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AN OPTIONAL FORM AND ITS PATTERNING IN KIKSHT NARRATIVES.... *

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 OF TENSES FOR KIKSHT

TENSE	prefix	general temporal frame
Remote past	ga(l)-, n-	time a year ago or more distant
Distant past	ni(g)-	more distant than a day or two, but within the year
Recent past	na(l)- (-a)	yesterday and the day before
Immediate past	i(g)-	earlier today
present	∅	
Future	a(l)- -(y)a	future; tomorrow onward

List 1.

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

gal-i₃-x̄l-u-x^{Wa}-it 'he₃ thought' / n-i₃-x̄l-u-x^{Wa}-it 'he₃ thought'
gal-i₃-kim 'he₃ said' / n-i₃-kim 'he₃ said'
gal-i₃-x̄-u-x̄ 'he₃ did' / n-i₃-x̄-u-x̄ 'he₃ did'

List 2.

Morphology of the Kiksht verb

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

Tense₁ + transitive + intrans. subj + indirect + postposition₅ +
subject₂ transitive obj. ₃ object₄

directional or + ROOT(s)₇ + (continuative)₈ + dependent root₉ + tens
antipassive k'i₆

*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. $\sqrt{-x^w a-}$ 'think' (Wishram and Clackamas)
- n - i₃ - x̣ɬ - ú - $\sqrt{x^w a}$ - it 'he₃ thought' (CCT I:58.10; WT:168.1)
 n - i₃ - x̣ɬ - u - $\sqrt{x a}$ - it " " (CCT I:95.76)
 n - u₃ - x̣iɬ - u - $\sqrt{x^w a}$ - it 'they₃ thought' (CCT I:89.41)
 n - u - x̣wiɬ - u - $\sqrt{x^w a}$ - it " " (CCT I:89.41)
 n - u - x̣iɬ - u - $\sqrt{x a}$ - it " " (MJ 2:129/1828.4)
 n - i₃ - x̣ɬ - u - $\sqrt{x^w a}$ - n - it + am - čk 'he₃ got to thinking' (CCT I:55.20)
- b. $\sqrt{-kim-}$ 'say' (Wishram and Clackamas)
- n - a₃ - kim 'she said' (CCT I:33.6; WT:170.11)
 n - a₃ - gim - x̣ 'she used to say' (CCT I:78.21) (with gnomic aorist -x̣)
 n - u₃ - g^wa₄ - gim - x̣ 'they₃ used to say' (CCT II:494.86) (intransitivizer₄)
- c. $\sqrt{-x-}$ 'make,' 'do' (Wishram and Clackamas)
- n - i₃ - x̣⁴ - u - x̣ 'he₃ (reflexive⁵) did' (WT 170.10; CCT I:90.50)
 n - i₃ - x̣ - u - x̣ - ix 'he₃ did' (WT 172.20; CCT I:33.8)
- d. $\sqrt{-gl-lalam-}$ 'yell,' 'sing,' 'shout' etc. (Wishram and Clackamas)
- n - i₃ - gl+lalam - čk 'he₃ sang' (WT 96.4)
 n - i₃ - gl+um - niɬ - čk 'he hallooed and hallooed' (CCT I:16.16)
 (with iterative-repetitive -niɬ- and perfective -čk)
 n - i₃ - g(ə)l+uma 'he hollered' (CCT I:28.25)
 n - i₃ - gl+uma 'he yelled' (WT:46.14)
- e. $\sqrt{-čax-}$ 'weep' (Wishram and Clackamas)
- n - a₃ - gə - čax 'she₃ wept' (CCT I:341.9)
 n - i₃ - k - čax 'he₃ cried out' (WT:8.22)
- f. $\sqrt{-kaɬx-}$ 'remember,' 'reflect'
- n - i₃ - x̣(ə) - l - $\sqrt{kaɬx}$ 'he₃ reflected about that' (CCT I:34.10)
- g. $\sqrt{-ak^w-}$ 'forget'
- n - i₃ - xi - lal - $\sqrt{ak^w}$ - it 'he forgot himself' (MJ 3:79/1591.2)

List 4., (cont'd.)

- h. $\sqrt{-da-m+ida-g^w a}$ 'to cause to return to form' (Silverstein n.d.) (Wishram)
 n - i_3- (i_4)- $\dot{x} + l - \dot{x}a + \sqrt{da-m + ida - g^w a}$ 'he₃ brought himself₄ to' (WT 92.3)
 analysis by Michael Silverstein (n.d.)
- i. $\sqrt{-lga+ulx}$ 'arise,' 'get up' (Wishram and Clackamas)
 Wishram:
 n - i_3- $\dot{x}(\emptyset)$ - $\sqrt{lga+ulx}$ 'he got up' (WT 4.21)
 Clackamas:
 n - i_3- $\dot{x}(\emptyset)$ - $\sqrt{lga+ulx}$ 'he arose in bed' (CCT I:146.22)
- j. $\sqrt{-\dot{x}+la-\dot{c}k}$ 'get up'
 n - a_3- $\sqrt{\dot{x}(\emptyset)+la-\dot{c}k}$ 'she got up' (CCT II 341.6)
- k. $\sqrt{-\dot{x}+t^w i-}$ 'get ready'
 (Often used paired with the preceding, both with n-, in Mrs. Howard):
 n-a- $\dot{x}(\emptyset)$ -la- $\dot{c}k$, 'she got up,
 n-a- $\dot{x}(\emptyset)$ -l-t^wi- $\dot{c}k$ she got ready' (CCT I:34.15)
- l. $\sqrt{-im-}$ 'lie down' (Wishram and Clackamas)
 Wishram:
 n - a_3- $\dot{x}a - \sqrt{im - a}$ 'she₃ was lying' (Dyk n.d.)
 n - a_3- $\dot{x} - a_4-$ $g(\emptyset)m_5-$ $\dot{x} - \sqrt{ayma}$ 'she₃ was lying beside₅ her₄' (Dyk 1933:39)
 Clackamas:
 n - u_3- $\dot{x}a\dot{x}a_5-$ $\sqrt{(y)im}$ 'they₃ dropped in their tracks₅ (from exhaustion)'
 (MJ 3:61/1558.4)
 - $\dot{x}a\dot{x}a-$, reduplicated relational element
 'on,' 'at the edge of' (Dyk 1933:39)
- m. $\sqrt{-\dot{x}-k\acute{s}(+it)}$ 'sleep'
 n - i_3- $\dot{x} - u - \sqrt{k\acute{s} + it}$ 'he₃ went to sleep' (CCT I:20.5)
 n - a_3- $\dot{x} - u - \sqrt{k\acute{s} + it + am}$ 'she₃ put herself to bed' (CCT I:19.5)
- n. $\sqrt{-\dot{x}-\dot{l}xlm-}$ 'eat'
 n - i_3- $\dot{x} - \sqrt{\dot{l}xlm - \dot{c}k}$ 'he ate' (CCT I:14.7)

Figure 4. (cont'd.)

o. /-k'i-naxt±- 'look about'

n - i₃- /k'i-naxχ - čk 'he₃ looked' (CCT I:27.31)
 n - i₃- /k'i-naxχ - am - čk 'he₃ looked' (

p. /-kšt- 'look'

n - a₃- x₅- u - /kšt 'she₃ looked at herself₅' (MJ 15:27/1605.2)

q. /-čm+l-aq- 'hear,' 'understand'

n - i₃- xa - š₄- g(ə)l + /m(i) + laq 'he₃ listened to them two₄' (CCT I:50.38)
 n - a₃- x - /mi+laq 'she₃ listened' (MJ 17:1/1617.2)
 n - a₃- x(ə)- l - /čm+aq 'she₃ heard it' (MJ 17:1/1657.1)
 n - i₃- x(ə)- l - /čm+aq 'he₃ heard' (CCT I:34.15)

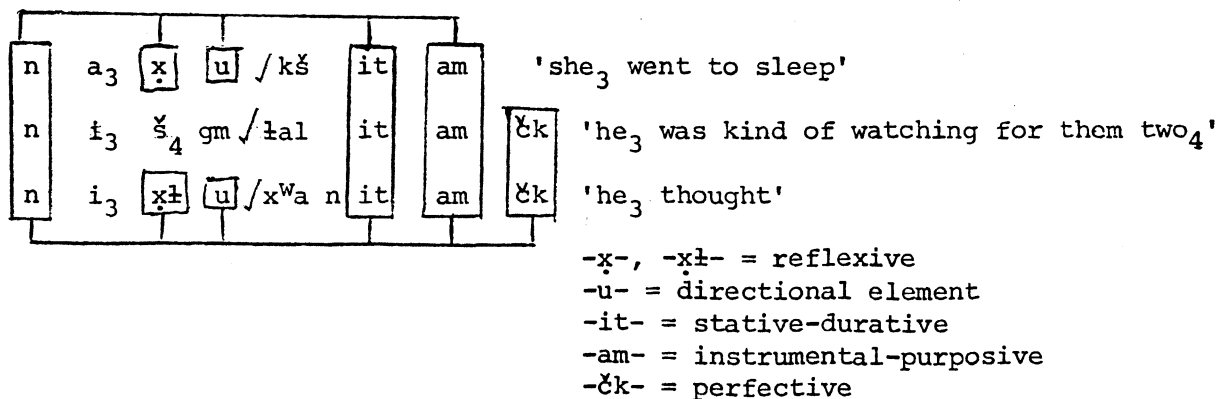
r. /-g^w+tq 'wake up'

n - i₃- x(ə)- /guy+tq 'he₃ woke up' (CCT I:27.28)
 n - i₃- x(ə)- /guy+tq - x 'he₃ woke up' (MJ 5:85/1639.4)

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

naxəguytq, 'she woke up,
 naxmilaq she listened' (CCT I:26.25)

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



Example 6. Typical Quotative (metapragmatic) Framing Construction
Wasco-Wishram:

k ^w apt niḵłúx ^w ait:	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:

gayútx ^w it k ^w aba,	He stood there,
niḵłuxánitəmčk:	he thought:
"qáḵyamt anilúya wíḵat?"	"Which trail should I go along?"

(CCT II:397.52)