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COEUR D'ALENE GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

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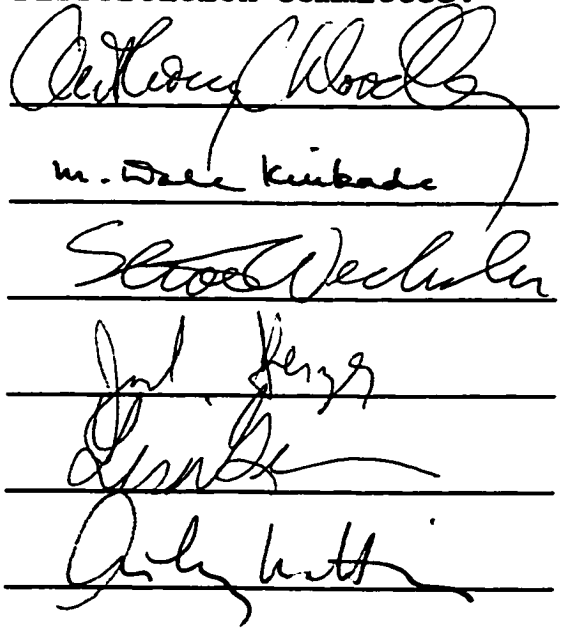

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COEUR D'ALENE GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

by
Ivy Grace Doak, B.A., M.A.

Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
the University of Texas at Austin
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin
August 1997

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COEUR D'ALENE GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

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Coeur d'Alene (Interior Salish) is a pronominal argument language that is morphologically absolutive-ergative in the third person and shows a three way split in first and second persons. Simple intransitive sentences are roots or stems inflected with nominative proclitics or the null absolutive. Intransitive subjects may take the role of agent or patient. Simple transitives are derived by suffixing -t and the pronominal object (either accusative or absolutive) and subject to a stem that has been modified with one of a limited set of directive, causative, or applicative suffixes which serve to alter the role of the object. Transitive subjects are uniformly agents.

Continuative and future predications use a unique intransitive construction, an inversion, where the genitive pronominals (prefixes and suffixes) are used to indicate agents and the nominative proclitics or null absolutive are used to indicate patients. Unique constructions for passive, antipassive, and middle voices do not exist. The voice of intransitive constructions varies with root class, aspect, and the use of the suffix

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-m. The nontopic ergative is a transitive construction that does not alter voice.

Pronominal arguments may be specified in clauses adjoined to the predicate. In general, nominative, accusative, and absolutive arguments are specified in adjuncts introduced with a determiner; ergative arguments are introduced with a determiner followed by the oblique marker. The determiner plus oblique phrases used to specify ergative arguments are also used to specify participants not indicated pronominally on the predicate. The oblique marker is used alone to indicate an indefinite participant not indicated on the predicate.

Fully inflected predicates may be juxtaposed or conjoined to form complex and compound sentences. Full predicates may also be subordinate to the negative or the demonstratives. In complex sentences and subordinate constructions, the second predicate may be coreferential with an absolutive (S or O) argument of the first predicate. There is no coreferencing in compound structures.

Lexical compounding is a probable basis for the historical development of lexical affixation. The lexical affixes serve as classifiers; their presence does not affect transitivity, and specific reference to participants requires the use of adjuncts.

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List of Abbreviations

abs	Absolutive	
acc	Accusative	
aug	augmentative	+CVC+
aut	autonomous	-iš
b	benefactive applicative	-ši-
compl	completive	
conn	connective	ł, hił
cont	continuative	ẏc-, -m-š
ct	causative	-st(u)-
cust	customary/causative	ʔɛc-
d	directive	-n-
dat	dative	
det	determiner	x^wɛ, łɛ, cɛ
dim	diminutive	C_1+ with <'>
dir	directional	
dur	durative (Spk)	-t
erg	ergative	
fut	future	čɛł
hab	habitual	-úl
imp	imperative	-š; -ul, -wl
inch	inchoative	-ʔ-; -p
inher	inherent	u-, u
instr	instrumental	-mi(n)
int	intentional	s-
intns	intensive	C_1(V)+
invl	involuntary	-p (aka inch)
irr	irrealis	nɛʔ
loc	locative	
mdl	middle	-m
ncr	noncontrol/resultive	+C_2

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neg	negative	lut
nom	nominalizer	s-
nom	nominative	
nte	nontopic ergative	-m/-t
pra	possessor applicative	-ł-
pt	point or place (Clv)	-ut
rel	relational	-m-; -min-
res	resultive	-t
rlz	realized	ɬi
sf	stem formative	
sphar	stylistic pharygealization	<-ʕ->
stat	stative	-t
succ	success/noncontrol	-nún-
t	transitive	-t-
temp	temporal	-ɛs
ua	unanalyzed	
unrlz	unrealized	čɛʔ

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List of Symbols

√	root
-	morpheme boundary
=	lexical suffix
//...//	morphemic analysis
[...]	phonetic transcription
#	compound; only used in forms without a connective
C	consonant
V	vowel
S	high-sonority segment
R	syllabic resonant

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List of Sources

Field data are referred to by speaker, notebook number or year (1990) and page (and possibly a line number). For example:

90.133ms	Margaret Stensgar 1990 notebook page 133
10.67	Blanche LaSarte notebook 10 page 67.
7.10.1	Felix Aripa notebook 7 page 10 line 1.

Speakers:		Notebooks:
fa	Felix Aripa	7
dg	Don George	6, 8
bl or B	Blanche LaSarte	10, 11, 14
ln or N	Lawrence Nicodemus	1, 3, 5, 9, 16
ms	Margaret Stensgar	2, 4, 12, 15

Data files: gwnit, mey, nun, and trunk are files containing data from all my field sources.

Texts: Stories told by Margaret Stensgar are referred to by name or abbreviation:

Circling Raven	cr or R or Raven
Coyote and the Birds	cb
Coyote and Mole	CM
Ernie Smokes	
The Pope	pope
Potty and Rock	PR
First Smoke	smoke, Fsmoke
First Snuff	snoose
Wellpinit	W

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Gladys A. Reichard: Reference to Reichard's 1938 grammar is indicated by R or GAR followed by the page number (and .section). Data taken from the text manuscripts is indicated by title abbreviation (the numbers that accompany these abbreviations refer to lines in my data files).

Little Beaver	b or Beaver
Chief Child-of-the-Root	croot or ccrt
Coyote devours his own children	decoy
The dwarf	dwarf
Coyote loses his eyes	loseeye
Muskrat trespasses (in Reichard 1938)	muskrat
Coyote cuts Sun's heart	sh, shst

Lawrence Nicodemus: Reference to Nicodemus' published work is indicated by N or LN and the year, page, and volume.

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1. Introduction.

1.1. The Coeur d'Alene language.

Coeur d'Alene is a Southern Interior Salish language spoken by a dwindling number of elders on and near the Coeur d'Alene reservation in northern Idaho. The Interior division of the Salish language family (Thompson 1979) includes three Northern languages: Lillooet (van Eijk 1985), Thompson River Salish (Thompson and Thompson 1992; 1996), and Shuswap (Kuipers 1974); and four Southern languages or language groups: Moses-Columbian (most recent work by Czaykowska-Higgins 1996), Colville-Okanagan (A. Mattina 1987), Kalispel (Speck 1980), including Spokane (Carlson 1989) and Flathead (also known as Montana Salish; see for example Thomason 1994), and Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938). The speakers of the Interior languages are probably descendants of coastal peoples who migrated to the interior fairly recently in the prehistory of the language family (Kinkade 1990b:198; 204).

Like all Salishan languages, Coeur d'Alene is polysynthetic, having complex words composed of isolable formatives, including some affixes with lexical content. Coeur d'Alene fits the definition of a pronominal argument language wherein only clitics and affixes occupy argument positions (Jelinek and Demers 1994:698).

1.2. The speakers.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark encountered several Coeur d'Alene as they passed through Nez Perce country in what is now southern Idaho in the early 1800's. At this time, the Coeur d'Alene estimated their number at 2,600. The Coeur d'Alene people remained relatively isolated for the next forty years, involving themselves only minimally in the fur trade. By the time

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the Jesuit missionaries arrived in Coeur d'Alene territory in the 1840's, disease had reduced their number to approximately 700. After two major battles against United States troops led by Colonel Edward J. Steptoe and Colonel George Wright and continued resistance to white settlement, the Coeur d'Alene petitioned for their own reservation on their own land. The Coeur d'Alene reservation was established by Executive Order of President Ulysses S. Grant on November 8, 1873.[1]

In most areas of U.S. expansion, the number of speakers of native American languages has diminished; such is the case with the Coeur d'Alene. The number of remaining fluent speakers of the Coeur d'Alene language is difficult to determine. Johnson estimated fewer than ten proficient speakers in 1975. Since then, at least three speakers have died. The Coeur d'Alene reservation was made open to speakers of the Spokane language some time after it was established, and there is some confusion among younger members as to who speaks which language.

Though the Coeur d'Alene language is clearly in decline, much effort is being made to revitalize its use. The language is being successfully taught in the local schools (Abraham 1997) and at Lewis and Clark State College (Raymond Brinkman, p.c. 1995), and there is a vital and growing tribal language program intended to foster use of the language.

The main consultants for this study were Felix Aripa (b. 1923) of Worley, Idaho; Don George (b. 1912) of

---

[1]Historical information provided here is from Fahey 1997.

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Plummer, Idaho; the late Blanche LaSarte (1915-1996) of Plummer and DeSmet, Idaho; Lawrence Nicodemus (b. 1909) who resides near Nest Creek on the reservation; and the late Margaret Stensgar (1910-1996) of DeSmet, Idaho. The speakers ranged in age from mid-sixties to early eighties while I was working with them, from 1985 through 1991.

1.3. A note on data and sources. The examples in this paper are given in standard Salishan orthography at the level of surface contrast. For the sake of completeness, the examples in sections 3 through 5 will be quite detailed. The Coeur d'Alene form will be followed by a morphemic analysis, a morpheme by morpheme gloss, and a free translation.

My data come from diverse sources: Reichard's published works (1938 and 1939 in particular) and manuscripts, Nicodemus' dictionary (1975a) and lessons (1975b), and my own field notes, collected from 1985 through 1991. In addition, the speakers I worked with have diverse backgrounds which is reflected in their speech. For example, Blanche LaSarte was raised as a native speaker of Coeur d'Alene near Plummer, Idaho, but spent part of her youth in Montana with her father, a native speaker of Montana Salish (Flathead). This is reflected in her speech, where she shows a greater tendency to truncate words than the other speakers I consulted. Don George's pronunciation of certain words sound like Spokane words: for example, rather than using a high front vowel [sqíltč] in the word 'meat', he uses a mid front vowel [sqéltč], the expected pronunciation of the Spokane cognate. This is likely due to influence from his wife, the late Lucy George, who was a native

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speaker of Spokane. Each speaker's unique history is apparent in his or her speech, and these differences have potential importance in future study of the language.

For these reasons, I have keyed most examples to their sources (see List of Sources). This is perhaps an unusual practice, but I have chosen to provide as complete information as possible for the sake of accuracy and as a basis for future investigations.

1.4. Previous research. Research on the Coeur d'Alene language has a long history, beginning with the work of early missionaries in the area (see Doak in press) and the comparative data collected by James Teit in the early part of this century (Boas and Haeberlin 1927). The most significant work started in the late 1920's when Gladys Reichard began her research of Coeur d'Alene, which resulted in several publications, most importantly a grammar (1938), stem list (1939), a paper on root structure and symbolism (1945), and a series of papers on comparative Salishan (1958-1961). Reichard's work is outstanding. She conducted her research at a time when little was known about the Salishan family of languages, and her meticulous description of Coeur d'Alene has provided insight for many later researchers.

Comparative research has relied on Reichard's work on Coeur d'Alene (see for example Vogt 1940 and Swadesh 1952). More recent work on Coeur d'Alene phonology includes original research by Sloat (1966; also 1968, 1972, 1980; and with Kinkade 1972), Johnson (1975), Palmer (for example, with Nicodemus 1982, 1985; with Occhi and Ogawa 1993), and Doak (1990, 1992). Lawrence Nicodemus, a native speaker and consultant for perhaps

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all researchers on Coeur d'Alene, from Boas (Johnson 1975:1) to Brinkman (p.c. 1996), has devised his own practical orthography and has published a dictionary (1975a) and lesson book (1975b).

1.5. Purpose and organization of this study. The goal of this paper is to describe the manifestations of Coeur d'Alene grammatical relations (subject and object) in all clause types. Main clause types include intransitive, transitive, causative, applicative, and genitive and future inversions. Subordinate clause types include adjoined and nonadjoined clauses.

I present this work as a first attempt at a comprehensive, theory neutral description of grammatical relations in a Salish language. Other work in Salishan grammatical relations have either propounded a particular theoretical perspective (for example, Relational Grammar in Gerdts' 1982 treatment of Halkomelem) or have concentrated on morphological details (for example, Thompson and Thompson's 1992 analysis of Thompson River Salish). Here, my focus is to look at the grammatical relations to determine how they are represented in each construction type and how they correlate with the semantic relations (agent, patient, possessor, beneficiary, etc.) that hold in those constructions. Thus this study provides a full description of the system of grammatical relations in one language. As a result, it addresses several topics of current interest in the field. Groundwork is laid for further investigation into the establishment of Salishan root classes (Thomason 1996), discourse tracking of topicality (Kinkade 1990a), ergativity, the existence of pronominal arguments

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(Jelinek 1984), the effects of aspect in syntactic constructions (N. Mattina 1996), and the functions of adjoined clauses (Demirdache 1997) and lexical suffixes (Czaykowska-Higgins, Willet and Bart 1996).

In section 2, I provide a brief grammatical sketch of the Coeur d'Alene language. In section 3, I describe the pronominal system. Then in section 4 I present the structure of different main clause types, and address the representation of subject and object in each. The cross referencing of adjoined and nonadjoined clauses to main predicate subjects and objects is described in Section 5, along with an analysis of lexical suffixes eliminating them as representations of syntactic relations.

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2. Grammatical sketch. In order to familiarize the reader with the workings of a Salishan language, I provide a brief sketch of the language, beginning with a description of the consonants, vowels, and syllable structure (2.1) and proceeding through descriptions of morphology (2.2) and morphophonology (2.3). In the discussion of morphosyntax (2.4), I describe the structure of the predicate, the core of the Coeur d'Alene sentence, and various particle types. This is followed by a brief description of the syntax (2.5).

2.1. Phonology. Coeur d'Alene has forty-two consonants and five vowels. The Coeur d'Alene sound system is in keeping with the general Salishan phonological system described extensively by Thompson 1979; it is interesting for its voiced obstruents, which are unusual among the Interior languages, and for its coronal pharyngeals and retracted vowels.

2.1.1. Consonants. The Coeur d'Alene consonantal system:

p	t	c		č	k^w	q	q^w	ʔ
p̓	t̓	c̓		č̓	k^{w}̓	q̓	q^{w}̓	
b	d			ǰ	g^w			
	s	ɬ		š	x^w	χ	$χ^w$	h
m	n	l	r	y	w	ʕ	$ʕ^w$	
m̓	n̓	l̓	r̓	y̓	w̓	ʕ̓	$ʕ^{w}$̓	

The consonants contrast eleven places of articulation: labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, lateral, labiovelar, uvular, labio-uvular, coronal pharyngeal, pharyngeal,

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labiopharyngeal, and laryngeal. There is no plain (unlabialized) velar series. There are six manners of articulation for the consonants: plain and glottalized voiceless stops and affricates; voiced stops and affricate; voiceless fricatives; and plain and glottalized resonants.

2.1.1.1. Obstruents. The obstruents are produced as stops, fricatives, or affricates at eight points of articulation.

Labials. /p/ is a voicelss bilabial stop, which contrasts with /ṗ/, a voiceless glottalized bilabial, and /b/ a voiced bilabial stop. There is no labial fricative.

Alveolars. The alveolar series includes the voiceless /t/ and voiceless glottalized /ṫ/, the voiced /d/ and the voiceless fricative /s/, the voiceless affricate /c/ and its glottalized counterpart /ċ/. The voiceless fricative /ɬ/ is bilateral. There is no alveolar voiced affricate. Coeur d'Alene also lacks the glottalized lateral affricate /ƛ̓/ that occurs throughout the rest of the Salishan family; in Coeur d'Alene, this has merged with /ṫ/ (see Thompson 1979:706).

Alveopalatals. The Coeur d'Alene unvoiced alveopalatal series includes the plain and glottalized affricates /č čˀ/ and the fricative /š/. The series is identical to that of Spokane and parallel to Colville /k ḳ x/. The alveopalatal series also includes /ǰ/, a voiced affricate.

Labiovelars. The voiceless velar stops /k^w $ḳ^w$/, the voiced velar stop /g^w/ and the voiceless fricative /x^w/ are all produced with the tongue blade at or

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approaching the velum. The labialization that accompanies these sounds may be produced either by rounding the lips or by spreading the lips.[2]

Uvulars. The uvular consonants /q, q̓ x̣/ are voiceless sounds produced with the dorsum of the tongue in contact with the uvula. The fricative /x̣/ is particularly turbulent, often sounding like throat-clearing.

Labio-uvulars. The voiceless labio-uvular stops /q^w $q̓^w$/ and fricative /$x̣^w$/ are equivalent to the uvular series with concomitant labialization, again produced either by lip rounding or spread.

Laryngeals. The two laryngeal sounds in Coeur d'Alene are the fricative /h/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/.

2.1.1.2. Resonants. The Coeur d'Alene resonants are produced at six points of articulation.

Nasals. The plain labial and dental nasals /m, n/ are like those of English. The glottalized nasals /m̓/ and /n̓/ are produced either as a sequence of nasal resonant and glottal release, or with a creaky voice.

Laterals. Coeur d'Alene /l/ is apicoalveolar; its glottalized counterpart /l̓/ is, like the other glottalized sonorants, produced either as a sequence of lateral and glottal stop or as a creaky lateral.

Glides. The plain palatal and labiovelar glides /y, w/ are like those of English. The glottalized glides

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[2]Kinkade (p.c. 1997) indicates that the acoustic effect of rounding in labiovelars produced with spread lips (i.e. those that are not truly labialized) results from raising the back of the tongue.

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/ẏ, ẇ/ are produced with palatal or velar constriction interrupted by glottal closure. All may vocalize; see section 2.3.4.

Coronal pharyngeals. The coronals /r ṙ/ are produced with the tongue tip approaching the alveolar ridge and simultaneous weak pharyngeal constriction. Along with the uvular obstruents and pharyngeal resonants, the coronal pharyngeals trigger regressive lowering of vowels (see section 2.3.1). It is often difficult to distinguish the (glottalized) coronal pharyngeals from the (glottalized) nonlabial pharyngeals.

Pharyngeals and labiopharyngeals. The noncoronal pharyngeal resonants /ʕ ʕ̇ ʕʷ ʕ̇ʷ/ are produced with the tongue tip and blade in relatively neutral positions (as for IPA [a]), but with the root of the tongue pulled toward the back wall of the pharynx; the walls of the pharynx are also constricted. Labialization and glottalization are as described for other resonants; however, labialization is often difficult to detect, particularly if the speaker is one who prefers spread-lip labialization to rounding.

2.1.1.3. Glottalized segments. Each voiceless stop or affricate has a phonemic glottalized counterpart. Glottalization of obstruents is produced by simultaneous release of airflow at both the glottis and the point of articulation. It is often difficult to hear in word- or phrase-final position, or with the anterior stops. The following minimal pairs of roots (indicated by √; see discussion of roots 2.2.1) provide evidence of phonemic glottalization: *√pił* 'scattered', *√p̓ił* 'persons sit'; *√xʷɛt* 'exhausted', *√xʷɛt̓* 'hurry'; *√cɛqʷ* 'pink', *√c̓ɛqʷ*

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'butcher'; √*nič* 'drive one', √*niˇč* 'be cut'; √*k*^{w}*us* 'curly', √*k̓*^{w}*us* 'easily split'; √*q*^{w}*ɛs* 'blur', √*q̓*^{w}*ɛs* 'wrinkled'.

The resonants also occur glottalized and unglottalized phonemically: √*t̓im* 'shake hands', √*t̓im̓* 'tear cloth from bolt'; √*g*^{w}*ar* 'scrape', √*g*^{w}*ar̓* 'be silvery'; √*qɛl* 'be fresh', √*qɛl̓* 'swing'. The resonant may be glottalized by rule, as the diminutive, which glottalizes all resonants within a word: *sńɪnɛʔ* 'owl', *sn̓ín̓ɛʔ* 'little owl'. Glottalized sonorants are produced either with a creaky voice or as a sequence of glottal stop and sonorant. The order of the sonorant/glottal stop sequence may vary with environment; for example, with /*w̓*/ the sequence is generally sonorant-stop in word-final position, as in *ʔɛcɛnšəlčɛɬnɪw̓* 'they were surrounded', but stop-sonorant intervocalically, as in *laχtíw̓ɛs* 'they were friends'.[3]

The Coeur d'Alene voiced stops /b d g^{w}/ and affricate /ǰ/ occur only unglottalized. [g^{w}], however, varies with both [w] and [*w̓*] in certain environments: *χɛsɪsg*^{w}*ɛl* 'edible fish', *p̓at̓áswɛl* from //*p̓at̓*=isg^{w}ɛl// 'trout'; *g*^{w}*ɛnt* 'it is low', *ʔuw̓ɛnt* from //g^{w}+√g^{w}ɛn-t// (plus some element of C_1 glottalization) 'it is very low'.

2.1.1.4. A note on voiced obstruents. The voiced obstruents are apparently recent introductions into the

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[3]Other factors, such as stress placement and (non)intervocalic positioning, may affect the pronunciation of glottalized segments; these remain to be investigated in the future.

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language. Many of the words containing /b/ are either borrowed or onomatopoeic, and /b/ occurs only in root-initial position (see discussion of roots 2.2.1) . The few forms listed by Nicodemus (1974:1.32) that are not clear borrowings or children's words are all of the shape bVm. /d g^w ǰ/ have wider distribution, but only /g^w/ occurs in morphemes other than roots.

2.1.2. Vowels. Coeur d'Alene has five vowels in a system distinguishing two levels of height and two degrees of backness:

i		u
ɛ	(ə)	ɔ
	a	

/i/ and /u/ are prototypical high vowels. /ɛ/ ranges fairly freely from [e] to [æ] (see discussion of vowel length, 2.3.3). /ɔ/ and /a/ are low back vowels that include an element of pharyngeal constriction (see discussion of harmony, 2.3.1). Schwa is never stressed, and occurs as the reduced form of some unstressed vowels (2.1.4). Schwa may also occur as an excrescent element to break up consonant cluster; as such, its use varies with the speaker.

2.1.3. Syllables. Phonological and morphological processes in Coeur d'Alene are dependent on two types of consonant and vowel (CV) structures: the syllable (discussed here), and the phonological root (discussed in section 2.2.1).

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Coeur d'Alene syllable structure includes four primary core syllables as defined by Clements and Keyser (1985): V, VC, CV, and CVC: *u k^{w}u nás* 'you are wet' (V CV CVC); *ul paq hɛ ʔúsɛʔ* 'Easter egg' (VC CVC CV CV-CVC).

The V and VC primary core syllables occur only in a few proclitics or prefixes in word-initial position, and in fact some syllable initial u's may be analyzable as vocalized glides (see 2.3.4). Often, the vowels transcribed in initial position by Reichard (1938) and Nicodemus (1975) are actually preceded by a glottal stop; for example, Reichard's (1938:593) transcription *äts-gwɪ́tc-stus* is actually *ʔɛcg^{w}ɪ́čstus* 'he sees her'.

Additional consonants may be added to the onset of a CV(C) syllable or the coda of a (C)VC syllable, as long as the sonority of segments decreases with distance from the nucleus: with S representing segments that are of relatively higher sonority, these additional syllables are CSV(C) and CVSC. Examples include *twɛ* 'with' (CSV), *uɬx^{w}ɪ́st* 'he went again' (CV-CVSC), and *y̓aʕ̓pqɪ́n̓* 'lots' (CVSC-CVC). A third segment may be added to a coda, following the same restriction: *scɛnčmcɪ́nčt* 'wrist' (C-CVC-CC-CVSSC).

In this last example, the resonant *m* surrounded by consonants may serve as a nonvowel syllable peak. Other examples of syllabic resonants (R) include: *čn nx^{w}ɛ́tp* 'I got out of breath' (CR R-CVC-C); *lɛ̆̌jncɛlm* 'I got stung' (CVC-R-CVC-R).

Many of the Salishan languages have a propensity to consonant clustering which has obscured the simplicity of the syllable structure. Hoard (1978:59) indicates that naive observers of transcribed Salishan are often mistaken in assuming these clusters are tautosyllabic. In

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Coeur d'Alene, tautosyllabic consonant clusters are limited to those already described, and possibly some sequences of *s* and a following obstruent: *súl̓mstus* 'she stretched s.t.' (CVC-C-CCVC); *sqʷílkʷəp* 'match' (CCVC-CVC). In other cases, *s* preceding an obstruent seems to maintain a unique timing slot unassociated with the following syllable: *sn̓íl̓nɛʔ* 'little owl' (C-CV-CVC); *scanɬaχpílgʷɛs* 'worry' (C-CVC-CVC-CVC-CVC).

All other consonantal material is extrasyllabic. Pronunciation requires each element in a sequence of unsyllabified stops to be fully released, without the introduction of a syllabic element: *ttm̓íɬχʷ* 'bird; small animal' (C-CCVC); *tgʷɛl̓* 'because; why' (C-CVC); *hnkʷíʔc* 'in the night; at night' (CC-CVC-C); *ʔɛšɛ́tštstmɛlp* 'you folks tease me' (CV-CVC-SC-CCCVCC); *sčšápstq* 'chasing' (C-C-CVC-CC-C).

Schwa excrescence may be used by individual speakers to break up consonant clusters. The women I interviewed had a stronger tendency to use excrescent vowels. The excrescent schwa may assimilate to surrounding sounds, and take the same form as unstressed vowels (see section 2.1.4). The processes of sonorant syllabification and excrescence both allow movement through sequences of consonants that would otherwise appear impenetrable.

2.1.4. Stress. Any account of Coeur d'Alene stress will require reference to the stress weight or *accent* of individual morphemes to account for pairs such as the following, where two roots are subject to the same derivation but result in different stress assignments:

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səsarí̓čn̓	//s-√sar=ič̓n̓//	cricket/squirrel
sx^{w}í̓t̓ɛč̓n̓	//s√x^{w}i̓t̓=ič̓n̓//	dentalium
χɛsísg^{w}ɛl	//√χɛs=isg^{w}ɛl//	edible fish
pɛ̓qsg^{w}ɛl	//√pɛ̓q=isg^{w}ɛl//	halibut (white fish)

There are several categories of Coeur d'Alene morphemes that are never assigned stress:

i. prefixes
ii. pronominal suffixes
iii. vowelless morphemes
iv. most transitivizing suffixes

Of the transitivizing suffix sequences, only *-ši-t* BENEFACTIVE and *-tuł-t* DATIVE can be assigned stress. Also, the following vowels are never stressed:

v. *ɛ* of a (lexical) suffix or of the very common morpheme-final element *-ɛ?*:[4]

q̓^{w}ádal̓qs	//√q̓^{w}ɛd=ɛl̓qs//	blackrobe; priest
pútɛ?ntx^{w}	//√putɛ?-n-t-Ø-x^{w}//	You honor him.

vi. schwa (ə), no matter the source
vii. *u* and *i* that result from glide vocalization

The vowels in categories vi and vii are actually unavailable at the time of stress assignment, since excrescent schwa, schwa resulting from vowel reduction,

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[4]If *ɛ* results from harmony (2.3.2.1) it is available for stress assignment.

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and *u* and *i* resulting from glide vocalization are all products of phonetic processes (described in the following sections), necessarily occurring after the phonological process of stress assignment. The remaining vowels, of roots and suffixes, are assigned stress in regular patterns that are simpler to describe than to define. The tendency in Coeur d'Alene is to penultimate or final stress or, more accurately, to stress on the penultimate or final stressable vowel:

ni?yi̓x^{w}úsšnn	//ni?√yɛi̓x^{w}=us=šin-n//	apron
yi̓x^{w}áqsn	//√yɛi̓x^{w}=aqs-n//	bib

Unstressed root and suffix vowels often (but not always) reduce or delete, leaving the impression that both examples carry final stress. But the terms of stress placement refer to all stressable vowels; reduction and deletion can occur only after stress is assigned.

In sequences of two or more lexical suffixes, it is often the first that is given stress, usually resulting in (ante)penultimate stress:

ni?łəq^{w}ípẃɛsšən	//ni?√łaq^{w}=ip=iẃɛs=šin//
'breechclout'	
sťəqápẃasqn	//s√ťaq=ip=iẃɛs=qin// 'beard'

In some cases, the longer sequences of lexical suffixes may give up their stress to the root, or stress is held at the penultimate vowel:

ťóx^{w}alšqənɛ?st	//√ťux^{w}=ilš=qin=i?st//	He jumped off the top/cliff.

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unyarp̓ýíg^{w}tɛnč //u hn√yarp̓=iy̓=ig^{w}t=inč//
Lassos were looped all neglected covering the wall.[5]

These stress patterns have not succumbed to metrical analysis. Traditionally, accounts of Salishan stress have relied on inherent stress valencies of roots and affixes (see, for example Thompson and Thompson 1992:21-23), as will any future account of Coeur d'Alene stress.

The rules of Coeur d'Alene reduction versus deletion of unstressed vowels are currently impenetrable. Of the examples discussed at the beginning of this section, the form *sx^{w}ɪt̓ɛčn̓* 'dentalium' shows that some suffixes may retain an unstressed vowel following stressed roots. On the other hand, *pɛ́qsg^{w}ɛl* 'halibut' loses the first vowel of its unstressed suffix *=isg^{w}ɛl* 'fish'. The words *səsarɪ́čn̓* 'cricket' and *xɛsɪ́sg^{w}ɛl* 'fish' have stressed suffixes with roots that retain unstressed vowels. In a word like 'huckleberry', however, the root loses its vowel when it is not assigned stress:

st̓šástq //s√t̓iš=astq// huckleberry

[ə I U] occur as reduced forms of unstressed vowels. Depending on the source of the data, these may be transcribed as follows in the data presented here: [I] = ɩ, I, i; [U] = U, ʊ u. [ɔ a ɛ] also occur as reduced

[5]Reichard's gloss is based on her morpheme identifications and is thus obscure. The meaning of the sentence is probably something more like 'Lassos were hanging all over the wall.'

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variants of unstressed vowels depending upon the features of the original vowel and its labial, pharyngeal or neutral environment.

2.2. Morphology. In this analysis, I take the root as the basic unit of word formation.[6] To the root are attached first the derivational affixes and valency changing affixes (section 2.2.2; also section 4), resulting in a form I label the STEM. To this stem are added the pronominal affixes (section 3) and other inflectional affixes and clitics (2.2.3) to form a complete predicative word.

2.2.1. Roots. A second type of CV structure in Coeur d'Alene is the root. Each Coeur d'Alene word or predicate is based on a root (indicated here by √) with one of six basic consonant-and-vowel sequences: √CVC, √CVCC, √CVCCC, √CCVC, √CVCVC, and √CVCCVC. The √CVC root shape is most common. Examples of the various roots shapes include the following:

√CVC √ʔɛm 'sit', √pɛq 'white', √mus 'four', √lɛx^{w} 'be hurt', √c̓ɛs 'bad', √qig^{w} 'dig roots' or 'water potato'

[6]See N. Mattina 1996 for a lexeme based analysis for Okanagan, a closely related langauge.

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√CVCC √ʔɔq^{w}s 'drink', √mi̓x^{w} 'tobacco', √qiʔx^{w}[7] 'odor'; √k̓^{w}inš 'how many?'

√CVCCC √qiltč 'inland' or 'body', √pintč 'year'

√CCVC √p̓saq^{w} 'crack', √dlim 'gallop', √g^{w}nix^{w} 'be true'

√CVCVC √ʔɛk^{w}un 'say', √ʔɛnis 'go', √ʔɛsil 'two', √pulut 'kill'

√CVCCVC √ʔacqɛʔ 'go out', √pɛstɛʔ 'half', √t̓išsɔʔ 'sneeze', √čɛnšit 'help', √čiʔɬɛs 'three'.

2.2.1.1. General comments. The following generalizations hold for Coeur d'Alene roots:

Stability: Roots are very stable. That is, the morphophonological processes (2.3) that apply to clitics and affixes in most cases do not affect roots. However, roots with some of the more complex shapes may be affected by rules of coronal sequence reductions when root final coronal segments are joined with coronal-initial suffixes (2.3.5).

Restrictions: r and r̓ are limited to C_2 position of roots. Noncoronal pharyngeals are also restricted to use in roots only, but these may serve as initial consonants or as C_2. Also, roots beginning with š do not occur with voiceless velars or uvulars in C_2. There are, no doubt,

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[7]It is not clear whether √qiʔx^{w} includes the inchoative infix *-ʔ-*. This may be the base for the lexical suffix *=ałqix^{w}* 'breath; odor; wind'.

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other restrictions on root construction. For example, only one Coeur d'Alene root has [ẇ] in initial position: √ẇɛt 'be just outside door'.

Reichard (1939) published a list of Coeur d'Alene roots. Sloat (1966) has reanalyzed some of these roots, and others that Reichard lists we now know to be derived forms or morphophonemic variants of a single root. Reichard's list has errors; Kinkade (p.c. 1997), for example, points out that the vowel alternations she provides in parentheses with many roots are not accurate. However, the basic inventory Coeur d'Alene root inventory seems to have remained stable. I have discovered few roots not included in Reichard's list. One example is the root √miẏ 'important, more', which may in fact be a variant of √miy 'dignified'; this is apparently cognate with CvOk $\sqrt{my_4}$ (A. Mattina 1987), which shares meaning with the Cr root and, like the Cr root, is also used in compounds.

2.2.1.2. Ablaut. Reichard 1945 discusses the possibilities of sound symbolism in Coeur d'Alene root composition. The data she presents support her theory of root vowel changes determining whether the "primary meaning ... indicates that a thing has quality or is in a given condition automatically or without an outside force or agent" or whether it means "the subject has been made or caused to act or to assume a condition by an outside agent" (1945:49). These include the root pairs √ṫiš 'be sweet' and √ṫɛš 'be inherently sweet'; and √q̇ʷɛd 'be black' and √q̇ʷid 'make black'. Kinkade (1988:445-446) describes an ablaut pattern in Proto-Salish that would account for these data as 'active' vs. 'stative' forms.

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The ablaut data Reichard presents are interesting, but all must be verified. For example, Reichard gives the forms *√tɛg*^{w} 'buy' and *√tag*^{w} 'sell'. However, the root from which both are derived is *√tig*^{w} 'buy, sell' (which, incidentally, is not included in Reichard's stem list): the form [tag^{w}] is analyzable as a harmony variant of the root (see section 2.3.1), and [tɛg^{w}] is the unstressed (nonharmony) variant (see section 2.1.4). The differences in meaning are not dependent on the vowel shape, but on the structure of the predicate and discourse context.

stíg^{w}n Merchandise. N75b.90
tɛẃstɛg^{w}míncutminc x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ tíku He went to sell it at Tekoa. 9.10
tág^{w}alqs He bought clothing. N75a.257I
tag^{w}álpq^{w} He bought food. N75a.257I

The examples Reichard provides in her discussion of ablaut do not indicate whether the forms are stressed or unstressed, whether they occur in harmony environments, or whether they occur with, for example, CAUSATIVE or RESULTATIVE morphology. In only a few cases does Reichard indicate, for example, whether a form is used in a transitive, intransitive, stative, or inchoative construction, all of which may affect meaning if not vowel quality. All possible ablaut forms must be verified in order to determine whether the root pairs are phonologically predictable variants of single morphemes.

2.2.2. Affixes. Coeur d'Alene has three types of affixes: LEXICAL AFFIXES may have locative or nominal

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(things, body parts) meanings, which are often metaphorically extended; DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES include grammatical elements, transitive and applicative markers, and directionals and locatives; and INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES are used for indicating person, number, and aspect.

2.2.2.1. Lexical affixes. There are six lexical prefixes and over eighty lexical suffixes. The functions of the lexical suffixes are discussed fully in section 5.3.

2.2.2.1.1. Lexical prefixes. The lexical prefixes are *syɛ-* 'professional'; *hii-* 'that which, one who'; *čit-* 'offspring'; *nuk^{w}-* 'companion'; *pɛn-* 'spouse'; and *yɛ-* 'horse, colt'. These precede locative prefixes or attach directly to roots.

2.2.2.1.2. Lexical suffixes. Reichard 1938 lists over eighty lexical suffixes, with examples of their use. These suffixes may attach to bare roots, or may follow a small class of grammatical suffixes or other lexical suffixes. Lexically suffixed forms may be nominalized or transitivized. In this paper, lexical suffixes are indicated with an equals sign.

The meaning of a lexical suffix may be very specific, such as *=ilmx^{w}* 'person'. Or, a single form may be metaphorically extended. The suffix *=us*, for example, has a basic meaning of 'eye', which is extended to 'face', and then to 'fire'; in combination with the suffix *=šin* 'foot', it refers to the toe. Similar extension occurs with *=cin* 'mouth', which is also used to

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refer to language; something's edge (with *=ičt* 'hand' it refers to the wrist); or shore.

A few examples of words that include one or more lexical suffixes show their variety and the pervasiveness of their use:

hn√taɬq=úps-n — I kicked him in the butt.
loc/kick=rear-3obj.1sbj
(cp: √táɬq-n 'I kicked him.')

√níč=k^{w}up — He cut some wood.
/cut=wood

hn-x^{w}√x^{w}át-p=alqs. — The end of the road.
loc-intns/end-invl=road

√k̓^{w}aχ=qin=čt-s hn√saq̓=iẃɛs-łtm
/claw=head=hand-3G loc/split=between-
3obj.3nte.applic
His claw got caught in between.

√c̓ɛk̓^{w}=áp=aẃas=qən-c.
/poke=bottom=between=head-3obj.3sbj
He propped it (the jaws) open.

2.2.2.2. Other affixes. Aside from suppletion (section 2.4), all Coeur d'Alene derivation and inflection is done via affixes or clitics (2.2.3) and reduplication (2.2.4). A partial list of common affixes, by type and function, is presented here. I refer the reader to Reichard 1938 for full discussion of all affix types, and to the discussion of morphosyntax in section 2.4. for an

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understanding of the multiple functions of the morphological types.

2.2.2.2.1. Prefixes.

Locative and directional prefixes:

uɬ- again
hn- in, on
t- on
čɛt- on
čs- from behind
cɛn- under
ni?- amidst
mɛl̓- from, near
čic- toward here
tɛ- toward there

Derivational prefixes:

s- nominalizer
s- intentional
tu?s- mutative (<tɛẃs ?)

Inflectional prefixes:

?ɛc- customary or stative
ẏc- continuative
hn- first person genitive
in- second person genitive

2.2.2.2.2. Suffixes.

Directional suffixes:

-ut at point or place

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-iš developmental; to a point or place

Intransitive suffixes:

-t resultive or stative
-m agent/middle/antipassive
-š continuative agent (with ẏc- and -m)
-p involuntary/inchoative

Derivational suffixes:

-min- relational
-nún- noncontrol
-st(u) causative transitive
-t- transitive
-n- directive
-ł- possessor applicative[8]
-ši- benefactive applicative
-túł- dative
-n nominalizer

Inflectional suffixes:

-š imperative
-ul plural imperative
-sut reflexive
-wiš reciprocal
-ilš third person plural
-m/-t nontopic ergative
-s third person genitive; third person ergative

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[8]The applicative affixes are given general labels reflecting their most common uses. See section 4.2.3 for full descriptions of the possessor and benefactive applicatives.

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-ɛt first person plural genitive
-mp second person plural genitive
-n first person singular transitive subject
-x^w second person singular transitive subject
-(mɛ)t first person plural transitive subject
-p second person plural transitive subject
-sɛ(l)-/-mɛ(l)- first person singular object
-si-/-mi- second person singular object
-ɛli- first person plural object
-ulmi- second person plural object

2.2.2.2.3. Infix. Coeur d'Alene has one (nonreduplicative) infix, -ʔ- INCHOATIVE, which occurs following the root vowel:

lúʔp.	It became dry.
k^wu míʔł	You became rested; You were healed
čn páʔx̣	I became wise (on it).
cíʔš	It became warm.

Rules for the use of *-ʔ-* vs. *-p* to mark inchoative are not clear.

2.2.3. Proclitics. The proclitics precede prefixes, but still interact phonologically with them; those not representing persons occur before the subject markers:

u inherent
u immediate
čɛł future
ul belonging to

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čn	first person intransitive subject
č	first person plural intransitive subject
$k^{w}u$	second person intransitive subject
$k^{w}up$	second person plural intransitive subject

2.2.4. Reduplication. There are four distinct reduplicative patterns in Coeur d'Alene: C_1+ reduplication marks the DIMINUTIVE, and is accompanied by sonorant glottalization and often stress shift; C_1V+ reduplication marks the INTENSIVE, which indicates various types of increase; +C_2 reduplication marks a NONCONTROL/RESULTIVE. C_1VC_2 reduplication has very general AUGMENTATIVE or distributive meaning. All reduplication types in Coeur d'Alene copy root segments only.

2.2.4.1. DIMINUTIVE: C_1+ reduplication. Forms with C_1+ reduplication indicate the DIMINUTIVE. C_1+ reduplication may occur alone, with glottalization of resonants, and with stress shift. Excrescent schwa may occur between the reduplicated element and the root, assimilating to local features of place and labialization. Root-initial glides may vocalize.

√cɛ́tx^{w}	house
c√cɛ́tx^{w}	house, cottage

s√$q̓^{w}$úc-t	fat
$q̓^{w}$√$q̓^{w}$úc-t	little fat child

s√ʕɛc-m	tie
ʕa√ʕɛc-m̓íṉ-n	trap

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√wárč	frog
ʔu√wáɬčus	little frog face

√pulú(t)-stu-s	He killed her
pu√púɬu(t)-ł-t-m-iɬš	She (sister) was killed for them

2.2.4.2. NONCONTROL/RESULTIVE: $+C_2$ reduplication. Coeur d'Alene $+C_2$ reduplication copies the second consonant of a root immediately following C_2; if a vowel occurs preceding the reduplicated segment, it can be considered an excrescent segment subject to local assimilation.

√pɛɬn+ɬn	It has become bent
čn √tɛɬkʷ+ɬkʷ	I fell down
(čn √tɛɬkʷ-m	I put s.t. down)
čn √gʷíč+č	I managed to see
√pɛɬ+ł-t	It is thick
√pɛɬ+ł-m	It became thick
√pɛɬ+ł-nún-n	I made it thick

2.2.4.3. INTENSIVE: C_1V+ reduplication. There are few examples of this type of reduplication, which may be a variant of the diminutive. Reichard mentions it in reference to demonstratives only (1938:656.701 and 705). It implies an intensified condition.

šá√šagʷ-t	It is sharp
C_1V+/sharp-stat	

šɛ√šɛɬ-út	Cliff
C_1V+/rock-place	

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n√c̓íp̓-s-m He napped
n-c̓í√cɛp̓-s-m He closed his eyes
loc-(C_1V+)/close=eye-loc

2.2.4.4. AUGMENTATIVE: C_1VC_2 reduplication. What has been established as the prefixal AUGMENTATIVE C_1VC_2+ stress pattern in Thompson (Thompson and Thompson 1992), with stress retained on the root, is the rarer form in Coeur d'Alene (see also discussion of Columbian by Czaykowska-Higgins 1993a and Lillooet by van Eijk 1993). The Thompson suffixal CHARACTERISTIC +C_1VC_2 reduplicative stress pattern, again with stress maintained on the root, is very frequent in Coeur d'Alene but has general augmentative semantics, including DISTRIBUTIVE, PLURAL, and CHARACTERISTIC. I have no examples showing different reduplicative stress patterns with concomitant differences in meaning; I will therefore refer to all CVC reduplication as AUGMENTATIVE. For the time being, I will follow current analyses of CVC reduplication as directional, indicating the postulated direction of the copy as either prefixal or suffixal depending on the placement of stress:

q̓ʷəd√q̓ʷɛd (ha sṫ̓áltmš) Buffalo.
xʷəp√xʷɛp=šn Bulldozers.
t-cəqʷ√cɛqʷ-ɛʔst They're red hot on the surface.
ʔæ√šɛt+šət-st-ulmi-s He teases you folks.
√c̓íʔ+c̓iʔ=mn Horns.

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2.3. Morphophonology. The morphophonological processes of harmony and labialization, vowel lengthening, nasal and glide vocalization and coronal sequence reductions, described in this section are all dependent in part on the placement of stress, discussed in section 2.1.4. Additional phonological processes in the domain of discourse (2.3.9) are also dependent on stress placement.

2.3.1. Harmony. Coeur d'Alene has both regressive and progressive processes of vowel harmony; these are fully discussed in Doak 1992.

The vowels [ɔ], [ɛ] and [a] occur preceding uvulars or pharyngeals in derived forms as a result of regressive harmony affecting /u/, /i/, and /ɛ/, respectively:

q^{w}ácqən	//√q^{w}ic=qin//	hat
spɔ́maɬqs	//s√pum=aɬqs//	fur coat
cɛ́šalq^{w}	//√ciš=alq^{w}//	He is tall.

In roots or suffixes that include a postvocalic uvular or pharyngeal, the low vowels also result from regressive harmony; there are no roots (or suffixes, as in the preceding examples) with postvocalic uvulars or pharyngeals occurring with high vowels:

√ʔácqɛʔ	He went outside.
√nɔ́rs	barley
stc̓ɛ́x^{w}ncut	//s-t√c̓ɛx^{w}-n-t-sut// star, spark

The low vowels [a] and [ɔ] also occur in what I will call harmony roots, with no uvular or pharyngeal following. A sample of this group includes:

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√ƫap	shoot
√másmas	masmas (a vegetable)
√ƫaƫ	mush
√nɔc	tender

[ɔ] [ɛ] [a] occur in stressed suffixes following harmony roots, as a result of progressive harmony affecting suffixal /u/ /i/ /ɛ/:

ƫm̓ƫm̓yɔ́yɛʔ	//√ƫam̓+CVC=yuyɛʔ//	snail
ƫapsčɛ́nt	//√ƫap-s√čint//	He shot (people).
nmasmasátk^{w}ɛʔ	//hn√masmas=itk^{w}ɛʔ//	Water is full of masmas.

2.3.2. Labialization. Labialized segments lose their labialization when adjacent to round vowels:

[činiʔdɛ́xus]	//čic-niʔ√dɛx^{w}=us//	She fell into the fire.
[ku·x^{w}íst]	//k^{w}u x^{w}ist//	You walked.

Labialization may vocalize preceding a labialized consonant:

[gug^{w}aχtíl̓t]	//g^{w}√g^{w}aχ-t=il̓t//	baby

An example where both processes occur:

[táχɔχ]	//taχ^{w}+χ^{w}//	He died.

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2.3.3. Vowel length: Long vowels occur within a word when preceding a stressed vowel and being separated from that vowel by a single consonant:

[ułči·c̓ɛ̀ləì] //uł čic√c̓ɛì+ì//
Again she arrived.

2.3.4. Nasal and glide vocalization. /n/ vocalizes to [i] before s:

čismíy̓ɛms	//čn-s√miy̓im-s//	I am his wife
histí?	//hn-s√ti?//	It's mine

/y y̓ w w̓/ are semivowels, and often vocalize between consonants; the glottalized segments may vocalize in initial position followed by a consonant. Some examples with /y y̓/ vocalized include the following:

nšármi?qs	//hn√šar-m=y̓qs//	turkey
smiscút	//s√mɛy-st(u)-sut//	knowing oneself
?ic?íłn	//y̓c√?iłn//	He's eating.

Vowels resulting from nasal or glide vocalization are never stressed.

2.3.5. Coronal sequence reduction. Where two coronal segments meet at a morpheme boundary, the first will drop out. The rule varies with the segments that meet, but it regularly applies only to affixes, or to the final segments of a small class of roots that Reichard identifies as irregular (1938:551ff; in general, roots are very stable).

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The coronals [t] and [c] are most vulnerable: they are lost before all other coronals and before y. However, exceptions occur in some suffix sequences involving *t* and *s*; for example the transitive morpheme sequence //-t-Ø-s// merges to [c] rather than reducing to [s]. In other constructions *t* and *s* retain their identities. The nasal [n] is lost before the coronals [s ł] and before the nasals [m ṅ]; [ł] is lost before the coronals [s č] and before [y]; [l] is lost before [s]. And, finally, suffixal [s] is lost before [ł]. Examples of these processes are presented by Reichard (1938:547-550).

2.3.6. Glottalization. Where a glottal stop follows a nasal or glide, the segments merge to form a glottalized consonant; for example, /n + ʔ/ become [ṅ]. When the lateral spirant [ł] merges with the following glottal stop, it becomes the glottalized resonant [l̓].

čn ul̓ichíg^{w}nt //čn uł ʔic √hig^{w}nt// I'm yawning again.

2.3.7. /s/ palatalization. The sequence /s-ʔ/ at a morpheme boundary will result in [y̓]:

y̓íłn //s√ʔiłn// eating

2.3.8. /h/ loss. Morpheme initial /h/ is frequently omitted in word-initial position before a consonant, or in compounds:

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híčɛʔ	where	
mɛ·l̓íčɛʔ	//mɛl̓-hičɛʔ//	from where
ku nχamínč	//k^{w}u hn-χaminč//	I love you.

2.3.9. Discourse-level phonology. In conversation and storytelling, several phonological processes are used for stylistic variation.

2.3.9.1. Truncation. In informal speech, many words may be truncated following the stressed vowel:

nq̓^{w}q̓^{w}ɔsmí	//hn-q̓^{w}√q̓^{w}ɔs-m=ičn̓=šin//	dog

2.3.9.2. Exaggeration. Stressed vowels, including those of truncated words, may be extended for a variable amount of time depending on context to indicate extended duration or exaggeration. The pitch of the vowel is often raised:

č̓á···w̓ncut	x^{w}iʔ ɛ Potty
Potty kept washing himself.	

A final vowel may be added to a stem for the purpose of adding extended vowel length; in the following example, the stem-final -ɛʔ of *k̓^{w}nɛʔ* 'soon' is replaced with -í:

u k̓^{w}ɛní··	ɬ čicx^{w}úy ... Afterwards she came ...

In forms without final -ɛʔ, -í is simply appended to the word:

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łа łáʔx^{w}ɛs ɛ t̓ək̓^{w}í·· The next day, he was lying down ...

2.3.9.3. Stylistic pharyngealization. Vowels are pharyngealized to add an element of the incredible:

šəšt̓ót //šɛ+√šɛt̓-ut// Rock (character)
ʔacʔáyłn //y̓c√ʔiłn// He was really eating!
ɔł k̓^{w}ɔ́l̓ntm // ł √k̓^{w}ul̓-n-t-m// ... and they built it (in only five days!)

2.4. Morphosyntax. There are two basic word types in Coeur d'Alene: *predicates* and *particles*. The predicates are inflected forms that can stand alone as full sentences or can be marked for use as subordinate clauses or in determiner phrases. The particles form a small, closed class of words which cannot be inflected and function as determiners, subordinators, connectives, and other modifiers of the predicates. Here, as in the preceding section, morphological analyses are given in double slashes; in addition, morpheme glosses are given in square brackets where needed.

2.4.1. Predicates. Coeur d'Alene words are constructions built on bound roots with bound affixes. Several layers of derivation result in intransitive and transitive stems that are then available for inflection.[9]

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[9]N. Mattina 1994 defines the semantico-syntactic term *base* to identify in Colville-Okanagan 'a form of any morphological complexity which corresponds to a single

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2.4.1.1. Roots and intransitive stems. Where inflection is null, as in the third person intransitive, the full predicate may have the form of the bare *root*:

ʔácqɛʔ	He went out.
c̓iʔ	It's a deer.

While what appear to be 'free' roots may occur in predicate positions (see Thompson and Thompson 1992:47), no roots may occur as predicative words by themselves: Every predicate must be a fully inflected word. If no other overt person or number inflection occurs with the root and it functions as a predicate, it must be assumed that the predicate includes the phonologically null third person ABSOLUTIVE.

The demonstratives are predicative words in Coeur d'Alene. The basic forms of the demonstratives are as follows:

x^{w}iʔ	'here'	$prox_1$
ciʔ	'there near you'	$prox_2$
łuʔ	'there near third person'	$prox_3$

More complex derivation of a predicate proceeds with the addition of one or more members of a small set of intransitive suffixes, or reduplication, or lexical affixation, or a combination of the three, to form

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lexeme'. Though morphologically complex, these bases are synchronically underived and can be identified as nominal or verbal. The possibility of a lexemic analysis is interesting, though it will not be pursued here.

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intransitive *stems*. The examples given here are also zero-inflected third person intransitives:

xáy̓xi?t	//√xiy̓+xiy̓-t//	/big+aug-stat	It's big.
?ácqɛ?m	//√?acqɛ?-m//	/go.out-agtm	He took out s.t.
ntx^{w}i?	//n-t-√x^{w}i?//	loc-loc/prox$_{1}$	He is here.

As an example of the possibilities of derivation, the root √*xɛs* 'good' also serves in the formation of the stems //√xɛs=y̓qs// 'moose', //hn√xɛs=itk^{w}ɛ?// 'good water; whiskey', //√xɛs-p// 'be fortunate' and //√xɛs-t-iɬš// 'be cured', which involve lexical, locative, and grammatical affixes.

2.4.1.2. Transitivity. All Coeur d'Alene roots are intransitive. Transitive constructions are built on intransitive stems (including bare roots) by the addition of the suffix -t TRANSITIVE. This suffix is usually preceded by one of a number of modifiers used to indicate directive (-n-; also known in the literature as control), or applicative (-ł-, -ši-, -túł-) constructions. The causative transitive marker -st(u)- is complex and includes a -t that may reflect historical development from the independent transitive suffix (see Doak 1993:88-90). Examples of transitive stems of increasing complexity include the following:

//√g^{w}ič-t-//	/see-t	see s.t.
//√t̓ɛk̓^{w}-ši-t-//	/fall-b-t	put s.t. down for s.o.
//√nič=axn-n-t-//	/cut=arm-d-t-	cut s.o.'s arm
//√c̓ɛɬ-p=ičt-stu-//	/fear-invol=hand-ct	frighten s.o. (w/hands)

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//√pu?s=cin-min-n-t-// /blow=mouth-rel-d-t-
tell s.o. a joke

2.4.1.3. Stem formation rules. The derivation of a stem may include any or all of the levels indicated in the following diagram. Intransitive stems (subscript i) are basic to transitive stems (subscript t). Affix types in the diagram refer to those listed in section 2.2.2; bracketed levels include prefixes and suffixes if both occur within the category.

$[[[[[[\sqrt{root}]redup]\text{-}intraff]\text{=}lexaff]\text{-}loc/dir/derv]_i\text{-}tran]_t$

2.4.1.4. Inflection. To form a full word, a stem must be properly inflected. Proper inflection includes specification of the subject in intransitive constructions, or subject and object in transitive constructions, and specification of control, voice, mood, tense and aspect. Voice and aspect are indicated with affixes or reduplication as part of the stem, or with proclitics or particles. Person and number are indicated with affixes attached to the periphery of the stem or with proclitics. Number may also be indicated by suppletion or reduplication. Other intransitive voice and aspect markers are stem internal, one occurring as an infix, the others immediately attached to the root. Reflexives, reciprocals, and the continuative and customary affixes are the outermost affixes on the stem.

2.4.1.4.1. Person and number. In all but the third person, the pronominals mark person as well as number. Number may be indicated also by the use of singular or

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plural roots (see Kinkade 1981), or by augmentative reduplication (see 2.2.4.4).

2.4.1.4.1.1. Intransitive arguments. Intransitive subjects are proclitic: *čn* first person singular; *č* first person plural; *k^wu* second person singular; *k^wup* second person plural. The third person intransitive subject is zero.

čn nk^{w}inm	I sang.
k^w ʔíɬn	You ate.
Ø ʕ^{w}úst	He got lost.
č g^{w}ič	We saw.
k^{w}up χɛst	You are good.

Intransitive arguments are discussed fully in section 3.1.

2.4.1.4.1.2. Transitive arguments. The third person transitive object is also zero. Other intransitive objects are suffixes immediately following the transitivizer: *-sɛl/-mɛl* first person singular object; *-ɛli* first person plural object; *-si/-mi* second person singular object; *-ulmi* second person plural object; m-initial variants refer to forms used primarily in causative constructions. The transitive subjects are suffixed following the objects: *-n* first person singular subject; *-(mɛ)t* first person plural subject; *-x^w* second person singular subject; *-p* second person plural subject; *-s* third person subject; *-m/-t* nontopic subject. Some examples:

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xílɬcɛlm //√xiɬ-t-sɛl-m// I was abandoned (by s.o.)
xatáxncɛs //√xɛt=axn-t-sɛl-s// He hit me on the arm.
míɬšicɛx^{w} //√miɬ-ši-t-sɛl-x^{w}// You rested (the baby) for me.
g^{w}íčɬcn //√g^{w}ič-ɬ-t-si-n// I found it for you.
číɬšitɛlɩs //√čiɬ-ši-t-ɛli-s// He gave us s.t.
ničk^{w}úpɬn //√nič=k^{w}up-ɬ-t-Ø-n// I cut wood for him.
níčntulmit //√nič-n-t-ulmi-t// You folks got cut.

Transitive arguments are described in greater detail in section 3.2.

2.4.1.4.1.3. Genitive pronominals. Genitive marking on intransitive constructions includes the prefixes *hn-* first person genitive; *in-* second person genitive; and the suffixes *-ɛt* first person plural genitive; *-mp* second person plural genitive; and *-s* third person genitive:

sčɬúsɬusmis //s-č√ɬus+lus-min-s// his eyes
isṗɛr //in-s√ṗɛr// your leftovers
ul hnpípɛʔ //ul hn√pipɛʔ// It belongs to my father.

Third person plurality, of subject or object or both, is indicated with the enclitic -ilš in word final position in either intransitive or transitive constructions (see Doak and Mattina, in press):

níčmilš	They cut.
cqípntilš	Follow them.
púlustmilš	They killed them.
číɬcɛsilš	They gave it to me.

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2.4.1.4.1.4. Suppletion. In Coeur d'Alene, root pairs indicate a distinction between action performed on or by one versus more than one entity. A small sample of suppletive pairs includes the following:

nɛpt 'pl. enter' : ṅuɬx^{w} 'one enters'
čɛṁ 'take hold of pl. objects : čɛṅ 'take hold of large object'
ċɛl̓ 'pl. long objects project, stand up' : ċɛl 'one stands'
ʕig^{w} 'throw pl. objects' : čičmin 'throw one object'
q̓^{w}ɛc 'pl. are enduring, solid, firm' : čay 'one is enduring, solid, firm'
g^{w}ɛx^{w} 'pl. objects hang' : šar 'one hangs'
lɛc̓ 'pl. are fierce' : ċɛl̓ 'one is fierce'
p̓iɬ 'persons sit' : ʔɛm 'one sits'

The semantics of the root require that there be agreement in number with an associated pronominal: for example, the form **čn nɛpt* is not acceptable since a plural root cannot take a singular subject.

2.4.1.4.2. Voice and mood. The various transitive voices are discussed in section 2.4.1.2.

ANTIPASSIVE/MIDDLE/CAUSATIVE: intransitive *-m*. The *-m* suffix, when used with one class of roots, renders the intransitive subject a causative agent. Compare:

čn ʔácqɛʔ	I went out
čn ʔácqɛʔ-m	I took s.t. out

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Other examples include antipassive and middle interpretations:

čn p̓íc̓-m	I pushed s.t.
k^{w}u míł-m	You took a rest
čn láχ^{w}p̓-m	I rushed out
čn √k^{w}ín-m	I took some
čn √c̓aʕ^{w}-m	I promised

REFLEXIVE: -sut

čn q̓^{w}ɛ́lncut	I burned myself.

RECIPROCAL: -wiš

t̓ápntwɛš	Battle.
scuẃ̓ntw̓íš	Boxing.[10]

INTERROGATIVE: ni

ni k̓^{w}nɛ?	k^{w} m̓ɛy̓m̓íy̓m	Will you tell a story?

IMPERATIVE: -š singular intransitive imperative; -wl plural intransitive imperative; -Ø (replacing subject) transitive imperative.

x^{w}úyš	Go!
x^{w}úyul	Go! (pl)
níc̓nt	Cut it!

[10]Reichard (1938:627) indicates that the glottalization with this suffix indicates 'limited repetition'.

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2.4.1.4.3. Tense and aspect. The unmarked, default tense in Coeur d'Alene is interpreted as either present or past, depending on discourse context. Various aspects, however, are marked; these include the following:

FUTURE: čɛł, ususally accompanied by s- intentional:

nɛʔ ḵʷnɛʔ čɛłtuʔswínš //čɛł tuʔs√winš// Do you want to go wardance?[11]
lut xʷɛ čɛsqíłn //čɛł s√qił-n-t-Ø-n// I couldn't wake him.
čɛł hisgʷíčłtm //čɛł Ø hn s√gʷič-ł-t-m// I want to find it for him.
čɛł čiʔspítmš //čɛł čn ʔic s√pit-m-š// I'm moving (changing residence)

COMPLETIVE: unmarked

čn xʷúy I went.
gʷíčn I saw it.

The continuative and customary aspects are marked via stem prefixes.

---

[11]Despite the translation, which is accurate and appropriate to the story from which it is taken, no second person pronominal or interrogative marker is included in this sentence.

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CONTINUATIVE: ẏc-. This prefix does not occur on transitive stems. It may be used with simple intransitive stems or with genitive agent constructions.

čiʔcx^{w}úy //čn ẏc√x^{w}uy// I am going.
hiʔcg^{w}íčm //Ø hn ẏc√g^{w}ič-m// I am seeing him.

In the intransitive continuative, the -m suffix marks a patient subject when used with certain roots; the addition of -š creates a continuative antipassive:

ẏc√g^{w}íč-m He is being seen
ẏc√g^{w}íč-m-š He's seeing s.t.

CUSTOMARY: ʔɛc-; often with -st(u)- in transitive constructions, taking M-initial object suffixes (see 2.4.1.4.1.2). The customary construction is also used to indicate causative transitives.

čn̓cx^{w}úy //čn ʔɛc√x^{w}uy// I go.
ʔɛcg^{w}íčsn //ʔɛc√g^{w}ič-st(u)-n// I see him.

STATIVE: -t

čís-t It's long
χɛs-t He is good.
čn picx^{w}-t I lost interest.

INVOLUNTARY/INCHOATIVE: -p

čn √łáχ^{w}-p I escaped
čn n√p̓iċ-p I started to push it

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√yɛr+yɛr-p wagon

The inchoative *-p* complements the inchoative infix *-ʔ-* discussed in section 2.2.2.2.3.

RESULTIVE: u

u čn nás I am wet.
u x^{w}ɛq^{w} He is clean.

ALREADY: ṫiʔ

hɔy k^{w}un ṫiʔ čɛʔmp It's already dark.
x^{w}iʔ ṫiʔ ṫáχɔχ He has died.

2.4.1.4.4. Control. Predicates are marked noncontrol stem-internally, either by reduplication or suffixation. Noncontrol predicates indicate accidental events or success after effort. Control is unmarked. (See Thompson 1985 for more on the topic of Salish control.)

NONCONTROL/RESULTIVE intransitive: +C_2 reduplication

nṫɛ$k^{w}$$k^{w}$ //hn√ṫɛk^{w}+k^{w}// He fell down.

NONCONTROL: -nun. -nun is used in both intransitive and transitive clauses:

ċɛlpnúnn //√ċɛl-p-nun-n-t-Ø-n// I succeeded in frightening him.
k^{w}up čɛsmi·pnúnms //k^{w}-p čɛł s√miy-p-nun-m-s// You are to learn about him.

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Both noncontrol suffixes may occur in a single construction:

pɛɬɬnúnn //√pɛɬ+ɬ-nun-n-t-Ø-n// I made it thick.

2.4.2. Particles.

2.4.2.1. Determiners. There are three definite determiners that correlate phonetically and deictically with the three demonstratives (section 2.4.1.1.), and one oblique/indefinite determiner.

$x^{w}ɛ$	det_1
cɛ	det_2
ɬɛ	det_3
ʔɛ	oblique

Determiners introduce clauses adjoined to the main predicate to specify participants:

dáχ^{w}nc x^{w}ɛ čsúpsɛs His tail fell off.
ʔɛčɬíp x^{w}ɛ hi·sílɛʔ My grandson hunts.

χɛmínčs x^{w}ɛ čɛsčšípnc x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ sčíčɛʔ
he.likes det_1 he.will.chase.it det_1 obl horse
The horse likes to chase.

x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ núnɛʔs hiɬ cɛ pípɛʔs ...
det_1 obl their.mother and det_2 their.father ...
Their mother and their father ...

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łu? ni?ɬɛ̓kʷus ła stqʷíl̓kʷup
prox$_3$ lay.in.fire det$_3$ fire
He lay in the fire.

2.4.2.2. Subordinator. The subordinator *hɛ* is used to form subordinate and descriptive genitive constructions.

sɬúnłc̓ɛ? hɛ sqɛl̓tč
mule(deer) sub meat
Corned beef; mule deer meat

xɛst hɛ skʷíctm
good sub morning
(It is a) Good morning.

?ɛní·s č-nłámqɛ? hɛ cɛtxʷs
they.went dir-bear sub his.house
They went to Bear's house.

In negative constructions, *hɛ* immediately follows the negative predicate to introduce another, often nominalized, predicate which is being negated:

lut hɛ s-xɛst
Neg sub nom-good
It tasted awful; It's not good.

2.4.2.3. Connectives. The connectives *hił* and *ł* may function as subordinators as well as connectives. ł may be a reduced form of hił

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čn c?əmú··t ɬ ?acχən
I sit.there conn I.watch.it
I sat there and I watched.

k^{w}u tg^{w}ɛ? Lynn ɬ k^{w}up ?áccqɛ?
you with Lynn and you.folks go.out.pl
You and Lynn went out.

ni k^{w}up ?áccqɛ? x^{w}ɛ Lynn hiɬ k^{w}u ?ɛ
Q you.folks go.out.pl det_1 Lynn conn you person
Did you go out with Lynn?

2.4.2.4. Other particles. Particles are used to connect predicates, functioning as prepositions and to indicate mood (such as the question particle ni) and aspect. Some elements analyzed as particles here may actually be proclitic and some may be roots. All need further study. Only a sampling of particles is provided here:

PREPOSITIONAL:
twɛ 'with' I suspect this is actually t (loc) + x^{w}ɛ (det_1):

$k̓^{w}$ɛy̓ ?ic?íttš x^{w}ɛ Shirley twɛ Reno.
They were still sleeping, Shirley and Reno.

x^{w}úyš t x^{w}ɛ Cataldo.
go conn det_1 Cataldo
Go to Cataldo!

t: This may be the same element as in twɛ or t x^{w}ɛ.

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ci? ɬ $x^{w}ɛ$ q̓^{w}ádəl̓qs t x^{w}i? lí·mt ...
that conn det_1 priest conn this thankful
That Blackrobe, he was thankful ...

tɛl̓ 'from'

tɛl̓ cɛníl ɬ n̓ídusn
from him conn I.bought.it
I bought it from him.

$tg^{w}ɛl̓$ 'because; for' It is possible that /$g^{w}ɛ$?/ is an independent form, perhaps a root, that may take take locative and other morphology; this form may be analyzable as //t-$g^{w}ɛ$? ɬ//, with locative and connective:

n̓ídusn $tg^{w}ɛl̓$ k^{w}u ?á
I.bought.it because you person
I bought it for you.

ASPECTUAL particles:
pinč 'always'

pinč hicg^{w}ənítm $x^{w}ɛ$ pus I always call the cat.

cmi? 'used to'

cmi? ?ɛcg^{w}íčsn I used to see it.

nɛ? hypothetical; 'if ... then'

nɛ? g^{w}ɛnícɛx^{w} If you call me ...

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2.5. Syntax. The following schema shows the basic sentence structure of Coeur d'Alene:

(particles) predicate (determiner phrases)
(conjoined phrases)
(second predicate)

The predicate is the only required element of a full sentence. Particles precede predicative words, whether they occur as main clauses or as subordinate clauses. The second predicate may in turn be followed by determiner phrases.

The minimal Coeur d'Alene sentence is a fully inflected predicate.

k^{w}u x^{w}úy You go.

The predicate may be accompanied by prepredicate particles:

ḱ^{w}nɛʔ k^{w}u x^{w}úy You can/will go.

And followed by prepositional or determiner phrases:

k^{w}up x^{w}úy tɛč Coeur d'Alene
You folks go to Coeur d'Alene.

g^{w}íčc x^{w}ɛ sík^{w}ɛʔ She saw the water.

Determiner phrases, prepositional phrases and second predicates may be preposed.

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ʔɛ pípɛʔs ʔɛkʷústm — His father told him.
xʷɛ ttẃít náq̓ʷnc xʷɛ sẗšá — The boy stole the huckleberries.

Preposed prepositional phrases and preposed predicates require a connective to join them to the main predicate:

tɛč číʔ ɬ kʷu xʷúy — You go toward there.
ʔɛ cɛníl hiɬ náq̓ʷnc xʷɛ sẗšá — He was the one who stole the huckleberries.

Additional clauses may be conjoined to the main predicate:

ẗápncɛs ɬ čn táχɔχ — He shot me and I died.

Alternatively, an additional clause may be juxtaposed to the main predicate. In the following pair, the determiner phrases are isolated in brackets, emphasizing the double predicate construction in the first example:

[xʷɛ smyíw] gʷíčc ċɛċɛlút — Coyote saw him standing
gʷíčc [xʷɛ smyíw hɛ ċɛlut] — He saw Coyote standing

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3. Arguments and pronominals. In Coeur d'Alene, pronominal arguments are associated with the predicate stem as proclitics or affixes. These pronominals serve as full arguments in the clause, rather than as agreement markers; they may be cross referenced with nominal adjuncts, which are optional (see section 5). I assume the analysis of pronominal arguments, as has been the tradition in Salishan studies (see Kinkade 1987; Thompson and Thompson 1992), because of its descriptive adequacy. Jelinek 1984 formalizes the notion of pronominal arguments within the government and binding framework (Chomsky 1981, 1982), and others have since found evidence for and against the analysis in non-Salishan languages (see Baker 1991; Austin and Bresnan 1996).

Coeur d'Alene has a three-way marking system; that is, its pronominal system is neither nominative/accusative nor ergative/absolutive, but combines elements of both. There are five distinct sets of pronominals in Coeur d'Alene. These include the proclitic intransitive subject pronouns, and the transitive object and subject pronouns. A fourth set, the genitive pronouns, bear semantic roles but do not serve as syntactic relations (the nonpossessive functions of the genitive pronominals are discussed in section 4.3). What Reichard (1938:554 #174) refers to as the 'independent pronouns' are actually predicates that may also occur in determiner phrases and can be used for emphatic cross-referencing with the pronominals that occur with the main predicate.

In the following sections, I first describe the pronominal sets representing the grammatical functions in simple clauses (3.1., 3.2.). I then describe the use of the genitive pronominals as possessives (3.3). The

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person predicates are presented last (3.4), introducing discussion of full predicates in section 4, where justification is given for the analysis of the nongenitive pronominals as arguments.

3.1. Simple intransitive constructions. Coeur d'Alene simple intransitives are formed of a root or stem preceded by a subject clitic. The forms of these clitics are listed in table 1:[12]

Table 1 Subject pronominal arguments

Intransitive Nominative:

1	čn	1p	č	
2	$k^{w}u$	2p	$k^{w}u$-p	

Absolutive:

3	ø	3p	ø	-ilš

The third person intransitive subject pronoun is zero. Plurality in the third person is distinguished by the suffix *-ilš*, which is used only where clarity demands a distinction. The following examples show the use of these pronouns with stems based on the roots *g^{w}ič* 'to see' (1) and *ʔacqɛʔ* 'go out' (2):

1. čn g^{w}ič — I saw.
   $k^{w}u$ g^{w}ič — You saw.

[12]See section 3.6 for notes on the terminology used here.

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	gʷič	He saw.
	č gʷič	We saw.
	kʷup gʷič	You folks saw.
	gʷičIlš	They saw.
2.	čn ʔácqɛʔ	I went out.
	kʷu ʔácqɛʔ	You went out.
	ʔácqɛʔ	He went out.
	č ʔácʔəcqɛʔ[13]	We went out.
	kʷup ʔácʔəcqɛʔ	You folks went out.
	ʔácʔəcqɛʔ	They went out.

The first and second person NOMINATIVE proclitics and the third person zero ABSOLUTIVE represent the grammatical function S, the single participant in simple intransitive constructions.

3.2. Transitive constructions. Coeur d'Alene transitives are formed by suffixing one of a number of transitivizing sequences to the root or stem (see section 4.2); these are followed by suffixes indicating the object (O) and subject (A). The simple transitivizers (used in most examples in this section) are *-n-t-*, which is commonly labeled the DIRECTIVE transitive (Thompson and Thompson 1992) and *-st(u)-*, often labeled a CAUSATIVE transitivizer in the Salishan literature (for example, Kuipers 1974:46, Thompson and Thompson 1992:70; see section 4.2.1). Both of these transitivizers may be analyzed as including the basic Salishan transitive suffix *-t*, which occurs without directive or causative

[13]Reduplication is discussed in section 2.2.4.

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modification with a limited set of Coeur d'Alene roots (see section 4.2.1.2.).

Pronominal arguments attached to simple transitive stems indicate the person and number of the object and the subject, in that order. In other Salishan languages, particularly on the Coast, there is sometimes a clear distinction between suffix and clitic pronominals demonstrated, for example, in clitic sequencing or by stress placement (see Jelinek 1993; Montler 1986). The Coeur d'Alene transitive pronominals do not participate in the stress system, and they are preceded only by transitivizers and followed only by one morpheme, *-ilš* 'third person plural', which may be either a suffix or enclitic.[14] I know of no other synchronic arguments for classifying the pronominals as either suffixes or enclitics.

Table 2 Object pronominal arguments

Accusative:

1s	-sɛ(l)/mɛ(l)	1p	-ɛl(i)
2s	-si/mi	2p	-ulm(i)

Absolutive:

3s	∅	3p	∅ (-ilš)

These pronominal arguments are mandatory. Tables 2 and 3 present the object (ACCUSATIVE and ABSOLUTIVE) and transitive subject (ERGATIVE) pronominal arguments (see

[14]I will refer to *-ilš* as an enclitic, though its status in not definite.

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section 3.6 for a discussion of the argument labels as used here). The transitive subject pronominal labeled nte, nontopic ergative, is discussed in section 3.2.1.

Table 3 Transitive subject pronominal arguments

Ergative:			
1s	-n	1p	-(mɛ)t
2s	-x^w	2p	-p
3s	-s	3p	-s (-ilš)
		nte	-m/-t

Reichard (1938:581-583) analyzes these transitive-suffix-plus-pronominal sequences differently, and in terms of aspect. In her discussion of transitives (#319) she states: "The suffix *-ts* denotes the completive; *-stm*, the customary." She then states (#328) "Most verbs add the suffix *-ɛn* just before the aspect sign in the completive"; this is reference to the directive *-n*. The following examples are taken from Reichard's grammar and are shown here with her transcription/analysis and translation on the left, and my morphemic analysis and gloss on the right:

3.	gwítc-tulm-n	√g^wíč-t-ulm-n
	I saw you.	/see-t-2pacc-1serg
4.	äc-g^witc-stm-ä-s	ʔɛc√g^wíč-st-mɛ-s
	He sees me.	cust/see-ct-1sacc-3serg
5.	ťáp-ɛn-ts-ä-x^w	√ťáp-n-t-sɛ-x^w
	You shot me.	/shoot-d-t-1sacc-2serg

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Example 3 shows how Reichard segments the *-t* transitivizer with the 2pacc *-ulm* suffix, which occurs without the directive suffix *-n* (which, incidentally, Reichard does not label). Examples 4 and 5 also show how Reichard analyzes the transitivizing sequences *-st(u)-* and *-n-t-* with the first consonants of the accusative pronouns, in 4 from the M-set (*-mɛ[l]*) and in 5 from the S-set (*-sɛ[l]*; see table 2; these sets are discussed presently).

Reichard's analysis thus accounts for forms with either of the transitivizer sequences, *-n-t-* and *-st(u)-*, the few roots that do not require *-n-* with the basic transitivizer *-t-*, and the M-set and S-set of first and second person accusative pronouns, even though these morphemes are not recognized as such. Comparative data support my analysis (see for example Thompson and Thompson 1992), which has the advantage of accurate prediction of forms in all paradigms, including the applicatives as well as simple transitives.

The alternate forms of the first person singular accusative (*-si/-mi*) and second person singular accusative (*-se[l]/-me[l]*) are selected by the specific transitivizer of the predicate: the M-set pronouns are used primarily with the *-st(u)-* causative transitivizer (see section 4.2.1.3.). Examples 6 and 7 show the M-set with the causative transitivizer; examples 8 and 9 show the S-set with the directive transitivizer:

6.	púlustmɛlm	I got killed.	90.108b1
	√pulut-st(u)-mɛl-m		
	/kill-ct-1acc-nte		

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7.	púlustmit √pulut-st(u)-mi-t /kill-ct-2acc-nte	You got killed.	90.166bl
8.	c̓úẃncɛlm √c̓uẃ-n-t-sɛl-m /hit-d-t-1acc-nte	I got hit.	90.315bl
9.	c̓úẃncis √c̓uẃ-n-t-si-s /hit-d-t-2acc-3erg	He hit you.	90.315bl

The final /l/ of the first person singular accusative, *-mɛ(l)* or *-sɛ(l)*, occurs only before *-p*, the second person plural ergative: compare 10a and 10b; or before final *-m* in nontopic ergative (nte) constructions as in examples 11 and 12 (see also section 3.2.1.):[15]

10.	a.	q̓ʷíc̓łcɛxʷ √q̓ʷic̓-łt-sɛl-xʷ /fill-pra-1acc-2erg You filled it for me.	3.55
	b.	q̓ʷíc̓łcɛlp √q̓ʷic̓-łt-sɛl-p /fill-pra-1acc-2perg You folks filled it for me.	3.55

[15]The forms in examples 10 through 12 include the *-ł-t-* applicative transitivizer, which does not affect the shape of the accusatives; see section 4.2.2.

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11. *k̓ʷnɛʔ cúnmɛy̓łcɛlp* mey.195
k̓ʷnɛʔ √cun√mɛy̓-łt-sɛl-p
fut /point/know-pra-1acc-2perg
You folks will show (it to) me.

12. *cúnmɛʔłcɛlm* mey.123
√cun√mɛy̓-łt-sɛl-m
/point/know-pra-1acc-nte
I was taught how to do it.

The third person ergative and absolutive arguments are optionally marked for plurality with the enclitic *-ilš*.[16] In example 13, the gloss given indicates a plural third person ergative, though the form could also mean "he took them out," or even "they took them out": the pluralizing enclitic, occurring only once in a given structure, can apply to one or both third person transitive pronouns in that structure.

13. *ʔácqʔəmstusilš* They took it out. B90.7
√ʔacqɛʔ-m-stu-Ø-s-ilš
/gc.out-M-st(u)-3abs-3erg-pl

In examples 14 and 15, *-ilš* refers only to the third person absolutive in both transitive and intransitive construction:

---

[16]This plural marker is also used with possessive constructions (see section 3.3): *ʔɛčɛ́łm xʷɛ cɛcɛ́txʷ-s-ilš* Their houses were separated (They lived apart).

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14. ƛɛχʷntxʷilš — You kill them. — B90.96
√ƛaχʷ-n-t-Ø-xʷ-ilš
/kill-d-t-3abs$_1$-2erg-pl$_1$

15. ʔɛnístš — Then they went. — 15.6
√ʔɛn-is-Ø-ilš
/go-inch-3abs$_1$-pl$_1$

Where a first person singular ergative *-n* occurs with the phonologically null third person absolutive argument, regular phonological rules apply to reduce the transitive sequences of alveolar segments /-n-t-Ø-n/ and /-st(u)-Ø-n/ to [-n] and [-sn], respectively.[17]

16. ƛápn — I shot him. — 3.13
√ƛap-n-t-Ø-n
/shoot-d-t-3abs-1erg

17. ʔa·ƛápsn — 3.35
ʔɛc√ƛap-st(u)-Ø-n/
cust/shoot-ct-3abs-1erg
I shoot it; I shoot at it/him.

3.2.1. Nontopic ergative. In many discourse constructions, the ergative argument in transitive forms is replaced with *-m* or *-t*, allomorphs of what I label here *nte*, the nontopic ergative (see section 5.1.5). Table 4 shows which shape the morpheme takes, depending on the person and number of the object it follows:

[17]See discussion of morphophonemics, section 2.3.

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Table 4 Nontopic Ergative

		NTE		NTE
Obj	1	-m	1p	-t
	2	-t	2p	-t
	3	-m	3p	-m

The odd allomorphy of the nte suffix and the identical shapes of the 1perg and the nte allomorph used with 1p and 2s, 2p objects may be due to Interior Salish reanalysis of two proto-Salish morphemes with *t* and first person plural reference. Newman (1979:213-214) posits PS (Proto-Salish) *-at for the first person plural subject characteristic of the Interior, as in Cr *-t* 1perg; this proto form may also be the source of the 1pG *-ɛt* in Cr. Kinkade 1987 identifies another *-t* suffix in Salish that functions as a control passive in dependent clauses. After summarizing the distribution of this suffix, Kinkade states:

> This -t for a dependent clause passive is thus obviously old in Salish, since it is widespread in two branches of the family. Furthermore, it has reflexes in Interior Salish, where a restructuring of object-suffix combinations has gotten it into active paradigms. Kinkade 1987:112.

Thus, while the distribution of *-m* vs. *-t* at first appears dependent on the person and number of the object, which one might consider evidence of the structure as

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passive,[18] investigation into the history of the construction indicates a reanalysis of a passive marker in dependent clauses into an active paradigm in main clauses.[19]

The nontopic ergative *-m* is used in examples 6, 8 and 12 with 1acc objects; in example 7, the *-t* form is used with a 2acc object. Examples 18 and 19 show the use of *-m* with 3abs and *-t* with 1pacc, respectively:

18. a. čaˑlɛ̓q̓ntm 2.17
čɛ√lɛ̓q̓-n-t-Ø-m
loc/bury-d-t-3abs-nte
He was buried.

b. ntɛʔɛɬníẃəntm 1.45
n√tiʔ=ɛɬniẃ-n-t-Ø-m
loc/hit=side-d-t-3abs-nte
He got hit on the side.

c. číɬšitmilš N90.117
√čiɬ-ši-t-Ø-m-ilš
/give-b-t-3abs-nte-3pl
They were given some.

---

[18]Steve Wechsler, p.c. 1997. Many Salishan researchers do refer to this structure as a passive: see Kinkade 1987:109 and fn. 11.

[19]I thank Dale Kinkade for pointing out the possible historical sources of the first person plural subject and the nontopic ergative allomorph *-t*. See Kinkade 1987; see also Mattina and Montler 1990.

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19. a. číɬšitɛlit N90.117
√čiɬ-ši-t-ɛli-t
/give-b-t-1pacc-nte
We were given some.

b. cúnmɛʔntɛlit
√cun√mɛy̓-n-t-ɛli-t
/point/know-d-t-2pacc-nte
We were taught.

3.2.2. Person hierarchy. The first person plural ergative takes the form *-mɛt* when it occurs following the zero third person absolutive, as in examples 20 and 21:

20. máq^{w}əntmɛt 3.12
√maq^{w}-n-t-Ø-mɛt
/stack-d-t-3abs-1perg
We piled up rocks, sacks of wheat.

21. miʔmiʔšítmɛt N90.176
√mɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-Ø-mɛt
/know+CVC-b-t-3abs-1perg
We told him stories.

The first person plural ergative has the form *-t* when used with second person accusatives:[20]

22. a. miʔmiʔšícit N90.176
√mɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-si-t

[20]Regardless of the transitivizer it occurs with; the examples here use the benefactive -ši (4.2.3.2).

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/know+CVC-b-t-2sacc-1perg
We told you stories.

b. mi?mi?šítulmit
√mɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-ulmi-t
/know+CVC-b-t-2pacc-1perg
We told you folks stories.

It is interesting to note that the forms in 22 may also be analyzed as nontopic ergatives, as shown in 23, where the nte suffix *-t* is used.

23. a. mi?mi?šícit
√mɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-si-t
/know+CVC-b-t-2sacc-nte
You were told stories.

b. mi?mi?šítulmit
√mɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-ulmi-t
/know+CVC-b-t-2pacc-nte
You folks were told stories.

That the first person plural ergative is identical with the nontopic ergative suggests some type of markedness (or perhaps more accurately unmarkedness) of the first person plural acting on any second person, singular or plural.[21] Kinkade (p.c., 1989) indicates that this is

[21]Thompson Salish (Thompson and Thompson 1992:62–64) has similar homonymy in second person singular and plural objects with the first person subject and what Thompson and Thompson call the "indefinite subject", which is

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the reverse of the agent hierarchies found in Upper Chehalis.[22]

The *-t* form of the nontopic ergative is also used with first person plural accusatives, as was shown earlier in example 19. However, the first person plural accusative suffix (*-ɛl[i]*) is limited to use with third person ergatives: it never occurs in a morphologically transitive structure with a second person singular or plural ergative:

24. a. *g^{w}ič-t-ɛli-x^{w} [You see us]
/see-T-1pacc-2serg

b. *g^{w}ič-t-ɛli-p [You folks see us]
/see-T-1pacc-2perg

Instead, the suffix *-šɛš*, which I will label INDEFINITE, is appended directly to an intransitive stem marked with the second person nominative proclitic:

---

equivalent to the Coeur d'Alene nte:

i. 1p-2s //...-t-si-et//
IDF-2s //...-t-si-et//
ii. 1p-2p //...-t-uym-et//
IDF-2p //...-t-uym-et//

A similar equivalence of nontopic and 1p ergatives occurs in Okanagan: *wikntm* 'we saw him'; 'he was seen' (A. Mattina, p.c. 1997)

[22]See also Silverstein 1976.

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25. kʷu gʷičšɛš — You see us.
kʷu √gʷič-šɛš
2nom /see-indef

26. kʷup gʷičšɛš — You folks see us.
kʷu-p √gʷič-šɛš
2nom-pl /see-indef

It is not possible in Coeur d'Alene to express a second person agent, singular or plural, acting upon a first person plural patient in a morphologically transitive structure. Other examples include the following; while the glosses given by the speakers indicate first person plural participants, the morphology does not:

27. a. kʷu ƛ̓ápšɛš — you shot us 3.35
b. kʷup ƛ̓ápšɛš — you folks shot us 3.35
c. kʷu lɛ́jšɛš — you stabbed us/others 3.43
d. kʷu q̓ʷíc̓šɛš
you filled it for us/others 3.56

In third person intransitive structures, like those in 28, the suffix *-šɛš* apparently indicates an indefinite participant of some type:

28. a. číɬšɛš — he gave s.t. away 1.54
b. tɛ́nmšɛš — he pulled s.t. 3.49
c. mɛ́ƛ̓ʷšɛš
he broke s.t. that belongs to another 3.40
d. mɛ́ƛ̓ʷšɛšmnc 3.40
√mɛ́ƛ̓ʷ-šɛš-m(i)-n-t-Ø-s

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/break-indef-rel-d-t-3abs-3erg
he broke s.t. for s.b. else

All forms in examples 25 through 28 are morphologically intransitive: they do not include the transitivizing suffix sequences, and they use the nominative/absolutive set of intransitive pronouns. It would be misleading to call *-šɛš* an "object" suffix, though it does refer to an additional participant in an intransitive structure, with reference to either first person plurals or third persons.

While second person agents, singular (*-x^{w}*) or plural (*-p*), cannot act, transitively, on first person plural patients, they may do so with first person singular patients (*-sɛ(l)*):

29. číłcɛx^{w} N90.66
√čił-t-sɛ(l)-x^{w}
/give-t-1sacc-2serg
You gave it to me.

30. číłcɛlp N90.66
√čił-t-sɛ(l)-p
/give-t-1sacc-2perg
You folks gave it to me.

The data discussed here suggest that first person plurals have unique status: When they occur as ergative arguments to second person accusatives, they are indistinguishable morphologically from the nontopic ergatives. However, when they are acted upon by second persons, again either singular or plural, they are

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morphologically invisible: the structure used is intransitive, and reference to an additional argument is made only with a suffix that otherwise translates as "something".[23] Table 5 summarizes the transitive pronominal system.

Table 5. Transitive object-subject combinations

Obj	Subj 1s	2s	3	1p	2p	nte
1s	-	-sɛx^{w}	-sɛs	-	-sɛlp	-sɛlm
	-	-mɛx^{w}	-mɛs	-	-mɛlp	-mɛlm
2s	-sn	-	-sis	-sit	-	-sit
	-mn	-	-mis	-mit	-	-mit
3	-n	-x^{w}	-s	-mɛt	-p	-m
	-n	-x^{w}	-s	-mɛt	-p	-m
1p	-	*	-ɛlis	-	*	-ɛlit
	-	*	-ɛlis	-	*	-ɛlit
2p	-ulmn	-	-ulmis	-ulmit	-	-ulmit
	-ulmn	-	-ulmis	-ulmit	-	-ulmit

Note: all s-initial morphemes combine with preceding *-t-* 'transitive' to produce [c].
*see section 3.2.2.

3.3. Genitive pronominals. The GENITIVE pronominals are used to mark predicates of possession (discussed here) and to indicate second participants in certain detransitivized constructions (see sections 4.3 and 4.4).

The first and second person singular genitives are prefixes; all other persons are indicated with suffixes.

[23]Kinkade (1989:213) describes a reverse restriction in Upper Chehalis, a hierarchy 'which prohibits the use of a second person object suffix with a first plural subject.'

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The genitive pronominals are listed in table 6. The third person genitive is identical with the third person ergative suffix.

Table 6 Genitive pronominals

1	hn-	1p	-ɛt	
2	in-	2p	-mp	
3	-s	3p	-s	(-ilš)

Examples of the genitive pronominals include the following, where they serve as simple possessive markers:

31. a. histí? LN90.65
hn√sti?
1G/thing
It's mine.

b. k̓ʷɛy̓ hnpupús LN90.65
k̓ʷɛy̓ hn-C_1+√pus
still 1G-dim/cat
It's still my cat.

c. hinúnɛ?[24] 4.03
hn√nunɛ?
1G/mother
It's my mother.

[24]The vocalization of *n* in this form is not expected.

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d. hnpípɛʔ 4.03
hn√pipɛʔ
1G/father
It's my father.

32. a. istíʔ LN90.65
in√stiʔ
2G/thing
It's yours.

b. ʔɛc̓əčínəm $x^{w}ɛ$ $innuk^{w}əłcɛtx^{w}$ 9.21
ʔɛc√ʔɛčin-m $x^{w}ɛ$ in-nuk^{w}-ł√c$ɛtx^{w}$
cust/do-mdl det 2G-fellow-conn/house
How is your family/household?

33. a. stiʔs LN90.65
√stiʔ-s
/thing-3G
It's his/hers.

b. stíʔsilš LN90.65
√stiʔ-s-ilš
/thing-3G-3pl
It's theirs.

34. a. cɛ̓$tx^{w}ɛt$ 1.41
√c$ɛtx^{w}$-ɛt
/house-1pG
It's our house.

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b. stí?ɛt 5.28
√sti?-ɛt
/thing-1pG
It's ours.

35. a. cɛ́tx^{w}mp 1.41
√cɛtx^{w}-mp
/house-2pG
It's your (pl) house.

b. stí?mp 5.28
sti?-mp
/thing-2pG
It's yours (pl).

In most of the preceding examples the possessive predicate appears to stand alone as a full sentence.[25] However, when the possessed item is other than third person, a nominative subject occurs with the genitive predicate:

36. a. k^{w}inpípɛ? GAR554.178
k^{w}u hn√pipɛ?
2nom 1G/father
You are my father.

b. čismíy̓ɛms
čn s√miy̓m-s

---

[25]In 32b, the possessive serves as an adjunct to the main predicate (see 5.1).

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1nom nom/woman-3G
I am his wife.

These examples suggest a parallel structure for all possessives constructions, that is, that each possessive construction includes a pronominal subject. If no overt subject appears, the null third person absolutive must be assumed. For example, sentence 35a would have the structure given in 37:

37. Ø √cɛtx^{w}-mp
3abs /house-2pG

3.4. Predicative pronouns. The following forms can stand alone as predicates or may serve as emphatic adjuncts (section 5.1.). The forms are constructed as intransitive predicates with nominative pronouns and with unanalyzable roots that are used nowhere else (38); the third person uses the standard plural *-ilš*.

38. a. čn ʔɛ́ng^{w}t 5.28
I/me.

b. k^{w}u ʔɛ́ng^{w}t 5.28
You.

c. cɛ́nil 5.28
He/him.

d. č lípust 5.28
We/us.

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e. kʷup lípust. 5.28
You folks/All of you.

f. cənílilš 5.28
They/them.

The first and second person forms may be truncated, as shown in 39;[26] the glosses are the same as the corresponding forms in 38.

39. a. čn ʔɛ́
b. kʷu ʔɛ́
d. č lí
e. kʷup lí

The root may be prefixed with *(ʔ)ul-* 'belonging to' to form possessive predicates (40):

40. a. čn ʔuɩ̀ɛ́ N90.65
It's mine; it belongs to me.

b. kʷ(u) ʔuɩ̀ɛ́ N90.65; (w/o u: 11.32)
It's yours.

c. ʔulcɛ́nil N90.65
It's his/hers.

---

[26]In fact, Reichard 1938 only refers to the truncated forms of the first and second person singular independent pronouns.

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d. č ʔullípust N90.65
č ʔullí
It's ours.

e. k^{w}up ʔullípust N90.65
It's yours.

f. ulcəníləɬš N90.65
It is theirs.

3.5. Summary. Tables 7 and 8 show a summary of the Coeur d'Alene intransitive and transitive pronominal arguments, and the genitive and predicative pronominals.

Table 7 Pronominal arguments

	Nom	Abs	Acc	Erg
1s	čn	–	-sɛl	-n
2s	k^{w}	–	-si	-x^{w}
3s	–	ø	–	-s
1p	č	–	-ɛl(i)	-(mɛ)t
2p	k^{w}u-p	–	-ulm(i)	-p
3p	–	ø (-ilš)	–	-s (-ilš)
NTE				-m/it

Coeur d'Alene does not fit the description of a Nominative/Accusative person marking system, where transitive subjects (A) and intransitive subjects (S) are marked differently from the object (O), nor does it fit the description of an Ergative/Absolutive system, where the form of the transitive subject contrasts with the

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Table 8 Genitive and predicative pronominals

	Genitive	Predicative
1s	hn-	čn ʔɛ́(ng^{w}t)
2s	ɩn-	k^{w}u ʔɛ́(ng^{w}t)
3s	-s	cɛ́nil
1p	-ɛt	č lí(pust)
2p	-mp	k^{w}up lí(pust)
3p	-s (-ilš)	cənílilš

intransitive subject and the object relations. The ergative/absolutive distribution of forms is evident only in the third person, where the null morpheme indicates the absolutive.[27] In all other persons, each grammatical relation, S, A and O, has a phonologically unique form.

3.6. A note on terminology and possible historical development. The Coeur d'Alene pronominal argument system, as I have described it, may seem unusual in that the term ergative is applied to the full set of transitive subjects rather than just to those persons that complement absolutives (that is, in this case, the third person). This analysis results mainly from lack of appropriate unique terminology, there being no term for the transitive subject of the first and second persons in a system that already includes unique marking for objects and intransitive subjects. The system is truly one that

[27]See Silverstein 1976 for a discussion of the analysis of similar splits in ergative systems.

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is three-way in the first and second person and ergative-absolutive in the third person.[28]

A closer look at the form of the non-third-person ergatives in comparison to the nominatives in this system suggests a possible historical development from a more neatly divided system of nominative-accusative in the first and second person and ergative-absolutive in the third person. Comparison of the first and second person transitive and intransitive subject pronominals in Coeur d'Alene shows that they have shared phonological elements (table 9). In Thompson Salish, cognates of these shared elements are synchronically analyzable, suggesting that in Coeur d'Alene, too, these elements were at one time independent (bound) morphemes.

It is possible that the Coeur d'Alene intransitive subjects may be historically analyzed as sequences of a marker similar to the Thompson INDICATIVE-type and a pronominal enclitic or suffix, forms comparable to the synchronic analysis of the Thompson pronominals. If the Thompson forms, minus their vowels, are taken as Coeur d'Alene proto-forms (final column), apparent discrepancies within the Coeur d'Alene system would be explainable by verifying and ordering several historical events. First, the k-x^w sequence of the second person would merge, losing a segment but maintaining place and features of sonority and labialization; this k^w- would

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[28]I thank A. C. Woodbury (p.c.) for pointing out that the system described here follows from Silverstein's (1976) analysis of hierarchies in ergative systems, and indicating that it thus has a 'principled basis in universal grammar'.

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Table 9 Nominative clitics

	Thompson				Coeur d'Alene	
Intransitive Subject						
	indicative		conjunctive			
1	kn	//k-en//	wn	//w-en//	čn	*//k-n//
2	k^w	//k-ex^w//	wx^w	//w-ex^w//	k^w	*//k-x^w//
3			ws	//w-es//		
1	kt	//k-et//	wt	//w-et//	č	*//k-t//
2	kp	//k-ep//	wp	//w-ep//	k^wp	*//k-(x^w-)p//
Transitive Subject						
1		-en			-n	
2		-ex^w			-x^w	
3		-es			-s	
1		-et, -em			-(mɛ)t	
2		-ep			-p	

Thompson forms from Thompson and Thompson 1992, pages 58 and 61.

generalize as the base for both singular and plural second person. Next, Coeur d'Alene non-labialized *k*'s, such as those of the first persons, would palatalize to *č*;[29] finally, the coronal obstruent sequence č-t of the first person plural (resulting from palatalization of *//k-t-//) would simplify to *č*-.

If these assumptions are correct, then Coeur d'Alene did at one time have a split system, with nominative-

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[29]Boas and Haeberlin (1927) discuss this shift, which affected the unrounded velars, *k* and *x*, in most of the Salishan languages. The velars were retained in Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbian, Colville-Okanagan, Bella Coola and Cowlitz; the velars palatalized in the remainder of the languages. It is interesting to note that only Kalispel and Coeur d'Alene "are to the east of the k-x block, the rest of the languages to the west of it" (Thompson 1979:703).

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accusative case marking in the first and second persons, and ergative-absolutive case marking in the third person. What is interesting is that the nominative enclitics in the proto-system would have been attached to auxiliary type particles or stems accompanying intransitive predicates, but attached to the stem itself with transitive predicates. (This is apparently the case in Thompson.)

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4. Predicates. The core of the Coeur d'Alene sentence is the predicate. The minimal predicate is composed of a root plus intransitive subject inflection. More complex intransitive predicates include derivational morphology and further inflection, for example, of aspect and mood. The role of the subject varies with the class of the root in minimal constructions, and may be morphologically altered. Root classes and intransitive constructions are discussed in section 4.1.

Transitive predicates take specific transitivizing morphology, including applicatives, and a special set of transitive pronouns to indicate subject and object. The various types of transitive clauses are described in section 4.2.

Inversion constructions are morphologically intransitive though thematically complex. In section 4.3 I describe simple possessive intransitives and genitive inversions; and in section 4.4 I describe simple future constructions and future inversions.

4.1. Intransitive structures. Three factors influence the structure of Coeur d'Alene simple intransitives; these are aspect, the presence or absence of *-m*, and the root class.

The following discussion is organized according to the three aspects. The COMPLETIVE aspect is unmarked, and the CUSTOMARY and CONTINUATIVE aspects are indicated by the prefixes *ʔɛc-* and *ɣ̓c-*.

The interaction of the aspects and the *-m* suffix leads to the identification of three root classes in the language: Patient-oriented roots, whose subjects are

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patients when unmarked; agent-oriented roots, whose subjects are agents when unmarked; and middle roots.[30]

Middle roots occur with *-m* regardless of the aspect of the construction. Patient-oriented roots also occur with *-m* in all three aspects; however, in the COMPLETIVE and CUSTOMARY aspects, it indicates a construction similar to an antipassive, assigning the role of agent to the subject. Agent-oriented roots also take the suffix *-m*, but only in the CONTINUATIVE aspect, and here again it serves as a toggle, switching the role of the subject from agent to patient to form a passive-like construction. With middle roots and with patient-oriented roots in the CONTINUATIVE aspect, the *-m* does not function to change the semantic role of the subject. These observations are summarized in table 10.

The suffix *-m* is pervasive in Coeur d'Alene: for example, in structures identical in form to the CUSTOMARY antipassive-like structure, the suffix *-m* creates an intransitive with CAUSATIVE semantics. In other instances, a (completive) root occurring with *-m* can be interpreted with either an agent or patient subject. Thus there is no one-to-one correspondence between the constructions formed with *-m* and the function of each construction. However, the identification of the three root types allows predictability of the function of constructions with *-m* suffixation.

COMPLETIVE and CUSTOMARY constructions are discussed first. The comparison of unmarked forms and those marked with *-m* lead to the analysis of the suffix as a role

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[30]This classification is supported by adjoined clause cross referencing, which will be discussed in section 5.

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Table 10 Role of subject in intransitive constructions

Aspect / Root type	Completive	Customary	Continuative
AgOr			
w/o -m	agent	agent	agent
with -m (or -p)			patient
PatOr			
w/o -m or w/ $+C_2$ or w/ -p	patient	patient	patient
with -m	agent	agent	patient
with -m-š			agent
Middle			
with -m	agent	agent	agent

toggle and to the proposal of the three root classes. CONTINUATIVE forms are then discussed, followed by a summary of the functions of *-m* and the effect of its use in the proposed root classes.

4.1.1. Completive and customary intransitives. The most basic Coeur d'Alene clauses are composed of simple roots and nominative arguments, with no marking for tense, aspect, mode, or multiple participants (see Reichard 576:286-289). Examples include those given in 41:

41. a. čn √ʔacx̣ I watched.
    b. č √g^{w}ič We saw.
    c. k^{w}u √ʔɛk^{w}n You said.

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d.	kʷup qʷáʔ+√qʷəʔɛl	You folks spoke.
e.	√gʷɛy̓	He finished, It is finished.
f.	√nas	He/it/they is/are wet.

The null third person absolutive may be considered present in those constructions where no other pronominal occurs, thus indicating one (single or plural) participant, just as do those with the non-null nominatives. Clauses like these that are unmarked for tense and aspect are interpreted as either present or simple past in Coeur d'Alene. All can be considered telic, that is, having an endpoint, and unless otherwise marked, all are realis and all are affirmative.[31] Agency, volitionality, and punctuality vary with each root (compare c. *√ʔɛkʷun* 'say' and f. *√nas* 'be wet' and a. *√ʔacx̣* 'watch' and b. *√gʷič* 'see'), but in all of the clauses in 41, kinesis and affectedness and individuation of the object are irrelevant, since any possible object is absent.[32] These, the simplest Coeur d'Alene clauses, are intransitive.

Any discussion of Coeur d'Alene intransitives will necessarily involve analysis of the pervasive suffix *-m*.

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[31]Irrealis structures are indicated by proclitics and other devices; negative clauses have a particular syntax including the predicative √lut 'negative/not/no'; neither construction will be considered here.

[32]These terms are the indicators of transitivity outlined by Hopper and Thompson (1980) and discussed further in section 4.1.2.3.

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This suffix has traditionally been called the MIDDLE in Salishan studies (see A. Mattina 1987:96; Carlson 1989:v; Thompson and Thompson 1992:102; and Montler 1986:177), but its functions in Coeur d'Alene are diverse.

A second topic that is mandatory in the discussion of Coeur d'Alene intransitive constructions is the influence of ASPECT on the possible structures. Reichard's (1938) focus on aspect throughout her grammar of Coeur d'Alene at first appears exaggerated, but I have found that, as I understand more about the language, the topic does demand the thorough description she provides. For example, Reichard observes that changes in aspect are concomitant with changes in agent and patient marking and, as we will see here, the role of the intransitive subject (see Reichard 1983:574-586; also section 4.3).

In the following sections, I will describe Coeur d'Alene simple intransitive structures in the various aspects, and will demonstrate the uses of the *-m* suffix, in particular as a means to alter the role of the intransitive subject and to identify root classes.

4.1.1.1. Completive intransitives. The examples in 41, unmarked for tense or aspect, have been labeled COMPLETIVE by Reichard (1938:574). The following are additional examples of completive intransitives:

42.	a.	čn √mílx^{w}	I smoked.	90.218bl
	b.	čn √ńúłx^{w}	I entered.	90.218bl
	c.	č √dɛ́x̣-t	We walked.	8.18
	d.	č √x^{w}uy ł č √dɛs-t	We went and camped.	8.28
	e.	k^{w}u √ʔɛ́m-iš	You sat.	8.29
	f.	k^{w}u mɛl√(h)íčɛʔ	Where are you?	5.29

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g.	√mɛx^{w}-t	He laughed.	10.26
h.	√k^{w}ɛl̓-t	It was warm.	10.68

These forms are all morphologically intransitive. Nevertheless, they may have transitive interpretation, and an adjoined clause may indicate either an agent (43) or patient (44, 45), or indicate a location (46). (The predicate is italicized and the adjunct is in plain type in the following examples.)

43. *k^{w}in x^{w}ɛ p̓ɛsta?* 8.14
Ø √k^{w}in x^{w}ɛ √p̓ɛstɛ?
3Abs /grasp.one det$_1$ /nighthawk
Nighthawk took him.

44. *čn naq̓^{w}* x^{w}ɛ ʔɛsčíčɛʔ. 8.5
čn √naq̓^{w} x^{w}ɛ ʔɛsčičɛʔ
1Nom /steal det$_1$ /horse
I stole horses.

45. x^{w}ɛ hiisnχíɬmn *q̓^{w}ic̓t*[33] 10.19
x^{w}ɛ Ø hn-s-hn√χiɬ-min Ø √q̓^{w}ic̓-t
det$_1$ 3abs 1G-nom-loc/leave-instr 3abs /be.full-stat
My garbage can is getting full.

46. *cɛnc̓ɛliš* x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ šɛt̓ 8.61
Ø cɛn√c̓ɛl-iš x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ √šɛt̓
3Abs loc/stand-aut det$_1$ obl /1long.obj.projects
He stood under a tree.

---

[33]In this example, the determiner phrase is preposed.

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4.1.1.2. Customary intransitives. The CUSTOMARY aspect is indicated by the prefix *ʔɛc-*, attached to the root, following the intransitive pronominal. Reichard (1938:546.125; 547.128; 131ff) discusses the morphophonemic alternations affecting the prefix *ʔɛc-*; to summarize: the final *c* is lost before an alveolar or palatal stem-initial segment; the vowel is lost after the initial glottal stop merges with a preceding nasal or glide, or if a vowel precedes the glottal stop. Examples of customary intransitives include the following:

47. a. čn̓cg^{w}íč — I see. — R546.125
čn ʔɛc√g^{w}ič

b. čn̓c̓ɛk^{w}n — I say. — R546.125
čn ʔɛc√ʔɛk^{w}un

c. č ʔɛck̓^{w}úl̓ — We work. — 10.35
č ʔɛc√k̓^{w}ul̓

d. č ʔɛšɛ́nən — We work. — 10.35
č ʔɛč√šɛn-n

e. k^{w}u ʔcx^{w}íst — You walk/go places — N75a.122I
k^{w}u ʔɛc√x^{w}is-t

f. k^{w}up ʔadɛ́χt — You folks walk. — N75a.121I
k^{w}u-p ʔɛc√dɛχ-t

g. ʔɛcwíš — He lives there; or,
ʔɛc√wiš — There's a house. — 1.59

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h. ʔɛɬɛpɬɛp It has marks across. 3.46
ʔɛc√ɬɛp+ɬɛp

48. $k^{w}um̓$ *čn̓cʔɛmut* čn ʔáyɣ^{w}t 90.74ms
$k^{w}um̓$ čn ʔɛc√ʔɛm-ut čn √ʔayɣ^{w}-t
/ptcl 1Nom cust/sit-stat 1Nom /tire-stat
I got tired of sitting.

49. ni *k^{w}u ʔɛc$k̓^{w}$úl̓* tg^{w}ɛl̓ Washington? 7.16
ni k^{w} ʔɛc√$k̓^{w}$ul̓ tg^{w}ɛl̓ √Washington
Q 2Nom cust/work prep Washington
Do you work for the government?

50. lut *ʔɛcšár*[34] 7.20
√lut Ø ʔɛc√šar
/neg 3Abs cust/idle
They're not lazy.

51. *ʔɛčɬíp* x^{w}ɛ hisílɛʔ 8.2
Ø ʔɛc√čɬip x^{w}ɛ hn√silɛʔ
3Abs cust/hunt det$_1$ 1G/grandson
My grandson hunts.

52. *ʔɛlú* sčəg^{w}čəg^{w}áɣən 3.37
Ø ʔɛc√lut s√čig^{w}+CVC=aɣn
3 Abs cust/neg nom/extend+aug=arm
He has no arms.

---

[34]The retention of the final segment of the customary prefix *ʔɛc-* is not expected before root-initial *š-*.

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53. cmi2 *ʔɛcwínš* 3.31
√cmi2 Ø ʔɛc√winš
/used.to.be 3Abs cust/wardance
He used to dance.

4.1.2. Constructions with *-m* and transitivity. There is a common suffix *-m* in the Salishan languages that is regularly referred to as a "middle" (see for example Thompson and Thompson 1992), and which "indicates some involvement on the part of the primary referent" (A. Mattina 1973:42). For the time being, I will continue with tradition and refer to the forms discussed in this section as middles.

Thompson and Thompson (1992:102) state the following regarding Thompson River Salish middle constructions:

> MIDDLES are forms referring to activities and states in which the subject is agent. A patient or goal may also be suggested although it is not formally provided for. That is, although grammatically intransitive, middles often convey transitive-like meanings.

COMPLETIVE and CUSTOMARY forms such as given in 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.2 have subject agents without middle marking; see for example 43, 44, and 51. A sample of intransitive middle forms in Coeur d'Alene, provided in the following sections, shows varying degrees of agency, control (Thompson and Thompson 1992:51), and volitionality (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252).

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4.1.2.1. Completive with *-m*. The simple middle is formed by suffixing *-m* to a COMPLETIVE stem:

54. a. čn √q̓ay̓-m — I wrote. 90.217bl
b. čn √ʔúck^{w}-m — I took a bath. 10.32
c. ni k^{w}u √póc̓-m — Did you shit? 90.198bl
d. k^{w}u √míɬ-m — You rest. 90.87ms
e. √t̓íx^{w}l-m — It's different. 90.62bl
f. c̓úʔ+c̓uʔ-m — They cried. 90.60bl

55. a. čn √t̓áp-m — I shot (s.t.) 7.1
b. √níč̓-m — He cut (s.t.)
It's cut. 90.315bl

56. ʔa ʔaʕ^{w} nɛʔ *níč̓əm* — 90.251bl
ʔɛ ∅ √ʔaʕ^{w} nɛʔ ∅ √nič̓-m
obl 3Abs /lots irr 3Abs /be.cut-m
He's gonna cut lots.

57. k^{w}uṁ nɛʔ *č ʔɛčínəm*? — 8.50
k^{w}uṁ nɛʔ č √ʔɛčin-m
then irr 1pNom /do-m
What are we gonna do?

58. a. u šiɬ ɛpɬ *t̓apm* — 90.56bl
u √šiɬ √ɛpɬ ∅ √t̓ap-m
stat /just /be 3Abs /be.shot-m
He just shot.

b. *t̓apm* x^{w}ɛ t̓t̓míx^{w} — 90.56bl
∅ √t̓ap-m x^{w}ɛ C_1+√t̓mix^{w}

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3Abs /be.shot-m det_1 dim/animal
He/they shot birds.

4.1.2.2. Customary with *-m*. The CUSTOMARY middles are formed by suffixing *-m* to a customary stem:

59. *ɛ·nɪ̓čəm* R547.131b; R576:292
Ø ʔɛc√niči̓-m
3Abs cust/be.cut-m
He cust. cuts.

60. *čɛy̓cčɛ́n̓əms* R548.133
čɛɬ s-ʔɛc√čɛn̓-m-s
fut int-cust/grab-m-3G
cust. he is to take hold of it [35]

61. lut *č ʔɛcq̓ɛdm* 7.20
Ø √lut č ʔɛc√q̓ɛd-m
3Abs /neg 1pNom cust/balk-m
We don't hesitate (to work).

62. *kʷu ʔcpúʔm* xʷɛ kʷ *t̓isšɔ́* 10.25
kʷ ʔɛc√puʔ-m xʷɛ kʷ √t̓isšɔ
2Nom cust/fart-mdl det_1 2Nom /sneeze
You fart when you sneeze.

63. *kup ʔɛcm̓ɛy̓m̓iy̓m̓.* mey134
kʷu-p ʔɛc√mɛy+CVC-m-<'>

---

[35]This form is actually a customary future genitive inversion. See section 4.3.

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2Nom-p cust/know+aug-m-<dim>
You folks tell stories.

4.1.2.3. Root types. Some of the forms given here as CUSTOMARY and COMPLETIVE middles do appear to fit a classic description of middle, where the subject is benefiting from his own actions (examples 54, 61, 62). Others, such as those in examples 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, can take adjuncts that are not coreferent with the subject argument associated with the root; that is, a patient can be specified (e.g. 58b; also 56, where the preposed patient is marked oblique). There is thus a distinction between middle-type roots and those that allow patients, though both are marked with the suffix *-m*. All of the *-m* forms provided here fit with Thompson and Thompson's 1992 description of Thompson middles.

Van Eijk (1985:131) refers to a Lillooet Salish suffix *-m* occurring in the same position as the Thompson and Coeur d'Alene middle suffix, calling it an "intransitivizer" which is used to assign agency to the subject of the root, and to "imply reference to an undergoing object":

64. Li √ʔacx̣ to be seen
ʔácx̣-əm to see, have vision

In Lillooet this type of root, when unmarked, generally assigns a patient role to the subject, and may be

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considered unaccusative.[36] Thompson and Thompson (1992:56) indicate a similar split in root types in Thompson River Salish. They state that intransitive subjects may be either agents or patients, and imply that this distinction is root dependent rather than determined by "intransitivizing" morphology.

Hopper and Thompson 1980 identify ten parameters of transitivity useful in determining how effective a transfer of action is indicated in a clause. These parameters are presented as applicable universally, that is, any clause in any language can be ranked as more or less transitive depending on the sum of its values of transitivity in terms of these parameters. Example 65 outlines these parameters:[37]

65. A. Participants (2/1)
B. Kinesis (action/non-action)
C. Aspect (telic/atelic)
D. Punctuality
E. Volition
F. Affirmation
G. Mode (realis/irrealis)

---

[36]The unaccusative hypothesis of the theory of relational grammar indicates that in such cases, the initial stratum includes a 2 (object) but no 1 (subject), and, by a rule called the Final 1 Law, that 2 must be raised to 1 in the final stratum (see Blake 1990:2, 20, and 29). Van Eijk (1985:131) refers to these roots as 'passive in character'.

[37]Adapted from Hopper and Thompson 1980:252(1).

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H. Agency (potency of A)
I. Affectedness of O
J. Individuation of O (proper/common; animate/inanimate; referential/non-referential)

From the forms presented here, at lease three distinct Coeur d'Alene root types can be identified. The first, what I will call agent-oriented roots: all call for a subject agent and, necessarily, no affectedness or individuation of an object. They do not take the *-m* suffix in simple (customary or continuative) intransitive constructions.[38] Some examples include:

66. Agent-oriented roots:

√gʷičˇ see	√ʔɛkʷun say, tell
√qʷaʔqʷɛʔl speak	√xʷis (s) walk, go
√piɬ scatter	√šɛn work
√ʔiɬn eat	√gʷɛl burn
√ʔɛm sit	√wiʔ call out
√dɛs camp	√xʷus wake
√mɛxʷ laugh	√čˇuʔ be gone
√ʔɔqʷs drink	√čˇɛnɛʔ be small
√ʔɛnis go (away)	√tiʔɬ to fly
√tar loose	√tˇɛkˇʷ one lies
√kʷɛl warm	√dɛx (pl) walk
√naqˇʷ steal	√cˇɛl (s) stand

In Lillooet (van Eijk 1985; see example 64) and Thompson (Thompson and Thompson 1992:56) there are roots that take patient subjects in unmarked clauses:

[38]But see discussion of continuatives, section 4.1.3.

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67. a. q^{w}nóx^{w} kn I am sick.
/be.sick 1sS

b. k^{w}ís kn I fall.
/fall 1sS

The same is true in Saanich, where "subjects of unmarked predicates are interpreted as patients" (Montler 1986:175):

68. a. ƛ̓əm̓=íq^{w} sən I got hit on the head.
/hit=head 1sS

b. ƛ̓ém̓ ə sx^{w} Did you get hit?
/hit Q 2sS

These roots are of higher transitivity than those roots that call for agent subjects based on Hopper and Thompson's parameters. Specifically, an intransitive root that takes a patient subject requires that that patient has been acted upon, indicating a high degree of affectedness of the one undergoing the action (in these cases, the subject). In Coeur d'Alene, this type of root rarely occurs without the suffix *-m*.

In Saanich, the cognate suffix *-ŋ* 'middle' changes the subject from patient to agent:[39]

69. a. ƛ̓$^{\theta}$ís Someone got punched.
/pound

[39]Example 69a includes the null third person subject, which is interpreted here as indefinite.

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b. ƛ̓$^{\theta}$əsí-ŋ-əł sən[40] I'm pounding, hammering.
/pound-mdl-dur 1sS

In Coeur d'Alene such pairs are rare and unpredictable. One pair recorded by Reichard (1938:703) shows a patient subject in the unmarked intransitive (70a) and an agent subject with the middle suffix (70b).

70. a. ʔa·ƛ̓áp She was shot.
Ø ʔɛc√ƛ̓ap
3Abs cust/shoot

b. ƛ̓apm He shot.
Ø √ƛ̓ap-m
3Abs /shoot-m

A second pair shows a patient subject in the inchoative (71a), and an agent subject with the middle suffix (71b):

71. a. k^{w}u míʔł You became rested. 16.7
k^{w} √mił-<ʔ>
2Nom /rest-inch

b. k^{w}u míłm You took a rest. 16.7
k^{w} √mił-m
2Nom /rest-mdl

---

[40]This form demonstrates regular processes of metathesis and stress shift in Saanich (Montler 1986:26).

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In other cases, the unmarked patient-oriented root has been identified as ungrammatical:[41]

72. a. *čn níč̓ 16.6
b. čn níč̓m I cut (s.t.). 16.1 (R687.878)

73. a. *čn p̓íc̓ 16.11
b. čn p̓íc̓m I pushed (s.t.) 16.11

Despite the rarity of the examples, this second class of Coeur d'Alene roots, are similar to the Thompson and Saanich high-transitivity roots that take patient subjects: When they occur with the *-m* suffix, intransitive forms with agent subjects result (as in 70b and 71b). All of the patient-oriented roots listed in 74 occur with *-m* in the simplest intransitive constructions:

74. Patient-oriented roots:

√nič̓	cut	√c̓u?	cry
√čɛn̓	grab one	√c̓aẇ	wash
√častq	dig (camas)	√čɬip	hunt
√l̓aq	search	√šɛt̓	take care of
√c̓k^{w}in	run	√q̓ɛy̓	write
√?ac̓x	look (for)	√lɛq̓	bury

[41]A. Mattina (p.c.) has pointed out that in Okanagan, roots of this type require +C_2 reduplication to occur without *-m* in minimally marked constructions with patient subjects. Except for isolated forms like 70a, this is true in Coeur d'Alene, too: čn níč̓č̓ 'I got a cut' 16.6.

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√g^{w}nit call for √wiš build; reside

Agent-subject forms also result when some patient-oriented roots take lexical suffixes instead of the *-m*. In example 75 an intransitive customary is shown compared to a completive transitive:

75. a. ʔɛtəl̓qíɬc̓ɛʔ — He kicks. — 11.20
ʔɛc√tal̓q=iɬc̓ɛʔ
cust/kick=body

b. tál̓qnc — He kicked it. — 11.20
√tal̓q-n-t-Ø-s
/kick-d-t-3abs-3erg

Reichard (1938:576.287) observes that some Coeur d'Alene roots (which she refers to as stems)

> ... seem to require a psychological object. The most general of these is the suffix -əm for completive and customary ... and theoretically, they may be used with all stems requiring such an object. Many stems, however, have taken on some particular suffix which has become formalized in the intransitive.

The example she provides is *ṫapsčɛ́nt* √ṫap=sčint 'He shot', which includes the suffix =sčint 'people'. In this form and the forms given in 75a and 76, the lexical suffix is nonreferential; instead, like the suffix *-m*, it is used only to indicate that the subject is the agent:

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76. kʷup t̓ápɬc̓ɛʔ. 5.42
kʷu-p √t̓ap=(i)ɬc̓ɛʔ
2Nom-pl /shoot=body
You are shooters/hunters.

The roots given in example 77 form the same simple intransitive constructions as the patient-oriented roots in 74. However, the roots can be considered less transitive in that they may require lower agent volition than the patient-oriented roots, and are often low-action. I call this class the middle roots:

77. Middle roots:

√čɛš accompany	√t̓ɛn be in line
√ʔuckʷ bathe, swim	√tči ʔ urinate
√ʕʷɛt smile	√caʕ scream
√puʔ pass gas	

Montler 1989 has demonstrated that for Saanich, five types of roots can be derived from the transitivity parameters Hopper and Thompson define. While Montler includes reference to the behavior of the root classes in transitive as well as intransitive structures, three of these root types correlate with the Coeur d'Alene intransitive root types postulated here. Saanich type A roots are characterized by high affectedness of the patient, which is the subject; these roots can occur with a variety of transitivizers, and can be unmarked or marked with the middle suffix. When these roots take the middle suffix, the role of the subject becomes agent, just as do the patient-oriented roots in Coeur d'Alene. Saanich type C roots are characterized by high agency of

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the subject, but with low effect. These have a limited set of transitivizers, and do not occur with the middle suffix. These are akin to the Coeur d'Alene agent-oriented roots. Saanich type D roots are the obligatory middles, characterized by high agency and low effect, and a restriction to one participant. Type D roots are never transitivized, and occur only with the middle suffix. These correspond to the Coeur d'Alene middle roots.[42]

4.1.2.4. Ambiguous roots. Some Coeur d'Alene roots seem to vary, with no change in marking, in how the subject is interpreted, that is, whether the subject is agent or patient:[43]

78.	(41.e.)	$g^{w}\varepsilon\dot{y}$	He finished It is finished
79.	(47.g.)	ʔɛcwíš	He lives there. There's a house. 1.59
80.	(55.b.)	níčm	He cut. It's cut. 90.315bl

[42]The two remaining classes of Saanich roots are type B, the obligatory transitives, and type E, possessives (Montler 1989).

[43]Some of these pairs may be merely vague rather than genuinely ambiguous, or, as Kinkade (p.c.) has pointed out, it may be that they just do not translate easily into English.

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81. dɛx^{w} dismount; be dropped N75a.62-63b

82. daχ pl. travel; round up animals N75a.62

Apparently, if the null third person subject is indicated in discourse context to be interpreted as inanimate (or nonhuman), it must also be interpreted as having low agency and high affectedness, that is, it is interpreted as a patient.[44]

An additional root, √g^{w}nit 'ask for', occurring in the COMPLETIVE with *-m* may have either an agent or patient subject, though the degree of agency of the subject in forms like 83b is unclear:

83. a. √g^{w}nít-m He was invited. 90.861n
b. √g^{w}nít-m He asked for s.t. 90.2541n

4.1.2.5. The causative *-m*. There are a few (at least two) forms that do not fit the root classifications proposed here. The roots √g^{w}ič 'see' and √ʔacqɛʔ 'go out' normally behave like agent-oriented roots: they are generally unmarked, and the subject is agent. However, I have recorded two unexpected forms, 84b and 85b, where these roots take an *-m* suffix. In the first case, the semantics of the forms with and without *-m* are indistinguishable:

84. a. čn √g^{w}ič I saw (s.t.). R687.878
b. čn √g^{w}íč-m I saw (s.t.). 16.1

[44]The roots √tig^{w} 'buy, sell' and √k^{w}uɬ 'borrow, lend' behave similarly in transitive constructions.

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c.	ʔic√g^{w}íč-m-š	He's seeing (s.t.).	16.8
d.	ʔic√g^{w}íč-m	He's being seen.	16.8

In the second case, the form with *-m* has a causative meaning:[45]

85.	a.	ʔácqɛʔ	I went out.	16.9
	b.	ʔácqɛʔm	I took out s.t.	16.9

Another similar form also has causative semantics:[46]

86.	čn c̓ɛ̀ɬm	I put up little trees	16.16
	čn √c̓ɛ̀ɬ-m		
	1Nom /pl.objs.stand-m		

While these forms are unexpected, they indicate that *-m* may have at least one additional function, possibly a causative, in constructions that are identical to those already discussed.[47]

---

[45]The meaning here may be more comitative (Woodbury, p.c.) than causative, though the parallel form in 86 appears causative; additional examples are necessary.

[46]This root and the first person singular pronoun cannot occur together without *-m*, since the root refers to plural entities.

[47]Kinkade (p.c.) suggests that this 'additional function' might best be viewed as the expected irregularity of any normal paradigm, and indicates that the roots discussed here have similarly irregular cognates in other Interior languages.

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4.1.2.6. Summary. The Coeur d'Alene roots have two distinct patterns in intransitive structures. Agent-oriented roots take agent subjects in unmarked clauses in the completive and customary aspects. Coeur d'Alene patient-oriented roots parallel patient-subject roots in other Salishan languages in that they occur with the suffix *-m* to create simple intransitive clauses with agent subjects. A subset of the patient-oriented roots (that is, a number of roots that also take the *-m* suffix in simple intransitive constructions) are similar to Saanich obligatory middles.

This classification of Coeur d'Alene roots into three classes, the agent-oriented roots, patient-oriented roots and middle roots, is tentative (and certainly not complete as evidenced by the forms discussed in 4.1.2.5); it is based solely on simple intransitive structures, and much more research will be necessary to determine whether these are sturdy classes that have consequences elsewhere in the grammar. However, the proposed classification of roots will no doubt shed light on more complex structures, and it is evident in the formation of the continuatives, discussed in the next section.

The description of Coeur d'Alene completive and customary intransitives demonstrates clearly that the function of the suffix *-m* is not merely to be a middle marker. It does, in fact, mark simple middle constructions, but the *-m* also appears to function as a toggle, switching the role of the subject from patient to agent, and as a possible causative marker; in effect, it

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ensures the assignment of an agent role.[48] The functions of *-m* will be explored further in the discussion of the intransitive continuatives.

4.1.3. Continuative intransitives. A third aspect important in Coeur d'Alene is the CONTINUATIVE, indicated by the prefix *ẏc-*, which also occurs before the root in the same position as the CUSTOMARY aspect marker.

4.1.3.1. Active continuatives. When the continuative aspect marker *ẏc-* is used with the nominative/absolutive arguments and a simple stem, the form is an active continuative:

87. a. čiʔɔ́q^{w}s — I am drinking. — 8.4
čn ẏc√ʔɔq^{w}s

b. k^{w}uẏcʔáyx^{w}t — You're tired. — 11.3
k^{w}u ẏc√ʔayx^{w}-t

c. ʔiċíɬn — He is eating. — R548.137
ẏc√ʔiɬn

d. ʔiṫx^{w}úp — They're winning the game. — 90.88ms
ẏc√ṫx^{w}up

---

[48]A. Mattina (1993:237) indicates that in Okanagan the 'apparent function of -m is to signal an object'. In the terms of this discussion, this would be equivalent to adding a patient and would have the same effect, which is to change the semantic role of the subject.

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The three types of roots that were identified in the customary and completive aspects are also evident in the active continuative. All of the forms in 87 are based on agent-oriented roots, as are the forms in 88 through 90. The agent-oriented roots in the continuative may occur with STATIVE (*-ut*), DURATIVE (*-t*), NONCONTROL/RESULTIVE (+C_2 reduplication), or INCHOATIVE (*-ʔ-*, *-p*) marking:

88. č ʔi·dɛ̓xt N75a.58I
č ỷc√dɛ̓x-t
1pNom cont/pl.walk-dur
We are walking.

89. k^wuỷcx^wíst N75a.123I
k^w ỷc√$x^w$is-t
2Nom cont/walk-dur
You are walking.

90. k^wup i·šɛ̓nn N75a.121I
k^w-p ỷc√šɛ̓n+C_2
2Nom-pl cont/work-Ncr
You are working.

Examples 91 and 92 are based on patient-oriented roots. Without the *-m*, the subject remains patient in continuative constructions; in both examples, the stem includes the suffix *-p* INVOLUNTARY:

91. ʔicg^{w}ɛ́lp x^{w}ɛ syóʔalq^w 6.7
ỷc√g^{w}ɛ́l-p x^{w}ɛ s√yuʔl=alq^w
cont/burn-invl det_1 nom/forest
The forest is burning.

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92. ʔiɬácp 5.9
ẏc√ɬac-p
cont/drop-invl
It's dripping.

Examples 93 through 96 are also based on patient-oriented roots; these forms, which took the suffix *-m* in the completive and customary to derive an agent subject add the suffix *-š* when they occur with the continuative prefix *ẏc-*; this again results in an agent-subject form:

93. čiʔláq̓mš ʔɛ swiẏnúm 10.12
čn ẏc√laq̓-m-š ʔɛ √swiẏ=numt
1Nom cont/search-m-š obl /handsome=desire
I'm looking for a good one.

94. č ʔi·c̓úʔc̓uʔmš N75a.58I
č ẏc√c̓uʔ+CVC-m-š
1pNom cont/cry+aug-m-š
We are weeping.

95. ʔicwíšmš R547.131
ẏc√wiš-mš
cont/build-m-š
He is building.

96. ʔɛ sɛg^{w} ɬ k^{w}uẏcšɛ̓tmš 90.251bl
ʔɛ √sɛg^{w} ɬ k^{w} ẏc√šɛ̓t-m-š
obl /who conn 2Nom cont/care.for-m-š
Who's taking care of you?

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Reichard (1938:576.287) analyzes the suffix sequence *-m-š* as a unit morpheme used to indicate a psychological object in the continuative on forms that take *-m* in the customary and completive. However, since these forms already have *-m*, it seems likely that the *-š* is added to the stem along with the continuative prefix. In Colville, a simple suffix *-x*,[49] labeled PROGRESSIVE (A. Mattina 1987:233), is used in continuative constructions, but without a preceding *-m*. It appears the forms are cognate. However, morphophonemic alternations in additional cognate suffixes in Columbian (-mx, -míx, -əx^{w}), Spokane (-mí, -i) and Colville (-a?x) lead Kinkade (p.c.; see Kinkade 1983) to conclude that Cm /mix/ is not morphologically segmentable.

4.1.3.2. Middle continuatives. Active continuatives based on middle roots are not common, but the few forms suggest that this class is distinct from the patient-oriented roots, since these stems do not take the continuative suffixes *-m-š*, but maintain plain middle marking with the suffix *-m* when they occur with the continuative prefix *ẏc-*. No change in subject agency occurs:

97. ʔičɛ́šəm R547.131b
ẏc√čɛš-m
cont/accompany-mdl
He is accompanying.

---

[49]Colville /x/ and Coeur d'Alene /š/ follow a regular sound correspondence in the Interior Salishan languages. See Thompson 1979.

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98. čiʔcʕʷɛ́tʕʷɛtsm 90.73ms
čn ẏc√ʕʷit+CVC=us-m
1Nom cont-/smile+aug=face-mdl
I'm smiling.

4.1.3.3. Passive-like continuatives. In an additional *-m* construction, the lone pronominal argument is the nominative intransitive subject, who is serving as a patient acted upon by some unspecified agent. This is not the same *-m* suffix used in the transitive nontopic ergative constructions (described in section 5.1.5), since it does not vary with *-t* depending on the person and number of the object: there is no object in the continuative passive. The construction can be based on agent-oriented roots (99, 100, and perhaps 101) or patient-oriented roots (102 and 103), indicated by the structure of the b forms:

99. a. čiʔcgʷíčəm R585.342
čn ẏc√gʷič-m
1Nom cont/see-m
I am being seen.

b. čiʔcgʷíč R585.342
čn ẏc√gʷič
1Nom cont/see
I am seeing.

100. a. uẇɪc̓ɛkʷúnəm R546.127
u ø ẏc√ʔɛkʷun-m
just 3Abs cont/say-m
He is just being told.

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b. ʔiċəkʷún R576.292
Ø ẏc√ʔɛkʷun
3Abs cont/say
He is saying.

101. χɛlɛʔ ʔiclɛ̌jm 8.53
√χɛlɛʔ Ø ẏc√lɛǰ-m
/might(?) 3Abs cont/stab-m
It's just like being stabbed.

102. a. ʔicχáq̓m(ilš) 90.340bl
Ø ẏc√χaq̓-m(-ilš)
3Abs cont/pay-m(-pl)
He's (they're) getting paid.

b. ʔicχáq̓mš 90.340bl
Ø ẏc√χaq̓-m-š
3Abs cont/pay-m-š
He's paying.

103. a. či?cgʷənítəm 90.107bl
čn ẏc√gʷnit-m
1Nom cont/ask.for-m
Somebody's calling me.

b. ʔicgʷənítmš ʔɛ pus 90.266bl
Ø ẏc√gʷnit-m-š ʔɛ Ø √pus
3Abs cont/ask.for-m-š obl 3Abs /cat
He's calling for a cat.

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Reichard (1938:585.343) provides two pairs showing the effect of continuative *-m* constructions with patient-oriented roots. She states:

> Verbs requiring *-əm* in the intransitive differ only in having the suffix *-əmš* in the intransitive continuative ($287) and *-əm* in the passive; the pronominal prefixes are the same.

The first pair is given in 104:

104. a. čiʔníčm 90.338bl (R585.343)
čn ẏc√nič-m
1Nom cont/cut-m
I'm getting cut.

b. čiʔníčmš 90.338bl (R585.343)
čn ẏc√nič-m-š
1Nom cont/cut-m-š
I'm cutting.

The second pair shows the use of the lexical suffix in the active continuative, eliminating the need for both *-m* and *-š* (105b). The lexical suffix is dropped in the passive-type construction (105a):

105. a. čiʔťápəm (R585.343)
čn ẏc√ťap-m
1Nom cont/shoot-m
I am being shot.

b. čiʔťapsčɛ́nt (R585.343)

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čn ɣ̓c√ť̓ap=sčint
1Nom cont/shoot=people
I am shooting.

The passive-type structure described here is not unique to the function of passive. Identical constructions with *-m* are used to mark the middle roots in continuative clauses; in these cases, agency is maintained by the subject (see section 4.1.3.2):

106. a. k^{w}uɣ̓čɛ̓šm 5.43
k^{w} ɣ̓c√čɛ̓š-m
2Nom cont/accompany-m
You were being accompanied.[50]

b. ʔi·čɛ̓šəm (same as 97)
He is accompanying.

4.1.4. Conclusions.

4.1.4.1. The functions of *-m*. In this discussion of the simple intransitives in Coeur d'Alene, it is clear that the suffix *-m* has various functions that in other languages might be easily labeled.

---

[50]A second translation was given: 'We were going with you'; the analysis remains unclear. First persons and second persons don't mix in the regular paradigms, and when acting upon second persons, singular or plural, first person plurals are often referred to with morphology that has other functions as well. See section 3.

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For example, patient-oriented roots taking *-m* might be interpreted as antipassives.[51] A simple transitive such as 107a corresponds to the antipassive-like structure in 107b (given earlier as 55a). The ergative agent of the transitive clause becomes the absolutive (labeled nominative) agent of the intransitive clause, and the transitive patient is relegated to oblique status, unmarked on the intransitive predicate:

107. a. (ʔɛc)ɬapn I shot it.
(ʔɛc) √ɬap-n-t-Ø-n
(cust) /shoot-d-t-3abs-1erg

b. čn ɬapm I shot (s.t.).
čn √ɬap-m
1nom /shoot-m

The middle form in example 71b, the ambiguous form in 83, and the causative forms in 85 and 86, however, indicate that this antipassive-like construction does not have a unique function in Coeur d'Alene. In addition, the antipassive-like construction is restricted to customary and completive aspects.

The passive-like construction, on the other hand, occurs only in the continuative aspect. Just as the antipassive-like constructions are not unique to the function of antipassive, the passive-like constructions are not unique to the function of passive: One structure is used for the middle continuative (4.1.3.2) as well as

---

[51]See Thomason and Everett's (1993:323-325) analysis of -m as an antipassive detransitivizer in Flathead.

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for the passive-like forms (4.1.3.3). Also, there are no simple transitive structures that correspond to the passive-like construction: The only continuative with two participants is a genitive structure (108b; see section 4.3) rather than a simple intransitive (108c):

108. a. čiʔcg^{w}íčəm I am being seen. (99)

b. čiʔcg^{w}íčəms He is seeing me. R691.887
čn ẏc√g^{w}ič-m-s
1nom cont/see-m-3G

c. g^{w}ičncɛs He sees me.
√g^{w}ič-n-t-sɛ-s
√see-d-t-1acc-3erg

In most constructions with *-m*, the role of the subject is altered; the exception is the middle form, which maintains subject agency.

4.1.4.2. Root classes. While the suffix *-m*, often occurring with *-š*, suffices to derive agent-subject noncontinuative predicates, middles, continuative passive-like constructions, and active continuatives, its function is dependent on the type of root to which it applies. There are three classes of roots identifiable in intransitive structures: patient-oriented roots, agent-oriented roots, and middle roots. The three types differ in inherent transitivity and in how the suffix *-m*, and *-m* with *-š*, is used with them in continuative, customary and completive intransitives. Further research is necessary to confirm these root classes and to

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determine their usefulness in predicting the types of constructions that can be built on them.[52]

4.2. Transitives. Transitive constructions are formed from transitive stems followed by the transitive pronominals, which occur in the order object-subject. The transitive stem consists of a basic stem followed by the transitivizing suffix, *-t*, or a sequence of transitivizing suffixes. The structure of the transitive is shown in 109:

109. Transitive Structure:

	-t		
	-n-t-		
STEM	-st(u)-	OBJECT	SUBJECT
	-ł-t-		
	-š(í)-t-		
	-túł-t-		

The Coeur d'Alene transitivizing suffix sequences all include the segment *-t*; cognates are clearly segmentable in some Salishan languages (for example, Spokane: Carlson 1972; and Thompson River Salish: Thompson and Thompson 1992), but similar sequences have been analyzed as unit morphemes in others (for example, Colville-Okanagan: compare A. Mattina 1973, A. Mattina

[52]For example, it may be possible to predict which of the intransitive aspects (noncontrol/resultive, inchoative, involuntary, durative) may occur with each root type.

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1987; and Shuswap: Kuipers 1974). The CAUSATIVE transitivizer *-st(u)-* is analyzed here as a unit, based on its unique vowel-final structure and comparative forms (see Kinkade 1981b, Doak 1993). The DATIVE *-túɬ-t-* and BENEFACTIVE *-šɬ-t-* transitivizers are the only two that may take stress.

Each transitivizing suffix has a specific function, which will be discussed in the following sections. Basic transitive constructions, indicated with *-t* and *-n-t-* (section 4.2.1) have patient objects and agent subjects. The causative (4.2.2) and applicative transitives (4.2.3), however, assign different roles to objects. Lexical suffixes, which occur before the transitivizers, may also serve to alter the role of the pronominal object; these will be discussed in section 5.2.

4.2.1. Basic transitivizers.

4.2.1.1. Directive transitive: *-n-t-*. The *-n-t-* transitivizer is variously labeled in work on other Salishan languages; for example, it is the DIRECTIVE transitive in Thompson (Thompson and Thompson 1986), the ACTIVE transitive in Colville (A. Mattina 1973; it is unlabeled in A. Mattina 1982), and the CONTROL transitive in Spokane (Carlson 1972) and Saanich (Montler 1986).[53] It is this simple transitive that is used most often, and indicates that the subject is an agent in control of its actions. Some examples follow:

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[53]For a comparative survey of Interior Salishan transitives, see Shapard 1980.

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110. níčntmɛt — We cut it.
√nič-n-t-Ø-mɛt
√cut-d-t-3abs-1perg

111. q̓ʷíc̓ntp — You folks filled it up.
√q̓ʷic̓-n-t-Ø-p
√fill-d-t-3abs-2perg

112. t̓ápncɛs — He shot me.
√t̓ap-n-t-sɛ-s
√shoot-d-t-1acc-3erg

113. nɛʔ xɛt̓ncn — I will gnaw you. B207
nɛʔ √xɛt̓-n-t-si-n
irr √gnaw-d-t-2acc-1erg

The pronouns that follow the *-n-t-* transitivizers are laid out in tables 2 and 3 in section 3. The s-set object pronouns are used with *-n-t-*; the sequence *t-s* resulting from the combination of the transitivizer and the s-initial pronouns results in *c* (112, 113, 116). The first person plural subject marker has two forms: *-mɛt* occurs with the zero third person object (110, 114); *-t* occurs elsewhere (115, 116).

114. ʔɛčɛšntmɛt[54] — We go with him/them. 10.56-7

---

[54]A. Mattina indicates that the cognate Colville root has a final *-n*: √kxn 'go along with, follow, accompany' (1987:38; p.c.). Please refer to the discussion of Coeur d'Alene *n*-loss on the following pages.

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ʔɛc√čɛš-n-t-Ø-mɛt
cust√accompany-d-t-3abs-1perg

115. ʔɛčɛšntulmit We go with you folks. 10.56
ʔɛc√čɛš-n-t-ulmi-t
cust√accompany-d-t-2pacc-1perg

116. ʔɛčɛšncit We go with you. 10.57
ʔɛc√čɛš-n-t-si-t
cust√accompany-d-t-2acc-1erg

4.2.1.2. The lone -t- transitive. The lone *-t-* transitive occurs idiosyncratically on a small set of roots in Coeur d'Alene, listed in 117 (from Reichard 1938:583); other data indicate that the roots in 118 also occur without the directive *-n-* preceding the transitive *-t-*. The meaning of the lone *-t-* transitive is equivalent to that conveyed by the use of *-n-t-*; the pronominal arguments that accompany both stem types are the same in form and function (object patient followed by subject agent); and there is rarely contrast between *-n-t-* and lone *-t-* transitives. All this suggests that *-t-* is an alternant of *-n-t-*.

117. √g^{w}ič see √sux^{w} know
√q^{w}iɬ starve √ʔɛm share
√g^{w}nit call √čiɬ give
√sɛx^{w} carry on back

118. √χiɬ leave, desert
√ʔaχil do thus
√k'^{w}uɬ make, build

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Reichard lists the *-n* final root *√k^{w}in* 'take hold of' as one that takes the lone *-t-* transitivizer; however, in transitive constructions based on roots like *√k^{w}in* and *√ʔiɬn* 'eat', the phonological distinction between the *-n-t-* and *-t-* transitivizers is levelled by a rule that reduces coronal sequences: the sequence of root-final *n* and the directive *n* would reduce to a single segment. Thus it is impossible to tell whether the predicates in the following sentences include the directive *-n-*.

119. kuṁ k^{w}inc x^{w}a wIlwIlímusɛʔst.
kwuṁ √k^{w}in-(n)-t-s x^{w}ɛ CVC+√wlim=us=iʔst
then /take-(d)-t-3abs-3erg art
aug+/metal=face=rd.obj
He took the valuable (sundisc).[55] sh.3

120. čIck^{w}ínc ɬ čIčminc ...
čic√k^{w}in-(n)-t-Ø-s ɬ √ččmin-(n)-t-Ø-s
loc/take-(d)-t-3abs-3erg conn /throw.one-(d)-t-
3abs-3erg
She took it and threw it away ... Beaver.228

121. ɛčəćí·· lut ɛ ʔíɬntəm.
ʔɛ(c)√čɛc-i √lut hɛ √ʔiɬn-(n)-t-Ø-m
cust/lay-emph /neg sub /eat-(d)-t-3abs-nte
It lay there it was not eaten. Beaver.70

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[55]The Colville cognate refers to flint points, or arrowheads (A. Mattina p.c.). Reichard's (m.s.) interlinear translations indicate a reflective disc worn around Sun's neck.

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Similarly, forms with lexical or grammatical suffixes ending in *n* that occur before the transitivizing suffixes suggest the possibility that the directive is omitted following these suffixes; however, no other suffixes (without final *n*) indicate loss of the directive, indicating that the loss is phonologically predictable rather than morphologically significant:

122. kuṁ tɛl̓ci? lutɛcɛnčícɛčn̓təm.
k^{w}uṁ tɛl̓√ci? √lut hɛ cɛn√čic=ičn̓-(n)-t-Ø-m
and dir/prox3 /neg conn loc/arrive=back-(d)-t-3abs-3erg
... and farther he was not caught up with. shst29

123. ?ɛčn̓áχəncɛs x^{w}ə hinq̓ínɛ? ?ɛ Laura.
?ɛc√čɛn̓=aχn-(n)-t-sɛ-s x^{w}ɛ hin√q̓ínɛ? ɛ Laura
act/grab=arm-(d)-t-1acc-3erg det$_1$ 1G/granddaughter sub Laura
My granddaughter Laura grabbed me by the arm. W.6

Further examples of the lone *-t-* transitive include the following:

124. hɔi kuṁ ci?ł χíłtəm łɛ smIyíw.
hɔy k^{w}uṁ √ci? ł √χił-t-Ø-m łɛ s√myiw
and then there conn /leave-t-3abs-nte det$_3$ nom/Coyote
And then there he was left Coyote. shst.30

125. hɔi čsčíłtəm hɔi kuṁ pintč icu?umš.
hɔy čs√čił-t-Ø-m hɔy k^{w}uṁ √pintč ẏc√cu?-m-š

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then purp/give-t-3abs-nte and then /always cont/cry-m-š
Then he was given away for a purpose and then always he kept crying. shst.33

126. g^{w}íčtəm łɛ ʔIc̓Uk^{w}ínəmš ...
√g^{w}ič-t-Ø-m łɛ y̓c√c̓k^{w}in-m-š
/see-t-3abs-3erg det$_3$ cont/run-m-š
He was seen running ... shst.47

127. g^{w}níc x^{w}ɛ čnɛ́k̓^{w}ɛʔ hɛ maʔməʔá[maɬqs].
√g^{w}nit(-t)-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ č√nɛ́k̓^{w}ɛʔ hɛ CVC+√miy̓ɛm=aɬqs
/call-t-3abs-3erg det$_1$ loc/one sub aug+/woman=clothes
She called another sister. 90.88ms

128. g^{w}nítulmin.
√g^{w}nit-t-ulmi-n
/call-t-2pacc-1erg
I called you folks. 90.86ln

Occasionally, the directive *-n-* occurs with the transitive following lone *-t-* roots, with no apparent change in meaning, as in 129 and 130. It may be possible to analyze 129 as an intransitive middle form rather than a transitive nontopic ergative without the directive *-n-*; however, most transitive forms elicited with this root do not include *-n-* (as in 131a and 131b), and so it is 130 that is unusual:

129. g^{w}nítm x^{w}ɛ pəpus.
√g^{w}nit-m x^{w}ɛ C$_1$+√pus OR √g^{w}nit-t-Ø-m

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/call-m det dim+/cat /call-t-3abs-nte
The little cat asked for something;
The little cat was called/invited. 90.xxln

130. g^{w}nítntm x^{w}ɛ pəpus.
√g^{w}nit-n-t-Ø-m x^{w}ɛ C_1+√pus
/call-d-t-3abs-nte det dim+/cat
The little cat was called for. 90.xxln

131. a. g^{w}nícɛx^{w}.
√g^{w}nit-t-sɛ-x^{w}
/call-t-1acc-2erg
You called me.

b. g^{w}nícɛləm.
√g^{w}nit-t-sɛl-m
/call-t-1acc-nte
I was invited.

In 132, the root √*k̓^{w}uƛ̓* 'make' is used in both a transitive and a nominal construction. As a transitive, it occurs without the *-n-* directive. In 133, however, the same root is used in a directive transitive construction:

132. nɛʔ k^{w}u x^{w}uy x^{w}ɛ tɛč łuʔ hɛ kətáldɔ naʔ ʔac̓χntx^{w} x^{w}iʔ ʔɛck̓^{w}úƛ̓c x^{w}iy̓ɛ sčínt x^{w}ɛ sčícəʔumš hɛ sk̓^{w}uƛ̓c.
nɛʔ k^{w} √x^{w}uy x^{w}ɛ tɛč √łuʔ hɛ √Cataldo nɛʔ √ʔac̓χ-n-t-Ø-x^{w} √x^{w}iʔ *ʔɛc/k̓^{w}uƛ̓-t-Ø-s* x^{w}iʔ hɛ s√činт x^{w}ɛ s√cicɛʔ=mš hɛ *s/k̓^{w}uƛ̓-t-s*

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irr 2sNom /go det toward $prox_3$ sub Cataldo irr
/look.at-d-t-2erg $prox_1$ *cust/make-t-3abs-3Erg*
$prox_1$ sub nom/Indian det Coeur.d'Alene sub
nom/make-stat-3G
When you go to Cataldo, then you look at what the Indians made, what the Coeur d'Alene built.

133. kʷəm̓ ci? ɬ χɛlɛ? čn̓šictəlɩt ɬ k̓ʷúi̓ntmɛt cəci?.
kʷəm̓ ci? ɬ /χɛlɛ? /čn̓šit-st(u)-ɛli-it ɬ
/k̓ʷui̓-n-t-Ø-mɛt C_1√ci?
soon $prox_2$ conn /might /help-ct-1acc-nte conn
/make-d-t-3abs-1perg intns/$prox_2$
... and then he helped us and we built that. CR79

4.2.1.3. The transitive paradigm. There are two irregularities in the transitive paradigm, regardless of the transitivizer used. The first is that it is not possible to indicate a second person subject acting on a first person plural object using the standard pronominals and transitive structure. Instead, an intransitive structure is used: the second person intransitive subject is followed by the stem with the suffix -šɛš 'someone; something'.[56]

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[56]The suffix -šɛš may also be interpreted as an indefinite something when not used with the second person intransitive subject. See also section 3.2.2. Examples:

i. hi?itɛnmšɛš.
Ø hn y̓c√tɛn-m-šɛš
3abs 1G cont/pull-m-s.t.
I'm pulling it. 10.61 . 2

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134. kup ʔɛcg^{w}nítšɛš.
k^{w}u-p ʔɛc√g^{w}nit-šɛš
2nom-pl cust/call-s.o.
You folks called for us/them. gwnit44

135. a. kup m̓ɛ́y̓mi?šɛš.
k^{w}u-p √mɛy+mɛy<ʼ>-šɛš
2nom-pl /know+aug-s.t.
You folks told us a story. mey46

b. kup ʔɛcm̓ɛ́y̓mi?šɛš.
k^{w}u-p ʔɛc√mɛy+mɛy<ʼ>-šɛš
2nom-pl cust/know+aug-s.t.
You folks tell us/others stories. mey160

136. k̓^{w}nɛʔ kup cúnmɛʔšɛš.
√k̓^{w}nɛʔ k^{w}u-p √cun√mɛ́y̓-šɛš
soon 2nom-pl /point/know-s.t.
You folks will show us. mey196

137. kup təqəqənúnšɛš.
k^{w}u-p √tɛq+q-nun-šɛš

---

ii. a. čtíləmšɛš x^{w}ɛ síc̓əms
č√til-m-šɛš x^{w}ɛ √sic̓m-s
loc/hock-m-s.t. det /blanket-3G
He hocked the blanket. 10.21

b. čtíləmstus x^{w}ɛ síc̓əm
č√til-m-stu-0-s x^{w}ɛ √sic̓-m
loc/hock-m-ct-3abs-3erg det /blanket
He hocked the blanket. 10.21

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2nom-pl /fool+ncr-succ-s.o.
You folks fooled us. nun2.4

138. a. ku təqəqənúnšɛš.
k^{w}u √tɛq+q-nun-šɛš
2nom /fool+ncr-succ-s.o.
You fooled us. nun2.3

b. čɛł ku stəqəqənúnšɛš.
čɛł k^{w}u s√tɛq+q-nun-šɛš
fut 2nom int/fool+ncr-succ-s.o.
You're going to fool us/others. nun2.68

139. yIlImíxum kuč̓ɛʔč̓ɛʔšənəmí···nšɛš.
√ylmix^{w}-m k^{w}u CVC+√č̓ɛʔš-n-min-šɛš
/chief-mdl 2nom aug+/condescend-loc-rel-s.o.
Chief you condescend to honor us. ccrt108

The second irregularity in the transitive paradigm is that forms with second person singular or plural objects have identical structures if they take first person plural (1p) or nontopic ergative (nte) subjects:

140. 1p/2s x...-t-si-t
NTE/2s x...-t-si-t

číłcit
/give-t-2acc-1perg/nte
We gave it to you; It was given to you.

141. 1p/2p x...-t-ulmi-t
NTE/2p x...-t-ulmi-t

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číɬtulmit
/give-t-2pacc-1perg/nte
We gave it to you folks; it was given to you folks.

142. 1p/2s x...-n-t-si-t
NTE/2s x...-n-t-si-t

a. ƛ̓ápncit.
√ƛ̓ap-n-t-si-t
/shoot-d-t-2acc-1perg
We shot you. stu 5.41 . 4

b. miypnúncit.
√miy-p-nun-t-si-t
/know-inch-succ-t-2acc-nte
You became known. mey.23

c. cúnmɛʔncit.
√cun√mɛy̓-n-t-si-t
/point/know-d-t-2acc-nte
You were taught. mey.116

d. təqəqənúncit.
√tɛq+q-nun-t-si-t
/fool-ncr-succ-t-2acc-1perg/nte
We fooled you; You were fooled (by us). nun2.21

143. 1p/2p x...-n-t-ulmi-t
NTE/2p x...-n-t-ulmi-t

a. təqəqənúntulmit.
√tɛq+q-nun-t-ulmi-t

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/fool+ncr-nun-d-2pacc-1perg/nte
We fooled you folks;
You folks were fooled by us. nun2.22

b. kuplípust cúnmɛʔntulmit.
k^{w}-p√lipust √cun√mɛy̓-n-t-ulmi-t
you folks/indep /point/know-d-t-2pacc-nte
You folks were taught. mey.118

4.2.2. Causative transitive: *-st(u)-*. What is here labeled the causative transitive has at least three functions, as an indicator of causative constructions, customary aspect, or topical object constructions. For convenience, I will label *-st(u)-* as the CAUSATIVE transitivizer (*ct*) in examples thoughout this paper, regardless of its function.

A. Mattina (1993:255 and fn 42) distinguishes two functions for the cognate Colville-Okanagan *-st-* transitivizer, causative and customary (see also A. Mattina 1982 423ff, 1994:222 and fn 15; and N. Mattina 1994). The functions of *-st(u)-* in Coeur d'Alene appear to be similar to Colville-Okanagan: several constructions are clearly causatives, some with customary meaning. Each function is addressed in the following sections, after a description of the causative morphology.

The *-st(u)-* transitives with first or second person singular objects use a unique set of M-initial object

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morphemes (144) which replace the usual s-initial set for these two persons only (see table 2 section 3.2):[57]

144. Causative objects:

1s	-mɛ(l)-
2s	-mi-

Examples of forms with M-initial objects include the following:

145. a. x^{w}ɛnč hił ʔɛk^{w}ústmɛx^{w}
√x^{w}ɛnč hił √ʔɛk^{w}un-st(u)-mɛl-x^{w}
/hurry and /say-ct-1acc-2erg
Hurry up and tell me. 11.35

b. x^{w}iy̓ɛ Josephine ʔɛk^{w}ústmɛs x^{w}úyš ...
√x^{w}iʔ hɛ Josephine √ʔɛk^{w}un-st(u)-mɛl-s √x^{w}uy-š
/this Josephine /say-ct-1acc-3erg /go-imp
This Josephine told me, go ... FSmoke

c. čɛʔ ʔɛk^{w}ústmɛlp
čɛʔ √ʔɛk^{w}un-st(u)-mɛl-p
ought /say-ct-1acc-2perg
You (folks) ought to have told me. SW

d. čicx^{w}úystmɛs.
čic√x^{w}uy-st(u)-mɛl-s

---

[57]These objects are used with *xi-t-* transitives in Cv-Ok (A. Mattina 1982; see also A. Mattina 1994:8 exx. 25, 27 etc. for examples).

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dir/go-ct-1acc-3erg
He took me there. 10.66

146. a. ʔɛkʷústmn
√ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-mi-n
/say-ct-2acc-1erg
I told you. 10.27

b. ʔanq̓ʷɔy̓tmístmis
ʔɛc-hn√q̓ʷɛy̓-t-min-st(u)-mi-s
cust-loc/pity-dur-rel-ct-2acc-3erg
He pities you. 10.60

c. ʔɛcgʷíčstmɪt
ʔɛc√gʷič-st(u)-mi-t
cust/see-ct-2acc-1perg
We see you. gar582

4.2.2.1. Causative. The causative transitivizer is used with many roots, some of which seem to have inherent causative semantics. For example, the root *√ʔɛm* 'feed' may be interpreted as 'cause to eat', and this root may be used with either the causative transitive (147a) or with the simple lone-t transitive (147b):

147. a. lut ɛ čʔɛ́mstxʷ tmiš ʔɛ ʔúsɛʔ
√lut hɛ č√ʔɛm-st(u)-Ø-xʷ √tmiš ʔɛ √ʔusɛʔ
/neg conn loc/feed-ct-3abs-3erg /just obl /egg
Don't feed her, except eggs. 8.46

b. ʔɛ́mcn
√ʔɛm-t-si-n

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/feed-t-2acc-1erg
I feed you. 10.8

Other examples of causative transitives include the following:[58]

148. čtíləmstus $x^{w}ɛ$ síc̓əm
č√til-m-st(u)-Ø-s $x^{w}ɛ$ √sic̓m
loc/hock-m-ct-3abs-3erg det_1 /blanket
He hocked the blanket. 10.21

149. púləsn $x^{w}ɛ$ hamáɬtmš
√pulut-st(u)-Ø-n $x^{w}ɛ$ √hamaɬt-mš
/beat-ct-3abs-3erg det_1 (fly)
I killed a fly. 10.30

150. hɔ́ystus $x^{w}ɛ$ sc̓ú?ms
√hɔy-st(u)-Ø-s $x^{w}ɛ$ s√c̓u?m-s
/end-ct-3abs-3erg det_1 nom/cry-3G
He stopped crying. 10.60

151. t̓ímčsn
√t̓im=ɛčt-st(u)-Ø-n
/shake=hand-ct-3abs-3erg
I shook his hand. 11.14, Wellpinit

---

[58]The presence of a root in this list does not mean that it occurs exclusively with the causative transitivizer; the restrictions of root/stem classification with regard to transitivization needs intense study in all of the Salishan languages and will not be addressed any further in this paper.

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152. šípəpstus $x^{w}ɛ$ hicḱ^{w}úl̓s
√šip+C_2-st(u)-Ø-s $x^{w}ɛ$ hi-ẏc√ḱ^{w}ul̓-s
/complete+ncr-ct-3abs-3erg det_1 rel-cont/work-3G
He finished his work. 11.30

153. tg^{w}ɛl stim̓ hił lut χamínčstx^{w} x$^{w}ɛ$ Seattle?
√tg^{w}ɛl s√tim̓ hił √lut √χaminč-st(u)-Ø-x^{w} x$^{w}ɛ$ Seattle
/because nom/thing and /not /like-ct-3abs-2erg det_1 Seattle
Why didn't you like Seattle? 14.6

4.2.2.1.1. Causatives with *-m*. Many of the causative transitives include a suffix *-m* that occurs before the transitivizer. The causative semantics are especially clear when these forms are compared to simple constructions based on the same roots:

154. a. yáʕmstus
√yaʕ-m-st(u)-Ø-s
/assemble-m-ct-3abs-3erg
She gathered them. 11.9

b. yaʕpqín ʔɛ sčínt.[59]
√yaʕ-p=qin ʔɛ s√činт
/assemble-invl=head obl Indian
(There were) lots of people. Wellpinit

[59]I have recorded the form *ʔɛ* here, though the construction suggests it might instead be *hɛ* 'subordinate'.

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155. a. ... šił $x^{w}ɛ$ $tq^{w}a?q^{w}ə?ɛlíẃsm$ $x^{w}ɛ$ líwmstm
... šił $x^{w}ɛ$ t-CVC+√$q^{w}ɛ?ɛl$=iẃs-m $x^{w}ɛ$ √liw-m-st(u)-Ø-m
just det loc-aug+/talk=between-mdl det /ring-m-ct-3abs-nte
... just then, the phone rang. 10.28

b. líwliwiš
bell (Nicodemus 1975:49)

156. a. tɛ́nəmstus
√tɛn-m-st(u)-Ø-s
/tight-m-ct-3abs-3erg
He pulled it. 11.13

b. u·tɛ́n
it's tight 11.45

157. a. ?ácqə?əmstus
√?acqɛ?-m-st(u)-Ø-s
/go.out-m-ct-3abs-3erg
He took them out. 11.25

b. ?ácqɛ?
He went out.

A. Mattina (1993:258) says that in constructions of this type, the suffix '-*m* derives a transitivizable stem'. This would indicate that certain roots cannot be transitivized without -*m* suffixation. The intransitive constructions that took an -*m* suffix with possible causative semantics (4.1.2.5) were based on agent-

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oriented roots that were not expected to take *-m*. The root in 157 is one such. However, of the other roots given here, those in 154 and 156 could be tentatively classified as patient-oriented roots semantically. Further tests would be necessary to see if these forms were consistent with the classification emerging in the study of intransitive constructions.

Reichard (1938:589, 605) also refers to this *-m*, and a stressed allomorph *-ím*, as a causative marker (see section 4.1.2.5).[60] Only two of Reichard's examples of this causative marker occur stressed in causative transitives, and these are unusual, based on unstressed deictic roots:

158. a. nɛʔ ciʔl-ím-stus (Reichard 1938:605.439)
nɛʔ √ciʔ-l-im-st(u)-Ø-s
imp /prox$_2$-conn-im-ct-3abs-3erg
Pass it through that (dentalium)

b. tc̓-ih-ím-stus (Reichard 1938:605.439)
tc̓ih-im-st(u)-Ø-s
loc/near-im-ct-3abs-3erg
He placed it next to her.

I have not recorded the stressed suffix -ím.

---

[60]Several of Reichard's examples of this suffix, however, may be analyzed as middle forms that have been nominalized with -n or hn- and -n (t̓áp-ɛm-ən 'arrow'; hɩn-c̓áx-ɛm-ən 'frying pan' 1938:605.439), or perhaps with the instrumental suffix -min, unusually segmented.

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The *-m* that regularly occurs in the causative transitive constructions has been identified as an unstressed allomorph of a suffix cognate with the Thompson suffix *-min*, described by Thompson and Thompson 1992, or a similar Colville-Okanagan suffix, described well by A. Mattina 1994. This suffix occurs with both *-n-t-* and *-st(u)-* transitivizers in Coeur d'Alene; its Thompson cognate *-min/-m* is referred to as a *relational* morpheme (Thompson and Thompson 1992:75), indicating 'objects toward which the subject is moving or in relation to whom the action is accomplished'. A. Mattina (1994:219) provides good evidence that the Colville-Okanagan *-m* is the unstressed form of *-min* with examples of intransitivized forms (similar to the passive-like continuatives described in section 4.1.3.3). This suffix apparently does not affect transitive grammatical relations; its function in Coeur d'Alene transitive constructions is obscure.

The following examples, based on the root √*x*^{w}*uy* 'go', are clearly causative without the use of *-m*, suggesting that Reichard's analysis of this suffix as a causative itself needs to be modified to indicate when and where it may or must be used:

159. čn nɛʔkʷu sṫəšá xʷɛ čicxʷúystus
čn √nɛʔkʷun s√ṫiš=astq xʷɛ čic√xʷuy-st(u)-Ø-s
1nom /think nom/sweet=crop det dir/go-ct-3abs-3erg
I think it was huckleberries that she brought.
14.3

160. xʷúystmɛs xʷɛ tɛč hnwínšn
√xʷuy-st(u)-mɛl-s xʷɛ tɛč hn√winš-n

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/go-ct-1acc-3erg det_1 toward loc/war.dance-loc
She took me over to the war dance. Wellpinit

4.2.2.1.2. Introductory predicates. Reichard refers to the roots *√ʔɛčin* 'do with', *√ʔaxil* 'do thus' and *√ʔɛk^{w}un* 'say, tell' as irregular verbs because they consistently occur with the -st- transitivizer without the customary aspect marker. However, it is not unusual for the causative transitivizer to occur without the customary prefix: note that all of the causative forms in the preceeding sections (except 146b and 146c) are also noncustomary. Clearly this construction does not deserve the label 'irregular'. Instead, I have found that these roots used in this construction serve to introduce further action, identified either as quoted speech, a new predicate, or with gestures, in regular discourse (Doak 1993). Some examples of the noncustomary causative construction with these three roots follow:

161. čicʔɛčístx^{w} snmarímncutn x^{w}ɛ tg^{w}ɛl icpuʔs
čic√ʔɛčin-st(u)-Ø-x^{w} s-n-√marim-n-t-sut-n x^{w}ɛ √tg^{w}ɛl in-c√puʔs
dir/do.with-ct-3abs-2erg nom-loc/medicine-d-t-rflx-loc det /because 2G-loc/heart
Take your medicine for your heart. Wellpinit

162. x^{w}ɛ slíp̓ ʔɛčístus
x^{w}ɛ √slip̓ √ʔɛčin-st(u)-Ø-s
det_1 /stick /do.with-ct-3abs-3erg
He did this with the stick. 12.13

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163. učic?ɛčísn ó wi··m ł ... [gesture]
u-čic√?ɛčin-st(u)-Ø-n o wi··m ł ...
inher-dir/do.with-ct-3abs-1erg excl excl conn ...
I did that, oh, wi··m and ... FSmoke

164. uł ?ɛčísn x^{w}iẏɛ smíl̇x^{w} ł čn ... [gesture]
uł √?ɛčin-st(u)-Ø-n x^{w}i? hɛ s√mil̇x^{w} ł čn ...
again /do.with-ct-3abs-1erg $prox_1$ nom/tobacco and
1nom ...
I put back that tobacco and I ... FSmoke

165. ?ɛk^{w}úsn x^{w}ɛ hnχípɛ? ...
√?ɛk^{w}un-st(u)-Ø-n x^{w}ɛ hn√χipɛ? ...
/say-ct-3abs-1erg det 1G/grandfather
I told my grandfather ... FSmoke

166. ?ɛk^{w}úsn a··
√?ɛk^{w}un-st(u)-Ø-n √a
/say-ct-3abs-1erg /yes
I told her yes. Wellpinit

167. ?ɛk^{w}əsn lu, u čn χɛs
√?ɛk^{w}un-st(u)-Ø-n √lut u čn √χɛs
/say-ct-3abs-1erg /nɛg inher 1nom /good
I told him no, I'm all right. Wellpinit

168. ?ɛk^{w}ústus x^{w}ɛ lu, ?ic?íttš
√?ɛk^{w}un-st(u)-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ √lut ẏc√?itš+C_2
/say-ct-3abs-3erg det_1 /neg cont/sleep+ncr
She said no, they're sleeping. Wellpinit

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169. k̓^{w}nɛʔ ʔɛk^{w}ústus x^{w}ɛ naʔ qíɬt
k̓^{w}nɛʔ √ʔɛk^{w}un-st(u)-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ nɛʔ √qiɬ-t
soon /say-ct-3abs-3erg det$_1$ irr /wake-res
She told him when he woke up. Wellpinit

170. kum̓ x^{w}iʔɬ čɛ̓n̓ən̓ x^{w}iʔɬ ʔaχístəm ɬɛ ʔɛ smIyíw.
k^{w}um̓ √x^{w}iʔ ɬ √čɛ̓n̓+C$_2$ √x^{w}iʔ ɬ √ʔaχil-st(u)-Ø-m ɬɛ ʔɛ s√myiw
then prox$_1$ conn /hold+ncr prox$_1$ conn /do.thus-ct-3abs-nte det$_1$ obl nom/coyote
then here he took hold here he was done to by Coyote. SH.90

171. a. x^{w}iʔɬ aχístus pupu.
√x^{w}iʔ ɬ √ʔɛχil-stu-Ø-s √pux^{w}+pux^{w}
/prox$_1$ conn /do.thus-ct-3abs-3erg /blow+aug
Here he did thus he blew on them. Beaver 114

b. kum̓ k̓úl̓ənc x^{w}iʔ púx^{w}Unc.
k^{w}um̓ √k̓^{w}ul̓-n-t-Ø-s √x^{w}iʔ √pux^{w}-n-t-Ø-s
then /make-d-t-3abs-3erg /prox$_1$ /blow-d-t-3abs-3erg
Then he fixed them here he blew on it. Beaver 115

172. nɛʔkúnəm nɛʔ x^{w}iy̓ɛ šɛ̓t̓ut x^{w}a ʔac̓aχístmIs.
√nɛʔk^{w}un-m nɛʔ √x^{w}iy̓ɛ √šɛt̓=ut x^{w}ɛ ʔɛc√ʔaχil-st(u)-m(ɛl)-s
/think-m irr prox$_1$ /rock-pt det cust/do.thus-ct-1acc-3erg
She thought this rock is doing this to me. Beaver 227

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It is important to note that two of these roots do occur transitivized without the causative (Doak 1993):

173. ʔáχin
√ʔaχil-n-t-Ø-n
/do.thus-d-t-3abs-1erg
I did it. (FSmoke)

174. ʔɛčinc
√ʔɛčin-n-t-Ø-s
/do.with-d-t-3abs-3erg
She did this. (FSmoke)

It is also interesting to note that in the following two examples, the noncustomary causative construction with the root *√ʔɛčin* 'do with' creates questions without overt interrogative markings:

175. $k^{w}um̓$ ʔɛčístx^{w} x^{w}ɛ ʔɛsčíčɛʔ
$k^{w}um̓$ √ʔɛčin-st(u)-Ø-x^{w} x^{w}ɛ √ʔɛsčičɛʔ
then /do.with-ct-3abs-2erg det_1 /horse
What did you do with the horses? 8.50.6

176. ʔɛčístx^{w} hiʔíɬn
√ʔɛčin-st(u)-Ø-x^{w} hn-s√ʔiɬn
/do.with-ct-3abs-2erg 1G-nom/eat
What did you do with my food? 11.10

4.2.2.1.3. Other noncustomary causative combinations. The causative transitivizer may be used in morphologically marked aspects other than the customary,

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and in various regular structures based on transitive stems.

Example 177 is a causative inchoative; 178 and 179 are causative continuatives:[61]

177. q^{w}i?cmsn x^{w}ɛ sc̓íc̓i?ɛčt mɛi̓i̓ tq^{w}íi̓k^{w}upn
√q^{w}ic-<?>-m-st(u)-Ø-n x^{w}ɛ s-CVC+√c̓i?=hɛčt mɛi̓ ? t√q^{w}il=k^{w}up-n
/warm-<inch>-m-ct-3abs-1erg det$_1$ nom-aug+/dk=hand loc ? loc/light=fire-loc
I warmed my hands by the stove. 11.33

178. wə?aχí hił ?ini?sɛ́lmstus
√wɛ?aχil √hił y̓c-ni?√sɛl-m-st(u)-Ø-s
/now and cont-amid/turn-m-ct-3abs-3erg
He's mixing it now. 11.42

179. a. lut hɛ ?icmɛ́ysn tɛčíčɛ?
√lut hɛ y̓c√mɛy-st(u)-Ø-n tɛč√hičɛ?
/neg sub cont/know-ct-3abs-1erg loc/where
I don't know where they are. 11.47

b. lut hɛ ?icmɛ́ystus tɛčíčɛ? sx^{w}uys
√lut hɛ y̓c√mɛy-st(u)-Ø-s tɛč√hičɛ? s√x^{w}uy-s

---

[61]Note that the continuative forms are all subordinate structures. A. Mattina (1997, p.c.) has pointed out a similar restriction in Okanagan, where transitive continuatives are also subordinate. See section 4.3.2.2.

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/neg sub cont/know-ct-3abs-3erg loc/where
nom/go-3G
She couldn't decide where to go. 11.47

c. lut hɛ ʔicmɛ́ystus tɛčíčɛʔ čɛsx^{w}uy
√lut hɛ ẏc√mɛy-st(u)-Ø-s tɛč√hičɛʔ čɛł-s√x^{w}uy
/neg sub cont/know-ct-3abs-3erg loc/where fut-int/go
She didn't know where to go. 11.47

Example 180 is a causative irrealis/imperative and 181 is a causative reflexive:

180. nɛʔ x^{w}uyst x^{w}ɛ g^{w}ɛł hncəcíẏɛʔ
nɛʔ √x^{w}uy-st(u)-Ø-Ø x^{w}ɛ g^{w}ɛł hn√cciẏɛʔ
irr /go-ct-3abs-imp det pl 1G/sister
You can take my sisters (with you). 11.15

181. χ^{w}adχ^{w}ədə́mscútɩlš
√χ^{w}ɛd+CVC-m-st(u)-sut-ilš
/amuse+aug-m-ct-rflx-pl
They were clowning around. Wellpinit
(They made themselves funny.)

4.2.2.2. Customary. The customary aspect marker *ʔɛc-* is used in transitive constructions most commonly with the *-st(u)-* causative transitivizer. Exceptions include forms transitivized with *-n-t-*, as in section 4.2.1.1.

When *ʔɛc-* and *-st(u)-* occur in a nontopic ergative construction based on the root *√ʔɛk^{w}un* 'say, tell', the result is a formulaic introduction for the name of

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something, similar to English 'they call it ...' or 'it's called ...':

182. ʔɛcʔɛkʷústm Gonzaga University
ʔɛc√ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-Ø-m
cust/say-ct-3abs-nte Gonzaga University
It's called Gonzaga University. 7.12.2

183. ʔɛcʔɛkʷústm Josephine hił Sarah.
ʔɛc√ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-Ø-m J hił S
cust/say-ct-3abs-nte Josephine and Sarah
They're called Josephine and Sarah. FSmoke

184. kʷuṁ xʷi ʔɛcʔɛkʷústm ɛ cancəsʷíc̓ɛʔ hɛ sq̓ʷɛ́y̓mnc
kʷuṁ xʷi ʔɛc√ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-Ø-m ʔɛ [shawl dance]
and prox$_1$ cust/say-ct-3abs-nte obl [shawl dance]
And there's what they call a shawl dance ...
Wellpinit

185. ʔɛcʔɛkʷústm Dusty
ʔɛc√ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-Ø-m Dusty
cust/say-ct-3abs-nte Dusty
They call him Dusty. Wellpinit

In other cases, the cooccurrence of customary *ʔɛc-* and causative *-st(u)-* appears to be convention:

186. lut ɛ ʔɛcʔíɬstus xʷɛ sqíl̓tč
√lut hɛ ʔɛc√ʔiɬn-st(u)-Ø-s xʷɛ s√qil̓tč
/neg sub cust/eat-ct-3abs-3erg det$_1$ nom/flesh
He doesn't eat meat. 10.69

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187. xʷə q̓ʷɛd ʔɛčɛtʔɛmústus xʷɛ sṯəm̓á
xʷɛ √qʷɛd ʔɛc-čɛt√ʔɛm-ut-stu-Ø-s xʷɛ s√ṯm̓=ilt=mš
det$_1$ /black cust-loc/sit-pt-ct-3abs-3erg det$_1$ nom/lick=child=tribe
Blackie was (lying) on top of the calf.

188. lut ʔɛcmɛ́ysn ʔɛ sɛgʷə ɬ ɬɔ́mɬəmɛn̓təm
√lut ʔɛc√mɛy-st(u)-Ø-n ʔɛ √sɛgʷɛʔ ɬ √ɬɔmɛn̓+CVC-n-t-Ø-m
/neg cust/know-ct-3abs-1erg obl /what conn /scold+aug-d-t-3abs-nte
I don't know who scolded him. 11.12

189. lut ʔɛcmɛ́ysn xʷɛ skʷists
√lut ʔɛc√mɛy-st(u)-Ø-n - s√kʷis-t-s
/neg cust/know-ct-3abs-1erg det nom/name-dur-3G
I don't know his name. 14.6

190. hisčíɬəɬšɛš tgʷɛl ciʔ l ʔɛtím̓əstm
hn-s√čiɬ+C$_2$-šɛš √tgʷɛl ciʔ l ʔɛc√tim̓-st(u)-Ø-m
1G-nom/give+ncr-thing /because prox$_2$ conn cust/use-ct-3abs-nte
It was given to me, that's why I use it. 11.17
(perhaps: It was given to me so that it be used.)

The following exchange shows a causative construction with and without customary aspect marking:

191. a. ni k̓ʷnɛʔ ʔɛkʷústmn kʷu nčɪčɛ́y̓ɛʔ
ni /k̓ʷnɛʔ √ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-mi-n kʷu hn√ččɛy̓ɛʔ
Q /soon /say-ct-2acc-1erg 2nom 1G/grandmother
Can I call you grandma?

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b. ʔɛ čɪnɛ́kʷɛʔ hɛ šəšíẃtm ʔɛcʔɛkʷústməs čɪčíẏæʔ
ʔɛ č√nɛ́kʷɛʔ hɛ √ššiẃt-m ʔɛc√ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-mɛl-s √ččɛẏɛʔ
obl loc/one sub /girl-m cust/say-ct-1acc-3erg /grandmother
Another little girl calls me grandma. 10.27

4.2.2.3. Customary causative. The customary aspect marker occurs with *-st(u)-* transitives that have clearly causative semantics; compare the following construction with the noncustomary causatives based on *√xʷuy* 'go' in examples 145b, 159, 160 and 180.

192. ʔɛčxʷúystmɛs tɛč sntčɛʕʷmɪn
ʔɛc-č√xʷuy-st(u)-mɛl-s tɛč s-n-t√čɛʕʷ-min
cust-dir/go-ct-1acc-3erg toward nom-loc-loc/pray-instr
He takes me to church. 10.66

4.2.2.4. Topical object. Elsewhere I have described the discourse function of the *-st(u)-* transitivizer in participant tracking, where the subject of previous text becomes object with the use of *-st(u)-*, and as an indicator of a topical object in 3-3 constructions (Doak 1993). In these cases, it is possible that the sequence [stu] represents the combination of the *-st(u)-* causative transitivizer plus a remnant of a topical object marker that is comparable to the Columbian independent morpheme *-wá-/-u-* (Kinkade 1990).

Here I wish to present two additional examples of *-st-* without *-u-* in 3-3 constructions, that is, without the segment which serves as a topical object marker.

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These forms are rare. They provide contrast to the topical object forms, suggesting that the *-u-* that is missing here does function as a topical object marker where it occurs. The first example is apparently formulaic, used without specific reference to actual participants in the discourse:

193. lut ʔɛcmɛ́ysts $x^{w}ɛ$ lut ʔɛcšár
√lut ʔɛc√mɛy-st-Ø-s $x^{w}ɛ$ √lut ʔɛc√šar
/neg cust/know-ct-3abs-3erg det_1 /neg cust/lazy
They don't know what laziness is. 7.20.1

The second example occurs following a discussion between a girl and her doctor. The doctor then addresses the girl's mother, and in the telling of the story, the girl uses *-st-* without the topical object marker and introduces the mother in a determiner phrase, indicating that the mother is not a primary participant:

194. ʔɛk^{w}ústəs $x^{w}ɛ$ hi·núnɛʔ lut čɛsχáqəncɛx^{w} ...
√ʔɛk^{w}un-st-Ø-s $x^{w}ɛ$ hn√nunɛʔ √lut čɛs√χaq̓-n-t-sɛ-x^{w}
/say-ct-3abs-3erg det 1G/mother /not fut/pay-d-t-1acc-2erg
He told my mother, don't pay me ...

4.2.2.5. Summary. The causative transitivizer *-st(u)-* has been idenitified as such throughout the Salishan literature (Thompson and Thompson 1992 and Kinkade 1991 among others; see Shapard 1980). In Coeur d'Alene, the *-st(u)-* transitivizer requires a specific set of m-initial object suffixes in the singular first and second persons. Also, *-st(u)-* is preceded by a suffix *-m*

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following certain roots: further research will be necessary to determine whether the roots requiring *-m* derivation prior to causative transitivization correspond to those included in specific root classes already identified in intransitive structures.

Causative transitive predicates are used formulaically to introduce persons and actions. In conjunction with the prefix *ʔɛc-*, the causative transitivizer creates customary predicates, some of which have clearly causative semantics. The causative suffix may also function to indicate a topical object: comparative evidence is supported in a few third person forms where the loss of the suffix vowel indicates that the object is no longer topic.

4.2.3. Applicative transitivizers. The *-š(ɪ)-t-* and *-ɬ-t-* transitives are applicative in that they introduce a third participant, a third person, to the argument structure of the sentence, and alter the role of the morphosyntactic object. Generally, the participant represented by the standard object pronominal (accusative/absolutive) serves as a possessor or dative with *-ɬ-t-* and as a beneficiary or dative with *-š(ɪ)-t-*. A third applicative, *-túɬ-t-*, is rare in the data; however, comparative data suggest that *-túɬ-t-* is also used to create a dative object. The structure and use of these transitives are outlined here.

4.2.3.1. Possessor applicative: *-ɬ-t-*. The *-ɬ-t-* transivizer functions as a dative or possessor applicative. In most cases, the *-ɬ-t-* transitives use the standard object pronominals (table 2, chapter 3). In

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a few forms, however, the causative (M-set) rather than the standard (S-set) object pronominals are used with *-ɬ-t-*. The examples in 185 were presented as an interesting fact by the speaker, who pointed out that the single structure could be interpreted as either active or passive (in translation; neither form is a true passive: see 5.1.5).

195. a. q̓ʷíc̓ɬtmIt
√q̓ʷic̓-ɬ-t-mi-t
/fill-pra-t-2acc-1perg
We filled it for you. 3.55

b. q̓ʷíc̓ɬtmIt
√q̓ʷic̓-ɬ-t-mi-t
/fill-pra-t-2acc-nte
It has been filled for you. 3.55

The sequence *-mi-t* in the analysis of 195a represents the second person singular object of the causative object paradigm followed by the first person plural subject. The sequence *-mi-t* in the analysis of 195b represents the second person singular object followed by the nontopic ergative suffix (see section 5.1.5.). The homophony of the 1p-2 and NTE-2 suffix sequences is not unusual, and occurs in all paradigms. What is unique is that the M-set object pronominals occur with the -ɬ-t- transitivizer, since this combination of applicative with causative object is relatively rare; the causative object pronominals normally occur only with -st(u)-. Example 196 shows the use of both the standard and causative pronominals with -ɬ-t-:

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196. a. q̓ʷíc̓łcn
√q̓ʷic̓-ł-t-si-n
/fill-pra-t-2acc-1erg
I filled it for you. 3.54

b. q̓ʷíc̓łtmɪsɪlš
√q̓ʷic̓-ł-t-mi-s-ilš
/fill-pra-t-2acc-3erg-3pl
They filled it for you. 3.56

4.2.3.1.1. Possessor object *-ł-t-*. In transitives formed with the *-ł-t-* transitivizer, the object pronominal represents a possessor. In example 197, a causative transitive is compared with the possessor applicative. The form in 197a has only two arguments, the agent and the patient. The form in 197b also has only two pronominal arguments, but carries reference to a third item, the thing filled. In this structure, the agent is indicated as expected by the ergative. The accusative/absolutive, however, refers not to the patient but to the possessor of the patient, which itself is indicated only by the presence of the *-ł-t-* transitivizer:

197. a. q̓ʷíc̓sn I filled it.
√q̓ʷíc̓-st(u)-0-n
/fill-ct-3abs-1erg

b. q̓ʷíc̓łcn I filled it for you.
√q̓ʷíc̓-ł-t-si-n
/fill-pra-t-2acc-1erg

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In possessor applicative constructions, the possessor of the object becomes the object, and the object itself becomes a second object. This type of analysis is clear in examples with adjuncts: In most cases an adjunct occurring with a *-ɬ-t-* transitive will include genitive morphology matching the person and number of the accusative argument, indicating that the object morphology represents the possessor, not a patient:

198. k^{w}íɬtm x^{w}ɛ sťímčɛʔs
√k^{w}in-ɬ-t-Ø-m x^{w}ɛ s√ťimčɛʔ-s
/take-pra-t-3abs-nte det$_1$ nom/daughter-3G
His daughter was taken from him. 10.50

199. k^{w}íɬtmɛt x^{w}ɛ sčamčəmálqšis
√k^{w}in-ɬ-t-Ø-mɛt x^{w}ɛ s√čɛm+CVC=alq^{w}=šin-s
/take-pra-t-3abs-1perg det$_1$
nom/surface+aug=long.obj=leg-3G
We held his legs. 11b.14

200. pupúlułtəmɩlš łɛ sniʔsmɛʔímsɩlš
C$_1$√pulut-ɬ-t-Ø-m-ilš-<'> łɛ s-niʔ-s√miẏim-s-ilš
dim/beat-pra-t-3abs-nte-pl-<dim> det$_3$ nom-among-
nom/woman-3G-3pl
Their only woman was killed.
[she was killed for them the only their woman among them.][62] Muskrat

---

[62]The glosses given in square brackets are those given word for word by Reichard in her unpublished mss.

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201. kʷíɬtɛlIt ɬɛ yIlImíxumɛt
√kʷin-ɬ-t-ɛlI-t ɬɛ √ylmixʷm-ɛt
/take-pra-t-1pacc-nte det$_3$ /chief-1pG
Our chief was taken from us.
[we were taken from (it was) our chief] ccrt.165

202. nɛʔ lɛ̓č̓ɬcɛxʷ xʷa hɪnq̓ʷɔ́mqən.
nɛʔ √lɛč̓-ɬ-t-sɛ-xʷ xʷɛ hn√q̓ʷɔm=qin
irr /bind-pra-t-1acc-2erg det$_1$ 1G/(head)
Tie my head up for me.
[tie it up for me the my head] Muskrat

However, the possessed item need not be indicated with genitive morphology; compare 202 and 203:

203. ɬɪɬɛl̓ɬc q̓ʷuq̓ʷɔ́m̓qən̓ čɪčɛy̓ɛʔ
C$_1$√ɬɛl̓-ɬ-t-sɛ-Ø C$_1$√q̓ʷɔm=qin-< ' > √ččɛy̓ɛʔ
dim/sprinkle-pra-t-1sAcc-imp[63] dim/(head)-<dim>
/grandmother
Sprinkle my little head, grandmother. Muskrat
[sprinkle it for me my little head grandmother]

Even though *[q̓ʷuq̓ʷɔ́m̓qən̓]* 'little head' does not include the first person genitive prefix, it is unambiguously coreferent with the first person accusative of the predicate. Other examples with nonpossessed adjuncts:

204. gʷníɬcɛs k̓ʷít̓n.
√gʷnit-ɬ-t-sɛl-s √k̓ʷit̓n

[63]See Doak 1996 for description of imperatives.

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/call-pra-t-1acc-3erg /mouse
He asked for my mouse. gwnit107

205. $x^{w}i?ł$ čIcčɛ̓nłtəm łɛ sc̓íy̓ɛčt
$√x^{w}i?$ ł čic√čɛ̓n-ł-t-Ø-m łɛ s√c̓iy̓=ičt
/$prox_1$ conn dir/grab-pra-t-3abs-nte det_3
nom/right=hand
Thus it was taken hold of for him his hand ...
ccrt.241

In many examples, especially those without adjuncts, genitive or otherwise, it is not clear in translation that the item is actually possessed:

206. a. níc̓łcn
√nic̓-ł-t-si-n
/cut-pra-t-2acc-1erg
I cut it for you. 9.29

b. níc̓łtm
√nic̓-ł-t-Ø-m
/cut-pra-t-3abs-nte
It was cut for him. 9.29

However, in these constructions the absolutive/accusative indicates either the person on whose body the action is performed (the body or body part being inherently possessed) or the person who is in possession of the item on which the action is performed, as in the following examples:

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207. ʔɛčístus $x^{w}ɛ$ puʔlyahál $x^{w}ɛ$ sɬúmɬəms t x^{w}iʔ
cɛnníčɬc
√ʔɛčin-stu-Ø-s $x^{w}ɛ$ √puɬyahal $x^{w}ɛ$ s√ɬum+CVC-s t
√x^{w}iʔ cɛn√nič-ɬ-t-Ø-s
/do.with det_1 Mole det_1 nom/breast+aug-3G conn $prox_1$
dir/cut-pra-t-3abs-3erg
He takes Mole's breast and he cuts it. CM126-7

208. g^{w}níɬcɛx^{w}
√g^{w}nit-ɬ-t-sɛ-x^{w}
/ask-pra-t-1acc-2erg
You asked for mine;
You asked for my property. gwnit88

209. g^{w}níɬts
√g^{w}nit-ɬ-t-Ø-s
/ask-pra-t-3abs-3erg
He asked for his property. gwnit86

I have found no examples where the possessed item is marked as a genitive that does not agree with the accusative/absolutive argument in a *-ɬ-t-* construction. This apparently is not the case in Cv-Ok, where a possessed item following a -ɬ-t- transitive may be coreferent with either the subject or object or with an adjunct (see N. Mattina 1993:275-6, especially examples 33 and 36). A. Mattina (1997, p.c.) indicates that certain Cv-Ok roots take the *-ɬ-t-* transitivizer obligatorily, in preference to the simple *-n-t-*, and in such cases, 'the applicative-type restrictions don't apply'.

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The *-ɬ-t-* transitive is not the only means of indicating a possessor object in Coeur d'Alene; certain types of lexical suffixation also shift the role of the object relation from patient to possessor (see section 5.2; also, Czaykowska-Higgins, Willet and Bart 1996).

4.2.3.1.2. Dative object *-ɬ-t-*. With the root *√cunmɛʔ* 'teach', this applicative suffix also shifts the role of the object, but to dative rather than possessor. Compare the directive (*-n-t-*) transitive and the applicative *-ɬ-t-* in example 210: In the directive transitive (a), the accusative pronominal represents an object patient. In the applicative construction (b), the accusative pronominal represents an object dative.

210. a. kʷnɛʔ cúnˀcunmɛyntɛlis
kʷnɛʔ √cunmɛʔ+CVC-n-t-ɛli-s
soon /teach+aug-d-t-1pacc-3erg
He will teach us (mey.173)

b. kʷnɛʔ cúnˀcunmɛyɬtɛlis
kʷnɛʔ √cunmɛʔ+CVC-ɬ-t-ɛli-s
soon /teach+aug-pra-t-1pacc-3erg
He will show us [how to do it] (mey.179)
(He will teach x to us)

Other examples of the dative applicative use of *-ɬ-t-* in combination with √cunmɛʔ include the following:

211. kʷnɛʔ cúnmɛʔɬcis xʷɛ sqɛcm.
kʷnɛʔ √cunmɛʔ-ɬ-t-si-s xʷɛ s√qɛc-m

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soon /teach-pra-t-2acc-3erg det_1 nom/knit-m
He will show you how to knit. mey182

212. cúnmɛʔɬcn.
√cunmɛʔ-ɬ-t-si-n
/teach-pra-t-2acc-1erg
I showed you how it's done. mey119

213. cúnmɛʔɬcɛləm.
√cunmɛʔ-ɬ-t-sɛl-m
/teach-pra-t-1acc-nte
I was taught how to do s.t. (specific). mey123

214. k̓^{w}nɛʔ cúnmɛʔɬtm x^{w}ɛ pɛlíks x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ lo·ló.
k̓^{w}nɛʔ √cunmɛʔ-ɬ-t-Ø-m x^{w}ɛ √Felix x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ √Lolo
soon /teach-pra-t-3abs-nte det_1 Felix det_1 obl /Lolo
Felix will be shown [to do x] by Lawrence. mey175

215. nɛʔ cúnmɛʔɬtx^{w}
nɛʔ √cunmɛʔ-ɬ-t-Ø-x^{w}
irr /teach-pra-t-3abs-2erg
You advise him. 6.2

Further study will no doubt reveal other roots where *-ɬ-t-* transitivization creates dative objects.[64]

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[64]One interesting case that deserves special investigation is the use of the root *√čiɬ* 'give', which has final barred *l* and is regularly transitivized with the lone -t.

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4.2.3.2. Benefactive applicative: *-š(ɪ)-t*. The *-š(ɪ)-t* transitivizer, like the *-ɬ-t-* transitivizer, also functions to assign a nondefault (i.e. nonpatient) role to the object. In most cases, the beneficiary is the object, but in other cases it is the source or recipient that is object.

The applicative *-š(ɪ)-t* is the only common transitivizer in Coeur d'Alene that has a stressable vowel.[65] If stress is assigned to a preceding root or suffix, the i will reduce (216) or delete (see example 224c); otherwise it will carry main stress (217):

216. gʷəɬ t̓íˑmšic xʷɛ nək̓ʷsčínts.
gʷɬ √t̓im-ši-t-Ø-s xʷɛ nuk̓ʷ-s√čint-s
pl /shake.hand-b-t-3abs-3erg /one-nom/indian-3G
He shook hands with his people. Raven 44

217. m̓i?m̓i?šícn.
√mɛy+CVC-<ʾ>-ši-t-si-n
/know+aug-<?>-b-t-2acc-1erg
I told you a story. MEY26

---

[65]Two additional suffixes, *-min* 'relational' and *-nun* 'success', are stressable. These suffixes, however, are not transitivizers: they may occur in intransitive constructions. When they do occur in transitive constructions, they occupy the position immediately preceding the transitivizer, i.e. before *-n-t-*, *-st(u)-*, *-ɬ-t-*, or *-šɪ-t-*, leaving the benefactive the only common stressable transitivizer. See also section 4.2.3.3.

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The second person singular or plural subject forms with first person plural object are missing in this paradigm; these forms are also irregular in the simple transitives and possessor raising applicative. I have no forms for first or second person plural subjects with other than third person singular objects. The forms given in 218a and 218b use the second person singular subject pronoun, *-x^{w}*, but were glossed by the speaker as referring to a second person plural subject, and in the case of 218a, a third plural object as well:

218. a. šɛnnšítx^{w}ilš
√šɛn+C_2-ši-t-Ø-x^{w}-ilš
/work-ncr-b-t-3abs-2erg-3pl
You (pl) worked for them. 3.53

b. ʔæčˀnšítx^{w}ilš
ʔɛc√čˀn-ši-t-Ø-x^{w}-ilš
cust/grab-b-t-3abs-2erg-3pl
You folks help him. 5.20

4.2.3.2.1. Benefactive *-ši-t-*. In *-ši-t-* constructions, the argument indicated by the absolutive/accusative pronominal is the beneficiary and the ergative pronominal indicates the agent. Compare the simple transitives in 219a and 220a with the benefactives in 219b and 220b:

219. a. čiɬcn.
√čiɬ-t-si-n
/give-t-2acc-1erg
I gave to (endowed) you. 14 1 . 6

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b. čiɬšicn.
√čiɬ-ši-t-si-n
/give-b-t-2acc-1erg
I give you st. 14 1 . 5

220. a. gʷnícɛs.
√gʷnit-t-sɛ-s
/ask.for-t-1acc-3erg
He invited me. gwnit102

b. gʷníšicɛs.
√gʷnit-ši-t-sɛ-s
/ask.for-b-t-1acc-3erg
He begged something for me. gwnit103

Other examples of the benefactive applicative include the following:

221. čɛʕʷšitn.
√čɛʕʷ-ši-t-Ø-n
/pray-b-t-3abs-1erg
I prayed for him. Wellpinit94

222. kʼʷnɛʔ čišícn
kʼʷnɛʔ √čn̓-ši-t-si-n
soon /grab-b-t-2acc-1erg
I will get you help. Wellpinit31

223. naʔ ʔacnpáχšitcɛxʷ
nɛʔ ʔɛc-hn√paχ-ši-t-sɛ-xʷ
irr cust-loc/think-b-t-1acc-2erg
Think for me!

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The role of patient may be indicated by a lexical suffix (224c), or it may be specified with an oblique adjunct (225) (see sections 5.1 and 5.3):

224. a. šəlítk^{w}əp — he chopped wood
√šɛl-ít=k^{w}p
/chop-for=fuel

b. šɛ́lnc — he chopped it
√šɛl-n-t-0-s
√chop-d-t-3abs-3erg

c. ʔæšɛlítk^{w}əpštulmn
ʔɛc√šɛl-ít=k^{w}p-š(i)t-ulm-n
cust/chop-for=fuel-b-t-2pacc-1erg
I chopped wood for you fellows.

225. čn nɛʔk^{w}ú čicx^{w}úyšɪcɛs ʔɛ sṫəšá.
čn √nɛʔk^{w}un čic√x^{w}uy-ši-t-sɛ-s ʔɛ s√ṫɛš=astq
1nom /think loc/go-b-t-1acc-3erg obl nom/sweet=crop
I think she brought me huckleberries. 14 3 . 11

Nicodemus (p.c. 1987) suggests that the use of the benefactive transitivizer indicates a difference in definite and indefinite reference regarding the third participant: in 226b, without the applicative, the thing given is known; in 226c, with the applicative, the thing given is indefinite:

226. a. sčíɬšɛš — a present
s-√čiɬ-šɛš
nom/give-indef

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b. číłc he gave it to him
√čił-t-Ø-s
/give-t-3abs-3erg

c. číłšic he gave her s.t.
√číł-ši-t-Ø-s
/give-b-t-3abs-3erg

However, an adjunct may be used to specify this indefinite participant:

227. číłšic ʔɛ smłič
√čił-ši-t-Ø-s ʔɛ s√młič
/give-b-t-3abs-3erg obl nom/salmon
He brought over/gave him a salmon. 14.25

4.2.3.2.2. General applicative *-ši-t-*. While the most common use of *-ši-t-* is to create an object beneficiary it also functions to create source or recipient objects.

The ambiguous root *√g^{w}nit* 'ask for' (see 4.1.2.4) assigns either the role of beneficiary (218a) or source (218b) to the object when transitivized with *-ši-t*. The difference is apparently one of context.[66]

228. g^{w}nítšicɛs.
√g^{w}nit-ši-t-sɛ-s
/ask.for-b-t-1acc-3erg
a. He asked for/begged something for me. gwnit103
b. He asked me for something. gwnit25

[66]Test other roots that are ambiguous (section 4.1.2.4) to see what their roles are with ši-t, and when.

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Other roots render the object recipient when used with *-ši-t-*:

229. hɔi łɛ nunɛʔɛs ʔɛčínšic
hɔi łɛ √nunɛʔ-s √ʔɛčin-ši-t-Ø-s
then art /mother-3G /do.with-b-t-3abs-3erg
Then his mother served it (roots) [to them]. croot25

230. m̓iʔm̓iʔšícɛlp.
√m̓ɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-sɛl-p
/report+aug-b-t-1acc-2perg
You folks told me a story. mey45

231. nk^{w}ínšicn
√nk^{w}in-ši-t-si-n
/sing-b-t-2acc-1erg
I sang to you. 14.16

4.2.3.2.3. Substitutive *-ši-t-*. In describing the Spokane applicative transitivizers, Carlson (1980:25) states the following:

> It seems, then, that -ši- stems are used to indicate that the actor of a transitive predication is in some sense substituting for ... someone ...
>
> (47) msəmúsštən łuʔ Albert
> I-felt-him-it ART Albert
> I felt around for Albert.
>
> ... the situation is described by a native speaker this way ... "Albert dropped something and I felt around (e.g., on the floor) to find it for him."

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One example from my corpus indicates a similar substitutive function for the *-ší-t-* applicative in Coeur d'Alene:[67]

232. níčšic $x^{w}ɛ$ pilí
√nič-ši-t-Ø-s $x^{w}ɛ$ pili
/cut-b-t-3abs-3erg det_1 Felix
Felix cut (wood) for me.
Felix cut (wood) instead of me/in my place. 9.29

Both translations were provided by the speaker: in the first, the object is the beneficiary, and in the second, the object is the one being substituted for by the subject.

4.2.3.3. Dative *-tuł-t-*. This structure is extremely rare in Coeur d'Alene. Like the other applicatives, what I refer to here as the dative applicative serves to introduce an additional participant into the clause structure. The role of third participant is difficult to determine: all examples in my data are with third person or nontopic pronominal arguments.

233. a. cx^{w}uytúłtm
$c√x^{w}$uy-tuł-t-Ø-m
loc/go-d-t-3abs-nte
They brought s.t. to him for him (e.g., for food)
(S.t. was gone after for him) 90.345ln

[67]The term 'deputive' would also be appropriate for the function of this transtivizer (Wechsler, p.c.).

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b. cx^{w}uytúɬtm x^{w}ɛ ẏíɬn[68]
c√x^{w}uy-tuɬ-t-Ø-m
loc/go-d-t-3abs-nte
S.t. was taken for the sake of food.
90.345ln

c. cx^{w}uytúɬtm x^{w}a Don
c√x^{w}uy-tuɬ-t-Ø-m
loc/go-d-t-3abs-nte
It was taken over there for Don. 90.345ln

234. a. šɛt̓mtúɬc
√šɛt̓-m-tuɬ-t-Ø-s
/long.one.projects-m-da-t-3abs-3erg
He put it straight up for him.
(He aimed it at him for s.b. else) 90.345ln

b. šɛt̓mtúɬc x^{w}ɛ Lolo
√šɛt̓-m-tuɬ-t-Ø-s
/long.one.projects-m-da-t-3abs-3erg
He aimed it at it for Lolo. 90.345ln

235. a. ʔac̓χnc
√ʔac̓χ-n-t-Ø-s
/look.at-d-t-3abs-3erg
He looked at it. 90.342bl

b. ʔac̓χtuɬc
√ʔac̓χ-tuɬ-t-Ø-s

---

[68]The speaker indicated that this sentence was 'odd' but not ungrammatical.

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/look.at-da-t-3abs-3erg
He looked at it for him. 90.342bl

236. a. támšic
√tam-ši-t-Ø-s
/scorch-b-t-3abs-3erg
He burned it for him/s.b. 90.342bl

b. támtułc
√tam-tuł-t-Ø-s
/scorch-da-t-3abs-3erg
He burned it for s.b. 90.342bl

This suffix is also found in Colville and Columbian, where it also functions as a dative marker: the object pronominal is the person to whom or from whom the action takes place.[69] Some examples from Colville (A. Mattina 1994):[70]

237. k^{w}u ʔamtúłts iʔ asíyaʔ
k^{w}u ʔam-tuł-t-s iʔ a-siyaʔ
1Obj /feed-da-t-3Sbj art 2Poss/saskatoon
He fed me your saskatoons.

238. k^{w}u səq̓túłts iʔ sliṗ
k^{w}u səq̓-tuł-t-s iʔ sliṗ

---

[69]An Upper Chehalis redirective, -tux^{w}t, may be cognate. See Kinkade 1991.

[70]The analyses in the third lines of the Colville examples are my own.

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1Obj /split-da-t-3Sbj art wood
He split wood for me.

And some examples from Columbian (Kinkade 1980):[71]

239. nk^{w}nakstúɬn sk^{w}ənáʔsts
n√k^{w}an=akst-tuɬ-t-Ø-n s√k^{w}an=aʔst-s
loc/take=hand-da-t-3Obj-1Sbj nom/(root)=rd.surf-3Poss
I took a club away from him.

240. wak^{w}túɬtls
√wak^{w}-tuɬ-t-tl-s
/hide-da-t-2pObj-3Sbj
He hid it from us.

A. Mattina points out that Cv-Ok *-tuɬ-t-* is distinct from the *-ɬ-t-* applicative in that it allows a possessed adjunct that does not necessarily agree with the object. Kinkade provides forms comparable to the Coeur d'Alene possessor and benefactive applicatives to demonstrate unique, though not easily generalizable, interpretations for the the dative *-túɬ-t-* applicative.

In the forms from Columbian and Colville that include adjuncts, these necessarily refer to the second object, since the pronominal object on the predicate is first person in all the examples provided. This interpretation is not possible in the Coeur d'Alene forms, which have only third person referents. More data

[71]The analyses in the Columbian examples are my own.

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are necessary for a full understanding of these applicatives.

4.2.4. Transitivizers in combination. There are at least two examples in my data that indicate that either *-n-t-* or *-st(u)-* occurs following *-ši-*. In the following pair, the customary form includes the aspect marker and both transitivizers *-ší-* and *-st(u)-*, while the completive uses only -ši-.

241. ʔɛčn̓šístmis
ʔɛ(c)√čɛn̓-ší-st(u)-mi-s
cust-hold-app-ftran-2sO-3sS
He helps you. 5.19

242. čn̓šítsɛs
√čɛn̓-ší-t-sɛ(l)-s
hold-app-tran-1sO-3sS
He helped me. (Nicodemus 1975:60)

Reichard (1939) analyses the root here as *√čɛn̓šit* 'help', as opposed to *√čɛn̓* 'hold; grab'. This is an unusual stem shape, with four consonants. Nicodemus (p.c. 1975) indicates that the root for the forms in both 231 and 232 is *√čɛn̓* 'hold'. The gloss 'help' is the result of the applicative suffix *-ši-*; that is, 'help' = 'hold (s.t.) for someone'. Note that the causative object pronoun appropriate to the *-st(u)-* paradigm is used in example 241, further evidence of the presence of *-st(u)-*. A. Mattina (1987:34-35) suggests that *-xit* is the only transitivizer used with the ccognate root *√kn*:

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243. əc-kn̓-xí-łəm-s
cust-help-ditran-2pObj-3sSubj
He helps you folks.

A. Mattina also indicates that the Colville cognates *kn* and *knxít* may both serve as stems:

> The Ok *kənxit* has to be analyzed as a stem in forms like *k^{w}u kənxítntx^{w}* 'you helped me'. But one also has [the] competing forms *k^{w}u kənxíts* 'he helped me'. (p.c. 1997)

A similar reanalysis of in Coeur d'Alene resulting in the root *√čɛn̓šit* would not be unusual, and one might expect use of the causative transitivizer *-st(u)-* where necessary. On the other hand, Kuipers (1974:51) notes that the Shuswap *-x(ɪ)t-* suffix is "exceptionally combined" with the causative *-st-* in the forms shown in 244:

244.	ké-st-xt-	put someone's X where?
	kék-s-xt-cm-x	where did you put my X?

Note that in Shuswap, the combination has *-st-* preceding *-xít-*.

The following pair indicates that Cr *-ši-* may also cooccur with the *-n-t-* transitivizer.

245. šɛlítk^{w}əpšinc
√šɛl=ít=k^{w}up-ši-n-t-Ø-s
He chopped wood for her. 9.12

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246. šɛlítk^{w}əpšic
√šɛl=ít=k^{w}up-ši-t-Ø-s
He chopped wood for her. 9.14

These examples of *-ší-* used with other transitives are rare, and, as is often the case, the translations of these elicited forms are unenlightening. Further research may indicate speaker or interviewer error, or provide evidence of other types of multiple marking suggesting a more complicated transitive system.

4.2.5. Comparison and summary. Coeur d'Alene transitives come in two types: simple transitives and applicative transitives. A summary of the transitive constructions and the roles assigned to transitive arguments is given in appendix A.

The simple transitives include the lone *-t-* and *-n-t-* directive transitives, which are apparently in complementary distribution depending on the root. The third simple transitive is what I have called here the causative transitive, which is indicated with *-st(u)-*. It functions to create causative constructions, customary transitives, and topical object constructions.

The distinction between the applicatives *-ɬ-t-* and *-š(í)-t-* has been analyzed as one of focus, as is the case in Colville (A. Mattina 1982:425). Nicodemus (p.c. August 1991) interprets the difference between the two as dependent upon the definiteness of the patient: With *-ɬ-t-*, the patient is possessed and therefore presumably definite (247), but with *-ší-t-* the patient is unidentified by possession and is thus indefinite (248) (but see 4.2.3.2.1).

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247. c̓áẃłcin
√c̓aẃ-ł-t-si-n
/wash-pra-t-2acc-1erg
I washed *it* for you. 16.17

248. c̓áẃšicn
√c̓aẃ-ši-t-si-n
/wash-b-t-2acc-1erg
I washed *s.t.* for you. 16.17

The distinction between these two constructions in Coeur d'Alene is analyzed here as equal to the distinction between benefactive and possessive constructions: generally, *-š(ɪ)-t-* assigns the role of beneficiary to the object (249) and, except for its use with the root *√cunmɛʔ* 'teach', where it apparently serves as a general applicative, *-ł-t-* assigns the role of possessor to the object (250).

249. g^{w}nítšicɛs.
√g^{w}nit-ši-t-sɛ-s
he asks me for s.t.
He asked for/begged something for me. gwnit103

250. g^{w}níłcɛs.
√g^{w}nit-ł-t-sɛ-s
/ask.for-pra-t-1acc-3erg
He asked for something of mine. gwnit104

In cases where the function of both transitivizers is as a general applicative, the distinction between the two becomes obscure. The presence of the third applicative,

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-túł-t-, increases the apparent overlap in function of the three: all serve to create dative structures. Data provided by A. Mattina 1994 and Kinkade 1980 suggest to me that there may have been at one time a discourse function of the different applicatives: adjuncts that occur with all *-tuł-t-* forms provided by these authors refer to inanimate second objects. The rarity of *-tuł-t-* suggests that any possible discourse function is no longer useful. However, it is my hypothesis that the distinction between the *-ši-t-* and *-tuł-t-* applicatives lies in distinguishing whether the (morphological) object or the patient (second object) is in focus in the discourse. A discourse function seems to be a plausible alternative explanation for the variety of forms, but it is also the most difficult to test in a dying language.

The distribution of the various transitivizers is another interesting topic for further inquiry. For example, the root *√tam* 'scorch' is attested with two simple and three applicative transitivizers:

251. a. tamnc
He burned it. 90.342bl

b. ʔɛtámstus
He burned it. 90.342bl

c. támšic
He burned it for him/sb. 90.342bl

d. tamłc
He burned it for sb. 90.342bl

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e. támtułc
He burned it for sb. 90.342bl

It appears that most roots may take any transitivizer where the context demands modification in relaying accurate description of the action; however, very few roots are attested with all the transitivizers. Some examples of roots used with various transitivizers are given in 252 through 255. Examples 252 and 253 show minimal contrast between the directive and causative transitivizers, though a distinction in meaning is clear only where the causative occurs with the customary prefix *ʔɛc-*. Example 253 also shows contrast of the directive and causative transitives and possessor applicative.

252. a. g^{w}íčcIn I saw you.
√g^{w}íč-t-si-n
/see-t-2acc-1erg

b. ʔɛcg^{w}íčstmn I see you.
ʔɛc√g^{w}íč-st(u)-mi-n
cust/see-ct-2acc-1erg

253. a. k^{w}inc He took it.
√k^{w}in-(n)-t-0-s
/grab-d-t-3abs-3erg

b. k^{w}ístus He took it.
√k^{w}in-st(u)-0-s
/grab-ct-3abs-3erg

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c. kʷíɬc — He took (held) it for her.
√kʷin-ɬ-t-O-s — (Reichard 1938:589)
/grab-pra-t-3abs-3erg

Example 254 shows equivalent forms with the directive transitive and the possessor and benefactive applicatives:

254. a. mɛsʷnc — He broke it.
√mɛsʷ-n-t-O-s
/break-d-t-3abs-3erg

b. mɛsʷɬc
√mɛsʷ-ɬ-t-O-s
/break-pra-t-3abs-3erg
He broke something that belongs to another.

c. mɛsʷšIc
√mɛsʷ-ší-t-O-s
/break-b-t-3abs-3erg
He broke something that belongs to another.

Example 255 shows similar forms with the directive and causative transitives and the benefactive applicative:

255. a. ƛ̓ápntulmsilš — They shot you folks.
√ƛ̓ap-n-t-ulm-s-ilš
/shoot-d-t-2pacc-3erg-3pl

b. a·ƛ̓ápsn — I usually shoot it.
ʔɛc√ƛ̓ap-stu-O-n
cust/shoot-ct-3abs-1erg

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c. ƛ̓ápšcn I shot it for you.
√ƛ̓ap-ší-t-si-n
/shoot-b-t-2acc-1erg

Again, all of these examples demonstrate the common use of *-n-t-* directive as the basic transitivizer.

N. Mattina (1994) has described a lexeme-based classification of bases in Okanagan, and L. Thomason (1996) has described an aspect-based classification of roots in Montana Salish (Flathead). Both are useful in predicting what types of derivation/inflection are available to each class within each language. The classification of Coeur d'Alene roots based on intransitive constructions, presented in section 4.1, does not appear to have any consequence in transitive constructions. Derivation of some transitivizable stems may be based on characteristics of the root, as was suggested in the discussion of causative constructions in 4.2.2., and the complementarity of the use of the lone *-t-* versus the directive transitivizer also appears to be dependent upon characteristics of the root. Otherwise, transitivization, including the applicatives, appears to be generally unrestricted: all roots are potentially transitivizable.

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4.3. Genitive structures. The GENITIVE pronominals are used to create possessives (see section 3.3 as well as 4.3.1, following), and a variety of inversion constructions. The simplest inversion construction is identical in form to the possessive, but carries with it distinct role assignments (4.3.2.1). The more complex continuative inversions occur with both intransitive (4.3.2.2) and applicative (4.3.2.3) stems. The genitive pronouns identified in section 3.3 are repeated in example 256:

256.	1	hn-		-ɛt
	2	in-		-mp
	3		-s	(-ilš)

The genitive pronouns are used to indicate a possessor in the possessive constructions or an experiencer or agent in the inversion constructions.[72] The genitive pronouns always occur in combination with the intransitive subject (nominative/absolutive) pronouns, repeated in 257, which are used to indicate either the thing possessed, that is, a theme (possessive constructions) or a patient (inversion constructions), or a dative (applicative inversions).

257.	1	čn		č
	2	k^w		k^wup
	3		ø	(-ilš)

[72]An alternative label for the 'genitive' as it is described here might be 'dative' (see Silverstein 1976:135).

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In the following section, the structure of the possessive is described; this structure is basic to the noncontinuative and continuative inversions (section 4.3.2), as well as to the future inversions discussed in section 4.5.

4.3.1. Possessives. Possession is indicated by affixing a genitive pronoun to an intransitive stem. Example 258a is a thing unpossessed, expressed as a simple intransitive clause; example 258b indicates a thing possessed, expressed as a genitive construction:

258. a. cɛtx^{w} — It's a house.
Ø √cɛtx^{w}
3abs /house

b. hncɛtx^{w} — It's my house.
Ø hn√cɛtx^{w}
3abs 1G/house

In these examples, the null third person absolutive is subject of the genitive clause, just as it is in the simple intransitives. Additional examples include 259 and 260, where the possessive clauses occur in determiner phrases, serving as adjuncts which are coreferent with the main clause subjects (see section 5):

259. ʔɛc̓əčínəm x^{w}ɛ innuk^{w}əłcɛtx^{w} 9.21
Ø ʔɛc√ʔɛčin-m x^{w}ɛ Ø in-nuk^{w}-ł√cɛtx^{w}
3abs cust/do-m det$_{1}$ 3abs 2G-coll-conn/house
How is your family?

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260. šípəpsn $x^{w}ɛ$ hncɛtx^{w} 90.120ln
√šip+C_2-stu-Ø-n $x^{w}ɛ$ Ø hn√cɛtx^{w}
/finish+Ncr-CT-3abs-1Erg det_1 3abs 1G/house
I finished making my house.

In 261 through 263, as in 258b, the possessive constructions serve as full sentences (independent clauses):

261. hnq̓^{w}q̓^{w}ɔsmíčnšɪs 90.81ln
Ø hn-C_1√q^{w}ɔs-m=ičn=šin-s
3abs loc-dim/wrinkle-m=back=foot-3G
It's his dog.

262. ismíy̓əm. trunk138
Ø in-s√miy̓m
3abs 2G-nom√woman
She's your wife.

263. a. hnpəpús 90.66ln
Ø hn-C_1√pus
3abs 1G-dim/cat
It's my cat.

b. k̓^{w}ɛy̓ hnpəpús 90.65ln
k̓^{w}ɛy̓ Ø hn-C_1√pus
yet 3abs 1G-dim/cat
It's still my cat.

c. lut pəpúss hnpəpús 90.66ln
Ø √lut Ø C_1√pus-s Ø hn-C_1√pus

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3abs /neg 3abs dim/cat-3G 3abs 1G-dim/cat
It's not his cat, it's my cat.

In the following sentence, the predicative pronoun √cɛnil 'third person' is marked with a POSSESSOR prefix, *ul-* (see section 3.4), and is used in contrast to the genitive possessive:[73]

264. lut hnpəpús ulcɛ́nil $x^{w}ɛ$ pəpús 90.66ln
√lut hn-C_1√pus ul√cɛnil $x^{w}ɛ$ C_1√pus
/neg 1G-dim/cat poss/third.person det_1 dim/cat
It's not my cat, it's his cat.

And in 265, the possessed is also a possessor (see also 2.4.1.2 and 3.3), again indicated by *ul-*:

265. ulhinúnɛ? $x^{w}ɛ$ p síc̓əm 90.81ln
ulhn√nunɛ? $x^{w}ɛ$ ɛpɬ √sic̓m
poss 1G/mother det_1 have /blanket
It's my mother's blanket.

All of the preceding examples are intransitive constructions. The possessed items are coreferent with third person subjects, and the third person intransitive subject is unmarked. In other persons, the one

---

[73]The null third person absolutive accompanies each of the intransitive predicates, including the negative, the genitive possessive, the possessor, and the simple intransitive. For the remainder of this discussion, the null third person absolutive will be left out of the analysis of intransitive examples.

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coreferent with the possessed thing is also indicated, as expected, with intransitive subject morphology:

266. k^{W}up g^{W}ɩɬ hɩnuk^{W}sčint cr9
k^{W}-p g^{W}ɛɬ hn-nuk^{W}-s√čint
2nom-pl pl 1Poss-coll-s/čint
You (all) are my people.

267. čismíy̓ɛms R554.178
čn s√miy̓m-s
1nom nom/woman-3G
I am his wife.

4.3.2. Inversions. Coeur d'Alene subjects are indicated with either nominative/absolutive pronominals in intransitives or ergative pronominals in transitives; these subjects generally are assigned the role of agent or patient. However, in the constructions discussed in the following sections (and in 4.5), the role of agent/experiencer is assigned instead to the genitive pronominals, and the patient (or in the case of applicatives, the dative) is encoded as an intransitive subject.

Blake (1994:202) describes this type of construction, stating that 'the assignment of roles to grammatical relations is said to be inverted, and the predicate is described as an inversion predicate'. These structures look very much like passives in that the role of patient, usually encoded as object, is assigned to the subject, fitting the standard definition of passive wherein the object becomes subject (see for example Baker 1988:9). However, the definition of passive also

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requires that the subject become oblique or be deleted. In the inversion structures discussed here, the conventional subject role of agent or experiencer is assigned to an integral part of the stem, the genitive affix, rather than be done away with.

4.3.2.1. Noncontinuative (simple) inversions. Coeur d'Alene has two structures involving the genitive pronouns that are not in the continuative aspect: the possessives, just discussed, and the simple inversions (see also section 4.5). The construction of the simple inversions is identical to that of the possessives, but the inversions are based on very low transitivity roots or stems. Inversions are used in making statements regarding thoughts and feelings. In these cases, the morphological subject is not coreferent with a possessed thing, but stands as an independent entity, a patient. Also, the genitive pronominal refers not to a possessor but to an agent or experiencer. The structures of 266 (section 4.3.1.) and 268 are nearly identical, differing only in the plural marking of the subject:

268. k^{w}u nχamínč
k^{w} hn√χɛm=inč
2nom 1G/(love)
I love you.

In 269, the inversion construction is subordinate to the negative; however, the genitive pronominal still refers to the agent/experiencer, and the absolutive subject has the role of patient.

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269. lut hɛ hisnɛʔk^{w}ú 90.44ln
√lut hɛ Ø hn-s√nɛʔk^{w}un
/neg sub 3abs 1G-nom/think
I don't agree.with/accept him.

The simple inversion is a derived structure, as evidenced by transitive constructions based on the same roots; compare 268 with 270a and 270b:

270. a. χamínčsn
√χɛm=inč-stu-Ø-n
/(love)-ct-3abs-1erg
I loved him. Nicodemus 1975:2.255

b. χamínčstx^{w} ʔayaʕ x^{w}ɛ innəkʲ^{w}sčínt
√χɛm=inč-stu-Ø-x^{w} ʔayaʕ x^{w}ɛ in-nɛkʲ^{w}-s√činт
(love)-ct-3abs-2erg all det$_1$ 2G-one-nom/person
You like all your people. 90.219ms

The construction under discussion is given in 271; it is used to create both possessives (4.3.1) and inversion predicates in Coeur d'Alene. The nominative or absolutive intransitive subject pronominal is followed by a stem affixed with a genitive pronominal:

271. IntrSbj Gen[Stem]

In both possessives and simple inversions, the subject is assigned the role of patient/theme; the difference lies in the role of the genitive: In the possessives, the genitive encodes the role of possessor. In the

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inversions, the genitive encodes the role of agent/ experiencer.

If one accepts the distinction between possessor and experiencer as significant in these forms, this type of analysis would indicate that there are at least two root types (cf. section 4.1.4.2; also Thomason 1994), each assigning a distinct role to the genitive pronominal used in the construction given in 271. While the inversion constructions are based on low transitivity roots ('think', 'love'), apparently the possessive constructions are based on roots with even lower transitivity. Much more research on these structures is necessary. Three questions are prominent: (a) Do the roots that take part in the possessive paradigm also occur in morphologically transitive structures? (b) Are there any roots/stems that can take part in both possessive and inversion constructions with clear semantic distinctions? (c) Are the root classes established in the discussion of intransitives reflected in genitive constructions? I believe the answers to these questions will likely point to single a root class available for this construction without the use of the continuative aspect marker.

4.3.2.2. Continuative inversions. In the continuative aspect there are two constructions that employ the genitive pronominals. The continuative inversions (4.3.2.2.1) are based on intransitive stems. The continuative applicative inversions (4.3.2.2.2) are based on applicative stems that undergo detransitivization.

The structure of these forms is a variant (271') of that given for the possessives and simple inversions

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(271). In the case of the continuatives, an *-m* is added to the stem along with the aspect marker:

271'. IntrSbj Gen [ẏc-[Stem]-m]

4.3.2.2.1. Continuative intransitive inversions. The continuative inversion constructions, like the possessives and simple inversions, are morphologically intransitive. Reichard (1938:584) calls these forms 'transitive continuative' even though they do not have transitive morphology.[74] They use genitive pronominals to indicate agents and nominative/absolutive pronominals to indicate patients. Unlike the possessives and simple inversions, however, the continuative inversions occur with the suffix -m, which has been established as an indicator of role change (section 4.1), and the continuative prefix ẏc-. Reichard (1938:584.336) provides the following examples:[75]

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[74]Some of Reichard's examples do have applicative transitive morphology; these are discussed in the next section, 4.4.2.2.2.

[75]Reichard (1938:584) provides an additional morphologically intransitive form:

i.	i·-níč̣-əm	He is cutting it.
	Ø ẏc√nič̣-m	
	3Abs cont/cut-m	

This form apparently results from a typographical error. It does not have the same structure as the other examples

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272. a. $k^{w}i?-c-g^{w}i\check{c}-əm$
k^{w} hn-ẏc√$g^{w}i\check{c}$-m
2nom 1G-cont/see-m
I am seeing thee.

b. $i\dot{y}-n-\chi i\dot{l}-mən-əm$
Ø in-ẏc-hn√$\chi i\dot{l}$-min-m
3abs 2G-cont-loc/fear-rel-m
Thou art fearing him.

The structure of the continuative inversion is unique to its function: though it employs the ubiquitous suffix *-m*, this is the only structure that combines this suffix with the continuative aspect, the intransitive subjects, and the genitives. Additional examples include the following:

Reichard provides in her discussion of 'transitive continuatives' (20a and 20b) or the forms under discussion here. This form does not include a genitive pronominal, and must be interpreted as an intransitive continuative. The root is patient-oriented (see section 4.1.3.3), so the interpretation of i. as presented must be 'He is getting cut' (cp. či?níc̓əm //čn ẏc√nic̓-m// 'I am being cut' R586.343). The form Reichard must have intended includes the third person genitive suffix *-s*:

ii. ?i·níc̓ms He is cutting it.
Ø ẏc√nic̓-m-s
3Abs cont/cut-m-3G

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273. ʔiníčmɛt 5.43
Ø ẏc√nič-m-ɛt
3abs cont/cut-m-1pG
We are cutting it.

274. hiʔčšípm 5.46
Ø hn-ẏc√čšíp-m
3abs 1G-cont/chase-m
I am chasing him.

275. a. ʔičɛ́šms 90.3131n
Ø ẏc√čɛš-m-s
3abs cont/accompany-m-3G
He is accompanying him

b. čiʔčɛ́šms
čn ẏc√čɛš-m-s
1nom cont/accompany-m-3G
He is accompanying me.

276. čn iʔcʔɛ́mm ʔa sẗšástq (lut $x^{w}ɛ$ pólpɔlqn)
čn in-ẏc√ʔɛm-m ʔɛ s√ẗš=astq (√lut $x^{w}ɛ$ √pul+CVC=qin)
1nom 2G-cont/feed-m obl nom/sweet=crop (/neg det_1 /injure+aug=head
You are feeding me huckleberries (not thimbleberries). 90.110ln

277. čn ʔitq^{w}áqənəm. 12 14 . 7
čn in-ẏc-tq^{w}aqən-m
1nom 2G-cont-dk-m
You are teasing me.

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278. kʷiʔcʔɛkʷúnəm 90.319ln
kʷ hn-ýc√ʔɛkʷun-m
2nom 1G-cont/say-m
I'm telling you.

279. kʷuýčšɛ́tms 90.240ln
kʷ ýc-č√šɛt-m-s
2nom cont-loc/care.for-m-3G
He's taking care of you.

That this structure occurs only in the continuative aspect demonstrates that nonperfective constructions are of generally lower transitivity than perfective constructions. Hopper and Thompson (1980:271) state that 'if the Aspect is imperfective, the clause can be shown on independent grounds to be less transitive'. Such is the case here, where the lack of transitive morphology and the use of the intransitive subject pronouns both indicate reduced transitivity.

Morphologically transitive constructions do exist in the continuative aspect in Coeur d'Alene, but these are restricted to subordinate clauses (see examples 168 and 169 in section 4.2.2.1.3).

4.3.2.2.2. Continuative applicative inversions. Continuative inversions can also be based on applicative stems, that is, stems that include *-ɬ-t-* possessor applicative or *-ši-t-* benfactive applicative morphology (see section 4.2.2). Even though they include the applicative morphology, these forms are intransitive: The ergative arguments one would expect in a transitive construction do not occur here.

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The suffix *-m* follows the applicative morphology in these inversions. This is the only construction in which the *-m* can be accurately labeled a detransitivizer, since it accompanies applicative transitive morphology with an intransitive subject. However, the fact that *-m* also occurs in the intransitive continuative inversions (which do not carry transitive morphology) suggests that this is not an illuminating analysis.

The argument structure of the continuative applicative inversions is exactly the same as the argument structure of the continuative inversions based on intransitive stems, though again the roles differ. The genitive pronominal still indicates the agent/experiencer, as in all Coeur d'Alene inversions (see also section 4.5), but the nominative/absolutive (intransitive subject) pronoun indicates either the beneficiary (280a) or the possessor (280b) rather than a patient.

280. a. čn i?cm̓iy̓m̓iy̓šítm 90.175ln
čn in-y̓c√m̓ɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-m
1nom 2G-cont/(tell.story)-b-t-m
You are telling me stories.

b. čn i?cm̓ɛym̓i?łtm 90.306ln
čn in-y̓c√m̓ɛy̓+CVC-ł-t-m
1nom 2G-cont/(tell.story)-pra-t-m
You are telling the story for me.

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Reichard provides several continuative inversions based on possessor applicative stems (281 through 283) and at least one with a benefactive applicative stem (284):[76]

281. čiʔck^{w}íɬtəms R584.336
čn ẏc√k^{w}in-ɬ-t-m-s
1nom cont/grab-pra-t-m-3G
He is taking it from me.

282. ni k^{w}iʔ duʔk^{w}míɬtəm R549.142
ni k^{w} hn-ẏc√duʔk^{w}-min-ɬ-t-m
Q 2nom 1G-cont/stingy-rel-pra-t-m
Am I stingy with thee?

283. k^{w}iʔcḵ^{w}úl̓ɬtəm R626.562
k^{w} hn-ẏc√ḵ^{w}ul̓-ɬ-t-m
2nom 1G-cont/make-pra-t-m
I am making it for thee.

284. k^{w}iʔc̓aχílšitəm R626.564
k^{w} hn-ẏc√ʔaχil-ši-t-m
2nom 1G-cont/do-b-t-m
I am doing thus as a favor to thee.

Like the other continuative inversions, those based on applicative stems have completive (285b) or customary (286b) transitive counterparts:

285. a. ʔiʔtɛg^{w}mínšitm ʔɛ smíl̓x^{w} 90.203ln
Ø in-ẏc√tig^{w}-min-ši-t-m ʔɛ s√mil̓x^{w}

[76]The analyses given are my own.

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3abs 2G-cont/buy-rel-b-t-m obl nom/tobacco
You are buying him tobacco.

b. tɛg^{w}mínšitx^{w} 90.177ln
√tig^{w}-min-ši-t-Ø-x^{w}
/buy-rel-b-t-3abs-2Erg
You bought s.t. for him.

286. a. k^{w}uy̓cm̓iy̓m̓iy̓šítəms 90.197bl
k^{w} y̓c√m̓ɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-m-s
2nom cont/(tell.stories)-b-t-m-3G
He's telling you stories.

b. ʔɛcm̓iʔm̓iʔšícis x^{w}ɛ sẃaʕ 90.172ln
ʔɛc√m̓ɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-si-s x^{w}ɛ /sẃaʕ
cust/(tell.stories)-b-t-2Acc-3Erg det$_{1}$ /cougar
He tells you stories about cougar.

The restrictions on second persons acting on first person plurals (see section 3.2.2) is reflected in the form in 287, which is neither an inversion nor applicative; it is, however, continuative, and the speaker indicates that the normal interpretation is that there is a first person plural recipient:[77]

287. k^{w}u y̓tɛg^{w}mínšɛš x^{w}ɛ nχalacɛ 90.203ln
k^{w} y̓c√tig^{w}-min-šɛš x^{w}ɛ nχalacɛʔ
2nom cont/buy-rel-indef det$_{1}$ (raspberry)
You are buying us raspberries.

---

[77]Otherwise, no recipient is indicated, and the form in 287 would translate as 'you are buying some raspberries'.

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The following examples are provided to fill out the paradigm:

288. k^{w}up hicm̓iy̓m̓iy̓šítəm 90.197bl
k^{w}-p hn-y̓c√m̓ɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-m
2nom-pl 1G-cont/(tell.story)-b-t-m
I'm telling you folks stories.

289. č ʔicm̓iy̓m̓iy̓šítəms 90.197bl
č y̓c√m̓ɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-m-s
1p cont/(tell.story)-b-t-m-3G
He's telling us stories.

290. a. k^{w}iʔtíg^{w}šitm 90.201ln
k^{w} hn-y̓c√tig^{w}-ši-t-m
2nom 1G-cont/buy-b-t-m
I'm buying s.t. for you

cp. b. tɛg^{w}šítx^{w} 90.177ln
√tig^{w}-ši-t-Ø-x^{w}
/buy-b-t-3abs-2Erg
You bought s.t. for him.

291. ʔitɛg^{w}mínšitmp 90.203ln
Ø y̓c√tig^{w}-min-ši-t-m-mp
3abs cont/buy-rel-b-t-m-2pG
You folks are buying s.t. for him.

292. ʔitɛg^{w}mínšitmɛt 90.204ln
Ø y̓c√tig^{w}-min-ši-t-m-ɛt
3abs cont/buy-rel-b-t-m-1pG
We are buying s.t. for him

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293. hi?tɛg^{w}mínšitm ?æy̓niɬ q^{w}áy̓q^{w}i?t. 90.203ln
Ø hn-y̓c√tig^{w}-min-ši-t-m ?ɛy̓niɬ √q^{w}ɛy̓+CVC-t
3abs 1G-cont/buy-rel-b-t-m because /poor+aug-dur
I'm buying s.t. for him because he's poor.

4.3.3. Summary. The genitive constructions in Coeur d'Alene are of two types. The first, the possessive, is an intransitive construction using the genitive pronominals to indicate the possessor and the intransitive subject pronominals (nominative/absolutive) to indicate the patient/theme, that is, the person coreferent with the possessed item.

The same construction is used in the second type of genitive, the simple inversion. Just as in the possessive, the intransitive subject pronominal of the simple inversion is assigned the role of patient/theme, but the genitive pronominal represents the agent/ experiencer rather than the possessor.

While both types of genitive construction demonstrate inverted role assignments (subject = patient or other nonagent), I refer here to the first type as the possessive construction and the second type as the inversion construction. The postulated difference lay in the type of root/stem the construction is built on, and thus the type of role it may assign to its arguments. The possessive constructions, for example, are built on extremely low transitivity roots, such as 'woman', and the simple inversions on merely very low transitivity roots, such as 'love' and 'think', events that have no effect on the patient.

Without any modification other than role assignment of the genitive pronominal, the possessive and simple

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inversion constructions are identical. The simple inversion is basic to the continuative inversion constructions: With the addition of the suffix -m and the continuative prefix ẏc- the continuative inversion is formed. This construction occurs with both intransitive and applicative stems; it does not occur with regular transitive or causative stems (section 4.2.1). Like the *-m* that occurs with simple intransitive predicates, the *-m* that accompanies the continuative inversions indicates a change in semantic roles.

4.4. Future constructions. Coeur d'Alene has several methods of indicating different types of future events. There are three future particles: *k̓ʷnɛʔ* IMMEDIATE FUTURE (4.4.1); *nɛʔ* IRREALIS (4.4.2); and *čɛɬ* FUTURE (4.4.4). A prefix *s-* INTENTIONAL (4.4.3) may be used alone and in conjunction with *čɛɬ*. Each future particle/prefix has distinct functions and distribution, described in the following sections. More than one future marker will often be used within a single sentence, and there are some interesting restrictions on the types of structures each marker is used to modify.

4.4.1. Immediate future: *k̓ʷnɛʔ*. The particle *k̓ʷnɛʔ* indicates immediate future action, and is often translated as "soon". *k̓ʷnɛʔ* is used with both intransitive (294, 295) and transitive (296) predicates:

294. ni k̓ʷnɛʔ kʷu m̓ɛẏm̓íẏm
ni k̓ʷnɛʔ kʷu CVC√m̓iẏ-m
Q soon 2nom distr/tell.story-m
Will you tell (us) a story?

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295. ḱʷnɛʔ č xʷuy tɛč q̓ʷádəlqs
ḱʷnɛʔ č √xʷuy tɛč √q̓ʷɛd=alqs
soon 1pnom /go dir /black=clothes
We'll go to the black robes. 90.185ms

296. ḱʷnɛʔ ʔɛkʷústus xʷɛ naʔ qíɬt
ḱʷnɛʔ √ʔɛkʷun-stu-Ø-s xʷɛ nɛʔ √qiɬ-t
soon /say-ct-3abs-3erg det_1 irr /wake-res
She told him when he woke up. 90.98ms

ḱʷnɛʔ may precede determiner phrases as well as predicates:

297. ḱʷnɛʔ xʷɛ šípəp ḱʷnɛʔ nčíɬusn xʷɛ xʷɛ́lxʷɛlt
ḱʷnɛʔ xʷɛ √šip+C_2 ḱʷnɛʔ n√čiɬ-u-st-Ø-n xʷɛ
√xʷɛl+CVC-t
soon det_1 /finish+ncr soon loc/give-?-ct-3abs-1erg
det_1 /live+aug-dur
When I finish (my harvesting) I'll pay my bills.
7.18.1

Two other immediate futures are apparently related to *ḱʷnɛʔ* and are used in similar environments: these are *ḱʷuḱʷn̓íy̓ɛʔ* and *ḱʷuḱʷiʔɬ*. The immediate futures may be used in conjunction with the future intentional (section 4.4.3):

298. ḱʷḱʷníy̓ɛʔ čɛɬ kʷu sci·ʔíɬn
ḱʷḱʷniy̓ɛʔ čɛɬ kʷu s-ci√ʔiɬn
soon fut 2nom int-first/eat
Soon you are going to eat first. croot19

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And one immediate future form may be used to modify another:

299. ʔɛkʷúsn cəcíʔ ʔɛ smíy̓ɛm syamarímәm k̓ʷnɛʔ šiɬ č
uɬxʷúy k̓ʷnɛʔ k̓uk̓ʷәní
√ʔɛkʷun-st-Ø-n C_1√ciʔ ʔɛ s√miy̓m sya√marim-m k̓ʷnɛʔ
šiɬ č uɬ√xʷuy k̓ʷnɛʔ CVC√k̓ʷnɛʔ-iyɛʔ
/say-ct-3abs-1erg dim/$prox_2$ dep nom/woman
prf/medicine-m soon just 1pnom again/go soon
aug/soon-dk
I told that woman, the nurse, that we will be back after a while. 90.95ms

4.4.2. Irrealis: *nɛʔ*. Another particle, *nɛʔ* IRREALIS, indicates conjecture or possibility. Apparently this particle can also be used before intransitive (300-302) or transitive (303, 304) predicates:

300. tuʔsṫɛkʷәncutš nɛʔ kʷu míɬm
tuʔ-s√ṫɛkʷ-n-t-sut-š nɛʔ kʷu √miɬ-m
mut-nom/lay-d-t-rflx-imp irr 2nom /rest-m
You go lay down and rest. 90.114ms

301. nɛʔ uɬčicʔɛi̓әi̓ xʷɛ inú, ...
nɛʔ uɬ čic√ʔɛi̓+C_2 xʷɛ in√nunɛʔ
irr again loc/move+ncr det_1 2G/mother
When your mom gets back, ... 90.115ms

302. nɛʔ sti̓m ciʔɬ
nɛʔ s√ti̓m ciʔɬ
irr nom/thing deic
Whatever it was. 90.182ms

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303. ʔɛkʷn xʷɛ Ernie nɛʔ tuy̓ác̓x̌ntmɛt xʷɛ Dusty ...
√ʔɛkʷun xʷɛ Ernie nɛʔ tuʔ-s√ʔac̓x̌-n-t-Ø-mɛt xʷɛ Dusty
/say det$_1$ Ernie irr mut-nom/look.at-d-t-3abs-1perg det$_1$ Dusty
Ernie said we will go and see Dusty ... 90.121ms

304. nɛʔ ʔɛkʷústmɛt xʷɛ q̓ʷádəlqs
nɛʔ √ʔɛkʷun-stu-Ø-mɛt xʷɛ √q̓ʷɛd=alqs
irr /say-ct-3abs-1perg det$_1$ /black=clothes
We'll tell the black robes. 90.185ms

nɛʔ may be used as part of a determiner phrase; unlike *k̓ʷnɛʔ*, it does not precede the determiner:

305. xʷɛ nɛʔ kʷu ʔǽ nɛʔ sɛ́gʷɛt tɛč ʔɛcgʷɛ́lp nɛʔ č sxʷuy
xʷɛ nɛʔ kʷu √ʔɛngʷɛt nɛʔ √sɛgʷɛt tɛč ʔɛc√gʷɛl-p nɛʔ č s√xʷuy
det$_1$ irr 2nom /person irr /someone loc cust/burn-p irr 1pnom int/go
Either you or somebody else, we'll go to hell. 90.xxx

A semantic distinction between the irrealis nɛʔ and immediate future *k̓ʷnɛʔ* is evident in the following sentence; *nɛʔ* indicates a hypothetical situation, and *k̓ʷnɛʔ* the action to be taken once that situation exists (see also example 296):

306. ʔɛkʷústmɛs xʷɛ Laura nɛʔ kʷu n̓úlxʷ k̓ʷnɛʔ kʷu tuʔsc̓áẃncut.

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√ʔɛkʷun-st-mɛ-s xʷɛ Laura nɛʔ kʷu √n̓ulxʷ k̓ʷnɛʔ
kʷu tuʔ-s√c̓aẃ-n-t-sut
/say-ct-1acc-3erg det$_1$ Laura irr 2nom /enter soon
2nom mut-nom/wash-d-t-rflx
Laura told me, when you go in, go and take a
bath. 90.67ms

4.4.3. Intentional: *s-*. Reichard (1938:596.405) provides an example of an applicative inversion in the (unmarked) completive rather than in the continuative aspect, discussed in section 4.3.2.2.2:

307. kup-s-niʔ-láq̓-laq̓-ẃɛs-šɪt-əms
kʷu-p s-niʔ√laq̓+CVC=iẃɛs-ši-t-m-s
2nom-pl int-midst/search.for+aug=between-b-t-m-3G
She is to look amongst for something as a favor to
you.

This is an INTENTIONAL construction (Reichard 1938:586-587). The *s-* prefix is used to indicate an intentional predicate. It may be used alone with inversion constructions (see also Reichard 1938:586.347):

308. ʔɛkʷn hɔi łɛ hIstuspúlutəm.
√ʔɛkʷun hɔy łɛ hn-s-tuʔ-s√pulut-əm
/tell now art 1G-int-mut-nom/beat-m
He said now I am going to kill him. Beaver154

But *s-* intentional is most commonly used with the future particle čɛł, discussed next.

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4.4.4. Future: *čɛɬ*. The particle *čɛɬ* indicates a future event or entity (see Reichard 1938:666-667). The particle occurs before the predicate, preceding any pronominal particles and prefixes that accompany the predicate. *čɛɬ* most often cooccurs with predicates that include the *s-* prefix that has been identified as an intentional marker by Reichard (1938:586-587) and A. Mattina (1996:240) (see section 4.4.3). Where these two elements are contiguous, the *ɬ* of *čɛɬ* is usually lost before *s-*, resulting in the form *čɛs*. The presence of *ɬ* is often revealed in careful speech (as when repeated for a linguist) or in interrupted or uncertain speech (as when the speaker is searching for the appropriate word after having provided the future particle); compare 309, where *ɬ* is retained, and 310, where it is lost as expected:

309. $x^{w}ɛ$ nɛʔ ɛ stím̓ $x^{w}ɛ$ čɛɬ stq^{w}aʔq^{w}əʔɛlmíntmɛt
$x^{w}ɛ$ nɛʔ hɛ s√tim̓ $x^{w}ɛ$ čɛɬ s-t-CVC√q^{w}ɛʔl-mi-n-t-Ø-mɛt
det irr sub nom/thing det fut int-loc-aug/speak-rel-d-t-3abs-1perg
What are we going to talk about? 90.178ms

310. tuʔ $x^{w}ɛ$ ǰisɔkrí $x^{w}ɛ$ čɛstq^{w}aʔq^{w}əʔɛlmíntmɛt
tuʔ $x^{w}ɛ$ √ǰisɔkri $x^{w}ɛ$ čɛɬ s-t-CVC√q^{w}ɛʔl-mi-n-t-Ø-mɛt
mut det /Jesus.Christ det fut int-loc-aug/speak-rel-d-t-3abs-1perg
We're going to talk about Jesus Christ. 90.178ms

Like the continuative aspect marker *ẏc-*, the future particle is commonly used with intransitive (4.4.4.1) and inversion (4.4.4.3) constructions. Unlike the

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continuative, the future may also be used with transitive (4.4.4.2) predicates; these future transitives, however, are restricted to use only in subordinate structures. The suffix *-m* accompanies the future construction in a few simple intransitives and in all inversion constructions.

4.4.4.1. Future intransitives. Future intransitives are formed with *čɛɬ* preceding the predicate, which carries the *s-* intentional prefix and takes a nominative (first or second person) or absolutive (third person) argument:

311. a. čɛɬ čn usn̓úɬx^{w}
čɛɬ čn uɬ s-√n̓uɬx^{w}
fut 1nom again int/enter
Just when I was going (back) in. 90.291ms

b. čɛɬ čičn̓úɬx^{w}
čɛɬ čn s-č√n̓uɬx^{w}
fut 1nom int-loc/enter
Just when I was going in. 90.291ms

312. a. čɛstu?smíy̓əm
čɛɬ s-tu?-s√miy̓m
fut int-mut-nom/woman
Get a wife. 90.337ms

b. čɛstu?sqíl̓tmx^{w}
čɛɬ s-tu?-s√qil̓tmx^{w}
fut int-mut-nom/man
Get a husband. 90.337ms

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The following first person plural subject forms are unusual in that the intentional marker precedes the pronominal argument:

313. ni čɛsčx^{w}uy t x^{w}ɛ spɔ·qínmš
ni čɛł-s č √x^{w}uy t x^{w}ɛ Spokane
Q fut-int 1pnom /go obl det Spokane
Are we going to Spokane? 90.115ms

314. čɛsčq^{w}á?q^{w}ə?ɛl
čɛł-s č √q^{w}a?l+CVC
fut-int 1pnom /talk+aug
We're going to talk. 90.179ms

This is probably speaker idiosyncracy. Reichard (1938:666) recorded the expected order:

315. čɛł č sc̓əlálq^{w}
čɛł č s-√c̓ɛl=alq^{w}
fut 1pnom int/long.objs.project=stick
Let's play stickgame.

Additional examples include these, with second and third person subjects:

316. čɛł k^{w}u smiypng^{w}íln.
čɛł k^{w}u s√miy-p=ng^{w}iln
fut you int-/know-inch=s.t.
You're going to succeed in learning. mey167

317. t̓i? kum̓ častáχuχ.
t̓i? k^{w}um̓ čɛł s√taχ^{w}-C$_2$

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rlz then fut int/die+ncr
Surely he was about to die. beaver152

Occasionally, future intransitive forms occur without *s-* intentional following *čɛɬ*:

318. a. hɔi čɛɬpuk^{w}əmí.
hɔi čɛɬ√pɛk^{w}-m-í
then fut√lay.pl.rd.objs-m-exag
Then it was poured. trunk.108

cp: b. ʔɛcpək^{w}í.
ʔɛc√pɛk^{w}-í
cust√lay.pl.rd.objs-exag
(It is) Lying.

The two forms in 319 were given with identical translations; the first, however does not include the intentional *s-* or *-m*:

319. a. čɛɬ k^{w}u χamínč
čɛɬ k^{w}u √χaminč
fut 2nom /love
You are going to be loved. N90.320

b. čɛɬ k^{w}u sχamínčəm
čɛɬ k^{w}u s√χaminč-m
fut 2nom int/love-m
You are going to be loved. N90.320

The examples in 319 and 320a look like future intransitives (compare these with 320b, a future

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inversion (see 4.4.4.3)). Additional data are needed to determine whether futures without the intentional *s-* prefix represent a distinct construction, and if so, what its function might be.

320. a. čɛł k^{w}up staqəqənúnəm
čɛł k^{w}u-p s√taq+C_2-nun-m
fut 2nom-pl int/deceive+ncr-succ-m
You are going to be fooled. N90.320

b. čɛł k^{w}up staqəqənúnəms (x^{w}ɛ Socks)
čɛł k^{w}u-p s√taq+C_2-nun-m-s (det Socks)
fut 2nom-pl int/deceive+ncr-succ-m-3G
He (Socks) is going to fool you. N90.320

Also, the function of -m in 319b, 320 and 321 needs to be determined:

321. čɛł ku sInwítwətɛnsəm.
čɛł k^{w}u s-hn√wit+CVC=ins-əm
fut 2nom int-loc/be.full.of.maggots=teeth-m
Maggots will be in your teeth. beaver.162

This *-m* suffix is similar to that found in conjunction with the future particle in inversion constructions (as, for example, the inversion construction in 320b; see 4.4.4.3). It apparently functions here in a manner akin to its function in other intransitives, and that function is dependent on the root class and aspect of the construction (section 4.1.4).

The future intentional may be used in the completive (323a, 323b, and previous examples), customary (322a,

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323c) and continuative aspects (323d) in intransitive structures:

322. a. čn?áé x^{w}ɛ čɛł či?šíʔt
čn √?ɛng^{w}t x^{w}ɛ čɛł čn s-?ɛc√ši?t
1Nom √person det fut 1nom int-cust/first
I'm going to be first. 90.179ms

cp b. ku̓wæ x^{w}ɛ k^{w}u šíʔt
k^{w}u √?ɛng^{w}t x^{w}ɛ k^{w}u √ši?t
2nom /person det 2nom /first
You be first.

323. a. čɛł čisčɛ́šən
čɛł čn s√čɛš-n
fut 1nom int/accompany-loc
I am to go along. GAR587.349

b. čɛł čisčɛ́šəmš
čɛł čn s√čɛš-m-š
fut 1nom int/accompany-m-š
I am to accompany s.t. indefinite. GAR587.350

c. čɛł či?čɛ́šən
čɛł čn s-?ɛc√čɛš-n
fut 1nom int-cust/accompany-loc
I am to be accompanying. GAR587.351

d. čɛł či?čɛ́šəmš
čɛł čn s-y̓c√čɛš-m-š
fut 1nom int-cont/accompany-m-š
I am to be going with someone. GAR587.352

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Forms like 323b and 324 do not fit the regular intransitive pattern; in these forms *-m-š* occurs without the continuative marker *ẏc-*:

324. čɛ̓ł čistu?stcí?mš
čɛ̓ł čn s-tu?-s√tci?-m-š
fut 1nom int-mut-nom/urine-m-š
I'm going to go pee. 90.216ms

While Reichard (1938:587.349-350) indicates that the suffix *-mš*, analyzed here as the sequence *-m-š*, is an indicator of an indefinite object with intransitive future intentional forms, examples like 324 suggest otherwise: no object is evident. Further study of future intentionals with *-m* and *-m-š* is needed to determine their function and whether they can be classified within the root class/aspect combinations already identified in section 4.1.4.2. Comparative data will also shed light on the use of *-m-š*. A. Mattina identifies the Colville-Okanagan suffix *-(mɪ́)x*, an imperfective marker, as cognate with Coeur *-m-š* (1996:243 fn 9), and finds it used in intransitive perfect, imperfective and inceptive constructions, although the form of this suffix (and perhaps even its presence, when used with the inceptive *-a?x*) in Colville may be determined by stress rather than by root valency (cf. A. Mattina 1993:244-246). It is also possible that the Coeur d'Alene *-š* is cognate with Colville *-x* progressive, as I suggested in section 4.1.3.1.

4.4.4.2. Future transitives. Transitive future intentionals do not occur as main predicates: they only

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occur in subordinate, dependent, or otherwise secondary structures following negative predicates (325a, 326, 327) or as adjoined (328) conjoined (329) or subjoined (330) clauses:

325. a. lut hɛ čɛsʕúsntx^{w} x^{w}ɛ isqíl̓tmx^{w}
√lut hɛ čɛł s√ʕus-n-t-ø-x^{w} x^{w}ɛ in-s√qil̓tmx^{w}
/neg sub fut int/lose-d-t-3abs-3erg det 2G-nom/man
Don't lose your man. 90.187ms

cp b. nʕúsntx^{w} x^{w}ɛ wlwlím
hn√ʕus-n-t-ø-x^{w} x^{w}ɛ √wlim+CVC
loc/lose-d-t-3abs-3erg det /metal+aug
You lost your money.

326. lu čɛspúlpulustx^{w}
√lut čɛł s-CVC+√pulut-stu-ø-x^{w}
/neg fut int-distr+/beat-ct-3abs-2erg
Don't kill/punish them (the children). N90.85

327. čɛʔ lut čɛsg^{w}ənítsɛlɛm
čɛʔ √lut čɛł s√g^{w}nit-t-sɛl-m
ought /neg fut int/ask.for-t-1acc-nte
I hope I'm not invited;
I don't want to be invited. N90.86

328. ʔɛcmɛymiysn x^{w}ɛ čɛsk̓^{w}úl̓n x^{w}ɛ słáq^{w}qn
ʔɛc√mɛy+CVC-stu-ø-n x^{w}ɛ čɛł s√k̓^{w}ul̓-n-t-ø-n x^{w}ɛ s√łaq^{w}=qin

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cust/know+aug-ct-3abs-1erg det fut int/work-d-t-
3abs-1erg det nom/hang=top
I know how to make a bark basket. N90.109

329. ríno kuṁ ʔɛcɬɛ́kʲʷ ɬ lut xʷɛ čɛsqíɬn. MS90.79
Reno kʷuṁ ʔɛc√ɬɛkʲʷ ɬ √lut xʷɛ čɛɬ s√qiɬ-n-t-Ø-n
Reno then cust/lay conn /not det fut int/wake-d-t-
3abs-1erg
Reno was lying down and I couldn't wake him.

330. ... kʷuṁ nɛʔ čɛspútntmɛt xʷɛ nəkʲʷəsčíntɛt
kʷuṁ nɛʔ čɛɬ s√put-n-t-Ø-mɛt xʷɛ √nɛkʲʷ-s√čint-
ɛt
so irr fut int/honor-d-t-3abs-1perg det /one-
nom/Indian-1pG
... so that we will honor our people. 90.259ms

Reichard (1938:588; see also pp. 666-667) notes that transitive *čɛɬ* constructions in the continuative or customary aspects, that is with *ẏc-* or *ʔɛc-*, are identical, though in her discussion she provides no examples of future continuative or customary transitives. Examples 331 and 332 are possible future continuatives:

331. kup hiʔtəqəqənúnəm čɛẏcmɛystp.
kʷu-p hn-ẏc√tɛq+q-nun-m čɛɬ s-(ẏc)ʔɛc√mɛy-stu-Ø-p
2nom-pl 1G-cont-/deceive+ncr-succ-m fut int-
(cont)cust/know-ct-3abs-2perg
I'm fooling you folks, so you'll know. nun240

332. a. lut čɛẏtqʷaʔqʷəʔɛlmístxʷ
√lut čɛɬ s-ʔɛc-t√qʷɛʔl+CVC-min-stu-Ø-xʷ

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/neg fut int-cust-loc/talk+aug-rel-ct-3abs-2erg
Don't talk about them. 90.258ms

b. lut čɛy̓c?ɛk^{w}ústx^{w} lut ɛ ?icχɛ́st
√lut čɛł s-?ɛc√?ɛk^{w}un-stu-Ø-x^{w} √lut hɛ y̓c-√χɛs-t
/neg fut int-cust/say-ct-3abs-2erg /neg sub cont/bad-dur
Don't tell them they're no good. 90.258ms

Other continuative transitives are transitivized with the causative *-st(u)-* (see 178, 179), though the causative is regularly used with the customary aspect marker. Reichard (1938:669) also identifies a particle *čɛ?* 'obligation', which may be what occurs in these forms rather than the future. Further research on transitive futures is necessary. Examples 331 and 332 nevertheless show that these constructions are not used in main clauses.

4.4.4.3. Future inversions. In section 4.3.2, I described the genitive inversion constructions that are used in the continuative aspect. This same inversion of subject and object occurs in future intentional constructions without continuative aspect marking. These future inversions are indicated by the future particle *čɛł* along with the *s-* intentional prefix and *-m* suffix. Just as in the continuative inversions (4.3.2.2.), the intransitive subject has the role of patient, and the genitive pronominal serves as agent.

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4.4.4.3.1. Noncontinuative future inversions. Inversion constructions without continuative marking include forms based on intransitive, transitive and applicative stems.

4.4.4.3.1.1. The following future inversion forms are based on intransitive stems, and just as in the intransitive futures, the intransitive subject has the role of patient. In the inversion construction, however, an agent is specified using a genitive pronominal (320b is repeated here as 333; see section 4.4.4.1):

333. čɛ̓ł kʷup staqəqənúnəms (xʷɛ Socks)
čɛ̓ł kʷu-p s√taq+C_2-nun-m-s (det Socks)
fut 2nom-pl int/deceive+ncr-succ-m-3G
He (Socks) is going to fool you. N90.320

334. čɛ̓ł č snnáq̓ʷəms
čɛ̓ł č s-n√naq̓ʷ-m-s
fut 1pnom int-loc/steal-m-3G
He's going to steal things/s.t. (indef) from us.
(3.66; cp. applicative form in 330)

The next example does not have the expected *-m* that accompanies future constructions, but includes the lexical suffix *=ilgʷɛs* 'heart/stomach/mind' (see section 5.2):

335. lut čɛ̓ł isnʕay̓ílgʷɛs
√lut čɛ̓ł in-s-hn√ʕay̓=ilgʷɛs
/neg fut 1G-int-loc/angry=heart
Don't get mad. 90.258ms

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4.4.4.3.1.2. The transitive inversion construction is like the intransitive inversion, except that the stem includes the *-t* transitive marker. Inversion constructions are usually built on intransitive or applicative stems rather than on simple transitive stems (section 4.3). Thus the two forms provided here are unusual: They are the only two forms I have found with this construction (the first is taken from Reichard's data, the second from my own notes), both are based on the same root, *√čiɬ* 'give', and both are built on stems that are apparently simple transitives:

336. xʷɛ čɛɬ čn i?cčíɬtəm (or čɛɬ čn i?číɬtəm)
xʷɛ čɛɬ čn in-s-?ɛc√čiɬ-t-m
det fut 1nom 2G-int-cust/give-t-m
That's what you will cust. give me R548.133

337. čɛɬ čisčíɬtms xʷa hnq̓q̓ɔsmí ?ɛ cgʷíčs N90.313
čɛɬ čn s√čiɬ-t-m-s xʷɛ hn-C$_1$√q̓ʷus-m=ič̓n-šin ?ɛ c√gʷič-s
fut 1nom int/give-t-m-3G det 1G-dim/wrinkle-m=back=foot dep loc/see-3G
They're gonna give me the dog that they found.

It is possible that both forms are actually possessor applicatives (see following section), and that the -ɬ- of the applicative suffix sequence has been lost following the identical segment in root-final position. Note, though, that double-ɬ sequences do occur in, for example, +C$_2$ noncontrol/resultive reduplication.

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4.4.4.3.1.3. Future inversion constructions may be based on either possessor applicative or benefactive applicative stems:

338. čɛł kʷisɬápłtm xʷɛ inpúspus
čɛł kʷu hn-s√ɬap-ł-t-m xʷɛ in√pus+CVC
fut 2nom 1G-int/shoot-pra-t-m det 2G/cat+aug
I'm gonna shoot your cat. B90.107

339. a. čɛł kʷ isgʷəníłtm
čɛł kʷu hn-s√gʷnit-ł-t-m
fut 2nom 1G-int/ask.for-pra-t-m
I'm gonna ask for it for you. N90.239

b. čɛł kʷ isgʷəníłtm xʷɛ pəlíks
čɛł kʷu hn-s√gʷnit-ł-t-m xʷɛ Felix
fut 2nom 1G-int/ask.for-pra-t-m det Felix
I'm gonna call Felix for you.

Compare the following applicative inversion (340a) and simple transitive (340b) forms with the intransitive inversion in 334 (section 4.4.4.3.1.1). In 340a, the applicative identifies the patient as possessed, just as it does in the nonfuture construction in 340b. However, in the inversion construction the agent is genitive, and the possessor is subject. In the intransitive inversion (334), the item stolen is not specified (as possessed, via applicative morphology), and the role of patient falls to the subject.

340. a. čɛł č snnáq̓ʷłtms
čɛł č s-n√náq̓ʷ-ł-t-m-s

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fut 2pnom int-loc/steal-pra-t-m-3G
He's going to steal it (def) from us. (3.66)

cp b. √naq̓^{w}-ɬ-t-ɛli-s
/steal-pra-t-2pacc-3erg
He stole it from us. (3.66)

Future inversions based on benefactive applicative stems are less frequent in the data:

341. čɛɬ k^{w}isṫímštəm
čɛɬ k^{w} hn-s√ṫim-ši-t-m
fut 2nom 1G-int/shake.hand-b-t-m
I'm going to shake hands with you. 90.241ms

342. čɛɬ k^{w}up hisinmáq̓^{w}šitəm
čɛɬ k^{w}u-p hn-s-hn√maq̓^{w}-ši-t-m
fut 2nom-pl 1G-int-loc/pile-b-t-m
I will bake them for you. loseeye.1

4.4.4.3.2. Possible continuative future inversions. Reichard has recorded several forms that are analyzable, according to her grammar, as futures or intentionals with inversion and continuative marking. These are based on intransitive or applicative stems.

The prefix sequence *k^{w}i?c* of examples like 343 is identified by Reichard as the regular first person subject/second person object form for what she calls the 'transitive continuative' (1938:584). This is equivalent to what I call the continuative genitive inversion (section 4.3.2). The sequence *k^{w}i?* (344, 345) would be

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the expected alternant of *k^{w}i?c* as it occurs before *s-* (section 2; also, Reichard 1938:547):

343. miyɛł činIn̓čupílg^{w}ɛs čɛłk^{w}i?cg^{w}íčəm.
miyɛł čn hn√č̓u-p=ilg^{w}ɛs čɛł k^{w}u hn-s-y̓c√g^{w}ič-əm
too 1nom-loc-/gone-inch=heart fut 2nom 1G-int-cont/see-m
Too I am lonesome I can (am going to) see you. Beaver. 34

344. ʔɛk^{w}n čɛłk^{w}i?sk̓^{w}íʔm
√ʔɛk^{w}n čɛł k^{w}u hn-s-y̓c-s-√k̓^{w}iʔ-m
/say fut 2nom 1G-int-cont-nom/bite-m
He said now I am going to bite you. Beaver. 156

345. ʔɛk^{w}n čɛł k^{w}i?sčɛšəm šɛ
√ʔɛk^{w}un-n-t-Ø-n čɛł k^{w}u hn-s-y̓c-s√čɛš-m šɛ
/say-d-t-3abs-3erg fut 2nom 1G-int-cont-nom/accompany-m ptcl
She said I will go with you, why not? loseeye.9

Additional examples include the following, based on applicative stems. The first example (346) is a future (*čɛł*) intentional (*s-*) inversion, the second (347) a simple (nonfuture) intentional inversion. Both include the continuative marker:

346. k̓^{w}uk̓^{w}níy̓ɛʔ čɛłk^{w}i?sk̓úl̓łtəm istcək^{w}cəkús.
k̓^{w}k̓^{w}niy̓ɛʔ čɛł k^{w} hn-s-y̓c-s√k̓^{w}ul̓-ł-t-m in-s√čk^{w}(s)+CVC(=us)

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soon fut 2nom 1G-int-cont-nom/make-pra-t-m 2G-nom/drag(=us)
Soon I will fix it for you your hair (Coyote talk). decoy4

347. ɛkústus ck^{w}int k^{w}i?sḱúl̓łtəm.
√?ɛk^{w}un-stu-Ø-s c√k^{w}in-t-Ø k^{w} hn-s-ẏc-s√ḱ^{w}ul̓-ł-t-m
/say-ct-3abs-3erg loc/grab-tr-imp 2nom 1G-int-cont-nom/make-pra-t-m
He told her to give it (to him). 'I will fix it for you.'
[He said to her give it I will fix it for you.] decoy10

I have not myself recorded any future/intentional continuatives, and the forms in Reichard's data are almost exclusively constructed with only first person genitive agents and second person nominative patient arguments. One possible exception has second and third person participants:

348. x^{w}ɛ čɛł i?ć̓ɛ̓məm
x^{w}ɛ čɛł Ø in-s-ẏc√?ɛm-m
det fut 3abs 2G-int-cont/share-m
why shouldst thou be sharing with him? GAR667.766

The presence of the glottal stop is the only suggestion that these might be continuatives; however, their translations are identical to the noncontinuative future/intentional inversions, all including 'will x' or 'going to x' (except 343). More research will be

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necessary to strengthen or refute the analysis of these structures as continuative futures.[78]

4.4.4.4. Future predicate types. Reichard (1938:666) begins her discussion of future constructions in Coeur d'Alene stating that *čɛ́ł* 'may be used of nouns or pronouns which are spoken of as existing in the future, or when implying a future relationship to the subject.' She goes on to say that *čɛ́ł* 'modifies the meaning of verb-complexes and clauses in many ways and often requires the *s*-form of the verb'. Similarly, A. Mattina (1996:239) distinguishes between (predicate) nominals, either possessed or nonpossessed, that follow the Cv-Ok future marker *kł-* 'likely to be', cognate with Cr *čɛ́ł*, and verbs, which are marked for future with the prefix *ks-*.[79]

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[78]It is interesting to note that I have not found any examples in Reichard's data of *non*continuative future inversions with first person genitive/second person nominative arguments (expected form $k^{w}$is + √ derived from k^{w} hn-s-; Reichard 1938:587). An extensive search through her unpublished manuscripts for these will help in determining whether she distinguished between the continuative inversion (čɛ́ł k^{w}i?s < čɛ́ł k^{w}u hn-ẏc-s) and future inversion (čɛ́ł $k^{w}$is < čɛ́ł k^{w}u hn-s) paradigms. (Perhaps she heard all 2-1 inversions as continuatives [with glottal stops].)

[79]A. Mattina 1996 provides data from the Interior languages supporting the distinction between ks- *future*

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In the analysis presented here, there is no evidence of a distinction of such predicate types based on future constructions in Coeur d'Alene. All future constructions follow one of the patterns outlined here (see also appendix A). *čɛɬ* occurs as:

- *čɛɬ* with non-third person intransitives and with all inversion constructions (*s-* intentional on predicates separated from *čɛɬ* by a nominative or genitive pronominal). This is also the default form used if there is no prefix *s-* intentional used in the construction.
- *čɛs* with third person intransitives and with any transitives (*s-* intentional is adjacent to *ɬ* of *čɛɬ* due to lack of pronominal prefixes)
- *čɛy̓* with transitive customary (*čɛɬ s-ʔɛc-√*) and other forms where *čɛɬ* is followed by *s-* intentional and a glottal stop–vowel sequence, either of a root or prefix

The final *ɬ* of *čɛɬ* is retained before *s*-initial roots:[80]

349. k̓ʷúl̓tm čɛɬ sídɛst aɬdárɛnč
√k̓ʷul̓-t-Ø-m čɛɬ √sidɛst aɬ√dar=ɛnč
/make-t-3abs-nte fut /night (sun)
They made him (into) the moon. 8.15

---

and kɬ- *to-be*, and thus an argument for a distinction between verbs and nouns.

[80]Recall restrictions on deletion rules regarding root segments, section 2.x.x.

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The only distinction that can be made among future constructions is whether or not an *s-* occurs with the stem, and this is true of stems that translate to English as nouns (compare 350a and 350b) or verbs (compare 351a and 351b):

350. a. čɛł k^{w}u ul ʔɛ́ng^{w}ɛt
čɛł k^{w}u ul √ʔɛng^{w}t
fut 2nom poss /person
(They) are to belong to thee. GAR666.757

b. čɛł ul isníḱ^{w}ɛləmx^{w}
čɛł ul Ø in-s√niḱ^{w}=ilmx^{w}
fut poss 3abs 2G-nom/one=people
They are to belong to thy tribe. GAR666.757
It will be for thy tribe. GAR592.377

351. a. lu čɛł tq^{w}aʔq^{w}əʔɛlmístx^{w} (xref)
√lut čɛł t-CVC+√q^{w}ɛʔl-min-stu-Ø-x^{w}
/neg fut loc-distr+√speak-rel-ct-3abs-2erg
You don't talk about it. 90.186ms

b. lu čɛspúlpulustx^{w} (xref)
√lut čɛł s-CVC+√pulut-stu-Ø-x^{w}
/neg fut int-distr+/beat-ct-3abs-2erg
Don't kill/punish them (the children). 90.851n

The problem reduces to one of identifying which roots/stems require an *s-* prefix, and what that *s-* prefix does. Some additional examples of futures with *s-* (352, 353) and without (354-356):

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352. hɔi kuṁ nɛʔ šIł č̓əč̓ɛṅɛʔ *časlá?aχ*^{W}
hɔy k^{W}uṁ nɛʔ šił C$_1$+√č̓ɛṅ-ɛʔ čɛł s√laχ^{W}-<ʔ>
then then irr just dim/small fut int/dawn-<inch>
And then just a little it will be day. shst.71

353. hɔi ʔɛk^{W}ústus łɛ guł tItík^{W}ɛʔɛs nɛʔ šIł nɛk̓^{W}
ałdárɛnč ła *čɛ́łhIsč̓úu*
hɔi √ʔɛk^{W}n-stu-Ø-s łɛ g^{W}ł C$_1$+√tik^{W}ɛʔ-s nɛʔ šił
√nɛk̓^{W} ał√dar=inč łɛ čɛł Ø hn-s√č̓u
then /say-ct-3abs-3erg det pl dim/aunt-3G irr just
/one (month) det fut 3abs 1G-int/gone
He told his little aunties just one month I will be
gone. shst.71

354. a. čɛł čənənq̓^{W}əq̓^{W}ɔsṁí.[81]
čɛł čn (h)n+C$_1$√q̓^{W}usṁ=íčn=šin
fut 1nom loc-dim√wrinkle-m=back=foot
I will be a dog. trunk.21

b. čɛł Inq̓uq̓usmíčnšən.
čɛł (h)n-C$_1$√q̓^{W}us-m=íčn=šin
fut loc-dim√wrinkle-m=back=foot
He will be a dog. trunk.136

355. k^{W}uṁ nɛʔ k^{W}u· ṅúłx^{W} nɛʔ číłcIt *čɛłiiċ́íłn* ła
sInč̓ɛlšɛlps
k^{W}uṁ nɛʔ k^{W}u √ṅułx^{W} nɛʔ √čił-t-si-t čɛł Ø
hii-c√ʔiłn łɛ s-n√č̓ɛlš=ilps

---

[81]The final segments of this form have been truncated; see section 2.3.3.1.

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then irr 2nom /enter irr /give-t-2acc-nte fut 3abs instr-loc/eat det nom-loc/dk=throat
When you enter you will be given something to eat, hardtack. beaver.99

356. kuṁ ła ʔatčnɛ́ḵʷɛʔ číłtəm ła *čałt́ápɛmɪs*
kʷuṁ łɛ ʔɛ tɛč √nɛ́ḵʷɛʔ √číł-t-Ø-m łɛ čɛł Ø √t́ap=min-s
then det agt from /one /give-t-3abs-nte det fut 3abs /shoot=instr-3G
Then by another (power) he was given an arrow. shst82

Reichard provides two forms that include *čɛł* twice and notes that in these cases '*čɛł* functions as a verbal element as well as a nominal one' (1938:667.767); her meaning is not clear. The forms she provides are complex; my analysis of each is given in 357. Note that *s-* occurs with four out of five instances of *čɛł* in these two examples.

357. a. čɛł-č-s-čał-qɛl-íłcɛʔ
čɛł č s-čɛł√qɛl=íĺcɛʔ
fut 1pnom int-fut/fresh=meat
in order that we may get what will be fresh meat

b. lutɛ-čɛ-s-lút.s čɛ-s-čɛý-ənís-s
√lut hɛ čɛł Ø s√lut-s čɛł Ø s-čɛł-s√ʔɛnis-s
/neg sub fut 3abs int/neg-3G fut 3abs int-fut-int/go-3G

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she *must* go, not the her would refusing to the future her going[82]

I suggest that these double futures are the result of reapplication of future, that is, a future of a future, with no necessary implications for a noun/verb distinction.

4.4.5. Summary. Coeur d'Alene has three particles that distinguish immediate futures, irrealis predications, and futures. Immediate futures are formed with *ǩʷnɛʔ* preceding an intransitive or transitive predicate or a determiner phrase. Irrealis constructions are *nɛʔ* + predicate sequences built on intransitive or transitive predicates, and occurring as main clauses or within determiner phrases. Immediate futures may cooccur with irrealis forms and with futures.

In future constructions, the particle čɛł precedes an intransitive, transitive, or inversion predicate. Often, though not consistently, this predicate includes the prefix *s-* intentional, which may also be used alone. The presence of *s-* is not predictable.

Future constructions have some interesting restrictions. Intransitive futures may occur in main or subordinate clauses, and in any aspect. Transitive futures do not occur as main clauses, and may be

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[82]My own translation, perhaps a bit less awkward: 'She cannot refuse (it), it will be that she will go.' A. Mattina (1996:243) indicates that the first predicate in this example is parallel to an idiomatic structure in Okanagan, akin to English 'no ifs, ands, or buts'.

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restricted to use only in the completive and customary aspects, not in the continuative. Future inversion constructions may also be limited to noncontinuative aspects, thus complementing the genitive inversions (4.3) which occur primarily in the continuative aspect. Like the genitive inversions, the future inversions are based on intransitive and applicative stems. However, there is some evidence that simple transitives may serve as bases for future inversions.

The subject is the only syntactic relation of the future inversion, just as it is in the continuative inversion. In both constructions, the subject is patient, just as it is in intransitive futures and continuatives; however, an agent may be included on the predicate in the form of a genitive pronominal in inversion constructions. Applicative inversions have possessor, beneficiary, or dative subjects, and again agents are identified via genitive pronominals. Roles and relations in continuative and future constructions are summarized in appendix A.

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5. Nonpronominal argument specifiers and referentials. As has been claimed for other Salishan languages, only pronominal arguments (subjects and objects) occur in Coeur d'Alene (section 3; see Jelinek and Demers 1994). Nonpronominals are used for specification of predicate arguments and they are used as referentials or classifiers to introduce participants other than subject and object. There are three types of nonpronominal specifiers: adjoined clauses, or adjuncts; nonadjoined clauses; and lexical affixes. I first describe the structure and use of adjuncts (5.1). Next, I briefly describe nonadjoined clauses (5.2) especially with regard to how they contrast with adjoined clauses. Finally, I describe the use of lexical affixes (5.3).

5.1. Adjoined clauses. Adjoined clauses, or adjuncts, are optional structures used to specify the pronominal arguments of the predicate. They may also be used to introduce additional participants not indicated by pronominals on the predicate, or they may function as prepositional phrases. They are composed of a determiner, or a determiner plus one of a number of particles, followed by a fully inflected predicate.

5.1.1. Structure of determiner phrases. Adjoined clauses are determiner phrases; the simplest are predicates preceded by a determiner. The predicate following the determiner may be simple, either transitive or intransitive, or it may be complex, including a predicate followed by a dependent or subordinate predicate (5.1.1.1). The determiner may also be followed by an oblique case marker (5.1.1.2). A determiner

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homophonous with the oblique may be used without another determiner as an indication of indefiniteness or as a preposition (5.1.1.3). Examples of each adjunct type is followed by a dicussion of how they are used to specify grammatical relations (5.1.2).

5.1.1.1. Determiner plus predicate. The Coeur d'Alene determiners are *x^{w}ɛ*, *cɛ* and *łɛ*. The distinction between *x^{w}ɛ* and *łɛ* is purportedly one of proximity: *x^{w}ɛ* is near, *łɛ* is far; *cɛ* is somewhere in between. The reference is relative not only to place but to discourse context.

The determiner is followed by a fully inflected predicate; again, the null third person intransitive subjects are not indicated in the following transcriptions:

358. uł hinɛ́pt x^{w}ɛ cəcɛ́tx^{w}.
uł hn√nɛpt x^{w}ɛ C_1+√cɛtx^{w}
again loc√pl.enter det_1 dim/house
They went into the(ir) house. 12.14

359. g^{w}íčtəm łɛ ʔiċək^{w}ínəmš
√g^{w}ič-t-Ø-m łɛ ẏc-√ċk^{w}in-m-š
/see-t-3abs-3erg det_3 cont/run-m-š
He was seen running ... shst47

360. ʔáċχn x^{w}ɛ hnqínɛʔ
√ʔaċχ-n-t-Ø-n x^{w}ɛ hn√qínɛʔ
/look.at-d-t-3abs-1erg det_1 1G/grandmother
I watched my grandmother. 7.19.1

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361. kʷílntm xʷɛ tmíxʷəl̓mxʷ
√kʷil-n-t-Ø-m xʷɛ √tmixʷ=ul̓mxʷ
/spray-d-t-3abs-3erg det$_1$ /land=earth
They spray the ground/land. 7.3.1

362. hɔi uɬxúi łɛ cɛ̓txʷs
hɔy uɬ √xʷuy łɛ √cɛtxʷ-s
then again /go det$_3$ /house-3G
Then again he went to his house. Beaver.74

A number of particles, such as the plural *gʷɛɬ*, may intervene between the determiner and the predicate:

363. gʷɛɬ χɛ̓st xʷɛ gʷɛɬ sẃáɬ̓
gʷɛɬ √χɛs-t xʷɛ gʷɛɬ s√ẃaɬ̓
pl /good-dur det$_1$ pl nom/cougar
The cougars are good. 16.3

While the proper name in 364 occurs with a determiner, often proper names occur alone, without a determiner, as in 365:

364. hɔi kuṁ čəšípəntəm ła cɛɬʷcínčn̓.
hɔy kʷuṁ √čɛš=ip-n-t-Ø-m łɛ (name of C's child)
and then /accompany=rear-d-t-3abs-3erg det$_3$ (name)
And then he was chased, (name of Coyote's child).
Shst.22

365. ʔɛcʔɛkʷústm ǰìsɔkrí
ʔɛc√ʔɛkʷun-st-Ø-m Jesus Christ
cust/say-ct-3abs-nte Jesus Christ

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They call him Jesus Christ;
His name is Jesus Christ. Raven55

In all data I have recorded, *x^{W}ɛ* is the most common determiner; in the texts recorded by Reichard (ms.), *łɛ* occurs far more frequently. Reichard (1938:656.708) refers to the relatively rare third proximal determiner, *cɛ* 'near thee'. I have recorded only a few examples of this form; its use in 366 and 367 suggests a meaning more like 'in relation to s.t. identified', neither here (*x^{W}ɛ*) nor there (*łɛ*) nor near you. In 366, the determiner phrases are compound (with *híł*) and preposed:

366. x^{W}ɛ ʔɛ núnɛʔs Alberta hił cɛ pípɛʔs Ernest ʔɛtuʔsp̓ɛk^{W}əlɛʔ, ʔɛcʔɛk^{W}ústm "golf", tɛč ɛ (Coulee Dam).
x^{W}ɛ ʔɛ √nunɛʔ-s Alberta hił cɛ √pipɛʔ-s Ernest ʔɛc-tuʔ-s√p̓ɛk^{W}lɛʔ ʔɛc√ʔɛk^{W}un-stu-Ø-m golf tɛč hɛ (Coulee Dam)
det$_1$ obl /mother-3G Alberta and det$_2$ /father-3G Ernest cust-mut-nom/ball cust/say-ct-3abs-3erg golf prep dep (Coulee Dam)
Their mother Alberta and their father Ernest, they're playing ball, it's called "golf", over at (Coulee Dam). wellpinit.110

367. k^{W}um̓ x^{W}iy̓ɛ stiʔs k̓^{W}axqíṅčtIs hinsaq̓íẇɛłtəm lut x^{W}ɛ ʔɛ ntx^{W}iʔ cɛ ʔułmɛi̓ciʔ.
k^{W}um̓ √x^{W}iʔ hɛ s√tiʔ-s √k̓^{W}aχ=qin=ičt-s<̓> hn√saq̓=iẇɛs-ł-t-Ø-əm √lut x^{W}ɛ ʔɛ n-t√x^{W}iʔ cɛ uł√mɛi̓√ciʔ

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then /prox$_1$ dep nom/thing-3G /claw=head=hand-3G-<dim> loc/split=between-pra-t-3abs-nte /neg det$_1$ obl loc-loc/prox$_1$ **det$_2$ again/from/prox$_2$**

The he wedged something between his toes, not in this here but in **that there.**

[Then this thing on his toes caught between not in this here but in that there.] beaver. 98

A complex predicate may follow the determiner. Complex predicates are those that include a subordinate or dependent clause, indicated by the use of the particle *hɛ*. These are attributive constructions, for example of possession, quality, relation or number; the first clause within the determiner phrase modifies the second:

368. x^{w}uyš, tu?sk^{w}ínt x^{w}ɛ inχípɛ? ɛ smíɬx^{w}

√x^{w}uy-š tu?-s√k^{w}in-t-Ø-Ø x^{w}ɛ in√χipɛ? hɛ s√miɬx^{w}

/go-imp mut-int/grab-t-3abs-imp det$_1$ 2G/grandfather dep nom/tobacco

Go on, go get your grandfather's tobacco!

90.211ms

369. ḱ^{w}ḱ^{w}ɛ? čn ččɛńɛ? x^{w}ɛ čn q^{w}ɛʕ^{w}q^{w}ɛʕ^{w}t hɛ čišəšíẃtm.

C$_1$√ḱ^{w}ɛ? čn C$_1$√čɛńɛ? x^{w}ɛ čn √q^{w}ɛʕ^{w}+CVC-t hɛ čn s-C$_1$√šiẃt-m

dim/yet 1nom dim/small det$_1$ 1nom /crazy+aug-stat dep 1nom nom-dim/girl-m

When I was young, I was a crazy little girl.

snoose.1

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370. ʔɛčˀnáχəncɛs x^{w}ə hnq̓ínɛʔ ɛ Laura
ʔɛc√čɛˀn=aχn-t-sɛ-s x^{w}ɛ hn√q̓ínɛʔ hɛ Laura
cust/grab=arm-t-1acc-3erg det_1 1G/grda dep Laura
My granddaughter Laura grabbed me by the arm.
wellpinit.6

371. g^{w}níc x^{w}ɛ čnɛk̓^{w}ɛʔ hɛ maʔməʔá.
√g^{w}nit-t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ č√nɛk̓^{w}ɛʔ hɛ √maʔ+CVC=a[lqs]
/call-t-3abs-3erg det_1 loc/one dep (nun)
She called another sister. 90.208ms

5.1.1.2. Determiner plus oblique plus predicate. The determiner may be followed by the oblique case marker *ʔɛ*:

372. tx^{w}ɛct x^{w}ɛ ʔɛcɛtx^{w}s.
t√x^{w}ɛc-t x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ √cɛtx^{w}-s
loc/pass.by-res det_1 obl /house-3G
He passed his house. dwarf18

373. nák̓^{w}sq̓it łɛ ɛʔɛx^{w}úsəˀnc.
√nɛk̓^{w}=asq̓it łɛ ʔɛ √ʔɛx^{w}us-n-t-Ø-s-<ʔ>
/one=day det_3 obl /look.for-s-t-3abs-3erg-<dim>
A whole day he looked for it. dwarf6

374. hɔi x^{w}ɛt̓pəntəm ła ʔasmaχíʔčˀn k̓^{w}íʔntəm.
hɔy √x^{w}ɛt̓-p-n-t-Ø-m łɛ ʔɛ s√maχ=í<ʔ>čˀn √k̓^{w}iʔ-n-t-Ø-m
then /flee-nvol-d-t-3abs-nte det_3 obl nom/(Grizzly) /bite-d-t-3abs-nte
Then he was hurried by Grizzly, he was chewed up.
Beaver15

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375. ʔáyχʷət xʷɛ Ernie xʷɛ ʔɛ sp̓ɛkʷlɛʔ
√ʔayχʷ-t xʷɛ Ernie xʷɛ ʔɛ s√p̓ɛkʷlɛʔ
/tire-res det$_1$ Ernie det$_1$ obl nom/ball
Ernie was tired from golfing. wellpinit.126

Reichard (1938:591.371) identifies *ʔɛ* as a prepositional prefix; however, the status of *ʔɛ* as a particle is evident where it occurs before the nominative, itself a particle:

376. ʔɛcm̓iʔm̓iʔšícit xʷɛ ʔɛ č lí.
ʔɛc√m̓ɛy̓+CVC-ši-t-si-t xʷɛ ʔɛ č √lipust
CUST/report+aug-b-t-2acc-nte/1perg det$_1$ obl 1pnom /indep
We tell you stories. mey154

5.1.1.3. Oblique plus predicate. The oblique particle can be used without a preceding determiner:[83]

377. gʷnítmš ʔɛ wlwlím
√gʷnit-m-š ʔɛ CVC√wlim
/ask.for-m-imp obl aug/metal
Ask for some money! 90.254ln

378. číɬšicɛs ʔə st̓əšá.
/čiɬ-ši-t-sɛ-s ʔɛ s/t̓ɛš=astq
/give-b-t-1acc-3erg obl nom/sweet=crop
She gave me huckleberries. 14 3 . 1

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[83]There is no evidence to suggest that this particle is not the same as that used as the oblique case marker.

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379. čicx^{w}úyšicəs ʔə sɬəšá.
čic/x^{w}uy-ši-t-sɛ-s ʔɛ s/ɬɛš=astq
loc/go-b-t-1acc-3erg obl nom/sweet=crop
She brought me huckleberries. 14 3 . 2

380. laʔχ^{w} ɬ^{w}nɛʔ čn níčm a slíṗ tg^{w}ɛl̓ cɛtx^{w}
√laʔχ^{w} ɬ^{w}nɛʔ čn √nič-m ʔɛ s√liṗ tg^{w}ɛl̓ √cɛtx^{w}
/dawn soon 1nom /cut-m obl nom/wood because /house
Tomorrow I'll cut wood for the house. 7.10.1

381. hɔi tɛl̓cíʔ k^{w}íntəm ʔa čiistʕín kuṁ x^{w}ɛɬ̓p.
hɔy tɛl̓√ciʔ √k^{w}in-n-t-Ø-m ʔɛ čy√stʕin k^{w}uṁ
√x^{w}ɛɬ̓-p
then from/this /take-d-t-3abs-nte obl child/antelope
then run-inch
Then farther it was taken by Antelope's child, and
he ran. shst26

382. pɛ́k^{w}ntm ʔɛ čɛsn
√pɛk^{w}-n-t-Ø-m ʔɛ √čɛsn
/lay.pl.rd.objs-d-t-3abs-nte obl /lice
A lot of lice piled on him.

5.1.1.4. Determiner plus particle. Particles indicating direction or location may follow the determiner in adjoined clauses.

383. a. čɛt?ɛ́miš x^{w}ɛ tṗuẏṗúẏšis
čɛt√ʔɛm-iš x^{w}ɛ t√ṗuẏ+CVC=šin-s
loc/sit-dev det$_{1}$ loc/pleat+aug=foot-3G
He got in his car. 14.6

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b. čn dɛx^{w}t x^{w}ɛ tɛl̓ tp̓uy̓p̓úy̓šn
čn √dɛx^{w}-t x^{w}ɛ tɛl̓ t√p̓uy̓+CVC=šin
1nom /drop-res det$_1$ from loc/pleat+aug=foot
I fell out of the car. 14.10

These phrases with locative or directional particles are not coreferential with arguments of a preceding predicate:

384. a. ci?$_i$ x^{w}ɛ číɬn$_i$
√ci? x^{w}ɛ √čiɬ-n-t-Ø-n
/prox$_2$ det$_1$ /give-d-t-3abs-1erg
That's what I gave him. 14.19

b. ci?$_i$ x^{w}ɛ hisg^{w}íč$_i$ x^{w}ɛ tg^{w}ɛl̓ c̓ɛnil
√ci? x^{w}ɛ hn-s√g^{w}ič x^{w}ɛ tg^{w}ɛl̓ √c̓ɛnil
/prox$_2$ det$_1$ 1G-nom/see det$_1$ for /3person
That's what I found for him. 14.19

385. x^{w}ɛ hnkə́sin$_i$ naq̓^{w}nc$_{i,j}$ x^{w}ɛ st̓šá$_j$ x^{w}ɛ tɛl̓ Annie črɛ́mqn
x^{w}ɛ hn√(cousin) √naq̓^{w}-n-t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ s√t̓š=astq x^{w}ɛ tɛl̓ Annie Cheremkin
det 1G/cousin /steal-d-t-3abs-3erg det$_1$ /huckleberry det$_1$ from Annie Cheremkin
My cousin stole the berries from Annie Cheremkin. 14.11

Since they do not specify subject or object grammatical relations, they will not be discussed further here.

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5.1.2. Cross referencing. Adjuncts are cross referenced with pronominal arguments on the predicate.[84] Adjunct use by clause type is described in the following sections (5.1.2.1 through 5.1.2.3; also 5.1.3) and is summarized in the tables in appendix A. In general, determiner adjuncts represent absolutives and definite obliques; determiner oblique adjuncts represent ergatives and obliques; oblique adjuncts represent obliques or indefinite ergatives or absolutives.

5.1.2.1. Intransitive predicates. The determiner adjuncts refer to absolutive arguments; exceptions are predictable and are based on the person of the subject, or on the animacy or potential agency of the adjoined clause. Other adjunct types in intransitive constructions refer either to intransitive patients or obliques, that is, anything that is not absolutive.

5.1.2.1.1. Determiner adjuncts. The determiner adjuncts are composed of one of the determiners plus a fully inflected predicate. These are generally cross

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[84]Bloomfield (1933:193) defines cross-reference as a type of agreement in which "the subclasses contain an actual mention of the forms with which they are joined. This mention is in the shape of a substitute-form, resembling our pronouns." Blake's (1994:197) interpretation is more in keeping with the analysis presented here. He states that "the pronominal marking can represent an argument and a noun phrase representing the subject or possessor or whatever relation is cross-referenced can be omitted."

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referenced in intransitive constructions with the third person absolutive subject, regardless of the subject's role as agent or patient, and regardless of the aspect of the main clause:

386. ʔicg^{w}ɛ́lp x^{w}ɛ syɔ́lalq^{w}
ʔic√g^{w}ɛl-p x^{w}ɛ s√yul=alq^{w}
cont/burn-invl det$_1$ (forest)
The forest is burning; forest fire. 6.7

387. ciʔ x^{w}ɛ čɛɬ isng^{w}ɛnníx^{w}ɛnɛʔm.
√ciʔ x^{w}ɛ čɛɬ in-s-n√g^{w}ɛnix^{w}+C$_2$=inɛʔ-m
/prox2 det$_1$ fut 2G-nom-loc/true+ncr=ear-m
He is the one to believe in. raven56

388. nmál̓p x^{w}ɛ ʔúsɛʔ
n√mal̓-p x^{w}ɛ √ʔusɛʔ
loc/boil-invl det$_1$ /egg
The egg became boiled. 16.5

389. č̓am̓ ɛ·c̓ɛ́mut ɬɛ smíy̓ɛm.
č̓am̓ ʔɛc√ʔɛm-ut ɬɛ s√miy̓m
just cust/sit-pt det$_3$ nom/woman
His wife was staying home.
(just staying home his wife.) dwarf.11

390. yilmíx^{w}m x^{w}ɛ smiyíw
√ylmix^{w}-m x^{w}ɛ s√myiw
/chief-m det$_1$ nom/coyote
Coyote was chief. 9.28

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391. ʔɛkʷn xʷɛ Ernie nɛʔ tuy̓áć̓χntmɛt xʷɛ Dusty ...
√ʔɛkʷun xʷɛ Ernie nɛʔ tuʔ-s√ʔać̓χ-n-t-Ø-mɛt xʷɛ Dusty
/say det_1 Ernie irr mut-nom/look.at-d-t-3abs-1perg det_1 Dusty
Ernie said we will go and see Dusty ... 90.121ms

If the subject is not third person, the determiner adjunct indicates an oblique intransitive patient; in these cases, the subject is necessarily agent:

392. kʷu y̓tɛgʷmínšɛš xʷɛ nχalacɛ
kʷ y̓c√tigʷ-min-šɛš xʷɛ nχalacɛʔ
2Nom cont/buy-rel-indef det_1 (raspberry)
You are buying (for us) raspberries. 90.203ln

393. nɛʔ kʷ wíšm xʷɛ sntc̓ɛ́ʕʷmɪn
nɛʔ kʷ √wiš-m xʷɛ s-n-t/c̓ɛʕʷ-min
irr 2nom /build-m det_1 nom-usit-loc/pray-instr
You build a church. raven.49

Since the sentences in 392 and 393 do not include a third person absolutive, the subject does not need further specification: it's either you or me. The referent of the adjunct defaults to an oblique nonabsolutive participant not indicated on the main predicate.

In simple inversions, the determiner adjunct also refers to the absolutive subject, which in these constructions is assigned the role of patient:

394. χamínčsilš xʷɛ sqíltč
Ø √χaminč-s-ilš xʷɛ s√qiltč

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3abs /like-3G-3pl det_1 nom/meat
They enjoyed meat. 9.21

Note that in the second person, the absolutive relation is assigned nominative case:

395. čIcʔɛ́k^{w}n hɔi k^{w}u x^{w}íʔc łɛ k^{w}u smIyíw ...
čic√ʔɛ́k^{w}n hɔy k^{w}u √x^{w}iʔt-s łɛ k^{w}u s√myiw
dir/say then 2nom /attack-3G det_3 2nom nom/coyote
She said then you are going to get it you Coyote ...
Beaver.206

If an intransitive predicate is locative or if the adjunct refers to a place, the determiner adjunct may indicate a nonabsolutive destination or source. In 396 and 397, for example, the inanimacy of the adjuncts render them incapable of performing the predicate actions, and thus they cannot be coreferent with the null third person absolutive subjects.

396. uł hinnɛ́pt x^{w}ɛ cəcɛ́tx^{w}.
uł hn√nɛpt x^{w}ɛ C_1+√cɛtx^{w}
again loc√pl.enter det_1 dim+/house
They went (back) into their (little) house. 12.14

397. hɔi ułxúi łɛ cɛtx^{w}s
hɔy uł√xuy łɛ √cɛtx^{w}-s
then again/go det_3 /house-3G
Then again he went to his house ... beaver. 74

398. təl hng^{w}ɛ́nt łɛ hicpúʔs.
tɛl hn√g^{w}ɛn-t łɛ hn-c√puʔs

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from loc√bottom-stat det_3 1G-loc/heart
From the bottom of my heart. 12 1 . 7

Adjunct inanimacy also makes the following sentence ungrammatical: In 399, the *-m* suffix indicates agency (see section 4.1.2.6). Here, the inanimate (and thus nonagentive) participant in a determiner phrase cannot be coreferent with the absolutive.

399. *čɛtṗɛ̓nm $x^{w}ɛ$ slip̓
[the wood piled itself]

However, the parallel construction of 400 is considered odd, but not ungrammatical; compare with 388 and 399:

400. nmál̓m $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔúsɛʔ
n√mal̓-m $x^{w}ɛ$ √ʔusɛʔ
loc/boil-m det_1 /egg
The egg boiled itself. 16.5

Apparently, the egg has a greater degree of animacy than the wood, and thus a higher potential for agency, so it is not ungrammatical for it to be cross referenced with the absolutive subject.

5.1.2.1.2. Determiner oblique adjuncts. The determiner plus oblique predicate adjunct can not refer to an intransitive subject, but instead refers to an oblique participant, one not cross referenced with the pronominal argument of the main predicate. This construction may indicate a patient, as does the determiner adjunct under

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the conditions described in the previous section, that is, when the subject is not third person:

401. hɔy čn ʔácχ $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ swínš.
hɔy čn √ʔacχ $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ s√winš
so 1nom /look.at det_1 obl nom/war.dance
So I watched the war dance. wellpinit.11

402. $k̓^{w}ɛy̓$ čɪnšíẃtəmɛs $k^{w}um̓$ čɪn̓cg^{w}íč łɛ ʔɛ cɪcɛ́m̓ɛ
ałq̓íc̓ɛnč g^{w}ul̓šamšamáẃasalqs
$k̓^{w}ɛy̓$ čn √šiẃ-t-m-ɛs $k^{w}um̓$ čn ʔɛc√g^{w}ič łɛ ʔɛ
C_1√cɛm̓ɛʔ ał√q̓ic̓=ɛnč g^{w}ɛł
ʔɛc√šɛm+CVC=iẃɛs=alqs
yet 1nom /girl-stat-mdl-temp and 1nom cust/see det_3
obl dim√little (snake) pl
cust/between+aug=between=end
Still when I was a girl then I used to see the little ones snakes (on both ends they had heads). snakes . 16

Alternatively, it may serve as a preposition introducing an instrument, location or time:

403. ʔáyχ^{w}ət $x^{w}ɛ$ Ernie $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ sp̓ɛk^{w}lɛʔ
√ʔayχ^{w}-t $x^{w}ɛ$ Ernie $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ s√p̓ɛk^{w}lɛʔ
/be.tired-res det_1 Ernie det_1 obl nom/ball
Ernie was tired from golfing. wellpinit.126

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404. uɬx^{w}úy ɬuẇɛ tɛč sík^{w}ɛʔ tx^{w}ɛct x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ catx^{w}s[85].
uɬ√x^{w}uy ɬuʔ hɛ tɛč √sik^{w}ɛʔ t√x^{w}ɛc-t x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ √cɛtx^{w}-s
again/go prox2 sub toward /water loc/pass.by-res
det$_1$ obl /house-3G
Again he went toward the water he passed his house.
dwarf.18

405. hɔi uɬšɛ̓ləm ɬa ʔa tmalḱ^{w}má.
hɔy uɬ√šɛl-m ɬɛ ʔɛ t√mɛlḱ^{w}-m=asqit
then again/chop-m det$_3$ obl loc/whole-m=day
Then again he chopped all day long. Beaver. 65

406. čn q̓^{w}ɛ́lncut x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ tp̓úlp̓ulḱ^{w}ɛcɛʔ
čn √q̓^{w}ɛl-n-t-sut x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ t√p̓ulḱ^{w}+CVC=iċɛʔ
1nom /burn-d-t-rflx det$_1$ obl loc/fold+aug=all.over
I got burned by a cigarette. 16.4

The determiner oblique adjunct may also indicate a definite patient; the following example is in the continuative aspect:

407. ʔiíɬn x^{w}ə ʔa st̓šá
ẏc√ʔiɬn x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ s√t̓š=astq
cont/eat det$_1$ obl nom/sweet=crop
He's eating the huckleberries.

5.1.2.1.3. Oblique adjuncts. When used without a determiner, the oblique marker indicates an indefinite patient in intransitive constructions. As with other

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[85]This vowel is as recorded by Reichard (ms). The expected form is *cɛtx^{w}s* 'his house'.

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intransitive patients, there is no cross referencing with the main predicate.

408. ʔíɬn ʔa scáqm
√ʔiɬn ʔɛ s√caqm
/eat obl nom/strawberry
He ate strawberries.

409. ciʔ ɬ čəʔíɬn ʔɛ snc̓áχ^{w}l̓əmx^{w}
√ciʔ ɬ č √ʔiɬn ʔɛ s-n√c̓aχ=ul̓mx^{w}
/prox$_2$ conn 1pnom /eat obl nom/loc/fry=ground
That's where we ate fried bread. wellpinit.50

410. nmál̓m ʔɛ ʔúsɛʔ
n√mal̓-m ʔɛ √ʔusɛʔ
loc/boil-m obl /egg
She boiled eggs. 16.5

411. čɛtp̓ɛn̓m ʔɛ slip̓
čɛt√p̓ɛn̓-m ʔɛ slip̓
loc/pl.long.objs.lie-m obl /wood
He loaded (the wagon with) wood. 16.4

In the following future intransitive construction (see section 4.5.4.1), the oblique adjunct indicates a definite rather than indefinite entity that serves as agent:

412. čɛɬ ku stəqəqənúnm ʔɛ člípust.
čɛɬ k^{w}u s√tɛq+C$_2$-nun-m ʔɛ č √lipust

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fut 2nom int/deceive+ncr-succ-m obl 1pnom /person
We are going to fool you;
You are going to be fooled by us. nun2.78

5.1.2.1.4. Summary. In intransitive constructions, the three types of adjunct serve three functions: to specify a third person absolutive subject; to indicate an intransitive patient; to indicate a prepositional phrase.

The determiner adjuncts are most commonly interpreted as coreferent with the subject if that subject is the third person absolutive. However, the animacy of the adjunct must be semantically consistent with the action of the main predicate, or coreference of absolutive and adjunct is prohibited.

If the subject is not third person, the determiner adjunct will indicate an intransitive patient. And if a third person subject occurs with a locative predicate, or if a predicate requires an agent but occurs with an inanimate determiner adjunct, the adjunct will be interpreted as a source or destination rather than as agent; the role of agent will fall to the subject.

The determiner plus oblique adjuncts generally serve as prepositional phrases or identify definite intransitive patients; they are not coreferent with main predicate arguments. The oblique adjuncts generally refer to indefinite intransitive patients, and may also function as prepositional phrases.

5.1.2.2. Transitive predicates. In transitive sentences, the determiner adjuncts again refer to the absolutive. The determiner oblique adjunct, if animate, will be coindexed with the ergative argument. If it is

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not animate, the determiner oblique adjunct serves as a prepositional phrase. Oblique adjuncts refer to nontopic ergative subjects if animate, and to indefinite objects if inanimate.

5.1.2.2.1. Determiner adjuncts. The absolutive argument of a transitive predicate is consistently cross referenced with a determiner adjunct:

413. ʔác̓xn x^{w}ɛ hnqínɛʔ
√ʔac̓x-n-t-Ø-n x^{w}ɛ hn√qínɛʔ
/look.at-d-t-3abs-1erg det$_1$ 1G/grandmother
I watched my grandmother. 7.19.1

414. nɛʔ ʔɛk^{w}ústx^{w} x^{w}ɛ inuk^{w}sčínt.
nɛʔ /ʔɛk^{w}n-stu-Ø-x^{w} x^{w}ɛ in-nuk^{w}-s/čint
irr /say-ct-3abs-2erg det$_1$ 2G-coll-nom/indian
You tell all your people. Raven.6

415. ʔɛk^{w}n x^{w}ɛ Ernie nɛʔ tuy̓ác̓xntmɛt x^{w}ɛ Dusty ...
√ʔɛk^{w}un x^{w}ɛ Ernie nɛʔ tuʔ-s√ʔac̓x-n-t-Ø-mɛt x^{w}ɛ Dusty
/say det$_1$ Ernie irr mut-nom/look.at-d-t-3abs-1perg det$_1$ Dusty
Ernie said we will go and see Dusty ... 90.121ms

This is true whether the transitive is in a main clause (416 and preceding examples) or subordinate clause (417):

416. a. k̓^{w}k̓^{w}ítn̓ k̓^{w}iʔtnc x^{w}ɛ smaχíčn̓
C$_1$+√k̓^{w}itn̓ √k̓^{w}iʔ-t-n-t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ s√maχ=ičn̓

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dim+/mouse /gnaw-ua-d-t-3abs-3erg det$_1$
nom/(grizzly)
A small mouse chewed on the bear.

b. nʕúsntx^w x^{w}ɛ wlwlím
hn√ʕus-n-t-Ø-x^w x^{w}ɛ √wlim+CVC
loc/lose-d-t-3abs-2erg det$_1$ /metal+aug
You lost your money.

417. a. ʔɛcmɛymiysn x^{w}ɛ čɛsk̓^{w}úl̓n x^{w}ɛ słáq^{w}qn
ʔɛc√mɛy+CVC-stu-Ø-n x^{w}ɛ čɛł s√k̓^{w}ul̓-n-t-Ø-n
x^{w}ɛ s√łaq^w=qin
cust/know+aug-ct-3abs-1erg det$_1$ fut int/work-d-
t-3abs-1erg det$_1$ nom/hang=top
I know how to make a bark basket. 90.109ln

b. lut hɛ čɛsʕúsntx^w x^{w}ɛ isqíl̓tmx^w
√lut hɛ čɛł s√ʕus-n-t-Ø-x^w x^{w}ɛ in-s√qil̓tmx^w
/neg sub fut int/lose-d-t-3abs-3erg det$_1$ 2G-
nom/man
Don't lose your man. 90.187ms

Even where the absolutive is not third person, and is actually marked in the accusative case, the determiner adjunct may be cross referenced with it; in 418 this is clearly indicated by second person marking on both the predicate object and the adjunct:

418. nɛʔ χɛt̓əncən ła ʔIsqíltč.
√χɛt̓-n-t-si-n łɛ in-s√qiltč
/gnaw-d-t-2acc-1erg det$_3$ 2G-nom/meat
I will gnaw your flesh. beaver.206

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However, where the absolutive is not third person and the determiner adjunct does not agree with it, the determiner adjunct by default will be cross referenced with a third person argument:

419. čick^{w}íncɛs x^{w}ɛ smłič
čic√k^{w}in-t-sɛ-s x^{w}ɛ s√młič
dir/take-t-1abs-3erg det$_1$ nom/salmon
The salmon brought me over. 14.25

If the determiner adjunct is the only animate third person, it will be coindexed with the subject agent:

420. ṅɛčístus x^{w}ɛ p̓ɛk^{w}lɛʔ x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ mímš x^{w}ɛ ǰɔn
hn√ʔɛčin-stu-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ √p̓ɛk^{w}lɛʔ x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ √mimš x^{w}ɛ √ǰɔn
loc/do.with-ct-3abs-3erg det$_1$ /ball det$_1$ obl /box det$_1$ John
John put the ball in the box. GAR680.842

Determiner adjuncts cross reference absolutives in nontopic ergative transitives as well simple transitives:

421. a. g^{w}íčtəm łɛ ʔIc̓Uk^{w}ínəmš ...
√g^{w}ič-t-Ø-m łɛ y̓c√c̓k^{w}in-m-š
/see-t-3abs-3erg det$_3$ cont/run-m-š
He was seen running ... shst.47

b. ... ʔɛck^{w}ístus ła syaráqsənc.
ʔɛc√k^{w}in-stu-Ø-s łɛ s√yar=aqs-n-t-Ø-s

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cust/grab-ct-3abs-3erg det_3 nom/disc=breast-
d-t-3abs-3erg
... he had hold of the valuable (sun disc).
shst.47

422. k^{w}ílntm x^{w}ɛ tmíx^{w}əl̓mx^{w}
√k^{w}il-n-t-Ø-m x^{w}ɛ √tmix^{w}=ul̓mx^{w}
/spray(?)-d-t-3abs-3erg det_1 /land=earth
They spray the ground/land. 7.3.1

423. hɔi kum̓ čəšípəntəm ła cɛʕ^{w}cínčn̓.
hɔy k^{w}um̓ √čɛš=ip-n-t-Ø-m łɛ (name)
and then /accompany=behind-d-t-3abs-3erg det_3 (name)
And then he was chased, Coyote's child. shst.22

In imperative constructions the determiner adjunct is also coreferent with the absolutive argument:

424. g^{w}nít x^{w}ɛ pəlíks
√g^{w}nit-t-Ø-Ø x^{w}ɛ Felix
/call.for-t-3abs-imp det_1 Felix
Call for Felix! 90.257

With lexically ditransitive roots in transitive constructions, the determiner adjunct refers to something other than the absolutive: In these cases, the adjunct indicates a patient and is not cross referenced on the main predicate (where the absolutive indicates a recipient):

425. čiłc x^{w}ɛ nwlwlím
√čił-t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ in-CVC√wlim

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/give-t-3abs-3erg det_1 2G-aug/metal
He gave him your money. 16.21

426. čiłcn $x^{w}ɛ$ wlwlíms
√čił-t-si-n $x^{w}ɛ$ CVC√wlim-s
/give-t-2acc-1erg det_1 aug/metal-3G
I gave you his money. 16.21

427. čiłc $x^{w}ɛ$ nwlwlím
√čił-t-sɛl-Ø $x^{w}ɛ$ in-√wlim+CVC
/give-t-1acc-imp det_1 2G-/metal+aug
Give me your money. 16.21

428. hɔi číłtəm łɛ ẇUl̓ẇUl̓íṁ kuṁ ła ʔa tčnɛk̓^{w}ɛʔ
hɔy √číł-t-Ø-m łɛ √wlim+CVC-<'> k^{w}uṁ łɛ ʔɛ
tč√nɛk̓^{w}ɛʔ
then /give-t-3abs-nte det_3 /metal+aug-<dim> then
det_3 obl dir/one
Then he was given a knife then by another ...
shst82

Where a possessive patient adjunct occurs with third persons as both agent and recipient, ambiguity of possession may arise:

429. čiłc $x^{w}ɛ$ wlwlíms
√čił-t-Ø-s $x^{w}ɛ$ CVC√wlim-s
/give-t-3abs-3erg det_1 aug/metal-3G
He gave him his money. 16.21

5.1.2.2.2. Determiner oblique adjuncts. In simple transitive constructions, the determiner oblique adjunct

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indicates a prepositional phrase not cross referenced on the main predicate; the adjunct predicate must be inanimate:

430. hɔi k^{w}inc łɛ ʔɛ cɛ̓tx^{w}silš
hɔi √k^{w}in-t-Ø-s łɛ ʔɛ √cɛ̓tx^{w}-s-ilš
then /take-t-3abs-3erg det_3 obl /house-3G-3pl
then she took him into their house. muskrat

431. k̓^{w}nɛʔ cúnmɛʔncilš x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ słɛ̓x^{w}m.
k̓^{w}nɛʔ √cunmɛʔ-n-t-Ø-s-ilš x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ s√łɛ̓x^{w}-m
soon /teach-d-t-3abs-3erg-3pl det_1 obl nom/sew-m
He will teach them how to sew;
He will teach them sewing. mey174

With introductory predicates (section 4.2.2.1.2), it may indicate an instrument:

432. ó·· ʔɛčístus x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ q̓ay̓mínən ł tp̓úlk̓^{w}c̓ɛʔnc x^{w}iʔ ɛ smíl̓x^{w}.
o √ʔɛčin-stu-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ √q̓ay̓=min-n ł
t√p̓ulk̓^{w}=ic̓ɛʔ-n-t-Ø-s √x^{w}iʔ hɛ s√mil̓x^{w}
oh /do.with-ct-3abs-3erg det_1 obl /write=instr-loc conn loc/fold=all.over-d-t-3abs-3erg /$prox_1$ dep nom/tobacco
Oh, she took some paper and rolled the tobacco.
smoke18

If the predicate of the determiner oblique adjunct is animate, it indicates an agent that is cross referenced with the ergative pronominal of the main predicate:

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433. hɔi ʔɛkʷústus łɛ ččl̓íxʷ łɛ ʔɛ ččɛy̓ɛʔs ...
hɔi √ʔɛkʷun-stu-Ø-s łɛ C_1√čl̓ixʷ łɛ ʔɛ C_1√čɛy̓ɛʔ-s
then /say-ct-3abs-3erg det_3 dim/muskrat det_3 obl dim/gr.mo-3G
Then his grandmother said to the little muskrat ...

In nontopic ergative constructions, the determiner oblique adjunct consistently refers to the ergative agent:

434. ... tɛgʷíčtəm łɛ ʔɛ čičɛy̓ɛʔɛs
tɛ√gʷič-t-Ø-m łɛ ʔɛ č√čɛy̓ɛʔ-s
dir/see-t-3abs-nte det_3 obl dim/grandmother-3G
He was seen by his grandmother. muskrat

435. ... k̓ʷum̓ ła ʔatčnɛk̓ʷɛʔ[86] číłtəm ła čał̓ápɛmIs
k̓ʷum̓ łɛ ʔɛ tč√nɛk̓ʷɛʔ √číł-t-Ø-m łɛ čɛł √t̓ap-min-s
then det_3 obl dir/one /give-t-3abs-nte det_3 fut /shoot-instr-3G
... then by another he was given an arrow. shst82

---

[86]The lowered vowels in this determiner and oblique marker are not expected, but are shown as recorded by Reichard (ms). In the determiner phrase following the predicate, the lowered vowels are predictable as the result of regressive spread from the harmony root /t̓ap 'shoot'.

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436. ... kuṁ x^{W}i? ł čɛṅənṅ x^{W}i? ł ?aχístəm łɛ ?ɛ smIyíw.
kuṁ √x^{W}i? ł √čɛṅ+C_2 √x^{W}i? ł √?aχil-stu-Ø-m łɛ ?ɛ s√myiw
then /$prox_1$ conn /grab+ncr /$prox_1$ conn /do.thus-ct-3abs-nte det_3 abs nom/coyote
... then here he took hold here he was done to by Coyote. shst.90

437. ?ɛk^{W}ústəm ła ?a sqíl̓tumx^{W} kuẏ̓čəčínəmš?
√?ɛk^{W}un-stu-Ø-m łɛ ?ɛ s√qil̓tmx^{W} k^{W} ẏc√?ɛčin-m-š
/say-ct-3abs-nte det_3 obl nom/man 2nom cont/do-m-š
She was said to by the man what happened to you?
dwarf . 21

438. ?ɛk^{W}ústəm łɛ ?ɛ litkú ...
√?ɛk^{W}un-stu-Ø-s łɛ ?ɛ √ltk^{W}u
/say-ct-3abs-3erg det_3 obl /otter
He was said to by the otter ... muskrat

439. hɔi x^{W}ɛt̓pəntəm ła ?a smaχí?čṅ k̓^{W}í?ntəm.
hɔy √x^{W}ɛt̓-p-n-t-Ø-m łɛ ?ɛ s-√maχ=í<?>čṅ
√k̓^{W}i?-n-t-Ø-m
then /hurry-invl-d-t-3abs-nte det_3 obl nom/(grizzly) /chew-n-t-Ø-nte
Then he was hurried by Grizzly he was chewed up.
Beaver. 15

5.1.2.2.3. Oblique adjuncts. The oblique adjuncts associated with transitive structures indicate an indefinite patient, that is, one whose identity or number is not certain.

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With simple transitives, the oblique adjunct refers to an indefinite patient coreferent with the predicate absolutive:

440. čn nɛʔkʷú čičxʷúystus ʔa stšá
čn √nɛʔkʷun čič√xʷuy-stu-Ø-s ʔɛ s√tš=astq
1nom /think dir/go-ct-3abs-3erg obl nom/sweet=crop
I think she brought huckleberries. 14.3

With lexical causatives, the oblique adjunct also refers to a patient, but one not cross referenced on the predicate:

441. ʔɛmn ʔɛ lawán
√ʔɛm-n-t-Ø-n ʔɛ √lawan
/feed-d-t-3abs-1erg obl /oats
I fed them oats 9.18

With nontopic ergative constructions, the oblique adjunct is cross referenced with the ergative agent; the referent remains somewhat vague:

442. pɛkʷntm ʔɛ č̓ɛsn
√pɛkʷ-n-t-Ø-m ʔɛ √č̓ɛsn
/lay.pl.rd.objs-d-t-Ø-m obl /lice
A lot of lice piled on him.

443. hɔi tɛl̓cíʔ kʷíntəm ač̓iistɬín kuṁ xʷɛt̓p.
hɔy tɛl̓√ciʔ √kʷin-n-t-Ø-m ʔɛ č̓iy√stɬin kʷuṁ
√xʷɛt̓-p

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then from/this /take-d-t-3abs-nte obl child/antelope
then run-p
Then farther it was taken by Antelope's child, and he ran. shst26

444. čɛšípntm ʔɛ nɬámqɛʔ
√čɛš-ip-n-t-Ø-m ʔɛ nɬamqɛʔ
/accompany-behing-d-t-3abs-nte obl (bear)
He got chased by a bear. 14.9

5.1.2.2.4. Summary. The determiner adjunct is regularly cross referenced with patients, encoded as third person absolutives, in transitive constructions. One exception occurs where the root is lexically ditransitive; in such cases, the determiner adjunct still refers to the patient just as it does in other transitive constructions, but that patient is not cross referenced on the predicate since in these cases the absolutive is assigned the role of recipient. Also, if the absolutive is not third person, the adjunct and absolutive must coincide in person for the two to be cross referenced; if not, the adjunct will be cross referenced with a third person ergative.

The determiner oblique adjunct, if it is animate, is regularly cross referenced with ergative agents. If it is inanimate, it will constitute an independent prepositional phrase which is not cross referenced on the main predicate.

Animacy also determines the role of the oblique adjunct. Animate oblique adjuncts indicate indefinite agents of nontopic ergative constructions. Inanimate oblique adjuncts correspond to patients, which will be

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cross referenced on the main predicate if the predicate root is not lexically ditransitive.

5.1.2.3. Applicative predicates. Applicative predicates show slightly different patterns of adjunct coreference than simple transitive and intransitive predicates. The determiner oblique adjunct still refers to the subject (ergative), and the determiner adjunct still refers to the object (absolutive). A determiner adjunct or oblique adjunct may refer to a patient that is not indicated pronominally on the predicate. In cases where two determiner adjuncts occur in one sentence, the adjunct with higher animacy is coindexed with the absolutive.

5.1.2.3.1. Possessor applicatives. Arguments of possessor applicatives carry the roles of possessor and agent, represented by object and subject morphology. The patient is not pronominally marked on the main predicate.

5.1.2.3.1.1. Determiner adjuncts. As in the simple transitives, the determiner adjunct regularly corresponds to the absolutive argument in possessor applicatives. In these cases, the absolutive indicates the possessor rather than the patient.

445. ɬáp̓ɬc x^{w}ɛ sc̓u?ɛní
√ɬap-ɬ-t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ s√c̓u?ɛni
/shoot-pra-t-3abs$_i$-3erg det$_1$ s/giant$_i$
He shot the thing that belongs to the giant.
90.345ln

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However, the determiner adjunct may also be used to cross reference a patient in cases where the adjunct is possessed or inanimate:

446. níčłcɛx^{w} x^{w}ɛ nc̓ú?šn
√nič-ł-t-sɛ-x^{w} x^{w}ɛ hn√c̓u?=šn
√cut-pra-t-1acc-2erg det$_1$ 1G/(foot)
You cut off my foot. 14.env

447. tʕíg^{w}łcin x^{w}ɛ inbúc
t√ʕig^{w}-ł-t-si-n x^{w}ɛ in√buc
loc/throw.pl-pra-t-2acc-1erg det$_1$ 2G/boots
I took your boots outside. 16.17

448. k̓^{w}nɛ? cúnmɛ?łcis x^{w}ɛ sq̓ɛcm.
k̓^{w}nɛ? √cunmɛ?-ł-t-si-s x^{w}ɛ s√q̓ɛc-m
soon /teach-pra-t-2acc-3erg det$_1$ nom/knit-m
He will show you how to knit. mey182

The following example shows identically marked possessor and patient adjuncts with a possessor applicative predicate:

449. k̓^{w}nɛ? cúnmɛy̓łc x^{w}ɛ bɛrná x^{w}ɛ sq̓ɛcm.
k̓^{w}nɛ? √cunmɛ?-ł-t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ Barney x^{w}ɛ s√q̓ɛc-m
soon /teach-pra-t-3abs$_1$-3erg det$_1$ Barney$_1$ det$_1$ nom/knit-m
He will show Barney knitting/how to knit. (mey185-6)

The adjunct of lower animacy, *sq̓ɛcm* 'knitting' is relegated to oblique status where it indicates the patient/theme; Barney is coreferent with the absolutive.

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5.1.2.3.1.2. Determiner oblique adjuncts. The agent is specified with a determiner oblique adjunct in the following possessor applicative construction with a nontopic ergative:

450. k̓^{w}nɛʔ cúnmɛʔɬtm x^{w}ɛ pɛlíks x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ lo·ló.
k̓^{w}nɛʔ √cunmɛʔ-ɬ-t-Ø-m x^{w}ɛ √Felix x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ √Lolo
soon /teach-pra-t-3abs-nte det$_1$ /Felix det$_1$ obl /Lawrence
Felix will be shown [to do x] by Lawrence. mey.175

5.1.2.3.1.3. Oblique adjuncts. I have no examples of oblique adjuncts occurring with possessor applicative predicates. Since oblique adjuncts often refer to indefinite patients, the constructions may be incompatible with the possessor applicative, which implies a definite patient.

5.1.2.3.2. Benefactive applicatives. Arguments of the benefactive applicatives are the beneficiary and the agent, again indicated by object and subject pronominals.

5.1.2.3.2.1. Determiner adjuncts. Beneficiaries coreferent with predicate absolutives are specified with determiner adjuncts:

451. ɬ̓apšíc x^{w}ɛ sc̓ɔʔɛní
√ɬ̓ap-ši-t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ s√c̓ɔʔɛni
/shoot-b-t-3abs$_1$-3erg det$_1$ nom/giant$_1$
He shot him for the giant. 90.345ln

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A determiner adjunct may be used to refer to both the agent and the beneficiary; in this example, the agent is preposed:

452. $x^{w}\varepsilon$ ƛ̓ƛ̓wít číłšic $x^{w}\varepsilon$ smíy̓m ʔɛ sƛ̓šá
$x^{w}\varepsilon$ C_1+√ƛ̓wit √čił-ši-t-Ø-s $x^{w}\varepsilon$ s√miy̓m ʔɛ s√ƛ̓š=astq
det_1 dim/boy /give-b-t-3abs-3erg det_1 nom/woman obl nom/sweet=crop
The boy brought the woman some huckleberries. 14.12

The determiner adjunct is coindexed with the beneficiary of imperative predicates also:

453. miʔmiʔšít $x^{w}\varepsilon$ pus
√miʔ+CVC-ši-t-Ø-Ø $x^{w}\varepsilon$ √pus
/(tell.story)-b-t-3abs-imp det_1 cat
Tell the cat a story! 90.303ln

Where the person of the beneficiary is specified as other than third person on the predicate, the determiner adjunct functions as a prepositional phrase:

454. ʔɛcm̓iʔm̓iʔšícis $x^{w}\varepsilon$ sẃaƛ̓
ʔɛc√m̓iʔ+CVC-ši-t-si-s $x^{w}\varepsilon$ /sẃaƛ̓
cust/(tell.story)-b-t-2acc-3erg det_1 /cougar
He tells you stories about cougar. 90.172ln

5.1.2.3.2.2. Determiner oblique adjuncts. As with the possessor applicatives, the determiner oblique adjunct indicates an agent in benefactive applicatives, whether

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the person of the agent is specified on the predicate or marked as a nontopic ergative:

455. ʔɛcm̓iʔm̓iʔšícit $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔæ č lí.
ʔɛc√m̓iʔ+CVC-ši-t-si-t $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ č √lipust
cust/(tell.story)-b-t-2acc-1perg/nte det_1 obl 1pnom /persons
We tell you stories. mey154

456. číɬšitɛlis $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔa bɛrná
√čiɬ-ši-t-ɛli-s $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔa Bernard
/give-b-t-1pacc-3erg det_1 obl Bernard
Barney gave it to us. 90.117ln

I expect that in constructions similar to 455 based on roots other than *m̓iʔ* 'tell stories' the determiner adjunct will represent a definite patient.

In one of the examples, a patient is introduced as a determiner oblique adjunct rather than as a determiner adjunct (compare with example 454):

457. g^{w}níšicɛs $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ pus.
√g^{w}nit-ši-t-sɛ-s $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ √pus
/ask.for-b-t-1acc-3erg det_1 obl /cat
He asked me for a cat.

5.1.2.3.2.3. Oblique adjuncts. The oblique adjunct indicates an indefinite patient in benefactive constructions:

458. ƛ̓ək̓^{w}šícɛs ʔɛ wlwlím
√ƛ̓ɛk̓^{w}-ši-t-sɛ-s ʔɛ CVC√wlim

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/one.lies-b-t-1acc-3erg obl aug/metal
He put some money down for me.

459. $x^{w}\varepsilon$ ƛ̓ƛ̓wít číłšic $x^{w}\varepsilon$ smíy̓m ʔɛ sƛ̓šá
$x^{w}\varepsilon$ C_1+√ƛ̓wit √čił-ši-t-Ø-s $x^{w}\varepsilon$ s√miy̓m ʔɛ s√ƛ̓š=astq
det_1 dim/boy /give-b-t-3abs-3erg det_1 nom/woman obl nom/sweet=crop
The boy brought the woman some huckleberries. 14.12

460. číłšic ʔɛ smłič
√čił-ši-t-Ø-s ʔɛ s√młič
/give-b-t-3abs-3erg obl nom/salmon
He brought over a salmon. 14.25

5.1.2.3.3. Dative applicatives. The examples of dative applicatives with *-túł-t-* in the corpus all have third person pronominal arguments, both subjects and objects. All adjuncts are determiner adjuncts with $x^{w}\varepsilon$ that carry the role of beneficiary. See section 4.2.3.3.

5.1.2.3.4. Summary. Cross referencing of adjuncts with pronominal arguments of applicative predicates shows some interesting patterns. In both possessive and benefactive applicatives, the accusative/absolutive pronominal no longer represents the patient as it does in simple transitives. However, the absolutive argument, be it possessor or beneficiary, is still coreferent with the determiner adjunct. The patient of a possessor applicative may also be cross referenced with the determiner adjunct if the adjunct is possessed or

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inanimate. The data available for dative applicatives with *-túł-t-* are too scarce to claim certainty, but it appears that the determiner adjunct is coreferent with the absolutive argument in these cases also.

The determiner oblique adjunct is coindexed with the ergative agent in both possessor and benefactive applicatives. It may also coincide with a patient in benefactive applicatives if the adjunct indicates an entity of lower animacy than human, as in example 457.

The oblique adjunct does not occur with possessor applicatives in my data.[87] With benefactive applicatives, however, the oblique adjunct indicates an indefinite patient.

5.1.3. Adjuncts used with inversion predicates. Examples of inversion and future predicates with adjuncts are relatively rare in the data. Some patterns do emerge. The determiner adjunct generally indicates an absolutive or oblique. The determiner oblique adjunct, if animate, refers to a genitive agent; if inanimate, it refers to an oblique patient. The oblique adjunct may indicate a patient not indicated by a pronominal on the predicate in either lexically or morphologically ditransitive clauses

5.1.3.1. Continuative inversions. In one example of a continuative inversion, the determiner adjunct is coreferent with the absolutive patient:

---

[87]I did not notice the gap when conducting field work.

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461. pinč hi?cg^{w}nítm x^{w}æ pús. GWNIT40
√pinč Ø hn ẏc√g^{w}nit-m x^{w}ɛ √pus
/always 3abs 1G cont/call-m det$_1$ /cat
I always call the cat.

The determiner oblique adjunct is coindexed with a genitive agent in continuative inversions, either simple or applicative:[88]

462. stɛ?ɛk^{w}n x^{w}íẏɛ smíẏɛm ṫu? či?cpúlutəms ła ?a cɔ?ɔ·tálumx^{w}.
s-tɛ√?ɛk^{w}n √x^{w}i? hɛ s√miẏm ṫu? čn ?ic√pulut-m-s łɛ ?ɛ √cɔ?ɔt=ilmx^{w}
nom-dir/say /prox$_1$ sub nom/woman intj 1nom cont/beat-m-3G det$_3$ obl /dwarf=person
She answered this woman well he was beating me the dwarf. dwarf.22

463. k^{w}u ẏtíg^{w}šitms x^{w}ɛ ?æ pəpús
k^{w}u ẏc√tig^{w}-ši-t-m-s x^{w}ɛ ?ɛ C$_1$√pus
2nom cont/buy-b-t-m-3G det$_1$ obl dim/cat
You are being bought for by the cat. 90.202ln

An oblique adjunct indicates an indefinite patient not cross referenced on the predicate when it occurs with continuative inversions based on lexically causative roots:

---

[88]The applicative form in was identified as *x^{w}ádx^{w}ədt* 'funny'; that is, it was judged odd but nevertheless grammatical.

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464. čn i?c?ɛ́mm ?a sṫšástq (lut $x^{w}ɛ$ pɔ́lpɔlqn)
čn in-ẏc√?ɛm-m ?ɛ s√ṫš=astq (√lut $x^{w}ɛ$ √pul+CVC=qin)
1Nom 2G-cont/feed-m obl nom/sweet=crop (/neg det_1 /injure+aug=head
You are feeding me huckleberries (not thimbleberries). 90.110ln

The same is true with morphologically ditransitive constructions: the oblique adjunct indicates an indefinite patient.

465. i?tɛg^{w}mínšitm ?ɛ smíl̇x^{w}
Ø in-ẏc√tig^{w}-min-ši-t-m ?ɛ s√mil̇x^{w}
3Abs 2G-cont/buy-rel-I-T-m obl nom/tobacco
You are buying him tobacco. 90.203ln

5.1.3.2. Future inversions. The determiner adjunct is usually cross referenced with a third person patient indicated by the absolutive:

466. čɛ́ł histəqəqənúnəm $x^{w}ɛ$ Don.
čɛ́ł Ø hn-s√taq+C_2-nun-m $x^{w}ɛ$ Don
fut 3abs 1G-int/deceive+ncr-succ-m det_1 Don
I'm going to fool Don. nun2.35

467. čɛ́ł ispútɛ?m $x^{w}ɛ$ inəḵ^{w}sčínt
čɛ́ł Ø in-s√putɛ?-m $x^{w}ɛ$ in-nɛḵ^{w}-s√činт
fut 3abs 2G-int/honor-m 2G-one-nom/Indian
Be kind to your people. 90.258ms

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468. čɛsg^{w}ənítms x^{w}ɛ Laura
čɛł ø s√g^{w}nit-m-s x^{w}ɛ Laura
fut 3abs int/call-m-3G det$_1$ Laura
He would call for Laura. gwnit.2

The future inversions may also specify agents with determiner adjuncts, but only where the absolutive is not third person. These are coindexed with the genitive pronominal:

469. čɛł k^{w}up staqəqənúnəms (x^{w}ɛ Socks) 90.320ln
čɛł k^{w}u-p s√ťaq+C$_2$-nun-m-s
fut 2nom-pl int/deceive+ncr-succ-m-3G
He (Socks, the dog) is going to fool you.

470. čɛł čistəqəqənúnəms x^{w}ɛ Vinnie
čɛł čn s√tɛq+C$_2$-nun-m-s x^{w}ɛ Vinnie
fut 1nom int/deceive+ncr-m-3G det$_1$ Vinnie
Vinnie's going to fool me. nun2.45

One example of a determiner oblique adjunct with a future inversion predicate apparently indicates an inanimate argument:

471. čɛsťɛx^{w}úpəms x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ tčmásq̓it
čɛł ø s√ťɛx^{w}up-m-s x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ tčm=asq̓it
fut 3abs int/earn-m-3G det$_1$ obl (heaven)
He may be the one to win heaven. 90.189ms

Future inversions based on possessor applicatives have determiner adjuncts indicating patients that are not cross referenced on the main predicate. The examples

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below have either possessed adjuncts (472, 473), which must correspond to applicative patients, or they have non-third person subjects and genitive agents (474), preventing cross referencing of the adjunct with pronominals:

472. čɛł k^{w}isṫápłtm x^{w}ɛ inpúspus
čɛł k^{w}u hn-s√ṫap-ł-t-m x^{w}ɛ in√pus+CVC
fut 2nom 1G-int/shoot-pra-t-m det_1 2G/cat+aug
I'm gonna shoot your cat. 90.107bl

473. na ʔułčIcxúi čəłkusχáyIšłtəms ła ʔIscIcIṁílɛíts.
nɛʔ uł-čic√x^{w}uy čɛł k^{w} s√χayiš-ł-t-m-s łɛ in-s-C_1√cɛṁ=iíl=iíl-s
irr again dir/go fut 2nom int/avenge-pra-t-m-3G det_3 2G-nom-dim/small=child=child-dk
He will come back he will avenge you your children. Beaver.84

474. čɛł k^{w} isg^{w}əníłtm x^{w}ɛ pəlíks
čɛł k^{w}u hn-s√g^{w}nit-ł-t-m x^{w}ɛ Felix
fut 2nom 1G-int/ask.for-pra-t-m det_1 Felix
I'm gonna call Felix for you.

5.1.3.3. Summary. Continuative inversions have absolutive patients that are specified with determiner adjuncts; genitive agents that are specified in determiner oblique adjuncts; and indefinite patients that are identified in oblique adjuncts.

Future intransitive inversions have genitive agents that are specified in determiner adjuncts where the

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absolutive is nonthird person. In one case, an (inanimate) absolutive patient is specified in a determiner oblique adjunct.

In the three examples of future applicative inversions with determiner adjuncts, the adjunct indicates a patient, which is not cross referenced with a predicate pronominal. In the data available, there are no future inversions occurring with oblique adjuncts, and no future applicative inversions with determiner oblique adjuncts.

5.1.4. Arrangement of adjuncts in sentences. Multiple adjuncts in a single sentence are used to identify multiple entities. Available third person arguments, adjunct position, and animacy all contribute to the identification of coreferents, described in section 5.1.4.1. Multiple adjuncts are also used as attributives of a single referent; these constructions are described briefly in section 5.1.4.2.

5.1.4.1. Multiple referents. It is not unusual to find sentences that include two or more adjoined clauses with unique referents in Coeur d'Alene, though this feature is apparently not common in other Salishan languages (see for example Jelinek and Demers 1994:721ff).

Reichard (1938:679-680) outlines some basic correlations of adjunct position to argument reference. A single adjunct following an intransitive predicate will refer to the subject. A single adjunct following a transitive predicate will refer to the object. Two adjuncts following a transitive predicate will generally occur in the order object - subject. However,

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differences in the type of main predicate (simple v. inversion, intransitive v. transitive v. applicative), differences in topicality, and differences in adjunct animacy all contribute to variations in adjunct coindexing.

In some instances, only discourse context can disambiguate adjunct reference. For example, in 475, an intransitive future inversion construction, the two determiner adjuncts refer to the intransitive patient and the agent, in that order.

475. čɛstəqəqənúnəms $x^{w}ɛ$ vɪni $x^{w}ɛ$ magarí
čɛɬ s√tɛq+C_2-nun-m-s $x^{w}ɛ$ Vinnie $x^{w}ɛ$ Margaret
fut int/deceive+ncr-succ-m-3G det_1 Vinnie det_1 Margaret
Margaret's going to fool Vinnie. nun2.52

Reichard (1938:679.834-835) indicates that though this is the expected order, the reverse is also possible. The sentence in 475 may also read, 'Vinnie is going to fool Margaret'. The coindexings in Reichard's examples are clarified by the use of contrasting adjunct types; in most of the data I recorded, this is also the case: ambiguity is not necessary.

Argument animacy will also determine coindexing of adjuncts to predicates, as in the following example, where identically marked adjuncts with a simple transitive are not in the expected object-subject order:

476. hɔi k^{w}inc ɬɛ smIyíw ɬɛ slip̓ ...
hɔy √k^{w}in-t-Ø-s ɬɛ s√myiw ɬɛ s√lip̓
and /take-t-3abs-3erg det_3 nom/coyote det_3 nom/wood

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(and he took it Coyote a stick ...)
And Coyote took a stick ... Beaver. 176

In the discussion of possessor applicatives, I showed that both the patient and the possessor may be identified by identically marked adjuncts (section 5.1.2.3.1.); in such cases, coindexing is semantically determined by assigning possessorship to the adjunct of highest animacy (example 439 is repeated here as 477):

477. k̓ʷnɛʔ cúnmɛy̓łc xʷɛ bɛrná xʷɛ sq̓ɛ́cm.
He will show Barney knitting/how to knit. (mey185-6)

Sentences with one or more adjuncts often have one of the adjuncts preposed, that is, placed before the main predicate. In the following examples, preposing serves as a topic marker:

478. xʷɛ síkʷɛʔ čhnmúlm niʔcaqúsnc
xʷɛ √sikʷɛʔ č-hn√mul-m niʔ√caq=us-n-t-Ø-s
det$_1$ /water loc-loc/dip-m midst/set.vessel=fire-d-t-3abs-3erg
He hauled water and put it on the fire (for soup). 14.5

479. xʷɛ hnččɛ́y̓ɛʔ ʔɛck̓ʷúl̓stus xʷɛ c̓íʔilxʷ
xʷɛ hn-C$_1$√čɛy̓ɛʔ ʔɛc√k̓ʷul̓-stu-Ø-s xʷɛ √c̓iʔ=ilxʷ
det$_1$ 1G-(gr.mo) cust/work-ct-3abs-3erg det$_1$ /deer=skin
My grandmother, she works on a deer hide. 14.xx

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480. łɛ ʔɛ šš̓il̓ús[89] kum̓ k^{w}inc nɛk̓^{w}ɛʔ t̓ápɛmən
łɛ ʔɛ C_1√š̓il̓=us k^{w}um̓ √k^{w}in-t-Ø-s √nɛk̓^{w}ɛʔ
√t̓ap=min
det_3 obl [quiver] then /take-t-3abs-3erg /one
/shoot=instr
From quiver then he took it another arrow ...
beaver. 174

With benefactive applicatives, agent and beneficiary adjuncts may be identically marked (5.1.2.3.2.1.). In sentences that include both, moving the agent to prepredicate position is one method used to distinguish the two, and may serve as a topic marker as well as means of disambiguating referents (example 452 is repeated here as 481):

481. x^{w}ɛ t̓t̓wít číłšic x^{w}ɛ smíy̓m ʔɛ stšá
The boy brought the woman some huckleberries.
14.12

Adjuncts coindexed with agents are often preposed. In one case, the oblique marker is lost from an expected determiner oblique agent adjunct when it is preposed. In

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[89]The word šš̓il̓ús is defined by Nicodemus (1975) as (a) enemy [lit. chop-face]; (b) battle-axe; tomahawk; or (c) hostility. Reichard glosses the word 'quiver'. Whatever the word's true meaning, it is in a preposed determiner oblique adjunct, not coindexed with an argument, indicating a prepositional phrase, perhaps 'from the quiver' or 'because of the enemy'.

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both 482 and 483, the agent of a transitive predicate is preposed:

482. $x^{w}\varepsilon$ nččεỷεʔ k^{w}niʔútmstm x^{w}a $sq^{w}əq^{w}\varepsilon s\varepsilon$ʔ
$x^{w}\varepsilon$ hn√ččεỷεʔ √k^{w}in=iʔutm-st-Ø-m $x^{w}\varepsilon$ s-C_1√$q^{w}\varepsilon s\varepsilon$ʔ
det_1 1G/grandmother /grab=auto-stu-3abs-nte det_1 nom-dim/son
My grandmother grabs the boy. 16.3

483. hɔi $x^{w}\varepsilon$ ʔε t̓íḱ^{w}t̓Iḱ^{w}t hɔi číɬtəm ɬε či·c̓íɬəs ...
hɔy $x^{w}\varepsilon$ ʔε √t̓iḱ^{w}+CVC-t hɔy √číɬ-t-Ø-m ɬε čic√ʔiɬn-s
then det_1 obl /old.woman+aug-res then /give-t-3abs-nte det_3 dir/eat-3G
Then the old woman gave him something to eat ... Beaver. 5

Preposed agents may also lose their determiners. Compare 484 with 485, where again a transitive agent is preposed with only the oblique marker:

484. hɔi číɬtəm ɬε ẇUl̓ẇUl̓íḿ kuḿ ɬa ʔa tčnεḱ$^{w}\varepsilon$ʔ
hɔy √číɬ-t-Ø-m ɬε √wlim+CVC-<ʼ> k^{w}uḿ ɬε ʔε tč√nεḱ$^{w}\varepsilon$ʔ
then /give-t-3abs-nte det_3 /metal+aug-<dim> then det_3 obl dir/one
Then he was given a knife then by another ... shst82

485. kuḿ ɛ čnεḱ$^{w}\varepsilon$ʔ číɬtəm ha t̓ápɛmən.
k^{w}uḿ ʔε č√nεḱ$^{w}\varepsilon$ʔ √číɬ-t-Ø-m hε √t̓ap=min

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then obl loc/one /give-t-3abs-nte sub /shoot=instr
Then by another he was given an arrow. Beaver. 150

5.1.4.2. Single referent. Adjuncts may occur in series, each modifying the one that precedes it. Together, the series identifies a single argument of the main predicate:

486. gʷíčn xʷa sqʷqʷɛ́sɛʔ xʷɛ náq̓ʷ ʔa sťšástq
√gʷič-n-t-Ø-n xʷɛ s-C1√qʷɛ́sɛʔ xʷɛ Ø √naq̓ʷ ʔɛ
s√ťš=astq
/see-d-t-3abs-1erg det_1 nom-dim/boy det_1 3abs /steal
obl nom/sweet=crop
I saw the boy who stole the huckleberries. 16.8

487. gʷíčn xʷa sqʷqʷɛ́sɛʔ xʷɛ c̓íłn ʔa sťšástq
√gʷič-n-t-Ø-n xʷɛ s-C1√qʷɛ́sɛʔ xʷɛ Ø c√ʔiłn ʔɛ
s√ťš=astq
/see-d-t-3abs-1erg det_1 nom-dim/boy det_1 3abs
asp/eat obl nom/sweet=crop
I saw the boy (who is) eating the huckleberries.
16.9

In the sentences in 486 and 487, only the absolutive argument is third person, so all adjuncts are used together to specify that one argument. Preposing one of a series of multiple adjuncts with a single referent is not possible; however, the series of adjuncts as a unit may be preposed:

488. xʷɛ náq̓ʷs ʔɛ sťšá ʔíłn
xʷɛ √naq̓ʷ-s ʔɛ s√ťš=astq √ʔiłn-t-Ø-n

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det$_1$ /steal-3G obl nom/sweet=crop /eat-t-3abs-1erg
I ate the huckleberries he stole. 14.11

If complex adjuncts with dependent clauses (marked with *hɛ*) are preposed, they must also move as a unit:

489. xʷɛ ʔɛ smíy̓m hɛ c̓íɬn hɔ́ystus ɬ ʔɛnís
xʷɛ ʔɛ s√miy̓m hɛ c√ʔiɬn √hɔy-stu-Ø-s ɬ √ʔɛnis
det$_1$ obl nom/woman dep asp/eat /stop-ct-3abs-3erg conn /go
The woman who was eating quit it and left. 90.77

Another multiple adjunct construction resembles the Saanich genitive attributive described by Montler (1993), where the first adjunct following the main predicate is marked as possessed, and the second adjunct indicates the possessor. Together the adjuncts specify the absolutive argument of the main predicate in example 490:

490. ʔiɬn xʷɛ snáq̓ʷs xʷa sqʷəqʷɛ́sɛʔ
√ʔiɬn-t-Ø-n xʷɛ s√naq̓ʷ-s xʷɛ s-C1√qʷɛsɛʔ
/eat-t-3abs-1erg det$_1$ nom/steal-3G det$_1$ nom-dim/boy
I ate what was stolen by the boy. 16.8

The first of a string of determiner phrases may serve as the main predicate:

491. xʷɛ st̓šástq xʷə snáq̓ʷs xʷɛ sqʷqʷɛ́sɛʔ
xʷɛ s√t̓š=astq xʷɛ s√naq̓ʷ-s xʷɛ s-C1√qʷɛsɛʔ
det$_1$ nom/sweet=crop det$_1$ nom/steal-3G det$_1$ nom-dim/boy
The huckleberries were stolen by the boy. 16.8

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The following example shows multiple adjuncts with a single referent; the first adjunct is descriptive of the second:

492. ʔɛ·čáyp $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ luʔp $x^{w}ɛ$ hɛ sɬáq^{w}qn
ʔɛc√čay-p $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ √lup-<ʔ> $x^{w}ɛ$ hɛ s√ɬaq^{w}=qin
cust√hard-inch det_1 obl /dry-<inch> det_1 dep nom/(basket)
The dry basket gets hard.

The structure of 492 is distinct from that in 493, where the second determiner introduces a subordinate temporal clause indicated by the suffix *-ɛs*:

493. ʔɛ·čáyp $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ ɬáq^{w}qn $x^{w}ɛ$ lúʔpɛs
ʔɛc√čay-p $x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ √ɬaq^{w}=qin $x^{w}ɛ$ √lup-<ʔ>-ɛs
cust/hard-inch det_1 obl nom/(basket) det_1 /dry-<inch>-temp
The basket gets hard when it dries.

Many of these single referent strings of adjuncts appear to function as relative clauses. In fact, Reichard (1938:660.730; 674.804-805; also pp 680-682) considers all determiner phrases relative clauses, and it is interesting to note that even single adjuncts are translated by Coeur d'Alene speakers as English relative clauses:

494. šc̓qínmnt $x^{w}ɛ$ y̓nk^{w}ínmš
Listen to the one who is singing. N1975b:100

495. ʔác̓xnt x^{w}a ʔsxaxl̓íl̓t

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Look at it, that which is the little dog.
Look at the puppy. Nicodemus 1975b:100

As in other Salishan languages, the existence of relative clauses in Coeur d'Alene is still in question. Montler 1993 has identified a unique relative clause construction in Saanich. Gardiner, Matthewson and Davis (1993) and Kroeber (1992) claim relative clauses exist in Thompson. However, Thompson and Thompson (1992:176) state that 'it seems impossible to identify a particular Thompson structure that would meaningfully be designated a relative clause'; they go on to say that all of the subordinating structures that might qualify as relatives have various other functions in the language, indicating that there is not a unique relative clause construction. This appears to be the situation in Coeur d'Alene also, though the topic needs to be fully addressed in future.

5.1.4.3. Summary. Multiple adjuncts may be used to specify multiple arguments and other participants in a sentence. Where coindexing cannot be determined by postpredicate position, it is determined by the factors such as person, animacy, and agent or topic preposing.

Multiple adjuncts may also specify single arguments. Several different constructions are possible within these adjunct strings, including simple sequences of determiner and oblique adjuncts, which may be preposed; genitive attributives; and adjuncts alongside temporal subordinate phrases. A complete understanding of these constructions will require further investigation.

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5.1.5. Nontopic ergative. There are in the Salishan languages unique constructions that are translatable into English as regular passives. Gerdts 1982 argues that in Halkomelem, a Coast Salish language, these constructions represent true passives, and part of her evidence is the type of determiner used with the adjuncts that accompany these structures.

As an exercise in the application of the analysis of pronominal arguments and adjoined clauses presented here, I will argue that the Coeur d'Alene structures corresponding to the Halkomelem passives are not passive, but instead are true transitives with nontopic (ergative) subjects.

In Coeur d'Alene, the structures that correspond to what are called passives in other Salishan languages do not fit the normal definition of passive with respect to the advancement of object to subject and the loss of the subject or its demotion to an oblique status, as illustrated in example 496 (from Baker 1988:9; see also Gerdts 1982):

496. Passive:
subject > oblique (or null); object > subject

Examples of what translate as passive constructions in Coeur d'Alene that occur without adjuncts appear to partially fulfill the definition given, in that the subject position pronominal is replaced by the suffix *-m* or *-t*: *-t* is used to represent the subject where the object morphology indicates a second person singular or plural or first person plural participant (examples 497, 498 and 499; see also sections 3 and 5.1.5.3).

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497. a. cúnmɛʔntɛlit
√cun√mɛy̓-n-t-ɛli-t
/point/know-d-t-1pacc-nte
We were taught. mey.117

b. cúnmɛʔntɛlis
√cun√mɛy̓-n-t-ɛli-s
/point/know-d-t-1pacc-3erg
He taught us. mey.106

498. cúnmɛʔncit
√cun√mɛy̓-n-t-si-t
/point/know-d-t-2sacc-nte
You were taught. mey.116

499. k^{w}up lípust cúnmɛʔntulmit
k^{w}u-p √lipust √cun√mɛy̓-n-t-ulmi-t
2Nom-pl /person /point/know-d-t-2pacc-nte
You folks were taught. mey.118

The suffix *-m* is used where the object is first person singular or third person.[90] The replacement suggests some type of demotion; compare examples 497a, 500a and 501a with 497b, 500b and 501b. The object pronominal, however, retains its form and position, most clearly shown in examples 497, 498, 499, and 502, where the object is not the zero-marked third person.

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[90]See section 3.2.1. for description of the nte arguments, and data that suggest the allomorphy is historically restricted rather than determined by object person and number.

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500. a. miypnúntm
√mɛy-p-nu-n-t-Ø-m
/know-inch-succ-d-t-3abs-nte
He came to be known. mey.20

b. miypnúnc
√mɛy-p-nu-n-t-Ø-s
/know-inch-succ-d-t-3abs-3erg
He got to know him. mey.22

501. a. cúnmɛʔntm
√cun√mɛy̓-n-t-Ø-m
/point/know-d-t-3abs-nte
He was taught. mey.114

b. cúnmɛʔntp
√cun√mɛy̓-n-t-Ø-p
/point/know-d-t-3abs-2perg
You folks taught him. mey.109

502. cúnmɛʔncɛləm
√cun√mɛy̓-n-t-sɛl-m
/point/know-d-t-1sacc-nte
I was taught. mey.113

In each of these examples, the grammatical relation indicated by the position and form of the object pronominal is identical to that of the object in regular transitive constructions; that is, only the accusative/absolutive pronominals are used. However, any expected subject (ergative) pronominal is replaced by *-m* or *-t*.

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5.1.5.1. Thompson indefinite subjects. Thompson and Thompson (1992:58) identify the *-m* type suffixes in Thompson Salish as indefinite subjects:

> The object suffixes also occur before terminal elements which are etymologically obscure but which indicate an INDEFINITE or impersonal SUBJECT (IDF): *someone does something to me*, etc. The designation *passive* would be misleading for the Thompson category: not only is the focal person marker formally an object, but the control value of the form refers to the implied agent.

Thompson and Thompson recognize that the forms in Thompson River Salish have not changed transitivity. However, calling the suffix one indicating an indefinite subject is somewhat misleading, since the agent/actor can easily be identified with the use of an adjunct or second predicate, just as it can in Coeur d'Alene, clearly shown in the following examples:

503. kʷuṁ hɛ ʔɛkʷústəm xʷiʔ hɛ q̓ʷádɛl̓qs ...
kʷəṁ hɛ √ʔɛkʷn-s-t-Ø-m xʷiʔ hɛ √q̓ʷɛd=al̓qs
Ptcl conn /say-ct-3abs-nte $prox_1$ sub /black=clothes
This Blackrobe told him ... CR6

504. kʷuṁ ɛčnɛk̓ʷɛʔ číɬtəm ha t̓ápɛmən.
kʷuṁ ʔɛ č√nɛk̓ʷɛʔ √číɬ-t-Ø-m hɛ √t̓ap=min
then obl loc/one /give-t-3abs-nte sub /shoot=instr
Then by another he was given an arrow. Beaver. 150

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505. hɔi x^{w}ɛƛ̓pəntəm ɬa ʔasmaχíʔčn̓ k̓^{w}íʔntəm.
hɔy √x^{w}ɛƛ̓-p-n-t-Ø-m ɬɛ ʔɛ s√maχ=í<ʔ>čn̓ √k̓^{w}iʔ-n-t-Ø-m
then /flee-inch-d-t-3abs-nte det_3 obl nom/Grizzly bite-d-t-3abs-nte
Then he was hurried by Grizzly he was chewed up. Beaver. 15

5.1.5.2. Halkomelem passives. Gerdts (1982:196ff) gives several arguments for classifying structures in Halkomelem that are similar to those in Thompson and Coeur d'Alene as intransitive and passive.[91] In reference to Halkomelem forms such as those given in examples 506 and 507, Gerdts states:

> Halkomelem passives have several features which distinguish them from finally transitive clauses. First, while the (a) clauses have transitive marking, the (b) clauses have transitive marking followed by an intransitive suffix, in these examples -əm. Second, while finally transitive clauses with 3rd person subjects have 3rd person agreement, there is no agreement in passives. Finally, while subjects in transitive clauses are in the straight case, the corresponding nominal in passives are in the oblique case.

These examples are provided by Gerdts:

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[91]Kuipers 1974:47-8 also refers to this type of structure as passive.

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506. a. ni pán-ət-əs $k^{w}\theta$ə sqéwθ
aux bake-tr-3erg det potato
'He planted potatoes.'

b. ni pán-ət-əm $k^{w}\theta$ə sqéwθ
aux bake-tr-intr det potato
'The potatoes were planted.'

507. a. ni lém-ət-əs θə słéni t^{θ}ə spé?əθ
aux look-tr-3erg det woman det bear
'The woman looked at the bear.'

b. ni lém-ət-əm ?ə θə słéni t^{θ}ə spé?əθ
aux look-tr-intr obl det woman det bear
'The bear was looked at by the woman.'

While Gerdts' arguments hold in Halkomelem, they are not sufficient to establish as intransitive the Coeur d'Alene clauses considered here. Gerdts' first argument for analyzing the Halkomelem structures as passive is that forms such as those in 506b and 507b include an intransitive suffix following the transitive suffix. However, Gerdts provides no evidence to justify the analysis of *-əm* (or *-ət*; see Gerdts 1982:chapter 5, fns 4 and 5) as an intransitive suffix or as a suffix indicating detransitivization. Neither is there evidence in Coeur d'Alene for such an analysis.

In Halkomelem, only third person subject agreement is marked on transitive words, and as Gerdts states, the forms designated as passive do not show this agreement. This observation is useful in distinguishing the passive-type construction from regular transitives in

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Halkomelem; however, in Coeur d'Alene, all transitive subjects, not just the third person, are indicated by pronominal suffixes on the transitive base. In the Coeur d'Alene forms equivalent to the Halkomelem passives, *-m/-t* replaces any of these subject pronominals, and adjuncts of any person or number may be used in cross referencing. Example 508a shows a transitive clause in Coeur d'Alene with a second person singular predicative pronoun that is coreferent with the second person ergative suffix on the predicate. In 508b, a construction similar to the Halkomelem passive, the second person ergative suffix has been replaced by *-m*; however, the predicative pronoun remains coreferent with this unspecified subject:

508. a. níčncɛx^{w} x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ k^{w}u ʔǽ
√nič-n-t-sɛ-x^{w} x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ k^{w}u √ʔɛng^{w}t
/cut-d-t-1sacc-2serg det$_1$ obl 2nom /person
You hit me.

b. níčncɛlm x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ k^{w}u ʔǽ
√nič-n-t-sɛl-m x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ k^{w}u √ʔɛng^{w}t
/cut-d-t-1sacc-nte det$_1$ obl 2nom /person
You hit me; I was hit by you

Gerdts' Halkomelem passives have subject adjuncts in the oblique case, as indicated by the clitic *ʔə* in examples such as 507b. This fits nicely with the rules established elsewhere in the language for nominal case, namely that final nuclear terms are in the straight case and other nominals are in the oblique case (Gerdts 1982:192).

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But in Coeur d'Alene the distribution of the oblique case marker is not restricted to nonterms (i.e. obliques and chomeurs). In Coeur d'Alene, adjuncts representing an (indefinite) absolutive may use the oblique marker. However, the ergative and the nontopic ergative are both marked with *x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ*, the determiner oblique combination that is used to introduce clauses cross referenced with either transitive subjects *or* obliques, i.e., the marker used to indicate any nonabsolutive adjunct.

In 509, regular transitive constructions demonstrate the use of the nonabsolutive *x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ* to indicate an ergative nominal (a) in contrast with the unmarked accusative nominal (b); 509c demonstrates the use of the determiner oblique adjunct to mark a participant not cross-referenced on the predicate:[92]

509. a. ʔɛk^{w}ústmɛs x^{w}ɛ ʔa q̓^{w}ádəl̓qs
√ʔɛk^{w}un-stu-mɛ-s x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ √q̓^{w}ɛd=l̓qs
/say-ct-1sacc-3erg det$_1$ obl /black=clothes
The priest told me. (87.pope)

b. ʔɛk^{w}úsn x^{w}ɛ q̓^{w}ádəl̓qs
√ʔɛk^{w}un-stu-Ø-n x^{w}ɛ √q̓^{w}ɛd=l̓qs
/say-ct-3abs-1erg det$_1$ /black=clothes
I told the priest. (87.pope)

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[92]This interpretation is based on discourse context. In isolation, the form *čick^{w}ínc* means "he took it"; an unmarked nominal following this predicate would normally be coreferent with the accusative/direct object: *čick^{w}ínc x^{w}ɛ smɬíč* "he took the salmon".

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c. čick^{w}ínc x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ smɬíč
čic√k^{w}in-(n-)t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ s√m̓ɬič
loc/take-(d)-t-3abs-3erg det$_1$ obl nom/salmon
He took him the salmon. (91.ms)

The forms in 510 show the construction identified as passive in Halkomelem used with the same distribution of the determiner oblique marker on the adjuncts:

510. a. ʔɛk^{w}ústəm x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ s̓pəp̓áč̓
√ʔɛk^{w}un-stu-Ø-m x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ s-C$_1$√p̓ač̓
/say-ct-3abs-nte det$_1$ obl nom-dim/shit
Potty told him. (86.pr)

b. ʔa nɬámqɛʔ ʔíɬntm x^{w}ɛ st̓šás x^{w}ɛ t̓t̓w̓ít
ʔɛ √nɬamqɛʔ √ʔiɬn-t-Ø-m x^{w}ɛ s√t̓iš=astq-s x^{w}ɛ
C$_1$√t̓wit
obl /bear /eat-t-3abs-nte det$_1$ nom/sweet=crop-
3poss det$_1$ dim/youth
The bear ate the boy's huckleberries. (91.bls)

In 509a and 510a, the determiner oblique adjunct specifies the subject, whether that participant is indicated on the predicate with the regular ergative pronominal suffix or with *-m/-t*. Note that in 509b and 510b, the determiner adjunct is equivalent to the Halkomelem 'straight case' arguments; and as in Halkomelem, it indicates that the adjunct is coindexed with ('agrees with') the object, that is, the null third person absolutive pronominal of the predicate.

A further pair of examples illustrate that the function of the first postpredicate adjunct, without the

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nonabsolutive marker, remains unchanged with the use of the passive-type morphology In 511a, a regular transitive clause is given, demonstrating a preposed unmarked adjunct[93] and a postpredicate determiner adjunct. In 511b, the arguments maintain the same positions, markings, and semantic interpretations as they have in the active transitive of 511a, even though the predicate itself has *-m/-t* in place of the third person ergative.

511. a. ttm̓íx^{w} ʔíɬnc x^{w}ɛ sčɬúsɬəsməs
√ttm̓ix^{w} √ʔiɬn-(n-)t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ s-č√ɬus-CVC-min-s
/bird /eat-(d-)t-3abs-3erg det$_1$ nom-loc/eye-aug-instr-3G
The Birds ate his eyes. (86.ms)

---

[93]In this case, and in 511b, the preposed argument is not case-marked as a nonAbsolutive. Case marking is often omitted with personal names. Though the form *ttm̓íx^{w}* 'animals/birds' does not appear to be a proper noun, the context of the sentences suggests that it is: the lines are taken from the story of Coyote and the Birds (Margaret Stensgar 1986), the characters being anthropomorphized; character names are regularly treated as proper nouns in Coeur d'Alene mythology.

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b. ttm̓íx^{w} ʔíɬntm x^{w}ɛ sčɬósɬəsməs[94]
√ttm̓ix^{w} √ʔiɬn-(n-)t-Ø-m x^{w}ɛ$_{1}$ s-č√ɬus-CVC-min-s<-ʕ>
/bird /eat-(D-)T-3abs-nte det nom-loc/eye-aug-instr-3G<-sphar>
The Birds ate his eyes. (86.CB)

5.1.5.3. *-m/-t* as Nontopic Ergative. What is of major significance in analyzing the clauses is the context in which they occur, and in particular, the discourse topic at the time of the utterance. Where discourse context is considered, the use of the suffix *-m/-t* in place of an expected ergative pronominal indicates that the ergative is a NONTOPIC participant.

Mallinson and Blake (1982:115) state the following regarding the notion of topic:

> In accusative languages the nominative, typically unmarked, is the prime topic position. In ergative languages the absolutive, almost always unmarked, is the prime topic position. The accusative and ergative mark secondary topic positions.

Apparently in Coeur d'Alene the *-m/-t* pronominal reduces the status of even a secondary topic.

Thompson and Thompson come to a similar conclusion in their analysis of cognate forms in Thompson. They state that forms with the 'indefinite subject' morphology

---

[94]The lowered vowel of this form is the result of emphatic pharyngealization and is not a factor in clause analysis.

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"serve to shift focus from the transitive subject to the object" (1992:58).[95]

The sentence given in example 511b (repeated here as 512f) is taken directly from a Coeur d'Alene narrative where Coyote is the current topic. The text preceding 511b is as follows (from the story of Coyote and the Birds, S86):

512. a. $x^{w}\varepsilon$ smiyíw ɬ x^{w}i? ?εcx^{w}ist
$x^{w}\varepsilon$ s√myiw ɬ x^{w}i? ?εc√$x^{w}$is-t
det_1 nom/coyote conn prox1 cust/walk-res
Coyote went over here

b. ε čic?εčístus čɬúsɬəsmis
hε čic√?εčin-stu-Ø-s č-√ɬus+CVC-min-s
sub loc/do-ct-3abs-3erg dir/eye+aug-instr-3G
and he did this (with) his eyes

c. t x^{w}i? ε ʕíg^{w}ənc
t x^{w}i? hε √ʕig^{w}-n-t-Ø-s
conn prox1 sub /throw.pl.obj-d-t-3abs-3erg
and he threw them up in the air

d. ?i··· $x^{w}\varepsilon$ smiyíw tε
- $x^{w}\varepsilon$ s√myiw tε
- det_1 nom/coyote conn
?i··· (said) Coyote and

---

[95]It is not clear whether a distinction between Topic (my use) and Focus (Thompson and Thompson's use) is of any significance here.

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e. lut stím̓
√lut s√ti?-m
/neg nom/thing-mdl
Nothing.

f. ttm̓íx^{w} ?íɬntm x^{w}ɛ sčɬósɬəsməs
√ttm̓ix^{w} √?iɬn-(n-)t-Ø-m x^{w}ɛ s-č√ɬus-CVC-min-s-<-ʕ>
/bird /eat-(D-)T-3abs-nte det$_1$ nom-loc/eye-aug-instr-3G-<-sphar>
The Birds ate his eyes.

Coyote is established as topic and actor in the text by being mentioned specifically in predicate position in 512a and as performer of the gesture/call indicated in 512c. However, in 512f a new actor is introduced in prepredicate position. While this position is one used regularly to introduce a new topic (see section 5.1.3), here it is used in conjunction with the passive-type morphology of the predicate to indicate that this new participant may be functioning as subject but has not achieved status as topic.

Observing this, it is possible to postulate that the *-m/-t* suffix occurring in the position of the expected ergative pronominal in transitive structures is used to indicate a nontopic ergative in natural discourse. Comparing the context of forms 511a and 511b (512f) adds strength to this hypothesis: 511a, with the same gloss and argument structure of 511b, was given in response to a request for clarification of the sentence 511b in a discussion of the narrative. With the content of the statement unchanged and the discourse topic clarified in

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discussion, the morphological mechanics of topic maintenance are unnecessary, and the regular ergative pronominal is used.

The clearest examples supporting this hypothesis come from narratives where change of speaker is indicated. In the exchanges in 513 and 514, the initial ergative (indicated as the subject in the English glosses of 513a and 514a) is maintained as topic with the use of the *-m/-t* suffix, even where another participant is named:[96]

513. (from 'Chief Child-of-the-Root', Reichard n.d.)

a. ʔɛkʷústus łɛ čɪčɛ́ỳəs, "híčɛʔ hnpípɛʔ?"
He said to his grandmother, "Where is my father?"

b. ʔɛkʷústm łɛ ʔɛ čɪčɛ́ỳəs, " ... lut ipł pípɛʔ."
His grandmother told him, " ... you have no father."

c. ʔɛkʷn, "tgʷɛi̇ stím̓ čn lut pípɛʔ?"
He said, "Why don't I have a father?"

---

[96]Examples taken from Reichard's corpus of unpublished texts have been transliterated to modern orthography (outlined in section 1); particles and clitics that R includes as part of full words I have isolated for ease of identification. R's glosses are cryptic; I have based the free translations given here on her word by word analyses.

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d. ʔɛkʷústm, "ɬuʔ q̓ɛsp táɣʷəɣʷ xʷiʔ ɩnpípɛʔ"
She told him, "Your father died a long time ago."

In this passage, Chief Child-of-the-Root, i.e. "he", is the topic, named specifically in lines preceding. In 18a, the fact that the Chief is speaking is indicated by the use of the active transitive with the regular third person ergative pronominal; the postpredicate adjunct is coreferent with the object, not with the subject, indicated by the fact that the clause is introduced with *łɛ*, a simple determiner that is not accompanied by *ʔɛ*, which would indicate nonabsolutive coindexing. The following line, 513b, shows passive-type morphology: the regular ergative is replaced with *-m*, and the postpredicate adjunct is marked as nonabsolutive with both a determiner and oblique. This adjunct is the subject, but one who is not the topic of discussion if the nontopic ergative analysis is correct. The next line indicates that the Chief is still topic: an intransitive predicate is used to introduce the Chief's speech, identified as his by its content. The fourth line, 513d, has the predicate form identical to 513b, maintaining the Chief as topic without restating either participant.[97]

---

[97]Kinkade (1997 p.c.) states that 'precisely this sort of alternation [occurs] in Columbian, except that topical object suffixes are used' rather than the equivalent of Cr nontopic ergatives. Also, Kinkade indicates that Columbian and Upper Chehalis use both types of construction (topical object and nte-type) for topic maintenance, though any distinction in the semantics of

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In the next example, Ernie is introduced as topic and his actions are described in lines 514a-b:

514. (from Ernie Smokes S90)

a. $x^{w}ɛ$ hisq^{w}ɛ́sq^{w}əsɛ? $x^{w}ɛ$ Ernie ...
$x^{w}ɛ$ hn-s√q^{w}ɛs+CVC-ɛ? $x^{w}ɛ$ Ernie
det_1 1poss-nom/son det_1 Ernie
It was my son, Ernie ...

b. g^{w}íč $x^{w}ɛ$ smíl̓x^{w} ɬ ?ácqɛ? ɬ ?icmíl̓x^{w}
√g^{w}ič $x^{w}ɛ$ s√mil̓x^{w} ɬ √?acqɛ? ɬ ẏc√mil̓x^{w}
/see det_1 nom/tobacco conn /go.outside conn cont/tobacco
He saw the tobacco and he went outside and he's smoking.

c. g^{w}iččənúntm x^{w}i? ɛ scíncɛ?s Hillary
√g^{w}ič+C_2-nu-n-t-Ø-m x^{w}i? ɛ s√činɛ?-s Hillary
/see+ncr-success-d-t-3abs-nte prox1 sub nom/brother-3poss Hillary
His brother Hillary found him.

d. ?ɛk^{w}ústm $x^{w}ɛ$ Hillary, "a··, Ernie, cx^{w}úyš ..."
√?ɛk^{w}un-stu-Ø-m $x^{w}ɛ$ Hillary, "a··, Ernie, c√x^{w}uy-š
/say-ct-3abs-nte det_1 Hillary, "hey, Ernie, loc/go-imp
Hillary told him, "hey, Ernie, come here ..."

---

the two structures remains unclear.

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In 514c-d, the actions of Hillary are presented with nontopic ergative constructions. In these cases, the demonstrative (*x^{w}i?* 'this', section 5.2) and the use of a proper noun eliminate the need for the nonabsolutive case marker. The specific mention of Hillary in both clauses and the content of the speech (line 514d) both indicate that Ernie is not the current actor, but is being maintained as topic by the use of the nontopic ergative suffix *-m* in place of the regular third person ergative pronominal. The use of the oblique *x^{w}ɛ ?ɛ* sequence is reduced to *x^{w}ɛ* just as it is in regular transitive constructions when the argument being cross referenced is a lone possible actor dependent either on animacy or, in this case, availability (the speech indicates that it is not Ernie who is speaking).

5.1.5.4. Summary. Coeur d'Alene predicates that often translate as passive have been analyzed here as transitive constructions with nontopic arguments in the ergative position. These arguments are not considered INDEFINITE since they are easily identified by the use of adjuncts, nor are the structures considered intransitive or passive, as similar constructions in Halkomelem are (Gerdts 1982). This analysis of the passive-type construction as a transitive with a nontopic ergative eliminates one of the problems the structure poses for relational grammar, which requires motivated chomage. Since there is no object-to-subject advancement, there is only one stratum of analysis, with no motivation for status change from argument to oblique.

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5.2. Nonadjoined clauses. Nonadjoined clauses are those that follow the main predicate without an adjoining determiner. They include constructions where two predicates are juxtaposed, or conjoined, or where one predicate is subordinated. Each type is described briefly here.

5.2.1 Double clause constructions. Juxtaposed double predicates (5.2.1.1) and predicates conjoined with ɬ (5.2.1.2) form double clause constructions in Coeur d'Alene.

5.2.1.1. Double predicates. Pairs of unadjoined predicates create complex sentences. Where the first predicate is transitive, the second predicate may be coreferential with the absolutive argument of the first:

515. nsílpminn ʔɛkʷustmɛxʷ
n√sil-p-min(-n)-t-Ø-n √ʔɛkʷun-stu-mɛ-xʷ
loc/dizzy-inch-rel(-d)-t-3abs-1erg /say-ct-1acc-2erg
I forgot you told me. 14.21

Where the first predicate is intransitive, the second is not cross referenced:

516. čn nɛʔkʷú ɣ̓ɔ́qʷncɛxʷ
čn √nɛʔkʷun √ɣ̓ɔqʷ-n-t-sɛ-xʷ
1nom /think /lie-d-t-1acc-2erg
I believe you lied to me. 14.20

Particles may intervene between the two predicates, but they do not appear to act as determiners:

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517. nsílpminn čɛy̓ɛmn x^{w}ɛ pus
n√sil-p-min(-n)-t-Ø-n čɛ? √?ɛm-t-Ø-n[98] x^{w}ɛ √pus
loc/dizzy-inch-rel(-d)-t-3abs-1erg unrlz /feed-t-3abs-1erg det$_1$ /cat
I forgot to feed the cat. 14.21

518. nsílpminn ṫi? ?ɛmtx^{w} x^{w}ɛ hnpus
n√sil-p-min(-n)-t-Ø-n ṫi? √?ɛm-t-Ø-x^{w} x^{w}ɛ hn√pus
loc/dizzy-inch-rel(-d)-t-3abs-1erg rlz /feed-t-3abs-2erg det$_1$ 1G /cat
I forgot that you fed my cat. 14.21

A double clause may serve as an adjectival phrase following a main predicate:[99]

519. ... ?apɬ q^{w}ácqən q̓^{w}aq̓^{w}ɛ́d.
√?ɛpɬ √q^{w}ic=qin CV√q̓^{w}ɛd
/have /warm=head intsv/black
... he will have a black hat. cr14

5.2.1.2. Conjoined predicates. Two predicates may be conjoined with ɬ CONNECTIVE to form compound sentences:

---

[98]The predicate marked UNREALIZED may include the s-INTENTIONAL prefix: čɛ? s-√?ɛm-n-t-0-n, creating the y̓ that is not evident in the REALIZED form following.

[99]Following Reichard (1939, for example), I identify √?ɛpɬ 'have' as a root. Its behavior is peculiar, however, and needs to be investigated.

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520. hɔ ʔɛ čicx^{w}úy ɬ ʔɛk^{w}ústus x^{w}ɛ nuk^{w}sčínts ...
hɔ ʔɛ čic√x^{w}uy ɬ √ʔɛk^{w}un-stu-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ nuk^{w}-s√čint-s
oh dk dir√go conn /tell-ct-3abs-3erg det$_{1}$ coll-nom√Indian-3G
Then he came and he told his people, "... cr35

521. k^{w}um̓ x^{w}iy̓ɛ ʔac̓áx̣əl x^{w}ist ɬ uɬčɩɬíp.
k^{w}um̓ √x^{w}iʔ hɛ ʔɛc√ʔáx̣il √x^{w}is-t ɬ uɬ√čɬip
and /prox1 sub cust/do.thus /travel-res conn again/hunt
Then the one who did thus he walked away and again hunted. dwarf . 10

522. čn ʔɛ ɬ ʔíɬn.
čn √ʔɛng^{w}ɛt ɬ √ʔiɬn-n-t-Ø-n
1nom /person conn /eat-d-3abs-1erg
It was me, I ate it. 12 14 . 4

523. ciʔ ɬ čn hɔycn.
√ciʔ ɬ čn √hɔy=cin
/prox2 conn 1nom /finish=mouth
I don't say anything more. raven 107
(That's it, I'm through talking)

5.2.2. Subordinate predicates. Predicates can be subordinated to the negative predicate (5.2.2.1) or to demonstratives (5.2.2.2).

5.2.2.1. Subordination with the negative. The negative predicate *√lut* behaves uniquely. It usually serves as a main predicate with a third person absolutive subject and

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a subordinate predicate, indicated by the particle *hɛ*, specifying the action not performed:

524. lut hɛ stuʔsg^{w}íčn x^{w}ɛ Blanche
√lut hɛ s-tuʔ-s√g^{w}ič-n-t-Ø-n x^{w}ɛ Blanche
/neg sub nom-mut-int/see-d-t-3abs-1erg det$_1$ Blanche
I didn't go to see Blanche. 14.24

5.2.2.2. Subordination with demonstratives. The demonstratives, like the negative *√lut*, are roots that often occur as main predicates with zero marking as third person absolutive forms:

525. ciʔ x^{w}ɛ hiscɛnk^{w}ínx^{w}cn
√ciʔ x^{w}ɛ hn-s-cɛn√k^{w}in-ix^{w}=cn
/prox$_2$ det$_1$ 1G-nom-loc/take.one-vol=mouth
That was my answer. 90.68

The demonstratives may be confirmed as roots where they are transitivized or otherwise overtly inflected (see examples in section 4.2.)

A demonstrative may act as main predicate and be followed by an adjoined clause with a determiner as in 525, but it may not be followed by a subordinated clause. The demonstrative may also occur as second in a double clause construction where it can be followed by a subordinate clause introduced with *hɛ*:

526. χíɬt ciʔ ɛ tṕuy̓ṕúy̓šn
√χiɬ-t-Ø-Ø √ciʔ hɛ t√ṕuy+CVC=šin
/leave-t-3abs-imp /prox$_2$ sub loc/pleat+aug=foot
Get rid of that car! 10.29

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5.2.2.3. Summary. Both the double predicate and the conjoined predicate constructions include fully inflected clauses. The second predicate in double predicate constructions may be cross referenced with the absolutive argument of the main (initial) predicate, but the conjoined predicates cannot be cross referenced.

The negative and demonstratives have different patterns in allowable constructions, but in all cases, the clause subordinated to or adjoined to the negative or demonstrative predicate is coindexed with the absolutive argument of that predicate.

5.3. Lexical affixes. Coeur d'Alene has approximately eighty suffixes that refer to body parts (e.g. arm, breath, ear, tongue), things (e.g. plant, sky, surface, fish, clothes, horse) and locations (e.g. hanging, inside, back and forth, between). These have been called the lexical suffixes (following Kinkade 1963:352) and locative suffixes.[100] The language also includes a small number (under ten) prefixes with person (spouse; professional; offspring) or thing (colt; thing) reference. Reichard 1938 lists all of the Coeur d'Alene lexical affixes, both nominal and locative, with numerous examples.

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[100]Rose 1982 refers to a similar set in Nootka as restrictive locative lexical suffixes (RLLS), suggesting that each indicates a location rather than an item or class of items; for example Nk =sinqi means 'at the belly', =ʔni·s 'at the beach', =sit 'on [surface of] liquid in vessel'.

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The lexical affixes are used as nonargument classifiers in Coeur d'Alene compound constructions. There are no cases where a Coeur d'Alene lexical affix serves as a subject or object. This is not unexpected in a pronominal argument language (see Jelinek 1995). In Coeur d'Alene, subjects and objects can only be pronominal, and every predicate is fully inflected. The use of lexical affixes does not affect subject and object inflection, though it may appear to alter the thematic role of the object. I do not consider the Coeur d'Alene lexical suffixes to be incorporated nouns in the sense proposed by Baker (1988), wherein the head of a direct object NP or subject NP is moved into the verbal complex; this is structurally impossible in a language without noun phrases, and functionally impossible in a language where the pronominal subject and object are mandatory elements of the verb complex: incorporation of the Baker kind would result in two elements bearing a single relation, subject or object, within the predicate.[101]

Lexical and locative affixation in Coeur d'Alene result in structurally similar constructions with distinct interpretations depending upon transitivity and discourse context. All lexical/locative suffixes are combined with a root or stem. Many of these derived stems are lexicalized with nominal or predicative meaning; and these are akin to lexical compounds (5.3.1). In some instances, the compound stems derived by

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[101]Neither am I inclined to analyze them as incorporated prepositions: such an analysis would require a distinction between adjunct and argument PPs (Baker 1988:239ff) that is not evident in the language.

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lexical/locative affixation resemble the classifier noun incorporation described by Rosen 1989: here, a lexical/locative suffix is used to indicate a general class of items or locations; the affix does not constitute a grammatical relation, but it may be optionally referred to in adjoined clauses (5.3.2). In other constructions, the lexically suffixed predicate resembles an applicative: the compounded lexical affix again introduces a classificatory element, one that appears to shift the thematic role of the transitive object from patient/theme to possessor. This I argue is not the result of the incorporation or addition of an argument, but rather an accident of context and transitivity (5.3.3).

5.3.1. Compounding and lexical affixation. Carlson 1990 provides evidence that lexical affixation in Spokane Salish is the historical result of compounding, a process that is still productive in Spokane. Carlson suggests that lexical suffixes developed from right members of compounds, and lexical prefixes from left members, and provides evidence with a substantial number of roots and lexical affix pairs with phonological and semantic similarity.

In Coeur d'Alene, as in Spokane, compounding joins two roots or root-based derived forms to create a new word. Lexical affixation joins a root and a bound morpheme having nominal or locative content. The structures and their behavior are similar, as demonstrated in the following sections.

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5.3.1.1. Compounding. Coeur d'Alene compounding involves the joining of two roots. The initial root is most commonly underived, although both elements may be derived forms. The compounded elements may be joined by a connector, usually *-ɛɬ-*.[102] The result of the compound may undergo further derivation as a unit, and is then subject to full inflection:

527. nɛʔ kʷu tiʔxʷałgʷgʷaχtíl̓t
nɛʔ kʷu √tixʷ-<ʔ>-ɛɬ-C_1√gʷaχ-t=il̓t
irr 2nom /secure-<inch>-conn-dim/child-res=child
You will have a baby. GAR620.521b

528. ʔi·yaʔanłámqɛʔ
Ø y̓c√yɛʔ#√nłamqɛʔ
3abs cont/procure#/black.bear
They were impounding animals. GAR642.632

A compound may serve as an adjunct (529) or as a main predicate (527, 528, 530):

529. hɔi xuł n̓ułxʷ ʔɛcwíš ʔa sk̓ul̓smaχíʔč̓n̓
hɔy xʷuł √n̓ułxʷ ʔɛc√wiš ʔɛ s-√k̓ʷul̓-
#s-√maχ=i<ʔ>č̓n̓
then proceed /enter cust/dwell obl nom/make-#nom-
/(grizzly)

---

[102]This connector is often reduced to *-ɛ-*, losing its *ɬ* before the nominalizer *s-*.

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Then he proceeded to go in the house of a **substitute for Grizzly.**[103] beaver.3

530. hɔi la?x̌^{w} hɔi **uɬck^{w}ɛnšɛ́lmən** łɛ smIyíw.
hɔy √la?x̌^{w} hɔy uł-?ɛc√k^{w}in#√šɛ́l=min łɛ s√myiw
then /dawn then again-cust/take#/cut=instr det$_3$ nom/coyote
Then it was morning then **again he took the ax** Coyote. Beaver. 64

In the following examples, the (nominalized) form for grouse and the (underived) root for deer are compounded with the root *√čɛ́ɬ* 'hunt':

531. ?ičɛ́łsq̓^{w}ɛ́dups
y̓c√čɛ́ł#s√q̓^{w}ɛd=ups
cont/hunt#nom/black=tail
He's hunting grouse. 90.44ln
He's grouse-hunting

532. ?ičɛ́łc̓í?
y̓c√čɛ́ł#√c̓i?
cont/hunt#/deer
He's hunting deer;
He's hunting for a deer. 90.44ln

This root *√čɛ́ɬ* 'hunt' is unable to stand alone, and without compounding it takes the suffix *=ip*, a locative element meaning 'behind, after'. The form in 533 is

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[103]The 'substitute for grizzly' is someone pretending to be Grizzly.

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considered "wordy" by the informant, due to the fact that it is not a compound but instead takes a full oblique adjunct:

533. ʔičɛɬíp ʔɛ c̓iʔ
ẏc√čɛɬip ʔɛ √č̓iʔ
cont/hunt obl /deer
He's hunting (for a) deer. 90.44ln

Comparison of the compounded forms in 531 and 532 with the adjoined structure in 533 suggests that the second element in the compounded form is equivalent to an oblique nominal.

5.3.1.2. Lexical affixation. The use of lexical affixes might be called affixal compounding: the process resembles word compounding except that the compounded element is a bound morpheme with no evidence of derivation (such as the *s-* nominalizer prefix) or conjunction (such as the *-ɛɬ-* connective).[104] The lexical affixes, like the compounded roots, are used for narrowing the specification of the root to which they are attached, in a manner similar to that of an oblique phrase. Just as in the case of the grouse-hunting example (531), the compounded element (word or affix) restricts the action indicated by the base root. Compare the lexically suffixed forms (affixal compounding) in

[104]A few lexical suffixes retain an initial *s-*; at least one of these, *=sčint* 'person' might be considered a compounded nominal rather than a suffix.

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examples 534 and 535 with the lexical compounds in 536 and 537:

534. g^{w}ɛy̓cn
√g^{w}ɛy̓=cin
/finish=mouth
He finished eating 90.120ln

535. hng^{w}áy̓qn
hn√g^{w}ɛy̓=qin
loc/finish=head
He finished growing. 90.120ln

536. g^{w}iy̓asqɛy̓m
√g^{w}ɛy̓-ɛɬ-s√qɛy̓-m
/finish-conn-nom/write-m
He finished writing. ('all one word') 90.120ln

537. čn g^{w}iy̓ɛsk̓^{w}úl̓
čn √g^{w}ɛy̓-ɛɬ-s√k̓^{w}ul̓
1nom /finish-conn-nom/make
I finished working. 90.120ln

The processes of compounding and lexical suffixation might still be productive in the language, but many forms have been lexicalized, having meanings unpredictable from the sum of their parts, though certainly semantically traceable. For example, in 538b, the second root, *√sɛg^{w}ɛt* 'who', has come to mean 'characteristic in manner'. In example 538c one might expect the form to mean 'he has a funny(-looking) mouth' rather than a mouth that produces words of humor.

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538. a. xʷádxʷədt
√xʷɛd+CVC-t
/amuse+aug-stat
He's funny. 90.312

b. xʷadxʷədɬsɛgʷɛt
√xʷɛd+CVC-ɛɬ-√sɛgʷɛt
/amuse+aug-conn-/who
He has a funny way, he is comical. 90.312

c. nxʷádxʷədətcn
hn√xʷɛd+CVC-t=cin
loc/amuse+aug-stat=mouth
He's full of jokes, funny sayings. 90.312

Other examples with unpredictable meanings follow:

539. ni?šarúsnc.
ni?√šar=us-n-t-Ø-s
midst/hang=fire-d-t-3abs-3erg
Then he boiled it. 12.12

540. ?ɛc?ɛdxʷíẇəs
?ɛc√?idxʷ=iẇɛs
cust/cross=between
Cross; crucifix. 12.18

Additional examples include 541, where the suffix *=us* 'face, fire' is used in both verbal and nominal constructions:

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541. nɛʔkúnəm ḱʷnɛʔ **čInułdíḱʷsəm** čɛłulhInšIšíẇtəm hɛ **čɛłmIc̓úsIs.**
√nɛʔkʷn-m ḱʷnɛʔ čn uł√diḱʷ=us-m čɛł
uł-hin-C_1√šiẇt-m hɛ čɛł√mɛc̓=us-s
/think-m soon 1nom again/turn=face-m fur again-1G-dim/dau-m dep fut /grease=face-3G
He thought future I **will turn back** it will be for my daughter **something for face grease.** Beaver. 159

In 542 the origin of the suffix is evident in the root *√łus* 'face, eye':

542. ʔɛkʷn lut hɛ **χɛsts** xʷɛ **isčłúsəmn**
√ʔɛkʷn √lut hɛ √χɛs-t-us xʷɛ in-s-č√łus-min
/say /neg conn /good-res=face det_1 2G-nom-loc/face-instr
He told me **my face** didn't **look good.**[105]
wellpinit.37

Multiple suffixes may be used in combination with special meanings. Reichard lists over sixteen of these combinations, which she refers to as compounded suffixes (1938:624-625). Some examples include that in 543, where the first suffix indicates the manner of action and the second suffix indicates the location or destination:

---

[105]Note that the English translation has the reverse order. The form *χɛsts* means 'look good'. The form *sčłúsmn* usually translates as 'eye', *słúsmn* as 'face'.

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543. ntú?x^{w}ilšk^{w}ɛ? x^{w}ɛ čatqɛlɛ?
hn√tu?x^{w}=ilš=k^{w}ɛ? x^{w}ɛ čat√qɛlɛ?
loc/jump=curved.motion=water det$_{1}$ /lake
He jumped in the lake. 90.352bl

In 544 the first suffix restricts the meaning of the second:

544. anχalχalíčn̓šn
?ɛc-hn√χɛl+CVC=ičn̓=šin
cust-loc/lie.flat+CVC=back=foot
He had boards for sandals. GAR609.458

The multiple suffixes work in another way in 545, where the first suffix modifies the meaning of the root, from general insertion to hand insertion, and the second suffix indicates the location of the action:

545. hnlaʕ^{w}íčtɛtk^{w}ɛ?
hn√laʕ^{w}=ičt=itk^{w}ɛ?
loc/insert=hand=water
He plunged his hand into water. GAR625.560

The same set of affixes combined may have more than one meaning; for example, the combination of the prefix *ni?* 'amid' with the suffix sequence *=iẃɛs* 'between' and *=qin* 'head' can mean either 'space in corner' or 'over the head':

546. a. ni?caqáẃasqənən
ni?√caq=iẃɛs=qin-n-t-Ø-n

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midst/obj.stands=between=head-d-t-3abs-3erg
I set hollow object in corner. GAR625.550

b. ni?χápχapaẃasqənən
ni?√χɛp+CVC=iẃɛs=qin-n-t-Ø-n
midst/pile.flat.obj+aug=between=head-d-t-3abs-3erg
I (bird) fluttered over his head. GAR625.550

Infrequently, lexical suffixes occur discontinuously within a word:[106]

---

[106]An example with similar structure, though very different semantics, is from Columbian (Czaykowska-Higgins, Willet and Bart 1996):

i. ləx^{w}cənmált
√ləx^{w}=cən-m=ált
/cry=mouth-mid=baby
Someone's baby cried.

Forms with discontinuous lexical suffixes suggest that either the combination preceding the grammatical suffix *-m* is no longer recognized as derived, or the grammars include two levels at which lexical affixation occurs. In the Columbian example, the lexical suffix *=alt* serves as agent. This is impossible in Coeur d'Alene. However, the Cm suffix may be adverbial, rendering the meaning 'there was baby-crying', which would suggest semantic, but not syntactic, agency. This is more in line with the use of the lexical suffix in Cr. (I thank Dale Kinkade for this observation.)

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547. ... čIc̓úsəməẃɛs.
√čɛc̓=us-m=iẃɛs
/long.obj.lies=face-m=between
... (there was) a cliff. shst.48

A single meaning can be conveyed with various combinations of suffixes, depending on the context. For example, the notion of 'cliff' can be expressed as in 547 or in 548:

548. hɔi tɛč sík^{w}ɛʔ hɔi t̓ɔ́x^{w}alšqənɛʔst
hɔy tɛč √sik^{w}ɛʔ hɔy √t̓ux^{w}=ilš=qin=iʔst
then dir water then /jump=curve=head=rock
Then toward the water then he jumped off the cliff.
Beaver. 137

Affixal compounding (549) can parallel predicate plus adjunct constructions (550); the restrictions on suffix use are not clear (see Kinkade 1963):

549. a. g^{w}ɛ́lpus
√g^{w}ɛl-p=us
/burn-invl=face
He burnt his face. 11.33

b. k^{w} g^{w}ɛ́lpups
k^{w}u √g^{w}ɛl-p=ups
2nom /burn-invl=bottom
You burnt your butt. 11.33
Did you burn his butt?

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550. a. g^{w}ɛlp x^{w}ə sčłúsmis
√g^{w}ɛl-p x^{w}ɛ s-č√łus-min-s
/burn-invl det_1 nom-loc/face-instr-3G
He burnt his eye. 11.33

b. g^{w}ɛlp x^{w}ɛ ƛ́ínɛʔs
√g^{w}ɛl-p x^{w}ɛ √ƛ́inɛʔ-s
/burn-invl det_1 /ear-3G
He burnt his ear. 11.33

5.3.2. Lexical suffixes as classifiers. In 552, a dependent phrase or determiner phrase is used to specify the class of things implicated with the lexical suffix of the head nominal or main predicate:

552. hnsəsɛ́lsɛlpus x^{w}ɛ słúsłusmis
hn-C_1√sɛl+CVC-p=us x^{w}ɛ s√łus+CVC-min-s
loc-intns/spin+aug-p=face det_1 nom/face+aug-instr-3G
He got dizzy (His eyes were spinning?). 90.210ms

The lexical affix indicates a class of items that may be specified in an oblique/determiner phrase. In 553, a transitive structure without lexical affixation, the adjunct referring to 'his enemy' is definite by being marked for possession, it is coreferent with the predicate object, it appears in standard object adjunct position (first position following the transitive predicate), and it cooccurs with a proper name agent.

553. ƛ́ápnc x^{w}ɛ šámn̓s x^{w}ɛ Don
√ƛ́ap-n-t-Ø-s x^{w}ɛ √šɛmɛn̓-s x^{w}ɛ Don

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/shoot-d-t-3abs-3erg det_1 /enemy-3G det_1 Don
Don shot his enemy. 90.331

In 554, a lexically affixed form, the predicate is intransitive, an antipassive (see section 4.1.); the function of the lexical suffix is equivalent to that of the *-m* that occurs with patient-oriented roots: it renders the subject an agent. The lexical suffix *=iɬc̓ɛʔ* 'body' indicates a class of items that may be shot at, and 'Don' must be considered coreferent with the predicate subject, since there is only one argument to be specified.

554. ƛ̓ápɬc̓ɛʔ x^{w}ɛ Don
√ƛ̓ap=iɬc̓ɛʔ x^{w}ɛ Don
/shoot=body det_1 Don
Don shot sb/st. 90.331

In 555, two adjuncts accompany the intransitive (antipassive) predicate, one of them oblique and indefinite (unpossessed). This oblique adjunct is a specifier of, or subset of, the class of bodies that Don, again the agent, might shoot. Neither the suffix nor the adjunct represents a main predicate object.

555. ƛ̓ápɬc̓ɛʔ ʔɛ šɛ́mɛn̓ x^{w}ɛ Don
√ƛ̓ap=iɬc̓ɛʔ ʔɛ √šɛ́mɛn̓ x^{w}ɛ Don
/shoot=body obl /enemey det_1 Don
Don shot an enemy. 90.331

If the oblique adjunct is made a determiner adjunct, giving both arguments equal status for cross referencing

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with the intransitive subject, the construction is ungrammatical:[107]

556. *ƛ̓ápɬc̓ɛʔ x^{w}ɛ šɛ́mɛn̓ x^{w}ɛ Don

That the lexical suffixes are classifiers is a claim strengthened by the fact that they are used in counting classes of things. Reichard (1938:645) lists a number of suffixes used in counting, including *=uƛ̓mx^{w}* 'parcels of land', *=ilx^{w}* 'hides', *=ic̓ɛʔ* 'blankets (not folded)' and *=asq̓it* 'days'.[108]

557. músčt
√mus=ičt
/four=hand
Four hands. N1975.150I

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[107]Or at least ambiguous. The speaker rejected the form in the context of a discussion of Don (a police officer) shooting criminals. However, we saw elsewhere that adjuncts functioning as oblique phrases may take a determiner rather than the oblique marker, depending upon predicate pronominal referents (nonthird person) and the presence or absence of other cross referenced adjuncts. See section 5.1 and appendix A.

[108]Other means of counting are by compounding numeral and nominal with *-ɛɬ-*, or by creating a dependent clause with *hɛ* following the numeral stem. See Reichard 1938:646.

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558. ha?ánmasqit
√hɛ?inm=asqit
/eight=day
Eight days. GAR.646

The more or less specific classification of objects or locations indicated by a lexical suffix may be expanded in the nominal adjunct accompanying an affixed predicate, as in example 555. In 559, the use of the suffix *=qin* 'head' is similar to the English use of 'head' in refering to a count of stock:

559. yaʕpqín ?ɛ sčínt.
√yaʕ-p=qin ?ɛ s√činт
/assemble-invl=head obl nom/Indian
(There were) lots of Indians/people. wellpinit.10

In Columbian (Czaykowska-Higgins, Willet and Bart 1996), a nominal phrase linked with a lexical suffix of an intransitive predicate can only occur in an oblique or prepositional phrase. In Coeur d'Alene, it is acceptable to have a non-oblique nominal cooccurring with a classifier lexical suffix in an intransitive construction. The use of the determiner in place of the oblique marker in the adjunct follows the rules of agency and animacy encountered in the discussion of adjuncts (section 5.1). Example 560 shows a lexically suffixed intransitive form with a determiner adjunct; 561 shows an unsuffixed transitive with the same adjunct and same meaning:

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560. čn šɛpəpíɬx^{w} x^{w}ɛ hncɛtx^{w}
čn √šip+C_2=iɬx^{w} x^{w}ɛ hn√cɛtx^{w}
1nom /finish+ncr=house det_1 1G/house
I finished building my house. 90.120ln

561. šípəpsn x^{w}ɛ hncɛtx^{w}
√šip+C_2-stu-Ø-n x^{w}ɛ hn√cɛtx^{w}
/finish+ncr-ct-3abs-3erg det_1 1G/house
I finished making my house. 90.120ln

The following examples are classifier/antipassive constructions. The adjunct specifies the subject, as is usual in intransitive constructions. The lexical suffix, however, does not indicate an object; rather, it modifies the meaning of the root/stem to restrict the scope of action:

562. c̓unmɛ?sčínt x^{w}ɛ sčínt
Ø √c̓un√mɛy=sčint x^{w}ɛ s√činт
3abs /(teach)=person det_1 Indian
An Indian taught somebody. 90.155.ms

563. c̓unmɛ?sčínt x^{w}ɛ Lucy
Ø √c̓un√mɛy=sčint x^{w}ɛ Lucy
3abs /(teach)=person det_1 Lucy
Lucy taught somebody. 90.155.ms

564. ƛ̓apsčɛ́nt x^{w}ɛ sčínt
√ƛ̓ap=sčint x^{w}ɛ s√činт
/shoot=person det_1 nom/Indian
An Indian shot somebody. 90.155ms

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Lexical compounds may take lexical suffixes, restricting the semantic domain of the stem, but not changing transitivity:

565. čn $g^{w}i\dot{y}\varepsilon s\dot{k}^{w}\acute{u}\dot{l}$
čn $\surd g^{w}i\dot{y}$-ɛł-s$\surd\dot{k}^{w}u\dot{l}$
1nom /finish-conn-nom/work
I finished working. 90.120ln

566. čn $g^{w}i\dot{y}\varepsilon s\dot{k}^{w}\acute{u}\dot{l}łx^{w}$
čn $\surd g^{w}i\dot{y}$-ɛł-s$\surd\dot{k}^{w}u\dot{l}$=iłx^{w}
1nom /finish-conn-nom/work=house
I finished building a house. 90.120ln

A quantifier root with a classifier lexical suffix that is specified in a dependent clause (567) may be extracted from a nonadjoined clause and preposed (568); the specifier remains as determiner adjunct in postpredicate position. (The unaffixed intransitive in 569 is provided for comparison.)

567. čn ʔɔ́q^{w}s [ʔaʕ^{w}ítk^{w}ɛʔ ɛ· sík^{w}ɛʔ]
čn $\surd$ʔɔq^{w}s $\surd$ʔaʕ^{w}=itk^{w}ɛʔ hɛ $\surd$sik^{w}ɛʔ
1nom /drink /much=water dep /water
I drank lots of water 90.168bl

568. ʔaʕ^{w}ítk^{w}ɛʔ čn ʔɔ́q^{w}s x^{w}ɛ sík^{w}ɛʔ
$\surd$ʔaʕ^{w}=itk^{w}ɛʔ čn $\surd$ʔɔq^{w}s x^{w}ɛ $\surd$sik^{w}ɛʔ
/much=water 1nom /drink det$_{1}$ /water
I drank lots of water. 90.169bl

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569. ʔaʔaɬ̓ʷ čiʔcʔɔ́qʷs
$C_1\sqrt{ʔaɬ^{w}}$-<> čn y̓c√ʔɔqʷs
dim/much-<dim> 1nom cont/drink
I drank a lot. 90.168bl

The function of lexical suffixation in Coeur d'Alene is as a classifier, and its use fits most of the criteria of classificatory or classifier incorporation described by Mithun 1984 and Rosen 1989: The incorporated element is used to narrow the referential domain of the verb, which can be accompanied by a more specific external nominal (Mithun 1984:863). The verb's transitivity is unaffected; that is, the incorporated noun does not satisfy an argument of the verb (Rosen 1989:296).

5.3.3. Effects of lexical affixation. Like the possessor applicative constructions (4.2.3.1), some instances of lexical suffixation appear to alter the semantic role of the object from patient to possessor: in example 570 the lexical suffix *=igʷɛl* 'vehicle' is introduced, which allows one to interpret the first person object as its possessor. (Although the translation is given as 'car', the suffix may refer to any vehicle, or any hollow object, e.g. 'belly', depending on context.) This contrasts with the non-lexically suffixed applicative predicate in 571, where possession is indicated by the applicative object and the thing possessed is indicated by an adjunct rather than a lexical suffix.

570. mɛɬ̓ʷgʷəlncɛxʷ
√mɛɬ̓ʷ=gʷəl-n-t-sɛ-xʷ

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/smash=vehicle-d-t-1acc-2erg
You ruined my car. 3.33

571. hɔi ʔɛkʷústus nɛʔ χił ʔacmɛ́ɛ̓ʷɬcɛxʷ hnɬ́ɛ́dɛʔ.
hɔi √ʔɛkʷun-stu-Ø-s nɛʔ √χił ʔɛc√mɛɛ̓ʷ-ɬ-t-sɛ-xʷ hn√ɬɛdɛʔ
excl /say-ct-3abs-3erg irr /might cust/smash-pra-t-1acc-2erg 1G/canoe
Then he said to him you might smash my canoe. ccrt1.46

The interpretation of the (nonapplicative) object as possessor of the lexical suffix is especially inviting when that suffix indicates a body part, as in example 572. Again, in the applicative construction, the possessed item must be specified in a separate clause (573):

572. nɛ́c̓aχəncɛs
√nic̓=aχn-t-sɛ-s
/cut=arm-t-1acc-3erg
He cut my arm (for me). 16.19

573. hɔi xui ɬ nníc̓nic̓ɬc xʷiy̓ɛ sc̓uʔšIs.
hɔy √xʷuy ɬ n√nic̓+nic̓-ɬ-t-Ø-s xʷiʔ hɛ s√c̓uʔ=šin-s
then /go conn loc/cut+aug-pra-t-3abs-3erg (/prox$_1$ sub nom/part=foot-3G)
Then he went and cut off for her those her feet. Beaver. 127

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Similar interpretations are apparent in Columbian according to Czaykowska-Higgins, Willet and Bart (1996:34), who state that in transitive constructions the direct object is always interpreted as the possessor, but that any independent arguments (i.e. adjoined clauses) specifying the object do not include a standard possessor morpheme.

In defining compound incorporation, Rosen states that the complex verb resulting from the joining of a nominal and verbal element will require one less external argument; that is, one argument of the simple verb is satisfied within the (complex) verb (1989:295).[109] Though all the examples of lexical affixation in section 5.3.1.2 and 5.3.2 resemble compounding, they are not cases of reduced transitivity: An intransitive form still requires a pronominal subject, and a transitive form still requires both subject and object pronominal suffixes. Reduction of external arguments is not really a good test for Salishan incorporation, since transitivity is derived, arguments are pronominal, and adjuncts are optional. However, in comparing the forms in 570 through 573, it is clear that the applicative structures include an external argument that is apparently replaced by a lexical suffix in the simple transitive constructions. This suggests that Coeur d'Alene lexical suffixation fits Rosen's definition of

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[109]Rosen (1989:296;309) actually says that the verb becomes intransitive, but I am assuming she is referring only to simple transitives in her statement; I am generalizing to try to account for morphological ditransitives.

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compound incorporation. The process also resembles noun incorporation as described by Baker (1988:80): it is productive and appears to be referentially transparent. Also, the meanings of affixed transitives such as in 570 and 572 are generally predictable from sum of their parts.[110] Czaykowska-Higgins, Willet and Bart (1996:36-37), however, have found no good test for lexical suffix referentiality in Columbian. Though the lexical suffixes in the forms in 570 and 572 appear referential, they are in fact the same suffixes that behave as classifiers in other constructions.

In fact, Rosen (1989:309) states that the doubling and stranding apparent in classifier incorporation are prohibited in compound incorporation. Doubling would prevent the assignment of a semantic role to the unincorporated object. However, the example below shows clearly that doubling does occur in Coeur d'Alene transitive structures with lexical affixes:

574. ƛ̓^{w}nɛʔ ƛ̓mɔ́sncɛx^{w} x^{w}ɛ hisłúsmn
ƛ̓^{w}nɛʔ √ƛ̓m=us-n-t-sɛ-x^{w} x^{w}ɛ hn-s√łus=min
soon /lick=face-d-t-1acc-2erg det$_1$ (1G-nom/face=instr)
Now you can lick my face. 90.37ms

The first person object's apparent possession of the thing indicated by the lexical affix is an artifact of the semantic reference of the affix and is strengthened

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[110]Though they may be vague, for example in determining what type of vehicle is represented by *=ig^{w}ɛl*: 'car' v. 'canoe' v. other 'hollow object'.

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by the coreferential adjunct, which is here overtly marked as being possessed by the object. But the lexical suffixation in 574 works just as it does elsewhere in the language, resulting in a compound stem with classifier reference. When the stem is transitivized, the object remains patient; however, the action indicated by the predicate stem includes implication of a location, a location that may be implicitly possessed (such as arm, back of head) or explicitly possessed (vehicle, house). One of the arguments, usually the object, will be interpreted as the possessor as in examples 570 and 572.

However, in cases such as 575, neither subject nor object is translated as possessor:[111]

575. ča?qíntx^{w}
√či?=qin-n-t-Ø-x^{w}
/open=head-d-t-3abs-2erg
You open it (box). GAR614.489

In at least one case where the lexical suffix appears to function as a possessed theme, the subject (agent) rather than the object is interpreted as the possessor:

576. ?acanɬəkʲ^{w}áχənməstus
?ɛc-cɛn√ɬɛkʲ^{w}=aχn=min-stu-Ø-s
cust-loc/lay.one=arm=instr-ct-3abs-3erg
He had her under his wing. GAR609.457

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[111]Though the possibility is evident, in an interpretation something like 'you open its head'.

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In intransitive structures, the use of body-part suffixes with semantically appropriate roots or stems almost unavoidably implies possessorship by the subject:[112]

577. a. u łay $x^{w}ɛ$ słúsmɩs
u √łay $x^{w}ɛ$ s√łus=min-s
inher /make.dirty det_1 nom/face=instr-3G
His face is dirty.

b. u łáyus
u √łay=us
inher /make.dirty=face
(He has a) Dirty face. 11b.35

578. c̓áẃsm
√c̓aẃ=us-m
/wash=face-m
He washed his face. LN.350.II

However, true possessorship is indicated in Coeur d'Alene only through genitive marking on the adjoined clause or in possessor applicative construction (sections 3.3 and 4.3.1)

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[112]An example of an inappropriate stem is given in i. The lexical suffix *=us* 'face; fire' does not succumb to default possession:

i. činiʔdɛ́x^{w}us
čic-niʔ√dɛx^{w}=us
dir-midst/lower=face
She fell into the fire. GAR612.478

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Additional evidence that lexically suffixed forms are not examples of compound incorporation are those where applicative constructions are based on lexically suffixed stems. Rosen states that in compound incorporation 'the direct object argument of the simple verb is satisfied, so that no direct object can co-occur with NI' (1938:309). Were the lexical suffixes truly examples of compound incorporation, any Coeur d'Alene transitive construction with a lexical suffix would necessarily have two direct objects. If the morphological object of the simple transitives is considered a possessor or other indirect argument as a result of the incorporation, then no problem would exist. However, we have seen that the role of possessor credited to the morphological object is not a true semantic role, but a consequence of circumstance. Only applicative structures can alter the role of the object, as is evident in the following structures, which have both applicative morphology, creating beneficiary or possessor objects, and lexical suffixes, serving as classifiers for potential adjuncts:

579. nič̓k^{w}úpɬn
√nič̓=k^{w}up-ɬ-t-Ø-n
/cut=wood-pra-t-3abs-1erg
I cut wood for him.

580. nič̓k^{w}úpšicɛs
√nič̓=k^{w}up-ši-t-sɛ-s
/cut=wood-b-t-1acc-3erg
He cut me some wood (for me). 16.18

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581. niči̓k^{w}əpšícɛx^{w}
√niči̓=k^{w}up-ši-t-sɛ-x^{w}
/cut=wood-b-t-1acc-2erg
You cut some wood for me. 16.18

5.3.4. Summary. Lexical affixation is similar to lexical compounding, and the two may be historically related. The structure of lexically affixed forms does not vary: a root, which may be followed by a small class of grammatical suffixes, is affixed with one or more lexical suffixes or prefixes. The affixed form is then subject to normal derivation and inflection. The lexical suffixes do not represent incorporated subjects or objects: syntactic relations are indicated only with pronominal elements on the predicate. However, the lexical suffixes carry semantic roles equivalent to a variety of obliques, such as locative, instrument, manner, and theme. As classifiers, they represent groups of items that may be counted or that may be specified with adjoined clauses. In some constructions, the lexical affixes appear to shift the semantic role of subject or object to that of possessor; however, this is the consequence of the restricted reference of the affixed stem, and not the effect of compound incorporation.

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6. Conclusion.

6.1. Recapitulation. The analysis of Coeur d'Alene grammatical relations presented here indicates a language with a partially ergative pronominal argument system, where third persons follow an ergative/absolutive pattern and first and second persons employ a three-way system of indicating S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject) and O (object). Ergative/absolutive patterning is also evident in the marking of adjoined clauses, though it may be obscured by factors of agency, animacy, and topicality. The interaction of first person plurals, as agents or patients, with second persons, singular or plural, are indicated with morphology outside the expected transitive paradigms. Genitive pronominals and lexical affixes may be assigned semantic roles, but they do not hold syntactic relations.

Three tentative root classes are postulated based on the role of their subjects in simple intransitive constructions. There are roots that take agent subjects, those that take patient subjects, and middles.

Changes in aspect coincide with changes in agent and patient marking, and the role of the intransitive subject. Transitive notions are expressed in morphologically intransitive inversion constructions in the future/intentional aspect. Possessive and inversion constructions have similar structure but distinct role assignments, the difference being based on the transitivity of the roots.

Evidence of the importance of discourse topic tracking is found in the common and regular use of the non-topic ergative marker *-m/-t*. There is also evidence of a morphological contrast between topical objects and

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unmarked constructions that is not regularly used, indicating change in the topic tracking system.

6.2. Future investigations. Many of the topics addressed here require further investigation, and the analyses presented require refinement. Of particular interest are the analysis of root classes, the investigation of topic tracking in discourse, and the interpretation of nonpronominals, including lexical suffixes, adjoined clauses, and subordination constructions.

Some evidence for the definition and testability of root classes is apparent in the roles assigned to grammatical relations in simple intransitive predicates. The implications of the classification of roots in the process of word formation and in language learning need to be investigated. The tentative classification presented here suggests that the root can be considered an element of word building which the language learner recognizes as basic; however, forms with more complex morphology indicate that the notion of the lexeme must be investigated.

Devices such as the nontopic ergative and the topical object constructions described here indicate that topic marking is essential in Coeur d'Alene discourse. The use of these devices should be investigated further, both historically and synchronically. The use of lexical suffixes as opposed to full clauses for the specification of arguments may also indicate a type of topic tracking that needs to be fully described.

The status of adjoined clauses needs to be analyzed. The term 'determiner phrase' as used here is

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descriptively adequate for clauses following the main predicate and preceded by a determiner. However, these clauses are cross referenced with an argument of the main predicate, indicating that their status is equivalent to a noun phrase (or nominal argument; see Jacobsen 1979:106). The internal structure of these phrases is interesting, given that an oblique marker may occur within the phrase rather than as the head. Two types of subordination were identified here, but other subordinate structures exist; all will require full description and functional analysis.

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Appendix A. Relations and Roles

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The tables in this appendix summarize the observations made in the thesis on grammatical relations and the roles they carry in the major clause types in Coeur d'Alene. Table A.1 is organized by intransitive root type and the aspect of the clause. The remaining tables are organized by clause type and construction.

Key to the Tables

Intransitive Aspect: Completive; Customary; Continuative
Root type: AgOr = Agent Oriented; PatOr = Patient Oriented; Middle

Construction: schema of construction; Sbj = Subject Obj = Object

Case refers to morphological case:

nom = nominative	acc = accusative
abs = absolutive	erg = ergative
gen = genitive	obl = oblique

Oblique case is not marked on the predicate, and is identified only with nonpronominals.

Grammatical Relations: S = Intransitive Subject
A = Transitive Subject
O = Object

Semantic Roles:

Agt = Agent/Experiencer	Pat = Patient/Theme
Ben = Beneficiary	Poss = Possessor
Cse = Causee	Prep = General preposition
Dat = Dative (various)	Rcpt = Recipient
Instr = Instrument	Src = Source
Loc = Location	Sub = Substitute

indf = indefinite
def = definite

Nonpronominals:

x^{w}ɛ = x^{w}ɛ, cɛ, łɛ	absolutive/oblique
x^{w}ɛ ʔɛ	nonabsolutive/definite/oblique
ʔɛ	indefinite/oblique

Other abbreviations are the same as those used in the main text. See list of abbreviations.

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A.1 Intransitive Relations and Roles

Aspect	Root type	Construction	Case	GR	Role	Nonpronominal
Completive	AgOr	Sbj stem	nom/abs	S	Agt	x^wɛ
			obl		Loc	x^wɛ
			obl		Pat	?ɛ
	PatOr	w/ inch*, +C_2	nom/abs	S	Pat	x^wɛ
		w/ -m, =lxs	nom/abs	S	Agt	x^wɛ
			obl		Pat def	x^wɛ
			obl		Pat indf	?ɛ
	Middle	w/ -m	nom/abs	S	Agt/Exp	x^wɛ
	Ambig		nom/abs	S	Agt or Pat	
	All		obl		Prep	x^wɛ ?ɛ
Customary	AgOr	?ɛc-	nom/abs	S	Agt	x^wɛ
			obl		Pat	x^wɛ ?ɛ
	PatOr	?ɛc-	nom/abs	S	Pat	
		?ɛc- -m	nom/abs	S	Agt	x^wɛ
		?ɛc- =lxs	nom/abs	S	Agt	
Continuative						
Active-like	AgOr	y'c-	nom/abs	S	Agt/Th	x^wɛ
			obl		Pat def	x^wɛ
			obl		Pat ind	?ɛ
			obl		Pat**	x^wɛ ?ɛ
	PatOr	y'c- -mš	nom/abs	S	Agt	x^wɛ
		y'c- -p	nom/abs	S	Pat	x^wɛ
	Middle	y'c- -m	nom/abs	S	Agt/Exp	
Passive-like	AgOr or PatOr	y'c- -m	nom/abs	S	Pat	
					Agt**	x^wɛ ?ɛ

*correspond to -p or -?-
**with nonthird person subject

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A.2 Transitive Relations and Roles

	Construction	Case	GR	Role	Nonpronominals
Transitives		acc/abs	O	Pat, Cse[2]	$x^{w}\epsilon$, ʔɛ, ø[4]
Dir	-n-t-Obj-Sbj	erg	A	Agt	$x^{w}\epsilon$ ʔɛ, $x^{w}\epsilon$[5]
Lone -t-	-t-Obj-Sbj	nte	A	Agt	$x^{w}\epsilon$ ʔɛ, $x^{w}\epsilon$,[6] ʔɛ
Causative	-st-Obj-Sbj	obl[1]		Loc, Pat	$x^{w}\epsilon$ ʔɛ
Topical Obj	-stu-Obj-Sbj	obl		Pat[3]	$x^{w}\epsilon$, ʔɛ
Applicatives					
Possessor	-ł-t-Obj-Sbj	acc/abs	O	Poss, Dat	$x^{w}\epsilon$
		erg/nte	A	Agt	$x^{w}\epsilon$ ʔɛ
		obl		Pat	$x^{w}\epsilon$[7]
Benefactive	-šɨ-t-Obj-Sbj	acc/abs	O	Ben, Rcpt, Src, Sub	$x^{w}\epsilon$
		erg/nte	A	Agt	$x^{w}\epsilon$ ʔɛ, $x^{w}\epsilon$[8]
		obl		Pat, Prep	$x^{w}\epsilon$,[9] ʔɛ, $x^{w}\epsilon$ ʔɛ
Dative	-túł-t-Obj-Sbj	acc/abs	O	Dat	$x^{w}\epsilon$
		erg/nte	A	Agt	
		obl		Pat	

[1] Inanimate participant.

[2] Occurs with lexically causative roots like √ʔɛm 'feed'; or recipient with lexically ditransitive roots like √čił 'give'

[3] with lexically causative/ditransitive roots

[4] with nte, maybe elsewhere, proper names only

[5] as lone animate third person, or preposed

[6] discourse evident ergative

[7] possessed, or inanimate, or of comparatively low animacy

[8] preposed

[9] possessed, or inanimate, or of comparatively low animacy

A.3 Genitive Relations and Roles

	Construction	Case	GR	Role	Nonpronominals
Possessive	Sbj Gen stem	nom/abs	S	Pat	
		gen		Poss	
Inversions					
Simple	Sbj Gen stem	nom/abs	S	Pat	$x^{w}\epsilon$
		gen		Agt	
Continuative	Sbj Gen y'c stem-m	nom/abs	S	Pat, Cse*	$x^{w}\epsilon$
		gen		Agt	$x^{w}\epsilon$?ϵ
		obl		Pat*	?ϵ
Applicative Continuative	Sbj Gen y'c stem + applic-m	nom/abs	S	Poss, Ben	
		gen		Agt	
		obl		Pat	?ϵ

*with lexical causative roots like √?ϵm 'feed'

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A.4 Future Relations and Roles

	Construction	Case	GR	Role	Nonpronominals
Intransitive[1]	čɛɬ Sbj s- stem (-m)	nom/abs	S	Pat	
		obl		Agt	ʔɛ
	(-m-š)	nom/abs	S	Agt	
	(=lxs)	obl		Th	$x^{w}ɛ$
Transitive[2]	čɛɬ s- stem-Obj-Sbj	erg/abs	S	Agt	
		acc	O	Pat	
Inversions					
Intransitive	čɛɬ Sbj Gen s- stem	nom/abs	S	Pat	$x^{w}ɛ$
		gen		Agt	$x^{w}ɛ$*
	(-m)	obl		Th	$x^{w}ɛ$ ʔɛ†
(Transitive)[3]	čɛɬ Sbj Gen s- stem+t -m	nom/abs	S	Pat	
		gen		Agt	
Applicative	čɛɬ Sbj Gen s- stem+appl -m	nom/abs	S	Poss, Ben, Dat	
		gen		Agt	
		obl		Pat	$x^{w}ɛ$
		obl		Loc	$x^{w}ɛ$**

* only where intransitive subject is not 3d person
† inanimate
** det is followed by (oblique or) locative and predicate

---

[1]Intransitive futures and future inversions have variations in subject reference similar to those in simple intransitives, based on aspect and root type. Some known patterns are indicated in the table.

[2]Future transitives are found only in subordinate clauses such as irrealis or determiner phrases.

[3]These are only recorded with the root √*čiɬ* 'give', and may be applicatives rather than simple transitives.

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Vita

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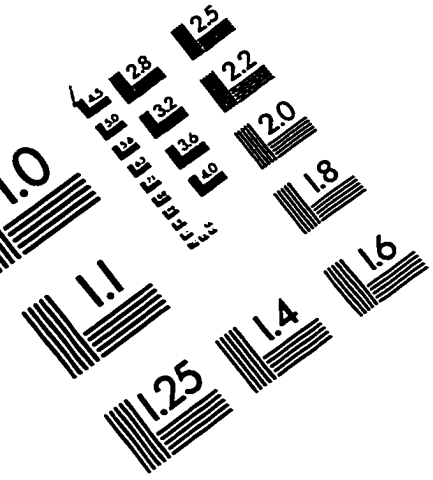
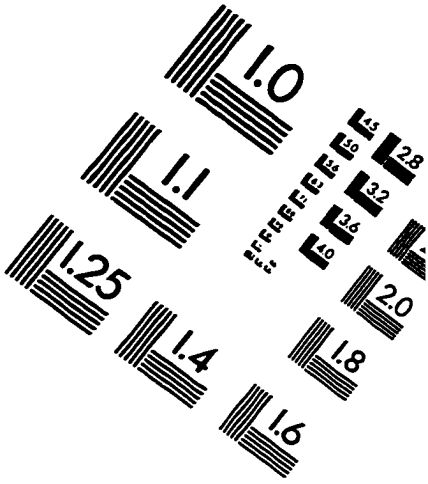
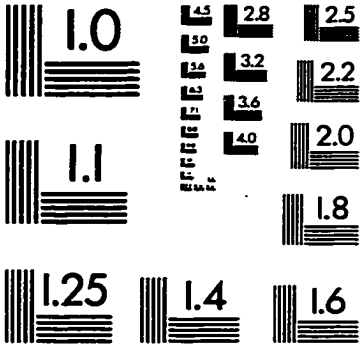
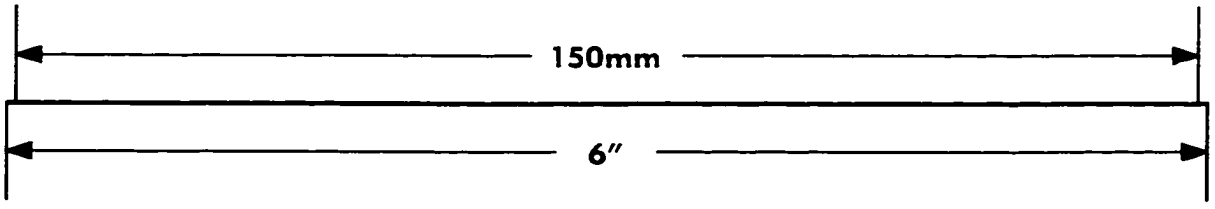
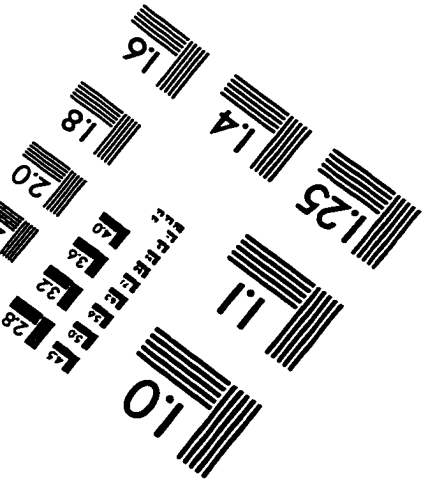
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

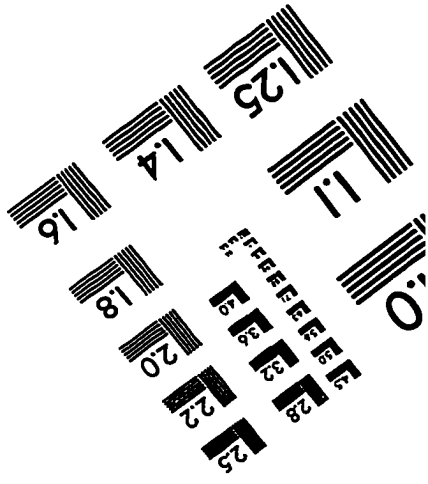












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