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A GRAMMAR OF SPOKAN:

A SALISH LANGUAGE OF EASTERN WASHINGTON

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN LINGUISTICS

MAY 1972

By

Barry F. Carlson

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We certify that we have read this dissertation and that in our opinion it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.

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Preface

Salishan is a family comprised of languages located mainly in Washington and southern British Columbia. It has two large divisions: Coast Salishan west of the Cascades and Interior Salishan in an area extending eastward from the Cascades to the Rockies of Montana.[1] Within the Interior Division, two subdivisions--northern and southern--are recognized. The northern group consists of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet languages of southern British Columbia. The southern group consists of Columbian, located at the foot of the Washington Cascades; Okanagan-Colville, west of the Columbia River extending from northern Washington into southern Canada; Coeur d'Alene in northwestern Idaho; and Spokan-Kalispel-Flathead, a dialectal expanse extending from east of the Columbia River in Washington to the foothills of the Rockies in Montana.[2] The westernmost of the last dialects is Spokan, with the largest present-day concentration of speakers found on the Spokane Indian Reservation. Since this dialect has provided most of the data collected during my field work with the language, it has been selected for the title of this dissertation.

The reservation is located about fifty miles northwest of the city of Spokane, Washington, in the lands north of the Spokane River above its confluence with the Columbia. Before the reservations of the area were established, the Indians speaking the Spokan dialect occupied the territory

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from that confluence back up the Spokane River to the steep falls where the city of Spokane now stands. The Indians were closely tied to the river for a major portion of their subsistence. Three Spokan groups were distinguished at one time, based on the location of their river camps: Lower, near the mouth of the Spokane River (and the modern reservation); Middle, near the confluence of the Little Spokane River with the Spokane; and Upper, near the falls.[3]

When the Spokane Reservation was formed the people involved were mostly of Lower and Middle Spokan origins. Most of the Upper Spokans went to the Coeur d'Alene Reservation.[4] There seem to be only very minor linguistic differences among these three groups.[5]

Moving northeastward about fifty miles from the Spokane Reservation toward the Pend Oreille River, one approaches the Kalispel Reservation at the town of Cusick, Washington. Here is the main enclave of Kalispel speakers. This dialect differs in minor but interesting ways from the Spokan; the most significant difference historically is that while Spokan has preserved original *r, all the dialects north and east have merged it with *l. As might be expected, there are also a number of lexical differences. There are some Kalispel speakers on the Spokane Reservation, but most of them are from the area of present-day Chewelah, Washington, about midway between the two reservations. Chewelah seems virtually identical with Kalispel, but it is considered distinct

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by the Indians. Material collected from speakers from this area is identified in this study as Chewelah.

The groups to the east of Kalispel are loosely known as Flatheads, and their speech is often identified by the name Flathead. Actually, the Kalispel and Flathead groups had very similar forms of speech; this uniformity is represented in the literature by use of the term Kalispel to cover the whole dialect continuum. The primary distinguishing feature of Flathead is the shortening of many forms by deletion of material beyond the accented vowel, a tendency observable in Kalispel, but not as widespread. The Spokans refer to Flathead speakers as "those people that cut off their words." Given the large area covered and the linguistic homogeneity of this dialectal expanse, it seems likely that speakers of the ancestor language must have expanded to cover its present territory in fairly recent times. The relatively greater homogeneity of Kalispel and Flathead speech and some common innovations suggest that the spread occurred northward and eastward from the Spokan area.

It is not possible to estimate accurately the number of speakers of these dialects. However, it seems likely that the total number runs into the several hundreds at most. It is mainly a vehicle of personal communication among the elderly Indians living on reservations or in Indian communities in the large towns nearby. Despite interest among some of the younger Indians and some attempts to teach the language to

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the children, it seems most unlikely that it can survive more than another decade or two.

The earliest studies of the language were done by missionaries in the nineteenth century. Resulting publications are an extensive dictionary by Giorda (1877-79) and a grammar in the Latin mold by Mengarini (1861). The rest of the early published studies consist mainly of short vocabularies collected at various times by Dawson, Eells, Gibbs, Hale, Hoffman, Pinart, Powell, Roehrig, and Tolmie. References to these can be found in Pilling (1893). More recently, another missionary, Post (1904), has done a grammatical sketch of Kalispel. The next important study of the language was undertaken in 1937 by Hans Vogt of the University of Oslo, who spent eleven weeks on the Kalispel Reservation and published a grammar and dictionary with texts (Vogt 1940a). At the same time, he presented a brief comparative study of Kalispel and Coeur d'Alene, making available also the short vocabularies he had collected in Spokan and Colville (Vogt 1940b). During this same period, forms of an ethnographic nature were published by Turney-High (1937). Further lexical materials on Flathead were collected on brief field trips in 1957 and 1963 by John Krueger. He published these as topical word lists (Krueger 1960, 1961a, 1961b), and later presented an index to his own and Vogt's materials (Krueger 1967). Other recent collections of forms deal with ethnozoology (Weisel 1952), and ethnomusicology (Merriam 1967).

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In the summer of 1969 I began field work on the Spokane Indian Reservation, working with both Spokan and Chewelah speakers. There I found the language to be very much alive and the situation amenable to linguistic work. Given the increasingly rapid demise of the language, I have felt that my further work was necessary to a fuller understanding of this interesting native American language. Previous study has been miniscule in comparison with that done on languages in Europe and many other parts of the world.

This present study is an overall treatment of the grammar of the Spokan dialect. More broadly, it assumes that the overall structure of Kalispel and Flathead is essentially the same as that presented for Spokan, given their close relationship. However, it does not undertake to criticize or specifically reanalyze earlier works. Rather, it is a presentation of the system reflected in my own data. I have, of course, learned from my predecessors, and I hope that I have carried on successfully from where they left off. Vogt attained an understanding of the structure that was particularly impressive, especially considering the short time he had to collect material. But I believe I have been able to resolve a number of questions left by earlier analyses and have paved the way for development of the missionary lexicographic materials. I hope also to have provided a firmer basis for comparative studies of the Interior Salishan languages and of the Salishan family more broadly.

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The material utilized in this study was collected during three sucessive summers (1969-71) on the Spokane Indian Reservation (a total of six months in the field). Principal informants were Alex and Margaret Sherwood. Alex supplied Chewelah data--primarily lexical and grammatical materials--for a running check in comparison with the Spokan forms. Margaret, a Spokan speaker, supplied textual material of both ethnographic and traditional narrative nature, as well as lexical and grammatical materials. She was thus the key source. In addition, traditional narratives in Spokan were obtained from Albert Sam, and in Chewelah from Antoine Andrews. John B. Flett lent help in filling out word lists in Chewelah. Agnes Wynne, Margaret Sherwood's sister, kindly let me tape long conversations between her and her sister in order to provide samples of conversational language in context. Overall, textual collection with subsequent analysis was my primary research procedure. Much of the lexicon obtained has emerged from the texts themselves and from the exploratory sessions necessary for their analysis.

For the position of Spokan-Kalispel-Flathead in the Salishan family, see Swadesh (1950), Suttles and Elmendorf (1963), Elmendorf (1965). The fundamental comparative work on Salishan was done by Boas and Haeberlin (1927) and later the unpublished sources were restudied by Swadesh, who published a number of surveys of results (see especially Swadesh 1950, 1952). Reichard (1958-60) compared grammatical and

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lexical systems of five languages. More recently Kuipers (1970) has undertaken etymological studies with a different small set of languages. The phonological relationships of the southern interior group have been studied in detail by Kinkade and Sloat (1972). For a general survey of work on Salishan languages and for further bibliography, see Thompson (in press).

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FOOTNOTES

[1]These languages are in the Plateau Culture Area.

[2]There is no single term for the three dialects in either the linguistic literature or the vocabulary of the Indians. The Indian terms for these dialects are spo·qíni for Spokan, qəlispé for Kalispel and for Flathead they use either qəlispé or sčqəltsčísci. The terms are unanalyzable. Spokans will also refer to themselves as spq̓ənî? 'sun children'. The term sî?liš is used to refer to the three dialect groups and the Colville-Okanagan and Columbian languages as well.

[3]The Indians refer to the three groups with the names of various landmarks. There is some question which labels were most widely accepted, but the following are common today. Lower Spokan: sqesíɬəni 'people of Little Falls' (a place near the confluence with the Columbia); Middle: sən-xʷəménə?i 'people of the steelhead river' (Little Spokane River); Upper: səntutə?úli 'people of the falls'.

[4]In fact, Spokan is used by more Indians on the Reservation than Coeur d'Alene, which is nearly extinct.

[5]The placement of peoples on the reservations was determined in part by their religious affiliations and political relationships, as well as by their earlier geographic location (Ruby and Brown 1970).

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A GRAMMAR OF SPOKAN

A SALISH LANGUAGE OF EASTERN WASHINGTON

By Barry F. Carlson

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

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a grammatical treatment of an aboriginal language of northwestern North America. It is in three parts: phonology, morphophonemics, and grammar. The aim has been to present an analysis of a language that previously had not been sufficiently studied. Field work was carried out on the Spokane Indian Reservation during the summers from 1969 to 1971.

The grammar begins with the discussion of the phonology: The language has a rich consonant system with three manners: spirant, stop, and resonant--the latter two featuring an intersecting contrast of glottalized-unglottalized. Stops have labial, alveolar, lateral, palatal, velar, postvelar, and laryngeal series. There is a contrast of round-unround

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in the postvelars; all front velars are rounded. The alveolar series contrasts affricates and stops. The lateral stop is a glottalized affricate and lacks an unglottalized counterpart. The palatal is an affricate. Except in labial position there is a spirant corresponding to each stop series. Each series also has a corresponding resonant. The apical series has a contrast apical-retroflex (n and r). The postvelar resonants are actually pharyngeals, which are disappearing. Vowels are i, e, a, u, and o.

The morphophonemics of the language shows syllabicity changes, assimilations and dissimilations, loss of elements and shifts in the position of stress, with attendant vowel alternations. Especially interesting are the effects of s on resonants: in particular, underlying nasals appear as i or y depending on rules of syllabicity. Stress shifts can be explained by statements about the character of classes of roots and suffixes.

Although the grammar recognizes a separation of morphological and syntactic processes, there is much interrelationship. In order to provide clarity in exposition the pronominal system is described first. This includes both affixes and particles. All full words are capable of standing as complete utterances; thus they have a basically predicative nature. Preposed particles are demonstrative, interjective, interrogative, modal, aspectual, negative and temporal elements. Restricted words are special types of

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full words. In utterances longer than a single full word, the initial word is predicate; a following full word is an adjunct. Syntactically, these adjuncts are optional elements. In cases where adjuncts are translated by subjects and objects in English, the resulting clauses seem much like the familiar ones of western languages. But just as often it may seem--from the English point of view--that the first word looks like a noun, adverb or adjective. But since all full words are predicative they are the predicates of the native clause. Adjuncts also frequently look like verbal elements, and translation requires an embedded clause. But in Spokan terms these are functionally no different from more nominal appearing adjuncts. There thus seems to be no real noun-verb opposition of the familiar kind in Spokan. Sentences, however, show the familiar simple, compound and complex types.

In the morphological statements, roots are classed into transitive, intransitive and ambivalent on the basis of their occurrence with certain suffixes--the elements of the transitive system. Stems thus formed may take imperative, reflexive and reciprocal suffixes. Roots may also be extended with lexical suffixes added before all those just listed. These suffixes constitute another special feature of the language; they usually denote concrete objects or metaphorical extensions of them. They include reference to body parts and many everyday cultural items,

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as well as some rather abstract relational concepts. Roots are modified by reduplication to indicate plurality, diminutivity and developmental aspect. Prefixes mark the rest of the aspects: actual, stative, and repetitive. Other systems of prefixes are locational, directional, and modal.

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LIST OF TABLES

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1. Phonology

Consonants

Stops	Labial	Alveolar		Lateral	Palatal	Rounded Front Velar	Unrounded Postvelar	Rounded Postvelar	Laryngeal
Unglottalized	p	t	c		č	kʷ	q	qʷ	ʔ
Glottalized	p̓	t̓	c̓	ƛ̓	č̓	k̓ʷ	q̓	q̓ʷ	
Spirants		s		ɬ	š	xʷ	χ	χʷ	h
Resonants									
Unglottalized	m	n	r	l	y	w	(ʕ)	(ʕʷ)	
Glottalized	m̓	n̓	r̓	l̓	y̓	w̓	(ʕ̓)	(ʕ̓ʷ)	

Vowels

i		u
e		o
	a	

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1.1. Stress. Within words, primary stress is generally predictable. Secondary stress is noted in longer utterances, but has not been analyzed. Primary stress is written with an acute accent (´) and secondary stress with a grave accent (`). Vowels unmarked for stress are considered to have weak stress. The intonation patterns that go with utterances have not been analyzed. However, terminal intonation is generally evident, and will be marked with a period.

1.2. Consonant Manners.

1.21. Stops. Final stops are strongly aspirated. Before vowels they are at most only very weakly aspirated. They are sometimes unreleased before a homorganic resonant. They are always voiceless, even between vowels.

1.22. Resonants are either glottalized or unglottalized. The glottalization takes place during the production of the resonant, not before or after. Finally, glottalized resonants have a [ə] off-glide. Contrasts are not abundant, but cases like the following suggest that an interpretation ʔR would be incorrect.

xcím̓. 'He gambles.'

xcíʔm̓. 'They gamble.'

Also, a vowel followed by a glottal stop has an echo vowel (cf. 1.46). This makes the sequences VʔR and VR̓ or VʔR̓ quite distinct.

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1.23. Spirants are voiceless in all environments. The only gap in the spirant series is in the labial position.

1.3. Vowels. The vowel system, while appearing much simpler than the rich consonant system, is allophonically complicated and particularly interesting in regard to the status of unstressed vowels.

1.4. Consonant Positions.

1.41. Labials.

/p/ pəʔíč. '(It's) beargrass.'

pu·péwəlš. 'He breathes.'

ʔu·p̓íp. 'He burns.'

/p̓/ p̓ín. 'It's bent.'

sp̓ápqəntxʷ. 'You club someone over the head.'

/m/ mərínɨp. '(It's a) balsam.'

čənəmqín. 'He's blind.'

pxʷúm. 'He blows.'

/m̓/ m̓em̓scút. 'He plays.'

x̣cənúm̓tən. '(They're) clothes.'

č̓ím̓. 'It's dark.'

sč̓óm̓. '(It's) bone.'

1.42. Alveolars. Simple stops and nasals (second column) are separated from affricates, the spirant and the flap r (in the third).

Second Column.

/t/ má^{s}ʷət. 'It's broken.'

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čɬšə?ítəm. 'It's before, ahead.'

tílpt. 'It's broken.'

/ṯ/ ṯéye?. 'It's bad.'

hecṯém. 'It's bunched.'

/n/ nə?éysən. 'I bought it.'

sčəníləmən. '(It's) poison.'

ṯémən. 'I bunch it.'

/ń/ ckʷíńč. '(It's a) bow.'

sčəńírəmən. '(It's a) buttercup, (It's) February.'

míń. 'It's covered with paint.'

Third Column.

/c/ ckʷíńč. '(It's a) bow.'

qéce?. '(He's an) older brother.'

ƛíc. 'It's hard, set.'

/č/ čəsqáqəne?. '(It's) Chickadee.'

sčéšt. '(He's a) brother-in-law.'

síčəm. '(It's a) blanket.'

/s/ se·síkʷ. '(It's) Bobwhite.'

sənkʷsíxʷxʷ. '(He's a) relative.'

kʷéys. 'He took it.'

/r/ sčəńírəmən. '(It's a) buttercup, (It's) February.'

čért. 'It's cold.'

/ṯ/ səṯšíct. '(It's) fire.'

staṯtəṯé?m. '(It's) thunder.'

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1.43. Laterals. The one asymmetry in the lateral column is the lack of contrastive /ƛ/. (In the dialects from Chewelah on north and east, where glottalized stops are deglottalized in certain reduplicative patterns, surface [ƛ] appears representing underlying /ƛ̓/ in such circumstances. Spokan does not deglottalize in this way and [ƛ] does not occur at all.)

Chewelah:

sčkʷƛ̓ústən. '(It's an) eye.'

sckʷƛkʷƛ̓ústən. '(It's) eyes.'

/l/ is usually [λ] after a stressed vowel, elsewhere [l].

púləye? [λ] '(It's a) gopher.'

/ƛ̓/ ƛ̓íc 'It's hard, set.'

sx̣ʷƛ̓éy̓ '(It's a) mountain goat.'

míƛ̓ 'It's covered.'

/ɬ/ ɬu?mín '(It's a) fish spear.'

nə?úɬxʷš 'Go inside!'

q̓ʷúɬ 'It's grey.'

/l/ lémt 'He's glad.'

?ólqʷə?ey 'He goes down toward water.'

hipél 'It's easy.'

/l̓/ səl̓áx̣t '(He's a) friend.'

x̣ʷəl̓šéy̓ 'Why?'

x̣ál̓ 'It's light.'

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1.44. Palatals. The palatal consonants make up the fifth column. The affricates and fricative č, c̓, and š are grooved alveopalatals much like those in English.

/č/ čtaʔx̣éls. '(It) aches, hurts.'
sčəwáx̣ən. '(It's an) arm.'
spéntč. '(It's a) year.'

/c̓/ c̓iʔlélxʷ. '(It's) bark.'
sčic̓əmcínsən. '(It's an) ankle.'
hecəlíc̓. 'It was bandaged.'

/š/ šələmín. '(It's an) axe.'
čɬpax̣šítəm. 'He was advised.'
xʷúyš. 'Go!'

/y/ yámx̣ʷeʔ. '(It's a) basket.'
t̓éyeʔ. 'It's bad.'
sc̓əʔéy. '(It's) autumn.'

/ỷ/ ỷəl̓ỷíl̓t. 'It's dull.'
səmx̣éỷčən. '(It's a) grizzly bear.'
šéỷ. 'That's it.'
tčéỷ. '(It's) urine.'

1.45. Velars. There is no unrounded front velar series. Historically, *k, *k̓, and *x have shifted to č, c̓, and š. The language has only a rounded front velar series of stops and spirant and two postvelar series--plain and rounded.

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1.451. Unrounded postvelars. The unglottalized postvelars present no perceptual problem because there is no unrounded front velar series to confuse them with. Phonetically, they are produced very far back in the mouth.

/q/ qáχe?. '(She's a) mother.'
qʷácqən. '(It's a) hat.'
stšáɬq. '(It's a) huckleberry.'

/q̓/ q̓ét. '(It's a) hide, skin.'
čsq̓əméltən. 'He's hungry.'
náq̓. 'It's rotten.'

/χ/ χést. 'It's good.'
stχénč. '(They're) guts.'
ʔáčəχ. 'He looks.'

Two uvular-pharyngeal resonant consonants, formed by narrowing the pharyngeal cavity with frequent concomitant narrowing in the postvelar area, fill out this set. They are only marginally present in the language and so are enclosed in parentheses in the table. The glottalized pharyngeal is very poorly documented and the cases may actually involve simply glottal stop. Overall, they have presented many phonetic problems. The language seems to be at a stage of losing pharyngeals (the Chewelah dialect has lost them almost entirely) and many cases of supposed pharyngeals may just be differences in vowel quality.

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/ʕ/ ʕa·cím. 'He ties it.'

ʕáɬəx̣. 'He looks.'

/ɬ/ hi yáɬʕ. 'It's gathered.'

1.452. Rounded velars present rather difficult perceptual problems. The front series of stops and fricative and the postvelar series are difficult to distinguish. The rounded postvelar series is articulated slightly farther forward than the unrounded postvelars and the front rounded series only slightly farther forward. Again, there are probably mistakes in the data arising from this closeness. Vowel morphophonemics and allophony can be of some help here; for example, /i/ has a very low variant before postvelars and expected /e/ is replaced by /a/ before a postvelar within the word.

/kʷ/ kʷén. 'I take it.'

skʷískʷs. '(It's a) grouse.'

sɬəx̣étkʷ. 'It's fast moving water.'

/k̓ʷ/ k̓ʷíɬət. 'There is some.'

sk̓ʷíl̓. '(It's a) porcupine.'

míl̓kʷ. 'It's all, whole.'

/xʷ/ xʷíst. 'He walks.'

čsíxʷəm. 'He pours.'

x̣əʔúleʔxʷ. '(It's a) rattlesnake.'

/qʷ/ qʷásqʷey. '(It's a) bluejay.'

sqʷáqʷciʔ. '(It's a) rabbit.'

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sk̓ʷək̓ʷəlálqʷ. '(It's a) quail.'

/q̓ʷ/ q̓ʷáy. 'It's black.'

q̓ʷíɬq̓ʷəɬt. 'It's excellent.'

ɬə?áq̓ʷ. 'It shows up, appears.'

/x̓ʷ/ x̓ʷə̓əx̓ʷúc̓əm. '(It's a) pigeon.'

so·x̓ʷép. '(It's a) root.'

sptáx̓ʷ. 'He spits.'

x̓ʷél. 'It's abandoned.'

A set of rounded pharyngeals (rare) fills out the post-velar series.

/ʕʷ/ ʕʷoyəncút. 'He laughs.'

č̓áʕʷ. 'He prays.'

/ḥʷ/ má·ḥʷət. 'It breaks.'

The resonants /w/ and /ẘ/ fill out the rounded front velar series.

/w/ wíčən. 'I see it.'

hanəwí?. 'It's you.'

č̓úw. 'It's empty, gone.'

/ẘ/ ẘsúɬ. '(It's a) loon.'

šəẘšəẘéɬ. '(It's a) road.'

psέẘs. '(It's a) prairie dog.'

héẘt. '(It's a) woodrat.'

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1.46. Laryngeals. /ʔ/ occurs initially, medially and finally, but /h/ is rare except in word initial position.

/ʔ/ ʔístč. 'It's winter.'

čtaʔx̌éls. 'It hurts.'

séwəneʔ. 'He hears.'

/h/ hin- 'my'

hemíshemš. '(It's a) mourning dove.'

séhč. '(It's) wild onion.'

hecxʷúy. 'He goes.'

When /ʔ/ occurs directly after a stressed vowel, the aspirated release is heard as a voiceless vowel of the same quality. This is the phenomenon which has been referred to in earlier descriptions of Interior Salish languages as an "echo vowel" (e.g. Vogt 1940a: 19).

[nəkʷúʔᵘ] 'It's one.'

1.5. Vowels.

1.51. /i/ is normally [i].

[i] cíl. 'It's five.'

After postvelars it is close to [e] or perhaps [ᵊe] with a central on-glide.

[ᵊe] -qín 'head' (lexical suffix)

Before postvelars /í/ tends to [iᵊ] with a centralizing off-glide. Unstressed, the vowel tends to [E^] in the same environment.

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[i$^{\circ}$] pǐq. 'It's white.'

[E^] hiqsilmǐx^{w}əm. 'He's going to be my chief.'

1.52. /e/ is phonetically [æ] in most cases, but is more tense and higher before /y/ or /ẏ/.

[æ] k^{w}én. 'I took it.'

[e] méẏ. 'It's told.'

After unrounded postvelars the vowel tends to be lower than [æ].

[æ$^{\vee}$] q̇éy. 'He lives.'

1.53. /u/ is basically [u]. A lower allophone [o] seems to be conditioned by postvelars but there are cases of free variation between [u] and [o].

[u] sənx^{w}úl. 'It's blood.'

[o] məx^{w}úl̓. 'It's a cradle board.'

1.54. /o/ is basically [ɔ]. Most cases of the phoneme /o/ in the language are due to morphophonemic circumstances. Normally /u/ is replaced by /o/ if a postvelar follows.

mús. 'It's four.'

//mús-sq̇t// mósq̇əṭ. 'It's Thursday.'

However, there are cases of [ɔ] without any synchronically determinable conditioning; thus it is necessary to recognize distinct /o/--a phoneme with more limited functional load than the other stressed vowels.

hecaʔóṣti. 'It's lost.'

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1.55. /a/. This phoneme is basically low and central [a], but there is some variation to a more front allophone after [ɬ] and to a more back variant before postvelars.

[a] sxʷəmarəyém. '(He's a) doctor.'

[aˤ] nəɬámqeʔ. '(It's a) bear.'

[ɑ] qáχeʔ. '(She's a) mother.'

Most cases of /a/ are before a postvelar obstruent later in the word. /a/ also appears before or after a pharyngeal. (Historically */a/ has developed to /e/ except in these environments.)

sp̓əʕás. '(It's a) nighthawk.'

But there are still other cases which cannot be accounted for in this way (the first example above is one).

1.56. Schwa is a most elusive vowel. It is not established as a phoneme because it never occurs stressed and seems to be generally predictable. Schwa is best treated as an element inserted by rule.

The non-pharyngeal resonants have a close relationship with this inserted element. When they follow a consonant and are not in turn followed by a vowel other than schwa, resonants are syllabic [R̩] or have schwa inserted before them [əR] (in free variation). Before a non-initial vowel they appear as [əR]. Following a vowel and initially before a vowel they are simple, non-syllabic [R].

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Forms below are cited in underlying and broad phonetic notation.

//šɬ-mín// šələmín. '(It's an) axe.'

//s-n-čm-áχn// sənčəmáχən. '(It's an) armpit.'

//n-wís-t// nəwíst. 'It's up high.'

//xʷúy// xʷúy. 'He goes.'

//čúw// čúw. 'He disappears.'

Word initial resonants before a consonant are either [Rə] or [Ṛ]. Again, there is variation.

//n-ʔúɬxʷ// nəʔúɬxʷ~ṇʔúɬxʷ. 'He goes in.'

It should now be clear that [əR] and [Rə] vary freely with syllabic resonants. Henceforth in surface representations these cases will be written with schwa, showing the position of the inserted vowel.

This schwa occurs in other places, such as between a glottalized consonant and a following consonant.

//χʲ-cín// χʲəcín. '(It's a) horse.'

//čsqáqne?// čəsqáqəne?. '(It's a) chickadee.'

//ʕáčχʷ// ʕáčəχʷ. 'He is hungry.'

A schwa also occurs between a consonant and a following glottal stop.

//čn hec-ʔítš-i// čəy ecəʔítši. 'I am sleeping.'

There remain many problems concerning these vowels, both because they vary greatly in length and quality and because they are much involved in the continuum of style.

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Actually [ə] here is a convenient surface symbol for a set of varying vowels. Although it has proven hard to be consistent, varieties do seem to occur as follows:

[ɪˀ], lower high front centralized in the neighborhood of palatal consonants.

čən xʷúy. 'I went.'

[ʊ̟́], centralized high back and rounded in the neighborhood of rounded front velars.

cəʔúkʷəlt. 'It is brought.'

[ɔ̟], central low rounded, in the neighborhood of rounded postvelars.

qʷələmín. '(They're) ashes.'

[ʌ], low back unrounded in the neighborhood of plain postvelars.

xəʔúleʔxʷ. '(It's a) rattlesnake.'

[ə], mid central unrounded, elsewhere.

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2. Morphophonemics

A Spokan word has the following structure:

(PREFIXES) ROOT (SUFFIXES)

A root may occur alone to form a word. When it does, it naturally takes primary stress. When prefixes are added, the root still has primary stress. When suffixes are added, primary stress may occur on the root or on one of the suffixes.

While some morphophonemic changes apply to both prefixation and suffixation, in the latter cases stress placement usually has an effect on the operation of a rule. Therefore, the less involved changes of prefixation are presented first. Because the proclitic pronoun particles take part in the same changes as affixes, they are considered in these sections.

2.1. Changes involved in prefixation.

2.11. Dissimilation of consonants. //c// of the prefix //hec-// 'actual' becomes s before non-lateral coronal stops and affricates, glottalized or unglottalized (t̓ t c c̓ č č̓). (Root elements are underlined in these sections.)

//hec-t̓íxʷ1-m// hestíxʷələm. 'It's different.'

//hec-púl-s-te-m// hecpúlstəm. 'He'd been killed.'

The dialects from Chewelah on north and east do not have this alternation. There the 'actual' morpheme is //hes-//.

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In another case of dissimilation, //s-// 'nominal' followed by //s-// 'nominal' becomes sc.

//s-s-ʔíɬn// scəʔíɬən. '(They're) groceries.'

2.12. Assimilation of a vowel to a following postvelar takes place when proclitic //qe?// 'we' becomes qa? before //qɬ-// 'unreal'.

//qe? qɬ-s-il-míxʷ-m// qa? qsilmíxʷəm. 'We are going to be chiefs.'

2.13. Consonant loss conditioned by spirants. In several different cases, a spirant causes the loss of a consonant directly preceding it.

2.131. The //ɬ// of //ʔepɬ-// 'have' and //qɬ-// 'unreal' is lost before //s-// 'nominal'.

//ʔepɬ-s-mʔém// ʔepsəməʔém. 'He has a woman.'

//qɬ-s-nčlé// qsənčəlé. 'He is going to be a coyote.'

2.132. The loss of //n// before //s-// 'nominal' has two slightly different results, depending on whether //n// is preceded by a consonant or a vowel. When the resonant is preceded by a consonant it becomes i.

//čn s-mʔém// či səməʔém. 'I am a woman.' (Proclitic //čn// 'I' provides the only example of this change.)

When preceded by a vowel (the only examples of this are with //hin-// 'my' and //han-// 'your') the //n// develops

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to i but is lost by a subsequent rule which deletes i after a and i. (This rule is more general and should be extended to delete any i or y after i and any u or w after u.)

//han-s-m?ém// 'She's your woman.'
hai s m?ém n becomes i
hasəmə?ém. i is lost

//hin-s-m?ém// 'She's my woman.'
hii s m?ém n becomes i
hisəmə?ém. i is lost

There is one instance of //n// loss in which it is necessary to propose metathesis to account for the circumstances. This takes place in the combinations //hin-// 'my', //čn// 'I' and //han-// 'your' with the 'unreal' prefix //qɨ-// in turn followed by //s-// 'nominal'.

//hin-qɨ-s-n-č̣lé// hiqsənč̣əlé. 'He's going to be my coyote.'

//čn qɨ-s-n-č̣lé// či qsənč̣əlé. 'I'm going to be coyote.'

//han-qɨ-s-n-č̣lé// haqsənč̣əlé. 'He's going to be your coyote.'

All the results here can be accounted for by the earlier statements about consonant loss, except that the morpheme //qɨ-// intervenes between the conditioning spirant and the underlying //n//. Metathesis of the pronouns and //qɨ-// after //n// has been affected can explain such a situation. After metathesis //s// causes the loss of //ɨ//.

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//qɬ čn s-// to qɬ čiˌ s- to čiˌ qɬ-s- to čiˌ q-s-

Finally, it should be pointed out that stem initial //s// does not cause the loss of //n// of the proclitic //čn// 'I'. Only //s-// 'nominal' has this effect.

//čn sl-sl-p-ús// čən səlsəlpús. 'I got dizzy.'

//ta čn s-sl-sl-p-ús// ta či səlsəlpús. 'I didn't get dizzy.'

In these examples //s-// 'nominal' (occurring very frequently with negative forms in general) underlies the surface contrast. This also shows that //s-// 'nominal' followed by //s// of a root are realized as s not sc as above (cf. 2.11).

2.133. Loss of //n// before //h//. A complicated development takes place when //hec-// 'actual', is preceded by the morphemes //hin-// 'my', //han-// 'your', or //čn// 'I'. First, the //n// develops as before //s-// (cf. 2.132), the //h// of //hec-// is lost and then regular further processes involving desyllabification and vowel deletion go into effect (cf. 2.14 and 2.15). Thus //h// and //s-// can affect //n// in the same way.

//hin-hec-x̣ʷél-m// yecx̣ʷéləm. 'I am abandoning someone.'

//han-hec-x̣ʷél-m// hacx̣ʷéləm. 'You are abandoning someone.'

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//čn hec-x^{w}st-lwís-iy// čəy ecx^{w}stələwísi. 'I'm just wandering around.'

It should be noted that while the dialects from the Chewelah area on north and east also lose the //n// in the second person and first person possessive prefixes before the same 'actual' morpheme, they have čən es- corresponding to Spokan čəy ec-. It seems, then, that in these dialects //hes-// affects only prefixal elements.

As shown by the preceding examples with //hec-//, a laryngeal //h// in a prefix is deleted in word formation unless the derivation ends with h in initial position before a vowel. Prefixal //ʔ// is also deleted unless initial.

//k^{w} ʔepɬ-s-mʔem// k^{w} epsəməʔém. 'You have a woman.'

2.14. Syllabicity changes. When the vowels //i// of //hin-// 'my' and //e// of //hec-// 'actual' come into contact in a derivation, i becomes y before e.

//hin-hec-x^{w}él-m// 'I abandon someone.'

hiihecx^{w}élm

hihecx^{w}élm

hiecx^{w}élm

hyecx^{w}élm

yecx^{w}élm

yecx^{w}éləm. (schwa insertion)

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By previously discussed rules, //h// conditions the //n//, which becomes i. This derived i is deleted. The non-initial //h// is deleted next. Then //i// becomes y before a vowel. The remaining h is then lost because it is not initial before a vowel. The derived i of //čn// 'I' may also undergo this change in syllabic nature.

//čn hec-x̣ʷél-iy// 'I am being abandoned.'

či hecx̣ʷéli	n becomes i
či ecx̣ʷéli	h is deleted
čy ecx̣ʷéli	i becomes y
čəy ecx̣ʷéli	schwa insertion

2.15. Vowel loss. //e// of //ʔepɨ-// 'have' and //hec-// 'actual' is lost when it occurs directly after //a// of //han-// 'your'.

//han-hec-x̣ʷél-m// 'You abandon someone.'

haihecx̣ʷélm	n becomes i
hahecx̣ʷélm	i is deleted
haecx̣ʷélm	h is deleted
hacx̣ʷélm	e is lost
hacx̣ʷéləm	schwa insertion

2.16. Changes between words. Syllabicity changes and vowel losses also take place when prefixal elements are preceded by particles ending in vowels. First, word initial laryngeals in the prefixes previously discussed are lost

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in this environment. Then //e// of prefixes is lost after particles ending in //a//.

//ta ʔepɨ-x̲ʌ̀-cín// ta pɨx̲ʌ̀əcín. 'He doesn't have a dog.'

//ta hec-miy-s-té-n// ta cəmi·sté́n. 'I didn't know it.'

Root //e// and //ʔ// are not affected in this way.

//ta ʔem-út// ta ʔemút. 'He didn't sit.'

Thus root initial glottal stop is not deleted like prefixal glottal stop, and vowels may not come into contact. (Although there are no examples in the data to prove it, root initial h is probably not lost in this situation either.) In addition, the laryngeal is never deleted if two vowels of identical quality would come into contact.

//ʌ̀e ʔepɨ-ʌ̀íl// ʌ̀e ʔepɨʌ̀íl. 'He had already died.'

//...u ʔuɨ-s-pílye?// ...u ʔuɨspíləye?. '...and the coyotes.'

If a laryngeal is lost, leaving initial i followed by a consonant, the vowel becomes y after a particle ending in e or a. The following examples with //hin-// 'my' show this development after //ta// negative, and //ʌ̀e// 'already'.

//ta hin-s-mʔém// ta ysəməʔém. 'She's not my woman.'

//ʌ̀e hin-s-mʔém// ʌ̀e ysəməʔém. 'She's my woman already.'

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It is interesting that i is not lost after the vowel a of a particle--such as //ta//. Earlier it was pointed out that the //n// of //han-// (and //hin-//) becomes derived i before //s-// and is then lost (cf. 2.132). Rule ordering can account for this apparent contradiction. Compare the two derivations below:

//ta hin-s-mʔém//		//han-hec-x̣ʷél-m//
ta hiism ʔém	n becomes i	haihecx̣ʷélm
ta hism ʔém	i is lost	hahecx̣ʷélm
ta ism ʔém	h is deleted	haecx̣ʷélm
ta ysm ʔém	i becomes y	---
---	e is lost	hacx̣ʷélm
ta ysəmə ʔém	schwa insertion	hacx̣ʷéləm

These derivations summarize the order of most of the rules mentioned up to this point. Metathesis (cf. 2.132) would have to be considered a special procedure, coming after //n// is affected. The remaining dissimilation, assimilation and loss rules (cf. 2.11, 2.12, and 2.131) are probably best considered late phonetic rules.

Another syllabicity change takes place between words when the particle //u// 'and' becomes w before //ʔeɨ-// 'back', //ʔepɨ-// 'have', and //hec-// 'actuaï'.

//šéy̓ u hec-c̓éy// šéy̓ əw ec̓éy. 'There they lived.'

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//pén-tč u ʔepɨ-cítxʷ// pèntč əw epɨcítxʷ. 'They always had houses.'

//šéy u ʔeɨ-xʷúy// šèy əw eɨxʷúy. 'Then he went back.'

One resyllabification rule may be posited to account for all changes of u to w and i to y. This rule operates within words and between words. As this rule shows, there is a relationship between the vowels i and u and their semivowel counterparts y and w that parallels the relationship between the syllabic and non-syllabic counterparts of m, n, l, and r (cf. 1.56). The vowels i and u remain different from the resonants, however, in that they occur stressed, while syllabic resonants m, n, l, and r never do.

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2.2. Changes involved in suffixation.

2.21. Stress placement. A CVC root is the base of most Spokan words. These may occur alone or take prefixes and suffixes. Suffixed forms may take primary stress on a suffix or on the root. The roots and suffixes involved will determine stress placement.

Suffixes fall into three groups: those that are inherently-stressed (suffixes which always take the stress from a root); unstressed suffixes, which do not have an underlying vowel; and variable-stress suffixes, which have both stressed and unstressed variants. The last take stress when it is not automatically placed on the root or on an inherently-stressed suffix in the same form. When unstressed, their underlying vowel is lost.

Roots are similarly divided into two main groups: stress-retentive roots, which take the stress unless an inherently-stressed suffix is present; stress-shifting roots, which lose stress to variable-stress suffixes as well as to inherently-stressed suffixes. Unstressed, these roots usually lose their underlying vowel. Roots, of course, appear stressed (with a full vowel) where no suffixes are present. There are a number of roots in the corpus for which no stressed form has been recorded; these will have to be cited simply without an underlying vowel. This discussion implies two ordered rules: stress assignment; vowel deletion.

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2.211. Stress-retentive roots are noted in underlying forms by underscoring their vowels. When they occur with variable-stress suffixes, the suffixes appear in reduced form.

//pu̲l// 'kill'

//pu̲l-s-te-s// púlsc. 'He kills it.'

//k̓ʷu̲l// 'do, make'

//kʷu̲l-n-te-xʷ// k̓ʷúl̓əntxʷ. 'You did it.'

Inherently-stressed suffixes (listed in underlying forms with stressed vowels) take stress from these roots.

//-sút// 'reflexive'

//pu̲l-s-te-sút// pəlscút. 'He killed himself.'

//-nú-// 'successfully'

//k̓ʷu̲l-nú-n-te-n// k̓ʷəl̓nún. 'I managed to do it.'

2.212. Stress-shifting roots are cited in their underlying forms with their characteristic vowels wherever possible; when a root is cited without a vowel it means that only unstressed forms were recorded. Variable-stress suffixes take stress when following these roots (unless an inherently-stressed suffix is also present).

// caq// 'put, place'

//caq-n-te-n// cqəntén. 'I placed it.'

//šl// 'chop'

//šl-min// šələmín. '(It's an) axe.'

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When two variable-stress suffixes occur, the second receives stress.

//taq-n-te-ci-n// tqəncín. 'I hit you.'

These stress rules must be modified somewhat when variable-stress lexical suffixes occur with these variable-stress grammatical suffixes (cf. 4.2).

2.213. Metathesized Roots. When stress-retentive roots take unstressed suffixes such as //-p// non-control, or //-m// middle, the affixes simply attach to the root. When these same unstressed suffixes occur with stress-shifting roots (those that have stress on a suffix when they occur with variable-stress suffixes) the root metathesizes its final -VC to -CV (cf. also Imperatives, 4.15). Roots with underlying vowels marked V̆ will be discussed in 2.214.

//ƛi̯l-p// ƛəlíp. 'He died.'

//ƛux^{w}-p// ƛəx^{w}úp. 'He won back.'

//ƛ̓^{w}ə̆?-m// ƛ̓^{w}ə?ém. 'He bit.'

//pux^{w}-m// px^{w}úm. 'He scattered.'

//i̯ù?-m// i̯ə?úm. 'It was jabbed.'

//moh-m// məhóm. He howls.'

//p̓is-m// p̓əsím. 'He scrapes.'

//c̓uw-p// c̓əwúp. 'It got silent.'

//k^{w}en-m// k^{w}əném. 'He took.'

//cù?-m// cə?úm. 'He hit.'

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//ƛam-m// ƛəmám. 'He sucks.'

//caq-m// cqém. 'He hit.'

//wiƛ-m// ʔu·ƛím. 'He burned.'

Some additional abstractness will be necessary to handle cases like cqém 'He hit'. The underlying form would have to be //ceq// to get the correct suffix vowel. Then a general backing rule, applying before a postvelar, would be necessary to derive cáq (cf. 2.22 for other cases of this rule). This means, however, that the backing rule would be counter to an established historical rule: *a to e unless conditioned by a postvelar. There is no reason to suspect that roots with a postvelar preceded by a ever had an //e// vowel. For the present I will continue to write underlying //a// for these roots.

2.214. Roots that Retain Full Vowels. While most unstressed roots have no vowel or a schwa vowel, in certain cases a full-grade root vowel appears when stress is on a suffix. The reasons for this are not fully understood at this time. Some examples follow showing situations where full vowels occur. Underlying forms for roots that do not reduce will be written with a grave accent over the vowel. Most of these roots are unattested with primary stress. (Also, all apparently are stress-shifting.)

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//tè?-min// te?mín. '(It's a) pounding stone.'

//ɬù?-min// ɬu?mín. '(It's a) spear.'

When pharyngeals are present in the root:

//yàʕ-m-s-te-n// yaʕəmstén. 'I assemble them.'

//ʕòy̓-n-te-sút// ʕoy̓əncút. 'He laughs.'

When glottal stop is present as C_1:

//ʔàχ1-asɑ̀t// ʔaχəlásɑ̀ət. 'It's everyday.' (CVCC root)

//ʔèm-ut// ʔemút. 'He sits.'

2.215. Roots with Unstressed Long Vowels. Some unstressed roots have fuīl long vowels. These represent reductions of underlying roots with semi-vowels in most cases. Roots with initial //w// reduce to u· with automatic insertion of glottal stop before the vowel.

//wiɬ-n-te-n// 'I burned it.'

w ɬ n té n stress assignment and vowel deletion

u·ɬ n té n w becomes u·

ʔu·ɬn té n glottal stop insertion

ʔu·ɬəntén. schwa insertion

//wič-s-qél-ixʷ// ʔo·čsqélixʷ. 'He sees people.'

The lower vowel in this example is due to the postvelar (cf. 2.22).

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There are no examples of underlying roots with initial //y// showing a parallel development to long i·. (There is one example, ʔiləmíxʷəm 'He is chief', that shows an unstressed i that may have come from a root with initial //y//. However, the surface vowel is not long.)

Other long vowels arise from roots with //u// or //i// and a following homorganic semi-vowel.

//miy-s-te-n// mi·sté́n. 'I know it.'

//puw-min// pu·mí́n. '(It's a) drum.'

The heterorganic combination //ew// also becomes u· as in čən su·ɬtúms 'I ask people for information'. The underlying root here is //sew//. It seems likely that the word tu·míst 'He sells or buys', contains the root //tew//, although there is no direct evidence in the data. In like fashion, the combination //ey// becomes i·, as in ɬi·péys 'It rains', from the root //ɬey// 'fall'. There is no evidence at this time to show that resonants after //a// and //o// can become long vowels in the same way.

While most long vowels are predictable in the above ways, there are a few roots which must have underlying long vowels indicated.

//ɬa·p-n-te-n// ɬa·pəntén. 'I shot it.'

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2.22. Vowel Assimilation Involved in Suffixation. When suffixes with postvelars are added to a root, //u// becomes o and //e// becomes a.

//mus-asɁt// mósɁət. '(It's) Thursday.'

//xes-alqs// xásəlqs. '(It's a) moose.'

When a suffix with //e// is followed by another suffix with a postvelar, the suffix vowel is lowered. For example, the lexical suffix //-ep// 'base, bottom' is -ap before //-qin// 'head, top'.

//sp-ep-qin// spápqən. 'He gets hit on the back of the head.'

There are no examples of //u// in a suffix being lowered to o in this way, but it would naturally be expected. This backing rule was previously shown to operate between a proclitic and a prefix (cf. 2.12) and possibly within a root itself (cf. 2.213). It does not operate between a prefix and a root.

//hec-Ɂey// hecɁéy. 'They lived.'

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2.23. Consonant Changes Involved in Suffixation. Stress placement applies first to an underlying form. Either a suffix or a root becomes stressed. Then unstressed underlying vowels of suffixes or roots (with some exceptions) are deleted. At this point a number of other rules apply to consonants.

2.231. Loss of //n// before //s//. It has been shown that //s// causes the loss of //n// in prefixation (cf. 2.132). This also occurs in suffixation. As previously stated, //n// becomes i when preceded by a consonant.

//k̓ʷul̓-min-s//	'It's his tool.'
k̓ʷúl̓ m n s	stress assignment and vowel deletion
k̓ʷúl̓ m i s	n becomes i
k̓ʷúl̓əmis.	schwa insertion

When preceded by //i// (which becomes stressed--avoiding deletion) //n// becomes i and is then lost.

//šl-min-s//	'It's his axe.'
šl mín s	stress assignment
šl míi s	n becomes i
šl mí s	i is deleted
šələ́mis	schwa insertion

There is a third realization of //n// that arises in suffixation. When //e// or //u// (again, stressed--avoiding deletion) precedes //n//, which in turn is followed by //s//, //n// becomes i and then y (by the general resyllabification

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rule; cf. 2.16). The surface result is eys and uys.

//k̓ʷul̓-nú-n-te-s//	'He finally succeeded in doing it.'
k̓ʷul̓ nú n te s	stress
k̓ʷ l̓ nú n t s	vowel deletion
k̓ʷ l̓ nú n s	(see discussion)
k̓ʷ l̓ nú i s	n becomes i
k̓ʷ l̓ nú y s	resyllabification
k̓ʷəl̓ənúys.	schwa insertion

//kʷen-n-te-s//	'He took it.'
kʷén n te s	stress
kʷén n t s	vowel deletion
kʷén s	(see discussion)
kʷéi s	n becomes i
kʷéys	resyllabification

It would appear that there is a special treatment of //n// in suffixation, different from that in prefixation. However, this is simply the result of the fact that there do not happen to be any prefixes having //e// or //a// in the requisite circumstances. There were cases mentioned where //i// becomes y after a preposed particle, however (cf. 2.16). In addition, the rule discussed in regard to prefixes considered derived i deleted after //i// and //a//. Examples showed that this operates after //i// in suffixes, but there are no cases after //a// to determine whether a

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y glide would develop or not. At this point, a set of rules applying to //n// in both prefixes and suffixes can be written as follows:

a. n becomes i before s or h.

b. i is deleted after i or a.

c. i becomes y after a vowel.

(The derivations of these last examples involve rules that have not been discussed yet: loss of t and simplification of geminate sequences. These and other rules involving consonant changes in suffixation will not be discussed here, in isolation, but in following sections dealing with the individual morphemes that undergo these changes.)

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2.24. The System of Pronominal Reference--An Illustration of the Processes Involved in Affixation. There are two reasons for presenting the system of pronominal reference here: First, an explanation of this system shows the general way in which words are built in Spokan. Thus pronouns are discussed by way of summary of previously discussed morphophonemic processes. Some additional morphophonemic rules will also be suggested. These rules are not as easily isolated for explanation as the ones considered thus far, and so will be considered as they appear in a complex of rules. Second, the system of pronominal reference is rather complex and because of this it can present difficulty for a reader trying to understand and follow examples relating to the grammatical system of Spokan. Therefore, an overview before the initial remarks about grammar seems essential.

The forms of pronominal reference can be proclitics, suffixes, prefixes or full words. The last are not considered here since they are not involved in the morphophonemic complexities under study here and in any case are less common than the other elements.

As a starting point, it seems possible to divide the pronominal system into two main paradigms: the intransitive pronoun forms and the transitive pronoun forms. Certain suffixes occur with these paradigms and in general these can be called intransitive and transitive endings.

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The functional label for the intransitive pronoun elements is subject. The transitive elements can be called subjects and objects. A set of possessive pronouns constitutesa third paradigm.

2.241. The Intransitive Paradigm. All the intransitive pronoun elements are proclitics.

//čn// 'I'	//qe?// 'we'
//kʷ// 'you'	//p// 'you plural'

General third person is unmarked.

čən ʔemút. 'I sat.'
kʷ ʔemút. 'You sat.'
ʔemút. 'He/they sat.'
qeʔ emút. 'We sat.'
p ʔemút. 'You folks sat.'

A -ʔ- infix, always coming after the stressed vowel, can indicate a third person plural subject.

ʔemúʔt. 'They sat.'

The first person plural example shows that a sequence of two glottal stops is simplified to one.

//qeʔ ʔemut// qeʔ emút. 'We sat.'

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2.242. The Possessive Paradigm. The possessives are prefixes, suffixes and a proclitic.

//hin-// 'my'	//qe?// 'our'
//han-// 'your'	//-mp// 'your plural'

Third person is marked by //-s//. Third plural can be indicated with -ʔ-. //qeʔ// is identical with the intransitive form. //hin-// and //han-//, of course, are hi- and ha- when they occur before //s-// 'nominal' (cf. 2.132).

hincítxʷ. 'It's my house.'
hancítxʷ. 'It's your house.'
cítxʷs. 'It's his/their house.'
qeʔ cítxʷ. 'It's our house.'
cítxʷəmp. 'It's your (plural) house.'

When the third person ending -s follows a form ending in s, the possessive dissimilates to c.

//spʔus-s// spəʔúsc. 'It's his/their blood.'

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2.243. The Transitive Paradigm. Pronouns in transitive forms exhibit considerable complexity. The transitive form has the general organization:

BASE-TRANSITIVE-CONTROL-OBJECT-SUBJECT

A base usually consists of just a root. The transitive and control suffixes are added to the root to form a transitive stem. To this stem the object and subject suffixes are added. A base may be extended with certain optional suffixes. These expansions will be considered in the morphology chapter. Extended bases may also enter into the transitive system of endings, but only bases consisting of a simple root will be considered here. Also, there are a number of suffixes which may fill the transitive position. These will also be discussed in the morphology. For the purpose of exemplifying the pronominal elements only bases extended by the simple transitive and control suffixes will be used. The suffixes have the following usual underlying forms:

TRANSITIVE	CONTROL
// -n-	-te- //

The object-subject framework can perhaps best be understood if a full paradigm of surface forms is provided first, followed by a discussion of their derivation. Table 1 shows the surface forms with an unstressed base.

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Table 1

Transitive paradigm with unstressed base //taq// 'hit'

	OBJECT	SINGULAR			GENERAL	PLURAL		
SUBJECT		1	2		3	1	2	3
Sg	1		tqəncín		tqəntén		tqɬúləmən	tqtqəntén
	2	kʷu tqəntéxʷ			tqəntéxʷ	qeʔ tqɬúləlt		tqtqəntéxʷ
Gen	3	kʷu tqəntés	tqəncís		tqəntés	qeʔ tqɬúləls	tqɬúləms	tqtqəntés
Pl	1		tqəncít	qeʔ	tqəntém		tqɬúləmt	qeʔ tqtqəntém
	2	kʷu tqəntép			tqəntép	qeʔ tqɬúləlt		tqtqəntép
	3	kʷu tqənté?s	tqəncí?s		tqənté?s	qeʔ tqɬú?ləls	tqɬú?ləms	tqtqənté?s

2.2431. The forms which refer to general third person objects (third column in the table) actually have only a subject marked; third person object--singular or plural--is understood. They show the stem //BASE-n-te//, to which pronominal subject endings are suffixed directly. With an unstressed base, the stress is assigned regularly to the variable-stress suffix //-te-//. Except for first person plural, the forms are straightforward, showing the following regular subject endings:

First singular -n
Second singular -xʷ Second plural -p
Third general -s

//taq-n-te-n// tqəntén. 'I hit him/them.'
//taq-n-te-xʷ// tqəntéxʷ. 'You hit him/them.'
//taq-n-te-s// tqəntés. 'He hits him/them.'
//taq-n-te-p// tqəntép. 'You (pl) hit him/them.'

First person plural, however, has its familiar proclitic qe? and an ending -m which is not otherwise attested for first person plural reference. (Comparative evidence suggests that this form is historically a passive construction; cf. 4.13.)

//qe? təq-n-te-m// qe? tqəntém. 'We hit him/them.'

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Third plural objects (sixth column) are represented by reduplication of the root: tq-tq-; otherwise the forms are the same as for the general third person. Formation of third plural subject is regular throughout the paradigm: -?- is infixed in the corresponding third singular subject form.

Pertinent forms from among those not overtly marked for object (those that refer to third person objects) are expanded by the proclitic k^{w}u to provide reference to first person singular object.

//k^{w}u taq-n-te-x^{w}// k^{w}u tqəntéx^{w}. 'You hit me.'

etc.

The only rules necessary to derive the forms discussed thus far are: the familiar stress rule (here placing primary stress on the variable-stress suffix following a stress-shifting root); deletion of an unstressed vowel, and schwa insertion.

Second person singular object forms have the same fundamental stem, to which the second person singular object suffix //-si-// is added: //taq-n-te-si-//. Appropriate subject suffixes complete the forms. The first plural subject here is -t. As regularly, the final variable-stress suffix takes the stress (cf. 2.212), the control suffix appears in reduced grade, and the resulting sequence -t-s- is realized as -c-.

//taq-n-te-si-n// tqəncín. 'I hit you (sg).'

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First and second person plural objects, however, introduce a suppletive element with the underlying form //-ɨul-// replacing //TRANSITIVE-CONTROL//. To this stem are added first plural object //-1-// and the second plural object //-m-//. Subject suffixes complete the forms. Here, however, there is an additional complication. Whenever first plural and second person (singular or plural) are both represented in the same form, the subject suffix is realized as -t; the preceding object suffix and the presence or absence of qe? 'us' makes clear whether first plural or (general) second person is subject.

//taq-ɨul-m-n// tqɨúləmən. 'I hit you people.'
//taq-ɨul-m-s// tqɨúləms. 'He/they hit you people.'
//taq-ɨul-m-t// tqɨúləmt. 'We hit you people.'
//qe? taq-ɨul-1-s// qe? tqɨúləls. 'He/they hit us.'
//qe? taq-ɨul-1-t// qe? tqɨúləlt. 'You (sg or pl) hit us.'

With stressed bases the transitive paradigm shows a number of differences resulting from reductions of endings under no stress. Table 2 shows a full paradigm of surface forms with a stressed base.

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Table 2

Transitive paradigm with stressed base //ni̱č// 'cut'

SUBJECT		OBJECT SINGULAR 1	2	3	GENERAL	PLURAL 1	2	3
Sg	1		níčəncən	níčən			níčəɬəmən	nəčəníčən
	2	kʷu níčəntxʷ		níčəntxʷ	qeʔ níčəɬəlt			nəčəníčəntxʷ
Gen	3	kʷu níčis	ničənc	níčis	qeʔ níčəɬəls		níčəɬəms	nəčəníčis
Pl	1		níčənct	qeʔ níčəntəm			níčəɬəmt	qeʔ nəčəníčəntəm
	2	kʷu níčəntp		níčəntp	qeʔ níčəɬəlt			nəčəníčəntp
	3	kʷu níʔčis	níʔčənc	níʔčis	qeʔ níʔčəɬəls		níʔčəɬəms	nəčəníʔčis

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All these forms are derivable from underlying representations of the same pattern as those in the paradigms with stressed endings. Some of the forms differ from the suffix stressed ones only in having a stressed root vowel and a reduced ending -t- from //-te-//.

//ni̲č̓-n-te-x^w// níč̓əntx^w. 'You cut him/them.'

//ni̲č̓-n-te-p// níč̓əntp. 'You (pl) cut him/them.'

//qeʔ ni̲č̓-n-te-m// qeʔ níč̓əntəm. 'We cut him/them.'

However, the remaining forms show that a more complicated system of rules is operating to derive the surface forms. The following derivations show this rule complex.

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Table 3

Transitive system derivations with //ni̱č// 'cut'

Underlying form	ni̱čnten	ni̱čntes	ni̱čntesin	ni̱čntesis	ni̱čɨullt	ni̱čɨulms
Stress rules	níčnten	níčntes	níčntesìn	níčntesìs	níčɨullt	ničɨulms
Vowel deletion	níčntn	níčnts	níčntsìn	níčntsìs	níčɨllt	níčɨlms
Affrication	------	------	níčncìn	níčncìs	-------	-------
t deletion	níčnn	níčns	-------	-------	-------	-------
Sec. stress del.	-----	-----	níčncin	níčncis	-------	-------
Vowel deletion	-----	-----	níčncn	níčncs	-------	-------
n becomes i	-----	níčis	------	------	-------	-------
Cluster simpl.	níčn	-----	------	níčnc	níčɨlt	níčɨms
Schwa insertion	níčən	-----	níčəncən	níčənc	níčəɨəlt	níčəɨəms

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2.2432. These rules are explained as follows: The stress rules, which operate initially on the underlying form, first assign primary stress to the vowel requiring it. In this case the base has a root requiring stress, so this vowel gets primary stress. Then a secondary stress rule assigns secondary stress to the last of two variable-stress suffixes. This rule is necessary to keep the suffix vowel from reducing and thereby accounts for the operation of a later affrication rule. The next rule deletes unstressed vowels resulting in the loss of the control suffix vowel or the vowel of the suppletive element //-ɨul-//. Affrication (ts to c) then operates before a vowel. The rule must be limited to this environment because final //ts// does not become c--as shown in the second column of the derivations (third person subject). Deletion of t between two underlying coronal consonants comes next. Then a rule deletes secondary stress, and vowel deletion (applying again) subsequently deletes the unstressed vowel. After this, n becomes i before s by a rule which is already familiar (cf. 2.231). Next, the members of an identical consonant cluster merge and those clusters of non-identical consonants with the same release (s after c and l after ɨ) lose the second member. This rule applies once per form. The late schwa insertion rule completes the derivations. All the pronoun forms, with both stressed and unstressed bases, may be derived with this complex of rules.

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2.3. Stress and prefixes. It is clear that many alternations are involved in the system of stress placement and subsequent reduction of unstressed elements. However, prefixal elements do not undergo changes due to lack of primary stress. They never have such a stress and do not have weak and full forms like the variable-stress suffixes. It is not clear why prefixes act this way. This is perhaps the same problem as that involved in non-reduction of roots when unstressed. In section 2.214 it was pointed out that certain root shapes tend to retain full vowels under weak stress. One of these shapes had a laryngeal //ʔ// as the first consonant of the root. Prefixes with vowels are few in number (perhaps due to historical reduction of vowels under weak stress) and those that do occur have an initial laryngeal consonant (for example: //ʔepi-// and //han-//). Thus it may be that this laryngeal protects the vowel until after vowel reduction. Then the laryngeal element itself may be lost if not initial in the word (cf. 2.133).

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3. Syntax

3.1. Words. Spokan utterances contain two basic types of words: full words and particles. All full words are basically predicative and thus have the possibility of occurring by themselves as complete sentences. Following are some examples (transcribed in broad phonetics).

Certain conventions have been adopted to explain the following examples given in the Syntax section. Besides idiomatic translations, literal translations are often provided. They use hyphens between English words that translate a single Spokan word. The past-present opposition is not marked in Spokan, but is understood in context; literal glosses are all present. Also, the distinctions he-she-it are unmarked in Spokan forms, but are understood in context. Literal translations will, however, indicate the particular referent which is evident. In both literal and idiomatic translations brackets enclose words that gloss no Spokan form but are necessary or helpful in the English rendition.

hercəyáʔ. 'It's everything.'

ləʔé. 'It's there.'

xʷúyš. 'Go on!'

ʔiləmíxʷəm. 'He's chief.'

ƛ̓ʷúƛ̓əntxʷ. 'You did it.'

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3.11. Predicates may be expanded with a number of preposed particles. These are called predicative particles.

3.111. Those closest to the predicate are the intransitive pronoun proclitics (cf. also 2.241).

čən	'I'	qe?	'we'
kʷ	'you sg.'	p	'you pl.'

General third person is unmarked.

čən xʷúy. 'I went.'
kʷ ɬáqšəlš. 'You sat down.'

3.112. Predicative particles. The remaining particles fall into eight position classes (two other particles--both demonstrative--are treated later; cf. 3.132).

Exclamations-Evidential-Interrogatives-Possibility-Modality-Aspect-Negative-Future

3.1121. Exclamations.

ti? 'surprise'
?ah 'well!'
hayo 'recognition'

ti? íɬis. 'He ate it!'
(surprise he-eats-it)
?ah ǩʷ eɬcčícš. 'So, he came back.'
(well evidently he-comes-back)
hayo ǩʷ šéy̓. 'Oh, that's him.'
(recognition evidently that-is-he)

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3.1122. Evidential.

k̓ʷ 'evidently'

k̓ʷ anɨčíčše?. 'It seems it's your sister.'

This particle generally translates as 'apparently', 'it seems', 'evidently' or 'judging from appearances'.

3.1123. Interrogatives.

ha 'interrogative'

təmá 'rhetorical interrogative'

?uc 'question of possibility'

ha yascsqʷtús. 'Is it just your one eye?'
(interrogative it-is-your-eye-on-one-side)

təma púlstp. 'So you people killed him?'
(rhetorical-interrogative you-kill-him)

?uc kʷ nəté. 'What do you think--is it possible?'
(question-of-possibility you think)

3.1124. Possibility.

x̓ʷa 'possibly'

k̓ʷ x̓ʷa tam kʷ stéms. 'I thought perhaps she was nothing to you.'
(evidently possibly negative you her-anything)

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3.1125. Modality.

we 'in spite of'

ƛ̓əxʷ 'very well, then'

ʔem 'in vain'

xʷəmí 'please'

Often linked to another clause semantically, we generally means 'even though' or 'in spite of'. The following example is a compound sentence (cf. 3.21).

we ƛ̓e čən eɬecəʔoʻčsqélixʷ u niʔáp u qeʔ ecši?šéy̓

'Even though I could see again, we still went together.'

(even-though now I actually-see-again-people and it-is-still[-the-same-way] and we are-together)

This particle is also used in a sentence protesting something.

we tam či sšəyélixʷ. 'But I'm not one of your tribe.'

(even-though[-it-may-seem-otherwise] negative I [one-of-your-]tribe)

The other modal particles are shown in the following examples:

ƛ̓əxʷ kʷént. 'Very well, then, take it!'

(very-well-then take-it)

ʔem scúntəm. 'They told him but he wasn't paying any attention.'

(in-vain him-tell[-they])

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xʷəmi kʷu ʕáčəχɨti. 'Please look at them for me!'
(please [for-]me look-at-them-for)

3.1126. Aspect.

ƛ̓e 'already'
č̓e 'still'
nexʷ 'also'
ƛ̓əm 'customarily'
sic 'right then'

ƛ̓e ƛ̓íl. 'Now he's dead.'
(already he-dies)
ƛ̓e séwəne?əməntp. 'You already heard it.'
(already you-hear-it)
č̓e nək̓ʷú?. 'There is still one.'
(still there-is-one)
nexʷ čən xʷúy. 'I went too.'
(also I go)
ƛ̓əm cúys. 'He used to tell.'
(customarily he-tells-it)
sic ƛ̓íl. 'Right then he died.'
(right-then he-dies)

3.1127. Negative.

ta 'not'

ta sɨpɨépstən. 'I didn't turn it off.'
(not I-turn-it-off)

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3.1128. Future.

m 'will'

m qe? u·ɬəntém. 'We will burn it.'

(will we burn-it)

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3.12. Predicate and clause. Every sentence is made up of at least one clause. A predicate or a predicate with its attendant particles (predicate phrase) serves as the head of a clause.

3.13. Adjunction. In addition to the predicate with its particles, a clause may have a full word or phrase (full word with attendant particles) added after the predicate head. This adds information relating to the predicate, perhaps expanding some notion implicit in it or more concretely denoting a referent. Since such elements are clearly optional--the predicate is grammatically complete by itself--they are called adjuncts. More than one adjunct is possible.

The predicative particles may occur with adjuncts. In most cases, however, it is only the proclitic pronouns that occur.

Position marks a full word as an adjunct. This order (predicate-adjunct) seems to be a very basic and rigid structural fact in the language.

In addition to this type of marking, adjuncts are nearly always preceded by the particle i 'secondary in importance'. When i occurs it is always followed by a phrase--one demonstrative particle, other optional particles, and then at least one full word. This is an adjunct phrase. In terms of immediate constituent partners, then, i always goes with a phrase and is a phrase particle which marks this

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whole phrase 'secondary'; the demonstrative and other optional particles go with the full word. Thus adjuncts are doubly marked to set them off from the predicate. (In another situation, i, again followed by a demonstrative particle, marks a predicate phrase (clause) as secondary in relation to another predicate phrase (clause). This is discussed in 3.313.)

3.131. Types of adjuncts. In the examples that follow only the demonstrative particle u? 'particular' occurs after i 'secondary' before the full word. In 3.132 demonstratives with adjuncts will be discussed more fully.

3.1311. Often adjuncts add specific reference to the subject or object of a predication.

xʷtíłš i u? spíləye?. 'Coyote got up.'
(he-gets-up secondary particular coyote)
kʷeys i u? t̓a·pəmís. 'He took his bow and arrow.'
(he-took-it secondary particular his-bow-and-arrow)
p̓ə?áx̌ i u? isčkʷx̌ústən. 'My eye healed.'
(it-heals secondary particular my-eye)
?eɬəwíčən i u? isənk̓ʷélixʷ. 'I could see my people.'
(I-see-them secondary particular my-people)

3.1312. Sometimes they serve as locational referents.

xʷúy i u? č̓əsənəwi·téɬxʷtən. 'He went to the hospital.'
(he-goes secondary particular to-hospital)

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3.1313. Frequently they occur with the particle x̣ʷəl̓ 'for; during'. Thus they indicate the purpose or duration of a predication. This particle only occurs with adjuncts.

kʷéys ɬ u? x̣ʷəl̓ ta·pəmís. 'He took it for his arrow.'
(he-takes-it secondary particular for his-arrow)
kʷu eck̓ʷúl̓ɬtəm ɬ u? isčkʷl̓ústən ɬ u? x̣ʷəl̓ q̓əsípi
'They were treating my eye for a long time.'
([for-]me they-are-treating-it-for secondary particular my-eye secondary particular during it-is-long-time)

3.1314. Since positional marking is strong, adjuncts are not necessarily marked with the particle ɬ.

wíčis spíləye?. 'He saw Coyote.'
(he-saw-him coyote)
kʷ nec̓ənúmt qe? šəmén. 'You sensed that our enemies were near.'
(you sense-them our enemies)

3.1315. Often the predicate looks very "verb-like" from the English point of view, but this need not be the case.

?alík ɬ u? isx̣ələwí?. 'Alex is the one that is my husband.'
(it-is-Alex secondary particular my-husband)
?iləmíxʷəm ɬ u? alík. 'Alex is chief.'
(he-is-chief secondary particular Alex)

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3.1316. Also, from the English point of view it is possible to have a very "noun-like" element first as predicate followed by a "verb-like" element as adjunct.

ƛəxʷ məsáwi qe? ecə?íɬənəm. 'You know it's just məsáwi we're eating.'

(very-well-then-if-you-must-know it-is-məsáwi we are-eating)

ƛe nəkʷəspé čxʷéct. 'It's been past a year.'

(already it-is-one-year it-is-past)

The initial elements in these two sentences are predicative particles (for their function see 3.1125 and 3.1126).

čəčén ɬ u? kʷ xʷtíp. 'Where is it you're running to?'

(to-where-is-it secondary particular you run)

xʷa kʷənšá čəy esčənəmqín. 'I was blind several days.'

(approximately it-is-several-days I being-blind)

če nəkʷú? ɬ u? esčɬa·léne?. 'There was still one [eye] that was covered.'

(still it-is-one secondary particular it-is-covered)

The initial elements in the last two sentences are predicative particles (for their function see 3.1124 and 3.1126). The last example shows how a "verb-like" adjunct can translate as an English dependent clause. However, it seems best not to consider it a clause in Spokan. Some adjuncts may look like dependent clauses but this is due to the function in English of the words used to gloss them. (Of course,

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in a sense all full words used as adjuncts are dependent predicates, because elsewhere they have the possibility of standing as the head of a clause; thus they might be considered embedded predicates. As adjuncts they provide attribution for a head--the predicate of the clause. There are true dependent clauses which are marked in a different way; cf. 3.22.)

3.132. Demonstratives--their use in adjunction. As explained in 3.13, an adjunct is often marked by ɨ 'secondary importance'. This phrase particle is always followed by a demonstrative particle which indicates that the following full word adjunct is either "particular, but not specially noted" (u?) or "specially noted" (hi). The combination ɨ u? followed by a full word occurs in most of the examples given thus far. u? occurs only following ɨ.

The combination ɨ i (the h is lost in combination) requires a special full word as adjunct. Either ?é 'this/these', šé? 'that/those', cí? 'that/those near a person spoken to or referred to', or ɨu? 'that/those emphatic' must occur after this combination. These are called demonstrative words. (Actually, because of their distributional patterns, these demonstrative words belong to a special class of full words--restricted words; cf. 3.3.)

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wíčən ɬ i šé?. 'I saw that.'

(I-see-it secondary special that)

wíčən ɬ i ?é. 'I saw this.'

(I-see-it secondary special this)

wíčən ɬ i cí?. 'I saw that by you.'

(I-see-it secondary special that-near-you)

wíčən ɬ i ɬú?. 'I saw that very one.'

(I-see-it secondary special that-very-one)

The combination ɬ u? may also be followed by these demonstrative words. (There are no cases with ɬu? 'that/those'.)

wíčən ɬ u? šé?. 'I saw that.'

(I-see-it secondary particular that)

These demonstrative words can be followed by another full word. Some examples follow.

wíčən ɬ u? še? sqélixʷ. 'I saw that Indian.'

wíčən ɬ i šé? sqélixʷ. 'I saw that Indian.'

púlstən ɬ i cí? sqélixʷ. 'I killed that Indian near you.'

(I-kill-him secondary special that-near-you Indian)

xʷíst ɬ i ɬu? ecšənésšən. 'He is walking right on the edge [of the cliff].'

(he-walks secondary special that-very it-is-the-edge)

Since in these cases there are two full words in the adjunct phrase, the phrase may be considered compound.

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u? and hi are obviously mutually exclusive elements. The meaning 'special' for hi seems to be fairly well established. hi occurs more widely than u?. It can occur before a predicate to emphasize that a situation is to be specially noted (thus it is a predicative particle).

hi čən x̌ís. 'I'm fine.'
(special I good)
hi čəy ecʕáčəx̌. 'I'm watching carefully.'
(special I actually-am-watching)

Sometimes the first clause of a compound sentence is marked by hi.

hi ɨ́áqšəlš u ɬa·pəntém. 'Right when he sat down he got shot.'
(special he-sits-down and [somebody-]shoots-him)

hi can also occur before a full word serving as an adjunct but not preceded by ɨ.

čən ləq̓ʷút hi čím. 'I was lying there in the dark.'
(I lie special it-is-dark)

The meaning 'particular' for u? is not certain. At this time the gloss should be considered tentative. In compound sentences it does occur with a predicate and so it is also considered a predicative particle (cf. 3.213).

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3.2. Sentences are of three types. There are simple sentences consisting of a single clause. Many of the preceding examples are this type. In addition, there are compound sentences composed of two independent clauses; and complex sentences, with a dependent clause.

3.21. Compound sentences. The particle u 'and' joins two clauses to form a compound sentence. Defined in terms of immediate constituent partners u is a sentence particle. Often it may be idiomatically translated as 'and'. In other cases it is not translated at all (see 3.212). In general, informants translate it as 'and' when it forms compounds that are easily translated into English.

hecpənəʔúɬxʷ u cúys. 'He went in and told her.'
(he-goes-in and he-tells-her)
xʷúy u čcənəwéʔxʷ. 'They went and met.'
(they-go and they-meet-each-other)
čən xʷúy čəsxʷəmarəyém u kʷu kʷúlstəm čəsənəwi·téɬxʷ-
tən. 'I went to a doctor and was sent to a hospital.'
(I go to-doctor and me [he-]sends to-hospital)

3.211. u is often followed by another sentence particle kʷent 'then', when sentences are strung together in a narrative or any type of connected speech.

čən eɬxʷúy u kʷent wíčən. 'I went back and then I saw it.'
(I go-back and then I-see-it)

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k^{w}ent may also occur when u does not precede it.

t̓úx^{w}t u ʔenés. k^{w}ent šéy̓. 'He flew up and left. Then that was all.'

(he-flies-up and he leaves then that-is-it)

The particle k^{w}ent is a special development of the imperative singular stem k^{w}ent 'Take it!'. Probably frequent use resulted in its becoming felt as a special particle rather than an imperative word.

3.212. While many compound sentences have two clauses with predicates that look very "verb-like" (in terms of the English gloss) it is, of course, possible to have one or the other not look like a verb.

ʔaχ̓əlásd̓ət u k^{w}u esčsíx^{w}səm. 'Every day I have drops put in my eye.'

(it-is-every-day and me [have-]eye-drops-put)

This sentence and the one that directly follows are typical of those that informants translate without 'and'.

tənsčtáqs u cúntəm. 'From the other side of the trail someone said something to them.'

(it-is-from-other-side-of-trail and [someone-]says [-something]-to-them)

While the above seem unusual as compound sentences, it must be remembered that all full words do have fundamental predicative force.

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3.213. Sometimes the first clause of a compound sentence appears with the particle ɨ̲ 'secondary'. ɨ̲ marks this clause secondary in importance in relation to a following clause. Just as with adjuncts, ɨ̲ is always followed by a demonstrative particle. Sometimes the first clause with ɨ̲ translates like a dependent one in English.

ɨ u? čən ləšé? u ta x̌ést yeco·čsqélixʷ. 'When I was there I could not see very well.'

(secondary particular I there and not is-good my-seeing people)

This sentence may be contrasted with:

čən ləšé? u wíčən. 'I was there and I saw him.'

(I there and I-see-him.)

Other times the clause does not translate like a dependent one.

ɨ u? ɖəsípi əw ecɖéy. 'A long time ago people lived.'

(secondary particular it-is-long-time-ago and they-live)

ɨ i ?é təwa·wíckʷəle? u cúntəm ɨ i ?e ·sx̌ʷóx̌ʷo

'It was Meadowlark that told Fox.'

(secondary special this primarily-meadowlark and tells-him secondary special this fox)

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3.22. Complex Sentences. The sentence particle ne marks dependent clauses. It is translated into English in various ways but seems best glossed generally as 'conditional'. It often introduces a dependent clause followed by an independent clause. The dependent clause sets up a situation on which the following main clause (although grammatically independent) is dependent semantically.

ne čəmə?é? ɨ u? inšənšənústən či qsɬəkʷəkʷəmí.

'When my glasses get out of order, then I about fall.'

(conditional they-get-out-of-order secondary particular my-glasses I unrealized-fall)

ne čəmíp m ?ené?s. 'As soon as it gets dark they will go.'

(conditional it-gets-dark will they-go)

ne qe? eɨxʷəlxʷíltɨəlt ɨ u? qe? səxʷxʷíxʷəlt kʷent m qe? eɨqʷómɨtəm ɨ u? anχəcənúmtən. 'If you make our children alive again, then we will take your clothes back.'

(conditional us you-make-back-alive-for secondary particular our children then will we take-back-for secondary particular your-clothes)

If the ne clause follows the main clause the dependent clause explains why the substance of the predication in the main clause obtains.

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ta cəmi·stén səwét ne ta kʷu sqʷəlqʷélstəm. 'I didn't know who they were if they didn't talk to me.'

(not I-know-it who-it-is conditional not me [someone-] talks-to)

nəté ci? sp̓ísp̓əsi ne kʷu qsčənšíʔtəms. 'He thought: I'll call on my magic powers so they can help me.'

(he-thinks I call-on-magic-powers conditional me they-unrealized-help)

m qeʔ túxʷt ne kʷəssúsəm. 'We will fly up so as to startle him.'

(will we fly-up conditional he-startles)

Sometimes the dependent clause will occur by itself. In these cases the main clause is understood; it is clear in context.

ne qʷəlqʷélstən ɨ uʔ sqélixʷ. 'So I'd talk to any person.'

(so I-talk-to-someone secondary general person)

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3.3. Restricted words. Certain words, while still having the possibility of occurring as predicates, do not have a wide distribution in the derivational and inflectional patterns of the language. In addition, some of these occur most often as predicates when other full words are also present; others occur only when additional words are present.

3.31. Restricted demonstrative words. The demonstrative words ʔé 'this/these', še? 'that/those', ci? 'that/those near a person spoken to or referred to', and ɨu? 'that/those emphatic', combine with a number of affixal elements which are directional, locative, demonstrative and aspectual in nature. Each combination forms a word with a slightly different distribution and meaning.

3.311. However, these words occur with no affixes as simple predicates preceded by the demonstrative particle hi 'special'. In this case they do not occur with any of the other particles usually associated with predicates.

hi ʔé. 'It's this/these.'

hi šé?. 'It's that/those.'

hi cí?. 'It's that/those near someone referred to.'

hi ɨú?. 'It's that/those very one(s).'

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3.312. They combine with the locative prefix l- 'at' to form the words:

lə?é. 'It's at this place.'

ləšé?. 'It's at that place.'

ləcí?. 'It's at that place near someone referred to.'

ləɨú?. 'It's at that very place.'

These words can occur with the particles associated with predicates. Following are some examples. Note also that they sometimes have a prefix s- 'nominal' (cf. 4.76).

čən ləšé?. 'I was there.'

m ləšé?. 'It will be there.'

či səlšé?. 'I stayed there.'

qe? sələ?é. 'We stayed here.'

These words may even occur with imperative inflection (cf. 4.162).

ləšé?skʷ. 'Leave it there!'

lə?éskʷ. 'Leave it here!'

ləcí?skʷ. 'Leave it there--near you!'

While they do occur as simple predicates as above, they most commonly form the first clause in a compound sentence.

lə?é u čən méɬəm. 'I rested here.'

(it-is-at-this-place and I rest)

ləšé? u ecq̓i·q̓éy. 'They were camped there.'

(it-is-at-that-place and they-camp)

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3.313. These same demonstratives also occur with the prefix č- 'to'. The words formed are:

čəʔé. 'It's to here.'

čəšé?. 'It's to there.'

čəcî?. 'It's to there near someone referred to.'

čəɬú?. 'It's to that very place.'

These four words can be predicates in simple sentences.

kʷent čəʔé ɨ u? esčtaxʷəlús. 'Then he came this way.'

(then it-is-to-here secondary particular he-comes)

But more often they occur before another predicate in a compound sentence.

3.314. ʔé and šé? occur with a prefix t- 'point of reference' to form the words 'It's here', and 'It's there'.

təʔé u či ecxʷstələwísi. 'I'm walking around here.'

(it-is-here and I walk-around)

tšé? u səyúst. 'He came through there.'

(it-is-there and he-comes-through)

These words never occur by themselves as independent predicates. Rather, they always are followed by u and another predicate. They are thus very much like preposed particles, but the presence of u 'and' does not permit them to be treated as such. These should perhaps be called auxiliary words. They do not occur with the particles associated with full word predicates.

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3.315. ʔé and šéʔ occur with the prefix təɬ- 'from' to form the following words:

təɬəʔé. 'It's from here/now.'

təɬšéʔ. 'It's from there/then.'

Like the rest of the restricted demonstratives, these words usually occur as the initial predicate in a compound sentence.

təɬšéʔ u sic čən tíʔxʷɨ. 'Right after that I got something.'

(it-is-from-then and right-away I get-something)

But they can be predicates with following adjuncts.

təɬəʔé xʷíst. 'He walked from here.'

(it-is-from-here [that] he walks)

There are no examples in the corpus showing these words alone as predicates or with the particles that usually go with predicates.

3.316. šéʔ, followed by the continuative aspect suffix //-iy//, forms a special restricted word šéy̓, which may be translated 'That's he/she/it!'. It often occurs with nominal forms as adjuncts. It takes predicative particles.

šéy̓ stəyáq̓ʷəti. 'Right then they started to fight.'

(that-is-it they-fight)

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k̓ʷ šéy̓ ɬ u? tspíləye?. 'So, it was Coyote.'
(evidently that-is-he secondary particular coyote)

It need not have a full word after it.

ha l̓e šéy̓. 'Is this far enough?'
(interrogative already that-is-it)

3.32. Other restricted demonstrative words. There are three words which occur more often as predicates of simple sentences than the previously mentioned restricted words, which are so common before another predicate.

čéṅ is the interrogative demonstrative 'How/where is he/she/it?' It occurs also with l- 'at', t- 'point of reference', təl̓- 'from' and č̓- 'to'.

ləčéṅ. 'Where is he/she/it?'
təl̓čéṅ. 'Where is he/she/it?'
ɬčéṅ. 'Where is he/she/it?'
č̓əčéṅ. 'Where is he/she/it [going]?'

Examples with adjuncts and particles:

kʷ ecsčéṅi. 'How are you?' (a common greeting)
ləčéṅ ɬ u? isəl̓áx̌t. 'Where is my friend?'
(where-is-he secondary particular my-friend)
č̓əčéṅ xʷúy. 'Where is he going to?'
(to-where-is-it he-goes)

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Two other words, səwét 'who' and stém 'what', are used as interrogatives or after negatives as indefinites.

kʷ səwét. 'Who are you?'

stém ɨ u? askʷúləm. 'What is it you are doing?'

(what-is-it secondary particular it-is-your-doing)

ta səwét. 'There is no-one [around].'

ta stém. 'There is nothing [left].'

3.33. Auxiliaries. Above (cf. 3.314) two restricted words tə?é 'It's here' and tšé? 'It's there', were defined as auxiliaries because, although they occurred where predicative words do in a compound sentence, they did not, in addition, serve as predicates in simple sentences. Four other words, which translate as English adverbs, also occur under these circumstances.

?axí 'finally'

čəmíš 'only'

xɨɬəné 'almost'

ni?áp 'still, yet'

?axí u ?ócqe?. 'Finally he came out.'

(finally and he-comes-out)

čəmíš u čən ecsu·númt. 'All I could do was listen.'

(only and I listen)

xɨɬəné u kʷéct. 'It was almost full.'

(almost and it-is-full)

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ni?áp u esčɨšənéne?. 'It still had a disk on it.'
(still and it-has-disk-on-it)

3.34. Pronominal words. Independent pronoun forms (full words) do exist, and they are restricted words also. They do not occur with the pronoun proclitics or predicative particles. Most often they serve as adjuncts.

kʷuyə?é	'I'	qe?ənpəlé?	'we'
hanəwí?	'you sg.'	nəpəlé?	'you pl.'
cənílic	'he'	cənί?ɬc	'they'

The first person forms consist of a number of elements. The first person singular seems to be formed with kʷu, the first person transitive object pronoun (cf. 2.243), the demonstrative particle hi 'special', and the demonstrative word ?é 'this/these' (for both cf. 3.132). The first person plural uses familiar qe? 'we' to distinguish a common first and second plural word nəpəlé?. Third plural is the singular word with the -?- infix 'plural' (for both qe? and -?- cf. 2.241). Finally, second singular makes use of the possessive prefix han- (cf. 2.242). The rest of the elements can not be analyzed further at this time.

These words can occur as separate adjuncts denoting a referent already indicated by a bound pronoun. Thus they are often emphatic.

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xʷíčəɬcən anəwí?. 'I gave you something.'

(I-give-something-to-you you)

They can be predicates.

hanəwí?. 'It was you.'

kʷuyə?é ɬ u? čsáχəm. 'I am closer.'

(I secondary particular close)

3.35. Numerals are also restricted words. They include basic forms for counting things and derived or suppletive forms for counting persons.

	Basic forms	Personal forms
1	nəǩʷú?	čənáqs
2	?esél	čəsél
3	če?ɬés	čče?če?ɬés
4	mús	čəmúsəms
5	cíl	čcílcəl
6	ťáḍən	čťáḍən
7	sísṗəl	čsísṗəl
8	hə?énəm	čhə?énəm
9	χχəńút	čχχəńút
10	?úpən	čə?úpən

Some of the personal forms are simply the basic forms with the personal prefix č-. 3, 4, and 5 are reduplicated in addition. 7 and 9 show diminutive reduplication in both basic and personal forms.

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11-19 are formed by adding the forms for 1-9 after ʔúpən 'ten' and a conjunction eɬ.

11	ʔùpən eɬ nəkʷúʔ
11 persons	ʔùpən eɬ čənáqs

The forms for 20-90 are multiples of 10.

20	ʔesəl ʔúpən
20 persons	čəsel ʔúpən
21	ʔesəl ʔùpən eɬ nəkʷúʔ
21 persons	čəsel ʔùpən eɬ čənáqs

One hundred is nəkʷoʔqín (nəkʷúʔ 'one' plus -qín 'head, top). The lower vowel is due to the postvelar following.

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4. Morphology

Spokan displays a rich and complicated system of word building. At the heart of this system are bases, which are of two types: short bases, consisting of a root (or a root with a primary suffix), and long bases, consisting of a root (with or without a primary suffix) extended by a special type of suffix--a lexical suffix. Bases may take prefixes or further suffixes or stand alone to form words.

4.1. The transitive-intransitive system. Spokan bases occur with certain suffixes to form stems that allow incorporation of two pronoun elements. These suffixes are considered transitive suffixes and the stems thus formed transitive stems. While transitive is a convenient cover term, it seems that these suffixes naturally go with a broader system of suffixes--one that indicates the degree of involvement and control of the subject in transitive and intransitive forms. This overall system will be introduced using short bases only. Long bases will be considered in 4.2.

4.11. Intransitives. In their simplest form, bases occur with no suffixes. These simple bases occur with the intransitive subject pronoun clitics (with third person unmarked; cf. 2.241). Subjects are necessarily involved but they are not marked for any control in a particular situation.

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ʔím̓š. 'He moved.'

čən ʔócqeʔ. 'I went out.'

čən ʔúɬxʷ. 'I went inside.'

čən x̌ʷél. 'I am abandoned.'

4.111. Often these bases have an aspectual suffix //-iy// 'continuative or progressive', and an 'actual' prefix hec- (cf. 4.7).

čəy ecxʷísti. 'I am walking.'

4.112. A primary suffix -p expresses specific 'lack of control' on the part of the subject.

čən č̓əmíp. 'I'll go blind.'

but:

hi č̓ím. 'He's blind.'

This suffix is called a primary suffix since in a long base it comes before the lexical suffix.

čən níč̓əpqən. 'My head got cut.'

(čən 'I' níč̓ 'cut' -p 'lack of control' -qən 'head')

4.113. Bases may also take a suffix -m which seems to indicate that the pronoun referent is not only principally involved in the predication (as in the endingless forms) but is in some deeper sense involved and affected. In other words, there seems to be more emphasis on direct participation than in the other forms. This base with -m is called a 'middle' base and the suffix itself 'middle' also.

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čən x̌ʷéləm. 'I abandon.'

čən x̌ʷél. 'I am abandoned.'

čən k̓ʷúl̓əm. 'I make something work.'

čən k̓ʷúl̓. 'I am made, born.'

4.114. Adjuncts with endingless bases and middle bases. Adjuncts occurring with the short unsuffixed bases (including those with -p) can indicate the subject.

hecənt̓úk̓ʷ ɬ u? nət̓əlánе?. 'The wolf was lying down.'
(he-is-lying secondary particular wolf)

Adjuncts accompanying bases in -m can indicate a goal of the predication.

čən k̓ʷúl̓əm ɬ u? tp̓əyáq. 'I made some bread.'
(I make secondary particular bread)

čən k̓ʷúl̓əm ɬ u? tck̓ʷíńč. 'I make bows.'

t- 'point of reference' introduces an adjunct referring to an object that is the main concern of the predication. Thus middle forms can convey a "transitive" notion although the construction is grammatically intransitive. It seems helpfull to translate these sentences in a different way; for example, 'I am breadmaking' as opposed to a transitive counterpart, 'I am making bread'. Overall, it seems that there is no clear semantic dividing line between the intransitive forms and the transitive ones. Rather, the endings, or lack of them, refer to the role of the subject in

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a predication--not only to whether there is an object or not. The role is defined in terms of the degrees of involvement and control.

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4.12. Transitive forms occur with the transitive paradigm of pronouns (cf. 2.243). The transitivity of these forms is actually best considered the final degree of involvement and control--actually doing something to someone. The emphasis thus is on the agentive function. Transitive forms have the organization:

BASE-TRANSITIVE-CONTROL-OBJECT-SUBJECT

4.121. Simple transitive and causative forms. In Spokan there are two classes of roots that occur as bases in the transitive framework: those that form transitive stems with the organization:

BASE-TRANSITIVE-CONTROL: BASE-n-te-

and those that have the organization:

BASE-TRANSITIVE-CONTROL: BASE-s-te-

Stems in -n- are called simple transitive stems and stems in -s- are called causative stems.

Actually, there is no clear semantic dividing line between simple and causative stems. Simple transitive stems include: //cù?-n-te-// 'hit', //miṅ-n-te-// 'paint', //taq-n-te// 'wave the hand', and //nič-n-te-// 'cut'. Causative stems include: //kʷul-s-te// 'send', //pul-s-te-// 'kill', //wiy-s-te-// 'finish, stop', //pil-s-te-// 'make go', and //łaq-s-te-// 'make sit down'. In any case, the terms

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simple transitive and causative serve to distinguish the two stem shapes and the two classes of roots that underly these stems.

4.122. Pronouns with causative forms. The introductory presentation of the transitive pronoun system of Spokan considered their occurrence only with simple transitive stems (with both stressed and unstressed bases; cf. 2.243). Following are examples of the pronouns with causative stems. Table 4 gives the surface forms with an unstressed base.

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Table 4

Causative transitive paradigm with unstressed base //wiy// 'finish, stop'

SUBJECT		OBJECT SINGULAR 1	2	GENERAL 3	1	PLURAL 2	3
Sg	1		wi·stúmən	wi·stə́n		wi·ɬúləmən	wi·wi·stə́n
	2	kʷu wi·stə́xʷ		wi·stə́xʷ	qəʔ wi·ɬúləlt		wi·wi·stə́xʷ
Gen	3	kʷu wi·stə́s	wi·stúms	wi·stə́s	qəʔ wi·ɬúləls	wi·ɬúləms	wi·wi·stə́s
Pl	1		wi·stúmt qəʔ	wi·stə́m		wi·ɬúləmt qəʔ	wi·wi·stə́m
	2	kʷu wi·stə́p		wi·stə́p	qəʔ wi·ɬúləlt		wi·wi·stə́p
	3	kʷu wi·stə́ʔs	wi·stúʔms	wi·stə́ʔs	qəʔ wi·ɬúʔləls	wi·ɬúʔləms	wi·wi·stə́ʔs

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The forms which refer to general third person objects (third column in the table) actually have only a subject marked; third person object--singular or plural--is understood. They show the stem //BASE-s-te//, to which pronominal subject endings are suffixed directly. With an unstressed base the stress is assigned regularly to the variable-stressed suffix //-te-//. The forms are straightforward, showing the same regular pronoun elements as with simple transitive forms.

First singular	-n	First plural	qe?...-m
Second singular	-x^{w}	Second plural	-p
Third general	-s		

//wiy-s-te-n// wi·sté́n. 'I stopped him/them.'
etc.

Third plural objects (sixth column) are represented by reduplication of the root; otherwise the forms are the same as for the general third person. Formation of third plural subject forms is regular throughout the paradigm: -?- is infixed following the stressed vowel of the corresponding general third person subject form.

Pertinent forms from among those unmarked for object (those that refer to third person objects) are expanded by the proclitic k^{w}u... to provide reference to first person singular object.

//k^{w}u wiy-s-te-x^{w}// k^{w}u wi·sté́x^{w}. 'You hit me.'

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Second person singular object forms have a different fundamental stem, to which a second person suffix //-m// is added: //wiy-s-tu-m//.

//wiy-s-tu-m-n// wi·stúmən. 'I stop you sg.'

etc.

This object suffix is unknown in the singular of the simple transitive paradigm but does occur as second person object in the plural of both the transitive and causative paradigms. The simple transitive was shown to have a suffix //-si// for second person singular object. This element was attached to the fundamental stem: //BASE-n-te-si-//. By regular processes of stress placement (on last variable-stressed suffix), vowel deletion and affrication this form was derived as BASE-ncí-. Since //-m-// occurs in the singular as well as the plural, its meaning is second person general in the causative paradigm.

To avoid the necessity of setting up the special stem //-s-tu-// only in the singular second person object forms of the causative, it might alternatively be supposed that the underlying stem is regular and the stem and object suffix occur as follows: //BASE-s-te-um//. The surface realization BASE-stúm would not be incompatible with the established rules--in particular, the stress rule would assign stress to the last variable-stressed suffix. However, setting up //-um-// as the second person general suffix

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creates a problem when it is used in the plural. First and second person plural objects introduce a suppletive element with the underlying form //-ɬul-// replacing //TRANSITIVE-CONTROL//. To this stem are added first plural object //-l-// and second plural object //-m-//. Since the surface realizations of this stem and suffixes are BASE-ɬúləl- and BASE-ɬúləm-, the object suffixes must not be variable ones--they must have no vowel or by the general rule they would become stressed. Thus to capture the generality that in the singular and plural the object suffix for second person is the same underlying element, the form must be //-m-//. (Comparative evidence shows that other Southern Interior languages have a more generally used causative stem ending //-s-tu-//. Spokan has apparently extended the use of what was once only a simple transitive control suffix //-te-// into the causative paradigm. Only in the second person singular object forms may the older ending be seen.)

The proclitic qe? also occurs if the object is first plural. Subject suffixes complete the forms. As with the simple transitives, there is one additional complication. Whenever first plural and second person (sg. or pl.) are both represented in the same form, the subject suffix is realized as -t; the preceding object suffix and the presence or absence of qe? 'us' makes clear whether first person plural or (general) second person is the subject.

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//wiy-łul-m-n// wi·łúləmən. 'I stop you people.'

//wiy-łul-m-s// wi·łúləms. 'He stops you people.'

//wiy-łul-m-t// wi·łúləmt. 'We stop you people.'

//qe? wiy-łul-l-s// qe? wi·łúləls. 'He stops us.'

//qe? wiy-łul-l-t// qe? wi·łúlәlt. 'You (sg or pl) stop us.'

With stressed bases the causative paradigm shows some differences resulting from reductions of endings under weak stress. However, all these forms are derivable from underlying representations identical with those given in the paradigm with stressed endings. Table 5 shows the surface forms with a stressed base. For the most part, the differences are simply due to vowel deletion under weak stress. For example, //-tu-//, the control ending in the second person singular object forms, is realized as -t-. The remaining changes due to consonant contacts are by previously stated rules. The reduction of //-łul-l-// and //-łul-m-// to -łəl- and -łəm- is covered by the rules of vowel deletion under weak stress, cluster simplification and schwa insertion. Forms with third person subject and third person object or first person singular object show a reduction of the stem and pronouns as follows:

//BASE-s-te-s//

BASE-s-t	-s	stress placement and vowel deletion
BASE-s	-s	deletion of t
BASE s	c	dissimilation of ss

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The general rule simplifying clusters by deleting the second member does not apply to //ss// which instead undergoes dissimilation of the second member to c. It is not possible to consider that //sts// becomes sc directly by the affrication rule since it is necessary that this rule apply only before a vowel (compare the derivations of the second and third columns of Table 3 in section 2.2432). //ss// also yields sc when s- 'nominal' is followed in turn by s- 'nominal' (cf. 2.11), and when -s 'his/their' follows s of a base (cf. 2.242).

Also, this same simplification rule (deleting the second member; either identical or with the same release) must be further specified since the cluster of the lateral resonant of the base //kʷul// followed by the lateral spirant of the ending //-ɬul-// does not simplify. Thus the rule applies to clusters of ɬl only. As stated in an earlier section (cf. 2.2432), this rule applies only once per form.

//kʷuɬ-ɬul-m-t//	'We send you folks.'
kʷúɬ ɬ l m t	stress and vowel deletion rules
kʷul ɬ m t	cluster simplification
kʷúlɬəmt.	schwa insertion

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Table 5

Causative transitive paradigm with stressed base //kʷúl// 'send'

SUBJECT		OBJECT SINGULAR 1	2	GENERAL 3	PLURAL 1	2	3
Sg	1		kʷúlstəmən	kʷúlstən		kʷúlɨəmən	kʷəlkʷúlstən
	2	kʷu kʷúlstxʷ		kʷúlstxʷ	qeʔ kʷúlɨəlt		kʷəlkʷúlstxʷ
Gen	3	kʷu kʷúlsc	kʷúlstəms	kʷúlsc	qeʔ kʷúlɨəls	kʷúlɨəms	kʷəlkʷúlsc
Pl	1		kʷúlstəmt qeʔ	kʷúlstəm		kʷúlɨəmt qeʔ	kʷəlkʷúlstəm
	2	kʷu kʷúlstp		kʷúlstp	qeʔ kʷúlɨəlt		kʷəlkʷúlstp
	3	kʷu kʷúʔlsc	kʷúʔlstəms	kʷúʔlsc	qeʔ kʷúʔlɨəls	kʷúʔlɨəms	kʷəlkʷúʔlsc

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4.123. An adjunct following the transitive predicate can indicate an object. It is not preceded by t- 'point of reference' (as with bases taking the middle ending).

spə̓ntés ɬ u? x̣x̣ƛ̓əcín. 'He hit the dog.'

(he-hits-it secondary particular dog)

If a separate agent adjunct is added it comes after the object. It is marked with t-.

spə̓ntés ɬ u? x̣x̣ƛ̓əcín ɬ u? tsq̓élixʷ. 'The Indian hit the dog.'

(he-hits-it secondary particular dog secondary particular Indian)

t- shows that the agent is specially emphasized and indeed the transitive paradigm, as suggested above, emphasizes the control of the subject rather than anything to do with the goal (object), which is less marked. To achieve further emphasis the agent may appear initially as a separate clause.

ɬ u? tsq̓élixʷ u spə̓ntés ɬ u? x̣x̣ƛ̓əcín. 'The Indian hit the dog.'

Thus a compound sentence is formed. ɬ marks the first clause as secondary in importance to the following clause.

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It is also possible to add an instrument adjunct to a sentence. The instrument is also marked by t-. If no agent adjunct is present it occurs where the agent would.

sp̓əntés ɨ u? xχ̓əcín ɨ u? təlúk̓ʷ. 'The Indian hit the dog with a stick.'

(he-hits-it secondary particular dog secondary particular stick)

If both an agent and instrument are present, one must occur initially as a separate clause.

ɨ u? tsqélixʷ u sp̓əntés ɨ u? xχ̓əcín ɨ u? təlúk̓ʷ.

or:

ɨ u? təlúk̓ʷ u sp̓əntés ɨ u? xχ̓əcín ɨ u? tsqélixʷ.

'The Indian hit the dog with a stick.'

4.13. Passive forms. As a further possibility in this system of endings, it is common to have simple transitive and causative stems followed by -m 'middle'. The resulting form does not occur with the subject (agent) pronouns. Agent and object adjuncts occur as above. The corpus has examples of this construction only with first singular and third person object. This is called a passive form.

k̓ʷúl̓əntəm. 'Someone did something to him/them.'

kʷu k̓ʷúl̓əntəm. 'Someone did something to me.'

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It has been impossible to elicit forms for second person or first person plural object with this system of endings. Instead, the informant volunteers the usual transitive combinations.

4.14. Relational forms. In addition to simple transitive and causative stems, there are stems formed with the organization:

BASE TRANSITIVE CONTROL: BASE-ɨ-te-

A base which forms transitives of either the simple or causative type may form this stem instead, which is called a relational stem. It occurs with the simple transitive pronoun paradigm (differing from the causative only in the second person singular object forms). It also forms a passive. Relational stems with pronouns form transitive predicates that do something to a person or thing relative to a person.

//wiɬ-ɨ-te-n// ʔuˑɬɨtén. 'I burned it for him.'

//wiɬ-ɨ-te-si-n// ʔuˑɬɨcín. 'I burned it for you.'

Often this stem has a benefactive flavor but this is clearly not the basic meaning, as is shown by the following example referring to wife stealing.

m kʷéɨtəm. 'He will have her taken away by someone.'

(will someone-takes-it[-her]-relative-to-him)

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In another example, from a traditional narrative, the relational form again is clearly not benefactive. When Coyote discovers that he is being robbed by Lynx he says:

hayó...kʷu ecənáq̓ʷəmɨtəm k̓ʷ tsənqcú. 'Oh...I am being robbed by Lynx!'

(recognition me someone-is-stealing-it-relative-to evidently lynx)

With adjuncts, contrasts like the following occur.

hesčt̓əɨtén ɨ u? su·lu·ləmíňč. 'I keep the gun for him.' (relational stem)

hesčt̓əstén ɨ u? su·lu·ləmíňč. 'I keep the gun.' (causative stem)

4.15. Roots may be classified according to their possibilities of combination with pronominal elements:

I. Intransitive roots, occurring only independently or with intransitive pronouns;

II. Transitive roots, serving as bases for transitive forms and occurring only with transitive pronouns;

III. Ambivalent roots, serving as bases for both intransitive and transitive forms (and occurring with both intransitive and transitive pronouns). Roots identified in the corpus are listed according to this classification in Appendix A.

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4.16. Imperatives. The forms of the transitive-intransitive system may take suffixes which create imperative words.

4.161. For endingless forms the imperative suffixes are //-š// singular and //-wy// plural. They are added directly to the base.

xʷúyš. 'Go!' (singular)

xʷúyuy. 'Go!' (plural)

There are no examples in the corpus of these imperatives with an endingless form that contains a stress-shifting root. Also, as the last example shows, a rule must be added to the grammar to vocalize //w//. The reason for considering this suffix //-wy// rather than //-uy// is given below.

4.162. Causative stems have imperatives that replace the //-CONTROL-// of the stem with //-kʷ-//. In the plural, a suffix //-y// follows this ending. -kʷ may be the same morpheme as the intransitive second person singular pronoun. An example with a stress-retentive root follows.

púlskʷ. 'Kill him!'

púlskʷi. 'Kill him!' (plural)

As above, a rule must vocalize the semivowel.

As is regular, there is no variable-stress suffix present and so stress-shifting roots metathesize.

//ƛil-p-s-kʷ// ƛəlípskʷ. 'Stop it!'

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//ƛ̓il-p-s-kʷ-y// ƛ̓əlípskʷi. 'Stop it!' (plural)

Since the plural ending does not take the stress when it occurs with a stress-shifting root, it has seemed best to consider the suffix to contain //-y// rather than //-i//. The suffix //-wy// that occurs with endingless forms has no underlying vowel for the same reason. A general rule must be added to the grammar to vocalize //w// or //y// when it occurs after a consonant and not before a vowel. This rule would apply after the stress rules. (//-wy// after a consonant could be surface -uy or -əwi by this rule. This creates no problem because either shape is consistent with Spokan syllable structure involving semivowels.) Since it has already been shown that a general resyllabification rule is necessary to account for the desyllabification of //u// and //i// before and after vowels (cf. 2.16), this same rule should now be expanded to account for the syllabification of //w// and //y// to u and i after a consonant.

4.163. Simple transitive and relational stems have a singular imperative which replaces //-CONTROL-// with //-t-//, and a plural with this stem and a suffix //-y//. Some examples with stress-retentive roots follow.

nəkʷént. 'Sing it!'

nəkʷénti. 'Sing it!' (plural)

kʷúpɨt. 'Push it for him!'

kʷúpɨti. 'Push it for him!' (plural)

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When the form has a stress-shifting root, metathesis occurs. This proves that the variable-stress control suffix //-te-// has indeed been replaced.

//šil-n-t// šəlínt. 'Chop it!'

//šil-n-t-y// šəlínti. 'Chop it!' (plural)

//ƛ̓uqʷ-n-t// ƛ̓əqʷúnt. 'Sew it!'

//ƛ̓uqʷ-n-t-y// ƛ̓əqʷúnti. 'Sew it!' (plural)

4.164. Imperatives which semantically correspond to middle (-m) forms make the singular imperative by adding //-yš// to a base without the middle ending. An example with a stress-retentive root follows. //y// becomes i by the resyllabification rule.

//k̓ʷuy̓-ys// k̓ʷúy̓iš. 'Work, do something!'

Stress-shifting roots metathesize because there is no variable-stress suffix present to take stress.

//puxʷ-yš// pxʷúyš. 'Scatter it!'

In the plural, with a stress-retentive root, //-wy// is added to the root. //w// becomes u.

//k̓ʷuy̓-wy// k̓ʷúy̓uy. 'Work, do something!'

A stress-shifting root metathesizes and shows a suffix //-ywy//.

//puxʷ-ywy// pxʷúyuy. 'Scatter it.'

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If the stress-shifting root has //i//, after metathesis the first //y// of the suffix is deleted by general rule.

//šil-ywy// šəlíəwi. 'Chop it!'

Since //w// cannot become u after a vowel the remaining //y// of the suffix becomes i. Schwa insertion completes the form.

4.17. Reflexives.

4.171. The suffix //-sút// comes after a transitive stem to form a reflexive word. It is a suffix that is inherently stressed.

//pul-s-te-sút// pəlscút. 'He killed himself.'

//łù?-n-te-sút// łu?əncút. 'He stabs himself.'

The regular affrication rule (ts to c) applies after stress is assigned and //e// of //-te-// is deleted. Pronominal reference with reflexives is handled by the intransitive pronouns.

čən pəlscút. 'I killed myself.'

4.172. Middle forms have a special reflexive suffix //-ist//. This is a variable suffix. With an unstressed base (stress-shifting root) it occurs as follows:

//čn łù?-m-ist// čən łu?əmíst. 'I stabbed myself.'

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With a stressed base:

//čn wek^{w}-m-ist// čən wék^{w}ist 'I hide myself.'

After vowel deletion //m// is vocalized to i before //s//. Thus //m// as well as //n// is affected by //s//.

4.18. Reciprocals. The suffix //-wé?x^{w}//, an inherently stressed suffix, forms reciprocal words from transitive stems.

//łù?-n-te-wé?x^{w}// łu?əntəwé?x^{w}. 'They stabbed each other.'

//pul-s-te-wé?x^{w}// pəlstəwé?x^{w}. 'They killed each other.'

These words occur only with the intransitive plural pronouns.

//qe? łù?-n-te-wé?x^{w}// qe? łu?əntəwé?x^{w}. 'We stabbed each other.'

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4.2. Long bases. Previous sections have exemplified formations with short bases. It is possible to expand a root with a lexical suffix to form a long base.

4.21. Lexical suffixes. These suffixes add lexical information. They are a very important part of the language due both to their frequency of occurrence and their expansive possibilities.

Normally they add concrete objective reference to a root.

//wiy// 'finish' //-eɨxʷ// 'house'

//čn wiy-eɨxʷ// čən wiˑʔéɨxʷ. 'I am through with the house.'

//xʷist// 'walk' //-etkʷ// 'water'

//n-xʷist-etkʷ// nəxʷstétkʷ. 'He waded.'

//ƛ̓aχ̣// 'fast' //-etkʷ// 'water'

//s-ƛ̓aχ̣-etkʷ// sƛ̓əχ̣étkʷ. '(It's) fast water.'

//hùq̓ʷ// 'go' //-éẘs// 'half, middle'

//hùq̓ʷ-p-éẘs// huq̓ʷəpéẘəs. 'They separate.'

//ʕàc// 'tie' //-sqáχ̣eʔ// 'animal' //-tn// 'instr.'

//ʕàc-sqáχ̣eʔ-tn// ʕacqáχ̣eʔtən. '(It's a) rope.'

//liči̓// 'tie' //-us// 'eye, face'

//n-liči̓-us-ɨ-te-si-n// nəlči̓uɨcən. 'I bandaged your eyes for you.'

(I-tie-eye-relative-to-you)

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Sometimes the long base requires a more metaphorical translation.

//čuw// 'gone, empty' //-cin// 'mouth'

//čn čuw-cin// čən čúcən. 'I was silent.'

//p̓ɬ// 'fall' //-ečst// 'hand'

//p̓ɬ-p-ečst-mi-n-te-n// p̓əɬəpéčstəmən.

//wiy// 'finish' //-ečst// 'hand'

//wiy-ečst// wi·ʔéčst. 'He finished work.'

Appendix B lists the lexical suffixes which have been observed.

4.211. Stress and lexical suffixes. The suffixes can be divided into two main groups: those that are variable-stressed, with stressed and unstressed forms depending on the character of the root; and those that are inherently stressed, with only one form. Examples of each follow.

Inherently stressed: //-áiq// 'race, game'

Stress-retentive root: //x̓ʷel// 'abandon, leave'

//x̓ʷel-áiq// x̓ʷəláiq. 'He was left behind in a race.'

Variable-stressed: //-cin// 'mouth, eat, food'

Stress-retentive root: //tixʷ// 'get'

//tixʷ-cin// tíxʷcən. 'He got food.'

Stress-shifting root: //wiy// 'finish'

//wiy-cin-n-te-xʷ// wi·cíntxʷ. 'You finished eating.'

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As the last example above shows, a variable-stress lexical suffix receives stress rather than a following variable-stress grammatical suffix. This seems to contradict an earlier supposition--that when the nature of a root requires stress on a variable suffix the last variable suffix is stressed. This present case can be explained by saying that long bases (root and lexical suffix) are stress-retentive and keep stress unless an inherently stressed suffix follows. Then within a long base a root or variable-stress suffix is stressed according to the general principles. Following are two additional examples.

Variable-stress lexical suffix: //-en?e// 'all over a surface'

Stress-shifting root: //pǩʷ// 'put'

//čɨ-pǩʷ-en?e-n-te-xʷ// čɨpǩʷénə?entxʷ. 'You put [dirt] all over it.'

Stress-retentive root: //la̲q// 'bury'

//čɨ-la̲q-en?e-n-te-xʷ// čɨlá̲qənə?entxʷ. 'You covered it all over.'

(In both examples, the second //e// of the lexical suffix does not reduce due to the glottal stop; cf. 2.215.)

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4.212. Combinations of two lexical suffixes occur, although they are not common in the material. A few examples follow. By the general principles, an inherently-stressed lexical suffix takes stress rather than a variable-stressed lexical suffix.

//šil// 'chop' //-ə́ẘs// 'half, middle' //-qin// 'head'

//n-šil-ə́ẘs-qin-n-te-m// nəšələ́ẘəsqəntəm. 'His head got chopped in the middle.'

When two variable-stress lexical suffixes occur and the situation is such that they can be stressed, a hierarchy of suffixes determines which will be stressed. For example, in the samples below //-qin// 'head' dominates //-ečst// 'hand' but is in turn dominated by //-ep// 'back'. However, not enough examples with two variable-stress suffixes have been found to work out a definitive system at this time.

//ɨ̀ù?// 'jab' //-qin// 'head, top' //-ečst// 'hand, finger'

//č-ɨ̀ù?-qin-ečst-m// čɨ̀o?qínčstəm. 'He put a flint under his fingernail.'

//t̀uk^{w}// 'lay' //-cin// 'mouth' //-etk^{w}// 'water'

//s-t̀uk^{w}-cin-etk^{w}// st̀ək^{w}cənétk^{w}. 'It's lying by the shore of a river.'

//taq// 'put' //-ep// 'back' //-qin// 'head, top'

//čɨ-taq-ep-qin-n-te-x^{w}// čɨtqápqəntx^{w}. 'You put it on the back of the head.'

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4.213. Two lexical prefixes have been noted.

//sm̓-// 'poor little'

//sm̓-ttw̓ít// 'He's a poor little boy.'

//pu?-// 'spouse'

pu?alík. 'She's Alex's wife.' [Margaret]

pu?Margaret. 'He's Margaret's husband.' [Alex]

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4.3. Secondary stems. A base may be followed by another type of suffix to form a secondary stem.

4.31. Success stems. A suffix //-nú-//, inherently stressed, is added to a base forming a success stem. This stem then takes the simple transitive and control endings and the transitive pronouns to form words expressing successful completion of an action. Often these forms are used to emphasize that something difficult has been achieved. //-nú-// occurs only with transitive roots.

//šil// 'chop'

//šil-nú-n-te-xʷ// šələnúntxʷ. 'You got it chopped.'

//k̓ʷul̓// 'do'

//k̓ʷul̓-nú-n-te-xʷ// k̓ʷəl̓ənúntxʷ. 'You managed to do it.'

Even a base that takes the causative transitive endings takes the simple transitive endings following //-nú-//.

//miy// 'know' (hecəmi·stén. 'I know it.')

//miy-p-nú-n-te-xʷ// mi·pənúntxʷ. 'You succeeded in knowing, found out.'

By the general principles of stress placement, the inherently stressed suffix is stressed, not any variable stress suffix that may be present. Thus, in combination with the TRANSITIVE-CONTROL-SUBJECT suffixes, the surface forms are as follows:

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-nún 'I'	-núntəm 'we'
-núntxʷ 'you'	-núntp
-núys 'he/they'	

There are no examples in the corpus with object pronouns.

4.32. Instrumental stems.

4.321. A variable-stress suffix //-min// derives nominal instrumental forms from bases with transitive roots. These instrumentals can occur with the possessive pronouns.

//ƛ̓a·p// 'shoot' (ƛ̓a·pəntén. 'I shot it.')

//ƛ̓a·p-min// ƛ̓a·pəmín. '(It's a) bow and arrow.'

ƛ̓a·pəmís. '(It's) his bow and arrow.'

hinƛ̓a·pəmín. '(It's) my bow and arrow.'

//ɬù?// 'jab'

//ɬù?-min// ɬu?mín. '(It's a) spear.'

//lič̓// 'tie'

//s-n-lič̓-min// sənəlč̓əmín. '(It's a) jail.'

4.322. The instrumental stem can also occur with the TRANSITIVE-CONTROL endings and the transitive pronouns. The resulting forms are instrumental transitives.

//k̓ʷu̲ƛ̓// 'do' (k̓ʷúƛ̓əntxʷ. 'You do it.')

//k̓ʷu̲ƛ̓-min// k̓ʷúƛ̓əmən. '(It's a) tool.'

//k̓ʷu̲ƛ̓-min-n-te-xʷ// k̓ʷúƛ̓əməntxʷ. 'You use it.'

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//šil// 'chop'

//šil-min// šələmín. '(It's an) axe.'

//šil-min-n-te-xʷ// šələmíntxʷ. 'You use the axe to chop.'

The only examples in the corpus are with roots that normally form simple transitive stems. Thus it is not known if roots that form causative stems would use this ending after //-min//.

4.323. One other suffix is involved in instrumental derivation. The unstressed suffix //-tn// can come after a base to form a nominal instrumental. (Actually, this may be a variable suffix but there are no examples in the corpus that show it stressed, with a vowel.)

//šn// 'cover' //-us// 'eye'

//n-šn-us-tn// nəšənústən. '(It's an) eye patch.'

This suffix often comes after the instrumental stems just discussed.

//ʔàc// 'tie'

//ʔàc-min-tn// ʔacəmíntən. '(It's a) trap.'

//ɬù?// 'jab'

//ɬù?-min-tn// ɬu?míntən. '(It's a) spear.'

Words with //-tn// are inflected only in the possessive paradigm.

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4.33. Derived transitive stems. The variable-stress suffix //-mi-// added to an intransitive base (intransitive root) forms a derived transitive stem. This stem then takes the regular TRANSITIVE-CONTROL endings and the transitive pronouns. Some of the derived stems take the simple transitive endings and some the causative ones.

//xʷuy// 'go'

//č-xʷuy-mi-n-te-xʷ// čxʷúyəməntxʷ. 'You go on to it.'

//x̣ʷx̣ʷʔèy// 'laugh'

//kʷu č-x̣ʷx̣ʷʔèy-mi-n-te-xʷ// kʷu čx̣ʷəx̣ʷəʔeyəmíntxʷ.
'You laugh at me.'

//puxʷ// 'blow' //-ičn// 'back' //-ečst// 'hand'

//puxʷ-ičn-ečst-mi-n-te-xʷ// pxʷčənéčstəməntxʷ.
'You scatter it out from the palm of your hand.'

//čan// 'tie, pinch'

//čan-mi-s-te-n// čánəmstən. 'I tighten it.'

This last example shows that //-mi-//, "transitive derivational" and //-min// "instrumental" are indeed different elements. If the derivational ending were //-min//, the n would develop to i before s.

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4.34. Stress with secondary stems. Short unstressed bases with either //-min// "instrumental" or //-mi-// "transitive derivational", which are in turn followed by the TRANSITIVE-CONTROL suffixes, take stress on //-min// or //-mi-// not the following variable-stress CONTROL suffix.

//šil-min-n-te-xʷ// šələmíntxʷ. 'You use the axe to chop.'

//č-x̌ʷx̌ʷʔèy-mi-n-te-xʷ// čx̌ʷəx̌ʷəʔeyəmín̓txʷ. 'You laugh at it.'

Thus like long bases, secondary stems with a variable-stress suffix are inherently stressed. However, if the stem is formed with a long base (root and lexical suffix) the base is stressed, not the variable-stress suffix forming the secondary stem. Examples are present only for //-mi-//.

//puxʷ-ičn-ečst-mi-n-te-xʷ// pxʷčənéčstəməntxʷ.
'You scatter it out from the palm of your hand.'

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4.35. Substitutive stems. The variable-stress suffix //-šiš// can be added to a base to form a derived stem. This stem may be used in intransitive and transitive forms. A form with a substitutive stem conveys the meaning that a particular course of action is being followed by a person in place of another person who might otherwise be doing it.

4.351. If the suffix is added to a base that has an intransitive or ambivalent root the resulting derived stem may occur as an intransitive form with the intransitive pronouns.

//kʷ̓up// 'push'

//čn hec-kʷ̓up-šiš-iy// čəy eckʷ̓úpši. 'I am pushing something for someone.'

(The regular rules of vowel deletion and cluster simplification account for the reduction of //-šiš//; for //-iy// see 4.745.)

//t̓qʷ// 'sew'

//čn hec-t̓qʷ-šiš-iy// čəy est̓əqʷšíši. 'I am sewing something for someone.'

4.352. With a base that has an ambivalent or transitive root these stems may occur in the organization:

-šiš-CONTROL-OBJECT-SUBJECT

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Second person singular object forms show that these stems occur with the causative paradigm of pronouns.

//wiɬ// 'burn'

//wiɬ-šiš-tu-m-n// ʔuːɬəšítəmən. 'I burned something for you.'

cf. Simple transitive:

//wiɬ-n-te-si-n// ʔuːɬəncin. 'I burned you.'

//kʷup// 'push'

//kʷup-šiš-tu-m-n// kʷúpštəmən. 'I pushed something for you.'

cf. Simple transitive:

//kʷup-n-te-si-n// kʷúpəncən. 'I pushed you.'

An additional phonolcgical rule, deleting the second //š// is needed for these derivations. The suffix //-šiš// always reduces to either -ši or -š before the control //t//. Also, since this suffix is stressed rather than a following variable-stress suffix, it (like the transitive derivation and instrumental endings) forms a stress-retentive stem.

4.353. Although these stems occur in organization with the transitive pronouns, they are not completely transitive. They may not take a separate object adjunct. Thus they are different from the semantically similar relational forms with //-ɬ-//. The contrast may be seen below.

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čɨčəhénəʔeɬtən ɨ uʔ cítxʷs. 'I uncovered his house for him.'

(I-uncover-relative-to-him secondary particular his-house)

čɨčəhénəʔeštən. 'I uncovered something for him.'

It seems, then, that //-ɨ-// (and //-n-// and //-s-//) may be considered a transitive marker but //-šiš// may not. The transitive pronouns with substitutive forms serve to denote the person substituting (subject) and the person substituted for (object).

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4.4. Summary of stress placement with variable-stress suffixes. To recapitulate, stress is generally predictable even when a number of different variable suffixes are present after a stress-shifting root. With a short base that does not form a secondary stem, a final variable-stress suffix receives stress (cf. 2.213). All long bases are stress-retentive: either the root itself is stress-retentive, or else the lexical suffix is stressed (except in the presence of an inherently stressed suffix; cf. 4.211). With two lexical suffixes in a long base the rules of stress placement are not yet determined, although a hierarchy of suffixes is apparent (cf. 4.212). With secondary stems, those involving a variable-stress suffix receive stress on that suffix unless they are derived from a long base. In this latter case they are unstressed and the long base receives the stress (cf. 4.34).

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4.5. Summary of suffix order.

BASE			I	
ROOT (-p) 'non-control' (lexical suffixes)			-mi-	transitive derivation
			-min	instrumental
			-nú-	'success'

II		III		IV	
-n-	simple transitive	-te-~-tu-	control	-m	'middle'
-s-	causative			OBJECT	
-ɨ-	relational			-tn	instrumental
-šiš	substitutive			-sút	reflexive
				-wé?xʷ	reciprocal

V
SUBJECT

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4.6. Base modifications.

4.61. Reduplication can modify a root to form distributive plurals, diminutives and developmentals. The reduplicative elements are listed below as affixes.

4.611. Plural reduplicative patterns.

(a) C_1C_2- (before C_1VC_2)

//ROOT//

//te̲m̓// stəm̓tém̓. '(They're) things.'

//x̣al// sx̣əlx̣ált. '(They're) days.'

//x̣e̲s// x̣sx̣ést. '(They're) good things.'

//ti̲xʷ// txʷtíxʷcč. '(They're) tongues.'

//ƛ̓a̲q̓// ƛ̓əq̓əƛ̓áq̓əčst. '(They're) warm hands.'

This is the pattern when the root of the word is stressed. The reduplication results in loss of the vowel. This process is identical with that which takes place in word formation when stress shifts to a suffix. However, even a stress-retentive root (like //ƛ̓a̲q̓// in the last example) can lose its underlying vowel in reduplication.

In this type, if the underlying root is //C_1ey// or //C_1ew// the semivowel becomes a long vowel.

//q̓e̲y// hecq̓i·q̓éy. 'They were camped.'

//se̲w// su·séwłkʷ. '(They're) rivers.'

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If the semivowel is glottalized it becomes a sequence--short vowel-glottal stop.

//šey̓// hecši?šéy̓. 'They were together.'

(b) C_1VC_2- (before C_1VC_2)

//wič// wičəwíčəntxʷ. 'You see them.'

There are only a few examples with this pattern. All are with underlying stress-retentive roots. It may be that some stress-retentive roots keep a secondary stress on the reduplicative element to prevent vowel reduction.

(c) C_1C_2- (before C_1C_2)

//kʷʔ// sčkʷʔəkʷʔústən. '(They're) eyes.'

//taq// tqtqəntén. 'I hit them.'

//kʷt// kʷtkʷtúnšən. '(They're) big feet.'

This is the pattern when the word is suffix stressed and the root is in reduced grade. (Roots listed //C_1C_2// do not occur in the corpus with a vowel.)

If the reduced root has been derived from a root with an underlying initial y or w (cf. 2.215) the reduplicated element is VC_2-. The initial vowel has a glottal stop inserted before it.

//yl// ʔililəmíxʷəm. '(They're) chiefs.'

Initial underlying w becomes a long vowel.

//wil// ʔuːluːlím. '(It's) money.'

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Other roots that are stress-shifting, but retain full vowels in unstressed syllables, keep the full vowel in reduplication as well (cf. 2.214).

//ɬù?// ɬu?ɬu?əmín̓tən. '(They're) spears.'

//tè?// te?te?əmín̓tən. '(They're) pounding stones.'

(d) $C_1\acute{V}$- (before C_1C_2)

In this type stress stays on the first syllable.

qéce?. '(He's an) older brother.'

qáqce?. '(They're) older brothers.'

This type does not occur frequently and there seems to be no clear conditioning factor.

4.612. The category of number in Spokan does not correspond to that of English. Normally, plural is unmarked in context.

k̓ʷúl̓is. 'He/they did it.'

Subject plurality can be indicated by a -?- after the stressed vowel.

k̓ʷú?l̓is. 'They did it.'

For a number of roots there is a suppletive plural form.

?emút. 'He sits.' ?aɣéwət. 'They sit.'

šíl̓t. 'It stands.' c̓íl̓. 'They stand.'

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nəʔúɬxʷ. 'He goes in.' pílš. 'They go in.'

qécəlš. 'He runs.' kʷúƛeš. 'They run.'

ƛíl. 'He dies.' ɬʷəmíp. 'They die.'

Reduplication creates plurals that are best called distributives. Although they often look like plurals, there are many cases of contrast like the following:

ɬéy. 'He lived.'

ɬéʔy. 'They lived.'

ɬi·ɬéy. 'They were camped.' ('camped' refers to people distributed.)

Note also:

čən qʷaqʷəncút. 'I practiced a lot--over and over.'

kʷu ecəmeymémeyesc. 'He told me every time what to do.'

In these cases the action or state is considered distributed. However, the most common use of this plural is for reference to persons.

ʔiləmíxʷəm. 'He is chief.'

ʔililəmíxʷəm. 'They are chiefs.'

In the transitive system the third person plural object is indicated by reduplication of the root.

nəčəníčəntxʷ. 'You sg. cut them.'

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An element //ʔuɨ-// 'collected', is another pluralizer. It refers to two or more referents as a group or as members of a certain category.

ʔuɨčəsqáqəneʔ. 'They are the chickadees.'

ʔuɨsməʔém. 'They are women.'

4.613. The second function of reduplication is to form diminutives. There is a special reduplicative pattern for this category.

$-C_1-$ (in $C_1V\_\_C_2$)

4.6131. Root stressed forms.

//niič// ńíńəčəmən. '(It's a) little knife.'

cf.

níčəmən. '(It's a) knife.'

Resonants are commonly glottalized in diminutives.

//luǩʷ// lúlək̓ʷ. '(It's a) little stick of wood.'

4.6132. Suffix stressed forms. With these forms the underlying vowel is absent.

//xʌ́// xxʌ́əcín. '(It's a) dog.'

cf.

xʌ́əcín. '(It's a) horse.'

//tɬ̓ʷ// stətɬ̓ʷáneʔ. '(It's a) little flint.'

cf.

stəɬ̓ʷáneʔ. '(It's a) flint.'

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4.6133. The diminutive forms of some numerals also shows this type of reduplication.

músʼ 'four'

m̓úm̓əs 'four little'

cíl 'five'

cícəl 'five little'

t̓áq̓ən 'six'

t̓át̓əq̓ən 'six little'

Interestingly, the normal forms for seven and nine look like diminutives, but it has not been possible to analyze these words further.

sísp̓əl̓ 'seven'

x̣x̣ən̓út 'nine'

4.6134. There are several examples of a plural infix -i-, used to pluralize diminutive stems. Examples are available for suffix stressed forms only.

ttəw̓ít. '(He's a) boy.'

titəw̓ít. '(They're) boys.'

ččəyéʔ. '(He's a) grandchild.'

čičəyéʔ. '(They're) grandchildren.'

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4.614. Developmentals. Reduplication of the final root consonant forms a developmental base. It is used in intransitive forms.

//nic̓// nə́c̓əc̓. 'It got cut.'

cf.

hecənə́c̓. 'It's cut.'

With a stress-shifting root the underlying vowel is metathesized.

$//x^wuk̓^w//$ $x^wk̓^wúk̓^w$. 'He got clean.'

cf.

$x^wúk̓^w$. 'He is clean.'

4.62. Other base modifications.

4.621. A glottal stop infix before the stressed vowel of a base root expresses development to a state or quality. It is not very common. Its meaning is very close to that of the reduplicative developmentals.

ƛ̓əʔíc. 'It gets strong.'

cf.

ƛ̓íc. 'It's hard, set.'

$q̓^wəʔúct$. 'He gets fat.'

cf.

$q̓^wúct$. 'He's fat.'

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4.622. A very common suffix //-ilš//, coming directly after a base root, forms a base expressing movement to a position or location. This is a variable-stress suffix.

ɬəq̓ílš. 'He gets spread out, gets in bed.'

cf.

hi ɬáq̓. 'It's wide, spread.'

téšəlš. 'He's standing up.'

cf.

hi téš. 'It's straight.'

With a long base:

č̓əɬtšəlšálqʷ. 'He stands under a tree.'

(č̓əɬ- 'under' tš 'straight' -əlš 'get' -álqʷ 'tree')

4.7. Stem modifications. Stems are further modified by a number of affixes which add aspectual and other notions. Most of these elements are prefixes, which fall into a number of position classes. These are presented below beginning with the class farthest from the stem.

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4.71. There are a number of particles that mark mood (cf. 3.1125.). Only one affix indicates a modal feature. This is the very frequently used prefix //qɨ-// 'unreal'. This prefix has two surface realizations: before //s-// 'nominal' and //hec-// 'actual', the lateral spirant is lost; elsewhere it is realized as qɨ-.

Usually, this prefix can be translated 'going to'. That is, something unrealized is going to be done.

čí qsxʷísti. 'I'm going to walk.'

čí qecxʷúy. 'I'm going to go.'

However, it can refer to something unrealized in the past as well.

ta qsəwíčən ɬ u? stém̓. 'I couldn't see a thing.'

(not unreal-I-see-it secondary particular anything)

ta kʷo qsx̌ʷéli. 'He wouldn't leave me.'

(not me unreal-he-leaves)

4.72. //ʔepɨ-// 'have' is a special type of prefix. It is added to an intransitive form to indicate that the subject of the form possesses the item referred to. Before //s-// 'nominal' the //ɨ// is lost.

//ʔepɨ-c̓itxʷ// ʔepɨc̓ítxʷ. 'He has a house.'

//ʔepɨ-s-mʔəm// ʔepsəməʔém. 'He has a woman.'

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4.73. Directional system.

4.731. Two prefixes, //c-// 'toward speaker (or a particular referent)' and //ʔeɬ-// 'back', specify the direction of an action. They may occur together.

cxʷúy. 'He came.' (speaker is the referent)

cf.

xʷúy. 'He went.'

ʔeɬxʷt̓íp. 'He ran back.'

ʔeɬcxʷt̓íp. 'He ran back [here].'

cf.

xʷt̓íp. 'He ran.'

4.732. Two other prefixes, //c̓-// 'to' and //t̓-// 'from', are different from the above in that their derivations are usually adjuncts (see 3.313 and 3.315 for their use with demonstrative words).

xʷúy ɬ uʔ c̓əcítxʷs. 'He went to his house.'

(he-goes secondary particular to-his-house)

čən cxʷúy ɬ uʔ t̓əcítxʷs. 'I came from his house.'

(I come secondary particular from-his-house)

4.733. Another directional prefix, //č-// 'after', is very limited in distribution. It usually occurs with derived transitive stems formed from bases with intransitive roots expressing some type of motion.

//č-xʷuy-mi-n-te-xʷ// čxʷúyəməntxʷ. 'You go after it.'

cf. xʷúy. 'He goes.'

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4.74. Aspect. While some aspectual notions are marked by means of particles (see 3.1126), there are also a number of aspectual affixes, which are discussed here.

4.741. Actual aspect //hec-// refers to an action or state which is or was actually going on. It is similar to imperfectives in Indoeuropean languages, but here it is a strongly marked category.

čəy ecxʷísti. 'I am walking.'

hecəmíɬ̓. 'It's covered.'

hecənkʷənéy. 'He was singing.'

qe? ectíxʷəm. 'We're getting something.'

ta čəy ecəmiɬqʷéləm. 'I don't know how to sing very well.'

hesčt̓əstén. 'I keep it, take care of it.'

Forms without //hec-// are non-actual.

čən ɖeỷím. 'I typed it.'

čən ?ócqe?. I went out.'

k̓ʷúɬ̓əntxʷ. 'You did it.'

4.742. Stative aspect. Another aspectual element is the suffix //-t//, which comes directly after the base. This element seems to be a 'stative'. Examples are available only with short bases.

máʕʷət. 'It's broken.'

cf. máʕʷəntxʷ. 'You broke it.'

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Many words with //-t// look like English adjectives.

yoyót. 'It's strong.'

ləkʷút. 'It's far.'

x̣ést. 'It's good.'

4.743. Repetitive aspect. A prefix //uɨ-// 'again', is used in combination with a directional prefix //ʔeɨ-// 'back' (cf. 4.73), to refer to the repetition of an action.

xʷúy. 'He went.'

ʔeɨxʷúy. 'He went back.'

ʔeɨuɨxʷuy. 'He went back again.'

ʔeɨuɨəʔíɨən. 'He ate again.'

4.744. Iterative aspect. A suffix //-lwís// (inherently stressed) refers to action that is done over and over. Often, but not always, it implies a lack of direction.

hecxʷstələwísi. 'She was just walking around aimlessly.' cf.

hecxʷísti. 'She's walking.'

4.745. Continuative aspect. The variable-stress suffix //-iy// 'continuative' most often occurs after endingless bases and middle forms.

hecx̣écti. 'She's digging roots.'

čəy ecʔələqʷəmí. 'I run away.'

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(This suffix cannot be //-i// or it would be deleted when unstressed. As //-iy//, the vowel is deleted when unstressed and //y// becomes i after a consonant; cf. 4.162. When stressed, //-iy// loses its glide by general rule.)

4.75. Locational system. Forms may also take certain prefixes which add locational information.

4.751. //čɬ-// 'on' and //č̓ɬ-// 'under'.

čɬəʔemút. 'He sits on something.'

hesč̓əɬəʔemút. 'He's sitting under it.'

cf.

ʔemút. 'He sits.'

4.752. //n-// general locative 'in, position in'.

nəʔemút. 'He sits inside something.'

nəxʷóxʷəlq̓ʷs. '(It's) in their buggies.'

nəsƛ̓əxétkʷ. '(It's) in fast water.'

4.753. //l-// demonstrative locative 'at, located at'. This prefix has a rather different distribution from the prefix //n-//. Earlier it was discussed in terms of its use with the restricted demonstrative words. As mentioned there, the demonstrative words with //l-// most frequently occur before another predicate.

ləšé? u xʷúy. 'He went there.'

(it-is-at-that-place and he-goes)

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Non-demonstrative forms with //l-// are used in ways similar to the demonstrative words.

lə̓c̓əsúle?xʷ u ecqéy. 'He lives in the forest.'
(it-is-at-forest and he-lives)

4.754. The prefix //t-// 'point of reference' has already been discussed in terms of its use with restricted demonstrative words (cf. 3.314) and adjuncts (cf. 4.114 and 4.123). This element seems to fit into the system of prefixes relating to location. While it is commonly associated with demonstrative words and words that serve as adjuncts, it also occasionally derives a non-demonstrative word that serves as predicate.

tλuλ̓ə?úsən. 'I was watching (keeping an eye out) for him.'
cf.
λuλ̓ə?úsən. 'I looked at him.'

Here //t-// signals a point of reference for looking.

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4.76. Nominal forms. The prefix //s-// 'nominal' forms nominal words. In comparison with forms without s- it can be seen to establish that a situation, state, or activity is to be viewed as an entity.

səʔíłən. '(It's) food.' ʔíłən. 'He eats.'

skʷəršín. '(It's a) crane.' kʷərí. 'It's yellow.'

-šin 'feet'

spt̓áx̣ʷ. '(It's) spit.' pt̓áx̣ʷ. 'He spits.'

sx̣əlx̣ált. '(They're) days.' hi x̣ál. 'It's light.'

sq̓əy̓ím. '(It's) writing.' hecq̓éy̓. 'He writes.'

Many of the s-forms are unanalyzable--the root is otherwise unexemplified in the material. A large number of plant and animal names are of this type. For example:

sqáłqłceʔ. '(It's a) grouse.'

sqʷáqʷciʔ. '(It's a) rabbit.'

sqʷóʔł. '(It's a) bee.'

stélxʷəm. '(It's a) woodpecker.'

sqí. '(It's a) hawk.'

sqʷəlápqən. '(It's) tree moss.'

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4.761. Possessives with nominals. These nominals occur with the possessive pronouns.

//hin-s-ʔiɬn// hisəʔíɬən. '(It's) my food.'

//han-s-ʔiɬn// hasəʔíɬən. '(It's) your food.'

//s-ʔiɬn-s// səʔíɬis. '(It's) his/their food.'

//qeʔ s-ʔiɬn// qeʔ səʔíɬən. '(It's) our food.'

//s-ʔiɬn-mp// səʔíɬənəmp. '(It's) your food.' (pl)

The animate nominal forms may, of course, also occur as simple predicates with the intransitive pronouns.

čən sqəltəmíxʷ. 'I am a man.'

kʷ sqəltəmíxʷ. 'You are a man.'

sqəltəmíxʷ. 'He is a man.' (unmarked third person)

qeʔ sqəltəmíxʷ. 'We are men.'

p sqəltəmíxʷ. 'You folks are men.'

It is also possible to combine the intransitive pronoun subject with a possessor.

kʷ isqəltəmíxʷ. 'You are my man.'

There is thus another two-referent pronoun paradigm. The possessives serve as "subject" and the intransitive pronoun proclitics serve as "object". A few elements from the transitive pronoun paradigm are also used. Table 6 shows the surface forms with sqélixʷ 'He is an Indian.'

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Table 6

Nominal subject-object pronoun paradigm with a stressed base sqélix^{w} 'He's an Indian.'

	OBJECT					
		SINGULAR			PLURAL	
SUBJECT	1	2	3	1	2	
Sg 1		k^{w} isqélix^{w}	hisqélix^{w}		p isqélix^{w}	
2	k^{w}u asqélix^{w}		hasqélix^{w}	qe? sqélix^{w}ɨəlt		
Gen 3	k^{w}u sqélix^{w}s	k^{w} sqélix^{w}s	sqélix^{w}s	qe? sqélix^{w}ɨəls	p sqélix^{w}s	
Pl 1		k^{w} sqélix^{w}	qe? sqélix^{w}		p sqélix^{w}	
2	k^{w}u sqélix^{w}əmp		sqélix^{w}əmp	qe? sqélix^{w}əmp		
3	k^{w}u sqé?lix^{w}s	k^{w} sqé?lix^{w}s	sqé?lix^{w}s	qe? sqé?lix^{w}ɨəls	p sqé?lix^{w}s	

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As in the transitive paradigm, the forms which refer to general third person objects (third column) are unmarked. The subject forms are the possessives. These forms are translated as follows.

hisqélix^{w}. 'He is my Indian.'

etc.

Third person plural subject is specified with the infix -?-. Third plural objects (not shown) may be represented by reduplication of the root.

These forms are expanded for first person singular object reference by the familiar transitive object proclitic k^{w}u 'me', here translated 'I'.

k^{w}u asqélix^{w}. 'I am your Indian.'

etc.

Second person singular and plural objects are indicated by k^{w} 'you' and p 'you plural'. These are the regular intransitive subject pronouns.

k^{w} isqélix^{w}. 'You are my Indian.'

There is one complication, however. First person plural subject is not marked when a second person object is indicated.

k^{w} sqelix^{w}. 'You are our Indian.'

p sqelix^{w}. 'You folks are our Indians.'

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Thus these forms have the same representation as those that mean 'You are an Indian', and 'You folks are Indians.'

kʷ sqélixʷ. 'You are an Indian.'

p sqélixʷ. 'You folks are Indians.'

The forms with reference to first plural object and second or third person singular subject, use an organization identical with that of a transitive form. The base has the suffix //-ɨul-// (which is here reduced since it is not stressed) and the object pronoun suffix -l 'us', which here translates as 'we'. The familiar proclitic qe? completes the marking for first person plural. The possessor subject is marked by -t and -s for second and third person respectively.

qe? sqélixʷɨəlt. 'We are your Indians.'

qe? sqélixʷɨəls. 'We are his Indians.'

The form with second person plural subject uses the possessive subject and qe? 'we' for object.

qe? sqélixʷəmp. 'We are your (pl.) Indians.'

4.762. Additional words occurring with the possessives. A large number of words not formed with s- can occur with the possessives. For example:

qe? c̓úr. '(It's) our salt.'

huɬínəmp. '(It's) you people's bellies.'

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qáx̣e?əmp. '(It's) you people's aunt.'

məx̣ʷóls. '(It's) her cradle-board.'

pə?íčəmp. '(It's) your beargrass.'

hanlúk̓ʷ. '(It's) your wood.'

hinq̓éṭt. '(It's) my skin.'

qe? nəɬámqe?. '(It's) our black bear.'

hinɬq̓əɬáq̓ət. '(It's) my bass-fish.'

hint̓a·pəmín. '(It's) my arrow.'

yáṃx̣ʷe?s. '(It's) her basket.'

4.763. The distribution of words that take possessive inflection. While the words that take possessives tend to appear most often as adjuncts (either with or without possessives), it is, of course, possible for them to stand as simple predicates.

hinčélš. 'It's my hand.'

hi č̓úr. 'It's salt, salty.'

sqəltəmíxʷ. 'He's a man.'

These are all rather stative, inactive predicates. However, there are words which appear more strongly active and verbal, from an English point of view, which may also occur with possessive inflection. Words with the middle ending -m and the prefix hec- 'actual', regularly use the subject-object paradigm just described to indicate two referents involved in a predication.

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//kʷ hin-hec-x̣ʷel-m// kʷ yecx̣ʷéləm. 'I am abandoning you.'

//kʷu han-hec-x̣ʷel-m// kʷu acx̣ʷéləm. 'You are abandoning me.'

If only one referent is involved, the intransitive proclitics are used.

//čn hec-x̣ʷel-m// čəy ecx̣ʷéləm. 'I am abandoning [someone].'

4.764. The distribution of s- derived forms. From the English point of view, the forms derived with s- seem to be very concrete elements with verbal roots. There are numerous examples, however, that show derived forms that are just as strongly verbal as their underlying roots. Furthermore, in these cases, there is no obvious difference in translation between forms with and without s-.

skʷúləm. kʷúləm. 'He works.'

či sə?ax̣íləm. čən ?ax̣íləm. 'It happened to me.'

či səlšéy̓. čən ləšéy̓. 'I'm staying somewhere.'

scúntəm. cúntəm. 'He was told.'

In negative constructions these words with s- are most typical.

ta kʷu sm̓éy̓eɬc. 'He didn't tell me anything.'

cf.

kʷu m̓éy̓eɬc. 'He told me something.'

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ta kʷ sxʷúy. 'You don't go.'

cf.

kʷ xʷúy. 'You go.'

In keeping with the previously stated 'establishment' function of s- in deriving entities, it may be said that here events are established clearly (perhaps negatively). Overall, s-forms seem regularly to serve this purpose of establishing a fact, concept, entity, or event.

s- derived words also occur commonly after restricted negative word tam 'be nothing'. However, after tam, s- words serving as adjuncts refer to entities rather than events and occur only with the possessive and intransitive pronouns (which together form the special subject-object set described above; 4.761).

tam kʷ sqəltəmíxʷs. 'You are not her man.'
(be-nothing you her-man)
tam či səmə?ém. 'I am not a woman.'
(be-nothing I woman)

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4.765. Some additional nominal forms.

4.7651. Double nominals. There are s- derivatives based on forms which are already s- nominals. In this case the two spirants dissimilate and the surface realization is sc. Double nominals seem to be slightly more specific in comparison with regular nominals. They do not occur frequently.

scə?íɬən. '(They're) groceries.'

sə?íɬən. '(It's) food.'

scl̓əy̓ím. '(They're) the [particular] writings.'

sl̓əy̓ím. '(It's) writing.'

4.7652. Another nominalizer, sxʷ- creates agentive nominal forms.

sxʷəmarəyém. '(He's a) doctor.'

marəyém. 'He heals.'

It seems likely that this is a prefixal or compound development of the root //suxʷ// 'know' and therefore not a combination of s-'nominal' and a prefix xʷ-.

cf. hecsúxʷstən. 'I know him.'

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Appendix A Root classification

(A) Ambivalent (T) Transitive (I) Intransitive

ʔàw (I) drip, leak

ʔaxil (I) do something a certain way

ʔayxʷ (I) tired

ʔa·l (I) lose

ʔemut (I) sit sg.

ʔenes (I) go

ʔep̓ (T) wipe

ʔiɬn (A) eat

ʔiṁš (I) move camp

ʔitš (I) sleep

ʔocqeʔ (I) go out

ʔòlqʷ (T) help, assist

ʔos (A) lose

ʔukʷ (I) bring

ʔùɬxʷ (I) go

ʔùst (I) dive

caq (A) put

ciq (I) dig

citxʷ (I) house, dwelling

co·q (A) pull out

cùʔ (A) hit

cuw (A) say

čan (A) tight

čaqʷ (I) cry

čer (I) cold

čew̓ (I) wash

čil̓ (A) stand (long objects)

čis (I) consume all

čoqʷ (I) point with finger

čur (I) salt

čic (A) arrive

čst̓ (A) watch, guard

čaʕʷ (I) pray

čep̓ (T) lock a door

čey (I) shade

čiɬ (I) to lie (long object)

čiṁ (I) dark

čir (I) swim

čm (I) general word stem

čs (I) bad, ugly

čut (I) half

čuw (A) empty, gone

hèm (I) fog

hoy (A) finish

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hu̲kʷ (A) bring

kʷe̲kʷst (I) early

kʷen (T) take

kʷi̲l (I) red

kʷri (I) yellow

kʷs (A) startle

kʷu̲l (T) send

kʷu̲ɬeš (I) run pl.

kʷu̲p (T) push

ƛʷə̀ʔ (A) bite

ƛʷi̲ƛ̓ (I) some

ƛʷu̲ɬ (A) do

la̲q̓ (I) bury

la·p (I) go by boat, paddle

le̲m (A) happy, glad

li̲č (A) tie

lkʷ (I) far

lu̲ƛ̓ʷ (I) wood

luxʷ (I) hurt

ɬa̲x̌ (I) friendly

ɬa̲q (A) sit down

ɬa̲q̓ (I) wide

ɬaq̓ʷ (I) show up, appear

ɬkʷ (T) put, lay

ɬoxʷ (A) hole, make a hole

ɬù? (A) stab, poke

ƛ̓a̲x̌ (I) fast

ƛ̓i̲c (I) hard, set

ƛ̓il (A) die, kill

ƛ̓ù? (A) look

ƛ̓uxʷ (A) win back

mʔo̲t (I) smoke

mar (A) heal

ma̲ƛ̓ʷ (A) break

mə̀ʔ (T) bother

me̲nxʷ (I) smoke

mə̀y̓ (A) tell

mi̲lƛ̓ʷ (I) all, whole

mi̲ƛ̓ (I) covered

mi̲n̓ (A) cover with paint

miy (A) know

mn̓eč (I) defecate

mòh (I) howl

mu̲l (I) get water

muxʷ (I) snow

n̓ə̀m̓ (A) play, make play

na̲q̓ (I) rotten

naq̓ʷ (I) steal, rob

na̲s (I) wet

ne̲w̓ (I) wind blows

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niʔek̓ʷ (I) cross a river

nič̓ (A) cut

nos (I) blow nose, snot

nte (I) think

nwis (I) go up

pax̣ (A) smart, advise

pel (I) easy

pew (I) breathe

pilš (A) go in pl.

piq (I) white

ptkʷ (A) poke through

pt̓ax̣ʷ (A) spit

pul (A) kill

puw (T) pound

p̓exʷ (I) bright, shining

p̓in (A) bend

p̓is (A) scrape

p̓um (I) brown

p̓uy (I) wrinkle

qax̣eʔ (I) mother

qiɬ (A) wake

q̓em (I) run away pl.

q̓ett (I) skin

q̓ey (I) live

q̓ey̓ (A) write

q̓im (A) swallow

q̓s (I) late

qʷam (I) very, much, good

qʷay (I) blue, green

qʷaʕʷ (I) crazy, drunk

qʷec (I) hot

qʷel (A) talk, speak

qʷil (A) cheat

qʷim (A) die, kill pl.

qʷl (A) burn, cook

qʷuɬ (I) dusty

q̓ʷay (I) black

q̓ʷec (A) full

q̓ʷil (I) good, very good

qʷlew (A) pick berries

q̓ʷuc (I) fat

q̓ʷuɬ (I) grey

saq̓ (A) split

sax̣ (I) near

sel (A) turn

sew (A) hear, ask for information

šil (A) chop

šit̓ (A) stand (one object)

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sixʷ (A) pour

šiy̓ (I) go through, pass

šn (T) shut

sp̓ (T) hit

sust (A) drink

suxʷ (T) to know

syen (A) count

šil (T) chop

taq (T) hit

ta·x̣ʷ1 (I) start

tčey̓ (I) urine

tè? (A) pound

teš (I) stand

tew (I) buy, sell

ti? (I) melt

til (I) break

tixʷ (A) get

toxʷ (I) straight

ƛam (A) suck

ƛas (I) hard

ƛa·p (T) shoot

ƛem (A) bunch

ƛey (I) fall

ƛil (A) tear

ƛiɬ (I) dirty

ƛip (A) stand pl.

ƛiš (A) sweet

ƛixʷ1 (I) different

ƛloqʷ (I) run pl.

ƛoqʷ (A) sew

ƛoqʷ (T) slap

ƛp (A) cook

ƛukʷ (A) to lay sg.

ƛuxʷt (I) fly sg.

wek̓ʷ (A) hide

wenš (I) dance war-dance

wič (T) see

wiɬ (A) burn

wis (I) long

wiy (T) finish

xʷ?it (I) many

xʷep (A) spread

xʷiċ (A) give

xʷis (I) walk

xʷiɬ (I) run sg.

xʷt (I) angry

xʷukʷ (A) clean

xʷuy (I) go

x̣alƛ (I) light

x̣am (A) lay, put (several objects)

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xaḥ (I) dry

xc (I) ready, prepared

xc (I) gamble

xem (I) heavy

xes (I) good

xʷel (A) abandon

yaʔ (I) gather

yey (A) weave

yil (I) dull

yir (I) round

ʕaʔx (A) look

ʕaʔxʷ (I) hungry

ʕam (I) melt

ʕaym (I) angry

ʕa•c (A) tie

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Appendix B Lexical suffixes

Underlying forms

-alqs clothes, shirt

-álqʷ cylindrical object

-aɬq race, game

-aqs nose; road

-á(sd̓t) day (may be abbreviated)

-axn arm

-cin mouth, lips, speech, tongue, food

-ečst hand, work, finger, edge

-élixʷ people

-elp cover

-élps back part of the neck

-éɬp plant

-eɬxʷ skin, hide; house

-en?e all over a surface

-ene? ear

-énč stomach

-ep below, base, bottom

-etkʷ water

-ew̓ɬ something in the water

-ew̓t scattered

-éw̓s half, middle

-éys tooth; rain

-ičn back, behind

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-íṅč bow, weapon

-łq̓ít body covering

-qin head, top

-sq̓áx̣e? animal, cow, horse

-šin foot, leg

-tč winter

-ule?xʷ ground

-úps tail, rump

-us eye, face, neck; fire

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