

**A Description of the Kutenai Language**

**By**

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**by**

**Lawrence Richard Morgan**

**This work is dedicated to the memory of**

**Susette Capilo, Mary Lucy Paul, Dominic Nicholas,**

**Frank Whitehead, Mary Theresa Paul, Andrew Michel, Lucy Birdstone,**

**Rosalie McCoy, Ann Pierre, Ambrose Gravelle, Catherine Gravelle,**

**Jerome Hewancorn, Susette Phillips,**

**Simon Francis, Helen Gotsack, Moses Joseph, Ann Mary Abraham,**

**Charlotte Basil, and Steve Pierre**

**who shared their knowledge of the Kutenai language with me and who still inspire my work.**





# A Description of the Kutenai Language

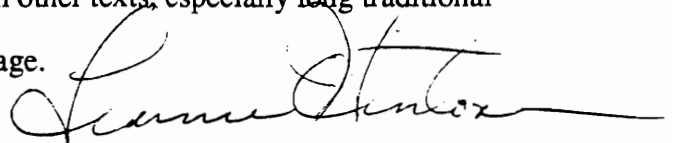
by

Lawrence R. Morgan

## Abstract

This is a grammatical description of the Kutenai Language, a language native to, and still spoken in, Southeastern British Columbia, Northwestern Montana, and Northern Idaho. There is an Introduction, chapters on Kutenai phonology, morphology, and syntax, and a chapter entitled 'Kutenai and Other Languages'. This last chapter discusses Kutenai from an areal and typological perspective, and has a short discussion on the diffusional connections of Kutenai and the traceable genetic relationship between Kutenai and the Salishan family of languages. There is also a section with four short analyzed texts. The references section includes a discussion of different types of abbreviations and a list of some 169 abbreviations used in the grammatical description. The list of abbreviations includes citations of the grammatical morphemes which have abbreviations for them. This is coordinated with a section of the morphology chapter which lists just under one hundred of the most important grammatical morphemes of the language.

Throughout most sections of the phonology, morphology, and syntax chapters, Kutenai example sentences are presented in a format which includes a surface phonemic transcription along with at least one additional and more abstract type of phonemic representation, either a mid-level phonemic representation, or that and an underlying phonemic representation. The words in the examples are analyzed into their constituent morphemes. Example sentences are drawn either from the texts which appear in their entirety in analyzed format or, more commonly, they are drawn from other texts, especially long traditional texts told by monolingual speakers of the language.





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## Preface.

This is Version 1.1 of *A Description of the Kutenai Language*. Version 1.0 appeared as a dissertation in Linguistics at the University of California at Berkeley in May 1991. Version 1.1 appears under the same title page as Version 1.0, <sup>and in line with this</sup> but Version 1.1 incorporates, as an appendix, all the original pages of Version 1.0 which have been changed in any way in order to produce this current version. Individual passages and whole sections which are significantly changed in this version from the way they appear in Version 1.0 are single spaced here, rather than double spaced as they are Version 1.0. Sections 2.6.4, 2.6.6, and 2.6.7, however, are single spaced almost exclusively in order to make the greatly expanded section 2.6.3 of this version fit in, without increasing the overall page count, which is the same here as in Version 1.0. This version has been produce in part under the stimulation of comments on the first version by Matthew Dryer, who should remain blameless for any deficiencies in this work or in the changes which have been made to produce this version of it.

This present work is a part of a long term project by the author to produce an exhaustively thorough and fully explicit description of the Kutenai language, to appear at some time in the future. The author is already willing to concede that the goal of producing an exhaustively thoroughness description may well be something which will always remain just beyond the horizon. A kind of explicitness of analysis is envisioned which would be an aid in achieving that thoroughness, but the goal of achieving a fully explicit description could prolong the process almost indefinitely. This present description of the language is neither exhaustively thorough, nor fully explicit, but it makes available for the present some of the descriptive and analytical results achieved so far in the author's quest to produce a more thorough and more explicit description of the language.

It is clear that in the future there will be a strongly felt need to have what would literally be a definitive description of the Kutenai language as spoken in the Twentieth Century. The language is not well attested for most purposes before the field work of Franz Boas in 1914, so there cannot be an entirely satisfactory description of anything earlier than Twentieth Century Kutenai. In the first half of this century the Kutenai language was the dominant language in the Kutenai communities. Starting in about 1950, however, Kutenai parents stopped teaching their children to speak Kutenai and there has been a steady decline in the number of Kutenai speakers since then. All too soon, the Kutenai language will no longer be the dominate language for most of its speakers. In the next century the Kutenai communities will be doing very well just to keep the language alive as a second language for a minority of Kutenai people. It is therefore already clear that Twentieth Century Kutenai, as thoroughly as it can be attested and described now, will have to stand as a classical form of the language which Kutenai people and academic scholars alike will refer back to, in order to know what the Kutenai language was originally like.

In real terms, this present work is a distillation and synopsis of a larger working manu-

script already in existence, entitled 'Kutenai Grammar, Texts, and Dictionary'. The work here represents the emergence of a volume of grammatical description, including relatively concise descriptions of Kutenai phonology, morphology, and syntax, along with two sections about Kutenai vis-à-vis other languages, and sample analyzed texts. A full volume of texts and the beginnings of an analytical dictionary are already in preparation as forthcoming works to complement this present volume of grammatical description.

This present description of the language, along with forthcoming materials in preparation, and other parts of the larger working manuscript, which may or may not emerge in anything like their present form, are all based on the same primary sources of data. These sources presently include the author's fieldnotes (1967 through 1990), a body of transcribed texts in edited format on computer disk, amounting to some 1374 clauses, a much larger collection of unedited text transcripts, and an extensive, but non-analytical, 434 page manuscript dictionary of Kutenai, referred to as Gravelle and Morgan (1979). This manuscript dictionary represents a process of rechecking, and then expanding, the author's lexical files, as they stood in 1976. This was done with the active participation of Elizabeth Gravelle, of Tobacco Plains, who in 1976 was one of the few Kutenai speaking people who had already become literate in the language.

The sources of data on which this description of the language is based naturally define the kind of Kutenai which is being described here. A very important part of these materials are three long texts from two monolingual speakers of the language. Many example sentences are drawn from these texts. Two of these texts are from the late Ann Pierre. Actually only the first parts of these two texts are utilized. There is the first part of the Coyote and Mole Text (some 187 clauses), and the first part of the Coyote and Yawuliykam Text (some 288 clauses). From the late Rosalie McCoy, there is the entire Chief and Ogress Text (some 519 clauses). Ann Pierre and Rosalie McCoy were both born in 1898, were both monolingual speakers of the language, and were both lifelong residents of Tobacco Plains, a Kutenai community on the British Columbia-Montana border. These texts from Tobacco Plains represent Upper Kutenai and they represent Kutenai oral literature in its traditional form. From a literary standpoint, they are entirely comparable to the longer texts which appear in Boas's (1918) Kutenai Tales.

Two of the short analyzed texts which appear here are from the late Frank Whitehead, born in 1899, a bilingual speaker of the language from the St Mary's Band, an Upper Kutenai community. FW was the author's principal consultant from 1968 through 1975. One analyzed text which appears here is from the late Mary Paul of St Mary's, the wife of Frank Whitehead and one of the author's consultants over the years. Example sentences are also drawn from the Fish Lake Text, a personal narrative of some 181 clauses, by this same Mary Paul of St Mary's. Still in the background, for the moment, are texts from Alice White of Columbia Lake and from other speakers of Upper Kutenai.

Representing Lower Kutenai, there are short texts, all but one in unedited format, from



the late Simon Francis of Bonners Ferry, Idaho, who was in his eighties when the author interviewed him in 1972. General reference is made in this description of the language to the texts of the late Moses Joseph also of from Bonners Ferry, Idaho. The texts from Simon Francis and Moses Joseph represent Lower Kutenai, but these Lower Kutenai texts only provide background for this present description of the language, rather than providing actual example sentences.

This description of the language is about how the Kutenai language works and especially about what the working parts of the language are, but it is also oriented toward the somewhat different question of what the Kutenai language is. This question of the identity of the Kutenai language is addressed in a forthcoming expansion of the short Chapter 5 which appears here. This expanded Chapter 5, already in preparation, updates and extends the Kutenai-Salishan comparative work of Morgan (1980) and reviews the evidence for a relationship between Kutenai and other, non-Salishan languages. The suggestion is made in Morgan (1980), and reiterated here, that Kutenai and the Salishan languages are genetically related. There are already references in this present work, as it now stands, to Kutenai-Salishan comparative work and there is a general discussion of the subject in section 5.2.



## **Acknowledgments.**

### **Local Institutional Support.**

My research has been made possible by the cooperation of many Kutenai people but, on top of that, much of my research on the language was done when I was a paid employee of the Kootenay Indian Area Council, now renamed the Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council. This organization represents the four Kutenai communities in Canada and a neighboring Shuswap community, where Kutenai is also spoken. Granting agencies like to have their assistance acknowledged. The Area Council, now Tribal Council, has not required me to acknowledge their assistance, but I feel the need to acknowledge something else which is related to that assistance. This is my recognition that the Kutenai language is the property of the Kutenai people. This is something that has to be understood within the context of the traditional economic system and cultural values of the Kutenai.

The traditional economic system of the Kutenai people was one where there was collective ownership of resources, and this tradition continues to find some expression, in spite of what has happened to most of the resources that were at one time collectively owned by the Kutenai people. The Kutenai language counts as a cultural resource and for that reason it is something which is considered to be collectively owned by the Kutenai people, even though many other languages, for example English, are not considered to be collectively owned by any group. For English, it is as though the language is an activity which one can either participate in or not. For Kutenai, there is an understanding of collective ownership.

What it means for something to be collectively owned depends on who the owners are, and what kind of a value system they have. Collective ownership of resources worked well for the Kutenai when they were the sole owners of their traditional territory in what is now Eastern British Columbia, Northern Idaho, and Northwestern Montana, because there was a great deal of generosity on the part of all the Kutenai people, and there was a great deal of respect for the natural environment by the people. There was also very

little government to interfere in the lives of people as they went about the business of using the collectively owned resources for their individual survival and prosperity.

The traditional spirit of generosity continues and has been extended to me as I have gone about the business of doing my research on the Kutenai language. There has been no governmental interference on the part of the tribal governments in my work, or on the part of local band councils, although there has been keen interest in the progress of the work. Kutenai people have trusted me to do a good job in my research and to be as responsible about the Kutenai language as a cultural resource as the traditional Kutenai were about the natural environment which they collectively owned and cared for. Even when a few individuals have criticized me for doing research on their language, it has only underscored the extent of the trust that everyone else has extended to me.

As I produce this relatively technical and analytical description of the language, which by itself may not be of much direct use to most Kutenai people, I take refuge in another tradition of the Kutenai people. This is the almost unlimited acceptance by Kutenai people of the right of each person to his or her own individual self expression. I hope that Kutenai people will recognize this technical and analytical description of the Kutenai language as the individual self expression of a well intentioned scholar. There will now have to be a collective effort including Kutenai speaking people literate in the language to make it more intelligible and useful to Kutenai people and, for that matter, to make it more intelligible and useful to scholars in the field of linguistics.

#### **Other Institutional support.**

My research on the language began with an initial field trip in 1967 and was supported in 1968, 1969, 1972, 1973, and 1974 by small, but vitally important grants from what was then known as the National Museum of Man, a branch of the National Museums of Canada. Some of my research in the mid 1970s was supported by the British Columbia Pro-

vincial Museum and by funds from the University of British Columbia. More recently, my research has been supported by the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, administered by the Department of Linguistics of the University of California, Berkeley; and, more recently still, some of my research has been supported by the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society.

### **Individual Assistance.**

I have long imagined that in the acknowledgement section of my first description of the Kutenai language, I would list all the Kutenai people who have helped me in my research on their language. It goes without saying that my research on the Kutenai language would not be possible without the help of the Kutenai people who are named in this work as sources of Kutenai data. They are the very substance of this work. Apart from these named individuals, the list of Kutenai people who have been of some assistance has grown so long, however, that if I try to make a complete listing of everyone here I am likely to leave someone out and thereby do a bad job of listing all the Kutenai people I have to thank. I will have to leave that task for an expanded description of the language.

I must immediately thank Elizabeth Gravelle and Lillian Ignatius for their assistance in my research in recent years. Elizabeth Gravelle is responsible for the original transcription work on most of the texts on which this description of the language is most closely based. She has also provided many original example sentences in written form so that I have had to rely less on elicited materials which I have transcribed. I would like to thank Lillian Ignatius, for the time and effort she has put into studying linguistics at university. She has been a great help to me in my research by being an informed observer of my work. Alice White of Columbia Lake deserves special thanks for her crystal clear pronunciation and generous spirit, both of which have been inspirations to me in my work.

I am sorry that I am too late to thank Nancy Joseph of the Kootenai Culture Committee

in Montana for her help. She alerted me to an easily overlooked, but important problem in the transcription of vowel length which needed further research. Her knowledge of the Kutenai language, critical eye, and professionalism as a scholar will be missed.

Among non-Kutenai people, I feel a special need to thank my mother, Elizabeth H. Morgan, for being the most generous granting agency of all, and at the same time an unlimited source of personal encouragement. She has extended me a line of credit for my educational expenses, making it possible for me to devote myself full time, as needed, to my education, and to my research on the Kutenai language during the last several years. She has found herself on occasion being a source of funding for field trips. Through this, she has not only funded portions of my research, but has become a patron of the arts, as I recorded Kutenai oral literature, at times when story tellers were available, but adequate funding for field trips from other sources was not. I have been her largest financial investment and one where a financial return from the investment has not been a consideration. She has forgiven loans, sometimes at almost the same pace as I have needed to make new ones, making my sometimes obsessive preoccupation with the preservation and description of the Kutenai language a possibility.

On the academic side, I would like to acknowledge the valuable comments on my work by members of my dissertation committee: Leanne Hinton, Wallace Chafe, Marianne Mithun, and Johanna Nichols. I would also like to thank them for their great patience, followed by their ability to deal very quickly with large amounts of material at various stages of development.

I have benefited from feedback on portions of this work by Rich Rhodes and David Costa, without being able to follow through yet on all of their suggestions. Comments by Rich Rhodes have revolutionized my approach to Kutenai morphology, but much of the morphology chapter here is relatively unaffected by that revolution. I would also like to thank Robert Van Valin for helping me to realize that from a syntactician's point of view there is a great deal more to Kutenai syntax than I had previously been able to see. In spite

of that realization, most of Kutenai syntax remains unexplored territory in this description of the language.

Matthew Dryer, and Noel Rude have stimulated my research on Kutenai in recent years by eagerly doing small amounts of Kutenai research on their own. They have inspired me by the efficiency with which they have been able to produce valuable insights into Kutenai grammar. I am glad to make use of their insights here.





## 1 General Introduction.

### 1.1 The name 'Kutenai'.

The name 'Kutenai', as a word in the English language, has been spelled some forty different ways since the word first appeared in print in 1820. It can be given a pronunciation of [kʰútʰəney], closely related to the three current spellings of the name (Kutenai, Kootenay, Kootenai), but residents of British Columbia, especially the East Kootenay District of British Columbia, and most Kutenai Indian people generally use a colloquial pronunciation of [kʰútɪy].

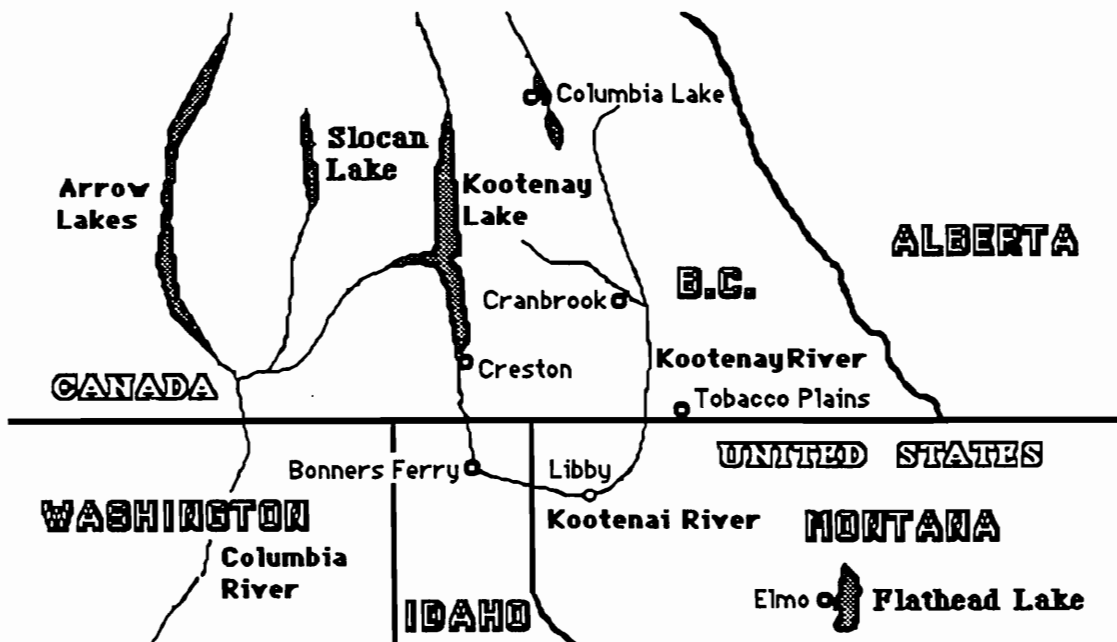
The spelling 'Kootenai' is used in Montana and Idaho for geographical and tribal designations, the spelling 'Kootenay' is used in British Columbia, where a large part of the province, a major national park, geographical features, a native organization, and many commercial enterprises bear the name, while the third current spelling 'Kutenai' has been used in scholarly works, and most recently, Kutenai people on both sides of the international border have begun to use this last spelling as an international spelling of the name, thereby avoiding the distinctively Canadian and the distinctively U.S. spellings.

Of the three current spellings of the name, the spelling 'Kootenay' appears to be the oldest, having first appeared in print in 1843. The spelling 'Kootenai' is apparently the next oldest, appearing in print in 1877, while the the spelling 'Kutenai' apparently dates only from 1899, according to a (1913) article on the Kutenai by Alexander F. Chamberlain.

The English word 'Kutenai' is apparently derived from the Blackfoot word for the Kutenai, /kotonáwa/ 'Kutenai Tribe', based on a root /kotona-/ (Frantz and Russel 1989). The Blackfoot word may ultimately derive from the Kutenai word /ktunaxa?/ 'Kutenai', realized phonetically as: [ktunʌχq]. The word /ktunaxa?/ is one of two words in the Kutenai language, /ktunaxa?/ and /ksanka/, which refer to the Kutenai as a whole and to their language. The Montana Kutenai, in particular, use the word /ksanka/, while other Kutenai people generally use the word /ktunaxa?/. The word

/ktunaxa?/ is almost certainly of Kutenai origin, but there are two possible etymologies for this word known to the author, one suggested by Boas (1918, p. 344), relating to a verb meaning 'to go out into the open', and another one suggested by FW, relating to a verb meaning 'to eat lean meat'. In the case of both of these etymologies one has to assume ad hoc sound changes to make the etymologies work out.

### Map of the Kutenai Area.



### 1.2 The Geographical Situation of the Language.

Kutenai is spoken in Eastern British Columbia in Canada, and in Northwestern Montana, and Northern Idaho in the United States. The total number of Kutenai people has increased dramatically in recent years, but the number of Kutenai speakers has declined steadily since about 1950. While the total number of Kutenai people may be well over a thousand, the number of fluent speakers of the language at the present time is almost

certainly less than three hundred, even with a liberal definition of who counts as a speaker of the language. The language is native to the same areas where it is spoken today and it is also native to parts of what is now Southwestern Alberta and adjacent parts of Northern Montana, just east of the Continental Divide. The formerly Kutenai areas in Alberta and in Montana east of the Continental Divide are now considered to be the traditional territory of the Blackfoot, Peigan, and Blood tribes.

### **1.3 Geographical Varieties of the Language.**

The Kutenai language can be said to exist in two slightly divergent varieties: Upper Kutenai and Lower Kutenai, the terms 'upper' and 'lower' referring to the course of the Kootenay River (which has the spelling 'Kootenai' for that middle part of its course which is in the United States). Upper Kutenai is spoken along the upper course of the river in British Columbia and also in Montana, and Lower Kutenai is spoken along the lower course of the river in Idaho and also in British Columbia. The Upper Kutenai communities are the Columbia Lake Band, at Windermere, British Columbia; the St Mary's Band, near Cranbrook, British Columbia; the Tobacco Plains Band, at Grasmere, British Columbia; and the Kootenai Tribe of the Flathead Reservation, in and around Elmo, Montana. The Lower Kutenai communities are the Kutenai Tribe of Idaho, at Bonners Ferry, Idaho; and the Lower Kootenay Band, at Creston, British Columbia.

With the exception of the present location of the Montana Kutenais, the communities where Kutenai is spoken are located at intervals of fifty to eighty miles along the course of the Kootenay River, as it flows from Canada into the United States and back into Canada, resulting in a situation where both Upper Kutenai and Lower Kutenai are native to both the United States and Canada. The Montana Kutenai, originally lived in the area of Libby, Montana on the Kootenai River, some sixty miles northwest of the Flathead Indian Reservation.

The Montana Kutenai argue, with some justification, that the area of Flathead Lake in Montana, their present location, was also originally Kutenai territory, in spite of the fact that it is now the homeland of the Flathead, a Salishan people.<sup>1</sup> The linguistic center of diversity for the Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead language is to the west in the general area of the city of Spokane in Eastern Washington State, rather than in Northern Idaho, or Montana. It must be the case that in recent prehistory the Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead language spread from the general area of present-day Spokane, across the part of Northern Idaho which is historically Kalispel territory, into the part of Northwestern Montana which is historically Flathead territory. There must have been a time when Coeur d'Alene, located a little bit farther south in Northern Idaho, was the eastern-most Salishan language, and was an immediate southern neighbor of Kutenai. The area in what is now Montana where Flathead was spoken in historical times may well have been Kutenai territory before Flathead developed as an eastern extension of the Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead language.

### 1.3.1 Lower Kutenai and Conservative Lower Kutenai.

There was a certain amount of homogenization of the Kutenai language which took place at the St. Eugene Mission boarding school located on the St Mary's Reserve outside of Cranbrook, British Columbia, in spite of the fact that the use of the Kutenai language was banned there.<sup>2</sup> The Lower Kutenai children, who included some from Bonners

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<sup>1</sup> The Flathead are not only a Salishan people, but actually use the name 'Salish' as the official name for themselves, in preference to the name 'Flathead'. The English word 'Salish' is from a word, /sɪʔliʃ/, in the Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead language. The word /sɪʔliʃ/ is a cover term for speakers of that language and for speakers of at least two other Southeastern Interior Salishan languages, Colville-Okanagan, and Columbian (Carlson 1972, page x). The Southeastern Interior Salishan languages share a certain amount of mutual intelligibility.

<sup>2</sup> An indication of how much Kutenai was actually spoken there, behind the backs of the nuns and priests, is given by the fact that some Shuswap children from the Kinbasket Shuswap Reserve in the northern part of the Kutenai area learned how to speak Kutenai at the St. Eugene Mission school.

Ferry, Idaho, were outnumbered by the Upper Kutenai children. The Upper Kutenai children tended to tease the Lower Kutenai children about the way they spoke Kutenai. The result has been that monolingual speakers of Lower Kutenai, who, by definition, are those who did not attend the St Eugene Mission school, have spoken a considerably more conservative kind of Lower Kutenai, than the speakers of Lower Kutenai bilingual in English. Research specifically on Conservative Lower Kutenai can still be done, since there is an extensive collection of tape recorded Lower Kutenai texts, which are now in the process of being put into written form, including texts from some essentially monolingual speakers.

### 1.3.2 Plains Kutenai.

In addition to the extant varieties of the language spoken along the course of the Kootenay River, there is some very limited attestation of Plains Kutenai, a variety of the language which was apparently not very divergent from Upper Kutenai or Lower Kutenai. Plains Kutenai, like the extant varieties of the language, was also native to both the United States and to Canada, specifically to parts of Southern Alberta and to adjacent parts of Northern Montana just east of the Continental Divide.

What little there is in the way of Plains Kutenai data, which actually includes only some twenty-four words recorded in 1912 by James Teit (1930), suggests that Plains Kutenai was phonologically conservative in at least one particular respect relative to extant varieties of the language. Teit's source of information was a woman named /kyunaʔ ʔupiʔ/ 'Kills Many', who lived at Tobacco Plains and whose parents were Plains Kutenais. Apparently she gave those twenty-four words as examples of Plains Kutenai because they were the only Plains Kutenai words she could think of which were different from the kind of Kutenai spoken at Tobacco Plains when Teit conducted his interview with her in 1912. As limited as the corpus of Plains Kutenai may be, careful examination of that limited

corpus does give some confirmation of a set of internal reconstructions posited for the language on the basis of data from the extant varieties of the language. Judging from the none too clear transcriptions of Teit, Plains Kutenai seems to have had a set of monosyllabic words: /kʉʔ/ 'abandoned campsite', /ʔuʔ/ 'awl', and /wʉʔ/ 'water' where extant varieties of the language have /kʉʔu/ 'abandoned campsite', /ʔuʔu/ 'awl', and /wʉʔu/ 'water'. An earlier state of the language must also have had the monosyllabic forms that Plains Kutenai appears to have had. In extant varieties of the language, there is a conditioned alternation between /kaʔ/ 'where' (as the first word of a phrase) and /kaʔa/ 'where?' (as a phrase onto itself), which provides a starting point for the internal reconstruction of two words: \*/kaʔ/ 'where (?)', and \*/niʔ/, an earlier form of /niʔi/ 'there (near the hearer)', of the Determiner /niʔ/ 'the'. The information on Plains Kutenai helps to tie these two internal reconstructions to the words /kʉʔu/ 'abandoned campsite', /ʔuʔu/ 'awl', and /wʉʔu/ 'water', which like the modern forms /kaʔa/ and /niʔi/ occur as phrases onto themselves, where they receive full phrasal stress, unlike the modern forms /kaʔ/ and /niʔ/, which do not.

#### 1.4 Sources of Kutenai Data.

Individual speakers of Kutenai are the ultimate sources of data for this description of the language.<sup>3</sup> These individual speakers have contributed their data in a variety of different ways, however, making some of them more direct sources than others. For one thing, this description of the language takes into account previous work on the Kutenai language published by Franz Boas (1918, 1927), and articles on the Kutenai language published by Paul Garvin (1947, 1948, 1951, 1953, 1954, 1957, and 1958). The author has also examined the grammar of Kutenai written in Latin by Father Philip Canestrelli (1894), and articles on the Kutenai language, and on the Kutenai in general, by Alexander F. Chamberlain (1892 through 1910). All these published sources of Kutenai data count as

<sup>3</sup> See the preface where some individual Kutenai speakers are mentioned.

secondary sources.

The primary sources of data for this description are the individual Kutenai speakers, consulted in the course of the author's field work, starting with an initial field trip made in 1967 and continuing with annual field trips and other contacts through the present. For a number of years, the author worked with Kutenai speakers as an employee of the Kootenay Language Project, a project administered by the governmental organization of the Canadian Kutenai's from 1975 through 1979. The materials produced by the Kootenay Language Project include the manuscript dictionary, Gravelle and Morgan (1979), notebooks of example sentences written by EG, and card files with example sentences also written by EG.





## 2 Kutenai Phonology.

### 2.1 Overview of Kutenai Phonology.

Wherever Kutenai words or sentences are presented in analyzed format in this description of the language, the example word or sentence is cast in the form of what is technically a phonological derivation. Most of the phonological derivations which are actually posited here are highly synoptic in form, containing only those levels of phonological representation and those types of glosses which are actually needed for the presentation of particular examples. The following is a model of a synoptic phonological derivation, containing notations on what parts of the derivation are optional and consequently what parts are always present.

#### The Synoptic Derivational Format.

Unbracketed Surface Phonemic Transcription. 'Free English Translation' (in Quotes).

[ ..... ] (Optional) Phonetic Transcription in square brackets.

/..... / Mid-Level Phonemic Transcription in diagonal bars.

/..... / (Optional) Underlying Transcription, always specifically noted as underlying.

Morpheme by Morpheme Gloss Line

Word by Word Gloss Line (if needed).

Phrase by Phrase Gloss Line (if needed).

Alternate Location of the free English translation (where space does not permit it to appear on the first line of the example).

Behind this synoptic format for derivations is a more elaborated format which is called into use, in whole or in part, where phonological rules are being discussed. The more elaborated format reflects a typology of phonological rules which outlines a theory of phonology. The theory is generative and at the same time highly structuralist, but the theory is



not the object of description here. The object of description here is the Kutenai language and little justification for the theory is offered. The theoretical model is only a starting point in the analysis and discussion of Kutenai phonology. Individual descriptive statements occasionally depart from the analytical framework defined by this typology of phonological rules. An outline of the more elaborated derivational format is presented immediately below. Following it there is some discussion of the different types of phonological rules and representations.

### **Outline of a Phonological Derivation.**

Unbracketed Surface Phonemic Transcription.      'English Gloss' (in Quotes).

[ ..... ]      (Phonetic Transcription)

Surface Phonological Rules Apply.

/..... /      (Surface Phonemic Transcription, as a step in a derivation, as needed)

Mid-Level Phonological Rules Apply.

/..... /      (Mid-Level Phonemic Transcription)

Morphologically Conditioned Rules Apply.

/..... /      (Underlying Transcription)

Morpheme by Morpheme Gloss Line

Word by Word Gloss Line (if needed).

Phrase by Phrase Gloss Line (if needed).

'English Gloss in Quotes' (Alternate Location).

### **2.1.1 Surface Phonemic Transcriptions.**

Surface phonemic transcriptions double as an orthography for the language. The obligatory heading for each presentation of analyzed Kutenai data here is a surface phonemic representation cast in the role of being an orthographic transcription. The surface pho-

nemic representations serving as orthographic transcriptions are identical in the actual spelling of words to the surface phonemic representations which are not cast in the role of being orthographic representations.<sup>1</sup>

What stands as an orthography in this description of the language is the author's latest version of a practical writing system already in use by Kutenai people on both sides of the international border. It is now gradually becoming fixed in the Kutenai communities as an official orthography. In the mid 1970s, Kutenai people in Canada commissioned the author to develop a practical writing system for the language.<sup>2</sup> There are minor variations in the details of its use over time and by different individuals, but these do not constitute more than one orthographic system.<sup>3</sup> The version of the orthography offered here incorporates some refinements, but mostly it eliminates inconsistencies, while at the same time maintaining the flexibility that allows each user of the orthography to represent the different pronunciations of different native speakers of the language.

Where surface phonemic transcriptions appear outside of the first line of a phonological derivation, such as in passages of English prose, or beneath phonetic transcriptions in a derivation, the Kutenai words which are in surface phonemic transcription are enclosed

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<sup>1</sup> One difference between the orthographic transcriptions and other surface phonemic representations here is that there is only a very sparing use of the cliticization symbol /<sub>u</sub>/ in orthographic transcriptions and no use of hyphens as morpheme boundaries. Other surface phonemic transcriptions potentially have morpheme boundaries and a full scale use of the cliticization symbol. Another difference is that capital letters are used in orthographic transcriptions, following the general practice in English orthography.

<sup>2</sup> A minimally abstract phonemic transcription proved to be practical for use by Kutenai speakers. For some discussion of this, see the section on mid-level phonemic representations in section 2.5.

<sup>3</sup> For example, a barred l with two bars through it /ł̄/ has been used and a barred l with a single bar through it /ł̄/ has also been used. The use of two bars through the barred l will certainly be retained for use in handwritten materials and is favored by Kutenai language teachers. Glottal stop has been written with a full sized glottal stop /ʔ/ and with an apostrophe /'/. Some typewriters and word processors simple do not have a special glottal stop symbol and an apostrophe makes a good substitute, especially given the often close etymological relationship between glottal stops and glottalization in Kutenai.

within phonemic diagonal bars /... /, and are specifically noted as being surface phonemic transcriptions. An unmarked phonemic transcription enclosed within diagonal bars /... / is always a mid-level phonemic representations.

### 2.1.2 Stylistic Rules.

The phonetic and phonemic transcriptions posited here all represent natural careful speech, except that some phonetic representations are specifically noted as representing some other speech style. Stylistic rules are optional rules which derive 'unregularized phonetic representations', marked as representing a particular speech style, from unmarked 'regularized phonetic representations', representing natural careful speech. In this way, the array of rules governing speech style variation in the language are confined to the realm of phonetic transcriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The stylistic rules include Initial Syllable Deletion which is found in rapid narrative speech and is generally reflected in original text transcripts of EG, and Final Segments Deletion which is found in emphatic parenthetical speech and is generally not reflected in the original text transcripts of EG. Rules deleting the final segments of words are something of an areal feature on the eastern edge of the Northwest, found in Kutenai, in Flathead, the easternmost variety of Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, and in Coeur d'Alene.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> There is also the possibility of positing phonemic transcriptions which represent different speech styles. This is the practice of Garvin (1948) who distinguishes between two speech styles, each represented in phonemic transcriptions. See section 2.3.3.

It has also been the practice of EG, especially in her early text transcription work, to selectively reflect certain rapid speech deletions, while generally not reflecting others. This has given rise more recently to a distinction in the practical writing system between 'performance transcriptions' and 'pedagogical transcriptions'.

<sup>5</sup> See the first three paragraphs of section 1.3, above, where there is some discussion of the locations of these neighboring Salishan languages, at present and in the recent past.

### 2.1.3 Surface Phonological Rules.

Surface phonological rules in Kutenai are obligatory, phonetically motivated, and essentially exceptionless sound rules. These are the rules which apply to derive surface phonemic representations from mid-level phonological representations in a given derivation. For Kutenai speakers who speak English with a noticeable Kutenai accent, it is the surface phonological rules which are applied to English to produce the noticeable Kutenai influence on their English. In the case of the rules affecting vowel shape, there is evidence that the surface phonological rules are taken into account and affect speaker's perceptions of English phonemic contrasts.<sup>6</sup>

### 2.1.4 Mid-Level Phonological Rules.

Mid-level phonological rules are obligatory, phonetically motivated rules which have some exceptions, but without being morphologically conditioned sound rules. The mid-level phonological rules of Kutenai are never applied to English by Kutenai speakers as they speak English, nor do these rules appear to affect Kutenai speakers' perceptions of English phonemic contrasts.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.1.5 Underlying Phonemic Representations.

Underlying phonemic representations here follow what can be called the 'morphemic principle', whereby every morpheme has a single underlying spelling. The different allomorphs of individual morphemes which appear in mid-level phonemic representations are entirely predictable from the underlying form of each morpheme by morphologically conditioned rules.

There are some inherent problems in knowing where to draw the line between syn-

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<sup>6</sup> There is a further discussion of surface rules in section 2.4, with specific discussion of language interference phenomena in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.5.

<sup>7</sup> There is a further discussion of mid-level phonological rules in section 2.5.

chronic Kutenai phonology and the internal reconstruction of Kutenai phonology. There are cases where certain Kutenai morphemes are evidently related to other particular Kutenai morphemes, but the sound rules needed to posit the related morphemes as allomorphs of a single underlying base morpheme appear not to be synchronic phonological rules. For example, there are sound rules which have outright exceptions on top of being morphologically conditioned, providing evidence that they are more abstract than other morphologically conditioned rules and less a part of synchronic Kutenai phonology. These rules, especially, invite reconstruction as rules of an earlier state of the language. In general, all morphologically conditioned sound rules are grist for the mill of internal reconstruction. The assumption here is that rules with easily stated morphological conditioning are a part of synchronic phonology while rules with exceptions to their own morphological conditioning are not synchronic rules.

Abstract phonological symbols which are not surface phonemes are confined to reconstructed representations. In section 2.1.6, below, there is a chart of synchronic Kutenai phonemes. Further below in section 2.1.7 there is a chart of Kutenai phonetic segments. Following that chart, there is a chart in section 2.1.8 of reconstructed phonemic segments for an earlier state of the language. The chart of phonetic segments in section 2.1.7 makes a useful introduction to the chart of reconstructed phonemic segments in section 2.1.8, because some of the reconstructed phonemes occur as synchronic phonetic segments, but do not occur as synchronic phonemic segments. For example, there is a need in internally reconstructed representations for phonetic schwas from which to derive the phonemic buffer vowels which exist in the present state of the language. Closely related to this is the need for the reconstruction of a series of labialized velar and uvular consonants in an earlier state of the language, in order to predict where schwas in the earlier state of the language have become instances of the vowel phoneme /u/, rather than some other phonemic vowel. These reconstructions tie closely into and are partially confirmed by Kutenai-Salishan

comparative work.<sup>8</sup>

The morpheme by morpheme gloss line in a phonological derivation is placed immediately below the most abstract phonemic representation which is present. There is the occasional need, however, of positing a separate morpheme by morpheme gloss line below each of two or more successively more abstract phonological representations. There are, for example, cases where a compound suffix is posited as a unit in a surface or mid-level representation, but is analyzed into two or more constituent suffixes in an underlying representation. In this way, alternate, successively more abstract synchronic morphological analyses are sometimes offered, one below the other. The assumption is made here that alternate morphological analyses of some compound base elements and compound suffixes can be simultaneously valid and a part of synchronic Kutenai grammar, at different levels of abstraction.

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<sup>8</sup> See the discussion of labialization as a surface phonological rule in section 2.4.5, and the discussion of the reconstruction of labialized velar and uvular consonant unit phonemes in section 2.6.3, under the heading of "Buffer Vowel Insertion as a Reconstructed Rule".



### 2.1.6 Kutenai Phonemes.

This is an inventory of Kutenai phonemes, with one marginal phoneme enclosed in parentheses.

#### Obstruent Consonant Phonemes:

	bilabial	dental	lateral	velar	uvular	laryngeal
stops:	p	t		k	q	ʔ
affricate:		ɕ				
ejectives:	p̚	t̚		k̚	q̚	
ejective affricate:		ɕ̚				
fricatives:		s	ʎ		x	h
voiced lateral resonant:			(l) <sup>9</sup>			
nasals:	m	n				
glottalized nasals:	m̚	n̚				

#### Semivowel Consonant Phonemes:

	palatal	labiovelar
plain:	y	w

#### Vowel Phonemes:

	Front	Central	Back
short vowels:	i	a	u
long vowels:	iː	aː	uː

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<sup>9</sup> Occurs only in recent loan words and in /salkat salkat/, said to be 'the sound squirrels make when scolding from a tree'.

**2.1.7 Phonetic Segments.**

This is an inventory of Kutenai phonetic segments, with three marginal phonetic segments enclosed in parentheses.

**Inventory of Kutenai Consonants in Phonetic Representations.**

**Chart of the Obstruents:**

	bilabial	dental	lateral	velar	uvular	laryngeal (glottal)
voiceless unaspirated stops:	p	t		k	q	ʔ
labialized v.less. unaspd. stops:				k <sup>w</sup>	q <sup>w</sup>	ʔ <sup>w</sup>
ejectives:	p̚	t̚		k̚	q̚	
labialized ejectives:				k̚ <sup>w</sup>	q̚ <sup>w</sup>	
ejective affricate:		tʂ				
voiceless homorganic affricates:		ts	ʎ	k ɣ	q ɣ	
voiceless fricatives:		s	ʈ		χ	h
labialized voiceless fricative:					χ <sup>w</sup>	
long voiceless fricatives:		s:	ʈ:			
lenis voiced fricative:					(ɣ)	
voiced 'h':						ɦ

**Chart of the Phonetic Resonants:**

	bilabial	dental	lateral	velar	uvular	laryngeal (glottal)
voiced lateral resonant:			(l)			
voiced nasals:	m	n				
voiced syllabic nasals:	m̩	n̩				
voiced and glottalized nasals:	m̩̚	n̩̚				

**Sub-Chart of the Phonetic Semivowels:**

	palatal	labiovelar
plain:	y	w
glottalized :	(y̟)	w̟

**Inventory of Kutenai Vowels in Phonetic Representations.**

The very short vowels listed here are generally epenthetic vowels, but there are some instances of them which are from entirely unstressed phonemic short vowels. Unstressed vowels in Kutenai do not generally reduce to schwa or to any vowel which could easily be confused with schwa. Phonemic syllables consisting of an obstruent, a short vowel, and a final nasal, such as the syllable /kin/, when entirely unstressed, have a vowel which is short enough so that transcribers of the language, EG and the author included, typically interpret it to be phonemically an obstruent-nasal cluster, such as /kn/. This happens because the Resonant Syllabicization rule of surface phonology automatically applies to such phonemic obstruent-nasal clusters to yield the phonetic sequence [kŋ], [k<sup>ə</sup>n], or perhaps [k<sup>ɪ</sup>n], where, in this last transcription here, a Raised Small Capital 'i' represents a very short vowel with the same shape as the retracted allophone [ɪ] of the high front (unrounded) vowel phoneme /i/.

**Chart of the Phonetically Very Short Vowels:**

Front	Central	Back
i		u
	ɪ	
	ə	

**Chart of the Phonetically Short Vowels:**

Front	Central	Back
i		u
ɨ		ʉ
	ɪ (ʊ)	ʊ
e		o
ɛ	ʌ	
	ɑ̃	
	a    ɑ	

**Chart of the Phonetically Partially Long Vowels:**

Front	Central	Back
i·		u·
ɨ·		ʉ·
	ɪ· (ʊ·)	ʊ·
e·		o·
ɛ·	ʌ·	
	ɑ̃·	
	a·    ɑ·	

**Chart of the Phonetically Fully Long Vowels:**

Front	Central	Back
i:		u:
		(ɔ:)
	ɑ:	

**Chart of the Emphatically Lengthened Vowels:**

Front	Central	Back
ɨ̃·		ũ·
	ɑ̃̃·	

**Marginal Phonetic Segments.**

The segment voiced h [h̥] occurs only in rapid or casual speech as an allophone of the phoneme glottal stop. Emphatic lengthening adds a fifth degree of phonetic vowel length to what is otherwise an inventory of four phonetic degrees of vowel length.

**Exotic Consonants.**

The voiced lateral resonant l is listed in parentheses in the inventory of phonetic segments in the chart, below, because voiced l occurs in only a very few Kutenai words and most of them are clearly borrowings. There are a few other consonants, even more exotic in terms of the Kutenai sound system, which actually occur in spoken Kutenai, but not in words which are likely to be accepted by speakers of the language as genuine Kutenai words, especially by bilingual speakers of Kutenai, who tend to reject any word in spoken Kutenai which is from English, as not being a part of the language. Monolingual speakers of Kutenai have apparently been somewhat more liberal about accepting words from English as a part of the Kutenai language, although both monolingual and bilingual speakers of Kutenai occasional use words from English in spoken Kutenai. In the Fish Lake Text, from MP, a bilingual speaker of the language, there is the expression in example PHOV.1 in line 76, and the word in example PHOV.1 in line 180.

**Example PHOV.1.**

čikin ʔa·kit+aʔisis 'chicken wire', literally 'chicken's house'

[čí·kɛ·n ʔa·kit+aʔí·sɪ·s]

**Example PHOV.2.**

fridʒ 'fridge'

[fridʒ]<sup>10</sup>

These two items, alone, yield the following exotic consonants:

voiceless palato-alveolar affricate:	č
voiced palato-alveolar affricate:	ɟʒ
voiced alveolar frictionless continuant:	r

These consonants would significantly expand the chart of phonetic consonant segments presented above, if they were to be accepted as part of the language, and included in the chart. For one thing, a distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, only a marginal phonetic distinction with [ɣ] as a casual speech allophone of /x/, would be called for in the phonemic inventory, if [č] and [ɟʒ] were to be accepted as contrasting Kutenai consonants.

### 2.1.8 Reconstructible Phonological Segments.

This is an inventory of the consonants which can be reconstructed for an earlier state or states of the language. The evidence for some reconstructions is greater than for other reconstructions. Of course, those segments which exist in the present state of the language are the most believable reconstructions. Asterisks mark those reconstructed segments which are not also synchronic phonemic segments.

The labialized velar and uvular consonants which exist as synchronic phonetic segments are rather well supported by Kutenai-Salishan comparative evidence. The reconstruction of velar nasals for an earlier state of Kutenai is inspired by Kutenai-Salishan

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<sup>10</sup> The Voiced Alveolar Frictionless Continuant [r] in the word [frɪdʒ] 'fridge', as it is transcribed in the Fish Lake text, is calculated here to be the semivowel counterpart of the vocalic segment [ɹ] which occurs in English. Another way to transcribe the word as it occurs in the text is as: [fɹɪdʒ].

sound correspondences and the reconstruction of velar nasals for Proto-Salish by Thompson (1979, pp. 715-725), but Thompson's reconstructions remain controversial, because of the nature of the sound correspondences among Salishan languages, with no Salishan language maintaining a distinction between a velar nasal and any other nasal consonant, except where examples can be readily explained as recent borrowings, mostly from one Salishan language into another. Most Salishan languages are like Kutenai in having no velar nasal phonemes at all.

	bilabial	dental	lateral	velar	uvular	laryngeal (glottal)
stops:	p	t		k	q	ʔ
affricate:		ɕ				
labialized stops:				*kʷ	*qʷ	
ejectives:	p̚	t̚		k̚	q̚	
labialized ejectives:				*k̚ʷ	*q̚ʷ	
ejective affricate:		ɕ̚				
fricatives:		s	ʃ		x	h
voiced lateral resonant:						
nasals:	m	n		*ŋ		
glottalized nasals:	m̚	n̚		*ŋ̚		

#### Reconstructible Inventory of Kutenai Semivowels:

	palatal	labiovelar
plain:	y	w

**Reconstructible Inventory of Kutenai Vowels:**

vowels:	Front	Mid	Back
	/i/		/u/
		*[ə]	
		/a/	

**2.1.9 Vowel Length.**

Long vowel phonemes in Kutenai are not uncommon in surface transcriptions, but most instances of long vowels in Kutenai are from a variety of other underlying sources. The deeper one goes in Kutenai phonology the fewer instances there are of long vowels, until in the most abstract representations there are almost no remaining examples. There are some examples, however, which resist analysis as anything other than long vowel unit phonemes, even at the deepest levels of analysis.

Any discussion of vowel length in Kutenai must begin with the fact that there are minimal pairs for vowel length. The following section on minimal pairs includes a number of examples. Included are minimal pair sets MP.19, MP.20, and MP.21 where vowel length is the result of the lexicalization of emphatic lengthening. Emphatic lengthening is otherwise an optional stylistic rule.

There are also examples of surface vowel length in Kutenai from the falling together of two like vowels with the deletion of an intervening laryngeal consonant. Minimal pair set MP.18 contains an example of this in part (a). The underlying sources of vowel length in Kutenai also include compensatory lengthening, a morphologically conditioned rule.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See section 2.6.2, rule number 7. Compensatory lengthening is now primarily a matter of the deletion of /k/ before /k/ with compensatory lengthening, but it once included instances where a vowel lengthens with the deletion of a velar stop before a uvular stop.



**2.1.10 Minimal Pairs.**

The following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs illustrate some of the phonemic contrasts in Kutenai. The first set is actually a minimal triplet.

Set MP. 1 (a Three-Way Minimal Pair or Minimal Triplet).

FW-5.77

(a) ?a·qa† 'cloud'. (b) ?a·ǰa† 'glove'. (c) ?a·ka† 'sack, bag, gunny sack'.

[?á:qa†]

[?á:ǰa†]

[?á:ka†]

/?a·-qa†/

/?a·-ǰa†/

/?a·-ka†/

NSB-cloud

NSB-glove

NSB-sack

Set MP. 2.

FW-8.18

(a) ?a·quta† n. 'axe'.

(b) ?a·ǰuta† n. 'fat'.

[?a·qó·ta·†]

[?a·ǰó·ta·†]

/?a·-quta†/

/?a·-ǰuta†/

NSB-axe

NSB-fat

Set MP. 3.

FW-3.111

(a) kitku 'mud hen, coot'.

(b) kitk̥u 'blacktail buck'.

[kítku]

[kítk̥u]

/kitku? /

/kitk̥u? /

coot

blacktail.buck

## Set MP. 4.

FW-IV.505

(a) kasnawi 'two year old beaver'.

(b) ḳasnawi 'two together all the time'.

[kasn̥á·wi·]

[ḳasn̥á·wi·]

/kasnawi?/ G&amp;M(1979)

/ḳʷas-nawi?/

two.year.old.beaver

SṂtwo-FREQUENTATIVE

The word in MP.4 (a), which means 'two year old beaver' is probably derived from the word in MP.4 (b), meaning '(that) two (are) together all the time, (that) two (are) always together'. If so, this would be one of a number of examples in Kutenai where a nominal stem has been derived with lexicalization from a k-form (i.e. a subordinate form of a verbal stem), with the lexicalization of the stem being marked by the deglottalization of the initial glottalized k of the k-form.

## Set MP. 5.

FW-8.37, G&amp;M(1979)

(a) q̣aqu+ni.

(b) q̣aku+ni

[q̣aqú·+ne·]

[q̣akú·+ne·]

/q̣a-qu+ni/

/q̣a-ku+ni/

cut.off-by.sawing,IND

cut.off-water-DI,IND

'He cut it, He divided it',

'He stopped bleeding.'

'He sawed it in two or more pieces.'

## Set MP. 6.

G&amp;M(1979)

(a) ḳustit̥ 'larch'.

(b) qustit̥ 'trout'.

[ḳú·stɪ·t̥]

[qó·stɪ·t̥]

\ḳustit̥\

\qustit̥\

larch

trout

The following derivations, MP.7 and MP.8, are two of a number of minimal pairs for the presence versus the absence of glottal stop. Two inflected verbal stem pairs are presented here in indicative forms which protect stem-final glottal stops from deletion by the mid-level rule of Glottal Stop Deletion.

Set MP. 7 (for the presence versus the absence of glottal stop).

(a) xunmitxuʔni. [χunmitχó·ʔne·] /xu-n-mit-xu-ʔ <sub>ni</sub> / into.fire/water-go-throw-by.body-GSVI <sub>IND</sub> <b>'He/she/it/they hit it into the fire,</b> <b>He/she/it/they bumped it into the fire.'</b>	(b) xunmitxuni. [χunmitχú·ne·] /xu-n-mit-xu <sub>ni</sub> / into.fire/water-go-throw-by.body <sub>IND</sub> <b>'It was blown into the fire.'</b>
--	--

Set MP. 8 (for the presence versus the absence of glottal stop). G&M (1979)

(a) yikʔtaʔni [yikʔtá·ʔne·] /yikʔta-ʔ <sub>ni</sub> / spill-GSVI <sub>IND</sub> <b>'He/she/it/they spilled or dumped</b> <b>out a non-liquid substance.'</b>	(b) yikʔtani [yikʔtá·ne·] /yikʔta <sub>ni</sub> / spill <sub>IND</sub> <b>'It (a non-liquid substance) spilled.'</b>
---	--

Underlying minimal pairs MP.9 and MP.10, below, are the plain forms of the inflected verbal stems shown in examples MP.7 and MP.8, above. The plain forms of the verbal stems, in MP.9 (a) and MP.10 (a) end underlyingly in glottal stop, putting the glottal stops in phrase-final position, exposing them to deletion by the regular mid-level Glottal Stop Deletion rule. The rule actually deletes an entire morpheme which marks transitivity.

Set MP.9, an Underlying Minimal Pair, but Surface Homophone.

(a) xunmitxu		(b) xunmitxu
[χunmí·txu·]		[χunmí·txu·]
/xunmítxu /	←(Surface Phonemic)→	/xunmítxu /
/xu-n-mit-xu-?/	←(Mid-Level Phonemic)→	/xu-n-mit-xu/
into.fire-go-throw-by.body-GSVI		into.fire-go-throw-by.body
'to hit or bump something into a fire.'		'something to be blown into a fire.'

Set MP.10, an Underlying Minimal Pair, but Surface Homophone. G&M(1979)

(a) yikʔta		(b) yikʔta
[yí·kʔta·]		[yí·kʔta·]
/yí·kʔta/	←(Surface Phonemic)→	/yí·kʔta/
/yikʔta-?/ <sup>12</sup>	←(Mid-Level Phonemic)→	/yikʔta/
spill-GLOTTAL.STOP.TRANSITIVE		spill
'to spill or dump out a non-liquid substance'		'a non-liquid substance to spill.'

The following minimal pair, like the two above, also relates to the presence versus the absence of a consonantal segment. In this case, it is the palatal semivowel which in syllable-final position is only marginally distinct from vowel length /y/. In normal speech, the phonetic distinction between phrase-final /i/ and /iy/ is as much between two different degrees of vowel length, as it is between the presence or absence of a semivowel.

<sup>12</sup> The mid-level phonemic representations here show all underlying glottal stops in place. The surface phonemic representations, one in the main body of the derivation to show the progression of the derivation and the other in the top line of the derivation, show only those glottal stops which also appear in the regularized phonetic representation which shows only those glottal stops which are actually heard in natural careful speech. Across the language, surface phonemic glottal stops constitute only a small sub-set of underlying glottal stops.

Nonetheless, the semivowel is phonemically present in MP.11 (b).

Set MP. 11.

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| (a) mač̣i 'to get dirty'. | (b) mač̣iy 'to get one's hand(s) dirty'. |
| [má·ṭṣi·]               | [má·ṭṣi·y]                             |
| /mač̣-iʔ/                 | /mač̣-hiy/ <sup>13</sup>                 |
| dirty-STATIVE             | dirty-hand                               |

### Minimal Pairs for Fricative Length.

There are Kutenai morphemes containing long fricatives, such as the nominal lexical suffix /-č̣ač̣ač̣iʔ/ 'antler'. Additional long fricatives are created by morphological processes, and there are at least the following minimal pairs.

Set MP. 12.

- |  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| (a) ʔač̣ač̣a 'edible black tree moss'. | (b) ʔač̣a 'co-wife' |
| [ʔá·č̣a·]                              | [ʔá·č̣a·]           |
| /ʔač̣ač̣a/                             | /ʔač̣a/             |
| black.tree.moss                        | co-wife             |

---

<sup>13</sup> The word /mač̣iy/ 'to get one's hand(s) dirty' in derivation MP.11 (b) should be compared to the word /ʔa·kiy/ 'hand' in the near minimal pair derivational set MP. 22, presented further below, which contrasts the word /ʔaki/ 'also' and the word /ʔa·kiy/ 'hand'. The late Ambrose Gravelle once pronounced the word /ʔa·kiy/ 'hand' with an exaggeratedly careful pronunciation of [ʔa·kíy<sup>θ</sup>] for the benefit of the author in an elicitation session in 1968, to make it absolutely clear to the author that the word /ʔa·kiy/ 'hand' ends with a palatal semivowel and not just a vowel.

## Set MP. 13.

FW

(a) wu:kati xaxass

[woká:tj· xǫ́·xǫ́·s:]

/wu:kat<sub>ɹ</sub>i xaxas-s/see<sub>ɹ</sub>INDICATIVE skunk-S3

(b) wu:kati xaxas

[woká:tj· xǫ́·xǫ́·s]

/wu:kat<sub>ɹ</sub>i xaxas/see<sub>ɹ</sub>INDICATIVE skunk

'He/she/it/they saw a skunk, saw Skunk.

'A skunk, Skunk saw him/her/it/them.

Nominal stems in Kutenai, such as the word for 'skunk', which end in 's', in their plain forms (i.e. without affixation) are actually extremely rare, and even nominal stems with plain forms ending in the dental affricate /ɕ/ are rare. Presumably this is related to the fact that, if there were many nominal stems in the language ending in 's' in bare stem form, minimal pairs such as the one above in MP.13 would be commonplace, with a phonetically long 's' [s:] contrasting with a phonetically short 's' [s]. All Kutenai nominal stems can inflect to take the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/. The word here meaning 'skunk' is evidently a recent borrowing from a neighboring Salishan language.<sup>14</sup>

**Minimal Pairs for Vowel Length.**

There are surface phonological rules in Kutenai which automatically lengthen vowels in the penultimate syllables and in the final syllables of phrases.<sup>15</sup> These rules have the effect of making the phonemic short vowels in penultimate and final syllables essentially as long phonetically as the phonemic long vowels which occur in other environments. In a given environment, however, the phonemic distinction between long vowels and short

<sup>14</sup> The Kutenai word is apparently from the word /xǫ́s-t-éy'e?/ 'skunk' in the Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead language, as cited in Carlson (1989, p.117), for Spokane. Vogt (1940) has it as [xǫ́stéy'e?] 'skunk', in Kalispel. The word means something to the effect of 'seems good, but actually isn't' (Carlson, p. com.). It was evidently borrowed with the reduplicated root seen in the citation from Spokane, with the last part of the word having been lost in borrowing.

<sup>15</sup> See sections 2.4.

vowels is maintained phonetically, and there are minimal pairs.

Derivations MP.14, MP.15, and MP.16 here, each involve a contrast between the prepositional prefix /ʔa-/ 'out', followed by a velar stop /k/, and the Nominal Stem Base /ʔa·k-/. This version of the Nominal Stem Base, can be analyzed as consisting of the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa-/, a separate morpheme consisting entirely of vowel length, and a root /k-/ 'do, be'. Under this analysis, the vowel length morpheme is labelled Vowel Length, and abbreviated 'L'. There is another version of the Nominal Stem Base which is /ʔa·qa-/, or under analysis /ʔa·-qa-/. It contains the root /qa-/ 'be thus'.

In Boas (1918), the phonetic transcription of the Nominal Stem Base /ʔa·k-/ as [ʔa<sup>h</sup>k-] indicates traces of a weakened laryngeal. Boas specifically wrote aspiration, although in his transcription it is actually transcribed as a front facing apostrophe, rather than as a small raised h [ <sup>h</sup> ], as here. More recently in the field work of the present author, there are attestations of an attenuated voiced 'h' in the Nominal Stem Base /ʔa·k-/, so that in extreme cases it has been transcribed as [ʔa·h̥k-], but only when it constitutes a fully stressed syllable, and only in careful speech from speakers of the language born before or around 1900. More generally and from younger speakers, this attenuated voiced 'h' takes the form of vowel length.

Set MP.14 .

G&M(1979)

(a) ʔakaḵu v. 'to dig something up'. (b) ʔa·kaḵu n. 'trap, steel animal trap'.

[ ʔaká·ḵu· ]

[ ʔa·ká·ḵu· ]

/ ʔa-ka-ḵu-ʔ/

out-come-by.pointed.object-GSVI

Set MP. 15.

G&M (1979)

- (a) ?akaq̣ni v. 'to stick one's face out of somewhere'. G&M(1979)

[?akó·q̣ni·]

/?a-ka-q̣ni?/

out-come-face

- (b) ?a·kaq̣ni n. 'face'.

[?a·kó·q̣ni·]

/?a·k-a-q̣ni?/

NSB-Buffer.vowel-face

Set MP. 16.

G&M (1979)

- (a) ?akmuxu (a verbal stem)

[?akmú·xu·]

/?a-k-mu-xu/

out-come-ground-by.body

'to fall out in this direction,  
to fall out from somewhere'.

- (b) ?a·kmuxu (a nominal stem)

[?a·kmú·xu·]

/?a·k-mu-xu-?/

NSB-ground-by.body-GSVI

'the place where (someone is) sitting,  
one's place at a table'.

Set MP.17.

FW-II.293

- (a) ?a·ɬi 'scraper (made of antler)'. (b) ?aɬi 'to be big around, thick in diameter'.

[?a·ɬi]

[?aɬi]

/?aɬ-i?/ cf. Boas (1918, p.39)

thick.in.diameter-STATIVE



## Set MP.18.

FW

(a) ka<sub>u</sub>a·q̄anak

[ka:q̄á·na·k]

/ka<sub>u</sub> ʔa·-q̄anak/1 POS<sub>u</sub> NSB-knee

'my knee'.

(b) kaq̄anak

[kaq̄á·na·k]

/k<sub>u</sub>ha-q̄anak/SUBORDINATE.MARKER<sub>u</sub>have-knee

'that he/she/it has a knee, knees;

that they have a knee, knees.'

**Lexicalization of Emphatic Lengthening.**

Minimal pairs MP.19 and MP.20 are ones where, in each case, a single grammatical particle has become differentiated into two particles, because of what was once originally a matter of emphatic lengthening, a rhetorical device. In other words, there has been the lexicalization of emphatic lengthening with the item in MP.19 (b) and MP.20 (b).

## Set MP. 19.

(a) tuxa 'almost, just about, nearly'. (b) tu·xa 'really, real, sure'.

[tú:ɣq̄]

/tuxa/

[tú:ɣq̄]

/tu·xa/

## Set MP. 20.

(a) mika Interclausal Particle  
(lacking an independent gloss).

[mí·ka]

/mika/

(b) mi·ka Sentence Initial Particle,  
with the gloss 'even though'.

[mí:ka]

/mi·ka/

**Reanalysis of Vowel Length as Stress.**

With the item in derivation MP.21 (b), below, there is not only the lexicalization of emphatic lengthening, as in the two minimal pairs above, but there has also apparently been a reanalysis of word-final length as stress. Two separate morphemes are involved: /tax/ 'now, then', and /-ta/, a morpheme relating to time reference.

Set MP. 21.

(a) taxta 'before, until, just now'.	(b) taxta· 'afterwards, later'.
[tʰ·x̄tq̄]	[tʰ·x̄tá:]
/tax-ta/	/tax-ta·/
now/then-Sfx	now/then-Sfx

**Near Minimal Pairs.**

The following two sets are near minimal pairs. Set MP.22 has already been mentioned above in connection with set MP.11. Footnote 11, above, relating to set MP.11, is also relevant here, establishing the fact that the word /ʔa·kiy/ 'hand' ends in a palatal semi-vowel, and not merely a long vowel.

Set MP. 22.

G&M(1979)

(a) ʔaki 'also'.	(b) ʔa·kiy 'hand'.
[ʔá·kij]	[ʔá:ki·y]
/ʔaki/	/ʔa·k-hiy/
also	NSB-hand

Set MP. 23.

FW-IV.443

(a) n̥upí·t̥ne· xaxass

[n̥upí·t̥ne· xq̣ːxq̣ːs:]

/n̥ʉp̥up-i·t̥ni xaxas-s/

PM̥die-DI·IND skunk-S3

'He killed a skunk.'

(b) n̥upí·t̥ne· xa·xa·s

[n̥upí·t̥ne· xá:xá:s]

/n̥ʉp̥up-i·t̥ni xa·xa·-s/

PM̥die-DI·IND crow-S3

'He killed a crow.'

### 2.1.11 Phrases, Syllables, and Cliticization.

#### Phrases.

Kutenai nominal phrases and verbal phrases, loosely speaking noun phrases and verb phrases, are phonologically very much like words. For one thing, the phrase is the domain for the assignment of the most prominent kind of stress in the language. This is full phrasal stress which is assigned to the penultimate syllable of each phrase. There is also penultimate word stress, but the penultimate syllables of words within phrases are less strongly stressed and word stresses are cancelled out by phrasal stresses when there is a conflict between the two kinds of stress assignment. The phonological rules of Kutenai, in general, are not confined to operating just within words. Rules which delete, combine, or modify phonological segments also have the phrase as the domain for their application.

Kutenai nominal phrases and verbal phrases are morphosyntactically like words in that, like words, the phrases can be described as having morphology, with slots and fillers, where particular slots are filled by particular elements, in an almost invariant order. This order is not absolutely rigid for phrases, however, since strings of derived adverbs (i.e. adverbs based on a verbal root), which may precede a verbal stem in a verbal phrase, occur

in different arrangements, with at least subtle changes in meaning, and certain combinations of adverbial particles preceding a verbal stem may also occur in different arrangements, also with subtle changes in meaning. Kutenai morphosyntax at the word level and at the phrase level are, therefore, at least subtly distinct, but Kutenai syntax within phrases is, overall, very much like word morphology.

### **Cliticization.**

Cliticization in Kutenai is primarily a matter of syllables being formed across word boundaries. This is the case with preverbal and pronominal particles and clitic pronouns. In the case of the two particles which invariantly encliticize onto verbal stems, the Indicative Marker /<sub>ɔ</sub>ni/~/<sub>ɔ</sub>i/ and the Locative Marker /<sub>ɔ</sub>ki/, and the first person clitic pronoun, /hu<sub>ɔ</sub>/ which appears encliticized onto verbal stems in certain imperative forms, the placement of stress is the principal marker of the encliticization.

Cliticization is indicated in phonemic representations here by an underloop linking line /<sub>ɔ</sub>/, except that juncture and boundary symbols are used in only a very limited way in those surface phonemic transcriptions which function as the language's orthography. Within phrases, all derived adverbs, all adverbial particles, and most other types of particles are basically proclitic to following verbal stems. Clitic pronouns in Kutenai are generally proclitic, except that the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>ɔ</sub>/ and the Second Person Clitic Pronoun /hin<sub>ɔ</sub>/ occur encliticized onto verbal stems in certain imperative verbal forms, thereby marking those verbal forms as second person singular imperative forms. There are just two particles which encliticize onto verbal stems, the Indicative Marker /<sub>ɔ</sub>ni/~/<sub>ɔ</sub>i/, and the Locative Marker /<sub>ɔ</sub>ki/, and these are invariantly encliticized, never appearing as proclitics. In those surface phonemic transcriptions which function as the language's orthography these two encliticized particles are written as integral parts of the verbal stems that they are encliticized onto, while other particles are written as separate words. One exception to this principle is that the Enclitic Conjunction

/ɲʈ/ is written with an underloop linking line in all types of phonemic representations, including those serving as orthographic transcriptions. The Enclitic Conjunction /ɲʈ/ normally encliticizes onto verbal stems, but may also procliticize onto the initial word of a phrase.

Within strings of proclitic elements, one element may encliticize onto a preceding element. The words which are the most active in doing this are the particles consisting of less than a full syllable. A particular element either procliticizing onto a following word in a phrase, or encliticizing onto a preceding word in the phrase, depending on the syllable structure of the phrase. The governing principle of this variable encliticization is that a particle consisting of less than a syllable will procliticize onto a following element in a phrase, unless it can form a syllable with a preceding element in the phrase.

#### **An Example of Variable Encliticization.**

Example CL.1, below, shows alternating encliticization and procliticization. Part (a) of the example shows the encliticization of the Predicate Marker /nʌ/, onto a preceding clitic pronoun, which it forms a syllable with. Parts (b) and (c) show the procliticization of this same particle, onto a following verbal stem, where it forms a syllable with the first syllable of the stem.

The pronunciation here is that of EG from Tobacco Plains, where the Predicate Marker /nʌ/ is required phrase-initially and after /hinʌ/ the Second Person Clitic Pronoun. It is not required in all speech styles by Upper Kutenai speakers from the St Mary's Band or the Columbia Lake Band, and is not generally used in these two environments, in any speech style, by speakers of Lower Kutenai.

**Example CL.1 (Variable Encliticization).**

(a) Encliticization.	(b) Procliticization.	(c) Procliticization.
hun ?ini 'I am.'	hin n̄ini 'You (sg) are.'	n̄ini 'He/she/it is, they are.'
/hu <sub>u</sub> n̄i <sub>i</sub> /	/hin <sub>u</sub> n̄i <sub>i</sub> /	/n̄i <sub>i</sub> /
/hu <sub>u</sub> n̄i <sub>ni</sub> /	/hin <sub>u</sub> n̄i <sub>ni</sub> /	/n̄i <sub>ni</sub> /
1CP <sub>u</sub> PM be <sub>i</sub> IND	2CP <sub>u</sub> PM <sub>i</sub> be <sub>i</sub> IND	PM <sub>i</sub> be <sub>i</sub> IND

Example CL.2, below, illustrates the variable encliticization of the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>u</sub>/. In part (a) of the example, it procliticizes onto the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>u</sub>/, while in part (c) the Subordinate Marker encliticizes onto a preceding adverbial particle, the Imperfective Particle /?at<sub>u</sub>/. In part (b) of the example, the Imperfective Particle /?at<sub>u</sub>/ stands as a syllable by itself, while in part (c) it forms a 'syllabic chunk', if not a canonical syllable, with the two following elements, including the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>u</sub>/, and a reduced form [s̄+] of the derived adverb /s-i?+<sub>u</sub>/ 'being in the act of doing', 'presently being'.

**Example CL.2.**

RMc-SC.38-40

(a) Huyas ku ɕxaʔ ɕi:katmiʔ	'I am going to see'
[hú:ya:s kù tsxðʔ ɕi:kátmɪʔ]	
/huya-s k <sub>u</sub> hu <sub>u</sub> ɕxa-ʔ <sub>u</sub> ɕi:kat-m-iʔ/	
SUGT-S3 SM <sub>i</sub> 1CP <sub>u</sub> FUT-ADV <sub>u</sub> Look-ASC-DI	
(b) kaʔs ?at n̄a:qaw̄xam	'where she goes to',
[kàʔs ?àt n̄a:qá:w̄xam]	
/kaʔ-s <sub>u</sub> ?at <sub>u</sub> n̄a:qa-uʔxa-m/	
where-S3 <sub>u</sub> IMpt <sub>u</sub> PM <sub>i</sub> IM-be.thus-Be.to-RM	

(c) ?at<sub>ɔ</sub>k<sub>ɔ</sub>s<sub>ɔ</sub> † ?a·qanam. 'why she goes that way'.

[ ?àtk<sub>s</sub> † † ?a·qá·nám ]

/ ?at<sub>ɔ</sub> k<sub>ɔ</sub> s-i?†<sub>ɔ</sub> † ?a·-qa-na-m/

IMpt<sub>ɔ</sub> SM<sub>ɔ</sub> CON-ADV<sub>ɔ</sub> IM-thus-go-RM

When the adverb /s<sub>i</sub>?†<sub>ɔ</sub>/ 'being in the act of doing', 'presently being' is optionally contracted to [s†<sub>ɔ</sub>], and is at the beginning of a phrase, it procliticizes onto the following word, as in example CL.3, below.

Example CL.3.

s†<sub>ɔ</sub>φxani ktunaxa†ukaqwumis. 'He was speaking the Kutenai language.'

[s†tsχá·ne· ktunΛχg†ukaq<sup>u</sup>wú·mi·s] ← (Casual Speech)

[sì† tsχá·ne· ktunΛχg†ukaq<sup>u</sup>wú·mi·s] ← (Natural Careful Speech)

/s-i?†<sub>ɔ</sub> φxa<sub>ɔ</sub>ni ktunaxa?-†u?kaqw-um-is/

CON-ADV<sub>ɔ</sub> speak<sub>ɔ</sub>IND Kutenai-Language-INH-S3<sup>16</sup>

### Procliticization with Glottalization.

In example CL.4, the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>ɔ</sub>/ procliticizes onto a following verbal stem, with the result that the initial glottal stop of the verbal stem combines with the k of the particle, to form a glottalized consonant.

<sup>16</sup> The capital L of the gloss 'Language' in example CL.3 codes the fact that this is a compound morphological element and that there is a different underlying analysis available for it. A small number of compound stem base elements with lexical glosses, and a large number of compound lexical suffixes have glosses which code the existence of another more penetrating analysis for the element, by the use of an initial capital letter for the gloss.

Underlyingly the analysis of the sentence in CL.3 is:

/s-i?†<sub>ɔ</sub> φxa<sub>ɔ</sub>ni ktunaxa?-†u?k-aq-w-um-i-s/

CON-ADV<sub>ɔ</sub> speak<sub>ɔ</sub>IND Kutenai-sound-STV-IN-INH-Bf-S3

**Example CL.4.**

kiʔtkin ? 'Did he/she/they make it ?, Did he/she/they do it ?'

[kiʔtkin]

/kʷiʔt-kin ?/

SM<sub>v</sub>Become-by.hand<sup>17</sup> QUES

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<sup>17</sup> In section 3.1, part 3.1.3, there is further analysis of the stem base element /ʔiʔt-/ 'become', as 'be' + T-Valence Increasing Suffix. The instrumental lexical suffix /-kin/ is inherently transitive; therefore 'become' + 'by hand' = 'make'.



## 2.2 Kutenai Phonetics.

### 2.2.1 The Phonetics of Labialization.

In Kutenai and probably universally, labialized velar stops and ejectives are acoustically more similar to corresponding labialized uvular stops and ejectives than their unlabialized counterparts are. The effect that labialization or rounding has in decreasing the acoustic difference between velars and uvulars is especially evident where minimal pairs are not involved.<sup>1</sup> One example is provided by the word /kuʈiɕ/ 'chick' which was transcribed by the author as \*/quʈiɕ/, long after the author had become proficient in distinguishing velar consonants from uvular consonants in Kutenai. The transcriptional error was only corrected in the review of written materials by the author working with a native speaker of Kutenai who had become literate in the language. At that time there were very few outright transcriptional errors left to be corrected, so this and a few other similar transcriptional errors, also involving rounded velars and uvulars, stood out as indicative of something other than just inexperience on the part of the author in his earliest field work.

The rounding of back consonants is itself difficult to detect in Kutenai, but only where a rounded back consonant is followed by a rounded vowel. The velar stop in the word /kuʈiɕ/ 'chick' is a rounded back consonant and a narrow phonetic transcription of this word should reflect this fact by including an indication of this rounding. It is technically correct to transcribe it phonetically as [kʷʈiɕ]. The problem with this is that transcribing the word as [kʷʈiɕ], using a Raised 'w' symbol [ʷ] to indicate rounding creates the impression, at least among the unwary, that something like a labiovelar semivowel [w] is to be heard between the initial velar stop of the word and the following vowel. The word does not involve a dynamic articulatory gesture of rounding inserted as a transition between

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<sup>1</sup> There are minimal pairs between labialized velar consonants and labialized uvular consonants in Kutenai, so the actual phonemic distinction between labialized velars and uvulars is not in question. See minimal pair sets MP.5 and MP.6, in section 2.1.10, above. MP.5 is also partially reproduced, below, in this section.

the velar stop and the following rounded vowel. What actually occurs is that rounding begins at the beginning of the articulation of the initial velar stop of this word and persists in a steady state throughout the articulation of the following rounded vowel. The fact that the initial consonant of the word is rounded is very nearly unnoticeable, without resorting to the visual evidence that the lips are rounded, for the initial consonant, as well as for the following vowel. For this reason, this relatively unnoticeable type of steady state labialization is not transcribed as a raised w [w̥] in broad phonetic transcriptions here, and only broad phonetic transcriptions are generally offered for such examples.

Where narrow phonetic transcriptions are presented here of Kutenai words containing rounded back consonants, a special distinction is made between this relatively unnoticeable kind of labialization of back consonants and the very noticeable kind of rounding of back consonants in Kutenai which occurs whenever a phonetically rounded back consonant immediately precedes an otherwise unrounded vowel. A special raised o [°] diacritic is adopted here, specifically to indicate this 'non-dynamic' or 'unnoticeable' kind of rounding.<sup>2</sup> This is only a perceptual distinction, not an acoustic nor an articulatory one. The amount of rounding is the same regardless of which symbol is used.

The standard narrow phonetic transcription here of the word /kuʈiʈ/ 'chick' is [k°úʈiʈs], rather than [kʷúʈiʈs], as it was transcribed above. The Raised 'w' symbol [w̥] is reserved for cases of rounding where the rounding of a labialized velar or uvular consonant carries forward (noticeably) into the pronunciation of an otherwise unrounded following vowel. The following minimal pair from section 2.1.10, above, illustrates a narrow phonetic transcription of the non-dynamic variety of labialization in Kutenai.

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<sup>2</sup> The raised o symbol has been used as a diacritic for rounding, especially by scholars of Caucasian languages, and is used by Kuipers in his (1967) description of Squamish, a Salishan language of British Columbia. There, the symbol is used as the only diacritic for rounding, in preference to the use of a raised w, which is the standard symbol among Americanists.

**Minimal Pair Set MP.5, (retranscribed with a narrow phonetic transcription).<sup>3</sup>**

(1) ǰaqu+ni. 'He cut it, He divided it'. FW-8.37

[ǰaǰú+ne] ← Broad Phonetic Transcription

[ǰaǰ<sup>o</sup>ú+ne] ← Narrow Phonetic Transcription

(2) ǰaku+ni 'He stopped bleeding'. FW-8.37

[ǰakú+ne] ← Broad Phonetic Transcription

[ǰak<sup>o</sup>ú+ne] ← Narrow Phonetic Transcription

The raised w symbol [w̥] actually represents labialization which is intrusive into the articulation of a phonemically unrounded vowel. This means that the two unrounded vowel phonemes of Kutenai, /i/ and /a/, have a variety of allophones which begin as rounded vowels and shift into being unrounded. These allophones occur after phonetically labialized velar and uvular consonants, and after phonetically labialized glottal stop. These shifting vocalic allophones are represented here, as: [w̥a], [w̥i], [w̥I], etc.. These shifting allophones are definitely not phonetically identical to semivowel-plus-vowel sequences. In other words, the three labialized vocalic allophones depicted here contrast with: [wa], [wi], and [wI]. The labialized vocalic allophones, [w̥a], [w̥i], [w̥I], etc. have rounding which extends for some time into their articulation, whereas the semivowel-plus-vowel sequences, [wa], [wi], and [wI], etc. have rounding which ends essentially before the articulation of the vowel, so that the vowel is unrounded for almost all of its duration.

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<sup>3</sup> The presentation here contrasts with the unmarked and exclusively broad phonetic transcriptions to be found in minimal pair set MP.5, in section 2.1.10, above.

### 2.2.2 The Phonetics of Voiced H.

In purely phonetic terms there are at least three phonation types in Kutenai. These definitely include voicing, voicelessness, and laryngealization or creaky voice. There may actually be a fourth type of phonation. There is the possibility that a true characterization of what is referred to here as voiced h [ɦ] might involve a distinct phonation type, perhaps murmur as described by Ladefoged (1971). Voiced h occurs in casual speech in Kutenai as an allophone of glottal stop where the vocal cords remain open. Boas (1918, page xii) describes this sound as involving "diphthongized vowels, ending with a decided glottal stricture, so as to be set off from the following consonants, without, however, forming a complete glottal stop". We should not take Boas's use of the word 'diphthongized' here to mean that the combination of a vowel plus a following voiced h necessarily involves a change in vowel shape. Boas (1918) transcribes these vowels as [a<sub>a</sub>], [e<sub>i</sub>], [i<sub>i</sub>], and [o<sub>u</sub>], but his use of large and small versions of the exact same vowel symbols in two cases, specifically in the combinations [a<sub>a</sub>], and [i<sub>i</sub>], indicate his acceptance that there is not necessarily a change of vowel shape in these particular vowels. The change is in the existence of what might be called a syllable pulse, rather than true diphthongization. The most common instances of a vowel followed by a voiced h in Kutenai are in the indicative forms of inflected verbal stems where there are phonemic sequences of /...aʔni/, /...iʔni/, and /...uʔni/, which in casual speech, with the application of the stylistic rule of Glottal Stop Weakening, are realized phonetically as in the following table:

Phonemic	Phonetic	Boasian Phonetic Transcription
/...aʔni/	→ [...áɦne·]	[...a <sub>a</sub> ne·]
/...iʔni/	→ [...éɦne·] or [...íɦne·]	[...e <sub>i</sub> ne·] or [...i <sub>i</sub> ne·]
/...uʔni/	→ [...úɦne·] or [...óɦne·]	[...o <sub>u</sub> ne·]

### 2.2.3 Fricatives and Voicing.

The fact that Kutenai fricatives are all voiceless in initial position and generally voiceless elsewhere is well evident from language interference phenomena. One of the characteristics of English when spoken with strong interference from Kutenai, in other words with a strong Kutenai accent, is that the voiced fricatives of English are pronounced as voiceless fricatives. For example, the name of the city of Victoria has been pronounced by Kutenai elders of the oldest generation as [fɪktóriə], and these same individuals have pronounced the name of SuperValue Supermarket as [sùpɹælyu súpɹmàrkɛt]. In these transcriptions the stop consonants are all transcribed as voiceless unaspirated stops, reflecting another feature of English spoken with a strong Kutenai accent.

#### Marginal Voiced Fricatives.

Instances of phonetically voiced intervocalic fricatives have been noticed in Kutenai by the author, but only in the word /taxas/ 'then, now', and only sporadically in highly casual rapid speech. The word /taxas/ 'then, now' is very common in narratives and has casual and rapid speech variants which are quite different from its natural careful speech pronunciation of [tʰ.χq̥.s]. One of the casual and rapid speech pronunciations of this word has a voiced uvular fricative [ɣ] ranging to a voiced velar fricative [ɣ̠]. This fricative is so lenis that the phonetic distinction between a velar point of articulation and a uvular point of articulation is effectively neutralized. This casual and rapid speech variant of the word can be transcribed as [tʰ.ɣ̠q̥.s], using a dotted gamma [ɣ̠], although this does not really capture the fact that what is important here is how lenis and approximate the fricative is, rather than the fact that it is voiced. There is also a more extreme monosyllabic variant of the word, [tq̥.s], where the fricative is absent altogether. The pronunciation of the word with a voiced fricative, [tʰ.ɣ̠q̥.s], is especially marginal in the sense that instances of it have not occurred in elicitation sessions and a phonetic symbol for a voiced back fricative has apparently never been put to use in phonetically transcribing Kutenai,

except here in this discussion of this marginal voiced back fricative. The dotted gamma [ɣ̣] symbol is given marginal status in this description of the language by being listed in parentheses in the chart of phonetic segments, above.<sup>4</sup>

Another, much more marginal, example of a voiced fricative was offered by FW in the form of an imitation of what he called the "slow dragging sound" of "old-fashioned Lower Kutenai". What FW actually produced in his imitation of this was a repeated voiced lateral fricative accompanied by a lower-mid central vowel, roughly: [ɮ̣ʌ·ɮ̣ʌ·], all of this spoken with a decidedly low pitch. What elicited this from FW was the author asking about the word [ko·dlídlus] meaning 'butterfly', as found in Boas (1918, p.16, and in Boas's glossary p.356). The source of the word in Boas (1918) is a text fragment recorded by Chamberlain in 1891 from Paul, who reportedly lived near the St. Eugene Mission which is on the St. Mary's Reserve. In the text, the word has the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ on it, which can be removed to yield [ko·dlídlu]. FW's had two pronunciations of his own for the word for 'butterfly'. They were /kúlulu/ and /kulilu/. He slightly favored /kululu/, and he also once said [kudlílu] in direct response to the form quoted from Boas (1918). The voiced lateral fricative [ɮ̣] is not therefore actually attested even in this word as pronounced by FW. In any case, the Kutenai word for 'butterfly' is resemblant to words in neighboring Salishan languages: Spokane /kʷl-ule?/ 'butterfly', and Flathead /kʷelú/ 'butterfly', so that the Kutenai word would appear to be of Salishan origin, especially since Coast Salishan languages having similar words. For example, Squamish has: /kílaɬa/ 'butterfly'. The voiced lateral fricative remembered by FW may be an indication of how Lower Kutenai speakers who were members of an earlier generation dealt with the voiced lateral resonant /l/ as that sound occurred in a small number words which had been borrowed into the language by that time.

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<sup>4</sup> See the chart of phonetic segments in section 2.1.7.

### 2.2.4 Released Stops, Unreleased Stops, and Aspiration.

In phrase-final position and before another stop consonant, stop consonants in Kutenai are often released, particularly in careful speech. This can loosely be counted as light aspiration, but in exact terms it is the release of a stop consonant without aspiration, at least without the kind of aspiration associated with voiceless stop consonants in English before a vowel. In casual speech, in Kutenai, stop consonants may remain unreleased in phrase-final position and before another stop consonant. For example, depending on the carefulness of speech, the word for 'automobile', in example set Phn.1, below, either has two released velar stops, as in part (a), only one released velar stop, as in part (b), or it contains no released velar stops, as in part (c).

When there is no release between the velar stop and the uvular stop in the consonant clusters in these examples, there is actually no phonetic consonant cluster at all, but a single, long, hybrid stop consonant which begins as a velar stop and ends as a uvular stop. This situation is indicated here by marking unreleased stop consonants as unreleased, using the standard diacritic mark [̚] for the unrelease of a stop consonant. To make the matter more clear, released stop consonants are also marked as released in the narrow transcriptions posited here, by the use of an innovative diacritic mark [̚̚], indicating the release of a stop consonant.

#### Example Set Phn.1.

kqaqanaʔ+kqa·ɕ 'automobile'

- (a) [k̚̚qaqanáʔ+k̚̚qa·ts] (careful speech, narrow transcription)  
 (b) [k̚̚qaqanáʔ+k̚̚qa·ts] (semi-careful casual speech, narrow transcription)  
 (c) [k̚qaqanáʔ+k̚qa·ts] (casual speech, narrow transcription)

This phenomenon of long, hybrid stop consonants in rapid and casual speech also

occurs with phonemic clusters of stop consonants which are farther apart in point of articulation. In the word /ktunaxa?/ 'Kutenai' in example set Phn.2, below, if the initial velar stop of the word is released as in example Phn.2, part (a) there is an audible break between the two consonants and both consonants are clearly heard. If the first consonant in the cluster is not released as in example Phn.2, part (b), there is no audible break between the velar stop and the following dental stop and the effect is very much as though the initial velar stop is not there at all, although in articulatory terms it is present. This is not unlike what happens in English in natural speech where a cluster /kt/ can occur without the release of the first consonant in the cluster, for example in the word 'Victoria' as spoken by a native speaker of English. What is different about the situation in Kutenai is that the cluster /kt/ can occur phrase-initially, as in the example below, where, without the release of the initial consonant of the cluster, there is little or no acoustic evidence that the initial consonant of the cluster is present at all, because there is no vowel preceding that initial consonant. Again, a distinction is made here between an unreleased velar stop [k̠], marked as such the narrow phonetic transcription of example set Phn.2, and a released velar stop [k̠̚], also marked in this narrow phonetic transcription.

#### Example Set Phn.2.

ktunaxa 'Kutenai'

(a) [k̠̚tunʌˈxɑː] (careful speech, narrow transcription)

(b) [k̠tunʌˈxɑː] (casual speech, narrow transcription)

The occurrence of the casual speech pronunciation depicted in example Phn.2, part (b), above, without the release of the initial velar stop of the word, provides an explanation for references by ethnographers to an ethnonym 'Tunaxa', supposedly distinct from the word 'Ktunaxa' meaning 'Kutenai'. These two names should be understood as a single ethnonym /ktunaxa?/ 'Kutenai'. This understanding makes it possible to unravel a certain



amount of confusion in the ethnographic literature on the Kutenai.

### 2.2.5 Laryngealization and Glottalized Resonants.

Laryngealization or creaky voice is a part of the glottalization of nasals and semi-vowels. There is laryngealization and an associated glottal stop which occur in different places in the course of the glottalized resonant consonant, depending on the position that the glottalized resonant has in a word, or has in a phonetic phrase. Glottalized semivowels happen to be so rare that there are no examples of them occurring word-initially, phrase-initially, or intervocalically. Generalizations which are made about the articulation of glottalized resonants in different positions in Kutenai are therefore based primarily on the behavior of glottalized nasals.<sup>5</sup>

#### Syllable-Initial Glottalized Nasals.

In phrase-initial position, which is also necessarily syllable-initial position, glottalized nasals begin with a glottal stop and simultaneous 'nasal stop'. This is to say that the airstream is blocked at the velum, at the glottis, and at a point of articulation in the oral cavity. There is then a release of the velum, allowing air into the nasal cavity, and there then is a gradual release of the vocal cords producing creaky voice which trails off into regular voicing. Throughout this, the oral cavity remains closed off at either the bilabial or dental point of articulation, depending on which glottalized nasal it is, glottalized m /m̥/ or Glottalized n /n̥/. The third person indicative verbal form in derivation Phn.3, below, has an initial glottalized n in the pronunciation of this form by Tobacco Plains speakers of the language, including EG and others. The simultaneous stoppage at the velum and at the vocal cords are symbolized here as a glottal stop, for lack of a symbol for a stoppage and release at the velum, so as to produce a 'nasal stop'. Also lacking is a way to symbolize

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<sup>5</sup> Phonetically, glottalized semivowels occur in syllable final position in Kutenai. See example CL.2, part (b) in section 2.1.11, for an example.

the trailing off of the laryngealization which happens throughout the articulation of the nasal.

### Derivation Phn.3.

ńini. 'it is' (primary third person subject indicative form)

[ʔńí·ne·]

/n<sub>ɔ</sub>ʔin<sub>ɔ</sub>i/

PREDICATE.MARKER<sub>ɔ</sub>be<sub>ɔ</sub>INDICATIVE.MARKER

### Syllable-Final Glottalized Nasals.

What happens with glottalized nasals in syllable-final position is the mirror image of what happens with syllable-initial glottalized nasals. With syllable-final glottalized nasals, laryngealization begins at some point in the articulation of the nasal, grows stronger and culminates in a full glottal stop, with simultaneous closure at the velum. An example of a syllable-final glottalized n is given in derivation Phn.4, below. The example is a nominal phrase consisting of a nominal stem meaning 'shoe'.

### Derivation Phn.4.

ɬań 'shoe, moccasin'

[ɬańʔ]

/ɬańʔ/

### Intervocalic Glottalized Nasals.

Intervocalic glottalized nasals involve the interruption of the nasal by a glottal stop, and a simultaneous closure of the velum, with laryngealization occurring, particularly leading up to the glottal stop. Surface phonemic transcriptions have intervocalic glottalized nasals

written as a glottalized nasal followed by a plain nasal. The three verbal forms in example set Phn.5, below, illustrate this, contrasting an intervocalic glottalized nasal in the plain form of the stem in example Phn.5, part (a), with an example of a glottalized nasal occurring before the dental stop /t/ in a third person indicative inflected form of the stem, in example Phn.5, part (b). As is done in derivations Phn.3 and Phn.4, above, the symbol for glottal stop is used here in the phonetic transcriptions as a symbol for glottal stop and the simultaneous 'nasal stop' effect, involving the closure of the velum and its release.

**Example set Phn.5.**

(a) *kamisniŋnit*

[kamɪsnɪˈŋʔnɪt]

/kamis-niŋ-i-t/

Mix-DISTRIBUTIVE-Buffer.Vowel-TVI

'to mix several things together,  
to shuffle a deck of cards'.

(b) *kamisniŋti*. (P3subj ind. form)

[kamɪsnɪˈŋʔte]

/kamis-niŋ-t<sub>ɪ</sub>/

Mix-DISTRIBUTIVE-Buffer.vowel-TVI<sub>IND</sub>

'He/she/they mixed them together.'

### 2.2.6 The Points of Articulation of Nasal Consonants in Kutenai.

Phonetically there are nasal consonants in Kutenai at only two points of articulation. There is a bilabial nasal [m], and a dental nasal [n], along with laryngealized versions of these where, as discussed above. There is some utility in emphasizing here that nasal consonants in Kutenai occur phonetically at only two points of articulation. The lack of velar and uvular nasals in Kutenai means, of course, that consonant clusters in Kutenai such as [nk] and [nq] are phonetically just that, in broad or narrow phonetic transcription, with no assimilation in the point of articulation of the nasal to the following velar or uvular consonant.

The lack of velar or uvular nasals in Kutenai has the character of being a prohibition in the sound system of the language, rather than just an accidental gap, judging from the evidence of language interference. Among the oldest generation of Kutenai elders with whom the author has been able to work, and including individuals highly fluent in English, one of the characteristics of a Kutenai accent is that dental nasals are substituted for the velar nasals of English, even in slow and careful speech. What is notable about this is that these same Kutenai elders who are not able to pronounce a velar nasal in English even in slow and careful speech, have never had any trouble at all with other 'exotic' consonants of English, such as [f], [č], [dʒ], or the most exotic one of all [r], and its vocalic counterpart [ɹ].

## **2.3 Stylistic Phonology.**

The rules governing speech style differences in Kutenai are all optional in the sense that speakers literally have the option of speaking in one speech style or another, at any given moment of discourse. Elsewhere in this description of the language, regularized phonetic representations are posited which depict a stylistically homogenized kind of speech, factoring out the speech style rules in order to draw derivations which ignore the often complex variation within ideolects that these rules represent. Such regularized phonetic representations depicting a stylistically homogenized kind of speech are artificial, however, and fail to represent all that there is to speaker knowledge of the language.

A speaker of the language must necessarily be speaking in one speech style or another, and natural careful speech can be counted as a speech style like any other. The stylistic rules mark particular speech styles and necessarily come into play in the production of any utterance. It is assumed here that speakers intend to speak in particular speech styles at given moments in a discourse, producing a particular mixture of different speech styles for the discourse. This section takes note of the rules which govern different speech styles in order to account for the intentions of individual speakers to vary from the model of natural careful speech which is the basis of the phonetic and phonemic representations in subsequent sections.

### **2.3.1 Stylistic Rules and Devices.**

In the primary sources of Kutenai data on which this description of the language is based, there is very little overt evidence of stylistic variation. On the other hand, it is possible to produce performance phonetic transcriptions by carefully listening to the tape recordings of Kutenai texts. These performance transcriptions reflect a great deal in the way of stylistic variation, away from the norm of most surface transcriptions. Even a small amount of attention to the realities of rapidly spoken Kutenai yields evidence for stylistic

rules. There is generally quite a bit of discrepancy between the surface phonemic transcriptions in text transcripts and the narrow phonetic transcriptions of the texts which can be produced by subsequent careful listening. This is difficult work and the task of noting all the stylistic variation exhibited in a text and then accounting for that variation in the form of rules is an on-going process. The positing of rules in stylistic phonology is very much a growth area in the work of describing the language.

Some of the stylistic rules which can readily be posited are fairly straightforwardly associated with particular speech styles. Where this is possible, the association is noted, both in the following list of stylistic rules and devices and in the discussions of those rules and devices which follow. The following list of stylistic rules and devices already accounts for much of the rapid speech phenomena and related matters in Kutenai.<sup>1</sup>

**Rapid Speech Deletions and Lenitions.** See section 2.3.6, below.

- |   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| (1) Final Segments Deletion               | (Rapid Parenthetical Speech) |
| (2) Initial Syllable Deletion             | (Rapid Casual Speech)        |
| (3) Glottal Stop Weakening                | (Rapid Casual Speech)        |
| (4) Contraction of the Progressive Adverb | (Connected Speech)           |
| /siʔɬ/ realized as [sɬ]                   |                              |
| (5) Variational Laryngeal Deletion        | (Rapid Casual Speech)        |
| (6) Variational Vowel Combination         | (Rapid Casual Speech)        |

**Rhetorical Emphasis.** See section 2.3.7, below.

- |                               |                   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| (7) Emphatic Lengthening      | (Emphatic Speech) |
| (8) Emphatic Stress Placement | (Emphatic Speech) |

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<sup>1</sup> Some contractions are noted in footnotes in text transcripts. These contractions are also discussed here.

**The Phonetic Realization of Normally Deleted Laryngeals.** See 2.3.8.

- (9) Intervocalic Environments Away from Stress (Exaggeratedly Careful Speech)  
 (10) Glottal Stop After an Ejective (Exaggeratedly Careful Speech)

### 2.3.2 Kutenai Speech Styles.

A typology of Kutenai speech styles is a goal for further work. For the present certain specific stylistic rules are associated with certain named speech styles or stylistic devices. There is emphatic speech, manifested as emphatic lengthening on fully stressed syllables, but also manifested as high pitch on unstressed syllables. There is a speech style named rapid parenthetical speech which is associated with the insertion into a narrative of information which a narrator apparently forgot to mention earlier in the narrative.

In addition, to the speech styles associated with particular rules, there is a phenomenon referred to here as exaggeratedly careful speech which stands somewhat apart from the normal range of careful speech. Instances of exaggeratedly careful speech have occurred occasionally in elicitation work and in pedagogical situations. Speakers, at their discretion, may override the normal laryngeal deletion rules of mid-level phonology, at least in certain specific environments, for the benefit of a student of the language.

The speech styles are not uniformly consistent styles, but represent sporadic variation away from a norm. It is not natural for a Kutenai speaker to speak consistently in what is described here as natural careful speech, which is the basis of the regularized phonetic representations which are normally posited when stylistic rules are not at issue. Casual speech in Kutenai is actually characterized by a controlled falling away from any idealized norm of natural casual speech, rather than the consistent avoidance of pronunciations characteristic of careful speech. What is referred to here as rapid parenthetical speech is sporadic by its very nature, generally involving an interruption of a narrative in order to insert information. It is definitely not a speech style that would be found consistently throughout a narrative.

### 2.3.3 Garvin on Kutenai Speech Styles.

Garvin (1948a) treats speech style differences in Kutenai as a matter of there being different (biunique) phonemic versions of words and phrases, involving what Garvin calls Speech Style I and Speech Style II. That particular treatment is perfectly valid, although the use of numerical labels to identify only two speech styles, and no more, suggests that there are just two speech styles, and that they are rather distinct. What is actually involved is more in the nature of an ebb and flow of variation away from a norm of natural careful speech. Garvin (1948a, p.37-38) specifically mentions, however, that utterances can be in a mixture of the two speech styles, I and II, which he posits, so that he effectively qualifies the implication made by the numerical labels that the speech styles are necessarily consistent or particularly distinct from one another. Transcriptions which Garvin identifies as representing Speech Style I, when put into the form of phonetic transcriptions, correspond closely to the regularized phonetic representations posited here, since they basically represent what is defined here as natural careful speech.

### 2.3.4 The Phonetic Transcriptions of Boas.

The phonetic transcriptions of Boas (1918) are unregularized phonetic representations as opposed to regularized ones, although there is some evidence of what might be called 'creeping regularization' in the work of Boas where especially common Kutenai words, more familiar to Boas, typically show less variation in transcription than words much less familiar to him. For a common word, there might be five instances of the word on a page, all with exactly the same transcription, while on the same page, a much less common word may happen to occur three times on that particular page, and perhaps nowhere else, and be transcribed in three slightly different ways. Boas transcribed and published Kutenai texts in a kind of phonetic transcription intended to represent the actual



performances of particular acts of story telling by particular speakers. Boas arrived at his transcriptions, however, through a process of taking dictation from story tellers and subsequently checking his transcriptions with other speakers, so there are some limitations on how well his actual transcriptions were able to fulfill his intentions. The result is that the phonetic transcriptions of Boas represent a compromise between what Garvin describes as Speech Style I and Speech Style II, rather than corresponding exactly to either. The transcriptions of Boas represent a mixture of rapid casual speech and the casual end of the range of careful speech. What tends to be absent from the work of Boas are exaggeratedly careful speech forms, rapid parenthetical speech forms, and forms representing the more careful end of the range of careful speech.

#### 2.3.5 Intentional Style Variation and Inadvertent Variation.

Reference has been made above to the intentions of speakers to speak in a particular speech style. For the most part, the individual speech styles which are named here are defined with the assumption that there is an element of intentionality on the part of speakers in the application of the rules which produce phonetic output in these named speech styles. There is also a certain amount of phonetic variation within ideolects in Kutenai which has less to do with speaker intentions to speak in a particular speech style and more to do with the very natural, but unintended, falling away from the best intentions of any speech style. Variation away from the best intentions of natural careful speech can be associated, in a very general way, with casual speech, but an attempt is made here to isolate, and deal separately with cases where phonetic variation within ideolects represents unintended variation which does not, in itself, mark casual speech or any other particular speech style. An example of this unintended variation is what occurs when a syllabic nasal follows an obstruent.

All cases of syllabic nasals in Kutenai are the result of the obligatory application of the surface phonological rule of Resonant Syllabicization.<sup>2</sup> When an obstruent and a fol-

lowing nasal are at exactly the same point of articulation, which is the case with the sequence /nt/, the nasal is realized as a syllabic nasal and there is typically no epenthetic schwa of any duration between the obstruent and the nasal. Where there is any difference in the point of articulation of the obstruent and the following nasal, there is a range of likely phonetic results. At one end of this range of possibilities, the nasal may be syllabic and directly follow the preceding obstruent without an intervening schwa. In the middle of the range, the nasal may be syllabic, but with a short epenthetic schwa separating it from the preceding obstruent. At the other end of the range of possibilities, there may be a schwa between the obstruent and the nasal without the nasal being syllabic. Apparently the preferred variant in careful speech is the simple syllabification of the nasal without the introduction of an epenthetic schwa. At least this was true for FW in elicitation sessions, whether the obstruent and the following nasal were at slightly different points of articulation, or at entirely different points of articulation.

The more difference there is between the point of articulation of the obstruent and the point of articulation of the following nasal, the more difficulty there is for speakers to avoid inserting an epenthetic schwa and the greater the likelihood that there will be an epenthetic schwa in all the speech styles except the most careful kind of careful speech. A common phonetic outcome is that a short epenthetic schwa is introduced between the obstruent and the nasal and the syllabification which is required by the Resonant Syllabification Rule is distributed between the schwa and the following nasal, so that there will be both an epenthetic schwa and a syllabic nasal. This is illustrated in derivation VP.1, below.

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<sup>2</sup> See section 2.4.4.

Derivation VP.1.<sup>3</sup>

Hu qa ʔupxni.	'I don't know'
[hoqʷaʔú·pχʰe·]	(representing Casual Speech)
[hoqʷaʔú·pχʰe·]	(representing Natural Careful Speech)
/hu qa ʔupxni/	(Surface Phonemic Representation)
/hu <sub>ɹ</sub> qa <sub>ɹ</sub> ʔupx <sub>ɹ</sub> ni/	(Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)
1CP <sub>ɹ</sub> NEG <sub>ɹ</sub> see/know <sub>ɹ</sub> IND	

In derivation VP.1, here, the only difference posited between the regularized phonetic representation, representing careful speech, and the unregularized phonetic representation, which represents casual speech, is that an epenthetic schwa is posited between the uvular fricative and the following syllabic nasal in the unregularized phonetic representation. This insertion can be thought of as the result of a rule which might be called Variational Schwa Insertion, although such a rule is not specifically posited here as a rule of stylistic phonology because the emphasis here is on phonetic variation which can be associated in a positive way with speaker intentions. There is no indication that speakers intend to insert a schwa, rather than simply syllabicize the nasal. The inserted schwa in derivation VP.1, just above here, is supplied by the author as a likely concomitant of rapid casual speech, rather than being something which, by itself, marks casual speech. This treatment could change with further research into the matter. The hypothetical rule Variational Schwa Insertion might be counted as a full fledged rule of stylistic phonology, if it could be shown that the introduction of a schwa in this environment actually follows directly from the intentions of Kutenai speakers to speak in a particular speech style, in this case casual speech.

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<sup>3</sup> See also derivation ISD.1, below, as an example of Initial Syllable Deletion.

### 2.3.6 Rapid Speech Deletions and Lenitions.

#### Stylistic Rule (1): Final Segments Deletion.

The Final Segments Deletion rule is a marker of rapid parenthetical speech. One or two segments may be deleted, but usually it is just a phrase-final vowel or a phrase-final consonant. There is also the possibility that one phrase-final segment may be deleted entirely while another preceding segment is realized in a reduced form.

In the phonetic transcriptions of Boas (1918), there is no evidence of the Final Segments Deletion rule and therefore no evidence for rapid parenthetical speech there. There is also little evidence of this rule in the written transcripts of tape recorded Kutenai texts transcribed by EG, with at least one notable exception. Generally in her transcription work, EG has regularly supplied the missing final segments deleted by this rule, leaving the reader of the text transcript to imagine that she had not noticed the absence of the deleted segments. In fact though, the reader of the text transcript is not likely to notice the absence of the segments without rather careful listening to the tape recording of the text. In one case, though, EG has left out a segment deleted by this rule in her transcription of a word, but, in that example, there were actually two segments deleted by the speaker, rather than just the one segment left out of the transcription by EG.

While EG has generally not shown indications of this rule in her transcripts of texts, and has regularly supplied the segments deleted by this rule, as though they were not missing, she has faithfully recorded the absence of other segments, deleted by other rules, such as when there are contractions involving preverbal particles, and where the first syllable of a word is missing by what is posited here as the Initial Syllable Deletion rule.

This process of deleting word-final segments is apparently a diffused trait shared by Kutenai and two neighboring Salishan languages. Doak (1990) discusses a process of truncation in Coeur d'Alene. Carlson (1972) describes a process of truncation in Kalispel and especially Flathead, the eastern varieties of Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead. Carlson notes

that "the primary distinguishing feature of Flathead is the shortening of many forms by deletion of material beyond the accented vowel, a tendency observed in Kalispel, but not as widespread". Carlson also notes that the Spokanes refer to Flathead speakers as "those people that cut off their words".

In derivation FSD.1, below, what is deleted by the Final Segment Deletion rule is a word-final vowel. This particular example is line 28 of the Short Coyote Text told by Rosalie McCoy. Derivation FSD.2, next to it, is line 22 of the same text, which could hardly be a better counterexample, since it is the exact same phrase underlyingly, but one where the final vowel is realized phonetically.

Derivation FSD.1.

?at †a †axaxi.  
[?at †a†axá·x]

Final Segments Deletion optionally applies.

/?at<sub>∅</sub> †a<sub>∅</sub> †axa-x<sub>i</sub>/

IMpt<sub>∅</sub> REV<sub>∅</sub> get.to-RLG<sub>∅</sub>IND

(28) and she'd be back.

Derivation FSD.2.

?at †a †axaxi.  
[?at †a†axá·xe·]

The rule does not apply.

/?at<sub>∅</sub> †a<sub>∅</sub> †axa-x<sub>i</sub>/

IMpt<sub>∅</sub> REV<sub>∅</sub> get.to-RLG<sub>∅</sub>IND

(22) and she'd get home.

Another very similar set is found by comparing derivation FSD.3, below, with derivation FSD.4, next to it. Derivation FSD.3 is one where a phrase-final vowel is missing, while in derivation FSD.4, the same vowel is present. The example in derivation FSD.3 is line 36 of the Short Coyote Text, while the example in derivation FSD.4 is clause 41 of the same text. The exact same indicative verbal form is involved in each case, although the clauses are not identical. The glosses here reflect the context that these clauses have in the text.

**Derivation FSD.3.**

taxas ?at ɕinaxi.

[tʰ·xq·s ?at, tʰIná·x]

Final Segments Deletion optionally applies.

/taxa-s ?at ɕi-na-xji/

then-S3 IMpt INCEP-go-RLG,IND

then she would leave

(36) and then leave

**Derivation FSD.4**

ɕinaxi,

[tʰIná·xe·]

The rule does not apply

/ɕi-na-xji/

INCEP-go-RLG,IND

he left

(41) He went,

In derivation FSD.5, below, what is deleted by the Final Segments Deletion rule is a word-final fricative. This example is from the very first clause of the Short Coyote text. Only the last word in the clause, evidently an afterthought, is in rapid parenthetical speech. Part of the evidence for this is that this last word of the clause is separated from the rest of the clause by a relatively long pause.

**Derivation FSD.5**

RMc-SC.1

(Illustrating essentially careful speech, followed by rapid parenthetical speech)

Qa·nitʰanaʰapsi skinkuɕ, ?aʰa·kniʰis.

[qɑ·nitʰanaʰápsɨ skí·nkuʰts, [significant pause] ?aʰa·kɲí·kʰi·]

Final Segments Deletion  
optionally applies.

/qa-ha-n-i-tʰaʰ-n-aʰ-ap-sji

skinkuɕ ?aʰa·k-niʰ-ʰis/

be.thus-have-STD-Bf-house-ASC-COPART-HRO-S3,IND Coyote PLpt,NSB-parents-3POS

(1) There was the home of Coyote and his parents.

Derivation FSD.5, above, shows the final segment of the morpheme /-ʰis/, the Third Person Possessor Suffix, being deleted by the Final Segments Deletion rule, while

the following two derivations, FSD.6, and FSD.7, below, are counterexamples which show the non-deletion of this very same segment of the same morpheme. The example in derivation FSD.5 is line 1 of the text, while the example in derivation FSD.6, below, is line 7 of the text and the example in derivation FSD.7 is line 11 of the text.

## Derivation FSD.6.

RMc-SC.7

?At qakiɫni tiɫnamuʔis

[ʔat qakíɫne· tiɫnamúʔʷis] (representing Non-Parentetical Speech)

He would tell her his old woman

(7) He would say to his wife.

## Derivation FSD.7.

RMc-SC.11

?At skikiɫ huɕawisq̄ankusi tiɫnamuʔis.

[ʔat skìkiɫ huɕawisq̄ankú·si· tiɫnamú·ʔʷi·s] (Non-Parentetical)

She would be bringing firewood home his old woman

(11) His wife would be bringing wood to their home.

Derivation FSD.8, below, has the exact same word /tiɫnamuʔis/ 'his wife' which occurs in derivations FSD.6 and FSD.7, above. In the example in derivation FSD.8, below, the rule applies, deleting not only the final segment of the word, but most of the vocalic segment preceding it.

## Derivation FSD.8.

RMc-SC.81

taxas tuxa ?at<sub>1</sub>k<sub>1</sub>s<sub>1</sub> †axanxu?naps ti†namu?is.

[tá·xq·s tú·xa· ?atks †axanxú·?na·ps ti†namú·?wi]

then almost that she was catching up to him his old woman

(81) that his wife was about to catch up.

In derivation FSD.9, below, only the final segment of the same Third Person Possessive Suffix is deleted. The preceding vowel is not only entirely in tact, but is actually somewhat lengthened. This is predictable lengthening, because the vowel is in the final syllable of a phrase.<sup>4</sup>

## Derivation FSD.9

RMc-SC.76

Skinkuϕ naqapsi ϕa?is.

[skí·nkuϕ naqá·psi ϕá·?i·]

(for) Coyote there was his younger.brother

(76) Coyote had a brother.

The Short Coyote Text has additional examples of the application of the Final Segments Deletion rule. For example, lines 48, 49, and 62 each show the deletion of one or more segments at the end of the word /?akinq̄a†qas/ 'sinew'. These clauses are all in example set FSD.10, below, where clause (a) is line 48 of the text, in which the final segment alone is deleted. Clause (b) is line 49 of the text, in which the last two segments of the word are deleted, except that the release of the uvular stop is a trace of the deleted vowel. Clause (c) is line 62, in which the final s of the word is deleted, while the vowel preceding it is realized phonetically as a short schwa. In each of these examples, the final underlying segment of the word is the Subsidiary Third Person suffix /-s/ (i.e. the Obviative Suf-

<sup>4</sup> See section 2.4.3 where the surface phonological rule governing this is discussed.



fix). In each example, the deletion of this segment is recoverable through the fact that the verbal forms in each clause can be assumed to have a subsidiary third person subject (i.e. obviative subject), although this is partly dependent on pragmatic information. For example, without the final Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/, clause (a) would mean 'Sinew would throw her into the fire'.

Example set FSD.10.

RMc-SC.48

(a) paʔ ʔat xunmitsi ʔakinǰaʔqas

[paʔ ʔat xunmí·tsj· ʔa·kInǰá·ʔqɑ·]

evidently she would throw it into the fire sinew

(48) she would throw sinew into the fire.

(b) Taxas ʔat niʔs qaʔ xuʔnakups niʔs ʔa·kInǰaʔqas

RMc-SC.49

[tʰxq·s ʔat niʔs qaʔ xuʔnɑ·kʷps niʔs ʔa·kInǰá·ʔqʰ]

then the fire would shrink it the sinew

(49) And then the fire would shrink the sinew

(c) tinaxam̄ni·ʔ

swiskupsi ʔa·kInǰaʔqas.

RMc-SC.62

[tInaxám̄ne·]

[sʷiskú·psj· ʔa·kInǰá·ʔqʰ]

he went in and

it was in the fire sinew

(61) he went in, (and)

(62) and there in the fire was sinew.

In clause 49, which is part (b) of example set FSD.10, above, the determiner /niʔ-s/ unambiguously marks the whole nominal phrase as grammatically subsidiary third person (i.e. as obviative), allowing one to recover the final segment of the inflected nominal stem /ʔa·kInǰaʔqa-s/ 'sinew' in that clause.

The Short Coyote Text also has other examples where a final vowel of a phrase is deleted by the Final Segments Deletion rule. Line 51, which is part (a) in example set FSD.11, below, and line 55, which is part (b) of the same example set, are missing the final vocalic segment of the Locative Marker /<sub>ɔ</sub>ki/, while line 57, in part (c) of the set, has the final vowel of the Locative Marker /<sub>ɔ</sub>ki/ intact.

Example set FSD.11.

(a) niʔs ɕxaɬ yaː qanaski. (51) the distance she had to go. RMc-SC.51

[niʔs ɕxaɬ yaːqanásk] (Rapid Parenthetical Speech)

/niʔ-s<sub>ɔ</sub> ɕxa-ʔɬ<sub>ɔ</sub> yaː<sub>ɔ</sub> qa-na-s<sub>ɔ</sub>ki/

the-S3<sub>ɔ</sub> FUT-ADV<sub>ɔ</sub> DFM<sub>ɔ</sub> thus-go-S3<sub>ɔ</sub>LOC

the where she will go

(b) paɬ ʔat yaː qaqnapski, (55) what she would do, RMc-SC.55

[paɬ ʔat yaːqaqnápsk] (Rapid Parenthetical Speech)

/paɬ<sub>ɔ</sub> ʔat<sub>ɔ</sub> yaː<sub>ɔ</sub> qa-qna-p-s<sub>ɔ</sub>ki/

EVID<sub>ɔ</sub> IMpt<sub>ɔ</sub> DFM<sub>ɔ</sub> be.thus-do-IN-S3<sub>ɔ</sub>LOC

evidently what she does

(c) niʔs ʔat yaː qanaski<sub>ɔ</sub>ɕ (57) where she usually went, and RMc-SC.57

[niʔs ʔat yaːqanáskiːts] (A Counterexample of Non-Parenthetical Speech)

/niʔ-s<sub>ɔ</sub> ʔat<sub>ɔ</sub> yaː<sub>ɔ</sub> qa-na-s<sub>ɔ</sub>ki<sub>ɔ</sub>ɕ/

the-S3<sub>ɔ</sub> IMpt<sub>ɔ</sub> DFM<sub>ɔ</sub> be.thus-go-S3<sub>ɔ</sub>LOC<sub>ɔ</sub>and

the (place) where she goes, and

In clause 57 of the text, just above, the final vowel of the Locative Marker /<sub>ɔ</sub>ki/ is

followed by the Enclitic Conjunction / $\text{ʌ}\phi$ / and therefore not the final segment of the phrase, which makes this example in part (c) something less than an ideal counterexample, to show the non-application of the rule. Even if line 57 of the text were an example of rapid parenthetical speech, the Enclitic Conjunction would presumably protect the final vocalic segment of the Locative Marker / $\text{ʌki}$ / from being deleted.

Example set FSD.12, below, is a case where in part (a) which is line 71 of the Short Coyote Text, the vowel of the Locative Marker / $\text{ʌki}$ / is cut off sharply by the beginning of the next clause which in part (b), line 72 of the text. Part (b), line 72, is perhaps the clearest example of rapid parenthetical speech in the text from the standpoint of being an interruption to the flow of narration. It shows the final segment of the last word in the clause deleted. Line 71 is not itself an example of rapid parenthetical speech, except for the way that it is suddenly cut off by the beginning of the rapid parenthetical speech of the next clause.

Example set FSD.12.

RMc-SC.71-72

(a) niʔs hu ya·qakinki."

[niʔs hu ya·qakí·nk] (cut off by the sudden beginning of parenthetical speech)

(71) because of what I did to her".

(b) Ha, nʔkti niʔs wi·tma·s.

[ha, nʔktj· niʔs wí·tma·t] (Rapid Parenthetical Speech)

(72) Oh yes, he killed all of the rattlesnakes.

**Stylistic Rule (2): Initial Syllable Deletion.**

In highly casual speech the expression: /hu qa ?upxni/ 'I don't know' can occur without its initial syllable. This is in spite of the fact that the initial syllable is the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>ɔ</sub>/ and, without it, the expression is /qa ?upxni/ 'He/she /it doesn't know, they don't know'. No confusion results with the loss of the initial syllable of this expression, however, because the stylistic rule of Initial Syllable Deletion is preceded by the obligatory Surface Labialization rule which labializes the initial uvular stop of the Negative Particle /qa<sub>ɔ</sub>/ after the rounded vowel of the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>ɔ</sub>/. In this way, the First Person Clitic Pronoun leaves a phonetic trace on the first segment of the Negative Particle and the clitic pronoun /hu<sub>ɔ</sub>/ can be deleted without any real loss of information. This is illustrated in derivation ISD.1.

The clause in derivation ISD.1 here is a quote from AbS, an essentially monolingual speaker of the language and a life-long resident of Tobacco Plains. The example quoted here is a composite of a number of tokens of the same clause, heard by the author, while listening to EG conduct an interview with AbS entirely in Kutenai.

Derivation ISD.1.	AbS
Hu qa ?upxni.	'I don't know'
[qʷá·pχəne·]	(Highly Casual Speech)
	Initial Syllable Deletion applies.
	Stylistic Vowel Combination applies.
	Stylistic Laryngeal Deletion applies. <sup>5</sup>
[hoqʷaʔú·pχŋe·]	(representing Careful Speech)
/hu <sub>ɔ</sub> qa <sub>ɔ</sub> ?upx <sub>ɔ</sub> ni/	Mid-Level Phonemic Representation.
1 CP <sub>ɔ</sub> NEG <sub>ɔ</sub> see/know <sub>ɔ</sub> IND	

<sup>5</sup> Stylistic Laryngeal Deletion and Stylistic Vowel Combination are at least ad hoc rules. See section 2.3.7.

Derivation ISD.2, below, is line 38 from the Short Coyote Text. The same initial syllable /hu/ is deleted by the rule, as in derivation ISD.1 above, but an entirely different word and morpheme are involved here. In this example, Initial Syllable Deletion is the only stylistic rule which applies, unlike the example in derivation ISD.1, above.

## Derivation ISD.2

RMc-SC.38

"Huyas ku ɕxaɬ ɕi·katmiɬ  
[yas kutsɣaɬ tsɪ·ká·tmi·ɬ]

Initial Syllable Deletion has applied.

/huya-s k<sub>u</sub>hu<sub>u</sub> ɕxa-ʔɬ<sub>u</sub> ɕi·kat-m-iɬ/  
SUGT-S3 SM<sub>u</sub>1CP<sub>u</sub> FUT-ADV<sub>u</sub> Look-ASC-DI

"I am going to see

In derivation ISD.3, below, the clause in part (a) is line 45 of the Short Coyote Text, where the initial syllable /ta/ of the Temporal Pronoun /taxa-s/ is deleted. In part (b), line 46 of the text, the same initial syllable /ta/ of the Temporal Pronoun /taxa-s/ is not deleted.

## Derivation ISD.3

RMc-SC.45-46

(a) Taxas nuɬ ʔupxas  
[xq̣'s nuɬ ʔú·pxas]

Initial Syllable Deletion has applied.

/taxa-s n<sub>u</sub>hu-ʔɬ<sub>u</sub> ʔupxa-s/  
then-S3 PM<sub>u</sub>finish-ADV<sub>u</sub> know-S3

(45) when she finished her visit,

(b) taxas ɬa ɕinas.

[tá·xq̣'s ɬa tsí·na's]

Initial Syllable Deletion has not applied.

/taxa-s ɬa<sub>u</sub> ɕi-na-s/  
then-S3 REV<sub>u</sub> INCEP-go-S3

(46) she would go home.

**Stylistic Rule (3): Glottal Stop Weakening.**

Glottal Stop Weakening is assumed here to be a marker of rapid casual speech, including the kind of speech characteristic of extended narratives. In derivation GSW.1, below, a phonemic glottal stop is realized phonetically as a voiced h [h̥]. In this derivation, the voiced h is also alternatively depicted as a small raised schwa [ə̥], which may be a more helpful way to represent the phonetic effect of voiced h, involving as it does a syllable pulse of a particular type.<sup>6</sup> The nasal consonant following the Voiced h in this example is depicted as a syllabic nasal, although the nasal may also be realized as non-syllabic in this environment in casual speech.<sup>7</sup>

Boas (1918), using his own transcriptional devices, records many instances of the voiced h allophone of glottal stop. He uses special small subscript vowel symbols to represent voiced h, although he does not describe this sound as voiced h.. He specifically describes this sound as glottal constriction which does not involve a complete closure of the vocal cords.<sup>8</sup> The environment in which Boas records this allophone of glottal stop is illustrated here by the verbal form in derivation GSW.1, below, where a voiced h occurs between a preceding vowel and a following open syllable beginning with a dental nasal. It actually appears that Boas has regularized the voiced h allophone of glottal stop to become his standard, if not his only, transcription for glottal stop in this particular environment.

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<sup>6</sup> See section 2.2.2, The Phonetics of Voiced H.

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion above in section 2.3.1 about the unintentional nature of epenthetic schwas in relation to the syllabicization of nasals.

<sup>8</sup> See section 2.2.2.

Derivation GSW.1 (Illustrating Glottal Stop Weakening).

naqaʔni 'There is (some of something), there are (some of something).'

[naqá·h̥ne·] (Casual Speech form), i.e. in essence: [naqá·əne·]

^ Glottal Stop Weakening applies (optionally).

[naqá·ʔne·] (representing Natural Careful Speech)

/n<sub>h</sub>ha-qa-ʔ<sub>ni</sub>/ Mid-Level Phonemic Representation.

PM<sub>h</sub>ave-STV-IN<sub>IND</sub>

**Stylistic Rule (4): Contraction of the Progressive Adverb,**

**/sɪʔ<sub>h</sub>/ realized as [sɪ].**

The contraction of the derived adverb /s-ɪʔ<sub>h</sub>/ with glosses of 'to be in the act (of doing a specified action), to be presently (in a specified state or condition)', is a matter of Stylistic Vowel Deletion. This vowel deletion follows the regular deletion of glottal stop in most of the environments where this adverb occurs. The rule of Glottal Stop Deletion is an obligatorily rule whose conditions are met more frequently than where its conditions are not met, so that the alloform /sɪ<sub>h</sub>/ to which Stylistic Vowel Deletion is applicable, is much more common than the alloform /sɪʔ<sub>h</sub>/. The adverb must be the penultimate syllable of a verbal phrase for the glottal stop not to delete.

The surface phonemic alloform /sɪ<sub>h</sub>/ has a phonetic realization of [sɪ] in rapid connected speech. The non-contracted form of the adverb is realized phonetically as [sɪʔ<sub>h</sub>], and occurs in careful speech and in casual speech, in very much the same environments in which the contracted form occurs. A difficulty with this is that the contracted form of the adverb occurs not only in narratives, but in elicited material which generally represents more careful speech. The contracted form of the adverb /sɪʔ<sub>h</sub>/ realized phonetically as [sɪ] has occurred in elicited material under circumstances which would seem to rule out saying that the contraction does not occur in careful speech. One can

allow, though, that the contractions of the adverb in elicited material are in deliberately produced short passages of rapid connected speech, which would allow one to associate the contractions with the connectedness and rapidity of speech, at least tentatively and with some reservations.

There are environments which favor the contraction of the adverb, such as the environment illustrated in derivation SVD.1, below, which is line 44 in the Short Coyote text. Derivation SVD.2, further below, illustrates virtually the same environment and it is line 95 of the same text, but it is a case where the adverb occurs in its fuller form, without contraction.

Derivation SVD.1 (illustrating an example where the vowel deletes). RMc-SC.44

Paʔ ʔat,ʂʔ qunaʔ ʔupxasi,ʂʔ 'She would go there to see him, and'  
 [paʔ ʔàtsʔ qònaʔ ʔupxá·si·tsʔ] (Casual Speech form)  
 [paʔ ʔàt siʔ qònaʔ ʔupxá·si·tsʔ] (representing Careful Speech)  
 /paʔ,ʂʔ ʔat,ʂʔ s-iʔʔ,ʂʔ qu-na-ʔʔ,ʂʔ ʔupxa-s,ʂʔ i,ʂʔ ʂʔ/  
 EVID,ʂʔ IMpt,ʂʔ CON-ADV,ʂʔ yonder-go-ADV,ʂʔ know/see-S3,ʂʔ IND,ʂʔ and

In derivation SVD.1, above, the adverb /siʔʔ,ʂʔ/ encliticizes onto the preceding particle, because it is as a word of less than a full syllable. The contracted form of the adverb may also procliticize to a following verbal stem, as in derivation SVD.2, below, which was produced in an elicitation session by FW.

Derivation SVD.2.

FW

Sʔ,ʂʔxani ktunaxaʔukaqwumis. 'He is speaking in the Kutenai language.'  
 [sʔʔsɣáni ktunaxaʔukaqʷwí·mi·sʔ] (careful, but connected speech)  
 /siʔʔ,ʂʔ ʂʔxa,ʂʔni ktunaxa-ʔukaq-w-um-is/  
 CON-ADV,ʂʔ speak,ʂʔ IND,ʂʔ Kutenai-language-IN-INH-S3



Derivation SVD.3, below, and derivation SVD.4, below it, are counterexamples. In these examples, the vowel in the adverb /sɪʔɹ/ does not delete. In these derivations, penultimate word stresses are marked with a grave accent on the penultimate syllable of words which are non-final in a phrase, or are marked on the only syllable of monosyllabic words which are non-final in a phrase. Rhythmical stresses are marked according to the somewhat hypothetical Rhythmical Stress Assignment rule, with a vertical accent over the supposedly rhythmically stressed vowels of each word long enough for the rule to apply. In both line 40 of the Short Coyote Text in derivation SVD.3, and line 50 of the text, in derivation SVD.4, the reduced form of the adverb is present, even though the Rhythmical Stress Rule, if applied with the whole phrase as a unit, would yield a rhythmical stress on the very vowel which is deleted. To illustrate this the phonetic phrase part of the verbal phrase is written as a unit in each example, and rhythmical stress is written on the adverb where that stress would fall, although the vowel is not present. In any case, that vowel will normally receive a penultimate word stress because it is the only vowel of a monosyllabic word, the adverb /sɪʔɹ/. These examples support the idea that the loss of the vowel in the adverb is not conditioned in any way by the normal placement of stress by the obligatory stress rules of the language.

Derivation SVD.3.

RMc-SC.40

?at<sub>u</sub>k<sub>u</sub>sɹ ?a·qanam."

[?àtk<sub>s</sub>ɹʔa·qá·na·m]

/?at<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub>s-iʔɹ ?a·-qa-na-m/

IMpt<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub>CON-ADV<sub>u</sub> IM-be.thus-go-RM

(40) why she goes that way."

## Derivation SVD.4

RMc-SC.50-51

Taxas paʔ at.sʔ xaʔnakupɕiʔtsi

[tʰxg.s paʔ ʔdʰsʔxɑʔnɑkuptsɨʔtsi]

/taxas paʔ at.s-iʔʔ xaʔna-ku-p-ɕ-iʔ-t-sɨi/

then-S3 EVID. IMpt. CON-ADV. Root-fire-IN-CAUS-STV-TVI-S3.IND

(50) By doing that she would be shortening

niʔs ɕxaʔ yaʔ qanaski.

[niʔs ɕxaʔ yaʔqanɑsk]

the (place) where she will go

(51) the distance she had to go.

Line 51 of the text here in derivation SVD.4 is an example of Final Segments Deletion which is associated with rapid parenthetical speech.

Derivation SVD.5, below, is also an example of the adverb /siʔʔ/ in its non-contracted form, in a slightly different environment than illustrated above, but an environment where contraction can occur. Unedited text transcripts done by EG, an experienced transcriber, have a number of clauses beginning with what is transcribed in surface terms as /taxasʔ/. These are all apparently cases where a narrator has contracted the alloform /siʔʔ/ of the Progressive Adverb and encliticized the contracted form [sʔ] to the preceding word /taxas/. These contractions apparently also involve what might be posited as Stylistic S-Deletion. If the /s/ does not delete, these are simply cases of Contraction of the Progressive Adverb.<sup>9</sup> Derivation SVD.5 helps to illustrate that the contraction of the

<sup>9</sup> One problem with this contraction for editors of text transcripts who are not native speakers of the language is that the sequence /taxasʔ/ could conceivably be the word /taxas/ followed by the Irrealis Particle /ʔ/. Judging from the meanings of the clauses involved, apparently none of the instances of /taxasʔ/ which can be found in the text

alloform /siʔɹ/ of the Progressive Adverb and its encliticization onto the preceding word /taxas/ is entirely optional.

Derivation SVD.5.

RMc-SC.91

Taxas siʔ ʔukʷiʔni. 'Now he was by himself.'

[tʌˈxqːs siʔ ʔukʷiʔneː] (Casual Speech)

[tʌˈxqːs siʔ ʔukʷiʔneː] (representing Careful Speech)

/taxa-s s-iʔɹ ʔukʷ-iʔni/

then-S3 CON-ADVɹ one-STVɹIND

---

transcripts represent anything other than the two words: /taxas/+/siʔɹ/.

The rules discussed immediately below, Stylistic Laryngeal Deletion and Stylistic Vowel Combination, are rapid speech deletions of a somewhat more ad hoc or more extreme nature than the stylistic rules discussed above. In tape recorded text material such as narratives, instances of laryngeal deletion occur which do not occur in elicited material and cannot be associated with any degree of carefulness of speech. Laryngeal deletions of this type are not to be confused with the kind of obligatory laryngeal deletion posited as two mid-level phonological rules: H-Deletion and Glottal Stop Deletion; nor with any laryngeal deletion rules which can be posited as deep phonological rules.

Stylistic Laryngeal Deletion occurs in the form of Stylistic H-Deletion or in the form of Stylistic Glottal Stop Deletion. Derivation SLD.1, below, illustrates Stylistic H-Deletion which, in this case is a prerequisite to Stylistic Vowel Combination. The vowel does not simply delete, but combines with the preceding vowel in the form of vowel length.

Derivation SLD.1 (an example of Stylistic H-Deletion)

MP-FL.31

?aki hun ?itaqnamik 'I also got ready.'

[?àku:n ?ìtaqʔnámí:k] (a Rapid Casual Speech form as in the spoken text)

Stylistic Vowel Combination applies.

\*[?akiun ?itaqʔnámí:k] (non-occurring intermediate form)

Stylistic H-Deletion applies.

[?aki hun ?itaqʔnámí:k] (representing Careful Speech)

/?aki hu<sub>u</sub> nu<sub>u</sub> ?itaqna-m-ik/ Mid-Level Phonemic Representation.

also 1CP<sub>u</sub> PM<sub>u</sub> Get.ready(to.move.camp.or.go.on.a.camping.expedition)-ASC-REFLX

Derivation SLD.2, below, which illustrates Stylistic Glottal Stop Deletion, is an adaptation of derivation ISD.1, above, in the section on the stylistic rule: Initial Syllable

**Deletion.** That rule is associated with highly casual speech. What is depicted in derivation SLD.2, below, is a rapid casual speech form where Initial Syllable Deletion does not apply, but where Stylistic Laryngeal Deletion and Stylistic Vowel Combination do apply.

**Derivation SLD.2 (an example of Stylistic Glottal Stop Deletion).**

Hu qa ʔupxni. 'I don't know'

[hoqʷá·pχ<sup>ə</sup>ne·] (Rapid Casual Speech)

Stylistic Laryngeal Deletion and Stylistic Vowel Combination apply.

[hoqʷaʔú·pχne·] (representing Careful Speech)

/hu<sub>↓</sub> qa<sub>↓</sub> ʔupx<sub>↓</sub>ni/ Mid-Level Phonemic Representation.

1CP<sub>↓</sub> NEG<sub>↓</sub> see/know<sub>↓</sub>IND

The optional contractions in the two derivations above have to be distinguished from a number of obligatory contractions, such as surface phonemic /xmo·/ (FW), /xmu·/ (EG) 'I would, I could' from underlying /xma<sub>↓</sub>hu<sub>↓</sub>/, and surface phonemic /xma·n/ 'you should' from underlying /xma<sub>↓</sub>hin<sub>↓</sub>/, both of which also involve laryngeal deletion and vowel combination. The laryngeal deletion and vowel combination rules which produce these contractions are obligatory rules, however. There are also a number of environments where the obligatory laryngeal deletion rules posited in mid-level phonology delete laryngeals without the outright deletion of a vowel or monophthongization, where the result is a diphthong, combining the vocalic qualities of the two vowels. What happens with Stylistic Vowel Combination here is that one vowel deletes, perhaps adding some vowel length to the remaining vowel but not changing its shape.

### 2.3.7 Rhetorical Emphasis.

Rhetorical emphasis in Kutenai is manifested in two ways: Rhetorical Lengthening and Rhetorical Stress Placement. Rhetorical Lengthening applies to syllables which are already fully stressed because they are the penultimate syllables of phrases. Rhetorical Stress Placement applies where the vowel is unstressed and involves high pitch without the lengthening of the vowel.

#### Stylistic Rule (7): Emphatic Lengthening or Rhetorical Lengthening.

Vowels which are rhetorically lengthened are considerably longer than regular phonemic long vowels, even regular phonemic long vowels which are (automatically) lengthened by full phrasal stress, or by being in the last syllable of a phrase. In the surface phonetic transcriptions, Rhetorical Lengthening is written with two dots in a row following the vowel. Since Rhetorical Lengthening is posited here to be the result of a stylistic rule, mid-level phonemic representations do not mark instances of Rhetorical Lengthening.

Rhetorical Lengthening is associated in a rather direct and iconic way with verbal stems relating to traveling. Derivations RL.1 through RL.2, below involve the verbal lexical suffix /-qa·ꞥ/ meaning 'travel'. This morpheme is posited here as having a phonemic long vowel to begin with. It is assumed that this originated diachronically as a lexicalization of Rhetorical Lengthening and that synchronically more length is added stylistically.

Derivation RL.1 (line 14 of the Short Coyote Text).

?at ni?s ʔuqaʔqa·ꞥi. (14) she would always go the other direction.

[ʔat ni?s ʔuqaʔqá·tsi·]

/ʔat<sub>u</sub> niʔ-s<sub>u</sub> ʔuqaʔ-qa·ꞥ<sub>u</sub>i/

1Mpt<sub>u</sub> the-S3<sub>u</sub> change.direction-travel<sub>u</sub>IND

Derivation RL.2 (a sentence, consisting of line 79, of the Short Coyote Text).

Taxas wi+inqa··ci. (79) Now they went quite a ways.

[tʰ·xg·s wi+inqá··tsj·]

/taxa-s wi+-i-n-qa·ci/

then-S3 big-Bf-STD-travel,IND

**Stylistic Rule (8): Rhetorical Stress Placement.**

The Short Coyote Text has an example of Rhetorical Stress Placement in line 67, reproduced below in example RSP.1. In the original transcript of the Short Coyote Text, done by EG, the first vowel of the verbal stem in the clause reproduced here is marked as long. The vowel in question is not especially long and apparently not a phonemically long vowel, so that all of the length which can be heard with this vowel is from the placement of Rhetorical Stress. A certain amount of vowel lengthening is a natural concomitant of Rhetorical Stress, but what sets this vowel off from other, neighboring vowels in the text is that this particular vowel is spoken with a much higher pitch and greater amplitude than neighboring vowels. The vowel is the first vowel of a verbal stem which means 'to take a long time traveling', and it is the first vowel of a morpheme which means 'to take a long time'. If any vowel in the text would have iconic Rhetorical Lengthening on it, on the basis of the meaning of the morpheme, or on the basis of the meaning of the stem it occurs in, it would be this vowel in this word, but this vowel manifests its prominence primarily through higher pitch and amplitude, not length. Rhetorical stress is marked here with a circumflex / $\hat{\text{v}}$ / over the vowel.

**Example RSP.1** (a sentence of the Short Coyote Text, consisting of lines 66-67).

(1) Taxas skini niʔs kɕxaɬ ʔâ·ɕtakmuxuʔs.

[tʰʌ·xg·s skí·ne· niʔs kɕxɔɬ ʔâ·ɕtakmú·xu·ʔs]

/taxa-s s-kin<sub>v</sub>i niʔ-s k<sub>v</sub>ɕxa-ʔɬ<sub>v</sub> ʔaɕta-k-mu-xu-ʔ-s/

then-S3 CON-by.hand the-S3 SM<sub>v</sub>FUT-ADV<sub>v</sub> long.time-do/be-ground-by.body-GSVI-S3

then doing it the (fact) that she will take a long time traveling

**(66) He did this, (67) so that she'd be gone a long time.**



### 2.3.8 The Phonetic Realization of Normally Deleted Laryngeals.

Speakers of Kutenai can override the obligatory laryngeal deletion rules of the language (posited here as mid-level phonological rules), in certain environments. This is done in especially careful speech, in pedagogical and elicitation situations.

#### Stylistic Rule (9): Intervocalic Environments Away From Stress.

Line 1 of the Short Coyote Text, reproduced here as example LDO.1, is not an case where laryngeal deletion rules are overridden by narrator of the text, but this clause has two words in it which in the context of an elicitation session would readily provide examples of deleted underlying laryngeals being realized phonetically in especially careful speech, in spite of the obligatory laryngeal deletion rules which would delete them. Example LDO.1, below, shows in (a) how the narrator actually pronounced the words in the clause, in her telling of the story. Line (c) of phonetic transcription represents natural careful speech. The middle line of phonetic transcription (b) shows how a speaker of the language acting as an interpreter might pronounce the words in very careful speech.

Example LDO.1.

RMc-SC.1

Qa·nit+ana+apsi skinkuϕ, ?a+u·a·kni'kis.

(a) [qa·nit+ana+á·psj· skí·nku·ts, [significant pause] ?a+á·kni'kí·]

(b) [qahanit+ana+á·psj·] ← Very Careful Speech Forms → [?a+á·kni'kí·s]

(c) [qa·nit+ana+á·psj· skí·nku·ts, [significant pause] ?a+á·kni'kí·s]

^ ← The obligatory mid-level laryngeal deletion rules normally apply → ^

/qa-ha-n-i-t+a?-na+-ap-s·i skinkuϕ ?a+u ?a·k-ni'k-?is/

be.thus-have-STD-Bf-house-COM-HRO-S3·IND coyote PLpt· NSB-one(s)-3POS

they lived there with him

Coyote

his parents

(1) There was the home of Coyote and his parents.

The occurrence of an instance of underlying /aha/ optionally realized as [ahɑ], even though in an unstressed environment here, relates very directly to the fact that obligatory (mid-level) H-Deletion is much more restricted in its application in Conservative Lower Kutenai, and in still remembered forms of what we can call old-fashioned Upper Kutenai, than in present-day Upper Kutenai or in the less conservative kind of Lower Kutenai which is spoken today by most Lower Kutenai speakers of the language. Elderly speakers of the language, and even some younger speakers, have heard many instances of intervocalic h not deleted between two unstressed vowels, where h would normally be deleted in accordance with the speaker's own present-day Upper Kutenai or non-conservative Lower Kutenai version of the mid-level rule of H-Deletion. These speakers of the language are simply free to use such Conservative Lower Kutenai or old-fashioned Upper Kutenai pronunciations in elicitation and pedagogical situations to better reveal the underlying forms of words.

**Stylistic Rule (10): Glottal Stop after an Ejective.**

Derivation LDO.1, above also illustrates that a speaker of the language can override the normal deletion of a glottal stop after an ejective. This is only possible if the ejective is underlyingly an ejective and not a surface phonemic product of an underlying cluster of stop consonant plus a following glottal stop.

## **2.4 Surface Phonology.**

### **2.4.1 The Rules of Kutenai Surface Phonology.**

Below, is a list of the rules of Kutenai surface phonology posited here. The rules are numbered, although the numbering system here does not address the question of how many rules there actually are in the language which govern vowel shape. In the final analysis, the number of vowel shape rules of fronting, backing, raising, and lowering is likely to be less than the total number of phonetic allophones posited here of the three Kutenai vowel phonemes, but greater than the number of Kutenai vowel phonemes. The approach here is to catalog the vocalic allophones which are posited.

Surface Lengthening Rules.

See section 2.4.3

- (1) Stressed Vowel Lengthening.
- (2) Final Syllable Vowel Lengthening.

Syllabicization Rules.

See section 2.4.4

- (3) Resonant Syllabicization.
  - (3.1) Resonant Syllabicization where the Resonant is a Nasal.
  - (3.2) Resonant Syllabicization where the Resonant is a Semivowel.
- (4) Surface Schwa Insertion.

Labialization.

See section 2.4.5

- (5) Surface Labialization.

## Vowel Shape Rules.

See section 2.4.6

## (6) Allophones of /a/.

- (6.1) The Low Back Allophone [ɑ].
- (6.2) The Low Front Allophone [a].
- (6.3) The Raised Low Front Allophonic Variant [æ].
- (6.4) The Low Central Allophone [ʌ].
- (6.5) The Raised Low Back Allophone [ɔ̄].

## (7) Allophones of /i/.

- (7.1) The High Front Allophone [i].
- (7.2) The High Front Open Allophone [ɪ].
- (7.3) The Mid Front Allophone [e].
- (7.4) The Retracted Allophone [ɪ̰].
- (7.5) The Lower Mid Front Allophone [ɛ].

## (8) The Rounded Vowels, including the Allophones of /u/.

- (8.1) The Retracted Front Rounded Vowel [ʊ̰].
- (8.2) The Open O Vowel [ɔ̰].
- (8.3) The High Back Allophone [u].
- (8.4) The Fronted Back Rounded Allophone [ʊ].
- (8.5) The Mid Back Allophone [o].

### 2.4.2 Surface Phonological Rules and Representations.

The rules of Kutenai surface phonology are transparent fully categorical rules, applying across the board, basically without exceptions, and applying in such a way that they leave evidence of having applied. These rules can be distinguished from the opaque attenuated categorical rules of mid-level phonology. The surface phonemic representations, which are the output of the surface phonological rules, are biunique and locally determined. This is to say that they can be determined from phonetic transcriptions with only a knowledge of what the phonemes of the language are, and without any etymological information which might be brought to bear on the matter.

All categorical rules are productive in the general sense that they are applied in the creations of neologisms. The fully categorical rules of Surface Phonology are productive, to the point of being exceptionless, so there can hardly be any question about the psychological reality that these rules have for speakers of the language.

#### **Language Interference Phenomena.**

Among the rules of surface phonology are rules which can be observed to apply when native speakers of Kutenai speak English with interference from Kutenai, in other words, when they speak English with a Kutenai accent. For example, native speakers of Kutenai have been heard to round velar consonants in English after a rounded vowel, applying the Kutenai rule of Surface Labialization, and they have been observed to syllabify nasal consonants in English after a stop consonant, applying the Kutenai surface rule of Resonant Syllabicization.

The vowel shape rules of Kutenai surface phonology provide some examples where language interference of a kind is involved, although not affecting the English spoken by Kutenai speakers. Kutenai has a system of only three phonemic vowels, but native speakers of Kutenai typically do not have difficulty with English vowels, since Kutenai has an

inventory of phonetic vocalic allophones covering roughly the same phonetic territory as the phonemic vowels of English. There are, however, some cross-language puns which have been passed around among Kutenai speakers which are based on the phonemic identity, from the Kutenai perspective, between certain English words which are minimal pairs for vowel shape in English. In one of these cross-language puns, the Kutenai word meaning 'who' is substituted for the Kutenai word meaning 'hoe'. Thus someone once asked to be handed a hoe by saying:

Namatikɕu qaɬa.            'Hand me (a) who, hand me (the) who'.        FW

Another cross-language pun has become institutionalized in the Kutenai lexicon. The Kutenai word for 'cake' consists of the k-form (i.e. the subordinate form) of a verbal stem in Kutenai which means 'kick'. This, no doubt, began as a pun when someone used the Kutenai word meaning 'kick' in a sentence in Kutenai to mean 'cake'.

### 2.4.3 Surface Lengthening Rules.

The rules of Stressed Vowel Lengthening and Final Syllable Vowel Lengthening represent two situations in which Kutenai vowels are automatically lengthened by some small degree. There are apparently a total of five degrees of phonetic vowel length in Kutenai.<sup>1</sup> These rules account for situations in which phonemically short vowels are lengthened to be realized phonetically as partially long vowels, and phonemically long vowels are lengthened to be realized phonetically as fully long vowels. The difficulty is that phonemically long vowels not affected by these rules are also phonetically partially long. The two automatic lengthening rules posited here are therefore major factors in making it difficult to immediately distinguish all instances of phonemic long vowels in Kutenai from phonemic short vowels. In phonetic terms, there are clearly instances of vowels in the language which are very obviously much longer than others, and there are definitely minimal pairs for vowel length in Kutenai. The matter is difficult because of the phonetically partially long vowels produced by the rules posited here.

#### Surface Rule (1): Stressed Vowel Lengthening.

Fully stressed vowels in Kutenai tend to be longer than unstressed vowels. The rule of Stressed Vowel Lengthening is simply an attempt to codify this fact. Fully stressed vowels in Kutenai are the penultimate vowels of phrases, which receive full phrasal stress, or in the case of the very rare monosyllabic nominal phrases in the language, the fully stressed vowel of the phrase is only vowel of the phrase. The amount of lengthening which is involved is at least great enough so that fully stressed phonemic short vowels are roughly as long as unstressed phonemic long vowels.

In the matter of rule ordering, the rule of Stressed Vowel Lengthening applies after the rule of Penultimate Stress Assignment, simply in order for there to be stressed vowels to

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<sup>1</sup> See the phonetic vowel chart in section 2.1.7.

which the rule can apply.<sup>2</sup>

In derivation SVL.1, below, each of the three vowels of the word is a partially long vowel, in phonetic terms. The first vowel of the word is partially long, because it is a phonemic long vowel, but is not additionally lengthened by any rule. The second vowel of the word is partially long, because it is a stressed short vowel, while the third vowel of the word is partially long, because it is a phonemic short vowel which is in the final syllable of a phrase. In this case, the final syllable of a one word nominal phrase.

Derivation SVL.1 (Example of Stressed Vowel Lengthening).

ʔa·kaq+iɪ 'eye'

[ʔa·kʰá·q+iɪ] , ranging to: [ʔa·kʰá·q+iɪ]

/ʔa·k-a-q+iɪ/

Nominal.Stem.Base-Buffer.Vowel-eye

In derivation SVL.2, below, Stressed Vowel Lengthening applies to a phonemically long vowel, making it phonetically fully long. Not at issue here is the fact that the phonemic long vowel is underlyingly from two, phonemically identical vowels which combine, after the deletion of an intervening laryngeal. The laryngeal deletion and vowel combination is accomplished in the derivation by mid-level phonological rules. There is no difficulty identifying the long vowel here as a phonemic long vowel, not only because of the phonetic facts, but because the source of the vowel length is obvious in etymological terms.

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<sup>2</sup> Rule ordering is taken care of in this case by the fact that Penultimate Stress Assignment is posited here as a rule of mid-level phonology, while Stressed Vowel Lengthening is a rule of surface phonology.



**Derivation SVL.2 (Example of Stressed Vowel Lengthening).**

h̥uːni 'He/she/it knows him/her/it them, they know him/her/it them.'

[h̥úːneː]

/n̥ʉʔuhuːni/

PM.be.acquainted.with.IND

**Surface Rule (2): Final Syllable Vowel Lengthening.**

There is a general tendency for vowels in Kutenai to be somewhat lengthened when they are in the final syllable of a word which is the last word, or the only word, of a phrase. The amount of vowel lengthening involved is great enough to be confused with the degree of length exhibited by phonemic long vowels which are not additionally lengthened by rule, and great enough to be confused with the amount of lengthening associated with fully stressed phonemic short vowels.

Derivation SVL.1, above, in the section on Stressed Vowel Lengthening, is also an example of Final Syllable Vowel Lengthening. Derivation FSVL.1, below, is an example of another nominal stem of the same type.

**Derivation FSVL.1 (Example of Stressed Vowel Lengthening).**

ʔaːkitʰa 'house'

[ʔaːkíːtʰaː]

/ʔaːk-i-tʰa/

Nominal.Stem.Base-Buffer.Vowel-house

Derivation FSVL.2, below, is an example of an indicative verbal form, while derivation FSVL.3, next to it, is the interrogative form of the same inflected verbal stem where the phonemic long vowel of the word is fully stressed and is realized phonetically as a fully

long vowel.

Derivation FSVL.2.

ɸi:kati 'He/she/it looked at it/him/her/them',  
 'They looked at it/him/her/them.'

[ɸi:ká:tj]

/ɸi:kat<sub>ɹ</sub>i/

Look<sub>ɹ</sub>INDICATIVE

Derivation FSVL.3.

kɸi:kat ? 'Did he/she/it/they  
 look at it/him/her/them?'

[kɸi:ká:t]

/k<sub>ɹ</sub>ɸi:kat/

SM<sub>ɹ</sub>Look

Derivation FSVL.4, below, shows the rule of Final Syllable Vowel Lengthening applying to a word with two phonemically long vowels, both of which are further lengthened by a rule; the first because it is fully stressed, the second because it is in the final syllable of a phrase. The fact that the word has two phonemically long vowels is related to the fact that the word refers to a species of bird and is imitative of the sound the bird makes. Just to underscore that point, although it may be obvious enough, the Lower Kutenai word for the same bird species 'crow' is supplied in derivation FSVL.5, in the space next to derivation FSVL.4.

Derivation FSVL.4. G&M(1979)

xá:xá 'crow' (Upper Kutenai).

[xá:xá:]

/xá:xá/

crow

Derivation FSVL.5.

nana?ki 'crow' (Lower Kutenai)

[naná:ʔkɹj]

/nana?ki/

crow

#### 2.4.4 Syllabification Rules.

There are two surface syllabification rules in the language, the Resonant Syllabification rule and the Surface Schwa Insertion rule. The Resonant Syllabification rule adds a phonetic syllable whenever there is a consonant cluster consisting of an obstruent followed by a resonant. Resonant Syllabification has two, rather different conditions of application, one where the resonant is a nasal and the other where the resonant is a semi-vowel, with somewhat different results phonetically, in each case. The Surface Schwa Insertion rule is a different rule, altogether. The general environment for Surface Schwa Insertion is where a resonant precedes a stop consonant, but the stop consonant must be a uvular stop. If it were not for this restriction, the environment for Surface Schwa Insertion would be the mirror image of the environment which triggers Resonant Syllabification.

##### **Surface Rule (3): Resonant Syllabification.**

##### **(3.1) Resonant Syllabification where the Resonant is a Nasal.**

Where a nasal follows an obstruent, Resonant Syllabification may involve the insertion of a short schwa, but for at least some speakers in careful speech, including FW, there is no schwa and the extra syllable required by the rule is achieved entirely by the syllabification of the nasal consonant.<sup>3</sup> If a schwa is inserted, the extra syllable required by the rule may consist entirely of an inserted schwa, without the following nasal being syllabic, although, perhaps typically, the nasal is nonetheless syllabic, even if a short schwa is introduced.

In derivation NSC.1, immediately below, the fact that the obstruent is a glottal stop

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<sup>3</sup> See section 2.3.5 where it is suggested that the insertion of a schwa before a nasal with Resonant Syllabification is inadvertent variation and therefore not something which rates positing a stylistic rule. It appears that Kutenai speakers in general intend to avoid pronouncing a schwa in this environment, but they commonly produce some vocalic transition in the form of an inserted schwa in rapid speech, particularly where there is any difference in the point of articulation of the obstruent and the following nasal.

which is not weakened to a voiced h [h̥] is indicative of careful speech. Careful speech mitigates against there being an inserted schwa.

Derivation NSC.1.

naqaʔni            'There is (some), there are (some).'

[naqá·ʔne·]        (representing Careful Speech of some kind)

/n<sub>h</sub>a-qa-ʔ<sub>ni</sub>/

PM<sub>h</sub>ave-STV-IN<sub>IND</sub>

In derivation NSC.2, below, there are two places where an obstruent-nasal cluster calls for Resonant Syllabicization. In the first instance, the obstruent-nasal cluster is /tm/, where there is a major difference in the point of articulation of the obstruent and the nasal. The introduction of a schwa is likely in rapid speech in this first cluster /tm/. In the second cluster /tn/, where the two consonants are identical in point of articulation, there is little or no chance of a schwa being introduced in any speech style.

Derivation NSC.2.

MP-CC.5

ʔutmiʔiʔitni        'It was awful hot.'

[ʔut<sup>ə</sup>miʔiʔítne·]

/ʔutmi-ʔiʔit<sub>ni</sub>/

Hot<sup>4</sup>-place<sub>INDICATIVE</sub>

In derivation NSC.3, below, there are two examples of Resonant Syllabicization with a

<sup>4</sup> The verbal base /ʔutmi-/ 'hot' is analyzable, if only diachronically, as a root, followed by a valence marker, followed by a lexical suffix. There is a verbal base /ʔuya/ 'to be warm', where the /y/ would presumably be derivative of the Reflexive Suffix, and the final vowel /a/ would ultimately be explainable as a phonemic buffer vowel.

/ʔu-t-mi-/

warm/hot-TVI-land/ground

/ʔu-y-a/

warm/hot-REFLX-Bf

nasal, both involving the fricative barred l [ɫ] preceding a dental nasal. This a case where there is a minor articulatory difference in point of articulation between the two consonants, which opens the way for a short schwa being introduced between the two consonants. Two likely alternate phonetic outcomes are depicted in the derivation.

#### Derivation NSC.3.

ʔat qakiɫni tiɫnamuʔis 'He used to say to his wife' RMc-S.C.7  
 [ʔat qakí·ɫne· tiɫnamú·ʔwi·s] or: [ʔat qakí·ɫəne· tiɫənamú·ʔwi·s]  
 /ʔat<sub>ɔ</sub> qakiɫ<sub>ɔ</sub>ni tiɫnamu-ʔis /  
 IMpt<sub>ɔ</sub> tell<sub>ɔ</sub>IND old.woman-3POS

In derivation NSC.4, below, the obstruent-nasal cluster consists of barred l [ɫ] followed by a bilabial nasal [m], so that the consonants in the cluster are at completely different points of articulation. This increases the tendency for a short schwa to be inserted as a part of the process of Resonant Syllabicization, but does not require it. The nasal may be realized as a syllabic nasal with or without a schwa. If there is a schwa, the nasal need not necessarily be syllabic, so three readily possible phonetic outcomes are depicted here.

#### Derivation NSC.4.

ǰuɫmawuʔk 'rose bush' FW-8.49  
 [ǰuɫmá·wo·ʔk] or: [ǰuɫəmə·wo·ʔk] or: [ǰuɫəmə·wo·ʔk]  
 /ǰuɫma-wuʔk /  
 rose-bush

The following derivation, NSC.5, provides a further example. Here the two consonants in the cluster are also at different points of articulation and as in derivation NSC.4,

above, and there is the likelihood of a schwa being inserted, with three likely phonetic outcomes.

#### Derivation NSC.5.

?upnamu          n.          'the dead'                                  G&M(1979)  
 [ʔupnám·mu·]   or: [ʔup<sup>ə</sup>nám·mu·]   or: [ʔup<sup>ə</sup>nám·mu·]  
 /ʔup-namu? /  
 die-NOMINALIZER

#### (3.2) Resonant Syllabification where the Resonant is a Semivowel.

Where a semivowel follows an obstruent, Resonant Syllabification is straightforwardly a matter of vowel insertion. The vowel which is inserted is always homorganic to the semivowel. A very short high front unrounded vowel [ɪ] is inserted between an obstruent and a following palatal semivowel [j], and a very short high back rounded vowel [ʊ] is inserted between an obstruent and a following labiovelar semivowel [w].

The vowels which are inserted by this rule are phonetic buffer vowels which break up clusters of two consonants in a row. These phonetic buffer vowels are to be distinguished from the more abstract phonemic buffer vowels which are to be found in abstract phonemic representations.<sup>5</sup>

In derivation YS.1, below, the rule of Resonant Syllabification applies across a cliticization boundary symbol /<sub>v</sub>/, connecting a particle to a verbal stem. The item in derivation YS.1 is a subordinate form of the verbal stem meaning 'to be five (in number)' which is

<sup>5</sup> The phonemic buffer vowels are ultimately to be explained as the result of a rule of vowel insertion, reconstructable for an earlier state of the language. In that earlier state of the language, there must have been a rule which inserted schwas to break up clusters of three consonants in a row. The schwas subsequently developed into vowels of particular shapes in specific environments, similar to the way that the shape of the phonetic buffer vowels here are conditioned by the nature of the following semivowel. See section 2.6.3.

contrasted with the item in derivation YS.2, next to it, which is the number 'five', as used in counting.

## Derivation YS.1.

kyi·ku 'that here are five'  
 [kʲi·ku·]  
 /k<sub>ɔ</sub>yi·ku/  
 SM<sub>ɔ</sub>five

## Derivation YS.2.

yi·ku 'five (as in counting)'  
 [yí·ku·]  
 /yi·ku/  
 five

The item in derivation YS.3, below, shows the rule of Resonant Syllabicization applying first across a morpheme boundary where the semivowel is the palatal semivowel [y] , and then applying within a morpheme where the semivowel is the labiovelar semivowel [w].

## Derivation YS.3.

ɕʲinyaxaɕwun 'Go fetch the fresh killed game!' RMc-S.C.8  
 [ tʲɪnʲyɔxá·ɕwɔn ]  
 /ɕʲi-n-yaxa-ɕwu<sub>n</sub> /  
 INCEP-go-fetch-fresh.killed.game<sub>ɔ</sub>2CP(as a marker of a 2nd sg imperative form)

Derivations WS.1 and WS.2, below, also illustrate the application of Resonant Syllabicization within a morpheme where, naturally, there is no etymological evidence that the short inserted vowel [ʊ] is not an underlying phonemic vowel. The inserted homorganic vowel appears in the first example, in derivation WS.1, just **after** a fully stressed phonemic vowel and in the second example, in derivation WS.2, just **before** a fully stressed phonemic vowel. In both cases, the inserted vowel shows itself to be an epenthetic vowel

chiefly by the fact that it does not receive stress by the rule of Penultimate Stress Assignment, in spite of the fact that it is phonetically the penultimate vowel of a phrase. This is a matter of some practical significance, because these short inserted vowels [ʊ] and [ɪ], although labelled 'very short', are not necessarily so short that they are always easily distinguished from phonemic short vowels. The fact that the very short vowel [ʊ], in these derivations is not stressed, even though, in each case, it is the penultimate phonetic vowel of a nominal phrase, is what most effectively mark the vowel, in each case, as an epenthetic vowel.

## Derivation WS.1.

ka<sub>ɔ</sub>swu 'my friend'[ká·s<sup>ʊ</sup>wó·]/ka<sub>ɔ</sub> swu/1POS<sub>ɔ</sub> friend

## Derivation WS.2.

swaʔ 'cougar, mountain lion'

[s<sup>ʊ</sup>wá·ʔ]

/swaʔ/

cougar/mountain.lion

Derivation WS.3, below, gives the Kutenai word for 'rose', and relates closely to derivation NSC.4, further above, where the example is the word for 'rosebush'.<sup>6</sup> The rule of Resonant Syllabicization applies in both the word for 'rosebush', where a nasal is involved, and in the word here for 'rose', where a semivowel is involved.

## Derivation WS.3.

G&amp;M(1979), FW-8.49

q̣uʔwa 'tomato, rose hips'

[q̣ú·ʔ<sup>ʊ</sup>wa·]

/q̣uʔwa/

rose.hip/tomato

<sup>6</sup> The same underlying morpheme meaning 'rose' is involved in both cases. See section 2.5.6 on the Dissimilation rule.



**Surface Rule (4): Surface Schwa Insertion.**

The environment for this rule is very narrow. Surface Schwa Insertion occurs between a resonant and a following uvular stop [q], an obstruent.<sup>7</sup> For some speakers, for example FW (from St Mary's), the rule of Surface Schwa Insertion is restricted to cases where a palatal semivowel [y] precedes a uvular stop [q]. Derivation SSI.1a., below, demonstrates that the rule is wider in its application for SP (from Montana and Tobacco Plains) than it is for FW. For SP, the rule also applies where a nasal precedes a uvular stop [q]. The exact same lexical item from FW, in derivation SSI.1b., shows the rule not applying at all, in that same environment, for FW.

## Derivation SSI.1a. (SP-8.53)

ʔa·kinqu 'tipi frame'

[ʔa·kí·n<sup>ə</sup>qu·]

/ʔa·k-i-n-qu/

NSB-Bf-STD-Lexical.suffix

## Derivation SSI.1b. (FW)

ʔa·kinqu 'tipi frame'

[ʔa·kí·nqo·]

/ʔa·k-i-n-qu/

NSB-Bf-STD-Lexical.suffix

Further examples of the rule are provided below in derivations SSI.2a. and SSI.3a from AW (from Columbia Lake). In both cases, the same lexical items from FW in derivations SSI.2b., and SSI.3b are counterexamples, where for FW the rule does not apply.

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<sup>7</sup> This rule should not be confused with a rule of schwa insertion which is reconstructible for an earlier state of the language and which is responsible for the many phonemic buffer vowels found in the abstract phonemic representations of words in the present state of the language. See section 2.6.3.

**Derivation SSI.2a. (AW-14.5)**

ʔinǰam'crocus'  
 [ʔí·nǰɑ·m]  
 /ʔinǰam/  
 crocus

**Derivation SSI.2b. (FW-), G&M(1979)**

ʔinǰam'crocus'  
 [ʔí·nǰɑ·m]  
 /ʔinǰam/  
 crocus

**Derivation SSI.3a. (AW-14.5)**

ʔinǰum 'a species of plant'  
 [ ʔí·nǰu·m ]  
 /ʔinǰum/  
 plant.species.name<sup>8</sup>

**Derivation SSI.3b. (FW)**

ʔinǰum'a species of plant'  
 [ ʔí·nǰu·m ]  
 /ʔinǰum/  
 plant.species.name

There is one item from FW which is not a counterexample for the application of the rule of Surface Schwa Insertion. With that example, illustrated in derivation SSI.4, below, there is a palatal semivowel [y], occurring before a uvular stop [q]. It would appear that this environment is the leading edge of this particular type of schwa insertion, and that it may simply be the case that for some speakers of the language, such as FW, this particular segmental environment may be the only environment where the rule applies.

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<sup>8</sup> The plant /ʔinǰum/ is identified in Hart, Turner, and Morgan (1980, p. 37) as *Fritillaria pudica* (Pursh) Spreng. (Yellowbells), based on identifications given to Hart by MA, JA, AL, AdM, and separately to Turner by CG. However, FW, and MP had another word /ɕukunkanaɬ/ for this plant in an interview with Turner, based on their examination of a dried specimen. This leaves some question about what FW meant by the word /ʔinǰum/ in a separate interview with Morgan, and what AW meant by the word /ʔinǰum/ in an interview with Morgan.

## Derivation SSI.4.

k̥ukiyqa	'(that it is) wild'	FW-8.120
[k̥uk̥í·y̥qa·]		
/k̥ʷukiy-qa-ʔ/		
SM <sub>wild</sub> -STV-IN		

FW was certainly not alone in inserting a short epenthetic schwa in this environment, in this particular word. One example of the rule applying in this same word, can be found in an unusual source. In an early version of a manuscript for an ethnobotany paper of which the present author became the third author, a transcription of the word meaning 'wild' is given and can be attributed to Hart, one of two ethnobotanists who are the authors of an earlier version of the manuscript.<sup>9</sup> The Kutenai speakers interviewed by Hart were all Montana Kutenais.

In the transcription of this particular word, an epenthetic schwa between a palatal semivowel [y] and a following uvular stop [q] was transcribed with the letter a, thereby, equating the epenthetic schwa with instances of the phonemic vowel /a/ which also occur in the transcription. The transcription is quite revealing about the extent to which an epenthetic schwa in Kutenai can sound like a full phonemic vowel, and the extent to which the mere rounding of a velar stop [k] before a phonemically unrounded vowel can sound like a separate and rounded vowel, distinct from the following phonemically unrounded vowel. The transcription attributable to Hart captures the occurrence of labialization on the second velar stop [k] of the word by means of a letter u, suggesting how obvious the second instance of labialization in the word is, in that particular environment. In contrast to Hart's transcription, the phonetic symbols employed here by the present author tend to hide the extent to which these two phonetic features in Kutenai, labialization and epenthetic schwa,

<sup>9</sup> Someone with a background in Salishan linguistics, AtM, indicated to the present author that he (the Salishanist) had had some input into how the Kutenai words were transcribed by Hart in a still earlier Kutenai ethnobotany paper by Hart alone.

can resemble the phonemic short vowels of the language. The phonetic transcription in this example is supplied on the basis of numerous transcriptions of these words by the author.

Derivation SSI.5 (AL, AdM)- Hart and Turner (1974, p.49).

kʷukiyqa waʔta 'wild potato'

kukuiyaqa waʔta (as transcribed by Hart)

[kʷukwí·y<sup>ə</sup>qa· wá·ʔta·] (assumed phonetic transcription, supplied here)

/kʷukiy-qa-ʔ waʔta/

SM<sub>wild</sub>-STV-IN potato

### 2.4.5 Surface Labialization.

#### Surface Rule (5): Surface Labialization.

This rule is designated 'Surface Labialization' because there is another rule which also involves labialization. That rule is one which is reconstructible for an earlier state of the language. The reconstructed rule operates in an almost opposite way from the rule which is described here. The reconstructed rule of labialization transfers the feature of rounding from underlyingly rounded velar and uvular consonants to epenthetic schwas, so that the epenthetic schwas can diachronically become instances of the phonemic high back rounded vowel /u/. In contrast, Surface Labialization transfers the feature of rounding from rounded vowels to consonants. The Surface Labialization rule labializes any velar consonant, uvular consonant, or glottal stop adjacent to an instance of the high back rounded vowel phoneme /u/.

As already mentioned above, this is a rule which speakers of Kutenai have been known to apply when speaking English, which is good evidence that the rule is not merely productive, but fully categorical and obviously psychologically real for speakers of the language. One Kutenai elder, SF, once said to the author before a 1972 interview session:

"O.K., Let's go inside and have a session. Yea, I just got back from Spokane, where I visited my son."

Two items of this utterance are transcribed below just as SF said them on that occasion.

O.K.	Spokane
[ʔók <sup>w</sup> éy]	[spok <sup>w</sup> één]

As already discussed elsewhere above<sup>10</sup>, it is necessary for a labialized consonant in Kutenai to precede an adjacent phonemically unrounded vowel for the labialization of the

<sup>10</sup> See section 2.2.1 entitled "The Phonetics of Labialization".

consonant to be particularly noticeable. The labialization of rounded consonants in Kutenai before a phonemically rounded vowel is not particularly noticeable, nor is the labialization of rounded back consonants in Kutenai in phrase-final position particularly noticeable.<sup>11</sup>

Derivations SL.1 and SL.2, below, illustrate Surface Labialization. The labialization of the first consonant of the word in derivation SL.2 is of the non-dynamic and not particularly noticeable kind.

## Derivation SL.1.

ʔuḱi 'one'

[ʔ°ú:ḱwi]

Surface Labialization applies, twice.

/ʔuḱ-iʔ/

one-STATIVE

## Derivation SL.2.

ḱuḱi ? 'Is there one?'

[ḱ°ú:ḱwi ?]

Surface Labialization applies, twice.

/ḱuḱ-iʔ ?/

SM<sub>one</sub>-STATIVE QUES<sup>12</sup>

The lexical item meaning 'eight' in derivation SL.3, below, contains a phonetically labialized uvular fricative [χ<sup>w</sup>], because of the adjacency of a preceding rounded vowel. The lexical item meaning 'four' in derivation SL.4, next to it, illustrates that the labialization of the word meaning 'eight' is provided by rule, rather than being the result of an underlyingly labialized initial consonant in the word /xɑ·ɕɑ/ 'four'.

<sup>11</sup> The phonetic situation in Kutenai is in some contrast to that in Salishan languages such as neighboring Shuswap where a word-final labialized consonant is especially noticeable, because word-final labialized consonants in Shuswap are supported by a following partly voiceless phonetic schwa. In Kutenai, the release of a word-final consonant does not involve a vowel, even a highly reduced voiceless vowel.

<sup>12</sup> The interrogative gloss for the k-form (i.e. subordinate form) in this derivation depends on interrogative intonation, which is indicated by a question mark which has the status of a phonetic symbol here, in effect representing an interrogative morpheme. Without the interrogative intonation, the k-form /ḱuḱiʔ/ has a complement clause meaning 'that there is one, that it is one in number'.

## Derivation SL.2.

wuxa·ɕa 'eight'

[woxʷá:tsɰ·]

/wu-xa·ɕa/

Root.Morpheme-four

## Derivation SL.3.

xa·ɕa 'four'

[xá:tsɰ·]

/xa·ɕa/

four

Few, if any, languages have a labialized glottal stop as a unit phoneme, but Kutenai has phonetically labialized glottal stops as products of Surface Labialization, as is illustrated in derivation SL.5, below.

## Derivation SL.5.

tiɬnamuʔis 'his wife' RMc-S.C.7

[tiɬnamúʔis]

Surface Labialization applies.

/tiɬnamu-ʔis/

old.lady-3POS

Derivation SL.6, below, provides an example of a not very noticeably rounded velar stop in word-final and phrase-final position.

## Derivation SL.6.

ʔa·kinmituk 'river' G&amp;M(1979)

[ʔa·kinmí·tu·k°]

Surface Labialization applies, with little noticeable effect.

/ʔa·k-i-nmit-uk/

Nominal.Stem.Base-Bf-River<sup>13</sup>

Derivation SL.7, below, is of a common expression, used as a greeting, which constitutes a two word phonetic phrase. In the first word, there is a cluster of glottal stop [ʔ] followed by a velar stop [k], where neither the glottal stop nor the velar stop are noticeably labialized, but they are nonetheless rounded by the preceding phonemically rounded vowel. One thing which demonstrates this is that the rounding of that phonemically rounded vowel carries forward through these two consonants and rounds the following velar stop at the beginning of the following word. The phonetic transcription here is supplied with a diacritic mark after the final velar stop of the first word which indicates that the stop is unreleased. In connected speech, that velar stop forms a single hybrid long stop consonant with the initial velar stop of the following word.<sup>14</sup> Only the initial velar stop of the second word is transcribed with a raised w [w̥], because it is the only labialized consonant out of the three phonetically labialized stop consonants in a row which precedes a phonemically unrounded vowel, making the labialization particularly noticeable.

Derivation SL.7.

kiʔsuʔk kyukyit 'Hello', lit. 'good day'

[kʲ·ʔʰsu·ʔʰk̚k̚w̥iyú·k̚w̥iyɪt] (narrow transcription of connected speech)

[kʲʔsuʔk̚ k̚w̥iyú·k̚w̥iyɪt] (broad transcription of connected speech)

Surface Labialization applies twice here, to round a total of four consonants.

/k̚hiʔ̚suʔk̚ k̚yuk-yit/

SM̚Bpt̚good SM̚noon-time

<sup>13</sup> The compound lexical suffix /-nmituk/ 'river' is analyzable at least to the point of positing that it contains the lexical suffix /-uk/ 'water'.

<sup>14</sup> See section 2.2.4 where there is additional discussion of unreleased stop consonants and hybrid long stop consonants.





One thing to note about derivation SL.10, above, is that if the consonants were not labialized, the labialization might well be noticeable for its absence, particularly on the first instance where the phonetically rounded intervocalic uvular stop [χʷ] is involved. If this fricative were phonetically unrounded, it would actually involve unrounding the lips just for the duration of the fricative. Unrounding the lips and then rounding them again would be a noticeable and dynamic articulatory process. The rounded back consonants of Kutenai are noticeably rounded in exactly those cases where there is a following unrounded phonemic vowel which requires a dynamic articulatory act of unrounding, although the unrounding does not begin until well into the articulation of the phonemically unrounded vowel.

The labiovelar semivowel [w] does not provide striking examples of the rounding of a following velar or uvular consonant, although the rounding may carry forward to some extent. Derivation SL.11, below, illustrates this, even though the semivowel is underlyingly the phonemically rounded vowel /u/. Examples such as this give reason to posit that in strictly surface phonemic terms the compound suffix /-uʔxa-/ 'Be.to' contains a semivowel, and a glottalized semivowel at that. This requires the positing of two surface phonemic allophones of the compound suffix /-wʔxa-/~/-wxa-/ 'Be.to'.

Derivation SL.11.

qawxakin      v.      'to put something there'

[qawχákín]

Surface Labialization fails to apply, because its conditions are not met.

/qa-wxa-kin/      (Surface Phonemic Representation)

Glottal Stop (and Glottalization) Deletion applies.

/qa-uʔxa-kin/      (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

be.thus-Be.to-by.hand

Derivation SL.7, above, which illustrates a phonetic phrase consisting of two words used as a greeting, is an example where the Surface Labialization rule clearly applies across a word boundary, certainly in etymological terms. More generally, the Surface Labialization rule regularly applies across cliticization junctures. Derivation SL.12, below, illustrates the application of the rule of Surface Labialization with the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>u</sub>/ in an example drawn from the Fish Lake text where there are some other clearly audible examples of Surface Labialization applying across cliticization boundaries between the First Person Clitic Pronoun and a following particle, adverb, or verbal stem.

Derivation SL.12.

taxas hu qakxaxa+a?ni<sub>u</sub>Φ 'then we went from that point, and' MP-FL.41

[tʰ·xq·s huqʷakxaxa+aʔni·Φ]

Surface Labialization applies.

/taxa-s hu<sub>u</sub> qa-kxa-x-a+a?ni<sub>u</sub> Φ/

then-S3 1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-from-RLG-1PL<sub>u</sub>IND<sub>u</sub> and

Another example, also involving the First Person Clitic Pronoun, is to be found in SL.13, below.<sup>15</sup> In this case, the entire First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>u</sub>/ is deleted in highly casual speech, leaving the phonetic labialization of the initial uvular stop of the following Negative Particle as the only indicator of the grammatical category first person remaining in the verbal phrase.

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<sup>15</sup> This derivation also appears as derivation ISD.1 in section 2.3.6, illustrating the stylistic rule Initial Syllable Deletion.

**Derivation SL.13.**

Hu qa ?upxni. 'I don't know' AbS

[qʷá·pχ<sup>ə</sup>ne·] (Extremely Casual Speech)

Other stylistic rules apply.

Initial Syllable Deletion applies.

[hoqʷaʔú·pχ<sup>ə</sup>ne·] (representing Careful Speech)

Surface Labialization applies.

/hu<sub>ɹ</sub> qa<sub>ɹ</sub> ?upx<sub>ɹ</sub>ni/

1CP<sub>ɹ</sub> NEG<sub>ɹ</sub> see/know<sub>ɹ</sub>IND

### 2.4.6 The Vowel Shape Rules.

In terms of vowel shape, there are basically only three vowel phonemes in Kutenai, but a much larger number of vocalic allophones.<sup>16</sup> There is an additional vowel shape with marginal phonemic status. This is open o [ɔ̞], which occurs only as a long vowel and only for some speakers, including FW. Open o [ɔ̞] is posited as a surface phonemic vowel phoneme /ɔ̞/. It is exclusively the result of the combination of instances of the low vowel phoneme /a/ plus the high back rounded vowel phoneme /u/, after the deletion of an intervening laryngeal. In these contractions, other speakers, EG in particular, have a lengthened version of the high back rounded vowel phoneme /u/, realized phonetically as a lengthened version of the mid back rounded allophone [o̞].

The cross-language puns discussed in a section above provide some evidence for a basic three-vowel phonemic system for the language.<sup>17</sup> In those puns, speakers of Kutenai equate the syllabic nucleus /ey/ in the English word 'cake' with the vowel /ɪ/ in the English word 'kick', and equate the syllabic nucleus /ow/ in the English word 'hoe' with the syllabic nucleus /uw/ in the English word 'who'.

The number of phonemic vowels is easy to establish, but establishing the number of phonetic allophones is another matter. There is necessarily a certain amount of arbitrariness in setting up a finite number of phonetic allophones for the three basic phonemic vowels. The apparent targets for the vocalic allophones in Kutenai do not coincide well in every case with common readings of the available phonetic vowel symbols. There is an attempt here to get around this problem through the use of diacritics to create extra vowel symbols for certain allophones. The allophones represent ranges of variation, as well as targets. In addition to there being ranges of variation for individual speakers of the language, there is

<sup>16</sup> There are some 14 phonetic vowel segments posited in section 2.1.7. One can add the long vowel [ɔ̞] to this number to get 15 vowel shapes, and marginally add the vowel shape [æ], to get 16 phonetic vowel shapes.

<sup>17</sup> See section 2.4.2.

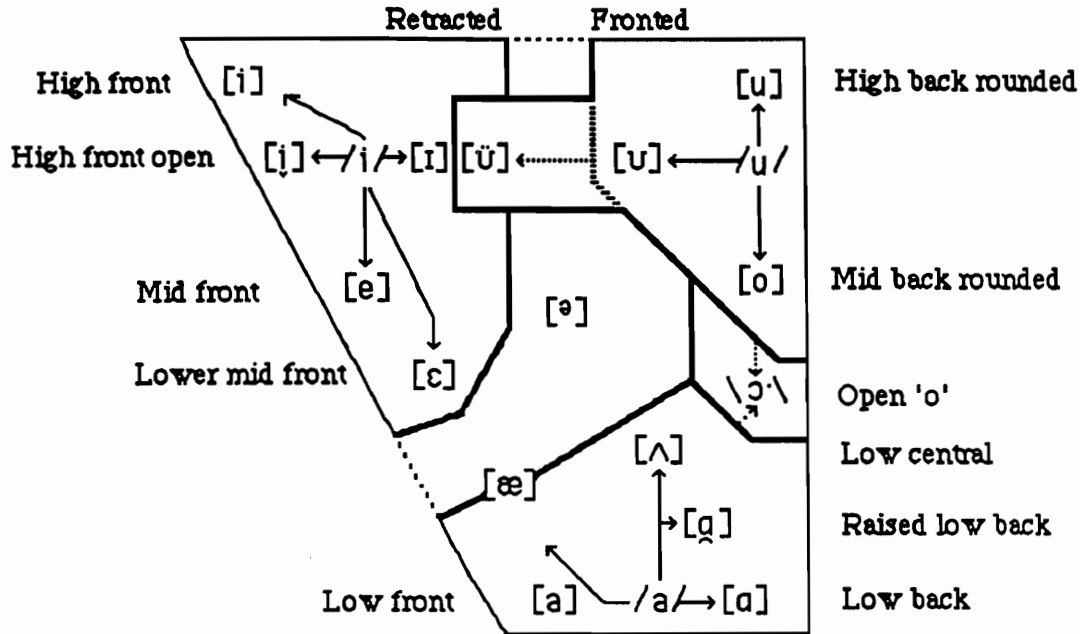
also variation on top of that from speaker to speaker in the matter of vowel shape.

A thorough treatment of the vowel shape rules is beyond the scope of this description of the language. One problem with formulating the vowel shape rules of Kutenai is that an adjacent consonant on one side of a vowel may favor a certain amount of raising, lowering, fronting, or backing of the vowel, while an adjacent consonant on the other side may favor the opposite. There may be a phonetic tug of war between the competing influences, producing compromise allophones. The influences are balanced, but apparently differently in different cases, so that it is apparently not possible to predict the outcome on a general basis. There are other factors involved, such as the shape of vowels in adjacent syllables which are in turn affected by consonants which are adjacent to those vowels. It is not clear how neatly the various influencing factors could be accounted for in the final analysis, so that a few general principles would predict which influences would have what weight in determining the shape of vowels in particular environments.

The following vowel shape chart shows the relationship between some sixteen vocalic vowel shapes and the three phonemic vowel shapes which appear in mid-level phonemic representations, /i/, /a/, and /u/, along with the additional phonemic vowel shape, the long open o /ɔ·/, posited only in surface phonemic representations. The matter of vowel length is not addressed in the chart, aside from the length of the open o and the use of a small (raised) symbol for the schwa in the center of the chart. The labelling around the chart provides a system of nomenclature for the vocalic allophones, and phonemic vowel shapes.

The vowel shape chart here includes the symbol 'Ash' [æ], not specifically posited as an allophone of the low vowel phoneme /a/, but rather as a rarely reached end point in the process of fronting of the low vowel phoneme, beyond the target represented by the allophonic symbol [a].

Kutenai Vowel Shape Chart.



The Short Schwa [ə], in the center of the chart, is not counted directly as an allophone of any vowel phoneme, but is associated instead with epenthesis. There are also situations where an underlying phonemic vowel can be interpreted as epenthetic. This happens when an entirely unstressed allophone of one of the phonemic short vowels resembles schwa closely enough to be taken as an instance of schwa. In such cases, native speakers who are literate in the language are likely to count the allophone of the phonemic vowel as an epenthetic vowel, which is to say to count the vowel as being no vowel at all.<sup>18</sup>

The Retracted high front open rounded vowel [ʊ] on the chart is an allophone of the high back rounded vowel phoneme /u/, but only for speakers of Mid-River Kutenai (Tobacco Plains, and Montana). The instances of the vowel [ʊ] in Mid-River Kutenai correspond to instances of the phoneme /i/ in Lower Kutenai and instances of /u/, in Up-River Upper Kutenai, making these cases of interest for comparative work between varieties of Kutenai and reconstruction of certain words in an earlier state of the language.

<sup>18</sup> See section 2.1.7.







The Glottalization Rule. See section 2.5.4.

(3.1) The Syllable-Initial Condition.

(3.2) The Syllable-Final Condition.

Laryngeal Deletion Rules. See section 2.5.5.

(4) H-Deletion.

(5) Glottal Stop Deletion.

Mid-Level Vowel Combination Rules. See section 2.5.6.

(6) Simple Vowel Combining

(6.1) Double Vowels as Long Monophthongs.

(6.2) Unlike Vowels as Diphthongs.

(8) Dissimilation. See section 2.5.7.

### 2.5.2 Mid-Level Rules and Representations.

The rules which are posited here as a part of mid-level phonology are generically surface rules in that they are roughly categorical, and apply across the board. What sets them apart from other generically surface phonological rules is that they admit to some exceptions. Some of the exceptions are archaisms, survivals from the recent past when particular deletion rules were less general in their application.<sup>2</sup> Other exceptions are recent importations into the language.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the sources of the exceptions to the mid-level

<sup>2</sup> The exceptions to the laryngeal deletion rules generally appear to be the result of the rules having extended their application to new environments in relatively recent times, so that some elderly speakers retain a memory of examples produced by speakers of past generations, which attest to more restricted versions of the rules which did not apply in some of the environments where these rules now apply. In contrast, the exceptions to the morphologically conditioned rules of deep phonology are neologisms, because those rules are ones which have ceased to be fully productive.

rules may be, the exceptions are greatly outnumbered by the cases where the segmental conditions of the rules are met and the rules apply. The same cannot be said for the exceptions to the morphologically conditioned rules of deep phonology where the rules generally apply only in a minority of the cases where the segmental conditions of the rules are met.

Most of the mid-level rules are opaque, in contrast to the generally transparent rules posited as a part of surface phonology proper. The term 'opaque' here simply means that one cannot determine that the rule has applied merely by examining the phonological representations which are the output of the rule. For opaque rules, it is also necessary to examine the phonological representations that are the input to the rule. Such rules erase at least part of what triggers their application. For some of the mid-level rules, opacity is simply a product of the fact that the rules involve the deletion of phonemic segments or the combining of two phonemic segments into one, in either case eliminating underlying segments which, once they are eliminated, show no evidence of having been there, or at least show no evidence of having been there as separate segments.

The surface phonemic representations reflect the application of the mid-level rules, except that stress is marked in surface phonemic representations only where it does not conform to the native pattern. The mid-level phonemic representations are the underlying forms for that part of Kutenai phonology which is fully productive. In spite of this, the mid-level phonemic representations do not constitute a practical writing system for native speakers of Kutenai to use as an orthography. The fact that the mid-level rules are generally opaque is one reason for this. Another factor is the abstractness of the mid-level

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<sup>3</sup> The exceptions to Penultimate Stress Assignment are, for the most part, words from French having word-final stress. These words include a very few borrowed lexical items and most of the Christian names in Kutenai. There are also a very few words of native origin which have word-final stress. There is the word /taxtá/ 'later', and there is a phrase reported by Garvin (1948a, p. 38) which has phrase-final stress, and is made of native material. It is /hu<sub>u</sub>s<sub>t</sub>ú<sub>t</sub>á<sub>t</sub>/ 'I am not able', a verbal phrase missing the verbal stem. It may have functioned an interjection and may well have been current, as such, in the language when Garvin did his field work.

representations. The principal component of that abstractness is the existence of some exceptions to these rules, even though these rules are regular, productive, and are phonetically conditioned.<sup>4</sup>

One thing about the mid-level rules as a group is that much of the evidence for rule ordering in Kutenai involves the need to order Penultimate Stress Assignment before other rules, especially the rules of laryngeal deletion, which in turn need to be ordered before certain other rules. As a group then, the rules of mid-level phonology crucially have to be ordered so as to apply earlier in derivations than the bulk of the fully categorical rules of surface phonology proper.

#### **Mid-Level Rules and Language Interference Phenomena.**

The rules of Kutenai surface phonology proper are typically reflected in language interference phenomena.<sup>5</sup> One property of the rules posited here as a part of mid-level phonology is that they appear never to be applied by speakers of Kutenai when speaking English with interference from Kutenai, in other words when speaking English with a Kutenai accent. Kutenai speakers never follow the Kutenai mid-level laryngeal deletion rules to delete laryngeals or glottalize consonants while speaking in English, nor do they

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<sup>4</sup> The experience of Kutenai speakers becoming literate in their language is parallel to that described by Mithun (1979) for a group of Mohawk language teachers deciding on a practical orthography for their language by going through a process of learning and carefully considering a number of different types of phonological representation, each at a different level of abstraction. For the Mohawk language teachers, an orthography at an intermediate derivational level, not unlike the mid-phonemic representations posited here, proved to be too abstract to be practical, even though that provisional orthography involved regular, phonologically conditioned rules, such as the essentially categorical rules described here as mid-level rules. In large part, the problem was that the rules which needed to be assumed by the reader included opaque or partially opaque rules. The provisional Mohawk orthography at this level of phonological representation proved to be impractical, however, even in specific instances where rule opacity was not a factor. There, the problem was the abstractness of the phonological representations.

<sup>5</sup> See section 2.4.2.

follow the Penultimate Stress Assignment rule to stress the penultimate syllables of English words which have some other stress pattern.

### 2.5.3 The Stress Assignment Rules.

There is one strictly mid-level stress assignment rule, Penultimate Stress Assignment. It is responsible for full (phrasal) stress on the penultimate phonemic vowel (or on the only phonemic vowel) of every phrase. This same rule is also responsible for instances of word stress, not as strong as full phrasal stress, which occur on the penultimate phonemic vowel (or on the only phonemic vowel) of individual words in a phrase, at least where there is no conflict with full phrasal stress. There is also some evidence for a rule of Rhythmical Stress Assignment which assigns still weaker instances of stress to every second syllable of a phrase, starting with the penultimate syllable of the phrase, counting back every other syllable to the beginning of the phrase.

Derivation SAR.1, below, illustrates the three kinds of stress assignment, word stress, phrasal stress, rhythmical stress, which are shown here as applying in a step by step manner and depicted cumulatively in a surface phonemic representation. Line (c) is a regularized phonetic representation, representing nature careful speech. Lines (d) through (g) are all generically surface phonemic representations. This example is quoted from Garvin (1948a), and a special line in the derivation (b) is included in order to have a phonetic transcription closely following the one offered by Garvin. Garvin recognizes only two degrees of stress: primary stress, and secondary stress. What is missing in Garvin's analysis is word stress and the recognition that some of the elements described by Garvin as prefixes (on verbal stems) are derived adverbs and adverbial particles which have the status of words. The example here is offered to demonstrate that the facts of Kutenai stress assignment as they are reported by Garvin are in line with the facts as reported here, except that three degrees, or at least types, of stress are distinguished here.

Instances of full phrasal stress and instances of Garvin's primary stress are marked here with an acute accent. Instances of word stress and instances of Garvin's secondary stress are both marked with a grave accent. Instances of rhythmical stress are marked with a vertical accent. Rhythmical stresses are marked with a grave accent in the transcriptions here which are modeled closely on those of Garvin (1948a) in order to faithfully reproduce the way that Garvin marks stress, with his system of only two accent marks.<sup>6</sup>

Derivation SAR.1 (an example adapted from Garvin (1948a), p.37).

- (a) niʔs ʔa:kik†unamis 'the village, the town (obviative)'.  
 (b) [nìs a:kìk†uná:mí:s] (phonetic transcription closely following Garvin)  
 (c) [nìʔs ʔa:kìk†uná:mí:s] (natural careful speech)  
 (d) /nìʔs ʔa:kìk†unámis/ (all stresses marked, cumulatively)  
 (e) /nìʔs ʔa:kìk†unámis/ (rhythmical stresses assigned)  
 (f) /niʔs ʔa:kik†unámis/ (full phrasal stress assigned)  
 (g) /nìʔs ʔa:kik†unàmis/ (word stresses assigned)  
 (h) /niʔ-s ʔa:k-i-k†u?-n-am-is/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 the-S3 NSB-Bf-village-NC-INH-S3

Derivation SAR.1, above, is repeated below in a simplified form to the right of derivation SAR.2. There is a contrast between the two examples in the placement of rhythmical stress and in the place of full phrasal stress, because of a different syllable count. In deri-

<sup>6</sup> The presentation of the derivations in this section on stress assignment is done with transcriptional symbols which can be incorporated into phonological representations. A more inciteful description of stress assignment in Kutenai would appear to be possible with the straight cumulative marking of stresses with a single symbol to indicate stress, such as the use of a letter x over each syllable, and the careful description of the structure of each syllable, as in the Metrical Phonology literature, for example Halle and Vergnaud (1987) and Hogg and McCully (1987). Pursuing such a simpler and more incitefull approach is beyond the scope of this description of the language.

vation SAR.2, the nominal phrase is grammatically primary third person (i.e. proximate), while the nominal phrase in SAR.1 is marked twice as grammatically Subsidiary Third Person (i.e. as obviative) by the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/~/-is/. The Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ has the allophone /-is/ after certain grammatical suffixes, including the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/.<sup>7</sup>

## Derivation SAR.2.

niʔs ʔa:kikʈuʔnam 'the village.  
(proximate)'.  
[nìʔ á:kikʈúʔna·m]

/niʔ ʔá:kikʈúʔnam/ (Surface Ph.)

Stress Assignment applies

(shown cumulatively in the surface phonemic transcription lines above).

/niʔ ʔa:k-i-kʈuʔ-n-am/

the NSB-Bf-village-NC-INH

## Derivation SAR.1 (simplified).

niʔs ʔa:kikʈunamis 'the village  
(obviative)'.  
[nìʔs ʔa:kikʈuná·mɪ·s]

/niʔs ʔa:kikʈunámis/ (Surface Ph.)

Stress Assignment applies

/niʔ-s ʔa:k-i-kʈuʔ-n-am-is/

the-S3 NSB-Bf-village-NC-INH-S3

Derivation SAR.3, below, illustrates a process of stress canceling using an example also offered by Garvin (1948a), one of a few examples where Garvin marks stresses. This example is one where a derived adverb fails to have noticeable word stress on its penultimate syllable, because that syllable immediately precedes the penultimate syllable of the phrase as a whole which receives full phrasal stress. The final syllable of the phrase is the

<sup>7</sup> The vowel in the allophone /-is/ of the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix is ultimately explained as a phonemic buffer vowel inserted by a rule reconstructed for an earlier state of the language. A general practice here is to depict phonemic buffer vowels as a part of the grammatical suffixes which follow them, while phonemic buffer vowels which precede lexical suffixes are depicted as separate, although meaningless, morphemes. Thus the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix is posited here as /-s/~/-is/, while the lexical suffix meaning 'village' is posited as /-kʈuʔ/, with the phonemic buffer vowel posited as a separate morpheme /-i-/.

only syllable of a verbal stem, and that syllable also fails to receive word stress because it immediately follows the syllable which has full phrasal stress. The results are the same whether this example is taken to be a phrase made up of two full words plus an initial Subordinate Marker, or if the example is taken to be a single word, which just happens to be derived from a two word verbal phrase. There is nothing about the stress pattern of this example which would be different if it were simply a subordinate form of the verbal stem combined with a modifying adverb.

Derivation SAR.3 (In part following an example from Garvin (1948a), p.37).

kqaqana?+kqa·φ 'automobile'.

[kqàqaná·?+kqa·φ] (stresses as written by Garvin)

[kqàqaná·?+kqa·φ] (phonetic representation posited here)

/k<sub>u</sub>qàqaná?+kqa·φ/ (stresses after stress canceling)

Stress Canceling applies.

/k<sub>u</sub>qàqàná?+kqà·φ/ (all stresses marked as assigned by the rules posited here)

/k<sub>u</sub>qàqaná?+kqa·φ/ (rhythmical stresses, assigned)

/k<sub>u</sub>qaqaná?+kqa·φ/ (full phrasal stress, as assigned by the rule posited here)

/k<sub>u</sub>qaqàna?+kqà·φ/ (word stresses, as assigned by the rule posited here)

/k<sub>u</sub>qa-qa-na-?+kqa·φ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

SM<sub>u</sub>be.thus-STV-go-ADV<sub>u</sub> do/be-travel

Derivation SAR.4, below, shows a syllable which would receive rhythmical stress, but does not have noticeable stress, because that syllable is adjacent to a syllable which receives word stress, as the penultimate syllable of a derived adverb. The third syllable, counting back from the full phrasal stress, therefore receives what can be perceived as secondary stress, with the intervening would-be rhythmical stress not realized phonetically.



## Derivation SAR.4.

?At tʃinaʔ ?anaxi. 'He used to go out to hunt.' RMc.SC.2.

[ ?àt tʃinaʔ ?anáxe· ] (stresses after stress canceling)

**Stress Canceling applies.**

/ ?àt tʃinaʔ ?anáxi / (all stresses marked as would be assigned by rules)

/ ?at<sub>∪</sub> tʃi-na-ʔ<sub>∪</sub> ?a-na-x<sub>∪</sub>i / (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

IMpt<sub>∪</sub> INCEP-go-ADV<sub>∪</sub> out-go-RLG<sub>∪</sub>IND

Derivations SAR.5 and SAR.6 are adapted from Garvin (1948a, p.38) and are the two examples which Garvin gives specifically as examples of what he calls 'distinctive secondary stress'. These instances of stress are predictable in terms of the rules mentioned here, because proclitic pronouns, proclitic particles, and derived adverbs are recognized here as words, rather than seen as prefixes which is how they are presented by Garvin and also in the earlier work of Boas. In derivation SAR.5, below, the one supposedly distinctive secondary stress posited in the transcription by Garvin is at least more prominent than any rhythmical stress which might be phonetically realized between it and the instance of full phrasal stress which occurs four syllables later. On the basis of at least this example, Garvin says specifically: "Syllables between the syllable bearing distinctive secondary stress and the primarily stressed syllable are unstressed". The fact that the vowel in the adverb /siʔ<sub>∪</sub>/ shows no signs of having secondary stress in the transcription from Garvin may have something to do with the tendency of that vowel to delete altogether.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See section 2.3.6, rule (4) Contraction of the Progressive Adverb /siʔ<sub>∪</sub>/ to /sʔ<sub>∪</sub>/.

**Derivation SAR.5** (adapted from Garvin 1948a).

kɕxaʈ siʈ qa ʔuqunanikits 'they who are not going to do right by him'.  
 [kʈsɕaʈsɪʈqàʔuqunaní·kɪ·ts] (incl. 'distinctive secondary stress' of Garvin)  
 [kʈsɕàʈsɪʈqàʔuqunaní·kɪ·ts] (including all stresses marked by Garvin)  
 [kʈsɕàʈsìʈqàʔuqúnaní·kɪ·ts] (regularized phonetic representation)  
 /k.ɕxàʈ. sɪʈ. qà. ʔuqúnaníkɪts/ (Surface Phonemic)  
 /k.ɕxa-ʔʈ. s-iʔʈ. qa. ʔuqu-na-nikit-s/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 SM,FUT-ADV. CON-ADV. NEG. inside-go-event-S3

Derivation SAR.6, also from Garvin, is a bit more straightforward. Here, the second vowel of the adverb /ʔɪsniʔʈ/ would receive some stress by the Rhythmical Stress Assignment rule, but the vowel in question is unstressed because it is adjacent to a syllable which receives a stronger stress through the assignment of word stress.

**Derivation SAR.6** (adapted from Garvin 1948a).

huɕ ʔɪsniʈ qa·nqamik 'I'll sit there myself.'  
 [huts ʔɪsniʈ qa·nqá·mɪ·k] (the one 'distinctive secondary stress' of Garvin)  
 [huts ʔɪsniʈ qa·nqá·mɪ·k] (all secondary stresses marked by Garvin)  
 [huts ʔɪsniʈ qa·nqá·mɪ·k] (regularized phonetic representation)  
 /hù.ɕ. ʔɪsniʈ qa·nqámik/ (stresses after stress canceling)  
 /hù.ɕ. ʔɪsniʈ qa·nqámik/ (stresses as assigned, before stress canceling)  
 /hu. ɕ. ʔɪsn-iʔʈ. qa-ha-nqa-m-ik/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 1CP. Fpt. belong.to-ADV. be.thus-have-sit-ASC-REFLX

### Evidence for Entirely Unstressed Vowels.

There is not a great deal of difference phonetically between the stresses assigned by the Rhythmical Stress Assignment rule and the complete absence of stress. Nonetheless, some vowels actually stand out as examples of entirely unstressed vowels. These are underlying phonemic vowels which when completely unstressed are commonly interpreted by transcribers (native speaker transcribers and the author alike) as being epenthetic. In other words, these vowels are interpreted as being the absence of a surface phonemic vowel. What happens is that the syllable /kin/, when entirely unstressed, is phonetically [k<sup>ɪ</sup>n] with a particularly short vowel, using a special raised vowel symbol to emphasize the shortness of the vowel. This can be interpreted as being [k<sup>ə</sup>n] with a short schwa from the phonemic sequence /kn/. As a cluster of an obstruent followed by a nasal, this requires application of the Resonant Syllabicization rule to be realized variously as: [k<sup>ɪ</sup>n̩], [k<sup>ə</sup>n̩], or [k<sup>ə</sup>n].

Provisions are made here for marking entirely unstressed vowels with the breve symbol [v̆], so that /k<sup>v̆</sup>n/ can be posited in surface phonemic representations for what is realized phonetically as [k<sup>ɪ</sup>n]. Line 15 of the Short Coyote Text, which appears below as derivation SAR.11, has an example of what may have begun as an entirely unstressed phonemic vowel which was then reinterpreted as an epenthetic vowel. The most reduced allomorph of the instrumental lexical suffix /-iki/~/-ki/~/-k-/ 'by foot' only occurs before a nasal where an underlying phonemic vowel /i/ would be subject to reinterpretation as an epenthetic vowel. There are also examples involving a similar, but distinct lexical suffix, the instrumental lexical suffix /-kin/~/-kn/ 'by hand', which is assumed here to have a surface phonemic allomorph /-kn/, but only as a product of the reanalysis of a phonemic vowel as an epenthetic vowel.

**Derivation SAR.11.**

RMc-SC.15

Qanamakniɬik

^ unstressed vowel reanalyzed as an epenthetic vowel.

[qɑnǎmɑkɪnɪɬɪk]

/qɑnǎmɑkɪnɪɬɪk/ (Hypothetical Surface Phonemic Transcription,  
with all stresses marked)**Stress Assignment applies.**

/qɑ-nɑ-mɑ-kɪ-n-ɪɬ-ɪk/ (Mid-Level Phonemic transcription)

be.thus-go-road-by.foot-NC-DI-REFLX

'She had a trail (from her many trips).'

### 2.5.4 Glottalization.

#### Mid-Level Rule (3): The Glottalization Rule.

There are two rather different kinds of glottalized consonants in Kutenai, from a phonetic standpoint. There are ejectives and there are glottalized resonants. Moreover, the glottalized resonants have rather different realizations depending on their environment.<sup>9</sup>

It is necessary to invoke the notion of syllable structure to describe the phonetics of glottalized resonants in Kutenai and to specify the environments which produce glottalized resonants and ejectives. There are three distinct segmental situations which produce glottalization. Nonetheless, one can say that there is a single rule of glottalization in Kutenai.

One situation for glottalization in Kutenai is where, within a phrase, a stop consonant other than glottal stop, either /p/, /t/, /tʃ/, /k/, or /q/, is followed by a glottal stop /Stop + ?/. The result is always an ejective. There is the closely parallel situation where a syllable-initial sequence of a resonant followed by a glottal stop /R + ?/ is realized as a glottalized resonant.<sup>10</sup> A third situation which produces glottalization is where a syllable-final sequence of a glottal stop followed by a resonant /? + R/ is realized as a glottalized resonant. This is the mirror image of the syllable-initial condition for glottalized resonants, not only in terms of underlying forms, but also in terms of the phonetic results. On the other hand, the symmetry of the syllable-final and syllable-initial conditions which produce glottalized resonants is not matched with the stop consonants /p/, /t/, /tʃ/, /k/, or /q/ in combination with glottal stop. Where a glottal stop is followed by a stop consonant (including glottal stop) /? + Stop/ the result is never an ejective. The three conditions where glottalization occurs in Kutenai and the mathematically possible fourth condition where it does not occur are summarized in the following chart.

<sup>9</sup> See section 2.2.5, which deals with the phonetics of glottalized resonants.

<sup>10</sup> All examples of syllable-initial glottalized resonants involve the Predicate Marker /n̥/ procliticized to a following glottal stop-initial verbal stem or derived adverb.

Stop	+ Glottal Stop	→ Ejective.
Resonant	+ Glottal Stop	→ Syllable-Initial Glottalized Resonant.
Glottal Stop	+ Stop	The Consonants Remain Unchanged.
Glottal Stop	+ Resonant	→ Syllable-Final Glottalized Resonant.

One general assumption here is that glottalized consonants in Kutenai, of either kind, ejectives and glottalized resonants alike, are unit phonemes whenever they are within morphemes. It is assumed that the glottalization rule is only responsible for those surface phonemic glottalized consonants in Kutenai which are the result of the combining of an underlying glottal stop with another stop consonant across a morpheme boundary /-/ or across a cliticization boundary /<sub>o</sub>/.<sup>11</sup>

One complication in assuming that all intramorphemic glottalized resonants in Kutenai are unit phonemes is the fact that the glottalization of intramorphemic glottalized resonants in Kutenai is subject to deletion in certain environments, in accordance with the Glottal Stop Deletion rule.<sup>12</sup> Glottalized resonants, in any case, whether intramorphemic or otherwise, are phonetically clusters which involve the simultaneous articulation of a glottal stop and a resonant, along with laryngealization extending through some part of the articulation of the resonant.<sup>13</sup> In this matter, the Glottal Stop Deletion rule is evidently quite literally phonetically motivated, being sensitive to the phonetic reality of the glottalized

<sup>11</sup> One positive bit of evidence that there are intramorphemic ejectives as unit phonemes in Kutenai is provided diachronically by the fact that intramorphemic glottalized consonants do not pattern as clusters in the rule reconstructable for an earlier state of the language which inserts phonemic buffer vowels to break up clusters of three consonants in a row. This is, however, a rule of an earlier state of the language, and what was true in an earlier state of the language need not necessarily be true for the present state of the language.

<sup>12</sup> Cases where intramorphemic glottalized resonants lose their glottalization in accordance with the Glottal Stop Deletion rule include the verbal stem /<sup>h</sup>qum<sup>h</sup>ni<sup>h</sup>/ 'to sleep', and the lexical suffixes /-<sup>h</sup>um<sup>h</sup>/ 'footwear; moccasin, shoe', and /-<sup>h</sup>am<sup>h</sup>/ 'head'.

<sup>13</sup> Which part of a glottalized nasal is laryngealized is dependent on the location of the glottalized nasal in the syllable which the glottalized nasal is a part of. See section 2.2.5.

resonants in the language, which are phonetically clusters of stops and resonants, even if intramorphemic glottalized resonants are, at the same time, unit phonemes. In contrast, but not in conflict with this, there is the fact that an underlying glottal stop which has combined with a stop consonant to form a surface phonemic ejective by the Glottalization rule is, in no case, subject to deletion by the Glottal Stop Deletion rule.

### (3.1) The Syllable-Initial Condition for Glottalized Consonants.

Examples of the application of the Glottalization rule to produce ejectives are plentiful, even if one insists that intramorphemic ejectives in Kutenai are all underlyingly unit phonemes and are not products of the Glottalization rule. Any instance of an underlying sequence of a stop consonant followed immediately by a glottal stop will be realized as an ejective, with the proviso, however, that if the two segments are in different syllables the Glottalization rule will not apply. This becomes a matter of speech style, because evidently syllable structure in Kutenai in certain environments varies with different speech styles. Where the dental affricate is involved, the glottalization may be phonetically less robust in certain speech styles, suggesting that syllable structure may possibly vary by degrees in different speech styles.

Every Kutenai verbal stem which begins with a glottal stop has a subordinate form, or k-form, which begins with a velar ejective [k̟]. K-forms are formed with the Subordinate Marker /k̟/ which is either directly preposed to a verbal stem, or to a derived adverb (necessarily preverbal), or the Subordinate Marker is preposed to a preverbal clitic pronoun. In the case of k-forms, the Glottalization rule applies across a cliticization boundary, rather than applying across just a morpheme boundary.

Derivation SIC.1, below, illustrates a k-form, where the rule applies across a cliticization boundary.

**Derivation SIC.1.**

kʰiʔtkin ? 'Did he/she/it/they make it/them/her/him?', 'that he/she/it/they made  
it/them/her/him?'

[kʰiʔtki:n ?] (with interrogative intonation, to make the form interrogative)

/kʰiʔtkin/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)

/kʰiʔt-kin/ (Mid-Level phonemic Representation)

SM<sub>o</sub>Become-by.hand

Derivation SIC.2, below, illustrates the application of the Glottalization rule across just a morpheme boundary. Derivation SIC.3 is a companion to derivation SIC.2, to show that the unsuffixed form of the word in derivation SIC.2 does not end with an ejective to begin with.

**Derivation SIC.2 (FW-8.33, tape 19.42-46).**

naʔhiʔkis 'his/her/its basket, their basket'

[naʔhiʔkis]

/naʔhiʔkis/ ←(Surface Ph. Representation)→

/naʔhik-ʔis/ ←(Mid-Level Ph. Representation)→

basket-3POS

**Derivation SIC.3.**

naʔhiʔkis 'basket'

[náʔhik]

/náʔhik/

/naʔhik/

basket

There is another Proclitic Particle in Kutenai which also produces examples of ejectives by the Glottalization rule. This is the Future Particle /ʔʰ/. The phonetic results are less clear cut with this particle, for two reasons. The dental affricate ejective [tʰʰ] is not as distinct phonetically from its non-ejective counterpart, the plain dental affricate [tʰ], as the velar ejective [kʰ] is from its non-ejective counterpart, the plain velar stop [k]. On top of that, there is the fact that many instances of the Future Particle /ʔʰ/ are encliticized on to a



preceding proclitic pronoun, so as to form a syllable with that pronoun. The Future Particle /ɸ̥/ may form an ejective with any following glottal stop, but apparently the ejective quality of the resulting phonetic segment will be less robust, the farther away the segment is from any following stressed vowel. Examples presented below, in derivations SIC.4, SIC.5, and SIC.6 are from the Fish Lake Text. The first two examples, in derivations SIC.4 and SIC.5, each have a fairly clear instance of a dental affricate ejective, as they are pronounced by MP in the tape recorded text. The third example, in derivation SIC.6 has a dental affricate which is not clearly an ejective, as it was pronounced by MP in her telling of the text. In the orthographic versions of the surface phonemic representations in SIC.4 and SIC.5, a glottalization symbol is posited, but not directly over the affricate. The dental affricates in all three examples were not ejectives when spoken by FW in his slower, more careful pronunciation of the clause when he helped the author transcribe the text.

## Derivation SIC.4.

MP-FL.136, MP/FW-8.168

ku<sub>u</sub>ɸ̥ʷupxamiɬ 'I was going to see'.

[kùtʰupxámɪɬ]

/kù<sub>u</sub>ɸ̥ʷupxámɪɬ/

(Surface Phonemic Representation)

/k<sub>u</sub>h<sub>u</sub>ɸ̥ʷʔupxa-m-iɬ/

(Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

SM<sub>u</sub>1CP<sub>u</sub> Fpt<sub>u</sub> see/know-ASC-DI

## Derivation SIC.5.

MP-FL.91. MP/FW-8.155

kaʔ ku ɸ̥ʷaqaɬ hàɬuqɬawut 'how I was going to fish in such a way '

[kàʔkùtʰàqɑɬhàɬuqɬáwot]

/kàʔ<sub>u</sub> kù<sub>u</sub>ɸ̥ʷʔàqaɬ hàɬuqɬáwut/

←(Surface Phonemic Representation)

/kaʔ<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub> h<sub>u</sub>ɸ̥ʷʔa·qa-ʔɬ<sub>u</sub>

hà-ɬuqɬawut/ ←(Mid-Level Ph.)

how<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub> 1CP<sub>u</sub> Fpt<sub>u</sub> IM-be.thus-ADV<sub>u</sub> have-Fish.line

## Derivation SIC.6.

MP-FL.33, MP/FW-8.138

sań huϕ ʔukʰitaʔaʔni kaʔunis 'but we'll have one pack horse.'  
 [sàń hòts ʔukʰìtaʔáʔne· kaʔú·ni·s]  
 /sàń huϕ ʔukʰìtaʔáʔni kaʔúnis/ ←(Surface Phonemic Representation)  
 /sań huϕ ʔukʰ-i-t-aʔaʔni kϕha-ʔunis/ ←(Mid-Level Ph.)  
 but 1CPϕ Fptϕ one-Bf-TVI-1PLϕIND SMϕhave-pack

**Syllable-Initial Glottalized Resonants.**

Example set SIC.7, below, shows three forms of the verbal stem /ʔin/ 'to be', where in (b) and (c) there are glottalized resonants, but in (a) there is not. In all three forms the Predicate Marker /nϕ/ directly precedes the initial glottal stop of the verbal stem. The difference lies in the matter of encliticization which is a matter of syllable structure.

## Example set SIC.7.

- (a) hun ʔini 'I am.'  
 (b) hin ńini 'you are.'  
 (c) ńini 'he/she/it is.', 'they are.'

Derivations SIC.8 and SIC.9 show in detail the forms in SIC.7 (b) and (c), respectively, where the conditions of the Glottalization rule are met and in each case a glottalized resonant is the result.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See section 2.1.11 where the point is made that particles consisting of less than a syllable will encliticize onto a preceding element in a phrase when the particle can form a syllable with that preceding element. All three forms in the paradigm in example set SIC.7 appears in analyzed format as example CL.1 in section 2.1.11.

**Derivation SIC.8.**

ńini 'he/she/it is.', 'they are.'

[ ʔńí·ne· ]

/n<sub>ɔ</sub>ʔin<sub>ɔ</sub>i/PM<sub>ɔ</sub>be<sub>ɔ</sub>IND**Derivation SIC.9.**

hin ńini 'you are.'

[ hinʔńí·ne· ]

/hin<sub>ɔ</sub> n<sub>ɔ</sub>ʔin<sub>ɔ</sub>i/2CP<sub>ɔ</sub> PM<sub>ɔ</sub>be<sub>ɔ</sub>IND

The phonetic transcriptions here includes the use of glottal stop as a symbol for what can be described as a simultaneous glottal stop with a nasal stop.<sup>15</sup>

**Syllable-Final Glottalized Resonants.**

Example set SFC.1, below, has three forms of a verbal stem written in surface phonemic transcription. The first form is the plain form, or ostensibly uninflected form, of the stem which does not reveal an underlying stem-final glottal stop, because the glottal stop is phrase-final. The second form of the stem is an indicative (and hence overtly inflected) form which reveals the underlying stem-final glottal stop, because what follows it is the Indicative Marker /ɔni/. The third form is a second person singular subject imperative form of the verbal stem which also reveals the underlying stem-final glottal stop, in this case, because of the presence of a following encliticized Second Person Clitic Pronoun /hin<sub>ɔ</sub>/, which, as an enclitic, has surface phonemic allomorphs /ɔin/~ɔn/. The surface allomorph /ɔn/ is called for here in the verbal form in part (c) and the allomorph /ɔn/ of the pronoun combines with the stem-final glottal stop to produce a glottalized nasal.

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<sup>15</sup> This type of transcription to capture the phonetic facts here is discussed in section 2.2.5 on the phonetics of laryngealization and glottalized resonants.

**Example Set SFC.1.**

- (a) sukaqna 'to be careful'.  
 /suʔk-a-qna-ʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 good-Bf-do-IN
- (b) sukaqnaʔni 'He/she/it/was careful, They were careful.'  
 /suʔk-a-qna-ʔni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 good-Bf-do-IN,IND
- (c) sukaqnaʔ 'Be careful!'  
 [sukáqnaʔ?]  
 /sukáqnaʔ/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)  
 /suʔk-a-qna-ʔn/<sup>16</sup> (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 good-Bf-do-IN,2CP

**2.5.5 The Laryngeal Deletion Rules.**

The two laryngeal deletion rules are largely parallel in what they accomplish, which is to delete laryngeals, but there is some difficulty in combined the two rules into a single rule, at least not without exceeding the limits of normal rule writing conventions. The principle condition for Glottal Stop Deletion, with some complications, is non-adjacency to a stressed vowel. H-Deletion also occurs away from a stressed vowel, but H-Deletion can occur after stop consonants and nasals, an environment where glottal stop combines with those consonants to produce glottalized consonants.

<sup>16</sup> The underlying representation of this form reveals that the stem-final glottal stop is actually a bilatinal stop: /suʔk-a-qna-pɰhin/

good-Bf-do-INCHOATIVE,2CP

**Mid-Level Rule (4): H-Deletion.**

Derivations HD.1 through HD.4, below, illustrate the laryngeal deletion rules generally, illustrating some environments where they do and do not apply. H-Deletion applies after a phrase-initial consonant in derivations HD.2, HD.3, and HD.4.

**Derivation HD.1.**

haqa 'for there to be (one, some)'

[há·qɑ·]

/ haqa / (Surface Phonemic)

/ ha-qa-? / (Mid-Level Phonemic)

have-STATIVE-IN

**Derivation HD.2.**

naqaʔni 'There is (one), there are (some).'

[naqá·ʔne·] ranging to: [naqá·ʔne·]

/ naqaʔni / (Surface Phonemic)

/ n<sub>h</sub>ha-qa-ʔni / (Mid-Level Phonemic)

PM<sub>h</sub>have-STV-IN<sub>IND</sub>

**Derivation HD.3.**

naqapsi 'There is (one),  
there are (some).'

[naqá·psj·] ranging to: [naqá·psj·]

/ naqapsi / (Surface Ph.)

/ n<sub>h</sub>ha-qa-p-s<sub>h</sub>i / (Mid-Level Ph.)

PM<sub>h</sub>have-STV-IN-S3<sub>IND</sub>

**Derivation HD.4.**

kaqa 'that there is (one),  
that there are (some).'

[ká·qɑ·] ranging to: [ká·qɑ·]

/ kaqa / (Surface Phonemic)

/ k<sub>h</sub>ha-qa-? / (Mid-Level Phonemic)

SM<sub>h</sub>have-STV-IN

**H-Deletion and the Adjacency of a Stressed Vowel.**

The following sentence is from the Coyote and Cloud text which was tape recorded from Mary Paul, but transcribed and translated by the author with the assistance of Frank Whitehead. The process of transcribing the text with FW caused some underlying h's to surface in phonetic transcriptions.

## Derivation HD.5.

## MP-CC.1-2

Qa·k†unamniꞑ<sup>17</sup>

/qa-ha-k†u?-n-amꞑni ꞑꞑ/

be.thus-have-village-NC-INHꞑIND ꞑand

VbI (intrans: P3subj).....ꞑPrt ꞑConj

VP (Prox Indef.Hum.3rd subject)

Conjoined Indicative Clause.....

They were camped and (See Clause 4, further below in Sentence 3)

## (1) There was a village and

Qa·k†una†ka?ni<sup>18</sup> skinkuꞑ.

/qa-ha-k†u?-n-a†-ka?ꞑni skinkuꞑ/

be.thus-have-village-ASC-COPART-INHꞑIND coyote

VbI (intrans: P3subj, s3 Com.obj)ꞑPrt Nom (P3)...

VP (Prox 3rd subj, Obv Com.obj)..... NP (Prox)..

Coordinate Indicative Clause.....

## (2) (there was) the village campsite of Coyote (more lit. He had a camp with them)

<sup>17</sup>. Originally transcribed as: [qak†unamni], a transcription in which vowel length was overlooked, but [qahak] is written in small letters above the transcription. Evidently, in order to correct the lack of vowel length in the author's pronunciation when reading the first transcription back, FW offered a pronunciation of [qahak†uná:mne·], representative of an earlier generation of Upper Kutenai speakers. This is like the Conservative Lower Kutenai pronunciation of such words which can be found in the texts of the late Moses Joseph of Bonners Ferry, Idaho.

<sup>18</sup>. [qa:a..] and [qa<sup>h</sup>a..] were transcribed.

**Mid-Level Rule (5): Glottal Stop Deletion.**

Glottal stops in Kutenai are deleted immediately after another glottal stop and immediately after a vowel in the same phrase which is not fully stressed, except where glottal stops precede *h*, and except where the not fully stressed vowel is before a phrase-final consonant. These conditions mean that underlying glottal stops in Kutenai are deleted more commonly than not. There are some further qualifying conditions on the rule and also some outright exceptions to this rule, at least in the speech of those born around or before 1900. The exceptions provide evidence that the rule has been in the process of becoming more general in the recent history of the language.

Looking at the matter of where glottal stops are not deleted in Kutenai, one can note that glottal stops which are phrase-initial are never after a fully stressed vowel in the same phrase and are therefore not deleted. In order for a glottal stop to be phrase-initial it must be word-initial, but not all word-initial glottal stops are phrase-initial. The fact that glottal stops are deleted where they follow a vowel which is not fully stressed means that glottal stops are not deleted immediately after a fully stressed vowel. Glottal Stops are also not deleted where they precede a phrase-final consonant, except that some speakers have a further condition that glottal stop is deleted before a phrase-final consonant when there is a glottal stop realized phonetically in a preceding syllable.

**Glottal Stop Deletion and the Adjacency of a Fully Stressed Vowel.**

The most common environment in which glottal stop is deleted is in word-final position, but this is a matter of stress, as can be seen in the rare cases where the last vowel of a Kutenai word happens to be a stressed vowel and that vowel is followed by a glottal stop. The most straightforward case of this is provided by the word /*swaʔ*/ 'cougar', phonetically [*swáʔ*], where an underlying word-final glottal stop immediately follows a vowel which is fully stressed for the simple reason that it is the only vowel of the word and the

word forms a nominal phrase on its own.

For nearly all nominal stems in the language, word-final instances of glottal stop are deleted when they are final in a nominal phrase. For the monosyllabic nominal stem /swaʔ/ 'cougar' and the nominal stem /ɕʔayʔ/ or /ɕʔayʔ/ 'sparrow-like bird', there is no obligatory possessive affixation.<sup>19</sup> For most other monosyllabic nominal stems in the language which end with an underlying glottal stop, there is generally possessive affixation, including the use of a possessive clitic, the first person possessive clitic /ka<sub>u</sub>/ ~/kan<sub>u</sub>/. This possessive clitic and the various word suffixes with possessive function, all consist of a full syllable. The possessive affixation and cliticization, therefore, prevent most nominal stems in Kutenai from appearing as monosyllabic nominal phrases where a word-final glottal stop immediately follows a fully stressed vowel. Example set GSD.1, below, shows the possessive paradigm of a monosyllabic nominal stem ending in an underlying glottal stop. The indefinite human possessed form of the stem in (a) is the normal citation form of the stem as a word.

#### Example Set GSD.1.

maʔnam 'mother', lit. 'someone (indefinite)'s mother'

/maʔ-n-am/

mother-NC-INH

ka<sub>u</sub>ma 'my mother'

/ka<sub>u</sub>maʔ/

1POS<sub>u</sub>mother

ka mana+a 'our mother'

/ka<sub>u</sub> maʔ-n-a+aʔ/

1POS<sub>u</sub> mother-NC-1PL

<sup>19</sup> The word /swaʔ/ 'cougar, mountain lion' and the word /ɕʔayʔ/, the name of a variety of sparrow or sparrow-like bird, both end in glottal stops which are phonetically realized word-finally. They are both imitative of the sounds made by the animals they name. The word /ɕʔayʔ/ may actually be the only example in the language of a surface phonemic glottalized palatal semivowel /ɕʔ/, calling for the word to be spelled /ɕʔayʔ/.



maʔnis 'your(sg) mother'

/maʔ-n-is/

mother-NC-20&amp;P

maniskiʔ 'your(pl) mother'

/maʔ-n-is-kiʔ/

mother-NC-20&amp;P-2PL

maʔis 'his/her/its/their mother'

/maʔ-ʔis/

mother-3POS

The derivations HD.1, through HD.4, above, which illustrate H-Deletion, also illustrate Glottal Stop Deletion. These derivations are reproduced below, in abbreviated form as set GSD.2. GSD.2, parts (a) and (d) are examples of the application of the Glottal Stop Deletion rule. GSD.2, part (b) demonstrates that it is a glottal stop which is deleted, while GSD.2, part (c) demonstrates that the glottal stop in question is actually underlyingly /p/.

#### Example Set GSD.2.

(a) haqa 'for there to be (one, some)'. (b) naqaʔni 'There is (one), there are (some).'

[há:qɑ:]

/ha-qa-ʔ/

have-STATIVE-IN

[naqɑ:ʔne:]

/n<sub>h</sub>ha-qa-ʔ<sub>ni</sub>/PM<sub>h</sub>have-STV-IN<sub>IND</sub>

(c) naqapsi 'There is (one),  
there are (some).'

[naqɑ:psj:]

/n<sub>h</sub>ha-qa-p-s<sub>i</sub>/PM<sub>h</sub>have-STV-IN-S3<sub>IND</sub>

(d) kaqa 'that there is (one),  
that there are (some).'

[ká:qɑ:]

/k<sub>h</sub>ha-qa-ʔ/SM<sub>h</sub>have-STV-IN

Derivational sets GSD.3 through GSD.5, below, illustrates the shifting of stress in inflectional paradigms of verbal stems and how this can affect the realization of underlying glottal stops. In the surface phonemic representations in the main body of the derivations for these examples, stress is marked, even though it conforms to the native pattern and is not written in the surface phonemic transcriptions at the head of the derivations which represent orthographic conventions.

## Derivational Set GSD.3.

FW-6.169

(a) ?itkini. 'He made it.'	(b) Kʲitkin ? 'Did he make it?'
/ʔitkini/ (Surface Ph.)	/kʲitkin ?/ (Surface Ph.)
/ʔiʔt-kin <sub>ɹ</sub> / (Mid-Level Ph.)	/k <sub>ɹ</sub> ʔiʔt-kin ?/ (Mid-Level Ph.)
Become-by.hand <sub>IND</sub>	SM <sub>IND</sub> Become-by.hand QUES

## Derivational Set GSD.4.

FW-6.155

(a) ʔakpayatapni. 'He forgot about me.'	(b) ʔakpayaʔti. 'He forgot about it.'
/ʔakpayatápni/ ←(Surface Ph.)→	/ʔakpayáʔti/
/ʔa-kpa-y-aʔt-ap <sub>ɹ</sub> ni/ ←(Mid-Level)→	/ʔa-kpa-y-aʔt <sub>ɹ</sub> i/
sever-consciousness-REFLX-CT-1SG.OBJ <sub>IND</sub>	sever-consciousness-REFLX-CT <sub>IND</sub>

## Example Set GSD.5.

FW-4.91

(a) naʔumini 'It is windy.'	(b) kaʔuʔmi ? 'Is it windy?'
[naʔumí·ni·]	[kaʔú·ʔmi·]
/naʔuʔmini/ ←(Surface Ph.)→	/kaʔuʔmi/
/n <sub>ɹ</sub> ha-ʔ-uʔmi <sub>ɹ</sub> ni/ ←(Mid-Level)→	/k <sub>ɹ</sub> haʔuʔmi/
PM <sub>IND</sub> have-carry-wind <sub>IND</sub>	SM <sub>IND</sub> have-carry-wind

Derivation GSD.6 illustrates Glottal Stop Deletion with the shifting of stress in a verbal form caused by the encliticization of the Indicative Marker and also the loss of glottal stop from word-initial position in a nominal stem when the stem is not phrase-initial.

## Derivation GSD.6.

FW-4.91

$\text{Na}\uparrow\text{umini ka}_{\downarrow}\text{a}^{\cdot}\text{kinqa}\uparrow.$

$/\text{n}_{\downarrow}\text{ha}-\uparrow-\text{umí}_{\downarrow}\text{ni ka}_{\downarrow}\text{a}^{\cdot}\text{k}-\acute{\text{i}}-\text{nqa}\uparrow/$  (Surface Phonemic)

$/\text{n}_{\downarrow}\text{ha}-\uparrow-\text{u?mi}_{\downarrow}\text{ni ka}_{\downarrow}\text{a}^{\cdot}\text{k}-\text{i}-\text{nqa}\uparrow/$  (Mid-Level Phonemic)

$\text{PM}_{\downarrow}\text{have-carry-wind}_{\downarrow}\text{IND 1POS}_{\downarrow}\text{NSB-Bf-forehead}$

Verbal Phrase..... Nominal Phrase.....

'There is a wind (on) my forehead; i.e. 'my forehead felt a wind'; figuratively: 'I didn't like what he said, I wasn't satisfied with what he said'.

Example set GSD.7 and GSD.8 illustrate how stress shifting in a verbal phrase can affect glottal stop. The forms in part (b) of each example reveal that the Adverbial Suffix  $/-i\uparrow\downarrow/\sim/-\uparrow\downarrow/$  contains an underlying glottal stop. It is necessary to find monosyllabic verbal stems in order to illustrate this. Even with monosyllabic verbal stems, only certain k-forms provide the right environment for the glottal stop not to be deleted.

## Example Set GSD.7.

FW-1.88

(a)  $\text{wasí}\uparrow\downarrow \text{waxi}.$  'He arrived early' (b)  $\text{kwasí}\uparrow\downarrow\text{wam}$  'Did he arrive early?'

$/\text{wàs}-\text{i}\uparrow\downarrow \text{wáxi}/ \leftarrow(\text{Surface})\rightarrow / \text{k}_{\downarrow}\text{wasí}\uparrow\downarrow\text{wam}/$

$/\text{was}-\text{i}\uparrow\downarrow\text{wa-x}_{\downarrow}\text{i}/ \leftarrow(\text{Mid-Level})\rightarrow / \text{k}_{\downarrow}\text{was}-\text{i}\uparrow\downarrow\text{wa}-\text{m}/$

$\text{early-ADV}_{\downarrow}\text{arrive-RLG}_{\downarrow}\text{IND}$

$\text{SM}_{\downarrow}\text{early-ADV}_{\downarrow}\text{arrive-RM}$

## Example Set GSD.8.

FW-7.54

(a) qaʔ ɸxani	'He spoke that way'	(b) kqaʔʔɸxaʔ	'Did he speak that way?'
[qɑʔ tsɣɑːneː]		[kqɑʔʔʔtsɣɑː]	
/qɑ-ʔɸ ɸxɑni/	←(Surface Ph.)→	/kɸqɑʔʔʔɸxa/	
/qa-ʔʔɸ ɸxa ni/	←(Mid-Level)→	/kɸqa-ʔʔɸ ɸxa/	
be.thus-ADVɸ speakɸIND		SMɸthus-ADVɸ speak	

Derivation GSD.9, below, is of the plain form of a nominal stem which has a number of underlying glottal stops. Body part words generally do not occur in natural speech in non-possessive forms. This stem and its possessive forms provide no direct evidence of the second glottal stop in the word. That is supplied by comparison to other stems in the language which suggest that the lexical suffix /-kʔaʔaʔkaʔ/ 'navel, belly button, umbilical cord' is really to be represented as /-kʔaʔʔaʔkaʔ/ in mid-level phonemic terms. It is a compound lexical suffix, consisting of three monomorphemic lexical suffixes.<sup>20</sup>

## Derivation GSD.9.

G&amp;M (1979)

ʔa·kʔaʔaʔka	'navel, belly button'.
[ ʔa·kʔaʔáʔka]	
/ʔa·-kʔaʔʔaʔkaʔ/	
Nominal.Stem.Base-Navel	

Derivational set GSD.10, below, is the possessive paradigm of the nominal stem /ʔa·-kʔaʔaʔkaʔ/ 'navel, belly button, umbilical cord'. The surface phonemic tran-

<sup>20</sup> The underlying form of the stem is /ʔa·-k-kʔaʔ-ʔaʔ-kaʔ /

IM-L-do/be-hole-fitted.covering-INH

descriptions of the paradigmatic forms show the underlying glottal stops of the stem alternately appearing and disappearing, as the stress shifts in the word. Glottal stop does not delete phrase-initially, even far from a stressed vowel, but it does delete in the first person possessed forms in (b) and (e) when the word-initial glottal stop is phrase-medial between two like vowels. This happens in connected speech, but not necessarily in careful speech, if the careful speech is anything less than entirely natural careful speech.

**Example Set GSD.10.**

(a) ?a·kʰaʔaka?nam 'someone's navel'.

/?a·-kʰaʔaká?-n-am/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)

/?a·-kʰaʔa?ka?-n-am/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

NSB-Navel-NC-INH

(b) ka<sub>u</sub>·kʰaʔa?ka 'my navel'. (e) ka<sub>u</sub>·kʰaʔakanaʔa 'our navels'.

/ka<sub>u</sub>·?a·-kʰaʔá?ka?/ (Surface Ph.) /ka<sub>u</sub>·?a·kʰaʔaka-n-aʔa/

/ka<sub>u</sub>·?a·-kʰaʔa?ka?/ (Mid-Level) /ka<sub>u</sub>·?a·kʰaʔa?ka?-n-aʔa?/

1POS<sub>u</sub>NSB-Navel

1POS<sub>u</sub>NSB-NC-1PL

(c) ?a·kʰaʔaka?nis 'your sg. navel'. (f) ?a·kʰaʔakaniskiʔ 'your pl. navels'.

/?a·-kʰaʔaká?-n-is/ (Surface) /?a·-kʰaʔaka-n-is-kiʔ/

/?a·-kʰaʔa?ka?-n-is/ (Mid-Level) /?a·-kʰaʔa?ka?-n-is-kiʔ/

NSB-Navel-NC-20&P

NSB-Navel-NC-20&P-2PL

(d)  $\text{ʔa} \cdot \text{k}^{\text{a}} \text{a} \text{ʔ} \text{a} \text{k} \text{a} \text{ʔ} \text{i} \text{s}$  'his/her/its/their navel'.

$/\text{ʔa} \cdot \text{k}^{\text{a}} \text{a} \text{ʔ} \text{a} \text{k} \text{a} \text{ʔ} \text{i} \text{s}/$  (Surface Phonemic Representation)

$/\text{ʔa} \cdot \text{k}^{\text{a}} \text{a} \text{ʔ} \text{a} \text{ʔ} \text{a} \text{k} \text{a} \text{ʔ} \text{i} \text{s}/$  (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

NSB-Navel-3POS

For nominal stems which begin with  $/\text{ʔi}/$  or  $/\text{ʔu}/$ , and even for some which begin with  $/\text{ʔa}/$ , the initial glottal stop of the stem does not delete after the productive allomorph  $/\text{k} \text{a}_{\text{v}}/$  of the First Person Possessive Clitic Pronoun  $/\text{k} \text{a}_{\text{v}}/ \sim / \text{k} \text{a} \text{n}_{\text{v}}/$  and the vowels do not combine into a single, extra long, surface phonemic vowel in connected speech, as it does with nominal stems which begins with surface forms of one of the Nominal Stem Bases  $/\text{ʔa} \cdot \text{--}/ \sim / \text{ʔa} \cdot \text{k} \text{--}/$ , or  $/\text{ʔa} \cdot \text{qa}/$ .

Example Set GSD.11.

FW-8.33, also on tape 19.42-46.

Possessive Form.

$\text{k} \text{a} \text{ ʔ} \text{a} \text{w} \text{u} \text{m} \text{u}$  'my medicine'

$[\text{k} \text{a} \text{ ʔ} \text{a} \text{w} \acute{\text{u}} \text{m} \text{o}]$

Example Sentence Illustrating a Stem-Final Glottal Stop:

$\text{w} \text{u} \cdot \text{k} \text{a} \text{i} \text{ ʔ} \text{a} \text{w} \text{u} \text{m} \text{u} \text{ʔ} \text{s}$ . 'He saw the medicine'

$[\text{w} \text{u} \cdot \text{k} \acute{\text{a}} \text{i} \text{ ʔ} \text{a} \text{w} \acute{\text{u}} \text{m} \text{o} \text{ʔ} \text{s}]$

$/\text{w} \text{u} \cdot \text{k} \text{a} \text{t}_{\text{v}} \text{i} \text{ ʔ} \text{a} \text{w} \text{u} \text{m} \text{u} \text{ʔ} \text{-s}/$

See<sub>v</sub>IND medicine-S3

Example GSD.12.

FW-8.33, also on tape 19.42-46.

$\text{k} \text{a} \text{ ʔ} \text{i} \text{y} \text{a} \text{m} \text{u}$  'my cattle, game animal (with like-deer double hooves)'

$[\text{k} \text{a} \text{ ʔ} \text{i} \text{y} \acute{\text{a}} \text{m} \text{u}]$

**An Example Sentence Illustrating a Stem-Final Glottal Stop:**

Wu:kati ?iyamu?s

[wo:káte ?iyámu?s]

/wu:kat<sub>ɨ</sub>i ?iyamu?-s/See<sub>J</sub>IND game.animal-S3

'He saw the (double hooved) game animal, cattle'

**Example GSD.13.**

FW-8.42.

ka ?iɬwaʔna 'my hired man, servant'

[ka ?iɬ<sup>u</sup>waʔna] not \*[ka iɬ<sup>u</sup>waʔna]**Example Sentence.**

?Ini ?alik ka ?iɬwaʔna

[?íne ?álik ka ?iɬ<sup>u</sup>waʔna]/?i-n<sub>ɨ</sub>i ?alik ka<sub>ɨ</sub> ?iɬwaʔna?/be-NC<sub>J</sub>IND Alec 1POS<sub>J</sub>hired.man/servant

'Alec is my hired man, servant'

**Example Sentence Illustrating a Stem-Final Glottal Stop:**

Wu:kati ?iɬwaʔna?s.

[wo:káte ?iɬ<sup>u</sup>waʔna?s]/wu:kat<sub>ɨ</sub>i ?iɬwaʔna?-s/See<sub>J</sub>IND hired.man/servant-S3

'He saw the hired man, servant.'

**Glottal Stop Non-Deletion before a Phrase-Final Consonant.**

The following examples from the Fish Lake Text illustrate an environment where glottal stop does not deleted, even though it immediately follows an unstressed vowel. The glottal

stop which does not delete in example GSD.14, and the second glottal stop which does not delete in GSD.15 fail to be deleted because of a following phrase-final consonant. It is not enough for the following consonant to be syllable-final, but this may have been a sufficient condition in a very recent, earlier state of the language.<sup>21</sup>

**Example GSD.14.**

MP-FL.34

"tax qapsin si+xu?ɬ" "wonder what we'll be packing"  
 /tax qapsin s-i-ɬ-xu-?-ɬ/  
 just what CON-Bf-carry-by.body-GSVI-PASV  
 just what is to be backpacked by someone/ones

**Example GSD.15.**

MP-FL.143

taxas kɬxa?ɬsu?ks 'then (that) it will be good.'  
 /taxa-s kɬxa-?ɬsu?ks/  
 then-S3 SM,FUT-ADV good-S3

**Deletion of Glottal Stop after a Syllable Containing Glottal Stop.**

Glottal stop is not deleted immediately before a phrase-final consonant, except for EG and others from Tobacco Plains who delete glottal stop in this environment, whenever there is a glottal stop in the preceding syllable. In example set GSD.16, the pronunciation of EG and others from Tobacco Plains is shown.

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<sup>21</sup> See the exception to the Glottal Stop Deletion rule in example GSD.25.



## Example Set GSD.16.

EG

(a) qaʔ ?ikni	'That's the way he ate.'	(b) kqaʔ?ik ?	'Is that the way he ate?'
[qàʔ ?íkɲe]		[kqáʔ?ik]	
/qa-ʔ <sub>ɔ</sub>	?ik <sub>ɔ</sub> ni/ (Surface Ph.)	/k <sub>ɔ</sub> qaʔ <sub>ɔ</sub>	?ik/
/qa-ʔʔ <sub>ɔ</sub>	?ik <sub>ɔ</sub> ni/ (Mid-Level Ph.)	/k <sub>ɔ</sub> qa-ʔʔ <sub>ɔ</sub>	?ik/
be.thus-ADV <sub>ɔ</sub>	eat <sub>ɔ</sub> IND	SM <sub>ɔ</sub> be.thus-ADV <sub>ɔ</sub>	eat

Example set GSD.17 shows the pronunciation of FW and MaM from St Mary's where glottal stop is not deleted before a phrase-final consonant, even if the preceding syllable contains a glottal stop.

## Example Set GSD.17.

FW-7.54

(a) naʔti		(b) kiʔhaʔt ?	
[náʔteː]		[kíʔhaʔt]	
/n <sub>ɔ</sub> haʔt <sub>ɔ</sub> i/	(Surface Ph.)	/k <sub>ɔ</sub> hiʔ <sub>ɔ</sub> haʔt/	
/n <sub>ɔ</sub> haʔ-t <sub>ɔ</sub> i/	(Mid-Level Ph.)	/k <sub>ɔ</sub> hiʔ <sub>ɔ</sub> haʔ-t/	
PM <sub>ɔ</sub> have-TVI <sub>ɔ</sub> IND		SM <sub>ɔ</sub> Bpt <sub>ɔ</sub> have-TVI	
'He/she/it they had it/her/him/them.'		'Did he/she/it they have it/her/him/them?'	

**The Non-Deletion of Glottal Stop with Lexicalized Emphatic Stress.**

There are examples where glottal stop does not delete in a segmental environment where it would be deleted, because of stylistic stress. The stylistic stress can be lexicalized as a feature of a particular word, or the stress can be poetic, as a feature of a word in a song. The derived adverb / ?isiʔʔ<sub>ɔ</sub>/ 'very much, severely, extremely' retains its second glottal stop in segmental environments where that glottal stop would be lost, because this adverb is spoken with emphatic stress. Example set GSD.18 illustrates an instance of this.

## Example Set GSD.18.

G&amp;M (1979)

ʔisiʔɬ<sub>u</sub> adv. 'very much, severely, extremely'.

## Example Sentence.

ŋisiʔɬ ʔisiʔni ka<sub>u</sub> ʔa:kɬam<sup>ʔ</sup>. 'I have a severe headache'.

/n<sub>u</sub> ʔis-iʔɬ<sub>u</sub> ʔis-iʔ<sub>u</sub>ni ka<sub>u</sub> ʔa:kɬam<sup>ʔ</sup>/

PM<sub>u</sub> severe-ADV<sub>u</sub> severe-STV<sub>u</sub>IND 1POS<sub>u</sub> NSB-head

In certain other words containing the root /ʔis-/ 'severe', glottal stop does not delete in segmental environments where it would be expected to. There are also words based on this same root, however, where glottal stop deletes in a completely normal way. The verbal stem in example set GSD.19 is one which retains glottal stop in a glottal stop deleting segmental environment.

## Example Set GSD.19.

G&amp;M (1979)

ʔisiʔɬkini v. 'to be very difficult, something to be very hard to do or make, to be tough to handle, also: to be rough to the touch'.

## A Basic Example Sentence.

ŋisiʔɬkiniʔni. 'It is difficult'.

## A More Complex Example Sentence Illustrating the Same Verbal Stem.

ɕxaɬ ʔisiʔɬkninaɬapsi ɳuk<sup>ʔ</sup>qapi.

/ɕxa-ʔɬ ʔis-iʔ-ɬ-kin-iʔ-n-aɬ-ap-s<sub>u</sub>i n<sub>u</sub>ʔuk<sup>ʔ</sup>-qa-p-iʔ/

FUT-ADV<sub>u</sub> severe-STV-carry-by.hand-STV-ASC-COPART-HRO-S3 PM<sub>u</sub>one-STV-IN-STV

'It will be a hardship on him to be left by himself'

There is a contrast between the behavior of underlying glottal stops in the stem above and a related verbal stem, below, where the very same glottal stop deletes in the same relation to the regularly assigned phrasal stress in the word.

Example Set GSD.20.

ʔisiʔqa v. 'to be sharp'.

Example Sentence.

ŋisiqaʔni ka<sub>v</sub>akɕamaɬ 'my knife is sharp'.

/n<sub>v</sub> ʔis-iʔ-qa-ʔ<sub>v</sub>ni ka<sub>v</sub> ʔakɕamaɬ/

PM<sub>v</sub> severe-STV-STV-IN<sub>v</sub>IND 1POS<sub>v</sub> knife

### The Non-Deletion of Glottal Stop with Poetic Stress in a Song.

The example offered here is categorized as rhetorical stress in that it is not a part of normal speech, if not actually marginal to the sound system of the language. It is perhaps the most telling example of a stress related example of the non-deletion of glottal stop. Stress occurs adjacent to a word-final glottal stop in a phrase which is said to be the song sung by robins. When this phrase is sung in imitation of the robin's song, it has stress on the final syllable of a native Kutenai word of two syllables which ends in a word-final glottal stop. In normal speech, the word-final glottal stop is phonetically absent, being deleted by the Glottal Stop Deletion rule. The example is given in derivation GSD.21, which is followed by derivation GSD.22 which shows the word in question in normal speech where the glottal stop at the end of the word is deleted.

## Derivation GSD.21.

FW-5.90, Tape 11. 145-167.

ʔUkanuktiɫam, ɕiyaʔ, ɕiyaʔ

[ ʔukanuktíɫam, tsiyáʔ, tsiyáʔ ]

/ʔu-ka-nukt-íɫ-am, ɕiyáʔ, ɕiyáʔ / (Surface Ph.)

/ʔu-ka-nukt-iɫ-am, ɕiyaʔ, ɕiyaʔ/ (Mid-Level Ph.)

down-come-urinate-DI-REFL.IMV little.sister little.sister

**"pee down this way, little sister, little sister!"**

## Derivation GSD.22.

ka ɕiya 'my little sister'

[ katsí·yɑ· ]

/ka<sub>ɹ</sub> ɕíya/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)/ka<sub>ɹ</sub> ɕiyaʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

1POS little.sister

**Glottal Stop Deletion after the Plural Particle.**

Where glottal stop deletes after the Plural Particle /ʔaɫ<sub>ɹ</sub>/ the reason can be attributed to the fact that there is an unstressed vowel in an immediately preceding syllable of the same phrase. The glottal stop which deletes is not between two phonemically identical unstressed vowels, however, making this condition for glottal stop deletion slightly different from the condition affecting first person possessed nominal stems.

## Derivation GSD.23.

RMc-S.C.1

ʔaɫ<sub>ɹ</sub>a·kniʔis 'his parents'

[ ʔaɫa·kniʔi·s ]

/ʔaɫ<sub>ɹ</sub> a·kniʔis/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)

Glottal Stop Deletion applies.

/ʔaɬ ʔa·k-niŋ<sup>2</sup>-ʔis/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

PL ʔ parents -3POS

### Glottal Stop Non-Deletion after H.

Example Set GSD.24, below, is related to an example in the section above on the Glottalization Rule. The examples in (a) through (c), although not showing an actual exception to the Glottal Stop Deletion Rule, certainly complicate the rule.

Example Set GSD.24. FW-8.33, tape 19.42-46, FW-6.8

(a) naʔhiŋ <sup>2</sup> is 'his basket'	(b) naʔhiŋ <sup>2</sup> isis 'his basket'
[naʔhiŋ <sup>2</sup> is]	[naʔhiŋ <sup>2</sup> isis]
/naʔhiŋ <sup>2</sup> is/ ←(Surface Phonemic)→	/naʔhiŋ <sup>2</sup> isis/
/naʔhik-ʔis/ ←(Mid-Level Phonemic)→	/naʔhik-ʔis-is/
basket-3POS	basket-3POS-S3

(c) naʔhiknis 'your basket' FW-8.33, also on tape 19.42-46.

[naʔhiŋ<sup>2</sup>nis]

/naʔhiŋ<sup>2</sup>n-is/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)

/naʔhik-n-is/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

basket-3POS

There are a number of outright exceptions to Glottal Stop Deletion, at least from FW. These all have an apparent diachronic explanation. Apparently these words represent pronunciations remembered by FW, but originally produced by speakers of an earlier state of the language when glottal stop was not deleted before a syllable-final stop consonant other than glottal stop. An example of this is in example set GSD.25.

**An Outright Exception to Glottal Stop Deletion.**

Derivation Set GSD.25.

4.19, 12.88, 12.94, Tape 32.312.

su?kmuquwa?t v. 'to be brown colored, to be smooth furred'

[su?kmoqowa?t]

/su?k-m-u-quwa?t/

good-color-Bf-fur

Example Sentence.

FW-12.88

su?kmuquwa?ti.

'It is brown colored, smooth furred.'

Example GSD.26 is a counterexample where Glottal Stop Deletion applies in the same basic segmental environment, as in the stem in the example above, but in a word less likely to have been remembered in an archaic pronunciation and more likely to have been synthesized productively in recent times.<sup>22</sup>

Derivation GSD.26.

G&amp;M (1979)

suknikit v. 'something to turn out well, to be an enjoyable event'.

[sukŋí:kɪt]

/suk-nikit/ (Surface Phonemic)

/su?k-nikit/ (Mid-Level and Underlying Phonemic)

good-event

<sup>22</sup> One factor here on the date of origin of these stems is that lexical suffix /-nikit/ 'event' is one where a dental consonant does not delete a following /n/ by the morphologically conditioned rule of N-Deletion. The lexical suffix /-quwa?t/ 'fur' does delete a following /n/. The non-n-deleting suffixes ending in dental consonants apparently date from a time after the N-Deletion rule ceased to be productive.

**An Outright Exception to Glottal Stop Deletion.**

Example GSD.27.

FW-4.34, FW-12.88

ɕʰinaxi ʔakmaʔkanas 'He went to Big Vermilion Creek'

[tʰɪnɔːxɛː ʔakmaʔkánas]

/ɕʰi-na-xɔːi ʔakmaʔkana-s /

INCEP-go-RLGɔːIND big.vermilion.creek-S3

**2.5.6 Mid-Level Vowel Combination.****Mid-Level Rule (6): Simple Vowel Combining.**

There are two situations for the application of this rule with correspondingly different results. Double vowels produced by laryngeal deletion appear as surface phonemic long vowels. Another situation is that adjacent unlike vowels in mid-level phonemic transcriptions are realized as surface phonemic diphthongs.

**(6.1) Double Vowels as Long Monophthongs.**

Derivation SVC.1.

n̥uːni

[ n̥úːneː ]

/ n̥uːni / ←(Surface Phonemic)→ / kaːkitɬa /

/ n̥ɔːʔuhuɔːni / ←(Mid-Level Phonemic)→ / kaɔː ʔaːk-i-tɬaː /

PMɔːbe.acquainted.withɔːIND

Derivation SVC.2.

kaɔːaːkitɬa 'my house'

[ kaːkíːtɬaː ]

1POSɔː NSB-Bf-house

'He/she/they knew him/her/them,

was/were acquainted with it.'

**(6.2) Unlike Vowels Realized as Diphthongs.**

Derivation UVRD.1.

MP-FL.1

hu qawsaqaʔni na 'I was here.'

[ho qawsaqaʔne na]

/hu<sub>u</sub> qa-wsa-qa-ʔ<sub>u</sub>ni na/ ←(Surface Phonemic)

^ Vowel Combination Rule Applies

/hu<sub>u</sub> qa-uʔsa-qa-ʔ<sub>u</sub>ni na/ ←(Mid-Level Phonemic)1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-Be.at-STV-IN<sub>u</sub>IND here

This rule which takes underlying unlike vowels and realizes them as diphthongs stands in contrast to the Open-O Rule, a rule of monophthongization posited in deep phonology, where the sequence: /..a<sub>u</sub>hu<sub>u</sub>/ is realized as [ɔː], or [oː] after H-Deletion and across a cliticization boundary. Presumably, the Open-O Rule is morphologically conditioned. Here, where the result is a diphthong, there is a similar sequence, which is: /..a<sub>u</sub>hu-/ , but it is realized as surface phonemic /aw/. The example in UVRD.2 can be seen as an example of lexicalization with compounding, with the normally free standing word /na/ 'this' procliticized to the verbal stem.

Derivation UVRD.2.

FW-2.85, 2.86

nausanmiyitki 'today'

[naosanmiyítki]

/nausanmiyitki/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)

/na<sub>u</sub>hu-uʔsa-nmiyit<sub>u</sub>ki/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)this<sub>u</sub>finish-Be.at-Day<sub>u</sub>LOC



### 2.5.7 Dissimilation.

As already discussed above, the following rule is posited as a mid-level phonological rule, as much by default, as because it fulfills all the requirements of any particular typology of phonological rules to be a mid-level rule. Although the Dissimilation rule, itself, apparently does not have exceptions, there are, nonetheless, alternate pronunciations of the stems which are the examples of the Dissimilation rule. These are said to be old-fashioned pronunciations which presumably predate the existence of the rule. The Dissimilation rule applies to produce the modern pronunciations of the stems in question, but the modern pronunciations of some of the stems also evidently represent examples of reanalysis. Only the existence of the older pronunciations, and the underlying analysis which they call for, makes it clear that a dissimilation rule is what is involved. One point about the stems in question is that not all speakers of the language are in a position to know which are the old-fashioned pronunciations and which are the modern ones, even if they know that there are alternative pronunciations for the stems in question.

The clearest example of the Dissimilation rule is provided by the word for 'rose' compared to the word for 'rosebush'. A rule of dissimilation is involved with these words if one assumes, reasonably enough, that a phonemic transcription of the word for 'tomato, rose hips' is the underlying form of a morpheme meaning 'rose' in the word for 'rosebush'. For this example, the Dissimilation rule involves a syllable /wa/ which becomes /ma/ when a syllable beginning with the sequence /wu/ is added in the derivation of the word. In other terms, underlying /..wa-wu../ is realized in surface phonemic terms as /..ma-wu../.

## Example Set DR.1

FW-8.49

ǰu+mawuk	'rose bush	/ǰu+wa/	'tomato, rose hips'
[ǰu+máwoʔk]		[ǰú+uwa]	
/ǰu+mə-wuʔk/	(Surface Ph.)	/ǰu+wa/	
/ǰu+wa-wuʔk/	(Mid-Level Ph.)	/ǰu+wa/	
rose-bush		rose	

An exception to the rule is provided by Alice White an elder of Columbia Lake Reserve who says that her grandmother used to pronounce this word as /ǰu+wawuʔk/. Alice's grandmother, who was known to everyone simply as 'Granny', lived to be 102 years old.

**Earlier /wuwu/ became /muwu/.**

The second basic example of the rule is shown in derivation DR.2, below, and involves new and old pronunciations of a syllable in a verbal stem where the syllable was originally /wu/ and became /mu/ before the syllable /wu/.

## Example Set DR.2.

MP-(quoted by LI, p.com)

## (a) The New Pronunciation.

ʔumuwasam 'to go on foot', 'to walk (as opposed to riding)'  
 [ ʔumowʔsam ] or: [ ʔumowʔsam ]

## (b) The Old Pronunciation.

ʔuwuwusam 'to go on foot', 'to walk (as opposed to riding)'  
 [ ʔuwuwʔsam ]

The late Mary Paul of St Mary's reports in a tape recording that her mother said that the

pronunciation in (b) was the old pronunciation of the word. One can assume, and it is suggested by LI, that the first morpheme of the stem is a morpheme /ʔuʔwu-/ 'upright'.<sup>23</sup> There is an additional morphologically conditioned rule of semivowel Glide Insertion which applies in the case of both the old and new pronunciation of this stem.

### The Old Pronunciation of the Verbal Stem.

Derivation DR.3. MP, LI p.com., cf. G&M (1979).

ʔuwuwusam v. 'to go on foot', 'to walk (as opposed to riding)'.  
 [ʔuwuwúsam]

/ʔuwuwusam/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)

/ʔuʔwu-w-uʔsa-m/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

Glide Insertion Rule Applies (a morphologically conditioned rule)

/ʔuʔwu-uʔsa-m / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

upright-Be.at-RM

In order to see the Dissimilation rule at work one must take the old pronunciation of the stem, posit underlying forms on the basis of it, then derive the modern pronunciation of the stem from the old pronunciation of the stem.

<sup>23</sup> Examples attesting the morpheme /ʔuʔwu-/ 'upright' include the following stems:

ʔuʔwuk

/ʔuʔwu-k/

upright-do/be

'to stand up' G&M(1979)

ʔuwukin

/ʔuʔwu-kin<sub>u</sub>in/

upright-by.hand<sub>u</sub>2CP

'Stand it up (by hand)!' LI p.com

**The New Pronunciation of the Stem Derived with Reference to the Old.**

Derivation DR.4.

MP, LI p.com.

ʔumuʷusam 'to go on foot', 'to walk (as opposed to riding)'

[ ʔumowúsam ] or: [ ʔumowɤsam ]

/ʔumuʷusam/

**Dissimilation applies.**

/ʔuwu-w-úsa-m/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)

**Glottal Stop Deletion applies, Penultimate Stress Assignment applies.**

/ʔuʔwu-w-uʔsa-m/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

**Glide Insertion applies.**

/ʔuʔwu-uʔsa-m / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

upright-Be.at-RM

**An Apparent Case of Reanalysis.**

There is a certain built-in confusion to the data on the verbal stem meaning 'to be on foot' which is explainable on the premise that some speakers have related this verbal stem with certain other verbal stems by reanalysis. The verbal stems in example set DR.5, below, appear to be closely related to the stem meaning 'to be on foot' by sharing the same first two morphemes. This assumes that the modern dissimilated form of the stem meaning 'to be on foot' is taken to be the basis of the underlying form of these stems, so that the first two morphemes of each stem are understood to be:

/ʔu-muʔ-/

down-ground-

## Example Set DR.5.

G&amp;M (1979)

- (a) ?umu?kam 'to come along on low ground', to have come along the bottom of a hill or mountain'

With Third Person Indicative forms:

ńumukaxi

ńumukasi G&M (1979)

- (b) ?umu?nam 'to go along on low ground', to go along the bottom'

With Third Person Indicative forms:

ńumunaxi

ńumunasi

Apparently there are some speakers of the language who either did not know the original pronunciation of the stem meaning 'to go on foot' or at least did not know that it was the original pronunciation. Example set DR.6, below, is the dictionary entry from Gravelle and Morgan (1979). It suggests both reanalysis and also confusingly the retention of the original underlying form for the stem meaning 'to go on foot', making the verbal stem something of a morphological puzzle.

## Example Set DR.5.

?umuwusam also: ?umuʔsam 'to go on foot' G&M(1979)

With Third Person Indicative forms:

?umuwsaxi G&M (1979)

?umuwsasi G&M (1979)



## 2.6 Deep Phonology.

### 2.6.1 The Rules of Deep Phonology.

The rules of Kutenai deep phonology include the following 12 rules in three categories. The three categories relate to three states of segment deformation. The first state is where an underlying segment is posited as changing into to another comparable segment. The second state involves segments weakening into reduced versions of themselves, while the third state involves alternations with zero. Some of the alternations with zero are clearly deletions while others involve insertions. Metathesis (listed as rule 10 here) is in this category of alternation with zero, because it can be conceived of as the deletion of particular vowels from certain locations in relation to consonantal segments and the subsequent reinsertion of those vowels into other locations in relation to those same consonantal segments. Diachronically, metathesis in Kutenai would appear to be related to the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule which is reconstructible for an earlier state of the language, where clusters of three consonants in a row in that earlier state of the language were broken up by the insertion of epenthetic schwas which have subsequently become phonemic vowels in the present state of the language. Unstressed Vowel Deletion (rule 11 here) also appears to be related to the reconstructible Buffer Vowel Insertion rule.

#### Morphologically Conditioned Alternations of Equal Segments.

- (1) The M~N Alternation, /m/ → /n/. See section 2.6.3  
 The underlying form of the Associative Suffix is assumed to be /-m-/ which becomes /-n-/, in certain paradigmatic forms, but the underlying form of the Diminutive Suffix would be the productive form /-nana/, rather than the form /-mna/, or the rare form /-una/. Diachronically, however, there is some evidence for the reconstruction of \*ŋ as an explanation for the alternation.
- (2) Low Vowel Backing, Raising and Rounding, /a/ → /u/. See section 2.6.4  
 The Indefinite Person Suffix /-am/ becomes /-um/ after the change of underlying /pn/ to /w/.
- (3) Low Vowel Raising and Fronting, /a/ → /i/. See section 2.6.5  
 The Definite Reference Marker /ya·/ becomes /yi·/ before the Continuative Marker /s-/.

**Morphologically Conditioned Alternations with Reduced Segments.**

- (4) Stop Consonant to Glottal Stop Rule. See section 2.6.6
- (4.1) P-Glottal Stop Alternation, underlying /p/ → /ʔ/.  
 (4.2) T-Glottal Stop Alternation, underlying /t/ → /ʔ/.  
 (4.3) K-Glottal Stop Alternation, underlying /k/ → /ʔ/.
- (5) Obstruent-Nasal Cluster to Glide Rule. See section 2.6.7
- (5.1) PN-W Alternation, underlying /p+n/ → /w/.  
 (5.2) KN-Y Alternation, underlying /k+n/ → /y/.  
 (5.3) SN-Y Alternation, underlying /s+n/ → /y/.
- (6) K-Vocalization, underlying /k/ → /u/. See section 2.6.8
- (7) Compensatory Lengthening, underlying /k/ → /·/. See section 2.6.9
- (8) Monophthongization. See section 2.6.10
- (8.1) Monophthongization and the Lexical Suffix /-ak at/, underlying /u+a/ → /u·/, also: /in+a/ → /i·/.
- (8.2) Monophthongization Involving the Clitic Pronouns, with laryngeal deletion: /a<sub>h</sub>hu/ and /u-ha/ → /ɔ·/, or /u·/, also /a+hi/ → /a·/.
- (8.3) Monophthongization Involving the Definite Reference Marker, /a·+uʔ/ → /a·/.
- (8.4) Monophthongization and Near Monophthongization, /u+ha/ → /a·/, for some speakers, /ua/, for other speakers.

**Morphologically Conditioned Alternations with Zero.**

- (9) N-Deletion. See section 2.6.11
- (10) Metathesis. See section 2.6.12
- (11) Unstressed Vowel Deletion. See section 2.6.13
- (12) Buffer Glide Insertion. See section 2.6.14



### 2.6.2 Deep Phonological Rules and Underlying Representations.

In the surface and mid-level phonemic representations, there are numerous examples of allomorphy, with certain morphemes having two or more alternate forms. In the underlying representations, this allomorphy is resolved, to achieve a phonemic transcription where there is only one underlying phonological shape for each morpheme. The morphologically conditioned sound rules which are posited here as rules of deep phonology are an accounting of the major phonological alternations present in the mid-level phonemic representations, as those alternations are resolved in the underlying forms.

The mid-level phonemic representations are the underlying forms for the most clearly productive part of Kutenai phonology. The morphologically conditioned rules posited here represent the semi-productive, but still synchronic part of Kutenai phonology.<sup>1</sup> There is also some discussion of sound rules in this section which are reconstructible for an earlier state of the language. Internal reconstruction, however, is entirely distinct from the synchronic underlying forms posited in this section. The reconstructible rules are mentioned in this section exactly where there is evidence for a synchronic reality distinct from any diachronic explanation which is sufficiently in evidence to be mentioned.

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<sup>1</sup> It is assumed here that morphologically conditioned rules represent a state of decay for phonological rules which, in an earlier state of the language, once applied across the board. Morphologically conditioning represents a loss of productivity for a rule, but the rule may remain productive within paradigms, even if only small derivational paradigms of a few related forms. The psychological reality that these rules have for speakers of the language is assumed to be a function of the psychological reality of the paradigms.

### 2.6.3 Deep Phonological Rule (1): The M~N Alternation.

The alternation of /m/ and /n/ is resolvable in synchronic Kutenai phonology, but only in a fragmented way which suggests that there must ultimately be a different and unified diachronic explanation for the alternation. The alternation of /m/ and /n/ occurs with two morphemes, the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/, and the Diminutive Suffix /-nana/~/-mna/~/-una/.

The productive form of the Associative Suffix is evidently /-m-/. There are certain rare comitative verbal forms where the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/, as a component of the compound Comitative Suffix /-m-aɬ/~/-n-aɬ/, appears as /-m-/ in forms where one would expect /-n-/. The expectation that the forms would have /-n-/ is because, there is a clear pattern of distribution of the two allomorphs in the inflectional paradigms of comitative verbal stems and reflexive verbal stems. The rare comitative forms where /-m-aɬ/ occurs where one would expect /-n-aɬ/ evidently represent a sporadic regularization of the normal comitative paradigm with /-m-/ as the underlying form of the morpheme.

With the Diminutive Suffix, the only logical choice for the underlying form of the morpheme is /-nana/, because this is clearly the productive form of the morpheme. The other two forms /-mna/ and /-una/ are rare. So rare, in fact, that there is no clear indication of what may have originally conditioned these alternate forms of the morpheme. In effect, synchronically there are simply three diminutive morphemes which happen to share a common ending /...na/. Of course, one can posit a morphologically conditioned rule to derive /-mna/ and /-una/ from underlying /-nana/, but such a rule is purely a statement of morphological conditioning, with no clear phonetic motivation.

The morphological pattern of distribution of the two allomorphs of the Associative Suffix, /-m-/ versus /-n-/, is clearer than any discernable phonetic motivation for the occurrence of one allomorph versus the other. One can theorize about a possible original phonetic motivation for the alternation, but the morphological pattern of distribution can actually be stated as fact. In its most general form, the pattern of distribution involves a principle that the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix occurs in the inflectional paradigms of comitative and reflexive verbal stems wherever there is a following suffix somewhere in the same verbal stem which either directly or indirectly indicates a pronominal patient.<sup>2</sup>

In comitative verbal forms, the suffix which triggers the occurrence of the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix may directly indicate a pronominal patient by being a pronominal object suffix. This can be seen in example MN.1, below, where the pronominal object suffix, the First Person Singular Object Suffix /-ap/, is in boldface type.

<sup>2</sup> This generalization requires the stipulation that in the valence of causative verbal stems the causee (the one caused to do something) is defined as being a patient, rather than having some other semantic role.

## Example MN.1.

hin<sub>u</sub> ɕ qsanat<sub>u</sub>apni 'You will go with me.'  
 /hin<sub>u</sub> ɕ qsa-n-a<sub>u</sub>-ap<sub>u</sub>ni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 2CP<sub>u</sub> Fpt<sub>u</sub> Root-ASC-COPART-1SG.OBJ<sub>u</sub>IND<sup>3</sup>

Even where there is no pronominal object suffix in a comitative verbal form, the Passive Suffix /-<sub>u</sub>/~-<sub>u</sub>/-i<sub>u</sub>/ triggers the occurrence of the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix. In passive comitative verbal forms, the Passive Suffix, has the property of converting subject clitic pronouns into markers of pronominal patients. In example MN.2, below, the patient, or semantic pronominal object, of the verbal stem is also the syntactic subject of the passive verbal form which has a syntactic valence of one. This is in spite of the fact that such Kutenai verbal forms often translate into English with an indefinite 'they' as a subject. In example MN.2, below, the First Person (subject) Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>u</sub>/, as a marker of the pronominal patient, is in boldface type.

## Example MN.2.

**hu** qsanat<sub>u</sub>i<sub>u</sub>ni 'I was accompanied, They (indefinite) went with me.'  
 /**hu**<sub>u</sub> qsa-n-a<sub>u</sub>-i<sub>u</sub>ni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> Root-ASC-COPART-PASV<sub>u</sub>IND

In non-passive and indicative comitative verbal forms, the subject clitic pronouns are not also markers of patients and the Associative Suffix appears as /-m-/. This is illustrated in MN.3, below.

## Example MN.3.

EG-KLP

(a) **hu** qsama<sub>u</sub>ni 'I went with him/her/it/them.'  
 /**hu**<sub>u</sub> qsa-m-a<sub>u</sub>ni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> Root-ASC-COPART<sub>u</sub>IND

In imperative comitative verbal forms, however, the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>u</sub>/, as an enclitic, actually does function as a marker of a patient, for reasons having nothing to do with the active-passive distinction, and in those forms the Associative Suffix appears as /-n-/, as in example MN.4, below.

<sup>3</sup> The root of the stem is of indeterminate meaning, because the stem /qsa-m-a<sub>u</sub>/~/qsa-n-a<sub>u</sub>/ 'to accompany someone' is a morphological idiom. There is, however, a root /qsa/ 'to be that much, to be such and such an amount of something', and more to the point, there is a bound root /qsa-/ 'take some (portion of)'.

## Example MN.4.

EG-KLP

- (b) **qsanaɬun** 'Come with me.'  
 /**qsa-n-aɬ-u-n**/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /**qsa-n-aɬ-hu-hin**/ (Underlying Phonemic)  
 Root-ASC-COPART<sub>1</sub>CP<sub>2</sub>CP

One can simply say that in comitative verbal forms the presence of the Passive Suffix by itself triggers the occurrence of the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix. Example MN.5, part (a), below, illustrates that there need not be any overt pronominal morpheme in the verbal form marking a patient, in order for the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix to occur. One can posit, nonetheless, that in passive comitative verbal forms there is a zero pronominal subject marker which also indicates a patient. However, one can say almost the same thing for active comitative verbal forms, such as the one in MN.5, part (b), below, where the Associative Suffix appears as /-m-/ and where one can posit that there is a zero pronominal suffix marking the subject and another zero pronominal suffix marking the object (i.e. the patient)

## Example MN.5.

EG-KLP.material

- (a) **qsanaɬiɬni** 'He was accompanied, They (indefinite) went with him.'  
 /**qsa-n-aɬ-iɬ-Ø-ni**/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 Root-ASC-COPART-PASV-P3(subj)<sub>IND</sub>

- (b) **qsamaɬni** 'He/she/it/they (proximate) went with him/her/it/them (obv).'  
 /**qsa-m-aɬ-Ø-Ø-ni**/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 Root-ASC-COPART-S3(obj)-P3(subj)<sub>IND</sub>

In the first set of comitative paradigmatic forms below, there is no pronominal object suffix in any of the forms and the compound Comitative Suffix appears as /-m-aɬ/. In the other sets of comitative paradigmatic forms, just further below, there is a pronominal object suffix in each form, or there is the Passive Suffix, and the compound Comitative Suffix appears as /-n-aɬ/.

The stem here is again /**qsamaɬ**/ 'to accompany someone somewhere'. This is one of the most intrinsically comitative verbal stems in the language. There is also another related comitative verbal stem /**qsamumaɬ**/ 'to help someone' which differs only by containing the Instrumental Suffix /-mu/.

## Indicative Comitative Forms without Object Suffixes. G&amp;M (1979), EG-KLP.material

hu qsama+n̄ni	'I went with him/her/it/them.'
hin qsama+n̄ni	'You went with him/her/it/them.'
qsama+n̄ni	'He/she/it/they (proximate) went with him/her/it/them (obv).'
qsama+n̄si	'He/she/it/they (higher ranking obviative) went with him/her/it/them (lower ranking obviative).'
hu qsama+n̄na+n̄aʔni	'We went with him.'
hin qsama+n̄ki+n̄ni	'You (pl) went with him.'

## Indicative Comitative Forms with Object Suffixes.

hu.ɕ qsana+n̄isni	'I'll go with you'
hu.ɕ qsana+n̄iski+n̄ni	'I'll go with you guys'
hin.ɕ qsana+n̄apni	'You will go with me.'
ɕxa+n̄ qsana+n̄apni	'He/she/it/they will go with me'
qsana+n̄apsi	'He/she/it/they (obv) went with him/her/it/them (prox). <sup>4</sup>
ɕxa+n̄ qsana+n̄awasni	'He/she/it/they will go with us.'
hu.ɕ qsana+n̄awasni	'We will go with you (singular or plural).'

## An Imperative Comitative Form with an Object Suffix.

EG-KLP

qsana+n̄un	'Come with me.'
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## Some Passive Comitative Forms.

qsana+n̄i+n̄ni	'They (indefinite) went with him.'
hu qsana+n̄i+n̄ni	'I was accompanied, They (indefinite) went with me.'

**The N-Connector Suffix and the M~N Alternation.**

One feature of the verbal forms with the compound Comitative Suffix as /-n-a+n̄/ is

<sup>4</sup> There is also the as yet unattested form /qsana+n̄apsisni/ 'He/she/it/they (lower ranking obviative) went with him/her/it/them (higher ranking obviative).'

that the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ is absent in these forms where it might be expected to follow the Comitative Suffix and precede any following pronominal suffix. The N-Connector Suffix normally precedes pronominal suffixes, except that it does not occur before the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/~-is/. The N-Connector Suffix is also subject to the morphologically conditioned rule of N-Deletion, specifically after the suffix-final dental consonants of certain suffixes. The Co-Participant Suffix /-aɬ/ of the compound Comitative Suffix, ending as it does in barred l, can be said to end with a dental consonant which has the property of deleting a following N-Connector Suffix /-n-/, but the barred l of the Comitative Suffix, when it appears as /-m-aɬ/, does not delete the /n/ of a following Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ni/. This represents an extra irregularity in the pattern of morphological conditioning of N-Deletion, because the /n/ of the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ni/ is otherwise subject to N-Deletion. This means that some very specific and ultimately diachronic explanation is called for to explain the absence of the N-Connector Suffix in those comitative verbal forms where the compound Comitative Suffix appears as /-n-aɬ/ followed by an object suffix or by the Passive Suffix. It also suggests that the absence of the N-Connector Suffix in comitative verbal forms with /-n-aɬ/ may be the key to the occurrence of the allomorph /-n/ of the Associative Suffix. Example MN.6, below, show the underlying form of a verbal phrase with surface phonemic /-n-aɬ/ derived from underlying /-m-aɬ/. The N-Connector Suffix is posited underlyingly in this derivation after the Co-Participant Suffix, a logical place for it to be in terms of synchronic Kutenai morphology.

Example MN.6.

hin <sub>u</sub> ɕ	qsanaɬapni	'You will go with me.'	
/hin <sub>u</sub>	ɕ <sub>u</sub>	qsa-n-aɬ-ap <sub>u</sub> ni/	(Mid-Level Phonemic)
/hin <sub>u</sub>	ɕ <sub>u</sub>	qsa-m-aɬ-n-ap <sub>u</sub> ni/	(Underlying Phonemic)
2CP <sub>u</sub>	Fpt <sub>u</sub>	Root-ASC-COPART-NC-1SG.OBJ <sub>u</sub> IND	

The assumption here is that the Associative Suffix would occur as /-n-/, rather than /-m-/ because of the assimilatory effects of the occurrence of /-n-/ in a following syllable. This is one plausible phonetic motivation for a rule of /m/→/n/, but there is another place where the N-Connector suffix may have originally occurred. In an earlier state of the language, the N-Connector Suffix may have functioned as a transitivizer of some kind and may have immediately followed the Associative Suffix and preceded the Co-Participant Suffix. The Co-Participant Suffix may well have been a third person pronominal suffix related to the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix which actually does occur after the N-Connector Suffix.<sup>5</sup> This would provide another fairly plausible phonetic motivation for the occurrence of the Associative Suffix as surface phonemic /-n-/,

<sup>5</sup> See section 3.1.5 where the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix is discussed.

in this case assuming a rule /mn/→/n/, and this hypothesis would carry its own explanation for the absence of the N-Connector Suffix before any pronominal suffixes which follow the Co-Participant Suffix. The N-Connector Suffix would have originally preceded the Co-Participant Suffix because it was originally a pronominal suffix itself. This leaves the comitative verbal forms with /-m-aʔ/ unexplained, but an earlier state of the language may have also had a rule which had underlying word-final sequences of /-m-n-aʔ/ realized as surface phonemic /-m-aʔ/, while word-medial sequences of /-m-n-aʔ-/ before a syllable beginning with /n/ were realized as /-n-aʔ/. The reconstructed underlying form below illustrates the hypothesis that the N-Connector Suffix may have originally preceded the Co-Participant Suffix. This and the other reconstructions offered immediately below in this section are offered to illustrate the difficulties in resolving the M~N alternation in anything close to synchronic terms, rather than being posited as reconstructions to be argued for. In more long range diachronic terms, there is the fact that Kutenai-Salishan comparative work and other evidence suggest the possibility that the M~N alternation in Kutenai may have originated with a velar nasal phoneme.<sup>6</sup>

Possible Reconstructed Underlying Form in an Earlier State of the Language.

\*/ hin<sub>u</sub> ɕ<sub>u</sub> qsa-m-n-aʔ-ap<sub>u</sub>ni/ 'You will go with me.'  
 2CP<sub>u</sub> Fpt<sub>u</sub> Root-ASC-N.TRANSITIVIZER-COPART-1SG.OBJ<sub>u</sub>IND

There is actually good reason to believe that in an earlier state of the language the Passive Suffix /-iʔ/ and the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix /-iʔ/ may have been the same suffix, possibly a third person pronominal suffix. This suffix would have followed the N-Connector Suffix, which would have functioned as a transivizer of some kind.<sup>7</sup> This would mean that passive comitative forms such as the one in example MN.2, earlier above, /hu qsanat-iʔni/ 'I was accompanied, They (indefinite) went with me.' would have been active forms with third person subjects and would have had underlying forms such as the ones posited immediately below.

Possible Reconstructed Underlying Form in an Earlier State of the Language.

\*/ hu<sub>u</sub> qsa-m-n-aʔ-iʔ<sub>u</sub>ni/ 'They went with me.'  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> Root-ASC-N.TRANSITIVIZER-COPART-3.PLURAL<sub>u</sub>IND

<sup>6</sup> See sections 2.7.2.3, where there is discussion of the possibility of reconstructing a velar nasal for Kutenai and 2.1.8, where two velar nasal segments are posited as reconstructible phonemes. See also section 2.2.6, where the absolute absence of a velar nasal as a synchronic phonetic segment in Kutenai is pointed out.

<sup>7</sup> See section 3.1.5 where the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix is shown occurring after the N-Connector Suffix.

Another possibility is that the Passive Suffix may have originally been a pronominal suffix directly following the N-Connector Suffix, originally a transitive suffix. In that case, the Associative Suffix would occur as synchronic surface phonemic /-n-/, rather than as /-m-/ because of the assimilatory effects of the occurrence of /-n-/ in a following syllable.

**Possible Reconstructed Underlying Form in an Earlier State of the Language.**

\*/hu<sub>v</sub> qsa-m-aɫ-n-iɫ<sub>v</sub>ni/ 'They went with me.'

1CP<sub>v</sub> Root-ASC-COPART-N.TRANSITIVIZER-3.PLURAL<sub>v</sub>IND

**The M~N Alternation and Reflexive Forms.**

The Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-ak-/ ~/-iy-/ followed by a pronominal subject marking suffix triggers the occurrence of the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix. In reflexive verbal forms, any pronominal suffix which marks the subject of an inflected verbal stem simultaneously mark the stem's object (i.e. a pronominal patient). This is illustrated in example MN.7, where the First Person Plural Suffix /-aɫaʔ/~/-aɫat-/ , in boldface type, simultaneously marks the stem's syntactic subject and patient, or semantic object. The mere presence of a subject clitic pronoun is not enough to trigger the occurrence of the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix.<sup>8</sup>

**Example MN.7.**

hun ʔiktuquniyaɫaʔni 'We washed ourselves'.

/hu<sub>v</sub> n<sub>v</sub> ʔikt-u-qu-ʔ-n-iy-**aɫaʔ**<sub>v</sub>ni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/hu<sub>v</sub> n<sub>v</sub> ʔikt-u-qu-ʔ-m-ik-n-**aɫat**<sub>v</sub>ni/ (Underlying Phonemic)

1CP<sub>v</sub> PM<sub>v</sub> vertical-Bf-in.water-GSVI-ASC-REFLX-NC-1PL<sub>v</sub>IND

<sup>8</sup> See the reflexive paradigm, further below, which contains the form /hun ʔiktuquʔ-m-ik/ 'I washed myself', where the allomorph /-m-/ of the Associative Suffix occurs.



**Causative Reflexive Forms in Contrast with Plain Reflexive Forms.**

The Causative Suffix /- $\text{t}$ -/ also triggers the occurrence of the allomorph /- $\text{n}$ -/ of the Associative Suffix, rather than the allomorph /- $\text{m}$ -/. The Causative Suffix, though not itself a pronominal suffix, indirectly indicates a pronominal patient, or at least a pronominal object of some kind. The object is the causee, the one caused to do something. This is illustrated in example MN.8, below, where in part (a) in a reflexive and non-causative verbal stem there is no overt pronominal suffix and the allomorph /- $\text{m}$ -/ of the Associative Suffix occurs. In part (b) in a closely related reflexive and non-causative verbal stem, there is an overt Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /- $\text{s}$ / and that pronominal suffix marks the syntactic subject and patient (i.e. semantic object) of the reflexive verbal stem. The allomorph /- $\text{n}$ -/ of the Associative Suffix occurs in the stem in part (b) because the pronominal suffix indicates a subject which is also a patient, just because the verbal stem is reflexive.

In the reflexive and causative verbal stem in example MN.8, part (c), there is no overt pronominal suffix since the subject of the verbal stem is a primary third person entity or entities (i.e. proximate) and the object, the causee, is a subsidiary third person entity or entities (i.e. obviative). In spite of the fact that there is no overt pronominal object suffix, the Causative Suffix /- $\text{t}$ -/, nonetheless, indirectly indicates a pronominal object in that it indicates the existence of the causee as a part of the valence of the verbal stem. The fact that the causee is a subsidiary third person entity or entities (i.e. obviative) is demonstrated in the sentence in part (c) by the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /- $\text{s}$ / on the nominal stem / $\text{ʔa}\text{t}\text{u}\text{ʔ}$ / 'plate'. In effect, the plates are caused to be stacked up, or, more literally in derivational terms, one can say that the plates have been caused to have stacked themselves up.

Example MN.8.

G&M (1979)

(a)  $\text{ńiktka}\text{t}\text{xu}\text{ʔmik}$

/ $\text{n}\text{.}\text{ʔikt}\text{-ka}\text{-}\text{t}\text{-xu}\text{-}\text{ʔ}\text{-m}\text{-ik}$ /

PM<sub>v</sub>.vertical-come-carry-by.body-GSVI-ASC-REFLX

'He/she/it/they (proximate) are stacked up, are piled up.'

(b)  $\text{ńiktka}\text{t}\text{xunaksi}$

/ $\text{n}\text{.}\text{ʔikt}\text{-ka}\text{-}\text{t}\text{-xu}\text{-}\text{ʔ}\text{-n}\text{-ak}\text{-s}\text{.i}$ /

(Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ $\text{n}\text{.}\text{ʔikt}\text{-ka}\text{-}\text{t}\text{-xu}\text{-}\text{ʔ}\text{-m}\text{-ik}\text{-s}\text{.ni}$ /

(Underlying Phonemic)

PM<sub>v</sub>.vertical-come-carry-by.body-GSVI-ASC-REFLX

'He/she/it/they (obviative) are stacked up, are piled up.'

(c) **Ńiktka+xunakci?ti ?acu?s.**/n. ?ikt-ka- $\downarrow$ -xu-?-n-ak- $\downarrow$ -i?-t.Ń **?acu?-s/ (Mid)**/n. ?ikt-ka- $\downarrow$ -xu-?-m-ak- $\downarrow$ -i?-t.Ń **?acu?-s/ (Und.)**PM<sub>1</sub>.vertical-come-carry-by.body-GSVI-ASC-REFLX-STV-TVI<sub>1</sub>IND plate-S3**'He/she/it/they (proximate) stacked the plates (obviative) up.'****In Derivational Terms: 'He/she/it/they (proximate) caused the plates (obviative) to be stacked up, to be piled up.'**

Example set MN.9, below, serves to fill out the paradigm of forms shown in example set MN.8, above, going from the simple reflexive forms in MN.9, part (a) below, to the causative reflexive forms in MN.9, part (b), further below. The indicative forms of the simple non-causative reflexive stem in (a) contrast with each other, showing the alternation between /m/ and /n/. For the non-causative reflexive form in part (a.2), the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix occurs because of the presence of the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ which marks the pronominal patient of the stem which is the syntactic subject. All three reflexive and causative forms of the stem in part (b), including the plain form of the stem which is glossed as an infinitive, have the /-n-/ allomorph of the Associative Suffix. This is at least because of the presence of the Causative Suffix /- $\downarrow$ -/ which indirectly indicates the presence of a pronominal object in the form of a causee. Even in the ostensibly infinitival form, the Causative Suffix / $\downarrow$ -/ is a suffix which indicates that there is a pronominal object, in the form of a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) causee.

## Example Set MN.9.

G&amp;M (1979)

(a) **?iktka+xu?mik** v. (intransitive). 'to be stacked up, to pile up'.(a.1) **Ńiktka+xu?mik**  
'They (proximate) are piled up'.(a.2) **Ńiktka+xunaksi**  
'They (obviative) are piled up'.(b) **?iktka+xunakci?ti** v. 'to stack things (obviative) up, to pile something (obviative) up'.(b.1) **Ńiktka+xunakci?ti**  
'He/she/it/they (prox) stacked them (obviative) up.'

(b.2)  $\acute{n}iktka\downarrow xunak\epsilon i\ ?tsi$ 

'He/she/it/they (obviative) stacked them (obviative) up.'

In example set MN.10 (a) through (e), below, the simple reflexive and the causative reflexive forms of a verbal stem are treated as inflected forms of a single lexical item, rather than being treated ostensibly as forms of two separate lexical items, as in example set MN.9, above.

Example Set MN.10.

FW-8.32

huqnamik 'to move camp', 'birds and animals to migrate'.

## Example Sentences.

- (a)  $\downarrow a$  huqnamik. 'He/she/it/they (proximate) moved on (again).'<sup>9</sup>  
 (b) nuqnamik. 'He/she/it/they (proximate) moved on.'  
 (c) nuqnanaksi. 'He/she/it/they (obviative) moved on.'  
 (d) nuqnanak $\epsilon i\ ?ti$ . 'He/she/it/they (prox) made him/her/it/them (obviative) move on, go.'  
 (e) nuqnanak $\epsilon i\ ?tsi$ . 'He/she/it/they (obviative) made him/her/it/them (another obviative) move on, go.'

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<sup>9</sup> The form of the stem in (a) is accompanied by the Reversive-Repetitive Particle / $\downarrow a$ /. This creates a morphosyntactic environment which bars the presence of the Predicate Marker / $n$ ./ which occurs with all the other forms shown in this set of forms.

**A Reflexive Paradigm.**

The paradigm, below, consists of indicative forms of a reflexive verbal stem. In this paradigm, in the forms where there is no pronominal suffix, the Associative Suffix and Reflexive Suffix together form a compound middle voice reflexive suffix **/-m-ik/**. Where there is a following pronominal suffix, the Associative Suffix and Reflexive Suffix appear as **/-n-iy/**. The occurrence of the Reflexive Suffix as **/-iy-/** is due to another morphologically conditioned sound rule whereby underlying **/k+n/** appears as **/y/**.<sup>10</sup> In this paradigm, the Associative Suffix **/-m-/~/-n-/** appears in boldface type.

Indicative Forms of the Reflexive Stem **/ʔiktuquʔmik/** 'to wash oneself'.

<b>hun ʔiktuquʔmik</b>	<b>1sg →←</b>	'I washed myself'.
<b>hin ʔiktuquʔmik</b>	<b>2sg →←</b>	'You (sg) washed yourself'.
<b>ʔiktuquʔmik</b>	<b>P3 →←</b>	'He (proximate) washed himself, She (prox) washed herself, It (proximate) washed itself, They (proximate) washed themselves'.
<b>ʔiktuquniyamni</b>	<b>P3 INH →←</b>	'People (proximate) washed themselves'.
<b>ʔiktuqunaksi</b>	<b>S3 →←</b>	'He (obviative) washed himself, She (obviative) washed herself, It (obviative) washed itself, They (obviative) washed themselves'.
<b>ʔiktuquniyamisni</b>	<b>S3 INH →←</b>	'People (obviative) washed themselves'.
<b>hun ʔiktuquniyaᄁaʔni</b>	<b>1pl →←</b>	'We washed ourselves'.
<b>hin ʔiktuquniykiᄁni</b>	<b>2pl →←</b>	'You (pl) washed yourselves'.

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of the rule whereby underlying **/k+n/** appears as **/y/**, see section 2.6.7.

**Ad Hoc Regularizations of the Comitative Paradigm.**

The following are the rare examples of comitative verbal forms mentioned above which represent a regularization of the normal comitative paradigm.<sup>11</sup> These rare forms are the chief evidence that present-day speakers of the language see /-m-/ as the underlying form of the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/.

These forms are outside of the standard inflectional paradigm for comitative verbal stems. Whatever rules or principles are used to explain the paradigms, these forms stand as exceptions. These regularized forms are not marginal to the language, however, since they occur in a traditional myth text, three versions of which have been recorded, each version from a different story teller. One version was recorded by Boas (1918, pages 112-117), another by Garvin, and a third by the present author.<sup>12</sup>

The present author found a verbal form closely related to the verbal form quoted in example MN.11, below, in the published work of Garvin (1948c, page 176, second paragraph, column one) and read it to FW on April 21, 1972.<sup>13</sup> When FW heard this form, he instantly recognized the form and said that he knew where Garvin had gotten the word from. FW then proceeded to make reference to the story of Coyote and Yawukiykam in the nest of the Thunders. In this story, Coyote and Yawukiykam have been magically transported up into the nest of the Thunders. They were there with two young Thunders and wanted to get back down to the ground, after having killed the parent Thunders. Coyote and Yawukiykam threatened the young Thunders, telling them to fly them back down to the ground.

Example MN.11. FW-3.24, See also Boas (1918. p. 114)

‡a ʔunanuxuma‡nawasnu 'You take us down. (i.e. you fly us down)'.  
 /‡a ʔu-na-nuxu-m-a‡-n-awas-n\_hu/

REV. down-go-fly-ASC-COPART-NC-1PL.OBJ-NC.1CP

The form in example MN.12, below, was subsequently elicited from FW after FW's discussion of the form in example MN.11, above. The existence of this elicited form demonstrates that a speaker of FW's generation would freely generate regularized comitative forms on the direct basis of the regularized form in the text. This stands against the fact that otherwise, with any of the more common comitative stems in the language, the sequence of suffixes /-m-a‡-n-awas/ is likely to be judged as incorrect by speakers of

<sup>11</sup> See the beginning of section 2.6.3.

<sup>12</sup> See the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text (recorded from Rosale McCoy), lines 246, 251.

<sup>13</sup> The item from Garvin (1948c) in a surface phonemic representation is:

/‡a ʔu-na-nuxu-n-m-a‡-n-awas-n\_u/

REV. down-go-fly-DIST-ASC-COPART-NC-1PL.OBJ.1CP

'fly down with us again'.

the language, in favor of the evidently more conservative inflectional construction /-n-aɫ-awas/.<sup>14</sup>

Example MN.12.

FW-3.24

ɫa ʔunanuxumaɫnawasni 'He flew us down'.

/ɫa ʔu-na-nuxu-m-aɫ-n-awas<sub>ni</sub>/

REV<sub>ni</sub> down-go-fly-ASC-COPART-NC-1PL.OBJ<sub>ni</sub>IND

---

<sup>14</sup> Compare with the form /ɬxaɫ<sub>ni</sub> qsanaɫawas<sub>ni</sub>/ 'He/she/it/they will go with us.' found among the comitative paradigmatic forms presented above.

The author once got one of the youngest speakers of the language to write out a paradigm of a comitative verbal forms to test the extent to which /-m-aɫ/ is potentially a productive form of the compound Comitative Suffix, over the form /-n-aɫ/. This younger speaker produced forms including the sequence /-m-aɫ-n-awas/ 'with us' and other forms where /-m-aɫ/ precedes the N-Connector Suffix and a following object suffix. Upon discovering later that same day that an older speaker would produce a comitative paradigm having only forms with /-n-aɫ-/ directly preceding an object suffix, and not including the N-Connector Suffix before pronominal suffixes, the younger speaker immediately decided, on her own, that the comitative paradigm which she had written out earlier that same day was simply incorrect, including as it did forms with endings such as /-m-aɫ-n-awas/ 'with us'.

**2.6.4 Deep Phonological Rule (2):****Low Vowel Backing, Raising, and Rounding.**

This rule is one of at least two morphologically conditioned vowel change rules in Kutenai where one vowel simply changes into another equal vowel, and in a way which is clearly a matter of assimilation. This rule not only follows from the change of underlying /p+n/ to /w/, but also involves Metathesis. The Indefinite Person Suffix /-am/ is realized in mid-level and surface phonemic terms as /-um/ after an underlying sequence of /p+n/ becomes mid-level phonemic /w/. In these forms where /-am/ is realized as mid-level and surface phonemic /-um/, the Stative Suffix /-qa/ is present and the Stative Suffix metathesizes to be realized as mid-level and surface phonemic /-aq/. These interlocking changes are illustrated in parts (d) and (e) of example set LVBR.1, below. The metathesis is not clearly evident, as such, in these examples, because where the metathesis occurs a vowel is also lost. The metathesis is more evident in a possessive form of a nominal stem in example set LVBR.2, further below.

**Example Set LVBR.1.**

G&amp;M (1979)

- (a) yunaqa v. (intrans.) 'for there to be many of something, for there to be a lot of something'.

/yuʔnaʔ-qa-ʔ/<sup>15</sup>

Be.many-STV-IN

- (b) yunaqaʔni. (primary 3rd person subject indicative form)  
'there are many of them, there is a lot of it'.
- (c) yunaqapsi. (subsidiary 3rd person subject indicative form)  
'there are many of them, there is a lot of it'.

- (d) yunaqwumni. (indefinite human P3 subj indicative form)

/yuʔnaʔ-q-w-um<sub>ni</sub>/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)/yuʔnaʔ-qa-p-n-am<sub>ni</sub>/ (Underlying Phonemic)Be.many-STV-IN-NC-INH<sub>IND</sub>

'there are many people (prox), there is a large crowd of people (prox)'.

<sup>15</sup> The glottal stops in /yuʔnaʔ-/ 'Be many' are nowhere attested in the surface inflectional forms of the stem /yuna-qa-ʔ/ 'for there to be many', but there is a related stem /yuʔnaʔ-t/ 'to have many' (Be many + T-Transitive). It would further appear that /yuʔnaʔ/ 'Be many' is ultimately analyzable as /yuʔ-/ 'many' plus the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ and the root /haʔ-/ 'have'.

- (e) **yunaqwumisni.** (indefinite human S3 subj indicative form)  
 /yuʔnaʔq-w-um-is<sub>u</sub>ni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /yuʔnaʔ-qa-p-n-am-is<sub>u</sub>ni/ (Underlying Phonemic)  
 Be.many-STV-IN-NC-INH-S3<sub>u</sub>IND  
 'there are many people (obv), there is a large crowd of people (obv)'.

These same phonological processes are illustrated in example set LVBR.2, part (a). This first form in the set is the indefinite human third person possessed form of a nominal stem. In practical terms, this indefinite human possessed form of the stem is the citation form of the stem which means 'word, speech, language'.<sup>16</sup> The bare stem is /ʔa·k-ʔuʔk-qa-ʔ/. This is a mid-level phonemic representation where all the underlying glottal stops in the stem can be seen in place, and where the underlying form /-p/ of the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~ /-ʔ/ is realized word-finally as glottal stop /-ʔ/. The stem contains a compound lexical suffix /-ʔuʔk-qa-ʔ/ 'word, speech, language', based on the lexical suffix /-ʔuʔk-/ 'sound'. In the presentation of this paradigm, pronominal suffixes are put into boldface type.

#### Example Set LVBR.2.

A Form Illustrating /p/ → /w/, then /a/ → /u/ before /m/.

- (a) **ʔa·kʔukaqwum** '(peoples') language, speech, (a person's) language, speech'  
 /ʔa·k-ʔuʔk-aq-w-um/ (mid-level phonemic representation)  
 /ʔa·k-ʔuʔk-qa-p-n-am/ (underlying phonemic representation)  
 NSB-sound-STV-IN-NC-INH

#### Other Possessive Forms.

- (b) **ka ʔa·kʔuʔkqa** 'my language, speech'  
 (c) **ʔa·kʔukqaʔnis** 'your language, speech' (2nd person singular possessor)  
 (d) **ʔa·kʔukqaʔis** 'his/her/its/their language, speech' (Upper Kutenai)<sup>17</sup>  
 (e) **ʔa·kʔukqaʔisis** 'his/her/its/their language, speech' (obviative possessor)  
 (f) **ka ʔa·kʔukaqwaʔa** 'our language, speech'  
 (g) **ʔa·kʔukaqniškiʔ** 'your language, speech' (2nd person plural possessor)

<sup>16</sup> See section 2.6.7, rule (5.1) for another presentation of this same possessive paradigm of this stem.

<sup>17</sup> The Lower Kutenai form is /ʔa·kʔukqaniʔis/ 'his/her/its/their language, speech'. This form is attested in the Sahaptin Groups Text told by Simon Francis. FW identified it as a Lower Kutenai way of saying /ʔa·kʔukqaʔis/.



**2.6.5 Deep Phonological Rule (3): Low Vowel Raising and Fronting.**

Low Vowel Fronting and Raising affects only one morpheme in the language, the Definite Reference Marker /ya·/ which appears as /yi·/ before /s-/ , the Continuative Aspect Marker. This is clearly a matter of assimilation, and it is clearly morphologically conditioned. There are other instances of the underlying phonemic sequence /yas/ in the language which are unaffected by this rule of vowel assimilation. The following sentence from the First Fruits Text illustrates the allomorph /yi·/ of the Definite Reference Marker /ya·/~ /yi·/.

Text Example LVRF.1.

FW-FF.1-3

(Sentence 1: Lines: 1-3 of the First Fruits Text)

Niʔs pikʔaks ʔaqʔsmakniʔ ʔat nuʔ haqapsi kyukyits

(a) For the (Kutenai Indian) people of the past (b) there was a special time for

ɕxaʔ yi·susaʔ haʔqatiyki naqamɕus

(c) when they would pick bitterroot.

Derivation of Clause (c).

ɕxaʔ yi·susaʔ haʔqatiyki naqamɕus

/ɕxa-ʔ· yi·s-uʔsa-ʔ· haʔqat-i·ki naqamɕu-s / (Mid)

/ɕxa-ʔ· ya·s-uʔsa-ʔ· haʔqat-ik·ki naqamɕu-s / (Und.)

FUT-ADV· DFM·CON-Be.at-ADV· collect-REFLX·LOC bitterroot-S3

(c) when they would pick bitterroot

**2.6.6 Deep Phonological Rule (4):****Stop Consonant to Glottal Stop Rules.**

In diachronic terms, there is a single phonological process of stop consonants becoming glottal stop in Kutenai, but there are different conditions on the change of the different stop consonants to glottal stop. There is a synchronic alternation of the plain bilabial stop /p/ with glottal stop, a synchronic alternation of the plain dental stop /t/ with glottal stop, and a synchronic alternation of the velar stop /k/ with glottal stop. The alternation of the plain dental stop /t/ with glottal stop is much more restricted than the other two alternations. In synoptic terms these rules are:

- (4.1) P to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule, /p/ → /ʔ/.

The underlying form of the Inchoative Suffix /-p/ becomes /-ʔ/, except before word suffixes.

- (4.2) T to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule, /t/ → /ʔ/.

The First Person Plural Suffix /-aʔat/ becomes /-aʔaʔ/, except before the Passive Suffix /-iʔ/~/-ʔ/, in its allomorph which includes a phonemic buffer vowel /-i-/.

- (4.3) K to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule, /k/ → /ʔ/.

The underlying form of the lexical suffix /-kik/ 'say' becomes /-kiʔ/, except before most word suffixes. In combination with the Ditransitive Suffix the result is /-ki-ʔ/.

-say-DI

The basic situation is that the stop consonants /p, t, k/ in specific morphemes become glottal stop in word final position, including before enclitic particles and enclitic pronouns. Only the addition of a word suffix, or, in the case of /t/, the addition of a specific word suffix, protects one of the susceptible consonants from being word final. When the susceptible stop consonants have become glottal stop in word final position and are not protected by a following enclitic particle or enclitic pronoun from being in phrase-final position, the glottal stops are deleted in accordance with the regular Glottal Stop Deletion rule.

**(4.1) The Plain Bilabial Stop to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule.**

The alternation of /p/~ʔ/ is easily observable in the inflectional paradigms of verbal stems involving the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~ʔ/. Example set PSG.1, below, shows what can be called the principal parts of an intransitive Kutenai verbal stem. The form in part (a) is the plain form of the stem, ostensibly an infinitive. It does not reveal the stem-final glottal stop which is subject to deletion by the regular Glottal Stop Deletion rule. The subsidiary third person subject form in (c) is needed to show that the deleted stem-final glottal stop is actually underlyingly a plain bilabial stop, the Inchoative Suffix /-p/. Deri-

vations PGS.2 through derivation PGS.5, further below, show the principal parts of another intransitive verbal stem, including a subordinate form in PGS.5.

**Example Set PGS.1.**

- (a) **wi↓qa** 'to be big', /wi↓-qa-ʔ/~ /wi↓-qa-p/.  
 /wi↓-qa-ʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /wi↓-qa-p / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 big-STV-INCHOATIVE
- (b) **Wi↓qaʔni.** (P3 subj ind.) 'He/she/it/ (proximate) is big, They (proximate) are big.'  
 /wi↓-qa-ʔ<sub>ni</sub>/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /wi↓-qa-p<sub>ni</sub> / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 big-STV-INCHOATIVE<sub>INDICATIVE</sub>
- (c) **Wi↓qapsi.** (S3 subj indicative form)  
 /wi↓-qa-p-s<sub>i</sub>/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /wi↓-qa-p-s<sub>ni</sub> /<sup>18</sup> (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 big-STV-INCHOATIVE-S3<sub>INDICATIVE</sub>  
 'He/she/it/ (obviative) is big, They (obviative) are big.'

**Derivation PGS.2.**

**haqa** 'for there to be (one, some)'  
 /haqa / (Surface Phonemic)  
 /ha-qa-ʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /ha-qa-p / (Und. Phonemic)  
 have-STATIVE-IN

**Derivation PGS.3.**

**naqaʔni** 'There is (one), there are (some).'  
 /naqaʔni / (Surface Phonemic)  
 /n<sub>ha</sub>-qa-ʔ<sub>ni</sub> / (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /n<sub>ha</sub>-qa-p<sub>ni</sub> / (Und. Phonemic)  
 PM<sub>have</sub>-STV-IN<sub>IND</sub>

<sup>18</sup> The underlying dental nasal of the Indicative Marker /<sub>ni</sub>/ deletes after dental consonants, but only where specific morphemes are involved. One n-deleting suffix is the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/~-i s/, but only when that suffix appears in the form /-s/, without the preceding phonemic buffer vowel /-i-/ which accompanies it in certain morphological environments. The alloform /-i s/ includes a phonemic buffer vowel and is non-n-deleting. See section 2.6.11, where N-Deletion is discussed.

## Derivation PGS.4.

naqapsi 'There is (one),  
there are (some).'

/naqapsi / (Surface)  
/n<sub>h</sub>a-qa-p-s<sub>i</sub>/ (Mid-Level)  
/n<sub>h</sub>a-qa-p-s<sub>ni</sub>/ (Und. Ph.)  
PM<sub>h</sub>ave-STV-IN-S3<sub>i</sub>IND

## Derivation PGS.5.

kaqa 'that there is (one),  
that there are (some).'

/kaqa / (Surface Phonemic)  
/k<sub>h</sub>a-qa-ʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
/k<sub>h</sub>a-qa-p / (Und. Phonemic)  
SM<sub>h</sub>ave-STV-IN

The suffix which follows the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-ʔ/ need not be the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/. The clause in part (a) of the sentence in text example PGS.6 has the compound Associated Person (or Object) Suffix /-m-iʔ/ separating the Inchoative Suffix from word-final position, specifically by separating it from the encliticized Indicative Marker.

## Text Example PGS.6.

RMc-ChOg.298-299

hu qasɕumʔaqaqapmiʔni  
/hu<sub>h</sub> qasɕumʔa-qa-p-m-iʔ<sub>ni</sub>  
1CP<sub>h</sub> Smart-STV-IN-ASC-DI<sub>i</sub>IND

niʔs<sub>ɕ</sub> kʔuʔamaxaka.  
niʔ-s<sub>ɕ</sub>.k<sub>h</sub>ʔu-ʔam-a-ʔ-xa-kaʔ/  
the-S3<sub>i</sub>Fpt<sub>h</sub>SM<sub>h</sub>remove-Bf-GSVI-by.mouth-INH.0

(a) 'I am much smarter than'

(b) 'the one who bites off heads.'

In clause (b) of text example PGS.7, below, the Enclitic Conjunction /ɕ/ follows a word-final instance of the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-ʔ/, a component of the compound lexical suffix /-qna-p/ 'do'. The Inchoative Suffix is not only in word-final position here, so that it is realized as glottal stop, but it is also in phrase-final position and is deleted by the regular Glottal Stop Deletion rule, even though the conjunction follows.

## Text Example PGS.7.

RMc.12-14

ʔAt pa·mik ʔa ʔukʔanukni niʔ paʔki<sub>ɕ</sub>  
/ʔat pa·mik ʔa ʔukʔanuk<sub>ni</sub> niʔ paʔki<sub>ɕ</sub>/  
IMpt<sub>h</sub> anyway REV<sub>h</sub> one-Load.of.firewood<sub>i</sub>IND the woman and

(a) That woman would always make one more trip for wood,

taxas nuqna<sub>ɕ</sub> ʔat niʔs ʔuqaʔqa<sub>ɕ</sub>i.  
/taxa-s n<sub>h</sub>u-qna-ʔ<sub>ɕ</sub>/ ʔat niʔ-s ʔuqaʔqa<sub>ɕ</sub>i/  
then-S3 PM<sub>h</sub>finish-do-IN<sub>h</sub>and IMpt the-S3 change.direction-travel<sub>i</sub>IND

(b) Then when done,

(c) she would always go the other direction.

The verbal form in clause (b) of example PGS.7, above, bears comparison with other forms of the same verbal stem such as those in example set PGS.8, below.

## Example Set PGS.8.

G&amp;M (1979)

(a) huqnaʔni. 'to finish doing something, to be through'  
 /hu-qna-ʔ/  
 finish-do-IN

(b) Taxas nuqnaʔni.  
 /taxa-s n<sub>h</sub>u-qna-ʔ<sub>ni</sub>/  
 then-S3 PM<sub>h</sub>finish-do-IN<sub>IND</sub>  
 'Now he/she/it (proximate) is finished,  
 they (proximate) are finished.'

(c) nuqnapsi.  
 /taxa-s n<sub>h</sub>u-qna-p-s<sub>ni</sub>/  
 then-S3 PM<sub>h</sub>finish-do-IN-S3<sub>IND</sub>  
 'Now he/she/it (obviative) is finished,  
 they (obviative) are finished.'

The Inchoative Suffix /-p/~-/ʔ/ appears as glottal stop before encliticized particles, including the Indicative Marker /<sub>ni</sub>/ and the Locative Marker /<sub>ki</sub>/. The Inchoative Suffix changes to mid-level glottal stop and is then realized in surface phonemic and phonetic terms as glottalization when it occurs immediately before the Second Person Clitic Pronoun when that clitic pronoun is encliticized to a verbal form as a marker of second person singular imperative forms. This is illustrated in the derivation of text example PGS.9, below.

## Text Example PGS.9.

R.Mc.ChOg.228

qawsaqan<sub>h</sub> ɸ maʔɸ ʔaqaʔak '(you singular) Stay, but not close by.'  
 /qa-uʔsa-qa-ʔ<sub>n</sub> ɸ maʔɸ ʔaqaʔa-k/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /qa-uʔsa-qa-p<sub>hin</sub> ɸ maʔɸ ʔaqaʔa-k/ (Underlying Phonemic)  
 be.thus-Be.at-STV-IN<sub>2CP</sub> and PROHIB close(to)-do/be

## (4.2) Plain Velar Stop to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule.

The alternation of /k/~/?/ is easily observable in the inflectional paradigms of verbal stems involving the lexical suffix /-kiʔ/~/-kik/~/?ki-/ 'say'. Apparently no other morpheme in the language has an underlying velar stop which is realized anywhere as glottal stop.<sup>19</sup> Example set KGS.1, below, shows the results of the Velar Stop to Glottal Stop sub-rule in part (a) and (b), while part (c) reveals the underlying velar stop.

<sup>19</sup> There is another lexical suffix in the language /-wiɸkik/~/-wiɸk-/ 'look' which shares with the lexical suffix /-kik/~/-kiʔ/~/-k-/ 'say' the behavior of having an underlying velar stop delete before the Ditransitive Suffix /-iɸ/~/-ɸ/. The lexical suffix /-wiɸkik/~/-wiɸk-/ 'look', in the form /-wiɸkik/ immediately precedes the Indicative Marker /<sub>ni</sub>/ in the inflectional paradigms of intransitive stems, and is definitely not subject to the rule whereby an underlying velar stop becomes glottal stop in this environment.

**Example Set KGS.1.**

- (a) **qaki** v. 'to say something', /qa-kiʔ/~ /qa-kik-/.  
 /qa-kiʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /qa-kik/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 be.thus-say
- (b) **qakiʔni** (P3 subj indicative form) (c) **qakiksi** (S3 subj ind. form)  
 /qa-kiʔ<sub>ni</sub>/ /qa-kik-s<sub>i</sub>/<sup>20</sup>  
 /qa-kik<sub>ni</sub>/ /qa-kik-s<sub>ni</sub>/  
 be.thus-say<sub>IND</sub> be.thus-say-S3<sub>IND</sub>  
 'He/she/they (proximate) said it (obviative).' 'He/she/they (obviative) said it (obv).'

The text example KGS.2, below, shows the two indicative forms in (b) and (c) in the example above in the context of three contiguous clauses from a text. The fourth clause in this set (not shown here) represents a direct quote.

**Text Example KGS.2.**

AP-CY.138-140

- (a) **Taxas ʔat kʉpxnaps<sub>ɕ</sub>** 'When they (obviative) saw him (proximate)'  
 /taxa-s ʔat<sub>ɕ</sub> k<sub>ɕ</sub>ʔupx-n-ap-s<sub>ɕ</sub>/  
 then-S3 IMpt<sub>ɕ</sub> SM<sub>ɕ</sub> know/see-NC-HRO-S3<sub>ɕ</sub>and
- (b) **taxas<sub>sɕ</sub> qakiksi.** 'then that is what (obviative) they (obv.) said.'  
 /taxa-s s-iʔ<sub>ɕ</sub> qa-kik-s<sub>i</sub>/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /taxa-s s-iʔ<sub>ɕ</sub> qa-kik-s<sub>ni</sub>/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 then-S3 CON-ADV<sub>ɕ</sub> be.thus-say-S3<sub>IND</sub>
- (c) **Taxas qakiʔni** 'Then he (proximate) said (it (obviative)):'  
 /Taxa-s qa-kiʔ<sub>ni</sub>/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /Taxa-s qa-kik<sub>ni</sub>/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 then-S3 be.thus-say<sub>IND</sub>

**(4.3) The Dental Stop to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule.**

There is a straightforwardly synchronic alternation of /t/~ʔ/ in Kutenai. This involves the First Person Plural Suffix /-aʔat/~-aʔaʔ/ which appears as /-aʔaʔ/ everywhere, except when this suffix is followed by the Passive Suffix /-ɕ/, specifically with an intervening phonemic buffer vowel /-i-/. Putting it in different terms, the Passive Suffix /-ɕ/~-iɕ/, occurs in the form /-iɕ/ which includes a phonemic buffer vowel. It is the alloform with the phonemic buffer vowel which follows the First Person

<sup>20</sup> See the sub-section on N-Deletion in section 2.6.11, further below.

## Plural Suffix.

## Example Set TGS.1

FW-12.9

(a) hu qaki+na+a?ni.  
 /hu<sub>u</sub> qa-k-i+-n-a+a?ni/  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-say-DI-NC-1PL<sub>u</sub>IND  
 'We told him.'

(b) hu qaki+na+ati+ni.  
 /hu<sub>u</sub> qa-k-i+-n-a+at-i+ni/  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-say-DI-NC-1PL-PASV<sub>u</sub>IND  
 'We were told.'

## Example Set TGS.2

FW-12.8

(a) hu qanaq+ikxna+a?ni. 'We kicked it.' FW-12.8  
 (b) hu qanaq+ikxna+ati+ni. 'We got kicked, they kicked us.'  
 Also: 'We were refused.'

## Example Set TGS.3

FW-12.18

hun ?upi+na+a?ni. 'We killed them.'  
 hun ?upi+na+ati+ni. 'We all got killed', 'We were getting murdered (figuratively)'.<sup>21</sup>

In diachronic terms, a strong case can be made for the idea that the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ is a derivative of the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/. The Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ occurs after a variety of morphemes, most of them involving a velar or uvular consonant. The exceptions involve /m/ which means that those instances of /m/ pattern like velar or uvular consonants.<sup>22</sup> This in turn provides evidence for the reconstruction of a velar nasal (or uvular nasal) for an earlier state of the language. Such a reconstruction is something already suggested by Kutenai-Salishan comparative work.

The derivation of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ from the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ is not a synchronic alternation. It is not reflected in the inflectional paradigms of individual verbal stems. Individual transitive stems either have the T-Transitive Suffix /-t/, the Glottal Stop Transitive Suffix /-ʔ/, the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix /-ʔ/, or they are transitive by some other criterion. This is in contrast to the situation where the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-ʔ/ shows an alternation of /p/~ʔ/ between different inflected forms of individual verbal stems, and the situation where the lexical suffix /-kik/~kiʔ/~-ki/ 'say' shows an alternation of /k/~ʔ/ between different inflected forms of individual verbal stems. The following two example sets attest

<sup>21</sup> See section 3.1.5, under the heading of the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix for analysis of these forms.

<sup>22</sup> For examples, see section 3.1.5 where the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix is discussed.

to the invariant nature of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/, in inflectional paradigms. In these examples it is labelled as the Glottal Stop Transitive Suffix.

## Example Set TGS.4.

G&amp;M(1979)

- (a) ʔitɕanxu v. 'to tan a hide or hides'  
/ʔiʔt-ɕan-xu-ʔ/

Become-suspended-by.body-GSVI

(b) ɳitɕanxuʔni (P3 subj indicative form)

(c) ɳitɕanxuʔsi (S3 subj indicative form)

## (d) Text Example.

AP-CM.162

Ma ɕxaɬ.sɬ ʔitɕanxuʔni.ɕ 'She was about to tan a hide.'

/ma.ɕxa-ʔɬ.s-iʔɬ. ʔiʔt-ɕan-xu-ʔ.ni ɕ/

PST.FUT-ADV. CON-ADV. Become-suspended-by.body-GSVI.IND and

## Example Set TGS.5.

G&amp;M(1979)

- (a) ʔupink'u v. 'to squeeze the water out of a skin by use of a wringing stick in the process of tanning a hide'.

(b) ɳupink'uʔni (P3 subj indicative form)

(c) ɳupink'uʔsi (S3 subj indicative form)

## (d) Text Example.

AP-CM.163

Nuɬ ʔupink'uʔni. 'She finished squeezing the water out (of the hide).'

/n.hu-ʔɬ. ʔupin-k'u-ʔ.ni/

PM.finish-ADV. squeeze.out-by.pointed.object(s)/finger(s)-GSVI.IND

The following text example in TGS.6 shows that the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix (i.e. the Glottal Stop Transitive Suffix) occurs before the Passive Suffix /-ɬ/, specifically without an intervening phonemic buffer vowel. Note that it is a following Passive Suffix, specifically with an intervening phonemic buffer vowel, which provides the very environment which preserves the underlying /t/ in the case of the First Person Plural Suffix /-aɬat/~-aɬaʔ/. Whatever rule is reconstructed for an earlier state of the language, by which the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ can be derived from the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/, the synchronic alternation of /t/~ʔ/ in the First Person Plural Suffix is another matter.



Text Example TGS.6.

MP.FL.34

Tax qapsin si+xu?+ "(I) wonder what we'll be packing."

/tax qapsin s-i-+ -xu-?-+ /

just what CON-Bf-carry-GSVI-PASV (i.e. just what is to be backpacked)

### 2.6.7 Deep Phonological Rule (5):

#### Obstruent-Nasal Cluster to Glide Rule.

This rule has three sub-rules or conditions which are listed in synoptic form below. The three sub-rules have a common phonetic basis. The dominant fact about this rule, however, is its highly restrictive morphological conditioning. All of the examples of the rule evidently involve the N-Connector Suffix  $/-n-/$ , or another suffix having an identical form.<sup>23</sup> All of the morphological constructions where the rule applies are evidently old in the language. There are numerous exceptions to this rule in the language where the underlying sequences  $/pn/$ ,  $/kn/$ , and  $/sn/$  are realized unchanged in surface phonemic terms, but these exceptions always involving morphemes other than the conditioning morphemes of this rule.

(5.1) PN to W Sub-Rule,  $/p+n/ \rightarrow /w/$ .

The underlying form of the Inchoative Suffix  $/-p/$ , in combination with a following N-Connector Suffix  $/-n-/$  together become  $/-w-/$ .<sup>24</sup>

(5.2) KN to W Sub-Rule,  $/k+n/ \rightarrow /y/$ .

The underlying form of the Reflexive Suffix  $/-ik/$ , in combination with a following N-Connector Suffix  $/-n-/$ , together become  $/-iy-/$ .

(5.3) SN to Y Sub-Rule,  $/s+n/ \rightarrow /y/$ .

The underlying form of the root  $/ʔas/$  in combination with a following N-Connector Suffix  $/-n-/$  or Standing Position Suffix  $/-n-/$ , together become  $/ʔay-/$ .

#### Examples of the PN to W Sub-Rule, $/p+n/ \rightarrow /w/$ .

In the possessive paradigm of the nominal stem  $/ʔa·k\downarrow uʔkqa/$  'language, speech' presented below, each instance of the Inchoative Suffix  $/-p/$  is put into bold face type, with its outright deletion represented as  $\emptyset$ .<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> There is the N-Connector Suffix  $/-n-/$ , and the Standing Position Suffix  $/-n-/$ . Presumably one of these suffixes is a component of  $/ʔayma-/$  'double', underlyingly  $/ʔas-n-ma-/$  and one is a component of the compound lexical suffix  $/-n-mi-yit/$  'day'. Both of these compound elements are affected by this rule.

<sup>24</sup> The rule of  $/p+n/ \rightarrow /w/$  leads to the subsequent and associated rule whereby the Indefinite Person Suffix  $/-am/$  is realized as  $/-um/$  after the realization of the Inchoative Suffix and N-Connector Suffix as  $/-w/$ . See section 2.6.4.

<sup>25</sup> The same possessive paradigm is also presented above in a slightly different format in the discussion of rule (2) Low Vowel Raising, Backing, and Rounding, in section 2.6.4.

## Example Set PNW.1.

The Possessive Paradigm of a Word Illustrating /p/ → /w/, /Ø/, /ʔ/, /'/.  
 ?a·k↓uk aqwum ' (peoples') language, speech, (a person's) language, speech'

ka ?a·k↓u ?k qaØ 'my language, speech'

?a·k↓uk qa ?ni s 'your language, speech' (2nd person singular possessor)

?a·k↓uk qaØ ?i s 'his/her/its/their language, speech' (Upper Kutenai)<sup>26</sup>

?a·k↓uk qa p' i s i s 'his/her/its/their language, speech' (obviative possessor)

ka ?a·k↓uk aqwa↓a 'our language, speech'

?a·k↓uk aqØ ni ski ↓ 'your language, speech' (2nd person plural possessor)

Example PNW.2, below, is the first person plural possessive form in the paradigm, presented in analyzed format.

## Example PNW.2.

ka (?)a·k↓uk aqwa↓a 'our language, speech'.<sup>27</sup>

/ka<sub>↓</sub> ?a·k-↓u ?k-aq-w-a↓a ?/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/kan<sub>↓</sub> ?a·k-↓u ?k-qa-p-n-a↓at/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

1 POS<sub>↓</sub> NSB-sound-STV-IN-NC-1PL

## Examples of the KN to Y Sub-Rule, /k+n/ → /y/.

In the presentation of the reflexive paradigm below, each instance of the Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-ak/~-/iy-/ is put into bold face type.<sup>28</sup> Where it appears as surface phonemic /-iy/ it actually includes the following N-Connector Suffix, except in the case of the second person plural form. In that form, the allomorph /-iy-/ of the Reflexive Suffix is a product of another morphologically conditioned rule, Compensatory Lengthening.<sup>29</sup> In that rule, an underlying cluster of two back stop consonants, usually /kk/

<sup>26</sup> The Lower Kutenai form is /?a·k↓uk qani ?i s/ 'his/her/its/their language, speech'. This form is attested in the Sahaptin Groups Text told by Simon Francis. FW identified it as a Lower Kutenai way of saying /?a·k↓uk qa ?i s/.

<sup>27</sup> In careful speech the initial glottal stop of the stem is likely to be present, while in rapid speech it is likely to be deleted.

<sup>28</sup> The same reflexive paradigm is also presented above in the discussion of the M~N Alternation in section 2.6.3.

<sup>29</sup> The spelling /-iy/ is chosen here over the spelling /-i·/ in order to maintain consistency in the reflexive paradigm. The surface phonemic spellings, /-iy/ and the spelling /-i·/, are equivalent in terms of their phonetic realization in this second person plural form where what follows is a velar stop. See section 2.6.12 where the spelling /-iy/ is called for in the primary third person subject indicative form /ɕin-k'apa↓t-iy-ax<sub>↓</sub>ni/, because the following segment is a vowel.

are realized together as vowel length plus the second consonant of the underlying cluster. The nature of the Obstruent-Nasal Cluster to Glide rule suggests that the Compensatory Lengthening rule may have originally been a rule where stop consonants became glides.<sup>30</sup>

Indicative Forms of the Reflexive Stem /ʔiktuquʔmik/ 'to wash oneself'.

hun ʔiktuquʔmik	'I washed myself'.
hin ʔiktuquʔmik	'You (sg) washed yourself'.
ʔiktuquʔmik	'He/she/it/they (prox) washed him-/her-/it-self/themselves'.
ʔiktuqunaksi	'He/she/it/they (obv) washed him-/her-/it-self/themselves'.
ʔiktuquniyamni	'People (proximate) washed themselves'.
ʔiktuquniyamisni	'People (obviative) washed themselves'.
hun ʔiktuquniyaʔaʔni	'We washed ourselves'.
hin ʔiktuqunykiʔni	'You (pl) washed yourselves'.

Examples of the SN to Y Sub-Rule, /s+n/ → /y/.

Example set SNY.1 contains the Kutenai word /ʔaywu/ 'twenty' in part (a) which shows the application of the Obstruent-Nasal Cluster to Glide rule. The words in parts (b), (c), and (d) demonstrate the validity of the underlying representation posited in part (a). Other number words in the language also back up this analysis.

Example Set SNY.1.

(a) ʔaywu	'twenty'	(b) ʔas	'two'
/ʔaywu/	←(Mid-Level Phonemic)→	/ʔas/	
/ʔas-n-wu/	←(Underlying Phonemic)→	/ʔas/	
two-NC-DECADE.MARKER		two	
(c) qaʔsanwu	'thirty'	(d) qaʔsa	'three'
/qaʔsa-n-wu/	←(Mid-Level Phonemic)→	/qaʔsa/	
/qaʔsa-n-wu/	←(Underlying Phonemic)→	/qaʔsa/	
three-NC-DECADE.MARKER		three	

Two example derivations, SNY.2 and SNY.3, are presented below to demonstrate that an underlying cluster of /sn/ is not realized as surface phonemic /y/, if the following morpheme is other than the conditioning morpheme (or morphemes) of the rule. In example SNY.2, below, the root /ʔas/ 'two' is also involved, as in example SNY.1 (a),

<sup>30</sup> See the discussion of Compensatory Lengthening further below in section 2.6.9, where one example involves a lengthened /a/ which does not lend itself directly to an analysis where underlying /k/ becomes one of the two glides in the language /y/ or /w/ in an intermediate form in a derivation.

above, but the /n/ which follows in example SNY.2, below, belongs to the encliticized Indicative Marker /<sub>v</sub>ni/.<sup>31</sup> In this case, underlying /s<sub>v</sub>n/ is realized as surface phonemic /sn/, not \*/y/. In a closely related inflectional form of the same verbal stem, in example SNY.3, below, underlying /s/ precedes the /n/ of the Indicative Marker, but that underlying /s<sub>v</sub>n/ leads to N-Deletion, another morphologically conditioned rule, because the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix is involved, appearing without a preceding buffer vowel.<sup>32</sup>

Example Derivation SNY.2. G&M (1979)      Example Derivation SNY.3. G&M (1979)

ńasni  
[ ńá·sɲe·]  
/n<sub>v</sub>ʔas<sub>v</sub>ni/      (Mid-Level Ph.)  
PM<sub>v</sub>two<sub>v</sub>INDICATIVE  
'There are two of them (proximate)'

ńassi  
[ ńá·s:j·]  
/n<sub>v</sub>ʔas-s<sub>v</sub>i/      (Mid-Level Ph.)  
/n<sub>v</sub>ʔas-s<sub>v</sub>ni / (Underlying Ph.)  
PM<sub>v</sub>two-S3<sub>v</sub>INDICATIVE  
'There are two of them (obviative)'

<sup>31</sup> All of the words for numbers in Kutenai are either used as plain stems in counting, or are used as verbal stems. This means that each such stem has a potential gloss such as 'for there to be {twenty} of something', 'for them to be {twenty} in number'.

<sup>32</sup> See section 2.6.11 on N-Deletion, and section 2.6.6, rule (4.1), example set PGS.1, part (c), above, where a footnote discusses the morphophonemic consequences of a phonemic buffer vowel with the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix.



### 2.6.8 Deep Phonological Rule (6): K-Vocalization.

K-Vocalization is a rare process in Kutenai where underlying /k/ between a preceding glottal stop /ʔ/ and before a following plain velar stop /k/ is realized as /u/ in certain inflectional forms of at least one verbal stem. This has a close relationship with Compensatory Lengthening, where underlying /k/ or rarely /q/ are realized as the vowel length of a preceding vowel. The same verbal stem which provides the rare examples of K-Vocalization in example set KV.1, below, also has inflectional forms which are examples of Compensatory Lengthening. The third person indicative forms of the stem in KVI.1, parts (b) and (c) are straightforward examples of Compensatory Lengthening, while the interrogative form in part (d), along with the subordinate, complementizing form in part (e) are examples of K-Vocalization, following the plain form of the stem in part (a), also an example of K-Vocalization.

Example Set KV.1.

G&M (1979)

- (a) suʔukin v. 'to do or make something right, to do something well, to treat someone right'.
- (b) su·kini 'He/she/they (proximate) made it (obviative) right',  
'He/she/they (prox) treated him/her/it/them (obv) right'.
- (c) su·kinsi 'He/she/they (obviative) made it (proximate) right',  
'He/she/they (obv) treated him/her/it/them (prox) right'.
- (d) Ksuʔukin ? 'Did he/she/they (proximate) do it right?, Did he/she/they (prox) treat it/him/her/them (obv) well?'

(e) **ksuʔukin** 'that he/she/they (proximate) did it right, that he/she/they (prox) treated it/him/her/them (obv) well?'

Example derivation KV.2, below, shows the plain form of the stem in analyzed format, while example derivation KV.3, below, shows the k-form of the stem as represented by the complementizing form of the stem in KV.1, part (e), above.

**Example Derivation KV.2.**

**suʔukin**  
 [suʔú·kɪ·n]  
 /suʔukin/ (Surface Phonemic)  
 /suʔu-kin/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /suʔk-kin/ (Underlying Phonemic)  
 good-by.hand  
 'to do or make something right,  
 to treat someone right'

**Example Derivation KV.2.**

**ksuʔukin**  
 [ksuʔú·kɪ·n]  
 /k<sub>↓</sub>suʔukin/ (Surface Phonemic)  
 /k<sub>↓</sub>suʔu-kin/ (Mid-Level Ph.)  
 /k<sub>↓</sub>suʔk-kin/ (Underlying Ph.)  
 SM<sub>↓</sub>good-by.hand  
 'that he/she/they (prox) did it right,  
 that he/she/they (prox) treated it/him/  
 her/them (obv) well?'

There are examples in the language of surface phonemic /kk/ from underlying sequences of /k+k/. Most of these examples do not occur in exactly the environment where K-Vocalization occurs, but then Compensatory Lengthening takes some of the underlying sequences of /k+k/ and has them realized as surface phonemic sequence of /·k/, where the first consonant in the underlying cluster is realized as vowel length.



### 2.6.9 Deep Phonological Rule (7): Compensatory Lengthening.

Compensatory Lengthening in Kutenai involves the fate of certain underlying clusters of two back stop consonants, most commonly /kk/, rarely /q̄q̄/, and marginally /kq/, where the first consonant in the cluster is realized as surface phonemic vowel length.

Example Set CML.1, illustrating /kk / → /·k/.

(a) ʔik	'eat'	(b) ʔi·kuɫ	'to drink'.
[ʔik]		[ʔi:k·uɫ]	
/ʔik/	(Mid-Level Phonemic)	/ʔi·kuɫ/	(Mid-Level Phonemic)
eat		Drink	
		/ʔik-k-uɫ /	(Underlying Phonemic)
		eat-water-Buffer.Vowel-DI	

Example CML.2, illustrating /kk / → /·k/.

ʔitu·kin	v. 'to fix water, such as boiling water for tea'.
/ʔitu·kin/	(Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)
/ʔiʔt-uk-kin /	(Underlying Phonemic Representation)
Become-water-by.hand.(transitive) <sup>21</sup>	

In a limited sense, the rule of Compensatory Lengthening is productive in that it can be seen in the apparent neologism in example CML.3. The neologism, however, is squarely based on the verbal stem in example CML.2, above.

<sup>21</sup> The instrumental lexical suffix /-kin/ 'by hand' is intrinsically a transitivizer.

Example CML.3, illustrating /kk / → /·k/.

G&M(1979)

kʰitu·kinmuɬ 'something used to prepare a liquid such as coffee, tea, etc.:'  
'teapot'.

[kʰitu·kʰi·nmuɬ]

/kʰitu·kinmuɬ/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)

/k.ʔiʔt-u-kin-mu-ɬ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/k.ʔiʔt-uk-kin-mu-ɬ / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

SM.Become-water-by.hand.(transitive)-INST-PASV

The instances of compensatory lengthening illustrated above can be treated as cases of underlying /k/ being realized as surface phonemic /y/, or as cases of underlying /k/ being realized as surface phonemic /w/, depending on the preceding vowel. The positing of a glide /y/ or /w/ as the surface phonemic product of this rule does not help, however, where the preceding vowel is /a/. The following two examples illustrate underlying /akʰ/ being realized as surface phonemic /a·kʰ/.

Text Example CML.4, illustrating /kk / → /·k/.

AP-CM.168

Qsa·kʰuʔni ɬ 'She dipped some water, and'

/qsa--kʰu-ʔni ɬ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/qsa-k-kʰu-ʔni ɬ/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

take.some-water-by.pointed.object-GSVI.IND and

Text Example CML.5, illustrating /k<sup>h</sup> / → /·k<sup>h</sup>/.

R.Mc-ChOg.117

ɕinyaxa·k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup> 'Fetch some water',

/ɕi-n-yaxa---k<sup>h</sup>u-ʔ<sub>n</sub> / (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/ɕi-n-yaxa-k<sup>h</sup>u-ʔ<sub>hin</sub> / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

INCEP-go-fetch-water-by.pointed.object-GSVI<sub>2</sub>CP

Examples of Compensatory Lengthening in Kutenai involving anything other than an underlying cluster of /kk/ are rare. In example set CML.6, below, the underlying cluster is /q<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>/. The form in (b), where the rule of Compensatory Lengthening does not apply, was said by FW to be more literal than the form in (a), where the rule does apply. FW offered the form in (a) first, then offered the form in (b) as something of an explanation of the first form in (a) where underlying /q<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>/ is reduced to /·q<sup>h</sup>/.

Example Set CML.6, illustrating /q<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup> / → /·q<sup>h</sup>/.

FW-6.142

(a) wa·q<sup>h</sup>uta<sup>h</sup>ni

(b) waq<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>uta<sup>h</sup>ni

/wa·q<sup>h</sup>uta<sup>h</sup>ni/ (Mid-Level) /waq<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>uta<sup>h</sup>ni/

/waq<sup>h</sup>-q<sup>h</sup>uta<sup>h</sup><sub>ni</sub>/ (Underlying) /waq<sup>h</sup>-q<sup>h</sup>uta<sup>h</sup><sub>ni</sub>/

thick-fat<sub>IND</sub>

thick-fat<sub>IND</sub>

'It (esp. meat) has thick fat'.

'It (esp. meat) has thick fat'.

Compensatory Lengthening once had greater scope, in other words more general conditions of application, than it has now. The word /ski·qa<sup>h</sup>ni/ in example set CML.7, below, is an example where the rule of Compensatory Lengthening applies, but it was reported by FW as an earlier pronunciation for present day /skik<sup>h</sup>qa<sup>h</sup>ni/, where the rule does not apply. FW said that the older pronunciation in example set CML.7, part (b) was the way the word was pronounced by people of his grandparents generation.

Example Set CML.7.

G&M (1979), FW-9.137

The New Pronunciation.

The Old Pronunciation.

(a) **skikqaʔni.**

(b) **ski·qaʔni.**

[skɪkqaʔnɛ]

[ski·qaʔnɛ]

/s-kik-qa-ʔni/ (Mid-Level)

/s-ki--qa-ʔni/ (Mid-Level)

/s-kik-qa-ʔni/ (Underlying)

/s-kik-qa-ʔni/ (Underlying)

CON-HORZ-STV-IN,IND

CON-HORZ-STV-IN,IND

'something to be lying somewhere,  
something to be lying there'.

'something to be lying somewhere,  
something to be lying there'.

### 2.6.10 Deep Phonological Rule (8): Monophthongization.

The Monophthongization rule of Kutenai is one where two phonemically unlike underlying vowels are realized as a single long surface phonemic monophthong. It is assumed here that all monophthongization involving underlyingly unlike vowels in Kutenai is morphologically conditioned. Otherwise in the language, when two phonemically unlike underlying vowels come together, either because of laryngeal deletion or without the deletion of an intervening laryngeal, the result is a diphthong. All instances of diphthongization in Kutenai are accounted for by the regular rules of mid-level phonology and the rules of surface phonology proper.<sup>22</sup> The term monophthongization does not extend to cases where two underlyingly identical vowels come together to be realized as a single, long surface phonemic vowels, although that is obviously a very similar phonological process to the process described here as monophthongization.<sup>23</sup>

(8.1) Monophthongization and the Lexical Suffix /-ak at/ 'see, sight',

/u+a/ → /u·/, and /in+a/ → /i·/.

These particular examples of monophthongization are morphologically conditioned in that they specifically involve the lexical suffix /-ak at/ 'see, sight' suffixed to a root morpheme which ends in a vowel. In one example, the rule also involves the deletion of the consonant /n/. Certain verbal stems such as /sa·nak ati ?/ 'to look bad' provide evidence that the lexical suffix /-ak at/ 'see, sight' begins with a vowel, while the verbal

<sup>22</sup> Two examples of what is treated here as regular and predictable diphthongization are surface phonemic /qawsaqa ?/ 'to stay or be somewhere', from underlying /qa-u?sa-qa-p/ (be.thus-Be.at-STV-INCHOATIVE), and /qawxam/ 'to go there', from underlying /qa-u?xa-m/ (be.thus-Be.to-RELOCATIONAL.M.SUFFIX). See section 2.5.6.

<sup>23</sup> See section 2.5.6 where mid-level vowel combination rules are discussed, including the sub-rule (6.1) Double Vowels as Long Monophthongs.

stem stem /ʔi s i k a t i ʔ/ 'to be frightening' provides marginally evidence against the lexical suffix having an initial vowel. The stem /ʔi s i k a t i ʔ/ 'to be frightening' may be a relatively new word in the language, put together with a modern reduced form /-k a t/ of the lexical suffix /-a k a t/ 'see, sight'.

Derivation MON.1, illustrating underlying /u+a/ → /u·/.

wu·kat            'to see something'  
 [wu·kat]  
 /wu·kat/        (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /wu-akat /     (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 touch-sight

The root morpheme /wU-/ 'touch' which now ends in a vowel may be cognate to Proto-Salishan \*mUS- 'feel, touch'. There is in Kutenai a rule whereby the underlying sequence /sn/ is realized as /y/ and the underlying sequence /kn/ is realized as /y/. The monophthongization in example MON.1 may be a case where an original /s/ has been lost. CVC roots are certainly more common in Kutenai than CV roots. The word /ɕi·kat/ 'to looked at something' in derivation MON.2 (a), below, evidently involves an underlying CVC root. Part of the evidence for this is the analysis of the stem in derivation MON.2 (b).

Example Set MON.2.

(a) ɕi·kat	'to looked at something'	(b) ɕin-k'apaɬt-iɬ-ik	'to listen'
[ɕí:ká:t]		[ɕɪnk'apáɬtí·ɬɪk]	
/ɕi·kat/	(Mid-Level Phonemic)	/ɕin-k'apaɬt-iɬ-ik/	
/ɕin-akat/	(Underlying Phonemic)	/ɕin-k'apaɬt-iɬ-ik/	
catch/grab-sight		catch/grab-hearing-DI-REFLX	

**(8.2) Monophthongization Involving the Clitic Pronouns,**

/a+hu/ → /ɔ̄/ or /ū/,

/a+hi/ → /ā/.

There are cases of monophthongization in Kutenai where the clitic pronouns, /hū/ First Person, and /hīn̄/ Second Person, encliticize onto the Hypothetical Particle /xmā̄/, or the (Marked) Past Tense Particle /mā̄/. The resulting contractions are /xmā̄ɔ̄/ or /xmā̄ū/ 'I would, could', /mɔ̄̄/ or /mā̄/ 'I did', and /xmā̄n̄/ 'you should'. Because these contractions involve encliticization and H-Deletion, they would seem to be governed by the regular laryngeal deletion and vowel combination rules of mid-level phonology, but those rules yield different results. They govern examples in the language where the underlying sequence of /ā̄hū/ is subject to H-Deletion, then these instances of underlying /ā̄hū/ are realized as surface phonemic /aū/, in some places represented orthographically as /aw̄/.<sup>24</sup> These cases involve diphthongization after H-Deletion, rather than monophthongization. Monophthongization is treated here as a morphologically conditioned rule and any instance of H-Deletion which precedes this

<sup>24</sup> See section 2.5.6, sub-rule (6.2). Diphthongization examples include the compound word /nausanmiyitki/ 'nowadays', from underlying

/nā̄husanmiyit̄̄ki/ (this̄̄Complete.a.certain.number.of.days̄̄ LOC)

and the expressions (from FW):

/qanā̄ū qā̄+xunī?nī/ 'if only that is how it were for me', from underlying

/qa-nā̄hū̄ qā̄-†-xu-n-ī?nī/

be.thus-gō̄.1CP̄̄ be.thus-carry-by.body-NC-STV̄̄IND

and:

/qanā̄ū qā̄+xuninā̄†ā̄?nī/ 'if only that is how it were for us', from underlying

/qa-nā̄hū̄ qā̄-†-xu-n-ī?-n-ā̄†ā̄?nī/

be.thus-gō̄.1CP̄̄.be.thus-carry-by.body-NC-STV-NC-1PL̄̄IND

These last two examples are part of an entire paradigm of forms, all beginning with a particle /qanā̄/.

monophthongization is also treated here as morphologically conditioned.

The particle+clitic pronoun contractions /x̣mɔ̣/ or /x̣m̄ạ/ 'I would, could', /mɔ̣/ or /m̄ạ/ 'I did', and /x̣m̄ạn/ 'you should' are obligatory in natural speech. They are evidently a part of the language's lexicon, rather than simply the products of the entirely productive phonological rules of the language. In contrast, the examples of diphthongization in this same basic segmental environment are assumed to be the results of a productive phonological process.

Example MON.3, below, illustrates monophthongization where underlying /a+hu/ is realized as surface /ɔ̣/ by some speakers, including FW, or as surface phonemic /ụ/, by other speakers, including EG.

Derivation MON.3, illustrating underlying /a+hu/ → /ɔ̣/ or /ụ/. FW. cf.4.68

x̣mɔ̣	ɬa	ʔikni		'I could eat again.'
[x̣m̄ɔ̄:ɬaʔí·k̄ɲe·]				
/x̣mɔ̣	ɬạ	ʔiḳni/		(Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)
/x̣mạhụ	ɬạ	ʔiḳni/		(Underlying Phonemic Representation)
HYPO <sub>1</sub> CP <sub>1</sub> REV <sub>1</sub> eat <sub>1</sub> IND				

Examples MON.4 and MON.5, below, illustrate monophthongization where underlying /a+hi/ is realized as surface phonemic /ạ/.

Text Example MON.4, illustrating underlying /a+hi/ → /ạ/. MP-FL.118

x̣m̄ạn	skiɬ	ʔāq̄maɬ	ɕinaxi		'you should go out (and)'
[x̣m̄ạn skiɬ ʔāq̄maɬ t̄sinó·x̄e·]					
/x̣m̄ạn	s-k-iɬ	ʔāq̄ma-ɬ̣	ɕi-na-x̣i/		(Mid-Level)
/x̣mạhiṇ	s-k-iɬ̣	ʔāq̄ma-ɬ̣	ɕi-na-x̣ni/		(Underlying)
HYPO <sub>2</sub> CP <sub>2</sub> CON-do/be-ADV <sub>2</sub> sudden-ADV <sub>2</sub> INCEP-go-RLG <sub>2</sub> IND					



Text Example MON.5, illustrating underlying /a+hi/ → /a·/. MP-FL.119

xma·n (h)a+đat'i ʔni ʔa·qu+aqpi ʔk 'You should pick a bunch of leaves.'

[χma·n (h)a+đat'i·ʔne· ʔa·qo+đ·qpi·ʔk]

/xma·n· ha+đat'i ʔni ʔa·qu+aqpi ʔk/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/xma· hin· ha+đat'i ʔni ʔa·-qu+aqpi ʔk/ (Underlying Phonemic)

HYPO· 2CP· Collect·IND NSB-leaf

**(8.3) Monophthongization Involving the Definite Reference Marker,  
/a·+uʔ/ → /u·/.**

The Emphatic Demonstrative Definite Reference Marker /yu·/ is derived from the plain form of the Definite Reference Marker /ya·/ with the suffixation of the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix /-uʔ/.

The clauses in MON.6 are the first two clauses of a short ethnographic text told by FW. Example MON.6 (a) contains an example of the Emphatic Demonstrative Definite Reference Marker /yu·/. The text was transcribed and translated with the the help of FW on January 19, 1974. The clauses in MON.7 (a) and (b), further below, were elicited as a paradigm of two isolated clauses, during the process of transcribing and translating this same text.

Text Example MON.6. FW-11.52

(a) Pa·mik hu·ɕ yu·qakiʔki '(Listen to) what I'm going to say,

/pa·mik hu·ɕ yu· qa-kiʔki/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/pa·mik hu·ɕ ya·-uʔ qa-kiʔki/ (Underlying Phonemic)

anyway 1CP·Fpt· DFM-ED· be.thus-say·LOC

(b) hu.ɕ qa yunaɬikiyaxaʔni. 'I'm not going to use many words.'

/hu.ɕ. qa. yuʔ-n-haʔ-ɬiʔk-yaxa-ʔni/<sup>25</sup>

1CP.Fpt. NEG. many-NC-have-sound-fetch-GSVI.IND

A freer translations for the two clauses of MON.6, taken together, is: 'I'm going to say something, I'm going to use just a few words.'

Example Set MON.7.

FW-11.53

(a) hu.ɕ yu.ɕqakiʔki

(b) hu.ɕ ya.ɕqakiʔki

/hu.ɕ. yu.ɕ qa-kiʔki/ ←(Mid)→ /hu.ɕ ya.ɕ qa-kiʔki/

/hu.ɕ. ya.-uʔqa-kiʔki/ ←(Und.)→ /hu.ɕ ya.ɕ qa-kiʔki/

1CP.Fpt. DFM-ED. be.thus-say.LOC

1CP.Fpt. DFM. be.thus-say.LOC

'(this is )what I'm going to say'.

'what I'm going to say'.

#### (8.4) Monophthongization and Near Monophthongization,

/u+ha/ → /a./, for some speakers, → /ua/, for other speakers.

In the Tobacco Plains Kutenai of EG and others, underlying sequences of /u+ha/ in certain words are realized as surface phonemic /a./ . Other speakers, including FW and others from St Mary's and the late Mary Paul of Vancouver, originally from Columbia Lake, have these instances of underlying /u+ha/ realized as surface phonemic /ua/. At

<sup>25</sup> The analysis here of the compound lexical suffix /-ɬikiyaxaʔ/ '(Use) verbal expression, (Use) turn of phrase' as /-ɬiʔk-yaxa-ʔ/ (-sound-fetch-GLOTTAL.STOP. VALENCE.INCREASING.SUFFIX) assumes an ad hoc morphologically conditioned rule to derive /-ɬiʔk-/ 'sound' from underlying /-ɬuʔk/ 'sound' before the verbal lexical suffix /-yaxa/ 'fetch'.

least their pronunciations can be construed to be instances of surface phonemic /ua/. For MPcl the phonetic result has been transcribed as [o<sup>u</sup>] in careful speech examples, with the first vowel much more prominent than the second. For FW, the phonetic result has been variously transcribed as [ou], [ɔ<sup>u</sup>] and [ɔ̄]. Example MON.8 is a compound lexical item from EG where pure monophthongization is involved, requiring the positing of a single, long surface phonemic vowel /ā/.

Example MON.8.

G&M (1979)

kyɑ·kī ʔikī 'table cloth'.

/k̄.ɥɑ̄-k-īʔ ʔik-īʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/k̄.ɥu-ha-k-īʔ̄ ʔik-īʔ/ (Underlying Phonemic)

SM<sub>on</sub>.top-have-do/be-ADV<sub>u</sub> eat-PASV

Example MON.9 is a word from MPcl where it is possible to use the underlying vowels as the surface phonemic vowels. This can be taken to be a careful speech pronunciation.

Example MON.9.

MPcl.15.52, May 10, 1976

yuanqamik 'He/she/it/they sat on it.'

[yo<sup>u</sup>nqá·mɪ·k]

/ȳu-a-nqa-m-ik/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ȳu-ha-nqa-m-ik / (Underlying Phonemic)

on.top-have-sit-ASC-REFLX

Example MON.10, below, contains another inflected form of the same verbal stem as the one in example MON.9, above.

Example Set MON.10.

MPcl.15.52, May 10, 1976

Maʔɕ ɬa yuanaqnam 'Don't sit on it (again), or ride.'

[maʔɕ ɬa yɔɑnɑ·qʰɑ·m]

/maʔɕ ɬa yu-ha-naq-nam/<sup>26</sup>PROHIB REV. on.top-have-sit-ASC-RECIP<sup>27</sup>

Example Set MON.11, below, illustrates a derivative of the same stem seen above in examples MON.9 and MON.10. The pronunciation illustrated here is that of FW and another individual from St Mary's.

Example Set MON.11.

FW, TJ-KLP.card

kyuanaqniyam 'chair'

[kyɑ·naqʰɑ·ni·ya·m]

/kyɑ·naqniyam/ (Surface Phonemic)

/k.yu-ha-naq-n-iy-am / (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/k.yu-ha-nqa-m-ik-n-am / (Underlying Phonemic)

SM<sub>o</sub>on.top-have-sit-ASC-REFLX-NC-INH

<sup>26</sup> See section 2.6.12 where the metathesis of the lexical suffix /-nqa-/~ /naq/ 'sit' is discussed.

<sup>27</sup> The Reciprocal Suffix /-nam/ functions as an imperative suffix for verbal stems which are morphologically reflexive. See section 3.2.7 where there is a discussion of reflexive imperative forms.

**2.6.11 Deep Phonological Rule (9): N-Deletion.**

There are three basic environments for N-Deletion in Kutenai. In each type of N-Deletion, the deletion of an underlying /n/ occurs only where certain morphemes are involved. The three types are discussed under the following headings:

- (9.1) The Alternation of the First Person Possessive Marker /ka<sub>u</sub>/~/kan<sub>u</sub>/.
- (9.2) N-Deletion after the Relocational Goal Suffix /-x/.
- (9.3) N-Deletion after Dental Consonants.

**(9.1) The Alternation of /ka<sub>u</sub>/~/kan<sub>u</sub>/.**

One type of N-Deletion in Kutenai is the deletion of the final segment of the underlying form /kan<sub>u</sub>/ of the First Person Possessive Marker /kan<sub>u</sub>/~/ka<sub>u</sub>/. The deletion happens everywhere, except in very restricted circumstances, and the circumstances have apparently become even more restricted in the recent history of the language. The allomorph /kan<sub>u</sub>/ survives in the present state of the language only where it is in association with one morpheme.

In present-day Kutenai, including in the Kutenai spoken by those born around and just before 1900, the form /kan<sub>u</sub>/ apparently occurs only before the nominal stem /xaɬiʔ/ 'son', and the derivative nominal stem /xaɬinaɬiɬ/ 'nephew'. These are shown in example set ND.1, below. In parts (a) and (b), the stems appear in their plain forms, without possessive affixation, and in parts (c) through (f) they occur with the First Person Possessive Marker /kan<sub>u</sub>/~/ka<sub>u</sub>/, occurring exclusively as the allomorph /kan<sub>u</sub>/.

Example Set ND.1.

FW, G&amp;M (1979)

(a) xaɬiʔ 'son'.

(b) xaɬinaɬiɬ 'nephew'.

/xaɬiʔ/

/xaɬiʔ-n-aɬ-iɬ/

son

son-ASC-COPART-DI

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (c) kan xa+i 'my son'.<br>/kan_xa+i?/<br>1 POS_son                    | (d) kan xa+ina+i+ 'my nephew'.<br>/kan_xa+i?-n-a+-i+/<br>1 POS_son-ASC-COPART-DI                   |
| (e) kan xa+ina+a 'our son'.<br>/kan_xa+i?-n-a+a?/<br>1 POS_son-NC-1PL | (f) kan xa+ina+i+na+a 'our nephew'.<br>/kan_xa+i?-n-a+-i+-n-a+a?/<br>1 POS_son-ASC-COPART-DI-NC-PL |

Other Possessive forms of the stems are shown in example set ND.2, below, in parts (a) through (h).

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| (a) xa+i?nis 'your (sg) son'.    | (b) xa+ina+i+nis 'your (sg) nephew'.     |
| (c) xa+iniski+ 'your (pl) son'.  | (d) xa+ina+i+niski+ 'your (pl) nephew'.  |
| (e) xa+i?is 'his/her/their son'. | (f) xa+ina+i+?is 'his/her/their nephew'. |
| (g) xa+i?nam 'a person's son'.   | (h) xa+ina+i+nam 'a person's nephew'.    |

In Boas (1927) there is also an attestation of /kan\_x/ with a completely different nominal stem. Boas (1927, p.93, near the bottom of the second column) has the expression represented in example set ND.3, part (a). It is attested from FW as represented in part (b), without the final /n/ of the rare allomorph of First Person Possessive Clitic Pronoun.

Example Set ND.3.

- |  |
|--|
| (a) [kantitqá'tma+] 'my fellow man'.<br>/kan_x titqat'-m-a+/<br>1 POS_x man-ASC-COPART |
|--|

(b) *ka titqat'ma+* 'my fellow man'.

[katitqá.íma.+] ]

/ka. titqat'-m-a+ /

1 POS. man-ASC-COPART

According to FW, this is something said as a challenge to a fight, and would immediately provoke a fist fight or wrestling match. Without this form from Boas (1927), we might conclude that the nominal root /xatʔ/ 'son' was the source of the /n/ before the /x/ in the first person possessive forms in ND.1, parts (c) and (d), and that there had been reanalysis to yield the present form of the nominal stem as /xatʔ/, without an initial /n/. The picture we get with the evidence from Boas (1927), however, is of a sound change brought almost to completion. The only evidence of N-Deletion applying in this particular environment is a rare alternate form of a morpheme, just barely preserved in the language, specifically in words with strong emotional overtones.

#### (9.2) N-Deletion after the Relocational Goal Suffix /-x/.

There are not only cases of underlying /n/ in Kutenai deleted before /x/ across a cliticization boundary, as with the First Person Possessive Marker /ka./~ /kan./, but there are also cases of underlying /n/ in Kutenai deleted after /x/ across a cliticization boundary in the context of one particular morpheme, the Relocational Goal Suffix /-xa./~ /-x./. In fact, the Relocational Goal Suffix /-xa./~ /-x./ is only distinguishable from the otherwise identical basic Goal Suffix, which has the exact same segmental forms /-xa./~ /-x./, because the Relocational Goal Suffix deletes the initial underlying /n/ of a following Indicative Marker, while the basic Goal Suffix does not. This can be seen in the matching inflectional forms of two closely related verbal stems presented in example set NDRG.1, below.

The verbal stem in NDRG.1, parts (a.1) through (a.4), is a relocational verbal stem /ʔaʔnam/ 'to hunt', etymologically 'to go out'.<sup>26</sup> Certain inflectional forms of forms of this verbal stem overtly contain the Relocational Goal Suffix /-xa./~ /-x./, while

<sup>26</sup> This stem is in the inflectional class of relocational verbal stems, although it is not typical of relocational verbal stems in its overt meaning. Most relocational verbal stems straightforwardly mean 'to go somewhere', 'to come somewhere' or 'to go by somewhere', generally in some particular specified direction or manner. For example, there is /č'inam/ 'to start out to go (somewhere)' and /qaham/ 'to go by (there)'.

other inflectional forms do not contain it overtly or do not contain it all. The plain form of the stem /ʔaʔnam/ in NDRG.1, part (a.1), below, shows no signs of containing the Relocational Goal Suffix /-xa/~/-x<sub>v</sub>/. The form /ŋanaxi/ in NDRG.1, part (a.2), overtly contains the Relocational Goal Suffix. This is the primary third person (i.e. proximate) subject indicative form of the stem. It appears in part (a.2), below, and again in greater sentential context in part (a.3).<sup>27</sup> The Relocational Goal Suffix /-xa/~/-x<sub>v</sub>/ can be posited as occurring underlyingly in the subsidiary third person subject form in NDRG.1, part (a.4). This requires a special morphologically conditioned rule of X-Deletion, just for this inflectional form of relocational verbal stems.

There are also instances of N-Deletion after the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ in parts (a.4) and (b.4), but these involve another condition for N-Deletion, discussed further below.

The stem in NDRG.1, parts (b.1) through (b.4) is /ʔanaxa/ 'to hunt for something'. It is not in the inflectional class of relocational stems, although it is obviously a derivative of the relocational stem in NDRG.1 (a.1) through (a.4). The stem /ʔanaxa/ 'to hunt for something' ends with the basic Goal Suffix, rather than the Relocational Goal Suffix.

## Example Set NDRG.1.

G&amp;M (1979), EG-KLP

(a.1) ʔaʔnam	'to (go out and) hunt'	(b.1) ʔanaxa	'to hunt for something'
/ʔaʔ-na-m/	←(Mid-Level)→	/ʔaʔ-na-xa/	
/ʔaʔ-na-m/	←(Underlying)→	/ʔaʔ-na-x-a/	
out-go-RELOCATIONAL.M.SUFFIX		out-go-GOAL-Buffer.Vowel	
(a.2) ŋanaxi		(b.2) ŋanaxni	
/n <sub>v</sub> ʔaʔ-na-x <sub>v</sub> i/	←(Mid-Level)→	/n <sub>v</sub> ʔaʔ-na-x <sub>v</sub> ni/	
/n <sub>v</sub> ʔaʔ-na-x <sub>v</sub> ni/	←(Underlying)→	/n <sub>v</sub> ʔaʔ-na-x <sub>v</sub> ni/	
PM <sub>v</sub> out-go-RELOCATIONAL.GOAL.SUFFIX <sub>v</sub> IND		PM <sub>v</sub> out-go-GOAL <sub>v</sub> IND	
'He/she/it/they (prox) hunted.'		'He/she/it/they (prox) hunted for something.'	

<sup>27</sup> The sentences presented in parts (a.3) and (b.3) place the primary third person subject indicative forms of both of these two stems in greater sentential context, although the forms in parts (a.2), (b.2), (a.4), and (b.4) are already complete sentences by themselves.



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(a.3) <b>Nanaxi Susáp</b><br/>         /n<sub>v</sub>ʔaʔ-na-x<sub>v</sub>i/ ←(Mid-Level)→<br/>         /n<sub>v</sub>ʔaʔ-na-x<sub>v</sub>ni/ ←(Underlying)→<br/>         PM<sub>v</sub>out-go-RELOCATIONAL.GOAL.SUFFIX<sub>v</sub>IND<br/>         'Joe (prox) hunted.'</p> | <p>(b.3) <b>Nanaxni cupqaʔs Susáp.</b><br/>         /n<sub>v</sub>ʔaʔ-na-x<sub>v</sub>ni/ ←(Mid)→<br/>         /n<sub>v</sub>ʔaʔ-na-x<sub>v</sub>ni/ ←(Und.)→<br/>         PM<sub>v</sub>out-go-GOAL<sub>v</sub>IND<br/>         'Joe (prox) hunted for deer.'</p>               |
| <p>(a.4) <b>Nanasi.</b><br/>         /n<sub>v</sub>ʔaʔ-na-s<sub>v</sub>i/ ←(Mid)→<br/>         /n<sub>v</sub>ʔaʔ-na-x-s<sub>v</sub>ni/ <sup>28</sup> ←(Und.)→<br/>         PM<sub>v</sub>out-go-RLG-S3<sub>v</sub>IND<br/>         'He/she/it/they (obv) hunted.'</p>          | <p>(b.4) <b>Nanaxasi.</b><br/>         /n<sub>v</sub>ʔaʔ-na-xa-s<sub>v</sub>i/ ←(Mid)→<br/>         /n<sub>v</sub>ʔaʔ-na-x-a-s<sub>v</sub>ni/ ←(Und.)→<br/>         PM<sub>v</sub>out-go-GOAL-Bf-S3<sub>v</sub>IND<br/>         'He/she/it/they (obv) hunted for something.'</p> |

### (9.3) N-Deletion after Dental Consonants.

This type of N-Deletion deletes /n/ after the dental consonants /t/, /t̥/, /n/, /t̪/, /t̪̥/, /s/, and /ʃ/. N-Deletion only occurs where the dental consonant is the last segment of certain morphemes. In the case of one conditioning morpheme, the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/~-i s/, it is further necessary to specify that it is the allomorph /-s/ which triggers N-Deletion, while the allomorph /-i s/, does not. The allomorph /-i s/ includes a phonemic buffer vowel, which can be treated as a separate, but meaningless morpheme. That is the usual practice in underlying phonemic representations here. Underlyingly then, the actual conditioning factor for N-Deletion with this particular conditioning morpheme is whether the underlying base form /-s/ of the morpheme is preceded by a phonemic buffer vowel or not.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The positing of the underlying form /n<sub>v</sub>ʔaʔ-na-x-s<sub>v</sub>ni/ with an underlying instance of the Relocational Goal Suffix /-x/ before the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ requires the positing of a morphologically conditioned (deep phonological) rule to delete /x/ before /s/, where just these particular morphemes are involved, but in no other circumstance.

<sup>29</sup> See section 2.6.12, and the sub-section "Buffer Vowel Insertion as a Reconstructable Rule". Words in the present state of the language which contain phonemic buffer vowels, including particular inflectional verbal forms, must have been put together in an earlier state of the language when the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule was still a productive rule.

Example Set NDDC.1, below, is a passage of three clauses from the Short Coyote Text with contrasting examples of the application and non-application of N-Deletion. The clauses in parts (a) and (c) involve the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix, with its two allomorphs /-s/~/-is/. Between them is an example where the N-Deletion rule applies after the Relocational Goal Suffix /-x/~/-xa/, where, of course, there is no conditioning dental consonant. In the form of a chart this is:

In part (a), N-Deletion applies after underlying / -s /  
-S3

In part (b), N-Deletion applies after underlying / -x /  
-RELOCATIONAL.GOAL.SUFFIX

In part (c), N-Deletion **does not** apply after underlying / -i-s /  
-Bf-S3

Example Set NDDC.1.

RMc-SC.21-22, and SC.23

(a) ʔat qa wuqmanikitsi.ɕ	(a) It would not take long, and
/ʔat. qa. wu-qma-nikit-s.i ɕ /	(Mid-Level Phonemic)
/ʔat. qa. wu-qma-nikit-s.ni ɕ /	(Underlying Phonemic)
IMpt. NEG. long-sudden-event-S3.IND	and

(b) ʔat ɬa ɬaxaxi.	(b) and she'd get home.
/ʔat. ɬa. ɬaxa-x.i /	(Mid-Level Phonemic)
/ʔat. ɬa. ɬaxa-x.ni /	(Underlying Phonemic)
IMpt. REV. Get.to-IND	

Taxas ʔat.sʔ qa ʔupxaʔisni (c) They never knew (it)<sup>30</sup>

/taxa-s ʔat. s-iʔʔ. qa. ʔupxa-ʔ-is.ni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/taxa-s ʔat. s-iʔʔ. qa. ʔupxa-ʔ-i-s.ni/ (Underlying Phonemic)

then-S3 IMpt. CON-ADV. NEG. see/know-INH-Bf-S3.IND

There is a reasonable diachronic explanation for the pattern of morphological conditioning of the N-Deletion rule after dental consonants. The rule must have once been a phonetically motivated and categorical rule in an earlier state of the language. The exceptions to the rule are a result of the rule having become unproductive at a certain point in the history (actually recent prehistory) of the language. Words which were coined after the rule became unproductive do not have N-Deletion after a dental consonant, while words which were put together before the rule ceased to be productive show N-Deletion after a dental consonant. The n-deleting morphemes may not themselves be older in the language than the non-n-deleting morphemes, but the individual morphological constructions which they occur in were evidently concatenated at different times. This explanation requires us to assume that the indicative forms of a large number of Kutenai verbal stems were inherited as units from the lexicon of one recent state of the language to the lexicon of the present state of the language. Indicative verbal forms in which a dental consonant stands before a dental nasal would presumably be relatively new to the language, apparently since the insertion of the phonemic buffer vowels.

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<sup>30</sup> In syntactic terms, the appropriate gloss is 'It (obviative) was not known by them (indefinite and unspecified in this sentence). The sentential complement to this verbal stem, representing what the characters in the story did not know, is the remainder of the sentence, lines 24 through 28 of the text.

### 2.6.12 Deep Phonological Rule (10): Metathesis.

Metathesis can be seen a process in synchronic Kutenai phonology, affecting a set of some ten or eleven morphemes. The list can be pared down or added to, depending on how rigorously one analyses some of the morphemes. The following list of these morphemes breaks them down into two sub-categories. The first sub-category, listed in example set MET.1, part (a), below, is where the metathesis can be seen as the movement of a vowel from one margin of a morpheme to the opposite margin of the morpheme. The second sub-category, listed in example set MET.1, part (b), below, is one where a vowel moves between a morpheme margin position and a morpheme-internal position. The underlying representations here treat the movable vowels as buffer vowels, which means that they are posited as being underlyingly separate morphological units, i.e. meaningless morphemes.

#### (a) Metathesis at Morpheme Margins.

- ak ~ -ka      'limb of body', underlyingly /-a-k/~/-k-a/.
- ku ~ -uk      'fire(wood)', underlyingly /-k-u/~/-u-k/. Occurs independently or as a component of the compound lexical suffix:  
/q̄an-ku/~/q̄an-uk/    'load of firewood'.<sup>31</sup>
- ku ~ -uk      'water', underlyingly /-k-u/~/-u-k/.
- qu ~ -uq      'in water', underlyingly /-q-u/~/-u-q/.
- xa ~ -ax      Goal Suffix, underlyingly /-x-a/~/-a-x/.
- qa ~ -aq      Stative Suffix, underlyingly /-q-a/~/-a-q/.

<sup>31</sup> See the Short Coyote Text, where a primary third person subject indicative form of a verbal stem, equivalent to /n<sub>1</sub>huɕawi s̄qanuk<sub>1</sub>ni/ 'she (proximate) carried firewood to their camp', as in line 10 of the text, contrasts with a subsidiary third person subject indicative form of the same stem, equivalent to /n<sub>1</sub>huɕawi s̄qanku-s<sub>1</sub>i/ 'she (obviative) carried firewood to their camp', as in line 11 of the text.

## (b) Metathesis between a Morpheme Margin Position and a Morpheme-Internal Position.

- naq- ~ -nqa- 'sit'. This is perhaps to be analyzed as underlyingly a compound lexical suffix (and a morphological idiom), literally 'in the state of being in a standing position':  
 /-n-a-q-/ ~ /-n-q-a-/  
 -STD-Bf-STV- -STD-STV-Bf
- kiɕ ~ -ikɕ<sub>ɔ</sub> Replacive Benefactive Suffix, underlyingly /-kɕ/. The allomorph /-ikɕ<sub>ɔ</sub>/ occurs before the Indicative Marker /<sub>ɔ</sub>i/.<sup>32</sup>
- ʔiɕkit ~ ʔiɕikt<sub>ɔ</sub> 'to mean (something)', underlyingly /ʔiɕkt/. The allomorph /ʔiɕikt<sub>ɔ</sub>/ occurs before the Indicative Marker /<sub>ɔ</sub>i/.
- ɕiʔit ~ -ɕiʔti- 'place', underlyingly /-ɕiʔt-/. The allomorph /-ɕiʔti-/ occurs before the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/.
- ukʰaɕ ~ -ukʰsa 'tie, be bound' FW-5.12, FW-V.658, 6.159

The diachronic explanation of metathesis in Kutenai involves the insertion of epenthetic schwas, in particular segmental environments, in an earlier state of the language. This is the same thing as the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule which is reconstructible for an earlier state of the language. The Buffer Vowel Insertion rule inserted epenthetic schwas to prevent the occurrence of clusters of three consonants in a row. These earlier epenthetic schwas have become phonemic buffer vowels in the present state of the language. In

<sup>32</sup> This morpheme figures in Kutenai-Salishan comparative work, with a Salishan root morpheme, variously /kɕ/, /kiɕ/, /ɕiɕ/ 'arrive somewhere, reach a person, visit', which is evidently cognate to a Kutenai lexical suffix /-kiɕ-/ 'reach a point', which is related to the Kutenai Replacive Benefactive Suffix here, a grammatical suffix. See section 5.3, item 132.

surface phonemic and mid-level phonemic representations here, phonemic buffer vowels are treated as separate morphological units (i.e. meaningless morphemes each consisting of a single phonemic vowel) especially where they precede lexical suffixes. When phonemic buffer vowels are adjacent to grammatical morphemes they are generally treated as constituents of those grammatical morphemes. In underlying representations all phonemic buffer vowels are treated as separate morphological units. This allows most examples of metathesis to be explained directly as instances of buffer vowel insertion between morphemes in an earlier state of the language. There are examples of metathesis, as listed in example set MET.1, part (b) where a phonemic buffer vowel can be found between two consonants of a morpheme. In underlying phonemic transcriptions, it is possible to treat even the morpheme-internal cases of moveable vowels as phonemic buffer vowels, with the movable vowels posited as separate units, but these and all the morpheme margin instances of movable vowels remain as examples of metathesis at other, less abstract levels of representation. The morpheme internal examples of metathesis in Kutenai suggest that an earlier state of the language had something other than the regular penultimate stress that the present state of the language has and that some morphemes may have had schwa as a phonemic, or quasi-phonemic vowel.

Examples MET.2 and MET.4 together provide as clear an example of metathesis as any. Example MET.2 is the primary third person subject indicative form of the verbal stem / $\text{cink'apa}+\text{tiyxa}$  / 'to listen to someone/something'. Example MET.4 is of a k-form of the stem which attests the surface allomorph / $-\text{xa}$ / of the Goal Suffix, in the same way that the plain form of the stem does. The examples in MET.3 and MET.5 are inflectional forms of a closely related verbal stem / $\text{cink'apa}+\text{ti}+\text{ik}$  / 'to listen' on which the stem / $\text{cink'apa}+\text{tiyxa}$  / 'to listen to someone/something' is based.

## Example MET.2.

ɕin'kapa+t iyaxni

/ɕin-k'apa+t-iy-ax<sub>ni</sub>/ ←(Mid)→

/ɕin-k'apa+t-n-ik-a-x<sub>ni</sub>/ ←(Und.)→

grab/catch-hearing-NC-Bf-G<sub>IND</sub>

'He/she/it listened to it/him/her/them,

they listened to it/him/her/them.'

## Example MET.3.

ɕin'kapa+t i+ik

/ɕin-k'apa+t-i+<sub>ik</sub>/

/ɕin-k'apa+t-n-i-+<sub>ik</sub>/

SM<sub>catch-hearing-NC-Bf-DI-REFLX</sub>

'He/she/it listened, they listened.'

## Example MET.4.

kɕin'kapa+t iyxa ?

/k<sub>ɕ</sub>in-k'apa+t-iy-xa ?/ ←(Mid)→

/k<sub>ɕ</sub>in-k'apa+t-n-ik-x-a ?/ (Und.)

SM<sub>grab/catch-hearing-NC-Bf-G</sub> QUES

'Did he/she/it listen to it/him/her/them ?,

Did they listen to it/him/her/them ?

## Example MET.5.

kɕin'kapa+t i+ik ?

/k<sub>ɕ</sub>in-k'apa+t-i+<sub>ik</sub> ?/

/k<sub>ɕ</sub>in-k'apa+t-n-i-+<sub>ik</sub> ?/

SM<sub>catch-hearing-NC-Bf-DI-REFLX</sub> QUES

'Did he/she/it listen ?, Did they listen ?

The examples above provide evidence for underlying instances of the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ after the Reflexive Suffix, even though the N-Connector Suffix does not surface in any of the inflectional forms of these two stems. If it were not for the presence of the N-Connector Suffix underlyingly in the stem /ɕin'kapa+t iyxa / 'to listen to someone/something, there would not be the necessary conditioning sequence of /k+n/ in order for the Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-ak/~ /-iy/ to appear in its surface allomorph /-iy/. This allomorph actually represent underlying /k+n/ and includes the N-Connector Suffix.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See section 2.6.7.

### 2.6.13 Deep Phonological Rule (11): Unstressed Vowel Deletion.

There is an rule of Unstressed Vowel Deletion in Kutenai which relates to just one particular morpheme. This morpheme appears in slightly different forms in different varieties of the language. In Upper Kutenai it is /-ɬuma/~-ɬma/ 'throat', while in Lower Kutenai it is /-ɬima/~-ɬma/. This is another face of the synchronic phonemic buffer vowel phenomenon. The phonemic buffer vowels are synchronically already in place in certain lexical items and in specific inflected forms of specific lexical items, but not in others. Here, the phonemic buffer vowel is inside a morpheme, but it fails to occur exactly when it would not receive stress as the penultimate vowel of a word. Instead, the penultimate vowel of the word is a vowel in a preceding syllable. The following is a set of forms showing this lexical suffix as a component of the compound lexical suffix meaning 'mouth'. Stresses are marked in the display of forms below, to show that the vowel /u/ or /i/ is absent exactly when it fails to be the penultimate vowel of a stem, and would fail to receive full stress.

Example Set UVD.1, the Lexical Suffix Meaning 'mouth', with Stresses Marked.

Upper Kutenai: /-k'a-ɬúma/~-k'a-ɬmá/ 'mouth', underlyingly / k'a-ɬma/.  
hole-throat

Lower Kutenai: /-k'a-ɬíma/~-k'a-ɬmá/ 'mouth', underlyingly / k'a-ɬma/.  
hole-throat

In other morphemes where Upper Kutenai has /u/ while Lower Kutenai has /i/, there is some evidence that an earlier state of the language may have had schwa. This allows us to conclude that originally and underlyingly the lexical suffix was /-ɬma/ 'throat' and the vowel which appears between the barred l and the bilabial nasal is another example of a morpheme-internal phonemic buffer vowel. Kutenai-Salishan comparative



work offers some confirmation of the absence of a vowel in the lexical suffix /-ɬma/ 'throat'.<sup>34</sup>

#### **2.6.14 Deep Phonological Rule (12) Buffer Glide Insertion.**

The rule of Dissimilation which is posited in mid-level phonology involves both old and new pronunciations of various forms of a certain relocational verbal stem.<sup>35</sup> Only the new pronunciations of the forms involve the rule of Dissimilation, but both the new and the old pronunciations of the stem have a labiovelar glide /w/ inserted to separate two adjacent instances of underlying /u/. This is a morphologically conditioned rule in that adjacent underlying vowels elsewhere in the language coalesce, either to become a single long monophthong or a to become a diphthong.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> See section 5.3, item 101.

<sup>35</sup> See section 2.5.6 where the rule of Dissimilation is discussed.

<sup>36</sup> See sections 2.6.10, and 2.5.6.



## 2.7 Historical and Reconstructible Kutenai Phonology.

### 2.7.1 Historical Kutenai Phonology.

There is not a great deal that can be said about historical Kutenai phonology, if one confines oneself to language changes attested by historical records. There is the isolated example of the form /kan titqat'ma+/ reported by Boas (1927) which demonstrates that the allomorph /kan./ of the First Person Possessive Clitic Pronoun /ka./~ /kan./ once occurred somewhere other than just before the nominal root /xa+i?/ 'son'. On the other hand, the memories of Kutenai speaking elders stretch back far enough for us to know certain things about recent earlier states of the language. There are some remembered older pronunciations of certain Kutenai words which have already been mentioned above. There are the older pronunciations of words which are mentioned in the discussion of the Dissimilation rule.<sup>1</sup> There is also the pronunciation /ski·qa?ni/, phonetically [ski·qa?ne], reported by FW for his grandparents generation for what is present day /skikqa?ni/ [skikqa?ne]. The remembered form indicates that the rule of Compensatory Lengthening once had wider scope than it has today.<sup>2</sup>

Some other evident sound changes in Kutenai are more mysterious. There are conflicting reports about the original pronunciations of words where there is an evident change between /k'/ and /t'/. FW (of St Mary's) reported that /t'awaɕ'ikxu/ 'grasshopper' is the modern St Mary's pronunciation of the word, while /k'awaɕ'ikxu/ 'grasshopper' is an old pronunciation of the word, or is better Kutenai, or is a Lower Kutenai, specifically Creston pronunciation of the word (FW-2.39, FW-II353). Rosalie McCoy (of Tobacco Plains) reported that an old lady told her that the word /k'awiɕ/ 'plover' used to be /t'awiɕ/, but it was already /k'awiɕ/ when Rosalie was growing up (RMc-14.133). FW also had the pronunciation /k'awiɕ/ for this word.

<sup>1</sup> See section 2.5.7.

<sup>2</sup> See section 2.6.9.

### 2.7.2 Reconstructible Kutenai Phonology.

There are two reconstructible rules and a small set of reconstructible segments which have proven to be unavoidable topics in the discussion of synchronic Kutenai phonology and synchronic Kutenai morphology in this description of the language. A Buffer Vowel Insertion rule is clearly reconstructible for an earlier state of the language. The temptation is to posit the rule as a highly abstract, but synchronic rule, but there is good evidence that speakers of the present state of language do not have a rule to insert the phonemic buffer vowels. The reconstruction of a Buffer Vowel Insertion rule calls for the reconstruction of labialized back consonants as unit phonemes for an earlier state of the language. Rounded back consonants in an earlier state of the language make it possible to posit a Reconstructed Labialization rule to predict the shapes of the phonemic buffer vowels, assuming that the buffer vowels were originally schwas in the earlier state of the language. The reconstructed labialized back consonants include rounded velar stops \*/k<sup>w</sup>/, \*/k'<sup>w</sup>/, rounded uvular stops \*/q<sup>w</sup>/, \*/q'<sup>w</sup>/, and a rounded glottal stop \*/ʔ<sup>w</sup>/, all as unit phonemes.

There is some evidence for the reconstruction of two velar nasal phonemes \*/ŋ/, and \*/ŋ'/ for an earlier state of the language.

#### 2.7.2.1 Buffer Vowel Insertion as a Reconstructible Rule.

The Buffer Vowel Insertion rule is easily reconstructed as a categorical rule in an earlier state of the language, in other words as a rule which applied across the board in an earlier state of the language, essentially without exceptions. This rule broke up clusters of three consonants in a row in this earlier state of the language. Presumably all words in the present state of the language which contain phonemic buffer vowels are words which had been put together in the earlier state of the language where the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule was a productive rule. It is assumed here that words in the present state of the language which do not have phonemic buffer vowels where this rule would have inserted them are words which did not exist in the earlier state of the language which had the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule as a productive rule. The possibility that the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule was lexically variable is not favored here. This is because of the nature of the rule, a schwa insertion rule, and the nature of many of the words which lack phonemic buffer

vowels where they would be expected. Some are clearly neologisms, while some others are relatively rare combinations of roots and lexical suffixes, not likely to have been inherited by present-day speakers of the language from earlier generations of speakers.

Buffer Vowel Insertion does not lend itself easily to being posited as a synchronic rule. As a synchronic rule, it not only has to be morphologically conditioned, applying only where certain morphemes come together within words, but it also has to be lexically conditioned, applying only where the right morphemes come together in certain words, but not where those same morphemes come together in certain other words. With the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule as a synchronic rule, individual words would have to be marked as having buffer vowels in particular places or not having them in particular places. The problem is that there are many words in the present state of the language which have clusters of three consonants in a row. There is some fairly pointed evidence that synchronically speakers of the language simply accept the phonemic buffer vowels as already in place in underlying forms. They neither insert new phonemic buffer vowels to break up clusters of three consonants in a row in newly created words, nor do they delete any of the phonemic buffer vowels already in place in words already in the language's lexicon. Speakers of the language show every sign of recognizing the phonemic buffer vowels as morphological units, distinct from neighboring morphemes, in those situations where the phonemic buffer vowels separate a root from a following lexical suffix. Lexical suffixes which begin with a consonant cluster are usually preceded by a particular phonemic buffer vowel, to separate the lexical suffix from a preceding root ending in a consonant. In neologisms, these lexical suffixes simply appear without the buffer vowel, even where the preceding root ends in a consonant and the result is a cluster of three or more consonants in a row. What is missing in order to posit a synchronic Buffer Vowel Insertion rule is a way to account for these exceptions to the rule and a way to predict the shape of the phonemic buffer vowels where they occur.

As already suggested above, the diachronic explanation for the exceptions to the Buffer

Vowel Insertion rule is simply that the many words in the present state of the language which contain phonemic buffer vowels were put together after the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule ceased to be a productive rule. Words which are obviously neologisms are among the examples where there is no phonemic buffer vowel in segmental environments where there would be a phonemic buffer vowel by the rule. Some obvious neologisms without phonemic buffer vowels in particular places, where they would be expected, include the personal name /Susáp-qtuaxaʔ/ 'Moustache Joe'. The name /Susáp/ 'Joe' is from French 'Joseph'. Another obvious neologism is /tuʔk-taʔ-n-am/ 'wooden house'. The word /tuʔk/ 'wood' is evidently a recent loan from Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead. The word /ʔa·k-u-q-wiʔ-q+iʔ/ 'eye glasses' has no buffer vowel before the lexical suffix /-q+iʔ/ 'eye', while the word /ʔa·k-a-q+iʔ/ 'eye' has the unrounded buffer vowel /-a-/ before this same suffix. The base of the word /ʔa·k-u-q-wiʔ-q+iʔ/ 'eyeglasses' is the word /ʔa·k-u-q-wiʔ/ 'bottle, glass; originally 'quarts', literally 'ice in water'. This word is evidently older in the language and has a buffer vowel /-u-/ before the lexical suffix /-q/ 'in water'.

### 2.7.2.2 The Reconstruction of Labialized Back Consonants.

There is a synchronic rule of Surface Labialization in Kutenai which is mentioned earlier above.<sup>3</sup> This synchronic rule labializes back consonants where they are adjacent to rounded vowels. When it comes to phonemic buffer vowels, it is necessary to reconstruct a distinct diachronic process of labialization which operates in a somewhat opposite manner. This is the Reconstructed Labialization rule which transfers the feature of rounding from consonants to vowels, making it possible to predict on the basis of surrounding consonants when inserted buffer vowels, originally schwas, are to be rounded so that they appear in the present state of the language as the rounded vowel phoneme /u/. This requires the reconstruction of the rounded back consonants \*/k<sup>w</sup>/, \*/k<sup>ʷ</sup>/, \*/q<sup>w</sup>/, \*/q<sup>ʷ</sup>/, and a rounded glottal stop \*/ʔ<sup>w</sup>/. Reconstructing such rounded back consonants as unit phonemes ties in very well with Kutenai-Salishan comparative work on a morpheme by morpheme basis.

With the reconstructed labialized back consonants in place in certain morphemes, it is possible to predict on the basis of surrounding consonants the cases where the phonemic buffer vowel will be /-i-/ and the cases where it will be /-a-/. For example, the lexical suffix /-tɬaʔ/ 'house' is associated with a preceding buffer vowel /-i-/, because of the initial dental consonant of the lexical suffix. The lexical suffix /-qɬiɬ/ 'eye' is associated with a preceding buffer vowel /-a-/, because in an earlier state of the language it began with an unrounded uvular consonant. The lexical suffix /-qɬiɬ/ 'eye' must be reconstructed with an initial unrounded uvular stop, in order to predict the occurrence of the phonemic buffer vowel /-a-/ in the nominal stem /ʔa·k-a-qɬiɬ/ 'eye'. This lexical suffix, seen in cognate set (3) below, is the exception which proves the rule. Most Kutenai lexical suffixes which begin with a uvular consonant are associated with a preceding buffer vowel /-u-/ and have to be reconstructed as beginning with a rounded uvular consonant. For example, there is the lexical suffix /-q<sup>ʷ</sup>ɬiɬ/ 'mark', seen in cognate set (5), below. The initial consonant of this lexical suffix must have been a labialized uvular consonant \*/q<sup>ʷ</sup>/, because this lexical suffix is associated with a preceding phonemic buffer vowel /-u-/. The phonemic buffer vowel occurs in the nominal stem /ʔa·k-u-q<sup>ʷ</sup>ɬiɬ/ 'mark', and in a variety of other words.

Five of the following six Kutenai-Salishan cognate sets call for the reconstruction of a labialized back consonant in Kutenai. Cognate set (2) calls for the internal reconstruction of a labialized glottal stop for the Kutenai lexical suffix /-ɬaʔ/ 'fitted covering'. The apparent Salishan cognates are highly instructive in that they have a labialized and glottalized pharyngeal continuant /ɬ<sup>w</sup>/, rather than a labialized glottal stop, a highly improbable unit phoneme. Labialized, glottalized pharyngeal continuants /ɬ<sup>w</sup>/ are rare in the world's languages, but a number of Interior Salishan languages have them as unit phonemes.

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<sup>3</sup> See section 2.4.5.





example. The intransitive stem /ʔi ʔt-ɬaʔ-ɕ-u/, minus the final buffer vowel, ends in two consonants followed by the potential for silence at the end of the word. This is in some ways like a cluster of three consonants in a row.

Presumably, the buffer vowel /-u-/ was originally a schwa and the source of the rounding was a feature of the final segment of the lexical suffix /-ɬaʔ/ 'fitted covering'. The lexical suffix is therefore to be reconstructed as: \*/-ɬaʔ/. The reconstruction of the entire transitive verbal stem 'to hide something' would be:

**\*/ ʔi ʔ-t-ɬaʔ-ɕ-ə-t/**

be-TVI-fitted.covering-CAUSATIVE-Bf-TRANSITIVE

Morgan (1980, p.81, set 64) has matching Salishan forms which are roots in the Salishan languages, rather than lexical suffixes. These are exclusively from Interior Salish languages.

cf. Shuswap	liʔw	'draw on'.
	t-ɬʔw	'shoe tongue'.
cf. Columbian	ləʔw	'draw on'.
cf. Colville	liʔw	'fit'.
cf. Coeur d'Alene	ləʔw	'draw together, make fit'.

Cognate Set (3), A Kutenai Lexical Suffix.

-qɬiɬ 'eye', /-qɬiɬ/. This suffix requires a reconstruction of \*/-qɬiɬ/, with an unrounded uvular stop, because the suffix occurs in association with a phonemic buffer vowel /-a-/. Note the minimal pair /-q̄ɬiɬ/ 'mark', cognate set (5) below, which occurs in association with a buffer vowel /-u-/, and which therefore requires a reconstruction with a rounded uvular consonant, \*/-q̄ɬiɬ/. Morgan (1980, p.91, set 77) has Salishan words meaning 'eye' from only Bella Coola and Coast Salish languages.

cf. Squamish	qlumʔ	'eye'.
cf. Bella Coola	qluq̄s	'eye'.

Cognate Set (4), A Kutenai Lexical Suffix.

Morgan (1980, p.94, set 81)

(4.a) -qu 'water (locatively)', underlyingly /-q-u/.

-in.water-Bf

This lexical suffix occurs in a variety of Kutenai words, including:

ʔa·quwaɬ 'reed, slough grass', /ʔa·quwaɬ/ (NSB=reed), more abstractly the suffix would be:

/-qu-ha+ /  
-Bf-in.water-plant

cf. Squamish q<sup>w</sup>ú 'water'.

(4.b) -q 'water (in a locative sense)', /-q / . This Lexical Suffix requires a reconstruction of \*/-q<sup>w</sup>/, because it occurs in association with a phonemic buffer vowel /-u-/. The examples, below, make the point that some Kutenai lexical suffixes, which themselves do not appear to be cognate to a morpheme in a Salishan language, under more penetrating analysis, show themselves to contain a Kutenai morpheme which does appear to be cognate to a Salishan morpheme:

?a·kuqyit 'dew', /?a·k-u-qyit/ (NSB-Bf-Dew), but the suffix can be seen more abstractly as /-q-yit / (-in.water-time), and must then be reconstructed as \*[-q<sup>w</sup>-yit] (-in.water-time).

wi+qyit 'for there to be heavy dew', /wi+-qyit/ (btg-Dew). This particular Stem must be a relatively recent coinage, because it lacks a phonemic buffer vowel.

Morgan (1980, p.91, set 75, pp.94-5, sets 81 and 82) has Salishan forms including :

cf. Upper Chehalis	-iyq	'water'.
	q <sup>w</sup> ɔ·?	'drink'.
cf. Cowlitz	q <sup>w</sup> ɔ?	'drink'.
cf. Clallam	q <sup>w</sup> ú?	'water'.
	q <sup>w</sup> ú?q <sup>w</sup> a?	'drink'.
cf. Sechelt	-qu	'water'.

(4.c) -qu+ 'water, by water', /-qu+/. Morgan (1980, p.94-95, set 82).

cf. Squamish	q <sup>w</sup> ul	(a root) 'water'.
cf. Cowlitz	qá ?	'water, river'.

Cognate Set (5), A Kutenai Lexical Suffix.

-q̣+i+ 'mark', /-q̣+i+/, requiring a reconstruction of \*/-q̣<sup>w</sup>+i+/, with a rounded uvular stop because the suffix occurs in association with a phonemic buffer vowel /-u-/. Note the minimal pair /-q+i+/'eye', which is item (112), above, on this list, which requires a reconstruction of \*/-q+i+/, with an unrounded uvular stop, because that suffix occurs in association with a buffer vowel /-a-/. Morgan (1980, p.100, set 90) has matching Salishan words meaning 'write', or 'mark' from only Tsamosan Salishan languages, which are all geographically far from Kutenai.

cf. Cowlitz       $\acute{q}w\acute{a}t\acute{e}-$  'mark, write, brand, vote'.  
                   $\acute{q}w\acute{s}t$       'a brand, mark'.

#### Cognate Set (6), A Kutenai Lexical Suffix.

$-\acute{q}t\acute{i}\eta\acute{t}$  'berry, fruit; grain',  $/-\acute{q}t\acute{i}\eta\acute{t}/$ , This suffix requires a reconstruction with a rounded uvular stop, because the suffix occurs in association with the rounded phonemic buffer vowel  $/-u-/$ . This suffix appears to be morphologically complex, apparently involving the lexical suffix  $/-t\acute{i}\eta\acute{t}/$  'place'. Potential cognates from Salishan languages suggest that there has been a loss of an extra barred l, so that the reconstruction of the Kutenai lexical suffix meaning 'berry, fruit; grain' should ultimately be  $*/-\acute{q}w\acute{t}-t\acute{i}\eta\acute{t}/$ . Morgan (1980, p.100, set 89) has forms from three branches of the Salishan family, Interior, Coast, and Tsamosan. They include the following:

cf. Squamish	$s\acute{q}w\acute{l}\acute{a}m$	'berry (generic)'.
cf. Upper Chehalis	$s-\acute{q}w\acute{a}l-n\acute{a}\cdot mc$	'berry'.
	$-namc$	'body'.

#### 2.7.2.3 The Reconstruction of Velar Nasals.

There are two velar nasal phonemes  $/ŋ/$  and  $/ŋ̣/$  posited as reconstructions on the chart of reconstructible segments in section 2.1.8. There is an alternation of  $/m/$  and  $/n/$  in Kutenai involving the Associative Suffix  $/-m-/\sim/-n-/$  which is difficult to resolve in anything like synchronic terms. The segment  $/u/$  is also involved as a third member of the alternation when the Diminutive Suffix  $/-nana/\sim/mna/\sim/-una/$  is brought into the picture, but this does not help to explain the alternation. Instead it makes it even more difficult to resolve the alternation in synchronic terms.<sup>5</sup> Some kind of diachronic explanation would seem to be called for. Kutenai-Salishan comparative work suggests the possibility of there having been a velar nasal in an earlier state of the language.

One piece of evidence for the reconstruction of a velar nasal in an earlier state of the language is the fact that some instances of  $/m/$  in Kutenai pattern like a velar or uvular consonant. This has to do with the diachronic derivation of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix  $/-ʔ/$  from the T-Valence Increasing Suffix  $/-t/$ . There is a morphologically conditioned rule which governs the synchronic alternation of  $/t/$  and  $/ʔ/$  in Kutenai. The derivation of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix  $/-ʔ/$  from the T-Valence Increasing Suffix  $/-t/$  is not a matter of a synchronic alternation, but the rule needed to make the derivation must be posited, in any event, because of another morpheme

<sup>5</sup> See section 2.6.3 where the M~N Alternation is discussed from the standpoint of abstract synchronic phonology.

where a synchronic alternation is involved.<sup>6</sup> This rule of /t/→/?/ involves velar or uvular consonants in preceding syllables, except for the lexical suffixes /ɬaŋ/ 'head', /-wum/ 'belly', and /-ɬum/ 'footwear'. Moreover, one can compare the lexical suffix /-ɬum/ 'footwear' with the nominal stem /ɬaŋ/ 'footwear', to see that there is potentially an additional example of the M~N alternation in the language, in this case involving a glottalized nasal and one that patterns like a velar or uvular consonant.

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<sup>6</sup> See section 2.6.5 where a rule is posited to explain the synchronic alternation of /t/ and /?/.

### **3 Kutenai Morphology.**

This chapter begins with section 3.1, the first part of which is basically an annotated list of the most important grammatical morphemes of the language. This list comes fairly close to being a full listing of the most thoroughly grammatical morphemes of the language. Sections 3.1.1 through 3.1.10 provide examples of many of these morphemes, chiefly in analyzed sentences from texts. Section 3.2 presents inflectional verbal paradigms relating primarily to pronominal categories.



### 3.1 Grammatical Morphemes List.

This section is a simple listing of the most important grammatical morphemes of the Kutenai language. It actually comes fairly close to being an exhaustively thorough listing of the all the grammatical morphemes of the language. Included on the list are certain combinations of morphemes which have some status as units, although most of these, such as the compound Comitative Suffix /-m-aʔ/~/-n-aʔ/ are listed as sub-entries.<sup>1</sup>

The morphemes are all arranged according to structural categories, and within those structural categories arranged in various ways, depending on the category. Each entry is headed by a Kutenai morpheme or compound element written in surface phonemic transcription.

Most of the morphemes listed below are ones which have names and abbreviations for them, because they occur frequently in the interlineal gloss lines in example sentences and in analyzed texts. For these morphemes, the morpheme's place on the list is by alphabetical order of the name of the morpheme, or the abbreviation of that name. Some Kutenai grammatical morphemes do not have names or abbreviations, but are identified by their English glosses. For these morphemes, alphabetical order is according to the spelling of the Kutenai morpheme itself.

Most of the Kutenai grammatical morphemes which have names, and therefore abbreviations, and quite a few of the more important unnamed grammatical morphemes in the language are on the comparative Kutenai-Salishan List (abbreviated KSL), to be found in Morgan (forthcoming). In almost every case, these Kutenai morphemes are potential cognates with Salishan morphemes, rather than being morphemes evidently diffused between Kutenai and Salishan.

By one way of counting, there are some 99 Kutenai grammatical morphemes on the list

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<sup>1</sup> The Comitative Suffix is listed under the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/, one of its constituents, along with the Co-Participant Suffix /-aʔ/.

here. Of these, some 42, also by one way of counting<sup>2</sup>, appear to be cognate to Salishan morphemes.

One thing which is evident when one compares Kutenai grammar, as a system, to the grammars of Salishan languages is that Salishan languages are rather homogeneous grammatically, while Kutenai stands very much apart from all the Salishan languages. This in spite of many apparently cognate grammatical morphemes, including the most basic and most important grammatical morphemes in Kutenai. There has apparently been a considerable reworking of Kutenai grammatical morphology since the time of a common origin with Salishan. The list here provides some clues as which parts of the Kutenai language might be the focus of innovation in Kutenai. For example, only one of the Kutenai prepositional prefixes listed here appears to have a Salishan cognate, and the list of Kutenai prepositional prefixes here is by no means a complete one, making the actual lack of resemblance with Salishan in the area of prepositional prefixes even more extreme than it appears here.

The list of Kutenai grammatical morphemes here is divided up into the sectional categories, numbered 3.1.1 through 3.1.10. These constitute a framework for the expansion of section 1.3 here, with the addition of example sentences, drawn from texts and other sources, to illustrate the grammatical morphemes on the list here. There are example sentences in analyzed format elsewhere in this description of the language which can stand as examples of most of the morphemes on the list. Most of the pronominal morphemes are also illustrated, several times each, in the paradigms in section 3.2.

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<sup>2</sup> The variability in the ways of counting Kutenai grammatical morphemes and counting the ones which are potentially cognate to Salishan morphemes has to do chiefly with the possibilities of seeing ostensibly distinct morphemes as derivative of other morphemes and either counting the derivative morphemes separately or not. The possibilities are multiplied when one is alternately thinking about the morphemes in surface synchronic terms, and then in diachronic and etymological terms. A much lesser factor in arriving at different numbers of potential cognates is the problem of deciding which Kutenai morphemes are resemblant enough to Salishan morphemes in order to be counted as potential cognates.



**Particles.****Named Clitic Particles and Clitic Particle Constituents.**

- ʔan.** The Additive Particle (abbreviated ADT), /ʔan./, 'more' (KSL).<sup>1</sup>
- hi ʔ.** The Buffer Particle (abbreviated Bpt), /hi ʔ/ (KSL). See section 3.1.1.
- ʔup.** The Buffer Particle (abbreviated Bpt), /ʔup./, See section 3.1.1.
- paʔ.** The Evidential Particle (abbreviated EVID), /paʔ/.<sup>2</sup>
- ʔ.** The Future Tense Clitic Particle (abbreviated Fpt), /ʔ./ (KSL).<sup>3</sup>  
**ʔʔ** The Enclitic Conjunction (abbreviated EnConj, but generally glossed 'and') /ʔʔ/ (KSL).
- xma.** The Hypothetical Particle (abbreviated HYPO), glossed as 'could, would, should', /xma./.<sup>4</sup>
- t.** The Imperfective Particle Base, /-t./ (abbreviated IMptB). (KSL).
- ʔ.** The Irrealis Particle (abbreviated IR), /ʔ./ (KSL).<sup>5</sup>  
**ʔin.** 'must (be)', /ʔin./, Apparently a fusion of the Irrealis Particle /ʔ./ and the verbal stem /ʔin/ 'to be'.<sup>6</sup>
- qa.** The Negative Particle (abbreviated NEG), /qa./ (KSL).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For examples of the Additive Particle /ʔan./, see section 6.2, the First Fruits Text, lines 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of the Evidential Particle /paʔ/, see section 6.3, the Constable Pritchard Text, lines 22, and 23.

<sup>3</sup> See section 2.5.4 for a discussion, with examples, of how the Future Tense clitic may be realized as a more or less robust ejective before glottal stop /ʔ/.

<sup>4</sup> For examples of the Hypothetical Particle /xma./, see section 2.6.10, examples MON.3, MON.4, and MON.5. Also see section 6.3, The Constable Pritchard Text, line 5.

<sup>5</sup> For examples of the Irrealis Particle /ʔ./, see section 6.3, the Constable Pritchard Text, line 12, and section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, lines 19, 31, and 69.

<sup>6</sup> For an example of the particle /ʔin./ 'must (be)', see section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, line 75.

<sup>7</sup> For an example of the Negative Particle /qa./, see section 6.3, the Constable Pritchard Text, line 30.

- ma<sub>u</sub>** The Past Tense Particle (abbreviated PST), /ma<sub>u</sub>/.<sup>8</sup>
- ʔa<sub>u</sub>** The Plural Particle (abbreviated PLpt), /ʔa<sub>u</sub>/.<sup>9</sup>
- n<sub>u</sub>** The Predicate Marker (abbreviated PM), /n<sub>u</sub>/.<sup>10</sup>
- ʔa<sub>u</sub>** The Reversive-Repetitive Particle (abbreviated REV), /ʔa<sub>u</sub>/ (KSL).
- k<sub>u</sub>** The Subordinate Marker (abbreviated SM), /k<sub>u</sub>/ (KSL).<sup>11</sup>

#### Particles Identified Chiefly by Glosses.

**ɕin** 'just, only', /ɕin/.<sup>12</sup>

**mika** an interclausal particle of indeterminate gloss, /mika/.<sup>13</sup>

#### Derived Particles:

**mi·ka** 'even though, no matter how', /mi·ka/.

**miksaŋ** 'but then' /mik-saŋ/.

**pa·mik** 'anyway, regardless', /pa·mik/.<sup>14</sup>

**napit** 'if, the Conditional Particle (abbreviated COND), /napit/.

<sup>8</sup> Kutenai verbal stems which are unmarked for tense or aspect are past perfective, particularly verbal stems referring to events. The Past Tense Particle /ma<sub>u</sub>/ is generally used where one event must be marked as previous to another. See section 2.6.6, example set TGS.4, part (d) for an example where the Past Tense Particle is used with the Future Tense Marking Adverb /ɕxa-ʔ/ to mean 'was about to'.

<sup>9</sup> Kutenai nominal stems which are unmarked by the Plural Particle may be understood as either singular or plural. This particle is used chiefly with kin terms, but also other animates, especially in association with possessive affixation. See section 2.5.5, derivation GSD.23 for an example with a kin term.

<sup>10</sup> For discussion of the Predicate Marker as a marker of predicate phrases, see section 4.4, especially the third paragraph and an associated footnote.

<sup>11</sup> See section 4.4 for examples of the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>u</sub>/.

<sup>12</sup> For text examples of the particle /ɕin/ not directly reflected in free English translation of the clauses they occur in, see section 6.3, the Constable Pritchard Text, line 6, and 27.

<sup>13</sup> For an example of the particle /mika/, but with a gloss associated with the derived particle /mi·ka/, see section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, line 25.

<sup>14</sup> For examples of the particle /pa·mik/ 'anyway, regardless', see section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, lines 12 and 32, where it is not directly reflected in the free English translations of the clauses where it occurs.

- qan 'exactly, directly', /qan/.  
 Derived Particle:  
 naqan 'whether' /na-qan/.<sup>15</sup>
- sañ 'however, but', /sañ/.<sup>16</sup>
- tax 'just', /tax/ (KSL).<sup>17</sup>  
 Derived Particles/Temporal Pronouns:  
 taxa 'before, until, just now', /tax-ta/.  
 taxtá· 'afterwards, later', /tax-tá·/.  
 taxa 'then, now', /taxa/.
- tuxa 'almost, just about, nearly', /tuxa/, (KSL).<sup>18</sup>  
 tu·xa 'really, real, sure', /tu·xa/.

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<sup>15</sup> For an example of the particle /naqan/, see section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, lines 100-101.

<sup>16</sup> For an example of the particle /sañ/ 'however, but', see section 2.5.4, example SIC.6. Also see section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, line 5.

<sup>17</sup> For an example of the particle /tax/ 'just', see section 2.5.5, example GSD.14. For text examples, see section 6.2, the First Fruits Text, line 22, and section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, line 98.

<sup>18</sup> For an example of the particle /tuxa/ 'almost, just about, nearly', see section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, line 81.

**Independent Particles.****Clause and Sentence Equivalent Particles.**

- hiy 'yes', 'O.K.', /hiy/. See section 3.1.2.
- waha 'no', /waha/. See section 3.1.2.
- huya Suggestative Particle (abbreviated SUGT), usually can be glossed 'alright', /huya/ (KSL). See section 3.1.2.
- maʔɛ Negative Imperative, Prohibitive, Negative Future, usually can be glossed 'Don't', /maʔɛ/ (KSL). See section 3.1.2.

**Interjections, Section 3.1.2 (b).**

- ʔanúʔ 'Ouch!', /ʔanúʔ/. There is also the stylistic variant:  
ʔanu· 'Ouch!', /ʔanú·/, including emphatic lengthening.
- ha 'Oh!', /ha/.<sup>19</sup>  
There is also the interjection:  
ah 'Oh!', /ah/. This interjection is outside of the regular sound system of the language on two counts; it is vowel initial and is a syllable ending in /h/.
- maqak 'Wait!, Wait a minute!', /maqak/.
- xina 'Gee!', /xina/. See section 3.1.2.

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<sup>19</sup> For an example of the interjection /ha/, see section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, line 72.

**Prefixes.****List of Prepositional Prefixes.** See section 3.1.3 for key examples.

- ʔa- 'out', /ʔa-/.<sup>20</sup>
- ʔaʔqa- 'across', /ʔaʔqa-/.  
 ʔaqaʔ- 'near', /ʔaqaʔ-/.  
 ʔaǰas- 'near, close', esp. 'close against something', /ʔaǰas-/.  
 ʔaǰa- 'into the bush, into a thicket', /ʔaǰa-/.  
 ʔikt- 'vertical (motion), straight up', /ʔikt-/.<sup>21</sup>  
 ʔikɕ- 'vertical (motion), into the ground', /ʔikɕ-/.  
 ʔiʔqa- 'far', /ʔiʔqa-/.  
 huɕ- 'up to', /huɕ-/.  
 huʔ- 'out into the open, out onto a body of water', /huʔ-/.  
 t(i)- 'in', /t- / (KSL).  
 ʔu- 'down', /ʔu-/.<sup>22</sup>  
 ʔup- 'away from water' (abbreviated AFW), /ʔup-/.  
 ʔuquʔ- 'inside', /ʔuquʔ-/.  
 xu- 'toward water, into fire', /xu-/.  
 yu- 'on top'.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> See section 2.6.11, example set NDRG.1, for an example of /ʔa- / 'out'.

<sup>21</sup> See section 2.6.3, examples MN.3 and MN.4, for examples of /ʔikt- / 'vertical'.

<sup>22</sup> See section 2.6.3, examples MN.7 and MN.8, for examples of /ʔu- / 'down'.

<sup>23</sup> See section 2.6.10, examples MON.8, MON.9, MON.10, and MON.11, for examples of /yu- / 'on top'. See also section 2.7.2.2, cognate set (2).

**Aspectual Prefixes.** See section 3.1.3 for key examples.

- ʔa(·)-** The Imperfective Prefix (abbreviated IM), /ʔa-/~ʔa·-/ (KSL).<sup>24</sup>  
 The Imperfective Prefix is a constituent of the particle:  
**ʔa t** Imperfective Particle, /ʔa-t/, (Imperfective Prefix + Imperfective Particle Base).<sup>25</sup>  
 The Imperfective Prefix is also a constituent of the two Nominal Stem Bases.<sup>26</sup>
- s-** The Continuative Aspect Marker as an Aspectual Prefix (abbreviated CON), /s-/ (KSL).

<sup>24</sup> There are just two morphological constructions where the Imperfective Prefix attaches directly to a verbal stem. See section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, where the clause in line 26 is a plain predicate clause which is marked as imperfective by the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa-/~ʔa·-/. In this clause, the verbal stem begins with the sequence of morphemes /ʔa·-qa-/ (Imperfective Prefix + be.thus). See section 6.1, the Coyote and Cloud Text, where line 7 provides an example of the other environment where the Imperfective Prefix is prefixed to a verbal stem. There the environment is /ʔa·-k-/ (Imperfective Prefix + do/be). These two verbal bases are also the two nominal stem bases.

<sup>25</sup> For examples of the Imperfective Particle, /ʔa t/, see section 6.3, the Constable Pritchard Text, where the imperfective clauses in lines 3 and 4 are in contrast to those of lines 7, 11, 13, 14, and 16 which are all clearly perfective. In this same text, line 8 is marked as imperfective by the Imperfective Particle /ʔa t/ and there is also the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa-/~ʔa·-/ in this same clause, called for by the use of the interrogative/indefinite pronoun /k aʔ/. A similar example can be found in line 24 in section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text.

For other examples of the Imperfective Particle, see section 6.4, the Short Coyote Text, where lines 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7 make up four imperfective sentences ended by a quote consisting of line 8, which is imperative and therefore neither perfective nor imperfective, and line 9, which is perfective. The imperfective narrative is then carried forward with the imperfective clauses in lines 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 36. The dependent clauses in lines 3, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 25, 30, 34, and 35 are not marked as imperfective because they are plain predicate clauses without either of the two verbal roots /ʔa·-qa-/ 'be.thus' and /ʔa·-k-/ 'do/be' which directly accept the Imperfective Prefix.

<sup>26</sup> See the roots /k-/ 'do, be', and /qa-/ 'be thus' on this list, below, under the heading of Grammatical Bases.

**List of Grammatical Bases. See section 3.1.4.**

- s-** The Continuative Aspect Marker as a Root (abbreviated CON), /s-/ (KSL).
- ɕ(i)-** The Inceptive Marker (abbreviated INCEP) /ɕ-/~/ɕi-/.
- qa-** 'be thus'. This root is a component of the nominal stem base:  
**?a·qa-** Nominal Base, /?a·-qa-/, (IM + be.thus).
- k-** 'do/be' (KSL). This root is a component of the nominal stem base:  
**?a·k-** Nominal Base, /?a·-k-~/~/?a·-/, (IM + do/be).
- ha(?)**- 'have', /ha?-~/~/ha-/ (KSL).
- ?i(?)**- 'being (somewhere)' (KSL).  
 This root is a constituent of the verbal base:  
**?i ?t-** 'Become', /?i ?-t-/ (be + TVI) (KSL).

**List of Valence and Valence Related Suffixes.****(1) Simple Valence Increasing Suffixes. See section 3.1.5.**

-t T-Valence Increasing Suffix (abbreviated TVI), /-t/.

The following uses of this suffix are distinguished, especially for the purposes of collecting and presenting examples:

-t T-Transitive Suffix (abbreviated TR, also abbreviated TRANS), /-t/ (KSL, item 129).

-t T-Alienable Possession Suffix (abbreviated TAP), /-t/.

There is also a Composit Transitivity Suffix which has the T-Transitive Suffix as a constituent.

-na(?)t Composit Transitive Suffix (abbreviated CT) /-na?t/,  
underlyingly /-n-ha?t/ (N-Connector Suffix + have + T-Valence  
Increasing Suffix).<sup>27</sup>

-(?) Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix (abbreviated GSVI), /-?/. Glottal Stop is regularly deleted in Kutenai in a variety of environments, so that in surface transcriptional terms it is common for this suffix to be realized as zero. The following uses of this suffix are distinguished, especially for the purposes of collecting and presenting examples.

-(?) Glottal Stop Transitive Suffix (abbreviated GSTR), /-?/.

-(?) Glottal Stop Alienable Possession Suffix (abbreviated GSAP), /-?/.

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<sup>27</sup> See section 2.5.5, derivation GSD.4, where the Composite Transitive Suffix is called for as a transitivity for a reflexive verbal stem /qakpamik/ 'to forget', which becomes /qakpaya?t/ 'to forget something'. Underlying /-ik-na?t/ (REFLX + CT) becomes /-y-a?t/ (REFLX + CT). See section 2.6.7 for the morphologically conditioned sound rule involved. The Associative Suffix /-m-/-/~-n-/~ which precedes the Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-ak/~-iy/~-y-/~ in the intransitive stem is not present in the transitive stem.



**(2) Suffixes Indicating an Additional Involved Participant. See section 3.1.5.**

**-(i)↓** Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix (abbreviated DI), /-↓/~/-i↓/, underlyingly /-↓/, with the vowel of the allomorph /-i↓/ interpreted as a phonemic buffer vowel (KSL).

The following are specialized uses:

**-(i)↓** Barred L Transitive Suffix (abbreviated BLTR), /-↓/~/-i↓/.

**-(i)↓** Ditransitive Suffix (abbreviated DI), /-↓/~/-i↓/.

This suffix is also a constituent of the compound Associated Object Suffix /-m-i↓/ (Associative Suffix + Ditransitive Suffix).

**-(i)↓** Passive Suffix (abbreviated PASV), /-↓/~/-i↓/, underlyingly /-↓/, with the vowel interpreted as a phonemic buffer vowel.

**-a↓** Co-Participant Suffix (abbreviated COPART), /-a↓/. This suffix is a constituent of the compound Comitative Suffix /-m-a↓/~/-n-a↓/ and the non-productive compound Instrumental Suffix /-n-a↓/.

**(5) Reflexive Suffix.** See section 3.1.8.

**-ik** Reflexive Suffix (abbreviated RFLX, also abbreviated as REFLX). In surface phonemic terms there are three allomorphs /-ik/~/-ak/~/-iy/.<sup>33</sup> Each allomorph is derivable from a single underlying form, either /-ik/ or /-ak/, by a combination of morphologically conditioned sound rules.<sup>34</sup> The matter of determining an underlying vowel for the base form for the Reflexive Suffix is difficult to resolve even in diachronic terms. One complication is that Kutenai-Salishan comparative work would lead one to reconstruct a reflexive suffix of the form \*-akst (KSL). If one treats the surface allomorphs as separate suffixes, one can posit three reflexive morphemes:

- ik Reflexive Suffix, /-ik/.
- ak Reflexive Suffix, /-ak/.
- iy Reflexive Suffix, /-iy/~/-y/.

**(6) Reciprocal Suffix.** See section 3.1.8.

**-nam** The Reciprocal Suffix (abbreviated RECIP), /-nam/, evidently in etymological terms a combination of the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ and the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/, although synchronically the Reciprocal Suffix would appear to be a unit.<sup>35</sup>

**(7) Causative Suffixes.** See section 3.1.8.

**-s-** Causative Suffix (abbreviated CAUS), /-s-/ (KSL).

**-ɕ-** Causative Suffix (abbreviated CAUS), /-ɕ-/ (KSL).

The Causative Suffix /-ɕ-/ is a constituent of two compound suffixes with specific functions:

- ɕ-i(?)** Passive Causative Suffix, /-ɕ-i?/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-ɕ/ and the Stative Suffix /-i?/.
- ɕ-i?-t** Transitive Stative Causative Suffix, /-ɕ-i?-t/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-ɕ/, the Stative Suffix /i?/, and the T-Transitive Suffix /-t/.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See section 3.2.7 for a paradigm of a reflexive verbal stem where there are examples of the three basic allomorph of the Reflexive Suffix.

<sup>34</sup> See section 2.6.2 where the KN to Y sub-rule is discussed.

<sup>35</sup> See section 3.2.5 for a paradigm of reciprocal forms of a transitive verbal stem.

<sup>36</sup> See section 2.6.3, example set MN.5, part 6, and example set MN.6, parts (d) and (e) for examples of the compound suffix /-ɕ-i?-t/.

The Causative Suffix /-t-/ is also a constituent of two suffix combinations:

- t-t- Transitive Causative Suffix Group, /-t-t-/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-t/, and the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/, generally with a following pronominal object suffix.
- t-t-mu Transitive Causative Instrumental Suffix Group, /-t-t-mu/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-t/, the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/, and the Instrumental Suffix /-mu/.

### Adjectival, Adverbial, and Nominalizing Suffixes.

#### (1) Adverbial Suffixes.

- (i)ʔ Adverbializer Suffix (abbreviated ADV), /-i ʔ/~/-ʔ/, the vowel is ultimately analyzable as a phonemic buffer vowel (KSL).<sup>37</sup>
- kqup- Intensive Suffix (abbreviated INT), /-kqup-/.
- nawi(?) Frequentative Suffix (abbreviated FREQ) /-nawi ?/.

#### (2) Plural Suffixes.

- qan- Collective Suffix (abbreviated COL), /-qan-/.
- (ni)ŋ- Distributive Suffix (abbreviated DIST), /-ni ŋ/~/-ŋ-/.<sup>38</sup>
- kis- Dual Suffix (abbreviated DU), /-kis-/.

<sup>37</sup> See section 2.5.5, rule (5) Glottal Stop Deletion, for contrasting examples of the two surface allomorphs of the Adverbial Suffix.

<sup>38</sup> See section 2.2.5, under the heading of Intervocalic Glottalized Nasals, for examples of the allomorph /-ni ŋ-/ of the Distributive Suffix.

**(3) Position Suffixes.**

- k(ik)- Horizontal Position Suffix (abbreviated HOZ), /-kik-/~/-k-/.<sup>39</sup>
- n- Standing Position Suffix (abbreviated STD), /-n-/.

**(4) Stative and Stative Related Suffixes.**

- i(?) Stative Suffix (abbreviated STV), /-i?/ (KSL). This suffix is evidently related to the Kutenai root /?i-/~/?i?-/ 'be'.
- q(a) Stative Suffix (abbreviated STV), /-qa/. This suffix is evidently related to the Kutenai root /qa-/ 'be thus'.
- p Inchoative Suffix (abbreviated IN), /-p/~/-?/. (KSL).  
 -(?) Inchoative Suffix (abbreviated IN), underlyingly /-p/.

**(5) A Nominalizing Suffix.**

- namu(?) Nominalizer Suffix, (abbreviated NOMZ), /-namu?/.<sup>40</sup>

**(6) The Diminutive Suffixes.**

- nana The Productive Diminutive Suffix (abbreviated DIM), /-nana/ (KSL). The non-productive diminutive suffixes are:
- mna Diminutive Suffix (abbreviated DIM), /-mna/. (KSL).  
 -una Diminutive Suffix (abbreviated DIM), /-una/. (KSL).

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<sup>39</sup> See section 2.6.9, example set CML.7, for an example of the Horizontal Position Suffix.

<sup>40</sup> See section 2.4.4, sub-rule (3.1), derivation NSC.5, for an example of the Nominalizer Suffix.

**(7) Demonstrative Suffixes.**

-u(?) Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix (abbreviated EDM), /-u?/.  
There are two compound suffixes based on this suffix:

-wxa, -w'xa 'Be to', underlyingly /-u?-xa/, the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix + the Goal Suffix.<sup>41</sup>

-wsa, -w'sa 'Be.at', underlyingly /-u?-s-ha/ the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix + the Continuative Aspect Marker + the root /ha-/~ /ha?-/ 'have'.<sup>42</sup>

**Connective Suffixes and Buffer Elements.****Connective Suffixes.**

-n- N-Connector Suffix (abbreviated NC), /-n-/ (KSL).<sup>43</sup>

-(i)‡ Barred L Connector Suffix. This suffix is an apparent initial element of a number of lexical suffixes.<sup>44</sup>

**Phonemic Buffer Vowels.**

The phonemic buffer vowels are seen here as morphological units. They are a set of three meaningless morphemes, each consisting of a single phonemic vowel, which are found in hundreds of Kutenai words.<sup>45</sup> The phonemic buffer vowels of Kutenai are:

<sup>41</sup> See section 2.4.5, derivation SL.11, for an example where the surface phonemic representations has the suffix represented as /-wxa-/.  
<sup>42</sup> See section 2.5.6, sub-rule (6.2) for examples.

<sup>43</sup> This suffix is an important feature of most of the paradigmatic forms in the inflectional paradigms in section 3.2 where it has the function of linking pronominal suffixes to a preceding root or stem. For another function of this suffix, see line 102 of the Short Coyote text where the N-Connector Suffix connects one root to a following root. See also the discussion of the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix in section 3.1.5 where there are examples of this suffix contrasted with the Associative Suffix /-m-/~ /-n-/.  
<sup>44</sup> See section 3.1.10 where the instrumental lexical suffix /-iki/~ /-ik/~ /-k/ 'by foot' and its non-instrumental counterpart /-‡ik/ 'foot' provide some evidence for this suffix.

- i- Phonemic Buffer Vowel (abbreviated Bf).
- a- Phonemic Buffer Vowel (abbreviated Bf).
- u- Phonemic Buffer Vowel (abbreviated Bf).

Phonemic buffer vowels which occur in front of grammatical morphemes are generally treated here as a part of one of the allomorphs of the morpheme. Underlyingly, however, these phonemic buffer vowels are treated as separate morphological units. For the Third Person Suffix /-s/~/-is/, the less abstract analysis, where the morpheme has two surface allomorphs, is supported by the fact that the surface allomorph which includes a phonemic buffer vowel has a different morphophonemic behavior from the surface allomorph without the phonemic buffer vowel. The allomorph without the phonemic buffer vowel deletes a following dental nasal by the morphologically conditioned N-Deletion rule, while the allomorph with the phonemic buffer vowel does not.<sup>46</sup>

**Instrumental Lexical Suffixes.** See section 3.1.10.

These suffix are simultaneously lexical and grammatical. The instrumental lexical suffix /-kin/ 'by hand', in particular, is as much a grammatical suffix as it is a lexical suffix, in that it is inherently a transitivizer, in addition to specifying an instrument.

- kin 'by hand', /-kin/ (KSL, item 125).
- iki 'by foot or talon', /-iki/~/-ki/~/-k-/.
- xa 'by mouth', /-xa/.
- xu 'by body' /-xu/.
- k'u 'by finger(s) or pointed object(s)', /-k'u/.
- ku 'by heat or fire', /-ku/ (KSL).
- qa 'by blade'.

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<sup>45</sup> See section 2.7.2 where there is a discussion of Buffer Vowel Insertion as a reconstructable rule.

<sup>46</sup> See section 2.6.6, where N-Deletion is discussed.

**Pronominal Morphemes.****First Person Pronominal Morphemes.****First Person Clitic Pronouns.**

**ka<sub>v</sub>, kan<sub>v</sub>** The First Person Proclitic Possessive Pronoun (abbreviated 1POS), /ka<sub>v</sub>/ ~/kan<sub>v</sub>/, underlyingly /kan<sub>v</sub>/ (KSL).<sup>47</sup>

**hu<sub>v</sub>** The First Person Subject Proclitic Pronoun (abbreviated 1CP), /hu<sub>v</sub>/ (KSL).

**u** First Person Object Enclitic Pronoun (abbreviated 1EP), /u/, posited underlyingly as /hu/, occurring exclusively in second person singular imperative forms, marking a first person singular object, or with the First Person Plural Object Suffix /-awas/, marking a first person plural object.

**First Person Suffixes.<sup>48</sup>**

**-ap** First Person Singular Object (abbreviated 1SG.OBJ, or 1sgOBJ), /-ap/.

**-a+a?, -a+at** First Person Plural Object Suffix (abbreviated 1PL), /-a+a?/~ /-a+at/ (KSL).

<sup>47</sup> See section 2.6.11, sub-rule (9.1), for examples of the surface allomorph /kan<sub>v</sub>/.

<sup>48</sup> For another first person suffix, see the cross-pronominal category of suffixes.

**Second Person Pronominal Morphemes.****Second Person Clitic Pronouns.**

hin The Second Person Clitic Pronoun (abbreviated 2CP), /hin<sub>v</sub>/~/<sub>v</sub>in/, underlyingly /hin<sub>v</sub>/ (KSL).

<sub>v</sub>(i)n The Second Person Singular Imperative Enclitic, /<sub>v</sub>in~/~/<sub>v</sub>n/, posited underlyingly as /<sub>v</sub>hin/ (2CP).

**Second Person Suffixes.<sup>49</sup>**

-is Second Person Object or Possessor Suffix (abbreviated 2O&P), /-is/ (KSL).

-ki↓ Second Person Plural (abbreviated 2PL), /-ki↓/.

**Cross-Pronominal Morphemes.**

-ap Higher Ranking Object Suffix (abbreviated HRO). Indicates a higher ranking third person object, but underlyingly or at least diachronically it is evidently a cross-pronominal morpheme, because it can be identified with the First Person Singular Object Suffix /-ap/ of identical form.

-awas (a) First Person Plural Object Suffix (abbreviated 1PL.OBJ, or 1plOBJ), /-awas/ (KSL). As a first person plural object suffix it occurs in a variety of paradigmatic contexts, there is also the:  
 (b) Second Person Object Suffix with First Person Plural Subject (abbreviated 2OBJW), /-awas/ (KSL). As a second person (singular or plural) object suffix it co-occurs with the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>v</sub>/, but without the First Person Plural Suffix /-a↓a?/, leaving the suffix /-awas/ as the only indicator in the inflected verbal form that the subject is first person plural, rather than first person singular.

<sup>49</sup> For another second person suffix, see the cross-pronominal category of suffixes.



**Definite Third Person Pronominal Suffixes.**

- Ø Primary Third Person (i.e. Proximate) Suffix. This is a zero marker of primary third person subject, object, and marker of primary third person nominal stems.
- (i)s Subsidiary Third Person Suffix (abbreviated S3), /-s/~/-i s/, underlyingly /-s/ (KSL), with the vowel of the allomorph /-i s/ seen as a phonemic buffer vowel. This is a marker of subsidiary third person subject, and a marker of primary third person nominal stems.
- Ø Subsidiary Third Person (i.e. Obviative) Suffix. This is a marker of subsidiary third person object.
- ʔi s Third Person Possessor Suffix (abbreviated 3POS), /-ʔi s/ (KSL).  
When unmarked, this suffix indicates a primary third person possessor. The compound suffix /-ʔi s-i s/ marks a subsidiary third person possessor.

**Definite Third Person Deictic Pronouns.****Deictic Pronouns and Modifiers.**

- na 'here, this', /na/.<sup>50</sup>
- ʔi n 'there, that', /ʔi n/. The obviative form of this word is /ʔi s/.  
There is also an emphatic demonstrative form of the word which is /ʔi n-uʔ/ ('there/that' + Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix).
- quʔ 'yonder, yon', /quʔ/.

**The Determiner and a Related Deictic Pronoun.**

- niʔ 'the', or untranslated. There is a closely related deictic pronoun:  
ni ʔi 'there', /ni ʔi/.

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<sup>50</sup> See section 4.2.3 for examples of /na/ contrastively translating as 'here' and as 'this' in different syntactic constructions.

**The Temporal Pronoun.**

**taxa** The Temporal Pronoun (abbreviated TemPro), /taxa/ 'now, then', most often occurring in its obviative form as /taxa-s/. This item is apparently derived from the particle /tax/ 'just' (KSL). Although semantically /taxa/ is pronominal in that it refers to present, past, or future points in time, in syntactic terms the Temporal Pronoun is a nominal stem, rather than a pronoun.

**The Definite Reference Marker.**

**ya·** The Definite Reference Marker (abbreviated DFM), /ya·/~ /yi·/,

yi· before the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/ (KSL).<sup>51</sup>

**yu·** Emphatic Demonstrative form of the Definite Reference Marker, superficially /yu·/, but underlyingly /ya·-u?/ (Definite Reference Marker + Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix). The Emphatic Demonstrative form of the Definite Reference Marker equires glosses such as 'listen to what (I am saying)', 'look at what (he is making)'.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> See section 2.6.5 for an example of the surface allomorph /yi·/.

<sup>52</sup> See section 2.6.10, rule (8.3) for examples of the Emphatic Demonstrative form /yu·/ of the Definite Reference Marker /ya·/~ /yi·/. One example contrasts the Emphatic Demonstrative form of the Definite Reference Marker with the plain form of the Definite Reference Marker, appearing as the surface allomorph /ya·/.

**The Quantitative Pronoun and Modifier.**

q̣api Quantitative Pronoun, Quantitative Modifier, /q̣ap-iʔ/ ('all' + Stative Suffix).

(KSL, KSL).<sup>53</sup> Three forms of the Quantitative Pronoun, and Modifier are listed below. The pronominal inflection is that of the possessive paradigm, so that the word /q̣ap-iʔ/ must be considered to be a nominal stem.<sup>54</sup>

ka q̣apinaʔa First Person Plural Quantitative Pronoun, 'all of us',

/ka.q̣ap-iʔ-n-aʔaʔ/ (1POS.all-STV-NC-1PL)

q̣apiniskiʔ Second Person Plural Quantitative Pronoun, 'all of you',

/q̣ap-iʔ-n-is-kiʔ/ (all-STV-NC-2O&P-2PL)

q̣apiʔis Third Person Plural Quantitative Pronoun, 'all of them',

/q̣ap-iʔ-ʔis/ (all-STV-3POS)

**Independent Personal Pronouns.**

There are two morphemes /min/~mn/ and /ninkuʔ/ which act as bases for a variety of independent personal pronouns. In syntactic terms, these independent pronouns are all third person nominal stems, in spite of the fact that some of them have first person or second person glosses. The pronominal inflection which produces the different forms of these independent pronouns is that of the possessive paradigm, so that the two morphemes /min/~mn/ and /ninkuʔ/ must be considered to be nominal stems.<sup>55</sup> The morpheme /min/~mn/ occurs only as a constituent of the two first person independent pronouns.

<sup>53</sup> Both the root /q̣ap-/ 'all', and the Stative Suffix /-iʔ/ appears in Kutenai-Salishan comparative work. The Kutenai root is apparently cognate to a Salishan root, while the Kutenai Stative Suffix /-iʔ/ is apparently cognate to a Salishan stative suffix.

<sup>54</sup> See section 4.2.2 for examples of /q̣ap-iʔ/ in construction with other words.

<sup>55</sup> See section 4.2.1 where evidence is presented to establish the syntactic status of the ostensibly first person independent personal pronouns as third person nominal stems.

**m(i)n** First Person Independent Pronoun Base (abbreviated 1IPB), /min/~ /mn/  
(KSL), a constituent of the two first person independent pronouns:

**kamin** 'myself', 'me', 'mine', /ka<sub>1</sub>min/, (1POS + 1IPB)

**kamna+a** 'ourselves, us, our', /ka<sub>1</sub>mn-a+a?/, (1POS + 1IPB + 1PL)

**ninku** Second and Third Person Independent Pronoun Base (abbreviated 2/3IPB).

Alone it is the independent pronoun:

**ninku** 'you, your, yourself', /ninku?/ (2&3IPB).

There are the following inflectional forms:

**ninkunismi+** 'your (singular)', with an obviative possessed object,  
/ninku?-n-is-m-i+ /  
2&3IPB-NC-20&P-ASC-DI

**ninkuniski+** 'you (plural), your (plural), yourselves',  
/ninku?-n-is-ki+ /  
2&3IPB-NC-20&P-2PL

**ninku?is** 'he, she, it, they', 'him, her, their', 'his, hers, theirs'.  
/ninku?-?is /  
2&3IPB-3POS

**ninkuqantiyi?is** 'all of them, those people'.  
/ninku?-qan-t-iy-i-?is /  
2&3IPB-COL-TVI-REFLX-Bf-3POS

**ninku?nam** '(some)one's own, anyone's own'.  
/ninku?-n-am /  
2&3IPB-NC-INH

**Indefinite Third Person Pronominal Morphemes.****Indefinite Third Person Pronominal Suffixes.**

- k a ? Indefinite Human Object (abbreviated INH.O), /-k a ?/.<sup>56</sup>
- a m Indefinite Human (abbreviated INH), /-a m/, a possessor, or subject marker, depending on paradigmatic context.

**Interrogative-Indefinite Third Person Pronouns.**

- q a p s i n The Impersonal Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun, /q a p s i n/, 'what, (some)thing'.
- q a † a The Personal Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun /q a † a/, 'who, someone, some (people)'.<sup>57</sup>
- k a ? The Locative-Manner Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun /k a ?/, 'where, what, which, how', (KSL). The form /k a ?/ is actually a proclitic form, only occurring as a constituent of a verbal phrase. There is also an independent and non-clitic form of the word:
- k a ? a 'where?', phonemically /k a ? a/. This is the form the word has when it functions as a phrase in its own right. There is also a particle derived from this same form of the pronoun:
- k a ? a 'sometimes', and as a negative interjection 'Not so!, No!, it wasn't that way!'

The three forms /k a ? a/ 'where?', /k a ? a/ 'sometimes' and /k a ?/ 'where, what, which, how' are the basis for the reconstruction of a single form \*/k a ?/ 'where, what, which, how' which must have existed in an earlier state of the language.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> See section 2.6.6, sub-rule (4.1), example PGS.6, part (b), for an example of the Indefinite Human Object Suffix /-k a ?/.

<sup>57</sup> See section 4.2.2 where /q a p i q a † a/ ('all' + 'someone') translates as 'everyone, everybody'.

<sup>58</sup> See section 1.3.2 where there is mention of the fact that certain attested Plains Kutenai forms, other than /k a ?/, 'where, what, which, how' and /k a ? a/ 'where?' support this reconstruction.

**Enclitic Particles.**

The two enclitic particles of Kutenai, listed below, are both invariantly encliticized onto verbal stems. They can be viewed as phrasal suffixes. There are two other elements in Kutenai which can also be referred to as phrasal suffixes. These are the encliticized versions of the clitic pronouns /hU<sub>ɔ</sub>/ First Person Clitic Pronoun and /hi<sub>ɔ</sub>/ Second Person Clitic Pronoun.<sup>59</sup>

- ɔ(n)i    Indicative Marker (abbreviated IND), /ɔni/~ɔi/, underlyingly /ɔni/. The loss of the dental nasal of this suffix with some verbal stems is governed by the morphologically conditioned rule of N-Deletion.<sup>60</sup>
- ɔki    Locative Marker (abbreviated LOC), /ɔki/. The Locative Marker may refer to a location in time as well as a location in space. <sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> The encliticized versions of the clitic pronouns occur only in second person singular imperative forms of inflected verbal stems. See section 3.2.4.

<sup>60</sup> See section 2.6.11.

<sup>61</sup> See line (3) of the First Fruits Text where the Locative Marker, in construction with the Definite Reference Marker, together make reference to a point in time.

### 3.1.1 Clitic Particles.

#### Examples of the Buffer Particles.

hiʔ The Buffer Particle /hiʔ/ (abbreviated Bpt) appears in surface transcription in the allomorphs: /hiʔ/~/iʔ/~/?/~?/, with a marginal fifth surface phonemic allomorph mentioned below. The apostrophe /ʔ/ seen in the fourth surface allomorph posited here represents the glottalization of a dental nasal adjacent to this buffer particle, where the glottalization is all that remains of the buffer particle. That dental nasal may be either the Predicate Marker /n<sub>ɔ</sub>/ or the final segment of the Second Person Proclitic Pronoun /hin<sub>ɔ</sub>/.

Together the Predicate Marker and the Buffer Particle /hiʔ/ appear in surface transcription as /h<sup>ʔ</sup>/, but underlyingly they are /n<sub>ɔ</sub>hiʔ<sub>ɔ</sub>/. Example BP.1, illustrates this. The sound rules involved in this example are ostensibly the regular laryngeal deletion and glottalization rules of the language<sup>1</sup>, plus a special monophthongization rule to account for the loss of a vowel without the result being a diphthong.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See sections 2.5.4 and 2.5.5.

<sup>2</sup> The rule governing diphthongization (from underlyingly unlike vowels) is treated as a mid-level phonemic rule in section 2.5.6, while the contrasting process of monophthongization from underlyingly unlike vowels is treated as a rule of deep phonology in section 2.6.10. There is actually a problem of rule ordering here with the reduction of underlying /hu<sub>ɔ</sub>hiʔ<sub>ɔ</sub>n/ to /hu<sup>ʔ</sup>/, unless one makes some adjustment, such as positing deep laryngeal deletion rules to feed the deep monophthongization rule, or posits a mid-level monophthongization rule along side the mid-level diphthongization rule. This rule ordering dilemma, or rule positing dilemma, is evidence for the idea that contractions such as this have been in the language for some time and are not actually done on an ad hoc basis by speakers of the present state of the language by means of productive sound rules.

Example BP.1, the Surface Allomorph /ʔ/ (Glottalization).

EG.

Hu<sup>h</sup> suk<sub>ϕ</sub> kin<sub>ϕ</sub> hamatik<sub>ϕ</sub>ap ?

/hu<sub>ϕ</sub>hi<sup>h</sup>?<sub>ϕ</sub>n su<sup>h</sup>k<sub>ϕ</sub> k<sub>ϕ</sub>hin<sub>ϕ</sub> ϕ<sub>ϕ</sub> hama<sup>h</sup>t-ik<sub>ϕ</sub>-ap ?/ (Mid-Level)

1CP<sub>ϕ</sub>Bpt<sub>ϕ</sub>PM<sub>ϕ</sub> good<sub>ϕ</sub>and SM<sub>ϕ</sub>2CP<sub>ϕ</sub>Fpt<sub>ϕ</sub> abandon-BG-1SG.OBJ QUES

'If I'm good, will you give it to me?, will you let me have it?'

Example BP.2, below, is an alternative version of the sentence in example BP.1, above. The sentences are both reported by the same individual, EG. The sentences differ stylistically, for one thing, in how Future Tense is expressed, but, more significantly, the sentence in example BP.2, below, has two instances of the Predicate Marker in the first clause, one before and one after the Buffer Particle /hi<sup>h</sup>?. This example calls for the positing of a marginal fifth surface allomorph of the Buffer Particle /hi<sup>h</sup>?/ which is /ϕi<sup>h</sup>?/ (glottalization with a preceding vowel).

Example BP.2, the Surface Allomorph /ϕi<sup>h</sup>?/ (Glottalization with Vowel).

EG.

Hu ni<sup>h</sup> suk<sub>ϕ</sub> kin ϕxa<sup>h</sup> hamatik<sub>ϕ</sub>ap ?

/hu<sub>ϕ</sub>n<sub>ϕ</sub>hi<sup>h</sup>?<sub>ϕ</sub>n<sub>ϕ</sub> su<sup>h</sup>k<sub>ϕ</sub> k<sub>ϕ</sub>hin<sub>ϕ</sub> ϕxa<sup>h</sup>-<sup>h</sup>?<sub>ϕ</sub> hama<sup>h</sup>t-ik<sub>ϕ</sub>-ap ?/ (Mid)

1CP<sub>ϕ</sub>PM<sub>ϕ</sub>Bpt<sub>ϕ</sub>PM<sub>ϕ</sub> good<sub>ϕ</sub>and SM<sub>ϕ</sub>2CP<sub>ϕ</sub> FUT-ADV abandon-BG-1SG.OBJ

'If I'm good, will you give it to me?, will you let me have it?'

Together the Second Person Proclitic Pronoun /hin<sub>ϕ</sub>/ and the Buffer Particle /hi<sup>h</sup>?/ appear in surface transcription as /hi<sup>h</sup>?, but underlyingly they are /hin<sub>ϕ</sub>hi<sup>h</sup>?/.

Example BP.3, the Allomorph /ʔ/ (Glottalization).

EG

Ki<sup>h</sup><sub>ϕ</sub>his pusnanani<sup>h</sup>tik 'Did you feed the kittens?'

/k<sub>ϕ</sub>hin<sub>ϕ</sub>hi<sup>h</sup>?<sub>ϕ</sub> his pus-nana-ni<sup>h</sup>-t-ik/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

SM<sub>ϕ</sub>2CP<sub>ϕ</sub>Bpt<sub>ϕ</sub> feed cat-DIM-DIST-TVI-REFLX



This Buffer Particle, in any of its allomorphs, occurs where its presence has the effect of preventing a monosyllabic verbal root from being realized as a monosyllabic verbal phrase. The Buffer Particle /hi?/ evidently represents relic forms of an auxiliary verb derived from the bound verbal root /ʔi?-/~/ʔi-/ 'be'. This auxiliary verb presumably had a wider distribution in the earlier state of the language, where it may have occurred with polysyllabic verbal stems. In the present state of the language, the Buffer Particle /hi?/ occurs only in association with monosyllabic verbal stems.

Examples of the allomorph /hi?/ in surface transcription are rare, but are the very examples which make clear the separability of this morpheme and what its underlying shape is. The two examples side by side in example set BP.4, below, are two free variants both reported by EG in written Kootenay Language Project materials.

Example Set BP.4, the Surface Allomorph /hi?/ and the Surface Allomorph /ʔ/. EG

Kin hi?waʔ ?	or:	Kinʔwaʔ ?	'Did you vomit?'
/kʰinʰi?waʔ/		/kʰinʰiʔwaʔ/	
SM_2CP_Bpt_vomit		SM_2CP_Bpt_vomit	

Example BP.5, the Surface Allomorph /hi?/. EG.

Hi?ʔxan	'Talk!, Say something!'. One can't say *ʔxan.
/hiʔʔxaʰin/	
Bpt_speak_2CP	

Text Example BP.6, the Surface Allomorph /hi?/.

AP-CY.256-257

ʔat hu qakiʔni	maʔɕ ʔat,ʔ hiʔɕxa,
/ʔat,hu, qa-ki-ʔni/	/maʔɕ ʔat, ʔ,hiʔ,ɕxa/
IMpt,1CP, be.thus-say-DI,IND	PROHIB IMpt, IR, Bpt, speak
(a) 'I always say about him'	(b) 'if he wouldn't say anything,'

The following two examples are free variants with and without the Buffer Particle /hi?/, both reported by EG in written Kootenay Language Project materials.

Example Set BP.7.

(a) With the Surface Allomorph /hi?/.

EG.

Kin ɕxaʔ hiʔɕxa ?	'Will you speak?, Are you going to speak?'
/k,hin, ɕxa-ʔ, hiʔ,ɕxa ?/	
SM,2CP, FUT-ADV, Bpt, speak QUES	

(b) Contrasting Example without the Buffer Particle /hi?/.

Kin ɕxaʔ,ɕxa ?	'Will you speak?, Are you going to speak?'
/k,hin, ɕxa-ʔ, ɕxa ?/	
SM,2CP, FUT-ADV, speak QUES	

The most common environment for the Buffer Particle is after the Subordinate Marker and before a monosyllabic verbal stem, but this is an environment where the Buffer Particle /hi?/ is not obviously a separable element. Instead it appears superficially to be a part of the preceding Subordinate Marker.

Text Example Set BP.8, the Surface Allomorph /ʃiʔʃ/.  

RMc-ChOg.371-372

Ńinsi	kiʔik nasuʔkin,	
/nʃin-sʃi/	/kʃhiʔʃik	nasuʔkin/
PM <sub>be</sub> -S3 <sub>IND</sub>	SM <sub>Bpt</sub> <sub>eat</sub>	chief
It is (it)	that he eats (it)	the chief
(a) 'It is'	(b) 'the chief's food,'	

Another common environment for the Buffer Particle /hiʔ/ is after the Irrealis Particle and before a monosyllabic verbal stem. This is also an environment where the Buffer Particle /hiʔ/ may in some cases not be obviously a separable element. The Buffer Particle /hiʔ/ appears to be superficially a part of the preceding Irrealis Particle, if the Irrealis Particle is not itself encliticized onto a preceding particle as in example BP.6, above.

Text Example BP.9, the Surface Allomorph /ʃiʔ/.  

RMc-ChOg.427-428

taxas qa qaʔwiyɲi	ʔiʔhis.
/taxa-s qa qa-ʔwiyɲi/	/ʔʃhiʔʃhis/
then-S3 NEG <sub>be.thus</sub> -heart <sub>IND</sub>	IR <sub>Bpt</sub> <sub>feed</sub>
(a) 'they chose not'	(b) 'to give him food.'

The Buffer Particle /hiʔ/ appears in text example BP.10, part (b) after the Subordinate Marker followed by the Irrealis Particle.

Text Example BP.10, the Surface Allomorph /ʃiʔ/.  

RMc-ChOg.346-347

(a) ʔAt hu qakiʔni	'I say of them'
/ʔat hu qa-ki-ʔni/	
IMpt <sub>1CP</sub> be.thus-say-DI <sub>IND</sub>	

(b) k+i?+us ?a+akni<sup>2</sup>?is, 'they must have been orphans.'

/k+hi?+u?-s ?a+ ?a:k-ni<sup>2</sup>-?is/

SM,IR,Bpt,be.none-S3 PLpt, NSB-parent-3POS

?up. The Buffer Particle /?up/ (abbreviated Bpt). This Buffer Particle occurs with monosyllabic words. It is evidently a relic of an auxiliary form of a verbal root, quite possibly one meaning 'have' which evidently existed in an earlier state of the language. The following example of the Buffer Particle /?up/ is with a monosyllabic derived adverb.

Text Example BP.11, the Buffer Particle /?up/.

AP-CM.52

Ha, Hu qa ?upsi+ 'i<sup>2</sup>ki+ni pa+ki.

/ha, hu qa ?up s-i?+ 'i<sup>2</sup>ki+ni pa+ki/

hey 1CP, NEG, Bpt, CON-ADV, like,IND woman

'Hey, I'm not looking for women.'

The following examples of the Buffer Particle /?up/ are each with a following monosyllabic verbal root. In both cases, the root of the verbal stem is the same Continuative Marker /s-/, which is the root of the derived adverb in example PB.11, above.

Text Example BP.12, the Buffer Particle /?up/.

AP-CM.71

Qapsins kin<sub>ϕ</sub> ?upskin.

/qapsin-s k<sub>ϕ</sub> hin<sub>ϕ</sub> ϕ<sub>ϕ</sub> ?up s-kin/

what/something-s3 SM, 2CP, Fpt, Bpt, CON-by.hand

'Why do you want to do that to them'.

**Text Example BP.13, the Buffer Particle /ʔup/.**

**RMc-ChOg.123**

qapsins ʔupsmi yiϕkiʔmis

/qapsin-s            nʔupʔs-mi        yiϕkiʔ-miʔ-s/

what/something-S3    PMᵛBptᵛCON-earth    pot-earth(en)-S3

**'whatever she had for a bucket'**



### 3.1.2 Independent Particles.

Independent particles differ from clitic particles in that the independent particles may stand alone as single word sentences or occur as one word utterances. The particles /hiy/ 'yes' and /waha/ 'no' constitute separate phonetic phrases when they occur in conjunction with a following verbal phrase. The Suggestive Particle /huya/ and the Interjection /xina/ 'Gee' are equally independent. Interjections are treated here as a subtype of independent particles.

With the Negative Imperative or Negative Future particle /maʔɕ/, it is less clear that the particle forms a phonetic phrase onto itself when it occurs in conjunction with a following verbal phrase. It is likely, moreover, that this particle may have began as a proclitic particle and evolved into an independent particle through the ellipsis of following material, rather than the particle always having been an independent particle the particles as /hiy/ 'yes' and /waha/ 'no' may conceivably have been, or originating as independent verbal phrases as it appears that the Suggestive Particle /huya/ and the Interjection /xina/ 'Gee' may have originated.

#### Key Examples of Clause and Sentence Equivalent Particles.

hiy 'yes', 'O.K'.

Example of the particle /hiy/.

EG-KPL (1978)

Kin ʔupxa kaʔik ɕupqa ʔa·kmuʔunismiʔ ?

/k.hin. ʔupxa k.ha-ʔik ɕupqaʔ ʔa·kmuʔu-n-is-m-iʔ ?/

SM.2CP. know/see SM.have-foot deer Garden-NC-2P&O-ASC-DI QUES

(a) 'Do you know there are deer tracks in your garden.'

Hiy, ɕiʔmiyitnamus ʔat ʔin.sʔ ʔuquxaxi.

/hiy, ɕiʔmiyit-namuʔ-s ʔat. ʔin. sʔ. ʔuqu-xa-x.i/

yes. Night-NOM-S3 IMpt. must.be. CON-ADV. inside-G-RLG.IND

(b) 'Yes, they must go in there at night.'

Text example of the particle /hiy/.

RMc-ChOg.107

Qakiksi "hiy" 'She said: "O.K."'

/qa-kik-s.i hiy /

be.thus-say-S3.IND yes

**waha** 'no'.

Example of the particle /waha/.

EG-KLP (1978)

?At kin haq̣a+i+ ?anaxa ɕupqa ?

/?at, k, hin haq̣a+i+?+, ?a-na-xa ɕupqa? ?/

IMpt, SM,2CP, ever-ADV, out-go-G deer QUES

(a) 'Have you ever hunted deer?'

Waha, hu +itq̣a+i+ ?anaxni ɕupqa.

/waha, hu, +it-q̣a+-?i+ ?a-na-x,ni ɕupqa/

No 1CP, ever-ADV, out-go-G deer

(b) 'No, I have never hunted deer.'

**huya** Suggestive Particle (abbreviated SUGT), 'alright', /huya/ (KSL). This particle is listed here as a morpheme, but it would appear to be related to the Kutenai root /hu-/ 'finish, complete', which compares with a Proto-Salishan root, presumably to be reconstructed as \*huy 'finish'. This Kutenai particle, however, compares directly with a similar particle-like element in a number of Salishan languages, with some of the closest resemblances in form and function being between the Kutenai particle and particle-like elements in Coast Salishan languages, such as Sechelt /huyá/ 'Let's ...', 'Come on ...'.

The Kutenai particle /huya/ introduces a suggestion, either as an imperative verbal form expressing a command, or it may introduce an indicative verbal form where the suggestion may be a statement of what an individual or individuals intend to do, or should do.

This particle inflects for grammatical person in a minimal way, in that it has an obviative form /huya-s/. Other particles, independent or proclitic, do not take even this minimal pronominal marking. This puts this particle in a special category, but there are



independent pronouns and modifying words in Kutenai, such as the Temporal Pronoun /taxa/, which also have obviative forms. The Suggestative Particle /huya/ would appear to be a verbal form of some type, because of its etymological relation to the verbal root /hu-/ 'finish, complete', but it has neither an indicative form, nor a subordinate form, as verbal stems have, so it fails to qualify as a verbal stem.

Text example of the particle /huya/.

AP-CY.238

Huya, ʔiʔqankasaqin

'Alright, stretch your leg forward.'

/huya ʔiʔqanka-saqin /

SUGT Stretch-leg<sub>2CP</sub> (This is an imperative form)

Text example of the particle /huya/.

RMc-ChOg.269

Huya, hu<sub>ε</sub> ʔaʔqananuqiʔxunisni.

/huya hu<sub>ε</sub> ʔaʔqa-na-nuqiʔ-xu-ʔ-n-is<sub>ni</sub> /<sup>1</sup>

SUGT 1CP<sub>FUT</sub> across-go-Sfx-by.body-GSVI-NC-20&P<sub>IND</sub> (an indicative form)

'Alright, I will pack you across.'

---

<sup>1</sup> The presence of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix in this form is attested by the form: /ʔaʔqananuqiʔxuʔnu !/ 'Pack me across!' RMc-ChOg.140

**maʔɛ** 'Don't', Negative Imperative, Prohibitive, Negative Future, /maʔɛ/. This particle can stand as a complete utterance, entirely on its own, or it can occur with a following verbal phrase where it precedes the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu/ and the Second Person Clitic Pronoun /hin/.

Example of the particle /maʔɛ/.

RMc-ChOg.20-21

Maʔɛ hin.ɛ ʔupxaɛitkiɫni ɫkamniɲtik

/maʔɛ hin.ɛ. ʔupxa-ɛ-iʔ-t-kiɫ.ni ɫkam-niɲ-t-ik/

PROHIB 2CP.Fpt. see/know-CAUS-STV-TVI-2PL.IND child-DIST-TVI-REFLX

(a) 'you will not let the children find out'

hin ya.ɥqanamiɫkiɫki.

/hin. ya. qa-na-m-iɫ-kiɫ.ki/

2CP. DFM. be.thus-go-ASC-DI-2PL.LOC

(b) 'where you've gone.'

Text Example of the particle /maʔɛ/.

RMc-ChOg.104-105

Qakiɫni tiɫnamus

(a) 'She said to the old woman

/qa-ki-ɫ.ni tiɫnamuʔ-s/

be.thus-say-DI.IND old.woman-S3

\*maʔɛ ɫuɫamaxnu

(b) 'don't bite my head off.'

/maʔɛ ɫu-ɫamʔ-ax-n.hu/

PROHIB remove-head-G-NC.1CP

**xina** 'Gee!', /xina/, but phonetically [χé·na], where the shape of the first vowel is not so much unpredictable as it is unexpected, requiring some exploration into the question of what the conditioning factors for the allophone [ε] of the phoneme /i/ really are. This word is an expressive interjection, however, and may, in any event, be outside of the normal sound system of the language. The word may also be a borrowing. The only conceivable etymology for this particle is that it is an adaptation of a Shuswap verbal stem /xéne/ 'to be hurt, to hurt (intransitive)', Kuipers (1974, p. 252). Kuipers (1989, p. 215) reports the expression /táʔwəs k-ʔsxéne/ 'Don't get hurt!', which is used as a farewell, suggesting that Shuswap speakers may have used the stem /xéne/ in situations where it could have been understood as an interjection or been adapted as an interjection. This may seem far fetched, but the Kutenai interjection can express dismay in situations not unlike those where English speakers might use the expression 'Oy veh!' which is from Yiddish 'Oy veh iz mir! 'Oh pain is to me'.

The following example is a direct quote from Coyote in the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text.

Example of the interjection /xina/.

AP-CY.32

xina paʔ sukaxniʔni.ɕ "my it tasted good, (and)"  
 /xina paʔ suʔk-ax-n-iʔni.ɕ/  
 gee! EVID good-by.mouth-NC-STV.IND .and

The following example is a direct quote from the father thunderbird in the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text when the father thunderbird gets back to the nest.

Example of the Interjection /xina/.

AP-CY.217-218

\*Xina kaʔs.ɕ kiʔin maniskiʔ  
 /xina kaʔ-s.ɕ k.ʔhiʔ.ʔi-n maʔ-n-is-kiʔ/  
 gee! where-S3.and SM.Bpt.be-NC mother-NC-20&P-2PL  
 "Well, where ever is your mother ?"

Hupaks ʔat.k ʔa ʔisniʔ.ɕwam"

/hupak-s ʔat. k. ʔa. ʔisn-iʔ.ɕ wa-m/  
 first-S3 IMpt. SM. REV. be.the.one.who-ADV. arrive-RM  
 'She's always the first to get back.'



### 3.1.3 Prefixes.

#### 3.1.3.1 Prepositional Prefixes.

Kutenai prepositional prefixes occur as the first morpheme of verbal stems and translate into English as prepositions, or at least as English words having reference to a location. Some of them appear to be morphologically complex, so that they are compound base elements for Kutenai stems, although these compound base elements are somewhat resistant to analysis. These prefixes occur most commonly before verbal roots or suffixes specifying direction of motion, 'go', 'come', 'go by', and 'be to'. Some of them also occur before the root /k-/ 'do, be' and form independent nominal stems referring to a location.

#### Examples of Prepositional Prefixes.

?a- 'out', /?a-/.

Example of the Prepositional Prefix /?a-/. RMc-ChOg.357

Nanaxam̓niꞥ 'He stepped out-doors and'

/nꞥ?a-na-xam̓niꞥ/

PMꞥout-go-BRLꞥINDꞥand

?a+qa- 'across', /?a+qa-/.

Text Example of the Prepositional Prefix /?a+qa-/. MP-FL.39-40

hu qawxa+ ?a+qanaxa+a?ni yaꞥqawxaquku?ki

(a) 'We went across to' (b) 'where the bridge ends (i.e. to Fort Steele)'.  
 (a) 'We went across to' (b) 'where the bridge ends (i.e. to Fort Steele)'.

The example appears below in analyzed format:

/hu<sub>u</sub> qa-u?xa-?t<sub>u</sub> ?a+qa-na-x-a+a?<sub>u</sub>ni/

1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-Be.to-AD<sub>u</sub> across-go-RLG-1PL<sub>u</sub>IND

(a) 'We went across to'

/ya<sub>u</sub>qa-u?xa-qu-ku?<sub>u</sub>ki/

DFM<sub>u</sub>be.thus-Be.to-on.water<sup>1</sup>-wood<sub>u</sub>LOC

(b) 'where the bridge ends (i.e. to Fort Steele).'

?aqat'- 'near', /?aqat'-/.

Text Example of the Prepositional Prefix /?aqat'-/.

RMc-ChOg.228-230

Qawsaqañ <sub>u</sub> φ	ma?φ ?aqat'ak -	?i+qahak.
/qa-u?sa-qa-? <sub>u</sub> n <sub>u</sub> φ	ma?φ ?aqat'-ha-k	?i+qa-ha-k/
be.thus-Be.at-STV-IN-2CP	PROHIB near-have-do/be	far-have-do/be
(a) 'stay, but	(b) 'not close by -'	(c) 'far off.'

Example of the Prepositional Prefix /?aqat'-/.

RMc-ChOg.304-306

Taxas k'aqat'u?xam (a) Then when she got near

/taxa-s k<sub>u</sub>?aqat'-u?xa-m/

then-S3 SM<sub>u</sub>near-Be.to-RM

sna++ukit+wiytik ni+sik<sub>u</sub>φ (b) the bull started snorting and

φ<sub>u</sub>yuwakaqanmitmu'uxamik. (c) pawing dirt up over him(self).

<sup>1</sup> The usual gloss for the morpheme /-qu / is 'in water', but the gloss in this example reflects the fact that the real meaning of the morpheme is 'water in a locative sense', rather than the more specific 'in water'.

**?ađas-** 'near, close', esp. 'close against something', /?ađas-/. G&M (1979)

**Example of the Prepositional Prefix /?ađas-/, as the base of a nominal stem.** G&M (1979)

?ađasđnuk n. 'lake shore', /?ađas-đnuk/.  
 against-lake

**Example of the Prepositional Prefix /?ađas-/, as the base of a nominal stem.** G&M (1979)

?Ađasak ?a·kit+a?nam qawisqań 'lake shore'  
 /?ađas-ha-k ?a·k-i-t+a?-n-am qa-wis-qa-?n/.  
 against-have-do/be NSB-Bf-house-NC-INH be.thus-stand-STV-IN<sub>2</sub>CP

The following text example of the prepositional prefix /?ađas-/ has it in the derived adverb /?ađas-ha-?+/ in clause (b) and in the locative stem /?ađas-ha-k/ in clause (c).

**Text Example of the Prepositional Prefix /?ađas-/. AP-CM.96-98**

Hin ɕinminuxińqa  
 /hin<sub>2</sub> ɕi-n-minuxiń-qa-?/  
 2CP<sub>2</sub> INCEP-go-jump-STV-IN

(a) 'When you jump

Na hin  $\text{ɕxa}^{\text{t}}$   $\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{asa}^{\text{t}}$   $\text{qa}\cdot\text{minuxi}^{\text{n}}\text{qa}^{\text{?}}\text{ni}$

/na hin<sub>u</sub>  $\text{ɕxa}^{\text{t}}$ <sub>u</sub>  $\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{as-ha-}^{\text{?}}\text{t}$ <sub>u</sub>  $\text{qa-ha-minuxi}^{\text{n}}\text{-qa-}^{\text{?}}\text{ni}$ /

here 2CP<sub>u</sub> FUT-ADV<sub>u</sub> close.against-have-ADV<sub>u</sub> be.thus-go.by-jump-STV-IN<sub>u</sub>IND

(b) 'you will land and stay against the wall'

$\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{asak}$   $\text{ɕxa}^{\text{t}}$   $\text{suk}^{\text{t}}\text{i}^{\text{?}}\text{itni}$ .

/ $\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{as-ha-k}$   $\text{ɕxa-}^{\text{?}}\text{t}$ <sub>u</sub>  $\text{su}^{\text{k}}\text{-}^{\text{t}}\text{i}^{\text{?}}\text{it}_{\text{u}}\text{ni}$ /

close.against-have-do/be FUT-ADV<sub>u</sub> good-place<sub>u</sub>IND

(c) 'Along there will be a good place.'

$\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{a-}$  'into the bush, into brush, into a thicket', / $\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{a-}$ /.

Text Example of the Prepositional Prefix / $\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{a-}$ /.

MP-FL.127

taxas hu  $\text{ɕ}^{\text{?}}\text{ina}^{\text{t}}$   $\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{anaxi}$  'then I went into the thicket'.

/taxa-s hu<sub>u</sub>  $\text{ɕ}^{\text{?}}\text{-na-}^{\text{?}}\text{t}$ <sub>u</sub>  $\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{-na-x}_{\text{u}}\text{i}$ /

then-S3 1CP<sub>u</sub> INCEP-go-ADV<sub>u</sub> into.thicket-go-RLG<sub>u</sub>IND

$\text{ʔi}^{\text{t}}\text{qa-}$  'far', / $\text{ʔi}^{\text{t}}\text{qa-}$ /.<sup>2</sup>

Text Example of the Particle / $\text{ʔi}^{\text{t}}\text{qa-}$ /.

RMc-ChOg.264

$\text{n}^{\text{?}}\text{i}^{\text{t}}\text{qanmiti}$ . 'She threw it away.'

/n<sub>u</sub> $\text{ʔi}^{\text{t}}\text{qa-n-mit}_{\text{u}}\text{i}$ /

PM<sub>u</sub>far-go-throw<sub>u</sub>IND

<sup>2</sup> See the example of the prefix / $\text{ʔi}^{\text{t}}\text{qa-}$ / 'far' which is in the section above on the prefix / $\text{ʔa}^{\text{q}}\text{at}^{\text{?}}\text{-}$ / 'near'.



t(i)- 'in', /t-/.

**Text Example of the Prepositional Prefix /t-/.**

**RMc-ChOg.60**

Tinaxam̃ni, 'They went inside.'

/ti-na-xam̃ni/

in-go-BRL,IND

**Text Example of the Prepositional Prefix /t-/.**

**RMc-ChOg.458**

Tkaxam̃siϕ 'It came in.'

/t-ka-xam̃-sϕi ϕ/

in-come-BRL-S3,IND and

?u- 'down', /?u-/.

**Example of the Prepositional Prefix /?u-/.**

**AP-CM.121**

Taxas čina+ ?unaxi skinkuϕ 121. 'Then Coyote went down'

/Taxa-s či-na-?+ ?u-na-xϕi skinkuϕ/

then-S3 INCEP-go-ADV, down-go-RLG,IND coyote

**Example of the Prepositional Prefix /?u-/.**

**AP-CY.265**

Taxas(s)+ ?ukni+ čina+ ?unanuxusi

/taxa-s s-?+ ?ukni+ či-na-?+ ?u-na-nuxu-sϕi /

then-S3 CON-ADV, Adverb, INCEP-go-ADV, down-go-fly-S3,IND

'Then it flew straight downward.'



**Example of the Prepositional Prefix /ʔup-/. MP-FL.102**

hu ʔa ʔnaʔ ʔupaxaʔaʔni 'We started back to shore'

/hu ʔa ʔ-na-ʔʔ ʔup-ha-x-aʔaʔni/

1CP, REV, INCEP-go-ADV, away.from.water-go.by-RLG-1PL, IND

**ʔuquʔ-** 'inside', /ʔuquʔ-/.

**Example of the Prepositional Prefix /ʔup-/. AP-CY.175**

ʔa ʔuqwaxmitnaqnaksi 'It landed back in the nest.'

/ʔa ʔuquʔ-ax-mit-naq-n-ak-s, i /

and, REV, in-GOAL-throw-sit-ASC-REFLX-S3, IND

**xu-** 'toward water, into fire', /xu-/.

**Text Example of the Prepositional Prefix /xu-/. RMc-ChOg.114**

Xunamikini 'She put it on to cook'

/xu-na-mi-kin, i/

into.fire/water-go-earth(en.ware)-by.hand, IND

**Text Example of the Prepositional Prefix /xu-/. RMc-ChOg.136-137**

Hin ʔxaʔ xunaxi sanmitukni.

/hin ʔxa-ʔʔ xu-na-x, i s-ha-nmituk, ni/

2CP, FUT-ADV, into.water/fire-go-RLG, IND CON-have-River, IND

'You will come to (where there is) a river.'

Text Example of the Prepositional Prefix /xu-/.

RMc-ChOg.186

qawxaʔ xunaxiꞥ 'she got to the (body of) water and'

/qa-uʔxa-ʔʔꞥ xu-na-xꞥꞥ /

be.thus-Be.to-ADVꞥ into.water/fire-go-RLGꞥIND ꞥand

### 3.1.3.2 Aspectual Prefixes.

There is one aspectual prefix, the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa-/~ʔa'-/ and a root, the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/ which also serves as an aspectual prefix. The Continuative Aspect Marker can also be thought of as an aspectual prefix which also serves as a base element and is therefore functionally a root.

ʔa(·)- The Imperfective Prefix (abbreviated IM), with surface allomorphs /ʔa-/~ʔa'-/. The surface allomorph /ʔa'-/, with a long vowel, is open to analysis as two morphemes, the Imperfective Prefix itself /ʔa-/ and a separate morpheme consisting entirely of vowel length /-'/, which follows the prefix. Diachronically, the vowel length may be a reduced form of the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/. This is in part on the evidence of the phonetic transcriptions of Boas (1918), where aspiration is indicated as a feature of the Imperfective Prefix as a constituent of what is called here the 'Nominal Stem Base', transcribed by Boas as [a<sub>a</sub><sup>h</sup>k-]<sup>3</sup>. The element [k] in the Nominal Stem Base is the semantically neutral root /k-/'do, be'. The Nominal Stem Base is actually written by Boas as though he were attempting to transcribe a voiced 'h' followed by vowel length, rather than merely vowel length. Moreover, a voiced h marginally survives in modern pronunciations of the Nominal Stem Base.

Assuming the abstract, bimorphemic analysis of the surface allomorph /ʔa-'/ of the

<sup>3</sup> Boas actually used an apostrophe facing to the right to indicate aspiration, which contrasts with an apostrophe facing to the left which represents glottal stop in his transcription. He did not, however, transcribe word-initial glottal stop, so the Boasian transcription of the Noun Base /ʔa·k-/' has to be taken as representing [ʔa<sub>a</sub><sup>h</sup>k-].

Imperfective Prefix, one can say that it appears that the vowel length morpheme /-ː-/ follows the Imperfective Prefix everywhere, except in the Imperfective Particle /ʔa-t/, and possibly also where the Imperfective Prefix occurs as a prefix on the particle /qan/ 'exactly, directly'.

Sound rules in the language make the matter of vowel length with the Imperfective Prefix as a constituent of the Nominal Stem Base somewhat difficult to pin down. There is also a version of the Nominal Stem Base containing the root /qa-/ 'be.thus'. There is a built-in structural ambiguity about these examples, because every instance of the Nominal Stem Base as /ʔaː-qa-/ might be interpreted as underlyingly consisting of four morphemes, underlyingly: /ʔaː-k-qa-/, also containing the root /k-/ 'do/be', as well as the root /qa-/ 'be thus'. There are morphologically conditioned rules of K-Deletion in the language whereby underlying k deletes before velar or uvular stops, with or without compensatory lengthening, depending on the specific examples involved. One of the morphemes affected by the rule which apparently does not involve compensatory lengthening is the root /k-/ 'do/be' as a constituent of the Nominal Stem Base. The problem is that vowel length could be coming from compensatory lengthening and also from an underlying segment consisting of vowel length which is a reduced form of the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/.

There are examples in the language where the Imperfective Prefix is a constituent of what are ostensibly verbal phrases. In each of the examples of this which are presented below, the Imperfective Prefix precedes and attaches to the root /qa-/ 'be thus'. These verbal phrases can be seen as nominalization of a particular kind. One thing which makes the Nominal Stem Bases /ʔaːk-/ and /ʔaːqa-/ apparently function as nominalizers is the fact that lexicalization is also involved. The examples below where the Imperfective Prefix occurs prefixed to the root /qa-/ 'be thus' in ostensibly verbal phrases are really examples of non-lexicalized nominalization, or ad hoc nominalizations. The fact that the

vowel length which is a feature of the Nominal Bases /ʔa·k-/ and /ʔa·qa-/ may be etymologically the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/ is significant, coupled as it is with the fact that the same vowel length appears always to be a feature of the Imperfective Prefix where it occurs before the root /qa-/ 'be thus' in ostensibly verbal phrases which function as ad hoc nominalizations.

In the examples below of ad hoc nominalizations, and also in nominal stems containing the Nominal Stem Bases, the Imperfective Prefix (and covertly the presumed underlying Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/) are the nominalizing agents. Kutenai is a language where stems which need to be marked as nominal, which is to say that they need to be marked as referring to things, are marked as such by aspectual markers. These aspectual markers indicate the imperfective and time durative nature of things in contrast to the more transitory nature of conditions, states, qualities of things, actions, and events. Moreover, in Kutenai, when conditions, states, qualities of things, actions, or events are objectified by being cast in the role of being things, these same aspectual markers are employed as nominalizers.

Example of the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa·-/.

RMc-ChOg.56

N̄a·qawxayiksiɬik<sup>4</sup>

ʔAt ɬuk̄muxamik.

/n̄ʔa·-qa-uʔxa-yiks-iɬ-ik/

/ʔat̄ ɬuk̄mu-xa-m-ik/

PM̄IM-be.thus-Be.to-camp.overnight-Sfx-REFLX

IMpt̄.roast-G-ASC-REFLX

(a) 'Wherever they stopped to make camp for the night' (b) 'they would roast it (what they had gotten by hunting that day).'

<sup>4</sup> This example is one of the rare cases in the early text transcription work of EG where the Imperfective Prefix is transcribed with some indication of vowel length. The indication of vowel length was supplied by EG in the process of producing a neater second draft of the transcript which is especially indicative of there being phonemic vowel length here.

Example of the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa·-/.

AP-CM.86-87

Taxas niʔs kuʔ ʔa·qakiꞥ

taxas qaxamik.

/taxa-s niʔ-sꞥ kꞥhu-ʔʔ ʔa·-qa-kiꞥ

taxa-s qꞥa-xa-m-ik/

then-S3 the-S3ꞥ SMꞥfinish-ADVꞥ IM-be.thus-sayꞥand then-S3 sever-G-ASC-RFLX

(a) Then after he said that,

(b) he then made medicine

(of a kind of plant)'.  
(of a kind of plant)'

A common circumstance in which a verbal stem needs the Imperfective prefix is in certain interrogative constructions.

Example of the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa·-/.

MP-FL.86-88

"kaʔ kin ʔa·qaʔwiy.

/kaʔꞥ kꞥhin ʔa·-qa-ʔwiy /

whatꞥ SMꞥ2CPꞥ IM-be.thus-heart

(a) "what do you think"

"kin qaʔwiy

xma kinꞥʔik tuhuʔ."

/kꞥhinꞥ qa-ʔwiy/

/xma kꞥhinꞥʔik tuhuʔ/

SMꞥ2CPꞥ be.thus-heart

wouldꞥ SMꞥ2CPꞥeat char

(b) "do you think"

(c) "you would like to eat some char"

Example of the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa·-/.

MP-FL.90-92

taxas hu qaʔwiyꞥni

(a) 'I wondered

/taxa-s huꞥ qa-ʔwiyꞥni/

then-S3 1CPꞥ be.thus-heartꞥIND

kaʔ kuꞤ ʔaːqaʔ haʔuqʔawut

/kaʔꞤ kuꞤhuꞤ ʔaː-qa-ʔʔꞤ ha-ʔ-u-qʔawu-t/

howꞤ SMꞤ1CPꞤandꞤ IM-be.thus-ADVꞤ have-carry-Bf-Fishline-TVI

(b) how I was going to fish

kuꞤ ʔupkaquxa tuhuʔ

/kuꞤhuꞤ ʔup-ka-qu-xa tuhuʔ /

SMꞤ1CPꞤFUTꞤ away.from.water-come-in.water-G char

(c) in order to get the char to bite.'

### The particle /qan/ 'exactly, directly' with the Imperfective Prefix.

There are what appear to be some examples of the particle /qan/ 'exactly, directly' which are prefixed by the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa-/~ʔaː-/, apparently in its surface allomorph with a short vowel. These examples line up to some extent with a possible etymological analysis of the Imperfective Particle /ʔa-t/, which can be seen as originally having been a combination of the Imperfective Prefix and what may have originally been a proclitic particle /tꞤ/, which has subsequently been bleached of its original semantic content, whatever that may have been.

Example of /ʔa-qan/.

AP-CM.125

ʔaqan wistʔaʔaʔs niʔs ʔaʔ ɕaʔtmus.

/ʔa-qan wistʔaʔaʔ-s niʔ-s ʔaʔꞤ ɕaʔ-tmuʔ-s/

IM-exactly seven-S3 the-S3 PLptꞤ younger.brother-together.with-S3

125. 'There must have been seven of them brothers'.



In the following text example in clause (d), there is not only an example of the particle /ʔa-qan/, but one which is preceded by the Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/, encliticized onto the preceding clitic pronoun.

**Text Example of the Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/ before /ʔa-qan/. MP-FL.103-106**

ku †axaxa†a                      hu †a ʔitkina†aʔni  
 /k<sub>u</sub>hu<sub>u</sub> †axa-x-a†aʔ/    /hu<sub>u</sub> †a<sub>u</sub> ʔiʔt-kin-a†aʔ<sub>u</sub>ni/  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> 1CP<sub>u</sub> Arrive.back-RLG-1PL    1CP<sub>u</sub> REV<sub>u</sub> Become-by.hand-1PL<sub>u</sub>IND  
 '(a) When we got back to shore    (b) we fixed them (the fish).'

hu qa ʔupxni.                      hun ʔaqan ʔaymititna†a  
 /hu<sub>u</sub> qa<sub>u</sub> ʔupxni/              /hu<sub>u</sub>n<sub>u</sub> ʔa-qan ʔaymit-i-t-n-a†aʔ/<sup>5</sup>  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> NEG<sub>u</sub> know/see              1CP<sub>u</sub> IM-exactly Two.days-Bf-TVI-NC-1PL  
 (c) I just don't know.              (d) I think it was a couple of days that we stayed'.

### The Continuative Marker as a Prefix.

The Continuative Marker /s-/ is most like an aspectual prefix when it precedes verbal roots. It is most like a root when it serves as the base element of a verbal stem consisting only of the Continuative Aspect Marker and a following nominal lexical suffix or a following verbal lexical suffix.

<sup>5</sup> Underlyingly the inflected verbal stem here is: /ʔas-n-mi-yit-i-t-n-a†at/  
 two-STD-land-time-Bf-TVI-NC-1PL

An intermediate level of analysis, however, there is a compound lexical suffix here /-n-mi-yit/, which, as a unit, means 'day'. The compound verbal base /ʔaymit-/ posited in the example is a product of a morphologically conditioned rule which, among other things, takes underlying sequences of /s+n/ and has them realized as /y/.



### 3.1.4 Grammatical Bases.

In Kutenai there are a small number of highly productive bases for nominal stems and verbal stems. These bases include the Nominal Stem Bases discussed above under the heading of the Imperfective Prefix, the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/, also mentioned above, and the Inceptive Marker /čʰi-/ which is also aspectual in nature and prefixal in nature. The Inceptive Marker may be etymologically a specialization of the verbal root /čʰi-/ 'fast, rapid, quick'. In this category of productive bases are also a number of root morphemes which have lexical glosses, for example 'be', 'have', and 'do'. In some stems these ostensibly lexical root morphemes function as little more than a structural base for the stem, only minimally or not at all contributing any lexical meaning to the base.

s - **The Continuative Aspect Marker** (abbreviated CON), /s-/.

This morpheme can be seen as an aspectual prefix or as a root morpheme with translations of 'be in the act of doing', or 'presently being'. One place where the Continuative Aspect Marker can be commonly seen is prefixed to the verbal roots /na-/ 'go', /ka-/ 'come', and /ha-/ 'go by'. It happens, however, that the roots /na-/ 'go', /ka-/ 'come', and /ha-/ 'go by' almost never appear as the first element in a verbal stem. Except for rare examples, they appear after one of the roots discussed in this section, making the roots /na-/ 'go', /ka-/ 'come', and /ha-/ 'go by' as much directional suffixes as they are root morphemes. Examples such as the one immediately below cast the Continuative Aspect Marker simultaneously in both the role of being an aspectual prefix, and the role of being a root morpheme. The text example CAM.1, below, part (a), shows the Continuative Aspect Marker as a prefix on the verbal root /na-/ 'go'.

## Text Example CAM.1.

AP-CM.104-106

Taxas qus snaxiꞥ

/taxa-s qu?-s s-na-xꞥi ꞥꞥ/

then-S3 yonder-S3 CON-go-RLGꞥIND ꞥand

(a) 'Then as he went along

ńupxni

paꞥ piꞥakꞥsꞥ wanaqnaꞥni.

/nꞥꞥupxꞥni/

/paꞥ piꞥakꞥ s-ꞥꞥꞥ wanaqna-ꞥꞥni/

PMꞥknow/seeꞥIND

EVID pastꞥ

CON-ADVꞥ Attack-PASVꞥIND

(b) he realized

(c) he was already being attacked'.

The following are related examples of the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/, first as a prefix on the directional root /ka-/ in CAM.2, part (c), and then as the sole base element of a verbal stem in CAM.3, part (c).

## Text Example CAM.2, of /s-ka-/.

RMc-ChOg.139-142

(a) Hinꞥ qakiꞥni

'You will say to him -'

(b) "?aꞥqananuqiꞥxuꞥnu.

"pack me across.

(c) Skanutapni

She is following me,

/s-ka-nut-apꞥni/.

CON-come-chase-1SG.OBJꞥIND

(d) kꞥuꞥamaxaka."

the one who bites heads off."

Text Example CAM.3, of /s-/.

RMc-ChOg.196-199

ɛaxaxi ni? na?utinana ni?s niʔsiks "ʔAʔqananuqiʔxu?nu

(a) The little girl arrived where the bull was. (b) "Pack me across the river.

Snutapni kʔuʔamaxaka.

/s-nut-ap,ni/ /k,ʔu-ʔam-a-ʔ-xa-ka?/

CON-chase-1SG.OBJ,IND SM,remove-head-Bf-GSVI-by.mouth-INH.O

(c) She is after me, (d) the one who chews heads off."<sup>1</sup>

The following is a subsequent example in the same text of the root-suffix sequence /s-uʔsa-/.

Text Example CAM.4.

RMc-ChOg.302-303

Piʔaks ʔin paʔmikupsi yiʔkimiʔis,ʔ

/Piʔak-s ʔin paʔmi-ku-p-s,ʔi yiʔkiʔ-miʔ-ʔis,ʔ/

past-S3 must.be burst-by.heat-IN-S3,IND pot-earth(en)-3POS, and

(a) Her pot must have burst by now,

saʔ susanutkaʔni.

/saʔ s-uʔsa-nut-kaʔ,ni/

but CON-Be.at-chase-INH.O,IND

(b) but she was still in pursuit of the children.

Example set CAM.5 shows the Continuative Aspect Marker in the same structural role as the roots /k-/ 'do/be', and /ha-/ 'have' (or 'go by').

<sup>1</sup> Lines (c) and (d) originally glossed together as: 'one who chews heads off is after me'.

## Example Set CAM.5.

G&amp;M (1979), except for (b)

- (a) snut 'to be chasing something, to pursue something or someone',  
/s-nut/.  
CON-chase
- (b) knut 'to chase something', / k-nut /.  
do/be-chase
- (c) hanut 'to trail after something, to chase something, to be jealous of one's mate',  
/ha-nut/.  
go.by-chase

## Text Example CAM.6, the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/.

AP-CM.146-149

Si+kukɔi+nɪ (a) 'They brought him water.'

/s-i-t-ku-t-kɔ-i+nɪ/.

CON-Bf-carry-water-Sfx-BG-PASV<sub>J</sub>IND

Ksi+kukɔi+, (b) 'They'd come with the water'

/k<sub>J</sub>s-i-t-ku-t-kɔ-i+nɪ/.SM<sub>J</sub>CON-Bf-carry-water-Sfx-BG-PASV<sub>J</sub>INDtaxa+kukɔi+nɪ<sup>2</sup>

/taxa-t-ku-t-kɔ-i+nɪ/

Arrive.back-Bf-carry-water-Sfx-BG-PASV<sub>J</sub>INDn<sup>h</sup>i+qanmiti./n<sub>J</sub>?i+qa-n-mit<sub>J</sub>i/PM<sub>J</sub>far-go-throw<sub>J</sub>IND

(c) 'and when they got there with it,'

(d) 'he threw it away.'

<sup>2</sup> There is a related derived adverb /taxa-?n<sub>J</sub>/ which would be realized in surface phonemic transcription in this environment as /taxa-t/, but what is involved here is the compound root /taxa-/ (REV-GOAL) plus the verbal lexical suffix /-t/ 'carry'.

The Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/ can function as a root in combination with nothing more than a following instrumental lexical suffix to form a verbal stem, as in the example immediately below.

Text Example CAM.7, the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/. RMc-ChOg.33-35

Taxas skini      ʔa ʔaxas ʔaʔ, aqaʔʔis, ʔ  
 /taxa-s s-kin,i      ʔa, ʔaxa-s      ʔaʔ, ʔa-qaʔʔ-ʔis, ʔ/  
 then-S3    CON-by.hand,IND    REV, Arrive.back-S3    PLpt,    NSB-child-3POS    and

(a) 'They did this    (b) for when their children returned and

kʔxaʔ hiʔkʔiʔʔits.  
 /k,ʔxa-ʔʔ, hiʔkʔiʔʔit-s /  
 SM,FUT-ADV, Search-S3

(c) 'they would search.'

In the following text example, the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/ appears in clause (b) as the base of the derived adverb /s-ʔʔ/ 'presently doing, presently being', in clause (d) it appears as the base of the verbal stem /s-kʔunis/ 'animal to be fitted with saddle bags', and in clause (f) it appears as the base of the verbal stem /s-iʔ-xu-ʔ/ 'to be in the act of backpacking something'.

**Example of the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/ as a root.** RMc-ChOg.456-461

Ńupxni                    k<sub>u</sub>s<sub>+</sub>t<sub>+</sub>a<sub>u</sub>was<sup>3</sup> xa<sub>+</sub>t<sub>+</sub>in<sub>?</sub>is.  
 /n<sub>u</sub>?upx<sub>ni</sub>                k<sub>u</sub>s-i<sub>?</sub>t<sub>+</sub> t<sub>+</sub>a<sub>u</sub>wa-s        xa<sub>+</sub>t<sub>+</sub>in<sub>?</sub>is/  
 PM<sub>u</sub>know/see<sub>IND</sub>        SM<sub>u</sub>CON-ADV<sub>u</sub> REV<sub>u</sub> arrive-S3    dog-3POS

(a) 'She knew'                (b) 'her dog was back.'

Tkaxam<sub>si</sub>ϕ                sk<sub>u</sub>nissi.  
 /t-ka-xam<sub>si</sub>ϕ /        /s-k<sub>u</sub>nis-s<sub>u</sub>i/  
 in-come-BRL-S3<sub>IND</sub>and        CON-saddle.bag-S3<sub>IND</sub>

(c) 'It came in'                (d) 'with the pack.'

Mityaxni                pa<sub>+</sub>t ?a<sub>·</sub>ku<sub>+</sub>taks si<sub>+</sub>xu<sub>?</sub>si.  
 /mit-iy-ax<sub>ni</sub>/        /pa<sub>+</sub>t ?a<sub>·</sub>k-u<sub>+</sub>tak-s    s-i-<sub>+</sub>t-xu-?-s<sub>u</sub>i/  
 throw-REFLX-G<sub>IND</sub>        EVID    NSB-meat-S3        CON-Bf-carry-by.body-GSVI<sub>IND</sub>

(e) 'She rushed to it'        (f) 'for it was meat it was packing.'

ϕ<sup>3</sup>(i)- The Inceptive Marker /ϕ<sup>3</sup>-/~ /ϕ<sup>3</sup>i-/.

**Text Example of the Inceptive Marker /ϕ<sup>3</sup>i-/.** AP-CM.168-169

Qsa<sub>·</sub>k<sub>u</sub>?ni<sub>u</sub>ϕ                ϕ<sup>3</sup>ina<sub>+</sub>ku<sub>+</sub>ni  
 /qsa-<sub>·</sub>-k<sub>u</sub>-?<sub>ni</sub>                ϕ<sup>3</sup>/        /ϕ<sup>3</sup>i-na-<sub>+</sub>-ku-<sub>+</sub>ni/  
 /qsa-k-k<sub>u</sub>-?<sub>ni</sub>                ϕ<sup>3</sup>/        /ϕ<sup>3</sup>i-na-<sub>+</sub>-ku-<sub>+</sub>ni/  
 dip/pinch.off-water-by.point-GSVI<sub>IND</sub> and        INCEP-go-carry-water-Sfx<sub>IND</sub>

(a) 'She dipped some water and'                (b) took it over'

<sup>3</sup> Originally transcribed as <ks<sub>+</sub>awas>, reflecting stylistic deletions by the narrator.



qa- 'be thus'. The root /qa-/ 'be thus' is most commonly seen as the base of verbal stems, without the root adding more than a token amount of meaning to the stem, although one can always construe that the root adds the meaning 'be thus, in that way', or 'there'. This root is evidently related to the Stative Suffix /qa-/. Part of the evidence for this is that the other Stative Suffix /-i?/ appears to be related to the root /?i?-/~/?i-/ 'be'.

There is one Kutenai verbal stem which consists of the root /qa-/ 'be thus' followed by the Stative Suffix /qa-/ which is followed by the Inchoative Suffix /-?/, underlyingly /-p/. This stem occurs in clause (c) of text example BTH.1, below, and in clause (b) of text example BTH.2, further below. There is another stem beginning with the root /qa-/ 'be thus' in clause (b) of example BTH.1, where the root is prefixed to the directional root /na-/ 'go'.

Text Example BTH.1, the Root /qa-/ 'be thus'.

AP-CM.165-167

ɕuqniꞵ	qana+amꞵniꞵ
/ɕu-qꞵniꞵ/	/qa-na-+amꞵniꞵ/
stick.in-STVꞵIND	be.thus-go-headꞵIND
(a) 'She cut a hole and'	(b) 'and stuck her head through'

taxas ni?s qaqapsi.  
 /taxa-s ni?sꞵ qa-qa-p-sꞵi/  
 then-S3 the-S3ꞵ be.thus-STV-IN-S3ꞵIND

(c) then it was like this.



**k-** 'do/be'. This root occurs most frequently in the Nominal Stem Base /ʔa·k-/ ~ /ʔa·-/ , abbreviated NSB, which is a combination of the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa-/ ~ /ʔa·/ , with this root morpheme /k-/ .<sup>5</sup> The root-prefix /k-/ , with its very general lexical gloss of 'do/be', functions as a dummy root, which, with nominal lexical suffixes forms nominal stems, and with verbal lexical suffixes forms verbal stems. In text example DB.1, from the Coyote and Mole Text, the root /k-/ 'do/be' forms a verbal stem with the verbal lexical suffix /-qaʦ/ 'travel'. It happens that in this particular example the verbal stem which these two morphemes together form /k-qaʦ/ 'to travel' is nominalized by the Locative Marker /<sub>ki</sub>/ in construction with the Proximal Deictic Pronoun /na/ 'here'.

Text Example DB.1, the Root /k-/.

AP-CM.53-55

Na hu kqaʦki hu<sub>s</sub>ʔ ʔiʦkiʔni ku ʦxaʔ ʔin nasuʔkin

'(The reason for) my travelling here is (that) I am in search of a means for me to become a chief.'

Text Example DB.1 in Analyzed Format, with a phrase by phrase translation supplied.

/na hu<sub>ki</sub> k-qaʦki hu<sub>s</sub> ʔ-ʔ<sub>ki</sub> ʔiʦkiʔni/

this 1CP<sub>LOC</sub> do/be-travel<sub>LOC</sub> 1CP<sub>CON-ADV</sub> search<sub>IND</sub>

this where/when I travel I am searching for

/k<sub>ki</sub> hu<sub>ki</sub> ʦxa-ʔ<sub>ki</sub> ʔin nasuʔkin/

SM<sub>ki</sub> 1CP<sub>FUT-ADV</sub> be chief

that I will be chief

<sup>5</sup> See the discussion of the Nominal Stem Base above in section 3.1.3, where the Imperfective Prefix is discussed.

In text example DB.2, the root /k-/ forms a verbal stem with the verbal lexical suffix /-ɬ/ 'carry', the instrumental lexical suffix /-xu/ 'by body, torso, back', and the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix. The verbal stem is then made into an ad hoc nominalization by the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>u</sub>/. By itself, the subordinate verbal form /k<sub>u</sub>kiɬxu?/ means 'that he/she/it/they backpacks him/her/it/them'. This subordinate verbal form is further modified by other elements surrounding it to mean 'the one who backpacked her little brother around'.

Text Example DB.2, the Root /k-/.

RMc-ChOg.121

ni? ʔat<sub>u</sub>k kiɬxu ɕiyaʔis.

/niʔ<sub>u</sub> ʔat<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub> k-i-ɬ-xu ɕiyaʔ-ʔis /

the<sub>u</sub> IMpt<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub> do/be-Bf-carry-by.body-GSVI younger.brother-3POS

'that one who packed her little brother around.'

There is another examples in the same text which provide a related verbal stem which closely contrasts with the verbal stem /kiɬxu?/ 'he/she/it/they backpacks him/her/it/them' found in the example above. The related stem is /haɬxu?/ 'he/she/it/they backpacks him/her/it/them'. The difference in meaning between the two roots is minimal, and difficult to characterize. For one thing, the roots /k-/ 'do/be', and /ha-/ 'have' in these stems are both functioning essentially as dummy verbal roots, providing a necessary structural base for the stems. In each case, the stems are semantically dominated by the same verbal lexical suffix in combination with the same instrumental lexical suffix. One possibility is that there is a difference in meaning between the two stems which is aspectual, or incipiently aspectual.

Closely Contrasting Example DB.3, the root /ha-/.

RMc-ChOg.77

?at kaɬxu ɕiyaʔis.

/ʔat k<sub>h</sub>ha-ɬ-xu-ʔ ɕiyaʔ-ʔis /

IMpt SM<sub>h</sub>have-carry-by.body-GSVI younger.brother-3POS

'one who packed her younger brother on her back.'

Another text provides an additional contrasting example with the stems /kiɬxuʔ/ 'he/she/it/they backpacks him/her/it/ them' and /haɬxuʔ/ 'he/she/it/they backpacks him/her/it/them'. In the text example DB.4, there is a stem /siɬxuʔ/ 'he/she/it/they is or would be in the act of backpacking him/her/it/ them'. The stem in question is in DB.4, part (c), which is the third clause and the second sentence of the following text example.

Contrasting Text Example DB.4, the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/. MP-FL.32-34

taxas ɕxaɬ<sub>u</sub>?uk<sup>2</sup>kisiɬxunawasni

/taxa-s ɕxaɬ<sub>u</sub> ?uk<sup>2</sup>-kis-i-ɬ-xu-n-awas<sub>u</sub>ni /

then-S3 FUT-ADV<sub>u</sub> one-DUAL-Bf-carry-by.body-NC-1PL.OBJ<sub>u</sub>IND

(a) 'then we'd have each a saddle horse to ride,'

sañ hu<sub>u</sub>ɕ ?uk<sup>2</sup>itaɬaʔni kaʔunis

/sañ hu<sub>u</sub>ɕ<sub>u</sub> ?uk<sup>2</sup>-i-t-aɬaʔ<sub>u</sub>ni k<sub>h</sub>ha-ʔunis /

but 1CP<sub>u</sub>FUT<sub>u</sub> one-Bf-TVI-1PL<sub>u</sub>IND SM<sub>h</sub>have-pack(saddle)

(b) 'but we'll have one pack horse.'

(c) "tax qapsin siɬxuʔ"

"wonder what we'll be packing"

/tax qapsin s-i-ɬ-xu-ʔ-ɬ/

just what CON-Bf-carry-by.body-GSVI-PASV

ha(?)- 'have', /haʔ-~/ha-/. The final glottal stop of this root occurs only in the transitive stem /haʔ-t/ 'to have something', and a derivative of it, the Compound Transitive Suffix /-naʔt-/, which is assumed to be the transitive form of the verb /haʔ-t/ once used as an auxiliary verb, but is now a word suffix. It transitivizes independent verbal roots which would otherwise not directly take a transitive suffix. The absence of the glottal stop in this root in stems other than /haʔ-t/ 'to have something' cannot be explained by the application of the regular mid-level glottal stop deletion rule of the language. Where one would expect the allomorph /haʔ-/ in disyllabic stems it fails to occur. Such disyllabic stems include /hanut/ 'to trail after something, to chase something, to be jealous of one's mate', where there is no other glottal stop, and for some speakers, diagnostic examples would include stems such as /haʔxuʔ/ 'to carry something', where there is a glottal stop in the following syllable. The stem /ha-nut/ here provides compelling reason to posit the form /ha-/ as an allomorph of the root in mid-level phonemic representation, alongside the allomorph /haʔ-/. Mid-level phonemic representations show all glottal stops not deleted by the mid-level rules of laryngeal deletion. If there were only the allomorph /haʔ/ at this level of representation, then the stem would not lose its glottal stop and would appear as the non-occurring form \*/haʔ-nut/ to be realized phonetically as [háʔnut].

There are examples of the root /haʔ-/ 'have' in text examples DB.3, above, and in part (b) of example DB.4, above, which both relate to the root /k-/ 'do, be'. In example DB.3 the root /haʔ-/ 'have' seems to contribute little or no meaning to the stem, apparently serving only to provide a base element for a lexical suffix and associated material to be attached to. That example is in the verbal stem /ha-ʔ-xu-ʔ/ 'to carry something', but there is also a stem /k-i-ʔ-xu-ʔ/ 'to carry something', and the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/ can also serve as the base to form the stem /s-i-ʔ-xu-ʔ/ 'to be carrying something'.

In example DB.4, part (b), above, the root is in a subordinate form of the verbal stem /ha-<sup>k</sup>unis/ 'animal to have a pack on'. For this stem, the root /ha?-/ can be credited with contributing the literal meaning 'have' to the stem. Example set CAM.5, above, has an example of a verbal stem /hə-/ 'have'. Example HAV.1, below, has that verbal stem in part (a) and shows the verbal stem in the context of a sentence in part (b).

Example HAV.1.

G&M (1979)

(a) hanut 'to trail after something, to chase something, to be jealous of one's mate',

/ha-nut/.

go.by-chase

(b) Sentence Example Including the Verbal Stem /ha-nut/. G&M(1979)

Nanuti ?iyamu?is nas kqaham.

/n<sub>h</sub>ha-nut<sub>i</sub> ?iyamu-?is na-s k<sub>q</sub>qa-hə-m/.

PM<sub>h</sub>have-chase<sub>i</sub>IND big.game-3POS here-S3 SM<sub>h</sub>be.thus-go.by-RM

'He was chasing his cow when he went by here'.

Text example HAV.2, below, shows the root /ha-/ before a verbal lexical suffix where the root apparently contributes little or no meaning to the stem. It is not clear whether the root is 'have' or 'go by', but the verbal stem does not mean specifically 'to dance by'.

Text Example HAV.2, the root /ha-/.

AP-CY.165

Hin φxaʔ haqwiʔni 'You will dance'.

/hin<sub>h</sub> φxaʔ<sub>h</sub> haqwiʔ<sub>h</sub>ni/

2CP<sub>h</sub> FUT-ADV<sub>h</sub> have(or go.by)-dance

ʔi- 'be', /ʔi-/~ʔiʔ-/. This root is a component of a variety of verbal stems.

There is an independent verbal stem meaning 'to be', and there is a highly productive bound verbal base meaning 'to become'. Example of these first two types are easy to find. An example of the bound verbal base meaning 'become' can be found in text example BE.1, part (b), below.

**A Verbal Stem:**

ʔin 'to be', /ʔi-n/.

be-NC (i.e.the N-Connector Suffix)

**A Bound Verbal Base:**

ʔiʔt- 'become', /ʔiʔ-t-/.

be-TVI (i.e.the T-Valence Increasing Suffix)

There are also instances where the root /ʔi-/~ʔiʔ-/ appears before other verbal roots where it means 'being (somewhere)'. Examples of the third type are rare. Text example BE.1, below, is from the Coyote and Cloud Text, while text example BE.2 is from the Chief and Ogress Text. In both cases, the root /ʔi-/~ʔiʔ-/ is prefixed to the root /na/ 'go'. In example BE.1, part (a) this combination of roots are the base of a derived adverb.

Text Example BE.1, the root /ʔi-/.

MP-CC.17-18

- (a) "A, ʔinaʔ ʔunishnamꞵ (17) "Oh, when somebody is going along,  
 /a, ʔi-na-ʔꞵ ʔunis-n-am ꞵ/  
 oh, be-go-ADV travel.along-NC-INH and



- (b) ?at ńitkikʔunamni."                      they stop and pitch camp."  
 [ʔat n.ʔitkikʔuŋámni...]                      (an example of Emphatic Lengthening)  
 /ʔat n.ʔiʔt-ki-kʔuʔ-n-am.ɲi/  
 IMpt PM. Become-Sfx-village-NC-INH.IND

Text Example BE.2, the Root /ʔi-/.  
 ńinam.ɸ

RMc-ChOg.53-55

/n.ʔi-na-m ɸ/  
 PM. be-go-RM ɸand

(a) Along the way,

?at ʔaʔtiʔ mitxni tuʔqamnas niʔtahaʔnananińtik.ɸ  
 /ʔat. ʔaʔtiʔ. mitx.ɲi tuʔqamna-s niʔtahaʔ-nana-niń-t-ik.ɸ/  
 IMpt. Adverb. Chase.IND small.game-S3 boy-DIMINUTIVE-DIST-TVI-REFL.ɸand

(b) the boys would shoot birds and game and

?at sqawumxuʔmik  
 /ʔat. s-qa-wum-xu-ʔ-m-ik/  
 IMpt. CON-be.thus-belly-by.body-GSVI-ASC-REFLX

(c) these would be their meals.



### 3.1.5 Valence Suffixes.

In this section, examples are provided for those Kutenai suffixes which are the most canonically valence marking suffixes. These are chiefly suffixes on verbal stems, but they are not confined, as a group, to verbal stems. The T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ and the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ can both be found with parallel functions on both verbal stems and nominal stems. The Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix /-ɬ/, and the Passive Suffix /-ɬ/, appears to be related, along with the Co-Participant Suffix /-aɬ/.<sup>1</sup>

-t The T-Valence Increasing Suffix, underlyingly /-t/.

The T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ and the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ are synchronically two distinct suffixes. Diachronically, however, it is possible to reconstruct a single valence increasing suffixes \*/-t/ for an earlier state of the language.<sup>2</sup> Both suffixes function as transitivity markers on verbal stems and as alienable possession suffixes on nominal stems.

Text Examples TVI.1, below, shows the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ functioning as a transitivity marker on a verbal stem. The verbal stem is /wu-kɬuʔ-t/ 'to find a village'. It is syntactically transitive in that the overt object of the verbal stem in the sentence is the primary third person (i.e. proximate) possessive form /ʔa·k-i-kɬuʔ-ʔis/ 'His/her/its/their (proximate) village (obviative)', a form of the nominal stem /ʔa·k-i-kɬuʔ/ 'village'. The possessive form as a whole counts syntactically as a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) nominal stem. It is therefore coreferent with the unmarked

<sup>1</sup> The Co-Participant Suffix is a component of the compound Comitative Suffix /-m-aɬ/~/-n-aɬ/, composed of the Associative Suffix followed by the Co-Participant Suffix. See section 3.1.3 and section 2.6.3 for examples of the compound Comitative Suffix.

<sup>2</sup> See section 2.6.6, especially sub-rule (4.3), for how closely this reconstruction relates to synchronic sound rules.

subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) pronominal object of the verbal stem. The subject of the verbal stem 'they (proximate)' is not distinct from the primary third person (proximate) reference 'their'. The sentence means 'They found the village of their (own) people'.

Text Example TVI.1.

RMc-ChOg.345

ɛaxaɬ wukɬu?ti ni?s ?a:kikɬu?is.

/ɬaxa-ɬɔ̣ wu-kɬu?-tɔ̣i ni?-sɔ̣ ?a:k-i-kɬu?-?is/

Get.to-ADV. find-village-TVI,IND the-S3. NSB-Bf-village-3POS

'They found the village of their people.'

In text example TVI.2, part (b), below, the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ appears on the verbal stem /ha-ɬ-u-qɬawu-t/ 'to fish' (literally: 'to have-carry a fish line'). This verbal stem is not transitive in the sense of meaning specifically 'to fish for something', but it does involve a valence of two for the stem, in the sense that the possessor of the fishline (the subject) is a distinct entity from the fishline. There is another, related verbal stem /ha-ɬ-u-qɬawu-t-iɬ/ 'to fish for something' which is syntactically transitive in the sense of there being an external syntactic object for the verbal stem, as a whole, apart from the stem-internal meaning where the fishline is a distinct entity from the person who carries it and therefore fishes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The verbal stem /ha-ɬ-u-qɬawu-t-iɬ/ 'to fish for something' is presented below as an example of the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix.

## Text Example TVI.2.

MP-FL.90-92

(a) taxas hu qaɬwiyɪni

/taxa-s hu ɔ qa-ɬwiyɪni /

then-S3 1CPɔ be.thus-heartɔIND

'I wondered'

(b) kaʔ kuɔɕ ʔaːqaɬ haɬuqɬawut

/kaʔ ku ɔ hu ɔ ɕ ʔaː-qaɬ ha-ɬ-u-qɬawu-t/

howɔ SMɔ 1CPɔ Fptɔ IM-be.thus-ADVɔ have-carry-Bf-fishline-TVI

'how I was going to fish'

(c) kuɔɕ ʔupkaquxa tuhuɬ

/kuɔɕ ʔup-ka-qu-xa tuhuɬ/

SMɔFptɔ toward.land-come-in.water-by.mouth char

'in order to get the char to bite'

Text example TVI.3, below, shows the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ as an alienable possession suffix. In example TVI.3, below, the T-Valence Increasing suffix appears on the nominal stem /ʔaːk-u-qɬawu-t/ 'fishline'. The T-Valence Increasing Suffix is required on this nominal stem simply because the person who possesses the fishline is a distinct entity from the fishline. This is exactly the same reason the T-Valence Increasing Suffix is a part of the verbal stem /ha-ɬ-u-qɬawu-t/ 'to fish' seen in text example TVI.2, above.

## Text Example TVI.3.

MP-FL.59-61

Hin qa wi+i+ ?iʔnakin ?a·kuq+awutnis

/hin<sub>ᵛ</sub> qa<sub>ᵛ</sub> wi+i+<sub>ᵛ</sub> ?iʔnakin ?a·k-u-q+awu-t-n-is/2CP<sub>ᵛ</sub> NEG<sub>ᵛ</sub> big-ADV<sub>ᵛ</sub> Stretch-by.hand NSB-Bf-fishline-TVI-NC-2P&O

(a) If you don't use the full length of your fish line,

ɸxa+ ɸaqunani kyakxu

/ɸxa-?+<sub>ᵛ</sub> ɸa-q-una<sub>ᵛ</sub>ni kyakxu?/FUT-ADV<sub>ᵛ</sub> small-STV-DIM<sub>ᵛ</sub>IND fish

(b) the fish will be small,

kin ?upkaquxa

/k<sub>ᵛ</sub> hin<sub>ᵛ</sub> ?up-ka-qu-xa/SM<sub>ᵛ</sub> 2CP<sub>ᵛ</sub> toward.land-come-in.water-by.mouth

(c) that you will catch.

The word /?a·kuq+awu/ 'fishline' requires the Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ in all its possessive forms, including those shown, below, in TVI.4, part (c), but it also has a plain stem form without the T-Valence Increasing Suffix. This is shown in example set TVI.4, part (a). This plain form of the nominal stem can occur in sentences, such as the sentence in example set TVI.4, part (b).

## Example Set TVI.4.

FW-8.147

(a) ?a·kuqɫawu

/ ?a·k-u-qɫawu/

NSB-Bf-fishline

'fish line'

(b) Wu·kati ?a·kuqɫawu?s

/ wu·kat<sub>ɔ</sub>i ?a·k-u-qɫawu?-s/4See<sub>ɔ</sub>IND

NSB-Bf-fishline-S3

'He saw a fish line'.

(c) Some Possessive Forms of the Stem /?a·kuqɫawu?/ 'fish line'. FW-8.147

ka<sub>ɔ</sub>a·kuqɫawut

'my fish line'

?a·kuqɫawutnis

'your (singular) fish line'

?a·kuqɫawut<sup>is</sup>

'his/her/their fish line'

ka<sub>ɔ</sub>a·kuqɫawutaɫa

'our fish line'

Certain nominal stems based on the Nominal Stem Bases /?a·k-/ and /?a·qa-/, including the nominal stem /?a·kuqɫawu/ 'fishline', require the addition of the T-Valence Increasing Suffix in the formation of all possessive forms. For other stems of this type, the T-Valence Increasing Suffix may be present or absent, with a concomitant effect on the meaning of the possessive forms. With the T-Valence Increasing Suffix, alienable

<sup>4</sup> The sentence in example set TVI.4, part (b) provides evidence for a glottal stop as the final segment of the lexical suffix /-qɫawu/ 'fishline'. This is contradicted by other evidence including the following forms where the matter was closely investigated under ideal circumstances for determining the absence of an underlying glottal stop at the end of this lexical suffix in the speech of FW: /naɫuqɫawuti/ 'He has a fishline', and /kaɫuqɫawut/ 'Does he have a fishline?' FW-8.165.

One factor here is that the lexical suffix /-qɫawu/ 'fishline' would appear to be a combination of the lexical suffix /-qɫa?/ 'skin, hide' plus an element /-wu/ , but the final glottal stop of the lexical suffix /-qɫa?/ is unaccountably absent if this is the etymology of /-qɫa-wu/ 'fishline' as a compound lexical suffix. There is also a lexical suffix /-wu?/ 'bow, gun (i.e. instrument used in hunting), and the words /?a·kawu/ 'rope, canvas', /ɫawu?/ 'bow, gun', and /ɫawum<sup>ka</sup>?/ 'bow string, trigger of a gun', which suggest different things about the underlying shape of a morpheme /-wu/ which might be involved in the etymology of the lexical suffix /-qɫawu/ 'fishline'.

possession is involved, without the T-Valence Increasing Suffix, inalienable possession is involved.<sup>5</sup>

**-na(?)t** Composite Transitive Suffix. Underlyingly or at least diachronically this compound suffix is /-n-ha?-t/ (N-Connector + have + TVI). This particular transitivity marker derives transitive stems by combining with independent verbal roots in the language, which can otherwise stand alone as intransitive verbal stems. The independent intransitive roots are rare, in contrast with the much more common bound verbal roots. These independent verbal roots include /ɕxa/ 'speak', and /ʔumaɕ/ 'laugh'. Once the Composite Transitive Suffix is added, other suffixes may then follow.

Text Example of the Composite Transitive Suffix /-naʔt/. AP-CY.187

Taxas saŋ<sub>s</sub>+ ʔumaɕnatkaʔni.  
 /taxa-s saŋ<sub>s</sub> s-iʔ+ ʔumaɕ-naʔt-kaʔ<sub>ni</sub>/  
 then-S3 however<sub>s</sub> CON-ADV<sub>s</sub> laugh-CT-INH.OBJ<sub>s</sub>IND  
 'Now he was making fun of him.'

The verbal stem /ʔumaɕnaʔtkaʔ/ 'to laugh at or make fun of people' contrasts with the stem /ʔumaɕnaʔt/ 'to laugh at something or someone', and the stem /ʔumaɕ/ 'to laugh', consisting of the root alone. G&M (1979)

**-(?)** The Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix. This suffix occurs after morphemes containing back consonants. These include the instrumental lexical suffix /-k̥u/ 'by point' in text example GSVI.1, below, and the lexical suffix /-xu/ 'by body, especially by torso or back' in example GSVI.2, further below. Text examples which demon-

<sup>5</sup> See section 5.1, under the heading of Word Class Typology, for an example.



strate that these instrumental lexical suffixes do not themselves end in an underlying glottal stop are rare. There are minimal pairs, however, where an intransitive stem without the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix contrasts with a transitive stem with it.<sup>6</sup>

## Text Example GSVI.1.

RMc-ChOg.319-321

ʔat qa taʔuʔɳni

(a) It couldn't gore her,

/ʔat<sub>u</sub> qa<sub>u</sub> ta-ʔu-ʔ-ɳni/IMpt<sub>u</sub> NEG<sub>u</sub> able-by.point-GSVI<sub>u</sub>IND

niʔs ʔakuʔɳɕ

(b) when the bull butted her,

/niʔ-s<sub>u</sub> n<sub>u</sub>ʔakuʔ-ɳɕ/the-S3<sub>u</sub> PM<sub>u</sub>stab-PASV<sub>u</sub>and

ʔat qa taʔuʔɳni.

(c) it couldn't stick its horns into her.

/ʔat<sub>u</sub> qa<sub>u</sub> ta-ʔu-ʔ-ɳni/IMpt<sub>u</sub> NEG<sub>u</sub> able-by.point-GSVI<sub>u</sub>IND

## Text Example GSVI.2.

RMc-ChOg.289-290

Qanaqkupɳaɳtiɳɕ

ɕikɳamɳxuʔni.

/qa-na-qkup-ɳaɳtiɳi<sub>u</sub>ɳɕ

/ɕikɳ-ɳamɳ-xu-ʔni/

be.thus-go-INT-strike<sub>u</sub>IND andsplit-head-by.body-GSVI<sub>u</sub>IND

(a) She swung her axe and

(b) split its head open.

Another circumstance where the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix occurs is after certain lexical suffixes containing a bilabial nasal. These lexical suffixes include /-ɳamɳ/

<sup>6</sup> See minimal pairs MP.7, and MP.8 in section 2.1.10.

'head', /-wum/ 'belly', and /-lum/ 'footwear'. In each case, a phonemic buffer vowel is required between the lexical suffix and the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix.

Example GSVI.3, below, is one example.

**Example GSVI.3.**

**EG-KLP.file card**

tuɬamaʔni ɕupqaʔs.

/ɬu-ɬam-xu-ʔni ɕupqaʔ-s/

remove-head-by.body-GSVI,IND deer-S3

'He cut (esp. chopped) the deer's head off.'

Example set GSVI.4, below, contrasts two verbal stems, one with the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix, in part (a), and one without, in part (b), along with matching indicative forms with free translations in parts (c) and (d).

**Example Set GSVI.4.**

**G&M (1979)**

(a) ʔitwuma

(b) ʔiʔtwum

/ʔiʔt-wum-a-ʔ/

/ʔiʔt-wum/

Become-belly-Bf-GSVI

Become-belly

'to make someone pregnant'.

'to become pregnant'

(c) nʔitwumaʔni

(d) nʔiʔtwumni

/nʔiʔt-wum-a-ʔni/

/nʔiʔt-wumni/

PM, Become-belly-Bf-GSVI,IND

PM, Become-belly,IND

'He got her pregnant.' EG-KLP.card

'She got pregnant.'

EG-KLP.card

Like the T-Valence Increasing Suffix, the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix also occurs on nominal stems as an alienable possession suffix. Certain nominal stems based

on the Nominal Stem Bases /ʔa·k-/ and /ʔa·qa-/ require the addition of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix in the formation of possessive forms. The nominal stem /ʔa·kuq̣wuḳ/ 'box' is an example. It is inherently and exclusively alienably possessed nominal stem, whenever it appears in a possessive form. Nonetheless, the word has a basic non-possessive form, without the valence increasing suffix. This is illustrated in example set GSVI.5, below. The basic and non-possessive form occurs in part (a) and in a sentence in part (b). The possessive form occurs in part (c) and in a sentence in part (d).

**Example Set GSVI.5.**

(a) /ʔa·k-u-q̣wuḳ/ n. 'box' (Basic Form of the Stem).

NSB-Bf-box

(b) kaʔs kin ʔa·qawxakin niʔ ʔa·kuq̣wuḳ

/kaʔ-s<sub>ᵛ</sub> k<sub>ᵛ</sub>hin<sub>ᵛ</sub> ʔa·-qa-uʔxa-kin niʔ<sub>ᵛ</sub> ʔa·k-u-q̣wuḳ/

where-S3 SM<sub>ᵛ</sub>2CP<sub>ᵛ</sub> IM-be.thus-Be.to-by.hand the<sub>ᵛ</sub> NSB-Bf-box

'Where did you put that box?'

EG-KLP.card

(c) ʔa·kuq̣wuḳa n. 'box' (Alienably Possessed Form of the Stem).

/ʔa·k-u-q̣wuḳ-a-ʔ/

NSB-Bf-box-Bf-GSVI

(d) kaʔs kiʔin ka<sub>ᵛ</sub>a·kuq̣wuḳa/

/kaʔ-s<sub>ᵛ</sub> k<sub>ᵛ</sub>hiʔ<sub>ᵛ</sub>in ka<sub>ᵛ</sub> ʔa·k-u-q̣wuḳ-a-ʔ/

where-S3<sub>ᵛ</sub> SM<sub>ᵛ</sub>Bpt<sub>ᵛ</sub>be-NC 1POS<sub>ᵛ</sub> NSB-Bf-box-Bf-GSVI

'Where is my box?'

EG-KLP.card

Example set GSVI.6, below, has a subordinate form of a verbal stem /ha-nmak/ 'something to have a price' in (a) along with an indicative form of the same stem in (b). In part (c) of this example, there is a related nominal stem /ʔa·k-i-nmak/ 'price'. Both the verbal stem forms and the nominal stem have a valence of one. This example set contrasts with the parallel, three part example set GSVI.7, further below, where there is a related verbal stem /ha-nmak-a-ʔ/ 'to pay for something' and a nominal stem /ʔa·k-i-nmak-a-ʔ/ 'the price one paid, the thing paid with'. These stems each have a valence of two, because of the presence of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix.

## Example Set GSVI.6.

FW-12.80

(a) Nupxni niʔs kanmaks.

/n<sub>u</sub>ʔupx<sub>ni</sub> niʔ-s<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub>ha-nmak-s/PM<sub>u</sub>know<sub>u</sub>IND the-S3<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub>have-price-S3

'He knew that it cost (money).'

(b) nanmakni.

/n<sub>u</sub>ha-nmak<sub>ni</sub>/PM<sub>u</sub>have-price<sub>u</sub>IND

'It was paid for. It costs money.'

(c) ʔa·kinmak

/ʔa·k-i-nmak/

NSB-Bf-price

'the price, the price paid'

## Example Set GSVI.7.

FW-12.80

(a) Nupxni niʔs kanmakaʔs.

/n<sub>u</sub>ʔupx<sub>ni</sub> niʔs<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub>ha-nmak-a-ʔ-s/PM<sub>u</sub>know<sub>u</sub>IND the-S3<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub>have-price-Bf-GSVI-S3

'He (proximate) knew that he (obviative) paid for it (obviative).'

(b) nanmakaʔni.

/n<sub>h</sub>a-nmak-a-ʔ<sub>ni</sub>/PM<sub>h</sub>ave-price-Bf-GSVI<sub>IND</sub>

'He paid for it, He had money to buy it,

He had money to pay for it',

'It cost him money'.

(c) ʔa·kinmakaʔnam

/ʔa·k-nmak-a-ʔ-n-am/

NSB-Bf-price-Bf-GSVI-NC-INH

'the price one paid, the thing paid

with'

-(i)ʔ The Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix. One can distinguish a simple transitive function for this suffix in the stem /ʔup-iʔ/ 'to kill something', derived from the independent and intransitive verbal stem /ʔup/ 'to die'. One can also distinguish a ditransitive function for this suffix in the stem /qa-ki-ʔ/ 'to tell something to someone' (be thus + say + DITRANSITIVE), derived from the already transitive stem /qa-kiʔ/~ /qa-kik/ 'to say something' (be thus + say).

Most examples of the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix point to a ditransitive meaning for it. Example BLTD.1, below, is at least one additional example which shows it as a simple transitive suffix.

Text Example BLTD.1.

AP-CM.179-180

ʔukati<sub>ϕ</sub>n<sub>i</sub>·kuʔni./ʔuʔkati<sub>ϕ</sub>//n<sub>i</sub>ʔi·kuʔ<sub>ni</sub>/

(Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ʔuʔkati<sub>ϕ</sub>//n<sub>i</sub>ʔik-ku-ʔ<sub>ni</sub>/

(Underlying Phonemic)

take<sub>IND</sub>andPM<sub>e</sub>at-water-DI<sub>IND</sub>

(a) 'He took it and

(b) drank it.'

Example set BLTD.2, below, shows the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix in both parts (a) and (b), appearing before the N-Connector Suffix and the First Person Plural

Suffix /-aɫaʔ/~/-aɫat/ which subsequently follows the N-Connector Suffix. This shows the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix /-ɫ/ in this context to be a derivational suffix in contrast to the Passive Suffix /-ɫ/ of the same form. The Passive Suffix appears in part (b) after the First Person Plural Suffix /-aɫaʔ/.<sup>7</sup> The Passive Suffix is inflectional and follows pronominal suffixes which are canonically inflectional suffixes.

## Example Set BLTD.2.

FW-12.18

(a) Hun ʔupiɫnaɫaʔni

(b) Hun ʔupiɫnaɫatiɫni

/huɯn ʔup-iɫ-n-aɫaʔni/

/huɯn ʔup-iɫ-n-aɫat-iɫni/

1CP,PM, die-DI-NC-1PL,IND

1CP,PM, die-DI-NC-1PL-PASV,IND

'We killed them.'

'We all got killed', We were getting murdered (figuratively).

In spite of a clear distinction which can be drawn between the Passive Suffix /-ɫ/ and the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix /-ɫ/, it would appear that these two suffixes are related. In addition to having the same form, both of these suffixes have in common the fact that they indicate the involvement of an additional participant.

Text Example BLTD.3, part (c), below, illustrates the fleeting nature of the vowel /i/ which is sometimes associated with both the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix and the Passive Suffix. This vowel calls for the positing of an allomorph /-iɫ/ for each of these two suffixes. In mid-level phonemic representations, vowels such as this which are associated with otherwise single segment grammatical morphemes are treated as a part of the morphemes, even though underlyingly, these are phonemic buffer vowels. The assumption is that such vowels were originally inserted as schwas by a rule which must have

<sup>7</sup> See section 2.6.6, sub-rule (4.3) where there is discussion of the fact that the Passive Suffix /-iɫ/ (including a phonemic buffer vowel) following the First Person Plural Suffix /-aɫat/~/-aɫaʔ/ provides the only environment in the language where the underlying form of the First Person Suffix /-aɫat/ actually occurs.

existed in an earlier state of the language. They have subsequently become phonemic vowels.<sup>8</sup>

Text Example BLTD.3.

AP-CM.131-133

(a) Qa ?upxni

/qa<sub>u</sub> ?upx<sub>u</sub>ni/

NEG<sub>u</sub> know<sub>u</sub>IND

'They had no idea'

(b) ni?s k<sub>u</sub>?u?+a<sub>u</sub>φ

/ni?-s k<sub>u</sub>?u?+a<sub>u</sub>φ/

the-S3 SM<sub>u</sub>be.the.one.responsible<sub>u</sub>and

'it was on account of them'

(c) k<sub>u</sub>s+ ?upi++is ni+siks.

/k<sub>u</sub>si-?+<sub>u</sub> ?up-i+-+is ni+sik-s/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/k<sub>u</sub>si-?+<sub>u</sub> ?up-i-+-+i-s ni+sik-s/ (Underlying Phonemic)

SM<sub>u</sub>CON-ADV<sub>u</sub> die-Bf-DI-PASV-Bf-S3 bull-S3

'that the Bulls were killed.'

Part (c), of example BLTD.3, above, has a phonemic buffer vowel before the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix, separating it from the preceding root morpheme. There is also a phonemic buffer vowel after the Passive Suffix, separating it from the following Subsidiary Third Person Suffix. Since the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule only inserted vowels to prevent the occurrence of consonant clusters consisting of three consonants in a row, these two buffer vowels were sufficient in this particular morphological construction. There was no need for a third buffer vowel to separate the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix from the Passive Suffix.

Text Example BLTD.4, part (c), below, illustrates the verbal stem /ha-+-u-q+awu-t-i+ / 'to fish for something'. Without the stem-final Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix, this stem already has a valence of two, marked by the T-Valence

<sup>8</sup> See section 2.7.2.1 on the reconstructable Buffer Vowel Insertion rule.

Increasing Suffix, although it is not syntactically a transitive stem, meaning only 'to fish'.<sup>9</sup>

Text Example BLTD.4.

MP-FL.98-100

(a) niʔs hu qaʔ ɕi:kati na wuʔu

/niʔ-s hu ɕa-ʔʔ ɕi:kaʔi na wuʔu/  
 the-S3 1CP be.thus-ADV Look,IND this/here water<sup>10</sup>

'I looked into the water'

(b) paʔ sukakatiʔni tuhuʔ

/paʔ suʔk-akat-iʔni tuhuʔ/  
 EVID good-sight-STV,IND char

'(and saw ) that there were many char'

(c) hu ɕxakiʔ haʔuqʔawutiʔnaʔaʔni

/hu ɕxa-k-iʔʔ ha-ʔ-u-qʔawu-t-iʔ-n-aʔaʔni/<sup>11</sup>  
 1CP Adverb-ADV have-carry-Fishline-TVI-DI-NC-1PL,IND

'then we fished for them.'

In Example set BLTD.5, below, the verbal stem /piɕ-quwaʔt-iʔ/ 'to shear something' refers internally to the shortness of fur. The fact that the root /piɕ-/ is not inherently transitive in the sense of 'to shorten something' is attested to by the stem /piɕ-

<sup>9</sup> See the section above on the T-Valence Increasing Suffix for a text example of the stem /ha-ʔ-u-qʔawu-t/ 'to fish'.

<sup>10</sup> The stem /ɕi:kaʔ/ 'to look at something' underlyingly contains the lexical suffix /-akat/ 'sight'. See section 2.6.10, (8.1) for the derivation of this stem

<sup>11</sup> The analysis of the adverb here is: /ɕxa-k-iʔʔ/ (start and continue for a while + do/be + ADVERBIAL.SUFFIX).



kʷun/ 'to have a short nose'. There is also, however, the stem /piϕ-qa/ 'to shorten something by cutting, to mow hay'.<sup>12</sup> In Example set BLTD.6, below, the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix supplies specification that there is an affected object of a process of shortening, in this case, the sheep.

The syntactic effect of the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix on the stem in part (a) is to increase the valence of the stem. In BLTD.6, part (b), however, the effect of adding the Passive Suffix is to decrease the external syntactic valence of the stem. This is demonstrated by the fact that in (b) the nominal stem /ni+yap/ 'sheep' appears with a primary third person reference (i.e. with a proximate reference). This can only mean that the reference to the sheep in (b) is the only syntactic third person pronominal reference in the sentence. Semantically, of course, there is an indefinite agent. This is in contrast to the subsidiary third person reference the nominal stem has in (a) where the nominal stem /ni+yap/ 'sheep' has the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ (the obviative suffix) attached to it. In (a) there is a primary third person argument (the subject, he) and a subsidiary third person argument (the object, the sheep).

Example Set BLTD.6.<sup>13</sup>

G&M(1979)

(a) Piϕquwati+n̄i ni+yaps. 'He sheared the sheep'.

/piϕ-quwaʔt-i+n̄i ni+yap-s/

cut.short-fur-DI,IND sheep-S3

<sup>12</sup> The stem /piϕ-qa/ 'to shorten something by cutting, to mow hay' is part of the evidence for an inherently transitivity-instrumental lexical suffix /-qa/~/-q/ 'by blade'. See section 3.1.7.

<sup>13</sup> This example set also appears as example set IP.2 in section 4.3.1.

(b) Piϕquwati+i+i ni+yap. 'The sheep were sheared'.

/piϕ-quwa?t-i+i+ni ni+yap/

cut.short-fur-DI-PASV,IND sheep

There are examples where the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix /-i+i/ follows the N-Connector Suffix, such as in the stem /?upx-n-i+i/ in text example BLTD.7, part (c), below.<sup>14</sup>

Text Example BLTD.7, the compound suffix /-n-i+i/.

RMc-ChOg.468-471

Ma?ϕ ?at i+itnakatikin

ku ?ikna+a

/ma?ϕ ?at, i+it-nakati-kin,ni/

/k,hu, ?ik-n-a+a?/

PROHIB IMpt, be.without-Sfx-by.hand,2CP

SM,1CP, eat-NC-1PL

(a) 'Don't be careless with'

(b) 'our food'.

Hin qa ?upxni+i

ϕxa+i +a haqa.

/hin, qa, ?upx-n-i+i/

/ϕxa-?+, +a, ha-qa-?/

2CP, NEG, know/see-NC-DI

FUT-ADV, REV, have-STV-IN

(c) 'You are not sure

(d) 'there will be more.'

The N-Connector suffix generally links a root or stem to a following pronominal suffix, although another function of the N-Connector Suffix is to link a verbal root with a following and otherwise independent verbal root. There is some reason to see the N-Connector Suffix as having originally been a transitivizer. For example, The N-Connector Suffix appears as a component of the verbal stem /?i-n/ 'to be', which is transitive in the

<sup>14</sup> The suffix /-n-/ here cannot be the /-n-/ allomorph of the Associative Suffix because there are also examples of the verbal form /?upxa-m-i+i/. See the section below on the The Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix after the Associative Suffix, where there are two text examples of this verbal form.

sense that it is either equational, one thing being something; or locational, one thing being at a location.

In example BLTD.7, part (c), above, and in examples BLTD.8, part (b), and BLTD.9, part (a), below, the compound suffix /-n-iʔ/ indicates an additional participant, specifically an affected participant. In a general way, this is in line with the other examples of the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix, where it appears without the N-Connector Suffix.

Text Example BLTD.8, the compound suffix /-n-iʔ/. EG-KLP.file card

(a) Qapsins kin ʔapisiʔtmu ʔin ʔakɕamaʔ ʔ

/qapsin-s k<sub>h</sub>in ʔapis-iʔ-t-mu ʔin ʔakɕamaʔ ʔ /

what-S3 SM<sub>2</sub>CP<sub>2</sub> straight-STV-TVI-INST that knife QUES

'What did you straighten that knife with?'

(b) Hun ʔapisniʔxumuni pupunanas.

/hu<sub>2</sub>n<sub>2</sub> ʔapis-n-iʔ-xu-mu<sub>2</sub>ni pupuʔ-nana-s/

1CP<sub>2</sub> PM<sub>2</sub> straight-NC-DI-by.body-INST<sub>2</sub>IND stone.hammer-DIM-S3

'I hammered it out with a hammer.'

Text Example BLTD.9, the compound suffix /-n-iʔ/. EG-KPL.file card

(a) Hu wakniʔni ʔakɕamaʔʔis.

/hu<sub>2</sub> wak-n-iʔ<sub>2</sub>ni ʔakɕamaʔ-ʔis/

1CP<sub>2</sub> take.away-NC-DI<sub>2</sub>IND knife-3POS

'I took his knife away from him.'

(b) Hu wakni ?akɕamaɬ.

/hu<sub>ɔ</sub> wak<sub>ɔ</sub>ni      ?akɕamaɬ/

1CP<sub>ɔ</sub> take.away<sub>ɔ</sub>IND knife

'I snatched a knife.'

### The Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix after the Associative Suffix.

The compound suffix /-n-iɬ/, discussed immediately above, is distinct from the compound Associated Participant or Associated Person Suffix /-m-iɬ/, composed of the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/ followed by the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix /-iɬ/. Text examples APS.1 and APS.2, below, have the compound Associated Participant Suffix /-m-iɬ/ occurring with the stem /?upxa/ 'to see or know something'. Example APS.2 comes from the same text as the example of /-n-iɬ/ following this same verbal stem /?upxa/ 'to see or know something', which can be found as text example BLTD.7, part (c), above.

Text Example APS.1.

MP-FL.129-130

(a) hu ɬa ɕinaxi ɔɕ

/hu<sub>ɔ</sub> ɬa<sub>ɔ</sub> ɕi-na-x<sub>ɔ</sub>i ɔɕ/

1CP<sub>ɔ</sub> REV<sub>ɔ</sub> INCEP-go-RLG<sub>ɔ</sub>IND and

'I went again (and)'

(b) hu qaɬwiyimiɬni

/hu<sub>ɔ</sub> qa-ɬwiy-m-iɬ<sub>ɔ</sub>ni/

1CP<sub>ɔ</sub> be.thus-heart-ASC-DI<sub>ɔ</sub>IND

'I thought'

(c) ku ɕ<sub>ɔ</sub>?upxamiɬ

/k<sub>ɔ</sub>hu<sub>ɔ</sub> ɕ<sub>ɔ</sub>?upxa-m-iɬ/

SM<sub>ɔ</sub> 1CP<sub>ɔ</sub> Fpt<sub>ɔ</sub> see/know-ASC-DI

'(that) I was going to see'

(d) ka? ɕxaɬ ?a·qakin

/ka?<sub>ɔ</sub> ɕxa-?ɬ<sub>ɔ</sub> ?a·qa-kin/

what<sub>ɔ</sub> FUT-ADV<sub>ɔ</sub> IM-be.thus-by.hand

'what she was going to do'

## Text Example APS.2.

RMc-ChOg.246-248

(a) Hin n̄upxami†

/hin̄ n̄ ʔupxa-m-i†/

2CP̄ PM̄ see/know-ASC-DI

'When you see her'

(b) n̄up†ap̄

/n̄ ʔup-†-ap̄ /

PM̄ die-DI-1SG.OBJ and

'kill me and'

(c) hin̄ †a: †inaxi.

/hin̄ †a: †i-na-x̄i/

2CP̄ Fpt̄ REV̄ INCEP-go-RLḠIND

'you'll go on further'



### 3.1.6 Involvement Suffixes.

The involvement suffixes are a family of suffixes in Kutenai which include and are related to the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/.

- m - Associative Suffix, /-m-/~/-n-/. A large number of reflexive verbal stems contain the Associative Suffix functioning as a middle voice suffix.<sup>1</sup> The subject of such reflexive verbal forms is affected by the action described by the reflexive verbal stem that it is the subject of. Reflexive verbal stems which do not contain the Associative Suffix may contain it underlyingly or may have contained it diachronically. In these stems, one may assume that the Associative Suffix occurs after the T-Valence Increasing Suffix or after the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix. These are environments where the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix could be expected to occur, but these are also environments where /n/ would be deleted by the morphologically conditioned rule of N-Deletion.<sup>2</sup> The T-Valence Increasing Suffix and the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix are each potentially n-deleting morphemes. It is possible that originally all Kutenai reflexive verbal forms were middle voice forms, containing the Associative Suffix.

- m - i † The Compound Associated Participant or Associated Person Suffix, underlyingly /-m-i-†/, including a phonemic buffer vowel. This suffix is composed of the Associative Suffix plus the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix.<sup>3</sup>

There are examples here of this compound suffix drawn from texts. In the section above

<sup>1</sup> See section 3.2.7 for a paradigm of a reflexive verbal stem where the Associative Suffix functions as a middle voice suffix.

<sup>2</sup> See section 2.6.11 where N-Deletion is discussed.

<sup>3</sup> See section 3.2.3 for what are mostly paradigmatic examples of the compound Associated Person Suffix, /-m-i-†/.

on the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix there are two text examples of the verbal from /ʔupxa-m-iʔ/ contrasted with the verbal form /ʔupx-n-iʔ/ to make the point that the verbal form /ʔupx-n-iʔ/ contains the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ and therefore does not involve the /-n-/ allomorph of the Associative Suffix.

In the following text examples, MIL.1 through MIL.3, the compound Associated Participant Suffix /-m-iʔ/ functions to indicate that an object or goal, such as a location, is associated with an involved participant. These verbal forms each have a first person subject 'I' and a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) object or goal. The involved participants, which are primary third persons (i.e. proximates), do not have to be seen as the direct objects of the verbal forms with /-m-iʔ/. The translations of the verbal forms suffixed with /-m-iʔ/ are supplied by the author with additional material in parentheses, to make this point clear. The original English free translations generally suggest that the involved participants are the direct objects of the verbal forms.

## Text Example MIL.1.

## AP-CY.5-7

ʔAt kiʔins

ʔat hu,ʔ ʔinmiʔ

/ʔat, k, hiʔ, ʔi-n-s/

/ʔat, hu, ʔ, ʔi-n-m-iʔ/

IMpt, SM, Bpt, be-NC-S3

IMpt, ICP, IR, be-NC-ASC-DI

(a) 'It was (such that)

(b) if I were there myself (where he is),'

ʔat xma ku ʔukʔatʔ qanaqkupʔaʔit

/ʔat, xma, k, hu, ʔukʔatʔ, qa-na-qkup-ʔaʔit/

IMpt, HYPO, SM, ICP, Adverb, be.thus-go-INT-hit

(c) 'I would strike him hard every time.'



## Text Example MIL.2.

RMc-ChOg.465-466

(a) qaki+ni xa+ɕinʔis.

/qa-k-i+ni xaʔɕin-ʔis/

be.thus-say-DI,IND dog-3POS

'she said to her dog.'

(b) ɛa,ɕ hu,ɕ ʔisni+ ɕinami+ni

/ɛa,ɕ hu,ɕ ʔisn-iʔ+ ɕi-na-m-i+ni/

REV,Fpt, 1CP,Fpt, belong.to-ADV, INCEP-go-ASC-DI,IND

'This time I will go to (the place where they are)'

(c) ni? +kamukistik

/ni? +kamukistik/

the, child-DUAL-TVI-REFLX

'the two children.'

## Text Example MIL.3.

MP-FL.129-130

(a) hu na+ɕatʔi?ni ʔa:qu+aqpi?k,ɕ

/hu, n, ha+ɕatʔi?ni ʔa:-qu+aqpi?k,ɕ/

1CP, PM, gather,IND NSB-leaf and

'I picked leaves (and)'

(b) hu +a qawxa+kinmi+ni.

/hu, +a, qa-uʔxa-+kin-m-i+ni/

1CP, REV, be.thus-Be.to-carry-by.hand-ASC-DI,IND

'brought them back to her (i.e. to the place where she was).'

Text example MIL.3, above, contrasts with a closely parallel text example of the Benefactive Goal Suffix /-kiϕ/~/-ikϕ~/ . This is text example MIL.4, below.

Text Example MIL.4.

MP-FL.138-139

(a) hu †a ha†q̄atʰiʔniϕ

/huϕ †aϕ ha†q̄atʰiʔniϕ/

1CPϕ REVϕ gatherϕIND ϕand

'I did pick some more'

(b) hu †a qawxa†kinikϕi

/huϕ †aϕ qa-uʔxa-†-kin-ikϕi/

1CPϕ REVϕ be.thus-Be.to-carry-by.hand-BGϕIND

'then I brought them back to her (i.e. so that she didn't have to pick them herself)'

In text example MIL.5, below, the verbal stem suffixed with the Associated Participant Suffix /-m-i†/ has a second person subject 'you'. The direct object of the verbal form is the ear referred to in part (b). This is a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) entity in this sentence possessed by the owner of the ear, a primary third person (i.e. proximate) involved participant. As in the examples immediately above, the free translation here is adjusted to show this.

Text Example MIL.5.

RMc-ChOg.149

(a) /niʔsϕhinϕϕaʔ†ϕ †uqa-kin-m-i†ϕni/

the-S3ϕ2CPϕFptϕbe.thus-ADVϕ change.direction-by.hand-ASC-DIϕIND

'You will turn it over like this.'

(b) /ʔa·k-uqwatʔ-ʔis/

NSB-ear-3POS

'his ear.'<sup>4</sup>

**-maʔ, -naʔ** The Comitative Suffix, /-maʔ/~/-naʔ/ is further analyzed as /-m-aʔ/~/-n-aʔ/, composed of the Associative Suffix plus the Co-Participant Suffix. The Co-Participant Suffix, however, occurs nowhere else in the language.

Example of the Comitative Suffix /-maʔ/.

Text Example COM.

MP-FL.115

taxas hu naʔuqʔawutmaʔniꞥ

/taxa-s huꞥ nꞥha-ʔ-u-qʔawu-t-maʔꞥni ꞥꞥ/

then-S3 1CPꞥ PMꞥhave-carry-Fishline-TVI-COMꞥIND ꞥand

'then I went out fishing with her'

Example of the Comitative Suffix as /-naʔ/.

Text Example COM.

AP-CY.20

Taxasꞥsʔ ʔasnaʔkaʔni.

/taxa-s sʔꞥ ʔas-naʔ-kaʔꞥni/

then-S3 CON-ADVꞥ two-COM-INH.OꞥIND ꞥand

'Then he accompanied him.'

<sup>4</sup> In the text, line (149) is treated as a unit with a single translation. It is presented there as: Niʔs hinꞥꞥ qaʔ ʔuqakinmiʔni ʔa·kuqwatʔis. 'You will turn his ear over like this.'

-mU Instrumental Suffix, underlyingly /-mu/. This suffix is assumed to be related to the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/, but the instrumental suffix is not readily analyzable into more than one morpheme.

Text Example of the Instrumental Suffix /-mu/.

MP-FL.54-55

(a) hu qawxaquṭnaṭaʔni ʔa·ququku

/huṽ qa-uʔxa-qu-ṭ-n-aṭaʔni ʔa·ququkuʔ/

1CPṽ be.thus-Be.to-in.water-DI-NC-1PLṽIND NSB-Raft

we rowed over on a raft

(b) ʔat hu squṭmunaṭaʔni ʔa·ququku

/ʔatṽ huṽ s-quṭ-mu-n-aṭaʔni ʔa·ququkuʔ/

1Mptṽ 1CPṽ CON-in.water-DI-INST-NC-1PLṽIND NSB-Raft

'we were using a raft to go on water'.

-t mU The Mutual Suffix /-t-mu/. This is a compound suffix composed of the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ and the Instrumental Suffix /-mu/.

Text Example of the Mutual Suffix /-t-mu/.

RMc-ChOg.343

Taxas ɕinakikni niʔ ɕiyaʔtmu

/taxa-s ɕi-na-kikni niʔṽ ɕiyaʔ-tmu/

then-S3 INCEP-go-SfxṽIND theṽ younger.brother.of.a.female-MUT

'Then the brother and sister went on.'

### 3.1.7 Goal Suffixes.

The goal suffixes in Kutenai include benefactive suffixes and suffixes relating to relocational verbal stems. All of these suffixes are related functionally. Some of them are also related to each other etymologically.

**-xa, -ax, -x**      The Goal Suffix. Underlyingly this suffix is /-x-a/~/-a-x/, with the suffix's vowel treated as a phonemic buffer vowel.

**-xaxa, -xax**      The Malefactive Suffix. Underlyingly this suffix is /-xax-a/, with the final vowel treated as a phonemic buffer vowel. It is not unreasonable to assume that the Malefactive Suffix is a doubled version of the Goal Suffix, but this apparent doubling cannot be taken to be a synchronic grammatical process.<sup>1</sup>

Text Example MAL.1.

AP-MC.62

Taxas<sub>u</sub>s<sub>+</sub> ?umaϕnatxaxaka?ni  
 /taxa-s s-i?ɬ<sub>u</sub> ?umaϕ-na?t-xaxa-ka?ni/  
 now-S3 CON-ADV<sub>u</sub> laugh-CT-MAL-INH.O<sub>u</sub>IND

'Now he was making fun of them.'

In text example MAL.2, below, the Malefactive Suffix is on a verbal stem describing an action which is actually of some benefit to the affected object. This example is from a passage of the Coyote and Yawuliykam Text. The affected object in this case is Coyote who was in the process of being swallowed by an ogre who is in the form of a baby. Coyote's arm was already entirely in the baby's mouth. The baby (i.e. the ogre) is killed

<sup>1</sup> See section 5.1.1 where this suffix is discussed as one of a handful of examples of something in Kutenai which might be seen as reduplication, but fails to provide any evidence that reduplication exists synchronically in Kutenai.

and Coyote is pulled out and is saved from being swallowed entirely. For Coyote, it is an entirely good thing that the ogre is killed, yet this is the clause with the Malefactive Suffix. It is also to his benefit that he is pulled out of the ogre's mouth, but the entire situation is very much against the interest of Coyote. For one thing, in the process of being pulled out, Coyote loses all the flesh on his arm.

Text Example MAL.2.

AP-CY.112-122

Nupi+xaxa+ni

ʔa ʔakminukiti+ni.

/n<sub>u</sub> ʔup-i+ -xaxa-+<sub>ni</sub>/

/+a<sub>u</sub> ʔa-k-minukit-i+<sub>ni</sub>/

PM<sub>u</sub> die-DI-MAL-PASV<sub>u</sub>IND

REV<sub>u</sub> out-come-pull-PASV<sub>u</sub>IND

(a) 'They (indef.) killed it on him.'

(b) He (Coyote) got pulled out.'

ʔa<sub>u</sub> +itq̣uxma+at'ni.

/+a<sub>u</sub> +it-q̣uxma-+at'<sub>ni</sub>/

REV<sub>u</sub> be.without-flesh-arm<sub>u</sub>IND

(c) 'There was no flesh left on his arm.'

**-kiϕ, -ikϕ** The Benefactive Goal Suffix, /-kiϕ/~/-ikϕ/~ /kϕ/. This suffix is remarkable among Kutenai grammatical suffixes in that it appears to be cognate to a Salishan root morpheme, rather than being cognate to a Salishan grammatical suffix. The Salishan root morpheme would appear to be reconstructible as \*/kic/ in Proto-Interior Salish and to have meant 'arrive, reach a person'. The Kutenai suffix is a benefactive suffix in the replacive sense (i.e. do something for someone, in place of them, so they don't have to do it). One possible exception to this replacive sense of the suffix is in the verbal stem /hamaʔt-kic/ 'to give', where the suffix can be analyzed as having a straightforwardly benefactive meaning.

Section 3.1.6, above, contains an example of the Benefactive Goal Suffix in a text example sentence contrasted with another sentence from the same text. In the contrasting example, instead of the Benefactive Goal Suffix, there is the compound Associated Participant Suffix /-m-iɬ/. Some additional text examples are presented here. Text examples BGS.1 and BGS.2, below, illustrate the surface allomorph /-kɕ/ where in these examples it appears before pronominal object suffixes. The Benefactive Goal Suffix has the property of deleting a following dental nasal /n/. In these examples, it deletes a following N-Connector Suffix.

## Text Example BGS.1.

RMc-ChOg.106

ʔat huɕ hayaxa:kʉkɕisni.

/ʔatɕ huɕɕ ha-yaxa--kʉ-kɕ-isɕni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ʔatɕ huɕɕ ha-yaxa-k-kʉ-kiɕ-n-isɕni/ (Underlying Phonemic)

IMptɕ 1CPɕFptɕ have-fetch-water-by.point-BG-NC-20&PɕIND

'I will be one to fetch water for you.'

## Text Example BGS.2.

RMc-ChOg.109

ʔAt hinɕ hayaxa:kʉkɕapni.

/ʔatɕ hinɕɕ ha-yaxa--kʉ-kɕ-apɕni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ʔatɕ hinɕɕ ha-yaxa-k-kʉ-kiɕ-n-apɕni/ (Underlying Phonemic)

IMptɕ 2CPɕFptɕ have-fetch-water-by.point-BG-NC-1SG.OBJɕIND

'You will always fetch water for me.'

Text examples BGS.3 and BGS.4 are very similar, but BGS.3 illustrates what can be seen as either the metathesized allomorph /-ikɕ/ or the allomorph /-kɕ/, while BGS.4 illustrates the allomorph /-kiɕ/. These examples underscore the need to ultimately see

metathesis in Kutenai as underlyingly a matter of phonemic buffer vowels.<sup>2</sup>

## Text Example BGS.3.

RMc-ChOg.367-368

"ɕinamiɕin

/ɕi-na-m-iɕin/

INCEP-go-ASC-DI,IND

(a) 'Go over to'

qus nasuʔkin ya·kiɕ ʔitaqnanyikɕiɕki.

/quʔ-s nasuʔkin ya·k-iʔɕ ʔiʔt-a-qna-n-y-ikɕ-iɕki/

yon-S3 chief DFM,do/be-ADV, Become-Bf-do-ASC-REFLX-BG-PASV,LOC

(b) 'where they are packing up the chief's belongings'

## Text Example BGS.4.

RMc-ChOg.377-378

ɕaxaxi

/ɕaxa-x,ɕi/

Get.to-RLG,IND

(a) 'He got to'

ya·kiɕ ʔitaqnanyikiɕɕiski nasuʔkins.

/ya·k-iʔɕ ʔiʔt-a-qna-n-y-i-kiɕ-ɕ-iski nasuʔkin-s/

DFM,do/be-ADV, Become-Bf-do-ASC-REFLX-Bf-BG-PASV,LOC chief-S3

(b) 'where they were getting the chief's stuff ready.'

<sup>2</sup> One complication in the analysis of these examples is the fact that these examples involve a phonetic buffer vowel, as well as phonemic buffer vowels. The phonemic sequence /..ny../ automatically results in a phonetic realization of [n<sup>h</sup>y]. In practical terms, this makes phonemic /..ny../ indistinguishable from unstressed phonemic /..niy../.



**Relocational Suffixes.**

-xam̥<sup>3</sup> Bodily Relocation Suffix (abbreviated BRL), /-xam̥<sup>3</sup>/. The relocation is of a live body under its own power. This suffix is ultimately analyzable as two, if not three or more, suffixes fused together. It consists of at least the (generally instrumental) lexical suffix /-xu/ 'body' + the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ + the Relocational M Suffix /-m/, or, instead of this last suffix, the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/ (an indefinite human subject suffix where intransitive verbal stems are concerned). A valence increasing suffix is called for in the etymology of the Bodily Relocational Suffix, because the essential sense of Kutenai valence increasing suffixes is that they indicate the involvement of two separate entities. In this case, if a person moves his or her body into something, there are two separate entities involved, the person and the place relocated to.

Text Example of the Bodily Relocation Suffix /-xam̥<sup>3</sup>/.

AP-CY.201

Maʔɕ wanxam̥kiɬ

/maʔɕ wan-xam̥<sup>3</sup>-kiɬ/

PROHIB move-BRL-2PL

'Don't move.'

-x(a) Relocational Goal Suffix, /-xa/~-x/. This suffix is distinguished from the obviously related Goal Suffix of the same underlying and surface shapes, because the Relocational Goal Suffix deletes the n of a following Indicative Marker, while the Goal Suffix does not.<sup>3</sup> Text Example BGS.4, part (a), above, contains an example of the Relocational Goal Suffix in the allomorph /-x/. In that same example, the verbal base /ɬaxa-/ 'get to' can be analyzed as containing the Reversive-Repetitive Particle

<sup>3</sup> See section 2.6.11, sub-rule (9.2) where the n-deleting property of the Relocational Goal Suffix is contrasted with the non-n-deleting property of the Goal Suffix with example verbal forms.

/t̥a/ functioning as a root and the Goal or Relocational Goal Suffix.

- m        **Relocational M Suffix, /-m/.** This suffix is actually a feature of just three verbal stems: /na-m/ 'go', /ka-m/ 'come', and /ha-m/ 'go by'. This suffix occurs in non-indicative forms of relocational verbal stems. In paradigms it replaces the Relocational Goal Suffix /-xa/~/-x/. The following text example illustrates both the Relocational Goal Suffix in part (a) and the Relocational M Suffix in part (c) in the same verbal stem, /ɕi-ka-m/ 'to start out to come'.

Text Example of the Relocational M and Relocational Goal Suffixes. RMc-ChOg.493-495

(a) maʔɕ ɕxaɬ t̥a ɕikaxi.

/maʔɕ ɕxa-ʔt̥a t̥a ɕi-ka-xi/

PROHIB FUT-ADV<sub>v</sub> REV<sub>v</sub> INCEP-come-RLG<sub>v</sub>IND

'He is not to come back.'

(b) Hin<sub>v</sub>ɕ qakiɬni

/hin<sub>v</sub>ɕ qa-k-iɬni/

2CP<sub>v</sub> Fpt<sub>v</sub> be.thus-say-DI<sub>v</sub>IND

'You will tell him'

(c) maʔɕ kɕxaɬ ʔukʰiɬ t̥a ɕikam.

/maʔɕ k<sub>v</sub>ɕxa-ʔt̥a ʔukʰ-iʔt̥a t̥a ɕi-ka-m/

PROHIB SM<sub>v</sub>FUT-ADV<sub>v</sub> one-ADV<sub>v</sub> REV<sub>v</sub> INCEP-come-RM<sub>v</sub>IND

'only he is not to come back here.'

### 3.1.8 Other Valence Related Suffixes.

This category of suffixes includes the Reflexive Suffix, the Reciprocal Suffix, and the two Causative Suffixes. In section 3.2, below, there are paradigms of reflexive verbal forms and reciprocal verbal forms.<sup>1</sup> There are also some text examples of the Reflexive Suffix below. Further below, there are examples of the Causative Suffixes.

-ik The Reflexive Suffix. In surface phonemic terms the Reflexive Suffix as four allomorphs /-ik/~/-ak/~/-iy/~/-y/. Underlyingly one can posit the form /-ik/, but one could just as well posit /-ak/ as the underlying form. Diachronically, one can suspect that the underlying vowel may have been a schwa. In effect this amounts to the suspicion that the vowel of this suffix is a phonemic buffer vowel.

Text Example of the Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-i·/.

AP-CM.95

Tax ?in hin ɕxaɬ qanaxamʔkɕik.

/tax ?in hin ɕxaɬ qa-na-xamʔ-kɕ-ik/

just that 2CP FUT-ADV be.thus-go-BRL-BG-REFLX

'Then you will run in that direction.'

Text Example of the Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-i·/.

AP-CM.110-111

Taxas ɕinaxamʔkɕik

/taxa-s ɕi-na-xamʔ-kɕ-ik/

then-S3 INCEP-go-BRL-BG-REFLX

(a) Then he took off running

<sup>1</sup> See section 3.2.5 for a paradigm of reciprocal forms. See section 3.2.7 for paradigms of reflexive forms.

niʔs ma ɕxaʔ qaqaʔ ya.ʔqanaxamʔkɕi.ki.

/niʔ-s. ma. ɕxa-ʔʔ. qa-qa-ʔʔ. ya.ʔqa-na-xamʔ-kɕ-i.ʔki/ (Mid)

/niʔ-s. ma. ɕxa-ʔʔ. qa-qa-ʔʔ. ya.ʔqa-na-xamʔ-kiɕ-ik.ʔki/ (Und.)

the-S3. PST. FUT-ADV. be.thus-STV-ADV. DFM.be.thus-go-BRL-BG-REFLX.LOC

(b) in the direction he was supposed to.

### The Causative Suffixes.

There are two causative suffixes in Kutenai, /-s-/ and /-ɕ-/, which occur in different morphological contexts. They resist analysis as allomorphs of a single underlying form, although it would certainly appear that the two suffixes are etymologically related.

#### The Causative Suffix /-s-/.

This causative suffix is presumably the more basic of the two causative suffixes in Kutenai on the strength of Kutenai-Salishan comparative work, where there is evidence for a causative suffix /-s/, but not /-c/.

#### Example CAUS.1, /-s-/.

FW-12.52

ʔiksapni paʔki.

/ʔik-s-ap.ʔni paʔki/

eat-CAUS-1SG.OBJ.IND woman

'The woman made me eat (it).'

#### Example Set CAUS.2, /-s-/.

FW-11.107

(a) ʔiksisni.

/ʔik-s-is.ʔni/

eat-CAUS-20&P.IND

'He made you sg. eat (it).'

(a) kʔiksisʔ

/k.ʔik-s-is ʔ/

SM.eat-CAUS-20&P QUES

'Did he make you (sg.) eat (it)?'

## Example Set CAUS.3, /-s-/.

FW-11.108

(a) ?iksawasni.

/ ?ik-s-awas<sub>ni</sub> /eat-CAUS-1PL.OBJ<sub>IND</sub>

'He made us eat (it).'

(b) ?iksiskit<sub>ni</sub>./ ?ik-s-is-ki<sub>t</sub><sub>ni</sub> /eat-CAUS-20&P-2PL<sub>IND</sub>

'He made you pl. eat (it).'

## Example Set CAUS.4, /-s-/.

FW-12.51, 12.52, 12.53

(a) ?iksapsi.

/ ?ik-s-ap-s<sub>i</sub> /eat-CAUS-HRO-S3<sub>IND</sub>

'He/she/it/they (obv) made him/her/it/them (prox) eat.'

(b) Hu wu<sub>kat</sub>mi<sub>t</sub>ni pa<sub>t</sub>ki<sub>s</sub> n<sub>i</sub>ksapsi./ hu<sub>u</sub> wu<sub>kat</sub>-m-i<sub>t</sub><sub>ni</sub> pa<sub>t</sub>ki-s n<sub>i</sub>?ik-s-ap-s<sub>i</sub> /1CP<sub>u</sub> See-ASC-DI<sub>IND</sub> woman-S3 PM<sub>u</sub>eat-CAUS-HRO-S3<sub>IND</sub>'I saw the woman (obviative) make him (proximate) eat.'<sup>2</sup>

## The Causative Suffix /-t-/.

This causative suffix is seen most commonly as a component of the compound Passive Causative Suffix, /-t-i?/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-t-/ and the Stative

<sup>2</sup> For FW and others from St Marys, the Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/ is optionally present in the morphosyntactic environment in this example (before the first verbal root of an indicative verbal phrase, if the verbal root begins with glottal stop), particularly where the verbal root is preceded by other material in the same sentence, which is the case in this example. This example contrasts with the previous example where the exact same verbal form is involved and where the Predicate Marker is also optionally present for FW, but was not pronounced as a part of that verbal form.

Suffix /-i?/. There is also a transitive version of this in what can be called the compound Transitive Causative Suffix, /-ϕ-i?-t/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-ϕ/, the Stative Suffix /-i?/, and the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/. Example set CAUS.5, below, illustrates these compound causative suffixes.

Example Set CAUS.5, /-ϕ-i?/ Contrasting with /-ϕ-i?-t/. KLP.file card

(a) Kin waɬatʰi ?

/k<sub>h</sub>in<sub>u</sub> wa-ɬatʰ-ϕ-i? ? /

SM<sub>u</sub>2CP<sub>u</sub> raise-arm-CAUS-STV QUES

'Did you get robbed?, Did you get held up?

(b) Kin waɬatʰi?t ?

/k<sub>h</sub>in<sub>u</sub> wa-ɬatʰ-ϕ-i?-t ? /

SM<sub>u</sub>2CP<sub>u</sub> raise-arm-CAUS-STV-TVI QUES

'Did you rob someone?, Did you hold someone up?

Example Set CAUS.6, the Suffix Combination /-ϕ-i?-t/. FW-11.107-8

(a) ?ikϕi?ti.

/?ik-ϕ-i?-t<sub>i</sub> /

eat-CAUS-STV<sub>IND</sub>

'He/she/it/they made him/it/them eat (it).'

(b) Wu:kati paɬkis kʰikϕi?ts ɬkamu?s.

/wu:kat<sub>i</sub> paɬki-s k<sub>u</sub>?ik-ϕ-i?-t-s ɬkamu?-s/

See<sub>IND</sub> woman-S3 PM<sub>u</sub>eat-CAUS-STV-S3<sub>IND</sub> child-S3

'He saw a woman make a child eat.'

FW-12.52

i.e. 'He (prox) saw a woman (obv) feed a child (obv).'

The Causative Suffix /-ϕ-/ is a component of the compound Transitive Causative Suffix Group, /-ϕ-t-/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-ϕ/, and the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/. This sequence of suffixes is then followed by a pronominal object suffix.

Example Set CAUS.7, the Suffix Combination /-ϕ-t-/.

EG-KLP.card

ńiϕaϕtapni

/nϕ?i?ϕa-ϕ-t-apϕni/

PMϕcry-CAUS-TVI-1SG.OBJϕIND

'He made me cry'.

The Causative Suffix /-ϕ-/ is a component of the compound Transitive Causative Instrumental Suffix Group, /-ϕ-t-mu/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-ϕ/, the T-Transitive Suffix /-t/, and the Instrumental Suffix /-mu/.

Example CAUS.8, the Suffix Combination /-ϕ-t-/.

EG-KLP.card

ńiϕaϕtmunapni

/nϕ?i?ϕa-ϕ-t-mu-n-apϕni/

PMϕcry-CAUS-TVI-INST-NC-1SG.OBJϕIND

'He made me cry over it, about it'.

Example Set CAUS.9, below, shows contrasting stems with and without the suffix group /-ϕ-t-mu/.

Example Set CAUS.9, the Suffix Combination /-ϕ-t-mu/.

G&M(1979)

(a) ?i?ɑϕtmu

(b) ?i?ɑ

/?i?ɑϕ-t-mu/

/?i?ɑ/

cry-CAUS-TVI-INST

cry

'to make someone cry over something'.

'to cry'.



### 3.1.9 Adverbial, and Other Derivational Suffixes.

The suffixes in this category are mostly adverbial in nature and are all derivational. These suffixes include the Frequentative Suffix, the Number Suffixes, the Position Suffixes, the Stative Suffixes, the Inchoative Suffix, and the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix.

-(n)awi(?) The Frequentative Suffix, underlyingly /-nawi?/. This suffix translates as 'always (does), (does) all the time'. Text examples FS.1 through FS.3 illustrate how the surface allomorph /-awi?/ can arise through morphologically conditioned N-Deletion. The surface sequence /-niyawiw?/ is not a surface phonemic allomorph of the Frequentative Suffix, but a combination of the Associative Suffix, the Reflexive Suffix, and the Frequentative Suffix. This is illustrated in text example FS.1, part (d), below, and also in text example FS.2, further below.

Text Example FS.1, the Frequentative Suffix as Surface Ph. /-awi?/. AP-CY.166-169

Hin <sub>ϕ</sub> qaki?ni	kin qa <sup>·</sup> sakimik
/hin <sub>ϕ</sub> qa-ki?ni/	/k <sub>ϕ</sub> hin qa <sub>ϕ</sub> sa-ki-m-ik/
2CP <sub>ϕ</sub> Fpt <sub>ϕ</sub> be.thus-say <sub>ϕ</sub> IND	SM <sub>ϕ</sub> 2CP <sub>ϕ</sub> NEG <sub>ϕ</sub> tire-by.foot-ASC-REFLX
(a) 'You will say	(b) (that) you don't ache from walking'

?At kin qa<sup>·</sup> sakimik,  
 /?at<sub>ϕ</sub> k<sub>ϕ</sub> hin<sub>ϕ</sub> qa<sub>ϕ</sub> sa-ki-m-ik/  
 IMpt<sub>ϕ</sub> SM<sub>ϕ</sub> 2CP<sub>ϕ</sub> NEG<sub>ϕ</sub> tire-by.foot-ASC-REFLX  
 (c) 'That you never get stiff from walking,'

?At ku ?isni? sakniyawī.

/?at<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub> hu<sub>u</sub> ?isn-i?ɬ<sub>u</sub> sa-k-n-iy-awi?/ (Mid-Level Ph.)

/?at<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub> hu<sub>u</sub> ?isn-i?ɬ<sub>u</sub> sa-iki-m-ik-nawi?/ (Underlying Ph.)

IMpt<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub> 1CP<sub>u</sub> belong.to-ADV<sub>u</sub> tire-by.foot-ASC-REFLX-FREQ

(d) 'That I am the one who gets that way.'

**Text Example FS.2, the Frequentative Suffix as Surface Ph. /-awi?/. AP-CY.179**

Ha, ?at kin ɬa ɬakiɬ sakniyawī?kiɬ

/ha, ?at k<sub>u</sub> hin<sub>u</sub> ɬa<sub>u</sub> ɬak-i?ɬ<sub>u</sub> sa-k-n-iy-awi?-kiɬ/ (Mid)

/ha, ?at k<sub>u</sub> hin<sub>u</sub> ɬa<sub>u</sub> ɬak-i?ɬ<sub>u</sub> sa-iki-m-ik-nawi?-kiɬ/ (Und.)

ah IMpt<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub> 2CP<sub>u</sub> 2CP<sub>u</sub> or-ADV<sub>u</sub> tire-by.foot-ASC-REFLX-FREQ

'Ah, do either one of you feel tired from walking'

**Example FS.3, the Frequentative Suffix as Surface Ph. /-nawi?/. RMc-ChOg.340**

Kitknawi?s qapsins

/k<sub>u</sub> ?i?ɬ-kin-awi?-s qapsin-s/

SM<sub>u</sub> Become-by.hand-FREQ-S3 something/what-S3

'One who is always fixing/making things.'

### The Number Suffixes.

There are three plural suffixes in Kutenai. They are the Collective Suffix /-qan-/, the Distributive Suffix /-niŋ-/~/-nin-/~/-ŋ-/, and Dual Suffix /-kis-/. These suffixes are derivational in that number is not obligatorily marked in the third person on Kutenai stems. They are not, therefore, markers of an obligatory inflectional grammatical category. Nominal stems in Kutenai can be understood as either singular or plural, depending on the context. Verbal stems in Kutenai with a third person subject can be under-

stood to have either a singular or plural subject. The three Kutenai plural suffixes serve to make plurality in the third person explicit when they are used.

**-qan-** The Collective Suffix, invariantly /-qan-/.

Text Example of the Collective Suffix /-qan-/.

RMc-ChOg.389

Paʔ kyunaqankuxniyamis.

/paʔ kʲyuna-qan-ku-x-n-iy-am-is/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/paʔ kʲyuna-qan-ku-x-m-ik-n-am-is/ (Underlying Phonemic)

EVID SM<sub>h</sub>have.much-COL-firewood-G-ASC-REFLX-NC-INH-S3

that people (obv) have much firewood for themselves

'For everyone had a lot of firewood.'

**-niŋʔ-** The Distributive Suffix. There are three surface phonemic allomorphs:

/-niŋʔ-/~/-nin-/~/-ŋʔ-/. The allomorph /-nin-/ is a result of the regular rule of Glottal Stop Deletion applying to the form /-niŋʔ-/. The form /-niŋʔ-/ could conceivably be further analyzable as the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/, plus a phonemic buffer vowel, followed by the Distributive Suffix as /-ŋʔ-/.

Text Example DIST.1, the Distributive Suffix as /-niŋʔ-/.

MP-FL.69-70

"taxas ʔitkinin, ʔakaniŋwumkinin."

/taxa-s ʔiʔt-kin<sub>h</sub>hin ʔa-ka-niŋʔ-wum-kin<sub>h</sub>hin/

then-S3 Become-by.hand<sub>2</sub>CP out-come-DIST-belly-by.hand<sub>2</sub>CP

"now you do it, clean them (the fish) out."

Text Example DS.2, the Distributive Suffix as /-niŋ-/.

AP-CM.145

Ha, wanaqnapsi naʔutiniŋtakis

/ha wanaqna-p-s<sub>ɔ</sub>i naʔutiʔ-niŋ-t-ak-is/<sup>1</sup>oh Attack-S3<sub>ɔ</sub>2CP giri-DIST-TVI-REFLX-S3<sub>ɔ</sub>2CP

'OH - the girls attacked him.'

Text Example DIST.3, below, shows the Distributive Suffix /-niŋ-/ realized as Surface Phonemic /-nin-/. The fact that the glottalized n of the Distributive Suffix deglottalizes by the Glottal Stop Deletion rule is not absolutely compelling evidence that the Distributive Suffix is underlyingly /-niʔn-/ with a cluster of a glottal stop and a dental nasal. The Glottal Stop Deletion rule could just as well be named the Glottal Stop Deletion-Nasal Deglottalization rule. What suggests an underlying or original form of /-niʔn-/ for this suffix is the fact that the following suffix metathesizes from its ostensibly basic form of /-xa/ to /-ax/. The vowel which changes places is a phonemic buffer vowel which would have been required in an earlier state of the language to break up a consonant cluster of three consonants in a row. There is no evidence that ejectives ever counted as clusters for this rule, but verbal forms such as the one in text example DIST.3, below, suggest that glottalized nasal did count as consonant clusters in an earlier state of the language. On the other hand, glottalized nasals in Kutenai are phonetically clusters, in any event, and the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule which must have existed in an earlier state of the language must have begun as a phonetically motivated rule.

<sup>1</sup> Underlyingly the verbal stem /wanaqnaʔ/~wanaqnap/ 'attack' is /wan-a-qna-p/ (move-Bf-do-IN). In spite of this analysis, Kutenai-Salishan comparative work suggests that the root /wan-/ has an old association with the idea of war.

**Text Example DIST.3, the Surface Phonemic Variant /-niŋ-/. AP-CY.49**

Taxas ʔat ɕinaɬ qasninaɣni ɕ  
 /taxa-s ʔat ɕi-na-ʔɬ qas-nin-aɣni ɕ/  
 then-S3 IMpt INCEP-go-ADV<sub>2</sub>CP pinch.off-DIST-by.mouth and  
 'Then he kept biting off chunks.'

**Text Example DIST.4, the Distributive Suffix as /-ŋ-/. MP-FL.101**

hun ʔup-ka-ŋ-qu-x-n-aɬaʔni  
 /hu n ʔup-ka-ŋ-qu-x-n-aɬaʔni/  
 1CP PM away.from.water-come-in.water-by.mouth.(i.e. to eat)-NC-1PL<sub>IND</sub>  
 'Then we started to pull them (the fish) out.'

**-kis- The Dual Suffix, invariantly /-kis-/.**

**Text Example DU.1, the Dual Suffix /-kis-/. MP-FL.51**

hu qakisusaqapmaɬni niʔ tiɬnamu  
 /hu qa-kis-uʔsa-qa-p-m-aɬni niʔ tiɬnamuʔ/  
 1CP be.thus-DUAL-Be.to-STV-IN-ASC-COPART<sub>IND</sub> the old.woman  
 'the two of us were there, I with the old lady (i.e. the both of us sat around).'

**Text Example DU.2, the Dual Suffix /-kis-/, in part (b). RMc-ChOg.490-491**

(a) Saŋ paɬ kiʔins niʔsɕ  
 /saŋ paɬ k hiʔ ʔi-n-s niʔ-s ɕ/  
 but EVID SM Bpt be-NC-S3 the.(one)-S3 and  
 'But hers was (the one)'

(b) ya·ʉqakisusaqapski niʔs †kamukistakis.

/ya·ʉ qa-kis-uʔsa-qa-p-s·ki niʔ-s· †kamuʔ-kis-t-ak-is/

DFM· be.thus-DU-Be.at-STV-IN-S3·LOC the-S3· child-DU-TVI-REFLX-S3

'where the two children were.'

There is another text example of the Dual Suffix /-kis-/ below in the sub-section on the compound suffix /-uʔ-sa/ characterized as meaning 'be to'.

**The Position Suffixes.**

There is a set of two position suffixes in Kutenai. One is the Standing Position Suffix /-n-/, while the other is the Horizontal Position Suffix /-kik/~/-k-/.

-k i k - Horizontal Position Suffix (abbreviated HORZ), /-kik-/~/-k-/. In text example HPS.1, below, the Horizontal Position Suffix in the verbal stem refers to the position of the pail or earthenware pot specified in the nominal stem. In text example HPS.2, further below, the Horizontal Position Suffix is in the verbal stem in part (b) of the example where it also refers to the position of the pail represented by a following nominal stem. In the verbal stem in HPS.2, part (b), however, the Horizontal Position Suffix is immediately followed by the suffix /-miʔ/ which also represents the pail or earthenware pot.

Text Example HPS.1, the Horizontal Position Suffix as /-kik-/. RMc-ChOg.187

skikqapsi yiʔkimiʔis·ʔ

/s-kik-qa-p-s·i yiʔkiʔ-miʔ-ʔis·ʔ/

CON-HORZ-STV-IN-S3·IND pot-earth(en)-3POS·and

'a pail was laying there (and)'

Text Example HPS.2, the Horizontal Position Suffix /-kik-/. RMc-ChOg.162-163

(a) Nuϕinkqupikimik

/n<sub>u</sub>huϕ-in-kqup-iki-m-ik/

PM<sub>u</sub>up-go-INTENSIVE-by.foo<sub>t</sub>-ASC-RFLX

'She took off running.'

(b) qa·qaq̄makikmi?ni yiϕki?mis<sub>u</sub>ϕ

/qa-ha-qa-q̄ma-kik-mi?ni yiϕki?-mi?-s<sub>u</sub>ϕ/

be.thus-have-STV-sudden-HORZ-earth(en)<sub>IND</sub> pot-earth(en)-S3<sub>and</sub>

'leaving her pail behind.'

In text example HPS.3, below, the Horizontal Position Suffix refers to the position of a head, represented by the lexical suffix /-t̄am̄/ 'head' which immediately follows the Horizontal Position Suffix in the verbal stem. The nominal stem in the example specifies what kind of head is being referred to.

Text Example HPS.3, the Horizontal Position Suffix /-kik-/. RMc-ChOg.189

Skik̄t̄am̄si nīt̄siks

/s-kik-t̄am̄-s<sub>i</sub> nīt̄sik-s/

CON-HORZ-head-S3<sub>IND</sub> bull-S3

'A bull's head lay there.'

-n- The Standing Position Suffix, /-n-/. In text examples SPS.1 and SPS.2, below, the Standing Position Suffix refers to a standing house, specified by the lexical suffix /-t̄a?/ 'house' which follows. In both cases, there is an intervening

buffer vowel.

**Text Example SPS.1, the Standing Position Suffix /-n-/.**

**RMc-ChOg.350-351**

Sanitɬaʔsi tiɬnamusꞥ

/s-ha-n-i-tɬaʔ-sꞥi                      tiɬnamus ꞥ/

CON-have-STD-Bf-house-S3ꞥIND      old.woman-S3 ꞥand

(a) 'There was this old lady's lodge and'

qawxaxi.

/qa-uʔxa-xꞥi/

be.thus-Be.to-RLGꞥIND

(b) 'they went there.'

**Text Example SPS.2, the Standing Position Suffix /-n-/.**

**RMc-ChOg.414**

Taxasꞥsɬ ꞥxanitɬaxamik.

/taxa-s s-iʔɬꞥ ꞥxa-n-i-tɬaʔ-xa-m-ik/

then-S3      CON-ADVꞥ start.and.continue.for awhile-STD-Bf-house-GOAL-ASC-REFLX

'Then they stayed there and lived on the meat.'

### The Two Stative Suffixes.

-i(?)      The Stative Suffix, /-iʔ/.

-qa      The Stative Suffix, /-qa/.

There are two stative suffixes in Kutenai. Both of them can be identified as forms of verbal roots meaning 'be', in part or in whole. The Stative Suffix /-iʔ/ is related to the verbal root /ʔi-/~ʔiʔ-/ 'be' and may occur in combination with the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/. The Stative Suffix /-qa/ is related to the verbal root /qa-/ 'be thus' and occurs commonly in combination with the Inchoative Suffix,



with its surface phonemic alloforms of /-p/~/-?/~/-Ø/ (i.e. zero, because of Glottal Stop Deletion). Most adjectival verbal roots take one or the other of the stative suffixes, in order to form a verbal stem. A few verbal roots occur with both stative suffixes, forming contrasting verbal stems. Example sets STV.1 and STV.2 are contrasting verbal stems of this type.

**Example Set STV.1.**

(a) -qa      Stative Suffix.

in the verbal stem:

ɕmakʰqa

/ɕmakʰ-qa-?/      (Mid)

/ɕmakʰ-qa-p /      (Und.)

strong-STATIVE-INCHOATIVE

'to be strong, powerful'.

(b) -i?      Stative Suffix.

in the verbal stem:

ɕmakʰi

/ɕmakʰ-i?/      (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ɕmakʰ-i? /      (Underlying Phonemic)

strong-STATIVE-TVI

'to be hard, solid, firm'.

**Example Set STV.2.**

(a) -qa      Stative Suffix.

in the verbal stem:

wiɬqa

/wiɬ-qa-?/      (Mid)

/wiɬ-qa-p /      (Und.)

big-STATIVE-INCHOATIVE

'to be big'

(b) -i?      Stative Suffix.

in the verbal stem:

wiɬi?t

/wiɬ-i?-t/      (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/wiɬ-i?-t /      (Underlying Ph.)

big-STATIVE-TVI

'to have or own something big'.

A more typical set of stems than the examples in STV.1 and STV.2, above, is the set of verbal stems, below, where the contrast is between a stative verbal stem and a transitive

verbal stem derived from it.

Example Set STV.3.

FW-V.721

maɕiʔni.

maɕiʔti.

/maɕʔ-iʔ-ɲni/

/maɕʔ-iʔ-tɲi/

dirty-STV<sub>IND</sub>

dirty-STV-TV<sub>IND</sub>

'It got dirty.'

'He got it dirty, He dirtied it.'

-p The Inchoative Suffix. This suffix has the alloforms /-p/~/-ʔ/ in surface phonemic and mid-level phonemic terms, while underlyingly it is /-p/. This morpheme is realized as surface phonemic /p/ before word suffixes, but is realized as glottal stop /ʔ/ before the invariantly encliticized Indicative Marker /ɲni/, and the invariantly encliticized Locative Marker /ɲki/. Before the Enclitic Conjunction /ɲɕ/, and phrase-finally, the Inchoative Suffix is realized as glottal stop, but in these environments it is also deleted by the regular mid-level rule of Glottal Stop Deletion. The intransitive verbal stem in example sets IN.1 illustrates the Inchoative Suffix, while the verbal stem in IN.2 illustrates its absence in a corresponding transitive stem. Example sets IN.3 and IN.4, below, illustrate another matching set of verbal stems, one intransitive, with the Inchoative Suffix, and the other transitive, without it.

Example Set IN.1.

(a) ɕʔaqa 'to be greasy', /ɕʔa-qa-ʔ/ ~ /ɕʔa-qa-p-/.  
grease-STV-IN grease-STV-IN.

(b) ɕʔaqaʔni 'It/he/she (proximate) is greasy', 'they (proximate) are greasy.'

(c) ɕʔaqapsi 'It/he/she (obviative) is greasy', 'they (obviative) are greasy.'



Text Example IN.5, the Inchoative Suffix /-p/.

RMc-ChOg.354

qaqaʔsʔ ʔasqaptaksi

/qa-qa-ʔʔ si-ʔʔ ʔas-qa-p-t-ak-sʔi/

be.thus-STV-ADV. CON-ADV. two-STV-IN-TVI-REFLX-S3.IND

'They were the only two survivors.'

-u(?) The Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix (abbreviated EDM). This suffix is underlyingly /-uʔ/, assuming that whenever it has a long vowel the long vowel is a product of Emphatic Lengthening.<sup>2</sup> There is some indication that vowel length has become a permanent feature of this morpheme and that instances of it which are recorded without a long vowel are oversights on the part of transcribers, including both native speaker transcribers and the present author. There is no attempt in this description of the language to regularize transcriptions on this point, and retranscribe all instances of the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix, either so that they all have a long vowel, or so that they all have a short vowel. The emphatic lengthening may be synchronic and the matter is left open for the present.

The Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix occurs in four different morphological contexts. It occurs in the deictic pronoun /ʔin-uʔ/ which is the emphatic demonstrative form of the deictic pronoun /ʔin/ 'there, that' and it occurs as a component of the emphatic demonstrative form of the Definite Reference Marker which in surface phonemic terms is consistently /yuʔ/. The Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix also occurs as a component of two compound suffixes /-uʔ-sa-/ 'be at' and /-uʔ-xa/ 'be to'. The compound suffix /-uʔ-sa-/ 'be at' contains a morphological unit /-sa-/ which may consist of the Continuative Marker /s-/ and the root /ha-/~/haʔ-/ 'have'. The compound suffix

<sup>2</sup> See section 2.3.8 where Emphatic Lengthening (also called Rhetorical Lengthening) is discussed.

/-u?-xa/ 'be to' contains the Goal Suffix /-xa/.

Text example EDS.2, below, consists of contiguous sentences from the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text. The sentence in part (a), is a question asked by a father thunder of his two thunder chicks about why their nest is broken in a certain way. Parts (b) and (c) are the reply of the thunder chicks. They had been instructed by Coyote and Yawukiykam to say that Coyote and Yawukiykam had caused the damage by climbing up. Actually the damage had been caused by Coyote and Yawukiykam killing the mother thunder and knocking her out of the nest. Coyote and Yawukiykam are in the nest, evidently in close proximity to the three remaining thunders.

Text Example EDS.1, the Surface Phonemic Alloform /-u/.

AP-CY.225-227

(a) Qapsins k<sub>u</sub>s<sup>+</sup> ?a:qaqa ?inu.

/qapsin-s k<sub>u</sub> s<sup>+</sup> ?a:-qa-qa-? ?in-u?/

something/what-S3 SM<sub>u</sub> CON-ADV<sub>u</sub> IM-be.thus-STV-IN that-EDM

"Why is that the way it is?"

(b) ?Is qaka<sup>+</sup> yuwakakisqatq<sub>nu</sub>ni ?inu<sub>u</sub>ϕ

/?i-s<sub>u</sub> qa-ka-?<sup>+</sup> yu-wa-ka-kis-qatq<sub>nu</sub>ni ?in-u? <sub>u</sub>ϕ/

that-S3 be.thus-come-ADV<sub>u</sub> on.top-rise-DUAL-Sfx<sub>u</sub>IND that-EDM<sub>u</sub>and

"The two came climbing up that way,

them and

(c) Si<sup>+</sup> ?umiϕikini

/s-i?<sup>+</sup> ?umiϕ-iki<sub>u</sub>ni/

CON-ADV<sub>u</sub> break.up-by.foot<sub>u</sub>IND

They broke it off."

**Text Example EDS.2, /-uʔxa-/ 'be to', as Surface Phonemic /-uxa-/.**

Taxas hu,s† qaqaſuxaqa†q̄anuxwati.

/taxa-s hu,s †, qaqaſ-uʔxa-qa†q̄anuxwat,i/

then-S3 1CP, CON-ADV, end-Be.to-Legendary.story,IND

'Now this is the end of my tale.'

RMc-ChOg.519

Text examples EDS.3 and EDS.4, below, are contiguous sentences from the Chief and Ogress Text (lines 302-306). Text examples EDS.5 and EDS.6, part (a) are subsequent sentences from the same text (lines 308, and lines 311-312). In example EDS.3, part (b), there is an example of the compound suffix /-uʔsa-/ 'be at'. In this clause, the ogress is literally 'at' the business of chasing the children. In example EDS.4, part (a), she is nearly 'to' them and in this clause and in text examples EDS.5 and EDS.6, part (a) the compound suffix /-uʔxa-/ 'be to' is called for.

**Text Example EDS.3, /-uʔsa-/ 'be at' as Surface Phonemic /-usa-/.**

(a) Piʔaks †in paq̄mikupsi yiʔkimiʔis,†

/Piʔak-s †in paq̄miʔ-ku-p-s,i yiʔkiʔ-miʔ-ʔis,†/

in.the.past-S3 must.be burst-heat/fire-IN-S3,IND pot-earth(en)-S3-3POS, and

'Her pot must have burst by now,'

(b) sañ susanutkaʔni.

/sañ s-uʔsa-nut-kaʔ,ni/

but CON-Be.at-chase-INH.O,IND

'but she was still in pursuit of the children.'

RMc-ChOg.302-303

Text Example EDS.4, /-uʔxa-/ 'be to', as Surface Phonemic /-uʔxa-/.

(a) Taxas kʷaqatʷuʔxam

/taxa-s kʷ ʔaqatʷ-uʔxa-m/

then-S3 SMʷ near-Be.to-RM

'Then when she got near'

(b) snaʔʔukiʔwiytik niʔsikʷʔ

/s-naʔʔuki-ʔwiy-t-ik niʔsikʷʔ/

CON-Sfx-heart-TVI-REFL bullʷand

'the bull started snorting and'

(c) ʔʷyuwakaqanmitmuʔuxamik.

/ʔʷ yu-wa-ka-qan-mit-mu-ʔu-xa-m-ik/

Fptʷ on.top-rise-come-COL-throw-ground-by.point-GOAL-ASC-REFL

'pawing dirt up over him(self).'

RMc-ChOg.304-306

Text Example EDS.5, /-uʔxa-/ 'be to' as /-u·xa-/.

RMc-ChOg.308

Su·xanʔukpqaʔni tiʔna

/s-u·xa-nʔukpqaʔni tiʔna/<sup>3</sup>

CON-Be.to-RunʷIND old.woman

'The old woman ran up to it'

<sup>3</sup> The lexical suffix /-nʔukpqaʔ/ 'run' is analyzable as /-n-ʔ-u-kp-qa-ʔ/ (go + carry + hoof + STATIVE + INCHOATIVE).

Text Example EDS.6, /-uʔxa-/ 'be to' as /-wxa-/.

RMc-ChOg.311-312

(a) Qa·wxanʔukpqaʔni

/qa-uʔxa-nʔukpqaʔni /

be.thus-Be.to-Run.IND

'She ran up and'

(b) taxas mityaxnapsi

/taxa-s mit-y-ax-n-ap-sʔi/

then-S3 throw-REFLX-GOAL-NC-HRO-S3.IND

'then it charged her.'

Text examples EDS.7, part (d), below, attests the surface phonemic realization of the compound suffix /-uʔxa-/ 'be to', as /-wʔxa-/.

Text Example EDS.7, /-uʔxa-/ 'be to', as Surface Phonemic /-wʔxa-/.

(a) ʔAt hu qakiʔni

/ʔat hu qa-ki-ʔni/

IMpt. 1CP. be.thus-say-DI.IND

'I say of them'

(b) kʔiʔʔus ʔaʔa:kniʔʔis

/k ʔ hiʔ ʔu-s ʔaʔ a:k-niʔʔis/

SM. IR. Bpt. be.none-S3 PLpt. NSB-parents-3POS

'(that) they must have been orphans'



(c) ksʔ ʔaːqaqna

/kʷ s-iʔʔʷ ʔaː-qa-qna-ʔ/

SMʷ CON-ADVʷ IM-be.thus-do-IN

'(that) that's why'

(d) niʔs tiʔnamus kqawʔxam ʔaːkitʔaʔisis.

/niʔ-sʷ tiʔnamuʔ-s kʷqa-uʔxa-m ʔaːk-i-tʔaʔ-ʔis-is/

the-S3ʷ old.woman-S3 SMʷbe.thus-Be.to-RM NSB-Bf-house-3POS-S3

'(that) they went to the old woman's lodge.'

RMc-ChOg.346-351

Text examples EDS.8, part (b), and EDS.9, below, attest different realizations of the compound suffix /-uʔsa-/ 'be at'. EDS.9 has the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix with vowel length. This may be an instance of Emphatic Lengthening applied by the speaker for stylistic effect, or it may be part of the evidence for vowel length as a permanent feature of the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix. Even if it is a permanent feature of this suffix in synchronic terms, the best hypothesis for the origin of the vowel length in this morpheme is that it began as Emphatic Lengthening in an earlier state of the language. Unexplained instances of vowel length in Kutenai are exceedingly rare.<sup>4</sup>

Text Example EDS.8, /-uʔsa-/ 'be at', as /-usa-/.

RMc-ChOg.490-491

Saʔ paʔ kiʔins niʔsʷ

/saʔ paʔʷ kʷ hiʔʷ ʔi-n-s niʔ-s ʷ/

but EVID SMʷ Bptʷ be-NC-S3 the.(one)-S3 ʷand

(a) But hers was (the one)

<sup>4</sup> One source of phonemic vowel length in Kutenai is the lexicalization of Emphatic Lengthening. See section 2.1.10 for minimal pairs created in this way.

ya·qakisusaqapski ni?s †kamukistakis.

/ya· qa-kis-u?sa-qa-p-s·ki ni?-s· †kamu?-kis-t-ak-is/

DFM· be.thus-DU-Be.at-STV-IN-S3,LOC the-S3· child-DU-TVI-REFLX-S3

(b) where the two children were.

Text Example EDS.9, /-u?sa-/ 'be at', as /-u·sa-/.

AP-CY.172

Taxas qa·kisu·saqa?ni<sup>5</sup>

/taxa-s qa-ha-kis-u?sa-qa-?·ni/

then-S3 be.thus-have-DU-Be.at-STV-IN,IND

'Then they (two) stayed there.'

<sup>5</sup> The original transcription of the verbal stem in example EDS.9 is:

/qa·kisuwsaqa?ni/.

The spelling /uw/ in this environment before a consonant is equivalent to /u·/.

### 3.1.10 Instrumental Lexical Suffixes.

For most of the Kutenai instrumental lexical suffixes there is a corresponding non-instrumental lexical suffix. For example, corresponding to the instrumental lexical suffix /-kin/ 'by hand' there is the non-instrumental lexical suffix /-hiy/ 'hand'. These two lexical suffixes are illustrated in example set INLX.1, below.<sup>1</sup>

#### Example Set INLX.1.

FW-5.81-82

maç<sup>2</sup>kin<sub>i</sub>. 'He dirtied it with his hands.'

/maç<sup>2</sup>-kin<sub>i</sub>/

dirty-by.hand<sub>IND</sub>

maç<sup>2</sup>iy<sub>ni</sub>. 'He dirtied his hands.'

/maç<sup>2</sup>-hiy<sub>ni</sub>/

dirty-hand<sub>IND</sub>

For most instrumental lexical suffixes, there is no particular resemblance between the instrumental lexical suffix and the corresponding non-instrumental lexical suffix. In the case of the instrumental lexical suffix /-iki/~/-ki/~/-k-/ 'by foot (also by claw, by talon)', and the lexical suffix /-ɬik/ 'foot', however, it is instructive to examine the difference between the instrumental lexical suffix and its non-instrumental counterpart. The non-instrumental suffix is one a number of Kutenai lexical suffixes which begin with Barred l. If one removes the Barred l, assuming that it is the Barred L Connector Suffix /-ɬ-/, the remainder of the lexical suffix is identical to the allomorph /-ik/ of the instrumental lexical suffix /-iki/~/-ki/~/-k-/ 'by foot'. Example set INLX.2,

<sup>1</sup> See section 3.1.6, under the heading of Stative Suffixes, for a related example set, built on the same verbal root /maç<sup>2</sup>/ 'dirty'.

below, has examples which parallel the examples in example set INLX.1, above.

Example Set INLX.2.

FW-5.81

maɕʰikini. 'He dirtied it with his feet.'

/maɕʰ-iki<sub>ni</sub>/

dirty-by.foot<sub>IND</sub>

maɕʰɨkni. 'He dirtied his feet.'

/maɕʰ-ɨik<sub>ni</sub>/ or underlyingly /maɕʰ-ɨ-ik<sub>ni</sub>/

dirty-foot<sub>IND</sub>

dirty-BLC-(by)foot<sub>IND</sub>

-xa 'by mouth', /-xa/~/-ax/~ /x/. Example set INLXM.1 and INLXM.2, below illustrate the three different surface allomorphs of this suffix.

Text Example INLXM.1, illustrating the allomorphs /-xa/ and /x/. AP-CY.45-48

ɛaxaŋxu<sub>ɕ</sub>

/ɛaxaŋ-xu<sub>ɕ</sub>/

Catch.up.to-by.body<sub>and</sub>

(a) 'He'd catch up to it and

?at qaskqupxni<sub>ɕ</sub>

/?at<sub>ɕ</sub> qas-kqup-x<sub>ni</sub><sub>ɕ</sub>/

IMpt<sub>ɕ</sub> cut-INT-by.mouth<sub>IND</sub><sub>and</sub>

(b) take a huge bite'

?At pisxni

/?at<sub>ɕ</sub> pis-x<sub>ni</sub>/

IMpt<sub>ɕ</sub> drop.by.mouth<sub>IND</sub>

(c) 'He'd drop (from his mouth)

ni?s qasxa

/ni?-s<sub>ɕ</sub> qas-xa/

the-S3<sub>ɕ</sub> cut-by.mouth

(d) whatever he bit off.'

Text Example INLXM.2, illustrating the allomorph /-ax/.

RMc-ChOg.99

Qaʔ ɸinkqʉpʉwaʔaxni.

/qa-ha-ʔʔɹ ɸin-kqʉp-qwaʔ-axni/

be.thus-have-ADVɹ grab/catch-INT-ear-by.mouthɹIND

'Then he grabbed and sank his teeth into her earlobe.'

This Kutenai instrumental lexical suffix /-xa/~/-ax/~/-x/ 'by mouth' provides examples of metathesis, as in text example INLXM.2, above. Metathesis examples in Kutenai are ultimately explainable in diachronic terms as involving the reconstructible rule of Buffer Vowel Insertion. Care has to be taken, however, to distinguish the metathesized allomorph /-ax/ 'by mouth' from examples where a buffer vowel is present in front of this suffix because of an underlying glottal stop and where the actual allomorph involved is /-x/ 'by mouth'. Text example INLXM.3, below, provides background for the analysis of the verbal phrase /ʔuʔamʔaxnu/ 'Bite my head off' which appears in text example INLXM.4, further below.

Text Example INLXM.3, illustrating the allomorph /-xa/.

RMc-ChOg.132

Taxas ʔaki ɸxaʔ ʔuʔamaxamunisni

/taxa-s ʔaki ɸxaʔɹ ʔu-ʔamʔ-a-ʔ-xa-mu-n-isni/

then-S3 also FUT-ADVɹ remove-head-Bf-GSVI-by.mouth-INST-NC-20&PɹIND

'Then she will also bite the head off

ɸiyanismiʔ

/ɸiyaʔ-n-is-m-iʔ/

younger.brother-NC-20&P-ASC-DI

of your little brother.'

Example INLXM.3, above, suggests a different underlying analysis for example INLXM.4, below, than what one might expect, just on the basis of example INLXM.4. Initially it would appear to have the metathesized allomorph of the instrumental lexical suffix, rather than the allomorph /-x/.

Text Example INLXM.4, the allomorph /-x/.

RMc-ChOg.99

maʔɕ ʈuʈamaxnu

/maʔɕ ʈu-ʈamʔ-a-ʔ-x-n<sub>h</sub>u/

PROHIB remove-head-Bf-GSVI-G-NC<sub>1</sub>CP

'Don't bite my head off.'

-xU 'by body' /-xu/. This morpheme is chiefly an instrumental lexical suffix, but there is also a non-instrumental version of it. Example set INLXB.1 lists the instrumental and non-instrumental versions of this suffix as two separate entries in parts (a) and (b). The evidence that there is an non-instrumental version of this lexical suffix is supported by the stems listed in parts (c) and (d) of the example set.

Example Set INLXB.1.

(a) -xU inst. lex. 'by body, by torso, by back (as in backpacking)', /-xu/.

(b) -xU lex. 'torso, body', /-xu/.

(c) ha-xu v. 'to have a torso', /ha-xu/.

have-torso

(d) ʔa·k-xu n. 'shape, form, body', /ʔa·k-xu/.

NSB-body

Example set INLXB.2, below, contains a text example of the instrumental lexical suffix /-xu/ 'by body' in part (b), along with an example of another instrumental lexical suffix /-k'u/ 'by point' in part (a).

### Example Set INLXB.2.

Text Example of the Instrumental Lexical Suffixes /-k'u/ and /-xu/. AP-CY.197-198

(a) Qa·na† wa†mitk'u?niϕ

/qa-ha-na-?†ϕ      wa†mit-k'u-?niϕ/²

be.thus-have-go-ADVϕ      up.over.the.side-throw-by.point-GSVIϕIND

'He stabbed it and it went over the side (and)'

(b) Qa·na† ?umiϕxu?si

/qa-ha-na-?†ϕ      ?umiϕ-xu-?-sϕi

be.thus-have-go-ADVϕ      break.up-by.body-GSVI-S3ϕIND

'It knocked off a section of

(c) ni?sa ?a·kuq̄nukat'isis

ni?saϕ      ?a·k-u-q̄nuka?†-?is-is/

the-S3ϕ      NSB-Bf-nest.of.a.large-bird-3POS-S3

its nest.'

<sup>2</sup> It is assumed here that the vowel length in the adverb /qa·na†ϕ/ is because this word contains the root /ha-/ 'have'. The idea that the vowel length is from an underlying syllable /ha/ is supported by minimal pair examples such as the following from FW. In the example in (b) FW gave a conservative pronunciation without laryngeal deletion and vowel coalescence in order to illustrate the underlying form:

(a) /ka?sa k̄aqawisqa ?/ 'How is it standing?'

(b) /ka?sa k̄ahaqawisqa ?/ 'Where is it standing?, (or for a fish: Where is it positioned?)' FW-5.109

-k'u 'by point, pointed object(s), finger(s)', /-k'u/. This instrumental lexical suffix does not have an exactly corresponding non-instrumental lexical suffix. There is, however, the evidently related lexical suffix /-k'un/ 'nose'.

In text examples INLXP.1 and INLXP.2, below, the reference of the instrumental lexical suffix /-k'u/ is to a stick. This is reflected in the free translation of the clause in example INLXP.1. Text example INLXP.2 occurs only two clauses later in the text and the original free translation of the clause, done by EG, did not make this reference to a pointed object. In English, it is enough to say once in a passage of discourse that something was done by means of a pointed object, if one specifies this type of information at all. In Kutenai this kind of information has to be specified each time, wherever appropriate. The contribution of the instrumental lexical suffix /-k'u/ to the meaning of the clause in example INLXP.2 had to be supplied (in parentheses) in the process of editing by the author.

## Text Example INLXP.1.

AP-CM.140

Si+k'u?ni ?a·kuq+am?isis ni+siks.

/s-i-k'u-?ni ?a·k-u-q+am'-?is-is ni+sik-s/

CON-Bf-carry-by.point-GSVI,IND NSB-Bf-Hair-3POS-S3 bull-S3

'He had the Bulls' scalps on a stick'.

## Text Example INLXP.2.

AP-CM.142

Taxas +a qawxa+k'u?ni

/taxa-s +a qawxa-k'u-?ni/

then-S3 REV be.thus-Be.to-carry-by.point-GSVI,IND

'Then he got there with it (i.e. with the Bulls' scalps piled up on the end of a stick)'



-k u 'by heat or fire', /-ku/. This lexical suffix is only marginally a specifically instrumental lexical suffix. As a non-instrumental lexical suffix, it is /-ku/ 'heat, fire' and it can even be seen as a non-instrumental lexical suffix in text example INLXF.1, below, where it stands as an example of an ostensibly instrumental lexical suffix. The instrumental component of the meaning in the free translation might be accounted for by assuming that the lexical suffix means 'fire' in a locative sense in this particular verbal stem.

Text Example INLXF.1, /-ku/ as an Instrumental Lexical Suffix. RMc-ChOg.167

tuxa ɸxaɬ paq̣mi?kni ka yiɸki?mi.

/tuxa ɸxa-ɬ, paq̣mi?-ku-?-k,ni ka, yiɸki?-mi?/

almost FUT-ADV, burst-heat/fire-IN-water,IND 1POS, pot-earth(en)

'my pot is about to burst from the heat.'

The verbal base /paq̣mi?/ 'burst' takes both instrumental and non-instrumental lexical suffixes, as well as occurring without a following lexical suffix. This is illustrated in example set INLXF.2, parts (a) through (e), below.

Example Set INLXF.2.

(a) paq̣mi v. 'to burst, tire to blow out, to go broke', in mid-level phonemic representation /paq̣mi?/.

(b) paq̣mi?xa v. 'to break open with teeth (like opening up a nut by biting it)', /paq̣mi?-xa/.

burst-by.mouth There is also a derived nominalization:

paq̣mi?xaʔ n. 'nut (of plant)', /paq̣mi?-xa-ʔ/.  
burst-by.mouth-PASV

(c) paq̣mi?ku v. 'to burst from heat or cold', underlyingly /paq̣mi?-ku-p/.  
burst-heat/fire-IN

(d) paq̣mi?ʔukwaʔit v. 'to burst from heat or cold', evidently underlyingly  
/paq̣mi?-ʔ-ku-p-iʔit/.<sup>3</sup>  
burst-BLC-heat/fire-IN-Sfx

(e) paq̣mi?q+iʔ v. 'to have a ruptured eye', /paq̣mi?-q+iʔ/.  
burst-eye

-qa 'by blade'. By one analysis, this is an instrumental lexical suffix meaning 'by blade'. Boas (1927, p. 85) assumes that there is such a suffix in Kutenai. It is also possible to analyze apparent examples of /-qa/ as an instrumental lexical suffix meaning 'by blade' as examples of the Stative Suffix /-qa/. The Stative Suffix /-qa/, without a following Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-ʔ/, results in transitive stems. For at least one such stem there is no necessary implication that a blade is involved.<sup>4</sup> The fol-

<sup>3</sup> This and a few other stems show the lexical suffix /-ʔiʔit/~ʔiʔiti-/ 'place' interrupted by the suffixes /-ku-p/ (-heat/fire-INCHOATIVE). This suggests that the initial segment of the lexical suffix meaning 'place' is a separable element, such as the Barred L Connector Suffix /-ʔ-/, or even the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix /-ʔ-/. See section 2.6.7 for the phonological process by which underlying /p/ is realized as /w/ in some stems. This phonological process is closely associated with metathesis.

<sup>4</sup> See section 3.1.6, under the heading of the Inchoative Suffix for an example of the Stative Suffix /-qa/ not followed by the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-ʔ/, where the result is a transitive verbal stem. The verbal stem there is /q̣a-qa/ 'to grease something' where a blade might conceivably be involved, but a blade is not necessarily involved.

lowing text example can be taken as an example of the instrumental lexical suffix /-qa/ 'by blade' or it can be seen as an example of the Stative Suffix /-qa/ in a transitive verbal stem.

Text Example of /-qa/.

AP-CM.165-166

ϕuqniϕ		qana+am̓niϕ	
/ϕu-q̣ni	ϕ/	/qa-na-+am̓ni	ϕ/
stick.in-by.blade,IND	and	be.thus-go-head,IND	and
or stick.in-STV,IND	and		
(a) 'She cut a hole and'		(b) 'stuck her head through (and)'	

Another transitive stem which supports the idea that there is an instrumental lexical suffix /-qa/~/-q/ 'by blade' in shown in the following example set.

Example Set, illustrating /-qa/~/-q/.

G&M (1979)

- (a) piϕqa v. 'to shorten by cutting, to mow hay'
- (b) piϕqni 'He/she/it/they (proximate) shorten it (obviative) by cutting, He/she/it/they (proximate) mowed hay (obviative).'
- (c) piϕqasi 'He/she/it/they (obviative) shorten it (obviative) by cutting, He/she/it/they (obviative) mowed hay (obviative).'



### 3.2 Inflectional Paradigms.

Kutenai inflectional paradigms are presented here under the heading of morphology, although inflectional paradigms in Kutenai cut across the distinction between morphology and syntax, in that a mix of clitic elements and word affixes are involved. For example, the pronominal categories of first person plural and second person plural are marked by a proclitic pronoun in front of verbal stems in combination with suffixes on the stems.

The paradigms here include the proclitic pronouns /hu<sub>u</sub>/, and /hin<sub>u</sub>/, the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ni/ ~/<sub>u</sub>i/, and the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>u</sub>/<sup>1</sup>, in addition to a host of pronominal suffixes. The Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/ is a component of some of the paradigms here because the verbal stem which is used as a model for transitive stems is the stem /ʔiktuquʔ/ 'to wash', and this stem begins with a glottal stop. Moreover, the paradigms of this stem represent the Tobacco Plains Kutenai of EG and others, where the Predicate Marker has its maximal distribution.<sup>2</sup>

The Indicative Marker, the Subordinate Marker, and the Predicate Marker are each treated here as particles. They can also be described as phrasal affixes, each in their own particular sense of the term. They are not word affixes, certainly not on the same order of integration into inflected verbal stems as the morphemes which are treated here as word affixes. There is phonological evidence that the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ni/ ~/<sub>u</sub>i/ and the Locative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ki/ are separated from the verbal stems that they are attached to by

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<sup>1</sup> The Subordinate Marker has complementizer, relativizer, nominalizer, and interrogative functions.

<sup>2</sup> The Predicate Marker only occurs immediately before the first verbal root of a verbal phrase, whether that root is at the beginning of a derived adverb or a verbal stem, but only if the verbal root begins with a laryngeal consonant. If the laryngeal consonant is a glottal stop, there are further limitations on the occurrence of the Predicate Marker having to do with its morphological environment, and then in certain environments having to do with differences between different geographical variety of the language.

more than a simple morpheme boundary.<sup>3</sup> In formal terms this can be described as a single word boundary. In diachronic terms it would appear to be a weakened word boundary, on its way to becoming a morpheme boundary. It also exists between verbal stems and the encliticized versions of the two clitic pronouns /hu<sub>v</sub>/ First Person, and /hin<sub>v</sub>/ Second Person.

The status of the Indicative Marker, the Subordinate Marker, and the Predicate Marker as particles means that very nearly any Kutenai inflected verbal form consists of a stem and a particle, even if it is written orthographically as a single word. Inflected verbal forms in Kutenai are all verbal phrases, rather than simple words.<sup>4</sup>

The simplest verbal forms which actually occur in Kutenai sentences are the plain predicate forms of verbal stems, especially those occurring without an overt Predicate Marker /n<sub>v</sub>/, but even these forms contain the Predicate Marker covertly, and contain at least one pronominal argument, even if that pronominal argument is marked only as a zero affix. These plain predicate forms are superficially identical to the plain forms of verbal stems which are glossed as infinitives. The infinitival glosses are artificial in that any Kutenai verbal form which can occur in a sentence has at least one pronominal argument, although it may be an unmarked third person subject.

Kutenai verbal phrases are like words in that they are units with a fairly rigid internal structure, in somewhat the same manner that words have a rigid internal structure. Verbal phrases are also phonological units in Kutenai, very nearly to the same extent that words are phonological units. Evidence of this can be seen in the fact that earlier describers of the language, including Boas and Garvin, routinely treat complex verbal phrases as words, rather than recognizing, as words, the proclitic pronouns, the proclitic adverbial particles,

<sup>3</sup> See section 2.6.2 where the three closely related morphologically conditioned rules of Stop Consonant to Glottal Stop are discussed.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'verbal phrase' here is not equivalent to the term 'verb phrase' as used in English grammar. Kutenai verbal phrases contain clitic pronouns and pronominal suffixes which are the arguments of the inflected verbal stem of the phrase, but verbal phrases in Kutenai do not include lexical arguments, for example words representing a direct object.

and the derived adverbs which are the constituents of complex verbal phrases.

In order to save space and simplify matters, interrogative paradigms are presented in this section as representative of the subordinate verbal forms introduced by the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>v</sub>/. These K-forms include relative forms, interrogative forms, complement forms, as well as ad hoc nominalizations, and lexicalized nominalizations. The interrogative forms of an inflected verbal stem are distinguished from the corresponding relative, complement, and nominalized forms of the stem by the fact that the interrogative forms are pronounced with a rising interrogative intonation, while the relative, complement, and nominalized forms have a falling intonation. Aside from the matter of intonation, any individual k-form serves interrogative, relative, complement, and nominalization functions.

### 3.2.1 Intransitive Paradigms.

One class of intransitive stems in Kutenai are adjectival stems, a sub-class of verbal stems. Most Kutenai adjectival stems involve one of the Stative Suffixes /-i?/ and /-qa/. The Stative Suffix /-i?/ attaches to an adjectival root to make a complete verbal stem, but the Stative Suffix /-qa/ must also be followed by the Inchoative Suffix /-?/~ /-p/, in order for the resulting verbal stem to be intransitive.<sup>5</sup> The first paradigm below is of the stem /sahan/ 'to be bad', which is one of a very small number of monomorphemic adjectival stems in Kutenai. Another example is the stem /su?k/ 'to be good'.

In this paradigm, pronominal morphemes and the N-Connector Suffix are in boldface type. The N-Connector Suffix precedes all of the pronominal suffixes which begin with a vowel, with the exception of the Subsidiary Third Person (Subject) Suffix /-s/~-is/, but the vowel of the allomorph /-is/ is underlyingly a phonemic buffer vowel, and the fact that N-Connector Suffix does not occur with it can be explained on this basis.

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<sup>5</sup> See the KSL, item 133, section 5.2, for contrasting examples.

**Indicative Forms of an Adjectival Verbal Stem.**

Hu sahani.	I was bad.
Hin sahani.	You (sg) were bad.
Sahanni	He/she/it (proximate) was bad, They (proximate) were bad.
Sahansi	He/she/it (obviative) was bad, They (obviative) were bad.
Sahannamni	Somebody (proximate) was bad, People (prox) were bad.
Sahannamisni	Somebody (obviative) was bad, People (obv) were bad.
Hu sahanna+a?ni.	We were bad.
Hin sahanki+ni.	You (pl) were bad.

**Interrogative Forms of an Adjectival Verbal Stem.**

Ku sahan ?	Was I bad?
Kin sahan ?	Were you (sg) bad?
Ksahan ?	Was he/she/it (proximate) bad?, Were they (proximate) bad?
Ksahans ?	Was he/she/it (obviative) bad?, Were they (obviative) bad?
Ksahannam ?	Was somebody (proximate) bad?, Were people bad?
Kahannamis ?	Is somebody (obviative) bad?, Were people bad?
Ku sahanna+a ?	Were we bad?
Kin sahanki+ ?	Were you (pl) bad?

The forms in the paradigms here are given with simple past perfective glosses. These glosses do not fully cover the meanings of the forms, in regard to tense and aspect. Kutenai verbal forms which are unaccompanied by tense marking adverbial material or by aspectual marking adverbial material, are perfective and generally past tense in meaning, but present tense interpretations are not excluded. For verbal stems representing actions



which are unaccompanied by adverbial material, it is very nearly accurate to give only a past perfective translation for indicative forms. There is a slightly different situation with adjectival verbal stems (describing states or conditions) and with verbal stems describing activities. For these types of stems, when unaccompanied by adverbial material, indicative forms call for present tense translations along with past perfective translations.<sup>6</sup> There is a problem with simple present tense translations, however, because they can give the impression that an imperfective meaning is intended. For this reason, plain present tense translations are generally reserved here for verbal stems accompanied by the Imperfective Particle /ʔat<sub>u</sub>/.<sup>7</sup> Present progressive translations are generally reserved here for verbal stems accompanied by the derived adverb /siʔ<sub>u</sub>/ 'be in the act of doing', 'presently being'.<sup>8</sup> This leaves simple past perfective translations as the only really appropriate ones to use with the indicative forms of adjectival verbal stems and activity verbal stems, when these forms are presented in isolation, such as in paradigms.

#### A Monosyllabic Intransitive Activity Verbal Stem.

Adjectival verbal stems are necessarily intransitive, but there are also intransitive verbal stems describing actions. The example chosen here is the stem /ɕxə/ 'to speak, to talk', which describes an activity. This stem is also monosyllabic which has a profound effect on some of the non-indicative forms of the inflected stem, something which is true for any monosyllabic verbal stem in Kutenai. With monosyllabic verbal stems, there are instances of the Buffer Particle /hiʔ<sub>u</sub>/ in certain non-indicative forms. By their presence in the

<sup>6</sup> The indicative forms of Kutenai adjectival verbal stems and activity verbal stems are translated by native speakers with a range of past tense and present tense interpretations, such as /sahan<sub>u</sub>ni/ 'It is bad', 'It was bad', or /ɕxə<sub>u</sub>ni/ 'He spoke', 'He is speaking'. This is in addition to the further ranges of meanings in regard to the number and gender of third person subjects.

<sup>7</sup> An example is /ʔat<sub>u</sub> sahan<sub>u</sub>ni/ 'It is bad (generally or always).

<sup>8</sup> An example is /siʔ<sub>u</sub> sahan<sub>u</sub>ni/ (surface phonemic transcription) 'He is being bad'.

forms, the instances of the Buffer Particle /hiʔ<sub>u</sub>/ prevent any inflected form of these stems from being a monosyllabic verbal phrase. This Buffer Particle is assumed to be a relic of an auxiliary form of the verbal root 'to be', which apparently once accompanied all of the forms in the interrogative-subordinate paradigm. There are actually indications that in an earlier state of the language, the indicative paradigms contained this same auxiliary in all forms in the paradigm.<sup>9</sup>

In surface phonemic representations, the Buffer Particle /hiʔ<sub>u</sub>/ has the following forms: /hiʔ<sub>u</sub>/~ /ʔiʔ<sub>u</sub>/~ /ʔ<sub>u</sub>ʔ/, and /ʔ/ (i.e. glottalization across a cliticization boundary), so that its presence in some of the paradigmatic forms below, can easily go unnoticed. The instances of it which actually occur here can be found by examining the analyzed forms from the interrogative paradigm of this monosyllabic stem, which are presented further below.

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<sup>9</sup> The Indicative Marker /ʔni/~/ʔi/ can be reconstructed as the Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/ followed by the Buffer Particle /hiʔ<sub>u</sub>/. This reconstruction assumes nothing more than the proposition that these two morphemes were encliticized, as a unit, onto the plain predicate forms of verbal stems. No ad hoc sound rules need to be posited to derive the synchronic indicative forms. The regular laryngeal deletion rules of the language would automatically delete the initial h and the final glottal stop of the Buffer Particle /hiʔ<sub>u</sub>/ in such an environment. The following compound synchronic derivation and reconstruction shows how this would work to derive an indicative form of the verbal stem /ʔin/ 'to be'.

Synchronic Derivation:      ṇini                      'He/she/it is, they are.'

   /n<sub>u</sub>ʔi-n    ʔi/                      (Mid-Level Phonemic)

   /n<sub>u</sub>ʔi-n    ʔni/                      (Underlying Phonemic)

   PM<sub>u</sub>be-NC    ʔIND

Reconstructed as:            \*/ n<sub>u</sub>ʔi-n    ʔn<sub>u</sub>hiʔ/

   PM<sub>u</sub>be-NC    ʔPM<sub>u</sub>be

**Indicative Forms of a Monosyllabic Intransitive Verbal Stem.**

hu ɕxani	I spoke.
hin ɕxani	You (sg.) spoke.
ɕxani	He/she/it (proximate) spoke, They (proximate) spoke.
ɕxasi	He/she/it (obv.) spoke, They (obviative) spoke.
ɕxanamni	Somebody (proximate) spoke, People (proximate) spoke. <sup>10</sup>
ɕxanamisni	Somebody (obviative) spoke, People (obviative) spoke.
hu ɕxanaɬaʔni	We spoke.
hin ɕxakiɬni	You (pl.) spoke.

**Interrogative Paradigm of a Monosyllabic Intransitive Verbal Stem.**

kuʔ ɕxa ?	Did I speak?
kiŋ ɕxa ?	Did you (sg.) speak?
kiʔɕxa ?	Did he/she/it (proximate) speak?, Did they (proximate) speak?
kiʔɕxas ?	Did he/she/it (obviative) speak? Did they (obviative) speak?
kɕxanam ?	Did somebody (proximate) speak?, Did people speak?
kɕxamis ?	Did somebody (obviative) speak?, Did people speak?
ku ɕxanaɬa ?	Did we speak?
kin ɕxakiɬ ?	Did you (pl.) speak?

<sup>10</sup> In elicitation work, FW gave a revealing gloss for the indefinite human subject indicative form which occurs in the paradigm here. The form is /ɕxanamni/, and the gloss given by FW on one occasion was "Somebody is talking, don't know exactly who." This sense of the agent being unknown to the speaker, or at least possibly unknown, applies as well to the passive forms of transitive verbal stems, involving the Passive Suffix /-ɬ/, where the agent is possibly unknown to the speaker. In terms of the speaker's knowledge of events, intransitive forms with the Indefinite Human (Suffix) Suffix /-am/ are the intransitive counterparts of the initially transitive forms which take the Passive Suffix. See section 3.2.6 with its passive paradigm of the transitive verbal stem /ʔiktuquʔ/ 'to wash (something)'.

**Analyzed Forms (from the interrogative paradigm above).**

ku? ɕxa ?

/k<sub>h</sub>u<sub>h</sub>i<sub>h</sub>? ɕxa ?/SM<sub>1</sub>CP<sub>1</sub>Bpt<sub>1</sub> speak QUES**'Did I speak?'**ki<sup>n</sup> ɕxa ?/k<sub>h</sub>i<sub>n</sub>hi<sub>h</sub>? ɕxa ?/SM<sub>2</sub>CP<sub>1</sub>Bpt<sub>1</sub> speak QUES**'Did you (sg.) speak?'**

ki?ɕxa ?

/k<sub>h</sub>i<sub>h</sub>? ɕxa ?/SM<sub>1</sub>Bpt<sub>1</sub> speak QUES**'Did he/she/(it) (prox) speak?,'****Did they (prox) speak?'**

ki?ɕxas ?

/k<sub>h</sub>i<sub>h</sub>? ɕxa-s ?/SM<sub>1</sub>Bpt<sub>1</sub> speak-S3 QUES**'Did he/she/(it) (obv) speak?,'****Did they (obv) speak?'**

kɕxanam ?

/k<sub>h</sub>ɕxa-n-am ?/SM<sub>1</sub> speak-NC-INH QUES**'Did somebody (proximate) speak?,'****Did people (proximate) speak?'**

kɕxanamis ?

/k<sub>h</sub>ɕxa-n-am-i-s ?/SM<sub>1</sub> speak-NC-INH-Bf-S3 QUES**'Did somebody (obviative) speak?,'****Did people (obviative) speak?'**

ku ɕxana+a ?

/k<sub>h</sub>u<sub>h</sub> ɕxa-n-a+a ?/SM<sub>1</sub>CP<sub>1</sub> speak-NC-1PL QUES**'Did we speak?'**

kin ɕxaki+ ?

/k<sub>h</sub>i<sub>n</sub> ɕxa-ki+ ?/SM<sub>1</sub>CP<sub>1</sub> speak-2pl QUES**'Did you (pl.) speak?'**

### 3.2.2 Transitive Paradigms.

#### Inflectional Forms of a Transitive Verbal Stem.

The paradigms here are of the transitive verbal stem /ʔiktuquʔ/ 'to wash (something)'. There is also a related reflexive stem /ʔiktuquʔmik/ 'to wash oneself'.<sup>11</sup> The paradigms below include all the Kutenai pronominal morphemes, except for the First Person Possessor Prolitic Pronoun /ka<sub>o</sub>/~ /kan<sub>o</sub>/ which is unique to possessive paradigms, and the Indefinite Human Object Suffix /-kaʔ/, which can also be seen as a lexical suffix meaning 'person, or people', which would make it a derivational suffix, rather than an inflectional suffix to be figured into the paradigms here.<sup>12</sup>

#### Indicative Forms with Unmarked Third Person Object.

In this paradigm and the matching subordinate paradigm immediately below it, the focus is on subject marking, with these paradigms having the same pronominal subject markers as in the paradigms of intransitive verbal stems above in section 3.2.1. One notable exception is the absence of the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/, which functions as a subject marker on intransitive verbal stems. For transitive stems the equivalent is the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/.<sup>13</sup>

The forms in the paradigms here all have unmarked (i.e. zero) third person objects.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See section 3.2.7 where there is a paradigm of this reflexive stem.

<sup>12</sup> See section 3.1 where it is listed as a pronominal suffix and section 3.1.10 where it is also treated as a pronominal suffix.

<sup>13</sup> See section 3.2.6 for a paradigm of passive forms of this same stem.

<sup>14</sup> In order for there to be no object suffix of any kind, the third person object must be lower ranking than the subject which is acting on it. This ranking is on a hierarchy in which third persons rank lower than first or second persons, and primary third persons (i.e. proximates), by definition, outrank subsidiary third persons (i.e. obviatives).

hun ?iktuqu?ni	1sg → P3	I washed him/her/it/them.
hin n'iktuqu?ni	2sg → P3	You (sg) washed him/her/it/them.
n'iktuqu?ni	P3 → S3	He/she/it/they (proximate) washed him/her/it/them (obviative).
n'iktuqu?si	S3 → S3	He/she/it/they (obviative) washed him/her/it/them (obviative).
hun ?iktuquna+a?ni	1pl → P3	We washed him/her/it/them.
hin n'iktuquki+n'ni	2pl → P3	You (pl) washed him/her/it/them.

**Interrogative Paradigm with Unmarked Third Person Object.**

ku ?iktuqu ?	1sg → p3	Did I wash him/her/it/them?
kin ?iktuqu ?	2sg → p3	Did you (sg) wash him/her/it/them?
k'iktuqu ?	p3 → s3	Did he/she/it/they wash him/her/it/them?
k'iktuqu?s ?	s3 → s3	Did he/she/it/they wash him/her/it/them?
kun ?iktuquna+a ?	1pl → p3	Did we wash him/her/it/them?
kin ?iktuqu?ki+n' ?	2pl → P3	You (pl) wash him/her/it/them?

**Analyzed Forms** (from the indicative paradigm with unmarked object).

hun ?iktuqu?ni	1sg → P3	hin n'iktuqu?ni	2sg → P3
/hu <sub>u</sub> n <sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu? <sub>u</sub> ni/		/hin n <sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu? <sub>u</sub> ni/	
1CP <sub>u</sub> PM <sub>u</sub> Wash <sup>15</sup> <sub>u</sub> IND		2CP <sub>u</sub> PM <sub>u</sub> Wash <sub>u</sub> IND	
'I washed him/her/it/them.'		'You (sg) washed him/her/it/them.'	

<sup>15</sup> The gloss 'Wash', with an initial capital letter, is called for with this stem because it is analyzable. See section 7.1.5 where this convention is discussed. The stem's analysis is /?ikt-u-qu-?/ (vertical.motion + Buffer Vowel + in water + Glottal Stop Valence Increasing (i.e. Transitive) Suffix).

ńiktuqu?ni P3 → S3

/n<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu?<sub>ni</sub>/

/n<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu?<sub>ni</sub>/

PM<sub>u</sub>Wash<sub>u</sub>IND

'He/she/it/they (proximate) washed  
him/her/it/them (obviative).'

ńiktuqu?si S3 → S3

/n<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu?-s<sub>i</sub>/

/n<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu?-s<sub>ni</sub>/

PM<sub>u</sub>Wash-S3<sub>u</sub>IND

'He/she/it/they (obviative) washed  
him/her/it/them (obviative).'

hun ?iktuquna+a?ni 1pl → P3

/hu<sub>u</sub>n<sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu?-n-a+a?<sub>ni</sub>/

/hu<sub>u</sub>n<sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu?-n-a+at<sub>ni</sub> /

1CP<sub>u</sub>PM<sub>u</sub> Wash-NC-1PL<sub>u</sub>IND

'We washed him/her/it/them.'

hin ńiktuquki+ni 2pl → P3

/hin<sub>u</sub> n<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu?-ki+<sub>ni</sub>/

/hin<sub>u</sub> n<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu?-ki+<sub>ni</sub>/

2CP<sub>u</sub> PM<sub>u</sub>Wash-2PL<sub>u</sub>IND

'You (pl) washed him/her/it/them.'

**Analyzed Forms (from the interrogative paradigm with unmarked object).**

ku ?iktuqu ? 1sg → P3

/k<sub>u</sub>hu<sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu? ?/

SM<sub>u</sub>1CP<sub>u</sub> Wash QUES

'Did I wash him/her/it/them?'

kin ?iktuqu ? 2sg → P3

/k<sub>u</sub>hin<sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu? ?/

SM<sub>u</sub>2CP<sub>u</sub> Wash QUES

'Did you (sg) wash him/her/it/them?'

ńiktuqu ? P3 → S3

/k<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu? ?/

SM<sub>u</sub>Wash QUES

'Did he/she/it/they wash him/her/it/them?'

ńiktuqu?s ? S3 → S3

/k<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu?-s ?/

SM<sub>u</sub>Wash-S3

'Did he/she/it/they wash him/her/it/them?'

kun ?iktuquna+a ?	1pl → p3	kin ?iktuqu?ki+ ?	2pl → p3
/k <sub>u</sub> hu <sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu?-n-a+a?/	←(Mid)→	/k <sub>u</sub> hin <sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu?-ki+ /	
/k <sub>u</sub> hu <sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu?-n-a+at/	←(Und.)→	/k <sub>u</sub> hin <sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu?-ki+ /	
SM <sub>u</sub> 1CP <sub>u</sub> Wash-NC-1PL		SM <sub>u</sub> 2CP <sub>u</sub> Wash-2PL	
Did we wash him/her/it/them?		'You (pl) wash him/her/it/them?'	

### Paradigms of Pronominal Object Marking.

The first paradigm, immediately below, has the N-Connector Suffix and the first person object suffixes in boldface type, while the second paradigm, below it, has the N-Connector Suffix and the second person object suffixes in boldface.

#### Indicative Paradigm of First Person Object Forms.

hin <b>h</b> iktuqun <b>a</b> pni	2sg → 1sg	You (sg) washed me.
<b>h</b> iktuqun <b>a</b> pni	P3 → 1sg	He/she/it/they washed me.
hin <b>h</b> iktuqun <b>a</b> pk <b>i</b> +ni	2pl → 1sg	You (pl) washed me.
hin <b>h</b> iktuqun <b>a</b> wasni	2sg → 1pl	You (sg) washed us.
<b>h</b> iktuqun <b>a</b> wasni	P3 → 1pl	He/she/it/they washed us.
hin <b>h</b> iktuqun <b>a</b> wasni	2pl → 1pl	You (pl) washed us.

#### Indicative Paradigm of Second Person Object Forms:

hun ?iktuqun <b>i</b> sni	1sg → 2sg	I washed you (sg).
<b>h</b> iktuqun <b>i</b> sni	P3 → 2sg	He/she/it/they washed you (sg).
hun ?iktuqun <b>a</b> wasni	1pl → 2sg	We washed you (sg).
hun ?iktuqun <b>i</b> ski+ni	1sg → 2pl	I washed you (pl).
<b>h</b> iktuqun <b>i</b> ski+ni	P3 → 2pl	He/she/it/they washed you (pl).
hun ?iktuqun <b>a</b> wasni	1pl → 2pl	We washed you (pl).



**Indicative Paradigm of Third Person Object Forms.**

The first two forms below can be found in the paradigms above, where the focus is on the marking of pronominal subjects. The Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap/ is a feature of two of the forms here. This paradigm shows third person object marking, employing zero affixes, and the Higher Ranking Object Suffix, which is not strictly a third person pronominal affix by itself. Third Person morphemes here are in boldface type, either as subject markers, or as modifiers of the Higher Ranking Object Suffix. One thing which the Higher Ranking Object Suffix has in common with the pronominal object suffixes is that it is attached to stems by the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/, at least underlyingly and in surface transcriptions when permitted by the morphologically conditioned rule of N-Deletion.

n̄iktuqu?ni	<b>P3</b> → S3	He/she/it/they (proximate) washed him/her/it/them (obviative).
n̄iktuqu?si	S3 → S3	He/she/it/they (obviative) washed him/her/it/them (obviative).
n̄iktuqunapsi	S3 → HRO-P3	He/she/it/they (obviative) washed him/her/it/them (proximate).
n̄iktuqunapsisni	S3 → HRO-S3	He/she/it/they (obviative) washed him/her/it/them (higher ranking obv). <sup>16</sup>

**Analysis of Forms** (from the indicative paradigm of third person object forms).

The analyzed forms (a) and (b), immediately below, are also shown in analyzed format above, where the focus is on pronominal subject marking, but here, where the focus is on

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<sup>16</sup> The inflected forms of the stem /wu:kət/ 'to see', presented further below in this section, include a form with the ending /-ap-s-is/ attested in sentence examples from Dryer (1990), which effectively demonstrate that the ending represents a situation where a subsidiary third person acts on another subsidiary third person.

pronominal object marking, these forms are given an analysis where zero morphemes are posited in the analyzed forms. The arrangement of the zero suffixes here follows a pattern whereby the Subsidiary Third Person (Subject) Suffix /-s/~i s/ follows the overt pronominal object suffixes it co-occurs with. This makes for an order of Verb-Object-Subject. There is evidence for VOS as the language's basic word order.<sup>17</sup>

<p>ńiktuqu?ni                    P3 → S3 /n.ʔiktuqu?-Ø-Ø.ɲi/ PM. Wash-S3(obj)-P3(subj).IND 'He/she/it/they (proximate) washed him/her/it/them (obviative).'</p>	<p>ńiktuqu?si                    S3 → S3 /n.ʔiktuqu?-Ø-s.ɲi/ PM. Wash-P3(obj)-S3(subj).IND 'He/she/it/they (obviative) washed him/her/it/them (obviative).'</p>
<p>(c) ńiktuqunapsi            S3 → HRO-P3 /n.ʔiktuqu?-n-ap-Ø-s.ɲi/ PM. Wash-NC-HRO-S3.IND 'He/she/it/they (obviative) washed him/her/it/them (proximate), or 'He/she/it/they (proximate) got washed by him/her/it/them (obviative).'</p>	<p>(d) ńiktuqunapsisni        S3 → HRO-S3 /n.ʔiktuqu?-n-ap-s-is.ɲi/ PM. Wash-NC-HRO-S3-S3.IND He/she/it/they (obviative) washed him/her/it/them (higher ranking obv), or He/she/it/they (higher ranking obv) got washed by him/her/it/them (obviative).'</p>

The analyzed forms (c) and (d) above both involve the Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap/. The Higher Ranking Object Suffix produces forms, which although syntactically not passive forms, translate into English as often as passive sentences as they translate into English as active sentences. Boas (1927) refers to forms with /-ap-s/ (Higher Ranking Object Suffix + the Subsidiary Third Person Subject Suffix) as the 'definite passive'. He

<sup>17</sup> See section 4.1

distinguishes this 'definite passive' from what he calls the 'indefinite passive', which involves the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/. The Boasian definite passive exists only in the third person, however, which makes any analysis of it as a genuine passive construction highly suspect. The entire paradigm of the Boasian definite passive for the verbal stem /ʔiktuquʔ/ consists of only the two forms above, (c) and (d).<sup>18</sup>

The Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap/ is synchronically distinct from the First Person Singular Object Suffix /-ap/.<sup>19</sup> Both may have originated, however, as a single suffix marking inverse forms in an earlier state of the language. The synchronic analysis here assumes that the Higher Ranking Object Suffix when unmarked (i.e. when it is followed by a zero primary third person object suffix) indicates a primary third person object, but when it is modified by a following Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/, it refers to a subsidiary third person object. The Higher Ranking Object Suffix is not the only suffix in the language which is modified in this way. The Indefinite Human (Subject) Suffix /-am/ and the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/ both indicate a primary third person when they are unmarked, and indicate a subsidiary third person when they are modified by a following instance of the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/.

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<sup>18</sup> See section 3.2.6 for a passive paradigm of the stem /ʔiktuquʔ/ containing first person forms, second person forms, as well as third person forms.

<sup>19</sup> The Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap/ is synchronically distinct from the First Person Singular Object Suffix /-ap/, at least because of the morphological fact that the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix occurs as /-s/, without a phonemic buffer vowel when it follows the Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap/. It occurs as /-is/, with an underlying phonemic buffer vowel when it follows the First Person Singular Object Suffix /-ap/, and when it follows other object suffixes.

See section 4.3 where sentences are presented with pronominal object suffixes directly followed by the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/~/-is/, occurring in its allomorph /-is/, with an underlying phonemic buffer vowel. The following suffix sequences occur in those example sentences: /-n-ap-is/(-NC-1SG.OBJ-S3), /-n-is-is/(-NC-20&P-S3), and /-ʔ-awas-is/(-DI-1PL.OBJ-S3), with the deletion of the N-Connector suffix after the Ditransitive Suffix).

**A Transitive Verbal Stem ending in an N-Deleting Dental Consonant.**

The stem here is the transitive verbal stem /wukət/ 'to see'. The initial n of the Indicative Marker and the N-Connector suffix are affected by the dental consonant at the end of this stem. In effect the N-Connector Suffix does not appear in the paradigm of this stem, although it is present underlyingly.

**Indicative Forms with Unmarked Third Person Object.**

hu wukati	1sg → P3	I saw him/her/it/them.
hin wukati	2sg → P3	You (sg) saw him/her/it/them.
wukati	P3 → S3	He/she/it/they (proximate) saw him/her/it/them (obviative).
wukatsi	S3 → S3	He/she/it/they (obviative) saw him/her/it/them (obviative).
hu wukata+a?ni	1pl → P3	We saw him/her/it/them.
hin wukatki+ni	2pl → P3	You (pl) saw him/her/it/them.

**Interrogative Paradigm with Unmarked Third Person Object.**

ku wukat ?	1sg → P3	Did I see him/her/it/them?
kin wukat ?	2sg → P3	Did you (sg) see him/her/it/them?
kwukat ?	P3 → S3	Did he/she/it/they see him/her/it/them?
kwukats ?	S3 → S3	Did he/she/it/they see him/her/it/them?
ku wukata+a ?	1pl → P3	Did we see him/her/it/them?
kin wukatki+ ?	2pl → P3	You (pl) see him/her/it/them?

**Indicative Paradigm of First Person Object Forms.**

hin wu·katapni	2sg → 1sg	You (sg) saw me.
wu·katapni	P3 → 1sg	He/she/it/they saw me.
hin wu·katapkiɫni	2pl → 1sg	You (pl) saw me.
hin wu·katawasni	2sg → 1pl	You (sg) saw us.
wu·katawasni	P3 → 1pl	He/she/it/they saw us.
hin wu·katawasni	2pl → 1pl	You (pl) saw us.

**Indicative Paradigm of Second Person Object Forms:**

hu wu·katisni	1sg → 2sg	I saw you (sg).
wu·katisni	P3 → 2sg	He/she/it/they saw you (sg).
hu wu·katawasni	1pl → 2sg	We saw you (sg).
hu wu·katiskikiɫni	1sg → 2pl	I saw you (pl).
wu·katiskikiɫni	P3 → 2pl	He/she/it/they saw you (pl).
hu wu·katawasni	1pl → 2pl	We saw you (pl).

**Indicative Paradigm of Third Person Object Forms.**

wu·kati	P3 → S3	He/she/it/they (proximate) saw him/her/it/them (obviative).
wu·katsi	S3 → S3	He/she/it/they (obviative) saw him/her/it/them (obviative).
wu·katapsi	S3 → HRO-P3	He/she/it/they (obviative) saw him/her/it/them (proximate).
wu·katapsisni	S3 → HRO-S3	He/she/it/they (obviative) saw him/her/it/them (higher ranking obv).

### 3.2.3 Associated Person Marking.

The compound Associated Person Suffix /-m-iʔ/ (Associative Suffix + Ditransitive Suffix) is called for where there is a subsidiary third person object and the involvement of another third person, an associated person. One reason for the grammatical involvement of an associated person is that the associated person is the owner of the subsidiary third person object of a verbal form with a first person or second person subject. For example, 'I washed his cup', 'You hit his hand'. There are glosses for the verbal forms in this section which reflect this particular situation by specifically referring to the ownership of something by a third person. The unmarked subsidiary third person object of the verbal form need not actually be owned by the associated third person whose involvement is indicated by the compound suffix /-m-iʔ/.

Nominal phrases also take associated person marking, for example, when a primary third person subject acts on a first person owned or a second person owned subsidiary third person object. Boas (1927, p. 95) provides the following example sentences:

Tkaxamʔni kaa·kitʔaʔmiʔ. 'He (proximate) entered my tent (obviative).'

/t-ka-xamʔni kaʔa·k-i-tʔaʔ-m-iʔ/

in-come-BRL,IND 1POS,NSB-Bf-house-ASC-DI

Sawiʔkini tiʔnamunismiʔ. 'He (proximate) is holding your wife (obv).'

/s-ha-wiʔ-kinʔi tiʔnamuʔ-n-is-m-iʔ/

CON-have-hold-by.hand,IND old.woman-NC-20&P-ASC-DI

ʔkaʔkini ka siʔnaʔaʔis. 'He (proximate) will bring our blanket (obv).'

/ʔ-ka-ʔ-kinʔi kaʔ siʔ-n-aʔaʔ-is/

INCEP-come-carry-by.hand,IND 1POS,blanket-1PL-S3

**Verbal Forms (with unmarked subsidiary third person object and associated person).**

hun ?iktuqumiɬni 1sg → S3& 'I washed his/her/its/their (body part or possession.)'.

hin ɲiktuqumiɬni 2sg → S3& 'You (sg) washed his/her/its/their (body part or possession.)'.

hun ?iktuqunaɬa?isni 1pl → S3& 'We washed his/her/its/their (body part or possession.)'.

hin ɲiktuqumiɬkiɬni 2pl → S3& 'You (pl) washed his/her/its/their (body part or possession.)'.

**Analyzed Forms (with unmarked subsidiary third person object and associated person).**

hun ?iktuqumiɬni 1sg → S3

/hu<sub>u</sub>n<sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu?-m-iɬ<sub>u</sub>ni/

1CP<sub>u</sub>PM<sub>u</sub> Wash-ASC-DI<sub>u</sub>IND

'I washed his/her/its/their  
(body part or possession.)'.

hin ɲiktuqumiɬni 2sg → S3

/hin<sub>u</sub> n<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu?-m-iɬ<sub>u</sub>ni/

2CP<sub>u</sub> PM<sub>u</sub>Wash-ASC-DI<sub>u</sub>IND

'You (sg) washed his/her/its/their  
(body part or possession.)'.

hun ?iktuqunaɬa?isni 1pl → S3

/hu<sub>u</sub>n<sub>u</sub> ?iktuqu?-n-aɬa?-is<sub>u</sub>ni/

1CP<sub>u</sub>PM<sub>u</sub> Wash-NC-1PL-S3<sub>u</sub>IND

'We washed his/her/its/their (body  
part or possession.)'.

hin ɲiktuqumiɬkiɬni 2pl → S3

/hin<sub>u</sub> n<sub>u</sub>?iktuqu?-m-iɬ-kiɬ<sub>u</sub>ni/

2CP<sub>u</sub> PM<sub>u</sub>Wash-ASC-CO-2pl<sub>u</sub>IND

'You (pl) washed his/her/its/their (body  
part or possession.)'.

### 3.2.4 Imperative Forms.

Imperative forms in Kutenai are like the plain forms of verbal stems in that they lack even the Predicate Marker /n<sub>v</sub>/. This is something which is evident in the Tobacco Plains Kutenai of EG and others where the Predicate Marker has its maximal distribution. The Predicate Marker is conspicuous by its absence in this variety of the language in the imperative forms of verbal stems beginning with glottal stop.<sup>20</sup>

What distinguishes most of the imperative forms of verbal stems from the plain forms of the stems is the presence of enclitic pronouns in the imperative forms. The fact that the clitic pronouns are enclitic, rather than proclitic is what marks the verbal forms as imperative. In surface phonemic transcriptions, the enclitic pronouns are fused with the stems, as though they were suffixes.

#### Third person object imperative forms:

?iktuqu <sup>h</sup>	2sg → P3	(You sg) wash him/her/it/them (proximate)!
?iktuqu <sup>h</sup> mi <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> n	2sg → S3	(You sg) wash his/her/its/their (proximate) (body part or possession (obviative))!
?iktuqu <sup>h</sup> ?ki <sup>h</sup>	2pl → P3	(You pl) wash him/her/it/them (proximate)!
?iktuqu <sup>h</sup> mi <sup>h</sup> ?ki <sup>h</sup>	2pl → S3	(You pl) wash his/her/its/their (proximate) (body part or possession (obviative))!

<sup>20</sup> The Predicate Marker is also absent in imperative forms for Lower Kutenai speakers, but it would not be present phrase-initially before a verbal root beginning with a glottal stop for these speakers in any event. For speakers of Up-River Upper Kutenai, FW in particular, the Predicate Marker is likely not to be present phrase-initially in non-imperative forms (i.e. predicate forms) with verbal roots beginning with a glottal stop, although it may be present.



**First person object imperative forms.**

There are alternate possibilities for the two second person singular with first person object imperative forms here. This is a matter of variation from speaker to speaker. The second alternate form, in each case, is assumed to be the more conservative form. All of these forms have the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ appearing before each instance of an enclitic pronoun.

?iktuqu?nu	or: ?iktuqu?nun	2sg → 1sg (You sg) wash me!
?iktuqunawasnu	or: ?iktuqunawasnun	2sg → 1pl (You sg) wash us!
?iktuqunapki+		2pl → 1sg (You pl) wash me!
?iktuqunawas		2pl → 1pl (You pl) wash us!

**Analyzed Imperative Forms.**

?iktuquŋ	2sg → P3	?iktuqumi+in	2sg → S3
/?iktuqu?n/		/?iktuqu?-m-i+in/	
Wash <sub>2CP</sub>		Wash-ASC-DI <sub>2CP</sub>	
'(You sg) wash him/her/it/ them (proximate)!'		'(You sg) wash his/her/its/their (prox) (body part or possession (obviative))!'	
?iktuqu?ki+	2pl → P3	?iktuqumi+ki+	2pl → S3
/?iktuqu?-ki+ /		/?iktuqu?-m-i+-ki+ /	
Wash-2PL		Wash-ASC-DI-2PL	
'(You pl) wash him/her/it/ them (proximate)!'		'(You pl) wash his/her/its/their (body part or possession (obviative))!'	

?iktuqu?nu 2sg → 1sg

/?iktuqu?-nu/

Wash-NC-1CP

'(You sg) wash me!'

or: ?iktuqu?nun 2sg → 1sg

/?iktuqu?-nun/

Wash-NC-1CP-2CP

'(You sg) wash me!'

?iktuqunawasnu 2sg → 1pl

/?iktuqu?-n-awas-nu/

Wash-NC-1PL.OBJ-NC-1CP

'(You sg) wash us!'

or: ?iktuqunawasnun 2sg → 1pl

/?iktuqu?-n-awas-nun/

Wash-NC-1PL.OBJ-NC-2CP

'(You sg) wash us!'

?iktuqunapkiʔ 2pl → 1sg

/?iktuqu?-n-ap-kiʔ/

Wash-NC-1SG.OBJ-2PL

'(You pl) wash me!'

?iktuqunawas 2pl → 1pl

/?iktuqu?-n-awas/

Wash-NC-1PL.OBJ

'(You pl) wash us!'

### 3.2.5 Reciprocal Forms.

The Reciprocal Suffix /-nam/ is assumed here to be a single derivational morpheme, although it appears to have originated as the inflectional Indefinite Human (Subject) Suffix /-am/, preceded by the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/. The Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/ marks the subjects of intransitive verbal forms, but it does not occur as an inflectional and pronominal suffix on transitive verbal stems.

hun ?iktuqunamna $\dagger$ a?ni	1pl $\leftrightarrow$ 1pl	We washed each other.
hin $\acute{n}$ iktuqunamki $\dagger$ ni	2pl $\leftrightarrow$ 2pl	You (pl) washed each other.
$\acute{n}$ iktuqunamni	P3 $\leftrightarrow$ P3	They washed each other.
$\acute{n}$ iktuqunamsi	S3 $\leftrightarrow$ S3	They washed each other.
$\acute{n}$ iktuqunamnamni	P3.InH $\leftrightarrow$ P3.InH	People washed one another.
$\acute{n}$ iktuqunamnamisni	S3.INH $\leftrightarrow$ S3.INH	People washed one another.

#### The Reciprocal Imperative Form.

?iktuqunamki $\dagger$       2pl  $\leftrightarrow$  2pl      Wash each other! = Wash yourselves!

### 3.2.6 Passive Forms.

#### Paradigm of Passive Forms of a Transitive Verbal Stem.

Transitive verbal stems in Kutenai have passive forms which add up to a paradigm. Boas (1927) described this paradigm as the 'indefinite passive' to distinguish it from the 'definite passive'.<sup>21</sup> The Passive Suffix /-ʔ/ refers to an indefinite human agent of a transitive verbal stem, although this agent is not a direct argument of the inflected verbal stem which it is suffixed to. The indefinite human agent is possibly unknown to the speaker. This makes for a close parallel in semantic terms with the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/ which on intransitive verbal stems marks an indefinite human subject. In syntactic terms, the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/ acts to lower the valence of a transitive verbal stem, while referring to an indefinite human agent, not specified in the clause.<sup>22</sup>

#### Paradigm of Passive Forms of a Transitive Verbal Stem.

hun ʔiktuquʔʔni	→ 1sg	I got washed.
hin ʔiktuquʔʔni	→ 2sg	You (sg) got washed.
ʔiktuquʔʔni	→ P3	He/she/it/they (proximate) got washed.
ʔiktuquʔʔisni	→ S3	He/she/it/they (obviative) got washed.
hun ʔiktuqunaʔatiʔni	→ 1pl	We got washed.
hin ʔiktuquʔkiʔni	→ 2pl	You (pl) got washed.

One feature of the passive paradigm is that it allows us to see that the First Person Plural Suffix is underlyingly /-aʔat/, rather than being /-aʔaʔ/, its most common allomorph, which is seen in every other paradigmatic context. The first person plural

<sup>21</sup> See the sub-section entitled "Indicative Paradigm of Third Person Object Forms" in section 3.2.2 above.

<sup>22</sup> See section 4.3 where there are examples which demonstrate the absence from the clause in morphosyntactic terms of the indefinite human agent.

passive form is the only place in the language where the allomorph /-aɬat/ occurs, and the First Person Plural Suffix /-aɬaʔ/~/-aɬat/ is the only morpheme in the language which shows a synchronic alternation between a dental stop /t/ and glottal stop /ʔ/. On the other hand, in diachronic terms, a strong case can be made for deriving the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/, from the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/, each suffix with its own distinct and entirely parallel transitive and alienable possession functions.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.2.7 Reflexive Forms.

The plain uninflected form of the reflexive verbal stem /ʔiktuquʔmik/ 'to wash oneself', with its somewhat artificially subjectless infinitival gloss, is identical to the primary third person subject indicative form of the stem, except that the indicative forms of this glottal stop-initial stem have the Predicate Marker /n̩/, at least in the Tobacco Plains Kutenai of EG and others. Some inflected reflexive forms involve the Indicative Marker /ɲi/~ɲi/, while others do not, but even those forms without the Indicative Marker are indicative forms, nonetheless.

Reflexive stems are obviously intransitive, because of the presence of the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/, which marks an indefinite human subject, but only with intransitive stems. The transitive equivalent of this suffix is the Passive Suffix /-ɬ/, which in purely semantic terms marks an indefinite human agent.

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<sup>23</sup> See section 2.6.2, and section 3.1.5.

**Indicative Forms of a Reflexive Verbal Stem.**

hun ?iktuqu?mik	1sg →←	I washed myself.
hin ńiktuqu?mik	2sg →←	You (sg) washed yourself.
ńiktuqu?mik	P3 →←	He washed himself, She washed herself, It washed itself, They washed themselves.
ńiktuquniyamni	P3.INH →←	People washed themselves.
ńiktuqunaksi	S3 →←	He washed himself, She washed herself, It washed itself, They washed themselves.
ńiktuquniyamisni	S3.INH →←	People washed themselves.
hun ?iktuquniya+a?ni	1pl →←	We washed ourselves.
hin ńiktuquniyki+ni	2pl →←	You (pl) washed yourselves.

**Interrogative Forms of a Reflexive Verbal Stem.**

kun ?iktuqu?mik ?	1sg →←	Did I wash myself?
kin ńiktuqu?mik ?	2sg →←	Did you (sg) wash yourself?
ńiktuqu?mik ?	P3 →←	Did he wash himself?, Did she wash herself?, Did it wash itself?, Did they wash themselves?
ńiktuquniyam ?	P3.INH →←	Did people wash themselves?
ńiktuqunaks ?	S3 →←	Did he wash himself?, Did she wash herself?, Did it wash itself?, Did they wash themselves?
ńiktuquniyamis ?	S3.INH →←	Did people wash themselves?
kun ?iktuquniya+a ?	1pl →←	Did we wash ourselves?
kin ńiktuquniyki+ ?	2pl →←	Did you (pl) wash yourselves?

**Reflexive Imperative Forms:**

Some speakers, including AM (of Montana) have given the singular reflexive imperative form /ʔiktuquʔnan/ 'Wash yourself!' listed here in (b). Most other Kutenai speakers, apparently including most others from Montana claim never to have heard this form. The form in (b) is more in line with other imperative forms, but there is some difficulty in finding an underlying analysis for it.

Singular.

- (a) ʔiktuquʔnam      2sg →←      Wash yourself!  
 (b) ʔiktuquʔnan      2sg →←      Wash yourself!

Plural.

- ʔiktuqunamkiɬ      2pl → ←      Wash yourselves! = Wash each other!

**Analysis of Reflexive Imperative Forms.**

It is clear that the plural reflexive imperative form is a product of the reciprocal paradigm and that the more singular reflexive imperative form in (a) is a back formation based on the plural reflexive imperative form. The form in (b) may be a further adjustment of the form in (a) to make it more like an imperative form.

- |                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) ʔiktuquʔnam      2sg →← | (b) ʔiktuquʔnan      2sg →← |
| /ʔiktuquʔ-nam/              | /ʔiktuquʔ-na <sub>n</sub> / |
| wash-RECIP                  | wash-Sfx <sub>2</sub> CP    |
| <b>Wash yourself!</b>       | <b>Wash yourself!</b>       |

ʔiktuqunamkiʔ            2pl → ←

/ʔiktuquʔ-nam-kiʔ/

wash-RECIP-2PL

**Wash yourselves! = Wash each other!**

### Analysis of Indicative Reflexive Forms.

hun ʔiktuquʔmik        1sg → ←

/hu\_n ʔiktuquʔ-m-ik/

1CP,PM wash-ASC-REFLX

**'I washed myself.'**

hin ʔiktuquʔmik        2sg → ←

/hin n\_ʔiktuquʔ-m-ik/

2CP, PM\_wash-ASC-REFLX

**'You (sg) washed yourself.'**

ʔiktuquʔmik            P3 → ←

/n\_ʔiktuquʔ-m-ik/ ←(Mid-Level)→

/n\_ʔiktuquʔ-m-ik/ ←(Underlying)→

PM\_wash-ASC-REFLX

**'He (Proximate) washed himself,**

**She (Proximate) washed herself,**

**It (Proximate) washed itself,**

**They (Proximate) washed themselves.'**

ʔiktuqunaksi        S3 → ←

/n\_ʔiktuquʔ-n-ak-s\_ʔi/

/n\_ʔiktuquʔ-m-ik-s\_ʔni |

PM\_wash-ASC-REFLX-S3,IND

**'He (Obviative) washed himself,**

**She (obviative) washed herself,**

**It (Obv.) washed itself,**

**They (Obv.) washed themselves.'**

ʔiktuquniamni        P3.INH → ←

/n\_ʔiktuquʔ-n-iy-am\_ʔni/ ←(Mid)→

/n\_ʔiktuquʔ-m-ik-n-am\_ʔni/

PM\_wash-ASC-REFLX-NC-INH,IND

**'People (Proximate) washed themselves.'**

ʔiktuquniamisni        S3.INH → ←

/n\_ʔiktuquʔ-n-iy-am-is\_ʔni/

/n\_ʔiktuquʔ-m-ik-n-am-i-s\_ʔni/

PM\_wash-ASC-REFLX-NC-INH-Bf-S3,IND

**'People (Obviative) washed themselves.'**



hun ?iktuquniyaʔaʔni      1pl →←  
 /huɲɲ    ?iktuqu?-n-iy-aʔaʔni/      ←(Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /huɲɲ    ?iktuqu?-m-ik-n-aʔaʔni/      ←(Underlying Phonemic)  
 1CPɲ PMɲ wash-ASC-REFLX-NC-1PLɲIND  
 'We washed ourselves.'

hin ʔiktuquniykiʔni      2pl →←  
 /hinɲ    nɲ?iktuqu?-n-iy-kiʔni/      ←(Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /hinɲ    nɲ?iktuqu?-m-ik-kiʔni/      ←(Underlying Phonemic)  
 2CPɲ PMɲ wash-ASC-REFLX-2PLɲIND  
 'You (pl) washed yourselves.'

### 3.2.8 Paradigms of Relocational Verbal Stems.

The relocational verbal stem chosen as the example here is /ɕʰinam/ 'to start off and go (somewhere)'. The plain form of this and other relocational verbal stems ends in the Relocational M Suffix /-m/, a feature of the non-indicative paradigms of relocational verbal stems. Only the first person singular, second person singular, and the primary third person non-indicative forms of the stem have this suffix.

#### Indicative Paradigm of a Relocational Verbal Stem.

hu ɕʰinaxi	1sg →	I went.
hin ɕʰinaxi	2sg →	You (sg) went.
ɕʰinaxi	P3 →	He/she/it/they (proximate) went.
ɕʰinaxi	S3 →	He/she/it/they (obviative) went.
hu ɕʰinaxaʔaʔni	1pl →	We went.
hin ɕʰinaxakiʔni	2pl →	You (pl) went.

**Interrogative Paradigm of a Relocational Verbal Stem.**

ku ɕinam ?	1sg →	Did I go?
kin ɕinam ?	2sg →	Did you (sg) go?
kɕinam ?	P3 →	Did he/she/it/they (proximate) go?
kɕinas ?	S3 →	Did he/she/it/they (obviative) go?
ku ɕinaxaɬa ?	1pl →	Did we go?
kin ɕinaxakiɬ ?	2pl →	Did you (pl) go?

**Analyzed Forms.**

hu ɕinaxi	1sg →	ku ɕinam ?	1sg →
/hu <sub>ɔ</sub> ɕi-na-x <sub>ɔ</sub> i/	←(Mid-Level)→	/k <sub>ɔ</sub> hu <sub>ɔ</sub> ɕi-na-m ?/	
/hu <sub>ɔ</sub> ɕi-na-x <sub>ɔ</sub> ni/	←(Underlying)→	/k <sub>ɔ</sub> hu <sub>ɔ</sub> ɕi-na-m ?/	
1CP <sub>ɔ</sub> INCEP-go-RLG <sub>ɔ</sub> IND		SM <sub>ɔ</sub> 1CP <sub>ɔ</sub> INCEP-go-RM QUES	
'I went.'		'Did I go?'	
hin ɕinaxi	2sg →	kin ɕinam ?	2sg →
/hin <sub>ɔ</sub> ɕi-na-x <sub>ɔ</sub> i/	←(Mid-Level)→	/k <sub>ɔ</sub> hin <sub>ɔ</sub> ɕi-na-m ?/	
/hin <sub>ɔ</sub> ɕi-na-x <sub>ɔ</sub> ni/	←(Underlying)→	/k <sub>ɔ</sub> hin <sub>ɔ</sub> ɕi-na-m ?/	
2CP <sub>ɔ</sub> INCEP-go-RLG <sub>ɔ</sub> IND		SM <sub>ɔ</sub> 2CP <sub>ɔ</sub> INCEP-go-RM QUES	
'You (sg) went.'		'Did you (sg) go?'	

ɕinaxi	P3 →		kɕinam ?	P3 →
/ɕi-na-x <sub>ɕ</sub> i/	←(Mid-Level)→		/k <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-m ?/	
/ɕi-na-x <sub>ɕ</sub> ni/	←(Underlying)→		/k <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-m ?/	
INCEP-go-RLG <sub>ɕ</sub> IND			SM <sub>ɕ</sub> INCEP-go-RM QUES	
'He/she/it/they (proximate) went.'			'Did he/she/it/they (proximate) go?'	

ɕinasi	S3 →		kɕinas ?	S3 →
/ɕi-na-s <sub>ɕ</sub> i/	←(Mid-Level)→		/k <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-s ?/	
/ɕi-na-s <sub>ɕ</sub> ni/	←(Underlying)→		/k <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-s ?/	
INCEP-go-S3 <sub>ɕ</sub> IND			SM <sub>ɕ</sub> INCEP-go-S3 QUES	
'He/she/it/they (obviative) went.'			'Did he/she/it/they (obviative) go?'	

hu ɕinaxaɬa?ni	1pl →		ku ɕinaxaɬa ?	1pl →
/hu <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-x-aɬa? <sub>ɕ</sub> ni/	←(Mid)→		/k <sub>ɕ</sub> hu <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-x-aɬa? ?/	
/hu <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-x-aɬat <sub>ɕ</sub> ni/	←(Und.)→		/k <sub>ɕ</sub> hu <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-x-aɬat ?/	
1CP <sub>ɕ</sub> INCEP-go-RLG-1PL <sub>ɕ</sub> IND			SM <sub>ɕ</sub> 1CP <sub>ɕ</sub> INCEP-go-RLG-1PL QUES	
'We went.'			'Did we go?'	

hin ɕinaxi	2pl →		kin ɕinam ?	2pl →
/hin <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-xa-kiɬ <sub>ɕ</sub> ni/	←(Mid)→		/k <sub>ɕ</sub> hin <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-xa-kiɬ ?/	
/hin <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-x-a-kiɬ <sub>ɕ</sub> ni/	←(Und.)→		/k <sub>ɕ</sub> hin <sub>ɕ</sub> ɕi-na-x-a-kiɬ ?/	
2CP <sub>ɕ</sub> INCEP-go-RLG-Bf-2PL <sub>ɕ</sub> IND			SM <sub>ɕ</sub> 2CP <sub>ɕ</sub> INCEP-go-RLG-Bf-2PL QUES	
'You (pl) went.'			'Did you (pl) go?'	



## 4 Kutenai Syntax.

There are four sections to the syntax chapter here. Section 4.1 is about word order and the syntactic categories of the language. This section addresses the question of word classes, especially the distinction between nominal and verbal stems, as two sub-classes of lexical words.

Section 4.2 deals with independent pronominal words and modifying words. These are generally the same words which have pronominal function and also serve ostensibly as modifiers of other words. Examples are presented with contrasting sentences which make it possible to distinguish one role of the word from the other. Section 4.2 is where the behavior of particles as constituents of phrases, clauses, and sentences is documented.

Section 4.3 deals with some of the syntactic ramifications of affixal pronominal reference in Kutenai. One aspect of this is the syntax of the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/ which in semantic terms refers to an indefinite human agent which is not a direct argument (i.e. a subject or object) of the inflected verbal stem marked by this suffix. Other syntactic ramifications of affixal pronominal reference in Kutenai involve what can be called the obviative system. This is an opposition between two categories of third person in Kutenai. These are primary third person (proximate), and subsidiary third person (obviative). There is some discussion in section 4.3 about the Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap-/. Describing this suffix a marker of higher ranking objects amounts to saying that Kutenai has traces of what may have been a full fledged distinction between direct and inverse verbal forms in an earlier state of the language.

Section 4.4 deals with subordination in Kutenai. For one thing, subordination in Kutenai involves the matter of whole clauses modifying particular words. For these examples of subordinate clauses the term relative clause applies. Subordinate clauses in Kutenai therefore function like the ostensibly modifying words discussed in section 4.2. Subordination in Kutenai also involves the matter of whole clauses serving as the subjects

or objects of sentences, which gives subordinate clauses in Kutenai the same basic syntactic function as the pronominal words discussed in 4.2. In derivational terms, interrogative clauses are another kind of subordinate clause in Kutenai. This makes a further parallel to the pronominal and ostensibly modifying words discussed in 4.2, some of which have both interrogative and non-interrogative functions.

#### 4.1 Word Order and Syntactic Categories.

The word classes of Kutenai include particles, pronouns, and a single overall class of lexical words. This single class of lexical words is divided into verbal stems and nominal stems. There are differences in the syntactic characteristics of nominal stems and verbal stems, but these differences can be traced to the nominal-verbal semantic distinction, rather than to arbitrary and purely syntactic differences between these two types of lexical stems. Among verbal stems, there is a sub-class of adjectival verbal stems in Kutenai, not different in their word order characteristics from other intransitive verbal stems. There is also a class of adverbs in Kutenai which are based on verbal roots. These are 'derived adverbs', sometimes simply called 'adverbs'. Kutenai derived adverbs are lexical only to the extent that they are based on lexical roots. In terms of their word order characteristics derived adverbs are a sub-type of adverbial particles. Adverbial particles and derived adverbs occur as constituents of verbal phrases and always precede verbal stems. Most particles and some pronouns are clitics and behave like derived adverbs in that they always precede lexical stems. Some pronouns are suffixes directly on verbal stems or nominal stems. There are also independent particles and independent pronouns which are like lexical stems themselves in that they stand on their own as phrases, rather than being constituents of phrases dominated by a lexical stem.

Nominal stems and nominal phrases in Kutenai generally translate into English as nouns and noun phrases. The term 'nominal' is specifically a term of semantic description, and is used here in order to avoid some of the implications of the term 'noun'.<sup>1</sup> Kutenai nominal stems often consist of a single nominal root or they may be based on a nominal root and include a variety of suffixes. Nominal phrases, in turn, consist of a nominal stem, with or without a preceding determiner, deictic word, quantitative word, or possessive clitic pronoun. Verbal stems consist of a single verbal root or, much more commonly, they may be based on a verbal root and include a variety of suffixes. Verbal phrases in Kutenai consist of an inflected verbal stem, with or without particles, clitic pronouns, or derived adverbs.

Kutenai nominal stems are morphologically distinguishable from verbal stems in part

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing in Kutenai grammar which conflicts with the idea that there is a universal semantic distinction between things and non-things, including events, states, and conditions. This universal semantic distinction is implicit in Kutenai grammar and it is possible in Kutenai to play on this distinction to cast events, states, and conditions in the role of being things which can be talked of as if they were objects. Even when Kutenai grammar overtly recognizes this semantic distinction, however, the means used to do so are ones which are characteristically verb-like, rather than noun-like. This is true for the two main strategies for nominalization in Kutenai. Nominalization in Kutenai can involve the marking of stems as imperfective, or it may involve the lexicalization of subordinate verbal forms which remain very much verbal forms in their morphosyntactic behavior.

because nominal stems take possessive affixation, including a possessive clitic, while verbal stems do not. This is a fine distinction morphologically, because possessive affixation is only slightly different from the pronominal affixation which marks the subjects of intransitive verbal stems. Possessive affixation includes the First Person Possessive Clitic Pronoun /ka<sub>v</sub>/~/kaŋ<sub>v</sub>/ instead of the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>v</sub>/ which is exclusively a part of verbal paradigms, and possessive affixation includes the Second Person Object and Possessive Suffix /-is/ in place of the Second Person Clitic Pronoun /hin<sub>v</sub>/ which is exclusively a part of verbal paradigms.

It is assumed here that another way in which Kutenai nominal stems are morphologically distinguishable from verbal stems is that nominal stems are subordinate (in a broad sense of the word) to verbal stems without the nominal stems being marked as subordinate. This is in contrast to verbal stems which have to be marked as subordinate in order to be subordinate.<sup>2</sup> This is to say that Kutenai nominal stems and nominal phrases are all subordinate clauses of a particular kind.

For the most part, Kutenai word order is a matter of discourse pragmatics at the sentence level (i.e. the arrangement of clauses within sentences), and it is also largely a matter of discourse pragmatics at the clause level (i.e. the arrangement of phrases within clauses). In contrast, Kutenai word order at the phrase level (i.e. the arrangement of words within phrases) is relatively fixed. At the phrase level, word order in Kutenai is almost entirely a

<sup>2</sup> One qualification on the statement that subordinate verbal forms in Kutenai are marked as subordinate is that one type of subordinate verbal form, plain predicate forms, are always marked as subordinate underlyingly, but not always in surface phonemic terms. They are marked by the Predicate Marker /n<sub>v</sub>/ which, however, only appears overtly before verbal roots which begin with a laryngeal consonant, and even then only subject to further restrictions in certain varieties of the language. Plain predicate clauses include introductory temporal setting clauses, such as the first clause in the following text example:  
 /taxas nukieinmiyit, ʔat niʔqawxaʔ ʔikiʔni/ ←(Surface Phonemic)  
 /taxa-s n<sub>v</sub>hu-kiɛ-i-nmiyit, ʔat<sub>v</sub> n<sub>v</sub>ʔiʔqawxaʔ<sub>v</sub> ʔik-iʔ<sub>v</sub>ni/ ←(Mid)  
 then-S3 PM<sub>v</sub>finish-get.to-Bf-Day IMpt<sub>v</sub> PM<sub>v</sub>Gather-ADV<sub>v</sub> eat-PASV<sub>v</sub>IND  
 then when it was Sunday it would be eaten, gathered at a place

'When Sunday would come, they would get together and have a feast.' FW-FF.8-9

The verbal stem /hukiɛinmiyit/ 'to be Sunday' was described by FW as meaning 'to complete a certain number of days', i.e. 'to complete the week so that it would be Sunday'.



matter of the requirements syntactic structure, rather than any choices offered by discourse pragmatics. Moreover, even phrases in Kutenai which consist of several words generally sound like a single long word, at least judging the matter from the standpoint of English. Words within Kutenai phrases are strung together with cliticization boundaries, making Kutenai phrasal syntax very much like word morphology.

Superficially at least, there are two kinds of lexical phrases in Kutenai, nominal phrases, and verbal phrases. It is assumed here that lexical words in Kutenai are all underlyingly predicates, with nominal phrases being subordinate clauses of a particular type. The idea is that in Kutenai, and presumably universally, semantic distinctions can be drawn among lexical morphemes, whereby some lexical morphemes are nominal, some are verbal, some are adjectival, and some are adverbial. These distinctions seem to hold true reliably, no matter what has to be said about Kutenai word classes, from a purely syntactic point of view.

Verbal stems in Kutenai can be made into indicative sentences with the addition of the Indicative Marker /<sub>v</sub>ni / ~ /<sub>v</sub>i /, or, instead, they can be made into subordinate clauses, with the addition of the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>v</sub>/. Such subordinate forms of stems are referred to here loosely as k-forms. K-forms can be made into interrogative sentences by pronouncing them with a rising interrogative intonation, in place of the falling indicative intonation of k-forms which function as subordinate clauses.

Example WO.1, below, is of a verbal stem consisting entirely of the verbal root /ʔik/ 'eat'. The proper gloss for the plain form of the Kutenai stem /ʔik/ is: 'for he/she/it/they to eat (it/them/him/her)', but for the purposes of listing the word as a lexical item, it is given a simpler gloss, in the style of an English infinitive, as in part (a) of example WO.1. The reality is that, in natural speech, Kutenai verbal stems always occurs with pronominal reference to a subject. In this particular example, that pronominal reference is to a primary third person subject, which is unmarked (i.e. marked by a zero primary third person subject affix). For this particular stem there is optionally also an unmarked reference to a subsidiary third person object, since this stem has both an intransitive and a transitive sense, not unlike the situation in English where 'eat' can be construed to be a transitive verb, with an obligatory object, or to be an activity verb, without an object.

## Example WO.1.

(a) ʔik	(b) ʔikni
/ʔik/	/ʔik <sub>ni</sub> /
eat	eat <sub>IND</sub>
'to eat'.	'He/she/it ate (it/him/her/them), they ate it/him/her/them'.

Kutenai stems based on adjectival roots are like Kutenai stems based on other kinds of verbal roots, in that they can be made into indicative sentences with the addition of the Indicative Marker /<sub>ni</sub>/~/<sub>i</sub>/, or, instead, they can be made into a k-form, with the addition of the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>ni</sub>/. Like other verbal stems, stems based on adjectival verbal roots can be made into interrogative sentences by pronouncing a k-form with interrogative intonation.

One telling fact about adjectival roots in Kutenai is that all but a very few of them need a stative suffix, either /-iʔ/, or /-qa/, to form a verbal stem. Both of these stative suffixes appear to be related to verbal roots meaning 'be'. The Stative Suffix /-iʔ/ is related to the Kutenai verbal root /ʔi-~/ʔiʔ/ 'be'.<sup>3</sup> The Stative Suffix /-qa/ is related to the verbal root /qa-/ 'be thus'.<sup>4</sup> For those adjectival verbal stems which are formed with the Stative Suffix /-qa/, the Inchoative Suffix /-p~/-/ʔ/ is required following the stative suffix. Without the following Inchoative Suffix, the result is a transitive verbal stem, describing an action, rather than an adjectival stem describing a property or condition of something.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See section 3.1.9.

<sup>4</sup> See section 3.1.9.

<sup>5</sup> See section 3.1.9 for an example.

## Example WO.2.

(a) waqi 'to be thick'.

/waq-iʔ/

thick-STV

(b) Waqi ʔni. 'It (he/she) is thick, they are thick'.

/waq-iʔni/

thick-STV.IND

## Example WO.3.

(c) wiʔqa 'to be big'.

/wiʔ-qa-ʔ/

big-STV-IN

(d) Wiʔqa ʔni. 'He/she/it is big, they are big'.

/wiʔ-qa-ʔni/

big-STV-IN.IND

Two adjectival roots in Kutenai which do not need a stative suffix to form an adjectival verbal stem are the roots /suʔk/ 'good', and /sahan/ 'bad'. These are shown, below, in example sets WO.4, and WO.5.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See section 3.2.1 for a paradigm of the stem /sahan/ 'bad'.

**Example Set WO.4.**(a) **Suʔk** 'to be good'.

/suʔk/

good

(b) **Suʔkni.** 'He/she/it is good, they are good'./suʔk<sub>ni</sub>/good<sub>IND</sub>**Example Set WO.5.**(a) **sahan** 'to be bad'.

/sahan/

bad

(b) **Sahanni.** 'He/she/it is bad, they are bad'./sahan<sub>ni</sub>/bad<sub>IND</sub>

Words in Kutenai which are based on a nominal root can be inflected as indicative forms, making them inflected intransitive verbal stems. Indicative forms of nominal stems are rare, but only because there is usually no reason for a speaker of the language to inflect a nominal stem as an indicative form. For one thing, the language has an existential verbal stem /ʔi-n/ 'to be', and even a reflexive stem /ʔiʔ-t-ik/ 'to make oneself into something' which has a valence of two, taking a direct object. The fact that nominal stems in Kutenai are generally not seen in indicative form is most of what makes nominal stems appear to be syntactically distinct as a group from verbal stems.

When a Kutenai nominal stem appears as an indicative form, it is only very rarely a clear process of deriving a verbal stem, as a new lexical item, from a nominal stem. It is generally on the side of being an inflectional rather than derivational process. For one thing, the semantic results are entirely predictable. The indicative form of the nominal stem will always be an existential proposition, with the same meaning as if one used the nominal stem with the existential stem /ʔi-n/ 'to be'. The existential proposition of the nominal stem used alone as an indicative form will always coincide with the lexical meaning of the nominal stem. This is even the case where the derivation of a new lexical item actually is

involved. Even a verbal stem derived as a different lexical item from a nominal stem will always have, at the core of its meaning, an existential proposition which coincides with the lexical meaning of the original nominal stem.<sup>7</sup>

The predictable, inflectional nature of the results when one takes a Kutenai nominal stem and makes it into an indicative form means that nominal stems in Kutenai all have their own covert existential propositions. A Kutenai nominal stem such as /pus/ 'cat' can be read as meaning not merely 'cat', but also as 'he/she/it is a cat, they are cats'.

One possible reason to inflect a nominal stem in Kutenai as an indicative form is to put the nominal stem together in a clause with a derived adverb to make a predicate. There is a text example of this reproduced below, in WO.6. This is line 20 from the Coyote and Mole Text by Ann Pierre. This is another example, volunteered by FW presented in WO.7.

Text Example WO.6.

AP-CM.20

Sa·ni↓ na?uti?si.

'She (Mole)was an ugly girl'.

/sahan-i?↓ na?uti?-s.i/

bad-ADVERBIALIZER gir1/virgin-S3.INDICATIVE

Example WO.7.

FW

Wi↓i↓ pusni.

'It is a large cat'.

/wi↓-i?↓ pus.ni/

big-ADVERBIALIZER cat.INDICATIVE

In these two examples, immediately above, the order of words in the verbal phrase is

<sup>7</sup> The verbal stem /ʔak↓umʔ/ 'to flirt' is the same as the nominal stem /ʔak↓umʔ/ 'bat (the animal)' from which it is said to be derived, for example by FW. These are two separate lexical items, but the meaning of the verbal stem is evidently derivative of the existential proposition 'to be a bat', rather than having some unpredictable relationship to the idea of bats. The extension of meaning is apparently that if one were a bat one would act like a bat and flutter around a person's head which is like flirting.

derived adverb + verbal stem. This is the only possible order in Kutenai for an adverb in construction with a verbal stem, although derived adverbs can be strung together in a verbal phrase and may be arranged in different orders among themselves, with slightly different meanings for alternative arrangements of the same adverbs.

#### 4.1.1 The Order of Nominal Phrases and Verbal Phrases.

The order of any nominal lexical phrases in a clause in Kutenai in relation to the verbal phrase of the clause is relatively free. In other words, phrases are arranged in particular orders for different discourse pragmatic effect. Phrases representing important or newsworthy new information in a discourse occur in initial position in a clause. This is true for nominal phrases and for the Temporal Pronoun /taxa/ 'now, then (proximate time reference)', or more commonly /taxa-s/ 'now, then (obviative time reference)'. The Temporal Pronoun constitutes a phrase on its own at the front of any clause it occurs with.<sup>8</sup> Phrases representing more established information appear later in a clause.

The order of phrases in a Kutenai clause evidently does little to mark the grammatical functions of individual phrases, apart from their discourse pragmatic function. Generally the first phrase of a clause in a narrative is the Temporal Pronoun /taxa/ inflected in its subsidiary third person form /taxa-s/. The next phrase is typically a verbal phrase with a third person subject outranking and not coreferent to the temporal reference of the initial temporal pronoun. This is why the temporal pronoun is inflected as having a subsidiary third person reference. In discourse pragmatic terms, the temporal pronoun provides important, although very routine new information, to the effect that the narrative is moving along. The verbal phrase is generally next in the clause, because it provides most of the information in the clause and contains its own pronominal arguments, albeit usually zero third person pronominal affixes for most verbal phrases in a narrative.

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<sup>8</sup> There are also temporal setting clauses and location setting clauses which occur in initial position in sentences.

Nominal phrases in a Kutenai clause typically follow the verbal phrase, although discourse pragmatic considerations may override this and a nominal phrase representing a newly introduced subject in a text may precede the verbal phrase. Discourse pragmatic principles do not evidently have free reign to put a nominal phrases representing a direct object or indirect object before the verbal phrase, although there are rare examples. It would appear that, for Kutenai, the most neutral order, in discourse pragmatic terms, is Verbal Phrase-Subject Nominal Phrase-Object Nominal Phrase, or VOS. This is a more common arrangement of lexical subject, verbal stem, and lexical object than any of the other arrangements of these three constituents. VOS may be the most common order, however, as much for discourse pragmatic reasons as for non-discourse pragmatic syntactic reasons. VOS may simply be the most called for order on discourse pragmatic grounds, rather than being a genuinely neutral order. In the rare cases where there is a lexical subject and a lexical object in the same clause, the object is likely to be less expected at that point in the narrative, if not absolutely new to the narrative, than the subject is.

One outstanding fact about the arrangement of lexical subject, verbal stem, and lexical object in Kutenai is that lexical subjects and lexical objects only rarely occur together in the same clause. The very occurrence of two lexical arguments in a clause may itself be highly marked in discourse pragmatic terms to begin with. The order VSO, is somewhat less common than the order VOS, and VSO is even less likely than VOS to qualify as a neutral order in discourse pragmatic terms. The order SVO is somewhat less common in narratives than VOS or VSO, although in elicited data where English sentences are the models for the Kutenai sentences, the order SVO is fairly common, following the influence of English word order.

Just how rare VOS, VSO, and SVO clauses are in Kutenai narratives can be seen by examining a text of some 520 clauses, the Chief and Ogress Text told by Rosalie McCoy. A Kutenai text has to be this long in order to contain examples of the three orders, VOS,

VSO, and SVO. Just looking at the text for clausal examples, rather looking at whole sentences, one can find four examples of the order VOS in the text, one example of the order VSO, and one example of the order SVO. These are the only straightforward examples of clauses in the text where there is both a lexical subject and a lexical object in the same clause. In an English text of the same length and similar content, one would expect many examples of clauses with both a subject noun and an object noun in the same clause, and most if not all of them would be of the order SVO. Notably, the English translation of the edited form of the Chief and Ogress Text, in its clause-by-clause format, does not count as a good example of such an English text, because it closely follows the Kutenai text and avoids the occurrence of two lexical arguments in the same clause. In this somewhat artificial English translation of the text, there are many examples where there is a pronominal subject and a pronominal object together in the same clause, but this is unavoidable because of the requirements of English grammar and the fact that every Kutenai verbal stem in a text has at least an unmarked pronominal subject.

In Kutenai, the most commonly occurring personal pronouns are affixal or clitic pronouns and they are constituents of verbal phrases, rather than nominal phrases which could be freely ordered either before or after a verbal phrase. There is one notable case of variable order of clitic pronouns within Kutenai verbal phrases. In second person singular subject imperative verbal forms, the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>u</sub>/ and the Second Person Clitic Pronoun /hin<sub>u</sub>/ occur encliticized onto verbal stems. When they occur together encliticized onto the same verbal stem, they are in the order VOS, i.e. Verbal Stem + Object Clitic + Subject Clitic.<sup>9</sup> Otherwise in the language, the clitic pronouns only occur singly as subject proclitic pronouns preceding verbal stems, strictly in the order SV, i.e. Subject Clitic + Verbal Stem. The order VOS can be seen again in Kutenai verbal forms where pronominal word suffixes are involved. It would appear that within words in

<sup>9</sup> See section 3.2.4 for examples.



Kutenai the order is VOS, i.e. Verbal Stem + Object Suffix + Subject Suffix. There is some room for doubt about this order, because some pronominal affixes are zero affixes and the Higher Ranking Object Suffix, which might count as a pronominal object suffix, is not clearly a pronominal suffix on a par with the other pronominal suffixes.

Examples WO.8 through WO.13, below, are from the Chief and Ogress Text and illustrate the VOS, VSO, and SVO clauses in the text.

### Verb-Object-Subject Examples.

Example WO.8 (line 54 from the Chief and Ogress Text by RMc). RMc-ChOg.54

ʔat ʔa·tiʔ mitxni tuqʔamnas niʔ niʔtahaʔnananiʔtik.ʔ  
/ʔat.ʔa·tiʔʔ.mit-x.ni tuqʔamna-s niʔ niʔtahaʔ-nana-niʔ-t-ik.ʔ/

IMpt. Adverb. shoot-G.IND birds.(etc.)-S3 the boy-DIM-DIST-T-REFL. and

AdvI Adverb Verb.....Prt Nominal Stem... Det Nominal Stem.....

Verbal Phrase..... Nominal Phrase... Nominal Phrase.....

Predicate..... Object..... Subject.....

'the boys would shoot small game, and'

Examples WO.9 (line 400 of the Chief and Ogress Text).

RMc-ChOg.400

qakiʔni ʔaʔiʔkiʔʔis niʔ niʔtahaʔnana.

/qa-ki-ʔ.ni ʔaʔiʔkiʔ-ʔis niʔ.niʔtahaʔ-nana/

thus-say-DI.IND Sister-3POS the. young.man-DIM

Verbal Stem.....Prt Nominal Stem..... Det. Nominal Stem.....

Verbal Phrase..... Nominal Phrase... Nominal Phrase.....

Predicate..... Object..... Subject.....

'the little boy said to his sister.'

Example WO.10 (which is line 262 of the Chief and Ogress Text). RMc-ChOg.262

Qa·ki↓ hički↓ni hukiʔs ti↓na.

/qa·ki↓, hički↓ni hukiʔs ti↓na/

Adverb Search,IND louse/lice-s3 old.woman

Adverb Verbal Stem Nominal Stem Nominal Stem

Verbal Phrase..... Nominal Phrase Nominal Phrase

Predicate..... Object..... Subject.....

'The old lady started looking for lice'.

Example WO.11 (which is line 430 of the Chief and Ogress Text). RMc-ChOg.430

Qaki↓ni xa↓činʔis ti↓na.

/qa·ki-↓ni xaʔ↓čin-ʔis ti↓na/

be.thus-say-DI,IND dog-(p)3POS old.woman

Verbal Stem.....Prt Nominal Stem Nominal Stem.....

Verbal Phrase..... Nominal Phrase Nominal Phrase

Predicate..... Object..... Subject.....

'the old woman said to her dog'.

Notably, example WO.11 above, a VOS clause, has the same basic meaning as the clause in example WO.12, just below, which is the one VSO clause found in the text. One difference between the two clauses is that the subject noun in the VSO clause below is preceded by the determiner /ni ʔ/. The standard translation of /ni ʔ/ is 'the', but the Kutenai determiner /ni ʔ/ is more specifically anaphoric than the English definite article. This makes the subject of the VSO clause, below, more marked in discourse pragmatic terms, in this particular way, than the subject of the VOS clause, above. This suggests that in Kutenai the order VSO is not only less common than the order VOS, but is also more

marked in discourse pragmatic terms than the order VOS is. The one example of an SVO clause found in the text, which is presented as example WO.13, further below, also has a subject nominal stem modified by the anaphoric Kutenai determiner /ni ʔ/. It is a fact, though, that two of the four VOS clauses in the text also have their subject nominal stems preceded by the determiner /ni ʔ/.

### Verb-Subject-Object Example.

Example WO.12 (line 366 from the Chief and Ogress Text by Rosalie McCoy).

Qakiʔni niʔ tiʔnamu xaʔɕinʔis.

/qa-ki-ʔni	ni ʔ.tiʔnamu <sup>10</sup>	xaʔɕin-ʔis/
be.thus-say-DI,IND	the, old.woman	dog-3POS
Verbal Stem.....Prt	Det, Nominal Stem	Nominal Stem
Verbal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase
Predicate.....	Subject.....	Object.....
'the old woman said to her dog'.		

### Subject-Verb-Object Example.

This example is a sentence consisting of one long clause. The whole example is presented first on one line, with a partial analysis under it. A more complete analysis of the clause is presented, further below in two parts.

<sup>10</sup> The word /tiʔnamu/ 'old woman' is a full version of the word /tiʔna/ 'old woman'. The use of the full form of the word in this clause suggests a greater amount of emphasis for the subject nominal phrase in this clause relative to the subject nominal phrase /tiʔna/ 'old woman' as it appears in the VOS clauses in WO.11, and WO.10, above.

Example WO.13 (line 385 of the Chief and Ogress Text).

RMc-ChOg.385

Part (a)

**Taxas ni? ti↓namu    ɛxaki↓ su·kini    ʔa·kit↓aʔisis    ↓kamukistakis.**

TemPro	Nominal Phrase..	Verbal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase..	Nominal Phrase....
	Subject.....	Verbal Stem.....	Object.....	Benefactive Object

'Then the old woman began fixing up the lodge for the two children.'

Part (b), the Sentence in a More Completely Analyzed Format.

/taxa-s	ni?ti↓namu	ɛxa-k-iʔ↓	suʔ-kin↓i
then-S3	the↓ old.woman	begin.and continue-do/be-ADV↓	good-by.hand↓IND
TemPro	Det Nominal Stem	Adverb.....	Verbal Stem.....
	Nominal Phrase.....	Verbal Phrase.....	
	Subject.....	Predicate.....	

/ʔa·kit↓aʔisis	↓kamuʔ-kis-t-ak-is/
house-3POS-S3	child-DUAL-TVI-REFLX-S3
Nominal Stem.....	Nominal Stem.....
Nominal Phrase...	Nominal Phrase.....
Object.....	Benefactive Object.....

The following is a very rare example of a VOS clause from Ann Pierre, another monolingual speaker of the language from Tobacco Plains. Ann Pierre has recorded stories just as long as the Chief and Ogress Text by Rosalie McCoy, but without putting a lexical subject and a lexical object together in the same clause anywhere in some of these long texts. If it were not for this one example, there would be no examples of VOS, VSO, or SVO clauses from Ann Pierre in the edited texts on which this description of the language is

based. Outside of the texts now in edited format, however, there is one known example of a VSO clause in a text told by Ann Pierre. The VOS example presented here is from the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text by Ann Pierre, another version of which appears in Boas (1918, pp.110-116), as told by Barnaby.<sup>11</sup> The VOS clause is at the end of the sentence here in part (c).

Text Example WO.14.

AP-CY.118-120

Nakumuʔisni ɕukʔutiyaʔs

/n.ʔakuʔ-mu-ʔ-is.ni ɕu-kʔu-t-iy-aʔ-s/ (Mid-Level)

/n.ʔakuʔ-mu-ʔ-is.ni ɕu-kʔu-t-ik-n-aʔ-s/ (Underlying)

PM.stab-INST-PASV-S3.IND

pierce-by.point-TVI-REFLX-ASC-COPART-S3

(a) 'It got stabbed with a spear'

ɕukʔutiyaʔs.ɕ

/ɕu-kʔu-t-i-aʔ-s ɕ.ɕ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ɕu-kʔu-t-ik-n-aʔ-s ɕ.ɕ/ (Underlying Phonemic)

pierce-by.point-TVI-REFLX-ASC-COPART-S3 .and

(b) 'A spear and'

<sup>11</sup> Any reader who wishes to take a census of the VOS, VSO, and SVO clauses in the text material from Barnaby should keep in mind that the texts in Boas (1918) were taken down through dictation. Boas transcribed texts as much like a human tape recorder as he could manage, but story tellers were constrained to tell their stories at a certain pace for Boas to record the texts. This has evidently had the effect of increasing the frequency of clauses containing both a subject nominal phrase and an object nominal phrase.

<b>?at qa+</b>	<b>?ati</b>	<b>?ukuqwiɕinka?</b>	<b>is</b>	<b>Yawukiykam.</b>
<b>/?at.</b>	<b>qa-?</b>	<b>?at.i</b>	<b>?ukuqwiɕinka?-?</b>	<b>is yawukiykam/</b>
IMpt.	be.thus-ADV.	name.IND	<b>?ukuqwiɕinka?-?</b>	3POS Yawukiykam
Prt...	ADV.....	Verbal Stem	Nominal Stem.....	Nominal Stem....
Verbal Phrase.....		Nominal Phrase.....		Nominal Phrase..
Predicate.....		Object.....	Subject.....	

(c) 'what Yawukiykam calls his **?ukuqwiɕinka**.'<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Other Word Order Constructions.

Kutenai lacks some of the types of words which figure prominently in word order typology. For example, it is not possible to directly state the order of nouns and modifying adjectives for Kutenai, because adjectival stems in Kutenai are a sub-class of intransitive verbal stems. Where a nominal stem in Kutenai is in construction with an adjectival verbal stem, the nominal stem either represents the subject of the adjectival verbal stem or the adjectival verbal stem is a subordinate form which ostensibly modifies the nominal stem. In example set WO.15, part (a) and part (b), the nominal stem /pus/ 'cat' represents the subject of the adjectival verbal stem. In example WO.15, part (c) the adjectival verbal stem is a subordinate form ostensibly modifying the nominal stem.

<sup>12</sup> The word /?ukuqwiɕinka/ (in surface phonemic transcription) is something of a mystery, but it is assumed here that it ends with the lexical suffix /-ka?/ 'arrow; bullet'. For this reason, it is posited here as ending in an underlying glottal stop.

## Example Set WO.15.

(a) **Wi↓qaʔni pus**

/wi↓-qa-ʔni pus/

big-STV-IN.IND cat

'The cat is big.'

(b) **Kwi↓qa pus ?**

/k↓wi↓-qa-ʔ pus ?/

SM↓big-STV-IN cat QUES

'Is the cat big?'

(c) **kwi↓qa pus**

/k↓wi↓-qa-ʔ pus/

SM↓big-STV-IN cat

that he/she/it is big, the cat

~that they are big, ~the cats

'the big cat'.

When the nominal stem represents the subject of the verbal stem, the verbal stem is either indicative or interrogative, and the basic word order of the construction is Verb-Subject. This follows from the apparent basic word order in Kutenai of Verb-Object-Subject. Where a nominal stem is in construction with a subordinate form of a verbal stem as in WO.15, part (c), the basic word order is ostensibly Relative Clause-Noun, but this is actually the same order as the VS order in WO.15, parts (a) and (b). Exactly the same segmental morphemes are involved in (b) and (c). The morphological difference between (b) and (c) lies in the matter of intonation. The interrogative k-form of the verbal stem in (b) has a rising interrogative intonation, while the relative clause k-form of the stem in (c) has a falling indicative intonation. In all three constructions, the most common order and least marked order in discourse pragmatic terms is for the verbal stem whether indicative, interrogative, or relative to precede the nominal stem. In all three constructions, the nominal stem is coreferent to, and in apposition to, the actual subject of the verbal stem, which is a third person zero affix on the verbal stem.<sup>13</sup>

The following text examples, from the Constable Pritchard Text, contain constructions functionally similar to the one in WO.15, part (c), above, where a relative clause type k-form precedes and ostensibly modifies a nominal stem. The clause in WO.16, part (d) is of a relative clause type k-form preceding and ostensibly modifying a lexicalized k-form. A literal meaning of the second k-form, at one level of analysis, is 'that he/she/it has a badge, that they have badges'. It is also a lexical item meaning 'policeman'. In morphological terms it remains a k-form, in spite of being lexicalized, in that it does not take possessive affixation as nominal stems do.

Text Example WO.16.

FW-CP.6-10

Sentence 4, consisting of clauses 6-10.

ϕin kʷukunmiyits

qakiɬni Halpáns

/ϕin kʷuk-u-nmiyit-s/<sup>14</sup>

/qa-ki-ɬni halpán-s/

just<sup>15</sup> SM.one-Bf-Day-s3

be.thus-say-DI.IND Albin-s3

(a) then one day

(b) he (Pritchard) said to Albin

<sup>13</sup> It is assumed here that the actual syntactic arguments of inflected verbal stems in Kutenai (i.e. the subjects and objects of the verbal stems) are the pronominal affixes on the verbal stems. These pronominal affixes include the first and second person clitic pronouns /hu/ and /hin/; the first, second, and third person word suffixes, and the third person zero affixes.

<sup>14</sup> There is both a root /ʷukʷ-/ 'one', and a root /ʷuk-/ 'one'. The root /ʷuk-/ 'one' occurs associated with a following Phonemic Buffer Vowel /-u-/.

<sup>15</sup> There is another Particle which also translates as 'just'. It is /tax/ 'just, exactly', presumably related to the Temporal Pronoun /taxa/ 'now, then'. The Particle /ϕin/ has been translated in isolation by FW as 'just', and as 'only'.



\*Ka? ʔat ḳaqaqiyam

/kaʔ ʔat ḳ.ʔa--qa-ki-y-am/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/kaʔ ʔat ḳ.ʔa--qa-kik-ik-n-am / (Underlying Phonemic)

how IMpt SM.IM-be.thus-say-REFLX-NC-INH

(c) "How do they say (in Kutenai)

kiʔsuʔk kaq̣anxu"

/ḳ.hiʔ.suʔk ḳ.ha-q̣anxuʔ/

SM.Bpt. good SM.have-Badge<sup>16</sup>

that (he) is good that (he) has a badge

(d) good policeman"

Text Example WO.17, from the same text, describes what Albin told Constable Pritchard. In example WO.17, part (c), below, there is also a relative clause type k-form preceding and ostensibly modifying another lexicalized k-form. In this case the lexical item is /kakuʔaʔ/ 'stud'.

Text example WO.17.

FW-CP.16-19

Sentence 9, consisting of clauses 16-19.

qakiʔni

/qa-ki-ʔ.ni/

be.thus-say-DI.IND

(a) he told him,

<sup>16</sup> Underlyingly the compound lexical suffix meaning 'badge' consists of three morphemes. Therefore the clause is underlyingly /ḳ.ha-q̣an-xu-ʔ/

SM.have-hanging.above-by.body-GSVI

"hun ?ini		kwi+qa	kaku+aɕ"
/hu_n	?i-n_i/	/k_wi+qa-?	k_ha-ku+aɕ/
1CP_PM	be-NC_IND	SM_big-STV-IN	SM_have-testicle
I am (it/him).....		that (he) is big...	that (he) has testicles
(b) "I am		(c) a big	stud"

There are other instances of the sequence of words /kwi+qa kaku+aɕ/ in the text, in this same order, and not as direct quotes from Constable Pritchard as in WO.17 here. The basic order of words for this type of construction in Kutenai is for the ostensibly modifying and most verb-like k-form to precede the lexicalized and most noun-like k-form. It is not quite safe to say that these examples represent an order of Relative Clause-Noun, much less that they represent an order of Adjective-Noun. For one thing, the adjectival verbal stem /wi+qa/ 'to be big' is an adjectival verbal stem, not an adjective. For another thing, the lexicalized k-forms are not nominal stems, much less nouns in the sense that the word 'noun' has in English grammar and generally elsewhere. Nonetheless, lexicalized k-forms, and also k-forms which represent ad hoc nominalizations (such as /k\_wi+qa/ 'the he/she/it who is big, the they who are big') are each potentially nominal phrases, certainly in semantic terms, and there is a pattern here of an ostensibly modifying phrase preceding a nominal phrase (i.e. preceding a nominal stem or lexicalized k-form). This was already seen above in example WO.15, part (c), where a relative clause type k-form precedes a nominal phrase consisting of a nominal stem.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> One thing which may have to be considered here is that the preceding and ostensibly modifying k-form may not really constitute a separate phrase from the following nominal phrase which it appears to modify. There may be a clitic-like relationship between the two phrases so that they constitute a single compound nominal phrase. This would be a parallel to the commonly occurring type of verbal phrase where a clitic pronoun /hu\_n/ First Person, or /hi\_n\_/ Second Person, representing the subject (a dependent argument) of the verbal phrase is proclitic to the verbal stem which is the head of the construction. This is a Dependent-Head order, and the only possible order if the dependent pronominal argument

One can generalize that Kutenai has the order Head-Dependent as a basic word order. This is certainly true for the arrangement of verbal stems and their lexical arguments, where the basic word order is evidently VOS. The type of construction where a modifying k-form precedes a nominal stem or lexicalized k-form seemingly has an opposite basic order of Dependent-Head, but all the lexical stems involved are inflected stems which each have a subject in the form of a zero third person pronominal affix, so the nominal stem or k-form which follows the ostensibly modifying k-form is coreferent and in apposition to the subject of a preceding verbal stem. In these terms, the order of lexical words is VS and not some Dependent-Head order such as Relative Clause-Noun or Adjective-Noun.

There are grammatical words in Kutenai which form nominal phrases with a following nominal stem, ostensibly modify the nominal stem. These include the deictic words /na/ 'this', /ʔin/ 'that (nearby)', /quʔ/ 'that (yonder)', the determiner /niʔ/ 'the', and the quantitative word /q̄api/. This is an arrangement of words which is invariant. It is not overridden by discourse pragmatic factors. The order would seem to be Dependent-Head, at least if one takes the deictic words, the determiner, and the quantitative word /q̄apiʔ/ 'all' as true modifiers of the following nominal stem.

It happens that the ostensibly modifying words /na/ 'this', /ʔin/ 'that (nearby)', and /quʔ/ 'that (yonder)', the determiner /niʔ/ 'the', and the quantitative word /q̄api/ 'all' each double as pronouns.<sup>18</sup> This is at least a factor which has to be taken into account when deciding what should be said about their word order characteristics vis-à-vis nominal stems. Another factor which needs to be taken into account is that these

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is to be read as the subject of the verbal stem and not an object (although the object reading is only possible in second person singular imperative forms). In diachronic terms, this may be the grammaticalization of what was originally a discourse-pragmatically motivated fronting from the original basic order which was VS, to than the current s-V order of this construction.

<sup>18</sup> See section 4.2 where examples are given of the words /na/ 'this', /ʔin/ 'that (nearby)', and /quʔ/ 'that (yonder)', and the quantitative word /q̄api/ 'all' as pronouns and as ostensible modifiers of other words including nominal stems.

modifying elements are clitics. The evidence is particularly clear for the determiner /ni ʔ/ 'the'. When it is not a clitic it is the word /ni ʔi/ 'there (nearby)', a different word and a mirror image of the word /ʔi n/ 'that (nearby)'.

There is also a construction in Kutenai where one nominal stem ostensibly modifies another following nominal stem. The modifier before modified arrangement for this construction is apparently the only order, although there are questions about what constitutes modification and some question about which nominal phrase is modifying which. The word order for this construction would seem to be Dependent-Head, at least if one takes the relationship between the two nominal stems to be a kind of modification syntactically equivalent to the modification of adjectives modifying nouns in other languages. There is also the possibility of seeing this construction as a kind of compounding of two nominal stems into a single nominal phrase through the procliticization of the first one on the second.

In the case of one nominal stem in construction with another nominal stem, a factor which needs to be taken into account is the possibility that the modifying role of the first nominal stem may be more an artifact of English translation than a solid grammatical fact about Kutenai. If each nominal stem in Kutenai is understood to be underlyingly a predicative proposition of the form 'to be a such and such, to be such and suches', with each nominal stem specifying what thing or class of things it represents, then one nominal stem in construction with another nominal stem is structurally a matter of two clauses in construction with each other. This is comparable to the construction where a descriptive type of k-form is followed by a lexical type of k-form. The question of modification becomes a matter of semantics. If nominal stems are unmarked subordinate clauses in Kutenai, in contrast to verbal stems which have to be marked in some way as subordinate to be subordinate, then the Kutenai nominal phrases which consist of two nominal stems in construction with each other involve the subordination of one clause and another. For both clauses,

there is a pronominal subject, at least in the form of a zero third person pronominal affix. The relationship between the two clauses depends in part on the relationship between the subject of one clause and the subject of the other. When one nominal stem ostensibly modifies another nominal stem, the two stems are both inflected stems and the pronominal subjects of the two inflected stems are coreferent, or perhaps more to the point, one is in apposition to the other. Translating the construction into English one can choose to focus on the syntactic structure of the Kutenai construction at one level of its analysis or another, but more likely one will focus on the meaning of the construction and the role of that meaning in the overall meaning of the sentence which the construction is a part of.

In the following conversational exchange which is an excerpt from a narrative, there is a construction in (g) consisting of one nominal stem /ʔa·kuwaʔwʉʔk/ 'birch' followed by another nominal stem /ʔa·quʔaqpʉʔk/ 'leaves'. In (e) there is a similar example where the indefinite and interrogative pronoun /qapsin/ 'something, what' in construction with the nominal stem meaning 'leaves'. In the free English translation of each construction, the first word modifies the second word, but other more literal translations are possible where each nominal stem and each verbal stem is a clause with its own subject.

Text Example Set WO.18.

MP-FL.117-125

(a) kwaʔkwayit qakʔapni

/k.waʔkwa-yit qa-k-ʔ-ap.ni/

SM.evening-time be.thus-say-DI-HRO.IND

'that evening she said to me:'

(b) \*xma.n skiʔ ʔaʔmaʔ ʕinaxi

/xma.n hin. s-k-iʔ. ʔaʔma-ʔʔ. ʕi-na-x.i/

HYP0. 2CP. CON-do/be-ADV. sudden-ADV. INCEP-go-RLG.IND

''you should go out (and)'

(c) xma<sub>n</sub> (h)a<sub>+</sub>q<sub>+</sub>at<sub>i</sub>?ni ?a<sub>·</sub>qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k<sup>\*</sup>

/xma<sub>n</sub> hin ha<sub>+</sub>q<sub>+</sub>at<sub>i</sub>?<sub>n</sub>i ?a<sub>·</sub>-qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k/

HYPO<sub>n</sub> 2CP<sub>n</sub> gather<sub>n</sub>IND NSB-leaf/leaves

'(you should) pick a bunch of leaves.'

(d) hu qaki<sub>+</sub>ni

/hu<sub>n</sub> qa-ki-<sub>+</sub>ni/

1CP<sub>n</sub> be.thus-say-DI<sub>n</sub>IND

'I asked her:'

(e) \*qapsin ?a<sub>·</sub>qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k ?<sup>\*</sup>

/qapsin ?a<sub>·</sub>-qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k ?/

what/something NSB-leaf/leaves

''what kind of leaves?''

(f) qaki?ni

/qa-ki?<sub>n</sub>i/

be.thus-say<sub>n</sub>IND

'she said:'

(g) \*?a<sub>·</sub>kuwa<sub>+</sub>wu?k ?a<sub>·</sub>qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k

/?a<sub>·</sub>k-uwa<sub>+</sub>-wu?k ?a<sub>·</sub>-qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k/

NSB-onion-bush

NSB-leaf/leaves

''birch leaves''

(h) Hin ?xa<sub>+</sub> ha<sub>+</sub>q<sub>+</sub>at<sub>i</sub>?ni

/hin<sub>n</sub> ?xa-?<sub>+</sub> ha<sub>+</sub>q<sub>+</sub>at<sub>i</sub>?<sub>n</sub>i

2CP<sub>n</sub> FUT-ADV<sub>n</sub> gather<sub>n</sub>IND

''You will pick (them)''

(i) ?xa<sub>+</sub> yunaqa?ni.<sup>\*</sup>

/?xa-?<sub>+</sub> yu?na?-qa-?<sub>n</sub>i/

FUT-ADV<sub>n</sub> Have.many-STV-IN<sub>n</sub>IND

''There will be lots (of them).''

The following text examples are from later in the same narrative, where the leaves which were gathered are referred to again. In these examples, /?a<sub>·</sub>qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k/ 'leaves' is preceded by what appear to be modifying words, the determiner /ni?/ and the Temporal Pronoun /?axa/ 'now, then'. The word order is ostensibly Modifier-Nominal Stem.

Text Example WO.19.

MP-FL.141

(a) qawxaʔ miskinmuʔni

/qa-uʔxa-ʔʔ. mis-kin-mu-ʔʔ.ni/

be.thus-Be.to-ADV. mix-by.hand-INST-PASV.IND

'She was mixing

niʔs ʔa·quʔaqpiʔks niʔs kyakxuʔs

/niʔ-s ʔa·quʔaqpiʔk-s niʔ-s. kyakxuʔ-s/

the-S3. NSB-leaf/leaves-S3 the-S3. fish-S3

'the leaves and the fish.'

Text Example WO.20.

MP-FL.179-181

(a) taxas hu ɕxaʔ qakiʔni

/taxa-s hu. ɕxa-ʔʔ. qa-kiʔ.ni/

then-S3 1CP.FUT-ADV. be.thus-say.IND

'then I say:'

(b) ʔin.ʔsʔ ʔini kamnaʔa fridʒ,

/ʔin. s-iʔʔ. ʔin.i ka-mn-aʔa fridʒ,

must.be. CON-ADV. be-NC.IND 1POS-1IPB-1PL fridge

'this must be our fridge,

niʔ taxa ʔa·quʔaqpiʔk

/niʔ. taxa ʔa·-quʔaqpiʔk/

the. then NSB-leaf

'the leaves (that we had then).'

The following text example is a sentence from the Constable Pritchard Text. In this example in (b), the determiner /ni ?/ 'the' appears as a proclitic pronoun on a k-form which is a complement of a verbal stem of communication in (b), rather than the word /ni ?/ merely functioning as a modifying satellite word of a following stem. The k-form in (b) is as much a modifier of the pronoun /ni ?/ as the pronoun is a determiner and modifier of the k-form.

Text Example WO.21.

FW-CP.23-26.

(a) pa+ ?at q̣api+pa+ni?ni

/pa+ . ?at . q̣ap-i-+pa+n-i? .ni/

EVID . IMpt . all-hear-Bf-STV .IND

'he told everyone'

(b) ni ?s ki ?in

/ni ?-s . k .hi ? . ?i -n/

the-S3 . SM .Bpt .be-NC

the (fact) that he was

'that he was

(c) kwi+qa

/k .wi+qa-?

SM .big-STV-IN

that (he) is big

a big

(d) kaku+aç

k .ha-ku+aç/

SM .have-testicle

that (he) has testicles

stud.'

In nominal phrases in Kutenai where deictic words, the quantitative word /q̣api ?/, or the determiner /ni ?/ 'the' precede a nominal stem, ostensibly modifying it, it is possible to see the ostensible modifier as fundamentally or alternatively a pronoun, and therefore fundamentally a nominal stem in its own right. The modifying word is also a proclitic element on the following word and a part of the same nominal phrase. If nominal stems are subordinate predications, as is assumed here, then the deictic words, the quantitative



/ɕapi ʔ/, and the determiner /ni ʔ/ 'the' are each specialized kinds of predications. The comparability of the various constructions in Kutenai where one word or phrase modifies a following word or phrase and the further comparability of these constructions to Verbal Stem-Lexical Subject construction seen above in WO.15 makes it questionable that the Dependent-Head word orders represented by the ostensibly modifying constructions are very fundamental or old in the language. It may be that in diachronic terms the Dependent-Head constructions are derivative of a basic Head-Dependent order.

#### **4.1.3 Prepositional Prefixes: Morpheme Order and Basic Word Order.**

Kutenai lacks adpositions, so there is no order of adpositions and nominal stems in Kutenai, although one can see the morpheme class of prepositional prefixes as bound prepositions. Prepositional prefixes are prefixed to the verbal roots of verbal stems. Nominal stems and verbal stems are lexical stems, so that the morphological order of Adposition-Lexical Stem is partly equivalent to a morphosyntactic order of Adposition-Noun. In these terms, Kutenai is a prepositional language, which is very much in line with VOS as a basic word order of the language.



## 4.2 Pronominal and Modifying Words.

There are a variety of different words in Kutenai which have both pronominal and ostensibly modifying functions. Sets of contrasting sentences make it possible to distinguish one role of the word from the other.

### 4.2.1 Independent Personal Pronouns.

As already suggested above, the independent personal pronouns in Kutenai are all third person nominal stems in syntactic terms, although some of them are ostensibly first person, or second person pronouns, as they translate into English in free translations in most contexts.<sup>1</sup> This is in contrast to the proclitic pronouns /hu<sub>u</sub>/ First Person Clitic Pronoun, and /hin<sub>u</sub>/ Second Person Clitic Pronoun which are genuinely first person and second person referring pronouns. Part of the evidence for the syntactic status of the independent personal pronouns are their etymologies'. For example, the first person independent pronouns /ka<sub>u</sub>min/ 'I, me, my, mine, myself', and /ka<sub>u</sub>mn-na<sub>+</sub>a<sub>?</sub>/ 'we, us, our, ours, ourselves' include the First Person Possessive Proclitic Pronoun /ka<sub>u</sub>/. The presence of this possessive first person clitic suggests meanings for the first person independent pronouns such as 'myself', and 'ourselves', although the First Person Independent Pronoun Base /<sub>u</sub>min/~/<sub>u</sub>mn/ occurs in no other context in the language and cannot independently be assigned the meaning 'self'. For the third person independent pronoun /ninku<sub>?</sub>-<sub>?</sub>is/ 'he/she/it/they, him/her/it/their, his/her/its/their, his/hers/its/ theirs, himself /herself/itself/themselves' there is the fact that it is marked as third person by the Third Person Possessive Suffix /-<sub>?</sub>is/. The word /ninku<sub>?</sub>/, by itself, means 'you (singular), your (singular), yours (singular), yourself'. There is a listing of independent personal pronouns below for convenience of reference.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the sub-section Independent Personal Pronouns in section 3.1.

<sup>2</sup> See the sub-section Independent Personal Pronouns in section 3.1 for analysis of the second and third person independent pronouns.

**First Person Independent Pronouns.**

kamin 'I, me, my, mine, myself', /ka<sub>u</sub>min/.

1POS<sub>u</sub>1IPB

kamna<sub>+</sub>a 'We, us, our, ours, ourselves', /ka<sub>u</sub>mn-a<sub>+</sub>a<sub>?</sub>/.

1POS<sub>u</sub>1IPB-1PL

ninku **Second and Third Person Independent Pronoun Base.** There are quite an array of independent pronominal forms based on this morpheme. They include the following:

ninku 'you (singular), your (singular), yours (singular), yourself'.

ninkunismi<sub>+</sub> 'your (singular)', with reference to something possessed which is subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative).

ninkuniski<sub>+</sub> 'you (plural), your (plural), yours (plural), yourselves'.<sup>3</sup>

ninku<sub>?</sub>is 'he/she/it/they', 'him/her/it/their', 'his/her/its/their', 'his/hers/its/theirs', 'himself/herself/itself/themselves'

ninkuqantiyi<sub>?</sub>is 'all of them, those people'.

ninku<sub>?</sub>nam '(some)one's own, anyone's own'.

<sup>3</sup> The second person plural form which has reference to something possessed which is a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) would be /ninkunismi<sub>+</sub>ki<sub>+</sub>/, on the basis of verbal forms in sentences such as the following:

/hin<sub>u</sub>ϕ ϕu<sub>?</sub>kat-m-i<sub>+</sub>-ki<sub>+</sub><sub>u</sub>ni <sub>?</sub>a<sub>?</sub>k-i-<sub>+</sub>wiy-<sub>?</sub>is/.

2CP<sub>u</sub>Fpt Take-ASC-DI-2PL<sub>u</sub>IND

NSB-Bf-heart-3POS

'You will take out its heart'.

FW, MP-12.22

**Contrastive Uses of the Independent Personal Pronouns.**

In example FSIP.1, below, the independent pronoun in the first clause is discourse pragmatically marked in that it is contrastive to the second person pronominal reference in the second clause. The independent pronoun in the first clause is also in apposition to the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>u</sub>/ in the first clause. The clitic pronoun is the actual subject of the first clause not the independent pronoun.

**Example IPP.1.****EG-KLP**

Kamin hu k'usaqnanani, Hin wusaqni.

/ka<sub>u</sub>min hu<sub>u</sub> k'u-saq-nana<sub>u</sub>ni, hin<sub>u</sub> wu-saq<sub>u</sub>ni/

1POS<sub>u</sub>1IPB 1CP<sub>u</sub> short-leg-DIM<sub>u</sub>IND 2CP<sub>u</sub> long-leg<sub>u</sub>IND

me I am short legged you are long legged

'Me, I have short legs, you have long legs.'

**Example IPP.2.****EG**

ɕmak'it wuq'tam'ni<sub>u</sub>ɕ ?aki ninku.

/ɕmak'-i?t<sub>u</sub> wuq'tam'<sub>u</sub>ni<sub>u</sub>ɕ ?aki ninku?/

strong-ADV long-Hair<sub>u</sub>INDand also 2&3IPB

'His hair is too long, and so is yours.'

In examples FSIP.3 through FSIP.8, below, the independent personal pronouns are not so much discourse pragmatically marked, as they are necessary for a purely morphological reason. The independent personal pronouns are used in these sentences instead of a clitic pronoun simply that there are no nominal stems in the sentences for possessive affixes or clitic to attach to. The independent pronoun in each sentence has a clear possessive meaning of one kind or another in free translation, which would mean that the possessive

affixation or cliticization would be called for. The independent pronouns, however, can be given non-possessive glosses in more literal translations of the sentences.

## Example IPP.3.

EG-KLP

Na ?aki ńini kamin.

/na ?aki n<sub>u</sub>?in<sub>i</sub> ka<sub>u</sub>min/

this also PM<sub>u</sub>Be<sub>u</sub>IND 1POS<sub>u</sub>1IPB

this also It is the one to me

'This too is mine', 'This also belongs to me.'

## Example IPP.4.

EG-KLP

?Aki ki?in ninku na ?

/?aki k<sub>u</sub>hi?<sub>u</sub>?in ninku? na ?/

also SM<sub>u</sub>Bpt<sub>u</sub>be 2&3IPB this

'Is this yours too?'

## Example IPP.5.

EG-KLP

ńini kamin kwuqsa+a.

/n<sub>u</sub>?in<sub>i</sub> ka<sub>u</sub>min k<sub>u</sub>wu-qa+a?/

PM<sub>u</sub>Be<sub>u</sub>IND 1POS<sub>u</sub>1IPB SM<sub>u</sub>long-Snout

It is the one to me that which is long snouted = elephant

'It is my elephant.'

## Example IPP.6.

FW-1.17

Ninku kaqa k̄ituq̄+i+qnamnam.?

/ninku? k̄ha-qa-? k̄ʔiʔt-u-q̄+i+q-nam-n-am ?/

2&3IPB SM<sub>have</sub>-STV-IN SM<sub>Become-Bf-mark</sub>-STV-RECIP-NC-INH QUES

(for) you is there photograph

'Have you got a photograph?'

## Example IPP.7.

EG

Kiʔin ninku na k̄ituq̄+i+qa+.

/k̄hiʔʔin ninku? na k̄ʔiʔt-u-q̄+i+qa-+ ?/

SM<sub>Bpt.be</sub> 2&3IPB this SM<sub>Become-Bf-mark</sub>-STV-PASV QUES

'Is this paper yours?, Is this your paper?'

## Example IPP.8.

EG

N̄ukukuxasapni ninkuʔis k̄i·ku+.

/n̄ʔuk-uk-uʔxa-s-ap̄ni ninkuʔ-ʔis k̄ʔi·ku+/

PM<sub>all-water-Be.to</sub>-CAUS-1SG.OBJ<sub>IND</sub> 2&3IPB-3POS SM<sub>Drink</sub>

'He made me drink up his drink.'

In examples IPP.9 through IPP.12, below, there is an intransitive verbal stem /+u?/ 'be absent, be none' where there is no way to indicate a first person referent, except by the use of an independent personal pronoun.

## Example IPP.9.

EG-KLP

ʔuʔni kamin.

/ʔuʔni ka,min/

be.absent,IND 1POS,1IPB

There is none for me

'I do not have any, I didn't get any.'

## Example IPP.10.

RMc-Ch.Og.498

Kiʔʔus ninkuʔis.<sup>4</sup>

/k,hiʔ,ʔuʔ-s ninkuʔ-ʔis/

SM,Bpt,be.absent-S3 2&3IPB-3POS

that there is none for him

'(that) there is nothing for him'.

## Example IPP.11.

RMc-Ch.Og.508.

ʔuʔsi nasuʔkin ninkuʔis.

/ʔuʔ-s,i nasuʔkin ninkuʔ-ʔis/

be.absent-S3,IND chief 2&3IPB-3POS

there is none for the chief himself

'The chief doesn't have any', i.e. There is none for the chief, himself.'

In example IPP.12, below, the independent pronoun in clause (b) is neither the subject, nor the object of the inflected verbal stem, and does not have a possessive meaning.

<sup>4</sup> The (surface) transcription of /kiʔʔus/ is a reflection of a prohibition against two glottal stops occurring in successive syllables which is a feature of the Tobacco Plains Kutenai of EG and others.



Example IPP.12 (lines 79-80 of the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text). AP-CY.78-80

(a) Hu qaki?ni

/hu<sub>u</sub> qa-ki?<sub>u</sub>ni/

1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-say<sub>u</sub>IND

'I always say'

(b) ?at xma n'a·qa† ?uk'i?†<sub>u</sub>†<sub>u</sub> kamna†a.

/?at<sub>u</sub> xma<sub>u</sub> n<sub>u</sub>?a'-qa-?†<sub>u</sub> ?uk'-i?†<sub>u</sub> †<sub>u</sub>? ka<sub>u</sub>mn-a†a?/

IMpt<sub>u</sub> HYPO<sub>u</sub> PM<sub>u</sub>IM-be.thus-ADV<sub>u</sub> one-ADV<sub>u</sub> be.absent 1POS<sub>u</sub>1IPB-1PL

Verbal Phrase..... Nominal Phrase.....

There would thusly be none

for us

'we never would be able to get any.'

**A First Person Independent Pronoun as a Third Person Nominal Stem.**

The independent pronouns in Kutenai are all syntactically third person nominal phrases, regardless of any apparent first or second person reference. These are cases where the first person independent pronouns interact with the obviative system and are marked as though they were nominal phrases meaning 'my self' or 'our selves', which is what they appear to be in origin, especially in the light of comparative Kutenai-Salishan evidence.<sup>5</sup> In example FSIP.13, immediately below, the independent pronoun /kamna†a/ is evidently a subsidiary third person inflected nominal stem (i.e. an obviative nominal stem) following a primary third person subject verbal form (i.e. a proximate verbal stem). The construction in example FSIP.13 is exactly comparable with the one in example FSIP.14, below it,

<sup>5</sup> In section 5.3 there is data from Squamish, a Coast Salishan language, which supports the idea that the Kutenai first person independent pronouns originally meant 'my self' and 'our selves'.

which unquestionably consists of a primary third person subject inflected verbal form (i.e. proximate subject verbal stem) followed by a first person plural possessed subsidiary third person nominal stem (i.e. an obviative nominal stem with a first person plural possessor).

**Example IPP.13.**

FW-11.63, January 1974.

Ɔxani kamna+a?is.	'He was speaking to us, or preaching to us'.
/Ɔxa <sub>ni</sub>	ka <sub>mn</sub> -a+a?-i-s/
speak <sub>IND</sub>	1POS <sub>1</sub> 1PB-1PL-Bf-S3
Verbal Stem <sub>Prt</sub>	Independent Pronoun...
VP (P3subj)	Nominal Phrase (S3 object, possessed by 1st person plural)
He spoke	it that is ours(elves)

**Example IPP.14.**

FW-V.736.

Ɔxani kaa:k+ukaqwa+a?is	'He spoke our language, or was speaking our lg.'
/Ɔxa <sub>ni</sub>	ka <sub>?</sub> a:k+ukaqw-a+a?-is/
spoke <sub>IND</sub>	1POS <sub>1</sub> Language-1PL-Bf-S3
Inflected Verbal Stem	Inflected Nominal Stem.....
Verbal Phrase (P3subj)	Nominal Phrase (S3 object, possessed by 1p1)
He spoke	it that is our language

**4.2.2 The Quantitative Pronoun and Modifier.**

Example QPM.1, below, shows the Quantitative Pronoun /q̣api?/ 'all' functioning by itself in uninflected form as a pronoun.

## Example Set QPM.1.

EG

ǀǀapi kiʔin kamin ? 'Are they all mine?, Are they all for me?'

/ǀǀapi k.ʰiʔ.ʔin ka.min ?/

all-STV SM.ʘBpt.ʘbe-NC 1CP.1IPB

Example QPM.2, below, shows the Quantitative Pronoun /ǀǀapiʔ/ 'all' inflected as a second person plural independent pronoun.

## Example QPM.2.

EG

ǀǀapiniskiʔ hin ǀǀxaʔ ǀǀinakiʔni. 'All of you will go.'

/ǀǀap-iʔ-n-is-kiʔ hin. ǀǀxa-ʔʔ. ǀǀi-na-kiʔ.ni/

all-STV-NC-20&P-2PL 2CP. FUT-ADV. INCEP-go-2PL.IND

Example QPM.3, below, shows the Quantitative Pronoun /ǀǀapiʔ/ 'all' functioning ostensibly as a modifier of a nominal stem.

## Example QPM.3.

EG

ǀǀxaʔ ʔitʔqawxaxi ǀǀapi maʔnam. 'All mothers are going to get together.'

/ǀǀxa-ʔʔ. ʔitʔ-qa-uʔxa-x.ʔi ǀǀap-iʔ maʔ-n-am/

FUT-ADV. fill-STV-Be.to-RLG.IND all-STV mother-NC-INH

Example QPM.4, below, is an example of the Quantitative Pronoun /ǀǀapiʔ/ 'all' functioning ostensibly as a modifier of the Personal Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun /qaʔa/ 'who, some(one)'.  
 Example QPM.4, below, is an example of the Quantitative Pronoun /ǀǀapiʔ/ 'all' functioning ostensibly as a modifier of the Personal Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun /qaʔa/ 'who, some(one)'.  
 Example QPM.4, below, is an example of the Quantitative Pronoun /ǀǀapiʔ/ 'all' functioning ostensibly as a modifier of the Personal Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun /qaʔa/ 'who, some(one)'.

## Example QPM.4.

EG

Q̣api qaṭa ɸxaṭ ʔanaxaṃni.

/q̣api? qaṭa ɸxa-ʔṭṭ ʔa-na-xaṃni/

all-STV some(ones) FUT-ADV out-go-RM,IND

'Everyone will go outside.', 'Everybody is to go outside.'

Example QPM.5, below, is an example of the Quantitative Pronoun /q̣api?/ 'all' functioning ostensibly as a modifier of the Deictic Pronoun and Modifier /na/ 'this/these'.

## Example QPM.5.

EG

Q̣api na ṅini kamin ? 'All these are mine?'

/q̣api na nṭi-nṭi kaṭmin ?/

all-STV this PM,be-NC,IND 1CP,1PB QUES

Example QPM.6, below, is a text example of the Quantitative Pronoun /q̣api?/ 'all' functioning as a locative pronoun.

## Text Example QPM.6.

RMc-Ch.Og.489

Q̣api naqaʔni ʔa·kuṭak kuʔunam.

/q̣ap-i? naqaʔni ʔa·k-uṭak kuʔu-n-am/

all-STV PM,have-STV-IN,IND NSB-meat abandoned.campsite-NC-INH

'There is meat in all the lodges.'

## 4.2.3 Deictic Pronouns, and Modifiers.

Deictic pronouns in Kutenai function as deictic modifiers and as locative pronouns. Example set DP.1, parts (a) and (b) contrasts these two functions of the deictic pronoun /na/ 'this, here'.

## Example Set DP.1.

EG

(a) Nas n̥ini piɕak. 'Here is a spoon.'

/na-s n̥ʔi-n̥i piɕak/

here-S3 PM<sub>be</sub>-NC<sub>IND</sub> spoon

this (obv) it is it (the location, obv) of a spoon (proximate)

(b) Na n̥ini piɕak. 'This is a spoon.'

/na n̥ʔi-n̥i piɕak/

this PM<sub>be</sub>-NC<sub>IND</sub> spoon

this (prox) it is it (a thing, obv) (which is) a spoon (proximate)



### 4.3 The Syntax of Affixal Pronominal Reference.

This section deals with some of the syntactic ramifications of affixal pronominal reference in Kutenai. One aspect of this is the syntax of the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/ which in semantic terms refers to an indefinite human agent. In syntactic terms, however, the indefinite human agent is not a direct argument (i.e. a subject or object) of the passive form of the verbal stem marked by this suffix. This is discussed in section 4.3.1, below.

Other syntactic ramifications of affixal pronominal reference in Kutenai involve what can be called the obviative system. This is an opposition between two categories of third person in Kutenai. These are primary third person (proximate), and subsidiary third person (obviative). Primary third person entities are more salient in discourse pragmatic terms than subsidiary third person entities. If there is more than one third person reference in a Kutenai sentence, clause, or (inflected) verbal stem, one of the third persons must be a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative). The Obviative system ties in with what Boas (1927) calls the 'definite passive'.<sup>1</sup> These are forms marked by what is described here as the Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap-/. The Boasian 'definite passive' involves only third person forms where on a hierarchy of discourse saliency a lower ranking third person acts on a higher ranking third person.

The Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap-/ occurs in the morphological construction /-ap-s/, which includes a Subsidiary Third Person (Subject) Suffix /-s/. One function of this sequence of suffixes is to mark a primary third person object (i.e. a proximate object) acted on by a subsidiary third person subject (i.e. an obviative subject). Matthew Dryer (1990) has demonstrated, however, the untenability of describing the suffix /-ap-/ in the morphological construction /-ap-s/ as one referring exclusively to a primary third person object. This ties in with a paper by Noel Rude (1990) who argues that at least in

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<sup>1</sup> Boas (1927) distinguishes what he calls the 'definite passive' in Kutenai from what he calls the 'indefinite passive'. The indefinite passive are forms marked by the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/.

diachronic terms, the Kutenai suffix /-ap-/ in this construction can be equated with the First Person Singular Object Suffix /-ap/, and both can be seen as markers of inverse forms of verbal stems, involving a hierarchy of grammatical persons, where a higher ranking subject acting on a lower ranking object counts as a 'direct' form of a verbal stem, while a lower ranking subject acting on a higher ranking object counts as an 'inverse' form of a verbal stem. The label 'Higher Ranking Object Suffix', used here, assumes an analysis which partakes of both the analysis of Rude (1990) and that of Dryer (1990). It is shown in 4.3.2, below, in part with data from Dryer (1990) elicited from EG, that the Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap-/ can refer to a higher ranking subsidiary third person object (i.e. higher ranking obviative object) acted on by a lower ranking subsidiary third person subject (i.e. obviative subject), as well as referring to a primary third person object (i.e. proximate object) acted on by a subsidiary third person subject (i.e. obviative subject). It requires the context of sentences with a number of lexical arguments to show that the suffix /-ap-/ can refer to a subsidiary third person object, as well as to a primary third person object.

#### 4.3.1 The Passive.

The Passive Suffix /-ɬ/~/-iɬ/ occurs in two alloforms, either with or without a phonemic buffer vowel. Underlyingly the suffix is /-ɬ/ and the alloform with the phonemic buffer vowel is /-iɬ/. Semantically the Passive Suffix is a marker of an indefinite human agent or agents. Part of the need to call this a passive suffix can be seen by contrasting the active and passive paradigms of transitive verbal stems.<sup>2</sup> Two contrasting active and passive verbal forms are presented, below, in example set PAS.1.

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<sup>2</sup> See section 3.2.6 where a full passive paradigm is presented for the transitive verbal stem /ʔiktuquʔ/ 'to wash (something)'.



**Example Set PAS.1.**

- (a) / hu<sub>1</sub>ni<sub>1</sub> ?iktuqu?<sub>1</sub>ni<sub>1</sub>/ 'I wash him/her/it/them.'  
 1CP<sub>1</sub>PM<sub>1</sub> Wash<sub>1</sub>IND
- (b) / hu<sub>1</sub>ni<sub>1</sub> ?iktuqu?-<sub>1</sub>ni<sub>1</sub>/ 'I am washed (by an indefinite third person).'  
 1CP<sub>1</sub>PM<sub>1</sub> Wash-PASV<sub>1</sub>IND

Another thing which makes the Passive Suffix /-<sub>1</sub>/ deserve the label passive is that in terms of the distinction between primary third person and subsidiary third person, the semantically third person agent of a passive form does not count as a direct argument of the verbal stem marked by the Passive Suffix. This is to say that the agent is neither the subject nor the object of the stem. The test for this is that a semantic direct object of a passive verbal form (i.e. the patient of the passive verbal stem) counts as the only third person entity in the clause. This can be seen by the fact that a lexical argument representing the semantic direct object is a primary third person nominal stem (i.e. proximate nominal stem), rather than a subsidiary third person nominal stem (i.e. obviative nominal stem). This can be seen in the following pair of sentences in example set PAS.2.

**Example Set PAS.2**

- (a) Piϕquwati<sub>1</sub>ni<sub>1</sub> ni<sub>1</sub>yaps. 'He sheared the sheep'.  
 /piϕ-quwa?t-i<sub>1</sub>ni<sub>1</sub> ni<sub>1</sub>yap-s/  
 cut.short-fur-DI<sub>1</sub>IND sheep-S3
- (b) Piϕquwati<sub>1</sub>i<sub>1</sub>ni<sub>1</sub> ni<sub>1</sub>yap. 'The sheep were sheared'.  
 /piϕ-quwa?t-i<sub>1</sub>-i<sub>1</sub>ni<sub>1</sub> ni<sub>1</sub>yap/  
 cut.short-fur-DI-PASV<sub>1</sub>IND sheep

In example PAS.2, part (a), the stem is an active transitive verbal stem with a syntactic valence of two, including a subject and a direct object, matching a semantic agent and patient. The Ditransitive Suffix /-iɬ/ also refers to the fur as an object of the action, although not an external argument of the verbal stem. The subject and agent of the stem is 'he/she/it/they', i.e. 'the shearer'. It is translated here and was originally translated by FW as 'he', for pragmatic reasons. The object and patient of the stem is 'him/her/it/them', i.e. 'the sheep'.

In PAS.2, part (b), the agent does not count as the syntactic subject of the clause, which is testified to by the fact that the lexical argument /niɬyap/ 'sheep' is a primary third person nominal stem, which can only be true if it is the only third person entity in the clause which counts for syntactic purposes. This means that the valence of the stem is one, with the semantic direct object of the stem (i.e. the patient) having the status of being the subject of the verbal stem.

Example set PAS.3 further illustrates this same point. In example PAS.3, part (a), the word /waʔta/ 'potato' is not marked as a subsidiary third person (i.e. an obviative entity) because the agent of the (inflected) verbal stem is a second person, and the object of the stem is the only third person entity in the clause, allowing it, in fact requiring it, to be a primary third person. The passive verbal form in part (b) also has only one syntactic third person argument, even though the English gloss represents the indefinite human agent of the stem with the word 'someone'. As far as person marking on nominal stems in the sentence is concerned, there is only one third person entity in the sentence, and it is the potatoes, which are therefore a primary third person entity (i.e. proximate).

## Example Set PAS.3.

FW-12.104

(a) Maʔɕ ʔiʔaxan kyikʔta waʔta.

/maʔɕ ʔiʔa-xa<sub>n</sub> k<sub>y</sub>ikʔta waʔta/PROHIB cry-GOAL<sub>2</sub>CP SM<sub>3</sub>spill potato

Don't cry that they spilled the potatoes

'Don't cry over spilt potatoes'.

(b) Maʔɕ ʔiʔaxan kyikʔtaʔ waʔta.

/maʔɕ ʔiʔa-xa<sub>n</sub> k<sub>y</sub>ikʔta-ʔ waʔta/PROHIB cry-GOAL<sub>2</sub>CP SM<sub>3</sub>spill-GSVI-PASV potato

Don't cry that they are spilled (by someone) the potatoes

'Don't cry over the potatoes that somebody spilt'.

Passive verbal forms also exist whose indefinite agent is a subsidiary third person entity (i.e. obviative), rather than a primary third person entity (i.e. proximate). Example set PAS.4, below, contrasts a primary third person indefinite agent form with a subsidiary third person indefinite agent form.

## Example Set PAS.4.

(a) ʔikiʔni. 'It is eaten by them (proximate).'

/ʔik-i-ʔ<sub>n</sub>i/eat-Bf-PASV<sub>3</sub>IND

(b) ʔikʔisni 'It is eaten by them (obviative).'

/ʔik-ʔ-i-s<sub>n</sub>i/eat-PASV-Bf-s3<sub>n</sub>IND

A text example where there is a subsidiary third person indefinite agent of a passive verbal form can be found in a clause from the Coyote and Mole Text, shown in example set PAS.5, part (i). This same clause is shown in greater context in example set PAS.6, parts (a) through (j), where it is found as part (i). In the passive form in question in example set PAS.5, part (i), the indefinite human agents of the passive form are the girls who are already established as subsidiary third person entities just earlier in the text. In clauses (d) and (e) they are definite agents and the grammatical subject of the verbal forms in these clauses (d) and (e). Throughout this passage, the only primary third person entity is Coyote. The sleeves are subsidiary third persons, sometimes possessed by the girls in the role of definite third persons, as in clause (h)=PAS.5, part (h), while elsewhere possessed by the girls as indefinite third person possessors, as in clause (i)=PAS.5, part (i).

#### Example Set PAS.5.

(h) ?a:k+at+ā?isis ?at qawiϕkini.

/?a:k-+at<sup>2</sup>-+a?-?is-is      ?at    qawiϕkini/

NSB-arm-fitted.covering-3POS-S3    IMpt.    be.thus-hold-by.hand.IND

'He would hang onto their sleeves.'

(i) ?at qasa<sup>2</sup>qa+isni    ni?s ?a:k+at<sup>2</sup>anamis

/?at qasa<sup>2</sup>a-qa-+is<sub>ni</sub>      ni?-s<sub>ni</sub> ?a:k-+at<sup>2</sup>-+a?-n-am-is/

IMpt. Stem.Base-by.blade-PASV-S3.IND    the-S3.    NSB-arm-fitted.covering-NC-INH-S3

'The sleeve would be cut off.'

#### Example Set PAS.6, an Excerpt from the Coyote and Mole Text by Ann Pierre.<sup>3</sup>

(a) Taxas pa+ naqa?ni skinkuϕ      3. Then it happened Coyote was there

<sup>3</sup> The numbers here refer to the numbering of lines in the edited version of the text.

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| (b) Taxas pa+ k+saki+ꞵin niçtaha+             | 4. Now it was when he was a young man |
| (c) k+ita+titit                               | 5. without a wife                     |
| (d) Taxas yunaqapsi na?uti?s                  | 6. Now there were a lot of girls      |
| (e) ?a·qanas na?uti?s                         | 7. Whenever a girl went off somewhere |
| (f) ?at ç'inaxiꞵ                              | 8. He would follow                    |
| (g) ?at çinkini                               | 9. and he would grab them             |
| (h) ?a·k+at+a?isis ?at qawiçkini.             | 10. He would hang onto their sleeve   |
| (i) ?at qasaç'aaq+isni<br>ni?s ?a·k+at'anamis | 11. The sleeve would be cut off       |
| (j) ?at qa·qawiçkini.                         | 12. He would be left holding it.      |

#### 4.3.2 The Higher Ranking Object Suffix.

One feature of what can loosely be called the obviative system in Kutenai is that primary third persons outrank subsidiary third persons on a hierarchy, just as first and second persons outrank third persons. This is something which is manifested in an overt way when an entity such as a bee does something to a person. The person, although the object of the verbal stem and semantically, a patient is more important in discourse pragmatic terms than the bee and the person deserves to be a primary third person, while the bee would naturally be a subsidiary third person in a discourse. This calls form verbal forms in Kutenai which Boas referred to as the 'definite passive', although there is not a whole paradigm of such forms per verbal stem, as with what he referred to as the 'indefinite passive', where there is a whole paradigm per verbal stem. The motivation for referring to the verbal forms as passive when a lower ranking third person acts on higher ranking third person is that in English when a discourse pragmatically lower ranking entity acts on a discourse pragmatically higher ranking entity, a passive verbal form is called for. One says things such as 'the man got stung by the bee'. One can also say 'the bee stung the man',

although it would be discourse pragmatically a highly marked way to say it . What one can say in Kutenai, is the sentence in example HRO.1.

## Example HRO.1

FW-

ńitk'unapsi titqat' yuwat's. 'The man got stung by a bee'.

/n.ʔiʔt-k'u-ʔ-n-ap-s.ɪ titqat' yuwat'-s/

PM<sub>1</sub>Become-by.point-GSVI-NC-HRO-S3<sub>1</sub>IND man bee-S3

In Kutenai, it counts as very unnatural or perhaps as ungrammatical to have the bee as a primary third person acting on a man who is a subsidiary third person. The lack of a whole paradigm of definite passive verbal forms, per verbal stem, mitigates against describing what Boas called the definite passive as a true passive construction in syntactic terms. Instead, one gets forms with pronominal object suffixes, and the bee is a primary third person wherever the bee is the only third person entity in the clause. Example set HRO.2 gives a selection of such forms in parts (a) through (f). With the first person singular object form which is in part (b), there is the possibility of seeing the pronominal object suffix as the same Higher Ranking Object Suffix which is in the third person acting on third person form in part (a).

## Example Set HRO.2

(a) ńitk'unapsi yuwat's. 'He got stung by a bee.'

/n.ʔiʔt-k'u-ʔ-n-ap-s.ɪ yuwat'-s/

PM<sub>1</sub>Become-by.point-GSVI-NC-HRO-S3<sub>1</sub>IND bee-S3

(b)  $\acute{n}itk\acute{u}napni$   $yuwat'$  'I got stung by a bee.'

$/n_{\downarrow}i?t-k'u-?-n-ap_{\downarrow}ni$   $yuwat'/$

PM<sub>\downarrow</sub>Become-by.point-GSVI-NC-1SG.OBJ<sub>\downarrow</sub>IND bee

More abstractly, or simply diachronically the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss for the form here in part (b) can be posited as:  $/n_{\downarrow}i?t-k'u-?-n-ap_{\downarrow}ni$   $yuwat'/$

PM<sub>\downarrow</sub>Become-by.point-GSVI-NC-HRO<sub>\downarrow</sub>IND bee

(c)  $\acute{n}itk\acute{u}nawasni$   $yuwat'$ .

$/n_{\downarrow}i?t-k'u-?-n-awas_{\downarrow}ni$   $yuwat'/$

PM<sub>\downarrow</sub>Become-by.point-GSVI-NC-1PL.OBJ<sub>\downarrow</sub>IND bee

'We got stung by a bee.'

(d)  $\text{\textcircled{C}}xa\ddagger$   $?itk\acute{u}nisni$   $yuwat'$ .

$/\text{\textcircled{C}}xa?-\ddagger_{\downarrow} ?i?t-k'u-?-n-is_{\downarrow}ni$   $yuwat'/$

FUT-ADV<sub>\downarrow</sub> Become-by.point-GSVI-NC-20&P<sub>\downarrow</sub>IND bee

'You (sg) will get stung by a bee.'

(e)  $k\acute{u}nk\acute{u}?nis$  ?

$/k_{\downarrow}i?t-k'u-?-n-is$   $yuwat' ?/$

SM<sub>\downarrow</sub>Become-by.point-GSVI-NC-20&P bee QUES

'Did you (sg) get stung by a bee?'

(f)  $\text{\textcircled{C}}xa\ddagger$   $?itk\acute{u}niski\ddagger ni$   $yuwat'$  'You (pl) will get stung by a bee.'

$/\text{\textcircled{C}}xa?-\ddagger_{\downarrow} ?i?t-k'u-?-n-is-ki\ddagger_{\downarrow}ni$   $yuwat'/$

FUT-ADV<sub>\downarrow</sub> Become-by.point-GSVI-NC-20&P-2PL<sub>\downarrow</sub>IND bee

The Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap-/ can refer to either a primary third person object or to a subsidiary third person object, although the mere listing of the possible verbal forms does not make this apparent. Example sentences with lexical arguments are needed to demonstrate that certain forms, those with what might be called 'double s-marking', actually represent lower ranking subsidiary third persons acting on higher ranking subsidiary third persons. The forms below in examples HRO.3 through HRO.5 are supplied by Matthew Dryer (1990) based on his 1989 and 1990 field notes. Dryer explores this aspect of Kutenai morphosyntax, using sentence examples with lexical arguments, addressing a suggestion by Rude (1990) who has proposed, on mostly morphological data, that the suffix described here as the Higher Ranking Object Suffix is a marker of inverse forms. The analysis presented here owes much to the papers of Rude and Dryer, but differs from both of their analyses.

One possibility explored by Dryer is that the ending /-aps/ is a single morpheme and that the forms with it are genuinely passive, where the patient has become a syntactic subject. Although the sentences here are elicited, which introduces the influence of English word order, at least to a small extent, these examples are interesting for the study of Kutenai word order in that, in examples HRO.4 and HRO.5, lexical arguments representing patients actually occur preverbally in sentences which were accepted as grammatical by a Kutenai elder. The same elder, on an earlier occasion working with the author, questioned the grammaticality of OSV word orders in sentences which could only be translated as active sentences in English. In that session, direct elicitation based on English sentences was avoided, but, of course, OVS sentences are not grammatical in any event in English, although Patient-Verb-Agent sentences are grammatical in English, but only when they are passive.

Dryer reports that Kutenai forms with /-aps/ are more easily elicited with passive English sentences than with corresponding active sentences. The reverse is also true. The



English sentence 'Mary saw Mike's mother' was the prompt for example HRO.5, although it was not the first response. The first response was one with the verbal form /wu:kat-s<sub>ɔ</sub>i/, which is one where a higher ranking subsidiary third person acts on a lower ranking subsidiary third person. Immediately after this response, the sentence with /wu:kat-ap-s-is<sub>ɔ</sub>ni/ was offered, which is what is presented in HRO.5. It has a lower ranking subsidiary third person acting on a higher ranking subsidiary third person. Example HRO.3, immediately below, is one where a higher ranking subsidiary third person is acting on a lower ranking subsidiary third person, and it does not include the suffix /-ap-/. The Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ refers to the agent and subject of the stem, with the subsidiary third person object of the stem being unmarked. The use of two subsidiary third person suffixes in a single verbal form, as in HRO.4 and HRO.5 is because one of the instances of the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/, presumably the first one, modifies the Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap-/ in the form, while the other instance of the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ indicates the agent of the verbal stem, which is the subject, at least according to the analysis presented here.

#### Example HRO.3

Misáɫ xaɫiʔis wu:katsi maʔisis Maɫís.

/misáɫ xaɫiʔ-ʔis wu:kat-s<sub>ɔ</sub>i maʔ-ʔis-is maɫí-s/

Mike son-3POS See-S3<sub>IND</sub> mother-3POS-S3 Mary-S3

Agent..... Inflected Verbal Stem Patient.....

Subject..... Inflected Verbal Stem Object.....

'Mike's son saw Mary's mother'.

**Example HRO.4**

Maʔí maʔis wu·katapsisni xaʔiʔisis Misáʔs.

/maʔí maʔ-ʔis wu·kat-ap-s-is<sub>ni</sub> xaʔiʔ-ʔis-is misáʔs/

Mary mother-3POS See-HRO-S3-S3<sub>IND</sub> son-3POS-S3 Mike-S3

Patient..... Inflected Verbal Stem..... Agent.....

Object..... Inflected Verbal Stem..... Subject.....

'Mary's mother was seen by Mike's son'.

**Example HRO.5.**

Maʔis Misáʔ wu·katapsisni Maʔís.

/maʔ-ʔis misáʔ wu·kat-ap-s-is<sub>ni</sub> maʔís/

mother-3POS Mike See-HRO-S3-S3<sub>IND</sub> Mary

Patient..... Inflected Verbal Stem..... Agent.....

Object..... Inflected Verbal Stem..... Subject.....

'Mary saw Mike's mother'.

The three sentences here are a paradigm of examples where pronominal object suffixes are followed by the Subsidiary Third Person (Subject) Suffix /-s/~/-is/, occurring in its allomorph /-is/, with an underlying phonemic buffer vowel.<sup>4</sup> The Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap-/ is synchronically distinct from the First Person Singular Object Suffix /-ap/, at least because of the morphophonemic fact that the Subsidiary Third Person (Subject) Suffix /-s/~/-is/, occurs without a phonemic buffer vowel when it follows the Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap/. These two suffixes of the form /-ap/ may be of the same origin, however, as a marker of inverse forms in an earlier state of the language. This is certainly the contention of Rude (1990).

<sup>4</sup> Reference is made to these examples in section 3.2.2, where the morphology of such verbal forms is discussed.

**Example Set HRO.6.**

FW-5.111

(a) qa+wiyni xma k'iknapiš ?i·kaʔs.

/qa-+wiy-Ø<sub>ni</sub> xma<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub>?ik-n-ap-is ?i·kaʔ-s/be.thus-heart-P3(subj)<sub>IND</sub> should<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub>eat-NC-1SG.OBJ-S3 Ogre-S3

'He thinks I should get eaten by an ogre'.

(b) qa+wiyni xma k'iknisiš ?i·kaʔs.

/qa-+wiy-Ø<sub>ni</sub> xma<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub>?ik-n-is-is ?i·kaʔ-s/be.thus-heart-P3(subj)<sub>IND</sub> should<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub>eat-NC-20&P-S3 Ogre-S3

'He thinks you (sg.) should get eaten by an ogre'.

**Example Set HRO.7.**

FW-11.27

Qan+a+ti niʔs k'a·qak+awasiš.

/qan+a+t-Ø-Ø<sub>i</sub> niʔ-s<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub>?a·-qa-k-+awas-is/Hit-S3(obj)-P3(subj)<sub>IND</sub> the-S3<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub>IM-be.thus-say-DI-1PL.OBJ-S3

'He (prox) struck him (obv) when he (obv) said that to us, about us'.

**4.3.3 Associated Person Marking.**

Associated person marking as a syntactic phenomenon is accomplished by different morphological means. One of these is the compound Associated Person Suffix /m-i+/, composed of the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/ and the Ditransitive Suffix /-i+/~/-+/. It is used to mark a lexical argument in a clause where a nominal stem represents a third person entity possessed by a first person singular or possessed by a second person. These are clauses where the thing referred by the nominal stem is a subsidiary third person which is the object of the verbal stem, and the verbal stem is one with a

primary third person subject. There is also another associated person marker which takes the form of the Third Person Suffix /-i-s/ with a phonemic buffer vowel. It is used to mark a nominal stem representing a third person entity possessed by a first person plural or possessed by a third person. These are clauses where the verbal stem of the clause has a primary third person subject and a subsidiary third person object. When the third person subject is the same as the possessor of the thing which is the object of the verbal stem, there is no associated person marker, only a Third Person Possessive Suffix. This last situation is illustrated in example set APM.1, part (a). The circumstances where an associated person marker is required are illustrated in parts (b) through (e). These clauses are then presented further below in analyzed format.

Example Set APM.1.

- |             |                   |  |
|-------------|-------------------|--|
| (a) Wu·kati | ʔa·kit↓aʔis       | 'He saw his (own) house.'                |
| (b) Wu·kati | ʔa·kit↓aʔisis     | 'He saw his (someone else's) house.'     |
| (c) Wu·kati | ʔa·kit↓anamis     | 'He saw some indefinite person's house.' |
| (d) Wu·kati | ka↓a·kit↓ana↓aʔis | 'He saw our house.'                      |
| (e) Wu·kati | ka↓a·kit↓aʔmi↓.   | 'He saw my house.'                       |

Example Set APM.1, in Analyzed Format.

- (a) Wu·kati ʔa·kit↓aʔis.

/wu·kat↓i ʔa·k-i-t↓aʔ-ʔis/

See↓IND NSB-Bf-house-3POS

'He/she/it/they (proximate) saw his/her/its/their (own) house (obviative).'

(c) Wu·kati ʔa·kit↓anamis.

/wu·kat↓i ʔa·k-i-t↓aʔ-n-am-i-s/

See↓IND NSB-Bf-house-NC-INH-Bf-S3

'He/she/it/they (proximate) saw some indefinite (obviative) person's house (obv).'

(d) Wu·kati ka↓a·kit↓ana↓aʔis.

/wu·kat↓i ka↓ ʔa·k-i-t↓aʔ-n-a↓aʔ-i-s/

See↓IND 1 POS↓ NSB-Bf-house-NC-1PL-Bf-S3

'He/she/it/they (proximate) saw our house (obviative).'

(e) Wu·kati ka↓a·kit↓aʔmi↓.

/wu·kat↓i ka↓ ʔa·k-i-t↓aʔ-m-i↓/

See↓IND 1 POS↓ NSB-Bf-house-ASC-DI

'He/she/it/they (Proximate) saw my house (Obviative).'

Example sets APM.2, parts (a) and (b), and text example APM.3 provide further examples of associated person marking which involve the compound Associated Person Suffix /-m-i↓/ on nominal stems.

Example Set APM.2.

EG-KLP.card

(a) Kin wu·katmu ka↓a·k'ayukaʔmi↓ ?

/k↓hin↓ wu·kat-mu ka↓ ʔa·-k'ayukaʔ-m-i↓ ?/

SM↓2CP↓ See-INST 1 POS↓ NSB-hat-ASC-DI QUES

'Did you see him (proximate) with my hat (obviative)?'

(b) Hu wu·katmuni ʔa·k'ayukanismi↓.

/hu wu·kat-mu ʔa·-k'ayukaʔ-m-i↓ /

1 CP↓ See-INST NSB-hat-ASC-DI

'I saw him (proximate) with your hat (obviative).'

Text Example APM.3.

RMc-Ch.Og.241

ʈxaʈ ʈuʈamaxamunapni ka ʈiyaʈmiʈ.

/ʈxaʈʈ. ʈu-ʈamʈ-a-ʈ-xa-mu-n-ap.ʈni ka. ʈiyaʈ-m-iʈ/

FUT-ADV. remove-head-Bf-GSVI-G-INST-1SG.OBJ.IND 1POS. younger.brother-ASC-DI  
'She (proximate) will bite off the head of my little brother (obviative)'.

#### Associated Participant Marking and the Reciprocal Suffix.

Example set APM.4, below, is a set of three sentences which can be read as a short text. In the sentences of parts (a) and (b), associated participant marking is called for because in each sentence there are two third person arguments of a verbal stem and one of them, a subsidiary third person (i.e. an obviative), is possessed by a first person, not otherwise represented in the sentence. The situation is different in part (c) where the verbal stem is marked by the Reciprocal Suffix /-nam/. The verbal stem /ʈʈakiʈ/ 'to like something' is otherwise transitive, but in the sentence in part (c), where the verbal stem is marked by the Reciprocal Suffix, it has a valence of one.<sup>5</sup> In part (c), the cat and dog are still semantically two distinct entities, but they are referred to syntactically by a single compound nominal phrase and that compound nominal phrase counts as a primary third person (i.e. a proximate). In the sentence in part (c), there is no subsidiary third person nominal phrase in the sentence (i.e. no obviative) and therefore no subsidiary third person possessed by a first or second person, to trigger associated participant marking with the suffix /-miʈ/.

<sup>5</sup> The valence lowering syntactic behavior of the Reciprocal Suffix may be related to the fact that the Reciprocal Suffix is etymologically the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ followed by the Indefinite Human (subject or possessor) Suffix /-am/. The Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/ is the intransitive equivalent of the Passive Suffix /-ʈ/ in that they both mark indefinite human agents of verbal stems. The Passive Suffix /-ʈ/ is found with transitive stems, where it lowers the valence of the stem, while the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/ is found with already intransitive stems. The examples in section 4.3.1, earlier above, demonstrate that an indefinite human agent marked by the Passive Suffix is not a direct argument of the verbal stem. On the other hand, the Reciprocal Suffix /-nam/, as a unit, may be a valence lowering suffix for purely functional reasons.

Example Set APM.4.

EG-KLP

- (a) Ka xaʔtɕin ɕtakiɬni ka pusmiɬ. 'My dog likes my cat.'  
 (b) Ka pus ɕtakiɬni ka xaʔtɕinmiɬ. 'My cat likes my dog.'  
 (c) ɕtakiɬamni ka pus.ɕ ka xaʔtɕin. 'My cat and dog love one another.'

The Sentences in Analyzed Format.

- (a) Ka xaʔtɕin ɕtakiɬni ka pusmiɬ.

/ka. xaʔtɕin ɕtakiɬ.ni ka. pus-m-iɬ/

1 POS. dog like.IND 1 POS. cat-ASC-DI

'My dog (proximate) likes my cat (obviative).'

- (b) Ka pus ɕtakiɬni ka xaʔtɕinmiɬ.

/Ka. pus ɕtakiɬ.ni ka. xaʔtɕin-m-iɬ/

1 POS. cat like.IND 1 POS. dog-ASC-DI

'My cat (proximate) likes my dog (obviative).'

- (c) ɕtakiɬamni ka pus.ɕ ka xaʔtɕin.

/ɕtakiɬ-am.ni ka. pus .ɕ ka. xaʔtɕin/

like-RECIP.IND 1 POS. cat .and 1 POS. dog

'My cat and dog (proximate) love one another (proximate).'

## 4.3.4 The Person Marking of Instrumental Objects.

In Kutenai clauses where there is an Instrumental Suffix /-mu/ on the verbal stem and an instrument represented by a nominal stem, the nominal stem representing the instrument is marked as a subsidiary third person entity, if there is any other third person entity represented in the clause. This is shown in examples PMIO.1 through PMIO 3. Apparently, the subject of the verbal stem in the clause always outranks the instrument. This is something which would be expected for discourse pragmatic reasons. It is also apparently true on a general basis that the direct object of a transitive verbal stem with the Instrumental Suffix outranks the instrument, requiring the nominal stem representing the instrument to be a subsidiary third person.

Example PMIO.1.

EG

ʔitq̄anmuqamun †kamu nas siʔs!  
 /ʔitq̄anmuqa-mu<sub>n</sub> †kamu na-s siʔ-s /  
 bundle.up-INST<sub>2CP</sub> baby this-S3 blanket-S3  
 'Bundle the baby up in this blanket!'

Example Set PMIO.2.

KLP.card

(a) Hu wank̄umuni ku ʔi·ku† piq̄aks. 'I stirred my drink with a spoon.'

/hu wan-k̄u-mu<sub>ni</sub> k<sub>hu</sub> ʔi·ku† piq̄aks/  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> move-by.point-INST<sub>IND</sub> SM<sub>u</sub> 1CP<sub>u</sub> Drink spoon-S3

(b) Hu wank̄umuna†aʔni ku ʔi·ku†na†a piq̄aks.

/hu wan-k̄u-mu-n-a†aʔ<sub>ni</sub> k<sub>hu</sub> ʔi·ku†-n-a†aʔ piq̄ak-s/  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> move-by.point-INST-NC-1PL<sub>IND</sub> SM<sub>u</sub> 1CP<sub>u</sub> Drink-NC-1PL spoon-S3

'We stirred our drinks with a spoon.'



(c) Wankumuni ki·kuᵛ piᵛaks.

/wan-kᵛ-muᵛni kᵛ ʔi·kuᵛ piᵛak-s/

move-by.point-INSTᵛIND SMᵛ · Drink spoon-S3

'He stirred his drink with a spoon.'

Example Set PMIO.3.

KLP.card

(a) Kᵛukᵛʔmuᵛᵛ na ʔa·kwukᵛᵛᵛᵛ ᵛuᵛʔus ʔ

/kᵛ ᵛu-kᵛ-ʔ-muᵛᵛᵛᵛ na ʔa·k-wukᵛᵛᵛᵛ ᵛuᵛʔu-s ʔ/

SMᵛ pierce-by.point-GSVI-INST-PASV this NSB-Hide awl-S3 QUES

'Was this hide pierced with an awl?'

(b) Hiy, hu ᵛukᵛumuni ᵛuᵛʔus.

/hiy, huᵛ ᵛu-kᵛ-ʔ-muᵛᵛni ᵛuᵛʔu-s/

yes 1CPᵛ pierce-by.point-GSVI-INSTᵛIND awl-S3

'Yes, I pierced it with an awl'.



#### 4.4 Subordination.

Subordination in Kutenai involves verbal phrases which are either marked as subordinate by the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>u</sub>/ or they are subordinate verbal phrases which can be identified as subordinate in some other way. What all subordinate forms have in common is that they are non-indicative, but the mere absence of the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ni/ is not sufficient to mark a verbal form as subordinate. Some reflexive verbal forms are regularly indicative without having the Indicative Marker encliticized onto the verbal stem.<sup>1</sup>

Phrases which are marked by the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>u</sub>/ are k-forms. These include interrogative forms, and non-interrogative forms. Interrogative forms are different from other k-forms by being spoken with a rising interrogative intonation. Non-interrogative k-forms include lexicalized nominalizations, ad hoc nominalizations, complement clauses of verbal stems of thought, perception, and communication, and what can loosely be described as relative clause type k-forms.

Plain predicate clauses are another type of subordinate forms in Kutenai. These are marked by the Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/.<sup>2</sup> One complication is that the Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/ only occurs overtly before the first verbal root of a verbal phrase and only if that verbal root begins with a laryngeal consonant.<sup>3</sup> As a result of this, many plain predicate forms are identical to the plain forms of verbal stems which are glossed as infinitives.<sup>4</sup>

Plain predicate clauses are functionally either temporal clauses, including 'when'-

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<sup>1</sup> See section 3.2.7 for a paradigm of indicative reflexive forms.

<sup>2</sup> The Predicate Marker is also a feature of indicative paradigms, where it occurs in construction with the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ni/ to mark verbal forms as indicative. In the absence of the indicative marker, the Predicate Marker marks plain predicate clauses.

<sup>3</sup> The first verbal root of a verbal phrase may be the base morpheme of a derived adverb.

<sup>4</sup> The plain forms of verbal stems which are glossed as infinitives do not occur in Kutenai sentences. In other words, infinitives do not occur in Kutenai as a type of subordinate clause. The infinitival glosses are merely an artifact of the need to have a way to list verbal stems, as in a lexicon. When Kutenai speakers want to refer to a verbal stem in a citation form in natural speech, they generally use the k-form.

clauses, or they are conditional clauses, including 'if'-clauses. 'When'-clauses set up a chronology of events for a sentence. 'If'-clauses state a condition relevant to the indicative proposition of the sentence.

#### 4.4.1 Complement Clauses.

Complement clauses in Kutenai include k-forms which are subordinate to verbal stems of thought, perception, and communication. These clauses naturally specify things thought, perceived, or communicated.<sup>5</sup> Examples KFCC.1 through KFCC.6 contain k-form complement clauses. In each of these examples, the k-form clause represents something which can be identified with the third person direct object of the main clause verbal stem.

For example, in KFCC.1, immediately below, the main clause verbal stem can be construed to be a transitive stem with a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) direct object 'it', marked by a zero pronominal affix. This 'it' is the fact that the chickadees are being watched. In the subordinate clause in part (b) of the example, the determiner /ni ʔ/ 'the' functions as a pronoun, representing the fact that the chickadees are being watched. As such, it is marked as a subsidiary third person entity ( i.e. an obviative entity) in the sentence.

Example KFCC.1.

EG-KLP.sheet

(a) Qa ʔupxni mičʔqaqas

/qa ʔupxni mičʔqaqas/

NEG see/know IND chickadee

they don't know it the chickadees

'The chickadees don't know

<sup>5</sup> Direct quotes need not be k-forms and direct quotes are also not marked morphologically in any other way as quotes.

(b) niʔs ksakiʔ hakiʔwiʔkiʔiʔ.

/niʔ-s k<sub>u</sub>sak-iʔʔ<sub>u</sub> hakiʔ-wiʔki-ʔ-iʔ/

the-S3<sub>u</sub> SM<sub>u</sub>still-ADV<sub>u</sub> keep-watch-DI-PASV

the fact that they are being watched

(that) they are being watched.'

In example KFCC.2, below, it is open to interpretation whether the direct object of the main clause verbal stem /wu:kat/ 'to see something' is either the man or the fact that the man is doing something in a hurry or quickly. The subject of the verbal stem /was-aqna-ʔ/ 'to do something quickly or in a hurry' is the subsidiary third person pronominal argument /-s/ of the inflected verbal stem /k<sub>u</sub>was-aqna-p-s/ in the sentence. The inflected nominal stem /titqat<sup>2</sup>-s/ 'man' is marked as a subsidiary third person entity by this same pronominal affix. Both the nominal stem and the subordinate verbal stem are deletable from the sentence.<sup>6</sup>

Example KFCC.2.

FW-7.15

Wu:kati titqat<sup>2</sup>s kwasaqnaps.

/wu:kat<sub>u</sub>i titqat<sup>2</sup>-s k<sub>u</sub>was-aqna-p-s/

See<sub>u</sub>IND man-S3 SM<sub>u</sub>quick-do-IN-S3

He saw him/it a man that he (the man) does something quickly, in a hurry

'He saw a man doing something in a hurry.'

<sup>6</sup> Given the assumption that nominal stems in Kutenai are subordinate clauses of a particular kind, the two instances of the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ are each pronominal arguments, in their own way, and are each in apposition to the zero subsidiary third person object affix of the main clause verbal stem. Either one can be seen as the direct object of the main clause verbal stem /wu:kat/ 'to see something'.

In examples KFCC.3 through KFCC.5, below, the situation of subsidiary third person objects is further compounded. There can be only one primary third person entity in a sentence, but there can be more than one subsidiary third person entity.

## Example KFCC.3.

FW-7.15

Wu:kati titqat's k'i?tkins qapsins.

/wu:kat<sub>1</sub>i titqat'<sup>2</sup>-s k<sub>1</sub>?i?tkin-s qapsin-s/

See<sub>1</sub>IND man-S3 SM<sub>1</sub>Make-S3 something-S3

He saw him/it a man that he (the man) made something

'He saw a man making something.'

## Example KFCC.4.

FW-7.15

Wu:kati titqat's kwasaqnaps k'i?tkins qapsins.

/wu:kat<sub>1</sub>i titqat'<sup>2</sup>-s k<sub>1</sub>was-aqna-p-s k<sub>1</sub>?i?tkin-s qapsin-s/

See<sub>1</sub>IND man-S3 SM<sub>1</sub>quick-do-IN-S3 SM<sub>1</sub>Make-S3 something-S3

He saw him/it a man that he (the man) is quick that he (the man) made something.

'He saw a man making something in a hurry.'

In example KFCC.5, below, the bee is the subject of the verbal stem /?itk'u?/ 'to sting someone or something'. The bee is a lesser entity than the man so the man is a higher ranking subsidiary third person entity (a higher ranking obviative) in the sentence than the bee, also a subsidiary third person entity (an obviative) in the sentence. The first instance of the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ on the inflected verbal stem /k<sub>1</sub>?itk'u?-n-ap-s-is/ is apparently a modifier of the Higher Ranking Object Suffix /-ap-/. The second instance of the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ on the inflected stem can be seen as the representing the subject of the stem, the bee.

## Example KFCC.5.

FW-7.15

Wu:kati titqaʔs k̄itk̄unapsis yuwatʔs.

/wu:kati titqaʔ-s k̄iʔitk̄uʔ-n-ap-s-is yuwatʔ-s/

See,IND man-S3 SM,Sting-NC-HRO-S3-S3 bee-S3

He saw him/it a man that he (the man) got stung by it a bee

**'He saw a man getting stung by a bee, He saw a man who was stung by a bee.'**

In example KFCC.6, there is only one third person pronominal reference in the sentence, the thing being chewed. It is coreferent to /qapsin/ 'something, what' and /ʔin/ 'that'.

## Example KFCC.6.

EG

Qapsin kiʔin ʔin kin haqaʔquxa ?

/qapsin k̄hiʔiʔin ʔin k̄hin ha-qa-ʔ-qu-xa/

what SM,Bpt,be that SM,2CP have-be.thus-carry-in.water-by.mouth

what is it that (thing) that you are chewing it

**'What is that you are chewing?'**

Example KFCC.7 is one where the main clause verbal stem is intransitive, except for a semantic direct object in the form of a complement. The semantic direct object, 'that there were many of them', is not to be construed as syntactically coreferent to an unmarked subsidiary third person direct object of the main clause verbal stem. The pronominal marking in the sentence indicates only that the subject of the subordinate clause is a subsidiary third person entity or entities, 'they or them', not coreferent to the subject, 'he', of the main clause verbal stem /qaʔwiy/ 'to think, to want'.

## Example KFCC.7.

RMc-ChOg.355-356

Ninkuʔis qaʔwiyɿni ksakiʔ yunaqaps.  
 /ninkuʔ-ʔis qa-ʔwiyɿni kʷsak-iʔʔɿ yuʔ-n-haʔ-qa-p-s/  
 2&3IPB-3POS be.thus-heartɿIND SMɿstill-ADVɿ many-NC-have-STV-IN-S3  
 he, himself he thought that they were still many

(a) 'He thought'

(b) 'there were still a large number of them.'

Evidence for the syntactically intransitive nature of the stem /qaʔwiy/ 'to think, to want' in example KFCC.7, above, is provided by the fact that there is also a transitive form of this stem which is /qaʔwiynaʔt/ 'to think (something) of someone or something, to want something for someone or something'. Example KFCC.8, below, provides an example of the transitive stem. The syntactic object added by the compound Composite Transitive suffix is additional to the semantic direct object represented in both example KFCC.7 and example KFCC.8 by the k-form complement clause.

## Example KFCC.8

FW.12.6

Hu qaʔwiynataʔaʔni<sup>7</sup> kʷʔɿʔtkins qapsins.  
 /huɿ qa-ʔwiy-naʔt-aʔaʔɿni kʷʔɿ ʔiʔt-kin-s qapsin-s/  
 1CPɿ be.thus-heart-CT-1PLɿIND SMɿIRɿ Become-by.hand-S3 something-S3  
 We thought about him that he would do it or make it  
 We wanted for him that he would do it or make it

(a) 'We wanted'

(b) 'him to do something.'

<sup>7</sup> Some additional background on the meaning of the stem /qaʔwiynaʔt/ 'to think (something) of someone or something, to want something for someone or something' is provided by the fact that /Hu qaʔwiynataʔaʔni/ by itself can mean "That's our price, that's what we charge (i.e. that is what we think of it, that's what we want for it)" FW-12.6.



#### 4.4.2 K-Forms as Subjects.

Mention has been made of k-forms which are lexicalized nominalizations and those which are ad hoc nominalizations. K-form nominalizations can be either the objects of sentences (syntactic or merely semantic), as illustrated in the complement clauses in section 4.4.1, or k-form nominalizations can be the subjects of sentences. There is an example in section 3.1.4 in part (d) of text example CAM.3. It is reproduce here as example KFS.1. It is very similar to other examples in the same text where the ogress character is also named.

Text Example KFS.1.

RMc-ChOg.196-199

ʔaxaxi niʔ naʔutinana niʔs niʔsiks "ʔAʔqananuqiʔxuʔnu

(a) The little girl arrived where the bull was.

(b) "Pack me across the river.

Snutapni

kʔuʔamaxaka.

/s-nut-ap<sub>ni</sub>/

/k<sub>u</sub>ʔu-ʔam-a-ʔ-xa-kaʔ/

CON-chase-1SG.OBJ<sub>IND</sub>

SM<sub>u</sub>remove-head-Bf-GSVI-by.mouth-INH.O

(c) She is after me,

(d) the one who chews heads off."<sup>8</sup>

Text example KFS.2, below, names the ogress again, but adds the Distributive Suffix /-(ni)ń/ to the ogress's name, demonstrating that the name is descriptive, rather than being entirely fixed as a name. It is as much an ad hoc nominalization as it is a lexicalized nominalization.

<sup>8</sup> Lines (c) and (d) originally glossed together as: 'one who chews heads off is after me'.

Text Example KFS.2.

RMc-ChOg.224-226

Hin<sub>ϕ</sub> qaki<sub>†</sub>ni:

(a) You will say to him:

"snutapni k<sub>†</sub>u<sub>†</sub>n<sub>†</sub>†amaxaka."/s-nut-ap<sub>ϕ</sub>ni/ /k<sub>ϕ</sub>†u-<sub>n</sub>†-†am-a-?-xa-ka?/CON-chase-1SG.OBJ<sub>ϕ</sub>INDSM<sub>ϕ</sub>remove-DIST-head-Bf-GSVI-by.mouth-INH.O

(b) "she is after me,

(c) the one who chews heads off.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4.4.3 The Deictic Pronoun Locative Construction.

The Deictic Pronoun Locative Construction is a construction in Kutenai where a subordinate clause is introduced by a deictic pronoun, either /na/, 'this (thing or place)' /?in/, 'that (thing or place)' or /qu?/ 'yon (thing), yonder (i.e. over there)'. The other marker of this construction is the Locative Marker /<sub>ϕ</sub>ki/ encliticized to the verbal stem which follows the introductory deictic pronoun. These clauses ostensibly modify Kutenai nominal stems as relative clauses modify nouns. One reason not to describe them specifically as relative clauses is that the Kutenai nominal stems which are ostensibly modified by these clauses can themselves be seen as subordinate clauses of a particular type. Nominal stems in Kutenai are coreferent to, and in apposition to, the pronominal arguments of verbal stems. In the case of the Deictic Pronoun Locative Construction the nominal stem is in apposition to the deictic pronoun which is a proclitic pronoun on the verbal stem which has the Locative Marker as an enclitic. The deictic pronoun represents the subject of the locativized verbal stem. It can be argued that in syntactic terms, the nominal stem is as much a modifier of the clitic pronoun of the locativized verbal stem, as the locativized verbal stem and its clitic pronoun are a modifier of the nominal stem. Examples DPLC.1 through

<sup>9</sup> Lines (b) and (c) originally glossed together as: 'one who chews heads off is after me'.

DPLC. 5, below, show this construction in its full form, including the introductory deictic pronoun.

**Example DPLC.1.**

EG

(a) Ma ɕaɕunani ?in hanqa?ki miɕkikɕ

/ma ɕa-q-una<sub>ni</sub> ?in<sub>u</sub> ha-n-qa-?<sub>ki</sub> miɕkikɕ/

PST<sub>u</sub> small-STV-DIM<sub>IND</sub> that<sub>u</sub> have-STD-STV-IN<sub>IND</sub> maple<sub>u</sub>and

'That maple standing there was small and'

(b) taxas siɕ ?isi?ɕ wiɕqa?ni.

/taxa-s s-i?ɕ<sub>u</sub> ?is-i?ɕ<sub>u</sub> wiɕ-qa-?<sub>ni</sub>/

then-S3 CON-ADV<sub>u</sub> severe-STV-ADV<sub>u</sub> big-STV-IN<sub>IND</sub>

'now it's real big.'

**Example DPLC.2.**

EG-KLP.OPN.les.2

ɕinaɕ ?upɕi?tin qu haqa?ki ?iyamu.

/ɕi-na-?ɕ<sub>u</sub> ?upɕi?t<sub>hin</sub> qu?<sub>u</sub> ha-qa-?<sub>ki</sub> ?iyamu?/

INCEP-go-ADV<sub>u</sub> Count<sub>2CP</sub> you<sub>u</sub> have-STV-IN<sub>LOC</sub> cattle/big.game

'Go over and you sg. count that herd of cattle.'

**Example DPLC.3.**

EG.

ɕikaɕkinin qu hakqa?ki piɕak.

/ɕi-ka-ɕ-kin<sub>in</sub> qu?<sub>u</sub> ha-k-qa-?<sub>ki</sub> piɕak/

INCEP-come-carry-by.hand<sub>2CP</sub> you<sub>u</sub> have-HORZ-STV-IN<sub>LOC</sub> spoon

'Bring that spoon that is laying over there here.'

Examples DPLC.4 and DPLC.5 illustrate that there is one circumstance which can call

for the deictic pronoun and locativized verbal stem to follow the nominal stem which they, as a unit, are in construction with, rather than the nominal stem necessarily following the deictic pronoun and locativized verbal stem, as in the examples above. The English glosses suggest that the examples in DPLC.4 and DPLC.5, below, represent a different construction than the subordinate construction in examples DPLC.1 through DPLC.3, above. In the examples, below, the location of something is being questioned, to some extent, rather than being assumed as descriptive background in a sentence.

**Example DPLC.4.**

**EG.**

Kaqa titunam ?in hanit?anamki ?  
 /k<sub>h</sub>a-qa-? titunam ?in ha-n-i-t?a?-n-am<sub>ki</sub> ?/  
 SM<sub>h</sub>have-STV-IN father-NC-INH that have-STD-Bf-NC-INH<sub>LOC</sub> QUES

'Is there a father in that household.'

**Example DPLC.5.**

**EG.**

Ki?in pusnis qu hamki ?  
 /k<sub>h</sub>i? ?in pus-n-is qu? ha-m<sub>ki</sub> ?/  
 SM<sub>h</sub>Bpt<sub>h</sub> that cat-NC-2P&O yon go.by-RM<sub>LOC</sub> QUES

'Is that your cat going by there?'

Examples DPLC.6 and DPLC.7 have the Deictic Pronoun Locative Construction minus the deictic pronoun which is coreferential to the nominal stem. Instead, there is a deictic pronoun referring to a location which is specifically non-coreferential to the subject of the locativized verbal stem and the nominal stem. In the examples below, the verbal stems have primary third person (i.e. proximate) subjects and the nominal stems are primary third person (i.e. proximate) referring nominal stems. The deictic pronouns have a specifically

locative sense, referring to locations as subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) entities.

**Example DPLC.6.**

EG.

ʔIs ɳini haq̄nuki q̄ayaʔtak.

/ʔi-ṣ ṇ ʔi-ṇi ha-q̄nụki q̄ayaʔtak/

that-S3 PṂ be-NC̣IND have-crawḷLOC daddy.long.legs

'There's a daddy long legs crawling along.'

**Example DPLC.7.**

EG.

Qus ɳini haqaʔki kwiʔq̄i.

/quʔ-ṣ ṇ ʔi-ṇi ha-qa-ʔki ḳwiʔ-q̄iʔ/

yon-S3 PṂbe-NC̣IND have-STV-IṆLOC SṂbig-horn

'Over there is a herd of big horn sheep'

#### 4.4.4 The Definite Reference Locative Construction.

The Definite Reference Marker /yạ/~/yị/ occurs in two subordinate clause constructions. One of these constructions is the Definite Reference Locative Construction which is closely parallel to the Deictic Pronoun Locative Construction. In the Definite Reference Locative Construction, instead of a deictic pronoun being proclitic to a verbal stem, the Definite Reference Marker occurs proclitic to a verbal stem. As in the Deictic Pronoun Locative Construction, in the Definite Reference Locative Construction, the verbal stem is locativized by the encliticization of the Locative Marker onto the verbal stem.

The Definite Reference Marker also occur in another construction, the Definite Reference K-Form Construction, where the verbal form is a k-form, rather than a locativized verbal form.<sup>10</sup> In each of these three constructions, the verbal stem can be said to be

<sup>10</sup> There are examples of the Definite Reference K-Form Construction further below in section 4.4.5.

marked as subordinate. The Locative Marker / $\text{ʌki}$ / can be seen as a subordinate marker related to the Subordinate Marker / $\text{kʌ}$ /. A possible diachronically analysis of the Locative Marker / $\text{ʌki}$ / is as  $*/\text{ʌkʌhi?}/$ , composed of the Subordinate Marker / $\text{kʌ}$ / followed by the clitic Buffer Particle / $\text{hi?}$ /. The Buffer Particle / $\text{hi?}$ / was evidently once an auxiliary form of the verbal root / $\text{ʔi?}/\sim/\text{ʔi-}/$  'be'. The root / $\text{ʔi?}/\sim/\text{ʔi-}/$  'be' can in turn be related to the Stative Suffix / $\text{-i?}$ /.<sup>11</sup>

In text example DFLC.1, below, the transitive verbal stem / $\text{qa-ki}/\sim/\text{qa-kik}/$  'to say something' has the Definite Reference Marker procliticized to the verbal stem. The third person which is definitely referred to by the Definite Reference Marker is the thing said, the patient of the verbal stem. This is also true for the ditransitive stem, / $\text{qa-ki-t}/$  'to tell someone something, to tell something to someone'. The definite reference is to the thing said, the patient of the verbal stem.

Text Example DFLC.1.

AP-CM.76-78

(a)  $\text{Taxas si} \downarrow \text{nakyaxamik}$  'Then he told what happened,'

/ $\text{taxa-s s-i} \downarrow \text{n} \downarrow \text{ha-k-yaxa-m-ik}/$   
 then-S3 CON-ADV. PM $\downarrow$ have-say-fetch-ASC-REFLX

(b)  $\text{ya} \cdot \downarrow \text{qaki} \uparrow \text{ki} \downarrow \emptyset$  'what he said and'

/ $\text{ya} \cdot \downarrow \text{qa-ki} \uparrow \text{ki} \downarrow \emptyset$ /  
 DFM $\downarrow$  be.thus-say $\downarrow$ LOC $\downarrow$ and

<sup>11</sup> This diachronic analysis of Locative Marker is closely parallel to the diachronic analysis given to the Indicative Marker / $\text{ʌni}$ / which can be reconstructed as  $*/\text{ʌnʌhi?}/$ , composed of the Predicate Marker / $\text{nʌ}$ /, or even the N-Connector Suffix / $\text{-n-}/$ , followed by the clitic Buffer Particle / $\text{hi?}$ /. Although these analyses are diachronic, no special sound changes are needed to derive the Locative Marker from  $*/\text{ʌkʌhi?}/$  and the Indicative Marker from  $*/\text{ʌnʌhi?}/$ . The regular synchronic laryngeal deletion rules of the language are all that is needed phonologically.

- (c)  $ya\cdot\text{qak}\dagger\text{apski}$  'what was said to him in return.'  
 / $ya\cdot\text{qa-k}\dagger\text{-ap-s}\cdot\text{ki}$ /  
 DFM<sub>1</sub> be.thus-say-DI-HRO-S3<sub>1</sub>LOC

## Example Set DFCL.2.

EG

- (a)  $\text{t}\dagger\text{it}\acute{\text{k}}\text{amsi } \text{?is } ya\cdot\text{qaki?ki}$ .  
 / $\dagger\text{it-k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{m-s}\cdot\text{i}$   $\text{?i-s}\cdot\text{ } ya\cdot\text{qa-ki?}\cdot\text{ki}$ / (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 / $\dagger\text{it-k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{m-s}\cdot\text{ni}$   $\text{?in-s}\cdot\text{ } ya\cdot\text{qa-ki?}\cdot\text{ki}$  / (Underlying Phonemic)  
 be.without-sense-S3<sub>1</sub>IND that-S3 DFM<sub>1</sub>be.thus-say<sub>1</sub>LOC  
 'What he said is of no importance, what he said is nothing'.

- (b)  $\text{Na}\acute{\text{k}}\text{amni } \text{hin } ya\cdot\text{qa}\dagger\text{wiyki}$ .  
 / $n\cdot\text{ha-k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{m}\cdot\text{i}$   $\text{hin}\cdot\text{ } ya\cdot\text{qa}\dagger\text{wiy}\cdot\text{ki}$ /  
 PM<sub>1</sub>have-sense<sub>1</sub>IND 2CP<sub>1</sub> DFM<sub>1</sub>be.thus-heart<sub>1</sub>LOC  
 'What you think matters'.

Part (b) contrasts with part (c):

EG

- (c)  $\text{Na}\acute{\text{k}}\text{amni } \text{ka? } \text{hin } \text{?a}\cdot\text{qa}\dagger\text{wiy}$ .  
 / $n\cdot\text{ha-k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{m}\cdot\text{i}$   $\text{ka?}\cdot\text{ } \text{hin}\cdot\text{ } \text{?a}\cdot\text{-qa}\dagger\text{wiy}$ /  
 PM<sub>1</sub>have-sense<sub>1</sub>IND what<sub>1</sub> 2CP<sub>1</sub> IM-be.thus-heart  
 'It matters what you decide.'

## Example DFCL.3.

EG

- $\text{t}\dagger\text{u}\phi\text{i?ti } \text{hin } ya\cdot\text{qa}\dagger\text{wiy}\text{mi}\dagger\text{ki}$ .  
 / $\dagger\text{u-}\phi\text{-i?}\cdot\text{t}\cdot\text{i}$   $\text{hin}\cdot\text{ } ya\cdot\text{qa}\dagger\text{wiy-m-i}\dagger\cdot\text{ki}$ /  
 be.none-CAUS-STV-TVI<sub>1</sub>IND 2CP<sub>1</sub> DFM<sub>1</sub>be.thus-heart-ASC-DI<sub>1</sub>LOC  
 'He doesn't care what you think, he didn't care for your idea'.

## Example DFCL.4.

EG

- (a)  $\text{Ciqa?ni } \text{?a·ki} \text{+} \text{+a} \text{+} \text{a?wuk}$   
 / $\text{ci-qa-?ni } \text{?a·k-i} \text{+} \text{+a} \text{+} \text{a?-wu?k}$   
 dense-STV-IN,IND NSB-Lex-bush  
 'There is thick shrub'

- (b)  $\text{na hu,} \text{c } \text{ya·} \text{qanamki.}$

/ $\text{na hu,} \text{c } \text{ya·} \text{qa-na-m,ki/}$   
 this 1CP,Fpt DFM,be.thus-go-RM,LOC  
 'where I am going'.

## Example DFCL.5.

EG

$\text{Ci·kat} \text{+ititin hin,} \text{c } \text{ya·} \text{qanamki.}$   
 / $\text{ci·kat-} \text{+i?t-i-t,in } \text{hin,} \text{c } \text{ya·} \text{qa-na-m,ki/}$   
 Look.at-place-Bf-TVI,2CP 2CP,FUT DFM,be.thus-go-RM,LOC  
 'Watch where you're going'.

## Example DFCL.6.

FW-7.31

$\text{Cinaxi ni?S } \text{ya·} \text{ki} \text{+ } \text{?ikski.}$   
 / $\text{ci-na-x,i } \text{ni?·s, } \text{ya·} \text{ha-k-i?} \text{, } \text{?ik-s,ki/}$   
 INCEP-go-RLG,IND the-S3, DFM,have-do/be-ADV, eat-S3,LOC  
 'He/she/it/they (prox) went to where (obv) he/she/it/they (obv) was/were eating.'

The subject of the main clause verbal stem / $\text{ci} \text{ } \text{naxi}$ / in example DFCL.6, above, is a primary third person entity (i.e. a proximate). This requires that the object of the main clause be a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative). The object is the place being referred to in the sentence, which is represented in the sentence by the Determiner / $\text{ni } \text{?·s}$ /, clearly functioning here as a pronoun. The subordinate clause / $\text{ya·} \text{ki} \text{+ } \text{?ik-s,ki}$ / 'where (obv) he/she/it/they (obv) was/were eating' modifies the pronoun / $\text{ni } \text{?·s}$ /, adding specification of the place being referred to. The subject of the subordinate clause is the person or persons doing the eating, also a subsidiary third person entity (i.e. an obviative). In



example DFCL.7, below, this very same subordinate clause occurs with the subject of the subordinate clause being a primary third person entity (i.e. a proximate). The subordinate clause in DFCL.7 requires a main clause where there is no third person reference, other than to the place referred to by the pronoun /niʔ-s/.

Example DFCL.7.

FW-7.31

niʔs ya.ʔkiʔ.ʔi.ki  
 /niʔ-s ya.ʔha-k-iʔ.ʔi.ʔki/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /niʔ-s ya.ʔha-k-iʔ.ʔik.ʔki/ (Underlying Phonemic)  
 the-S3 DFM.have-do/be-ADV. eat.LOC  
 'where (obviative) he/she/it/ (prox) is eating, where (obv) they (prox) are eating',

Example DFCL.8, below, has an ostensibly passive form of the subordinate clause seen above in example DFCL.6. The Definite Reference Marker which is procliticized onto the verbal stem /ʔik/ 'to eat' in these sentences refers to the place where eating is done, rather than to those who are doing the eating, or to what is eaten. This is governed by the presence of the Locative Marker /ʔki/.

The Passive suffix in example DFCL.8, below, lowers the syntactic valence of the verbal stem so that the ones doing the eating are not specified in the clause. If the verbal stem /ʔik/ 'to eat', is seen as intransitive to begin with then the obviative marking must refer to the place where eating is done, rather than to what is eaten and the verbal stem in the subordinate clause has no syntactic subject. If the verbal stem is transitive, then the object of the transitive verbal stem /ʔik/ 'to eat something' has been turned into the subject of the passive form of the stem and the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ refers to what is eaten, now the subject of the subordinate verbal stem. The meaning of the overall sentence does not support this last hypothesis. In any event, in example DFCL.8, below, the subject of the main clause verbal stem is a primary third person entity (i.e. a proximate), requiring that the place referred to by the subordinate clause must be a subsidiary third person entity (i.e. an obviative), whatever the situation may be with the valence of the verbal stem in the subordinate clause.

Example DFCL.8.

FW-7.31

ʔinaxi ya.ʔkiʔ.ʔikʔiski.  
 /ʔi-na-x.ʔi ya.ʔha-k-iʔ.ʔik-ʔ-i-s.ʔki/  
 INCEP-go-RLG.IND DFM.have-do/be-ADV. eat-PASV-Bf-S3.LOC  
 'He/she/it/they (proximate) went to where (obviative) they (indefinite and unspecified person or persons) are eating', 'He/she/it/they (proximate) went to an eating place (obviative), i.e. 'He went to a restaurant'.

The subordinate clause in example DFCL.8, above, can refer to a primary third person place (i.e. a proximate), as in example DFCL.9, below. This clause is the plain form of the lexical item meaning 'restaurant', seen above in example DFCL.8 in a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) form.

Example DFCL.9.

FW-7.31

ya.ʔkiʔ ʔikiʔki

/ya.ʔha-k-iʔʔ. ʔik-i-ʔʔki/

DFM.have-do/be-ADV. eat-Bf-PASV.LOC

'restaurant', lit. 'the place (prox) where they (indefinite and unspecified) eat'.

#### 4.4.5 The Definite Reference K-Form Construction.

Where the Definite Reference Marker /ya·~/~/yi·~/ occurs, there is already an unmarked third person pronominal reference which the Definite Reference Marker only serves to emphasis and make more definite. Example DFKC.1, below, contains the Definite Reference Marker, but the construction /kwi+qa? kanusnana/ means 'a big apple' without it.

Example DFKC.1.

EG.

ʔkakinin ya· kwi+qa kanusnana.

/ʔ-ka-kin.in ya· k.wi+qa-? kanusnana/

INCEP-come-by.hand.2CP DFM. SM.big-STV-IN apple

'Pass me an apple that is large', Pass me a big apple'.

Example set DFKC.2 contrasts two sentences each consisting of an indicative verbal phrase in parts (a) and (b) with a corresponding k-form subordinate clause in part (c), and an example of the Definite Reference K-Form Construction in part (d).

Example Set DFKC.2.

FW-12.67

(a) Wuq+am'ni

/wu-q+am'.ni/<sup>12</sup>

long-Hair.IND

'He/she/it (proximate) has long hair, They (proximate) have long hair'.

<sup>12</sup> The compound lexical suffix /-q+am'/ 'hair' contains the lexical suffix /-+am'/ 'head'.

## (b) Wuq̄+am̄si

/wu-q̄+am̄-s̄.i/

long-Hair-S3.IND

'He/she/it (obviative) has long hair, They (obviative) have long hair'.

## (c) Wu·kati kwuq̄+am̄s̄.

/wu·kat̄.i k̄.wu-q̄+am̄-s̄.i/<sup>13</sup>

See.IND SM̄.long-Hair-S3.IND

'He/she/it/they (proximate) saw that he/she/it/they (obviative) had long hair',

also: 'He/she/it/they saw a Chinaman/Chinese person or persons'.

## (d) Wu·kati ya·kwuq̄+am̄s̄.

/wu·kat̄.i ya·k̄.wu-q̄+am̄-s̄/

See.IND DFM̄.SM̄.long-Hair-S3

'He saw those that had long hair'.

Example DFKC.2, part (d), above, has the Definite Reference k-form construction as the direct object of the main clause verbal stem /wu·kat̄/ 'to see something'. The subject of the intransitive verbal stem in the subordinate clause is the object of the transitive verbal stem in the main clause. In examples DFKC.3 and DFKC.4, below, the Definite Reference k-form construction functions as the subject of the main clause verbal stem /ʔi ʔtuk̄saʔ/ 'to tie something' which is a transitive verbal stem.

<sup>13</sup> Underlyingly, the verbal stem /wu·kat̄/ contains the lexical suffix /-akat̄/ 'sight'. See section 2.6.10 where the morphologically conditioned rule of monophthongization, which is involved here, is discussed.

## Example DFKC.3.

FW-12.66

Niʔ ya·kwuq̄+am̄ xman ʔituk̄saʔni  
 /niʔ ya·k̄wu-q̄+am̄ xma·n̄ ʔiʔt-uk̄sa-ʔni/  
 the DFM,SM, long-Hair-S3 HYPO,PM, Become-tie-GSVI,IND  
 'Those who have long hair should tie it, braid it.'

## Example DFKC.4.

FW-7.10

ʔAq̄+smaknik̄ ya·kwuq̄+am̄ xman ʔituk̄saʔni.  
 /ʔaq̄+smaknik̄ ya·k̄wu-q̄+am̄ xma·n̄ ʔiʔt-uk̄sa-ʔni/  
 people DFM,SM, long-Hair HYPO,PM, Become-tie-GSVI,IND  
 'People who have long hair should tie it (braid it).'

Example DFKC.4, above, and example DFKC.5, part (a), below, have Definite Reference K-Form clauses coreferent to the preceding nominal stem /ʔaq̄+smaknik̄/ 'person, people'. Going by the English translations, the nominal stems are modified by the following subordinate clauses. In any event, the assumption here is that the nominal stem at the beginning of these sentences are in apposition to the affixal pronominal subject of the verbal phrases of these sentences. The Definite Reference Marker /ya·/ in these sentences, along with the nominal stem /ʔaq̄+smaknik̄/ 'person, people', can both be thought of as modifiers of the unmarked (i.e. zero) pronominal reference in the verbal stem. An alternative is for the Definite Reference Marker /ya·/ to be seen as a pronominal affix, in its own right, representing the primary third person pronominal reference in these sentences, in the clauses where it occurs.

## Example DFKC.5.

FW-7.12

(a) ʔAq̄+smaknik̄ ya·kyuʔnaʔt čikins  
 /ʔaq̄+smaknik̄ ya·k̄yuʔ-n-haʔ-t čikin-s/  
 people DFM,SM, many-NC-have-TVI chicken-S3  
 'People who have lots of chickens'

(b) ʔat yunaxni ʔa·kmaq̄ans.

/ʔat̄ yuʔ-n-ha-x̄ni ʔa·k-maq̄an-s/  
 IMpt, many-NC-have-by.mouth,IND NSB-egg-S3  
 'have lots of eggs to eat'.

The optionality of the Definite Reference Marker is further demonstrated by a passage in text example DFKC.6 from the story of Chickadee and Elk, as told in 1975 by Lucy Birdstone, of St Mary's Band. The transcript of the text was produced on January 17, 1975 with the help of Lucy Birdstone, Judith Alpine, and Leo Williams. In part (c) the subordinate construction /ya·k·hiʔ·sik/ is used to refer to an elk which is fat, specifically 'one that is fat'. This occurs again in part (f) of the example where the gloss is 'a fat one'. In part (i) of the example, however, the construction /niʔ·k·hiʔ·sik ʔawuʔ/ (the·SM·Bpt·fat elk) refers to 'a fat elk', without the Definite Reference Marker being present, but with the determiner appearing in its place. The determiner /niʔ/ is often glossed as 'the', but here it is not reflected in the free English translation. The determiner /niʔ/ is more straightforwardly anaphoric in function than the English definite article 'the'. In part (d) of the example, the construction /niʔ·k·tuŋ-ak/ refers to 'the skinny one', with the determiner /niʔ/ and without the Definite Reference Marker /ya·~/~/yi·~/.

Text Example DFKC.6.

LB-14.143-144

(a) taxas nukuʔ ʔaʔqananuqni.

/taxa-s n·ʔukʔ-iʔ· ʔaʔqa-na-nuq·ni/

then-S3 PM·one-ADV· across-go-wade·IND

Then one (of the elks) waded across.

(Chickadee waiting on the other side said:)

(b) \*Maʔc ninku, hin tunakni.

/maʔc ninkuʔ hin· tuŋ-ak·ni/

PROHIB 2&amp;3IPB 2CP· lean-limb.of.body·IND

"Not you, you are skinny.

(c) ya·kiʔ·sik".

/ya·k·hiʔ·sik/

DFM·SM·Bpt·fat

(I want) one that is fat."

## Text Example DFKC.6.

LB-14.143-144

(a) taxas n̥uʔiʔ ?aʔqananuqni.

/taxa-s n̥uʔuʔ-iʔʔ ?aʔqa-na-nuqni/

then-S3 PM,one-ADV, across-go-wade,IND

**Then one (of the elks) waded across.**

(Chickadee waiting on the other side said:)

(b) "Maʔ ninku, hin tunakni.

/maʔ ninku? hin, tuŋ-akni/

PROHIB 2&amp;3IPB 2CP, lean-limb.of.body,IND

**"Not you, you are skinny.**

(c) ya:khiʔsik".

/ya:k,hiʔsik/

DFM,SM,Bpt,fat

**(I want) one that is fat."**

(d) Taxas ʔa ?aʔqananuqni niʔ ktuʔnak.

/taxa-s ʔa, ?aʔqa-na-nuqni niʔ, ktuŋ-ak/

then-s3 REV, across-go-wade,IND the, SM,lean-limb.of.body

**Then the skinny one waded back.**

(The skinny elk, when he got back said)

(e) "Qakiʔni

/qa-kiʔni/

be.thus-say,IND

**"He (Chickadee) said,**

(f) ya:khiʔsiks

/ya:k,hiʔsik-s

DFM,SM,Bpt,fat-S3

**A fat one**

(g) kʔʔisiniʔ ?aʔqanas,

/kʔʔisin-iʔʔ ?aʔqa-na-s/

SM,IR,be.the one-ADV,across-go-S3

**should go across,**

- (h) kɕxaʔ ʔupʔaps ka maʔmiʔ  
 /kɕxa-ʔʔ ʔup-ʔ-ap-s ka maʔ-m-iʔ/  
 SM,FUT-ADV die-GSVI-HRO-S3 1POS bone-ASC-DI  
 'my bones (which stick out) will hurt him.'

- (i) Taxas ʔaʔqanaxi niʔ kiʔsik ʔawu.  
 /taxa-s ʔaʔqa-na-xi niʔ kiʔsik ʔawuʔ/  
 then-S3 across-go-RLG,IND the SM,Bpt,fat elk  
 Then a fat elk went across.

#### 4.4.6 Plain Predicate Clauses.

Plain predicate clauses are fairly common in texts in the form of introductory temporal clauses, which are followed by an indicative main clause. Temporal when-clauses and also conditional if-clauses commonly occur at the beginnings of Kutenai sentence. These clauses commonly take this position apparently for discourse pragmatic and functional reasons. Where there is a need for an if-clause in a discourse in Kutenai, the conditional clause is generally needed to introduce the sentence which it occurs in. The most important new information in a sentence containing a conditional clause is likely to be the fact that the sentence states that one thing is conditional on another. Where there is a need for a when-clause in a discourse in Kutenai, a matter of chronology of events is likely to be involved. A when-clause at the beginning of a sentence is likely to indicate what happened first before something else subsequently happened.

There are also temporal plain predicate clauses which follow the indicative main clauses of sentences. Text example PPC.1, below, has a conjoined indicative main clause in part (a) followed by a dependent and conjoined plain predicate clause in part (b), followed by



another indicative clause in part (c). This sentence is from the Short Coyote Text, already in analyzed form in section 6, but it is supplied here with labels describing the types of clauses involved. The clause in (c) is a coordinated clause in that it is linked to the two previous clauses by the conjunctions at the ends of those preceding clauses.

Text Example PPC.1

RMc-SC.12-14

(a) ?At pa:mik †a ?ukʔqanukni ni? pa+ki,¢

/?at, pa:mik †a, ?ukʔ-qanuk,ni ni?,pa+ki,¢/

IMpt, anyway REV, one-Load.of.firewood,IND the, woman, and

Conjoined Indicative Main Clause.....

(12) That woman would always make one more trip for wood, (and)

(b) taxas nuqna,¢

/taxa-s n,hu-qna?,¢/

then-S3 PM,finish-do and

Conjoined Plain Predicate Clause

(13) Then when done, (and)

(c) ?at ni?s †uqa†qa·¢i.

/?at, ni?-s, †uqa†-qa·¢,i/

IMpt, the-S3, change.direction-travel,IND

Coordinated Indicative Clause.....

(14) she would always go the other direction.

Text example PPC.2, below, is also a sentence from the Short Coyote Text. This sentence has an indicative main clause in part (a), followed by two temporal plain predicate clauses in parts (b) and (c).

Text Example PPC.2.

RMc-SC.44-46

(a) Pa+ ?at,s+ quna+ ?upxasi,¢

/pa+ ?at, s-i?+ qu?-na-?+ ?upxasi ¢/

EVID, IMpt, CON-ADV, yonder-go-ADV, know/see-S3,IND and

Conjoined Main Indicative Clause.....

(44) She would go there to see him, and

(b) Taxas nu+ ?upxas

/taxa-s nuhu-?+ ?upxa-s/

then-S3 PM,finish-ADV, know-S3

Plain Predicate Clause.....

(45) when she finished her visit,

(c) taxas +a ¢inas.

/taxa-s +a ¢i-na-s/

then-S3 REV, INCEP-go-S3

Plain Predicate Clause.....

(46) she would go home.

Text example PPC.3, below, consists of two sentences from the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text. Yawukiykam tells the young Thunderbirds what will happen if they do as instructed. Part (a) is an introductory conditional plain predicate clause. Part (b) of the example is the main indicative clause of the first sentence. Part (c) of the example is a separate sentence which finishes out this first part of the quote from Yawukiykam.

Text Example PPC.3.

AP-CY.247-249

(a) "Napit hin qa+ ?itkinki+

/napit hin,qa+ ?i?t-kin-ki+/

if 2CP, be.thus-ADV, Become-by.hand-2PL

Conditional Plain Predicate Clause.....

"If you do this,'

(b) taxas hin  $\phi$ xatʔ inkiʔni tuqʔqamna.

/taxas hin,  $\phi$ xatʔ, ʔin-kiʔni tuqʔqamna/

then-S3 2CP, FUT-ADV, be-NC-2PL bird/small.animal

Main Indicative Clause.....

**'then you will become birds.'**

(c) Hin  $\phi$ xatʔ qaqaʔ sakiʔ haqapkiʔni."

/hin,  $\phi$ xatʔ, qa-qa-ʔʔ, sak-iʔʔ, ha-qa-p-kiʔni/

2CP, FUT-ADV, be.thus-STV-ADV, still-ADV, have-STV-IN-2PL,IND

Main Indicative Clause.....

**'you will be left to live.'**



## **5 Kutenai and Other Languages.**

This chapter is about Kutenai as a Northwest language and about some of the diffusional connections that Kutenai has with certain other Northwest languages. The term 'Northwest' here refers to a specific linguistic area of Native North America. Section 5.1 is about Kutenai from an areal and typological perspective. Section 5.2 goes on to discuss the fact that there is evidence of a genetic relationship between Kutenai and the neighboring Salishan family of languages in addition to there being evidence of linguistic diffusion between Kutenai and individual neighboring Salishan languages. This amounts to an undeniable linguistic connection, although the exact extent of the diffusional component of the connection remains in doubt and requires further work, along with the further work needed to establish more firmly that at the core of the linguistic connection between Kutenai and Salishan there is in fact a genetic relationship. The fact that the genetic relationship is in any doubt at all is a symptom of the fact that it can only be a very remote genetic relationship.

## 5.1 Kutenai from an Areal and Typological Perspective.

Typologically, Kutenai is very much a North American language, and a language of what we can call the Northwest Linguistic Area. This area includes the native languages of the Pacific coast of North America, from at least the Tsimshian languages on the northern British Columbia coast, in the north, to the two Coos language of the southern Oregon coast, in the south. The Northwest Linguistic Area extends into the Interior to include the Chinookan languages along the Lower Columbia River. It includes the two Sahaptian languages, Sahaptin, and Nez Perce. It includes all the Interior Salishan languages, and Kutenai. In Oregon it includes the Kalapuyan languages, and related Takelma, and it includes Klamath. Two other languages are included in this area, Cayuse and Molala, but these two languages have not been described in published works to the point where it is clear what to say about them typologically. There are also a number of Athabaskan languages within this same geographical area.

### 5.1.1 Phonological Typology.

The Northwest Linguistic Area, especially along the Pacific coast, is characterized by languages with especially rich inventories of consonants, but which have relatively small inventories of phonemic vowels. Kutenai is like other northwest languages is having a relatively small inventory of phonemic vowels. There are basically only three phonemically distinctive vowel shapes in Kutenai<sup>1</sup> The number of consonant phonemes

<sup>1</sup> Of course, the three phonemic vowels of Kutenai, yield a much higher number of vocalic allophones, roughly as many vocalic allophones as there are phonemic vowels in English, and, if vowel length is taken into account, there can be said to be three phonemic long vowels in Kutenai, to match the three phonemic short vowels. The matter of vowel length in Kutenai is superficial, however. The deeper one goes in Kutenai Phonology, the fewer long vowels remain, until, in the most abstract synchronic phonological representations, there are only a handful of long vowels remaining, and, for the most part, they can easily be explained diachronically.

is relatively large by comparison, although the actual number of consonant phonemes in Kutenai is not unusually high by world standards. The languages of the Northwest which lie to the west of Kutenai generally have larger inventories of consonants, but they also generally have more phonemically distinctive vowel shapes.

Kutenai has glottalized versus plain consonants, but no phonemic distinction between voiced consonants and voiceless consonants. This is not very far out of line with the other languages of the interior northwest. In essence, all Kutenai stop consonants are voiceless unaspirated, all Kutenai fricatives are voiceless, while all resonants (i.e. nasals and semi-vowels) are voiced. There are indications, however, that Kutenai used to have a richer inventory of consonants.

Kutenai effectively has only one lateral consonant, the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/. There are rare instances of the voiced lateral resonant /l/ in Kutenai, but these are in recent borrowings and in imitative vocabulary, such /salkat salkat/ 'the sound squirrels make when scolding someone standing below a tree' (i.e. when making a danger signal to other squirrels). In the recent past, Kutenai apparently had only one lateral consonant, but it was a relatively exotic lateral /ɬ/, rather than /l/ the most common lateral consonant in universal terms. This, by itself, is a faint indication that the language may have earlier had a greater number of lateral consonants, which would make it more like the other languages of the Northwest Linguistic Area, some of which, on the coast, have several lateral consonant phonemes.

A richer inventory of consonants is certainly indicated by the sound correspondences with Salishan. The sound correspondences with Salishan indicate that Proto-Kutenai-Salishan, the common ancestor of Kutenai and Proto-Salish, had a voiced lateral resonant /l/, a voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/, a voiceless lateral affricate /ɬ̺/, and an ejective lateral affricate /ɬ̺̥/.

The voiceless lateral affricate /ɬ̺/ which the Kutenai-Salishan sound correspondences indicate must have existed in Proto-Kutenai-Salishan and the matching ejective lateral

affricate / $\lambda^2$ / have evidently become / $\text{t}$ / and / $\text{t}^2$ /, respectively, in Kutenai. In Salishan,  $^*\lambda^2$  can be reconstructed for Proto-Salish, and it corresponds to Kutenai / $\text{t}^2$ /, but Proto-Salishan evidently lacked its non-glottalized counterpart  $^*\lambda$ . It is necessary to posit the existence of an earlier common ancestor language, Proto-Kutenai-Salishan in order to reconstruct  $^*\lambda$ , and thereby explain the sound correspondence of Proto-Salish  $^*\text{t}$  with Kutenai / $\text{t}$ /.

One thing about the apparent loss of laterals in Kutenai is that the Salishan languages, which, as a group, are to the west of Kutenai, each have a larger inventory of laterals than Kutenai. This is in line with the fact that Kutenai is on the eastern edge of the Northwest Linguistic Area. Apparently, while Proto-Salish lost just one lateral consonant from the inventory of laterals which existed in its common ancestor language with Kutenai, Kutenai lost all of its laterals, except one, and only recently has gained one original lateral consonant back / $\text{l}$ /, but only in marginal vocabulary and largely under the influence of European languages.

In Sahaptian, there is a parallel to the loss of laterals in Kutenai. Proto-Sahaptian is reconstructed by Aoki (1962) as having  $^*\lambda$ , which became / $\text{t}$ / in Sahaptin and / $\text{c}$ / (i.e.  $\text{t}$ ) in Nez Perce. It happens that Nez Perce is on the eastern edge of the Northwest Linguistic area, like Kutenai, and Sahaptin is closer to the coast, like Salishan. It appears likely that Kutenai and Nez Perce may have been in contact with each other on the eastern edge of the Northwest Linguistic Area, where as neighbors, they each lost one lateral consonant phoneme / $\lambda$ /, which became a non-lateral / $\text{c}$ /, while languages to the west of them, lost that same lateral consonant / $\lambda$ /, but retained instances of it as the lateral / $\text{t}$ /.

In this case, and apparently in others, the eastern edge of the Northwest Linguistic Area, far in the interior, would appear to be a fadeout zone for features which are more strongly developed along the coast.



**Glottalization.**

Jacobs (1954), and following him, Sherzer (1968, and 1973) have suggested that in phonological terms Kutenai belongs with the Algonquian languages of the Great Plains to the east of the Rocky Mountains, rather than being a part of the Northwest Linguistic Area. They base their statements on the phonemicization of Garvin (1948) where all the glottalized consonants of Kutenai are treated phonemically as clusters involving the phoneme glottal stop with either another stop consonant or with a resonant. Jacobs and Sherzer fail to take note of the phonetic transcriptions of Boas (1918, and 1927) where it is clear that glottalized consonants are very common in Kutenai. It is also a fact that many of the glottalized consonants which exist phonetically in Kutenai are from the application of a phonological rule, as Garvin's phonemicization suggests. It is nonetheless an important areal and typological fact about Kutenai that a phonemicization which hides the glottalized consonants of the language is readily possible. There are glottalized consonants in Kutenai which appear to be underlyingly glottalized consonant unit phonemes, but this is on the basis of some work on reconstructing the sound system of an earlier state of the language. The deep phonological and diachronic picture is that Kutenai is a language with glottalized consonant unit phonemes, which is one thing that Kutenai has in common with the other languages of the Northwest Linguistic Area to which it belongs, but Kutenai is specifically like other languages on the eastern edge of the Northwest Linguistic Area, including Nez Perce, in having a glottalization rule which produces many of the phonetically glottalized consonants in the language. It is not characteristic of Northwest languages in general for glottalization to be in large part rule governed, as it is in Kutenai and Nez Perce.

**Labialization.**

Kutenai has labialized velar and uvular consonants in phonetic terms like other languages of the Northwest.<sup>2</sup> There are also labialized velar and uvular consonant phonemes in the internal reconstructions of certain Kutenai morphemes. This is because of the reconstructibility of the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule which predicts the shapes of phonemic buffer vowels. These are meaningless morphemes, each consisting of a phonemic vowel, whose shape can be predicted by assuming that an earlier state of the language had labialized velar and uvular consonants as unit phonemes. The phonemic buffer vowels would all have originated as epenthetic schwas, in an earlier state of the language.<sup>3</sup>

The reconstruction of labialized velar and uvular consonant phonemes makes internally reconstructed Kutenai like the Salishan languages to the west of Kutenai, which have labialized velar and uvular consonant unit phonemes. It is only in synchronic surface phonemic terms that the labialization of velar and uvular consonants in Kutenai is predictable on the basis of adjacent vowels.<sup>4</sup> The surface phonemic predictability of the labialization of velar and uvular consonants sets the present state of the Kutenai language apart from most other languages in the Northwest where labialized velar and uvular consonants are unit phonemes on any level of analysis.

**Reduplication.**

Productive processes of reduplication constitute a major phenomenon in most languages of the Pacific Northwest, but Kutenai lacks reduplication and this fact sets it apart from other languages of the Northwest Linguistic Area. Moreover, there is essentially no indication that reduplication ever was a process operating in the Kutenai lexicon. The only phenomena in Kutenai which are anything like reduplication involve three Kutenai mor-

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<sup>2</sup> See section 2.1.7, and section 2.2.1.

<sup>3</sup> See section 2.7.2.

<sup>4</sup> See section 2.4.5 where the Surface Labialization Rule is discussed.

phemes which appear in doubled form, in some instances. None of these examples of morpheme doubling in Kutenai really qualify as reduplication, or even as clear evidence that there ever was a process of reduplication in Kutenai.

There is the name of a species of bird /kʰa-wiϕ/ 'plover', along side the name of another species of bird /wiϕ-wiϕ/ 'killdeer'. The apparent common morpheme here is /wiϕ/. This morpheme is resemblant to a morpheme in some Salishan languages, for example Shuswap /wiɬ/ (as in) /wiwɬ-wəɬ/ 'snipe'. The Kutenai morpheme /wiϕ/ and the Shuswap morpheme /wiɬ/ exhibits the sound correspondences which would make the Kutenai morpheme a cognate with a morpheme in Proto-Salish, rather than a recent borrowing from Salishan into Kutenai. Imitation of the sounds that these birds make is probably also a factor with these two bird names, so this is hardly a solid example of reduplication to arrive at the Kutenai word /wiϕwiϕ/ 'killdeer'.

There are two Kutenai grammatical suffixes which appear in doubled form. There is the Goal Suffix /-xa/~xɔ/, which has a directive and sometimes benefactive sense, and there is also the Malefactive Suffix /-xaxa/~xaxɔ/, which can be seen as a doubled version of the Goal Suffix. Both versions of this suffix separately match suffixes in Interior Salishan languages, in form and function.<sup>5</sup> The process whereby the shorter morpheme was doubled to produce the longer morpheme would evidently have occurred in a common ancestor language, assuming that the Kutenai suffixes are cognate to the Salishan suffixes. The doubling would certainly not have happened first as a part of synchronic Kutenai grammar.

A third example of doubling is that the Kutenai Instrumental Suffix /-mu/ is attested in a few words as /-mu-mu/, where, however, the sense of the verbal stems involved allows the interpretation that there are two distinct entities involved as instruments relating

<sup>5</sup> Salishan examples include Columbian /-xí-/ 'indirective' (translates as 'for', as in 'buy for', 'haul for'), and Columbian /-xax/, /-xíx-/ each with a malefactive meaning as in /kʷan-xax/ 'take something away from someone', /xəs-xíx-m-ən/ 'we lost it for them (not deliberately)'.

to a single stem, or the doubling may simply express emphasis of the notion that an instrument or instruments are involved. In either case, this is something other than an example of a productive process of reduplication.

### **Metathesis.**

There are examples of metathesis in Kutenai which can be counted as a synchronic phonological process in the language.<sup>6</sup> This is a point of similarity between Kutenai and Clallam, a Straits Salish languages, where metathesis has been reported as a synchronic grammatical device by Thompson and Thompson (1969). The ultimate explanation that the Thompsons offer for the process of metathesis in Clallam is a diachronic and phonological one, involving stress shifts and vowel reduction. In Kutenai Phonology, the explanation for metathesis comes, in part, with the explanation of phonemic buffer vowels, but it may also be necessary, in the final analysis, to invoke the notion that an earlier form of Kutenai had a phonological typology more like that of Salishan languages, involving stress shifts and vowel reductions, rather like what is described for Salishan languages.<sup>7</sup>

### **5.1.2 Morphosyntactic Typologies.**

One morphosyntactic typological parameter is the very general one developed by earlier generations of scholars, based in part on the ratio of bound morphemes to free morphemes in a language and on other factors, whereby a language might be classified as Analytical (or Isolating), Inflectional, Agglutinative, or Polysynthetic. Kutenai is squarely in the category of being a polysynthetic language, as are most American Indian languages. For Kutenai, there is a relatively high ratio of morphemes to words, and a relatively high ratio of bound morphemes to free morphemes, with most Kutenai morphemes being

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<sup>6</sup> See section 2.6.12.

<sup>7</sup> See section 2.6.13 for a discussion of Unstressed Vowel Deletion which gives some fairly direct evidence that an earlier form of Kutenai had stress shifts and vowel reduction.

bound, rather than being able to stand alone as words. Moreover, some categories of Kutenai words, such as adverbial particles and clitic pronouns, only occur as parts of phrases, which are phonological almost as tightly knit as words, and which have nearly the same morphosyntactic rigidity that words have. Kutenai verbal phrases lend themselves to being described as having morphology, almost as well as they lend themselves to being described as having syntactic structure.<sup>8</sup> To a lesser extent, the same can be said for Kutenai nominal phrases.

#### Case Marking Typology and Ergativity.

Some languages are **ergative**, others are **nominative-accusative**, while still others are **stative-active**. Kutenai is a nominative-accusative language in that grammatical person marking on verbal stems in Kutenai marks the subjects of intransitive verbal stems in the same way as the subjects of transitive verbal stems, while the objects of transitive verbal stems are marked differently.

In some contrast to Kutenai, Salishan languages exhibit a split-ergative system. There is a direct connection to the grammar of Kutenai, however, in that the third person ergative marker in Salishan languages, generally /-s/, is a potential cognate of the Kutenai Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ which functions as an obviative third person subject marker. Obviative systems are not reported to exist in Salishan languages, although Gardner and Saunders (1990) report that in Shuswap, the ergative suffix in the form of [-əʂ], has some discourse governed functions in reference tracking. This makes the Shuswap third person marking suffix /-s/ especially like the Kutenai Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/, because the Kutenai suffix, as an obviative marker, necessarily has discourse governed functions in reference tracking.

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<sup>8</sup> Kutenai verbal phrases do not include lexical arguments (i.e. nominal phrases representing an object), but may include particles, clitic pronouns, and derived adverbs.

### **The Morphological Marking of Heads and Dependents.**

Another morphosyntactic typology is the one described by Nichols (1984, and 1986), whereby languages may be predominantly head-marking, predominantly dependent-marking, predominantly double-marking, or occupy some intermediate point between these three possibilities.

Head/dependent marking typology shows promise of being an especially useful typological parameter in diachronic terms, especially where distant genetic relationships are in question, because languages apparently change their morphological marking type much more slowly than they typically change along other typological parameters. Languages which are fairly closely related may have rather different word order characteristics, but closely related languages do not generally have completely different characteristics in terms of whether syntactic heads or dependents are marked with affixes. It is known that in several centuries a language can go from having one basic word order type to an nearly opposite one. In contrast, there are almost no cases of obviously related languages having opposite, or nearly opposite morphological marking characteristics. There are no well established language families in the world which have member languages which are very different from each other in morphological marking type.

Among American Indian language families containing only closely related languages, most families have only member languages which are predominantly head-marking. A few American Indian language families have only member languages which are predominantly dependent-marking. Two loose and very hypothetical would-be North American language families, Penutian, and Hokan are typologically rather mixed in this way, especially the languages of the Penutian hypothesis. The California Penutian languages, including the Wintun languages, the Maiduan languages, the Yokutsan languages, and the Miwok-Costanoan languages, are highly dependent-marking, along with the Plateau Penutian

languages, including the Sahaptian languages, and Klamath-Modoc, also are highly dependent-marking. The rest of the languages of the Penutian hypothesis, including most of those in the Northwest: The Tsimshian languages, the Chinookan languages, Alsea, Coos, the Kalapuyan languages, and Takelma are predominantly head-marking.

Kutenai is like nearly all of its neighbors in every direction in being highly head-marking. The exceptions are the Sahaptian languages, including Nez Perce which are predominantly dependent-marking.

#### Argument Typology.

Jelinek (1990) outlines a typology for the kinds of arguments of verbs which languages can have. The types are: **lexical argument languages** (eg. English and Yaqui), **'pro-drop' languages** (Spanish and Arabic), **pronominal argument languages** (Navajo and Choctaw), and **'mixed' argument languages** (Slave and Nisgha). She suggests that languages without a noun-verb distinction, including Straits Salish, are necessarily pronominal argument in type.

Kutenai is like Straits Salish in being what Jelinek calls a pronominal argument language. The arguments of verbs in Kutenai are the obligatory pronominal affixes on verbal stems, including the clitic pronouns, /hu/~/u/ First Person, and /hin/~/in/~/n/ Second Person. Lexical arguments in Kutenai, when they are present at all, are coindexed, in Jelinek's terminology, with the pronominal arguments. Kinkade (1990b) speaks generally about this aspect of Salishan languages, invoking the terminology of Jelinek. What he says also applies to Kutenai. Kinkade (1990b) says:

"Salishan languages are, in the terminology of Jelinek (1984; 1985), pronominal argument languages; a predicate (equivalent to an English verb) must include pronominal affixes to express its arguments. This complex form may constitute an utterance that is complete without any lexical arguments, that is, without arguments that would be equivalent to nouns in English. Lexical arguments may be present, but are entirely secondary,

and function rather as comments that are appositional to the obligatory pronominal arguments. Their presence can be useful, of course, in clarifying which of multiple third persons in a discourse situation is referenced by third person marking on the predicate or in introducing new information, although even here there are restrictions which can occur. One such restriction is that normally only one direct lexical argument is allowed per clause; this will be the subject if the predicate is intransitive and the patient if it is transitive."

### **Restrictions on Lexical Arguments.**

Kinkade (1990b) says that the restriction whereby only one direct lexical argument is allowed per clause in Salishan languages is one which applies normally in these languages. One specific thing that he means by the qualification that the restriction applies "normally" is that in most Salishan languages it is readily possible to elicit clauses with two direct lexical arguments for a single predicate. Of course, this elicitation work is done in most cases with English speaking bilingual informants, with English sentences offered as models for the sentences to be elicited. One result of the ability of investigators to elicit such clauses is that most Salishan languages can be tentatively typed as either VSO or VOS languages. For one Salishan language, Lushootseed, clauses with two direct lexical arguments are prohibited and even the elicitation of such clauses is not possible.<sup>9</sup>

In Kutenai, in normal non-elicited speech, it is rare to have two direct lexical arguments for a single predicate. In other words, it is rare to have both a subject noun and an object noun in the same clause. There is no absolute prohibition against having more than one lexical argument in a single clause, although the texts recorded from one monolingual speaker of Kutenai, the late Ann Pierre, at least those texts from her which have, so far,

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<sup>9</sup> It is a fact, though, that in Lushootseed it is possible to resort to passivization, so that, in a single clause in Lushootseed, there can be a lexical argument representing a patient as a subject, along with a lexical argument representing an agent, in the equivalent of an English 'by phrase'.



been put into written form, have only two examples where a subject noun and an object noun occur together in the same clause, and this is in well over an hour of tape recorded text material. On the other hand, the late Rosalie McCoy, another monolingual speaker of the language, from the same community as Mrs. Pierre, and of the same age, has produced texts of similar length and type, where there are a number of clauses which have two direct lexical arguments for a single predicate, although these clauses are rare relative to clauses with only one or with no lexical arguments. The text material from Mrs. McCoy, and from speakers of Kutenai bilingual in English, provide enough examples of clauses with two lexical arguments, to show the order Verb Object Subject as more common and less marked in discourse pragmatic terms than other possible arrangements of these constituents.<sup>10</sup> The text material from Mrs. Pierre demonstrates that at least one monolingual speaker of Kutenai avoided clauses with two direct lexical arguments, suggesting the possibility that in an earlier state of the language, clauses containing two direct lexical arguments may have been prohibited by the rules of grammar, as is now the case in Lushootseed.

### Word Order Typology.

Word order typology is generally figured to be primarily a matter of syntactic structure, based on the concept of languages having a **basic word order** for a variety of different constructions. In clauses, it is a matter of the arrangement of subjects, objects, and verbs in construction with each other; in noun phrases, it is the arrangement of nouns in construction with adjectives; and also in noun phrases, the arrangement of possessed nouns in construction with possessor nouns. The prototypical use of the term 'basic word order' is to refer to arrangements of subject, object, and verb in clauses, and, in these terms, there are six basic word order types theoretically possible: SOV, SVO, VSO, VOS, OVS, and OSV, listed here in the order of how common each type is among the world's languages, although the last two types, OVS, and OSV are so rare that it is not yet clear whether there

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<sup>10</sup> See section 4.1.1, where specific examples are given.

are any solid examples of these two types.

It is well recognized, however, that word order in many languages can be largely a matter of **Discourse Pragmatics**, or what might be called information packaging, which is independent of constituent structure, so that the basic word order type of a language is only the most common arrangement of these clause constituents, or for some languages, not even a common order, but just the least marked order of these constituents in discourse pragmatic terms. For some languages, word order is evidently entirely a matter of Discourse Pragmatics and for such languages there is apparently no basic word order, since each possible arrangement of subject, object, and verb in a clause is marked in discourse pragmatic terms, and has a specific discourse pragmatic function. This has been argued to be the case for Hanis Coos, and a number of other languages, by Mithun (1984). Research by the present author on Miluk Coos indicates that this is also equally true for Miluk. In these two Coos languages, there are VOS, VSO, SVO, SOV, OVS, and OSV clauses. The occurrence of each order can be explained by discourse pragmatic principles, without actually resorting to the notion that the language has a basic word order.

Alsea, Siuslaw, and Coos have been tentatively categorized as having VOS as their basic word order, by Greenberg (1966), on the basis of the fact that Greenberg found VOS to be the most common order of subject, object, and verb in these languages. Languages which have VOS as a basic word order, or are even suspected of having VOS as a basic word order, are rare among the world's languages, so rare, in fact, that Alsea, Siuslaw, and the two Coos languages constitute a significant percentage of the known cases. Other languages which can also be tentatively, or superficially classified as VOS languages include Kutenai and perhaps two Salishan languages, Twana and Coeur d'Alene.

Other Salishan languages are tentatively typed as VSO, as are most of the languages of the Northwest Linguistic Area, except that in the southern part of the Northwest, Kalapuya is clearly SVO, Klamath-Modoc is tentatively SOV or mixed, and Sahaptian is apparently

mixed, with Northwest Sahaptian, adjacent to Salishan languages, more verb-initial, and Nez Perce, farther to the east, more verb-final. A number of Athabaskan languages which are in and around the Northwest are all apparently solidly SOV. Excluding the Athabaskan languages, the northern half of the Northwest Linguistic Area which includes Kutenai and Salishan, constitutes a large block of verb-initial languages, either VSO, or VOS. In more general terms, this is an area of languages where syntactic heads, for example, verbs as the heads of clauses, tend to precede constituents which are syntactically dependent on them, such as the nominal arguments of verbs.

Kutenai is a language which helps to illustrate that languages can differ by degree in the extent to which they use word order for discourse pragmatic purposes, as opposed to using word order to mark the syntactic function of constituents, for example, to mark words as predicates by having them precede words which are identifiable as the lexical arguments of predicates. Kutenai is near one end of this typological parameter, but not at the extreme end.

At one extreme end of this typological parameter, there are languages like English which depend heavily on word order to code information about the syntactic categories of sentence constituents, and the basic word order of such languages is obvious. At the other extreme, there are languages like the Coos languages which evidently use word order exclusively for discourse pragmatic purposes, rather than to identify the syntactic categories of sentence constituents. Because of this, the notion that these languages have a basic word order may not be applicable. Kutenai seem to be like the Salishan languages in having some use of word order, as a device to code information about syntactic structure, although word order primarily codes discourse pragmatic information.

Kutenai evidently does have a basic word order which can be identified as **head-first**, as opposed to **dependent-first**, but discourse pragmatic factors are very important in Kutenai word order and may always be the dominant factors in the ordering of dependents among themselves, which is the situation when there is more than one syntactically dependent

constituent in a syntactic construction, such as when there is a lexical subject and a lexical object together in the same clause. This is a delicate matter, in Kutenai, because, as already pointed out above, it is rare in normal speech for there to be more than one lexical argument for a single predicate.

It can be argued that the order VOS is more of a neutral order in discourse pragmatic terms in Kutenai than other orders. It is certainly more common than the other orders, but VOS, VSO, and SVO clauses are all rare in unelicited narratives and the other orders: SOV, OSV, and OVS are marginal, even in elicited examples obtained from English speaking bilingual speakers of Kutenai. It is apparently the case that any Kutenai clause containing both a lexical subject and a lexical object is already so highly marked in discourse pragmatic terms, that there is no ordering of lexical subject with lexical object which qualifies as a neutral order, or even as a least marked order, in discourse pragmatic terms.

While word order in Kutenai at the clause level, involving the arrangement of nominal phrases and a verbal phrase within a clause, is very free, which is to say that it is largely governed by discourse pragmatic factors, Kutenai word order within nominal phrases and within verbal phrases is quite rigid. It is rigid enough to have led earlier researchers of the language, Boas (1918 and 1927), and Garvin (1948, etc.) to identify the Kutenai proclitic pronouns, most adverbial particles, and all the derived adverbs as prefixes, since all of these words are proclitic elements, strung together to form the initial portion of many verbal phrases. There is just enough evidence to show that what are described here as complex verbal phrases, with many clitic elements, are phrases and not simply long words. Word boundaries can be shown to exist between all of the words of these phrases.

#### **Word Class Typology.**

In the quote given above, Kinkade (1990b) avoids any terminology which would suggest that there is a distinction between nouns and verbs in Salishan languages, referring

to "predicates (equivalent to an English verb)" and "arguments that would be equivalent to nouns in English". Jelinek (1990) discusses quantification in Straits Salish largely as evidence for a lack of a noun-verb distinction in that language. Jelinek argues that in Straits Salish all words are predicates, except for adverbials. She argues that there are no lexical categories like 'noun' and 'verb', and no maximal projections of these categories, NP and VP, but that there are **determiner phrases**, which are adjoined subordinate clauses, headed by demonstrative pronouns. Only determiner phrases and pronouns are **referring expressions**. Not all Salishan languages are exactly like Straits Salish in the arguments which can be advanced for the lack of a noun-verb distinction, and Jelinek allows that while some Salishan languages may have no noun-verb distinction, other Salishan languages, for example Halkomelem, may have a weak one.

This is not to say that Salishan languages which lack a noun-verb distinction, or which have only a very weak noun-verb distinction therefore lack, or are deficient in, the semantic distinctions which are captured by the terms 'nominal' and 'verbal'. Semantic distinctions among words and morphemes, in these languages, can be seen in the same light as other word class-internal distinctions. In these languages, lexical words are all members of the same word class, in that lexical words do not themselves refer to things, but their obligatory pronominal affixes do. This single lexical word class, subsuming words equivalent to English nouns and verbs, naturally has internal divisions. For example, the pronominal possessive affixation which goes on kin terms, may be morphosyntactically distinct from the pronominal subject and object affixation which goes on words specifying actions, but then kin terms would in any case be a different sub-class of lexical words from lexical words specifying actions. A possessive relationship between two nominal lexical words is necessarily different from the agent or patient relationship which a pronoun or lexical argument may have with a word representing an action.

Kutenai is a language where it is safe to make a distinction between nominal stems and

verbal stems, drawing a semantic distinction among lexical stems. One can further distinguish, without equivocation, between nominal phrases and verbal phrases as expansions of these two semantically distinct categories of stems. The different syntactic behavior of nominal stems and verbal stems in Kutenai is predictable on the basis of the semantic distinction. All lexical stems in Kutenai have at least one pronominal argument, a subject. Nominal stems in Kutenai are fundamentally intransitive stems which predicate the existence of something, but nominal stems are also inherently subordinate forms, without being marked as subordinate forms. This is in contrast to the way that verbal stems have to be marked as subordinate in order to be subordinate forms.<sup>11</sup> For both Kutenai and the Salishan languages, one can draw a noun-verb distinction, but for Kutenai and for at least most Salishan languages the most insightful terminology for syntactic analysis is one which allows that nominal stems are inherently predicative. The more deeply one looks into the matter of word class typology for Kutenai, the weaker and more irrelevant a conventional noun-verb distinction seems to be for purposes of syntactic analysis, and the more attractive the terminology advanced by Jelinek (1990) becomes.

It is not hard to find examples in Kutenai where the use of a conventional terminology, using the terms noun and verb, with all that these terms imply, invites some rather anomalous descriptive statements. For example, Kutenai nominal stems may have derived forms which mark dual, collective or distributive plurality.<sup>12</sup> These plural nominal forms exhibit reflexive verbal morphology, in addition to variously having a morpheme expressing dual, collective, or distributive plurality. Very loosely speaking, one could speak of these morphological constructions as 'reflexive noun forms', but this terminology can be avoided

<sup>11</sup> Subordinate forms of verbal stems are marked as subordinate forms, with the exception that plain predicate forms of verbal stems may fail to show an overt Predicate Marker in surface phonemic representations for phonological reasons. See section 4.1, footnote 2.

<sup>12</sup> A distinction of number with nominal stems is not marked obligatorily in Kutenai. The marking of dual, collective, or distributive plurality is therefore derivational rather than inflectional.

by avoiding the term 'noun' and all that it implies.

Another potential anomaly in descriptive statements, which is invited by the use of a conventional noun-verb terminology, is related to the fact that there a distinction in Kutenai between alienable and inalienable possession. This applies to certain Kutenai nominal stems. This distinction is accomplished by the Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ or by the Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/, which each mark alienable possession. These suffixes increase the valence of the nominal stem, indicating that two distinct entities are involved, not merely one entity. For example, a person and his own skin constitutes one entity and the nominal stem has a valence of one, requiring no valence increasing suffix. In contrast, a person and a deer skin which he owns are two distinct entities, and a Valence Increasing Suffix is required to express this. This is illustrated by the two first person singular possessive forms of a nominal stem in example AT.1, below.

Example Set AT.1.

(a) ka a·kuqʔa

/ka<sub>u</sub>ʔa·k-u-qʔaʔ/

1 POS<sub>u</sub> NSB-Bf-skin

'my skin (on my body)'

(b) ka a·kuqʔaʔt

/ka<sub>u</sub>ʔa·k-u-qʔaʔ-t/

1 POS<sub>u</sub> NSB-Bf-skin-TVI

'my skin/hide (such as an animal hide I own)'

The two Valence Increasing Suffixes are also found on verbal stems as transitivizers, where the suffixes derive transitive stems from intransitive stems by increasing the valence of the stem by one. Example sets AT.2 and AT.3 illustrate this with the verbal root /ha-/ 'have' in example set AT.2, and with the verbal root /ʔit-/ 'be without' in example set AT.3. It is worth noting here that the Nominal Stem Base /ʔa·k-/ is a compound base element composed of the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa·-/ (in its allomorph which includes vowel length) and the root /k-/ 'do, be'. What the nominal stems in example set AT.1,

above, have which the verbal stems in example sets AT.2 and AT.3, below, lack is an overt marker of aspect. This in itself is anomalous in terms of a conventional noun-verb distinction. In most languages, grammatical aspect is a characteristic of verbs, and not of nouns.<sup>13</sup>

## Example Set AT.2.

SP-8.58, FW-8.113

(a) naq+a?ni.

/n<sub>h</sub>a-q+a?ni/PM<sub>h</sub>have-skin<sub>IND</sub>

'He's got skin/hide on him  
(as a part of his body).'

(b) naq+a?ti.

/n<sub>h</sub>a-q+a?-t<sub>i</sub>/PM<sub>h</sub>have-skin-TVI<sub>IND</sub>

'He has a hide (not his own skin).'

## Example Set AT.3.

SP-8.58, FW-8.113

(a) †itq+a?ni.

/†it-q+a?ni/

be.without-skin<sub>IND</sub>

'He's got no skin/hide on him,  
His skin is off of him, He is bare  
from lack of his own skin'.

(b) †itq+a?ti.

/†it-q+a?-t<sub>i</sub>ni/be.without-skin-TVI<sub>IND</sub>

'He has no hide in his possession'.

<sup>13</sup> In Kutenai, a large class of nominal stems, those formed on the Nominal Stem Bases, are marked by the imperfective prefix. This is in keeping with the idea that things are what they are in a more time stable way than are actions, events, states, conditions, and properties of things, which are more transitory in nature. In fact, where the Imperfective Prefix /ʔa·-/ actually occurs as a prefix directly on a verbal stem it occurs almost exclusively in interrogative constructions where it is prefixed to the root /qa-/ 'be thus'. In these interrogative constructions, actions, events, states, conditions, and properties of things are cast in the role of being things, so that questions can be raised as to how, what, or where they are. For an example, see section 2.5.4, derivation SIC.5.



The parallelism between the nominal stems in example set AT.1, above, and the verbal stems in example sets AT.2 and AT.3, also above, is so great that the T-Alienable Possession Suffix and the T-Transitivizer Suffix must be considered to be the same suffix. Without recourse to a cover term such as 'Valence Increasing Suffix' one is left with few options but to say that a suffix /-t/ which is basically, or primarily, a transitive suffix appears on Kutenai nominal stems to mark alienable possession. The first person possessive form /ka<sub>v</sub>?a:k-u-q+a?-t/ 'my skin/hide (such as an animal hide I own)' in AT.1, part (b), above, would then be a transitive nominal stem, or loosely speaking a 'transitive noun'.

What is jarring about the term 'transitive noun' is that transitivity is a characteristically verbal grammatical category. What is needed to describe these suffixes is a term which is not tied to the traditional noun-verb distinction. In Kutenai, the process of increasing the valence of a nominal stem and increasing the valence of a verbal stem are both accomplished by the same means and involves the same fundamental meaning. Whether one is dealing with nominal stems or verbal stems, if one increases the valence, then two separate entities are involved, rather than just one. Given the semantic distinction between nominal and verbal (i.e. between things, on the one hand, and actions, events, states, conditions, and properties of things, on the other) the results are predictable. Increasing the valence of a nominal stem means alienable possession. Increasing the valence of a verbal stem means that there is a subject and an object for the stem, rather than just a subject. This is true not only for the T-Valence Increasing Suffix which occurs with certain stems, such as the ones in the examples here, but the same thing is also true in an entirely parallel way for certain other stems where the valence is increased by means of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix.

Another matter having to do with Kutenai word classes which is somewhat easier to

establish is that Kutenai is a language where adjectival words are a sub-class of verbal stems. This is not unusual among American Indian languages, and it may be generally true of the languages of the Northwest Linguistic Area. Adjectival words being a sub-class of verbal stems, however, is not the only possibility in universal terms. There are languages in other parts of the world which lack adjectives as a distinct word class, but have adjectival words functioning as nouns, not as verbs.

Insofar as Kutenai has one lexical word class, with adjectives functioning as a sub-class of verbal stems, and with nominal stems which are very verb-like in that they are fundamentally predications, Kutenai is not only like the Salishan languages, but also like the Wakashan languages. For the Wakashan languages, there is a literature on this subject, although this does not mean that what has been said on this subject for Wakashan languages is exactly what has been said on this subject for Salishan languages. Those who would prefer to see a noun-verb distinction as universal can turn to Jacobsen's (1979) paper 'Noun and Verb in Nootkan', which summarizes the earlier literature on the subject, and argues that the lack of a noun-verb distinction for Nootka, a Wakashan language, has at least been overstated.

### **Morpheme Classes.**

Kutenai evidently has the same basic semantic distinctions as English has. In English, semantic distinctions between morpheme types line up with word class divisions, such as noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. There are also word class sub-divisions, such as the verb classification system of Dowty (1979), adopted by Foley and Van Valin (1984), where among verbs one can distinguish states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements. In Kutenai there are nominal roots, verbal roots, and adjectival roots. The different kinds of root morphemes are the basis of four classes of lexical words in Kutenai: nominal stems, verbal stems, adjectival verbal stems, and derived adverbs. Adjectival roots repre-

sent states, while other verbal roots are the basis of activity verbal stems, accomplishment verbal stems, and achievement verbal stems. There are also adverbial morphemes in Kutenai which appear as adverbial particles, generally clitics. In addition, there are in Kutenai a small set of clitic pronouns and another small set of pronominal morphemes which are the basis of pronominal and modifying words.

Kutenai is like Salishan languages, Wakashan languages, and Chimakuan languages in having lexical suffixes in addition to lexical roots. There are not as many lexical suffixes in individual Salishan languages as there are in Kutenai, and the number of lexical suffixes in individual Wakashan languages also greatly exceeds the number to be found in individual Salishan languages. There are also an especially large number of lexical suffixes in Quileute, the better attested of the two Chimakuan language, relative to the number of lexical suffixes in individual Salishan languages. In this way, Kutenai is typologically more like the Wakashan languages and Quileute than it is like the Salishan languages.

The real connection between Kutenai and Salishan in the matter of lexical suffixes is chiefly through the fact that there are quite a few lexical suffixes in Kutenai which appear to be cognate to lexical suffixes in Salishan languages. There are also several Kutenai lexical suffixes which appear to be cognate to Salishan roots. It would appear that Kutenai has gradually been developing a larger and larger stock of lexical suffixes over time, by converting roots into lexical suffixes. This has apparently happened without any direct contact between Kutenai and Wakashan languages or between Kutenai and Chimakuan languages.

Whether a Kutenai lexical morpheme is a root or an affix is an ideosyncratic fact about the individual Kutenai lexical morphemes. There are nonetheless some patterns in the distribution of lexical items as roots or affixes. Kutenai morphemes which refer to parts of things, rather than whole independent entities, are almost exclusively lexical suffixes. This means that these morphemes refer to their referent from inside a predicate (usually a verbal stem), rather than forming a predicate themselves. Kutenai morphemes referring to whole and independent entities tend to appear as roots which means that they are predicates with

their own obligatory pronominal affixes which 'refer', in syntactic terms, to the entities which the root morphemes themselves refer to as morphemes.

In Kutenai, there are many nominal roots and many verbal roots and many nominal lexical suffixes and verbal lexical suffixes, as well as a few morphemes which function either as roots or prefixes. There are also a substantial number of grammatical suffixes, but there are only a relatively few morphemes which must necessarily be seen as prefixes, under any analysis. Prefixes are less common in Salishan languages than suffixes are. One Salishan language, Comox, which is in close contact with Kwak'wala, a Wakashan language, essentially lacks prefixes. It is characteristic of Wakashan languages to lack prefixation, except for the reduplication of some of the segments of word-initial roots, which may give the appearance of being prefixation. Kutenai, Salishan, and Wakashan are alike in being predominantly or exclusively suffixing languages.

#### **Lexical Suffixes versus Incorporation.**

Lexical suffixes in Kutenai can also be seen as incorporated nouns, although this runs into the difficulty that many physical objects can only be referred to in Kutenai through the use of a lexical suffix. If one speaks of lexical suffixes in Kutenai as incorporated nouns, one also has to accept that noun incorporation is obligatory for many nouns in Kutenai. For example, one can refer to an arm in Kutenai only with a lexical suffix. There is no corresponding independent nominal stem in Kutenai meaning 'arm', except for a word consisting of the Nominal Stem Base /ʔa·k-/ and the lexical suffix /-ɬatʰ/ 'arm'. The nominal stem /ʔa·k-ɬatʰ/ 'arm' is based on the Nominal Stem Base, made up of an aspectual prefix (or two aspectual prefixes in abstract analysis) attached to a semantically neutral or 'dummy' verbal root meaning 'do/be'. This stem base is then followed by the lexical suffix which carries the lexical meaning of the stem. The large class of nominal stems in Kutenai built on the Nominal Stem Base /ʔa·k-/ are not indepen-

dent nouns, as such. Instead they are independent nominal stems which are formally based on a verbal root, but which derive their semantic content from nominal lexical suffixes. Rather than the nominal lexical suffixes of Kutenai being derived from nouns by a process of incorporation, the situation is that there is a large class of nominal stems in Kutenai which are derived from lexical suffixes.

In order to see processes of incorporation at work in Kutenai, one must have a highly abstract kind of syntactic analysis, with incorporation as an obligatory process applying to many morphemes. The commonly occurring nominal lexical suffixes all have to be derived from underlying independent nouns, which are never realized as independent nouns in surface syntactic strings. There are, of course, theories of syntax where highly abstract synchronic derivations are common in syntactic analysis and where nominal morphemes are necessarily seen as underlyingly nouns. One such approach is the highly abstract and derivational approach to synchronic syntax of Mark Baker in his (1988) book on Incorporation. In Baker's terms, Kutenai can be argued to have, at the very least, noun incorporation, verb incorporation, and preposition incorporation, and to have them in ways which are perhaps more manifold than what he describes for the languages he mentions in his book. There is much in Kutenai which can be seen as simultaneously morphological and syntactic, to borrow a phrase from Baker. If one chooses to see a process of incorporation at work in synchronic Kutenai syntax, then Kutenai is replete with examples of different kinds of incorporation, but there is also the option of denying that incorporation is a synchronic process in Kutenai at all.



## 5.2 The Connections and Affiliations of the Kutenai Language.

There is a body of evidence in Morgan (1980, and forthcoming) that Kutenai is remotely and genetically related to the Salishan languages.<sup>1</sup> The evidence is substantial, but some issues relating to the origins of the Kutenai language can be held open for further academic discussion, while other issues are absolutely clear at the present time and offer only one possible conclusion. What can be concluded at the present time is that Kutenai is linguistically connected to the Salishan languages by resemblances which go well beyond what can be explained by chance. In contrast, the resemblances between Kutenai and non-Salishan languages do not necessarily go beyond what might be explained by chance.

It can be open for discussion whether the evidence for a remote genetic relationship between Kutenai and the Salishan languages is substantial enough to actually prove that the relationship is at its core a genetic one. If that evidence is not to be taken as proof of a genetic relationship, it does not mean, though, that the evidence disappears. One has to ask instead whether the evidence for a genetic relationship should be kept separate, as inconclusive evidence, or whether all that evidence, or any particular parts of it, should be reclassified to become a part of the evidence which already specifically indicates that there was linguistic diffusion between Kutenai and particular individual Salishan languages.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Morgan (1980) presents preliminary evidence for a genetic relationship between Kutenai and Salishan with a list of some 130 potential Kutenai-Salishan cognate sets. In just over ten years, this list has grown to become the list of some 144 potential cognate sets. There are also some 14 additional cognate sets which could eventually be posited, but this appears to exhaust the possibilities for plausible cognate sets. A total list of only 144 or at the outside 158 cognate sets could not indicate anything but a remote genetic relationship, and the numbers are small enough, so that it is possible for at least some scholars to imagine that all the resemblance might be due to diffusion. It does seem unlikely that Kutenai is a language of mixed origin. For one thing, of the some 99 Kutenai grammatical morphemes listed in section 3.1 above, some 42 of these Kutenai grammatical morphemes appear to be cognate with Salishan morphemes. These include most of the more important grammatical morphemes in the Kutenai language. This is in keeping with the idea of a distant genetic relationship.

There is quite a bit of room for discussion about which specific resemblances between Kutenai and Salishan are the results of a genetic relationship, provable or otherwise, and which resemblances are the results of linguistic diffusion.<sup>3</sup>

The more one chooses to see the linguistic connection between Kutenai and Salishan as diffusional, rather than genetic, the stronger the case can be for the idea that the Kutenai language was in sustained contact with a variety of Salishan languages, including not only the presently neighboring Interior Salishan languages, but also probably Proto-Interior Salish, and quite possibly also Proto-Salish itself. Both Proto-Interior Salish, and Proto-Salish were evidently spoken directly to the west of what is now Kutenai territory.

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<sup>2</sup> In addition to 130 tentative cognate sets, Morgan (1980) has some 20 sets of Kutenai-Salishan resemblances which clearly appear to be the results of lexical borrowing. After ten years of research this list has grown to be a list of 23 sets of Kutenai-Salishan lexical borrowings. Most of them are necessarily borrowings from Salishan languages into Kutenai, but some may be Kutenai words borrowed into neighboring Salishan languages.

<sup>3</sup> While there is a certain potential for explaining most of the resemblances between Kutenai and Salishan languages as instances of linguistic diffusion, there is no solid evidence that Kutenai has actually borrowed a large number of words from other languages. There are just under 23 Kutenai morphemes which could be recent borrowings from Salishan languages into Kutenai. Of these, two items appear to have come originally from Sahaptin, and one of those items /ʔayut/ the plant 'ligusticum canbyi' word seem to have come directly from Yakima into Kutenai, evidently also borrowed by Salishan languages from Sahaptin. The Kutenai word /čuxus/ 'Sarcee' may have originated as a borrowing from Sarcee. This would be the only known instance of lexical borrowing from a Plains Indian language into Kutenai. There are perhaps 3 Kutenai words which have come from Chinook Jargon, although these words are ultimately from European languages. There are at least 3 Kutenai words which may be directly from French, not counting the considerable number of Christian names borrowed from French into Kutenai, with the active assistance of French speaking nuns at the St. Eugene Mission School. There is one Kutenai word /spayúʔ/ 'Mexican' which seems to be a direct loan from Spanish, based on the word *Español* meaning 'Spanish'. One can count only two or three Kutenai words borrowed directly from English. Words which are recognizably from English tend to be rejected as not being Kutenai words at all, at least by the majority of Kutenai speakers who are bilingual in English. The Kutenai language has many words representing modern technology and newly introduced cultural items, but almost without exception these are composed of native Kutenai morphemes.



Kinkade (1990) suggests that the Proto-Salish homeland was at the mouth of the Fraser River, in what is now British Columbia, although extending south at least to the Skagit River, into what is now Washington State. The conclusion of someone who chooses to see the linguistic connection between Kutenai and Salishan as mostly, or entirely, diffusional must be that the Kutenai were in what is now British Columbia for a considerable amount of time, perhaps for the last few thousand years.

On the other hand, the evidence for a genetic relationship between Kutenai and Salishan is considerable and may well satisfy scholars in the long run that Kutenai is genetically related to Salishan. The more one accepts that the evidence for a genetic relationship between Kutenai and Salishan amounts to actual proof of a genetic relationship, the more one is forced to what is essentially the same conclusion about the location of the Kutenai within the last few thousand years. The Kutenai must have been in what is now British Columbia for the last few thousand years, because, in addition to the evidence which may be accepted as proof of a genetic relationship between Kutenai and Salishan, one has to recognize a separate body of evidence which specifically points to sustained contact between the Kutenai and speakers of at least certain Salishan languages. In contrast, there is an absence of comparable evidence for sustained linguistic contact between the Kutenai and speakers of aboriginal languages to the east, outside of what is now British Columbia.

Regardless of how one interprets the evidence for a linguistic connection between Kutenai and Salishan, one is forced to conclude that within the last few thousand years the ancestors of the Kutenai were in what is now British Columbia, and never left, except that at some point in the past the Kutenai did extend their territory into what is now Alberta, and, of course, Kutenai territory, and Salishan territory for that matter, have apparently extended into what is now the United States, from the earliest times.

Beyond a potentially provable genetic relationship with Salishan, Kutenai is only very doubtfully related to the three additional language families, besides Salishan, which have

actually been suggested in print as distant relatives of Kutenai, first by Edward Sapir (1929), and then by Mary Haas (1965). The suggestion of Sapir and Haas is that Kutenai might prove to be distantly related to the Algonquian language family which neighbors Kutenai to the east, to the Wakashan language family of the Pacific Coast, and to the Chimakuan language family, also of the Pacific Coast, in addition to being related to Salishan.

In the judgement of the present author, there are now only some 14, or at the outside 24, Kutenai morphemes which are resemblant enough to morphemes in Algonquian (generally to morphemes in Proto-Algonquian) so as to suggest the possibility of cognacy, or even borrowing. Chance resemblance could account for these resemblances, so that the evidence for a genetic relationship between Kutenai and Algonquian is not compelling.

A list of resemblances between Kutenai and Wakashan has been compiled by the author which consists of only some 6 items, so far, although 5 of these items come from a list of 154 resemblances between Chimakuan and Wakashan, assembled by J. Powell (1976). Powell seeks to demonstrate a genetic relationship between Chimakuan and Wakashan. So far, there is just one exclusively Kutenai-Chimakuan set of resemblant morphemes which can be added to the very small list of Kutenai-Chimakuan resemblances from the comparative Chimakuan-Wakashan list of Powell (1976), making a total of only 6 Kutenai-Chimakuan resemblances. The numbers involved here are so small that chance resemblance could account for all of them. The doubtfulness of the very hypothetical relationships between Kutenai and Algonquian, Wakashan, and Chimakuan, suggested by Sapir (1929, and Haas (1965) is a measure of how much more remote these relationships might be, if they could ever be demonstrated, than the now much more evident relationship between Kutenai and Salishan.

While it has already been suggested above that the relationship between Kutenai and Salishan has not yet been firmly established as a genetic one, it has also been suggested above that the debate has to be over the question of how to interpret the evidence for a

relationship between Kutenai and Salishan, not whether there is some kind of linguistic relationship, genetic or diffusional. What is absolutely clear about the Kutenai-Salishan evidence is that there is what we can call a 'linguistic connection' between Kutenai and the Salishan languages. The same cannot be said about Kutenai vis-à-vis Algonquian, Wakashan, and Chimakuan. There is no compelling evidence as yet for a linguistic connection between Kutenai and these three language families, Algonquian, Wakashan, and Chimakuan, although some of the resemblant morphemes are of some continuing interest, and there are typological resemblances between all of the languages of all five of these language families.



**6 Analyzed Texts.****6.1 The Coyote and Cloud Text.**

FW-10.64-68

This text was told by Mary Paul of St Mary's Band who had heard the story, but was not able to tell the story in its full form. There is a longer version of the story recorded as told by Ann Pierre of Tobacco Plains. This short version of the story was transcribed and translated with the help of Frank Whitehead on December 13, 1973. Additional notations on stylistic features and false starts have been added by the present author after carefully relistening to the tape recorded version in 1990.

Sentence 1, consisting of lines 1-2.

Qa·k+unamni·ç<sup>1</sup>

/qa-ha-k+u?-n-am·ni ç/

be.thus-have-village-NC-INH·IND çand

They were camped and (See Clause 4, further below in Sentence 3)

(1) There was a village and

Qa·k+una+ka?ni<sup>2</sup> skinkuç.

/qa-ha-k+u?-n-a+ka?·ni skinkuç/

be.thus-have-village-ASC-COPART-INH.O·IND coyote

(2) (there was) the village campsite of Coyote (more lit. He had a camp with them)

Sentence 2, consisting of line 3.

Sa+titni ?a·qa+s swin?isis.

[sa+títne· ?á·qa+s ?i· swin?ísis]<sup>3</sup>

/s-ha+tit·ni ?a·-qa+-s swin-?is-is/

CON-Be.married.to·IND NSB-cloud-S3 daughter-3POS-S3

(3) He was married to the daughter of Cloud.

<sup>1</sup> Originally transcribed by the author as: [qak+unamni], but [qahak] is written in small letters above the original transcription, in which vowel length had been overlooked. FW offered a hypercorrect pronunciation of [qahak+uná·mne·], evidently in order to correct the lack of vowel length in the author's first pronunciation when reading the original transcription back. The hypercorrect pronunciation of FW, offered for demonstration purposes, is like the normal Conservative Lower Kutenai pronunciations of related words in the texts of Moses Joseph of Bonners Ferry, Idaho.

<sup>2</sup> [qɑ:a..] and [qɑ<sup>h</sup>ɑ..] were transcribed.

<sup>3</sup> The phonetic transcription includes a voiced pause in the form of [ʔi·].

Sentence 3, consisting of line 4.

Qa·k+unamni.<sup>4</sup>  
 /qa-ha-k+u?-n-am,ni/  
 be.thus-have-village-NC-INH,IND  
 (4) They were camped,

Sentence 4, consisting of line 5.

?Utmi+itni.  
 {?ut+mi+itni[...]}  
 /?utmi-+it,ni/  
 Hot-place,IND  
 (5) and it was awful hot,

Sentence 5, consisting of lines 6-8.

Qana+ qaki'ni skinkuε:  
 [qakí+ne·ni] [qàna+ qakí·?ne· skí·nku·ts]  
 (a false start.....)  
 /qa-na-?+ qa-ki?,ni skinkuε/ (Mid)  
 /qa-na-?+ qa-kik,ni skinkuε/ (Und.)  
 be.thus-go-ADV, be.thus-say,IND coyote  
 (6) and Coyote said:

\*?A·k+u?nam,ε  
 /?a·-k+u?-n-am,ε/<sup>5</sup>  
 IM-do/be-village-NC-INH and  
 (7) (When there is) a camp, and

<sup>4</sup> [qa<sup>h</sup>ak] was transcribed.

<sup>5</sup> The normal word meaning 'camp, village' is /?a·k-i-k+u?-n-am/ (IM-do/be-Bf-village-NC-INH), a lexicalized nominalization. The form in line (7) /?a·-k+u?-n-am/, underlyingly /?a·-k-k+u?-n-am/ (IM-do/be-village-NC-INH) is evidently in the general category of being an ad hoc nominalization, relatively recent in the language, without a phonemic buffer vowel, but with the deletion of /k/ before /k/, a more or less productive morphologically conditioned rule.

ʔat ʔukʔniʔ huqʔaniyamni.

[ʔat ʔukʔniʔ huqʔaniyámni...] ←(Emphatic Lengthening Example)

/ʔat. n.ʔukʔn-iʔ. huqʔa-n-iy-am.ɲi/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ʔat. n.ʔukʔn-iʔ. huqʔa-m-ik-n-am.ɲi / (Underlying Phonemic)

IMpt. PM.sudden-ADV. Move.camp-ASC-REFLX-NC-INH.IND

(8) sometime they have to move on (all of a sudden).

Sentence 6, consisting of line 9.

(a false start.....) Taxas ʔukʔniʔ huqʔaniyamni.

[tʌxqs ʔinaʔ] [tʌxqs ʔukʔniʔ huqʔaniyámni]

/taxa-s n.ʔukʔin-iʔ. huqʔa-n-iy-am.ɲi/

then-S3 PM.sudden-ADV. Move.camp-ASC-REFLX-INH.IND

(9) Then they suddenly moved camp.

Sentence 7, consisting of line 10.

ʔinaʔunismamni.

[ʔinaʔunismámni]

/ʔi-na-ʔunis-n-am.ɲi/

fast-go-travel.along-NC-INH.IND

(10) They were moving along.

Sentence 8, consisting of clauses 11-12.

Qanaʔ ʔunismamni.ʔ

/qa-na-ʔ. ʔunis-n-am.ɲi ʔ.ʔ/

be.thus-go-ADV. travel.along-NC-INH.IND .and

(11) As they were moving along,

[ k/qamquqa...]

(a false start.....)

Taxas ʔukʔniʔ ʔininmitqaʔxuni.

[tʌxqs [ʔinin..] ʔukʔniʔ ʔininmitqaʔxune.]

(a false start for the VP)

/taxa-s n.ʔukʔn-iʔ ʔi-n-in-mit-qaʔ-xu.ɲi/

then-S3 PM.sudden-ADV. fast-go-Sfx-throw-cloud-by.body.IND

(12) Then all of a sudden the cloud started moving fast.

Sentence 9, consisting of line 13.

Sna† †unisna†ka?ni ?a·qa†.  
 /s-na-?†. †unis-na†-ka?ni ?a·-qa†/  
 CON-go-ADV. travel.along-Com-INH.O.IND NSB-cloud

She went along with someone

(13) The cloud was on the move,

Sentence 10, consisting of lines 14-15.

†inmitqa†xuni.  
 /†i-n-mit-qa†-xu.ni/  
 fast-go-throw-cloud-by.body.IND

(14) The cloud started moving fast.

nas.† ?umi?s skinku† ?a·knu†k†a†maku?is  
 [nasts ?úmi?s skíngu† ?a·k†u†k†a†makú?]  
 /na-s .† ?umi?-s skinku† ?a·k-nu†-k†a†ma-ku-?is/  
 here-S3 .and Below-S3<sup>6</sup> coyote NSB-Sfx-mouth-heat-3POS

here below (there was) Coyote's panting

(15) and at the bottom (was) Coyote panting.

Sentence 11, consisting of line 16.

Taxas k†huk†uk skinku†  
 /taxa-s k.†.huk†uk skinku†/  
 then-S3 SM.†IR.tired coyote

(16) Then Coyote must have been tired (and he said):

Sentence 12, consisting of lines 17-18.

\*A, ?ina† †unisnam.†  
 /a, ?i-na-?†. †unis-n-am .†/  
 oh be-go-ADV. travel.along-NC-INH .and

(17) "Oh, when somebody is going along, and

?at †itkik†unamni."  
 [?at ?nitkik†u†u†mni...] (Emphatic Lengthening Example)

/?at. n.†i†t-ki-k†u?-n-am.ni/  
 IMpt. PM.†Become-Sfx-village-NC-INH.IND

(18) they stop and pitch camp."

<sup>6</sup> Underlyingly the word /?umi ?/ 'below' is /?u-mi ?/ (down + earth/ground).



Sentence 13, consisting of line 19.

**Taxas skiki† kumnaqaqa?ni skinkuε.**

**/taxa-s s-kik-i?†. kumnaqa-qa-?ni skinkuε/ (Mid-Level)**

**/taxa-s s-kik-i?†. kumnaqa-qa-pni skinkuε/ (Underlying)**

then-S3 CON-Sfx-ADV. poor.condition-STV-IN,IND coyote

**(19) Coyote was suffering, was in a bad way. (i.e. Coyote was in poor shape)**



**6.2 The First Fruits Text.** FW-9.112-114, 10.54-56. Tape 1.74-86.

This is a short ethnographic text told by Frank Whitehead on April 13, 1972. It was transcribed and translated by the author with the help of Frank Whitehead on November 21, 1973.

Sentence 1: lines: 1-3.

Niʔs piʔaks ʔaqʔsmakniʔ  
 /niʔ-s piʔak-s ʔaqʔsmakniʔ/  
 the-S3 past.time-S3 People.(esp. (Kootenay) Indian people)

(1) For the ((Kutenai) Indian) people of the past

ʔat nuʔ haqapsi kyukyits  
 /ʔat, nu, hu-ʔʔ, ha-qa-p-s, i k, yuk-yit-s /  
 IMpt, PM, finish-ADV, have-STV-INTR-S3, IND SM, noon-time-S3  
 There used to be a day

(2) there was a special time (more literally: there was a day)

ʔxaʔ yi, susaʔ haʔqʔatiyki naqamʔus  
 /ʔxa-ʔʔ, yi, s-usa-ʔʔ, haʔqʔat-iy, ki naqamʔu-s /  
 FUT-ADV, DFM, CON-be.at-ADV, collect-REFL, LOC bitterroot-S3

(3) for when they would pick bitterroot.

Sentence 2: lines: 4-5.

ʔAt naqaʔni  
 /ʔat, nu, ha-qa-ʔ, ni /  
 IMpt, PM, have-STV-IN, IND

(4) there were some (more literally: He/she/it/they had existence)

kaʔqʔati naqamʔus  
 /k, haʔqʔat-i, naqamʔu-s /  
 SM, collect-STV bitterroot-S3

(5) who gathered bitterroot (more literally: that he/she/it/they picked bitterroot)

**Sentence 3, consisting of lines 6-7.**

?At naqa?ni  
 /?at<sub>u</sub> n<sub>u</sub>ha-qa-?<sub>u</sub>ni /  
 IMpt<sub>u</sub> PM<sub>u</sub>have-STV-IN<sub>u</sub>IND

**(6) (and) there were some**

kaɬwukinxá ?inutʰkiʔs  
 /k<sub>u</sub>ha-ɬ-wu-kin-xa                      ?inutʰkiʔ-s/  
 SM<sub>u</sub>have-carry-bow/gun-by.hand-G      grouse-S3  
 that they hunt small game                (that are) grouse

**(7) who went out shooting grouse.**

**Sentence 4, consisting of lines 8-9.**

taxas nukicɪnmiyit  
 /taxa-s                      n<sub>u</sub>hu-kiɕ-i-n-mi-yit /  
 then-S3                      PM<sub>u</sub>finish-get.to-Bf-Day<sup>1</sup>

It was then (obv)    being a Sunday

**(8) then when Sunday would come**

?at ɳitʰqawxaɬ ?ikiɬni.  
 /?at<sub>u</sub> n<sub>u</sub>?itʰ-qa-uxa-?ɬ<sub>u</sub>    ?ik-iɬ<sub>u</sub>ni /  
 IMpt    PM<sub>u</sub>together-Be.to-ADV<sub>u</sub>    eat-PASV<sub>u</sub>IND

**(9) they would get together and have a feast.**

**Sentence 5, consisting of line 10.**

ɳitʰqawxaɬ ?ikiɬni    niʔ naqamɕu.  
 /n<sub>u</sub>?itʰqa-uxa-?ɬ<sub>u</sub>    ?ik-iɬ<sub>u</sub>ni    niʔ<sub>u</sub>naqamɕu? /  
 PM<sub>u</sub>together-Be.to-ADV<sub>u</sub>    eat-PASV<sub>u</sub>IND    the    bitterroot

**(10) They would gather to eat bitterroot.**

<sup>1</sup> The compound lexical suffix /-n-mi-yit / 'day' is evidently underlyingly three morphemes /-n-mi-yit /. Apparently the morphemes are the Standing Position Suffix + the lexical suffix meaning 'ground, land, earth' + the lexical suffix meaning 'time'. This last lexical suffix meaning 'time' is definitely involved. The two other components of the compound lexical suffix are less sure.

**Sentence 6, consisting of line 11.**

\ Texas ?at činaki† ha†q̄atixniyamni naqamč̄u  
 /taxa-s ?at, č̄i-na-k-i?†, ha†q̄at-i?-x-n-iy-am,ni naqamč̄u?/  
 /taxa-s ?at, č̄i-na-k-i?†, ha†q̄at-i?-x-n-ik-n-am,ni naqamč̄u?/  
 then-S3 IMpt, start-go-do/be-ADV, collect-STV-G-ASC-RFLX-INH,IND bitterroot  
**(11) Then they would start gathering up bitterroot.**

**Sentence 7, consisting of lines 12-13.**

?an ?atawakakut  
 /?an, ?ata-wa-ka-kut/  
 ADT, high.up-arrive-come-season  
**(12) as the season advances**

?an †a?ak†ak ?at n̄itkni†ni  
 /?an, †a,?ak†-†a-k ?at, n,?i?†-kin-i†,ni/  
 ADT, REV,other-Sfx-do/be IMpt, PM,Become-by.hand-PASV,IND  
**(13) later in the season they do something else.**

**Sentence 8, consisting of lines 14-15.**

?at na†q̄atixniyamni s̄qumu  
 /?at, n,ha†q̄at†-i?-x-n-iy-am,ni s̄qumu/  
 IMpt, PM,gather-STV-G-ASC-REFLX-INH,IND saskatoon.berries  
**(14) they pick Saskatoon berries**

ni?s nataniḱ kuku s̄qumu  
 /ni?-s, nataniḱ k,hu-ku s̄qumu/  
 the-S3, sun/moon SM,finish-heat saskatoon.berries  
 at the time (obv) month when the berries are ripe (i.e. July)<sup>2</sup>  
**(15) in the month of July**

**Sentence 9, consisting of lines 16-17.**

Nas,č̄ ?at qa† ?itkini†ni,č̄  
 /na-s,č̄ ?at, qa-?†, ?i?†-kin-i†,ni,č̄/  
 this-S3, and IMpt, be.thus-ADV, Become-by.hand-PASV,IND, and  
**(16) This is the way it's done (and)**

<sup>2</sup> It is the time reference itself in this clause which is subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative), not the month of July, which is unmarked for grammatical person and must therefore be a primary third person entity (i.e. proximate).

?At †a ?it'qawxaxamni.  
 /?at, †a, ?it'-qa-uxa-x-am,ni/  
 IMpt, REV, together-Be.to-G-INH,IND  
 (17) They get together again.

**Sentence 10, consisting of lines 18-20.**

?at qa†ikyaxwumni  
 /?at, qa-†ikyax-w-um,ni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /?at, qa-†ikyaxa-p-n-am,ni / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 IMpt, be.thus-Turn.of.phrase-IN-NC-INH,IND  
 (18) This is the way it is said (for them to say a prayer )

"hu,† †xama†na†a  
 /hu,†, †xa-m-a†-n-a†a?/  
 †CP,IR, speak-ASC-COPART-NC-1PL  
 (19) "we would pray

kuq†ukwa'it"  
 /k,hu-q†-u-kw-a?it/<sup>3</sup> (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 / k,hu-q†-u-ku-i?it / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 SM,finish-berry-Bf-heat-berry  
 (20) for the (berries) being ripe".

**Sentence 11, consisting of lines 21-22.**

Taxas ?at ?it'qawxa† ?iki†ni  
 /taxa-s ?at, ?it'-qa-u?xa-?†, ?ik-i†,ni /  
 then-S3 IMpt, together-STV-Be.to-ADV, eat-PASV,IND  
 (21) then they have a feast dinner

ni? tax ?a·kuq†i'it  
 /ni?,tax ?a·k-u-q†i?it/  
 the, just NSB-Bf-Berry  
 (22) on what has just ripened (i.e. s'qumu 'the Saskatoon berries').

<sup>3</sup> Compare the verbal stem in clause (20) /k,hu-q†-u-kw-a?it/ (Mid-Level Ph.) / k,hu-q†-u-ku-i?it / (Und.) (SM,finish-berry-Bf-heat-berry) with the nominal stem in clause (22) /?a·k-u-q†i?it/ (NSB-Bf-Berry) and with the verbal stem in clause (15) /k,hu-ku/ (SM,finish-heat).

**A Note Toward a Free Translation.**

In other words, some people have gathered the first bitterroots of the season for the annual bitterroot feast, thus opening the bitterroot gathering season. When Frank translated the text in a line by line manner he used what we may call the English habitual present tense, thus translating lines 4., 5., and 6. as: 'There are some that gather bitterroots', 'There are some that go out shooting grouse', 'When Sunday comes'.





### 6.3 The Constable Pritchard Text.

This text was told by Frank Whitehead on May 18, 1972 (noted 4.68). Originally recorded on the five inch reel side numbered 3, (variously 69-78 or 70-80 in the numbering of the counter on the Uher tape recorder which the tape was originally recorded on). The text was transcribed and translated by the author on separate sheets with the help of Frank Whitehead.

This story helps to explain why, in the summer of 1967, the first Kutenai person the author met, Dominic Nicholas of Windermere, upon hearing that the author was interested in the Kutenai language, told the author that he would have no trouble with the Kutenai language if he were a Welshman. Kutenai people born around the turn of the century, especially in Windermere, knew Constable Pritchard. He evidently was a speaker of Welsh and could pronounce voiceless lateral fricatives [ɬ] which are common in both Welsh and Kutenai. Other Euro-Canadians, who were not Welsh speakers, could not. This ability to pronounce voiceless lateral fricatives turned out to be a mixed blessing for Constable Pritchard.

Sentence 1, consisting of lines 1-2.

niʔs piʔaks nuɬ haqaʔni			
/niʔ-s	piʔak-s	nɔhu-ʔɬɔ	ha-qa-ʔɔni / <sup>1</sup> (Mid-Level Ph.)
/niʔ-s	piʔak-s	nɔhu-ʔɬɔ	ha-qa-pɔni / (Underlying Ph.)
the-S3	past.time-S3	PM,finish-ADVɔ	have-STV-IN,IND
long ago.....	there used to be.....		

(1) Long ago there was once

---

<sup>1</sup> The Inchoative Suffix is underlyingly /p/. The Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix, which occurs underlyingly in a word in clause 2, is internally reconstructed as \*/t/. In that word /kɔha-ʔan-xu-ʔ/ 'policeman', literally: 'that he has a badge', a valence of two is involved because a badge is a separate entity from the person who has it on.

kaq̄anxu niʔs ʔa·kisq̄nuks  
 /k\_ʰa-q̄an-xu-ʔ niʔ-s ʔa·-kis-q̄nuk-s/  
 SM\_have-hanging-by.body-GSVI the-S3 NSB-DUAL-lake-S3.  
 policeman..... at Windermere.....  
 (2) a policeman at Windermere.<sup>2</sup>

Sentence 2, consisting of line 3.

ʔat q̄+aki+ni ʔaq+smakniḳ.  
 /ʔat\_ q̄+aki+\_ni ʔaq+smakniḳ/  
 IMpt\_ like\_IND Person/People  
 He liked..... the (Kutenai) Indian people  
 (3) He liked the Indians.

Sentence 3, consisting of lines 4-5.

ʔat qa+wiyni  
 /ʔat\_ qa-+wiy\_ni/  
 IMpt\_ be.thus-heart\_IND  
 (4) He thought/wanted

xma ktunaxa+ukqa  
 /xma\_ ktunaxa?-+uk-qa-ʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 / xma\_ ktunaxa?-+uk-qa-p / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 Kutenai-sound-STV-IN  
 would Kutenai-Language  
 (5) to speak the Kootenay language.

Sentence 4, consisting of lines 6-10.

q̄in k̄ukunmiyits  
 /q̄in k\_ʔuk-u-nmiyit-s/<sup>3</sup>  
 just SM\_one-Bf-Day-S3  
 (6) then one day

<sup>2</sup> The k-form /k\_ʰa-q̄an-xu-ʔ/ 'policeman' is a lexicalized nominalization, but is clearly recognizable as a verbal form. FW said that it meant '(that) has a badge'.

<sup>3</sup> There is both a root /ʔuk̄-/ 'one', and a root /ʔuk-/ 'one'. The root /ʔuk-/ 'one' occurs associated with a following phonemic buffer vowel /-u-/.

qakiʔni Halpáns  
 /qa-ki-ʔni halpán-s/  
 be.thus-say-BLTR,IND Albin-S3

(7) he said to Albin

"Ka? ʔat kʔaqakiyam  
 /kaʔ ʔat kʔa-qa-ki-y-am/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /kaʔ ʔat kʔa-qa-kik-k-am/ (Underlying Phonemic Rep.)  
 how<sup>4</sup> 1Mpt, SM,IM-be.thus-say-REFLX-INH

(8) "How do they say

kiʔsuʔk	kaʔanxu"
/kʔhiʔsuʔk	/kʔha-ʔanxuʔ/
SM,Bpt,good	SM,have-Badge
that is good	that he/she/it/has a badge, that they have badges
(9) good	(10) policeman"

Sentence 5, consisting of lines 11-12.

qaʔwiyni Halpán  
 /qaʔwiy,ni halpán/  
 be.thus-heart,IND Albin

(11) Albin thought

hu,ʔ ʔaqniϕ.  
 /hu,ʔ ʔaqniϕ/  
 1CP,IR, deceive

(12) I might lie to him

Sentence 6, consisting of line 13.

qakiʔni Halpán  
 /qa-kiʔ,ni halpán/  
 be.thus-say,IND Albin-S3

(13) Albin said (it).

---

<sup>4</sup> The word /kaʔ/ also translates as 'where', 'what', and 'when'.

**Sentence 7, consisting of line 14.**

qaki+ni ni?s titqat's Pričarts  
 /qa-ki-+ni ni?-s titqat'-s pričart-s/  
 be.thus-say-DI,IND the-S3 man-S3 Pritchard-S3  
 He told it to him..... the man..... Pritchard

**(14) he told the man Pritchard.****Sentence 8, consisting of line 15.**

qak+ik ni? titqat',  
 /qa-k+ik ni? titqat'/  
 be.thus-name-REFLX the man  
 He was named thus.. the man.....

**(15) that was the man's name.****Sentence 9, consisting of lines 16-19.**

qaki+ni  
 /qa-ki-+ni/  
 be.thus-say-DI,IND  
**(16) he told him (it),**

"hun ?ini	kwi+qa	kaku+aç"
/hu_n ?i-n_i/	/k_wi+qa-?	/k_ha-ku+aç/
/ hu_n ?i-n_i /	/k_wi+qa-p	/k_ha-ku+aç /
1CP,PM, be-NC,IND	SM, big-STV-IN	SM, have-testicle
I am (it/him).....	that is big.....	that has testicles
<b>(17) "I am</b>	<b>(18) a big</b>	<b>(19) stud"</b>

**Sentence 10, consisting of line 20.**

taxas +a ?i+qanaxi Halpán  
 /taxa-s +a ?i+-qa-na-x\_i halpán/  
 then-S3 REV, away-be.thus-go-RLG,IND Albin

**(20) Then Albin went away.****Sentence 11, consisting of lines 21-22.**

taxas ni? kaqanxu  
 /taxa-s ni? k\_ha-qaanxu/  
 then-S3 the SM, have-Badge

**(21) then the policeman**

paʔ ʔat ɕ ɕinaxi  
 /paʔ. ʔat. ɕ. ɕi-na-xi/  
 EVID. IMpt. Fpt. INCEP-go-RLG.IND  
 (22) went around.

**Sentence 12, consisting of lines 23-26.**

paʔ ʔat ɕapiʔpaʔniʔni  
 /paʔ. ʔat. ɕap-i-ʔpaʔn-iʔni/  
 EVID. IMpt. all-hear-Bf-STV.IND  
 (23) he told everyone

niʔs kiʔin  
 /niʔ-s k.ʔhiʔi-n/  
 the-S3 SM.Bpt.be-NC  
 the (fact) that he was  
 (24) that he was

kwiʔqa kakuʔaɕ  
 /k.ʔwiʔqa-ʔ k.ʔha-kuʔaɕ/  
 SM.big-STV-IN SM.have-testicle  
 (25) a big (26) stud.

**Sentence 13, consisting of lines 27-28.**

taxas ɕin kaʔs ʔa·qaʔ ʔupxa  
 /taxa-s ɕin kaʔ-s. ʔa·-qa-ʔʔ. ʔupxa/  
 then-s3 just how-S3. IM-be.thus-ADV. know/see  
 (27) Then, however, he found out

niʔs sʔ.ʔya· qakiʔki  
 /niʔ-s. siʔʔ. ʔa·ʔqa-kiʔki/  
 the-S3. CON-ADV. DFM.be.thus-say.LOC  
 the fact of what he was saying.....  
 (28) what it meant.

**Sentence 14, consisting of line 29.**

ʔat ʔa qa qakiʔni  
 /ʔat. ʔa. qa. qa-kiʔni/  
 IMpt. REV. NEG. be.thus-say.IND  
 (29) then he didn't say it.

Sentence 15, consisting of lines 30-32.

‡a qa ?inamni

/‡a<sub>u</sub> qa<sub>u</sub> ?i-n-am<sub>u</sub>ni/

REV<sub>u</sub> NEG<sub>u</sub> be-NC-INH<sub>u</sub>IND

(30) he wasn't anymore

kwi‡qa kaku‡aφ

/k<sub>u</sub>wi‡qa-? k<sub>u</sub>ha-ku‡aφ/

SM<sub>u</sub>big-STV-IN SM<sub>u</sub>have-testicle

(31) a big

(32) stud.

#### 6.4 The Short Coyote Text.

This story was told by Rosalie McCoy of Tobacco Plains who was born in 1898 and did not speak English, never having been to school. Mrs. McCoy received an advanced education in traditional Kutenai oral literature, probably mostly from the older members of her family, very largely because she did not attend the St Eugene Mission boarding school. This particular story is unusually short among the stories she and Ann Pierre (another monolingual speaker of Kutenai) told. The reason is simply that Mrs. McCoy did not know or remember how this particular story ended.

The story was told to Elizabeth Gravelle and the author, and was recorded at the home of Mrs. McCoy at Roosville, British Columbia on September 14, 1974. The story was first transcribed and translated by Elizabeth Gravelle from a cassette copy in 1986. The transcript and translation was first entered onto computer disk and edited by the author in 1987. Further editing and formatting work was also done in 1988, December 1989, and April 1990.

Individual letters which are in parentheses are ones supplied by the author, in order to achieve a transcription which is regularized to natural careful speech. Such parentheses can be found in lines 49 and 81 of this text. The need to supply a segment in clause 49 is because this is a rare example where EG (the transcriber) has not automatically supplied the transcription with a missing segment deleted by the stylistic rule of Final Segments Deletion. In fact, in this instance, two segments are deleted, making this an extreme example of the application of the rule. The original transcriber's usual practice, in this and other transcripts was to automatically supplying a missing segment deleted by this rule, as if the segment were really there on the tape.

In this text, examples of the Final Segments Deletion Rule noticed by the author are indicated by the presence of an extra line in an unregularized phonetic representation where the segments in question are missing, following the pronunciation of the story teller, as

recorded on tape. The Final Segments Deletion Rule is associated with rapid parenthetical speech. Some contrasting examples in the text are also supplied with unregularized phonetic representations to show where the same segments are not deleted in certain clauses which are specifically non-parenthetical. Examples of other stylistic rules which can be heard in the text are also noted. There are instances of Emphatic Lengthening, Emphatic Stress, and Initial Syllable Deletion.

Sentence 1, consisting of line: 1.

Qa·nit+ana+apsi skinkuϕ, ?a+u·a·kni'kis.  
 [qa·nit+ana+á·psj skínku'ts, [significant pause] ?a+a·kni'kí·]  
 (Non-Parenthetical Speech ..... ) (Parenthetical Speech)  
 /qa-ha-n-i-t+a?-na+-ap-s·i skinkuϕ ?a+u ?a·k-ni'k'-?is/  
 be.thus-have-STD-Bf-house-Com-HRO-S3·IND Coyote PLpt NSB-parent-3POS  
 (1) There was the home of Coyote and his parents.

Sentence 2, consisting of line: 2.

?At čina+ ?anaxi ni? titunam.  
 /?at·u či-na-?+u ?a?-na-x·i ni?·u titu-n-am/  
 IMpt·u INCEP-go-ADV·u out-go-RLG·uIND the·u father-NC-INH  
 (2) The father would go out hunting.

Sentence 3, consisting of lines 3-4.

ča +axam ?at +itq̄wuni.  
 /+a·u +axa-m/ /?at·u +it-q̄wu·ni/  
 REV·u get.to-RM IMpt·u without-fresh.killed.game·uIND  
 (3-4). He would never bring anything home.

Sentence 4, consisting of lines 5-6.

Sań ?at n̄i+wani·ϕ ?at +itq̄wuni.  
 /sań ?at·u n̄·?i+wan·ni·ϕ/ /?at·u +it-q̄wu·ni/  
 however IMpt·u PM·shoot.and.kill·uIND ·and IMpt·u without-fresh.killed.game·uIND  
 (5) Although he would kill something, (6) he would not bring it home.



## Sentence 5, consisting of lines 7-9

?At qaki+ni ti+namu?is

[?at qakí+ne· ti+namú?ʷis]

(representing Non-Parentetical Speech, contrasts with lines 1, 76, and 81)

/?at, qa-ki-+ni ti+namu?-?is/

IMpt, be.thus-say-DI,IND old.woman-3POS

(7) He would say to his wife,

"ǰinyaxaǰwun,

hun ?i+wani".

/ǰi-n-yaxa-ǰwu,n

hu,n ?i+wa,ni/

INCEP-go-fetch-fresh.killed.game,2CP 1CP,PM shoot.and.kill IND

(8) "Go fetch the meat,

(9) I killed something".

## Sentence 6, consisting of line 10.

?At skiki+ huǰawisǰanukni.

[?at skìki+ huǰawisǰanú·ki] ← Next to last segment deleted, apparently more in the nature of a speech error, rather than Rapid Parentetical Speech.

/?at, s-kik-i?+, huǰawis-ǰanuk,ni/

IMpt, CON-Sfx-ADV, Pack-Load.of.firewood,IND

(10) She would be packing wood to their camp.

## Sentence 7, consisting of line 11.

?At skiki+ huǰawisǰankusi ti+namu?is.

[?at skìki+ huǰawisǰankú·si· ti+namú·?ʷis]

(Non-Parentetical, contrast with lines 1, 76, and 81)

/?at, s-kik-i?+, huǰawis-ǰanku-s,ti ti+namu?-?is/

IMpt, CON-Sfx-ADV, Pack-Load.of.firewood-S3,IND old.woman-3POS

(11) His wife would be bringing wood to their home.

## Sentence 8, consisting of lines 12-14.

?At pa·mik +a ?ukǰanukni ni? pa+ki,ǰ

/?at, pa·mik +a, ?uk-ǰanuk,ni ni? pa+ki,ǰ/

IMpt, anyway REV, one-Load.of.firewood,IND the, woman, and

(12) That woman would always make one more trip for wood,

taxas nuqna <sub>u</sub> ϕ	?at ni?s t <u>u</u> qa+t <u>q</u> a <sub>·</sub> ϕi.
[tʰxq·s nú:qna·ts]	[?at ni?s t <u>u</u> qa+t <u>q</u> a <sub>·</sub> tsi·]
	<b>(Emphatic Lengthening example).</b>
/taxa-s n <sub>u</sub> hu-qna? <sub>u</sub> ϕ/	/?at <sub>u</sub> ni?-s <sub>u</sub> t <u>u</u> qa+-qa·ϕ <sub>u</sub> i/
then-S3 PM <sub>u</sub> finish-do and	IMpt <sub>u</sub> the-S3 <sub>u</sub> change.direction-travel <sub>u</sub> IND
<b>(13) Then when done,</b>	<b>(14) she would always go the other direction.</b>

Sentence 9, consisting of lines 15-16.

Qanamakni <sub>t</sub> ik	?at ni?s qanaxi.
/qa-na-ma-ki-n-i <sub>t</sub> -ik	/?at <sub>u</sub> ni?-s <sub>u</sub> qa-na-x <sub>u</sub> i/
be.thus-go-road-by.foot-NC-DI-REFLX	IMpt <sub>u</sub> the-S3 <sub>u</sub> be.thus-go-RLG <sub>u</sub> IND
<b>(15-16) She would go that way and had a trail from her many trips.</b>	

Sentence 10, consisting of lines 17-20.

t <u>a</u> t <u>a</u> xam ?a <sub>·</sub> kit <sub>t</sub> a? <sub>i</sub> s <sub>u</sub> ϕ	?at t <u>a</u> <sub>u</sub> tnaxam <sub>u</sub> ni.
/t <u>a</u> <sub>u</sub> t <u>a</u> xam ?a <sub>·</sub> k-i-t <sub>t</sub> a?-? <sub>i</sub> s <sub>u</sub> ϕ	/?at <sub>u</sub> t <u>a</u> <sub>u</sub> t-na-xam <sub>u</sub> ni/
REV <sub>u</sub> get.to-RM NSB-Bf-house-3POS and	IMpt <sub>u</sub> REV <sub>u</sub> in-go-BRL <sub>u</sub> IND
<b>(17) When she got back,</b>	<b>(18) she would go into her home.</b>

t <sub>u</sub> ?akaxam <sub>u</sub> ϕ	taxas ϕ <sub>i</sub> nam.
/t <sub>u</sub> ?a-ka-xam <sub>u</sub> ϕ/	/taxa-s ϕ <sub>i</sub> -na-m/
IR <sub>u</sub> out-come-BRL and	then-S3 INCEP-go-RM
<b>(19) Then she would come out and</b>	<b>(20) then go (for the killed game).</b>

Sentence 11, consisting of lines 21-22.

?At qa wu <sub>q</sub> manikitsi <sub>u</sub> ϕ	?at t <u>a</u> t <u>a</u> xaxi.
[?at qa wo <sub>q</sub> manik <sub>i</sub> ·tsi·ts]	[?at t <u>a</u> t <u>a</u> xá·xe·]
<b>(Non-Parentetical Speech, compare line 22, with the otherwise identical line 28)</b>	
/?at <sub>u</sub> qa <sub>u</sub> wu- <sub>q</sub> ma-nikit-s <sub>u</sub> i ϕ/	/?at <sub>u</sub> t <u>a</u> <sub>u</sub> t <u>a</u> xaxi <sub>u</sub> /
IMpt <sub>u</sub> NEG <sub>u</sub> long-sudden-event-S3 <sub>u</sub> IND and	IMpt <sub>u</sub> REV <sub>u</sub> get.to-RLG <sub>u</sub> IND
<b>(21) It would not take long,</b>	<b>(22) and she'd get home.</b>

Sentence 12, consisting of lines 23-28.

Taxas ?at <sub>s</sub> t qa ?upxa <sub>t</sub> isni	
/taxa-s ?at <sub>u</sub> s-i? <sub>u</sub> qa <sub>u</sub> ?upxa-t-is <sub>u</sub> ni/	
then-s3 IMpt <sub>u</sub> CON-ADV <sub>u</sub> NEG <sub>u</sub>	know/see-PASV-S3 <sub>u</sub> IND
<b>(23) They never knew</b>	



## Sentence 15, consisting of lines 34-36.

‡a ‡axam <sub>ϕ</sub>	‡a tinaxam <sub>ϕ</sub>
/‡a <sub>ϕ</sub> ‡axa-m <sub>ϕ</sub> /	/‡a <sub>ϕ</sub> ti-na-xam <sub>ϕ</sub> /
REV <sub>ϕ</sub> get.to-RM <sub>ϕ</sub> and	REV <sub>ϕ</sub> in-Bf-go-BRL <sub>ϕ</sub> and
(34) When she returned	(35) she'd go in first

taxas<sup>?</sup>at †inaxi.  
 [t<sup>h</sup>·xq·s<sup>?</sup> 'at t<sup>h</sup>inó·x] (Rapid Parenthetical Speech, see clause 41)  
 /taxa-s<sup>?</sup> at<sub>ϕ</sub> †i-na-x<sub>ϕ</sub>i/  
 then-S3 IMpt<sub>ϕ</sub> INCEP-go-RLG<sub>ϕ</sub>IND  
 (36) and then leave

## Sentence 16, consisting of lines 37-40.

Qa‡wiy<sub>ni</sub> ni<sup>?</sup> titqat<sup>?</sup>  
 /qa-‡wiy<sub>ni</sub> ni<sup>?</sup> titqat<sup>?</sup>/  
 be.thus-heart<sub>ϕ</sub>IND the<sub>ϕ</sub> man  
 (37) The man thought:

"Huyas ku †xa‡ †i·katmi‡  
 [yas kutsxat<sup>?</sup> tsi·ká·tmi·‡] (Initial Syllable Deletion example)  
 /huya-s<sub>ϕ</sub> ku<sub>hu</sub> †xa-‡‡<sub>ϕ</sub> †i·kat-m-i‡/  
 SUGT-S3 SM<sub>ϕ</sub>1CP<sub>ϕ</sub> FUT-ADV<sub>ϕ</sub> Look-ASC-DI  
 (38) "I am going to see

ka<sup>?</sup>s<sup>?</sup> at<sup>?</sup> n<sup>?</sup>a·qaw<sup>?</sup>xam  
 /ka<sup>?</sup>-s<sub>ϕ</sub> at<sub>ϕ</sub> n<sub>ϕ</sub>a·qa-u<sup>?</sup>xam/  
 where-S3<sub>ϕ</sub> IMpt<sub>ϕ</sub> PM<sub>ϕ</sub>IM-be.thus-Be.to-RM  
 (39) where she goes to,

at<sub>ϕ</sub>ks<sup>?</sup> ‡a·qanam."  
 /at<sub>ϕ</sub> k<sub>ϕ</sub> s-i<sup>?</sup>‡<sub>ϕ</sub> ‡a·qa-na-m/  
 IMpt<sub>ϕ</sub> SM<sub>ϕ</sub> CON-ADV<sub>ϕ</sub> IM-be.thus-go-RM  
 (40) why she goes that way."

Sentence 17, consisting of line 41.

ɕinaxi,  
 [tʂinóːxeː] (Non-Parentetical Speech, contrasts with line 36)  
 /ɕi-na-xi/  
 INCEP-go-RLG,IND  
 (41) He went,

Sentence 18, consisting of line 42.

snitʰaʔsi wiʰmaʰs ...  
 /s-n-i-tʰaʔ-s, wiʰmaʰ-s/  
 CON-STD-Bf-house-S3,IND rattlesnake-S3  
 (42) there was the house of rattlesnake

Sentence 19, consisting of lines 43.

paʰ ʔat qawxasi.  
 /paʰ ʔat, qa-uʰxa-s, i/  
 EVID, IMpt, be.thus-Be.to-S3,IND  
 (43) that's where she'd go.

Sentence 20, consisting of lines 44-46.

Paʰ ʔat, sʰ qunaʰ ʔupxasi, ɕ  
 /paʰ ʔat, s-iʰʰ, quʰ-na-ʰʰ, ʔupxasi ɕ/  
 EVID, IMpt, CON-ADV, yonder-go-ADV, know/see-S3,IND and  
 (44) She would go there to see him, and

Taxas nuʰ ʔupxas  
 [xqːs nuʰ ʔuːpxas]  
 (Initial Syllable Deletion example)  
 /taxa-s nu, hu-ʰʰ, ʔupxa-s/  
 then-S3 PM, finish-ADV, know-S3  
 (45) when she finished her visit,

taxas ʰa ɕinas.  
 [tʰxqːs ʰa tʂiːnas]  
 /taxa-s ʰa, ɕi-na-s/  
 then-S3 REV, INCEP-go-S3  
 (46) she would go home.

Sentence 21, consisting of lines 47-49.

ʰa tinaxamːs  
 /ʰa, ti-na-xamː-s/  
 REV, in-go-BRL-S3  
 (47) When she went back into her home,

paʰ ʔat xunmitsi ʰakinqʰaʰqas  
 [paʰ ʔat xunmíːtsjː ʰaːkinqʰáːqɑː]  
 (Rapid Parentetical Speech.....)  
 /paʰ ʔat, xu-n-mit-s, i ʰaːk-inqʰaʰqa-s/  
 EVID, IMpt, into.fire-go-throw-S3,IND NSB-sinew-S3  
 (48) she would throw sinew into the fire.

Taxas ?at ni?s qa+ xu+nakups

[tʰxq's ?at ni?s qa+ xu+ŋá:ku:ps]

(Rapid Parenthetical Speech.....)

/taxa-s ?at, ni?-s, qa-?+, xu+na-ku-p-s/  
 then-S3 IMpt, the-S3, be.thus-ADV, Root-fire-IN-S3

(49a) And then the fire would shrink

ni?s ?a:kinqá+qa(s)

[ni?s ?a:kinqá+qʰ]<sup>1</sup>

(Rapid Parenthetical Speech continued)

/ni?-s, ?a:k-i-nqá+qa-s/  
 the-S3, NSB-sinew-S3

(49b) the sinew

Sentence 22, consisting of lines 50-51.

Taxas pa+ ?at, s+ xa+nakupç+i?tsi

/taxa-s pa+, ?at, s-i?+, xa+na-kup-ç-i?-t-s,i/  
 then-S3 EVID, IMpt, CON-ADV, Root-fire-CAUS-STV-TVI-S3,IND

(50) By doing that she would be shortening

ni?s çxa+ ya:,qanaski.

[ni?s çxa+ ya:qaná:sk] (Rapid Parenthetical Speech)

/ni?-s, çxa-?+, ya:,qa-na-s,ki/  
 the-S3, FUT-ADV, DFM,be.thus-go-S3,LOC

(51) the distance she had to go.

Sentence 23, consisting of lines 52-53.

Taxas pa+ ?at, s+ ?a:qa+ qa wunikitsi,ç

/taxa-s pa+, ?at, s-i?+, ?a:-qa-?+, qa, wu-nikit-s,i çç/  
 then-S3 EVID, IMpt, CON-ADV, IM-be.thus-ADV, NEG, long-event-S3,IND and

(52) That's why it would only take her a short time

<sup>1</sup> The diacritic [ʰ] indicates the release of the final consonant of the word which is merely a phonetic gesture in the direction of articulating the vowel which is the second to the last segment of the word. The vowel was transcribed in the original transcript, but cannot be heard on the tape as a vowel, even as a voiceless vowel.

†a †axas.  
 /†a<sub>u</sub> †axa-s/  
 Rev<sub>u</sub> get.to-S3  
 (53) to get back.

## Sentence 24, consisting of lines 54-62.

Taxas k<sub>u</sub>p<sub>x</sub>a  
 [tʰxqːs k<sub>u</sub>p<sub>x</sub>aː]  
 /taxa-s k<sub>u</sub>p<sub>x</sub>a/  
 then-S3 SM<sub>u</sub>know/see  
 (54) Now that he knew

pa† †at ya<sub>u</sub>qaqnapski,  
 [pa† †at yaːqaqnaːpsk]  
 (Rapid Parenthetical Speech)  
 /pa†<sub>u</sub> †at<sub>u</sub> ya<sub>u</sub>qa-qna-p-s<sub>u</sub>ki/  
 EVID<sub>u</sub> IMpt<sub>u</sub> DFM<sub>u</sub>be.thus-do-IN-S3<sub>u</sub>LOC  
 (55) what she would do,

taxas ku† †inas  
 [tʰxqːs †e ku†tʰiːnaːs] (instance of Voiced Pause /†i/ as [†e])  
 /taxa-s k<sub>u</sub> hu-†<sub>u</sub> †i-na-s/  
 then-S3 SM<sub>u</sub> finish-ADV<sub>u</sub> INCEP-go-S3  
 (56) then when she'd gone to

ni†s †at ya<sub>u</sub>qanaski<sub>u</sub>†  
 [ni†s †at yaːqanːskiːts] (non-parenthetical speech, contrast with line 55)  
 /ni†s<sub>u</sub> †at<sub>u</sub> ya<sub>u</sub>qa-na-s<sub>u</sub>ki<sub>u</sub>†/  
 the-S3<sub>u</sub> IMpt<sub>u</sub> DFM<sub>u</sub>thus-go-S3<sub>u</sub>LOC<sub>u</sub> and  
 (57) where she usually went, and

k†a tinaxam<sub>s</sub>,  
 /k<sub>u</sub> †a<sub>u</sub> ti-na-xam<sub>s</sub>-s/  
 SM<sub>u</sub> REV<sub>u</sub> in-go-BRL-S3  
 (58) returned home,

k†a †akaxam<sub>s</sub>,  
 /k<sub>u</sub> †a<sub>u</sub> †a-ka-xam<sub>s</sub>-s/  
 SM<sub>u</sub> REV<sub>u</sub> out-go-BRL-S3  
 (59) when she came out

taxas k<sub>u</sub>†inas.  
 /taxa-s k<sub>u</sub>†i-na-s/  
 then-S3 SM<sub>u</sub>INCEP-go-S3  
 (60) and left,

tinaxam̃niꞥ  
[t'ɪnaxám̃ñeː]

/tinaxam̃niꞥ/  
in-go-BRLꞥIND ꞥand

(61) he went in,

swiskupsi ʔa·kinđaꞥqas.  
[sʷwiskúːpsj̃ ʔa·kinđáꞥqə]

(Rapid Parenthetical Speech.....)

/s-wis-ku-p-sꞥi ʔa·kinđaꞥqa-s/  
CON-stop-fire-IN-S3ꞥIND NSB-sinew-S3

(62) and there in the fire was sinew.

Sentence 25, consisting of line 63.

ɬa ʔupmitk̃uʔni.

/ɬaꞥ ʔup-mit-k̃u-ʔni/

REVꞥ away.from.water.or fire-throw-by.point-GSVIꞥIND

(63) He removed it from the fire with a stick.

Sentence 26, consisting of lines 64-65.

Taxas siꞥ ʔumiꞥkinxaxni

/taxa-s siꞥꞥ ʔumiꞥ-kin-xaxꞥni/

then-S3 CON-ADVꞥ break-by.hand-MALꞥIND

(64) By doing that he broke the spell

niʔs kꞥxaꞥ wasiꞥ ɬa ɬaxas.

/niʔ-s kꞥ ꞥxa-ʔꞥ was-iꞥꞥ ɬaꞥ ɬaxa-s/

the-S3 RELꞥ FUT-ADVꞥ early-ADVꞥ REVꞥ get.to-S3

the (fact) that she will get back early (i.e. the spell that had her get back early)

(65) that would have brought her home sooner.

Sentence 27, consisting of lines 66-67.

Taxas skini

/taxa-s s-kinꞥi/

then-S3 CON-by.handꞥIND

He did it

(66) He did this,

niʔs kꞥxaꞥ ʔâꞥtakmuxuʔs.

[niʔs ktsxðꞥ ʔâꞥtakm̃ú·xuʔs] (Emphatic Stress example)

/niʔ-s kꞥ ꞥxa-ʔꞥ ʔaꞥta-k-mu-xu-ʔ-s/

the-S3 SMꞥ FUT-ADVꞥ for.long.time-Sfx-ground-by.body-GSVI-S3

the (fact) that she would be travelling on foot a long time

(67) so that she'd be gone a long time.



Sentence 28, consisting of lines 68-71.

Qaki+ni ?a+u.aqa+t'is,  
 /Qa-ki-tuni ?a+u ?a-qa+t-?is/  
 be.thus-say-DI,IND PLpt, NSB-child-3POS  
 (68) He said to his children,

"taxa hu+ quqanaxata.  
 /taxa hu+ qu?-qa-na-x-ata?/  
 then 1CP,IR, yon-thus-go-RLG-1PL  
 (69) "Let's go away somewhere.

Qxa+ sa:ni+wiyni maniski+  
 /Qxa-?+ sahan-i+wiyni ma?-n-is-ki+/  
 FUT-ADV, bad-heart,IND mother-NC-2PO-2PL  
 (70) Your mother will be angry,

ni?s hu ya.uqakinki".  
 [ni?s hu ya:qakí'ink] (cut off by the sudden beginning of Parenthetical Speech)  
 /ni?-su hu ya.uqa-kin,ki/  
 the-S3, 1CP, DFM, be.thus-by.hand,LOC  
 (71) because of what I did to her".

Sentence 29, consisting of line 72.

Ha, n'ukti ni?s wi+mat+s.  
 [ha, n'ú:ktj. ni?s wí+mqat+] (Rapid Parenthetical Speech)  
 /Ha, nu?ukti ni?-su wi+mat-s/  
 Oh, PM,kill.all the-S3, rattlesnake-S3  
 (72) Oh yes, he killed all of the rattlesnakes.

Sentence 30, consisting of line 73.

Taxas q'inamma+ni ?a+u.aqa+t'is,  
 /taxa-s q'i-na-m-ma+ni ?a+u ?a-qa+t-?is/  
 then-S3 INCEP-go-RM-Com,IND PLpt, NSB-child-3POS  
 (73) Then he left with his children,

Sentence 31, consisting of line 74.

ḥassi.  
/n<sub>u</sub>?as-s<sub>u</sub>i/  
PM<sub>u</sub>two-S3<sub>u</sub>IND

(74) there were two of them.

Sentence 32, consisting of line 75.

Łin xaḥniḥ ?inmaḥni titqat's.  
/ḥin<sub>u</sub> xaḥn-iḥ?ḥ<sub>u</sub> ?in-m-aḥ<sub>u</sub>ni titqat's-/  
Must.be<sub>u</sub> both-ADV<sub>u</sub> be-ASC-COPART<sub>u</sub>IND man-S3

(75) They must have both been male (like himself),

Sentence 33, consisting of line 76.

Skinkuḥ naqapsi. ḥa?is.  
[skí·nkuḥ naqá·psi ḥá·?i·]  
(Rapid Parenthetical Speech.....)  
/Skinkuḥ n<sub>u</sub>ha-qa-p-s<sub>u</sub>i ḥa?-?is/  
coyote PM<sub>u</sub>have-STV-IN-S3<sub>u</sub>IND younger.brother-3POS  
for Coyote there was his brother

(76) Coyote had a brother.

Sentence 34, consisting of line 77.

Taxas ḥinaxi ....  
/taxa-s ḥi-na-x<sub>u</sub>i/  
then-S3 INCEP-go-DIR<sub>u</sub>IND

(77) Then they left -

Sentence 35, consisting of line 78.

qa·naxi.  
[qa·naxi]  
(Emphatic Lengthening example)  
/qana-x<sub>u</sub>i/  
thus-go-RLG<sub>u</sub>IND

(78) they went along.

Sentence 36, consisting of line 79.

Taxas wiḥinqa·ḥi.  
[tá·xq's wiḥinqá·tsi·]  
(Emphatic Lengthening example)  
/taxa-s wiḥ-i-n-qaḥ<sub>u</sub>i/  
then-S3 big-Bf-STD-travel<sub>u</sub>IND

(79) Now they went quite a ways.

Sentence 37, consisting of lines 80-81.

Ḥupxni  
/n<sub>u</sub>?upx<sub>u</sub>ni/  
PM<sub>u</sub>know/see<sub>u</sub>IND

(80) He knew,

taxas tuxa ?at,k,s(+) taxanxu'naps ti+namu?is.  
 [tÁ·xg·s tÚ·xa· ?atks taxanxú·?na·ps ti+namú·?wi]

(Rapid Parenthetical Speech.....)

/taxa-s tuxa ?at, k, s-i?+, taxanxu'n-aps ti+namu-?is/  
 then-S3 almost IMpt, SM, CON-ADV, get.to-Lex-HRO-S3 old.woman-3POS

(81) that his wife was about to catch up.

Sentence 38, consisting of lines 82-84.

Qaki+ni ?a+,a·qa+t'is,  
 /qa-ki-+ni ?a+, ?a·-qa+t-?is/  
 thus-say-DI,IND PLpt, NSB-child-3POS

(82) He said to his children,

"taxas yapta waxaki+;  
 /taxa-s yapta-u?xa-ki+/  
 then-S3 apart-Be.to-2PL

(83) "you go on in a different direction;

Taxas hu xaxat ?uk'i'ni".  
 /taxa-s hu, xaxat?+, ?uk'-i?ni/  
 then-S3 1CP, FUT-ADV, one-STV,IND

(84) I will travel by myself from here on".

Sentence 39, consisting of line 85.

Skikqnuksi,  
 /s-kik-qnuks-i/  
 CON-HORZ-Lake-S3,IND

(85) There was a lake,

Sentence 40, consisting of lines 86-88.

qaki+ni  
 /qa-ki-+ni/  
 thus-say-DI,IND

(86) he said to them,

"ni? qanaki+ꞥ na huꞥ qanaxi".  
 /ni?ꞥ qa-na-ki+ ꞥ/ /na huꞥꞥ qa-na-xꞥi/  
 theꞥ be.thus-go-2PL ꞥand here 1CPꞥFUTꞥ be.thus-go-RMꞥIND  
 (87) "go that way, (88) and I will go this way".

**Sentence 41, consisting of lines 89-90.**

Taxas ꞥinakikma+ni ni?s ꞥa?is skinkuꞥꞥ  
 /taxa-s ꞥi-na-kik-m-a+ꞥni ni?-sꞥ ꞥa?-?is skinkuꞥ ꞥꞥ/  
 then-S3 INCEP-go-Sfx-ASC-COPARTꞥIND the-S3ꞥ younger.br-3POS coyoteꞥand  
 (89) Then Coyote went on with his brother, and

nꞥupi+ni.  
 /nꞥ?up-i+ꞥni/  
 PMꞥdie-DIꞥIND  
 (90) he killed him.

**Sentence 42, consisting of line 91.**

Taxas si+ ?uꞥi?ni.  
 /taxa-s s-i?+ꞥ ?uꞥi?-i?ꞥni/  
 then-S3 CON-ADVꞥ one-STVꞥIND  
 (91) Now he was by himself.

**Sentence 43, consisting of lines 92-93.**

ni?s ?at haki+ qa ?inskiꞥꞥ  
 /ni?-s ?atꞥ ha-k-i?+ꞥ qaꞥ ?in-sꞥki ꞥꞥ/  
 the-S3 IMptꞥ have-do/be-ADVꞥ NEGꞥ be-S3ꞥLOC ꞥand

?at kqaqna.  
 /?at kꞥqa-qna-?/  
 IMpt SMꞥbe.thus-do-IN  
 (92-93) doing all those absurd things (he's famous for).

**Sentence 44, consisting of lines 94-95.**

Taxas ni? titunamꞥꞥ  
 /taxa-s ni?ꞥtitu-n-am ꞥꞥ/  
 then-S3 theꞥ father-NC-INH ꞥand  
 (94) And of the father,

Sentence 44, consisting of lines 94-95.

Taxas ni? titunam.¢  
 /taxa-s ni? titu-n-am ¢/  
 then-S3 the father-NC-INH and  
 (94) And of the father,

taxas ?at si? qaqasuxaqa?danuxwati?ni.  
 /taxa-s ?at si? qaqas-u?xa-qa?danuxwat-i?ni/  
 then-S3 IMpt. CON-ADV. end-Be.to-Mythical.story-PASV.IND  
 (95) this is where the story ends.

Sentence 45, consisting of lines 96-97.

Taxas hu qa ?upxami?ni  
 /taxa-s hu qa ?upxa-m-i?ni/  
 then-S3 1CP. NEG. know/see-ASC-DI.IND  
 (96) Now I have no idea

ka?s na?qaqna.  
 /ka?-s na?qa-qna-?/  
 where-S3 PM-IM-be.thus-do-IN  
 (97) what became of him.

Sentence 46, consisting of lines 98-99.

Tax ni? ma?nam, ka?s.¢ ?aki na?qaqna.  
 /tax ni? ma?-n-am/ /ka?-s ¢. ?aki na?qa-qna-?/  
 just the mother-NC-INH where-S3.FUT. also PM. IM-thus-do-IN  
 (98) And the mother also, (99) whatever she did.

Sentence 47, consisting of lines 100-101.

Naqan ?axa? ?upxnam  
 /naqan ?axa-??. ?upx-nam/  
 whether get.to-ADV. know/see-RECIP  
 (100) Whether they met up somewhere,

?a naqan qa ?upxnam.  
 /?a. naqan qa. ?upx-nam/  
 REV. whether NEG. see/know-RECIP  
 (101) or not.

Sentence 48, consisting of line 102.

Taxas ?aki s? qaqasinwuqa?ni.  
 /taxa-s ?aki s-i??. qaqas-i-n-wu-qa-?.ni/  
 then-S3 also CON-ADV. end-Bf-NC-long-STV-IN.IND  
 (102) Now this is the end of the story also.



## **7 Conventions and Abbreviations.**

### **7.1 The System of Abbreviations.**

There are two aspects to the system of abbreviations. The first is the form of abbreviations for sources of Kutenai data. This is discussed here in sections 7.1.1 through 7.1.4. The second aspect of the system of abbreviations is the form that abbreviations take in interlinear gloss lines. This is discussed below in section 7.1.5

#### **7.1.1 The citation of Data from Texts.**

Some examples from texts have only an abbreviation for the textual source of the example. These abbreviations start with the initials of the teller of the text, followed by a hyphen, then an abbreviation for the text, then a period, immediately followed by the numbered line, or lines, of the text, which are generally clauses. For example: MP-FL.31 means the 31st line or clause of the Fish Lake Text, told by Mary Paul of St Mary's Band, not to be confused with MPcl, Mary Paul of Columbia Lake Band. The following are the abbreviations for the texts.

#### **Abbreviations for Texts.**

CC	Coyote and Cloud Text, told by Mary Paul of St. Mary's.
ChOg	Chief and Ogress Text, told by Rosalie McCoy of Tobacco Plains.
CM	Coyote and Mole Text, told by Ann Pierre of Tobacco Plains.
CP	Constable Pritchard Text, told by Frank Whitehead of St. Mary's.
CY	Coyote and Yawukiykam Text, told by Ann Pierre of Tobacco Plains.
FF	First Fruits Text, told by Frank Whitehead of St. Mary's.
FL	Fish Lake Text, told by Mary Paul of St. Mary's.
SC	Short Coyote Text, told by Rosalie McCoy of Tobacco Plains.
SG	Sahaptian Groups Text, told by Simon Francis of Bonners Ferry.

### 7.1.2 The Citation of Data from Field Notes and Related Materials.

Data quoted from the author's field notes or from handwritten Kootenay Language Project materials have the same general form as citations of data quoted from texts. A speaker of Kutenai is identified before a hyphen, then the notebook or Kootenay Language Project source is noted.

#### Example Citations of Data from Field Notes.

FW-I.32 Data from Frank Whitehead in Notebook I, page 32 (1968). The first set of notebooks I-V (1968-1969) have page numbers which run cumulatively, from I.1, through V.749.

FW-1.25 Data from Frank Whitehead in Notebook 1, page 25 (1972). The second set of notebooks 1-15 (1972-1987) have separate page numbering in each notebook.

### 7.1.3 Abbreviations for Kutenai Speakers Consulted.

These abbreviations are the beginning of a system of individual identification which can be used in a larger description of the language, as a way to provide more information about the individuals who are the sources of Kutenai linguistic data, than the information on them which is provided here, but also at the same time to allow for whatever amount of privacy may be requested by any individual involved. Information such as date of birth and some personal history can be provided, without the individual necessarily being named. In this description of the language, several individuals are named in full, with some biographical information provided in those passages where they are named. The personal identification abbreviations used here include the following: AbS, AL, AdM, AG, AtP, AP, AW, DP, EG, FW, LI, MaM, MP, MPcl, NGsr, RMc,



CG, SF, SP, ThP, TJ. Most of these individuals are simply mentioned by name at some point.

#### 7.1.4 The Division of Texts into Lines.

The texts on which this description of the language are based are divided up into short, numbered lines, which are almost always clauses, but in some cases they are less than a clause, making it technically incorrect in many cases to identify a numbered line from a text as being a particular numbered clause of the text. An example of two lines which are not clauses are lines 94 and 98 in of the Short Coyote text, which are both noun phrases, but they are topicalized noun phrases which are spoken separately, as though they were separate clauses, which is why they are set up as numbered lines.

The analyzed versions of the texts retain this same numbering system of lines which are mostly clauses, but are not all reliably clauses. For example, the sentence which can be found, above, in example ORTH.7 is from an analyzed version of the Short Coyote text, and has a citation which reads: (sentence 45 of the Short Coyote Text, consisting of lines 96-97).

The de facto reading of this citation is: "sentence 45 of the Short Coyote Text, consisting of clauses 96-97, give or take a few clauses in a numbering system which is rigorously accurate as to the exact number of clauses which are really in the text". In this case we can say for a fact that the numbering system, at this point in this text, is off by at least one clause because line 94, earlier in the text, is only a nominal phrase, and not an entire clause. The basic definition of the clause here allows that, at least superficially, Kutenai nominal phrases are not clauses.

### 7.1.5 The Form of Abbreviations Appearing in Interlinear Gloss Lines.

There is some meaningful use of the capitalization of letters in the abbreviations for Kutenai morphemes and other types of morphological units. The basic system here is quite standard. In interlinear glosses, the names and abbreviations of grammatical morphemes are written entirely with capital letters, while the glosses for lexical morphemes are written entirely with lower case letters. Beyond some exceptions<sup>1</sup>, there is a more systematic differential use of upper case and lower case letters in abbreviations for lexical morphemes and marginally for grammatical morphemes.

Compound lexical suffixes composed of more basic constituent lexical suffixes are marked as such by abbreviations which begin with a capital letter followed by lower case letters. These compound lexical suffixes are units in surface morphological terms, although underlyingly they are analyzable into two or more constituent morphemes. Compound lexical suffixes have meanings which are more than the sum of their parts.

Some stem base elements and suffixes are compound and also straddle the line between being lexical and grammatical. These elements also have abbreviations which begin with a capital letter followed by lower case letters. For example, the stem base /ʔiʔt-/ 'become' is abbreviated 'Become', because it is underlyingly the verbal root /ʔiʔ-/ ~ /ʔi-/ 'be', plus the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/. The matching set of suffixes /-uʔxa-/ 'be to (abbreviated 'Be.to)' and /-uʔsa-/ 'be at' (abbreviated 'Be.at') are units in surface morphological terms, but are each underlyingly analyzable into constituent morphemes.

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<sup>1</sup> One set of sometimes exceptions to the standard system is the occasional use of lower case letters to save space in the abbreviations sg (singular), pl (plural), subj (subject, and obj (object). Another exception is the use of lower case letters in the abbreviation pt (particle) as a component of the abbreviations for certain particles.

## 7.2 Notational Conventions.

Notational conventions which are at all innovative are kept to an absolute minimum in this description of the language.

### 7.2.1 Bracketing Conventions for Transcriptions.

[.....] Phonetic Representations.

/...../ Phonemic Representations, always specified whether surface phonemic, mid-level phonemic, or underlying phonemic.

\* An asterisk is used to introduce either internally reconstructed forms, or non-occurring forms.

### 7.2.2 Linking and Boundary Symbols.

∪ This underloop linking line is a cliticization juncture symbol used to link together the stems and particles which form nominal phrases and verbal phrases.<sup>2</sup> In the surface phonemic transcriptions which represent orthographic conventions, the constituents of nominal phrases and verbal phrases are either written as separate words or they are written as parts of other words with no juncture or boundary symbol. There is some sparing use of the underloop linking line in order to reflect the particularly close phonetic union of constituents which are otherwise written separately.

In orthographic transcriptions, the Predicate Marker /n<sub>∪</sub>/, the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>∪</sub>/, and the Buffer Particles /hi?/, and /ʔup/ are treated as prefixes when they are proclitic and are treated as suffixes when they are enclitic. This means that orthographically these clitics are always written as undifferentiated parts of neighboring constituents in a verbal phrase. This is in contrast to the way they are treated in the non-orthographic phonemic representations, where this underloop cliticization symbol is always used to separate

<sup>2</sup> Kuipers (1967) uses such an underloop linking line in a very similar way in his description of Squamish, another language of British Columbia.

these clitics from neighboring constituents of a verbal phrase.

- The hyphen is a morpheme boundary symbol used for general purposes.
- + The plus sign is an alternate morpheme boundary symbol used in circumstances where a hyphen would be a less effective indicator of a morpheme boundary.

### 7.2.3 Symbols Used in Conjunction with Glosses in Paradigm Tables.

There are a set of iconic symbols used to help distinguish different types of verbal forms in the presentation of paradigms in this description of the language. Some examples of the use of these symbols include the following:

- 1sg → P3 A transitive verbal form; in this particular case, a first person acting on a primary third person.
- 1pl ↔ 1pl A reciprocal verbal form; in this particular case, a first person plural reciprocal form.
- 1sg A passive verbal form; in this particular case, a first person singular subject form, with an indefinite third person agent.
- 1sg → ← A reflexive verbal form; in this particular case, a first person singular reflexive form.

**7.3 General List of Abbreviations.**

- ADT** Additive (particle), /ʔan/.
- ADV** Adverbializer (suffix), /-iʔɩ/~/-ʔɩ/.
- Adv** Unanalyzed or Unglossed Adverb.
- adv.** Adverb.
- advl.conj.** Adverbial Conjunction.
- Advl** Adverbial Particle.
- advl.part.** Adverbial Particle.
- AFW** away from water (prepositional prefix), /ʔup-/.
- AP** Ann Pierre.
- ARG** Argument.
- ASC** Associative (suffix), /-m-/~/-n-/.
- ASC.P** Associated Person (suffix), /-miɩ/. A compound suffix which is further analyzed as: /-m-iɩ/ ASC + DI.
- Be.at** A lexical gloss for a compound suffix, /-uʔsa/ further analyzed as: /-uʔ-s-ha-/ EDM + CON + have.
- Be.to** A lexical gloss for a compound suffix, /-uʔxa/ further analyzed as: /-uʔ-xa/ EDM + G.
- Bf** Phonemic Buffer Vowel, /-i-/, /-a-/, or /-u-/. The precursors of the three phonemic buffer vowels are the reconstructed phonetic schwas \*[ə] in an earlier state of the language which were inserted by a rule which prevented clusters of three consonants in a row from being realized. There is no such prohibition in the present state of the language, although there are synchronic phonetic schwas [ə] which are inserted by two different rules, each relating to clusters of a stop consonant with a resonant.
- BG** Benefactive Goal (suffix), /-kiɩ/~/-ikɩ/.

BLC	Barred L Connector (suffix), /-ɫ-/.
BLTR	Barred l Transitive (suffix), /-iɫ/~/-ɫ/, more commonly treated as instances of the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix, abbreviated DI.
Bpt	Buffer Particle. There are two distinct Buffer Particles /hiʔ/~/iʔ/~/?/ (i.e. glottalization), and the Buffer Particle /ʔup/.
BRL	Bodily Relocation Suffix, /-xamʔ/, evidently a fused compound suffix.
BS	Base morpheme.
CAUS	Causative (suffix), /-s-/~/-ɕ-/.
CC	The Coyote and Cloud Text.
ChOg	The Chief and Ogress Text.
CM	The Coyote and Mole Text.
CO	Co-Object (suffix), /-iɫ/~/-ɫ/.
COL	Collective (plural suffix), /-qan/.
COM	Comitative (suffix), /-maɫ/~/-naɫ/. A compound suffix, further analyzed as: /-m-aɫ/~/-n-aɫ/ ASC + COPART, and underlyingly /-m-aɫ/.
Com.obj	Comitative Object.
CON	Continuative Aspect (root-prefix), /s-/.
CONJ	Conjunction.
conj.	Conjunction.
COPART	Co-Participant (suffix), /-aɫ/.
CP	The Constable Pritchard Text.
CT	Composite Transitive (suffix), /-naʔt/, underlyingly /-n-haʔ-t/. -NC-have-TVI
CY	The Coyote and Yawukiykam Text.
DFM	Definite Reference Marker, /ya·u/~/yi·u/~/y·u/.
det.	Determiner.

DI	Ditransitive (suffix), /-iʔ/~/-ʔ/.
DIM	Diminutive (suffixes), /-nana/~/-mna/~/-una/.
DIST	Distributive (plural suffix), /-niŋ-/~/-ŋ/.
DU	Dual (plural suffix), /-ki s/.
EConj	Enclitic Conjunction, / <sub>ɔ</sub> ʔ/, generally glossed 'and'.
EG	Elizabeth Gravelle.
EDM	Emphatic Demonstrative (suffix), /-uʔ/. In surface phonemic transcriptions it also appears as: /-w-/~/-w̃-/.
EVID	Evidential (particle), /paʔ/.
FF	The First Fruits Text.
FL	The Fish Lake Text.
Fpt	Future Particle, /ʔ/, also glossed as the abbreviation FUT.
FREQ	Frequentative (suffix), /-awiʔ/.
FUT	Future.
FW	Frank Whitehead.
G	Goal (suffix), /-xa/~/-x <sub>ɔ</sub> /.
G&M	Gravelle and Morgan.
GSAP	Glottal Stop Alienable Possession (suffix), /-ʔ/, i.e. GSVI.
GSTR	Glottal Stop Transitive (suffix), /-ʔ/, i.e. GSVI.
GSVI	Glottal Stop Valence Increasing (suffix), /-ʔ/.
HORZ	Horizontal Position (suffix), /-kik-/.
HRO	Higher Ranking Object (suffix), /-ap/. When followed by a lone Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/, the suffix /-ap/, in the form of the compound suffix /-ap-s/, refers to a primary third person object acted on by a subsidiary third person. The compound suffix /-ap-s-is/ refers to a higher ranking subsidiary third person object acted on by a lower ranking subsidiary third

	person.
<b>HYPO</b>	Hypothetical (particle), /xma <sub>u</sub> /.
<b>IM</b>	Imperfective (prefix), /ʔa-/~ʔa'-/. The vowel length can be seen as a separate morpheme, which can then be reconstructed as an instance of the Continuative Aspect Marker.
<b>IMpt</b>	Imperfective Particle, subject to further analysis as: IM + IMptB.
<b>IMPB</b>	Imperfective Particle Base, /-t/.
<b>IMV</b>	Imperative, also abbreviated as imv.
<b>IN</b>	Inchoative (suffix), /-p/~-ʔ/.
<b>INCEP</b>	Inceptive (root-prefix), /ç <sup>2</sup> i-/~ç <sup>2</sup> -/.
<b>IND</b>	Indicative (marker), / <sub>u</sub> ni/~ <sub>u</sub> i/.
<b>Indef</b>	Indefinite.
<b>IndefPro</b>	Indefinite Pronoun.
<b>INH</b>	Indefinite Human (possessor or intransitive subject suffix), /-am/.
<b>INH.O</b>	Indefinite Human Object (suffix), /-kaʔ/.
<b>Interj</b>	Interjection.
<b>intr</b>	Intransitive.
<b>intrans</b>	Intransitive.
<b>INST</b>	Instrumental (Suffix), /-mu/.
<b>INTRJ</b>	Interjection Phrase.
<b>INV</b>	Inverse.
<b>IR</b>	Irrealis (particle), /ɬ <sub>u</sub> /.
<b>k.</b>	K-form. Subordinate form of inflected verbal stem.
<b>KLP</b>	Kootenay Language Project (materials).
<b>KSL</b>	The comparative Kutenai-Salishan List, in Morgan (forthcoming).
<b>L</b>	(Vocalic) Length, posited as a morpheme.



<b>Lex</b>	(unglossed) Lexical Suffix, including compound lexical suffixes as units. Compound lexical suffixes otherwise have glosses which begin with a capital letter followed by lower case letters.
<b>lex.</b>	Lexical Suffix, including compound lexical suffixes.
<b>lex.(nom.)</b>	Nominal Lexical Suffix.
<b>lex.(vbl.)</b>	Verbal Lexical Suffix.
<b>LI</b>	Lillian Ignatius.
<b>LOC</b>	Locative (marker), / <sub>u</sub> ki/.
<b>LocN</b>	Locative Noun.
<b>LocPro</b>	Locative Pronoun.
<b>Mal</b>	Malefactive (suffix), /-xaxa/~/-xax <sub>u</sub> /.
<b>Mid</b>	Mid-Level (phonemic transcription).
<b>MP</b>	Mary Paul (of St Mary's).
<b>MPcl</b>	Mary Paul of Columbia Lake and Vancouver.
<b>MUT</b>	Mutual (suffix), /-tmu/.
<b>N</b>	Nominal Lexical Word (i.e. Noun).
<b>n.</b>	Nominal Lexical Word (i.e. noun).
<b>n.(loc.)</b>	Locative Noun.
<b>n.(kin)</b>	Kinship Term Noun.
<b>NSB</b>	Nominal Stem Base /ʔa·-k-/~ʔa·-/, also /ʔa·-qa-/.
<b>NC</b>	N-Connector (suffix), /-n-/.
<b>Nom</b>	Nominal Stem (i.e. noun).
<b>NOMZ</b>	Nominalizer (suffix), /-namu?/.
<b>NP</b>	Nominal Phrase, Noun Phrase.
<b>num.</b>	Number Word (as in counting).
<b>Obj</b>	Object.
<b>obv</b>	Obviative.

PASV	Passive (suffix), /-iɬ/~/-ɬ/.
p.com.	Personal Communication.
Ph.	Phonemic, as in (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation).
PLpt	Plural Particle, /ʔaɬ/.
PM	Predicate Marker (phrasal prefix), /nɔ/.
PRO	Proclitic Pronoun.
Pro	Pronoun
pro.	Pronoun.
PROHIB	Prohibitive (particle), /maʔɕ/.
prox	Proximate.
Prt	Particle.
prt.	Particle.
PrtP	Particle Phrase, also abbreviated as ParticleP.
PST	Past Tense (particle), /maɔ/.
P3	Primary Third Person (i.e. Proximate), unmarked (i.e. a zero morpheme).
P3subj Ind.	Primary Third Person Subject Indicative (verbal form).
QUES	Question Intonation, Interrogative Intonation.
RECIP	Reciprocal (suffix), /-nam/.
REFLX	Reflexive (suffix), also abbreviated RFLX, /-ik/~/-iy/~/-ak/.
RLG	Relocational Goal (suffix), /-xa-/~/-xɔ/.
RM	Relocational M (suffix), /-m/.
RMc	Rosalie McCoy.
SC	The Short Coyote Text.
SF	Simon Francis.
SG	Sahaptian Groups Text.
SM	Subordinator Marker, /kɔ/.

- smth.      **Something.**
- Sfx        **Unglossed Suffix, also written out as 'Suffix'.**
- STD        **Standing Position (suffix), /-n-/.**
- STV        **Stative (suffix). There are two Stative Suffixes, /-i?/ and /-qa/.**
- Subj       **Subject.**
- SUGT      **Suggestative (particle), /huya/.**
- S3         **Subsidiary Third Person (i.e. Obviative), /-s/~/-is/. What is listed here as the allomorph /-is/ is also treated as two elements /-i-s/, composed of a Phonemic Buffer Vowel /-i-/ and /-s/.**
- S3subj Ind.      **Subsidiary Third Person Subject Indicative (verbal form).**
- TemPro.   **Temporal Pronoun, /taxa/, also glossed: 'now/then', 'now', 'then'.**
- tempro.    **Temporal Pronoun.**
- TAP        **T-Alienable Possession (suffix), /-t/.**
- TR         **Transitive (suffix), /-t/.**
- This is specifically the T-Transitive Suffix; there are two others.**
- cf. BLTR    Barred 'l' Transitive (suffix), i.e. DI.**
- cf. GSTR    Glottal Stop Transitive (suffix), i.e. GSVI.**
- trans      **Transitive, also abbreviated tr.**
- TVI        **T-Valence Increasing (suffix), /-t/.**
- Und.       **Underlying (phonemic representation).**
- V          **Verbal Lexical Word (i.e. Verb).**
- v.         **Verbal Lexical Word (i.e. Verb).**
- Vbl        **Verbal Stem.**
- v.(i.)     **Intransitive Verbal Stem.**
- v.(com.)   **Comitative Verbal Stem.**
- v.(reflx.) **Reflexive Verbal Stem.**

- v.(t.) Transitive Verbal Stem.
- v.(reloc.) Relocational Verbal Stem.
- VP Verbal Phrase, Verb Phrase.
- 1CP First Person Clitic Pronoun, /hu<sub>u</sub>/~/<sub>u</sub>u/, underlyingly /hu<sub>u</sub>/. Occurs as an enclitic only in second person singular imperative forms where it represents a first person object.
- 1POS First Person Possessor Proclitic Pronoun, /ka<sub>u</sub>/~/kan<sub>u</sub>/.
- 1sg.OBJ First Person Singular Object (suffix), also abbreviated 1SG.OBJ /-ap/.
- 1PL First Person Plural (suffix), /-a<sub>+</sub>a<sub>?</sub>/~/-a<sub>+</sub>at/.
- 1PL.OBJ First Person Plural Object (suffix), also abbreviated 1pl.OBJ, /-awas/, a cross-pronominal suffix. See 2OBJW, /-awas/.
- 1IPB First Person Independent Pronoun Base, /-min/~/-mn-/.
- 2CP Second Person Clitic Pronoun), /hin<sub>u</sub>/~/<sub>u</sub>in/~/<sub>u</sub>n/. Occurs as an enclitic only in second person singular imperative forms.
- 2O&P Second Person Object and Possessor (suffix), /-is/.
- 2OBJW Second Person OBJECT (suffix) with First Person Plural Subject, /-awas/, a cross-pronominal suffix. See 1PL.OBJ, /-awas/.
- 2PL Second Person Plural (suffix), /-ki<sub>+</sub>/.
- 2&3IPB Second and Third Person Independent Pronoun Base, /ninku/.
- 3POS Third Person Possessor (suffix), /-?is/. The reference is to a primary third person possessor, when this suffix is not modified by the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-is/ (with Phonemic Buffer Vowel). The compound suffix /-?is-is/ refers to a subsidiary third person possessor.
- 3rd Third Person.

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BLS = Berkeley Linguistic Society, Berkeley, California.

UCPL = University of California Publications in Linguistics. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

IJAL = International Journal of American Linguistics. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ms. = Manuscript.

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**Appendix:**

**Original Pages Affected by Changes to Produce Version 1.1**





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## **Preface.**

This description of the Kutenai language is a product of a long term project by the author to produce an exhaustively thorough description of the Kutenai language. A target date for the public appearance of such a work is at the end of this century, although it is already conceded that the exhaustive thoroughness of description which is envisioned and the right kind of explicitness of analysis which might make that thoroughness possible may well be goals which will always remain just beyond the horizon. This present description of the language is an attempt to make available in the meantime some of the analytical results achieved so far in this project.

In real terms, this present work is a distillation and synopsis of a larger working manuscript with the title of 'Kutenai Grammar, Texts, and Dictionary'. The work here represents an emergence of several of the grammatical sections, including basic sections on phonology, morphology, and syntax, along with two sections about Kutenai vis-à-vis other languages, and sample analyzed texts. A volume of texts and the beginnings of an analytical dictionary are already in preparation as forthcoming works for the intermediate future to complement this present volume of grammatical description.

This present description of the language, forthcoming materials in preparation, and other parts of the larger working manuscript which may or may not emerge in anything like their present form, are all based on the same primary sources of data. These presently include the author's fieldnotes (1967 through 1990), a body of transcribed texts in edited format on computer disk, amounting to some 1374 clauses, a much larger collection of unedited text transcripts, and a non-analytical 434 page manuscript dictionary of Kutenai, referred to as Gravelle and Morgan (1979). This manuscript dictionary represents a process of rechecking, and then expanding, the author's lexical files, as they stood in 1976. This was done with the active participation of Elizabeth Gravelle, of Tobacco Plains, who in 1976 was one of the few Kutenai speaking people who had already become

literate in the language.

The primary sources of data on which this description of the language is most closely based define the kind of Kutenai which is being described here. A very important part of these materials are three long texts from which many examples sentences are drawn. These are the first parts of two texts, the Coyote and Mole Text (some 187 clauses of it), and the first part of the Coyote and Yawuliykam (some 288 clauses of it), both from the late Ann Pierre; and the whole of the Chief and Ogress Text (some 519 clauses) from the late Rosalie McCoy. Ann Pierre and Rosalie McCoy were both born in 1898, were both monolingual speakers of the language, and were both lifelong residents of Tobacco Plains, a Kutenai community on the British Columbia-Montana border. These texts from Tobacco Plains represent Upper Kutenai and represent Kutenai oral literature in its traditional form. They are entirely comparable to the longer texts from the story teller Barnaby which appear in Boas's (1918) *Kutenai Tales*.

Two of the short analyzed texts which appear in their entirety here are from the late Frank Whitehead, born in 1899, a bilingual speaker of the language from the St Mary's Band, an Upper Kutenai. FW was the author's principal consultant from 1968 through 1975. One analyzed text which appears here in its entirety and the Fish Lake Text, a personal narrative of some 181 clauses which provides example sentences, are texts from the late Mary Paul of St Mary's, the wife of Frank Whitehead and one of the author's consultants over the years. Still in the background, for the moment, are texts from Alice White of Columbia Lake and from other speakers of Upper Kutenai.

Representing Lower Kutenai, there are short texts, all but one in unedited format, from the late Simon Francis of Bonners Ferry, Idaho, who was in his eighties when the author interviewed him in 1972. General reference is made in this description of the language to the texts of the late Moses Joseph also of from Bonners Ferry, Idaho. The texts from Simon Francis and Moses Joseph represent Lower Kutenai, but Lower Kutenai text

materials provide only background for this present description of the language, rather than providing example sentences.

This description of the language is about how the Kutenai language works and especially about what the working parts of the language are, but it is also oriented toward the question of what the Kutenai language is. This question is addressed in a separate work, already in preparation, which updates and expands the Kutenai-Salishan comparative work of Morgan (1980). The suggestion is made there and again here that Kutenai is genetically related to the Salishan languages. There are references here to Kutenai-Salishan comparative work and there is a general discussion of it in section 5.2.





## 2.6 Deep Phonology.

### 2.6.1 The Rules of Deep Phonology.

The rules of Kutenai deep phonology include the following 12 rules in three categories. The three categories relate to three states of segment deformation. The first state is where an underlying segment is posited as changing into to another comparable segment. The second state involves segments weakening into reduced versions of themselves, while the third state involves alternations with zero. Some of the alternations with zero are clearly deletions while others involve insertions. Metathesis (listed as rule 10 here) is in this category, because it can be conceived of as the deletion of particular vowels from certain locations in relation to certain morphemes and the subsequent reinsertion of those vowels into other locations in relation to those same morphemes. Diachronically, metathesis in Kutenai would appear to be related to the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule which is reconstructible for an earlier state of the language, where clusters of three consonants in a row in that earlier state of the language were broken up by the insertion of epenthetic schwas which have subsequently become phonemic buffer vowels in the present state of the language. Unstressed Vowel Deletion (rule 11 here) also appears to be related to the reconstructible Buffer Vowel Insertion rule.

#### Morphologically Conditioned Alternations of Equal Segments.

- (1) The M~N Alternation, /m/ → /n/. See section 2.6.3

The underlying form of the Associative Suffix /-m-/ becomes /-n-/, in certain paradigmatic forms, but diachronically, there is some evidence for the reconstruction of \*ŋ as an explanation for this alternation and the reconstruction of a single Diminutive Suffix from /-mna/, /-nana/ and /-una/.

- (2) Low Vowel Backing, Raising and Rounding, /a/ → /u/. See section 2.6.4

The Indefinite Person Suffix /-am/ becomes /-um/ after the change of

underlying /pn/ to /w/.

- (3) Low Vowel Raising and Fronting, /a/ → /i/. See section 2.6.5

The Definite Reference Marker /ya·u/ becomes /yi·u/ before the Continuative Marker /s-/.

### Morphologically Conditioned Alternations with Reduced Segments.

- (4) Stop Consonant to Glottal Stop Rule. See section 2.6.6
- (4.1) P-Glottal Stop Alternation, underlying /p/ → /ʔ/.
- (4.2) T-Glottal Stop Alternation, underlying /t/ → /ʔ/.
- (4.3) K-Glottal Stop Alternation, underlying /k/ → /ʔ/.
- (5) Obstruent-Nasal Cluster to Glide Rule. See section 2.6.7
- (5.1) PN-W Alternation, underlying /p+n/ → /w/.
- (5.2) KN-Y Alternation, underlying /k+n/ → /y/.
- (5.3) SN-Y Alternation, underlying /s+n/ → /y/.
- (6) K-Vocalization, underlying /k/ → /u/. See section 2.6.8
- (7) Compensatory Lengthening, underlying /k/ → /·/. See section 2.6.9
- (8) Monophthongization. See section 2.6.10
- (8.1) Monophthongization and the Lexical Suffix /-akat/, underlying /u+a/ → /u·/, also: /in+a/ → /i·/.
- (8.2) Monophthongization Involving the Clitic Pronouns, with laryngeal deletion: /a·hu/ and /u-ha/ → /ɔ·/, or /u·/, also /a+hi/ → /a·/.
- (8.3) Monophthongization Involving the Definite Reference Marker, /a·+uʔ/ → /a·/.
- (8.4) Monophthongization and Near Monophthongization, /u+ha/ → /a·/, for some speakers, /ua/, for other speakers.

**Morphologically Conditioned Alternations with Zero.**

- |                                 |                    |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| (9) N-Deletion.                 | See section 2.6.11 |
| (10) Metathesis.                | See section 2.6.12 |
| (11) Unstressed Vowel Deletion. | See section 2.6.13 |
| (12) Buffer Glide Insertion.    | See section 2.6.14 |

**2.6.2 Deep Phonological Rules and Underlying Representations.**

In the surface and mid-level phonemic representations, there are numerous examples of allomorphy, with certain morphemes having two or more alternate forms. In the underlying representations, this allomorphy is resolved, to achieve a phonemic transcription where there is only one underlying phonological shape for each morpheme. The morphologically conditioned sound rules which are posited here as rules of deep phonology are an accounting of the major phonological alternations present in the mid-level phonemic representations, as those alternations are resolved in the underlying forms.

The mid-level phonemic representations are the underlying forms for the most clearly productive part of Kutenai phonology. The morphologically conditioned rules posited here represent the semi-productive, but still synchronic part of Kutenai phonology.<sup>1</sup> There is also some discussion of sound rules in this section which are reconstructible for an earlier state of the language. Internal reconstruction, however, is entirely distinct from the synchronic underlying forms posited in this section. The reconstructible rules are mentioned exactly where there is evidence for a synchronic reality distinct from a diachronic explanation which is also in evidence.

---

<sup>1</sup> It is assumed here that morphologically conditioned rules represent a state of decay for phonological rules which, in an earlier state of the language, once applied across the board. Morphologically conditioning represents a loss of productivity for a rule, but the rule may remain productive within paradigms, even if only small derivational paradigms of a few related forms. The psychological reality that these rules have for speakers of the language is assumed to be a function of the psychological reality of the paradigms.

### 2.6.3 Deep Phonological Rule (1): The M~N Alternation.

The alternation of /m/ and /n/ is resolvable in synchronic Kutenai phonology, but only in a fragmented way which suggests that there must ultimately be a different and unified diachronic explanation for the alternation. The alternation of /m/ and /n/ occurs with two morphemes, the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/, and the Diminutive Suffix /-nana/~/-mna/~/-una/.

The productive form of the Associative Suffix is evidently /-m-/. There are certain rare comitative verbal forms where the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/, as a component of the compound Comitative Suffix /-m-aʔ/~/-n-aʔ/, appears as /-m-/ in forms where one would expect /-n-/. The expectation that the forms would have /-n-/ is because, there is a clear pattern of distribution of the two allomorphs in the inflectional paradigms of comitative verbal stems and reflexive verbal stems. The rare comitative forms where /-m-aʔ/ occurs where one would expect /-n-aʔ/ evidently represent a sporadic regularization of the normal comitative paradigm. A morphologically conditioned synchronic rule to explain the distribution of the allomorphs of the Associative Suffix, either as /-m-/ or as /-n-/, requires the choice of /-m-/ as the underlying form of the morpheme.

With the Diminutive Suffix, the only logical choice for the underlying form of the morpheme is /-nana/, because this is clearly the productive form of the morpheme. The other two forms /-mna/ and /-una/ are rare. So rare, in fact, that there is no clear indication of what may have originally conditioned these alternate forms of the morpheme. In effect, synchronically there are simply three diminutive morphemes which happen to share a common ending /...na/. Of course, one can posit a morphologically conditioned rule to derive /-mna/ and /-una/ from underlying /-nana/, but such a rule is purely a statement of morphological conditioning, with no clear phonetic motivation.

The morphological pattern of distribution of the two allomorphs of the Associative

Suffix, /-m-/ versus /-n-/, is much clearer than any phonetic motivation for the occurrence of one allomorph versus the other. The pattern involves a general principle that the allomorph /-n-/ occurs in the inflectional paradigms of passive, reflexive, causative, and comitative verbal stems wherever there is a suffix following the Associative Suffix and the following suffix either directly or indirectly indicates a pronominal object.

In comitative verbal forms, the suffix which follows the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix may directly indicate a pronominal object by being a pronominal object suffix itself. This can be seen in example MN.1, below, where the pronominal object suffix is in boldface type.

Example MN.1.

hin<sub>u</sub>ϕ qsanat**ap**ni 'You will go with me.'  
 /hin<sub>u</sub> ϕ<sub>u</sub> qsa-n-a**+**-ap<sub>u</sub>ni/  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> Fpt<sub>u</sub> Root-ASC-COPART-1SG.OBJ<sub>u</sub>IND<sup>2</sup>

Where there is no pronominal object suffix in a comitative verbal form, the Passive Suffix /-t/~/-it/ triggers the occurrence of the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix. This is because in these forms, the Passive Suffix signals that any proclitic pronoun or zero third person pronominal affix represents the object of the passive verbal form, rather than the subject as the proclitic pronoun or zero affix would in an active verbal form. This can be seen in example MN.2, below. The proclitic subject pronoun turned object marker is in boldface type.

<sup>2</sup> The root of the stem is of indeterminate meaning, because the stem /qsa-m-a**+**/~ /qsa-n-a**+**/ 'to accompany someone' is a morphological idiom. There is, however, a root /qsa/ 'to be that much, to be such and such an amount of something', and more to the point, there is a bound root /qsa-/ 'take some (portion of)'.

## Example MN.2.

hu qsanat̪iṭni     **I was accompanied, They (indefinite) went with me.**

/huᵛ qsa-n-aṭ-iṭni/

1CPᵛ Root-ASC-COPART-PASVᵛIND

The Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-ak-/ ~/-iy-/ followed by a pronominal subject marking suffix triggers the occurrence of the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix. In reflexive verbal forms any pronominal suffix which marks the subject of an inflected verbal stem simultaneously mark the stem's object. This is illustrated in example MN.3, where the pronominal subject (=object) suffix is in boldface type.

## Example MN.3.

hun ʔiktuquniya**aṭa**?ni     **'We washed ourselves.'**

/huᵛ nᵛ ʔikt-u-qu-ʔ-n-iy-**aṭa**?ni/     (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/huᵛ nᵛ ʔikt-u-qu-ʔ-m-ik-n-**aṭa**t̪ni/     (Underlying Phonemic)

1CPᵛ PMᵛ vertical-Bf-in.water-GSVI-ASC-REFLX-NC-1PLᵛIND

The Causative Suffix /-ϕ-/ also triggers the occurrence of the allomorph /-n-/ of the Associative Suffix. The Causative Suffix transforms pronominal suffixes marking subjects into suffixes representing those caused to do something. The causee is in part an object of the inflected verbal stem. This is illustrated in example MN.4, below, where the pronominal suffix marking the causee is a zero suffix marking primary third person subject (i.e. proximate subject).

## Example MN.4.

Ńiktkaɫxunakɕiʔti ʔaɕuʔs.

/n<sub>u</sub> ʔikt-ka-ɫ-xu-n-ak-ɕ-iʔ-t<sub>i</sub> ʔaɕuʔ-s/

PM<sub>u</sub> vertical-come-carry-by.body-ASC-REFLX-STV-TVI<sub>u</sub>IND plate-S3

'He/she/it/they (proximate) stacked the plates (obviative) up.'

Lit. 'He/she/it/they (proximate) caused the plates (obviative) to stack up.'

**A Reflexive Paradigm.**

The paradigm, below, consists of indicative forms of a reflexive verbal stem. In this paradigm, in the forms where there is no pronominal suffix, the Associative Suffix and Reflexive Suffix together form a compound middle voice reflexive suffix /-m-ik/. Where there is a pronominal suffix, the Associative Suffix and Reflexive Suffix together form a compound middle voice reflexive suffix of the form /-n-iy/. The occurrence of the Reflexive Suffix as /-iy-/ is due to another morphologically conditioned sound rule whereby underlying /k+n/ appears as /y/. In this paradigm, the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/ appears in boldface type.

Indicative Forms of the Reflexive Stem /ʔiktuquʔmik/ 'to wash oneself'.

hun ʔiktuquʔmik	1sg →←	'I washed myself'.
hin Ńiktuquʔmik	2sg →←	'You (sg) washed yourself'.
Ńiktuquʔmik	P3 →←	'He washed himself, She washed herself, It washed itself, They washed themselves'.
Ńiktuquniamni	P3 INH →←	'People washed themselves'.
Ńiktuqunaksi	S3 →←	'He washed himself, She washed herself, It washed itself,

			They washed themselves'.
n̄iktuquniyamisni	S3 INH →←		'People washed themselves'.
hun ʔiktuquniyaʔaʔni	1pl →←		'We washed ourselves'.
hin n̄iktuquniykiʔni	2pl →←		'You (pl) washed yourselves'.

### A Comitative Paradigm.

The paradigm, below, consists of indicative forms of a comitative verbal stem. Where there is no pronominal object suffix following the Associative Suffix and the Co-Participant Suffix, these suffixes form a compound Comitative Suffix which has the form /-m-aʔ/. Where there is a pronominal object suffix, the compound Comitative Suffix appears in the form /-n-aʔ/. One feature of the verbal forms with /-n-aʔ/ is that the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ is absent in these forms. The N-Connector Suffix normally precedes most of the pronominal suffixes in the language, except after the suffix-final dental consonants of certain suffixes. The compound Comitative Suffix /-n-aʔ/, ending as it does in barred l, can be said to end with a dental consonant which deletes a following N-Connector Suffix /-n-/, but the barred l of the Comitative Suffix /-m-aʔ/ does not delete the /n/ of a following Indicative Marker /ᵛni/. The /n/ of the Indicative Marker /ᵛni/ is otherwise subject to the morphologically conditioned rule of N-Deletion, so some very specific and ultimately diachronic explanation is called for to explain the absence of the N-Connector Suffix in those comitative verbal forms where the compound Comitative Suffix appears as /-n-aʔ/ followed by an object suffix.

The stem here is /qsamaʔ/ 'to accompany someone somewhere'. This is one of the most intrinsically comitative verbal stems in the language. There is also a related stem /qsamumaʔ/ 'to help someone' which differs only by containing the Instrumental Suffix /-mu/.



**Comitative Forms without Object Suffixes.**

G&amp;M (1979), EG-KLP.material

hu qsama+ni	'I went with him/her/it/them.'
hin qsama+ni	'You went with him/her/it/them.'
qsama+ni	'He/she/it/they (proximate) went with him/her/it/them (obv).'
qsama+si	'He/she/it/they (obviative) went with him/her/it/them (prox).'
hu qsama+na+a?ni	'We went with him.'
hin qsama+ki+ni	'You (pl) went with him.'

**Some Indicative Comitative Forms with Object Suffixes.**

hu <sub>u</sub> φ qsana+isni	'I'll go with you'
hu <sub>u</sub> φ qsana+iski+ni	'I'll go with you guys'
hin <sub>u</sub> φ qsana+apni	'You will go with me.'
φxa+ qsana+apni	'He/she/it/they will go with me'
qsana+apsi	'He/she/it/they (obviative) went with him/her/it/them (prox).'
φxa+ qsana+awasni	'He/she/it/they will go with us.'
hu <sub>u</sub> φ qsana+awasni	'We will go with you (singular or plural).'

**An Imperative Comitative Form with an Object Suffix.**

EG-KLP

qsana+un	'Come with me.'
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**Some Passive Comitative Forms.**

qsana+i+ni	'They (indefinite) went with him.'
hu qsana+i+ni	'I was accompanied, They (indefinite) went with me.'

**Causative Reflexive Forms in Contrast with Plain Reflexive Forms.**

The verbal stems in MN.5 form a derivational paradigm between a simple reflexive form of a stem in (a) and a causative reflexive form of the stem in (b). The two indicative forms of the non-causative, simple reflexive stem in (a) also contrast with each other, showing the alternation between /m/ and /n/. This is because of presence of the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ in (a.2) which marks the subject of the stem which is also an object, because this is a reflexive stem.

Example Set MN.5.

G&M (1979)

(a) ?iktka+xu?mik v. (intransitive). 'to be stacked up, to pile up'

(a.1) n'iktka+xu?mik 'They (proximate) are piled up.'

(a.2) n'iktka+xunaksi 'They (obviative) are piled up.'

(b) ?iktka+xunakci?t v. 'to stack things up, to pile something up'

(b.1) n'iktka+xunakci?ti 'He/she/it/they (prox) stacked them (obviative) up.'

(b.2) n'iktka+xunakci?tsi 'He/she/it/they (obviative) stacked them (obviative) up.'

In example set MN.6 (a) through (e) the simple reflexive and causative reflexive forms of a verbal stem are treated as inflected forms of a single reflexive stem, rather than treated as forms of two separate lexical items as in example set MN.5. Each form is actually a complete sentence and they are presented as such. The form in (a) is accompanied by the Reversive-Repetitive Particle /+a<sub>u</sub>/, creating a morphosyntactic environment which bars the presence of the Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/.

## Example Set MN.6.

FW-8.32

huqnamik 'to move camp', 'birds and animals to migrate'.

## Example Sentences.

- (a) †a huqnamik. 'He/she/it/they (proximate) moved on (again).'
- (b) nuqnamik. 'He/she/it/they (proximate) moved on.'
- (c) nuqnanaksi. 'He/she/it/they (obviative) moved on.'
- (d) nuqnanakɕiʔti. 'He/she/it/they (prox) made him/her/it/them (obviative) move on, go.'
- (e) nuqnanakɕiʔtsi. 'He/she/it/they (obviative) made him/her/it/them (another obviative) move on, go.'

**Ad Hoc Regularizations of the Comitative Paradigm.**

The following are the rare examples of comitative verbal forms mentioned above which represent a regularization of the normal comitative paradigm. In effect, these forms are outside of the standard inflectional paradigm for comitative verbal stems. These regularized forms are not marginal to the language, however, since they occur in a traditional myth text, three versions of which have been recorded from different story tellers, by Boas (1918), by Garvin, and by the present author.<sup>3</sup> The author found the specific form quoted in example MN.7, below, in the published work of Garvin and read it to FW. When FW heard this form, he instantly recognized the form and said that he knew where Garvin had gotten the word from. FW then proceeded to make reference to the story of Coyote and Yawukiykam in the nest of the Thunderbirds. In the story, Coyote and Yawukiykam had been magically transported up into the nest of the Thunders. They were there with two young Thunders and wanted to get back down to the ground. They

<sup>3</sup> See the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text tape which was recorded from Rosale McCoy, lines 246, 251.

threatened the young Thunders, telling them to fly them back down to the ground.

Example MN.7.

FW-3.24, See also Boas (1918. p. 114)

ʔa ʔunanuxumaʔnawasnu 'You take us down. (i.e. you fly us down).'

/ʔa<sub>u</sub> ʔu-na-nuxu-m-aʔ-n-awas-n<sub>u</sub>hu/

REV<sub>u</sub> down-go-fly-ASC-COPART-NC-1PL.OBJ-NC<sub>u</sub>1CP

The form in example MN.8, below, was subsequently elicited from FW after FW's discussion of the form in example MN.7, above. The existence of this elicited form demonstrates that a speaker of FW's generation would freely generate regularized comitative forms on the direct basis of the regularized form in the text. This stands against the fact that with any of the more common comitative stems in the language the sequence of suffixes /-m-aʔ-n-awas/ is judged as incorrect by speakers of the language in favor of the evidently more conservative inflectional construction /-n-aʔ-awas/.<sup>4</sup>

Example MN.8.

FW-3.24

ʔa ʔunanuxumaʔnawasni 'He flew us down'.

/ʔa<sub>u</sub> ʔu-na-nuxu-m-aʔ-n-awas<sub>ni</sub>/

REV<sub>u</sub> down-go-fly-ASC-COPART-NC-1PL.OBJ<sub>u</sub>IND

<sup>4</sup> Compare with /ʔxaʔ<sub>u</sub> qsanaʔawas<sub>ni</sub>/ 'He/she/it/they will go with us.' found among the paradigmatic forms presented above. The author once got one of the youngest speakers of the language to write out a paradigm of a comitative verbal forms to test the extent to which /-m-aʔ/ is potentially a productive form of the compound Comitative Suffix, over the form /-n-aʔ/. The younger speaker produced forms including the sequence /-m-aʔ-n-awas/ 'with us' and other forms where /-m-aʔ/ precedes the N-Connector Suffix and an object suffix. The younger speaker discovered later that same day that an older speaker produced only forms with /-n-aʔ-/ directly preceding an object suffix, and without the N-Connector Suffix before the pronominal suffix. The younger speaker decided without any discussion that the (regularized) comitative paradigm written out earlier that day with endings such as /-m-aʔ-n-awas/ was simple incorrect.

### 2.6.4 Deep Phonological Rule (2):

#### Low Vowel Backing, Raising, and Rounding.

This rule is one of at least two morphologically conditioned vowel change rules in Kutenai where one vowel simply changes into another equal vowel, and in a way which is clearly a matter of assimilation. This rule not only follows from the change of underlying /p+n/ to /w/, but also involves Metathesis. The Indefinite Person Suffix /-am/ is realized in mid-level and surface phonemic terms as /-um/ after an underlying sequence of /p+n/ becomes mid-level phonemic /w/. In these forms where /-am/ is realized as mid-level and surface phonemic /-um/, the Stative Suffix /-qa/ is present and the Stative Suffix metathesizes to be realized as mid-level and surface phonemic /-aq/. These interlocking changes are illustrated in parts (d) and (e) of example set LVBR.1, below. The metathesis is not clearly evident, as such, in these examples, because where the metathesis occurs a vowel is also lost. The metathesis is more evident in a possessive form of a nominal stem in example set LVBR.2, further below.

Example Set LVBR.1.

G&M (1979)

(a) yunaqa v. (intrans.) 'for there to be many of something, for there to be a lot of something'.

/yu?na?-qa-?/<sup>5</sup>

Be.many-STV-IN

<sup>5</sup> The glottal stops in /yu?na?-/ 'Be many' are nowhere attested in the surface inflectional forms of the stem /yuna-qa-?/ 'for there to be many', but there is a related stem /yu?na?-t/ 'to have many' (Be many + T-Transitive). It would further appear that /yu?na?/ 'Be many' is ultimately analyzable as /yu?-/ 'many' plus the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ and the root /ha?-/ 'have'.

- (b) yunaqa?ni. (primary 3rd person subject indicative form)  
'there are many of them, there is a lot of it'.
- (c) yunaqapsi. (subsidiary 3rd person subject indicative form)  
'there are many of them, there is a lot of it'.
- (d) yunaqwumni. (indefinite human P3 subj indicative form)  
/yu?na?-q-w-um<sub>ni</sub>/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
/yu?na?-qa-p-n-am<sub>ni</sub>/ (Underlying Phonemic)  
Be.many-STV-IN-NC-INH<sub>IND</sub>  
'there are many people (prox), there is a large crowd of people (prox)'.
- (e) yunaqwumisni. (indefinite human S3 subj indicative form)  
/yu?na?q-w-um-is<sub>ni</sub>/   
/yu?na?-qa-p-n-am-is<sub>ni</sub>/   
Be.many-STV-IN-NC-INH-S3<sub>IND</sub>  
'there are many people (obv), there is a large crowd of people (obv)'.

These same phonological processes are illustrated in example set LVBR.2, part (a). This first form in the set is the indefinite human third person possessed form of a nominal stem. In practical terms, this indefinite human possessed form of the stem is the citation form of the stem which means 'word, speech, language'.<sup>6</sup> The bare stem is /?a:k-ɬu?k-qa-?/. This is a mid-level phonemic representation where all the underlying glottal stops in the stem can be seen in place, and where the underlying form /-p/ of the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~ /-?/ is realized word-finally as glottal stop /-?/. The stem contains a compound lexical suffix /-ɬu?k-qa-?/ 'word, speech, language', based on

<sup>6</sup> See section 2.6.7, rule (5.1) for another presentation of this same possessive paradigm of this stem.

the lexical suffix /-ʔuʔk-/ 'sound'. In the presentation of this paradigm, pronominal suffixes are put into boldface type.

**Example Set LVBR.2.**

**A Form Illustrating /p/ → /w/, then /a/ → /u/ before /m/.**

(a) ʔa·kʔukaqwum '(peoples') language, speech, (a person's) language, speech'

/ʔa·k-ʔuʔk-aq-w-um/ (mid-level phonemic representation)

/ʔa·k-ʔuʔk-qa-p-n-am/ (underlying phonemic representation)

NSB-sound-STV-IN-NC-INH

**Other Possessive Forms.**

(b) ka ʔa·kʔuʔkqa 'my language, speech'

(c) ʔa·kʔuʔkqaʔnis 'your language, speech' (2nd person singular possessor)

(d) ʔa·kʔuʔkqaʔis 'his/her/its/their language, speech' (Upper Kutenai)<sup>7</sup>

(e) ʔa·kʔuʔkqaʔis 'his/her/its/their language, speech' (obviative possessor)

(f) ka ʔa·kʔuʔkqawaʔa 'our language, speech'

(g) ʔa·kʔuʔkqaniskiʔ 'your language, speech' (2nd person plural possessor)

<sup>7</sup> The Lower Kutenai form is /ʔa·kʔuʔkaniʔis/ 'his/her/its/their language, speech'. This form is attested in the Sahaptin Groups Text told by Simon Francis. FW identified it as a Lower Kutenai way of saying /ʔa·kʔuʔkqaʔis/.

### 2.6.5 Deep Phonological Rule (3): Low Vowel Raising and Fronting.

Low Vowel Fronting and Raising affects only one morpheme in the language, the Definite Reference Marker /ya·ʉ/ which appears as /yi·ʉ/ before /s-/ , the Continuative Aspect Marker. This is clearly a matter of assimilation, and it is clearly morphologically conditioned. There are other instances of the underlying phonemic sequence /yas/ in the language which are unaffected by this rule of vowel assimilation. The following sentence from the First Fruits Text illustrates the allomorph /yi·ʉ/ of the Definite Reference Marker /ya·ʉ/~ /yi·ʉ/.

Text Example LVRF.1.

FW-FF.1-3

(Sentence 1: Lines: 1-3 of the First Fruits Text)

Niʔs piʔaks ʔaqʔsmakniʔ ʔat nuʔ haqapsi kyukyits

(a) For the (Kutenai Indian) people of the past (b) there was a special time for

ɕxaʔ yi·ʉsusaʔ haʔqʔatiyki naqamɕus

(c) when they would pick bitterroot.

Derivation of Clause (c).

ɕxaʔ yi·ʉsusaʔ haʔqʔatiyki naqamɕus

/ɕxa-ʔʔ· yi·ʉs-uʔsa-ʔʔ· haʔqʔat-i·ʉki naqamɕu-s / (Mid)

/ɕxa-ʔʔ· ya·ʉs-uʔsa-ʔʔ· haʔqʔat-ik·ki naqamɕu-s / (Und.)

FUT-ADV· DFM·CON-Be.at-ADV· collect-REFLX·LOC bitterroot-S3

(c) when they would pick bitterroot



### 2.6.6 Deep Phonological Rule (4):

#### Stop Consonant to Glottal Stop Rules.

In diachronic terms, there is a single phonological process of stop consonants becoming glottal stop in Kutenai, but there are different conditions on the change of the different stop consonants to glottal stop. There is a synchronic alternation of the plain bilabial stop /p/ with glottal stop, a synchronic alternation of the plain dental stop /t/ with glottal stop, and a synchronic alternation of the velar stop /k/ with glottal stop. The alternation of the plain dental stop /t/ with glottal stop is much more restricted than the other two alternations. In synoptic terms these rules are:

(4.1) P to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule, /p/ → /ʔ/.

The underlying form of the Inchoative Suffix /-p/ becomes /-ʔ/, except before word suffixes.

(4.2) T to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule, /t/ → /ʔ/.

The First Person Plural Suffix /-aʔat/ becomes /-aʔaʔ/, except before the Passive Suffix /-iʔ/~/-ʔ/, in its allomorph which includes a phonemic buffer vowel /-i-/.

(4.3) K to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule, /k/ → /ʔ/.

The underlying form of the lexical suffix /-kik/ 'say' becomes /-kiʔ/, except before most word suffixes. In combination with the Ditransitive Suffix the result is /-ki-ʔ/.

-say-DI

The basic situation is that the stop consonants /p, t, k/ in specific morphemes become glottal stop in word final position, including before enclitic particles and enclitic pronouns. Only the addition of a word suffix, or, in the case of /t/, the addition of a

specific word suffix, protects one of the susceptible consonants from being word final. When the susceptible stop consonants have become glottal stop in word final position and are not protected by a following enclitic particle or enclitic pronoun from being in phrase-final position, the glottal stops are deleted in accordance with the regular Glottal Stop Deletion rule.

#### (4.1) The Plain Bilabial Stop to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule.

The alternation of /p/~/?/ is easily observable in the inflectional paradigms of verbal stems involving the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~-?/. Example set PSG.1, below, shows what can be called the principal parts of an intransitive Kutenai verbal stem. The form in part (a) is the plain form of the stem, ostensibly an infinitive. It does not reveal the stem-final glottal stop which is subject to deletion by the regular Glottal Stop Deletion rule. The subsidiary third person subject form in (c) is needed to show that the deleted stem-final glottal stop is actually underlyingly a plain bilabial stop, the Inchoative Suffix /-p/. Derivations PGS.2 through derivation PGS.5, further below, show the principal parts of another intransitive verbal stem, including a subordinate form in PGS.5.

#### Example Set PGS.1.

(a) wiʔqa 'to be big', /wiʔ-qa-?/~wiʔ-qa-p/.

/wiʔ-qa-?/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/wiʔ-qa-p / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

big-STV-INCHOATIVE

(b) Wiʔqaʔni. (P3 subj ind.) 'He/she/it/ (proximate) is big, They (proximate) are big.'

/wiʔ-qa-ʔni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/wiʔ-qa-pni / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

big-STV-INCHOATIVE,INDICATIVE

- (c)  $wi\downarrow qa\psi si.$  (S3 subj indicative form)
- $/wi\downarrow qa\psi s_{\downarrow}i/$  (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)
- $/wi\downarrow qa\psi s_{\downarrow}ni /$ <sup>8</sup> (Underlying Phonemic Representation)
- $bi\downarrow g-STV-INCHOATIVE-S3_{\downarrow}INDICATIVE$
- 'He/she/it/ (obviative) is big, They (obviative) are big.'

## Derivation PGS.2.

$haqa$  'for there to be (one, some)'

$/haqa /$  (Surface Phonemic)

$/ha\psi qa\psi ?/$  (Mid-Level Phonemic)

$/ha\psi qa\psi p /$  (Und. Phonemic)

$have-STATIVE-IN$

## Derivation PGS.3.

$naqa\psi ni$  'There is (one), there are (some).'

$/naqa\psi ni /$  (Surface Phonemic)

$/n_{\downarrow}ha\psi qa\psi ?_{\downarrow}ni/$  (Mid-Level Phonemic)

$/n_{\downarrow}ha\psi qa\psi p_{\downarrow}ni /$  (Und. Phonemic)

$PM_{\downarrow}have-STV-IN_{\downarrow}IND$

## Derivation PGS.4.

$naqapsi$  'There is (one),  
there are (some).'

$/naqapsi /$  (Surface)

$/n_{\downarrow}ha\psi qa\psi p\psi s_{\downarrow}i/$  (Mid-Level)

$/n_{\downarrow}ha\psi qa\psi p\psi s_{\downarrow}ni/$  (Und. Ph.)

$PM_{\downarrow}have-STV-IN-S3_{\downarrow}IND$

## Derivation PGS.5.

$kaqa$  'that there is (one),  
that there are (some).'

$/kaqa /$  (Surface Phonemic)

$/k_{\downarrow}ha\psi qa\psi ?/$  (Mid-Level Phonemic)

$/k_{\downarrow}ha\psi qa\psi p /$  (Und. Phonemic)

$SM_{\downarrow}have-STV-IN$

<sup>8</sup> The underlying dental nasal of the Indicative Marker  $/_{\downarrow}ni/$  deletes after dental consonants, but only where specific morphemes are involved. One n-deleting suffix is the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix  $/-s/\sim/-is/$ , but only when that suffix appears in the form  $/-s/$ , without the preceding phonemic buffer vowel  $/-i-/$  which accompanies it in certain morphological environments. The alloform  $/-is/$  includes a phonemic buffer vowel and is non-n-deleting. See section 2.6.11, where N-Deletion is discussed.

The suffix which follows the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-?/ need not be the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/. The clause in part (a) of the sentence in text example PGS.6 has the compound Associated Person (or Object) Suffix /-m-i+ / separating the Inchoative Suffix from word-final position, specifically by separating it from the encliticized Indicative Marker.

## Text Example PGS.6.

RMc-ChOg.298-299

hu qasɕum̩qaqapmi+ni	ni?sɕ k+u+amaxaka.
/huɕ qasɕum̩qa-qa-p-m-i+ni	ni?-sɕkɕ+u-+am-a-?-xa-ka?/
1CPɕ Smart-STV-IN-ASC-DIɕIND	the-S3ɕFptɕSMɕremove-Bf-GSVI-by.mouth-INH.O
(a) 'I am much smarter than'	(b) 'the one who bites off heads.'

In clause (b) of text example PGS.7, below, the Enclitic Conjunction /ɕ/ follows a word-final instance of the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-?/, a component of the compound lexical suffix /-qna-p/ 'do'. The Inchoative Suffix is not only in word-final position here, so that it is realized as glottal stop, but it is also in phrase-final position and is deleted by the regular Glottal Stop Deletion rule, even though the conjunction follows.

## Text Example PGS.7.

RMc.12-14

?At pa:mik +a ?uk̩q̩anukni	ni? pa+kiɕ
/?at pa:mik +aɕ ?uk̩-q̩anukni	ni? pa+kiɕ/
1Mptɕ anyway REVɕ one-Load.of.firewoodɕIND	the woman and
(a) That woman would always make one more trip for wood,	

taxas nuqna <sub>ϕ</sub>	?at ni?s †uqa†qa <sup>·</sup> ϕi.
/taxa-s n <sub>ϕ</sub> hu-qna-? <sub>ϕ</sub> /	/?at ni?-s †uqa†qa <sup>·</sup> ϕ <sub>i</sub> /
then-S3 PM <sub>ϕ</sub> finish-do-IN <sub>ϕ</sub> and	IMpt the-S3 change.direction-travel <sub>ϕ</sub> IND
(b) Then when done,	(c) she would always go the other direction.

The verbal form in clause (b) of example PGS.7, above, bears comparison with other forms of the same verbal stem such as those in example set PGS.8, below.

Example Set PGS.8.

G&M (1979)

(a) huqna?ni. 'to finish doing something, to be through'

/hu-qna-?/

finish-do-IN

(b) Taxas nuqna?ni.

/taxa-s n<sub>ϕ</sub>hu-qna-?<sub>ni</sub>/

then-S3 PM<sub>ϕ</sub>finish-do-IN<sub>ϕ</sub>IND

'Now he/she/it (proximate) is finished,  
they (proximate) are finished.'

(c) nuqnapsi.

/taxa-s n<sub>ϕ</sub>hu-qna-p-s<sub>ni</sub>/

then-S3 PM<sub>ϕ</sub>finish-do-IN-S3<sub>ϕ</sub>IND

'Now he/she/it (obviative) is finished,  
they (obviative) are finished.'

The Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-?/ appears as glottal stop before encliticized particles, including the Indicative Marker /<sub>ni</sub>/ and the Locative Marker /<sub>ki</sub>/. The Inchoative Suffix changes to mid-level glottal stop and is then realized in surface phonemic and phonetic terms as glottalization when it occurs immediately before the Second Person Clitic Pronoun when that clitic pronoun is encliticized to a verbal form as a marker of second person singular imperative forms. This is illustrated in the derivation of text example

PGS.9, below.

Text Example PGS.9.

R.Mc.ChOg.228

qawsaqaŋ<sub>u</sub> maʔ<sub>u</sub> ʔaqaʔak '(you singular) Stay, but not close by.'  
 /qa-uʔsa-qa-ʔ<sub>u</sub>n u maʔ<sub>u</sub> ʔaqaʔa-k/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /qa-uʔsa-qa-p<sub>u</sub>hin u maʔ<sub>u</sub> ʔaqaʔa-k/ (Underlying Phonemic)  
 be.thus-Be.at-STV-IN<sub>u</sub>2CP uand PROHIB close(to)-do/be

#### (4.2) Plain Velar Stop to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule.

The alternation of /k/~/?/ is easily observable in the inflectional paradigms of verbal stems involving the lexical suffix /-kiʔ/~/-kik-/~/-ki-/ 'say'. Apparently no other morpheme in the language has an underlying velar stop which is realized anywhere as glottal stop.<sup>9</sup> Example set KGS.1, below, shows the results of the Velar Stop to Glottal Stop sub-rule in part (a) and (b), while part (c) reveals the underlying velar stop.

Example Set KGS.1.

(a) qaki v. 'to say something', /qa-kiʔ/~/-qa-kik-/.  
 /qa-kiʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /qa-kik/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 be.thus-say

<sup>9</sup> There is another lexical suffix in the language /-wiʔkik/~/-wiʔk-/ 'look' which shares with the lexical suffix /-kik-/~/-kiʔ/~/-k-/ 'say' the behavior of having an underlying velar stop delete before the Ditransitive Suffix /-iʔ/~/-ʔ/. The lexical suffix /-wiʔkik/~/-wiʔk-/ 'look', in the form /-wiʔkik/ immediately precedes the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ni/ in the inflectional paradigms of intransitive stems, and is definitely not subject to the rule whereby an underlying velar stop becomes glottal stop in this environment.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(b) qaki?ni (P3 subj indicative form)</p> <p>/qa-ki?ni/</p> <p>/qa-kikni/</p> <p>be.thus-sayIND</p> <p>'He/she/they (proximate) said it (obviative).'</p> | <p>(c) qakiksi (S3 subj ind. form)</p> <p>/qa-kik-si/<sup>10</sup></p> <p>/qa-kik-sni/</p> <p>be.thus-say-S3IND</p> <p>'He/she/they (obviative) said it (obv).'</p> |
|--|---|

The text example KGS.2, below, shows the two indicative forms in (b) and (c) in the example above in the context of three contiguous clauses from a text. The fourth clause in this set (not shown here) represents a direct quote.

## Text Example KGS.2.

AP-CY.138-140

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(a) Taxas ?at k'upxnaps</p> <p>/taxa-s ?at k'upxnaps/</p> <p>then-S3 IMpt. SM. know/see-NC-HRO-S3and</p>   | <p>'When they (obviative) saw him (proximate)'</p>       |
| <p>(b) taxas s† qakiksi.</p> <p>/taxa-s s-i?ni qa-kik-si/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)</p> <p>/taxa-s s-i?ni qa-kik-sni/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)</p> <p>then-S3 CON-ADV be.thus-say-S3IND</p> | <p>'then that is what (obviative) they (obv.) said.'</p> |
| <p>(c) Taxas qaki?ni</p> <p>/Taxa-s qa-ki?ni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)</p> <p>/Taxa-s qa-kikni/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)</p> <p>then-S3 be.thus-sayIND</p>                                 | <p>'Then he (proximate) said (it (obviative)):'</p>      |

<sup>10</sup> See the sub-section on N-Deletion in section 2.6.11, further below.

**(4.3) The Dental Stop to Glottal Stop Sub-Rule.**

There is a straightforwardly synchronic alternation of /t/~/?/ in Kutenai. This involves the First Person Plural Suffix /-aʔat/~/-aʔaʔ/ which appears as /-aʔaʔ/ everywhere, except when this suffix is followed by the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/, specifically with an intervening phonemic buffer vowel /-i-/. Putting it in different terms, the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/~/-iʔ /, occurs in the form /-iʔ/ which includes a phonemic buffer vowel. It is the alloform with the phonemic buffer vowel which follows the First Person Plural Suffix.

**Example Set TGS.1**

FW-12.9

(a) hu qakiʔnaʔaʔni.

/hu<sub>u</sub> qa-k-iʔ-n-aʔaʔ<sub>u</sub>ni/1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-say-DI-NC-1PL<sub>u</sub>IND

'We told him.'

(b) hu qakiʔnaʔatiʔni.

/hu<sub>u</sub> qa-k-iʔ-n-aʔat-iʔ<sub>u</sub>ni/1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-say-DI-NC-1PL-PASV<sub>u</sub>IND

'We were told.'

**Example Set TGS.2**

FW-12.8

(a) hu qanaqʔikxnaʔaʔni.

'We kicked it.' FW-12.8

(b) hu qanaqʔikxnaʔatiʔni.

'We got kicked, they kicked us.'

Also: 'We were refused.'

**Example Set TGS.3**

FW-12.18

hun ʔupiʔnaʔaʔni.

'We killed them.'

hun ʔupiʔnaʔatiʔni.

'We all got killed', 'We were getting murdered (figuratively)'.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See section 3.1.5, under the heading of the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix for analysis of these forms.



In diachronic terms, a strong case can be made for the idea that the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ is a derivative of the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/. The Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ occurs after a variety of morphemes, most of them involving a velar or uvular consonant. This is not a synchronic alternation reflected in the inflectional paradigms of individual verbal stems, however. Individual transitive stems either have the T-Transitive Suffix /-t/, the Glottal Stop Transitive Suffix /-ʔ/, the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix /-ɬ/, or they are transitive by some other criterion. This is in contrast to the situation where the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-ʔ/ shows an alternation of /p/~/?/ between different inflected forms of individual verbal stems, and the situation where the lexical suffix /-kik/~/kiʔ/~/-ki/ 'say' shows an alternation of /k/~/?/ between different inflected forms of individual verbal stems. The following two example sets attest to the invariant nature of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/, in inflectional paradigms. In these examples it is labelled as the Glottal Stop Transitive Suffix.

## Example Set TGS.4.

G&amp;M(1979)

(a) ʔitq̣anxu v. 'to tan a hide or hides'

/ʔiʔt-q̣an-xu-ʔ/

Become-suspended-by.body-GSVI

(b) ɳitq̣anxuʔni (P3 subj indicative form)

(c) ɳitq̣anxuʔsi (S3 subj indicative form)

## (d) Text Example.

AP-CM.162

Ma ɬxaɬusɬ ʔitq̣anxuʔniɬ 'She was about to tan a hide.'

/maɬɬxa-ʔɬus-iʔɬ ʔiʔt-q̣an-xu-ʔniɬ/

PST FUT-ADV CON-ADV Become-suspended-by.body-GSVI IND and

## Example Set TGS.5.

G&amp;M(1979)

(a) ?upinkʷ v. 'to squeeze the water out of a skin by use of a wringing stick in the process of tanning a hide'.

(b) ʰupinkʷni (P3 subj indicative form)

(c) ʰupinkʷsi (S3 subj indicative form)

## (d) Text Example.

AP-CM.163

Nuʔ ?upinkʷni. 'She finished squeezing the water out (of the hide)'.

/nʷhu-ʔʷ ?upin-kʷ-ʔʷni/

PM,finish-ADV, squeeze.out-by.pointed.object(s)/finger(s)-GSVI,IND

The following text example in TGS.6 shows that the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix (i.e. the Glottal Stop Transitive Suffix) occurs before the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/, specifically without an intervening phonemic buffer vowel. Note that it is a following Passive Suffix, specifically with an intervening phonemic buffer vowel, which provides the very environment which preserves the underlying /t/ in the case of the First Person Plural Suffix /-aʔat/~/-aʔaʔ/. Whatever rule is reconstructed for an earlier state of the language, by which the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix /-ʔ/ can be derived from the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/, the synchronic alternation of /t/~ʔ/ in the First Person Plural Suffix is another matter.

## Text Example TGS.6.

MP.FL.34

Tax qapsin siʔxuʔʔ "(I) wonder what we'll be packing."

/tax qapsin s-i-ʔ-xu-ʔ-ʔ/

just what CON-Bf-carry-GSVI-PASV (i.e. just what is to be backpacked)

### 2.6.7 Deep Phonological Rule (5):

#### Obstruent-Nasal Cluster to Glide Rule.

This rule has three sub-rules or conditions which are listed in synoptic form below. The three sub-rules have a common phonetic basis. The dominant fact about this rule, however, is its highly restrictive morphological conditioning. All of the examples of the rule evidently involve the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/, or another suffix having an identical form.<sup>12</sup> All of the morphological constructions where the rule applies are evidently old in the language. There are numerous exceptions to this rule in the language where the underlying sequences /pn/, /kn/, and /sn/ are realized unchanged in surface phonemic terms, but these exceptions always involving morphemes other than the conditioning morphemes of this rule.

(5.1) PN to W Sub-Rule, /p+n/ → /w/.

The underlying form of the Inchoative Suffix /-p/, in combination with a following N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ together become /-w-/.<sup>13</sup>

(5.1) KN to W Sub-Rule, /k+n/ → /w/.

The underlying form of the Reflexive Suffix /-ik/, in combination with a following N-Connector Suffix /-n-/, together become /-iy-/.

---

<sup>12</sup> There is the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/, and the Standing Position Suffix /-n-/. Presumably one of these suffixes is a component of /ʔayma-/ 'double', underlyingly /ʔas-n-ma-/ and one is a component of the compound lexical suffix /-n-mi-yit/ 'day'. Both of these compound elements are affected by this rule.

<sup>13</sup> The rule of /p+n/ → /w/ leads to the subsequent and associated rule whereby the Indefinite Person Suffix /-am/ is realized as /-um/ after the realization of the Inchoative Suffix and N-Connector Suffix as /-w/. See section 2.6.4.

## (5.3) SN to Y Sub-Rule, /s+n/ → /y/.

The underlying form of the root /ʔas/ in combination with a following N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ or Standing Position Suffix /-n-/, together become /ʔay-/.

**Examples of the PN to W Sub-Rule, /p+n/ → /w/.**

In the possessive paradigm of the nominal stem /ʔa·kʰuʔkqa/ 'language, speech' presented below, each instance of the Inchoative Suffix /-p/ is put into bold face type, with its outright deletion represented as Ø.<sup>14</sup>

## Example Set PNW.1.

The Possessive Paradigm of a Word Illustrating /p/ → /w/, /Ø/, /ʔ/, /ʔ'/.  
 ?a·kʰuʔkqa**w**um      '(peoples') language, speech, (a person's) language, speech'

ka ?a·kʰuʔkqa <b>Ø</b>	'my language, speech'
?a·kʰuʔkqa <b>ʔ</b> nis	'your language, speech' (2nd person singular possessor)
?a·kʰuʔkqa <b>Ø</b> ʔis	'his/her/its/their language, speech' (Upper Kutenai) <sup>15</sup>
?a·kʰuʔkqa <b>ʔ</b> 'isis	'his/her/its/their language, speech' (obviative possessor)
ka ?a·kʰuʔkqa <b>w</b> aʔa	'our language, speech'
?a·kʰuʔkqa <b>Ø</b> niskiʔ	'your language, speech' (2nd person plural possessor)

Example PNW.2, below, is the first person plural possessive form in the paradigm, presented in analyzed format.

<sup>14</sup> The same possessive paradigm is also presented above in a slightly different format in the discussion of rule (2) Low Vowel Raising, Backing, and Rounding, in section 2.6.4.

<sup>15</sup> The Lower Kutenai form is /ʔa·kʰuʔkqaniʔis/ 'his/her/its/their language, speech'. This form is attested in the Sahaptin Groups Text told by Simon Francis. FW identified it as a Lower Kutenai way of saying /ʔa·kʰuʔkqaʔis/.

## Example PNW.2.

ka (?)a·kʰukaqwaʔa 'our language, speech'.<sup>16</sup>

/ka<sub>u</sub> ʔa·k-ʰuʔk-aq-w-aʔaʔ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/kan<sub>u</sub> ʔa·k-ʰuʔk-qa-p-n-aʔat/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

1 POS<sub>u</sub> NSB-sound-STV-IN-NC-1PL

**Examples of the KN to Y Sub-Rule, /k+n/ → /y/.**

In the presentation of the reflexive paradigm below, each instance of the Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-ak/~-iy-/ is put into bold face type.<sup>17</sup> Where it appears as surface phonemic /-iy/ it actually includes the following N-Connector Suffix, except in the case of the second person plural form. In that form, the allomorph /-iy-/ of the Reflexive Suffix is a product of another morphologically conditioned rule, Compensatory Lengthening.<sup>18</sup> In that rule, an underlying cluster of two back stop consonants, usually /kk/ are realized together as vowel length plus the second consonant of the underlying cluster. The nature of the Obstruent-Nasal Cluster to Glide rule suggests that the Compensatory Lengthening rule may have originally been a rule where stop consonants became glides.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> In careful speech the initial glottal stop of the stem is likely to be present, while in rapid speech it is likely to be deleted.

<sup>17</sup> The same reflexive paradigm is also presented above in the discussion of the M~N Alternation in section 2.6.3.

<sup>18</sup> The spelling /-iy/ is chosen here over the spelling /-i·/ in order to maintain consistency in the reflexive paradigm. The surface phonemic spellings, /-iy/ and the spelling /-i·/, are equivalent in terms of their phonetic realization in this second person plural form where what follows is a velar stop. See section 2.6.12 where the spelling /-iy/ is called for in the primary third person subject indicative form /ʕin-kʰapaʔt-iy-ax<sub>u</sub>ni/, because the following segment is a vowel.

<sup>19</sup> See the discussion of Compensatory Lengthening further below in section 2.6.9, where one example involves a lengthened /a/ which does not lend itself directly to an analysis where underlying /k/ becomes one of the two glides in the language /y/ or /w/ in an intermediate form in a derivation.

Indicative Forms of the Reflexive Stem /ʔiktuquʔmik/ 'to wash oneself'.

hun ʔiktuquʔmik	'I washed myself'.
hin ńiktuquʔmik	'You (sg) washed yourself'.
ńiktuquʔmik	'He/she/it/they (prox) washed him-/her-/it-self/themselves'.
ńiktuqunaksi	'He/she/it/they (obv) washed him-/her-/it-self/themselves'.
ńiktuquniyamni	'People (proximate) washed themselves'.
ńiktuquniyamisni	'People (obviative) washed themselves'.
hun ʔiktuquniyaʔaʔni	'We washed ourselves'.
hin ńiktuquniykiʔni	'You (pl) washed yourselves'.

**Examples of the SN to Y Sub-Rule, /s+n/ → /y/.**

Example set SNY.1 contains the Kutenai word /ʔaywu/ 'twenty' in part (a) which shows the application of the Obstruent-Nasal Cluster to Glide rule. The words in parts (b), (c), and (d) demonstrate the validity of the underlying representation posited in part (a).

Other number words in the language also back up this analysis.

Example Set SNY.1.

(a) ʔaywu	'twenty'	(b) ʔas	'two'
/ʔaywu/	←(Mid-Level Phonemic)→	/ʔas/	
/ʔas-n-wu/	←(Underlying Phonemic)→	/ʔas/	
two-NC-DECADE.MARKER		two	
(c) qaʔsanwu	'thirty'	(d) qaʔsa	'three'
/qaʔsa-n-wu/	←(Mid-Level Phonemic)→	/qaʔsa/	
/qaʔsa-n-wu/	←(Underlying Phonemic)→	/qaʔsa/	
three-NC-DECADE.MARKER		three	

Two example derivations, SNY.2 and SNY.3, are presented below to demonstrate that an underlying cluster of /sn/ is not realized as surface phonemic /y/, if the following morpheme is other than the conditioning morpheme (or morphemes) of the rule. In example SNY.2, below, the root /ʔas/ 'two' is also involved, as in example SNY.1 (a), above, but the /n/ which follows in example SNY.2, below, belongs to the encliticized Indicative Marker /ɲni/.<sup>20</sup> In this case, underlying /sɲn/ is realized as surface phonemic /sn/, not \*/y/. In a closely related inflectional form of the same verbal stem, in example SNY.3, below, underlying /s/ precedes the /n/ of the Indicative Marker, but that underlying /sɲn/ leads to N-Deletion, another morphologically conditioned rule, because the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix is involved, appearing without a preceding buffer vowel.<sup>21</sup>

Example Derivation SNY.2. G&M (1979)      Example Derivation SNY.3. G&M (1979)

ńasni

[ ʔńá·sɲe·]

/nɲʔasɲni/ (Mid-Level Ph.)

PM<sub>two</sub>INDICATIVE

'There are two of them (proximate)'

ńassi

[ ʔńá·s:i·]

/nɲʔas-sɲi/ (Mid-Level Ph.)

/nɲʔas-sɲni / (Underlying Ph.)

PM<sub>two</sub>-S3<sub>INDICATIVE</sub>

'There are two of them (obviative)'

<sup>20</sup> All of the words for numbers in Kutenai are either used as plain stems in counting, or are used as verbal stems. This means that each such stem has a potential gloss such as 'for there to be {twenty} of something', 'for them to be {twenty} in number'.

<sup>21</sup> See section 2.6.11 on N-Deletion, and section 2.6.6, rule (4.1), example set PGS.1, part (c), above, where a footnote discusses the morphophonemic consequences of a phonemic buffer vowel with the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix.





### 2.6.8 Deep Phonological Rule (6): K-Vocalization.

K-Vocalization is a rare process in Kutenai where underlying /k/ between a preceding glottal stop /ʔ/ and before a following plain velar stop /k/ is realized as /u/ in certain inflectional forms of at least one verbal stem. This has a close relationship with Compensatory Lengthening, where underlying /k/ or rarely /q/ are realized as the vowel length of a preceding vowel. The same verbal stem which provides the rare examples of K-Vocalization in example set KV.1, below, also has inflectional forms which are examples of Compensatory Lengthening. The third person indicative forms of the stem in KVI.1, parts (b) and (c) are straightforward examples of Compensatory Lengthening, while the interrogative form in part (d), along with the subordinate, complementizing form in part (e) are examples of K-Vocalization, following the plain form of the stem in part (a), also an example of K-Vocalization.

Example Set KV.1.

G&M (1979)

- (a) suʔukin v. 'to do or make something right, to do something well, to treat someone right'.
- (b) su:kini 'He/she/they (proximate) made it (obviative) right',  
'He/she/they (prox) treated him/her/it/them (obv) right'.
- (c) su:kinsi 'He/she/they (obviative) made it (proximate) right',  
'He/she/they (obv) treated him/her/it/them (prox) right'.
- (d) Ksuʔukin ? 'Did he/she/they (proximate) do it right?, Did he/she/they (prox) treat it/him/her/them (obv) well?'

(e) ksu?ukin 'that he/she/they (proximate) did it right, that he/she/they  
(prox) treated it/him/her/them (obv) well?'

Example derivation KV.2, below, shows the plain form of the stem in analyzed format, while example derivation KV.3, below, shows the k-form of the stem as represented by the complementizing form of the stem in KV.1, part (e), above.

**Example Derivation KV.2.**

su?ukin  
[su?ú·kɪ·n]  
/su?ukin/ (Surface Phonemic)  
/su?u-kin/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
/su?k-kin / (Underlying Phonemic)  
good-by.hand  
'to do or make something right,  
to treat someone right'

**Example Derivation KV.2.**

ksu?ukin  
[ksu?ú·kɪ·n]  
/k<sub>ɹ</sub>su?ukin/ (Surface Phonemic)  
/k<sub>ɹ</sub>su?u-kin/ (Mid-Level Ph.)  
/k<sub>ɹ</sub>su?k-kin / (Underlying Ph.)  
SM<sub>ɹ</sub>good-by.hand  
'that he/she/they (prox) did it right,  
that he/she/they (prox) treated it/him/  
her/them (obv) well?'

There are examples in the language of surface phonemic /kk/ from underlying sequences of /k+k/. Most of these examples do not occur in exactly the environment where K-Vocalization occurs, but then Compensatory Lengthening takes some of the underlying sequences of /k+k/ and has them realized as surface phonemic sequence of /·k/, where the first consonant in the underlying cluster is realized as vowel length.

### 2.6.9 Deep Phonological Rule (7): Compensatory Lengthening.

Compensatory Lengthening in Kutenai involves the fate of certain underlying clusters of two back stop consonants, most commonly /kk/, rarely /q̄q̄/, and marginally /kq/, where the first consonant in the cluster is realized as surface phonemic vowel length.

Example Set CML.1, illustrating /kk / → /·k/.

(a) ?ik	'eat'	(b) ?i·kuɫ	'to drink'.
[?ik]		[?i:k·uɫ]	
/?ik/	(Mid-Level Phonemic)	/?i·kuɫ/	(Mid-Level Phonemic)
eat		Drink	
		/?ik-k-u-ɫ /	(Underlying Phonemic)
		eat-water-Buffer.Vowel-DI	

Example CML.2, illustrating /kk / → /·k/.

?itu·kin	v. 'to fix water, such as boiling water for tea'.
/?itu·kin/	(Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)
/?i?t-uk-kin /	(Underlying Phonemic Representation)
Become-water-by.hand.(transitive) <sup>21</sup>	

In a limited sense, the rule of Compensatory Lengthening is productive in that it can be seen in the apparent neologism in example CML.3. The neologism, however, is squarely based on the verbal stem in example CML.2, above.

<sup>21</sup> The instrumental lexical suffix /-kin/ 'by hand' is intrinsically a transitivizer.

Example CML.3, illustrating /kk / → /·k/.

G&M(1979)

kʰitu·kinmuɬ 'something used to prepare a liquid such as coffee, tea, etc.:'  
'teapot'.

[kʰitu·kʰi·nmuɬ]

/kʰitu·kinmuɬ/ (Surface Phonemic Representation)

/kʷiʔt-u·kin-mu-ɬ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/kʷiʔt-uk-kin-mu-ɬ / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

SM.Become-water-by.hand.(transitive)-INST-PASV

The instances of compensatory lengthening illustrated above can be treated as cases of underlying /k/ being realized as surface phonemic /y/, or as cases of underlying /k/ being realized as surface phonemic /w/, depending on the preceding vowel. The positing of a glide /y/ or /w/ as the surface phonemic product of this rule does not help, however, where the preceding vowel is /a/. The following two examples illustrate underlying /akʰ/ being realized as surface phonemic /a·kʰ/.

Text Example CML.4, illustrating /kk / → /·k/.

AP-CM.168

Qsa·kʰuʔni ɰɰ 'She dipped some water, and'

/qsa-·-kʰu-ʔni ɰɰ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/qsa-k-kʰu-ʔni ɰɰ/ (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

take.some-water-by.pointed.object-GSVI.IND and

Text Example CML.5, illustrating /kʔ / → /·kʔ/.

R.Mc-ChOg.117

ɕĩnyaxa·kũn 'Fetch some water',

/ɕi-n-yaxa-·-kũ-ʔn / (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)

/ɕi-n-yaxa-k-kũ-ʔhin / (Underlying Phonemic Representation)

INCEP-go-fetch-water-by.pointed.object-GSVI\_2CP

Examples of Compensatory Lengthening in Kutenai involving anything other than an underlying cluster of /kk/ are rare. In example set CML.6, below, the underlying cluster is /qʔ/. The form in (b), where the rule of Compensatory Lengthening does not apply, was said by FW to be more literal than the form in (a), where the rule does apply. FW offered the form in (a) first, then offered the form in (b) as something of an explanation of the first form in (a) where underlying /qʔ/ is reduced to /·qʔ/.

Example Set CML.6, illustrating /qq / → /·q/.

FW-6.142

(a) wa·qutaʔni

(b) waqqutaʔni

/wa·qutaʔni/ (Mid-Level) /waqqutaʔni/

/waq-qutaʔni/ (Underlying) /waq-qutaʔni/

thick-fat\_IND

thick-fat\_IND

'It (esp. meat) has thick fat'.

'It (esp. meat) has thick fat'.

Compensatory Lengthening once had greater scope, in other words more general conditions of application, than it has now. The word /ski·qaʔni/ in example set CML.7, below, is an example where the rule of Compensatory Lengthening applies, but it was reported by FW as an earlier pronunciation for present day /skikqaʔni/, where the rule does not apply. FW said that the older pronunciation in example set CML.7, part (b) was the way the word was pronounced by people of his grandparents generation.

## Example Set CML.7.

G&amp;M (1979), FW-9.137

## The New Pronunciation.

(a) skikqaʔni.

[skɪkqaʔnɛ]

/s-kik-qa-ʔni/ (Mid-Level)

/s-kik-qa-ʔni/ (Underlying)

CON-HORZ-STV-IN,IND

'something to be lying somewhere,  
something to be lying there'.

## The Old Pronunciation.

(b) ski·qaʔni.

[ski·qaʔnɛ]

/s-ki·-qa-ʔni/ (Mid-Level)

/s-kik-qa-ʔni/ (Underlying)

CON-HORZ-STV-IN,IND

'something to be lying somewhere,  
something to be lying there'.

### 2.6.10 Deep Phonological Rule (8): Monophthongization.

The Monophthongization rule of Kutenai is one where two phonemically unlike underlying vowels are realized as a single long surface phonemic monophthong. It is assumed here that all monophthongization involving underlyingly unlike vowels in Kutenai is morphologically conditioned. Otherwise in the language, when two phonemically unlike underlying vowels come together, either because of laryngeal deletion or without the deletion of an intervening laryngeal, the result is a diphthong. All instances of diphthongization in Kutenai are accounted for by the regular rules of mid-level phonology and the rules of surface phonology proper.<sup>22</sup> The term monophthongization does not extend to cases where two underlyingly identical vowels come together to be realized as a single, long surface phonemic vowels, although that is obviously a very similar phonological process to the process described here as monophthongization.<sup>23</sup>

#### (8.1) Monophthongization and the Lexical Suffix /-akat/ 'see, sight',

/u+a/ → /u·/, and /in+a/ → /i·/.

These particular examples of monophthongization are morphologically conditioned in that they specifically involve the lexical suffix /-akat/ 'see, sight' suffixed to a root morpheme which ends in a vowel. In one example, the rule also involves the deletion of the consonant /n/. Certain verbal stems such as /sa·nakati?/ 'to look bad' provide evidence that the lexical suffix /-akat/ 'see, sight' begins with a vowel, while the verbal stem stem /?isikati?/ 'to be frightening' provides marginally evidence against the lex-

<sup>22</sup> Two examples of what is treated here as regular and predictable diphthongization are surface phonemic /qawsaqa?/ 'to stay or be somewhere', from underlying /qa-u?sa-qa-p/ (be.thus-Be.at-STV-INCHOATIVE), and /qaw'xam/ 'to go there', from underlying /qa-u?xa-m/ (be.thus-Be.to-RELOCATIONAL.M.SUFFIX). See section 2.5.6.

<sup>23</sup> See section 2.5.6 where mid-level vowel combination rules are discussed, including the sub-rule (6.1) Double Vowels as Long Monophthongs.

ical suffix having an initial vowel. The stem /ʔisikatiʔ/ 'to be frightening' may be a relatively new word in the language, put together with a modern reduced form /-kat/ of the lexical suffix /-akat/ 'see, sight'.

Derivation MON.1, illustrating underlying /u+a/ → /u·/.

wu·kat            'to see something'  
 [wu·kat]  
 /wu·kat/        (Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)  
 /wu-akat /     (Underlying Phonemic Representation)  
 touch-sight

The root morpheme /wu-/ 'touch' which now ends in a vowel may be cognate to Proto-Salishan \*mus- 'feel, touch'. There is in Kutenai a rule whereby the underlying sequence /sn/ is realized as /y/ and the underlying sequence /kn/ is realized as /y/. The monophthongization in example MON.1 may be a case where an original /s/ has been lost. CVC roots are certainly more common in Kutenai than CV roots. The word /ɕi·kat/ 'to looked at something' in derivation MON.2 (a), below, evidently involves an underlying CVC root. Part of the evidence for this is the analysis of the stem in derivation MON.2 (b).

Example Set MON.2.

(a) ɕi·kat    'to looked at something'	(b) ɕin-kʰapaɬt-iɬ-ik    'to listen'
[ɕí:ká:t]	[ɕin-kʰapaɬtí·ɬik]
/ɕi·kat/        (Mid-Level Phonemic)	/ɕin-kʰapaɬt-iɬ-ik/
/ɕin-akat/    (Underlying Phonemic)	/ɕin-kʰapaɬt-iɬ-ik/
catch/grab-sight	catch/grab-hearing-DI-REFLX



**(8.2) Monophthongization Involving the Clitic Pronouns,**

/a+hu/ → /ɔ·/ or /u·/,

/a+hi/ → /a·/.

There are cases of monophthongization in Kutenai where the clitic pronouns, /hu<sub>u</sub>/ First Person, and /hin<sub>u</sub>/ Second Person, encliticize onto the Hypothetical Particle /xma<sub>u</sub>/, or the (Marked) Past Tense Particle /ma<sub>u</sub>/. The resulting contractions are /xmɔ·<sub>u</sub>/ or /xma·<sub>u</sub>/ 'I would, could', /mɔ·<sub>u</sub>/ or /ma·<sub>u</sub>/ 'I did', and /xma·n<sub>u</sub>/ 'you should'. Because these contractions involve encliticization and H-Deletion, they would seem to be governed by the regular laryngeal deletion and vowel combination rules of mid-level phonology, but those rules yield different results. They govern examples in the language where the underlying sequence of /a<sub>u</sub>hu/ is subject to H-Deletion, then these instances of underlying /a<sub>u</sub>hu/ are realized as surface phonemic /au/, in some places represented orthographically as /aw/.<sup>24</sup> These cases involve diphthongization after H-Deletion, rather than monophthongization. Monophthongization is treated here as a morphologically conditioned rule and any instance of H-Deletion which precedes this monophthongization is also treated here as morphologically conditioned.

<sup>24</sup> See section 2.5.6, sub-rule (6.2). Diphthongization examples include the compound word /nausanmiyitki/ 'nowadays', from underlying

/na<sub>u</sub>husanmiyit<sub>u</sub>ki/ (this<sub>u</sub>Complete.a.certain.number.of.days<sub>u</sub>LOC)

and the expressions (from FW):

/qana<sub>u</sub> qa+xuni?ni/ 'if only that is how it were for me', from underlying

/qa-na<sub>u</sub>hu<sub>u</sub> qa-?-xu-n-i?ni/

be.thus-go<sub>u</sub>1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-carry-by.body-NC-STV<sub>u</sub>IND

and:

/qana<sub>u</sub> qa+xunina+a?ni/ 'if only that is how it were for us', from underlying

/qa-na<sub>u</sub>hu<sub>u</sub> qa-?-xu-n-i?-n-a+a?ni/.

be.thus-go<sub>u</sub>1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-carry-by.body-NC-STV-NC-1PL<sub>u</sub>IND

These last two examples are part of an entire paradigm of forms, all beginning with a particle /qana/.

The particle+clitic pronoun contractions /xmoː/ or /xmaː/ 'I would, could', /moː/ or /maː/ 'I did', and /xmaːn/ 'you should' are obligatory in natural speech. They are evidently a part of the language's lexicon, rather than simply the products of the entirely productive phonological rules of the language. In contrast, the examples of diphthongization in this same basic segmental environment are assumed to be the results of a productive phonological process.

Example MON.3, below, illustrates monophthongization where underlying /a+hu/ is realized as surface /ɔː/ by some speakers, including FW, or as surface phonemic /uː/, by other speakers, including EG.

Derivation MON.3, illustrating underlying /a+hu/ → /ɔː/ or /uː/. FW. cf.4.68

xmoː	ɬa	ʔikni		'I could eat again.'
[xmoːɬaʔí:kɲeː]				
/xmoː	ɬa	ʔikni/		(Mid-Level Phonemic Representation)
/xmahu	ɬa	ʔikni/		(Underlying Phonemic Representation)
HYP0_1CP	REV	eat_IND		

Examples MON.4 and MON.5, below, illustrate monophthongization where underlying /a+hi/ is realized as surface phonemic /aː/.

Text Example MON.4, illustrating underlying /a+hi/ → /aː/. MP-FL.118

xmaːn	skiɬ	ʔaɖmaɬ	ɕinaxi		'you should go out (and)'
[xmaːn skiɬ ʔaɖmaɬ tɕinóːxeː]					
/xmaːn	s-k-iɬ	ʔaɖma-ɬ	ɕi-na-xi/		(Mid-Level)
/xmahin	s-k-iɬ	ʔaɖma-ɬ	ɕi-na-xni/		(Underlying)
HYP0_2CP	CON-do/be-ADV	sudden-ADV	INCEP-go-RLG_IND		

Text Example MON.5, illustrating underlying /a+hi/ → /a·/. MP-FL.119

xma·n (h)a+q̣atʰiʔniʔa·qu+aqpiʔk 'You should pick a bunch of leaves.'

[χma·n (h)a+q̣atʰiʔ·ŋe· ʔa·qo+á·qpi·ʔk]

/xma·n<sub>ɹ</sub> ha+q̣atʰiʔ<sub>ɹ</sub>ni ʔa·qu+aqpiʔk/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/xma<sub>ɹ</sub> hin<sub>ɹ</sub> ha+q̣atʰiʔ<sub>ɹ</sub>ni ʔa·-qu+aqpiʔk/ (Underlying Phonemic)

HYP0<sub>ɹ</sub> 2CP<sub>ɹ</sub> Collect<sub>ɹ</sub>IND NSB-leaf

### (8.3) Monophthongization Involving the Definite Reference Marker,

/a·+uʔ/ → /u·/.

The Emphatic Demonstrative Definite Reference Marker /y<sub>ɹ</sub>u·/ is derived from the plain form of the Definite Reference Marker /ya·/ with the suffixation of the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix /-uʔ/.

The clauses in MON.6 are the first two clauses of a short ethnographic text told by FW. Example MON.6 (a) contains an example of the Emphatic Demonstrative Definite Reference Marker /y<sub>ɹ</sub>u·/. The text was transcribed and translated with the the help of FW on January 19, 1974. The clauses in MON.7 (a) and (b), further below, were elicited as a paradigm of two isolated clauses, during the process of transcribing and translating this same text.

Text Example MON.6.

FW-11.52

(a) Pa·mik hu<sub>ɹ</sub>ϕ yu·uqakiʔki '(Listen to) what I'm going to say,

/pa·mik hu<sub>ɹ</sub>ϕ<sub>ɹ</sub> yu·u qa-kiʔ<sub>ɹ</sub>ki/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/pa·mik hu<sub>ɹ</sub>ϕ<sub>ɹ</sub> ya·-uʔ<sub>ɹ</sub> qa-kiʔ<sub>ɹ</sub>ki/ (Underlying Phonemic)

anyway 1CP<sub>ɹ</sub>Fpt<sub>ɹ</sub> DFM-ED<sub>ɹ</sub> be.thus-say<sub>ɹ</sub>LOC

(b) huꞵ qa yunaʔikiyaxaʔni. 'I'm not going to use many words.'

/huꞵ qa yuʔ-n-haʔ-ʔiʔk-yaxa-ʔni/25

1CPꞵFptꞵ NEGꞵ many-NC-have-sound-fetch-GSVIꞵIND

A freer translations for the two clauses of MON.6, taken together, is: 'I'm going to say something, I'm going to use just a few words.'

Example Set MON.7.

FW-11.53

(a) huꞵ yuꞵqakiʔki

(b) huꞵ yaꞵqakiʔki

/huꞵ yuꞵ qa-kiʔki/ ←(Mid)→ /huꞵ yaꞵ qa-kiʔki/

/huꞵ yaꞵ-uꞵqa-kiʔki/ ←(Und.)→ /huꞵ yaꞵ qa-kiʔki/

1CPꞵFptꞵ DFMꞵ-EDꞵ be.thus-sayꞵLOC

1CPꞵFptꞵ DFMꞵ be.thus-sayꞵLOC

'(this is )what I'm going to say'.

'what I'm going to say'.

#### (8.4) Monophthongization and Near Monophthongization,

/u+ha/ → /a·/, for some speakers, → /ua/, for other speakers.

In the Tobacco Plains Kutenai of EG and others, underlying sequences of /u+ha/ in certain words are realized as surface phonemic /a·/. Other speakers, including FW and others from St Mary's and the late Mary Paul of Vancouver, originally from Columbia Lake, have these instances of underlying /u+ha/ realized as surface phonemic /ua/. At least their pronunciations can be construed to be instances of surface phonemic /ua/. For MPcI the phonetic result has been transcribed as [o<sup>Q</sup>] in careful speech examples, with the

<sup>25</sup> The analysis here of the compound lexical suffix /-ʔikiyaxaʔ/ '(Use) verbal expression, (Use) turn of phrase' as /-ʔiʔk-yaxa-ʔ/ (-sound-fetch-GLOTTAL.STOP. VALENCE.INCREASING.SUFFIX) assumes an ad hoc morphologically conditioned rule to derive /-ʔiʔk-/ 'sound' from underlying /-ʔuʔk/ 'sound' before the verbal lexical suffix /-yaxa/ 'fetch'.

first vowel much more prominent than the second. For FW, the phonetic result has been variously transcribed as [oɑ], [ɔ<sup>ə</sup>] and [ɔ̄]. Example MON.8 is a compound lexical item from EG where pure monophthongization is involved, requiring the positing of a single, long surface phonemic vowel /ā/.

## Example MON.8.

G&amp;M (1979)

kya·ki‡ ?iki‡ 'table cloth'.

/ḳya·k-i‡/ ?ik-i‡/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ḳyu-ha-k-i‡̣/ ?ik-i‡/ (Underlying Phonemic)

SM<sub>on</sub>.top-have-do/be-ADV<sub>o</sub> eat-PASV

Example MON.9 is a word from MPcl where it is possible to use the underlying vowels as the surface phonemic vowels. This can be taken to be a careful speech pronunciation.

## Example MON.9.

MPcl.15.52, May 10, 1976

yuanqamik 'He/she/it/they sat on it.'

[yo<sup>a</sup>nqá:mɪ:k]

/yu-a-nqa-m-ik/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/yu-ha-nqa-m-ik / (Underlying Phonemic)

on.top-have-sit-ASC-REFLX

Example MON.10, below, contains another inflected form of the same verbal stem as the one in example MON.9, above.

## Example Set MON.10.

MPcl.15.52, May 10, 1976

Maʔɕ ʔa yuanaqnam 'Don't sit on it (again), or ride.'

[maʔts ʔa yoanɑ́·qəŋɑ·m]

/maʔɕ ʔa yu-ha-naq-nam/<sup>26</sup>PROHIB REV<sub>u</sub> on.top-have-sit-ASC-RECIP<sup>27</sup>

Example Set MON.11, below, illustrates a derivative of the same stem seen above in examples MON.9 and MON.10. The pronunciation illustrated here is that of FW and another individual from St Mary's.

## Example Set MON.11.

FW, TJ-KLP.card

kyuanaqniyam 'chair'

[kyɑ́·naqəŋí·ya·m]

/kyɑ́·naqniyam/ (Surface Phonemic)

/k<sub>u</sub>yɑ́·ha-naq-n-iy-am / (Mid-Level Phonemic)/k<sub>u</sub>yɑ́·ha-nqɑ-m-ik-n-am / (Underlying Phonemic)SM<sub>u</sub>on.top-have-sit-ASC-REFLX-NC-INH

<sup>26</sup> See section 2.6.12 where the metathesis of the lexical suffix /-nqɑ-/~/naq/ 'sit' is discussed.

<sup>27</sup> The Reciprocal Suffix /-nam/ functions as an imperative suffix for verbal stems which are morphologically reflexive. See section 3.2.7 where there is a discussion of reflexive imperative forms.

### 2.6.11 Deep Phonological Rule (9): N-Deletion.

There are three basic environments for N-Deletion in Kutenai. In each type of N-Deletion, the deletion of an underlying /n/ occurs only where certain morphemes are involved. The three types are discussed under the following headings:

- (9.1) The Alternation of the First Person Possessive Marker /ka<sub>u</sub>/~/kan<sub>u</sub>/.
- (9.2) N-Deletion after the Relocational Goal Suffix /-x/.
- (9.3) N-Deletion after Dental Consonants.

#### (9.1) The Alternation of /ka<sub>u</sub>/~/kan<sub>u</sub>/.

One type of N-Deletion in Kutenai is the deletion of the final segment of the underlying form /kan<sub>u</sub>/ of the First Person Possessive Marker /kan<sub>u</sub>/~/ka<sub>u</sub>/. The deletion happens everywhere, except in very restricted circumstances, and the circumstances have apparently become even more restricted in the recent history of the language. The allomorph /kan<sub>u</sub>/ survives in the present state of the language only where it is in association with one morpheme.

In present-day Kutenai, including in the Kutenai spoken by those born around and just before 1900, the form /kan<sub>u</sub>/ apparently occurs only before the nominal stem /xaɬiɬ/ 'son', and the derivative nominal stem /xaɬinaɬiɬ/ 'nephew'. These are shown in example set ND.1, below. In parts (a) and (b), the stems appear in their plain forms, without possessive affixation, and in parts (c) through (f) they occur with the First Person Possessive Marker /kan<sub>u</sub>/~/ka<sub>u</sub>/, occurring exclusively as the allomorph /kan<sub>u</sub>/.

Example Set ND.1.

FW, G&M (1979)

(a) xaɬiɬ 'son'.

(b) xaɬinaɬiɬ 'nephew'.

/xaɬiɬ/

/xaɬiɬ-n-aɬ-iɬ/

son

son-ASC-COPART-DI

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (c) kan xa+i 'my son'.<br>/kan <sub>u</sub> xa+i?/<br>1POS <sub>u</sub> son                    | (d) kan xa+ina+i+ 'my nephew'.<br>/kan <sub>u</sub> xa+i?-n-a+-i+/<br>1POS <sub>u</sub> son-ASC-COPART-DI                   |
| (e) kan xa+ina+a 'our son'.<br>/kan <sub>u</sub> xa+i?-n-a+a?/<br>1POS <sub>u</sub> son-NC-1PL | (f) kan xa+ina+i+na+a 'our nephew'.<br>/kan <sub>u</sub> xa+i?-n-a+-i+-n-a+a?/<br>1POS <sub>u</sub> son-ASC-COPART-DI-NC-PL |

Other Possessive forms of the stems are shown in example set ND.2, below, in parts

(a) through (h).

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| (a) xa+i?nis 'your (sg) son'.    | (b) xa+ina+i+nis 'your (sg) nephew'.     |
| (c) xa+iniski+ 'your (pl) son'.  | (d) xa+ina+i+niski+ 'your (pl) nephew'.  |
| (e) xa+i?is 'his/her/their son'. | (f) xa+ina+i+?is 'his/her/their nephew'. |
| (g) xa+i?nam 'a person's son'.   | (h) xa+ina+i+nam 'a person's nephew'.    |

In Boas (1927) there is also an attestation of /kan<sub>u</sub>/ with a completely different nominal stem. Boas (1927, p.93, near the bottom of the second column) has the expression represented in example set ND.3, part (a). It is attested from FW as represented in part (b), without the final /n/ of the rare allomorph of First Person Possessive Clitic Pronoun.

Example Set ND.3.

- |  |
|--|
| (a) [kantitqátma·+] 'my fellow man'.<br>/kan <sub>u</sub> titqat'-m-a+/<br>1CP <sub>u</sub> man-ASC-COPART |
|--|



(b) ka titqat'ma‡ 'my fellow man'.

[katitqá·t'ma·‡]

/ka<sub>∞</sub> titqat'-m-a‡/

1CP<sub>∞</sub> man-ASC-COPART

According to FW, this is something said as a challenge to a fight, and would immediately provoke a fist fight or wrestling match. Without this form from Boas (1927), we might conclude that the nominal root /xa‡i?/ 'son' was the source of the /n/ before the /x/ in the first person possessive forms in ND.1, parts (c) and (d), and that there had been reanalysis to yield the present form of the nominal stem as /xa‡i?/, without an initial /n/. The picture we get with the evidence from Boas (1927), however, is of a sound change brought almost to completion. The only evidence of N-Deletion applying in this particular environment is a rare alternate form of a morpheme, just barely preserved in the language, specifically in words with strong emotional overtones.

### (9.2) N-Deletion after the Relocational Goal Suffix /-x/.

There are not only cases of underlying /n/ in Kutenai deleted **before** /x/ across a cliticization boundary in the context of certain morphemes, but there are also cases of underlying /n/ in Kutenai deleted **after** /x/ across a cliticization boundary in the context of one particular morpheme, the Relocational Goal Suffix /-xa/~/-x<sub>∞</sub>/. The Relocational Goal Suffix /-xa/~/-x<sub>∞</sub>/ is only distinguishable from the basic Goal Suffix, which has the exact same segmental forms /-xa/~/-x<sub>∞</sub>/, because the Relocational Goal Suffix deletes the initial underlying /n/ of a following Indicative Marker, while the basic Goal Suffix does not. This can be seen in the matching inflectional forms of two closely related verbal stems presented in example set NDRG.1, below.

The stem in NDRG.1, parts (a.1) through (a.4), is a relocational verbal stem /ʔaʔnam/ 'to hunt'.<sup>26</sup> Certain inflectional forms of relocational verbal stems contain the Relocational Goal Suffix /-xa/~/-x<sub>u</sub>/, while other inflectional forms do not. Only one of the three inflectional forms presented here in NDRG.1, parts (a.1) through (a.4), actually contain the Relocational Goal Suffix. That form is the primary third person (i.e. proximate) subject indicative form of the stem which appears in part (a.2) and in greater sentential context in part (a.3).<sup>27</sup> These are the only examples of N-Deletion after /x/ in example set NDRG.1. The instances of N-Deletion after the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/ in parts (a.4) and (b.4) are another matter, discussed further below.

The stem in NDRG.1, parts (b.1) through (b.4) is /ʔanaxa/ 'to hunt for something'. It is not in the inflectional class of relocational stems, although it is obviously a derivative of the relocational stem in NDRG.1 (a.1) through (a.4). The stem /ʔanaxa/ 'to hunt for something' ends with the basic Goal Suffix, rather than the Relocational Goal Suffix.

Example Set NDRG.1.

G&M (1979), EG-KLP

(a.1) ʔaʔnam	'to (go out and) hunt'	(b.1) ʔanaxa	'to hunt for something'
/ʔaʔ-na-m/	←(Mid-Level)→	/ʔaʔ-na-xa/	
/ʔaʔ-na-m/	←(Underlying)→	/ʔaʔ-na-x-a/	
out-go-RELOCATIONAL.M.SUFFIX		out-go-GOAL-Buffer.Vowel	

<sup>26</sup> This stem is in the inflectional class of relocational verbal stems, although it is not typical of relocational verbal stems in its overt meaning. Most relocational verbal stems straightforwardly mean 'to go somewhere', 'to come somewhere' or 'to go by somewhere', generally in some particular specified direction or manner. For example, there is /ʔinam/ 'to start out to go (somewhere)' and /qaham/ 'to go by (there)'.

<sup>27</sup> The sentences presented in parts (a.3) and (b.3) place the primary third person subject indicative forms of both of these two stems in greater sentential context, although the forms in parts (a.2), (b.2), (a.4), and (b.4) are already complete sentences by themselves.

## (a.2) N̄anaxi

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-x̄ʊi/ ←(Mid-Level)→

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-x̄ʊni/ ←(Underlying)→

PM<sub>out</sub>-go-RELOCATIONAL.GOAL.SUFFIX<sub>IND</sub>

'He/she/it/they (prox) hunted.'

## (b.2) N̄anaxni

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-x̄ʊni/

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-x̄ʊni/

PM<sub>out</sub>-go-GOAL<sub>IND</sub>

'He/she/it/they (prox) hunted for something.'

## (a.3) N̄anaxi Susáp

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-x̄ʊi/ ←(Mid-Level)→

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-x̄ʊni/ ←(Underlying)→

PM<sub>out</sub>-go-RELOCATIONAL.GOAL.SUFFIX<sub>IND</sub>

'Joe (prox) hunted.'

## (b.3) N̄anaxni ɕupqaʔs Susáp

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-x̄ʊni/

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-x̄ʊni/

PM<sub>out</sub>-go-GOAL<sub>IND</sub>

'Joe (prox) hunted for deer.'

## (a.4) N̄anasi.

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-s̄ʊi/ ←(Mid-Level)→

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-s̄ʊni/ ←(Underlying)→

PM<sub>out</sub>-go-S3<sub>IND</sub>

'He/she/it/they (obv) hunted.'

## (b.4) N̄anaxasi.

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-xa-s̄ʊi/

/n̄ʊʔaʔ-na-x-a-s̄ʊni/

PM<sub>out</sub>-go-GOAL-Bf-S3<sub>IND</sub>

'He/she/it/they (obv) hunted for smth..'

## (9.3) N-Deletion after Dental Consonants.

This type of N-Deletion deletes /n/ after the dental consonants /t/, /t̄/, /n/, /ɕ/, /ɕ̄/, /s/, and /ʃ/. N-Deletion only occurs where the dental consonant is the last segment of certain morphemes. In the case of one conditioning morpheme, the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix /-s/~-is/, it is further necessary to specify that it is the allomorph /-s/ which triggers N-Deletion, while the allomorph /-is/, does not. The allomorph /-is/ includes a phonemic buffer vowel, which can be treated as a separate, but meaningless morpheme. That is the usual practice in underlying phonemic repre-

sentations here. Underlyingly then, the actual conditioning factor for N-Deletion with this particular conditioning morpheme is whether the underlying base form /-s/ of the morpheme is preceded by a phonemic buffer vowel or not.<sup>28</sup>

Example Set NDDC.1, below, is a passage of three clauses from the Short Coyote Text with contrasting examples of the application and non-application of N-Deletion. The clauses in parts (a) and (c) involve the Subsidiary Third Person Suffix, with its two allomorphs /-s/~/-is/. Between them is an example where the N-Deletion rule applies after the Relocational Goal Suffix /-x/~/-xa/, where, of course, there is no conditioning dental consonant. In the form of a chart this is:

In part (a), N-Deletion applies after underlying / -s /  
-s3

In part (b), N-Deletion applies after underlying / -x /  
-RELOCATIONAL.GOAL.SUFFIX

In part (c), N-Deletion **does not** apply after underlying / -i-s /  
-Bf-s3

Example Set NDDC.1.

RMc-SC.21-22, and SC.23

(a) ?At qa wuq̣manikitsi <sub>u</sub> ϕ	(a) It would not take long, and
/ ?at <sub>u</sub> qa <sub>u</sub> wu-q̣ma-nikit-s <sub>u</sub> i <sub>u</sub> ϕ /	(Mid-Level Phonemic)
/ ?at <sub>u</sub> qa <sub>u</sub> wu-q̣ma-nikit-s <sub>u</sub> ni <sub>u</sub> ϕ /	(Underlying Phonemic)
IMpt <sub>u</sub> NEG <sub>u</sub> long-sudden-event-S3 <sub>u</sub> IND <sub>u</sub> and	

<sup>28</sup> See section 2.6.12, and the sub-section "Buffer Vowel Insertion as a Reconstructable Rule". Words in the present state of the language which contain phonemic buffer vowels, including particular inflectional verbal forms, must have been put together in an earlier state of the language when the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule was still a productive rule.

(b) ?at ʔa ʔaxaxi.

(b) and she'd get home.

/?at ʔa ʔaxa-x ʔi/

(Mid-Level Phonemic)

/?at ʔa ʔaxa-x ʔni/

(Underlying Phonemic)

IMpt. REV. Get.to-IND

Taxas ʔat ʔs ʔa ʔupxa ʔisni (c) They never knew (it)<sup>29</sup>

/taxa-s ʔat ʔs-i ʔa ʔa ʔupxa-ʔ-i-s ʔni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/taxa-s ʔat ʔs-i ʔa ʔa ʔupxa-ʔ-i-s ʔni/ (Underlying Phonemic)

then-S3 IMpt. CON-ADV. NEG. see/know-INH-Bf-S3,IND

There is a reasonable diachronic explanation for the pattern of morphological conditioning of the N-Deletion rule after dental consonants. The rule must have once been a phonetically motivated and categorical rule in an earlier state of the language. The exceptions to the rule are a result of the rule having become unproductive at a certain point in the history (actually recent prehistory) of the language. Words which were coined after the rule became unproductive do not have N-Deletion after a dental consonant, while words which were put together before the rule ceased to be productive show N-Deletion after a dental consonant. The n-deleting morphemes may not themselves be older in the language than the non-n-deleting morphemes, but the individual morphological constructions which they occur in were evidently concatenated at different times. This explanation requires us to assume that the indicative forms of a large number of Kutenai verbal stems were inherited as units from the lexicon of one recent state of the language to the lexicon of the present state of the language. Indicative verbal forms in which a dental consonant stands before a dental nasal would presumably be relatively new to the language, apparently since the insertion of the phonemic buffer vowels.

<sup>29</sup> The sentential complement to this verbal stem, representing what the characters in the story did not know, is the remainder of the sentence, lines 24 through 28 of the text.

### 2.6.12 Deep Phonological Rule (10): Metathesis.

Metathesis can be seen a process in synchronic Kutenai phonology, affecting a set of some ten or eleven morphemes. The list can be pared down or added to, depending on how rigorously one analyses some of the morphemes. The following list of these morphemes breaks them down into two sub-categories. The first sub-category, listed in example set MET.1, part (a), below, is where the metathesis can be seen as the movement of a vowel from one margin of a morpheme to the opposite margin of the morpheme. The second sub-category, listed in example set MET.1, part (b), below, is one where a vowel moves between a morpheme margin position and a morpheme-internal position. The underlying representations here treat the movable vowels as buffer vowels, which means that they are posited as being underlyingly separate morphological units, i.e. meaningless morphemes.

#### (a) Metathesis at Morpheme Margins.

-ak ~ -ka	'limb of body', underlyingly /-a-k/~/-k-a/.
-ku ~ -uk	'fire(wood)', underlyingly /-k-u/~/-u-k/. Occurs independently or as a component of the compound lexical suffix: /q̄an-ku/~/q̄an-uk/ 'load of firewood'. <sup>30</sup>
-ku ~ -uk	'water', underlyingly /-k-u/~/-u-k/.
-qu ~ -uq	'in water', underlyingly /-q-u/~/-u-q/.
-xa ~ -ax	Goal Suffix, underlyingly /-x-a/~/-a-x/.
-qa ~ -aq	Stative Suffix, underlyingly /-q-a/~/-a-q/.

<sup>30</sup> See the Short Coyote Text, where a primary third person subject indicative form of a verbal stem, equivalent to /n<sub>h</sub>uɕawisq̄anuk<sub>ni</sub>/ 'she (proximate) carried firewood to their camp', as in line 10 of the text, contrasts with a subsidiary third person subject indicative form of the same stem, equivalent to /n<sub>h</sub>uɕawisq̄anku-s<sub>ui</sub>/ 'she (obviative) carried firewood to their camp', as in line 11 of the text.

## (b) Metathesis between a Morpheme Margin Position and a Morpheme-Internal Position.

- naq- ~ -nqa- 'sit'. This is perhaps to be analyzed as underlyingly a compound lexical suffix (and a morphological idiom), literally 'in the state of being in a standing position':  
 /-n-a-q-/ ~ /-n-q-a-/  
 -STD-Bf-STV- -STD-STV-Bf
- kiϕ ~ -ikϕ<sub>u</sub> Replacive Benefactive Suffix, underlyingly /-kϕ/. The allomorph /-ikϕ<sub>u</sub>/ occurs before the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>i/.<sup>31</sup>
- ?iϕkit ~ ?iϕikt<sub>u</sub> 'to mean (something)', underlyingly /?iϕkt/. The allomorph /?iϕikt<sub>u</sub>/ occurs before the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>i/.
- ϕi?it ~ -ϕi?ti- 'place', underlyingly /-ϕi?t-/. The allomorph /-ϕi?ti-/ occurs before the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/.
- uk'aϕ ~ -uk'sa 'tie, be bound' FW-5.12, FW-V.658, 6.159

The diachronic explanation of metathesis in Kutenai involves the insertion of epenthetic schwas, in particular segmental environments, in an earlier state of the language. This is the same thing as the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule which is reconstructible for an earlier state of the language. The Buffer Vowel Insertion rule inserted epenthetic schwas to prevent the occurrence of clusters of three consonants in a row. These earlier epenthetic

<sup>31</sup> This morpheme figures in Kutenai-Salishan comparative work, with a Salishan root morpheme, variously /kc/, /kic/, /čic/ 'arrive somewhere, reach a person, visit', which is evidently cognate to a Kutenai lexical suffix /-kiϕ-/ 'reach a point', which is related to the Kutenai Replacive Benefactive Suffix here, a grammatical suffix. See section 5.3, item 132.

schwas have become phonemic buffer vowels in the present state of the language. In surface phonemic and mid-level phonemic representations here, phonemic buffer vowels are treated as separate morphological units (i.e. meaningless morphemes each consisting of a single phonemic vowel) especially where they precede lexical suffixes. When phonemic buffer vowels are adjacent to grammatical morphemes they are generally treated as constituents of those grammatical morphemes. In underlying representations all phonemic buffer vowels are treated as separate morphological units. This allows most examples of metathesis to be explained directly as instances of buffer vowel insertion between morphemes in an earlier state of the language. There are examples of metathesis, as listed in example set MET.1, part (b) where a phonemic buffer vowel can be found between two consonants of a morpheme. In underlying phonemic transcriptions, it is possible to treat even the morpheme-internal cases of moveable vowels as phonemic buffer vowels, with the movable vowels posited as separate units, but these and all the morpheme margin instances of movable vowels remain as examples of metathesis at other, less abstract levels of representation. The morpheme internal examples of metathesis in Kutenai suggest that an earlier state of the language had something other than the regular penultimate stress that the present state of the language has and that some morphemes may have had schwa as a phonemic, or quasi-phonemic vowel.

Examples MET.2 and MET.4 together provide as clear an example of metathesis as any. Example MET.2 is the primary third person subject indicative form of the verbal stem /ɕinkʰapaɫtiyxa / 'to listen to someone/something'. Example MET.4 is of a k-form of the stem which attests the surface allomorph /-xa/ of the Goal Suffix, in the same way that the plain form of the stem does. The examples in MET.3 and MET.5 are inflectional forms of a closely related verbal stem /ɕinkʰapaɫtiɫik / 'to listen' on which the stem /ɕinkʰapaɫtiyxa / 'to listen to someone/something' is based.



## Example MET.2.

ɕinʔapaɬtiyaxni

/ɕin-ʔapaɬt-iy-ax<sub>ni</sub>/ ←(Mid)→

/ɕin-ʔapaɬt-n-ik-a-x<sub>ni</sub>/ ←(Und.)→

grab/catch-hearing-NC-Bf-G<sub>IND</sub>

'He/she/it listened to it/him/her/them,

they listened to it/him/her/them.'

## Example MET.3.

ɕinʔapaɬtiɬik

/ɕin-ʔapaɬt-iɬ<sub>ik</sub>/

/ɕin-ʔapaɬt-n-i-ɬ<sub>ik</sub>/

SM<sub>catch-hearing-NC-Bf-DI-REFLX</sub>

'He/she/it listened, they listened.'

## Example MET.4.

kɕinʔapaɬtiyxa ?

/k<sub>ɕ</sub>in-ʔapaɬt-iy-xa ?/ ←(Mid)→

/k<sub>ɕ</sub>in-ʔapaɬt-n-ik-x-a ?/ (Und.)

SM<sub>grab/catch-hearing-NC-Bf-G</sub> QUES

'Did he/she/it listen to it/him/her/them ?,

Did they listen to it/him/her/them ?

## Example MET.5.

kɕinʔapaɬtiɬik ?

/k<sub>ɕ</sub>in-ʔapaɬt-iɬ-ik ?/

/k<sub>ɕ</sub>in-ʔapaɬt-n-i-ɬ-ik ?/

SM<sub>catch-hearing-NC-Bf-DI-REFLX</sub> QUES

'Did he/she/it listen ?, Did they listen ?

The examples above provide evidence for underlying instances of the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ after the Reflexive Suffix, even though the N-Connector Suffix does not surface in any of the inflectional forms of these two stems. If it were not for the presence of the N-Connector Suffix underlyingly in the stem /ɕinʔapaɬtiyxa / 'to listen to someone/something, there would not be the necessary conditioning sequence of /k+n/ in order for the Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-ak/~ /-iy/ to appear in its surface allomorph /-iy/. This allomorph actually represent underlyingly /k+n/ and includes the N-Connector Suffix.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> See section 2.6.7.

### 2.6.13 Deep Phonological Rule (11): Unstressed Vowel Deletion.

There is an rule of Unstressed Vowel Deletion in Kutenai which relates to just one particular morpheme. This morpheme appears in slightly different forms in different varieties of the language. In Upper Kutenai it is /-ʈuma/~/-ʈma/ 'throat', while in Lower Kutenai it is /-ʈima/~/-ʈma/. This is another face of the synchronic phonemic buffer vowel phenomenon. The phonemic buffer vowels are synchronically already in place in certain lexical items and in specific inflected forms of specific lexical items, but not in others. Here, the phonemic buffer vowel is inside a morpheme, but it fails to occur exactly when it would not receive stress as the penultimate vowel of a word. Instead, the penultimate vowel of the word is a vowel in a preceding syllable. The following is a set of forms showing this lexical suffix as a component of the compound lexical suffix meaning 'mouth'. Stresses are marked in the display of forms below, to show that the vowel /u/ or /i/ is absent exactly when it fails to be the penultimate vowel of a stem, and would fail to receive full stress.

Example Set UVD.1, the Lexical Suffix Meaning 'mouth', with Stresses Marked.

Upper Kutenai: /-k̄a-ʈúma/~/-k̄a-ʈmá/ 'mouth', underlyingly / k̄a-ʈma/.  
hole-throat

Lower Kutenai: /-k̄a-ʈíma/~/-k̄a-ʈmá/ 'mouth', underlyingly / k̄a-ʈma/.  
hole-throat

In other morphemes where Upper Kutenai has /u/ while Lower Kutenai has /i/, there is some evidence that an earlier state of the language may have had schwa. This allows us to conclude that originally and underlyingly the lexical suffix was /-ʈma/ 'throat' and the vowel which appears between the barred l and the bilabial nasal is another example of a morpheme-internal phonemic buffer vowel. Kutenai-Salishan comparative work offers some confirmation of the absence of a vowel in the lexical suffix /-ʈma/

'throat'.<sup>33</sup>

#### **2.6.14 Deep Phonological Rule (12) Buffer Glide Insertion.**

The rule of Dissimilation which is posited in mid-level phonology involves both old and new pronunciations of various forms of a certain relocational verbal stem.<sup>34</sup>

Only the new pronunciations of the forms involve the rule of Dissimilation, but both the new and the old pronunciations of the stem have a labiovelar glide /w/ inserted to separate two adjacent instances of underlying /u/. This is a morphologically conditioned rule in that adjacent underlying vowels elsewhere in the language coalesce, either to become a single long monophthong or a to become a diphthong.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> See section 5.3, item 101.

<sup>34</sup> See section 2.5.6 where the rule of Dissimilation is discussed.

<sup>35</sup> See sections 2.6.10, and 2.5.6.



## 2.7 Historical and Reconstructible Kutenai Phonology.

### 2.7.1 Historical Kutenai Phonology.

There is not a great deal that can be said about historical Kutenai phonology, if one confines oneself to language changes attested by historical records. There is the isolated example of the form /kan titqałmaʔ/ reported by Boas (1927) which demonstrates that the allomorph /kan<sub>u</sub>/ of the First Person Possessive Clitic Pronoun /ka<sub>u</sub>/~ /kan<sub>u</sub>/ once occurred somewhere other than just before the nominal root /xaʔiʔ/ 'son'. On the other hand, the memories of Kutenai speaking elders stretch back far enough for us to know certain things about recent earlier states of the language. There are some remembered older pronunciations of certain Kutenai words which have already been mentioned above. There are the older pronunciations of words which are mentioned in the discussion of the Dissimilation rule.<sup>1</sup> There is also the pronunciation /ski·qaʔni/, phonetically [ski·qaʔne], reported by FW for his grandparents generation for what is present day /skikqaʔni/ [skikqaʔne]. The remembered form indicates that the rule of Compensatory Lengthening once had wider scope than it has today.<sup>2</sup>

Some other evident sound changes in Kutenai are more mysterious. There are conflicting reports about the original pronunciations of words where there is an evident change between /k̚/ and /t̚/. FW (of St Mary's) reported that /t̚awaʔikxu/ 'grasshopper' is the modern St Mary's pronunciation of the word, while /k̚awaʔikxu/ 'grasshopper' is an old pronunciation of the word, or is better Kutenai, or is a Lower Kutenai, specifically Creston pronunciation of the word (FW-2.39, FW-II353). Rosalie McCoy (of Tobacco Plains) reported that an old lady told her that the word /k̚awiʔ/ 'plover' used to be /t̚awiʔ/, but it was already /k̚awiʔ/ when Rosalie was growing up (RMc-14.133). FW also had the pronunciation /k̚awiʔ/ for this word.

<sup>1</sup> See section 2.5.7.

<sup>2</sup> See section 2.6.9.

### 2.7.2 Reconstructible Kutenai Phonology.

The reconstruction of the sound system of an earlier state of the Kutenai language is beyond the scope of this description of the language, but there are two reconstructible rules which are unavoidable topics in both synchronic Kutenai phonology and synchronic Kutenai morphology. One is the matter of the reconstructibility of a Buffer Vowel Insertion rule for an earlier state of the language. The other is the reconstruction of labialized back consonants as unit phonemes for an earlier state of the language. These reconstructed labialized back consonants include rounded velar stops, rounded uvular stops and a rounded glottal stop, all as unit phonemes. These reconstructed labialized back consonant phonemes are needed in order to predict the shape of phonemic buffer vowels inserted by the reconstructed Buffer Vowel Insertion rule.

#### 2.7.2.1 Buffer Vowel Insertion as a Reconstructible Rule.

The Buffer Vowel Insertion rule is easily reconstructed as a categorical rule in an earlier state of the language, in other words as a rule which applied across the board in an earlier state of the language, essentially without exceptions. This rule broke up clusters of three consonants in a row in this earlier state of the language. Presumably all words in the present state of the language which contain phonemic buffer vowels are words which had been put together in the earlier state of the language where the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule was a productive rule. It is assumed here that words in the present state of the language which do not have phonemic buffer vowels where this rule would have inserted them are words which did not exist in the earlier state of the language which had the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule as a productive rule. The possibility that the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule was lexically variable is not favored here. This is because of the nature of the rule, a schwa insertion rule, and the nature of many of the words which lack phonemic buffer vowels where they would be expected. Some are clearly neologisms, while some others

are relatively rare combinations of roots and lexical suffixes, not likely to have been inherited by present-day speakers of the language from earlier generations of speakers.

Buffer Vowel Insertion does not lend itself easily to being posited as a synchronic rule. As a synchronic rule, it not only has to be morphologically conditioned, applying only where certain morphemes come together within words, but it also has to be lexically conditioned, applying only where the right morphemes come together in certain words, but not where those same morphemes come together in certain other words. With the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule as a synchronic rule, individual words would have to be marked as having buffer vowels in particular places or not having them in particular places. The problem is that there are many words in the present state of the language which have clusters of three consonants in a row. There is some fairly pointed evidence that synchronically speakers of the language simply accept the phonemic buffer vowels as already in place in underlying forms. They neither insert new phonemic buffer vowels to break up clusters of three consonants in a row in newly created words, nor do they delete any of the phonemic buffer vowels already in place in words already in the language's lexicon. Speakers of the language show every sign of recognizing the phonemic buffer vowels as morphological units, distinct from neighboring morphemes, in those situations where the phonemic buffer vowels separate a root from a following lexical suffix. Lexical suffixes which begin with a consonant cluster are usually preceded by a particular phonemic buffer vowel, to separate the lexical suffix from a preceding root ending in a consonant. In neologisms, these lexical suffixes simply appear without the buffer vowel, even where the preceding root ends in a consonant and the result is a cluster of three or more consonants in a row. What is missing in order to posit a synchronic Buffer Vowel Insertion rule is a way to account for these exceptions to the rule and a way to predict the shape of the phonemic buffer vowels where they occur.

As already suggested above, the diachronic explanation for the exceptions to the Buffer

Vowel Insertion rule is simply that the many words in the present state of the language which contain phonemic buffer vowels were put together after the Buffer Vowel Insertion rule ceased to be a productive rule. Words which are obviously neologisms are among the examples where there is no phonemic buffer vowel in segmental environments where there would be a phonemic buffer vowel by the rule. Some obvious neologisms without phonemic buffer vowels in particular places, where they would be expected, include the personal name /Susáp-qɬuɬaxaʔ/ 'Moustache Joe'. The name /Susáp/ 'Joe' is from French 'Joseph'. Another obvious neologism is /ɬuɬ<sup>2</sup>-tɬaʔ-n-am/ 'wooden house'. The word /ɬuɬ<sup>2</sup>/ 'wood' is evidently a recent loan from Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead. The word /ʔa:k-u-q-wit<sup>2</sup>-qɬiɬ/ 'eye glasses' has no buffer vowel before the lexical suffix /-qɬiɬ/ 'eye', while the word /ʔa:k-a-qɬiɬ/ 'eye' has the unrounded buffer vowel /-a-/ before this same suffix. The base of the word /ʔa:k-u-q-wit<sup>2</sup>-qɬiɬ/ 'eyeglasses' is the word /ʔa:k-u-q-wit<sup>2</sup>/ 'bottle, glass; originally 'quarts', literally 'ice in water'. This word is evidently older in the language and has a buffer vowel /-u-/ before the lexical suffix /-q/ 'in water'.

### 2.7.2.2 Labialization as a Reconstructible Rule.

There is a synchronic rule of Surface Labialization in Kutenai which is mentioned above.<sup>3</sup> This synchronic rule labializes back consonants where they are adjacent to rounded vowels. When it comes to phonemic buffer vowels, it is necessary to reconstruct a distinct diachronic process of labialization which operates in an opposite manner to determine on the basis of surrounding consonants when a buffer vowel is to be the rounded vowel phoneme /u/. This requires the reconstruction of rounded back consonants to condition the rounding of the phonemic buffer vowel /-u-/. Given this, it is then possible to predict on the basis of surrounding consonants the cases where the phonemic buffer vowel will be /-i-/ and the cases where it will be /-a-/. For example, the

<sup>3</sup> See section 2.4.5.



lexical suffix /-tʰaʔ/ 'house' is associated with a preceding buffer vowel /-i-/, because of the initial dental consonant of the lexical suffix. The lexical suffix /-qʰiʰ/ 'eye' is associated with a preceding buffer vowel /-a-/, because of the initial unrounded uvular consonant of the lexical suffix which also reconstructs as an unrounded uvular. An earlier state of the language had labialized velar and uvular consonants and a rounded glottal stop, as unit phonemes, distinct from their unlabialized counterparts. The rounded back consonants conditioned the instances of /-u-/. Reconstructing such rounded back consonants as unit phonemes ties in very well with Kutenai-Salishan comparative work on a morpheme by morpheme basis.

Five of the following six Kutenai-Salishan cognate sets call for the reconstruction of a labialized back consonant in Kutenai. Cognate set (3) is the exception which proves the rule in that it involves the Kutenai lexical suffix /-qʰiʰ/ 'eye' which must be reconstructed with an initial unrounded uvular stop, in order to predict the occurrence of the phonemic buffer vowel /-a-/ in the word /ʔa:k-a-qʰiʰ/ 'eye'. This cognate set contrasts closely with cognate set (5) which involves the Kutenai lexical suffix /-q̣ʰiʰ/ 'mark' which must be reconstructed with an initial rounded consonant, in order to predict the occurrence of the phonemic buffer vowel /-u-/ in the word /ʔa:k-u-q̣ʰiʰ/ 'mark', and other words.

Cognate set (2) calls for the internal reconstruction of a labialized glottal stop for the Kutenai lexical suffix /-tʰaʔ/ 'fitted covering'. The apparent Salishan cognates are highly instructive in that they have a labialized, glottalized pharyngeal continuant /ɕʷ/, rather than a labialized glottal stop, a highly improbable unit phoneme. Labialized, glottalized pharyngeal continuants /ɕʷ/ are rare in the world's languages, but a number of Interior Salishan languages have them as unit phonemes.

## Cognate Set (1), Kutenai Lexical Suffixes.

Morgan (1980, p.66, set 47)

(1.a) -k, -uk 'water', underlyingly /-k/ ~ /-u-k/.

-water      -Bf-water

(1.b) -ku 'water', underlyingly /-k-u/. Morgan (1980, p.67, set 48).

-water-Bf

Morgan (1980) has Salishan forms including: Columbian -kʷ 'water'.

## Cognate Set (2), A Kutenai Lexical Suffix.

-ɬa, -ɬaʔ 'fitted covering, blanket', /-ɬaʔ/. This Kutenai Lexical Suffix occurs  
in the word /yu-kxa-ɬaʔ/ 'tongue of shoe or moccasin', literally:

'top.surface-from-fitted.covering', more freely: 'fitted covering from top surface'. It also  
occurs as a part of three compound lexical suffixes:

/-ɬaʔ-maɬ/ 'blanket', underlyingly /-ɬaʔ-m-aɬ/

-fitted.covering-ASC-COPART

/-ɬatʰ-ɬaʔ/ 'sleeve', underlyingly /-ɬatʰ-ɬaʔ/

-arm-fitted.covering

/-t-ɬaʔ/ 'house', probably from earlier: \*/?iʔ-t-ɬaʔ/

be-TVI-fitted.covering

The Kutenai lexical suffix /-ɬaʔ/ 'fitted covering' is also a part of two, related verbal  
stems: ?itɬaʔɕut 'to hide (transitive)', underlyingly:

/ʔiʔt-ɬaʔ-ɕ-u-t/.<sup>4</sup>

Become-fitted.covering-CAUS-Bf-TVI

<sup>4</sup> The element /ʔiʔt-/ 'become' is underlyingly: /ʔiʔ-t-/ (be-TVI).

ʔitɬaʔɕu 'to hide (intransitive)', underlyingly:

/ʔiʔt-ɬaʔ-ɕ-u/.<sup>5</sup>

Become-fitted.covering-CAUS-Bf

Presumably, the buffer vowel /-u-/ was originally a schwa and the source of the rounding was a feature of the final segment of the lexical suffix /-ɬaʔ/ 'fitted covering'. The lexical suffix is therefore to be reconstructed as: \*/-ɬaʔ<sup>w</sup>/. The reconstruction of the entire transitive verbal stem 'to hide something' would be:

\*/ʔiʔ-t-ɬaʔ<sup>w</sup>-ɕ-ə-t/

be-TVI-fitted.covering-CAUSATIVE-Bf-TRANSITIVE

Morgan (1980, p.81, set 64) has matching Salishan forms which are roots in the Salishan languages, rather than lexical suffixes. These are exclusively from Interior Salish languages.

cf. Shuswap	liʔ <sup>w</sup>	'draw on'.
	t-ʔ <sup>w</sup>	'shoe tongue'.
cf. Columbian	ləʔ <sup>w</sup>	'draw on'.
cf. Colville	liʔ <sup>w</sup>	'fit'.
cf. Coeur d'Alene	ləʔ <sup>w</sup>	'draw together, make fit'.

<sup>5</sup> The Intransitive verbal stem 'to hide' could be a back formation from the transitive verbal stem. This stem would not be the only case in the language, however, of a stem-final buffer vowel. The vowel of the Goal Suffix /-xə/~-x<sub>o</sub>/ can be seen as an example. One important consideration here is the fact that the silence at the end of a word is functionally like a stop consonant in certain ways. Stop consonants are basically silence, with individual stop consonants only recognizable by the transitions leading up to them or following them. The intransitive stem /ʔiʔt-ɬaʔ-ɕ-u/, minus the final buffer vowel, ends in two consonants followed by the potential for silence at the end of the word. This is in some ways like a cluster of three consonants in a row.

## Cognate Set (3), A Kutenai Lexical Suffix.

-qɬiɬ 'eye', /-qɬiɬ/. This suffix requires a reconstruction of \*/-qɬiɬ/, with an unrounded uvular stop, because the suffix occurs in association with a phonemic buffer vowel /-a-/. Note the minimal pair /-q̣ɬiɬ/ 'mark', cognate set (5) below, which occurs in association with a buffer vowel /-u-/, and which therefore requires a reconstruction with a rounded uvular consonant, \*/-q̣ʷɬiɬ/. Morgan (1980, p.91, set 77) has Salishan words meaning 'eye' from only Bella Coola and Coast Salish languages.

cf. Squamish qɬum̃ 'eye'.

cf. Bella Coola qɬuq̣s 'eye'.

## Cognate Set (4), A Kutenai Lexical Suffix.

Morgan (1980, p.94, set 81)

(4.a) -qu 'water (locatively)', underlyingly /-q-u/.  
 -in.water-Bf

This lexical suffix occurs in a variety of Kutenai words, including:

?a·quwaɬ 'reed, slough grass', /?a·quwaɬ/ (NSB-reed), more

abstractly the suffix would be: /-qu-haɬ /

-Bf-in.water-plant

cf. Squamish qʷú 'water'.

(4.b) -q 'water (in a locative sense)', /-q/. This Lexical Suffix requires a reconstruction of \*/-qʷ/, because it occurs in association with a phonemic buffer vowel /-u-/. The examples, below, make the point that some Kutenai lexical suffixes, which themselves do not appear to be cognate to a morpheme in a Salishan language, under more penetrating analysis, show themselves to contain a Kutenai morpheme which does appear to be cognate to a Salishan morpheme:

- ?a·kuqyit 'dew', /?a·k-u-qyit/ (NSB-Bf-Dew), but the suffix can be seen more abstractly as /-q-yit/ (-in.water-time), and must then be reconstructed as \*[-q<sup>w</sup>-yit] (-in.water-time).
- wi↓qyit 'for there to be heavy dew', /wi↓-qyit/ (blg-Dew). This particular Stem must be a relatively recent coinage, because it lacks a phonemic buffer vowel.

Morgan (1980, p.91, set 75, pp.94-5, sets 81 and 82) has Salishan forms including :

- |                    |                                    |          |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|----------|
| cf. Upper Chehalis | -iyq                               | 'water'. |
|                    | q <sup>w</sup> ɔʔ                  | 'drink'. |
| cf. Cowlitz        | q <sup>w</sup> ɔʔ                  | 'drink'. |
| cf. Clallam        | q <sup>w</sup> úʔ                  | 'water'. |
|                    | q <sup>w</sup> úʔq <sup>w</sup> aʔ | 'drink'. |
| cf. Sechelt        | -qu                                | 'water'. |

(4.c) -qu↓ 'water, by water', /-qu↓/. Morgan (1980, p.94-95, set 82).

- |              |                   |                   |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| cf. Squamish | q <sup>w</sup> ul | (a root) 'water'. |
| cf. Cowlitz  | qáɪʔ              | 'water, river'.   |

Cognate Set (5), A Kutenai Lexical Suffix.

-q̣↓i↓ 'mark', /-q̣↓i↓/, requiring a reconstruction of \*[-q̣<sup>w</sup>↓i↓], with a rounded uvular stop because the suffix occurs in association with a phonemic buffer vowel /-u-/. Note the minimal pair /-q↓i↓/ 'eye', which is item (112), above, on this list, which requires a reconstruction of \*[-q↓i↓], with an unrounded uvular stop, because that suffix occurs in association with a buffer vowel /-a-/. Morgan (1980, p.100, set 90) has matching Salishan words meaning 'write', or 'mark' from only Tsa-

mosan Salishan languages, which are all geographically far from Kutenai.

- cf. Cowlitz     $\check{q}^w\theta\acute{e}-$  'mark, write, brand, vote'.  
                   $\check{q}^w\acute{\theta}\dagger$     'a brand, mark'.

**Cognate Set (6), A Kutenai Lexical Suffix.**

$-\check{q}\dagger i?it$  'berry, fruit; grain',  $/-\check{q}\dagger i?it/$ , This suffix requires a reconstruction with a rounded uvular stop, because the suffix occurs in association with the rounded phonemic buffer vowel  $/-u-/$ . This suffix appears to be morphologically complex, apparently involving the lexical suffix  $/-\dagger i?it/$  'place'. Potential cognates from Salishan languages suggest that there has been a loss of an extra barred l, so that the reconstruction of the Kutenai lexical suffix meaning 'berry, fruit; grain' should ultimately be  $*/-\check{q}^w\dagger-\dagger i?it/$ . Morgan (1980, p.100, set 89) has forms from three branches of the Salishan family, Interior, Coast, and Tsamosan. They include the following:

- |                    |   |                    |
|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| cf. Squamish       | $s\check{q}^w l\acute{a}m$                        | 'berry (generic)'. |
| cf. Upper Chehalis | $s-\check{q}^w\acute{\theta}l-n\acute{a}\cdot mc$ | 'berry'.           |
|                    | $-namc$   | 'body'.            |

## Particles.

### Named Clitic Particles and Clitic Particle Constituents.

- ?an<sub>∩</sub> The Additive Particle (abbreviated ADT), /?an<sub>∩</sub>/, 'more' (KSL).
- hi?<sub>∩</sub> The Buffer Particle (abbreviated Bpt), /hi?<sub>∩</sub>/ (KSL). See section 3.1.1.
- ?up<sub>∩</sub> The Buffer Particle (abbreviated Bpt), /?up<sub>∩</sub>/. See section 3.1.1.
- pa<sub>∩</sub> The Evidential Particle (abbreviated EVID), /pa<sub>∩</sub>/.
- ϕ<sub>∩</sub> The Future Tense Clitic Particle (abbreviated Fpt), /ϕ<sub>∩</sub>/ (KSL).
- ∩ϕ The Enclitic Conjunction (abbreviated EnConj, but generally glossed 'and') /∩ϕ/ (KSL).
- xma<sub>∩</sub> The Hypothetical Particle (abbreviated HYPO), glossed as 'could, would, should', /xma<sub>∩</sub>/.<sup>1</sup>
- t<sub>∩</sub> The Imperfective Particle Base, /-t<sub>∩</sub>/ (abbreviated IMptB). (KSL).
- ‡<sub>∩</sub> The Irrealis Particle (abbreviated IR), /‡<sub>∩</sub>/ (KSL).
- ‡in<sub>∩</sub> 'must (be)', /‡in<sub>∩</sub>/. Apparently a fusion of the Irrealis Particle /‡<sub>∩</sub>/ and the verbal stem /?in/ 'to be'.
- qa<sub>∩</sub> The Negative Particle (abbreviated NEG), /qa<sub>∩</sub>/ (KSL).
- ma<sub>∩</sub> The Past Tense Particle (abbreviated PST), /ma<sub>∩</sub>/.<sup>2</sup>
- ?a<sub>∩</sub> The Plural Particle (abbreviated PLpt), /?a<sub>∩</sub>/.<sup>3</sup>
- n<sub>∩</sub> The Predicate Marker (abbreviated PM), /n<sub>∩</sub>/.

<sup>1</sup> See section 2.6.10, examples MON.3, MON.4, and MON.5.

<sup>2</sup> Kutenai verbal stems which are unmarked for tense or aspect are past perfective, particularly verbal stems referring to events. The Past Tense Particle /ma<sub>∩</sub>/ is generally used where one event must be marked as previous to another. See section 2.6.6, example set TGS.4, part (d) for an example where the Past Tense Particle is used with the Future Tense Marking Adverb /ϕxə-?‡/ to mean 'was about to'.

<sup>3</sup> Kutenai nominal stems which are unmarked by the Plural Particle may be understood as either singular or plural. This particle is used chiefly with kin terms, but also other animates, especially in association with possessive affixation. See section 2.5.5, derivation GSD.23 for an example with a kin term.

ʔa<sub>u</sub> The Reversive-Repetitive Particle (abbreviated REV), /ʔa<sub>u</sub>/ (KSL).

k<sub>u</sub> The Subordinate Marker (abbreviated SM), /k<sub>u</sub>/ (KSL).

**Particles Identified Chiefly by Glosses.**

ɕin 'just, only', /ɕin/.

mika an interclausal particle of indeterminate gloss, /mika/.

**Derived Particles:**

mi·ka 'even though, no matter how', /mi·ka/.

miksaŋ 'but then' /mik-saŋ/.

pa·mik 'anyway, regardless', /pa·mik/.

napit 'if, the Conditional Particle (abbreviated COND), /napit/.

qan 'exactly, directly', /qan/.

saŋ 'however, but', /saŋ/.

tax 'just', /tax/ (KSL).<sup>4</sup>

**Derived Particles/Temporal Pronouns:**

taxta 'before, until, just now', /tax-ta/.

taxtá· 'afterwards, later', /tax-tá·/.

taxa 'then, now', /taxa/.

tuxa 'almost, just about, nearly', /tuxa/, (KSL).

tu·xa 'really, real, sure', /tu·xa/.

<sup>4</sup> See section 2.5.5, example GSD.14.



**Independent Particles.** See section 3.1.2.**Clause and Sentence Equivalent Particles.**

hiy	'yes', 'O.K', /hiy/.
waha	'no', /waha/.
huya	<b>Suggestative Particle</b> (abbreviated SUGT), usually can be glossed 'alright', /huya/ (KSL).
maʔɕ	<b>Negative Imperative, Prohibitive, Negative Future</b> , usually can be glossed 'Don't', /maʔɕ/ (KSL).
maqak	'Wait!, Wait a minute!', /maqak/.

**Interjections, Section 3.1.2 (b).**

ʔanúʔ	'Ouch!', /ʔanúʔ/. There is also the stylistic variant: ʔanuː 'Ouch!', /ʔanúː/, including emphatic lengthening.
ha	'Oh!', /ha/.
	There is also the interjection:
ah	'Oh!', /ah/. This interjection is outside of the regular sound system of the language on two counts; it is vowel initial and is a syllable ending in /h/.
xina	'Geel!', /xina/.

**Prefixes.****List of Prepositional Prefixes.** See section 3.1.3 for key examples.

ʔa-	'out', /ʔa-/. <sup>5</sup>
ʔaʔqa-	'across', /ʔaʔqa-/.
ʔaqaʔ-	'near', /ʔaqaʔ-/.
ʔaqaʔas-	'near, close', esp. 'close against something', /ʔaqaʔas-/.
ʔaqa-	'into the bush, into a thicket', /ʔaqa-/.
ʔikt-	'vertical (motion), straight up', /ʔikt-/. <sup>6</sup>
ʔikɕ-	'vertical (motion), into the ground', /ʔikɕ-/.
ʔiʔqa-	'far', /ʔiʔqa-/.
huɕ-	'up to', /huɕ-/.
huʔ-	'out into the open, out onto a body of water', /huʔ-/.
t(i)-	'in', /t-/ (KSL).
ʔu-	'down', /ʔu-/. <sup>7</sup>
ʔup-	'away from water' (abbreviated AFW), /ʔup-/.
ʔuquʔ-	'inside', /ʔuquʔ-/.
xu-	'toward water, into fire', /xu-/.
yu-	'on top'. <sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See section 2.6.11, example set NDRG.1, for an example of /ʔa-/ 'out'.

<sup>6</sup> See section 2.6.3, examples MN.3 and MN.4, for examples of /ʔikt-/ 'vertical'.

<sup>7</sup> See section 2.6.3, examples MN.7 and MN.8, for examples of /ʔu-/ 'down'.

<sup>8</sup> See section 2.6.10, examples MON.8, MON.9, MON.10, and MON.11, for examples of /yu-/ 'on top'. See also section 2.7.2.2, cognate set (2).

**Aspectual Prefixes.** See section 3.1.3 for key examples.

?a(·)- The Imperfective Prefix (abbreviated IM), /?a-/~/?a·-/ (KSL).

The Imperfective Prefix is a constituent of the particle:

?at Imperfective Particle, /?a-t/, (Imperfective Prefix + Imperfective Particle Base).<sup>9</sup>

The Imperfective Prefix is also a constituent of the two Nominal Stem Bases.<sup>10</sup>

s- The Continuative Aspect Marker as an Aspectual Prefix (abbreviated CON), /s-/ (KSL).

**List of Grammatical Bases.** See section 3.1.4.

s- The Continuative Aspect Marker as a Root (abbreviated CON), /s-/ (KSL).

ɕ(i)- The Inceptive Marker (abbreviated INCEP) /ɕ-/~/?i-/.

qa- 'be thus'. This root is a component of the nominal stem base:

?a·qa- Nominal Base, /?a·-qa-/, (IM + be.thus).

k- 'do/be' (KSL). This root is a component of the nominal stem base:

?a·k- Nominal Base, /?a·-k-/~/?a·-/, (IM + do/be).

ha(?) - 'have', /ha?-/~/ha-/ (KSL).

?i(?) - 'being (somewhere)' (KSL).

This root is a constituent of the verbal base:

?i?t- 'Become', /?i?-t-/ (be + TVI) (KSL).

<sup>9</sup> See 2.4.4, derivation NSC.3, for an example.

<sup>10</sup> See the roots /k-/'do, be', and /qa-/'be thus' on this list, below, under the heading of Grammatical Bases.

**List of Valence and Valence Related Suffixes.****(1) Simple Valence Increasing Suffixes. See section 3.1.5.**

-t T-Valence Increasing Suffix (abbreviated TVI), /-t/.

The following uses of this suffix are distinguished, especially for the purposes of collecting and presenting examples:

-t T-Transitive Suffix (abbreviated TR, also abbreviated TRANS), /-t/ (KSL, item 129).

-t T-Alienable Possession Suffix (abbreviated TAP), /-t/.

There is also a Composit Transitivity Suffix which has the T-Transitive Suffix as a constituent.

-na(?)t Composit Transitive Suffix (abbreviated CT) /-na?t/, underlyingly /-n-ha?-t/ (N-Connector Suffix + have + T-Valence Increasing Suffix).<sup>11</sup>

-(?) Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix (abbreviated GSVI), /-?/. Glottal Stop is regularly deleted in Kutenai in a variety of environments, so that in surface transcriptional terms it is common for this suffix to be realized as zero. The following uses of this suffix are distinguished, especially for the purposes of collecting and presenting examples.

<sup>11</sup> See section 2.5.5, derivation GSD.4, where the Composite Transitive Suffix is called for as a transitivity for a reflexive verbal stem /qakpamik/ 'to forget', which becomes /qakpaya?t/ 'to forget something'. Underlying /-ik-na?t/ (REFLX + CT) becomes /-y-a?t/ (REFLX + CT). See section 2.6.7 for the morphologically conditioned sound rule involved. The Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/ which precedes the Reflexive Suffix /-ik/~/-ak/~/-iy/~/-y-/ in the intransitive stem is not present in the transitive stem.

- (?) Glottal Stop Transitive Suffix (abbreviated GSTR), /-ʔ/.
- (?) Glottal Stop Alienable Possession Suffix (abbreviated GSAP), /-ʔ/.

**(2) Suffixes Indicating an Additional Involved Participant. See section 3.1.5.**

- (i)ɿ Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix (abbreviated DI), /-ɿ/~/-iɿ/,  
underlyingly /-ɿ/, with the vowel of the allomorph /-iɿ/ interpreted as a  
phonemic buffer vowel (KSL).

The following are specialized uses:

- (i)ɿ Barred L Transitive Suffix (abbreviated BLTR), /-ɿ/~/-iɿ/.
- (i)ɿ Ditransitive Suffix (abbreviated DI), /-ɿ/~/-iɿ/.

This suffix is also a constituent of the compound Associated Object Suffix  
/-m-iɿ/ (Associative Suffix + Ditransitive Suffix).

- (i)ɿ Passive Suffix (abbreviated PASV), /-ɿ/~/-iɿ/, underlyingly /-ɿ/,  
with the vowel interpreted as a phonemic buffer vowel..
- aɿ Co-Participant Suffix (abbreviated COPART), /-aɿ/. This suffix is a  
constituent of the compound Comitative Suffix /-m-aɿ/~/-n-aɿ/ and the  
non-productive compound Instrumental Suffix /-n-aɿ/.

**(3) Involvement Suffixes.** See section 3.1.6.

The involvement suffixes are a family of suffixes based on, or related to, the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/. The alternation here between /m/ and /n/ is marginally synchronic in that it can be stated in which morphological environments each alternate occurs. Finding a phonetically based motivation for the alternation is another matter.<sup>12</sup>

-m- Associative Suffix (abbreviated ASC), /-m-/~/-n-/ (KSL). The Associative Suffix by itself functions as a middle voice suffix.<sup>13</sup>

The Associative Suffix is also a constituent of two compound suffixes:

-m-i‡ Associated Object Suffix (potentially abbreviated as a unit as ASC.OBJ), and in any event analyzed as: /-m-i‡/, a combination of the Associative Suffix + the Ditransitive Suffix.

-m-a‡ Comitative Suffix (as a unit abbreviated COM), further analyzed as /-m-a‡/~/-n-a‡/, composed of the Associative Suffix + the Co-Participant Suffix.<sup>14</sup>

-n-a‡ Compound Instrumental Suffix /-n-a‡/, composed of the Associative Suffix + the Co-Participant Suffix.

-mu Instrumental Suffix (abbreviated INST), /-mu/.

-tmu Mutual Suffix (abbreviated INST), glossed 'two together'. This suffix is perhaps etymologically a combination of the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/ and the Instrumental Suffix /-mu/.

<sup>12</sup> See section 2.6.1.

<sup>13</sup> See section 2.6.3 for examples of the Associative Suffix functioning as a middle voice suffix in reflexive stems.

<sup>14</sup> See section 2.6.3 for examples of the compound Comitative Suffix.

**(4) Goal and Relocational Suffixes.** See section 3.1.7.

- x(a)      **Goal Suffix** (abbreviated G), /-xa/~/ -x<sub>u</sub>/ (KSL).  
 Obviously related, but listed under the heading of Relocational Suffixes:
- x(a)      **Relocational Goal Suffix** (abbreviated RLG), /-xa/~/ -x<sub>u</sub>/. This suffix is distinguished from the basic Goal Suffix, because the Relocational Goal Suffix deletes the n of a following Indicative Marker, while the basic Goal Suffix does not.<sup>15</sup>
- xax(a)    **Malefactive Suffix** (abbreviated MAL), /-xaxa/~/ -xax<sub>u</sub>/ (KSL).
- kiϕ        **The Benefactive Goal Suffix** (abbreviated BG), /-kiϕ/~/ -ikϕ/ (KSL, an apparent cognate of a Salishan root).
- xam̓        **Bodily Relocation Suffix** (abbreviated BRL), /-xam̓/.
- m          **Relocational M Suffix**, /-m/, abbreviated RM. This suffix is actually a feature of three verbal stem bases: /na-m/ 'go', /ka-m/ 'come', and /ha-m/ 'go by' (KSL).

**(5) Reflexive Suffix.** See section 3.1.8.

- ik        **Reflexive Suffix** (abbreviated RFLX, also abbreviated as REFLX). In surface phonemic terms there are three allomorphs /-ik/~/ -ak/~/ -iy/.<sup>16</sup> Each allomorph is derivable from a single underlying form, either /-ik/ or /-ak/, by a combination of morphologically conditioned sound rules.<sup>17</sup> The matter of determining an

<sup>15</sup> See section 2.6.11, sub-rule (9.2), for examples of the Relocational Goal Suffix contrasted with the plain Goal Suffix. Also see section 3.2.8 for the paradigm of a relocational verbal stem.

<sup>16</sup> See section 3.2.7 for a paradigm of a reflexive verbal stem where there are examples of the three basic allomorph of the Reflexive Suffix.

<sup>17</sup> See section 2.6.2 where the KN to Y sub-rule is discussed.

underlying vowel for the base form for the Reflexive Suffix is difficult to resolve even in diachronic terms. One complication is that Kutenai-Salishan comparative work would lead one to reconstruct a reflexive suffix of the form *\*-akst* (KSL). If one treats the surface allomorphs as separate suffixes, one can posit three reflexive morphemes:

- ik      Reflexive Suffix, /-ik/.
- ak      Reflexive Suffix, /-ak/.
- iy      Reflexive Suffix, /-iy/~/-y/.

**(6) Reciprocal Suffix.** See section 3.1.8.

-nam      The Reciprocal Suffix (abbreviated RECIP), /-nam/, evidently in etymological terms a combination of the N-Connector Suffix /-n-/ and the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/, although synchronically the Reciprocal Suffix would appear to be a unit.<sup>18</sup>

**(7) Causative Suffixes.** See section 3.1.8.

- s-      Causative Suffix (abbreviated CAUS), /-s-/ (KSL).
- ϕ-      Causative Suffix (abbreviated CAUS), /-ϕ-/ (KSL).

The Causative Suffix /-ϕ-/ is a constituent of four compound suffixes or suffix combinations:

- ϕ-i(?)      Passive Causative Suffix, /-ϕ-i?/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-ϕ/ and the Stative Suffix /-i?/.
- ϕ-i?-t      Transitive Stative Causative Suffix, /-ϕ-i?-t/, composed of the Causative Suffix /-ϕ/, the Stative Suffix /i?/, and the Transitive Suffix /-t/.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See section 3.2.5 for a paradigm of reciprocal forms of a transitive verbal stem.



- $\phi$ -t-      Transitive Causative Suffix, /- $\phi$ -t-/, composed of the Causative Suffix /- $\phi$ /, and the T-Valence Increasing Suffix /-t/, generally with a following pronominal object suffix.
- $\phi$ -t-mu      Transitive Causative Instrumental Suffix, /- $\phi$ -t-mu/, composed of the Causative Suffix /- $\phi$ /, the T-Transitive Suffix /-t/, and the Instrumental Suffix /-mu/.

### Adjectival, Adverbial, and Nominalizing Suffixes.

#### (1) Adverbial Suffixes.

- (i)? $\downarrow$       Adverbializer Suffix (abbreviated ADV), /-i? $\downarrow$ /~/-? $\downarrow$ /, the vowel is ultimately analyzable as a phonemic buffer vowel (KSL).<sup>20</sup>
- kqup-      Intensive Suffix (abbreviated INT), /-kqup-/.
- nawi(?)      Frequentative Suffix (abbreviated FREQ) /-nawi?/.

#### (2) Plural Suffixes.

- qan-      Collective Suffix (abbreviated COL), /-qan-/.
- (ni) $\uparrow$ -      Distributive Suffix (abbreviated DIST), /-ni $\uparrow$ -/~/- $\uparrow$ -/.<sup>21</sup>
- kis-      Dual Suffix (abbreviated DU), /-kis-/.

<sup>19</sup> See section 2.6.3, example set MN.5, part 6, and example set MN.6, parts (d) and (e) for examples of the compound suffix /- $\phi$ -i?-t/.

<sup>20</sup> See section 2.5.5, rule (5) Glottal Stop Deletion, for contrasting examples of the two surface allomorphs of the Adverbial Suffix.

<sup>21</sup> See section 2.2.5, under the heading of Intervocalic Glottalized Nasals, for examples of the allomorph /-ni $\uparrow$ -/ of the Distributive Suffix.

**(3) Position Suffixes.**

- kik- Horizontal Position Suffix (abbreviated HOZ), /-kik-/.<sup>22</sup>  
 -n- Standing Position Suffix (abbreviated STD), /-n-/.

**(4) Stative and Stative Related Suffixes.**

- i(?) Stative Suffix (abbreviated STV), /-i?/ (KSL). This suffix is evidently related to the Kutenai root /?i-/~/?i?-/ 'be'.  
 -q(a) Stative Suffix (abbreviated STV), /-qa/. This suffix is evidently related to the Kutenai root /qa-/ 'be thus'.  
 -p Inchoative Suffix (abbreviated IN), /-p/~/-?/. (KSL).  
 -(?) Inchoative Suffix (abbreviated IN), underlyingly /-p/.

**(5) A Nominalizing Suffix.**

- namu(?) Nominalizer Suffix, (abbreviated NOMZ), /-namu?/.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> See section 2.6.9, example set CML.7, for an example of the Horizontal Position Suffix.

<sup>23</sup> See section 2.4.4, sub-rule (3.1), derivation NSC.5, for an example of the Nominalizer Suffix.

**(6) The Diminutive Suffixes.**

-nana    **The Productive Diminutive Suffix** (abbreviated DIM), /-nana/ (KSL). The non-productive diminutive suffixes are:

-mna    **Diminutive Suffix** (abbreviated DIM), /-mna/. (KSL).

-una    **Diminutive Suffix** (abbreviated DIM), /-una/. (KSL).

**(7) Demonstrative Suffixes.**

-u(?)    **Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix** (abbreviated EDM), /-u?/.

There are two compound suffixes based on this suffix:

-wxa, -w<sup>h</sup>xa    'Be to', underlyingly /-u?-xa/, the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix + the Goal Suffix.<sup>24</sup>

-wsa, -w<sup>h</sup>sa    'Be.at', underlyingly /-u?-s-ha/ the Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix + the Continuative Aspect Marker + the root /ha-/~ /ha?-/ 'have'.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See section 2.4.5, derivation SL.11, for an example where the surface phonemic representations has the suffix represented as /-wxa-/.

<sup>25</sup> See section 2.5.6, sub-rule (6.2) for examples.

## Connective Suffixes and Buffer Elements.

### Connective Suffixes.

- n- N-Connector Suffix (abbreviated NC), /-n-/ (KSL).<sup>26</sup>
- (i)‡ Barred L Connector Suffix. This suffix is an apparent initial element of a number of lexical suffixes.<sup>27</sup>

### Phonemic Buffer Vowels.

The phonemic buffer vowels are seen here as morphological units. They are a set of three meaningless morphemes, each consisting of a single phonemic vowel, which are found in hundreds of Kutenai words.<sup>28</sup> The phonemic buffer vowels of Kutenai are:

- i- Phonemic Buffer Vowel (abbreviated Bf).
- a- Phonemic Buffer Vowel (abbreviated Bf).
- u- Phonemic Buffer Vowel (abbreviated Bf).

Phonemic buffer vowels which occur in front of grammatical morphemes are generally

<sup>26</sup> This suffix is an important feature of most of the paradigmatic forms in the inflectional paradigms in section 3.2 where it has the function of linking pronominal suffixes to a preceding root or stem. For another function of this suffix, see line 102 of the Short Coyote text where the N-Connector Suffix connects one root to a following root. See also the discussion of the Barred L Transitive-Ditransitive Suffix in section 3.1.5 where there are examples of this suffix contrasted with the Associative Suffix /-m-/~/-n-/.

<sup>27</sup> See section 3.1.10 where the instrumental lexical suffix /-iki/~/-ik/~/-k/ 'by foot' and its non-instrumental counterpart /-‡ik/ 'foot' provide some evidence for this suffix.

<sup>28</sup> See section 2.7.2 where there is a discussion of Buffer Vowel Insertion as a reconstructable rule.

treated here as a part of one of the allomorphs of the morpheme. Underlyingly, however, these phonemic buffer vowels are treated as separate morphological units. For the Third Person Suffix /-s/~/-is/, the less abstract analysis, where the morpheme has two surface allomorphs, is supported by the fact that the surface allomorph which includes a phonemic buffer vowel has a different morphophonemic behavior from the surface allomorph without the phonemic buffer vowel. The allomorph without the phonemic buffer vowel deletes a following dental nasal by the morphologically conditioned N-Deletion rule, while the allomorph with the phonemic buffer vowel does not.<sup>29</sup>

**Instrumental Lexical Suffixes.** See section 3.1.10.

These suffix are simultaneously lexical and grammatical. The instrumental lexical suffix /-kin/ 'by hand', in particular, is as much a grammatical suffix as it is a lexical suffix, in that it is inherently a transitivizer, in addition to specifying an instrument.

- kin 'by hand', /-kin/ (KSL, item 125).
- iki 'by foot or talon', /-iki/~/-ki/~/-k-/.
- xa 'by mouth', /-xa/.
- xu 'by body' /-xu/.
- k'u 'by finger(s) or pointed object(s)', /-k'u/.
- ku 'by heat or fire', /-ku/ (KSL).
- qa 'by blade'.

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<sup>29</sup> See section 2.6.6, where N-Deletion is discussed.

## Pronominal Morphemes.

### First Person Pronominal Morphemes.

#### First Person Clitic Pronouns.

ka<sub>u</sub>, kan<sub>u</sub> The First Person Proclitic Possessive Pronoun (abbreviated 1POS), /ka<sub>u</sub>/ ~/kan<sub>u</sub>/, underlyingly /kan<sub>u</sub>/ (KSL).<sup>30</sup>

hu<sub>u</sub> The First Person Subject Proclitic Pronoun (abbreviated 1CP), /hu<sub>u</sub>/ (KSL).

u<sub>u</sub> First Person Object Enclitic Pronoun (abbreviated 1EP), /u<sub>u</sub>/, posited underlyingly as /<sub>u</sub>hu/, occurring exclusively in second person singular imperative forms, marking a first person singular object, or with the First Person Plural Object Suffix /-awas/, marking a first person plural object.

#### First Person Suffixes.

-ap First Person Singular Object (abbreviated 1SG.OBJ, or 1sgOBJ), /-ap/.

-a+a?, -a+at First Person Plural Object Suffix (abbreviated 1PL), /-a+a?/~ /-a+at/ (KSL).

See also the cross-pronominal category of suffixes.

<sup>30</sup> See section 2.6.11, sub-rule (9.1), for examples of the surface allomorph /kan<sub>u</sub>/.

**Second Person Pronominal Morphemes.****Second Person Clitic Pronouns.**

hin The Second Person Clitic Pronoun (abbreviated 2CP), /hin<sub>v</sub>/~/<sub>v</sub>in/, underlyingly /hin<sub>v</sub>/ (KSL).

ʔ(i)n The Second Person Singular Imperative Enclitic, /ʔin/~/<sub>v</sub>n/, posited underlyingly as /ʔhin/ (2CP).

**Second Person Suffixes.**

-is Second Person Object or Possessor Suffix (abbreviated 2O&P), /-is/ (KSL).

-kiʔ Second Person Plural (abbreviated 2PL), /-kiʔ/.

See also the cross-pronominal category of suffixes.

**Cross-Pronominal Morphemes.**

-ap Higher Ranking Object Suffix (abbreviated HRO). Indicates a higher ranking third person object, but underlyingly or at least diachronically it is evidently a cross-pronominal morpheme, because it can be identified with the First Person Singular Object Suffix /-ap/ of identical form.

-awas (a) First Person Plural Object Suffix (abbreviated 1PL.OBJ, or 1plOBJ), /-awas/ (KSL). As a first person plural object suffix it occurs in a variety of paradigmatic contexts, there is also the:  
 (b) Second Person Object Suffix with First Person Plural Subject (abbreviated 2OBJW), /-awas/ (KSL). As a second person (singular or plural) object suffix it co-occurs with the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>v</sub>/, but without the First Person Plural Suffix /-aʔaʔ/, leaving the suffix /-awas/ as the only indicator in the inflected verbal form that the

subject is first person plural, rather than first person singular.

### **Definite Third Person Pronominal Suffixes.**

- ∅ Primary Third Person (i.e. Proximate) Suffix. This is a zero marker of primary third person subject, object, and marker of primary third person nominal stems.
- (i)s Subsidiary Third Person Suffix (abbreviated S3), /-s/~/-is/, underlyingly /-s/ (KSL), with the vowel of the allomorph /-is/ seen as a phonemic buffer vowel. This is a marker of subsidiary third person subject, and a marker of primary third person nominal stems.
- ∅ Subsidiary Third Person (i.e. Obviative) Suffix. This is a marker of subsidiary third person object.
- ʔis Third Person Possessor Suffix (abbreviated 3POS), /-ʔis/ (KSL).  
When unmarked, this suffix indicates a primary third person possessor. The compound suffix /-ʔis-is/ marks a subsidiary third person possessor.



**Definite Third Person Deictic Pronouns.****Deictic Pronouns and Modifiers.**

na 'here, this', /na/.<sup>31</sup>

?in 'there, that', /?in/. The obviative form of this word is /?is/.

There is also an emphatic demonstrative form of the word which is /?in-u?/  
(‘there/that’ + Emphatic Demonstrative Suffix).

qu? 'yonder, yon', /qu?/.

**The Determiner and a Related Deictic Pronoun.**

ni? 'the', or untranslated. There is a closely related deictic pronoun:

ni?i 'there', /ni?i/.

**The Temporal Pronoun.**

taxa The Temporal Pronoun (abbreviated TemPro), /taxa/ 'now, then', most often occurring in its obviative form as /taxa-s/. This item is apparently derived from the particle /tax/ 'just' (KSL).

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<sup>31</sup> See section 4.2.3 for examples of /na/ contrastively translating as 'here' and as 'this' in different syntactic constructions.

**The Definite Reference Marker.**

- ya·<sub>ɔ</sub> The Definite Reference Marker (abbreviated DFM), /ya·<sub>ɔ</sub>/~ /yi·<sub>ɔ</sub>/,  
 yi·<sub>ɔ</sub> before the Continuative Aspect Marker /s-/ (KSL).<sup>32</sup>
- yu·<sub>ɔ</sub> Emphatic Demonstrative form of the Definite Reference Marker, superficially  
 /yu·<sub>ɔ</sub>/, but underlyingly /ya·-uʔ/ (Definite Reference Marker + Emphatic  
 Demonstrative Suffix). The Emphatic Demonstrative form of the Definite  
 Reference Marker equires glosses such as 'listen to what (I am saying)', 'look  
 at what (he is making)'.<sup>33</sup>

**The Quantitative Pronoun and Modifier.**

- q̣api Quantitative Pronoun, Quantitative Modifier, /q̣ap-iʔ/ ('all' + Stative Suffix).  
 (KSL, KSL).<sup>34</sup> Three forms of the Quantitative Pronoun, and Modifier are  
 listed below. The pronominal inflection is that of the possessive paradigm, so that the  
 word /q̣ap-iʔ/ must be considered to be a nominal stem.<sup>35</sup>

ka q̣apina+a First Person Plural Quantitative Pronoun, 'all of us',  
 /ka·q̣ap-iʔ-n-a+aʔ/ (1POS<sub>ɔ</sub>a11-STV-NC-1PL)

<sup>32</sup> See section 2.6.5 for an example of the surface allomorph /yi·<sub>ɔ</sub>/.

<sup>33</sup> See section 2.6.10, rule (8.3) for examples of the Emphatic Demonstrative form /yu·<sub>ɔ</sub>/ of the Definite Reference Marker /ya·<sub>ɔ</sub>/~ /yi·<sub>ɔ</sub>/. One example contrasts the Emphatic Demonstrative form of the Definite Reference Marker with the plain form of the Definite Reference Marker, appearing as the surface allomorph /ya·<sub>ɔ</sub>/.

<sup>34</sup> Both the root /q̣ap-/ 'all', and the Stative Suffix /-iʔ/ appears in Kutenai-Salishan comparative work. The Kutenai root is apparently cognate to a Salishan root, while the Kutenai Stative Suffix /-iʔ/ is apparently cognate to a Salishan stative suffix.

<sup>35</sup> See section 4.2.2 for examples of /q̣ap-iʔ/ in construction with other words.

q̣apiniskiʔ      **Second Person Plural Quantitative Pronoun, 'all of you',**  
 /q̣ap-iʔ-n-is-kiʔ/ (all-STV-NC-20&P-2PL)

q̣apiʔis          **Third Person Plural Quantitative Pronoun, 'all of them',**  
 /q̣ap-iʔ-ʔis/ (all-STV-3POS)

### **Independent Personal Pronouns.**

There are two morphemes /min/~mn/ and /ninkuʔ/ which act as bases for a variety of independent personal pronouns. In syntactic terms, these independent pronouns are all third person nominal stems, in spite of the fact that some of them have first person or second person glosses. The pronominal inflection which produces the different forms of these independent pronouns is that of the possessive paradigm, so that the two morphemes /min/~mn/ and /ninkuʔ/ must be considered to be nominal stems.<sup>36</sup> The morpheme /min/~mn/ occurs only as a constituent of the two first person independent pronouns.

m(i)n      **First Person Independent Pronoun Base (abbreviated 1IPB), /min/~mn/ (KSL), a constituent of the two first person independent pronouns:**

kamin      'myself', 'me', 'mine', /ka<sub>u</sub>min/, (1POS + 1IPB)

kamnaʔa 'ourselves, us, our', /ka<sub>u</sub>mn-aʔaʔ/, (1POS + 1IPB + 1PL)

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<sup>36</sup> See section 4.2.1 where evidence is presented to establish the syntactic status of the ostensibly first person independent personal pronouns as third person nominal stems.

ninku **Second and Third Person Independent Pronoun Base (abbreviated 2/3IPB).**

**Alone it is the independent pronoun:**

ninku 'you, your, yourself', /ninku?/ (2&3IPB).

**There are the following inflectional forms:**

ninkunismi‡ 'your (singular)', with an obviative possessed object,

/ninku?-n-is-m-i‡ /

2&3IPB-NC-20&P-ASC-DI

ninkuniski‡ 'you (plural), your (plural), yourselves',

/ninku?-n-is-ki‡/

2&3IPB-NC-20&P-2PL

ninku?is 'he, she, it, they', 'him, her, their', 'his, hers, theirs'.

/ninku?-?is/

2&3IPB-3POS

ninkuqantiyi?is 'all of them, those people'.

/ninku?-qan-t-iy-i-?is /

2&3IPB-COL-TVI-REFLX-Bf-3POS

ninku?nam '(some)one's own, anyone's own'.

/ninku?-n-am/

2&3IPB-NC-INH

## Indefinite Third Person Pronominal Morphemes.

### Indefinite Third Person Pronominal Suffixes.

- kaʔ Indefinite Human Object (abbreviated INH.O), /-kaʔ/.<sup>37</sup>
- am Indefinite Human (abbreviated INH), /-am/, a possessor, or subject marker, depending on paradigmatic context.

### Interrogative-Indefinite Third Person Pronouns.

- qapsin The Impersonal Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun, /qapsin/, 'what, (some)thing'.
- qaʔa The Personal Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun /qaʔa/, 'who, someone, some (people)'.<sup>38</sup>
- kaʔ The Locative-Manner Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun /kaʔ/, 'where, what, which, how', (KSL). The form /kaʔ/ is actually a proclitic form, only occurring as a constituent of a verbal phrase. There is also an independent and non-clitic form of the word:
- kaʔa 'where?', phonemically /kaʔa/. This is the form the word has when it functions as a phrase in its own right. There is also a particle derived from this same form of the pronoun:
- kaʔa 'sometimes', and as a negative interjection 'Not so!, No!, it wasn't that way!'

The three forms /kaʔa/ 'where?', /kaʔa/ 'sometimes' and /kaʔ/ 'where,

<sup>37</sup> See section 2.6.6, sub-rule (4.1), example PGS.6, part (b), for an example of the Indefinite Human Object Suffix /-kaʔ/.

<sup>38</sup> See section 4.2.2 where /q̣api qaʔa/ ('all' + 'someone') translates as 'everyone, everybody'.

what, which, how' are the basis for the reconstruction of a single form \*/kaʔ/ 'where, what, which, how' which must have existed in an earlier state of the language.<sup>39</sup>

### Enclitic Particles.

The two enclitic particles of Kutenai, listed below, are both invariantly encliticized onto verbal stems. They can be viewed as phrasal suffixes. There are two other elements in Kutenai which can also be referred to as phrasal suffixes. These are the encliticized versions of the clitic pronouns /hu<sub>ɹ</sub>/ First Person Clitic Pronoun and /hi<sub>ɹ</sub>/ Second Person Clitic Pronoun.<sup>40</sup>

ɹ(n)i Indicative Marker (abbreviated IND), /ɹni/~ɹi/, underlyingly /ɹni/. The loss of the dental nasal of this suffix with some verbal stems is governed by the morphologically conditioned rule of N-Deletion.<sup>41</sup>

ɹki Locative Marker (abbreviated LOC), /ɹki/. The Locative Marker may refer to a location in time as well as a location in space. <sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> See section 1.3.2 where there is mention of the fact that certain attested Plains Kutenai forms, other than /kaʔ/, 'where, what, which, how' and /kaʔa/ 'where?' support this reconstruction.

<sup>40</sup> The encliticized versions of the clitic pronouns occur only in second person singular imperative forms of inflected verbal stems. See section 3.2.4.

<sup>41</sup> See section 2.6.11.

<sup>42</sup> See line (3) of the First Fruits Text where the Locative Marker, in construction with the Definite Reference Marker, together make reference to a point in time.

### 3.1.2 Independent Particles.

Independent particles differ from clitic particles in that the independent particles form phonetic phrases on their own and may stand alone as single word sentences. Certain independent particles may also introduce clauses and form a sentence with the clause which is introduced. Interjections are a subtype of independent particles.

#### Key Examples of Clause and Sentence Equivalent Particles.

hiy 'yes', 'O.K'.

Example of the particle /hiy/.

EG-KPL (1978)

Kin ?upxa kaʔik ɕupqa ?a:kmuʔunismiʔ ?

/k.hin. ?upxa k.ha-ʔik ɕupqa? ?a:kmuʔu-n-is-m-iʔ ?/

SM<sub>2</sub>CP<sub>2</sub> know/see SM<sub>2</sub>have-foot deer Garden-NC-2P&O-ASC-DI QUES

(a) 'Do you know there are deer tracks in your garden.'

Hiy, ɕiʔmiyitnamus ?at ʔin<sub>2</sub>sʔ ?uquxaxi.

/hiy, ɕiʔmiyit-namu?-s ?at<sub>2</sub> ʔin<sub>2</sub> sʔ<sub>2</sub> ?uqu-xa-x<sub>2</sub>i/

yes<sub>2</sub> Night-NOM-S3 IMpt<sub>2</sub> must.be<sub>2</sub> CON-ADV<sub>2</sub> inside-G-RLG<sub>2</sub>IND

(b) 'Yes, they must go in there at night.'

Text example of the particle /hiy/.

RMc-ChOg.107

Qakiksi "hiy" 'She said: "O.K."'

/qa-kik-s<sub>2</sub>i hiy /

be.thus-say-S3<sub>2</sub>IND yes

waha 'no'.

Example of the particle /waha/.

EG-KLP (1978)

?At kin haq̣a+i+ ?anaxa q̣upqa ?

/?aṭ ḳhin haq̣a+i+?̣ ?a-na-xa q̣upqa? ?/

IMpṭ SṂ2CP̣ ever-ADṾ out-go-G deer QUES

(a) 'Have you ever hunted deer?'

Waha, hu +itq̣a+i+ ?anaxni q̣upqa.

/waha, hụ +it-q̣a+i-?i+ ?a-na-x̣ni q̣upqa/

No 1CP̣ ever-ADṾ out-go-G deer

(b) 'No, I have never hunted deer.'

**huya** Suggestive Particle (abbreviated SUGT), 'alright', /huya/ (KSL). This particle is listed here as a morpheme, but it would appear to be related to the Kutenai root /hu-/ 'finish, complete', which compares with a Proto-Salishan root, presumably to be reconstructed as \*huy 'finish'. This Kutenai particle, however, compares directly with a similar particle-like element in a number of Salishan languages, with some of the closest resemblances in form and function being between the Kutenai particle and particle-like elements in Coast Salishan languages, such as Sechelt /huyá/ 'Let's ...', 'Come on ...'.

The Kutenai particle /huya/ introduces a suggestion, either as an imperative verbal form expressing a command, or it may introduce an indicative verbal form where the suggestion may be a statement of what an individual or individuals intend to do, or should do.

This particle inflects for grammatical person in a minimal way, in that it has an obviative form /huya-s/. Other particles, independent or proclitic, do not take even this min-



imal pronominal marking. This puts this particle in a special category, but there are independent pronouns and modifying words in Kutenai, such as the Temporal Pronoun /taxa/, which also have obviative forms. The Suggestative Particle /huya/ would appear to be a verbal form of some type, because of its etymological relation to the verbal root /hu-/ 'finish, complete', but it has neither an indicative form, nor a subordinate form, as verbal stems have, so it fails to qualify as a verbal stem.

Text example of the particle /huya/.

AP-CY.238

Huya, ?iʔq̄ankasaq̄in

'Alright, stretch your leg forward.'

/huya ?iʔq̄anka-saq̄in /

SUGT Stretch-leg<sub>2CP</sub> (This is an imperative form)

Text example of the particle /huya/.

RMc-ChOg.269

Huya, hu<sub>ϕ</sub> ?aʔq̄ananuqiʔxunisni.

/huya hu<sub>ϕ</sub> ?aʔqa-na-nuqiʔ-xu-ʔ-n-is<sub>ni</sub> /<sup>1</sup>

SUGT 1CP<sub>FUT</sub> across-go-Sfx-by.body-GSVI-NC-20&P<sub>IND</sub> (an indicative form)

'Alright, I will pack you across.'

<sup>1</sup> The presence of the Glottal Stop Valence Increasing Suffix in this form is attested by the form: /?aʔq̄ananuqiʔxuʔnu !/ 'Pack me across!' RMc-ChOg.140

**maʔɕ** 'Don't', Negative Imperative, Prohibitive, Negative Future, /maʔɕ/. This particle can stand as a complete utterance, entirely on its own, or it can be used in conjunction with a following verbal phrase, which it is ostensibly a constituent of.

Example of the particle /maʔɕ/.

RMc-ChOg.20-21

Maʔɕ hin<sub>ɕ</sub> ʔupxaɕitkiʔni ʔkamniŋtik

/maʔɕ hin<sub>ɕ</sub> ʔupxa-ɕ-iʔ-t-kiʔni ʔkam-niŋ-t-ik/

PROHIB 2CP<sub>ɕ</sub>Fpt<sub>ɕ</sub> see/know-CAUS-STV-TVI-2PL<sub>ɕ</sub>IND child-DIST-TVI-REFLX

(a) 'you will not let the children find out'

hin ya<sub>ɕ</sub>qanamiʔkiʔki.

/hin<sub>ɕ</sub> ya<sub>ɕ</sub> qa-na-m-iʔ-kiʔki/

2CP<sub>ɕ</sub> DFM<sub>ɕ</sub> be.thus-go-ASC-DI-2PL<sub>ɕ</sub>LOC

(b) 'where you've gone.'

Text Example of the particle /maʔɕ/.

RMc-ChOg.104-105

Qakiʔni tiʔnamus

(a) 'She said to the old woman

/qa-ki-ʔni tiʔnamuʔ-s/

be.thus-say-DI<sub>ɕ</sub>IND old.woman-S3

"maʔɕ ʔuʔamaxnu

(b) "don't bite my head off.'

/maʔɕ ʔu-ʔam<sup>ʔ</sup>-ax-n<sub>ɕ</sub>hu/

PROHIB remove-head-G-NC<sub>ɕ</sub>1CP

xina 'Gee!', /xina/, but phonetically [χé·na], where the shape of the first vowel is not so much unpredictable as it is unexpected, requiring some exploration into the question of what the conditioning factors for the allophone [ɛ] of the phoneme /i/ really are. This word is an expressive interjection, however, and may, in any event, be outside of the normal sound system of the language. The following example is a direct quote from Coyote in the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text.

Example of the interjection /xina/.

AP-CY.32

xina paʔ sukaxniʔniꞥ "my it tasted good, (and)"  
 /xina paʔ suʔk-ax-n-iʔniꞥ/  
 gee! EVID good-by.mouth-NC-STVꞥIND ꞥand

The following example is a direct quote from the father thunderbird in the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text when the father thunderbird gets back to the nest.

Example of the Interjection /xina/.

AP-CY.217-218

"Xina kaʔsꞥ kiʔin maniskiʔ  
 /xina kaʔ-sꞥ kꞥhiʔꞥi-n maʔ-n-is-kiʔ/  
 gee! where-Sꞥand SMꞥBptꞥbe-NC mother-NC-20&P-2PL

"Well, where ever is your mother ?

Hupaks ʔatꞥk ʔa ʔisniʔʔꞥwam"  
 /hupak-s ʔatꞥ kꞥ ʔaꞥ ʔisn-iʔʔꞥ wa-m/  
 first-Sꞥ IMptꞥ SMꞥ REVꞥ be.the.one.who-ADVꞥ arrive-RM

'She's always the first to get back.'



#### 4.1 Word Order and Syntactic Categories.

The word classes of Kutenai include particles, pronouns, and lexical words. The class of lexical words in Kutenai is divided into verbal stems and nominal stems. There are adjectival verbal stems in Kutenai as a sub-class of intransitive verbal stems, but these adjectival verbal stems are not different in their word order characteristics from other intransitive verbal stems. There are also adverbs in Kutenai based on verbal roots, which are called derived adverbs, or simply adverbs. Kutenai derived adverbs are in some ways lexical words, but in terms of their word order characteristics they are a sub-type of adverbial particles. Adverbial particles and derived adverbs occur as constituents of verbal phrases and always precede verbal stems. Most particles and pronouns are clitics and behave like derived adverbs in that they always precede lexical stems. Some particles and the independent pronouns are like lexical stems in that they stand on their own as phrases, rather than being constituents of phrases dominated by a lexical stem.

Nominal stems and nominal phrases in Kutenai translate into English as nouns and noun phrases. The term 'nominal' is a term of semantic description, used here in order to avoid some of the implications of the term 'noun'.<sup>1</sup> Kutenai nominal stems often consist of a single nominal roots or they may be based on a nominal root and include a variety of suffixes. Nominal phrases consist of a nominal stem with or without a preceding determiner, deictic word, quantitative word, or possessive clitic pronoun. Verbal stems con-

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<sup>1</sup> There is nothing in Kutenai grammar which conflicts with the idea that there is a universal semantic distinction between things and non-things, including events, states, and conditions. This universal semantic distinction is implicit in Kutenai grammar and it is possible in Kutenai to play on this distinction to cast events, states, and conditions in the role of being things which can be talked of as if they were objects. Even when Kutenai grammar overtly recognizes this semantic distinction, however, the means used to do so are ones which are characteristically verb-like, rather than noun-like. This is true for the two main strategies for nominalization in Kutenai. Nominalization in Kutenai can involve the marking of stems as imperfective, or it may involve the lexicalization of subordinate verbal forms which remain very much verbal forms in their morphosyntactic behavior.

sist of a single verbal root or, much more commonly, they may be based on a verbal root and include a variety of suffixes. Verbal phrases in Kutenai consist of an inflected verbal stem with or without particles, clitic pronouns, or derived adverbs.

Kutenai nominal stems are morphologically distinguishable from verbal stems in part because nominal stems take possessive affixation, including a possessive clitic, while verbal stems do not. This is a fine distinction because possessive affixation is only slightly different from the pronominal affixation which marks the subjects of intransitive verbal stems. Possessive affixation has the First Person Possessive Clitic Pronoun /ka<sub>U</sub>/~ /kan<sub>U</sub>/ instead of the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>U</sub>/ of verbal paradigms, and possessive affixation has the Second Person Object and Possessive Suffix /-is/ in place of the Second Person Clitic Pronoun /hin<sub>U</sub>/ of verbal paradigms.

It is assumed here that another way in which Kutenai nominal stems are morphologically distinguishable from verbal stems is that nominal stems are subordinate (in a broad sense of the word) to verbal stems without the nominal stems being marked as subordinate. This is in contrast to verbal stems which have to be marked as subordinate in order to be subordinate.<sup>2</sup> This is to say that Kutenai nominal stems and nominal phrases are all subordi-

<sup>2</sup> One qualification on the statement that subordinate verbal forms in Kutenai are marked as subordinate is that one type of subordinate verbal form, plain predicate forms, are always marked as subordinate underlyingly, but not always in surface phonemic terms. They are marked by the Predicate Marker /n<sub>U</sub>/ which, however, only appears overtly before verbal roots which begin with a laryngeal consonant, and even then only subject to further restrictions in certain varieties of the language. Plain predicate clauses include introductory temporal setting clauses, such as the first clause in the following text example:  
/taxas nukicinmiyit, ?at n'it'qawxa? ?iki?ni/ ←(Surface Phonemic)  
/taxa-s n<sub>U</sub>hu-ki?i-nmiyit, ?at<sub>U</sub> n<sub>U</sub>?it'qawxa? ?ik-i?ni/ ←(Mid

then-S3 PM<sub>U</sub>finish-get.to-Bf-Day IMpt<sub>U</sub> PM<sub>U</sub>Gather-ADV<sub>U</sub> eat-PASV<sub>U</sub>IND

then when it was Sunday it would be eaten, gathered at a place

'When Sunday would come, they would get together and have a feast.' FW-FF.8-9

The verbal stem /hukicinmiyit/ 'to be Sunday' was described by FW as meaning 'to complete a certain number of days', i.e. 'to complete the week so that it would be Sunday'.

nate clauses of a particular kind.

For the most part, Kutenai word order is a matter of discourse pragmatics at the sentence level (i.e. the arrangement of clauses within sentences), and it is also largely a matter of discourse pragmatics at the clause level (i.e. the arrangement of phrases within clauses). In contrast, Kutenai word order at the phrase level (i.e. the arrangement of words within phrases) is relatively fixed. At the phrase level, word order in Kutenai is almost entirely a matter of the requirements syntactic structure, rather than any choices offered by discourse pragmatics. Moreover, even phrases in Kutenai which consist of several words generally sound like a single long word, at least judging the matter from the standpoint of English. Words within Kutenai phrases are strung together with cliticization boundaries, making Kutenai phrasal syntax very much like word morphology.

Superficially at least, there are two kinds of lexical phrases in Kutenai, nominal phrases, and verbal phrases. It is assumed here that lexical words in Kutenai are all underlyingly predicates, with nominal phrases being subordinate clauses of a particular type. The idea is that in Kutenai, and presumably universally, semantic distinctions can be drawn among lexical morphemes, whereby some lexical morphemes are nominal, some are verbal, some are adjectival, and some are adverbial. These distinctions seem to hold true reliably, no matter what has to be said about Kutenai word classes, from a purely syntactic point of view.

Verbal stems in Kutenai stems can be made into indicative sentences with the addition of the Indicative Marker / $\text{ɔ}ni/\sim/\text{ɔ}i/$ , or, instead, they can be made into subordinate clauses, with the addition of the Subordinate Marker / $k\text{ɔ}/$ . Such subordinate forms of stems are referred to here loosely as k-forms. K-forms can be made into interrogative sentences by pronouncing them with a rising interrogative intonation, in place of the falling indicative intonation of k-forms which function as subordinate clauses.

Example WO.1, below, is of a verbal stem consisting entirely of the verbal root / $\text{?ik}/$

'eat'. The proper gloss for the plain form of the Kutenai stem /ʔik/ is: 'for he/she/it/they to eat (it/them/him/her)', but for the purposes of listing the word as a lexical item, it is given a simpler infinitival gloss, as in part (a) of example WO.1. The reality is that, in natural speech, the word always occurs with pronominal reference to a subject. In this particular example, that pronominal reference is to a primary third person subject, which is unmarked (i.e. marked by a zero primary third person subject affix). For this particular stem there is optionally also an unmarked reference to a subsidiary third person object, since this stem has both an intransitive and a transitive sense, not unlike the situation in English where 'eat' can be construed to be a transitive verb, with an obligatory object, or to be an activity verb, without an object.

Example WO.1.

(a) ʔik	(b) ʔikni
/ʔik/	/ʔik <sub>ni</sub> /
eat	eat <sub>IND</sub>
'to eat'.	'He/she/it ate (it/him/her/them), they ate it/him/her/them)'.

Kutenai stems based on adjectival roots are like Kutenai stems based on other kinds of verbal roots, in that they can be made into indicative sentences with the addition of the Indicative Marker /<sub>ni</sub>/~/<sub>i</sub>/, or, instead, they can be made into a k-form, with the addition of the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>ni</sub>/. Like other verbal stems, stems based on adjectival verbal roots can be made into interrogative sentences by pronouncing a k-form with interrogative intonation.

One telling fact about adjectival roots in Kutenai is that all but a very few of them need a stative suffix, either /-iʔ/, or /-qa/, to form a verbal stem. Both of these stative suffixes appear to be related to verbal roots meaning 'be'. The Stative Suffix /-iʔ/ is related to the Kutenai verbal root /ʔi-~/ʔiʔ/ 'be'.<sup>3</sup> The Stative Suffix /-qa/ is re-



lated to the verbal root /qa-/ 'be thus'.<sup>4</sup> For those adjectival verbal stems which are formed with the Stative Suffix /-qa/, the Inchoative Suffix /-p/~/-?/ is required following the stative suffix. Without the following Inchoative Suffix, the result is a transitive verbal stem, describing an action, rather than an adjectival stem describing a property or condition of something.<sup>5</sup>

**Example WO.2.**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (a) waqi 'to be thick'.<br>/waq-i?/<br>thick-STV | (b) waqi?ni. 'It (he/she) is thick, they are thick'.<br>/waq-i?~ni/<br>thick-STV,IND |
|--|--|

**Example WO.3.**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (c) wi+qa 'to be big'.<br>/wi+qa-?/<br>big-STV-IN | (d) wi+qa?ni. 'He/she/it is big, they are big'.<br>/wi+qa-?~ni/<br>big-STV-IN,IND |
|---|---|

Two adjectival roots in Kutenai which do not need a stative suffix to form an adjectival verbal stem are the roots /su?k/ 'good', and /sahan/ 'bad'. These are shown, below, in example sets WO.4, and WO.5.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See section 3.1.6.

<sup>4</sup> See section 3.1.6..

<sup>5</sup> See section 3.1.6 for an example.

<sup>6</sup> See section 3.2.1 for a paradigm of the stem /sahan/ 'bad'.

## Example Set WO.4.

(a) Suʔk 'to be good'.

/suʔk/

good

(b) Suʔkni. 'He/she/it is good, they are good'.

/suʔk<sub>ni</sub>/good<sub>IND</sub>

## Example Set WO.5.

(a) sahan 'to be bad'.

/sahan/

bad

(b) Sahanni. 'He/she/it is bad, they are bad'.

/sahan<sub>ni</sub>/bad<sub>IND</sub>

Words in Kutenai which are based on a nominal root can be inflected as indicative forms, making them inflected intransitive verbal stems. Indicative forms of nominal stems are rare, but only because there is usually no reason for a speaker of the language to inflect a nominal stem as an indicative form. For one thing, the language has an existential verbal stem /ʔi-n/ 'to be', and even a reflexive stem /ʔiʔ-t-ik/ 'to make oneself into something' which has a valence of two, taking a direct object. The fact that nominal stems in Kutenai are generally not seen in indicative form is most of what makes nominal stems appear to be syntactically distinct as a group from verbal stems.

When a Kutenai nominal stem appears as an indicative form, it is only very rarely a clear process of deriving a verbal stem, as a new lexical item, from a nominal stem. It is generally on the side of being an inflectional rather than derivational process. For one thing, the semantic results are entirely predictable. The indicative form of the nominal stem will always be an existential proposition, with the same meaning as if one used the nominal stem with the existential stem /ʔi-n/ 'to be'. The existential proposition of the nominal stem used alone as an indicative form will always coincide with the lexical meaning of the nominal stem. This is even the case where the derivation of a new lexical item actually is

involved. Even a verbal stem derived as a different lexical item from a nominal stem will always have, at the core of its meaning, an existential proposition which coincides with the lexical meaning of the original nominal stem.<sup>7</sup>

The predictable, inflectional nature of the results when one takes a Kutenai nominal stem and makes it into an indicative form means that nominal stems in Kutenai all have their own covert existential propositions. A Kutenai nominal stem such as /pus/ 'cat' can be read as meaning not merely 'cat', but also as 'he/she/it is a cat, they are cats'.

One possible reason to inflect a nominal stem in Kutenai as an indicative form is to put the nominal stem together in a clause with a derived adverb to make a predicate. There is a text example of this reproduced below, in WO.6. This is line 20 from the Coyote and Mole Text by Ann Pierre. This is another example, volunteered by FW presented in WO.7.

Text Example WO.6.

AP-CM.20

Sa·niʔ naʔutiʔsi.	'She (Mole)was an ugly girl'.
/sahan-iʔʔ	naʔutiʔ-s <sub>i</sub> /
bad-ADVERBIALIZER	girl/virgin-S3 <sub>i</sub> INDICATIVE

Example WO.7.

FW

Wiʔiʔ pusni.	'It is a large cat'.
/wiʔ-iʔʔ	pus <sub>i</sub> ni/
big-ADVERBIALIZER	cat <sub>i</sub> INDICATIVE

In these two examples, immediately above, the order of words in the verbal phrase is

<sup>7</sup> The verbal stem /ʔakʔumʔ/ 'to flirt' is the same as the nominal stem /ʔakʔumʔ/ 'bat (the animal)' from which it is said to be derived, for example by FW. These are two separate lexical items, but the meaning of the verbal stem is evidently derivative of the existential proposition 'to be a bat', rather than having some unpredictable relationship to the idea of bats. The extension of meaning is apparently that if one were a bat one would act like a bat and flutter around a person's head which is like flirting.

derived adverb + verbal stem. This is the only possible order in Kutenai for an adverb in construction with a verbal stem, although derived adverbs can be strung together in a verbal phrase and may be arranged in different orders among themselves, with slightly different meanings for alternative arrangements of the same adverbs.

#### 4.1.1 The Order of Nominal Phrases and Verbal Phrases.

The order of any nominal lexical phrases in a clause in Kutenai in relation to the verbal phrase of the clause is relatively free. In other words, phrases are arranged in particular orders for different discourse pragmatic effect. Phrases representing important or newsworthy new information in a discourse occur in initial position in a clause. This is true for nominal phrases and for the Temporal Pronoun /taxa/ 'now, then (proximate time reference)', or more commonly /taxa-s/ 'now, then (obviative time reference)'. The Temporal Pronoun constitutes a phrase on its own at the front of any clause it occurs with.<sup>8</sup> Phrases representing more established information appear later in a clause.

The order of phrases in a Kutenai clause evidently does little to mark the grammatical functions of individual phrases, apart from their discourse pragmatic function. Generally the first phrase of a clause in a narrative is the Temporal Pronoun /taxa/ inflected in its subsidiary third person form /taxa-s/. The next phrase is typically a verbal phrase with a third person subject outranking and not coreferent to the temporal reference of the initial temporal pronoun. This is why the temporal pronoun is inflected as having a subsidiary third person reference. In discourse pragmatic terms, the temporal pronoun provides important, although very routine new information, to the effect that the narrative is moving along. The verbal phrase is generally next in the clause, because it provides most of the information in the clause and contains its own pronominal arguments, albeit usually zero third person pronominal affixes for most verbal phrases in a narrative.

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<sup>8</sup> There are also temporal setting clauses and location setting clauses which occur in initial position in sentences.

Nominal phrases in a Kutenai clause typically follow the verbal phrase, although discourse pragmatic considerations may override this and a nominal phrase representing a newly introduced subject in a text may precede the verbal phrase. Discourse pragmatic principles do not evidently have free reign to put a nominal phrases representing a direct object or indirect object before the verbal phrase, although there are rare examples. It would appear that, for Kutenai, the most neutral order, in discourse pragmatic terms, is Verbal Phrase-Subject Nominal Phrase-Object Nominal Phrase, or VOS. This is a more common arrangement of lexical subject, verbal stem, and lexical object than any of the other arrangements of these three constituents. VOS may be the most common order, however, as much for discourse pragmatic reasons as for non-discourse pragmatic syntactic reasons. VOS may simply be the most called for order on discourse pragmatic grounds, rather than being a genuinely neutral order. In the rare cases where there is a lexical subject and a lexical object in the same clause, the object is likely to be less expected at that point in the narrative, if not absolutely new to the narrative, than the subject is.

One outstanding fact about the arrangement of lexical subject, verbal stem, and lexical object in Kutenai is that lexical subjects and lexical objects only rarely occur together in the same clause. The very occurrence of two lexical arguments in a clause may itself be highly marked in discourse pragmatic terms to begin with. The order VSO, is somewhat less common than the order VOS, and VSO is even less likely than VOS to qualify as a neutral order in discourse pragmatic terms. The order SVO is somewhat less common in narratives than VOS or VSO, although in elicited data where English sentences are the models for the Kutenai sentences, the order SVO is fairly common, following the influence of English word order.

Just how rare VOS, VSO, and SVO clauses are in Kutenai narratives can be seen by examining a text of some 520 clauses, the Chief and Ogress Text told by Rosalie McCoy. A Kutenai text has to be this long in order to contain examples of the three orders, VOS,

VSO, and SVO. Just looking at the text for clausal examples, rather looking at whole sentences, one can find four examples of the order VOS in the text, one example of the order VSO, and one example of the order SVO. These are the only straightforward examples of clauses in the text where there is both a lexical subject and a lexical object in the same clause. In an English text of the same length and similar content, one would expect many examples of clauses with both a subject noun and an object noun in the same clause, and most if not all of them would be of the order SVO. Notably, the English translation of the edited form of the Chief and Ogress Text, in its clause-by-clause format, does not count as a good example of such an English text, because it closely follows the Kutenai text and avoids the occurrence of two lexical arguments in the same clause. In this somewhat artificial English translation of the text, there are many examples where there is a pronominal subject and a pronominal object together in the same clause, but this is unavoidable because of the requirements of English grammar and the fact that every Kutenai verbal stem in a text has at least an unmarked pronominal subject.

In Kutenai, the most commonly occurring personal pronouns are affixal or clitic pronouns and they are constituents of verbal phrases, rather than nominal phrases which could be freely ordered either before or after a verbal phrase. There is one notable case of variable order of clitic pronouns within Kutenai verbal phrases. In second person singular subject imperative verbal forms, the First Person Clitic Pronoun /hu<sub>u</sub>/ and the Second Person Clitic Pronoun /hin<sub>u</sub>/ occur encliticized onto verbal stems. When they occur together encliticized onto the same verbal stem, they are in the order VOS, i.e. Verbal Stem + Object Clitic + Subject Clitic.<sup>9</sup> Otherwise in the language, the clitic pronouns only occur singly as subject proclitic pronouns preceding verbal stems, strictly in the order SV, i.e. Subject Clitic + Verbal Stem. The order VOS can be seen again in Kutenai verbal forms where pronominal word suffixes are involved. It would appear that within words in

<sup>9</sup> See section 3.2.4 for examples.

Kutenai the order is VOS, i.e. Verbal Stem + Object Suffix + Subject Suffix. There is some room for doubt about this order, because some pronominal affixes are zero affixes and the Higher Ranking Object Suffix, which might count as a pronominal object suffix, is not clearly a pronominal suffix on a par with the other pronominal suffixes.

Examples WO.8 through WO.13, below, are from the Chief and Ogress Text and illustrate the VOS, VSO, and SVO clauses in the text.

### Verb-Object-Subject Examples.

Example WO.8 (line 54 from the Chief and Ogress Text by RMc). RMc-ChOg.54

?at ɬa:tiɬ mitxni tuɖqamnas ni? niɕtahaɬnananiɲtikɕ  
 /?atɬa:tiɬɬmit-xɕni tuɖqamnas-s ni? niɕtahaɬ-nana-niɲ-t-ikɕ/

IMpt, Adverb, shoot-G, IND	birds.(etc.)-S3	the	boy-DIM-DIST-T-REFL, and
Advl Adverb	Verb.....Prt	Nominal Stem....	Det Nominal Stem.....
Verbal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase..	Nominal Phrase.....	
Predicate.....	Object.....	Subject.....	

'the boys would shoot small game, and'

Examples WO.9 (line 400 of the Chief and Ogress Text). RMc-ChOg.400

qakiɬni ?aɬiɕkiɬ?is ni? niɕtahaɬnana.  
 /qa-ki-ɬɕni ?aɬiɕkiɬ-?is ni?niɕtahaɬ-nana/

thus-say-DI, IND	Sister-3POS	the, young.man-DIM
Verbal Stem.....Prt	Nominal Stem.....	Det, Nominal Stem.....
Verbal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase...	Nominal Phrase.....
Predicate.....	Object.....	Subject.....

'the little boy said to his sister.'

Example WO.10 (which is line 262 of the Chief and Ogress Text). RMc-ChOg.262

Qa·ki† hički†ni huki?S ti†na.			
/qa·ki†	hički†ni	huki?S	ti†na/
Adverb	Search,IND	louse/lice-s3	old.woman
Adverb	Verbal Stem	Nominal Stem	Nominal Stem
Verbal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase	Nominal Phrase	
Predicate.....	Object.....	Subject.....	

'The old lady started looking for lice'.

Example WO.11 (which is line 430 of the Chief and Ogress Text). RMc-ChOg.430

Qaki†ni xa†čin?is ti†na.		
/qa·ki-†ni	xa†čin-?is	ti†na/
be.thus-say-DI,IND	dog-(p)3POS	old.woman
Verbal Stem.....Prt	Nominal Stem	Nominal Stem.....
Verbal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase	Nominal Phrase
Predicate.....	Object.....	Subject.....

'the old woman said to her dog'.

Notably, example WO.11 above, a VOS clause, has the same basic meaning as the clause in example WO.12, just below, which is the one VSO clause found in the text. One difference between the two clauses is that the subject noun in the VSO clause below is preceded by the determiner /ni?/. The standard translation of /ni?/ is 'the', but the Kutenai determiner /ni?/ is more specifically anaphoric than the English definite article. This makes the subject of the VSO clause, below, more marked in discourse pragmatic terms, in this particular way, than the subject of the VOS clause, above. This suggests that in Kutenai the order VSO is not only less common than the order VOS, but is also more



marked in discourse pragmatic terms than the order VOS is. The one example of an SVO clause found in the text, which is presented as example WO.13, further below, also has a subject nominal stem modified by the anaphoric Kutenai determiner /ni?/. It is a fact, though, that two of the four VOS clauses in the text also have their subject nominal stems preceded by the determiner /ni?/.

### Verb-Subject-Object Example.

Example WO.12 (line 366 from the Chief and Ogress Text by Rosalie McCoy).

Qakiʔni ni? tiʔnamu xaʔɕinʔis.			
/qa-ki-ʔni	ni?tiʔnamu <sup>10</sup>	xaʔɕin-ʔis/	
be.thus-say-DI,IND	the, old.woman	dog-3POS	
Verbal Stem.....Prt	Det, Nominal Stem	Nominal Stem	
Verbal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase	
Predicate.....	Subject.....	Object.....	
'the old woman said to her dog'.			

### Subject-Verb-Object Example.

This example is a sentence consisting of one long clause. The whole example is presented first on one line, with a partial analysis under it. A more complete analysis of the clause is presented, further below in two parts.

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<sup>10</sup> The word /tiʔnamu/ 'old woman' is a full version of the word /tiʔna/ 'old woman'. The use of the full form of the word in this clause suggests a greater amount of emphasis for the subject nominal phrase in this clause relative to the subject nominal phrase /tiʔna/ 'old woman' as it appears in the VOS clauses in WO.11, and WO.10, above.

Example WO.13 (line 385 of the Chief and Ogress Text).

RMc-ChOg.385

Part (a)

Taxas	ni? ti?namu	ɕxaki? su?kini	?a?kit?a?isis	ʔkamukistakis.
TempPro	Nominal Phrase..	Verbal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase..	Nominal Phrase...
	Subject.....	Verbal Stem.....	Object.....	Benefactive Object

'Then the old woman began fixing up the lodge for the two children.'

Part (b), the Sentence in a More Completely Analyzed Format.

/ taxa-s	ni?ti?namu	ɕxa-k-i?ʔ	su?-kinʔi
then-S3	the, old.woman	begin.and continue-do/be-ADV,	good-by.hand,IND
TempPro	Det Nominal Stem	Adverb.....	Verbal Stem.....
	Nominal Phrase.....	Verbal Phrase.....	
	Subject.....	Predicate.....	

/ ?a?kit?a?isis	ʔkamu?-kis-t-ak-is/
house-3POS-S3	child-DUAL-TVI-REFL-S3
Nominal Stem.....	Nominal Stem.....
Nominal Phrase...	Nominal Phrase.....
Object.....	Benefactive Object.....

The following is a very rare example of a VOS clause from Ann Pierre, another monolingual speaker of the language from Tobacco Plains. Ann Pierre has recorded stories just as long as the Chief and Ogress Text by Rosalie McCoy, but without putting a lexical subject and a lexical object together in the same clause anywhere in some of these long texts. If it were not for this one example, there would be no examples of VOS, VSO, or SVO clauses from Ann Pierre in the edited texts on which this description of the language is

based. Outside of the texts now in edited format, however, there is one known example of a VSO clause in a text told by Ann Pierre. The VOS example presented here is from the Coyote and Yawukiykam Text by Ann Pierre, another version of which appears in Boas (1918, pp.110-116), as told by Barnaby.<sup>11</sup> The VOS clause is at the end of the sentence here in part (c).

## Text Example WO.14.

AP-CY.118-120

Nakumuʔisni ɕukʔutiyaʔs

/nʌʔakuʔ-mu-ʔ-isʌni ɕu-kʔu-t-iy-aʔ-s/ (Mid-Level)

/nʌʔakuʔ-mu-ʔ-isʌni ɕu-kʔu-t-ik-n-aʔ-s/ (Underlying)

PMʌstab-INST-PASV-S3ʌIND pierce-by.point-TVI-REFLX-ASC-COPART-S3

(a) 'It got stabbed with a spear'

ɕukʔutiyaʔsʌɕ

/ɕu-kʔu-t-i-aʔ-s ʌɕ/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ɕu-kʔu-t-ik-n-aʔ-s ʌɕ/ (Underlying Phonemic)

pierce-by.point-TVI-REFLX-ASC-COPART-S3 ʌand

(b) 'A spear and'

<sup>11</sup> Any reader who wishes to take a census of the VOS, VSO, and SVO clauses in the text material from Barnaby should keep in mind that the texts in Boas (1918) were taken down through dictation. Boas transcribed texts as much like a human tape recorder as he could manage, but story tellers were constrained to tell their stories at a certain pace for Boas to record the texts. This has evidently had the effect of increasing the frequency of clauses containing both a subject nominal phrase and an object nominal phrase.

ʔat qaʔ ʔati ʔukuqwiɕinkaʔis		Yawukiykam.	
/ʔat	qa-ʔ	ʔat	ʔukuqwiɕinkaʔ-ʔis yawukiykam/
IMpt	be.thus-ADV	name,IND	ʔukuqwiɕinkaʔ-3POS Yawukiykam
Prt...	ADV.....	Verbal Stem	Nominal Stem..... Nominal Stem....
Verbal Phrase.....		Nominal Phrase.....	Nominal Phrase..
Predicate.....		Object.....	Subject.....

(c) 'what Yawukiykam calls his ʔukuqwiɕinka.'<sup>12</sup>

**4.1.2 Other Word Order Constructions.**

Kutenai lacks some of the types of words which figure prominently in word order typology. For example, it is not possible to directly state the order of nouns and modifying adjectives for Kutenai, because adjectival stems in Kutenai are a sub-class of intransitive verbal stems. Where a nominal stem in Kutenai is in construction with an adjectival verbal stem, the nominal stem either represents the subject of the adjectival verbal stem or the adjectival verbal stem is a subordinate form which ostensibly modifies the nominal stem. In example set WO.15, part (a) and part (b), the nominal stem /pus/ 'cat' represents the subject of the adjectival verbal stem. In example WO.15, part (c) the adjectival verbal stem is a subordinate form ostensibly modifying the nominal stem.

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<sup>12</sup> The word /ʔukuqwiɕinka/ (in surface phonemic transcription) is something of a mystery, but it is assumed here that it ends with the lexical suffix /-kaʔ/ 'arrow; bullet'. For this reason, it is posited here as ending in an underlying glottal stop.

## Example Set WO.15.

(a) Wiʔqaʔni pus

/wiʔ-qa-ʔni pus/

big-STV-IN.IND cat

'The cat is big.'

(b) Kwiʔqa pus ?

/kwiʔ-qa-ʔ pus ?/

SM.big-STV-IN cat QUES

'Is the cat big?'

(c) kwiʔqa pus

/kwiʔ-qa-ʔ pus/

SM.big-STV-IN cat

that he/she/it is big, the cat

~that they are big, ~the cats

'the big cat'.

When the nominal stem represents the subject of the verbal stem, the verbal stem is either indicative or interrogative, and the basic word order of the construction is Verb-Subject. This follows from the apparent basic word order in Kutenai of Verb-Object-Subject. Where a nominal stem is in construction with a subordinate form of a verbal stem as in WO.15, part (c), the basic word order is ostensibly Relative Clause-Noun, but this is actually the same order as the VS order in WO.15, parts (a) and (b). Exactly the same segmental morphemes are involved in (b) and (c). The morphological difference between (b) and (c) lies in the matter of intonation. The interrogative k-form of the verbal stem in (b) has a rising interrogative intonation, while the relative clause k-form of the stem in (c) has a falling indicative intonation. In all three constructions, the most common order and least marked order in discourse pragmatic terms is for the verbal stem whether indicative, interrogative, or relative to precede the nominal stem. In all three constructions, the nominal stem is coreferent to, and in apposition to, the actual subject of the verbal stem, which is a third person zero affix on the verbal stem.<sup>13</sup>

The following text examples, from the Constable Pritchard Text, contain constructions functionally similar to the one in WO.15, part (c), above, where a relative clause type k-form precedes and ostensibly modifies a nominal stem. The clause in WO.16, part (d) is of a relative clause type k-form preceding and ostensibly modifying a lexicalized k-form. A literal meaning of the second k-form, at one level of analysis, is 'that he/she/it has a badge, that they have badges'. It is also a lexical item meaning 'policeman'. In morphological terms it remains a k-form, in spite of being lexicalized, in that it does not take possessive affixation as nominal stems do.

Text Example WO.16.

FW-CP.6-10

Sentence 4, consisting of clauses 6-10.

ϕin kʷukunmiyits	qakiʔni Halpáns
/ϕin kʷuk-u-nmiyit-s/ <sup>14</sup>	/qa-ki-ʔni halpán-s/
just <sup>15</sup> SM <sub>one</sub> -Bf-Day-s3	be.thus-say-DI <sub>IND</sub> Albin-s3
(a) then one day	(b) he (Pritchard) said to Albin

<sup>13</sup> It is assumed here that the actual syntactic arguments of inflected verbal stems in Kutenai (i.e. the subjects and objects of the verbal stems) are the pronominal affixes on the verbal stems. These pronominal affixes include the first and second person clitic pronouns /hu<sub>v</sub>/ and /hin<sub>v</sub>/; the first, second, and third person word suffixes, and the third person zero affixes.

<sup>14</sup> There is both a root /ʔukʷ-/ 'one', and a root /ʔuk-/ 'one'. The root /ʔuk-/ 'one' occurs associated with a following Phonemic Buffer Vowel /-u-/.

<sup>15</sup> There is another Particle which also translates as 'just'. It is /tax/ 'just, exactly', presumably related to the Temporal Pronoun /taxa/ 'now, then'. The Particle /ϕin/ has been translated in isolation by FW as 'just', and as 'only'.

"Ka? ?at kʰaqakiyam

/ka? ?at kʰaʔa-qa-ki-y-am/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/ka? ?at kʰaʔa-qa-kik-ik-n-am / (Underlying Phonemic)

how IMpt SM,IM-be.thus-say-REFLX-NC-INH

(c) "How do they say (in Kutenai)

kiʔsuʔk kaqʰanxu"

/kʰhiʔsuʔk kʰha-qʰanxuʔ/

SM,Bpt,good SM,have-Badge<sup>16</sup>

that (he) is good that (he) has a badge

(d) good policeman"

Text Example WO.17, from the same text, describes what Albin told Constable Pritchard. In example WO.17, part (c), below, there is also a relative clause type k-form preceding and ostensibly modifying another lexicalized k-form. In this case the lexical item is /kakuʔaʔ/ 'stud'.

Text example WO.17.

FW-CP.16-19

Sentence 9, consisting of clauses 16-19.

qakiʔni

/qa-ki-ʔni/

be.thus-say-DI,IND

(a) he told him,

<sup>16</sup> Underlyingly the compound lexical suffix meaning 'badge' consists of three morphemes. Therefore the clause is underlyingly /kʰha-qʰan-xu-ʔ/

SM,have-hanging.above-by.body-GSVI

"hun ?ini		kwiʔqa	kakuʔaʕ"
/huʌn	?i-nʌi/	/kʌwiʔqa-ʔ	kʌha-kuʔaʕ/
1CPʌPM	be-NCʌIND	SMʌbig-STV-IN	SMʌhave-testicle
I am (it/him).....		that (he) is big....	that (he) has testicles
(b) "I am		(c) a big	stud"

There are other instances of the sequence of words /kwiʔqa kakuʔaʕ/ in the text, in this same order, and not as direct quotes from Constable Pritchard as in WO.17 here. The basic order of words for this type of construction in Kutenai is for the ostensibly modifying and most verb-like k-form to precede the lexicalized and most noun-like k-form. It is not quite safe to say that these examples represent an order of Relative Clause-Noun, much less that they represent an order of Adjective-Noun. For one thing, the adjectival verbal stem /wiʔqa/ 'to be big' is an adjectival verbal stem, not an adjective. For another thing, the lexicalized k-forms are not nominal stems, much less nouns in the sense that the word 'noun' has in English grammar and generally elsewhere. Nonetheless, lexicalized k-forms, and also k-forms which represent ad hoc nominalizations (such as /kʌwiʔqa/ 'the he/she/it who is big, the they who are big') are each potentially nominal phrases, certainly in semantic terms, and there is a pattern here of an ostensibly modifying phrase preceding a nominal phrase (i.e. preceding a nominal stem or lexicalized k-form). This was already seen above in example WO.15, part (c), where a relative clause type k-form precedes a nominal phrase consisting of a nominal stem.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> One thing which may have to be considered here is that the preceding and ostensibly modifying k-form may not really constitute a separate phrase from the following nominal phrase which it appears to modify. There may be a clitic-like relationship between the two phrases so that they constitute an single compound nominal phrase. This would be a parallel to the commonly occurring type of verbal phrase where a clitic pronoun /huʌ/ First Person, or /hinʌ/ Second Person, representing the subject (a dependent argument) of the verbal phrase is proclitic to the verbal stem which is the head of the construction. This is a Dependent-Head order, and the only possible order if the dependent pronominal argument



One can generalize that Kutenai has the order Head-Dependent as a basic word order. This is certainly true for the arrangement of verbal stems and their lexical arguments, where the basic word order is evidently VOS. The type of construction where a modifying k-form precedes a nominal stem or lexicalized k-form seemingly has an opposite basic order of Dependent-Head, but all the lexical stems involved are inflected stems which each have a subject in the form of a zero third person pronominal affix, so the nominal stem or k-form which follows the ostensibly modifying k-form is coreferent and in apposition to the subject of a preceding verbal stem. In these terms, the order of lexical words is VS and not some Dependent-Head order such as Relative Clause-Noun or Adjective-Noun.

There are grammatical words in Kutenai which form nominal phrases with a following nominal stem, ostensibly modify the nominal stem. These include the deictic words /na/ 'this', /ʔin/ 'that (nearby)', /quʔ/ 'that (yonder)', the determiner /niʔ/ 'the', and the quantitative word /q̣api/. This is an arrangement of words which is invariant. It is not overridden by discourse pragmatic factors. The order would seem to be Dependent-Head, at least if one takes the deictic words, the determiner, and the quantitative word /q̣apiʔ/ 'all' as true modifiers of the following nominal stem.

It happens that the ostensibly modifying words /na/ 'this', /ʔin/ 'that (nearby)', and /quʔ/ 'that (yonder)', the determiner /niʔ/ 'the', and the quantitative word /q̣api/ 'all' each double as pronouns.<sup>18</sup> This is at least a factor which has to be taken into account when deciding what should be said about their word order characteristics vis-à-vis nominal stems. Another factor which needs to be taken into account is that these

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is to be read as the subject of the verbal stem and not an object (although the object reading is only possible in second person singular imperative forms). In diachronic terms, this may be the grammaticalization of what was originally a discourse-pragmatically motivated fronting from the original basic order which was VS, to than the current s-V order of this construction.

<sup>18</sup> See section 4.2 where examples are given of the words /na/ 'this', /ʔin/ 'that (nearby)', and /quʔ/ 'that (yonder)', and the quantitative word /q̣api/ 'all' as pronouns and as ostensible modifiers of other words including nominal stems.

modifying elements are clitics. The evidence is particularly clear for the determiner /ni?/ 'the'. When it is not a clitic it is the word /ni?i/ 'there (nearby)', a different word and a mirror image of the word /?in/ 'that (nearby)'.

There is also a construction in Kutenai where one nominal stem ostensibly modifies another following nominal stem. The modifier before modified arrangement for this construction is apparently the only order, although there are questions about what constitutes modification and some question about which nominal phrase is modifying which. The word order for this construction would seem to be Dependent-Head, at least if one takes the relationship between the two nominal stems to be a kind of modification syntactically equivalent to the modification of adjectives modifying nouns in other languages. There is also the possibility of seeing this construction as a kind of compounding of two nominal stems into a single nominal phrase through the procliticization of the first one on the second.

In the case of one nominal stem in construction with another nominal stem, a factor which needs to be taken into account is the possibility that the modifying role of the first nominal stem may be more an artifact of English translation than a solid grammatical fact about Kutenai. If each nominal stem in Kutenai is understood to be underlyingly a predicative proposition of the form 'to be a such and such, to be such and suches', with each nominal stem specifying what thing or class of things it represents, then one nominal stem in construction with another nominal stem is structurally a matter of two clauses in construction with each other. This is comparable to the construction where a descriptive type of k-form is followed by a lexical type of k-form. The question of modification becomes a matter of semantics. If nominal stems are unmarked subordinate clauses in Kutenai, in contrast to verbal stems which have to be marked in some way as subordinate to be subordinate, then the Kutenai nominal phrases which consist of two nominal stems in construction with each other involve the subordination of one clause and another. For both clauses,

there is a pronominal subject, at least in the form of a zero third person pronominal affix. The relationship between the two clauses depends in part on the relationship between the subject of one clause and the subject of the other. When one nominal stem ostensibly modifies another nominal stem, the two stems are both inflected stems and the pronominal subjects of the two inflected stems are coreferent, or perhaps more to the point, one is in apposition to the other. Translating the construction into English one can choose to focus on the syntactic structure of the Kutenai construction at one level of its analysis or another, but more likely one will focus on the meaning of the construction and the role of that meaning in the overall meaning of the sentence which the construction is a part of.

In the following conversational exchange which is an excerpt from a narrative, there is a construction in (g) consisting of one nominal stem /ʔa·kuwaʔwuwʔk/ 'birch' followed by another nominal stem /ʔa·quʔaqpʔiʔk/ 'leaves'. In (e) there is a similar example where the indefinite and interrogative pronoun /qapsin/ 'something, what' in construction with the nominal stem meaning 'leaves'. In the free English translation of each construction, the first word modifies the second word, but other more literal translations are possible where each nominal stem and each verbal stem is a clause with its own subject.

Text Example Set WO.18.

MP-FL.117-125

(a) kwaʔkwayit qakʔapni

/k<sub>u</sub>waʔkwa-yit qa-k-ʔ-ap<sub>ni</sub>/

SM<sub>u</sub>evening-time be.thus-say-DI<sub>u</sub>IND

'that evening she said to me:'

(b) "xma<sub>n</sub> skiʔ ʔaʔmaʔ ʔinaxi

/xma<sub>n</sub> hin<sub>u</sub> s-k-iʔ<sub>u</sub> ʔaʔma-ʔʔ<sub>u</sub> ʔi-na-x<sub>i</sub>/

HYPO<sub>u</sub> 2CP<sub>u</sub> CON-do/be-ADV<sub>u</sub> sudden-ADV<sub>u</sub> INCEP-go-RLG<sub>u</sub>IND

''you should go out (and)'

(c) xma<sub>u</sub>n (h)a<sub>+</sub>t<sub>+</sub>q<sub>+</sub>at<sub>i</sub>?ni ?a<sub>·</sub>qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k"

/xma<sub>u</sub> hin ha<sub>+</sub>t<sub>+</sub>q<sub>+</sub>at<sub>i</sub>?<sub>u</sub>ni ?a<sub>·</sub>-qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k/

HYP0<sub>u</sub> 2CP<sub>u</sub> gather<sub>u</sub>IND NSB-leaf/leaves

'(you should) pick a bunch of leaves.'

(d) hu qaki<sub>+</sub>ni

/hu<sub>u</sub> qa-ki-<sub>+</sub>t<sub>u</sub>ni/

1CP<sub>u</sub> be.thus-say-DI<sub>u</sub>IND

'I asked her:'

(e) "qapsin ?a<sub>·</sub>qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k ?"

/qapsin ?a<sub>·</sub>-qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k ?/

what/something NSB-leaf/leaves

"'what kind of leaves?'"

(f) qaki?ni

/qa-ki?<sub>u</sub>ni/

be.thus-say<sub>u</sub>IND

'she said:'

(g) "?a<sub>·</sub>kuwa<sub>+</sub>wu?k ?a<sub>·</sub>qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k

/?a<sub>·</sub>k-uwa<sub>+</sub>-wu?k ?a<sub>·</sub>-qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k/

NSB-onion-bush

NSB-leaf/leaves

"'birch leaves'"

(h) Hin t<sub>+</sub>xa<sub>+</sub>t ha<sub>+</sub>t<sub>+</sub>q<sub>+</sub>at<sub>i</sub>?ni

/hin<sub>u</sub> t<sub>+</sub>xa-?<sub>+</sub>t<sub>u</sub> ha<sub>+</sub>t<sub>+</sub>q<sub>+</sub>at<sub>i</sub>?<sub>u</sub>ni

2CP<sub>u</sub> FUT-ADV<sub>u</sub> gather<sub>u</sub>IND

"You will pick (them)"

(i) t<sub>+</sub>xa<sub>+</sub>t yunaqa?ni."

/t<sub>+</sub>xa-?<sub>+</sub>t yu?na?-qa-?<sub>u</sub>ni/

FUT-ADV<sub>u</sub> Have.many-STV-IN<sub>u</sub>IND

"There will be lots (of them)."

The following text examples are from later in the same narrative, where the leaves which were gathered are referred to again. In these examples, /?a<sub>·</sub>qu<sub>+</sub>aqpi?k/ 'leaves' is preceded by what appear to be modifying words, the determiner /ni?/ and the Temporal Pronoun /t<sub>+</sub>xa/ 'now, then'. The word order is ostensibly Modifier-Nominal Stem.

## Text Example WO.19.

MP-FL.141

(a) qawxa† miskinmu†ni

/qa-u?xa-?†, mis-kin-mu-†,ni/

be.thus-Be.to-ADV, mix-by.hand-INST-PASV,IND

**'She was mixing**

ni?s ?a·qu†aqpi?ks ni?s kyakxu?s

/ni?-s ?a·qu†aqpi?k-s ni?-s, kyakxu?-s/

the-S3, NSB-leaf/leaves-S3 the-S3, fish-S3

**'the leaves and the fish.'**

## Text Example WO.20.

MP-FL.179-181

(a) taxas hu †xa† qaki?ni

/taxa-s hu, †xa-?†, qa-ki?,ni/

then-S3 1CP, FUT-ADV, be.thus-say,IND

**'then I say:'**

(b) †in,s† ?ini kamna†a fridʒ,

/†in, s-i?†, ?in,i ka-mn-a†a fridʒ,

must.be, CON-ADV, be-NC,IND 1POS-1IPB-1PL fridge

**'this must be our fridge,**

ni? taxa ?a·qu†aqpi?k

/ni?,taxa ?a·-qu†aqpi?k/

the, then NSB-leaf

**'the leaves (that we had then).'**

The following text example is a sentence from the Constable Pritchard Text. In this example in (b), the determiner /ni?/ 'the' appears as a proclitic pronoun on a k-form which is a complement of a verbal stem of communication in (b), rather than the word /ni?/ merely functioning as a modifying satellite word of a following stem. The k-form in (b) is as much a modifier of the pronoun /ni?/ as the pronoun is a determiner and modifier of the k-form.

Text Example WO.21.

FW-CP.23-26.

(a) paʔ ʔat ǰapiʔpaʔniʔni

/paʔ. ʔat. ǰap-i-ʔpaʔn-iʔ.ni/

EVID. IMpt. all-hear-Bf-STV.IND

'he told everyone'

(b) niʔs kiʔin

/niʔ-s. k.ʰiʔ.ʔi-n/

the-S3. SM.Bpt.be-NC

the (fact) that he was

'that he was

(c) kwiʔqa

/k.ʰwiʔqa-ʔ

SM.big-STV-IN

that (he) is big

a big

(d) kakuʔaʕ

k.ʰa-kuʔaʕ/

SM.have-testicle

that (he) has testicles

stud.'

In nominal phrases in Kutenai where deictic words, the quantitative word /ǰapiʔ/, or the determiner /niʔ/ 'the' precede a nominal stem, ostensibly modifying it, it is possible to see the ostensible modifier as fundamentally or alternatively a pronoun, and therefore fundamentally a nominal stem in its own right. The modifying word is also a proclitic element on the following word and a part of the same nominal phrase. If nominal stems are subordinate predications, as is assumed here, then the deictic words, the quantitative

/q̣ap̣iʔ/, and the determiner /niʔ/ 'the' are each specialized kinds of predications. The comparability of the various constructions in Kutenai where one word or phrase modifies a following word or phrase and the further comparability of these constructions to Verbal Stem-Lexical Subject construction seen above in WO.15 makes it questionable that the Dependent-Head word orders represented by the ostensibly modifying constructions are very fundamental or old in the language. It may be that in diachronic terms the Dependent-Head constructions are derivative of a basic Head-Dependent order.

#### 4.1.3 Prepositional Prefixes: Morpheme Order and Basic Word Order.

Kutenai lacks adpositions, so there is no order of adpositions and nominal stems in Kutenai, although one can see the morpheme class of prepositional prefixes as bound prepositions. Prepositional prefixes are prefixed to the verbal roots of verbal stems. Nominal stems and verbal stems are lexical stems, so that the morphological order of Adposition-Lexical Stem is partly equivalent to a morphosyntactic order of Adposition-Noun. In these terms, Kutenai is a prepositional language, which is very much in line with VOS as a basic word order of the language.





(b) Wu:kati ʔa:kitɬaʔisis.

/wu:kat<sub>ɰ</sub>i ʔa:k-i-tɬaʔ-ʔis-i-s/

See<sub>IND</sub> NSB-Bf-house-3POS-Bf-S3

'He/she/it/they (prox) saw his/her/its/their (obv) house (obv),  
(i.e. He saw someone else's house).'

(c) Wu:kati ʔa:kitɬanamis.

/wu:kat<sub>ɰ</sub>i ʔa:k-i-tɬaʔ-n-am-i-s/

See<sub>IND</sub> NSB-Bf-house-NC-INH-Bf-S3

'He/she/it/they (proximate) saw some indefinite (obviative) person's house (obv).'

(d) Wu:kati ka<sub>ɰ</sub>a:kitɬanaɬaʔis.

/wu:kat<sub>ɰ</sub>i ka<sub>ɰ</sub> ʔa:k-i-tɬaʔ-n-aɬaʔ-i-s/

See<sub>IND</sub> 1POS<sub>ɰ</sub> NSB-Bf-house-NC-1PL-Bf-S3

'He/she/it/they (proximate) saw our house (obviative).'

(e) Wu:kati ka<sub>ɰ</sub>a:kitɬaʔmiɬ.

/wu:kat<sub>ɰ</sub>i ka<sub>ɰ</sub> ʔa:k-i-tɬaʔ-m-iɬ/

See<sub>IND</sub> 1POS<sub>ɰ</sub> NSB-Bf-house-ASC-DI

'He/she/it/they (Proximate) saw my house (Obviative).'

Example sets APM.2, parts (a) and (b), and text example APM.3 provide further examples of associated person marking which involve the compound Associated Person Suffix /-m-iɬ/ on nominal stems.

## Example Set APM.2.

EG-KLP.card

(a) Kin wuːkatmu kaːaːkʰayukaʔmiːʔ 'Did you see him with my hat?'

/kʰinː wuːkat-mu kaː ʔaː-kʰayukaʔ-m-iːʔ ʔ/

SMː2CPː See-INST 1POSː NSB-hat-ASC-DI QUES

(b) Hu wuːkatmuni ʔaːkʰayukanismiːʔ. 'I saw him with your hat.'

/hu wuːkat-mu ʔaː-kʰayukaʔ-m-iːʔ /

1CPː See-INST NSB-hat-ASC-DI

## Text Example APM.3.

RMc-Ch.Og.241

ʔxaːʔ ʔuːʔamaxamunapni ka ʔiyaʔmiːʔ.

/ʔxaʔʔː ʔuːʔamʰ-a-ʔ-xa-mu-n-apːni kaː ʔiyaʔ-m-iːʔ/

FUT-ADVː remove-head-Bf-GSVI-G-INST-1SG.OBJːIND 1POSː younger.brother-ASC-DI

'She will bite off the head of my little brother.'

**Associated Person marking and the Reciprocal Suffix.**

Example set APM.4, below, is a set of three sentences which can be read as a short text. These sentences shows that associated person marking is not required on a nominal stem when the nominal stem is the argument of a verbal stem marked by the Reciprocal Suffix /-nam/. This means that the Reciprocal Suffix lowers the valence of an otherwise transitive verbal stem. This syntactic behavior of the Reciprocal Suffix may well be a product of the fact that the Reciprocal Suffix is a derivative of the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/ in combination with a preceding N-Connector Suffix /-n-/. The Indefinite Human Suffix is the intransitive equivalent of the Passive Suffix /-ʔ/ in that they both mark indefinite human agents of verbal stems. The Passive Suffix is found with transitive stems, while the Indefinite Human Suffix /-am/ is found with intransitive stems. The

examples in section 4.3.1, above, demonstrate that the indefinite human agent marked by the Passive Suffix is not a direct argument of the verbal stem marked by the Passive Suffix. Evidently this is also a property of the Reciprocal Suffix. The verbal stem marked by the Reciprocal Suffix in APM.4, part (c) does not have two third person direct arguments in the sentence, in spite of the two nominal stems, each representing a distinct third person entity in semantic terms. What triggers the associated person marking in the sentences in parts (a) and (b) is the fact that in each of these sentences there are two grammatical third persons as arguments of the verbal stem.

Example Set APM.4.

EG-KLP

- (a) Ka xaʔʔɕin ɕʔakiʔni ka pusmiʔ. 'My dog likes my cat.'  
 (b) Ka pus ɕʔakiʔni ka xaʔʔɕinmiʔ. 'My cat likes my dog.'  
 (c) ɕʔakiʔamni ka pusɕ ka xaʔʔɕin. 'My cat and dog love one another.'

The Sentences in Analyzed Format.

- (a) Ka xaʔʔɕin ɕʔakiʔni ka pusmiʔ.  
 /kaɕ xaʔʔɕin ɕʔakiʔni kaɕ pus-m-iʔ/  
 1POSɕ dog likeɕIND 1POSɕ cat-ASC-DI  
 'My dog likes my cat.'

- (b) Ka pus ɕʔakiʔni ka xaʔʔɕinmiʔ.  
 /Kaɕ pus ɕʔakiʔni kaɕ xaʔʔɕin-m-iʔ/  
 1POSɕ cat likeɕIND 1POSɕ dog-ASC-DI  
 'My cat likes my dog.'

(c) ʔakiʔamni ka pus ʔ ka xaʔʔin.

/ʔakiʔ-amni ka pus ʔ ka xaʔʔin/

1like-RECIP,IND 1POS, cat and 1POS, dog

'My cat and dog love one another.'

#### 4.3.4 The Person Marking of Instrumental Objects.

In Kutenai clauses where there is an Instrumental Suffix /-mu/ on the verbal stem and an instrument represented by a nominal stem, the nominal stem representing the instrument is marked as a subsidiary third person entity, if there is any other third person entity represented in the clause. This is shown in examples PMIO.1 through PMIO.3. Apparently, the subject of the verbal stem in the clause always outranks the instrument. This is something which would be expected for discourse pragmatic reasons. It is also apparently true on a general basis that the direct object of a transitive verbal stem with the Instrumental Suffix outranks the instrument, requiring the nominal stem representing the instrument to be a subsidiary third person.

Example PMIO.1.

EG

ʔitʔanmuqamun ʔkamu nas sit's !

/ʔitʔanmuqa-mu,n ʔkamu na-s sit'-s /

bundle.up-INST,2CP baby this-S3 blanket-S3

'Bundle the baby up in this blanket!'

Example Set PMIO.2.

KLP.card

(a) Hu wanʔumuni ku ʔi:kuʔ piʔaks. 'I stirred my drink with a spoon.'

/hu wan-ʔu-mu,ni k,hu ʔi:kuʔ piʔaks/

1CP, move-by.point-INST,IND SM,1CP, Drink spoon-S3

(b) Hu wan<sup>h</sup>umuna<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>?ni ku <sup>h</sup>i·ku<sup>h</sup>na<sup>h</sup>a pi<sup>h</sup>aks.

/hu wan-k<sup>h</sup>u-mu-n-a<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>?ni k<sup>h</sup>hu <sup>h</sup>i·ku<sup>h</sup>-n-a<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>? pi<sup>h</sup>ak-s/  
 1CP<sub>u</sub> move-by.point-INST-NC-1PL<sub>u</sub>IND SM<sub>u</sub>1CP<sub>u</sub> Drink-NC-1PL spoon-S3

'We stirred our drinks with a spoon.'

(c) Wan<sup>h</sup>umuni <sup>h</sup>i·ku<sup>h</sup> pi<sup>h</sup>aks.

/wan-k<sup>h</sup>u-mu<sub>u</sub>ni k<sub>u</sub> <sup>h</sup>i·ku<sup>h</sup> pi<sup>h</sup>ak-s/  
 move-by.point-INST<sub>u</sub>IND SM<sub>u</sub> Drink spoon-S3

'He stirred his drink with a spoon.'

Example Set PMIO.3.

KLP.card

(a) K<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>mu<sup>h</sup> na <sup>h</sup>a·k<sup>h</sup>wu<sup>h</sup>ta <sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>us ?

/k<sub>u</sub> <sup>h</sup>u-k<sup>h</sup>u-?-mu-<sup>h</sup> na <sup>h</sup>a·k<sup>h</sup>-wu<sup>h</sup>ta <sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>u-s ?/  
 SM<sub>u</sub> pierce-by.point-GSVI-INST-PASV this NSB-Hide awl-S3 QUES

'Was this hide pierced with an awl?'

(b) Hiy, hu <sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>mu<sup>h</sup>ni <sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>us.

/hiy, hu<sub>u</sub> <sup>h</sup>u-k<sup>h</sup>u-?-mu<sub>u</sub>ni <sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>u-s/  
 yes 1CP<sub>u</sub> pierce-by.point-GSVI-INST<sub>u</sub>IND awl-S3

'Yes, I pierced it with an awl'.



#### 4.4 Subordination.

Subordination in Kutenai involves verbal phrases which are either marked as subordinate by the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>u</sub>/ or they are subordinate verbal phrases which can be identified as subordinate in some other way. What all subordinate forms have in common is that they are non-indicative, but the mere absence of the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ni/ is not sufficient to mark a verbal form as subordinate. Some reflexive verbal forms are regularly indicative without having the Indicative Marker encliticized onto the verbal stem.<sup>1</sup>

Phrases which are marked by the Subordinate Marker /k<sub>u</sub>/ are k-forms. These include interrogative forms, and non-interrogative forms. Interrogative forms are different from other k-forms by being spoken with a rising interrogative intonation. Non-interrogative k-forms include lexicalized nominalizations, ad hoc nominalizations, complement clauses of verbal stems of thought, perception, and communication, and what can loosely be described as relative clause type k-forms.

Plain predicate clauses are another type of subordinate forms in Kutenai. These are marked by the Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/.<sup>2</sup> One complication is that the Predicate Marker /n<sub>u</sub>/ only occurs overtly before the first verbal root of a verbal phrase and only if that verbal root begins with a laryngeal consonant.<sup>3</sup> As a result of this, many plain predicate forms are identical to the plain forms of verbal stems which are glossed as infinitives.<sup>4</sup>

Plain predicate clauses are functionally either temporal clauses, including 'when'-

<sup>1</sup> See section 3.2.7 for a paradigm of indicative reflexive forms.

<sup>2</sup> The Predicate Marker is also a feature of indicative paradigms, where it occurs in construction with the Indicative Marker /<sub>u</sub>ni/ to mark verbal forms as indicative. In the absence of the indicative marker, the Predicate Marker marks plain predicate clauses.

<sup>3</sup> The first verbal root of a verbal phrase may be the base morpheme of a derived adverb.

<sup>4</sup> The plain forms of verbal stems which are glossed as infinitives do not occur in Kutenai sentences. In other words, infinitives do not occur in Kutenai as a type of subordinate clause. The infinitival glosses are merely an artifact of the need to have a way to list verbal stems, as in a lexicon. When Kutenai speakers want to refer to a verbal stem in a citation form in natural speech, they generally use the k-form.

clauses, or they are conditional clauses, including 'if'-clauses. 'When'-clauses set up a chronology of events for a sentence. 'If'-clauses state a condition relevant to the indicative proposition of the sentence.

#### 4.4.1 Complement Clauses.

Complement clauses in Kutenai include k-forms which are subordinate to verbal stems of thought, perception, and communication. These clauses specify things thought, perceived, or communicated.<sup>5</sup> Examples KFCC.1 through KFCC.6 contain k-form complement clauses. In each of these examples, the k-form clause represents something which can be identified with the third person direct object of the main clause verbal stem.

For example, in KFCC.1, immediately below, the main clause verbal stem can be construed to be a transitive stem with a subsidiary third person (i.e. obviative) direct object 'it', marked by a zero pronominal affix. This 'it' is the fact that the chickadees are being watched. In the subordinate clause in part (b) of the example, the determiner /ni?/ 'the' functions as a pronoun, representing the fact that the chickadees are being watched. As such, it is marked as a subsidiary third person entity ( i.e. an obviative entity) in the sentence.

Example KFCC.1.

EG-KLP.sheet

(a) Qa ?upxni mič'qaqas

/qa<sub>∞</sub> ?upx<sub>∞</sub>ni mič'qaqa-s/

NEG<sub>∞</sub> see/know<sub>∞</sub>IND chickadee-S3

they don't know it the chickadees

'The chickadees don't know

<sup>5</sup> Direct quotes need not be k-forms and direct quotes are also not marked in any other morphological way as quotes.



- (c) ya·qak†apski 'what was said to him in return.'  
 /ya· qa-k-†-ap-s·ki/  
 DFM· be.thus-say-DI-HRO·LOC·and

**Example Set DFLLC.2.**

EG

- (a) †itkamsi ?is ya·qaki?ki.  
 /†it-kam-s·i ?i-s· ya·qa-ki?·ki/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)  
 /†it-kam-s·ni ?in-s· ya·qa-ki?·ki / (Underlying Phonemic)  
 be.without-sense-S3·IND that-S3 DFM·be.thus-say·LOC  
 'What he said is of no importance, what he said is nothing'.

- (b) Nakamni hin ya·qa†wiyki.  
 /n·ha-kam·i hin· ya·qa-†wiy·ki/  
 PM·have-sense·IND 2CP· DFM·be.thus-heart·LOC  
 'What you think matters'.

Part (b) contrasts with part (c):

EG

- (c) Nakamni ka? hin ?a·qa†wiy.  
 /n·ha-kam·i ka?· hin· ?a·-qa-†wiy/  
 PM·have-sense·IND what· 2CP· IM-be.thus-heart  
 'It matters what you decide.'

## Example DFCL.3.

EG

tuɕiʔti hin ya:qaɬwiyimiɬki.

/ɬu-ɕ-iʔ-tɕi hin ya:qa-ɬwiy-m-iɬki/

be.none-CAUS-STV-TVI,IND 2CP, DFM,be.thus-heart-ASC-DI,LOC

'He doesn't care what you think, he didn't care for your idea'.

## Example DFCL.4.

EG

(a) ɕiqaʔni ʔa:kiɬɬaɬaʔwuk

/ɕi-qa-ʔni ʔa:k-iɬɬaɬaʔ-wuʔk

dense-STV-IN,IND NSB-Sfx-bush

'There is thick shrub'

(b) na huɕ ya:qanamki.

/na huɕ ya:qa-na-mki/

this 1CP,Fpt DFM,be.thus-go-RM,LOC

'where I am going'.

## Example DFCL.5.

EG

ɕi:katɬititin hinɕ ya:qanamki.

/ɕi:kat-ɬiʔt-i-tɕin hinɕ ya:qa-na-mki/

Look.at-place-Bf-TVI,2CP 2CP,FUT DFM,be.thus-go-RM,LOC

'Watch where you're going'.

## Example DFCL.6.

FW-7.31

ʕinaxi niʔs ya·kiʔ ʔikski.

/ʕi-na-x<sub>i</sub> niʔ-s<sub>u</sub> ya·ha-k-iʔʔ<sub>u</sub> ʔik-s<sub>u</sub>ki/

INCEP-go-RLG<sub>u</sub>IND the-S3<sub>u</sub> DFM<sub>u</sub>have-do/be-ADV<sub>u</sub> eat-S3<sub>u</sub>LOC

'He/she/it/they (proximate) went to where he/she/it/they (obviative) was/were eating.'

The subordinate clause in example DFCL.6, above, can occur with a primary third person subject, as in example DFCL.7, below.

## Example DFCL.7.

FW-7.31

niʔs ya·kiʔʔ ʔiki

/niʔ-s ya·ha-k-iʔʔ<sub>u</sub> ʔi·ki/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/niʔ-s ya·ha-k-iʔʔ<sub>u</sub> ʔik<sub>u</sub>ki / (Underlying Phonemic)

the-S3 DFM<sub>u</sub>have-do/be-ADV<sub>u</sub> eat<sub>u</sub>LOC

'where he/she/it/ (proximate) is eating, where they (proximate) are eating',

Example DFCL.8, below, has an ostensibly passive form of the subordinate clause seen above in example DFCL.6. The Definite Reference Marker which is procliticized onto the verbal stem /ʔik/ 'to eat' in these sentences refers to the place where eating is done, rather than to those who are doing the eating, or to what is eaten. The Passive suffix here lowers the valence of the verbal stem only to the extent of forcing an intransitive reading of the verbal stem /ʔik/ 'to eat', rather than to make the object of the transitive verbal stem /ʔik/ 'to eat something' into the subject of the passive form of the stem. In example DFCL.8, below, the subject of the main clause verbal stem is a primary third person or persons (i.e. proximate), requiring the indefinite human subject of the subordinate clause to

be a subsidiary third person or persons (i.e. obviative).

Example DFCL.8.

FW-7.31

ʕinaxi ya:ʔkiʔ ʔikʔiski.

/ʕi-na-xʊi ya:ʔha-k-iʔʔ ʔik-ʔ-i-sʊki/

INCEP-go-RLG.IND DFM.ʔhave-do/be-ADV.ʔ eat-PASV-Bf-S3.LOC

'He/she/it/they (proximate) went to where they (unspecified person or persons, obviative) are eating', 'He/she/it/they (proximate) went to an eating place (obviative), i.e. 'He went to a restaurant'.

The subordinate clause in example DFCL.8, above, can occur with a primary third person (proximate) indefinite human subject, as in example DFCL.9, below. This is the plain form of the lexical item meaning 'restaurant'.

Example DFCL.9.

FW-7.31

ya:ʔkiʔ ʔikiʔki

/ya:ʔha-k-iʔʔ ʔik-i-ʔʊki/

DFM.ʔhave-do/be-ADV.ʔ eat-Bf-PASV.LOC

'restaurant', lit. 'the place where they (indefinite) eat, or indefinite you eat'.

#### 4.4.5 The Definite Reference K-Form Construction.

Where the Definite Reference Marker /ya·/~/yi·/ occurs, there is already an unmarked third person pronominal reference which the Definite Reference Marker only serves to emphasis and make more definite. Example DFKC.1, below, contains the Definite Reference Marker, but the construction /kwi+qa? kanusnana/ means 'a big apple' without it.

Example DFKC.1.

EG.

ʔkakinin ya· kwi+qa kanusnana.

/ʔka-kin·in ya· k·wi+qa-? kanusnana/

INCEP-come-by.hand·2CP DFM· SM·big-STV-IN apple

'Pass me an apple that is large', Pass me a big apple'.

Example set DFKC.2 contrasts two sentences each consisting of an indicative verbal phrase in parts (a) and (b) with a corresponding k-form subordinate clause in part (c), and an example of the Definite Reference K-Form Construction in part (d).

Example Set DFKC.2.

FW-12.67

(a) Wuq+amni

/wu-q+am·ni/<sup>12</sup>

long-Hair·IND

'He/she/it (proximate) has long hair, They (proximate) have long hair'.

<sup>12</sup> The compound lexical suffix /-q+am/ 'hair' contains the lexical suffix /-+am/ 'head'.

(b) Wuq̄t̄am̄si

/wu-q̄t̄am̄-s̄i/

long-Hair-S3,IND

'He/she/it (obviative) has long hair, They (obviative) have long hair'.

(c) Wu·kati kwuq̄t̄am̄s.

/wu·kat̄i wu-q̄t̄am̄-s̄i/<sup>13</sup>

See,IND long-Hair-S3,IND

'He/she/it/they (proximate) saw that he/she/it/they (obviative) had long hair',  
also: 'He/she/it/they saw a Chinaman/Chinese person or persons'.

(d) Wu·kati ya·k̄wuq̄t̄am̄s.

/wu·kat̄i ya·k̄wu-q̄t̄am̄-s/

See,IND DFM,SM, long-Hair-S3

'He saw those that had long hair'.

Examples DFKC.3 and DFKC.4, below, have the Definite Reference k-form construction of example DFKC.2, above, as the subject of sentences, rather than as the direct object of the main clause verbal stem that it is in example DFKC.2, part (d), above.

<sup>13</sup> Underlyingly, the verbal stem /wu·kat̄/ contains the lexical suffix /-akat/ 'sight'. See section 2.6.10 where the morphologically conditioned rule of monophthongization involved is discussed.

## Example DFKC.3.

FW-12.66

Ni? ya·kwuq̄+am̄ xman ?ituk̄sa?ni

/ni? ya·kwu-q̄+am̄ xma.n. ?ituk̄sa?ni/

the DFM,SM, long-Hair-S3 HYPO,PM, Become-tie-GSVI,IND

'Those who have long hair should tie it, braid it.'

## Example DFKC.4.

FW-7.10

?Aq+smakniĸ ya·kwuq̄+am̄ xman ?ituk̄sa?ni.

/?aq+smakniĸ ya·kwu-q̄+am̄ xma.n. ?it-uk̄sa?ni/

people DFM,SM, long-Hair HYPO,PM, Become-tie,IND

'People who have long hair should tie it (braid it).'

Example DFKC.4, above, and example DFKC.5, part (a), below, have Definite Reference K-Form clauses coreferent to a preceding nominal stem. Going by the English translations, the nominal stems are modified by the following subordinate clauses. The assumption here is that the nominal stem at the beginning of these sentences is in apposition to the affixal pronominal subject of the verbal phrases of these sentences. The Definite Reference Marker in these sentences can be thought of as a modifier of the unmarked (i.e. zero) pronominal reference. Alternatively, it can be seen as a pronominal affix, in its own right, representing the primary third person pronominal reference in these sentences in the clauses where it occurs.

## Example DFKC.5.

FW-7.12

(a) ?Aqʔsmakniʔ ya·kju?na?t čikins

/ ?aqʔsmakniʔ ya·kju?n-haʔ-t čikin-s/

people DFM,SM,many-NC-have-TVI chicken-S3

'People who have lots of chickens'

(b) ?at yunaxni ?a·kmađans.

/ ?atju yuʔn-ha-xju ni ?a·k-mađan-s/

IMpt, many-NC-have-by.mouth,IND NSB-egg-S3

'have lots of eggs to eat'.

The optionality of the Definite Reference Marker is further demonstrated by a passage in text example DFKC.6 from the story of Chickadee and Elk, as told in 1975 by Lucy Birdstone, of St Mary's Band. The transcript of the text was produced on January 17, 1975 with the help of Lucy Birdstone, Judith Alpine, and Leo Williams. In part (c) the subordinate construction /ya·kjuhiʔju sik/ is used to refer to an elk which is fat, specifically 'one that is fat'. This occurs again in part (f) of the example where the gloss is 'a fat one'. In part (i) of the example, however, the construction /niʔju kjuhiʔju sik ʔawuʔ/ (the, SM,Bpt,fat elk) refers to 'a fat elk', without the Definite Reference Marker being present, but with the determiner appearing in its place. The determiner /niʔ/ is often glossed as 'the', but here it is not reflected in the free English translation. The determiner /niʔ/ is more straightforwardly anaphoric in function than the English definite article 'the'. In part (d) of the example, the construction /niʔju kju tuŋ-ak/ refers to 'the skinny one', with the determiner /niʔ/ and without the Definite Reference Marker /ya·/~/yi·/.



## 6 Analyzed Texts.

### 6.1 The Coyote and Cloud Text.

FW-10.64-68

This text was told by Mary Paul of St Mary's Band who had heard the story, but was not able to tell the story in its full form. There is a longer version of the story recorded as told by Ann Pierre of Tobacco Plains. This short version of the story was transcribed and translated with the help of Frank Whitehead on December 13, 1973. Additional notations on stylistic features and false starts have been added after careful listening to the tape recording of the text in 1990.

Sentence 1, consisting of lines 1-2.

Qa:k+unamni<sub>ϕ</sub><sup>1</sup>

/qa-ha-k+u?-n-am<sub>ϕ</sub>ni ϕ/

be.thus-have-village-NC-INH<sub>ϕ</sub>IND ϕand

They were camped and (See Clause 4, further below in Sentence 3)

(1) There was a village and

Qa:k+una+ka?ni<sup>2</sup> skinkuϕ.

/qa-ha-k+u?-n-a+ka?<sub>ϕ</sub>ni skinkuϕ/

be.thus-have-village-ASC-COPART-INH.O<sub>ϕ</sub>IND coyote

(2) (there was) the village campsite of Coyote (more lit. He had a camp with them)

<sup>1</sup>. Originally transcribed by the author as: [qak+unamni], but [qahak] is written in small letters above the original transcription, in which vowel length had been overlooked. FW offered a hypercorrect pronunciation of [qahak+uná·mne·], evidently in order to correct the lack of vowel length in the author's first pronunciation when reading the original transcription back. The hypercorrect pronunciation of FW, offered for demonstration purposes, is like the normal Conservative Lower Kutenai pronunciations of related words in the texts of Moses Joseph of Bonners Ferry, Idaho.

<sup>2</sup>. [qa:a..] and [qa<sup>h</sup>a..] were transcribed.

Sentence 2, consisting of line 3.

Sa+titni ?a·qa+s swin?isis.

[sa+títne· ?á·qa·s ?i· swin?ísis]<sup>3</sup>

/s-ha+tit<sub>ni</sub>                      ?a·-qa+-s      swin-?is-is/

CON-Be.married.to<sub>IND</sub>              NSB-cloud-S3      daughter-3POS-S3

(3) He was married to the daughter of Cloud.

Sentence 3, consisting of line 4.

Qa·k+unamni.<sup>4</sup>

/qa-ha-k+u?-n-am<sub>ni</sub>/

be.thus-have-village-NC-INH<sub>IND</sub>

(4) They were camped,

Sentence 4, consisting of line 5.

?Utmi+itni.

{?ut<sup>ə</sup>mi+itni...}

/?utmi-+it<sub>ni</sub>/

Hot-place<sub>IND</sub>

(5) and it was awful hot,

Sentence 5, consisting of lines 6-8.

Qana+ qaki'ni skinkuç:

[qakí+ne· ni] [qàna+ qakí·?ne· skí·nku·ts]

(a false start.....)

/qa-na-?+<sub>ni</sub>      qa-ki?<sub>ni</sub>      skinkuç/      (Mid)

/qa-na-?+<sub>ni</sub>      qa-kik<sub>ni</sub>      skinkuç /      (Und.)

be.thus-go-ADV<sub>ni</sub>      be.thus-say<sub>IND</sub>      coyote

(6) and Coyote said:

"?A·k+u?nam<sub>ç</sub>

/?a·-ha-k+u?-n-am<sub>ç</sub>/

IM-have-village-NC-INH<sub>ç</sub>      and

(7) (When there is) a camp, and

<sup>3</sup> The phonetic transcription includes a voiced pause in the form of [?i:].

<sup>4</sup> [qak<sup>h</sup>ak] was transcribed.

?at n̄uk̄ni+ huqnaniyamni."

[?at n̄uk̄ni+ huq̄naniyámni...] ←(Emphatic Lengthening Example)

/?at̄ n̄u?uk̄n-i?+ huqna-n-iy-am̄ni/ (Mid-Level Phonemic)

/?at̄ n̄u?uk̄n-i?+ huqna-m-ik-n-am̄ni / (Underlying Phonemic)

IMpt̄ PM̄sudden-ADV̄ Move.camp-ASC-REFLX-NC-INH̄IND

(8) sometime they have to move on (all of a sudden).

**Sentence 6, consisting of line 9.**

(a false start.....) Taxas n̄uk̄ni+ huqnaniyamni.

[t̄ax̄qs̄ č̄ina+ ] [t̄ax̄qs̄ n̄uk̄ni+ huq̄naniyámni]

/taxa-s n̄u?uk̄in-i?+ huqna-n-iy-am̄ni/

then-S3 PM̄sudden-ADV̄ Move.camp-ASC-REFLX-INH̄IND

(9) Then they suddenly moved camp.

**Sentence 7, consisting of line 10.**

č̄ina+unismamni.

[č̄ina+unismamni]

/č̄i-na-+unis-n-am̄ni/

fast-go-travel.along-NC-INH̄IND

(10) They were moving along.

**Sentence 8, consisting of clauses 11-12.**

Qana+ +unismamnī

[ k/qamquqa...]

/qa-na-?+ +unis-n-am̄nī̄ /

(a false start.....)

be.thus-go-ADV̄ travel.along-NC-INH̄IND̄̄ and

(11) As they were moving along,

Taxas n̄uk̄ni+ č̄ininmitqa+xuni.

[t̄ax̄qs̄ [č̄inin..] n̄uk̄ni+ č̄ininmitqa+xune.]

(a false start for the VP)

/taxa-s n̄u?uk̄n-i?+ č̄i-n-in-mit-qa+-xūni/

then-S3 PM̄sudden-ADV̄ fast-go-Sfx-throw-cloud-by.bodȳIND

(12) Then all of a sudden the cloud started moving fast.

Sentence 9, consisting of line 13.

Snaʔ ʔunisnaʔkaʔni ʔa:qaʔ.  
 /s-na-ʔʔ ʔunis-naʔ-kaʔni ʔa-qaʔ/  
 CON-go-ADV ʔ travel.along-Com-INH.O ʔ IND NSB-cloud  
 She went along with someone

(13) The cloud was on the move,

Sentence 10, consisting of lines 14-15.

ʔinmitqaʔxuni.  
 /ʔi-n-mit-qaʔ-xuʔni/  
 fast-go-throw-cloud-by.body IND

(14) The cloud started moving fast.

nas ʔumiʔs skinkuʔ ʔa:knuʔkaʔmakuʔis  
 [nasts ʔumiʔs skinkuʔ ʔa:kənuʔkaʔmakúʔ]  
 /na-s ʔ ʔumiʔ-s skinkuʔ ʔa:k-nuʔ-kaʔma-ku-ʔis/  
 here-S3 and Below-S3<sup>5</sup> coyote NSB-Sfx-mouth-heat-3POS  
 here below (there was) Coyote's panting

(15) and at the bottom (was) Coyote panting.

Sentence 11, consisting of line 16.

Taxas kʔhukʔuk skinkuʔ  
 /taxa-s kʔʔhukʔuk skinkuʔ/  
 then-S3 SM,IR,tired coyote

(16) Then Coyote must have been tired (and he said):

Sentence 12, consisting of lines 17-18.

"A, ʔinaʔ ʔunisnam ʔ  
 /a, ʔi-na-ʔʔ ʔunis-n-am ʔ ʔ/  
 oh be-go-ADV ʔ travel.along-NC-INH ʔ and

(17) "Oh, when somebody is going along, and

ʔat ʔitkikʔunamni."  
 [ʔat ʔnitkikʔunámni...] (Emphatic Lengthening Example)

/ʔat ʔ nʔiʔt-ki-kʔuʔ-n-am ʔni/  
 IMpt ʔ PM,Become-Sfx-village-NC-INH IND

(18) they stop and pitch camp."

<sup>5</sup> Underlyingly the word /ʔumiʔ/ 'below' is /ʔu-miʔ/ (down + earth/ground).

**Sentence 13, consisting of line 19.**

Taxas skikiʔ kʷumnaqaqaʔni skinkuϕ.

/taxa-s s-kik-iʔʔ. kʷumnaqa-qa-ʔni skinkuϕ/ (Mid-Level)

/taxa-s s-kik-iʔʔ. kʷumnaqa-qa-pni skinkuϕ/ (Underlying)

then-S3 CON-Sfx-ADV. poor.condition-STV-IN,IND coyote

**(19) Coyote was suffering, was in a bad way. (i.e. Coyote was in poor shape)**



taxas ?at si? qaqasuxaqa?qanuxwati?ni.  
 /taxa-s ?at, si? qaqas-u?xa-qa?qanuxwat-i?ni/  
 then-S3 IMpt, CON-ADV, end-Be.to-Mythical.story-PASV,IND  
 (95) this is where the story ends.

## Sentence 45, consisting of lines 96-97.

Taxas hu qa ?upxami?ni	ka?s n'a:qaqna.
/taxa-s hu, qa, ?upxa-m-i?ni/	/ka?-s, n,?a'-qa-qna-?/
then-S3 1CP, NEG, know/see-ASC-DI,IND	where-S3, PM-IM-be.thus-do-IN
(96) Now I have no idea	(97) what became of him.

## Sentence 46, consisting of lines 98-99.

Tax ni? ma?nam,	ka?s,? ?aki n'a:qaqna.
/tax ni?, ma?-n-am/	/ka?-s, ?aki n,?a'-qa-qna-?/
then the, mother-NC-INH	where-S3,FUT, also PM,IM-thus-do-IN
(98) And the mother also,	(99) whatever she did.

## Sentence 47, consisting of lines 100-101.

Naqan ?axa? ?upxnam  
 /naqan ?axa-??, ?upx-nam/  
 whether get.to-ADV, know/see-RECIP  
 (100) Whether they met up somewhere,

?a naqan qa ?upxnam.  
 /?a, naqan qa, ?upx-nam/  
 REV, whether NEG, see/know-RECIP  
 (101) or not.

## Sentence 48, consisting of line 102.

Taxas ?aki,s? qaqasinwuqa?ni.  
 /taxa-s ?aki s-i??, qaqas-i-n-wu-qa-?ni/  
 then-S3 also CON-ADV, end-Bf-NC-long-STV-IN,IND  
 (102) Now this is the end of the story also.





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BLS = Berkeley Linguistic Society, Berkeley, California.

UCPL = University of California Publications in Linguistics. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

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