

A PHONEMIC AND MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS  
OF SOUTHERN PUGET SOUND SALISH

by

WARREN ARTHUR SNYDER

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Department Anthropology

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We have carefully read the thesis entitled "A Phonemic and Morphological Analysis of Southern Puget Sound Salish" submitted by Warren Snyder in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Ph. D. (In Anthropology) and recommend its acceptance. In support of this recommendation we present the following joint statement of evaluation to be filed with the thesis.

Mr. Snyder's work is the first modern structural analysis of basic characteristics of one of the Salish languages. It establishes, as the several earlier studies had failed to do--with the exception of Professor Stanley Newman's phonemic sketch of Bella Coola--essentials of the phonemic and morphological structuring of one of the subdivisions of the Salish group. Future analyses of subdivisions and languages in the Salish group will be made in the light of the structuring offered by Mr. Snyder.

THESIS READING COMMITTEE:

*Melville Jacobs*

Melville Jacobs

*Fang Kuei Li*

Fang Kuei Li

*William W. Elmendorf*

William W. Elmendorf

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## 0.0 Introduction.

The southern Puget Sound dialect of Salish was spoken by a number of tribes along the shores of Puget Sound and inland. The language was spoken from just north of Seattle southward to the end of the Sound and then northward to the end of the Kitsap peninsula on the western side of the Sound. The people who spoke this dialect include such tribes as the Duwamish, Snuqualmie, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Nisqually and Suquamish.

In the present analysis, data from Suquamish, Duwamish and Snuqualmie informants have been used. The informants say that there are some slight differences in the way that people from these different tribes talk; however, they say that all of the people in the southern Puget Sound area could understand each other without difficulty. Most of the differences appear to be minor in character. Some are in vocabulary. Only a very few differences have been noted in the data; therefore, the data from all three tribes have been treated together.

Work was first begun in the winter of 1952 when the Suquamish tribe sponsored the author's ethnographic research in connection with their claims case against the Federal government. The author was first introduced to the language by John Adams of Poulsbo, Julie Jacobs of Indianola and Ellen George of Little Boston. In the summer of 1952 further ethnographic research was supported by the Suquamish tribe. During both of these periods linguistic work was incidental to ethnographic research.

In the summer of 1953 intensive work on the language

was begun. The field work was made possible by a grant from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington. The principal informant was Lucy Millholland of Suquamish.

In the summer of 1954 the linguistic work was carried on with the mother of Mrs. Millholland, Amelia Sneatlum, at Tulalip. Work was supported by a grant secured by Dr. Melville Jacobs from the University of Washington's Agnes Anderson fund. A further grant from the Agnes Anderson fund made research possible in the summer of 1955. The principal informants were a Snuqualmie, Jerry Kanim of Carnation, a Duwamish, Mary Charles of Muckleshoot and a Suquamish, William Kitsap of Marysville.

Supervision and assistance in this work have come from Dr. Melville Jacobs and Dr. William Elmendorf both of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington. In addition, Dr. Fang Kuei Li of the Far East Department, University of Washington, has listened to informants and made suggestions.

Two preliminary analyses of this language were made previous to the present work, the first by Ransom\* and the second by Tweddell.\*\*

0.10 Introductory Statement on the Structure of the Language.

Phonemically the language has only three vowels, but

\*Ransom, 1945

\*\*Tweddell, 1950

these have a wide range of allophonic variation. There are thirty-four consonant phonemes with very little allophonic variation. Consonant clusters are frequent. The only suprasegmental phoneme is the stress phoneme. Several types of juncture occur. Morphophonemic changes are not numerous.

Word classes include verbs, nouns, auxiliaries or modifiers, pronouns, particles and numerals. The verb complex is of central importance in the language. It consists of roots, prefixes and suffixes. Prefixation is relatively simple since there are only a few verb prefixes. Suffixation is complex. There are many verb suffixes.

The inflection of nouns is much simpler than the inflection of verbs; however, the derivation of noun stems is complex. There are some simple noun stems, but the majority appear to be derived from verb roots or verb roots plus verb affixes. In some examples it is difficult to classify words as either nouns or verbs. Similarly in the case of auxiliaries or modifiers, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them and verbs.

Pronouns are used profusely, particularly the demonstrative pronouns which, in the great majority of utterances, occur as introducers of the verb complex, nouns and other pronouns. There are only a few particles (uninflected free forms) but these few appear frequently in connected speech.

Various types of reduplication occur to indicate certain semantic categories. Reduplication occurs most frequently



with verbs and nouns; however, it has been found to occur occasionally with auxiliaries or modifiers, pronouns and numerals.

While the syntax has not yet been worked out formally, it appears to have moderate importance in the structure of the language. Since there are several word classes it would be expected that some restrictions on word order would occur, and this does seem to be the case. Texts have been added to give some idea of the word order.

#### 0.20 Orthography.

The following signs and abbreviations have been used.

(...) parenthetical statements.

[...] phonetic writing.

/.../ phonemic writing.

~ alternates with.

> becomes.

\* Forms so marked never appear in the language.

+ plus.

- indicates bound forms.

-...- separates prefixes and suffixes that are parts of discontinuous morphemes.

. phonetic length.

/ stress

= indicates, when placed after a consonant, that it is unreleased.

sg. singular.

pl. plural.

## 1.0 Phonology.

## 1.10 Vowels.

## 1.11 Chart of vowels.

	Front Unrounded		Central Unrounded		Back Rounded	
	Allo- phones	Phoneme	Allo- phones	Phoneme	Allo- phones	Phoneme
High	i	e		a	u	o
Lower-high	ɪ		ʊ			
Higher-mid	e		o			
Mean-mid	ɛ		ə			
Lower-mid			ʌ			
Low			ə			

## 1.12 The high vowels.

The two high vowel phonemes /e/ and /o/ are generally parallel in distribution and in their phonetic relationship to consonants. There is wide fluctuation in the articulation of these two phonemes. This is due partly to the influence of the consonants directly before or after the vowels, partly to differences in stress, and partly to free variation.

The following three rules apply to stressed vowels.

(1) Free variation between the allophones [i] and [ɪ] of the /e/ phoneme and between the allophones [u] and [ʊ] of the /o/ phoneme occurs when the vowels are preceded by a non-glottalized bilabial, alveolar, alveo-palatal, lateral or palatal consonant except when the vowels are followed by /g<sup>w</sup>/ or a velar consonant, in which case free variation occurs

between the allophones [e] and [ɛ] of the /e/ phoneme and [o] and [ʊ] of the /o/ phoneme.

- [bít]~[bít] 'salmon soup'  
 [tíʔiɪ]~[tíʔiɪ] 'that person'  
 [ʔix<sup>wə</sup>bíd]~[ʔix<sup>wə</sup>bíd] 'before'  
 [ʔíʔiɪ]~[ʔíʔiɪ] 'Cut it!'  
 [ʌsʔíʔk<sup>w</sup>]~[ʌsʔíʔk<sup>w</sup>] 'It's stuck.'  
 [x<sup>w</sup>íʔ]~[x<sup>w</sup>íʔ] 'No!'  
 [ʊg<sup>w</sup>ídʌx<sup>w</sup>]~[ʊg<sup>w</sup>ídʌx<sup>w</sup>] 'Someone called now.'  
 [bús]~[bús] 'four'  
 [pég<sup>wə</sup>d]~[pég<sup>wə</sup>d] 'to sing a spirit song'  
 [ʊʔéʔed]~[ʊʔéʔed] 'Someone made someone scream.'  
 [ʊl'éé<sup>q</sup>w]~[ʊl'éé<sup>q</sup>w] 'Someone slid.'  
 [ʊʔ'éé<sup>q</sup>íd]~[ʊʔ'éé<sup>q</sup>íd] 'Someone is soaking it.'  
 [ʌsʔó<sup>q</sup>w]~[ʌsʔó<sup>q</sup>w] 'Someone is peeling it.'  
 [ʊʔóx<sup>w</sup>ʌt]~[ʊʔóx<sup>w</sup>ʌt] 'Someone vomited.'

(2) Free variation between the allophones [e] and [ɛ] of the /e/ phoneme and [o] and [ʊ] of the /o/ phoneme occurs when the vowels are preceded by a glottalized consonant, a velar consonant, a glottal consonant or a semivowel.

- [lʌp'él<sup>ə</sup>bʌx<sup>w</sup>]~[lʌp'él<sup>ə</sup>bʌx<sup>w</sup>] 'The tide is coming in.'  
 [ʊt'éʔ<sup>ə</sup>b]~[ʊt'éʔ<sup>ə</sup>b] 'Someone is swimming.'  
 [ʊʔ'épíd]~[ʊʔ'épíd] 'Someone is squeezing something in his hand.'  
 [ʌsq<sup>w</sup>é<sup>ə</sup>b]~[ʌsq<sup>w</sup>é<sup>ə</sup>b] 'Someone is ready.'  
 [ʊw'éllé<sup>q</sup>wʔíd]~[ʊw'éllé<sup>q</sup>wʔíd] 'I'm asking a question.'

[uðyékəlus] ~ [uðyíkalus] 'Someone is winking.'

[qóŋ] ~ [qúŋ] 'water'

[xóŋ<sup>w</sup>^yŋ] ~ [xúŋ<sup>w</sup>^yŋ] 'Hell diver duck.'

[utóčud] ~ [utúčud] 'Someone shot it.'

(3) When a stressed high vowel appears initially in a morpheme, free variation occurs in the /e/ phoneme from [i] to [ɨ] to [e] and in the /o/ phoneme from [u] to [ʊ] to [o].

[uíts] ~ [uíts] ~ [véts] 'Someone paddles a canoe.'

[lʌúluɪ] ~ [lʌúluɪ] ~ [lʌóluɪ] 'Someone is travelling in a canoe.'

When high vowels occur in unstressed positions, particularly in affixes, there is often a tendency for the vowel to be very short and for its articulation to be relaxed so that it approaches a central position as demonstrated by [ɨ ~ ɛ] and [ʊ ~ ʌ] in the following examples.

[ʊʂábʌdʒɨd] ~ [ʊʂábʌdʒɛd] 'I dried it.'

[yux<sup>w</sup>] ~ [yox<sup>w</sup>] 'and'

These vocoids have often been recorded as the central vocoid [ə], but it is doubtful that they ever fully reach the central position. The relaxing of the articulation of unstressed vowels is most noticeable in rapid speech. In slow speech the unstressed vowels are less relaxed but generally have a wide range of free variation. While consonants that precede or follow unstressed vowels seem to have some influence, it is less definite than in the case of stressed vowels.

Unstressed high vowels that occur in affixes that directly precede or follow the root show less tendency to be shortened

and relaxed in articulation than those that occur in affixes in positions further from the root.

[ʔux<sup>W</sup>ʌs(ɫcɛx<sup>W</sup>)] 'You'll get fat.'

Non-phonemic glides sometimes occur in the /e/ phoneme as the result of the influence of preceding and following consonants. In the following example the preceding velar consonant influences the vowel toward a lower position while the following lateral consonant influences it toward a higher position resulting in a glide from [e] to [i].

[dɛ<sup>i</sup>ɫbɔd] 'canoe'

In the following examples the following velar consonants influence the vowel toward a lower position resulting in a glide from [e] to [ɛ].

[ʒɛ<sup>ɛ</sup>qɛd] 'Soak it!'

[stɛ<sup>ɛ</sup>q<sup>W</sup>ɛɫ] 'Smoke'

[ʊwɛ<sup>ɛ</sup>x<sup>W</sup>] 'Someone lost something.'

[hɛ<sup>ɛ</sup>qɛd] 'Push it!'

### 1.13 The Low Vowel.

There is one low vowel phoneme, /a/. It has the allophones [a], [ʌ] and [ə]. As in the case of the high vowels, this phoneme is usually longer when stressed than when unstressed. When stressed, the allophone [a] nearly always occurs. When unstressed, the allophones [ʌ] or [ə] usually appear; however, free variation may occur between all of the allophones, particularly when the vowel is not stressed.

[ʌsq<sup>W</sup>ɛb]~[ʌsq<sup>W</sup>ɛb]~[əsq<sup>W</sup>ɛb] 'Someone is ready.'

Rapidity of speech and emphasis are important influences

in this variation. The higher, more relaxed allophones occur more often in rapid speech while the [a] allophone occurs more often in slow emphatic speech.

Little influence by preceding or following consonants on the /a/ phoneme has been detected.

The fact that a central vocoid [ə] also appears frequently in this language as a junctural feature, presents a practical difficulty of phonetic transcription. Since junctural [ə] and the articulations of all three vowel phonemes when unstressed in rapid speech are often similar in quality, the interpretation of vocoids is sometimes very difficult. This is particularly true in distinguishing between junctural [ə] and the [ə] allophone of /a/. This phenomenon can be checked by having informants repeat words slowly several times when suspicious vocoids occur in them. If the vocoid is phonemic, free variation will often occur; if it is junctural, it will remain unmodified. Also the investigator may pronounce [ə] as [ʌ]. If the vocoid is junctural, the informant will often reject such a pronunciation.

In phonetic writing, junctural [ə] will be written as a superscript while the allophone [ə] will be written on the line.

Much of the material used in this analysis has been checked several times. There is no doubt, however, that some errors of interpretation remain.

A more detailed discussion of problems related to the phoneme /a/ is presented in the following section.

## 1.20 The Suprasegmental phoneme.

The placing of stress is phonemic. In several examples the meaning of a word may be altered if the stress is transferred from the root to a following suffix.

[ʊb<sup>ə</sup>ʔalɪk<sup>w</sup>] 'Someone is laying things down.'

[ʊb<sup>ə</sup>ʔá.ɪk<sup>w</sup>] 'Someone is betting.'

[ʔá.gʊs<sup>ə</sup>d] 'Wash someone's face!'

[ʔagú.s<sup>ə</sup>d] 'Soap'

[ʊʔagú.sadɪcut] 'Someone is soaping his own face.'

[pʌdʌd] 'Bury it!'

[ʊpʌdá.ɪk<sup>w</sup>] 'Someone is planting something.'

[ʊt<sup>ə</sup>s<sup>ə</sup>dʔɪd] 'I punched someone.'

[ʊt<sup>h</sup>sú.s<sup>ə</sup>dʔɪd] 'I punched someone on the nose.'

[ʌst<sup>ə</sup>kʊs] 'Someone is blind.'

[ʊt<sup>h</sup>kú.s<sup>ə</sup>d] 'Someone is blinding it.'

Two points should be noted with reference to the above data. (1) The vowel of the root or suffix is slightly longer when stressed than it is when unstressed. (2) When the root consists of two unvoiced consonants, junctural [ə] appears between them if the root is stressed, but only aspiration appears if the root is not stressed.

The above facts are of importance in the analysis and interpretation of the following data. In each case the verb root is underlined.

(1) [ʊʔáʔɪdʔɪd] /oʔáʔɪdʔɪd/ 'I bit it.'

(2) [ʊʔáʔɪtʔɪd] /oʔáʔɪtʔɪd/ 'I want it.'

(3) [ʊʔáʔɪl] /oʔáʔɪl/ 'Someone is arguing' or

'It's brushy.'

The difference between the roots in the first and second examples appears to be that in (1) juncture but no vowel appears, while in (2) the vocoid is often lower in quality, longer, and sometimes approaches [a] in quality. The interpretation is that in the first example juncture but no vowel appears, while in the second example the phoneme /a/ appears and is actualized as a vocoid varying from [ʌ] to [ə].

The major problem is in the interpretation of the difference between (2) and (3). In comparing them the following differences have been noted. First, the root vowel in (3) is lower in quality; second, it is slightly longer; third, it is slightly higher in pitch; fourth, there appears to be greater stress on the vowel.

Following are additional examples where similar differences occur.

[ʌsʰ<sup>ə</sup>c] 'Someone is afraid.'

[ʌsʰʌc] 'Something is pulled out (e.g., feathers).'

[ʌsʰá.c<sup>ə</sup>bčɿd] 'I'm fighting with my spouse.'

[ʌs<sup>ə</sup>đuk<sup>w</sup>] 'Someone is angry with someone.'

[ʌs<sup>ə</sup>đú.k<sup>w</sup>] 'It's dangerous.'

[ʊp<sup>ə</sup>elɿd] 'It's flattened.'

[lʌp<sup>ə</sup>é.l<sup>ə</sup>bax<sup>w</sup>] 'The tide is coming in.'

[p<sup>ə</sup>us] 'aunt'

[ʊp<sup>ə</sup>ú.svǎčɿd] 'I hit it (by throwing).'



[ʊsʌx<sup>a</sup>b] 'Someone is dancing.'

[ʊsá·xʌd] 'Someone scraped it.'

[ʊgʌkʌd] 'Someone is opening something.'

[ʊgá·kʌd] 'Someone is looking for lice.'

Several solutions have been attempted. In the case of examples such as [xʌx] and [xá·x], [ʌ] and [a] have been considered as separate phonemes. Prosodic differences can then be disregarded as non-phonemic. However, this solution cannot be reconciled with the fact that free variation often occurs between [a] and [ʌ]. Nor can it account for the fact that unstressed [ʌ] becomes [a] when stressed. Moreover, this solution would not account for similar differences that occur in the other vowel phonemes. This leads to the conclusion that a suprasegmental phoneme rather than a segmental phoneme is involved.

Of the prosodic features that have been noted in the above examples, pitch is least distinctive. The only marked differences in pitch that have been noted in the language are inconsistent and appear to be rhetorical.

Differences in stress and vowel length are more distinctive. This leads to the conclusion that one or both of these are phonemic.

It has already been noted that the placing of stress is phonemic. It remains to be considered whether or not vowel length is also phonemic.

There are several reasons for rejecting such a hypothesis.

First, differences in vowel length are slight. Second, it has been pointed out that unstressed vowels are shorter than stressed vowels. The latter suggests that vowel length is a function of stress.

There are other reasons for rejecting vowel length as phonemic. In some roots, vowels occasionally appear to have marked lengthening. For example: [ʌs<sup>ə</sup>g<sup>w</sup>ʌdɪlɔ̃(ɪ)] 'We (a few) are sitting down.' [ʌs<sup>ə</sup>g<sup>w</sup>á.dɪlɔ̃(ɪ)] 'We (many) are sitting down.' Usually, however, two vowels are heard in the second example: [ʌs<sup>ə</sup>g<sup>w</sup>áadɪlɔ̃(ɪ)]. In slow or emphatic speech the vowels are separated by [h]: [ʌs<sup>ə</sup>g<sup>w</sup>áhádɪlɔ̃(ɪ)]. This has been interpreted as vowel reduplication.

Vowel lengthening is also a frequently used rhetorical device. The vowel of any root may be lengthened to emphasize duration, awe, something impressive, humor, etc. Such lengthening may occur in any degree from slight to very prolonged.

An attempt was made to have some of the informants speak the words previously listed with normal length and then with rhetorical lengthening. When this was done, differences in vowel length disappeared but differences in stress and, in some cases, pitch and vowel quality remained.

There is, therefore, both negative evidence to indicate that vowel length as a suprasegmental phoneme is unlikely and positive evidence to indicate that vowel lengthening is a function of stress.

This deduction leaves stress as the sole suprasegmental phoneme. At first any difference in stress was heard as a difference in degree of stress on the vowel, but careful checking of tape recorded data seems to indicate a difference in the placing of stress. Differences of this nature have been observed only in roots of the CVC type. Stress may occur on the initial consonant,  $\acute{CVC}$ , or it may occur on the vowel,  $C\acute{V}C$ . In minimal pairs differences in vowel quality, pitch and length all appear to be functions of stress.

The solution adopted at present, therefore, is that differences in the placing of stress within roots of the CVC type and differences in the placing of stress on the root or a following suffix constitute a suprasegmental stress phoneme.

## 1.30 Consonants.

## 1.31 Chart of Consonants.

	STOPS			FRICATIVES		AFFRICATIVES		
	Voic- ed	Voice- less	Glottal- ized	Voic- ed	Voice- less	Voic- ed	Voice- less	Glottal- ized
Bi- labial	b	p	p̣					
Al- veolar	d	t	ṭ	s	ʃ	c		č
Alveo- Palatal				ʃ	ʃ	ç		č
Lateral				l	ɮ			ɮ̣
Palatal	g	k	ḳ					
Palatal Labial- ized	g <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	ḳ <sup>w</sup>		x <sup>w</sup>			
Velar		q	q̣		x̣			
Velar Labial- ized		q <sup>w</sup>	q̣ <sup>w</sup>		x̣ <sup>w</sup>			
Glottal			ʔ		h			
Semi- vowels	w	y						

## 1.32 Stops.

There are four series of stops and the glottal stop. The bilabial series and the alveolar series each contains three members which contrast in comparable environments on the basis of voicing, voicelessness and glottalization. In the examples roots are underlined where they can be identified.

- [tʰp] 'morning'  
 [ʉtʰb] 'Someone is drinking soup.'  
 [bʉs] 'four'  
 [ʉpʉsʉd] 'Someone hit it.'  
 [ʌstʰb] 'Something is drifting.'  
 [tʰtʰ] 'that there'  
 [dʰtʰ] 'that (already mentioned) there.'  
 [ʉtʰsʰd] 'Someone punched someone.'  
 [ʌstʰs] 'It's cold.'

/b/ and /d/ are unreleased in word final position, in suffix final position when followed by a consonant and in root final position when followed by a voiceless consonant.

- [bádʰ] 'father'  
 [ʉbʰíʌlʰbʰʉdʰ] 'I'm kneeling.'  
 [ʉtʰtʰíksʰdʰʉdʰ] 'I hung it up.'  
 [tʉbʰhʉyʉtʰbʰʉtʰ] 'Someone must have made it again.'  
 [ʌpábʰcʰbʰdʰlʰbʰ] 'It's underneath you (pl).'  
 [stʉbʰʉ] 'man'

In all other positions /b/ and /d/ are released. /p/, /p̥/, /t/ and /t̥/ are released in all positions.

The nasalized bilabial stop [m] appears in only one of the words that have been recorded, [mʌmʌʌdʌ] 'little or small.' Occasionally some informants will pronounce the [d] with a nasal quality. The nasalized stops [m] and [n] appear in some surrounding Salishan dialects and are regularly replaced in the dialect considered here with the stops

[b] and [d].

The six members of the palatal series contrast in comparable environments on the basis of voicing, voicelessness, glottalization and labialization.

/g/ is a rare phoneme and occurs most frequently in morpheme initial position.

[ugákʌd] 'Someone moves to make room for others.'

[ugúhʌb] 'The dog is barking.'

[ʌsgʰkʰb] 'The sun is shining.'

[ʌsʌgʌkʌdʝ(d)] 'I whispered to someone.'

Other members of the series contrast in similar or identical environments as follows:

~~[ugákʌd]~~ 'Someone moved to make room for others.'

[ugákʰʌd] 'Someone is looking for lice.'

[ʌkʷ(ʰ)ʌd] 'I'm picking berries.'

[ʌkʷ(ʰ)ʌd] 'I'm peeking in.'

[ʌgʷʌʎʌ] 'Someone is showing someone how.'

[ʌkʷʌʎʌd] 'Someone boiled it.'

[tʰʌʎʌʎʌkʰʌʎʌd] 'Someone believed a lie.'

[kʷʌʎʌxʷ] 'A black duck.'

[kʌdtxʷ] 'mouth'

[ʌkʷʌdtxʷ] 'Someone caught it.'

There are no voiced members of the velar series. Contrast is by glottalization and labialization.

[ʌgʰʌʎʌb] 'It's raining.'

[ʌgʰʌʎʌb] 'Someone is camping.'

[tʰqʰd] 'Close it!'

[tʰqʰʰd] 'Slap him!'

[bʰqsʰd] 'nose'

[bʰqʰwʰd] 'I'm fat.'

[uʰqʰlsʰdʰd] 'I cooked it (by steaming on hot rocks).'

[uʰqʰwʰldʰd] 'I cooked it (by broiling it).'

[ʌsqʰwʰbʰxʰd] 'I'm ready.'

[ʌsqʰwʰbʰxʰwʰd] 'I'm off of it.'

The velar series of stops contrasts with the palatal series of stops in the following examples.

[lʰkʰbʰd] 'A soupy food made of flour and water.'

[lʰqʰbʰd] 'after'

[ʌskʰalbʰd] 'Someone believed a lie.'

[uʰqʰalbʰd] 'Someone is soaking something.'

[ʌsʰdʰkʰwʰ] 'It's in.'

[ʌsʰdʰqʰwʰ] 'It's rotten.'

[lʌʰúʰkʰwʰ] 'Something is flying.'

[ʌsʰúʰqʰwʰ] 'It's peeled.'

The glottal stop is phonemic as the following examples demonstrate.

[ʌsʰtʰtʰ] 'Someone is sleeping.'

[ʌsʰʔtʰtʰ] 'Someone is sleepy.'

[uʰáyʰtxʰwʰd] 'I found it.'

[uʰáyʰʔtxʰwʰd] 'I traded it.'

### 1.33 Fricatives.

Contrast among the fricatives is based mainly on point

of articulation. The lateral fricatives consist of a voiced and voiceless pair. The velar fricatives consist of a labialized and non-labialized pair.

[s'ax<sup>w</sup>a] 'a place'

[lʌs'ax<sup>w</sup>] 'Something is swelling.'

[u<sup>k</sup>wə<sup>s</sup>dɔ̃ɔ̃] 'I'm counting.'

[u<sup>k</sup>wə<sup>l</sup>dɔ̃ɔ̃] 'I poured it.'

[u<sup>k</sup>wə<sup>l</sup>dɔ̃ɔ̃] 'I flattened it.'

[u<sup>p</sup>ʌlx<sup>w</sup>ʌdɔ̃ɔ̃] 'I scattered it around.'

[u<sup>p</sup>ʌlx<sup>w</sup>ʌdɔ̃ɔ̃] 'I boiled it.'

[uxáɫʌd] 'Someone marked (wrote) it.'

[ux<sup>w</sup>áɫ] 'Someone failed.'

~~[ulʌháɫ] 'Someone is gambling.'~~

[háɫ] 'long'

[uxác<sup>ə</sup>b] 'A husband and wife are fighting.'

According to the principle of symmetry the voiceless, palatal, non-labialized fricative [x] would be expected to appear. Such a sound has been recorded in the field data, but careful checking has shown that instances noted were either the velar fricative [x] or the glottal fricative [h]. No occurrences of [h<sup>w</sup>] have been recorded.

#### 1.34 Affricatives.

There are two series of affricatives, an alveolar series and an alveolar-palatal series, the members of which contrast on the basis of voicing, voicelessness and glottalization. In addition there is one glottalized lateral. [ʃ̚] is a rare phoneme.



[ʊʒáʔkʌd] 'Someone cut down a tree.'

[ʊcáʔkʌd] 'Someone pierced it.'

[ʌsʔ́(c)lɔ́d] 'I'm angry.'

[ʌsʔ́(é)lɔ́d] 'I'm ashamed.'

[ʔ́ʌʂʌd] 'leg'

[ɔ́úʂʌd] 'star'

[ʊɔ́(í)cut] 'Someone is screaming.'

[ʊɔ́(í)ʌlɪkʷɔ́d] 'I'm frying something.'

[ʊʒúxʷʌt] 'Someone is vomiting.'

[ʌsʔ́úɪ] 'Someone is happy.'

[ʊbʰcʰdɔ́d] 'I paid someone.'

[ʊbʰɔ́dɔ́d] 'I threw someone (in wrestling).'

[ʌsɔ́éʰqʷɪɪ] 'It's broken.'

[ʌsɔ́éʰqʷɪɪ] 'It's dirty.'

The phoneme /ʔ́/ contrasts with other phonemes in comparable environments.

[ʊʔ́úɔ́udɔ́d] 'I tied it in a knot.'

[ʊtʰúɔ́udɔ́d] 'I shot it.'

[ʊxʰʔ́ɪd] 'Someone bit it.'

[ʊxʰɔ́ɪ] 'Someone is sick.'

The voiceless, non-glottalized lateral affricative \* [ʔ́] does not appear. In early stages of the work it appeared in the field data, but checking indicated that [ɪ] was sometimes mistakenly heard as \* [ʔ́]. In one word [tʰɪltxʷ], 'Believe it!', the [tʰ] and [ɪ] are each pronounced separately.

### 1.35 Semivowels.

In quality the semivowels /y/ and /w/ are similar to the

vowel allophones [ɪ] and [u]. They may be distinguished from the vowels, however, for two reasons.

(1) Phonetically the semivowels differ from the vowels in that their quality does not vary as does the quality of the vowels.

(2) Distributionally /y/ and /w/ parallel the consonants rather than the vowels.

#### 1.40 Distribution of Phonemes.

No attempt has been made to identify the syllable structure of the language. The distribution of phonemes has been analyzed from the point of view of their positions within morphemes and words. For this purpose, morphemes have been classified into two types, (1) roots and free forms and (2) affixes.

The isolation of roots and affixes can be accomplished with relative ease in most words. The noun, however, is very complex in its composition. It is probably due to a lack of ability to reduce many nouns to their constituent morphemes that more complex phoneme patterns have been found for noun roots than for the roots of other classes of words.

The most frequently occurring root pattern is of the CVC type. Another common pattern is CC. The following patterns occur less frequently and are listed in order of frequency from most to least frequently occurring types. CVCVC, CVCV, CVCC, CCVC, CV, VCVC, CCVCC, CCV, VC, CCC. Only one or two cases of the following patterns have been found: VCC, VCCVC, V, CVVC, VCV. A few examples of more complicated types have

been found, usually in nouns, but it is probable that they could be reduced if their derivation were better understood.

Among affixes, as among roots, the pattern CVC occurs most frequently. Other patterns in the order of their frequency are: VC, C, CC, CV, VCVC, CVCVC, V, VCC, CVCVCVC, CVCC, VCCVC, CVCCV, VCV, VCCC.

When stress occurs on a root vowel it may appear in any position in the patterns where more than one vowel appears and where there are several examples. When stress does not occur on a root vowel it always occurs on the initial consonant of the root or on the first vowel of a following suffix.

The following restrictions on the distribution of phonemes have been noted. Labialized consonants never appear before /o/. /ɛ/ does not appear in morpheme final position. /h/ has not been found in morpheme final position.

Vowel clusters occur infrequently within roots and free forms. They do not occur in affixes. It is possible that a more prolonged analysis would show that vowel clusters never occur within morpheme boundaries. Only one example has been found where the members of a vowel cluster are non-homophonous, /aótxs/ 'Nootka type canoe.' This is a loan word from Nootka. The occurrence of homophonous vowel clusters within morpheme boundaries is more frequent. The vowel most frequently involved is /a/. As explained under section 1.20, some of these vowel clusters have been heard and recorded in three different ways, (1) as very long vowels, (2) as vowel

clusters, and (3) as two vowels separated by /h/. In all cases they have been heard as either (1) or (2). The marking of vowel length has, therefore, been eliminated from the orthography. In some cases they have been heard as both (2) and (3). In other cases they have been heard as (2) or (3) but not both. It is possible that further checking would show that two homophonous vowels within morpheme boundaries should always be separated by a consonant in the orthography. At present the evidence is not complete enough to justify such a decision. The procedure followed, therefore, has been to use the form most frequently heard and recorded for each morpheme.

Consonant clusters occur frequently within roots, free forms and affixes. Clusters of more than two consonants occur infrequently within morpheme boundaries. Clusters of more than two consonants occur frequently across morpheme boundaries. In some reduplicated forms clusters of from three to five consonants occur. [t<sup>h</sup>k<sup>ə</sup>lús] 'owl' [t<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>k<sup>ə</sup>lús] 'several owls'

No examples have been found in which /ʒ/ occurs in consonant clusters within morpheme boundaries. All other consonants occur in initial position in such clusters, and all but /g/ occur in final position.

Both vowels and consonants may appear in word final and word initial positions. Both vowel and consonant clusters may occur across morpheme boundaries within words. Word final /l/ is often omitted by Snuqualmie and Duwamish informants but not by Suquamish informants. /síl̥x̥el/ ~ /síl̥xe/ 'day'

1.50 Juncture.

When consonant clusters occur within or across morpheme

boundaries the following junctural features appear between the consonants.

(1) In roots the vocoid [ə] appears between two voiceless consonants if the initial consonant is stressed.

(2) Between unstressed voiceless consonants various degrees of aspiration occur. This varies from slight aspiration to a whispered vocoid to a very slightly voiced vocoid. The degree of aspiration varies with informants and also varies in different utterances of the same informant. Generally the aspiration is heaviest when the initial consonant of a consonant pair is glottalized or is a velar consonant.

[ʊqʷásʰçɪ] /oqʷásçe/ 'Someone burned his fingers.'

[ʊíəʔətʰxwçɪd] /olçtxwçed/ 'I stepped on someone accidentally.'

[ʊxʰəpʰətʰxwçɪd] /oxʰptxwçed/ 'I broke it accidentally.'

(3) Between consonant pairs (within or across morpheme boundaries) one or both of which are voiced, the vocoid [ə] appears except under the following conditions.

(a) Juncture does not follow /l/ when it is root final and is followed by /d/ or a voiceless consonant.

[tʰɹɪ́ldobɔɹ] /tɹéldoboɹ/ 'Believe us.'

[tʰɹɪ́ltʰxw] /tɹéltxw/ 'Believe it.'

[lʌpʰélʰbaxw] /lapʰélbaxw/ 'The tide is coming in.'

[lʰəgʊb] /lígob/ 'young man (in 'teens)'

[lʰəqʰbɪ́d] /lqbéd/ 'after'

(b) In consonant pairs which occur across morpheme boundaries, if the initial member is /ɹ/ or /x/ and is followed by a voiced consonant the /ɹ/ or /x/ is partially voiced.

[lʌʔɪ<sup>1</sup>dʌt] /lʌʔɪdat/ 'yesterday'

[x<sup>ə</sup>ɪ<sup>1</sup>d] /xɪd/ 'Bite it!'

(c) When /g<sup>w</sup>/ is the initial member of a consonant pair and is followed by a voiceless consonant it is partially unvoiced.

[sʌgk<sup>w</sup>ɪ] /sʌg<sup>w</sup>ɪ/ 'door or road'

[tʌgk<sup>w</sup>t] /tʌg<sup>w</sup>t/ 'noon'

[vʌgk<sup>w</sup>ɪd] /oʔag<sup>w</sup>ɪd/ 'I left him.'

[vʌgk<sup>w</sup>ɪd] /oʔag<sup>w</sup>ɪd/ 'I bought it.'

Similarly, the suffix /-dx<sup>w</sup>/ is actualized as [-<sup>ə</sup>dtx<sup>w</sup>].

[vʌ<sup>ə</sup>x<sup>w</sup>dtx<sup>w</sup>ɪd] /ow<sup>ə</sup>x<sup>w</sup>dx<sup>w</sup>ɪd/ 'I lost it.'

No other examples in which /d/ is partially unvoiced when followed by an unvoiced consonant, outside of those found for this suffix, have been found.

(d) When /b/ and /d/ are unreleased as explained under section 1.32, they are not followed by junctural [ə].

[tʌlʌt<sup>ə</sup>bʌx<sup>w</sup>ɪd] /tolʌt<sup>ə</sup>bʌx<sup>w</sup>ɪd/ 'Evidentially they had heard me then.'

[d<sup>ə</sup>b<sup>ə</sup>dʌb<sup>ə</sup>dʌ] /d<sup>ə</sup>b<sup>ə</sup>dʌb<sup>ə</sup>dʌ/ 'my children'

[ɪd<sup>ə</sup>bʌk<sup>w</sup>ɪ] /ɪd<sup>ə</sup>bʌk<sup>w</sup>ɪ/ 'I'm hurt.'

[vʌ<sup>ə</sup>d<sup>ə</sup>ɪv<sup>ə</sup>b<sup>ə</sup>ɪd] /oh<sup>ə</sup>d<sup>ə</sup>ɪv<sup>ə</sup>b<sup>ə</sup>ɪd/ 'Someone accidentally burned me.'

[vʌ<sup>ə</sup>d<sup>ə</sup>ɪd] /oh<sup>ə</sup>d<sup>ə</sup>ɪd/ 'I'm burning.'

[vʌ<sup>ə</sup>ɪl<sup>ə</sup>l<sup>ə</sup>k<sup>w</sup>] /ob<sup>ə</sup>ɪl<sup>ə</sup>l<sup>ə</sup>k<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone bet.'

[vʌ<sup>ə</sup>dʌb] /ob<sup>ə</sup>dʌb/ 'It laid an egg.'

## 2.0 Morphophonemics.

/c/ > /ʒ/, /ç/ > /ʒ/ and /k<sup>w</sup>/ > /g<sup>w</sup>/ when they are in root final

position and are followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant.

/x<sup>w</sup>eq<sup>w</sup>ác/ 'yellow'

/asq<sup>w</sup>áz<sup>l</sup>el/ 'It's yellowish.'

/asčáctx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Something is hidden.'

/očáz<sup>l</sup>elč<sup>et</sup>/ 'We hid.'

/očax<sup>l</sup>élč<sup>et</sup>/ 'We stood up.'

/čax<sup>l</sup>élč<sup>ax</sup><sup>w</sup>/ 'Stand up now!'

/otč tx<sup>w</sup>al áca/ 'Someone rolled over on me.'

/otč<sup>d</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>al áca/ 'Someone rolled it over on me.'

/ok<sup>w</sup>č<sup>ed</sup>/ 'Someone spilled it on someone.'

/ok<sup>w</sup>č<sup>é</sup>ed/ 'Someone spilled it on someone (intentionally).'

~~/asč<sup>l</sup>k<sup>w</sup>/ 'The cedar bark is ready to be peeled.'~~

/asč<sup>l</sup>g<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>/ 'The cedar bark is ready to be peeled now.'

/očák<sup>w</sup>č<sup>ak</sup><sup>w</sup>č<sup>ed</sup>/ 'I'm washing clothes.'

/očág<sup>w</sup>ač<sup>eb</sup><sup>w</sup>č<sup>ed</sup>/ 'I'm washing my hands.'

/č/>/l/ when it is root final in a consonant cluster with another voiceless consonant and when it is followed by a vowel or voiced consonant.

/obák<sup>w</sup>č<sup>ed</sup>/ 'I'm hurt.'

/obák<sup>w</sup>lč<sup>ob</sup><sup>č</sup>/ 'I was hurt by someone accidentally.'

/l/>/č/ when it is root final and is followed by an alveopalatal consonant.

/lél/ 'far'

/altóde leč<sup>l</sup>saq/ 'Up there, way high.'

/ask<sup>w</sup>élk<sup>w</sup>č<sup>ed</sup>/ (the root is reduplicated) 'I'm out camping to pick berries.'

Partial voicing and unvoicing are dealt with under section 1.50.

In normal speech /o/+ /a/ > /a/. In slow speech this does not occur.

/toas<sup>h</sup>tékks alté<sup>h</sup>/ ~ /tas<sup>h</sup>tékks alté<sup>h</sup>/ 'It was hanging up here.'

/toasg<sup>w</sup>áced ag<sup>w</sup>lápoy ~ /tasg<sup>w</sup>áced ag<sup>w</sup>lápoy/ 'I'm going to go along with you (pl.).'

/toas<sup>h</sup>tékks alté<sup>h</sup>et<sup>h</sup>/ ~ /tas<sup>h</sup>tékks alté<sup>h</sup>et<sup>h</sup>/ 'It hangs there (customarily).'

/s/ > /š/ when followed by /č/.

/tóx<sup>w</sup>čed og<sup>w</sup>ades/ 'I just sat on it.'

~~/og<sup>w</sup>adesčed/ 'I sat on it on purpose.'~~

Vowel harmony occurs in some suffixes (but not all) when they immediately follow the root.

/oč<sup>h</sup>étetb/ 'It was chewed on.'

/ox<sup>h</sup>ótotb/ 'It was gnawed on.'

/toč<sup>h</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>atb/ 'Someone was whipped (intentionally).'

/oš<sup>h</sup>ábad/ 'Someone' dried it.'

/oř<sup>h</sup>éčedčed/ 'I cut it.'

/s<sup>h</sup>óbod/ 'Smell it!'

In rapid speech the suffix vowel is often weakened and may approach the neutral sound [ə]. Since no general rules apply to all cases of vowel harmony, it will be discussed separately for each morpheme under morphology.

When a root ends and a suffix begins with homophonous vowels, /h/ is often heard between the vowels.

/dés<sup>h</sup>aax<sup>w</sup>/ ~ /dés<sup>h</sup>ahax<sup>w</sup>/ 'He's here now.'



## 3.0 Morphology.

## 3.10 Verbs.

The verb complex can be analyzed in terms of roots and affixes. Some affixes vary as either prefixes or suffixes.

## 3.11 Reduplication.

Verb roots may be partially or fully reduplicated to express certain semantic categories. The data on reduplication of verb roots are not sufficient for a complete description of the ways in which each type of verb root is reduplicated. It is possible to define the major types of reduplication.

Continuous action or repeated action is expressed by complete reduplication of verb roots of the CVC and CC types.

Stress falls on the first part of the reduplicated root.

/oq'alb/ 'It's raining.'

/oq'alqalb/ 'It's raining continuously.'

/ot'eleb/ 'Someone is singing.'

/ot'elteleb/ 'A group of people is singing' or  
'A person is singing continuously.'

/opég<sup>w</sup>ed/ 'Someone is singing a spirit song.'

/opék<sup>w</sup>peg<sup>w</sup>ed/ 'A group is singing spirit songs' or  
'A person is singing spirit songs continuously.'

/oxáyab/ 'Someone is laughing.'

/oxáyaxayab/ 'Someone is laughing and laughing.'

/ok<sup>w</sup>él/ 'Someone is picking berries.'

/ask<sup>w</sup>élk<sup>w</sup>erčed/ 'I'm out camping to pick berries.'

/otq' / 'Someone slapped someone.'

/otq'd/

/otqtqd/ 'Someone slapped and slapped someone.'

/ot'sd/ 'Someone punched someone.'

/otstsd/ 'Someone punched and punched someone.'

If the root is of the CVCC type the root final vowel is not reduplicated.

/o'sald/ 'Someone turns.'

/o'salsald/ 'Someone is going in a zig-zag course.'

Continuous or repeated action may also be expressed by reduplication of the root vowel. This type of reduplication occurs regularly in certain roots but is rare. If stress falls on the consonant in the original root it falls on the vowel in the reduplicated root. As noted in sections 1.20 and 1.40, /h/ may sometimes be heard between the two vowels.

/ogwéd/ 'Someone called.'

/ogwéhed teɛ x<sup>w</sup>čábk<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone was calling the clouds.'

/g<sup>w</sup>adelax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Get up! (One person or a few).'

/g<sup>w</sup>áadelax<sup>w</sup>/ ~ /g<sup>w</sup>áhadelax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Get up! (several).'

/táɟelax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Go to bed now! (one or a few).'

/tááɟelax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Go to bed now! (several).'

The diminutive may be expressed by reduplication of the root initial consonant followed by stressed /e/.

/asg<sup>w</sup>adel/ 'Someone is sitting.'

/asg<sup>w</sup>ég<sup>w</sup>adel/ 'Someone is sitting properly (quietly or politely).'

/asq<sup>w</sup>al/ 'It's ripe or cooked.'

/oq<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>alosax<sup>w</sup> te q<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>al/ 'The huckleberries are

just getting ripe now.'

/ok<sup>W</sup>ɣ/ 'Someone is pouring something.'

/ok<sup>W</sup>é<sup>W</sup>k<sup>W</sup>ɣ/ 'Someone poured a little bit.'

/oçxák<sup>W</sup>çop/ 'Someone is splitting wood.'

/oçéçxak<sup>W</sup>çop/ 'Someone is splitting kindling.'

When the root vowel is /e/ it is omitted in the second part of the reduplicated root.

/otéčeb/ 'Someone is swimming.'

/otétčeb/ 'Someone is swimming a little bit.'

/otéleb/ 'Someone is singing.'

/otétleb/ 'Someone is singing a little.'

Continuous or repeated diminutive action may be expressed by combining the types of reduplication discussed above.

/otđdčed/ 'I slapped someone.'

/otétđtđdčed/ 'I slapped someone gently again and again.'

/otšdčed/ 'I punched someone.'

/otétstšdčed/ 'I punched someone lightly again and again.'

Two examples have been found the semantic significance of which is not certain.

/xódxod/ 'to talk'

/oxódodxodecotčed/ 'I'm talking to myself.'

/ɣɣ/ 'to be sick'

/asɣɣɣçed/ 'I'm sad (literally: I'm sick in my mind).'

## 3.12 Suffixation.

The order of verb suffixes and their semantic classes are presented in the accompanying chart.

1st	2nd	3rd	4th
<u>Object indicators</u>	<u>State or condition</u>	<u>Object, body parts</u>	<u>State, transitive, purpose</u>
-ɪ	-el	-ks	-tob
-ʏ		-g <sup>W</sup> s	<u>Transitive, lack of purpose</u>
-čop		-šad	-dob
-alek <sup>W</sup>		-če	<u>Activity in process</u>
<u>State, transitive, purpose</u>		-weč	-ad
-cb		-yoq <sup>W</sup>	-b
<u>Toward or onto</u>		-apač	
-es		-alos	
?		-alde?	
-ag <sup>W</sup>		-aɪɔɪ	
<u>Place</u>		-ač	
-dop		-os	
		-qbac	
		-ap	
		<u>Over or on</u>	
		-eč	
		<u>Still or yet</u>	
		-oʔx <sup>W</sup>	
		<u>To go to do something</u>	
		-oɪ	
		<u>Surprise</u>	
		-aha	

5th	6th	7th	8th
<u>Indirect object indicator</u>	<u>Object pronouns</u>	<u>To want to do</u>	<u>Third person indicator</u>
-e	-c	-ab	-s
<u>Object pronouns</u>	-ced		
-ŷ	-d		
-tx <sup>W</sup>	-toboř		
-dx <sup>W</sup>	-tobořad		
-doboř	-cot		
-dobořad	-tag <sup>W</sup> l		
	<u>Passive, purpose</u>		
	-tb		

9th	10th	11th	12th
<u>Now, then</u>	<u>You (command)</u>	<u>Subject pronouns</u>	<u>Subject or object pronoun</u>
-ax <sup>W</sup>	-ři	-čed	-halg <sup>W</sup> a
	Zero	-čex <sup>W</sup>	<u>Surprise</u>
	<u>Evidentially</u>	Zero	-awa
	-dř	-čet	
		-čelab	
		-lab	

13th	14th
<u>Wrong</u>	<u>True or right</u>
-sex <sup>W</sup>	-tař
<u>Interrogative</u>	-cak <sup>W</sup>
-o	

The major functions of the verb suffixes are to indicate subject and object and to distinguish differences in relationships between them.

### Subject pronoun suffixes

The following six subject pronoun suffixes belong to the eleventh order.

/-čed/ 'I' /ořéčedčed/ 'I cut it.'

/-čex<sup>w</sup>/ 'you (sg.)' /ořéčedčex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You cut it.'

Zero 'someone' /ořéčed/ 'Someone cut it.'

/-čex̄/ 'we' /ořéčedčex̄/ 'We cut it.'

/-čelab/ 'you (pl.)' /ořéčedčelab/ 'You cut it.'

~~/-lab/ 'you (pl.)'~~ This suffix appears only in those forms where the seventh order verb prefix /s-/ also appears. /x<sup>w</sup>é'g<sup>w</sup>s̄x̄a'xtx<sup>w</sup>lab/ 'You (pl.) don't want it.'

/-halg<sup>w</sup>a/ ~ /-alg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'they' belongs to the 12th order.

The second allomorph appears when preceded by a voiced consonant. This morpheme functions as object when preceded by one of the other subject pronouns. /toxódxodbedčedal<sup>w</sup>a/ 'I was talking to them.' It functions as subject when not preceded by a subject pronoun. /toxódxodbechal<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They talked to me.' It appears as a free form following a demonstrative pronoun in some examples. /toxódxodbetbčed até? halg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'I was talked to by them.' /asétot té?ex̄ halg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They are asleep.' The interrogative suffix /-o/ (13th order)

usually follows /-halg<sup>Wa</sup>/ but may precede it. /ʔoyáyoseloʔ-halg<sup>Wao</sup>/~ /ʔoyáyoseloʔohalg<sup>Wa</sup>/ 'Are they going to go to work?' /-halg<sup>Wa</sup>/ may, therefore, be considered an enclitic; however, since it is often followed by regular verb suffixes, it is convenient to treat it as a suffix except when used as a free form. It will be listed as a twelfth order suffix, its usual position, with the provision that it may alternate positions with /-o/.

/-s/ (8th order). This morpheme appears in conjunction with the prefix /s-/ (7th order) as a third person singular indicator and, when /-halg<sup>Wa</sup>/ also appears, as a third person, plural, indicator.

/x<sup>Wé</sup>? g<sup>W</sup>s<sup>xá</sup>ʔtobs até? teeʔ s<sup>xá</sup>labac/ 'He doesn't want those clothes.'

/x<sup>Wé</sup>? g<sup>W</sup>s<sup>xá</sup>ʔtx<sup>W</sup>shalg<sup>Wa</sup> teeʔ s<sup>xá</sup>labac/ 'They don't want those clothes.'

/ʔoslas<sup>q</sup>delshalg<sup>Wa</sup>/ 'Customarily they are late.'

/-s/ sometimes appears by itself as a third person indicator and is probably best translated into English as a possessive. A similar possessive suffix appears with nouns.

/totá<sup>q</sup>sedax<sup>W</sup>halg<sup>W</sup> a tx<sup>W</sup>al k<sup>W</sup>e ʔoʔáyʔs/ 'They waited for him to come out (for his coming out).'

/x<sup>W</sup>éʔax<sup>W</sup> k<sup>W</sup>toʔáyʔs/ 'He did not come out (not now his coming out).'

/towéleq<sup>W</sup>edax<sup>W</sup>halg<sup>Wa</sup> teeʔ ʔáhag<sup>W</sup>aʔs g<sup>W</sup>áyx<sup>W</sup> g<sup>W</sup>áabs/ 'They asked their wives if they would like to go along (their wanting to go along).'

/-ʔi/ (10th order) 'you (pl.)' This suffix appears in commands where more than one person is addressed. Zero morpheme indicates that only one person is addressed.

/étotax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Go to sleep now (you sg.).'

/étotax<sup>w</sup>ʔe/ 'Go to sleep now (you, pl.).'

/g<sup>w</sup>ábecax<sup>w</sup>ʔe/ 'Come along with me now (you pl.).'

/d<sup>w</sup>g<sup>w</sup>ʔe/ 'Put it in (you, pl.)!'

/d<sup>w</sup>g<sup>w</sup>/ 'Put it in (you, sg.)!'

### Passive.

Any of the subject pronoun suffixes except /-lab/, /-s/ and the command suffixes /-ʔe/ and Zero change from active to passive subjects when preceded by the following morphemes.

/-tb/~/-etb/~/-otb/~/-atb/~/-b/~/-eb/ (6th order).

This suffix indicates that purposeful action is being directed toward the passive subject. When this morpheme immediately follows a verb root of the CVC type, the root vowel is repeated after the root with the following exceptions. (1) When the root final consonant is /l/ the root vowel is not repeated. /ʔog<sup>w</sup>lál<sup>w</sup>tb/ 'It would be killed.' (2) When the root final consonant is labialized /o/ appears. /očax<sup>w</sup>otbčed/ 'Someone whipped me on purpose.' /o/ also appears after roots of the CC type when the root final consonant is labialized.

/olx<sup>w</sup>otb/ 'Someone was stabbed.'

/ohódotbčed/ 'I'm being burned.'

/og<sup>w</sup>č<sup>w</sup>etbčed/ 'I'm being looked for.'

/očáltbalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They were beaten.'



/očé<sup>h</sup>et<sup>h</sup>tb/ 'It was chewed on.'

/oxó<sup>h</sup>ót<sup>h</sup>tb/ 'It was gnawed on.'

/tošábat<sup>h</sup>b/ 'It was dried.'

/-b/ appears to be an allomorph of /-tb/ and occurs after the suffix /-es/ (1st order). Informants will not accept /-tb/ in this position.

/og<sup>w</sup>adésbčed até<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>/ 'I was sat on by him.'

/toičesbax<sup>w</sup> acé<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup> syá<sup>h</sup>γas/ 'Someone was visited then by her relatives.'

/-eb/ may be an allomorph of /-tb/ but probably consists of two suffixes. It has been found in only two examples and its phonemic composition cannot be explained. The /e/ may be the suffix /-e/ (5th order) which is an indirect object indicator.

/očá<sup>h</sup>zeb xóola/ 'It must have been hidden (from someone).'

/xóá<sup>h</sup>ebax<sup>w</sup>/ 'It would be given away then (to someone).'

/-tob/~/-ob/ (4th order) indicates a purposeful action or state with regard to the subject (when used with subject pronoun suffixes) but does not indicate direct action on the subject. /-ob/ occurs when the morpheme is preceded by /t/.

/to<sup>h</sup>xá<sup>h</sup>tobčed/ 'I was wanted by someone.'

/toétotobčed acé<sup>h</sup>γ/ 'I was made to go to sleep by her.'

/o<sup>h</sup>yecbtobčed/ 'I was told.'

/-dob/~/-ob/ (4th order) alternates with /-tb/ and

indicates action which lacks purpose or intent. /-ob/ occurs when the morpheme is preceded by /d/. It is possible that vowel harmony occurs with this morpheme similar to the way in which it occurs with /-tb/; however, sufficient examples have not been collected to determine fully the conditions under which vowel harmony occurs.

/očax<sup>W</sup>otbčed/ 'I was whipped (on purpose).'

/očax<sup>W</sup>odobčed/ 'I was whipped accidentally.'

/oicš<sup>Y</sup>adobčed/ 'Someone accidentally stepped on my foot.'

/ok<sup>W</sup>dobčed/ 'Someone grabbed me accidentally.'

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#### Object Pronoun suffixes

The object pronoun suffixes belong to the fifth and sixth orders. Other object indicators will be treated separately. The morphemes /-tob/ and /-dob/ (discussed above) are used also with some of the object pronoun suffixes. Their functions are the same except that they do not indicate the passive.

/-c/ (6th order) first person, singular. As it occurs in the following examples, this morpheme indicates purposeful action directed toward the speaker.

/totšcčex<sup>W</sup>/ 'You punched me.'

/škc/ 'Lift me.'

/-š/ (5th order) first person, singular. This morpheme is used only with /-tob/ and /-dob/ while /-c/ never occurs

with /-tob/ or /-dob/.

/y<sup>1</sup>ecbtobš/ 'Tell me.'

/ok<sup>1</sup>w dtobš/ 'Someone made me grab it (literally: someone grab-made with regard to me).'

/to<sup>1</sup>xá<sup>2</sup>xeltobš/ 'Someone argued with me (literally: someone was in the state of arguing me).'

/o<sup>1</sup>xá<sup>2</sup>xtobš/ 'Someone wants me (purpose).'

/o<sup>1</sup>xá<sup>2</sup>xeldobš/ 'Someone likes me (lack of intent).'

/ok<sup>1</sup>w dobš/ 'Someone grabbed me accidentally.'

/tóx<sup>1</sup>w opóso<sup>2</sup>sodobš/ 'Someone just hit (by throwing something) me in the face accidentally.'

/tóx<sup>1</sup>w opóso<sup>2</sup>soc/ 'Someone just hit me in the face on purpose.'

/-ced/ (6th order) second person, singular.

/ʔok<sup>1</sup>wáx<sup>1</sup>wacedčed/ 'I will help you.'

/o<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>ɾbcedčed/ 'I see you.'

/o<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>ɾbdobecedčed/ 'I can see you (lack of purpose).'

/x<sup>1</sup>wé<sup>1</sup>ɾ g<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>saxá<sup>2</sup>xtobecedshalg<sup>1</sup>wa/ 'They don't want you.'

/-d/~ /-ed/~ /-od/~ /-ad/ (6th order) third person, singular. When this morpheme follows a verb root which ends in a consonant other than /x/, /ʔ/, /l/ or a labialized consonant, the root vowel is repeated. After labialized consonants the suffix vowel becomes /o/. When it is preceded by a vowel or when it follows another suffix /-d/ appears.

/ox<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>xd/ 'Someone broke it.'

/ok<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>rd/ 'Someone poured it.'

/ok<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ldčed/ 'I flattened it.'

- /opk<sup>w</sup>odčed/ 'I broke it off.'  
 /lx<sup>w</sup>od/ 'Stab someone!'  
 /rečed/ 'Cut it!'  
 /čókod/ 'Suck it!'  
 /ok<sup>w</sup>dd/ 'Someone took (grabbed) it.'  
 /ošábad/ 'Someone dried it.'  
 /aslódčed/ 'I hear it.'  
 /opósdosdčed/ 'I hit (by throwing something) him  
 in the face.'  
 /otsálosdčex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You hit someone on the eye.'

The morphemes /-tob/ and /-dob/ do not occur with /-d/; however, the following two morphemes parallel them in function.

~~/-tx<sup>w</sup>/ (5th order) third person, singular.~~ This indicates a purposeful action or state with regard to the third person singular but does not indicate direct action on the object.

- /tohóytx<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I have it made.'  
 /tohóyodčed/ 'I made it.'  
 /oxá<sup>h</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>čet/ 'We want someone.'  
 /yebtx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Tell someone.'  
 /oxáytx<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I made someone laugh.'

/-dx<sup>w</sup>/ (5th order) third person, singular. This indicates action which lacks purpose or intent directed toward the third person, singular.

- /owéx<sup>w</sup>dx<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I lost it.'  
 /očáx<sup>w</sup>dx<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I accidentally whipped someone.'  
 /aslódčed/ 'I hear it.'

/olót<sup>w</sup>xčed/ 'I heard about it.'

/aslód<sup>w</sup>xčed/ 'I've heard it (without trying to).'

/opác<sup>w</sup>dxčed/ 'I sewed it (but wasn't aware that I was doing it).'

/otsós<sup>w</sup>dxčed/ 'I punched him in the face accidentally.'

/toáy<sup>w</sup>dxčej/ 'We found it (came upon it).'

/-tx<sup>w</sup>/ and /-dx<sup>w</sup>/ may also occur as prefixes under conditions discussed under prefixation.

/-tobož/ (6th order) first person, plural; /-tobožad/ (6th order) second person, plural; /-dobož/ (5th order) first person, plural; /-dobožad/ (5th order) second person, plural. The possibility that each of these morphemes could be broken down into two separate morphemes has been considered and rejected for the following reasons. \*/-už/ and \*/-ožad/ have not been found to occur without being preceded by /-tob/ or /-dob/. The indirect object indicator /-e/ (5th order) follows the morphemes /-tob/ and /-dob/ but precedes the morphemes considered here. The distinction between direct action and action with regard to does not seem to occur with these morphemes. /-tobož/ and /-tobožad/ indicate purpose and intent while /-dobož/ and /-dobožad/ indicate lack of purpose or intent.

/žobák<sup>w</sup>letobožhalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They will do harm to us on purpose.'

/žobák<sup>w</sup>ldobožhalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They will harm us accidentally.'

/žobák<sup>w</sup>letobožadalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They will do harm to you (pl.) on purpose.'

/žobák<sup>w</sup>ldobožadalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They will harm you (pl.)

accidentally.'

/ʔotstoboʔadʒed/ 'I will hit you (pl.).'

Third person, plural objects may be formed by adding /-halg<sup>Wa</sup>/ to words with /-d/, /-tx<sup>W</sup>/ and /-dx<sup>W</sup>/.

/oáyt<sup>W</sup>ʒeʔhalg<sup>Wa</sup>/ 'We found them (we have them found).'

/oáyd<sup>W</sup>ʒeʔhalg<sup>Wa</sup>/ 'We found them (came upon them).'

/opadadax<sup>W</sup>ʒeʔhalg<sup>Wa</sup>/ 'We are burying them now.'

/-cot/ ~ /-ot/ (6th order) reflexive. Sufficient examples have not been recorded to define all of the conditions under which vowel harmony does or does not occur. Vowel harmony occurs when /-cot/ immediately follows a verb root of the CVC type except when the root final consonant is /l/.

/baʒk<sup>W</sup>cot/ 'Lift yourself again!'

/lélcotax<sup>W</sup>/ 'Go away (literally: put yourself at a distance).'

/oʒálq<sup>W</sup>cotʒed/ 'I turned around.'

/ox<sup>W</sup>bcotʒed/ 'I stumbled (threw myself).'

/dáyʒed ʔoʒábacot/ 'Later I'll dry myself.'

/x<sup>W</sup>éʔ g<sup>W</sup>ck<sup>W</sup>áx<sup>W</sup>acot/ 'I can't help myself.'

/obák<sup>W</sup>lec<sup>W</sup>othalg<sup>Wa</sup>/ 'They hurt themselves.'

/tébecot/ 'Try harder (harden yourself).'

/obák<sup>W</sup>lec<sup>W</sup>otʒex<sup>W</sup>/ 'You hurt yourself.'

The allomorph /-ot/ occurs with /-dob/.

/oʔé<sup>W</sup>cdobotʒed/ 'I cut myself accidentally.'

/oébaʒdobotax<sup>W</sup> céʔ/ 'She is able to walk now (literally: she can walk herself now).' This

connotes that she was not able to walk before and

that now she can walk a little.

/-tob/ has not been found to occur with /-cot/; however, another morpheme, /-cb/ (1st order) seems to parallel it in function. /oʃaʃcbotčed/ 'I like myself.'

/-tag<sup>w1</sup>/ (6th order) reciprocal. The conditions under which vowel harmony occurs cannot be defined.

/otsšádetag<sup>w1</sup>/ 'They were punching each other on the leg.'

/očáx<sup>w</sup>atag<sup>w1</sup>/ 'They were whipping each other.'

/opóso<sup>w</sup>tag<sup>w1</sup>/ 'They were throwing at each other.'

### Indirect objects

Indirect objects are indicated by the suffix /-e/ (5th order). It may occur with the object pronoun suffixes of the 6th order or with passive subject pronoun suffixes. When it occurs without one of these the indirect object is understood.

/oʃáybetbčed atéeʔež/ 'I'm being laughed at by them.'

/očýékalosbetbčed/ 'I'm being winked at by someone.'

/ocótbecedčed/ 'I'm telling you (saying to you).'

/opóside/ 'Someone is throwing at something.'

/opósidečex<sup>w</sup> ate čeʃa/ 'You are throwing a rock at things (nothing in particular).'

/otčéadečed/ 'I'm shooting at things (nothing in particular).'

/otčéade/ 'Someone is pointing.'

- /otčd/ 'Someone is pointing at it.'
- /lakádadetbčej/ 'We are being stolen from.'
- /totáqsadedax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone waited for someone now.'
- /é žošécšadedec/ 'Yes, someone will rub your leg for you.'
- /xódxodbed/ 'Talk to someone!'
- /xódxodbec/ 'Talk to me!'
- /toxódxodbetobořadalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They were talking to you (pl.).'
- /toxódxodbetbčelab até<sup>?</sup> halg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'You (pl.) were talked to by them.'
- /okaskbetbčex<sup>w</sup> até<sup>?</sup> halg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'You (sg.) are being jabbered to by them.'
- /ax<sup>w</sup>cótbedčed/ 'I think that...(literally: I want to be saying about it).'
- /tog<sup>w</sup>ábedčejnalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'We're going along with them.'

### Activity in process

/-b/ (4th order) indicates an action and (perhaps) a state in the process of occurring. It may not occur with the third person, singular direct object /-d/ but may occur with it when /-d/ is used as an indirect object.

- /og<sup>w</sup>čb ateež skázo/ 'Someone is looking for squirrels.'
- /og<sup>w</sup>čd/ 'Someone is looking for it.'
- /og<sup>w</sup>čtbčed/ 'Someone is looking for me.'
- /očářab ak<sup>w</sup>e speřkóc/ 'Someone is digging potatoes.'



- /oxáybčed/ 'I'm laughing.'  
 /g<sup>w</sup>ábec/ 'Go along with me.'  
 /očyékalosbčed/ 'I'm winking.'  
 /očáx<sup>w</sup>bcedčed/ 'I'm whipping you.'  
 /xotétbčex<sup>w</sup>o/ 'Are you going swimming?'  
 /otx<sup>w</sup>ékosbčed/ 'I'm wiping my face.'  
 /aslálbeced téʔ/ 'I'm expecting him.'

/-ad/ (4th order). The function of this morpheme seems to be much the same as that of /-b/ above. The only distinction so far noted is that /-ad/ never occurs with a direct object although it may occur with an indirect object or no object.

- /očagósadecot/ 'Someone is putting soap on his face.'  
 /očagósadedčed/ 'I put soap on it.'  
 /otx<sup>w</sup>čagosbčed/ 'I'm washing my face.'  
 /otóad/ 'Someone spit.'  
 /oq<sup>w</sup>éad/ 'Someone yelled.'  
 /opósad/ 'Someone is throwing.'  
 /opósod/ 'Someone hit it by throwing something.'  
 /totáqsadedax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone is waiting for someone.'

#### Additional object suffixes

/-š/ (1st order) indicates a direct object when something is being done on something or with something or when a direct object occurs with an indirect object.

- /tóx<sup>w</sup>čed oxáls te čéʔa/ 'I'm just marking on  
 it (writing), this rock.'  
 /oábščed/ 'I gave it.'

/páčsec/ 'Sew it for me!'

/ábšed/ 'Give it to someone!'

/toábšeced/ 'Someone gave it to you.'

/tok<sup>w</sup>élšetbax<sup>w</sup>čex<sup>w</sup>o/ 'Did someone pick them for you then?'

/ok<sup>w</sup>dšetb/ 'It's being taken from someone.'

/-alek<sup>w</sup>/ (1st order) indicates an indefinite and general object.

/občalek<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I'm putting things down.'

/občálek<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I'm betting.'

/ohóyalek<sup>w</sup>čez/ 'We're making things.'

/opáčalek<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I'm sewing (in answer to the question "what are you doing?").'

/oxálalek<sup>w</sup>čex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You're writing things (such as a long letter).'

/oábalek<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They gave things.'

/očlálek<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone has won now.'

/-z/ (1st order) is an object indicator which denotes that the object belongs to the subject.

/očáčzčed/ 'I hid it (mine).'

/očáčzčex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You hid it (yours).'

/očáčz/ 'Someone hid it (someone's).'

/očáčzčez/ 'We hid it (ours).'

/-čop/ (1st order) indicates that wood is the object.

/očxák<sup>w</sup>čopčed/ 'I'm splitting wood.'

A large number of object suffixes denote body parts. All belong to the third order.

- /-ks/ 'nose' /odx<sup>w</sup>bé<sup>l</sup>elksčed/ 'I smashed my nose accidentally.'
- /-g<sup>ws</sup>/ 'small of back' /odx<sup>w</sup>pósg<sup>w</sup>s/ 'Someone hit someone accidentally in the small of the back.'
- /-šad/ 'foot' /olčšadobčed/ 'Someone accidentally stepped on my foot.'
- /-če/ 'fingers or hand' /obé<sup>l</sup>elčečed/ 'I smashed my hand.'
- /-weč/ 'upper part of back.' /odx<sup>w</sup>pósweč/ 'Someone was hit accidentally on the upper part of the back.'
- /-yođ<sup>w</sup>/ 'throat' /opósyođ<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone was hit on the throat on purpose.'
- /-apač/ 'back of neck' /oposág<sup>w</sup>apač/ 'Someone got hit on the back of the neck.'
- /-alde/ 'ear or side of head' /otsáalde?tag<sup>w</sup>l/ 'They were hitting each other on the ear.'
- /-alos/ 'eye' /otsálosdčed/ 'I hit someone on the eye.'
- /-ařeř/ 'mouth' /odx<sup>w</sup>pósareř/ 'Someone got hit on the mouth accidentally.'
- /-ač/ 'head' /oxřaččed/ 'My head aches.'
- /-os/ 'face' /ořálqosčed/ 'I turned my face away.'
- /-abac/ 'the outside of anything such as skin'  
/očářabacčed/ 'I'm digging around the outside of something.'
- /x<sup>w</sup>é? k<sup>w</sup>g<sup>w</sup>aclask<sup>w</sup>dábac/ 'You can't keep up (literally: you can't grab skin).'
- /-ap/ 'buttocks' /oqq<sup>w</sup>áptb/ 'Someone was bitten on the buttocks.'

Other verb suffixes

/-es/~/-eš/ (1st order) indicates that action is directed toward or onto something.'

/og<sup>w</sup>adeščed/ 'I sat on it.'

/og<sup>w</sup>adesbcčex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Your're sitting on me.'

/toč<sup>y</sup>esax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone came back to someone now.'

/totazeščex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You lay on it.'

/-eč/~/-ež/ (3rd order) indicates that something is put on or over something.

/toč<sup>w</sup> ok<sup>w</sup>žéčc teež stóbs<sup>y</sup>/ 'That man just spilled it over me.'

/tóč<sup>w</sup>čed ok<sup>w</sup>žéžed teež stóbs<sup>y</sup>/ 'I just spilled it over that man.'

/ok<sup>w</sup>žéčcedo/ 'Did someone spill it over you?'

/oitežedčer ateež qóž/ 'We sprinkled water over someone.'

/oqalqalbeččer/ 'We're getting lots of rain over us.'

/tóč<sup>w</sup>čed og<sup>w</sup>adeleždx<sup>w</sup>/ 'I'm just sitting on it accidentally.'

/-ag<sup>w</sup>/ (1st order). The meaning of this morpheme is not clear. It may mean that action is oriented in a certain direction or toward a place with possible reflexive connotations.

/oqélag<sup>w</sup>elax<sup>w</sup>čer/ 'We're getting into the canoe.'

/tožéqag<sup>w</sup>elax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They went into the water (soaked themselves).'

/občág<sup>w</sup>elax<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I'm lying down now.'

/oposág<sup>w</sup>apaččed/ 'I'm hit on the back of the neck.'

/-el/ (2nd order) indicates a state, condition or characteristic of the subject.

/tolatláwelčed/ 'I was running.'

/očázelčez/ 'We hid.'

/asq<sup>w</sup>ázel/ 'It's yellow.'

/tox<sup>w</sup>selčex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You'll get fat.'

/as<sup>x</sup>oelčed/ 'I'm thin.'

/lařáxelax<sup>w</sup>/ 'It's becoming night now.'

/-dop/ (1st order), place or area. /op<sup>x</sup>dop/ 'Someone is feeling around in a place.'

/-aha/ (3rd order), surprise. /asg<sup>w</sup>adélahabed tečřářad/ 'Oh, someone is sitting on that leg.'

/-awa/ (12th order), surprise. This morpheme may be related to /-aha/. It may be that these morphemes can appear at any place to denote surprise.

/asředčex<sup>w</sup>awa/ 'Oh, you're tired!'

/tobag<sup>w</sup>adelax<sup>w</sup>dřawasex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Oh, someone must have sat down again against orders!'

/-ořx<sup>w</sup>/ (3rd order), still or yet (in some examples it seems to connote surprise).

/ok<sup>w</sup>élořx<sup>w</sup>čex<sup>w</sup>o ak<sup>w</sup>e sč<sup>w</sup>lářad/ 'Are you still picking berries?'

/ok<sup>w</sup>élořx<sup>w</sup>čed ateeř sč<sup>w</sup>lářad/ 'I'm still picking berries.'

/asg<sup>w</sup>adelořx<sup>w</sup>čex<sup>w</sup>o/ 'Are you still sitting down?'

/désahorořx<sup>w</sup>dřhalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'Evidentially they are still here.'

/askʰoʔx<sup>wo</sup>/ 'Are you still awake?'

/-oʔ/ (3rd order), to go to do something.

/tok<sup>w</sup>éleloʔčex<sup>wo</sup>/ 'Did you go to pick berries?'

/x<sup>w</sup>éʔ g<sup>w</sup>sʰosáʔxoeloʔčex<sup>w</sup> ak<sup>w</sup>e áʔ/ 'We're not going to go clam digging very soon.'

/toyáyoseloʔčex<sup>wo</sup>/ 'Are you going to work now?'

/-ax<sup>w</sup>/ (9th order), now, then.

/étotax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Go to sleep now!'

/asxédax<sup>w</sup>čex<sup>w</sup>/ 'How are you now?'

/tohóyodax<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I made it then.'

/désahax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone is here now.'

/xostsbsax<sup>w</sup>/ 'It will be cold then.'

/-ab/ (7th order), to want.

/tóx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup> íccab/ 'He just wanted to step on me.'

/háx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>čex<sup>w</sup> xoxódxodbedab te dg<sup>w</sup>e/ 'We've been wanting to talk to you for a long time.'

/-dʔ/ (10th order), evidentially. Suquamish informants sometimes pronounce this /-ʔʔ/.

/tohóyotbdʔ atéʔ/ 'He must have made it.'

/oʔčelax<sup>w</sup>dʔčex<sup>w</sup>/ 'We must be there now.'

/asxʔdʔ téʔ/ 'He must be sick.'

/todésadʔhalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They must have been here.'

/-sex<sup>w</sup>/ (13th order) indicates that someone has done something wrong or something he didn't want to do.

/basg<sup>w</sup>adesax<sup>w</sup>čedsex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Well, I'm sitting down on it again (when I didn't want to or shouldn't have).'

/tobakádax<sup>w</sup>dʔhalg<sup>w</sup>asex<sup>w</sup>o/ 'They must have stolen

again, don't you think so?'

/tobag<sup>w</sup>adelax<sup>w</sup>sex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone is sitting down again  
(after being told not to).'

/-o/ (13th order), interrogative.

/toyáyoseloidihalg<sup>w</sup>ao/~ /toyáyoseloidihalg<sup>w</sup>a/

'They must have gone to work, don't you think so?'

/toyáyoseloidihalg<sup>w</sup>o/ 'Did you go to work?'

/-o/ does not alternate positions with other suffixes as it  
does with /-halg<sup>w</sup>a/.

/-taɿ/ (14th order), right or correctly.

/tobahóyodax<sup>w</sup>taɿ/ 'Someone did it again and this time  
it was right.'

/tobahóyodax<sup>w</sup>ditáɿ/ 'Well, someone did it again then  
and evidently did it right.'

/tobahóyodax<sup>w</sup>dihsex<sup>w</sup>taɿ/ 'Well, someone did it again  
then and evidently did it right but probably did  
it wrong.'

/-cak<sup>w</sup>/ (14th order). There seems to be no difference in  
meaning or position between this suffix and /-taɿ/.

/tobahóyodax<sup>w</sup>dihsex<sup>w</sup>cak<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone must have done it  
right then but probably did it wrong.'

## 3.13 Prefixation.

The order of verb prefixes and their semantic classes are presented in the following chart.

11th	10th	9th	8th	7th	6th	5th
<u>Subject pronouns</u>	<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Tense</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Subject pronouns</u>	?	<u>Aspect</u>
ʧed-	ʧo-	to-	g <sup>w</sup> -	c-	eɪ-	la-
ʧex <sup>w</sup> -		to-		ac-		<u>Object pronoun</u>
ʧeɪ-				s-		tx <sup>w</sup> -

4th	3rd	2nd	1st
<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Aspect</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Object pronouns</u>
o-	ba-	as-	tx <sup>w</sup> -
	<u>Mode</u>		dx <sup>w</sup> -
	ax <sup>w</sup> -		<u>Place</u>
			dax <sup>w</sup> -

The major functions of verb prefixes are to indicate tense, aspect, mode, state and subject pronouns.

Tense

Two 9th order prefixes distinguish between past and future states or actions.

/to-/, action or state occurred in the past. Often informants have translated /to-/ as 'used to be.' It may also, however, be used to indicate actions or states which occurred



yesterday. No distinctions between remote and recent past have been noted.

/tořékk<sup>1</sup>sdč<sup>1</sup>et/ 'We hung it up.'

/totátabbč<sup>1</sup>et tolá<sup>1</sup>ždat/ 'We were talking yesterday.'

/tošábadax<sup>W</sup>/ 'Someone dried it then.'

/tobag<sup>W</sup>adelax<sup>W</sup>/ 'He sat down again.'

/to<sup>1</sup>xá<sup>1</sup>xtx<sup>W</sup>/ 'Someone wanted it.'

/žo-/, action or state will occur in the future.

/žořékk<sup>1</sup>sdč<sup>ed</sup>/ 'I'm going to hang it up.'

/žotá<sup>1</sup>žax<sup>W</sup> te očp/ 'The box will fall down now.'

/žo<sup>1</sup>xá<sup>1</sup>xtx<sup>W</sup>č<sup>ed</sup>/ 'I'll want it.'

/žog<sup>W</sup>áč<sup>ed</sup> ag<sup>W</sup>láp<sup>o</sup>ž/ 'I'm going to go along with you (pl.).'

### Aspect

Four aspect prefixes occur. Each belongs to a different order.

/o-/ (4th order). This prefix is difficult to classify as to its semantic category. It is a general declarative. The action or state may be occurring or may just have occurred. Whether action or state is over, going on at the moment or continuing depends upon the presence or absence of various other prefixes or suffixes. It could, perhaps with equal justification, be classified under tense.

/ohóyodč<sup>ed</sup>/ 'I made it (just now).'

/ořékk<sup>1</sup>sdč<sup>1</sup>et/ 'We hung it up.'

/ošábax<sup>W</sup>/ 'It's drying now.'

/oxáx<sup>l</sup>elax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone is arguing now.'

/og<sup>w</sup>adésbcčex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You sat on it.'

/oxáxtx<sup>w</sup>čed/ 'I want it.'

/ba-/~ /b-/ (3rd order) indicates action that has been done before (by the same person or someone else) and is repeated. /b-/ appears when this prefix immediately precedes a root that begins with a vowel.

/tobóselax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone dove now also.'

/tobak<sup>w</sup>elčez ak<sup>w</sup>e sq<sup>w</sup>lázad/ 'We'll pick some berries again.'

/tobahóyodax<sup>w</sup>dž/ 'Someone must have done it again.'

/tobalé<sup>l</sup>kksdax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone hung it up again then.'

/tobag<sup>w</sup>adelax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone sat down again then.'

/xo-/ (10th order), customary action.

/xóétot téʔ/ 'He sleeps (in answer to the question "What does he do in the afternoon?").'

/čkáked xoxábalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'They always cry.'

/xolaébaščez/ 'We are traveling customarily.'

/xolk<sup>w</sup>dčex<sup>w</sup>o k<sup>w</sup>e sʔáxoʔ/ 'Do you eat clams?'

/xotosax<sup>w</sup>oox<sup>w</sup>shalg<sup>w</sup>a tx<sup>w</sup>al.táwd/ 'They would customarily want to go to town.'

/la-/ (5th order), continuative.

/tolaébaš/ 'Someone was traveling (walking).'

/tolag<sup>w</sup>čb/ 'Someone was searching.'

/lařáx<sup>l</sup>elax<sup>w</sup>/ 'It's becoming night.'

/laátbd/ 'It's dying.'

/lakádadetbčez/ 'We are being stolen from.'

/laʔdelʔed/ 'I'm getting thin.'

### Mode

Two mode prefixes of different orders occur.

/g<sup>w</sup>-/~ /g-/ (8th order) indicates willingness or ability of or permission for the subject to act, or, in the negative, lack of willingness to act. /g<sup>w</sup>-/>/g-/ before the prefix /o-/.

/g<sup>w</sup>ʔabadʔed dádato/ 'I will be able to dry it tomorrow.'

/goʔabadʔed/ 'I can dry it.'

/goʔabad téʔ/ 'He can dry it.'

/g<sup>w</sup>tók<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>ex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You can take it home.'

/g<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>éced teeʔ tálc/ 'I can cut the salmon.'

/g<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>élsécʔelabo ak<sup>w</sup>e sq<sup>w</sup>láʔad/ 'Will you (pl.) pick the berries for me?'

/gog<sup>w</sup>ácedo/ 'May I come along?'

/x<sup>w</sup>éʔ g<sup>w</sup>acxébed/ 'You didn't grab it (didn't want to or weren't willing).'

In the negative an idiom is often used. /x<sup>w</sup>éʔ g<sup>w</sup>shék<sup>w</sup> acéʔ/  
'She isn't big (doesn't want to be big).'

/ax<sup>w</sup>-/ (3rd order), desiderative.

/oax<sup>w</sup>ʔál téʔ/ 'He wants writing done.'

/ax<sup>w</sup>átbdabax<sup>w</sup>ced/ 'I want to die.'

/ax<sup>w</sup>cótbédʔeʔ/ 'We think that...(want to say about it).'

### State

/as-/~ /s-/ (2nd order) indicates a state or condition.

/asɪéççed/ 'I'm cut.'

/aséɪtothalg<sup>wa</sup>/ 'They're sleepy.'

/asátbd/ 'It's dead.'

/asɪéçks/ 'It's hanging up.'

/as<sup>ç</sup>óelçex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You're thin.'

/asdk<sup>w</sup>/ 'It's in.'

/asg<sup>w</sup>adélo<sup>x</sup>çex<sup>w</sup>o/ 'Are you still sitting down?'

In normal speech when /as-/ is preceded by another prefix that ends in a vowel, fusion and reduction of the vowel cluster occurs. The resulting vowel is /a/. In slow speech the vowels remain distinct.

/tasbç áɪ/~/toasbç áɪ/ 'It was lying there.'

/basg<sup>w</sup>adesax<sup>w</sup>çedsex<sup>w</sup>/~/baasg<sup>w</sup>adesax<sup>w</sup>çedsex<sup>w</sup>/ 'I'm sitting down on it again.'

/ɪasg<sup>w</sup>áçed ag<sup>w</sup>lápɔɪ/~/ɪoasg<sup>w</sup>áçed ag<sup>w</sup>lápɔɪ/ 'I'm going to go along with you.'

/çoslasçédelshalg<sup>wa</sup>/~/çoslaasçédelshalg<sup>wa</sup>/ 'They are late customarily.'

/çasɪçel atéɪ alpádc/~/çoasɪçel atéɪ alpádc/ 'He customarily arrives at ten.'

When /ax<sup>w</sup>-/ precedes /as-/ in normal speech the /a/ in /as-/ is omitted. /ax<sup>w</sup>sétotbax<sup>w</sup>çed/~/ax<sup>w</sup>asétotbax<sup>w</sup>çed/ 'I want to sleep now.'

### Subject pronoun prefixes.

Three 7th order subject pronoun prefixes occur.

/c-/ first person, singular.

/b<sup>k</sup>w ɬop cotx<sup>w</sup>éágosb/ 'Every morning I wash my face.'

/c<sup>x</sup>ax<sup>ʔ</sup> te g<sup>w</sup>lápox<sup>ʔ</sup>/ 'I like you (pl.).'

/é<sup>ʔ</sup> xoco<sup>ʔ</sup>áɬd/ 'Yes, I eat it.'

/xoclaébaš/ 'I travel customarily.'

/x<sup>w</sup>é<sup>ʔ</sup> g<sup>w</sup>c<sup>x</sup>ébed/ 'I didn't grab it.'

/x<sup>w</sup>é<sup>ʔ</sup> g<sup>w</sup>c<sup>x</sup>ax<sup>ʔ</sup>tx<sup>w</sup> tee<sup>ʔ</sup> s<sup>x</sup>álab<sup>c</sup>/ 'I don't want those clothes.'

/ac-/ second person, singular.

/x<sup>w</sup>é<sup>ʔ</sup> g<sup>w</sup>ac<sup>x</sup>ax<sup>ʔ</sup>tx<sup>w</sup> tee<sup>ʔ</sup> s<sup>x</sup>álab<sup>c</sup>/ 'You don't want those clothes.'

/xáy<sup>ʔ</sup>dax<sup>w</sup> tee<sup>ʔ</sup> acax<sup>w</sup>á<sup>ʔ</sup>ax<sup>ʔ</sup>tx<sup>w</sup> tee<sup>ʔ</sup> s<sup>x</sup>álab<sup>c</sup>/ 'Now why do you want those clothes?'

/x<sup>w</sup>é<sup>ʔ</sup> k<sup>w</sup>acté<sup>ʔ</sup>kksd/ 'Don't hang it up!'

/x<sup>w</sup>é<sup>ʔ</sup> g<sup>w</sup>ac<sup>x</sup>ébed/ 'You didn't grab it.'

/xocac<sup>ʔ</sup>d/ 'You are customarily late.'

/s-/. This morpheme together with several suffixes, including /-s/ (8th order) and subject pronoun suffixes, forms a set of discontinuous subject morphemes.

/s-...-s/ third person, singular. It may be plural if it occurs with a plural subject noun.

/x<sup>w</sup>é<sup>ʔ</sup> g<sup>w</sup>s<sup>x</sup>ax<sup>ʔ</sup>tobs até<sup>ʔ</sup> tee<sup>ʔ</sup> s<sup>x</sup>álab<sup>c</sup>/ 'Those clothes are not wanted by him.'

/há<sup>ʔ</sup> toá<sup>ʔ</sup>relax<sup>w</sup> tee<sup>ʔ</sup> áce<sup>ʔ</sup>talbex<sup>w</sup> altee<sup>ʔ</sup> toslag<sup>w</sup>áx<sup>w</sup> s/  
'Well, now these people got fast while they were traveling along.'

/x<sup>w</sup>é<sup>ʔ</sup> g<sup>w</sup>shék<sup>w</sup>s/ 'Someone is not big.'

/s-...-c<sup>ʔ</sup>e<sup>ʔ</sup>/ first person, plural.

/tohák<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e sok<sup>w</sup>éičeř/ 'We're going to pick for a long time.'

/x<sup>w</sup>éř g<sup>w</sup>sxałtx<sup>w</sup>ceř teeř s<sup>w</sup>álab/ 'We don't want those clothes.'

/x<sup>w</sup>éř g<sup>w</sup>sk<sup>w</sup>ddceř/ 'We didn't take it.'

/ateeř xoslasqdelčceř/ 'Customarily we are late.'

/s-...-lab/ second person, plural.

/x<sup>w</sup>éř g<sup>w</sup>sxałtx<sup>w</sup>lab teeř s<sup>w</sup>álab/ 'You (pl.) do not like those clothes.'

/xáyda<sup>w</sup> te sax<sup>w</sup>xałtx<sup>w</sup>lab teeř s<sup>w</sup>álab/ 'Why do you (pl.) want those clothes?'

/x<sup>w</sup>éř g<sup>w</sup>sx<sup>w</sup>álab/ 'Don't bite it.'

/s-...-s-halg<sup>w</sup>a/ third person, plural.

/ateeř xoslasqdelshalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'Customarily they are late.'

/x<sup>w</sup>éř g<sup>w</sup>sxałtx<sup>w</sup>shalg<sup>w</sup>a teeř s<sup>w</sup>álab/ 'They don't like those clothes.'

The first person singular and plural subject pronoun suffixes /-čed/ and /-čceř/ and the second person, singular suffix /-čex<sup>w</sup>/ have been found to occur frequently as 11th order prefixes.

/otačtaččed čedbák<sup>w</sup>ř/ 'I fell down and hurt myself.'

/háy čedtoóx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>al soq<sup>w</sup>ábš/ 'Then I went to Suquamish.'

/abel déša te cwyóřso čeřgoébaš/ 'If my children were here we could go somewhere.'

/čex<sup>w</sup>řoháytx<sup>w</sup>/ 'You'll find out (learn).'

/-čelab/ and /-halg<sup>w</sup>a/ have not been found to occur in this position.

Object pronoun prefixes

The 5th order suffixes /-tx<sup>W</sup>/ and /-dx<sup>W</sup>/ have been found to occur as 1st order prefixes under the following conditions. When no other definite object suffix is used /-tx<sup>W</sup>/ and /-dx<sup>W</sup>/ appear as suffixes. When a definite object suffix is used these morphemes appear as prefixes, except when stress is transferred from the root to a following suffix.

/otx<sup>W</sup>póso<sup>s</sup>dčed/ 'I hit him on the face on purpose.'

/tóx<sup>W</sup> odx<sup>W</sup>póso<sup>s</sup>/ 'Someone just hit someone on the face accidentally.'

/odx<sup>W</sup>pósa<sup>l</sup>o<sup>s</sup>/ 'Someone accidentally was hit on the eye.'

/otx<sup>W</sup>čágo<sup>s</sup>sbčed/ 'I'm washing my face (literally: I'm washing with regard to my face).'

/totx<sup>W</sup>čágo<sup>s</sup>ba<sup>l</sup>g<sup>W</sup>a/ 'They have washed their faces.'

/odx<sup>W</sup>pósa<sup>l</sup>o<sup>s</sup>c/ 'Someone hit me on the eye accidentally.'

/opósa<sup>l</sup>o<sup>s</sup>c/ 'Someone hit me on the eye on purpose.'

/otx<sup>W</sup>čágo<sup>s</sup>b/ 'He hid his face (hid with regard to his face).'

/obadx<sup>W</sup>pósa<sup>l</sup>o<sup>s</sup>c/ 'Somebody hit me on the eye again accidentally.'

/otx<sup>W</sup>tčos<sup>d</sup>čed/ 'I slapped him on the face on purpose (slapped him with regard to his face).'

/otx<sup>W</sup>t<sup>W</sup>ks/ 'Someone pulled someone's nose.'

/ots<sup>y</sup>ádtx<sup>w</sup>ced/ 'I punched someone on the leg on purpose.'

/ots<sup>o</sup>sdx<sup>w</sup>ced/ 'I punched someone on the face accidentally.'

In some cases /tx<sup>w</sup>-/ may precede /o-/. In this position it seems to mean 'without offense' and is used in polite speech. /g<sup>w</sup>l ásesta k<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>oyecbtobeced/ 'Well, that's the reason that you are being told this.'

Other verb prefixes.

One example of the prefix /eɪ-/ (5th order) has been found. In this example it seems to mean 'with him.'

/toceɪlatláwel/ 'I was running with him.'

/dax<sup>w</sup>-/ (1st order) place or area. /deɛɪ tosdax<sup>w</sup>háytx<sup>w</sup>shalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'That is where they learned it.'



## 3.20 Nouns.

The nouns can be analyzed in terms of derivation, roots, stems and affixes. They can be classified into two main types. (1) Simple stems or single free morphemes. (2) Derived stems or stems that are composed of a root plus one or more affixes.

Some examples of simple stems are: /bét/ 'salmon soup'; /bád/ 'father'; /bda/ 'small child'; /pét/ 'bed'; /pós/ 'aunt'; /péct/ 'charcoal'; /káya/ 'grandmother'; /sáw?/ 'bone'; /x<sup>w</sup>lč/ 'sea or sound'. The present evidence is not sufficient to indicate whether or not all such simple noun stems are also potential verb roots. It seems probable that at least some are not. It is also probable that most if not all verb roots that are used in nouns must be inflected in some way.

## 3.21 Reduplication.

Only the noun root is involved in reduplication. For example, when the initial consonant of a noun is /s/, it is not involved in reduplication if it is the nominalizing prefix /s-/. If it is a part of the root, it is involved in reduplication. In the following example the nominalizing prefix /s-/ is not reduplicated. /sčéstx<sup>w</sup>/ 'husband' /sčésčéstx<sup>w</sup>/ 'husbands' In the next example the root initial consonant /s/ is reduplicated. /sxb/ 'dance' /sxsxb/ 'dances'

The plural of nouns may be formed by the following types of reduplication.

- (1) In the majority of examples the entire root or the first three phonemes of the root are reduplicated.

/skóy/ 'mother' /skóykoy/ 'mothers'  
 /sčášed/ 'branch of tree' /sčáščašed/ 'tree branches'  
 /xáčo/ 'lake' /xáčxáčo/ 'lakes'  
 /tx<sup>w</sup>čáb<sup>k</sup>w/ 'cloud' /tx<sup>w</sup>čábčáb<sup>k</sup>w/ 'clouds'  
 /šag<sup>w</sup>z/ 'door' /šag<sup>w</sup>šag<sup>w</sup>z/ 'doors'  
 /šx<sup>w</sup>b/ 'wind' /šx<sup>w</sup>šx<sup>w</sup>b/ 'winds'  
 /sbk<sup>w</sup>a/ 'crane' /sbk<sup>w</sup>b<sup>k</sup>w/ 'cranes'

(2) When an initial consonant cluster appears in the root, only this consonant cluster is reduplicated.

/p'wáyʔ/ 'flounder' /p'wáp'wáyʔ/ 'flounders'  
 /t'béd/ 'rope' /t'bt'béd/ 'ropes'  
 /sbyáw/ 'coyote' /sbybyáw/ 'coyotes'

(3) In several examples only the initial consonant and following vowel or an initial vowel and following consonant are reduplicated.

/sxáxaʔ/ 'relatives-in-law' /sxáxaxaʔ/ 'lots of  
 relatives-in-law'  
 /syáya/ 'friends' /syáyaya/ 'lots of friends'  
 /skobáy/ 'dog' /skokobáy/ 'dogs'  
 /słáday/ 'woman' /słásláday/ 'women'  
 /soládx<sup>w</sup>/ 'a dried fish' /sololádx<sup>w</sup>/ 'dried fish'

(4) Where a semi-vowel and glottal stop form a root final consonant cluster, both are reduplicated.

/sxáyʔos/ 'head' /sxáyʔxáyʔos/ 'heads'  
 /šáwʔ/ 'bone' /šáwʔšáwʔ/ 'bones'

(5) In one example there is loss of an initial consonant.

/stóbš/ 'man' /stóbobš/ 'men' This loss of root initial /t/ does not occur in other examples. /stólk<sup>w</sup>/ 'river' /stóltolk<sup>w</sup>/ 'rivers'

(6) In one example, only the initial consonant is reduplicated. /syáb/ 'high class person' /syyáb/ 'high class persons'

(7) The root initial glottal stop does not occur in the second part of the reduplicated forms in the following examples.

/sʔeléls/ 'forehead' /sʔeléléls/ 'foreheads'  
 /sʔázd/ 'food' /sʔáʔázd/ 'lots of food.'  
 /sʔáxoʔ/ 'clam' /sʔáx<sup>w</sup>axoʔ/ 'clams'  
 /sʔácos/ 'face' /sʔácos/ 'faces'

(8) Vowel reduplication plus change in the placing of stress and the addition of /h/ between the vowels occurs in the following example. /čag<sup>w</sup>aš/ 'wife' /čáhag<sup>w</sup>aš/ 'wives'

There are two major types of noun reduplication for formation of the diminutive. At present, no way has been found to predict which type of reduplication will be used for a given noun.

One type involves the reduplication of the initial consonant and following vowel of the root. If stress was on this vowel in the original root it appears on the vowel in the reduplicated syllable. Following the reduplicated syllable, the root is repeated, but the stressed vowel of the original root does not occur. In some examples a glottal stop seems to appear after the reduplicated vowel. In other examples

the glottal stop is weak or lacking. No way has been found to predict the presence or absence of the glottal stop except where it is a part of the original root.

/skáda/ 'thief' /skákda/ 'little thief'  
 /sčášed/ 'branch of tree' /sčáčšed/ 'little tree branch'  
 /tx<sup>w</sup>čábk<sup>w</sup>/ 'cloud' /tx<sup>w</sup>čáčbk<sup>w</sup>/ 'little cloud'  
 /hódčop/ 'fire wood' /hóndčop/ 'kindling'  
 /sřáday/ 'woman' /sřáčday/ 'little woman'  
 /skóy/ 'mother' /skóčk<sup>w</sup>y/ 'little mother'  
 /stókob/ 'cough' /stóčtkob/ 'little cough'  
 /sřácos/ 'face' /sřáčcos/ 'little face.'  
 /stólk<sup>w</sup>/ 'river' /stóčtlk<sup>w</sup>/ 'little river'  
 /sřáxoŋ/ 'clam' /sřáčxoŋ/ 'little clam'  
 /sčále/ 'heart' /sčáčle/ 'little heart'  
 /xáčo/ 'lake' /xáččo/ 'little lake'  
 /šáwŋ/ 'bone' /šáčšwŋ/ 'little bone'  
 /stóbš/ 'man' /stóčtbš/ 'little man'

The following two examples are similar to this type of reduplication; however, the original stem is apparently a plural reduplicated form (although the singular form does not occur and a further plural reduplication is possible). In these cases only a glottal stop is added after the stressed vowel of the original stem.

/syáya/ 'friends' /syáčya/ 'little friends'  
 /sxáxaŋ/ 'relatives-in-law' /sxáčxaŋ/ 'little relatives-in-law'

The second type of noun reduplication to express the diminutive is similar to the first except that /e/ invariably occurs in the reduplicated syllable even if another vowel appears in the root.

/káya/ 'grandmother' /kékya/ 'little grandmother'  
 /qéqlbed/ 'canoe' /qéqqlbed/ 'little canoe'  
 /qsed/ 'lean-to' /qéqsed/ 'little lean-to'  
 /spadálek<sup>w</sup>/ 'plant' /spépdalek<sup>w</sup>/ 'little plant'  
 /stéleb/ 'song' /stétleb/ 'little song'  
 /sʔaʔd/ 'food' /sʔéʔd/ 'a little food'  
 /sbk<sup>w</sup>a/ 'crane' /sbébk<sup>w</sup>a/ 'little crane'  
 /syáb/ 'high class person' /seʔsyáb/ 'little high  
 class person'

When the root has an initial consonant cluster or when stress does not fall upon the first root vowel, the /e/ in the reduplicated syllable is unstressed and stress remains on the following root.

/q<sup>w</sup>láde/ 'ear' /q<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>láde/ 'little ear'  
 /skobáy/ 'dog' /sk<sup>w</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>báy/ 'little dog'  
 /tʃábac/ 'devil fish' /tetʃábac/ 'little devil fish'  
 /tklós/ 'owl' /tetklós/ 'little owl'  
 /pwayʔ/ 'flounder' /pépwayʔ/ 'little flounder'  
 /tbéʔd/ 'rope' /tetbéʔd/ 'little rope'

In both types of diminutive reduplication, double reduplication may occur to indicate a plural diminutive. In each case the reduplicated syllable expressing the diminutive is again reduplicated.

- /skákakda/ 'little thieves'  
 /sčáčačšed/ 'little tree branches'  
 /tx<sup>w</sup>čáčačb<sup>k</sup>w/ 'little clouds'  
 /słátałday/ 'little women'  
 /skórkórk<sup>w</sup>y/ 'little mothers'  
 /stórtórtkób/ 'little coughs'  
 /słátałcos/ 'little faces'  
 /mátałxó/ 'little clams'  
 /xárxárxčo/ 'little lakes'  
 /šášášaw/ 'little bones'  
 /stórtórtbš/ 'little men'  
 /sxárxárxá/ 'lots of little relatives-in-law'  
 /kékekya/ 'little grandmothers'  
 /qéqéqlbed/ 'little canoes'  
 /qéqéqsed/ 'little lean-tos'  
 /sbébeb<sup>k</sup>wa/ 'little cranes'  
 /q<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>láde/ 'little ears'  
 /sk<sup>w</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>báy/ 'little dogs'  
 /tététbétđ/ 'little ropes'  
 /seʔseʔsyáb/ 'little high, class people'

## 3.220 Derivation of nouns.

At present the number of derived nouns that can be analyzed completely into their constituent parts, so that the meaning of each morpheme is clear, is small. Many more can be partially analyzed. The procedure used will be to list the affixes that appear in derived noun stems, give examples, and identify the constituent morphemes where possible.

## 3.221 Prefixation.

The following prefixes when they occur with verb roots may result in the formation of nouns; however, in the second two examples whether the resulting forms are nouns or verbs often depends upon their use or syntactical position.

/s-/ nominalizer. /sla'áx' atee' s'lxel/ 'The coming of the day.' /sla'áx'/ is composed of /s-/, nominalizer, /la-/, continuative, and /'áx', 'to come'. /s'lxel/ is composed of /s-/, nominalizer, /'lx/, 'light' and /-el/, condition.

/soxáb atee' wyó'ʒso/ 'The crying of the children.' /s-/, nominalizer, /o-/, aspect, and /xáb/ 'to cry'.

/dax<sup>w</sup>-/ 'place'. /dax<sup>w</sup>pók<sup>w</sup>el/ 'Place where the pók<sup>w</sup> berries grow.' /-el/ is the verb suffix indicating condition or state. /dax<sup>w</sup>sq<sup>w</sup>s/. This is a place name referring to a high bank along the shore. It is translated 'place where it is high in the middle.' /sq/ 'to be high' and /-g<sup>w</sup>s/ 'middle of the back.'

/as-/. Verb roots with this prefix indicating state or condition may be nouns or verbs depending upon their syntactical position. /tee' asx'x/ 'that sick person.' /x'x/ 'to be sick.'

/astólel/ 'a bridge' or 'to be crossing over a river.' /tól/,  
 'to cross over' and /-el/, state or condition.

### 3.222 Suffixation.

/-dop/ 'place'.

/šábdop/ 'drying place' /šáb/ 'to dry'

/xlédop/ 'floor'

/háʔdop/ 'a good place (neat, not cluttered)' /háʔ/  
 'good'

/bex<sup>w</sup>/ 'people'

/ʔálbex<sup>w</sup>/ 'a stranger' /ʔál/ 'to dock or land upon  
 arrival'

/dáʔakbex<sup>w</sup>/ 'another tribe' /dáʔo/ 'one'

/áceʔtalbex<sup>w</sup>/ 'the people, a tribe'

/-g<sup>w</sup>eʔ/ 'canoe'

/elálg<sup>w</sup>eʔ/ 'the side of a canoe'

/kalálg<sup>w</sup>eʔ/ 'left side of a canoe'

/-eg<sup>w</sup>d/ 'body'

/eláleg<sup>w</sup>d/ 'the side of the body'

/kaláleg<sup>w</sup>d/ 'left side of body'

/stóleg<sup>w</sup>d/ 'blood' /stólk<sup>w</sup>/ 'river' /tól/ 'to  
 cross over water'

/-altx<sup>w</sup>/ 'house'

/xʔáltx<sup>w</sup>/ 'hospital' /xʔ/ 'to be sick'

/peg<sup>w</sup>dáltx<sup>w</sup>/ 'smoke house (where spirit songs were  
 sung)' /pég<sup>w</sup>d/ 'to sing spirit songs'

/-aš/. Only one clear example has been found. /šálaš/



'hand' /čál/ 'to catch onto or catch up with' /očáladčed/  
 'I caught up with it.'

A number of suffixes regularly used with verb roots appear with nouns as illustrated in some of the examples above. These have been considered as parts of stems; that is, when a verb root is nominalized a regular verb suffix may also be included in the stem. It is doubtful that the present data illustrate a large percentage of the verb suffixes that may be included in noun stems. For example, it is probable that most or all of the body part suffixes could be so included. Following are some examples of regular verb suffixes that appear in noun stems.

- /-el/ (2nd order) /stéq<sup>w</sup>el/ 'smoke'
- /-b/ (4th order) /syecb/ 'news' /oyecb/ 'Someone is telling.'
- /-d/ (6th order) /sʔaɬd/ 'food' /oʔaɬd/ 'Someone ate it.'
- /-alek<sup>w</sup>/ (1st order) /spadálek<sup>w</sup>/ 'a plant'
- /opaɬalek<sup>w</sup>/ 'Someone is burying things.'

There are many examples of nouns which at present can be analyzed only partially. It is probable that in many of these cases an unidentified verb root is involved, or it is possible that in some cases the root is a fossilized form no longer used as a verb root. For example, it is probable that in the following word /-tx<sup>w</sup>/ is the fifth order verb suffix. /ščéstx<sup>w</sup>/ 'husband' Also in the word for 'owl', /tklós/, it is probable that the third order verb suffix

/-os/ is here combined with a verb root. A more complete analysis of noun derivation must await the gathering and identification of additional data.

### 3.230 Inflection of nouns.

A number of affixes may appear with both simple and derived noun stems. Seldom is more than one prefix or suffix added to a stem. Where this does occur the order will be apparent; therefore, the affixes will be listed without reference to order.

### 3.231 Prefixation.

#### Possessive pronoun prefixes.

Two prefixes appear for the first person singular and two for the second person singular. At present it is not possible to define conditions which control the appearance of one or the other of these prefixes.

/d-/ first person, singular.

/d̥bda/ 'my child'

/asbl̥c̥ te d̥x̥c̥ z̥o̥o̥x̥<sup>w̥</sup>ced/ 'It is answered in my mind that I will go.'

/teez̥ dbad̥/ 'my father'

/o̥x̥z̥ te d̥y̥as̥ad̥/ 'My leg hurts.'

/c-/ /c̥-/ first person singular.

/ceez̥ c̥k̥óy/ 'my mother'

/abel̥ de̥ša te cw̥yó?so̥ č̥e̥z̥go̥ébaš/ 'If my children were here, we could go someplace.'

/g̥<sup>w̥</sup>ate? cg̥<sup>w̥</sup>a/ 'Because it's mine.' /g̥<sup>w̥</sup>a/ is probably the verb root meaning 'to be with' or 'to go with.'

/č-/ has been found to occur only before the prefix /as-/.

/tok<sup>w</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>achalg<sup>w</sup>a ateeř časxř/ 'They will help me  
in my sickness.'

/memárad teeř časláxdx<sup>w</sup>/ 'I barely remember it  
(literally: small, my remembering it).'

/ad-/ second person, singular.

/adbda/ 'your child'

/teeř adbád/ 'your father'

/ceeř adčabaš/ 'your sister-in-law'

/ac-/ second person, singular.

/teeř acčéstx<sup>w</sup>/ 'your husband'

/ceeř ackóy/ 'your mother'

/g<sup>w</sup>ateř acg<sup>w</sup>á/ 'Because it's yours.'

The other possessive pronoun affixes are usually discontinuous morphemes consisting of the prefix /s-/ plus one or two suffixes.

/s-...-s/ third person, singular.

/teeř sčéstx<sup>w</sup>s/ '(her) husband'

/ceeř skóys/ 'Someone's mother'

/g<sup>w</sup>ateř sg<sup>w</sup>ás/ 'Because it's his.'

/s-...-čēř/ first person, plural.

/ceeř skóyčēř/ 'our mother'

/g<sup>w</sup>ateř sg<sup>w</sup>áčēř/ 'Because it's ours.'

/s-...-lab/ second person, plural.

/ceeř skóylab/ 'your mother'

/g<sup>w</sup>ateř sg<sup>w</sup>álab/ 'Because it's yours.'

/s-...-s-halg<sup>w</sup>a/ third person, plural.

/ceeř skóyshalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'their mother'

/g<sup>w</sup>ate? sg<sup>w</sup>áshalg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'Because it's theirs.'

Sometimes the prefix /s-/ is omitted and only the suffix appears. /tee? čáhag<sup>w</sup>ašs/ 'Their wives.'

Verb prefixes used with nouns.

A number of prefixes used with verbs have also been found to occur with nouns.

/to-/ past tense.

/oébašče? to?áx/ 'We traveled last night.'

/tocčé?stx<sup>w</sup>/ 'my former husband (used to be)'

In normal speech /to-/+ /ad-/ > /tad/. /ce? tadčabaš/ 'your sister-in-law (used to be)'

/ba-/. This prefix is probably related to the verb prefix /ba-/ 'again'. /atode s'á?d altóde g<sup>w</sup>l ate bas'á?d alte?/ 'That food over there and also this food over here.' In the word /bas'á?d/ the morphemes can be identified in their order of occurrence as: /ba-/ 'also or again'; /s-/ nominalizer; /'á?/ 'to eat'; /-d/ third person singular object suffix.

/g<sup>w</sup>/. 'could, would'. This prefix is probably related to the similar eighth order verb prefix.

/x<sup>w</sup>é?ax<sup>w</sup> alte síx?el tee? g<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>dá?ab/ 'There are no shamans today (none who could be shamans).'

/tee? xok<sup>w</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>adalg<sup>w</sup>a tee? g<sup>w</sup>sx?/ 'They would help those who might be sick.'

/x<sup>o</sup>-/. In one example this prefix has been repeated before each word, including the noun, for purposes of emphasis.

/atee? xosá?le? xokéx<sup>w</sup> xoké?lbed xóá? altee?/ 'There are usually two or three canoes there.'

Other noun prefixes.

Left and right and, possibly, center may be distinguished by means of noun prefixes.

/ka-/ 'left'

/kalálg<sup>W</sup>et/ 'left side of boat'

/kalálos/ 'a lazy no good person (literally: left side of face).'

/ʒa-/ 'right'

/ʒahálg<sup>W</sup>et/ 'right side of boat'

/ʒaʒálos/ 'fine in character, industrious person (literally: right side of face).'

The differences in consonants following /ka-/ and /ʒa-/ cannot be accounted for. A possible third morpheme in this series may be /b-/. It appears in only one example, /bláleg<sup>W</sup>d/ 'navel'. Comparison of this form with some given with /ka-/ and /ʒa-/ suggests that /b-/ may indicate the center between left and right sides.

/bs-/~ /bš-/ 'to possess'. /bš-/ occurs before alveopalatal consonants. In the present data this prefix is always preceded by one of three other prefixes. In the following examples /o-/ indicates a desire to possess.

/obšcag<sup>W</sup>aš/ 'He wanted a wife.'

/obšcéstx<sup>W</sup>/ 'She wanted a husband.'

In the next examples /a-/ indicates that possession is a fact.

/absdáʔ/ 'having a name'

/absbdabda/ 'Someone has some children.'

/ te stóbš g<sup>wl</sup> ars<sup>q</sup>élbed/ 'That man has a canoe.'

In the following example /to-/ indicates that possession was accomplished in the past. /tošš<sup>č</sup>éstx<sup>w</sup>/ 'She got a husband.'

/al-/ 'to, at, toward'

/as<sup>r</sup>álelečed alsoq<sup>w</sup>ábš/ 'I docked at Suquamish.'

/toóle<sup>ve</sup>el alsoq<sup>w</sup>ábš/ 'I was born in Suquamish.'

/ox<sup>t</sup> al<sup>š</sup>ács/ 'Someone is sick at the stomach.'

/alá<sup>l</sup>al/ 'at home'

/le<sup>t</sup>-/ 'most, more'

/le<sup>t</sup>lól<sup>š</sup>/ 'the oldest'

/le<sup>t</sup>téso/ 'the youngest'

/tol-/ 'from'

~~/tolalsdhóbš/ 'from at Snohomish'~~

/a-/ 'by'

/šog<sup>wl</sup>álaltb aHenry tee<sup>t</sup> skázo/ 'These squirrels would be killed by Henry.'

### 3.232 Suffixation.

For a discussion of suffixes appearing in the discontinuous morphemes indicating possession see section 3.321.

/-bš/ 'the people from an area'

/sdhóbš/ 'Snohomish tribe'

/soq<sup>w</sup>ábš/ 'Suquamish tribe'

/-c/~/-bc/ indicates an outer covering. /-bc/ appears when the stem ends in a vowel.

/béyc/ 'skin, meat'

/slág<sup>wc</sup>/ 'cedar bark'

/s<sup>š</sup>álabc/ 'clothing'

/p'q'c/ 'bark of any tree'

/slahábc/ 'the front of something'

/spadálek<sup>w</sup>c/ 'a seed' /spadálek<sup>w</sup>/ 'a plant'

What may be the same suffix is sometimes used to indicate

'tree'. /xpáy/ 'cedar or a piece of cedar' /xpáyc/ 'cedar tree'

/-oced/ 'language'

/pástdoced/ 'English language' /pástd/ 'Boston'

/soq<sup>w</sup>abšoced/ 'Suquamish language'

/x<sup>w</sup>elšóced/ 'a language that the speaker can understand'

/sdhóbšoced/ 'Snohomish language'

## 3.30 Auxiliaries or modifiers.

Adjectival functions are usually accomplished through the use of the verb complex or nouns that are descriptive because of their derivation.

/as<sup>h</sup>óelčex<sup>w</sup>/ 'You're thin.'

/teež <sup>h</sup>xok<sup>w</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>adalg<sup>w</sup>a teež as<sup>h</sup>ž<sup>h</sup>/ 'They would help the sick ones.'

/s<sup>h</sup>ts/ 'winter' /s-/ nominalizer, /ts<sup>h</sup>/ 'to be cold'

However, a number of roots occur in words that are used with other words as modifiers or auxiliaries which cannot be classified as either nouns or verbs. They usually occur with the verb complex but may also occur with nouns. They may appear as free forms, but they also may appear with some of the verb suffixes. Some of these roots occur without suffixes as single utterances, usually as questions, exclamations or answers to questions. Some may also occur as verb or noun roots.

Following are examples of roots that appear in such words. Included are examples in which some of these roots appear in the verb complex.

/patab/ 'when?'

/patábdž k<sup>w</sup>e shóyotbs atéʔ/ 'When does he do it?'

/patábax<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e g<sup>w</sup>sóleʔel ak<sup>w</sup>e čáčas<sup>h</sup>/ 'When could it be now that this child will be born?'

When this morpheme is preceded by /x<sup>w</sup>eʔ/, 'not', it becomes 'never'.

/x<sup>w</sup>eʔ patab k<sup>w</sup>ackáda/ 'Never steal!'



/g<sup>w</sup>át/ 'who?'

/g<sup>w</sup>át k<sup>w</sup>e ckóʔ/ 'Who is with me?'

/g<sup>w</sup>átax<sup>w</sup> kotók<sup>w</sup>/ 'Who is going home?'

/y<sup>é</sup>cbtobš g<sup>w</sup>átčex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Tell me who you are.'

/čád/ 'where?'

/y<sup>é</sup>cbtx<sup>w</sup>čádax<sup>w</sup>čex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Tell him where you are.'

/čáddž k<sup>w</sup>e šosohóyotbs atéʔ/ 'I wonder where it is done by him.'

/točádax<sup>w</sup>čex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Where have you been?'

/čádax<sup>w</sup>o/ 'Where is it?'

/stáb/ 'what?'

/stábawa s<sup>ʔ</sup>ařd téʔ/ 'What kind of food is this?'

/pót/ 'very, very likely'

/pótdž tobaábšed/ 'He must have given it again.'

/pót asčéq<sup>w</sup>el/ 'It's very dirty.'

/dež/ 'that's why'

/otáččed g<sup>w</sup>l déřax<sup>w</sup> cax<sup>w</sup>bák<sup>w</sup>ž/ 'I fell down and that's why I got hurt then.'

/asčiččed déřax<sup>w</sup> žocax<sup>w</sup>taželax<sup>w</sup>/ 'I'm sick and that's why I want to go to bed now.'

/dáʔx<sup>w</sup>/ 'just now'

/dáʔx<sup>w</sup>džnalg<sup>w</sup>a olóc/ 'Evidentially they just now heard me.'

/dáy/ 'later'

/dáyčelab žog<sup>w</sup>ábec/ 'Later you will go along with me.'

/dáyax<sup>w</sup>čej žopadad/ 'Later we will bury it.'

/g<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>/ 'soon'

/te g<sup>w</sup>áx<sup>w</sup> ʔoébaš te stóbš/ 'In a little while the man will leave (travel).'

The diminutive of this morpheme occurs and means 'very soon.'

/te g<sup>w</sup>é<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>čeʔ k<sup>w</sup>élelot/ 'Very soon we're going to pick berries.'

/tóx<sup>w</sup>/ 'just'

/tóx<sup>w</sup>čed obʔd/ 'I just dropped it.'

/tox<sup>w</sup> ocótcot téʔ/ 'He's just talking.'

/čkákéd/ 'always' Suquamish informants give this as /kákéd/.

/čkákédčed ʔoʔékkšd/ 'I always hang it up.'

/čkákéd asétot téʔ/ 'He's always asleep.'

/čkákédalg<sup>wa</sup> ʔoxáb/ 'They always cry.'

/x<sup>w</sup>éʔ/ 'not'

/x<sup>w</sup>éʔčed lasʔáʔel déša/ 'I'm not living here.'

/x<sup>w</sup>éʔ g<sup>w</sup>acxáyb/ 'Don't laugh.'

/xól/ 'only'

/xól laébašhalg<sup>wa</sup>/ 'They were only walking along.'

/xól očéxecot alteeʔ šálbex<sup>w</sup>/ 'They were only yelling outside.'

/xól oxódxod téʔ/ 'He's only talking.'

A reduplicated form of this morpheme means 'nothing but.'

/xolól stóleg<sup>wd</sup>/ 'Nothing but blood.'

/xóola/ 'maybe'

/xóola ʔotx<sup>w</sup>éágosb bk<sup>w</sup> ʔóp/ 'Maybe he washes his face every morning.'

/očázeb xóola/ 'Maybe someone hid it.'

/xóoláčed gotázelax<sup>W</sup>/ 'Maybe I should go to bed.'

/haláʔab/ 'very'

/haláʔabax<sup>W</sup> oxécelax<sup>W</sup>/ 'He's really angry now.'

/haláʔabčed asxécel/ 'I'm really angry.'

/háǵ<sup>W</sup>/ 'for a long time.'

/háǵ<sup>W</sup>ax<sup>W</sup> asbč téʔ/ 'He's been lying there a long time.'

/xóob/ 'alright'

/xóob goébašax<sup>W</sup> tx<sup>W</sup>al táwd/ 'It's alright to go to town now.'

/asxóobelax<sup>W</sup>čed/ 'I'm alright now.'

In one example a subject pronoun affix precedes /xóob/ as a prefix. /čexxóob oósel/ 'Alright, we'll dive.'

/hék<sup>W</sup>/ 'big, much, very'

/hék<sup>W</sup>čex oháʔkel/ 'We had a very good time.'

/x<sup>W</sup>éʔčed lahék<sup>W</sup>/ 'I'm not big.'

/hék<sup>W</sup>awa/ 'Oh, it's big!'

/hék<sup>W</sup> teeʔ čexa/ 'This rock is big.'

/téb/ 'hard'

/téb teeʔ čexa/ 'This rock is hard.'

/tébecot/ 'Try harder (harden yourself).'

/xakt/ 'wide'

/xakt teeʔ šag<sup>W</sup>ʔ/ 'This door (road) is wide.'

/qáqx<sup>W</sup>oʔ/ 'short'

/qáqx<sup>W</sup>oʔ teeʔ stóbš/ 'That man is short.'

/xék<sup>W</sup>/ 'mean'

/xék<sup>w</sup> teeř stóbs̃/ 'That man is mean.'

/háč/ 'long'

/háč te šag<sup>w</sup>z/ 'This road is long.'

/qá/ 'lots'

/qá čósad/ 'Lots of stars.'

Following are examples in which some of these morphemes appear by themselves in answer to questions. /x<sup>w</sup>é?/ 'No.'

/xób/ 'Alright.' /xóola/ 'Maybe.' /káked/ 'Always.'

Others may appear alone as questions. /čád/ 'Where?'  
/g<sup>w</sup>át/ 'Who?' /patáb/ 'When?'

Some occur as exclamations. /hék<sup>w</sup>/ 'Big!' /téb/ 'Hard!'

## 3.40 Pronouns.

The pronouns consist of personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. All pronouns may occur as free forms. All but one may be inflected.

## 3.41 Personal pronouns.

These include first, second and third persons, singular and plural, with a distinction between feminine and non-feminine in the third person singular.

/áca/ first person, singular.

/áca teeř ocód/ 'I said it.'

/xób g<sup>w</sup>ox<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>al táwd yox<sup>w</sup> áca/ 'You can go to town with me now.'

~~/áca k<sup>w</sup>e g<sup>w</sup>šábad/ 'I can dry it.'~~

The free form may be used with the suffix /-čed/ for emphasis.

/obák<sup>w</sup>ldx<sup>w</sup>čed áca/ 'I hurt someone accidentally.'

/dg<sup>w</sup>e/ second person, singular.

/dg<sup>w</sup>e teeř ocód/ 'You said it.'

/é gok<sup>w</sup>élšečēř te dg<sup>w</sup>e ak<sup>w</sup>e sq<sup>w</sup>lāřad/ 'Yes, we can pick some berries for you.'

/očéxecot tx<sup>w</sup>al dg<sup>w</sup>e/ 'Someone is yelling at you.'

/og<sup>w</sup>čdčēř te dg<sup>w</sup>e/ 'We're looking for you.'

/dg<sup>w</sup>e teeř qđ/ 'You're slow.'

/šadēř/ third person, singular, non-feminine.

/šadeř teeř ocód/ 'He said it.'

/očéxecotčed tx<sup>w</sup>al šadeř/ 'I am yelling at him.'

/cadeř/ third person, singular, feminine.

/cadeɛ̃ teeɛ̃ ocóð/ 'She said it.'

/očéxecotčed tx<sup>wa</sup>l ácadeɛ̃/ 'I am yelling at her.'

/débɛ̃/ first person, plural.

/débɛ̃ teeɛ̃ ocóð/ 'We said it.'

/ʔaʔ tx<sup>wa</sup>l débɛ̃/ 'Come with us.'

/débɛ̃ teeɛ̃ absqélbed/ 'We have the canoe.'

/g<sup>w</sup>lápɔ̃/ second person, plural.

/g<sup>w</sup>lápɔ̃ teeɛ̃ ocóð/ 'You said it.'

/og<sup>w</sup>čáčeɛ̃ te g<sup>w</sup>lápɔ̃/ 'We're looking for you.'

The third person, plural pronoun appears to be a reduplicated form of the third person, singular. Although the data show no distinctions between feminine and non-feminine in the plural form, there may have been an oversight in the eliciting of forms. /sáhadeɛ̃ teeɛ̃ ocóð/ 'They said it.'

As noted under verb suffixation, it is convenient to treat the morpheme /hálg<sup>wa</sup>/ as a verb suffix when it appears within the verb complex. It may also appear outside the verb complex in a position similar to one occupied by other personal pronouns. In this position it is sometimes stressed but as a suffix it is never stressed. In the present data it is always preceded by a demonstrative pronoun when it appears outside the verb complex, is never in a sentence initial position and is never inflected. In this restricted position it is treated as a pronoun.

/te hálg<sup>wa</sup>/ or /téɛ̃ hálg<sup>wa</sup>/ 'these people'

/teeɛ̃ hálg<sup>wa</sup>/ or /téɛ̃ɛ̃ hálg<sup>wa</sup>/ 'those people'

/asétot teež hálg<sup>W</sup>a/ 'They are asleep.'

### 3.42 Demonstrative Pronouns.

The demonstrative pronouns are often used with the action of pointing. One of the ways in which these pronouns differ from each other is in the degree of nearness or remoteness of the object being pointed out. Some may occur as independent pronouns, being translated 'that person,' 'those persons,' 'that thing,' etc. In such positions they are usually stressed. Some may precede a verb complex, a noun or another pronoun. In this position they introduce or 'point out' the following word and are usually not stressed unless the speaker wishes to emphasize the demonstrative. In some cases a feminine form is distinguished. The opposite of such a form is best described as non-feminine since a distinction between masculine and neuter is not made.

/téʔ/ 'This non-feminine person or thing.'

/céʔ/ 'This feminine person.'

These frequently occur with the suffix /-ež/ 'over there.'

/téʔež/ 'This non-feminine person or thing over there.'

/céʔež/ 'This feminine person over there.'

/déʔež/ This form is usually used to refer to something already mentioned or to the thing being talked about. No form \*/déʔ/ has been found as a free form.

Following are examples in which the above morphemes appear.

/téʔ tasxž/ 'He (or it) is sick.'

/céʔ tasxž/ 'She is sick.'

/asétot téʔ/ 'He or it is asleep.'

/asétot céŋ/ 'She is asleep.'

/téŋež tasxž/ 'He or it over there is sick.'

/céŋež tasxž/ 'She over there is sick.'

/asétot téŋež/ 'He or it over there is asleep.'

/asétot céŋež/ 'She over there is asleep.'

/déŋež teež s̄bdashalg<sup>Wa</sup>/ 'That was this child of theirs.'

/téŋež déŋež ag<sup>Wa</sup>t/ 'Anybody.'

When one of these demonstratives introduces a noun or a verb it is usually not stressed. In addition, the glottal stop is less pronounced and often is not heard. For this reason the glottal stop is omitted when these morphemes are not stressed.

~~/ʔopóx<sup>W</sup>odčed te s̄ráxoʔ dádato/ 'I'm going to gather  
clams tomorrow.'~~

/askask ce čáčaš/ 'This female child is talkative.'

/é gok<sup>W</sup>élšečež te dg<sup>W</sup>e ak<sup>W</sup>e s̄q<sup>W</sup>lážad/ 'Yes, we'll  
pick the berries for you.'

/og<sup>W</sup>čdčež te dg<sup>W</sup>e/ 'We're looking for you.'

/og<sup>W</sup>čdčež te g<sup>W</sup>lápoʔ/ 'We're looking for you (pl.).'

/ocód teež čblked tx<sup>W</sup>al cečež s̄žaday/ 'Said the Mink  
to this lady.'

/ohóyax<sup>W</sup> teež otétb/ 'Someone is through swimming  
(literally: It's done now, this swimming).'

/teež x̄ok<sup>W</sup>ax<sup>W</sup>adalg<sup>W</sup>a teež g<sup>W</sup>asxž/ 'They would help  
the sick one to get well.'

/deež selálk ateež k<sup>W</sup>cde/ 'That is the song of the  
Jack Rabbit.'



In several examples the plural of /téʔeɛ/ is formed by vowel reduplication. /téʔeɛɛ/ 'Those over there.'

/ta/. No semantic difference has been detected between this morpheme and /te/. It does not occur with the suffix /-eɛ/.

/tok<sup>w</sup>éledax<sup>w</sup>čed ta s<sup>q</sup>wláxad/ 'I have picked the berries now.'

/la'ax<sup>t</sup>obax<sup>w</sup> ta síx<sup>l</sup>el/ 'The day is coming.'

/otág<sup>w</sup>ščed ta dálal/ 'I bought this, my house.'

/táʔa/. This morpheme is said to be used when the speaker is pointing.

/áca te oxáx<sup>l</sup>el yox<sup>w</sup> táʔa/ 'I'm arguing with (them, him, etc.).'

/tóde/ 'that'

/tóde stóbš ta syáb/ 'That man is a high class person.'

This morpheme is often combined with another morpheme, /déʔe/.

/tode déʔe/ 'It's over there.'

/tode déʔe teeɛ asʔáx<sup>l</sup>ab/ 'That person there is wrong (wants to be wrong).'

In one example a feminine form is distinguished.

/code déʔe/ 'She's over there.'

/áʔ/ 'there'

/tasbč áʔ/ 'It's lying there.'

/á/ appears as a verb root.

/toáčed/ 'I was there.'

/désa/ is usually used as a verb root.

/todéšahalg<sup>W</sup>a/ 'They have been here.'

/déšahog<sup>W</sup>x<sup>W</sup>čex<sup>W</sup>o/ 'Are you still here?'

In the following example this morpheme seems to be part of a complex demonstrative.

/tédeša ta šyáb/ 'This man here is a high class person.'

/k<sup>W</sup>e/ ~ /k<sup>W</sup>/ ~ /k/ 'some, any'

/xáx<sup>W</sup>tx<sup>W</sup>čex<sup>W</sup>o k<sup>W</sup>e s<sup>W</sup>áxo/ 'Do you want some clams?'

/ok<sup>W</sup>dtx<sup>W</sup>čex<sup>W</sup>o k<sup>W</sup>e s<sup>W</sup>ázd/ 'Did you get any food?'

/x<sup>W</sup>é<sup>W</sup> k<sup>W</sup>e s<sup>W</sup>ázd/ 'There is no food.'

/áca k<sup>W</sup>e g<sup>W</sup>šábad/ 'I can dry it.'

/x<sup>W</sup>é<sup>W</sup>dř k<sup>W</sup>e sk<sup>W</sup>áx<sup>W</sup>dobs/ 'Apparently he wasn't helped  
(when ill).'

/k<sup>W</sup>e/ often occurs as a proclitic. When used as a proclitic, if the word that it introduces begins with a consonant or a vowel other than /o/, /k<sup>W</sup>e/ > /k<sup>W</sup>/. If the vowel is /o/, /k<sup>W</sup>e/ > /k/.

/ak<sup>W</sup>ad<sup>W</sup>xč/ 'of your mind'

/asxédax<sup>W</sup> k<sup>W</sup>acló<sup>W</sup>/ 'How old are you?'

/x<sup>W</sup>é<sup>W</sup> k<sup>W</sup>ac<sup>W</sup>íékksd/ 'Don't hang it up!'

/g<sup>W</sup>átax<sup>W</sup> kotók<sup>W</sup>/ 'Who is going home?'

/ak<sup>W</sup>cg<sup>W</sup>á/ 'of mine'

### 3.44 Inflection of pronouns.

The only suffix found to occur with pronouns is the one mentioned above, /-eř/. The distribution of this suffix is restricted to the demonstrative pronouns with which it is

discussed. Two prefixes may occur with any of the pronouns except /halg<sup>W</sup>a/. They are /a-/ and /al-/. Both have very general prepositional meanings. /a-/ may be translated in different contexts as 'by,' 'with,' 'of' or 'for.'

/ʔog<sup>W</sup>á téʔ ate oébašhalg<sup>W</sup>a/ 'He will go along with the traveling ones.'

/bda atéʔ/ 'His child (of him).'

/bda acéʔ/ 'Her child.'

/ask<sup>W</sup>d ate sʔʔ/ 'Someone was taken hold of by this sickness.'

/slaíak<sup>1</sup> ateeʔ stóbš/ 'the coming of the man'

/x<sup>W</sup>éʔo k<sup>W</sup>e g<sup>W</sup>acšélc ak<sup>W</sup>e k<sup>W</sup>ás/ 'Would you pass me some of the dried salmon?'

/tok<sup>W</sup>élcéd ateeʔ háps ateeʔ šóks slx<sup>1</sup>el/ 'I picked hops for seven days.'

/ʔog<sup>W</sup>áčéd ag<sup>W</sup>lápooʔ/ 'I'm going along with you (pl.).'

/tolótbax<sup>W</sup>džčéd atéeʔeʔ/ 'Evidentially I was heard by them then.'

/očéteṭb ateeʔ sk<sup>W</sup>átd/ 'It was chewed on by the mice.'

/al-/ is directional in meaning. It is usually translated as 'at,' 'to,' or 'toward.'

/x<sup>W</sup>éʔ altéʔeʔ/ 'It's not there.'

/aláca te tála/ 'I have the money (dollar).'

/alteeʔ sʔok<sup>W</sup>álb septémba/ 'In the month of Sept.'

/altéʔ/ 'Over here.'

/altode déʔe/ 'Over there.'

## 3.50 Particles.

Included in this category are free morphemes that are never inflected.

/tx<sup>w</sup>al/ 'to,' toward,' 'at,' 'for.'

/x<sup>h</sup>ób goox<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>al táwd yox<sup>w</sup> áca/ 'It's alright to go to town with me.'

/oóx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>čed tx<sup>w</sup>al pét/ 'I'm going to bed now.'

/ohóyodčed tx<sup>w</sup>al áca/ 'I'm making it for myself.'

/toábšec ateež sále? tálc tx<sup>w</sup>al teež dáčo'syált/

'He gave me two salmon for one water-tight basket.'

/očéxetcotčed tx<sup>w</sup>al šadež/ 'I'm yelling at him.'

/abel/ 'if,' 'either...or'

/abel déša te cwyóso čezgoébaš/ 'If my children were here, we could go somewhere.'

/abel sále? abel žéx<sup>w</sup> tálc/ 'Either two or three salmon.'

/žodéšačed abel sále? slxel abel žéx<sup>w</sup> slxel/ 'I

will be here two or three days.'

/g<sup>w</sup>ate?/ 'because'

/g<sup>w</sup>ate? oébaščed/ 'Because I'm going.'

/g<sup>w</sup>ate? déša/ 'Because someone is here.'

/oóx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>čed tx<sup>w</sup>al pét g<sup>w</sup>ate? čedasžž/ 'I'm going to bed because I'm sick.'

/g<sup>w</sup>l/ 'well,' 'well then.'

/g<sup>w</sup>l xáxelax<sup>w</sup> te stóbš yox<sup>w</sup> te stáday laébaš/

'Well then, the man and the woman were arguing while walking along.'

/g<sup>w</sup>l tóx<sup>w</sup> asg<sup>w</sup>á adxč/ 'Well, it's just up to you (is with your mind).'

/g<sup>w1</sup> g<sup>w</sup>édax<sup>w</sup>čez teež áceŕtalbex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Well, we called  
the people together now.'

/g<sup>w1</sup>/ 'from,' 'of.'

/teež g<sup>w1</sup> sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup> stóbš/ 'That man from Snoqual-  
mie.'

/g<sup>w1</sup> débž bád/ 'of our father'

/g<sup>w1</sup> tode dére bád/ 'of his father'

/háy/ 'then'

/háy toóselax<sup>w</sup> teež sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Then the Snoqualmie  
man dove.'

/háy to<sup>t</sup>ók<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'Then they went home.'

/háy/ and /g<sup>w1</sup>/ are often used together.

~~/háy g<sup>w1</sup> tobapóhodax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a/ 'Well, and then, they  
added a little more.'~~

/háy g<sup>w1</sup> to<sup>l</sup>óbelax<sup>w</sup>/ 'Well, and then, it was alright.'

/yox<sup>w</sup>/ 'and,' 'together with.'

/oébaščed yox<sup>w</sup> též/ 'I am going together with him.'

/áca te oxá<sup>l</sup>xel yox<sup>w</sup> tára/ 'I'm arguing with (them,  
him, etc.).'

/zláčeace yox<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e cókš/ 'Sixty-seven (sixty and  
some seven).'

/lqbéd/ 'after'

/lqbéd ak<sup>w</sup>e sále? síxel čedžobak<sup>w</sup>él ak<sup>w</sup>e háps/  
'After two days I will pick hops again.'

/é/ 'yes'

/hóyž/ 'Goodbye.' This may mean 'It's done,' from the  
verb root /hóy/ 'to do' or 'to make.'

## 3.60 Numerals.

The numerals are difficult to classify. Discussion of them is placed here in a separate category as a matter of convenience, although they seem to overlap several categories. They usually occur as free forms without inflection. This suggests that they might be classified as particles. They do, however, appear in syntactical positions similar to the demonstrative pronouns, occasionally with similar inflection.

/c'óks sl̥xəl/ 'seven days' s'

/aldáčo sl̥xəl/ 'on one day/day'

Occasionally they are similar to nouns.

/sáleŋ tolaébaš teeŋ sc'etx<sup>w</sup>d yox<sup>w</sup> teeŋ ʔáʔácp/

'Two were walking along, this bear and this ant.'

Cardinal numerals occur as follows.

1 dáčo

2 sáleŋ

3 ʔéx<sup>w</sup>

4 bós

5 clác

6 ʔláče

7 c'óks

8 tqáče

9 x<sup>w</sup>al

10 pádc

11 pádc yox<sup>w</sup> ta dáčo

12 pádc yox<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e sáleŋ

13 pádc yox<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e ʔéx<sup>w</sup>

- 14 pade yox<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e bós  
 15 pade yox<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e clác  
 20 sále<sup>7</sup>ače  
 21 sále<sup>7</sup>ače ak<sup>w</sup>e dáč<sup>o</sup>  
 22 sále<sup>7</sup>ače ak<sup>w</sup>e sále<sup>7</sup>  
 30 řéx<sup>w</sup>ače  
 40 bós<sup>a</sup>če  
 50 clácače  
 60 3láč<sup>e</sup>ače  
 70 čóks<sup>a</sup>če  
 80 tqáč<sup>e</sup>ače  
 90 x<sup>w</sup>álače  
 100 ~~dáč<sup>o</sup> sbq<sup>w</sup>áče~~  
 101 dáč<sup>o</sup> sbq<sup>w</sup>ače ak<sup>w</sup>e dáč<sup>o</sup>  
 110 dáč<sup>o</sup> sbq<sup>w</sup>ače ak<sup>w</sup>e pádc  
 120 dáč<sup>o</sup> sbq<sup>w</sup>ače ak<sup>w</sup>e sále<sup>7</sup>ače  
 200 sále<sup>7</sup> sbq<sup>w</sup>áče  
 300 řéx<sup>w</sup> sbq<sup>w</sup>áče  
 1000 pádc sbq<sup>w</sup>áče  
 2000 sále<sup>7</sup>ače sbq<sup>w</sup>áče

In addition to the cardinal numerals, ordinal, personal and repetitive numerals occur. Since the data on these are incomplete discussion of them is omitted.\*

\*See Tweddell, Colin Ellidge, 1950, p. 70 and Ransom, Jay Ellis, 1945, p. 209.





og<sup>w</sup>ed<sup>39</sup> teeʔ<sup>28</sup> sqáx<sup>w40</sup> teeʔ<sup>28</sup> sts<sup>41</sup> deef<sup>42</sup> seláik<sup>43</sup> ateeʔ<sup>2</sup>  
 calls that freezing that cold that is song of that.  
 k<sup>w</sup>cdeʔ<sup>44</sup> xaʔtob<sup>36</sup> ak<sup>w</sup>cdeʔ<sup>29</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e<sup>45</sup> g<sup>w</sup>stsbs<sup>45</sup>  
 Rabbit is wanted by Rabbit some could its being cold  
 g<sup>w</sup>l<sup>13</sup> scetx<sup>w</sup>d<sup>33</sup> oéled<sup>28</sup> teeʔ<sup>28</sup> séls<sup>38</sup> ocót<sup>38</sup>  
 then Bear sings it that cloudy weather says  
 scetx<sup>w</sup>d<sup>46</sup> čmnmčm čmnmčm\*<sup>28</sup> og<sup>w</sup>ehed<sup>28</sup> teeʔ<sup>46</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>čabk<sup>w</sup>  
 Bear get warm get warm calls it that cloud  
 tolahálex<sup>w</sup>hálg<sup>w</sup>a<sup>47</sup> g<sup>w</sup>l<sup>13</sup> točltb<sup>48</sup> ak<sup>w</sup>cdeʔ<sup>36</sup> teeʔ<sup>28</sup>  
 they were gambling now then was beaten by Rabbit that  
 scetx<sup>w</sup>d<sup>49</sup> čotačtb<sup>28</sup> as<sup>w</sup>scetx<sup>w</sup>d<sup>28</sup> teeʔ<sup>28</sup>  
 Bear customarily was made to fall by Bear that  
 k<sup>w</sup>cdeʔ<sup>50</sup> čosáx<sup>w</sup>betbax<sup>w</sup> as<sup>w</sup>scetx<sup>w</sup>d<sup>28</sup> teeʔ<sup>28</sup> k<sup>w</sup>cdeʔ<sup>28</sup>  
 Rabbit would be jumped at now by Bear that Rabbit  
 álk<sup>w</sup> toslačltbsax<sup>w</sup><sup>51</sup> ak<sup>w</sup>cdeʔ<sup>36</sup> teeʔ<sup>28</sup> scetx<sup>w</sup>d<sup>28</sup>  
 quickly he was being beaten now by Rabbit that Bear  
 točlálek<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup><sup>52</sup> teeʔ<sup>28</sup> k<sup>w</sup>cdeʔ<sup>53</sup> točáx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup><sup>53</sup> točsbax<sup>w</sup><sup>54</sup>  
 won now that Rabbit it froze now it was cold now  
 tog<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>adax<sup>w</sup><sup>55</sup> álk<sup>w</sup> tosqáx<sup>w</sup>sax<sup>w</sup><sup>56</sup> tog<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>adax<sup>w</sup><sup>57</sup>  
 it would crackle now quickly it froze now it cleared now  
 tode<sup>58</sup> sq<sup>58</sup> tocótax<sup>w</sup> scetx<sup>w</sup>d<sup>59</sup> očlcčex<sup>w</sup><sup>59</sup> g<sup>w</sup>l<sup>13</sup>  
 that sky said now Bear you beat me then  
 čohóyelax<sup>w</sup><sup>60</sup> x<sup>w</sup>lab<sup>61</sup> ak<sup>w</sup>wadč<sup>18</sup> g<sup>w</sup>l<sup>13</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>á1<sup>62</sup>  
 it will be (do) now as of your mind then for  
 toščlálek<sup>w</sup><sup>63</sup> ak<sup>w</sup>cdeʔ<sup>36</sup> teeʔ<sup>28</sup> sqáx<sup>w</sup><sup>64</sup> háy<sup>23</sup> g<sup>w</sup>l<sup>13</sup>  
 past winning by Rabbit that freezing so then  
 čočáx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup><sup>65</sup> čotsbax<sup>w</sup><sup>66</sup>  
 it customarily freezes now it customarily gets cold now

\*The song is repeated many times. The words are from the Bear language.

## Word Analysis:

1. a- present condition; -bs- possessed; -sók<sup>W</sup>a 'younger cousin.'
2. a- general prepositional prefix; -te- 'this;' -eř 'over there.'
3. al- general prepositional prefix 'on, at, etc.:' -dač<sup>o</sup> 'one.'
4. s- nominalizer; -l<sup>x</sup>- 'light;' -e state or condition (the informant sometimes uses -el).
5. to-past; -cót- 'to say;' -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
6. řób- 'alright;' -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
7. čeř- 'we;' -o- general declarative; -la- continuative; -hál 'to gamble.'
8. te 'this.'
9. g<sup>W</sup>ax<sup>W</sup>- verb modifier 'soon;' -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
10. řo- future; -řař 'to come.'
11. řo- future; -s- prefix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s indicating a third person singular subject; -ts- 'cold;' -b- the activity or state is in the process of occurring; -s- suffix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'then.'
12. řo- future; -la- continuative; -hál- 'to gamble; -čeř 'we.' (Note: -čeř appears here as a suffix while in 7 it appears as a prefix.)
13. g<sup>W</sup>l uninflected particle 'then.'
14. abél uninflected particle 'if.'

15.  $\check{c}ex^W$ - 'you, sg.;;' - $\check{z}o$ - future; - $\acute{c}l$ - 'to beat;' - $c$  'me.'
16.  $\check{z}o$ - future; - $h\acute{o}y$ - 'to do or make;' - $el$  state or condition.
17.  $a\acute{s}esta$  'the way.' This word is probably complex but cannot be analyzed at present.
18.  $a$ - general prepositional prefix; - $k^W$ - demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;' - $ad$ - 'your;' - $\check{x}\check{c}$  'mind.'
19.  $\check{c}ed$ - 'I;' - $\check{z}o$ - future; - $\acute{c}l$ - 'to beat;' - $ced$  'you, sg.'
20.  $g^W$ - 'could;' - $\check{z}o$ - future; - $h\acute{o}y$ - 'to do;' - $el$  state or condition.
21.  $a$ - general prepositional prefix; - $k^W$ - demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;' - $c$ - first person singular possessive pronoun prefix; - $g^W\acute{a}$  root 'to go with.'
22.  $d$ - first person singular possessive pronoun prefix; - $\check{x}\check{c}$  'mind.'
23.  $h\acute{a}y$  uninflected particle 'then.'
24.  $\check{z}o$ - future; - $la$ - continuative; - $h\acute{a}l$ - 'to gamble;' - $ax^W$ - 'now;' - $\check{c}e\check{z}$  'we.'
25.  $\acute{e}l$ - 'to sing;' - $ed$ - third person singular object pronoun suffix; - $ax^W$  'now.'
26.  $k^W$ - demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;' - $ac$ - second person singular possessive pronoun prefix; - $kl\acute{a}letot$  'power song.'
27.  $c\acute{o}t$  verb root 'to say.'

28. te- 'this;'; -eř 'over there.'
29. a- general prepositional prefix; -k<sup>W</sup>e demonstrative pronoun 'some.' Compare this form with the proclitic form in 18, 21 and 26.
30. to- past; -la- continuative; -hál- 'to gamble;'; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
31. to- past; -g<sup>W</sup>ad- 'to sit;'; -el- state or condition; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
32. s- nominalizer; -kále- not analyzed (may be -kál- 'side;'; -e- ?); -čop 'board.'
33. o- general declarative; -é1- 'to sing;'; -ed- third person singular object pronoun suffix; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
34. s- nominalizer; -kláletot- 'power song;'; -s third person singular possessive suffix.
35. tol- 'from;'; -áħhad 'north.'
36. a- general prepositional prefix; -k<sup>W</sup>cde? 'rabbit.'
37. té? - 'that one;'; -eř 'over there' (compare with 28).
38. o- general declarative; -cót 'to say.'
39. o- general declarative; -g<sup>W</sup>éd 'to call.'
40. s- nominalizer; -qáx<sup>W</sup> 'to freeze.'
41. s- nominalizer; -ts 'cold.'
42. deeř 'that already mentioned or indicated.'
43. selálk Not fully analyzed. s- may be the nominalizing prefix; -el- may be the root 'to sing;'; -álk may be an unidentified suffix or may be a variant of the verb suffix -alek<sup>W</sup> a general object.

44.  $\acute{x}a\acute{x}$ - 'to want;' -tb state, transitive, purpose, passive.

45.  $g^w$ - 'could;' -s- prefix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s indicating a third person singular subject;  $-ts$ - 'cold;' -b- the activity or state is in the process of occurring; -s the suffix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s.

46. o- general declarative;  $-g^w\acute{e}h$  reduplicated form of  $g^w\acute{e}d$  'to call' indicating repetition.

47. to- past; -la- continuative;  $-h\acute{a}l$ - 'to gamble;'  $-ax^w$ - 'now;'  $-h\acute{a}lg^w\acute{a}$  'they.'

48. to- past;  $-c\acute{l}$ - 'to beat;' -tb passive, purpose.

49.  $\acute{x}o$ - customary action;  $-t\acute{a}\acute{c}$ - 'to fall;' -tb passive, purpose.

50.  $\acute{x}o$ - customary action;  $-s\acute{a}x^w$ - 'to jump;' -b- the activity or state is in the process of occurring; -e- indirect object indicator; -tb- passive, purpose;  $-ax^w$  'now.'

51. to- past; -s- prefix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s (see 45); -la- continuative;  $-c\acute{l}$ - 'to beat;' -tb- passive, purpose; -s- suffix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s;  $-ax^w$  'now.'

52. to- past;  $-c\acute{l}$ - 'to beat;'  $-a\acute{l}ek^w$ - a general object;  $-ax^w$  'now' (compare with 48 and 51).

53. to- past;  $-q\acute{a}x^w$ - 'to freeze;'  $-ax^w$  'now.'

54. to- past;  $-ts$ - 'cold;' -b- the activity or state is in the process of occurring;  $-ax^w$  'now.'

55. to- past; -g<sup>w</sup>- 'could;'; -x<sup>w</sup>é<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>- 'to crackle as in freezing;'; -ad- activity or state in the process of occurring; -ax<sup>w</sup> 'now.'

56. to- past; -s- the prefix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s (see 45); -qáx<sup>w</sup>- 'to freeze;'; -s- the suffix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s; -ax<sup>w</sup> 'now.'

57. to- past; -g<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>- 'to clear;'; -ad- activity or state in the process of occurring; -ax<sup>w</sup> 'now.'

58. to- past; -cót- 'to say;'; -ax<sup>w</sup> 'now.'

59. o- general declarative; -cl- 'to beat;'; -c- 'me;'; -cex<sup>w</sup> 'you, sg.'

60. ʔo- future; -hóy- 'to do or make;'; -el- state or condition; -ax<sup>w</sup> 'now.'

61. x<sup>w</sup>lab This is probably an uninflected particle.

62. tx<sup>w</sup>ál uninflected particle 'to, toward, for.'

63. to- past; -s- nominalizer; -cl- 'to beat;'; -álek<sup>w</sup> a general object.

64. s- nominalizer; -qáx<sup>w</sup> 'to freeze.'

65. ʔo- customarily; -qáx<sup>w</sup>- 'to freeze.'

66. ʔo- customarily; -ts- 'cold;'; -b- the activity or state is in the process of occurring; -ax<sup>w</sup> 'now.'

Free Translation.

Bear is the younger cousin of Rabbit. One day Bear said: 'Alright now, we'll gamble. Pretty soon now it will come; it will be cold then. We'll gamble. Then, if you beat me, it will be the way that you want it. If I beat you, it will be the way that I want it. Now then, we'll gamble. And if you want to beat me, sing your spirit power song.' The Bear said: 'If I beat you, it will be the way I want it.'

Then they gambled. The Bear sat on one side of the board and the Rabbit sat on the other side of the board. Then they gambled. Then Rabbit sang his power song from the north. He sang it and said: 'Clear, clear, the sky. Dry, dry, the sky.' He calls for freezing weather and cold. That is the song of the Rabbit. Rabbit wanted it to get cold.

Then Bear sings for cloudy weather. Bear says: 'Get warm, get warm.' He calls for clouds.

They gambled and then the Bear was beaten by Rabbit. When the Rabbit would be outguessed (made to fall) by the Bear, the Bear would jump at the Rabbit. Quickly now, the Bear was being beaten by the Rabbit. Rabbit won. It froze and became cold. There was crackling sound then (frost). Quickly it froze. The sky cleared now.

Bear said: 'You beat me. Now it will be the way you want it.'

Then, for winning, Rabbit got the freezing weather. So now it freezes and gets cold.

67 68 69 28  
 sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup> áceítal<sup>w</sup>bex<sup>w</sup> absbdabda? teeł sále?  
 The Snuqualmie people have children those two

70 71 72 73 62  
 sřáday tobščéstx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup> ceel lełlól<sup>w</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>al  
 women possessed husband now that most old one to

28 74 75 67 23 71  
 teeł čácaš stóbš g<sup>w</sup>ř sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup> háy tobščéstx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>  
 that child man from Snuqualmie then possessed husband

72 76 62 28 77  
 ceel lełtésó tx<sup>w</sup>al teeł čácaš tolalsdhóbš  
 now that most young one to that child from at Snohomish

13 78 79 80 81  
 g<sup>w</sup>ř čkákédax<sup>w</sup> todéša alsdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup> task<sup>w</sup>éřyo?  
 well always now was here at Snuqualmie living with in-laws

13 78 82 83 28 75 67 74  
 g<sup>w</sup>ř čkákéd askó yox<sup>w</sup> teeł g<sup>w</sup>ř sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup> stóbš  
 well always together with that from Snuqualmie man

3 4 13 58 84 85  
 aldáčo slxe g<sup>w</sup>ř tocótax<sup>w</sup> řóbax<sup>w</sup>ceł ołahóbéřoř  
 on one day then he said now alright now we go to hunt for

86 58 28 77 84  
 ak<sup>w</sup>béyac tocótax<sup>w</sup> teeł sdhóbš řób  
 of some game said now that Snohomish alright

87 28 88 89 90  
 toweleq<sup>w</sup>edax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a teeł čáhag<sup>w</sup>ašš g<sup>w</sup>řayx<sup>w</sup> g<sup>w</sup>řaabs  
 they asked it now those wives would want their wanting

58 28 70 91 23  
 tocótax<sup>w</sup> teeł sřáday řog<sup>w</sup>áčeř háy  
 to go ak g said now those women we will go along then

92 23 13 93  
 toq<sup>w</sup>ébecotax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a háy g<sup>w</sup>ř toox<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a  
 they readied themselves now well then they went now

94 2 95 96  
 tx<sup>w</sup>řéyox<sup>w</sup> alteeř stólk<sup>w</sup> asdá? ak<sup>w</sup>dax<sup>w</sup>tołtx<sup>w</sup>  
 up on that river being named of some place tołtx<sup>w</sup>

97 86 98 23 13  
 řog<sup>w</sup>řáldax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a k<sup>w</sup>béyac k<sup>w</sup>řag<sup>w</sup>éčd háy g<sup>w</sup>ř  
 they killed it now some game (meat) elk well then

99 100 101 86  
 toq<sup>w</sup>řaldax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a tok<sup>w</sup>đtx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a eřób béyac  
 they broiled it now they got it now enough meat

23 13 102 103 28  
 háy g<sup>w</sup>ř tořok<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a toálelax<sup>w</sup> teeł  
 well then they were going home now came to now that

104 105  
 řáčo absdá? ak<sup>w</sup>béř  
 lake having possessed name of some salmon soup

106 58 28 67 74  
 tokák<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a tocótax<sup>w</sup> teeł sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup> stóbš  
 they rested now said now that Snuqualmie man



107 8 13 108 109  
 helá? te xáco gw1 séec gwasdók<sup>w</sup>  
 behold this lake then ? could be dangerous  
 87 28 77 110 111  
 toweleq<sup>wax</sup> tee? sdhóbs<sup>y</sup> asxéd asdók<sup>w</sup>  
 asked now that Snohomish being how? being dangerous  
 58 28 67 74 8 112  
 tocótax<sup>w</sup> tee? sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup> stóbs<sup>y</sup> te xáco gw1 asló? <sup>112</sup>  
 said now that Snuqualmie man this lake then having hole  
 58 28 77 113 <sup>w</sup> 114  
 tocótax<sup>w</sup> tee? sdhóbs<sup>y</sup> xwé? k<sup>w</sup>castléltx<sup>w</sup>  
 said then that Snohomish not some am I believing it  
 115 116 117  
 héqabax<sup>w</sup> memá?an xáco gwaslóhas  
 pushing wants now small lake could have hole  
 118 2 88 119  
 topádc<sup>bax</sup>w<sup>w</sup> atee? cáhag<sup>w</sup>ass slahóbelshalg<sup>w</sup>a  
 it was tried now by those their wives they should stop arguing  
 13 28 77 58 120 121  
 gw1 tee? sdhóbs<sup>y</sup> tocótax<sup>w</sup> xóóseced altee?  
 then that Snohomish said now habitually I dive in that  
 113 122 123  
 x<sup>w</sup>lc xwé? gw<sup>w</sup>cáy?tx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>asló?  
 salt water not could I find it some holey condition  
 58 28 67 124 125  
 tocótax<sup>w</sup> tee? sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup> tasóselced toáced  
 said now that Snuqualmie I dove I was there  
 121 112 13 17 126  
 altee? asló? gw1 aستا k<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>oyecbtobeced  
 in that hole well the reason it is being told to you  
 58 28 67 14 113 127  
 tocótax<sup>w</sup> tee? sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup> abél xwé? k<sup>w</sup>acastléltx<sup>w</sup>  
 said now that Snuqualmie if not you are believing it  
 128 129 130 58 28 77  
 cé?xób oósel céx<sup>w</sup>oháytx<sup>w</sup> tocótax<sup>w</sup> tee? sdhóbs<sup>y</sup>  
 alright we dive you learn it said now that Snohomish  
 84 131 132 29 133  
 xób céroósel xa?tx<sup>w</sup>ced k<sup>w</sup>e gw<sup>w</sup>cháytx<sup>w</sup>  
 alright we dive I want it some could I learn it  
 134 112 23 135  
 gw<sup>w</sup>ta?ax<sup>w</sup> asló? háy to?ag<sup>w</sup>ecabax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a topádt<sup>bax</sup><sup>w</sup>136  
 could truly be hole then they want to strip it was tried now  
 2 137 113 29 138  
 atee? cáhag<sup>w</sup>asshalg<sup>w</sup>a xwé? k<sup>w</sup>e g<sup>w</sup>s?ábotbedshalg<sup>w</sup>a  
 by those their wives not some would they be listening  
 23 139 62 28  
 to it háy tok<sup>w</sup>étax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>w</sup>a tx<sup>w</sup>al tee? xáco  
 then they went down now to that lake

tocótax<sup>58</sup> teel<sup>28</sup> sdók<sup>67</sup>walbex<sup>140</sup> áca<sup>29</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e jéx<sup>141</sup> foóse<sup>142</sup>  
 said now that Snuqualmie I some first will dive  
 tožéqag<sup>143</sup>welax<sup>58</sup>wahalg<sup>28</sup>wa tocótax<sup>58</sup> teel<sup>28</sup> sdók<sup>67</sup>walbex<sup>67</sup>  
 now they soaked themselves said now that Snuqualmie  
 toháyt<sup>144</sup>x<sup>145</sup>w<sup>28</sup>ced<sup>13</sup> k<sup>w</sup>skláletot<sup>129</sup> ská<sup>28</sup> teeł<sup>13</sup> ská<sup>13</sup> gwł<sup>129</sup> oósel  
 I learned it the power otter that otter then dives  
 tolaldáčo<sup>146</sup> xáčo<sup>13</sup> gwł<sup>147</sup> ošay<sup>148</sup> alk<sup>w</sup>badáčo<sup>148</sup> xáčo  
 from at one lake then comes out in some other one lake  
 tocótax<sup>58</sup> te<sup>8</sup> sdhóbs<sup>76</sup> toháyt<sup>144</sup>x<sup>145</sup>w<sup>144</sup>ced<sup>145</sup> k<sup>w</sup>skláletot<sup>145</sup> swók<sup>w</sup>ad  
 said now this Snohomish I learned it the power loon  
 oósel<sup>129</sup> albk<sup>w</sup>cad<sup>149</sup> alte<sup>150</sup> x<sup>w</sup>lč<sup>23</sup> háy<sup>23</sup> détax<sup>w</sup><sup>151</sup>  
 it dives in everywhere in the salt water well therefore now  
 tosóses<sup>152</sup> k<sup>w</sup>soéledshalg<sup>w</sup><sup>153</sup> k<sup>w</sup>skláletotshalg<sup>w</sup> háy<sup>154</sup><sup>23</sup>  
 they dive they sing it their power then  
 toóselax<sup>w</sup><sup>155</sup> teeł<sup>28</sup> sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup><sup>67</sup> tasésta<sup>156</sup> teeł<sup>28</sup> sdhóbs<sup>77</sup>  
 dove now that Snuqualmie was waiting that Snohomish  
 háy<sup>23</sup> gwł<sup>13</sup> tobóx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup><sup>157</sup> tobóselax<sup>w</sup><sup>158</sup> teeł<sup>28</sup> sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup><sup>67</sup>  
 well then went also now dove also now that Snuqualmie  
 toóx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup><sup>157</sup> alteeł<sup>121</sup> aslóč<sup>112</sup> ak<sup>w</sup>e xóč<sup>84</sup> x<sup>w</sup>ela<sup>159</sup>  
 went now into that hole of some alright not  
 teb<sup>160</sup> lél<sup>161</sup> gwł<sup>13</sup> tožálqcotax<sup>w</sup><sup>162</sup> totáqsadedax<sup>w</sup><sup>163</sup>  
 hard far then turned himself around now was waiting for  
 háy<sup>23</sup> gwł<sup>13</sup> tolábdx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup><sup>164</sup> ožax<sup>w</sup><sup>165</sup> tolastexláhadb<sup>166</sup>  
 him now well then he saw him now coming now his wings were  
 cót<sup>w</sup>bax<sup>w</sup><sup>167</sup> žok<sup>w</sup>dčed<sup>168</sup> teeł<sup>28</sup> sdók<sup>w</sup>albex<sup>w</sup><sup>67</sup>  
 spread out saying now I'll grab him that Snuqualmie  
 toálelax<sup>w</sup><sup>103</sup> teeł<sup>28</sup> dax<sup>w</sup>astáqseds<sup>169</sup> tok<sup>w</sup>ddax<sup>w</sup><sup>170</sup>  
 came now that place he was waiting for him grabbed him now  
 holélks<sup>171</sup> ak<sup>w</sup>e<sup>29</sup> skážo<sup>29</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e<sup>29</sup> tok<sup>w</sup>dtx<sup>w</sup><sup>172</sup> tolaóx<sup>w</sup><sup>173</sup>  
 on the end of some hair some grabbed for him went on  
 totáqsedax<sup>w</sup><sup>163</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>al<sup>62</sup> k<sup>w</sup>e<sup>29</sup> žoslažax<sup>w</sup><sup>174</sup>  
 he waited for him now to some he will come back  
 todx<sup>w</sup>áleg<sup>w</sup>dax<sup>w</sup><sup>175</sup> háy<sup>23</sup> gwł<sup>13</sup> tok<sup>w</sup>átžax<sup>w</sup><sup>176</sup> alteeł<sup>121</sup> aslóč<sup>112</sup>  
 he gave up now well then he came up now from that hole

háy<sup>23</sup> g<sup>w1</sup>13 tošáy<sup>177</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>177 toyécbtx<sup>wax</sup>178 teeł<sup>28</sup> sláday<sup>70</sup>  
 well then he came out now he told it now those women  
 tolaóx<sup>w</sup>173 tok<sup>w</sup>ddced<sup>168</sup> g<sup>w1</sup>13 x<sup>wé</sup>113 k<sup>w</sup>tock<sup>w</sup>dtx<sup>w</sup>179  
 he was going I grabbed him then not did I get him  
 totáqsedax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>163 tx<sup>w</sup>al<sup>62</sup> k<sup>wé</sup>29 tošáy<sup>180</sup>?s  
 they waited for him then for some his coming out  
 x<sup>wé</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>181 k<sup>w</sup>tošáy<sup>182</sup>?s todx<sup>w</sup>áleg<sup>w</sup>dax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>175 háy<sup>23</sup>  
 not now he came out they gave up now then  
 tohéwelax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>183 to<sup>184</sup>ók<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>184 to<sup>185</sup>čelax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>185  
 they started out then they went home then they got back now  
 tx<sup>w</sup>al<sup>62</sup> teeł<sup>28</sup> éhešds<sup>186</sup> toyécbax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>186 abel<sup>14</sup> tošáy<sup>180</sup>?  
 to those relatives they were telling now if he will  
 g<sup>w1</sup>13 dáy<sup>187</sup> to<sup>188</sup>čel<sup>113</sup> x<sup>wé</sup>113 k<sup>w</sup>to<sup>189</sup>čel<sup>189</sup>  
 come out then later he will come back not he came back  
 ácec<sup>190</sup> k<sup>wé</sup>29 báds<sup>191</sup> k<sup>wé</sup>29 skóys<sup>192</sup> alteeł<sup>121</sup>  
 he has (?) some his father some his mother at that  
 sdhóbš<sup>77</sup> čkáked<sup>78</sup> xóolot<sup>193</sup> aldačo<sup>3</sup>  
 Snohomish always customarily travel by canoe on one  
 slxel<sup>4</sup> tolaólotax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>194 taspélabax<sup>w</sup>195  
 day they were traveling by canoe then the tide was want-  
 teeł<sup>28</sup> x<sup>wlc</sup>13 g<sup>w1</sup>13 tolaólotax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>194  
 ing to come in now that salt water then they were traveling  
 le<sup>196</sup>élg<sup>wé</sup>196 tolábdx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>164 teeł<sup>28</sup>  
 by canoe very close (canoe) they came upon now that  
 o<sup>197</sup>zóqotb<sup>121</sup> ateeł<sup>28</sup> zólčo<sup>28</sup> teeł<sup>68</sup> ácełtalbex<sup>w</sup>68  
 was being drifted on those waves that person  
 tog<sup>w</sup>áldax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>198 tolápdx<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>199 toháytx<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>200  
 they could stop it now they looked at it now they learned it  
 deeł<sup>42</sup> teeł<sup>28</sup> b<sup>201</sup>dax<sup>w</sup>halg<sup>wa</sup>201 asp<sup>202</sup>kos<sup>113</sup> x<sup>wé</sup>113  
 now this that child of theirs head broken off not  
 g<sup>w</sup>sxáy<sup>203</sup>?os<sup>203</sup> g<sup>w1</sup>13 toox<sup>w</sup>173 as<sup>204</sup>é<sup>204</sup>č<sup>2</sup> ateeł<sup>2</sup> swók<sup>w</sup>ad  
 could have head then went tattooed of that loon

121 205 42 206 42  
 alteeř sʔéledg<sup>W</sup>s deeř tosdax<sup>W</sup>háytx<sup>W</sup>shalg<sup>W</sup>a deeř  
 on that his chest this is place they learned it this  
 207 208 209  
 bdačeř oáytx<sup>W</sup>ax<sup>W</sup>dař k<sup>W</sup>asdók<sup>W</sup>  
 our child he must have found it now something dangerous  
 210 28 211 13 206  
 tok<sup>W</sup>ařtbax<sup>W</sup> teeř lgob řařařas g<sup>W</sup>l háytx<sup>W</sup>  
 was sent for now that young man will come then learn it  
 28 77 74 212 155  
 teeř sdhóbsř stóbsř toýecbtobax<sup>W</sup> toósel  
 that Snohomish man it was told now he dove  
 121 13 213 214  
 alteeř xáčo g<sup>W</sup>l x<sup>W</sup>éřax<sup>W</sup> tošáyřs  
 into that lake then not now his coming out

## Word analysis:

67. This is a complex noun. A tentative analysis is:  
 s-nominalizer; -dók<sup>W</sup>- 'to be dangerous; -al-unidentified;  
 -bex<sup>W</sup> 'the people.'

68. The final morpheme -bex<sup>W</sup> 'the people' is the only  
 morpheme that can be isolated.

69. a- present condition; -bs- possessed; -bdabdař  
 reduplicated form of the noun root bda 'child' indicating  
 the plural.

70. This may be a complex noun. The s- may be the  
 nominalizer, however, no other morphemes can be isolated.

71. to- past; -bs- possessed; čéstx<sup>W</sup>- 'husband; -ax<sup>W</sup>  
 'now.'

72. ce- 'that feminine one; -eř 'over there.'

73. leř- 'most; -loř 'old one.'

74. stóbsř This is probably a complex noun but its  
 derivation cannot be determined.

75. g<sup>W</sup>z uninflected particle 'from.'
76. lež- 'most; ' -t'eso 'young one.'
77. tol- 'from; ' -al- 'at; ' -sdhóbš not fully analyzed (the s- may be the nominalizing prefix; -hób- may be the root meaning 'not to argue; ' -bš or -š may mean 'the people').
78. čk'aked- 'always; ' -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
79. to- past; -d'essa 'to be here.'
80. al- general prepositional prefix; -sdók<sup>W</sup>albex<sup>W</sup> (see 67).
81. t- past; -as- state; -k<sup>W</sup>étyo? 'to be living with in-laws.'
82. as- state; -k'ó 'to be together.'
83. yox<sup>W</sup> uninflected particle, connective.
84. ž'ób- 'alright; ' -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now; ' -čej 'we.'
85. o- general declarative; -žahóbež- 'to hunt' (this may be incompletely analyzed); -ož 'to go to do.'
86. a- general prepositional prefix; -k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some; ' -béyac 'meat or game.'
87. to- past; -w'éleq<sup>W</sup>- 'to ask; ' -ed- third person singular object pronoun suffix; -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now; ' -halg<sup>W</sup>a third person plural subject pronoun suffix.
88. ž'ahag<sup>W</sup>aš- reduplicated form of č'ag<sup>W</sup>aš 'wife' indicating the plural; -s third person possessive pronoun suffix.
89. g<sup>W</sup>- 'could; ' -áyx<sup>W</sup> 'to want.'
90. g<sup>W</sup>a'- 'to go along; ' -ab- 'to want to do; ' -s third person indicator with possible possessive connotations.

91. ʔo- future; -g<sup>W</sup>a' 'to go along;' -čeʔ 'we.'
92. to- past; -q<sup>W</sup>éb- 'to get ready;' -ecot- reflexive pronoun suffix (the -e- is probably due to vowel harmony); -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now;' -halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'
93. to- past; -óx<sup>W</sup>- 'to go;' -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now;' -halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'
94. This cannot be analyzed. It was translated by the informant to mean 'direction up the river.'
95. as- state; -dáʔ 'to name.'
96. a- general prepositional prefix; -k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;' -dax<sup>W</sup> 'place;' -tóltx<sup>W</sup> the name of the river (-tól- is probably the root meaning 'to cross over' while -tx<sup>W</sup> is the third person object pronoun suffix).
97. to- past; -g<sup>W</sup>lál- 'to kill;' -d- third person singular object pronoun suffix; -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now;' -halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'
98. This is probably a complex noun but its derivation cannot be determined.
99. to- past; -q<sup>W</sup>ál- 'to broil;' -d- third person singular object pronoun suffix; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now;' -halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'
100. to- past; -k<sup>W</sup>d- 'to get;' -tx<sup>W</sup>- third person singular object pronoun suffix indicating that the action or state occurs with regard to the object; -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now;' -halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'
101. e- appears to be a prefix but this is the only example so far found. -xób 'alright.'
102. to- past; -tók<sup>W</sup>- 'to go home;' -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now;' -halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'
103. to- past; -ál- 'to come to;' -el- state or condition;

-ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

104. a- present condition; -bs- possessed; -daʔ 'to name.'

105. a- general prepositional prefix; -k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;' -bét 'salmon soup.'

106. to- past; -kák<sup>W</sup>- 'to rest;' -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now;' -halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'

107. This may be an uninflected particle.

108. This word cannot be analyzed.

109. g<sup>W</sup>- 'could;' -as- state; -dók<sup>W</sup> 'to be dangerous.'

110. as- state; -xéd 'in what way or how.'

111. as- state; dók<sup>W</sup> 'to be dangerous.'

112. as- state; -lóʔ 'to have a hole.'

113. Modifier indicating the negative.

114. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;' -c- 'I;' -as- state; -tʔél- 'to believe;' -tx<sup>W</sup> third person singular object pronoun suffix (see 100).

115. héq- 'to push;' -ab- 'to want to do;' -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

116. This is the only word so far found in the language that contains nasalized consonants. It cannot be analyzed into separate morphemes.

117. g<sup>W</sup>- 'could;' -as- state; -ló- 'to have a hole;' -has, unidentified.

118. to- past; -pád- 'to try;' -cb- passive; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

119. s- prefix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s-halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they;' -la- continuative; -hób- 'not to

argue;' -el- state or condition; -s- and -halg<sup>W</sup>a suffix parts of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s-halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'

120.  $\dot{\lambda}$ o- customarily; -ós- 'to dive;' -e- state or condition (a variant of -el); -čed 'I.'

121. al-general prepositional prefix; -teeř (see 28).

122. g<sup>W</sup>- 'could;' -c- 'I;' -áy?- 'to find;' -tx<sup>W</sup> third person object pronoun suffix (see 100).

123. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;' -as- state; -ló? 'to have a hole.'

124. t- past; -as- state; -ós- 'to dive;' -el- state or condition; -čed 'I.'

125. to- past; -á- 'to be at;' -čed 'I.'

126. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;' -tx<sup>W</sup> third person singular object pronoun prefix (see 100); -o- general declarative; -ýec- 'to tell;' -b- the activity or state is in the process of occurring; -tob- passive, purpose; -e- indirect object indicator; -ced 'you, sg.'

127. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;' -ac- 'you, sg.;;' -as- state; -třél 'to believe;' -tx<sup>W</sup> third person singular object suffix (see 100.)

128. čeř- 'we;' - $\dot{\lambda}$ ób 'alright.'

129. o- general declarative; -ós- 'to dive;' -el state or condition.

130. čex<sup>W</sup>- 'you, sg.;;' -o- general declarative; -háy- 'to learn;' -tx<sup>W</sup> third person singular object suffix (see 100).

131. čeř- 'we;' -o- general declarative; -ós- 'to dive;'



-el state or condition.

132.  $\dot{x}a\dot{x}$ - 'to want;'- $tx^W$  third person singular object suffix (see 100).

133.  $g^W$ - 'could;'-c- 'I;'- $háy$ - 'to learn;'- $tx^W$  third person singular object suffix (see 100).

134.  $g^W$ - 'could;'- $tá\dot{a}a\dot{t}$  'truly.'

135. to- past; - $\dot{t}ag^Wec$  'to strip.' -ab- 'to want to do;'- $ax^W$ - 'now;'- $halg^Wa$  'they.'

136. to- past; - $pád$ - 'to try;'-tb- passive; - $ax^W$  'now.'

137.  $\dot{x}ahag^Wa\dot{s}$ - 'wives' (see 88); -s- and - $halg^Wa$  'their.'

138.  $g^W$ - 'could;'-s- prefix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s- $halg^Wa$  (see 119); - $\dot{x}ábot$ - 'to listen;'-b- the activity or state is in the process of occurring; -e- indirect object indicator; -d- third person singular object pronoun suffix; -s- and - $halg^Wa$  suffix parts of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s- $halg^Wa$  'they.'

139. to- past; - $k^Wét$ - 'to go down;'- $ax^W$  'now;'- $halg^Wa$  'they.'

140.  $\acute{a}ca$  first person singular subject pronoun.

141. Ordinal numeral.

142.  $\dot{z}o$ - future; - $\acute{o}s$ - 'to dive;'-e state or condition (variant of -el).

143. to- past; - $\dot{y}éq$ - 'to soak;'- $ag^W$ - meaning not determined; -el- state or condition; - $ax^W$  'now;'- $halg^Wa$  'they.'

144. to- past; - $háy$ - 'to learn;'- $tx^W$ - third person singular object pronoun suffix (see 100); - $\dot{c}ed$  'I.'

145. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;'  
-skláletot 'guardian spirit power.'
146. tol- 'from;'-al- general prepositional prefix;  
-dáčo 'one.'
147. o- general declarative; -sáy? 'to come out.'
148. al- general prepositional prefix; -k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative  
pronoun proclitic; -ba- 'again;'-dáčo 'one.'
149. al- general prepositional prefix; -b<sup>k</sup>W- 'all;'  
-čad 'where.'
150. al- general prepositional prefix; -te 'this.'
151. dež- 'therefore;'-ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
152. to- past; -s- prefix part of the discontinuous  
morpheme s-...-s (see 11); -ós- 'to dive;'-e-state or  
condition; -s suffix part of the discontinuous morpheme  
s-...-s.
153. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;'-s-  
prefix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s-halg<sup>W</sup>a;  
-o- general declarative; -él- 'to sing;'-ed- third person  
object pronoun suffix. -s- and -halg<sup>W</sup>a suffix parts of the  
discontinuous morpheme s-...-s-halg<sup>W</sup>a 'their.'
154. k<sup>W</sup>skláletot- (see 145); -s- and -halg<sup>W</sup>a 'their.'
155. to- past; -ós- 'to dive;'-el- state or condition;  
-ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
156. t- past; -as- state; -ésta 'to wait.'
157. to- past; -b- 'again;'-o<sup>x</sup>W- 'to go;'-ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
158. to- past; -b- 'again;'-ós- 'to dive;'-el-

state or condition; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

159. x<sup>W</sup>ela 'not.' This is probably derived from the negative modifier x<sup>W</sup>eʔ.

160. teb root meaning 'hard.'

161. lé1 root meaning 'far.'

162. to- past; -ʒá1q- 'to turn;' -cot- reflexive; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

163. to- past; -taqs- 'to wait for;' -ad- activity or state in the process of occurring; -e- indirect object indicator; -d- third person singular object suffix; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

164. to- past; -1áb- 'to see;' -dx<sup>W</sup>- third person singular object suffix indicating lack of purpose or intent; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

165. o- general declarative; -1ax- 'to come;' -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

166. to- past; -1- continuative (1a- > 1- before as-); -as- state; -tex1áhad- 'to spread the wings;' -b action in the process of occurring.

167. cót- 'to say;' -b- action in the process of occurring; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

168. ʒo- future; -k<sup>W</sup>d- 'to grab;' -čed 'I.'

169. dax<sup>W</sup>- 'place;' -as- state; -taqs- 'to wait for;' -e- indirect object indicator; -d- third person singular object suffix; -s 'he' or his.'

170. to- past; -k<sup>W</sup>d- 'to grab;' -d- third person singular object suffix; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

171. This word cannot be analyzed into separate morphemes.

172. to- past; -k<sup>W</sup>d- 'to grab;' -tx<sup>W</sup> third person singular

object suffix (see 100).

173. to- past; -la- continuative; -óx<sup>W</sup> 'to go.'

174. ʔo- future; -s- prefix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s (see 11); -la- continuative; -ʔaʔ<sup>ʔ</sup>- 'to come;'  
-s suffix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s.

175. to- past; -dx<sup>W</sup>áleg<sup>W</sup>d- this part of the verb complex cannot be fully analyzed; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

176. to- past; -k<sup>W</sup>átʔ<sup>ʔ</sup>- 'to come up;'  
-ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

177. to- past; -ʔáyʔ<sup>ʔ</sup>- 'to come out;'  
-ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

178. to- past; -ýec- 'to tell;'  
-b- action in the process of occurring; -tx<sup>W</sup>- third person singular object suffix (see 100); -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

179. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;'  
-to- past; -c- 'I;'  
-k<sup>W</sup>d- 'to grab;'  
-tx<sup>W</sup> third person singular object pronoun suffix (see 100).

180. ʔo- future; -ʔáyʔ<sup>ʔ</sup>- 'to come out;'  
-s 'he' or 'his.'

181. x<sup>W</sup>éʔ<sup>ʔ</sup>- 'not;'  
-ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

182. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;'  
-to- past; -ʔáyʔ<sup>ʔ</sup>- 'to come out;'  
-s 'he' or 'his.'

183. to- past; -hew- 'to start to go;'  
-el- state or condition; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now;'  
-halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'

184. to- past; -tók<sup>W</sup>- 'to go home;'  
-ax<sup>W</sup> 'now;'  
-halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'

185. to- past; -ʔic<sup>ʔ</sup>- 'to come back;'  
-el- state or condition; -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now;'  
-halg<sup>W</sup>a 'they.'

186. to- past; -ýec- 'to tell;'  
-b- activity in the process

of occurring; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now;'; -halg<sup>Wa</sup> 'they.'

187. dáy verb modifier 'later.'

188. to- future; -íx- 'to come back;'; -el state or condition.

189. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic 'some;'; -to- past; -íx- 'to come back;'; -el state or condition.

190. á- 'to be here;'; -cec meaning not known.

191. bád- 'father;'; -s his.'

192. skóy- 'mother;'; -s 'his.'

193. xó- customarily; -ólot 'to travel by canoe.'

194. to- past; -la- continuative; -ólot 'to travel by canoe;'; -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now;'; -halg<sup>Wa</sup> 'they.'

195. t- past (to- > t- before as-); -as- state; -pél- 'rising of the tide;'; -ab- 'to want to do;'; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'

196. lež- 'very;'; -él- 'close;'; -g<sup>W</sup>ež 'canoe.'

197. o- general declarative; -žóq- 'to drift;'; -otb passive (the -o- is probably due to vowel harmony).

198. to- past; -g<sup>W</sup>- 'could;'; -x<sup>l</sup>- 'to stop;'; -d- third person singular object pronoun suffix; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now;'; -halg<sup>Wa</sup> 'they.'

199. to- past; -láp- 'to look into;'; -d- third person singular object pronoun suffix; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now;'; -halg<sup>Wa</sup> 'they.'

200. to- past; -háy- 'to learn;'; -tx<sup>W</sup>- third person singular object pronoun suffix (see 100); -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now;'; -halg<sup>Wa</sup> 'they.'

201. bda- 'child;'; -s- and -halg<sup>Wa</sup> 'their.'

202. as- state; -pk- 'to break off;'; -os 'head.'

203. g<sup>W</sup>- 'could;'; -sxáyʔ- 'to have;'; -os 'head.'
204. as- state; -xéʔx 'to be tattooed.'
205. Unanalyzed noun.
206. to- past; -s- prefix part of the discontinuous morpheme s-...-s-halg<sup>Wa</sup>; -dax<sup>W</sup>- 'place;'; -háy- 'to learn;'; -tx<sup>W</sup>- third person singular object pronoun suffix (see 100); -s- and -halg<sup>Wa</sup> 'they.'
207. bda- 'child;'; -čex 'our.'
208. o- general declarative; -áy- 'to find;'; -tx<sup>W</sup>- third person singular object pronoun suffix (see 100); -ax<sup>W</sup>- 'now;'; -dɬ 'evidentially.'
209. k<sup>W</sup>- demonstrative pronoun proclitic; -as- state; -dók<sup>W</sup> 'to be dangerous.'
210. to- past; -k<sup>W</sup>áʔ- 'to send for;'; -tb- passive; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
211. Outside of the root -ʔaʔ- 'to come' this verb complex cannot be analyzed.
212. to- past; -yec- 'to tell;'; -b- action in the process of occurring; -tob- passive, purpose; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
213. x<sup>W</sup>éʔ- 'not;'; -ax<sup>W</sup> 'now.'
214. to- past; -sáyʔ- 'to come out;'; -s 'he' or 'his.'

Free translation.

The Snuqualmie people have two girl children. The oldest one possessed herself of a husband, a young man from Snuqualmie. Then the youngest one married a young man

from Snohomish. He was always here at Snuqualmie living with his in-laws. He was always together with the Snuqualmie man. One day he said: 'Alright now, we'll go and hunt for some game.' The Snohomish said: 'Alright.' They asked their wives if they would like to go along. The women said: 'We will go.'

Then they got ready. They went up the Tolt river. They killed some game, some elk, and broiled it. They got enough meat.

Then they started home. They came to the lake named 'Salmon Soup.' Here they rested. The Snuqualmie man said: 'Behold this lake. It can be dangerous.' The Snohomish asked: 'Why is it dangerous?' Said the Snuqualmie man: 'This lake has a hole in it.' The Snohomish said: 'I don't believe it. It is too small a lake for it to have a hole.' Their wives tried to stop them from arguing. Then the Snohomish said: 'I'm always diving in the salt water (Puget Sound). I can't find a hole in it.' Said the Snuqualmie: 'I dove. I was there in that hole. And that's the reason that I am telling you this.' The Snuqualmie continued: 'If you do not believe it, we'll dive. You'll find out.' The Snohomish said: 'Alright, we dive. I want to know whether there really is a hole.'

Then they started to strip off their clothes. Their wives tried to stop them, but they would not listen to them. Then they went down to the lake. The Snuqualmie said: 'I

will be the first to dive.' They went into the water. The Snuqualmie said: 'I learned the Otter power. The Otter dives from one lake and comes out in another lake.' The Snohomish said: 'I learned the loon power. It dives everywhere in the salt water.' Thus they dove, singing their power songs.

The Snuqualmie dove while the Snohomish waited. Then he also went; he also dove. The Snuqualmie went into the hole, but he did not go very far. He turned around and waited. Then he saw him (the Snohomish) coming. His wings were spread out. The Snuqualmie was saying: 'I'll grab him.' The Snohomish came to where the Snuqualmie was waiting. The Snuqualmie grabbed him on the end of the hair. He grabbed for him, but the Snohomish went on. The Snuqualmie waited for him to come back. Then he gave up. He came up out of the hole and came out of the water. He told the women: 'He was going. I grabbed for him, but I didn't get him.' They waited for him to come out. He did not come out. They gave up then.

They left and went home. They got back to their relatives and told them: 'If he comes out, he will come back.' But he never came back.

He had a father and a mother at Snohomish. They were always traveling by canoe. One day they were going along in a canoe. The tide was coming in in Puget Sound. Well, they traveled along very close to shore, and they came upon a person drifting there on the waves. They stopped the canoe and they looked into it. They found out it was their child. His head was broken off. He did not have a head, and he was going along with a tattoo of the loon on his chest.



That is where they learned: 'This is our child.' He must have found something dangerous. They sent for this young man (the Snuqualmie) to come so that they could find out about this Snohomish man. They were told: 'He dove into the lake, and he did not come out.'

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V I T A

Warren Arthur Snyder

Born: Dec. 22, 1918, Spokane, Washington.

Parents: Mr. Percy Franklin Snyder and Mrs. Esther Ann (Ridgeway) Snyder.

Graduated from Lewis and Clark high school, Spokane, Washington, 1938.

Bachelor of Arts degree, University of Washington, 1948.

Instructor in Anthropology, Sacramento State College, Sacramento, California, 1955 to present.