hence, e.g., ti_we⁰_zuś-xel "policeman" (lit.: "the one who binds (zuś-xel)"). Note that in these cases the formal distinction between "present (unknown)" and "absent (unknown)" disappears (cf. 5.1), as in qenf_m_kē_wi⁰ kē-ti⁰ k*we⁰_cī’tx⁰ "apparently (kē_wi⁰), those who were in the house heard (qenf_m) it". The proclitic sequences ti_we⁰_ and k*u_we⁰ are almost always pronounced [twɛ] and [k*ɛ] respectively. When we⁰ occurs by itself as a nominal expression, the clitic _e is not dropped, e.g. n-ke⁰ λld-te⁰ λal-ki_wi⁰_e k*u_s-qēc-mē-su "who (n-ke⁰) out of those people is your father?"
cuse without reason (lul'm "jealous in matters of love"), lilm-at-sut "jealous without reason", k'em-sut "to be able to get (k'em) smt.", s-k'ecic-sut "nickname (s-k'ecic "name")", k'i-k'lex-sut "to dream (k'i-k'lex) lots of things, to have a dream one does not remember afterwards", s-k'uł-am-sut "illegitimate child (s-k'uł-am "to make smt.")", qaq-sut "to pacify, please sb. by humbling oneself" (cf. qez-en "to round up, corral"), qe~t-sut "to get hit (qe~t) by accident", qal-sot "to take smt. hard (qal "bad")", qil-sut "to run (qil) around, looking for help", qe-ut-sut "to talk away, trying to cover up a lie, or not knowing what one is talking about", xak-am-sut "to guess, imagine (xak- "to be informed about")", wez-em-sut "to bark (wez-em) for nothing" (s-zik "log"). The idea that underlies most of these forms is "helplessness, out of control". It is significant in this respect that k'em-sut was recorded only in the negative.

2.2 Transitive ɛ-stems. Only a few words were recorded here: sem-ə-s-cut "to act like a white man (səm-ə)"), əqəs-ən-s-cut "to act like a white man (səm-ə)"), qal-sut "to take smt. hard (qal "bad")", qil-sut "to run (qil) around, looking for help", qe-ut-sut "to talk away, trying to cover up a lie, or not knowing what one is talking about", xak-am-sut "to guess, imagine (xak- "to be informed about")", wez-em-sut "to bark (wez-em) for nothing" (s-zik "log"). The idea that underlies most of these forms is "helplessness, out of control". It is significant in this respect that k'em-sut was recorded only in the negative.

2.3 Transitive ɛ-stems with stress on -cut. There are three subtypes here: in the first place we have cases with A as root vowel. These have -en as transitivizer: mey-s-en-cut "to make oneself up" (mey-s-ən "to fix smt.")", qey-ey-en-cut "to make a fool of oneself" (s-qey-ey "to be a big tease")", n-ɛč-qe-en-cut "to

* A is any vowel other than a
2.4 Transitive n-stems with stress on the transitivity. The following cases obtain here: k'ez-á-cut "to train (k'ez-) oneself", s-qeyx-á-cut "to do what men do, to act like a man (s-qeyx)", qa1-qa1-xn-á-cut "to suffer from lack of help" (qa1 "bad", -xn suffix "foot, leg", for its use here cf. zóq-á-cut "to starve", zóq "dead"), x'as-t-á-cut "to exert oneself, make an effort" (x'as- unique root, found only in this word), aek-s-cut "to be tough" (aek "strong"). Note that here the presence of a as root vowel does not require the transitivity to have the shape -an. A case with a unique transitivity is presented by thin-cut "to brag about oneself, to show off" (thin "to admire smt.").

3. Comments. The four types discussed in this paper show not only formal, but also (rather subtle) semantic differences. Types 2.1 and 2.2 seem to have a rather subjective, types 2.3 and 2.4 a more objective character. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that we have hes-en-cut, xek-en-cut, and qem-t-en-cut for "to bring oneself" (2x) and "to hit oneself" (see 2.3), whereas "to bring" and "to hit" are hes- (k'hes-s), xek-s, and qem-t-s respectively. I presume that it is the negative connotation of -cut forms that makes derivation with -cut for "to bring, hit oneself" impossible. I do not see any semantic difference between types 2.3 and 2.4. As the examples show, there is a striking difference in frequency between the four types: 2.1 and 2.3 are represented by a large number of cases, whereas 2.2 and 2.4 each comprise a small number of examples.

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The Source of the Upper Chehalis Reflexive
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The source of the reflexive suffix in Upper Chehalis has been a mystery.¹ It has the shape -cS(t-), which is unlike the reflexive morpheme in any other Salishan language. Yet I believe that it can be shown that it has the same origin as the form -cst (or regular derivatives of this) which occurs elsewhere.² Indeed *-st is what Hoard reconstructed for Proto-Salish (Hoard 1971). His reconstruction does fit the facts that he presents, although his Upper Chehalis citation is wrong, and would not fit if it were correct (blame for the error is not Hoard's, but my earlier misanalysis). In Ch, -cS occurs in completive aspect, -cSt- (often -cT- in allegro speech) occurs in continuative aspect, making the presence or absence of the final t paradigmatic. The Cowlitz cognate is -cx (also -cx or -acx, and -cS before third person possessive -j; the continuative aspect form is -cit-), and the Lower Chehalis is -cS. Thus these Tsanosan forms have a common source, *-cx(t-).

The probable reconstruction of the reflexive suffix in Proto-Salish is *t-sáwt-. Six steps are necessary to arrive at Ch -cS.

(1) The initial t is the transitive marker, and is normally fused in all daughter languages with the initial s of this suffix or of object suffixes into s (which then develops to ɬ in Halkomelem, Pentlatch, and Sliammon, and to ɬ in Comox and Northern Straits); this does not affect the derivation of the suffix. But since it affects all the languages, I attribute the merger to the Proto-Salish stage. IS languages regularly have -cSt- or -sT as the reflex of this morpheme. The first is the regular stressed form; but this is a variable-stress suffix, and stress can sometimes shift back to the root (with accompanying vowel deletion),

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