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NOTES ON THE CHEMAKUM LANGUAGE.

BY FRANZ BOAS.

When George Gibbs wrote on the tribes of western Washington (Cont. to N. Am. Eth., vol 1, p. 177), the Chemakum still numbered 90 souls. When I visited Puget Sound in the summer of 1890 I learned of only three individuals who spoke the language—one woman, living near Port Townsend, and one man and his sister, who live at Port Gamble. As the Indians of Puget Sound are very restless in summer I had great difficulty in finding any of these individuals. After a protracted search I succeeded in meeting "Louise," who lives at Port Gamble, where she makes a living as a washer-woman. Although she speaks Chemakum occasionally with her brother, she uses mostly Clallam in conversing with the other Indians of the village, and the Chinook jargon in her intercourse with the whites. She has, therefore, undoubtedly forgotten part of her language. She stated that neither she nor her brother and the woman living near Port Townsend speak Chemakum fluently and properly. Besides, she was somewhat addicted to the use of liquor, and as she herself and the white man with whom she lived indulged alternately in their libations, the conditions for the collections of good linguistic material were not very favorable. Still, I was able to collect about 1,250 words, grammatical forms, and sentences, which were all corroborated by repeated questioning. From this material the following notes have been derived:

According to Gibbs the original country of the Chemakum, who call themselves Aqoxúlo,* embraced Port Townsend, Port Ludlow, and Port Gamble. According to the uniform testimony of Louise, a few Clallam and a Puyallup, they were restricted to the peninsula between Hood canal and Port Townsend.

Phonetics.—The vowels are not quite as variable and indistinct as in the neighboring Salishan dialects, but still obscure vowels are

* ɣ=deep guttural k. ɛ=e in flower. t_ɔ=dento-alveolar t.
q=ch as in Scotch "loch." l' = explosive posterior l.

! following a letter indicates more than ordinary strength of articulation.

very frequent. Diphthongs are rare. I am sure only of the occurrence of ai and au.

The following consonants are found in my list of words :

h. k, ɣ, q. y. n ; t ; s, c, t_ɔ ts, tc. m, p. l, l'.

The following sounds begin words :

ā, a, ē, e, ě, i, ō. u is not found in my list as an initial sound. All consonants with the exception of y and t_ɔ are found as initial sounds. Combinations of consonants in the beginning of words are very rare. I found only the following examples : tsɣ-, striking ; sptcō'o, berry basket.

The following terminal consonants and combinations of consonants are found in my collection :

k, ɣ, q.	n ; t ; s.	ts, tc.	m, p.	l, l'.
	ɣt	ks		ɣl'
	lt	ɣs		tsl'
	nt	ns		
	tst			
	tct			

The Article.—It seems that nouns have two genders, masculine and feminine, which have separate articles.

qō hē'na, my father.	kō hē'na, my mother.
qō ō'tl'tēts, thy house.	kō hē'elōtsēts, thy canoe.
qō hā'maa, the tree.	

The plural article is the same for both genders :

hō tsitsqa'll'ē, my cousins.

In interrogative sentences other articles are used—qa for masculine, tca for feminine, qā for plural.

ɣō'ox qa hē'nēets ?—Where is thy father ?
 ɣō'ox tca hē'nēets ?—Where is thy mother ?
 ɣō'ox qa tētc'ukl'as ?—Where is my arrow ?
 ɣō'ox tca hē'elōɣul'ēs ?—Where is my canoe ?
 ɣō'ox qa taɣō'lɣulēs ?—Where is my axe ?
 ɣō'ox tca ɣuē'lēs'ēts ?—Where is thy knife ?
 ātc'ēs qa hā'acētēts ?—What have you bought ?
 ɣō'ox qā ō'tl'l'ē ?—Where are my houses ?
 ɣō'ox qā tsilō'lɣl'ēs ?—Where are my canoes ?

The Noun.—It appears from the examples given above that the noun has two genders. It is of interest to note that pronominal gender, by means of which male and female are distinguished, is found in all Salishan dialects spoken west of the Cascade range and on the coast of British Columbia, while real gender occurs in all dialects of the Chinook.

The plural is, more properly speaking, a collective, but is frequently used in a way similar to our plural, namely, when the collective and plural ideas nearly coincide. The difference between the two is, however, brought out clearly in the following instance :

ē'sa-i (1) tc'ā'l'ai (2) tca'qul' (3)—many (1) stones are (2) on the beach (3).

l'ē'sai tc'ā'tc'al'a—a heap of stones.

The collective is formed in a variety of ways :

(1) By the prefix *ts* with the first vowel of the stem :

Singular.	Collective.	
ha'maa	tsa'hamaa	tree.
tsu'qot	tsitsu'qot	lake.
a'māas	tsaa'māas	grandparent.
hēlō'lexl'	tsilō'lexl'	canoe.

(2) By reduplication :

hau'atska	hahau'atska	deer.
quē'ltēm	qaquē'ltēm	European (borrowed from
ɣu'ēlēs	ɣuɣu'ēlēs	knife. [Clallam].
tē'el'lāas	tētēel'a'as	husband.

(3) By diæresis :

tcā'atcis'is	tcāatcā'is'is	my mother's sister.
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(4) By amplification of the stem according to unknown rules ; frequently with the infix *ts* :

koō'tlis	kutsi'tlqaas	my wife.
qā'aqāas	qat _φ 'ēqāas	my sister's husband.
taɣō'olɣul'	tatsɣō'olɣul'	axe.
ēt _φ 'ē'ɣaa	ōot!'ō'qɣaa	house.

(5) From distinct stems :

ts'ē'ɣatcil'	kō'la	dead.
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A few nominal suffixes (nouns as used in compounds) form plurals:

-ātcēt, plural: -ts'ā'it, blanket; pēcā'tcēt, white blanket;
tlakuats'ā'it, two blankets.

-tē'ia, plural: -ta, day; kuētē'ia, one day; mē'ēsta, four days.

-χtsēl, plural: -aχal, person in canoe.

Numerals.—

Counting.	Persons.	Canoes.	Fathoms.	Dogs or horses.	Persons in canoe.	
1	kuē'l'	koā'l'	kuē'ēkō	kē'l'ōlō	kuē'ēns	kuē'χtsēl
2	l'a'kua	l'a'wuxas	l'a'kuakū	l'a'kuēlō	l'a'kuāns	l'a'waxaχal
3	χoā'lē	χoa'l'tsō	χoa'lakū	χolē'lō	χoalā'ns	χoā'lētsaχal
4	mē'ēs	mē'ēs	mē'ēskō	mē'ēsa'lō	mē'ēsēns	mē'ēsaxal
5	tcā'aa	tcā'aa	tcā'aakū		tcā'aans	
6	tsē'l'as	tsē'l'as	tsē'l'askū		tsē'l'āsēns	
7	ts!χō'olkoant		ts!χō'olkoantkō		ts!χō'olχoantēns	
8	χ!'oa'yēkoant		χ!'oa'yēkoantkō			
9	kuē'l'tsqal		kuē'tsqalkō			
10	tcl'ē'taa		tcl'ētā'akū			
11	tcl'ē'taa qsf	kuē'l'				
20	koā'l'atstci					
30	χoalā'koanlo					
40	mē'ēskoanlō, (etc., up to)					
100	tcl'ē'tkoanlō					

The numerals seven, eight, and ten mean the first, second, and fourth fingers, respectively. Nine is derived from one, meaning, probably, ten less one; twenty is one man, thus indicating the vigesimal origin of the numerical system. It appears from the above list that numerals may be compounded with any of the innumerable nominal suffixes.

kuē'ēsēlō, once.

l'a'kuasēlō, twice.

Personal Pronouns.—

lā'al', I.

tsē'ia, thou.

ō'ētco, he.

mā'al', we.

tsē'ial', you.

? they.

Possessive Pronouns.—

tā'ēlaai—it is mine.

hēlēlē'ets'ē—it is thine.

(hēlēlē'ets'ai o'otco—that is his.)

(hēlēlēts'ai o'uksō—that is hers.)

mā'al'ōoi—it is ours.

hēlēlēsti'tcē—it is yours.

hēlēlētcā'as—it is theirs.

-ēs, my. -ēts, thy. -qēs, his. -tcuks, her.
-t_çu_ç, our. -stētç, your. -tcāas, their.

For instance : ta_çō'l_çul'ēs—my axe. hē'nēētçuks—her father.
hē'nēt_çu_ç—our father.

Intransitive Verb.—

	Singular.	Plural.
1st person,	-la, -lē	-ma
2d “	-ēts	-ētçsāl'
3d “ masc.,	-tētç, -ē	} -aē
3d “ fem.,	-uks	

For instance :—from kuētsā'at, sick :

kuētsā'atēla—I am sick. kuētsā'ataē—they are sick.

Tenses are formed by a series of affixes, which are placed following the stem of the verb and preceding the pronominal suffix. There are a great many of these suffixes, but I am sure of the meaning of the following only : -kuē, future ; -tsī, perfect ; -lēm, imperfect (see following page, transitive verb).

çōtcilekuē'la—I shall drink.

takuil'tsē'la (1) kuē'tsaatāis (2)—yesterday I have been (1) sick (2).

Interrogative :

kuētsā'atal'ē—am I sick ?

kuētsā'atatts—art thou sick ?

kuētsā'at'ē—is he sick ?

kuētsā'atātētçl'—are you sick ?

kuētsā'at'aē—are they sick ?

Negative :

	Singular.
1st person,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'l'ē.
2d “	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tētç!
3d “ masc.,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tētca'as.
3d “ fem.,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tētçtcuks.

Plural.

1st person,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tē't _ç u _ç .
2d “	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tētçtçtc.
3d “	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tētca'as.

It appears that the endings of the negative coincide closely with the possessive pronouns, while those of the indicative agree with the personal pronoun.

Transitive Verb.—

I have only an imperfect record of the forms of the transitive verb with incorporated pronominal object. The most striking peculiarity of these forms is the separation of pronominal subject and object by the temporal character. In the following table = signifies the stem of the verb, — the temporal character :

me.	thee.	him.	her.
I	=q—la	= —laē	= —layuks
thou=l—tsa		= —tsaaē	= —tsayuks
he =ē—la	=ē—tsa		
we	=q—ma	= —maē	= —mayuks
us.	you.		them.
I	=q—lā'al'ōl'		= —layaē
thou=lao—tsa			= —tsāēyaē
he =ē —ma	=ē —tsā'al'ōl'		
we	=q—mā'al'ōl'		= —ma'yaē

For instance :—*aēltsē'squkuē'la*, I feed thee. *tēpātēlaolē'mtsa*, thou hast vanquished us. *āēltsēsqukuē'ma*, we feed thee.

Suffixes which are used for forming derivations are placed in the same position in which the temporal characters are found. For instance, with *-t!at*, which forms the desiderative :—*tāxuksēlot!a't-lēma*, he wants to strike us (from *tāx-*, to strike).

The reflexive is formed by the suffix *-itqa* :—*qoats!atcitqala*, I wash my hands (*qoats-*, washing ; *-t!atc*, hand ; *-itqa*, reflexive ; *-la*, I).

When the verb is accompanied by an adverb, the latter is inflected, while the verb remains unchanged. A frequentative is formed by amplification of the verbal stem.

Formation of Words.—

A great number of nouns are found in two forms, independent and dependent, the latter being used for the formation of compounds. When numerals, adjectives, verbs, or other nouns are connected with such nouns, the dependent form must be used. It seems that all these dependent forms are suffixed. For instance: *-spa*, fire ; *kuē'espera*, one fire ; *mā'tcaspa*, a great fire ; *lā'uspēla*, to pour water into fire.

It seems that in many cases there is no traceable connection between the dependent and independent forms of the noun.

	Independent.	In compounds.	
back	ʔ!ʼēʼenōkoat	-ʔ!ʼēnuk	tʼcāʼapʔ!ʼēnukoatqala, I warm my back.
belly	ʔaʼmātcit	-ēʼtcē	kuaxʔēʼtcē, scar on belly.
breast	tamētsaʼmlʼit	-tsamlʼō	t!ʼēttsaʼmlʼōt, half fathom, viz., middle of breast.
blanket	pēʼestsʼatc	-atcēt	tcenāʼnōʔatcēt, dog-hair blanket.
canoe	hēʼlōlaʔ!ʼ	-kō	mēʼēskō, four canoes.
day	————	sing. -tēʼia plur. -ta	lʼākuata, two days.
dollar		-tcēʼsīt	lʼakuatcēʼsīt, two dollars.
domestic animal (dog and horse)		-ans	kutsāʼpatans, bitch, mare.
ear	sislʼālt	t!ʼa	ʔuxʔyēt!ʼāʼa, deaf.
face	kulʼōʼʔulʼ	-lʼō,-l	kuāʔ!ʼō, scar on face; ʔoats-litqala, I wash my face.
finger	————	ʼ-koanu	ʔ!ʼauʼikoanut, finger-ring.
fire	nēʼia	-spa	māʼttcaspa, a great fire.
foot	láakut	-anqō	kōlānqō, lame.
hand	tʼatct	-tʼatc	ʔ!ʼautʼátct, bracelet.
head	qaʼnēt	-tʼēʔ! -t!ʼēt	cāʼactʼēʔ!, bald. tōʼpt!ʼēt, head-ring; = “tied around head.”
house	ot!ʼē	-tēʼtcō	alētutētcōʼola, I build a house.
language	————	-tʔulō	Bostontʔulō, English.
mind	————	-ēqatc	lʼ!ōmēʼqatc, courageous = strong-minded.
moon	ts!ētsuʼʔ!ʼa	-t!ʼelʼōʼa	kuāʔt!ʼēlʼōʼa, half moon.
mouth	ʔōʼotō	-ʔ!ʼō	tsāuqōāʔ!ʼō, mouth bleeds.
neck	ʔ!ʼamōʼʔs	-ʔōs	pāʼatēʔōs, collar bone.
nose	sēmōʼsēt	-ōs	lʼōʔ!ʼōsēt, perforation of nose.
point	————	-t!ʼēʔoa	lux!ʼut!ʼēʼʔoala, I cut off point.
river	ʔuʼmāa	-atsit	māʼttcatsit, large river.
trail	mōʼʔlunt	-lʼēmēt	kuēlʼēʼmēt, one trail.
tree	hámaa	-tcat -pat	kuēʼetcat, one tree. ʔāʼēlʼtcatpat, maple; = “paddle tree.”

water	tsl'õ'ua	-sëna	tcitc'ë'sënaala, I jump into water.
to look	————	-al'së	ts'ëlëkoã'l'së, looking up.
made with	————	-tcil'	ta'xstatcil', chips, "made with axe."
instrument	————	-xul'	koã'atxul', whetstone;="instrument for sharpening."

THE MASARWA OF THE KALAHARI DESERT, SOUTH AFRICA.—“These Bushmen bear no sort of resemblance to the small Chinese-like Hottentot Bushmen of the old Cape Colony. As a rule, they stand from five feet four inches to five feet six inches in height, and their skins are of a deep red brown. Their language is burdened with an extraordinary succession of clicks, often sounding like a querulous grumble, and is apparently of a very primitive order. Their weapons are assegais and small bows, shooting tiny poisoned arrows. With these light reed arrows, tipped with bone and smeared with the poison of the N'gwa caterpillar or of snakes and euphorbia, they will bring down even the tall giraffe. To do this, however, they have to steal up and pierce this animal beneath the legs, in the thinnest part of its tough hide, and even then they often have to follow their quarry four or five days before the poison completes its work on so huge a frame. * * * As a rule, we found these people thin and poorly nourished, and their legs and arms were often mere sticks. * * * Their skin cloaks are small and barely reach to their middles, and, from lying close to the fire at night, they burn their legs in a dreadful manner. I have seen a great many Masarwas, but I never yet saw one who had not his or her legs either scarred with sores or burnt perfectly raw from this cause.—*H. A. Bryden, in Longman's Magazine for September, 1891.*

KITES IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS.—Hugo Zöllner has observed that the natives of Bougainville Island, where they seem to be especially fond of playthings, make and fly kites, a thing which he does not remember to have seen among any other savage people. These kites are made of bast and leaves.—*Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1891, No. 1.*