hence, e.g., ti_we?_zús-xel "policeman" (lit.: "the
one who binds (zús-xel)". Note that in these cases the
formal distinction between "present (unknown)" and "ab-
sent (unknown)" disappears (cf. 5.1), as in qením_ke_
_wi? ké-ti? k°λ_we?_?əs-cítx° "apparently (_ke_wi?),
those who were in the house heard (qením) it". The pro-
clitic sequences ti_we?_ and k°u_we? are almost al-
ways pronounced [twɛ] and [k°ɛ] respectively. When
we? occurs by itself as a nominal expression, the cli-
tic _e is not dropped, e.g. n-ke? λlé-te? λəl-ki_
_wé?_e k°u_s-qéc-ze?-su "who (n-ke?) out of those
people is your father?"

Reflexive forms in Lillooet

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1.   Introduction. Lillooet has a reflexive suffix -sut
(myself, yourself etc.). This suffix occurs after intran-
sitive and transitive stems. In the latter case it has
the shape -cut. The reflexive suffix is stressed after
intransitive stems and after (transitive) s-stems (i.e.
those stems that end in the causative suffix -s). When
it occurs after n-stems (i.e. those stems that end in any
of the transitivizers -Vn/-Vn̓ or -xit) it is stressed
in most cases, whereas in a few cases it is the transiti-
vizer that is stressed. In chapter 2 all recorded cases
will be given of the four types under discussion here
(forms with intr. stems; (tr.) s-stems; (tr.) n-stems
with or without stress on -cut). In chapter 3 the seman-
tic differences between these four types are discussed.
Words that end in -sut/-cut are formally intransitive.

2.   Examples.

2.1   Intransitive stems. The following cases were recor-
ded here: pʌm-p-sút, pʌm-p-ŝót "run away, running with-
out stopping (like horse when frightened, or a train that
went through its brakes)" (pʌm-p "fast"), ptinus-əm-sút
"to think (ptínus-əm) by oneself, to worry", pun-sút-ən
"to find (pun) by accident (smt. lost)", pele?-sút "by
oneself, alone (object)", peple?-sút id. (person),
met-q-sút "to wander around homeless" (met-q "to go on
foot"), ces-q°-em̓-sút "to feel (ces-) around in the
dark" (-q° suffix "head"), nəx̌°-sút "run away horse"
(nox̌° "to gallop"), λq°-ilx-sút "moon between June and
July" (λq°-ilx "to get on a horse"), luləm̓-sút "to ac-

cuse without reason (lúləm̓ "jealous in matters of lo-
ve"), lulm̓-uλ-sút "jealous without reason", k°em-sút
"to be able to get (k°em) smt.", s-k°ecic-sút "nickna-
me" (s-k°écic "name"), k°ʔik°ỉex°-sút "to dream
(k°ʔík°ỉex°) lots of things, to have a dream one does
not remember afterwards", s-k̓°uỉ-əm-sút "illegitimate
child" (k̓°uỉ-əm "to make smt."), qəy̓-sút "to pacify,
please sb. by humbling oneself" (cf. qéz-en "to round
up, corral"), qem̓-t-sút "to get hit (qem-t) by acci-
dent", qəỉ-ŝót "to take smt. hard" (qəỉ "bad"),
q̇iλ-il-sút "to run (q̇íλ-il) around, looking for help",
q°eỉ-ut-sút "to talk (q°eỉ-út) away, trying to cover up
a lie, or not knowing what one is talking about", x̌ək-
-əm-sút "to guess, imagine" (x̌ək- "to be informed a-
bout smt."), weʒ̓-em-sút "to bark (weʒ́-em) for nothing",
zik-t-sút "fallen tree" (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-
-sút was recorded only in the negative.

2.2 Transitive s-stems. Only a few words were recorded
here: sem-ʔe-s-cút "to act like a white man (sém-eʔ)",
ỉəqs-ey̓λ-cút "to want to be petted, to think one deser-
ves more affection than the others" (s-ʔeỉ-qs "beloved
person") (note that the causative suffix s is dropped
between λ and c), xeʔ-s-cút "to brag" (xeʔ "high").
These forms express the notion "trying to work oneself
up, improve one's position (in an unpleasant way)."

2.3 Transitive n-stems with stress on -cut. There a-
re three subtypes here: in the first place we have cases
with A* as rootvowel. These have -en as transitivizer:
mey-s-en-cút "to make oneself up" (méy-s-ən "to fix
smt."), cy̓°ey-en-cút "to make a fool of oneself"
(s-cy̌°ey "to be a big tease"), n-c̓x̌-us-en-cút "to

_____
* A is any vowel other than ə

look (c̓x̌-) at oneself" (-us suffix "face"), n̓es-en-
-cút "to bring oneself" (n̓es "to go"), nuk°-ʔ-en-cút
"to help (núk°-ʔ-en) oneself", λek-en-cút "to bring
oneself" (λek "to go along"), k̓eỉén-min-en-cút "to
listen to one's own advice" (k̓eỉén-min "to listen"),
k̓°uỉ-en-cút "to make smt. for oneself" (k̓°uỉ-əm "to
make smt."), qem̓-t-en-cút "to get hit (qem-t) by one-
self", qlil-en-cút "to sulk" (approximately; qlil
"angry"), s-ʔecx̌-en-cút "to take care of oneself"
(ʔécx̌-ən "to see").

Words that have ə as rootvowel select the shape
-ən of the transitivizer (from the point of view of
Lillooet phonology, here also belong the roots meʔ-
and cuw̌-): meʔ-ən-cút "to blame oneself" (méʔ-ən
"to blame sb."), cuw̌-cw̓-ən-cút "to kick around"
(cúw̓-ən "to kick sb."), x̌ək-ən-cút "to do as one
pleases, not take advice" (x̌ə́k-ən "to correct sb."),
x̌°əm-ən-cút "to hurry" (x̌°əm "fast"). This group al-
so includes mem̓ʔ-en-cút "to blame oneself" (méʔ-ən
"to blame sb."), since -ən must become -en after Cʔ.

In the third place we have three words with the transi-
tivizer -xit which expresses "for (the benefit of)"
(this suffix drops t before -cut): mey-s-xi-cút
"to repair, make (méy-s-ən) smt. for oneself", k̓°uỉ-
-xi-cút "to make smt. for oneself", q̇°əl-xi-cút "to
cook, roast smt. for oneself" (q̇°ə́l-ən "to cook, roast
smt."). The difference between k̓°uỉ-xi-cút and k̓°uỉ-
-en-cút (see above) is not entirely clear to me; I only
recorded the following pair here: wéʔ-λk-en we̓ʔ k̓°uỉ-
-xi-cút ti_λléz̓_e "I am making a canoe (λlez̓) for my-
self" vs. cíx°-k-en k̓°uỉ-en-cút ki_s-zík_e "I went
(cix°) to fall some trees for myself (e.g. for making a
house)" (s-zik "log").

2.4   Transitive n-stems with stress on the transiti-
vizer. The following cases obtain here: k̓°ez-én-cut
"to train (k̓°ez-) oneself", s-qeyx°-én-cut "to do
what men do, to act like a man (s-qeyx°)", qəi̓-qəi̓-xn-
-én-cut "to suffer from lack of help" (qəi̓ "bad",
-xən suffix "foot, leg", for its use here cf. zóq°-
-xən "to starve", zoq° "dead"), x̌°əs-t-én-cut "to
exert oneself, make an effort" (x̌°əs- unique root,
found only in this word), ƛ̓əl-ƛ̓əl-én-cut "to be tough"
(ƛ̓əl-ƛ̓əl "strong"). Note that here the presence of ə
as rootvowel does not require the transitivizer to have
the shape -ən. A case with a unique transitivizer is
presented by thín-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 charac-
ter. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that we
have n̓es-en-cút, ƛ̓ek-en-cút, and qem̓-t-en-cút for
"to bring oneself" (2x) and "to hit oneself" (see 2.3),
whereas "to bring" and "to hit" are n̓es-c (← *n̓es-s),
ƛ̓ek-s, and qem̓-t-s respectively. I presume that it
is the negative connotation of -s-cut-forms that makes
derivation with -s-cut for "to bring, hit oneself"
impossible. I do not see any semantic difference be-
tween types 2.3 and 2.4. As the examples show, there is
a striking difference in frequency between the four ty-
pes: 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.

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 -cš(t-), which is unlike the reflex-
ive morpheme in any other Salishan language. Yet I believe that
it can be shown that it has the same origin as the form -cút (or
regular derivatives of this) which occurs elsewhere.[2] Indeed *-sut
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 cor-
rect (blame for the error is not Hoard's, but my earlier misanalysis).
In Ch, -cš occurs in completive aspect, -cšt- (often -čt- in allegro
speech) occurs in continuative aspect, making the presence or absence
of the final t paradigmatic. The Cowlitz cognate is -cx (also -icx
or -acx, and -cš before third person possessive -i; the continuative
aspect form is -cit-), and the Lower Chehalis is -cəš. Thus these
Tsamosan forms have a common source, *-cx(t-).

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

(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 c (which then develops to θ in Halko-
melem, Pentlatch, and Sliammon, and to s 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 -cút 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 some-
times shift back to the root (with accompanying vowel deletion),