, -m, you, enclitic personal pronoun; -n- is inorganic glide after au; mana'n, demonstrative pronoun compounded with tca'unam; m-, what (43); -n, place, person, thing, pronoun suffix; -an, accusative relational suffix of nouns and pronouns (16); note assimilation of one m (tca'unam plus mana'n).

49. i'-, definite (44): ku-, that, demonstrative pronoun root; -c, manner (43).

50. a'-, intransitive (1); -waiwai-, halloo (35); -ɒa, future, exhortative, mild imperative, verb suffix.

51. pa'ic, if, supposing, maybe, independent particle; pai- may be basically an obscure demonstrative root, and -c, manner, pronoun suffix; -nam, you (48).

52. tca'wac, water, derived from verb root -tcawa-, (-tcɛ-, in ta'inapam) drink, and -c, thing done or used by a person, verb nominalizer suffix; -pa, at, by, place, noun post-position.

53. -xwanaina-, crawl down inside or in, compounded verb root; -xw-, prone, ground, lie down, anterior verb root; -naina-, go inside, posterior verb root, possibly compounded of -nai-, in or by water, and -na, away, directive suffix fossilized in verb root compound; -k, transitivizer or completive (36); -ta, will, should (50).

54. a'-, accusative (9); -ku-, do, make, fix; -ɒa, will, would (50).

55. -si'nwi-, say, speak; -ɒa, will, would (50).

56. pa-, they (32); inorganic glide y; -i-, hear (36); -k, transitivizer (36, 38); -ta, will, would (50).

57. ku-, that (6, 13, 49); -c, manner (43); -k, pronoun suffix closing the pronoun complex; compare verb transitivizer -k (36) which may be cognate.

58. a'-, accusative (9); -ku-, do (54); y, inorganic glide before -a, past tense (7).

59. a'-, accusative (9); -yik-, hear (56); -na, past tense with inorganic n glide.

60. i-, definite subject (27); -nu-, say, speak.

61. a'-, accusative or intransitive (1 or 9); -wayawai-; compound of -waya-, go along, and -wai-, go across; -k, transitivizer (36); -u-, to, towards a person, verb directive suffix; -tk, imperative suffix (36), plural addressed, second or third person accusative.

62. a'-, intransitive or accusative (1 or 9); -wai-, go through, over, across; -k, transitivizer (36); -u-, directive, towards a person (61); -na, directive and past (9).

63 tu- or t-, what thing? interrogative pronoun root; -ki, with, by means of, noun or pronoun modal suffix or post-position; -n, thing, pronoun suffix; -kin functions as pronoun post-position, by means of.

64. A derived noun: -wasa-, ride; -s, thing made by a person; -ki, with (63).

65. -ka, now, now again, noun or pronoun modal post-position or enclitic, here compounded with auti, which never appears lacking -ka; -pɒɒ, they (37).

66. a'-, accusative (9); w, inorganic consonant glide after a; -np- or -nɔp-, seize, take, get; -a, past tense.

67. a'-, intransitive or accusative (1 or 9); pina-, self, singular third person reflexive verb prefix; -ɖinuna, saw, past (31).

68. kw-, that, demonstrative pronoun root (49); -n, thing, place, pronoun suffix (63); -ɔk, pronoun suffix (57).

69. i-, definite subject (27); qa-, suddenly, verb prefix; -wa-, be (1).

70. ti-'nma, persons (33); -mi', of, belonging to, noun possessive relational suffix (21); -pa, at (52).

UPPER COWLITZ TEXT*

spilya'inan[2 1]		pa'waxeinəma[71]				miya'waxin[72]		xwe·'mitcnik[73]	
Coyote		he cast him in this direction				the chief		from above	
i'tcən[74]	ti·tca'myau[75]		a"an[76]		pa'waxeinəma.[71]			wa'tui[77]	
to this here	to the land		crow		he cast him in this direction.			First	
pa'cabaḍinwatama[78]			ti·'nma[33]		mi'cpawa[32 43]			paqa'wa.[32 69]	
he made him come and see			the people		how they are			they at that time are.	
kuk[6]	iwiya'nawiya[29 79]		kwə'n[80]		a"a.			ku'iḍi'nuna[31 81]	
Then	he arrived		that one		crow.		And he looked about and saw		
ti·'nmaman[82]	paya"oca[83]		a'nac.[83a]		ku'iwi'nana[27]			ku'itkwa'te·niya[84]	
the people	they lay about		dead.		And he went on			and he ate their	
a'tca·c.	a'u	iwi'nana.[27]			kwa'xi[44 85]	itu'xna[86]		xwi·'mitcan[87]	
eyes.	Now	he went on.			Again	he returned		towards up above	
miyawaxənəmi'kan.[88]		ku	pa'canniya[89]			"mi'cnam[43 48 51]		a'ḍinucana[91 90]	
towards the chief's.		And	he asked him			"How you		did see	
ciyə'x?"	ku	pa"ənə[15 47]		"ú····		tca'u!		a'tkwate·nicanam[84 91]	
well?"	And	he said to him		"ú····		no!		you were eating their	
a'tca·c.	kunaman[48 92]			wiya'tamaika.[93]				kunam[6 48]	
eyes.	And you must have			done wrong as (you) went along.				And you	
txa'ucxta.[94]	auka'inam[95]			wənə'nta[26]		ku'ɒkuɒ.c."[97]		a'u	ω·'k[98]
will cease.	Now so much you			will get		work."		Now	just so
itxa'ucxna.[99]	pa'uxeina[71 100]			miya'waxin.[72]		itxa'nana[101]		a"a,	
he ceased.	He released him			the chief.		He became		crow,	
itxa'nana[101]	tcmu'k	a"a.	kuk[6]	ite·'nana[102]		xwi·'mi		miya'wax,	
he became	black	crow.	Then	he said		up above		chief,	
"a'unac[17]	wənə'nta[26]		na'xc	kuc[103]				wəxi'ɒa.[104]	
"Now I	shall get		one	and I		shall throw (send) him.			
iḍi'nwatata."[78 105]		a'uku[13]	spilya'i[2]	ite·'nana[102]		"i'nəknac."[106]			
He will go and see."		Then	Coyote	he said		"I myself."			
ku'iwi'nama[107]	spilya'i.[2]		iwiya'nawiya[29 79]			i'tcənak.[74 108]			
And he came	Coyote.		He arrived			in this region.			
pa"ənə,[47]	"i'kuc[49]		a'unawa'ta[109]			anakω·'c[110]			
He said to him,	"In that manner		now you shall be			resembling, like			
i'nək."[106]	kuk[6]	itxa'nana[101]	spilya'i[2]		anakω·'c[110]		xwi·'mi		
I."	Then	he became	Coyote		like		above		

*Dictated by Lewy Castama. Free translation to be published.

miya'wəx. kuk[6] iwəna'pa[96 111] i'lkwasnan.[112] i'kuc[49]
chief. Then he got stick. In that manner

itxa'nana[101] waika'nac. a'u kuk[6] itɛ·'nana[102] miya'wəx
he became fish. Now then he said chief

"a'umac[113] anakω·'c[110] i'nək[106] t'la·'x[u]nan[114] tω·'n."[115] ku'ani'ya[116]
"Now I-you like I all things." And made it

kuck.[67] spilya'[12] itxa'nana[101] i'tcənak[74 108] ti·tca'mpa.[117]
in that manner. Coyote he was in this region in the land.

miwa'wəx inaknu'wiya[118] i'tci[119] ti·tca'm. i'ani'ya[120] t'la·'x[u]tun.[121]
Chief he took care of this here land. He made all things.

i'ani'ya[120] tcɛ·'cnan[122] iwani'lka.[123] ku ci'n[124] iwani'kcata,[125] iwa-
He made the rivers he named. And who he would name, he

ni'ka[123] ctci'l. iwi'nama[107] mansa'lakənik.[126] spilya'[12] iwa-
named Cowlitz River. He came from Kelso. Coyote he

ni'kma[123 127] tcɛ·'cnan[122] kaskɛ·'s. iwani'kma[127] na'xcnan[128]
named as he came the rivers the creeks. He named as he came one

cɛ·'d[u]k. iwani'kma[127] na'xcnan[128] niłhwi'.
Toutle River. He named as he came one —River (at Castle Rock).

iwani'kma[127] na'xcnan[128] k'a'matsi. iwani'kma[127]
He named as he came one Oleqwa River. He named as he came

a'nat'caxi[11] na'xc matə'n. i'ani'ma[129]
again one Salmon Creek (near Toledo). He made as he came

kwənə'k[130] kuta'was[131] waikanacpama'...[132]
at that place a thing to make a fishing place...

ANALYSIS

71. pa'-, accusative (47); -wəxei-, throw down, throw aside; -nəm, towards this direction, verb directive suffix, with inorganic -nə-; -a, past tense.

72. miya'wəx, chief; -in, nominative noun relational suffix; a second individual is referred to, the first individual referred to being pa'-, him, verb object.

73. xwɛ·'mi, above (28); sometimes i-, sometimes ɛ, is used in ta'inapam; -tcnik, place from which, noun or pronoun locative post-position, more commonly -knik; frequently, after certain words, -tcnik; -kni is basic; -k is secondary, akin to pronominal -k and perhaps transitivizer -k.

74. i'-, definite (44); tc-, this, demonstrative pronoun root; -n, thing, place, individual, pronoun suffix (25).

75. ti·tca'm, land; -yau, to, into, noun or pronoun post-position (46).

76. a''a, crow; a duplicated noun root, as usual in bird or animal names; -n or -an, noun or pronoun accusative relational suffix (16).

77. wa′, probably from -wa-, be; -ui or -'ui, be first, ahead, verb time aspect suffix; -t is inorganic and appears after verb roots ending in vowels when aspects like -ui and -naḍi are suffixed; t is glottalized to t̓ before -ui; wa′tui functions as independent particle in present usage.

78. pa′-, him (47); cana-, causative verb prefix, singular number; -q̇inu-, see (31); -ta or -ata, go to, go in order to, verb modal suffix; note consonantization of u to w before a and loss of one syllable length; -m, towards here (71); -a, past (71).

79. i-, definite subject (27); -wiyanawiya, arrived (29).

80. kw-, that (49); -n, individual, thing (74).

81. ku-, and (13); i-, definite subject (27); q̇inuna, saw (31).

82. ti′nma, persons (33); -an, accusative noun relational suffix; -an is primary; m with -an is found after plural -ma only, due perhaps to consonant harmony and nasal assimilation; -maman is invariable for plural-accusative.

83. pa-, they (32); -ya-, go, be along (?); -'ca- or -ɔca-, lie, recline.

83a. ana- may be originally the interjection, oh dear! -c may be human nominalizer (52).

84. ku-, and (13); i-, definite subject (27); -tkwata-, eat; -ɛ·ni or -i·ni or -ni, applicative-possessive verb suffix; -a of -tkwata- is assimilated to suffixed -ɛ·ni; y, inorganic glide after high i and before another vowel; -a, past tense.

85. kw-, that, demonstrative pronoun root (44); -a can not be explained, unless kwa- be root; -xi, again, also, enclitic or loose modal post-position of nouns and pronouns.

86. i-, definite subject (27); -tux̣-, return home; -na, past tense verb suffix with directive or inorganic n (9).

87. xwi′mi, above (28); -tcan, to, towards, noun or pronoun post-position (23), perhaps normally -kan in some dialects, though normally -tcan (like -knik and -tcnik) after certain words in ta′ipnapam (93).

88. miya′wɔx̣, chief; -mi′, possessive relational suffix of nouns and pronouns, with -ɔnə- inorganic, but invariable after x̣; -kan, towards (23, 87).

89. pa′-, him (47); -canui-, ask; -ya, past tense verb suffix with inorganic glide y after high i and before a vowel.

90. a′q̇inu-, it see (31); -ca, continuative verb tense suffix; -na, past tense verb suffix with inorganic n, invariable after continuative -ca.

91. a′-, accusative (9); -tkwatɛ·ni-, eat theirs (84); -cana, continuative past (90); -m, you, second person singular personal pronoun enclitic.

92. ku-, and (13); -nam, you (48); -aɒ, doubt, probability, modal enclitic.

93. -wiya′-, while going along, compounded anterior verb root; -wi-, go; -ya-, go along; -lamai-, do wrong, be in error; -k, transitivizer (36); -a, past tense.

94. -tx̣aucx̣-, quit; -tx̣a- may be verb prefix, suddenly, uncaused, now tightly compounded with -ucx̣-, stop; -ta, future, mild imperative (18).

95. ·a′u, now, compounded idiomatically with succeeding demonstrative; kə′l, from kwə′l; kw-, that (6); -əl, so much in number or quantity, pronoun suffix; -nam, you (48).

96. -wənəɒ-, get, seize, take; fundamentally -nəp or -np-, seize, take (66); wə is a glide customary with -np- and carries no meaning; -ta, future, mild imperative (18).

97. -ku-, make, do; -kunkuɒ-, work, duplicated verb root; -ɒ characterizes many roots of CV form when duplicated; -c, thing done by a person, verb root complex nominalizer; note that final ɒ.c is acoustically, not phonemically affricative tc.

98. Independent particle; awə'k in non-ta'inapam dialects.

99. i-, definite subject (27); -txauɛx-, quit (94); -na, past (9, 86).

100. pa'wəxei- may be heard as pa'uxei, with no loss of mora or syllable weight; northwest Sahaptin is acoustically intermediate between the two forms (71).

101. i-, definite subject (27); -txana-, be, become, happen; possibly txa-, uncaused, verb prefix, compounded with directive -na-, away, verb suffix or occasionally compounded posterior verb root; -na, past tense verb suffix with inorganic n, invariable after directive -na or verb posterior root -na-.

102. i-, definite subject (27); -tɛ·na-, say, speak, compounded verb root composed of anterior verb root -tɛ·-, say, speak, and posterior directive away, -na (42); -na, past (101).

103. ku-, and (10); -c, I; see -nac (17) which might have been used in northwest Sahaptin but not in walu'la-palu·'s; in the former dialect -c and -nac are both used, indifferently, after vowels, -nac after diphthongs.

104. -wəxi- or -uxi-, or -uxei-, throw aside, send (71); -ɒa, future (18).

105. i-, definite subject (27); -qinwata-, go see (78); -ta, future (18).

106. i'nək, I, independent personal pronoun; in-, root of independent personal pronoun, first person singular; -k, suffix of pronouns (6, 13); ə is inorganic glide; -nac, I (17); independent pronoun and enclitic may compound for emphasis, as in English, I-myself.

107. ku-, and (10); iwina-, he went (27); -ma, towards this way, past time (71).

108. i'tcən, definite this place (74); -k, pronoun final suffix (6, 13).

109. a'u, now (13); -na, from -nam, you (48); before w, m of -nam may be elided in rapid speech, giving auna-; -wa-, be (1); -ta, future, mild command (18).

110. ana-, proclitic or prefixed indefinite personal pronoun, third person; kω·'c, demonstrative in some doubt, perhaps meaning "probably"; perhaps kw-, that (49) and -c, manner (49).

111. i-, definite subject (27); -wənəp-, seize, take (96); -a, past (9).

112. i'lkwas, wood, stick, tree; derived noun from -i'lkʷ-, burn; -c, verb nominalizer suffix, thing used by a person (52).

113. a'u, now; -mac, I-you, enclitic personal pronoun; m may be second person, and -ac, I.

114. t'la·'xᵘ, all, a noun derived (like adverbs) from verb root -t'lkʷ-, be all; -an, noun accusative relational suffix, with inorganic n after continuant xᵘ.

115. tu'n, thing, nominative case; tω·'n, thing, accusative case in ta'inapam; shift from u· to ω· to express accusative is found in ta'inapam only, in pronouns and some nouns; analogous shifts from i· to ɛ· are used also in ta'inapam.

116. ku-, and (10); a'-, accusative (9); -ni-, make; y, inorganic glide after high i and before past tense -a (7).

117. ti·tca'm, land; -pa, at, in (52).

118. i-, definite subject (27); -nag-, carry, bear, take, keep, verb anterior root; -na- is probably basic, and -k or -c a fossilized verb root suffix; -nuwi- or -nu-, verb root, meaning unknown; -a, past tense with y glide after u or i (7).

119. i'tc-, definite this (74); -i, analysis in doubt, possibly inorganic.

120. i-, definite subject (27); a-, accusative (9); -niya, make, past (116).

121. A compound word, t'la·'ɣᵘ, all (114); tu'n, thing (115).

122. tcɛ'c, water (ta'ínapam); see tca'wac, water (χwa'íɣwaipam) (52); -c, thing used by person (52); -nan, accusative (114).

123. i-, definite subject (27); -wani-, name, call; -k, final root complex transitivizer (36).

124. c- or ci-, who, what person? animate interrogative pronoun root; -n, individual (25).

125. iwanik-, he name (123); -ca, continuative verb suffix (20); -ta, future (18).

126. mansa'la, Kelso; -knik, place from which (73).

127. iwanik-, he name (123); -ma, towards this way, past time (71).

128. na'ɣc, one; -nan, accusative (114).

129. i-, definite subject (27); a-, accusative (9); -ni-, make (116); -ma, towards this way, past time (71).

130. kw-, that, demonstrative pronoun root (6); -n, place, individual (74); -k, pronoun suffix (6, 13).

131. -ku-, make, do; -t, obscure and inorganic verb suffix after roots of CV form, before certain suffixes having initial vowel and before some other suffixes; see 77 and 97; -awas, tool for, instrument, thing with which to, verb nominalizer suffix; perhaps compounded of final human nominalizer -s (52) and a', on, upon, and glide w.

132. waika'nac, fish; no doubt a compound noun, of uncertain constituents; -pama', thing from or for, place from or for, noun or pronoun post-position, possibly compound; -pa, place, by, at (52); -ma', from them, perhaps originally numeral suffix -ma, distributive plural.