

MAQLAQSYALANK HEMYEEGA

by

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DEDICATION

To *maqlaqs* everywhere.

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Abstract:

This master's thesis presents language community information, a descriptive grammatical sketch and analysis of structures in *maqlaqsyals* (Klamath-Modoc), a severely endangered isolate language traditionally spoken in present-day southern Oregon and northern California. The basis for this thesis is data from descriptive grammars from Gatschet (1890) and Barker (1964) as well as further linguistic and academic literature surrounding *maqlaqsyals*. This thesis is important because there is limited literature on *maqlaqsyals* that is accessible to the language community and this thesis fills the literature gap. This thesis is an example in practice of linguistic sovereignty. This thesis provides accessible linguistic resources written by an Indigenous community member asserting local control. Additionally, this thesis is crucial because children are no longer learning *maqlaqsyals* as a first language. Second language speakers must become more knowledgeable of language structure in order to converse with other speakers, setting a future environment in which children can be taught *maqlaqsyals* as a first language.

0. Introduction

A language family isolate, *maqlaqsyals* consists of two dialects spanning both sides of the present day southern Oregon-northern California border. *maqlaqsyals*¹ is considered to be dormant at present. At the time of this writing there are no remaining first language speakers. However, culture and language programs put into place by the tribal national government have focused on young learners who in turn maintain interest in gaining conversational skills in *maqlaqsyals*.

The two dialects of *maqlaqsyals* come from two tribes. The *?ewksiknii* ‘Klamath People’ is the colloquial name for the Klamath (northern dialect), who generally lived north of *?iWLaLLoon?a* (now known as Klamath Falls) in multiple autonomous villages around the Klamath Marsh, Upper Klamath Lake, Williamson River and Sprague River. The *moowat’aakkni* ‘Southern People’ is the colloquial name for the Modoc (southern dialect), who generally lived south of *?iWLaLLoon?a* in multiple autonomous villages along Tule Lake, Lower Klamath Lake, Clear Lake and Lost River. Today, tribal citizens live in a diasporic situation with the highest concentrations of tribal members in the Oregon towns of Chiloquin (political headquarters), Klamath Falls and Portland.

Gatschet (1890) and Barker (1963a; 1963b; 1964) are the primary texts used for linguistic data. Data gained beyond Gatschet and Barker includes academic writings that have furthered these two main sources.

The first two sections of this thesis provide a brief overview of the status of the language and historical information pertaining to the *maqlaqsyals* language community.

¹ As will be discussed in sections 3 and 4, the capitalization of letters in the language represents a quality of sound represented. As a result, if words in *maqlaqsyals* are the initial word of a clause, they may not be capitalized per the revised orthography.

This is intended to help the reader gain an appreciation for the complexities of linguistic vitality, with a historical basis for contextualization.

The third section presents the historical and present issues surrounding *maqlaqsyals* orthography. The orthographical development process has continued for 125 years, since the first documentation efforts by Gatschet (1890). Barker (1963a; 1963b; 1964) and the Klamath Tribes (1999) have both made changes in the implementation of orthography for consistency (Barker 1963a) and reproduction (Klamath Tribes 1999). This thesis includes a revision to the orthography that addresses issues of literacy experienced by language learners of tribal language classes.

The following seven sections give an overview of *maqlaqsyals* so the reader may appreciate the inaccessibility presented in describing the complexities of the language by linguists. The majority of the descriptive work done by Gatschet (1890) and Barker (1964) are considered ‘outdated and arcane’ (Underriner 2002: 6). Follow up to these works in academia have brought the descriptive work up to date in some cases, however the majority is still written in an arcane manner with no accountability to the language community. It is the author’s intent to analyze *maqlaqsyals* linguistics (which is currently quite inaccessible), and reframe and update linguistic materials to present practical metalinguistic knowledge for the language community. In doing so, this thesis takes first steps to move the role of linguistics in language reclamation, revitalization and reinvigoration from theory to praxis in the final product (presented in Appendix A).

1. Language Information

The *maqlaqsyals* language (Klamath-Modoc) is a family isolate. There are two dialects – neither of which is being learned as a first language. Largely affected by colonial linguicide policies of American colonization and forced assimilation, *maqlaqsyals* is mostly limited to significant tribal events. This places *maqlaqsyals* in a state of ‘dormancy’. Two descriptive grammars have been furthered through academic writing. This background provides the foundation to understand the holistic situation of *maqlaqsyals* ‘language of the people’ and the *maqlaqs* ‘people’ that make up the language community.

1.1. Language Family

The *maqlaqsyals* language, with its two dialects spoken by the Klamath and Modoc Tribes of southern Oregon and northern California, is a language family isolate some believe should be included in the Plateau Penutian phylum (Aoki 1963). The closest related languages are others of the Plateau Penutian Phylum and those of Californian Penutian (Aoki 1963, Shipley 1966).

1.2. Dialects

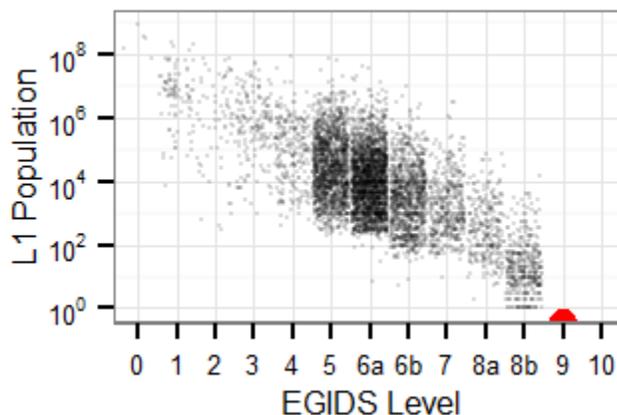
There are two different dialects of *maqlaqsyals*. The two dialects originate from the Klamath Tribe of the northern territories and the Modoc of the southern territories (Stern 1966). There are few major differences though there is a word that distinguishes an individual when one speaks with a Modoc dialect (Barker 1963b). This furthers the author’s purposes for terming the language as *maqlaqsyals* ‘language of the people’. This is evident from the phrase *maqlaqsyalank hemkanga* ‘talking Indian’ (lit. talks in the

language of the people) as the author’s great-grandmother and guests put it (p.c. Kathleen Hill 2015).

1.3. Status of Language

maqlaqsyals is considered by *Ethnologue* to be a dormant language, rated at the level of 9 on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Lewis, Paul, Simons and Fennig 2015). The concern that *Ethnologue* focuses on is the need for a mechanism outside the home to be developed (Lewis et al. 2015). This is because the fluency in *maqlaqsyals* lies only among the elderly, making common practices of intergenerational transmission difficult (Lewis et al. 2015). The situation of *maqlaqsyals* is compared with languages from around the world in (1) below.

(1) EGIDS Level of *maqlaqsyals* (Lewis et al. 2015)



The large dot immediately above 9 on the scale expresses the relations of the community population (vertical axis) and the level of development/endangerment (horizontal axis) (Lewis et al. 2015). The website mentions the observation this level of language ‘serves as reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency’ (Lewis et al. 2015).

1.3.1. Contexts of Use

Currently, *maqlaqsyals* language use is largely limited to times of significant event occurrence. These include prayers and invocations for gatherings in the community, sweat lodge, rituals and funerals. These events tend to be solemn and so seem to color the ways in which language is utilized to cement the bond of the people.

1.3.2. Viability

Children no longer learn *maqlaqsyals* as their first language. This is due in part to the social and economic pressures faced by the Tribes as part of colonization, assimilationist practices of the boarding school era, and the federal policy of Termination (Hill 1985). The *maqlaqsyals* language was spoken publicly in some Tribal government functions until the mid-20th century. This changed with the processes described by Zuckermann as “glottophagy” and “linguicide” (Zuckermann & Monaghan 2012).

The policies of relocation and termination led many tribal members to immigrate to larger cities in Oregon and the San Francisco Bay area in search of work. There was also high tension in the home region between Euro-Americans and Tribal members that permeated throughout the community to the point of harassment. As an example, the author’s grandfather, who had experienced some brushes with the law, was threatened by local policemen that they would come for his family if he did not leave town. As a result, he immediately left for Portland, where he resided for the next twenty years.

The use of *maqlaqsyals* was banned in boarding schools and faded in the community as Tribal members became dependent on the nonIndian community (Epps 2001). The social and economic upheaval created by the termination of the Klamath Tribes’ federal recognition in the 1950s led to a further decline in language use as scores

of elders passed on. There is little information on work in regard to language in the termination era, during which social and cultural survival was a priority, followed by the effort to restore federal recognition and preserve Treaty rights in spite of the loss of the Klamath Tribes' 862,000 acre reservation (Ullman 2010).

Since the restoration of federal recognition in 1986, there has been significant interest in language and cultural revitalization (Dupris, Hill & Hill 1988). Tribal members and staff have produced language learning materials both alone and in collaboration with linguists and local schools in an attempt to share some of the knowledge that was traditionally passed on through the oral tradition.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, language learning programs for adults included a master-apprentice program at the University of Oregon under Tribal elder Neeva Eggsman, with the support and supervision of linguist Janne Underriner. This system developed a few speakers who were left to practice and teach. The author has only been able to identify one of Neeva's students who continues to be engaged in efforts to teach the language to school children and through once-a-week language classes at the Tribal office. Despite this lack of resources, many Tribal members know a few basic words in Klamath, primarily simple greetings.

1.4. Loan Words

There are many loan words in *maqlaqsyals*. Such words have come into use primarily for items and activities for which there were no words in the indigenous language. A great many words came from interactions with other tribes, as well as exposure to Euro-American items and practices distributed throughout trade networks. Early loan words came from intertribal interactions and the use of Chinook Jargon, a pidgin trade language

that ranged throughout Cascadia, Alaska and the Yukon Territory. Chinook Jargon draws heavily upon the Chinook, Chehalis and Nootka languages, filling in some concepts with Indo-European languages such as French and English (Grant 1996).

1.5. Previous Research

The *maqlaqsyals* language has long been a subject of interest to ethnographers and linguists alike. The first descriptive grammar of the language was written by Swiss ethnographer Albert S. Gatschet in the first ethnography developed for the Bureau of American Ethnology (Gatschet 1890). Though the work done is imperfect in terms of its linguistic accuracy, it was the first and last grammar written by a speaker (though L2) of the language. Gatschet's materials have been a primary source used by tribal members hoping to study the language independently.

The next descriptive grammar was produced by Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman (born Phillip Barker) for purposes of a dissertation for a degree from the University of California Berkeley. The grammar (Barker 1964) is one of three important texts developed in unison. The other texts include a collection of traditional stories (Barker 1963a) and a dictionary (Barker 1963b). Although the text states in its introduction that it was never intended to be used for pedagogical purposes and is only an introduction to the language, it has been the standard from which all further studies have stemmed. Linguists that specialize in *maqlaqsyals* believe this text to be more accurate than Gatschet's materials and have based their own work on it, developing materials and lessons utilized in recent Klamath language revitalization efforts (Underriner 1997). Although these materials have filled a void, tribal citizens who wish to further understand the language are frustrated because Barker's grammar is an inaccessible read. As a Klamath language

linguist once told the author: one needs to hold a doctorate in linguistics to be able to understand it (p.c. Scott DeLancey 2014). This has caused many tribal members who are not participating in programs with linguist-developed materials to turn to Gatschet's (1890a; 1890b) works. Confusion arises with the different orthographies, discouraging many potential speakers.

2. Language Community Information

The language community of *maqlaqsyals* are *maqlaqs* ‘citizens of the Klamath Tribes’. Historically self-sufficient, colonial practices and assimilationist policies resulted in dramatic and negative changes in tribal national socioeconomics. The strong participant democratic governmental structure has developed political fortitude from Termination and the process in Restoration of federal recognition. As a result, the slowly growing stability of the Klamath Tribes allows for culture/language development programs.

2.1. Tribal History

The Klamath Tribes is a tribal nation, analogous to a nation-state consisting of three (3) distinct Tribes. These Tribes are the Klamath, Modoc and Yahooskin Paiute. This union was brought about through a treaty entered into by the United States and the three tribes in 1864. Then known as the Klamath Indian Tribe of Oregon, the tribal nation entered the reservation era (Treaty 1864).

Prior to Euro-American contact, the tribes had developed an extensive trade network and industrious work ethic, including practices consistent with economic self-sufficiency (Klamath Trail 2012). Vocational training at the Klamath Agency and various boarding schools built on those traditional values, resulting in successful ranching operations and a widely distributed and skilled workforce. The tribes as a whole also benefitted from a valuable reservation timber economy (Stern 1966).

The Klamath Tribes economic success continued through the first half of the 20th century, until the United States Congress passed and implemented the failed policy of

termination (Canby 1981). The termination policy effectively destroyed the economy of the Klamath tribal nation, liquidating its land base while simultaneously ending the government-to-government relationship and denying the recognition of tribal citizens. This sent the Klamath Tribes into an economic slump that has yet to be overcome. Since the restoration of federal recognition in 1986, the Klamath Tribes have begun to heal, and some tribal citizens have attained economic self-sufficiency. Employment in tribal administration and health programs, and in a small tribal casino and travel center, has contributed to economic development, but the self-sufficiency of the Klamath Tribes falls far short of the economic self-sufficiency attained prior to termination.

2.2. Tribal Government

The Klamath Tribes are governed by the General Council, a body composed of all qualified voters of the Klamath Tribes (Constitution 2013). This ensures a strong form of participatory democracy. Qualifying voters include enrolled citizens of the Klamath Tribes who are 18 years of age or older. The General Council convenes quarterly meetings unless the need for a “Special General Council” is determined to be needed to address specific issues. The General Council has the authority to make all final decisions in regard to policy, land use, constitutional amendments and citizenship requirements.

Ten (10) General Council members are elected to take on the leadership roles of the Tribal Council for terms of 3 years (Constitution 2013). The Tribal Council consists of the Chair, Vice-Chair, Secretary, and Treasurer, and six At-Large Tribal Council Members. The Tribal Council serves in the capacity of an executive committee and is charged with supervision of the day-to-day business of the Klamath Tribes. The Tribal Council is also delegated the authority to negotiate with Federal, State and local

governments, as well as other external entities, on behalf of the Klamath Tribes. All major decisions made by the Tribal Council are subject to review (and potential reversal) by the General Council.

2.3. Sociolinguistic Situation

maqlaqsyals continues to be a valued aspect of Tribal culture and knowledge. The last documented fluent speaker of the language, Neva Eggsman (Modoc) passed away at the age of 95 in 2003 (Johansen 2007). At this time, there are fewer than ten learners (mostly male) with a fair share of language knowledge, but few could be said to have command over the language.

The Klamath Tribal government has supported attempts to develop speakers. At this time, the Culture and Heritage Department houses many audio recording of fluent speakers conversing and telling stories. These resources, among other support made possible through tribal administration, aids a single language teacher upon whom much pressure is placed to bring back the language. This individual is responsible for language classes for those in primary and secondary school, adult language classes and language instruction at an annual culture camp held every summer for tribal youth.

Each public primary and secondary school in Klamath Falls and Chiloquin has classes taught by this individual (p.c. Harold Wright 2014). This is no easy task, as the classes range from K-12 in level. Each class must be set up for the level of ability and comprehension, with appropriate materials, while also documenting progress in command over the language. This would not appear to be a sustainable system at the rate which classes are set. There is only one 50-minute class per grade level per week at over

5 different schools. This is nowhere near the time that must be dedicated if language is going to make a strong comeback in the upcoming generation.

Outside of the public school system, there are two classes held for adult language learners, one each at the Klamath Tribal Administration building in Chiloquin and the Klamath Tribal Health Services building in Klamath Falls. These classes are taught after the end of the work day by the same teacher who teaches in the schools, and consist of one class a week for 1-2 hours. While significantly more than the rate afforded the public school system, the issue remains that these classes do not provide enough repetition to be able to ensure that progress is made from week to week.

3. Orthography

This chapter provides the reader with a sense of the different *maqlaqsyals* orthographies that have been developed over the course of nearly 125 years. The following sections give a brief description of the development of each writing system and the changes made from each publication to the present. The different orthographies are presented in a manner that both entails the sounds of traditional *maqlaqsyals* and presents the sounds in an accurate manner that will be employed throughout the remainder of this thesis.

3.1. Orthographic History & Development

As of this writing three previous orthographies have been written. Each system satisfies the needs of different entities, including the Bureau of American Ethnology (Gatschet 1890b:6-9), academia (Barker 1963b:12-14) and early attempts at language revitalization (Underriner 1997:18-19). The orthography developed by Underriner and the Klamath Tribes is described in the Master-Apprentice Program as being much easier to use in common writing applications/word processors (Underriner 1997). It is currently the official orthography in use for language revitalization curriculum, most recently published in the Klamath Alphabet Book (Klamath Tribes 1999). This orthography serves as the basis for all official Tribal publications of *maqlaqsyals*, including the Klamath Tribes' homepage (Klamath Tribes 2015).

The present orthography does not properly describe the consonants. It is contradictory to Barker (Barker 1963b: 12-13) and represents the main points of focus in creating a clearer and more accurate orthography.

3.2. Albert S. Gatschet 1890 Orthography

Albert S. Gatschet was an ethnologist and linguist who worked with the Bureau of American Ethnology under the U.S. Geographical Survey to develop an ethnographic study of the Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Gatschet 1890a:vii).

Gatschet, who had authored multiple articles in a variety of languages starting as early as 1879, spent a great deal of time with *maqlaqs* (Gatschet 1890a: xiii). His “Alphabetic Notation” (Gatschet 1890a: 10-12) has variant writings of the same sounds and alternates often throughout the texts. Though the writing itself is considered by many to be more easily read due to its similarities to English, there are sometimes two variants of spelling for the same sounds (Underriner 1997:18). There are also a great many extra markings used in word formation that make it difficult to write on a word processor or computer (Underriner 1997:18).

A summary of Gatschet’s “List of Sounds Occurring in the Klamath Language” (Gatschet 1890:10-11) is presented below with the consonants in Table 1 below followed by the vowels in Table 2.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p b		t t' d		k g	<u>k</u> ɣ	
Nasal	m		n				
Fricative		v	s sh z				h χ
Affricate				tch dsh			
Approximant			l	y w			

Table 1. Gatschet (1890a) Consonant Inventory

As seen in the Table above, there are 22 consonants provided in Gatschet's inventory. Though his research remains one of the most extensive works conducted in the region, the inventory has certain flaws. For example, he included v, χ and z, which are not phonemes in *maqlaqsyals* (Barker 1964).

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ĩ	û	u ü
High-Mid	î ë	ê	o ö
Low-Mid	e ä		
Low		a	ä

Table 2. Gatschet (1890a) Vowel Inventory

The Table above includes the 14 vowels provided in Gatschet's inventory. Similarly to the consonant inventory the vowel inventory also has flaws, including the inclusion of nearly double the vowels including non-phonemes in *maqlaqsyals* (Barker 1964).

3.3. Phillip (M.A.R.) Barker 1963 Orthography

Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman Barker (born Phillip Barker) was a linguist who trained under Melville Jacobs at the University of Washington (Barker 1963a: v). During his graduate studies he attended the University of California, Berkeley where he wrote a dissertation on Klamath language, later publishing a grammar (Barker 1964) and dictionary (Barker 1963b) along with texts collected for analysis (Barker 1963a). These books have served as a cornerstone in *maqlaqsyals* linguistics, feeding years of syntactic study (Underriner 2002), phonological study (Park 2000) and language revitalization material (Underriner 1997). Barker's linguistic material is considered by academic linguists to be the most accurate representation of the *maqlaqsyals* language, correcting errors made by Gatschet (p.c., Scott DeLancey 2014).

Barker's elicited data from the 1950s include many audio recordings which have survived and copies are currently held in the Klamath Tribal Archives. These are used today to assist tribal members in learning the correct pronunciations of the sounds. Some of Barker's materials are published on the Klamath Tribe's website in the Language section (Klamath Tribes 2015).

The system developed by Barker to represent sounds is considered to be more consistent in spelling the *maqlaqsyals* language in a manner that reflects realities of the sounds. It includes a single letter for a single sound (Underriner 1997:18). Though quite

accurate, the sounds presented within the Pronunciation Key of the Dictionary show some noted inconsistency in the sounds of speakers at the time (Barker 1963b: 12-13).

A summary of Barker’s “Pronunciation Key” (Barker 1963b:12-13) is presented below, with the consonants in Table 3 followed by the vowels in Table 4.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p p' b	t t' d		k k' g	q q' G	ʔ
Nasal	m m' M	n n' N				
Fricative		s				h
Affricate			č j č'			
Approximant		l l' L	y y' Y w w' W			

Table 3. Barker (1963a) Consonant Inventory

Barker (1963a; 1963b; 1964) expanded on Gatschet’s work, including the development of a consistent orthography. The inconsistent (Anglicized) spelling of *maq̄laqs̄yals* became consistent with Barker’s alphabet, which focused on the phonemic and the morphophonemic (Barker 1964; 1963b).

	Front	Central	Back
High	i· i		o·
High-Mid			o
Low-Mid	e e·	a	
Low		a·	

Table 4. Barker (1963a) Vowel Inventory

In the development of his orthography, Barker's grammar (1964) indicates 8 phonemic vowels. This shifted the orthography of Gatschet's (1890) 18 represented vowels to 8 phonemic vowels, presented in the above Table (Barker 1964).

3.4. Klamath Tribes 1999 Orthography

The Klamath Tribes, in developing language revitalization curriculum such as the phrasebook *?ewksiknii?am hemkanks* 'Klamath Marsh People's Language', made alterations to Barker's orthography (Underriner 1997:18). This was largely to make the system easier to produce and read with less confusion as to what sound corresponded to which letter (Underriner 1997:18).

There are some issues with the ways in which the language has been typed, which unfortunately adds confusion for language learners. This is due to the misrepresentation of the glottalized sonorants in the new orthography (Underriner 1997:19). All of the glottalized consonants in Barker's orthography are presented by an apostrophe over the consonant (Barker 1963b:13). This was followed with a description of the way in which the consonant is articulated. The current orthography uses the apostrophe after the consonant to indicate the break in air though it does not take into consideration the fact that the glottalization of the sonorants occurs prior to the consonant (Barker 1963b:12). This was confusing for students in the Adult Language classes during the author's time as a Student Volunteer/Tutor for the Klamath Tribes. A summary of the present orthography (Klamath Tribes 1999) is presented below, with the consonants in Table 5 followed by the vowels in Table 6.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p p' b	t t' d		k k' g	q q' G	?
Nasal	m M 'm	n N n'				
Fricative		s				h
Affricate			č j č'			
Approximant		l L l'	y Y y' w W w'			

Table 5. Klamath Tribes (1999) Consonant Inventory

The current orthography does not change the intent of Barker's (1964) alphabet for *maqlaqsyals*. The shift to this orthography focuses on the reproduction of materials, utilizing the QWERTY keyboard layout (Underriner 1997). Diacritics used by Barker were difficult to implement (some are non-Unicode). As a result, the changes consist of:

- a. Capitalization of letters in *maqlaqsyals* represents the (voiceless-unaspirated)².
- b. The question mark represents a glottal stop as well as punctuation for interrogative clauses.
- c. An apostrophe is utilized for pre-glottal consonants and ejectives.

(Klamath Tribes 1999)

²Recall that sentences in *maqlaqsyals* do not require capitalization at the beginning of a sentence.

	Front	Central	Back
High	ii i		oo
High-Mid			o
Low-Mid	e ee	a	
Low		aa	

Table 6. Klamath Tribes (1999) Vowel Inventory

In Table 6, the letters that Barker represented with a raised dot have been replaced by duplication of the initial letter.

3.5. 2015 Revision

The orthography proposed in this thesis seeks to continue in the vein of the Klamath Tribe's focus toward altering Barker's orthography in a fashion more accessible for materials production as well as ease of literacy (Underriner 1997:19).

The reason for changing the system comes from a common misunderstanding arising from the shift of the apostrophe to the right of sonorant consonants as it does the ejectives (Klamath Tribes 1999). This leads students to make attempts at pronouncing the glottalized sonorants in the same manner of the ejective in language courses. An ejective is uttered by producing the sound with the mouth while the glottis is shut (See section 4.0 for a detailed description). The glottalized sonorants (l', m', n', w', y') sound as though immediately preceded by a glottal stop (Barker 1963b: 12-14). The use of the apostrophe within the current Klamath orthography would be better suited to precede the sonorant consonants (i.e., 'l, 'm, 'n, 'w, 'y). It is through this change that the utterance of learners

of *maqlaqsyals* will be aided in understanding the glottalized sonorants. This is presented in Table 7. The vowels, which remain unchanged, are presented in Table 8.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p p' b	t t' d		k k' g	q q' G	ʔ
Nasal	m M 'm	n N 'n				
Fricative		s				h
Affricate			c c' j			
Approximant		l L 'l	y 'y Y w 'w W			

Table 7. Revised (2015) Consonant Inventory

The revision of the orthography in Table 6 presents the shift of an apostrophe (direction of apostrophe bears no significance) from the right to the left of the pre-glottal consonants. Notice in Table 8 there are no changes made to the vowels in the revision.

	Front	Central	Back
High	ii i		oo
High-Mid			o
Low-Mid	e ee	a	
Low		aa	

Table 8. Revised (2015) Vowel Inventory

The changes made to the current orthography draw from Barker's descriptions of the sounds (Barker 1963b:12-14) and implements the majority of the changes presented in the current orthography (Klamath Tribes 1999). An exception is made in regard to the

position of the apostrophe in glottalized sonorants. This is to differentiate the precedence of the stop in these consonants from the ejective stop occurring in glottalized obstruents. To summarize the varying systems and their differences, the varying orthographies are listed in the columns below, chronologically from left to right in Table 9.

Table 9. Chronological Revisions to *maqlaqsyals* Orthography

Gatschet 1890	Barker 1964	Klamath Tribes 1999	Revised Orthography 2015
—	?	?	?
a	a	a	a
ā	a·	aa	aa
â	—	—	—
ä	—	—	—
b	b	b	b
tch	c	c	c
—	c'	c'	c'
d	d	d	d
e	e	e	e
ě	e·	ee	ee
ē	—	—	—
g	g	g	g
ġ	g·	G	G
h	h	h	h
i	i	i	i
ī	i·	ii	ii
î	—	—	—
dsh	j	j	j
k	k	k	k
<u>k</u>	q	q	q
—	k'	k'	k'
χ	—	—	—
l	L	l	l
—	l'	l'	‘l
—	L	L	L
m	m	m	m
—	m'	m'	‘m
—	M	M	M

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4. Sound System

The *maqlaqsyals* language has a total of 35 obstruents and sonorants, including four vowels of varying qualities (Barker 1963b:12-14). The sound system presented in this chapter utilizes the revised orthography. For each particular sound, there is one symbol.

The obstruent consonants, sounds created by the obstruction of airflow, are presented first. Order starts with the stops [*p, t, k, q, b, d, j*] and [*g*], followed by the affricates [*c, j*] and ending with the fricatives [*s*] and [*h*]. The order of the sounds corresponds to the place of articulation, starting from the bilabial (front of the mouth) and ending at the glottal (back of the throat).

Following the obstruents are the sonorant consonants, sounds created by a continuous airflow. Each set of sonorants are ordered by the manner of articulation starting with the nasals [*m*] and [*n*], followed by the approximants [*l, w* and *y*]. These are discussed starting from the bilabial and ending at the glottal.

Vowels are discussed next. Vowels are sounds produced with continuous voiced airflow. The high vowels are presented first, then the low vowels. The diphthongs combinations of vowels and approximants that act as semivowels are also presented

4.1. Obstruent Consonants

The obstruent consonants of *maqlaqsyals* consist of stops, affricates and fricatives (Barker 1963b: 12-14). Stops consist of unaspirated, aspirated and ejective variations (Underriner 2000). Examples are provided in English where possible. There are two affricates in *maqlaqsyals* that are similar to the stops in the language. Barker groups these together (1963b: 12). Next presented are the fricatives, discussed further in the

appropriate subsection. Following the fricatives, obstruent consonant clusters are discussed (i.e. [k^htk], [c^hw], etc.) briefly.

4.1.1. Stops

Stops, also known as plosives, are sounds that are created from the complete obstruction and release of air in the mouth (Barker 1964b: 13). In *maqlaqsyals* there are four types of stops, consisting of unaspirated stops, aspirated stops, ejectives and the glottal stop (Underriner 2000:13-15). The plain stops – from the front of the mouth to the back of the mouth – are [p, t, k, q, b, d, g, G] and question mark [ʔ] (Barker 1964b: 12-13). Stops can be pronounced in different ways, such as the ejectives [p^h] and [q^h] (ibid: 12-13). These stops are described in detail below with examples in *maqlaqsyals* and comparable English examples where there exists one.

4.1.1.1. Unaspirated Stops

The unaspirated stops [b, d, g] and [G] are pronounced without a puff of air. If one were to light a match and say these sounds in front of it, the flame would flicker a little but would not be blown out. These sounds are similar to the Spanish pronunciations of [p, t, ch, g] as demonstrated in Table 9 (Underriner 2000: 13).

Letter	Spanish Parallel Gloss
p	disculpame 'Excuse me.'
t	pato 'duck'
c	chicano 'Chicano'
g	segundo 'Second'

Table 10. Spanish parallels in *maqlaqsyals*

The currently accepted *maqlaqsyals* Dictionary notes that traditionally these sounds are voiceless (without vibration of the vocal chords) between two consonants (Barker 1964b) but are voiced between vowels, which means the vocal folds vibrate as in English (Barker 1963b: 12-13). With the shift of first spoken language from *maqlaqsyals* to English, the unaspirated stops had become voiced similarly to English [b, d, g] by younger language speakers at the time of Barker's publication (Barker 1963b: 12-13). Equivalents to [b, d] and [g] in English can be found in consonant clusters. Examples that distinguish this difference between the unaspirated voiceless and aspirated voiced stops in English and their corresponding uses in *maqlaqsyals* are presented in Tables 11 and 12 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
b [voiceless]	<i>bis</i> ‘bile’	spin
b [voiced]	<i>s?abas</i> ‘sun’	bin
d [voiceless]	<i>dot</i> ‘tooth’	stint
d [voiced]	<i>dadaa</i> ‘when’	din
g [voiceless]	<i>gena</i> ‘goes’	skin
g [voiced]	<i>s?abyeega</i> ‘starts to tell’	go

Table 11. Unaspirated Stops (Barker 1964b: 12-13)

As seen in the Table 11 there are equivalent sounds in English for all of the *maqlaqsyals* sounds. There is one more letter to discuss [*G*]. This sound is a glottalized voiced uvular stop (Barker 1964b: 13) that one needs to become familiar with because there is no equivalent sound in English. This sound is presented in Table 12.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
G	<i>Gome</i> ‘cave’	N/A

Table 12. Glottalized Uvular Stop (Barker 1964b: 13)

Gatschet (1890) wrote that to pronounce this sound you retroflex your tongue, or “bending the tip of the tongue backward, resting it against the palate, and when in this position trying to pronounce g in gag, gamble, again” (Gatschet 1890b: 6). This is a helpful description to learners as a starting point, though this sound is later described as similar to Modern Persian’s ‘qaf’ with no mention of the use of the tongue (Barker 1963b:13).

4.1.1.2. Aspirated Stops

The letters [*p*, *t*, *k*, and *q*] are aspirated stops which are pronounced with a puff of air from the lungs. If you were to light a match and say these sounds in front of it, the flame would flicker much and would likely be blown out. These sounds are similar to the same letters in English (Underriner 2000: 14). Examples of these aspirated stops in both *maqlaqsyals* and English are presented in Table 13 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
p	<i>pec</i> 'foot'	pat
t	<i>toGi</i> 'horn'	tear
k	<i>kay</i> 'rabbit'	cat

Table 13. Aspirated stops (Barker 1964b: 12)

As seen in Table 13 there are equivalent sounds in English for all the above sounds. There is one more letter to discuss [*q*]. This sound is a glottalized voiceless uvular stop that is like [*k*] but is further back in the mouth (Barker 1964b: 13). It requires practice to pronounce it. This sound is presented in Table 14.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
q	qcool 'star'	N/A

Table 14. Glottalized Voiceless Uvular Stop (Barker 1964b: 13)

Gatschet wrote that to pronounce this sound you can retroflex your tongue, or “bending the tip of the tongue backward, holding it against the palate, and then trying to pronounce English [*k*, *c*] in kindness, killing, cool, craft” (Gatschet 1890b: 7). This description is a great starting point for learning [*q*] and is described as similar to Classical

Persian’s ‘qaf’ though, like [G], there is no mention of the use of the tongue (Barker 1963b: 13).

4.1.1.3. Ejectives

Stops followed by an apostrophe [*p’*, *t’*, *k’*, *q’*] are non-pulmonic, or pronounced by a puff of air without releasing air from the lungs or while holding your breath. This results in producing what is described as “having a popping sound” (Underriner 2000: 15). If you were to light a match and say these sounds in front of it, the flame would not likely be blown out as the air is only forced from the mouth. These sounds do not occur in spoken English, but they are familiar to English speakers in the form of beat boxing, or vocal percussion. Examples of [*p’*, *t’*, *k’*] and [*q’*] in both *maqlaqsyals* and similar percussion sounds are presented in Table 15 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	Vocal Percussion ³ (Drum Set)
p’	<i>p’oosis</i> ‘cat’	Muted Bass Drum {b}
t’	<i>t’at’aksni</i> ‘children’	Closed Hi-hat {t}
k’	<i>pk’isap</i> ‘mother’	Rim-shot {k}
q’	<i>q’ay</i> ‘no’	N/A

Table 15. Ejective Stops (Barker 1964b: 13)

As seen in Table 15, there are equivalent sounds in the vocal percussions of beatboxing for all ejectives but [*q’*]. This letter presents the ejective variation of a glottalized voiceless uvular stop *q* that you must practice to say correctly.

³ All ejectives are compared to Vocal Percussion (beatboxing). For further clarification, see Standard Beatboxing Notation (SBN) developed by Splinter & Tyte (2002) at <http://www.humanbeatbox.com/article/standard-beatbox-notation-sbn/>

4.1.1.4. Glottal Stop

The question mark [ʔ] is used for the glottal stop, which is produced by a sudden shutting of the glottis, or a sudden stop of airflow and vocal cord vibration. The glottal stop precedes vowels. A glottal stop is in English with the interjection ‘uh-oh.’ An example of the glottal stop [ʔ] is presented in Table 16 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
ʔ	<i>kolʔa</i> ‘sp. of seagull’	mitten

Table 16. Glottal Stop (Barker 1964b: 13)

4.1.2. Affricates

Affricates are obstruents that initially stop airflow then release the built up pressure from the airflow as a fricative. *maqlaqsyals* has 3 affricates [ʃ, ʧ, ʨ] that can be unaspirated, aspirated and ejective.

4.1.2.1. Unaspirated Affricate

[ʃ] is the unaspirated affricate which is pronounced without a puff of air. Much like the unaspirated stops, if you were to light a match and say these sounds in front of it, the flame would flicker little and would not be blown out. In the currently accepted *maqlaqsyals* Dictionary, it is noted that traditionally this sound is made as voiceless unless occurring between vowels, in which case [ʃ] sounds like English [j] (Barker 1963b: 12-13). With the shift of language from *maqlaqsyals* to English, younger speakers had voiced the unaspirated affricate similarly to English [j] (Barker 1963b: 12-13).

Equivalents to [j] in English can be found in certain consonant clusters. An example is presented in Table 17 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
j	<i>jeGle</i> 'blood'	strange

Table 17. Unaspirated Affricate (Barker 1964b: 12)

4.1.2.2. Aspirated Affricate

[c] the aspirated affricate is similar to English [ch]. Much like the aspirated stop, if you were to light a match and say these sounds in front of it, the flame would flicker and would likely be blown out. [c] is pronounced in the postalveolar region and corresponds with [ch] as in 'Chuck' in English. An example of [c] in both *maqlaqsyals* and English is presented in Table 18 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
c	<i>Geweis</i> 'wolf'	chat

Table 18. Aspirated Affricate (Barker 1964: 12)

4.1.2.3 Ejective Affricate

[c'] is non-pulmonic, which is pronounced with air stored in your mouth while holding your breath, similarly to the ejective stops. This pronunciation results in what is described as "having a popping sound" (Underriner 2000: 15). If you were to light a match and say this sound in front of it, the flame would not likely be blown out as the air is only forced from the mouth. [c'] does not occur in spoken English, but like the other ejectives, is familiar to English speakers in the form of beat boxing, or vocal percussion.

An example of [c'] in both *maqlaqsyals* and its corresponding percussion sound is presented in Table 19 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	Vocal Percussion (Drum Set)
c'	c'waam 'suckerfish'	N/A

Table 19. Ejective Affricate (Barker 1964b: 13)

4.1.3. Fricatives

Fricatives are obstruents that constrict airflow through the placement of two articulators into close proximity with each other. In *maqlaqsyals*, there are two fricatives – *s* and *h* – one of which is sometimes paired with a glottal stop (Underriner 2000:15). These fricatives are produced from two places in the mouth, the alveolar ridge and the glottal region.

4.1.3.1. Alveolar Fricative

[s] is produced by the forcing of air through a narrow passage created by curling of the tongue in a lengthwise manner, directing air through the gap between the tongue and the alveolar ridge. Traditionally [s] is produced more close to [sh] in English, however the shift of language from *maqlaqsyals* to English led [s] to become voiced similarly to English [s] by younger language speakers (Barker 1963b: 12-13). This sound sometimes comes paired with a glottal stop [ʔ] and has no corresponding sound combination in English (Underriner 2000: 15). An example of [s] in both *maqlaqsyals* and English is presented in Table 20 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
s	<i>som</i> 'mouth'	show

Table 20. Alveolar Fricative (Barker 1964b: 14)

4.1.3.2. Glottal Fricative

[*h*] is produced by way of a stream of air through the passage between the soft palate and the back of the tongue. *h* is similar to English [h] as in 'hot' (Underriner 2000: 15). An example of *h* in both *maqlaqsyals* and English is presented in Table 21 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
h	<i>honk</i> 'that/it'	hat

Table 21. Glottal Fricative (Barker 1964b: 14)

4.1.4. Obstruent Consonant Clusters

maqlaqsyals words can begin with two consonants in a row. Two consonants next to each other are referred to as "consonant clusters" (Underriner 2000: 14). The consonants can be either a pair of stops, a pair of affricates, a combination of the two, or either can combine with a fricative (Underriner 2000: 14). This can also combine more than two consonants into a consonant cluster string. Consonant clusters may also contain a sonorant; however clusters with sonorant consonants are discussed later. The *maqlaqsyals* consonant clusters do not always have an equivalent sound in English. Examples of some of these sounds in *maqlaqsyals* are presented in Table 22 below.

Consonant Cluster	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>
pk	<i>pk'isap</i> 'mother'
sb	<i>sbok'lis</i> 'sweatlodge'
cg	<i>ca ?icgas</i> 'you're next'
cks	<i>Nacksept</i> 'six [numeral]'

Table 22. Obstruent Consonant Clusters (Underriner 2000: 14)

Notice in Table 22, consonant clusters may consist of three consonants.

4.2. Sonorant Consonants

The sonorant consonants of *maqlaqsyals* consist of the nasals and the approximants (Barker 1963b:12-14). The nasals – [m] and [n] – can be voiced, voiceless and glottalized variations. They can be hard to say as well as hear, even with description (Underriner 2000). These nasals and approximants can be well supplemented with examples in English (Barker 1963b: 12-14). The other sonorant consonants – [w, y] – in *maqlaqsyals* are approximants, which share variation characteristics similar to the nasals throughout the language and are grouped together by Barker (1963b: 13). There is a brief discussion of consonant clusters containing sonorant consonant combinations.

4.2.1. Nasals

Nasals are sounds that are created from occlusion, or the obstruction of airflow in the mouth and re-direction of the airstream through the nose. In *maqlaqsyals* there are 3 types of nasals, consisting of voiced nasals [m, n], voiceless nasals [M, N], and pre-glottalized nasals [‘m, ‘n] (Barker 1963b: 13). These nasals are described in detail below with examples in *maqlaqsyals* with comparable English examples where they exist.

4.2.1.1. Voiced Nasals

[*m*, *n*] are occlusive pulmonics, meaning that airflow is blocked within the mouth but not the nasal tract. [*m*] is a bilabial sound, which is produced by the use of both lips for articulation. [*m*] is similar to the [m] in English. [*n*] is an alveolar sound, which is produced by contact of the front of the tongue with the alveolar region for articulation. [*n*] is – like [*m*] – similar to [n, m] in English. While [*n*] and [*m*] are not difficult for English speakers to produce, it takes much practice to be able to pronounce their voiceless [*M*, *N*] and pre-glottalized [‘*m*, ‘*n*] counterparts (Underriner 2000: 16). Examples of [*m*] and [*n*] in both *maqlaqsyals* and English are presented in Table 23 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
m	<i>moy</i> ‘rock chuck’	monkey
n	<i>tawn</i> ‘town’	town

Table 23. Voiced Nasals (Barker 1964b: 13)

4.2.1.2. Voiceless Nasals

[*M*, *N*] are also occlusive pulmonics. [*M*] is a bilabial sound similar to English [m] above, though it is voiceless and may sound to an English speaker as if glottal fricative [h] precedes it as a sound one may make when considering an idea as in English “hm” (Barker 1963b: 13). [*N*] is an alveolar sound similar to English [n] though voiceless as “hm”, the same may be said for the second as in “hn” (Barker 1963b: 13). There are no equivalent sounds in English. Examples of these two sounds in *maqlaqsyals* are presented in Table 24 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>
M	<i>s?aaMaks</i> 'relative'
N	<i>Naas</i> 'one [numeral]'

Table 24. Voiceless Nasals (Barker 1964b: 13)

4.2.1.3. Pre-Glottalized Nasal

Nasals [*m*] and [*n*], preceded by an apostrophe (' *m* and ' *n*) are nearly identical to the voiced nasals, with the exception that they are immediately preceded by a glottal stop (ʔ) (Barker 1963b: 13). This is only seen in performance uses of English such as sarcastic-negative responses such as one's answer to an extravagant or unrealistic request "...uh-no." Examples of these two sounds in *maqlaqsyals* are presented in Table 25 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>
'm	' <i>mok'aak</i> 'baby'
'n	' <i>nep</i> 'hand'

Table 25. Pre-Glottalized Nasals (Barker 1964b: 13)

4.2.2. Approximant Consonants

Approximants [*l*, *w*, *y*] are sonorants that lightly constrict airflow through the placement of two articulators into relative proximity with each other. *maqlaqsyals* has 3 approximants [*l*, *w*] and [*y*] that can be voiced, voiceless and pre-glottalized nasals and are grouped together by Barker (1963b: 13). These approximants are the lateral [*l*], labialized velar [*w*], and the palatal [*y*]. Two of the approximant consonants, the palatal

[y] and labialized velar [w], may act as semivowels in diphthongs, or vowels that transition from one sound to another. This semivowel characteristic is discussed below.

4.2.2.1. Voiced Approximants

[l, w, and y] are oral pulmonics, sounds that are produced by an airstream from the lungs through the mouth only. [l] is an alveolar lateral sound, one that is produced by touching the front of the tongue to the alveolar ridge and streaming the airflow around the blade or sides of the tongue for articulation. [l] is similar to English [l] as in ‘Lenny’ (Underriner 2000: 16).

[w] is labialized velar sound, one that is produced by the rounding of the lips with simultaneous light constriction of the space between the velar – or soft palate – area with the rise of the back of the tongue for articulation. [w] is also similar English [w] as in ‘work’ (Underriner 2000: 16).

[y] is a palatal sound, one that is produced by light constriction of the area between the palatal – or hard palate – area with the rise of the middle to back of the tongue for articulation. [y], just as with the other voiced approximants, is similar to English [y] as in ‘yes’ (Underriner 2000: 16)

While these are not difficult for English speakers to produce, it takes much practice to be able to pronounce their voiceless and pre-glottalized counterparts (Underriner 2000: 16). Examples of [l, w] and [y] in both *maqqaqsya* and English are presented in Table 24 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
l	<i>looq</i> ‘seed’	lucky
w	<i>waat’i</i> ‘obsidian disc-blade’	weep
y	<i>yawq’al</i> ‘bald eagle’	yuck

Table 26. Voiced Approximants (Barker 1964b: 13)

4.2.2.2. Voiceless Approximants

[*L*, *W*, and *Y*] are similar to [*l*, *w*] and [*y*], however they are made voiceless. The voiceless alveolar lateral [*L*] does not have a corresponding sound in English, though it sounds as if the glottal fricative [*h*] precedes it. The voiceless labialized velar [*W*] and voiceless palatal [*Y*] correspond to English [*w*, *y*]. English speakers in Oregon, the state within which the Klamath Tribes are headquartered, have a tendency to use the voiced labialized velar approximant – “regular *w*” – instead of the voiceless (Underriner 2000: 17). Examples of [*L*, *W*] and [*Y*] in both *maqlaqsyals* and English are presented in Table 27 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
L	<i>Lap’akLas</i> ‘shoulder’	N/A
W	<i>Weeqs</i> ‘mallard duck’	where
Y	<i>YoqYaqs</i> ‘armpit’	humongous

Table 27. Voiceless Approximants (Barker 1964b: 13)

4.2.2.3. Pre-glottalized Approximants

[ʔ], [w] and [y] preceded by an apostrophe [ʔ, ʔw, ʔy] are immediately preceded by a glottal stop (Barker 1963b: 13). There are no corresponding sounds in English (Underriner 2000: 17). Examples of [ʔ], [ʔw] and [ʔy] in *maqlaqsyals* are presented in Table 28 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>
ʔ	<i>q'oʔlanc</i> 'knee'
ʔw	<i>waʔwaaks</i> 'eye mucus'
ʔy	<i>q'aʔye</i> 'intestines'

Table 28. Pre-glottalized Approximants (Barker 1964b: 13)

4.2.3. Sonorant Consonant Clusters

Similar to the consonant clusters mentioned in 4.1.4., sonorant consonant clusters can include a pair of nasals [mn], a pair of approximants [wy], a combination of the two [Lm] or either can combine with obstruent consonant in a pair [wc] or consonant string cluster, respectively. These combinations do not always have an equivalent sound in English. Examples of some of these consonant clusters in *maqlaqsyals* are presented in Table 29 below.

Consonant Cluster	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>
lW	<i>boIW</i> 'white sage brush'
lpkʔ	<i>Gelpkʔa</i> 'it's hot [expression]'
ncʔ	<i>oncʔee</i> 'Later on [valediction/farewell]'
WL	<i>?iWLaLLoon?a</i> 'Klamath Falls'

Table 29. Sonorant-Inclusive Consonant Clusters (Underriner 2000)

4.3. Vowels

maqlaqsyals has a vowel inventory of four main vowels with short and long variations (Underriner 2000: 12). Although these vowels differ only in length in the orthography, the long vowels have a different quality of sound (Barker 1963b: 14). Two of the main vowels [*i*, *o*] and their long variations [*ii*, *oo*] are pronounced with a higher elevation of the tongue while the other two [*e*, *a*] are of a lower elevation (Underriner 2000: 12). The higher short vowels [*i*, *o*] are presented with the corresponding long vowels [*ii*, *oo*]. The lower short vowels [*e*, *a*] are then presented with the corresponding long vowels [*ee*, *aa*]. Each height of paired vowels differs by the backness, or positions of the tongue in relation to the back of the mouth. The diphthongs, combinations of the vowels and approximants utilized as semivowels, are presented below (Underriner 2000: 13).

4.3.1. High Front Vowels

[*i*] and [*ii*] are similar to the short [*i*] and long sounds [*ea*] in English. The short vowel [*i*] is a high-mid front vowel, a sound which requires near full height of the tongue that is pronounced almost all the way forward in the mouth. The long vowel [*ii*] is a high front vowel, requiring full height of the tongue that is pronounced the forward most of the vowels. Examples of [*i*] and [*ii*] in both *maqlaqsyals* and English are presented in Table 30 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
i	? <i>i</i> 'you [nominative]'	bit
ii	? <i>ii</i> 'yes'	beat

Table 30. High Front Vowels (Barker 1964b: 14)

4.3.2. High Back Vowels

[*o*] and [*oo*], range in similarity to the short English sounds [o, u] as in ‘pot’ and ‘luck’ and long sounds [oo] as in ‘boat’ sounds of English. The short vowel *o* is a high-mid back vowel, a sound which requires the tongue to be just higher than midway from full height and is pronounced all the way back in the mouth (Barker 1964b: 14). The long vowel [*oo*] is a high back vowel, requiring full height of the tongue and is pronounced far back in the mouth (Barker 1964b: 14). Examples of [*o*] and [*oo*] in both *maqlaqsyals* and English are presented in Table 31 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
o	<i>won</i> ‘elk’	pot or luck
oo	<i>moo</i> ‘many/very’	boat

Table 31. High Mid-Back Vowels (Barker 1964b: 14)

4.3.3. Low Front Vowels

[*e*] and [*ee*], are low front vowels. [*e*] corresponds to English [e] as in ‘let’ while the long vowel [*ee*] corresponds to English [a] as in ‘cat’. The short vowel [*e*] is a low-mid front vowel, a sound which requires a little less than the middle height of the tongue and is pronounced toward the front the mouth. The long vowel [*ee*] is a low near-front vowel, requiring minimal height of the tongue and pronounced forward in the mouth. Examples of [*e*] and [*ee*] in both *maqlaqsyals* and English are presented in Table 32 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
e	<i>weq</i> 'arm'	bet
ee	<i>beep</i> 'daughter'	bat

Table 32. Low Front Vowels (Barker 1964b: 14)

4.3.4. Low Back Vowels

a and *aa* are low back vowels. *a* corresponds to English [u] as in 'cut' while the long vowel corresponds to [a] as in 'father' in British English. The short vowel [a] is a low-mid back vowel, a sound which requires a little less than the middle height of the tongue and is pronounced at the back of the mouth. The long vowel [aa] is a low back vowel, requiring minimal height of the tongue and is pronounced at the back of the mouth. Examples of [a] and [aa] in both *maqlaqsyals* and English are presented in Table 33 below.

Letter	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
a	<i>ndan</i> 'three [numeral]'	but
aa	<i>Naas</i> 'one [numeral]'	bought

Table 33. Low Front Vowels (Barker 1964b: 14)

4.3.5. Diphthongs

maqlaqsyals has diphthongs, sounds that begin with one vowel and transition to another sound within the syllable. These sounds result from the combinations of the vowels with the labialized velar [w] and palatal approximants [y] (Barker 1963b: 14). The sounds are familiar to English speakers. Examples of some these sounds in both *maqlaqsyals* and English are presented in Table 34 below.

Diphthong	<i>maqlaqsyals</i>	English
ay	<i>q'ay</i> 'no'	knight
iw	<i>siwga</i> 'kill [sg.]'	few
oy	<i>joyjiks</i> 'strawberry'	ahoy
aW	<i>sk'aWk'os</i> 'Red-headed Woodpecker'	how

Table 34. Diphthongs (Underriner 2000: 14)

5. Morphology

As an agglutinating language, words in *maqlaqsyals* frequently contain multiple morphemes - the smallest units of meaning - which can be easily separated from each other. Affixes are bound morphemes that are consistent in their grammatical usage and semantic content.

It is often noted that complex morphological structures in *maqlaqsyals* are found in the largely suffixal nature of words and potentially complex (1-3 morpheme) stem structure, with few prefixes in comparison (DeLancey 1991). With the emphasis on verbs of *maqlaqsyals*, the language presents a prefixal (occasionally infixal) class⁴ of partial and full root reduplications, two classes of two ‘true’ prefixes each, nine stem elements and eleven classes of 36 inflectional suffixes (DeLancey 1991). Verb stem morphology will be covered in Verbs (section 9.0).

5.1. Reduplication

There are three reduplicative processes in *maqlaqsyals* (Barker 1964). These processes are the distributive (for themes of nouns and verbs), intensive (stative/iterative for adjectival predicates like color) and three constructions for Locative Directive Suffixes (Barker 1964). There are also a few inflectional suffixes that denote ‘intensive/repeated action’, ‘very intensive or habitual/continuous action’ and ‘up and down/to and fro’ (Barker 1964).

⁴ Class 1 Barker lists as the distributive (covered in the section on reduplication.)

5.1.1. Distributive {re}

The reduplicative distributive morpheme is one that entails distributive action (Barker 1964). The distributive reduplicates the onset and first syllable of the stem (thus the allmorphs {*re*} {*rre*} and {*re*'}) (Barker 1964). Such usage of *gaama* 'grind with mortar and pestle' (in bold) in different contexts are juxtaposed by Barker (1964: 111) in the following examples:

1. *naanok waytas gee s'neweets gagaama mna boqs.*
'Every day this woman **grinds** her camas.' (Distributive Action)
2. *naanok waytas gee wee'wa'ns gagaama gew boqs.*
'Everyday these women **grind** my camas.' (Distributive Action on one object)
3. *naanok waytas gee s'neweets gagaama mnaa'lam boqs.*
'Every day these women **grind** their own camas.' (Dist. Action on Distributive objects)
4. *naanok waytas gee wee'wa'ns gaama boqs.*
'Every day these women **grind** camas.' (Action as a group)

Barker noted that the distributive in *maqlaqsyals* (as exemplified above) is understood pragmatically from:

1. A single actor upon distributive objects
2. Action by a single actor distributively upon a single object over a period of time.
3. Action by distributive actors upon a single object.
4. Action by distributive actors each upon their own object.
5. Action by distributive actors upon distributive objects.⁵

(Barker 1964: 111)

⁵ Note: For the reading in 5, Barker (1964: 111) notes that 'some intensive morpheme is likely to occur when this meaning is intended'.

The idea of unified action or ‘groupness’ is not expressed by the distributive and therefore does not occur in these instances (Barker 1964). Thus, in the fourth sentence comparison, *gaama* ‘grind with mortar and pestle’ would make a nonspecific statement regarding the grinding of camas.

5.1.2. Intensives

The intensive morphemes consist of {*r*}, {*rr*} and {*rré*} (Barker 1964). In each case, these three reduplications occur as infixes (the only infixation attested in *maqlaqyals*) after a vowel if a morpheme that follows it begins with a vowel. Otherwise they occur as prefixes to that morpheme which it follows.

The intensive {*r*} semantically entails either an ‘intensive action or state’ or ‘repetition of action.’ An example of a word without the intensive is shown in (2) and the inclusion of the intensive {*r*} is shown in (3) in bold.

(2) *c’illGa*
c’in- -’lG- -a
 act.with.back –to.the.ground–IND
 ‘stoops down’ (Barker 1963b: 88)

(3) *c’il?alGa*
c’in- -r -’lG -a
 act.with.back –INTENS –to.the.ground–IND
 ‘stoops down continuously’ (Barker 1963b: 88)

The underlined {*r*} ‘morphophoneme’ as termed by Barker (1964) corresponds to and reduplicates the consonant that immediately follows it. The same pattern occurs for all underlined {*r*} phonemes, while {*g*} and {*é*} are represented by the vowel that immediately follows it (Barker 1964: 82).

The intensive {rr} entails a more intense action/state as well as a more habitual/continuous condition than that of {r} (Barker 1964). The difference between the two is shown by Barker (ibid) in the examples (4) and (5) below in bold.

(4) *wdomtdiila*
wdom -r -*diil* -*a*
 swim -INTENS -under -IND
 ‘swims around under’ (Barker 1964: 143)

(5) *wdom**dat**diila*
wdom -rr -*diil* -*a*
 swim -INTENS -under -IND
 ‘keeps swimming around and around under’ (Barker 1964: 143)

As presented in the examples above, the state of action is relative to the intensive morpheme included within the lexical item.

The intensive {rré} has a different sense of semantic properties. Instead of an intense action/state or habitual/continuous condition, this intensive morpheme denotes an ‘up and down’ or ‘to and fro’ type of notion (Barker 1964). An example used by Barker (1964: 143) is presented in (6) below.

(6) *cokc’wac’wa*
cok -rré -*c’wá* -*a*
 sway -INTENS -forward.and.backward -IND
 ‘sways up and down’ (Barker 1964: 143)

5.2. Prefixes

There are two classes of ‘true’ verbal prefixes in *maqlaqsyals*. The first class of these is Class 2, which consists of the Reflexive-Reciprocal and the Causative. The second is Class 3, the Causative and the Transitive.

The first prefix within Class 2 is the Reflexive-Reciprocal {*sɛ*}⁶. This morpheme attaches to a verb, intending the meaning of inflicting action upon oneself or unto one who is inflicting an action upon them as well. These two uses are shown by Barker (1964) (in bold) in (7) and (8) below.

(7) *hislan*
hes *-sli 'n* *-a*⁷
 'REFLEX⁸ -shoot -IND
 'He/She shot him/herself' (Barker 1964: 112)

(8) *hislan*
hes *-sli 'n* *-a*
 'REFLEX -shoot -IND
 'They shot each other' (Barker 1964: 112)

As with many instances in *maqlaqsyals*, there is a necessity of pragmatic understanding to get the correct reading. Because the morpheme denotes the reflexive and reciprocal, one must be an active participant in discussion and discourse. The same word will be utilized in self-action and reciprocal (unto each other) action.

The second prefix within class 2 is the Causative {*hes*}. The causative is that which makes known that someone or something else other than the actor caused the verb to be executed. This includes causing someone to be scared (as a ghost scares someone), or be sick, as well as bathing someone (such as a child) as exemplified by Barker (1964) in (9).

(9) *hespeewa*
hes *-peew* *-a*
 CAUS -bathe -IND
 'bathes someone' (Barker 1964: 113)

⁶ One of the allomorphs of the Reflexive-Reciprocal is homophonous to the Causative {*hes*}.

⁷ In certain cases, the indicative has a null allomorph (Barker 1964).

⁸ REFLEX is the gloss shorthand for the Reflexive-Reciprocal and remains the same for both uses.

As for the second class of verbal prefixes in *maq_laq_sya_ls*, the two prefixes involved are the transitive {*s*} and another causative {*sne*}. These occur either in place of or after Class 2 prefixes.

The transitive morpheme {*s*} is one that has been seen in limited distribution (Barker 1964). This morpheme is prefixed onto otherwise intransitive verbs (10) to make them transitive, shown in bold in (11).

(10) *q'oc'a*
q'oc' -a
 bend -IND
 'bends'

(11) *sq'oc'a*
s- -q'oc' -a
 TRANS- -bends -IND
 'bends something'

The causative {*sne*} has different semantic content from the causative {*hes*} in regards to the manner and degree of action in causation (Barker 1964). Barker (1964: 114) compares the two – shown in (12) and (13) – in relation to how one may describe waking someone from sleep.

(12) *snabatgal*
sne -ba -adgl
 CAUS -get.up -up/raising
 'gets someone up from bed (by physical action)' (Barker
 1964: 114)

(13) *hasbatgal*
hes -ba -adgl
 CAUS -get.up -up/raising
 'gets someone up from bed (by calling on them)' (Barker 1964: 114)

5.3. Suffixes

Barker's work on *maqlaqsyals* includes eleven different suffixal classes (Barker 1964). Of these eleven classes, three broader classes – Aspects, Modals and Derivational– were identified and grouped (ibid). However, for heuristic purposes, it is beneficial to utilize the inner/outer suffix system that DeLancey (1991) presents. This is of benefit to understanding the suffixal system of *maqlaqsyals*, where an outer suffix must be utilized for a fully constructed word (DeLancey 1991). An inner suffix as the final morpheme does not constitute a properly constructed word in *maqlaqsyals* (DeLancey 1991).

5.3.1. Inner Suffixes

The inner suffixes are those which cannot be used to end a word in *maqlaqsyals*, though this is not always obvious superficially (DeLancey 1991). For reasons difficult to define phonologically, certain classes of verbs and inner suffixes take a null allomorph of outer suffixes (DeLancey 1991: 429). The inner verbal suffixes are listed below by class in Table 35 (adopted from DeLancey 1991).

Class	Morpheme	'Gloss'
Class 15	<i>ool</i>	'Completive (finishing/undoing an action)'
Class 16 ⁹	<i>c'n</i> <i>c'n</i>	'action while moving, goes along V-ing' 'just finished, did no more'
Class 17	<i>ebg</i> <i>yeeg</i>	'Cislocative (toward the speaker)' 'Inceptive (starting, beginning)'
Class 18	<i>ebli</i>	'back, toward, returning, behind oneself'
Class 19	<i>obg</i> <i>odg</i>	'Durative (continuous action over period of time)' 'Perfective (been doing, past state now completed)'
Class 20	<i>all</i> <i>aksg</i> <i>damn</i> <i>nannwi</i> <i>'napg</i> <i>oot</i> <i>samni</i>	'Pejorative (ruined, done in a bad way, wickedly)' 'almost did, came close to doing' 'habitual, over and over' 'right away, at once' 'feel like, intend to, about to' 'while' and 'instrument nominalizer (with {-s})' 'intend to, plan to'
Class 21	<i>ii</i>	'Benefactive (for the sake of [someone])'
Class 22 ¹⁰	<i>astg</i> <i>Wii</i> <i>k'</i> <i>w</i> <i>wabg</i>	'tried to' 'almost, used to, nearly' 'instrumental nominalizer' 'perfective nominalizer' 'Future-Intentive (will do)'

Table 35. List of (Verbal) Inner Suffixes (DeLancey 1991)

⁹ This is the only instance known where there is a potential conflict with the revised orthography. There should be little difficulty in understanding the difference pragmatically as they differ in their allomorphy (Barker 1964: 152).

¹⁰ Class 22 is interesting as there are some members of this class that can complete the construction of a verb while others cannot (DeLancey 1991). For this reason, those that act as Inner suffixes can be called the 'Inner 22' and those that act as outer suffixes the 'Outer 22'.

An example that utilizes a large extent of these morpheme classes is found in *wqat'laqcwapk* 'will go to cut down brush/clear forest' in (14).

(14) *wqat'laqcwapk*

<i>w-</i>	<i>-qat'</i>	<i>-lg</i>	<i>-ca</i>	<i>-wabg</i> ¹¹
long.instr	-clear.forest	-down	-goes.for.purpose	-FUT
‘will go to cut down brush/clear forest’				

5.3.2. Outer Suffixes

Outer suffixes are those which terminate (completely construct) of words. Some of the allomorphs of the outer suffixes are null (mentioned above). If one of these terminating suffixes is not used, then the construction of a word is not complete.

The outer verbal suffixes are listed below by class (adopted from DeLancey 1991):

Class	<i>Morpheme</i>	‘Gloss’
Class 22	<i>ang</i>	‘polite sg. imperative’
	<i>dgi</i>	‘want someone to do’
Class 23	<i>a</i>	‘Indicative (speaker knows action to be occurring)’
	<i>at</i>	‘can, able, ought to’
	<i>ank</i>	‘having done’
	<i>i</i>	‘imperative sg.’
	<i>at</i>	‘imperative pl.’
	<i>ek</i>	‘1sg. hortatory (let me... [V ¹²]!)’
	<i>na</i>	‘1pl. hortatory (let’s...[V]!)’
	<i>dk</i> ¹³	‘having been [V]-ed, in a state of...’
	<i>wk</i>	‘from, because of, by, in order to’

Table 36. List of (Verbal) Outer Suffixes (DeLancey 1991)

Four prime examples to present the role of outer suffixes are shown in (15)-(18).

¹¹ Shown in Table 35 as Class 22, {wabg} is considered to float about between Classes 22 and 23 because of discrepancies between Gatschet (1890) and Barker (1964). DeLancey’s reasoning can be used to place {wabg} into Class 22 from 23 where it serves as part of the Inner 22, though it is terminal.

¹² [V] = verb.

¹³ Because of DeLancey’s (1991) work and discussion regarding the classes of *maqlaqsyals*, {-dk} and {-wk} can be shifted to Class 23 as listed.

(15) *celGa*

c^v- -e'lG -a
sit- -down -IND
'sits down'

(16) *celGi*

c^v- -e'lG -i
sit- -down -2nd.sg.IMP
'Sit down (you)!'

(17) *celGank*

c^v- -e'lG -ang
sit- -down -2nd.sg.polite.IMP
'Please sit down.'

(18) *celGat*

c^v- -e'lG -at
sit- -down -2nd.pl.IMP
'Sit down (you all)!'

Understanding the differences between the inner and outer suffix is critical to understanding verbal and word construction processes in *maqlaqsyals*. Understanding this morphology is helpful regarding verbal stem structure.

6. Nouns

Nouns in *maqlaqsyals* hold a strong foundational structure comprised of 11 classes of morphological components (Barker 1964). Unlike the verbs (discussed further in section 8), there are no obligatory markers for nouns (Barker 1964). There are many verbal structures within the nominalization system (occurring with class 24 *-s* ‘noun ending’) that suggest *maqlaqsyals* nouns have a verbal origin (Barker 1964: 182). There are three categories of noun stem structures that occur in *maqlaqsyals* and those categories are: the ‘*s*-Class’, ‘*s*-less Class’ and the ‘Kinship terms’ (Barker: 182).

6.1. *s*-Class

The *s*-Class noun stems are morphologically identical to the structures of verbs that end in *-s* (‘noun ending’) (Barker 1964). There are two subcategories of the *s*-Class noun stem structures (Barker 1964). The first subcategory consists of those stems that end solely in noun ending morpheme *-s* shown below in (19).

- (19) *ceelis*
 ceel- *-y-* *-s*
 porcupine –NF– –NS
 ‘porcupine’

Following the same patterns as verbal morphology, the inclusion of the final morpheme *s* ‘noun ending’ nominalizes the verb (Barker 1964). *y* here is a verbal noun formant (NF), which changes a verbal stem into a nominal stem. (Barker 1964).¹⁴

¹⁴ Barker (1964: 215) notes that some nouns may be historically verbal nouns that have become “fossilized” in their construction, no longer occurring in verb patterns.

The second subcategory consists of those stems that contain prefixal reduplication (partial root, full root or both) in addition to the noun ending *-s*. An example of this subcategory is presented by Barker (1964) in (20) below.

(20) *'wiq'wiqs*
rér - 'wiq -s
 RED –magpie –NS
 'magpie'

In (20) the word for magpie is the full root reduplication of *'wiq* in combination with a noun ending suffix.

6.2. s-less Class

The *s*-less Class of noun stems consist of four subcategories (Barker 1964). The subcategories include those stems which stand alone as morphemic words, those stems which take some further suffix (other than the noun ending *-s*), those stems that contain prefixal reduplication – partial root, full root or both – in addition to some further suffix (e.g. *-?m* 'possessive'), and those stems that solely contain prefixal reduplication.

The stems that stand alone as morphemic words are similar to the simple unanalyzable nouns that English contains (i.e., bird, cat, dog, etc.). These nouns are built of morphemic words that cannot be further broken down such as (21) below (Barker 1964).

(21) *baa*
baa
 White Pine Tree
 'White Pine Tree'

Exemplified above is an example of a complete *maqlaqsyals* word construction that consists of a single morpheme. One of the significant differences between the

English words previously addressed and the example in (3) is that these monomorphemic words are not often generic terms but rather refer to specific types of things.

The nouns that consist of a stem and some further suffix utilize the variety of suffixes specific to the noun classes including the diminutive, augmentative, place suffix, collective and further locative suffixes (Barker 1964). The result of the transition of (3) from a noun of the first subcategory to the second subcategory is presented in (22) below.

(22) *baa?am*
baa –?*m*
White Pine –COLLECT
'White Pine (species)'

Presented above is the inclusion of the collective morpheme –?*m*. This inclusion shifts the discourse of the noun from an individual tree and its characteristics to those of the species of tree (Barker 1964). Though similar (and sometimes homophonous) to the possessive morpheme, they are not descriptively identical (Barker: 222).

The third subcategory of noun includes those stems that are built through prefixal reduplication (either partial, full root or both) as well as the addition of some further suffix. This is showed largely in part for plant species in the examples presented by Barker (1964) as shown in (23).

(23) *cecascesleyn?am*
re-rér-cesleyn –?*m*
RED– INTENS– sagebrush.type –COLLECT
'Species of sagebrush' (Barker 1964: 202)

This example of a certain type of sagebrush species relies on the combined construction of both partial and full root reduplication, as well as the collective morpheme. Though worth noting for purposes of understanding structure, such occurrences are not common (Barker 1964).

The final subcategory of the s-less Class constructions consists of those stems that must occur after some sort of prefixal reduplication (Barker 1964). These stems cannot occur on their own (or have at least not been attested) (Barker 1964: 204). One of the example that is of use to many language revitalizationists is the word for children – shown in (24) (Barker 1964).

- (24) *t'at'aksni*
RED– *t'aksni*
RED– children
'children'

Though many nouns of the s-less class consist of monomorphemic stems that function as fully constructed words (e.g. *baa* above), it is important to know that in many cases that there occurs no unreduplicated stems (e.g. **t'aksni*¹⁵) in this class (Barker 1964).

6.3. Kinship Terms

The kinship terms in *maqlaqsyals* have two subcategories of construction: those which do not require a kinship prefix (*b-*) or prefixal reduplication and those that do (Barker 1964).

Kinship term constructions that do not require prefixes have a selection of obligatory suffixes. The obligatory suffix position will be the kinship suffix *-ab*, kinship plural *-ys*, possessive *-?m* or the objective *-'as*. Shown in (25) is the construction for 'little brother/little sister' as an example.

¹⁵ There is the suppletive *wee?as* 'child', however.

- (25) *tapyap*
*tap'y*¹⁶ *-ab*
 younger –KS
 ‘man’s younger brother, woman’s younger sister’

A similar construction of immediate relevance to cultural protocol includes the knowledge behind certain kinship terms such as *spinwip*, presented in (26) below (Barker 1964).

- (26) *spinwip*
spinw *-ab*
 grave –KS
 ‘relative whose relationship has been severed by the death of an intervening link (brother of one’s deceased husband/wife)’ (Barker 1964: 206)

The second subcategory of kinship terms occurs obligatorily with either the kinship prefix *b-* or prefixal reduplication and some suffix, lest it be considered baby talk (Barker 1964). Utilization of this change is reflected in (27) and (28).

- (27) *pk'isap*
b- *-kis* *-ab*
 KP– –mother –KS
 ‘mother’ (Barker 1963b: 201)

- (28) *k'isiip*
k'is *-y* *-ab*
 mother –KV –KS
 ‘mommy’ (Barker 1963b: 201)

The lack of a morpheme in the prefixal construction of this subcategory could lend knowledge to understanding baby talk within *maqlaqsyls*.

¹⁶ *tab'y-* also means back/behind/last.

7. Pronouns

Pronouns in *maqlaqsyals* share morphological patterns with the nouns (Barker 1964). There are eight pronoun stems, some of which include meanings of plurality and/or intensiveness (Barker 1964).

There are four major differences in the structure of pronouns compared to nouns. Pronouns differentiate from nouns in regard to person and number (Barker 1964: 237). The object pronoun of the sentence obligatory occurs with the objective morpheme – ‘*as*, where it would be optional with nouns (Barker 1964: 237). Certain noun affixes do not occur with pronouns while the order of suffixes also differs (Barker 1964: 237). Summary charts of the different pronoun types are presented in Tables 37 – 40.

7.1. Subject Pronouns (Pronoun Stems)

The pronoun stems include the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, denoting plurality and intensiveness for each (or in the case of *bi*, only 3rd.sg Intensive). The stems also serve as subject pronouns. Each set of person pronouns are presented in the following sections. Each of these stems act as subject pronouns on their own. Object pronouns are constructed from the pronoun stems and are suffixed by the objective morpheme – ‘*as*.

7.1.1. 1st person

There are three first person pronouns that differentiate based on number and intensity. Each 1st person pronoun is given in (30) and (31).

(29) *ni*
1st.sg
‘I’

The pronoun *ni* shown above in (29) is the 1st person singular in the subject form. This is more commonly used for first person singular. This usage equates to English usage of ‘I’.

(30) *noo*
1st.sg.Intens
‘I (intensive)’

The pronoun *noo* shown in (30) is the intensive 1st person singular. Less commonly used, especially in Barker’s (1963a; 1964: 239) elicitation, this pronoun equates most closely to the English phrase ‘I am the one who...’

(31) *naat*
1st.pl
‘we’

The pronoun *naat* presented in (31) is the 1st person plural. Usage equates closely to the use of English ‘we’.

7.1.2. 2nd person

There are two 2nd person pronouns in *maqlaqsyals*: the singular and the plural. There is no intensity in the 2nd person pronouns. These two pronouns are presented in (32) and (33) with brief usage comments.

(32) *?i*
2nd.sg
‘you’

The pronoun *?i* is the 2nd person singular. Usage is most similar to English ‘you’.

(33) *?aat*
2nd.pl
‘you all’

The pronoun *?aat* is the 2nd person plural. Usage is most similar to English ‘you all (y’all)’.

7.1.3. 3rd person

There are three 3rd person pronouns that vary based on number and intensiveness (Barker 1964). It should be noted that more often than not, the demonstratives are used instead of 3rd person pronouns (Barker 1964). The three 3rd person pronouns and brief usage explanation are presented in (34), (35) and (36).

(34) *bi*
3rd.sg.Intens
'he/she/it (intensive)'

The pronoun *bi* in (34) is the intensive 3rd person singular. Rarely occurring, *bi* has connotations of 'emphasis, declarativeness and reflexiveness' (Barker 1964: 240).

(35) *baat*
3rd.pl.Intens
'They (intensive)'

The above pronoun in (35) *baat* is the intensive 3rd person plural and serves as 'the plural counterpart to *bi*. (Barker 1964: 241)

(36) *sa*
3rd.pl
'They'

The most common 3rd person plural is presented in (36). *sa* can occur with demonstratives or alone (Barker 1964: 241). There is no reference to intensity, distance, etc. (ibid: 241). See Table 37 for a summary of the subject pronouns with a collection of examples in (37) - (44).

English	Singular	English	Plural
I	<i>ni</i>	We	<i>naat</i>
I (Intensive)	<i>noo</i>	You all	<i>?aat</i>
You	<i>?i</i>	They	<i>sa</i>
he/she (intensive)	<i>bi</i>	They (Intensive)	<i>baat</i>

Table 37. Subject Pronoun Summary (Barker 1964)

(37) *ni ?a swint.*

ni ?a swin -at
I DEC sing -can/able/to
 ‘**I** can sing.’

(38) *noo ?a swint.*

noo ?a swin -at
I DEC sing -can/able/to
 ‘**I am the one who** can sing.’

(39) *?i ?a swint.*

?i ?a swin -at
you DEC sing -can/able/to
 ‘**You** can sing.’

(40) *bi ?a swint.*

bi ?a swin -at
3rd.sg.INTENS DEC sing -can/able/to
 ‘**He/She is the one who** can sing.’

(41) *naat ?a swint.*

naat ?a swin -at
we DEC sing -can/able/to
 ‘**We** can sing.’

(42) *?aat ?a swint.*

?aat ?a swin -at
2nd.pl DEC sing -can/able/to
 ‘**You all** can sing.’

(43) *sa ?a swint.*
sa *?a* *swin* *-at*
 3rd.pl DEC sing -can/able/to
 ‘They can sing.’

(44) *baat ?a swint.*
baat *?a* *swin* *-at*
 3rd.pl.INTENS DEC sing -can/able/to
 ‘They are the ones who can sing.’

7.2. Object Pronouns

The object pronouns include the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, denoting plurality and intensiveness for each (or in the case of *bi*, only 3rd Intensive) (Barker 1964). The object pronouns present the second major difference between pronouns and nouns in that they occur obligatorily with the objective morpheme – ‘*as*’.

A summary of the object pronouns is presented in Table 38 and example sentences are shown in (45)-(52).

English	Singular	English	Plural
Me	<i>nis</i>	Us	<i>naats, naa’ls</i>
Me (Intensive)	<i>noos</i>	You all	<i>maads, maa’ls</i>
You	<i>mis</i>	Them	<i>sas</i>
Him/Her (intensive)	<i>bas, boos, ba</i>	Them (Intensive)	<i>mnals</i>

Table 38. Object Pronoun Summary (Barker 1964)

(45) *hoot ?a nis sle?a.*
hoot *?a* *nis* *sle? -a*
 That.remote DEC 1st.sg.obj see -IND
 ‘She sees **me**.’

- (46) *hoot ?a noos sle?a.*
hoot ?a noos sle? -a
 That.remote DEC 1st.sg.INTENS.obj see -IND
 ‘She sees me.’
- (47) *hoot ?a mis sle?a.*
hoot ?a mis sle? -a
 That.remote DEC 2nd.sg.obj see -IND
 ‘She sees **you**.’
- (48) *hoot ?a bas sle?a.*
hoot ?a bas sle? -a
 That.remote DEC 3rd.sg.INTENS.obj see -IND
 ‘She sees her.’
- (49) *hoot ?a naa’ls sle?a.*
hoot ?a naa’ls sle? -a
 That.remote DEC 1st.pl.obj see -IND
 ‘She sees **us**.’
- (50) *hoot ?a maa’ls sle?a.*
hoot ?a maa’ls sle? -a
 That.remote DEC 2nd.pl.obj see -IND
 ‘She sees **you all**.’
- (51) *hoot ?a sas sle?a.*
hoot ?a sas sle? -a
 That.remote DEC 3rd.pl.obj see -IND
 ‘She sees **them**.’
- (52) *hoot ?a mnals sle?a.*
hoot ?a mnals sle? -a
 That.remote DEC 3rd.pl.INTENS.obj see -IND
 ‘She sees them.’

7.3. Possessive Pronouns

The object pronouns include the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, denoting plurality and intensiveness for each (or in the case of *bi*, only 3rd Intensive) (Barker 1964). The possessive pronoun construction includes an obligatory possessive morpheme *-?m* (or null allomorph).

A summary of the object pronouns is presented in Table 39 and example sentences are shown in (53)-(59).

English	Singular	English	Plural
Mine	<i>gew</i>	Ours	<i>naa'lam</i>
My own (Intensive)	<i>gew</i> ¹⁷	You all's	<i>maa'lam</i>
Yours	<i>mi</i>	Their	<i>sam</i>
his/her (intensive)	<i>mna</i>	Their own (Intensive)	<i>mnaa'lam</i>

Table 39. Possessive Pronoun Summary (Barker 1964)

(53) *ptisap gew naa'lamksi gi*
ptisap gew naa'lam -ksi gi
 father 1st.sg.POSS 1st.pl.POSS-place be
 'My father is at our place.'

(54) *ptisap mi naa'lamksi gi*
ptisap mi naa'lam -ksi gi
 father 2nd.sg.POSS 1st.pl.POSS-place be
 'Your father is at our place.'

(55) *ptisap mna naa'lamksi gi*
ptisap mna naa'lam -ksi gi
 father 3rd.sg.POSS 1st.pl.POSS-place be
 'Her father is the one at our place.'

¹⁷ There are not separate 1st person possessive pronouns for intensity. The pronoun *gew* is used for all cases of 1st.sg possession. Barker gives *gew* as a portmanteau of the intensive 1st person possessive *noo* and the possessive morpheme *-?m* (Barker 1964: 239).

(56) *ptisap naa'lam naa'lamksi gi*
ptisap naa'lam naa'lam -ksi gi
 father 1st.pl.POSS 1st.pl.POSS-place be
 'Our father is at our place.'

(57) *ptisap maa'lam naa'lamksi gi*
ptisap maa'lam naa'lam -ksi gi
 father 1st.POSS 1st.pl.POSS-place be
 'You all's father is at our place.'

(58) *ptisap sam naa'lamksi gi*
ptisap sam naa'lam -ksi gi
 father 1st.POSS 1st.pl.POSS-place be
 'Their father is at our place.'

(59) *ptisap mnaa'lam naa'lamksi gi*
ptisap mnaa'lam naa'lam -ksi gi
 father 1st.POSS 1st.pl.POSS-place be
 'Their father is the one at our place.'

7.4. Subject-Object Form Pronouns

There are three pronouns that give both the subject and object of a predication (Barker 1964: 242). These forms are used in the 2nd position particle slot of the sentence and can complete a sentence as such (Barker 1964). The forms include only two meanings: you(sg.)-me (two forms) and I-you(sg.) (one form) and only have use between 2 conversation participants (Barker 1964).

The first of the subject-object form pronouns are the you(sg.)-me forms. These include *?ins* and *?is* which are glossed 'you-me' (Barker 1964: 242). Though there is overlap in usage, there have been commonly found uses for each (Barker 1964). The form *?ins* most often occurs in questions and statements while the form *?is* is most commonly in imperative situations (Barker 1964).

The second subject-object form pronoun is the I-you (sg.) form *min*. Though rare and considered the ‘old way to say it’, this pronoun takes up the second position particle slot and is enough to complete a sentence when occurring with some preceding verb (Barker 1964: 242-243).

A summary of the subject-object pronouns is presented in Table 40 and example sentences are shown in (60)-(62).

English	Form
You (sg.)–me (imperative)	? <i>is</i>
You (sg.)–me (questions/statements)	? <i>ins</i>
I- you(sg.)	<i>min</i>

Table 40. Subject-Object Form Pronoun Summary (Barker 1964)

- (60) *daala ?is wolq 'ank.*
daala ?is wolq' –ank
 dollar you-me loan –polite.imperative
 ‘Please loan **me** a dollar.’

- (61) *dam ?ins t'waaYa.*
 dam ?ins t'waaY –a
 INT you-me work.for.someone –IND
 ‘Will **you** work for **me**?’ (Barker 1964: 243)

- (62) *sle?wapk min.*
 sle? –wapk min
 see –FUT I-you
 ‘**I**’ll see **you**.’ (Barker 1963b: 32)

8. Demonstratives

There are 5 demonstrative stems in *maqlaqsyals* that are similar in construction to the pronouns (Barker 1964). There are some major differences between the demonstratives and the pronouns (Barker 1964). First, plurality of demonstratives is marked through syntactic constructions and suffixation. Second, some stems with certain suffixation occur as syntactic adverbs (Barker 1964). Finally, one pattern of the demonstratives occurs with locatives like the pronouns where another pattern has a ‘unique’ distribution (Barker 1964: 246).

There are five stems of the Demonstratives class (Barker 1964). Three of these stems entail relative distance of indices to the speaker in terms of proximate, remote (visible) and absent (invisibly remote) (Barker 1964). The other two are indefinites that refer to individuals, one that refers to ‘someone’ (‘who’ in the proper syntactic structure) while the other refers to an individual whose name has been momentarily forgotten by the speaker (i.e., the utterance of ‘what’s–their–face’ mid–conversation) (Barker 1964).

There are two types of morphological structure for the demonstratives (Barker 1964). These are referred to by Barker (1964) as Type I and Type II (Type II will not be addressed at this time). Type I constructions form very similarly to pronouns inasmuch as the possessive and objective cases are affixed with obligatory morphemes, respectively (Barker 1964). Also much like the pronoun constructions, the locative occurs after one of these morphemes (Barker 1964).

8.1. Type I Demonstrative Construction

Type I Demonstratives in *maqlaqsyals* share the obligatory affixation of the objective morpheme –‘*as* and the possessive morpheme –‘*m*, giving the demonstratives a pattern similar to the subject, object and possessive pronouns (Barker 1964). There are five stems of the Type I demonstrative constructions that may be pluralized by suffixation (Barker 1964). The first three are the proximate, remote (visible) and the absent (invisibly remote). The last two refer to ‘someone/who’ and ‘momentarily forgotten name’.

8.1.1. Individual Type I Demonstratives

It is important to note that for the possessive form of the individual demonstratives, the possessive suffix –‘*m* (allomorph: –‘*lm*) is included in each case. The five stems and their Type I affixation constructions are presented with examples below in their individual forms in (63) – (73) with a summary is presented in Table 41.

(63) *gee*
‘this (proximate)’

(64) *gee* ?*a* *Giscambliwapk*
this.one DEC walk.back.FUT
‘This one will walk back.’ (Barker 1964: 249)

The demonstrative *gee* is used when referencing someone near and visible to the speaker. Syntactically *gee* is a subject or modifier of a subject. The objective of this demonstrative suffixed with the nonnominative –*ng* objective –‘*as* (resulting in *geeks*) acts as the animate object of a predicate (Barker 1964).

(65) *hoot*
‘that (remote)’

- (66) *hoot* ?a *dic'ii sa'walinee?as*
That.one DEC good friend
 'She is a good friend'

The demonstrative *hoot* is used when referencing someone who is at some distance away from and visible to the speaker. Syntactically, *hoot* acts as subject or modifier of a subject. When suffixed with the nonnominative *-ng* and objective *-'as* (resulting in *honks*) this demonstrative acts as the predicate animate object (Barker 1964).

- (67) *nee*
 'that (absent)'

- (68) *dat dal nee gena?*
 INT INT **that.absent** go-IND
 'Where did he go? (spoken of someone who was just there)' (Barker 1964: 249)

The demonstrative *nee* is used to reference someone or something that is now out of sight (Barker 1964). *nee* acts as modifier of a subject or a subject syntactically (Barker 1964). Once suffixed with objective *-ng* and *-'as* (resulting in *neeks*) this demonstrative acts as the animate object of a predicate (Barker 1964)

- (69) *ka/kani*
 'which/who'

- (70) *ka dal gew gi?*
 which INT mine be
 'Which is mine?' (Barker 1964: 252)

- (71) *kani* ?a *gepga*
 someone/who DEC coming
 'Someone/who is coming (pragmatically, statement/question)'
 (Barker 1964: 252)

The demonstrative *ka* is used to reference someone or an item. The demonstrative *ka* acts as a subject syntactically, modifier of a subject (Barker 1964). Suffixation with the adjectival suffix *-ni* results in the nominative form *kani*

‘someone/who’ (Barker 1964). Once the construction for *kani* has been completed, the objective – ‘*as* (resulting in *ka’ns*) may be used to index the animate object of a predicate much like the first three demonstratives (Barker 1964).

(72) *sgo*
 ‘What’s-their-face’

(73) *sgo* *nis* *sle?a*
 what’s.their.face 1stsg.obj sees
 ‘What’s–his/her–face saw me’ (Barker 1964: 253)

The demonstrative *sgo* is used to reference someone whose name has been forgotten in that moment. Barker (1964: 253) originally provides the gloss ‘whatchamacallem’. However, utilizing the hyphenated combination ‘what’s–his/her–face’ more appropriate with current usage of the same idea in the language community region. The demonstrative *sgo* acts as a subject syntactically, the modifier of a subject (Barker 1964). Once suffixed with objective – ‘*as* (resulting in *sgoos*) this demonstrative acts as the animate object of a predicate (Barker 1964). See Table 41 for a summary of the Individual Demonstrative paradigm.

English	Subject	Object	Possessive
This	<i>gee</i>	<i>geegs</i>	<i>gee’lam</i>
That (visible)	<i>hoot</i>	<i>honks</i>	<i>honk’lam</i>
That (absent)	<i>nee</i>	<i>neegs</i>	<i>nee’lam</i>
Which/Who/Someone	<i>kani</i>	<i>ka’ns</i>	<i>ka’lam</i>
‘What’s–his/her–face’	<i>sgo</i>	<i>sgoos</i>	<i>sgolam</i>

Table 41. Summary of the Individual Demonstratives (Barker 1964)

8.2.2. Plural Type I Demonstratives

It is important to note that for the plural form of the demonstratives, the construction of the nominative is both syntactic and morphological, utilizing the nominative plural *-g* and third person plural pronoun *sa* (Barker 1964).

The objective and the possessive forms –in contrast– are formed strictly morphologically. Suffixation with the nonnominative plural suffix *-yas* provides the intermediary and incomplete construction (e.g., **gee'yas-*, **honk'yas-*, **nee'yas-*) from which the objective *-as* or the possessive *-?m* can be affixed for fully constructed forms.

The plural forms of *ka* are morphological and do not require syntactic construction for the nominative plural (Barker 1964). Instead of solely affixing plural suffixes, all forms of *ka* utilize prefixal reduplication of *ka* as well as the addition of *-yas* before the objective *-as* and possessive *-?m* (Barker 1964).

No plural forms are historically attested, but may be projected to follow the same patterns of the Type I Demonstratives which they resemble (Barker 1964: 253).

A summary of the plural demonstratives is presented in Table 42.

English	Subject	Object	Possessive
These	<i>geeg sa</i>	<i>gee'yass</i>	<i>gee'yasam</i>
Those (visible)	<i>hoot sa</i>	<i>honk'yass</i>	<i>honk'yasam</i>
Those (absent)	<i>neeg sa</i>	<i>nee'yass</i>	<i>nee'yasam</i>
Which/Who/Those who	<i>kakni</i>	<i>kak'yass</i>	<i>ka'yasam</i>
'What's-their-faces' ¹⁸	(?)	(?)	(?)

Table 42. Summary of Plural Demonstratives (Barker 1964)

¹⁸ No plural form attested.

9. Verbs

The *maqlaqsyals* language has a very rich structure for verbs, comprised of twenty-five classes of morphological components. (Barker 1964: 102; DeLancey 1991). Each of these verbs must at minimum be comprised of a stem and a final suffix (DeLancey 2003: 67). This final suffix (members of class 23) is the defining feature of a verb (i.e., ‘Verb by definition’) (Barker 1964:180). An example of the final suffix is *-a*, the indicative suffix (Underriner 2002: 15). The indicative *-a* is used when there is no final suffix more specific in use (DeLancey 2003: 67). There are suffixes that are referred to as ‘inner’ suffixes that contain aspectual information that do not terminate a verb (DeLancey 1999:). These are discussed more in depth in this chapter.

With the rich content of morphemes utilized in the *maqlaqsyals* verb, there are classifications of these morphemes that have been in the process of refinement since Barker (1964) introduced them (DeLancey 1999). To better understand the process toward the full development of verbs, the two forms of verb stems are discussed below. The stems of *maqlaqsyals* verbs consist of either bimorphemic (composite) stems or monomorphemic (simplex) stems (Underriner 2002: 18).

9.1. Stems

maqlaqsyals verb stems come in two forms, the bimorphemic form, which is more prevalent in the language, and the monomorphemic or ‘simplex’ verb stem. (DeLancey 1996). Verbs in *maqlaqsyals*, regardless of the stem form, require a final or ‘terminal’ suffix (Underriner 2002: 15). Terminal suffixes can include the suffix *-a* (Indicative), *-ank* (participle) or others of classes 22–25 (Recall section 5.3.) (Barker 1964).

9.1.1. Bipartite (Complex) Stem

The bipartite stem in *maqlaqsyals* is a composite of two morphemes that do not hold meaning on their own as a verb stem (DeLancey 1999: 61). Having a complex (bimorphemic) verb stem is not unique to *maqlaqsyals* but is a feature found in the Western region of North America. The term ‘bipartite’ is borrowed from Jacobsen’s (1980) work on *waashiw* (Washo), though there are some cases in which the stem takes on more than two parts (DeLancey 1999: 61). Included in his borrowing are the terms Lexical Prefix (LP) and Locative Directive Suffix (LDS) (DeLancey 1999: 61). Those handfuls of stems that take on multiple parts are ‘tripartite’ and consist of a classificatory LP, stem and locative final (DeLancey 1991: 428).

Following the analyses and terminology from Jacobsen’s (1980) work on *waashiw*, DeLancey (1999) finds three major position classes from Barker’s (1964) work that make up the stems. The position classes that DeLancey (1991) uses are class 7 ‘major stem formants,’ classes 4–5 ‘classificatory morphemes’ and classes 10–14 ‘locative directive morphemes.’ The use of the classificatory stems reflects the animacy, shape and number of the verbal argument whether Theme or Instrumental (DeLancey 1991: 428). The locative directive morphemes then indicate location, manner of motion, path or change of state (Underriner 2002: 18).

There are four manners of bipartite stems that DeLancey (1996) puts forth for recognition:

I. Instrumental LP + Change of State (COS) Stem

The combination of an instrumental/action prefix with change of state (COS) stems/verbs are the first manner of bipartite stem construction (DeLancey 1996).

Instrumental LPs are those which denote the shape of an instrument used as well (to a level yet to be determined) as the dimensions of type of action (i.e., if a strike was axial/radial) (DeLancey 1996). The Instrumental prefixes maintain an almost exclusive relationship in terms of construction with COS stems (DeLancey 1999). An example list of such stems in *maqlaqsyals* by DeLancey (1999) include Instrumental LPs such as those shown in Table 43.

<i>c'le</i>	'act with the fingers, fingernails'
<i>d^v</i>	'act with the hands, fingers; knead, rub'
<i>kt</i>	'act with the fist, kick'
<i>n</i>	'act with a round object, act upon a rd. object'
<i>s</i>	'act with a sharp object, stab'
<i>y^v</i>	'act with the foot, act violently on'

Table 43. Instrumental Lexical Prefixes (DeLancey 1999: 67; Barker 1963b: 462)

The inclusion of a classificatory LP changes intransitive verb stems such as *q'oc'* – 'bend' (74) into transitive actions such as *yoqc'* – 'bend with the foot' (75) (Barker 1963b: 332).

(74) *q'oc'a*
q'oc' -a
 bend -IND
 'bend (intrans.)' (Barker 1963b: 332)

(75) *yoqc'a*
y^v q'oc'-a
 act.with.foot.-bend-IND
 'bends [obj.] with the foot' (Barker 1963b: 332)

The first manner of bipartite stem construction maintains Agent Theme arguments (DeLancey 1996). The bipartite construction in (2) reflects the execution of the Agent's

action (DeLancey 1996: 19). Opposite the index of Agent, the object which is acted upon in the transitive (bipartite) construction in (75) as well as that which is bent in the intransitive (74) index the Theme (DeLancey 1996).

II. Classifying LP + LDS

The combination of a Classifying Lexical Prefix with a Locative–Directive suffix is the second manner of bipartite stem construction (DeLancey 1996). Such constructions index the exertion of an external force in manipulation of the subject (DeLancey 2007). The nature of the bipartite construction entails the motion/location (noted by the LDS) of a specific category of object (noted by the Classifying LP) (DeLancey 1996). Classifying LPs are those which refer to the specific category of an object involved in the verb. A Table of such LPs in *maqlaqsyals* by DeLancey (1999) includes Classifying LPs in Table 44.

<i>c'a</i>	'handful of granular objects'
<i>c'i</i>	'liquid in a container'
<i>cl^e</i>	'massive object'
<i>ks^v</i>	'living object'
<i>sdⁿ</i>	'pipe, cigarette'

Table 44. Classifying Lexical Prefixes (DeLancey 1999: 66)

These categories refer to Classifying LPs that occur most often in bipartite stems and only in simplex stems that cannot occur independently (DeLancey 1999).

The Locative–Directive Suffixes in Klamath occur with motion and classifying verbs, as well as simplex verbs (DeLancey 2007). There are well over 100 very specific LDSs that indicate the location, direction and path of the Classifying and Motion/Position

considered intransitive based on pragmatic grounds, utilizing the pipe Classifying LP, he states “pipes, after all, do not fill or pass themselves” (DeLancey 1999: 66)

III. Motion/Position LP + LDS

The combination of a Motion Lexical Prefix with a Locative–Directive Suffix is the third manner of bipartite stem construction (DeLancey 1996). Such constructions index the agency of internal energy and action of the subject (DeLancey 2007). An example list of such LPs in *maqlaqsyals* by DeLancey (1999) includes Motion/Position LPs as shown in Table 46.

<i>c^v</i>	‘sg sit, slide’
<i>c^v</i>	‘go (group of animals)’
<i>g^v</i>	‘go, move of one’s own volition’
<i>hod</i>	‘sg. run, jump’
<i>hood</i>	‘sg. run, jump slowly or purposefully’

Table 46. Examples of Motion/Position LPs (DeLancey 1999: 67)

The combination of an LDS with an LP referring to motion is presented in (77):

- (77) *gelwipga*
g^v -elwy -bg -a
 go -by.the.fire -coming -IND
 ‘visits’ (Barker 1964: 135)

Semantically similar to their English glosses, there are some parallels found in prepositional verb structures of some Indo–European languages (DeLancey 2007). Unlike the semantic and structural parallels compared to other languages, it is important to note that there is no structural way to extract abstract concepts of motion.

DeLancey (2007: 143) states that ‘Klamath does not permit a less–than–complete’ depiction of a motional event’ due to the obligatory combination of Motion Position LPs and LDSs.

IV. Miscellaneous that don’t fit previous categories (5)

There are bipartite structures that do not fall into any of the above categories. There is little information on these structures and their argument structures are not analyzed in depth at present. An example is included in (78) below.

- (78) *dalmni*
d^{el} –amni
look –up uphill
‘looks up’ (Barker 1963b: 99; Underriner 2002: 21)

9.1.2. Simplex Stems

The simplex (monomorphemic) stem in *maqlaqsyals* consists of individual morphemes that hold significant meaning on their own as a verb stem (DeLancey 1991: 428).

Having a simplex verb stem is not unique to *maqlaqsyals*, but is an easily recognizable feature found cross–linguistically, particularly in English (i.e., ‘jump’, ‘fly’). Simplex stems can be transitive – shown in (79) – or intransitive – shown in (80) – based on their semantic content. Sentence examples are given with the simplex verbs in bold below.

- (79) *lac’asdat mi **ciya***
*lac’as-dat mi **ci-** –a*
house.at 2sg **lives** –IND
‘You **live** at the house.’ (Barker 1963b: 77; Barker 1964: 231)

(80) *hiswaqs ?a daaslaats siwga*
hiswaqs ?a daaslaats siwg- -a
man DEC cougar **kill** **-IND**
'The man **killed** the cougar' (Barker 1963b: 367; Klamath Tribes 1999)

Recall that the role of reduplication, prefixation and suffixation in *maqlaqsyals* morphology has been discussed earlier.

10. Syntax

The *maqlaqsyals* language is a nonconfigurational language (Underriner 2002). Included within this typology is the absence of structured Verb Phrases and Noun Phrases (Underriner 2002). Instead, words form semantic groups (Underriner 2002). With the exception of a fixed and flexible second position, there is great variability within word order of *maqlaqsyals* (Underriner 2002). Sentences within *maqlaqsyals* may contain the same semantic content in varying orders of arrangement without losing equivalency (Underriner 2002: 107). Of the variability in word order arrangement, there are certain positions that have restraints in flexibility. The positions that maintain such restraints are clause initial and second position elements.

10.1. Word order in *maqlaqsyals*

Using the adapted example from Underriner (2002: 108), the elicitation sentence from Barker (1964: 341) is presented in (81):

	1	2	3	4	5
(81) a.	<i>hoot</i>	<i>?a</i>	<i>Naas</i>	<i>lilhanks</i>	<i>slin.</i>
	He	DEC	one	deer	shot
	'He shot one deer'				

This sentence was elicited by Barker (1964) in order to illustrate the variability of word order in *maqlaqsyals*. All of the possible orders of the constituents were then rearranged to test for grammatical acceptability with his language consultant. Of the 24 possible arrangements (Word 2 – *?a* – has a fixed position.), there were sixteen permutations that were unquestioningly acceptable word orders in *maqlaqsyals*. The first acceptable has been presented in (81) above. The other fifteen acceptable permutations are presented in Table 45 below.

b.	<i>hoot ?a slin Naas lilhanks.</i>	12534
c.	<i>hoot ?a lilhanks slin Naas.</i>	12453
d.	<i>hoot ?a Naas slin lilhanks.</i>	12354
e.	<i>Naas ?a lilhanks hoot slin.</i>	32415
f.	<i>Naas ?a slin hoot lilhanks.</i>	32514
g.	<i>Naas ?a hoot slin lilhanks.</i>	32154
h.	<i>Naas ?a hoot lihanks slin.</i>	32145
i.	<i>Naas ?a slin lilhanks hoot.</i>	32541
j.	<i>lilhanks ?a Naas hoot slin.</i>	42315
k.	<i>lihanks ? hoot slin Naas.</i>	42153
l.	<i>lihanks ?a Naas slin hoot.</i>	42351
m.	<i>lilanks ?a slin hoot Naas.</i>	42513
n.	<i>slin ?a hoot Naas lilhanks.</i>	52134
o.	<i>slin a hoot lilhanks Naas.</i>	52143
p.	<i>slin a Naas lilhanks hoot.</i>	52341

Table 47. Permutations of 12345 Word Order (Underriner 2002: 108)

Text counts were performed on two sets of data gathered from Barker (1963a) and Gatschet (1890) to determine distribution of the various word orders (Underriner 2002). Of the first corpus, there were five word order variations occurring in the distribution as follows: SOV (32%), OSV (26)%, VSO (20%), SVO (16%), and VOS (6%) (Underriner 2002: 110). The six percent difference between the more frequent SOV and 2nd most frequent OSV word orders cannot merit the label of absoluteness in frequency because of similar differences among remaining order variations (Underriner 2002). The most noted

trend is a potential preference for verbs to occur in final position with a prevalence of 58% (Underriner 2002).

Analysis of the second different clausal types (intransitive, transitive and ditransitive) presented more distinct preference of word order (Underriner 2002). Intransitive clauses have a preferred word of SV (Underriner 2002). Transitive clauses present patterns of SOV (56%), OSV (23%), SVO (16%) and VSO (5%) (Underriner 2002: 114). Finally, of (rarely occurring) di-transitive clauses there were five orders presented (Underriner). Through these analyses the generalization can be made of *maqraqsyals* word order that there is a preference of verb occurrence in the final position (Underriner 2002).

10.2. Clause Initial Particles

The first position of clauses in *maqraqsyals* is limited to a small set of particles (Barker 1964). The clause initial particles include the negative, interrogatives, narrative particles and expressions (Underriner 2002). Examples of each are presented with the negative *q'ay* (82), an interrogative *dadaa* ‘when’ (83) and *coy honk* ‘and, so then’ (general introduction of a narrative clause) (84) below.

(82) *q'ay ni s?aywakta*
q'ay ni s?aywg -otn -a
 NEG 1st.sg know -on.against -IND
 ‘I don’t know.’

(83) *dadaa ?i genwapk?*
dadaa ?i g^v -en wabg
 ever sometimes.when 2nd.sg go -away -FUT
 ‘When will you go?’

(Barker 1963b: 104)

(84) *coy honk na?as gi...*
coy honk nee –as gi
 then.that.remote.obj that(absent) –way is.does
 ‘So then he said...’ (Barker 1963b: 261)

Clauses within *maqlaqsyals* do not require the clause initial particles presented here (Underriner 2002). When these particles are not utilized, pragmatics governs the placement of important or new information at the beginning of the clause (Underriner 2002: 145). This is especially true in clauses that utilize the second position elements (Underriner 2002).

10.3. Second Position Elements

Generally, the relative order of second position elements maintains a higher level of flexibility (Underriner 2002). The second position elements may stack up to 5 second position elements, extending as necessary (Underriner 2002).

The second position elements include Particles, Demonstratives, Clitic Pronouns and Full Pronouns (Underriner 2002). An inventory of second position elements is presented in Table 43. Recall information from earlier discussions on Pronouns and Demonstratives.

Table 48. Inventory of Second Position Elements (Underriner 2002: 155-156)

Particles	<i>?a</i>	‘declarative’
	<i>?at</i>	‘now’
	<i>’yo</i>	‘hortative’
	<i>lis</i>	‘indeed’
	<i>daats</i>	‘however, on the other hand’
	<i>dal</i>	‘interrogative’
	<i>hak</i>	‘emphatic’
	<i>bas</i>	‘wonder’
	<i>dak</i>	‘but’
	<i>c’is</i>	‘too’
	<i>’ya</i>	‘dubitative’
	<i>gin</i>	‘even, just’
	<i>cee</i>	‘only, after, upon’
	<i>bil</i>	‘only, full completely’
	<i>sitk</i>	‘like, similar to’
	<i>’wee</i>	‘first, before some other action’
	<i>daak</i>	‘self, (emph. reflexive action)’
	<i>ba’ni</i>	‘until, up to’
	<i>hay</i>	‘eh?’ ¹⁹
	<i>cik</i>	‘new topic’
<i>mat</i>	‘as they say/ EVID’	

Table 48a. 2nd Position Particles (Underriner 2002: 155)

¹⁹ Appeal for agreement via inclusion of the listener (Underriner 2002: 156).

<p>Demonstratives</p>	<p><i>hoot</i> 'demonstrative, remote' <i>hok</i> 'that one' <i>hon</i> 'that, that one (inanim.)' <i>honk. -s</i> 'that, 3rdsg.obj' <i>gee, gen</i> 'this' <i>nee, nen</i> 'that, invisible'</p>
<p>Clitic Pronouns</p>	<p><i>?ins</i> 'you-me' <i>?is</i> 'you-me' <i>min, mis</i> 'I-you, I-you.obj' <i>?ams</i> '2ndsg.obj' <i>?an, ?ans</i> '1st.sg, 1st.sg.obj'</p>
<p>Full Pronouns</p>	<p><i>ni, nis</i> '1st.sg, 1st.sg.obj' <i>noo, noos</i> '1st.sg.INTENS, -obj' <i>naat</i> '1st.pl' <i>naa 'ls, maads</i> '1st.pl.obj' <i>?i</i> '2nd.sg' <i>?aat</i> '2nd.pl' <i>maa 'ls, maads</i> '2nd.pl.obj' <i>bi</i> '3rd.sg' <i>mna</i> '3rd.sg.obj' <i>sa (honk)</i> '3rd.pl' <i>sa (honk)</i> '3rd.pl.obj'</p>

Table 48b. Demonstratives & Pronouns (Underriner 2002: 156)

In clauses that include multiple second position elements, there are expanded 2nd position slots (Underriner 2002). Expansion orders presented in the Klamath Texts (Barker 1963a) confirm that topic markers, speech act particles, evidentials or emphatics are found first (Underriner 2002:160). However, if topic markers or speech acts are found in the same clause as the evidential marker, the evidential comes second (Underriner: 160). No words from the Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives or Adverbs can be placed into the expansion (Underriner 2002). Also, in cases where a non-pronominal 2nd position element is found with a 2nd position pronominal, the pronoun follows the non-pronominal (Underriner 2002: 158).

11. Conclusion

The intent of this thesis was to inform readers that – to date – linguistic practices in the description of *maqlaqsyals* pose problems in the reclamation of the language. The methods, practices and paradigms of academic approaches must be challenged and realigned. The complexities of language must be changed from the manner utilized in ‘linguistics for specialist’ methodologies and implemented in a multi-layered maner that meets the needs of (non)specialists’.

First, an overview discussing the vitality of *maqlaqsyals* was provided with contextual information surrounding the destructive effects of American colonialism and federal assimilationist policies, including Termination. At present, there are no first language speakers of *maqlaqsyals*. Nevertheless, tribal programs will continue so long as dedicated second language learners continue efforts in reclamation.

The historical and present issues surrounding *maqlaqsyals* orthography were presented next. The orthographical development process has evolved for 125 years. This thesis includes a revision to the orthography to settle issues of literacy experienced by (non)specialist language learners. In this pursuit, the language maintains consistency in spelling and ease of reproduction for literary endeavors and linguistic empowerment.

Finally, readers were presented with an overview of *maqlaqsyals* to appreciate the inaccessibility of description while faithfully presenting complexities of the language. The majority of recent academic work has brought the descriptive work up to date, though the majority is still written inaccessibly.

The final product of this thesis has culminated in *maqlaqsyalank hemyeega* ‘starting to speak *maqlaqsyals*’ (Appendix A). *maqlaqsyals* remains in critical condition at present and it has been realized that the language community must remain active in efforts to

change this condition for the better. In working toward understanding and shifting the role of linguistics in language reclamation, revitalization and reinvigoration from theory to praxis, development of alternative methodologies of linguistic study must be developed. The author takes a step in doing so through this thesis.

As linguists, we have a responsibility to further knowledge of world languages. Part of this responsibility includes contributing to the survival of world languages by serving the language communities we interact with.

As citizens of tribal nations, we must recognize our responsibility to preserve, protect and promote all aspects of indigenous self-determination. In doing so, it is critical that we engage language as an integral aspect of indigenous sovereignty.

As an active citizen in my own language community, academic community and tribal nation, I have endeavored to start my journey with a contribution. That contribution is the analysis of *maqlaqsyals* linguistics, inaccessible practices in linguistics, and the reframing of updated works in order to present practical metalinguistic knowledge for the language community.

Appendix A – *maqlaqsyalank hemyeega*

maqlaqsyalank hemyeega
'Starting to speak *maqlaqsyals*'

Chapter 1: Sounds

1. Introduction

Over the course of a century there have been four different styles of representing *maqlaqsyals* sounds in writing (Gatschet 1890; Barker 1963; Klamath Tribes 1999). For our purposes, I propose changes that will make it easier to pronounce *maqlaqsyals*. This system is compatible with the present system used by the Klamath Tribes, with an adjustment to the pre-glottalized consonants *l', m', n', w'* and *y'* to *'l, 'm, 'n, 'w* and *'y*.

This sound sketch is divided up into two (2) sections: consonants and vowels. Further resources on these sounds (including recordings) are available in the language section of the Klamath Tribes official website at <http://klamathtribes.org/language/> (Klamath Tribes 1999). In each section, the sounds will be ordered from the front of the mouth to the sounds in the back of the mouth.

A list of all the words are in Appendix A for your use.

2. Consonants

The consonants used in *maqlaqsyals* are presented in alphabetical order. Though some of these sounds may seem difficult, you will get the hang of them. Many of these sounds are similar to English, but have differences that will be explained. All of Klamath consonants are *ʔ, b, c, c', d, g, G, h, j, k, k', l, L, 'l, m, M, 'm, n, N, 'n, p, p', q, q', s, t, t', w, W, 'w, y, Y', y*.

I have included the page number the word may be found in Barker's (1963b) dictionary for your reference. All examples will be numbered in the text.

There is no typo in the first entry. A question mark represents a sound, the glottal stop, in our language. There are up to 3 examples showing you where the glottal stop can occur in our words.

- (1) ?
- ? [also known as a ‘glottal stop’] is pronounced like the sound in the middle of English ‘uh-oh’. This sound is produced by shutting the air off in the throat. This stop precedes all vowels at the beginning of words and can occur in the middle of words (shown in 1a-1b).

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. a. <i>?ambo</i>
‘water’ | b. <i>s?ooqs</i>
<i>s?ooq -s</i>
ONOM-NS ²⁰
‘blue-crane’ |
|-------------------------------|--|

- (2) *b*
- b* is pronounced like the *p* in ‘spin’ (notice it isn’t quite the same as the *p* in ‘pitch’). The only time it sounds like the first sound in English ‘bunny’ is between two vowels. These pronunciations remain the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 2a-2b). This sound doesn’t occur at the end of words.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 2. a. <i>beep</i>
‘daughter’ | b. <i>s?aba</i>
‘tells, says’ |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|

- (3) *c*
- c* is pronounced like the final sound in English ‘watch’. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning, middle or end of words (shown in 3a-3c).

²⁰ In the literal translations provided, there are many different abbreviations. In this case, ONOM is an abbreviation for onomatopoeic and means something is said how it sounds (like ‘bang!’). NS is an abbreviation for Noun Suffix. For a full list of the different abbreviations used, see Appendix B

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|--|
| 3. | a. <i>ciiya</i>
cii -a
domestic.animal
dwell-IND
'stays, lives, dwells' | b. <i>Geweis</i>
Gewc-s

wolf-NS
'wolf' | c. <i>wac</i>

'horse' |
|----|---|---|--|

(4) *c'*
c' is pronounced like the final sound in English 'watch' while holding your breath. Some may recognize this sound as an [Open Hi-Hat] sound in beatboxing. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 4a-4b)

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--|
| 4. | <i>c'aaGi</i>
'little boy' | b. <i>wac'aak</i>
<i>wac</i> -'aak'
domestic.animal-DIM ²¹
'dog' |
|----|-------------------------------|--|

(5) *d*
d is pronounced like the *t* in 'stick' (not quite the same as the *t* in 'talk'). The only time it sounds like the first sound in English 'dunk' is between two vowels. These pronunciations remain the same at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 5a-5b). This sound doesn't occur at the end of words.

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------|
| 5. | a. <i>dmoyeega</i>
<i>dmo</i> - <i>yeeg</i> - <i>a</i>
start -beginning -IND ²²
'starts (work, journey)' | b. <i>dadaa</i>
'when' |
|----|--|---------------------------|

(6) *g*
g is pronounced like the *k* in 'skin'. The only time it sounds like the first sound in English 'gummy' is between two vowels. These pronunciations remain the same

²¹ DIM means 'diminutive'. This is like when kid is said 'kiddo' or a small duck is called a 'duckling'.

²² IND means 'indicative'. This is the basic form to end verbs with, like 'jump' vs. 'jumping'

at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 6a-6b). This sound doesn't occur at the end of words.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 6. a. <i>gmok'a'mc</i>
<i>gmo -kmc</i>
old -AUG ²³
'Ancient One' | b. <i>siwga</i>
<i>siwg -a</i>
kill(sg.) -IND
'kills' |
|--|--|

(7) *G*

G is pronounced like the *k* in 'skin' but made further back in the mouth. The only time it sounds similar to a further back version of the first sound in English 'gummy' is between two vowels. These pronunciations remain the same at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 7a-7b). This sound doesn't occur at the end of words.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 7. a. <i>Gos</i>
<i>Go -s</i>
ONOM-NS
'swan' | b. <i>siGasLa</i>
<i>se -Gis -eLa -a</i>
REFLEX-walk-onto.surface-IND
'steps up (achieves/progresses)' |
|---|---|

(8) *h*

h is pronounced like the initial sound in English 'hungry'. This pronunciation remains the same at all parts of words (shown in 8a-8c). This sound doesn't occur at the end of words.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 8. <i>hoot</i>
'that, he/she/it (remote)' | b. <i>hihaswaqs</i>
<i>re -hiswaqs</i>
DIST ²⁴ -man
'men' |
|--|---|

²³ AUG means 'augmentative'. This makes the word before it the whole description of something.

²⁴ DIST means 'distributive'. This means that a group is made of individuals instead of a single mass.

- (9) *j*
j is pronounced like the initial sound in English ‘jump’. This pronunciation remains the same at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 9a-9b). This sound doesn’t occur at the end of words.

9. a. <i>jimaaʔas</i> <i>jimaaʔ</i> -s shinny.ball-NS ‘Shinny ball, game’	b. <i>solja</i> ‘soldier’	c. <i>wonj</i> ‘canoe’
--	------------------------------	---------------------------

- (10) *k*
k is pronounced like the final sound in English ‘take’. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning, middle or end of words (shown in 10a-10c).

10. a. <i>kaWkaW’li</i> <i>rér</i> -kaW -‘li (narrative) INT -.be.brown -AS ‘brown’	b. <i>ndanksept</i> <i>ndan</i> -ksept three -plus.five ‘eight’	c. <i>hok</i> ‘that one’
---	--	-----------------------------

- (11) *k’*
k’ is pronounced like the final sound in English ‘take’ but instead of stopping air in the mouth while holding your breath. Some may recognize this sound as a [Rimshot] sound in beatboxing. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 11a-11b)

11. a. <i>k’ink</i> ‘few, small amount’	b. <i>pk’isap</i> <i>b</i> -k’is - <u>a</u> b KP-mother-KS ‘mother’
--	--

- (12) *l*
l is pronounced like the first sound in English ‘look’. The pronunciation is the same at all parts of words (shown in 12a-12c).

12. a. *looq*
‘seed’
- b. *balba’li*
rér-bal -’li
INT-white-AS
‘white’
- c. *yawq’al*
‘bald eagle’

(13) *L*
L is similar to the first sound in English ‘look’ if an *h* occurred before it. The pronunciation is the same in any place of the word (shown in 13a-13b).

13. a. *Las*
‘wing’
- b. *Lap’akLas*
‘shoulder’

(14) *ʔ*
ʔ is similar to the first sound in English ‘look’ if a glottal stop occurred before the ‘l’. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 14a-14b). This sound does not occur at the end of words.

14. a. *ʔim’im’li*
rér -’im -’li
INT -roan-AS
‘roan (reddish-brown)’
- b. *q’o’lanc*
‘knee’

(15) *m*
m is pronounced like the first sound in English ‘monk’. The pronunciation is the same at all parts of words (shown in 15a-15c).

15. a. *moo*
‘very, big’
- b. *maams*
‘even though, in spite of’
- c. *honk’lam*
honk -’lm
that.it –POSS²⁵
‘that one’s’
(his/hers/its)’

(16) *M*
M is similar to the first sound in English ‘monk’ if an *h* occurred before the ‘m’.
This sound only occurs in the middle of words (shown in 16a).

²⁵ POSS means ‘possessive’. This is used like ‘mine/yours/his/hers/its’.

16. a. *sʔaaMaks*
sʔaaMkʔ -s
 be.related –NS
 ‘relative’

(17) *ʔm*
 ‘m is similar to the first sound in English ‘**monk**’ if a glottal stop occurred before the ‘m’. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or end of words (shown in 17a-17b). This sound does not occur at the ending of words.

17. a. *ʔmokʔaak*
ʔmoq -ʔaakʔ
 baby -DIM
 ‘baby’

b. *ʔmoʔmolqʔaak*
rɛ -ʔmolq -ʔaakʔ
 DIST-worm –DIM
 ‘rice’

(18) *n*
 n is pronounced like the final sound in English ‘**town**’. The pronunciation is the same at all parts of words (shown in 18a-18c).

18. a. *nee*
 ‘that (absent)’

b. *gidaana*
gidaa -ni
 here -AS
 ‘all around here’

c. *tawn*
 ‘town’

(19) *N*
 N is similar to the final sound in English ‘**town**’ if an *h* occurred before the ‘n’.

This sound only occurs at the beginning of words (shown in 19a).

19. a. *Naykstʔa*
Nay -kstʔa
 one.side -side
 ‘on one side (fifty cents)’

(20) *'n*
 'n is similar to the first sound in English 'nut' if a glottal stop occurred before the 'n'. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 20a-20b). This sound does not occur at the ending of words.

20. a. *'nos*
 'head'

b. *p'ac'na*
p'an -'na -c'n -a
 eat -1pl.HORT-go.along-IND
 'Let's eat!'

(21) *p*
p is pronounced like the first sound in English 'pitch' or the last sound in 'tip'. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or end of words (shown in 21a-21b).

21. a. *pec*
 'foot'

b. *beep*
 'daughter'

(22) *p'*
p' is pronounced like the first sound in English 'pitch' but instead of stopping air in the mouth while making the sound, the air is stopped in the throat. Some may recognize this sound as a [Muted Bass] sound in beatboxing. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 22a-22b)

22. a. *p'asla*
p'an -s -'al -a
 eat -NS-VS(?)-IND
 'gets food'

b. *q'osap'as*
q'osap' -s
 ONOM -NS
 'pocket knife'

- (23) *q*
q is pronounced like the *k* in English ‘take’ but made further back in the mouth.
 The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning, middle or end of words (shown in 23a-23c).

23. a. <i>qiwa</i> <i>qiw</i> - <i>a</i> smarts-IND ‘smarts (pains)’	b. <i>loloqs</i> ‘fire’	c. <i>waq</i> ‘how, why’
---	----------------------------	-----------------------------

- (24) *q’*
q’ is pronounced like the final sound in English ‘take’ further back in the mouth.
 Instead of stopping air in the mouth while making the sound, the air is stopped in the throat. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 24a-24b).

24. a. <i>q’ay</i> ‘no’	b. <i>yawq’al</i> ‘bald eagle’
----------------------------	-----------------------------------

- (25) *s*
s is pronounced like the initial sound in English ‘some’. The pronunciation is the same at all parts of words (shown in 25a-25c).

25. a. <i>sa</i> 3pl.NOM ‘they’	b. <i>p’asla</i> <i>p’an</i> - <i>s</i> -‘ <i>al</i> - <i>a</i> eat -NS ²⁶ -VS ²⁷ (?)-IND ‘gets food’	c. <i>loloqs</i> ‘fire’
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²⁶ NS means ‘noun suffix’. This can make an action a noun, like ‘jump’ can become ‘jumper’

²⁷ VS means ‘verb suffix’. This can make a noun an action. In this case ‘food’ becomes ‘fooding’ (like getting food).

(26) *t*
t is pronounced like the first sound in English ‘talk’. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning, middle or end of words (shown in 26a-26c).

26. a. <i>taktak’li</i> <u>rér</u> - <i>tak</i> - ‘ <i>li</i> INT-red –AS ‘red’	b. <i>ptisap</i> ‘father’	c. <i>naat</i> ‘we’
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(27) *t’*
t’ is pronounced like the first sound in English ‘talk’ while holding your breath. Some may recognize this sound as an [Closed Hi-Hat] sound in beatboxing. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 27a-27b). This sound does not occur at the ending of words.

27. a. <i>t’at’aksni</i> <u>re</u> - <i>taksni</i> DIST -children ‘children’	b. <i>pt’eeewip</i> <i>b</i> - <i>t’eeew</i> - <u>ab</u> KP ²⁸ -paternal.grandmother-KS ²⁹ ‘father’s mother’
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(28) *w*
w is pronounced like the first sound in ‘wonder’. The pronunciation is the same in all areas of the word (shown in 28a-28c).

28. a. <i>waat’i</i> ‘knife’	b. <i>Gewcis</i> <i>Gewc</i> - <i>s</i> wolf -NS ‘wolf’	c. <i>gew</i> 1sg.POSS
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²⁸ KP means ‘kinship prefix’. We have these to help distinguish whose family is being talked about.

²⁹ KS means ‘kinship suffix’. We have these to further distinguish whose family is being talked about (in this case, it is the speakers’ family).

(29) *W*
W is similar to the first sound in English ‘wonder’ if an *h* occurred before the ‘w’³⁰. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or end of words (shown in 29a-29b).

29. a. *Weeqs*
 ONOM-NS
 ‘mallard duck’

b. *giWiitk*
 gi -Wii -dk
 be -used.to -ST
 ‘used to be’

(30) ‘w
 ‘w is similar to the first sound in English ‘wonder’ if a glottal stop occurred before the ‘w’. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 30a-30b). This sound does not occur at the ending of words.

30. ‘*wee*
 ‘first, before some other action’

b. *wa’waaks*
 ‘eye mucus’

(31) *y*
y is pronounced like the first sound in ‘yummy’. The pronunciation is the same in all areas of the word (shown in 31a-31c).

31. a. *yaks dwaa*
 ‘Oh my goodness!’

b. *maqlaqsyalank*
maqlaqs -yal -ank
 Indian -speak.preceding -done
 ‘(talk) in Indian’

³⁰ For avid television viewers, consider Stewie Griffin saying ‘cool**w**hip’

(32) *Y*
Y is similar to the first sound in English ‘yummy’ if an *h* occurred before ‘y’. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 32a-32b).

<p>32. a. <i>Yakc'a</i> <i>Yak'</i> -c'n -a hiccup -goes.along -IND ‘hiccups’</p>	<p>b. <i>YakYak'a</i> <u><i>ré</i></u> -<i>Yak'</i> -a INT -whimper.sob -IND ‘whimpers, sobs’</p>
--	--

(33) *y*
‘y’ is similar to the first sound in English ‘yummy’ if a glottal stop occurred before the ‘y’. The pronunciation is the same whether it is at the beginning or middle of words (shown in 33a-33b). This sound does not occur at the ending of words.

<p>33. a. <i>hok 'ya</i> ‘is it? (sarcastic)’</p>	<p>b. <i>q'a'ye</i> ‘intestines’</p>
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3. Vowels

The vowels used in *maqlaqsyals* are presented in alphabetical order. Though they seem to be short and long vowels, each of the vowels have different sounds. All of these sounds have similarities with English. The total vowels of Klamath are *a*, *aa*, *e*, *ee*, *i*, *ii*, *o*, and *oo*.

(34) *a*
a is pronounced like the vowel in ‘but’ The pronunciation is the same in the middle and end of the word (shown in 34a-34c). This sound also is used to finish verbs.

34. a. *waq*
'why'

b. *bonwa*
bonw -a
drink -IND
'drinks'

(35) *aa*

aa is pronounced like the vowel in English 'got'. The pronunciation is the same in both the middle and the end (shown in 35a-35b).

35. a. *Naas*
'one'

b. *dwaa*
'something, what'

(36) *e*

e is pronounced like the vowel in English 'let'. This sound only occurs in the middle of words (shown in 36a-36b).

36. a. *?ews*
?ew -s
lake -NS
'Klamath Lake'

b. *sle?a*
sle? -a
see -IND
sees

(37) *ee*

ee is pronounced like the vowel in English 'cat'. This pronunciation is the same in both the middle and the end of words (shown in 37a-37b).

37. *dic'ee'wa*
dic' -eewi' -a
good-be.preceding.-IND
'likes, is good'

b. *gee*
'this (proximate)'

(38) *i*

i is pronounced like the vowel in English 'bit'. This pronunciation is the same at the middle and ending of words (shown in 38a-38b).

38. a. *joyjiks*
'strawberry'

b. *?i*
'you (NOM)'

(39) *ii*
ii is pronounced like the vowel in English 'beat'. This pronunciation is the same at the middle and ending of words (shown in 39a-39b).

39. a. *niis*
'neck'

b. *?ii*
'yes'

(40) *o*
o is pronounced like the vowel in English 'bone'. This pronunciation remains the same at the middle and ending of words (shown in 40a-40b).

40. a. *won*
'elk'

b. *wsə*
'chest'

(41) *oo*
oo is pronounced like the vowel in English 'boot'. This pronunciation remains the same at the middle and ending of words (shown in 41a-41b).

41. a. *gooli*
g^v -ooli
go-down.off
'wins, beats (in a game)'

b. *pat'oo*
'cheek'

Summary of the Sounds

Vowels

a	i
aa	ii
e	o
ee	oo

Stops

p	b
t	d
c	j
k	g

Ejectives and Back Stops

p'	q
t'	q'
c'	G
k'	?

Sonorants

m	w
n	y
l	

Glottalized and 'airy' sonorants

M	N	L	W	Y
'm	'n	'l	'w	'y

Learning Activity

maqlaqsyalank hemyeega ('Starting to speak maqlaqsyals')

Many of the consonants in *maqlaqsyals* are not sounds that are used in the English language. These are the ejectives (sounds that are 'shot' out), glottalized sonorants (sounds where the vocal cords vibrate) and voiceless unaspirated sonorants (sounds that would vibrate the vocal cords in English, but don't in Klamath). To become more familiar with these sounds, the following dice game will give lots of opportunity to practice.

Sound Practice for *maqlaqsyals*.

Making the dice

Make a set of paper dice from the templates in Appendix B: 1 12d (12-sided), 3 8d (8-sided), 1 6d (6-Sided). You may also simply use dice of these sizes, available at most gaming stores, preferably in different colors. Write on each side of the dice to match with the Tables below.

Before starting, read the descriptions of these sounds in chapter one, then listen to the audio examples of these sounds on the Klamath Tribes language page. Once you feel comfortable with each sound, throw one die at a time. Everyone playing will then take their turn saying the sound.

Once everyone is able to make each sound without struggles, everyone playing can choose one player to whom they want to throw their die. Then each pair of players can continue to practice. Whenever you land on 'WILD!', then you may choose who will throw the dice next.

Advanced Level

Use the dice throws and the sound landed on to choose practice words for you and your partner from the practice words in chapter 1 (fully listed in Appendix A).

Sounds for Sound Dice

Vowels (8d)

a	i
aa	ii
e	o
ee	oo

Stops (8d)

p	b
t	d
c	j
k	g

Ejectives and Back Stops (8d)

p'	q
t'	q'
c'	G
k'	?

Sonorants (6d)

m	w
n	y
l	WILD!

Glottalized and 'airy' sonorants

M	N	L	W	Y
'm	'n	'l	'w	'y

Chapter 2: Words

0.0. Introduction

Learning to understand how words work in *maqlaqsyals* is difficult since our words are built differently from English. This section describes how words are made. The following section covers nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns and verbs.

1.0. Nouns

You will likely remember nouns from English class. Nouns are those words that act as the name of things like objects, places, ideas, qualities and other specific things. Nouns tend to be those words that occur as the subject of a verb. In *maqlaqsyals* these words are built up by a series of affixes (word additions) that can change their meaning. In *maqlaqsyals* the noun can be built in a few different ways, whether it be from a verb or from a sound (i.e. bird names). In this section there are examples of noun builds from the complex builds and changing a verb to a noun.

1.1. Simple to Complex Words

In *maqlaqsyals* some of the most basic words can become more complex very quickly with the addition of affixes³¹ (attached word additions). Shown below in (1) is an example of a series of suffixation, additions to the end of a word.

(1) <i>qbolWi</i>	‘White Sage (leaves)’
<i>qbolWi?am</i>	‘White Sagebrush’
<i>qbolWi?amGeeni</i>	‘White Sagebrush Place’
<i>qbolWi?amGeengiis</i>	‘People from White Sagebrush-Place’
<i>qbolWi?amGeengiisas</i>	‘The ones from “Sagebrush-Place” (objective)’

(Barker 1964: 185)

³¹ Affixes are additions to words that wouldn’t mean anything by themselves. In English this could be a suffix like ‘-ing’ as in ‘jumping’ or a prefix like ‘pre-’ as in ‘pregame’. There are many types of affixation in *maqlaqsyals*.

You can see above you can add to a small word to make it bigger. For nouns there is also a prefix – an addition to the beginning of the word – that can be added which will be touched on later. The suffixes involved in the last version of the word are broken down in (2-5).

(2) *qbolWi + ?am* ‘White Sagebrush’
(Barker 1963b: 37)

Shown in (2) adding *-?m* to the ending of a word changes from the basic word *qbolWi* ‘White Sage leaves’ to the entire bush, plant or tree (Barker 1964: 222). This refers to the entirety of the plants and not any specific part (ibid).

(3) *qbolWi?am + Geeni* ‘White Sagebrush Place’
(Barker 1963b: 152)

Shown in (3) adding *-Geeni* to the ending of a word changes the reference of a word to the area, place or region of whatever it is attached to (Barker 1964: 226). In this example, *qbolWi?am* ‘White Sagebrush’ is changed to *qbolWi?amGeeni* ‘White Sagebrush Place’ (ibid).

(4) *qbolWi?amGeen + giis* ‘People from White Sagebrush place’

Shown in (4) Adding *-giis* to this word is used to indicate the person or people of a place³². That place being referred to is the word that *-giis* has been attached to. Adding this to *qbolWi?amGeeni* ‘White Sagebrush Place’ changes it to *qbolWi?amGeengiis* ‘People from White Sagebrush Place’.

³² When not being added before *-?m* or *-as*, *-kni* is used instead. (Barker 1964: 232-233)

(5) *qbolWi?amGeengiis + as* 'People from White Sagebrush place'

Shown in (5) adding *-as* to the end of the word is one of the last suffixes that can be attached to a noun. This suffix makes its word the object of the sentence. That means anything action occurring is done to this word.

1.2. Nouns built from Verbs

Verbs are actions, occurrences and states of being. Just like with simple nouns, verbs become more complex. Most verbs must end in a suffix, like *-a* (discussed further in 4). Verbs can be changed into nouns by changing the prefixation and suffixation. An example of this is shown in (6) and the suffixes are broken down in (7-8).

(6)	<i>gankanga</i>	'hunts'	[No affixation]
	<i>gagankanga</i>	'hunts (multiple)'	[prefixation: reduplication]
	<i>gagankangis</i>	'hunter'	[suffixation: noun suffix]

(Barker 1963b: 137)

In (6) above, two types of affixation are happening. There is both a prefix and a suffix to make this word into a noun. The noun is based on the word *gankang* + *-a* for 'hunts'.

(7) *ga + gankanga* 'multiple hunts'

You can see in (7) above that there are two types of affixation happening. There is a reduplication³³ prefix added, in which the beginning of the word is repeated (in this case, *ga-*). This is used to refer to multiple hunts.

(8) *gagankang + is* 'hunter'

³³ Reduplication is where the beginning part of the word is repeated. In *maqlaqsyals*, this is used to express the distributive. The distributive is different from the plural: instead of looking at a group of things as one, groups of things are looked at as a collection of individual objects or actions. (Barker 1964: 111)

As shown in (8), once the word for the verb *gagankanga* or 'multiple hunts' has been made, it can be turned into a noun. That is where the suffix *-is* is added. This transforms verbs into nouns and can be used wherever someone or something does whatever the verb is by following the same pattern we used to build *gagankangis*, or 'hunter'.

2.0. Verbs

Verbs are some of the most descriptive words that *maqlaqsyals* has to offer. They can tell you a lot of information that requires many words if the same idea is said in English. There are two kinds of verbs that can be built. One is a verb with a single stem (single parts of a word that have all affixes chopped off like English ‘quad’) while the other is a verb that is composite (requires two parts to make a stem like English ‘bio-graph’). In either case, these can be added to with few prefixes (reduplication mostly) and many different suffixes. The suffixes can add a lot of information, but there are certain suffixes that have to be at the end. Examples of each of the type of words are shown below.

2.1. Single Stem

Single stem verbs are those words that need only an ending suffix. In other words, it doesn’t require another stem. The suffixes can add meanings when and how the event happened, telling someone (or multiple people) to do something, or turning something into a noun like we did before. In (9) is a list of examples that we will look at. There are words all have the same stem [*cii-*] ‘lives, stays’. The different breakdowns of the word are shown in (10-15).

(9) <i>cii-</i>	stem for ‘lives, stays’
<i>ciya</i>	‘lives, stays’
<i>ciyat</i>	‘you all stay! (like an order)’
<i>ciit</i>	‘can stay’
<i>ciitk</i>	‘staying’
<i>ciikanga</i>	‘stays here and there’
<i>ciyeega</i>	‘starts to live’
<i>ciis</i>	‘home, house’
<i>ciciis</i>	‘resident’

(Barker 1963b: 77)

There are all kinds of affixes occurring in this series. The stem *cii-* ‘lives, stays’ is where these words will be found in the dictionary (Barker 1963b: 77), even though it

doesn't actually make a word by itself. To make the most basic of words, you have to add the ending suffix *-a* , which is the indicative³⁴ that tells the action is happening when it is being talked about. This is shown in (10).

(10) *cii-* + *-a* 'stays, lives'

In (10), just a heads up, the 'y' doesn't show that when *ciiya* is broken down it is because the [y] sound comes in because of the sound of the suffix *-a*. This suffix can be used to talk about the past or present, and is great as a general use suffix. Next we look at a command, which is in (11).

(11) *cii-* + *-at* 'you all stay [over]'

Shown in (11), adding *-at* to the end of the verb stem *cii-* 'lives, stays' makes them become similar to an order or request. This form of verb is directed toward a group of people. An example could be when family comes in from out of town and you don't want them to have to stay in a hotel.

(12) *cii-* + *-at* 'can stay'

As shown in (12) adding *-at* (silent *a*) to the end of verbs gives the same meaning as English 'can' or 'ought to'. This would be similar to saying that someone could stay at someone else's place for some amount of time.

³⁴ This is called the indicative because it does not denote 'before or after' in word it is attached to, is known to be happening at the time the speaker is talking about.

(13) *cii-* + *tk* 'is/are staying'

As shown in (13), adding *-tk* to the end of verbs means that the subject of the verb "has been..." doing something. In this case it is similar to 'They've been staying at...'

(14) *cii-* + *kanga* 'stays here and there'

In (14) you probably recognize the *-kanga* from our example for 'hunts'. This suffix *-kanga* refers to doing the verb 'here and there' or 'around'. This example could be used for someone who's temporarily couch-surfing while they get a place, or someone who is a habitual traveler.

(15) *cii-* + *-yeega* 'starts to live'

One of the ways that verbs can be adjusted is to include what area of time a verb is taking place. Shown in (15) the suffix *-yeega* marks the beginning of an action. In this case, it may refer to someone who just moved into a place or new area.

Next we will look at verbs that need 2 parts to make verb stems

2.2. Composite Stem (2-part stems)

Composite stems are those that require, at minimum, two partial stems, often requiring a final suffix to be a full word. They are the most common verb type in *maqqaqsyals*. As a result of their build, these verbs also have a lot of information stored in their stems, with more information for each suffix included. The first part of the stem is a short part that indicates with what a type of action was made. The second part of the stem is the location, direction and/or other information of the action. That sounds confusing

and is much easier to visualize in (16). The different parts of the words are broken down in (16a-16f).

(16)	<u>Class Stem</u>	+ <u>Locative-Directive Stem</u>	+ <u>Suffix</u>	= <u>Word</u>
a.	<i>Git</i> 'pour'	+ <i>obg</i> 'ongoing'	+ <i>a</i>	= <i>Gitpga</i> 'is pouring'
b.	<i>Git</i> 'pour'	+ <i>otn</i> 'on/against'	+ <i>a</i>	= <i>Gitta</i> 'pours on'
c.	? <i>i</i> 'act on pl. obj'	+ <i>otn</i> 'on/against'	+ <i>a</i>	= ? <i>ita</i> 'puts on pl.obj'
d.	? <i>i</i> 'act on pl. obj'	+ <i>e'lG</i> 'down/stops/finish'	+ <i>a</i>	= ? <i>ilGa</i> 'puts pl.obj down'
e.	<i>c</i> ' 'sit (sg.)	+ <i>e'lG</i> 'down/stops/finish'	+ <i>a</i>	= <i>celGa</i> 'sits down'
f.	<i>c</i> ' 'sit (sg.)	+ <i>wal</i> 'on top of'	+ \emptyset^{35}	= <i>cawal</i> 'sits on top of'

(Barker 1963b: 155, 34, 33, 68; Barker 1964: 357-364)

Even though there is a difference between simple and composite stems at the base, there is not a difference in adding suffixes. We focused on suffixes already in simple stems so we leave them to be *-a* here except for (1f). Remember that all of the suffixes we used before can be used here as well.

(16a) *Git*' + *-obg* + *-a* = *Gitpga* 'is pouring'

For example (1a) we build the verb *Gitpga* for 'is pouring'. *Gitpga* is built by sticking *Git*' 'pour' together with *-obg* 'durative' before the suffix *-a*. This word is then equivalent to 'pour-ing' in English.

(16b) *Git*' + *-otn* + *-a* = *Gitta* 'pours on'

For example (1b) we build the verb *Gitta* for 'pours on'. *Gitta* is built by sticking *Git*' 'pour' together with *-otn* 'on/against' before the suffix *-a*. This word is then equivalent to 'pours on' in English.

³⁵ \emptyset here signifies that there is no need for a further terminal suffix

(16c) $?i + -otn + a = ?ita$ ‘puts on pl.obj’

In example (1c) we build the verb *?ita* for ‘puts on plural objects’ (i.e. beading onto a medallion). *?ita* is built by sticking *?i* ‘act on pl. obj’ together with *-otn* ‘on/against’ (like in 1b) before the suffix *-a*. This is the word that can express ideas like putting things on, attaching things to, or stringing beads.

(16d) $?i + -e'lG + a = ?ilGa$ ‘puts pl. obj. down’

For example (1d) we build the verb *?ilGa* for ‘puts plural objects down’. *?ilGa* is built by sticking *?i* ‘act on pl. obj’ together with *-e'lG* ‘down’ before the suffix *-a*.

(16e) $c^v + e'lG + a = celGa$ ‘sits down’

Many of those who attended Culture Camp probably remember being told *celGi*³⁶ ‘sit down!’ often. That word comes from the example in (1e), *celGa* ‘sits down’. *celGa* is built by sticking *c^v* ‘sit’ together with *e'lG* ‘down’ before the suffix *-a*. This makes the English equivalent of ‘sits down’. Though English tends to imply ‘down’ often, *maqlaqsyals* is different in that what is added to *c^v* can make all the difference, as shown below.

(16f) $c^v + wal = cawal$ ‘sits on top of’

Here we have the word for ‘sits on top of’ in (1f). This word is built similarly to *celGa* with the exception that instead of *-e'lG* ‘down’, we used *-wal* ‘on top of’. This is an

³⁶ It is good to remember that using *-i* instead of using *-a* creates an imperative or command for an individual. Using *-at* makes a command for a group of people. Finally, *-ank* creates a polite command or imperative.

easier way to express how someone is sitting in *maqraqsyals* as compared to the multiple words required by English. This word is unique in that it does not require a suffix like –a.

3.0. Pronouns

Now that we've covered the nouns and verbs, we know what will be included in a basic sentence. Nouns and verbs help us understand one another. Now it is time to start talking about who may have done what to whom. This section is about pronouns. Pronouns are words that can replace nouns by serving as a reference word. In English, these words include I, you, he, she, etc. Some handy charts for subject pronouns (doers of verbs) are shown in (17) and objects (those affected by verbs) are shown in (18).

(17) Subject Pronouns

English	<i>maqlaqsyals</i> (Singular)	English	<i>maqlaqsyals</i> (Plural)
I	<i>ni</i>	we	<i>naat</i>
you	<i>?i</i>	you all	<i>?aat</i>
he/she	<i>bi</i>	they	<i>sa</i>

(18) Object Pronouns

English	<i>maqlaqsyals</i> (Singular)	English	<i>maqlaqsyals</i> (Plural)
me	<i>nis</i>	us	<i>naats</i>
you	<i>mis</i>	you all	<i>maats</i>
her/him	<i>bas</i>	them	<i>sas</i>

Although this section on pronouns is very short, it would be very helpful to memorize these pronouns. It will greatly help you in the next section where phrases are built. It is also important to know that there are a few parts to sentences that must be included but are not necessarily words by themselves. Such parts are similar to verbal punctuation, meaning that it is not necessarily the case that our tone of voice defines whether we are making a statement or asking a question.

Learning Activity:

Where Are Your Keys?

maqlaqsyalank hemptga ('Speaking maqlaqsyalank') Edition

This game is based off Evan Gardner's 'Where Are Your Keys?' Language Learning practices, oriented towards *maqlaqsyals*.

This game can be played anywhere and is for 2-4 players. It is set up into two rounds. The first round focuses on getting comfortable with speaking *maqlaqsyals*. The second round focuses on becoming more comfortable with reduplication. The game is focused more on speaking and understanding words. Proper pronunciation will come with time. For further instruction on developing needed hand signals, take a look at the tutorial available at <http://whereareyourkeys.org/>.

Materials:

2 stones

2 sticks

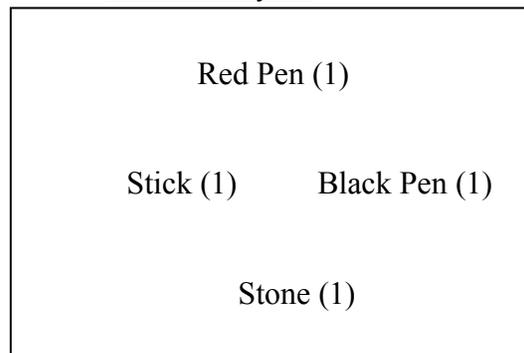
2 red pens

2 black pens

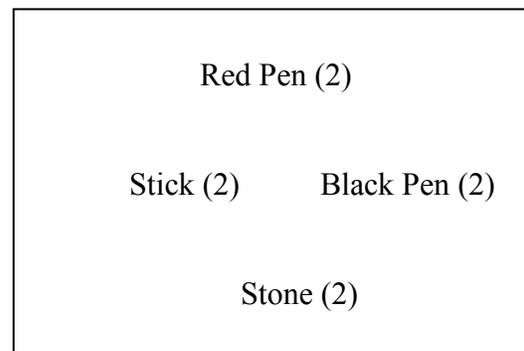
Speed Curriculum (see Appendix D)

The Set-Up:

Round 1 Layout



Round 2 Layout



Round 1 Procedure

Player 1 starts off the round by putting his/her hands together to signal that the first round is a 'copycat' round. He or she signals this with the following 'Copycat' sign.

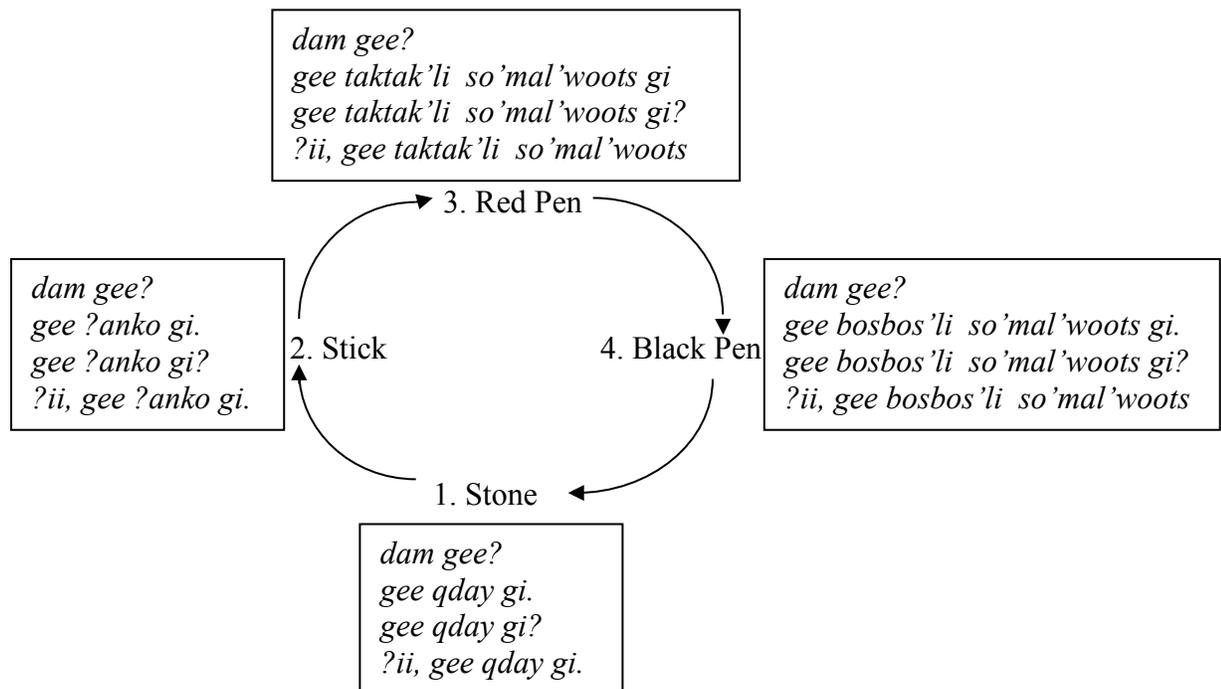


(Photo Source: <http://blog.whereareyourkeys.org/technique-glossary/>)

This means that everyone must repeat all hand signals and all words said.

Player 1 then introduces the layout and items in clockwise order, following the speed curriculum (fully laid out and translated in Appendix D).

If any mistakes are made, everyone throws up their arms (as high and wide as you can!) and says "How fascinating!" then, restarts the round. This reflects that mistakes and successes are both beneficial learning experiences.



Once the group has repeated the process, the next step is for each player to go around the items in the same manner. Once each player is **confidently** repeating the round, proceed to round 2.

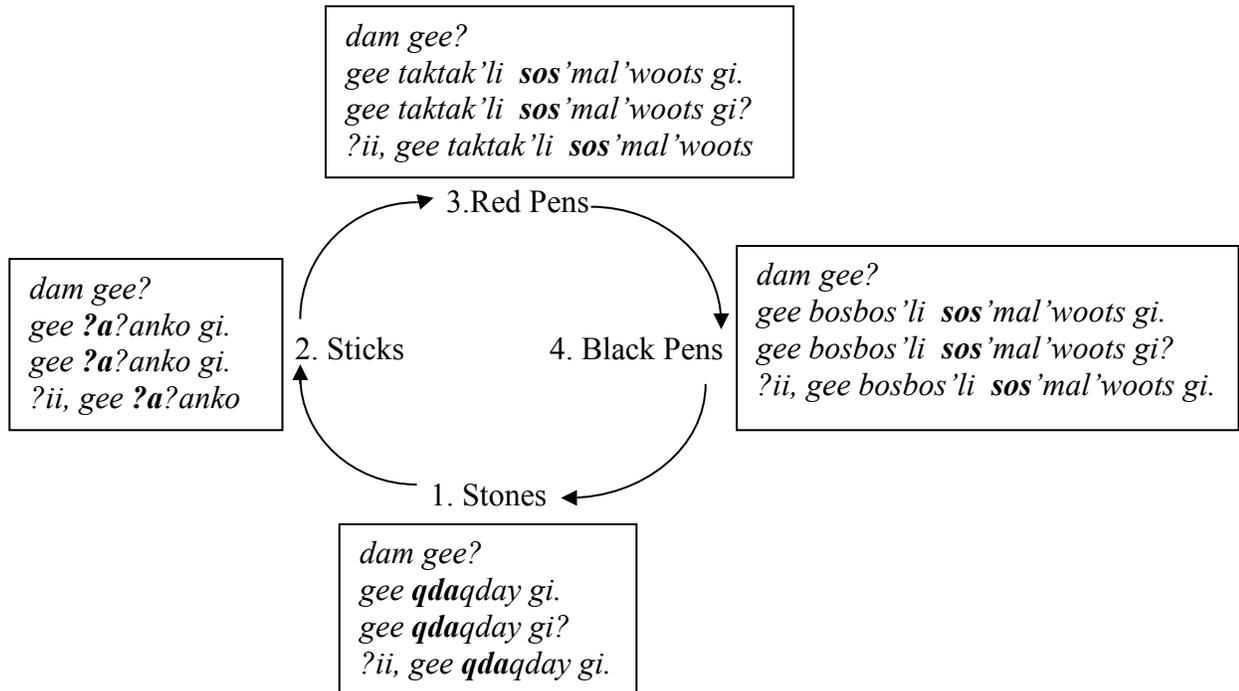
Round 2 Procedure

Player 1 starts off the round by putting his or her hands together to signal that the second round also starts with a ‘copycat’ turn. Player 1 signals this again with the ‘Copycat’ sign.

Player 1 then introduces the layout and items in clockwise order, following the speed curriculum (again, fully laid out and translated in Appendix D).

If any mistakes are made, everyone throws up their arms (as high and wide as you can!) and says “How fascinating!” then, restarts the round. Again, this reflects that mistakes and successes are both beneficial learning experiences.

Note: Be sure to listen for the reduplication!



Advanced Level

At the end of each round, engage each individual player (clockwise) in conversation about the item in front of them. If there are fewer than four players, continue the clockwise fashion with each player about the items, using the dialogue in the boxes. This will prep the players for the next game after chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Phrases

1. Introduction and Review

This section is dedicated to developing our understanding of how sentences and phrases are built in *maqlaqsyals*. Before we can move forward regarding the development of sentences, phrases and questions in *maqlaqsyals*, we must review the parts of a sentence. Many of you will recall these concepts from school.

2. Parts of Klamath sentences

In *maqlaqsyals*, as in every language, there are parts of sentences that can be described to help understand how sentences are built. Beginning with the subject of the sentence, we can move on to the object and verb.

The subject of the sentence is the doer of the action. This is a noun, or a person, place or thing. Sentences require a subject. In English, the word order is usually SVO (meaning Subject, Verb, Object), meaning the subject is usually in the first position of the sentence as shown in (19).

(19) **She** plays basketball.

Subject Verb Object

In (19) we can see that the subject ‘she’ is the 1st word of the sentence. In English we are quite dependent on the word order to identify the subject. This is not true of *maqlaqsyals*. The location of the subject within the sentence can vary widely in *maqlaqsyals* for a number of reasons. One of the common word orders of *maqlaqsyals* is SOV (Subject, Object, Verb). Our examples will follow this pattern, with the subject preceding the object and the verb will be at the end of the sentence, as presented (in bold) in example (1).

(1) *ni mis stinta*
 S O V
ni mis stin –otn –a
 I you suspend –on/against –ind
 ‘I love you.’ (lit. I am hung up on/tied to you)³⁷

The subject of the sentence is the person, place or thing doing the action. This is always required in sentences. The location of the subject can vary for a number of reasons. For our examples, we will continue to use the SOV word order and place the object after the subject as shown (in bold) in example (2).

(2) *ni mis stinta*
 S O V
ni mis stin –otn –a
 I **you** suspend –on/against –ind
 ‘I love **you**.’ (lit. I am hung up on/tied to you) ³⁸

The object of the sentence is the person, place or thing being acted on. This is not always required in sentences. The location of the object, just like the subject, can vary for a number of reasons. For our examples, we will continue to use the SOV word order and place the verb at the end of the sentence as shown (in bold) in example (3).

(3) *ni mis stinta*
 S O V
ni mis stin –otn –a
 I you **suspend –on/against –ind**
 ‘I **love** you.’ (lit. I am hung up on/tied to you)

³⁷ Many are familiar with the phrase *moo ?ams ni stinta* for ‘I love you very much’. This example is another way that the same phrase can be said. This is because our language allows us to change our word order without losing meaning.

³⁸ Using *mis* for ‘you’ is specifically for when ‘you’ is the object of the sentence. This is an example of a pronoun being used in the second position (see Ch.2 Section 3.0 ‘Pronouns’ and Ch.3 Section 3.2 ‘2nd Position Particles’).

The verb of the sentence is the action occurring in the sentence. To maintain consistency, we use the SOV word order of *maqlaqsyals*. This make the verb always show last.

Now that we have reviewed the basic parts of a sentence, we can start to understand some of the parts of a sentence that *maqlaqsyals* has that can sometimes be a bit different from languages such as English.

3. Particles

In *maqlaqsyals* there are parts of a sentence that are not words themselves, but must be included in the sentence for it to be complete. These small parts, sometimes called particles, can make the difference between sentences (also called ‘declarative statements’) and questions. Other times, these particles connect ideas or introduce new ideas into conversation.

Particles used in *maqlaqsyals* are functional, or have no meaning by themselves, but are used in the overall meaning of the sentence. These particles are used together with words and ideas to complete sentences. In doing so they set up the main ideas of the sentence. In *maqlaqsyals* there are two different positions in sentences for particles. The first position particles are not required while second position particles are required in a sentence.

3.1. Clause Initial Particles

Clause initial particles are particles that are placed at the beginning of the sentence. In our language, these are particles that include question words³⁹ and *q'ay* ‘negative’ (i.e. no, not, didn’t, etc.). While these are not required in every sentence, when they are

³⁹ For a list of question words, see Appendix C

needed to express the ideas of the sentence, they appear at the beginning. This sets up the sentence's use and intent in conversation. An example of a question word in the first position is presented (in bold) in example (4).

(4) *kani dal hoot*
kani dal hoot
who INT⁴⁰ 3sg⁴¹
 'Who is that?'

It can be seen from the example that question words such as *kani* 'who' in *maqlaqsyals* are similar to English in that they are always at the beginning of the sentence. This does not hold true in cases where the sentence includes a negative. This difference is apparent to the reader from the translation shown (in bold) in example (5), where the negative in English, is not at the beginning of the sentence.

(5) *q'ay ni s?aywakta*
q'ay ni s?aywg -otn -a
NEG 1sg know -on -IND
 'I **don't** know'

Once this particle has been established, it sets the topic for the rest of the sentence. Other particles that can be placed in the first position can also introduce new topics and are listed in Appendix E.

3.2. 2nd Position Particles

⁴⁰ INT stands for 'interrogative'. This means it has to do with a question.

⁴¹ 3sg stands for '3rd person singular'. This is means 'he/she/it'.

The next set of particles are those that appear in the second position of the sentence. These particles are required in every sentence. Informally speaking, these particles act as a sort of a ‘verbal punctuation’. Whereas writing systems like English utilize periods, question marks and exclamation points to make statements, ask questions and emphasize points; *maqlaqsyals* does the same through speech using second position particles shown in examples of *?a* ‘declarative’ (6), *dal* ‘interrogative’ (7) and *hak* ‘emphatic’ (8).

(6) *?i ?a dmoyeega*
?i ?a dmoyeeg -a
 2sg⁴² DEC start -IND
 ‘You started it.’

In (6) you can see the particle *?a* (DEC in the 3rd line). This stands for the declarative. Declaratives are sentences. When written, such statements end in a period. Just as English statements are written with a period, *maqlaqsyals* sentences are spoken with *?a*.

(7) *waq dal ?i*
waq dal ?i
 how INT 2sg
 ‘What’s up with you?’ or ‘What’s the matter with you?’

In (7) you can see the particle *dal* (INT in the 3rd line). This stands for the interrogative. Interrogatives are questions. When written in English, such interrogatives end in a question mark. In *maqlaqsyals* interrogatives are often spoken with *dal*⁴³.

(8) *ceet hak ?an gatbambli*
ceet hak ?an g^v -adb_n -bli

⁴² 2sg means ‘2nd person singular’. It means ‘you’ in an individual (not group) sense.

⁴³ Often, *dal* occurs with another interrogative word, such words are listed in Appendix D

barely **EMPH** 1sg.DEC go –come.home –return
'I **just** barely got home'

These 2nd position particles have more flexibility in their actual position than the first position particles. This flexibility occurs when multiple 2nd position particles are in the same sentence. This is made clear in example (8) where *hak* (Emphatic) and *?an*⁴⁴ ('I' declarative) are both 2nd position particles. In this case, emphatics like *hak* always come before pronouns like *?an*.

⁴⁴ *?an* is a combination of the 2nd position particle *?a* 'declarative' and pronoun *ni* 'I'

Learning Activity:

Where Are Your Keys?

maqlaqsyalank Walpga ('Conversing in maqlaqsyalank') Edition

This game is based off Evan Gardner's 'Where Are Your Keys?' Language Learning practices and oriented towards *maqlaqsyalank*. This is an extension of the learning activity *maqlaqsyalank hempga*.

This game can be played anywhere and is for 2-4 players. The game is set up into two rounds. The first round focuses on getting comfortable with hearing and speaking *maqlaqsyalank* with fully formed sentences. The second round focuses on becoming more comfortable **conversing** in fully formed sentences. This game is more focused on speaking and understanding words, since proper pronunciation will come with time. For further instruction on developing needed hand signals, take a look at the tutorial available at <http://whereareyourkeys.org/>.

Materials:

2 stones

2 sticks

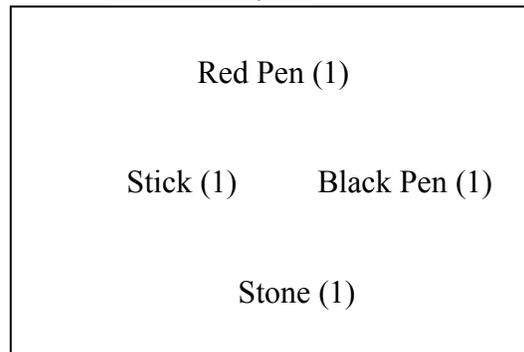
2 red pens

2 black pens

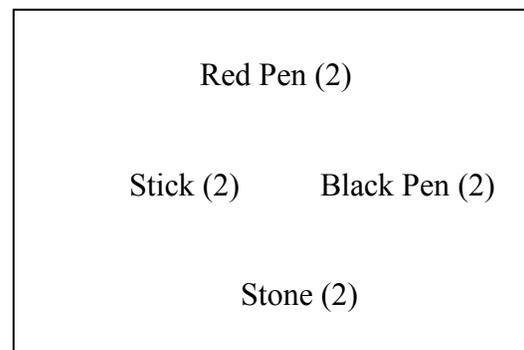
Speed Curriculum (Appendix F)

The Set-Up:

Round 1 Layout



Round 2 Layout



Round 1 Procedure

Player 1 starts off the round by putting his or her hands together to signal that the first round is a 'copycat' round. He or she signals this with the following 'Copycat' sign (to refresh, see image below).

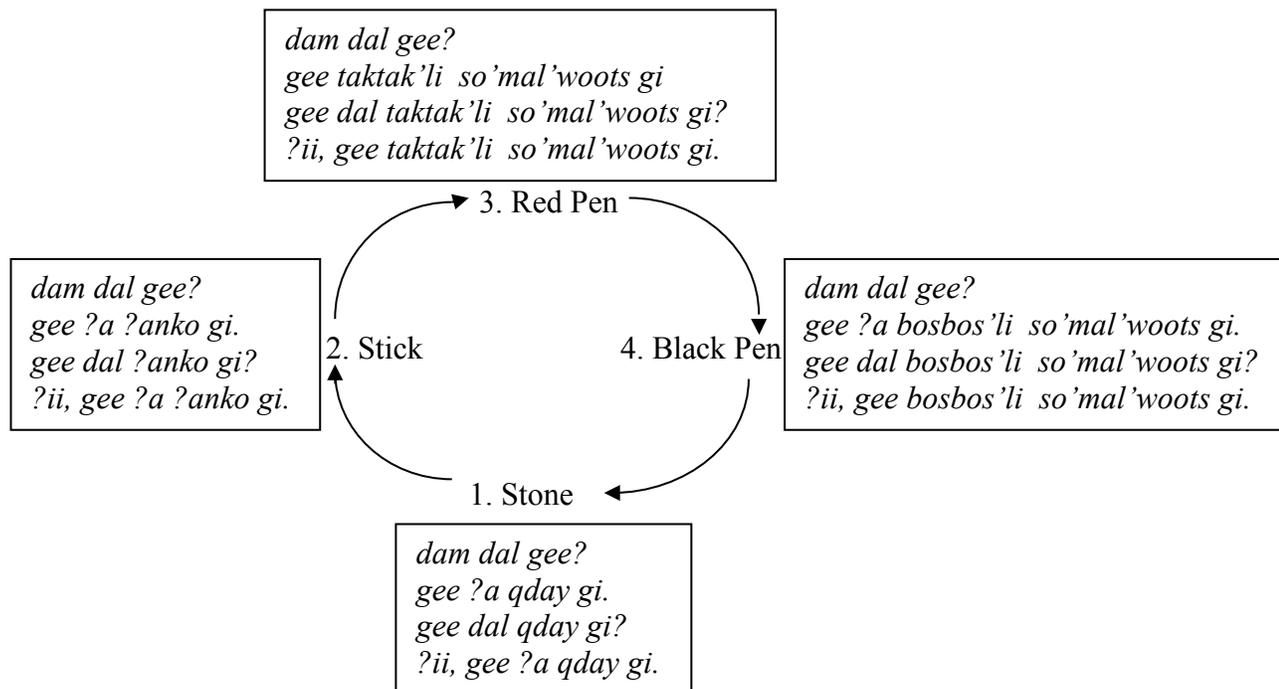


(Photo Source: <http://blog.whereareyourkeys.org/technique-glossary/>)

This means that everyone must repeat all hand signals and all words said.

The first player then introduces the layout and items in clockwise order, following the speed curriculum (fully laid out and translated in Appendix D).

If any mistakes are made, everyone throws up their arms (as high and wide as you can!) and says "How fascinating!" then restarts the round. This reflects that mistakes and successes are both beneficial learning experiences.



Once the group has repeated the process, the next step is for each player to go around the items in the same manner. Once each player is **confidently** repeating the round, proceed to round 2.

Round 2 Procedure

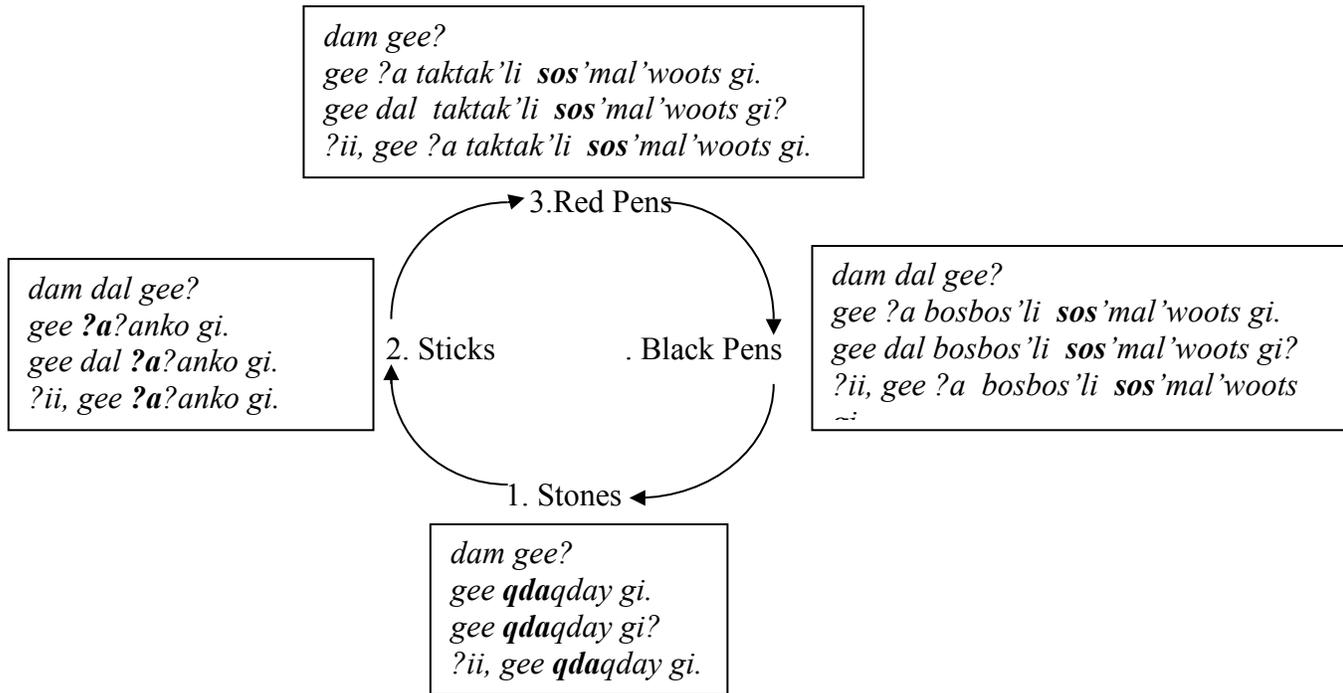
Player 1 starts off the round by putting his or her hands together to signal that the second round also starts with a ‘copycat’ turn. He or she signals this again with the ‘Copycat’ sign.

The first player then introduces the layout and items in clockwise order, following the speed curriculum (again, fully laid out and translated in Appendix D).

If any mistakes are made, everyone throws up their arms (as high and wide as you can!) and says “How fascinating!” then, restarts the round. This reflects that mistakes and successes are both beneficial learning experiences.

Note: The Declarative ?a Reduplication may be tricky with ?a?anko!

Note: Be sure to listen for the reduplication!



Advanced Level:

Follow the patterns we have been using for Where Are Your Keys with the next level in Appendix F!

Appendix A

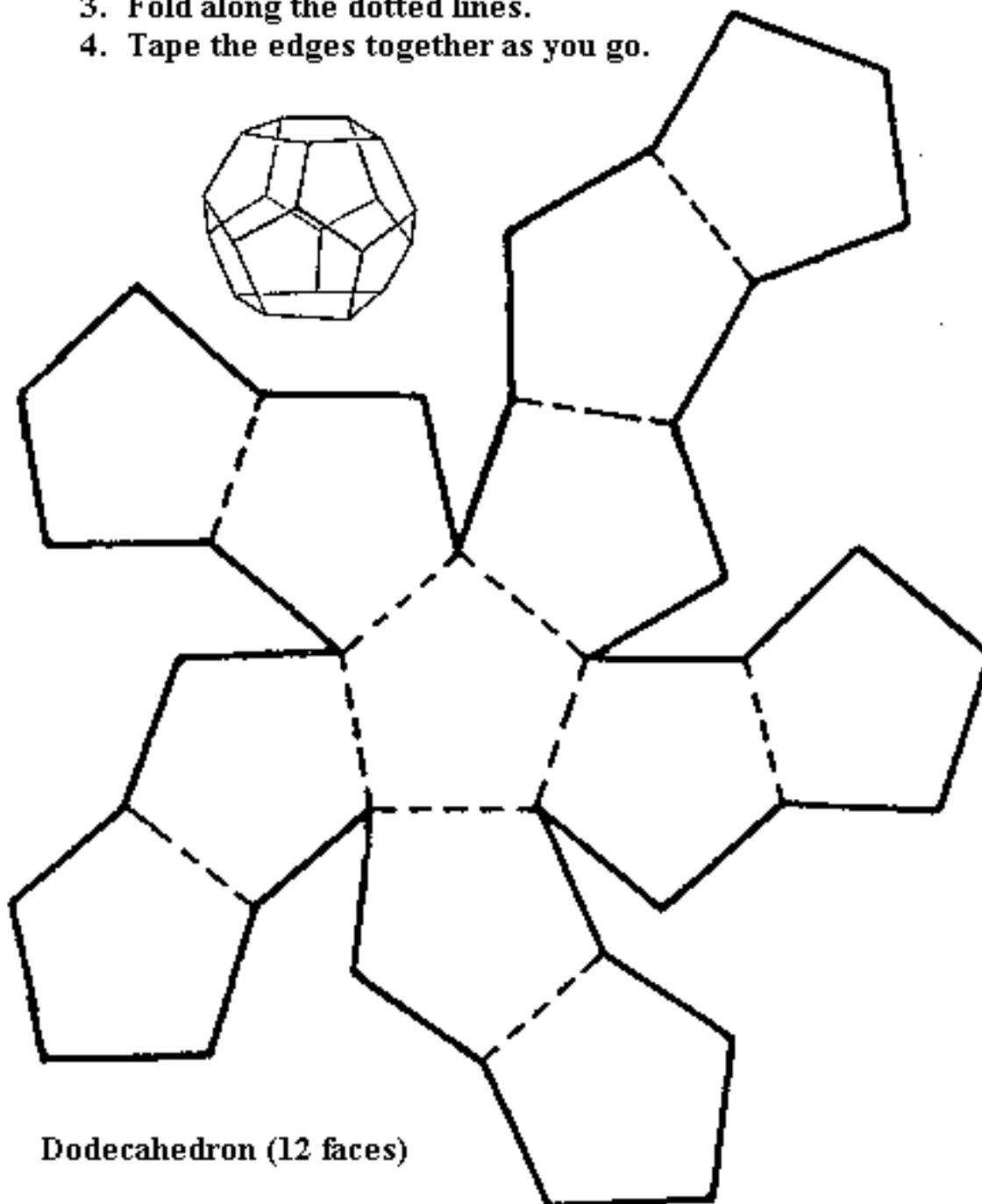
<i>?ambo</i>	‘water’	<i>Naykst'a</i>	‘on one side/50¢’
<i>?ews</i>	‘lake’	<i>'nos</i>	‘head’
<i>?i</i>	‘you.sg’	<i>pk'isap</i>	‘mother’
<i>balbal?i</i>	‘white’	<i>ptisap</i>	‘father’
<i>beep</i>	‘daughter’	<i>pt'eewip</i>	‘father’s mother’
<i>bonwa</i>	‘drinks’	<i>p'ac'na</i>	‘let’s eat!’
<i>ciiya</i>	‘lives, dwells’	<i>p'asla</i>	‘gets food’
<i>c'aaGi</i>	‘little boy’	<i>qiwa</i>	‘smarts, pains’
<i>dadaa</i>	‘when’	<i>q'ay</i>	‘no’
<i>dic'ee'wa</i>	‘likes’	<i>q'a'ye</i>	‘intestines’
<i>dic'ii</i>	‘good’	<i>q'o'lanc</i>	‘knee’
<i>dmoyeega</i>	‘starts’	<i>q'osap'as</i>	‘pocketknife’
<i>dwaa</i>	‘what, something’	<i>s?aaMaks</i>	‘relative’
<i>gee</i>	‘this’	<i>s?aba</i>	‘tells, says’
<i>gew</i>	‘my’	<i>s?ooqs</i>	‘blue crane’
<i>gidaana</i>	‘all around here’	<i>sa</i>	‘they’
<i>gmok'a'mc</i>	‘Ancient One’	<i>siGasLa</i>	‘steps up/achieves’
<i>giWiitk</i>	‘used to be’	<i>siwga</i>	‘kills’
<i>gooli</i>	‘beat, win’	<i>sle?a</i>	‘sees’
<i>Gewcis</i>	‘wolf’	<i>solja</i>	‘soldier’
<i>Gos</i>	‘tree’	<i>taktak'li</i>	‘red’
<i>hihaswaqs</i>	‘men’	<i>tawn</i>	‘town’
<i>hok</i>	‘that one (narrative)’	<i>t'at'aksni</i>	‘children’
<i>hok 'ya</i>	‘is it?’	<i>waat'i</i>	‘knife’
<i>honk'lam</i>	‘his/hers/its’	<i>wac</i>	‘horse’
<i>hoot</i>	‘(that) he/she/it’	<i>wac'aak</i>	‘dog’
<i>jimaa?as</i>	‘shinny ball’	<i>waq</i>	‘how, why’
<i>joyjiks</i>	‘strawberry’	<i>wa'waaks</i>	‘eye mucus’
<i>kaWkaW'li</i>	‘brown’	<i>won</i>	‘elk’
<i>k'ink</i>	‘a few’	<i>wonj</i>	‘canoe’
<i>loloqs</i>	‘fire’	<i>wso</i>	‘chest’
<i>looq</i>	‘seed’	<i>Weeqs</i>	‘mallard’
<i>Lap'akLas</i>	‘shoulder’	<i>'wee</i>	‘first, before doing something else’
<i>Las</i>	‘feather/wing’	<i>yaks dwaa</i>	‘Oh my gosh’
<i>'lim'lim'li</i>	‘reddish-brown’	<i>yawq'al</i>	‘bald eagle’
<i>maams</i>	‘even though’	<i>Yak'a</i>	‘hiccups’
<i>maqlaqsyalank</i>	‘in <i>maqlaqsyals</i> ’	<i>YakYak'a</i>	‘sobs, whimpers’
<i>may</i>	‘tule’		
<i>moo</i>	‘much/many’		
<i>'mok'aak</i>	‘baby’		
<i>'mo'molq'aak</i>	‘rice’		
<i>naat</i>	‘we’		
<i>ndanksept</i>	‘eight’		
<i>nee</i>	‘that (absent)’		
<i>Naas</i>	‘one’		

Appendix B

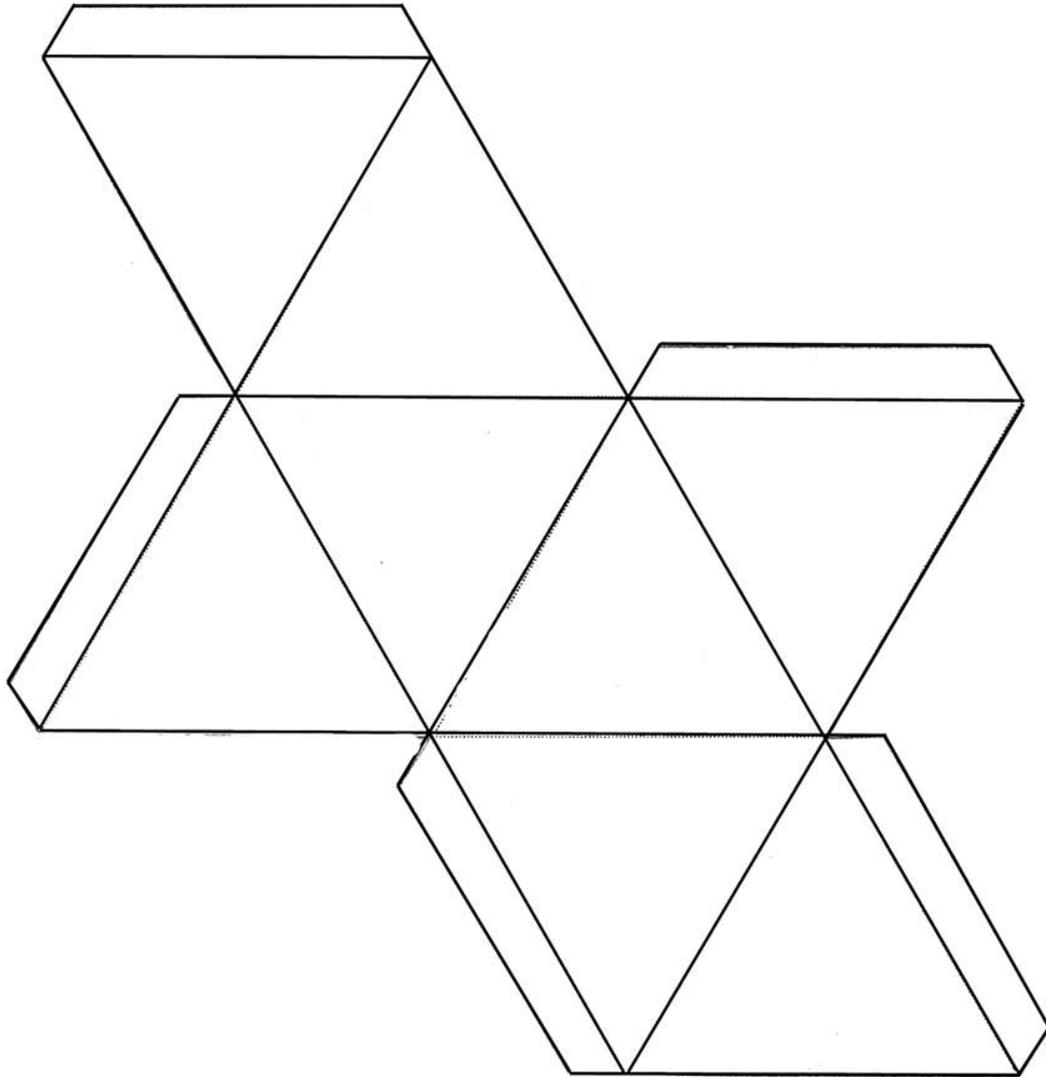
AS-	Adjective Suffix
AUG-	Augment Suffix
DIM-	Diminutive
DIST-	Distributive
HORT-	Hortative
IND-	Indicative
KP-	Kinship Prefix
KS-	Kinship Suffix
INT-	Intensive
NOM-	Nominative
NS -	Noun Suffix
ONOM -	Onomatopoeia
POSS-	Possessive
REFLEX-	Reflexive-Reciprocal
ST-	Stative
VS-	Verbal Suffix

12d

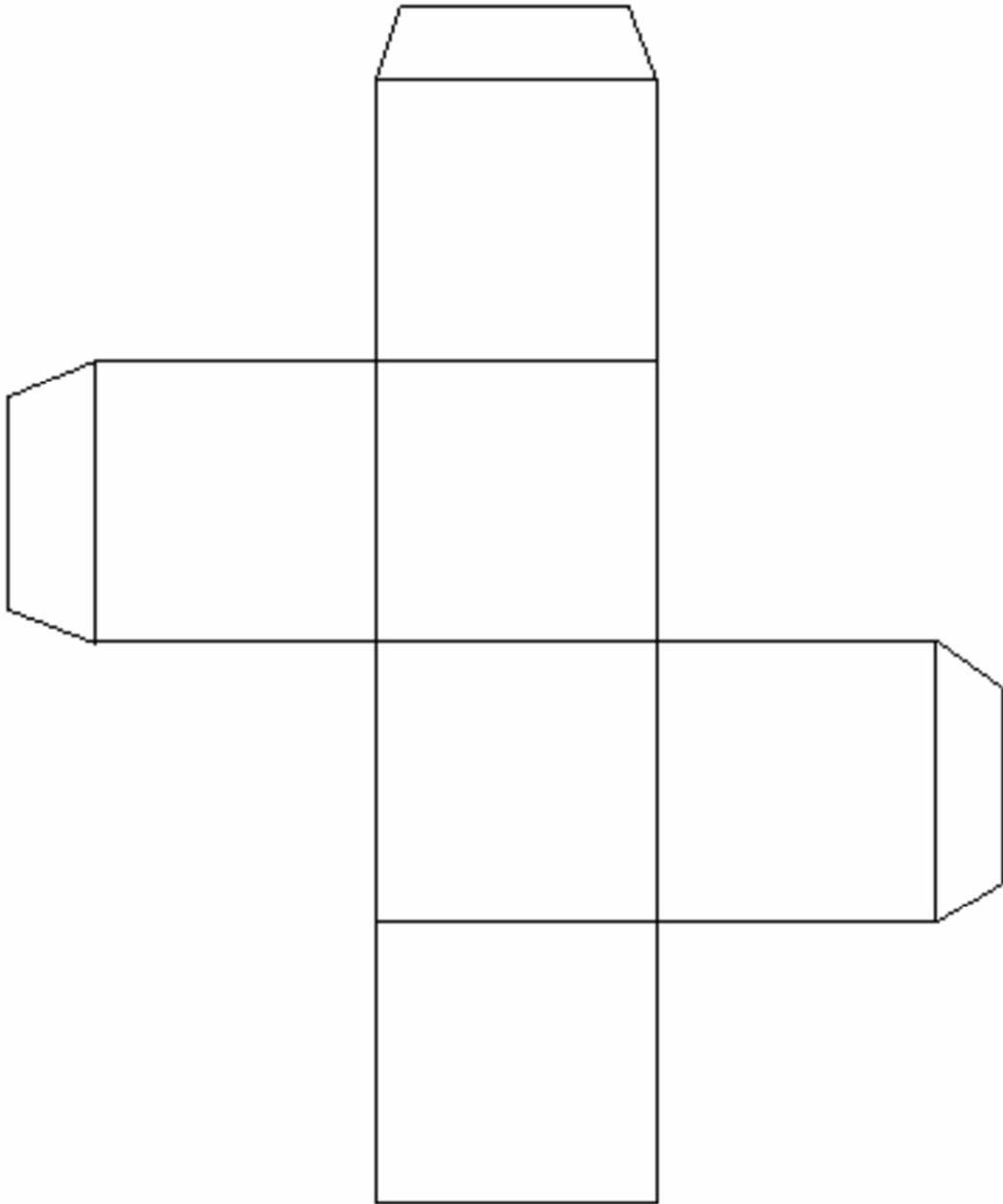
1. Copy the figure.
2. Cut out along the solid lines. (It will be one piece.)
3. Fold along the dotted lines.
4. Tape the edges together as you go.



8d



6d



Appendix D

Round 1:

Player x: dam gee?	‘What this?’
Player x: gee qday gi	‘This is rock.’
Player x: gee qday gi?	‘This is rock?’
Player x: ?ii, gee qday gi	‘Yes, this rock.’
Player x: dam gee?	‘What this?’
Player x: gee ?anko gi	‘This is stick.’
Player x: gee ?anko gi?	‘This is stick?’
Player x: ?ii, gee ?anko gi	‘Yes, this is stick.’
Player x: dam gee?	‘What is this?’
Player x: gee taktak’li so’malwoots gi	‘This is red pen.’
Player x: gee taktak’li so’malwoots gi?	‘This is red pen?’
Player x: ?ii, gee taktak’li so’malwoots gi	‘Yes, this is red pen.’
Player x: dam gee?	‘What is this?’
Player x: gee bosbos’li so’malwoots gi	‘This is black pen.’
Player x: gee bosbos’li so’malwoots gi?	‘This is black pen?’
Player x: ?ii, gee bosbos’li so’malwoots gi	‘Yes, this is black pen.’

Round 2:

Player x: dam gee?

‘What these?’

Player x: gee qdaqday gi

‘These rocks.’

Player x: gee qdaqday gi?

‘These rocks?’

Player x: ?ii, gee qdaqday gi

‘Yes, These rocks.’

Player x: dam gee?

‘What these?’

Player x: gee ?a?anko gi

‘These sticks.’

Player x: gee ?a?anko gi?

‘These sticks?’

Player x: ?ii, gee ?a?anko gi

‘Yes, these sticks.’

Player x: dam gee?

‘What these?’

Player x: gee taktak’li sos’malwoots gi

‘These red pens.’

Player x: gee taktak’li sos’malwoots gi?

‘These red pens?’

Player x: ?ii, gee taktak’li sos’malwoots gi

‘Yes, these red pens.’

Player x: dam gee?

‘What these?’

Player x: gee bosbos’li sos’malwoots gi

‘These black pens.’

Player x: gee bosbos’li sos’malwoots gi?

‘These black pens?’

Player x: ?ii, gee bosbos’li sos’malwoots gi

‘Yes, these black pens.’

Appendix E

Question Words (Clause Initial)

<i>dadaa</i>	‘ever, when?, how far?’
<i>danaq</i>	‘how many?’
<i>det</i>	‘how much?’
<i>k’adaa</i>	‘so far, so long’
<i>k’ank</i>	‘so many, thus many’
<i>k’et</i>	‘so much, that much’
<i>waq</i>	‘somehow, how?’

Appendix F

Round 1:

Player 1: <i>dam dal gee?</i>	‘What is this?’
Player 2: <i>gee ?a qday gi.</i>	‘This is a rock.’
Player 1: <i>gee dam qday gi?</i>	‘This is a rock?’
Player 2: <i>?ii, gee ?a qday gi.</i>	‘Yes, this is a rock.’
Player 1: <i>dam dal gee?</i>	‘What is this?’
Player 2: <i>gee ?a ?anko gi.</i>	‘This is a stick.’
Player 1: <i>gee dam ?anko gi?</i>	‘This is a stick?’
Player 2: <i>?ii, gee ?a ?anko gi.</i>	‘Yes, this is a stick.’
Player 1: <i>dam dal gee?</i>	‘What is this?’
Player 2: <i>gee ?a taktak’li so ’malwoots gi.</i>	‘This is a red pen.’
Player 1: <i>gee dal taktak’li so ’malwoots gi?</i>	‘This is a red pen?’
Player 2: <i>?ii, gee ?a taktak’li so ’malwoots gi.</i>	‘Yes, this is a red pen.’
Player 1: <i>dam dal gee?</i>	‘What is this?’
Player 2: <i>gee ?a bosbos’li so ’malwoots gi.</i>	‘This is a black pen.’
Player 1: <i>gee dal bosbos’li so ’malwoots gi?</i>	‘This is a black pen?’
Player 2: <i>?ii, gee ?a bosbos’li so ’malwoots gi</i>	‘Yes, this is a black pen.’

Round 2:

Player 1: *dam dal gee?*

‘What are these?’

Player 2: *gee ?a qdaqday gi.*

‘These are rocks.’

Player 1: *gee dam qdaqday gi?*

‘These are rocks?’

Player 2: *?ii, gee ?a qdaqday gi.*

‘Yes, These are rocks.’

Player 1: *dam dal gee?*

‘What are these?’

Player 2: *gee ?a ?a?anko gi.*

‘These are sticks.’

Player 1: *gee dam ?a?anko gi?*

‘These are sticks?’

Player 2: *?ii, gee ?a ?a?anko gi.*

‘Yes, these are sticks.’

Player 1: *dam dal gee?*

‘What are these?’

Player 2: *gee ?a taktak’li sos’malwoots gi.*

‘These are red pens.’

Player 1: *gee dal taktak’li sos’malwoots gi?*

‘These are red pens?’

Player 2: *?ii, gee ?a taktak’li sos’malwoots gi.*

‘Yes, these are red pens.’

Player 1: *dam dal gee?*

‘What are these?’

Player 2: *gee ?a bosbos’li sos’malwoots gi*

‘These are black pens.’

Player 1: *gee dal bosbos’li sos’malwoots gi?*

‘These are black pens?’

Player 2: *?ii, gee ?a bosbos’li sos’malwoots gi*

‘Yes, these are black pens.’

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