DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 091 926 FL 005 019

AUTHOR Gibson, James A.
TITLE Shuswap Grammatical Structure. Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 5, No. 5.
INSTITUTION Hawaii Univ., Honolulu. Dept. of Linguistics.
PUB DATE May 73
NOTE 147p.; Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hawaii

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$6.60 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *American Indian Languages; *Descriptive Linguistics; Doctoral Theses; *Grammar; Language Research; Morphology (Languages); Morphophonemics; Phonology; Structural Analysis; Structural Grammar; Syntax
IDENTIFIERS *Shuswap

ABSTRACT

This dissertation describes the grammatical structure of Shuswap, an American Indian language of the Salishan family spoken in British Columbia, Canada. The research was carried out on the Naskanlith Reserve near Chase, British Columbia, during the summers of 1966-69. Prior to this study, the language was last investigated before the turn of the century. The grammar is described in four parts: phonology, morphophonemics, morphology, and syntax. In addition to the detailed structural analysis, the author includes a preface describing the historical background of Shuswap. (Author/PM)

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Volume 5, Number 5
May 1973

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SHUSWAP GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN LINGUISTICS

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Preface

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The Salishan linguistic family extends along the Pacific coast from northern Oregon to central British Columbia and from the coast to the Rocky Mountains. It occupied the southern interior of British Columbia, most of the interior of the state of Washington, the northern tip of Idaho, and the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains in northern Montana.

There are twenty-six Salishan languages divided into two major groups, coastal languages and interior languages. The interior languages are further divided into two branches: the southern group consists of Columbian, Okanagon-Colville, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene; the northern group includes Lillooet, Thompson, and Shuswap. Shuswap is spoken in south-central British Columbia, Canada. The language includes at least two different dialects: the northern dialect is spoken along the Fraser and North Thompson rivers from Quesnel and Clearwater to Ashcroft and Kamloops; the southern dialect is spoken along the South Thompson River from Chase to Windemere.

This field research was undertaken during the summers of 1966-1969 (a total of about eight months). At that time there had been little research concerning the Shuswap language, and published information consisted of a few pages of grammatical notes and a handful of wordlists, a half

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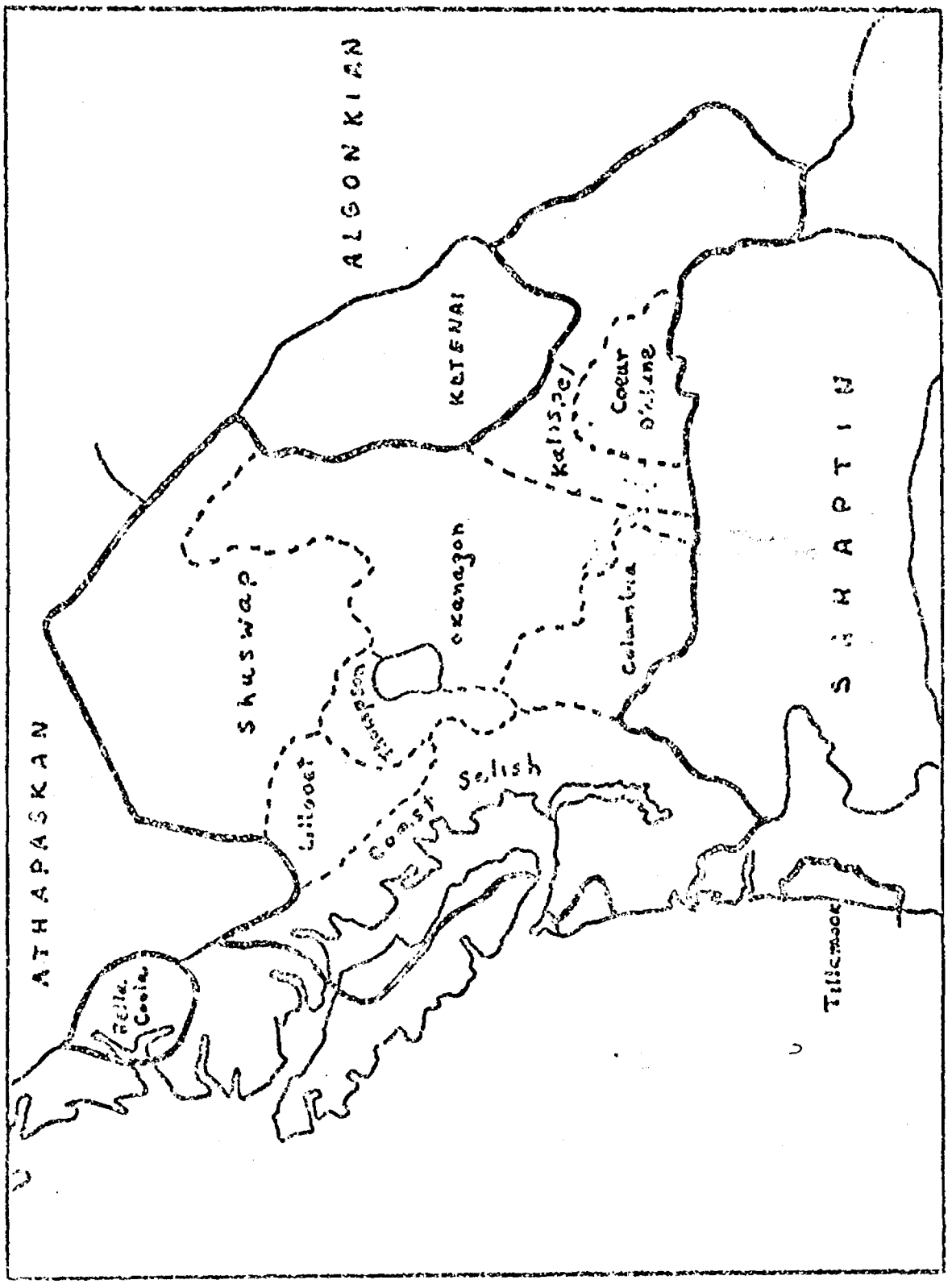

Portion of Pacific Northwest showing Salishan language family (after Sutcles and Elmendorf).

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century old. Shuswap shares basic features with other interior languages, of which there are already published accounts--but all of these are of the southern group (Reichard, Vogt, Carlson). It shares still more features with its close relatives Thompson and Lillooet--but both of these await modern description. Because of complex morphophonemic developments, surface forms of the dialect here studied are quite different even from the northern dialect; Kuipers (1970) has discussed the transitive forms, which can be seen to differ in a number of respects. Morphologically and syntactically southern Shuswap is very different from the other dialects and languages in the published accounts.

The word Shuswap is a native term for all bands which share this language. Shuswap and Shushwap are englicizations of sx̌ép̓mox̌ 'the widely distributed (or scattered) people' (the Shuswap occupy the largest geographical area of all the northern Salishan peoples). The Carrier word Atna or Atnah 'stranger' occurs as an appellation for the Shuswap in the early literature.

Shuswap is nearing extinction; younger members of the society do not speak it, many middle-aged speakers are only moderately fluent, leaving only the eldest generation to maintain the tradition. Attempts to reestablish the language through tribal and public education projects have so far failed. This unfortunate condition has not always been the case, however. There was a period of linguistic

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revitalization that lasted from about 1890 to 1910, when the culture was already in an advanced stage of decline. A Belgian missionary Lejeune who had spent many years among the Salishan groups in the interior devised a syllabic orthography for these languages. The shorthand, as it was called, was received with a great deal of enthusiasm. A considerable number of Salishans became literate in the difficult shorthand and used it actively for a period of ten to twenty years. The Indians are still very proud of this period, and Lejeune is much esteemed for his invention and contribution to the Indians.

There was also an appreciation of bilingualism and multilingualism that has disappeared in this century. They are bordered on the northwest by Athabaskan groups (Chilcotin, Carrier, Sekani and Beaver), on the northeast by Algonquians and Siouans (Cree and Blackfoot, and Assiniboin) and on the east by the Kutenai. Their western and southern neighbors were Salishan speaking: Lillooet (west), Thompson and Okanagon (west and south). Commerce occurred with all bordering groups, but the most active intercourse with non-Salishan peoples existed with the Carrier and Chilcotin in the north and the Kutenai in the east. There was continuing interchange between the Salishan speaking groups. Many southern Shuswap men were fluent in Kutenai because of the custom of many young men to spend a year or two among the Kutenai before settling down at home. Many Shuswap spoke

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Thompson fluently, and Lillooet and Okanagon were manageable with a week or two of effort. Before the turn of the century a number of southern Shuswap spoke French due to the influence of the Belgian missions established in the interior, and Chinook Jargon was widely used because of the fur trade, gold rush and general white immigration into the area. English has replaced all these languages--including, almost, Shuswap.

Lastly, there was pride in knowing and speaking one's own language well and having status because of one's skills. Such persons are now rare. Linguistic status had its roots as much in cultural attitudes concerning linguistic competence as it did in the actual level of performance. To qualify, one must have age and experience, a sense of social concern and a reputation for unstinting generosity. At the same time, he must know the old customs and stories, display perfect knowledge of grammar and stylistics and have a full command of the lexicon. The 'old language' that linguists seem to encounter wherever they work in North America refers, in this case, to the rich cultural vocabulary that has been lost in the process of linguistic acculturation. Persons who have achieved this distinction are asked to speak at weddings, funerals, tribal meetings and other public gatherings; they are the repositories of cultural history and tradition. At the other end of the status scale are those--lacking in every qualification--who assume or pretend to

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have the necessary qualifications. These people invariably make fools of themselves in public, to the delight of the other Indians.

My informants are members of the eldest generation. They are generally acknowledged to be the most capable speakers in the area; they have high linguistic status. Aimée and Anthony August were my principal informants. Mrs. August supplied the material necessary for detailed lexical and grammatical analysis. She was my main resource for this study. Mr. August possesses a fund of lexical information concerning all aspects of tribal life. He also acted as arbiter on all linguistic and cultural matters. Isaac Willard related many tales from a seemingly endless supply, while his wife and their children served as a pleasant and appreciative audience. Additional informants were contacted for dialect investigation at Kamloops, Salmon Arm and Enderby.

The main work was conducted at the Naskanlith Reserve, five miles west of Chase, British Columbia, on the north bank of the South Thompson River. The Naskanlith people are the westernmost in the west-east continuum speaking the southern dialect of Shuswap. Socially and linguistically they are representative of all the bands on the South Thompson. In many respects, patterns of social behavior and organization are very similar to those that existed before contact (Boas 1890, Teit 1909, Ray 1939).

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The reserve is small, consisting of a few thousand acres that contain a part of the aboriginal fishing grounds that belonged to the village and the woodlands that extend beyond. The land is not suitable for agriculture or grazing on a scale that will support the population; the forests are too limited in size to interest the timber industry, and the fisheries are rigidly protected by the state. Men find seasonal employment on ranches, in the fruit industry and in the local logging industry. The work is strenuous, wages are low, and there are no meaningful careers. By middle age they are retired; their stamina gone, their health poor, and--very likely--disabled by an accident in the woods. Young women sometimes work as babysitters and domestics, but most marry early, have families and do not seek outside employment. The number of persons actually in residence on the reserve is small--200 people would be a generous approximation--although there are about twice that number of enrolled members. The population consists of a few elderly Indians, a larger number of middle-aged people and a considerable number of children and young adults.

The village consists of about a dozen separate households, most of which are related by varying degrees of kinship. Individual households are loosely connected by bonds of kinship or mutual interest, and the latter is frequently the stronger reason for association. Certain households do not participate in any associations in the

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village, having closer ties at Chase Reserve five miles upstream. Formerly, small numbers of villages affiliated for mutual aid and protection. These weak confederations were institutionalized by the government; the Indians at Naskanlith, for example, are connected with a small group of Indians about fifteen miles upstream. They jointly elect a chief and council. In practice, however, the villages are autonomous and operate independently of each other, the chief acting as liaison between the two. Beyond this minimal extension of the band, the Naskanlith Indians identify most closely with the Shuswap with whom they are routinely in contact, the bands on the South Thompson. The Shuswap of the Fraser and North Thompson, except for their linguistic affinity, are nearly as remote as the Lillooet, Thompson and Okanagon in their genealogical reckoning.

Active primary research in the northwest came about as a result of the political tension that existed between the United States and Great Britain over the disposition of the Oregon Territory. The government commissioned the United States Exploring Expedition (1838-1842) commanded by Lieutenant Charles Wilkes to evaluate the geographical, economic, political and military situation in the Pacific (with special interest in the northwest). Horatio Hale, serving as linguist and ethnographer to the expedition, undertook the first detailed investigation of the Salishan languages. Of direct interest here, Hale collected

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considerable lexical and some grammatical material directly from Shuswap informants. The lexical material was published in 1846, but, unfortunately, he chose to publish his Selish (southern interior) notes instead of the Shuswap data (Hale 1846).

The first important classification of Salishan languages resulted from Hale's studies; ten years earlier Gallatin (1836) had posited a Salishan linguistic family on the basis of an anonymous vocabulary from the Duponceau collection (Okanagon), but had classified Atnah (Shuswap) as belonging to a different family. Hale proposed a Tsihaili-Salish family consisting of four major branches: northern, middle, western and southern. The classification proposed a model of organization that served as the basis for future historical study of the family: recognition of the fundamental division of the family into coast languages and interior languages (implicit in the family name Tsihaili-Selish); separation of the coast languages into Skwale (middle branch--Puget Sound in current terms), Tsihailish (western branch--Olympic), Nsietshawus (southern--Oregon); and separation of the interior languages into Shushwapumsh (Shuswap--northern interior), Selish (Kalispel and Spokan), Skitsuish (Coeur d'Alene) and Piscous (Columbia). The classification omits the coast languages of British Columbia, and the northern interior languages are represented only by Shuswap. The groups on the upper Columbia are underdifferentiated. It

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should be noted that Hale relied heavily on secondary sources (interviews with interpreters, traders and missionaries and publications by the same) for much of his linguistic data and distributional information. Nevertheless, the classification is remarkably accurate. During the forty years following Hale's research, study in Salishan linguistics consisted largely of discovering additional languages and identifying them as members of the family through the method of inspectional comparison of lexical items. Dawson (1891), Gibbs (1877) and Tolmie (1877) were important contributors. On the other hand, there was little increase in knowledge of Salishan grammatical structure.

A second phase in Salishan linguistics was initiated in 1886 when Boas went to the northwest to pursue the study of the Bella Coola. Two years later he was employed as linguist and ethnographer by the Committee for the Ethnological Survey of Canada of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; he went to the field in this capacity from 1888 to 1897. When the committee was terminated in 1897 Boas had organized the Jesup expeditions which went to the field from 1897 to 1902. In the course of his field trips Boas amassed considerable lexical and grammatical data, but his publications seemed oriented to defining the interesting problems of origin, distribution and diversity--historical questions. And the work of his students (Farrand, Frachtenberg, Haeberlin, Hdel, Jacobs and Reichard), although synchronic,

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seemed ultimately focused on historical problems. His understanding of Salishan structure can be seen in his early structural sketches of the Canadian languages and, more elaborately, in the works of his students.

The grammatical sketches of the northern interior languages show a few of the salient grammatical features; the Shuswap sketch, which is representative, discusses reduplication and pronouns (Boas 1890). Much later his student Gladys Reichard (1930) published a grammar of Coeur d'Alene. At about the same time, Hans Vogt (1940) presented his excellent study of Kalispel. For many years our total knowledge of interior Salish grammar was contained in the works of Boas, Reichard and Vogt. In Boas' (1889) survey of the languages of British Columbia, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap and Okanagon are listed as distinct subdivisions of the family. Later, in 1890, the four languages are subclassified into three groups: Lillooet-Thompson, Shuswap and Okanagon. Finally Boas presented a classification of the languages as defined by sound change patterns (Boas and Haeberlin 1927). There were nine distinct interior languages: Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Okanagon, Columbian, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel and Flathead. It is interesting that Boas (1898), who was later to react negatively to Sapir's reduction of Powell's classification, himself then supported a number of reductions, including the following that would

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appear in Sapir's classification: Haida-Tlingit (Na-Dene); and Kwakiutl-Chemakum-Salish (Mosan) with Algonkian (Algonkin-Wakashan).

Swadesh (1950, 1952), using the method of glotto-chronology, classified the interior languages into five subdivisions and seven languages (Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagon, Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, Columbia and Coeur d'Alene). Thompson and Shuswap constituto a single division and only barely qualify as independent languages.

A comparison of these classifications reveals two continuing areas of conflict: the relationship between Lillooet, Thompson and Shuswap and that between Spokan, Kalispel and Flathead. Similar problems existed elsewhere with the internal classification of the family. It had become evident that the problems in Salishan historical linguistics would not be solved by another review of the Boas archives--modern grammatical studies were required. The third and current phase of research came about partly as a response to this need. Work is being carried out in all branches of the family. The northern interior languages have received considerable attention: work is in progress on Lillooet and Thompson, Kuipers is preparing a grammar of northern Shuswap, and this study deals with southern Shuswap. Research has concentrated on grammatical description, which has, in turn, provided the foundation from which modern historical studies have derived (Elmendorf 1965,

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Kinkade and Sloat 1972, Kuipers 1970, Suttles and Elmendorf 1963). For detailed discussion of research in all branches of the family, the reader should consult Thompson (1970).

I wish to thank the National Science Foundation for generous support of this study from 1966 through 1968. I also wish to thank the American Philosophical Society for funding my work during the summer of 1969.

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SHUSWAP GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

by James A. Gibson

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Division of the University of Hawaii in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT

This dissertation describes the grammatical structure of an American Indian language spoken in British Columbia, Canada. The research was carried out on the Naskenlith Reserve (southern dialect of Shuswap) near Chase, B. C. during the summers of 1966-1969. This work resumes the study of a language last investigated before the turn of the century. The grammar is described in four parts: phonology, morphophonemics, morphology and syntax.

There are thirty-five consonants defined by three manners: stop, spirant and resonant; and seven classes of articulation: labial, apical, frontal, lateral, velar, postvelar and laryngeal. Two subseries of oppositions add further contrasts: stops and resonants occur glottalized and unglottalized; velar and postvelar stops and spirants

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occur labialized and unlabialized. The series of contrasts are generally parallel except there is no plain lateral stop (affricate) or glottalized apical stop; labial and apical spirants are also lacking, as is a labialized postvelar resonant. The lateral and frontal stops are affricated. The vowels are i e o a u o.

Morphophonemic changes include assimilation, dissimilation, loss, openthesis and stress shifts. A notable morphophonomic feature of the language is the replacement of posttonic resonants in unstressed syllables by vowels: y > i, w > u, m,n > i or e, depending on the phonological environment. Another feature is the shifting of word final glottal stop to glottalization of the word's latest resonant.

The morphology treats word structure. Words are simple roots, or roots extended by lexical and grammatical affixes. Reduplicative affixes express plurality and diminuitivity. Lexical affixes have reference to familiar cultural objects; by extensional reference they signify a number of abstract concepts of form, design and relationship. Grammatical affixes deal with locative and aspectual distinctions. Words thus derived are primary derivatives. These words can be further derived by the same series of affixes resulting in secondary derivatives. There are three classes of words: intransitives, transitives and intransitive-transitives. Words can be inflected for person.

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All words are predicative; they can occur as complete, independent utterances. The distinction between noun and verb is not clearly defined in the language. Notions implicit in the predicate are optionally expressed in predicate complements. Additional detail is conveyed by adjunct phrases. The predicate with its optional complements and adjuncts forms a clause. Sentences are simple, complex and compound. Certain types of interrogation, modality and negation involve restricted words in complex predications. Elsewhere, temporal, aspectual and modal notions are conveyed by proclitic and enclitic particles accompanying the predicate. Other particles are locative in significance and resemble English prepositions in their function. The deictic system is particularly rich and complex.

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1. Phonology

1.1. Consonants. There are thirty-five consonants in Chase speech, defined by four manners and seven primary positions. Certain phonemes have marginal status, occurring only rarely; in the following chart they are included in parentheses.

	Labial	Apical	Lateral	Frontal	Front Velar	Postvelar	Labialized Front Velar	Labialized Postvelar	Laryngeal
Obstruents									
Stops Plain	p	t	ƛ	c	k	q	k^w	q^w	ʔ
Stops Glottalized	p̓	(t̓)	ƛ̓	c̓	k̓	q̓	k^w̓	q^w̓	
Spirants Voiceless			ɬ	s	x	χ	x^w	$χ^w$	(h)
Resonants									
Plain	m	n	l	y	g	g̣	w		
Glottalized	m̓	n̓	l̓	y̓			w̓		

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1.2. Manner. There is a fundamental cleavage between obstruents (voiceless) and resonants (voiced).

1.21. Obstruents, in turn, subdivide into spirants and stops (including affricates), and the stops occur in opposing pairs, glottalized and unglottalized. In general, the obstruents show a full set of oppositions. However, there is no plain voiceless lateral stop and no labial or apical spirant. Strict phonetic parallelism prevails among the obstruents except in the frontal set, where we find c̲ [tˇˢ] and c̲̓ [t̓ˢ]; s̲ includes both [š] and [s].

cíλ̓ 'sap' [tˇˢíλ̓]

spéc̓i 'rope' [spɛ́t̓ˢi]

c̲ c̲̓ λ̲̓ are regularly affricates; other obstruents are basically simple stops.

Stops in word final position are released with aspiration.

kikéyt 'chicken hawk' [kikǽytʰ]

sxʷóptx 'dunce' [šxʷópʰtʰx]

But plain stops are frequently unreleased before a homorganic resonant.

sxʷépməx 'Shuswap' [šxʷǽp̚mɪx]

stuləlétləkʷ 'fisher' [stuləlǽt̚ləkʷ]

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Glottalized stops are frequently accompanied by affricative release.

ṗələ́ṅ 'bark of tree' [p̓ᶲɬləə́ṅ]

scík̓ 'seed' [sčík̓ˣ]

1.22. Resonants. The resonants (abbreviated R for general reference) include the nasals m n, the lateral l, semivowels y w, and voiced spirants g g. They parallel the obstruents exactly back to the front velar position, but there is only the single element w corresponding to the labialized obstruents; the front-back opposition is lacking.

Resonants ṁ ṅ l̓ ẏ ẇ occur laryngealized. They do not occur in word initial position.

suk̓ʷəmíṅ 'butcher knife'

xʷáẏ 'Come on!'

k̓ə́lop 'mattress'

sqəléẇə 'beaver'

1.3. Position. In the following paragraphs examples are cited for each consonant in initial, medial and final position, insofar as that is possible.

1.31. Labials are all bilabial.

p púnɬp 'juniper'

spəqpə́q 'saskatoon berry'

ɬkə́p 'cooking pot'

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p̓ p̓élt 'brimful'

qéʔp̓xʷəlp 'hazelnut tree'

súp̓ 'breathe'

m mús 'four'

suxʷmém̓ɬp 'nettle'

x̣əyúm 'big'

m̓ st̓əm̓ált 'cow'

suxʷmə́m̓ɬp 'nettle'

1.32. Apicals are all apicoalveolar.

t tuwíwt 'boy'

x̣ʷutéɬp 'rhubarb'

snéwt 'wind'

t̓ st̓əm̓ált 'cow'

tət̓úpsʔ 'great grandchild'

Glottalized apicals occur in two examples. The forms are undoubtedly Salishan--possibly Shuswap, but probably loanwords from the languages to the south.

n nə́x̣ʷəx̣ʷ 'woman'

wunə́x̣ 'huckleberry'

sc̓uxə́n 'hindquarter'

n̓ xəƛ̓əqʷumín̓ 'sewing machine'

x̣əq̓əʔústn̓ 'wedge'

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1.33. Frontals have in common involvement of the front of the tongue with the area behind the upper teeth.

c (laminoalveolar affricate)

cíʌ 'sap'

ʔescók 'squirrel'

skícəc 'visitor'

c̓ (glottalized apicoalveolar affricate)

c̓íʔ 'deer'

méc̓poʔ 'wasp'

ləhéc̓ 'otter'

s (laminoalveolar slit spirant [š] before [i u w x^{w}]; apicoalveolar groove spirant [s] elsewhere.

sí̓cə 'blanket' [šíc̓ə]

swupcín 'beard' [šwupčín]

sc̓uxén 'hindquarter' [sc̓oxǽn]

ʔestkíx 'fall over suddenly' [ʔestkíx]

pás 'powder' [pás]

y (laminoalveolar semivowel)

yóq^{w}iy 'decayed tree'

k^{w}iyéwt 'nightingale'

sxəc̓éy 'stick'

y̓ (glottalized laminoalveolar semivowel)

x^{w}úy̓ 'Come on!'

xəluwéy̓wulx 'jump inside'

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1.34. Laterals tend toward palatal coloring.

ƛ̓ (glottalized laminoalveolar affricate)

ƛ̓éne 'ear'

sxʷuƛ̓éy 'mountain goat'

ciƛ̓ 'sap'

ɬ (laminoalveolar lateral spirant)

ɬéqʷume? 'cup'

wíwuɬwuɬ 'crane'

?éɬ 'and'

l (voiced laminoalveolar affricate [λ] as first member in postvocalic consonant sequences; elsewhere apicoalveolar lateral continuant [l])

k̓ʷúln. 'I made it.' [k̓ʷóλn̩.]

sɬomált 'cow' [sɬomaλtʰ]

líxə 'toe' [loᴧxʌ]

skʷél 'quill' [skʷǽəl]

sqəléwə 'beaver' [sqʌlǽ?wə]

l̓ (glottalized laminoalveolar continuant)

píl̓oxə 'skirt'

spúl̓ətn 'bed'

1.35. Front velars are produced by juxtaposition of the dorsum to the area including the rear of the palate and front of the velum. They include an added opposition of simple vs. labialized (the latter written with raised ʷ following).

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k kípkəʔ 'tweezers'

kikéyt 'chicken hawk'

ʔéləlk 'a species of berry'

k̓ k̓íst 'bad'

xsik̓éwt 'valley'

sxʷík̓ 'dried fish'

x xəmén 'enemy'

skəʔxís 'grizzly bear'

sxénx 'rock'

g (voiced spirant with weak friction, labialized before rounded vowels)

gə́ʔ 'your' (consists of g 'this' + əʔ 'your')

pəgús 'powdered face'

kʷ kʷətíxə 'louse'

skʷúkʷskʷe 'blue jay'

məcúkʷ 'blackcap'

k̓ʷ k̓ʷəsíxʷ 'goose'

k̓ʷúk̓ʷutnə 'mouse'

sukʷsík̓ʷ 'brittle'

xʷ xʷuk̓ékst 'pocketknife'

xʷuxʷulə́ʔ 'meadowlark'

sxʷíxʷ 'lily'

w (labialized front velar semivowel)

wíʔ 'finish'

wusəwíshə 'robin'

ɬʔéw 'slush'

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ẃ   sqəlé̓wə 'beaver'

xəkəlóẃutn 'handbag'

1.36. Postvelars.

q   qə́p̓xʷ 'hazelnut'

spəqmíx 'swan'

q̓ʷé?q 'squawfish'

q̓   q̓ixə́n 'swampberry'

scəqəcəq̓ə́m 'thunder'

mə́q̓ 'full'

x̣   x̣áns 'lynx'

sqáx̣a 'dog'

sq̓ʷáx̣ 'smoke'

g   (voiced spirant with weak friction, labialized before rounded vowels, has been recorded only in prevocalic position)

gəyə́p 'angry'

gosə́s 'sunshine'

qʷ   qʷosə́y 'water moss'

cəqʷəq̓ín 'redheaded woodpecker'

?ə́stoqʷ 'fallen cedar'

q̓ʷ   q̓ʷúct 'fat'

yə́q̓ʷiy 'decayed tree'

səsúq̓ʷ 'blue grouse'

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x̣ʷ x̣ʷutéɬp 'rhubarb'

x̣ʷéx̣ʷonə 'hummingbird'

cox̣ʷc̓óx̣ʷ 'willowberry'

1.37. Laryngeals.

ʔ ʔetíx 'sleep'

sx̣ʷúʔxʷe 'fool hen'

lóʔ 'good'

h has been recorded only in prevocalic position

héwot 'flying squirrel'

ləhéc̓ 'otter'

1.4. Vowels present themselves in a 2 x 3 system.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ə	u
Low	e	a	o

The terms high, low, central and back are to be taken as relative rather than absolute; some high vowels have quite low variants, and some central vowels have realizations that are very far back. The conditions for allophonic distribution include segmental phenomena, syllable structure and stress. Personal stylistic habits also play a considerable role in determining the number of allophones and their distribution. Variation of quite distinct

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vowels is characteristic of the primary informant's speech. Her husband's vowels, however, vary very little from the fundamental norms. (In his speech, a single phone occurs where she has allophonic distinctions.)

Consonants fall into three classes with respect to their effect on vowel allophony. Front consonants include the labials, apicals, laterals, and frontals; middle consonants are the front velars and laryngeals; back consonants are the postvelars.

Higher vowels occur in front environments, lower vowels in middle environments, still lower vowels in back environments. Mixed environments consist of front, middle and back consonants in various combinations before and after vowels. The consonant following the vowel has a slightly stronger effect than the one preceding. Middle consonants are almost neutral in effect, and in front-middle combinations there is considerable free variation between higher and lower variants. Back consonants override others in all combinations.

Closed syllables are characterized by higher vowels, open syllables by lower vowels.

a and o are long vowels. Other vowels are somewhat shorter. Vowels in the environment of nasal consonants are slightly nasalized.

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1.41. i (relatively high front unrounded vowels)

[ɵ] higher mid front adjacent to postvelars (accompanied by central off-glide preceding velars)

c líq̓ 'a grave' [č lɵ́ᴬq̓]

líxɵ 'toe' [lɵ́ᴬχ]

c qʷíƛs 'smile' [č qʷɵ́ƛs]

q̓íliyɵ 'sweathouse' [q̓ɵ́liyɵ]

[i] high front unrounded vowels elsewhere

k̓ʷɵsíxʷ 'goose' [k̓ʷɵsíxʷ]

wílɵ 'moss' [wílae]

1.42. e (relatively low front unrounded vowels)

[E] lower mid and [æ] upper low front in free variation in front environments (especially frequent in those involving a labial):

lɵpép 'the pope' [lɪpÉpʰ]

méƛkɵʔ 'spices' [mÉƛkɵʔ]

qʷotéi 'lard' [qʷɔ tÉɪ]

qʷočéč 'depart' [qʷɔ čÉč]

in mixed front-middle environments:

xɵkɵléẅutn 'handbag' [xɵkɵlÉẅtn]

sxʷuƛ̓ékst 'knife' [šxʷuƛ̓Éksᵗʰ]

and before pause:

wílɵ 'moss' [wílE]

tɵlkʷúsɵ 'boil round objects' [tɵlkʷósE]

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[å] low central unrounded adjacent to postvelars

qələmúx^w 'person' [qåləmǽx^w]

ƛ̓óqx̣ə 'awl' [ƛ̓ʹåqx̣]

[ä] advanced low central in middle environments in free variation with [æ]

sə́wlk^{w}ə 'water' [sä́wlk^{w}ə]

ʔeyúʔ 'carrot' [ʔäyúʔ]

[æ] higher low front unrounded elsewhere

q^{w}əʔép 'sack' [q^{w}ʌʔǽp^h]

xəɬə́q^{w}umeʔ 'cup' [xəɬʌ́q^{w}omæʔ]

1.43. ə (relatively high central unrounded vowels)

[ɨ] high central unrounded in unstressed front environments in free variation with [ə]

təpətústn 'window' [tɨpɨtústn̩]

lə́m̓ələ 'pet a child' [lǽm̓ɨlə]

[ʌ] upper low back unrounded in back environments

x̣ətə́qs 'first in a sequence' [x̣ʌ̂tʌ́qs]

q^{w}ə́ysp 'buffalo' [q^{w}ʌ́ysp]

[ə] mid central unrounded vowels elsewhere

skə́k̓iʔ 'spider' [skə́k̓iʔ]

kəcxə́ɬx^w 'pitch camp' [kɨcxə́ɬx^w]

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1.44. a (lower back unrounded vowels: [ɑ])

pás 'face powder' [pás]

sqáx̣a 'dog' [sqáx̣]

x̣olánk 'steep hillside' [x̣olánkʰ]

lamín 'drag' [lamín]

1.45. u (relatively high back rounded vowels)

[ʌ] mean mid back rounded adjacent to postvelars

sqʷuqʷú? 'traps' [sqʷʌqʷʌ́?]

xət qʷúsi?. 'I plugged it.' [xətʌqʷʌ́si?]

[o̞] raised high mid back rounded in the environment of middle consonants; in free variation with [u] (especially after a front and before a middle consonant)

xʷúy̓ 'Come on!' [xʷo̞y̓]

kʷúln. 'I made it.' [kʷo̞ɬn̩]

[ʊ] lower high back rounded before labialized prevelars, in free variation with [u]

qələmúxʷ 'person' [qə̀ləmʊ́xʷ]

cucécunukʷ 'chatter' [čučɪ́čunʊkʷ]

[u] high back rounded elsewhere

spúlotn 'bed' [spúɬɪtn̩]

stúnx 'nephew' [stúnx]

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1.46. o (lower mid back rounded vowels: [ɔ])

nóx̣ʷox̣ʷ 'woman' [nóx̣ʷɔx̣ʷ]

sənx̣ʷóx̣ʷoluxʷ 'coyote' [sɨnx̣ʷɔ́x̣ʷɔlʊxʷ]

xənósə 'squint' [xənɔ́sə]

kʷəlósxə? 'gold' [kʷɨlɔ́sxə?]

1.5. Stress is realized as a combination of relative intensity and pitch height. Primary stress (´) combines relatively high amplitude and high pitch. Secondary stress (`) (unmarked in the transcription) consists of relatively low amplitude and low pitch. Each word has a single primary stressed syllable; other syllables have secondary stress.

1.6. Intonation. Interrogative contours (?) rise in pitch at the end of a sentence. Terminal contours (.) fall. Other details of the intonational system must await full analysis of the complex phenomena involved.

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2. Morphophonemics

2.1. Obstruent changes.

2.11. //t// is omitted before coronal stops:

//t// > t

ʔestóḵʷ 'bob to surface' //ʔest-tóḵʷ//

//tƛ// > ƛ

ʔesƛíḵʷ 'stops raining for a time' //ʔest-ƛíḵʷ//

//tc// > c, //tc̓// > c̓

ʔescék 'squirrel' //ʔest-cék//

ʔesc̓óx̣ʷ 'groundhog' //ʔest-c̓óx̣ʷ//

//ts// contracts to c

wík̓c. 'He sees it.' //wík̓-t-s//

2.12. //c// is replaced by s before coronal stops:

//ct// > st, //cƛ// > sƛ

s téx̣. 'It is pulled.' //c téx̣//

s ƛúm. 'It is sucked.' //c ƛúm//

//cc// > sc

s cólstn. 'I have stretched it.' //c cól-s-t-en//

s cox̣ʷúsolp̓tn. 'I have stirred the fire.'

//c cx̣ʷ-ús-lp̓-t-en//

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2.13. //s// following //s// is replaced by c, //ss// > sc.

toscíin 'pound food' //ts-síin//

x̣ʷux̣ʷuyscíin 'stingy with food' //x̣ʷy-x̣ʷuys-síin//

2.14. //t// is lost after //n//, before //n s x//, except //-tn// 'implement' which does not conform to the rule.

xʷúln. 'I bored it.' //xʷúl-n-t-en// (see 2.21.)

xʷúlnx. 'You bored it.' //xʷúl-n-t-ex//

2.15. Glottalized consonants are replaced by their plain counterparts in reduplicative affixes; in this adjustment ƛ̓ is replaced by t and syllable final ʔ by zero.

secsíče 'blankets' //sč-síč-em//

tkʌ̓kmín 'poles' //ʌ̓k-ʌ̓k-mín//

qʷuq̓ʷáʔq 'sqamwfish' //q̓ʷʔ-q̓ʷáʔq//

2.16. Simple velars are replaced by their labialized counterparts directly before rounded vowels and consonants.

xətəq̓ʷúsiʔ. 'I plugged it.' //x-tq̓-ús-n-ʔ//

x̣ʷuq̓ʷələmín 'frying pan' //x-q̓ʷl-mín-ʔ//

2.17. //x and xʷ// before postvelars are replaced by their postvelar counterparts.

x̣əq̣əʔústn 'wedge' //x-q̓ʔús-tn//

x̣ʷuq̓ʷələmín 'frying pan' //x-q̓ʷl-mín-ʔ//

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2.18. Laryngeal placement. //-ʔ// 'permanent' accompanies the last resonant coda in the word (it is realized phonetically as a glottalized resonant [m̓ n̓ l̓ y̓ w̓]). Where there is no resonant coda, the laryngeal remains as a word final consonant, with the exception of //-tn// 'implement', where the laryngeal shifts although the resonant remains.

píl̓əxə 'skirt' //píl-xn-ʔ//

xʷúl̓əkə 'drill' //xʷúl-əkəʔ//

xələ́qʷumeʔ 'cup' //x-lə́qʷ-min-ʔ//

2.19. Laryngeal addition. The word initial sequence //wʔ// is replaced by ʔuʔ (with resonant replaced by homorganic vowel). The added laryngeal maintains the canon that all words have consonant onsets.

wís 'be high'

ʔuʔís 'getting high' //wis + -ʔ- 'impermanence' > wʔís > uʔís//

wə́y 'come to surface'

ʔuʔə́y 'appearing' //wə́y + -ʔ- 'impermanence'> wʔəy > uʔə́y//

2.2. Resonant changes.

2.21. //nn// is simplified to n (and usually subsequently vocalized).

xʷíke. 'I cut it.' //xʷík-n-t-en > xʷík-n-n//

kóxe. 'I dried it.' //kóx-n-t-en > kéx-n-n//

2.212. //n// is lost before //-xi// 'benefactive'.

tu?kʷomíxtn. 'I sold it for him.' //tu?kʷ-mín-xi-t-en//

socíxtn. 'I sang to him.' //sn-cín-xi-t-en//

?elekstomíñxc. 'He works for him all the time.' //?elkst-mín-?-xi-t-es//

2.22. Resonants occurring as codas in weakly stressed syllables and in certain other specific environments are replaced by vowels.

2.221. //m n// are replaced by i following front obstruents, by e elsewhere (see vowel replacement for ə).

gacitén. 'I tied it.' //gac-n-t-én//

níkeke. 'I cut.' //ník-m-k-en//

stéxemə 'paddle' //s-téx-min//

After homorganic stops //m n// are not replaced; //n// also remains after a lateral.

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2.222. //y// is replaced by u after labialized consonants, by i elsewhere.

x^{w}uxʷóyt 'all' //x^{w}y-xʷóy-t//

kikóyt 'hawk' //ky-kóy-t//

2.223. //w// is replaced by u.

suséwikʷo 'lots of water' //sw-séwikʷo//

2.224. //m̓ n̓ y̓ w̓// are replaced by V? (see 2.221.-2.223. for vowel replacements).

ci?məkséɬt 'teach' //cn̓-m-ks-éɬt//

sníḱəmə? 'sawdust' //s-nín̓-min-?//

q̓i?xítə. 'You (singular) write to him!' //q̓ey̓-xí-tə//

təmətətétu?s kə. 'I rode horseback a while.' //t-mut-tə-té-t-ews̓ k-ən//

2.23. //w// 'dependence' occurs with subject reference morphemes marking intransitive dependent predicates (cf. 3.63.) //w-en// 'I', //w-ex// 'you', //w-es// 'he', etc. They are unstressed, //w-en > wn > wə > wə//, //w-ex > wx > uxʷ//, //w-es > ws > us//, etc. u is usually further reduced to ə, except after labial consonants and velar spirants.

2.24. Syllable final //g// is lost.

c pá. 'It is powdered.' //c pág//

lamín. 'I dragged it.' //lag-mín//

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2.3. Stress placement. The position of primary stress in a word is determined. Prefixes and infixes do not occur with stress. Roots always occur stressed when suffixes are not present. Retained stress roots occur stressed when inherently stressed suffixes are not present; variably stressed roots yield stress to suffixes. Inherently stressed suffixes always occur stressed; inherently unstressed suffixes never occur with stress. Variably stressed suffixes receive stress from variably stressed roots.

2.31. Retained stress roots.

xʷúl 'turn' xʷúl̓ke 'drill'

ník̓ 'cut' sník̓emə? 'sawdust'

2.32. Variably stressed roots.

xʷík̓ 'cut fish' nxʷukemə́lxʷ 'fishrack'

túkʷ 'cover' stukʷcín 'mute'

2.33. Inherently stressed suffixes. The class has few members.

-ṅwéṅ 'lacking control' (cf. 3.233.)

xəlṅuwéṅ 'bite by mistake'

-wə́xʷ 'reciprocal' (cf. 3.2369.) gaciwə́xʷtn 'joints'

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2.34. Inherently unstressed suffixes. The class includes -tn 'implement' (cf. 3.234.), -? 'permanent' (cf. 3.235.), -n 'active voice' (cf. 3.2361.), -s 'causative voice' (cf. 3.2362.), -t (cf. 3.2364.), allocation (cf. 3.64.).

2.35. Variably stressed suffixes. This class includes the remaining suffixes.

2.36. An order of precedence for stress assignment exists among stressable suffixes. In order of priority, they are:

(1) reflexive and reciprocal (cf 3.2368.)

ƛ̓əkʷecút kə. 'I slapped myself.'

(2) lexical (cf. 3.231.)

k̓əccínmə. 'I swore at him.'

(3) instrument (cf. 3.232.)

cpukʷmínstn. 'I am spilling it.'

(4) object-actor constitutes (cf. 3.61.)

k̓ʷəintén. 'I cooked it.'

(5) voice (//-m// and //-xi// only, cf. 3.2363, 3.2365.)

q̓ʷələ́m kə. 'I cook.'

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2.4. Vowel changes.

2.41. Vowel loss. The majority of roots and suffixes can occur stressed and unstressed. In unstressed environments their vowels are omitted. Epenthetic vowels may be introduced into these forms later.

2.42. Vowel epenthesis. The majority of morphemes have stressed and unstressed forms. The unstressed forms lack a vowel. Each word has a single primary stress; consequently, many words have only one vowel. The replacement of resonants by their syllabic counterparts usually accounts for additional vowels in the representation. Other vowels are epenthetic. Epenthesis is basically a transition phenomenon between consonants. A number of phonological factors are involved in insertion (especially manner, composition of consonant sequences and relative closeness to stress); it has not yet been possible to analyze these fully. There is also considerable variation, usually as to the presence or absence of a schwa. Some general observations are possible, however.

2.421. i is inserted before //y//.

xiyə́qʷɨpətn̓ 'fireplace' //x-yə́qʷ-ɨp-tn-ʔ//

siyə́lt 'plate' //s-yə́l-t//

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2.422. ə is inserted between two plain stops, two simple front velar spirants, a front velar spirant and stop, and a resonant and plain stop or spirant in either order.

qʷəʔép 'sack' //qʷʔép//

xəƛəqʷumíṅ 'sewing machine' //x-ƛqʷ-mín-ʔ//

qəmúməṭ 'little hat' //qin-mú-m-t//

2.423. u is inserted between two labialized phonemes, and between a labialized phoneme and resonant.

sqʷuqʷúʔ 'traps' //s-qʷʔ-qʷuʔ//

xʷuxʷíẇukə 'whistles' //xʷw-xʷíw·kəʔ//

xɬə́qʷumə? 'cup' //x-ɬə́qʷ-min-ʔ//

2.424. Vowel replacement. Before pause //i e// are frequently replaced by ə.

sqépcə 'springtime' //s-qép-cin > s-qép-cn > s-qép-ci//

níḱəkə. 'I cut.' //níḱ-em k-en > níḱ-m k-n > níḱ-ə kə//

2.5. Clisis. The constructional relationship that exists between a particle and a word is also reflected in a phonological dependence between them; hence, proclitic and enclitic particles are common, and free-standing ones are less frequent. Morphophonemic changes take place without regard for the grammatical boundaries. The clitic

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dependencies recognized in this study are those which occur in formal elicited sentences. Somewhat different patterns occur in rapid discourse.

2.6. Transcription. All examples are written in a full phonemic notation (without slashes). A morphophonemic transcription (written between double slashes) accompanies forms whose structure is obscured in the phonemic representation. Clitics are henceforth separated from their supporting matrices for economy and clarity in both transcriptions.

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3. Morphology

This chapter describes word formation (derivation) and inflection. It includes: a survey of derivational morphemes; primary derivational structure; secondary derivational structure; and inflection (pronominals).

The deictic and particle systems which would customarily be presented at this point are described in chapters 5 and 6 because they are particularly detailed and complicated, and the involved discussion would tend to obscure the basic organization of the grammar.

3.1. Roots are single morphemes. Members of this class comprise the nuclei of more complex stem constructions.

ḳ̓ə́x 'to dry meat'

xʷí ḳ̓ 'to dry fish'

táx̣ʷ 'be a thin object hanging down'

líx̣ 'be alternating spaces and solids'

3.2. Derivational affixes. It will be helpful to preface our description of stem derivation with a survey of the morphological classes involved. They are presented according to affixal type. Their distribution in stem constructions is discussed in the next section.

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3.21. Prefixes.

3.211. //s-// has no discernible meaning except its grammatical one, which is to derive a general state. It occurs with stems and predicative constructions.

s̲tú$\dot{\lambda}$k^{w} 'root basket'

s̲téx̣oms 'a paddle'

s̲q̓^{w}ú 'a trap'

s̲o$\dot{p}$sóqs 'nose'

?i gí? g s̲q^{w}océc. 'He leaves.' (now this one his leaving)

té? k s̲$\dot{c}$estéx. 'You didn't make him cry.'

té? k s̲cicín. 'I didn't punch him.'

Some stems consist only of stative prefix s- and a lexical suffix (cf. 3.251.).

súpe? 'tail' (s- + -úpe? 'tail')

sí$\dot{c}$e 'blanket' (s- + í$\dot{c}$e 'skin, covering')

3.212. //?est-// signifies an interruption of a prior condition. By extension it conveys the notions of 'sudden event, sequential and temporary acts'.

?es$\dot{\lambda}$o$\dot{l}$ékst 'rest period, coffee break' //?est-$\dot{\lambda}\dot{l}$-ékst// (cf. 2.11.) (temporary stop hand)

?es$\dot{\lambda}$íkʷ 'stops raining for a time' //?est-$\dot{\lambda}$íkʷ// (temporary abate)

?estqí$\dot{c}$ 'hesitate'

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ʔesƛ̓ép 'sudden darkness'

ʔestopúq̓ʷ 'collapse from shot or blow'

ʔesƛ̓əɬəmín 'stop for a passenger'

ʔestəxéwə 'delay'

This form probably originated as a sequence of prefixes; however, for lack of a convincing explanation it is treated here as a single morphological entity.

3.213. //t-// 'animate' This derivational distinction accompanies stems of general indefinite reference when human beings are specified. Reference to mammals is sometimes marked and sometimes not.

k̓ʷínx 'indefinite small number'

tk̓ʷínx 'indefinite small number animate objects'

xʷəʔít 'indefinite large number'

txʷəʔít 'indefinite large number animate objects'

píq 'white'

tpíq 'white animal'

3.214. Locative prefixes define certain spatial characteristics of stems. They are mutually exclusive with one another.

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3.2141. //tk-// 'external, superficial, superior or ventral surface' has two non-automatic forms.

tk-

tkpúlt 'lying on top' //tk-púl-t//

(superior prone state)

tkcəqʷóne 'red shoulder' //tk-cqʷ-éne//

(superior red shoulder)

tkʌ́íɣʷtə 'sand bar'

t-

tq̓ʷupéne 'broken shoulder'

tqélṯk 'above'

təpətústn 'bedspread'

3.2142. //x-// 'internal, integral, inferior or dorsal surface'

xə?íst 'stay inside' //x-?íst// (internal reside)

xəkəméńəkxə 'sole of foot' //x-km-éńk-xn//

(inferior articulated flat surface foot)

xəqə?ústn̓ 'wedge'

3.2143. //n-// 'distributivo'; distributed over space or time.

nc̓əpúlux̌ʷ 'grease dripping into fire' //n-c̓ɛp-ú?lxʷ//

(distributed drip ground)

nəpəpə?é?s 'swamp (puddles distributed over an area)'

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nək^{w}ələ́wt 'view of forested area (patches of green distributed over an area)'

3.2144. //k̓^{w}ɨ-// The meaning of this form is not clear. In the broadest sense the form indicates a 'division or segmentation (in form, space, time, mass).'

k̓^{w}ɨkíin 'separate objects into groups' //k̓^{w}ɨ-kíl-n// (group separate transitive)

k̓^{w}ɨqelmúx^{w} 'the tribe of which one is a member'

k̓^{w}ɨsceméḿ 'the age group consisting of children'

k̓^{w}ɨk̓eməúse? 'cheeks (here, as in certain other body parts, denoting a pair)'

k̓^{w}ɨqeq?icút 'horse switching tail from side to side (literally, bilateral defend self)'

3.2145. //x̣ɨ-// 'interposed'

x̣ɨk^{w}úcist 'shield with the arm' //x̣ɨ-k̓úc̓-n-sut// (interposed protect transitive self)

x̣ɨc̓elílətəme 'take sides'

x̣ɨsp̓e?owéń. 'I managed to hit the ball.'

x̣ɨcək^{w}én 'catch a falling object'

//x̣ɨ-// is possibly the reduced form of x̣ál 'objects placed side by side to fill a void or cover something.' Since it has distribution, meaning and function in common with the other locatives it is treated as a stem prefix rather than as a compound stem member.

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3.22. Infix.

//-ʔ-// signifies 'impermanence, instability or fluctuation' in an existing condition or approaching condition; it can be translated 'being' in the former case, 'becoming' in the latter. A comparison with related forms helps clarify the meaning.

wís 'high' (the root)

ʔuʔís 'being high'

wíst 'is high, inherently high, or is in the state of height'

wustuwílx 'becoming high, transformation to a condition of height'

qʷəʔéc 'being warm'	qʷéct 'is warm'
ʔuʔís 'being high'	wíst 'is high'
χəʔéƛ 'being deep'	χéƛt 'is deep'
q̓ʷəʔúc 'being fat'	q̓ʷúct 'is fat'
kʷuʔét 'being soft'	kʷutkʷét 'is soft'

3.23. Suffixes.

3.231. Lexical suffixes describe concepts of design, form, substance and location; e.g. //-qín// 'head', then 'top, terminus', etc., and //-cín// 'mouth', then 'eat, language, edge', etc. The true significance of each suffix

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is difficult to ascertain; fortunately, the suffixes usually have a familiar concrete referent which serves for identification purposes.

líx̣əkst 'finger' //-əkst// 'manual'

xʷutéɬp 'lots of trees' //-eɬp// 'bush, small tree'

nəkʷ́ésxəʔ 'one rock' //-əsxəʔ// 'rock'

qeləmúxʷ 'person' //muxʷ// 'individual'

More than forty different suffixes have been recognized. The members of the class are not mutually exclusive, but the number of suffixes which occur in a single stem seems not to exceed three.

3.232. //-min// 'be involved because of an antecedent act or event, or to achieve a goal.' Attention is equally divided and directed to one's own involvement and to the reason for it. General translations sometimes capture one or the other of the foci, seldom both. The nearest single term to convey these notions is 'instrumental', but this is not very satisfactory.

qʷílnstmə 'lie for personal gain' //qʷíl-n-sut-min//
(cheat transitive self instrument)

tktéx̣əmə 'paddle to an objective' //tk-téx̣-min//
(surface insert instrument)

təqʷcqʷetəmín 'be poor on account of something'
(gambling, generosity)

təqepsəmín 'choke on an object'

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Predicatively, stems in //-min// further derived by //-ʔ// 'permanent' have the aspectual meaning 'continuously engaged in ...'.

ʔelokstəmíṅ 'working all the time' //ʔəl-ekst-mín-ʔ// (use hand instrument permanent)

newulxəmíṅ 'running all the time'

k̓altəmíṅ 'dripping all the time'

k̓ososq̓təmíṅ 'raining all the time'

ʔətxəmíṅ 'sleeping all the time'

Certain objects are described by stems in //-min// with the addition of //-ʔ// 'permanent'. These stems characterize the customary function or origin of the object.

spíx̣əmeʔ 'chitterlings (pieces resulting from frying)' //s-píx̣-min-ʔ// (state fry instrument permanent)

tkəcq̓əmíṅ 'buggy seat' //tk-cq̓-mín-ʔ// (surface hit instrument permanent)

xəíxʷɪmeʔ 'drain'

xʌ̓əqʷumíṅ 'sewing machine'

3.233. //-ṅweṅ// 'act or event weakly or indirectly controlled'. Translations are contextually defined; when the result is not intended or desired 'by chance, accident or mistake'; result intended or desired 'managed to, finally did, had a difficult time to'. Distribution of allomorphs is morphologically determined: //-ṅweṅ// with transitive

and benefactive inflection, //-ƛ̓weƛ̓// elsewhere.

xəloƛ̓uwéƛ̓s. 'He bit it by mistake (transitive).'

//xl-ƛ̓wéƛ̓-t-es// (bite lack control transitive he)

ƛ̓uxʷe?owéxtƛ̓. 'I managed to win for her (benefactive).'

k̓ʷuloƛ̓uwéxtƛ̓. 'I managed to make it for her (benefactive).'

Note that when benefactive //-xi// occurs, ? occurs with the following resonant rather than a preceding one. These are the only examples in which the general order of laryngeal placement is reversed.

ɬəq̓e?wéɬoƛ̓ kə. 'I finally managed to stretch it (intransitive).'

?u?óx g ɬəq̓e?wéɬoƛ̓ uwə. 'I am finally getting it stretched (intransitive).'

ƛ̓ope?owélɬoƛ̓stn. 'I finally managed to teach her to wring out a hide (causative).'

3.234. //-tn// 'specialized implement' frequently describes tools and fixtures associated with household and farm.

xcoq̓oqíntn 'hammer' //x-cq̓-qín-tn// (inferior hit top implement)

toxonústn 'bedspread'

noxonústn 'window'

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3.235. //-ʔ// 'permanent'; derivatively 'hard, continuous.'

nuxʷcín̓ 'lots of food, or words' //n-xʷit-cín-ʔ//

(distributed many mouth permanent)

xʷuteqín̓ 'lots of hats' //xʷit-qín-ʔ//

(many head permanent)

χəqəʔúsṭn̓ 'wedge'

χʷiyústn̓ 'grindstone'

xʌ̓okʷomín̓ 'sewing machine'

3.236. Voice. The category of voice describes the relationship between the referents and the activity. The main opposition is transitive versus intransitive, which involves six subcategories.

3.2361. //-n// active voice--subject/agent acts on object/patient.

kʷúʌ̓n. 'I stuffed it.' //kʷúʌ̓-n-t-en//

(stuff active transitive I)

xʷúin. 'I blew a cloud of smoke.' //xʷúi-n-t-en//

(blew active transitive I)

kʷəlntén. 'I cooked it.'

ɣacitén. 'I tied it up.'

qʷíčn. 'I washed it.' //qʷíč-n-t-en//

(wash active transitive I)

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3.2362. //-s// causative voice--subject/agent causes object/patient to act.

ɂíliyəstn. 'I made him take a sweatbath.' //ɂíliy-s-t-en// (sweatbath causative transitive I)

čəlǒx^{w}sci. 'I made you perspire.' //člóx^{w}-s-t-si-en// (perspire causative transitive you I)

nə́wulxəstn. 'I made him run.'

3.2363. //-xi// benefactive--subject/agent acts on behalf of object/patient.

gəcxíci. 'I tied it for you.' //gəc-xí-t-si-en// (tie benefactive transitive you I)

ʔəq^{w}oxíci. 'I sewed it for you.' //ʔəq^{w}-xí-t-si-en// (sew benefactive transitive you I)

ɂ^{w}ələ́wəxci. 'I picked berries for you.'

ʔə́ʔləkxci. 'I dug roots for you.'

3.2364. //-t// can occur without voice suffixes, meaning 'transitive'; however it also frequently follows transitive voice suffixes with no apparent structural or semantic addition to the construction.

q^{w}əlntə́n. 'I talked to him.' //q^{w}l-n-t-ə́n// (speak active transitive I)

kəpstə́n. 'I made him sick.'

kəpstúlmə. 'I made you (plural) sick.'

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3.2365. //-əm// middle voice--subject/agent engaged in activity; -úm occurs after labialized consonants, -m unstressed and -ém elsewhere.

ʎəkʷúm kə. 'I slapped.' //ʎkʷ-ém k-en// (slap middle I)

pəxʷúm kə. 'I performed a ritual.'

sƛ̓ém kə. 'I whipped.'

gacém kə. 'I tied.'

k̓ém kə. 'I am prepared.'

túk̓ʷu kə. 'I hugged.' //túk̓ʷ-əm k-en//

qʷíʎsə kə. 'I smiled.' //qʷíʎ-us-əm k-en//

3.2366. //-ət// stative voice--subject/patient exists in a state. This suffix makes no reference to the manner in which the state was established; it does not imply that an agent is or has been at work.

kənát kə. 'I am touched.' //kn-ét k-en// (touch state I)

k̓íst kə. 'I am ugly.' //k̓ís-ət k-en// (bad state I)

súlt kə. 'I am frozen.'

púlt kə. 'I am lying down.'

3.2367. //-ilx// 'being in motion'

gəpílax 'be climbing' //gp-ílx// (ascend motion)

nəwulax 'be running'

təilax 'be rising to feet'

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3.2368. //-sut// reflexive object. Object of act is the same as subject, i.e. subject acts upon self.

sk̓ʷúlnst 'rainbow' //s-k̓ʷúl-n-sut//

(state make active self)

xəq̓əlstəmíƛ 'food steamer'

qʷílnstəm 'lie'

ƛ̓əkʷəcút. 'I slapped myself.' //ƛ̓kʷ-n-t-sút//

(slap active transitive self)

nək̓əcút. 'He cut himself.'

3.2369. //-wəxʷ// reciprocal object. Object and subject interchange, i.e. objects become subjects and vice versa.

gəciwə́xʷtn 'joints' //gəc-n-wə́xʷ-tn//

(tie active reciprocal implement)

spəlemewə́xʷ 'quilt' //s-pəl-min-wə́xʷ//

(state spread out instrument reciprocal)

ƛ̓əkʷetuwə́xʷ. 'You (plural) slapped each other.'

nək̓etuwə́xʷ. 'They cut each other.'

3.3. Stem classification. Three classes of stems are defined by derivational possibilities.

3.31. Root stems are simple unextended roots. Used predicatively--with the help of sufficient complements and adjuncts--they are capable of expressing most concepts.

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A speaker whose style was largely limited to their use would be considered very impoverished linguistically.

c nik̓. 'It is cut.'

c qʷiƛs. 'He smiled.'

c ʔəp̓. 'It is squeezed.'

3.32. Derived stems. These will be discussed in the following pages and need not be further illustrated here. They are the mark of the sophisticated speaker. They are considered more efficient and more expressive because they are capable of conveying so much information all by themselves.

3.33. Compound stems. Stem formation by compounding is not a productive pattern in my corpus. Only one root clearly incorporates substantive stems, //pi// 'to possess.'

pispéči ko. 'I have a rope.' (pi 'possess' root + spéči 'rope' substantive stem + ko inflection)

piskʷosóʔ ko. 'I have a son.' (pi 'possess' root + skʷosóʔ 'son' substantive stem + ko inflection)

Clear examples of non-incorporative compounding are uncommon. Informants are generally unable to identify unstressed elements (which subsequently undergo other morphophonemic changes) in forms which appear to be compounds so that one is usually at a loss to explain compound membership. Some likely compounds are:

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qəmút 'hat' (qin 'terminus' + mút 'sit' = 'head-sit' = 'hat') However, qin does not occur as a root elsewhere.

nc̓e?sqáx̣a? 'horse' (n 'on' + c̓m̓ '?' + sqáx̣a 'dog' + -? 'permanent')

pehén 'ever' (pn 'general time' + hén deictic stem) pn does not occur independently elsewhere.

Some obvious instances of compounding are:

xəte?əsqáx̣a?tn 'watering trough' (x- 'inside' + te? 'drink' + sqáx̣a? 'dog' + -tn 'tool')

x̣ʷux̣ʷuyscíin 'stingy with food' (x̣ʷux̣ʷuys 'want' + síin 'food')

3.4. Primary derivatives. Stems whose nucleus is a root accompanied by derivational affixes are primary derivatives. The derivational history and structure of minimal and maximal primary stems may be conveniently described with the help of a schematic diagram:

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
									-n		-sut
									-s	-t	-woxʷ
		t-							-xi		
s-	ʔest-		ROOT	LEXICAL SUFFIXES	-min	-ƛ̊weƛ̊	-tn	-ʔ			
		tk-							-em		
		x-							-et		
		n-							-ilx		
		k̊ʷɬ-									
		x̣ɬ-									

1. //s-// 'state' (cf. 3.211.)
2. //ʔest-// 'temporary act' (cf. 3.212.)
3. //t-// 'animate' (cf. 3.213)
   //tk-// 'superior' (cf. 3.2141.)
   //x-// 'inferior' (cf. 3.2142.)
   //n-// 'distributive' (cf. 3.2143.)
   //k̊ʷɬ-// 'division' (cf. 3.2144)
   //x̣ɬ-// 'interposed' (cf. 3.2145.)
4. Roots
5. Lexical suffixes (cf. 3.231.)
6. //-min// 'instrumental' (cf. 3.232.)
7. //ƛ̊weƛ̊// 'control' (cf. 3.233.)
8. //-tn// 'implement' (cf. 3.234.)
9. //-ʔ// 'permanent' (cf. 3.235.)

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10. //-n// 'active' (cf. 3.2361.)
    //-s// 'causative' (cf. 3.2362.)
    //-xi// 'benefactive' (cf. 3.2363.)
    //-əm// 'middle' (cf. 3.2365.)
    //-et// 'stative' (cf. 3.2366.)
    //-ilx// 'motion' (cf. 3.2367.)
11. //-t// 'transitive' (cf. 3.2364.)
12. //-sut// 'reflexive' (cf. 3.2368.)
    //-nox^{w}// 'reciprocal' (cf. 3.2369.)

The numerous stem types will be illustrated by progressing from left to right through the diagram, beginning with single root and affix constructions and ending with more complex structures.

Prefixes and root

s- + root

stéq^{w}. 'It is a construction nail.'

sx̌úq^{w}. 'It is a spot.'

ʔest- + root

ʔestəkéx. 'He falls over suddenly.'

ʔestəqíp. 'He is startled.'

animate/locative + root

tkcíq^{w}. 'It is a bay horse.' //tk-cíq^{w}// (surface red)

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tpíq. 'It is a white animal.' //t-píq// (animate white)

xotóqʷ. 'It is dented.' //x-táqʷ// (inside hollow)

s + locative + root

stəɬéɣ. 'It is paper.' //s-t-ɬéɣ// (stative surface scratch)

ʔəst + locative + root

ʔestəxətíɬʷ. 'It is turbid.' //ʔəst-x-tíɬʷ// (temporary cloudy)

ʔəstəxəʔíst. 'He stays inside during winter.' //ʔəst-x-ʔíst// (temporary inside reside)

Root + suffixes

root + lexical

pəgús. 'The face is cool.' //pəg-ús// (cool face)

ƛúpkəʔ. 'It is a washing machine wringer.' //ƛúp-əkəʔ// (twist manual instrument)

root + min

cəɬəmín. 'He throws an object to hit (something).' //cəɬ-mín// (throw to hit instrument)

lamín. 'He drags an object.' //lag-mín// (drag instrument)

root + lexical + min

pətíχʷumn. 'He spits something out.' //ptíχʷ-min// (spit instrument)

tukʷcimín. 'He trades something for food.' //tukʷ-cim-mín// (barter food instrument)

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root + lexical + -ʔ

ɬoxʷqín̓. 'He covers a hole.' //ɬoxʷ-qín-ʔ// (cover top permanent)

təx̣cín̓. 'It is a tiger lily.' //tx̣-cín-ʔ// (? edge permanent)

root + min + -ʔ

ƛ̓əqʷumín̓. 'It is a sewing machine.' //ƛ̓qʷ-mín-ʔ// (penetrate instrument permanent)

suk̓ʷmín̓. 'It is a butcher knife.' //sk̓ʷ-mín-ʔ// (slice instrument permanent)

Stem construction is fairly complex when both prefixes and suffixes occur. Some of the many possible constructions are:

s + root + lexical

skoʔqín. 'It is a pillow.' //s-koʔ-qín// (state prop head)

s + root + min

stóx̣əme. 'It is a paddle.' //s-téx̣-min// (state insert instrument)

s + locative + root + lexical + tn

sxƛ̓íqʷuləqtn. 'It is popcorn.' //s-x-ƛ̓íqʷ-lq-tn// (state inside explode ? implement)

s + locative + root + lexical + ʔ

stəqʷupqʷupʔíčəʔ. 'It is spooky.' //s-t-redupl.-qʷp-ʔíčə-ʔ// (state surface raise(?) skin)

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?est + root + min + ?

?estəkoxəmíɬ. 'He falls suddenly on object.' //?est-kix-mín-?// (su[illegible]n fall instrument permanent)

locative + root + lexical

tkɬəmóke?. 'He hits a ball.' //tk-ɬəm-éke?// (surface slap manual instrument)

locative + root + min

tktéɣəmo. 'He paddles for some purpose.' //tk-téɣ-min// (surface insert instrument)

locative + root + tn + ?

xənésteɬ. 'It is a toilet.' //x-nés-tn-?// (inside ge implement permanent)

locative + root + min + ?

xəsóxʷume?. 'It is a bathtub.' //x-sóxʷ-min-?// (inside bathe instrument permanent)

3.5. Secondary derivational stems. A considerable percentage of stem structure is described by primary derivation, but many stems are formed by secondary derivation, i.e. the further derivation of primary stems. Most of our secondary stems are concerned with increased descriptive capability and complexity in the areas of aspect and voice. Many, however, are concerned with lexical definitiveness.

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Some of the same suffixes that derive primary stems reappear in secondary derivation. Derivational prefixes, however, do not participate at this level. The fundamental elements are:

PRIMARY STEM LEXICAL GRAMMATICAL

It will be helpful to consider some examples of secondary derivation in detail. The discussion is divided into two parts according to the two functions recognized for secondary derivation.

3.51. Grammatical incrementation.

3.511. A common secondary pattern consists of an intransitive primary stem expanded by //-min//. Since the intransitive voices convey stative notions, the meaning of secondary stems is 'state extant because of'.

q^{w}íinstəmə 'have lied to achieve a goal' q^{w}íinst is a fully formed primary stem consisting of the root //q^{w}íi// 'deceive' + //-n// active voice + //-sut// reflexive. It is then derived by //-min// 'instrumental', which is closely allied to voice distinctions.

k̓əstəmín 'be in a bad humor because of someone or something' k̓íst 'be ugly, mean, bad, ill-tempered' primary stem (//k̓ís// root + //-ət// stative voice) + //-min// 'instrumental'

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3.513. Another pattern signifies a 'change or intensification of state' by deriving an intransitive primary stem with the suffix //-wílx// 'developmental.'

ƙəstuwílx 'become mean' ƙíst primary stem + //-wílx// 'developmental'

χaƛ̓tuwílx 'become deeper' χáƛ̓t 'be deep' a primary stem (//χáƛ̓// root + //-ət// stative voice) + //-wílx// 'developmental'

3.515. Reduplicatives.

3.5151. Intensive is a neutral term chosen to cover several concepts. The intensive form is a repetition of C_1C_2 of the root appearing as a prefix CC- to the base. The most common concept conveyed is plurality.

pəcpéce 'digging sticks'	péce 'digging stick'
məcəmecúkʷ 'blackcaps'	mecúkʷ 'blackcap'
spəkəpékəʔ 'gloves'	spékəʔ 'glove'
xʷukʷupkʷúpxəʔ 'stockings'	xʷukʷúpxəʔ 'stocking'
sχəcχəčéy 'sticks'	sχəčéy 'stick'
scəəʷcáqʷu 'rockberries'	scéqʷu 'rockberry'

Intensive stems inflected for person signify 'several actors or objects involved in the act (distributive plural)' or 'repetition of the act.' The latter interpretation is infrequent; other means are available to convey this notion.

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k^{w}alk^{w}alntén. 'I cooked them.' (this one and that one--distributive plural) or 'I cooked it over and over.' (repetition)

q^{w}ecq^{w}íči. 'I washed them.' or 'I washed it over and over.'

toq^{w}ʔaq^{w}etén. 'I sewed them.' or 'I sewed it over and over.'

Stems describing certain qualities always are derived for intensification while others in the same semantic domain are not.

q^{w}iq^{w}ít 'black'

k^{w}utk^{w}át 'soft'

x^{w}uk^{w}x^{w}ók^{w} 'light weight'

tox^{w}tóx^{w}t 'straight, true'

xaxá? 'clever'

It also appears contextually now and again suggesting emphasis or praise of a quality; however, this use is not extensive.

3.5132. The category of diminutive is expressed by a reproduction of the consonant preceding the stressed vowel in the stem. The reduplicative element appears as an infix immediately following that vowel.

x^{w}uk^{w}úk^{w}poxe? 'little stocking'	x^{w}uk^{w}úpxe? 'stocking'
ɬkókp 'little pot'	ɬkóp 'pot'
steqeqíge 'little dam'	steqeqín 'dam'

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mecúckʷ 'little blackcap' mecúkʷ 'blackcap'

pépco 'little digging stick' péco 'digging stick'

A few forms have the shape of diminutives, although the diminutive meaning is no longer present and they do not correspond to any non-diminutive bases in the modern language. The intensives of these are formed as if from the non-occurring non-diminutive base.

mexmíhx 'baskets' míhx 'basket'

melemómele 'necklaces' rémele 'necklace'

3.5133. An object which is a small or reduced image of a full form--such as a sapling or an aged tree, a pair of baby shoes or a pair of worn shoes which one finds amusing, captivating or sentimental--is described as 'cute' or 'little old', handled by a reduplicative prefix. Straightforward reference to age is made with a lexical suffix.

Affectives are based on stems already derived for the diminutive. The element C- is also a reduplication of the consonant preceding the stressed vowel. It immediately precedes that consonant.

ikekókp 'old pot' ikókp 'little pot'

spepépči 'old rope' spépči 'little rope'

xʷukʷukʷúkʷpexe? 'old stocking' xʷukʷúkʷpexe? 'little stocking'

ʔesesésip 'cute little pine' ʔesésip 'little pine'

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cəpəpíp̓x̌ 'cute little brand on colt' cəpíp̓x̌ 'little brand'

When these affective stems occur as predicate centers a notion of 'limited activity' is conveyed. Persons who use diminutive forms to describe their own actions are thought to have a very poor self-image.

q̓ʷuqʷíqʷuwulx ko. 'I crawled a little.' //q̓ʷíw-ilx// 'crawl'

məcəcúct ko. 'I fed myself a little.' //mn-t-sút// 'feed oneself'

cəc̓ócuwu ko. 'I am washing a little.' //c̓ów-əm// 'wash (oneself)'

3.5134. Lastly, there is the limited set of -C- infixes reproduced from the final C of the root and immediately preceding the root vowel; these forms express stative voice.

puk̓ʷúkʷ 'be spilled'

ƛux̓ʷúxʷ 'be paralyzed'

p̓əlél 'be flattened'

x̌əq̓áq 'be settled in place'

x̌ʷul̓ól 'be fluttering in the wind'

3.5135. Stems become complex with the presence of several reduplicative affixes. A few examples will suffice:

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s + root + lexical

stəqəqín 'dam' //tq// 'stuck'

s + intensive + root + lexical

stəqətəqəqín 'many dams' //s-tq-tq-qin//

s + root + diminutive + lexical

stəqəqí-q-ə 'little dam'

s + intensive + diminutive + root + lexical

stəqətəqí-q-ə 'many little dams'

Simple root

q^{w}íč 'wash objects'

intensive + root

q^{w}əcq^{w}íč 'wash several objects //q^{w}ə-q^{w}íč//

diminutive + root

q^{w}í-q^{w}-č 'wash one small one'

intensive + diminutive + root

q^{w}əcəq^{w}í-q^{w}-əč 'wash several small ones'

intensive + affective + diminutive + root

q^{w}əcq^{w}u-q^{w}-í-q^{w}-əč 'wash several small ones a little bit'

3.52. Lexical incrementation. Lexical suffixes are added to primary stems to form further derivatives; for example, cəq̓əmənús 'lariat' is based on a primary stem //cq̓mín// 'throw object to hit target' consisting of a root //cq̓// 'throw' + //-min// instrumental. (The surface form cəq̓əmín //cq̓-mín-t-ən// constitutes a complete predication

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'I threw it.') It is secondarily derived by a lexical suffix //-us// 'face,' which describes the target. Here the significance seems to be lexical. Similarly, tktexmeqín 'paddle to reach a determined destination' is based on //tk-tex-min// 'paddle for a purpose' with the lexical suffix //-qin// 'head' here suggesting 'destination.'

3.53. Inflectional stem classes. Stems which can occur with the inflectional categories are full words. Other words are particles. Full words comprise a number of classes and subclasses defined by distributional restrictions with the voice suffixes. Full details on class membership have yet to be worked out, but there are basically three major classes: intransitives, transitives and overlapping intransitive-transitives.

All full words can occur with predicative personal inflection and sentence intonation; therefore, all full words have at least one predicative realization. Of course these may seem rather peculiar from a Western point of view.

sqáxe. 'It is a dog.'

tuwíwt. 'It is a boy.'

xexéx^{w}ute. 'It is a girl.'

Many words, but not all, can be inflected for allocation and occur in non-predicative expressions. It is convenient, then, to recognise a class of substantive words.

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3.6. Inflection (pronominals).

3.61. Person. The category of person includes first, second and third person and singular and plural number. However, there is no obligatory number distinction in the third person.

Most stems convey no notion concerning the category of number. Plurality can be expressed by reduplicative derivation and referent inflection, but it is an optional category. A number of stems, however, are inherently plural and have unmarked singular counterparts: e.g. sit : several sit, kill : slaughter, etc. These comprise, by conventional usage, sets of suppletive stems for number. The unmarked forms are used for one to a few referents, the plural forms for many.

ɬúm 'one cries'	kʷə́q 'several cry'
ʔém 'one sits'	léq 'several sit'
púl 'kill one'	ʔúkʷ 'kill several'
colílx 'one stand up'	téllx 'several stand up'
ʔuʔílle 'one laughs'	xʷuxʷə́y 'several laugh'

The first person plural has different forms for object and subject inclusive and exclusive. The inclusive designates speaker and addressee as a referential class. The exclusive clarifies that speaker and addressee are not members of the same referential class.

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Third person subject has different forms for proximate and obviative subject. The proximate subject is definite, familiar and important to the speaker. The obviative subject is indefinite or unfamiliar and of secondary interest to the speaker.

3.611. Partly different sets of object referents occur with indicative and imperative subjects. It will be helpful to illustrate this variety of forms with a schematic chart.

Object Referents

	Indicative	Imperative
1 singular //	-sem	-sem
	-sel with 2 plural subject	-selm with 2 plural subject
2 singular	-si	
1 plural (inclusive)	-el	-ek k'ux^{w}
		-ek^{w} k^{w}ux^{w} with 2 plural subject
1 plural (exclusive)	k^{w}ux^{w}	
2 plural	-ulm	
3		-ek with 2 singular subject
		-ek^{w} with 2 plural subject //

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The exclusive forms are anomalous. They utilize regular object-subject forms for the third person with a particle k^{w}ux^{w}.

//-sem// 'me' has the alternants: //-sel// before the indicative subject //-ep// 'you (plural)', //-selm// before the imperative subject //-iye// 'you (plural)'.

kepscémx. 'You (singular) made me sick.'

ʔetíxscex. 'You (singular) made me sleep.'

kepscélp. 'You (plural) made me sick.'

ʔetíxscelp. 'You (plural) made me sleep.'

mecélemiye. 'You (plural) feed me!'

q̓iʔxíʔcelemiye. 'You (plural) write for me!'

//-si// 'you (singular)'

kepscín. 'I made you (singular) sick.'

ʔetíxsci. 'I made you (singular) sleep.'

//-el// 'us (inclusive)'

kepstéls. 'He made us (inclusive) sick.'

ʔetíxstels. 'He made us (inclusive) sleep.'

//k^{w}ux^{w}// 'us (exclusive)'

kepstés k^{w}ux^{w}. 'He made us (exclusive) sick.'

ʔetíxsc k^{w}ux^{w}. 'He made us (exclusive) sleep.'

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//-ulm// 'you (plural)'

kapstúlama. 'I made you (plural) sick.'

?atíxstalma. 'I made you (plural) sleep.'

The third person is unmarked in the indicative. The imperative objects are //-ak// before the singular imperative subject //-a//, and //-ak^{w}// before the plural imperative subject //-iya//. Imperative objects are unmarked when unstressed.

matéka. 'You (singular) feed him!'

ɬi?xíta. 'You (singular) write to him!'

matékʷiya. 'You (plural) feed him!'

ɬi?xítiya. 'You (plural) write to him!'

3.612. Subject reference morphemes have different forms for the indicative and imperative, and the indicative shows special forms in some cases for dependent predicates. The category of inclusion-exclusion still pertains, and a new category, proximate-obviative third persons, is introduced. A chart will help clarify the distinctions.

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Subject

	Indicative	Imperative
1 singular //	-en	
2 singular	-ex	-ə
1 plural (inclusive)	-et	
1 plural (exclusive)	kʷuxʷ	
2 plural	-ep	-iyə

	intransitive	transitive	
3 proximate	∅	-es	
3 obviative	∅	-əm	//

3.6121. Indicative subject referents.

//-en// 'I'

kəpstén. 'I made him sick.'

qʷəlntén. 'I talked to him.'

//-ex// 'you (singular)'

kəpstéx. 'You (singular) made him sick.'

qʷəlntéx. 'You (singular) talked to him.'

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//-et// 'we (inclusive, speaker and person addressed)' occurs in intransitive and transitive predications.

kə?ép kt. 'We (inclusive) are sick.'

kəpscít. 'We (inclusive) made you sick.'

//kʷuxʷ// 'we (exclusive, speaker and others, but not the addressee)' occurs in intransitive predications. //kʷuxʷ// is a particle, not a suffix.

kə?ép kʷuxʷ. 'We (exclusive) are sick.'

//-əm...kʷuxʷ// 'we (exclusive)' occurs in transitive predications.

kəpstém kʷuxʷ. 'We (exclusive) made him sick.'

qʷəlntém kʷuxʷ. 'We (exclusive) talked to him.'

//-ep// 'you (plural)'

kəpstép. 'You (plural) made him sick.'

qʷəlntép. 'You (plural) talked to him.'

//-es// 'he, they (proximate, primary or definite subject)'

kəpstés. 'He (proximate) made him sick.'

qʷəlntés. 'He (proximate) talked to him.'

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//-əm// 'he, they (obviative, secondary or indefinite subject)'

kopstə́m. 'He (obviative) made him sick.'

q^{w}əlntə́m. 'He (obviative) talked to him.'

3.6122. Imperative subject referents.

//-ə// 'you (singular)'

xə́yəmə. 'You (singular) wave!'

xə́yəxcəmə. 'You (singular) wave to me!'

//-iyə// 'you (plural)'

xə́yəmiyə. 'You (plural) wave!'

xə́yəxcəlemiyə. 'You (plural) wave to me!'

3.62. Transitive pronominals. Independent transitive pronominals consist of an object referent and a subject referent. It will be helpful at this point to chart these object and subject suffix combinations, giving their underlying form with the transitive suffix. Following is a complete paradigm with the stem //q^{w}l-n// 'speak'.

OBJECT	SUBJECT				
	1 singular	2 singular	3	1 plural	2 plural
1 singular		-cóm + -x -t-sem-ex	-cém + -s -t-sem-es		-cél + -p -t-sel-ep
2 singular	-cí + -n -t-si-en		-cí + -s -t-si-es	-cí + -t -t-si-et	
3	-t + -ín -t-en	-t + -éx -t-ex	-t + -és -t-es	-t + -ém k^{w}ux^{w} -t-em k^{w}ux^{w}	-t + -ép -t-ep
1 plural (inclusive)		-t + -éx k^{w}ux^{w} -t-éx k^{w}ux^{w}	-tél + -s -t-el-es		-t + -ép k^{w}ux^{w} -t-ep k^{w}ux^{w}
1 plural (exclusive)			-t + -és k^{w}ux^{w} -t-es k^{w}ux^{w}		
2 plural	-túlm + -n -t-ulm-en		-túlm + -s -t-ulm-es	-túlm + -t -t-ulm-et	

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OBJECT	SUBJECT				
	1 singular	2 singular	3	1 plural	2 plural
1 singular		q^{w}əlncémx	q^{w}əlncéms		q^{w}əlncélp
2 singular	q^{w}əlncín		q^{w}əlncís	q^{w}əlncít	
3	q^{w}əlntén	q^{w}əlntéx	q^{w}əlntés q^{w}əlntem	q^{w}əlntém k^{w}ux^{w}	q^{w}əlntép
1 plural (inclusive)			q^{w}əlntéls		
1 plural (exclusive)		q^{w}əlntéx k^{w}ux^{w}	q^{w}əlntés k^{w}ux^{w}		q^{w}əlntép k^{w}ux^{w}
2 plural	q^{w}əlntúlmə		q^{w}əlntúles	q^{w}əlntúlet	

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There is a paradigm for transitive object-subject reference when the subject is obviative. It is totally irregular and largely unexplainable. Most of the forms occur elsewhere with different reference. The paradigm occurs with a variety of stems and is easily elicited, but, with the exception of -colm first by third obviative person and -tem third by third obviative person, the forms rarely occur in this corpus.

Object		Subject
		3rd obviative
1 singular	-sol	-em
2 singular	-si	-et
3		-em
1 plural (inclusive)	-el	-et
1 plural (exclusive)		-es (k^{w}ux^{w})
2 plural	-ulm	-et

A paradigm with suffixal stress illustrates these persons. The stem is //cn// 'punch.'

cicélo 'Somebody punched me.' //cn-t-sél-m//

cicít. 'Somebody punched you.' //cn-t-sí-et//

citém. 'Somebody punched him.' //cn-t-ém//

citélt. 'Somebody punched us (inclusive).' //cn-t-él-et//

cités k^{w}ux^{w}. 'Somebody punched us (exclusive).' //cn-t-és k^{w}ux^{w}//

citúlet. 'Somebody punched you (plural).' //cn-t-úlm-et//

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Dependent transitive predicatives consist of a transitive stem and the object-subject referent complex accompanied by third person dependent intransitive construction //w-es// acting as marker of 'dependent predication' (cf. 3.63., 6.11.).

...wík̓c os g ʔúqʷis '...he saw his brother'

...x̣olítns os g spoqmíx '...he called the swan'

...wíktom os g spoqmíx '...he (obviative) saw the swan'

3.63. Intransitive pronominals. Independent intransitive pronominals consist of the enclitic particle k 'independent predication' and a subject referent morpheme. The third person is not marked by a pronominal element (although it is often specified by a deictic or longer expression in complement position).

Dependent intransitive pronominals consist of the particle w 'dependent predication' and a subject referent morpheme. The third person is marked.

	Intransitive	
	Independent	Dependent
1 singular	kə //k-en//	wə //w-en//
2 singular	k //k-ex//	uxʷ //w-ex//
3 singular	unmarked	us //w-es//
1 plural (inclusive)	kt //k-et//	ut //w-et//
1 plural (exclusive)	kʷuxʷ //kʷuxʷ//	kʷoxʷ //kʷuxʷ//
2 plural	kp //k-ep//	up //w-ep//

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Intransitive pronominals are unstressed; hence, they undergo considerable morphophonemic alteration. It will be helpful to review the complicated sequence of changes that occur with dependent intransitives:

unstressed //w-ən// //w-n// with subsequent reduction of resonant > //w-ə// with vowel reduction > //w-ə// preceded by epenthetic u after a stem final consonant > //u-w-ə//

unstressed //w-əx// > //w-x// with subsequent reduction of resonant > //u-x// followed by labialization of velar spirant > //u-x^{w}//

The other dependent pronominals are subject to reduction of u to ə depending on the preceding stem final consonant //w-əs > w-s > u-s > ə-s//.

Independent intransitive paradigm.

téyt kə. 'I am hungry.'

téyt k. 'You are hungry.'

téyt ø. 'He/They is/are hungry.'

téyt kt. 'We (inclusive) are hungry.'

téyt k^{w}ux^{w}. 'We (exclusive) are hungry.'

téyt kp. 'You (plural) are hungry.'

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Dependent intransitive paradigm.

?ə́x g téyt <u>nwə</u>. 'I am hungry.'

?ə́x g téyt <u>ux^{w}</u>. 'You (singular) are hungry.'

?ə́x g téyt <u>nt</u>. 'We are hungry.'

?ə́x g téyt <u>ap</u>. 'You (plural) are hungry.'

?ə́x g téyt <u>as</u>. 'He is hungry.'

3.64. Allocative pronominals. Certain stems and nominalized predicative phrases can occur with allocative inflection. First and second persons distinguish singular and plural, and there is a general third person element. Allocation involves both prefixes, suffixes and particles.

1 singular	n-	'my'
2 singular	ə?-	'your'
3	-s	'his, their'
1 plural (inclusive)	-kt	'our'
1 plural (exclusive)	-s k^{w}ux^{w}	'our'
2 plural	-p	'your'

The second singular <u>ə?-</u> always occurs with a preceding deictic particle g, <u>gə-</u>. The inclusive first plural suffix <u>-kt</u> is evidently borrowed from the intransitive system; the exclusive first plural construction is parallel to other expressions for this person, adding the enclitic particle k^{w}ux^{w} to the third person form.

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Allocative paradigm.

nspóko? 'my glove'

g e?spóko? 'your glove'

spóko?s 'his glove'

spóko?kt 'our (inclusive) glove'

spóko?s kʷuxᵘ 'our (exclusive) glove'

spóko?p 'your glove'

3.65. Emphatic pronouns. The remaining members of the pronominal system are the emphatic pronouns. They are not directly involved in inflection. Details of their construction and distribution are given in section 5.11. However, it will be apparent that they are basically stems inflected for allocation.

1 singular		ncéwo?		'I'
2 singular	g	e? nuwí?		'you'
3 singular		nuwí?s		'he'
1 plural (inclusive)	...?uł	nuwí?kt		'we'
1 plural (exclusive)	?uł	nuwí?s	kʷuxᵘ	'we'
2 plural	?uł	nuwí?ep		'you'
3 plural	?uł	nuwí?s		'they'

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4. Syntax

There are three levels of syntactic construction: phrase, clause and sentence. The first two levels--and to some extent the third--have similar constructions marked in similar ways.

4.1. Phrases.

4.11. Predicative phrases consist of a center and its modifiers (optional). Phrases expanding notions inherent in the predicate are complements. Phrases adding other detail are adjuncts. The predicate center is usually the first word in the phrase, followed by its complements and adjuncts. Complements and adjuncts sometimes begin a phrase when they are the topic of special interest or emphasis.

4.111. Simple predicates have a single word center.

4.112. Complex predicates consist of modal, locative and temporal words as topical and structural center of predication, accompanied by a stem inflected for personal reference as comment and structural complement to the center.

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With certain exceptions, the words which occur as centers in complex predicates can also occur as adjuncts appended to a simple predicate. The complex predicate construction is a productive stylistic device used to emphasize mood, time, place and other notions. The centers are underlined in the following complex predicates.

Negative <u>té?</u> center (cf. 4.42 for mode, tense and aspect distinctions)

<u>té?</u> k sc̓úms. 'He did not cry.' ('<u>Not</u> indefinite-unrealized nominal (state)-cry-his.')

<u>té?</u> ?es k c̓úm us. 'He is not crying.' (<u>Not</u> unrealized-state indefinite-unrealized cry he.')

<u>té?</u> k sc̓estés. 'He did not make him cry.' ('<u>Not</u> indefinite-unrealized nominal (state)-cry-cause-him-he.')

Indefinite person <u>suwét</u> center

<u>suwét</u> i? g e?sk^{w}ést? 'What is your name?' ('<u>Indefinite-person</u> it present-definite your-name?')

<u>suwét</u> i? k e?suwíke? 'Who did you see?' ('<u>Indefinite-person</u> it indefinite your-seeing?')

<u>suwét</u> i? k ƛok^{w}ultéx ƛéne? 'Who did you make this soup for?' ('<u>Indefinite-person</u> it indefinite soup-make-it-you this?')

Indefinite object stém̓ center

stém̓ i xʷúʔce k eʔsuwíkeʔ 'What else did you see?'
('Indefinite-object it additionally indefinite your-seeing?')

stém̓ i k c q̓istéx? 'What did you write?' ('Indefinite-object it indefinite previously write-it-you?')

stém̓ i k qeqelstéx? 'What amused you?' ('Indefinite-object it indefinite find-amusing-it-you?')

Indefinite number k̓ʷínx̣ center

tk̓ʷínx̣ i̓ k sqex̣qúx̣a k skexcín? 'How many dogs did I give you?' ('Animate-indefinite-number the indefinite dogs indefinite giving-you-I?')

k̓ʷínx̣ meʔ skexcémx? 'How many will you give me?'
('Indefinite-number intend giving-me-you?')

Indefinite time, place héʔe center

i̓ héʔe k nés uxʷ? 'Where are you going?' ('To indefinite-place indefinite travel you?')

n̓ pehéʔe k ɬx̣ʷúp os ikeʔ 'When did he run off?' ('At time-indefinite indefinite run-away he possible?')

pehéʔe meʔ nés uxʷ i̓ téwe? 'When are you going to town?'
('Time-indefinite intend travel you to town?')

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Deictic t lú?, etc. center

t lú? g nés uwə ƛ téwə. 'I went to town from there.'
('From distant-place present-definite travel I to town.')

t l ?éliyə g nés uwə ƛ saxcíno. 'I went to the river from here.' ('From absent-definite incorporative-place present-definite travel I to river-bank.')

tktn núnə mə? ƛók^{w} uwə. 'I will walk that way.'
('Toward beyond-non-incorporative-place intend travel I.')

The complex predication having ?u?óx (~?óx in casual and rapid speech) 'be present' as center functions as a generalized aspectual construction throughout the language--'act or event in progress'.

?óx g tetúmə wə. 'I am dreaming.' ('Actively-engaged present-definite dream I.')

?óx g saçínə wə. 'I am singing.'

?óx g síx^{w}umə wə. 'I am spilling.'

Stems which frequently accompany the predicate as adjuncts also occur as centers in complex predicates.

x^{w}ént g nče?sqáxa g snóy^{w}s. 'The horse runs fast.'
('Fast it (unmarked) present-definite horse present-definite running-his.')

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?unexʷcín g skʷimoméməlt g sćúms. 'The baby cries loud.' ('Loud he (unmarked) present-definite baby present-definite crying-his.')

pe? 'wish for, hope for' requires a dependent complement. Unlike other complements, however, these are not introduced by complement particles. The complement is frequently accompanied by the proclitic particle ?a 'conditional' (cf. 6.23.).

pe? mút uwo nko. 'I wish I could stay here.' ('Wish stay I possibly.')

pe? ?e wíkən os iko. 'I wish I could see it.' ('Wish conditionally see-it-I dependent-clause-marker possibly.')

pe? xʷuqʷúʎo wə. 'I wish I could smoke.'

pe? ?ín uwo. 'I wish I [illegible] eat.'

4.113. Adjuncts precede or follow the center and its complements. They are introduced by the particle ƛ, which has no meaningful translation in this position. The adjuncts are underscored in the following examples.

néwulx ko ƛ xʷánt. 'I run fast.' ('Run I ƛ fast.')

néwulx ko ƛ hokín. 'I run slow.' ('Run I ƛ slow.')

g sćoqo?éwł ca?cús ƛ kíxt. 'The boat was tied securely.' ('Present-definite canoe tie it (unmarked) ƛ tight.')

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ʔi ʔéne stuxʷuxʷúxʷulək̓ʷ ʔiʔúl ƛ̓ čéwustn. 'These cigarettes taste soapy.' ('This near cigarettes taste they (unmarked) ƛ̓ soapy.')

4.12. Non-predicative phrases consist of a head accompanied by its modifiers. The head of a phrase consists of a substantive word. Heads are underscored in the examples.

xseʔúƛ̓ g cuwéwx. 'The creek dried up.' ('Evaporated it (unmarked) present-definite creek.')

m qʷečéq nsṫomált. 'My cow is dead.' ('Completed die it (unmarked) my-cow.')

g kíʔxe ʔemúc g skʷúyis n sčoqeʔéwł. 'The mother put the baby in the canoe.' ('Present-definite mother sit-it-she present-definite baby in canoe.')

caq̓éln g cíʔ ƛ̓ sulemíňk. 'I shot the deer with the gun.' ('Shoot-it-I present-definite deer with gun.')

ckilám g sk̓ʷelconcút. 'Cooking is easy.' ('Easy it (unmarked) present-definite cooking.')

g stéʔ meʔ q̓iyəxqíňc. 'Drinking will make him dizzy.' ('Present-definite drinking will dizzy-headed-him-it.')

A compound head consists of two or more of the above forms joined by a connective particle (cf. 6.23.).

wíke ke ƛ̓ skʷeláqs ʔeł ƛ̓ číʔ. 'I see a deer and a bear.' ('See I ƛ̓ bear and ƛ̓ deer.')

x̌ʷux̌ʷuystén číʔ ʔeł peték. 'I want meat and potatoes.' ('Prefer-it-I meat and potato.')

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nə̂sui Ricky məƛ̓ Rodger. 'Ricky and Rodger came along.' ('Travel-together they (unmarked) Ricky accompanied-by Rodger.')

Connective particles are omitted when the coordinate substantives comprise an enumeration of similar objects.

ƛ̓íxʷəs xʷəʔít ɬíʔ skʷəláqs spiyúʔ. 'He killed lots of deer, bear and grouse.' ('Slaughter-it-he many deer bear bird.')

4.121. Modifiers. Modifying words usually precede the head (the reverse order is said to emphasize a particularly distinctive attribute of the head; see emphatic word order in predications 4.11.). Modifiers are underscored once, heads twice in the examples.

Kíst ƛ̓ sqáxa xəlncéms. 'The mean dog bit me.' ('Mean ƛ̓ dog bite-me-he.')

kəlkélncəs nəkʷú ƛ̓ sqáxa. 'One dog chased me.' ('Chase-me-he one ƛ̓ dog.')

tpəxəmúɬ ƛ̓ nsqáxa pəlép. 'My hunting dog is gone.' ('Hunting ƛ̓ my-dog lost he (unmarked).')

xʷuystén switnúmtx ƛ̓ xəxə́xʷutə. 'I like pretty girls.' ('Prefer-it-I desirable ƛ̓ girl.')

ɬə́xʷə g c ɬík ƛ̓ sc̓əkətíkə. 'I patched the torn shirt.' ('Mend-it-I present-definite previously tear ƛ̓ shirt.')

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Clause modifiers precede or follow the head, depending on the stylistic preferences of the speaker, but they seem to occur after the head somewhat more frequently.

pepén k^{w}ux^{w} ʔéx ɬ k^{w}éwt os ɬ sčeqeʔéwɬ. 'We found a drifting boat.' ('Find we actively-engaged ɬ drift it ɬ canoe.')

l sqéylex^{w} ʔuʔéx ɬoméslƛ os sɬók. 'The man who chops wood comes.' ('Absent-definite man actively-engaged cut wood he come he (unmarked).')

stuwitóʔsc sɬiyéʔ n ʔéx g ntpésnuʔ s ɬ xoḱoméḱelos. 'They grow hay in irrigated fields.' ('Grow-cause-it-they hay in actively-engaged present irrigate it ɬ field.')

The arrangement of modifiers from different form and function classes is free.

ʔiʔéne g tpíq ɬ sqáxa ḱíst. 'This white dog is mean.' ('This present-definite white ɬ dog mean he (unmarked).')

ḱíst ʔiʔéne ɬ k sqáxa xəlntés g sqéylex^{w} 'This mean dog ('Mean this ɬ indefinite (unfamiliar) dog bite-him-he present-definite man.')

wíktn g xeyúm ɬ noḱ^{w}úʔ ɬ sqáxa. 'I see one big dog.' ('See-it-I present-definite ɬ big ɬ one the dog.')

wíktn g noḱ^{w}úʔ ɬ tpíq ɬ sqáxa. 'I see one white dog.' ('See-it-I present-definite one ɬ white the dog.')

4.2. A clause consists of a predicate, its complements and adjuncts. Since predicative and non-predicative phrase constructions have been discussed, it will only be necessary to illustrate adjunct relations in clauses.

4.21. Complements. Phrases and clauses which complete predicative notions occur as complements introduced by ?es 'unrealized state' (cf. 6.21.). Particle and complements are underscored.

cút ?es q̓íwes. 'He planned to break it.' ('Plan he (unmarked) to break-it-he.')

x̣oqope?owén ?es q̓eyém. 'I learned to write.' ('Learn-it-I to write.')

pút n ?es čestóx? 'Was it necessary to make her cry?' ('Necessary it (unmarked) question to cry-cause-her-you?')

x̣ʷux̣ʷeystén ?es qʷocéc. 'I want to leave.' ('Prefer-it-I to depart.')

Phrases which are expansions of the inflectional person categories of the predicate are also complements. They convey specific information concerning these referents. The subjective and objective complements are introduced by the complement particles g 'present', l 'absent' or k 'unspecified'. Particles and complements are underscored in the following examples.

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g snəqəpə́q ƛ̓éxt. 'The berries are sweet.' ('Present-definite berries sweet.')

músi g cíʔ 'I touched the deer.' ('Massage-it-I present-definite deer.')

l nsqáxa m qʷocóc. 'My dog is gone.' ('Absent-definite my-dog completed depart he (unmarked).')

x̌əqəʔíɬns l scəmémelt. 'She woke the children.' ('Wake-them-she absent-definite children.')

x̌ʷuystén k spəqəpə́q. 'I like berries.' ('Prefer-it-I unspecified-indefinite berries.')

The subjective complement immediately precedes or follows the predicate. The objective complement follows the predicate, after the subject if it also follows the predicate.

4.22. Adjuncts. Phrases which refer to other participants, time, location and manner concerning an event are adjuncts. They are introduced by adjunct particles (cf. 6.22.).

kəxtén ƛ̓ ləkəlét g sqéylexʷ. 'I gave bread to the man.' ('Give-it-I ƛ̓ bread present-definite man.')

g sqéylexʷ kəxtés ƛ̓ číʔ g sqáx̣a. 'The man gave the meat to the dog.' ('Present-definite man give-him-he ƛ̓ meat present-definite dog.')

g tuwíwt ʔetíx n xəlíləp. 'The boy slept on the floor.' ('Present-definite boy sleep he (unmarked) on floor.')

g tuwíwt xəʔəmút t spúləṭn. 'The boy got out of bed.' ('Present-definite boy arise he (unmarked from bed.')

néwulx tkn xʷuxə́wul. 'He ran toward the car.' ('Run he (unmarked) toward car.'

Adjuncts can occur before and after the predicate. They sometimes occur between the predicate and the object complement. There is free order of these elements.

4.23. Independent clauses are grammatically free constructions. The simplest clause consists of a predicate, since predicates are fully specified semantic and grammatical constructions (sentence-words). More complex clauses consist of a predicate accompanied by its adjuncts.

Dependent clauses occur as adjuncts to other grammatical constructions. They are introduced by subordinating particles (cf. 6.23.) and the predicate has dependent referent inflection (cf. 6.11.).

4.3. Sentences are clauses or clause sequences that occur independently with sentence intonation. Specific details and examples concerning subordination and coordination have been presented elsewhere.

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4.31. A simple sentence consists of a single independent clause.

wíkc. 'He saw it.'

wul totúmə kə nukʷ lúʔ. 'I guess I even dreamed.' ('Even dream I evidently past.')

peʔ pəsqələ́wə kə ʔes nə́s ƛ téwə. 'I wish I had money to go to town.' ('Wish possess-money I to go to town.')

cəlaxeystén suwét iʔ l qʷocéc. 'I know who left.' ('Know-it-I indefinite-person absent-definite depart he (unmarked).')

4.32. Complex sentences consist of an independent clause plus one or more dependent clauses.

meʔ pəmín l nxʷuƛékst ʔeł meʔ kəxcín əs. 'I have to find my knife before I can give it to you.' ('Intend find-it-I absent-definite my-knife before intend give-you-I dependent clause.')

meʔ qíƛ e kə ʔə cəxluxʷúm uxʷ. 'I will fish if you fix the house.' ('Intend fish I if repair-house-you.')

txéʔuwsə kʷuxʷ ʔey e ł kʷəlcəmúłt əs. 'We peeled potatoes before they cooked.' ('Peel-round-thing we before cook food they.')

4.33. Compound sentences consist of two or more simple or complex sentences joined by a coordinating connective particle (cf. 6.23.).

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?u?ə́x g səcínəm ət ?eɬ ?ə́x g ?éləkst ət. 'We are singing while we are working.' ('Actively-engaged present-definite sing we while actively-engaged present-definite work we.')

čəlóxʷ kə k̓éməɬ ?əx g ?éləkst uwə. 'I perspire while I am working.' ('Perspire I while actively-engaged present-definite work I.')

g sqáxa xəlncéms cəq̓ətén iye. 'The dog bit me because I hit him.' ('Present-definite dog bite-me-he hit-him-I because.')

4.4. Mood, tense, aspect. Distinctions of mood, time and aspect are realized by various elements and constructions. Many of these have been described in preceding sections. New information and some review is presented here.

4.41. Indicative clauses. The primary aspectual distinction in indicative clauses is between progressive and non-progressive involvement.

Progressive aspect is signified by a complex predicate having ?u?ə́x as center. Non-progressive aspect is unmarked.

Additional aspectual notions are conveyed by predicative particles which optionally accompany the predicate (cf. 6.11.).

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4.42. Negative clauses consist of a complex predicate having a negative stem as center accompanied by a complement. Aspectual distinctions are conveyed by particles which accompany this complement.

Constructions having <u>té?</u> as center are 'completive'; those with <u>té?</u> <u>us</u> are 'non-completive' //té?//. 'negative' + //w-es// 'dependence'.

Complements are stative except those consisting of stems compounded with //pi// 'to possess'.

Completive negative constructions show combinations of two additional oppositions: present/past vs. future and progressive vs. non-progressive.

té? k s + stem + allocation = intransitive--past/present--non-progressive.

té? k s + stem + transitive person = transitive--past/present--non-progressive.

té? ?es k + stem + dependent person = intransitive--past/present--progressive.

té? ?es k + stem + transitive person + -us = transitive--past/present--progressive.

té? me? s + stem + allocation = intransitive--future--non-progressive.

té? me? s + stem + transitive person = transitive--future--non-progressive.

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té? ?es me? + stem + intransitive dependent person = intransitive--future--progressive.

té? ?es me? + stem + transitive person + -us = transitive--future--progressive.

té? k sc̓úms. 'He did not cry.'

té? k sc̓estés. 'He did not make him cry.'

té? ?es k c̓úm os. 'He is not crying.'

té? ?es k c̓estés os. 'He is not making him cry.'

té? me? s?etíxs. 'He will not sleep.'

té? me? skonúxʷes. 'He will not help him.'

té? ?es me? ?íɨn uwe. 'I will not be eating.'

té? ?es me? c konúxʷsc es. 'He will not be helping him.'

The non-completive constitute occurs with present/past non-progressive distinctions.

té? us k e?senexél. 'Don't be afraid.'

té? us k e?sxelém. 'Don't bite.'

té? us k scicémx. 'Don't you punch me.'

4.43. Interrogative clauses. Clauses having simple predicates are accompanied by the dubitative particle n to signify interrogation.

n follows the first singular independent intransitive person ke and precedes the other intransitive persons.

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q^{w}oq^{w}olút ke n? 'Did I speak?' ('Speak I question?')

tetúme ke n? 'Did I dream?'

xén n k? 'Are you hurt?' ('Injure question you?')

čúm e k? 'Did you cry?' //čúm n k-ex// ('Cry question you?')

It follows the transitive person affixes.

čescín n? 'Did I make you cry?' //čum-s-t-sí-en n// ('Cry-cause-general transitive-you-I question?')

čestón n? 'Did I make him cry?'

čestéx e? 'Did you make him cry?' //čum-s-tóx n?// ('Cry-cause-him-you question?')

čescís i? 'Did he make you cry?' //čum-s-t-sí-es n?// ('Cry-cause-general transitive-you-he question?')

Complex predicates having ?u?éx as center are accompanied by complements introduced by k.

?éx l čúm uwe? 'Am I crying?' ('Actively-engaged indefinite cry I?')

?éx k čúm ux^{w}? 'Are you crying?'

?éx k xén ux^{w}? 'Are you hurting?'

?éx k ło?éƛ as? 'Is he getting wet?'

It appears (conclusive data are lacking) that the preceding interrogative construction does not occur with other definite reference (deictic) words.

Indefinite words occur as centers in complex predicates; the expressions are interrogative. The tense and aspect system that occurs with negatives is paralleled here.

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swét i? xʷú?co k e?suwíktx? 'Who else did you see?'
('Indefinite-person it additionally indefinite your-seeing-him-you?')

stém i k tu?lílomox? 'What did you laugh at?'
('Indefinite-object it indefinite laugh-it-you?')

ƛ hé?e k wíktxʷ us? 'Where did you see him?' ('At indefinite-object it indefinite see-it-you?')

4.44. Dependent clauses. Temporal-aspectual distinctions are conveyed by connective, predicative and directive particles. The bulk of aspectual distinctions is described by connective and predicative particles, some involving combinations, in the dependent clause (cf. 6.11., 6.23.). Progressive aspect is conveyed by a dependent progressive construction (cf. 6.23.). Non-progressive aspect is expressed by predicates having dependent personal reference inflection.

?éxʷ us ɡ qíƛe wə łúmi kə ƛ sqəléltn. 'While I was fishing I caught a salmon.' ('Actively-engaged dependent-clause present-definite fish I catch-fish I ƛ salmon.')

?éxʷ us ł séxʷu wə qáqəməł ?əs xəcəqʷəqʷəpétkʷə. 'When I was swimming I nearly drowned.' ('Actively-engaged dependent-clause past-definite bathe I nearly-complete to drown.')

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?ə gəyə́p uxʷ meʔ qʷəcə́c kə. 'If you are angry I will go.' ('If angry you intend depart I.')

meʔ ʔətíx kə ʔəy xʷiyə́wxʷt uxʷ. 'I will sleep while you are gone.' ('Intend sleep I while absent you.')

The temporal relationships that exist between independent and dependent clauses are described by the connective particles. They generally signify the sequential ordering of events. The past/non-past distinction which, as mentioned earlier, is not particularly well developed in independent clauses, is also weakly developed in dependent clauses. The directive particle l (cf. 6.2.) marks the past and its absence indicates non-past.

meʔ cxə́łxʷ kə ʔəy ʔə́xʷ uxʷ ƛ tə́wə. 'I will clean house while you are in town.' ('Intend clean-house I while be-present you at town.')

ʔə́x g cxə́łxʷ wə l ʔə́xʷ uxʷ ƛ tə́wə. 'I was cleaning house when you were in town.' ('Actively-engaged present-definite clean-house I past-definite be-present you at town.')

meʔ ʔətíx kə ʔəy xʷiyə́wxʷt uxʷ. 'I will sleep while you are gone.' ('Intend sleep I while absent you.')

ʔətíx kə l xʷiyə́wxʷt uxʷ. 'I slept when you were gone.' ('Sleep I past-definite absent you.')

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5. Restricted Words

Certain roots and stems are restricted in terms of derivational, inflectional, and grammatical ranges of cooccurrence. They constitute a class of restricted words.

5.1. Deictics. Included in this class are words which convey information concerning person, location and time in communicative events. There are two classes of deictics: relational and non-relational. The subclassification is supported by differences in meaning, form, and distribution; nevertheless, there is overlap and considerable similarity between the classes.

5.11. The non-relational class includes definite person, indefinite person, and indefinite object. They occur as bases of both predicative and non-predicative words.

5.111. The definite person words consist of stems inflected for allocation. The first person singular root is //cowe?//; all other persons have the root //nuwi?//. The meaning of the roots has not been determined.

1 singular	ncéwe?	'I'
2 singular	g e?nuwí?	'you'
3 singular	nuwí?s	'he'

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The proclitic //ʔuɬ// 'collective plural' accompanies stems for plural persons.

1 plural (inclusive)	ʔuɬ nuwíʔkt	'we'
1 plural (exclusive)	ʔuɬ nuwíʔs kʷuxʷ	'we'
2 plural	ʔuɬ nuwíʔep	'you'
3 plural	ʔuɬ nuwíʔs	'they'

ncéwe?. 'I am the one.'

ncéwe? g eʔskʷusé?. 'I am your son.' ('I present-definite your-son.')

p̓eʔéxʷ g sceq̓ʷáxʷs t eʔnuwíʔ. 'He is thinner than you.' ('Being-compared present-definite thinness-his than you.')

xelmecín̓ ncéwe?. 'I am the one who closed the door.'

When personal reference is marked by inflectional affixes, the predicate is not expanded by person word complements except for emphasis, as in the last example.

5.112. //swet// 'indefinite person' is translated 'who' when it occurs as a predicate center; elsewhere 'the one, someone, anyone, no one,' depending on the construction. suwét iʔ (probably //swót + giʔ//) is an expansion used predicatively.

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suwét i? ke? 'Who am I?'

cəxetés ikə suwét. 'Someone must have fixed it.'
('Repair-it-he possibly indefinite-person.')

wike kə ʔ k suwét. 'I see someone.' ('See I ʔ indefinite indefinite-person.')

5.113. //stem// 'indefinite object' is translated 'what' predicatively; otherwise 'the object, something, anything, nothing.' stém i (probably //stem + gi?//) is the predicative expansion.

stém i ke? 'What am I?'

ʔuʔéx nukʷ lú? ʔ i? k stém. 'Something was around here.' ('Actively-engaged evidently past around here indefinite indefinite-object.')

tə́? ʔ i? lú? k stém. 'It wasn't anything.' ('Not ʔ around here past indefinite indefinite-object.')

5.12. The relational words place referents in several contextual, spatial and temporal categories with respect to one another.

It is evident that the majority of stems consists of more than one element. Elements appearing in first position are easily identified as directive particles. The rest of the forms are not so readily analyzed; either they are

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elements that occur nowhere else, or the shapes of a single morpheme alternate according to a number of idiosyncratic morphologically simple forms.

Forms are first presented with semantic labels to suggest the range of their coverage; a discussion of distribution and function with examples follows.

gí?	visible	here	present time
lú?	non-visible	there	past time
ií?	visible-non-visible	hither-thither	
nú?	non-visible	beyond	categorial time

These words may refer to persons, objects or places, and these are related to the overall context according to visibility-location distinctions as outlined above. They occur in contexts where highly specific definition is not needed or not important. Only gí? and lú? are common when the referent is a person or object. Words in this group can occur without accompanying directive particles.

géy 'visible in the near distance' has the alternant xéy after voiceless consonants.

Incorporative (visibility and position in relation to the speaker):

?éliyo visible immediate

Non-incorporative:

?éno visible immediate

gíno visible near distance

lúne non-visible far

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łúne visible-non-visible hither or thither

núne non-visible beyond

Incorporative space is bounded space. The boundaries may be physical or conceptual: a house has definite physical boundaries; a native tribal territory has conceptual boundaries. Bounded space may also be shared space; thus, if one is standing beside a house he is sharing a space with the house and that space is incorporative. Certain referents are incorporative by nature and require the incorporative word ?éliye as substitute. Shared space is transitory, however, and the use of the incorporative word is determined by speakers' perception of the context. Non-incorporative nearby space ?éne lacks these characteristics. The stems lúne, łúne and núne are used exclusively with place referents; gíne with persons. ?éliye, ?éne and gíne always occur with accompanying directive particles; lúne, łúne and núne also appear independently.

Indefinite manner, place and time are handled by constructions involving //hen// and its predicative stem hé?e. Temporal expressions consist of the general temporal stems //pn// and //hen//.

Another set of demonstratives is formed with the particle ?i.

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ʔi gíʔ	it, the one present	
ʔi ɨúʔ	it, the one not present	
ʔi góy	that (one)	there
ʔi góyno	that (one from several)	there
ʔi ʔéno	this (one) non-incorporative	here
ʔi ʔéliye	this (one) incorporative	here
ʔi hóʔe	whichever (one)	

In this presentation all these expressions are regularized to the forms beginning with ʔi. In actual casual speech the particle ʔi has the shape gi in anticipation of g-initial stems gíʔ, góy, gíno, and, in rapid speech, yi in anticipation of gi-initials gíʔ, gíno.

Directive relational phrases consist of directive particles and relational words. The same restrictions and order that pertain to particles and words in general phrases pertain here; however, the distribution of the relational phrase parallels that of a single word. The number of combinations is overwhelming, and they frequently have multiple meanings depending on the context of the sentence.

5.121. Relational expressions occur as predicate centers.

ʔi ʔéno ko. 'I am here.' ('Be-near I.')

ʔi ʔéliye ko. 'I am right here.' ('Be-immediately-near I.')

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ɬ hé?e k. 'Where are you.'

tktn nú? ko. 'I am on the other side.'

The most frequent of these is ?i gí?, expressing an emphatic declaration concerning a state or event.

?i gí? g sqʷocóqs. 'He is dead.' ('This now present-definite death-his.')

?i gí? g slé?s. 'He is good.'

?i gí? g skísc. 'He is bad.'

It conveys a declaration of intent with the directive particle ɬ.

?i gí? ɬ nsqʷocéc. 'I am about to go.' ('This now presently my-going.')

?í? ɬ ns?íɬn. 'I am about to eat.'

The aspectual particle me? 'intention' sometimes occurs in the construction.

?i gí? me? ɬ nsqʷocéc. 'I am about to go.'

?i gí? me? ɬ ns?íɬn. 'I am about to eat.'

The directive particle g is frequently omitted. In rapid speech the particle gí- may also be omitted and the vowel in ?i is stressed and held over long.

?í·· sqʷocéc. 'He went.'

?í·· sqʷocóqs. 'He is dead.'

Locative emphasis is conveyed when other relational phrases are predicate centers.

nú? m ctén os. 'It is over there.' ('Beyond-place completed placed it.')

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ʔ̓ k xóy 1 m nés os. 'He went there.' ('To indefinite nearby past-definite completed travel he.')

t 1 ʔéliyo g nés uwo ʔ̓ téwe. 'I am going to town.' ('From absent-definite incorporative-place present-definite travel I to town.')

5.122. Distribution in complements. A conventionalized third person complement gíʔ 'it-present' or lúʔ 'it-absent' accompanies a predicative deictic (the intransitive third person is unmarked and gíʔ, lúʔ substitute for it; the other persons are marked and gíʔ, lúʔ do not cooccur with person marked stems). gíʔ and lúʔ tend to occur less frequently when a detailed complement is present.

ncéweʔ gíʔ. 'It is I.'

ncéweʔ lúʔ. 'It is I (returned from absence).'

suwét iʔ gíʔ? 'Who is it?'

suwét iʔ lúʔ? 'Who was it?'

ʔi héʔe 'which one' is usually accompanied by t 1 gíʔ 'from this'. It is a conventionalized complement that specifically accommodates the selective reference of the word.

ʔi héʔe t 1 gíʔ ʔ̓ k nčeʔsqáxaʔ 'Which one is the horse?' (which-from this-horse)

ʔi héʔe t 1 gíʔ ʔ̓ k sqáxaʔ 'Which one is the dog?'

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A conventionalized complement normally accompanies an allocation class predicative stem.

tuwíwt gí?. 'It is a boy.'

síčə gí?. 'It is a blanket.'

čəlx^{w}ílep gí?. 'It is a chair.'

The demonstratives ?i ?éne, ?i ?éltyo, ?i gíne, ?i géy occur as heads of complement phrases. ?i gí? and ?i lú? seldom occur in this position since the conventionalized complements customarily occur there.

stém̓ i gí? ?i ?éne? 'What is this?'

swét i gí? ?i gíne? 'Who is that one?'

ck^{w}énte ?i géy. 'Get that one.'

5.123. Relational expressions also occur as adjuncts to the predicate. lú? occurs as temporal adjunct to the predicate signifying that the event took place in the past. It follows the predicate center and its aspectual satellites.

nə̓wulx kə lú?. 'I ran long ago.'

n k^{w}ə̓ləmétn lú?. 'I sent her long ago.' ('Completed send-her-I past.')

c la lú?. 'It was hidden long ago.' ('Previously hide it (unmarked) past.')

gí? sometimes occurs as an emphatic adjunct to the predicate. It follows *lú?* in relative order.

coxetés *gí?*. 'He fixed it.'

m coxetén məɬ lú? *gí?*. 'I already fixed it long ago.'

('Completed repair-it-I already past *indeed*.')

m téwo kə lú? *gí?*. 'I already bought one long ago.'

('Completed buy I past *indeed*.')

The word *wí?* 'be complete, finished' follows *lú?* (see above) as an emphatic predicate adjunct. It is mutually exclusive with *gí?*. Since it is not a restricted word, its appearance here is probably due to a form-function analogy.

c q̓əy̓ lú? *wí?*. 'It was written.'

?óx lú? *wí?* c pix̣e wə. 'I finished hunting.'

?óx lú? *wí?* məlméix^w wə. 'I used to paint.'

Other adjunctive expressions add locative notions to the predication.

puwúm kə *n gí?*. 'I drummed *on it*.'

c k^{w}éntə *ƛ̓ ?é'iyə*. 'Bring it *to here*.'

k^{w}éntə *t ɬ ?énə*. 'Take it *away from here*.'

5.124. Relational expressions, especially demonstrative ones, occur as modifiers to heads of non-predicative phrases.

?i gí? g *səcúm* meʔ kəpscís. '*This crying* will make you sick.'

?i lú? ƛ̓ k *sqáxə* x̣ax̣áʔ. '*That dog* is smart.'

?i góy ƛ̓ k *tuwíwt* ló?. '*That boy* is nice.'

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t 1 gí? functions as a connective particle--'that is the reason, that is why.'

polopostés 1 púsc t 1 gí? p téwum os ƛ nok̓ʷú?. 'She lost her cat--that is why she bought another.'

x̣éno t 1 gí? p ?óxʷ us g ćúm os. 'He is hurt--that is why he is crying.'

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6. Particles

Although the number of particles is not particularly large, many of them have multileveled distributions with attendant differences in grammatical function.

Two broad distributional classes are recognized. Attributive particles modify stems and add to their meaning. Directive particles specify relationships between grammatical elements.

6.1. Attributive particles.

6.11. Predicative particles occur only as modifiers to the predicate center. They convey notions of aspect and mood.

6.111. The diagram below illustrates the relative order of occurrence for the proclitic predicate particles. Those in the same column are mutually exclusive.

	me?				
//	tm	c	pl	//	center
	m				

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//tm// occurs as a proclitic attributive particle to predicate centers. It has the meaning 'not to be able to'.

tm píxe ko. 'I can't get a deer.'

tm ceɬém ko. 'I can't hit it.'

tm xeceɬeqín. 'I can't hammer it.'

//me?// 'intention'

me? nós ko. 'I will go along.'

me? gacém ko. 'I will tie it.'

me? wíktn. 'I will see him.'

//m// 'perfective'

m tetúme ko. 'I dreamt.'

m gacém ko. 'I tied it.'

m kometín. 'I swallowed it.'

//c// 'action completed prior to the time of speaking or in relation to another event' is frequently translated 'on the way through', implying some sort of temporal-locative meaning--a helpful, understandable translation in certain contexts, eg. mé? c kextén 'I will give it to her on the way through.' Actually c here and as in many similar examples places the giving in relation to the total context of the event--in this case, the primary event of going to town. In effect, it is a stative particle 'be in a state resulting from a prior act.'

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c̲ xəpúxʷ. 'It is inflated.' (air mattress has been blown up)

c̲ túxʷ. 'It is increased.' (someone has added more)

c̲ tóq̓ʷ. 'It is nailed.'

//p̓l// 'comitative' (a secondary involvement in an act)

p̓əl̲ súlt. 'It will freeze (with the ice).'

p̓əl̲ xʷuʔús. 'They are excited (about going along).'

p̓əl̲ xəʔist ko. 'I stayed (with them).'

6.112. Enclitic predicate particles are diagrammed below to show ordering relative to the stem and mutual exclusion.

		nukʷ	mi			
//	w-es	n		ʔuxʷ	ukʷ	//
		nko	nl			

//w-es// 'dependence' is a conventionalized adaptation of //w-es// 'dependent' with third subject (cf. 3.63.). It accompanies a limited group of words expressing the conditional mood.

tə́ʔ us 'don't'

cúkʷ us 'stop'

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It follows transitive predicates marking a clause as dependent.

ʔo konúxʷecexʷ us mə? konúxʷeci. 'If you help me I'll help you.'

//n// 'dubitative' signifies that the speaker is uncertain, is unaware or lacks knowledge of an event, condition or state. When it occurs alone it functions as a propositional interrogative.

ƛ̓oscín n k? 'Did you curse?'

ʔetíx k n? 'Did I fall asleep?'

ƛ̓escís i? 'Did he make you cry?' //ƛ̓m-s-t-sí-es n?//

The following three forms, //nukʷ, nk, nɨ//, are constructions consisting of n 'dubitative' and a second particle. The second particles seem for the most part to have no independent occurrences without the preceding n; however, //nukʷ// seems to contain the dubitative and a particle //ukʷ// which occurs alone with stems in tales as a 'quotative' element: 'they say, it is said'. //nukʷ// conveys the notion of 'evidential--on the basis of observed facts, changes in form or sequence of events, ...x... might have happened'.

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//nukʷ// 'evidential'

ƛokʷúm ko nukʷ. 'It appears I slapped it.'

gacém ko nukʷ. 'It appears I tied it.'

m qʷíče ko nukʷ. 'It appears you washed.'

//nkə// 'speculative': in this case one is merely speculating as to nature of an event, condition or state--evidence is not available or not evaluated.

ʔostəqipstén nkə. 'I must have startled him.'

xenəscín nkə. 'I must have hurt you.'

čostén nkə. 'I must have made him cry.'

//nɨ// 'unanticipated': an event occurs and the speaker is not aware of why, when or how it happened.

gaypmíncəs nəɨ. 'He was mad at me.'

nuxʷiʔcín kə nəɨ. 'I am out of food.'

m ʔetíx nəɨ. 'He is asleep.'

//mɨ// 'previous' signifies that an act has taken place prior to some intended related act or event. Any similar act is rendered redundant, unnecessary or impossible.

m tuʔkʷumín məɨ. 'I sold it already.'

gacém ko məɨ. 'I tied it already.'

qʷíče ko məɨ. 'I washed already.'

//ʔuxʷ// 'repetition' is often used to convey the notion of tedious and unnecessary behavior. Habitual and simple iterative acts are expressed by other means.

qʷcécc kə ʔuxʷ. 'I am leaving again.'

ƛ̓úpt ʔuxʷ. 'It is twisted again.'

cəɬéɬns ʔuxʷ. 'He shot it again.'

//ukʷ// occurs in texts dealing with the mythological past. It appears to mean 'it is reported, but not observed'. It is not usually translated.

ƛ̓ékʷ ukʷ senχʷéχʷoluxʷ. 'Coyote walked along, it is said.'

...séwetəm as ukʷ. '...they asked, "What is the matter?" it is said.'

Enclitic particles usually follow the predicate center in complex predicates.

ʔéx məl g qʷíčə wə. 'I am washing already.'

ʔéx nukʷ g qʷíčə wə. 'I must be washing.'

The particles combine fairly freely with one another, adding a large number of aspectual-modal meanings to the predicate. There is often no natural precise translation for predicates which are accompanied by several particles.

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mə? c gacém ko. 'I will tie it (before another event).'
m c gacém k. 'It was tied (before another event).'
gacém ko nukʷ məi. 'It appears I tied it already.'
m c gacém k mi. 'You tied it already.'

6.113. Other attributive particles.

//sn// is a proclitic particle whose meaning may be best described as 'intensified'. It occurs with substantive words signifying that the referent is set apart from other similar referents.

kʷúkʷpi? 'a chief'	sən kʷúkʷpi? 'the chief' (one's own chief)
skəlép 'a coyote'	sən kəlép 'the coyote' (the Trickster)

It also marks the superlative degree in comparative constructions. The superlative construction is completed by addition of the third person allocative //-s//.

pléit 'thick'	sən pléic 'thickest' //sn pleit-s//
lé? 'pretty'	sən lé?s 'prettiest'
χʷe?xén 'fast'	sən χʷe?xéns 'fastest'

//?ui// 'collective plural' is a proclitic particle that accompanies certain locative stems and the plural person deictic stems

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ʔuɬ ʔi ɣíno 'these'

ʔuɬ ʔi góy 'those'

ʔuɬ nuwíʔkt 'we (inclusive)'

ʔuɬ nuwíʔs kʷuxʷ 'we (exclusive)'

ʔuɬ nuwíʔep 'you (plural)'

ʔuɬ nuwíʔs 'they'

//ʔi// 'demonstrative' is a proclitic particle which occurs with deictic stems.

ʔi gíʔ. 'It is the time.' or 'It is the one.'

ʔi gíʔ snqʷocóc. 'I am leaving.' (said during departure, 'It is now my going.')

ʔi lúʔ. 'It was the one.' or 'It was the time.'

ʔi lúʔ 1 tkʔewít ɬ cítxʷ. 'It was the last house (for sale).'

6.114. A few particles are independently stressed; they are non-clitic predicate particles.

//xʷuʔce// 'again, additional'

meʔ mostén xʷúʔce. 'I'll try again.'

m kʷén xʷúce. 'I took it again.'

//cexéke// 'be a possible event' is translated 'maybe'.

cexéke meʔ píxe kt. 'Maybe we will go hunting.'

cexéke ʔe nés ke ɬ téwe. 'Maybe I might go to town.'

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//ʌ́uxʷ// 'just, merely' specifies that the consequences of an act are of little importance, of negative value, or are of limited duration and scope.

ʌ́uxʷ ʔuʔlíle kt. 'We are just laughing.'

ientés ʌ́uxʷ. 'He just poked him.'

//put// 'be necessary'

pút me? nés ke ʌ́ téwe. 'I must go to town.'

pút me? ʔélekst kt. 'We must work.'

//pút// also occurs predicatively. In indicative sentences it means 'be sufficient', in interrogative sentences 'is it sufficient?' or 'is it necessary?'.

//cukʷ// 'exclusively'

cúkʷ gí? kextén. 'I gave it to him only.'

cúkʷ ʔuí nuwíkt me? nés kt. 'Only we will go.'

6.2. Directive particles mark the grammatical relationships that exist between syntactic units--attribution, coordination and subordination. These grammatical functions define three subclasses:

1. complement particles
2. adjunct particles
3. connective particles

In addition, they have a degree of meaning of their own.

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6.21. Complement particles. Phrases expanding notions implicit in the predicate are predicate complements. They are introduced by complement particles. Depending on the constitute in the complement, the particle may be conceptualized either spatially (for substantives) or temporally (for predications).

//g// (spatial) 'present, specified'

q^{w}əlntén g sqəylex^{w}. 'I spoke to the man.'

k^{w}uk^{w}stén g tmíxt. 'I saved the boy.'

?éwut g sqaxqax?é?iyə. 'The puppies howled.

(temporal)

?óx g ?éwut əs g sqaxqax?ó?iyə. 'The puppies are crying.'

?óx g tetúmən əs. 'She is dreaming.'

//l// (spatial) 'absent, specified'

tu?k^{w}umín l sčəqə?éwɬ. 'I sold the boat.'

cəxetém l nəxəlé^{w}us. 'We fixed the bridge.'

xə?íɬnte k^{w}ux^{w} l čí?. 'We ate the meat.'

(temporal)

?óx g xəsicó?wus ət ?óx^{w} us l píxəm ət. 'We got tired when we were hunting.'

?ítx k l ckícx^{w} uwə. 'You were asleep when I arrived.'

?óx l ?éwt əs. 'They were howling.'

l also signifies an object, present or absent, which formerly belonged to speaker or addressee.

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//k// 'present or absent--unspecified or unrealized'

stéʔ i gíʔ k sqáχaʔ 'What is a dog?'

χ̣ʷuχ̣ʷuystén k lekelét. 'I like bread.'

meʔ ceɬéln k číʔ. 'I will shoot a deer.'

In complex predicates k introduces complements (i.e. statements) which are interpreted as 'contrary to fact' or 'unrealized' (with the negative and certain other stems) and 'unknown' (with deictics of indefinite reference

téʔ k sčúms. 'He did not cry.'

cúkʷ s k eʔséyse. 'Stop (your) playing.'

suwét kʔ k eʔsuwíkeʔ 'What did you see?'

//ʔes// 'unrealized state' introduces complements which complete predicative notions.

χ̣ʷuχ̣ʷuystén ʔes ʔíɬn. 'I went to eat.'

cút ke mel ʔes qʷelntén. 'I already planned to speak with him.'

téʔ k spúc ʔes čenío"etels. 'He is not fit to fight with us.'

Complement particles are often omitted when the referential relationships have been observed by the participants or have been established in previous sentences. Informants insist, however, that such omissions do not take place in adult speech, since infant speech is characterized by this

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lack of linguistic sophistication. As far as I could determine, there is no special language designed for communication with children (i.e. baby-talk or child language).

6.22. Adjunct particles. Phrases attributive to other phrases are adjuncts; they are introduced by adjunct particles.

//ƛ̓// 'to, at, about, around (having arrived at destination, as opposed to //tktn//--see below), with, by means of, in connection with'

néwulx kə ƛ̓ xʷuxów̓ul. 'I ran to the car.'

nóstn g nčeʔsqáx̣aʔ ƛ̓ stípəl. 'I took the horse to the barn.'

nés kə ƛ̓ táwə. 'I went to town.'

//tktn// 'toward (not having arrived at destination)'
//tktn// occurs only in deictic constructs

néwulx kə tkn xʷuxów̓ul. 'I ran toward the car.'

kʷén g nčeʔsqáx̣aʔ tkn stípəl. 'I took the horse toward the barn.'

néhstn g čəlxʷíləp tkn tuwíwt. 'I moved the chair toward the boy.'

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//t// 'from'

ƛokə?ilx ko t xʷuxə́wul. 'I ran from the car.'

kʷén g nčə?sqáx̣a? t stípəl. 'I took the horse from the barn.'

kə́wulxstn g tuwíwt t xək̓ecenə́ɬxʷ. 'I moved the boy away from the door.'

//n// 'in, on, at'

xəɬuwə́ỷwulx ko n xʷuxə́wul. 'I jumped into the car.'

ntén n x̣əčiyə́?ɬe?xʷ. I put it in the box.'

tɬú?ɬxʷə? g susúsu?t n spə́či. 'I put the beads on a string.'

Adjunct particles are mutually exclusive with complement particles g and l, but not with k.

me? cxʷuxə́ɬxʷ ko ƛ k cítxʷ. 'I will build a house.'

me? cəq̓ə́lne ko ƛ k čí?. 'I will shoot a deer.'

//ƛ// precedes each word within a complement phrase, except in the special instances cited below.

coxetén g xiyucín ƛ xək̓eceneɬxʷ. 'I fixed the noisy door.' ('Fix-it-I present-definite (complement particle) noisy ƛ (adjunct particle door.')

l c xɬə́qʷ ƛ sčəqə́?owɬ nqʷéct nko. 'The bailed canoe must have got full.' ('Absent-definite (complement particle) bailed ƛ (adjunct particle) canoe is-full evidently.')

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?óx g ?ítx ƛ scəmóməlt kikéyt. 'The sleeping children are quiet.' (Actively-engaged present-definite sleep (hence, 'be sleeping') ƛ (adjunct particle) children are-quiet.')

łəntén ?əx g xʷuwéyəm əs ƛ sqéxə. 'I poked the barking dog.' ('Poked-him-I actively-engaged present-definite bark (hence, 'be barking') ƛ (adjunct particle) dog.')

Phrases in which the attribute is possessed by the head are a type of genitive phrase marked not only by the allocation inflection but also by the presence of g or l between attribute and head rather than the customary ƛ.

g qé?ces g xəxóxʷutə gəyép. 'The girl's father is angry.' ('Present-definite father-her present-definite girl is-angry.')

g e?úqʷiy g sƛəkélc pələxéluwə. 'Your sister's daughter is married.' ('Present-definite your-sister present-definite daughter-her is-married.')

The adjunct particle which introduces a phrase sometimes precedes each stem within the phrase. This is especially true of the particle n, less so for the others.

?əmút kə n skokíkəc n cítxʷ. 'I sat beside the house.'

puxʷetéko ləsél n ?ónə n xəłókʷomə?. 'Pour the salt in this cup.'

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6.3. Connective particles.

//ʔeɨ// 'additive' has a dual function. It precedes or follows the predicate center as a modifier--'also, in addition'.

meʔ néstn ʔoɨ ʔi géy. 'I will take that one along also.'

meʔ kʷén ʔeɨ g sulemíɬek. 'I will take a gun also.'

ʔoɨ meʔ c konoxʷultímx ke. 'I will help also.'

It occurs between two words as coordinating connective particle 'and'.

wíke ke ɬ skʷeláqs ʔeɨ ɬ číʔ. 'I see a bear and a deer.'

x̣ʷux̣ʷuystén číʔ ʔeɨ petók. 'I want meat and potatoes.'

xeɬémete ʔiʔéne g míɬx ɬ k sxénx ʔeɨ sqéʔpe. 'Fill this basket with rocks and sand.'

//ʔeɨ// occurs as a connective between two or more independent clauses signifying simultaneity and concomitance of agency, recipience, or events ('and, while'). Between an independent and dependent clause, a sequential ordering of events is conveyed--'and then, before'.

Connective coordinating:

ʔuʔéx g petínise we ʔeɨ ʔéx g ʔéleɬst uwe. 'I am thinking while I am working.'

ɬuwélns ʔeɨ tâʔ k pisqeléwes. 'He abandoned him and he doesn't have any money.'

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Connective subordinating:

me? metén g sqéxa ?el me? q"ocóc uwe. 'I will feed the dog before I go to town.'

sóx"o k"ux" ?el nós os ƛ tówe. 'We swam and then we went to town.'

//?e// 'conditional' as predicative attribute usually precedes the predicate center.

?e stó? ke. 'I might drink.'

?e ?íln ke. 'I might eat.'

?e citén. 'I might hit him.'

?e introduces dependent clauses which convey unrealized, conceptually dependent events. The particle is then translated 'if'.

?e kenúx"ecex" us me? kenúx"eci. 'If you help me, I'll help you.'

me? qíƛe ke ?e s?úƛ es g setétk"e. 'I'll go fishing if the river goes down.'

//?ey// 'incomplete' occurs as predicative attribute:

?ey ?ítx ke. 'I was still sleeping.'

?ey c kelekélstn. 'I am still following him.'

mútn ?ey. 'He is still here.'

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It also appears signifying that one event (independent clause) occurs during the time span of another act (dependent clause). ?ey introduces the dependent clause.

cǩilém kt ?ey ?óxʷ us 1 ?iłn es. 'We waited while they were eating.'

?ey c ł conjoins an independent clause and a dependent clause. The event expressed in the independent clause is conceptualized as a necessary prelude to the one which follows in the dependent clause--'before'. It appears that ?ey c ł is a construction of the elements ?ey 'not completed' plus c 'prior to' plus ł 'that which follows', hence 'before'.

gacitén g sqáxa ?ey c ł kʷuxʷ píxem us. 'I tied the dog before we went to town.'

?ólekʷewo ?ey c ł me? sq̓óp us. 'Put it away before it breaks.'

//?iye// 'because' connects independent clauses that express a cause and result relationship. ?iye occurs between the clauses, or, more commonly, it follows the predicate center in the result clause.

cǩilém ko ?iye c yiyét. 'I waited because they are slow.'

c ?óxʷ ?iye płktosélo. 'He is happy because he has companions.'

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metén téyt iyo. 'I fed him because he was hungry.'
(clause + clause + iyo)

pelít t?eto?ítx iye. 'He lay down because he was sleepy.' (clause + clause + iye)

//meλ// is a stem 'be combined, associated, mixed'. The unstressed form meλ occurs as an adjunct particle introducing predicate adjuncts and between coordinate phrases as a connective particle.

Adjunct:

?óx g ?élekst uwe meλ n?úq'iy. 'I am working with my brother.'

?óx g píxe we meλ neqéxa. 'I am hunting with my dog.'

Connective:

x'ux'eystén k ć? meλ k netók. 'I want meat and potatoes.'

g sx'épmex meλ secowéλex cełcełcíce. 'The Shuswap and the Okanagon talk the same.'

//wul// signifies that the condition expressed by a clause is replaced, superseded or negated by another condition. This notion is translated 'in spite of, even' or not translated at all when wúl is an attribute to a clause. It is translated 'until, and then' when it occurs as a connective between independent clauses.

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Attribute:

wúl gəcém ko. 'I had tied it (and it came untied).'

wúl qʷíƛe ko. 'I did the laundry (and found more).'

Connective:

ƛəmésolp̓ wúl pút. 'He chopped until there was enough.'

me? ƛ̓úpete wúl me? x̌éwu. 'We will wring it until it is dry.'

//k̓eməł// occurs as an attribute ('in addition, more') and as a connective particle between independent clauses involving simultaneous acts ('while, and').

Attribute:

pəłsútn k̓énəł. 'I have one already.'

?úpəkst ?eł kolés k̓ónəł. 'There are thirteen more.'

Connective:

?ítx k̓ónoł ?óx g qʷo?ól ot. 'She sleeps while we are talking.'

q̓ʷəyéy nəxəlí?os k̓ómoł ?óx g ƛ̓ókʷ wo. 'The bridge shook and I traveled on it anyway.'

//yumł// 'but (in spite of it)' signifies an act performed in the presence of negative circumstances. It occurs as an attribute and also as a connective particle between independent clauses.

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Attribute:

yúməɬ gí? tuwíwt ?óx g coĉxóy̓oltuxʷm os. 'Even the boy can read.'

Emphatic gí? always accompanies attributive yúməɬ.

Connective:

g loputéy séq̓ yúməɬ tóke. 'The bottle was broken but I filled it.'

?ox g ko?ép uwo yúməɬ ?éləkst ko. 'I am sick but I still work.'

//yəyml// occurs as a connective particle between independent clauses or between an independent clause and a dependent clause. It signifies that a state has been in existence for some time.

g sqáx̣a xokoséiĉo yéxəməɬ x̣ʷux̣ʷoystén os. 'The dog is mean but I like him (and always have).'

g sqáx̣a stotoɬús yéxəməɬ píx̣əm os. 'The dog is blind but he hunts (and has managed for some time).'

6.4. Exclamations number a half dozen stems, probably a fraction of the number that occurred when the language was actively used. They occur in first position in an utterance.

//x̣ʷuỷ// 'let it be thus' has several other common translations: 'let it be, let's ..., come on, go on', etc.

x̣ʷúỷ qʷocéce. 'You had better go.'

x̣ʷúỷ cukʷonə́me. 'Go ahead, take some.'

//ʔax̣tək// 'it is/will be thus' usually translated 'all right'

ʔax̣tə́k meʔ qʷocéc ke. 'All right, I will go again.'

cút g tuwíwt ʔax̣tə́k. 'The boy said, "All right."'

//x̣ʷu// 'surprise, awe'

x̣ʷú ləx̣eʔicút. 'Ho, they told on themselves.'

x̣ʷú m qoʔíł sx̣ʷoléṅkə. 'Ho, he woke up the buck.'

//ʔu// is used as a stylized rhetorical device to emphasize and heighten interest in the telling of a narrative.

ʔú məmə́ʔ nəéweʔ. 'Ah Mother, it is I.'

ʔú xʷəʔít ƛ̓íʔ. 'Ah, there was plenty.'

//ʔeyʔəy// is the expression used to signify continuing interest in a conversation or tale. It can be interjected into the conversation at any point.

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//ʔənəʔ// expresses fright and shock, but is seldom heard these days.

//məʔe//, the affirmative stem, occurs as a complete predication only as response to a statement or answer to a question. It occurs as an enclitic to predicate centers.

ʔunə́xʷu <u>méʔe</u>. 'It is correct, <u>indeed</u>.'

toxʷtóxʷt <u>méʔe</u>. 'It is <u>really</u> straight.'

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

BAAS-R British Association for the Advancement of Science - Report.

CNAE Contributions to North American Ethnology. Department of the Interior, U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region.

HAIL Handbook of American Indian Languages.

ICSL International Conference on Salish Languages.

IJAL International Journal of American Linguistics.

Lg. Language.

MAMNH Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History.

PHAPF Publications of the Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund.

PTRSC Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada.

SJA Southwestern Journal of Anthropology.

TCAAS Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society.

UH WPL University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics. Honolulu.

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