PREFACE

This slightly revised version of my 1984 University of Hawaii dissertaion 'Saanich Morphology and Phonology' is based on field work carried out during the summers of 1978 through 1981. I have since been back to Saanich country and worked with a number of other speakers. The analyses presented here have, for the most part, been confirmed. At least the basic distributional properties of the forms discussed here seem to be correct. I have, however, discovered a few lexical suffixes and post-predicate particles not mentioned here.

The analyes I have been rethinking are those of the reduplicative processes and the demonstrative particles. I now feel that at least soem of the reduplicative processes analyzed as vowelless with a subsequent insertion of schwa might be better analyzed as having an underlying full vowel that reduces when unstressed. The problems with the demonstratives involve the two formatives referring to place and their relationship to a preposition /ƛ̓əʔ/ which indicates direction toward a specific place.

It is my hope that this work will be useful despite its holes. They will never be all patched; "all grammars leak." A Elsie Claxton put it when as a summer was coming to an end I expressed to her how much more I wanted to learn about her language: "sk̓ʷey kʷs ʔawk̓ʷs." There's no end to it.

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I am deeply grateful to Professor Thompson and M. Terry Thompson for introducing me to Salish linguistics and for their continued support and encouragement. Professor Thompson has been an inspiration both in his ideas of the details of Straits grammar and in his general approach to linguistic scholarship.

The comments on drafts of this work from Thom Hess, M. Dale Kinkade, and Anthony Mattina, have been invaluable. Professor Hess introduced me to the Saanich people and kindly made the material he has collected on the language available to me. Innumerable discussions with Professor Mattina have helped clarify my ideas on many of the issues presented here. I also thank for their comments Iovanna Condax, Ivy Doak, Gregory Lee, Patricia Lee, Anatole Lyovin, and Peter Nicholson.

I am grateful to Elsie Claxton, Vi Williams, Thomas Charles, Lillian Charles, and the people of the East Saanich and Becher Bay reserves for their hospitality and for patiently attempting to teach me their languages.

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1OBJ	'first person object'	§2.4.3.
1PLOBJ	'first person plural object'	§2.4.3.
1POS	'first person posessive'	§2.4.2.
1PLPOS	'first person plural posessive'	§2.4.2.
2SUBJ	'second person subject'	§2.6.2.4,§2.4.4.
2OBJ	'second person object'	§2.4.3.
2POS	'second person posessive'	§2.4.2.
2PL	'second person pluralizer'	§2.6.2.5.5.
3SUBJ	'third person subject'	§2.4.4.
3OBJ	'third person object'	§2.4.3.
3POS	'third person posessive'	§2.4.2.
ACCOM	'accompanying'	§2.6.1.3.
ACT	'actual aspect'	§2.3.5.
CAUS	'causative'	§2.5.2.3.
CHAR	'characteristic	§2.3.1.
CMDL	'control middle'	§2.5.4.2.
COMMAND	'command'	§2.6.2.1.2.
CONDIT	'conditional'	§2.6.2.2.4.
CONJEC	'conjectural'	§2.6.2.2.3.
CONNEC	'lexical suffix connector'	§2.2.10.2.
CONTEMP	'contemporaneous'	§2.6.1.4.
CRECIP	'control reciprocal'	§2.5.4.5.
CTRAN	'control transitive'	§2.5.2.1.
DEM	'demonstrative'	§2.6.3.
DESID	'desiderative'	§2.2.6.
DIM	'diminutive'	§2.3.2.
DIR	'directional'	§2.2.4.
DIRLESS	'directionless'	§2.2.5.
DUR	'durative'	§2.2.2.
EFFORT	'effort'	§2.5.2.5.
EMPH	'emphatic'	§2.6.2.5.1.
EVID	'evidential'	§2.6.2.2.1.
EXPLAN	'explanative'	§2.6.2.5.4.
FUT	'future'	§2.6.2.3.2.
HABIT	'habitual'	§2.2.8.
HAVE	'have'	§2.1.5.
IMMED	'immediate past'	§2.6.1.5.
INDIRECT	'indirective'	§2.5.2.1.
INFORM	'informative'	§2.6.2.5.2.
INST	'instrumental'	§2.2.7.
LIMIT	'limiting'	§2.6.2.5.6.
LOC	'locative'	§2.1.3.
MUT	'mutative'	§2.1.4.
NCR	'non-control result, out-of-control?	§2.3.7.
NMDL	'non-control middle'	§2.5.4.3.
NRECIP	'non-control reciprocal'	§2.5.4.6.
NTRAN	'non-control transitive'	§2.5.2.2.
OBL	'oblique case marker'	§2.6.4.1.
OPT	'optative'	§2.6.2.2.2.
PART	'partake'	§2.1.11.
PASS	'passive'	§2.5.4.4.
PAST	'past'	§2.6.2.3.1.
PERHAPS	'perhaps, maybe'	§2.6.1.7.
PERSIS	'persistent'	§2.2.1.
PL	'plural, distributive'	§2.3.3.
PRESUM	'presumptive'	§2.6.2.6.2.

PROB	'probable'	§2.6.2.6.1.
PURPOS	'purposive'	§2.5.2.4.
QUEST	'yes/no question'	§2.6.2.1.1.
REAL	'realized'	§2.6.1.1.
REAS	'reason for; means to'	§2.1.6.
REFL	'reflexive'	§2.5.4.7.
REL	'relational'	§2.5.3.2.
REPET	'repetitive'	§2.3.4.
REQINF	'request information'	§2.6.2.5.3.
RES	'resultive'	§2.3.6.
S	'nominalizer'	§2.1.1.
STAT	'stative'	§2.1.2, §2.2.3
STILL	'still, yet'	§2.6.1.6.
STRUC	'structured activity'	§2.5.4.1.
SUB	'subordinator'	§2.6.4.2.
TIME	'time of'	§2.1.7.
UNREAL	'unrealized'	§2.6.1.2.
√X	X is a root	
=X	X is a lexical suffix	
-X	X is a suffix	
X- or X√	X is a prefix	
X+ or +X	X is a reduplicative element	
(X)	X is an infix	
‖X‖	X is an underlying form	
*X	X is rejected by informants	

0. Introduction.

0.1. Saanich is a dialect of North Straits, a Central Coast Salish language[1]. The Straits languages, North Straits and Klallam[2] form a subgroup within the Central group of the Coast division. Klallam was spoken along the north shore of the Olympic Peninsula and in a few isolated settlements across the Strait of Juan de Fuca notably at Becher Bay. The North Straits dialects were aboriginally spoken along the southern tip of Vancouver Island, in the southern Islands of Haro Strait, and at the area around Bellingham, Washington on the mainland. Although native speakers of the various North Straits dialects recognize the similarities, they refer to the dialects as if they were different languages[3]. The major North Straits dialects are, from west to east: Sooke, spoken around Sooke Basin; Songish (or Songhees), spoken around what is now Victoria; Saanich, spoken on the Saanich Peninsula north of Victoria and neighboring islands; and Lummi, spoken around what is now Bellingham, Washington and neighboring islands. Two other little recorded eastern dialects were Samish and Semiahmoo.

0.2. Published treatments of the grammars of Straits languages include Sooke (Efrat, 1969), Klallam (Thompson and Thompson, 1971), and Songish (Raffo, 1972). The present sketch is the first major treatment of Saanich, although an outline of the phonology and morphology is presented with a list of lexical suffixes by Pidgeon (1970). The major advances this study of Saanich presents are in the sections on the radical morphological processes (§2.3), person (§2.4), voice (§2.5), and post-predicate particles (§2.6.2).

0.3. Saanich is at present spoken by around twenty people. Most of these speakers live on or around the Saanich reserves on the Saanich Peninsula of Vancouver Island.

The main informant for this study was Mrs. Elsie Claxton (x̱ət̓θx̱át̓θəlwət), born in 1911 or 1912 at the East Saanich Reserve on Saanichton Bay. Mrs. Claxton is reputed to be the most knowledgeable speaker of " old time Saanich." Her English is very limited since her parents kept her away from the white-man's school and provided her with a traditional education. Mrs. Claxton knows the Cowichan language and understands the other dialects of North Straits, Lummi, Songish, and Sooke. Lummi seems to her to be closer to Saanich than the other two. She is unable to understand Lushootseed or Klallam. She never used English until her children started going to school so her five oldest children (all adults) are native speakers of Saanich. Some of them are still fluent and have created with others at West Saanich Reserve language lessons for children in an English-based orthography of their own devising.

All work with Mrs. Claxton was conducted with the help of Mrs. Vi Williams (ɬíqəlwət) of the Cole Bay Saanich Reserve. Mrs. Williams is a native speaker of Cowichan and is also fluent in Saanich and English. Her husband, the chief at Cole Bay, is a fluent native speaker of Saanich. Mrs. Williams has spent quite a bit of time herself tape recording elders telling traditional tales, local history, and genealogical and ancestral name information.

Mrs. Claxton and Mrs. Williams have worked together for a number of years teaching traditional crafts (spinning, knitting, beadwork, etc.) to the younger generations at the East Saanich Culture Centre. When speaking together or to other local elders they speak only Saanich, though occasionally one hears an odd phrase or two of English mixed in.

Before answering a question of mine about the meaning or use of a particular word or phrase, Mrs.

Claxton and Mrs. Williams would often discuss the problem at length in Saanich. Although I have yet to transcribe most of these discussions, they have proved of invaluable assistance in the preparation of this sketch.

0.4. This study is comprised of three sections. In §1 is a brief, informal outline of the most significant aspects of the Saanich sound system. It is incomplete with important questions remaining, particularly in the area of stress placement. The primary purpose of §1 is to provide support and background for the more thorough analyses of §2.
The goal of section 2 has been to provide a complete description of the distribution, morphophonemics, meaning, and function of every non-root morpheme in the language. Limitations on the availability of data have necessarily narrowed the scope of this goal.
The third section is a sample of connected discourse with a complete analysis based on the findings presented in §2.
Although no section is headed " syntax" it is everywhere important. Much of what is included in §2 is ordinarily included in sections on syntax in other grammatical sketches of Salish languages. The sections on person (§2.4), voice (§2.5), and particles (§2.6) are particularly relavent in this respect. Since Saanich, like all Salish languages, displays an especially rich polysynthetic morphology, any accurate discussion of syntax must be informed by an accurate understanding of the formatives of basic predicates. This grammar is intended to be a practical, useful basis for further synchronic and diachronic studies of Saanich and related dialects.

Notes to §0.

1. The Salish family is one of the largest in America north of Mexico (only Uto-Aztecan, Nadene, and Algonquian have more languages). The Salish languages were aboriginally spoken in parts of what are now British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and Montana. The three main subgroups of the family are Coast, Interior, and Tsamosan. For more on the grouping and history of the Salish family see Thompson (1979a). The following abbreviations will be used for North Straits dialects: Sa Saanich, Sg Songish, So Sooke, Lm Lummi. Other Coast Salish languages will be abbreviated as follows: Kl Klallam, Sq Squamish, Hl Halkomelem, Cw Cowichan (a dialect of Hl), Ld Lushootseed, and Ti Tillamook.

2. The preferred spelling of the Klallam people at Lower Elwha and Port Gamble reservations.

3. It has been suggested that Straits, including Klallam, is all one language. But, in fact, Klallam and Saanich are not mutually intelligible. Native speakers of Saanich were unable to understand clear tape recordings of Klallam discourse though they immediately recognized it as being "just like Saanich." It seems that they were reacting to a few familiar words and sounds such as /ŋə́nəʔ/ 'son, daughter' which contains /ŋ/, a sound that is common to all of Straits but lacking in all neighboring languages. The degree of mutual intelligibility among the North Straits dialects has not been determined.

1. Phonology.

The native Saanich sound system exhibits thirty-five consonants and four vowels. The consonants contrast five manners of articulation: plain and glottalized voiceless stops, fricatives, and plain and glottalized resonants. There are nine contrasting places of articulation: labial, dental, alveolar, alveo-palatal, lateral, labio-velar, uvular, labio-uvular[1], and laryngeal. The simpler vowel system contrasts two levels of height and two of backness.

The following list shows the relative frequency of occurrence (most to least common) of Saanich segmental phonemes in a randomly selected set of one thousand different utterances: /ə, s, ʔ, n, t, e, ɬ, l, xʷ, kʷ, ŋ, č, i, a, q, l̓, w̓, x̣, y, š, w, kʼʷ, tʼθ, θ, m, n̓, q̓, qʷ, ƛ̓, t̓, m̓, p, y̓, č̓, ŋ̓, x̣ʷ, qʼʷ, h, p̓/.

1.1. Consonants.

Figure 1 shows a functional diagram of the consonant system. The gaps in the labial and lateral series are typical of Salishan languages[2]. Labials in Saanich are rare in general. Of the over eighty function morphemes discussed in §2 none has a labial consonant. Only three lexical suffixes, ‖=čəp‖, ‖=iiməʔ‖, and ‖=amət‖ show labials (see §2.2.10).

Table 1: Consonants

p		t		č	(k)	kʷ	q	qʷ	
pʼ	tʼθ	tʼ	ƛ̓	č̓		kʼʷ	qʼ	qʼʷ	ʔ
	θ	s	ɬ	š		xʷ	x̣	x̣ʷ	h
m		n	l	y		w	ŋ		
m̓		n̓	l̓	y̓		w̓	ŋ̓		

The phonemes /θ/ and /tʼθ/ have arisen from Proto-Straits /c/ and /c̓/. Although these two sounds are not particularly rare in Saanich, they appear in only two other Salish languages, Halkomelem and Comox[3]. The symbol in parentheses, /k/, is found only in a few relatively recent loans from English and French through Chinook Jargon. The following are the only words seen to bear this phoneme: /kúk/ ‘cook’, /ləklí/ ‘key’, /káa/ ‘car’, /ləkwín/ ‘crucifix’, /kəpú/ ‘coat’, /kúl/ ‘gold’, /kálənts/ ‘currant’, and /lisék/ ‘sack’. Native speakers readily recognize these as being of foreign origin.

1.1.1. Obstruents.

The obstruents are usually lenis but never voiced. The glottalized obstruents are ejective but weakly so. It is often difficult, especially in the anterior consonants, to perceive the contrast. Unlike the closely related Klallam language, Saanich obstruents are only rarely and weakly aspirated.

1.1.1.1. The labial, /p/ plain voiceless and /p̓/ glottalized, are always bilabial.

pekʼʷ ‘smoke (hides, fish, etc.)’, p̓əkʷ ‘rise to the surface’; špáqʷəs ‘drop-off’, sp̓aqʼʷəŋ ‘foam’; paxʷ ‘blow’, p̓əɬ ‘emerge’; θápxʷəŋ ‘brittle’, sx̣áp̓šən ‘fishtail’; q̓pət ‘gather it’, xʷq̓p̓ət ‘patch it’; ɬəp ‘blink’, ɬ;ap̓ ‘eat

with a spoon'; ʔápən 'ten', ɬáp̓ən 'spoon'.

1.1.1.2. The dentals, /t̓$^{\theta}$/ and /θ/, are only rarely interdental. They are phonetically [t̓_s̪], a glottalized dental affricate, and [s̪], a grooved dental fricative, respectively. /t̓$^{\theta}$/ is easy for the non-native to recognize when it occurs because there is nothing else like it. /θ/, on the other hand, is as difficult for the non-native speaker to distinguish from /s/ as /x^{w}/ is from /x̣^{w}/ (see §1.1.1.6). /θ/ is unlike the fricative in English 'thin' in two ways: it is not interdental but articulated with the tip of the tongue behind and against the incisors and it is grooved rather than slit. Although /θ/ and /s/ are phonetically similar, there are a number of contrasting pairs[4]:
θək̓^{w}sət 'stretching', sák̓^{w}ət 'bathe it', t̓$^{\theta}$ák̓^{w}iʔ 'skunk cabbage'; θál̓qt 'sharing it', sál̓q̓əŋ 'sagging'; θíɬəŋ 'stand', sáɬ 'door', t̓$^{\theta}$áɬəŋ 'cold'; θéx̣əŋ 'sour', síx̣^{w}əŋ 'wade'; √ʔaθ 'face, front', √ʔis 'paddle', √ʔit̓$^{\theta}$ 'get dressed'; méθəč 'cormorant', másət 'fold it', mít̓$^{\theta}$ət 'crush it'.

1.1.1.3. The alveolars, /t/ a voiceless stop, /t̓/ its glottalized counterpart, and /s/, are produced with the tip of the tongue above the teeth on the forward part of the alveolar ridge. The distribution of the sounds is rather uneven; /s/ and /t/ are two of the most frequently occurring phonemes while /t̓/ is one of the rarest.
tíʔə 'this', t̓éʔət 'try it'; téčəl 'arrive here', t̓ét̓$^{\theta}$əŋ 'go sour'; tak^{w} 'flame', t̓ak̓^{w} 'go home'; téŋ̓əs 'crave a particular food', t̓əŋ̓aʔəŋ̓ 'swimming', təŋáθən 'left-over food'; táŋəx^{w} 'earth, land', t̓áŋən 'wall'; təq 'raid', t̓aq 'sharpen'; təq^{w}nəŋ 'getting tightened', t̓íq̓^{w}nəŋ 'get hit (by something moving)'; təs 'near', t̓əs 'get broken'; č̓ətəŋ 'be crawling', č̓át̓əʔ 'clam stick'.

See §1.1.1.2 for /s/ in contrast to /θ/ and §1.1.1.5 for /s/ vs. /š/.

1.1.1.4. The laterals /ƛ̓/, a voiceless glottalized affricate, and /ɬ/, a voiceless fricative, are bilateral and articulated with the tip of the tongue against the forward part of the alveolar ridge. In comparison to Klallam the Saanich /ƛ̓/ is quite lenis while /ɬ/ is somewhat noisier. The /ɬ/ is slightly affricated occasionally in initial position.
Contrasts are found between /ɬ/ and /ƛ̓/:
ɬət̓$^{\theta}$él̓s 'cut', ƛ̓ət̓$^{\theta}$éčən 'belt'; ɬeč 'dark', ƛ̓eč 'deep'; ɬík̓^{w}ən 'gaff, fishhook', ƛ̓ík̓^{w}ən 'sweet peas'; ɬáp̓ən 'spoon', ƛ̓ép̓ət 'touch it'; ɬq̓éʔčəs 'five', ƛ̓qéqən 'long feather'; x^{w}ɬq̓^{w}ást 'slap someone in the face', ƛ̓k̓^{w}átəs 'he turned it (a light) off'; ɬq̓^{w}át 'pry it off', ƛ̓q̓^{w}át 'stick it on'; ɬáẇət 'carry it out', ƛ̓áwəŋ 'howl (as a dog)'; sɬéwən 'wall-mat', sƛ̓əwən 'earrings'; sp̓áɬəɬ 'sober', sp̓áƛ̓əŋ 'smoke (from a fire)'; sx̣éɬəɬ 'sick', sx̣éƛ̓ 'river trap'.

and between /ɬ/ and /l/ or /l̓/:
ɬət̓$^{\theta}$él̓s 'cut', lət̓$^{\theta}$át 'fill it'; ɬálət 'splash it', lálət 'invite someone on a hunting trip'; √ɬiq^{w} 'meat', √liq^{w} 'loosen'; √x̣əɬ 'feel bad', x̣əl̓ 'write, draw'; θəɬq^{w}t 'piercing it', θál̓qt 'sharing it'; q^{w}əɬəs 'smelts', q^{w}əl̓əs 'boil'.

See §1.1.1.5 for contrasts between /ɬ;/ and /š/.

1.1.1.5. The alveopalatals /č/, a voiceless affricate, /č̓/, its glottalized counterpart, and /š/, a grooved fricative, are produced with the tip of the tongue just behind the alveolar ridge. /č/ and /š/ are similar to

the obstruents in English ‘church’ and ‘she’. A number of forms of forms show contrast among /č/, /č̓/, and /tθ/.
čéʔət ‘vomit’, čéť$^{\theta}$ət ‘sew it’, t̓$^{\theta}$éʔət ‘put it on top’; sť̓éčəŋ ‘tide’, ť̓éť$^{\theta}$əŋ ‘go sour’; ʔíčəɬ ‘scoop up’, ʔéč̓ət ‘wipe it’, ʔít̓$^{\theta}$əŋ ‘get dressed’.

Contrasts are found between /s/ and /š/:
təs ‘near’, təš ‘comb’; šáṉšəṉ ‘alone’, sàmsəmáẏəʔ ‘bee’; sen ‘who?’, šem ‘dry’; saúṗət ‘sniff it’, šapt ‘whistle’; šəq ‘finish a job’, səq ‘be outside’.
and between /ɬ/ and /š/:
ɬəl ‘splash’, šəl ‘climb’; ɬáptən ‘eyelash’, šapt ‘whistle’; ɬáqəs ‘edible seaweed’, šáqtəs ‘he finished it up (a job).’

1.1.1.6. The labio-velars /k^{w}/, a voiceless stop, /k̓^{w}/, its glottalized counterpart, and /x^{w}/, a voiceless fricative, may also be called labialized pre-velars since they are articulated with the dorsum of the tongue placed far forward on the soft palate with concomitant rounding of the lips. Contrasts found between /k^{w}/ and /k̓^{w}/:
k^{w}ét̓$^{\theta}$ət ‘loosen it’, sk̓^{w}ét̓$^{\theta}$əɬ ‘crooked’; k^{w}áləŋ ‘fly’, k̓^{w}áləẇ ‘skin’; k^{w}ámk^{w}əm ‘drum’, k̓^{w}ámk̓^{w}əm ‘strong’; k^{w}ánət ‘take it’, k̓^{w}ánət ‘look at it’; √k^{w}in ‘fight’, √k̓^{w}in ‘how many?’; k^{w}ásəs ‘deliver it’, k̓^{w}ásəŋ ‘counting’; k^{w}ey ‘announce’, k̓^{w}eẏ ‘hungry’; √mak^{w} ‘curl up’, √mək̓^{w} ‘all’; q̓ék^{w}əŋ ‘knee’, q̓ík̓^{w}ət ‘bite it’; θák^{w}ət ‘squeal on someone’, θák̓^{w}ət ‘stretching it’.

The difficulty in distinguishing /k^{w}/ vs. /q^{w}/, /k̓^{w}/ vs. /q̓^{w}/, and /x^{w}/ vs. /x̣^{w}/ are well known to anyone who has studied a Salish language. Numerous forms show these contrasts:
k^{w}ét̓$^{\theta}$ət ‘loosen it’, sq^{w}ət̓$^{\theta}$ ‘brown grouse’; k^{w}áləŋ ‘fly’, q^{w}əl ‘say’; q^{w}ínəqən ‘beard’, k^{w}íntəl̓ ‘fight with someone’; sk^{w}áṉk^{w}əṉ ‘carbuncle’, sq^{w}ínq^{w}ən ‘necklace’; k^{w}íx̣^{w}təl̓ ‘argue’, q^{w}íx̣^{w}ət ‘miss it (a shot)’; t̓$^{\theta}$ák^{w}əʔíẇs ‘left side’, sť̓$^{\theta}$áq^{w}iʔ ‘spring salmon’; čák^{w}əs ‘use it’, čáq^{w}əɬ ‘fire’; slík^{w}əl ‘calm’, líq^{w}ət ‘loosen it’. k̓^{w}ét̓$^{\theta}$əɬ ‘crooked’, q̓^{w}ét̓$^{\theta}$əŋ ‘root’; k̓^{w}eẏ ‘hungry’, q̓^{w}əẏ ‘deceive’; ƛ̓k̓^{w}ət ‘extinguish’, ƛ̓q̓^{w}ət ‘stick something on’.
x^{w}ítəŋ ‘jump’, x̣^{w}ét̓ət ‘prop up’, x̣^{w}íq^{w}ət ‘rub, buff’; x̣^{w}əy ‘die, be lost’, x^{w}əy ‘wake up’; t̓$^{\theta}$íx^{w}əŋ ‘pity’, t̓$^{\theta}$éx̣^{w}əṉ ‘chokecherry’; √k^{w}əx^{w} ‘knock’, √k^{w}ix̣^{w} ‘argue’; ɬx^{w}éləʔ ‘three people’, ɬx̣^{w}ástəŋ ‘telling someone’ off’; sƛ̓əx^{w} ‘he lost’, ƛ̓əx̣^{w} ‘hard’; məx^{w}ísət ‘rock oneself’, méx̣^{w}əyəʔ ‘navel’.

1.1.1.7. The uvulars /q/, a voiceless stop, /q̓/, its glottalized counterpart, and /x̣/, a voiceless fricative, are post-velars. They are articulated with the dorsum of the tongue on the back part of the soft palate. In Klallam the fortis articulation often gives these stops an affricate quality, but in Saanich they are so weakly articulated that they are sometimes difficult to distinguish from /ʔ/. Nevertheless, /q/, /q̓/, and /ʔ/ do contrast:
qəčəʔ ‘catch’, q̓əčíʔ ‘moss’, ʔačə ‘request information’; qək^{w}əŋ ‘bake (bread)’, q̓ək^{w}əʔ ‘cane, walking stick’, ʔək^{w}áʔ ‘show how’; qék^{w}əŋ ‘rest’, q̓ék^{w}əŋ ‘knee’; qəlíiməʔ ‘dirty, messy’, q̓əlísət ‘go around a corner’; qəṁ̓ ‘beg, borrow’, q̓əṁ̓ ‘cut in two’, ʔam ‘be fed up’; sqánəx^{w} ‘greedy’, ʔánəx^{w} ‘shut off’; t̓$^{\theta}$əqénəŋ ‘go up a hill’, t̓$^{\theta}$áq̓əŋ ‘dripping’; ɬqit ‘clothes’, ɬq̓ət ‘wide’.

The fricatives /x̣/ and /h/ contrast:
x̣áʔqən ‘marten’, haʔ ‘if, when’; √x̣éʔ ‘sacred’, heeʔ ‘yes’; x̣it̓$^{\theta}$ ‘raw’, het̓$^{\theta}$ ‘breathe’; x̣ək̓^{w} ‘gnaw’, hek̓^{w}

'remember'.

1.1.1.8. The labio-uvulars /qʷ/, a voiceless stop, /qˀʷ/, its glottalized counterpart, and /χ̣ʷ/ are labialized post-velars. The articulation of these is the same as the corresponding unlabialized uvulars but with lip rounding. See §1.1.1.6 for contrasts with labio-velars. Contrasts are found between /qʷ/ and /qˀʷ/:
sqʷəťᶿ 'brown grouse', qˀʷáťᶿəŋ 'root'; sqʷáqˀʷəɬ 'sore', sqˀʷáqˀʷiʔ 'dead'; ťᶿáqʷiʔ 'spring salmon', ťᶿáqˀ+əŋ 'rotten'; čáqʷəɬ 'fire', čáqˀʷəŋ 'sweat'.

1.1.1.9. The laryngeals are /ʔ/, glottal stop, and /h/, a voiceless fricative. The former is the second most common consonant in Saanich; the latter is the second least common one. /ʔ/ occurs initially, finally, in consonant clusters, and intervocalically. /h/ occurs initially and occasionally appears intervocalically. The glottal stop forms an important grammatical morpheme in itself, the 'actual' aspect (see §2.3.5.1). Contrasts are found between /ʔ/ and /h/:
ʔíʔťᶿəŋ 'getting dressed', héʔťᶿəŋ 'breathing'; ʔəléʔ 'hear', həlí 'alive'; ʔis 'paddle', hiθ 'long time'. nəhíiməť 'ancestral name', sləhél 'stick game'.

See §1.1.1.7 for contrasts between /ʔ/ and /q, qˀ/ and between /h/ and /χ̣/.

1.1.2. Resonants.
The resonants are always voiced. The glottalized resonants are usually realized phonetically as voiced resonants with accompanying laryngeal constriction, creaky voice. However, often in multisyllabic forms they are realized as a sequence of glottal stop and resonant: ʔR when following stress and Rʔ when preceding stress. The glottalized resonants never appear in root initial position.

1.1.2.1. Since underlying glottalized resonants are not common, their distribution in roots is limited, and they often appear as sequence of glottal stop and resonant, there is a question as to whether they should be considered unit phonemes at all.

1.1.2.1.1. Raffo (1972:12-15) argues against positing underlying glottalized resonants in Songish. Most of the arguments presented there are based on comparisons to other Coast Salish languages and therefore based on other synchronic analyses. The major synchronic arguments -- no minimal pairs are found and glottalized resonants do not function as a unit in reduplicative patterns -- do not hold for Saanich. Though minimal pairs of any kind are few and far between in a language with such a large phonemic inventory as Saanich, they are especially difficult to find for plain versus glottalized resonants since the latter never occurs root initially. Nevertheless there are a few such roots: √ʔam 'fed up', √ʔamˀ 'wet'; √ʔen 'obey', √ʔenˀ 'very, too'; √kˀʷey 'unable', √kˀʷeyˀ 'hungry'; √ťm 'guess', √ťmˀ 'hit'. For many examples of reduplicated glottalized resonants see §2.3.1, §2.3.3.3, and §2.3.3.4.

1.1.2.1.2. Efrat (1978) argues for underlying glottalized resonants in Sooke and Saanich by showing that certain forms of the 'actual' aspect are best accounted for in terms of a basic glottalized/non-glottalized opposition in resonants. The analysis of the 'actual' presented here in §2.3.5 differs substantially from that given by Efrat. But, given the present analysis of the 'actual', much the same data provides somewhat different evidence for underlying glottalized resonants. Before presenting this evidence it will be useful to discuss some of the phonetic characteristics of glottalized resonants.

1.1.2.1.3. What are assumed here to be glottalized resonants are often perceived as a sequence, ʔR or Rʔ. As mentioned above, this decomposition is predictable and depends on the position of the stress: Rˀ → ʔR / V́ _____ V and Rˀ → Rʔ / V _____ V́. These are both optional, however, so that often Rˀ is perceived as Rˀ in these two environments as well as in others such as final position.
This decomposition does not occur with the glottalized obstruents because of the fundamental differences between obstruents and resonants. The perceived and distinguishing effect of the ejectives is necessarily provided by the simultaneous release of two otherwise independent articulations: oral and glottal. For the resonants, on the other hand, release is irrelevant. Simultaniety of oral and glottal articulations is an underlying target but not a surface necessity. Stress necessarily involves increased physiological tension in the laryngeal area due to increased pitch and pulmonic pressure. When a glottalized resonant follows a stressed vowel the laryngeal part of the articulation already has, in a manner of speaking, a head start. And when a glottalized resonant precedes a stressed vowel the laryngeal tension is carried beyond the oral articulation.

1.1.2.1.4. When underlying sequences of glottal stop and resonant do occur, the glottal stop sometimes tends to carry into the resonant producing a surface glottalized resonant. For example, the surface form /ʔəlénˀəxʷ/ 'hear it' is derived from two underlying morphemes: ‖√ʔəleʔ-naxʷ‖. Therefore, glottalized resonants and sequences of glottal stop and resonant are superficially indistinguishable. The underlying contrast does surface, however, in certain forms of the 'actual' aspect.

1.1.2.1.5. In §2.3.5 the rules for the placement of the 'actual' infix /ʔ/ are described. When this infix is inserted in the environment V́ _____ ʔ, a schwa is automatically inserted between the two glottal stops. In contrast,the insertion of the infix in the environment V́ _____ Rˀ or V _____ R is never accompanied by the insertion of a schwa. These environments, then, show a surface effect of the underlying distinction between Rˀ and ʔR. The 'actual' infix before the latter is accompanied by a following /ə/, with the former it is not. See §2.3.5 for examples, especially 135.

1.1.2.1.6. Since 1) minimal pairs of roots are found distinguishing R and Rˀ, 2) glottalized resonants do function as a unit in reduplication, 3) contrast can be demonstrated between Rˀ and ʔR, and 4) the decomposition of Rˀ is sporadic and phonetically justified, it is clear that an underlying glottalized resonant series must be posited for Saanich.

1.1.2.2. The labial resonants /m/ and /mˀ/ are bilabial nasals. They contrast with /n/ and /nˀ/:
smátˀθqən 'brains', nátˀθəʔ 'one'; smáčəʔ 'lump on a tree', náčəŋ 'laugh'; míɬə 'dance', níɬ 'it is'; məqˀ 'full stomach', náqəŋ 'dive'; məqʷ 'thick', nəqʷ 'sleep'; ʔam 'fed up', ʔenˀ 'very'; ʔámˀət 'sleeping', ʔínˀət 'say what'; stˀθamˀ 'bone', tˀθánəŋ 'cold'; xʷčəmˀsákʷəl 'meet someone going in opposite direction', čənˀsánˀəŋˀ 'taking a step'.

and with /ŋ/ and /ŋˀ/:
stˀθamˀ 'bone', čtˀθəŋˀ 'catch'; xʷɬ;əŋəlá? 'clear (land)', sɬáməxʷ 'rain'; smátˀθqən 'brains', ŋátˀθəɬ 'pus'; mé?kʷəɬ 'wound', ŋékʷəɬ 'chew it'; sménəš 'tobacco', sŋénət 'stone'; məqˀ 'full stomach', ŋáqˀət 'swallow it'; məsát 'fold it', ŋəséɬ; 'four times'.

and with /w/ and /wˀ/:
smákʷəɬ 'curled up', swákʷən 'loon'; swáltən 'net, web', sməlˀəq 'forget'; míɬə 'dance', wéɬət 'chase

someone away'; məsə́t 'fold it', wəsél̓s 'barking'; sx̣ə́m̓x̣əm̓ 'horsetail', sx̣ə́w q̓əm 'steelhead'; səmə́y̓ 'blanket', səẃé? 'accompany'.

1.1.2.3. The alveolars /n/ and /n̓/ are articulated at the same position as the alveolar obstruents (§1.1.1.3.). They contrast with /l/ and /l̓/:
nə́t̓$^{\theta}$ə? 'one', lət̓$^{\theta}$ 'full'; nəhíimət 'ancestral name', sləhél 'stick game'; nə́qəŋ 'dive', ləq 'sold'; čəné 'goodness!', čəlél 'soon'; sménəš 'tobacco', míləč 'mix'.

and with /ŋ/ and /ŋ̓/:
nə́t̓$^{\theta}$ə? 'one', ŋə́t̓$^{\theta}$əɬ 'pus'; nə́qəŋ 'dive', ŋə́qsən 'nose'; snas 'fat, grease', sŋass 'fourth day'; ʔín̓ət 'say what?', ʔíŋəs 'grandchild'; t̓$^{\theta}$ánəŋ 'cold', t̓$^{\theta}$áŋ̓əɬ 'chest'; qén̓ət 'rob someone', sqéŋ̓ət 'south-east wind'.

See §1.1.2.2 for contrasts with /m/ and /m̓/.

1.1.2.4. The laterals /l/ and /l̓/ are always apico-alveolar. They contrast with /y/ and /y̓/:
leʔ 'repair', √yeʔ 'go'; ləlá?θən 'plates', yəyásəŋ̓ 'playing'; sláwiʔ 'cedar bark', syáwən 'power song'; kʷə́l̓ət 'pour it', kʷəy̓əx̣t 'stirring it'.

See §1.1.1.4 for contrasts with /ɬ;/ and §1.1.2.3 for contrasts with /n/ and /n̓/.

1.1.2.5. The palatals /y/ and /y̓/ are glides, much the same as the glides in English 'yet' and 'toy'. See §1.1.2.4 for contrasts with /l/ and /l̓/, §1.5.9 on y ; č, and §1.5.7 on y ; i and y̓ ; iʔ.

1.1.2.6. The labio-velars /w/ and /w̓/ are glides much the same as the glides in English 'wet' and 'cow'. See §1.1.2.2 for contrasts with /m/ and /m̓/ and §1.5.9 on w ; kʷ.

1.1.2.7. The uvulars /ŋ/ and /ŋ̓/ are post-velar, usually produced farther toward the back of the soft palate than the velar nasal in English 'lung'. See §1.1.2.2 for contrasts with /m/ and /m̓/ and §1.1.2.3 for contrasts with /n/ and /n̓/.

1.2. Vowels.
Figure 2 shows the Saanich vowel system. It is an unusual symmetrical four vowel system in that there are no native rounded vowels[5]. The /u/ in parentheses in figure 2, like the /k/ in figure 1, occurs only in a few obvious loans. The following are the only roots recorded with this phoneme: kúk 'cook', kúl 'gold', kəpú 'coat', skʷúl 'school', músməs 'cow, beef', mətúliə 'Victoria', pús 'cat', pút 'boat', púyəkʷ 'gun', and šúkʷə 'sugar'. These forms can undergo various morphological processes, occur in various aspects, be pluralized, appear in compounds, etc.

Table 2: Vowels:

i	ə	(u)
e	a	

1.2.1. /i/ is a high front vowel usually a tense cardinal [i]. It is often lax and somewhat lower and centralized

preceding or following any of the uvular or labio-uvular consonants and preceding /ʔ/.

1.2.2. /e/ is a mid-front vowel approximating a tense cardinal [e]. It is often lax, lowered, and centralized in the environment of uvulars, labio-uvulars, and /ʔ/. It rarely appears as low as [ɛ], never as [æ]. Contiguous to a lateral, a palatal obstruent, or a velar resonant it is often quite high and difficult to distinguish from /i/.

1.2.3. /a/ is a low back vowel. It is usually tense [a] but ranges from low lax central before palatal resonants to back in the environment of uvulars, labio-uvulars, and /ʔ/.

1.2.4. /ə/ shows the greatest variation among the vowels. When stressed it is usually a mid-central [ə]. Stressed or unstressed, it is lower and back, approaching [a] when contiguous to a uvular, labio-uvular, or laryngeal. This lowering is particularly marked between two of these consonants. Otherwise, when unstressed its quality, though always lax and central, is largely determined by neighboring sounds. It varies from [ɨ] following palatals and before resonants, including /ŋ/ and /ŋ̓/ to [ʉ] before the labio-velar and labio-uvular obstruents.

1.2.5. The following list shows the vowels in contrast:
ʔíčəɬ 'scoop up', ʔačə 'request information'; ʔíɬən 'eat', ʔéɬə 'here, now' , sʔáɬqəʔ 'snake'; kʷ̓ít'$^{\theta}$ət 'butcher it', skʷ̓át'$^{\theta}$əɬ 'crooked', kʷə́t'$^{\theta}$ət 'unwind it'; čə́q 'big', číq 'snow fell'; ɬíŋəstxʷ 'put it (a pole) up', ɬə́ŋət 'weave it', ɬáŋ̓ət 'halibut'; ɬə́ptən 'eyelash', ɬáp'ən 'spoon'; ɬáw'ət 'removing the insides, hollowing it out', ɬ;éw' 'heal'; √ƛ'iʔ 'like, want', √ƛ'eʔ 'also', √ƛ'aʔ 'pacify, comfort'; mít'$^{\theta}$ət 'crush it', smét' $^{\theta}$ən' 'proud', smə́t'$^{\theta}$qən 'brains'; ŋás 'four', ŋə́sən' 'louse', ŋésən 'scrotum'.

Contrast between /ə/ and /a/ and between /ə/ and /e/ forms an important aspectual distinction. See §2.3.6.2.

1.3. Canonical forms.

1.3.1. The following list contains some examples of the most common root shapes:
CV - //√se// 'bid to do, send (someone)'
CC - //√x̌č// 'figure out, know'; //√čq// 'be big'; //√t'm'// 'be hit'
CVC - //√kʷ̓ən// 'see'; //√ʔit'$^{\theta}$// 'get undressed'; //√ʔəy'// 'be good'; //√čakʷ// 'use'; //√t'$^{\theta}$eʔ// 'on, upon, high'
CVCC - //√məlqʷ// 'salmon heart'; //√šapt// 'whistle'; //√ʔaw'kʷ̓// 'finished';
CCVC - //√t'$^{\theta}$ɬəkʷ̓// 'pinch'; //√tsas// 'poor, low class'
CVCV - //√ʔən'e// 'come'; //√ʔəsə// 'I'; //√nəkʷə// 'you'

The only sequences of two vowels recorded have been geminate non-schwas. These are phonetically realized as long vowels. They are written here as two identical vowels since they function as two separate vowels with respect to the 'actual' infix, a /ʔ/ inserted after the stressed vowel.[6] See §2.3.5.1 for details. Following are a few examples of VV in roots. See §2.2.10 for VV in suffixes.
ʔáaɬ 'go aboard', máay' 'basket', péeč'ən 'fishing rod', sčéenəxʷ 'salmon, fish', q'ʷíləš 'dance', níinč 'human corpse'.

A few borrowed words also show VV:
máal 'sledge hammer, maul', káa 'car', wíič 'wedge'.

A few roots have been recorded with more than three consonants. Of these many are obvious borrowings: ʔépəls 'apple', péstən 'America', kə́ləns 'currant', səplíl 'bread', číkmən 'iron', ʔátx̣əs 'shovel-nose canoe' [7] etc.

Of those that are not obviously borrowed most may actually involve as yet unidentified affixation[8]: kʷ̓əníŋət 'run', xʷənítəm 'white person', čənénxʷ 'fishing on a big boat with a big net', ɬníŋəɬ 'we', t' $^{\theta}$áʔkʷəs 'seven', ʔéʔčəx̣ 'crab', ɬqéləč' 'moon', etc.
The predominant root shape is CVC; over sixty percent of all recorded roots have this form. Roots involving three consonants are also very common and account for another twenty-five percent. Three consonant roots with more than one non-schwa are very rare. In fact only one such root, //√ʔitat// 'sleep', has been recorded. This root is also exceptional in that it is the only root with three obstruents to appear on the surface with two vowels, schwa or non-schwa[9]: /ʔítət/ or /ʔətát/, depending on the absence or presence of a suffix (see §1.4.3). Aside from this root, all three consonant roots appearing on the surface with two vowels (i.e. CVCVC) involve at least one resonant. Three consonant roots having no resonants are either

CVCC or CCVC.

1.3.2. When roots are extended by affixation, reduplication, etc. it is much more difficult to typify the shapes. Words with five or six affixes are not uncommon. The basic shapes of prefixes and suffixes exceed those of roots in variety, and the shape of a word can be drastically altered by one or more of the various radical morphological processes (see §2.3). Nevertheless, there are some restrictions on word shapes. Tautosyllabic strings of contiguous consonants longer than two are not common in Saanich[10]. No strings of consonants occurring initially or finally have been found longer than three and those always include at least one fricative. Initially these clusters always include at least one prefix: sk̓ʷta? 'raven', sa?sxʷ 'dew'. Strings of up to four consonants have been found word internally but these always contain morpheme and syllable boundaries: ɬq'əčsɬ;šé? 'fifty' //√ɬq'-ə=čəs=ɬše?//, xʷƛ̓'ə́qtnəč 'cougar' //xʷ√ƛ̓'əq-t=nəč//.[11]

1.4. Stress.
Stress in Saanich is phonetically much like English stress: vocalic prominence based on a combination of increased loudness and higher pitch. Three levels with respect to stress can be recognized: primary (V́), secondary (V ‘), and unstressed (V). There is one primary stressed vowel per full word (see §2 for definition). Any non-schwa vowel and some schwas that do not carry primary stress carry secondary stress. Words with more than one non-schwa are not common. /i/ is the most frequently occurring non-schwa appearing without primary stress, usually representing the vocalization of /y/ or /y'/ (see §1.5.7).
Stress placement in Saanich is a complicated matter. The system described in this section accounts for only the most common stem shapes.

1.4.1. Primary stress can fall on either the root or a suffix; prefixes are always unstressed. Three types of roots with respect to underlying stress properties can be recognized: strong, weak, and vowelless. Similarly there are four types of suffixes: strong, ambivalent, weak, and unstressed.
Strong roots tend to attract stress, losing it only to strong suffixes. For example, //√χ̣əɬ// 'feel bad' is a strong root and //=iwəs// 'body, skin' is a strong suffix. So /χ̣əɬíkʷəs/ 'suffer' is the stress assignment. The 'habitual' suffix //-nəq// has weak valence, so /χ̣ə́ɬnəq// 'habitually hurt (people's feelings)' is the stress assignment. With //=iqʷ// 'head', an ambivalent suffix the stress is on the strong root: /χ̣ə́ɬ;əqʷ/ 'headache'.
Weak roots lose stress to both strong and ambivalent suffixes. For example, //√ɬik̓ʷ// 'get hooked, snagged' is a weak root. With the ambivalent suffix //=iqʷ// 'head', mentioned above, stress is on the suffix: /ɬk̓ʷíqʷ/. With the weak suffix //=sən// 'foot', however, stress is on the root: /ɬík̓ʷsən/ 'trip, get hooked on the foot'. Weak suffixes are stressed only when following vowelless roots. See examples in §2.3.5.4, §2.5.2, and §2.5.4 for weak grammatical suffixes.
The fourth type of suffix is never stressed. Included in this group are //-əɬ// 'durative' and //-tən// 'instrument'.[12]

1.4.2. Several factors complicate this system: 1) some suffixes have two vowels, and in some of these the vowels differ in valence. The 'structured activity' suffix /-əlá?/, for instance, is a strong suffix stressed on the second vowel, the first is never stressed (see §2.5.4.1 for examples). The lexical suffix //=aθin// 'mouth', on the other hand, is an ambivalent suffix that can be stressed on either vowel depending upon which is penultimate (see §2.2.10.1.50 for examples). 2) There is a tendency to penultimate stress. Given a suffix with two vowels or two contiguous suffixes of equal valence, stress will be on the penultimate, even if the root is of greater valence than either of the two suffixes. The 'mouth' suffix mentioned above is an example of such a suffix with two vowels. The strong root //√χ̣əɬ// 'feel bad' was mentioned in §1.4.1 above and was shown to take stress from either a weak or an ambivalent suffix. But when followed by two weak suffixes such as //-ət// 'control transitive' and //-əs// 'third person subject' stress moves on to the penultimate suffix: /χ̣ɬə́təs/ 'he hurt him.' See also §1.4.3. 3) Vowelless roots with a resonant in C2 position[13] are strengthened before stress assignment to the status of weak roots. The root //√t'm'// 'hit', for example, is vowelless but a rule that inserts /ə/ between an initial obstruent and a following resonant precedes stress assignment (see §2.3.5.4 for more on this rule). The root then acts as a weak root taking stress over a weak suffix: /xʷt'ə́m'əs/ 'get hit in the face' has the weak suffix //=as// 'face' (see other examples above). This strengthening happens, however, only with vowel initial suffixes. Weak consonant initial suffixes remain stressed: /t'əm'náxʷ/ 'hit it (accidentally)' contains the 'non-control transitive' //-naxʷ// which is stressed only following vowelless roots.
Because of these complicating factors and the number of different valences it is often difficult to determine the exact stress valence of a morpheme. In order to determine the valence of a root it must be observed with a variety of suffixes. And the stress properties of these suffixes need to have been seen in a number of different stems. Since stress valence of most roots has not yet been determined, underlying forms will not be prejudiced as to stress valence throughout this sketch. See §1.5.4 on reduction of unstressed

vowels.

1.4.3. Given a form with a number of suffixes of equal valence, stress will fall on the penultimate vowel. Given any CVC root with two one-syllable suffixes, stress will fall on the first suffix unless it is weak and the second suffix is strong.
Penultimate stress placement is in some cases accompanied by metathesis of the root vowel and following obstruent. This metathesis occurs when the vowel of a strong root is a non-schwa and penultimate stress placement would otherwise cause stress to fall on a following /ə/-initial suffix. The following examples show a) a CVC root followed by one suffix and b) the same root followed by two suffixes:
1a. qʷíx̣ʷət 'miss it (a shot)'
b. qʷx̣ʷítəs 'he missed it'
2a. máčət 'aim it'
b. məčátəŋ 'it was aimed'
3a. ƛ'ép'ət 'feel it'
b. ƛ'p'étəŋ 'it was felt'
4a. kʼʷésət 'scald it'
b. kʼʷsétəs 'he scalded it'

When the penultimate syllable is a non-schwa the metathesis does not occur. Compare 5 to 4 above:
5. kʼʷəsínəs 'burn one's chest (drinking something hot)'

In example 5 stress is placed on the penultimate vowel of //=inəs// 'chest' while the vowel of the root is reduced to /ə/.

1.5. Other processes.
This section describes a few of the most common and generally applicable phonologically conditioned alternations that are not described elsewhere. Phonological alternations that are specific to particular morphemes are treated under the respective morphemes in §2. C indicates any consonant; V is any vowel; R is any resonant; - indicates a morpheme boundary; # is a word boundary; %indicates a 'mirror image' environment, i. e. if the environment specified is X _____, the process also occurs in _____ X.

1.5.1. l → l' / _____ C'
/l/ becomes glottalized preceding a glottalized cons onant. This typically occurs in certain 'plural' formations. See §2.3.3.3.
/t'éləw'/ 'arm' with 'plural' reduplication (§2.3.3.3): /t'əl't'éləw'/; /st'élənəxʷ/ 'medicine' with 'plural' reduplication: /st'əl't'élənəxʷ/; /p'əɬ;/ 'emerge, hatch' with 'actual' (§2.3.5.2) and 'plural' (§2.3.3.4): /p'ə´l'p'əɬ/ 'hatch a bunch of eggs'.

1.5.2. h → ø /C _____ , where C is an obstruent but not /?/.
This loss of /h/ includes in its environment the final obstruent of a preceding proclitic or enclitic. It is not limited to the word. This is an optional process.
/hay'/ 'finish' or /hiθ/ 'long time' preceded by /kʷɬ/ 'realized' (§2.6.1.1): /kʷɬ ay'/, /kʷɬ iθ/; /helə/ 'second person pluralizer' (§2.6.2.5.5) following /sxʷ/ 'second person subject' (§2.4.4): /sxʷ elə/; but /hay'/ 'finish' following /?əw'/ 'contemporaneous' (§2.6.1.4): /?əw' hay'/; and /həy'əw'/ 'sitting in the bow' following /?i?/ 'accompanying' (§2.6.1.3): /?i? hə´y'əw'/.

1.5.3. ø → h / ə _____ V
A əV sequence is separated by /h/. See §1.5.11 for Və sequence.
/míɬə/ 'dance' with /=ew'txʷ/ 'house': /miɬəhéw'txʷ/ 'dancehouse'; /télə/ 'money' followed by /=elə?/ 'container': /štələhélə?/ 'purse'.

1.5.4. V (unstressed) → ə
An unstressed vowel is reduced to schwa. See §1.4 on stress assignment for examples. There is only one vowel with primary stress in a word and usually all other vowels are reduced to /ə/. There are cases, however, of non-schwas occurring without primary stress. /i/ is the most common example of this. Almost all of these represent vocalizations of /y/ or /y'/. See §1.5.7.
Some suffixes, notably //-si// 'indirective' and //-i// 'persistent, resist reduction even when a following suffix carries stress: /kʼʷənitál'xʷ/ 'watch us; /x̣ətsitáŋəs/ 'fix it for me'. There is a small group of suffixes that take stress from the root but leave the root vowel intact. /=éw'txʷ/ 'house' is one of these suffixes. When following /√telə/ 'money': /tèləhéw'txʷ/ 'bank'. With other suffixes such as /=élə?/ 'container' the vowel of the root reduces: /tələhélə?/ 'purse'. Other suffixes that do not cause reduction of the root vowel are /=iɬč/

'plant', /-naŋət/ 'non-control middle' and /=sis/ 'hand'.
The /i/ of one form of the reduplicated 'plural' (§2.3.3.1) never reduces. For example, /smə́yəθ/ 'deer' with /=aɬ/ 'offspring': /sməyəθáɬ/ 'fawn' and in the ' plural' /sməmìyəθáɬ/ 'some fawns'.
There are a few loan words that appear with a non-schwa that does not carry primary stress. These include: /lisék/ 'sack', /sə́nti/ 'Sunday', and /stíqiw/ 'horse'.
There are a few words that do not obviously fall into one of these categories of exceptions. These include: /si?ém'/ 'rich, high class', /pi?átəɬ/ 'duck hunt', /si?étən/ 'hair (on head)', and /sx̣ʷi?ém'/ 'fairy tale'. The unstressed non-schwa in each of these may represent a vocalization of /y/ or /y'/ but there is at present no other evidence for such an analysis.

1.5.5. ə → V % V́? _____
Unstressed /ə/ assimilates to a stressed vowel opposite /?/. Schwas affected by this rule often remain lax and unstressed and therefore remain in surface contrast with non-schwas. This process is optional.
/ye?/ 'go' with 'first person subordinate subject' /-ən/ (§2.4.4): yé?en; /ƛ'e?/ 'taste, try' with /-ət/ 'control transitive' (§2.5.2.1): t'é?et; /ƛ'i?/ 'want, like' followed by /ə/ 'yes/no question marker' (§2.6.2.1.1): ƛ'í? i; /ƛ'$^{\theta}$əkʷə?/ 'left' with /=iw's/ 'body': t'$^{\theta}$əkʷi?íw's; /st'éqə?/ 'bruise' with /=aləs/ 'eye': št'əqa?áləs 'black eye'; /ƛ'a?/ 'comfort (someone)' followed by /-ət/ 'control transitive': ƛ'á? at.

1.5.6. ə (unstressed) → ø / _____ y or y'
See §1.5.7 below for examples.

1.5.7. y → i / C _____ C or #
y' → i? / C _____
This process is also usually accompanied by loss of //ə// (see §1.5.6).
/?əy'/ 'good' followed by a suffix that will take stress such as /=enkʷəs/ 'stomach' loses the /ə/: /?i?énkʷəs/ 'brave'; with /=iimə?/ 'appearance': /?i?íimə?/ 'neat, tidy'; /čey/ 'work' with 'characteristic' reduplicative pattern (§2.3.1): /čéyči/ 'diligent'; /kʷə́y'əx̣/ 'move back and forth' followed by the suffix /=sis/ 'hand': /kʷi?x̣sísəŋ/ 'knit'; /k'ʷey/ 'be hungry' in the 'actual' (čV́+ with glottalization of the resonant): /k'ʷek'ʷi?/.

1.5.8. ø → ə / #C _____ C#
This environment applies only to vowelless roots occurring without suffixation. See §2.3.5.4. for discussion.

1.5.9. y → č and w → kʷ
The environments for these processes have not been, and perhaps cannot be, determined. These two alternations are not fully automatic; there are many cases of /y/ and /w/ in various environments that never alternate with obstruents, and there are many cases of /č/ and /kʷ/ that never alternate with resonants. Nevertheless, a few general observations can be made regarding those resonants that do alternate.
First, in the 'actual' aspect the resonant is always preserved by glottalization since all non-initial resonants in a word become glottalized in this aspect (see §2.3.5): /kʷíntəl/ 'fight with someone', /kʷíw'ən'təl'/ 'fighting' (this latter form shows C1V́+ reduplication and indicates that the underlying form of the root is //√win//); /čə́kʷəsət/ 'show off', /čéw'sət/ 'showing off' (//√čəw//, the change of underlying root /ə/ to /e/ regularly accompanies the 'actual'); /həqékʷəɬ/ 'launch a canoe', /həqéw'əɬ/ 'launching a canoe'; /nə́čəŋ/ 'laugh', /nə́y'əŋ'/ 'laughing'; /čéčəs/ 'pursue', /čé?is/ 'pursuing' (the latter shows subsequent decomposition and vocalization of /y'/); /xʷə́čət/ 'wake him', /xʷə́y't/ 'waking him'.
While cases of 'non-actual' intervocalic /y/ and /w/ are rare, there are a number of cases of /č/ and /kʷ/ preceding the /?/ infix of the 'actual': /?íčəɬ/ 'scoop', /?í?čəɬ/ 'scooping'; /θákʷət/ 'squeal on someone', /θá?kʷət/ 'squealing on someone'. These must, therefore, represent underlying /č/ and /kʷ/, while those that alternate represent underlying /y/ and /w/[14].
Second, in cases where /y/ (or /i/ from /y/) appears in other than root initial position and stress precedes it in the word, it remains a resonant. But when subsequent suffixation causes stress to shift so that it follows the resonant, it shifts to /č/. For example, in /čey/ 'work' and /čéyči/ 'diligent' stress precedes the resonant, but when /-él'ŋən/ 'desiderative' takes stress from the root: /čəčél'ŋən/ 'want to work'; the underlying form of the root in /sɬéni?/ 'woman' must be //√ɬeny// and the /y/ surfaces as /č/ when stress follows: /sɬənəčá?aɬ/ 'girl'. No clear cases of this have been observed for /w/ ; /kʷ/.
One case of apparent free variation has been recorded for each of these alternations: /qə́wəŋ/ ; /qə́kʷəŋ/ 'bake' and /θə́yəŋ/; /θə́čəŋ/ 'bleed'. In each of these two pairs native speakers feel no particular preference for either one; one is just as good as the other.

1.5.10. ø → ə / √C _____ CC
There are no occurrences of root initial strings of three consonants. For example, //t's// 'break' with /-ət/

'control transitive': /ƛ'sə́t/ 'break it'; but with /-nax^{w}/ 'non-control transitive': /ƛ'əsnáx^{w}/. The /ə/ breaks up the consonant cluster. Prefixes do not provide environment for the application of this process: /st'sə́ts/ 'his breaking it'.

1.5.11. ə → ø / V _____
Whereas a əV sequence is separated by an epenthetic /h/, a Və sequence is resolved by deletion of the /ə/. Many examples of this can be seen where the /-si/ 'indirective' or /-i/ 'persistent' precedes /-ət/ 'control transitive'. See §2.2.1 and §2.5.3.1. Also, //√se// 'bid to do, send' followed by /-ət/ 'control transitive': /set/ 'send him'; //√həlí// 'be alive' with /-ət/: /həlítəŋ/ 'he was revived'.

Notes to §1.

1. Although labio-uvular is not, strictly speaking, a place of articulation different from uvular, it is, within Salish linguistics the traditional way of presenting the data.

2. Typical too of many languages of the Northwest. See Thompson (1979a).

3. /θ/ (but not /tθ/) also appears in Pentlatch (Kinkade, p.c.). See Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) for details on the phonological developments in the various Straits Salish dialects.

4. In my early transcriptions forms sometimes show /s/ and other times /θ/. This may reflect a certain amount of free variation, but I suspect that the variation is entirely in my non-Saanich ear. Informants coming to understand that I was interested in phonetic accuracy later insisted on one or the other phoneme. In my later transcriptions the variation is minimal.

5. One other Salish language, Tillamook, has such a system (Thompson and Thompson, 1966), but that language lacks labials entirely. Klallam cognates show /u/ for Saanich /a/ and /a/ for Saanich /e/. The Klallam vowels apparently reflect those of the Proto-Straits system. See Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) for details.

6. Historically, these geminate vowels have arisen from the loss of an intervening consonant. For example, Kl sčénənəx^{w} : Ld sčədádx^{w} (Hess, p.c.) : Sa sčéenəx^{w} 'salmon'; Kl muhúy' : Sg məháy' (Hess, p.c.) : Sa máay' 'basket'.

7. This last is borrowed from Southern Wakashan (Hess, p.c.) the others from Chinook Jargon and English.

2. Morphology.

2.0.1. There are two types of words in Saanich: full words and particles. The particles are function morphemes that cannot stand alone. They are cliticized to full words but do not form phonological parts of them. See §2.6 for descriptions of each of them. Full words, on the other hand, are predicative. Any full word can stand alone and form a sentence by itself.

2.0.2. Each full word has at least one root, a basic content morpheme. Most roots are free and predicative. So, most roots can act as full words and therefore sentences themselves. Since all full words are predicative, there are neither structural criteria nor usefulness in categorizing roots or any full word in terms of noun[1], verb, adjective, etc.

2.0.3. Although roots can stand alone as predicates, most often they occur with one or more morphological processes including prefixation (§2.1), suffixation (§2.2), and various radical morphological processes (§2.3). These processes then usually form a stem. A stem is any predicative form which may undergo further morphological processes. Therefore, the bare free root is the most basic stem.

2.0.4. In most cases the addition of an affix to a stem forms a new stem. There are some affixes, however, that must be accompanied by further affixation. The 'transitive' suffixes (§2.5), for example, must be followed by at least one other morpheme such as an object suffix. It will therefore be useful to distinguish between stems and bases. A base is any form that includes a root and may undergo further morphological processes but is not necessarily a full word. If a base is a full word it is also a stem. All stems are bases but not all bases are stems.

2.0.5. The root ‖√t'$^{\theta}$is‖ 'punch, pound', for example, can occur alone meaning 'someone got punched.' It is a root since it is a single, basic, content morpheme. It is also a base for other morphemes, and, since it can stand as a predicate, it is also a stem. Adding the lexical suffix ‖=as‖ 'face' (see §2.2.10) and the 'locative' prefix ‖x^{w}-‖ (see §2.1.3) produces the stem /x^{w}t'$^{\theta}$sás/ 'someone got hit in the face.' The addition of ‖-ət‖ 'control transitive' produces a base but not a stem. With the third person object (see §2.4.3) a full word is produced: /x^{w}t'$^{\theta}$sást/ 'punch him in the face.'

2.0.6. This section primarily divides and discusses the morphology of Saanich along formal lines. The first three subsections deal with prefixation (§2.1), suffixation (§2.2) and radical morphological processes (§2.3), and the last section describes the particles (§2.6). Two subsections diverge from this strictly formal break-down. Person (§2.4) and voice (§2.5) involve prefixation, suffixation, and particles, but these two functional subsystems are of such importance in the structure of Saanich it seems best that each be discussed in a separate subsection.
In the example sentences in this section, Saanich forms with no bracketing or those bracketed by single slashes are given in the form of a phonological level of surface contrast. Each such example is followed by an English translation in single quotes. This is then followed when it is particularly relevant by an underlying form bracketed by double slashes. A morpheme by morpheme gloss of the example is often given in square brackets. **Note to §2.0.**

1. See Kinkade (1983) for a discussion of the lack of categories such as ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ for Salish in general.

2.1. Prefixation.

This section lists and describes all prefixes observed in Saanich except the two possessive prefixes (see §2.4.2). The prefixes are listed here approximately in order of their frequency of occurrence. Prefixes are never stressed and are independent of the radical morphological processes (see §2.3).

2.1.1. ‖s-‖ 'nominalizer'.

2.1.1.1. A prefix having the same shape and function as this one appears in all of the Salish languages that have been described to date. It has been referred to by other names such as 'substantive' (Hess,1967) and 'absolute' (Mattina,1973), but 'nominalizer' is the most commonly used label. One reason for the variety of terminology is that 'nominalizer' can be misleading. This term is ordinarily used in European and other languages to refer to a morpheme which functions to derive one syntactic category, 'noun', from another such as 'verb' or 'adjective'. As in many Salish languages, the syntactic categories of 'noun' and 'verb' are not usefully distinguished in Saanich. Therefore, the ‖s-‖ prefix is really something quite different from what is usually thought of as a nominalizer.

What ‖s-‖ has in common with nominalizers in more familiar languages is not the syntactic function of converting one category into another, but the semantic function of converting a form that refers to a process into one that refers to an entity. Forms with ‖s-‖, like those without, can function as arguments to predicates (examples 1-3) or as predicate heads themselves (examples 4-11). They can take voice, person, and aspect morphology the same as any other predicative word.

1. √wəs-él̓s tsə s√qéx̣əʔ 'The dog barks.' [√bark-STRUC(ACT) DEM S√dog]
2. √ʔəɬən-í-stxʷ sən tsə s√qéx̣əʔ 'I fed the dog.' [√eat-REL(‖-ŋiy‖)-CAUS-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM S√dog]
3. √x̣č-í-t sxʷ θə nə-s√čéʔčəʔ 'You know my (lady) friend.' [√figure out, know-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 2SUBJ DEM 1POS-S√friend]
4. s√ʔ(əl)íɬən kʷəʔ 'It's a lot of food.' [S√eat(PL) INFORM]
5. nə-s√ʔəŋ̓á(ʔ)-sə 'I'm giving it to you.' [1POS-S√give(ACT)-(CTRAN)-2OBJ]
6. sƛ̓éʔnəq sən 'I'm giving a potlatch.'

2.1.1.2. Many roots always seem to occur with the ‖s-‖ 'nominalizer' (examples 7-10).

7. swáy̓qəʔ 'Man; it's a man.'
8. sɬéniʔ 'Woman; it's a woman.'
9. snáxʷəɬ 'It's a canoe.'
10. sŋénət 'It's a rock, mountain.'

These clearly refer to common substantive entities and are translated as nouns or as "it's a ..." plus noun. There are also many roots that never occur with this prefix and these are just as surely translated as nouns. Two classes of roots can be identified with respect to this morpheme: those that take ‖s-‖ and those that do not. This distinction is most clearly seen in forms with the 'possessive' pronominals (see §2.4.2). Some roots must have the 'nominalizer' when in a 'possessive' form (example 11), while others never do (example 12).

11. nə-s√ʔíɬən 'It's my food.'
12. nə√tén 'It's my mother.'

Though this distinction may reflect an older noun/verb distinction, it plays no further syntactic role in modern Saanich.

2.1.1.3. Forms with ‖s-‖ ‘nominalizer’, though usually translated as nouns, can be seen to be "verbal" in translation (see examples 5-6 above). Such forms with a subject pronominal show that this morpheme is marked ‘non-control’.
13. s√ʔíʔɬəṉ sən ‘I’m getting eaten up (by insect pests).’
14. √ʔíʔɬəṉ sən ‘I’m eating.’
In examples 13 and 14 ‖ʔiɬən‖ ‘eat’ is a ‘control’ root. The subject is a controling agent in 14 without the ‖s-‖, but in 13, with the ‖s-‖, the subject is not in control. See §2.5.1 for more on ‘control’.

2.1.1.4. An initial /s/ in borrowed words is readily treated as an ‖s-‖ ‘nominalizer’.
15. s-tə√tákən ‘Little sock.’ [S-DIM√sock] (stákən ‘sock’)
16. s√w(əl)étə ‘Sweaters.’ [S√sweater(PL)] (swétə ‘sweater’)
17. s-kʷú√kʷəl̓ sən ‘I’m going to school.’ [S-ACT√school 1SUBJ] (skʷúl ‘school’)
Examples 15 to 17 show English loans with various radical morphological processes (see §2.3). In each of these the rule for placement of the
reduplicative or infixed morpheme involves reference to the first consonant of the root. In each of these the borrowed /s/ is ignored, as would be any prefix.

2.1.1.5. The ‖s-‖ ‘nominalizer’ serves a syntactic function in introducing subordinate clauses that have subjects marked by the ‘possessive’ pronominals. See §2.6.4.2.

2.1.1.6. This morpheme varies in surface form only when preceding ‖xʷ-‖ ‘locative’. See §2.1.3.3.

2.1.2. ‖əs-‖ ‘stative$_1$‘. This is a frequently occurring aspectual morpheme. It is opposed to ‘non-stative’ and indicates that the subject is, was, or will be in a state or condition characterized by or the result of that which is indicated in the stem.

2.1.2.1. This morpheme very often occurs with the ‘resultive’ (§2.3.6) and the ‘durative’ (§2.2.2). See under those sections for examples.

2.1.2.2. By far the most common surface form of the ‖əs-‖ ‘stative’ is /s-/. The form /əs-/ has been observed only following the ‖txʷ-‖ ‘mutative’ prefix. Compare especially examples 18 and 19.
18. txʷ-s√ʔíɬən sən səʔ ‘I’m going to get some food.’ [MUT-S√eat 1SUBJ FUT]
19. txʷ-əs√ʔíɬən sən səʔ ‘I’m going to eat first (before I go).’
20. txʷ-əs√náẇ-əɬ ‘He got inside.’ [MUT-STAT√be inside(RS)-DUR]
21. txʷ-əs√x̣éɬ-əlɬ ‘He got sick.’
22. txʷ-əs√čéṉ-əɬ ‘He’s been buried (for quite a while).’ [MUT-STAT√bury-DUR]
23. kʷɬ txʷ-əs√kʷ̓ás-əɬ ‘It’s already counted.’ [ALREADY MUT-STAT√count(RES)-DUR]
See §2.1.5 on the meaning and function of the ‘mutative’.

2.1.2.3. Since most occurrences of the ‘stative’ are identical in appearance to ‖s-‖ ‘nominalizer’ it is usually difficult formally to distinguish the two. It has not been possible to tell if the two morphemes cooccur since no sequence of two identical consonants appear in initial position[1].

2.1.2.4. The ‘stative’ can usually be clearly distinguished from the ‘nominalizer’ in the meaning of the

form. The following examples show forms referring to qualities and characteristic outcomes rather than to entities; hence the /s/ is known to represent the 'stative' and not the 'nominalizer'.

24. sc̓əpx̣ 'It's filthy.'
25. slíləqʷ 'It's slack.'
26. sléṯ̓θəɬ 'It's full.'
27. shíʔələkʷ 'He's happy.'
28. smáy̓əʔ 'It's cheap.'
29. sxʷəxʷékʷ̓təŋ 'He's drunk.'
30. stéx̣əɬ sxʷ 'You're wrong.'
31. sq̓éθəɬ 'It's not enough.'
32. sθéṉəč 'It's leaning (against something).'
33. sθəθím̓əʔ 'It's frozen.'
34. ʔəw̓ sx̌̓áx̌̓əm̓ sxʷ 'You're right.'
35. sqʷ̓áqʷ̓iʔ 'He's dead.'

2.1.2.5. The ‖əs-‖ 'stative' has a special surface realization when preceding ‖xʷ-‖ 'locative'. See §2.1.3.3.

2.1.3. ‖xʷ-‖ 'locative'.

2.1.3.1. This morpheme indicates that the situation referred to by the predicate involves a particular location. Though it is often translated as English "on the ..." (examples 36 and 37), it is usually not directly represented in the English at all[2] (examples 38-47).

36. xʷ√t̓áḿ=əs sən 'I got hit on the face.' [LOC√hit=face 1SUBJ]
37. xʷ√čx̣ʷ=ás-s-əs 'He spat on my face.' [LOC√spit=face-(CTRAN)-1OBJ-3SUBJ]
38. xʷ√ʔəmət=néč sən 'I'm squatting.' [LOC√sit=tail 1SUBJ]
39. xʷ√x̌̓áqt=nəč 'Cougar.' [LOC√long=tail]
40. xʷ√q̓ál̓=ẇ̓əɬ 'He's stingy.'
41. xʷ√ɬəŋ=sís-əlaʔ 'He separated (people fighting).' [LOC√separate=hand-STRUC]
42. xʷ√ɬx̣=ás-t 'She painted her face.'
43. xʷ√šc̓=əẇ̓éč-t sxʷ 'You spanked him.' [LOC√spank=bottom-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 2SUBJ]
44. xʷ√sénəč=qən 'Saanich language.' [LOC√Saanich=throat]
45. xʷ√məkʷ=θí-t sxʷ 'You kissed him.' [LOC√curl up, pucker=mouth-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 2SUBJ]
46. xʷ√t̓θəʔ=wéč-əŋ sxʷ ʔal̓ 'Just sit down.' [LOC√on, upon, high=bottom-CMDL 2SUBJ LIMIT]
47. xʷ√nəqʷ=ás-əŋ 'He nodded his head.'

2.1.3.2. The 'locative' has been recorded with around two hundred different stems. Approximately eighty percent of these contain lexical suffixes. Lexical suffixes need not occur with the 'locative' (see §2.2.10 for examples). Examples 36 to 47 all involve lexical suffixes Examples 48 to 54 show the 'locative' without lexical suffixes.

48. xʷ√ɬəŋ-əláʔ 'He cleared it (land).' [LOC√separate-STRUC]
49. xʷ√qáp̓-ət sən 'I patched it.' [LOC√patch-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ]
50. xʷ√kʷén̓-ət sən 'I poured it (from one container to another).'
51. xʷʔáy̓əŋ qʷáʔ 'Clean water.'
52. xʷqáləŋ qʷáʔ 'Dirty water.'
53. xʷlámi 'Lummi people.'

54. xʷsénəčəɬ ‘It belongs to Saanich.’

2.1.3.3. The ‘locative’ can be preceded by either ‖s-‖ ‘nominalizer’ or ‖əs-‖ ‘stative’. The /s/ of either of these two prefixes becomes /š/ when preceding the ‖x+-‖ ‘locative’. The /xʷ/ of the ‘locative’ then usually is deleted except when a /ʔ/ follows (examples 55-60). A few cases show apparent free variation between /š/ and /šxʷ/ for these combinations of prefixes (examples 61-64). In the great majority of cases when either the ‘nominalizer’ (examples 65-72) or the ‘stative’ (examples 73-75) occur with ‘locative’ the /xʷ/ deletes[3].
55. š-xʷ√ʔəp-ál=qən ‘Hair brush.’ [S-LOC√stroke-CONNEC=hair]
56. š-xʷ√ʔəxʷí-sət ‘Broom.’ [S-LOC√sweep-REFL]
57. šxʷʔíləx̣ən ‘Sides of the body.’
58. šxʷʔəẇəl̓íẇən ‘Den, burrow, lair.’
59. š-xʷ√ʔiʔ=élaʔ ‘Bladder.’ [S-LOC√good=container]
60. š-xʷ√ʔiʔ=áč ‘Tide pool.’ [S-LOC√good=bottom]
61. šxʷnéʔəm ‘Indian doctor.’
62. šnéʔəm ‘Indian doctor.’
63. nəšxʷqʷéləkʷən ‘My feelings.’
64. nəšqʷéləkʷən ‘My feelings.’
65. š√kʷən=ás-əŋ ‘Mirror; window.’ [S,LOC√see=face-CMDL]
66. š√t̓ᶿəʔ=wéč-əŋ ‘Chair.’ (Compare with example 46 above.)
67. š√pxʷ=íqʷ-əŋ ‘Comb.’
68. šnáẇəs ‘Cloud.’ (xʷnáẇəs ‘cloudy’)
69. š√məlyí=čəs ‘Wedding ring.’ [S,LOC√wed=hand]
70. š√t̓áq=əθ ‘Whetstone.’ [S,LOC√sharpen=edge]
71. š√tələh=élaʔ ‘Purse.’ [S,LOC√money=container]
72. š-k̓ʷí+√wəẇt̓ᶿ √šíp-ən ‘Butcher knife.’ [S,LOC-ACT+√butcher √whittle-INST]
73. kʷɬ txʷ-əš√ɬáẇ-əɬ ‘It’s done (a canoe).’ [ALREADY MUT-STAT,LOC√hollow out-DUR]
74. kʷɬ šnáŋ̓əs ‘It’s folded up.’
75. kʷɬ š√ɬéŋ̓=əs ‘It’s already cleared (land).’ [ALREADY STAT,LOC√separate(ACT)=face] (Compare with example 48 above.)

2.1.3.4. Two words have been observed to have a /xʷ-/ prefix but it does not seem to have a ‘locative’ meaning. Furthermore these cases
precede rather than follow an /s-/ prefix.
76. xʷ-s√ʔán-əɬ ‘He’s obedient.’ (√ʔén-ə-sə sən ‘I obey you.’)
77. xʷ-s√ʔáč+əč ‘He stutters.’

2.1.4. ‖txʷ-‖ ‘mutative’. This morpheme indicates a gradual change of state. It precedes the ‘nominalizer’ and ‘stative’ prefixes. With the ‖s-‖ ‘nominalizer’ and ‘control’ roots ‖txʷ-‖ can convey the meaning ‘have ...’ or ‘come into the possession of ...’. See examples 18 above and 78 below for ‖txʷ-‖ with the ‖s-‖ ‘nominalizer’. See also examples 19 to 23 for ‘mutative’ with the ‘stative’ prefix.
78. txʷ-s√téqəʔ sən ‘I got a bruise.’ [MUT-S√bruise, salal berry 1SUBJ]

2.1.5. ‖č-‖ ‘have’.

2.1.5.1. This morpheme indicates possession, but unlike the 'possessive' pronominals it does not indicate person. The possessor is the subject of the predicate to which this prefix is attached. It differs from the 'possessive' pronominals also in that it does not necessarily imply ownership. Examples 79 and 80 show two Saanich renderings of the same English sentence.

79. √níʔ kʷsə nə√télə 'I have some money.' [√exist DEM 1POS√money]

80. č√télə sən 'I have some money.' [HAVE√money 1SUBJ]

The major semantic difference between these is that in 79 the money must belong to the possessor, where in 80 the money is not necessarily
the subject's property. Also, 79 implies that the possessor has money put away, not necessarily with him, where 80 implies that the subject is carrying money.

2.1.5.2. The 'possessive' pronominals can, in fact, cooccur as in example 81.

81. nə-s-č√ʔíɬən sən səʔ 'I'll keep this for my own food.' [1POS-S-HAVE√eat 1SUBJ FUT] (Compare with /nəsʔíɬən kʷəʔ/ 'It's my food' and examples 83-84 below.)

It seems, however, that the 'possessive' affix must be the same person as the subject in constructions like example 81. Sentences with different persons in these positions were consistently rejected. Meanings such as 'I have your ...' are not rendered with ‖č-‖ 'have', but with predicates involving the root ‖√kʷən‖ 'take, grasp' in the 'persistent' aspect (§2.2.1) as in example 82.

82. √kʷən-í-t sən kʷsə nˀ-s√nə́xʷəɬ 'I have your canoe.' [√take, grasp-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM 2POS-S√canoe]

2.1.5.3. The ‖s-‖ 'nominalizer' is usually deleted when preceded by ‖č-‖ 'have'. In most cases the deletion is optional. Examples 83 and 84 are apparently identical in meaning and equally acceptable.

83. č-s√ʔíɬən sən 'I have some food.'

84. č√ʔíɬən sən 'I have some food.'

However, forms with two ‖s-‖ prefixes are rejected. Compare 83 to example 81 above. 81 must represent a renominalization but /*nəsčsʔíɬən sən səʔ/ is rejected.

2.1.5.4. The 'have' prefix can occur in predicate heads and have a "verb-like" translation. In these cases it has the sense of 'come into the possession of something by means of ...'.

85. č√qə́čəʔ tsə √χə́š-ən 'The trap caught it.' [HAVE√catch DEM √trap-INST]

86. č√tˀᶿə́ŋˀ sən ʔə kʷs s√tˀᶿə́qʷiʔ 'I caught a spring salmon.' [HAVE√snag, snare, hook, pinch 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√spring salmon]

2.1.5.5. Several forms show ‖č-‖ 'have' with special meaning.

87. č√kʷéʔ ʔə tɬ s√qʷél 'He's a gossiper.' [HAVE√possession OBL DEM S√speak(RES)]

88. kʷɬ č√qéq 'She gave birth (had a baby).' [ALREADY HAVE√baby]

89. kʷɬ č√ŋə́nəʔ 'She gave birth (had a child).' [ALREADY HAVE√son, daughter]

90. č√tˀᶿə́ɬəŋ sən 'I have a cold.' [HAVE√cold weather 1SUBJ]

Example 87 illustrates ‖č-‖ with the emphatic possession root (see §2.4.2.5). A more literal translation of 87 might be 'he indeed has the word.' The last three examples, and especially 90, may be calques from English.

2.1.6. ‖šxʷ-‖ 'reason for; means to'. This prefix is not common. It usually appears in subordinate clauses and is often translated "that's why ..."

91. √ẋəč-əlá? ʔaɬ šxʷ√ʔənʔé-s ‘Just to nose around is why he came.’ [√figure out-STRUC LIMIT REAS√come-3POS]
92. √ẋʷəníŋ kʷəče ʔən̓-šxʷ√yé? ‘Why did you go?’ [√how EXPLAN 2POS-(S)?-REAS√go]
93. √níɬ ʔəẇ šxʷ√háy-s ‘That’s the end.’ [√it is CONTEMP REAS√finish-3POS]
It cannot be determined whether ‖šxʷ-‖ is preceded by ‖s-‖ ‘nominalizer’ or not.

2.1.7. ‖čən̓-‖ ‘time of’ . The following four examples are the only occurrences of this morpheme in the corpus[4]. In each case it is clearly segmentable and its meaning is evident.
94. čən̓√kʷ̓éɬəs ‘Summer time.’ [TIME√hot]
95. čən̓√θáqi? ‘It’s sockeye time.’
96. čən̓√tθ́áɬəŋ ‘Winter.’
97. čən̓√téŋ ‘When?’ [TIME√what]

2.1.8. ‖šxʷ-‖ ‘functioning as, acting in the capacity of’. This morpheme precedes the ‖s-‖ ‘nominalizer’ and indicates affinal relationship. It resembles the use of "in-law" in English but note /slé?əɬ/ ‘father/mother-in-law’ does not have this prefix and example 98 does not have this meaning.
98. šxʷs?ákʷəɬ ‘Step-parent.’
99. šxʷsílə? ‘Spouse’s grandparent.’ (sílə? ‘grandparent’)
100. šxʷ?éləs ‘Woman’s sister-in-law.’
101. šxʷ?íŋəs ‘Grandchild’s spouse.’ (?íŋəs ‘grandchild’)
102. šxʷséčs ‘Uncle/aunt’s spouse.’

2.1.9. ‖nə-‖ ‘basic color’. This prefix appears only with five roots referring to color. These roots can occur without this prefix when occurring with ‖-əl̓‖ ‘modified color’ (§2.2.9).
103. nəkʷím ‘Red.’
104. nəqʷéy ‘Grass green.’
105. nəpáxʷ ‘Brown.’
106. nəxʷík̓ʷ ‘Gray.’
107. nəq̓íẋ ‘Black.’

2.1.10. ‖čə-‖ ‘single, alone’. This prefix has been seen in only two stems.
108. čəswáy̓qə? ‘Bachelor.’ (swáy̓qə? ‘man’)
109. čəsɬéni? ‘Spinster.’ (sɬéni? ‘woman’)

2.1.11. ‖ɬ-‖ ‘partake’. This prefix is segmentable in a number of forms but the meaning is unclear. The gloss here is especially suggested by examples 111 and 117. Only vague connections can be seen in the meanings of the other examples.
110. ɬ√qít ‘Clothes.’ (š√qít=əs ‘headband’)
111. ɬ√p̓áx̌-əŋ sən ‘I smoke (cigarettes).’ (sp̓áx̌əŋ ‘smoke from a fire’)
112. xʷ-ɬ√qál̓=wə̓ɬ ‘Stingy.’ [LOC-PART√bad=canoe]
113. ɬsəq̓ ‘Half.’ (√səq̓ ‘split’)
114. ?əwə sɬq̓íl̓ ‘He’s not sure.’ (√q̓il̓ ‘believe’)
115. ?əwə kʷə nəsɬq̓íl̓ ‘I don’t believe it.’
116. sčéy̓n̓ sən ?əẇ sɬq̓íl̓ ‘I’m very sure.’
117. √?əwə sən nə-s√x̌íʔ kʷə nə-s-ɬ√?ésx̣ʷ ‘I don’t want to eat seal.’ [√not 1SUBJ 1POS-S√want SUB

1POS-S-PART√seal] (Compare /ʔə́wə sən nəsƛ̓íʔ kʷə nəsčéy/ 'I don't want to work.')
These examples show that this prefix follows all other prefixes.

Notes to §2.1.

1. It would probably be safe to assume that these two morphemes can cooccur with the 'nominalizer' preceding the 'stative', since this is the order of their cognates in the other Salish languages. See Hess and Hilbert (1980:103) for Lushootseed and Thompson and Thompson (in press) for Thompson Salish.

2. In some of these a locative interpretation is more obscure than in others. It may be that there is more than one morpheme represented here. Historically, at least, this prefix seems to reflect several morphemes. Lushootseed (Hess, 1970) has a number of prefixes containing /xʷ/ whose meanings seem to be collected in Saanich ‖xʷ-‖.

3. It would be possible to analyze these as a single prefix ‖šxʷ-‖ meaning something like 'instrument' in forms such as examples 55 and 56. Hess (1970) describes a Lushootseed prefix /səxʷ-/ that is apparently cognate with what I have analyzed here as a sequence of two prefixes.

4. Hess (p.c.) suggests that this is actually a root that commonly enters into compounds.

2.2. Suffixation.

This section documents all Saanich suffixes discovered to date except those that indicate person (see §2.4) and voice (see §2.5). The suffixes listed here include the large set of lexical suffixes (§2.2.10) and a number of other suffixes used to indicate various aspects and modes.

2.2.1. ‖-í‖ 'persistent'.[1] This is an aspectual morpheme opposed to unmarked 'non-persistent'. It indicates that the activity expressed in the stem to which it is attached continues past inception as a state. The absence or presence of this suffix allows differences in meaning comparable to the differences in such English pairs as 'figure out/know', 'look at/watch', and 'take/hold'.

This affix is morphophonemically unusual in that it has qualities of the radical morphological processes (see §2.3). It is classified here as a suffix since it always follows and never directly affects the root phonologically. But it does directly affect other suffixes. ‖-í‖ 'persistent' is what might be called a " parasitic" morpheme. Its placement requires the presence of another suffix having an underlying /ə/ that acts as "host". This /í/ assumes the position of the rightmost /ə/ of a host suffix that is not preceded by a suffix with a non-schwa. This morpheme has never been recorded occurring without another suffix having an underlying ‖ə‖.

A possible formal analysis would consider this suffix to be initially placed immediately after the root. A special metathesis rule something like:

[+PERSIS] [+OBST] ə
1 2 3 → ø 2 1

then determines its surface position. The [+PERSIS] must be specified since other morphemes having /í/ do not undergo this process. See, for example, ‖-si‖ 'indirective' (§2.5.3.1). Examples 1 to 4 are analyzed with such a rule, and the rule that deletes /ə/ following another vowel (see §1.5.11) is assumed.

1. kʷənít sən 'I watch it.' ‖√kʷən-i-ət-ø sən‖ [√see-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ] (kʷánət sən 'I look at it.')
2. kʷənís sxʷ 'You watch me.' ‖√kʷən-i-ət-s sxʷ‖ [√see-PERSIS-CTRAN-1OBJ 2SUBJ] (kʷánəs sxʷ 'You look at me.')
3. kʷənsí sən 'I watch you.' ‖√kʷən-i-ət-sə sən‖ [√see-PERSIS-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ] (kʷánəsə sən 'I look at you.')
4. kʷənitáɬxʷ sxʷ 'You watch us.' ‖√kʷən-i-ət-áɬxʷ sxʷ‖ [√see-PERSIS-CTRAN-1PLOBJ 2SUBJ] (kʷənətáɬxʷ sxʷ 'You look at us.')

The rule that deletes the 'control transitive' /t/ when followed by /s/ (see §2.5.2.1) must precede the special 'persistent' metathesis rule to account for forms like example 3.

In §2.4.5.6 a complete object and subject paradigm is given for ‖√x̣č‖ 'figure out' with ‖-í‖ 'persistent'. The form with third person subject and first person singular object would be analyzed as in 5.

5. x̣əčsís 'He knows me.' ‖√x̣č-i-ət-s-əs‖ [√figure out-PERSIS-CTRAN-1OBJ-3SUBJ] (x̣čásəs 'He figured me out.')

Examples 6 to 9 illustrate ‖-í‖ 'persistent' with another common root, ‖√kʷən‖ 'take, grasp'.

6. kʷənít sən səʔ 'I'll hold it.' ‖√kʷən-i-ət-ø sən səʔ‖ [√take, grasp-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ FUT] (kʷánət sən səʔ 'I'll take it.')
7. kʷəntís 'He held it.' ‖√kʷən-i-ət-ø-əs‖ [√take, grasp-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ-3SUBJ] (kʷánətəs 'He took it.')
8. ŋə́nˀ ʔənˀtélə kʷəntíxʷ 'You've got lots of money with you.' ‖√ŋənˀ ʔənˀ√telə √kʷən-i-ət-ø-əxʷ‖ [√lots 2POS√money √take, grasp-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ-2SUBJ]

9. ŋə́n̓ télə4tə kʷəntí4tə ‘We’ve got lots of money with us.’ ‖√ŋən̓ √telə-4tə √kʷən-i-ət-ø-ə4tə‖ [√lot s 2POS√money √take, grasp-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ-1PLSUBJ]
Examples 8 and 9 show the /í/ of the ‘persistent’ morpheme replacing the /ə/ of the subordinate subject suffixes (see §2.4.4.2).
Examples 10 to 12 illustrate ‖-í‖ ‘persistent’ with ‖-əŋ‖ ‘control middle’. Note that the resonant here (examples 11 and 12) blocks the metathesis.
10. s√ŋəq-í-ŋ ‘He’s underwater (he dove and is now under).’ [STAT√submerge-PERSIS-CMDL] (nə́qəŋ ‘He dove.)
11. √pəkʷ̓-í-ŋ-ə4 4tə ‘We smoked (hides, fish, etc.).’ [√smoke, preserve-PERSIS-CMDL-DUR 1PLSUBJ]
12. √ʔəl-í-ŋ-ə4 sən ‘I saved, stored away (money, etc.).’ [√put away-PERSIS-CMDL-DUR 1SUBJ] (ʔélət sən ‘I put it away.’)

2.2.2. ‖-ə4‖ ‘durative’.[2] This is an aspectual morpheme opposed to unmarked ‘non-durative’. It indicates that the activity or situation expressed in the stem is a condition with some duration. It can occur alone with a root but more often it occurs with other aspectual morphemes, especially ‘stative’ (§2.1.2) and ‘resultive’ (§2.3.6).
13. kʷ4 √xʷəqʷ-í-ŋ̓-ə4 sən ‘I’m ironing.’ [REAL √rub-PERSIS-CMDL(ACT)-DUR 1SUBJ]
14. kʷ4 s√qə́m̓-ə4 ‘It’s been cut in two.’ [REAL STAT√cut in two(RES)-DUR]
15. s√qə́p-ə4 ‘They’re together.’ [STAT√gather(RES)-DUR]
16. kʷ4 iʔ pə́́kʷə4 ‘It’s rising to the surface.’
17. qésə4 ‘He’s falling overboard.’
18. slétθə4 ‘It’s crowded.’
A number of forms with this suffix are translated ‘belonging to ...’ or ‘from ...’ in the sense of ‘originating from’, ‘customary of’, or ‘typical of’.
19. xʷ√sénəč-ə4 ‘It belongs to Saanich (a given personal name).’ [LOC√Saanich-DUR]
20. s√xʷəlŋíxʷ-ə4 ‘ It’s from the Indians (e.g. lacrosse, totem poles).’
21. s-xʷ√ləmiʔ-ə4 s√yə́w-ən ‘It’s a Lummi power song.’
22. s√xʷənítəm-ə4 s√tíləm ‘It’s modern music.’ [STAT√white person-DUR S√sing]
23. s√péstən-ə4 ‘It’s American.’ [STAT√America < Eng. "Boston"-DUR]
This suffix is never used in this context to describe people, so /*spéstənə4 sən/ is unacceptable. Example 23 was used to describe a long feathered headdress which some Saanich people perceive as being typical of Indians from the United States. The meaning produced by the addition of ‖-ə4‖ in forms such as examples 19-23 seems different enough from the meaning of examples 13-16 to assume two homophonous morphemes. Native Saanich speakers, however, feel these to be all the same.

2.2.3. ‖-t‖ ‘stative$_2$‘. This aspectual morpheme is rare and probably not productive[3]. There are very few observed roots from which it is clearly segmentable. Example 24 is one of these.
24. kʷ4 sə+√séw̓-t ‘He’s lying down.’ [REAL RES+√put down(ACT)-STAT]
The root in 24 has never been recorded with the ‖-ət‖ ‘control transitive’, but it has been recorded with the ‖-əs‖ ‘effort transitive’. It may be that the same class of roots that take this transitivizer also take ‘stative$_2$‘ rather than ‘stative$_1$‘ (see §2.1.2). Example 24 is also in the reduplicated form of the ‘resultive’. In §2.3.6.2 examples show that the ablaut form of the ‘resultive’ often occurs with ‘stative$_1$‘. It may be that ‘stative$_2$‘ patterns with a set of roots that reduplicate in the ‘resultive’. Too few examples have been recorded to make any definitive analysis. The following examples may also bear this suffix.
25. 4q̓ə́t ‘It’s wide, flattened.’

26. čɬə́t 'It's thick.'
27. ʔámət sən 'I sat.'
28. ƛ̓éqt 'It's tall, long.' (ƛ̓qé=qən 'long feather')
29. stíwət 'A northerly wind.' (xʷtíwəl 'Northern people')
30. ʔítət sən 'I'm in bed.'

See §2.2.7 for other possible occurrences of this morpheme.

2.2.4. ‖-il‖ 'directional'. This suffix signals development in a direction indicated by the stem[4]. It is most closely matched in English by 'towards'. It can precede 'control' or 'non-control', 'transitive' or 'intransitive' morphemes. It is itself unmarked for control. When following a strong root it appears unstressed as /-əl/.
31. √ƛ̓č-íl-əŋ 'It sank.' (√ƛ̓č 'deep, under, below')
32. √ƛ̓č-əl-ŋí-stxʷ sən 'I sank it.'
33. √yeʔ ləʔ sən √nəẃ-íl-əŋ 'I went in.' [√go PAST 1SUBJ √be inside-DIR-CMDL]
34. √yeʔ ləʔ sən √sq-íl-əŋ 'I went out.'
35. √t̓s-íl-əŋ 'Get away.' [√break-DIR-CMDL]
36. x̣ʷəlqʷíləŋ 'He went downstream.'
37. kʷɬ iʔ √téẏ̓-əl 'He's going upstream now.' [REAL ACCOM √upstream(ACT)-DIR]
38. xʷ√q̓əkʷ-íl-ət sən 'I went with him.' [LOC√accompany-DIR-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
39. √t̓éʔ-əl-əŋ 'He mounted (a horse).' [√on, upon, high, above-DIR-CMDL]
40. kʷɬ √téč-əl 'He already arrived.' [REAL √be here-DIR] (tčístəs 'He brought it here.')

2.2.5. ‖-asəŋ̓‖ 'directionless'? This morpheme has been recorded with only one root. Attempts made to elicit it with others were unsuccessful. It may actually be a post-predicate particle. Its classification here as a suffix is based on the fact that it takes more prominent stress than any syllable of the stem which it follows. This morpheme has only been recorded in 'actual' stems, therefore the glottalization of the final resonant may be due to the 'actual' (see §2.3.5) and not an underlying feature.
41. ʔəẃ šə+√št-əŋ̓-ásəŋ̓ sən ʔaɬ 'I'm just going to wander around a little (sightseeing).' [CONTEMP DIM,ACT√walk-CMDL-DIRLESS]
42. šələštəŋ̓ásəŋ̓ 'A lot of people are wandering around.'

2.2.6. ‖-eɬŋən‖ 'desiderative'. This suffix indicates that the state of affairs expressed in the predicate is desired by the subject. This differs in meaning from the post-predicate particle ‖yəq‖ 'optative' (§2.6.2.2.2) in that the latter implies some expectations on the part of the speaker. ‖-eɬŋən‖ simply indicates desire.
This suffix is unusual in that it can follow the transitive and intransitive suffixes (examples 45-47). The only other suffixes that do this are other transitives or intransitives and the objective pronominals. It cannot be analyzed as a post-predicate particle, however, since it can be followed by other suffixes (examples 49-50).
43. √čč-éɬŋən sən 'I want to work.' [√work-DESID 1SUBJ]
44. ččéɬŋən ə sxʷ 'Do you want to work?'
45. √kʷ̓ən-t-éɬŋən sən 'I want to look at it.' [√see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-DESID 1SUBJ]
46. √kʷən-ət-əs-éɬŋən 'He wants to take it.' [√take, grasp-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ-DESID]
47. √t̓əm̓-t-éɬŋən ləʔ sən 'I wanted to hit him.' [√hit-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-DESID PAST 1SUBJ]

48. √yeʔ-él̓ŋən sən ‘I want to go.’ [√go, depart-DESID 1SUBJ]
49. qəʔew̓əŋél̓ŋən̓ sən ‘I want to rest.’ (√qew ‘rest’)
50. √qəʔew̓-əŋ̓-él̓ŋən̓-t-aŋ̓ə sən ‘I want to rest you.’ [√rest(ACT)-CMDL-DESID-CAUS-2OBJ 1SUBJ]

2.2.7. /-ən/ ~ /-tən/ ‘instrumental’. Forms with this suffix refer to implements, tools, etc. This suffix is not a case marker as the gloss might suggest; it is never, for example, translated ‘with’.
The two alternate forms are apparently morphologically conditioned. The form without the /t/ (examples 55-64) occurs about twice as often as the other (examples 65-75). For one stem (examples 51-52) both forms of the suffix were recorded at different times with the same meaning. When this was pointed out to native speakers they decided that the form with the /t/ (51) was a mistake and that it sounded more Cowichan than Saanich.
One pair of words (53-54) with clearly the same root seems to show /-ən/ in contrast to /-tən/. The form with /-tən/ has an apparently older meaning, so may simply be a relic form, or it may be a borrowing from Cowichan. Another more interesting possibility is that the /t/ here is a separate suffix related, perhaps, to the ‘control transitive’ ‖-ət‖. Example 53 is clearly intransitive, but the difference between 53 and 54 does seem to be in part at least one of ‘control’ versus ‘non-control’. The root ‖√t̓$^{\theta}$ís‖ means ‘punch, pound, hit by throwing or flinging’. Horns or antlers as in example 53 with the /t/ are instruments that pound; a nail as in example 54 is an instrument that gets pounded. The former implies control while the latter implies non-control. Nevertheless, no other such pair has been recorded and nowhere else is there an apparent ‘control’/’non-control’ distinction between /-tən/ and /-ən/.
There are at least two other reasonable analyses. One would identify this /t/ with the poorly understood ‘stative$_2$‘ (§2.2.3). Colville in the Interior has a /-t/ ‘stative’ preceding a /-n/ ‘instrumental’ (Mattina, 1973)[5].
The other analysis would recognize two separate morphemes: ‖-tən‖ and ‖-ən‖. Upper Chehalis has been described this way (Kinkade, 1963).[6]
51. š√máť=əs-tən ‘Harpoon.’ [S,LOC√point=face-INST]
52. šmáťəsən ‘Harpoon.’
53. t̓$^{\theta}$ís-tən ‘Horn, antler.’
54. t̓$^{\theta}$ís-ən ‘Nail.’
55. √pəθ=sán-tən ‘Floor mat.’ [√spread=foot-INST]
56. š√q̓ál̓-tən ‘Diaper.’ [S,LOC√curl, wrap around-INST]
57. √ɬáp-tən ‘Eyelashes.’ [√blink-INST]
58. t̓$^{\theta}$éŋtən ‘Bailer.’
59. š√x^{w}iim=ás-tən ‘Mask.’ [S,LOC√adornment=face-INST]
60. swə́ltən ‘Net, web.’
61. špénətən ‘Adze.’
62. sál̓səl̓tən ‘Leg spindle.’
63. t̓$^{\theta}$áx̣tən ‘Poison.’ (t̓$^{\theta}$áx̣t̓$^{\theta}$əx̣ ‘stinging nettles’)
64. š√p̓ák^{w}-tən ‘Float on fishing line.’ [S,LOC√rise to surface-INST]
65. √ɬáp̓-ən ‘Spoon.’ [√eat by sipping-INST] (sɬap̓ ‘soup’)
66. √šíp-ən ‘Knife.’ [√whittle-INST]
67. √tč=ás-ən ‘Short fish spear.’ [√poke=face-INST]
68. péečən ‘Fishing rod.’
69. √x̣áš-ən ‘Animal trap.’ [√trap animals-INST]

70. √páxʷ-ən ‘Sail.’ [√blow-INST]
71. √čéṯ̓θ-ən ‘Needle.’ [√sew-INST]
72. ɬəɬáŋən ‘Loom.’ (√ɬəŋ ‘separate’)
73. sŋíq̓ən ‘Mast.’
74. x̣ʷáq̓ʷən ‘Canoe pole.’ (x̣ʷáq̓ʷət sən ‘I poled it (a canoe upriver).’
75. ɬík̓ʷən ‘Fishhook.’ (√ɬíkʷ ‘get hooked’)

2.2.8. ‖-nəq‖ ‘habitual’? This morpheme is not common and the gloss here is very tentative. When it does occur, however, it is clearly segmentable. The following are all of the recorded examples.
76. √x̣áɬ-ənəq ‘He’s hurting peoples feelings (he knows it but keeps on doing it).’ (x̣áɬ sən ‘I feel bad.’ x̣ɬátəŋ sən ‘Someone hurt me.’)
77. √náp-ənəq ‘He gives advice to many people.’ (nápət ‘Advise him.’)
78. √ɬk̓ʷé-ɬ-ənəq ‘He keeps coming around and bothering.’ [√get hooked, snagged-DUR-HABIT] (ɬk̓ʷéɬtəŋ sən ‘He bothered me.’)
79. θàkʷ+√θəkʷá-nəq ‘He’s always squealing on somebody.’ (θəkʷásəs ‘He squealed on me.’)
80. √qʷəl-t-ənəq ‘Report (squeal on) him (to the police).’ [√speak-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-HABIT]
81. √páθ-t-ənəq ‘He’s jealous.’ [√spread-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-HABIT]
82. √ƛ̓é?-nəq sən sə? ‘I’m going to give a potlatch.’ [√invite-HABIT 1SUBJ FUT]
83. kʷəẇ̓ṯ̓θénəq ‘He’s teasing.’ (kʷəẇ̓ṯ̓θésə sən ‘I’m teasing you.’)
84. ɬəkʷénəq ‘Power to cure.’ (ɬew̓ yəq sən ‘I hope I’m getting better.’)
85. ƛ̓xʷə́-nəq ‘He’s a winner; he won.’ (ƛ̓xʷə́t sən kʷə? ‘I beat him.’ sƛ̓ə́xʷ ‘He lost.’)
This last example indicates that this morpheme is marked ‘control’.

2.2.9. ‖-əl̓‖ ‘modified color’. This suffix has been recorded with only two different stems. It is suffixed to two basic color terms and seems to indicate a color shifted higher in the spectrum. Red becomes a slightly yellowish orange; green becomes bluish green. It may be that this is to be identified with ‖-il‖ ‘directional’ (§2.2.4). This would give 86 and 87 the plausible literal meanings ‘toward red’ and ‘toward green’. It is accompanied by /?ə/ infixed after the stressed vowel of the root.
86. kʷí(?ə)m-əl̓ ‘Yellowish orange.’ (nə√kʷím ‘red’)
87. qʷé(?ə)y-əl̓ ‘Bluish green (like the water).’ (nə√qʷéy ‘grass green’)

2.2.10. Lexical suffixes.
Lexical suffixes are derivational morphemes with substantive, root-like meaning. They are common in Salish languages and occur in other languages of the Northwest. See M. T. Thompson’s edition (1974) of Haeberlin’s work for an extensive survey of lexical suffixes in the Salish languages.

2.2.10.0.1. Each lexical suffix seems to have a basic tangible signification that can be extended metaphorically. For example ‖=əqsən‖ seems to have a basic meaning ‘nose’ as in 88 and 89.
88. s√mət=áqsən ‘Nasal mucus’
89. xʷ√ṯəm̓-él=əqsən sən ‘I got hit on the nose’ [LOC√hit-CONNEC=nose 1SUBJ]
More often, however, this suffix appears with a more abstract meaning ‘point, protrusion’.
90. √?íl=əqsən ‘Point of land.’
91. √šəp=áqsən ‘Sharp point (on pencil, knife, etc.)’
Some of the suffixes (§2.2.10.1.4, §2.2.10.1.9, §2.2.10.1.14, §2.2.10.1.16, §2.2.10.1.27, §2.2.10.1.30, §2.2.10.1.33, §2.2.10.1.40, §2.2.10.1.42, §2.2.10.1.44, §2.2.10.1.50, §2.2.10.1.53) show a greater

tendency to metaphorical extention than others.
Each lexical suffix can probably best be viewed as representing a complex network of associations rather than a concrete or abstract base from which metaphorical extentions are made.[7] Certain salient elements of the real world (body parts, plants, buildings, etc.) form high priority nexus in the semantic network. Thus the first thing the suffix ‖=əqsən‖, for example, will bring to mind when considered in isolation is "nose". The glosses given in §2.2.10.1 do not define the suffix but simply reflect the most prominent nexus[8]. The list in figure 3 is provided for ease of reference. The numbers to the left of the suffixes indicate subsections under §2.2.10.1.

Table 3. Saanich Lexical Suffixes

1. ‖=aʔ‖ ‘person’
2. ‖=əʔəč‖ ‘animal’
3. ‖=eyəč‖ ‘leg’
4. ‖=ečən‖ ‘waist’
5. ‖=čəp‖ ‘fire’
6. ‖=čəs‖ ‘hand’
7. ‖=ečsəŋ‖ ‘neck’
8. ‖=kʷiləʔ‖ ‘inside surface’
9. ‖=wiɬ‖ ‘canoe’
10. ‖=kʷəɬ‖ ‘torso’
11. ‖=wən‖ ‘mind, emotion’
12. ‖=iwəs‖ ‘body, skin’
13. ‖=kʷat‖ ‘clothing’
14. ‖=éləʔ‖ ‘container’
15. ‖=eleq‖ ‘wave’
16. ‖=alas‖ ‘eye’
17. ‖=éləs‖ ‘testicles’
18. ‖=aɬ‖ ‘offspring’
19. ‖=eɬ‖ ‘times’
20. ‖=iɬč‖ ‘plant’
21. ‖=aɬən‖ ‘fish’
22. ‖=eɬsə‖ ‘water’
23. ‖=ɬšeʔ‖ ‘tens’
24. ‖=íiməʔ‖ ‘appearance’
25. ‖=amət‖ ‘blanket’
26. ‖=en‖ ‘ear’
27. ‖=een‖ ‘arrow, angle’
28. ‖=neč‖ ‘tail, rear end’
29. ‖=ənákʷ‖ ‘ground, floor’
30. ‖=enkʷəs‖ ‘stomach’
31. ‖=ɬnel‖ ‘throat’
32. ‖=nəs‖ ‘tooth’
33. ‖=inəs‖ ‘chest’
34. ‖=net‖ ‘day’

35. ||=enəxʷ|| ‘season’
36. ||=aŋ̓əʔ|| ‘berry’
37. ||=ŋəxʷ|| ‘being’
38. ||=qəč|| ‘smell’
39. ||=qən|| ‘hair’
40. ||=qən|| ‘pharynx’
41. ||=iqən|| ‘belly’
42. ||=əqsən|| ‘nose’
43. ||=iqʷ|| ‘head’
44. ||=as|| ‘face’
45. ||=əs|| ‘day’
46. ||=sən|| ‘foot, lower leg’
47. ||=sis|| ‘hand, lower arm’
48. ||=ətxʷ|| ‘dollar’
49. ||=əθ|| ‘edge’
50. ||=aθin|| ‘mouth’
51. ||=iṫᶿəʔ|| ‘cloth’
52. ||=əwíč|| ‘back, spine’
53. ||=ew̓eč|| ‘bottom’
54. ||=aw̓əqʷ|| ‘bundle’
55. ||=áw̓sə|| ‘fire’
56. ||=ew̓txʷ|| ‘building’
57. ||=exə̓n|| ‘arm, side’
58. ||=ey̓|| ‘wood’

2.2.10.0.2. For many of the lexical suffixes there are independent words with the same meaning. There are five full words in Saanich[9] that, with the addition of a single initial consonant, incorporate the corresponding suffix: /téčsəŋ/ ‘neck’ (§2.2.10.1.7), /čə́nəs/ ‘tooth’ (§2.2.10.1.32), /tə́ŋəxʷ/ ‘earth’ (§2.2.10.1.37), /ŋə́qsən/ ‘nose’ (§2.2.10.1.42), and /θáθən/ ‘mouth’ (§2.2.10.1.50).
A few of the full words corresponding to lexical suffixes contain the suffix as well as a separable root: /ṫᶿəméen/ ‘arrow’ (§2.2.10.1.27), /sx̌əp̓éy̓snəč/ ‘tail’ (§2.2.10.1.28), and /sʔáθəs/ ‘face’ (§2.2.10.1.44). Other suffixes are entirely unrelated to the corresponding independent words, for example, /x̣ə́nəʔ/ ‘leg’ (§2.2.10.1.3), /kʷ̓ə́ləw̓/ ‘skin’ (§2.2.10.1.12), /ɬqit/ ‘clothing’ (§2.2.10.1.13), /qáləŋ̓/ ‘eye’ (§2.2.10.1.16), /qʷaʔ/ ‘water’ (§2.2.10.1.22), /ʔápən/ ‘ten’ (§2.2.10.1.23), /xʷáŋən/ ‘throat’ (§2.2.10.1.31), /ṫᶿáŋəɬ/ ‘chest’ (§2.2.10.1.33), /x̌es/ ‘belly’ (§2.2.10.1.41), /sqʷ̓áŋiʔ/ ‘head’ (§2.2.10.1.43), and /ʔél̓əŋ/ ‘house’ (§2.2.10.1.56).

2.2.10.0.3. The lexical suffixes vary greatly in degree of productivity and in frequency of occurrence. Of those listed here, some appear in a fairly large number of words which seem to be frozen forms, the root of the word never appearing without the suffix (§2.2.10.1.1, §2.2.10.1.37, §2.2.10.1.58). Others occur with a very limited set of roots but are clearly analyzable (§2.2.10.1.19, §2.2.10.1.23, §2.2.10.1.25, §2.2.10.1.47, §2.2.10.1.54). Some of the suffixes appear frequently in the corpus with a wide variety of roots (§2.2.10.1.6, §2.2.10.1.12, §2.2.10.1.13, §2.2.10.1.14, §2.2.10.1.16, §2.2.10.1.33, §2.2.10.1.42, §2.2.10.1.43, §2.2.10.1.44, §2.2.10.1.46, §2.2.10.1.47, §2.2.10.1.50), while others are quite rare (§2.2.10.1.2, §2.2.10.1.3, §2.2.10.1.8, §2.2.10.1.17, §2.2.10.1.21, §2.2.10.1.22, §2.2.10.1.24,

§2.2.10.1.27, §2.2.10.1.36, §2.2.10.1.38).
Many of the lexical suffixes derive forms with meanings predictable from the component morphemes, but frequently the connections between the meaning of the derived form and its components are idiosyncratic or completely obscure (see especially §2.2.10 examples 137, 139, 142, 144, 148, 159, 160, 172, 176, 177, 188, 198, 200, 201, 204, 241, 246, 250, 256, 280, 304, 336, 342, 351, 353).

2.2.10.0.4. Most of the lexical suffixes fit into a few semantic or functional categories. The numeral classifiers often fit into other categories as well (§2.2.10.1.14, §2.2.10.1.19, §2.2.10.1.20, §2.2.10.1.23, §2.2.10.1.25, §2.2.10.1.47, and §2.2.10.1.54). Body parts and functions form the largest category (§2.2.10.1.3, §2.2.10.1.4, §2.2.10.1.6, §2.2.10.1.7, §2.2.10.1.10, §2.2.10.1.11, §2.2.10.1.12, §2.2.10.1.16, §2.2.10.1.17, §2.2.10.1.24, §2.2.10.1.26, §2.2.10.1.28, §2.2.10.1.30, §2.2.10.1.31, §2.2.10.1.32, §2.2.10.1.33, §2.2.10.1.38, §2.2.10.1.39, §2.2.10.1.40, §2.2.10.1.41, §2.2.10.1.42, §2.2.10.1.43, §2.2.10.1.44, §2.2.10.1.46, §2.2.10.1.47, §2.2.10.1.50, §2.2.10.1.52, §2.2.10.1.53, §2.2.10.1.57). Two other smaller categories are natural phenomena (§2.2.10.1.5, §2.2.10.1.14, §2.2.10.1.15, §2.2.10.1.18, §2.2.10.1.20, §2.2.10.1.21, §2.2.10.1.27, §2.2.10.1.29, §2.2.10.1.34, §2.2.10.1.35, §2.2.10.1.36, §2.2.10.1.45, §2.2.10.1.55, §2.2.10.1.58) and man-made items (§2.2.10.1.9, §2.2.10.1.13, §2.2.10.1.14, §2.2.10.1.25, §2.2.10.1.27, §2.2.10.1.48, §2.2.10.1.51, §2.2.10.1.54, §2.2.10.1.56). The suffixes that do not fit into one or more of these categories (§2.2.10.1.1, §2.2.10.1.2, §2.2.10.1.8, §2.2.10.1.37) are problematic for other reasons as well.

2.2.10.0.5. Saanich appears to have few lexical suffixes compared to other Salish languages.[10] Only fifty-eight have been observed so far. Perhaps a few lexical suffixes have not yet been discovered, but even double this number would be few in comparison to Chilliwack Halkomelem, for instance, for which Galloway (1977) has recorded over 150.
Pidgeon (1970) lists most of the lexical suffixes found in Saanich. In the list that follows I will try to avoid any duplication of that admirable work, but some repetition of data will be inevitable, especially in the less frequently occurring suffixes. The examples have been chosen to give some idea of the phonological variation, semantic range, and productivity of the suffix.
The analysis presented here, based on a broader and later view of the language, differs in a number of instances from that presented by Pidgeon. Several suffixes will appear to have forms quite different from those listed by Pidgeon, but comparison of the examples will show that the differences in most cases are matters of analysis. For example, in this analysis ‖=kʷat‖ (§2.2.10.1.12) is considered a single morpheme; Pidgeon shows two: /-kʷ/ and /-at/.
Aside from differences in analysis and transcription twenty suffixes not identified previously are listed here (§2.2.10.1.1, §2.2.10.1.2, §2.2.10.1.10, §2.2.10.1.15, §2.2.10.1.21, §2.2.10.1.22, §2.2.10.1.23, §2.2.10.1.24, §2.2.10.1.25, §2.2.10.1.34, §2.2.10.1.36, §2.2.10.1.38, §2.2.10.1.41, §2.2.10.1.45, §2.2.10.1.48, §2.2.10.1.49, §2.2.10.1.50, §2.2.10.1.52, §2.2.10.1.54, §2.2.10.1.58).
Five suffixes listed by Pidgeon are not listed here because I was unable to elicit them myself: /=iʔás/ ‘belly, outside of a rounded object such as barrel, basket’ (p.28), /=eq/ ‘penis’ (p.25), /=šən/ ‘liquid of a certain consistency (dense)’ (p.39), /=xʷθəɬ/ ‘tongue’ (p.44), and /=éyəq/ ‘whole leg’ (p.27).

2.2.10.1.1. ‖=aʔ‖ ‘person, relation’? This suffix appears regularly in only a few forms and is certainly not productive. It has /a/ only when stressed (examples 103, 104, and 108), otherwise it appears as /=əʔ/ (examples 94 through 102) or /=ʔ/ when preceded by a vowel or syllabic resonant (examples 92 and 93).
92. s√ɬéni=ʔ ‘Woman.’

93. √q̓éʔŋi=ʔ ‘Maiden.’
94. s√čéʔč=əʔ ‘Friend, relative.’
95. s√ʔáy̓=əʔ ‘Sweetheart.’ [S√good=person]
96. √ŋán=əʔ ‘Son, daughter.’
97. šxʷ√ʔáq̓ʷ=əʔ ‘Brother, sister.’
98. s√c̓əyáy=əʔ ‘Twins.’
99. √síl=əʔ ‘Grandparent.’
100. s√wéy̓q=əʔ ‘Man.’
101. √šáy=əʔ ‘Co-wife.’
102. √c̓éeʔ=əʔ ‘Spouse of one’s deceased sibling.’
103. s√ɬənəč=áʔ=aɬ ‘Girl.’
104. s√wey̓q=áʔ=aɬ ‘Boy.’
105. məq̓éʔəʔ ‘Makah people.’
106. ɬáq̓ətəʔ ‘Non-Coast Indians.’

Examples 103 and 104 can be seen to have the same roots as examples 92 and 100. The /i/ of 92 and the /č/ of 103 both arise from an underlying ‖y‖ (see §1.5.7). The second /ə/ in 103 is epenthetic. Example 95 is the only form that is clearly analyzable. No other kinship terms have this suffix and those that do show no clear pattern.

A number of other words seem to have this suffix but do not refer to people. The following refer to animals[11]:

107. s√qéx̣=əʔ ‘Dog.’
108. s-qə+√qx̣=áʔ=aɬ ‘Puppy.’ (Compare with 103 and 104.)
109. stqéyəʔ ‘Wolf.’
110. sk̓ʷtáʔ ‘Raven.’
111. qəqéeyəʔ ‘Snipe.’
112. ŋáq̓ʷəʔ ‘Great blue heron.’
113. st̓ᶿáqʷiʔ ‘Spring salmon.’
114. sqʷáməʔ ‘Catfish.’
115. p̓áwiʔ ‘Flounder.’
116. ɬáməq̓ʷəʔ ‘Sole.’
117. k̓ʷət̓ᶿənáčtəʔ ‘Shark.’ (This may involve a root meaning "cut" and the lexical suffix for "tail" (§2.2.10.1.28))
118. k̓ʷít̓ᶿiʔ ‘Small green-yellow sea eggs.’
119. sʔáɬqəʔ ‘Snake.’

Referring to plants:

120. t̓ᶿák̓ʷiʔ ‘Skunk cabbage.’
121. səníʔ ‘Oregon grape.’
122. t̓éqəʔ ‘Salal berry.’

Referring to body parts:

123. x̣ánəʔ ‘Leg.’
124. sqəmáʔ ‘Breast.’
125. máxʷəyəʔ ‘Navel.’
126. q̓ʷáŋiʔ ‘Head.’

Referring to natural phenomena:

127. sθíməʔ ‘Ice.’

128. x̣áčəʔ ‘Lake.’
Referring to tools:
129. čáṫəʔ ‘Clam barbecuing stick.’
130. x̣ʷáləʔ ‘Reef net.’
131. q̓ək̓ʷəʔ ‘Cane; walking stick.’
Of all of these only the last clearly has a root that appears elsewhere without the suffix: /√q̓ék̓ʷ-əŋ/ ‘knee’.

2.2.10.1.2. ‖=əʔəč‖ ‘antlered animal’? Only two examples of this suffix have been seen; the root is not recognizable in either. This may be related to the suffix for ‘back’ (§2.2.10.1.52).
132. √kʷéw=əʔəč ‘Moose.’
133. √q̓əy=áʔəč ‘Elk.’
The usual Saanich word for ‘deer’, /sməyəθ/, does not show this suffix. It may be that these two examples are borrowings. Neither moose nor elk are to be found on the Saanich Peninsula.

2.2.10.1.3. ‖=eyəč‖ ‘leg’. Pidgeon gives the gloss "upper leg above and including the knee" (p.26) and several clear examples. I have been able to elicit only two examples of this suffix. The ‖y‖ surfaces as /č/ unless glottalized by the ‘actual’ (see §2.3.5).
134. s-x̣ʷ(əl)+√x̣ʷč=éčəč ‘Lame.’
135. s√tkʷ=éy̓əč ‘He’s limping.’

2.2.10.1.4. ‖=ečən‖ ‘waist, circumference’.
136. √x̌̓əṫ$^{\theta}$=éčən ‘Belt.’ [√tight=waist]
137. √qp̓-əl=éčən ‘Lid, cover.’ [√cover-CONNEC=waist]
138. √q̓p̓-əl=éč-t ‘Bundle them (sticks) up.’ [√gather-CONNEC=waist-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
139. q̓əm̓+√q̓əm̓=éčən ‘Type of wasp.’ [CHAR+√cut in two=waist]
140. š√q̓éw̓=əčən ‘Anterior dorsal (waist?) fin of a fish.’
141. √q̓ʷs=áčən ‘Swallow (bird).’
142. √k̓ʷəy=éčən ‘Grizzly bear.’
Example 141 is questionable because of the /á/. The root in 142 may be the root meaning ‘refuse, unable, wrong, forbidden’ as in /sk̓ʷey kʷə nəsyéʔ/ ‘I can’t go’; /k̓ʷéysit sən/ ‘I refused him (to have it)’; and /k̓ʷey kʷə n̓sčqʷál̓qʷəl̓/ ‘It’s forbidden to talk about it.’ But connections between the meaning of 142 and the meanings of the component morphemes are far from clear.
143. š√ṫ$^{\theta}$ám̓=əčən ‘Bracelet.’ [S,LOC√bone=waist]
The suffix in 143 may be better analyzed as two: /=əč/, a variant of ‖=čəs‖ ‘hand’, and /-ən/ ‘instrument’. Haeberlin (M. T. Thompson, 1974:283) shows a Nanaimo word for bracelet looking very similar to this under a suffix meaning ‘wrist joint, ankle joint’.
144. √θés=čən ‘Blood.’
This last example is entirely unclear.

2.2.10.1.5. ‖=čəp‖ ‘fire’.
145. √šál=čəp ‘Firedrill.’ [√circle, turn around=fire]
146. √q̓ʷáy̓-ə=čəp ‘Ashes, soot.’ [√dead-CONNEC=fire]

2.2.10.1.6. ‖=čəs‖ ‘hand’. See also §2.2.10.1.47.

147. s√nəx̣-ál=čəs ‘Finger.’ [S√digit-CONNEC=hand]
148. š-xʷ√ʔəẇá-ɬ=čəs ‘Cat’s cradle (string game).’ [S-LOC√game-CONNEC(ACT)=hand]
149. š√məlyí=čəs ‘Wedding ring.’ [S,LOC√wedding (< French "marier")=hand]
150. š√xʷíi(lə)m=čəs ‘Finger rings.’ [S,LOC√body adornment(PL)=hand]
151. √ɬq̓-é=čəs ‘Five.’ [√one of a pair-CONNEC=hand]

2.2.10.1.7. ||=ečsəŋ|| ‘neck, back of head’.
152. ʔəṅ-s√qʷən=éčsəŋ ‘Your neck hair.’ [2POS-S√beard=neck]
153. √tkʷ=éčsəŋ ‘He broke his neck.’ [√break=neck]
154. √ťəm̓=éčsəŋ ‘He got hit on the back of the head.’ [√hit=neck]

2.2.10.1.8. ||=kʷiləʔ|| ‘inside surface of open container’?
155. xʷ√tˀθəkʷ=kʷíləʔ ‘She’s cleaning dishes.’

2.2.10.1.9. ||=wiɬ|| ‘canoe’. The ||w|| surfaces when glottalized in the ‘actual’.
156. √tey-á=kʷəɬ ‘Racing canoe.’ [√race-CONNEC=canoe]
157. √x̣əlx̣-á=kʷəɬ ‘War canoe.’ [√war-CONNEC=canoe]
158. √θéy̓=ẇəɬ ‘He’s building a canoe.’ [√build(ACT)=canoe]
159. xʷ√ʔáy̓=ẇəɬ ‘Generous.’ [LOC√good(ACT)=canoe]
160. xʷ√qál̓=ẇəɬ ‘Stingy.’ [LOC√bad(ACT)=canoe]
161. š√x̣əƛ̓=kʷíɬ-ən ‘Cross-piece in a canoe’ [S,LOC√cross=canoe-INST]

2.2.10.1.10. ||=kʷəɬ|| ‘torso’. This may be related to the ‘canoe’ suffix through metaphorical extention by way of ‘container’. See §2.2.10.1.14. Examples 159 and 160, above, could fit just as well here.
162. √ťəm̓-ál=kʷəɬ sən ‘I got hit on the side.’ [√hit=torso]
163. √tkʷ-ál=kʷəɬ ‘He broke his rib.’ [√break=torso]
164. s√ƛ̓aʔəm̓-ál=kʷəɬ ‘Appendix.’
165. s√tés=kʷəɬ ‘Back (of body).’

2.2.10.1.11. ||=wən|| ‘mind, emotion’. The ||w|| surfaces when glottalized in the ‘actual’.
166. xʷ-qʷəl̓+√qʷəl̓-é=ẇən̓ ‘He’s thinking.’ [LOC-CHAR+√talk(ACT)-CONNEC=mind]
167. xʷ√ʔáy̓=kʷən ‘He’s a nice person.’ [LOC√good=mind]
168. s√čəẇt-í=ẇən̓ ‘He’s smart.’ [S√trained(ACT)-CONNEC=mind]
169. nə-š√ɬíʔ-ə=kʷən ‘I’m disgusted.’ [1POS-S,LOC√?-CONNEC=mind]
170. ʔəẇ̓ √qál+əl ʔal̓ sən nə-š-xʷ√qʷél-ə=kʷən ‘I got discouraged.’ [CONTEM √bad+NCR LIMIT 1SUBJ 1POS-S-LOC√talk(RES)-CONNEC=mind]

2.2.10.1.12. ||=iwəs|| ‘body, skin’. The ||w|| surfaces as /kʷ/ unless glottalized by the ‘actual’.
171. √k̓ʷs=íkʷəs ‘He singed (the hairs off) the hide.’ [√singe=body]
172. √šəm=íkʷəs ‘Smallpox, chickenpox, measles.’ [√dry, parch=body]
173. √q̓ʷəŋ=íkʷəs-t ‘Pluck it (feathers from a bird).’ [√pluck=body-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
174. √ɬč=íkʷəs sən ‘I’m tired.’ [√tired=body]
175. √ʔəp=íẇs-t-əs ‘She’s petting him.’ [√stroke=body(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ]
176. q̓ə+√q̓ən=íẇs ‘Delay.’ [RES+√slow=body]
177. √ɬəŋ=íkʷəs-t ‘Take it apart.’ [√separate=body-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]

178. s√qs=íkʷəs ‘He drowned.’ [S√overboard=body]
179. √θiʔ=íẇs ‘She’s all dressed up.’ [√build=body(ACT)]

2.2.10.1.13. ‖=kʷat‖ ‘clothing’. This suffix appears as /=kʷát/ when stressed, /=kʷət/ when not stressed, and /=kʷ/ when unstressed and followed by an alveolar or another stressed suffix.
180. š√kʷəm̓-ál=kʷət ‘Bathing suit.’ [S,LOC√bathe-CONNEC=clothing]
181. √pəq̓-ál=kʷət ‘Potlatch blanket.’ [√white-CONNEC=clothing]
182. √tθəkʷ-əl=kʷát-əŋ ‘She’s washing clothes.’ [√wash-CONNEC=clothing-CMDL]
183. √məlyi-təl-hál=kʷət ‘Wedding gown.’ [√wedding-RECIP-CONNEC=clothing]
184. √ƛ̓čí=kʷ-ən ‘Underwear.’ [√beneath=clothing-INST]
185. √ƛ̓pí=w-ən ‘Shirt.’
Example 185 is probably a borrowing from Cowichan and cognate morpheme for morpheme with example 184 showing regular sound correspondences. However, a root ‖√ƛ̓ip‖ different from ‖√ƛ̓ič‖ does occur in Saanich with a meaning that fits this context, something like ‘extending outer layer’, appearing, for example, in the words /ƛ̓íƛ̓əptn/ ‘skirt’ and /ƛ̓pílqən/ ‘long, outside feathers of a bird’.

2.2.10.1.14. ‖=eləʔ‖ ‘container; person’. Because the two glosses for this suffix are so different, this form may represent two homophonous morphemes. However, it may be that people are perceived as being in some sense containers. This suffix appears with the meaning ‘person’ when and only when affixed to a numeral or ordinal stem, so examples 186 to 189 can only refer to containers; examples 190 and 191 can refer only to people.
186. š-xʷ√čəqʷ=áẇs=eləʔ ‘Fireplace.’ [S-LOC√burn=fire=container]
187. š√taɬəw=éləʔ ‘River bank.’ [S,LOC√river=container]
188. š-xʷ√ʔiʔ=éləʔ ‘Bladder.’ [S-LOC√good=container]
189. š√xʷim=éləʔ ‘Store.’ [S,LOC√buy=container]
190. √ŋəs=éləʔ ‘Four people.’ [√four=container]
191. √ɬč=éləʔ ‘He’s first (in a race).’ [√ahead=container]

2.2.10.1.15. ‖=eleq‖ ‘wave’.
192. √háy̓=ələq ‘Ocean swell.’ [√protrude=wave]
193. √č(éʔ)q=əɬəq ‘Big wave.’ [√big(ACT)=wave]
194. √qʷɬ=əléq-əŋ ‘Wave breaking into shore.’
195. √x̣ʷəŋ=éləq-ən ‘Swift water.’ [√fast=wave-INST]

2.2.10.1.16. ‖=alas‖ ‘eye; round; color’. See also §2.2.10.1.44. The connection between ‘eye’ and ‘round’ is obvious. Connections between either of these and ‘color’ are less so. It may be that beads, brightly and variously colored, form the semantic link.
196. √čp̓=áləs-əŋ ‘His eyes are closed.’ [√close=eye-CMDL]
197. s√tʼəqəʔ=áləs ‘Black eye.’ [S√bruise=eye]
198. √ƛ̓əqt=áləs ‘Oblong.’ [√long=eye]
199. √šp=áləs ‘Pare (potatoes, apples, etc.).’ [√whittle=eye]
200. √ƛ̓tʼθ=áləs ‘Tight weave.’ [√tight=eye]
201. √ləx̣=áləs ‘Loose weave.’ [√loose=eye]
202. s√q̓əɬ=kʷ=áləs ‘It’s wound up (yarn into a ball).’ [STAT√turn around=clothing=eye]
203. √ʔiʔ=áləs ‘Bright eyes; bright color.’ [√good=eye]

204. √nəč̓=áləs ‘Multicolored.’ [√different=eye]
205. √ɬəph=ələ́s-əŋ ‘He blinked.’

2.2.10.1.17. ‖=éləs‖ ‘testicles’. See also §2.2.10.1.44.
206. xʷ√čx̣ʷ-l=éləs-t-əs ‘She (the mother) spits on his (the baby’s) testicles.’ [LOC√expectorate-CONNEC=testicles-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ]

2.2.10.1.18. ‖=aɬ‖ ‘offspring, youngster’. Pidgeon gives /=áləɬ/ as the consistent ly occurring form of this suffix. I have recorded it always as either /=áɬ/ or /=əɬ/. This discrepancy is puzzling. Compare especially the first two examples given below with Pidgeon’s (p.22).
207. s√peʔəθ=áɬ ‘Baby bear.’ [S√bear=offspring]
208. s√wəy̓q=áʔ=əɬ ‘Boy.’ [S√man=person=offspring]
209. √pus=áɬ ‘Kitten.’ [√cat=offspring]
210. √θəŋ̓íʔ=əɬ ‘Pack a baby on one’s back.’ [√pack on back=offspring]
211. √qʷál-ŋəč=əɬ-t-əŋ sən ‘She had a talk with my kid.’ [√talk-REL=offspring-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]

2.2.10.1.19. ‖=eɬ‖ ‘times’. This suffix is acceptable, apparently, only with numbers three through ten and with the roots ‖√kʷ̓ən‖ ‘how many’ and ‖√ŋən̓‖ ‘many’.
212. √kʷ̓ən=éɬ kʷən̓-s√yéʔ ‘How often did you go?’ [√how many=times SUB 2POS-S√go]
213. √ŋən̓=éɬ ‘Lots of times.’
214. √ŋəs=éɬ ‘Four times.’
215. √ʔəpən=éɬ ‘Ten times.’

2.2.10.1.20. ‖=iɬč‖ ‘plant, tree, bush’.
216. s√ŋəs=íɬč ‘Four trees.’
217. √səniʔ=íɬč ‘Oregon grape bush.’ [√Oregon grape=plant]
218. √čəŋ̓=íɬč ‘Oak tree.’ [√adze=plant]
A few words have /=əɬp/, presumably a cognate loan from Cowichan.
219. čə́w̓nəɬp ‘Cottonwood.’
220. qʷ̓əyəl̓əšəɬp ‘Blue Spruce.’
With roots borrowed from English, however, ‖=iɬč‖ regularly occurs:
221. √kələnts=íɬč ‘Currant bush.’
222. √ʔepəls=íɬč ‘Apple tree.’

2.2.10.1.21. ‖=aɬən‖ ‘fish’? The gloss for this is tentative since this suffix has been found in only one word.
223. s√tʼ̓θəm̓=áɬən ‘Salmon backbone.’ [S√bone=fish]

2.2.10.1.22. ‖=eɬsə‖ ‘water’.
224. √ƛ̓əɬ=éɬsə ‘Salt water.’
225. s√čx̣ʷ=éɬsə ‘Saliva.’ [S√expectorate=water]
226. √ŋəq̓=áɬsə-ŋ ‘Swallow with no food in mouth.’ [√swallow=water-CMDL]

2.2.10.1.23. ‖=ɬšeʔ‖ ‘tens’. This suffix appears only on the numbers thirty through seventy-nine and ninety through ninety-nine. The word for ‘twenty’ is /tʼ̓θáxʷkʷəs/ and ‘eighty’ is /štəmáʔəs/.

227. √ɬəxʷ=ɬšéʔ ‘Thirty.’ [√three=tens]
228. √ŋəs=ɬšéʔ ‘Forty.’
229. √ɬqə=čs=ɬšéʔ ‘Fifty.’
230. √tṯ̓ẋəŋ=ɬšéʔ ‘Sixty.’
231. √tṯ̓θəʔkʷəs=ɬšéʔ ‘Seventy.’
232. √təkʷxʷə=ɬšéʔ ‘Ninety.’
233. √ɬəxʷ=ɬšéʔ ʔiʔ kʷ s√nátṯ̓θəʔ ‘Thirty-one.’

2.2.10.1.24. ‖=íiməʔ‖ ‘appearance’.
234. √qɬ=íiməʔ ‘It’s dirty, messy (e.g. a house).’ [√bad=appearance]
235. √ʔiʔ=íiməʔ ‘It’s clean (neat, tidy).’ [√good=appearance]
236. xʷ√qəɬ=íiməʔ=əs ‘He’s ugly.’ [LOC√bad=appearance=face]

2.2.10.1.25. ‖=amət‖ ‘blanket, flat object’. All observed occurrences of this suffix are with roots denoting quantity. It is used with numerals for counting blankets, sheets, or other flat objects. It does not occur with /tá́ʔkʷəs/ ‘seven’, /téʔθəs/ ‘eight’, /ʔápən ʔiʔ kʷs nátṯ̓θəʔ/ ‘eleven’, or numbers greater than nineteen.
237. √nətṯ̓θʔ=ámət √səmáẏ̓ ‘One blanket.’ [√one=blanket √blanket]
238. √ŋəs=ámət ‘Four blankets.’
239. √ʔəpən=ámət ʔiʔ kʷs √čásəʔ √səmáẏ̓ ‘Twelve blankets.’ [√ten=blanket ACCOM DEM √two √blanket]

2.2.10.1.26. ‖=en‖ ‘ear’.
240. s√ƛ̓áw=ən ‘Earring.’
241. √ɬq̓=en ‘One of a pair of earrings (but not one of a pair of ears).’ [√one of a pair=ear]
242. s√ʔəʔč=én ‘Pair of ears, earrings.’ [√pair=ear]
243. s√qʷ̓əléʔ=ən ‘Deaf.’

2.2.10.1.27. ‖=een‖ ‘arrow, angle’. This suffix denotes flat pointed objects whereas ‖=əqsən‖ (§2.2.10.1.42) involves conical pointed objects. This may be related to the suffix for ‘ear’. Saunders and Davis (1975) suggest that the angle formed by the side of the head, neck, and shoulder, the ear area, is the semantic connection.
244. √tṯ̓θəm̓=éen ‘Arrow.’ [√bone=arrow]
245. √šp=éen-ət ‘Sharpen the point (of an arrow or knife).’ [√whittle=arrow-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)] (Compare with example 290.)
246. √səq=éen ‘Type of fern that grows in open fields.’ [√outside=arrow]
247. s√c̓tṯ̓θ=éen̓-əʔ ‘Corner inside a house.’
The analysis of example 247 is uncertain.

2.2.10.1.28. ‖=neč‖ ‘tail, rear end’.
248. s√ƛ̓əp̓éẏ̓s=nəč ‘Tail.’
249. xʷ√ƛ̓éqt=nəč ‘Cougar.’ [√long=tail]
250. xʷ√q̓étẋ-əm=nəč ‘Rattlesnake.’ [LOC√shake a rattle-CMDL=tail]
251. xʷ√ʔam̓ət=néč ‘He’s squatting.’ [LOC√sit=tail]
252. √kʷəθ=néč-t ‘He tilted it (lifted it at one end).’

2.2.10.1.29. ‖=ənəkʷ‖ ‘ground, floor’. The word for floor itself shows the occasional Cowichan borrowing /=ənə́p/.
253. ɬəχ̣ənə́ptən ‘Floor.’
254. s√ɬəq̓=ənə́kʷ ‘Flat; level ground.’ [S√wide=ground]
255. √ʔel̓əŋ=ənə́kʷ-s ‘It’s the ir village.’ [√home=ground-3POS]

2.2.10.1.30. ‖=enkʷəs‖ ‘stomach, gut feelings’. Pidgeon gives several examples of this suffix with the literal meaning ‘stomach’ (p.25). I have not been able to elicit these, but see §2.2.10.1.41 below.
256. √ʔiʔ=énkʷəs ‘He’s brave.’ [√good=stomach]
257. √ʔəh=énkʷəs ‘He’s cowardly.’

2.2.10.1.31. ‖=ɬnel‖ ‘throat’.
258. √t̓ik̓ʷ=ɬnél-ət-əŋ ‘He got strangled.’ [√choke=throat-CTRAN-PASS]
259. s√q̓sə́=ɬnəl ‘Necklace.’

2.2.10.1.32. ‖=nəs‖ ‘tooth’.
260. √t̓ə́m̓=nəs ‘He got hit in the teeth.’

2.2.10.1.33. ‖=inəs‖ ‘chest’.
261. √t̓əm̓=ínəs ‘He got hit on the chest.’
262. s√tθ̓əm̓=ínəs ‘Sternum.’ [S√bone=chest]
263. √t̓k̓ʷ=ínəs ‘He choked.’ [√choke=chest]
264. √ʔəɬən=ínəs ‘Heartburn.’ [√eat=chest]

2.2.10.1.34. ‖=net‖ ‘day, twenty-four hour period’. It is not clear whether this morpheme should be considered a lexical suffix or a root that commonly appears in compounds. A root having the same form and similar meaning does exist: ‖√net‖ as in /snet/ ‘night’. When this form appears as a root it always has the meaning ‘night’ rather than ‘twenty-four hour period’, the consistent meaning of the suffix.
265. s-χ̣éʔ+√χ̣əʔ-ɬ=net ‘Sunday.’ [S-CHAR+√sacred-DUR=day]
266. s√θə́ŋ=net=s ‘Tuesday.’ [S√second=day=day]

2.2.10.1.35. ‖=enəxʷ‖ ‘season’.
267. s√xʷis-əl=énəxʷ ‘Autumn.’

2.2.10.1.36. ‖=aŋ̓əʔ‖ ‘berry’.
268. √tθ̓q̓ʷ=áŋ̓əʔ ‘Red raspberry.’
This same root appears with the cognate suffix, /=am̓əʔ/, borrowed from Cowichan but with a slightly dif ferent meaning.
269. √tθ̓q̓ʷ=ám̓əʔ ‘Blackcap berry.’
There are two roots, meaning ‘rotten’ and ‘punch’, with the same form as the root in these examples. It is unclear which, if either, it may be.

2.2.10.1.37. ‖=ŋixʷ‖ ‘being’. The gloss here is certainly inadequate, but it is difficult to come up with a single phrase common denominator for this suffix. L. C. Thompson (p.c.) suggests the gloss ‘cluster’ since each word this suffix is used with refers to a complex cluster of attributes. Another common characteristic

is that each of the things referred to using this suffix can be thought of as animate or almost animate. And this is perhaps related to the fact that each of the words refers to things that are thought of as posessing a high degree of natural spiritual power. In any case, consider the gloss merely a suggestive mnemonic tag.

270. √ʔəɬt-él=ŋəxʷ 'Person, Indian.'
271. √xʷíl=ŋəxʷ 'Indian.'
272. s√xʷəl=ŋíxʷ-əɬ 'It's from the Indians (e.g. lacrosse, totem poles).'
273. √ŋəθ-él̓=ŋəxʷ 'West Coast people.'
274. s√qəl-él=ŋəxʷ 'Tree (large).'
275. s√t̓él=ŋəxʷ 'Medicine.' [S√numb=being]
276. √c̓ət̓$^{\theta}$-él̓=ŋəxʷ sən 'I'm milking (a cow).'

Haeberlin (M. T. Thompson, 1974:283) has several examples of a Kalispel suffix /=mxʷ/ meaning 'breast'. This last example may show the Saanich cognate.

2.2.10.1.38. ‖=qəč‖ 'smell'.
277. √ʔiʔ-él=qəč 'It smells good.' [√good-CONNEC=smell]

2.2.10.1.39. ‖=qən‖ 'hair, fur, feather'.
278. s√ƛ̓pí-l=qən 'Feather.' [S√extending outer layer-CONNEC=hair]
279. š-xʷ√ʔəp-əl=qən 'Hair brush.' [S,LOC√stroke-CONNEC=hair]
280. √téw̓=qən 'Mourn the dead.' [√break=hair]
281. √ləmətúw-əl=qən 'Sheep's wool' [√sheep (< French "le mouton")-CONNEC=hair]

2.2.10.1.40. ‖=qən‖ 'pharynx, language'. See also §2.2.10.1.50.
282. √xʷənítəm=qən sən 'I speak English.' [√White man=pharynx 1SUBJ]
283. xʷ√sénəč=qən sən ' I speak Saanich.' [LOC√Saanich=pharynx 1SUBJ]
284. xʷ√méʔkʷəɬ=qən sən 'I said something I didn't mean to say.' [LOC√mistake, hurt=pharynx 1SUBJ]
285. √ŋəθ-él̓=ŋəxʷ=qən 'West Coast language.'
286. √x̣áy̓=əq-əɬ 'Something's stuck in his throat.'

2.2.10.1.41. ‖=iqən‖ 'belly'.
287. √čq=íqən 'He's big bellied.' [√big=belly]
288. √t̓əm̓=íqən sən 'I got hit on the belly.' [√hit=belly 1SUBJ]

2.2.10.1.42. ‖=əqsən‖ 'nose, point, protrusion'. See §2.2.10.0.1 for other examples of this suffix. See also §2.2.10.1.27.
289. s√t̓$^{\theta}$əm̓-él=əqsən 'Bridge of the nose.' [S√bone=nose]
290. √šp=əqs-t sən səʔ 'I will sharpen it (a pencil).' [√whittle=nose-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ FUT]
291. √nəw̓=áqs-t 'Stick it in (something pointed into something hollow).' [√inside=nose-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
292. √tkʷ=áqsən 'He broke the point; he broke his nose.'

2.2.10.1.43. ‖=iqʷ‖ 'head'.
293. √t̓əm̓=íqʷ 'He got hit on the (top of his) head.'
294. s√q̓əlp=íqʷ 'Curly hair.' [S√curl (borrowed from Cowichan? Saanich root is ‖√q̓əlkʷ‖)=head]
295. √c̓əp̓=íqʷ-t-əŋ sən 'Some body squeezed my head.' [√squeeze=head-CTRAN-PASS]

296. √tˀθəkʷ=íqʷ-əŋ ‘She’s cleaning her hair.’
297. √χ̓áɬ=əqʷ ‘Headache.’ [√feel bad=head]
298. √čás=əqʷ ‘Hat.’ [√cover=head]

2.2.10.1.44. ‖=as‖ ‘face’. This seems to be the most frequently occurring of all the lexical suffixes. Suffixes ‖=alas‖ (§2.2.10.1.16) and ‖=éləs‖ (§2.2.10.1.17) are probably related to this one.
299. xʷ√tˀə́m̓=əs ‘He got hit in the face.’
300. š-xʷ√tˀθám̓=əs ‘Cheek bone.’
301. xʷ√néč=əs ‘He looks different.’ [LOC√different=face]
302. √χ̓əl̓=ás-t-əŋ sən ‘Somebody’s taking my picture.’ [√draw=face-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]
303. š√kʷ̓ən=ás-əŋ ‘Mirror; window.’ [S,LOC√see=face-CMDL]
304. √q̓əp̓=ás-t tsə n̓-s√tíqew ‘Tie up your horse.’ [√gather, tie=face-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM 2POS-S√horse]
305. xʷ√čχ̓ʷ=ás-t-əŋ ‘Somebody spat on his face.’ [LOC√expectorate=face-CTRAN-PASS]

2.2.10.1.45. ‖=əs‖ ‘day’.
306. s√ɬíxʷ=s ‘Wednesday.’ [S√three=day]

2.2.10.1.46. ‖=sən‖ ‘foot, lower leg’.
307. xʷ√tˀθəkʷ=sə́n̓-əŋ̓ sən ‘I’m washing my feet.’ [LOC√wash=foot-CMDL(ACT) 1SUBJ]
308. √qə́t=sən-tən ‘Dancer’s leg wraps.’ [√wrap around=foot-INST]
309. s√náχ̓=sən ‘Toe.’ [S√digit=foot]
310. s√ʔəʔč-é=sən ‘Pair of feet, shoes, or socks.’
311. √tˀə́m̓=sən ‘He got hit on the (lower) leg.’
312. √ɬəkʷ̓=sə́n-ət ‘Trip him.’ [√snare, snag=foot-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
313. √pəθ=sə́n-tən ‘Floor mat.’ [√spread out=foot-INST]
A few words appear with the suffix /=šən/ for ‘foot’. These are apparently borrowings from Cowichan.
314. qʷə́məχ̓ʷšən ‘Ankle (thin part of leg).’
315. q̓ƛ̓əlšə́n ‘Calf of leg.’
316. qʷɬə́y̓šən ‘Shoe (log on the foot?).’

2.2.10.1.47. ‖=sis‖ ‘hand, lower arm’.
317. xʷ√tˀθəkʷ=sí(ʔ)s-əŋ̓ sən ‘I’m washing my hands.’ [LOC√wash=hand-CMDL(ACT) 1SUBJ]
318. √ɬkʷ̓é=səs ‘He got hooked on the hand. [√snag, snare=hand]
319. s√nəχ̓-ál=səs ‘Finger.’ [S√digit-CONNEC=hand] See also example 121 in §2.2.10.1.6.
320. √χ̓p=ey̓-é=səs ‘Cedar bough.’
321. √kʷəxʷ=sís-əŋ ‘He knocked (on the door).’
322. √ɬəq̓ʷ=sís-t-əŋ ‘He got slapped on the hand.’

2.2.10.1.48. ‖=ətxʷ‖ ‘dollar’. This suffix apparently previously referred to ‘round objects’ (see M. T. Thompson, 1974 section 12.2.). However, today it is used only with words refering to numbers of dollars.
323. nətˀθékʷətxʷ ‘One dollar.’
324. √ŋəs-él=ətxʷ ‘Four dollars.’
325. √ʔəpən-él=ətxʷ ‘Ten dollars.’

2.2.10.1.49. ‖=əθ‖ ‘edge’. Notice that this suffix is similar in shape to ‖=aθin‖ ‘mouth’ (§2.2.10.1.50). In other Salish languages a cognate is considered to be a single suffix with the meanings ‘mouth, edge’. M. T. Thompson (1974:238) suggests that the general meaning for both is ‘edge’ with the connection being the lips considered "the edge of the mouth".
It seems unlikely that the final /n/ in ‖=aθin‖ is the instrument suffix in Saanich as Pidgeon suggests (pp.40-41). Since there are two different forms with corresponding different meanings, it will be best to assume two separate morphemes, at least synchronically, for Saanich.
326. √ʔáy̓=əθ ‘It’s sharp edged.’ [√good=edge]
327. š√t̓áq=əθ ‘Whetstone.’ [S,LOC√sharpen(RES)=edge]
328. √qél=əθ ‘It’s dull edged.’ [√bad=edge]

2.2.10.1.50. ‖=aθin‖ ‘mouth, chin, language’. See also §2.2.10.1.40.
329. √t̓əm̓=áθən ‘He got hit on the mouth (or chin).’
330. s√t̓$^{\theta}$əm̓=áθən ‘Jaw.’ [S√bone=mouth]
331. s√ɬ(əl)p̓=áθən ‘Lips.’ [S√sip(PL)=mouth]
332. s√ƛ̓č=áθən ‘Lower lip.’ [S√below=mouth]
333. √səmxʷ=áθən ‘Be quiet.’
334. √sənč=áθən sən ‘I speak Saanich.’ [√Saanich=mouth 1SUBJ]
335. √xʷənitəm=áθən ‘English language.’
336. √ʔəɬən=áθən ‘Eating berries out of the basket while picking.’ [√eat=mouth]
337. √kʷəx̣=θín-əŋ ‘He screamed.’
338. √ʔəx̣=θín-əŋ sən ‘I shaved.’ [√scrape=mouth-CMDL 1SUBJ]

2.2.10.1.51. ‖=it̓$^{\theta}$əʔ‖ ‘cloth, skin, hide’.
339. √ƛ̓x̣ʷ=ít̓$^{\theta}$əʔ ‘Stiff cloth.’ [√hard=cloth]
340. √qʷəl̓s=ít̓$^{\theta}$əʔ ‘She dyed it.’ [√boil=cloth]
341. š√nəw̓=ít̓$^{\theta}$əʔ šíp-ən ‘Pocket knife.’ [S,LOC√inside=cloth √whittle-INST]
342. s√pəl̓kʷ=ít̓$^{\theta}$əʔ ‘Screech owl, ghost, human corpse.’
The connection between the meaning of example 342 and the meaning of the suffix is unclear. This example may not actually belong here.

2.2.10.1.52. ‖=əwič‖ ‘back, spine’.
343. xʷ√t̓əm̓=əwíč ‘He got hit on the back.’
344. √kʷ̓əs=əwíč ‘He got burned on the back.’
345. √tkʷ=əwíč ‘He broke his spine.’

2.2.10.1.53. ‖=ew̓eč‖ ‘bottom’.
346. xʷ√t̓ém̓=əw̓əč ‘He got hit on the bottom.’
347. s√ƛ̓č=éw̓əč ‘Cellar.’ [S√deep=bottom]
348. š√t̓$^{\theta}$áʔt=əw̓əč ‘Heel.’
349. xʷ√šč=əw̓éč-t sən ‘I spanked him.’ [LOC√slap=bottom-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ]
350. xʷ√q̓əm̓=əw̓éč-ən ‘Lizard.’ [LOC√break in two=bottom-INST] (So named, presumably, for its ability to regrow a severed rear end.)
351. š√t̓$^{\theta}$əʔ=əw̓éč-ən ‘Chair.’ [S,LOC√upon=bottom-INST]

When unstressed and following a /l/ or /ɬ/ this suffix appears as /=əč/:
352. xʷ√líɬ=əč ‘Towner Bay.’ [LOC√far=bottom]
353. s√čs-él=əč ‘Stump; tree trunk.’ [S√grow-CONNEC=bottom]
354. s√ɬl-ál=əc = ‘Thigh; rump.’

2.2.10.1.54. ||=awə̓əqʷ|| ‘bundle’. The only recorded occurrences of this suffix involve numbers. Apparently this suffix is used today only in counting bundles of blankets at ceremonial gatherings.
355. √nətˀθ=áwə̓əqʷ ‘One bundle.’
356. √čs=áwə̓əqʷ ‘Two bundles.’
357. √ɬxʷ=áwə̓əqʷ ‘Three bundles.’
358. √ŋəs=áwə̓əqʷ √pəq̓-ál=kʷət ‘Four bundles of blankets.’ [√four=bundle √white-CONNEC=clothing]

2.2.10.1.55. ||=áwsə|| ‘fire’.
359. š-xʷ√čəqʷ=áwsə=eləʔ ‘Fireplace.’ [S,LOC√make=fire=container]
360. √səq̓-əl=áwsə ‘He split firewood.’ [√split-CONNEC=fire]

2.2.10.1.56. ||=ewə̓txʷ|| ‘building, house, campsite’.
361. √čəq=éwə̓txʷ ‘Longhouse.’ [√big=building]
362. √miɬəh=éwə̓txʷ ‘Dance-house.’ [√dance=building]
363. √teləh=éwə̓txʷ ‘Bank.’ [√money (< English "dollar")=building]
364. √saxʷəɬ=éwə̓txʷ ‘Barn.’ [√grass=building]
365. s√tˀθéʔ=əwə̓txʷ ‘East Saanich Reserve (high campsite).’

2.2.10.1.57. ||=eχ̣ən|| ‘arm, side of the body’.
366. s√kʷəmə̓ƛ̓-əl=éχ̣ən ‘Elbow.’
367. √tə̓mə̓-əl=éχ̣ən ‘He got hit on the arm.’
368. s-čə+√čəl̓=éχ̣ənˀ sən ‘I’m carrying it under my arm.’ [STAT-ACT+√under, after=arm 1SUBJ]
369. š-xʷ√ʔíl=əχ̣ən ‘Side of the body.’

2.2.10.1.58. ||=eyˀ|| ‘wood’. None of the roots listed here occur without this suffix.
370. √qʷɬ=eyˀ ‘Log.’
371. √χ̣p=eyˀ ‘Cedar.’
372. s√láw=iʔ ‘Cedar bark.’
373. √čəl=éyˀ ‘Bark (not cedar).’
374. s√tˀéɬˀč=iʔ ‘Snag, dead tree.’
375. √pqʷ=eyˀ ‘Rotten wood.’
376. √tˀθs=eyˀ ‘Douglas fir.’

2.2.10.2. The connectors are suffixes that appear between some roots and some lexical suffixes. Although they sometimes seem to narrow or extend the basic meaning of the suffix, any such semantic function is vague and inconsistent. It is also possible that they serve a prosodic function. When the connector has a vowel it is usually stressed.
The connectors are not limited to occurring between root and lexical suffix. They can also appear between roots of compound words, as in /√put-l√kʷíʔs/ ‘oar’ [√boat (< English)-CONNEC√move back and forth].
The functions of the connectors need much more detailed study. But here I merely list those observed to

date: /-él-/, /-(h)ál-/, /-ə́l-/, /-(ə)l-/, /-é-/, /-í-/, /-ə́-/, /-ə-/.

Notes to §2.2.

1. This term has been used by Thompson and Thompson (1971) and Raffo (1972) for the cognate morpheme in other Straits dialects.

2. This term has also been used by others for the cognate morpheme in other Straits languages.

3. This suffix is apparently cognate with a common Interior Salish morpheme glossed ‘stative’ by Mattina (1973) and ‘immediate’ by Thompson and Thompson (in press).

4. This may be cognate with any or all of three morphemes in Interior Salish labeled ‘autonomous’, ‘developmental’, and ‘translocational’ by Thompson and Thompson (in press).

5. Mattina (p.c.) has since reanalyzed this as /-tn/ ‘instrumental’. The /t/ always precedes the /n/ in this morpheme.

6. In Lushootseed the cognates -təd and -əd are phonologically conditioned variants of a single morpheme (Hess and Hilbert, 1980:153).

7. See Saunders and Davis (1975), Hagege (1976), Egesdal (1981), and Czykowski (1982) for various views on the origin and status of Salish lexical suffixes.

8. The suffixes in §2.2.10.1 are listed in alphabetical order (ʔ č c̓ h kʷ kʷ̓ l l̓ ɬ ƛ̓ m m̓ n n̓ ŋ ŋ̓ p p̓ q q̓ qʷ qʷ̓ s š t θ tʼᶿ w w̓ xʷ x̣ x̣ʷ y y̓) ignoring vowels. Forms that show /y/ ~ /č/ or /w/ ~ /kʷ/ alternation are given with the resonant in the underlying form but are alphabetized as obstruents.

9. A sixth may be /tíxʷθəɬ/ ‘tongue’. Though I was unable to elicit a corresponding lexical suffix, Pidgeon (1970) gives several examples of /=xʷθəɬ/ ‘tongue’.

10. This may be true of Straits in general. Efrat (1969) and Raffo (1972) each list fewer than forty. These low numbers may simply be due to the relatively little work Straits has seen in this area.

2.3. Radical morphological processes.

2.3.0.1. The radical morphological processes include all morphology that is not prefixation or suffixation. Radical morphological processes may also be called non-concatenative morphology since they involve morphemes that are not merely attached to the ends of the stem but are internal alterations or copies of it. The radical morphological processes active in Saanich are reduplication, infixation, ablaut, stress shift/metathesis, and glottalization.

These processes are felicitously grouped together in Saanich for several reasons. First, they all seem to indicate an allied set of notions: diminutive, collective, distributive, repetitive, continuative, resultive, etc. Taking Comrie's (1976) definition of aspect referring to "the internal temporal constituency of a situation," and the fact that all Saanich stems are basically verb-like, we can see that all of the radical morphological processes mark various aspects in a broad sense.

Second, they are formally allied in opposition to the concatenative processes of suffixation and prefixation in that all morphemes involving processes of infixation, ablaut, and stress shift/metathesis have reduplicative allomorphs, while neither prefixes nor suffixes do. In fact, morphemes that involve prefixation and suffixation have only prefixal or suffixal allomorphs. Of the seven reduplicative patterns two (§2.3.1 and §2.3.2) occur with only reduplicative allomorphs. Moreover, when these processes cooccur there arise some interesting complications that appear with no other morphological process. A strict linear ordering of application of these processes can be established (§2.3.8).

The third and least significant reason for grouping these processes together is convenience. Because of their radical altering nature and their formal interaction, these processes present the most difficulties to anyone attempting to parse a Saanich word. The task will be made easier by grouping them together.

2.3.0.2. Six reduplicative C-V patterns have been observed in Saanich: C1V́C2+, C1C2+, C1V́+, C1+, +C1í, and +C2. All C-V notations refer to the consonants and vowels of the root only. Reduplicative processes in Saanich never affect prefixes or suffixes.

Reduplication in Saanich seems to function as a morphological process in itself distinct from affixation. Besides the patterning with the other radical morphological processes noted above, reduplication differs from affixation in two other ways. First, no prefixes in Saanich can carry stress, but three regressive, "prefixal", reduplicative patterns are stressed (§2.3.1, §2.3.5.1, and §2.3.5.5). And, second, while infixation ignores prefixes it does not ignore reduplication. That is, infixes can be inserted into prefixal reduplicative material (see §2.3.3.4.3).

There are two infixes in Saanich: /(ʔ)/ 'actual' (§2.3.5) and /(l)/ 'plural' (§2.3.3). Each of these has a reduplicative allomorph, and 'actual' has in addition a stress shifted or metathesized allomorph. The 'actual' aspect is also always accompanied by the glottalization of all non-initial resonants in the word. Ablaut of the stressed root vowel, ə/e or ə/a, is the primary way the 'resultive' (§2.3.6) is marked. The 'resultive' also has a reduplicative allomorph. Substitution of /e/ for an underlying /ə́/ accompanies the 'actual' infix (§2.3.5).

2.3.1. /C1V́C2+/ 'characteristic'[1]. This pattern occurs without significant variation and seems to be fairly productive. Words with this morpheme are descriptive predicates emphasizing a characteristic trait, tendency, or disposition. A number of animal names involve this pattern.

When primary stress is attracted by certain strong suffixes the stress on the vowel will be reduced. The

vowel of the root is reduced to unstressed [ə] and is subject to deletion (see §1.5.4, §1.5.6).
I have analyzed this as regressive (prefixal) reduplication. An alternative would be to consider it progressive (suffixal with two consonant roots and infixal with roots having more than two consonants). There does seem to be some evidence that the regressive analysis is better. The evidence comes from words exhibiting complex reduplication, that is, the cooccurrence of the 'characteristic' pattern with another reduplicative morpheme.
1. séy̓+√siʔ sən 'I'm afraid.'
2. x̣íʔ+√x̣əʔ sən 'I'm embarrassed.'

Examples 1 and 2 are typical cases of the 'characteristic' reduplication pattern. When combined with the C1+ 'resultive' reduplication (§2.3.5.6) examples 3 and 4 are the products.
3. séy̓+sə+√siʔ sən 'I'm scared.'
4. x̣íʔ+x̣ə+√x̣əʔ sən 'I'm embarrassed.'

If the 'characteristic' morpheme were a case of progressive reduplication, we could expect *x̣ə+√x̣íʔ+x̣əʔ and *sə+√séy̓+siʔ since the 'resultive' reduplication is clearly regressive. The 'characteristic' morpheme must precede[2] the 'resultive' morpheme.
5. s-néw̓+√nəw̓ kʷə 'They're in now.' (This form also shows the 'resultive' (§2.3.6) of √nəw̓ 'be inside'.)
6. qʷə́l+√qʷəl 'He's talkative.' (√qʷəl 'speak')
7. čéy+√či 'He's diligent.' (√čey 'work')
8. mə́t̓+√mət̓ 'It's flexible.' (√mət̓ 'bend')
9. q̓ə̀m̓+√q̓əm̓=éčən 'A type of wasp.' (√q̓əm̓ 'cut in two')
10. x̣é?+√x̣əʔ-ɬ=net 'Sunday.' (√x̣eʔ 'sacred')
11. ƛ̓ə́x̣ʷ+√ƛ̓əx̣ʷ 'Oyster.' (√ƛ̓əx̣ʷ 'hard')
12. s-tˀ̓θéʔ+√tˀ̓θəʔ 'He's mounted (a horse).' (√tˀ̓θeʔ 'upon, high')
13. š-qéń+√qəń-s 'He's a thief.' (√qeń 'steal')
14. tˀ̓θə́x̣+√tˀ̓θəx̣ 'Stinging nettles.' (√tˀ̓θəx̣ 'poison')

Some words have been recorded that certainly involve this morpheme, though their roots do not seem to occur independently.
15. séxʷ+√səxʷ 'He's lazy.'
16. sə́l̓+√səl̓qʷ 'He's lonesome.'
17. q̓ʷə́l+√q̓ʷəl 'It's tame.' (√q̓ʷəl 'cooked, ripe')
18. t̓ə̀l+√t̓əl-él̓s-əŋ 'It's numb.'
19. čə́l̓+√čəl̓xʷ 'It's loose.'
20. kʷ̓ám+√kʷ̓əm 'He's strong.'
21. šə́ń+√šəń 'He's alone.'
22. s-t̓ə́l+√t̓ələq 'It's speckled.'
23. kʷ̓ə́y̓+√kʷ̓iʔ 'He's hungry.'

A few words whose roots do not occur elsewhere seem to bear this reduplicative pattern, but connections between the meanings of the words and the meaning of the morpheme 'characteristic' are obscure:
24. s-q̓ə́ɬ+√q̓əɬ 'Muskrat.'
25. s-kʷə́ń+√kʷən̓ 'Carbuncle.'
26. s-x̣ʷə́y̓+√x̣ʷiʔ 'Masked dancer.'

27. sál̓+√səl̓-tən ‘Leg spindle.’
28. mús+√məs ‘Cow.’ (< Chinook Jargon)
29. s-q̓ə̀m+√q̓əm-íl ‘High tide.’
30. ŋél̓+√ŋəl̓ ‘Fish bait.’
31. s-x̣ám̓+√x̣əm̓ ‘Horsetail.’ (√x̣əm̓ ‘heavy’?)
32. t̓$^{\theta}$íx^{w}+√t̓$^{\theta}$əx^{w} ‘Fish hawk.’ (√t̓$^{\theta}$ix^{w} ‘pity’?)

2.3.2. C1+...(ʔ) ‘diminutive.’ This morpheme is, unfortunately, poorly represented in the corpus. There are enough examples, however, to discern some patterns.
The reference of stems with this pattern is always to something less in size, number, or frequency than the reference of the stem without it. This morpheme is distinct from one meaning ‘young of a species’ (see example 49 below and §2.2.10.1.18).

2.3.2.1. As the notation above implies, the basic form of this morpheme is discontinuous: reduplication of the first root consonant is accompanied by a glottal stop infixed after the stressed vowel (see §1.5.8 on epenthetic schwa):
33. pə+√pá(ʔ)x^{w}-ən ‘Small sail.’ (páx^{w}ən ‘sail’)
34. s-tə+√tá(ʔ)kən ‘Little sock.’ (stákən ‘sock’ < English)
35. s-čə+√čá(ʔ)s=əq^{w} ‘Little hat.’ (sčásəq^{w} ‘hat’)
36. k^{w}ə+√k^{w}í(ʔ)θ=nəč ‘It’s tilted a little.’ (k^{w}əθnéčt ‘tilt it’)
37. ʔiʔ k^{w}ə+√ké(ʔ)yəl ‘It’s dawn.’ (k^{w}éčəl ‘It’s daytime.’ See §1.5.9 on y ~ č.)
38. k̓^{w}ə+√k̓^{w}á(ʔ) təʔ ‘Crow.’ (sk̓^{w}táʔ ‘raven’)

2.3.2.2. When the consonant following the stressed vowel is a resonant or glottal stop, the infix coalesces with it. This differs from the ‘actual’ infix, which does not merge with a following /ʔ/. See §2.3.5.1.
39. čə+√čáy̓əƛ̓ ‘He’s short.’
40. k̓^{w}ə+√k̓^{w}áw̓yək^{w} ‘Small fish hook.’ (k̓^{w}áwyək^{w} ‘fishhook’)
41. s-qə+√qx̣=áʔ=aɬ ‘Little puppy.’ (sqéx̣əʔ ‘dog’)
42. mə+√mím̓ən ‘It’s little.’
43. ƛ̓ə+√ƛ̓áw̓ƛ̓əʔ ‘A little bit; few.’ (ƛ̓áw̓ƛ̓əʔ ‘less’)

Examples 42 and 43 are similar in form and may involve a double reduplication that is not yet understood.

2.3.2.3. When the morphemes ‘diminutive’ and ‘actual’ cooccur in a stem the ordinary realization of the ‘actual’ (see §2.3.5) for the stem is replaced. The simple ‘actual’ has several different morphologically and phonologically conditioned allomorphs: reduplicative, infixed, and stress shifted/metathesized. Though the evidence is limited, the ‘actual’ of the ‘diminutive’ seems to be formed uniformly with C1V̓+ reduplication. Compare the following:
44. √štə́ŋ ‘He walked.’
45. ʔiʔ √šə́təŋ ‘He’s walking now.’ [ACCOM √walk(ACT)]
46. ʔiʔ šə́+√štəŋ ‘He’s taking a little walk.’ [ACCOM DIM(ACT)+√walk]

Example 44 is the simple ‘non-actual’ form; 45 is the ordinary metathesized ‘actual’. Example 46 is the ‘actual’ of the ‘diminutive’.
Another case is the word for ‘river’ which is ordinarily in the ‘actual’ form with the infixed /(ʔ)/ (§2.3.5.2)

realized as glottalization on the /l/:
47. s√táɬəw̓ 'River.'
48. s-tá+√tələw̓ 'Creek.'

Note that the /l/ in 48 is not glottalized. It is the diminutive of example 47 and exhibits the C1V̓+ form of the 'actual' of the 'diminutive'. This may not be simply a substitute reduplicative pattern but a case of the metathesized allomorph of the 'actual' replacing the infixed allomorph. See §2.3.8 on the relative ordering of the radical morphological processes.

2.3.2.4. The C1V̓+ form of the 'diminutive' has been recorded also in one 'non-actual' form:
49. pú+√ps 'Small cat.' (√pus 'cat'; √pus=áɬ 'kitten')

The root in example 49 happens to be borrowed, but it is doubtful that this is the reason for its apparently unique 'diminutive'.[3] Borrowed words in Saanich generally take the least marked allomorph for any morpheme. Strictly morphologically conditioned variation in derived forms of borrowed words is, if non-existent, extremely rare. It makes sense then to look for some phonological factors influencing the form of the 'diminutive' in example 49.
This word, /pús/, also happens to be the only one syllable, CVC stem recorded with a corresponding 'diminutive'. The expected but non-occurring form for the diminutive of /pús/, *pəpúʔs, would be unusual in that it carries ultimate stress. Some forms of the 'plural' (§2.3.3.4), for instance, have special allomorphs that have the effect of avoiding final word stress. For example, the 'plural' of the word for 'cat' is not *pəlús but /púʔləs/. Only one syllable stems have this allomorph of the 'plural'.
It seems likely then that the form of the 'diminutive' in example 49 is phonologically conditioned. We can expect the 'diminutive' of other CVC stems to have C1V̓+ reduplication.

2.3.3. Plural.
The term 'plural' is a bit misleading in that the meaning of this morpheme does not exactly correspond to usual notions of purality. This morpheme usually indicates a 'collective' idea, referring to a group of items considered together rather than a number of items considered individually. Translations usually are in the form of phrases such as "a bunch of ..." or "lots of ...". Generally, in intransitive forms the plurality reflects on the subject, in transitives on the object. Plurality as a category in Saanich is obligatorily marked in only the first person subjects, objects, and posessives (see §2.4).
There are four major allomorphs of the 'plural'. /(l)/ is by far the most common and itself has some variation (§2.3.3.4). +C1í is less common and usually phonologically predictable (§2.3.3.1). The other two major allomorphs both involve C1C2+. One occurs fairly frequently and is phonologically predictable (§2.3.3.3), while the other is rare and morphologically conditioned (§2.3.3.2). Aside from these four, there are a number of words that seem to remain unmarked in the plural (§2.3.3.5). And, there are a few apparently irregularly marked plurals (§2.3.3.6).

2.3.3.1. +C1í 'plural'. About fifty examples of this form have been recorded in quite common words. It has never been recorded in European loans (see §2.3.3.4).
This form exhibits regressive or infixal[4] reduplication of the first consonant of the root accompanied by the replacement of the stressed /ə/ of the root by /í/[5].
This form of the plural is generally predictable given the following conditions:
A. The root is marked for plural at all.

B. The stem has no vowel but /ə/.
C. The root does not begin with /ʔ/.
D. The stem involves no other form of reduplication.

A fifth condition might be that the root not be a borrowed form. Stems have been recorded that are exceptions: /tᶿə́x̣tən/ 'poison', /štə́mkʷəs/ 'automobile', /škʷəstə́nəŋ/ 'bridge', /šq̓ə́m̓sət/ 'trail', /q̓x̣ʷəẇɬ/ 'big canoe', and /x̣əlx̣ə́kʷəɬ/ 'war canoe'. Another exception, /hə́mən/ 'hammer', is apparently a borrowing. The first four are considered "modern" words. The last two are likely loans from Wakashan. Each of these exceptions takes the /(l)/ form of the plural (§2.3.3.4) even though they all have only /ə/ as vowels, do not have /ʔ/ as C1 and are not reduplicated. /ŋə́nəʔ/ 'offspring' is another exception, but it does not take the infix. See §2.3.3.2. Any other stem that does not meet these conditions does not form the 'plural' with +C1í.
Some examples are:
50. š√qʷə+qʷíl̓s 'Pots.' (šqʷəl̓s 'pot for cooking')
51. s√ƛ̓ə+ƛ̓íwən 'Several pairs of earrings.' (ƛ̓áwən 'earrings')
52. s√wə+wíl-tən 'Nets.' (swə́ltən 'net, web')
53. s√q̓ə+q̓íməl̓ 'Paddles.' (sq̓ə́məl̓ 'canoe paddle')
54. √kʷ̓ə+kʷ̓íləẇ 'A bunch of hides.' (kʷ̓ə́ləẇ 'hide, skin')
55. s√mə+mít=əqsən 'Lots of snot.' (smətəqsən 'nasal mucus')
56. √sə+símiʔ 'Blankets.' (səmə́y̓ 'blanket')
57. s√mə+míyəθ 'A group of deer.' (smə́yəθ 'deer')
58. √ŋə+ŋíqsən 'A lot of noses.' (ŋə́qsən 'nose')
59. √tə+tíŋəxʷ-s 'They're his lands.' (tə́ŋəxʷs 'It's his land.')
60. s√nə+níxʷəɬ 'Canoes.' (snə́xʷəɬ 'canoe')
61. s√pə+píɬx̣ən 'Valleys.' (spə́ɬx̣ən 'valley, field')
62. s√x̣ə+x̣ínəʔ 'Legs.' (sx̣ə́nəʔ 'leg')
63. √čə+čínəs 'Teeth.' (čə́nəs 'tooth')

2.3.3.2. C1C2+ 'plural'. A very small number of stems form the 'plural' with this reduplicative pattern. Only three stems involving two roots have been observed. These stems occur frequently and have obvious semantic similarity:
64. s-ɬən+√ɬéniʔ 'Women.' (sɬéniʔ 'woman')
65. s-ɬən+√ɬənəč=áʔ=aɬ 'Girls.' (sɬənəčáʔaɬ 'Girl')
66. ŋən+√ŋə́n=əʔ-s 'Her/his children.' (ŋə́nəʔ 'son, daughter')

2.3.3.3. C1C2+ 'plural' with C2 being either /l/ or /l̓/. About twenty examples of this 'plural' have been recorded. The rule can be stated as follows: stems that do not form the 'plural' by +C1í (§2.3.3.1) and have /l/ or /l̓/ in C2 position form the 'plural' by regressive reduplication of the first and second consonants (with epenthetic /ə/).
Three forms have been found to be exceptions[6]: /kʷəlíqən/ 'small bare hill', /šməlq̓ʷéləʔ/ 'grave', and /x̣əlx̣ə́kʷəɬ/ 'war canoe'. Note that this last is also one of the exceptions to the +C1í form of 'plural' mentioned in §2.3.3.1. And as with those exceptions the plural of each of these is formed with the infix (§2.3.3.4).
Some examples:
67. s-ťəl̓+√ťél̓=ŋəxʷ 'Medicines.' (sťél̓ŋəxʷ 'medecine')

68. s-ʔəl+√ʔéləxʷ ‘Elders.’ (sʔéləxʷ ‘elder’)
69. s-təl̓+√tál̓əẇ ‘Rivers.’ (stál̓əẇ ‘river’)
70. s-x̌̓əl+√x̌̓éləqəm ‘Fierce animals.’ (sx̌̓éləqəm ‘fierce animal’)
71. səl+√séləs ‘Hands.’ (séləs ‘hand’)
72. s-qəl+√qéləẋ ‘Root diggers.’ (qéləẋ ‘root digger’)
73. t̓əl̓+√t̓íl̓əm̓ ‘They’re singing.’ (t̓íl̓əm̓ ‘He’s singing.’)
74. s-ɬəl+√ɬáləč ‘Thighs.’ (sɬáləč ‘thigh’)
75. səl+√síləʔ ‘Grandparents.’ (síləʔ ‘grandparent’)
76. s-qəl+√qəl-él=ŋəxʷ ‘Trees.’ (sqəlélŋəxʷ ‘tree’)

2.3.3.4. /(l)/ ‘plural’. This is by far the most common form of the ‘plural’. Over two hundred words have been recorded using this infix.

2.3.3.4.1. This is the ‘plural’ marker for all words that can be marked for ‘plural’ (see §2.3.3.5 for those that are not marked and §2.3.3.6 for irregular plurals) except those that meet the conditions for +C1í (§2.3.3.1), those that take C1C2+ (§2.3.3.2 and §2.3.3.3), and those listed in §2.3.3.6. The placement of this infix follows simple and quite clear-cut rules[7]: /əl/ is placed immediately after the first consonant of the root (see examples 77 through 90) unless 1) the word consists of only one (C)CVC syllable, in which case /ʔlə/ is placed after the vowel, which if it is /i/ becomes /e/ (examples 91 through 96), or 2) the second consonant of the root is /ʔ/ and it is followed by another consonant, in which case /lə/ is placed between the first vowel and the glottal stop. (examples 97 through 101).
The conditions for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 - 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.
77. s√n(əl)s-éʔmən ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(əl)áθ=əs ‘Faces.’ (sʔáθəs ‘face’)
79. √š(əl)p=áqs-t ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (špáqst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ɬ(əl)p̓=áθən ‘Lips.’ (sɬp̓áθən ‘lip’)
81. √s(əl)éq-əɬ ‘They’re outside.’ (séqəɬ ‘He’s outside.’)
82. √h(əl)íʔəẇ ‘Everybody’s sitting in the bow.’ (ʔiʔ híʔəẇ ‘He’s sitting in the bow.’)
83. √m(əl)áay̓ ‘Baskets.’ (máay̓ ‘basket’)
84. √ŋ(əl)íq̓-ən ‘Masts.’ (ŋíq̓ən ‘mast’)
85. š√q̓(əl)əm̓-sət ‘Trails.’ (šq̓əm̓sət ‘trail, path’)
86. √t̓$^{\theta}$(əl)əm̓=éen ‘Arrows.’ (t̓$^{\theta}$əm̓éen ‘arrow’. This contains the same root as example 91 below.)
87. √s(əl)éčs ‘Aunts, uncles.’ (sečs ‘aunt, uncle’)
88. √š(əl)əmén-s ‘They’re his enemies.’ (šəméns ‘his enemy’)
89. √t̓$^{\theta}$(əl)áẋ-tən ‘A lot of poison.’ (t̓$^{\theta}$áẋtən ‘poison’)
90. √kʷ(əl)əníŋət ‘They’re running.’ (kʷəníŋət ‘run’)

Bases with (C)CVC:
91. s√t̓$^{\theta}$á(ʔlə)m̓ ‘Bones.’ (√t̓$^{\theta}$am̓. Compare with example 86 above.)
92. s√čá(ʔlə)ɬ ‘Lots of wood.’ (√čaɬ)
93. √sá(ʔlə)ɬ ‘Roads; doors.’ (√saɬ)
94. √ná(ʔlə)s ‘They’re fat.’ (√nas)
95. √ẋé(ʔlə)č̓ sən ‘I got all scratched up.’ (ẋéč̓ sən ‘I got scratched.’)
96. √x̌̓é(ʔlə)w̓ ‘They ran away.’ (√x̌̓iw̓)

Bases with ...V?C:
97. √mé(lə)?kʷəɬ 'They got hurt.' (√mé?kʷəɬ 'hurt')
98. √q̓é(lə)ŋi=ʔ 'Several maidens.' (q̓é?ŋiʔ 'maiden')[8]
99. nə-s√čé(lə)?č=əʔ 'They're my friends.' (nəsčé?čəʔ 'my friend')
100. √ʔé(lə)ʔləŋ 'Houses.' (√ʔé?ləŋ)

2.3.3.4.2. When a borrowed word is marked for plural it takes /(l)/ like native words:
101. √pú(ʔlə)s 'Cats.' (√pus)
102. √k(əl)əpú 'Coats.' (kəpú < French "capot")
103. s√t(əl)ákən 'Socks.' (stákən < English)
104. √k(əl)áa 'Cars.' (káa < English)
105. √w(əl)íič 'Wedges.' (wíič < English)
106. √s(əl)plíl 'Lots of bread.' (səplíl < Chinook Jargon)
107. √ʔ(əl)épəls 'Apples.' (ʔépəls < English)
108. √l(əl)klí 'Keys.' (ləklí < French "la clef")

2.3.3.4.3. This form of the plural has been found to occur in words involving other types of radical morphological processes. Reduplicated material is treated as part of the root, not as a prefix.
109. š(əl)ə+√šḵʷá(ʔə)mɁ 'There's a bunch of them swimming.' [ACT(PL)+√swim(ACT)]
110. ḵʷ(əl)ə+√ḵʷəẇyəkʷ 'Little fishhooks.' [DIM(PL)+√fishhook] (Compare with §2.3 example 40.)
111. s-t(əl)á+√tələẇ 'Creeks.' [S-DIM,ACT(PL)+√river] (Compare with §2.3 examples 47, 48, and 69.)
112. ḵʷ(əl)ə+√ḵʷátəʔ 'Crows.' [DIM(PL)+√raven]
113. q̓(əl)əmɁ+√q̓əmɁ 'It's cut up (into a lot of strips).' [CHAR(PL)+√cut off] (q̓əmɁq̓əmət sən 'I cut it up.'; q̓əmɁət sən 'I cut it off.')
114. s-qʷ(əl)əl̓+√qʷəl̓ 'Several stories.' [S-CHAR(PL)+√speak]

One example has been observed of this suffix being treated as part of the root in a reduplicative process:
115. x̣(əl)+√x̣(əl)əƛ̓-sət 'It's stormy; the wind's blowing and blowing.' [REPET(PL)+√wind(PL)-REFL] (x̣éƛ̓ 'It's windy; the water's rough'; x̣éƛ̓sət 'It's a storm.')

2.3.3.5. There are a number of words for which no plural form could be elicited and all tries at plural formation were rejected. This may involve a zero allomorph for the plural, but I suspect that for many, if not all, of these there are pragmatic reasons for rejecting plural forms. These reasons are sometimes easy to see. For example, there are two words for 'raven', /sḵʷtáʔ/ and /spáal̓/. The second cannot be pluralized because it is the special word for the character 'Raven' in traditional stories and there is only one 'Raven'. In another instance the word for 'moose', /kʷéwəʔəč/, cannot be pluralized because "you never see a bunch of moose, just one or two." In the same vein, it was difficult to elicit plurals for /sq̓ʷáŋiʔ/ 'head' and /mén/ 'father' since "you can only have one." Plurals of these were elicited, however, through the invention of appropriate contexts: "There's a bunch of fish heads" and "All the boys' fathers ...".
For the words in the following list even imagined contexts were unsuccessful in eliciting plurals: /qéq/ 'baby', /ŋéqəʔ/ 'snow', /sθíməʔ/ 'ice', /sqəl̓éẇ/ 'beaver', /sqʷáməʔ/ 'catfish', /t̓ᶿəməkʷəʔ/ 'perch', /q̓ʷál̓əxʷ/ 'chum salmon', /ŋéʔəqs/ 'pitch torch', /səmčə́ʔs/ 'lump on a tree', /pqʷéẏ̓/ 'rotten wood', /ɬə́q̓əs/ 'edible seaweed', /sqéwθ/ 'potato', /kʷə́mkʷəm/ 'drum', /qʷčmín/ 'dancer's rattle', /čát̓əʔ/ 'clam

barbecuing stick', /ləšás/ 'angel', /ləmətú/ 'sheep', and /sŋénət/ 'sinker for fish line'.
The last three items are particularly puzzling. The words for 'angel' and 'sheep' are obviously borrowings and many other similar loans readily take the infixed 'plural'. Why not these two?[9] The word for 'sinker', also meaning 'rock, mountain', is not a borrowing. One can say /ŋə́n̓ sŋénət/ meaning 'many stones', 'many mountains', or 'many sinkers', but /ŋə́n̓ sŋəlénət/ can mean only 'many stones' or 'many mountains'. /sŋénət/ as 'sinker' cannot be marked for plural.

2.3.3.6. Five words have been found to have plural forms that do not fit into any of these patterns:
116. méʔən 'Fathers.' (mén 'father')
117. téʔən 'Mothers.' (tén 'mother')
118. swáʔəẇləs 'Young men.' (swíẇləs 'young man')
119. sẇwáy̓qəʔ 'Men.' (swáy̓qəʔ 'man')
120. čiyénəxʷ 'Lots of fish.' (sčéenəxʷ 'fish, salmon')

2.3.4. /C1C2+/ 'repetitive'. The limited number of examples of this morpheme in the corpus is probably due to the fact that I made no specific attempts to elicit it rather than to its natural scarcity. Only ten examples have been recorded.
Though similar in form and meaning to the reduplicative forms of the 'plural', 'repetitive' differs in a number of respects and must be considered a distinct morpheme. 'Plural' and 'repetitive' are not in complementary distribution. The same root can occur with either or both morphemes with corresponding differences in meanings. Where a predicate in the 'plural' refers to the number of the subject or object, a predicate marked 'repetitive' refers to iterations of the action or state expressed in the predicate itself. The following examples show 'repetitive' in contrast to 'actual' and 'plural' of 'actual'.
121. nəč+√náč-ət-əŋ 'He laughed and laughed at him.' [REPET+√laugh-CTRAN-PASS]
122. √náč-əŋ 'He laughed.' [√laugh-CMDL]
123. kʷɬ nə+√náy̓-əŋ̓ 'He's laughing now.' [REAL ACT+√laugh(ACT)-CMDL]
124. n(əl)+√náy̓-əŋ 'They're laughing.' [ACT(PL)+√laugh(ACT)-CMDL]

See example 115 above for the cooccurrence of 'repetitive' and 'plural'.
Note in the following examples that the 'repetitive' is sometimes translated with English progressive '-ing' and sometimes with English plural. Nevertheless, it is distinct from the Saanich 'actual', usually translated with '-ing' forms in English, and 'plural' morphemes.
125. xʷ-s-ʔəč+√ʔáč+əč 'He's stuttering.' (See §2.3.7 on the second reduplication in this form.)
126. x̣ʷəmx̣ʷəməyásət 'He's spinning like a top.'
127. xʷ-ƛ̓əl+√ƛ̓əlaʔ=ás 'He's looking around (moving head back and forth).'
128. nəq+√náq-əŋ 'He keeps diving and coming up, diving and coming up.' (náqəŋ 'He dove.')
129. čəqʷ+√čáqʷ-t-əs 'He's turning the light off and on and off and on.' (čáqʷət 'Light it.')
130. nəť$^{\theta}$+√náť$^{\theta}$əʔ kʷə nə-s-iʔ √səʔéẇ-əs 'I put them down one by one.' [REPET+√one SUB 1POS-S-? √put down(ACT)]
131. θəŋ+√θéŋ 'Twice.' (sθəŋnéts 'second day, Tuesday')
132. ʔən̓+√ʔén̓ 'Too much.' (√ʔen̓ 'much')
133. š-ť$^{\theta}$əm̓+√ť$^{\theta}$ám̓=əčən 'Several bracelets.' (šť$^{\theta}$ám̓əčən 'bracelet')
134. x̣əŋ+√x̣éŋ-ələʔ 'Hawk.' (Root meaning unknown)

Example 133 is translated as plural and a 'repetitive' reading of the form is not obvious. However, this

form contains the root /t̓ᶿam̓/ 'bone' the 'plural' of which is /t̓ᶿáʔləm̓/, the expected infix 'plural' form (see §2.3.3.4.1 examples 86 and 91).

2.3.5. Actual aspect.

The 'actual'[10] aspect is opposed to 'nonactual' and signals that the action, state, or other reference of the predicate is actually occurring at an indicated time. It is often translated into English in the form of 'be ... -ing' progressive aspect and the English progressive is nearly always rendered in the 'actual' in Saanich. However, a predicate in the 'actual' need not refer to a continuous or progressing action. See especially examples 139-140 in this section and examples 47-48 in §2.3.2.3. Predicates in the 'actual' often occur with the proclitics /kʷɬ/ 'already' and /ʔiʔ/ 'accompanying'.

2.3.5.0.1. Around three hundred examples of the 'actual' have been recorded. It is the most frequently occurring aspect after the 'nonactual' and quite easy to elicit.

2.3.5.0.2. It has three primary forms: /(ʔ)/ (§2.3.5.1), C1V́+ (§2.3.5.2), and stress shift/metathesis (§2.3.5.4) and one rather marginal form: C1+ (§2.3.5.3). Each of these forms is accompanied by the glottalization of all non-initial resonants. The distribution of these forms is largely, but not entirely, phonologically predictable.

2.3.5.1. /(ʔ)/ 'actual'. This is the most common form of the 'actual'. This form occurs in almost half of all recorded occurrences of the 'actual' aspect.
The complete picture of the rules for the placement of this infix involves references to rules for the placement of other morphological processes with which /(ʔ)/ is in complementary distribution. For the sake of perspicuity the distribution of the most obviously regular cases of the most common allomorph will be described first. As the distributions of the other allomorphs are described, the rule for the placement of this infix will be simplified.

2.3.5.1.1. A first approximation to the rule for placement of the infix can be stated as follows:
In monosyllabic stems with roots of the shapes CV, CVVC, or CVCC or in multi-syllabic stems where A) an underlying /í/, /é/, or /á/ is followed by either 1) /ʔ/ or 2) one or no consonants, or B) /ə́/ is followed by a resonant, the 'actual' is formed by the insertion of /ʔ/ after the stressed vowel.

There are exceptions to this rule (§2.3.5.1.5) which will contribute to a reformulation in §2.3.5.4.3.4.
This rule for the placement of the 'actual' infix includes more than it excludes. Specifically, it excludes the environments for the C1V́+ (§2.3.5.2) and stress shift/metathesis (§2.3.5.3) forms. So, in other words, a /ʔ/ infixed after the stressed vowel forms the 'actual' unless 1) the stressed vowel of the root is /ə/ followed by an obstruent (but see §2.3.5.1.4), 2) the vowel is followed by two consonants the first of which is not /ʔ/, or 3) the 'non-actual' stem is a single syllable, i.e. it has only one vowel. When stress of the base is not in the root but in a suffix, the 'actual' is always formed by insertion of /ʔ/ after the stressed vowel (§2.3.5.1.4).

2.3.5.1.2. The following examples illustrate environment A.1 (§2.3.5.2). Note that a /ə/ is automatically inserted between the two glottal stops. Note also that this infixed /ʔ/ differs from the 'diminutive' infix. See §2.3.2.2.

135. √ʔəlé(ʔ)əʔ-nəxʷ sən 'I'm hearing it now.' (ʔəlén̓əxʷ sən 'I heard something.'[11] Note that /ʔn/ is

realized as /n̓/. They are separated in the example to illustrate the structure.)
136. kʷɬ ʔəlx̣əẇéʔəʔ ɬtə 'We're pit-lamping, now.' (ʔəlx̣əẇéʔ 'pit-lamp for crabs, etc.')

2.3.5.1.3. The following examples illustrate environment A.2. Note that when the infix precedes one or no consonants before a word boundary (i.e. _____(C)#) a /ə/ is automatically inserted.
137. kʷɬ iʔ √ʔənʔé(ʔ)ə 'He's coming.' (√ʔənʔé 'come')
138. kʷɬ √ɬəŋé(ʔ)ə-s tsə √tθís-ən 'He's pulling the nail.' (ɬəŋés tsə tθísən 'He pulled the nail.)
139. kʷɬ s√məlyí(ʔ)ə 'He's married.' (məlyítəl sən 'I got married.' Note that with the 'stative' prefix the 'actual' forms are glossed like the 'resultive'. See §2.3.5.2 and §2.3.6).
140. s√téŋ kʷə n̓-s√né(ʔ)ə-t tséʔə 'What do you call that there?' [s√what SUB 2POS-S√name(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM] (Root is CV.)
141. kʷɬ √sé(ʔ)ə-t sən 'I'm sending him now.' (sét sən 'I sent him.' Root is CV.)
142. x̣ʷáʔaŋ̓ 'He's weeping.' (√x̣ʷáaŋ Root is CVVC.)
143. kʷɬ šáʔpt 'He's whistling now.' (√šapt Root is CVCC.)
144. ʔiʔ √θəŋé(ʔ)əʔ-t sən 'I'm packing it (on back) now.' (√θəŋéʔ)

2.3.5.1.3.1. Examples 145-153 show the most frequently occurring environment for /(ʔ)/ with the stressed vowel followed by CV.
145. √ʔí(ʔ)tθ-əŋ̓ 'He's getting dressed.' (ʔítθəŋ 'He got dressed.')
146. kʷɬ √ʔé(ʔ)č-ət sən 'I'm wiping it now.' (ʔéčət 'wipe it')
147. kʷɬ √ʔí(ʔ)ɬən̓ sən 'I'm eating now.' (ʔíɬən ləʔ sən 'I ate.')
148. √čá(ʔ)qʷ-əŋ̓ 'He's pouring with sweat.' (čáqʷəŋ 'sweat')
149. √tá(ʔ)qʷ-əŋ̓ 'He's coughing now.' (táqʷəŋ 'cough')
150. √wé(ʔ)qəs 'He's yawning.' (wéqəs 'yawn')
151. ʔiʔ √xʷí(ʔ)t-əŋ̓ 'He's jumping.' (√xʷítəŋ 'jump')
152. √x̣é(ʔ)q̓-əŋ̓ sən 'I'm scratching.' (x̣éq̓əŋ sən 'I scratched.')
153. kʷɬ √tθí(ʔ)s-ət sən 'I'm nailing it now.' (tθísət sən 'I nailed it.')

2.3.5.1.3.2. When a resonant follows the stressed vowel in the stem, the glottal stop infix merges with the resonant as usual. A /ə/ in an immediately following syllable is deleted.
154. ʔiʔ ɬəkʷ̓=sán̓-t sən 'I'm tripping him.' (ɬəkʷ̓sán-ət sən 'I tripped him.')
155. kʷɬ √t̓ám̓-t ɬtə 'We're hitting it.' (t̓ám̓ət ɬtə 'We hit it.')
156. kʷɬ √kʷál̓-t sən 'I'm pouring it.' (kʷál-ət 'pour it')
157. √čán̓-t sən 'I'm burying it now.' (čánət sən 'I buried it.')
158. čéẇt sən 'I'm admiring him.'
159. √ɬál̓-t-əs 'He's splashing it.' (ɬálətəs 'He splashed it.')
160. kʷɬ √ɬám̓x̣ʷ-t sən 'I'm rubbing it.' (ɬáməx̣ʷt 'rub it')
161. ʔiʔ √qʷál̓-sət sən 'I'm bailing (a canoe).' (qʷáləsət 'bail')
162. √q̓ám̓-t sən 'I'm breaking it.' (q̓ám̓ət sən 'I broke it.')

2.3.5.1.4. The following are examples of the 'actual' infix in strong suffixes.
163. xʷ√tθs=á(ʔ)s-t-əŋ̓ 'He's getting punched in the face.' [LOC√punch=face(ACT)-CTRAN-PASS]
164. kʷɬ iʔ √ʔəm̓=é(ʔ)q-t-əs 'He's delivering it.' (ʔəméqtəs 'He delivered it.')
165. √ʔəɬp-é(ʔ)=səs 'He's slipping (doing something with hands).' (ʔəɬpésəs 'He slipped.')
166. √čx̣ʷ=é(ʔ)ɬsəʔ 'He's spitting.' (čx̣ʷéɬsəʔ 'spit')

167. xʷ√məkʷ=θí(ʔ)-t-əs ‘She’s kissing him.’ (xʷməkʷθítəs ‘She kissed him.’)

2.3.5.1.5. A few forms are apparent exceptions to the placement rules outlined above. These will prove to be no exceptions at all when other facts related to the stress shift/metathesis form of the ‘actual’ are considered (§2.3.5.4.3.4).
The exceptions are of two kinds. A few stems that have /ə́/ in the ‘nonactual’ have this converted to /é/ when followed by the ‘actual’ infix (examples 168-173). And there are some other forms where the schwa preceded by the ‘actual’ infix and a resonant does not delete (examples 171-176).
168. √x̣é(ʔ)š-əŋ̓ sən ‘I’m tripping.’ (x̣éšəŋ ‘He tripped.’)
169. kʷɬ √ɬé(ʔ)t̓əm̓ sən ‘I’m herring fishing.’ (ɬét̓əm)
170. kʷɬ √té(ʔ)š-əl-t sən ‘I’m turning it upright now.’ (tášəlt sən ‘I turned it upright.’)
171. √ʔəɬté-əŋ̓ ‘She’s berry picking.’ (ʔəɬtánəŋ ‘pick berries’)
172. √kʷé-ət ‘I’m looking at it now.’ (kʷánət sən ‘I looked at it.’)
173. kʷɬ iʔ √téy̓-əl̓ ‘He’s going upstream.’ (téyəl ‘go upstream’)
174. kʷɬ √ʔám̓ət ‘He’s sleeping.’ (√ʔámət)
175. kʷɬ iʔ √tʼθəʔ-íl̓-əŋ̓ sən ‘I’m mounting (a horse) now.’ (tʼθəʔíləŋ sən ‘I got on.’)
176. ʔiʔ √sq-íl̓-əŋ̓ ‘I’m going out.’ (sqíləŋ ‘go/come out’)

2.3.5.2. C1V́+ ‘actual’. This reduplicative pattern marks the ‘actual’ in around forty of the three hundred occurrences of this aspect in the corpus.

2.3.5.2.1. When the stem is monosyllabic but not CV, CVVC, or CVCC, or when the stressed vowel in the root is followed by CCV (where the first C is not /ʔ/), the ‘actual’ is formed by regressive[12] reduplication of the first consonant of the root and an immediately following stressed vowel. The unstressed vowel then reduces to /ə/. Some generalizations are made on this in §2.3.5.4.3.5.

2.3.5.2.2. The following are a few of the clear cases of the ‘actual’ in this form.
177. ʔiʔ ɬí+√ɬəkʷ=sən̓ sən ‘I’m tripping.’ (ɬíkʷsən sən ‘I tripped.’ Compare with 154 above.)
178. qé+√qən̓ ‘He’s stealing (something).’ (sqén̓ ‘It’s stolen.)
179. kʷí+√wən̓-təl̓ ‘They’re fighting.’ (kʷíntəl ‘They fought.’ The /kʷ/ of the root is an underlying resonant which surfaces when taking the ‘actual’ glottalization.)
180. tʼθé+√tʼθəʔ ‘He’s riding a horse.’ (√tʼθeʔ ‘on top’. Compare with 175 above.)
181. kʷɬ qʷá+√qʷəl̓ ‘He’s saying it now.’ (√qʷəl̓. Compare with examples 253 and 262 below.)
182. kʷɬ té+√tiʔ ɬtə ‘We’re canoe racing.’ (√tey ‘canoe race’. Unstressed /ə/ is deleted before /y/. See §1.5.6.)
183. čá+y̓əq ‘He’s getting big.’ (√čəq ‘big’)
184. ʔiʔ x̌ʼí+√x̌ʼəw̓ ‘He’s running away.’ (√x̌ʼiw̓)
185. s-qé+√qəw̓ ‘He’s resting. ‘ (√qew)
186. kʷɬ ɬá+√ɬəp̓ sən ‘I’m eating (soup).’ (√ɬap̓)
187. s-kʷú+√kʷəl̓ ‘He’s going to school.’ (skʷúl < English)

2.3.5.2.3. C1V́+ is also the form of the ‘actual’ of the ‘diminutive’. See §2.3.2.3.

2.3.5.3. C1+ ‘actual’. Nine words have been found to form the ‘actual’ by regressive reduplication of the first consonant of the root. Roots forming the ‘actual’ in this way have not been seen in stems forming the

'actual' in other ways. It seems, then, that this form of the 'actual' is morphologically determined by the root.

The following examples are the only ones recorded with this form of the 'actual'.
188. šə+√šk̓ʷá(ʔə)m̓ sən 'I'm swimming.' (šk̓ʷám̓ 'swim')
189. kʷə+√kʷéč-əŋ̓ 'He's yelling.' (kʷéčəŋ 'yell')
190. šə+√šíw̓əʔ 'She's urinating.' (√šíwəʔ)
191. t̓ə+√t̓íl̓əm̓ sən 'I'm singing.' (t̓íləm 'sing')
192. pə+√púʔ 'He's defecating.' (Recorded only in the 'actual'.)
193. kʷə+√kʷəx̣=θín̓-əŋ̓ 'He's screaming.' (kʷəx̣θínəŋ 'scream')
194. t̓ə+√t̓íw̓iʔəɬ 'She's praying.' (Recorded only in 'actual'.)
195. x̣ə+√x̣ɬé(ʔ)əm̓-ət 'I'm watching it.' (x̣ɬém̓ 'watch')

Note that some of these are marked with the regular 'actual' infix as well as with reduplication. Analysis of forms with C1+ reduplication is difficult because this also marks the 'diminutive' (§2.3.2) and the 'resultive' (§2.3.6). Some of the examples given here may actually be better analyzed as containing one of these two other morphemes.

2.3.5.4. The stress shift/metathesis form of the 'actual' has undergone two rather different analyses for two other Straits languages, Klallam (Thompson and Thompson, 1969) and Lummi (Demers, 1974). The Saanich data differ significantly from both Klallam and Lummi, so, it will be necessary to present a third analysis (§2.3.5.4.3). It will first be useful to describe the differences between Saanich and Klallam on the one hand (§2.3.5.4.1) and Saanich and Lummi on the other (§2.3.5.4.2).

2.3.5.4.1. Thompson and Thompson (1969) recognize a class of stems in Klallam that form the 'actual' directly by a metathesis of the stressed vowel and the following consonant. They give a number of examples like: čkʷút 'shoot', čúkʷt 'shooting'; x̣čít 'scratch', x̣íčt 'scratching' (p.216). Rather than assume a never surfacing root shape of CVCV with identical vowels and a complication of Klallam's stress rules, Thompson and Thompson convincingly posit a morphologically conditioned metathesis for the 'actual' of a certain class of stems.
Saanich differs from Klallam in that there are no pairs of forms like those above with the position of a non-schwa in a biconsonantal root carrying the difference between 'actual' and 'nonactual'. All cases of apparent metathesized one-syllable 'actuals' in Saanich have only /ə́/ (see examples 198-211). Metathesis of non-schwas and following consonants does clearly occur in Saanich but as an entirely phonologically conditioned process having nothing necessarily to do with the 'actual'. Compare example 145 above with 196 and 197:
196. ʔət̓$^{\theta}$íŋəstxʷ 'Get him dressed.'
197. ʔət̓$^{\theta}$əŋístəs 'She's getting him dressed.'

The vowel of the strong root, √ʔít̓$^{\theta}$, is carried rightward into the syllables of weak suffixes by the maintenance of penultimate stress.[13] See §1.4 for more on Saanich stress and metathesis.
Since there is a great deal of phonological metathesis in Saanich and no morphologically functioning metathesis of full vowels in roots with two consonants, an analysis for the Saanich 'actual' different from Thompson and Thompson's analysis of Klallam seems advisable.

2.3.5.4.2. The data presented by Demers (1974) for Lummi match Saanich more closely than Klallam does. All examples of apparent 'actual' metathesis listed by Demers involve /ə́/. Demers, assuming for Lummi the alternative analysis suggested by Thmms as involving underlying Cə́Cə roots. A stress protraction rule moves the stress across a single obstruent onto the second syllable when it is followed by two consonants. This then accounts for Lummi 'nonactuals' like t̓sə́tsən 'I smashed it', t̓ə́s 'it got smashed'. The 'actuals' like t̓ə́st 'he's breaking it' are then accounted for as involving the regular glottal stop infix for 'actual', which evidently works in Lummi similarly to the way it works in Saanich (§2.3.5.1). Thus the underlying form of Lummi t̓ə́st is ‖t̓ə́ʔsət‖. The unstressed schwa is then deleted and all glottal stops between schwas and obstruents are deleted. This is an elegant solution for Lummi. It is, however, not viable for Saanich for two reasons.

First, the Lummi stress protraction rule has no Saanich analog. A number of forms have /ə́/ between the second root consonant and only one following consonant[14] (see examples 198–211) and in the second syllable when the first is followed by two consonants (see examples 213–215 for a few of the many occurrences of this). And, conversely, there are a number of forms that have /ə́/ in the first syllable when the second syllable is followed by two consonants (e.g. /tə́šəlt sən/ 'I turned it upright'; /q̓ə́ləp̓sət/ 'It shrank'; /q̓ʷə́lət̓$^{\theta}$t sən/ 'I peeled it').

Second, Saanich /ʔ/ does not ordinarily delete between /ə/ and an obstruent as it does in Lummi (e.g. /ŋənəʔs/ 'his/her child'; /t̓ə́t̓əʔsət sən/ 'I'm trying to learn it'; /sčəčə́ʔsəqʷ/ 'little hat').

These two facts demand a different approach to Saanich.

2.3.5.4.3. The following are examples of 'actual' and 'nonactual' pairs. In each of these pairs the (a) member is the 'nonactual' and (b) is the 'actual'.

198a. t̓$^{\theta}$q̓ə́ŋ 'It dripped.'
b. t̓$^{\theta}$ə́q̓əŋ̓ 'It's dripping.'
199a. čtə́ŋ 'He crawled.'
b. čə́təŋ̓ 'He's crawling.'
200a. k̓ʷsə́ŋ 'He counted.'
b. k̓ʷə́səŋ̓ 'He's counting.'
201a. ƛ̓k̓ʷə́t 'Put it out (a fire).'
b. ƛ̓ə́k̓ʷt sən 'I'm putting it out.'
202a. xʷq̓p̓ət 'Patch it.' (/xʷ-/ 'locative')
b. xʷq̓ə́p̓t sən 'I'm patching it.'
203a. sq̓ə́t sən 'I tore it (intentionally).'
b. kʷɬ sə́q̓təs 'He's tearing it.'
204a. sx̣ə́t 'Push it.'
b. kʷɬ sə́x̣təs 'He's pushing it.'
205a. šč̓ə́təs 'He whipped it.'
b. ʔiʔ šə́č̓təs 'He's whipping it.'
206a. štə́ŋ 'He walked.'
b. kʷɬ šə́təŋ̓ 'He's walking.'
207a. tkʷə́t 'Break it (a stick).'
b. tə́kʷtəs 'He's breaking it.'
208a. tqʷə́t 'Tighten it.'
b. kʷɬ tə́qʷt sən 'I'm tightening it.'
209a. t̓sə́t sən 'I broke it (intentionally)'

b. ťə́st sən 'I'm breaking it.'
210a. θkʾʷə́t 'Straighten it out.'
b. θə́kʾʷt sən 'I'm straightening it out.'
211a. θx̣ə́t 'Shove him.'
b. kʷɬ θə́x̣t sən 'I'm shoving it.'

2.3.5.4.3.1. Since in all other forms of this opposition the 'actual' is the marked form and stems in the 'nonactual' constitute the base forms, we may assume that the 'nonactuals' of these pairs exhibit the base forms. These bases have a number of things in common. Two things are obvious: 1) they each have /ə́/ following the two consonants of the root and preceding the single consonant of the suffix, and 2) they are all monosyllabic.
Given this second fact it might be expected that these bases would form the 'actual' the way all other monosyllabic bases involving roots with two consonants and one vowel do, that is, with C1V́+ reduplication (see §2.3.5.2). That they do not might suggest that these are (as in Lummi) underlying CVCV bases. But, as noted above (§2.3.5.4.2), the then necessary stress protraction and glottal stop deletion rules are otherwise unmotivated in Saanich.
Another less abstract possibility, and the one for which there seems to be support, is that these bases do not form the actual by C1V́+ reduplication because there simply is no underlying root vowel. In each of these bases the underlying root is CC, vowelless, and therefore the stress falls on the suffix. The analysis of 209a, for example, would be as 212.
212. √ťs-ə́t [√break-CTRAN]

2.3.5.4.3.3. In each of these bases the root occurs with either ‖-əŋ‖ 'middle' or ‖-ət‖ 'control transitive'. It happens that these are the only roots that allow stress to fall on these suffixes. Support for this analysis comes from the fact that there are a number of other suffixes whose underlying vowel surfaces only when following these roots. The 'non-control transitive' suffix ‖-naxʷ‖ is an example.[15] The following three examples contain the roots of examples 203, 207, and 209. The schwa within the root is predictable (see §1.5.10).
213. √səq̓-náxʷ sən 'I tore it accidentally; I finally managed to tear it.'
214. √təkʷ-náxʷ sən 'I broke it accidentally; I finally managed to break it.'
215. √ťəs-náxʷ sən 'I broke it accidentally; I finally managed to break it.'

2.3.5.4.3.4. Recognizing this set of roots as underlyingly vowelless allows us a non-arbitrary way of dealing with some of the exceptions to the infixed form of the 'actual' mentioned in §2.3.5.1.5 and, further, to generalize the rule for 'actual' infix placement (§2.3.5.1.1).
Part A of this rule states that the glottal stop infix follows the stressed vowel unless it is /ə/. Some of the forms listed in §2.3.5.1.5 were exceptions to this (part B and the other exceptions are dealt with in §2.3.5.4.3.6). The proviso against the infix following /ə́/ was made precisely because of the existence of the set of roots exemplified in 198-211. Now that these roots are out of consideration as having /ə/ in the underlying form, part A of the rule can be restated as follows:

In monosyllabic stems with roots of the shapes CV, CVVC, or CVCC or in multi-syllabic stems where an underlying stressed vowel is followed by either /ʔ/ or one or no consonants, /ʔ/ is inserted after the stressed vowel and /ə́/ is replaced by /é/.

The underlying distinction is between roots with no vowels (examples 198-211) and roots with underlying /ə́/ (examples 168-173 in §2.3.5.1.5). More facts that support the analysis of this underlying distinction are discussed in regard to the resultive in §2.3.6.3. See also §2.5.2.3, §2.5.4.5, and §2.5.4.7 for other suffixes whose underlying vowels surface only with underlyingly vowelless roots.

2.3.5.4.3.5. Now that the underlying vowelless nature of the roots has been established the problem remains how to account for the 'actual' forms in examples 198-211. Though the precise nature of the mechanism is as yet unclear[16] I would like to suggest that the 'actual' forms in these examples are functionally allied with the C1V́+ reduplicative form (§2.3.5.2). Both the C1V́+ reduplicated and metathesized forms of the 'actual' are primarily characterized by a leftward shift in stress. Then, as with the other stress placement rules (mentioned above in §2.3.5.4.1 examples 196-197 and in §1.4), the stressed vowel of the base moves to accommodate the position. When stress is shifted leftward beyond the first consonant of the root, a copy of that consonant is carried along.
This stress shift in both cases is triggered by phonological environments complementary to those for the 'actual' infix placement described in §2.3.5.1 and revised in §2.3.5.4.3.4. The 'actual' is marked by stress shift (with concomitant reduplication or metathesis) either when the base is monosyllabic or when the stressed vowel is in the initial syllable and followed by CCV. When roots taking C1V́+ ' actual' in monosyllabic stems are involved in polysyllabic forms, the 'actual' is formed with the glottal stop infix (see examples 177 and 180 in §2.3.5.2.2). Similarly, when roots taking metathesized 'actuals' (examples 198-211) in monosyllabic stems are involved in polysyllabic forms, the 'actual' is formed with the glottal stop infix. Compare 216 to 206.
216a. štəŋístəs 'He walked/ran/operated it.'
b. kʷɬ štəŋ̓íʔstəs 'He's operating it (a machine).'

2.3.5.4.3.6. Part B of the 'actual' infix placement rule (§2.3.5.1.1) states that the glottal stop is infixed after a /ə́/ with no change in vowel quality (see revision of part A of the rule in §2.3.5.4.3.4) only when the consonant following the stress is a resonant. Given the analysis of the previous two sections and in particular the revised version of part A of the infix placement rule we can see that part B is unnecessary. The infix occurs after underlying /ə́/ before obstruents as well.

Each of the metathesized 'actuals' in examples 198-211 involves a vowelless root with an obstruent as the second consonant. The question that now arises is whether or not there are vowelless roots with a resonant in C2 position and, if there are, how they form the actual.
The vowelless roots with obstruents in C2 position allow stress to fall on the transitive suffixes ‖-ət‖ and ‖-naxʷ‖. There are roots with a resonant as the second consonant that allow stress to fall on the transitive suffix:
217. √ťəm̓-náxʷ sən 'I hit it accidentally; I finally managed to hit it.'
218. √q̓əm̓-náxʷ sən 'I cut it (in two) accidentally; I finally managed to cut it.'

The schwa within the root is predictable as in examples 213-215 above.
In §2.3.5.4.3.4 and §2.3.5.4.3.5 it was established that there are two types of 'nonactual' bases with obstruents in C2 showing /ə/ on the surface: 1) those with underlying /ə/ which form the 'actual' by a glottal stop infix and the change of /ə́/ to /é/, and 2) those with no underlying vowel which form the 'actual' by stress shift/metathesis. A parallel distinction is found in 'nonactual' bases with surface /ə/ and a resonant in C2 position: 1) those with underlying /ə/ form the 'actual' just as do bases with an

obstruent as the second root consonant, with a glottal stop infix and change of /ə/ to /é/ (example 219 and examples 171-172 in §2.3.5.1.5), and 2) those with no underlying vowel, which form the 'actual' as in examples 220-225.

219a. √kʷə́n-ət sən 'I took it.'
b. √kʷén̓-ət sən 'I'm taking it.'
220a. √t̓ə́m̓-ət sən 'I hit it.'
b. √t̓əm̓-t sən 'I'm hitting it.'
221a. √q̓ə́m̓-ət sən 'I cut it in two.'
b. √q̓ə́m̓-t sən 'I'm cutting it.'
222a. √k̓ʷə́n-ət sən 'I looked at it.'
b. √k̓ʷə́n̓-t sən 'I'm looking at it.'[17]
223a. √čə́n-ət 'Bury it.'
b. √čə́n̓-t sən 'I'm burying it.'
224a. √ɬə́l-ət sən 'I splashed it.'
b. √ɬə́l̓-t-əs 'He's splashing it.'
225a. kʷə́l̓-ət 'Pour it out.'
b. kʷɬ √kʷə́l̓-t sən 'I'm pouring it out now.'

If we recognize that there are no root initial obstruent-resonant sequences in Saanich, it can be seen that the 'actual' in examples 220-225 are formed by the same rule as the 'actuals' in examples 198-211. Two otherwise well justified rules, a rule to insert a schwa into a root initial obstruent-resonant cluster and the regular penultimate stress assignment rule, must be ordered with respect to one another and after the 'actual' stress shift/metathesis rule[18].

2.3.5.4.3.7. Some sample derivations should suffice to illustrate how these rules work. The rules are numbered 1) 'actual' stress shift/metathesis, 2) schwa insertion, 3) penultimate stress assignment. A hyphen indicates that the environment for the application of the rule is not present.

‖t̓m̓-ə́t‖ - t̓əm̓ə́t

	Actual	Nonactual	Actual	Nonactual
U.F.	‖t̓s-ə́t‖	‖t̓s-ə́t‖	‖t̓m̓-ə́t‖	
1.	t̓ə́st	-	t̓ə́m̓t	
2.	-	-	-	
3.	-	-	-	t̓ə́m̓ət
S.F.	t̓ə́st	t̓sə́t	t̓ə́m̓t	t̓ə́m̓ət

Two more derivations show how the other apparent exceptions mentioned in §2.3.5.1.5 are accounted for. The rule that applies inserts the actual infix and replaces /ə/ by /é/.

	Actual	Nonactual	Actual	Nonactual
U.F.	‖x̣ə́š-əŋ‖	‖x̣ə́š-əŋ‖	‖kʷə́n-ət‖	‖kʷə́n-ət‖
	x̣éʔšəŋ̓	-	kʷéʔnət	-

S.S. xéʔšəŋ̓ xə́šəŋ kʷéṉət kʷə́nət

2.3.5.4.3.8. Thus far only roots with two consonants have been considered. There are a few roots that have three consonants. They form the 'actual' just like roots with two consonants. When there is only one underlying vowel and it is between the second and third consonants, the 'actual' is formed by stress shift/metathesis. The behavior of these triconsonantal roots further supports the preceding analysis, especially in cases where the root vowel is a non-schwa.

Following are examples of triconsonantal roots exhibiting stress shift/metathesis in the 'actual'.
226a. √tˀᶿɬək̓ʷ-t sən 'I pinched it.'
b. √tˀᶿəɬk̓ʷ-t sən 'I'm pinching it.'
227a. √ləméʔ-t-əŋ sən 'Someone kicked me.'
b. √lémə̓ʔ-t-əŋ̓ sən 'Someone's kicking me.'
228a. √ɬəy̓əqʷ-t 'Smash it up.'
b. √ɬəy̓qʷ-t-əs 'He's smashing it up.'
229a. √ɬq̓élč̓ 'Moon.'
b. √ɬéq̓əl̓č̓ 'It's a bright moon.'
230a. √x̌̓əčəq̓-t 'Press down on it.'
b. √x̌̓əy̓q̓-t-əs 'He's pressing down on it.' (Note that the /č/ is underlying /y/ and that /ə/ insertion must precede y ~ č §1.5.9.)
231a. x̌̓pə́x̣-t 'Scatter it.'
b. x̌̓əpx̣-t 'I'm scattering it.'
232a. √mələ́č̓-t 'Roll over.'
b. √mə́l̓č̓-t sən 'I'm rolling over.'
233a. √θɬə́qʷ-t 'Pierce it.'
b. √θə́ɬqʷ-t sən 'I'm piercing it.'

2.3.5.5. Three morphemes have special forms in the 'actual' : 'diminutive', 'resultive', and the 'structured activity' suffix. See §2.3.2.3 on the 'actual' of the 'diminutive', §2.3.6.3 on the 'actual' of the 'resultive', and §2.5.4.1 on the 'actual' of 'structured activity'.

2.3.5.6. The following words all seem to take a form of the glottal stop infix, but not as expected. With each exception the expected but non-occurring form is preceded by an asterisk.
234. čəʔáẇəs sən 'I'm using it now.' (čákʷəs 'use something'. *čáẇəs)
235. səʔéẇəs sən 'I'm putting it down.' (sékʷəs 'put something down'. *séẇəs)
236. ʔəl̓á l̓əɬ sən 'I'm boarding (a canoe) now.' (ʔáaɬ 'go aboard'. *ʔáʔaɬ)
237. kʷɬ p̓áhaŋ̓ 'It's swelling up; it's swollen.' (p̓áaŋ̓ 'swell up'. This may also be an exceptional form of the 'resultive'.)

2.3.6. Resultive.
The 'resultive' aspect is opposed to 'nonresultive' and indicates an emphasis on the result or outcome of the action expressed in the predicate. The 'resultive' is usually translated into English as a participle. In Saanich it often occurs with the 'stative' prefix (§2.1.2), the 'durative' suffix (§2.2.2), or both.
Only about sixty different examples of the 'resultive' appear in the corpus. Its rarity relative to the 'actual'

aspect is perhaps due to my belated realization of the productiveness of this morpheme.
The 'resultive' has two primary forms, C1+ reduplication (§2.3.6.1) and ablaut (§2.3.6.2).

2.3.6.1. C1+ 'resultive'. This form appears in fewer than half of the recorded examples of the 'resultive'. The C1+ form is less often recorded with the 'stative' or 'durative' affixes than the ablaut forms. Bases all have /i/, /e/, or /a/.
Since this reduplicative pattern is also employed in the 'actual' and since English translations can be ambiguous, it is often difficult to decide which morpheme is represented in the form. Often both are. This problem is particularly evident in the first two examples below.
238. tˀᶿə+tˀᶿəʔ=wéč sən 'I'm sitting.' [RES+√upon(√tˀᶿeʔ)=bottom 1SUBJ]
239. θə+/θíɬ-əŋ sən 'I'm standing.'
240. xʷə+√xʷə́yəmˀ ʔə tsə √ʔéwˀkʷ-s 'She's a prostitute.' [RES+√sell(ACT) OBL DEM √self-3POS]
241. kʷɬ sə+/séwˀ-t 'He's lying down.' [REAL RES+√put down(ACT)-STAT]
242. s-θə+√θímˀəʔ 'It's frozen.' (θíməʔt 'freeze it')
243. s-kʷə+√kʷéɬ 'He's in hiding.' [STAT-RES+√hide] (Compare with the 'actual' kʷé+kʷəɬ 'He's hiding now.')
244. tˀə+√tˀéyˀəqˀ 'He's angry.'

2.3.6.2. /a/ or /e/ substitute for root /ə/ 'resultive'. This is the most common form of the 'resultive' and the most easily recognized. It appears both in roots with underlying /ə/ and in underlying vowelless roots. For a particular root either /a/ or /e/ appears consistently and no phonological conditioning factors have been discovered[19]. It appears, then, that two morphological classes must be recognized for roots with surface /ə/ in the 'nonresultive': those that have /a/ in the 'resultive' (examples 245-252) and those that have /e/ (examples 253-261).
Forms with 'resultive' /a/:
245. kʷɬ txʷ-əs√kˀʷás-əɬ 'It's already counted.' [REAL MUT-STAT√count(√kˀʷs)-DUR]
246. kʷɬ s√ƛ̓áqˀʷ-əɬ 'It's stuck on.' [REAL STAT√stick on(√ƛ̓qˀʷ)-DUR]
247. s√mákʷ-əɬ 'He's curled up.'
248. √náqʷ-əɬ ləʔ sən 'I was asleep.' (náqʷ sxʷ 'Go to sleep.')
249. s√pˀákʷ-əɬ 'He's floating.' (√pˀəkʷ 'rise to the surface.')
250. s√pˀáɬ-əɬ 'He's sober.' (pˀáɬ sən 'I sobered up.')
251. s√táqʷ-əɬ 'It's tight.' (Compare with example 208 above.)
252. s√θákˀʷ-əɬ 'It's straight.' (Compare with example 210 above.)

Forms with 'resultive' /e/:
253. s√qʷéɬ 'Word; a speech.' (√qʷəɬ 'say'. Compare with example 181 §2.3.5.2.2.)
254. s√létˀᶿ-əɬ 'It's full.' (√lətˀᶿ 'fill')
255. s√qˀép-əɬ 'They're together.' (√qˀp 'gather')
256. s√qˀéθ-əɬ 'It's not enough.'
257. √séqˀ-əɬ 'It's outside.' (√səqˀ 'out')
258. s√téx̣-əɬ sxʷ 'You're wrong.'
259. txʷə-s√x̣éɬ-əɬ 'He got sick.' (x̣áɬ sən 'I feel bad.')
260. s√léqˀ-əɬ 'It's level.'
261. √qés-əɬ 'He's overboard.' (√qəs 'fall overboard')

2.3.6.3. When the 'resultive' occurs with the 'actual' the form sometimes exhibits C1+ reduplication. Though the data are limited, it seems that this is the form that occurs when there is an underlying root vowel.
262. qʷə+qʷél̓ 'He's giving a speech.' (Compare with examples 181 and 253.)
263. p̓ə+√p̓é(ʔ)kʷ-əŋ̓ 'He's floating now.' (Compare with example 249.)

The 'actual' morpheme follows normally the 'resultive' when a vowelless root is involved. Compare the following:
264a. √ɬq̓ʷ-át-əs 'He took it off.' (nonactual)
b. √ɬáq̓ʷ-t-əs 'He's taking it off.' (actual)
c. √ɬáq̓ʷ-əŋ 'He got undressed.' (resultive)
d. √ɬá(ʔ)q̓ʷ-əŋ̓ 'He's getting undressed.' (resultive and infixed form of actual)
e. s-ɬá+√ɬəq̓ʷ 'He's naked.' (resultive and reduplicative form of the actual)

2.3.7. +C2 ?. Only four examples of this reduplicative pattern have been recorded. Although there are not enough samples to determine a meaning, the glosses of the recorded forms do seem to suggest that this may be the Saanich cognate of a +C2 reduplicative morpheme that is widespread in the Interior Salishan languages. Carlson and Thompson (1981) discuss a +C2 reduplicative morpheme they call 'out-of-control'. They give many examples of this morpheme, which seems to be a sort of 'non-control resultive', from Interior Salishan languages and a few from some Coast Salishan languages. At least the first three examples here seem to have glosses that fit the 'out-of-control' idea.
265. ʔəw̓ √qəl+əl ʔal̓ sən nə-š-xʷ√qʷél̓=kʷən 'I got discouraged.' [CONTEMP √bad-'out-of-control'? LIMIT 1SUBJ 1POS-S,LOC√say(RES)=mind]
266. xʷ-s√ʔáč+əč 'He stutters.'
267. √məl+əl 'It got soft (butter).'
268. √wəq̓+əq̓ 'Tree toad.'

2.3.8. Ordering of the radical morphological processes.
By inspecting forms in which pairs of radical morphological processes cooccur, a definite order of application can be discovered. The order described here is not intended to be definitive but merely suggestive. Although the order given here is completely consistent with the facts, it is based on an assumption that is not formally founded: that the order of the radical morphological processes is determined by the morpheme. That is, I offer no justification for the assumption that, for example, the reduplicative 'actual' appears at the same point in the derivation as the infixed 'actual'.

2.3.8.1. The following have been observed in instances of cooccurrence of radical morphological processes:
1. Examples 3 and 4 in §2.3.1 demonstrate that 'characteristic' precedes the 'resultive'.
2. Example 264 in §2.3.6.3 shows that 'actual' follows 'resultive'.
3. Examples 110-112 in §2.3.3.4.3 show that 'plural' follows 'diminutive'.
4. Though example 48 in §2.3.2.3 is inconclusive, example 46 suggests that 'diminutive' precedes 'actual' if we assume that the /ə/ is the metathesized vowel of the suffix.
5. In §2.3.3.4.3 examples 109 and 111 it can be seen that 'actual' must precede 'plural'.
6. Examples 113-114 in §2.3.3.4.3 show that 'plural' follows 'characteristic'.
7. Example 115 in §2.3.3.4.3 shows that 'plural' precedes 'repetitive'.

2.3.8.2. Given the facts of §2.3.8.1 the productive radical morphological processes can be seen to apply in the following order:

1. characteristic
2. resultive
3. diminutive (1, 2)?
4. actual
5. plural
6. repetitive

The arcs indicate pairs that have an order established in §2.3.8.1. The relationships between 'diminutive' and 'resultive' and between 'diminutive' and 'characteristic' have not been determined. No contradictions to this order have been observed.

2.3.9. Unanalyzable reduplication.
A number of forms have been recorded that apparently exhibit reduplication, but whose roots do not occur elsewhere.

269. pəpəṫ$^{\theta}$íŋ 'Skunk.'
270. sqəqəwéθ 'Rabbit.'
271. qə́qtəm̓as 'Lacrosse.'
272. tíntən 'Ring a bell.'
273. šṫ$^{\theta}$éṫ$^{\theta}$əx^{w}nəč 'Tailbone.'
274. šíʔšəč̓ 'The bushes (if nobody's in them).'
275. šíl̓šəl̓əč̓ 'The bushes (if somebody's in them).'

For the first three examples, 269-271, I have no plausible analysis. Example 272 is probably a loan from Chinook Jargon, but it could very well be a 'characteristic' (§2.3.1) form. If it is, then the 'actual' form of the word, /títən̓tən̓/ 'ringing a bell', establishes an ordering relatio nship between 'characteristic' and 'actual' and supports the order described in §2.3.8.2. Example 273 looks like, and could be, the C1 V́+ form of the 'actual'. An analysis of 273 would then be 276:

276. š-ṫ$^{\theta}$é+√ṫ$^{\theta}$əx^{w}=n̓əč [S,LOC-ACT+√?=tail]

Examples 274 and 275 are the most interesting. They seem to fit none of the analyzable patterns, and the glosses, confirmed by two informants, are puzzling. The two forms must certainly be related, but how? And these are probably related to another form, /šə́ləč̓/ 'world, universe', that does not help clarify the issue.

Notes to §2.3.

1. This gloss was suggested by L. C. Thompson (p.c.).

2. The precedence can be thought of either in terms of linear order as prefixes or as transformational processes. See §2.3.8 on the relative ordering of the radical morphological processes.

3. It is doubtful but not entirely out of the question. Although the word for 'cat' in Songish recorded by

Raffo (1972:162) is quite different from the Saanich word, it is also borrowed and seems to have a unique reduplicative ‘diminutive’: /píš/ ‘cat’, /píšpiš/ ‘kitten’.

4. There is, at present, no evidence to decide between the analysis presented here and an analysis of this as a discontinuous morpheme with regressive, C1+, reduplication and concomitant change of the root vowel to /i/.

5. Raffo (1972:137) has analysed cognate forms in Songish as involving two morphemes, a reduplicative ‘plural’ and an /-i-/ infix ‘collective’. The ‘plural’ always occurs when the ‘collective’ occurs but not vice versa. I find no evidence in Saanich for such an analysis.

6. Kinkade (p.c.) suggests that the two /C1C2+/ forms of ‘plural’ can be viewed as the same with the general conditioning environment C1V́RX, where V́ is not á and X is not a word boundary. This way the three exceptions here are not exceptions at all, but example 76 then is.
This analysis is probably the correct one, but the large number of examples with /l/ or /l̓/ as the resonant is striking especially since these are not the most frequently occurring resonants in the language.

7. The placement of the Saanich l-infix plural is similar to, but simpler than, that of the Cowichan cognate described by Hukari (1982). For Saanich too, the placement of this infix cries for a unified explanation in terms of its interaction with the other radical morphological processes. Here I simply describe its distribution.

8. The /ʔ/ is lost in the ‘plural’ here. I have no explanation for this.

9. The absence of a plural marking for /ləmətú/ may have something to do with the fact that ‘sheep’ in English has a zero plural. The word for ‘angel’ may represent a borrowing of a French plural, "les anges", and so is not needed to be pluralized again. But see example 107 above where ‘apples’, a plural form borrowed into Saanich from English can be further pluralized.

10. This term was first used by Thompson and Thompson (1969, 1971).

11. In this and most of the following translations of the ‘nonactual’ I use the past tense. It should be kept in mind that the Saanich sentences are unmarked for tense except when one of the post-predicate particles /ləʔ/ or /səʔ/ (§2.6.2.3.1) is present.

12. An alternative would be to analyze this as a progressive reduplication. If the suggestions made in §2.3.5.4.3.5 below are correct, the analysis as regressive reduplication is clearly preferable. An other possibility is that C1í is infixed after the root /ə/.

13. These two forms involve the ‘relational’ suffix ||-ŋiy|| (§2.5.3.2) as well as the ‘causative’ (§2.5.2.3.).

2.4. Person.

2.4.0.1. Saanich has four basic sets of person markers: predicative, possessive, objective, and subjective. In each of these sets means are provided for referring to the speaker (first person), the addressee (second person), and others (third person). The predicative pronominals (§2.4.1) are independent roots that refer to first, second, and third persons. The possessives (§2.4.2) include prefixes for first singular and second persons and suffixes for first plural and third persons. The objective pronominals (§2.4.3) are suffixes that always occur with a transitivizing suffix (see §2.5.2). The subjective pronominals (§2.4.4) include a suffix for the third person transitive and post-predicate particles (see §2.6.2.) for the first and second persons in main clauses, and suffixes for all three persons in both transitive and intransitives in certain subordinate clauses.

2.4.0.2. In all four sets plurality is obligatorily marked only in the first person. Moreover, separate singular and plural forms are available only in the first person. For all four sets a plural second person may be indicated with the addition of an independent post-predicate particle (see §2.6.2.5.5). Plurality may be marked in second and third person predicative pronominals by means of a suffix. Plurality in second and third persons may also be marked indirectly by means of the 'plural' morpheme (see §2.3.3).

2.4.1. Predicative pronominals.

The predicative pronominals are independent full words with predicative force. They serve primarily as emphatics in stylistic variation. They may function either as predicate head or as oblique or non-oblique arguments to predications.

Table 4.
Predicative pronominals

	Singular	Plural
1st	ʔə́sə	ɬníŋəɬ
2nd	nə́kʷə	nəkʷíʔliʔə
3rd	níɬ	nəníɬliʔə

Table 4 lists the predicative pronominals. This diagram is a bit deceptive in that it puts the second and third plurals on par with the other four forms. These two are obviously derived from the corresponding singular forms. The suffixes on these two forms are apparently related but appear nowhere else. Third plural carries reduplication in addition to this suffix.[1] These two forms differ also in that they serve strictly to emphasize the plurality. Unlike the first person plural, they are not obligatory in plural reference.
The following examples show each of these pronominals in the same context. In each the pronominal serves as the main predicate head of the sentence.

1. √ʔə́sə ʔaɬ ʔəẇ séy̓+√siʔ 'I scared myself.' [√I LIMIT CONTEMP CHAR+√scare]
2. nə́kʷə ʔaɬ ʔəẇ séy̓siʔ 'You scared yourself.'
3. ʔəẇ níɬ ʔaɬ ʔəẇ séy̓siʔ 'He scared himself.'
4. ɬníŋəɬ ʔaɬ ʔəẇ séy̓siʔ 'We scared ourselves.'
5. nəkʷíʔliʔə ʔaɬ ʔəẇ séy̓siʔ 'You folks scared yourselves.'

6. ʔəẇ nəníɬliʔə ʔaɬ ʔəẇ séy̓siʔ ‘They scared themselves.’
The use of the predicative pronominals in examples 1-6 with the post-predicate particle /ʔaɬ/ ‘limiting’ (see §2.6.2.5.6) emphasizes that only one person is involved.
Examples 7 and 8 illustrate the stylistic variation allowed by the use of these pronominals.
7. x̣éʔeɬs sən ‘I am Transformer.’
8. ʔəsə x̣éʔeɬs ‘I am Transformer.’
Example 8 can be seen in context in §3.1 sentence 66. The gradual build-up to the mysterious "white robed guy" announcing himself concludes with this sentence. It is clearly used for dramatic effect and is better translated "it is I, Transformer." Example 7 is the more ordinary construction parallel to sentences such as /péstən sən/ ‘I’m American.’
In examples 1 to 6 only the third person pronominals are preceded by /ʔəẇ/ ‘contemporaneous’ (see §2.6.1.4). This particle often occurs with the third person predicative pronominal where other persons occur without it. This is unexplained, but it may offer a clue to the analysis of two other forms that translate as third person pronominals.
9. √x̓íẇ sən ʔə kʷs tsəẇníɬ ‘I ran away from him.’ [√escape 1SUBJ OBL DEM him]
10. x̓íẇ sən ʔə kʷs θəẇníɬ ‘I ran away from her.’
The third person pronominals in examples 9 and 10 obviously contain ‖níɬ‖ the third person predicate pronominal. They also certainly contain the ‘general’ and ‘feminine’ demonstrative formatives ‖ts-‖ and ‖θ-‖ (§2.6.3). The /əẇ/ may be identifiable with the ‘contemporaneous’ particle though it never otherwise appears between a demonstrative and a full word argument to a predication. Another problem with this analysis is that nowhere else do such sequences of demonstratives occur. In 9, in fact, they are contradictory: /kʷs/ indicates ‘invisible, particular’ where /ts/ indicates ‘not invisible, particular’. It seems best at present to leave the analysis of these forms an open question.

2.4.2. Possessive pronominals.

2.4.2.1. The possessive pronominals are a set of prefixes and suffixes that function in ways similar to the English possessives ‘my’, ‘your’, etc. They primarily indicate personal possession of the entity or state indicated in the full word to which they are affixed. They are also used to indicate the subject of certain subordinate clauses.

Table 5.
Possessive pronominals

	Singular	Plural
1st	nə-	-ɬtə
2nd	ʔən̓-	ʔən̓-
3rd	-s	-s

Table 5 shows the possessive pronominal affixes. Note that as in the other pronominal systems the first person differs from the other two in that it has separate singular and plural forms.
The following examples illustrate each of the possesive pronominals in the same context.
11. nətén ‘It’s my mother.’
12. ʔən̓tén ‘It’s your mother.’
13. téns ‘It’s his/her/their mother.’

14. tén̓ɬtə 'It's our mother.'

Examples 11 to 14 are predicate heads. They can take one of the subject pronominals as in example 15.[2]

15. ʔən̓tén sən 'I am your mother.'

Like example 15, examples 16 and 17 are formally intransitive, though they seem from the translation to refer to an agent and a patient.

16. nəsX̌̓iʔ sxʷ 'I like you.' [1POS-S√want,like 2SUBJ]

17. ʔən̓sX̌̓éʔeʔšən sən 'You invited me.' [2POS-S√invite 1SUBJ]

Examples 16 and 17 can be literally, though awkwardly, translated 'you are my liking' and 'I am your inviting.'

2.4.2.3. The possessive pronominals can occur affixed to transitive as well as intransitive forms.

18. √ʔáwə√nəʔ nə-s√x̣č-í-t 'I don't know him/her/it.' [√not√exist 1POS-S√know,figure-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]

19. √ʔáwə√nəʔ n̓-s√x̣č-i-t-áɬxʷ 'You don't know us.' [√not√exist 2POS-S√know, figure-PERSIS-CTRAN-1PLOBJ]

Example 18 might more literally be translated 'my knowing him does not exist.'

2.4.2.4. The subject of a subordinate clause marked by ‖kʷə‖ (see §2.6.4.2) is often indicated by a possessive pronominal. Example 20 shows the possessive pronominals in both the main and subordinate clauses.

20. nə-s√X̌̓iʔ kʷə nə-s√čte-sə 'I want to ask you (a question).' [1POS-S√want, like SUB 1POS-S√ask-(CTRAN)-2OBJ]

21. √ʔəkʷá(ʔ)-sə sən kʷə n̓-s-xʷ√sénəč=qən 'I'm teaching you to speak Saanich.' [√teach(ACT)-(CTRAN)-2OBJ 1SUBJ SUB 2POS-S-LOC√Saanich=pharynx]

Note that the initial /ʔə/ of the second person possessive deletes when following /ʔ/ as in example 19 or /ə/ as in example 21. This deletion occurs, however, only when the preceding /ʔ/ or /ə/ is part of the same clause. Examples 22 to 24 show possessive pronominals functioning as subjects of nominalized conjunctive clauses (see §2.1.1). In example 24 the second person possessive is clause initial and therefore does not show deletion.

22. √kʷán-ət sən kʷəʔ nə-s-əẇ √nəẇé-s 'I took it and carried it in.' [√take, grasp-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ INFORM 1POS-S-CONTEMP √inside(RES)-EFFORT-3OBJ(ø)]

23. √kʷán-ət ɬtə kʷəʔ s-əẇ√nəẇé-s-ɬtə 'We took it and carried it in.' [√take, grasp-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1PLSUBJ INFORM S-CONTEMP √inside(RES)-EFFORT-3OBJ(ø)-1PLPOS]

24. √kʷán-ət sxʷ kʷəʔ ʔən̓-s-əẇ √nəẇé-s 'You took it and carried it in.' [√take, grasp-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 2SUBJ INFORM 2POS-S-CONTEMP √inside(RES)-EFFORT-3OBJ(ø)]

2.4.2.5. Emphatic pronominals are formed by affixing the possessive pronominals to a special base, /skʷéʔ/, which can function as a predicate head as in examples 25 to 30.

25. nəskʷéʔ 'It's **mine**.'

26. nəskʷéʔ nəʔél̓əŋ 'It's **my** house.'

27. ʔən̓skʷéʔ n̓ʔél̓əŋ 'It's **your** house.'

28. ʔən̓skʷéʔ hélə n̓ʔél̓əŋ 'It's **you folks'** house.'

29. skʷéʔɬtə ʔél̓əŋɬ tə 'It's **our** house.'

30. skʷéʔs ʔél̓əŋs 'It's **his**/**her**/**their** house.'

See §2.1.5 on the possessive pronominals in contrast and combination with ‖č-‖ ‘have’.

2.4.3. Objective pronominals.

2.4.3.1. The objective pronominals indicate the objects of transitive predicates. They are all suffixes which always immediately follow one of the transitivizing suffixes (see §2.5.2).
There are two sets of object suffixes. One (table 6) occurs only following the ‘control transitive’; the other (table 7) follows the other transitivizers.

Table 6.
Object suffix set 1

	Singular	Plural
1st	-s	-aɬx^{w}
2nd	-sə	-sə
3rd	ø	ø

Table 7.
Object suffix set 2

	Singular	Plural
1st	-aŋəs	-aɬx^{w}
2nd	-aŋə	-aŋə
3rd	ø	ø

As with the other pronominals, a regular, distinct plural form is available only in the first person where plurality is obligatorily marked.
The two systems of object suffixes show a number of similarities. The third person object is a zero morpheme in both systems. The first person plural is the same in both systems. First person singular ends in /s/[3] and second person ends in /ə/ in both systems. No differences in meaning or function between the two systems have been observed.

2.4.3.2. It may be that the first and second person objects of set 2 are further analyzable as involving a morpheme /-aŋ/. Since apparently nothing is gained from such an analysis I will continue to represent each of these two as single morphemes.
It is also tempting, for these two suffixes, to presume that the /a/ is not a part of the object but rather a part of the preceding transitivizer. The two transitivizing suffixes that object set 2 most commonly occurs with both have an underlying /a/, ‖-nax^{w}‖ ‘non-control transitive’ and ‖-stax^{w}‖ ‘causative’. It seems reasonable to assume that the /x^{w}/ is deleted when followed by an object suffix, /-ŋəs/ or /-ŋə/, leaving the /a/ as in 31.
31. k^{w}ənnáŋə sən ‘I see you.’ ‖√k^{w}ən-nax^{w}-ŋə sən‖ [√see-NTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ]
However, there does seem to be evidence to assume the contrary: that the vowel and final consonant of the transitivizer are deleted and the /a/ is part of the suffix as in 32.

32. kʷənnáŋə sən 'I see you.' ‖√kʷən-naxʷ-aŋə sən‖ [√see-NTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ]
There are two reasons for assuming the analysis as in 32. First, the /a/ of the transitivizers ordinarily surface only when the root is vowelless (see §2.5 and §2.3.5). The /a/ appears with first and second person objects regularly both with vowelless roots and with roots having full vowels. This suggests that the /a/ appearing with the object suffixes is different from that of the transitive suffixes. The second and more compelling reason to assume the analysis as in 32 is the fact that the first and second person object suffixes occurring with the transitivizer ‖-nəs‖ 'purposive' have /a/. The /s/ of this transitivizer does not delete and there is no reason to assume any underlying /a/ for it. See §2.4.5 for summary paradigms with various transitivizers and especially §2.4.5.7 for ‖-nəs‖.

2.4.4. Subjective pronominals.

2.4.4.1. In main clauses the subjective pronominals include post-predicate particles in first and second person, a suffix in third person transitive, and a zero morpheme for third person in some other contexts.

Table 8.
Main clause subject pronominals

	Singular	Plural
1st	s-ən	ɬtə
2nd	s-xʷ	s-xʷ
3rd	-əs ~ ø	-əs ~ ø

As with other pronominal systems, no special forms for second and third plurals are available. Plurality is obligatory only in the first person.

2.4.4.2. The /s/ of the first singular and second persons is segmentable as a main clause subject base. The /-ən/ and /-xʷ/ appear suffixed to the predicate head of certain subordinate clauses. Table 9 shows the subordinate clause subject markers.

Table 9.
Subordinate clause subject pronominals

	Singular	Plural
1st	-ən	-əɬtə
2nd	-əxʷ	-əxʷ
3rd	-əs	-əs

In subordinate clauses, /-əs/ marks the third person subject in intransitives as well as transitives.

2.4.4.3. Ergative or split ergative systems have been noted for several Coast Salish languages (Squamish, Kuipers (1967); Halkomelem, Gerdts (1980); and Lummi, Jelinek and Demers (1983)). Saanich also displays limited ergativity. It is ergative in that the intransitive subject is marked the same as the transitive object, a zero morpheme; it is split in that this is true only of the third person in main clauses. However, the third person subject appears as a zero morpheme not only in main clause intransitives but also in transitives

having a first person object from set 2. In §2.4.5 summary paradigms give examples.

2.4.4.4. In Saanich a second person object almost never occurs with a third person subject. In eliciting paradigms, sentences such as ‘he looked at you’ appear in the passive, ‘you were looked at’, as in example 33.

33. √kʷə́n-ət-əŋ sxʷ [√see-CTRAN-PASS 2SUBJ]

The expected underlying form, ‖√kʷən-ət-sə-əs‖, with second person object and third person subject would, by regular phonological rules, merge on the surface with another underlying form, ‖√kʷən-ət-s-əs‖, with first person object and third person subject. Example 34, which could be the surface realization of either of these, has ordinarily only one reading.

34. kʷə́nəsəs ‘He looked at me.’

It is interesting how the language has chosen to avoid a sensitive, possibly highly confusing ambiguity. The choice of reading here is undoubtedly determined by the high pragmatic salience of "looking out for number one," probably a human universal reflected also in the traditional grammatical terminology ‘first person’. Jelinek and Demers (1983) discuss similar phenomena occurring in other Coast Salish languages. Sentences like 34 do rarely occur with a second person object interpretation. Example 35 occurred in running text and was later translated with second person object. When questioned on this, informants confirmed that it could mean either of the two glosses.

35. ƛ̓ə́m̓əsəs ʔə tsə sŋénət ‘He hit you with a rock; he hit me with a rock.’

In attributive constructions that translate as relative clauses the subject is always third person. In these cases the subject is never overtly marked by the pronominal suffix. Since the third person subject is zero here, the ambiguity can never arise. Therefore, first and second person objects appear freely. In examples 36 and 37 first and second person objects occur with the zero third person subject. The relative clause is in boldface.

36. √kʷə́n-nəxʷ sən kʷsə s√wə́y̓qəʔ **xʷ√tʼᶿs=ás-sə** ‘I saw the man who hit you in the face.’ [√see-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM S√man LOC√punch=face-(CTRAN)-2OBJ]

37. √kʷə́n-nəxʷ sxʷ kʷsə s√wə́y̓qəʔ **xʷ√tʼᶿs=ás-s** ‘You saw the man who hit me in the face.’ [√see-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 2SUBJ DEM S√man LOC√punch=face-(CTRAN)-1OBJ]

2.4.4.5. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate that the third person subject marker is a suffix where the first and second person subject markers are particles.

38. ʔətʼᶿíŋəstxʷ sən ‘I dressed him.’

39. ʔətʼᶿíŋəstxʷ sxʷ ‘You dressed him.’

40. ʔətʼᶿíŋəstxʷ ɬtə ‘We dressed him.’

41. ʔətʼᶿəŋístəs ‘She (he, they) dressed him.’

Stress placement is discussed in §1.4. In general, given two contiguous syllables with equal stress valence, stress will fall on the penultimate. In 38-40 the subject pronominals do not count as ultimate syllables for stress placement, but in 41 the third person subject pronominal does cause stress to be placed on the /i/ of the ‘relational’ suffix. Stress placement in these examples indicates that the phonological word ends in 38-40 after the ‘causative’ suffix and before the subject pronominal and in 41 the phonological word includes the subject pronominal.

Aside from stress placement, these examples offer a second reason for considering the first and second person subject pronominals to be particles while the third person subject pronominal is a suffix. All four of these examples contain the ‘causative’ suffix which, like the ‘non-control transitive’, has a final /xʷ/ which invariably deletes when followed by any suffix (see §2.5.2.3). Examples 38-40 show that the /xʷ/

does not delete before the first and second person subject pronominals, but in 41 it does delete before the third person. The third person subject behaves like a suffix; the first and second person subjects behave like they are not phonologically part of the word.

2.4.5. Summary paradigms.
This section provides a summary, exemplification, and a convenient reference to the objective and subjective pronominals. Paradigms are provided for intransitives, each of the transitive suffixes of §2.5.2, and for transitives in combination with the 'indirective' (§2.5.3.1) and 'persistent' (§2.2.1) suffixes.

2.4.5.1. Examples 42-45 illustrate main clause intransitives.
42. yéʔ sən 'I go.'
43. yéʔ sxʷ 'You go.'
44. yéʔ 'He/she/it goes.'
45. yéʔ ɬtə 'We go.'
Examples 46-49 illustrate the subject pronominals in subordinate clause intransitives. Note that whereas the third person main clause intransitive subject is ø, the third person subordinate intransitive subject is /-əs/, the same as the third person transitive subject. The subordinate subject in 46-49 is suffixed to the same root that appears in 42-45.
46. sés sxʷ kʷə yéʔən tɬ šxʷiméləʔ 'You sent me to the store (you sent me that I go to the store).' ‖√se-ət-s sxʷ kʷə √yeʔ-ən tl s-xʷ√xʷəym=eləʔ‖ [√send-CTRAN-1OBJ 2SUBJ SUB √go-1SUBJ DEM S-LOC√sell=container]
47. sésə sən kʷə yéʔəxʷ tɬ šxʷiméləʔ 'I sent you to the store (I sent you that you go to the store).' ‖√se-ət-sə sən kʷə √yeʔ-əxʷ tl s-xʷ√xʷəym=eləʔ‖ [√send-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ SUB √go-2SUBJ DEM S-LOC√sell=container]
48. sét sən kʷs tsəẃníɬ kʷə yéʔəs tɬ šxʷiméləʔ 'I sent him to the store (I sent him that he go to the store).' ‖√se-ət-ø sən kʷs tsəẃniɬ kʷə √yeʔ-əs tl s-xʷ√xʷəym=eləʔ‖ [√send-CTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ DEM him SUB √go-3SUBJ DEM S-LOC√sell=container]
49. setál̓xʷ sxʷ kʷə yéʔəɬtə tɬ šxʷiméləʔ 'You sent us to the store (you sent us that we go to the store).' ‖√se-ət-al̓xʷ sxʷ kʷə √yeʔ-əɬtə tl s-xʷ√xʷəym=eləʔ‖ [√send-CTRAN-1PLOBJ 2SUBJ SUB √go-1PLSUBJ DEM S-LOC√sell=container]

2.4.5.2. Object (columns) and subject (rows) paradigm with ‖-ət‖ 'control transitive' (§2.5.2.1). The root ‖√kʷ̓ən‖ 'see' with the 'control transitive' has the gloss 'look at' as in 'I look at you.'

	1	1pl	2	3
1	--	--	kʷ̓ánəsə sən	kʷ̓ánət sən
1pl	--	--	kʷ̓ánəsə ɬtə	kʷ̓ánət ɬtə
2	kʷ̓ánəs sxʷ	kʷ̓ənətál̓xʷ sxʷ	--	kʷ̓ánət sxʷ
3	kʷ̓ánəsəs	kʷ̓ənətál̓xʷəs	(kʷ̓ánətəŋ sxʷ)	kʷ̓ánətəs

2.4.5.3. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ‖-naxʷ‖ 'non-control transitive' (§2.5.2.2). The root ‖√kʷ̓ən‖ 'see' with this transitivizer is glossed as, for example, 'I see you.'

	1	1pl	2	3

1	--	--	kʷənnáŋə sən	kʷánnəxʷ sən
1pl	--	--	kʷənnáŋə ɬtə	kʷánnəxʷ ɬtə
2	kʷənnáŋəs sxʷ	kʷənnáɬxʷ sxʷ	--	kʷánnəxʷ sxʷ
3	kʷənnáŋəs	kʷənnáɬxʷəs	(kʷánnəŋ sxʷ)	kʷánnəs

2.4.5.4. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ‖-staxʷ‖ ‘causative’ (§2.5.2.3). The root ‖√kʷən‖ ‘see’ with this transitivizer is glossed ‘show’ as in ‘I show (it to) you.’

	1	1pl	2	3
1	--	--	kʷənstáŋə sən	kʷánstxʷ sən
1pl	--	--	kʷənstáŋə ɬtə	kʷánstxʷ ɬtə
2	kʷənstáŋəs sxʷ	kʷənstáɬxʷ sxʷ	--	kʷánstxʷ sxʷ
3	kʷənstáŋəs	kʷənstáɬxʷəs	(kʷánstəŋ sxʷ)	kʷánstəs

2.4.5.5. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ‖-ət‖ ‘control transitive’ and ‖-si‖ ‘indirective’ (§2.5.3.1). The root ‖√kʷən‖ ‘see’ with these two suffixes is glossed as, for example, ‘I look at it for you.’

	1	1pl	2	3
1	--	--	kʷənsísə sən	kʷənsít sən
1pl	--	--	kʷənsísə ɬtə	kʷənsít ɬtə
2	kʷənsís sxʷ	kʷənsitáɬxʷ sxʷ	--	kʷənsít sxʷ
3	kʷənsísəs	kʷənsitáɬxʷəs	(kʷənsítəŋ sxʷ)	kʷənsítəs

2.4.5.6. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ‖-ət‖ ‘control transitive’ and ‖-i‖ ‘persistent’ (§2.2.1). The root[4] ‖√x̣č‖ ‘figure out’ with these two suffixes is glossed ‘know’ as in ‘I know you.’

	1	1pl	2	3
1	--	--	x̣əčsí sən	x̣čít sən
1pl	--	--	x̣əčsí ɬtə	x̣čít ɬtə
2	x̣čís sxʷ	x̣čitáɬxʷ sxʷ	--	x̣čít sxʷ
3	x̣əčsís	x̣čitáɬxʷəs	(x̣əčtíŋ sxʷ)	x̣əčtís

2.4.5.7. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ‖-nəs‖ ‘purposive’ (§2.5.2.4). The root

‖√kʷaniŋat‖ ‘run, race’ with this transitivizer is glossed as, for example, ‘I run after you.’

	1	1pl	2	3
1	--	--	kʷənəŋatnəsáŋə sən	kʷənəŋátnəs sən
1pl	--	--	kʷənəŋatnəsáŋə ɬtə	kʷənəŋátnəs ɬtə
2	kʷənəŋatnəsáŋəs sxʷ	kʷənəŋatnəsál̓xʷ sxʷ	--	kʷənəŋátnəs sxʷ
3	kʷənəŋatnəsáŋəs	kʷənəŋatnəsál̓xʷəs	(kʷənəŋátnəsəŋ sxʷ)	kʷənəŋátnəsəs

2.4.5.8. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ‖-əs‖ ‘effort transitive’ (§2.5.2.5). Only partial paradigms have been recorded with this transitivizer. The following set with ‖√nəẇ̓‖ ‘be inside’ is the most complete. Note that when both first and second persons are involved ‖-ŋiy‖ ‘relational’ also appears. See also §2.5.2.5.

	1	1pl	2	3
1	--	--	nəẇ̓ŋíŋə sən	nəẇ̓és sən
1pl	--	--	not recorded	not recorded
2	nəẇ̓ŋíŋəs sxʷ	not recorded	--	nəẇ̓és sxʷ
3	(nəẇ̓éŋ sən)	not recorded	(nəẇ̓éŋ sxʷ)	not recorded

Notes to §2.4.

1. The prosodic similarity between the second and third plurals here is striking but as yet unaccounted for.

2. I recorded no examples with the first plural possesive and a second person subject. Hess (p.c.) has data indicating that constructions like *ténɬtə sxʷ are unacceptable in Saanich. This is also the case in other Salish languages. In order to say ‘you are our mother’ one must resort to the second person predicative pronominal: nək̓ʷə ténɬtə.

3. This similarity is an historical accident. The first singular /s/ of object set 1 comes from Proto-Salish *c, while that of object set 2 comes from *x (Kinkade, p.c.).

4. A full paradigm for the root of previous paradigms, ‖k̓ʷən‖, with ‖-i‖ ‘persistent’ was not recorded. However, forms such as /k̓ʷənsí sən/ ‘I watch you’ do occur. See examples 1-4 in §2.2. This root has not been recorded with either ‖-nəs‖ ‘purposive’ or ‖-əs‖ ‘effort’.

2.5. Voice.

The morphology of voice in Saanich involves a system of highly productive suffixes that function to indicate various relationships between the participants and the action or state expressed in the predicate. The transitive suffixes (§2.5.2) indicate the involvement of at least two participants: a subject and an object. See §2.4.5 for summary paradigms for subjects and objects with various transitivizers. The factive suffixes (§2.5.3) indicate the secondary involvement of a goal as well as a patient. The intransitive suffixes (§2.5.4) differ among themselves in whether the subject is agent or patient. They differ formally from the transitives in that they never occur with the object suffixes (see §2.4.3).

2.5.1. Control.

Control as a major category in the Salish languages has been discussed in a number of places (see especially Thompson, 1979b). This category cuts across the entire language with each morpheme, including each root, being either marked or unmarked with respect to control. The marked morphemes are either 'control' or 'non-control'. A 'control' morpheme implies a participant exerting conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. A 'non-control' morpheme implies a participant expressly not exerting control. Since control involves reference to participants, it is particularly important in the voice system. In fact, this section may just as appropriately be titled "Control" and be organized in terms of 'control', 'non-control', and unmarked for control morphemes rather than in terms of transitive, factive, and intransitive.

Control, to the native speaker of English, is a semantically striking category. It seems at first that the 'control/non-control' distinction is one of voluntary versus involuntary action or purposive vs. accidental occurrence. However, one soon encounters sentences like 1 recorded at two different times in different contexts and having two glosses that seem to be at opposite ends of a semantic scale.

1. nəqʷnáŋət sən 'I finally managed to fall asleep (after tossing and turning for hours trying to get to sleep)' OR 'I fell asleep (accidentally while driving).'

While the first gloss is clearly volitive, the second is just as clearly non-volitive. What the two glosses for example 1 have in common is that the subject fell asleep and was not able to exert control over it. Such pairs of glosses are readily and repeatedly given by informants.

Although all the suffixes of the voice system are either marked or unmarked with respect to control there are three pairs of suffixes that differ primarily in the control status they assign to the subject. The following examples briefly illustrate two of these pairs. The following sections give further exemplifications and more detailed descriptions.

2a. kʾʷánət sən 'I looked at it.'
b. kʾʷánnəxʷ sən 'I saw it.'
3a. tʼáṁtəl ɬtə 'We hit each other (while throwing rocks at each other).'
b. tʼəṁnákʷəl ɬtə 'We hit each other (we ran into each other accidentally).'
4a. ʔəwʼ nəslál kʷə nəsáq̓t 'I intentionally tore it (a rag).' ‖ʔəwʼ nə-s√lal kʷə nə√səq̓-ət‖ [CONTEMP 1POS-S√intend SUB 1POS√tear-CTRAN]
b. ʔəwʼ nəslál kʷə nəsáq̓nəxʷ 'I intentionally tore it accidentally.' ‖ʔəwʼ nə-s√lal kʷə nə√səq̓-nəxʷ‖ [CONTEMP 1POS-S√intend SUB 1POS√tear-CTRAN]

The sentences in example 2 contain the same root and differ only in that the first has the 'control

transitive' while the second has the 'non-control transitive'. 'Looking' is a controlled activity while 'seeing' is not.
A gloss like that given in 4b makes one think at first that the informant is working too hard. But given the notion of control and appropriate context it makes perfect sense: 'a nail was sticking out of the wall and I deliberately rubbed up against it and tore my shirt.' It corresponds to the idea sometimes expressed in English as "accidentally on purpose" but without the humorous connotations.

2.5.2. Transitives.
There are three common and highly productive transitive suffixes: ‖-ət‖ 'control transitive', ‖-nax^{w}‖ 'non-control transitive', and ‖-stax^{w}‖ 'causative'. Two others are quite rare: ‖-nəs‖ 'purposive' and ‖-əs‖ 'effort'. The last of these may actually be an allomorph of one of the others.

2.5.2.1. ‖-ət‖ 'control transitive'. The presence of this suffix implies a patient object and an agent subject which exerts conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate.
This suffix appears on the surface in six forms: /-ə́t/, /-ət/, /-t/, /-ə́/, /-ə/, and ø. It is stressed (examples 5-6) when following a vowelless CC root with an obstruent as the second consonant in the 'non-actual' (see §2.3.5.4). Otherwise the unstressed vowel is present or not (examples 7-10) depending on regular rules for /ə/ deletion. The /t/ deletes (examples 6,8,9) when followed by the /s/ of the first and second person objects (see §2.4.3).
5. sc̓ə́t sx^{w} 'You spanked him.' ‖√sc̓-ət-ø sx^{w}‖ [√spank-CTRAN-3OBJ 2SUBJ]
6. sc̓ə́s sx^{w} 'You spanked me.' ‖sc̓-ət-s sx^{w}‖ [√spank-CTRAN-1OBJ 2SUBJ]
7. kʷ̓ə́nət 'Look at it.' ‖√kʷ̓ən-ət‖
8. kʷ̓ə́nəsə sən 'I looked at you.' ‖√kʷ̓ən-ət-sə sən‖ [√see-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ]
9. lé?s sx^{w} 'You fixed me up.' ‖√le?-ət-s sx^{w}‖ [√repair-CTRAN-1OBJ 2SUBJ]
10. le?tál̓x^{w} sx^{w} 'You fixed us up.' ‖√le?-ət-al̓x^{w} sx^{w}‖ [√repair-CTRAN-1PLOBJ 2SUBJ]

2.5.2.2. ‖-nax^{w}‖ 'non-control transitive'. This suffix is opposed to both the 'control transitive' and the 'causative'. Its presence implies a patient object and an agent subject but the subject does not exert conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate.
This suffix appears in four forms: /-nə́x^{w}/, /-nəx^{w}/, /-ná/, and /-n/. The underlying vowel surfaces only when stressed. The suffix is stressed (examples 11-14) only when occuring with a underlyingly vowelless root (see §2.3.5.4) and no other suffixes. The form /-nəx^{w}/ appears with third person object otherwise (examples 15-16). The /x^{w}/ is deleted when it is followed by other suffixes (examples 13,14,17).
11. ṯəm̓nə́x^{w} sən 'I hit it accidentally; I finally managed to hit it.' ‖√ṯm̓-nax^{w}-ø sən‖ [√hit-NTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
12. ṯəsnə́x^{w} sx^{w} 'You broke it accidentally; you finally managed to break it.' ‖√ṯs-nax^{w}-ø sx^{w}‖ [√break-NTRAN-3OBJ 2SUBJ]
13. ṯəm̓nə́s 'He hit him (accidentally).' ‖√ṯm̓-nax^{w}-ø-əs‖ [√hit-NTRAN-3OBJ-3SUBJ]
14. ṯəm̓nə́ŋ 'Somebody got hit (accidentally).' ‖√ṯm̓-nax^{w}-əŋ‖ [√hit-NTRAN-PASS]
15. ʔətátnəx^{w} sən 'I finally managed to get him to sleep.' ‖√ʔitat-nax^{w}-ø sən‖ [√sleep-NTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
16. háq^{w}nəx^{w} sən 'I smell it.' ‖√haq^{w}-nax^{w}-ø sən‖ [√smell-NTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
17. kʷ̓ənnáŋəs sx^{w} 'You see me.' ‖√kʷ̓ən-nax^{w}-aŋəs sx^{w}‖ [√see-NTRAN-1OBJ 2SUBJ]

2.5.2.3. ‖-stax^{w}‖ 'causative'. This suffix is opposed to the 'control transitive' and the 'non-control

transitive'. Its presence implies a patient object and an agent subject that exerts conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. It differs from the 'control transitive' in that it adds the implication that the subject is causing or obliging the activity expressed in the predicate.
The complete underlying form never appears on the surface. But the morphophonemic rules that lead to each of the five surface forms, /-táxʷ/, /-stxʷ/, /-txʷ/, /-st/, and /-t/, are straightforward. The underlying vowel appears only when the root is vowelless and the word contains no other stressable morpheme, that is, the /a/ appears only when it is the only underlying vowel in the word (examples 14-15). The underlying /s/ appears only when this suffix is preceded by a vowel (examples 16-18). The /s/ may actually represent an entirely different morpheme, but there is not enough evidence to analyze it clearly as such. As with ‖-naxʷ‖ 'non-control transitive', the /xʷ/ is deleted when followed by other suffixes (examples 18,19,21-23). Note that often in the 'passive' (§2.5.4.4) the 'causative' will be phonologically identical to the 'control transitive'. Also it is often the case that the 'control transitive' can be distinguished from the 'causative' on the surface only with reference to their different object suffix sets (see §2.4.3).
18. čəqtáxʷ sən 'I made it big.' ‖√čq-staxʷ-ø sən‖ [√big-CAUS-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
19. x̣əl̓táxʷ sən 'I designed it.' ‖√x̣l̓-staxʷ-ø sən‖ [√draw, write-CAUS-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
20. ʔəṫθíŋəstxʷ 'Get him dressed.' ‖√ʔiṫθ-niy-staxʷ-ø‖ [√get dressed-REL-CAUS-3OBJ]
21. štəŋístxʷ sən 'I walked him (a dog); I ran it (a machine).' ‖√št-ŋiy-staxʷ-ø sən‖ [√locomote-REL-CAUS-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
22. ṫəkʷistáŋəs sxʷ 'You took me home.' ‖√ṫakʷ-ŋiy-staxʷ-aŋəs sxʷ‖ [√go home-REL-CAUS-1OBJ 2SUBJ]
23. ʔəɬənístəs 'He fed it (the dog).' ‖√ʔiɬən-ŋiy-staxʷ-ø-əs‖ [√eat-REL-CAUS-3OBJ-3SUBJ]
24. x̣éʔx̣əʔtxʷ sxʷ 'You embarrassed him.' ‖C1V̓C2+√x̣eʔ-staxʷ-ø sxʷ‖ [CHAR+√embarrass-CAUS-3OBJ 2SUBJ]
25. ʔətattáŋə sən 'I put him to sleep.' ‖√ʔitat-staxʷ-aŋə sən‖ [√sleep-CAUS-2OBJ 1SUBJ]
26. hiθtáŋəs sxʷ 'You kept me for a long time.' ‖√hiθ-staxʷ-aŋəs sxʷ‖ [√long time-CAUS-1OBJ 2SUBJ]
27. híθtəŋ ɬtə 'We were kept for a long time.' ‖√hiθ-staxʷ-əŋ ɬtə‖ [√long time-CAUS-PASS 1PLSUBJ]

It seems that many of the stems that can occur with the 'causative' cannot occur with the 'control transitive'. For all of the stems listed in this section corresponding forms with the 'control transitive' in place of the 'causative' are rejected. But see examples 53 and 55 below in §2.5.3.1 for a pair showing the difference between the two transitivizers with the same stem.

2.5.2.4. ‖-nəs‖ 'purposive'. This suffix is rare in the corpus and seems to appear on a very limited number of stems. It has been found occurring with only five different roots: √ʔax̣ʷ 'go to', √yeʔ 'go, depart', √kʷəniŋat 'run', √ʔənʔé 'come', and √št 'walk'. Enough paradigms have been elicited, however, to show that this suffix parallels the other transitivizing suffixes. Its presence implies a patient object and an agent subject that exerts conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. It differs from the 'control transitive' in that it adds the implication that the subject has a specific purpose in its action. It often, but not always, carries an implication of malevolent intent. This suffix apparently suffers no morphophonemic variation. Since this suffix occurs no more than twenty times in the corpus the analysis here must be considered very tentative. It may turn out that this is no transitivizer at all, but another one of the factives similar to the 'relational' (§2.5.3.2).
28. √yéʔ-nəs sən səʔ 'I'll go (to do something).' [√go-PURPOS 1SUBJ FUT]
29. √ʔáx̣ʷ-nəs sən 'I went over there (for some specific purpose).' [√go to-PURPOS 1SUBJ]
30. √ʔənʔé-nəs-əŋ sən ʔə tsə s√qéx̣əʔ 'The dog came at me (probably not in a friendly way).'

31. štáŋnəs sən ʔaɬ ‘I’m just going to walk over there (with something in mind such as to tell somebody off).’
32. √kʷənəŋát-nəs-əs ‘He ran after it.’ [√run-PURPOS-3SUBJ]
33. kʷənəŋàtnəsáŋəs sxʷ ‘You ran after me.’

2.5.2.5. ‖-əs‖ ‘effort’? This suffix has been recorded as a clearly separable unit with only a few roots:
34. √sékʷ-əs sən ‘I put it down.’
35. √náẇ-əs sən ‘I put it inside.’
36. √sqé-s sən ‘I put it outside.’
37. √kʷéyl-əs sən ‘I hid it.’
38. √čákʷ-əs sən ‘I used it.’

Two of the roots have been recorded in the ‘resultive’ form with the ‘durative’ suffix and the ‘causative’ transitivizer and just about the same glosses:
39. s√náẇ-əɬ-txʷ sən ‘I got it inside.’ [STAT√inside(RES)-DUR-CAUS 1SUBJ]
40. séqəɬtxʷ sən ‘I put it outside.’

It may be that this suffix is not a transitivizer at all. There is no clear reason to separate it from the ‘purposive’ suffix, which itself has a questionable status as a transitivizer. Furthermore, there is a possibility that this suffix is to be identified with the /s/ of the ‘causative’ transitivizer analyzed in §2.5.2.3 as ‖-staxʷ‖. Examples 41-42 seem to point in this direction.
41. θɬíŋətxʷ sən ‘I stood him (a baby) up.’ (θíɬəŋ sən ‘I’m standing.’)
42. θɬíŋəstxʷ sən ‘I put it (a tent) up.’

This is, however, the only such pair recorded, and each of these was recorded only once. Example 41 is a case of the causative following a vowel without the /s/ (see §2.5.2.3 and 55 §2.5.3.1). Nevertheless, the glosses seem to differ in a way comparable to the glosses of examples 34-38.
A problem in considering this ‖-əs‖ suffix to be identical to the /s/ in the ‘causative’ is that paradigms involving ‖-əs‖ have been recorded without any trace of the expected forms of the ‘causative’. Examples 43-45 with 36 form part of a paradigm for ‖-əs‖ as a transitivizer.
43. √sqé-ŋ sən ‘He put me outside.’ [√outside-PASS 1SUBJ]
44. √sqə-ŋí-ŋə sən ‘I put you outside.’ [√outside-REL-2OBJ 1SUBJ]
45. √sqə-ŋí-ŋəs sxʷ ‘You put me outside.’ [√outside-REL-1OBJ 2SUBJ]

The /s/ of the suffix deletes when followed by another suffix as does the /xʷ/ of the ‘non-control transitive’ and the ‘causative’. See §2.4.3 on the form of the first and second person objects.
I will continue to gloss this morpheme as ‘effort’ when it is clearly not ‘causative’ or ‘purposive’. More data are needed to clarify the issue here.

2.5.3. Factives.
The factives are two suffixes, ‖-si‖ ‘indirective’ and ‖-ŋiy‖ ‘relational’, that imply a secondary involvement between the object and the subject. This involvement may be benefactive, malafactive, or neutrafactive. These suffixes occupy the same position class and appear immediately after the stem and before a transitive suffix.

2.5.3.1. ‖-si‖ ‘indirective’. When this suffix is present a third participant is implied and the participant expressed in the object suffix is the goal rather than the patient of the predicate.
46. kʷə́nət sən ‘I looked at it.’ ‖√kʷən-ət-ø sən‖ [√see-CTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
47. kʷənsít sən ‘I looked at it for him (e.g. a boat he was thinking about buying).’ ‖√kʷən-si-ət-ø sən‖ [√see-INDIRECT-CTRAN 1SUBJ]
48. kʷə́nəsə sən ‘I looked at you.’ ‖√kʷən-ət-sə sən‖ [√see-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ]
49. kʷənsísə sən ‘I looked at it for you.’ ‖√kʷən-si-ət-sə sən‖ [√see-INDIRECT-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ]

In examples 46 and 48 the participant indicated in the object suffix is the patient. Examples 47 and 49 differ from these two only in the presence of the ‘indirective’ suffix. In 47 and 49 the participant indicated by the object suffix is the goal or beneficiary of the action. See §2.4.5.5 for a complete paradigm involving this root and suffix combination.
Though other glosses come to mind (such as ‘benefactive’ or ‘substitutive’), ‘indirective’ seems more appropriate. This morpheme seems to be the Saanich cognate of a suffix that has been widely noted in Interior Salishan (Carlson, 1976; Thompson and Thompson, 1976; Mattina, 1982). In Saanich, as in the Interior languages, this morpheme often seems to convey a benefactive meaning or the idea that the subject is acting as a substitute for the object as in examples 47, 49, and 50-53.
50. leʔsít sxʷ ‘You fixed it for him.’ ‖√leʔ-si-ət-ø sxʷ‖ [√repair-INDIRECT-CTRAN-3OBJ 2SUBJ]
51. leʔsís sxʷ ‘You fixed it for me.’ ‖√leʔ-si-ət-s sxʷ‖ [√repair-INDIRECT-CTRAN-1OBJ 2SUBJ]
52. x̣ətsísəs ‘He got it ready for me.’ ‖√x̣ət-si-ət-s-əs‖ [√prepare, make, do-INDIRECT-CTRAN-1OBJ-3SUBJ]
53. x̣ətsísə sən səʔ ‘I’ll make it (a paddle) for you.’ ‖√x̣ət-si-ət-sə sən səʔ‖ [√prepare, make, do-INDIRECT-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ FUT]

But the ‘indirective’ can also carry a malafactive sense as in 54.
54. kʷeyəsít sən ‘I refused it to him.’ ‖√kʷey-si-ət-ø sən‖ [√unable, forbid-INDIRECT-CTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ]

That most occurrences of the ‘indirective’ have a benefactive sense can be attributed to the fact that this morpheme is quite easily elicited with contexts involving the English "for" benefactive construction. The occurrences with malafactive readings are more difficult to elicit directly and usually appear only incidentally in running text.
Most recordings of the ‘indirective’ occur with ‖-ət‖, the ‘control transitive’ suffix. It has also been found occurring with ‖-staxʷ‖, the ‘causative’ as in example 55.
55. x̣ətsitáŋə sən səʔ ‘I’ll fix it(a paddle) for you.’ ‖√x̣ət-si-staxʷ-aŋə sən səʔ‖ [√prepare, make, do-INDIRECT-CAUS-2OBJ 1SUBJ FUT]

Although the expected /s/ of the ‘causative’ is missing in example 55, the object suffix clearly indicates ‘causative’ (see §2.4.3). Examples 53 and 55 mean very nearly the same thing. The difference lies in the fact that 55 implies that the paddle to be prepared already exists, where in 53 the paddle will be made from scratch.
The ‘indirective’ has not been recorded occurring with ‖-naxʷ‖, the ‘non-control transitive’. This is probably just an accidental gap in the corpus.

2.5.3.2. ‖-ŋiy‖ ‘relational’. When this suffix is present the participant expressed in the object suffix is the

goal as well as the patient of the predicate. Where ‖-si‖ 'indirective' with a transitivizer implies three participants (an agent subject, a goal object, and an unspecified patient), ‖-ŋiy‖ 'relational' with a transitivizer implies two (an agent subject and an object both goal and patient).
56. qʷéltxʷ sən 'I talked to him.' ‖√qʷel-staxʷ-ø sən‖ [√talk, say(RES)-CAUS-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
57. qʷélŋət sən 'I gave him a talking to.' ‖√qʷel-ŋiy-ət-ø sən‖ [√talk, say(RES)-REL-CTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ]

Example 56 with the 'causative' implies 'I conversed with him', 'causing' him to talk. The 'control transitive' in example 57 implies 'I talked at him.' The 'relational' in 57 adds the implication that the subject was scolding him, giving him a piece of his mind, or giving him advice: 'I talked at him for him.' As with ‖-si‖ 'indirective', the implication is not necessarily either benefactive or malafactive.
Besides the 'control transitive', the 'relational' has been recorded occurring with the 'causative' and the 'effort' transitivizers. See examples in §2.5.2.3 and §2.5.2.5.
The gloss for this morpheme, 'relational', is the gloss used by Thompson and Thompson (in press) in their discussion of the apparent Thompson Salish cognate ‖-min‖[1]. The term 'relational' can be thought of as referring to the fact that the morpheme indicates that there is a special relationship between the subject and the object other than that of agent/patient. No further significance should be given to the choice of terminology than that it is difficult to find a better label.
The /y/ of the underlying form surfaces as /y̓/ in the 'actual' (see §2.3.5). The suffix appears as /-ŋí/ when stressed and followed by a consonant (examples 21, 44, 45 above), /-ŋi/ when followed by a consonant and stress is in a following syllable (examples 58-59), /-ŋə/ when followed by a consonant and stress is in a preceding syllable (examples 20, 41, 42), /-ŋəč/ when unstressed and followed by a vowel (examples 60, 62), and /-ŋəy̓/ in the 'actual' and followed by a vowel (example 61). The /ŋ/ deletes in three environments: 1) following a sequence of two obstruents (examples 64-65), 2) following another nasal (examples 23, 63), and 3) following another velar (example 22 above). Thus other forms of ‖-ŋiy‖ include /-í/, /-i/, /-ə/, and ø. No cases of the /y/ ~ /č/ surfacing without the /ŋ/ are evident in the corpus, but such should be expected.
58. x̌̓čəlŋistáŋəs səʔ sxʷ 'You're going to sink me.' ‖√x̌̓č-il-ŋiy-staxʷ-aŋəs səʔ sxʷ‖ [√down-DIRECT-REL-CAUS-1OBJ FUT 2SUBJ]
59. səsiʔŋistál̓xʷ sxʷ 'You scared us.' ‖C1+√sey̓-ŋiy-staxʷ-al̓xʷ sxʷ‖ [RES+√scare-REL-CAUS-1PLOBJ 2SUBJ]
60. qʷélŋəčəɬtəŋ sən 'Somebody scolded my kid.' ‖√qʷəl-ŋiy=aɬ-ət-əŋ sən‖ [√talk-REL=offspring-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]
61. qʷél̓ŋəy̓ɬəŋ̓ sən 'I'm scolding my kid.' ‖√qʷəl-ŋiy=aɬ-əŋ sən‖ [√talk(ACT)-REL=offspring-CMDL 1SUBJ]
62. qʷélŋəčəɬsə sən 'I scolded your child.' ‖√qʷəl-ŋiy=aɬ-ət-sə sən‖ [√talk-REL=offspring-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ]
63. x̣ʷáʔaŋ̓təs 'She was crying for him.' ‖√x̣ʷa(ʔ)aŋ-ŋiy-staxʷ-ø-əs‖ [√cry(ACT)-REL-CTRAN-3OBJ-3SUBJ]
64. tčístəs 'He brought it.' ‖√tč-ŋiy-staxʷ-ø-əs‖ [√arrive-REL-CAUS-3OBJ-3SUBJ]
65. t̓kʷístxʷ 'Get it across.' ‖√t̓kʷ-ŋiy-staxʷ-ø‖ [√across-REL-CAUS-3OBJ]

Examples 60-62 show that the 'relational' suffix may precede a lexical suffix[2]. Example 61 shows that it need not occur with a transitivizing suffix. The translation given here for 61 is transitive though the Saanich form is not. An awkward but more literal translation would be "I'm doing some kid-scolding."

2.5.4. Intransitives.

The intransitivizing suffixes variously indicate the relationship between the subject and the predicate. They never occur with an object suffix unless they form a stem that is subsequently transitivized.

Stems are intransitive unless marked for transitivity with one of the suffixes listed in §2.5.2. Most stems are also basically 'non-control'. Therefore, subjects of unmarked predicates are interpreted as patients as in examples 66-67.
66. √ťəm̓=íqʷ sən 'I got hit on the head.' [√hit=head 1SUBJ]
67. √ťə́m̓ ə sxʷ 'Did you get hit?' [√hit QUEST 2SUBJ]

The transitive suffix provides the interpretation of the subject as a controling or non-controling agent as in 68.
68. √ťə́m̓-ət ə sxʷ 'Did you hit it?'

Like the transitive suffixes, the intransitive suffixes provide a way of specifying the role of the subject as well as its control status.

2.5.4.1. /-əlaʔ/ ~ /-eĺs/ 'structured activity'. When this suffix is present the subject is to be interpreted as agent. It seems to be similar in function and meaning to the 'control middle' §2.5.4.2. There are, however, several important differences. First, unlike the 'control middle', the 'structured activity' suffix does not seem to imply a necessarily controling agent (examples 69-72). Second, though this suffix is quite common, it is uncertain how productive it is. The meaning of forms with this morpheme are not entirely predictable from the meaning of the stem (examples 73, 78, 80-82). Third, this suffix contains the implication that the subject is participating in a regular, perhaps culturally defined activity, that is generally characterized in the meaning of the stem. It often conveys the notion of a habitual or characteristic activity (examples 73-82). And, fourth, the 'structured activity' morpheme can be followed by both lexical and transitivizing suffixes (examples 74, 87).
The two forms of the morpheme, /-əlaʔ/ and /-eĺs/ are the 'non-actual' and 'actual' (see §2.3.5), respectively. I have been able to find no morphophonemic rules to relate them.
69. pxʷəláʔ 'The wind blows.' (páxʷət 'blow it (with mouth).')
70. pxʷéĺs 'The wind is blowing now.'
71. ƛ̓əpx̣éĺs 'It's scattering.' (ƛ̓pə́x̣t 'I scattered it.')
72. ťəm̓éĺs sən ʔaĺ 'I'm just guessing.' (ťémət sən 'I guessed it.')
73. qəq̓éĺs 'He's a policeman.' (qíq̓ət sən 'I bound it up.')
74. qəqéĺsew̓txʷ 'Jail; police station.'
75. x̣əĺələ́ʔ 'Write.' (√x̣əĺ 'draw, write')
76. x̣əĺéĺs 'He's a writer; he's writing.'
77. šx̣əĺéĺs 'Pencil, pen.'
78. x̣čéĺs 'He's nosey.' (x̣ə́čt sən 'I figured it'; x̣čít sən 'I know it.')
79. q̓x̣éĺs sən 'I'm clam digging.'
80. š√qək̓ʷ-éĺs 'Pliers.' [S,LOC√bite-STRUC]
81. x̣éʔeĺs 'Transformer (an important Coast Salish spiritual personage).' (√x̣eʔ 'sacred')
82. xʷəĺk̓ʷéĺs 'He's rolling (a cigarette).'
83. wəsəláʔ tsə sqéx̣əʔ 'The dog barks.'
84. wəséĺs tsə sqéx̣əʔ 'The dog is barking.'
85. ɬənq̓ʷəláʔ sən 'I shot it (a gun, arrow, etc.).' (ɬə́nəq̓ʷt sən 'I shot him.')

86. qʷəŋélʔs ‘He’s borrowing (money).’
87. √qʷəŋ-ələʔ-t-əŋ sən ‘He loaned me some money.’ [√borrow-STRUC-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]

2.5.4.2. ‖-əŋ‖ ‘control middle’. This suffix occurs on roots that are not inherently control oriented. It implies an agent subject exerting conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate.
The term ‘middle’ for Salish cognates of this suffix is long established. It corresponds to the Indo-European notion of ‘middle voice’ insofar as it usually implies an agent acting in its own interest. But often the ‘control middle’ does not have any apparent reflexive/benefactive component to its meaning. It seems that in most cases the primary function of the ‘control middle’ is to indicate the controled agency of the subject. In general, it usually can be read as "do some X-ing" where X represents the translation of a basic ‘non-control’ root.
88. √qékʷ-əŋ sən ‘I rested; I’m resting.’ [√rest-CMDL 1SUBJ]
89. qʷál̓ŋəy̓ɬəŋ̓ sən ‘I’m scolding my child.’ (See §2.5.3.2 example 61.)
90. √qʷəčáxʷ-əŋ tsə nə√x̌és ‘My stomach’s grumbling.’ [√grumble-CMDL DEM 1POS√stomach]
91. √q̓áp-əŋ̓ sən ‘I collected (money for a funeral).’ [√gather(ACT)-CMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare q̓pát sən ‘I collected it’; q̓épəɬ ɬtə ‘We got together.’)
92. √máť-əŋ sən ‘I bent.’ [√bend-CMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare máť ət sən ‘I bent it’; máť məť tsə sqəlélŋəxʷ ‘The tree is bent.’)
93. √kʷ̓ás-əŋ̓ sən ‘I’m counting.’ [√count(ACT)-CMDL 1SUBJ]
94. √qʷ̓él-əŋ sən ‘I’m (doing some) cooking.’ (Compare qʷ̓élət sən ‘I cooked it’; qʷ̓él ‘It’s cooked.’)
95. √t̓θəsí-ŋ-əɬ sən ‘I’m pounding, hammering.’ [√pound-CMDL-DUR 1SUBJ] (Compare t̓θísət sən ‘I punched it’; xʷt̓θsás ‘get punched in the face.’)
96. √ʔəč=íkʷəs-əŋ sən ‘I dried (with a towel).’ [√wipe=body-CMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare ʔéč ət sən ‘I wiped it.’)
97. √ʔəx̣=θín-əŋ sən ‘I shaved.’ [√scrape=mouth-CMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare ʔíx̣ət sən ‘I scraped it.’)
98. √sə́w̓q-əŋ̓ ‘He’s whispering.’ [√whisper(ACT)-CMDL] (Compare skʷə́qsə sən ‘I whispered it to you.’)

There are a number of forms with /-əŋ/ for which neither control nor agency is evident:
99. √čá(ʔ)x̣ʷ-əŋ̓ ‘It’s thawing, melting.’ [√melt(RES)(ACT)-CMDL] (Compare čáʔx̣ʷət sən ‘I’m thawing it.’)
100. √x̌̓č-íl-əŋ sxʷ ‘You sank.’ [√deep, low, down-DIRECT-CMDL 2SUBJ]
101. t̓ét̓θəŋ ‘It’s going sour.’

2.5.4.3. ‖-naŋət‖ ‘non-control middle’. This suffix follows a pattern parallel to the ‘control middle’. This suffix, however, usually appears on inherently ‘control’ stems and thus occurs less frequently. It indicates that the subject is an agent not exerting conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. It is most often translated "finally".
102. √ɬel-náŋət ɬtə ‘We finally got to shore.’ [√get to shore-NMDL 1PLSUBJ] (Compare ɬél ɬtə səʔ ‘We’ll get to shore.’)
103. √ʔitət-náŋət ‘He finally went to sleep.’ (√ʔitat ‘be asleep’)
104. √nəqʷ-náŋət sən ‘I finally managed to fall asleep.’ (See also example 1 above.)
105. √ʔiɬən-náŋət sən ‘I finally ate (after waiting a long time).’ (ʔíɬən sən ‘I ate.’)

This suffix has been found occurring with both the ‘control middle’ and the ‘causative’ as in examples 106 and 107, but it is rejected with ‘causative’ and other roots. More systematic elicitation is required to clear up these problems and those with the ‘control middle’.
106. √qekʷ-əŋ-náŋət sən ‘I finally managed to rest.’ [√rest-CMDL-NMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare example 88

and kʷɬ sqéqəẇ sən ‘I’m resting now (‘stative’ and ‘actual’).’)
107. √qekʷ-əŋ-náŋət-txʷ sən ‘I finally managed to rest it (a horse).’
108. * nəqʷnáŋəttxʷ sən (with expected meaning ‘I finally managed to get him to sleep.’ Compare with example 104.)

2.5.4.4. ‖-əŋ‖ ‘passive’. This suffix creates intransitive stems from transitive ones. When it occurs it always follows one of the transitive suffixes described in §2.5.2. It has the function of reversing the status of the transitive subject from agent to patient without affecting the control status. It is therefore unmarked for control.
The ‘passive’ is formally an intransitivizing suffix for two reasons. First, it is either agentless, has an indefinite agent, or the agent is marked by ‖ʔə‖, the ‘oblique’ case marker (see §2.6.4.1) as in other intransitives. When the ‘passive’ is present no object suffixes are. This is one of the defining characteristics of the intransitives. And, second, in most transitives the third person subject is marked ‖-əs‖ (see§2.4.4). In intransitives third person subject is ø. The ‘passive’ patterns with the intransitives and takes a ø third person subject.

Although the ‘passive’ and the ‘control middle’ are both intransitive suffixes and are phonetically identical, they must be recognized as two separate morphemes. Their functions are quite different: ‘control middle’ implies a controlled agent subject, where ‘passive’ is unmarked for control and implies a patient subject. The following examples illustrate the ‘passive’ occurring with various subjects and each of the transitivizing suffixes.
109. qʷə́lŋəčəɬtəŋ sən ‘Somebody scolded my kid (I was child-scolded).’ ‖√qʷəl-ŋiy=aɬ-ət-əŋ sən‖ [√talk-REL=offspring-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]
110. ʔətáttəŋ sən ‘It put me to sleep; I was put to sleep.’ ‖√ʔitat-staxʷ-əŋ sən‖ [√sleep-CAUS-PASS 1SUBJ]
111. híθtəŋ ɬtə ‘We were kept for a long time.’ ‖√hiθ-staxʷ-əŋ ɬtə‖ [√long time-CAUS-PASS 1PLSUBJ]
112. kʷənátnəsəŋ ‘Somebody’s running after him; he’s being run after.’ ‖√kʷəniŋat-nəs-əŋ‖ [√run-PURPOS-PASS]
113. sqéŋ sən ‘Someone put/took me outside; I was put outside.’ (Compare with examples 36, 43-45 above)
114. čákʷəŋ sən ‘They used me; I was used (employed).’ ‖√čakʷ-əs-əŋ sən‖ [√use-EFFORT-PASS 1SUBJ] (See §2.5.2.4 on the deletion of the /s/.)
115. kʷ̓ənstəŋ sxʷ ‘He showed it to you (you were caused to see it).’ ‖√kʷ̓ən-staxʷ-əŋ sxʷ‖ [√see-CAUS-PASS 2SUBJ]
116. kʷ̓ənnəŋ sxʷ ‘Someone saw you; you were seen.’ ‖√kʷ̓ən-naxʷ-əŋ sxʷ‖ [√see-NTRAN-PASS]
117. wələwástəŋ tsə swáy̓qəʔ ʔə tsə sqéx̣əʔ ‘The man got barked at by the dog.’ ‖C1(l)+√was-ət-əŋ tsə s√way̓qəʔ ʔə tsə s√qex̣əʔ‖ [RES(PL)+√bark-CTRAN-PASS DEM S√man OBL DEM S√dog]
118. ɬátx̣təŋ̓ sən ‘I’m shivering.’ ‖√ɬətx̣-ət-əŋ sən‖ [√shake(ACT)-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]
119. ʔəx̣θínətəŋ sən ‘I got shaved.’ (Compare with example 97 above.)
120. x̣əl̓ástəŋ sən kʷəʔ ‘He took my picture; I got x-rayed.’ ‖x̣əl̓=as-ət-əŋ sən kʷəʔ‖ [√write, draw=face-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ INFORM]
121. x̣əl̓ásnəŋ sən kʷəʔ ‘I got my picture taken (I was in the picture by chance).’ ‖√x̣əl̓=as-naxʷ-əŋ sən kʷəʔ‖ [√write, draw=face-NTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ INFORM]
122. x̣ɬátəŋ sən ‘Somebody hurt me.’ ‖√x̣ɬ-ət-əŋ sən‖ [√feel bad-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]
123. x̣əɬnáŋ sən ‘I got (my feelings hurt).’ ‖√x̣ɬ-naxʷ-əŋ sən‖ [√feel bad-NTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]

2.5.4.5. ‖-tal‖ ‘control reciprocal’. This suffix creates a formally intransitive stem with two implied participants. Each participant is both agent and patient. It is most often translated into English as "each other". This suffix additionally implies that both participants exert conscious control.
124. sə́y̓p̓təl̓ ‘They’re tickling each other.’ (səč̓ə́p̓s sxʷ ‘You tickled me.’)
125. sə́y̓p̓təl̓ ɬtə ‘We’re tickling each other.’
126. sə́y̓p̓təl̓ sxʷ ‘You’re tickling each other.’

The subject need not be plural, and forms with no overtly marked subject are ambiguous between implied first and third person subjects.
127. ʔəwáʔtəl̓ sən ‘I’m racing.’ ‖√ʔəwá(ʔ)-tal sən‖ [√contest(ACT)-CRECIP 1SUBJ]
128. t̓ə́m̓təl ‘We hit each other; they hit each other.’ (Compare with example 136 below.)
129. ʔəx̣θínətəl ‘We shaved each other; they shaved each other.’ (Compare with examples 97 and 119 above.)

Specific participants can be indicated in two ways: 1) with the addition of transitive and object suffixes (example 131), and 2) with the specification of an oblique object (examples 132-133).

130. kʷíw̓ən̓təl̓ ‘They’re fighting.’ ‖C1V́+√win-tal‖ [ACT+√fight-CRECIP]
131. kʷîw̓ən̓təl̓táŋ̓əs ‘We’re fighting; he’s fighting with me.’ ‖C1V́+√win-tal-staxʷ-aŋəs‖ [ACT+√fight-CRECIP-CAUS-1OBJ]
132. kʷíw̓ən̓təl̓ sən ʔə tsəw̓nítɬ ‘I’m fighting with him.’
133. kʷíw̓ən̓təl̓ sən ʔə tɬ nə́kʷə ‘I’m fighting with you.’

In examples 131-133 both the subject and object are equally agent and patient. The subject, however, is marked ‘control’ by the ‘control reciprocal’ suffix so that, in this context, the implication is that the subject is the instigator of the fight. See also examples 142-145 below for object and subject markings on the ‘non-control reciprocal’.
The underlying /a/ of the ‘control reciprocal’ surfaces, like the underlying vowels of the ‘control transitive’, ‘non-control transitive’, and the ‘causative’, only when the root is vowelless and no other stressable vowels are present.
134. x̣ə́čtál ɬtə ‘We know each other.’ ‖√x̣č-tal‖ [√figure, know-CRECIP 1PLSUBJ]

It may be that this suffix is further analyzable as involving the /t/ of the ‘control transitive’. The fact that the difference between a ‘control’ and ‘non-control’ transitive is often carried by the difference between /t/ and /n/ suggests the separation of the /t/ and /n/ from the ‘control’ and ‘non-control’ reciprocals. Since there is no supporting evidence for such an analysis and nothing lost or gained either way, this description will consider the /t/ and /n/ parts of the morphemes.[3]

2.5.4.6. ‖-nəwel‖ ‘non-control reciprocal’. This suffix functions just like the ‘control reciprocal’ except that it implies that neither participant is exerting conscious control. As with the ‘control reciprocal’ it is often translated with "each other," and the subject need not be plural. When no overt subject is mentioned the form is ambiguous between first and second persons.
135. pítnəkʷəl ‘We recognized each other; they recognized each other.’ (pítnəxʷ sən ‘I recognized him.’)
136. t̓əm̓nə́kʷəl ‘We hit (ran into) each other; they hit each other.’ (Compare with example 128 above.)

137. kʷ̓ənnákʷəl ɬtə ‘We saw each other.’
138. xʷčəm̓snákʷəl sən ‘I met him (on the road, not for the first time).’ ‖xʷ√čəm̓=as-nəwel sən‖ [LOC√meet=face-NRECIP 1SUBJ]
139. nəɬnákʷəl ‘They look like (are) each other.’ ‖√niɬ-nəwel‖ [√it is-NRECIP]

As with the ‘control reciprocal’ specific participants can be mentioned. But the ‘non-control reciprocal’ differs in that one of the two mechanisms available to the ‘control reciprocal’ for this purpose is not used with the ‘non-control reciprocal’. Specific participants are indicated only by the addition of transitive and object suffixes. It is in this form that the underlying /e/ surfaces. It takes stress when foll owed by a single syllable (see §1.4 on stress placement).
140. ʔəθnəkʷélət sən ‘I spliced it (rope).’ ‖√ʔaθ-nəwel-ət-ø sən‖ [√front-NRECIP-CTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
141. x̓̓əq̓nəkʷélət sxʷ ‘You pressed it together.’ ‖√x̓̓iq̓-nəwel-ət-ø sxʷ‖ [√press-NRECIP-CTRAN-3OBJ 2SUBJ]

It should be noted that in examples 140-141 the subject and object are not the primary participants in the reciprocal activity. In 140, for example, it is the two facing ends of the rope.
The /w/ appears only when it is glottalized by the ‘actual’ resonant glottalization (see §2.3.5). In the following examples the forms are in the ‘actual’ and contain subjects and objects that are the primary participants in the reciprocal activity.
142. qʷə̀ɬqʷəɬn̓əẇ̓əɬtán̓ə sən [CHAR+√talk(ACT)-NRECIP-CAUS-2OBJ 1SUBJ]
143. qʷə̀ɬqʷəɬn̓əẇ̓əɬtán̓əs sxʷ [CHAR+√talk(ACT)-NRECIP-CAUS-1OBJ 2SUBJ]
144. qʷə̀ɬqʷəɬn̓əẇ̓əɬtáɬxʷəs [CHAR+√talk(ACT)-NRECIP-CAUS-1PLOBJ-3SUBJ]
145. qʷə̀ɬqʷəɬn̓əẇ̓əɬtáɬxʷ sxʷ [CHAR+√talk(ACT)-NRECIP-CAUS-1PLOBJ 2SUBJ]

Examples 142-145 all have the same translation: ‘We were talking, chatting together.’ Example 142 implies ‘I’m telling you something;’ 143 implies ‘you’re telling me something.’ Examples 144-145 imply that more than two people are chatting. The former excludes, while the latter includes, the addressee.

2.5.4.7. ‖-sat‖ ‘reflexive’. This suffix creates formally intransitive stems where a single participant, the subject, is implied and is both agent and patient. It is often translated with English "self".
This morpheme is unmarked for control. A control/non-control contrast for reflexives can be produced with the inclusion of ‖-ət‖ ‘control transitive’. Since most roots are ‘non-control’, the addition of ‘reflexive’ to a root produces a ‘non-control reflexive’. The addition of the ‘control transitive’ to the root before the ‘reflexive’ has the effect of producing a ‘control reflexive’.
Since the /t/ of ‖-ət‖ ‘control transitive’ always deletes before the /s/ of the ‘reflexive’ as it does before the object suffixes (see §2.5.2.1), the presence of the transitivizer can often be seen only in the meaning of the form. There are, however, forms where ‖-ət‖ shows itself before the ‘reflexive’. In §2.3.5.4 it was shown that some roots are best considered to be underlyingly vowelless. When these roots are in the ‘non-actual’ form stress falls on the vowel of the suffix. The underlying vowels of several suffixes (‘control transitive’, ‘non-control transitive’, ‘causative’, and ‘control reciprocal’) surface only when following these vowelless roots. This is also true of the ‘reflexive’. Examples 146 to 148 show the /a/ of the reflexive following vowelless roots.
146. √ʔiʔ-sát yəq sxʷ ‘I hope you’ll get better.’ [√good-REFL OPT 2SUBJ]
147. √čəq-sát ‘It’s getting bigger.’ [√big-REFL] (Compare /čəqnáxʷ sən/ ‘I made it (a sweater) big (accidentally);’ /čəqtáxʷ sən/ ‘I made it big (meaning to).’)

148. kʷɬ iʔ √pəq̓-sa(ʔə)t ‘She’s getting gray (hair).’ [REAL ACCOM √white-REFL(ACT)]

Notice that each of these involves a ‘non-control’ predicate.
There are some cases, though, where the ‘reflexive’ follows a vowelless root and the underlying /a/ does not surface. Examples 149 and 150 illustrate this.
149. tčə́sət sən ‘I poked myself.’
150. θkʷə́sət ‘He stretched himself.’ (Compare /θkʷnáxʷ sən/ ‘I managed to straighten it;’ /θkʷə́t sən/ ‘I straightened it.’)

Notice that these involve ‘control’ predicates.
Since roots like ‖√θkʷ‖ ‘poke’ and ‖√čq‖ ‘big’ pattern together with respect to other suffixes, we would expect them to pattern together here. That is, the expected surface form of ‖√θkʷ‖ with ‖-sat‖ would be */θəkʷsát/. Since a semantic difference between forms with /-sát/ and forms with /-ə́sət/ is one of ‘non-control’ versus ‘control’ we might assume two separate morphemes: a ‘non-control reflexive’ and a ‘control reflexive’. But another difference between forms exemplified in 146-148 and those in 149-150 is that the latter are logically, though not formally, transitive; an action mediates an agent and a patient. This all suggests that forms with /-ə́sət/, involving both semantic categories of control and transitivity as well as reflexivity, should be analyzed as involving two suffixes: ‖-ət‖ ‘control transitive’ and ‖-sat‖ ‘reflexive’. The /a/ of the ‘reflexive’ does not surface because the stress is taken by the preceding suffix. The analysis for examples 149 and 150 will then be as follows: ‖√tč-ət-sat‖ and ‖√θkʷ-ət-sat‖. The reduction of /a/ to /ə/, the deletion of the ‘control transitive’ /t/ before /s/, and the placement of stress on the /ə/ of the ‘control transitive’ are well justified elsewhere (see §1.4, §2.5.2.1, §2.4.3, and §2.3.5.4).
Following are a few more examples of the ‘reflexive’.
151. √šém-əsət sxʷ ‘You dried yourself (in the sun).’
152. məl̓čsət sən ‘I’m rolling over.’
153. ɬə́məx̣ʷsət ‘He rubbed himself.’
154. məxʷísət ‘He rocked (himself in a chair or boat).’
155. ƛ̓pə́x̣sət ɬtə ‘We scattered.’
156. həlísət ‘He saved himself (his soul).’ (√həlí ‘alive’)
157. čə́qʷsət sən ‘I have a fever.’ (√čəqʷ ‘fire’. Not ‘I burned myself’ or ‘I set myself on fire.’[4])
158. čéẇsət ‘He’s showing off.’ (čéẇt sən ‘I’m admiring him.’)

159. ƛ̓ə́məsət ‘It fits (a coat).’ (√ƛ̓am ‘correct, well’)
160. x̣éƛ̓sət ‘It’s a storm.’ (√x̣eƛ̓ ‘windy’)

Since there are at least three other ways in Saanich to express reflexive-like ideas (‘control middle’, ‘non-control middle’, and the bare ‘non-control’ root), the number of occurrences of this suffix in the corpus is quite limited.

Notes to §2.5.

1. Shifts of Proto-Salish *n to i have been noted in Interior Salish. See especially Kinkade (1982). This suffix in Saanich illustrates a case to the expected intermediate stage of *n > y.

2. These examples are complex forms exhibiting a secondary layer of derivation. While not unusual in Saanich and Salishan in general, secondary derivation is not common. This important topic in Saanich morphology is not covered in this work, but it deserves further investigation.

2.6. Particles.

There are three major classes of particles in Saanich: 1) the pre-predicate particles (§2.6.1), which are proclitics on the predicate head and generally indicate aspect; 2) the post-predicate particles (§2.6.2), which are enclitics on the predicate head and generally indicate the pragmatic setting of the speech act; and 3) the demonstratives (§2.6.3), which are proclitics on full word arguments of the predicate head and generally indicate various deictic qualities of the argument. Two other particles that do not obviously fall into any of these three classes are ‖kʷə‖ 'subordinator' and ‖ʔə‖ 'oblique case marker'. These two are discussed in §2.6.4.

2.6.1. Pre-predicate particles.

Preceding any full word that is the predicate head of a main or subordinate clause is a group of particles that indicate various nuances of aspect. The semantic and syntactic distribution and functions of these particles is not yet completely understood. The following discussions provide a starting point for further study. They are discussed in the order in which they appear before the predicate head. This order is shown in table 10.

Table 10.
Pre-predicate particles

kʷɬ 'realized' ʔiʔ 'accompanying' čəɬ 'immediate past'

s 'unrealized' ʔəẇ 'contemporaneous' təwə 'still,yet'

One other particle is discussed here, ‖ʔiʔwəwə‖ 'perhaps' (§2.6.1.7). Its place among the pre-predicate particles has not been determined.

2.6.1.1. ‖kʷɬ‖ 'realized' closely corresponds to English 'already'. It is, however, used much more frequently and in situations where 'already' would be inappropriate in English. This is the best understood and most common of the pre-predicate particles. It has been recorded in over 300 different examples. This particle often occurs before predicates in the 'actual' (§2.3.5). When it occurs with pre-predicate particles ‖ʔiʔ‖ 'accompanying' and ‖ʔəẇ‖ 'contemporaneous', it always precedes them. It has not been recorded occurring with any other pre-predicate particles. The following examples have been chosen to illustrate ‖kʷɬ‖ occurring with various other aspects. Other examples can be found throughout this work. See especially §2.3.5 and §2.3.6.

1. kʷɬ √téč-əl sən 'I arrived.' [REAL √be here-DIR 1SUBJ]
2. kʷɬ č√qéq 'She gave birth.' [REAL HAVE√baby]
3. kʷɬ √x̣ʷáy ʔaɬ 'He already died.' [REAL √die LIMIT]
4. kʷɬ náẇ sən 'I entered.'
5. kʷɬ mək̓ʷət sən 'I picked it up.'
6. kʷɬ ʔánəxʷtxʷ sən kʷəʔ 'I shut it off.'
7. kʷɬ x̣éčəŋ sən 'I'm dry.'
8. √ƛ̓éʔ səʔ kʷɬ √qəlét √t̓(əl)áṫ$^{\theta}$-t-əs 'He will squirt it again.' [√again FUT REAL √repeat √squirt(PL)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ]

9. kʷɬ číq ‘Snow fell.’
10. kʷɬ √ʔámə̓t sən ‘I’m sitting now.’ [REAL √sit(ACT) 1SUBJ]
11. kʷɬ hay ɬtə ‘We’re all done.’
12. kʷɬ s√qə́mə̓-əɬ ‘It’s been cut in half.’ [REAL STAT√cut in two(RES)-DUR]

2.6.1.2. ‖s‖ ‘unrealized’ does not appear often in the corpus. It has never been recorded preceding the predicate head of a main clause. It most often occurs before a subordinate clause when the main predicate is ‖√ʔáwə‖ ‘not’ or ‖√xʷəẇé‖ ‘not yet’. It occurs before ‖ʔiʔ‖ ‘accompanying’ and ‖ʔəẇ‖ ‘contemporaneous’, but it has not been recorded with other pre-predicate particles.
13. √ʔáwə s nə-s√lál ‘I didn’t mean to.’ [√not UNREAL 1POS-S√intend]
14. ʔəẇ √ʔáwə ʔaɬ̓ s √ʔáy̓ ‘It isn’t good.’ [CONTEMP √not LIMIT UNREAL √good]
15. s√kʷ̓éy kʷə nə-s√ʔáwə s əẇ √yéʔ ‘I have to go.’ [STAT√be unable, be forbidden SUB 1POS-S√not UNREAL CONTEMP √go]
16. √ʔáwə s iʔ √həlí-sət ‘He didn’t revive.’ [√not UNREAL ACCOM √live-REFL]
17. ʔáwə sən s əẇ √məkʷ̓ √kʷə́n-ət tsə s√čéenəxʷ ‘I didn’t take all the fish.’ [√not 1SUBJ UNREAL CONTEMP √all √take-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) S√salmon]
18. √ʔáwə kʷə nˈ-s√kʷ̓ə́n-nəxʷ s √tənˈámə̓t ‘He ignored you.’ [√not SUB 2POS-S√see-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) UNREAL √pretend]

2.6.1.3. ‖ʔiʔ‖ ‘accompanying’[1] indicates that the activity or situation referred to in the predicate head which follows it actually or conceptually accompanies some other activity or situation. When ‖ʔiʔ‖ is part of a clause that is not the main clause it often functions as a kind of conjunction and is translated as "and" or "with". It is, however, best considered an aspect morpheme. There is nothing like it in English, but it may be useful to imagine the possibility of sentences like "and it’s flying now" being grammatical, acceptable in isolation, and ordinary as discourse initial utterances. Such is not actually the case in English; ‘and’ must refer to some previous linguistic context. In Saanich, however, ‖ʔiʔ‖ can refer to extralinguistic, presupposed context.
Most often the meaning added by the presence of ‖ʔiʔ‖ is vague and difficult to abstract. The meaning of this morpheme is most clearly highlighted in contrast to ‖ʔəẇ‖. See §2.6.1.4 for a discussion of this contrast.
When occurring with other pre-predicate particles it follows only ‖kʷɬ‖ ‘realized’ and ‖s‖ ‘unrealized’. It precedes ‖ʔəẇ‖ ‘contemporaneous’, ‖čəɬ‖ ‘immediate past’, and ‖təwə‖ ‘still, yet’. The initial /ʔ/ deletes following other particles. The final /ʔ/ deletes preceding ‖ʔəẇ‖.
The following examples illustrate ‖ʔiʔ‖ in sentence initial position. In each of these the same translation is given for an otherwise identical sentence without the ‖ʔiʔ‖ particle. The translations are the same but the meanings differ. In each of the following forms with sentence initial ‖ʔiʔ‖, the speaker is conceiving of the stated situation or activity as necessarily involving some other, unstated situation or activity.
19. ʔiʔ √ɬéŋ̓-əɬ ‘It’s coming off now.’ [ACCOM √separate(ACT)-DUR]
20. ʔiʔ s√tkʷ=éy̓əč sən səʔ ‘I’m going to be limping (as part of the first sockeye ceremony).’ [ACCOM S√break=leg 1SUBJ FUT]
21. ʔiʔ ɬí+√ɬəkʷ̓=sənˈ sən ‘I’m tripping.’ [ACCOM ACT+√snare, snag=foot 1SUBJ]
22. ʔiʔ s√čéenəxʷ kʷəʔ ‘It’s "sčéenəxʷ".’ [ACCOM S√salmon INFORM] (This was the answer to the question /ʔənˈsʔínət ʔačə tsə "fish"/ ‘What do you call "fish"?’)
23. ʔiʔ weʔqə́ŋ̓ ‘The fish is diving.’
24. ʔiʔ kʷəɬə́ŋ̓ ‘It’s flying now.’

25. ʔiʔ θəlqt ɬtə ‘We’re sharing it.’

The following examples illustrate ||ʔiʔ|| in non-initial position. The clause that it appears before may be coordinate or subordinate but ||ʔiʔ|| is not a strictly conjunctive or subordinative morpheme in itself.
26. ʔápən ʔiʔ kʷs √nátˈθəʔ ‘Eleven.’ [√ten ACCOM DEM √one]
27. √ʔənʔé sən ʔiʔ √yéʔ sən ‘I come and I go.’ [√come 1SUBJ ACCOM √go 1SUBJ]
28. ʔənʔé sən ʔiʔ yéʔ ‘I come and go.’
29. √nákʷə ʔiʔ √ʔásə ‘It’s you and me.’ [√you ACCOM √I]
30. √θəláq-təɬ ɬtə səʔ ʔiʔ √nákʷə ‘We’ll share it with you.’ [√share-CRECIP 1PLSUBJ FUT ACCOM √you]
31. √ťéʔ-ət sən tsə s√ʔíɬən ʔiʔ √ʔáy̓ ‘I tasted the food and it was good.’ [√taste-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM S√eat ACCOM √good]
32. √yéʔ ləʔ sən ʔiʔ √nákʷə ‘I went with you.’ [√go PAST 1SUBJ ACCOM √you]
33. √x̣ʷáŋ sən ʔiʔ √x̣tí-t ‘I can do it.’ [√be able 1SUBJ ACCOM √prepare, do, make-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
34. √ʔíɬən ɬtə iʔ √nákʷə ‘We ate together (you and I).’ [√eat 1PLSUBJ ACCOM √you]
35. √háʔ ləʔ sən √yéʔ √qʷ̓áwyəkʷ ʔiʔ √ŋán̓ nə-s√qáčəʔ ‘When I used to go fishing I caught lots.’ [√when, if PAST 1SUBJ √go √fishing ACCOM √much 1POS-S√catch]

2.6.1.4. ||ʔəẃ|| ‘contemporaneous’ is a marker of aspect. It indicates that the activity or situation referred to in the predicate which it precedes has some usually contrasting relevance to some other activity or situation.
The initial /ʔ/ deletes when following another particle. The /ə/ is never stressed and so often deletes. ||ʔəẃ|| is then realized phonetically as a glottalized [u].
This morpheme is similar to ||ʔiʔ|| ‘accompanying’ in that when it is sentence initial it refers to context outside that of the sentence; when it precedes a non-initial clause the context referred to is stated in the main predicate. Like ||ʔiʔ||, it often seems to be an introducer of a subordinate or coordinate clause. Unlike ||ʔiʔ||, it does not imply a necessarily accompanying situation. The following pairs of examples show ||ʔəẃ|| ‘contemporaneous’ in contrast with ||ʔiʔ|| ‘accompanying’.
36a. ʔiʔ šátəŋ̓ sən ‘I’m walking.’
b. ʔəẃ šátəŋ̓ sən ‘I’m walking.’
37a. ʔiʔ təwə šátəŋ̓ sən ‘I’m still walking.’
b. ʔəẃ təwə šátəŋ̓ sən ‘I’m still walking.’
38a. ʔiʔ kʷ̓ánəɬ ‘He can see.’
b. ʔəẃ kʷ̓ánəɬ ‘He can see.’

In each of these six sentences the absence of ||ʔiʔ|| or ||ʔəẃ|| produces a sentence with the same translation. The differences between ||ʔiʔ|| and ||ʔəẃ|| are evident when the contexts are considered. The speaker of 36a is on her feet, moving, and stating a fact about what she is doing. In 36b, on the other hand, the speaker may be on her feet, moving, but ||ʔəẃ|| here indicates that a contrasting or preceding state of affairs is relevant and provides the sentence with the implication that the speaker is able to walk. This distinction comes out more clearly in 37 with the addition of ||təwə|| ‘still, yet’ (see §2.6.1.6). The contexts for these two sentences provided later by informants were: for 37a, ‘I’ve been walking all day and **I’m still walking**;’ for 37b, ‘my husband’s sick, laid up, but **I’m still walking**.’ 37a implies a necessarily accompanying situation; 37b implies a contemporaneous situation but no necessary involvement. Examples 38a and 38b in context display the same differences. The context of 38a was ‘he’s trying to look at something and **he can see**.’ For 38b the context was ‘his eyes are okay; **he can see**.’ Note that ||ʔəẃ||

implies here, as it often does, a contrasting state of affairs.
The two pre-predicate particles ||ʔiʔ|| 'accompanying' and ||ʔəẇ|| 'contemporaneous' can cooccur. Given the meanings of the individual morphemes as described above, 'necessarily involved accompanying situation' and 'contemporaneous, not necessarily involved, possibly contrasting situation', the usual translation for the combination of the two is not surprising. When ||ʔiʔ|| precedes ||ʔəẇ|| they are usually translated as "but". Compare 39 to 38 above.
39. ʔi əẇ kʷə́nəɬ 'But he can see!'

The context for 39 differs from the contexts of the sentences in 38: 'he's pretending he's blind, **but he can see**.' The following are a few more examples of ||ʔiʔ|| in combination with ||ʔəẇ||. Note that the translation does not always include "but"; ||ʔəẇ|| does not always imply contrast.
40. √ťə́m̓-t-əs tsə s√qéx̣əʔ ʔi əẇ √qʷəx̣ʷí-t-əs ʔaɬ 'He was throwing rocks at the dog but kept missing it.' [√throw, hit(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM S√dog ACCOM CONTEMP √miss-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ LIMIT]
41. √ťéʔ-ət sən ʔi əẇ √ʔáwə ʔaɬ s √ʔáẏ 'I tasted it but it wasn't good.' [√taste-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ ACCOM CONTEMP √not LIMIT UNREAL √good]
42. √čəlél sən ʔi əẇ √kʷə́n-ət √mə́kʷ 'I took almost all of it.' [√almost 1SUBJ ACCOM CONTEMP √take-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) √all]
43. ʔiʔwəwə √x̣ʷə́ŋ ɬtə i əẇ √yéʔ-naŋət 'We might be able to go.' [PERHAPS √be able 1PLSUBJ ACCOM CONTEMP √go-NMDL]

The following are a few examples of ||ʔəẇ|| in sentence initial position. Notice how most of them imply a contrasting situation.
44. ʔəẇ √ʔáẏ sən ʔaɬ 'I'm fine.' [CONTEMP √good 1SUBJ LIMIT]
45. ʔəẇ √čéy səʔ kʷəʔ 'Somebody will work.' [CONTEMP √work FUT INFORM]
46. ʔəẇ √yáθ ʔaɬ ʔəẇ ɬ√pʼáƛ̓-əŋ 'He's always smoking.' [CONTEMP √always LIMIT CONTEMP PART√smoke-CMDL]
47. ʔəẇ √x̣ʷə́ŋ sən ʔiʔ √yéʔ 'I can go.' [CONTEMP √be able 1SUBJ ACCOM √go]
48. ʔəẇ √níɬ ʔaɬ tsə √pús 'It's just a cat.' [CONTEMP √it is LIMIT DEM √cat]
49. ʔəẇ sƛ̓áƛ̓əm ʔə 'Is it right?'
50. ʔəẇ x̣áčt sən səʔ 'I will consider it.'
51. ʔəẇ léʔə sən ʔaɬ 'I'll stay there.'
52. ʔəẇ ʔənʔéńˀ ʔəẇ stáqʷəɬ 'It's too tight.'
53. ʔəẇ sə́q̓nəxʷ sən 'I managed to tear it.'

When ||ʔəẇ|| appears within a sentence, and particularly when it is part of a subordinate clause introduced by ||s-|| 'nominalizer', it is often transliterated "and", "and so", "so", or "so then".
54. √kʷə́n-ət sən kʷə nə-s əẇ √nəẇé-s 'I took it and carried it in.' [√take-CTRAN-3SUBJ(ø) 1SUBJ SUB 1POS-S CONTEMP √inside-EFFORT]
55. √ʔənʔéńˀ sən ʔəẇ √ɬč=íkʷəs nə-s√yéʔ ʔəẇ √ʔítət 'I was very tired so I went to bed.' [√very 1SUBJ CONTEMP √tired=body 1POS-S√go CONTEMP √sleep]
56. √háʔ ʔən+√ʔéńˀ ʔəẇ √ŋə́ńˀ tsə ʔəńˀ-s√ʔíɬən ʔəńˀ-s əẇ txʷ-əs√x̣éɬ-əɬ 'If you eat too much you'll get sick.' [√if, when REPET+√very CONTEMP √much DEM 2POS-S√eat 2POS-S CONTEMP MUT-STAT√sick-DUR]

2.6.1.5. ||čəɬ|| 'immediate past' does not occur often, but when it does its meaning is clear. It carries a

sense that can be expressed in English with "just now". It follows both ‖ʔiʔ‖ ‘accompanying’ and ‖ʔəẇ‖ ‘contemporaneous’, the only pre-predicate particles with which it has been recorded.
57. ʔəẇ čəɬ nə-s√kʷə́n-nəxʷ ‘I just saw it.’
58. čəɬ nə-s√ʔáaɬ-naŋət ‘I just now finally got on.’
59. čəɬ nə-s√ʔíɬən-naŋət ‘I just finally ate.’
60. ʔəẇ čəɬ √ɬée-l-naŋət-ɬtə ‘We just finally got to shore.’
61. ʔəẇ čəɬ nə-s√ʔámət ‘I just (now) sat.’

2.6.1.6. ‖təwə‖ ‘still, yet’ adds the implication that the situation referred to by the predicate was true in the past and continues to be true. This particle does not appear often in the corpus, but its meaning is clear where it does. It follows ‖ʔiʔ‖ ‘accompanying’ and ‖ʔəẇ‖ ‘contemporaneous’ and has not been recorded with any other pre-predicate particle.
62. təwə ʔéɬəʔ sən ‘I’m still here.’ (ʔéɬəʔ sən ‘I’m here.’)
63. təwə √ʔí(ʔ)ɬəń sən ‘I’m still eating.’ [STILL √eat(ACT) 1SUBJ]
64. təwə nə√qéq ʔaɬ̓ ‘She’s still my baby.’ [STILL 1POS√baby LIMIT]
65. təwə √yáθ sən ʔaɬ̓ ʔəẇ √čé(ʔ)i ‘I’m still always working.’ [STILL √always 1SUBJ LIMIT CONTEMP √work(ACT)]

2.6.1.7. ‖ʔiʔwəwə‖ ‘perhaps, maybe’ may actually be a combination of two particles including ‖ʔiʔ‖ ‘accompanying’. If so, the second of the pair, ‖wəwə‖, never occurs without the first. There is at present no good syntactic or semantic reason to divide this form. That it can appear in isolation (example 66) suggests that ‖ʔiʔwəwə‖ or ‖wəwə‖ is a root itself. But when not occurring in isolation it precedes predicate heads that have main clause subject markers. It never takes a subject marker itself. Since it seems to pattern with other pre-predicate particles, it is here tentatively classified as one. It has been recorded preceding ‖ʔəẇ‖ ‘contemporaneous’ and ‖kʷɬ‖ ‘realized’.
66. ʔiʔwəwə ‘Maybe.’ (Given as an answer to /yéʔ ə səʔ sxʷ/ ‘Will you go?’)
67. ʔiʔwəwə ʔəẇ √kúk sən səʔ ‘I might cook.’ [PERHAPS CONTEMP √cook 1SUBJ FUT]
68. ʔiʔwəwə č√télə ‘Maybe he’s got money.’ [PERHAPS HAVE√money]
69. ʔiʔwəwə kʷɬ ʔápən čəlénəŋ ‘Maybe he’s ten years old (he’s about ten).’
70. ʔiʔwəwə ɬél ɬtə səʔ ‘We might get to shore.’
71. ʔiʔwəwə yéʔ sən ʔaɬ̓ ‘Maybe I’ll just go alone.’
72. ʔiʔwəwə yéʔ sxʷ ‘You might go.’

2.6.2. Post-predicate particles.
Following the first full word of a main clause is a group of particles that indicate qualities of subjectivity. They indicate the speaker’s and addressee’s subjective relationship to the propositional content of the sentence. The notions expressed by these particles include tense, modality, speech act type, and first and second person subject markers.

2.6.2.0.1. Translations are an infamously dubious way of determining grammatical structure. It would, for example, be a serious mistake to label the post-predicate particle ‖ʔaɬ̓‖ ‘limiting’ (§2.6.2.5.6.) an adverb because it is ordinarily translated into English as an adverb, viz. ‘only, just’. Similarly, it would be less than useful to determine that the post-predicate particle ‖səʔ‖ (§2.6.2.3.2.) cannot mean ‘future’ because it modifies forms that translate into English as nouns and nouns in English cannot be inflected for tense (see §2.6.2.3.1.1 and §2.6.2.3.2.3).

However, when it comes to determining the semantics and pragmatic functions of morphemes aside from grammatical category, one is often obliged to consider the various ways a morpheme is translated and further to consider the context in which it is uttered. It is with this in mind that the following discussions refer to translations and extra-linguistic context.

2.6.2.0.2. Sixteen of the post-predicate particles recorded thus far fall into five position classes. Two other post-predicate particles, ‖čtəʔ‖ and ‖waʔačə‖, have been recorded but evidence to determine their position is lacking (§2.6.2.6). Sections 2.6.2.1 to 2.6.2.5 deal with the five classes in the order of their position to the right of the predicate head. Section 2.6.2.7 offers some concluding remarks. A summary of the post-predicate particles is given in table 11 showing the five classes in order of occurrence following the predicate head. For an exception to the order shown here see §2.6.2.3.2.4.

Table 11.
Post-predicate particles

ə ‘yes/no question’	čəʔ ‘evidential’	ləʔ ‘past’	sən ‘1st sg. subj.’	q̓əʔ ‘emphatic’
čə ‘command’	yəq ‘optative’	səʔ ‘future’	ɬtə ‘1st pl. subj.’	kʷəʔ ‘informative’
	yəxʷ ‘conjectural’		yəxʷ ‘conjectural’	ʔačə ‘request information’
	q ‘conditional’			kʷəče ‘explanative’
				helə ‘2nd person pluralizer’
				ʔaƛ̓ ‘limiting’

čtəʔ ‘probable’
waʔačə ‘presumptive’

2.6.2.1. Position one includes the primary illocutionary force markers ‖ə‖ ‘yes/no question’ and ‖čə‖ ‘command’.

2.6.2.1.1. ‖ə‖ ‘yes/no question’ forms an interrogative sentence that can be answered with a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’.
1. √tč-á-sət ə sxʷ ‘Did you poke yourself?’ [√poke-CTRAN-REFL QUEST 2SUBJ]
2. √háqʷ-nəxʷ ə sxʷ ‘Do you smell it?’ [√smell-NTRAN QUEST 2SUBJ]
3. √ʔənʔé ə čə səʔ ‘Is he coming?’ [√come QUEST EVID FUT]
4. √yéʔ ə ləʔ sxʷ ‘Did you go?’ [√go QUEST PAST 2SUBJ]
5. ʔəẇ √wəs-éƛ̓s ə tsə s√qéx̣əʔ ‘Does the dog bark?’ [CONTEMP √bark-STRUC(ACT) QUEST DEM S√dog]
6. √kʷ̓ən-í-t ə sxʷ kʷə n̓-s-xʷ√tθ̓s=ás-t-əŋ ‘Did you see him hit you?’ [√see-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) QUEST 2SUBJ SUB 2POS-S-LOC√hit=face-CTRAN-PASS]
7. √čákʷ-əs ə sən səʔ ‘Am I going to use it?’ [√use-EFFORT QUEST 1SUBJ FUT]

2.6.2.1.2. ‖čə‖ ‘command’ forms emphatic imperatives.
8. yéʔ čə ‘Go away!’
9. ʔámət čə ‘Sit up!’
10. √pɬ-á-sət čə ‘Sober up!’ [√emerge-CTRAN-REFL COMMAND]
11. √ʔənʔé čə q̓ə ‘Come!’ [√come COMMAND EMPH]
12. √kʷən-ət-áɬxʷ čə ‘Look at us!’ [√see-CTRAN-1PLOBJ COMMAND]
13. √čéy̓ čə səʔ sxʷ ‘You will work!’ [√work COMMAND FUT 2SUBJ]

The second person subject is usually not explicitly mentioned when ‖čə‖ is used to form a command, but there are sentences, such as 13, where both ‖čə‖ and ‖sxʷ‖ appear.

2.6.2.1.2.1. Imperatives of weaker force can be formed without ‖čə‖. These are perhaps better considered ‘instructions’ than ‘commands’. Example 14 is one of a series of similar instructions given by Transformer to Raven’s son in the traditional story ‘Raven abandons his son’ (§3).
14. √θíɬ-əŋ sxʷ ‘Stand up.’ [√stand-CMDL 2SUBJ]

Imperatives with the force of requests have no ‖čə‖ and no overt second person subject. They are thus homophonous with the corresponding declarative sentence with a third person subject.
15. √x̣ət-sí-s-əŋ ‘Fix it for me.’ [√prepare-INDIRECT-(CTRAN)-1OBJ-?]

16. √ʔəx̣ʷ-t-áŋəs ʔə kʷsə nə√tén ‘Take me to my mother.’ [√go to-CAUS-1OBJ OBL DEM 1POS√mother]

2.6.2.1.2.2. ‖čə‖ never occurs with predicates having a second person object. In fact, no sentences with imperative force, whether or not involving ‖čə‖, occur with a second person object. Thus sentences parallel to 15 and 16 with second person objects are rejected. They can be neither imperative, nor declarative with a third person subject.

2.6.2.2. The second position post-predicate particles include the modality markers ‖čəʔ‖ ‘evidential’, ‖yəq‖ ‘optative’, and ‖yəxʷ‖ ‘conjectural’.

2.6.2.2.1. ‖čəʔ‖ ‘evidential’ expresses a qualification of the speaker’s knowledge of or control over the truth of a statement. In using ‖čəʔ‖ the speaker is saying that he is assuming the statement to be true based on evidence from some unspecified third person.
The lack of first-hand knowledge of the speaker expressed by ‖čəʔ‖ extends, apparently, to the addressee. That is, ‖čəʔ‖ is used to express the fact that neither the speaker nor the addressee has first-hand knowledge of or control over the truth of the statement. Thus, ‖čəʔ‖ is used most commonly with a third person subject. It is relatively rare that a speaker will say something about himself or the addressee that neither he nor the addressee has first-hand knowledge of or control over.
The following examples show ‖čəʔ‖ with third person subjects.
17. √ʔənʔé čəʔ ‘He’ll come (I hear he’s coming).’ [√come EVID]
18. √téč-əl čəʔ səʔ ‘Somebody’s coming (I’m expecting somebody).’ [√arrive-DIR EVID FUT]
19. √méʔkʷəɬ čəʔ ‘He got hurt.’ [√hurt EVID]
20. č√télə čəʔ ‘He’s got money, apparently.’ [HAVE√money EVID]
21. √ƛ̓íw̓ čəʔ ʔə tɬ √nákʷə ‘He ran away from you.’ [√escape EVID OBL DEM √you]

The implication in 21 is that the addressee did not know he ran away and the speaker knows it only second-hand.
Examples 22 and 23 show ‖čəʔ‖ with a first person subject.
22. √ʔíɬən čəʔ sən səʔ 'I'm going to eat.' [√eat EVID 1SUBJ FUT]
23. √ʔənʔé čəʔ sən səʔ √kʷán-ət-əŋ 'Somebody's going to come see me.' [√come EVID 1SUBJ FUT √see(RES)-CTRAN-PASS]

The context for 22 involves the speaker's having been invited to a feast. That is, the speaker has been told by a third person that he is going to eat. It is this third person, not the speaker or the addressee, that is in control of the speaker's immediate future eating.
In 23 the first person subject is the semantic patient, not in control of the person who is coming, and therefore not in control of the truth of the statement. No examples of ‖čəʔ‖ used with a second person subject have been recorded, but it seems reasonable to assume that sentences like 24 and 25, parallel in structure and interpretation to 22 and 23, would be considered grammatical.
24. (ʔíɬən čəʔ sxʷ səʔ) 'You're going to eat.'

25. (ʔənʔé čəʔ sxʷ səʔ kʷánətəŋ) 'Somebody's going to come see you.'

2.6.2.2.1.1. Because ‖čəʔ‖ marks a statement as coming from a third person source, it often seems to mark a statement as 'hearsay'. To gloss the form as 'reportative' or 'quotative', however, would incorrectly limit its range of use and meaning. Sentence 20, for example, is neither hearsay nor report, but involves the context of the speaker seeing that the subject has recently bought a new boat.

2.6.2.2.1.2. ‖čəʔ‖ often appears with ‖ləʔ‖ 'past' in the first sentence of traditional stories, as in 26, setting a certain limitation on the speaker's subscription to the factuality of it.
26. séxʷ+√səxʷ čəʔ ləʔ kʷ s√qʷáʔ-əŋ-s, tsə √hám̓əw 'He was lazy to get water, the pigeon.' [CHAR+√lazy EVID PAST SUB √water-CMDL-3SUBJ, DEM √pigeon]

It appears similarly in descriptions of life in the old days, often translated as 'it is said', 'they say', or 'so they say'.
27. √níɬ čəʔ š√qén̓+qən̓-s kʷə n̓-s√q̓ém̓-t 'They say they become thieves when you cut them (a baby's fingernails).' [√it is EVID S,LOC-CHAR+√steal-3POS SUB 2POS-S√cut(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]

2.6.2.2.2. ‖yəq‖ 'optative' forms a sentence that expresses the speaker's hope or wish for some remote but distinct possibility.
Saanich sentences with ‖yəq‖ are translated into English with first person subjects, 'I wish', 'I hope', and, rarely, 'I ought', whether or not the Saanich grammatical subject is first person.
28. √ɬéẃ yəq sən 'I hope I get better.' [√heal OPT 1SUBJ]
29. √ɬéẃ yəq sxʷ 'I hope you get better.' [√heal OPT 2SUBJ]
30. ɬéẃ yəq 'I hope he gets better.'

2.6.2.2.2.1. ‖yəq‖ and ‖səʔ‖ 'future' (§2.6.2.3.2.) may not both occur in a sentence. ‖yəq‖ like ‖səʔ‖ expresses the notion of an unrealized state of affairs. A difference between the two morphemes is in the degree to which the speaker expects the proposition eventually to become factual. For ‖səʔ‖ there is a

clear positive expectation; for ||yəq|| the expectation is distinctly negative.
31. √yéʔ yəq √kʷə́wyəkʷ 'I wish he'd go out fishing' [√go OPT √fishing]
32. yéʔ səʔ kʷə́wyəkʷ 'He's going to go fishing.'

Since the cooccurrence of ||yəq|| and ||səʔ|| would produce a contradiction, sentences such as 33 are rejected.
33. * yéʔ yəq sən səʔ

2.6.2.2.2.2. The translation 'I ought' comes with the cooccurrence of ||yəq|| with ||ləʔ|| 'past' in certain contexts. But such sentences have alternate translations, as in 34 and 35.
34. √yéʔ yəq ləʔ sən 'I ought to go/I wish I'd gone.'
35. kʷɬ √ʔí(ʔ)ɬənˀ yəq ləʔ sən 'I wish I was eating already/I wish I'd been eating already/I ought to be eating already.' [REAL √eat(ACT) OPT PAST 1SUBJ]

One should not take the alternate translations to show that the Saanich sentences are ambiguous. Rather, it is the element of meaning that the English sentences have in common that shows the sense of the Saanich sentence. Unlike one meaning of 'ought' in English, ||yəq|| does not involve obligation. With ||ləʔ||, ||yəq|| implies a desirable but unrealized state of affairs the possibility of which has been previously determined.

2.6.2.2.3. ||yəxʷ|| 'conjectural' like ||čəʔ|| expresses a limitation on the reliability of the propositional content of the sentence. In using ||yəxʷ|| the speaker limits his responsibility for the factuality of the sentence. With ||čəʔ|| the speaker ascribes responsibility to a third person; the factuality of the proposition is based on second-hand evidence. ||yəxʷ|| marks the sentence as a conjecture with no or little evidence implied.
Although ||yəxʷ|| is most often translated as 'must be', it represents only the epistemic component of the English phrase. There is neither a sense of obligation nor of necessity implied by ||yəxʷ||.
36. √níɬ yəxʷ kʷθə nə√tén 'It must be my mother.' [√it is CONJEC DEM(invisible,feminine) 1POS√mother]
37. s-qé+√qəwˀ yəxʷ sxʷ 'You must be resting.' [STAT-ACT+√rest CONJEC 2SUBJ]

2.6.2.2.3.1. Often ||yəxʷ|| is translated as 'I wonder'.
38. s√kʷéy yəxʷ ləʔ ʔə kʷs √kʷə́l-əŋ-s 'I wonder why he didn't fly.' [STAT√unable CONJEC PAST OBL SUB √fly-CMDL-3SUBJ]
39. s√téŋ yəxʷ ʔačə 'I wonder what else?' [S√what CONJEC REQINF]

Another translation for example 38 could be 'he mustn't have been able to fly.' Though this was not the translation given by the speaker, the context of sentence 38 shows that the translation that was given is actually a report of what the speaker was doing in saying the sentence.
The speaker was listening to a story about Raven's son (who must have been a bird) being abandoned on a drifting log and crying for help. The speaker took advantage of a pause in the narrative to make the comment 38. The translation was given only after it was requested while relistening to the tape recorded narrative and comments. Since the speaker was interested in actually translating the narrative she merely reported or commented on her comment on the narrative.
The speaker's comment on the use of 38 may be interpreted as a comment on the use of ||yəxʷ||. When a speaker uses ||yəxʷ|| he is 'wondering', considering an unevidenced possibility.

2.6.2.2.3.2. Examples 40 to 42 have neither ‘must be’ nor ‘I wonder’ in the translation but can be seen in context to express the ‘conjectural’ sense as described.
40. √níʔ yəxʷ kʷsə √θá(ʔ)kʷ-əs ‘Somebody’s squealing on me (but I don’t know who).’ [√exist CONJEC DEM √turn informer(ACT)-(CTRAN)-1OBJ]
41. √yéʔ ə yəxʷ ɬtə səʔ ʔəẇ √yéʔ-naŋət ‘Are we ever going to go?’ [√go QUEST CONJEC 1PLSUBJ FUT CONTEMP √go-NMDL]
42. kʷɬ iʔ √ʔənʔé ə yəxʷ ‘Is he coming?’ [REAL ACCOM √come QUEST CONJEC]

The speaker of 42 had been waiting a long while for her husband who was out fishing with a group of boats. When she saw a some boats coming in from the horizon she wondered aloud 42.

2.6.2.2.4. ‖q‖ ‘conditional’ appears too infrequently in the corpus to determine its status. It appears in only a few sentences all having the same general structure as example 43.
43. √háʔ q ləʔ sən č√télə, nə-s-əẇ √ʔəlq-ələ́ʔ ʔə kʷs √ʔél̓əŋ ‘If I had money, I’d buy a house.’ [√if, when CONDIT PAST 1SUBJ HAVE√money, 1POS-S-CONTEMP √buy-STRUC OBL DEM √house]

2.6.2.3. The third position post-predicate particles include the tense markers ‖ləʔ‖ and ‖səʔ‖.

2.6.2.3.1. ‖ləʔ‖ ‘past’ marks the proposition as having factuality at a time previous to the present.

2.6.2.3.1.1. ‖ləʔ‖ is often translated into English by a sentence with the emphatic past tense ‘did’ (examples 44 to 46) and often with non-emphatic past tense (examples 47 to 50).
44. √sč́á-sə ləʔ sən ‘I did spank you.’ [√spank-(CTRAN)-2OBJ PAST 1SUBJ]
45. kʷɬ √leʔ-sí-s-əŋ ləʔ sxʷ ‘You did fix it for me.’ [REAL √repair-INDIRECT-(CTRAN)-1OBJ-? PAST 2SUBJ]
46. ʔəẇ √yáθ ləʔ sən ʔəẇ √kʷən-í-t ‘I did hold it steady.’ [CONTEMP √long time PAST 1SUBJ CONTEMP √hold-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
47. kʷɬ √kʷən̓-st-áŋ̓əs ləʔ sxʷ ‘You showed it to me already.’ [REAL √see(ACT)-CAUS-1OBJ PAST 2SUBJ]
48. ʔəẇ s-q̓é+√q̓əp ləʔ ‘It used to be tied.’ [CONTEMP STAT-ACT+√gather PAST]
49. √yéʔ ə ləʔ sxʷ ‘Did you ever go?’ [√go QUEST PAST 2SUBJ]
50. √kʷən-t-él̓ŋən̓ ləʔ sən ‘I wanted to see it.’ [√see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-DESID PAST 1SUBJ]

Since tense marking is not obligatory in Saanich ‖ləʔ‖ is often used for emphasis. Also, in extended narratives the time is set usually by the occurrence of ‖ləʔ‖ in the first sentence.

2.6.2.3.1.2. ‖ləʔ‖ occas ionally appears in sentences that have a past tense English translation. Such occurrences are due to the absence in Saanich of a formal correlate to a semantic distinction between things and actions or states, which in English is expressed by the distinction between nouns and verbs.
51. nə-s√táləs ləʔ ‘He’s my ex-husband.’ [1POS-S√spouse PAST]
52. nə√tén ləʔ ‘It’s my mother who’s passed away.’ [1POS√mother PAST]

In both 51 and 52 the predicate heads are translated as nouns. However, both conform to the definition of ‖ləʔ‖ given above. The propositions are marked as having factuality at a time previous to the present.
For other examples of ‖ləʔ‖ see §2.6.2 34, 35, and 38. For ‖ləʔ‖ cooccurring with ‖čəʔ‖ see §2.6.2.2.1.2. For ‖ləʔ‖ cooccurring with ‖yəq‖ see §2.6.2.2.2.2.

2.6.2.3.2. ‖səʔ‖ ‘future’ marks the proposition as being strongly expected to have factuality at a time subsequent to the present.
As would any morpheme involving the notion of future, ‖səʔ‖ has an irrealis component to its meaning. This, however, is not significant as a characteristic or defining aspect of its meaning. ‖səʔ‖ is always to be interpreted as concerning expectations with regard to the future.

2.6.2.3.2.1. When the predicate translates into English as a verb, sentences with ‖səʔ‖ are translated with English future ‘will’ or ‘going to’.
53. √sc̓é-sə sən səʔ ‘I’m going to spank you’ [√spank-(CTRAN)-2OBJ 1SUBJ FUT]
54. √méʔkʷ-əɬ səʔ sxʷ ‘You’ll get hurt.’ [√hurt-DUR FUT 2SUBJ]
55. √ʔənʔé c̓əʔ səʔ ‘He’ll come.’ [√come EVID FUT]
56. √ʔəlq-əláʔ səʔ ʔə kʷs √ʔél̓əŋ ‘He’s going to buy a house.’ [√buy FUT OBL DEM √house]
57. √kʷəkʷ-nəkʷəl c̓əʔ səʔ ‘They’re going to separate (a married couple).’ [√separate-NRECIP EVID FUT]
58. √θáləq-təl ɬtə səʔ ‘We’re going to share it.’ [√share-CRECIP 1PLSUBJ FUT]
59. √ɬée-l ɬtə səʔ ‘We’ll get to shore.’ [√go ashore-DIR 1PLSUBJ FUT]

2.6.2.3.2.2. ‖səʔ‖ occurs also in sentences that do not seem from the English translation to be in the future tense. As with ‖ləʔ‖ ‘past’ (§2.6.2.3.1.2.) this is due to the fact that the predicate in Saanich sometimes translates into English as a noun.
60. nə-s√táləs səʔ ‘He’s my husband to be.’ [1POS-S√spouse FUT]
61. s√q̓áp səʔ ‘It’s the gathering (naming ceremony) that’s coming up.’ [S√gather FUT]

2.6.2.3.2.3. ‖səʔ‖ differs from the other post-predicate particles in that its position depends on which pronominal clitic it occurs with. Whereas ‖ləʔ‖ ‘past’ always precedes the subject person markers ‖sən‖, ‖ɬtə‖, and ‖sxʷ‖, ‖səʔ‖ precedes only the second person, ‖sxʷ‖. It follows the first person subject markers ‖sən‖, singular, and ‖ɬtə‖, plural. This can be seen in examples 53, 54, 58, and 59.

2.6.2.3.2.4. ‖səʔ‖ seems to add the implication that the speaker has a certain amount of control over or is quite sure of the future truth of the proposition. An aspect of the meaning of ‖səʔ‖ that is perhaps related to this is that it only occurs with predicates that do not involve an emotional state. The addition of ‖səʔ‖ to such predicates produces sentences that are rejected by informants.
62.(a) √k̓ʷən-t-él̓ŋən sən ‘I want to see it.’ [√see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-DESID 1SUBJ]
(b) * k̓ʷəntél̓ŋən sən səʔ
63.(a) šxʷətíŋ sən ‘Somebody hates me.’
(b) * šxʷətín sən səʔ
64.(a) √kʷíx̣ʷ-təl ‘They’re quarrelling.’ [√quarrel-CRECIP]
(b) * kʷíx̣ʷtəl səʔ
In 63 to 65 the (a) forms are identical to the (b) forms except that the (b), rejected, forms have ‖səʔ‖ added. What they have in common is that in each the proposition concerns someone’s emotional state. For other examples of ‖səʔ‖ see §2.6.2 7, 13, 18, 22, 23, 32, and 41. For the non-cooccurrence of ‖səʔ‖ with ‖yəq‖ see §2.6.2.2.2.1.

2.6.2.4. In the fourth position to the right of the predicate head are the three subject person markers ‖sən‖ ‘first person singular’, ‖ɬtə‖ ‘first person plural’, and ‖sxʷ‖ ‘second person’.

Examples of these three morphemes can be found throughout this work. See especially §2.4.4.
The position of the first person subject markers with respect to ‖səʔ‖ future is discussed in §2.6.2.3.2.4.
See §2.6.2.5.5 for a description of ‖helə‖ ‘second person pluralizer’. ‖sxʷ‖ itself is unmarked as to number.
‖sən‖ and ‖sxʷ‖ can be analyzed as composed of two morphemes each: ‖s-‖, a main clause subject particle base, with ‖-ən‖ and ‖-xʷ‖, personal suffixes. In subordinate clauses these latter two morphemes appear as subjects suffixed to the predicate head. See §2.4.4 for discussion and examples.

2.6.2.5. The fifth position post-predicate particles include ‖q̓əʔ‖ ‘emphatic’, ‖kʷəʔ‖ ‘informative’, ‖ʔačə‖ ‘request information’, ‖kʷəče‖ ‘explanative’, ‖helə‖ ‘second person pluralizer’, and ‖ʔaɬ‖ ‘limiting’. The meaning and use of the particles appearing in this position is more diverse than that of the particles in the other positions. The frequency of occurrence of the particles in this group also varies widely. ‖q̓əʔ‖, for instance, is quite rare while ‖kʷəʔ‖ and ‖ʔaɬ‖ are ubiquitous.
Actually, it is not entirely clear that these particles form a single position class. There seems to be no semantic or pragmatic reason for ‖helə‖, for instance, to preclude the occurrence of any of the others. Nevertheless, none of the particles in this group has been recorded occurring with any of the others, while each has been recorded following the subject person markers and other post-predicate particles.

2.6.2.5.1. ‖q̓əʔ‖ ‘emphatic’ intensifies the force of the speech act. It is used in declaratives to express the speaker’s certainty; it is used in commands to express the speaker’s insistence. Compare 65 and 66.
65. √ʔənʔé čə ‘Come!’ [√come COMMAND]
66. ʔənʔé čə q̓əʔ ‘Come!’

E.C. commented on these two sentences: "you use [65] if you’re telling somebody to come; you use [66] if they’re stubborn."
67. √háy sxʷ q̓əʔ ‘Thank you!’ [√thank(?) 2SUBJ EMPH]

68. √ʔáwə√nəʔ q̓əʔ s√téŋ ‘There **is** nothing!’ [√not√exist EMPH S√what]

Example 67 is a frequently used phrase. Example 68 is Raven’s son’s reply when his father, trying to trick him, insists that he sees something out on the water (see §3 sentence 39).

2.6.2.5.2. ‖kʷəʔ‖ ‘informative’ is used when the speaker is offering the propositional content of the sentence as new or particularly salient information to the addressee.
‖kʷəʔ‖ is very common in conversational discourse but quite rare in narratives. It appears most frequently in isolated sentences with a first person subject.

2.6.2.5.2.1. Despite its frequency of occurrence, or perhaps because of it, the meaning and function of ‖kʷəʔ‖ is the most difficult to determine of all the post-predicate particles. However, one thing that seems clear about ‖kʷəʔ‖ is that it is neither positionally nor semantically related to the demonstrative element ‖kʷ-‖ ‘invisible’ (see §2.6.3.1.). Nevertheless, the gloss and definition above should be regarded as first approximations. They have been determined from speakers’ comments on sentence pairs such as 69 to 72.
69.(a) √čéṯ$^{\theta}$-ət sən ‘I sewed it.’ [√sew-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ]
(b) čéṯ$^{\theta}$-ət sən kʷəʔ ‘I sewed it.’

70.(a) kʷɬ nə-s√kʷə́s-əs ləʔ ‘I already sent it.’ [REAL 1POS-S√send-EFFORT PAST]
(b) kʷɬ nə-s√kʷə́s-əs ləʔ kʷəʔ ‘I already sent it.’
71.(a) kʷɬ ʔəṉ-s√kʷə́s-əs ‘You sent it.’
(b) kʷɬ ʔəṉskʷə́səs kʷəʔ ‘**You** sent it.’
72.(a) kʷɬ √háy kʷ s√ɬə́mxʷ-s ‘It stopped raining.’ [REAL √finish SUB √rain-3POS]
(b) kʷɬ háy kʷəʔ kʷs ɬə́mxʷs ‘It stopped raining.’

The difference between the (a) and (b) sentences in 69 to 72 are expressed in English by means of intonation and stress. In the translation for 71(b), for example, the second person subject clearly has extra stress. The context for 69(b) involves the speaker informing the addressee that she made the dress herself. The appropriate contexts for 70(b), 71(b), and 72(b) as opposed to the (a) sentences are given by informants as "if you asked me" and "if I were telling somebody."

2.6.2.5.2.2. A problem with the definition above is that it seems to limit ‖kʷəʔ‖ to declarative sentences. But it does rarely make an appearance in questions such as 73 and 74.
73. √χ̣əl=ás-t ə sxʷ kʷəʔ ‘Did you take a picture?’ [√draw=face-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) QUEST 2SUBJ INFORM]
74. √ʔəχ̣ín kʷəʔ ‘Where is it?’

It may be that ‖kʷəʔ‖ is describable in terms of an intersection of discourse functions such as ‘new informantion’ and ‘topic’.

2.6.2.5.3. ‖ʔačə‖ ‘request information’ forms an interrogative sentence that is specifically marked as a request for information. It is not an interrogative marker in itself but adds to the proposition the implication that the speaker is not in fact in possession of the information requested. ‖ʔačə‖ is used only in sincere requests; it is not used if the speaker already knows the answer to his question. ‖ʔačə‖ appears only in questions ask ing "what", "who", "whose", "when", and "where", though it is not itself to be glossed as any of these. It does not cooccur with ‖ə‖ ‘yes/no question’ (§2.6.2.1.1.), and does not occur in questions involving manner, quantity, or in those requiring an explanation (see §2.6.2.5.4.).

2.6.2.5.3.1. Each of the example sentences 75 to 84 may occur without ‖ʔačə‖ with the same translation. Occasionally the difference is indicated by putting extra stress on the wh- word in the translation of the sentence with ‖ʔačə‖ as in 75.
75.(a) txʷ√sén √máay̓ tséʔə ‘Whose basket is it?’ [MUT√who √basket DEM]
(b) txʷsén ʔačə máay̓ tséʔə ‘**Whose** basket is it?’
76. √níɬ ʔačə √sén ‘Who is it?’ [√it is REQINF √who]
77. √níɬ ʔačə √sén θéʔə ‘Who is she?’ [√it is REQINF √who DEM]
78. nə́kʷə ʔačə sén ‘Who are you?’
79. ʔəχ̣ín ʔačə ‘Where is it?’
80. txʷ√ʔəχ̣ín səʔ sxʷ ʔačə ‘Where are you going?’ [MUT√where FUT 2SUBJ REQINF]
81. s√téŋ ʔačə ɬéʔə ‘What is this?’ [S√what REQINF DEM]
82. √ʔíṉ-ət sxʷ ʔačə ‘What did you say?’ [√mean-STAT 2SUBJ REQINF]
83. ʔəṉ-s√ʔíṉ-ət ʔačə ‘What do you mean?’ [2POS-S√mean-STAT REQINF]
84. ʔəṉ-s√ʔíṉ-ət ʔačə tsə "fish" ‘What do you call "fish"?’ [2POS-S√mean-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) REQINF DEM "fish"]

2.6.2.5.4. ‖kʷəče‖ ‘explanative’ marks a sentence as an offer of or a request for an explanation. In interrogatives ‖kʷəče‖ is complementary to ‖ʔačə‖ ‘request information’ (§2.6.2.5.3.) in that it occurs, where ‖ʔačə‖ does not, in questions of manner and quality. It never appears, however, with ‖ə‖ ‘yes/no question’. ‖kʷəče‖ frequently appears in traditional "explanatory" tales as in 85.
85. √níɬ kʷəče txʷə√ɬáɬq̓-sət ʔə kʷs √kʷáləŋ-s ‘That’s why they make that flapping noise when they fly.’ [√it is EXPLAN MUT√flapping noise-REFL OBL DEM √fly-3SUBJ]
86. ʔiʔ s√x̱ʷəníŋ̓ sən səʔ kʷəče kʷə nə-s√yéʔ ‘How am I going to get there?’ [ACCOM s√how 1SUBJ FUT EXPLAN SUB 1POS-S√go]
87. √x̱ʷəníŋ kʷəče ʔən̓-šxʷ√yéʔ ‘Why did you go?’ [how EXPLAN 2POS-REAS√go]
88. √níɬ kʷəče š√x̱ʷəníŋ̓-s ‘What does that do?’ [√it is EXPLAN S,LOC√how-3POS]
89. √qʷ̓íŋ kʷəče ʔiʔ √kʷ̓án-ət sxʷ kʷə s√téŋ-əs kʷə √ŋá(ʔ)-ət-əs kʷə s√kʷáləŋ ‘Get off and see what that (seagull who) flew away was eating.’ [√get off EXPLAN ACCOM √see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 2SUBJ SUB S√what-3POS SUB √eat(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ SUB S√fly]

2.6.2.5.5. ‖helə‖ ‘second person pluralizer’ indicates that any second person reference in the clause is to be construed as a plural reference. ‖helə‖ pluralizes second person subjects (examples 90 to 92), possessives (93 and 94), and objects (95 to 97).
90. √kʷán-ŋi-t-əŋ sxʷ helə ‘He helps you folks.’ [√help-REL-CTRAN-PASS 2SUBJ 2PL]
91. √kʷəní-ŋ-ət ləʔ sxʷ helə ‘You folks helped him.’ [√help-REL-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) PAST 2SUBJ 2PL]
92. č√télə sxʷ helə ‘You folks have money.’ [HAVE√money 2SUBJ 2PL]
93. √níʔ kʷsə n̓√télə helə s√ʔéɬ ‘You folks got money put away.’ [√exist DEM 2POS√money 2PL S√save(ACT)]
94. ʔən̓√tén helə ‘It’s you folks’ mother.’ [2POS√mother 2PL]
95. √kʷ̓ən-st-áŋə sən helə ‘I showed you folks.’ [√see-CAUS-2OBJ 1SUBJ 2PL]
96. kʷ̓ən-sí sən helə ‘I’m watching you folks.’ [√see-(CTRAN)-2OBJ(‖-sə‖)-PERSIS 1SUBJ 2PL]
97. š(əl)+√šáč-sə sən səʔ helə ‘I’m going to spank you folks.’ [[DIM(PL)+√spank-(CTRAN)-2OBJ 1SUBJ FUT 2PL]

The independent pronoun ‖√nákʷə‖ ‘you’ has a special plural of its own (see §2.4.1) and does not occur with ‖helə‖. Sentences with ‖helə‖ but without a second person reference are rejected.

2.6.2.5.6. ‖ʔaɬ‖ ‘limiting’ marks a limit to the truth of the proposition or on the speaker’s intentions with regard to the proposition. It is used to indicate that nothing more than what is said is implied. ‖ʔaɬ‖ is often translated vaguely as ‘just’, meaning ‘only’ or ‘merely’, never meaning ‘just now’ or ‘immediate past’. Compare 98 and 99.
98. ʔəw̓ √ʔámət ləʔ sən ʔaɬ ‘I just sat.’ [CONTEMP √sit up PAST 1SUBJ LIMIT]

99. ʔəw̓ čəɬ nə-s√ʔámət ‘I just sat.’ [CONTEMP IMMED 1POS-S√sit]

Sentence 98 implies by the presence of ‖ʔaɬ‖ that the speaker sat and that is all she did. Sentence 99, on the other hand, refers to the immediate past.
100. ʔiʔwəwəʔ √yéʔ sən ‘Maybe I’ll go.’ [perhaps √go 1SUBJ]
101. ʔiʔwəwəʔ yéʔ sən ʔaɬ ‘Maybe I’ll just go.’

The context for example 101 involves the speaker waiting for someone who does not come; she is

considering going alone.
‖ʔaɬ̓‖ frequently appears with predicate heads which themselves imply a limit.
102. ʔəw̓ √háy ʔaɬ̓ 'It's finished.' [CONTEMP √finish LIMIT]
103. √tˀᶿáɬ̓-sət ʔiʔ ʔəw̓ √qʷáy̓ ʔaɬ̓ 'He starved himself to death.' [√fast,starve(ACT)-(CTRAN)-REFL ACCOM CONT EMP √die LIMIT]
104. √səmxʷ=áθən sən ʔaɬ̓ 'I shut up.' [√cover(?)=mouth 1SUBJ LIMIT]
105. kʷɬ √xʷáy ʔaɬ̓ 'He already died.' [REAL √lost LIMIT]
106. ʔəw̓ √yáθ ʔaɬ̓ ʔəw̓ √ʔənʔéʔe 'He's always coming.' [CONTEMP √always LIMIT CONTEMP √come(ACT)]
Since ‖ʔaɬ̓‖ is the most frequently occurring of all post-predicate particles it will be appropriate to give a few more examples of its general use. Note the common translation with 'just' and the 'limiting' notion applied in each.
107. ʔəw̓ xʷ√tˀᶿəʔ=wéč-əŋ sxʷ ʔaɬ̓ 'Just sit yourself down.' [CONTEMP LOC√upon=bottom-CMDL 2SUBJ LIMIT]
108. kʷɬ √ʔápən ʔiʔ kʷs √ɬqʼéʔčəs ʔiʔ təwə nə√qéq ʔaɬ̓ 'She's fifteen but she's still my baby.' [REAL √ten ACCOM DEM √five ACCOM STILL 1POS√baby LIMIT]
109. √məmím̓ən-txʷ sən səʔ ʔaɬ̓ 'I'm just going to make it small.' [√small-CAUS 1SUBJ FUT LIMIT]
110. √štáŋ-nəs sən səʔ ʔaɬ̓ 'I'm just going to walk over there.' [√walk-PURPOS 1SUBJ FUT LIMIT]
111. √yéʔ yəq ləʔ √qʼẋ-əláʔ txʷén ʔə kʷə nə-s-əw̓ √ʔá(ʔ)mət ʔaɬ̓ 'I wish I'd gone out clam digging instead of just sitting around at home.' [√go OPT PAST √clam-STRUC instead(?) OBL SUB 1POS-S-CONTEMP √sit up(ACT) LIMIT]
112. √hiθ-t-áŋəs sxʷ ʔaɬ̓ 'You kept me for a long time.' [√long time-CAUS-1OBJ 2SUBJ LIMIT]
113. ʔəw̓ √níɬ ʔaɬ̓ tsə √púס 'It's just a cat.' [CONTEMP √it is LIMIT DEM √cat]
114. kʷ̓ə(lə)+√kʷ̓əw̓əy̓kʷ ɬtə ʔaɬ̓ 'We're just going fishing by ourselves.' [ACT(PL)+√fishing 1PLSUBJ LIMIT]
115. ʔəw̓ √náťᶿəʔ-txʷ ʔaɬ̓ kʷə n̓-š√məlyí=čəs 'You can only have one wedding ring.' [CONTEMP √one-CAUS LIMIT SUB 2POS-S,LOC√wed=hand]

2.6.2.6. ‖čtəʔ‖ 'probable' and ‖waʔačə‖ 'presumptive' are sparsely documented and neither is recorded occurring with any other post-predicate particle.

2.6.2.6.1. ‖čtəʔ‖ 'probable' would seem, from its modal function, to fit into the second position group of post-predicate particles. It expresses a limitation on the speaker's control of the factuality of the proposition. With ‖čtəʔ‖ the speaker is expressing his belief that the proposition is true, but he's not sure.

2.6.2.6.1.1. One reason why the position of ‖čtəʔ‖ has not been determined is that it has been impossible to elicit it with other than a third person subject. All combinations of ‖čtəʔ‖ with first or second person subjects have been rejected. It may be that ‖čtəʔ‖ is like ‖čəʔ‖ 'evidential' (§2.6.2.2.1.) in that the lack of control is implied of both the speaker and the addressee. In this case, as with ‖čəʔ‖, it would be pragmatically unlikely for ‖čtəʔ‖ to appear with a first or second person subject.
116. ʔiʔwəwəʔ √čéy̓ čtəʔ 'He might work.' [PERHAPS √work PROB]
117. kʷɬ √qʷ̓áɬ̓ čtəʔ kʷsə √qʷ̓ál-əŋ kʷsə nə√mén 'My father's barbecue must be ready.' [REAL √barbecue(ACT) PROB DEM √barbecue-CMDL DEM 1POS√father]

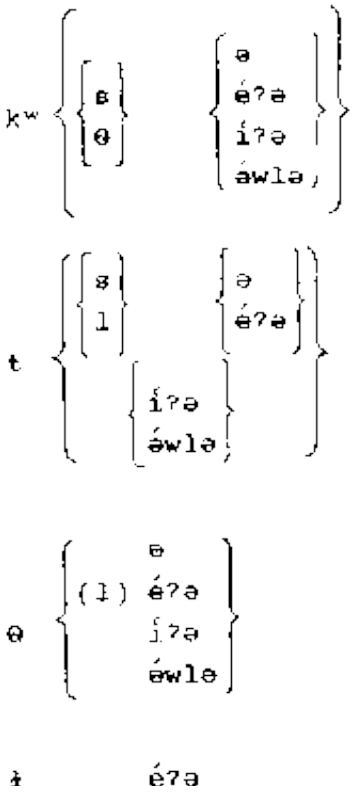
2.6.2.6.2. ‖waʔačə‖ 'presumptive' may also belong to the second position group of post-predicate particles. It appears in sentences translated with "I guess...".
118. √níɬ waʔačə šxʷ-ʔá(l)i+√ʔəy̓=mət-s ləʔ tsə √ʔiʔ-ɬ√čé ləʔ 'I guess that's why the ancestors were

better looking.' [√it is PRESUM REAS-CHAR(PL)+√good=appearance-3POS PAST DEM √ancestor(good relative past?)]

2.6.2.7. This discussion of the post-predicate particles is not an exhaustive description. The meaning and function of some of the particles is only vaguely understood, particularly most of those in the fifth position (§2.6.2.5.) and the two whose positions are undeterminable (§2.6.2.6.).
A major gap is in the understanding of how these particles function in combination. Not counting the two particles discussed in section 2.6.2.6, there are over eleven hundred possible combinations of post-predicate particles from different groups. Only seventy-four different combinations have been observed; only six different combinations are known to be rejected. It should also be noted that it would not be surprising to discover that there are more post-predicate particles than the nineteen discussed here. Halkomelem (Suttles,1982), it seems, has at least twenty-six.

2.6.3. Demonstratives.
Demonstratives in Saanich are deictic words that function as either articles or pronominals. In the function of article they precede and modify full word arguments of predications. In the function of pronominal they are themselves arguments of predications.
Forms with bases ‖-é?ə‖ 'non-proximate', ‖-í?ə‖ 'proximate', and ‖-áwlə‖ 'distant' function as both articles and pronominals. Those with ‖-ə‖ 'unspecified distance' function only as articles. One demonstrative, ‖lé?ə‖, functions as an argument or as a predicate itself meaning 'be at a particular place'. A suffix ‖-ʔ‖ may be attached to any demonstrative to form an emphatic demonstrative.
Similar to the demonstratives of Klallam (Thompson and Thompson, 1971), Songish (Raffo, 1972), and Sooke (Efrat, 1969), Saanich demonstratives are composed of a number of recognizable elements.

Table 12.
Demonstrative formatives



The schema in table 12 shows the order of the ten elements in the twenty-one demonstratives observed to date. It summarizes the following combinations of demonstrative elements: kʷsə, kʷsé?ə, kʷsí?ə, kʷsáwlə, kʷθə, kʷθé?ə, kʷθí?ə, kʷθáwlə, tsə, tsé?ə, tlə, tlé?ə, tí?ə, táwlə, θə, θlé?ə, θé?ə, θí?ə, θáwlə, ɬé?ə, lé?ə. The following combinations have been tested and rejected as demonstratives: *kʷə, *kʷí?ə, *tə, *té?ə, *tsáwlə. Other combinations have not been tested.
The demonstratives translate into English variously as 'a', 'the', 'this', 'that', 'these', 'those', etc.. Because of the relative richness of deictic distinctions in Saanich, precise meanings are difficult to elicit and even more difficult to infer from textual material.
The glosses given for the component morphemes presented here are those that have been consistently evident.

2.6.3.1. ‖kʷ-‖ 'invisible, remote'.
1. √x̣č-í-t sən kʷsíʔe s√wáy̓qəʔ 'I know this man (here but in another room)' [√know-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM S√man]

2. kʷɬ √qʾʷə́ʟʼ čtə kʷsə s√qʾʷə́l-əŋ kʷsə nə√mén ‘My father’s barbecue must be ready’ (He’s hiding from his father and can smell the food cooking.) [REAL √ready PROB DEM S√barbecue DEM 1POS√father]

3. x̣čit sən kʷsé?ə swáy̓qə? ‘I know that man (not necessarily near)’
4. x̣čít sən kʷsə́wlə? swáy̓qə? ‘I know that man (way over there someplace)’
5. √kʾʷán-nəxʷ sən kʷθə s√ɬéni? ‘I saw the woman’ (She’s not here now) [√see-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM S√woman]
6. x̣čít sən kʷθí?ə sɬéni? ‘I know this woman (in another room)’
7. x̣čít sən kʷθé?ə sɬéni? ‘I know that woman’
8. x̣čít sən kʷθə́wlə? sɬéni? ‘I know that woman (way over there someplace).’
9. √qəlét sxʷ √x̣án-əŋ kʷsé?ə ‘Say that again.’ [√again 2SUBJ √say-CMDL DEM]

2.6.3.2. ||t-|| ‘not invisible or generally existent’.
All forms but tsə precede only non-feminine or plural forms, i.e. such constructions as *tí?ə sɬéni? are unacceptable.
10. x̣čít sən tsə swáy̓qə? ‘I know the man’
11. x̣čít sən tsə sɬéni? ‘I know the woman’
12. s√x̣ʷənin-tíxʷ sxʷ tsé?ə s√qʷél ‘How do you say that word?’ [STAT√how-? 2SUBJ DEM S√speak]
13. x̣čít sən tí?ə sɬənɬéni? ‘I know these women’
14. x̣čít sən tí?ə swáy̓qə? ‘I know this man’ (He’s here and visible)
15. x̣čít sən tə́wlə? swáy̓qə? ‘I know that man’ (He’s visible but far away)

2.6.3.3. ||θ-|| ‘particular feminine individual’.
Articles with this element appear only before forms with a singular feminine referent, so *θə sɬənɬéni? is unacceptable.
The form ||θə|| is used in place of ||tsə|| for purposes of emphasis and contrast.
Compare:
16. √níɬ nə√sí?em̓ tsə s√ɬéni? ‘The lady is **my boss**.’ [√it is 1POS√boss DEM S√woman]
17. níɬ θə sɬéni? nəsí?em̓ ‘**The lady** is my boss’
18. √?áwə s √!SFQwáy̓qə? nə√sí?em̓ √níɬ θə s√ɬéni? ‘The man isn’t my boss; the lady is’ [√not UNREAL √it is DEM S√man 1POS √boss √it is DEM S√woman]
19. √x̣č-í-t sən tsə n̓-s√čé?čə? ‘I know your friend.’ [√know-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM 2POS-S√friend]
20. x̣čít sən θə n̓sčé?čə? ‘I know your (lady) friend.’

Other forms with ||θ-|| in initial position are obligatory with feminine full forms, i.e. forms such as *tí?e sɬéni? are unacceptable.
21. x̣čít sən θí?ə sɬéni? ‘I know this woman.’
22. x̣čít sən θə́wlə? sɬéni? ‘I know that woman (way over there).’

2.6.3.4. ||s-|| ‘particular individual person, thing, or class’
This element appears only after ||kʷ-|| and ||t-||.
23. ?əw̓ √mə́kʷ tsə s√qéx̣ə? √wəs-éɬs ‘All dogs bark’ (possibly all dogs in the world) [CONTEMP √all DEM S√dog √bark-STRUC(ACT)]

24. wəsél̓s tsə sqéx̣əʔ ‘The dog is barking.’
25. wəsél̓s kʷsə sqéx̣əʔ ‘The dog (not visible) is barking.’

See also examples in 2.6.3.1 and 2.6.3.2.

2.6.3.5. ‖l-‖ ‘at, toward, from, or on a particular place’
‖ɬ-‖ ‘at, toward, from, or on a particular near place’.
These two are the most problematic of all of the elements that make up the demonstrative forms. The following discussions will deal with the various forms in which they occur separately. Sections 2.6.3.5.1. to 2.6.3.5.4 deal with synchronic Saanich grammar. Section 2.6.3.5.5. deals with comparative Straits.

2.6.3.5.1. ‖tléʔə‖ and ‖θléʔə‖ have as clear an interpretation as any of the demonstratives.
26. x̣čít sən tléʔə swáy̓qəʔ ‘I know the man over there.’
27. x̣čít sən θléʔə sɬéniʔ ‘I know the woman over there.’

2.6.3.5.2.‖léʔə‖ appears often as a predicate meaning ‘be at a particular place’.
28. ʔəw̓ léʔə sən ʔaɬ̓ ‘I’ll stay there.’ [CONTEMP be there 1SUBJ LIMIT]

However, it never appears as an article, i.e. before a full word argument of a predication. This may be simply a deficiency of the corpus.

2.6.3.5.3. ‖ɬéʔə‖ occurs as do the other demonstratives either as an article before a full word argument or as an argument itself. It is most often translated as ‘this ... here’.
29. x̣čít sən ɬéʔə swáy̓qəʔ ‘I know this man here.’
30. x̣čít sən ɬéʔə sɬéniʔ ‘I know this woman here.’

2.6.3.5.4. ‖tlə‖, the remaning form poses the most problems, primarily morphophonemic. ‖tlə‖ appears in two morphophonemic alternants, phonetically [t_ɬ] and [t_ɬə]. As the ‖t‖ and ‖s‖ of other demonstratives combine to form the affricate [t_s], ‖t‖ and ‖l‖ combine to form the voiceless unglottalized lateral affricate. Neither [t_s] nor [t_ɬ] appear elsewhere in Saanich. [t_ɬ] appears only following forms ending in [ə]; [t_ɬə] appears elsewhere.
31. √yéʔ sən səʔ √ʔáx̣ʷ ʔə tɬ √sət=ín̓əs ‘I’m going over to Sidney.’ [√go 1SUBJ FUT √go to OBL DEM √? =chest(Sidney)]
32. yéʔ sən tɬə sətín̓əs ‘I ‘m going to Sidney.’
33. √se-t-áɬxʷ sxʷ kʷə √yéʔe ɬtə tɬ š√xʷim=élə ‘You sent us to the store.’ [√send-CTRAN-1PLOBJ SUB 2SUBJ SUB √go(ACT) 1PLSUBJ DEM S,LOC√buy=container(store)]
34. yéʔ sən tɬə šxʷimələ ‘I’m going to the store.’

The schwa in ‖tlə‖ often disappears in rapid speech as does the schwa in the demonstratives ‖tsə‖ and ‖kʷsə‖. This schwa is never stressed, but it always appears in careful pronunciation. However, ‖tlə‖ following [ə] always appears as [t_ɬ], even in careful, slow pronunciation. Nevertheless, as the examples show, [t_ɬ] and [t_ɬə] perform the same function and are in complementary distribution and hence should be regarded as being alternants of one form.

2.6.3.5.4.1. There is a question as to whether the underlying form should be ‖tɬə‖ rather than ‖tlə‖ since

the affricate is always voiceless.
As can be seen from the glosses given for the elements ||ɬ-|| and ||l-||, the two are very similar in meaning. The interpretations, ‘a particular proximate place’ and ‘a particular place’, are, however, clear for the forms ||ɬéʔə||, ||léʔə||, ||θléʔə||, and ||tléʔə||. In the latter three the ||l|| is consistently [l]. In ||tléʔə|| the ||t|| is released and the ||l|| remains voiced due to the following stress.
||tlə|| is used with either a proximate or non-proximate meaning. It appears notably with a proximate sense in sentences of comparison when first or second person is involved. When third person is involved other demonstratives are used.
35. √níɬ √čáq ʔə tɬ √ʔásə ‘He’s bigger than me.’ [√it is √big OBL DEM √I]
36. √ʔásə √čáq ʔə tɬ √nákʷə ‘I’m bigger than you.’ [√I √big OBL DEM √you]
37. √níɬ tsə s√wáy̓qəʔ √čəq ʔə θə s√ɬéniʔ ‘The man is bigger than the woman.’ [√it is DEM S√man √big OBL DEM S√woman]

It appears in other examples with neither a clear proximate nor a clear distant sense.
38. √ťáyəm-t-əŋ tsə s√wál-tən ʔə tɬ √qətqəčálə ‘They put a spider’s web on the baby’s hand.’ [√put-CTRAN-PASS DEM S√web,net-INST OBL DEM √baby’s hand(analysis uncertain)]

In most occurrences it appears with a non-proximate sense.
39. √yéʔ sən tɬə √péstən ‘I’m going to America.’ [√go 1SUBJ DEM √America]
!ff! It seems likely that ||l-|| and ||ɬ-|| have merged in this environment. Since it is ||ɬ-|| that is marked proximate and ||l-|| unmarked for proximity, ||tlə|| has been chosen as the underlying form. There seems to be some comparative evidence (see §2.6.3.5.5.4.) that ||tlə|| is at least the historical form of this demonstrative.

2.6.3.5.5. It will be useful to compare Saanich to other Straits dialects with regard to this particle, ||tlə||.

2.6.3.5.5.1. The demostrative system of Songish as described by Raffo (1972:66-72) differs in a number of respects from Saanich. Raffo shows a form /tɬ/ but no clear occurrences of it in context. It is charted as -proximate, +definite, -visible. This may or may not be the same as Saanich ||tlə||.
Raffo (1972:69) states "demonstratives precede all emphatic pronominals and all roots functioning as subject or object to predications." As noted earlier, this is also the case in Saanich. However, the passage continues, "demonstratives do not precede these when they are objects of the prepositional particle {ʔəƛ̓}." {ʔəƛ̓} is listed (p.207) as "the prepositional particle" with the gloss ‘to, of, with’. In this section and in various places throughout Raffo gives examples of {ʔəƛ̓} that parallel Saanich sentences with /ʔə tɬ/. Compare 40 with 31.
40. Sg / ʔuʔ yéʔ sən ʔáẋʷ ʔəƛ̓ táwən / ‘I go to town.’ (Raffo,1972:207)

No examples of a /tɬə/ or /ƛ̓ə/ particle are given for Songish and no form /ʔəƛ̓/ appears in Saanich. So far this looks like a case of different analyses for a single phenomenon (though Saanich ||tlə|| is not glottalized). However, Songish also has sentences like 41.
41. Sg / ʔíʔɬən sən ʔəƛ̓ nákʷə/ ‘I eat with you.’ (Raffo,1972:208)

The parallel sentence, 42, is thought strange by Saanich informants. The translation they give shows why.
42. ? ʔíʔɬən sən ʔə tɬ nákʷə ‘I’m eating (on) you.’

'I'm eating with you' is in Saanich:
43. √ʔí(ʔ)ɬəṉ sən ʔiʔ √nək^{w}ə [√eat(ACT) 1SUBJ ACCOMP √you]

Clearly Songish and Saanich differ surprisingly in this respect.

2.6.3.5.5.2. Examples of a form /x̌'əʔ/ have been recorded in Klallam but nothing like /ʔəx̌'/. Compare 44 and 34.
44. Kl hiyáʔ cən x̌'əʔ šx^{w}imáy 'I'm going to the store.'

The lateral affricate in Klallam /x̌'əʔ/ is clearly glottalized. The affricate of ||tlə|| in Saanich is not glottalized and clearly contrasts phonetically with /x̌'/, though occasionally in rapid speech ||tlə|| followed by the emphatic demonstrative suffix ||-ʔ|| appears as [x̌'] when the unstressed [ə] is lost.

2.6.3.5.5.3. E.O., a younger native speaker of "modern" Saanich who has learned to write his language, consistently transcribes this form as ʔət:
45. ŋəṉ ləʔ ʔəyət ʔət sŋitk^{w}əɬ 'There used to be lots of ling-cod in Tod Inlet' (E.O.)

This corresponds to:
46. √ŋə́ṉ ləʔ √ʔéyət ʔə tɬ s√ŋít=k^{w}əɬ [√many PAST √ling-cod OBL DEM S√Tod-Inlet(?)]

E.O.'s dialect differs phonologically from "old time" Saanich in other respects. For example, the affricate [t_s] never appears but is replaced by [tθ].
47. ʔənən x̌'ẋ^{w}aləs tθə q̓et'^{θ}əɬč 'Really hard is the hardhack.' (E.O.)

This corresponds to:
48. √ʔənʔéṉ √x̌'ẋ^{w}=áləs tsə √q̓ét'^{θ}=əɬč [√very √hard=eye DEM √hard hack=plant]

His Saanich is perhaps influenced by his fluency in Cowichan, which exhibits the historical change t_s > tθ.

2.6.3.5.5.4. A possible historical picture of these developments in Straits would involve the pan-Salishan avoidance of the unglottalized lateral affricate.
Although [t_ɬ] occasionally appears in Saanich and other Salish languages (e.g. Thompson Salish (Thompson and Thompson,in press)) as the realization of a sequence of phonemes, [t_ɬ] has phonemic status in only one Salish language, Comox, and there it is an "obviously borrowed phoneme" (Thompson,1979a).
Thompson further notes that when a rule in Shuswap deglottalizes the first of a sequence of glottalized consonants /x̌'/ appears as [t]. This seems to be the strategy taken by E.O.'s dialect where /tɬ/ becomes [t].

The strategy taken by Klallam seems to be similar to that taken by Squamish. Kuipers (1967:136) discusses a case morpheme /t-/ which when prefixed to the feminine article /ɬa/ produces the glottalized lateral affricate in /x̌'a/. However, in their discussion of Klallam demonstratives Thompson and Thompson (1971:265) note that the sequence {tɬ} 'present - feminine, secondary' "is represented by /c/." This /c/ in Klallam is cognate with /θ/ in Saanich, so the reinterpretation of /tɬ/ as /c/ must have preceded the historical change PS *c > θ in Saanich as well as the devoicing of the /l/ in the demonstrative sequence

/tl/. As pointed out by Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) this development is a rather late one in Saanich, diffused from Cowichan.
Saanich /l/ corresponds to Klallam /y/. A deictic distinction between /ɬ/ and /y/ in Klallam is cognate with that between /ɬ/ and /l/ in Saanich: Kl /ʔəɬaʔ/ 'be here' and /ʔiyáʔ/ 'be there'. A reinterpretation in Klallam of /tləʔ/ to /x̌əʔ/ must have involved a change of l > ɬ in this environmen t and so must have preceded *l > y.
It is possible that at one time in the history of Straits there were two demonstrative elements ||ɬ-||, one 'feminine, secondary' and the other 'proximate'. Another possibility is that in Proto-Straits only ||ɬ-||, 'feminine, secondary' was a demonstrative formative, whereas the ||ɬ|| 'proximate', ||l|| 'non-proximate' distinction was found only in the deictic predicates. Klallam reflects the older system while Saanich shows a spread of this deictic predicate distinction to the demonstrative system. In Saanich ||léʔe|| is the only demonstrative seen to function also as a predicate.
This and other differences among the demonstrative systems of the Straits languages must be resolved by further historical/comparative investigation.

2.6.3.6. Unresolved problems relating to demonstratives.

2.6.3.6.1. As noted earlier ||léʔe|| functions as a predicate meaning 'be at a particular place', and thus differs from other demonstratives. A corresponding 'proximate' predicate, ||ʔéɬəʔ|| 'be at a particular near place' appears only as a predicate, though it does seem to exhibit the ||ɬ-|| demonstrative formative.
49. ʔəẇ̓ léʔe sən səʔ 'I'll be there.' [CONTEMP there 1SUBJ FUT]
50. ʔəẇ̓ ʔéɬəʔ sən səʔ 'I'll be here.'

||ʔéɬəʔ|| shows no other formal similarities to the demonstratives. It is cognate with Klallam /ʔəɬaʔ/ 'be here', but there is no Saanich */ʔəléʔ/ corresponding to Klallam /ʔiyáʔ/ 'be there' (see §2.6.3.5.5.4).

2.6.3.6.2. ||léʔe|| and ||ʔéɬəʔ|| both appear with a suffix /-tiʔ/ with the meanings 'something is at a particular place' and 'something is at a particular near place', respectively.
51. léʔe-tiʔ tsə √θáqəẏ̓ 'That one is the sockeye.' [that-? DEM √sockeye]
52. ʔéɬ-tiʔ tsə s√ʔíɬən 'Here is the food.' [this-? DEM S√eat]
53. léʔetiʔ 'There it is.'
54. ʔéɬtiʔ 'Here it is.'

It is possible that this ||tiʔ|| is another post-predicate particle (§2.6.2).

2.6.4. Other particles.
The two particles listed here are important syntactic function morphemes. An adequate description of them would require a thorough investigation of the syntax of Saanich. This is beyond the scope of the present work. Here I merely give a gloss, brief description, and a few examples.

2.6.4.1. ||ʔə|| 'oblique case marker' precedes certain full word arguments to predications. With transitive predicates it occurs before any argument that is not coreferential to the pronominal subject or object. With intransitive predicates it occurs before any argument that is not the subject. Compare examples 1 and 2.
1. √qə́p-əŋ sən ʔə tsə s√čáɬ 'I gathered the firewood.' [√gather-CMDL 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√firewood]
2. √qə́p-ət sən tsə s√čáɬ 'I gathered the firewood.' [√gather-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM S√firewood]

In both 1 and 2 /tsə sčáɬ/ is the logical patient. In 1, the intransitive form, the patient is marked by the 'oblique'; in 2, the transitive form, the patient is coreferential to the object and the 'oblique' morpheme is absent.[1]

Examples 3 to 14 illustrate other intransitves with the oblique argument in various semantic/case roles.

3. s√q̓ʷáŋiʔ ʔə tɬ √q̓x̣ʷ=əw̓ɬ 'It's the head of the canoe.' [S√head OBL DEM √racing canoe]

4. s√nás ʔə tɬ √ʔésx̣ʷ 'It's seal fat.' [S√fat OBL DEM √seal]

5. θít̓θəɬ ʔə tsə sŋénət 'It's the top of the mountain.'

6. ƛ̓éčəɬ ʔə tsə qʷáʔ 'It's the bottom of the water.'

7. √čéʔiʔ ʔə tsə √máay̓ 'She's making a basket.' [√make,work(ACT) OBL DEM √basket]

8. √ʔáaɬ sən ʔə tsə s√nə́xʷəɬ 'I got on the canoe.' [√go aboard 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√canoe]

9. √ʔəlq−əláʔ sən ʔə tsə s√nə́xʷəɬ 'I bought a canoe.' [√but−STRUC 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√canoe]

10. č√t̓θə́ŋ sən ʔə kʷs s√t̓θáqʷiʔ 'I caught a salmon.' [HAVE√hook, pinch 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√spring salmon]

11. √ʔəŋ̓á−t−əŋ̓ sən ʔə kʷsə s√nə́xʷəɬ 'I was given a canoe.' [√give(ACT)−CTRAN−PASS 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√canoe]

12. šə́ləŋ ʔə tsə sqəlélŋəxʷ 'He climbed the tree.'

13. √ƛ̓íw̓ ʔə tɬ √ʔə́sə 'He ran away from me.' [√escape OBL DEM √I]

14. ʔəw̓ √níɬ ʔal̓ ʔə kʷsə √mén−s 'He is (i.e. looks like) his father.' [CONTEMP √it is LIMIT OBL DEM √father−3POS]

Examples 15 to 22 illustrate transitives with ‖ʔə‖ 'oblique'. Note that the argument following the 'oblique' morpheme may be a patient, goal, or other semantic role, but it is never coreferential to either the subject or object.

15. √ʔəlq−sí−t−əs tsəwníɬ tsə ŋən√ŋə́nəʔ−s ʔə tsə √qʷɬə́y̓=šən 'He bought his kids shoes.' [√buy−INDIRECT−CTRAN−3OBJ(ø)−3SUBJ he DEM PL+√offspring−3POS OBL DEM √shoe=foot]

16. √ʔáŋ−ət−əs tsə s√wíw̓ləs θə √q̓éŋ̓iʔ−s ʔə tsə š√xʷíiləm=čəs 'The boy gave his girl a ring.'[2] [√give−CTRAN−3OBJ(ø)−3SUBJ DEM S√boy DEM √girl−3POS OBL ring]

17. √kʷə́n−ət ʔə tsə n̓√séləs 'Grab it with your hands.' [√take, grasp−CTRAN−3OBJ(ø) OBL DEM 2POS√hand]

18. √kʷən−í−t sən ʔə tsə nə√séləs 'I'm holding it with my hands.' [√take, grasp−PERSIS−CTRAN−3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ OBL DEM 1POS√hand]

19. √səm̓á(ʔ)−sə sən ʔə tsə nə−s√čéenəxʷ 'I'm selling you my fish.' [√sell−(CTRAN)−2OBJ 1SUBJ OBL DEM 1POS−S√salmon]

20. √q̓əp̓=ás−t sən tsə s√tíqew ʔə tsə sqəlélŋəxʷ 'I tied the horse to a tree.' [√tie up=face−CTRAN−3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM S√horse OBL DEM tree]

21. √kʷə́s−əs sən ʔə tsə s√qʷél 'I sent him a message.' [√send−EFFORT−3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√speak(RES)]

22. √ʔáx̣ʷ−txʷ tsə n̓√séləs ʔə tsə √lətém 'Put your hand over here on the table.' [√go over to−CAUS−3OBJ(ø) DEM 2POS√hand OBL DEM √table]

2.6.4.2. ‖kʷə‖ 'subordinator' introduces certain subordinate clauses. It has been recorded with two types of complements: 1) those that are nominalized with subjects indicated by the possessive affixes (examples 23−31) and 2) those that are not nominalized and have subjects indicated by the subject suffixes (examples 32−37).

23. t̓é+√t̓əʔ−sət sən kʷə nə−s√čéy ʔə kʷsə s√nə́xʷəɬ 'I'm learning how to make a canoe.' [ACT+√learn−

REFL 1SUBJ SUB 1POS-S√make,work OBL DEM S√canoe]
24. t̓é+√t̓əʔ-sət sən kʷə nə√sənč=áθən 'I'm learning to speak Saanich.' [ACT+√learn-REFL 1SUBJ SUB 1POS√Saanich=mouth]
25. √ʔáy̓ kʷə nə-s√kʷə́n̓-t 'I'm protecting it.' [√good SUB 1POS-S√see(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
26. √x̣č-í-t sən kʷə nə-s√léʔ-ət 'I know how to fix it.' [√figure out-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ SUB 1POS-S√repair-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
27. √ʔəkʷá(ʔ)-sə sən kʷə n̓-s-xʷ√sénəč=qən 'I'm teaching you to speak Saanich.' [√teach(ACT)-(CTRAN)-2OBJ 1SUBJ SUB 2POS-S-LOC√Saanich=pharynx]
28. šə̀l̓+√šəl̓-í-ŋ sən kʷə nə-s√ʔíɬən ʔə tsə s√qéwθ 'The potato (chips) made me thirsty.' [CHAR+√thirsty-PERSIS-CMDL 1SUBJ SUB 1POS-S√eat OBL DEM S√potato]
29. √ʔəwə kʷə nə-s√ŋát tsə √ʔésx̣ʷ 'I don't eat seal.' [√not SUB 1POS-S√eat DEM √seal]
30. ʔən̓-s√ƛ̓íʔ ə kʷə n̓-s√čéy 'Do you want to work?' [2POS-S√want QUEST SUB 2POS-S√work]
31. qʷə+√qʷəl̓-t-áŋəs sxʷ kʷə n̓-s√ʔítət 'You talked to me in your sleep.' [ACT+√speak-CAUS-1OBJ 2SUBJ SUB 2POS-S√sleep]
32. √sé-s sxʷ kʷəʔ kʷə √yéʔ-ən tɬ š√xʷim=élәʔ 'You told me to go to the store.' [√command-(CTRAN)-1OBJ 2SUBJ INFORM SUB √go-1SUBJ DEM S,LOC√sell=container]
33. √sé-t-əŋ sən kʷə √kʷəy̓əx̣-t-ən 'He told me to stir it.' [√command-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ SUB √stir,move-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-1SUBJ]
34. kʷə č√téləʔ-ən, ʔiʔ √ʔəlq-əláʔ sən ʔə kʷs √ʔél̓əŋ 'If I had money, I'd buy a house.' [SUB HAVE√money-1SUBJ, ACCOM √buy-STRUC 1SUBJ OBL DEM √house]
35. ʔəlqəláʔ sən ʔə kʷs ʔél̓əŋ kʷə čtéləʔən 'I'd buy a house if I had money.' (Compare with 34.)
36. kʷə √yéʔ-əxʷ, ʔiʔ √ƛ̓éʔ sən ʔəw̓ √yéʔ 'If you go, I'll go too.' [SUB √go-2SUBJ, ACCOM √also 1SUBJ √go]
37. ƛ̓éʔ sən ʔəw̓ yéʔ kʷə yéʔəxʷ 'I'll go too if you go.' (Compare with 36.)

The ‖kʷə‖ 'subordinator' is not used in introducing relative clauses[3]. Compare examples 38, which has ‖kʷə‖ and a nominalized complement, and 39 which contains a relative clause.

38. √kʷə́n-nəxʷ ə sxʷ kʷsə s√wáy̓qəʔ kʷə nə-s-xʷ√t̓ᶿs=ás-t-əŋ 'Did you see the man hit me?' [√see-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) QUEST 2SUBJ DEM S√man SUB 1POS-S-LOC√punch=face-CTRAN-PASS]
39. √kʷə́n-nəxʷ ə sxʷ kʷsə s√wáy̓qəʔ xʷ√t̓ᶿs=ás-s 'Did you see the man who hit me?' [√see-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) QUEST 2SUBJ DEM S√man LOC√punch=face-(CTRAN)-1OBJ]

Notes to §2.6.

1. This term and 'contemporaneous' have been used by others referring to cognate morphemes in other Coast Salish languages. See for example Thompson and Thompson (1971).

2. See §2.5 on other differences between transitives and intransitives.

3. The root ‖√ʔaŋ‖ actually means 'give something to'. In this it is similar to English 'endow'.

3. Sample text: Raven abandons his son.

3.1. Text with interlinear analysis.

1. √mə´kʷ √kʷəčíl̓ ʔi əw̓ √kʷəẇə´y̓kʷ tsə s√páal̓.
   √every √day ACCOM CONTEMP √fishing(ACT) DEM S√Raven

2. √ŋə´n̓ tsə ŋən+√ŋə´nəʔ-s tsəẇní4 s√páal̓.
   √many DEM PL+√child-3POS he S√Raven

3. kʷé+√kʷiʔ.
   ACT+√hungry

4. kʷé+√kʷiʔ ʔal̓ √ʔə´wə√nəʔ s√téŋ s√ʔí4ən-s
   ACT+√hungry LIMIT √not√exist S√what S√eat-3POS

5. √nə´tθəʔ s√kʷéčəl ʔiʔ √ʔəx̣ʷí-t-əs ʔə tsə
   √one S√day ACCOM √sweep-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ OBL DEM

   s√nə´xʷə4 tsə √mén-s
   S√canoe DEM √father-3POS

6. √ʔəx̣ʷí-t-əs tsə s√nə´xʷə4 tsə √mén-s
   √sweep-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM S√canoe DEM √father-3POS

7. ʔiʔ kʷ4 √θíl̓ač ʔə tsə s√q̓ál-ə4
   ACCOM REAL √find OBL DEM STAT√barbecue(RES)-DUR

8. s-əẇ √tál̓-nəxʷ kʷs-əẇ √ʔí(ʔ)4ən̓-s
   S-CONTEMP √discover-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) SUB S-CONTEMP √eat(ACT)-3POS

   tsə √mén-s ʔə kʷsíʔə s√héẇə
   DEM √father-3POS OBL DEM S√away

9. s-əẇ √tál̓-nəxʷ kʷs-əẇ √ʔí(ʔ)4ən̓-s
   S-CONTEMP √discover-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) SUB S-CONTEMP √eat(ACT)-3POS

   tsə √mén-s ʔə kʷsíʔə s√kʷəẇə´y̓kʷ
   DEM √father-3POS OBL DEM S√fishing(ACT)

10. √ʔáa4 ʔə tsə s√nə´xʷə4 tsə √mén-s s-əẇ
    √go-aboard OBL DEM S√canoe DEM √father-3POS S-CONTEMP

    √kʷéyl̓-s ʔə tsə √kʷəčíl̓
    √hide-3POS OBL DEM √day

11. təwə √x̣ʷən̓éŋ̓ ʔiʔ kʷ4 √tə´s tsəẇní4 tsə s√wíẇ̓ləs
    STILL √how ACCOM REAL √be-there he DEM S√young-man

    ʔə tsə s√nə´xʷə4 tsə √mén-s
    OBL DEM S√canoe DEM √father-3POS

12. s-əẇ √ʔáa4-s
    S-CONTEMP √go aboard-3POS

13. √tə´s tsə s√páal̓ ʔə tsə s√nə´xʷə4 s-əẇ
    √be there DEM S√Raven OBL DEM S√canoe S-CONTEMP

√ʔáaɬ-s
√go aboard-3POS

14. √ʔə´wə√nəʔ s√x̣̌-í-t-s kʷ s kʷɬ
√not√exist S√figure out-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS SUB - REAL

ʔəlʔálʼəɬ tsə s√wíẃləs ʔə tsə s√nə´xʷəɬ tsə
√go aboard(ACT) DEM S√young man OBL DEM S√canoe DEM

s-kʷə+√kʷéylʼ
STAT-RES+√hide

15. √ʔə´wə√nəʔ s√x̣̌əč-t-í-ŋ-s ʔə tɬ
√not√exist S√figure out-CTRAN-PERSIS-PASS-3POS OBL DEM

s√páalʼ kʷ s kʷɬ ʔəlʼálʔəɬ-s tsə s√wíẃləs s-kʷé√kʷəlʼ
S√Raven SUB - REAL √go aboard(ACT) DEM S√young man S-ACT+√hide

16. s-əẃ √yeʔ-s √kʷəẃə´yʼkʷ tsəẃníɬ s√páalʼ
S-CONTEMP √go-3POS √fishing(ACT) he S√Raven

17. ʔiʔ ʔəẃ ʔiʔ ʔəlʔálʼəɬ tsəẃníɬ tsə √ŋə´nəʔ-s
ACCOM CONTEMP ACCOM √go aboard(ACT) he DEM √child-3POS

ʔiʔ s-kʷé+√kʷəlʼ
ACCOM STAT-ACT+√hide

18. s-əẃ √yéʔ s√kʷə´wyəkʷ s-əẃ lə+√léʔ-n-əŋ
S-CONTEMP √go S√fishing S-CONTEMP RES+√hear-NTRAN-PASS

tsəẃníɬ kʷ s-iʔ č√qéyʼəʔ-s tsə √mén-s tsə
he SUB S-ACCOM HAVE√catch(ACT)-3POS DEM √father-3POS DEM

s√čéenəxʷ
S√salmon

19. √ɬée-l tsəẃníɬ ʔə tsə s√ʔíl=əqsən tsə s√páalʼ
√go ashore-DIR he OBL DEM S√land?=nose DEM S√Raven

20. √kʷətθ̓í-t-əs tsə s√qə´čəʔ-s
√butcher-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM S√catch-3POS

21. s-əẃ √tθ̓é(ʔ)kʷ-ət-s
S-CONTEMP √clean(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS

22. s-əẃ √qʷə´l-ət-s
S-CONTEMP √barbecue-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS

23. ʔi əẃ s-kʷé+√kʷəlʼ tsəẃníɬ ʔə tɬ √ʔáləɬ
ACCOM CONTEMP STAT-ACT+√hide he OBL DEM √go aboard

ʔə tsə s√nə´xʷəɬ tsə s√wíẃləs
OBL DEM S√canoe DEM S√young man

24. s-əẃ √x̣̌-ə´t-s "kʷɬ √qʷə´lʼ
S-CONTEMP √figure out-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS REAL √barbecue(ACT)

čtə kʷsə s√qʷə´l-əŋ kʷsə nə√mén"
PROB DEM S√barbecue-CMDL DEM 1POS√father

25. kʷɬ √háqʷ-n-əs ʔiʔ √ʔiʔ-l=ə́qəč
REAL √smell-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ ACCOM √good-CONNEC=smell

s√qʷə́l-əŋ
S√barbecue-CMDL

26. s-əẃ √xʷíʔt-əŋ̓-s tsəẃníɬ √ʔáx̣ʷ ʔə tsə
S-CONTEMP √jump(ACT)-CMDL-3POS he √go over to OBL DEM

s√léʔə-s tsə √mén-s √qʷə́l-əŋ
S√place-3POS DEM √father-3POS √barbecue-CMDL

27. s-əẃ tθ̓ə́+√tθ̓əkʷ-sət tsə √síʔsət
S-CONTEMP ACT+√startle-REFL DEM √parent

28. "čəné √níɬ yəxʷ kʷsə nə√ŋə́nəʔ"
goodness √it is CONJEC DEM 1POS√offspring

29. ʔiʔ √x̣ʷálkʷt-əŋ tsə √čə́q √qʷɬ=éẏ̓
ACCOM √drift-CMDL DEM √big √log=wood

30. s-əẃ √x̣ə́n-nəxʷ-s tsə √ŋə́nəʔ-s
S-CONTEMP √say-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS DEM √offspring-3POS

"√kʷə́n-ət tsə √qʷəní.
√see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM √seagull

31. √niʔ kʷsə √ŋá(ʔ)-ət-əs."
√exist DEM √eat(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ

32. s-əẃ √x̣ə́n-əŋ-s tsə s√wíẃləs "√ʔə́wə√nəʔ s√téŋ
S-CONTEMP √say-CMDL-3POS DEM S√young man √not√exist S√what

√ŋá(ʔ)-ət-əs tsə √qəní, √mén."
√eat(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM √seagull √father

33. ʔi əẃ √ʔə́wə tsəẃníɬ s√páaɬ̓ √ʔéx̣-əŋ kʷə
ACCOM CONTEMP not he S√Raven √say-CMDL SUB

s-əẃ √níʔ-s kʷsə √ŋá(ʔ)-ət-əs tsə
S-CONTEMP √exist-3POS DEM √eat(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM

√qʷəní.
√seagull

34. s-əẃ √sé-t-əŋ-s tsə s√wíẃləs
S-CONTEMP √command-CTRAN-PASS-3POS DEM S√young man,

"√ʔáaɬ ʔə tsə s√nə́xʷəɬ. √yéʔ ɬtə √kʷə́n-ət."
√go aboard OBL DEM S√canoe √go 1PLSUBJ √see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)

35. s-əẃ √yéʔ-s √táal. √tə́s ʔə tséʔə.
S-CONTEMP √go-3POS √way out at sea √be here OBL DEM

36. s-əẃ √tə́s ʔə tsə s√qəl-él=ŋəxʷ ʔiʔ
S-CONTEMP √be there OBL DEM S√tree-CONNEC=being ACCOM

√xʷálkʷt-əŋ.
√drift-CTRAN

37. s-əẃ √sé-t-əŋ-s tsəẃníɬ s√wíẃləs kʷə

S-CONTEMP √command-CTRAN-PASS-3POS he S√young man SUB

√qʷíŋ̓-əs. "√ʔáaɬ ʔə tsə √qʷɬ=éy̓
√get off-EFFORT-3OBJ(ø) √go aboard OBL DEM √log=wood

ʔən̓-s-əw̓ √kʷə́n-ət kʷə s√téŋ-əs kʷə s√ʔíɬən-s
2POS-S-CONTEMP √see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) SUB S√what-3SUBJ SUB S√eat-3POS

tsə √qʷəní."
DEM √seagull

38. "√qʷíŋ kʷəče ʔiʔ √kʷə́n-ət sxʷ kʷə
√get off EXPLAN ACCOM √see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ SUB

s√téŋ-əs kʷə √ŋá(ʔ)-ət-əs kʷə s√kʷə́l-əŋ kʷsə
S√what-3POS SUB √eat(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ SUB S√fly-CMDL DEM

√qʷəní."
√seagull

39. "√ʔə́wə√nəʔ q̓ə s√téŋ."
√not√exist EMPH S√what

40. ʔi əw̓ √šíy̓-əl-əs tsə s√páal̓ kʷə
ACCOM CONTEMP √insist-DIR-EFFORT-3OBJ(ø) DEM S√Raven SUB

s√sé(ʔ)-ət-s tsə √ŋə́nəʔ-s kʷə
S√command(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS DEM √offspring-3POS SUB

√qʷíŋ̓-əs.
√get off(ACT)-EFFORT-3OBJ(ø)

41. s-əw̓ √qʷíŋ-s tsəẃníɬ.
S-CONTEMP √get off-3POS he

42. √ʔáaɬ ʔə tsə s√qəl-él=ŋəxʷ
√go aboard OBL DEM S√tree-CONNEC=being

43. s-əw̓ txʷə√ʔəl̓ál̓əɬ-s tsə √ŋə́nəʔ-s
S-CONTEMP MUT√go aboard(ACT)-3POS DEM √offspring-3POS

s-əw̓ √sx̣-ə́t-s.
S-CONTEMP √push-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS

44. s-əw̓ xʷ√yél̓q-əŋ-s √yéʔ ʔə tsə
S-CONTEMP LOC√return-CMDL-3POS √go OBL DEM

s√qʷə́l-əŋ-s
S√barbecue-CMDL-3POS

45. s-əw̓ √ʔíɬən-s.
S-CONTEMP √eat-3POS

46. √ʔáẃkʷ-t-əs s-əw̓ √məkʷ s√téŋ
√finish off-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ S-CONTEMP √all S√what

s√qʷál̓-əɬ-t-əs.
STAT√barbecue(RES)-DUR-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ

47. √kʷéčəl̓ ʔi əw̓ √kʷéčəl̓ ʔi əw̓ √kʷéčəl̓ kʷə
√day ACCOM CONTEMP √day ACCOM CONTEMP √day SUB

s-iʔ √ʔəlʼálʼəɬ-s ʔə tsə s√qəl-él=ŋəxʷ.
S-ACCOM √go aboard(ACT)-3POS OBL DEM S√tree-CONNEC=being

48. ʔəẃ √háy ʔalʼ √híθ kʷə s-iʔ
CONTEMP √done LIMIT √long time SUB S-ACCOM

√ʔəlʼálʼəɬ-s ʔə tsə s√qəl-él=ŋəxʷ.
√go aboard(ACT)-3POS OBL DEM S√tree-CONNEC=being

49. √sé-t-əs tsə √ŋəˊnəʔ-s kʷə
√command-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM √offspring-3POS SUB

√ʔáaɬ-əs ʔə tsə √qʷɬ=éyʼ.
√go aboard-3SUBJ OBL DEM √log=wood

50. s-əẃ √sx̣-əˊt-s s-əẃ
S-CONTEMP √push-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS S-CONTEMP

√ɬəˊ-l-əs.
√go ashore-DIR-3POS

51. s-iʔ s-əẃ √yéʔ-s √ɬée-l tsəẃníɬ.
S-ACCOM S-CONTEMP √go-3POS √go ashore(RES)-DIR he

52. s-əẃ √ʔíɬən-s ʔə tsə s√qʷəˊl-əŋ-s.
S-CONTEMP √eat-3POS OBL DEM S√barbecue-CMDL-3POS

53. s-eẃ √háy-s kʷə s√ʔí(ʔ)ɬənʼ-s s-əẃ
S-CONTEMP √finish-3POS SUB S√eat(ACT)-3POS S-CONTEMP

√yéʔ-s √tʼákʷ.
√go-3POS √go home

54. txʷ√háy tsə √ŋəˊnəʔ-s √xʷəˊlʼkʷt-əŋ √ʔəlʼálʼəɬ
MUT√alone DEM √offspring-3POS √drift-CMDL √go aboard(ACT)

ʔə tsə √qʷɬ=éyʼ.
OBL DEM √log=wood

55. √kʷéčəl ʔiʔ √nét, √kʷéčəl ʔiʔ √net.
√day ACCOM √night √day ACCOM √night

56. ʔi əẃ √ʔəˊwə kʷə √skʷ-íl √λ̓éʔ.
ACCOM CONTEMP not SUB √approach-DIR √again

57. √x̣ʷá(ʔə)ŋ̓ tsə s√wíẃləs s-əẃ tʼə+√tʼílʼəm̓-s.
√cry(ACT) DEM S√young man S-CONTEMP ACT+√sing-3POS

58. "√ʔéɬəʔ sən √x̣ʷəˊlʼ-t-əŋ̓ ʔə tɬ s√qəˊnəxʷ
√here 1SUBJ √abandon(ACT)-CTRAN-PASS OBL DEM S√greedy

s√páalʼ."
S√Raven

59. təwə √x̣ʷəníŋ tsəẃníɬ s√wíẃləs.
STILL √that way he S√young man

60. təwə √x̣ʷəníŋ čʼəʔ ʔiʔ kʷɬ √síkʷ-əlʼ.
STILL √that way EVID ACCOM REAL √approach(ACT)-DIR

61. s-əẇ √kʷə́n-nəxʷ tsə √ʔə́y̓ s√wíẇləs.
S-CONTEMP √see-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM √good S√young man

62. √pə́q̓ tsə √ɬqít-s.
√white DEM √clothes-3POS

63. s-əẇ √čté-t-əŋ tsə s√wíẇləs ʔə tsə √pə́q̓
S-CONTEMP √ask-CTRAN-PASS DEM S√young man OBL DEM √white

√ɬqít-s, "s√táŋət sxʷ ʔačə."
√clothes-3POS STAT√what's the matter 2SUBJ REQINF

64. s-əẇ √xʷə́n-əŋ-s "√ʔéɬə sən s√xʷə́l̓-t-əŋ̓
S-CONTEMP √say-CMDL-3POS √here 1SUBJ STAT√abandon(ACT)-CTRAN

ləʔ ʔə tɬ s√qə́nəxʷ s√páal̓."
PAST OBL DEM S√greedy S√Raven

65. s-əẇ √xʷə́n-əŋ-s tsə s√wíẇləs, "√nə́kʷə ʔačə
S-CONTEMP √say-CMDL-3POS DEM S√young man √you REQINF

√sén?"
√who

66. s-əẇ √xʷə́n-əŋ-s tsəẇníɬ ʔiʔ √ʔə́y̓=mət tsə
S-CONTEMP √say-CMDL-3POS he ACCOM √good=appearance DEM

√ɬqít-s √pə́q̓, "√ʔə́sə √xʷéʔ-əl̓s."
√clothes-3POS √white √I √sacred-STRUC(ACT)

67. s-əẇ √xʷən-ə́t-əŋ-s tsəẇníɬ √ŋə́nəʔ ʔə tɬ
S-CONTEMP √say-CTRAN-PASS-3POS he √offspring OBL DEM

s√páal̓, "√θíɬ-əŋ sxʷ."
S√Raven √stand-CMDL 2SUBJ

68. s-əẇ √θí(ʔ)ɬ-əŋ̓-s tsəẇníɬ s√wíẇləs.
S-CONTEMP √stand(ACT)-CMDL-3POS he S√young man

69. s-əẇ √qʷén-əs-əŋ-s ʔə tsə √xʷéʔ-əl̓s.
S-CONTEMP √summon-EFFORT-PASS-3POS OBL DEM √sacred-STRUC(ACT)

70. s-əẇ √kʷən-í-t-əŋ-s ʔəẇ
S-CONTEMP √grasp-PERSIS-CTRAN-PASS-3POS CONTEM

√ʔəpí-t-əŋ-s ʔə tsə √xʷéʔ-əl̓s.
√stroke-CTRAN-PASS-3POS OBL DEM √sacred-STRUC(ACT)

71. √kʷə́n-ət-əs tsə √ɬqít-s ʔiʔ √x̌éʔ
√see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM √clothes-3POS ACCOM √also

əẇ txʷə-ʔi+√ʔə́y̓=mət.
CONTEMP MUT-RES+√good=appearance

72. s-əẇ √xʷən-ə́t-əŋ-s ʔə tɬ √xʷéʔ-əl̓s
S-CONTEMP √say-CTRAN-PASS-3POS OBL DEM √sacred-STRUC(ACT)

kʷə √məl̓ə́q-t-əs tsə s√léʔ-t-əŋ-s.
SUB √forget-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM S√repair-CTRAN-PASS-3POS

73. "ʔəẇ √məlʔə́q-t sxʷ ʔalʔ
CONTEMP √forget-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 2SUBJ LIMIT

ʔənʔ-s√léʔ-t-əŋ."
2POS-S√repair-CTRAN-PASS

74. s-əẇ √sé-t-əŋ-s kʷə √yéʔ-əs
S-CONTEMP √command-CTRAN-PASS-3POS SUB √go-3SUBJ

√ʔlé:ʔ-əŋ ʔə kʷsə s√táləs √ʔáx̣ʷ ʔə tɬ
√look for-CMDL OBL DEM S√spouse √go to OBL DEM

smákʷəč.
place near Blaine, WA

75. "ʔiʔ s√x̣ʷənʔí(ʔ)əŋ sən səʔ kʷəče kʷə nə-s√yéʔ?"
ACCOM S√how(ACT) 1SUBJ FUT EXPLAN SUB 1POS-S√go

76. "√níɬ səʔ kʷəʔ tsə nʔ-šxʷ√ʔəlʔáʔəɬ ʔi
√it is FUT INFORM DEM 2POS-REAS√go aboard(ACT) ACCOM

ʔənʔ-šxʷ√ʔəlʔáʔəɬ kʷə nʔ-s√yéʔ."
2POS-REAS√go aboard(ACT) SUB 2POS-S√go

77. s-əẇ √yéʔ tsəẇníɬ √ʔáaɬ ʔə tsə √qʷɬ=éẏ.
S-CONTEMP √go he √go aboard OBL DEM √log=wood

78. s-əẇ √yéʔ-s √ʔáx̣ʷ ʔə tɬ smákʷəč.
S-CONTEMP √go-3POS √go to OBL DEM -

79. s-əẇ √ɬée-l-s s-əẇ √štəʔ́ŋ-s tsəẇníɬ
S-CONTEMP √go ashore-DIR-3POS S-CONTEMP √walk-3POS he

s√wíẇləs.
S√young man

80. ʔiʔ √šəʔ́təŋ ʔiʔ kʷɬ √ʔəléʔ-n-əs tsə
ACCOM √walk(ACT) ACCOM REAL √hear-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM

√ŋəʔ́nʔ š(əl)+√škʷáʔəm̓.
√many PL+√swim(ACT)

81. √qʔé(ləŋiʔ.
√girl(PL)

82. √níɬ s-əẇ √čəlʔ=əʔ́qsən s-iʔ √kʷəʔ́n-nəxʷ-s
√it is S-CONTEMP √turn=point S-ACCOM √see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS

tsə √ŋəʔ́nʔ šə+√škʷəʔ́m̓.
DEM √many ACT+√swim

83. √níɬ s-əẇ √čté-ŋ-s, "√ʔəx̣ín kʷəʔ kʷsə
√it is S-CONTEMP √ask-CMDL-3POS √where INFORM DEM

smákʷəčʔ
-

84. √níʔ čə kʷsə √ŋəʔ́nəʔ-s. nə√sé-t-əŋ
√exist EVID DEM √offspring-3POS 1POS√command-CTRAN-PASS

kʷə √yéʔ-ən √čté-n ʔə kʷsə nə-s-č√táləs."

SUB √go-1SUBJ √ask-1SUBJ OBL DEM 1POS-S-HAVE√spouse

85. ʔiʔ √čéʔsəʔ tsə √qʼé(lə)ŋiʔ.
ACCOM √two people DEM √girl(PL)

86. √nít yəxʷ ŋən+√ŋə́nəʔ ʔə tɬ smákʷəč.
√it is CONJEC PL+√offspring OBL DEM -

87. s-əẇ √xˌə́nˀ-əŋ-s s-əẇ nə+√ní(ʔ)ɬ-iyəʔ, "√ɬníŋəɬ
S-CONTEMP √say-CMDL-3POS S-CONTEMP they are √we

√ŋə́nəʔ ʔə tɬ smákʷəč."
√offspring OBL DEM -

88. s-əẇ √yéʔ-t-əŋ-s tsəẇníɬ ʔə tsə √qʼé(lə)ŋiʔ
S-CONTEMP √go-CAUS-PASS-3POS he OBL DEM √girl(PL)

√ʔáxˌʷ-t-əŋ ʔə tsə √mén-s.
√go over to-CAUS-PASS OBL DEM √father-3POS

89. s-əẇ √čté-ŋ-s kʷə √nə́tθəʔ-əs ʔə tsə √qʼé(lə)ŋiʔ
S-CONTEMP √ask-CMDL-3POS SUB √one-3SUBJ OBL DEM √girl(PL)

kʷə s√táləs səʔ.
SUB S√spouse FUT

90. ʔəẇ √mə́kʷ tsə √qʼé(lə)ŋiʔ ʔəẇ čλ̓íʔ kʷsə
CONTEMP √all DEM √girl(PL) CONTEMP HAVE√want DEM

č√táləs ʔə tsə √ʔə́yˀ s√wíẇləs.
HAVE√spouse OBL DEM √good S√young man

91. šxʷ-kʷí+√ẇənˀ-təlˀ ʔə tsə √qʼé(lə)ŋiʔ.
REAS-ACT+√fight-CRECIP OBL DEM √girl(PL)

92. s-əẇ √xˌə́n-əŋ-s, "ʔəẇ √mə́kʷ səʔ sxʷ
S-CONTEMP √say-CMDL-3POS CONTEMP √all FUT 2SUBJ

nə-s√táləs."
1POS-S√spouse

93. s-əẇ xʷ√tél=qən tsə smákʷəč, "√mə́kʷ sxʷ
S-CONTEMP LOC√agree=pharynx DEM - √all 2SUBJ

ʔəẇ √kʷə́n-ət tsə nə-ŋən+√ŋə́nəʔ."
CONTEMP √take,grasp-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM 1POS-PL+√offspring

94. s-əẇ √λ̓éʔ-ə=šən tsə smákʷəč ʔə tsə ʔəẇ
S-CONTEMP √invite-CONNEC=foot DEM - OBL DEM CONTEMP

√mə́kʷ s√čé(lə)ʔčəʔ-s.
√all S√friend(PL)

95. s-əẇ qʷə́+√qʷəlˀ kʷə s-č√táləs tsə
S-CONTEMP ACT+√speak SUB S-HAVE√spouse DEM

ŋən+√ŋə́nəʔ-s.
PL+√offspring-3POS

96. s-əẇ txʷə-č√táləs.
S-CONTEMP MUT-HAVE√spouse

97. √mə´kʷ √tə´s ʔi əw̓ √kʷən-s-í-ŋ
√all √arrive ACCOM CONTEMP √take,grasp-EFFORT-PERSIS-PASS

ʔə tsə s√ŋétxʷ-s.
OBL DEM S√distribute-3POS

98. √ʔáaɬ-t-əŋ tsə s√ɬíl-s ʔə tsə s-nə+√níxʷəɬ.
√go aboard-CAUS-PASS DEM S√bring-3POS OBL DEM S-PL+√canoe

99. √ʔémə̓q-t-əŋ √tə̓kʷ-í-st-əŋ.
√deliver-CTRAN-PASS √go home-REL-CAUS-PASS

100. √náʔtə̓θəʔ ʔə θə √qə́ŋiʔ kʷə s√tə́yəm̓-s tsə
√one person OBL DEM √girl SUB S√put on-3POS DEM

š√ɬíx̣=əs,
S,LOC√paint=face

101. √háʔ √kʷán-ət-əs tsə əw̓
√if,when √see(RES)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM CONTEMP

txʷ√néč̓-əs ʔal̓.
MUT√different-3SUBJ LIMIT

102. √náʔtə̓θəʔ tsə √qə́ŋiʔ ʔə kʷə s√tə́yəm̓-s tsə
√one person DEM √girl OBL SUB S√put on-3POS DEM

š√ɬíx̣=əs
S,LOC√paint=face

103. ʔiʔ √háʔ √kʷán-ət-əs kʷə s-əw̓
ACCOM √if,when √see(RES)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ SUB S-CONTEMP

s√téŋ s-əw̓ txʷ√néč̓-əs.
S√what S-CONTEMP MUT√different-3SUBJ

104. ʔiʔ √háʔ s√λ̓íʔ-s kʷə s-əw̓ s√téŋ s-əw̓
ACCOM √if,when S√want-3POS SUB S-CONTEMP S√what S-CONTEMP

txʷ-əs√ŋénət-s. ʔiʔ √ʔə´q-t-əs.
MUT-STAT√rock-3POS ACCOM √change-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ

105. √háy θə √náʔtə̓θəʔ, √háʔ
√alone,remaining one DEM √one person √if,when

√tə́yəm̓-t-əs tsə s√kʷéʔ-s š√ɬíx̣=əs ʔiʔ √níɬ
√put on-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM S√possess-3POS S,LOC√paint=face ACCOM √it is

s-əw̓ xʷ√yél̓q-əŋ-s √ʔənʔé kʷə s-əw̓ s√téŋ ʔal̓.
S-CONTEMP LOC√return-CMDL-3POS √come SUB S-CONTEMP S√what LIMIT

106. s-iʔ s-əw̓ √tə´s kʷɬ √yéʔ s-əw̓ √tə´s
S-ACCOM S-CONTEMP √arrive REAL √go S-CONTEMP √arrive

kʷɬ ʔiʔ ɬə+√ɬé(ʔ)-əl ʔiʔ kʷɬ √tə´l̓-sət tsə
REAL ACCOM RES+√go ashore-DIR ACCOM REAL √dance(ACT)-REFL DEM

s√páal̓.
S√Raven

107. √tə́l̓-sət tsə √mén-s tsə s√wíw̓ləs.
√dance(ACT)-REFL DEM √father-3POS DEM S√young man

√tə́l-sət tsə √mén ʔə tɬ s√wíw̓ləs.
√dance(ACT)-REFL DEM √father OBL DEM S√young man

108. "√yéʔ ləʔ sən √kʷčé-sə
√go PAST 1SUBJ √make spiritually strong-(CTRAN)-2OBJ

nə-šxʷ√ʔáaɬ-t-àŋə ʔə kʷsə √qʷɬ=éy̓."
1POS-REAS√go aboard-CAUS-2OBJ OBL DEM √log=wood

109. s-əw̓ √tʼáyəm̓-s tsə √qʼéŋiʔ tsə s√kʷéʔ-s
S-CONTEMP √put on-3POS DEM √girl DEM S√possess-3POS

š√ɬíx̣=əs s-əw̓ iʔ √ʔéq-t-əŋ tsəẃníɬ
S,LOC√paint=face S-CONTEMP ACCOM √change-CTRAN-PASS he

s√páal̓ txʷ-əs√ŋénət-t-əŋ.
S√Raven MUT-STAT√rock-CAUS-PASS

110. √níɬ kʷəče tsə š√čə́n=sən-əŋ-s ʔə kʷsə
√it is EXPLAN DEM S,LOC√step=foot-CMDL-3POS OBL DEM

√qʷíŋ-s. √niɬ kʷəče s-əw̓ √yéʔ-s.
√get off-3POS √it is EXPLAN S-CONTEMP √go-3POS

111. √tʼáyəm̓-t-əs tsə √náʔtʼθəʔ tsə
√put on-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM √oneperson DEM

s√kʷéʔ-s š√ɬíx̣=əs √ƛ̓éʔ s-əw̓ iʔ
S√possess-3POS S,LOC√paint=face √again S-CONTEMP ACCOM

√ʔéq-t.
√change-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)

112. s-əw̓ √ƛ̓éʔ txʷə-s√páal̓.
S-CONTEMP √again MUT-S√Raven

113. s-əw̓ √čté-ŋ-s tsəẃníɬ s√wíw̓ləs, "√ʔəx̣ín kʷəʔ
S-CONTEMP √ask-CMDL-3POS he S√young man √where INFORM

kʷsə nə√tén?"
DEM 1POS√mother

114. √qʷə́+qʷəl̓ tsə s√páal̓, "ʔəw̓ √ʔám̓ət kʷəʔ."
ACT+√speak DEM S√Raven CONTEMP √sit-up INFORM

115. s-əw̓ √x̣ə́n-əŋ-s tsəẃníɬ s√wíw̓ləs, "√yéʔ
S-CONTEMP √say-CMDL-3POS he S√young man √go

√ʔəx̣ʷ-t-áŋəs ʔə kʷsə nə√tén."
√go over to-CAUS-1OBJ OBL DEM 1POS√mother

116. s-əw̓ √yéʔ.
S-CONTEMP √go

117. s-əw̓ √tə́s-s tsə √tén-s.
S-CONTEMP √arrive-3POS DEM √mother-3POS

118. kʷɬ txʷə-√ʔə́wə√nəʔ š√kʷə́n̓-əɬ-s.

REAL MUT√not√exist STAT,LOC√see(ACT)-DUR-3POS

119. √níɬ kʷə s√yáθ ʔəw̓
√it is SUB S√long time CONTEMP

√x̣ʷá(ʔ)aŋ̓-t-əs tsə √ŋə´nəʔ-s.
√cry(ACT)-(REL)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM √offspring-3POS

120. s-əw̓ txʷ√ƛ̓él̓əč̓.
S-CONTEMP MUT√blind

121. s-əw̓ √kʷéy̓əx̣-sət tsəw̓níɬ s√wíw̓ləs s-əw̓
S-CONTEMP √shake,stir-REFL he S√young man S-CONTEMP

√ʔíp-ət tsə √tén-s.
√stroke-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM √mother-3POS

122. s√ƛ̓éʔ-s ʔəw̓ txʷ√kʷə´n̓-əɬ.
S√again-3POS CONTEMP √see(ACT)-DUR

123. tsə √ɬqít-s ʔiʔ √ƛ̓éʔ ʔəw̓ txʷə√ʔə´y̓.
DEM √clothes-3POS ACCOM √also CONTEMP MUT√good

124. ʔiʔ √ʔéq-t-əŋ tsə √mén-s s-ew̓
ACCOM √change-CTRAN-3POS DEM √father-3POS S-CONTEMP

txʷə-s√páal̓-s s-əw̓ √kʷə´l-əŋ-s.
MUT-S√Raven S-CONTEMP √fly-CMDL-3POS

125. ʔiʔ √ʔéq-t-əŋ. s-əw̓ txʷə-s√páal̓-s ʔə tsə
ACCOM √change-CTRAN-PASS S-CONTEMP MUT-S√Raven OBL DEM

s√čutéeɬ-s.
S√daughter-in-law-3POS

126. s-iʔ s-əw̓ √kʷə´l-əŋ tsə s√páal̓.
S-ACCOM S-CONTEMP √fly-CMDL DEM S√Raven

127. txʷə-s√páal̓.
MUT-S√Raven

128. √níɬ ʔəw̓ šxʷ√háy-s.
√it is CONTEMP REAS√finish-3POS

3.2. Translation of ‘Raven Abandons his Son.’

1. Every morning he’d go out fishing, the Raven.
2. Raven had lots of children.
3. They were hungry.
4. They were hungry but they didn’t have any food.
5. One day his son was sweeping his father’s canoe.
6. He was sweeping his father’s canoe
7. and he found cooked fish.
8. He found out his father eats while he’s away.
9. He found out his father ate while he was fishing.
10. He got on the canoe and hid early in the morning.

11. Soon the young man gets there and gets on his father's canoe.
12. So he got on.
13. Raven came and got into the canoe.
14. He didn't know his son was hiding on the canoe.
15. Raven didn't know his son already got on the canoe and hid.
16. So Raven went fishing
17. and his son was on the canoe hiding.
18. So he went fishing and he could hear his father catching fish.
19. Raven went ashore at the point.
20. He was cutting his catch.
21. So he washed it.
22. So he barbecued it.
23. And the young man was still hiding in the canoe.
24. So he figured, "My father's barbecue must be ready."
25. He smelled the good aroma of the barbecue.
26. He jumped up where his father was barbecuing.
27. The parent was startled.
28. "Goodness! It's my child!"
29. There was a big log floating in the water.
30. So he said to his son, "Look at the seagull.
31. He's eating something."
32. So the young man said, "He's not eating anything, father."
33. Raven kept on insisting that there was something that the seagull was eating.
34. So he told the young man, "Get on the canoe. We'll go see."
35. So they went way out in the water. They got there.
36. So they got to the drifting log.
37. So he told his son to get off. "Board the log and see what the seagull was eating.
38. Get off and see what that seagull who flew away was eating."
39. "There !bu!is!eu! nothing."
40. Raven kept on insisting, telling his son to get off.
41. So he got off.
42. He got on the log.
43. So when his son got on the log he pushed it away.
44. So he went back to his barbecue.
45. So he ate it.
46. He finished everything he had cooked.
47. Day after day after day he was on the log.
48. For a long time he was on the log.
49. He told his son to get on the log.
50. So he pushed it away and left.
51. So he went ashore.
52. So he ate his barbecue.
53. Then he finished eating and he went home.
54. Only his son floating on the log.
55. Day and night, day and night.

56. He never came back again.
57. The young man cried and he sang.
58. "I've been abandoned by greedy Raven."
59. He was still there, the young man.
60. He was still there when he heard something coming.
61. Then he saw a nice young man
62. with a white robe.
63. The young man was asked by the white-robe, "What happened to you?"
64. So he said, "I got abandoned by greedy Raven."
65. So the young man asked, "Who are you?"
66. Then he replied, the nice, white-robed guy, "It is I, Transformer!"
67. He said to Raven's son, "Stand up!"
68. So he stood up.
69. Transformer called him to come to him.
70. He was taken and brushed all over by Transformer.
71. He looked at what he was wearing and it became nice, too.
72. So Transformer told him to forget about what was done to him.
73. "Forget your being fixed up."
74. He told him to go look for a wife over at Smák̓ʷəč.
75. "How am I going to get there?"
76. "What you're on now is what you'll be on to get there."
77. So he went on the log.
78. So he went over to Smák̓ʷəč.
79. So the young man went ashore and walked.
80. He was walking and he heard a lot of them swimming.
81. They were girls.
82. So he went around the point and he did see a bunch of swimmers.
83. So he asked, "Where is Smák̓ʷəč?
84. He's got a daughter. I was told to go and ask for her as my wife."
85. There were two girls.
86. They must have been daughters of Smák̓ʷəč.
87. So they said, "We are the daughters of Smák̓ʷəč."
88. So the girls took him over to their father.
89. He asked for one of the girls to be his wife.
90. Both of the girls wanted to be the wife of the nice young man.
91. The girls were fighting over him.
92. So he said, "You'll both be my wives."
93. Smák̓ʷəč agreed. "Take both of my daughters."
94. Smák̓ʷəč invited everbody, all his friends.
95. He told them that his daughters had gotten married.
96. So they got married.
97. Everyone that got there carried a gift to give them.
98. They put the gifts into the canoes.
99. They brought them home.
100. One of the girls, when she puts paint on her face,

101. when she looks at something she can change it into whatever she wants.
102. One of the girls puts paint on her face,
103. and if she looks at something it becomes different; it changes.
104. And if she wants to, anything becomes a rock. She changes it.
105. The other one, when she puts on !bu!her!eu! paint it will come back to whatever it was.
106. They arrived and when they arrived, they were coming ashore, Raven was dancing.
107. The young man's father was dancing. The young man's father was dancing.
108. "I was going to make you strong. That's why I sent you off on that log."
109. So the girl put on her paint and changed him, Raven, into a rock.
110. That's what they used for a stepping stone when they got off.
111. The other one put on her paint and changed it back.
112. So he became Raven again.
113. Then the young man asked him, "Where is my mother?"
114. Raven told him, "She's at home."
115. So the young man said, "Take me to my mother."
116. So they went.
117. So they arrived at his mother's.
118. She couldn't see anymore.
119. It was because she was always crying for her son.
120. So she became blind.
121. So he moved, the young man, and brushed his mother.
122. She could see again.
123. Her clothes were nice, too.
124. He changed, his father, into a raven and flew away.
125. He was changed into a raven by his daughter-in-law.
126. So Raven flew away.
127. So he became a raven.
128. That's the end.

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