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A Note on Nitinaht Numerals[1]

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With one exception the numerals from one to ten in the three Southern Wakashan languages reveal the same system of counting in the first decade.[2]

	Makah	Nitinaht	Ahousaht (Nootka)
1.	ċakʷa·ʔq̓	ċawa·ʔk	ċawa·k
2.	ʔaƛ̓	ʔaƛ̓	ʔaƛa
3.	wi·	qakaċ	qaccˀa
4.	bu·	bu·	mu·
5.	šuč̓	šuč̓	šuča
6.	čiˀ·χpa·ƛ̓	čiˀ·χpa·ƛ̓	ṅupu
7.	ʔaƛ̓pu	ʔaƛ̓pu·	ʔaƛ̓pu
8.	ʔaƛ̓asub	ʔaƛ̓asib	ʔaƛ̓akʷaƛ̓
9.	ċakʷa·sub	ċawa·sib	ċawa·kʷaƛ̓
10.	ƛ̓aχʷ	ƛ̓aχʷ	ƛ̓ayu

This system, like many others throughout the world, "fills in" the numerals for six through nine by figuring from the units for five and ten. Eight and nine are formed by back-counting from ten; the suffixes -sub, -sib and -kʷaƛ̓ all mean *lacks* or *needs*. Thus eight is literally *two lacking* and nine is *one lacking*.

Like the eighth numeral, the words for seven are also built upon ʔaƛ̓(a) *two*; but the added element -pu must have been an old suffix meaning something like *left, more* or *extra*.[3] So ʔaƛ̓pu·/ʔaƛ̓pu is *two more (than five)* or *two left (after five)*. Nootka has also ṅupu *six* derived from ṅu(p), a second word for *one*, and -pu. Thus, the Nootka count from ċawa·k *one* to suča *five* and then *one left, two left, two lacking, one lacking, ten*.

Counting to ten in Nitinaht and Makah follows the same system as Nootka except for the sixth numeral, čiˀ·χpa·ƛ̓, which has no known etymological connection with the other number words. This numeral does not fit into the system and is most likely an innovation[4]; for it would be strange to count *two left* without a preceding *one left*. (We return to čiˀ·χpa·ƛ̓ below.)

Although all three sets of number words are very similar, the Nitinaht and Makah vocabularies appear to have shared a common evolution apart from Nootka. In the next decade, however, Nitinaht is the odd man out. Both Makah and Nootka count *ten and one, ten and two*, etc., while Nitinaht adds a special "teen" suffix[5] to the numeral stems of the first decade like English.

	Makah	Nitinaht	Ahousaht (Nootka)
11.	ƛ̓aχʷ ʔiš ċakʷa·ʔqʷ	ċawayu·kʷ	ƛayu ʔuƛiš ċawa·k
12.	ƛ̓aχʷ ʔiš ʔaƛ̓	ʔaƛayu·kʷ	ƛayu ʔuƛiš ʔaƛa
13.	ƛ̓aχʷ ʔiš wi·	qakaċayu·kʷ	ƛayu ʔuƛiš qaccˀa
14.	ƛ̓aχʷ ʔiš bu·	buyu·kʷ	ƛayu ʔuƛiš mu·
15.	ƛ̓aχʷ ʔiš šuč̓	šučayu·kʷ	ƛayu ʔuƛiš šuča
16.	ƛ̓aχʷ ʔiš čiˀ·χpa·ƛ̓	čiˀ·χpa·ƛayu·kʷ	ƛayu ʔuƛiš ṅupu
17.	ƛ̓aχʷ ʔiš ʔaƛ̓pu	ʔaƛ̓payu·kʷ	ƛayu ʔuƛiš ʔaƛ̓pu
18.	ƛ̓aχʷ ʔiš ʔaƛ̓asub	ʔaƛ̓asibayu·kʷ	ƛayu ʔuƛiš ʔaƛ̓akʷaƛ̓
19.	ƛ̓aχʷ ʔiš ċakʷa·sub	ċawa·sibayu·kʷ	ƛayu ʔuƛiš ċawa·kʷaƛ̓

In the decades from twenty onward, Nitinaht departs even more radically from the other two languages. Both the Makah and Nootka systems are vigesimal while the Nitinaht is decimal.

	Makah	Nitinaht	Ahousaht (Nootka)
20.	caqi·c	caqi·c	caqeyc[7]
30.	qax^{w}u·k^{w}	wiyu·k^{w}[8]	caqeyc ʔuḥʔiɬ ẖayu
40.	ʔaƛi·q	ʔaƛi·q	ʔaƛi·q
50.	ʔaƛi·q ʔiɬ ẖax^{w}	šaša·čta?dk^{w}	ʔaƛi·q ʔuḥʔiɬ ẖayu
60.	wi·yu·q	čiˑɣpa·ƛi·q	qaccˑi·q
70.	wi·yu·q ʔiɬ ẖax^{w}	ʔaƛpu·q	qaccˑi·q ʔuḥʔiɬ ẖayu
80.	bukyi·q	ʔaƛasibi·q	muyi·q
90.	bukyi·q ʔiɬ ẖax^{w}	ċawa·sibi·q	muyi·q ʔuḥʔiɬ ẖayu
100.	šuč̓i·q	ʔuba·ẖ	šuč̓i·q

The word for *forty* is the same in all three languages, viz., ʔaƛi·q which can have only one literal meaning, *two score*. Furthermore, every other occurrence of -i·q in both Makah and Nootka clearly means *score*. Note the words meaning *sixty*, *eighty*, and *one hundred*.

In Nitinaht, however, -i·q has come to mean *ten* (or -*ty* if you prefer) for the numerals from sixty through ninety. Six times -i·q is sixty, not 120, etc.[9] Also, the numerals for fifty and one hundred both seem to be relatively recent neologisms; each has a transparently literal significance: šaša·čta?dk^{w} is *hand on one side*. It is composed of šas ʷa·č, a reduplication of šačaˑs *appendage on one side* (such as an arm or wing), and the suffix -ta?dk^{w} *on the hand*. The concept behind this number seems to refer to the fact that counting on the fingers by tens is completed on one hand. (Note, by the way, that there is no etymological connection between the stem šaša·č and the etymon for five, šuč̓/suča in spite of their similarity.)

The word for *hundred*, ʔuba·qẖ, derives from ʔuʔu·ʔbɣ *just fits* and the suffix -(a)q(a)ẖ *inside*. In the old days, a storage basket held one hundred dried salmon, whence the name ʔuba·qẖ *just fits inside* to represent *hundred*.

However, although it is the hundred dried salmon inside the basket that gives rise to the name ʔuba·qẖ, the suffix -(a)q(a)ẖ does not mean *inside the basket* but rather it refers to the fact that the basket was kept *inside* a cupboard (or more precisely an inset shelf built into the house wall opposite the side door).

From this concept of a basket full of one hundred dried salmon to stand for *hundred*, the suffix -ta?k *container, basket full* has come to play a role in number terms above one hundred. Thus, ʔaƛqta?k ʔuba·qẖ *two baskets full just fit inside* is *two hundred*, qakaċqta?k ʔuba·qẖ *three baskets full just fit inside* is *three hundred*, etc.

Two facts suggest that the Nitinaht decimal system is an innovation. First, the word for *fourty* (unless it is a borrowing) shows that at one time -i·q meant *score* in Nitinaht as well as in the neighboring languages. Secondly, if Nitinaht counting by tens represents the older system, then one must posit two independent vigesimal innovations, one for Makah which lies to the south of Nitinaht and one for Nootka which lies to the north. This seems much less likely than supposing a single change from vigesimal to decimal.[10]

What was the impetus behind this change from vigesimal to decimal in Nitinaht? The neighboring Salish languages are decimal and might have been an influence; but both Makah and Nootka also have Salish neighbors. Perhaps, however the Nitinaht [illegible] period of particularly close contact with some Salish group. Many years ago Laur[illegible]C. Thompson informed me that Mary Haas had collected a set of numerals from the Nitinaht at Pechena Bay which her consultant referred to as the "old" Nitinaht way of counting. She recognized these "old" numerals as being of Salish origin. This counting does indeed suggest a strong Salish influence on at least some Nitinaht.

Up to this point we have assumed a single system of counting in each language which in Nitinaht has altered over the years. However, a couple of systems - or at least methods - may have coexisted. As pointed out above, the etymon čiˑɣpa·ƛ *six* in Nitinaht and Makah does not fit well into the first decade of numbers in Southern Wakashan for it has nothing to do with the concept of *one more* or the like.

A clue to the origin of čiˑɣpa·ƛ comes from one of the Ahousaht consultants, Mr. George Lewie. He says that -pa·ƛ means *add to*[11] and describes how his maternal grandfather, who was Ahousaht, counted by holding his palm up facing away from himself. Using a finger of the other hand as a pointer, he went from the little finger to the index touching the top of each. Then, on the count of five, he pulled his thumb down so that it formed a right angle to the fingers. "Next he added the other hand saying čiˑɣpa·ƛ." The idea behind čiˑɣpa·ƛ is, in Mr. Lewie's words, *add other hand*. Although this gloss is probably not literal, - the meaning of the root či(·)ɣ is apparently lost to memory - the general import is right. Since most finger counting changes hands for six, in time the word must have supplanted the original numeral among the Nitinaht and Makah.

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Notes

1. The language names used in this paper are those traditional in linguistic and anthropological descriptions of Southern Wakashan. However, it should be noted that in October, 1984 the Nuuchahnuulth Tribal Council meeting at Tin-wis near Tofino, British Columbia proclaimed that the language and people previously known as *Nitinaht* be called henceforth *Ditidaht*. This new name more closely approximates the name as pronounced in the language itself.

Similarly, the name *Nootka* is not liked by many bands grouped under that term and the preferred designation is *Nuuchahnuulth*. However, this new name, which is primarily cultural in reference, presents problems to linguists for it includes both those who speak Nitinaht (or Ditidaht) as well as those from Bamfield and northward. When speaking of languages, I see no alternative to *Nootka* unless it be *Northern Nuuchahnuulth*.

2. The Ahousaht data have been provided by Mr. Peter Webator and Mr. George Lowie, both of whom grew up on Flores Island in British Columbia. The Nitinaht forms are primarily from Mr. John Thomas. The Makah information is also from Mr. Thomas and *The Makah Counting*

Workbook. Mr. Thomas' home village is Clo-oose, British Columbia.

3. Compare the etymologies of English *eleven* and *twelve*.

4. Unless ʔaƛpuˑ/ʔaƛpu is a borrowing in Nitinaht and Makah. Note that it was just this etymon which was borrowed into the Northern Wakashan Kwakiutl. There *seven* is ʔəƛəbu. (Words borrowed into kʷakʷala have voiceless stops and affricates replaced by voiced ones, e.g., bidə from *Peter*, giwaɢ from Salish qiwas *deer*.)

5. There may have been a longer stem for *ten* in the proto language, perhaps *ɬayuukʷ which by apocope (and the well attested shift /ɬ/ to /ƛ/ resulted in the Nootka ƛayu and by the loss of the first syllable gave -yuˑkʷ in Nitinaht. Compare the identical case in nearby Salish:

Saanich	ɬ́ɔsəʔ	two
Lushootseed	sáliʔ	two
Cowichan	yəsáʔləɬ	two

6. ʔiš in Makah and ʔuƛʔiš in Nootka ate both more or less equivalent to *and*.

7. This may be a misrecording for caqiˑc.

8. The root for *thirty* in Nitinaht is the same etymon as *three* in Makah and the suffix is elsewhere *-teen*, i.e., *ten*. Notice also that the Makah term for *thirty* invoves the same suffix etymon; and the root might prove to be the same etymon as qakaċ/qaċċa *three* in Nitinaht and Ahousaht (if /k/ > /x/). If so, then the root etyma for *three* and *thirty* in Makah neatly match *thirty* and *three* in Nitinaht.

9. Observe the similarity between the Albanian and Nitinaht counting systems - especially the formation of the numeral *fourty* in both:

Albanian:	10	1'20	3'10	2'20	5'10	6'10
Nitinaht:	10	20	3'10	2'20	50	6'10

Menninger, p. 69.

10. Note, however, that decimal systems do sometimes give way to vigesimal gradations. The Old Irish decimal counting has been completely replaced by the vigesimal in Modern Irish. Beginning in the eleventh century the French decimal system acquired some vigesimal gradations under Norman influence. In Sicily eggs, fruit, and people are all calculated by twenties - again due to the Normans. Menninger p. 64 ff.

11. In fact, according to Thompson and M. Dale Kinkade they resemble most closely the numerals in the language of the Tsamosan Branch of Salish. (p.c.)

12. In *Nootka Texts*, page 325, this suffix is glossed as *along with ...; in the same group with ....*

How to Act like a White Man in Lillooet

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0. Introduction. Lillooet has four morphological devices which broadly express 'to act like (the referent of the stem), to pretend to be (the referent of the stem)'. These devices are discussed in sections 1-4. All four operations are verbalizing, i.e., they maintain the morphological status of verbal stems while they verbalize nominal stems. (For a discussion of verbal and nominal stems in Salish see Hess and Van Eijk 1985). In section 5 I give a summing up of sections 1-4.

1. Total reduplication. Total reduplication (i.e., the repetition of the first two consonants of the root) operates on two Lillooet words to express 'to act like a X, to do something the X way'. These two cases are: ʔúxʷalmixʷ 'Indian' (also 'person, human being') → ʔɔxʷ-ʔúxʷalmixʷ 'to act like an Indian, to do it the Indian way'; sáma? 'white person' → səm-sáma? 'to act like a white person, to do something the white man's way'. (Normally, total reduplication expresses plurality/collectivity in nouns, and repetition/intensity in verbs, e.g., s-núkʷa? 'friend, relative' → s-nəkʷ-núkʷa? 'friends, relatives', túpun' 'to punch so.' → təp-túpun' 'to beat so. up'. In some cases, total reduplication has completely lexicalized, e.g., kɔ̓xkəx 'elder sister', ʕɔ́lʕəl 'strong'.)

2. The combination -az'-am. The combination -az'-am, which consists of -az' 'playingly, for fun' and the intransitivizer -am, expresses 'to pretend to be X, to act as if one is X'. I recorded the following cases: ʔuxʷalmixʷ-áz'-am 'to pretend to be an Indian' (also used as a joking reference to East Indians); samʔ-áz'-am 'to pretend to be a white person'; kʷúkʷpəy' 'chief' → kʷukʷpy'-áz'-am 'to pretend to be a chief'; s-kʷúkʷmit 'child' → kʷukʷmit-áz'-am 'to pretend to be a child, to copy a child's actions' (note the deletion of the nominalizer s- in the verbalized form); ləqsáyɬ 'pet, favorite child' → ləqsayɬ-áz'-am 'to pretend to be the pet, to refuse to do anything, to demand attention or service'; ʔáɬsəm 'sick, ill' → ʔaɬsm-áz'-am 'to pretend to be sick'. Forms with -az'-am have a decidedly more negative tinge than the forms with total reduplication discussed under 1. However, an observer may be amused, rather than annoyed, by a person who is -az'-am.

3. The combination -s-cút. The combination -s-cút consists of the transitivizer -s and the reflexive suffix -cút 'oneself'. The transitivizer -s has three functions, depending on the semantic nature of the preceding stem: (1) causativizer, as in qamt 'to get hit' → qamt-s 'to hit so.'; (2) forming transitive verba declarandi, as in qʷalút 'to speak, hold a speech' → qʷalút-s 'to speak to so., to admonish, rebuke so.'; (3) forming transitive verba sentiendi, as in x̌zum 'big' → x̌zum-s 'to respect so.' In -s-cút we have -s in function (3). The combination -s-cút expresses 'to pretend to be X, to act as if one is X'. Semantically, -s-cút largely overlaps with -az'-am, although it is possible that -s-cút refers to slightly more reproachable behaviour. Cases with -s-cút are: samaʔ-s-cút 'to pretend to be a white person'; kʷukʷpəy'-s-cút 'to pretend to be a chief, to be bossy'; kʷukʷmit-s-cút 'to act like a child'; ləqsayɬ-[s]-cút 'to want to be petted, to think one is the pet more than others' (with regular dropping of -s between ɬ and c); xaʔ 'high' → xaʔ-s-cút 'to brag'; ʕɔ́lʕəl 'strong' → ʕəlʕəl-s-cút 'to want to be tough'.

4. The combination -án-cut. This combination consists of the transitivizer -an and the reflexive suffix -cut. The transitivizer -an is only one of several transitivizers of the type -Vn or -Vn' (V = vowel). These n-transitivizers have two functions: (1) causativizer, as in x̌zum 'big' → x̌zúm-un 'to make it big(ger)'; (2) forming transitive verba declarandi, as in wəʔáw 'to shout' → wəʔáw-ən 'to shout at so.' (The difference between -s and n-transitivizers with regard to function (1) hinges on the notion of control: we have -s where the performer of the action is not entirely in