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Stem Extenders in Nootka-Nitinat

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Stem Extenders in Nootka-Nitinat

1. In recent articles¹ brief mention has been made of the fact that in the Nootkan languages stems often appear in two or three forms, with and without an extra consonant or two, or with differing final consonants. In the present paper these "stem extenders", as I propose to call them, are discussed in some detail. It is helpful to study Nootka and Nitinat together for a number of reasons, the chief of which are (1) the languages sometimes occur with differing stem extenders, partly, no doubt, because of accidental differences in the recording situation, and (2) the differing definitions in the two languages, again frequently dictated by chance, serve to reinforce or supplement our insights into meaning.

2.1. The most common type of stem extender in Nootka² is a single nonglottalized stop or spirant belonging to the dorsal class of either the nonlabialized ($k, q, x, \text{ɬ}, h$) or labialized ($k^w, q^w, x^w, \text{ɬ}^w, h^w$) variety. Nitinat³ is the same except that h and its morphophonemic counterpart h^w are lacking. In rare instances other consonants are also found, among them most of the rest of the stops and spirants. The primary identification of these extenders depends on finding two or more stems with and without an extender, or with two or more

different extenders, whose meaning is at the same time sufficiently close to warrant the positing of such a relationship. The following examples have been selected to illustrate this. Some are taken from Nootka only, some from Nitinat only, and others from both.⁴

-k, -k^w

N tu- small round things are strewn about; N tuk.- id.

N či-, -ya° to cut; N čik^w-, -a° to clip off (hair, twigs, etc.).

N řič-, -a° to squeak, creak; Nt řičk-, -a° to creak.

N řáč- to fold, double up; Nt řáč- to roll bed blankets;

N řáčk-, -ak collapsed; very hungry, Nt řáčk-, -a° collapse
(e.g. bladder).

N řic- řis.-, -uk white; řisk-, m. -ři(ř) to flash white,
-ak white spot.

N, Nt řič-, -a° illuminate; N řičk-, -ak glowing with a bright
glaring light.

N wac- to move the head to one side; wack-, -ak twisted, bent
to one side.

N pał-, -a° flaming, lit up; pałk-, -a° to flare up, throw off
sparks, glow; emery wheel.

N čitk^w-, čink^w-, -a° to roll over, twist; Nt čitk-, -a° to roll,
-ak to twist.

N řučk-, -ak protrusion, hill, Nt řučk-, -ak lump, pile, piled
up; N řučx-, -ak lump.

-q, -q^w

- N pit.- pinioned down, Nt pit-, m. -šia to fit, fit in, fit properly; N pitq-, -ak -a° jammed, packed tight; full.
- N mač- dirty; N mačq-, -ak id.
- N muč.- covered with fabric; mučq- id.
- N ni-, -a° to sew; N niq-, -a° id., Nt diq- id.
- N qat-, -ak to cut, slit, break, -a° to get cut, broken;
N qatq^w-, -a° to amputate, get amputated.
- N hupk-, -ak roundish thing, Nt hupk- id.; N hupq-, -ak lump, knot, Nt hupq-, -a° to plug.
- N lu·tq-, -ak in a confused bunch, clump; N lu·tx- id.

-x, -x^w

- N nu·t-, -a° to roll, rotate; nu·tx- to circle about.
- N k^wi-, rep. k^wi·ak^wi·ya sharpening, grinding, whetting, filing;
N k^wix-, -a° rubbing.
- N mit-, -a° to twist yarn; N mitx^w-, -a° to rotate, turn about, circle about, Nt bitx^w-, -a° to turn round and round, revolve.
- N ʔic- ʔis.-, -uk white; N ʔicx^w-, -ak faded, Nt ʔicx^w-, -ak dull-colored, gray.

N -h, -h^w, Nt -x, -x^{w6}

- N ʔic-, -ak fabric-like object spread out covering (something),
Nt ʔic- cover, cover over; N ʔih-. -ak (same as ʔic-),
Nt ʔix^w- id.

N ³yim- unsatisfactory, undesirable, Nt yub- id.; N ³yimh-,
-a° ashamed; Nt yupx- in yupxu·1 slow, clumsy.

N ³nus- to get tangled up (arch.); Nt dusx- to argue.

N ³čal-, -a° to get split lengthwise (flat object, esp. board);

N ³čah^W-, ³čaha° to adze, cut with an adze, Nt ³čax-, m. -šič id.

N -x, -x^W, Nt -x, -x^W

Nt ³pa- to handle a mass of small objects; to powder, sprinkle
like powder, N to make ceremonial gift in potlatch; N ³pax-,
-a° to apply powder.

N, Nt čī- to pull; N čix^W-, -a° to pull on.

N ³čis-, -ak dark-colored, dirty; N ³čišx-, -ak id.,

Nt ³čišx^W-, -ak dirty.

N ³lu·tq-, -ak in a confused bunch, clump; ³lu·tx-, -ak id.

Nt ³tucq-, -a° to break rope, pluck feathers; N ³tucx- to pluck
hair, pull up grass.

-p

N hu-, hu·²i° lump; hup- roundish object, spherical or chunky
object, Nt hup-. m. -šič to throw round object down.

-t

N hu-, -ya° to bail, use a bailer, spill from a container;
 Nt xu-, m. -šilʰ to bail out water; N hut-, -a° to splash,
throw liquid with cupped hand; Nt xut-, m. -šilʰ to splash
water at something.

-c

Nt pa- to handle a mass of small objects; to powder, sprinkle
like powder, N to make ceremonial gift in potlatch; N pac-,
 -ak -a° foamy, Nt pac-, -ak sudsy.
 N liq-, -ak fabric-like object spread out covering (something),
 Nt lix^w- id.; N lic-, -ak id., Nt lic- cover, cover over.

-č

N ka-, -ya° to measure; N kač-, -ak jutting out, extending out.
 N ma- holding in the teeth, in the mouth, Nt ba- to bite;
 N mač- to close the teeth, Nt bač- to bite, snap shut.

-λ

N lu°q-ⁱⁿ, m. luq^aλ to utter a very harsh sound; N luqλ-,
 -a° to make a noise of drawing breath.

-l

N, Nt k^wi- sharpen, grind, whet, file; N, Nt k^wil-, -a°
salmon scraping bottom preparatory to spawning.

N yu, yu²i wind blowing; yux^w- to float; N yuxl-, -a° to get blown by the wind.

Nt kix-, -ak dry and light (of wood); Nt kixl-, -ak light.

Cf. N kixl.-, -ak rapid, speedy.

-š

N qut- qutk-, -ak lean, hard, tough, stiff, hard to the feel;

Nt qut-, -ak bony, thin (lean); N, Nt qux^w-, -a° to freeze, become frozen; N quš.-, uk stiff.

2.2. In some cases two consonants are added, e.g. -pq, -tk, -tq, -tx^w, -łk, -łq, -čk, -čx, and perhaps others. In part these cases may simply represent the addition of two stem extenders, neither of which happens to occur (or has been recorded as occurring) without the other. Examples:

-pq. N či° to pull; N čipq-, -a° to purse up, become pursed up; (bow or similar weapon) is drawn.

-tk. N has-, -ak loud, bright; N hastk-, -ak id.

-tq. N λ'uš-, -uk dry; N λ'uštq-, -ak very dry.

-łk. N λ'i to shoot, Nt to shoot gun; N λ'łk-, -ak inflated, exploded.

-łq. (Same as preceding); λ'łq-, -a° to explode, crackle, make a popping sound.

-čk, -čk^W. N λ'am-, -a° to take hold with tongs; to cut with scissors; straddling, holding legs together, Nt λ'ab-, λ'ap- to cut with scissors, take a scissors hold; N λ'apčk-, λ'apčk^W-, -ak having legs held together, having arms close to side.

-čx. N wi-, -ak scraped, bared, cleared; N wičx-, -ak id.

-tq^W. N λaq^W-, -ak mushy, m. -šiλ to throw soft, yielding mass; Nt λatq^W-, -šiλ to throw a rag.

-tx^W. (Same as preceding). N λatx^W-, -ak soft and yielding (but not breakable).

The isolation of these stem extenders adds new dimensions to the analysis of Nootka-Nitinat stems. We are able, in many instances, to discover families of related stems, often enough based on a simple CV root. Some of the more revealing sets are shown below.

Section 3 ma clamping in teeth, jaws

N ma- holding in the teeth, in the mouth; Nt ba- to bite.

Nt bak- close teeth.

N mač- to close the teeth; Nt bač- to bite, snap shut.

N mačk-, -ak -a° having the jaws closed.

pa mass of small objects, particles

Nt pa- to handle mass of small objects; to powder, sprinkle like powder; N pa- to make ceremonial gift in potlatch.

N pax-, -a° to apply powder.

N pac-, -ak -a° foamy; Nt pac-, -ak sudsy.

Perhaps also: N patq^w-, -(q)uk goods, freight, load; Nt patq-uk^w stuff.

And: N path-, -ak decayed (perhaps = disintegrated into small particles). Cf. Nt padax- (having reference to rotten wood).

yu- buoyant, moving of air, wind

N yu-, yu?i wind blowing; Nt yu- wind blowing, -?ak draft coming in.

N, Nt yux^w- to float; N yux(^w-) lungs, Nt yux^w id.

N yux^w-, -a° (fire, stove) heating, giving off hot air; Nt yux^w-, -a° hot (as stove).

N yuxi-, -a° to get blown by the wind.

qu- stiff, hard

N qut- lean, hard, tough, stiff, hard to the feel; Nt qut-, -ak
bony, (thin (lean)).

N qutk-, -ak id.

N quš.-, -uk stiff

N, Nt qux^W-, -a° to freeze, become frozen; N qu·x ice, Nt qu·x^W id.

mu- burning, glowing

N mu-, -?ak burning; -ya° setting on fire, burning (things);

Nt bu-, -?ak burning.

N muq-, -ak phosphorescent, glowing.

N mu·q throwing off sparks from fire-drill stick.

N mučis-, -uk gunpowder.

mu- heating. Cf. mu-.

N mux^W- to boil; Nt bux^W-, -a° boiling.

N muq-, -(q^W)a° steaming; buq^W-, m. -šia steam comes. (Also N
muq- having liquid in mouth; Nt buq^W-, m. -šia to puff water
from mouth.)

N mux-, -(x^W)a° boiling.

N muh-, -ak -a° blazing, flaring.

hu- spherical object.

N hu-, hu?i° lump.

N hu?u-q-, hu?umc testicles (-mač° absolute suffix).

N huja-, huja·k(^W-) waves; Nt hu·y-ibs id.

N hup- roundish object, spherical or chunky object; Nt hup-,

m. -šil to throw round object down.

N hupk-, -ak roundish thing; Nt hupk- round thing, ball-like thing.

N hupq-, -ak roundish thing.

N hupq- long (roundish) object all the way in; Nt hupq-, -a·

id., plugged.

N huhumk-suž with bulging eyes.

Perhaps also: hupt-, -a· in hiding (in a crouched position ?)

tu- spherical object protruding. Cf. hu-.

N tum- (tup-) to come out in a clump; lumped; heaped up.

N tupč-. Same as tupčk-.

N tupčk-, -ak distended, opened out (esp. eyes).

N tupq-, -ak lump.

N tučk-, -ak protrusion, hill; Nt tučk-, -ak lump, piled up.

N tučx-, -ak lump [= tupq-].

N tuh^w-, tuhčiti head.

N tuc-imt having hair cut short; Nt tuc- shorn, tuc-a·bī with one's hair off.

Perhaps also: tuc-, tučup sea egg of a certain large variety;

Nt tučip id.

si- pointed stick-like object.

Nt si-, m. -čil to strike fire (with match or fire drill).

N, Nt si'il fire drill, match.

N sit-, siŋa tail; Nt siŋ id.

N sitx-, m. -šil stick-like thing (stick, tail, penis) moves pointwise, gets waved.

N si·q-, -a· stick getting shoved along pointwise.

N simt-, -a· to roast dried fish to prepare it for eating;

Nt sibit-, -a· id.

N sipi·q- to insert stick through herring when using it as
bait in trolling; Nt si·piq-, -a· putting bait on hook.

N siyu·-q-, siyu·p fishing for devilfish; Nt si·yu·p groping
with pole for devilfish.

N sink-, -a· spear sticking in target.

la- standing, upright, erect, rigid

N la-, -ʔak (stick-like object) sticking up, m. -čil to drive
wedge; Nt la-, m. -čil id.

Nt lab house post, post in general

N la·piq-, m. -šil to drive nails; Nt lapiqab spike, nail,
wooden pegs of Douglas fir.

N lat-, lanat wedge; Nt ladit id.

Nt lat-apt yew wood.

N latč-, -ak rigid of body (person, frozen rope, frozen
rag, animal, fish).

N latčk-, -ak. Same as latč-.

N lašt-, m. -šil to get stiff (e.g. by cold, death).

N la·s-maq-, la·smapt sapling; small house post; Nt la·s-apt
young tree, sapling, pile, post.

N lakiš-, laki·s standing afoot; Nt lakiš-, m. -šil to arise,
stand up.

N lałasic aquatic bird of certain sp. (probably snipe, as in
Nt); lałasc small snipe with long legs.

ʌ'i- popping, banging

N ʌ'i-, m. -šič to shoot, Nt to shoot gun.

N ʌ'ič-, -a° to squeak, creak

N ʌ'ik-, -ak inflated, exploded; Nt ʌ'ik-, -ak distended (belly).

N ʌ'iq-, -a° to explode, crackle, make a popping sound; Nt
sparking (aselectricity, burning wood).

N ʌ'imq-, -a° to make a noise by beating, banging on boards;

Nt ʌ'ubuq^W-, -a° to keep time with stick.

ʌ'a- flat, flat against. Cf. ʌ'u-.

N ʌ'ah-, -ak flatwise; flatwise against, alongside; Nt ʌ'ax-
flatwise against, m. -šič to patch.

N ʌ'ax- vertically flat.

N ʌ'aph-, -a° to slam broad object against; Nt ʌ'apx- to slap
with the hand.

N ʌ'atx^W-, -ak level, not hilly, not marred by bumps, swellings, etc.

N ʌ'ax^W-, -ak intaglio carved, cut in, hollowed out; cut off flat.

N ʌ'ač-, m. -ši(ʌ) to fold, double up; Nt to roll bed blankets.

N ʌ'ačk-, -ak collapsed; very hungry; Nt ʌ'ačk-, -a° collapse
(e.g. bladder).

ʌ'u- flat surface. Cf. ʌ'a-.

N, Nt ʌ'u·p-, -a° doctoring by laying hands on belly.

N ʌ'ui-, -a° to feel, grope with hands; Nt ʌ'ui-, -a° to feel
for cause of illness.

N ʌ'uh-, -a° holding the hand flat against surface, m. -šič
to slap; Nt ʌ'ux^W-, m. -šič to rest the hand against a surface.

N ʌ'uq wide, broad; Nt ʌ'uq^W- id.

ći-, vessel for liquid

N ći-, m. -ći(λ) to scoop up liquid in a vessel, pour liquid from a vessel; to dip up with a scoop net; Nt ći-, m. -ćiλ to throw water out of a basket, use dip net, set purse net.

N ći-, ći'as vessel lying on its side.

N ći·-, -ya· to measure liquid.

N ći·yukum(q-) drinking vessel.

Perhaps also: N ći·tk-, -a· to throw a jet of water; water spurts out in a jet.

And: N ći·tq-, -a· to spurt out in a jet.

hu- spilling from a container, splashing water with body-part, instrument

N hu-, -ya· to bail, use a bailer, spill from a container;

Nt xu-, m. -ćiλ to bail out water.

N hut-, -a· to splash, throw liquid with a cupped hand; Nt xut-, m. -šiλ to splash water at something.

N hustq-, -a· to make a splash; Nt xušitq-, -a·, m. -š(i)λ splashing, slapping sounds on water (e.g. as made by fish's tail).

Nt xu·yug-, m. -š(i)λ to pour water on hot rocks for steam cooking.

fa- line with object(s) attached, esp. at one end

N fa-, m. -či(λ) to throw out line with bait, sinker, buoy;

Nt fa-, m. -čiλ to throw out line with anchor, hooks, bait.

N faʔat-, d. (it. in form) fafa·tš fishing with a piece of bone sharpened at both ends and attached to line at the middle (old word).

Nt feʔis crab trap set.

N fayu·-, tayu·s anchored; Nt fayu·- anchored, fayu·ʔsib anchor.

N fa- girded, tied about; Nt fa- id, Nt fafaʔad girded, wearing belt.

N faq- id.

N tʼamuq-, -ak tied in knot; Nt fabuq^W-, -a· to tie knots in rope, tie pieces of kelp together to make a long rope.

N fa·k-λ, m. fa·kstuλ in a row, strung along (on a string), in a single file.

N fa- to carry on the back, pack

Nt fa·dił, fa·duł wearing necklace (-dił, -adł [L] on the neck);
fa·dib necklace.

N fa- having one end of long object (canoe, see-saw) up,
-a (long object) moves see-saw fashion.

N fa- ^Wka- (m. fa- ^Wka- (λ) (having one's) vehicle loaded full;

Nt fa- ^Wka-λ overloaded ("too much load").

N fa- ^Wka-λ, m. fa- ^Wka-λstu(λ) (animal) is pregnant.

4.1. There are many difficulties in the way of getting an adequate understanding of the meaning of any particular form in languages like Nootka and Nitinat (which are not atypical as American Indian languages go), not the least of which is the fact that the English language is so ill-adapted to rendering the meaning in a reasonable equivalent, i.e., one which does not include more than should be included while excluding an important part that should be included. Add to this the fact that, as a general rule, the better the informant knows his own language, the poorer his command of English. And English has its own tricky points, of course, many of which its native speakers (even linguists) use without being aware of them. These and many other problems make it difficult to arrive at the basic meaning of a stem or root and even after a meaning has been assigned, an inadequate or awkward translation of a derivative can make it difficult to establish as such. In the published Nootka lexicon⁷ *ta-*, m. *-či(ł)* is translated to throw out line with bait, sinker, buoy. In the Nitinat file Swadesh has translated *ta-* as objects on line, and m. *-čil* as to throw out line with anchor, hooks, bait. A simple emendation of objects on line to line with object(s) attached is an improvement, however, even as the semantic base for the Nootka and Nitinat momentaneous forms. The momentaneous often means to do, act with reference to (the root or stem). Hence the overly specific translation to throw out line with bait, sinker, buoy (or Nt ... with anchor, hooks, bait) is seen to have the underlying meaning to do, act with reference to line with object(s) attached. We run into a

problem, however, when we try to decide whether N $\acute{t}amuq-$, $-ak$ tied in knot belongs here or not. In the Nitinat file the definition is given as to tie knots in rope and when we look at what was said by the informant in the field it is to tie pieces of kelp together to make a long rope. Both of the Nitinat translations fit in better with the basic meaning of the root than the Nootka definition and therefore help to determine that this derivative does indeed belong here. A similar problem is faced when one tries to decide whether N $\acute{t}awa\acute{k}(\acute{w}-)$ (having one's) vehicle loaded full is based on our root $\acute{t}a-$ as already defined. Again Nitinat helps with the problem for there the translation is overloaded--the informant said "too much load." Now overloaded elicits, among other things, the picture of being weighted down at one end, like a canoe or a wagon, and then we can see the similarity to a line with anchor or buoy attached. If we then emend the meaning of $\acute{t}a-$ by adding esp. at one end, so that it reads in full line with object(s) attached, esp. at one end we have no difficulty in bringing in N $\acute{t}awa\acute{k}(\acute{w}-)$ as one of the derivatives of $\acute{t}a-$. We can identify the imagery invoked by N $\acute{t}aw-aq\acute{a}$ ($\acute{a}-aq\acute{a}$ inside), which means (animal) is pregnant, in much the same way. The English translation is probably too inclusive, since pregnant in the clinical sense is probably not implied; rather it is (animal) is near term of pregnancy (i.e., with object(s) attached, hence weighted down inside).

Similar difficulties are met in deciding the best translation of all the other roots that have been set up in section 3. Doubtless

some errors have been made, both of inclusion and of exclusion. The possibility of homonyms also exists together with the possibility that homonyms will contaminate each other. Thus, N muq-, -(q^W)a· steaming, Nt buq^W-, m. -šil· steam comes may be a homonym with N muq- having liquid in mouth, Nt buq^W-, m. -šil· to puff water from mouth. It is also conceivable that a better understanding of the basic meaning of mu- will also allow us to include both derivatives in the same family. In Nootka the two forms are treated separately, in the Nitinat files they were not.

4.2. Most of the forms included in the stem families shown in section 3 are derived by means of the stem extenders illustrated in section 2, while the rest are derived by means of known formative suffixes and a few, doubtless, by unique formative suffixes. The meaning of most formative suffixes is generally quite concrete, e.g. on the neck, inside, tree (or bush), etc., but the meaning of stem extenders is at best extremely vague. Certainly the stem extenders are semantically entirely distinct from formative suffixes.

In some instances a stem extender seems to add an intensive meaning. Note the use of -k, -q, -q^W, and -x in the following:

N naš-uk strong, firm

N našk-, -ak hard, packed tight; Nt dašk-, -uk jell, harden

N qat-, -ak to cut, slit, break; -a· to get cut, broken.

N qatq^w-, -a· to amputate, get amputated.

Nt pit-, m. -šil to fit, fit in, fit properly.

N pitq-, -ak -a· jammed, packed tight; full.

N ʔ'uš-, -uk dry.

N ʔ'uştq-, -ak very dry.

N ʔit-, -a· to twitch, whale runs with harpoon in him.

N ʔitk-, -a· to jerk, pull fast; Nt id.

Nt ʔitq- to cringe from pain, twitch.

There are also many instances in which -q and -x appear to be interchangeable without any appreciable difference in meaning, e.g. N ʔu·tq-, -ak in a confused bunch, clump; N ʔu·tx- id.

Jacobsen⁸ has pointed out that many instances of Nootka -x, -x^w "seem to have a pejorative aura about them." This feature may very well be related to the phenomena Sapir has discussed in *Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka*.⁹ The large number of synonyms which vary only in the presence or absence or switching of stem extenders is probably also associated with this in some instances. For example, Sapir tells us that the culture-hero of Nootka "is in the habit of inserting a meaningless x after the first vowel of a word." The Nootka were also fond of imitating the speech of other closely related dialects. These and many other facts will need to be fully explored before we can come up with any final answers to the meaning of the stem extenders.

Footnotes

¹ William H. Jacobsen, Jr., Origin of the Nootka Pharyngeals, IJAL 35.125-153 (1969), especially sections 6.11-6.16; Mary R. Haas, Internal Reconstruction of the Nootka-Nitinate Pronominal Suffixes, IJAL 35.108-124 (1969), especially section 6.21.

² Nootka forms are taken from Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh, Nootka Texts: Tales and Ethnological Narratives with Grammatical Notes and Lexical Materials, Special Publication of the Linguistic Society of America, Philadelphia, 1939,

³ Nitinat forms are taken from the Nitinat Lexical File prepared by Haas and Swadesh and based on field work carried out in 1931. The material is on loan from the Boas Collection of the American Philosophical Society.

⁴ The labialized and nonlabialized varieties of each dorsal are treated together since it is very difficult to separate them and Nootka and Nitinat often disagree on this point; see Haas, op. cit., sec. 6.22 and also Jacobsen's paper, Labialization in Nootkan, prepared for the Fourth International Conference on Salish Languages.

⁵ In quoting Nootka forms some modifications have been introduced which differ slightly from the conventions used in Sapir and Swadesh, op. cit. Instead of repeating each stem in full with its durative suffix or suffixes (e.g. hič-, hiča· illuminate), the

durative suffix alone is shown after the comma (e.g. hič-, -a·illuminate). A similar device is used for the momentaneous except that it is preceded by the abbreviation m., e.g. ʔ'isk-, m. -ši(ʔ) to flash white.

⁶The normal Nitinat correspondence for Nootka h, h^w is x, x^w; see Haas, op. cit., section 6.12. Nootka x, x^w is an innovation, but it too sometimes corresponds to Nitinat x, x^w. These may be remnants of old doublets in Nootka (see Jacobsen's discussion of this, op. cit., sections 6.0, 6.10). Some are probably the product of a type of intensity symbolization, e.g. N ʔ'ih-, -uk red (normal) vs. N ʔ'ix-, -ak and ʔ'ix^w-, -ak red-hot, red, brown (intensive).

⁷See footnote 2.

⁸Jacobsen, op. cit., sec. 6.16.

⁹Reprinted in Selected Writings of Edward Sapir, David G. Mandelbaum, ed., pp. 179-196. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (1949).