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DIALECT OF STRAITS SALISH.

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A PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF SONGISH,  
" "  
A DIALECT OF STRAITS SALISH

by

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the University of Kansas in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Many thanks are due Dr. Barbara Efrat for her having introduced me to my informant, for her assistance during the first summer of fieldwork, for her reading of a preliminary draft on Songish and for her friendship.

I owe considerable debt of gratitude to my informant, Mrs. Sophie Misheal, without whom this study would have been impossible. I only wish she were alive to see it in its final form.

Additional thanks are due the American Association of University Women for making it possible for me to undertake my doctoral studies under the auspices of a most generous grant.

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The material herein presented was collected during the summers of 1969 and 1970 at the Songhees Reserve, at Esquimalt B.C., on the outskirts of Victoria. Fieldwork was carried out while holding a Research Assistantship from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Kansas, sponsored by an NSF grant directed by Dr. M. Dale Kinkade, main supervisor of this dissertation.

Only one speaker, the late Mrs. Sophie Misheal, has furnished the material on which this study is based. Mrs. Misheal was about 80 years old at the time fieldwork started. A native speaker of Songish, Mrs. Misheal also learned English in her childhood while attending a Roman Catholic residential school. At this school students were severely punished if they were heard talking an Indian Language. However, Mrs. Misheal also learned to speak Cowichan at school as it was the language of most of her classmates. At this time Mrs. Misheal was only able to speak Songish during her annual three-week vacations, which she spent at home with her family. In later years, while residing at the Songhees Reserve at Esquimalt B.C., she occasionally conversed with her neighbor Mr. Ned Williams, who died in the winter of 1970.

When Mrs. Misheal was seventeen years old she was married to Mr. Andrew Misheal, who was a Cowichan. They

lived at the Koksilah Reserve near Duncan for many years. Their two daughters learned to speak only Cowichan and English, and although they claimed to be unable to speak their mother's native tongue they understood Songish when they heard it.

Mrs. Misheal was an alert, well-trained informant, who had worked extensively with two other investigators before: Mrs. Marjorie Mitchell, who wrote a dictionary of Songish, and Mr. Wayne Suttles, who collected material in Songish for comparative purposes. William Elmendorf made use of this material collected by Suttles for his study on "Lexical innovation and persistence in four Salish dialects", namely Cowichan, Musqueam, Songish and Twana, published in 1962.

Mrs. Misheal also worked for a short time with Dr. Barbara Efrat, who also collected material for both comparative and reconstruction studies in Proto-Straits. Dr. Efrat had previously worked with Sooke and Saanich very extensively for her doctoral dissertation submitted in 1969. She worked with Mrs. Misheal after the summer of 1970 until Mrs. Misheal's death on October 28, 1970.

Mrs. Misheal's willingness to work and her patient cooperation made fieldwork most enjoyable and rewarding. Furthermore, she was a fascinating story-teller and as such, she provided a large selection of texts covering ethnographical,

autobiographical, mythical and legendary subjects, as well as accounts of past events. All of these texts were carefully tape-recorded, some of them also transcribed and checked, as a means of preserving part of Mrs. Misheal's language, which is indeed on the point of extinction.

Mrs. Misheal's cheerful personality and qualifications as a story-teller will thus survive forever; as one of her most faithful 'students' I will always remember her.



## INTRODUCTION

Songish is one of several closely related dialects spoken around the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which are classified as a group and known by the cover term of Straits Salish.

In aboriginal times the Songish, also known by the name of 'Lkungen', inhabited the southeastern part of Vancouver Island. " The name 'Songish' is derived from that of one of their septs, the Stsâ'ng̱s, who live southwest of Victoria." (Boas: 1891;563.)

Boas (1891) considered the Songish as belonging to the Coast Salish, a group of tribes of the Salish Stock.

In Swadesh's 1950 classification based on lexicostatistical data, Songish is considered a language belonging to the Lkungen group of the South Georgia Branch of the Coastal division of the Salish Stock.<sup>1</sup> The Lkungen group, also known by the term Straits, includes a number of mutually intelligible dialects recognized by their speakers as a single language called by the native term /ləq<sup>w</sup>əŋinə/. (Elmendorf and Suttles:1960;3.) Within this group the following dialects are included: Songish of Esquimalt B.C., Saanich of Saanich peninsula, Sooke of Sooke Inlet, Lummi

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<sup>1</sup> Karl-Heinz Gursky (1966;439) agrees with Swadesh's classification. Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow (1964;17) also considered Songish, or Lkungen, as a member of Straits Salish but belonging to the Nanaimic group, parallel to Swadesh's South Georgia Branch. Both Gursky and Pinnow based their classifications on secondary sources.

of Bellingham, Semiahmoo of White Rock B.C., Clallam of the northern shore of the Olympic peninsula and Samish of Samish Bay, Samish Island, Guemes Island and the northwestern part of Fidalgo Island.

At the present time, Songish is known to be spoken at Esquimalt B.C., by only two speakers: Mr. Alfred George, a middle-aged man who lives near the Songhees Reserve, and Mr. Edward Joe, a man in his late seventies, who is chief of the Esquimalt Reserve.

The earliest ethnographical and linguistic studies of the tribes in British Columbia and Vancouver Island include Franz Boas's 1890 documents on the Indians of British Columbia and his comparative vocabulary of eighteen Indian languages spoken in British Columbia, among which he includes Lkungen.

Boas also collected texts in Songish and other languages with word lists, paradigms and ethnographic notes. These are all in manuscripts, handwritten and in shorthand, included in the Boas collection of the American Philosophical Society Library.

Hill-Tout published an account on the Songhees in 1907 in his "Report on the ethnology of the South-Eastern tribes of Vancouver Island, British Columbia", providing a list of 'cultural' words, both in English and in Songish. This last report was available to Mrs. Marjorie Mitchell while she was working on her Songish dictionary in 1967-1968, but she claimed of it:

Hill-Tout's (1907) material, both in English and Songish, was considered but attempts to pronounce the latter forms, from his transcriptions, were none too successful. (Mitchell:1968;5)

Reference to other linguistic studies on Songish and closely related dialects and languages will be found in the following pages and also in the bibliography.

STATEMENT OF THE METHOD

During the first summer of fieldwork a fairly large collection of lexical items was gathered mainly following the Thompson Short Northwest Word List I. This list, compiled by Laurence C. Thompson et al., at the University of Hawaii, and revised in 1969, includes a large number of words taken from Swadesh's 215, 200, and 100 word lists, and many other items pertaining exclusively to the culture and environment of the Pacific Northwest peoples.

Many additional items, as well as some volunteered by the informant, were also included in the corpus. In addition to lexical items, sentences and phrases of various lengths were collected for the purpose of obtaining enough data for both morphological and syntactical analysis. Texts were collected too, and some were transcribed and translated. They provide a good source of both spontaneous lexical and syntactical material not subject to the sort of interference which might have taken place when eliciting sentences following an English model.

During the summer of 1970 most syntactical, and some additional lexical, material was obtained. When possible, paradigms were elicited, and forms collected during the first summer were checked and corrected. More texts were elicited but these have neither been transcribed nor translated yet.

Sources of bias may arise in the analysis because

elicitation was based on English word lists and sentences, and because all the material collected was supplied by just one informant with a varied language background, who had had very little chance to use her native language, Songish, in the last ten years. To overcome these drawbacks, as well as to provide sources for comparative evidence, examples from the closely related dialects, drawn from the studies mentioned above and from other studies, will be supplied where possible. In comparing these, it will be seen that some unit phonemes in one of the languages may correspond to various other phonemes in other languages, for example:

Songish /s/ corresponds to Cowichan-Musqueam<sup>1</sup>/c/, /x<sup>y</sup>/, /s/ and /θ/:

<u>Songish</u>	<u>Cowichan-Musqueam</u>	
séləs	céləx <sup>y</sup>	'hand'
sásən	θáəθən	'mouth'
xáw <sup>ʔ</sup> əs	xéw <sup>ʔ</sup> s	'new'

But Cowichan-Musqueam /x<sup>y</sup>/ also corresponds to Songish /š<sup>ʔ</sup>/:

<u>Songish</u>	<u>Cowichan-Musqueam</u>	
ší <sup>ʔ</sup> šəč <sup>ʔ</sup>	sx <sup>y</sup> ix <sup>y</sup> əc <sup>ʔ</sup>	'woods'
šəl <sup>ʔ</sup> ák <sup>w</sup>	x <sup>y</sup> əlák <sup>w</sup>	'round'

---

<sup>1</sup> The Cowichan-Musqueam forms were obtained from Elmendorf (1962.)

Songish /a/ corresponds to Clallam<sup>1</sup> /a/, /u/ and /ə/:

<u>Songish</u>	<u>Clallam</u>	
sáq <sup>w</sup> əŋ	sáq <sup>w</sup> əŋ	'sweet'
háy	húy	'to finish'
ták <sup>w</sup>	túk <sup>w</sup>	'home'
'áŋət	'éŋət	'to give'

For the purpose of the analysis on the phonological level, most phones were grouped into phonemes as they occurred in non-contrastive distribution, i.e., they occurred in complementary distribution, analogous environments or free variation. Minimal pairs are given to corroborate some of the phonological statements.

On all levels, and still within the synchronic view, extensive use of comparative material from related languages and dialects is provided to fulfil a threefold purpose: (a) to illustrate the distinctiveness of Songish, (b) to give further insight on the statements made and (c) to furnish Salish scholars with readily available correspondences for comparative studies.

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<sup>1</sup> The Clallam forms were obtained from Thompson and Thompson (1971).

## CHART OF SONGISH PHONEMES

CONSONANTS

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	front velar	back velar	glottal
<b>STOPS</b>						
unrounded non-glottalized	p	t		(k)	q	ʔ
unrounded glottalized	p̚	t̚			q̚	
rounded non-glottalized				k <sup>w</sup>	q <sup>w</sup>	
rounded glottalized				k̚ <sup>w</sup>	q̚ <sup>w</sup>	
<b>AFFRICATES</b>						
non-glottalized						
glottalized		c̚	č			
lateral glottalized		ɬ̚				
<b>FRICATIVES</b>						
unrounded					x	h
rounded				x <sup>w</sup>	x̚ <sup>w</sup>	
sibilant		s	š			
lateral		ɬ				
<b>GLIDES</b>						
unrounded			y			
rounded				w		
<b>NASALS</b>						
	m	n			ŋ	
<b>LATERAL</b>						
		l				
<b>VOWELS</b>						
	front		central		back	
high	i				u	
mid	e		ə			
low			a			
<b>STRESS</b> primary // - secondary /ʔ - weak (unmarked)						
<b>LENGTH</b> /· /.						

## PHONOLOGY

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Like most languages of the Pacific Northwest, Songish presents a complex and varied consonantal system characterized by the abundance of voiceless consonants, since all stops, affricates and fricatives are voiceless. There are oppositions among glottalized and non-glottalized consonants, among front and back velar consonants, as well as among plain and rounded velar consonants. Consonants occur in bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar positions.

The Songish phonological system of consonants consists of a series of five voiceless glottalized stops, /p', t', k<sup>w</sup>, q, q<sup>w</sup>/ as opposed to seven voiceless non-glottalized ones, /p, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>, q, q<sup>w</sup>, ʔ/. The phoneme /k/ occurs only in borrowed words and hence it is marked within parentheses in the phoneme chart on the preceding page. In addition, there are three glottalized affricates, /č', č̣', ʎ' / of which only one, namely /č'/, has a non-glottalized counterpart /č/. Moreover, there are seven voiceless fricatives, /s, š, ʃ, x<sup>w</sup>, x, x<sup>w</sup>, h/ three voiced nasals, /m, n, ŋ/ one voiced lateral resonant, /l/, and two voiced glides, /y, w/.

All stops and affricates are fortis, and, especially the non-glottalized ones, are aspirated when occurring in word initial and word final positions or preceding another stop or affricate.

Glottalized and labialized obstruents and affricates



are here regarded as unit phonemes rather than as sequences of obstruent + <sup>ʔ</sup>, stop + w, stop + fricative, etc.

If the sequence position is adopted, in the case of glottalized and labialized obstruents, it will be seen that while there are base stops for most of the glottalized and labialized obstruents, there is no base unit for /<sup>ʔ</sup>c/, /<sup>ʔ</sup>λ/, and /<sup>ʔ</sup>k<sup>w</sup>/ to which the feature of glottalization and/or labialization can be added. 1) \* /c/ does not occur as a phoneme unless the sequence /t s/, which occurs only across morpheme boundaries, is treated as a unit. Such a treatment would add an unnecessary morphophonemic rule to the language. The sequence /t s/ occurs in the demonstratives /t + s + ə/ and /t + s + u<sup>ʔ</sup>/ <sup>1</sup> and, occasionally, when the third person possessive pronominal suffix /-s/ is added to a root or stem ending in /t/, as in /tqít + -s/ 'her dress'. 2) In the case of /<sup>ʔ</sup>λ/ the sequence position would treat it as either /<sup>ʔ</sup>λ/ + <sup>ʔ</sup> or as /t/ + /t̥/ + <sup>ʔ</sup>. However, /<sup>ʔ</sup>λ/ does not occur as a phoneme in Songish and the sequence /t t̥/ only occurs across morpheme boundaries, as in /<sup>ʔ</sup>k<sup>w</sup>énət + t̥tə/ 'we see it'. 3) The glottalized obstruents /<sup>ʔ</sup>c/ and /<sup>ʔ</sup>λ/ contrast with sequences such as /<sup>ʔ</sup>t s/ and /<sup>ʔ</sup>t t̥/ as in the examples that follow:

/<sup>ʔ</sup>té<sup>ʔ</sup>et<sup>ʔ</sup> + -s/ 'his taste'      from    /<sup>ʔ</sup>té<sup>ʔ</sup>et<sup>ʔ</sup>/ 'to taste'  
vs. /<sup>ʔ</sup>t̥íc- / 'to cut'

---

<sup>1</sup> Compare with the Saanich form /təə/ 'the' article, non-feminine (Pidgeon:1970,8). Saanich /ə/ equals Songish /s/, hence, Saanich /təə/ equals Songish /tsə/.

/t'é'et + itə/ 'we taste'

vs. /q'éqəʔ/ 'shadow'

4) Also, in the sequence position /k<sup>w</sup>/ would be treated as a composite of /k/ + ʔ + w, but as it was stated previously, /k/ is a borrowed phoneme and /k<sup>w</sup>/ does not occur as a phoneme in Songish. 5) In the case of labialized consonants, on the other hand, labialization is present throughout the articulation of the consonant, it is not just an off-glide or an element added on to the consonant.

Other arguments in favor of the unit position adopted here are that 1) glottalized consonants are very frequent in their occurrence and 2) in reduplicative patterns the glottalized and labialized consonants are reduplicated and re-articulated as units and thus act just like simple consonants, e.g.:

/sk<sup>w</sup>éyəs/ 'slave' vs. /sk<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>íyəs/ 'bunch of slaves'

/q<sup>w</sup>ép/ 'to wrinkle' vs. /sq<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>əp/ 'wrinkles'

The non-glottalized affricate /č/ is also considered as a unit phoneme different from the sequence /t š/, which then only occurs across morpheme boundaries and is phonetically distinctive, since the /t/ in a /t š/ sequence is aspirated whereas in /č/ = [tš] it has no aspiration, e.g.:

/pít + šən/ [p<sup>h</sup>ít<sup>h</sup>šən] 'lizard', where /-šən/ is a lexical suffix meaning 'foot' vs. /pq<sup>w</sup>á + čən/ [pq<sup>w</sup>átšən] 'sand', where /-čən/ is a lexical suffix meaning 'flat surface'.

In addition to this, in reduplicative patterns, just as is the case with glottalized and labialized consonants, affricates are reduplicated and re-articulated as units rather than as sequences, e.g.:

/č́énes/ 'tooth'	vs.	/č́éč́ines/ 'bunch of teeth'
/č́él'°/ 'to be in labor'	vs.	/č́él'°č́elém'°/ 'childbirth'
/ḳ́és/ 'island'	vs.	/ḳ́ḳ́és/ 'little island'

As regards place of articulation, the obstruents are grouped into the following series: labial /p, ṕ̣/; alveolar /t, ṭ́, ć̣, s, ʃ, ʃ̣́/; alveopalatal /č́, č̣́́, ṣ́/; front velar /k, k<sup>w</sup>, ḳ́<sup>w</sup>, x<sup>w</sup>/; back velar /q, q̣́, q<sup>w</sup>, q̣́<sup>w</sup>, x̣́, x̣́<sup>w</sup>/; and glottal /ʔ, h/.

All stops, except for the bilabial stop and /k/, have fricative counterparts.

In both front and back velar positions labialization may occur, thus: /k<sup>w</sup>, ḳ́<sup>w</sup>, q<sup>w</sup>, q̣́<sup>w</sup>, x<sup>w</sup>, x̣́<sup>w</sup>/. With the exception of /x<sup>w</sup>/ and /ḳ́<sup>w</sup>/, each labialized consonant has a non-labialized counterpart.

Among the resonants, which are always voiced, the nasals /m, n, ŋ/ are produced in bilabial, alveolar and velar positions respectively. /ŋ/ is very back in Songish: therefore it is considered the resonant counterpart of the back velar fricative /x̣́/. The liquid /l/, a clear /l/, occurs in alveolar position. In addition, /l/ has both a fricative and an affricated counterpart, namely /ɺ/ and

/ʔ/. The glides /w, y/ occur in labiovelar and palatal positions respectively.

Resonants have been found to occur frequently preceding or following a glottal stop. The question about the existence of glottalized resonants in Songish may be raised. Two analyses of these sequences are possible. The first would consider the resonant + glottal stop series as a consonant cluster, and the second would consider that sequence as a unit phoneme, namely a glottalized resonant. A comparison of cognate forms in related languages and dialects furnishes some evidence for support of the cluster solution:

1) It is not uncommon that after resonants glottal stops in word final position are lost or added, both synchronically and comparatively. Loss of glottal stop has been found to occur in some of the related languages,<sup>1</sup> e.g.:

<u>Squamish</u>	<u>Cowichan</u>	<u>Songish</u>	
k <sup>w</sup> íntəl	k <sup>w</sup> íntəlʔ	k <sup>w</sup> íntəl	'to fight'
lámʔ	léləm	ʔéʔləŋ	'house'
qlúmʔ	qéləm	qéləŋ	'eye'
sqéməl	sqéməlʔ	sqéməlʔ	'paddle'
<u>Twana</u>	<u>Cowichan</u>	<u>Songish</u>	
stá·day	sténeyʔ	sténiʔ	'woman'

<sup>1</sup> The Squamish, Cowichan, Twana and Halkomelem examples were obtained from Kuipers (1967), Elmendorf (1962), Drachman (1969) and Harris (1966), respectively.

<u>Twana</u>	<u>Cowichan</u>	<u>Songish</u>
dəw <sup>ʔ</sup> é	néwə	nék <sup>w</sup> ə 'you, thou'

2) In comparing Songish with Chilliwack-Halkomelem it can be observed that Songish /<sup>ʔ</sup>/ corresponds to Chilliwack /·/ (length). Thus, it can be claimed that in Chilliwack the loss of the glottal stop caused the compensatory lengthening of the preceding sound, e.g.:

<u>Songish</u>	<u>Chilliwack-Halkomelem</u>	
ʔáy <sup>ʔ</sup>	ʔi·	'good, healthy'
ʔèy <sup>ʔ</sup> á <sup>ʔ</sup> s	ʔi·yáə	'sharp'
ʔi <sup>ʔ</sup> tət	ʔi·tət	'sleeping'
ʔé <sup>ʔ</sup> cəx	ʔé·yəx	'crab'

3) Among these related languages it has been observed that in cognate words the glottal stop preceded by a resonant has shifted positions, e.g.:

<u>Squamish</u>	<u>Cowichan</u>	<u>Songish</u>
mén <sup>ʔ</sup>	mén <sup>ʔ</sup> ə	ɳéné <sup>ʔ</sup> 'offspring'
sxén <sup>ʔ</sup>	sxén <sup>ʔ</sup> ə	sxéne <sup>ʔ</sup> 'foot, leg'
skím <sup>ʔ</sup>	sqémə <sup>ʔ</sup>	sqémə <sup>ʔ</sup> 'milk'
q <sup>w</sup> éla <sup>ʔ</sup> n	q <sup>w</sup> í·n <sup>ʔ</sup>	q <sup>w</sup> élen <sup>ʔ</sup> 'ear'
x <sup>w</sup> íl <sup>ʔ</sup> m	x <sup>w</sup> éy <sup>ʔ</sup> ləm <sup>ʔ</sup>	x <sup>w</sup> í <sup>ʔ</sup> ləm 'rope'

4) Another convincing argument is that, contrary to the reduplicative patterns for glottalized and labialized obstruents, where these are reduplicated as a unit, the

resonant + glottal stop series is not reduplicated as a whole unit but as a sequence where the glottal stop is not reduplicated, e.g.:

Squamish

sxénʔ	'foot, leg'	vs.	sxénʔxn	'feet, legs'
ménʔ	'offspring'	vs.	ménʔmn	'offsprings'

Songish

qénʔ	'to steal'	vs.	qénʔqən	'thief'
qʷámʔ	'strong'	vs.	qʷámʔqʷəm	'very strong'
čélʔ	'to be in labor'	vs.	čélʔčələmʔ	'childbirth'

5) It can also be argued that phonetic evidence shows that in both the sequences glottal stop + resonant as found in words such as /qəyéʔmən/ 'shell', /téʔluʔ/ 'arm', /háʔnənʔ/ 'humpback salmon' and resonant + glottal stop as found in words such as /cáwʔ/ 'to disappear', /síʔəmʔ/ 'lord, rich', /scá·mʔ/ 'bone', /nəʔnéyən/ 'laughing', /čéyʔ/ 'to work', the glottalic release is clearly heard either before or after the resonant but never co-articulated with it.

6) Finally, it has to be pointed out that no minimal, or near-minimal, pairs were ever found that would show a contrast between glottalized vs. non-glottalized resonants.

In 1-6 both synchronic and comparative evidence is given to point to the fact that glottal stop has the potentiality

a) to be lost or shifted in all these cases when preceded by a resonant, b) not to be reduplicated when following a resonant and c) to be clearly heard to occur immediately before or after the resonant. Therefore, all this leads to the conclusion that glottal stop is a second phoneme in a cluster composed of resonant + glottal stop (or glottal stop + resonant) and not a glottalization feature that co-occurs with the resonant to yield a glottalized resonant.

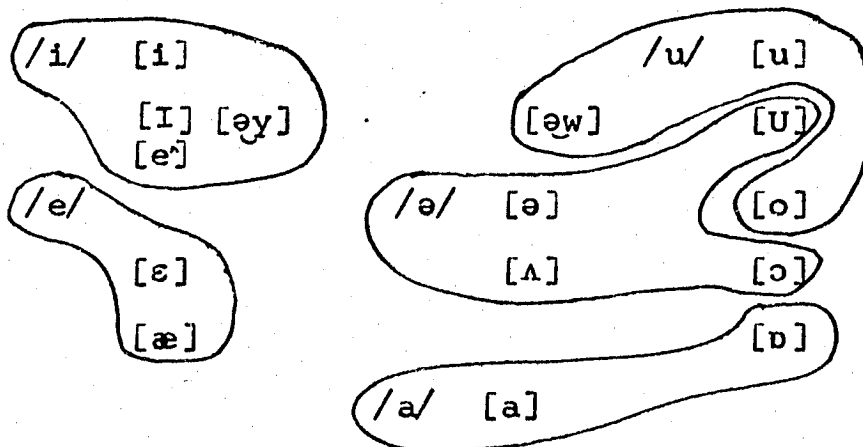
With the exception of /h/, which has never been found to occur in word final position, all consonants occur in word initial, medial and final positions. However, /y/ and /w/ have a low frequency of occurrence in word final position.

Consonants tend to cluster with no apparent restriction as to the kinds of elements involved in the clusters. Consonant clusters occur profusely; however, long consonant clusters are usually found to involve more than one morpheme, or are the result of reduplication, e.g.:

/sčəlk <sup>w</sup> ɪnét/	'Monday'
/néçəɪtx <sup>w</sup> /	'neighbor'
/šɪx <sup>w</sup> ásən/	'curtain'
/q̄x <sup>w</sup> éw <sup>ʔ</sup> ɪ/	'war canoe'
/sp̄x <sup>w</sup> á <sup>ʔ</sup> le <sup>ʔ</sup> /	'wind'
/q <sup>w</sup> émx <sup>w</sup> šən/	'ankle'
/ɪɪ <sup>v</sup> čés/	'little island'

The Songish vowel system includes five vowels, which contrast in the following places of articulation: front, central and back. In addition to the contrast in place of articulation, vowels contrast in three positions of tongue height: high, mid and low.

The Songish vowels are /i, e, ə, a, u/ and they show greater allophonic range than the consonants. Although [o] is the most common allophone of /u/, the latter value has been adopted as the symbol in order to be consistent with the general practice among scholars working with dialects of Straits Salish. Moreover, such a selection will also contribute to a more symmetrical patterning among the vowels, that is, since the mid front and mid central vowels tend to have some of their most frequently occurring allophonic variants among the lower vowels, the choice of /u/ as the symbol will conform to this tendency. The following diagram will illustrate the rationale for such a selection:





Vowels never occur word initially. In final position their occurrence is rare. Also, there are no vowel clusters in Songish.

### SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

#### Length.

With the exception of /ə/ all vowels have been observed to occur with length in a number of words. In many cases length can be predicted, in other cases comparative evidence provides an explanation for it, but there are cases where length is synchronically unpredictable.

1) At the phonetic level the vowels /i, e, a, u/ are generally found to be lengthened in open stressed syllables in citation forms: [hí·ləŋ] 'to fall from height', [sk<sup>w</sup>é·qəŋ] 'flower', [tʃá·ŋəɪ] 'chest'. These same vowels are also generally lengthened before resonants: [x<sup>w</sup>á·ŋ] 'to cry', [ʔí·ŋəs] 'grandchild'.

2) In addition to this, rhetorical lengthening has been observed in a number of words during the elicitation of texts:  
 [ʔá k<sup>w</sup>s k<sup>w</sup>ɪ hí·s ləʔ...] "A long time ago..."  
 [...sk<sup>w</sup>é·tʃəŋ suʔ níɪ tíʔləm...] "...she started singing..."

However, it should be pointed out that all these words with length cited in 1) and 2) occur without length in allegro speech.

Most words which occur with lengthened vowels, however, are loans from French via Chinook Jargon, or from English:

[ləyá·m] 'devil', [ləmətú·] 'sheep', [ləplá·š] 'plank', [ləkəlí·] 'key', are clearly loanwords from French, which entered the language through Chinook Jargon, while [p<sup>h</sup>ú·t<sup>h</sup>] 'boat', [p<sup>h</sup>í·pə] 'paper', [ʔí·ks] 'eggs', [šú·k<sup>w</sup>ə] 'sugar', are undoubtedly English loanwords. Length in loanwords, however, is synchronically unpredictable.

The vowel in the following word, which meets none of the above conditions, has been found to be markedly long:

[stšé·nUx<sup>w</sup>] 'fish' from [tšəné·nʔx<sup>w</sup>] 'fishing'

Efrat (1969;4-5) points out this same occurrence in Sooke and adds:

.... /sčé·nəx<sup>w</sup>/ "fish" is a nominalized stem, probably similar to the stem /čənénx<sup>w</sup>/ "to fish" in Saanich. /sčé·nəx<sup>w</sup>/ could possibly be derived from a variant \* /čén(ə)x<sup>w</sup>/ with loss of an /n/ and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

The above given explanation could also account for the Songish form since Saanich is one of the dialects most closely related to Songish.

In addition to these cases of vowel length the following forms should also be considered:<sup>1</sup>

a)	<u>Songish</u>	<u>Chilliwack-Halkomelem</u>
	[sí·tən]	/sí·təl/ 'basket'
	[spá·l]	/spá·l/ 'raven, crow'
	[sá·ɬ]	/xé·ɬ/ 'door, path'

<sup>1</sup> The Chilliwack-Halkomelem, Lummi and Sooke examples were obtained from Harris (1966), L. Thompson (Pers. Com.) and Efrat (1969), respectively.

b)	[ʔéʔləŋ]	/lé.ləm/	'house'
	[həmáʔ]	/həmá./	'pigeon'
	[stáʔloʔ] ~ [stáʔləwʔ]	/stá.lu./	'river'
	[spx <sup>w</sup> áʔləʔ]	/spəhé.lə/	'wind'
c)	<u>Songish</u>	<u>Lummi</u>	
	[məmí.mən]~[məmíʔmən]	[məmíʔmən]	'small'
	<u>Songish</u>	<u>Sooke</u>	
	[sí.lə]~[siʔlə]	/sí(?)iə/	'grandparent'

The above examples illustrate three different sets of Songish words with cognates in related languages. The first set includes words with markedly long vowels which are also long in Chilliwack. The second set includes Songish words with glottal stops where Chilliwack words have length. The last set includes Songish words which have been found to have length freely varying with a glottal stop, while the cognate words in Lummi and Sooke have a glottal stop. In the Sooke example the glottal stop seems to be optional.

Given the infrequency of noticeably long vowels in Songish it could then be postulated that the lengthening of these vowels is derived from the loss of a glottal stop in that position, causing the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. However, since circumstances under which glottal stop is replaced by length and the instances in which glottal stop freely varies with length cannot be predicted, length will have to be considered phonemic in Songish.

Stress.

Stress is also phonemic in Songish. There are three levels of stress: primary (or strong) /'/, secondary (or mid) /`/, and weak (or unstressed and which will be left unmarked).

Primary stressed syllables tend to have a slightly higher pitch than other syllables.

Stress is partly predictable. For example, all words bear one primary stress. A word will be here defined as a root plus all its affixes and a primary stress. This definition then, does not include as words the independent particles, since they do not have affixes and they may bear primary, secondary or weak stress.

The majority of disyllabic words are stressed on the first syllable:

/qé <sup>?</sup> ŋi <sup>?</sup> / 'girl'	/mék <sup>?</sup> wé <sup>?</sup> / 'grave'
/cá <sup>?</sup> k <sup>w</sup> əs/ 'seven'	/sé <sup>?</sup> ləs/ 'hand'

But there are also disyllabic words which bear the primary stress on the last syllable:

/həmá <sup>?</sup> / 'pigeon'	/əy <sup>?</sup> á <sup>?</sup> s/ 'sharp'
/həlí <sup>?</sup> / 'to be alive'	/šəmén/ 'enemy'

Disyllabic words borrowed from English are stressed on the first syllable:

/pláwən/ 'brown'	/táktən/ 'doctor'
/pésən/ 'pheasant'	/šépəl/ 'shovel'

On the other hand, words borrowed from French, via Chinook Jargon, are stressed on the last syllable:

/ləplá.š/ 'plank'	/k <sup>w</sup> išú./ 'pig'
/ləyá.m/ 'devil'	/kəpú./ 'coat'
/lətém/ 'table'	/ləmətú./ 'sheep'
/ləplí.t/ 'priest'	/ləkəlí./ 'key'

Some words are made up of a number of elements, one of which is a root and the rest affixes, either grammatical (expressing grammatical and derivational relations) or lexical (referring to body parts and concrete objects) or both.

Affixes may bear one of the three kinds of stress but in words stress shifts may occur from either roots or affixes for grammatical purposes.

All word roots bear one primary stress, which may be variable or non-variable according to whether the stress is shifted or reduced with the addition of stressed affixes, or whether the stress remains on the root. For example, if an affix bearing primary stress is added to a variable stress root, the primary stress of the root may be reduced. If an affix bears a stress other than primary, the root retains its primary stress, e.g.:

/šləméle/ 'bottle'

/š/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{lém} root: 'rum' (loan)

{-éle} Lexical suffix: 'container'

/čàq<sup>w</sup>éw<sup>?</sup>sə/ 'to make fire'

{čśq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to burn'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-w<sup>?</sup>sə} Lexical suffix: 'fire'

{-ś-} Connector.

/x<sup>w</sup>łéqtneč/ 'cougar'

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{łéqt} root: 'long'

{-neč} Lexical suffix: 'tail'

Some roots infix /-<sup>?</sup>-/ for the actual (vs. non-actual) aspect form. When infixation of /-<sup>?</sup>-/ is accompanied by reduplication of the root vowel a shift in stress may occur:

/xéč<sup>?</sup>-/ 'to weigh'

/xé<sup>?</sup>ec<sup>?</sup>-/ 'weighing'

/hé<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to remember'

/hé<sup>?</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-/ 'remembering'

However, the stress is retained in the same process in some other roots which behave accordingly, e.g.:

/x<sup>w</sup>á-/ 'to cry'

/x<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>á-/ 'crying'

/<sup>?</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to go there'

/<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>/ 'going there'

Words undergoing reduplication (i.e., undergoing plural inflection, namely C<sub>1</sub>ə(R)-, for example) retain their primary stress while the added reduplicated syllable bears the weak stress, e.g.:

/słɛnłéni<sup>?</sup>/ 'women' from /słéni<sup>?</sup>/ 'woman'

/stɛtík<sup>w</sup>ɛn/ 'nieces' from /stík<sup>w</sup>ɛn/ 'niece'

These are, in general, the predicted forms for the placing of stress. However, there are many other forms which differ from the predicted patterns stated above. Since no systematic explanation can be set up to account completely for stress, it is concluded that stress is phonemic in Songish, even though minimal contrasts depending upon stress were not found.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SONGISH PHONEMES

A description of Songish phonemes and their realization in different environments follows to illustrate the remarks given in the preceding pages.

/p/ : is a non-glottalized, voiceless bilabial stop realized as:

[p<sup>h</sup>]: in word initial prevocalic position, word final position and before stops and affricates.

[p <sup>h</sup> ʌq']	/péq'/	'white'
[tʰp <sup>h</sup> tən]	/tép <sup>h</sup> tən/	'eyelash'
[stʰəšʌnəp <sup>h</sup> ]	/sʰəšé <sup>h</sup> nəp/	'plow'

[p]: elsewhere.

[spʌx <sup>w</sup> ]	/spéx <sup>w</sup> /	'bread dough'
[stʰépélqən]	/sʰépélqən/	'feather'
[tsəpsəy'ásən]	/cəpsi'ásən/	'squirrel'

/t/ : is a non-glottalized, voiceless alveolar stop realized as:

[t<sup>h</sup>]: in word initial prevocalic position, word final position and before stops and affricates.

[t <sup>h</sup> ú.lə]	/tú.lə/	'over there'
[x <sup>w</sup> t <sup>h</sup> qát <sup>h</sup> ]	/x <sup>w</sup> tqét/	'close it!'
[t <sup>h</sup> tšístəŋ]	/tčístəŋ/	'to bring'

[t]: elsewhere.

[šmətʌqsən]	/šmətéqsən/	'snot'
[x <sup>w</sup> ənítəm]	/x <sup>w</sup> ənítəm/	'white man'
[ʔəstésəʔ]	/ʔəstésəʔ/	'near'

/č/ : is a non-glottalized, voiceless palatal affricate realized as:

[tš]: in all positions.

[tšíqmən]	/číqmən/	'iron'
[stšəʔtšəʔ]	/sčéʔčeʔ/	'friend'
[tšətš]	/tšéc/	'dark'

/k/ : is a non-glottalized, voiceless front velar stop which only occurs in loanwords. It is realized as:

[k<sup>h</sup>]: in word initial prevocalic position, word final position and before stops.

[k <sup>h</sup> ú.l]	/kú.l/	'gold'
[t <sup>h</sup> ʌk <sup>h</sup> tən]	/tékten/	'doctor'
[lisék <sup>h</sup> ]	/lisék/	'sack'



[k]: elsewhere.

[ʔi.ks]	/ʔi.ks/	'eggs'
[ləkəli.]	/ləkəli./	'key'
[x <sup>w</sup> ləkəli.t <sup>h</sup> ]	/x <sup>w</sup> ləkəli.t/	'to lock'

/k<sup>w</sup>/: is a non-glottalized, voiceless rounded front velar stop realized as:

[k<sup>wh</sup>]: in word initial prevocalic position, word final position and before stops.

[k <sup>wh</sup> ásən]-[k <sup>wh</sup> ɒsən]	/k <sup>w</sup> ásən/	'star'
[səy <sup>ʔ</sup> éik <sup>wh</sup> ]	/si <sup>ʔ</sup> éik <sup>w</sup> /	'curved'
[sik <sup>wh</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ]	/sik <sup>w</sup> t/	'sea cucumber'

[k<sup>w</sup>]: elsewhere.

[šk <sup>w</sup> išən]	/šk <sup>w</sup> išən/	'drop of water'
[nák <sup>w</sup> ə]	/nák <sup>w</sup> ə/	'you, thou'
[sæ <sup>ʔ</sup> k <sup>w</sup> əq <sup>h</sup> ]	/sé <sup>ʔ</sup> k <sup>w</sup> əq/	'carrot'

/q/: is a non-glottalized, voiceless back velar stop realized as:

[q<sup>h</sup>]: in word initial prevocalic position, word final position and before stops.

[q <sup>h</sup> ɔlən]	/q <sup>h</sup> ɔlən/	'eye'
[tš <sup>h</sup> ɔq <sup>h</sup> ]	/č <sup>h</sup> ɔq/	'big'
[tʃ <sup>h</sup> éq <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ]	/ʃ <sup>h</sup> éqt/	'long'

[q]: elsewhere.

[tʰqæltʂ̥]	/tʰqélč̥/	'month, moon'
[sqæmek <sup>wh</sup> ]	/sqémek <sup>w</sup> /	'octopus'
[sʰáitqəʰ]	/sʰéitqəʰ/	'snake'

/q<sup>w</sup>/: is a non-glottalized, voiceless rounded back velar stop realized as:

[q<sup>wh</sup>]: in word initial prevocalic position, word final position and before stops.

[q <sup>wh</sup> ɔʰ]	/q <sup>w</sup> áʰ/	'water'
[nəsáq <sup>wh</sup> ]	/nəséq <sup>w</sup> /	'red'
[tʂáq <sup>wh</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ]	/cáq <sup>w</sup> t/	'to suck'

[q<sup>w</sup>]: elsewhere.

[sq <sup>w</sup> áel]	/sq <sup>w</sup> éel/	'word'
[sáq <sup>w</sup> əŋ]	/sáq <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'sweet'
[x <sup>w</sup> əpáq <sup>w</sup> əŋ]	/x <sup>w</sup> əpáq <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'to make noise'

/ʔ/: is a glottal stop realized as:

[ʔ]: in all positions.

[ʔáwə]	/ʔéwə/	'no, not'
[smá1ʔš̥]	/smé1ʔš̥/	'crawfish'
[ʔáyʔ]	/ʔéyʔ/	'good, clean'

/p̥/: is a glottalized, voiceless bilabial stop realized as:

[p̥]: in all positions.

[p̥áwəyʔ]	/p̥éwiʔ/	'flounder'
[q <sup>h</sup> elqelp̥ás]	/qelp̥élp̥és/	'curly'
[t̥álp̥-]	/t̥álp̥-/	'to hang loose'

/t̥/: is a glottalized, voiceless alveolar stop realized as:

[t̥]: in all positions.

[t̥áqæʔ]	/t̥éqəʔ/	'liver'
[t̥áʔæt̥]	/t̥éʔet̥/	'to taste'
[q̥h̥æt̥əʔ]	/q̥ét̥əʔ/	'cradle'

/c̥/: is a glottalized, voiceless alveolar affricate realized as:

[t̥s̥]: in all positions.

[t̥soʔæt̥ʂən]	/cuʔéčən/	'chair'
[st̥s̥á·m̥ʔ]	/sc̥á·m̥ʔ/	'bone'
[l̥át̥s̥]	/l̥éc̥/	'to fill'

/ʎ̥/: is a glottalized, voiceless lateral alveolar affricate realized as:

[t̥ʎ̥]: in all positions.

[t̥ʎ̥l̥t̥ʂ]	/ʎ̥éč̥/	'deep'
[t̥ʎ̥út̥ʎ̥aʔ]	/ʎ̥úʎ̥aʔ/	'small'
[q̥áq̥əʔt̥ʎ̥]	/q̥éq̥əʎ̥/	'shadow'

/č̥/: is a glottalized, voiceless palatal affricate realized as:

[t̥ʂ̥]: in all positions.

[t̥ʂ̥éʔwəyʔ]	/č̥éʔwiʔ/	'dish'
[st̥ʂ̥iyáyəʔ]	/s̥č̥iyáyəʔ/	'twin'
[t̥q̥ált̥ʂ̥]	/t̥q̥élc̥/	'month, moon'

$/k^w/$ : is a glottalized, voiceless rounded front velar stop realized as:

$[k^{wh}]$ : in word initial prevocalic position, word final position and before stops.

$[k^{wh} \lambda l \omega^?]$	$/k^{w \acute{e} l u^?/$	'hide, skin'
$[s x^w \acute{e}^? x^w k^{wh}]$	$/s x^w \acute{e}^? x^w k^w/$	'foolish'
$[t \acute{\lambda} n k^{wh} t^h]$	$/t \acute{\lambda} n k^w t/$	'to shoot'

$[k^w]$ : elsewhere.

$[t \acute{\lambda} k^w \lambda t^h]$	$/\lambda k^w \acute{e} t/$	'to put out fire'
$[s k^w \lambda^? l \acute{e} s]$	$/s k^w \acute{e}^? l \acute{e} s/$	'way'
$[x^w k^w \lambda t^h]$	$/x^w k^w \acute{e} t/$	'to pull'

$/q^?/$ : is a glottalized, voiceless back velar stop realized as:

$[q^?]$ : in all positions.

$[q^? \lambda k^w \acute{e}]$	$/q^? \acute{e} k^w \acute{e}/$	'cane'
$[q^? \acute{e} \acute{e} \acute{e} t \acute{\lambda}^?]$	$/q^? \acute{e} \acute{e} \acute{e} \lambda^?/$	'shadow'
$[m \lambda q^?]$	$/m \acute{e} q^?/$	'full of food'

$/q^w/$ : is a glottalized, voiceless rounded back velar stop realized as:

$[q^{wh}]$ : in word initial position, word final position and before stops and affricates.

$[q^{wh} \acute{a} m^? q^w \acute{e} m]$	$/q^w \acute{a} m^? q^w \acute{e} m/$	'very strong'
$[t \acute{\lambda} \lambda q^{wh}]$	$/\lambda \acute{e} q^w/$	'it's stuck'
$[q^{wh} t s \acute{e} y m \acute{e} n^?]$	$/q^w \acute{e} y m \acute{e} n^?/$	'pin'

[q<sup>w</sup>]: elsewhere.

[tsáq <sup>w</sup> əŋ]	/cáq <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'rotten'
[tsq <sup>w</sup> á'məʔ]	/c <sup>w</sup> á'məʔ/	'raspberries'
[ləq <sup>w</sup> áŋənʔ]	/ləq <sup>w</sup> áŋənʔ/	'Songhees'

/s/: is a voiceless, alveolar fricative realized as:

[s]: in all positions, though slightly palatalized before velars.

[sxát <sup>h</sup> ]	/sxét/	'to push'
[sásən]	/sásən/	'mouth'
[táqəs]	/táqəs/	'seaweed'

/š/: is a voiceless, palatal fricative realized as:

[š]: in all positions

[šk <sup>w</sup> išən]	/šk <sup>w</sup> išən/	'drop of water'
[šésəm]	/šésəm/	'shallow'
[smál <sup>ʔ</sup> š]	/smél <sup>ʔ</sup> š/	'crawfish'

/ɬ/: is a voiceless, alveolar lateral fricative realized as:

[ɬ]: in all positions.

[táɬš]	/téc/	'dark'
[stšáɬ]	/ščéɬ/	'wood'
[stíx <sup>w</sup> s]	/stíx <sup>w</sup> s/	'Wednesday'

/x<sup>w</sup>/: is a voiceless, rounded front velar fricative realized as:

[x<sup>w</sup>]: in all positions.

[x <sup>w</sup> si·təs]	/x <sup>w</sup> si·təs/	'hill'
[spálx <sup>w</sup> əŋ]	/spálx <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'lung'
[tám <sup>w</sup> x <sup>w</sup> ]	/tám <sup>w</sup> x <sup>w</sup> /	'it's raining'

/x/: is a voiceless, unrounded back velar fricative realized as:

[x]: in all positions.

[xəxətnæt <sup>h</sup> ]	/xəxətnét/	'Sunday'
[xə <sup>ʔ</sup> xə <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	/xé <sup>ʔ</sup> xé <sup>ʔ</sup> /	'spirit'
[q <sup>h</sup> álex]	/qélex/	'fish eggs'

/x<sup>w</sup>/: is a voiceless, rounded back velar fricative realized as:

[x<sup>w</sup>]: in all positions.

[x <sup>w</sup> etá <sup>ʔ</sup> šən]	/x <sup>w</sup> etá <sup>ʔ</sup> šən/	'rainbow'
[táx <sup>w</sup> əm]	/táx <sup>w</sup> əm/	'slippery'
[sá <sup>ʔ</sup> sx <sup>w</sup> ]	/sá <sup>ʔ</sup> sx <sup>w</sup> /	'damp'

/h/: is a voiceless, glottal fricative realized as:

[h]: in word initial prevocalic position, word medial position. It does not occur in word final position.

[háy]	/háy/	'to finish'
[moháy <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	/moháy <sup>ʔ</sup> /	'basket'
[há <sup>ʔ</sup> æ <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	/hé <sup>ʔ</sup> e <sup>ʔ</sup> /	'yes'

/l/: is a voiced, alveolar lateral realized as:

[l]: in all positions.

[ləlé <sup>o</sup> nəŋ]	/ləlé <sup>o</sup> nəŋ/	'listening'
[sq <sup>w</sup> əlěš]	/sq <sup>w</sup> əlěš/	'bird'
[sq <sup>w</sup> əl]	/sq <sup>w</sup> əl/	'word'

/m/: is a voiced, bilabial nasal realized as:

[m]: in all positions.

[mə <sup>o</sup> ]	/mə <sup>o</sup> /	'father'
[məmí <sup>o</sup> mən]	/məmí <sup>o</sup> mən/	'very small'
[st <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> í <sup>o</sup> ləqəm]	/st <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> í <sup>o</sup> ləqəm/	'all wild beasts'

/n/: is a voiced, alveolar nasal realized as:

[n]: in all positions.

[nós]	/nós/	'to be fat'
[nə <sup>o</sup> náyəŋ]	/nə <sup>o</sup> náyəŋ/	'laughing'
[q <sup>wh</sup> əqtán]	/q <sup>wh</sup> əqtán/	'shoulder'

/ŋ/: is a voiced, velar nasal realized as:

[ŋ]: in all positions.

[ŋəqə <sup>o</sup> ]	/ŋəqə <sup>o</sup> /	'snow'
[stá <sup>o</sup> ŋət <sup>h</sup> ]	/stá <sup>o</sup> ŋət <sup>h</sup> /	'herring'
[spə <sup>o</sup> x <sup>w</sup> əŋ]	/spə <sup>o</sup> x <sup>w</sup> əŋ/	'fog'

/y/: is a voiced, unrounded palatal glide realized as:

[y]: in all positions..

[yə <sup>o</sup> ]	/yé <sup>o</sup> /	'to go'
[swéy <sup>o</sup> qə <sup>o</sup> ]	/swéy <sup>o</sup> qə <sup>o</sup> /	'man'
[nəq <sup>w</sup> éy]	/nəq <sup>w</sup> éy/	'green'

/w/: is a voiced, rounded labiovelar glide realized as:

[w]: in all positions.

[wə <sup>ʔ</sup> wá <sup>ʔ</sup> əs]	/wə <sup>ʔ</sup> wá <sup>ʔ</sup> əs/	'to bark'
[słəwən]	/słəwən/	'bear grass'
[k <sup>wh</sup> əsk <sup>w</sup> áw]	/k <sup>w</sup> əsk <sup>w</sup> áw/	'to fall'

/i/: is a high front unrounded vowel realized as:

[i]: in both stressed and unstressed positions (other than before /ʔ/) and when accompanied by length.

[x <sup>w</sup> i <sup>ʔ</sup> ləm]	/x <sup>w</sup> i <sup>ʔ</sup> ləm/	'rope'
[lisék <sup>h</sup> ]	/lisék/	'sack'
[sí.lə]	/sí.lə/	'grandfather'

[I]: when preceded and followed by glottal stop.

[ʔIʔ]	/ʔiʔ/	'simultaneous'
[tšə <sup>ʔ</sup> Iʔ]	/čé <sup>ʔ</sup> iʔ/	'working'
[q <sup>wh</sup> ən <sup>ʔ</sup> iʔ]	/q <sup>w</sup> ən <sup>ʔ</sup> iʔ/	'seagull'

[əy]: in unstressed position before glottal stop.

[p <sup>ʔ</sup> əwəyʔ]	/p <sup>ʔ</sup> əwiʔ/	'flounder'
[tš <sup>ʔ</sup> əliʔ]	/čé <sup>ʔ</sup> liʔ/	'tree bark'
[tš <sup>ʔ</sup> əwəyʔ]	/čé <sup>ʔ</sup> wiʔ/	'dish'

[e<sup>^</sup>]: in free variation with [i] before velars and sibilants in stressed position.

[sqəqəwé <sup>^</sup> s]~[sqəqəwís]	/sqəqəwís/	'rabbit'
[tš <sup>^</sup> ək <sup>w</sup> əs]~[tš <sup>ík</sup> wəs]	/tš <sup>ík</sup> wəs/	'tired'
[swé <sup>^</sup> w <sup>ʔ</sup> ləs]~[swíw <sup>ʔ</sup> ləs]	/swíw <sup>ʔ</sup> ləs/	'young man'



/e/: is a mid, front unrounded vowel realized as:

[æ]: in free variation with [ɛ] in both stressed and unstressed positions.

[t̪æt̪s̪]~[t̪ɛts̪]	/t̪éc̪/	'dark'
[q <sup>h</sup> áyəx]~[q <sup>h</sup> éyax]	/qéyəx/	'mink'
[ŋáqæʔ]~[ŋéqεʔ]	/ŋéqεʔ/	'snow'

[ɛ]: in free variation with [æ], and before /y/ and when accompanied by length.

[swéyʔqæʔ]~[swéyʔqεʔ]	/swéyʔqεʔ/	'man'
[sɛx <sup>w</sup> səx <sup>w</sup> ]~[sáx <sup>w</sup> səx <sup>w</sup> ]	/sɛx <sup>w</sup> səx <sup>w</sup> /	'very lazy'
[st̪śéyn]	/s̪śéyn/	'very'
[st̪śé·nUx <sup>w</sup> ]	/s̪śé·nəx <sup>w</sup> /	'fish'

/ə/: is a mid, central unrounded vowel. It has the highest frequency of occurrence and the widest range of allophonic variants, generally conditioned by the surrounding sounds. It is realized as:

[ʌ]: in fully stressed position.

[t̪ʌt̪st̪n]	/t̪éct̪n/	'scythe'
[p <sup>h</sup> ʌq]	/péq/	'white'
[nʌt̪sə]	/nécə/	'one'

[ə]: when bearing either weak or secondary stress.

[štəláləs]	/štəláləs/	'eyeglasses'
[st̪śəq <sup>w</sup> ʌwʔsə]	/s̪śəq <sup>w</sup> éwʔsə/	'fire'
[st̪əlpələxən]	/st̪əlpələxən/	'bat'

Under weak stress and surrounded by conditioning sounds the variants of /ə/ tend to fall within the range of other phonemes making distinctions very elusive, e.g.:

[ɔ]: when preceding /k<sup>w</sup>/ and /h/ and after /q<sup>w</sup>/.

[moháy <sup>ɔ</sup> ]	/məháy <sup>ɔ</sup> /	'basket'
[mók <sup>wh</sup> ]	/mók <sup>w</sup> /	'all'
[q <sup>wh</sup> əpáx <sup>w</sup> ]	/q <sup>w</sup> əpéx <sup>w</sup> /	'acorn'

[U]: between a resonant and the rounded velar fricatives in unstressed position.

[ʔəx <sup>w</sup> ílŋUx <sup>w</sup> ]	/ʔəx <sup>w</sup> ílŋəx <sup>w</sup> /	'Indian'
[stšé·nUx <sup>w</sup> ]	/ščé·nəx <sup>w</sup> /	'fish'
[snəsálmUx <sup>w</sup> ]	/snəsálməx <sup>w</sup> /	'butter'
[k <sup>wh</sup> ʌmlUx <sup>w</sup> ]	/k <sup>w</sup> émləx <sup>w</sup> /	'root'

/a/: is a low, central unrounded vowel realized as

[a]: in all positions.

[stá'ləw <sup>ɔ</sup> ]	/stá'lu <sup>ɔ</sup> /	'river'
[ʔápen]	/ʔápen/	'ten'
[spá·l]	/spá·l/	'raven, crow'

[ɔ]: recorded in the following words, freely varying with /a/.

[q <sup>wh</sup> ó <sup>ɔ</sup> ] ~ [q <sup>wh</sup> á <sup>ɔ</sup> ]	/q <sup>w</sup> á <sup>ɔ</sup> /	'water'
[snós] ~ [snás]	/snás/	'fat, grease'
[k <sup>wh</sup> ɔsən] ~ [k <sup>wh</sup> ásən]	/k <sup>w</sup> ásən/	'star'

/u/ : is a high, back rounded vowel of limited occurrence.

It is realized as:

[u]: in fully stressed position and accompanied by length.

[t <sup>h</sup> ú·lə]	/tú·lə/	'over there'
[p <sup>h</sup> ú·t <sup>h</sup> ]	/pú·t/	'boat'
[p <sup>h</sup> ú·k <sup>h</sup> ]	/pú·k/	'book'

[o]: in unstressed position.

[t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>o</sup> ]	/tu <sup>o</sup> /	'Demonstrative'
[t <sup>o</sup> soxi <sup>o</sup> ləm]	/cuxi <sup>o</sup> ləm/	'mythical hero'
[st <sup>o</sup> so <sup>o</sup> áetšən]	/scu <sup>o</sup> écən/	'chair'

[əw]: in unstressed position before glottal stop in free variation with [o].

[stá <sup>o</sup> ləw <sup>o</sup> ]~[stá <sup>o</sup> lo <sup>o</sup> ]	/stá <sup>o</sup> lu <sup>o</sup> /	'river'
[k <sup>wh</sup> áləw <sup>o</sup> ]~[k <sup>wh</sup> álo <sup>o</sup> ]	/k <sup>wh</sup> ólu <sup>o</sup> /	'hide, skin'
[tá <sup>o</sup> ləw <sup>o</sup> ]~[tá <sup>o</sup> lo <sup>o</sup> ]	/té <sup>o</sup> lu <sup>o</sup> /	'arm'

### PHONEMIC CONTRASTS

The following is a list of minimal, and near-minimal pairs, which have been selected on the basis of the importance of their phonemic contrasts. Special attention has been given to those pairs of words which illustrate phoneme correspondences with other Salishan languages and which reflect historical changes. Some phoneme correspondences

are the following:<sup>1</sup>

a) Songish /č/ corresponds to /p/ in the following Salish languages, Puget Sound /pád/, Squamish /pən/, Songish /čén-/ 'to bury'; Twana /péɪ/, Chilliwack-Halkomelem /pié.t/, Cowichan-Musqueam /piét/, Songish /čít/ 'thick'; Chilliwack-Halkomelem /-əɪp/, Cowichan-Musqueam /-əlp/, Songish /-ič/ lexical suffix 'tree'.

b) Songish /č/ also corresponds to /y/ in some instances, in these same languages, Puget Sound /syáyos/, Cowichan-Musqueam /yáys/, Songish /ščéy/ 'work'; Twana /yədəs/, Squamish /iəni's/, Cowichan-Musqueam /yénəs/, Songish /čénəs/ 'tooth'. However, /č/ also corresponds to /č/ in these languages, Puget Sound /xáčo/, Squamish /xa'ču/, Cowichan-Musqueam /xáčs/, Songish /xáčə/ 'lake'.

c) Songish /č̣/ corresponds to /p̣/ in the following languages: Puget Sound /páč̣/, Twana /pá.c̣/, Squamish /pác̣/, Cowichan-Musqueam /péc̣/, Songish /čéc̣-/ 'to sew'; Squamish /pélị/, Cowichan-Musqueam /péləỵ/, Songish /čélị/ 'tree bark'. However, Puget Sound /pwáỵ/, Squamish /pua'ị/, Chilliwack-Halkomelem /púwị/, correspond to Songish /péwị/ 'flounder'. Moreover, Songish /č̣/ also corresponds to /č̣/ in the other languages as in Squamish /č'a'-č̣'l-m/, Songish /čéḷ'čələṃ/ 'to give birth, childbirth'.

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<sup>1</sup> The sources for these examples were: Puget Sound (Snyder: 1968), Squamish (Kuipers:1967), Twana (Drachman:1969 and Elmendorf 1962<sub>b</sub>), Chilliwack-Halkomelem (Harris:1966), Mainland Comox (Davis:1970), Cowichan-Musqueam (Elmendorf and Suttles:1960) and Nisqually (Drachman:1969).

d) Songish /ŋ/ corresponds to /m/ in some languages and to /b/ in other languages. Songish /n/ corresponds to /d/ in Puget Sound and Twana. Both these correspondences can be observed in the following example: Puget Sound /bédə/, Twana /bédə/, Comox /ma'na/, Squamish /mən'ə/, Cowichan-Musqueam /mén'ə/, Songish /ŋénə' / 'offspring, child'. But the /m/ does not correspond to /ŋ/ in the following instance: Puget Sound /bád/, Twana /bád/, Squamish /man/, Cowichan-Musqueam /mén/, Songish /mén/ 'Father'.

e) Songish /k<sup>w</sup>/ corresponds to /g<sup>w</sup>/ in Puget Sound, but to /w/ in the other languages, e.g.: Puget Sound /dəg<sup>w</sup>í/, Nisqually /dəg<sup>w</sup>e' /, Twana /dəw'é/, Squamish /nəy/, Cowichan-Musqueam /néwə/, Songish /nék<sup>w</sup>ə / 'you, thou'. However, Songish /k<sup>w</sup>/ also corresponds to /k<sup>w</sup>/ in the other languages as in Puget Sound /bák<sup>w</sup>ɪ/, Squamish /ma'k<sup>w</sup>λ/, Songish /mék<sup>w</sup>əɪ / 'to get hurt'.

Except for the /d/ : /n/ correspondence, which other languages share, all the above correspondences are the ones which characterize Songish as a member of the Straits group, since all other Straits dialects share them.

The minimal pairs in the list that follows will then illustrate contrasts with these phonemes and with others which are phonetically similar as well. Repeated contrasts will be mentioned but the pairs will not be given again in the list.

/p/ contrasts with /p̣/, /k<sup>w</sup>/, /č/ and /q/.

/péq̣/ 'white'	vs.	/p̣éwị/ 'flounder'
/pítšən/ 'lizard'	vs.	/k <sup>w</sup> ítšən/ 'spring salmon'
/spẹ́'es/ 'bear'	vs.	/ščẹ́'čẹ/ 'friend'
/spẹ́'es/ 'bear'	vs.	/sqéxẹ/ 'dog'

/t/ contrasts with /ṭ/, /č/, /č̣/, /ʔ/, /s/, /k/ and /ḳ/.

/tẹ́/ 'mother'	vs.	/ṭẹ́'eṭ/ 'to taste'
/táq̣ <sup>w</sup> əŋ/ 'to cough'	vs.	/čáq̣ <sup>w</sup> əm/ 'sweat'
/táq̣ <sup>w</sup> əŋ/ 'to cough'	vs.	/čáq̣ <sup>w</sup> əŋ/ 'rotten'
/snét/ 'night'	vs.	/snẹ́/ 'name'
/tén/ 'Mother'	vs.	/sén/ 'to be who?'
/tú.lə/ 'over there'	vs.	/kú.l/ 'gold'
/tẹ́/ 'mother'	vs.	/ḳẹ́/ 'again'

/k/ contrasts with /p/, /k<sup>w</sup>/, /ḳ<sup>w</sup>/, /č/, /q/, /q<sup>w</sup>/ and /q̣<sup>w</sup>/,

/kəpú./ 'coat'	vs.	/k <sup>w</sup> əṇ'ét/ 'holding it'
/kísməs/ 'Christmas'	vs.	/ḳ <sup>w</sup> ín-/ 'to be how many?'
/kəpú./ 'coat'	vs.	/qəlí.mə/ 'very dirty'
/kəpú./ 'coat'	vs.	/q <sup>w</sup> əq̣ <sup>w</sup> él/ 'to give a speech'
/kəpú./ 'coat'	vs.	/q̣ <sup>w</sup> əp̣éx̣ <sup>w</sup> / 'acorn'

/k<sup>w</sup>/ contrasts with /p/, /k/, /ḳ<sup>w</sup>/, /q<sup>w</sup>/, /č/, /x<sup>w</sup>/ and /w/.

/ḳ <sup>w</sup> ét/ 'to take hold'	vs.	/ḳ <sup>w</sup> ét/ 'extinguished'
/k <sup>w</sup> él/ 'to hide'	vs.	/q <sup>w</sup> él/ 'to speak'
/k <sup>w</sup> ənes/ 'to catch'	vs.	/čənes/ 'tooth'
/k <sup>w</sup> ítšən/ 'spring salmon'	vs.	/x <sup>w</sup> ít-/ 'to jump'
/nék <sup>w</sup> ə/ 'you, thou'	vs.	/ʔéwə/ 'no, not'

/q/ contrasts with /p/, /k/, /q̣/, /q<sup>w</sup>/, /ʔ/, /q̣<sup>w</sup>/ and /x/.

/ṭqélč̣/ 'month, moon'	vs.	/ṭqéc̣əs/ 'five'
/sqé <sup>ʔ</sup> tu <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'good fisherman'	vs.	/sq <sup>w</sup> él/ 'word'
/ṭéqe <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'liver'	vs.	/hé <sup>ʔ</sup> e <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'yes'
/sq̣əl <sup>ʔ</sup> éw <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'beaver'	vs.	/sq̣ <sup>w</sup> əléṣ/ 'bird'
/sq̣émə <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'milk, breast'	vs.	/sx̣éne <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'leg, wheel'

/q<sup>w</sup>/ contrasts with /k/, /k<sup>w</sup>/, /q/, /q̣<sup>w</sup>/, /x<sup>w</sup>/, /x̣<sup>w</sup>/ and /w/.

/há <sup>ʔ</sup> əq <sup>w</sup> / 'stinky'	vs.	/má <sup>ʔ</sup> əq̣ <sup>w</sup> / 'duck'
/sq <sup>w</sup> él/ 'word'	vs.	/sx <sup>w</sup> é <sup>ʔ</sup> x <sup>w</sup> k <sup>w</sup> / 'foolish'
/q̣ <sup>w</sup> á <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'water'	vs.	/x̣ <sup>w</sup> á-/ 'to cry'
/q̣ <sup>w</sup> él/ 'to speak'	vs.	/wéq̣əs/ 'to yawn'

/ʔ/ contrasts with /t/, /s/, /q/ and /h/.

/ʔé <sup>ʔ</sup> ləŋ/ 'house'	vs.	/hé <sup>ʔ</sup> e <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'yes'
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/p̣/ contrasts with /p/, /ḳ<sup>w</sup>/, /q̣/, /č/ and /č̣/.

/p̣é <sup>ʔ</sup> səč̣/ 'pine cone'	vs.	/ḳ <sup>w</sup> é <sup>ʔ</sup> ləs/ 'heat'
/p̣é <sup>ʔ</sup> eḳ <sup>w</sup> / 'pipe'	vs.	/q̣é <sup>ʔ</sup> pət/ 'gathering'
/p̣é <sup>ʔ</sup> eḳ <sup>w</sup> / 'pipe'	vs.	/č̣é <sup>ʔ</sup> et/ 'vomiting'
/p̣éwi <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'flounder'	vs.	/č̣éli <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'tree bark'

/ṭ/ contrasts with /t/, /c̣/, /č̣/ and /x̣/.

/ṭéqe <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'liver'	vs.	/č̣éle <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'heart'
/ṭé <sup>ʔ</sup> lu <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'arm'	vs.	/č̣é <sup>ʔ</sup> wi <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'dish'
/ṭé <sup>ʔ</sup> lu <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'arm'	vs.	/x̣é <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'again'

/q̣/ contrasts with /p/, /q/ and /q̣<sup>w</sup>/.

/q̣ám <sup>ʔ</sup> ətən/ 'Saturday'	vs.	/q̣ <sup>w</sup> ám <sup>ʔ</sup> q̣ <sup>w</sup> əm/ 'very strong'
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/k<sup>W</sup>/ contrasts with /k/, /k<sup>W</sup>/, /p/ and /q<sup>W</sup>/.

/k<sup>W</sup>ét/ 'extinguished' vs. /k<sup>W</sup>ét/ 'put together'

/q<sup>W</sup>/ contrasts with /k/, /q/, /q<sup>W</sup>/, /k<sup>W</sup>/, /q/ and /x<sup>W</sup>/.

/čáq<sup>W</sup>əm/ 'sweat' vs. /čáx<sup>W</sup>əŋ/ 'melting'

/č/ contrasts with /p/, /t/, /k/, /k<sup>W</sup>/, /p/, /č/, /č̣/, /y/, /s/ and /š/.

/čiqmən/ 'iron' vs. /kisməs/ 'Christmas'

/čáq<sup>W</sup>əɪ/ 'burning' vs. /čáq<sup>W</sup>ət/ 'to suck'

/čxét/ 'to tear' vs. /č̣xét/ 'to split'

/čé<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>/ 'to work' vs. /yé<sup>?</sup>/ 'to go'

/čxét/ 'to tear' vs. /sxét/ 'to push'

/čtét/ 'thick' vs. /štéxəs/ 'black paint'

/č̣/ contrasts with /t/, /č̣/, /ṭ/, /č̣̣/, /s/, /š/ and /λ̣/.

/čéle<sup>?</sup>/ 'heart' vs. /č̣éc̣-/ 'to sew'

/hécəŋ/ 'to breathe' vs. /hésəŋ/ 'to sneeze'

/čáw<sup>?</sup>/ 'to disappear' vs. /λ̣áx<sup>W</sup>/ 'hard'

/č̣̣/ contrasts with /p̣/, /ṭ/, /č̣̣/, /č̣̣̣/, /s/ and /ṣ̣̌/.

/č̣̣xét/ 'to split' vs. /sxét/ 'to push'

/č̣̣təŋ/ 'to crawl' vs. /štəŋ/ 'to walk'

/λ̣/ contrasts with /t/, /ṭ/, /ɪ̣/, /t + ɪ̣/, /č̣/ and /l/.

/λ̣écəɪ/ 'below' vs. /ɪ̣éc/ 'dark'

/<sup>?</sup>əλ̣/ 'at, to, with' vs. /<sup>?</sup>ánət + ɪ̣tə/ 'we sat'

/λ̣óč̣/ 'deep' vs. /léc̣/ 'to fill up'



/s/ contrasts with /ʔ/, /č/, /č̣/, /č̣̣/, /š/, /ɣ/, /x/, /x<sup>w</sup>/, /t/ and /h/.

/suʔ/ 'so...then'	vs.	/ʔuʔ/ 'Contemporary'
/stá·ləs/ 'spouse'	vs.	/stá·məš/ 'hero'
/sák <sup>w</sup> əŋ/ 'to bathe'	vs.	/ɣák <sup>w</sup> əŋ/ 'to undress'
/ʔəstésəɣ/ 'broken'	vs.	/ʔəstéxəɣ/ 'wrong'
/síʔsəɣ/ 'above'	vs.	/x <sup>w</sup> íʔləm/ 'rope'
/sésčən/ 'blood'	vs.	/hésəŋ/ 'to sneeze'

/š/ contrasts with /s/, /č/, /č̣/, /ɣ/, /x<sup>w</sup>/ and /č̣̣/.

/šk <sup>w</sup> išən/ 'drop of water'	vs.	/ʔitən/ 'to eat'
/síʔšəč̣̣/ 'woods'	vs.	/x <sup>w</sup> íʔləm/ 'rope'
/síʔšəč̣̣/ 'woods'	vs.	/č̣̣ístən/ 'horn'

/ɣ/ contrasts with /s/, /š/, /ɣ̣̣/, /l/ and /x/.

/sɣáʔ/ 'beach'	vs.	/sláləč̣̣/ 'thigh'
/ɣénk <sup>w</sup> t/ 'to shoot'	vs.	/xénəŋənʔ/ 'bear track'

/x/ contrasts with /q/, /s/, /ɣ/, /x<sup>w</sup>/, /x̣<sup>w</sup>/ and /h/.

/sxét/ 'to push'	vs.	/sx <sup>w</sup> ét/ 'a bird'
/xáčə/ 'lake'	vs.	/x <sup>w</sup> á-/ 'to cry'
/xéʔxeʔ/ 'spirit'	vs.	/héʔeʔ/ 'yes'

/x<sup>w</sup>/ contrasts with /k<sup>w</sup>/, /q<sup>w</sup>/, /x̣<sup>w</sup>/, /x/, /s/, /š/ and /h/.

/čáx <sup>w</sup> əŋ/ 'it's sour'	vs.	/čáx̣ <sup>w</sup> əŋ/ 'it's melting'
/x <sup>w</sup> íʔləm/ 'rope'	vs.	/híʔləŋ/ 'falling'

/x̣<sup>w</sup>/ contrasts with /q<sup>w</sup>/, /q̣<sup>w</sup>/, /x<sup>w</sup>/ and /x/.

/h/ contrasts with /ʔ/, /x<sup>w</sup>/, /x/ and /s/.

/m/ contrasts with /n/ and /ŋ/.

/mén/ 'Father'	vs.	/néniʔ/ 'goat'
/ʔámət/ 'to sit'	vs.	/ʔáŋət/ 'to give'

/n/ contrasts with /m/ and /ŋ/.

/nás/ 'to be fat'	vs.	/ŋás/ 'four'
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/ŋ/ contrasts with /m/ and /n/.

/l/ contrasts with /ɬ/, /ɮ/, /y/, and /w/.

/léʔ/ 'to be there'	vs.	/yéʔ/ 'to go'
/səlélwəʔ/ 'poor'	vs.	/səwéyʔqeʔ/ 'men'

/w/ contrasts with /k<sup>w</sup>/, /q<sup>w</sup>/ and /l/.

/y/ contrasts with /l/ and /č/.

/i/ contrasts with /e/, /a/, /ə/ and /u/.

/ʔiɬən/ 'to eat'	vs.	/ʔéʔləŋ/ 'house'
/sʔiɬən/ 'food'	vs.	/sʔéɬqəʔ/ 'serpent'
/ʔiŋət/ 'to step'	vs.	/ʔáŋət/ 'to give'
/ʔiʔ/ 'Simultaneous'	vs.	/ʔuʔ/ 'Contemporary'

/e/ contrasts with /i/, /ə/, /a/ and /u/.

/stéŋ/ 'What?'	vs.	/štéŋ/ 'to walk'
/héʔeʔ/ 'yes'	vs.	/háʔəq <sup>w</sup> / 'stinky'
/ʔéʔčəx/ 'crab'	vs.	/ʔuʔ/ 'Contemporary'

/ə/ contrasts with /i/, /e/, /a/ and /u/.

/k <sup>w</sup> ésəs/ 'to send'	vs.	/k <sup>w</sup> ásən/ 'star'
/səʔ/ 'Future'	vs.	/suʔ/ 'Demonstrative'

/a/ contrasts with /i/, /e/, /ə/ and /u/.

/sáʔək<sup>w</sup>/ 'Sooke' vs. /suʔ/ 'so... then'

/u/ contrasts with /i/, /e/, /ə/ and /a/.

MORPHOPHONEMICSAlternation of Glides.

The glides /y/ and /w/ are morphophonemically related to their homorganic obstruents (/č/ and /k<sup>w</sup>/) and their homorganic vowels (/i/ and /u/), since there are cases where /y/ alternates with /č/ or /i/ and /w/ with /k<sup>w</sup>/ or /u/. Thompson and Thompson (1971;258-259) point out that:

Comparative evidence shows many cases where before vowels Straits č, k<sup>w</sup> correspond to y, w in other languages, while finally or before a consonant the correspondences are rather y/i: y, w/u: w. In these terms it seems likely that at an earlier period the distribution was stop before vowel, (semi) vowel elsewhere, but other changes in the language have now obscured that pattern, leaving a nonautomatic relationship.

In agreement with Thompson and Thompson's statement given above, comparative evidence shows the predicted correspondences:

<u>Cowichan-Musqueam</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>Songish</u>
/yé <sup>o</sup> et/	/čé <sup>o</sup> et/ 'to vomit'
/yénəs/	/čénəs/ 'tooth'
/ <sup>o</sup> yáys/	/čéy <sup>o</sup> / 'to work'
/swéyəl/	/sk <sup>w</sup> éčəl/ 'day'
/séwəq/	/sé <sup>o</sup> k <sup>w</sup> əq/ 'carrot'
/néwə/	/nék <sup>w</sup> ə/ 'you, thou'

The alternation of /č<sup>v</sup>/~/y/ and /k<sup>w</sup>/~/w/, /y~/i/ and /w~/u/ has been observed to occur in a restricted set

<sup>1</sup> The Cowichan-Musqueam examples were taken from Elmendorf (1962).

of Songish roots in /y/, /k<sup>w</sup>/, /č/ and /w/, which are morphologically marked to undergo such alternations as one way to express the aspectual opposition of actual vs. non-actual forms:

/něč-/ 'to laugh'	/nə <sup>o</sup> néy-/ 'laughing'	
/t'éčəq/ 'to be angry'	/tət'éy <sup>o</sup> əq/ 'being angry'	
/ték <sup>w</sup> -/ 'to buy'	/tə <sup>o</sup> é <sup>o</sup> w-/ 'buying'	
/čák <sup>w</sup> -/ 'to wear, use'	/ča <sup>o</sup> á <sup>o</sup> w-/ 'wearing, using'	
/čéy <sup>o</sup> / 'to work'	/čé <sup>o</sup> i <sup>o</sup> / 'working'	/čéč-/ 'making'
/c'w <sup>o</sup> / 'to put down'	/cú <sup>o</sup> -/ 'putting down'	<sup>1</sup>

These roots have been considered to belong to a restricted category because the alternations are not phonologically predictable, since there are roots with /k<sup>w</sup>/ and /y/, /č/ and /w/ which occur without alternations:<sup>2</sup>

/ŋék <sup>w</sup> -/ 'to chew'	/ŋək <sup>w</sup> é-/ 'chewing'
/c'ék <sup>w</sup> -/ 'to wash'	/cək <sup>w</sup> é-/ 'washing'
/q <sup>w</sup> áy/ 'to die' <sup>3</sup>	/q <sup>w</sup> áy <sup>o</sup> / 'dying'
/háy/ 'to finish'	/háy <sup>o</sup> / 'finishing'
/t'éčəl/ 'to arrive'	/t'é <sup>o</sup> čəl/ 'arriving'
/čéw <sup>o</sup> / 'to admire'	/čéw <sup>o</sup> təs/ 'admiring it'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. /scu<sup>o</sup>éčən/ 'chair' with {s-} Nominalizer prefix, {c'w<sup>o</sup>} 'to put down', {-éč} Lexical suffix 'tail', and /-ən/ Instrumental suffix. Moreover, the alternation /u/-~/w/ can be observed too in the morphophonemic combination of the iterative particle /x'é<sup>o</sup>/ 'again', and the 'Contemporary' aspectual particle /<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>/ into /x'éw<sup>o</sup>/.

<sup>2</sup> Kinkade suggests that some of these forms might not alternate because it is possible that they come from an original \*/k<sup>w</sup>/ rather than \*/w/, the exception probably being Songish /c'ék<sup>w</sup>-/. Cf. Columbian /čáw<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to wash'.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the form /q<sup>w</sup>áč<sup>v</sup>-~/q<sup>w</sup>čá<sup>v</sup>-/ 'to kill, beat up' killing' is related to this root also.

Alternation of /š̥-/ and /s- + x<sup>w</sup>-/.

The nominalizer prefix {s-} may co-occur with the locative prefix {x<sup>w</sup>-} in which case the sequence usually becomes /š̥-/ morphophonemically. /š̥-/ is then a portmanteau prefix which is the result of the fusion of the nominalizer {s-} and the locative {x<sup>w</sup>-}. In some cases /sx<sup>w</sup>-/ and /š̥-/ have been observed to occur in free variation:

/š̥pà<sup>2</sup>əmé<sup>2</sup>ə/ 'pipe'

/š̥-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{pá<sup>2</sup>-} root: 'to smoke a pipe'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-é<sup>2</sup>ə} Lexical suffix: 'container'

/sx<sup>w</sup>čəmhé<sup>2</sup>ə/ ~ /š̥čəmhé<sup>2</sup>ə/ 'jam jar'

/š̥-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{čém} root: 'jam' (loan)

{-é<sup>2</sup>ə} Lexical suffix: 'container'

However, if the basic root also begins with a velar fricative only the alternant /š̥-/ occurs:

/š̥x<sup>w</sup>imé<sup>2</sup>ə/ 'store'

/š̥-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>éy-} root: 'to sell'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-é<sup>2</sup>ə} Lexical suffix: 'container'.

/šxətáləs/ 'sore eyes'

- /š-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.
- {x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.
- {xét-} root: 'to be sick'
- {-áləs} Lexical suffix: 'eyes'

Reduction of /n/ + /n/.

When a suffix beginning with /n/ is added to a root ending in /n/ the sequence /n/ + /n/ is reduced to a single /n/.

/ʔələʔnəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'hearing accidentally'

- {ʔələn-} root: 'to hear'
- /-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.
- {-nəx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

/k<sup>w</sup>énəx<sup>w</sup> itə k<sup>w</sup>ə sčéʔləčeʔitə/ 'we see our friends'

- {k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'
- {-nəx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.
- {itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.
- /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.
- {sčéʔčeʔ} root: 'friend, relative'
- /-lə-/ Plural infix.
- {-itə} 1st. Person Plural. Possessive suffix.

Reduction of /s/ + /s/.

Morphophonemically, the sequence /s/ + /s/ is reduced to a single /s/.

/yás ən ʔuʔ čéʔiʔ/ 'I always work'

- {yás} 'Always'. Temporal particle.
- {sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{čéyʔ} root: 'to work', with alternation /y/ - /i/.  
/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

### Reduction of the Glottal stop.

a) In rapid speech, clusters of glottal stops are simplified:

/néce k<sup>w</sup>s yéʔ ʔiʔ čiséʔləqəŋ/ (slow speech)

/néce k<sup>w</sup>s yéʔ iʔ čiséʔləqəŋ/ (rapid speech)

'(some)one is after him'

/ʔuʔ ʔənʔán ʔuʔ ʔéyʔ tiʔə/ (slow speech)

/ʔuʔ ənʔán ʔuʔ éyʔ tiʔə/ (rapid speech)

'this is exceedingly good'

b) The glottal stop is also dropped when it occurs in morpheme final position in added reduplicated syllables of the CVRʔ type, where the R stands for a resonant:

/q<sup>w</sup>ámʔq<sup>w</sup>əm/ 'very strong' from /q<sup>w</sup>ámʔ/ 'to be strong'

/qénʔqən/ 'thief' from /qénʔ/ 'to steal'

c) The glottal stop has been observed to be dropped in the following roots when the suffix {-n} 'Endearment' suffix, is added to them. If the root is said in isolation the glottal stop is retained: <sup>1</sup>

/téʔ/ 'mother'

/tén/ 'Mother'

/méʔ/ 'father'

/tén/ 'Father'

/léʔ/ 'sibling'

/lén/ 'Brother, Sister'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mainland Comox /tán/, /mán/, but Vocative /táh/, /máh/.  
(Davis:1970; 4, 10).



d) In rapid speech the aspectual particle {k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} 'already' combines with the aspectual particle {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary' into /k<sup>w</sup>ɪuʔ/ as the 'Contemporary' particle loses the initial glottal stop:

/ʔéɪeʔ k<sup>w</sup>ɪ ʔuʔ čónətəŋ/ (slow speech) vs.

/ʔéɪeʔ k<sup>w</sup>ɪuʔ čónətəŋ/ (rapid speech)

'he is already buried'

/tə sčéɪ ʔiʔ k<sup>w</sup>ɪ ʔuʔ ʔəsɪfɪtɔč/ (slow speech) vs.

/tə sčéɪ ʔiʔ k<sup>w</sup>ɪuʔ ʔəsɪfɪtɔč/ (rapid speech)

'the wood is already cut'

e) In rapid speech the 'Iterative' aspectual particle {léʔ} 'again' combines with the aspectual particle {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary' into /léwʔ/, with alternation of /u/~w/.

/tsə ʔéʔləŋ léʔə tsə leʔ ʔəl ʔiʔ léʔ ʔuʔ čáq<sup>w</sup>ət/ (slow speech) vs.

/tsə ʔéʔləŋ léʔə tsə léʔ əl ʔiʔ léwʔ čáq<sup>w</sup>ət/ (rapid speech)

'the house over there is burning again'

#### Loss of Initial /h/.

The following two roots were observed to lose the initial /h/ when adding the nominalizer prefix {s-} :

/héʔək<sup>w</sup> / 'remembering'

/séʔək<sup>w</sup> / 'remembrance'

/hiyásəŋ / 'to play'

/siʔyásəŋ / 'game, toy'

## MORPHOLOGY

A description of Songish morphology must account for three different kinds of morphological units: roots, particles, and affixes. These units can be grouped into two morpheme classes; the major morpheme classes include the roots and particles because they can stand as independent forms.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, roots are basic units to which affixes are added. On the other hand, the affixes are included in the minor morpheme classes because they are always bound to either roots or stems and cannot stand by themselves. The grammatical processes of reduplication and metathesis will be included with the minor morpheme classes because they express functions which are otherwise expressed by affixes, that is, they are allomorphic variants of affixes added to show diminutive forms, plural forms, intensifiers and aspectual forms. Metathesis is only used for aspectual purposes. Reduplication is used to express all the above mentioned functions. Roots are the basic units of the language, but the term particle is applied to a variety of forms ranging from temporal and personal referents to locational and collective forms. They are independent forms which can be classified according to their syntactic function

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<sup>1</sup> Most roots can occur independently. However, a number of them have been found only to occur with at least one affix. The latter will be marked with a hyphen following the root.

within the utterance and/or their semantic content. Particles are not productive but they can restrict or modify both predications and nominals. Roots differ from particles in that the former undergo affixation; particles never add affixes but occasionally they combine with roots and stems and other particles:

/k<sup>w</sup>ɪ̄ k<sup>w</sup>éqəŋ/ 'flower blossom' Cf. /sk<sup>w</sup>éqəŋ/ 'flower'

{k<sup>w</sup>ɪ̄} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>éq-} root: 'to bloom'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/sɪ̄ni<sup>o</sup> lə<sup>o</sup>/ 'deceased(late) wife'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{ɪ̄ni<sup>o</sup>} root: 'woman, wife'

{lə<sup>o</sup>} 'Past'. Temporal particle.

/ʔéw<sup>o</sup>/ 'again, now'

{ʔé<sup>o</sup>} 'Again'. Iterative particle.

{<sup>o</sup>u} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

When roots undergo affixation they become words. The word was defined previously as a root plus all its affixes and bearing a primary stress. Affixes can be either inflectional or derivational. Derivational affixes are those whereby new stems are formed from roots and other stems: nominalizer prefixes, agentives, instrumental suffix, lexical suffixes, etc. Inflectional affixes are those which show the relationship of the root or stem to which they are

added to other words: volitional and non-volitional transitive suffixes, medio-passive suffix and the aspectual suffixes.

Affixes can also be grouped on the basis of their function and content into grammatical and lexical. Grammatical affixes can either be inflectional or derivational. Lexical affixes, namely suffixes in Songish, are only derivational and they are units which refer to body parts (face, foot, head, etc.), concrete notions (clothes, month, animate being, etc.), objects (canoe, house, container, etc.), and shapes (round, flat, pointed, etc.).

On the basis of this classification of affixes, roots are differentiated from stems in that roots are the basic units without any affixation and/or change (i.e. metathesis, reduplication, alternation), while stems are roots to which at least one derivational affix has been added, the root being modified or not. No inflectional affixes form part of a stem. Both roots and stems differ from words in that the word is a root (or stem in the sense here defined), with all its affixes, either grammatical or lexical or both, and bearing a primary stress. On occasion, words and stems coincide: /scá·m<sup>?</sup>/ 'bone' ( { s- } Nominalizer prefix (derivational affix) + { cá·m<sup>?</sup> } root: 'to be bony').

ROOTS

Roots are the basic morphological units of the language from which words are formed. Roots may stand by themselves or may take derivational affixes to form stems to which inflectional affixes may be added to form words. Roots may occur in either a full grade (i.e. bearing the main stress) or in a reduced grade, where the stress is either shifted or weakened with the addition of a stressed affix, causing the root vowel to disappear or to be reduced to /ə/. According to this, roots may be classified into (1) invariable stress roots, if they always occur in a full grade and (2) variable stress roots, if they occur in both a full grade and a reduced grade, or only in the latter, when undergoing affixation.

The most common shape for full grade roots is CVC, the reduced grade being C(ə)C. There are, however, many disyllabic roots. Trisyllabic roots do occur also, but they are rare. Examples of different kinds of roots follow:

## a) Monosyllabic roots.

/pás-/ 'to break out in boils'	/yé?/ 'to go'
/cáq <sup>w</sup> -/ 'to suck'	/háy/ 'to finish'
/ʔíc-/ 'to dress'	/q <sup>w</sup> áy/ 'to die'
/ɬíc-/ 'to cut'	/ɬix <sup>w</sup> / 'three'

## b) Disyllabic roots.

/sé?si/ 'to be afraid'	/ʔiɬən/ 'to eat'
/téčəl/ 'to arrive'	/həmá?/ 'pigeon'

/x<sup>w</sup>i'ləm/ 'rope'

/'qálex/ 'fish eggs'

/məháyʔ/ 'basket'

/həliʔ/ 'alive'

## c) Trisyllabic roots.

/məx<sup>w</sup>éyeʔ/ 'navel'

/qəyéxqən/ 'to lie, not to tell the truth'

/'léyéqəs/ 'box'

/təčéx<sup>w</sup>əlʔ/ 'to be busy'

The following are examples of roots which have been found to occur independently:

/'ăčés/ 'island'

/'xé'luʔ/ 'ladle'

/'é'čəx/ 'crab'

/'péwiʔ/ 'flounder'

/'qéləŋ/ 'eye'

/'spá.l/ 'raven'

The following are examples of stems formed from roots with derivational affixes added to them:

/'sq<sup>w</sup>él/ 'word'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix

{q<sup>w</sup>él-} root: 'to speak'

/'sqéxe'áleŋ/ 'puppy dog'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix

{qéxeʔ} root: 'dog'

{-áleŋ} Lexical suffix: 'offspring, young'

/'šx<sup>w</sup>iŋəs/ 'grandchild's spouse'{šx<sup>w</sup>-} 'in-law, relative' prefix.

{iŋəs} root: 'child, offspring'.

The following are examples of words with inflectional affixes added to roots:

/tʰélʰx<sup>w</sup>təŋ/ 'it's getting frozen'

{tʰélx<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to freeze'

/-ʰ-/ Actual aspect.

/-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.

/-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.

/k<sup>w</sup>énəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to see (accidentally)'

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'

{-néx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive.

The following are examples of roots with both derivational and inflectional affixes:

/cək<sup>w</sup>əlk<sup>w</sup>átəŋ/ 'to wash laundry'

{cək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'

{-əl} Connector.

{-k<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'clothes'

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/šx<sup>w</sup>imélə/ 'store'

/š-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>éy-} root: 'to sell'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-élə} Lexical suffix: 'container' (derivational)

The following are examples of full grade vs. reduced grade roots:

1) {k<sup>w</sup>én-} 'to see'.

/k<sup>w</sup>énəx<sup>w</sup> sən k<sup>w</sup>ə nəščé'če'/ 'I see my friend'

(full grade root preserving the main stress)

/šk<sup>w</sup>énásəŋ/ 'mirror'

(reduced grade root, where the main stress is shifted with the addition of a fully stressed lexical suffix {-ás} 'face'.)

2) {ɬix<sup>w</sup>} 'three'

/ɬix<sup>w</sup> sənəx<sup>w</sup>əɬ/ 'three canoes'

(full grade root preserving the main stress)

/ɬx<sup>w</sup>éɬ/ 'three times'

(reduced grade root, where the root vowel is lost after the addition of a fully stressed lexical suffix {-éɬ} 'times'.)

3) {páɬ-} 'to smoke'

/spáɬəŋ/ 'smoke'

(full grade root preserving the main stress.)

/spáɬəmélə/ 'pipe'

(reduced grade root, where the main stress is weakened with the addition of a fully stressed lexical suffix {-élə} 'container'.)



## Functions.

### Nominal and Verbal Functions:

Roots by themselves are neutral entities in the sense that they cannot be classified on the basis of their content or structure.<sup>1</sup> However, a distinction can be made in the type of constructions that are derived from them and according to the way they function in the utterance. Roots (and the words derived from them) may then be considered nominal or verbal in larger constructions according to the co-occurrence of certain affixes or to their function in the sentence, namely their syntactic function with respect to the other elements in the sentence.

On this basis, roots develop into nominal categories when they add possessive affixes or are preceded by demonstratives, and function as subject or objects of the predication.

Roots develop into verbal categories when they function as the base for the predication. A predication will be defined here as that construction containing a root which

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<sup>1</sup> Adopting the generative transformational point of view Nicklas objects to the idea of neutral roots. He claims that roots are specifically marked in deep structure as either nouns or verbs before undergoing affixation. However, Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1970:viii) state:

...certain linguists have argued that verbal elements are basic in deep structure while nouns and noun phrases are derived. Others have suggested that the stems are syntactically neutral and are given syntactic status through the application of lexical rules. These convert some stems to nouns, some to verbs, some to both, and so forth.

adds at least one of the inflectional affixes and has a subject referent associated with it. If no personal pronominal reference is overtly expressed, it is understood that it is the third person. Under these circumstances, (i.e., this possibility of zero marking) there is the potential of overt subject pronominal particles or possessive affixes marking other persons in parallel constructions. Predications of this type are basic to all Songish sentences.

The following examples will illustrate the fact that any a priori assumption to classify roots as being nominal or verbal, rather than as basic units which are expanded into nominal or verbal (or other) categories by the types of affixes they take and by their syntactic functions, is misleading:

1) {ʔit-} root: 'to sleep in bed'

(a) Predicative Function. Verbal category.

/ʔiʔtət sən/ 'I am sleeping'

{ʔit-} root: to sleep in bed'

{-át} Reflexive suffix

{sən} 1st. Person Pronominal particle.

(b) After a demonstrative and with a lexical suffix.

Nominal category.

/suʔ níʔ ʔiʔ léʔ ə tsə ʔiʔtətówʔtx<sup>w</sup>/

'she is there in the bedroom'

- /su<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.  
 {níř} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {lé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be there'  
 {<sup>o</sup>ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.  
 /tsə/ Demonstrative.  
 {<sup>o</sup>ít-} root: 'to sleep in bed'  
 {-át} Reflexive suffix.  
 /-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.  
 {-w<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'house'  
 {-é-} Connector.

2) {sémi<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to cover with a blanket, blanket'

a) Predicative function. Verbal category.

/su<sup>o</sup> níř <sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup> sémi<sup>o</sup>təŋ itə/

'we are being covered with a blanket by her'

- /su<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.  
 {níř} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {sémi<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to cover with a blanket, blanket'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.  
 {itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

b) Object to a predication. Nominal category.

/su<sup>o</sup> níř <sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup> čé<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup> ə tsə sémi<sup>o</sup>/

'she is weaving (lit. doing, working) a blanket'

- /su<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.  
 {níř} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {čéy<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to work' (with alternation /y/~i/.  
 /-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.  
 {<sup>o</sup>ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.  
 /tsə/ Demonstrative.  
 {sémi<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to cover with a blanket, blanket!'

Other Functions of Roots:

In the preceding pages, the discussion was focused on the two main functions of roots, i.e. whether they perform a nominal or a verbal function or both. However, roots may also function as modifiers of other roots or words as in the examples that follow:

{yéʔ}	'to go'	/yéʔ hɛwʔə/	'going away'
{hɛwʔə}	'to go away'		
{yéʔ}	'to go'	/yéʔ áx <sup>w</sup> /	'going there'
{ʔáx <sup>w</sup> }	'to go there'		
{ʔənʔéʔ}	'to come'	/ʔənʔéʔ tɛčəl/	'to come here'
{tɛčəl}	'to arrive'		
{sqémʔəl}	'tide'	/čéq sqémʔəl/	'high tide'
{čéq}	'big'		
{swéyʔqeʔ}	'man'	/swéyʔqeʔ ɳéneʔ/	'son'
{ɳéneʔ}	'offspring'		
{nécə}	'one'	/nécə stəqíwʔ/	'one horse'
/stəqíwʔ/	'horse'		
{čése}	'two'	/čése stələqíwʔ/	'two horses'
/stəqíwʔ/	'horse'		

### The Personal Pronominal Forms.

A series of roots conveying personal reference function as nominals or as substitutes for roots and words performing a nominal function (i.e., occurring after demonstratives, and functioning as subjects or objects). They are the personal pronominal forms. However, there are two types of pronominal forms in Songish: a) the emphatic pronominals, which occur before predications and after the prepositional particle {<sup>2</sup>əʌ} 'to, with', and b) the independent pronominal particles, which obligatorily occur after predications. Type a) pronominals generally occur following different demonstratives, especially when used before predications. They may, however, occur independently, that is without the demonstrative, after the prepositional particle {<sup>2</sup>əʌ} 'to, with', and when no reference to proximity, visibility and gender is required. Their use in the utterance is optional and mainly for the sake of emphasis, because either possessive affixes or pronominal particles, which co-occur in the utterance already offer the personal pronominal reference. Type b) pronominals, namely the pronominal particles will be discussed in more detail under 'particles'.

The Songish emphatic pronominals are the following:

	Sg.	Pl.
1st.	ʔésə	ɪnɪŋət
2nd.	nək <sup>w</sup> ə	nək <sup>w</sup> iʔləyeʔ
3rd.	nɪɪ	nənɪʔləyeʔ

As can be noted, only the second and third persons are inflected for the plural by adding a particular plural suffix with two allomorphs, namely /-i'ləye'/ and /-ə-əye'/, which only occurs with the pronominal roots {nék<sup>w</sup>ə} and {níɬ}. In addition, the third person reduplicates the initial syllable of the root in the common plural reduplicative pattern C<sub>1</sub>ə (R).

The examples that follow will illustrate the use of the emphatic pronominal forms:

/ti'ə 'ésə 'i' u' mék<sup>w</sup> sk<sup>w</sup>éčəl nəsčək<sup>w</sup>əl<sup>w</sup>átəŋ/

' I wash my laundry every day'

- /ti'ə/ Demonstrative.
- {'ésə} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.
- {'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.
- {'u'} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.
- {mék<sup>w</sup>} 'All'. Collective particle.
- {s-} Nominalizer prefix.
- {k<sup>w</sup>éčəl} root: 'morning, day'
- {-é-} Resultive infix.
- {nə-} 1st. Person Singular. Possessive prefix.
- {s-} Nominalizer prefix.
- {cék<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'
- /-əl/ Connector.
- {-k<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'clothes'
- {-át} Reflexive suffix.
- {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/čɬ 'ésə k<sup>w</sup>s x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>éqs tə sá.ɬ/

'it's I who opens the door'

/čɬ/ Demonstrative.

{ʔésə} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 /k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.  
 {x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.  
 {k<sup>w</sup>éq̣-} root: 'to open'  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {sá·ṭ} root: 'door, path'

/suʔ níʔ ʔiʔ x<sup>w</sup>éʔṭčəs ʔəʔ ʔésə/

'she is jealous of me'

/suʔ/ Demonstrative.  
 {níʔ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {x<sup>w</sup>éʔṭč-} root: 'to be jealous'  
 {-é-} Resultive infix.  
 /-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 {ʔəʔ} 'to, with'. Prepositional particle.  
 {ʔésə} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

/tə nék<sup>w</sup>ə ʔiʔ áŋəs x<sup>w</sup> ʔə tsə nʔkəpú·/

'you give me your coat'

/tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {nék<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person Singular, Emphatic pronominal.  
 {ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {ʔáŋ-} root: 'to give'  
 {-áŋəs} 1st. Person Singular. Objective suffix.  
 {sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.  
 {ʔə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.  
 /tsə/ Demonstrative.  
 {nʔ-} 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.  
 {kəpú·} root: 'coat, jacket' (loan)

/ti'ə 'ésə 'i' i'ʔən sən 'əʔ nék<sup>w</sup>ə /

'I'm eating with you'

/ti'ə/ Demonstrative.

{'ésə} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i' } 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{i'ʔən} root: 'to eat'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{'əʔ } 'to, with'. Prepositional particle.

{nék<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

/tu' níʔ 'i' qək<sup>w</sup>étəs / 'he bites it'

/tu' / Demonstrative.

{níʔ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i' } 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{qək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to bite', metathesized for aspect.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/tə ʔniŋəʔ 'i' sé'səsi ʔtə 'ə su' níʔ /

'we are afraid of her'

/tə / Demonstrative.

{ʔniŋəʔ} 1st. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i' } 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{sé'si} root: 'to be afraid'

{ʔtə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{'ə } 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/su' / Demonstrative.

{ níʔ } 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.



/tə nək<sup>w</sup>i'ləye' i' éte' əsx<sup>w</sup>áy'əʔ/

'you (Pl.) are awake'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

/nək<sup>w</sup>i'ləye'/ 2nd. Person Plural. Emphatic Pronominal.

{ 'i' } 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ 'éte' } root: 'to be here'

{ 'əs-' } Stative prefix.

{ x<sup>w</sup>áy- } root: 'to wake up'

{ -é- } Resultive infix.

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{ -əʔ } Durative suffix.

/ti'ə ʔniŋəʔ 'i' ləmé't ʔtə tu' nəní'ʔəye'ʔ/

'we kick them'

/ti'ə/ Demonstrative.

{ ʔniŋəʔ } 1st. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

{ 'i' } 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ ləm- } root: 'to kick', metathesized for aspect.

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{ -t } Volitional transitive suffix.

{ ʔtə } 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

/tu'ʔ/ Demonstrative.

/nəní'ʔəye'ʔ/ 3rd. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

The third person singular emphatic pronominal { níʔ } is also used as an indefinite personal referent whenever it is not preceded by demonstratives which signal the proximity, visibility, definiteness and gender of the person referred to. Its function is mainly that of an expletive; thus, it can be translated as 'one, someone, the one', e.g.:

/ʔuʔ níṭ tuʔ níṭ x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>éq̣ṭ ṭə sá·ṭ/

'it is he who opens the door ' or 'he (is the one who) opens the door'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{níṭ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
(Expletive use)

/tuʔ/ Demonstrative.

{níṭ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{k<sup>w</sup>éq̣-} root: 'to open'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

/ṭə/ Demonstrative.

{sá·ṭ} root: 'door, path'

#### The Demonstratives or Deictics.

The demonstratives or deictics are considered a separate and well defined group of words because they are composite forms characterized by the presence of a demonstrative root to which a selected set of demonstrative suffixes are added to convey subtle distinctions of relative proximity, visibility, definiteness and gender.

The demonstrative roots, here referred to as bases to distinguish them from other roots because they can only add a specific set of demonstrative suffixes, are the following: {t-}, {s-}, {č-}, and {k<sup>w</sup>-}. Of these, only {k<sup>w</sup>-} can occur independently, that is without taking suffixes. Bases may co-occur with each other and then add the

demonstrative suffixes to achieve more subtle distinctions. Bases have been found to occur with the following demonstrative suffixes, which may also co-occur with each other: {-ə}, {-i'}, {-u'} and {-t̥}. It is clear that, just as is the case in Clallam (Thompson and Thompson:1971; 265-267), the occurrence of bases, their co-occurrence and the addition and co-occurrence of demonstrative suffixes do convey the different semantic oppositions mentioned above. In the material collected and analyzed only a few demonstratives have been fully recognized as being strictly feminine or non-feminine, as well as proximate or non-proximate, or indefinite. The different combinations encountered are the following:

Base					
{t-}	tu'	tə	ti'	ti'ə	t̥
{s-}	su'	sə		si'ə	
	tsu'	tse		tsi'ə	
{č-}		čə	či		č̥
{k <sup>w</sup> -}	k <sup>w</sup> u'	k <sup>w</sup> ə		k <sup>w</sup> i'ə	
		k <sup>w</sup> sə	k <sup>w</sup> s		

The different semantic references conveyed by these deictics are undoubtedly very subtle and elusive. The informant herself was not consistent with their use, and that made the analysis of these deictics even more difficult. However, the demonstratives will be shown in the chart below and an attempt will be made to provide an analysis of each

composite form as far as it can be analyzed. A plus sign indicates a feature the deictic has; a minus sign indicates that the deictic does not have that feature but its opposite one. Blank spaces indicate that no evidence for that feature could be found, and the parentheses around a sign indicate a doubtful feature. Thus, the analysis is by no means exhaustive. However, although the forms are complex and varied, some patterning can be observed: for example, {-u<sup>o</sup>} is consistently [+ definite], {k<sup>w</sup>-} is consistently [-visible], and {t-} appears to be consistently [-feminine].

Dem.	proximate	definite	feminine	visible	complete
tu <sup>o</sup>	+	+	-	+	
su <sup>o</sup>	+	+	+	+	
tsu <sup>o</sup>	-	+	-	+	
k <sup>w</sup>	-	+		-	
k <sup>w</sup> u <sup>o</sup>	-	+	-	-	
tə	+	-	(-)	+	
sə	+	+	+	(+)	
t sə	-	-	(-)	+	
čə - či		-		-	-
k <sup>w</sup> ə	-	+	-	-	
k <sup>w</sup> sə	-	+	+	-	
k <sup>w</sup> s	-	+	+	-	
ti <sup>o</sup>	+	-		+	
ti <sup>o</sup> ə	+	-	-	+	
si <sup>o</sup> ə	+	+	+	(+)	

Dem.	proximate	definite	feminine	visible	complete
tsi <sup>ʔ</sup> ə	+	-		+	
k <sup>w</sup> i <sup>ʔ</sup> ə	-	-	-	-	
tʃ	-	+		-	
čʃ	+	-		+	

Demonstratives precede all emphatic pronominals and all roots functioning as subject or object to predications; demonstratives do not precede these when they are objects to the prepositional particle {<sup>ʔ</sup>əλ} 'to, with, e.g.:

/tsə ʔəitélŋəx<sup>w</sup> ʔi<sup>ʔ</sup> čéw<sup>ʔ</sup>təs tə sí<sup>ʔ</sup>əm<sup>ʔ</sup>s/

'the people admire their chief'

/ʔéte<sup>ʔ</sup> sən ʔu<sup>ʔ</sup> x<sup>w</sup>čém<sup>ʔ</sup>əs ʔə k<sup>w</sup>sə sčé<sup>ʔ</sup>če<sup>ʔ</sup>s k<sup>w</sup>ə nəmén  
lé<sup>ʔ</sup>ə ʔəλ<sup>ʔ</sup> táwən/

'I met my Father's friend in town'

/sə nətén ʔi<sup>ʔ</sup> čəčéy<sup>ʔ</sup>əλ<sup>ʔ</sup> tx<sup>w</sup> ʔáx<sup>w</sup> ʔəλ<sup>ʔ</sup> ʔésə/

'(this) my Mother is shorter than (lit. toward) I'

/ti<sup>ʔ</sup>ə ʔésə ʔi<sup>ʔ</sup> ŋén<sup>ʔ</sup> nəsíte<sup>ʔ</sup> tx<sup>w</sup> ʔáx<sup>w</sup> ʔəλ<sup>ʔ</sup> nək<sup>w</sup>ə/

'(this one) I have more (purchased) things than (lit. toward) you'

Demonstratives may precede roots in nominal function when these are directly modified by other roots, possessive affixes or the collective particles {ŋén<sup>ʔ</sup>} 'much, many, a lot of', and {mák<sup>w</sup>} 'all'. In similar exclamative constructions

however, the demonstratives may be omitted, e.g.:

/ŋén<sup>o</sup> ŋéqe<sup>o</sup>/ 'Lots of snow!' vs.

/tsə ŋén<sup>o</sup> é<sup>o</sup>lələŋ/ 'those many houses'

/mək<sup>w</sup> sén/ 'Everybody!' vs.

/tə mək<sup>w</sup> sén/ '(these) all of them'

/<sup>o</sup>éy<sup>o</sup> sk<sup>w</sup>éčəl/ 'Good day!' vs.

/mək<sup>w</sup> sk<sup>w</sup>éčəl/ 'every day!'

/ti<sup>o</sup>ə k<sup>w</sup>éčil/ 'this morning, today'

/čəq swéy<sup>o</sup>qe<sup>o</sup>/ 'Big man!' vs.

/tə čəsə səwéy<sup>o</sup>qe<sup>o</sup>/ 'these two men'

/níŋ ti<sup>o</sup>ə n<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>lələŋ <sup>o</sup>éte<sup>o</sup> čéčəw<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/

'this one is (this) your house (here) which you built'

The following is a list of deictics which occur with the different emphatic pronominal forms:

/ti<sup>o</sup> ése/

/k<sup>w</sup>u<sup>o</sup> níŋ/

/ti<sup>o</sup>ə <sup>o</sup>ése/

/čŋ níŋ/

/čŋ <sup>o</sup>ése/

/tə ŋníŋəŋ/

/tə nək<sup>w</sup>ə/

/ti<sup>o</sup>ə ŋníŋəŋ/

/tsə nək<sup>w</sup>ə/

/tə nək<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>ləye<sup>o</sup>/

/čŋ nək<sup>w</sup>ə/

/tsə nək<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>ləye<sup>o</sup>/

/tu<sup>o</sup> níŋ/

/tŋ nək<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>ləye<sup>o</sup>/

/su<sup>o</sup> níŋ/

/tu<sup>o</sup> nəní<sup>o</sup>təye<sup>o</sup>/

/tsu<sup>o</sup> níŋ/

/tsu<sup>o</sup> nəní<sup>o</sup>təye<sup>o</sup>/

The demonstratives /čə/ ~ /či/ have been found to occur preceding certain roots and stems to convey the idea of 'unmarried', as in the following forms, e.g.:

/či tá·lə/ 'wife-to-be'

/čə swéy'qe'/ 'bachelor, husband-to-be'

/čə sténi'/ 'maiden, unmarried woman'

At the same time, and perhaps related to the above discussion, these demonstratives seem to indicate a 'not yet realized action or situation', as is the case in some imperative forms and exclamations, e.g.:

/ʔən'é' k'w'énət čə/ 'Come and look!'

/yé' štéŋ čə/ 'Go, walk!'

/čə níř háys/ 'it's just about finished!'

On the other hand, the deictic /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ occurs: a) introducing nominalized predications, and b) emphasizing the occurrence of an action or situation, e.g.:

a) /k<sup>w</sup>u' níř 'i' u' xčtís k<sup>w</sup>ə nəs'ən'é'/  
'he knows about my coming'

/ʔu' nəsłí' k<sup>w</sup>ə nəsýé'/

'I want to go' (lit. 'my wishing of my going')

b) /ʔu' s'łá'łəm itə k<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'we are all agreed'

/ʔu' háy' sən k<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'I am all through'

Both the demonstratives /čə/ and /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ may combine into /k<sup>w</sup>əčə/ to emphasize the completion of an action or situation, e.g.:

/nɪt̚ ʔəi k<sup>w</sup>əčə ʔuʔ sɤ<sup>w</sup>ənʔiŋ ʔə tsiʔə/

'this is how it was' (ending line of many texts)



## Affixation.

Affixes in Songish may be grouped into two classes: derivational and inflectional. A derivational affix was defined above as that which causes new stems to be formed from roots, stems, and already inflected words. An inflectional affix was defined above as that which shows the relationship of a word or stem to which it is added to other words or stems.

### Derivational Affixes:

Songish derivational affixes are the following:

1) Grammatical affixes like the nominalizing affixes {s-}, a nominalizer prefix, the agentive prefix {sx<sup>w</sup>-}, the 'occupation' prefix {nex<sup>w</sup>-} or the instrumental suffix {-tn}. In addition to these, the following affixes also occur: the diminutive {-ət}, the 'relative or in-law' prefix {šx<sup>w</sup>-}, the 'basic color' prefix {nə-}, and the 'endearment' suffix {-n}.

2) Lexical suffixes, which refer to body parts, concrete notions, objects and shapes. A complete list of these suffixes and their function will be provided after the discussion of grammatical affixes that follows.

#### 1) Grammatical Affixes.

Nominalizing affixes: some roots have a primary potential for verbal functions, that is they mostly occur

with strictly verbal affixes. However, they can be nominalized by derivation, namely by the addition of the nominalizer prefix {s-} (and other nominalizing affixes) and thus function as nominal categories. These roots which have undergone derivation adding the nominalizing affixes are very numerous in the language and will be referred to as nominalized words.

{s-}: /s-/, /š-/. Nominalizer prefix.

It is realized as /s/ when immediately preceding the root, e.g.:

/sq <sup>w</sup> él/ 'word'	from	/q <sup>w</sup> él/ 'to speak'
/stémx <sup>w</sup> / 'rain'	from	/témx <sup>w</sup> / 'to rain'
/s <sup>?</sup> iṭən/ 'food'	from	/ <sup>?</sup> iṭən/ 'to eat'
/scáq <sup>w</sup> / 'worm'	from	/cáq <sup>w</sup> -/ 'to rot'
/sné <sup>?</sup> / 'name'	from	/né <sup>?</sup> / 'to name'
/scá·m <sup>?</sup> / 'bone'	from	/cá·m <sup>?</sup> / 'to be bony'
/ščéy <sup>?</sup> / 'work' <sup>1</sup>	from	/čéy <sup>?</sup> / 'to work'
/snás/ 'fat'	from	/nás/ 'to be fat'

Some roots add a verbal affix first and afterwards they undergo the nominalizing derivation, e.g.:

/spásəŋ/ 'boil, pimple'

{pás-} root: 'to break out in boils'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

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<sup>1</sup> Also /ščé<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>/.

/sk<sup>w</sup>éqəŋ/ 'flower'

{k<sup>w</sup>éq-} root: 'to bloom'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/sxéŋtəŋ/ 'sick person'

{xéŋ-} root: 'to be sick'

{-əŋ} Durative suffix.

{s-} may co-occur with the possessive affixes to nominalize a predication, e.g.:

/nəs<sup>ʔ</sup>í<sup>ʔ</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ə nəsxəčít ..../ 'I want to know...'

(lit. 'my wish of my knowing')

{nə-} 1st. Person Singular Possessive prefix.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{í<sup>ʔ</sup>} root: 'to wish, want'

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative

{nə-} 1st. Person Singular Possessive prefix.

{xčí-} root: 'to know'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

At the morphophonemic level {s-} is realized as /š-/ when coalescing with the locative prefix {x<sup>w</sup>-}, e.g.:

/šləméle/ 'bottle'

/š-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix

{lém} root: 'rum' (loan)

{-éle} Lexical suffix: 'container'

/šmæk<sup>w</sup>éle/ 'cemetery'

/š-/\*{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{mék<sup>w</sup>e<sup>?</sup>-} root: 'grave'

{-éle} Lexical suffix: 'container'

The following are roots which generally function as nominals and begin with /s/, but cannot readily be analyzed into {s-}nominalizer prefix plus root, e.g.:

/sásən/ 'mouth'

/sé<sup>?</sup>su<sup>?</sup>/ 'shore'

/séleš/ 'hand'<sup>1</sup>

/sik<sup>w</sup>t/ 'sea cucumber'

/sá·t̥/ 'door, path'<sup>1</sup>

/séčs/ 'aunt, uncle'

/sátx/ 'halibut'

/sí·tən/ 'berry basket'

These roots can be assumed to be roots which originally began with /s/, or else with another consonant, in which case they underwent a sound change from that consonant to /s/. These roots should then be considered independent roots, i.e., roots which do not add the nominalizer prefix {s-} (like those given above, namely /t̥ix<sup>w</sup>/ 'three', /<sup>?</sup>é<sup>?</sup>čəx/ 'crab', /həmá<sup>?</sup>/ 'pigeon', etc.) and whose initial consonant is /s/. These roots have been observed to occur only functioning as nominals. The root /sémi<sup>?</sup>/ 'to cover with a blanket, blanket' is either

<sup>1</sup> Kinkade points out that historical and comparative evidence shows that for example, Songish /s/ was originally \*/x/ in the case of /sá·t̥/ 'door, path' [Cf. Cowichan-Musqueam /x<sup>y</sup>ét̥/ and Chilliwack-Halkomelem /xé·t̥/] and \*/k/ in the case of /séleš/ 'hand', [Cf. Cowlitz /kálx/].

an apparent exception or else it indicates that these roots possibly occur as verbals too.

To support the assumption that these roots are independent roots whose initial consonant is not the nominalizer {s-} the following proof is provided: some roots with an initial /s/ have been recorded to occur with the plural inflection undergoing (a) infixation of /-əl-/, which always occurs after the first consonant of the root and which in these roots occurs after the initial /s/, e.g.:

/sá.ɬ/ 'door, path'

/səlá.ɬ/ 'doors, paths'

or (b) reduplication with a reduplicative pattern  $C_1\text{ə}(R)$  which in these roots occurs by reduplicating the initial /s/ as  $C_1$ , e.g.:

/séles/ 'hand'

/səlséles/ 'hands'

/səmi?/ 'blanket'

/səsəmi?/ 'blankets'

as opposed to the following forms where the initial /s/ is clearly the nominalizer prefix {s-}.

/sɬéni?/ 'woman'

/sɬənténi?/ 'women'

/sqéxe?/ 'dog'

/sqəléxe?/ 'dogs'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-}: /sx<sup>w</sup>-/. Agentive prefix.

Nominalization of potentially verbal category roots can also be achieved by the addition of the agentive prefix {sx<sup>w</sup>-}. At the phonetic level the initial /s/ is slightly palatalized before the rounded velar fricative. However,

there is no coalescence into /š/ as is the case with the sequence {s-} nominalizer prefix and {x<sup>w</sup>-} locative prefix.

Hess (1970:3) accurately describes prefix constituents with /x<sup>w</sup>/ and refers to Puget Salish {səx<sup>w</sup>-}, a cognate form for Songish {sx<sup>w</sup>-}, as denoting 'an agent or functioning device that habitually performs an act associated with the stem'; thus, Songish has the following forms:

/sx<sup>w</sup>čé<sup>2</sup>ʔəc<sup>3</sup>/ 'sewing machine'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{čé<sup>2</sup>c<sup>3</sup>-} root: 'to sew'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect, plus reduplication of the root vowel in its reduced form.

/sx<sup>w</sup>qé<sup>2</sup>ʔəl<sup>3</sup>əč<sup>3</sup>/ 'spinning spool'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{qé<sup>2</sup>ləč<sup>3</sup>-} root: 'to spin'

/-ʔəl-/ Plural infix.

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

Hess also pointed out the co-occurrence of this prefix with the reflexive suffix ( {-út} in Puget Salish, {-át} in Songish) as it is observed in the Songish examples that follow:

/sx<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>2</sup>ʔsət/ 'broom'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>is-} root: 'to shake'

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

/sx<sup>w</sup>ʔámət/ 'bed'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{ʔám-} root: 'to lie, rest'

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

So, Hess states, on describing this occurrence in Puget Salish, 'The reflexive in this form supports the slender contention that items with {səx<sup>w</sup>-} are conceived as performers and not simply as objects used in some process.' (Hess; 1970:4)

Puget Salish distinguishes another type of agentive which in Songish appears also as {sx<sup>w</sup>-}; this is the Puget Salish {six<sup>w</sup>-}, which Hess (1970:4) explains as denoting 'person serving in the capacity of...for someone else', and then he adds '{six<sup>w</sup>-} differs from {səx<sup>w</sup>-} in that the former refers specifically to humans.' (Hess; 1970:5) In Songish, all these forms are realized as {sx<sup>w</sup>-}, so precise distinctions of this type cannot be made other than at the semantic level. Therefore the rubric 'agentive' will be the cover term for this prefix. Songish examples of forms with the agentive prefix as applied to humans follow:

/sx<sup>w</sup>čéʔiʔs/ 'his servant' (Cf. Puget Salish /six<sup>w</sup>stúdəq/) 'someone's slave'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{čéʔ} root: 'to work'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect with alternation /y/~i/.

{-s} 3rd. Person Possessive suffix.

/sx<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>əniŋəɪ/ 'helper'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{k<sup>w</sup>əniŋ-} root: 'to help'

{-əɪ} Durative suffix.

/sx<sup>w</sup>xčĩ<sup>?</sup>təs/ 'clever man'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive Prefix.

{xčĩ-} root: 'to know'

/-<sup>?</sup>/ Actual aspect.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

The following examples illustrate the use of the agentive prefix as applied to objects:

/sx<sup>w</sup>əxsénəŋ/ 'razor' from {<sup>?</sup>ix-} 'to scrape'

/sx<sup>w</sup>čək<sup>w</sup>xĩn<sup>?</sup>əɪ/ 'frying pan' from {čək<sup>w</sup>xĩn<sup>?</sup>-} 'to fry'

/sx<sup>w</sup>čək<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>éle/ 'washing machine' from {čək<sup>w</sup>-} 'to wash'

The agentive prefix {sx<sup>w</sup>-} may co-occur with the instrumental suffix {-tn}, e.g.:

/sx<sup>w</sup>səŋé<sup>?</sup>tn/ 'carrying device' from {séŋ-} 'to carry on back'

/sx<sup>w</sup>čécən/ 'sewing needle' from {čéc-} 'to sew'

/sx<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>éltn/ 'voice' from {q<sup>w</sup>él-} 'to speak'

/sx<sup>w</sup>ɪciŋən/ 'comb' from {ɪíc-} 'to cut'



Comparing the following pairs of words it should be noted that there is a slight difference in their meaning:

/sx<sup>w</sup>səŋé'tn/ 'carrying device' vs.

/səŋétn/ 'tumpline'

/sx<sup>w</sup>čé'əc/ 'sewing machine' (a thing that sews) vs.

/sx<sup>w</sup>čécən/ 'sewing needle' (a thing for sewing)

also /čécən/ 'sewing needle'

Hess pointed out the occurrence of cognate forms of these in Puget Salish and states (1970:4):

The difference seems to be that forms stem-təd designate specific, well defined items of traditional shape and established usage, whereas səx<sup>w</sup>- stem-təd refers to any object that can serve the function. The latter is not a traditional item of the culture. One is not expected to be familiar with it. It might be something improvised in lieu of the regular article.

{nəx<sup>w</sup>-}: /nəx<sup>w</sup>/. 'Occupation' prefix.

The derivational prefix {nəx<sup>w</sup>-} is a cognate form of the Puget Salish {dx<sup>w</sup>s-}, which Hess(1970) also describes as belonging to the series of prefix constituents with /x<sup>w</sup>/. This prefix has a nominalizing effect in Songish when added to an already inflected word. Hess (1970:7) glosses Puget Salish {dx<sup>w</sup>s-} as 'profession, occupation; proclivity.'

The prefix {nəx<sup>w</sup>-} occurs in Songish in the following forms:

/nəx<sup>w</sup>šéləŋ/ 'mountain climber'

(Cf. Puget Salish /dx<sup>w</sup>sk<sup>w</sup>átac/ )

{nəx<sup>w</sup>-} 'Occupation' prefix.

{šél-} root: 'to climb'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/nəx<sup>w</sup>səŋét/ 'carrier'

(Cf. Puget Salish /dx<sup>w</sup>scəbáʔ/ 'porter')

{nəx<sup>w</sup>-} 'Occupation' prefix.

{səŋ-} root: 'to carry on back', metathesized for aspect.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

/nəx<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>əyéleš/ 'dancer'

(Cf. Puget Salish /dəx<sup>w</sup>sjúbalik<sup>w</sup>/)

{nəx<sup>w</sup>-} 'Occupation' prefix.

{q<sup>w</sup>əyéleš} root: 'to dance'

{-tn}: /-tn/, /-ən/. Instrumental suffix.

The instrumental suffix {-tn} also performs a nominalizing function. Hess (1970:3) refers to the instrumental suffix as denoting a tool to execute a task. The allomorphic variants /-tn/ and /-ən/ seem to be morphologically conditioned. The suffix occurs in the following forms:

/ɬéctn/ 'scythe' from /ɬíc-/ 'to cut'

/čécən/- /sx<sup>w</sup>čécən/ 'sewing needle' from /čéc-/ 'to sew'

/páx<sup>w</sup>ən/ 'sail of boat' from /páx<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to blow, inflate'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ənɪsən/ 'button' from /k<sup>w</sup>ən-/ 'to hold'  
 /c<sup>'</sup>q<sup>w</sup>élstn/ 'fork' from /c<sup>'</sup>q<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to stab'

The instrumental suffix {-tn} may also co-occur with the nominalizer prefix {s-} as in the following forms:

/scu<sup>'</sup>éčən/ 'chair'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{čéw<sup>'</sup>-} root: 'to set something down'

{-éč} Lexical suffix: 'tail'

{-tn} Instrumental suffix.

/sq<sup>w</sup>á<sup>'</sup>tn/ 'pail, bucket' (also /sx<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>á<sup>'</sup>tn/)

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{q<sup>w</sup>á<sup>'</sup>} root: water, to fetch water'

{-tn} Instrumental suffix.

The instrumental suffix {-tn} may also co-occur with the agentive prefix {sx<sup>w</sup>-} as in the following forms:

/sx<sup>w</sup>ɪcíŋən/ 'comb'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{ɪcí-} root: 'to cut', metathesized for aspect'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-tn} Instrumental suffix.

/sx<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>élt<sup>'</sup>n/ 'voice'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{q<sup>w</sup>él} root: 'to speak'

{-tn} Instrumental suffix.

{-əɪ}: /-əɪ/, /Red/. Diminutive suffix.

The apparent similarity between the diminutive suffix and the lexical suffix {-áləɪ} 'offspring, young', raises the question as to whether this diminutive morpheme is an allomorph of the lexical suffix. The following two examples showing contrasting forms can clarify the issue:

/ʔésx<sup>w</sup>əɪ/ 'small-sized seal' from /ʔésx<sup>w</sup>/ 'seal'  
 /ʔésx<sup>w</sup>áləɪ/ 'seal pup'

/sqéxeʔəɪ/ 'small-sized dog' from /sqéxeʔ/ 'dog'  
 /sqéxeʔáləɪ/ 'puppy dog'

The diminutive morpheme in Songish is also realized as a reduplicative pattern of two types:

a) Initial reduplication C<sub>1</sub><sup>-</sup>.

/ʔʔčés/ 'small island' from /ʔčés/ 'island'

b) Reduplication of the initial consonant of the root and the root vowel in its reduced form, i.e., as /ə/:

/ʔəʔéyəqəʔ/ 'small box' from /ʔéyəqəʔ/ 'box'

/k<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>étən/ 'mouse' from /k<sup>w</sup>étən/ 'rat'

/spəpəčáʔ/ 'small berry basket' from /spəčáʔ/ 'berry basket'

c) Full reduplication.

/píšpíš/ 'kitten' from /píš/ 'cat' (loan)

{šx<sup>w</sup>-}: /šx<sup>w</sup>-/. 'Relative' or 'In-law' prefix.

This prefix has been found to occur with the following series of kinship terms:

/šx<sup>w</sup>élex<sup>w</sup>/ 'ancestors' from /élex<sup>w</sup>/ 'to be old'

/šx<sup>w</sup>á<sup>q</sup>wə<sup>q</sup>/ 'sister, brother'

/šx<sup>w</sup>íñes/ 'grandchild's spouse' from /íñes/ 'grandchild'

/šx<sup>w</sup>sčé<sup>q</sup>čé<sup>q</sup>/ 'in-law-relative' from /sčé<sup>q</sup>čé<sup>q</sup>/ 'friend, relative'

/šx<sup>w</sup>áq<sup>w</sup>əɪ/ 'step-parent'

/šx<sup>w</sup>éleɪ/ 'brother- or sister-in-law'

{nə-}: /nə-/. 'Basic color' prefix.

All words referring to colors except 'white' share the sequence /nə-/. It is then considered a prefix which refers to a basic color. It is possible that the Songish (at best) view 'white' not as a color but rather as an absence of color, e.g.:

/nəq<sup>w</sup>éy/ 'green'

/nəq<sup>q</sup>ix/ 'black'

/nəx<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'grey'

/nəsəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'red'

/nək<sup>w</sup>im/ 'red' (possibly a Halkomelem loan)

Note, however, /pəq<sup>q</sup>/ 'white'.

{-n): /-n/. 'Endearment' suffix.

This suffix appears to be used when referring to one's own parents or to somebody else's if well acquainted with them. The addition of this suffix to the different roots listed below causes the final glottal stop of the root to disappear. However, if the root is said in isolation, the glottal stop is retained.<sup>1</sup>

/tén/ 'Mother'	from	/téʔ/ 'mother'
/mén/ 'Father'	from	/méʔ/ 'father'
/ʔén/ 'Brother, Sister'	from	/ʔéʔ/ 'sibling'

## 2) Lexical Suffixes.

The occurrence of lexical suffixes in Songish is a characteristic that all Salish languages have in common. Other languages of the Pacific Northwest, namely Wakashan and Chemakuan languages, share this feature.

These suffixes are productive units which refer mainly to body parts (foot, face, hand, etc.), concrete notions (animate being, month, clothes, etc.), objects (house, canoe, container, etc.) and shapes (round, pointed, flat, etc.).

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1 This is probably related to a vocative form which has been observed to occur in Mainland Comox, namely /tán/ 'Mother', /mán/ 'Father' but /táh/ 'Mother!' and /máh/ 'Father!' in the vocative, as described by Davis (1970:4, 10). Compare also with Squamish /təhʔ/ 'mother, mamma' (address), as given by Kuipers (1967).

The function of these suffixes is mainly referential, i.e., they refer to an object affected by the action implied in the semantic content of the root to which they are attached. That is to say, they have a descriptive function whereby (a) the total meaning of the word of which they form a part is the sum of the meaning and arrangement of its component morphemes, each of which conveys the same meaning it has when occurring in a neutral environment, e.g.:

/čék<sup>w</sup>-/ root: 'to wash'

- 1- /čək<sup>w</sup>əlk<sup>w</sup>átəŋ/ 'to wash clothes'
  - {-əl} Connector.
  - {-k<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'clothes'
  - {-át} Reflexive suffix.
  - {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.
- 2- /čək<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'to wash the hair' (lit. 'head')
  - {-é} Connector.
  - {-q<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'head'
  - {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.
- 3- /čək<sup>w</sup>sísəŋ/ 'to wash the hands'
  - {-səs} Lexical suffix: 'hand'
  - {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.
- 4- /čək<sup>w</sup>ásəŋ/ 'to wash the face'
  - {-ás} Lexical suffix: 'face'
  - {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.
- 5- /x<sup>w</sup>čək<sup>w</sup>életəs/ 'to wash dishes' (lit. 'containers')
  - {x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

- {-éle} Lexical suffix: 'container'.
- {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.
- {-əs} Purposive suffix.

6- /čək<sup>w</sup>sénəŋ/ 'to wash the feet'

- {-šən} Lexical suffix: 'foot'
- {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

b) the total meaning of the word is different, or rather metaphoric to some extent, from the meaning and arrangement of its component morphemes, e.g.:

1- /x<sup>w</sup>léqtneč/ 'cougar' (lit. 'the long-tailed one')

- {x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.
- {léqt} root: 'long'
- {-neč} Lexical suffix: 'tail'

2- /šk<sup>w</sup>énásəŋ/ 'mirror' (lit. 'place where the face can be looked at')

- /š-/ + {s-} Nominalizer prefix.
- {x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.
- {k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'
- {-ás} Lexical suffix: 'face'
- {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

3- /štéláləs/ 'eyeglasses' (lit. 'rounded eyes [like dollars]')

- /š-/ + {s-} Nominalizer prefix.
- {x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix
- {téle} root: 'dollar, round object'
- {-áləs} Lexical suffix: 'eye'



Most lexical suffixes occur immediately after the root. However, there are a number of them which co-occur with a series of connecting suffixes which relate the lexical suffix to the root. Pidgeon (1970:18-19) claims to have identified eleven connectors for Saanich, and then he states:

These connectors are extremely abstract in content and glosses fail to demonstrate clear differences in meaning resulting from their appearance. Basically, they particularize and direct the reference to the lexical suffix or extend the meaning of the suffix.

In the modern language, connector-lexical suffix combinations have often coalesced, becoming a single formative although, historically, they are separate components.

These connectors do contribute in some cases to an extension of meaning, or rather to a metonymical use, of the lexical suffix. Thompson and Thompson (1971:283) discuss the occurrence of a suffix {-a} which immediately precedes the lexical suffix {-q<sup>w</sup>} 'head' and extends its meaning to 'hair'.<sup>1</sup> In Songish, a suffix {-e}, cognate to Clallam {-a}, occurs, also contributing to the metonymical use of the suffix as discussed in that study. This is the only example of lexical suffix extension of meaning recorded for Songish, e.g.:

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<sup>1</sup> Thompson and Thompson (1971:283) call this suffix the 'specializing suffix' and define it:  
 "extended meaning: reference to something related to what the form would designate without the {-a} suffix, but not that referent itself."

/-q<sup>w</sup>/ Lexical suffix: 'head'

/t'čéq<sup>w</sup>t sən tu' nít/ 'I cut his hair'

{t'íc-} root: 'to cut'

/cək<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'to wash the hair'

{c'ék<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'

/tšéq<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'to comb the hair'

{t'és-} root: 'to comb, card'

/stəx'éq<sup>w</sup>/ 'bushy hair'

/ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>əm<sup>w</sup>x'éq<sup>w</sup>/ 'short haired'

Compare with the following:

/sčésəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'hat'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{č'és-} root: 'to have on'

{-ə} Connector.

{-q<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'head'

/scá·m<sup>ʔ</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'skull'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{c'á·m<sup>ʔ</sup>} root: 'to be bony'

{-ə} Connector.

{-q<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'head'

A number of connectors, in addition to the meaning extender {-e}, occur in Songish immediately preceding the lexical suffix. Some lexical suffixes occur without a connector. Others always co-occur with the same connector. However, the same connector may co-occur with different lexical suffixes, e.g.:

a) /e/ Connector (as meaning extender).

with /-q<sup>w</sup>/ Lexical suffix: 'head'

Example: /cək<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'to wash the hair'

{cək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'

b) /-l/ Connector.

with /-qən/ Lexical suffix: 'fur, wool'

Example: /ləmətú.lqən/ 'sheep's wool'

{ləmətú.} root: 'sheep'

with /-səs/ Lexical suffix: 'hand'

Example: /čsésłsəs/ 'claw'

{čsés-} root: 'to be hard and pointed'

with /-ŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ Lexical suffix: 'people, animate being'

Example: /ʔəx<sup>w</sup>ílŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Indian'

{ʔəx<sup>w</sup>í-} root: (?)

c) /-el/ Connector (probably a combination of /-e/ and /-l/)

with /-ət<sup>w</sup>/ Lexical suffix: 'dollar, round object'

Example: /tɪx<sup>w</sup>élət<sup>w</sup>/ 'three dollars'

{tɪx<sup>w</sup>} root: 'three'

d) /-ə/ - /-é/ Connector.

with /-qs/ Lexical suffix: 'nose, pointed object'

Examples: /šmētéqsən/ 'snot'

/sʔíləqsən/ 'arrow point'

e) /-əl/ Connector. (probably a combination of /-ə/ and /-l/)

with /-éxən/ Lexical suffix: 'arm'

Example: /stélpələxən/ 'bat' (lit. 'arms hanging loose')

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{télp-} root: 'to hang loose'

with /-k<sup>w</sup>/ Lexical suffix: 'clothes'

Example: /cək<sup>w</sup>əlk<sup>w</sup>átəŋ/ 'to wash clothes'

{cək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

f) /-əy/ Connector (probably an allomorph of /-ə/).

with /-sən/ Lexical suffix: 'mouth'

Example: /təm<sup>w</sup>éysən/ 'saliva'

{təm<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to rain'

The roots to which the lexical suffixes are attached may be in the full form or in the reduced form according to whether the lexical suffix (or the connector) bears the main stress or not. Except in the case of non-variable stress roots, in most, if not all, cases the main stress remains on the suffix, the root appearing in its reduced grade, e.g.:

/sčəq<sup>w</sup>éw<sup>?</sup>sə/ 'fire'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{čəq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to burn'

{-é} Connector.

{-w<sup>?</sup>sə} Lexical suffix: 'fire'

Some roots cannot always be identified when separated from the suffix; some occur only with suffixes, e.g.:

/təŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'ground, earth'

/tə-/ root: (?)

/sqəlélŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'tree'

/qəl-/-/qəl-/root: (?)

/ʔəx<sup>w</sup>íŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'Indian'

/ʔəx<sup>w</sup>í-/ root: (?)

The lexical suffixes isolated in Songish are the following:

{-áleḫ}: /-áleḫ/. 'offspring, young'.

/sqéxe°áleḫ/ 'puppy dog'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{qéxe°} root: 'dog'

/swey°qáleḫ/ 'young man'

{swéy°qe°} root: 'man' (with loss of /e/ and /°/)

/sqəqəwisáleḫ/ 'baby rabbit'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{qəqəwís} root: 'rabbit'

{-áles}: /-áles/. 'eye' (Cf. /qéleḫ/ root: 'eye')

/šxəḫáleḫ/ 'sore eyes'

/š-/ + {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{xéḫ-} root: 'to be sick'

/štələléḫ/ 'eyeglasses'

/š-/ + {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{tələ} root: 'dollar, round object'

/š<sup>w</sup>icáles/ 'squinted eyes'

/š-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{k<sup>w</sup>ic-} root: 'to be crooked'

{-ás}: /-ás/, /-əs/. 'face' (Cf. /s<sup>o</sup>ásəs/ root: 'face')

/x<sup>w</sup>csást/ 'hit him(with fist) on the face!'

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{csé-} root: 'to hit with fist'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{∅} 3rd. Person . Objective suffix.

/sxél<sup>o</sup>əs/ 'photograph'

/š-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{xél-} root: 'to mark down'

/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.

/x<sup>w</sup>iq<sup>w</sup>ástəŋ/ 'he was hit (with the hand) on the face'

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{iq<sup>w</sup>é-} root: 'to hit with the hand'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/š<sup>w</sup>ənásəŋ/ 'mirror'

/š-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-éle}: /-éle/, /hélé/. 'container'.

/šx<sup>w</sup>iméle/ 'store'

/š-/→ {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>óy-} root: 'to sell' (with alternation /y/-/i/.)

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/šmæk<sup>w</sup>éle/ 'cemetery'

/š-/→ {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{mék<sup>w</sup>e?} root: 'grave' (with loss of /ʔ/ and coalescence of /e/.)

/špàk<sup>w</sup>éméle/ 'pipe'

/š-/→ {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{pák-} root: 'to smoke'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/šléméle/ 'bottle'

/š-/→ {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{lém-} root: 'rum' (loan)

/ščəmhéle/ ~ /sx<sup>w</sup>čəmhéle/ 'jam jar'

/š-/→ {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{čém-} root: 'jam' (loan)

/sx<sup>w</sup>tihéle/ 'teapot'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{tí-} root: 'tea' (loan)

{-éɪ}: /-éɪ/. 'times'.

/ɬx<sup>w</sup>éɪ/ 'three times'

{ɬix<sup>w</sup>} root: 'three'

/ŋáséɪ/ 'four times'

{ŋás} root: 'four'

{-éxən}: /-éxən/, /-éxə/. 'arm, edge, border'. (Cf. /t'é<sup>o</sup>lu<sup>o</sup>/ 'arm'.)

/stəlpələxən/ 'bat'

{s-} Nominalizer. prefix.

{ɬəlp-} root: 'to hang loose'

{-əl} Connector.

/k<sup>w</sup>ənələxət sx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you take his arm'

{k<sup>w</sup>ən-} root: 'to hold, take'

{-əl} Connector.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

/q<sup>w</sup>əmcələxən/ 'elbow'

{q<sup>w</sup>əmc-} root: (?) <sup>1</sup>

{-əl} Connector.

/qələxən/ 'fence'

{qəl-} root: (?)

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<sup>1</sup> Pidgeon (1970:27) glosses {q<sup>w</sup>əm-} as 'thin'. In his example the root appears reduplicated as /q<sup>w</sup>əmq<sup>w</sup>əmləxən/ and it is glossed as 'wrist'.



{-ik<sup>w</sup>əs}: /-ik<sup>w</sup>əs/, /-iw<sup>?</sup>s/. 'side of the body'

/si<sup>?</sup>á<sup>?</sup>ləm<sup>?</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>əs/ ~ /si<sup>?</sup>á<sup>?</sup>ləm<sup>?</sup>iw<sup>?</sup>s/ 'right side of body'

{si<sup>?</sup>á<sup>?</sup>ləm<sup>?</sup>-} root: 'right'

/čk<sup>w</sup>á<sup>?</sup>iw<sup>?</sup>s/ 'left side of body'

{čk<sup>w</sup>á<sup>?</sup>-} root: 'left'

{-iřč}: /-iřč/. 'tree'

/čəŋ<sup>?</sup>iřč/ 'white oak'

{čəŋ<sup>?</sup>} root: 'oak'

/qáməŋ<sup>?</sup>iřč/ 'maple tree'

{qáməŋ<sup>?</sup>-} root: 'maple'

{-əč}: /-əč/. 'multiple of one hundred'

/řix<sup>w</sup>ələč/ 'three hundred'

{řix<sup>w</sup>} root: 'three'

{-əl} Connector.

/čá<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ələč/ 'seven hundred'

{čá<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup>əs} root: 'seven' (with loss of /ə/ and /s/)

{-əl} Connector.

{-k<sup>w</sup>}: /-k<sup>w</sup>/. 'clothes'

/čək<sup>w</sup>əl<sup>w</sup>átəŋ/ 'to wash the clothes, laundry'

{čək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'

{-əl} Connector.

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/s'itátəlk<sup>w</sup>ət/ 'nightgown'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{'it-} root: 'to sleep in bed'

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

{-əl} Connector.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-k<sup>w</sup>ɪ}: /-k<sup>w</sup>ɪ/, /-áwəɪ/, /-əw'ɪ/. 'canoe' (Cf. /snéx<sup>w</sup>əɪ/ 'canoe')

/k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>áwəɪ/ 'fishing canoe'

/k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>-/ ~ /k<sup>w</sup>éyək<sup>w</sup>-/ root: 'to hook fish', with /y/-/i/.

/qx<sup>w</sup>éw'ɪ/ 'war canoe'

{qx<sup>w</sup>é-} root: (?)

/stəyék<sup>w</sup>ɪ/ 'racing canoe'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{téy-} root: 'to race'

{-é} Connector.

{-énəx<sup>w</sup>}: /-énəx<sup>w</sup>/. 'month' (Cf. /ɪqélč/ 'month, moon')

/pèqlénəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'September' (lit. 'the white month')

{péq} root: 'white'

{-l} Connector.

/x<sup>w</sup>isəlénəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'October' (lit. 'when the leaves shake')

{x<sup>w</sup>ís-} root: 'to shake'

{-əl} Connector.

{-ɪsé}: /-ɪsé/. 'multiple of ten'.

/tʰə̀ŋə̀ɪsɛ́/ 'sixty'

{tʰéŋ} root: 'six'  
{-ə} Connector.

/ŋàsə̀ɪsɛ́/ 'forty'

{ŋás} roots: 'four'  
{-ə} Connector.

{-n}: /-n/. 'ear' (Cf. /qʷéɪlənʷ/ root: 'ear')

/sʰáwən/ 'earring'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
{ʰáw-} roots: (?)  
{-ə} Connector.

{-nékʷ}: /-nékʷ/. 'floor, ground, flat' (Cf. /tɛ̀ŋə̀xʷ/ 'ground')

/psənékʷən/ 'floor mat'

{psé-} root: (?)  
{-tn} Instrumental suffix.

/tʰənékʷən/ 'floor'

/tʰéx-/- /tʰé-/ root: (?)

{-tn} Instrumental suffix.

{-něč}: /-něč/, /-əč/, /-éč/. 'tail, bottom, rear end'

/kʰépiʰsnəč/ 'tail'

{kʰépiʰs-} root: (?)

/scu<sup>3</sup>éčən/ 'chair'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{c<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>-} root: 'to set something down' (with alternation of /w/-/u/.)

{-tn} Instrumental suffix.

/sláleč/ 'thigh, buttocks'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{lál-} root: (?)

/k<sup>w</sup>éwə<sup>3</sup>əč/ 'elk'

{k<sup>w</sup>éwə<sup>3</sup>-} root: (?)

{-ŋex<sup>w</sup>}: /-ŋex<sup>w</sup>/. 'person, animate being, people'

/ʔex<sup>w</sup>ílŋex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Indian people'

{ʔex<sup>w</sup>í-} root: (?)

{-l} Connector.

/ʔéttélŋex<sup>w</sup>/ 'people' and /ʔelttélŋex<sup>w</sup>/ 'mankind'

{ʔétt-} root: (?)

{-el} Connector.

/ŋəsé<sup>3</sup>ləŋex<sup>w</sup>/ 'Nitinat people'

/ŋəsé-/-/ŋés-/ root: (?)

/-lə/ Plural infix.

/nécélŋex<sup>w</sup>/ 'tribe, band'

{nécé-} root: 'one'

{-el} Connector.

This suffix apparently occurs also in the following three words with the meaning of 'animate being', e.g.:

/sqəlélŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'tree'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{qəl-} root: (?)

{-əl} Connector.

/sq<sup>w</sup>əlélŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'blackberries'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{q<sup>w</sup>əl-} root: 'to broil, to be ripe'

{-əl} Connector.

/təŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'ground, earth'

{té-} root: (?)

{-qan}: /-qan/. 'throat' (Cf. /x<sup>w</sup>áŋən/ root: 'throat')

/x<sup>w</sup>təsáqan/ 'sore throat'

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{təsá-} root: (?)

Cf. /ṣqanx<sup>w</sup>éle/ 'inside of the throat, pharynx'

/ṣ-/→ {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{qanx<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'throat'

{-éle} Lexical suffix: 'container'

{-qən}: /-qən/. 'wool, feather, skin growth'

/ləmətú·lqən/ 'sheep's wool'

{ləmətú·} root: 'sheep' (loan)

{-l} Connector.

/sʰəpélqən/ 'feather'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{ʰəp-} root: 'to cover'

{-əl} Connector.

/čésqən/ 'eagle'

{čés-} root: (?)

/xʷéʰqən/ 'pillow'

{xʷéʰ-} root: (?)

{-qs}: /-qs/. 'nose, pointed' (Cf. /ŋéqsən/ root: 'nose')

/sʰíləqsən/ 'arrow point'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{ʰíl-} root: (?)

{-ə} Connector.

{-tn} Instrumental suffix.

/šmətéqsən/ 'snot'

/š-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{xʷ-} Locative prefix.

{mət-} root: (?)

{-tn} Instrumental suffix.

{-q<sup>w</sup>}: /-q<sup>w</sup>/. 'head' (Cf. /sq<sup>w</sup>áŋi<sup>?</sup>/ root: 'head')

/scá·m<sup>?</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>/ 'skull'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{cá·m<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to be bony'

{-ə} Connector.

/sčésəq<sup>w</sup>/ 'hat'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{čés-} root: 'to have on'

{-ə} Connector.

/tšéq<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'to comb hair'

{tš-} root: 'to comb, card' (metathesized for aspect)

{-e} Connector.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/cək<sup>w</sup>éq<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'to wash the hair'

{cək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'

{-e} Connector.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-sən}: /-sən/. 'mouth' (Cf. /sásən/ root: 'lip, mouth')

/sq<sup>w</sup>ínəyəsən/ 'moustache'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{q<sup>w</sup>ín-} root: 'body hair'

{-əy} (?)

{-ə} Connector.

/sq<sup>w</sup>ínəsən/ 'beard'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{q<sup>w</sup>ín-} root: 'body hair'

{-ə} Connector.

/təmx<sup>w</sup>éysən/ 'saliva'

{təmx<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to rain'

{-əy} Connector.

{-səs}: /-səs/, /-sís/, /-čəs/. 'hand' (Cf. /séləs/root: 'hand')

/ʔəčsísəŋ/ 'to wipe hands'

{ʔəč-} root: 'to wipe'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/čək<sup>w</sup>sísəŋ / 'to wash hands'

{čək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/čséləs/ 'claws'

{čsél-} root: 'to be hard and pointed'

{-l} Connector.

/tqéčəs/ 'five' (the suffix seems to be fossilized in this form)

/siʔáʔləmčəs/ 'ring, right hand'

{siʔáʔləm-} root: 'right'

The following are some irregular and unanalyzable forms with the allomorph /-čəs/:

/sənʔáʔluʔčəs/ 'thumb'

/səʔsuqtʔáʔluʔčəs/ 'little finger'

/q<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>áʔluʔčəs/ 'fingernails'



{-šən}: /-šən/, /-šén/, /-sén/, 'foot'

/si<sup>ʔ</sup>á<sup>ʔ</sup>ləmšən/ 'right foot'

{si<sup>ʔ</sup>á<sup>ʔ</sup>ləm-} root: 'right'

/čk<sup>w</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>éw<sup>ʔ</sup>šən/ 'left foot'

{čk<sup>w</sup>á<sup>ʔ</sup>-} root: 'left'.

{-əw<sup>ʔ</sup>} (?)

/q<sup>w</sup>émx<sup>w</sup>šən/ 'ankle'

{q<sup>w</sup>émx<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'thin' (?)

/q<sup>w</sup>žéy<sup>ʔ</sup>šən/ 'shoe'

{q<sup>w</sup>žéy<sup>ʔ</sup>-} root: 'log, wood'

/čək<sup>w</sup>sénəŋ/ 'to wash the feet'

{čək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/s<sup>ʔ</sup>áqšən/ 'moccasin'

{s<sup>ʔ</sup>áq-} root: (?)

The following are some irregular and unanalyzable forms with the allomorph /-šən/:

/sən<sup>ʔ</sup>á<sup>ʔ</sup>lu<sup>ʔ</sup>šən/ 'big toe'

/sè<sup>ʔ</sup>suqt<sup>ʔ</sup>á<sup>ʔ</sup>lu<sup>ʔ</sup>šən/ 'little toe'

/q<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>á<sup>ʔ</sup>lu<sup>ʔ</sup>šən/ 'toenail'

{-čən}: /-čən/. 'flat surface'

/čəl<sup>ʷ</sup>x<sup>w</sup>əməčən/ 'November' (lit. 'shiny surface' [because the frost is on the ground].)

{čəl<sup>ʷ</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to shine'  
 /-<sup>ʷ</sup>-/ Actual aspect.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.  
 {-ó} Connector.

/scá·m<sup>ʷ</sup>əčən/ 'bracelet'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {cá·m<sup>ʷ</sup>} root: 'to be bony'  
 {-ə} Connector.

/pq<sup>w</sup>áčən/ 'sand'

{páq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to have bluffs'<sup>1</sup> (metathesized for aspect)

{-ət<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>}: /-ət<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>/. 'dollar, round object'

/tək<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>éłət<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>/ 'nine dollars'

{tək<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>} root: 'nine'  
 {-él} Connector.

/<sup>ʷ</sup>ápənélət<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>/ 'ten dollars'

{<sup>ʷ</sup>ápən} root: 'ten'  
 {-él} Connector.

/txəŋélət<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>/ 'six dollars'

{txəŋ} root: 'six'

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<sup>1</sup> Pidgeon (1970:41)

{-w<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>}: /-w<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/. 'house, dwelling' (Cf./<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>lən/ root: 'house')

/siléw<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'tent'

{sil} root: 'sail, cloth' (loan)

{-é} Connector.

/<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>tətéw<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'bedroom'

{<sup>o</sup>it-} root: 'to sleep in bed'

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

{-é} Connector.

/sx<sup>w</sup>lé<sup>o</sup>əw<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'yard'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{lé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be there'

{-é} Connector.

/<sup>o</sup>qé<sup>o</sup>lèw<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'smoke-house'

{<sup>o</sup>qál-} root: 'to smoke salmon'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

/-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.

{-é} Connector.

/čéčəw<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to build a house'

{čéy<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to work, make' (with alternation of /y/ -/č/.)

{-é} Connector.

/sxəłéw<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'hospital'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{xəł-} root: 'to be sick'

{-é} Connector.

{-w<sup>o</sup>sə}: /-w<sup>o</sup>sə/. 'fire'

/sčəq<sup>w</sup>éw<sup>o</sup>sə/ 'fire'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{čəq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to burn'

{-ə} Connector.

/čəq<sup>w</sup>éw<sup>o</sup>sə/ 'to make fire'

{čəq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to burn'

{-ə} Connector.

#### Co-occurrence of Lexical Suffixes.

The following forms illustrate the fact that lexical suffixes may co-occur in the same word, e.g.:

/sx<sup>w</sup>ə<sup>2</sup>λqən<sup>2</sup>élə/ 'pillow case' (Cf. /x<sup>w</sup>ə<sup>2</sup>λqən/ 'pillow')

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>ə<sup>2</sup>λ-} root: (?)

{-qən} Lexical suffix: 'wool, fur, skin growth'

{-élə} Lexical suffix: 'container'

/sx<sup>w</sup>čək<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>élə/ 'washing machine'

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{čək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash'

{-k<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'clothes'

{-élə} Lexical suffix: 'container'

/tqèčəstšé/ 'fifty'

{tqé-} root: (?)

{-səs} Lexical suffix: 'hand'

{-šé} Lexical suffix: 'multiple of ten'

## Inflectional Affixes:

Songish inflectional affixes can be divided into personal and non-personal affixes. Personal affixes are the possessive and objective pronominal affixes. Non-personal affixes include the locative prefix, the volitional and non-volitional transitive suffixes, the medio-passive suffix, the non-involvement suffix, the directed motion suffix, the reflexive suffix, the reciprocal suffix, the plural markers, and all the aspectual affixes, namely the actual and non-actual markers, the purposive suffix, the persistency suffix, the resultive infix, the causative suffix, the habitual suffix, the stative prefix, the durative suffix, and the iterative or intensive marker.

### Personal Affixes.

Possessive affixes: the first person singular form and the second person (both singular and plural) are prefixed forms. The third person, both singular and plural, and the first person plural forms are suffixed forms.

	Sg.	Pl.
1st.	nə-	-tə
2nd.	nʔ-	nʔ-
3rd.	-s	-s

The prefixed forms for the first person singular, and the second persons, may occur a) after a demonstrative and immediately preceding the root, or b) preceding other nominalizing prefixes. The suffixed forms may occur a) immediately after a root or a stem and b) as a terminal suffix immediately after a predication, i.e., immediately following all other suffixes, e.g.:

{nə-}: /nə-/. 'my'

/tə nəɪqít/ '(this) my dress'

/tse nəsxéneʔ/ '(this) my leg'

/nəštələlé/ 'my purse'

/nəš<sup>w</sup>wéli/ 'my parents'

/nəš<sup>ʔ</sup>íʔ/ 'I like...' (lit. 'my liking..')

/nəš<sup>ʔ</sup>áqəst/ 'what I gave him...' (lit. 'my giving him')

{nʔ-}: /nʔ-/. 'your'

/tə nʔé<sup>ʔ</sup>lən/ '(this) your house'

/tse nʔté<sup>ʔ</sup>luʔ/ '(this) your arm'

/nʔšx<sup>w</sup>á<sup>ʔ</sup>q<sup>w</sup>əʔ/ 'your sibling'

/nʔs<sup>ʔ</sup>íə<sup>n</sup>/ 'what you ate...' (lit. 'your eating...')

{-s}: /-s/. 'his, her, its, their'

/tse təns/ '(this) his mother'

/tə s<sup>ʔ</sup>tələlé<sup>ʔ</sup>qəts/ '(these) their children'

/šaməns/ 'his (their) enemy'

/k<sup>w</sup>(s) syé<sup>ʔ</sup>s/ '(that) his (their) going'

/ʔuʔ xčits/ 'his (their) knowing'

/tə q<sup>w</sup>ɪéyʔšəns/ 'his (their) shoes'

{-itə}: /-itə/. 'our'

/tə ménitə/ '(this) our father'

/tə sčéʔčeʔitə/ '(this) our friend'

/sʔíɬənitə/ 'our food' (lit. 'our eating')

/sx<sup>w</sup>áməttitə/ 'our bed'

Objective suffixes: the objective forms of the personal pronominal suffixes are only used in cases where there is a need to express that some entity is affected in some way by the action or situation implied by the root.<sup>1</sup> Such a need, however, is only of secondary importance. When the entities affected are made the focus of attention and therefore acquire primary importance, the pronominal particles preceded by a predication involving a root with the volitional transitive suffix and the medio-passive suffix are used instead. This contrast will be illustrated below. The objective suffixes do not occur very frequent-

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<sup>1</sup> Thompson and Thompson (1971:283) state that in Clallam:

"The fact that only parties affected are represented by such suffixes is quite in keeping with an overall system in which entities are viewed for the most part as affected by situations, and it is an unusual matter for entities to be responsible or in control--thereby automatically calling for primary focus on the party responsible."

ly in the corpus. This is not the case with the forms involving the use of the pronominal particles.

The Songish objective suffixes are the following:

	Sg.	Pl.
1st.	-áŋəs	-əlx <sup>w</sup>
2nd.	-áŋə	-áŋə
3rd.	∅	∅

{-áŋəs}: 1st. Person Singular. Objective Pronominal Suffix.  
Its allomorphs /-áŋəs/, /-əs/, /-s/, are morphologically conditioned.

/ʔéteʔ sx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ənáŋəs/ 'you see me'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'

/k<sup>w</sup>énəs čə/ 'look at me!'

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'

/čə/ Demonstrative.

/tə nék<sup>w</sup>ə ʔiʔ éteʔ sx<sup>w</sup> čénəs/ 'you bury me'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{nék<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

{čén-} root: 'to bury, plant'



/ʔéte sx<sup>w</sup> sxés/ 'you pushed me!'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

{sxé-} root: 'to push'

{-áŋə}: 2nd. Person. Objective Pronominal Suffix.

Its allomorphs /-áŋə/ and /-sə/ are morphologically conditioned.

/ʔuʔ k<sup>w</sup>ənánə itə səʔ/ 'we will see you'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{səʔ} 'Future'. Temporal particle.

/ʔéteʔ sən ʔuʔ k<sup>w</sup>ənánə/ 'I saw you'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'

/ʔuʔ k<sup>w</sup>tuʔ yəsáʔsə sən/ 'I already told you'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>ɬ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

{yás-} root: 'to say' (metathesized for aspect)

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{sən} 1st. person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/°éte° sən čtésə/ 'I asked you'

{°éte°} root: 'to be here'

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal Particle.

{čté-} root: 'to ask a question'

{ø}: /ø/. 3rd. Person. Objective Pronominal Suffix.

/°éte° ó q<sup>w</sup>čátəs / 'Did they kill him?'

{°éte°} root: 'to be here'

{°ó} Interrogative particle.

{q<sup>w</sup>áy-} root: 'to die, kill' (with alternation of /y/-/č/ and metathesized for aspect)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/ti°e °ésə °i° sčét sən/ 'I hit her'

/ti°e/ Demonstrative.

{°ésə} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{°i°} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{sčé-} root: 'to hit'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{-əlx<sup>w</sup>}: /-əlx<sup>w</sup>/. 1st. Person Plural. Objective Pronominal Suffix.

/tə nək<sup>w</sup>ə °i° čsétəl<sup>w</sup> °ó s<sup>w</sup>/

'Are you going to hit us?'

/tə/ Demonstrative

{nək<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

- {ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {čsǎ-} root: 'to hit with fist'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {ʔǎ} Interrogative particle.  
 {sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

/sxǎtǎlx<sup>w</sup> sx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you (Pl.) pushed us'

- {sxǎ-} root: 'to push'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

The following forms will illustrate the contrast in the use of the objective pronominal suffixes as opposed to the use of constructions with the pronominal particles following a predication made up of a root, the volitional transitive suffix and the medio-passive suffix. The contrast is achieved by varying the focus of attention of the action or object, e.g.:

- a) /ʔǎtǎ sx<sup>w</sup> čǎk<sup>w</sup>ǎtǎlx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you (Pl.) wash us'  
 or /čǎk<sup>w</sup>ǎtǎlx<sup>w</sup> sx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you (Pl.) wash us'

(where the attention is focused on the action or situation)

vs. /ʔǎtǎ sx<sup>w</sup> čǎk<sup>w</sup>ǎtǎŋ tǎtǎ/ 'we are being washed by you (Pl.)'

(where the attention is focused on the object affected by the action or situation.)

- b) /tiʔǎ tǎnǎŋǎt ʔiʔ ǎtǎtǎ tǎtǎ ʔuʔ k<sup>w</sup>ǎnǎŋǎ/  
 'we saw you (Pl.)'

(where the attention is focused on the action or situation.)

vs. /ti<sup>o</sup> ɪnɪŋət 'i<sup>o</sup> éte<sup>o</sup> ɪtə 'u<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>énətəŋ sx<sup>w</sup>/  
'we saw you (Pl.)'

(where the attention is focused on the object affected by the action or situation.)

c) /'éte<sup>o</sup> sx<sup>w</sup> sxés/ 'you pushed me.'

(where the attention is focused on the action or situation.)

vs. /'éte<sup>o</sup> sx<sup>w</sup> sxétəŋ sən/ 'you pushed me.'

(where the attention is focused on the object affected by the action or situation.)

#### Non-Personal Affixes.

{x<sup>w</sup>-}: /x<sup>w</sup>-/. Locative prefix.

As its name implies, it indicates location. It is always realized as /x<sup>w</sup>-/, except that when co-occurring with the nominalizer prefix {s-} it may coalesce into /š<sup>w</sup>-/.

The locative prefix occurs as a part of a predication as in the following forms:

/x<sup>w</sup>csást/ 'hit him on the face (with fist)!'

- {čsá-} root: 'to hit with fist'  
 {-ás} Lexical suffix: 'face'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {∅} 3rd. Person. Objective pronominal suffix.

/x<sup>w</sup>iq<sup>w</sup>ástəŋ/ 'he was hit on the face (with hand)'

- {iq<sup>w</sup>á-} root: 'to hit with hand'  
 {-ás} Lexical suffix: 'face'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.  
 {∅} 3rd. Person. Objective pronominal suffix.

The locative prefix may also occur in a compound word performing a nominal function:

/x<sup>w</sup>áčlá'sən/ 'bowl' (lit. 'deep plate')

- {áč} root: 'deep'  
 {lá'sən} root: 'plate'

The sequence nominalizer prefix {s-} and locative prefix {x<sup>w</sup>-} contrasts with the sequence {sx<sup>w</sup>-} 'agentive' (see page 77) in the following two forms:

/s<sup>w</sup>énásəŋ/ 'mirror' (lit. 'the place where the face can be looked at')

- /s<sup>w</sup>-/ → {s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.  
 {k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'  
 {-ás} Lexical suffix: 'face'  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

vs. /sx<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ónələ/ 'spyglass' (lit. 'something that sees for somebody else')

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{k<sup>w</sup>ón-} root: 'to see'

{-ələ} Non-involvement suffix.

The transitivizer suffixes.

{-t}: /-ət/, /-t/. Volitional transitive suffix.

The allomorph /-ət/ occurs after resonants and /č/.

Elsewhere it is realized as /-t/.

The addition of this suffix to a root indicates that the action or situation implied by the root is transferred to some entity which will be affected by it. In contrast with the non-volitional transitive suffix {-néx<sup>w</sup>}, {-t} also expresses that the action or situation implied by the root is completely under control by the speaker or some other agent. Thompson and Thompson (1971:280) point out the presence of this suffix in Clallam as referring to 'controlled activity or situation', and they claim that:

...approaching Clallam from the point of view of, say, English, one naturally takes {-t} as a transitive indicator. Such a view, however, would assign overt representation to the wrong category--a goal or object, rather than the controlling entity.

In Songish, however, the suffix {-t} is considered as performing two functions: a) that of expressing the transfer of an action or situation by which an entity is affected and b) that of expressing that such action is under control on the part of the speaker or another agent.

The transitivizer suffix {-t} may precede either the purposive suffix {-əs}, or the medio-passive suffix {-əŋ} or the reciprocal suffix {-ék<sup>w</sup>əl}. The following examples will illustrate the use of the volitional transitive suffix {-t} :

a) /x<sup>w</sup>čét tu<sup>o</sup> níž / 'wake him up!'

{x<sup>w</sup>éy-} root: 'to wake up' (with alternation /y/-/č/ and metathesized for aspect)

/tu<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níž} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

vs. /x<sup>w</sup>éy<sup>o</sup> sən / 'I am waking up'

{x<sup>w</sup>éy-} root: 'to wake up'

/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

vs. /x<sup>w</sup>čétəŋ sən / 'I have been awakened by him'

{x<sup>w</sup>éy-} root: 'to wake up' (with alternation /y/-/č/ and metathesized for aspect)

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

b) /<sup>o</sup>ən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>təs / 'to bring'

{<sup>o</sup>ən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>-} root: 'to come'

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

vs. /<sup>o</sup>ən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup> ən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup> / 'Come, Come!'

{<sup>o</sup>ən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to come'

c) /'éite' k<sup>w</sup>ɪu' čónətəŋ/ 'he is already buried'

{'éite' } root: 'to be here'

{k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} 'already'. Aspectual particle.

{'u'} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{čón-} root: 'to bury'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

vs. /čónəsə sən/ 'I bury you'

{čón-} root: 'to bury'

{-sə} 2nd. Person. Objective pronominal suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

d) /'éite' sx<sup>w</sup> ləmé'təlɪx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you (Pl.) are kicking us'

{'éite' } root: 'to be here'

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

{lém-} root: 'to kick' (metathesized for aspect)

/{-ə}/ Actual aspect.

{-əlɪx<sup>w</sup>} 1st. Person Plural. Objective Pronominal suffix...

{-néx<sup>w</sup>}: /-néx<sup>w</sup>/, /-n/. Non-volitional transitive suffix.

As its name implies this suffix is considered the non-volitional counterpart of the volitional transitive suffix{-t}. When the suffix {-néx<sup>w</sup>} is added to a root, the action or situation implied by the root is viewed as an accidental act which is independent of the will of the agent and which will be transferred to some other entity. That is to say, that although the agent is responsible to some extent for



the action or situation implied by the root, he is not in control of it and at the same time the action or situation affects another entity, e.g.:

/təs<sup>3</sup>néx<sup>w</sup> sx<sup>w</sup> lə<sup>9</sup> tə lá<sup>9</sup>sən/

'you broke the plate unintentionally'

{təs-} root: 'to break'  
 {sx<sup>w</sup>-} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.  
 {lə<sup>9</sup>} Past. Temporal particle.  
 /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {lá<sup>9</sup>sən} root: 'plate'

/ŋáq<sup>3</sup>néx<sup>w</sup> sən/ 'I swallowed it unintentionally'

{ŋáq-} root: 'to swallow'  
 {sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/čéq<sup>w</sup>nèx<sup>w</sup>sən/ 'I burnt it accidentally'

{čéq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to burn'  
 {sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

The allomorph /-n/ occurs when other suffixes follow the non-volitional transitive suffix, e.g.:

/q<sup>3</sup>wəq<sup>3</sup>wənək<sup>w</sup>əl/ 'to meet each other by chance'

{q<sup>3</sup>wé-} root: 'to meet'  
 {-ək<sup>w</sup>əl} Reciprocal suffix.

/k<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>néwəl/ 'to argue accidentally'

{k<sup>w</sup>éx<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to argue'  
 {-ək<sup>w</sup>əl} Reciprocal suffix. (with alternation /k<sup>w</sup>/-  
 /w/.)

{-əŋ}: /-əŋ/, /-ŋ/, /-əm/. Medio-passive suffix.

The addition of the medio-passive suffix {-əŋ} to a root implies that the action or situation expressed by the root is not controlled by the agent who is directly affected by it and becomes to some extent involved in it. The suffix {-əŋ} is realized as /-əm/ in possible Halkomelem loans and as /-əŋ/-/-ŋ/ elsewhere. This suffix may occur following the volitional transitive suffix {-t} thus introducing the idea that the action or situation is under control on the part of some entity and that it is transferred to another entity which will be the affected or benefited one. The name medio-passive has been chosen for this suffix because when co-occurring with the volitional transitive suffix {-t} the attention is focused on the benefited or affected entity and therefore, it can easily be considered and translated as a passivized form.

The forms given below will illustrate the contrast between 'controlled' and 'uncontrolled' action or situation, e.g.:

a) Affected and uncontrolled action or situation:

/séxəŋ/ 'it's acid, sour'

/sáq<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'it's sweet'

/cá<sup>o</sup>məŋ/ 'it's wet'

/lé<sup>i</sup>təŋ/ 'it's salty'

/xé<sup>ç</sup>cəŋ/ 'it's dry'

/hécəŋ/ 'to breathe'

/hésəŋ/ 'to sneeze'

/tíləm/ 'to sing'

/cáq<sup>w</sup>əm/ 'to sweat'

/páλəm/ 'to smoke'

/x<sup>w</sup>éyəm/ 'to sell'

b) Affected and controlled action or situation:

/x<sup>w</sup>čótəŋ sx<sup>w</sup>/ 'he is awakened by you'

{x<sup>w</sup>éy-} root: 'to wake up' (metathesized for aspect and with alternation /y/ - /č/.)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{ó} 3rd. Person Singular. Objective pronominal suffix.

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

/tu<sup>?</sup> níž<sup>?</sup> 'i<sup>?</sup> scótəŋ sx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you are hit by him'

/tu<sup>?</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níž} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i<sup>?</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{scó-} root: 'to hit'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

/'éle<sup>?</sup> u<sup>?</sup> čénətəŋ sən/ 'I am being buried by him'

{'éle<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to be here'

{'u<sup>?</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

- {čén-} root: 'to plant, bury'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix  
 {sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

The volitional transitive suffix {-t} and the medio-passive suffix {-əŋ} contrast in the following forms:

- a) /su<sup>?</sup> níṭ 'i<sup>?</sup> qék<sup>w</sup>étəŋ sən/ 'I am being bitten by her'

/su<sup>?</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níṭ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic demonstrative.

{'i<sup>?</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{qék<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to bite' (metathesized for aspect)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

- vs. /qék<sup>w</sup>ət sən (su<sup>?</sup> níṭ)/ 'I bite her'

{qék<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to bite'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/su<sup>?</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níṭ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

- b) /tu<sup>?</sup> níṭ 'i<sup>?</sup> x<sup>w</sup>čétəŋ sən/  
 'I am being awakened by him'

/tu<sup>?</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níṭ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic Pronominal.

{'i<sup>?</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{x<sup>w</sup>čy-} root: 'to wake up' (metathesized for aspect and with alternation /y/ - /č/.)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

vs. /x<sup>w</sup>čət/ 'wake him up!'

{x<sup>w</sup>éy-} root: 'to wake up' (metathesized for aspect and with alternation /y/ ~ /č/.)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{ǝ} 3rd. Person Singular. Objective Pronominal suffix.

The non-volitional transitive suffix {-néx<sup>w</sup>} and the medio-passive suffix {-əŋ} contrast in the following forms:

/ʔəlén<sup>w</sup>nəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to hear'

vs. /ləlé<sup>w</sup>nəŋ/ 'to listen'

{-ələ}: /-ələ/. Non-involvement suffix.<sup>1</sup>

This suffix refers to an entity affected by the action or situation of the root but without involvement in it by such entity. It is realized as /-éle/ when attached to roots with variable stress, elsewhere it is /-ələ/, e.g.:

/su<sup>w</sup> níŋ ʔi<sup>w</sup> q<sup>w</sup>íŋələ ʔə tsə ši.pən/

'she is borrowing a knife from him'

<sup>1</sup> Thompson and Thompson (1971) refer to the presence of a cognate suffix in Clallam, namely {-éyu), and dub it 'structured activity or situation'. They state that such a suffix 'avoids implication of an entity affected'. (1971, 285)

/su°/ Demonstrative.  
 {níṭ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {°i°} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {q<sup>w</sup>iṅ-} root: 'to borrow'  
 {°ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.  
 /tsə/ Demonstrative.  
 {ší·p} root: 'to sharpen, sharp'  
 {-tn} Instrumental suffix.

/tu° níṭ °i° u° k<sup>w</sup>ṭ sák<sup>w</sup>ələ/ 'he's putting in a bet'

/tu°/ Demonstrative.  
 {níṭ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {°i°} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {°u°} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {k<sup>w</sup>ṭ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.  
 {sák<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to put in a bet'

/tu° níṭ °i° áṅələ °ə tsə télə/ 'he's giving her  
 money'

/tu°/ Demonstrative.  
 {níṭ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {°i°} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {áṅ-} root: 'to give'  
 {°ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.  
 /tsə/ Demonstrative.  
 {télə} root: 'dollar, round object'  
 {ó} 3rd. Person. Objective Pronominal suffix.

/k<sup>w</sup>énələ/ 'to see with glasses, spy-glass, etc.'

/tənk<sup>w</sup>ələ/ 'to shoot with a gun'

/xəl'ələ/ 'to mark down, write with pencil'

{-ís): /-ís/. Directed motion suffix.<sup>1</sup>

This suffix seems to imply that the agent is in directional motion while performing the action implied by the root. It always occurs as /-ís/ following the volitional transitive suffix {-t} as illustrated below:

/tu<sup>o</sup> níŋ<sup>o</sup> 'i<sup>o</sup> lé<sup>o</sup>ə 'ə tə x<sup>w</sup>sí.ɬəs k<sup>w</sup>s k<sup>w</sup>əntís tse  
 ʔčéqəŋ/

'he is over there up the hill looking down the mountain'

/tu<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níŋ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{lé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be there'

/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.

{'ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{x<sup>w</sup>sí.ɬəs} root: 'hill'

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{k<sup>w</sup>əŋ-} roots: 'to see'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

/tse/ Demonstrative.

{ʔčéq-} root: 'to go downhill, foothill'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/sə qé<sup>o</sup>ŋi<sup>o</sup> i<sup>o</sup> x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>təŋ k<sup>w</sup>əntís tə x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>ləm/

'the girl is jumping, holding the rope'

/sə/ Demonstrative

{qé<sup>o</sup>ŋi<sup>o</sup>} root: 'girl'

{'i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

<sup>1</sup> The isolation of this suffix is tentative. Since the above examples are the only ones recorded for Songish a conclusive statement cannot be provided here.

- {x<sup>w</sup>it-} root: 'to jump'  
 /-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.  
 {k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to hold'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>ləm} root: 'rope, thread'

/<sup>o</sup>éwə nə<sup>o</sup> i<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>éntis/ 'there is nothing he brings'  
 (while coming towards us)

- {<sup>o</sup>éwə} Negative particle.  
 {né<sup>o</sup>} Existential particle.  
 {<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to hold'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

/səŋətis/ 'to carry something on the back'

- {səŋ-} root: 'to carry on the back'

/<sup>o</sup>éwəs k<sup>w</sup>éntis/ 'they do not see it' (while turning to  
 look at it)

- {<sup>o</sup>éwə} Negative particle.  
 {k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-át}: /-áŋət/, /-əŋət/, /-át/, /-ət/. Reflexive suffix.

The reflexive suffix expresses the notion that the action or situation implied by the root directly affects the agent(s). Its allomorphic variant /-áŋət/ ~ /-əŋət/



is morphologically conditioned and occurs after the allomorph /-n/ of the non-volitional transitive suffix {-nəx<sup>w</sup>}, e.g.:

/nək<sup>w</sup>náŋət su<sup>o</sup>níʔ/ 'she fell asleep'

{nák<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to sleep'

{-nəx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

/su<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níʔ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

/nəčnájət tu<sup>o</sup>níʔ/ 'he laughed at himself'

{nəč-} root: 'to laugh'

{-nəx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

/tu<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níʔ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

/yé<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ánəŋət/ 'go, run!'

{yé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to go'

{k<sup>w</sup>án-} root: 'to run'

{-nəx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive.

Both the stressed and unstressed allomorphs, namely /-át/ and /-ət/ occur after the purposive suffix {-əs}, e.g.:

/sén tə sɛnɛní<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>s nək<sup>w</sup>əsáts/

'who do the women wait for?'

{sén} root: 'to be who?'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

- {tʰéniʔ} root: 'woman, wife' (reduplicated for Plural)  
 /kʷs/ Demonstrative.  
 {ŋékʷ-} root: 'to wait for'  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 {-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/tiʔə ʔésə ʔiʔ qəkʷésət sən/ 'I bit myself'

- /tiʔə/ Demonstrative.  
 {ʔésə} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {qəkʷ-} root: 'to bite' (metathesized for aspect)  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 {sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/ʔuʔ yás xʷ ʔəl ʔuʔ lələnsát/ 'you always listen'

- {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {yás} 'Always'. Temporal particle.  
 {sxʷ} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.  
 {ʔəl} Completive particle.  
 {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {lən-} root: 'to listen' (reduplicated for aspect)  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.

/yéʔ sən ʔítət/ 'I go to sleep'

- {yéʔ} root: 'to go'  
 {sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.  
 {ʔít-} root: 'to sleep in bed'

/kʷénsət/ 'to take care of oneself, see after oneself'

- {kʷén-} root: 'to see'  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.

/təq<sup>w</sup>əsət/ 'to slap oneself'

/čx<sup>w</sup>áqəsət/ 'to get sour'

/sk<sup>w</sup>ísət/ 'to lie down'

{-ək<sup>w</sup>əl}: /-ək<sup>w</sup>əl/, /-éwəl/, /-əl/. Reciprocal suffix.

The reciprocal suffix refers to two or more entities which are reciprocally affected by the action or situation implied by the root. The allomorphs /-ək<sup>w</sup>əl/ and /-éwəl/ (where /k<sup>w</sup>/ alternates with /w/) occur after /-n/, the reduced allomorph of the non-volitional transitive suffix {-néx<sup>w</sup>}; the choice between these two allomorphs is, however, morphologically conditioned. Elsewhere it is /-əl/, e.g.:

/q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>ənək<sup>w</sup>əl tətə səʔ/ 'we'll meet each other'

{q<sup>w</sup>ə-} root: 'to meet a person' (reduplicated for aspect)

{-néx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

{tətə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{səʔ} 'Future'. Temporal particle.

/q<sup>w</sup>əlnék<sup>w</sup>əltx<sup>w</sup> sən/ 'I will get to talk to him'

{q<sup>w</sup>əl-} root: 'to speak'

{-néx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

{-tx<sup>w</sup>} Causative suffix.

{∅} 3rd. Person. Objective suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/k<sup>w</sup>èx<sup>w</sup>nówəl itə/ 'we are arguing'

{k<sup>w</sup>éx<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to argue'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-néx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

/tu<sup>o</sup> nəní<sup>o</sup>íəye<sup>o</sup> i<sup>o</sup> 'csástəl/

'they are hitting each other on the face (with fists)'

/tu<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.

/nəní<sup>o</sup>íəye<sup>o</sup>/ 3rd. Person Plural. Emphatic  
pronominal.

{<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{'csé-} root: 'to hit with fist'

{-ás} Lexical suffix: 'face'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

### The Plural Morpheme.

The plural morpheme in Songish has a variety of allomorphs which are morphologically conditioned as to their position of occurrence.

The plural morpheme is manifested by a) infixation of /-əl-/ after the initial consonant of the root, b) infixation of /-lə-/ after the medial glottal stop of the root, c) infixation of /-ə-/ after the initial consonant of the word and d) partial reduplication.

a) Infixation of /-əl-/ after the initial consonant of the root:

/məlé <sup>3</sup> ʔəq <sup>w</sup> / 'birds, ducks'	from	/mé <sup>3</sup> ʔəq <sup>w</sup> / 'bird, duck'
/x <sup>w</sup> ələnítm/ 'white-men'	from	/x <sup>w</sup> ənítm/ 'white man'
/təlíx <sup>w</sup> səɪ/ 'tongues'	from	/tíx <sup>w</sup> səɪ/ 'tongue'
/k <sup>w</sup> əlítšən/ 'spring salmon'	from	/k <sup>w</sup> ítšən/ 'spring salmon'
/čələ <sup>3</sup> ʔwi <sup>3</sup> / 'dishes'	from	/čé <sup>3</sup> ʔwi <sup>3</sup> / 'dish'
/ʔələs <sup>w</sup> / 'seals'	from	/ʔés <sup>w</sup> / 'seal'
/ʔələ <sup>3</sup> čəx/ 'crabs'	from	/ʔé <sup>3</sup> čəx/ 'crab'
/sələ.ɪ/ 'door, paths'	from	/sá.ɪ/ 'door, path'
/spələsəŋ/ 'boils' <sup>1</sup>	from	/spásəŋ/ 'boil'
/sqələmæk <sup>w</sup> / 'octopi' <sup>1</sup>	from	/sqémæk <sup>w</sup> / 'octopus'
/sxələ <sup>3</sup> énx <sup>w</sup> / 'frogs' <sup>1</sup>	from	/sxə <sup>3</sup> énx <sup>w</sup> / 'frog'
/sqələ <sup>3</sup> qəq <sup>3</sup> / 'prisoners' <sup>1</sup>	from	/sqé <sup>3</sup> qəq <sup>3</sup> / 'prisoner'

The idea of plurality is not only expressed in roots which perform nominal function. Roots performing verbal function may be optionally pluralized as well to express either that a number of agents perform the action of the root or that the action of the root affects a number of objects, e.g:

<sup>1</sup> Since in all these forms the plural occurs after the initial consonant of the root, all these forms illustrate that the initial /s/ is the nominalizer prefix, even if the base roots for most of them have never been elicited. (Cf. /sá.ɪ/ 'door, paths' vs. /sələ.ɪ/ 'doors, paths', where the initial /s/ is part of the root.)

/sələsítəŋ/ 'many standing'

{sít-} root: 'to stand'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/cəl'céstəŋ/ 'many being hit'

{csé-} root: 'to hit with fist' (metathesized and reduplicated for aspect)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/nələnéyəŋ/ 'many laugh'

{néč-} root: 'to laugh' (reduplicated for aspect and with alternation /č/-/y/)

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/tələ'čəl/ 'many arriving'

{téčəl} root: 'to arrive'

/{-?-/ Actual aspect'

/xəl'xéq<sup>w</sup>/ 'sticking many things'

{xéq<sup>w</sup>} root: 'to stick' (reduplicated for aspect)

/qələp'etəs/ 'to tie many things'

{qép-} root: 'to tie'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-es} Purposive suffix.

The following two forms form the plural by adding the infix /-əl-/ to an underlying base other than the root (stem or word) which occurs in the singular, e.g.:

- 1) /qələ'qən/ 'thieves' from \*/qé'qən/ (underlying base)

{qén'} root: 'to steal'

Cf. /qén'qən/ 'thief'

- 2) /sʰələléʰqəɪ/ 'children' from \*/sʰéʰqəɪ/ (underlying base)

Cf. /sʰəʰléʰqəɪ/ 'child' (which appears to be a reduplicated diminutive of the underlying base /sʰéʰqəɪ/.)

The following forms illustrate cases of root vowel change or root vowel loss when the plural infix /-əl-/ is added, e.g.:

- 1) /sqələqəwəs/ 'rabbits' from /sqəqəwís/ 'rabbit'

Cf. /sqələqəwəsálaɪ/ 'bunnies'

from /sqəqəwís/ 'rabbit' and /-álaɪ/ Lexical suffix: 'offspring, young'

- 2) /spəlčá' / 'berry baskets' from /spəčá' / 'berry basket'

b) Infixation of /-lə-/ after a medial glottal stop of the root, e.g.:

/šx <sup>w</sup> á <sup>ʔ</sup> ləq <sup>w</sup> ə <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'siblings'	from	/šx <sup>w</sup> á <sup>ʔ</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ə <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'sibling'
/ščé <sup>ʔ</sup> lače <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'friends'	from	/ščé <sup>ʔ</sup> če <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'friend'
/qé <sup>ʔ</sup> lənɪ <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'girls'	from	/qé <sup>ʔ</sup> ɪ <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'girl'
/ʔé <sup>ʔ</sup> lələŋ/ 'houses' <sup>1</sup>	from	/ʔé <sup>ʔ</sup> ləŋ/ 'house'
/scá.ləm <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'bones' <sup>2</sup>	from	/scá.m <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'bone'

c) Infixation of /-ə-/ after the initial consonant of the word, e.g.<sup>3</sup>

/səwíw <sup>ʔ</sup> ləs/ 'young men'	from	/swíw <sup>ʔ</sup> ləs/ 'young man'
/səwéy <sup>ʔ</sup> qe <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'men'	from	/swéy <sup>ʔ</sup> qe <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'man'
/sənóx <sup>w</sup> ət̚/ 'canoes'	from	/snóx <sup>w</sup> ət̚/ 'canoe'

(with vowel change)

d) Partial reduplication of the initial syllable of the root following a pattern C<sub>1</sub>ə(R), e.g.:

/məməháy <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'baskets'	from	/məháy <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'basket'
/səlsí.lə/ 'grandparents'	from	/sí.lə/ 'grandfather'
/səlsí <sup>ʔ</sup> lə/ 'grandparents'	from	/sí <sup>ʔ</sup> lə/ 'grandfather'
/səlséles/ 'hands'	from	/séles/ 'hand'
/təlté <sup>ʔ</sup> lu <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'arms'	from	/té <sup>ʔ</sup> lu <sup>ʔ</sup> / 'arm'
/ʔəl <sup>ʔ</sup> élex <sup>w</sup> / 'old people'	from	/ʔélex <sup>w</sup> / 'old person'

<sup>1</sup> The plural for /ʔé<sup>ʔ</sup>ləŋ/ 'house' was also recorded twice as /ʔəl<sup>ʔ</sup>é<sup>ʔ</sup>ləŋ/ 'houses'.

<sup>2</sup> This instance might prove that length in this word was originally /ʔ/.

<sup>3</sup> These are the only examples recorded for Songish.



/səlsəl'éləʒ/ 'in-laws'	from	/səl'éləʒ/ 'in-law'
/stətík <sup>w</sup> ən/ 'nieces' <sup>1</sup>	from	/stík <sup>w</sup> ən/ 'niece'
/stənʔéni <sup>o</sup> / 'women' <sup>1</sup>	from	/sténi <sup>o</sup> / 'woman'
/sŋəŋʔénət/ 'mountains' <sup>1</sup>	from	/sŋénət/ 'mountain'
/sxənʔéne <sup>o</sup> / 'legs, wheels' <sup>1</sup>	from	/sxéne <sup>o</sup> / 'leg, wheel'
/sčəncé.nəx <sup>w</sup> / 'fish run' <sup>1</sup>	from	/sčé.nəx <sup>w</sup> / 'fish'

But: /məméwəč/ 'deer'	from	/méwəč/ 'deer'
/səsémi <sup>o</sup> / 'blankets'	from	/sémi <sup>o</sup> / 'blanket'

### The Collective.

{-i-}: /-i-/ , /-i<sup>o</sup>-/. Collective infix.

Closely related to the idea of plurality in Songish is the idea of the collective. The collective in Songish is not frequent in occurrence. This seems to be the case also in Sooke (Efrat:1969;116). In Songish, the forms were explicitly translated by the informant as referring to entities or items as a group rather than to the individual members of that group. The collective infix {-i-} has two morphologically determined variants, namely /-i-/ and /-i<sup>o</sup>-/, which replace the primary stressed vowel of the root. The infix always co-occurs with root initial reduplication, the reduplicative pattern being /C<sub>1</sub>ə-/.

The distinction between plural and collective seems

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<sup>1</sup> All these examples prove that in these forms the initial /s/ is the nominalizer prefix {s-}.

to be very subtle and it would have been overlooked if the following forms, where the contrast between the plural and the collective is present, had not been elicited, e.g.:

/səsəmiʔ/ 'blankets' vs. /səsiʔmiʔ/ 'bunch of blankets'  
(from /səmiʔ/ 'blanket', to cover with a blanket')

/ŋəŋəqsən/ 'noses' vs. /ŋəŋiqsən/ 'bunch of noses'  
(from /ŋəqsən/ 'nose')

/sxənχənéʔ/ 'legs, wheels' vs. /sxəχinəʔ/ 'bunch of legs'  
(from /sxənéʔ/ 'leg, wheel')

The examples below illustrate forms that were only recorded in the collective. Thus, it is impossible to show the contrast between these forms and their regular plural forms as was done in the two examples provided above:

/kʷəkʷinəs/ 'bunch of whales' from /kʷénəs/ 'whale'

/čəčínəs/ 'bunch of teeth' from /čénəs/ 'tooth'

/skʷəkʷiyəs/ 'bunch of slaves' from /skʷéyəs/ 'slave'

/sqəqiʔməlʔ/ 'bunch of paddles' from /sqéməlʔ/ 'paddle'

/sʔəʔiʔləqəm/ 'bunch of animals' from /sʔéləqəm/ 'wild beast'

## The Aspectual System.

Songish aspectual forms express a variety of notions. The different affixes may co-occur with other affixes, either derivational or inflectional or both.

### The actual marker:

In Songish there is an actual vs. non-actual opposition. In this opposition the actual is the marked category and refers to actions or situations taking place at a particular time and being still in process or unfinished. The non-actual form is the unmarked category and refers to actions or situations which are not yet begun, or are merely conceptualized, or which have already taken place and are, therefore, completed. The non-actual is represented by the use of the root by itself, optionally followed by expressions of past time, such as /čəl'égəɬ/ 'yesterday', or the independent temporal particle /ləʔ/ 'Past'.

The actual marker is realized as:

- a) an infix /-ʔ-/,
- b) reduplicative forms co-occurring with the infix /-ʔ-/,
- c) a suffix /-ʔ/, and
- d) metathesized forms of the root.

All of these allomorphic variants are morphologically determined.

## a) The actual infix /-ʔ-/.

The following roots add the infix /-ʔ-/ after the stressed vowel of the root.

## Non-actual

/čsélq-/ 'to follow'  
 /hés-/ 'to sneeze'  
 /čís-/ 'to grow'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>ít-/ 'to jump'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>ítč-/ 'to envy'  
 /ʔək<sup>w</sup>ás-/ 'to teach'  
 /təsíl-/ 'to keep away'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>ís-/ 'to shake'  
 /q<sup>w</sup>əyiləš/ 'to dance'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>íl-/ 'to go down'  
 /ʔíst-/ 'to paddle'  
 /ʔiʔən/ 'to eat'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to leak'  
 /wéq-/ 'to yawn'  
 /xén-/ 'to growl'  
 /ʔít-/ 'to sleep'  
 /ʔiŋ-/ 'to step'  
 /ʔát-/ 'to stretch'

## Actual

/čséʔlq-/ 'following'  
 /héʔs-/ 'sneezing'  
 /číʔs-/ 'growing'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>iʔt-/ 'jumping'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>iʔč-/ 'envying'  
 /ʔək<sup>w</sup>áʔs-/ 'teaching'  
 /təsiʔl-/ 'keeping away'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>iʔs-/ 'shaking'  
 /q<sup>w</sup>əyiʔləš/ 'dancing'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>iʔl-/ 'going down'  
 /ʔiʔst-/ 'paddling'  
 /ʔiʔən/ 'eating'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>iʔx<sup>w</sup>-/ 'leaking'  
 /wéʔq-/ 'yawning'  
 /xéʔn-/ 'growling'  
 /ʔiʔt-/ 'sleeping'  
 /ʔiʔŋ-/ 'stepping'  
 /ʔáʔt-/ 'stretching'

The following roots add the infix /-ʔ-/ after the second consonant of the root, if this consonant is a resonant, e.g.:

## Non-actual

/témx<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to rain'/télx<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to freeze'

/táyəm-/ 'to wear'

## Actual

/tém<sup>o</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-/ 'raining'/tél<sup>o</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-/ 'freezing'/táy<sup>o</sup>əm-/ 'wearing'

b) The actual reduplicative forms co-occurring with the infix /-<sup>o</sup>-/. The following different forms occur:

1) C<sub>1</sub>(ə) pattern with infixation of /-<sup>o</sup>-/.

## Non-actual

/pá·-/ 'to leaven'

/tíl-/ 'to sing'

/tél-/ 'to come ashore'

/síɫ-/ 'to stand'

/k<sup>w</sup>él-/ 'to hide'/ték<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to hurry'

## Actual

/p(ə)pá.<sup>o</sup>-/ 'leavening'/t(ə)tí<sup>o</sup>ɫ-/ 'singing'/təté<sup>o</sup>ɫ-/ 'coming ashore'/səsí<sup>o</sup>ɫ-/ 'standing'/k<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>é<sup>o</sup>ɫ-/ 'hiding'/təté<sup>o</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-/ 'hurrying'

2) C<sub>1</sub>V pattern with infixation of /-<sup>o</sup>-/. The root vowel may appear in a reduced form /ə/. Alternations of /k<sup>w</sup>/~/w/, /č~/~/y/ and unidentified expansions may also occur, e.g.:

## Non-actual

/néč-/ 'to laugh'

/ték<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to buy'/čák<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to wear, use'

## Actual

/nə<sup>o</sup>néy-/ 'laughing'/tə<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>w-/ 'buying'/ča<sup>o</sup>á<sup>o</sup>w-/ 'using, wearing'

/k<sup>w</sup>intəl-/ 'to fight'/k<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>wəntəl/ 'fighting'/k<sup>w</sup>ic-/ 'to butcher'/k<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>wə<sup>o</sup>əc-/ 'butchering'

3) Reduplication of the root vowel and infixation of /-<sup>o</sup>-/. The reduplicated vowel bears the weak stress:

Non-actual

Actual

/x<sup>w</sup>á-/ 'to cry'/x<sup>w</sup>a<sup>o</sup>á-/ 'crying'

/ʔám-/ 'to sit, rest'

/ʔa<sup>o</sup>ám-/ 'sitting'/ʔáx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to go there'/ʔa<sup>o</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>/ 'going there'/k<sup>w</sup>éyək<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to hook fish'/k<sup>w</sup>ə<sup>o</sup>éy<sup>o</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-/ 'hooking fish'

4) Reduplication of the root vowel with infixation of /-<sup>o</sup>-/. A shift in stress occurs and the root vowel may be reduced to /ə/:

Non-actual

Actual

/ʔéšən/ 'to feast'

/ʔé<sup>o</sup>ešən/ 'feasting'

/xéc-/ 'to weigh'

/xé<sup>o</sup>ec-/ 'weighing'/ʔən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>/ 'to come'/ʔən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>e<sup>o</sup>-/ 'coming'/háq<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to smell'/há<sup>o</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>-/ 'smelling'/hék<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to remember'/hé<sup>o</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-/ 'remembering'

c) The actual suffix /-<sup>o</sup>-/.

A small number of roots which end in a resonant add the suffix /-<sup>o</sup>-/ to mark the actual aspect:

## Non-actual

/xél-/ 'to mark down'  
 /xén-/ 'to say'  
 /háy/ 'to finish'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>én-/ 'to hold'  
 /čén-/ 'to bury, plant'  
 /čéw-/ 'to admire'

## Actual

/xél<sup>o</sup>-/ 'marking down'  
 /xén<sup>o</sup>-/ 'saying'  
 /háy<sup>o</sup>/ 'finishing'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>én<sup>o</sup>-/ 'holding'  
 /čén<sup>o</sup>-/ 'burying, planting'  
 /čéw<sup>o</sup>-/ 'admiring'

## d) Metathesis.

To mark the actual aspect a number of monosyllabic roots undergo metathesis of the stressed vowel of the root and the following consonant:

## Non-actual

/pék<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to smoke'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>ét-/ 'to drop'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>és-/ 'to count'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to drag'  
 /xék<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to extinguish fire'  
 /léc-/ 'to fill'  
 /qép-/ 'to tie'  
 /qép-/ 'to gather'  
 /xék<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to lick'  
 /xíc-/ 'to scratch'

## Actual

/pk<sup>w</sup>é-/ 'smoking'<sup>1</sup>  
 /x<sup>w</sup>té-/ 'dropping'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>sé-/ 'counting'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>é-/ 'dragging'  
 /xk<sup>w</sup>é-/ 'extinguishing fire'  
 /lcé-/ 'filling'  
 /qpé-/ 'tying'  
 /qpé-/ 'gathering'  
 /xk<sup>w</sup>é-/ 'licking'  
 /xčí-/ 'scratching'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. /pé<sup>o</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>/ 'pipe'

Non-actual

Actual

/t<sup>3</sup>éš-/ 'to comb, card'/tš<sup>3</sup>é-/ 'combing, carding'

Some monosyllabic roots with a morphemic shape  $C_1C_2\acute{e}$ - mark the actual aspect by metathesizing the stressed schwa of the root with the preceding consonant, namely  $C_2$  :

Non-actual

Actual

/č<sup>3</sup>t<sup>3</sup>é-/ 'to crawl'/č<sup>3</sup>ét-/ 'crawling'/št<sup>3</sup>é-/ 'to walk'/š<sup>3</sup>ét-/ 'walking'/sx<sup>3</sup>é-/ 'to push'/s<sup>3</sup>éx-/ 'pushing'/cs<sup>3</sup>é-/ 'to hit with fist'/c<sup>3</sup>és-/ 'hitting with fist'

Some monosyllabic roots of the shape  $C_1\acute{V}C_2$ - metathesize the stressed vowel of the root with the following consonant, namely  $C_2$ , and an intrusive /ə/ occurs separating  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  :

Non-actual

Actual

/ʔ<sup>3</sup>ix-/ 'to scrape'/ʔ<sup>3</sup>əxi-/ 'scraping'/q<sup>3</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to bite'/q<sup>3</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>é-/ 'biting'

/yás-/ 'to tell'

/yəsá<sup>ʔ</sup>-/ 'telling' (with suffix /-ʔ/)/c<sup>3</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to wash'/c<sup>3</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>é-/ 'washing'

/lém-/ 'to kick'

/ləmé<sup>ʔ</sup>-/ 'kicking' (with suffix /-ʔ/)



## Other aspectual affixes:

{-əs}: /-əs/, /-s/. Purposive suffix.

This suffix expresses the idea that the action or situation implied in the root is performed with a certain purpose in mind, that is, intentionally. The suffix is realized as /-əs/ after the volitional transitive suffix {-t} and when it occurs as a final suffix in a word. It is realized as /-s/ when it occurs before the reflexive suffix and other suffixes.

/su<sup>?</sup> níŋ<sup>?</sup> 'i<sup>?</sup> i<sup>?</sup>ŋətes tə tɛŋəx<sup>w</sup>/

'she's stepping on the ground'

/su<sup>?</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níŋ<sup>?</sup>} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i<sup>?</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{'iŋ-} root: 'to step'

/-<sup>?</sup>-/ Actual aspect.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

/tə/ Demonstrative

{tɛ-} root: (?)

{-ŋəx<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'animate being, people'

/tu<sup>?</sup> níŋ<sup>?</sup> 'i<sup>?</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ánəs tə swéy<sup>?</sup>qe<sup>?</sup>/

'he catches a man'

/tu<sup>?</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níŋ<sup>?</sup>} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i<sup>?</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to hold'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{swéy<sup>?</sup>qe<sup>?</sup>} root: 'man'

/tə sɛniːˈ sqɛxɛˈ iː ɪlɛs tɛ sqɛxɛˈ ɔlɛɪ/

'the female dog abandoned the puppies'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{ɛniː} root: 'woman'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{qɛxɛ} root: 'dog'

{iː} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ɪl-} root: 'to abandon'

/tɛ/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{qɛxɛ} root: 'dog'

{-ɔlɛɪ} Lexical suffix: 'offspring, young'

/ˈɛtɛˈ ɪtɛ ɕɛkˈwɛsɛt/ 'we wash ourselves'

{ˈɛtɛ} root: 'to be here'

{ɪtɛ} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{ɕɛkˈw-} root: 'to wash' (metathesized for aspect)

{-ɔt} Reflexive suffix.

/ˈɛtɛˈ sɛn ɪɕqˈwɛsɛt nɔnɛt/ 'I slapped myself'

{ˈɛtɛ} root: 'to be here'

{sɛn} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{ɪɕqˈw-} root: 'to slap'

{-ɔt} Reflexive suffix.

{nɔnɛt} Emphatic reflexive particle.

The following two examples illustrate the contrast between the use of the purposive suffix a) before the reflexive suffix and b) after the volitional transitive suffix:

/ti<sup>o</sup>e ʔése ʔi<sup>o</sup> u<sup>o</sup> qək<sup>ʷ</sup>isət sən/ 'I bite myself'

{qək<sup>ʷ</sup>-} root: 'to bite' (metathesized for aspect)  
 {-i} Persistency suffix.

vs. /tu<sup>o</sup> níʔ ʔi<sup>o</sup> qək<sup>ʷ</sup>itəs/ 'he bites it on purpose'

{-i}: /-i/. Persistency suffix.<sup>1</sup>

The persistency suffix {-i} expresses the notion that the action or situation implied in the root starts and continues after it started. It is always realized as /-i/ and occurs preceding the medio-passive suffix {-əŋ}:

/sčənʔiŋət/ 'seeds, seedlings'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {čén-} root: 'to plant, bury'  
 /-ʔ/ Actual aspect.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.  
 {-ət} Durative suffix.

/čéc<sup>ʷ</sup>iŋət/ 'she is sewing'

{čéc<sup>ʷ</sup>-} root: 'to sew'  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.  
 {-ət} Durative suffix.

<sup>1</sup> Thompson and Thompson (1971;282) consider this suffix as a root extension suffix and define it as "{-i} 'persistent: situation or activity continues beyond inception'." Hess (1969; fn. 2) states: "[Puget Salish] {-il} 'persistent' also has cognates in a number of Salish languages, usually with the shape /-i/. It refers not so much to the inception as to the continued state or activity, a growing or developing."

{-é-}: /-é-/, /-á-/. Resultive infix.

The use of the resultive infix {-é-} (with its morphologically determined variants /-é-/ and /-á-/) seems to be restricted to a limited number of roots. It has been observed to co-occur with a number of other aspectual affixes, such as the stative and durative affixes, and with the actual markers. This infix expresses the notion that the action or situation implied by the root is a result rather than a continuing, developing action or situation, e.g.:

a) /<sup>3</sup>əslécəɪ/ 'it's full'

{<sup>3</sup>əs-} Stative prefix.  
 {léc-} root: 'to fill'  
 {-əɪ} Durative suffix.

vs. /lécət/ 'fill it!'

{léc-} root: 'to fill'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

b) /<sup>3</sup>əsqépəɪ/ 'they are all gathered together'

{<sup>3</sup>əs-} Stative prefix.  
 {qép-} root: 'to gather'  
 {-əɪ} Durative suffix.

vs. /qépət/ 'get together!'

{qép-} root: 'to gather' (metathesized for aspect)  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

c) /tə n<sup>o</sup>s<sup>o</sup>ʔiʔən ʔi<sup>o</sup> čáq<sup>w</sup>əʔ/ 'your food is burnt'

/tə/ Demonstrative,

{ n<sup>o</sup>- } 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.

{ s- } Nominalizer prefix.

{ ʔiʔən } root: 'to eat'

{ ʔi<sup>o</sup> } 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ čáq<sup>w</sup>- } root: 'to burn'

{ -əʔ } Durative suffix.

vs. /čq<sup>w</sup>ət/ 'burn it!'

{ čáq<sup>w</sup>- } root: 'to burn' (metathesized for aspect)

{ -t } Volitional transitive suffix.

d) /ʔəs<sup>x</sup>áy<sup>o</sup>əʔ/ 'he is (fully) awake'

{ ʔəs- } Stative prefix.

{ x<sup>w</sup>áy- } root: 'to wake up'

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{ -əʔ } Durative suffix.

e) /ʔəs<sup>q</sup>ál<sup>o</sup>əʔ/ 'it's (fully) ripe, cooked'

{ ʔəs- } Stative prefix.

{ q<sup>w</sup>ál- } root: 'to cook, ripen'

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{ -əʔ } Durative suffix.

f) /ʔəs<sup>x</sup>téqəʔ/ 'it's (all) closed'

{ ʔəs- } Stative prefix.

{ x<sup>w</sup>- } Locative prefix.

{ téq- } root: 'to close'

{ -əʔ } Durative suffix.

vs. /x<sup>w</sup>tqət/ 'close it!'

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{t'éq-} root: 'to close' (metathesized for aspect)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

g) /'əsméqəɪ/ 'he's full (of food)'

{'əs-} Stative prefix.

{méq-} root: 'to be full of food'

{-əɪ} Durative suffix.

h) /'əstésəɪ/ 'it's broken'

{'əs-} Stative prefix.

{t'és-} root: 'to break'

{-əɪ} Durative suffix.

{-tx<sup>w</sup>}: /-tx<sup>w</sup>/. Causative suffix.

The use of this suffix expresses that the action or situation implied in the root has been caused to be or brought about. The causative suffix is always realized as /-tx<sup>w</sup>/ and may co-occur with other affixes such as the actual marker and the stative prefix.<sup>1</sup>

/sɪátx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to bring the canoe to shore'

{sɪá-} root: 'shore'

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<sup>1</sup> Efrat (1969:94-95) suggests the possibility that this suffix may be related to the mutative particle /tx<sup>w</sup>ə/. At this point it can be said that the two forms are different morphemes since they can co-occur in the same utterance, e.g. /'éie' sən tx<sup>w</sup>ə 'əsɪél'x<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'I am causing it to be frozen'.

/<sup>o</sup>áləɬtx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to load'

{<sup>o</sup>ál-} root: 'to put on'

{-əɬ} Durative suffix

/k<sup>w</sup>énstx<sup>w</sup> tu<sup>o</sup> níɬ/ 'let's show him' (lit. 'cause him  
to see')

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/tu<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative:

{níɬ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

/ɬélx<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup> tə sčé.nəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to freeze fish'

{ɬélx<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to freeze'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{čənə.n<sup>o</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to fish'

/qémə<sup>o</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to nurse a baby' (Cf. /sqémə<sup>o</sup>/ 'milk, breast')

/<sup>o</sup>éte<sup>o</sup> itə <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> xɬástx<sup>w</sup>/ 'we cause them to be fed'

{<sup>o</sup>éte<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be here'

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{xɬá-} root: 'to feed'

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

{-él's}: /-él's/. Habitual suffix.

This suffix has been observed to occur with a number of roots expressing the idea that the action or situation implied by the root is performed as a habitual act or as a continuous act. The suffix is always realized as /-él's/ and occurs immediately after the root. It has been found to co-occur with the derivational prefixes {nəx<sup>w</sup>-} 'occupation' and {sx<sup>w</sup>-} 'agentive' as in the following forms:

/nəx<sup>w</sup>qək<sup>w</sup>él's/ 'biter' (someone who habitually bites)

{qék<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to bite'

{nəx<sup>w</sup>-} 'Occupation' prefix.

/sx<sup>w</sup>qə<sup>?</sup>xél's/ 'clam-digging stick' (a stick only used for clam-digging)

{sx<sup>w</sup>-} Agentive prefix.

{qəx-} root: 'to dig for clams'

/-<sup>?</sup>-/ Actual aspect.

/xətq<sup>w</sup>él's/ 'carver'

{xətq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to carve'

/qəqél's/ 'police'

{qéq-} root: 'to put in jail'

/tə nəmən 'i' təcél's 'ə tse sčét/

'Father cuts wood (for a living)'

{tíc-} root: 'to cut'



- /wəwəsél'ʔs/ '(dogs) bark'  
 /pəx<sup>w</sup>él'ʔs/ '(wind) blows'  
 /tənk<sup>w</sup>él'ʔs/ '(bees) sting'  
 /təcél'ʔs/ '(knife) cuts'  
 /xəl'él'ʔs/ 'to write (continuously)'  
 /tək<sup>w</sup>él'ʔs/ 'to buy (continuously)'  
 /ʔəč<sup>2</sup>él'ʔs/ 'to sneak up on somebody (continuously)'

{ʔəs}: /ʔəs-/, /ʔəš-/. Stative prefix.

The use of this prefix signals that the action or situation implied in the root is static, that is, the prefix expresses the state or condition of a thing. It is realized as /ʔəš-/ when coalescing with the locative prefix {x<sup>w</sup>-}; elsewhere it is /ʔəs-/. This prefix may co-occur with a number of other affixes as well, such as the actual marker and the durative suffix, e.g.:

/ʔəsɪél'x<sup>w</sup>/ 'it's all frozen'

{télx<sup>w</sup> -} root: 'to freeze'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

/ʔəstésət/ 'it's broken'

{tés-} root: 'to break'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-ət} Durative suffix.

/<sup>o</sup>əsx<sup>w</sup>áy<sup>o</sup>əɪ/ 'he is (fully) awake'

{x<sup>w</sup>áy-} root: 'to wake up'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.

{-əɪ} Durative suffix.

/<sup>o</sup>əsxétəɪ/ 'he is (very) sick'

{xét-} root: 'to be sick'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əɪ} Durative suffix.

/<sup>o</sup>əštéqəɪ/ - /<sup>o</sup>əsx<sup>w</sup>téqəɪ/ 'it's all closed'

{x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.

{téq-} root: 'to close'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əɪ} Durative suffix.

{-əɪ}: /-əɪ/. Durative suffix.

The durative suffix expresses the idea that the action or situation implied in the root is being continued over a period of time. It is realized as /-əɪ/ and it may co-occur with other aspectual affixes, such as the stative prefix and the resultive infix, e.g.:

/sčən<sup>o</sup>ɪqəɪ/ 'seeds, seedlings'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{čén-} root: 'to plant, bury'

/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect,

{-əɪ} Medio-passive suffix.

/xéɪɪ/ 'sick'

{xéɪ-} root: 'to be sick'  
 {-é-} Resultive infix.

/čáq<sup>w</sup>ɪ/ 'it's burning'

{čéq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to burn'  
 {-é-} Resultive infix.

/ʔák<sup>w</sup>ɪ/ '(fire) extinguishing'

{ʔák<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to extinguish fire'  
 {-é-} Resultive infix.

/ʔəšk<sup>w</sup>éqɪ/ - /ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>éqɪ/ 'it's opened'

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.  
 {x<sup>w</sup>-} Locative prefix.  
 {k<sup>w</sup>éq-} root: 'to open'  
 {-é-} Resultive infix.

/ʔəsták<sup>w</sup>ɪ/ 'it's split'

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.  
 {ták<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to split'  
 {-é-} Resultive infix.

/ʔəstésɪ/ 'it's broken'

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.  
 {tés-} root: 'to break'  
 {-é-} Resultive infix.

/čécíŋɪ/ 'she is sewing'

{čéc-} root: 'to sew'  
 {-í} Persistency suffix.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>} : /-C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>/. Iterative or intensive marker.

The use of this marker realized as a final reduplicative pattern expresses that the action or situation implied by the root is (a) being intensified and/or (b) being repeated or iterated. The reduplicative pattern is /-C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>/.

/sɛx<sup>w</sup>səx<sup>w</sup>/ 'to be very lazy'

{sɛx<sup>w</sup>} root: 'to be lazy'

/q<sup>w</sup>ám<sup>o</sup>q<sup>w</sup>əm/ 'to be very strong'

{q<sup>w</sup>ám<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be strong'

/q<sup>w</sup>élq<sup>w</sup>əl/ 'to be very talkative'

{q<sup>w</sup>él} root: 'to speak'

/qén<sup>o</sup>qən/ 'thief, stealing continuously'

{qén<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to steal, rob'

Position and Co-occurrence of Songish Affixes:

The following charts will illustrate the position and co-occurrence of Songish affixes. The grammatical processes of reduplication and metathesis are not included, however.

Chart I lists all Songish prefixes which may occur by themselves immediately preceding the root or in co-occurrence with other prefixes. The relative position of co-occurrence of the prefixes is shown in horizontal order. Thus, the chart indicates that the possessive prefixes for the first person singular {nə-} and the second persons {nʔ-} may precede all prefixes but the 'Basic color' prefix {nə-}. As to the prefixes {s-} Nominalizer, {sx<sup>w</sup>-} 'Relative', and {nə-} 'Basic color' it must be pointed out that they only occur with a restricted number of roots.

(I)

PREFIXES		ROOT
Possessive	/nə-/	'Agentive' {sx <sup>w</sup> -}
		'Occupation' {nəx <sup>w</sup> -}
	/nʔ-/	Stative {ʔəs-}   Locative {x <sup>w</sup> -}
		Nominalizer {s-}
		'Relative' {sx <sup>w</sup> -}
		'Basic color' {nə-}

Chart II lists all Songish infixes which can occur by themselves within the root or, with the exception of the collective infix {-i-}, in co-occurrence with the actual infix /-ʔ-/.

(II)

		ROOT	
PREFIXES	INFIXES		SUFFIXES
	Resultive /-é-/	Actual /-ʔ-/	
	Plural /-əl-/		
	Collective /-i-/		

Chart III illustrates the complex relative position of co-occurrence of Songish suffixes. In this chart the suffixes are listed vertically to show their order of occurrence with respect to the root and to other suffixes. Each column is an instance of a co-occurrence of two or more suffixes that has been found in the corpus. One exception is the order of co-occurrence of the medio-passive suffix {-əŋ} and the durative suffix {-əɪ}. The chart shows that the durative precedes the medio-passive in the normal occurrence. However, if the persistency suffix co-occurs too the medio-passive suffix precedes the durative suffix.

The position of the lexical suffix in the chart is the one in which it most frequently occurs. However, it may also

occur immediately after the root, after other suffixes including other lexical suffixes, or in final position, with or without connectors in any case.

In addition to this, it should be stated that the actual suffix /-ʔ/ and the third person possessive suffix {-s} have been omitted in the chart because the actual suffix may co-occur with almost any other suffix given the root which is morphologically marked to add the actual suffix, and not any of the other actual allomorphs. The third person possessive suffix {-s} also may co-occur with almost any of the other suffixes as a final suffix as well as by itself immediately after the root. The actual and the possessive suffixes, however, do not occur with the first three suffixes listed in the chart, namely the diminutive, non-involvement, and habitual suffixes, since they have been found to occur only by themselves immediately after the root. All other suffixes, with the exception of the persistency, connector, directed motion, and the reciprocal suffixes, may also occur by themselves immediately following the root.





REDUPLICATION

Comparative studies show that the use of reduplication is a widespread feature among most Salish languages. Although reduplication patterns vary in use and form, most of the languages and dialects consistently use them in the formation of certain plural and diminutive forms.<sup>1</sup>

Reduplication in Songish is used as an allomorphic variant for (a) the diminutive, (b) the plural, (c) the actual aspectual form and as a means of expressing (d) the collective and (e) the iterative or intensive aspectual form.

- (a) Use of reduplication for the diminutive: two types occur:

1- Initial reduplication in the following two patterns:

- (i) /C<sub>1</sub>-/, where C<sub>1</sub> is the initial consonant of the root, e.g.:

/ččé'wi'/ 'little dish' from /čé'wi'/ 'dish'  
/łłčés/ 'little island' from /łčés/ 'island'

- (ii) /C<sub>1</sub>ə-/, where C<sub>1</sub> is the initial consonant of the root and /ə/ is the reduced form of the root vowel, e.g.:

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<sup>1</sup> Haerberlin (1918).

/ʔəʔéyəqəs/ 'little box' from /ʔéyəqəs/ 'box'

/kʷəkʷétən/ 'mouse' from /kʷétən/ 'rat'

/sqəqéxeʔ/ 'little dog' from /sqéxeʔ/ 'dog' (Cf. however, /sqéxeʔəʔ/ 'small sized dog', with the diminutive suffix /-əʔ/)

2- Full reduplication.

/píšpíš/ 'kitten' from /píš/ 'cat' (loan)

(b) Use of reduplication for the plural: two types occur:

1- Initial reduplication in the following two patterns:

(i) /C<sub>1</sub>ə(R)-/, where C<sub>1</sub> is the initial consonant of the root, /ə/ the reduced form of the root vowel and /R/ is a resonant, e.g.:

/səlséles/ 'hands' from /séles/ 'hand'

/qʷənqʷənʔiʔ/ 'seagulls' from /qʷənʔiʔ/ 'seagull'

/ləláʔsən/ 'plates' from /láʔsən/ 'plate'

/stətíkʷən/ 'nieces' from /stíkʷən/ 'niece'

(ii) /C<sub>1</sub>V-/, where C<sub>1</sub> is the initial consonant of the root and /V/ is /ə/ the first root vowel, e.g.:

/məməwəč/ 'deer' from /məwəč/ 'deer' (loan)

/səsémiʔ/ 'blankets' from /sémiʔ/ 'blanket'

- (c) Use of reduplication for the actual aspectual form:  
two types occur:

1- Initial reduplication in the following two patterns:

(i) /C<sub>1</sub>(ə)-/, where C<sub>1</sub> is the initial consonant of the root and /ə/ is the reduced form of the root vowel. This pattern co-occurs with infixation of /-ʔ-/, e.g.:

/t̚(ə)t̚iʔl-/ 'singing' from /t̚íl-/ 'to sing'  
/p̚(ə)p̚á.ʔ-/ 'leavening' from /p̚á-/ 'to leaven'  
/s̚əsíʔi-/ 'standing' from /s̚ít-/ 'to stand'  
/t̚ət̚éʔk<sup>w</sup>-/ 'hurrying' from /t̚ék<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to hurry'

(ii) /C<sub>1</sub>V-/, where C<sub>1</sub> is the initial consonant of the root and /V/ is the root vowel which may occur in a reduced form /ə/. This pattern co-occurs with infixation of /-ʔ-/ and with or without alternations of /k<sup>w</sup>-/w/, /č-/y/ and unidentified expansions, e.g.:

/nəʔnéy-/ 'laughing' from /néč-/ 'to laugh'  
/čaʔáʔw-/ 'using, wearing' from /čák<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to use, wear'  
/k<sup>w</sup>iʔwəʔəc-/ 'butchering' from /k<sup>w</sup>íc-/ 'to butcher'

2- Reduplication of the root vowel with infixation of /-ʔ-/. Two types occur:

(i) Reduplication of the root vowel with infixation of /-ʔ-/, where the reduplicated vowel bears the weak stress, e.g.:

/ʔaʔám-/ 'sitting, resting' from /ʔám-/ 'to sit, rest'  
/kʷəʔéykʷ-/ 'hooking fish' from /kʷéyəkʷ-/ 'to hook'

(ii) Reduplication of the root vowel (in either full or reduced grade) with infixation of /-ʔ-/ and a shift in stress, e.g.:

/ʔənʔéʔeʔ-/ 'coming' from /ʔənʔéʔ-/ 'to come'  
/xéʔécʔ-/ 'weighing' from /xécʔ-/ 'to weigh'  
/héʔəkʷ-/ 'remembering' from /hékʷ-/ 'to remember'

(d) Use of reduplication for the collective. Initial reduplication in the following pattern:

/C<sub>1</sub>ə-/ , where C<sub>1</sub> stands for the initial consonant of the root and /ə/ is the reduced form of the root vowel, with infixation of /-i-/-/-iʔ-/, e.g.:

/ŋəŋíqsən/ 'bunch of noses' from /ŋéqsən/ 'nose'  
/sxəxínsəʔ/ 'bunch of legs' from /sxénsəʔ/ 'leg'  
/sqəqíʔməlʔ/ 'bunch of paddles' from /sqéməlʔ/ 'paddle'

(e) Use of reduplication for the iterative or intensive aspectual form. Final reduplication in the following pattern:

$/-C_1\text{ə}C_2/$ , where  $C_1$  stands for the initial consonant of the root,  $/\text{ə}/$  for the reduced form of the root vowel and  $C_2$  is the second consonant of the root, e.g.:

$/\text{séx}^w\text{səx}^w/$  'very lazy' from  $/\text{séx}^w/$  'to be lazy'

$/\text{ʔéq}^w\text{ʔəq}^w/$  'very sticky' from  $/\text{ʔéq}^w/$  'to stick'

$/\text{čél}^w\text{čələm}^w/$  'childbirth' from  $/\text{čél}^w-/$  'to labor'

$/q^w\text{élq}^w\text{əl}/$  'very talkative' from  $/q^w\text{él}-/$  'to speak'

PARTICLES

Particles in Songish are independent forms, which occur in utterances with the purpose of expanding, modifying or restricting the use of predications and nominals. Particles differ from roots in that they are non-productive units, that is, they cannot be used as bases for word formation because, unlike roots, they do not add affixes of any kind and thus they are never derived or inflected. Particles may, however, occasionally combine syntactically with roots, words or other particles to modify slightly the basic meaning of these or to form comparative, temporal, interrogative and relative constructions.

Particles can be classified according to their syntactic function and/or their semantic content into aspectual, temporal, personal pronominal, referential, locational, subordinative, coordinative, emphatic, negative, interrogative, extent or degree, conjectural, existential, collective, prepositional and inferential.

## Aspectual Particles.

{<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>}: /<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>/. 'Simultaneous action or situation'

This particle occurs in declarative sentences, immediately following the subject and preceding the predication. {<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} may also co-occur with other particles in the same utterance.

{<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>} occurs in only one type of interrogative construction, namely, immediately following /čən<sup>?</sup>téŋ/ 'to be when?'. On the other hand, this particle does not occur in imperative constructions. Thompson and Thompson (1971;262) classify this particle in Clallam as 'predicative proclitic' and define it as 'accompanying activity, situation or entity'. Efrat (1969;38) calls this aspectual particle 'Simultaneity'.

/tu<sup>?</sup> níɬ <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup> qén<sup>?</sup>qən/ 'he is a thief'

/tu<sup>?</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níɬ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{qén<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to steal' (reduplicated for the Intensive)

/tə swéy<sup>?</sup>qe<sup>?</sup> i<sup>?</sup> tá<sup>?</sup>q<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'the man is coughing'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{swéy<sup>?</sup>qe<sup>?</sup>} root: 'man'

{tá<sup>?</sup>q<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to cough'

/-<sup>?</sup>-/ Actual aspect.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/tə snéx<sup>w</sup>əɬ <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup> k<sup>w</sup>tu<sup>?</sup> téčəl <sup>?</sup>ə tə stélt/

'the canoe has already arrived at the shore'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{snéx<sup>w</sup>əɬ} root: 'canoe'

{k<sup>w</sup>ɬ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

{<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{téčəl} root: 'to arrive'

{<sup>?</sup>ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{stélt} root: 'shore'

/čən'téŋ 'i' ən'é' telé'čəl/ 'When do they arrive?'

{čén'} root: 'to be time'

{téŋ} root: 'to be what?'

{ən'é'} roots: 'to come'

{téčəl} root: 'to arrive'

/-?'-/ Actual aspect.

/-əl-/ Plural marker.

{'u'}: /'u'/. 'Contemporary'

This particle may occur at the beginning of an utterance and may be repeated in the same utterance. It may co-occur with {'i'} 'Simultaneous action or situation', and with other particles. {'u'} always precedes the predication in the sentence. When occurring after the inceptive aspectual particle {k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} 'Already', {'u'} morphophonemically coalesces with it into /k<sup>w</sup>ɪu'/. Thompson and Thompson (1971;262) also consider this particle a predicative proclitic in Clallam and state that it expresses the aspectual notion of 'contemporaneous activity, situation or entity'. Efrat (1969;38) refers to it as 'Contemporary' in Sooke.

/yás ən 'u' čé'i'/ 'I always work'

{yás} 'Always'. Temporal particle.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{ché'i'} root: 'to work' (with alternation /y/-/i/)

/-?'-/ Actual aspect.



/tiʔə ʔésə ʔiʔ uʔ éyʔ sən ʔəl/

'I am all right!'

/tiʔə/ Demonstrative.

{ʔésə} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔéyʔ} root: 'to be good, healthy, clean'

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{ʔəl} 'Completive'. Aspectual particle.

/ʔuʔ k<sup>w</sup>ɪuʔ əsčéyn ʔuʔ əslécəɪ/

'It's excessively full'

{k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.

{čéyn} root: 'to be in excess, very'

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.

{léc-} root: 'to fill'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əɪ} Durative suffix.

{k<sup>w</sup>ɪ}: /k<sup>w</sup>ɪ/. 'Already'

Generally this particle occurs independently preceding predications, but in rapid speech if the aspectual particle {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary' follows it, it may combine with it morphophonemically into /k<sup>w</sup>ɪuʔ/. {k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} also combines syntactically with certain roots and words to emphasize that the action or situation implied in them has just been realized, e.g.:

/k<sup>w</sup>ɪ k<sup>w</sup>éləs/ 'spring' (when it is already hot)

{k<sup>w</sup>él-} root: 'to be hot'

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

{-é-} Resultive infix.

/k<sup>w</sup>ɪ k<sup>w</sup>éqəŋ/ 'flower blossom'

{k<sup>w</sup>éq-} root: 'to bloom'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/k<sup>w</sup>ɪ čəlél/ 'almost'

{čəlél} root: 'to be on the point of'

/ʔuʔ k<sup>w</sup>ɪ xətíʔt sən/ 'I am doing it already'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{xét-} root: 'to do something'

{-í-} 'Persistency' suffix.

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/ʔuʔ k<sup>w</sup>ɪuʔ yəsáʔsə sən / 'I already told you'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{yás-} root: 'to tell, say' (metathesized for aspect)

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{-áŋə} 2nd. Person. Objective pronominal suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person. Pronominal particle.

{tx<sup>w</sup>(ə)}: /tx<sup>w</sup>/, /tx<sup>w</sup>ə/. 'Become, towards, comparison'.

Mutative Particle.

This particle expresses mainly that something is in the process of changing into something else. In combination with the root {<sup>?</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>} 'to go there' it is used for comparative constructions. If it combines with the root {sén} 'to be who?' it expresses the possessive interrogative form 'Whose?'.

/<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup> čét <sup>?</sup>éte<sup>?</sup>s tx<sup>w</sup>ə tətéqəŋ/

'it's getting warm now'

{<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{čét} 'Right now'. Temporal particle.

{<sup>?</sup>éte<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to be here'

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

{tétéq-} root: 'to be warm'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/ti<sup>?</sup>ə s<sup>?</sup>iŋən <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>ə <sup>?</sup>əsxéŋtətəŋ sən/

'This food makes me sick'

/ti<sup>?</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{<sup>?</sup>iŋən} root: 'to eat'

{<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{<sup>?</sup>əs-} Stative prefix.

{xéŋ-} root: 'to be sick'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əŋ} Durative suffix.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/su' nít 'i' nít s'élex<sup>w</sup> tx<sup>w</sup> 'áx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>sə sčé'če'əs/  
 'she is older than her cousin'

/su/ Demonstrative.

{nít} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{nít} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{'élex<sup>w</sup>} root: 'to be old'

{'áx<sup>w</sup>} root: 'to go there, to go to'

/k<sup>w</sup>sə/ Demonstrative.

{sčé'če'} root: 'friend, relative'

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/tx<sup>w</sup> sén 'áčə ti'ə si'yásəŋ/ 'Whose toys are these?'

{sén} root: 'to be who?'

{'áčə} Emphatic particle.

/ti'ə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{hiyás} root: 'to play'

/{-'}-/ Actual aspect.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

### The Iterative Particle.

{'ké'}: /'ké'/. 'Again'

This particle expresses the repetition of an action or situation. If occurring before the aspectual particle {'u'} 'Contemporary', it coalesces with it morphophonemically into /'kéw'/.

/su<sup>o</sup> níŋ 'i<sup>o</sup> ǎé<sup>o</sup> é k<sup>w</sup>ŋ yé<sup>o</sup>/ 'Is she going again?'

/su<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative

{níŋ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{'é<sup>o</sup>} Interrogative particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>ŋ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

{yé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to go'

/tsə 'é'ləŋ lé<sup>o</sup> tsə lé<sup>o</sup> əl 'i<sup>o</sup> ǎé<sup>o</sup> čáq<sup>w</sup>əŋ/

'the house out there (far) is burning again'

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{'é'ləŋ} root: 'house'

{lé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be there'

{'əl} Completive particle.

{'i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{'u<sup>o</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{čáq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to burn'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əŋ} Durative suffix.

#### The Completive Particle.

{'əl}: /'əl/. 'Completive'.

This particle expresses that some action or situation has been completed in its entirety. It may occur after the root {háy} 'to finish' to express the superlative form, e.g.:

/tu<sup>o</sup> níŋ 'i<sup>o</sup> ən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup> štəŋ 'əl / 'he came on foot,  
walking'

/tu<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níɿ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {'ən'é'} root: 'to come'  
 {'stá-} root: 'to walk'  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/k<sup>w</sup>ə sɛn ʔəl/ 'anybody'

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.  
 {sɛn} root: 'to be who?'

/suʔ níɿ 'i' uʔ ɿq<sup>w</sup>ésət ʔəl/ 'she hit herself'

/suʔ/ Demonstrative.  
 {níɿ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {'u'} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {'ɿq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to slap, hit with hand' (metathesized  
 for aspect)  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 {-át} Reflexive suffix.

/k<sup>w</sup>ə n<sup>ʔ</sup>mén 'i' háy ʔəl ʔéyʔ ə k<sup>w</sup>s ʔists ʔə  
 tə mék<sup>w</sup> sɛn/

'Your Father is the best paddler of all' (lit. 'your  
 Father is the (superlative) good in his paddling out  
 of everyone')

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.  
 {n<sup>ʔ</sup>-} 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.  
 {mé'} root: 'father'  
 {-n} 'Endearment' suffix.  
 {'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {háy} root: 'to finish'

- {<sup>?</sup>éy<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to be good, healthy, clean'  
 {<sup>?</sup>ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.  
 /k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.  
 {<sup>?</sup>ist} root: 'to paddle'  
 {-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.  
 {<sup>?</sup>ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.  
 /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {mók<sup>w</sup>} 'All'. Collective particle.  
 {sén} root: 'to be who?'

### Temporal Particles.

{sə<sup>?</sup>}: /sə<sup>?</sup>/. 'Future'

This particle expresses that an action or situation will be realized or is intended to be realized in the future. Mitchell (1968;17) considers it a suffix and refers to it as the 'intensive suffix'. This morpheme is here considered an independent particle because it has been found to occur in varied isolated positions in the utterances.

/yé<sup>?</sup> itə sə<sup>?</sup> ə k<sup>w</sup> tu<sup>?</sup> x<sup>w</sup>éŋ/ 'we shall go very early'

- {yé<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to go'  
 {itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.  
 {<sup>?</sup>ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.  
 /k<sup>w</sup>/ Demonstrative.  
 {tu<sup>?</sup>} 'too, excessively, very'. Extent or degree particle.  
 {x<sup>w</sup>éŋ} root: 'fast, early'

/ʔuʔ kʷənəxʷ itə səʔ tuʔ nɪʔ/ 'We shall see him'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{kʷən-} root: 'to see'

{-nəxʷ} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

/tuʔ/ Demonstrative.

{nɪʔ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

/qʷəqʷənəkʷəl itə səʔ/ 'we'll meet each other'

{qʷən-} root: 'to meet' (reduplicated for Aspect)

{-nəxʷ} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

{-əkʷəl} Reciprocal. suffix.

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

/ʔuʔ xətites səʔ tuʔ nɪʔ/ 'he will do it'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{xət-} root: 'to do something'

{-i} 'Persistency' suffix.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/tuʔ/ Demonstrative.

{nɪʔ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{ləʔ}: /ləʔ/. 'Past'

This temporal particle expresses that the action or situation of the predication took place some time in the past. It is also used to express the idea of 'late or deceased' when following a root or stem performing a nominal function.



/yé<sup>o</sup> lə<sup>o</sup> sən slá<sup>o</sup>/ 'I went to the beach'

{yé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to go'

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{slá<sup>o</sup>} root: 'beach'

/tu<sup>o</sup> nəní<sup>o</sup>ɬəye<sup>o</sup> i<sup>o</sup> k<sup>wə</sup>ʔéyk<sup>w</sup> lə<sup>o</sup>/

'they had been fishing'

/tu<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.

/nəní<sup>o</sup>ɬəye<sup>o</sup>/ 3rd. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

{<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>}. 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{k<sup>wə</sup>éyk<sup>w</sup>} root: 'to hook fish'

/-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.

/sténi<sup>o</sup> lə<sup>o</sup>/ 'late (deceased) wife'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{téní<sup>o</sup>} root: 'woman'

/k<sup>wə</sup> nətén lə<sup>o</sup>/ 'my late mother'

/k<sup>wə</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{nə-} 1st. Person Singular. Possessive prefix.

{té<sup>o</sup>} root: 'mother'

{-n} 'Endearment' suffix.

{yás}: /yás/. 'Always'

/su<sup>o</sup> níɬ <sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup> yás <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> nə<sup>o</sup>néyəŋ/ 'she's always  
laughing'

/su<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{níɬ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

- {<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {néč-} root: 'to laugh' (with alternation /č/-/y/)  
 /-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/yás ən <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> čé<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>/ 'I always work'

- {sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.  
 {<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {čéy<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to work, make' (with alternation  
 /y/-/i/.)  
 /-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.

/yás <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> čétəŋ tse qéq/ 'the baby always crawls'

- {<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {čtš-} root: 'to crawl' (metathesized for aspect)  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.  
 /tse/ Demonstrative.  
 {qéq} root: 'baby'

{hís}: /hís/. 'A long time'

/tu<sup>o</sup> níŋ <sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup> hís k<sup>w</sup>s ŋək<sup>w</sup>əsáts/

'he waited for a long time'

- /tu<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.  
 {níŋ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 /k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.  
 {ŋək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wait'  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 {-át} Reflexive suffix.  
 {-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/níʔ ləʔ kʷə kʷɪ hɪs ʔiʔ léʔə tsə ʔəxʷíɫŋəxʷ

ʔə tsə ʔčés / 'It was long ago, the people lived on an island...'

{níʔ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal in expletive use.

{ləʔ} 'Past'. Temporal particle.

/kʷə/ Demonstrative.

{kʷɪ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{léʔ} root: 'to be there'

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{ʔəxʷíɫ-} root: (?)

{-ŋəxʷ} Lexical suffix: 'animate being, people'

{ʔə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{ʔčés} root: 'island'

{ʔəɪ} : /ʔəɪ/. 'Relative time or action'.

This particle has always been recorded preceding the root {čélʔə} 'to be before' with which it combines syntactically to express a temporal subordinating idea of 'occurring before.' Efrat (1969;179) illustrates the use of this particle in Sooke in various utterances, other than in the types provided here. She claims that "this pre-particle introduces a dependent clause whose time or circumstances are relative to those of the accompanying clause." e.g.:

/ʔiʔ əɪ čélʔə/ 'he is first!'

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
{čélʔə} root: 'to be before'

/tə sʔifən tx<sup>wə</sup> ʔəsáʔiʔ səʔ iʔ əɪ čélʔə ʔifən itə/  
'we will have the food ready before we eat'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{ʔifən} root: 'to eat'

{tx<sup>wə</sup>} 'Become'. Mutative particle.

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.

{ʔáyʔ} root: 'to be ready' (with alternation /y/-/i/)

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

{səʔ} 'Future'. Temporal particle.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{čélʔə} root: 'to be before'

{ʔifən} root: 'to eat'

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

/ʔuʔ əsxétəɪ ʔiʔ əɪ čélʔə k<sup>ws</sup> q<sup>wáq<sup>w</sup></sup>əŋəts tə sqéməʔ/  
'he got sick before he drank the milk'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.

{xét} root: 'to be sick'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əɪ} Durative suffix.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{čélʔə} root: 'to be before'

/k<sup>ws</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{q<sup>wáq<sup>w</sup></sup>ə-} root: 'to drink'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{sqéməʔ} root: 'milk'

{čéts}: /čéts/. 'Right now'

/ʔuʔ čéts ʔéteʔs tx<sup>w</sup>ə tətéqəŋ/

'it's getting warm here now'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{-s} 3rd. Person Possessive suffix.

{tx<sup>w</sup>ə} 'Become'. Mutative aspectual particle.

{tətéq-} root: 'to be warm' (metathesized for aspect)

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/ʔuʔ čéts ʔéteʔs təl<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>təŋ / 'it's frozen now'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{-s} 3rd. Person Possessive suffix.

{təl<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to freeze'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/tuʔ níŋ ʔiʔ čéts šéqəs tə sčéyʔs/

'he's finished his work right now'

/tuʔ/ Demonstrative.

{níŋ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{šéq-} root: 'to finish, complete'

{-əs} Purposive suffix

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{sčéyʔ} root: 'to work'

{-s} 3rd. Person Possessive suffix.

{tʰə˦xʷ}: /tʰə˦xʷ/. 'Just'

/tʰə˦xʷ tətʰi˦lɛm su˦ nɪt̚ yé˦ ʰəčé˦təŋ.../

"...just as she was singing they sneaked up on her..."

{tʰi˦l-} root: 'to sing' (reduplicated for aspect)

/-˦-/ Actual aspect.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/su˦/ Demonstrative.

{nɪt̚} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{yé˦} root: 'to go'

{ʰəčé˦-} root: 'to sneak up on somebody' (metathes-  
ized for aspect)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/tʰə˦xʷ ˦u˦ ɪst sxʷlé˦ ə tɕə xáčə˦/

"...just as he was paddling there at the lake..."

{˦u˦} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{ɪst} root: 'to paddle'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{xʷ-} Locative prefix.

{lé˦} root: 'to be there'

{ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/tɕə/ Demonstrative.

{xáčə˦} root: 'lake'

## Personal Pronominal Particles.

Personal pronominal reference in Songish is achieved by the use of the emphatic pronominals and the personal pronominal particles.<sup>1</sup> The use of the emphatic pronominals is optional while the use of the pronominal particles is obligatory after predications. The pronominal particles may co-occur with the emphatic pronominals in utterances where emphasis on personal reference is intended.

Difference in number in particles is only marked in the first person by using a different particle. On the other hand, the second and third persons are not usually differentiated for number. If this difference is required the use of the collective particle {héle} after the predication or the use of the plural infix in the predication will convey the necessary distinction.

The personal pronominal particles are the following:

	Sg.	Pl.
1st.	sən	ite
2nd.	sx <sup>w</sup>	sx <sup>w</sup>
3rd.	ø	ø

---

<sup>1</sup> See page 61.

{sən}: /sən/, /ən/. 1st. Person Singular.

The allomorph /ən/ occurs following a word ending in /s/, elsewhere it is /sən/, e.g.:

/ʔuʔ k<sup>w</sup>ɪ čéʔčət sən/ 'I am already fixing it'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

{čéyʔ} root: 'to work, make' (with alternation /y/ - /č/.)

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

/tiʔə ʔése ʔiʔ xélʔət sən k<sup>w</sup>sə ʔéteʔ nʔsq<sup>w</sup>él/

'I am going to write down what you said'

/tiʔə/ Demonstrative.

{ʔése} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{xél-} root: 'to mark down, write'

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{-ət} Volitional transitive suffix

/k<sup>w</sup>sə/ Demonstrative.

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{nʔ-} 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{q<sup>w</sup>él} root: 'to speak'.

/yás ən ʔuʔ čéʔiʔ/ 'I always work'

{yás} 'Always'. Temporal particle.

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{chéyʔ} root: 'to work, make' (with alternation /y/ - /i/.)



/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

/tuʔ niʔ ʔiʔ sc̣étəŋ sən/ 'I am being hit by him'

/tuʔ/ Demonstrative.

{niʔ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action. Aspectual particle.

{sc̣é-} root: 'to hit'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{sx<sup>w</sup>}: /sx<sup>w</sup>/, /x<sup>w</sup>/. 2nd. Person Singular and Plural.

The allomorph /x<sup>w</sup>/ occurs after words ending in /s/, elsewhere it is /sx<sup>w</sup>/, e.g.:

/ʔéteʔ sx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ənánəs/ 'you see me'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to see'

{-ánəs} 1st. Person Singular. Objective suffix.

/tə nék<sup>w</sup>ə ʔiʔ cək<sup>w</sup>ésət sx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you wash yourself'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{nék<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{cək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to wash' (metathesized for aspect)

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

/ʔéteʔ itə sxétəŋ sx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you are being pushed by us'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{sxé-} root: 'to push'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/tə nək<sup>w</sup>ə ʔiʔ éteʔ xiás x<sup>w</sup>/ 'you are feeding me'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{nək<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{xiá-} root: 'to feed'

{-áŋəs} 1st. Person Singular. Objective suffix.

/ʔéteʔ é sx<sup>w</sup> ʔifən hélé/ 'Are you (Pl.) eating?'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{ʔé} Interrogative particle.

{ʔifən} root: 'to eat'

{hélé} Collective particle.

{ø}: /ø/. 3rd. Person Singular and Plural.

/qək<sup>w</sup>étəs/ 'bite him!'

{qək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to bite' (metathesized for aspect)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/čécíŋət/ 'she is sewing'

{čéc-} root: 'to sew'

{-í} 'Persistency' suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-ət} Durative suffix.

/csétəŋ sx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you were hit by him'

{csé-} root: 'to hit with fist'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person . Pronominal particle.

/tə iníŋət 'i' scét itə/ 'we hit them'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{iníŋət} 1st. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{scé-} root: 'to hit'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

/yás 'u' čántəs/ 'he's always putting it in his mouth'

{yás} 'Always'. Temporal particle.

{'u'} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{čán-} root: 'to put in the mouth'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/k'é<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ɪ ʔən'é<sup>o</sup> tɛlé'čəl/ 'they are arriving again'

{k'é<sup>o</sup>} 'Again'. Iterative aspectual particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔən'é<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to come'

{tɛčəl} root: 'to arrive'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

/-əl-/ Plural marker.

{itə}: /itə/. 1st. Person Plural.

/ti'ə ɪnɪŋət ʔi' ɟsát itə/ 'we hit ourselves'

/ti'ə/ Demonstrative.

{ɪnɪŋət} 1st. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

{ʔi'ə} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ɟsát-} root: 'to hit with fist' (metathesized)

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

/čən'tɛŋ ʔi' yé' itə/ 'When are we going?'

{čən'ə} root: 'to be time'

{tɛŋ} root: 'to be what?'

{ʔi'ə} 'Simultaneous action. Aspectual particle.

{yé'ə} root: 'to go'

/tə nɛk<sup>w</sup>ə ə' ti'ə ʔésə sé'səsi' itə ʔə tu'  
nəni'ɬəyɛ' / 'you and I are afraid of them'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{nɛk<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{ə'} Coordinative particle.

/ti'ə/ Demonstrative.

{ʔése} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

{séʔsiʔ} root: 'to be afraid' (reduplicated for aspect.)

{ʔə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/tuʔ/ Demonstrative.

/nəniʔəyeʔ/ 3rd. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

### The Referential Particle.

{ʔə}: /ʔə/. 'Indirect referent'

The indirect referent introduces a complement which is in some way indirectly affected by the action or situation implied in the predication preceding it, or it introduces additional information to expand the meaning of the predication, like a prepositional phrase.

/tʰénkʷt sən ʔə tə ʔimén/ 'I shot it with an arrow'

{tʰénkʷ-} root: 'to shoot'.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{ʔimén} root: 'arrow'

/tuʔ níi ʔiʔ séxtəs léʔ ə tsə stáʔluʔ/

'he is pushing her (there) in the river'

/tuʔ/ Demonstrative.

- {níŋ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {sxé-} root: 'to push' (metathesized for aspect)  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 {'lé'} root: 'to be there'  
 /tsə/ Demonstrative.  
 {s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {'tá'lu'} root: 'river'

/yé'λqtəs tə qéqən 'ə tsə pɪnt/

'they painted the pole with paint'

- {yé'λq-} root: 'to paint'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {qéqən} root: 'totem pole'  
 /tsə/ Demonstrative.  
 {pɪnt} root: 'paint' (loan)

/sé'səsi' sən 'ə tsə təc' / 'I am afraid of the dark'

- {sé'si'} root: 'to be afraid' (reduplicated for aspect.)  
 {sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.  
 /tsə/ Demonstrative.  
 {təc} root: 'dark, darkness'

### The Locational Particle.

{tú·lə}: /tú·lə/. 'Over there'

This locational particle expands the meaning of the root {léʔ} 'to be there', which frequently precedes it, or else it expands the meaning of the preceding predication stating the relative location of the action or situation implied in it.

/yéʔ áx<sup>w</sup> ə tú·lə/ 'Go over there!'

{yéʔ} root: 'to go'

{ʔáx<sup>w</sup>} roots: 'to go there'

{ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/tsə ʔéʔləŋ léʔə tú·lə ʔiʔ ʔéwʔ čáq<sup>w</sup>ət/

'the house over there is burning again'

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{ʔéʔləŋ} root: 'house'

{léʔ} root: 'to be there'

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔéwʔ} 'Again'. Iterative aspectual particle.

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{čéq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to burn'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-ət} Durative suffix.

/ʔéwə kʷə nəskʷénəxʷ kʷə swiwʰləs léʰə tú.lə/

'I do not see the boy out there'

{ʔéwə} 'No, not'. Negative particle.

/kʷə/ Demonstrative.

{nə-} 1st. Person Singular. Possessive prefix.

{kʷén-} root: 'to see'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{-néxʷ} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

/kʷə/ Demonstrative.

{swiwʰləs} root: 'young man'

{léʰə} root: 'to be there'

/-ʰ/ Actual aspect.

#### The Subordinative Particles.

{ʔáʰ}: /ʔáʰ/. 'If'

/ʔáʰ kʷéləs ʰə tiʰə skʷéčəl ʰiʰ yéʰtə səʰ kʷéyəkʷ/

'if it is hot today we'll go fishing'

{kʷél-} root: 'to be hot'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

{ʰə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/tiʰə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{kʷéčəl} root: 'to be day, morning'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{ʰiʰ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{yéʰ} root: 'to go'

{tə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{səʰ} 'Future'. Temporal particle.

{kʷéyəkʷ} root: 'to hook fish'.



/ʔáʔ ɬétkʷəŋ tse qʷáʔ iʔ uʔ xətítəs tə sčé.nəxʷ/

'if the water is boiling she will cook (do) the fish'

{ɬétkʷ-} root: 'to boil' (metathesized for aspect)

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/tse/ Demonstrative.

{qʷáʔ} root: 'water'

{iʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{uʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{xət-} root: 'to do something'

{-í} 'Persistency' suffix'.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{čéné.nʔxʷ} root: 'to fish'

/ʔáʔ ənʔán ʔuʔ cáɬəŋəsət ʔiʔ čəqʷəwʔsə/

'if it gets very cold he will make the fire'

{ənʔán} 'Very, exceedingly'. Emphatic particle.

{uʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{cáɬ-} root: 'to get cold, cold'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

{iʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{čəqʷ-} root: 'to burn, make fire'

{-əwʔsə} Lexical suffix: 'fire'

{ʔəs}: /ʔəs/. Relativizer.

This subordinate particle immediately follows interrogative constructions so that these can be used as relative words, e.g.:

/ʔéiteʔ sən čtése k<sup>w</sup>ə ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ənéʔiŋ ʔəs sxətits tə sčéɪ/  
 'I am asking you how he chips the wood'

{ʔéiteʔ} root: 'to be here'  
 {sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.  
 {čté-} root: 'to ask a question'  
 {-áŋə} 2nd. Person. Objective suffix.  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.  
 {ʔəs-} Stative prefix.  
 {x<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to be how?'  
 {-i} 'Persistency' suffix.  
 /-ʔ/ Actual aspect.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.  
 {s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {xət-} root: 'to do something'  
 {-i} 'Persistency' suffix.  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.  
 /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {sčéɪ} root: 'wood'

/nəs<sup>l</sup>íʔ k<sup>w</sup>ə nəsxəčít k<sup>w</sup>ə čənʔtéh ʔəs ʔiʔ yéʔ sx<sup>w</sup>/  
 'I want to know when you are going'

{nə-} 1st. Person. Possessive prefix.  
 {s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {<sup>l</sup>íʔ} root: 'to like, want, love'

- /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.  
 {nə-} 1st. Person Singular. Possessive prefix.  
 {s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {xčí-} root: 'to know'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.  
 {čén<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be time'  
 {tén} root: 'to be what?'  
 {<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {yé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to go'  
 {sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

### The Coordinative Particle.

{ə<sup>o</sup>}: /ə<sup>o</sup>/. 'And'.

/tə nək<sup>w</sup>ə ə<sup>o</sup> ti<sup>o</sup>ə 'ésə 'i<sup>o</sup> sčénčéni<sup>o</sup> itə/

'you and I are women'

- /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {nək<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 /ti<sup>o</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.  
 {'ésə} 1st. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {'i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {čéni<sup>o</sup>} root: 'woman, wife'. (reduplicated for  
 the plural )  
 {itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

/tu<sup>o</sup> níč 'i<sup>o</sup> 'qtá'səŋ ə<sup>o</sup> 'qtá'səŋ 'u<sup>o</sup> yás/

'he always walks and walks on the shore'

/tu<sup>o</sup>/ Demonstrative.

- {nít} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 {'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.  
 {qtá-} root: 'to walk on the shore'  
 /-?/ Actual aspect.  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix  
 {'u'} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {yás} 'Always'. Temporal particle.

### The Emphatic Particles.

{'ən'án}: /'ən'án/. 'Very, exceedingly'

This emphatic particle intensifies the action or situation implied in the root or predication which follows. It most frequently occurs after the 'Contemporary' aspectual particle {'u'}, e.g.:

/u' ən'án u' məmí'mən tə 'é'ləŋ k<sup>w</sup>s lé'ə itə/  
 'the house is very small to be in'

- {'u'} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {mí'mən} root: 'to be very small' (reduplicated for aspect)  
 /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {'é'ləŋ} root: 'house'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.  
 {lé'} root: 'to be there'  
 /-?/ Actual aspect.  
 {itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

/ʔuʔ ənʔán ʔuʔ nəsx<sup>w</sup>ətín tsiʔə ʔəttélŋəx<sup>w</sup>/

'I very much dislike that person'

- {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.
- {nə-} 1st. Person Singular. Possessive prefix.
- {s-} Nominalizer prefix.
- {x<sup>w</sup>ətín} root: 'to dislike'
- /tsiʔə/ Demonstrative.
- {ʔətt-} root: {ʔ}
- {-él} Connector.
- {-ŋəx<sup>w</sup>} Lexical suffix: 'animate being, person'

/tə sʔifən ʔiʔ uʔ ənʔán ʔuʔ éyʔ/

'the food is very good'

- /tə/ Demonstrative.
- {s-} Nominalizer prefix.
- {ifən} root: 'to eat'
- {ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.
- {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.
- {ʔéyʔ} root: 'to be good, healthy, clean'

{stéʔ}: /stéʔ/. 'Let's'. Hortative.

The hortative emphatic particle follows the root {ʔéyʔ} 'to be good, clean, healthy' and it is used only when the predication which follows implies movement or motion, e.g.:

/ʔéyʔ stéʔ šétəŋ/ 'let's go for a walk'

{ʔéyʔ} root: 'to be good, healthy, clean'.

{štš-} root: 'to walk' (metathesized for aspect)  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/ʔéyʔ stéʔ čséʔləqəŋ/ 'let's follow them!'

{ʔéyʔ} root: 'to be good, healthy, clean'

{čséləq-} root: 'to follow!'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{náŋət}: /náŋət/. Reflexive.

The emphatic reflexive particle may co-occur with the reflexive suffix in an utterance, e.g.:

/ʔéwə k<sup>w</sup>s čə swéyʔqəʔ náŋət/

'she never gets a man for herself; a spinster'

{ʔéwə} 'No, not'. Negative particle.

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

/čə/ Demonstrative.

{swéyʔqəʔ} root: 'man'

/ʔánəx<sup>w</sup> náŋət sən/ 'I stopped myself'

{ʔán-} root: 'to stop'

{-nəx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/tə nək<sup>w</sup>iʔləyeʔ iʔ éteʔ sx<sup>w</sup> mək<sup>w</sup> tcišət náŋət/

'you (Pl.) have all cut yourselves'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

/nək<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>ləye<sup>o</sup>/ 2nd. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

{<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{<sup>o</sup>éte<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be here'

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

{mék<sup>w</sup>} 'All'. Collective particle.

{tíc<sup>o</sup>-} roots: 'to cut' (metathesized for aspect)

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

{<sup>o</sup>áčə}: /<sup>o</sup>áčə/, /<sup>o</sup>áč/. Emphasizer.

This particle normally follows the interrogative constructions, e.g.:

/<sup>o</sup>əxín lé<sup>o</sup>ə sx<sup>w</sup> <sup>o</sup>áčə/ 'Where have you been?'

{<sup>o</sup>əxín} root: 'to be where?'

{lé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be there'

/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

/sén <sup>o</sup>áčə k<sup>w</sup>ə lé<sup>o</sup>ə tsi<sup>o</sup>ə/ 'Who is there?'

{sén} root: 'to be who?'

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

{lé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be there'

/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.

/tsi<sup>o</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

/ʔəxín ʔáç tsə səwéyʔqeʔ/ 'Where are the men?'

{ʔəxín} root: 'to be where?'

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{səwéyʔqe} root: 'man'.

· /-ə-/ Plural marker.

### The Negative Particle.

{ʔéwə}: /ʔéwə/, /ʔéwəs/. 'No, not'.

This particle negates both nominalized words and predications:

/tsə qʷənʔíʔ iʔ háyʔ éwə kʷs təŋáʔəŋs/

'the seagull definitely does not swim'

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{qʷənʔí} root: 'seagull'

{iʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{háyʔ} root: 'to finish'

/kʷs/ Demonstrative.

{təŋá-} root: 'to swim'

/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-s} 3rd, Person. Possessive suffix.

/ʔéwə sén/ 'nobody'

{sén} root: 'to be who?'

/ʔéwə nəʔ télə/ 'there is no money!'

{néʔ} 'There is'. Existential particle.

{télə} root: 'dollar, round object'.



/ʔéwəs nəsxəčít/ 'I don't know'

{nə-} 1st. Person Singular. Possessive prefix.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{xčí-} root: 'to know'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

### The Interrogative Particle.

{ʔó}: /ʔó/. Interrogative.

/ʔéteʔ ó sən xətit tə sʔiʔən/

'Am I cooking the food?'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{xət-} root: 'to do something'

{-í} 'Persistency' suffix.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{ʔiʔən} root: 'to eat'

/ʔéteʔ ó sx<sup>w</sup> ʔiʔtet/ 'Are you sleeping?'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person.. Pronominal particle.

{ʔit-} root: 'to sleep in bed'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

/ʔéteʔ ó q<sup>w</sup>aʔáŋ ʔə tsə spēčáʔ/

'Is she putting water in the basket?'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{q<sup>w</sup>á<sup>o</sup>} root: 'water, pour water'

/-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{<sup>o</sup>ə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

• {s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{pəčá<sup>o</sup>} root: 'berry basket'

### The 'Extent or Degree' Particle.

{tu<sup>o</sup>}: /tu<sup>o</sup>/. 'Too'. Extent or degree.

/<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> ən<sup>o</sup>án <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> tu<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>éles tə sčé.nəx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>s ŋát itə/

'the fish is too hot for us to eat'

{<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{<sup>o</sup>ən<sup>o</sup>án} 'very, exceedingly'. Emphatic particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>él-} root: 'to be hot, hot'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{čéné.n<sup>o</sup>x<sup>w</sup>} root: 'to fish'

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{ŋá-} root: 'to bite, put in mouth'

{-t} Volitional transitive.

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

/<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> ən<sup>o</sup>án tu<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>tu<sup>o</sup> méq k<sup>w</sup>s k<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup> itə <sup>o</sup>iŋən/

'we are too full to eat again'

{<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{<sup>o</sup>ən<sup>o</sup>án} 'very, exceedingly'. Emphatic particle.

- {k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.  
 {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {mɛ́q} root: 'to be full of food'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.  
 {ɬéʔ} 'Again'. Iterative aspectual particle.  
 {itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.  
 {ʔiɬən} root: 'to eat'

### The Conjectural Particle.

{wéwə}: /wéwə/. 'Maybe, perhaps'

This conjectural particle expresses doubt or uncertainty and occurs immediately after the 'Simultaneous action' aspectual particle {ʔiʔ}, e.g.:

/ʔiʔ wéwə ɪq<sup>w</sup>ástəŋ sən/

'Maybe I was slapped on the face'

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ɪq<sup>w</sup>é-} root: 'to hit with hand, slap'

{-ás} Lexical suffix: 'face'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

/ʔiʔ wéwə ʔiʔ ɬéʔ k<sup>w</sup>ɪ tək<sup>w</sup>éstəs k<sup>w</sup>ə ŋénʔ sčé nəx<sup>w</sup>/

'they perhaps bring lots of fish again'

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ɬéʔ} 'Again'. Iterative aspectual particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

- {tk<sup>w</sup>és-} root: 'to bring'  
 {-é-} Resultive infix.  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {-əs} Purposive suffix.  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative  
 {ŋén<sup>o</sup>} 'many, much, a lot of'. Collective particle.  
 {s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {čéné.n<sup>o</sup>x<sup>w</sup>} root: 'to fish'

### The Existential Particle.

{né<sup>o</sup>}: /né<sup>o</sup>/, /nə<sup>o</sup>/. 'There is'.

The allomorph /nə<sup>o</sup>/ occurs after the negative particle {<sup>o</sup>éwə} 'no, not', elsewhere it is /né<sup>o</sup>/, e.g.:

/né<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>sə <sup>o</sup>ən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup> təcístx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ə swéy<sup>o</sup>qe<sup>o</sup>/

'there is someone who brought the man'

- /k<sup>w</sup>sə/ Demonstrative.  
 {<sup>o</sup>ən<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to come'  
 {təc-} root: 'to fetch'  
 {-ís} Directed motion suffix.  
 {-tx<sup>w</sup>} Causative suffix.  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.  
 {swéy<sup>o</sup>qe<sup>o</sup>} root: 'man'

/<sup>o</sup>éwə nə<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>əntís/ 'there is nothing that he brought'

- {<sup>o</sup>éwə} 'No, not'. Negative particle.  
 {k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to hold, take'  
 {-t} Volitional transitive suffix.  
 {-ís} Directed motion suffix.

## The Collective Particles.

{hélə}: /hélə/, /'éle/. 'Collective'.

/yəsá'sə sən 'éle/ 'I tell you (as a group)'

{yás-} root: 'to tell, say' (metathesized for aspect)

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{-sə} 2nd. Person. Objective suffix.

/ʔéteʔ é sx<sup>w</sup> ʔi'ʔən hélə/ 'Are you (Pl.) eating?'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{ʔé} Interrogative particle.

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

{ʔi'ʔən} root: 'to eat'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

/ti'ə ɪniŋəʔ ʔi' éteʔ ɪtə ʔu' k<sup>w</sup>ənét hélə/

'We see you all'

/ti'ə/ Demonstrative.

{ɪniŋəʔ} 1st. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

{ʔi'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{ɪtə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{ʔu'} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>ən-} root: 'to see' (metathesized for aspect)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-é} (?)

{mók<sup>w</sup>}: /mók<sup>w</sup>/. 'All'

/k<sup>w</sup>ə mók<sup>w</sup> s<sup>ʰ</sup>əléləqəʃ/ 'all the children'

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

\* {s<sup>ʰ</sup>éləqəʃ} underlying base: 'child'  
{-əl} Plural infix.

/tə mək<sup>w</sup> sk<sup>w</sup>éčəl/ 'every day'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{k<sup>w</sup>éčil} root: 'to be morning, day'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

/mók<sup>w</sup> sén / 'everyone'

{sén} root: 'to be who?'

/tə ʔéʔlələŋ ʔiʔ éteʔ uʔ mók<sup>w</sup> čáq<sup>w</sup>əʃ/

'these houses here are all burning'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{ʔéʔlələŋ} root: 'house'

/-lə-/ Plural infix.

{ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'

{ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{čáq<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to burn'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

{-əʃ} Durative suffix.

{ŋénʷ}: /ŋénʷ/. 'Many, much, a lot of'

/ŋénʷ číét ɳéqeʷ/ 'it's a lot of thick snow'

{číét} root: 'thick'

{ɳéqeʷ} root: 'snow'

/ŋénʷ qʷənʷfʷ léʷə tsə séʷsuʷ/

'there are many seagulls at the shore'

{qʷənʷfʷ} root: 'seagull'

{léʷ} root: 'to be there'

/-ʷ/ Actual aspect.

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{séʷsuʷ} root: 'shore'

/ʷuʷ ɳénʷ sʷíftəns/ 'she had a lot of food' (lit. her eating was a lot)

{ʷuʷ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{ʷíftən} root: 'to eat'

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

#### The Prepositional Particle.

{ʷə̀k}: /ʷə̀k/. 'to, with, of'

/ʷuʷ yéʷ sən ʷáxʷ ʷə̀k táwən/ 'I go to town'

{ʷuʷ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{yéʷ} root: 'to go'

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{<sup>o</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>} root: 'to go there, go to'  
 {táwən} root: 'town' (loan)

/<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>iən sən <sup>o</sup>ə<sup>o</sup> nék<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'I eat with you'

{<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>iən} root: 'to eat'

/-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{nék<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

### The Inferential Particles.

{yəx<sup>w</sup>}: /yəx<sup>w</sup>/. Inferential.

/<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> s<sup>o</sup>čéyn yəx<sup>w</sup> <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> éy<sup>o</sup>/ 'It must be really good'

{<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{<sup>o</sup>čéyn} root: 'to be exceedingly good'

{<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{<sup>o</sup>éy<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be good, healthy'

/<sup>o</sup>éte<sup>o</sup> yəx<sup>w</sup> sən qəlqəl<sup>o</sup>élet/

'I must be damaging it'

{<sup>o</sup>éte<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be here'

{sən} 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.

{qəl-} root: 'to ruin, destroy, damage'

(reduplicated for aspect)

/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.

{-éle} Lexical suffix: 'container'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.



/ʔuʔ níɬ yəx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>sə xéʔelʔs ʔəlénʔnəx<sup>w</sup> ɬtə/

'It might have been the Spirit that we listened to'

- {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.  
 {níɬ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 /k<sup>w</sup>sə/ Demonstrative.  
 {xéʔ-} root: 'to possess magic powers'  
 {-élʔs} Habitual suffix.  
 {ʔəlénʔ} root: 'to listen'  
 {-néx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.  
 {ɬtə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{suʔ} : /suʔ/. 'So...then'

/čɬ níɬ tə nʔq<sup>w</sup>əmcələxən k<sup>w</sup>ə nʔsxnéx<sup>w</sup> tə láʔsən  
 suʔ tés /

'it was your elbow that pushed the plate so it broke'

- /čɬ/ Demonstrative.  
 {níɬ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.  
 /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {nʔ-} 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.  
 {q<sup>w</sup>əmc-} root: 'thin'  
 {-əl} Connector.  
 {-éxən} Lexical suffix: 'arm, edge'  
 /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.  
 {nʔ-} 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.  
 {sxé-} root: 'to push'  
 {-néx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.  
 /tə/ Demonstrative.  
 {láʔsən} root: 'plate, platter'  
 {tés} root: 'to break'

/su° tx<sup>wə</sup> 'éy° s<sup>l</sup>i° tsu° niɿ/

"...so then he became a well-liked man"

{tx<sup>wə</sup>} 'Become'. Mutative particle.

{'éy°} root: 'to be good, healthy, clean'

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{<sup>l</sup>i°} root: 'to like, want, love'

/tsu°/ Demonstrative.

{niɿ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

INTERROGATIVES

Songish interrogatives are expressed in a variety of ways, such as a) a root by itself, b) a particle by itself, c) a combination of roots, d) a combination of a root and a particle, e) a combination of a root and grammatical affixes, and f) a combination of a root and a lexical suffix. In all cases the interrogative forms may be optionally followed by the emphatic particle {<sup>?</sup>áčə}, e.g.:

a) A root by itself.

{sén}: /sén/. Root: 'to be who?'

/sén <sup>?</sup>áčə sə qé<sup>?</sup>ŋi<sup>?</sup>/ 'Who is that girl?'

{<sup>?</sup>áčə} Emphatic particle.

/sə/ Demonstrative.

{qé<sup>?</sup>ŋi<sup>?</sup>} root: 'girl'

/níɿ <sup>?</sup>áčə sén su<sup>?</sup> níɿ/ 'Who is she?'

{níɿ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

(Expletive use)

{<sup>?</sup>áčə} Emphatic particle.

/su<sup>?</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{ níɿ} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal.

/sén k<sup>wə</sup> n<sup>?</sup>sne<sup>?</sup>/ 'What (lit. 'Who?') is your name?'

/k<sup>wə</sup>/ Demonstrative.

{n<sup>?</sup>-} 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{né<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to name'

/sén<sup>?</sup> 'áčə k<sup>w</sup>e lé<sup>?</sup>ə tsi<sup>?</sup>ə/ 'Who is there?'

{'áčə} Emphatic particle.

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

{lé<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to be there'

/-<sup>?</sup>/ Actual aspect.

/tsi<sup>?</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

{'əxín}: /'əxín/. Root: 'to be where?'

/'əxín lé<sup>?</sup>ə sx<sup>w</sup> 'áčə/ 'Where have you been?'

{lé<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to be there'

/-<sup>?</sup>/ Actual aspect.

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

{'áčə} Emphatic particle.

/'əxín k<sup>w</sup>ə / 'Where is it?'

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

/'əxín 'áčə k<sup>w</sup>± lé<sup>?</sup>əs/ 'Where does he live?'

{'áčə} Emphatic particle.

{k<sup>w</sup>±} 'Already'. Aspectual particle.

{lé<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to be there'

/-<sup>?</sup>/ Actual aspect.

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/ʔəxín k<sup>w</sup>s k<sup>w</sup>énəx<sup>w</sup>s tsə sqéxeʔ/

'Where did she get the dog?'

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{k<sup>w</sup>én-} root: 'to hold, take'

{-néx<sup>w</sup>} Non-volitional transitive suffix.

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{qéxeʔ} root: 'dog'

{k<sup>w</sup>ín}: /k<sup>w</sup>ín/. Root: 'to be how much, many?'

/k<sup>w</sup>ín k<sup>w</sup>s xéʔecs tsə qéq/

'How much does the baby weigh?'

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{xéʔ-} root: 'to weigh'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect with reduplication of root vowel.

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{qéq} root: 'baby'

/k<sup>w</sup>ín k<sup>w</sup> sčáyʔə tək<sup>w</sup>étəs tə swéyʔqeʔ/

'How many sticks does the man break?'

/k<sup>w</sup>/ Demonstrative base.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{sčáyʔə} root: 'stick'

{tək<sup>w</sup>-} root: 'to split, break' (metathesized for aspect)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{swéy'qe'} root: 'man'

/k<sup>w</sup>in k<sup>w</sup>ə 'ən'é'təs/ 'how many did you bring?'

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

{'ən'é'} root: 'to come'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

b) A particle by itself.

{'é}: /'é/. Interrogative particle.

/'éte' é x<sup>w</sup>a'a'áŋ/ 'Is he crying?'

{'éte'} root: 'to be here'

{x<sup>w</sup>á-} root: 'to cry'

/'-?-/ Actual aspect.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/'éte' é 'u' əsx<sup>w</sup>éy'əɬ/ 'Are they awakened?'

{'éte'} root: 'to be here'

{'u'} 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.

{'əs-} Stative prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>éy-} root: 'to wake up'

/'-?/ Actual aspect.

{-əɬ} Durative suffix.

/tə nək<sup>w</sup>ə 'i' ɕsétɛlx<sup>w</sup> 'ó sx<sup>w</sup>/

'Are you going to hit us?'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{nək<sup>w</sup>ə} 2nd. Person. Emphatic pronominal.

{'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{ɕsɛ-} root: 'to hit with fist'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-ɛlx<sup>w</sup>} 1st. Person Plural. Objective suffix.

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

c) A combination of roots.

/čən'tɛŋ/. 'When?'

This interrogative form consists of the combination of a root {čén'} 'to be time' and a root {tɛŋ} 'to be what?'. This is clearly a combination of roots since the root {čén'} appears in the following forms referring to the months of the year, e.g.:

/čən'téqe' / 'August' (lit. 'time when the salalberries are ripe, salalberry moon')

/čən'áy'yə' / 'May' (lit. 'time when the good weather goes on')

{čén'} root: 'to be time'

{'áy'} root: 'to be good'

{yé'} root: 'to go'

The root {čén'} is also found in constructions referring to seasons of the year, e.g.:

/čən'cá'ɪəŋ/ 'winter' (lit. 'time when one is cold')

{cá'ɪ-} root: 'to be cold'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/čən'k<sup>w</sup>é'les/ 'summer' (lit. 'time when it is hot')

{čén'} root: 'to be time'

{k<sup>w</sup>éɪ-} root: 'to be hot'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

On the other hand the root {tén} 'to be what?' occurs with the nominalizer prefix {s-} to express another interrogative form, namely /stén/ 'What?, Which?'. This interrogative construction will be discussed later.

The following are interrogative constructions with /čən'tén/ 'When?', e.g.:

/čən'tén 'i' yé's/ 'When is he going?'

{'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{yé'} root: 'to go'.

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/čən'tén 'i' ən'é' télé'čəl/ 'When do they arrive?'

{'i'} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{'ən'é'} root: 'to come'

{télé'čəl} root: 'to arrive'

/-əl-/ Plural infix.

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.



/čən<sup>?</sup>tɛŋ ʔi<sup>?</sup> cáw<sup>?</sup> tə sqéxe<sup>?</sup>/

'When did the dog disappear?'

{ʔi<sup>?</sup>} 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.

{cáw<sup>?</sup>} root: 'to disappear'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{qéxe<sup>?</sup>} root: 'dog'

d) A combination of a root and a particle.

/tx<sup>w</sup> sén/ 'Whose?'

This is a combination of the mutative aspectual particle {tx<sup>w</sup>(ə)} and the root {sén} 'to be who?'. It is generally followed by the emphatic particle {ʔáčə}, e.g.:

/tx<sup>w</sup> sén ʔáčə tse sʔəléléʔqəʔ/

'Whose are these children?'

{ʔáčə} Emphatic particle.

/tse/ Demonstrative.

\* /sʔéléléʔqəʔ/ Underlying base: 'child'

/-əl-/ Plural infix.

/tx<sup>w</sup> sén ʔáčə ti<sup>?</sup>ə si<sup>?</sup>yásəŋ/

'Whose are these toys?'

{ʔáčə} Emphatic particle.

/ti<sup>?</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{hiyás-} root: 'to play'

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

/tx<sup>w</sup> sén 'áče tén su' níř/

'Whose mother is she?'

{'áče} Emphatic particle.

{té' } root: 'mother'

{-n} 'Endearment' suffix.

/su' / Demonstrative.

{níř} 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic Pronominal.

e) A combination of a root and grammatical affixes.

1) /x<sup>w</sup>en'íŋ/ ~ /x<sup>w</sup>ené'íŋ/. 'Why?'. This interrogative form is made up of a root {x<sup>w</sup>én-} 'to be like, to be how?' and the grammatical affixes, /-'/ actual aspect, the suffix {-í} 'Persistent', and the suffix {-əŋ} 'Medio-passive.' The two allomorphs are in free variation, e.g.:

/x<sup>w</sup>en'íŋ 'ən'sqəyəxqé'nəŋ/ 'Why are you lying?'

{n'-} 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{qəyəxqən-} root: 'to lie, not to tell the truth'

{-é-} Resultive infix.

/-'/ Actual aspect.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

/x<sup>w</sup>en'íŋ 'áče 'ən'é's téčəl/ 'why did he come?'

{'áče} Emphatic particle.

{'ən'é'} root: 'to come'

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.  
 {téčəl} root: 'to arrive'

/x<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>ə</sup>'iŋ ʔáčə s<sup>x</sup>ʷa'áŋs/ 'Why are they crying?'

{ʔáčə} Emphatic particle.  
 {s-} Nominalizer prefix.  
 {x<sup>w</sup>á-} root: 'to cry'  
 /-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.  
 {-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.  
 {-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/x<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>ə</sup>'iŋ ʔáčə ʔəsxétət/ 'Why is he sick?'

{ʔáčə} Emphatic particle.  
 {ʔəs-} Stative prefix.  
 {xét-} root: 'to be sick'  
 {-é-} Resultive infix.  
 {-ət} Durative suffix.

2) /ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>ə</sup>'iŋ/. 'How?'. The addition of the stative prefix to the above given interrogative form for 'Why?' causes a shift of meaning of the form into what can, apparently, be glossed as 'How?', e.g.:

/ʔéteʔ əsx<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>ə</sup>'iŋ tuʔ nəní'ʔeyeʔ/ 'How are they?'

{ʔéteʔ} root: 'to be here'  
 {ʔəs-} Stative prefix.  
 /tuʔ/ Demonstrative.  
 /nəní'ʔeyeʔ/ 3rd. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

/ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ənéʔiŋ k<sup>w</sup>s šúk<sup>w</sup>ə ʔə nʔsʔíʔ/

'How much sugar do you like?'

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{šúk<sup>w</sup>ə} root: 'sugar' (loan)

{ʔə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

{nʔ-} 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{ʔíʔ} root: 'to like, love, want'

/ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ənéʔiŋ k<sup>w</sup>s ʔənʔéʔs téčəl/

'How did they come?'

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{ʔənʔéʔ} root: 'to come'

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

{téčəl} root: 'to arrive'

The co-occurrence of quantitative and temporal particles with the interrogative construction /ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ənéʔiŋ/ 'How?' help emphasize and expand the meaning of the interrogative word, e.g.:

/ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>ənéʔiŋ k<sup>w</sup>s hís k<sup>w</sup>ə sx<sup>w</sup> ʔaʔámət léʔə k<sup>w</sup>ə

nʔéʔləŋ/ 'How long do you stay at home?'

{ʔəs-} Stative prefix.

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{hís} 'Long time'. Temporal particle.

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

{sx<sup>w</sup>} 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.

{<sup>o</sup>ám-} root: 'to sit, rest'

/-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect.

{-át} Reflexive suffix.

{lé<sup>o</sup>} root: 'to be there'

/-<sup>o</sup>-/ Actual aspect with reduplication of root vowel  
in reduced form.

/k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Demonstrative.

{n<sup>o</sup>-} 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.

{<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>lən} root: 'house'

/<sup>o</sup>əs<sub>x</sub><sup>w</sup>əné<sup>o</sup>iŋ k<sup>w</sup>s ŋén<sup>o</sup> k<sup>w</sup>s s<sup>o</sup>íténənŋ q̄pótəs/

'How many berries does she gather?'

{<sup>o</sup>əs-} Stative prefix.

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{ŋén<sup>o</sup>} 'Much, many'. Quantitative particle.

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{<sup>o</sup>ítén-} root: (?)

{-ən} Medio-passive suffix.

{q̄ép-} root: 'to gather' (metathesized for aspect)

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

3) /tx<sup>w</sup>ínsət/. 'Where?' (Motional, directional)

This interrogative questions the location to which something or someone is going. It is made up of a root {tx<sup>w</sup>ín-} 'to go where?', the purposive suffix {-əs} (in its allomorphic variant /-ət/ and the reflexive suffix {-át} (in its allomorphic variant /-ət/), e.g.:

/tx<sup>w</sup>ínsət tx<sup>w</sup> <sup>o</sup>áčə tə nək<sup>w</sup>í<sup>o</sup>ləye<sup>o</sup>/

'Where are you (Pl.) going?'

{tx<sup>w</sup>(ə)} 'Mutative'. Aspectual particle.

{'áčə} Emphatic particle.

/tə/ Demonstrative.

/nək<sup>w</sup>i'ləye/ 2nd. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

/tx<sup>w</sup>inset itə 'áčə ti'ə iníŋət/

'Where are we going?'

{itə} 1st. Person Plural. Pronominal particle.

{'áčə} Emphatic particle.

/ti'ə/ Demonstrative.

{iníŋət} 1st. Person Plural. Emphatic pronominal.

#### 4) /stén/ 'What?'

This interrogative form consists of a base root {tén}

'to be what?' and the nominalizer prefix {s-}, e.g.:

/stén tə sx<sup>w</sup>áyəms/ 'What did he sell?'

/tə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{x<sup>w</sup>áy-} root: 'to sell'.

{-əŋ} Medio-passive suffix.

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/stén tsə təcítəs/ 'What did he cut?'

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{təc-} root: 'to cut'

{-i} 'Persistency' suffix.

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

/stén k<sup>w</sup>sə xéšəntəs/ 'What did he trap?'

/k<sup>w</sup>sə/ Demonstrative.

{xéšən-} root: 'to trap'

{-t} Volitional transitive suffix.

{-əs} Purposive suffix.

f) A combination of a root and a lexical suffix.

/k<sup>w</sup>ənét/. 'How often?'. The interrogative form /k<sup>w</sup>ənét/ consists of the base root {k<sup>w</sup>in-} meaning 'to be how many?' (discussed above) and the lexical suffix {-ét} 'times'. The addition of the stressed suffix causes the vowel of the root to be reduced to /ə/ and the suffix bears the main stress, e.g.:

/k<sup>w</sup>ənét k<sup>w</sup>s yéʔs ʔaʔáx<sup>w</sup> ʔə tsə stáʔluʔ/

'How often does she go to the river?'

/k<sup>w</sup>s/ Demonstrative.

{yéʔ} root: 'to go'

{-s} 3rd. Person Possessive suffix.

{ʔáx<sup>w</sup>} root: 'to go there'

/-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.

{ʔə} 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle.

/tsə/ Demonstrative.

{s-} Nominalizer prefix.

{táʔluʔ} root: 'river'

/k<sup>w</sup>ənét k<sup>w</sup>s ʔənʔéʔs téčəl /

'How often did they come here?'

/k<sup>w</sup>.s/ Demonstrative.

{ʔənʔéʔ} root: 'to come'

{-s} 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

{téčəl} root: 'to arrive'



## SOME SYNTACTICAL REMARKS

A Songish sentence consists basically of a predication with or without adjuncts. Adjuncts are essentially modifiers or expansions of the main predication. They may be other roots, stems, words, particles and combinations of these into various types of constructions, some of which were discussed earlier in this study.

A predication was defined on page 57 as a construction containing a root which adds at least one of the inflectional affixes (i.e. a predicate base) and has a subject referent associated with it. If no subject reference (pronominal or other) is given, it is understood that it is the third person. Thus predications may occur without an overt subject referent, e.g.:

- /čáx<sup>w</sup>əŋ/ 'it's melting'
- /čén<sup>?</sup>ət/ 'he's burying it'
- /ʔəsx<sup>w</sup>téqəɬ/ 'it's all closed'
- /séx<sup>w</sup>səx<sup>w</sup>/ 'he's very lazy'

Subject reference other than the covert third person is marked by either the first or second personal pronominal particles, e.g.:

- /qé<sup>?</sup>ŋi<sup>?</sup> sən/ 'I am a girl'
- /təlé<sup>?</sup>k<sup>w</sup> sən/ 'I am hurrying'

/sɪəntɛni' ɪtə/ 'we are women'

/ʔəɪtɛlɲəx<sup>w</sup> sɪ<sup>w</sup>/ 'you (Pl.) are people'

These subject pronominal particles always occur immediately after the predicate base, except in cases where a) the interrogative particle {ʔé} is inserted between the predicate base and the pronominal particle as in the following:

/q<sup>w</sup>čátəŋ ʔé sɪ<sup>w</sup>/ 'Were you beaten up to death?'

/ʔuʔ tɛlʔəsín ʔé sɪ<sup>w</sup>/ 'Do you understand?'

and b) the pronominal particle occurs immediately after the auxiliary root {ʔéteʔ} 'to be here' and then both occur before the main predicate base as in the following:

/ʔéteʔ ɪtə çək<sup>w</sup>ésət/ 'we wash ourselves'

/ʔéteʔ sɪ<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ənánəs/ 'you see me'

Adjuncts, on the other hand, may precede or follow the predication. Many particles, as adjuncts of the predication, have a fixed position in the sentence. For example, the aspectual particles {k<sup>w</sup>ɪ} 'Already', {ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action', {ʔuʔ} 'Contemporary', {tɪ<sup>w</sup>ə} 'Become', the temporal particles {čéts} 'Right now', {tɛʔ<sup>w</sup>x} 'Just', the emphatic particle {ʔənʔán} 'very', the negative particle {ʔéwə} 'No, not', the 'extent' particle {tuʔ} 'Too', the conjectural particle {wéwə} 'Maybe', always occur before

the predication. Other particles, such as {ʔə́l} 'Completive', the temporal particles {ləʔ} 'Past' and {səʔ} 'Future', the referential particle {ʔə} 'Indirect referent', the locational particle {tú·lə} 'Over there', and the collective particle {héle} 'Collective', always occur after the predication.

In addition to particles, adjuncts may take the form of nominal phrases and of complements.

Nominal phrases are roots, stems, or words preceded by a demonstrative. Emphatic pronominals are also considered nominal phrases since they also occur after demonstratives. If the nominal phrase functions as subject of the predicate base it usually takes the position of the pronominal particle, that is, immediately after the predicate base, e.g.:

/čáq<sup>w</sup>ət̚ tə nʔsʔítən / 'your food is burning'

/pəx<sup>w</sup>élʔs tə spx<sup>w</sup>áʔləʔ / 'the wind blows'

/mék<sup>w</sup> ʔəsqépət̚ tə səwíwʔləs /

'the young men are all gathered'

On the other hand, if the subject nominal phrase is placed before the predicate base it is separated from it by the aspectual particle {ʔiʔ} 'Simultaneous action'. Other particles may also co-occur with this one, e.g.:

/sə sténiʔ iʔ čéʔiʔ / 'the woman is working'

/tʂə tɛns 'i' k<sup>w</sup>ɪ 'i'ʔɛn/

'(this) his Mother is eating already'

If the nominal phrase functions as object of the predicate base it occurs after the subject pronominal particle, e.g.:

/k<sup>w</sup>əl'néx<sup>w</sup> sx<sup>w</sup> tə sqémə' / 'you are spilling the milk'

/x<sup>w</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>əltx<sup>w</sup> sən tə sɲénət / 'I was throwing a stone'

Some predications, such as those occurring with the medio-passive suffix {-əŋ}, require the use of the referential particle {'ə} 'Indirect referent' to introduce the nominal phrase, e.g.:

/su' nɪt 'i' q<sup>w</sup>éləŋ 'ə tʂə sətɪ /

'the halibut is barbecued by her'

vs. /tə stənɛni' i' q<sup>w</sup>éləstəs tə sčé.nəx<sup>w</sup> /

'the women barbecued the fish'

/'éte' sx<sup>w</sup> čtɛŋ 'ə ti'ə tɪnɛt /

'we were asked by you'

vs. /čtɛ' t sən tu' nɪt /

'I am asking him'

Other predications, however, seem to require inherently that the object nominal phrase be introduced by the indirect referent, e.g.:

/ʔuʔ kʷt háyʔ sən ʔə tsə sčéyʔ/

'I am finishing the work'

/suʔ níʔ ʔiʔ sé'səsiʔ ə kʷuʔ níʔ/

'she is afraid of him'

/xʷiʔtčəs ən ʔə suʔ níʔ/

'I am envious (jealous) of her'

In addition to these, prepositional nominal phrases expressing locational, instrumental, temporal, etc., references are always introduced by the indirect referent {ʔə}, e.g.:

Locational reference.

/tə snéxʷət ʔiʔ kʷtuʔ téčəl ʔə tsə síelt/

'the canoe has already arrived at the shore'

/tuʔ nəníʔtəyeʔ iʔ éxʷtəs tə snéxʷəts ʔə tsə s'ésnəč/

'they are putting up their canoe in the bay'

Instrumental reference.

/suʔ níʔ ʔiʔ kʷíçətəs tə sčé.nəxʷ ʔə tsə ší.pən/

'she is butchering fish with a knife'

/tuʔ nəníʔtəyeʔ iʔ ténkʷtəs tə sqʷəlész ʔə tsə púyuks/

'they are shooting birds with guns'

/tuʔ nəníʔtəyeʔ iʔ ténkʷtəs tə méwəč ʔə tsə nən' cimén/

'they are shooting the deer with a lot of arrows'

Temporal reference.

/tə tɛns 'i' ŋɛn' s'iɪən 'ə k<sup>w</sup>i'ə snét/  
 '(this) his Mother had a lot of food last night'

Complements, on the other hand, are adjuncts which occur either as nominalized predications or as possessive forms.

Nominalized predications are predicate bases which may take the nominalizer prefix {s-} and one of the possessive affixes as a subject marker. They are considered complements because they function as nominal phrases in the sentence although they have a subject marker and may also take objects.

Roots expressing certain mental processes (i.e., knowing), emotions (i.e., liking, disliking) and feelings (i.e., seeing) generally appear in the form of independent (i.e., not as adjuncts) nominalized predications, e.g.:

/nəs<sup>ʔ</sup>í' s<sup>w</sup>x/ 'I love you'

/nəš<sup>w</sup>ətín tse 'əttélŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'I dislike that person'

/'əwə k<sup>w</sup>ə n<sup>ʔ</sup>sk<sup>w</sup>énəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'you don't see it'

Nominalized predications are generally preceded by a demonstrative and have been observed to occur very frequently after the negative particle {'əwə} 'No, not' and some of the interrogative constructions. The examples that follow

will illustrate the different uses of nominalized predications in Songish:

/sʰíʔtə kʷs nəcʰéʔwtxʷəŋtə ʔə tuʔ nəníʔtəyeʔ/  
 'we want to visit them' (lit. 'our wishing of our visiting them')

/tse qʷənʔíʔ háy ʔéwə kʷs təŋáʔəŋs/  
 'the seagull definitely does not swim' (lit. 'it is definite that the seagull does not do any swimming')

/ʔuʔ ənʔán ʔuʔ éyʔ kʷə nəŋát tə ʔéʔčəx/  
 'it's very good for me to eat crab' (lit. 'it is very good for me my eating crab')

/nəsʰíʔ kʷə nəsxčənəxʷ kʷs sqélečəs ʔə tse ləmətúlqən/  
 'I want to know how to spin the wool' (lit. 'my wishing of my knowing of the spinning of wool')

/kʷt ʔəsʔáʔiʔ kʷs yéʔs/ 'he is ready to go' (lit. he is ready already for his going')

/ʔuʔ xčít sən kʷs ʔuʔ ənʔéʔs səʔ/  
 'I know that he will be coming' (lit. 'I know of his [future] coming')

/ʔəxín kʷs kʷénəxʷs tse sqéxeʔ/  
 'Where did she get the dog?' (lit. 'Where was her getting the dog?')

/čənʔtəŋ ʔiʔ yéʔs/ 'When is he going?' (lit. 'When is his going?')

/x<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>?</sup>íŋ ʔáčə ʔən<sup>?</sup>é<sup>?</sup>s téčəl/ 'Why did he come?' (lit. 'What is the reason for his coming?')

/stéŋ tə sx<sup>w</sup>áyəms/ 'What did he sell?' (lit. 'What was his sale?')

/k<sup>w</sup>ín k<sup>w</sup>s xé<sup>?</sup>ecs. tsə qéq/ 'How much does the baby weigh?' (lit. 'How much is the weighing of the baby?')

The other type of complements, namely the possessive forms, is a nominal phrase with or without possessive affixes which specifies the possessor and follows the nominal phrase naming the object possessed, e.g.:

/tsə ɬqíts tsə sténi<sup>?</sup> i<sup>?</sup> qəlí.mə/  
'the woman's dress is dirty'

/ʔi<sup>?</sup> əŋítəs tə sték<sup>w</sup>əts tə sčé<sup>?</sup>čé<sup>?</sup>s/  
'he's pounding on his friend's back'

/tsə qéq ʔi<sup>?</sup> nétəŋ ʔə tsə sné<sup>?</sup>s sə sí.ləs/  
'the baby was named after her grandmother's name'

Songish texts illustrate the existence of another type of sentence, namely the complex sentence. A complex sentence is a combination of one independent clause with one or more subordinate clauses, the latter being generally introduced by a subordinating particle, e.g.:



/ʔá ʔuʔ ənʔéʔ təcəl ʔiʔ uʔ xłást łtə/

'if they come, we will feed them'

/čt̚ níł tə nʔqʷəmčələxən kʷə nʔsxnóxʷ tə láʔsən suʔ  
t̚és/ 'it was your elbow which pushed the plate, so then  
it broke'

/xʷčómʔəs ən ʔə kʷsə s̚éniʔ səŋətis tə məháyʔ/

'I met a woman [who] carries baskets on her back'

/čt̚éʔt suʔ níł kʷə ʔəsxʷənéʔiŋ ʔəs kʷs xətits

tə s̚éwən/ 'Ask her how she weaves (does) the bear  
grass'

## TEXT ANALYSIS

The text that follows was selected on the basis of its plot and grammatical structure. The subject matter is the coming of /xé'el's/, the Great Spirit or Transformer, who is a well known character in Salishan mythology. On the other hand, the text appears to illustrate the use and occurrence of roots and most affixes and particles in spontaneous connected speech other than elicited isolated sentences following an English pattern.

The text was elicited and recorded in the summer of 1969 and transcribed immediately after by re-playing the tape for the informant to dictate the words of the text more slowly.

In the summer of 1970 the text was rechecked by re-transcribing it more clearly and effectively and analyzing it with the help of the informant, who also provided a literal translation of it.

The single slant lines given in the text mark short narrative pauses while the double slant lines illustrate a clause terminal pause.

The English translation provided and which immediately follows the Songish text is as literal and as close to the original text as the English language and style would permit.

The analysis provided is a word-by-word analysis with

morphological notes which will attempt to give a better understanding of the grammatical structure of Songish.

## TEXT

## The Story of the Great Spirit

x<sup>w</sup>i'ém' sən / 'ə k<sup>w</sup>sə čə nə'étəŋ lé'ə k<sup>w</sup> xé'el's  
 'i' né'nəčt tə 'əitélŋəx<sup>w</sup> / k<sup>w</sup>s k<sup>w</sup>ɪ tés's yəx<sup>w</sup> nə'étəŋ  
 náŋət k<sup>w</sup>u' mək<sup>w</sup> 'əxín 'əx<sup>w</sup>ílŋəx<sup>w</sup> / 'éite' čək<sup>w</sup>i'əŋ 'i'  
 šétəŋs k<sup>w</sup>ə xé'el's / né'nəčt tén'əŋ // 'i' tu' éxəŋ 'i'  
 k<sup>w</sup>ɪ yé' təsnésəs tə néčə swéy'qə' á'mət / k<sup>w</sup>ən'tis tə  
 qəyé'mən xətí'tes / s<sup>ɪ</sup>'s k<sup>w</sup>s tx<sup>w</sup>ə 'èy'á's tsi'ə //  
 sq<sup>w</sup>áčəts / sq<sup>w</sup>áčəts sə' tse xé'el's k<sup>w</sup>ən'ést tčínəsəŋ /  
 tu' éxəŋ 'i' tsi'ə k<sup>w</sup>ɪ təsnésəŋ su' čté'təŋs / stəŋ  
 'áčə tse n'sčé'i' // níɪ k<sup>w</sup>ə k<sup>w</sup>sə xé'el's čk<sup>w</sup>é'təŋ 'ə  
 ti'ə / nəš<sup>ɪ</sup>' k<sup>w</sup>ə nəsq<sup>w</sup>áynəx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ə n'stécəl 'i' u' k<sup>w</sup>ɪ  
 níɪ tu' níɪ xé'el's 'ə tse səsí'təŋs / 'u' k<sup>w</sup>éy'əxsəts  
 tə xé'el's / 'ən'áx<sup>w</sup> / 'ən'áx<sup>w</sup> tsi'ə / xən'ét 'u' k<sup>w</sup>énət sən /  
 su' áŋəstəŋs 'u' k<sup>w</sup>énəst tsi'ə čsé sə su' táyəmtəŋs 'ə  
 tse q<sup>w</sup>éləŋ's / 'éy' k<sup>w</sup>əčə x<sup>w</sup>i'təŋs sə' s'íłəŋs sə' sx<sup>w</sup>  
 k<sup>w</sup>i'ə 'əɪ k<sup>w</sup>é'wəs 'əitélŋəx<sup>w</sup> // tx<sup>w</sup>ə sméyəs tse swéy'qə' /  
 tx<sup>w</sup>ə sméyəs məwəč // x<sup>w</sup>ən'íŋ 'ə tsi'ə yé' čénəl 'lé'  
 tsu' níɪ 'i' təsnésəs tse qəxél's / su' i' háy tse  
 néčə lé' ə tse sx<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>ənə' k<sup>w</sup>ɪtu' k<sup>w</sup>ɪ k<sup>w</sup>ən'tín tu'  
 níɪ xé'el's k<sup>w</sup>s 'i' šétəŋs / su' k<sup>w</sup>éčəŋs tu' níɪ  
 lé' ə tse sx<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>ənə'əsəŋ / k<sup>w</sup>čéŋətəŋ tse 'éite' qəxél's /  
 sá.ŋ / sá.ŋ / 'lék<sup>w</sup>ənə' sá.ŋ / sá.ŋ / 'i' éwə x<sup>w</sup>'lék<sup>w</sup>ət 'i' /  
 'éwə 'u' k<sup>w</sup>s čə s'ələ'əŋs // 'i' u' q<sup>w</sup>élstəŋ 'ə tse xé'el's

'i' éwə / 'éwə 'əl tsu' nít 'i' su' teltéstəŋs su'  
 tx<sup>w</sup>ə sŋénəts / 'éte' k<sup>w</sup>əčə čəq sŋénət k<sup>w</sup>sə šlé' ə tse  
 sé'su' / lé'ə ʔəlpáles // 'i' yé' u' yé' i' k<sup>w</sup> xé'el's /  
 təsnésəs k<sup>w</sup>ə nəcə swíw'ləs tó'x<sup>w</sup>'u' íst sx<sup>w</sup>lé' ə tse  
 xáče k<sup>w</sup>ə 'əstəŋ'ət 'əs čtə' / sx<sup>w</sup>lé'əs 'ə tse xáče /  
 'i' u' éxəŋ č tsu' nít / k<sup>w</sup>s 'á sə' təsnésəŋ 'ə  
 k<sup>w</sup>s xé'el's 'i' sčéyn 'u' q<sup>w</sup>čátəs 'u' q<sup>w</sup>áynəs ə' k<sup>w</sup>ə  
 'ən'án 'u' q<sup>w</sup>ám'q<sup>w</sup>əm k<sup>w</sup>s swíw'ləs / k<sup>w</sup>íntəltəŋ k<sup>w</sup>í  
 k<sup>w</sup>íntəl tu' nəní'təye' // su' x<sup>w</sup>ən'íŋ 'ə tsi'ə 'i' u' sšéx<sup>w</sup>  
 tsu' nít qésəq / 'u' sšéx<sup>w</sup> 'ə tse xé'el's / teltéstəŋ  
 su' tx<sup>w</sup>ə sŋénəts // 'éte' k<sup>w</sup>əčə 'u' əsá'i' k<sup>w</sup>sə sŋénət /  
 'ésk<sup>w</sup>ət 'ə k<sup>w</sup>sə xáče lé'ə ʔk<sup>w</sup>á'məčən // nít 'əl k<sup>w</sup>əčə  
 'u' sx<sup>w</sup>ən'íŋs tsi'ə // .

## TRANSLATION

I am going to tell the story of the so-called Great Spirit, who was transforming the people. Indians from all over had heard about him and about his coming. Here he was, coming stealthily, walking around, changing them into things.

Long time afterwards he got to a man who was sitting down; he had an oyster shell and was doing something to it. He wanted to make it sharp. He was going to kill the Great Spirit, get hold of him, when he arrived. Afterwards when the Spirit had already got to him he asked, "What are you doing?" "Oh!...this is to be used against the Spirit, I

want to kill him on his arrival." And he, the Spirit, was already standing there. So, the Spirit moved and asked him and told him, "Give that to me, let me look at it!" So, the man gave the two shells to the Spirit, who took them and wore them on his ears. [And he said to him] "You will jump and you will be eaten by the next generation of People." And the flesh of a man became the flesh of a deer. Soon after, the Spirit moved to another place again and got to a man who was digging for clams. There was another man, who, from across the bay saw the Spirit walking toward that man. So, he hollered at him from across the bay, he hollered at the man who was digging for clams, "Go up, go up, deaf man,... go up, go up!" But the clam-digger did not hear because he was deaf. He did not hear when the Great Spirit spoke to him. He did not [hear], he did not [hear] at all. So, the Great Spirit sprinkled him and he turned into a rock. Indeed, there was a big rock in that place, at the beach, over at Cowichan Bay. The Great Spirit kept on going and going, and got to a young man just as he was paddling there, at the lake. And the young man was saying, "If the Great Spirit gets to me, I am really going to kill him, put him to death." This young man was very strong. They fought and fought each other. After that, the young man got beaten up, beaten up by the spirit, who sprinkled him and turned him into a rock. And that rock is over there, right in the middle of the lake, over at Quamichan Bay. And this is the way it all was!.

- 1- /x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>o</sup>ém<sup>o</sup>/ Root: 'to tell a story'  
/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.
- 2- /sən/ 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.
- 3- /<sup>o</sup>ə/ 'Indirect referent'. Referential particle here introducing a nominal phrase.
- 4- /k<sup>w</sup>sə/ Non-proximate, definite, feminine, non-visible demonstrative.
- 5- /čə/ Indefinite, invisible, incomplete demonstrative.
- 6- /nə<sup>o</sup>étəŋ/ From /né<sup>o</sup>/ root: 'to name' (metathesized for aspect.  
/-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
/-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.
- 7- /lé<sup>o</sup>/ Root: 'to be there'  
/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.
- 8- /k<sup>w</sup>/ Demonstrative base. Non-proximate, definite, non-visible.
- 9- /xé<sup>o</sup>el<sup>o</sup>s/ From /xé<sup>o</sup>/ root: 'to possess magic powers'  
/-él<sup>o</sup>s/ Habitual suffix.
- 10- /<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>/ 'Simultaneous action'. Aspectual particle.
- 11- /né<sup>o</sup>nəčt/ From /né<sup>o</sup>nəč-/ root: 'to transform'  
/-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.
- 12- /tə/ Proximate, indefinite, visible demonstrative.
- 13- /<sup>o</sup>əttélŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ From /<sup>o</sup>ətt-/ root: (?)  
/-él/ Connector.  
/-ŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ Lexical suffix: 'Animate being, person, people'
- 14- /k<sup>w</sup>s/ Non-proximate, definite, feminine, invisible demonstrative.
- 15- /k<sup>w</sup>ɪ/ 'Already'. Aspectual particle.
- 16- /tés<sup>o</sup>s/ From /tés-/ root: 'to arrive'  
/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.  
/-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 17- /yex<sup>w</sup>/ Inferential particle.
- 18- /nə<sup>o</sup>étəq/ From /né<sup>o</sup>əq/ root: 'to know by hearsay'  
/-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.

- 19- /náŋə́t/ Emphatic reflexive particle.
- 20- /k<sup>w</sup>u<sup>?</sup>/ Non-proximate, indefinite, non-feminine, invisible demonstrative.
- 21- /mék<sup>w</sup>/ 'All'. Collective particle.
- 22- /<sup>?</sup>əxín/ Root: 'to be where?'
- 23- /<sup>?</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>íŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ From /<sup>?</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>í-/ root: (?)  
 /-l/ Connector.  
 /-ŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ Lexical suffix: 'Animate being, person, people'
- 24- /<sup>?</sup>éte<sup>?</sup>/ Root: 'to be here; existential'
- 25- /čək<sup>w</sup>í<sup>?</sup>əŋ/ From /čík<sup>w</sup>-/ root: 'to come stealthily' (metathesized for aspect)  
 /-<sup>?</sup>/ Actual aspect.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.
- 26- /šétəŋs/ From /šté-/ root: 'to walk, walk around'  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 27- /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ Non-proximate, definite, non-feminine, invisible demonstrative.
- 28- /tén<sup>?</sup>əq/ Root: 'thing, inanimate object'
- 29- /tu<sup>?</sup>/ 'Too'. Extent or degree particle.
- 30- /<sup>?</sup>éxəŋ/ From /<sup>?</sup>éx-/ root: 'to be after in time'  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.
- 31- /yé<sup>?</sup>/ Root: 'to go'
- 32- /təsnésəs/ From /təsnés-/ root: 'to get to a place'  
 /-əs/ Purposive suffix.
- 33- /nécə/ Root: 'one'
- 34- /swéy<sup>?</sup>qe<sup>?</sup>/ Root: 'man'.
- 35- /<sup>?</sup>ámət/ From /<sup>?</sup>ám-/ root: 'to be sitting, resting'  
 /-<sup>?</sup>-/ Actual aspect.  
 /-át/ Reflexive suffix.
- 36- /k<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>?</sup>tís/ From /k<sup>w</sup>én-/ root: 'to take hold'  
 /-<sup>?</sup>/ Actual aspect.  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /-ís/ Directed motion suffix.
- 37- /qəyé<sup>?</sup>mən/ root: 'shell'



- 38- /xətí<sup>2</sup>təs/ From /xét-/ root: 'to do something'  
 /-í/ 'Persistency' suffix.  
 /-<sup>2</sup>/ Actual aspect.  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /-əs/ Purposive suffix.
- 39- /s<sup>2</sup>í<sup>2</sup>s/ Nominalized predication. From /í<sup>2</sup>/ root: 'to like, love, want'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 40- /tx<sup>w</sup>ə/ 'Become'. Mutative aspectual particle.
- 41- /<sup>2</sup>èy<sup>2</sup>á<sup>2</sup>s/ Root: 'to be sharp'
- 42- /tsi<sup>2</sup>ə/ Proximate, indefinite, invisible demonstrative.
- 43- /sq<sup>w</sup>áčəts/ Nominalized predication. From /q<sup>w</sup>áy/ roots: 'to die' and alternation /y/-/č/. The meaning here is 'to kill'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 44- /sə<sup>2</sup>/ Future. Temporal particle.
- 45- /tsə/ Non-proximate, indefinite, (non-feminine), visible demonstrative.
- 46- /k<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>2</sup>ést/ From /k<sup>w</sup>én-/ root: 'to take, hold'  
 /-<sup>2</sup>/ Actual aspect.  
 /-əs/ Purposive suffix.  
 /-át/ Reflexive suffix.
- 47- /tčínəsəŋ/ From /tčín-/ root: 'to come to a place'  
 /-əs/ Purposive suffix.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.
- 48- /su<sup>2</sup>/ 'So...then'. Inferential particle.
- 49- /čt<sup>2</sup>é<sup>2</sup>təŋs/ Nominalized predication. From /čt<sup>2</sup>é-/ root: 'to ask'  
 /-<sup>2</sup>/ Actual aspect  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 50- /st<sup>2</sup>éŋ/ Interrogative form. From /t<sup>2</sup>éŋ/ root: 'to be what?'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /-é-/ Resultive infix.

- 51- /<sup>o</sup>áčē/ 'Emphasizer'. Emphatic particle, which generally accompanies interrogative constructions.
- 52- /n<sup>o</sup>sčé<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>/ From /čéy<sup>o</sup>/ root: 'to work, do, make', with alternation /y/ ~ /i/.  
 /-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /n<sup>o</sup>-/ 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.  
 (This form also appears as /sčéy<sup>o</sup>/ 'work'.)
- 53- /níř/ 3rd. Person Singular. Emphatic pronominal. In this case its use is expletive.
- 54- /čk<sup>w</sup>é<sup>o</sup>təŋ/ From /čk<sup>w</sup>é-/ root: 'to use against'.  
 /-<sup>o</sup>/ Actual aspect.  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.
- 55- /ti<sup>o</sup>ə/ Proximate, indefinite, non-feminine, visible demonstrative.
- 56- /nəs<sup>o</sup>łi<sup>o</sup>/ Nominalized predication. From /łi<sup>o</sup>/ root: 'to like, love, want'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /nə-/ 1st. Person Singular. Possessive prefix.
- 57- /nəs<sup>o</sup>q<sup>w</sup>áy<sup>w</sup>nəx<sup>w</sup>/ Nominalized predication. From /q<sup>w</sup>áy-/root: 'to die'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /nə-/ 1st. Person Singular. Possessive prefix.  
 /-néx<sup>w</sup>/ Non-volitional transitive suffix.
- 58- /n<sup>o</sup>stéčəl/ Nominalized predication. From /téčəl/ root: 'to arrive'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /n<sup>o</sup>-/ 2nd. Person. Possessive prefix.
- 59- /<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>/ 'Contemporary'. Aspectual particle.
- 60- /tu<sup>o</sup>/ Proximate, definite, non-feminine, visible demonstrative.
- 61- /səsi<sup>o</sup>łəŋs/ Nominalized predication. From /sír-/ root: 'to stand, be standing' (with initial syllable re-duplication for aspect)

- /-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 62- /k<sup>w</sup>éy<sup>ʔ</sup>əxsəts/ Nominalized predication. From /k<sup>w</sup>éyəx-/  
 root 'to move, shake'  
 /-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.  
 /-əs/ Purposive suffix.  
 /-át/ Reflexive suffix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 63- /ʔən<sup>ʔ</sup>áx<sup>w</sup>/ Root: 'to hand in give'
- 64- /xən<sup>ʔ</sup>ét/ From /xén-/ root: 'to say something' (meta-  
 thesized for aspect)  
 /-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.
- 65- /k<sup>w</sup>énət/ From /k<sup>w</sup>én-/ root: 'to see'  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.
- 66- /sən/ 1st. Person Singular. Pronominal particle.
- 67- /ʔáŋəstəŋs/ Nominalized predication. From /ʔáŋəs-/root:  
 'to give' (Also /ʔáŋ-/ ).  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 68- /k<sup>w</sup>énəst/ From /k<sup>w</sup>én-/ root: 'to hold, to take'  
 /-əs/ Purposive suffix.  
 /-át/ Reflexive suffix.
- 69- /čésə/ Root: 'two'
- 70- /táyəmtəŋs/ Nominalized predication. From /táyəm/ root:  
 'to have on, wear'  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 71- /q<sup>w</sup>élən<sup>ʔ</sup>s/ From /q<sup>w</sup>élən<sup>ʔ</sup>/ root: 'ear'  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 72- /ʔéy<sup>ʔ</sup>/ Root: 'to be good, clean, healthy' here used as  
 an exclamative, i.e. 'Good!'

- 73- /k<sup>w</sup>əčə/ Demonstrative emphasizer. From /k<sup>w</sup>ə/ + /čə/.
- 74- /x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>təŋs/ Nominalized predication. From /x<sup>w</sup>it-/root: 'to jump'  
 /-<sup>?</sup>-/ Actual aspect.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 75- /s<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>təns/ From /<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>tən/ root: 'to eat'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 76- /sx<sup>w</sup>/ 2nd. Person. Pronominal particle.
- 77- /k<sup>w</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ə/ Non-proximate, indefinite, non-feminine, invisible demonstrative.
- 78- /<sup>?</sup>əɪ/ 'Relative time or action'. Temporal particle.
- 79- /k<sup>w</sup>é<sup>?</sup>wəs/ From /k<sup>w</sup>ék<sup>w</sup>-/ root: 'to be next in time', with initial syllable reduplication and alternation /k<sup>w</sup>/ - /w/ for aspect.  
 /-əs/ Purposive suffix.  
 /-<sup>?</sup>-/ Actual aspect.
- 80- /sméyəs/ From /méyəs/ root: 'flesh, meat'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.
- 81- /méwəč/ Root: 'deer' (possibly a loan from Chinook Jargon)
- 82- /x<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>?</sup>iŋ/ From /x<sup>w</sup>én<sup>?</sup>-/ root: 'to be how?, way'  
 /-<sup>?</sup>/ Actual aspect.  
 /-i/ 'Persistency'. suffix.  
 /-ŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.
- 83- /yé<sup>?</sup>/ Root: 'to go'
- 84- /čénəl/ Root: 'to move from a place'
- 85- /<sup>?</sup>é<sup>?</sup>/ 'Again'. Iterative particle.
- 86- /tsu<sup>?</sup>/ Non-proximate, definite, non-feminine, visible demonstrative.
- 87- /qəxél<sup>?</sup>s/ From /qéx-/ root: 'to dig for clams'  
 /-él<sup>?</sup>s/ Habitual suffix
- 88- /háy/ Root: 'to finish', here used with the meaning of 'finally..'
- 89- /nécə/ Root: 'one'

- 90- /léʔ/ Root: 'to be there'
- 91- /sx<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>ənəʔ/ From /tx<sup>w</sup>ənəʔ/ root: 'to be on the other side'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /x<sup>w</sup>-/ Locative prefix.
- 92- /k<sup>w</sup>ɪuʔ/ From the morphophonemic combination of /k<sup>w</sup>ɪ/ 'Already', aspectual particle and /ʔuʔ/ 'Contemporary', aspectual particle.
- 93- /k<sup>w</sup>ənʔtɪn/ From /k<sup>w</sup>ən-/ root: 'to see'  
 /-ʔ/ Actual aspect.  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /-ɪn/ (?)
- 94- /k<sup>w</sup>écəŋs/ From /k<sup>w</sup>écəŋ/ root: 'to holler'  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 95- /sx<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>ənəʔəsəŋ/ From /tx<sup>w</sup>ənəʔ/ root: 'to be on the other side'  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
 /x<sup>w</sup>-/ Locative prefix.  
 /-əs/ Purposive suffix.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.
- 96- /sá.ŋ/ Root: 'to go up'
- 97- /ʔék<sup>w</sup>ənəʔ/ From /ʔék<sup>w</sup>-/ 'to be unable to hear, deaf'  
 /-nəʔ/ (?)
- 98- /ʔéwə/ 'No, not'. Negative particle.
- 99- /x<sup>w</sup>ʔék<sup>w</sup>ət/ From /ʔék<sup>w</sup>-/ root: 'to be unable to hear, deaf'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>-/ Locative prefix.  
 /-ət/ Volitional transitive suffix.
- 100- /sʔəléléʔəns/ Nominalized predication. From /lén-/root: 'to listen, hear' with reduplicated root vowel in reduced form for aspect.  
 /-ʔ-/ Actual aspect.  
 /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.  
 /s-/ Nominalizer prefix.
- 101- /q<sup>w</sup>élstəŋ/ From /q<sup>w</sup>él/ root: 'to talk, speak'  
 /-s/ (?)  
 /-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
 /-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.

- 102- /ʔəl/ Completive particle.
- 103- /təltéstəŋs/ Nominalized predication. From /təltés-/  
root: 'to sprinkle'  
/-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
/-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.  
/ʔs/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 104- /sŋénəts/ Nominalized predication. From /ŋénət/ root:  
'rock, mountain'  
/s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
/s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 105- /čáq/ Root: 'big'
- 106- /šléʔ/ From /léʔ/ root: 'to be there'  
/s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
/x<sup>w</sup>-/ Locative prefix.
- 107- /séʔsuʔ/ Root: 'beach'
- 108- /ʔʔəlpáles/ Proper name: 'Cowichan Bay'. Apparently it  
is a word made up of an unidentified root /ʔpál-/with  
an initial reduplication of the first consonant of the  
root for the diminutive, /-əl-/ for the plural marker  
and /-əs/ for the Purposive suffix.
- 109- /swíwʔləs/ Root: 'young man, boy'
- 110- /təʔx<sup>w</sup>/ Temporal particle. 'Just, just as'
- 111- /ʔíst/ Root: 'to paddle'
- 112- /ʔəstəŋʔət/ From /təŋ/ root: 'to be what?'. (Also /təŋ/)  
/ʔəs-/ Stative prefix.  
/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.  
/-ət/ Reflexive suffix.
- 113- /ʔəs/ Relativizer particle.
- 114- /čtəʔ/ From /čtə/ root: 'to be up to something'  
/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.
- 115- /sx<sup>w</sup>léʔəs/ Nominalized predication. From /léʔ/ root:  
'to be there'  
/s-/ Nominalizer prefix.  
/x<sup>w</sup>-/ Locative prefix.  
/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.

- /-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.
- 116- /xáčə/ Root: 'lake'
- 117- /č/ This particle occurred in three texts only and always before reporting a quotation. Efrat in her study of Sooke (1969:42) calls this particle 'Quotative'
- 118- /ʔáʔ/ 'If'. Subordinative particle.
- 119- /sčéyn/ From /čéyn/ root: 'to be very, exceedingly'  
/s-/ Nominalizer prefix.
- 120- /qʷčátəs/ From /qʷáy/ root: 'to die' with alternation /y/ - /č/ and the meaning 'to kill'. It is metathesized for aspect.  
/-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
/-əs/ Purposive suffix.
- 121- /qʷáynəs/ From /qʷáy/ root: 'to die'  
/-n/ Non-volitional transitive suffix.  
/-əs/ Purposive suffix.
- 122- /əʔ/ 'And'. Coordinative particle.
- 123- /ʔənʔán/ 'Very, exceedingly'. Emphatic particle.
- 124- /qʷámʔqʷəm/ From /qʷámʔ/ root: 'to be strong' reduplicated for the intensive aspect.
- 125- /kʷíntəltəŋ/ From /kʷíntəl/ root: 'to fight'  
/-t/ Volitional transitive suffix.  
/-əŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.
- 126- /nəniʔtəyeʔ/ From /niʔ/ 3rd. Person. Emphatic pronominal.  
/-ʔ-əyeʔ/ Pronominal plural suffix.
- 127- /sʔéxʷ/ From /ʔéxʷ/ root: 'to beat up'  
/s-/ Nominalizer prefix.
- 128- /qéseq/ Root: 'to be defeated'
- 129- /ʔesáʔiʔ/ From /ʔáy/ root: 'to be ready, finished' /y/-/i/.  
/ʔes-/ Stative prefix.  
/-ʔ/ Actual aspect.
- 130- /ʔéskʷət/ From /ʔéskʷ-/ root: 'to be in the middle'  
/-ət/ Durative suffix.
- 131- /ʔkʷáʔməčən/ Proper name 'Quamichan Bay'. Apparently,

it is a word made up by an unidentified root /<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔk<sup>w</sup>ám-/  
 the actual aspect marker /-ʔ-/, the connector /-ə/  
 and the lexical suffix. /-čən/ 'flat surface'.

132- /s<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>ʔ</sup>iŋs/ Nominalized predication. From /x<sup>w</sup>én<sup>ʔ</sup>-/ root;  
 'to be how?, way'

/-i/ 'Persistency' suffix.

/-ŋ/ Medio-passive suffix.

/-s/ 3rd. Person. Possessive suffix.

/s-/ Nominalizer prefix.



## APPENDIX

The following is a list of Songish affixes:

Prefixes

- 1- Possessive: /nə-/ 1st. Person Singular.  
/n<sup>o</sup>-/ 2nd. Person Singular and Plural.
- 2- Nominalizer: /s-/
- 3- Locative: /x<sup>w</sup>-/
- 4- Agentive: /sx<sup>w</sup>-/
- 5- 'Occupation': /nəx<sup>w</sup>-/
- 6- 'Relative or In-Law': /s<sup>v</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-/
- 7- Stative: /<sup>o</sup>əs-/
- 8- 'Basic Color': /nə-/

Infixes

- 1- Resultive: /-é-/-/-á-/
- 2- Actual: /-<sup>o</sup>-/, /C<sub>1</sub>(ə)-/, /C<sub>1</sub>V-/, /Red.Root V/
- 3- Plural: /-əl-/, /-lə-/, /-ə-/, /C<sub>1</sub>ə(R)-/, /C<sub>1</sub>V-/
- 4- Collective: /-i-/- /-i<sup>o</sup>-/ +/C<sub>1</sub>ə-/

Suffixes

- 1- Diminutive: /-əɪ/, /C<sub>1</sub>-/, /C<sub>1</sub>ə-/, /Red/
- 2- Instrumental: /-tn/, /-n/
- 3- Connectors: /-e/, /-l/, /-el/, /-ə/, /-əl/, /əy/
- 4- Persistency: /-i/

- 5- Lexical: /-áləɪ/ 'offspring, young'  
 /-áləs/ 'eyes'  
 /-ás/, /-əs/ 'face'  
 /-éle/, /-héle/ 'container'  
 /-éɪ/ 'times'  
 /-éxən/, /-éxə/ 'arm, edge, border'  
 /-ik<sup>w</sup>əs/, /-iw<sup>ʔ</sup>s/ 'side of the body'  
 /-iɪč/ 'tree'  
 /-əč/ 'multiple of one hundred'  
 /-k<sup>w</sup>/ 'clothes'  
 /-k<sup>w</sup>ɪ/, /-áwəɪ/, /-əw<sup>ʔ</sup>ɪ/ 'canoe'  
 /-énəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'month'  
 /-ɪšé/ 'multiple of ten'  
 /-n/ 'ear'  
 /-nék<sup>w</sup>/ 'floor, ground, flat surface'  
 /-nəč/, /-əč/, /-éč/ 'tail, bottom, rear end'  
 /-ŋəx<sup>w</sup>/ 'person, animate being, people'  
 /-qan/ 'throat'  
 /-qən/ 'wool, feather, skin growth'  
 /-qs/ 'nose, pointed'  
 /-q<sup>w</sup>/ 'head'  
 /-sən/ 'mouth'  
 /-səs/, /-sis/, /-čəs/ 'hand'  
 /-šən/, /šén/, /-sén/ 'foot'  
 /-čən/ 'flat surface'  
 /-ət<sup>w</sup>x/ 'dollar, round object'  
 /-w<sup>ʔ</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>/ 'house, dwelling'  
 /-w<sup>ʔ</sup>sə/ 'fire'

- 6<sup>+</sup> Iterative or Intensive: /-C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>/
- 7- Transitivizers:
- a. Volitional Transitive: /-t/, /-ət/
- b. Non-volitional transitive: /-néx<sup>w</sup>/, /-nəx<sup>w</sup>/, /-n/
- 8- Objective: /-áŋəs/, /-əs/, /-s/ 1st. Person Singular  
               /-áŋə/, /-sə/ 2nd. Person Singular and Plural  
               /-əlx<sup>w</sup>/ 1st. Person Plural.
- 9- Non-involvement: /-əle/
- 10- Habitual: /-él<sup>o</sup>s/
- 11- Purposive: /-əs/, /-s/
- 12- Directed motion: /-is/
- 13- Medio-passive: /-əŋ/, /-ŋ/, /-əm/
- 14- Reciprocal: /-ék<sup>w</sup>əl/, /-éwəl/, /-əl/
- 15- Durative: /-ət/
- 16- Reflexive: /-át/, /-áŋət/, /-əŋət/, /-ət/
- 17- Causative: /-tx<sup>w</sup>/
- 18- Possessive: /-s/ 3rd. Person Singular and Plural  
               /-ite/ 1st. Person Plural

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