Alternation between two prevocalic remote-past tense prefixes in Kiksht is examined, and the seemingly free variation between the two forms (gal- and n-) is found to be in fact conditioned and not "free," though the forces which condition it lie outside of "grammar as usual" and involve implicit rules of narrative formation, metapragmatic framing, and ideas of stylistic and poetic appropriateness.

**Table 1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>general temporal frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>ga(1)-, n-</td>
<td>time a year ago or more distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant past</td>
<td>ni(g)-</td>
<td>more distant than a day or two, but within the year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>na(1)- (-a)</td>
<td>yesterday and the day before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate past</td>
<td>i(g)-</td>
<td>earlier today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>a(1)- -(y)a</td>
<td>future; tomorrow onward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**List 1.**

Typical verb constructions prefixed with gal- and with optional n-

- \( \text{gal-i}_3\text{-}x\text{-}u-x^w\text{a-it} \) 'he\text{3} thought' / \( \text{n-i}_3\text{-}x\text{-}u-x^w\text{a-it} \) 'he\text{3} thought'
- \( \text{gal-i}_3\text{-}\text{kim} \) 'he\text{3} said' / \( \text{n-i}_3\text{-}\text{kim} \) 'he\text{3} said'
- \( \text{gal-i}_3\text{-}x\text{-}u-x \) 'he\text{3} did' / \( \text{n-i}_3\text{-}x\text{-}u-x \) 'he\text{3} did'

**List 2.**

Morphology of the Kiksht verb

Silverstein (nd) has outlined the basic framework of the Kiksht verb:

- Tense\(_1\) + transitive + intrans. subj. + indirect + postposition\(_5\) + subject\(_2\) + transitive obj. + object\(_3\) + object\(_4\)
- directional or + \text{ROOT(s)} + (continuative)\(_8\) + dependent root\(_9\) + tense
- antipassive k'\(i\)\(_6\)

* A note on citation form: CCT I = Jacobs 1958 in bibliography; CCT II = Jacobs 1959; WT = Sapir 1909; MJ = Jacobs Clackamas lexical slips, which are Jacobs n.d. in bibliography.
List 4. Semantic and Morphological Regularity in n- prefixed Verbs of the Clackamas and Wasco-Wishram dialects of Kiksht

a. √-x'w-'think' (Wishram and Clackamas)

n - i₃ - x'w - u - √x'w - it 'he₃ thought' (CCT I:58.10; WT:168.1)

n - i₃ - x'w - u - √x'w - it 'they₃ thought' (CCT I:89.41)

n - u₃ - ji₃ - u - √x'w - it 'hej thought' (CCT I:58.10; WT:168.1)

n - u₃ - ji₃ - u - √x'w - it 'theyj thought' (CCT I:89.41)

n - i₃ - x'w - u - √x'w - a - n - it + am - čk 'he₃ got to thinking' (CCT I:55.20)

b. √-kim- 'say' (Wishram and Clackamas)

n - a₃ - kim - 'she said' (CCT I:33.6; WT:170.11)

n - a₃ - gim - x 'she used to say' (CCT I:78.21) (with gnomic aorist -x)

n - u₃ - g'w'at₄ - gim - x 'they₃ used to say' (CCT II:494.86) (intransitivizer₄)

c. √-x- 'make,' 'do' (Wishram and Clackamas)

n - i₃ - x₄ - u - x 'he₃ (reflexive) did' (WT 170.10; CCT I:90.50)

n - i₃ - x - u - x - ix 'he₃ did' (WT 172.20; CCT I:33.8)

d. √-gl-lalam- 'yell,' 'sing,' 'shout' etc. (Wishram and Clackamas)

n - i₃ - gl+alam - čk 'he₃ sang' (WT 96.4)

n - i₃ - gl+um - niž - čk 'he hallooed and hallooed' (CCT I:16.16)

(with iterative-repetitive-niž-and perfective -čk)

n - i₃ - g(θ)l+uma 'he hollered' (CCT I:28.25)

n - i₃ - gl+uma 'he yelled' (WT:46.14)

e. √-čax- 'weep' (Wishram and Clackamas)

n - a₃ - gθ - čax 'she₃ wept' (CCT I:341.9)

n - i₃ - k - čax 'he₃ cried out' (WT:8.22)

f. √-kaix- 'remember,' 'reflect'

n - i₃ - x(θ) - l - √kaix 'he₃ reflected about that' (CCT I:34.10)

g. √-akw- 'forget'

n - i₃ - xl - lal - √akw - it 'he forgot himself' (MJ 3:79/1591.2)
h. /-da-m+ida-g₃wa 'to cause to return to form' (Silverstein n.d.) (Wishram)
   n - i₃ - (i₄) - x + l - xa + /da-m + ida - g₃wa 'he₃ brought himself₄ to' (WT 92.3)
   analysis by Michael Silverstein (n.d.)

i. /-lga+ulx 'arise,' 'get up' (Wishram and Clackamas)
   Wishram:
   n - i₃ - x(θ) - /lga+ulx 'he got up' (WT 4.21)
   Clackamas:
   n - i₃ - x(θ) - /lga+ulx 'he arose in bed' (CCT I:146.22)

j. /-x+la-čk 'get up'
   n - a₃ - /x(θ)+la-čk 'she got up' (CCT II 341.6)

k. /-x+tʰwi- 'get ready'
   (Often used paired with the preceding, both with n-, in Mrs. Howard):
   n-a-x(θ)-la-čk, n-a-x(θ)-l-tʰwi-čk 'she got up, she got ready' (CCT I:34.15)

l. /-im- 'lie down' (Wishram and Clackamas)
   Wishram:
   n - a₃ - xa - /im - a 'she₃ was lying' (Dyk n.d.)
   n - a₃ - x - a₄ - g(θ)m₅ - x - /ayma 'she₃ was lying beside₅ her₄' (Dyk 1933:39)
   Clackamas:
   n - u₃ - x₃axₕ₃ - /y)(im 'they₃ dropped in their tracks₅(from exhaustion)'
     -x₅axₕ₃-, reduplicated relational element
     'on,' 'at the edge of' (Dyk 1933:39)

m. /-x-kš(±it) 'sleep'
   n - i₃ - x - u - /kš + it 'he₃ went to sleep' (CCT I:20.5)
   n - a₃ - x - u - /kš + it + am 'she₃ put herself to bed' (CCT I:19.5)

n. /-x-lxl₃m- 'eat'
   n - i₃ - x - /lxl₃m - čk 'he ate' (CCT I:14.7)
Figure 4. (cont'd.)

o. \( \sqrt{-k'i-na\,\text{x}-} \) 'look about'

\[
\begin{align*}
n &- i_3 - \sqrt{k'i-na\,\text{x}} - \xi & \text{'he}\,\text{3 looked'} \quad \text{CCT I:27.31} \\
n &- i_3 - \sqrt{k'i-na\,\text{x}} - \text{am} - \xi & \text{'he}\,\text{3 looked'} \quad \text{(CCT I:27.31)}
\end{align*}
\]

p. \( \sqrt{-k\,\text{st}-} \) 'look'

\[
\begin{align*}
n &- a_3 - \xi_5 - u - \sqrt{k\,\text{st}} & \text{'she}\,\text{3 looked at herself'} \quad \text{MJ 15:27/1605.2}
\end{align*}
\]

q. \( \sqrt{\xi m+1-aq-} \) 'hear,' 'understand'

\[
\begin{align*}
n &- i_3 - \xi a - \xi_4 - g(\xi)\dagger + \sqrt{m(\xi)} + laq & \text{'he}\,\text{3 listened to them two'} \quad \text{CCT I:50.38} \\
n &- a_3 - \xi - \sqrt{m+laq} & \text{'she listened'} \quad \text{MJ 17:1/1617.2} \\
n &- a_3 - \xi(\delta) - 1 - \sqrt{\xi m+aq} & \text{'she3 heard it'} \quad \text{MJ 17:1/1657.1} \\
n &- i_3 - \xi(\delta) - 1 - \sqrt{\xi m+aq} & \text{'he3 heard'} \quad \text{CCT I:34.15}
\end{align*}
\]

r. \( \sqrt{-g\,\text{w+tq} -} \) 'wake up'

\[
\begin{align*}
n &- i_3 - \xi(\delta) - \sqrt{guy+tq} & \text{'he}\,\text{3 woke up'} \quad \text{CCT I:27.28} \\
n &- i_3 - \xi(\delta) - \sqrt{guy+tq} - \xi & \text{'he}\,\text{3 woke up'} \quad \text{MJ 5:85/1639.4}
\end{align*}
\]

(note this verb sequence from one of Mrs. Howard's narratives:

\[
\begin{align*}
nax\,\text{quytq}, & \quad \text{'she woke up,}' \\
naxmilaq & \quad \text{'she listened'} \quad \text{CCT I:26.25}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 5. Morphological Coherence Across "Types" of \( n- \) prefixed Verbs

\[
\begin{align*}
n & a_3 \xi u \sqrt{k\,\text{st}} & \text{it} & \text{am} & \text{'she}\,\text{3 went to sleep'} \\
n & i_3 \xi_4 gm \sqrt{\text{Kal}} & \text{it} & \text{am} & \xi & \text{'he}\,\text{3 was kind of watching for them two'} \\
n & i_3 \xi_4 u /x\,\text{wa n} & \text{it} & \text{am} & \xi & \text{'he}\,\text{3 thought'}
\end{align*}
\]

- \( \xi- \), \( -\xi- \) = reflexive
- \( -u- \) = directional element
- \( -it- \) = stative-durative
- \( -am- \) = instrumental-purposive
- \( \xi k- \) = perfective
Example 6. Typical Quotative (metapragmatic) Framing Construction
Wasco-Wishram:

kwapt niwitxwait: Then he thought to himself:
"aga iwátka anúya." "Now I shall just go yonder."
(WT 168.3)

Example 7. Typical Quotative (metapragmatic) Framing Construction
Clackamas:

gayútxwit kwaba, He stood there,
niwitxánitamk: he thought:
"qáxyamt anilúya wíxat?" "Which trail should I go along?"
(CCT II:397.52)