

Sketch of Thompson, a Salishan Language

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The Thompson Indians of southern British Columbia speak a northern Interior Salish language with mild dialectal differentiation (fig. 1). Thompson and Thompson based their work on study with distinguished and exceptionally knowledgeable speakers, beginning primary work in 1964 with Chief William Samson (b. 1901, d. about 1990) of Kanaka Bar. Egesdal worked from 1980 to 1983 with Hilda Austin (fig. 2) of Lytton. The Thompsons worked from 1975 to 1989 with Mabel Joe (fig. 3) of Lower Nicola, from 1979 to 1989 with Mary Coutlee (fig. 4) of Merritt, and from 1968 to 1991 collecting the most extensive material from Annie York (fig. 5) of Spuzzum. As a young woman York studied specialized topics in the language with the oldest and most knowledgeable speakers available in preparation for medical interpreting work, and she had experience with several dialects. She was the principal guide in the analytical work. Primarily Spuzzum (Lower Thompson) dialect is represented here.

1. SOURCES

Early treatments of the Thompson language are few: Gibbs (1877), Good (1878, 1879, 1880, 1880a), Boas (1899), and Hill-Tout (1900). The most extensive earlier recording was done by James Teit, who was married to a Thompson woman and reportedly knew the language well. His notes and publications (Teit 1900, 1930, and manuscripts in the American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia) transcribe many words. The phonetic structure of the language is especially difficult, and these early researchers did little analysis. Boas's and Teit's transcriptions are often unreliable for phonetic detail and difficult to interpret, even after considerable experience.

Other field researchers have collected language data used for this chapter: Bouchard (1973, 1974), Kinkade (1989-1993), Kuipers (1973), Mayes (1975-1979), Suttles (1951, 1962), and Turner (1973-1989). Besides

5. Inflection
6. Derivation
7. Syntax
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these materials and Thompson and Thompson (1962-1982), Egesdal (1980-1984), and M.T. Thompson (1985-1991), there are manuscripts containing linguistic data in the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec; the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington; and the American Philosophical Society Library, Boas Collection. The monographic description by Thompson and Thompson (1992) contains an extensive list of references to earlier work on the language. Additional published sources include Laforet, Turner, and York (1993) on traditional food categories and M.T.

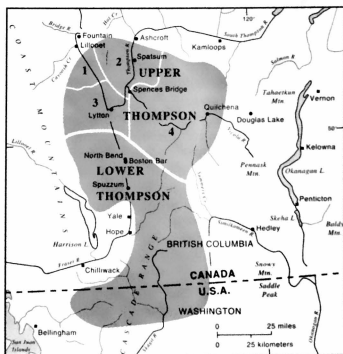


Fig. 1. Approximate precontact distribution of the Thompson language, though probably only the hunting range extended so far south. Upper Thompson dialects are: 1, Upper Fraser; 2, Spences Bridge; 3, Lytton; 4, Nicola (after Teit 1900).

Thompson and Egedsal (1993) and Egedsal and M.T. Thompson (1994) on analyses of legends. Thompson and Thompson (1996) is an exhaustive dictionary.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1.

Consonants are charted in table 1. Some boxes extend over two categories; the consonant symbol is placed to reflect the primary articulation, with the empty spaces suggesting nondistinctive variants.

The first two obstruent categories contain stops (including affricates), which are forcefully articulated. The glottalized stops are ejectives. Plain stops and spirants tend to be heard as voiced in many voiced surroundings (spectrographic analysis has not shown actual voicing; Mayes 1979). Plain stops are unaspirated before vowels and resonants, but somewhat aspirated before a spirant, and regularly before another stop. In syllable-final position plain stops are strongly aspirated. In *allegro* speech, *p*, *t* are unreleased before their homorganic nasals *m*, *n*, respectively.

The resonants and spirants form a larger class of continuants. Of the resonants, *y*, *ȷ*, *w*, *w̥* are semi-vowels; the rest are liquids. Resonants generally have syllabic status between two obstruents, between an obstruent and a pause, or between another resonant and an obstruent or pause. Perceiving laryngealization in resonants *m̥*, *n̥*, *l̥*, *z̥*, etc., can be difficult, especially in *allegro* speech.

In table 1 the labials are regularly bilabial. The contrast between *p* and *p̥* is particularly hard for the nonnative ear to discern (especially vis-à-vis postvelars *q* and *q̥*, which are easily distinguished). Dentals and laterals are articulated fundamentally with the tongue tip touching the back or roots of the upper teeth. *λ* is a glottalized dental stop with lateral affricative ejective release. *λ* is the only common dental ejective, as Proto-Salishan **l̥* and **λ* coalesced historically in Thompson. Glottalized dental *l̥* accordingly is rare, limited to apparently borrowed or archaic words; it also occurs occasionally as a nondistinctive variant of *λ*. *l̥* is sporadically pronounced as an affricate [λ]. Lateral resonants *l*, *l̥* are relatively uncommon; historically Proto-Salishan **l*, **l̥* > Th *y*, *ȷ*, and Th *l*, *l̥* are either borrowings or derive from Proto-Salishan **r*, **r̥* (Kinkade and Thompson 1974). Glottalized *n̥* (but not plain *n*) is assimilated to [ŋ] directly before a velar stop in the same syllable.

Among the postdentals, *č* is basically a glottalized postdental stop with sibilant affrication in its ejective release; it is palatalized frequently before a rounded uvular stop (e.g., *q̥*, *q̥ʷ*). *z*, *z̥* are alveolar slit spirants, resembling *z* in position, but *th* in English *breathe* in shaping. *z*, *z̥* are articulated with some lateral opening, which can cause the nonnative ear to confuse them with *l*, *l̥* respectively (and especially *z̥* and *l̥*). *ç*, *ç̥* are alveolar, with hollowing of the tongue behind the tip; they

are not common, appearing primarily in special environments involving tongue-root retraction. *ç* resembles the consonants in English *its*, *ʃ* the sibilant in *sauce*; both have a dark, hollow timbre, caused by a cupping of the tongue in back of the key point of articulation (but not retroflexed).

Among alveopalatals, spirant *s* is usually similar to the sibilants in English *shush*, and *c* is usually similar to the affricates in English *church* (or commonly those in *judge* when unaspirated). *y*, *ȷ* are palatal semi-vowels, very similar to *y* in English *yes*, *boy*.

Prevelar obstruents *k̥*, *k̥ʷ*, *x̥* are very front (almost palatal); *k̥ʷ*, *k̥ʷʷ*, *x̥ʷ* are rounded (labiovelar) and produced further back than their simple prevelar counterparts. Prevelars are noticeably backed in the neighborhood of a postvelar in the same word. Simple prevelars *k*, *k̥*, *x* seem to have a slight [ʰ] offglide in clusters and final position; *x̥* correspondingly often resembles the prevelar fricative [ç] in German *ich*. The prevelar resonants *ȷ*, *ȷ̥* are front velar spirants with very little friction; they are exceedingly rare and



Fig. 2. Hilda Austin (b. about 1912, d. 1994), with bulbs of yellow avalanche lily (*Erythronium grandiflorum*), which she collected in Botanie Valley, near Lytton, B.C. The bulbs were used in a "pudding" along with saskatoon berries, salmon eggs, deer fat, and roots. Austin, a talented storyteller, was Egedsal's linguistic consultant from 1980 to 1983. Photograph by Harriet Kuhnlein, Lytton, B.C., 1984.

Table 1. Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Lateral	Post-dental	Alveo-palatal	Simple (pre-)velar	Rounded (pre-)velar	Simple Post-velar	Rounded Post-velar	Laryngeal
Obstruents										
Stops, glottalized ejective	β	i	λ		ϵ	k	k^*	q	q^*	
Stops, plain	p	t		ζ	c	k	k^*	q	q^*	ʔ
Spirants			l	ξ	s	x	x^*	ξ	ξ^*	h
Resonants										
Plain	m	n	l	z	y	γ	w	ϵ	ϵ^*	
Laryngealized	\tilde{m}	\tilde{n}	\tilde{l}	\tilde{z}	\tilde{y}	$\tilde{\gamma}$	\tilde{w}	$\tilde{\epsilon}$	$\tilde{\epsilon}^*$	

apparently are being replaced with y , \tilde{y} . Older speakers (born before 1915) have γ , $\tilde{\gamma}$, where younger speakers (born after 1915) tend to have y , \tilde{y} , especially in postvocalic position following [i], such as *niypikn* versus *niypikn* 'noon.' Both groups have γ in words such as *syép* 'tree' or *smyéw* 'lynx.' Rounded prevelars k^* , k^* , x^* are produced at roughly the position of English [k] in *cool*. The resonants of this rounded prevelar set are simply the semivowels w , \tilde{w} .

Simple postvelar obstruents q , q^* , ξ vary from very back (uvular) articulation to positions close to that of English [k] in *cool*. They are quite clearly distinguished from prevelars k , k^* , x , which themselves are rather far front. Rounded postvelars q^* , q^* , x^* are most easily confused with their rounded prevelar counterparts k^* , k^* , x^* . While q^* , q^* , x^* are sometimes clearly uvular, they are most often produced farther front, often very close to the place of articulation for the rounded prevelars k^* , k^* , x^* . The Nicola Valley dialect shows wider spacing (and thus less perceptual ambiguity) between the rounded prevelars and postvelars. Postvelar resonants ϵ , ϵ^* , $\tilde{\epsilon}$, $\tilde{\epsilon}^*$ are basically pharyngeals, produced by retraction of the tongue root and general narrowing of the pharynx. The plain pharyngeals ϵ , ϵ^* commonly have some uvular friction or occasionally a uvular trill, and occasionally some suggestion of creaky glottal production. The laryngealized counterparts $\tilde{\epsilon}$, $\tilde{\epsilon}^*$, usually involve a full glottal stop.

The laryngeal glottal stop ʔ is very common; laryngeal spirant h is relatively infrequent. h is sometimes difficult to distinguish from prevelar spirant x ; h and postvelar spirant ξ vary freely in certain words.

2.2.

Vowels are shown in figure 6. The primary vowels are i , u , e , ə ; the others are retracted counterparts, which are less common and to some extent automatic variants of primary vowels.

i , fundamentally similar to i in English *machine*, has variants resembling ϵ in French *été* after postvelars, and e in English *jet* before postvelars. After a postvelar it frequently has a brief central onglide. i is similar to French ϵ , but centralized and accompanied by lowering of the back of the tongue; it is rare.

u , basically similar to u in English *prune*, sounds like the vowel in *foot* in closed syllables before rounded prevelars, like o in French *mot* by postvelars and sometimes in other positions. After an unrounded velar it has a noticeable central onglide. o is low back rounded, resembling o in French *bonne* (and similar to the vowel of American English *law*).

e has a norm similar to the vowel in French *belle*, but it is higher before y , \tilde{y} , and otherwise often lower (like the vowel in English *cat*), especially near retracted consonants. a ranges in the low central to back area, rather like a in American English *father*, *farm* and unrounded pronunciations of o in *hot*, *sob*.

ə (schwa) is lax; it varies from a rather low back unrounded vowel like that of most American pronunciations of *but*, *luck* adjacent to retracted consonants, to a lower high central unrounded vowel resembling the unstressed vowel in many American pronunciations of *roses*. It has rather high variants, fronted before palatals, backed and somewhat rounded adjacent to rounded velars. ə is similar to the vowel of American *but*, *luck*, but lower and farther back.

The lax vowels ə , ə oppose all the other vowels, which are tense. Certain vowels are homorganic (produced with roughly the same position of the vocal organs) to consonants: i to y , u to w , a to ϵ , o to ϵ^* ; similarly, e acts morphophonemically as homorganic to ʔ , h .

2.3.

Intonational elements have not been extensively studied. The stresses marked are primary ($\acute{\text{`}}$) and secondary ($\grave{\text{`}}$). Unstressed syllables are unmarked except



Fig. 3. Mabel Joe (*lúslásk'u*; b. 1917) holding a mat made of common reed grasses (*Phragmites communis*) collected from Nicola Lake. It was used traditionally for drying berries. Well known for teaching both language and culture in the local schools, Joe worked with Sharon Mayes, and with M.T. Thompson to transcribe and translate texts. Photograph by Nancy Turner, Lower Nicola, B.C., 1985.

in underlying forms (´). The distinct phrase-end intonations are: nonterminal (´) —ending below mid range without dramatic rise or fall, nonfinal sentence portion; general (´) —mid-high with last primary stress, abrupt drop to low, usual sentence end (including factual questions); soliciting (?) —mid-high with last primary stress, light rise, request for confirmation; and inconclusive(—) —abrupt rise from low mid on final syllable, indicating incompleteness, doubt, disinterest. Two marked individual segment intonations are distinguished: special emphasis (*áá*) —lilting rise in middle of stressed vowel, for emphasis, insistence; and rhetorical segment lengthening (*á´´*) —extra-long segment (usually vowel) with high pitch, for colorful emphasis and discourse marking in narrative.

2.4. WORD FORMATION

The language displays long consonant clusters. As many as six successive obstruents have been observed in the same word without intervening vowels; for example, *cúlqstxʷ* 'you point a gun at him'. Study of

the grammatical system shows that such words are made up of strings of meaningful subparts, morphemes, many of which have vowels when they fall under stress. But each word has just a single main stress, and vowels mostly drop out of the unstressed morphemes. There are also some adaptations of consonants that come together.

The shape of a word with all its morphemes in full is an underlying form, cited between vertical bars, the morphemes separated by hyphens (-), double hyphens (=), root signs (√), brackets [], or the reduplication symbol (*): [√cúl-aqs-xi-t-ex´]. The word as it is pronounced is a surface form, cited in italics (either with or without morpheme boundaries marked): *ícúl-qs-x-t-x´*. Underlying forms are given where they seem necessary to clarify the discussion. Derivation of surface forms often involves several developments in a particular order, so that intermediate shapes of words can be recognized; sometimes it will help to cite several of these successive stages between vertical bars, the order of changes shown by greater-than signs.



Fig. 4. Mary Coutlee (*cáncápnínek*; b. about 1915) collecting the leaves and seed stalks of "wild celery" (*Lomatium nudicaule*). The leaves are used as a green vegetable, both raw and cooked, and the seeds as a flavoring for stews, soups, and tea. Coutlee studied at the University of Victoria, learning the phonetic system of writing her language and is well known for teaching language and culture in local schools. Photograph by Nancy Turner, Botanie Valley, B.C., 1980.

meaning 'becomes': [$\sqrt{c\acute{u}l-aqs-xi-t-ex}$] > [$c\acute{u}lqsxitex$] > [$c\acute{u}lqsxitx$] / $c\acute{u}lqs-x-t-x$. (The intermediate steps show no separation between morphemes, and the number of steps may not be exhaustive.)

The following symbols and abbreviations are used in this sketch:

[...]	(brackets)	infix
[...]	(vertical bars)	underlying representation
/...	(slash)	what follows is the stem (surface form) of the lexical root
$\sqrt{\dots}$	(root sign)	root in underlying form
-	(hyphen)	non-reduplicating affix: ...- prefix, ...- suffix
=	(double hyphen)	lexical suffix
•	(bullet)	reduplicating affix: ...•(stem) prefix, ((stem)•)... suffix, [...•] infix
--	(two hyphens)	regenerated form
==	(hyphen and double hyphen)	regenerated form with lexical suffix
V...	(3 raised dots after vowel)	rhetorical lengthening of vowel
[']	(raised comma inside brackets)	(in underlying forms) glottalization of immediately preceding resonant
()	(parentheses)	optional material
:	(colon within a word)	marking end of intransitive theme before transitive in-coming or possessive ending
C	(capital c)	any consonant
V	(capital v)	any vowel

The term root refers to the underlying phonetic form of a lexical morpheme without affixation, including reduplication, or morphophonemic changes caused by affixation. It is preceded by the root sign ($\sqrt{\quad}$). The term stem is used to mean the surface form, which may be affected by any or all of the above. It is preceded by a slash (/), used as a stem marker. Some roots have only one surface stem, and it is identical to the underlying form of the root. This has sometimes been referred to as the "root stem." Here it is called the underlying stem. Many roots have several surface representations (stems), depending on the stress pattern introduced by morphophonemic changes. For example, [$\sqrt{c\acute{w}w}$] 'do, make, work' (root), with stems [$c'?$]juw-, /c\acute{w}w- (underlying stem), c\acute{w}/cu'?, c\acute{w}/c\acute{w}'-, /cu-, /cuw-, /cw.

Simple words contain only a single morpheme, which is a root: /k'at 'liquid runs, spills'. Complex words contain one or more other morphemes, affixes, as well as the basic morpheme (the root): ?es/k'at 'it is



Fig. 5. Annie York (*zishk'u*: b. 1904, d. 1991), collecting saskatoon berries or serviceberries (*Amenanchier alnifolia*), the most important fruit for the Thompson people. York was the principal linguistic consultant of the Thompsons from 1968 to 1991. She wanted to speak numerous dialects, translating for elderly Christian Indians and their doctors. Her knowledge of the culture, customs, history, genealogy, and ethnobotany of the region was renowned. Photograph by Robert D. Turner, Spuzzum, B.C., 1980.

spilled' (?es- 'stative aspect', a prefix), /k'at-t-és 'he pours it out' (-t 'transitive', -és 'third-person subject', suffixes). A stem is also a root expanded by compounding (with another root), adding grammatical affixes (e.g., inchoative, proportional) or lexical suffixes, or by adding certain presumably vestigial elements. When a word has several affixes they are not added all at once, but in successive layers of derivation, so that various stems can be recognized to which affixes are added. For example, in / $c\acute{u}lqs-x-t-x$ 'you point a gun at him':

[$\sqrt{c\acute{u}l}$] 'point, direct'
 [$\sqrt{c\acute{u}l-aqs}$] 'point a gun' (|-aqs| 'nose, point, end', a lexical suffix [3.1.1.])
 [$\sqrt{c\acute{u}l-aqs-xi-t}$] 'point a gun at someone' (indirective |-xi|, which shows the action is directed toward another person, and |-t| 'transitive')
 [$\sqrt{c\acute{u}l-aqs-xi-t-ex}$] 'you point a gun at him' (|-ex| 'you [2d sg.subject]').

Some stems have infixes (enclosed in brackets in both underlying and surface forms): e.g., / $q'éc$ 'it is warm', [$\sqrt{q'e}?$]c / $q'?$ / $éc$ 'it gets warm', [$\sqrt{q'e}?$]c-cin / $q'e?$ / $c-cin$ 'weather gets warm' ([| $q'?$ |] 'inchoative').

Words of different kinds are affected differently in derivation. Particles (3.1.2.) sometimes have their own stress, sometimes are unstressed; unstressed particles are either proclitic, belonging to the breath group of the following stressed word, or enclitic, similarly attached to the stressed word they come after. Major words (3.1.4.) are either transitive or intransitive

(3.3.); transitive words have a transitive increment at the end—a sequence of several morphemes added to a basic stem, the intransitive theme. In /*čulʷqs-x-t-x* the intransitive theme |*čulʷ-aqs-*| ‘point nose (or front end)’ and the transitive increment |*-xi-t-ex-*| ‘you act on some object with reference to a particular person’ can be recognized. Intransitive themes often appear as intransitive words by themselves: /*čaiʷ* ‘he points out (a particular thing)’, /*čulʷqs* ‘he points a gun’.

The changes in morphemes within most words follow principles of internal combination; they are somewhat different in intransitive themes and in transitive increments. In talking, a person says several words together before he takes a breath; where words come together in such a breath group, morphemes are adapted in external combination; some changes are different from those in internal combination. Some words are extended by special principles from regularly derived stems; these are secondary formations, and the adaptations involved are like those of external combination. In underlying forms suffixes added in secondary formations are separated from stems by two hyphens (--) or a hyphen and a double hyphen in case of a lexical suffix (->). (See also 2.5.)

2.5. STRESS PATTERNS

The main stress of a word is determined by the nature of the elements that make it up. Each morpheme has inherent stress characteristics, and there are regular rules for dominance. Prefixes are unstressed and do not affect the position of main stress. Infixes are specialized and best discussed with their particular formations. Main stress falls either on the root or on one of the suffixes of a word. Some roots and suffixes are strong: they have

underlying primary stress (written with the acute accent in underlying forms). Other roots are weak.

In underlying stems a stem stands alone or last. In those involving a strong root, main stress falls on the syllable with underlying stress: |*tékł*| /*tékt* ‘it rains’, |*xʷesit*| /*xʷesit* ‘she walks’. Where the root is weak, main stress falls on the latest unstressed vowel before the root’s last consonant: |*ʷesʷsəq*| *ʷes/səq* ‘split’, |*ʷesʷkʷeʷ*| *ʷes/kʷeʷ* ‘chewed’, and |*ʷsələk*| /*slək* ‘it turns’.

Some underlying vowels have secondary stress (marked with the grave accent in the underlying forms); they do not disappear as most other vowels do when unstressed. Such syllables occasionally retain the secondary stress in surface forms but usually are like other unstressed syllables. On the other hand, main word stress falls on a vowel with underlying secondary stress only if there is no other stressable vowel: |*kʷinèx*| /*kʷinex* ‘how many (are there)?’, |*ʷseyè*| /*seye* ‘(there are) two’, and |*lučʷʷluc-ł*| /*lučʷʷluc-ł* ‘bushy’.

Suffixes are also of various shapes and several different underlying stress characteristics, which emerge as they combine with stems. A suffix captures stress from a stem when it is equal or greater in strength. Thus a strong suffix will take stress from either a weak or strong root: |*mémł*| ‘desiderative’, |*čəw-mémł*| /*ču-mémł* ‘want to work’, and |*łékl-mémł*| /*łékl-mémł* ‘trying to rain’. A nonstrong suffix will take stress from a weak root, but not from a strong root: |*qin*| ‘head, top’, |*ʷwuxʷt-qin*| /*ʷwuxʷt-qin* ‘snow on top (of mountains)’, and |*ʷesʷqáz-qin*| *ʷes/qáz-qin* ‘slanted on top (roof of shelter)’.

However, there are differences among nonstrong suffixes with respect to further derivation. There are a few that capture stress from a weak stem, forming

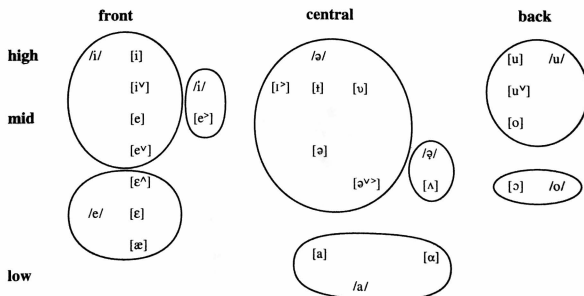


Fig. 6. Primary vowels and retracted counterparts.

again a weak stem that will lose stress in further derivation; these are weak suffixes and are marked with ['] in underlying forms; for example, [xʌn] 'foot, leg' captures stress from a weak root [ʌkəl] 'detach' in $^?es\check{v}k\check{a}l-x\check{a}n\] ^?es\check{v}k\check{a}l-x\check{e}n$ 'have shoes' off' but loses it again to following [-əm] 'middle vowel' (also a weak suffix) in [ʌkəl-xʌn-əm] [kət-xn-əm 'take shoe's off)'.
 Other suffixes (left unmarked in underlying forms) are ambivalent; they do not capture stress from a strong stem (e.g., [qin] in $^?es\check{v}q\check{a}z-qn$ above), but when they do take stress, they create a stem that is strong in further derivation: [ʌkəl-qin:-t-es] > [kəlqintəs] [kət-qin-s 'she takes the top off it'.

Remaining suffixes either lack a vowel or have underlying secondary stress; they never take main word stress: [-t] 'immediate', [ʌpəw-t] [pəw-t 'swollen (just swelled up)']; [ʌsək-t] [sək-t 'got hit (by falling branch)']; [-è] 'imperative', [ʌxʌs-t-è] [xʌs-t-e 'go home!']; [ʌxʌsít-è] [xʌsít-e 'walk!']

The addition of a strong suffix actually involves a new layer of derivation; a previously derived main stress in the stem is shifted to secondary: [ʌwík:-t-es] [wík-c 'she sees it'], [ʌwík:-t-âyxs] > [wíktíyxs] [wík-t-íyxs 'they see it'], [ʌkəl-qin:-t-âyxs] > [kəlqintâyxs] > [kəlqintíyxs] [kət-qin-t-íyxs 'they take the top off it'.

Some strong suffixes have two syllables, both with underlying primary stress (e.g., [-éwít] 'canoe, conveyance'). Following a weak stem main stress falls on the first syllable of the suffix and the second suffix syllable loses stress: [sʌqʷut-éwít] > [sʌqʷutéwít] [sʌqʷat-éwít 'other) side of the canoe'. But after a strong stem, main stress falls on the suffix's second syllable, and the first syllable shifts to secondary stress: [ʌzèx-éwít] > [zèxéwít] [zèx-éwít 'long canoe'.

After main stress is assigned certain changes take place in the segmented sequence. One prominent change is laryngeal movement. In the syllable directly before main stress a laryngeal (regardless of its underlying position) either precedes or follows the vowel, depending on the configuration of the syllable. If there is a single consonant or a cluster beginning in an obstruent intervening between the stressed vowel and the laryngeal, then the laryngeal precedes that consonant or cluster directly. In other words, the laryngeal ends the preceding syllable, and the single consonant or cluster begins the stressed syllable: [ʌmækʷu:-t-es] > [mækʷutés] > [mækʷutés] [mækʷuʔ-t-és 'she wraps it'], [ʌčəh:-t-es] > [čəhtés] [če-t-és 'he fixes it'. If there is no intervening consonant before the stressed vowel, or if there intervenes a cluster beginning in a resonant, then the laryngeal precedes the vowel of the first pretonic syllable. In other words, the laryngeal follows directly after the consonant (or cluster) that begins the syllable preceding the stressed one: [ʌmækʷu-ehih:-n-t-es] > [mækʷuéhíntés] [mækʷu-éhi-n-s 'she wraps, covers it up'], [ʌčəh-əm] > [čəhəm] > [čəhém] [čh-ém 'she puts

(things) away'.

Secondary formations (2.4.) are based on primary stems, which already have a main stress determined in the regular manner. The location of some affixes depends on the position of that main stress: [ʌčəʔ-eyéþ] [čəʔ-eyéþ 'mat', with diminutive (6.7.1.) [ʌčəʔ-éjʔ-eyéþ] [čəʔ-éjʔ-eyéþ 'little mat'; [kʷáx-e 'box', [kʷáqʷ-kʷ-x-e 'little box'; nʌtʰíyuxʷ 'it strings out over the ground,' n-t-ətʰt-ú[ʌtʰ]límʷ 'twinflower (Linnaea borealis)'. In secondary suffixation stress shifts to the first stressable suffix after the primary stem; the effect is the same as in the addition of a strong suffix to a strong stem. (A weak or ambivalent suffix in that position is thus treated as strong.) Further suffixes are treated as in primary formations. [nəʌqíx-cin:-n-t-sut] [nəqíx-cn-n-cút 'he locks himself in', [nəʌqʷ-él-ayx-ehih:-n-t-ey-es] [nəxʷ-él-ix-éhi-n-t-t-s 'he flies over us' (nəxʷ-él-ix 'he flies'), [ənehí] 'ear; position over, on top').

Unstressed portions of words are pretonic, before main stress; and posttonic, after main stress.

2.6. RETENTION OF UNSTRESSED VOWELS

In unstressed syllables most underlying vowels disappear entirely; however, in special circumstances both tense and lax vowels are retained, and some tense vowels survive reduced to ə. In more rapid speech there is a tendency to reduce more and more of the surviving unstressed tense vowels to ə; these reductions are beyond the more careful speech reflected in transcription here. Certain configurations protect vowels from loss.

2.6.1.

Surviving tense vowels retain coloring when they: (1) have underlying stress: [ʌwík:-t-âyxs] > [wíktíyxs] [wík-t-íyxs 'they see him', [kʷínèx-éłéiʔ] [kʷánèx-éłéiʔ 'how many carcasses?'; (2) fall at end of a word: [ʌqíqʷ-aycín-əm] [qíqʷ-cn-me 'he shaves'; or (3) precede a laryngeal: [ʌciʔʷ] [cʷ-əm] [ciʔʷ] [cʷ-əm 'make (something) bleed', [ʌtšéʔʷ] [tšéʔʷ 'tongue'.

2.6.2.

Otherwise surviving tense vowels are reduced to ə: (1) optionally in a pretonic syllable after a laryngeal: [ʔíł-ʌqíł-əm] [ʔíł-ʌqíł-m - ʔəł-ʌqíł-m 'they sing'; (2) optionally in a nonreduplicative final syllable before an obstruent: [ʌqípan-ekst] [qípan-ekst - ʌqípan-əkst 'ten'; and (3) obligatorily in other cases: [sʌqʷut-éwít] [sʌqʷat-éwít 'other) side of the canoe', [wík-ʌwík:-t-exʷ] [wékʷ/wík-t-xʷ 'you see them', [ʌmús-mus] [mús-mas 'four people'.

In the case of optional reductions, words are hereafter transcribed with the unreduced vowels.

2.6.3.

Vowels with underlying stress remain except directly before the main-stressed vowel ([ʌsəy-eyéþ] >

[seyëuseʔ] /siy-üseʔ 'two berries') or posttonically in a dissyllabic strong suffix [kʰinèx-éwíl] > [kʰinèxéwíl] /kʰ-ənèx-éwít 'how many canoes?': [luʔé] /úʔé 'there (remote)', [ʷwík:-t-šyxs] > [wiktšyxs] /wík-t-fyxs 'they see him', [ʷpílāx:-n-t-es] /pílāx-es 'she informs him', [ʷseyé] > [šéyé] /šéyé 'two'.

2.6.4.

Other pretonic vowels remain when they are protected: (1) after a liquid in a nonreduplicative prefix: [nəʷíféni-əyx] *n(ə)léni-ix* 'he gets in'; (2) before a cluster beginning in a resonant: [ʷláqəm:-t-es] /láqəm-t-és 'he preaches to them', [ʷqʷem:-s-t-es] /qʷem-s-t-és 'she nurses [baby] at breast'; (3) in a prefix or stem's first syllable before any cluster: [səkʷsək-əp-s-t-es] *səkʷsək-p-s-t-és* 'she causes them to get clubbed'; (4) as underlyingly tense vowels in any other type of syllable: [ʷkʰinèx-eéčíʔ] > [kʰinèxéčíʔ] /kʰ-ənèx-éčítʔ 'how many carcasses?'; [sʷqʷut-éwíl] > [sqʷutéwíl] /sʷqʷut-éwít 'other side of the canoe'.

2.6.5.

Other posttonic vowels remain when they are protected: (1) before a laryngeal: [ʷkʰáx-eh] /kʰáx-e 'box' ([h] lost, 2.7., [19]); (2) in an intransitive theme after a cluster and before a glottalized liquid: [ʷúʔʷu]pan-ʔ-ekst] > [ʔʷúʔpənekst] /ʔʷúʔʷu]pan-ʔ-ekst ~ [ʔʷúʔʷu]pan-ʔ-ekst 'ten animals'; (3) in the last syllable of an intransitive word after a cluster and before any liquid: [nəʷxʷə-us-tən] *n(ə)ʷxʷ-ús-t(ə)n* 'grindstone, file'; (4) in an intransitive theme after any consonant or a retained unstressed vowel: [ʷúʔʷu]pan-ekst] /ʔʷúʔʷu]pan-ekst 'ten', [ʷúʔʷé-əme] > [ʔʷúʔʷéme] /ʔʷúʔʷé-me 'she sings a lullaby', [sʷlékye] /sʷlékye 'lunch'; (5) in the last syllable of a transitive increment after a cluster ending in a resonant: [ʷwík:-t-uym-es] /wík-t-im-es 'he sees you people'; (6) in a reduplicative affix after a cluster, or between identical obstruents unless a tense vowel follows: [ʷmúš-múš] /múš-múš 'four people', [ʷtúʔʷu]túʔʷu 'it has been smashed'; but [ʷes-təʷkix-ix-é] /es-təʷkix-e 'it is fried right away'.

2.7.

Sounds in combination develop according to a complicated set of rules affecting the derivation of words in a particular order, as given below. Unless otherwise indicated, rules apply in both internal and external combination. For the most part proclitic particles develop like prefixes, enclitic particles like suffixes.

(1) A secondary-stressed vowel is lost directly before the main-stressed vowel: [ʷseyè-useʔ] > [seyèuseʔ] /siy-üseʔ 'two berries'.

(2) (a) Pretonic unprotected [ə] is lost from successive syllables moving back from the main stress: [ʷsələk-əp:-s-t-es] > [sələkəpštés] > [sələkəpštés] /sələk-p-s-t-és 'she gets it turned', [ʷláqəm:-t-es] > [láqəmštés] /láqəm-t-és 'he preaches to them'. (b) Pretonic tense

vowels adjacent to laryngeals or pharyngeals are treated like *x*: [ʷac-əp:-s-t-es] > [ʷacəpštés] /ʷac-p-s-t-és 'he gets it snared' and [ʷac-ʷac-əp] > [ʷacəp] /ʷac-əp 'they get ensnared'.

(3) [ə] of [əme] 'middle voice' (5.4.) is lost after a posttonic open syllable if the intervening consonant is a resonant ([ʷúʔʷu]c-in-əme] > [ʔʷúʔʷu]c-inme] /ʔʷúʔʷu]c-in-me 'he shaves') or laryngeal ([ʷúʔʷéx-ə-əme] /ʔʷúʔʷéx-ə-me 'he is power-questioning'), or if there is no intervening consonant ([ʷúʔʷé-əme] /ʔʷúʔʷé-me 'she sings a lullaby').

(4) Posttonic resonants are glottalized by glottalizing roots: [ʷúʔʷu]c:-n-t-es] > [ʔʷúʔʷu]c-ŋ-s 'he baits it out.'

(5) Unprotected vowels are lost from successive syllables of intransitive themes after the main stress: [ʷláʔʷu]láq-əm[-]ekst] > [láʔʷu]láq-ə]m-ekst 'six animals' and [ʷláqʷu]láq-əm[-]ekst] > [láqʷu]láq-ə]m-ekst 'six people'.

(6) Unprotected vowels are lost from the final syllable of transitive endings: [ʷmáʔʷu]x-i-t-sem-es] > [máʔʷu]x-i-t-sem-es] 'he breaks something of mine'; compare [ʷwík:-t-uym-es] > [wiktuymes] /wík-t-im-es 'he sees you people', with protected vowel.

(7) [t] is lost from transitive increments after [n, ŋ] before [n, s, x] in syllable-final clusters: [ʷúʔʷu]é-ŋ-t-en] > [ʔʷúʔʷu]én] > [ʔʷúʔʷu]én] (ultimately /ʔʷúʔʷé-n-e/) 'I sing him a lullaby', [ʷúʔʷu]é-ŋ-t-ex] > [ʔʷúʔʷu]én] /ʔʷúʔʷu]é-n-x 'you sing him a lullaby', [ʔʷúʔʷu]é-ŋ-t-es] > [ʔʷúʔʷu]é-ŋ-s 'he baits it out'.

(8) Within transitive increments [ts] becomes *c*: [ʷwík:-t-es] > [wiktš] /wík-c 'he sees her', [ʷwík:-t-sem-es] > [wiktšems] > [wiktšems] (ultimately /wík-cm-s/) 'he sees me'. Loss of [t] from syllable-final clusters (rule [7]) accounts for the different treatment of [-sut] 'reflexive' (5.3.) under different stress conditions: [ʷcəkʷu]c:-n-t-sut] > [cəkʷu]c-ŋ-t-sut] > [cəkʷu]c-ŋ-t-sut] (ultimately /cəkʷu]c-é-t/) 'he pulls himself up', [ʷcékʷu]c:-n-t-es] > [cékʷu]c-ŋ-t-es] (ultimately /cékʷu]c-é-t/) 'he cools himself'.

(9) Other unstressed vowels are lost from transitive increments: [ʷmáʔʷu]c-x-i-t-sem-es] > [máʔʷu]c-x-i-t-sem-es] > [máʔʷu]c-x-cm-s 'he breaks something of mine'.

(10) Where [-cs] develops at the end of a transitive increment, [-s] is lost: [ʷwík:-t-si-es] > [wiktšis] > [wiktšis] > [wiktšis] /wík-c 'he sees you'.

(11) After a retracting root, an immediately following stressed vowel (except [i]) is retracted and *c* or *s* in that syllable is optionally converted to *c* or *s*: [nəʷkəʔʷu]c-us-n-t-es] > [nəʷkəʔʷu]c-us-e-s 'he smears the window', [ʷkəʔʷu]c-əme] /kəʔʷu]c-əme 'she cuts', [nəʷkəʔʷu]c-us-əme] > [nəʷkəʔʷu]c-us-əme] /nəʷkəʔʷu]c-us-əme 'she cuts out a pattern'.

(12) Contrast between [ə] and tense vowels is neutralized in several positions: (a) Before a pharyngeal, laryngeal, or semivowel, [ə] is converted to a homorganic

vowel: [ʔesʷyɑː] ʔesʷyɑː- 'hidden', [ʷyāh > |jēh] ʷyā 'good', [ʷzay-t] ʷzay-t [liquid] flows', [ʔesʷcaw] ʔesʷcaw 'done'; (b) Before a rounded obstruent in a closed syllable (that is, ending in a consonant), [ɔ] is converted to *u* when stressed or preceded by a rounded consonant: [ʔesʷcək] ʔesʷcək 'pulled', [ʷpɪx*ix] > [pɪx*ax] ʷpɪx*ux 'unraveled'.

(13) Vowels are assimilated in certain stressed or closed syllables: (a) [ɔ] (stressed) is converted to *ā* before a simple postvelar: [ʔesʷsɑq] ʔesʷsɑq 'split'; (b) *u*, whether underlying or developing from [ɔ] in rule [12], is converted to *ō* in a closed syllable before a rounded postvelar: [ʷzūq] ʷzūq 'horse', [ʔesʷlɑq] > [ʔesʷtūq] ʔesʷtūq 'seated astride [heard]', [ʷpɪq*ɪq] > [pɪq*əq] > [pɪq*uq] /ʷpɪq*oq 'crumbled'; (c) In internal combination, [ū] (stressed) is lowered to *ō* before *z*: sʷkʷūz sʷkʷōz 'aunt' (compare sʷkʷū*ē*ʷjz 'auntie'); but in a secondary derivative, it remains unchanged: [ʷzū] ʷzū(')q /zū/ʷzjʷq '[small animal is] dead'; (d) [e] is converted to *a*: 1) before [z, ʒ] ([ʷl̥eʷeʒek] ʷl̥āʷl̥eʒek 'they arrive; cf. [ʷl̥ēk 'he arrives'), 2) between postvelars ([ʷq̄l̥eʷq̄ek] ʷq̄l̥eʷq̄ek 'elder brother (dimin.); cf. ʷl̥eʷek 'elder brother'), 3) between rounded obstruents ([nəʷk̄-ē] *k̄-e) ʷn̄-ā /n̄-k̄-ē* ʷn̄-ā 'he peeps, peeks'; cf. [ʷk̄-ēn̄-ē] *k̄-ē) ʷk̄-ē-ē-s 'he looks at it'), 4) after postvelar continuants ([ʷx̄c-n-t-es] ʷx̄c-ē-s 'he smokes (buckskin)'), [nəʷx̄el] ʷc-us > [nəʷx̄eʷcūs] n̄xal ʷc-ūs 'he gets smoke in his eyes'; cf. [ʷx̄el] ʷc] sʷx /ʷl̥eʷc 'smoke'; [ʷyɑː-e-leʷ-x̄n̄-t-es] > [yɑː-ēleʷxns] > [yɑː-āleʷxns] ʷyɑː-āleʷ-xe-s 'she drags him by the leg'; cf. [ʷcāh-eleʷ-x̄n̄-t-es] > [chēleʷxns] ʷch-ēleʷ-xe-s 'she adjusts his (patient's) legs'). 5) optionally between labials and postvelars ([ʷp̄e-q-n-t-es] ʷp̄ā-e-s - ʷp̄e-q-e-s 'she makes it pale'), 6) and in some less clearly understood environments anticipating retracted consonants at a distance ([ʷmiceʷq-eyeq] > [miceʷqéyq] /miceʷq-áyq 'sit on a log'; cf. [ʷx̄-esit-eyeq] ʷx̄-esit-éyq 'walk on a log' and [ʷmiceʷq-ewš] /miceʷq-éwš 'sit on a horse').

(14) [t] is lost from most clusters: (a) Everywhere before another [t]: [nəʷx̄-esit-tən] n̄x̄-esit-t 'conveyance', [ʷsūx̄-est-t-ex] ʷsōx̄-es-t-x 'you bring it down [from the mountain]', [nəʷw̄is-t tək sʷq̄in-t-sūt] n̄w̄is tək sʷq̄in-cūt 'elevated language'; (b) In internal combination from posttonic syllables of intransitive themes after any consonant before a following stop: [ʷsciq̄-etk̄w] > [sciq̄tkw] sʷcīq̄-ē-w 'well [for water]', [nəʷp̄āc-etk̄aw] > [np̄āc*tkw] n̄p̄āc*ē-kw 'water is frozen'. (But [t] is usually retained at the end of an intransitive theme: [ʷp̄yut-s-t-ex] ʷp̄yut-s-t-x 'you put him to bed').

(15) [n] is lost: (a) between [ʷ] or postconsonantal [m] and following [s, t]: [ʷūq̄-eʷ-ē-n-t-es] > [ʷūq̄-eʷns] > [ʷūq̄-eʷns] ʷūq̄-eʷ-s 'he drinks it', [ʷūq̄-eʷ-n-t-ep] > [ʷūq̄-eʷntp] ʷūq̄-eʷ-t-p 'you people drink it',

[ʷp̄n:-min-t-es] > [p̄n̄m̄nts] > [p̄n̄m̄ns] > [p̄n̄m̄ns] ʷp̄n-m-s 'he finds it', [ʷp̄n:-min-t-ep] > [p̄n̄m̄ntp] > [p̄n̄m̄tp] ʷp̄n-m-t-p 'you people find it'; (b) After a stressed vowel before [x]: [ʷc̄exʷ-ē-min-xi-t-ex] ʷc̄eʷ-x-mi-xi-t-x 'you congratulate him'.

(16) Simple velars are rounded when next to a rounded velar in the same syllable: [ʷn̄ēw:-xi-t-ey-es] > [n̄ēw̄x̄yts] ʷn̄ēw̄-x-t-i-s 'the wind blows out [paper]', [ʷsk̄ēw̄-kew] > [sk̄ēkw̄w] > [sk̄ēw̄-kew] sʷk̄ēw̄-k-u 'husband's sisters', [ʔesʷk̄-āk-xi-s-t-ex] > [ʔesʷk̄-ākxtx] ʔesʷk̄-āk-x-s-s-t-x 'you carry [something of] his'. (Simple velars are unaffected before a prevocalic rounded velar: [ʷk̄awēt:-n-t-es] > [k̄wētnts] ʷk̄awēt-es 'she steps on it', [nəʷk̄ox-ām] n̄k̄-ām 'gouge out'.)

(17) Resonants become syllabic, and semivowels are replaced by homorganic vowels, [y, ʷ, w, i, iʷ, u, uʷ] (at word beginning, variation *yə ~ yi ~ ?i* - is written simply *y*; variation *yā ~ yiʷ ~ ?iʷ* - is written *y*, etc.): (a) Between two consonants or a consonant and a word boundary: [ʷsʷyɑː-ēlq] sʷiʷ-ādq 'secret [hidden] berry-patch', [ʷyɑː-ayx] ʷyɑː-fyx 'he goes into hiding', [nəʷyāh-eləws] n̄iʷiʷ-ēlūs 'good-natured', [ʷyāh-ēwīl] ʷyāh-ēwīl 'good boat', [ʷw̄m̄x̄] sʷum̄x̄ 'life', [ʷw̄m̄x̄] ʷw̄m̄x̄ 'alive'; (b) Between a consonant and a following vowel, with a brief syllabic phase followed by the regular consonantal value: [ʷl̥ēk̄yē] sʷl̥ēk̄(i)yē 'lunch', [n̄k̄-ēn̄n̄k̄-eʷ] > | n̄k̄-(n̄)n̄k̄-eʷ| n̄k̄-(ə)n̄n̄k̄-eʷ 'friends!'.
(18) Unglottalized syllabic nasals (developing in [17]) are vocalized to *e* before homorganic obstruents in internal combination: [ʷq̄ēk̄-mp] ʷq̄ēk̄-ep 'you people's older brother', [ʷsəl̄k̄-n-t-es] > [səl̄k̄ntēs] ʷsəl̄k̄-e-t-ēs 'he whirls her around', [ʷm̄n̄-ē-n-t-sem-es] > [m̄n̄ntsem̄s] > [m̄n̄ncms] ʷm̄n̄-ē-cm-s 'he shades me', [k̄iw̄-ʷk̄-iw̄-āp-ēleʷ-x̄n̄-s-t-ex] > [k̄iw̄-ʷk̄-iw̄-āp-ēleʷ-xe-s-t-x] 'you cause him to slide', [ʷcank̄-ūst-nl-šyxs] > [cank̄-ūstntlyxs] ʷcank̄-ūst-ēl-šyxs 'theirs'. Final syllabic [n] is also vocalized after another [n]: [ʷk̄ic:-n-t-en] > [k̄icntn] > [k̄icnn] ʷk̄ic-n-e 'I visit him'.

(19) [h] is lost except (a) before vowel: [ʔesʷcāh] > [ʔescēh] ʔesʷcē 'fixed', [ʷcāh:-t-es] > [cēhtēs] ʷcē-t-ēs 'he fixes it'; [ʷcāh-us:-n-t-es] > [chūnts] ʷch-ūs-e-s 'she fixes the fire', (b) before a consonant after a stressed vowel where it reduplicates a preceding [h]: [ʷcāh+āh] -s-t-ex] > [chēhstex] ʷch-ēh-s-t-x 'you manage to fix it'.

(20) Except in reduplicative syllables, contrast is eliminated between syllabic resonants and resonants with an adjacent *ə* or homorganic vowel. Such transitional vowels are optionally retained or inserted. (In transcription here these vowels are written only when they parallel vowels retained between obstruents.) For example, (a) After a cluster-final plain resonant, before a final spirant other than *s*: [ʷk̄-ēst:-n-t-ex] >

[k*éstntx̣] > [k*éstnx̣] /k*ést-n-(ə)x̣ 'you name him';
 (b) After any consonant before a resonant: [ʔes-nə́q̣ix̣-cin] > [ʔesnə́q̣ix̣cən] ʔes-(ə)n(ə)q̣ix̣-c(ə)n 'it is locked', [Vné-xi-t-si-en] > [néx̣tsin] > [néx̣cn] /né-x-c-(ə)n 'I hand it to you', [Vpún:-min-t-es] > [púnms] /pún-(ə)m 'she finds it', [X*ák*uyəmx̣] > [x*ák*uyəmx̣] > [x*ák*(i)yəmx̣] > [x*ák*(i)yəmx̣] /x*ák*-(i)y(ə)mx̣ 'frosty ground', [Vkas-t-wəyx̣] /Kas-t-(u)wɪʔx̣ 'it gets bad, spoils'.

(21) In internal combination, a laryngeal is usually separated from a preceding obstruent by a brief ə: [sVʔistk] s(ə)ʔistk 'winter', [Vcah-us:-n-t-es] l(ə)h-ús-e-s 'she fixes the fire'.

(22) Before an obstruent or single resonant, unstressed vowel-semivowel sequences are simplified to vocalized semivowels (as in 17); this change affects even a vowel with underlying secondary stress (although the vowel is occasionally retained in careful pronunciation): [nə́vkéy:-s-t-wáx̣] > [nəḳəystwáx̣] /nkey-s-t-wáx̣* (careful), /nki-s-t-wáx̣* 'they follow each other', [Vʔúʔəeyt] > [ʔúʔeyt] /ʔúʔ-it 'she sings lullaby to child', [Vcəw-min] > [cəwmin] /cəw-min 'equipment'. (Before a resonant in a cluster the sequence is stable: [Vcaw-nwétl] /cəw-nwétl 'she manages to get a job'. A sequence involving a glottalized semivowel is not affected before [ʔ]: /sK-iy-ʔúy 'arrow [basic projectile]'.)

(23) A morpheme beginning in a vowel acquires initial h- directly after a vowel or pause: [Véʔwɪ] /heʔwɪ 'you're the one', [Vʔiq̣-cin-əme-è] > [ʔiq̣-cnmeel] /ʔiq̣-c(ə)n-me-he 'shave!'

(24) Clusters of [ʔʷ] are simplified to single ʔ: [Vśeme-ʔúy] /śeme-ʔúy 'Englishman (basic White person)'.

3. GRAMMATICAL ORGANIZATION

3.1. BASIC MEANINGFUL UNITS

The makeup of words already has been outlined (2.4). Morphemes are of two types: lexical, designating entities, events, and concepts; and grammatical, indicating the reference and interrelationships of lexical morphemes and generally relating speech to situations, although they may include some lexical content as well.

3.1.1.

Lexical morphemes are mostly roots, the central components of longer words, conveying the greatest variety of meanings. Most of them can appear independently as simple (underived and uninflected) words, revealing that they are fundamentally intransitive in reference, indicating the nature of persons and things and the acts and states that describe or affect them: /léyé [Vcəyéh] 'be a basket', /slək [Vśələk] 'turn, whirl', /Inés [Vnēs] 'go (to), set out (for a particular place)', /q̣násx̣ [Vq̣-núx̣] 'be sick', /śáni [Vśáñih] 'be hurt, injured', /q̣éñ [Vq̣-éñ] 'be soaked through'.

However, there is also a large stock of lexical suffixes, which appear only attached to roots. They usually identify concrete entities (of nominal type, from the English point of view) and various extensions of them, sometimes very abstract ones: [cɪn] 'mouth; lip, chin; speech, talking; eating; aperture, doorway, gate, entrance; edge, rim; bank, shore; palm, sole, joint'; /éwɪl 'canoe, boat; conveyance of any sort; loading; container'.

3.1.2.

Grammatical morphemes include the affixes that serve as derivational and inflectional elements, added to roots and longer stems: for example, the prefix s- 'nominalizer' derives words referring to entities or concepts that are products or results of an action or situation; the suffix [-əyx] 'autonomous' makes inflected words referring to acts carried out independently under the subject's control (rather than where such control is lacking). There are also grammatical morphemes that are not parts of larger words but are independent elements in phrases, marking various syntactic functions: these are particles, such as *h* 'interrogative', indicating that a sentence is a question. A few particles consist of grammatical affixes attached to grammatical bases; *kn* 'I' (intransitive subject marker) consists of a base [k] and the first person singular subject suffix [-ən].

3.1.3.

Reduplicative elements appear at several levels in word formation. Some processes are very common; several others are infrequent, and a number of them need further study. Many words appear only reduplicated; for example, /k*əʔk*ik*ikp̣ 'flea', /cəx*ctix̣* 'waterfall', /səx̣/səx̣t 'rapids', /səx̣/səx̣-t 'he made a mistake'. Some roots appear only in reduplicative form; for example, [Vcəy*cəy] /cɪy-ci 'new' [Vcəy*cəy-eltx̣] /cɪ-cy-eltx̣ 'new house'.

Various reduplicative affixes are used (represented with cover symbols C, consonant; V, vowel). Prefixes regularly duplicate the first elements of their bases in order; infixes and suffixes duplicate the elements immediately preceding them. Several are regularly based on roots, yielding stems for inflection or derivation, such as [CVC] 'augmentative' (5.6.2.): [cək*Vcək] /cək*Vcək 'very cool'. On the other hand, the diminutive infix (6.7.1.) operates at the level of secondary derivation; it is based on full words and is positioned directly after the stressed vowel: [[*CV([ʔ])] /s/ptẓ([ʔu)] 'small bird' (/s/ptẓ 'animal, bird').

3.1.4.

Words are then the basic units of syntactic phrases; they are of two types. Major words are fundamentally predicative; they can serve as simple (one-word) sentences or clauses, or as the ultimate grammatical heads of sentences or clauses. Particles (3.1.2.) do not have such predicative functions but serve to modify phrases, clauses, and sentences in various ways.

3.2. PREDICATION

Thompson sentences consist of a predication, or a complex of several predications. The essential minimum of a predication is a predicate (7.1.), containing a transitive or intransitive word (3.3.). A predication also may involve one or more complements (7.2.) or adjuncts (7.3.), usually converted for this special use from underlying predicates.

Unless specially marked, predicates are in indicative mode. Imperative mode forms are created by adding imperative subject suffixes (5.5.) to intransitive and transitive stems. Any predicate can be cast in the conjunctive mode by use of the enclitic particle |w| (4.1.); such predicates are closely associated with another predicate (7.6.).

Aspectual and related notions are conveyed partly by affixes (5.1.), and partly by predicative particles (7.1.1., 7.1.3., 7.6.2.). Tense is not obligatorily marked; sentences translated here with the English present can usually equally well refer to the past or on occasion to the future. The interrelationships of predicates and their complements and adjuncts are clarified by particles (7.1., 7.3.).

3.3. TRANSITIVITY

While in given sentences it is possible to decide that one word is functioning in a nounlike fashion, another more like a verb, extensive study suggests that these categories refer more to elements in the English translations of sentences than to Thompson words in the original texts. (Thompson words are often glossed simply with English nouns, but they should always be understood as having potential predicative force; a fuller translation would be 'it is a...', 'they are...', 'there is/are...', etc.). There is a marked dichotomy between transitive and intransitive words, the former referring overtly to an active subject or agent and specifying or implying an object, the latter including all other major words, which frequently refer to a person or thing acting or being affected by an action without necessarily suggesting any second party. Unsuffixed roots are intransitive; there are also a number of suffixes that create complex intransitive themes. All transitives are marked by the suffix |-t| and are further inflected for person. Several special suffixes form complex transitive increments with |-t|, and most intransitive themes can be transitivized through one or more of these formations (5.2.).

3.4. CONTROL

Thompson predicates, both transitive and intransitive, show a pervasive bifurcation reflecting the degree of control an actor has over the action expressed in the predicative. That general notion of control is a basic logico-semantic distinction in the language. Control is not a simple binary division (plus or minus control), as

initially thought. Instead, control comprises a multi-valent hierarchy of dominance. The relative force (mild versus strong) of control [ctl] can be represented by another binary feature, dominance [dom]. Morphemes (roots and affixes) may be unmarked for control mildly [-ctl -dom] or strongly [-ctl +dom], unmarked for control (neutral), or marked for control mildly [+ctl -dom] or strongly [+ctl +dom].

Noncontrol	Neutral	Control
[-ctl]	[-ctl]	Unmarked for control [+ctl] [+ctl]
[+dom]	[-dom]	[-dom] [+dom]

A large proportion of the roots in the language are marked [-ctl -dom]. A small but important number of roots are marked [+ctl +dom] (about 50 of some 2,000 roots currently identified). The strong control of those roots can be overridden by certain affixes that impart lessened control: /x'esit [+ctl +dom] 'he walked', /x'esit-nwéln, 'he managed to walk' (non-control middle -nwéln [-ctl +dom]). The strongly marked for control root /x'esit is overridden by the more strongly marked noncontrol affix -nwéln.

Basically, control marking is of two kinds: it may add the notion of some agent's control over an act not normally controlled, such as /es/péw 'it's swollen', where the root /péw| is [-ctl -dom], versus /péw-ix 'it [toad] puffed up' where the autonomous suffix -ix (< |-yx|) is marked [+ctl +dom]. The other is a more forceful notion indicating limitation or lack of control, as seen with the /x'esit-nwéln example above.

Control intersects importantly with the other grammatical categories of the language (e.g., transitivity, aspect). The hierarchy of dominance and the combination of various roots, lexical suffixes, and affixes allows for numerous interesting permutations of control marking in predicatives. L. Thompson (1985) gives a full analysis of control in the language; Thompson and Thompson (1992:51-57) present additional exemplification and description of control. Van Eijk (1990) discusses the notion of control in neighboring Lillooet.

4. PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS

4.1. INTRANSITIVE SUBJECTS

The most common pronominal elements are subject suffixes:

	singular	plural
first person	[-en]	[-et]
second person	[-ex*]	[-ep]
third person		[-es]

The third-person form refers to both singular and plural subjects. Intransitive pronominal enclitics are formed by adding the above subject suffixes to particle bases that distinguish indicative [k] and conjunctive [w] modes.

These suffixes are added to the particle base |w|, forming the conjunctive subject pronoun enclitics. They follow either predicative words themselves or

elements just before them (in the following examples, ?it 'and then'):

- ...?it n/lem-ix wn / ... ?it wn n/lem-ix '...and I got in (a conveyance)'
 ...?it /mehx-m ux* / ... ?it ux* /mehx-m '...and then you smoked'
 ...?it n/x?-e? us / ...?it us n/x?-e? '...and then he (or they) went up'
 ...?it /nes ut / ... ?it ut /nes '...and then we went (there)'
 ...?it /c?es up / ...?it up /c?es '... and then you people came'

Third person *us* [w-es] often has impersonal reference: *n/wen*wn us* '[when] morning comes', *...?it us /tek't* '...and then it rained.'

Conjunctive phrases also appear independently with optative or imperative force: *n/lem-ix us* 'let him get in, may he get in!', */cuk* us ...* 'don't...!' (lit. 'let it be finished...!'), */?ex ux* te? /tek*x'e?* 'you be the Ruffed Grouse!' [exist 2sg.sbj.conjunctive particular ruffed.grouse] (myth: Coyote transforms a person with that statement).

In indicative intransitive predicates the subject suffixes are attached instead to the base [k], yielding the intransitive subject pronoun enclitics. In this set, the second-person singular has developed a fused form, and a third-person form is lacking.

	singular	plural
first person	<i>kn</i> [k-en]	<i>kt</i> [k-et]
second person	<i>k*</i> [k-ex*]	<i>kp</i> [k-ep]
general third person	[Ø]	

n/lem-ix kn 'I get in (a conveyance)', *lyé k** 'you feel well',

lméhx-m kt 'we smoke', *lnés kp* 'you people go (there)'.
 Absent such markers, intransitive words refer to third-person subjects: *n/lem-ix* 'he gets in', *lméhx-m* 'they smoke'. Their exact reference can be clarified by demonstratives (7.1.2.) or by complements (7.2.) or adjuncts (7.3.).

4.2. TRANSITIVE PRONOUNS

Transitives are inflected for first- and second-person object as well as subject for all three persons. The pronominal suffixes follow [-t] 'transitive' in the order object-subject. The regular subject suffixes (4.1.) appear again; the endings are to some extent fused with transitive suffixes and there are some irregularities (these complications are discussed and examples of transitive forms are given in 5.2.).

4.2.1.

Objects are:

	singular	plural
first person	[-sem] - [-sey]	[-ey]
second person	[-si]	[-uym]
general third person	[Ø]	

The first-person singular [-sey] appears when the following suffix contains a labial. When an overt object suffix is lacking, a third-person object is understood.

The pronominal system suggests a split ergative structure. Handling of first- and second-person subjects—whether designating agents or patients—indicates a basic nominative-accusative type structure. Indicative predicates show transitive third-person object and intransitive third-person subject marked by zero (lack of any overt morpheme). The transitive subject is marked differently (with [-es]). That suggests an ergative structure for third-person indicative. (The conjunctive transitive third-person subject and intransitive third-person subject are marked with [-es].) Two of the most common factors conditioning ergative-accusative splits are (1) syntactic level: subordinate clause case patterning may be accusative (conjunctive); and (2) person and number of logical subject: first- and second-person pronominals may pattern accusatively (Klaiman 1991:129).

4.2.2. INDEFINITE SUBJECTS

There are transitives in which only the person or thing affected is indicated. These are called indefinite-subject forms (see also 7.2.1., 7.2.2.). The designation "passive" for the indefinite-subject forms would be misleading here: the focal person is marked formally as an object (among other reasons involving marking in the control system). The indefinite-subject forms shift focus from the transitive subject to the object. The indefinite-subject forms maintain topic reference in discourse. In traditional narratives, for instance, characters' identities are indicated by using regular subject forms when the focal character is the subject and someone else is the object, but indefinite-subject forms are used when the situation is reversed: */cún-s* [√cún-t-Ø-es] 'he [focal] told him (someone else) when the focal character speaks to someone, but */cún-t-m* [√cún-t-Ø-em] 'someone told him [focal]' when someone speaks to the focal character. The indefinite subjects are marked with the object suffixes (third person by the absence of a suffix), but the final suffixes that follow do not form a cohesive pattern, and the analysis is not entirely clear. The suffix sequences are best simply listed:

	singular	plural
first person	[-sey-me]	[-ey-et]
second person	[-si-et]	[-uym-et]
third person		[-Ø-em]

4.2.3. DETRANSITIVES

Finally, there are suffixes that reconvert transitive stems to intransitive: [-sut] 'reflexive' and [-wáx] (for some speakers more often diminutive [-wé•wáx]) 'reciprocal' refer to objects and require intransitive subject particles for first- or second-person subjects; [-áyxs] 'third-person plural' (only plural, while [-es] can refer to either singular or plural) indicates plural third

elements just before them (in the following examples, ?it 'and then'):

- ...?it n/lém-ix wn / ... ?it wn n/lém-ix '...and I got in (a conveyance)'
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 ...?it n/x?-é? us / ...?it us n/x?-é? '...and then he (or they) went up'
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n/lém-ix kn 'I get in (a conveyance)', */yé k** 'you feel well',

/méñx-m kt 'we smoke', */nés kp* 'you people go (there)'

Absent such markers, intransitive words refer to third-person subjects: *n/lém-ix* 'he gets in', */méñx-m* 'they smoke'. Their exact reference can be clarified by demonstratives (7.1.2.) or by complements (7.2.) or adjuncts (7.3.).

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persons acting on some other (third) person (singular or plural). [-áyxš] is grammatically intransitive because it cannot follow any overt object suffix. Forms with [-sut], [-wáxʔ], and [-áyxš] can be reconverted to transitive inflection to handle further relationships (5.3., 5.6.1.).

4.3.

Possessives are a mixed set of prefixes and suffixes bracketing the stem:

	singular	plural
first person	[nə-]	[-kt]
second person	[eʔ-]	[-mp]
third person	[-s]	

Special morphophonemic rules affect some of these: [nə-] is omitted before the homonymous prefix [nə-] 'localizer' (6.3.1.); [eʔ-] loses the vowel following the direct complement particle [é] (7.2.1.); and [-s] is strengthened to -c after stems ending in *s* or *t*.

In keeping with the predicative nature of full words, possessed words often have a verbal flavor in translation: *n/cítax* 'my house', *n-s/yúq-m* 'I (the one who) planted it', *n/kám-mn* [nə-nəʔkám-mn] 'my pocket', *heʔ-n/kám-mn* 'your pocket', *heʔ-s/pú[ə]p[ɪ]* 'it is something you found', *lx'e[ʔ]p-ít-kt* 'our clothes', *k'áx-c-mp* 'you people's box', *s/qác-zeʔ-ep* (2.7., rule [18], vocalization of nasal) 'you people's father', *k'éx-s* 'her arm/hand', *s/Á[ʔ]-s* 'he likes it', *s/cáqʔ=éwt-c* 'their canoe'. The specific third-person plural suffix [-áyxš] (4.2.3.) also appears as a possessive: *lx'e[ʔ]p-it-íyxš* 'their clothes'.

4.4.

Independent pronouns are full predicative words. They furnish the strongest degree of emphasis for personal reference the system offers. In this set there is no general third-person form with both singular and plural reference; instead, there are separate words for third-person singular and plural. Derived from these pronouns are emphatic possessive words, also having predicative force, formed with [-n] and possessive affixes. In the singular further derivatives with -əl are more common (reduplicative in type, reminiscent of limited control forms, 5.1.5.); only this extended form is used in the first-person plural. (Some special morphophonemic reductions are involved.)

<i>lncé-we</i> 'I am the one'	<i>lncé-nl(-əl)</i> 'it is mine'
<i>l(h)é-wi</i> 'you are the one'	<i>l(h)é-wl-nl(-əl)</i> 'it is yours'
<i>lcn-ít</i> '(s)he is the one'	<i>lcn-í-nl(-əl)-c</i> 'it is his/hers'
<i>lnmímt</i> 'we are the ones'	<i>lnmímt-əl-kt</i> 'it is ours'
(lnmímt, archaic)	
<i>lypépst</i> 'you are the ones'	<i>lypépst-el-ep</i> 'it is your people's'
<i>lcan-k'ást</i> 'they are the ones'	<i>lcan-k-úst-el-íyxš</i> 'it is theirs'
	(lcan-k'úst-el-c, archaic)

5. INFLECTION

5.1. BASIC INTRANSITIVES

5.1.1.

Stative aspect forms, marked by the prefix [ʔes-], specify actions, accomplished facts, and states of affairs that have already come into effect at the main time of a sentence, and remain in effect at that time. [ʔes-] does not affect the control status (3.4.) of its stem. *ʔes-kátə/kát-xən* 'her shoes are off', *ʔes/cáq* 'it is parked, positioned (has been for sometime)', *ʔes-n/lém* 'it is already placed inside'. Statements of general or universal truths, characteristics, etc., are often cast in the stative: *ʔes/wál* 'it is open (country, not forested)', *ʔes/xíʔ* 'it is a sheer cliff'. It also provides the usual way to express possession: *ʔes/qálay kn* 'I have a root-digger [stick]', *ʔes/cítax* 'she has a house'.

5.1.2.

Immediate aspect is marked by the suffix [-t], referring to (uncontrolled) actions and states that have just gone into effect; also more general states:

- lsák-t kn* 'I got hit (by branch I passed under)',
- lqít-t kt* 'we are awake (we just woke up)',
- lwís-t k'* 'you are in a high place',
- lcék-t* 'cooked food has gotten cool',
- lqém-t* 'he got shot',
- lcén-t kp* 'you people got scratched (by briars)',
- n/k'éw-t kn* 'I fell in the water'.

5.1.3.

Autonomous forms, marked by the control suffix [-ayx], indicate an entity functioning independent of other entities, in control (3.4.): [yáʔə] 'hide', *lyʔ-c-íyx* 'he hides, goes into hiding', *ʔes/yʔ-c-íyx* 'he has gotten himself hidden, is in hiding'; [nəʔétn] 'go into container', *n/lém-ix* 'he gets in (a conveyance), moves to a position so as to ride', *ʔes-n/lém-ix* 'he is riding, has gotten into a conveyance so as to ride'; [wíʔə] 'bounce', *lʔ-c-íyx* 'he jumps'. Many terms referring to bodily posture and movement are cast in this form: *lcíx-ix* 'lie down', *lqʔ-c-íyx* 'move'. Some roots occur only with this suffix: *lét-ix* 'stand', *lqáz-ix* 'jump, run (away)', *lʔ-c-íyx* 'run'.

5.1.4.

Inchoative aspect conveys notions of (uncontrolled) developing action or changing state. The following examples include causative transitivizations (5.2.3.). The affix is a weak suffix [-əp] with weak roots: *lsk-əp kn* 'I get hit (by falling branch)', *lsak-p-s-t-és* 'she manages to club it', *lsalk-əp* 'it gets turned (the wrong way)', *lsalk-p-s-t-és* 'he gets it turned', *lcw-əp* 'it gets made, done', *lyn-əp k'* 'you are shivering'. With strong roots it infixes [ʔ] directly after the root vowel, forming a weak stem: *lt[ʔ]ép* [ʔéʔp] 'it gets black', *lt[ʔ]p-s-t-és* [ʔéʔp-s-t-és] 'she gets it black', *lz[ʔ]júé*

[ʒuʔʔ] 'it gets tight', [ʒuʔʔ]ʔ-*s-t-és* [ʒuʔʔ]ʔ-*s-t-es* 'he (unintentionally) makes it tighter'. It is curious that both inchoative allomorphs create weak stems; even the infix appropriate for strong roots is weak [ʔʔ]. This is regularly seen in causativization, exemplified above, which is especially common with inchoatives.

5.1.5.

Out-of-control is specified by a reduplicative affix that copies a stem's stressed vowel and immediately following consonant. It indicates a state or event is independent of any agent or influenced in only limited fashion by a particular agent, thus asserting explicitly the notion implicit in roots unmarked for control (3.4.). An agent involved acts accidentally or inefficiently or needs much time or special skill to accomplish the goal: *lkíc•əc kt* 'we have an unexpected visitor' ([ʒkícʔc]; [ʒkíc] 'arrive (at someone's location)'), *lx•ús•əc* [x'ús•úš] '(beer) is foaming', *n/ém•m* [nəʒém•ém] 'something goes in bag unnoticed; (hitchhiker) finally gets a ride', *lpúy•i* [ʒpúy•úy] '(conceive object) has been turned upside down'. With weak roots it functions like a weak suffix: *lq•əc•s-t-éx* [ʒq•əc•šc-*s-t-ex*] 'it moves, trembles', *lq•əc•s-t-éx** [ʒq•əc•šc-*s-t-ex**] 'you manage to move it', *lch•éh-s-t-x* [ʒch•éh-*s-t-x*] 'you get it fixed'. It appears as an infix in a strong stem with more than a single consonant after the stressed vowel: *məñ•méné•ñ/x* 'he gets sick from smoking' ([ʒménéx] '(inhale) smoke'). (See also out-of-control secondary formations, 6.7.3.).

Often out-of-control forms suggest an agent other than the primary referent in control: *lÁq•oq•kn* 'it got nailed right in front of me (but I had no control over it)'. In a negative construction (7.5.3.) the combination indicates inability: *ta•tə? k s/púl•əł-m-s* 'he can't get out'.

5.1.6.

Resultative aspect is marked by the suffix [-é]; it emphasizes the recent, often sudden, completion of an activity or change of state: *ʔes/cáy-e* [ʔesʒéəx-é] 'it is cleaned now', *ʔes/túq•e* '(undergrowth) is cleared now' ([ʒúq] 'bare'), *ʔes/cáq-e* '(car that was going very fast) came to a quick stop'. The resultative often cooccurs with the qualitative *t-* prefix (6.3.2.): *ʔes-t/xál-e kn* 'I feel refreshed, recuperated' ([ʒxál] 'be active'), *ʔes-t/mál-e* '(trees) are knocked down now'.

5.2.

Transitives all utilize [-t], added directly to some roots; others are first extended by [-n] (some roots show both stems). No consistent semantic differences have been observed between the two formations, but it appears likely that at an earlier stage of the language [-n] created a control stem, which control roots (3.4.) did not need. Both types now form transitives implying control by the subject. There are also more specialized transitive stems, in which the position of [-n] is occupied by other transitive formative suffixes (5.2.3.-5.).

5.2.1.

Weak transitive stems afford the clearest view of endings, which are then stressed. Table 2 gives the paradigm of [ʒsák] 'hit with stick', which takes [-t] directly. *ʒsák-t-éne* 'I club him', is unexpected: *-ne* '1sg.sbj.-3obj.', invariable throughout the transitive system, is from the [-n-t] paradigm, where it developed regularly as an unstressed ending (5.2.2.). *ʒsák-t-ém* '1pl.sbj.-3obj.' is apparently borrowed from the indefinite-subject form (third person). The second person indefinite-subject forms are also identical with the corresponding 1pl.sbj.-2obj. forms. But these are different syntactically. 2sg.sbj.-1pl.obj. and 2pl.sbj.-1pl.obj. forms are identical; formally *ʒsák-t-éy-p* 'you (sg. or pl.) club us' has 2pl.sbj. [-ep].

Table 2. [-t] Inflection: Transitive Paradigm of [ʒsák] 'hit with stick'

Subjects	Objects				
	1sg.	2sg.	3d. person	1pl.	2pl.
1sg.	— [—]	<i>ʒsák-cl-n</i> [ʒsák-t-si-en]	<i>ʒsák-t-éne</i> [ʒsák-t-en(è)]	— [—]	<i>ʒsák-t-úym-n</i> [ʒsák-t-uym-en]
2sg.	<i>ʒsák-cém-x</i> [ʒsák-t-sem-ex]*	— [—]	<i>ʒsák-t-éx</i> [ʒsák-t-ex]*	<i>ʒsák-t-éy-p</i> (= 2pl.)	— [—]
3d. person	<i>ʒsák-cém-s</i> [ʒsák-t-sem-es]	<i>ʒsák-cl-s</i> [ʒsák-t-si-es]	<i>ʒsák-t-és</i> [ʒsák-t-es]	<i>ʒsák-t-éy-s</i> [ʒsák-t-ey-es]	<i>ʒsák-t-úym-es</i> [ʒsák-t-uym-es]
1pl.	— [—]	<i>ʒsák-cl-t</i> [ʒsák-t-si-et]	<i>ʒsák-t-ém</i> [ʒsák-t-em]	— [—]	<i>ʒsák-t-úym-et</i> [ʒsák-t-uym-et]
2pl.	<i>ʒsák-céy-p</i> [ʒsák-t-sey-ep]	— [—]	<i>ʒsák-t-ép</i> [ʒsák-t-ep]	<i>ʒsák-t-éy-p</i> [ʒsák-t-ey-ep]	— [—]
Indefinite	<i>ʒsák-céy-me</i> [ʒsák-t-sey-me]	<i>ʒsák-cl-t</i> [ʒsák-t-si-et]	<i>ʒsák-t-ém</i> [ʒsák-t-em]	<i>ʒsák-t-éy-t</i> [ʒsák-t-ey-et]	<i>ʒsák-t-úym-et</i> [ʒsák-t-uym-et]

Weak roots extended by [-n] differ only in stem, which ends in *e* (from [n]; 2.7., rule [18]): [√sələk:n-t-] 'turn around': /sələk-e-t-és 'she turns him', /sələk-e-cém-x* 'you turn me'.

A few weak roots permit neither [-t] nor [-n-t] inflection from the simple root; some of these form [-n-t] control transitives based on their inchoative (5.1.4.) stems: [√pəy] 'lose', [√pəy-əp:n-t-es] /pəy-p-e-t-és 'he loses (animal that is following him) (intentionally)'; [√lāq] 'stick on flat surface', [√lāq-əp:n-t-es] /lāq-p-e-t-és 'she sticks it on (the wall)'.

5.2.2.

Strong transitive stems have unstressed endings, which then contract. Strong roots overwhelmingly take [-n-t] inflection, with [n] normally vocalized (2.7., rule [18]). Table 3 shows a typical paradigm. After a vocalic stem the connecting *n* is seen unvocalized: [√úʔé:n-t-es] /ʔúʔe-n-s 'she sings him a lullaby'. Similarly, *n* appears after a protected vowel eliminated late in derivation (2.7., rule [20]): [√inwə:n-t-] 'say what?': /ʔinw-n-s 'what does she tell him?', /ʔinw-n-cm-x* 'what do you tell me?' /ʔinw-n-t-im-et 'what do we tell you people?'. This inflection shows the regular origin of the '1sg.sbj.-3.obj.' ending -*ne*.

Rule (15) (2.7.) eliminates [n] from much of the paradigm of stems ending in [ʔ]: /ʔúqʔeʔ-n-e 'I drink it', /ʔúqʔeʔ-n-x* 'you drink it'; but /ʔúqʔeʔ-s 'he drinks it', /ʔúqʔeʔ-t-p 'you people drink it'.

Strong roots with simple [-t] inflection show less complex developments in the endings, but this paradigm has borrowed the '1sg.sbj.-3obj.' ending from the [-n-t] inflection: [wík:-t-] 'see': /wík(-t)-ne 'I see her' (-*t* pronounced in Lytton, but absent in Spuzzum speech), /wík-t-x* 'you see her', /wík-cm-x* 'you see me', /wík-t-im-et 'we see you people', /wík-c-im-e

'someone sees me'. Morphophonemic developments (2.7., rules [6], [8-10]) result in homonymous forms for '3sbj.-3obj.' and '3sbj.-2sg.obj.': /wík-c [√wík:-t-es] 'he sees her', /wík-c [√wík:-t-si-es] 'he sees you' (cf. /sək-t-és 'he clubs her', /sək-cl-s 'he clubs you').

5.2.3. CAUSATIVE

The formative [-s] creates causative stems from most roots; it does not change the control status (3.4.) of the stem to which it is added. With most roots, then, it forms transitives implying that the action or state results from the activity of some agent who is not in full control, covering on the one hand accidental, unintentional, and haphazard or excessive acts, and on the other, feats that are difficult to perform or that require great skill or a long time.

For many roots there are parallel paradigms, affording contrast between [-s-t] noncontrol transitives and [-t] or [-n-t] control transitives: /cəm-t-és [√cəm:-t-es] 'she burns (bread to soak for therapeutic tea)', /cəm-s-t-és [cəm:-s-t-es] 'she (forgets what she's cooking and) burns it'; /wis-n-x* [√wis:-n-t-ex*] 'you make it higher (than it was)', /wis-s-t-x* [√wis:-s-t-ex*] 'you make it too high'. Semantic contrasts are not always so great, and often the different nuance is difficult to translate: /wík-t-x* [√wík:-t-ex*] 'you see it', /wík-s-t-x* [√wík:-s-t-ex*] 'you see it, catch a glimpse of it'.

[-s-t] transitivizes many more complex stems; among those discussed so far, autonomous (5.1.3.), inchoative (5.1.4.), and out-of-control (5.1.5.) stems are common: /yʔ-x-ixx-s-t-x* 'you help him hide', /sək-p-s-t-és 'she causes him to get clubbed; hits him accidentally (with her cane)', /kíc-xc-s-t-x* 'you manage to get him there (to the hospital)'. With stative (5.1.1.) stems there is a special semantic result: ongoing or habitual action is often meant (note contrasting glosses in the following examples): ?és/kíc-s-ne 'I've

Table 3. [-n-t] Inflection: Transitive Paradigm of [√kíc] 'arrive at location of'

	1sg.	2sg.	Objects 3d. person	1pl.	2pl.
Subjects					
1sg.	—	<i>kíc-e-c-n</i> [√kíc-n-t-si-en]	<i>kíc-n-e</i> [√kíc-n-t-en]	—	<i>kíc-e-t-im-n</i> [√kíc-n-t-uym-en]
2sg.	<i>kíc-e-cm-x*</i> [√kíc-n-t-sem-ex*]	—	<i>kíc-n-x*</i> [√kíc-n-t-ex*]	<i>kíc-e-t-i-p</i> (= 2pl.)	—
3d. person	<i>kíc-e-cm-s</i> [√kíc-n-t-sem-es]	<i>√kíc-e-c</i> [√kíc-n-t-si-es]	<i>kíc-e-s</i> [√kíc-n-t-es]	<i>kíc-e-t-i-s</i> [√kíc-n-t-ey-es]	<i>kíc-e-t-im-es</i> [√kíc-n-t-uym-es]
1pl.	—	<i>kíc-e-c-t</i> [√kíc-n-t-si-et]	<i>kíc-e-t-m</i> [√kíc-n-t-em]	—	<i>kíc-e-t-im-et</i> [√kíc-n-t-uym-et]
2pl.	<i>kíc-e-ci-p</i> [√kíc-n-t-sey-ep]	—	<i>kíc-e-t-p</i> [√kíc-n-t-ep]	<i>kíc-e-t-i-p</i> [√kíc-n-t-ey-ep]	—
Indefinite	<i>kíc-e-ci-me</i> [√kíc-n-t-sey-me]	<i>kíc-e-c-t</i> [√kíc-n-t-si-et]	<i>kíc-e-t-m</i> [√kíc-n-t-em]	<i>kíc-e-t-i-t</i> [√kíc-n-t-ey-et]	<i>kíc-e-t-im-et</i> [√kíc-n-t-uym-et]

been there all the time; I often go there', *ʔes/kic-s-cm-s* 'he always comes to me (for things he needs); he's coming to see me', *ʔes/siq-s-c* 'he already has it (firewood) all split; he's splitting it'.

5.2.4. INDIRECTIVE

With basic transitive inflection most roots refer to persons or things as the direct objects of their action: *lsak-t-éne* 'I club him/her' or 'I club it (an animal)' or 'I hit it (some object) with a stick'; *lwik-t-x* 'you see him/her/it (person, animal, or thing)'. The formative *-xi-* 'indirective' forms stems (marked for control) that focus on some person or thing as the entity affected or interested in the transaction, and that redirect the action toward a goal related to this entity: *lwik-x-c-n* [*ʔwik-xi-t-si-en*] 'I see what you have', *lčəq-xi-c* [*ʔčəq-xi-t-es*] 'he writes (a letter) to her', *lmáč-x-t-im-es* [*ʔmáč-xi-t-uym-es*] 'he breaks something belonging to you people'. Although persons are most commonly the interested entities, other types are also found: *lq'u²-xi-t-ne* 'I set a trap for it (a particular animal)', *nčéq-ús-x-c* [*nəčéq-ús-xi-t-es*] 'they add something to the contributions for a feast' (with figurative specialization: [*ʔčəq*] 'throw and hit', [*nə...-us*] 'eye').

Thompson indirectives operate exactly contrary to the usual English pattern involving two objects, where an interested party is introduced as an indirect object and the goal of the action remains the direct object. Thompson also has some simple roots that function as indirectives, for example, [*ʔhə*] 'give': *lh-t-éne* 'I give it to him'. One root has been reinterpreted as including the indirective *-xi* suffix: *lné-x-t-x* 'you hand it to him' (more literally 'you make him recipient of it'), but augmentative *nax/né-x-t-x* 'give someone little things'.

5.2.5. RELATIONAL

Noncontrol transitives denoting relations of action and states to objects are formed on stems extended by *-min-*: *lʔc-fyx-m-ne* 'I jump for it' ([*ʔfəc*] 'bounce' [*ʔfəc²-əy*] 'jump'). Derived stems are often more abstract in reference than the underlying roots: *lʔək-mín-ne* [*ʔlək²-min-t-en(ə)*] 'I remember him' ([*ʔlək*] 'hook'). The formation provides transitives for many stems not otherwise transitivized: *lpuñ-mn-x* 'you find it', *lpuñ-m-t-im-et* [*ʔpúñ-min-t-uym-et*] 'we find you people' ([*-n*] lost, 2.7., rule [15]); *lč[ʔ]oz-mín-t-is* [*ʔč[ʔ]z-min-tey-es*] 'it gets dark on us' ([*ʔč[ʔ]z*] 'get dark').

Relational derivatives sometimes contrast with simple transitives: *lnóx-m-s* [*ʔnúx²-min-t-es*] '(an animal) runs up to him' ([*ʔnúx²*] 'progress on four or more legs'); compare *lnóx-e-s* [*ʔnúx²-n-t-es*] 'it crawls over it (many-legged insect crawling over a rock)'.

Relational stems can also be followed by the indirective (5.2.4.): *lceʔx-mí-x-t-x* [*ʔceʔx²-min-xi-t-ex*] 'you appreciate what he has done; you congratulate him' ([*n*] lost, 2.7., rule [15]).

5.2.6.

Conjunctive transitives are created simply by adding the third-person conjunctive enclitic *[w-es]*. Thus transitives in the conjunctive mode are grammatically impersonal: *lwik(-t)-ne ws* '(if) I see him' [*ʔsee(-transitive)-1sg.sbj. 1sg.sbj.conjunctive*], *ʔil lcaq-t-és us* 'and then he put it there' [and.then *[put-transitive-3.sbj. 3.sbj.conjunctive]*].

5.3.

Reflexive and reciprocal forms introduce logically transitive objects but are grammatically intransitive, requiring intransitive subject particles (4.2.3.). *[-sut]* 'reflexive' and *[-wáx]* 'reciprocal' follow *[-t]* 'transitive' directly:

lmén-e-st kn [*ʔmén-n-t-sut k-en*] 'I get myself into the shade', *lqəs-cút* [*ʔqəs-t-sut*] 'he scratches himself',

lk'uk²-s-cút kt [*k'ok²-s-t-sut k-et*] 'we are grateful, thankful' (lit. 'we make ourselves grateful'),

lsak-e-cút [*ʔsələk-n-t-sut*] 'she turns (herself) around';

lšaq²-e-t-wáx² [*ʔšaq²-n-t-wáx²*] 'they fight (slap, beat each other)',

lpuñ-t-wáx kp [*puñen-t-wáx² k-ep*] 'you people meet (coming from opposite directions)'.

As in many languages, reflexives often have extended or idiomatic meanings: *lxe²-s-cút* [*ʔxe²-s-t-sut*] 'she is haughty' ([*ʔxe²*] 'rise'), *lcuw-e-cút* 'he goes questing for spirit power' ([*ʔcəw*] 'do, make').

Where there are alternate stems from weak roots with *[-t]* and *[-n-t]* inflection, *[-sut]* and *[-wáx]* are consistently added to the *[-n-t]* stem: *lq²-t-és* ~ *lq²-iy-e-t-és* [*ʔq²-əy(-n)-t-es*] 'he coats it with a powdery substance', *lq²-iy-e-cút* 'he gets coated (with dust)'; *lšac-t-éne* ~ *lšac-e-t-éne* [*ʔšac(-n)-t-en(ə)*] 'I bet him (about something)', *lšac-e-t-wáx* 'they bet with each other'.

Reflexives can be retransitivized via the causative, the indirective, or relational: *lyem-cút-s-t-x* 'you bring him to be treated with affection', *lq²-in-cút-x-cm-s* 'he speaks for me (for my purposes)', *lq²-in-cút-m-nx* 'you talk about her.'

Reciprocals can be reconverted to transitive via the causative: *lšaq²-e-t-wáx-s-ne* 'I fight with him', *lšac-e-t-wáx-s-t-x* 'you bet with him'.

5.4.

Middle voice is marked by *[-əme]*. It refers to activities and states in which the subject is involved, perhaps is initiator, acting in particular with self-interest and full or considerable control, thus affording intransitive control oppositions parallel to the transitive ones (cf. 5.2.3.). Grammatically intransitive, they nevertheless often convey transitive meanings: *lšk-əm* [*ʔšk-əme*] 'he clubs (someone or something)', *lcw-əm* 'they work' ([*ʔcəw*] 'do, make'), *lšéx²-m* 'he bathes', *lʔúə²-me* [*ʔúə²-əme*] 'she sings a lullaby'. Middles frequently

convey specialized meanings: *lcíx-m* ‘he buys a wife’ (reference to laying out goods for bride price; [vCíx*] ‘lay’). They are frequently causativized: *lcuw-m-s-t-éx* [vCəw-əme-s-t-ex] ‘you make him work’; *lsex-m-s-c* [vSəx*-əme-s-t-es] ‘he makes him bathe’.

5.5.

Imperatives are formed on both intransitive and transitive stems (after object suffixes) by addition of [-ə], pluralized by immediately preceding [-wz]: *lx̄ást-e* ‘go home!’, *lx̄ást-uz-e* ‘go home, you people!’, *n/lem-ix-e* ‘get in!’, *n/lem-ix-uz-e* ‘get in, you people!’, *lwik-cm-e* [vWík-t-sem-ə] ‘see me!’, *lwik-t-y-uz-e* [vWík-t-y-ez-ə] ‘see us, you people!’, *lnik-e-t-e* ‘cut it!’, *lsalk-e-t-éy-e* ‘turn us around!’. With weak transitive stems -ét appears before imperative endings (perhaps originally a diminutive [6.7.1.] but now the only form for such stems): *lsak-t-ét-ə* [vSək-t-(t)ét-ə] ‘club him!’, *lsalk-e-t-ét-uz-e* [sələk-n-(t)-(t)-wz-ə] ‘you people turn him around!’

Before imperative endings an element -x- is often found suffixed to various kinds of intransitive stems; it is especially common with middles: *lséjəsi-x-e* [vSéysey-x-ə] ‘go and play!’, *lqeʔməéyt-x-e* [vQeʔemeyt-x-ə] ‘nurse your baby!’ (|eyt| ‘person, child’), *lx̄ám-x-uz-e* [vX̄ám-x-uz-ə] ‘chew, you people!’, *kəlʔkəlʔxn-əm-x-e* [kəʔkəʔx̄n-əm-x-ə] ‘take off your shoes!’ Forms with and without -x- have been recorded without semantic contrast: *lcw-əm-x-e* ~ *lcw-əm-e* ‘work!’

A few roots show a special imperative singular: *lnés-weʔ* ‘go!’, *lcʔés-weʔ* ‘come!’, *lwʔéx-weʔ* ‘remain (as you are), keep well!’, *lʔéék-weʔ* ‘arrive (safely, wherever you’re going)!’, (the last two commonly used as goodbye formulas). The corresponding plurals are regular: *lnés-uz-e*, *lcʔés-uz-e*, *lwʔéx-uz-e*, *lʔéék-uz-e*.

5.6. PLURALIZATION AND OTHER AUGMENTATIVE NOTIONS

Number is an obligatory opposition in first and second persons (except where second person uses the plural inflection for both singular and plural reference, 5.2.1.). But most simple third-person forms are ambiguous as to number. There are various ways of insisting on plural reference; some of these convey other ideas as well.

5.6.1.

Third-person plural [-əyxs] (4.2.3.) serves in both possessive (4.3.) and transitive (5.2.) paradigms. In the transitive it indicates third plural subject acting on a third singular or plural object; *lsak-t-íyxs* ‘they club him/them’, *lnik-e-t-íyxs* [vnik-*n-t-íyxs*] ‘they cut it/them’, *lʔák-min-t-íyxs* ‘they recall it/them’. Grammatically intransitive, permitting no overt object pronouns (4.2.3.), it can be retransitivized by suffixing

[-n-t] to bring in other subjects and objects; here [-əyxs] refers to subjects or objects, depending on the other elements:

lsak-t-íyxs-n-e [vSək-t-íyxs-n-t-en] ‘I club them’,
lwik-t-íyxs-es [vWík-t-íyxs-n-t-es] ‘she sees them’,
lpun-m-t-íyxs-e-t-p [vPún-min-t-íyxs-n-t-ep] ‘you people find them’,
lk̄et-e-t-íyxs-e-t-i-s [vK̄ét-n-t-íyxs-n-t-ey-es] ‘they ask us to go with them’,
lwik-t-íyxs-e-cm-s [vWík-t-íyxs-n-t-sem-es] ‘they see me’,
lwik-t-íyxs-e-t-m [vWík-t-íyxs-n-t-em] ‘they are seen’.

5.6.2.

Argumentatives are formed with [CVC*], commonly referring to several persons or things (intransitive subjects, transitive objects) as a group, but sometimes suggesting distribution over space or time: *n-qíʔ/qáy-ix kt* [nə-qáy/vQáy-yx k-et] ‘we all swim’, *s-qʔəmʔ/qʔám* ‘mountains’, *éʔeʔ/lʔʔél* [éʔeʔ-véʔʔʔ] (5.1.4.) ‘they get cold’, *wak/wik-t-x* ‘you see them’, *lámʔ/lám-ép-es* ‘he chops all (the trees) down’, *ʔes-qáʔ/qáʔ* ‘he has lots of scars’, *qʔiʔ/qʔúy* ‘there are clouds, it is cloudy’, *qʔuʔ/qʔuʔíyám-x* ‘swamp (water here and there on the ground)’, *ʔes-cuw/cúw* ‘(houses) built here and there’, *xʔəʔ/xʔélqs* ‘(board in floor) pops up (whenever someone steps on one end)’. It can indicate repetitions of an act: *səyʔ/səy-t-és* ‘(Indian doctor) blows repeatedly on (patient, treating him)’. Or it may represent extensiveness or intensification of an activity or state, or large size: *lʔaqʔʔ/lʔaqʔʔ-úm kʔ* ‘you do a lot of sewing’, *wasʔ/wis-t* ‘very high; they are up high’, *éʔeʔ/lʔʔóʔ* [éʔeʔ-véʔʔʔ] ‘very dark’, *taxʔ/taxʔ-t* ‘quite correct; very straight, exact’, *tánʔ/tán-t* ‘pulled too hard, stretched’, *xʔəmʔ/xʔém-t* ‘he is very lonely; they are lonely’, *ʔes-ʔexʔʔ/éx-t* ‘big landslide, avalanche; landslides all over’, *ʔes-t-páʔʔ/páʔ-e* ‘brimming full’. With some intransitives logical parts or localities are referred to: *ʔes-kəlʔ/kəlʔx̄n* ‘she has her shoes off (both feet)’ ([kəlʔ] ‘detach’, |x̄nʔ| ‘foot, leg’).

Some words, already reduplicative, nevertheless form argumentatives: *kʔəʔkʔəʔ/kʔiʔlǎp* ‘fleas’ (*kʔəʔkʔiʔlǎp* ‘flea’), *s-hiʔʔ/hiʔʔhiʔ* ‘male in-laws of ascending generations’ (*siʔʔhiʔʔ* ‘father-in-law’).

Some argumentatives, especially those denoting states and qualities, are more common than the corresponding simplexes. Some words occur only in the argumentative: *s-kiʔ/kiyeʔ* ‘ancestors, predecessors’ (cf. *s/kiyeʔ* ‘front’). Some do not form argumentatives at all; like most unargumented words, they can have either singular or plural reference: *n-kʔəʔkʔúsn* ‘star(s)’.

In a few argumentatives stress falls on the first syllable: *s-kéwʔ/ku* [s-kewʔ/kéwʔ] ‘woman’s sisters-in-law, female cousins by marriage’. A few words have irregular argumentatives: *cəʔ/cítʔx* ‘houses’.

5.6.3.

Plural infixes [ʔy], [zʔe], [če] form a few special plurals: *lčé[ʔi]čk* [ʔčé[ʔy]čk] 'female in-laws of ascending generations (*lčéčé* 'mother-in-law'); *lčʔé[ʔi]s* 'they come' (*lčʔés* 'she comes'; note also *lčʔé[ʔi]-t* 'we come'), *lné[ʔi]s* 'they go' (*lnés* 'he goes', *lné[ʔi]-t* 'we go'), *lcú[ʔi]t* [ʔcú[ʔy]t] 'they say' (*lcúit* 'she says', *lcú[ʔi]t kt* 'we say'); *s'čá[že]xt* 'man's brothers-in-law, male cousins by marriage' (sg. *s'čéxt*), *lčʔá[že]k* 'they arrive' (*lčʔék* 'he arrives'); *lwʔé[če]x* ~ *lwʔé[čə]x* 'they are located over there' (*lwʔéx* 'be located').

5.6.4. ABLAUT PLURAL ROOTS

A number of weak roots with [ə] have strong counterparts with a tense vowel (most commonly [i]) and plural reference. With such roots augmentatives are freely formed from both stems; with singular roots these suggest a few referents, with plural roots many (again intransitive subjects, transitive objects). The following list is not exhaustive:

Gloss	Singular	Plural
'pull out'	[ʔčəkʔ]	[ʔčíkʔ]
'tear'	[ʔčəʔ]	[ʔčíʔ]
'crack, check'	[ʔčəqʔ]	[ʔčíqʔ]
'knock off [berries into basket]'	[ʔsəp]	[ʔsíp]
'split'	[ʔsəq]	[ʔsíq]
'cut'	[ʔkəp]	[ʔkíp]
'hit with stick'	[ʔsək]	[ʔsék]
'splash'	[ʔyəqʔ]	[ʔyúqʔ]

5.6.5. SUPPLETIVE PLURAL STEMS

A number of other roots have as plural counterparts unrelated (or nonsystematically related) stems. The following list is not exhaustive:

Gloss	Singular	Plural
'lay'	[ʔčút]	[ʔčíxʔ]; [nəʔmíxʔ]
'sit'	[ʔmiceʔq]	[ʔláq]
'give'	[ʔnə]; [ʔmən]	[ʔmíʔ]
'die'	[ʔzúqʔ]	[ʔžéʔy]
'fall, drop'	[ʔkʔis]	[ʔxéʔ]
'weep'	[ʔwíyx]	[ʔkʔíq]

5.7. MODAL EXTENSIONS

Several strong suffixes form stems with modal overtones.

5.7.1.

Noncontrol middle [-nwéŋ] emphasizes lack of control (cf. 3.4., 5.1.5.): *lzoqʔ-nwéŋ* (plant) is deadly poisonous' ([ʔzúqʔ] 'die'), *lqáy-nwéŋ* 'he manages to shoot (a deer)', *lčək-p-nwéŋ kt* 'we finally understand; we accidentally find out' ([ʔčək] 'know', [-əp] 'inchoative'). For transitive inflection the stem is converted to *-nwéŋ-*, and [-t] is added directly: *lqáy-nwéŋ-s* [ʔqáy-nwéŋ-t-es] 'she shoots him (accidentally)', *wasʔ-wis-t-nwéŋ-t-m* 'we finally manage to get (boards for scaffold) high enough'.

5.7.2.

Desiderative [-mém] expresses wishes and tendencies: *lqʔas-mém* 'he wants to borrow something', *lʔəyʔ-mém kn* 'I am sleepy' (*lʔəyʔ* 'sleep'), *lčkl-mém* 'it looks like rain'. It sometimes conveys the notion 'almost': *lqʔéč-t-mém* 'almost full'. Control transitives are created by adding [-t] directly to this stem (with expected morphophonemic developments, 2.7., rules [7], [17-18]): *lsək-mém-es* [ʔsək-mém-t-es] 'she feels like clubbing him'. However, the surface stem used with third person *lsək-mém-* ($n > \text{el } _1$) is extended analogically to position before first and second singular subjects: *lsək-mém-ne* 'I feel like clubbing him', *lsək-mém-n-x* 'you feel like clubbing him'.

5.7.3.

Developmental [-wíʔx] covers increase, intensification, change, and unexpected continuation of states and actions: *lqatmin-wíʔx* 'he gets old(er); it wears out', *ʔesčitx-wíʔx kp* 'you people finally got a house' (*ʔesčitx kp* 'you people have a house'), *lwmx-wíʔx* 'she's still living (I thought she had died)'. Transitives are formed with [-s] 'causative': *n/ks-éŋk-wíʔx-s-t-x* 'you make him angry' ([nəʔks-eneʔk] lit. 'bad belly').

5.7.4.

Habitual [-ú] suggests preference, predilection, characteristic behavior (intransitive only, but can be followed by developmental; 5.7.3.): *lčz-ú* 'she's a lazy person' (*lčz* 'she's lazy (right now)'), *lčz-ut-wíʔx* 'she's getting lazy'. Stems commonly have augmentative reduplication (5.6.2.): *məlʔmilt-ú* 'she's fond of visiting', *puʔpuʔ-m-ú* 'perpetual flatulator (Skunk's nickname)'.

5.7.5.

Translocational [-úləw] indicates a trip of some length, either walking or by some conveyance, for a specific purpose: *lʔuqʔ-eʔ-últ kt* 'we go out for a drink' ([ʔúqʔ-eʔ] 'drink'), *lsejʔ-siʔ-últ* 'they go (to town) to have a good time' ([ʔséjʔ-sejʔ] (pl.) play, do things for pleasure).

6. DERIVATION

More complex words are derived in several ways.

6.1. EXPANDED STEMS

6.1.1.

Compound stems are occasionally formed, involving more than the usual single root: *n/cəq/xwét-ne* [nəʔčəq/xəwét:-n-t-en] 'I put it right on the road' ([ʔčəq] 'set', [xəwét] 'trail road'), *n/čək/súp kn* 'I am out of breath' (cf. *lčək-s-t-éne* 'I use it all up', *l/súp-m kn* 'I breathe'). In some cases the second element is clearly an (otherwise) independent word rather than just a root: *lčəl-s'qáqxaʔ kn* 'I look after my horse' (cf. *lčəl-t-éne* 'I take care of it', *s/qáqxaʔ* 'dog; horse', with *s-* 'nominalizer', 6.5.).

There is also a compounding element [-t-], which joins stems: *Itam-lmʷ-ém* 'he is unmarried' ([V]em) 'lack', [ʷmʷ-əm] 'wife'); *Itam-lt-n/ʷpɪtʷeʷ* 'he has no shirt on' (where the final element is an independent word [nʷʷpɪtʷeʷ] 'shirt'). It serves in particular to make compound numbers (with shortening of first elements, 8.1.): *Imu-lʷʷʷpɪtʷekst* [ʷmu(s)-tʷʷʷpɪtʷekst] 'forty (lit. four tens)'.

Some compound stems contain a first root that does not occur independently, although it may be quite productive; e.g., *n/kət-* 'sharing, accompanying, co-' in *n/kət/k-ést* 'has the same name' ([ʷkʷést] 'name'), *n/kət-weʷ/wíyx* 'comourner; relative by marriage after death of linking relative' (*weʷ/wíyx* 'weep'), *n/kət-n/qáy-ix* 'swimming companion' ([nʷqáy-ɣyx] 'swim'). The first element in the common word *ʷuʷ-s/qáyx* (Spuzzum *lʷiʷ-s/qáyx*) 'person', *s/qáyx* 'man' may be a similar bound root.

6.1.2.

Root extensions are poorly understood. A number of roots have shorter and longer forms, but the extensions are not productive, and semantic differences are elusive or inconsistent: [ʷsəl] 'turn, spin', [ʷsələk] 'turn'; [ʷwəl] 'open, clear way through', [ʷwəlʷuq] 'clear way through'.

6.1.3.

Lexical suffixes (3.1.1.) extend roots and inchoative stems (5.1.4.), adding precision of reference and a variety of nuances—sometimes very subtle and highly specialized ones: *l/qíx-yámx* [ʷqíx-yámx] 'hard ground' ([ʷqíx] 'strong, firm', [yámx] 'earth, land, place; (earth) oven'), *n/ʷxám-p-íyámx* [nʷxám-ɔp-yámx] 'dry area' (*ixm-ɔp* 'dry up'), *n/cán-p-íyámx* ('passing train') echoes with a heavy sound' (*Ucn-ɔp* 'echo'), *lʷkʷaʷlʷ/íyámx* 'grass turns green' (*lʷkʷ/íʷal* 'turn green'), *n/qʷ-y-íyámx-m* 'she bakes in the earth oven' ([ʷqʷ-ɔy] 'cook', [-ɔme] 'middle'), *n/qʷst-íyámx-m* 'she bakes bread in an iron pot in the ashes' (*l/qʷst-ɔm* 'Indian vegetables steam-baked in a pit'), *n/éáp-yámx* 'sour-dough; yeast bread' ([ʷéáp] 'sour').

Parallel to complex words involving lexical suffixes speakers also use simpler predicates, adding detail by means of complements and adjuncts (7.2., 7.3.), which provide more specific identification of entities involved: *lcaʷ-p-íééʷ kʷ* 'your clothing (dress or shirt) is torn', *lcaʷ-ɔp e ʷ-n/ʷp-íééʷ* 'your shirt is torn'. The tendency to favor these syntactic constructions over the morphological ones with lexical suffixes is one of the characteristics of current usage.

Because of the wide range of extended meanings of both suffixes and roots, and frequent further metaphorical extensions, it is often impossible to predict the reference of a particular word from its components (*lyʷ-ékst-m* 'murder in secret' [ʷhide-head-middle.voice'], *lcaqʷcín* 'level area on edge of

river' [ʷput-mouth']), and sometimes difficult to recognize the semantic connection (*n/cqʷ-ús-m* 'cook by boiling' [ʷlocalizer/put-face.eye.sun.fire-middle.voice'], where [-us] presumably refers to fire; *lpiʷ-épuʷ-sqʷme* 'be greedy, push oneself ahead of everyone else' [ʷone-bottom+top.surface-head-middle.voice'], apparently involving [ʷpeyeʷ] 'one' and [ʷep-éwes-qín] 'back of crown of head').

Lexical suffixes frequently cluster in derivatives, furnishing yet further nuances and detailed references. Some combinations seem clearly to be compounded, specific reference followed by more general coverage: *s/kiyeʷ-qín-kst* 'thumb', *s/kiyeʷ-qín-xn* 'big toe', *l/xʷal-qín-kst-m* 'nail file' ([ʷkiyeʷ] 'be ahead, in front, principal, eldest', [ʷxʷal] 'grind, file', [ʷekst] 'hand', [ʷxʷn] 'foot', [ʷ] 'specializing extension', 6.2.1., [qín-ékst] 'finger', [qín-xʷn] 'toe'); *n/km-énk-xn* 'sole of foot', *n/qʷ-énk-xn-me* 'she tickles the sole of his foot' ([ʷkʷm] 'focal area', [qʷas] 'tickle; scratch an itch', [ʷenk] 'belly, under side', [ʷenk-xʷn] 'bottom of foot', [nʷ] 'localized', [-ɔme] 'middle').

Middle forms from stems extended by lexical suffixes are common, as some of the preceding examples show. The corresponding transitives are formed with simple [-t] inflection if the stem ends in *n, ʷ*, otherwise with [-n-t]: *lsk-épeʷqe-s* [ʷsək-ep-qín-t-es] 'she clubs him on (back of) head' ([ʷep] 'bottom, rear', [qín] 'head'), *lch-ékn-s* [ʷch-ékən-t-es] 'she fixes his pack' ([ʷch] 'fix, adjust', [ékən] 'pack, bundle'); *lch-ús-e-s* [chəus-n-t-es] 'she fixes the fire' ([us] 'face, eye, sun, fire').

Causative (5.2.3.), indirective (5.2.4.), and relational (5.2.5.) inflections are also common: *lsk-épeʷqe-s-c* [ʷsək-ep-qín-s-t-es] 'he (accidentally) hits on (back of) head (with pole), fells tree on him'; *lcutʷqs-x-t-x* [ʷcutʷaqʷs-xi-t-ex] 'you point gun at him' ([ʷcut] 'point, direct', [ʷaqʷs] 'nose, point, end, weapon'); *lktʷ-ékst-m-ne* [ʷkətʷ-ékst-min-t-en] 'I let go of it' ([ʷkət] 'detach', [ʷekst] 'hand').

6.2. SPECIALIZED STEMS

6.2.1.

Specializing extension [ʷ] appears to be the affix in a poorly understood process by which (usually posttonic) resonants take on glottalization in sporadic derivatives. The words reflect extensions of various sorts: *lqʷ-ʷqín* '(tree) stump' ([ʷqʷw] 'break in two', [qín] 'head, top'), cf. *s/lacʷqín* '(traditional) hairdo with top knot' ([ʷlʷɔ] 'twist in several directions').

6.2.2.

Proportional [-jʷCeʷ] (position, size, shape, etc., with relation to something else) derives a few stems, mostly followed by [-t] 'immediate' (5.1.2.); the roots are also poorly attested: *ltxʷʷʷxeʷ-t* 'narrow piece', *l/qʷʷʷqʷeʷ-t* 'short', *lʷkʷ-mʷʷmeʷ* 'small'. *l/kiʷʷʷkeʷ-t*

'near' is similar in form but is relatable to a root [√kít] 'approach' (cf. *n/kít-ne* [nəʋkít:-n-t-ene] 'I catch up with him'); it suggests this affix is a suffix with weak stems, but an infix replacing the stressed vowel in strong ones. 6.2.3.

Affective [Cə•] (often with specializing extension [ʔ]), 6.2.1.) derives stylistic variants connoting special attitudes ranging from familiarity, perhaps with overtones of nostalgia, to extreme specialization. The vowel of the [Cə•] prefix is most often reduced to [ə] in regular fashion, but some forms show ə varying with e and others consistently show e. The formation is unproductive (reflecting an old diminutive pattern), but provides many examples:

n-ǰə-ǰəc [nə-ǰə-ǰəc] 'woven part of snowshoes' ([ǰəc] 'weave').

ʔes-cə-ǰəc [ʔes-cə-ǰəc] 'it has a pattern' ([ǰəc] 'do, make').

s-pə-ǰəc [s-pə-ǰəc] 'skunk' (simplex *s/plánt* is rare).

kə-ǰəc-h-cm-s [kə-ǰəc:-nʔ]-t[em-es] 'he haunts me' (cf. *lkic-e-cm-s* 'he comes to visit me').

6.3.1.

Localizer [nə-] signals localization or a more abstract specialization, as opposed to vaguer or more usual references of unmarked forms: *n/ciq-m* 'he digs a hole', *lcic-m* 'he digs (more generally)'; *n/lepe-xən* [nəʋlepe-xən] 'marrow in the leg bone', *s/lepe?* 'marrow'; *n/cúl-mn* 'compass' ([√cúl] 'indicate', [·min] 'means', 6.4.1.), *lcúl-mn* 'index finger'. It often refers to inside or inner position: *n/pək-t-éne* 'I dump it in', *lpək-t-éne* 'I dump it out'; *n/iʔh-ékst* 'right arm', *s/iʔh-ékst* 'right hand' ([√yoh] 'good', [·ekst] 'hand, lower arm', s- 'nominalizer', 6.5.). It sometimes conveys a partitive idea: *n/cék-m* 'she cools off part of it (something she is cooking, so as to taste it)', *lcék-m* 'she cools it off (all of it)'. Some roots always have [nə-]: [nəʋfém] 'go inside'. With some lexical suffixes [nə-] signals a common shift in meaning: e.g., [·us] without the prefix often refers to 'face, surface', but with [nə-] rather to 'eye(s), seeing, window': *lcq-ús-e-s* [√cəq-us:-n-t-es] 'she hits him in face', *n/lq-ús-e-s* 'she hits him in eye; hits his window', *lpr-ús-tm* 'veil', *n/pr-ús-tm* 'window shade'. Some lexical suffixes regularly require [nə-]: e.g., [nə-...-énih] 'ear, side of head, side of something'; compare *l/ik-ásqs* [√láyak=asqs] 'bump one's nose', *n/lík-éni* 'bump side of one's head'.

6.3.2

Qualitative [tə-] is far less common. It suggests a quality, characteristic, or state; it is usually accompanied by the stative prefix (5.1.1.) and often by the resultative suffix (5.1.6.): *ʔes-t/piq* 'white', *ʔes-t/k-əz-k-əz-t* 'smooth', *ʔes-t/xát-e* 'he feels better', *ʔes-t/xát-e-s-t-és* 'it makes him feel better'.

6.4.

Formative suffixes create various extended stems. Transitive formatives are discussed in 5.2.3.-5. There are also formatives making intransitive themes that are function primarily as independent words.

6.4.1.

Instrumentals are found with two suffixes; some generalizations can be made covering most derivatives. Those with [·min] 'means' refer to implements, materials, or places for temporary or casual use; no control (3.4.) is specified, and connotation is often passive and concrete. Those with [·tən] 'way' refer to apparatus, tools, or areas for specific, more permanent use; control is implied, and connotation is usually active, often abstract. *n/sʔ-əl-mín* 'washboard' ([√sʔ-əl] 'grind'), *s/sʔ-əl-mín* 'sawdust, filings', *lxʔ-əl-qín-ks-tm* [√sʔ-əl-qín]-[·ekst-tən] 'nail file' ([·qín]-[·ekst] 'finger'), *n/sʔ-l-ús-tm* 'file, grindstone' ([·us] 'face, edge'); *n/lq-té-mn* 'wash-tub' ([√lq-té] 'launder'), *lq-té-cə-ʔ-tm* 'laundry soap' ([·icəʔ] 'skin, clothes'); *n/zús-mn* 'jail' ([√zús] 'restrain'), *lzús-ks-tm* [√zús-ekst-tən] 'handcuffs'; *lcu-mín* 'equipment' ([√caw] 'do, make, work'), *s/cu-tán* 'custom, way of doing things'. They sometimes occur together: *n/q-i-mín-tm* 'oven (in stove)' ([√q-əy] 'cook'), *lqí-ʔ-mín* (temporary) camp' (*lqí-y-m* 'camp overnight'), *lqí-ʔ-mín-tí* 'regular (customary) campground'. Some words seem to be frozen derivatives with [·min]: *lqatmín* 'he is old'.

6.4.2.

Deictic formatives create a closed class of demonstratives. The resemblances of the words to one another and of the stems to various other elements can hardly be accidental, but semantic relationships are tenuous and unsystematic; the forms are best simply listed with their apparent relatives in table 4.

The A forms share -ʔe; the final vowel is optional except in *lúʔe*; the first five words share a longer sequence -éʔ(e). The B forms seem to be emphatic words related to their first-column counterparts. (The negative *l/éʔ(e)* [7.5.3.] is similar in form, but quite different in meaning and use.) Some other deictic words also end in -e, which may be the same formative: *ʔéy-e* 'here' (note also *ʔéy-l* 'now'), *lécíy-e* 'like this, the same way' (see also 6.4.3.).

6.4.3.

General formatives are various and are not well understood at present. A few samples are cited here. Some suffixes are widespread but derivatives seem to have no unifying meaning or function, and the stems are often not otherwise identifiable: e.g., -eʔ in *s/pín-e-ʔ* 'dead animal found and appropriated (by scavenger)' ([√pín] 'find'); -tʔ in *s/k-l-tʔ* 'copper' (Lytton) (cf. [√k-əl] 'green').

Other words that may include a formative are: *lqátze* 'take sweatbath', *lʔéyqəʔ* 'outside', *s/x-ásəʔ*

Table 4. Demonstratives

A Forms	B Forms	Basic Stem
xéʔ(e) 'this, here (nearby); just referred to'	xʔé 'this, here (opposed to another)'	lxəl 'particularizing' (7.3.1.)
néʔ(e) 'that (particular one), there; (established in context) as you already know'	nʔé 'right there'	lnəl 'in, at, on' (7.3.2.)
wéʔ(e) 'that, there (to be established), wherever it may be'		lwəl 'to(ward)'' (7.3.2.)
téʔ(e) 'main interest, beyond, next, last, further, other'	tʔé 'about to be set forth'	lte 'oblique' (7.2.2.)
kéʔ(e) 'which? whatever, whichever, any; is it that...?'		lkal 'unrealized' (7.3.1.)
c-kéʔ(e) (emphatic)		
cíʔ(e) 'that, there (yonder); the other'		lc-l 'emphatic' (with a few stems)
lúʔe 'that, there (remote)'	lʔe 'that, there' (emphatic)	lʔəl 'established in past' (7.3.1.)
lšne 'that (particular one)' (established unseen)		
k-úk- 'not visible, spoken of' (unseen)		

'flowering currant', lkázeʔ 'tell falsehood, lie', lq'úneʔ 'fermented salmon roe', lsif'sjqeʔ 'uncle' (cf. [Nšiq] 'split [pl.]'), and presumably (with vowel assimilated, 2.7., rule [13]) s/qáxaʔ 'dog; horse', lq'tíxaʔ 'louse'; -e in /máče 'fly (insect)', s/núye 'beaver; money', lk'áxe 'box', lníwe 'spouse' (affectionate), lškéye 'make lunch' (see also 6.4.2.); -iʔ in s/cqíʔ 'piece of wood'.

Several kin terms (8.2.) share -zeʔ; of these s/kix-zeʔ 'mother' seems based on lkix 'elder sister', s/qác-zeʔ 'father' on lqéck 'elder brother', s/páp-zeʔ 'grandfather' on lpep (vocative [7.9.] for 'grandfather' or 'father').

6.5.

Nominalizer [-s-] is prefixed to a great variety of stems, including most other full words; it precedes the stative (5.1.1.) and qualifying (6.3.) prefixes, but possessive prefixes precede it. It is convenient to call the derivatives nominals, but they should not be confused with nouns in a language like English; like other major words they are predicative (3.1.4., 3.3.). Kuipers (1968) and Kinkade (1983) discuss the absence of a compelling noun-verb dichotomy and the status of nominals in some other Salishan languages. Nominals refer to actions, situations, states, entities viewed as wholes or as facts, or as products, leftovers, or results. They are opposed to nonnominals (without [-s-]), which

denote actions and states in progress; active entities; or situations viewed as dynamic, developmental in the past or generally. Note the following one-word sentences based on the root [Vzík] 'fall':

lzik-t. 'A (tree) fell over, has just fallen.' (Also: "He fell over, fainted.") (immediate, 5.1.2.)

ʔes/zík. '(A tree has been uprooted and) has fallen; is falling.' (stative, 5.1.1.)

lzik-e-s. 'He felled it.' (transitive, 5.2.2.)

s/zík. 'It is a log (tree that has fallen).' (nominal)

Both intransitives and transitives can be nominalized: lčéw-s-tm 'soap, way to wash face' [Včéw] 'wash', [=us] 'face', [-tən] 'way', s/čéw-s-tm 'water someone has washed face with' ('leftover from way to wash face'); lwik-ne 'I see him', lʔe xéʔe lšeye-s e s/wik-ne 'that is the one' I saw him' (lʔe xéʔe 'that is the one', 6.4.2., 7.5.1.; lšeye-s 'two of them', with -s third-person possessive, 4.3.; e direct complement particle, 7.2.1.).

6.6.

Postterminal suffixes can be added to most intransitive stems.

6.6.1.

Redefinition suffixes signal reinstatement of more fundamental meanings. [-ʔúy] 'basic, ordinary, plain, real, genuine', as in s/mutec-ʔúy 'woman without profession', s/xenx-ʔúy 'granite' ('plaster rock'), lcw-am-ʔúy 'work for room and board (no pay)', lq'u(?)ʔúy 'Fraser River' ('basic water'), often serves to reestablish the original meaning of simple words that have been transferred in reference to recently introduced items: s/k-i(?)ʔúy 'arrow' (s/k-iʔ 'bullet; lead ball; lead').

Less productive, but somewhat similar in meaning is [-ʔútye] 'simple, rustic, crude': lcw-am-ʔútye 'work with hands; simple laborer', s/pem-ʔútye 'open fire-place' [Vpém] 'make fire', s/pém 'cooking or camp fire'), lcitx-ʔútye 'simple slab house'.

6.6.2.

Intensifying suffixes cover increase in scope or extent. [-míx] 'definitive' indicates completion; an expert, extreme, or full application; the essence of something: lʔ-óyt-míx 'not recovering from anesthesia; sleeping late in the morning' (lʔ-óyt 'sleep'), ʔes/caq-míx '(car) is stalled (right on the road)' ([Vcaq] 'put, place'), ʔes/lq'uʔ-míx '(clothes) are ready-made' [Vlq'uʔ] 'sew'), lqilʔ]x-mín-st-míx 'perennial bachelor' ([Vqay]ʔ]x- min] [-t-sut-míx] 'bachelor').

More specialized is [-núx] 'persevering, surviving': n/x'iʔ-núx 'survive through to spring' (n/x'áyt 'leave winter house for warm season; spring'), lʔap-núx 'make it through the day' (lʔáp 'be twilight, evening'), lyaʔ-p-núx 'come back to one's senses' ([Vyaʔ-ʔp] 'become wise, sane').

6.7.

Secondary formations are based on primary words. Certain processes are applied to stems after stress assignment (2.5.). In other cases affixes usually functioning in primary formations are added to full primary stems (see: 2.5.).

6.7.1.

Diminutives are freely created with the infix [CV(')] (often with specializing extension [']), 6.2.1.). The basic meaning is small size or amount but there are many extended meanings, as commonly with diminutives in other languages: affection, endearment, modesty, and various specializations.

lʰe-óʰʰ-ʰiʰt |*v*ʰʰ-óʰʰ-óʰʰ[']ýʰt |take a nap' (*lʰe-óʰʰ* 'sleep'),

sʰxáʰ[ʰx]iʰwi |*s*vʰxáʰ[ʰx]aʰ[']ýʰwi |'dear husband' (*sʰxáʰywi* 'husband'),

lʰaʰʰx-áʰ[ʰx]hʰs |*v*ʰlʰaʰʰx-áʰ[ʰx]aʰ[']nʰs |'(baby or animal) eats' (*lʰaʰʰx-áʰns* '(grown person) eats'),

s-miʰ/méʰ.ñʰjiʰʰx |*s*-mayʰvme[ʰmeʰ[']lyx] |'worms' (*s-miʰ/méyx* 'snakes'),

s/pzúʰ[ʰz]uʰ |*s*vʰpzúʰ[ʰz][']uʰ |'(small) bird' (*s/pzúʰ* 'animal'),

lʰk-mʰ[ʰ[ʰm]jʰm]eʰ |'tiny' (*lʰk-mʰ[ʰm]eʰ* 'small'),

l'éʰ[ʰé]kʰ-ñ |*v*ʰčéʰ[ʰčéʰ[']kʰ-əm] |'shine a light to attract fish to spear' (*l'ékʰ-m* 'shine a light'),

s-nuʰ/méʰ[n]uʰ-t |*s*-néwʰvñéʰ[ñeʰ]wʰ-t |'little breeze blowing' (*s-nuʰ/méwʰ-t* 'wind blowing' [augmentative, suggesting repetition]).

Diminutives frequently occur based on augmentatives (5.6.2.) without a diminutive based on the corresponding simplex. Thus there are numerous defective sets like the following: *lqʰti-n-éʰlmx* 'birchbark basket' (*lqʰti-n* 'birch'), *qʰaʰ/qʰti-n-éʰlmx* 'birchbark baskets', *qʰaʰ/qʰti-n-éʰ[ñ]lʰmx* 'small birchbark baskets'.

6.7.2.

Repetitives are based only on augmentative stems (5.6.2.): [eʰ] (often with specializing extension [']), 6.2.1.) is infixated directly before the consonant beginning the stressed syllable. Derivatives refer to repetition of the same act or state over and over, often with vacillation, off and on, now one way, now another, etc.: *n-wazʰ[eʰ]/wázʰ-s-ñ* 'sun shows itself intermittently, now comes from behind a cloud, now goes under a cloud again' (|*v*wázʰ |'show, appear', |*f*us |'face, eye, sun, fire', |*-əme* |'middle voice'), *səʰ[eʰ]/səh-t* '(drunk person) staggers, keeps falling' (|*v*sén |'fall over', |*-t* |'immediate'), *suʰ[eʰ]/siv-ix* 'he weaves off and on the road' (*siv-ix* 'he turns off the road').

6.7.3.

Secondary inflection is especially common with the reflexive (5.3.): *n/qixʰ-cñ-n-cút* |*nə*vqixʰ-cin-n-t-sut |'he locks himself in' (cf. *n/qixʰ-ce-s* |*nə*vqixʰ-cin-t-es |'he locks it'; |*v*qixʰ |'secure', |*ç*in |'mouth, aperture, door'). Simple transitives always take |*n*-t|, regardless

of the class or final consonant of the primary stem: *l/wik-n-cút* |*v*wik-n-t-sut |'she sees herself' (cf. *l/wik-c* |*v*wik-t-es |'she sees him') (note also preceding example). With infixes, stress is determined by the primary form: *ʰes-t/wálʰ-l-e* '(brush) has finally gotten cleared out now' (*ʰes-t/wál-e* |*ʰes*-taʰvwal-ə |'(brush) is cleared out now'). Once created, secondary stems can be further inflected like primary stems: *n/céʰ[ʰəʰ]kʰu-s-t-x* 'you manage to place it in the water' (causativization [5.2.3.] of secondary out-of-control stem *n/céʰ[ʰəʰ]kʰu*, based on primary derivative *n/céʰkʰu* |*nə*vçə-ətçəw |'put in water'; |*v*çə |'lay long obj.').

6.7.4.

Secondary lexical extension is common. A lexical suffix is added to an intransitive word already derived in the usual fashion. Meanings are usually extended or abstract. Recent coinages in the language frequently take this shape. *lʰkʰax-eh-éwʰt* |*v*kʰáx-eh-éwʰt |'(railroad) boxcar', *ʰes/çəqʰ-ewʰ-t-xən kn* |*ʰes*vəçəqʰ-éwʰt-xən k-en |'I go by boat' (|*xən* |'foot, leg, walk, go') (cf. *ʰes/çəqʰ-éwʰt kn* 'I have a boat'), *lʰzús-m-éwʰt* |*v*zús-əme-éwʰt |'police car' (cf. *lʰzús-m* 'policeman', lit. 'he restrains [people]'). Secondary stems can then be further derived or inflected like primary stems: *n/xʰ-el-ix-éhi-n-t-i-s* |*nə*vçə-éʰ-ayx-n-ehi-n-t-ey-es |'he flies over' (*n/xʰ-el-ix* 'he flies'), |*ç*ehi |'ear; position over, on top').

7. SYNTAX

The backbone of sentence structure is the predicate, the only obligatory element of minimum clauses. In more complicated clauses the predicate is the head element, with modifying complements or adjuncts, or both. Particles clarify details of relationship.

7.1.

Predicates vary from single major words to phrases involving several particles and certain other words. They normally appear first in their clauses.

7.1.1.

Predicate particles include the intransitive subject pronoun enclitics (4.1.), normally in first position after the predicate in the clitic string, followed by elements of evidential, modal, or aspectual force. Table 5 gives them in surface form (underlying forms are often unclear), showing their relative order (see also examples in 7.1.4.).

The following sentences exemplify the order of the predicate particles: *ʰes-kəʰ/kəʰ-xən k' n* 'are you barefoot?', *ʰes-kəʰ/kəʰ-xən k' nke* '(I) guess you are barefoot', *ʰes-kəʰ/kəʰ-xən k' n ləʰ* 'do you already have your shoes off?', *ʰes-kəʰ/kəʰ-xən k' n ləm* 'have you had your shoes off for some time already?'; *ʰes/xəʰ-éwʰt nke ləʰ* '(I) guess the truck's already unloaded'; *l/mlt k' ekʰu ləʰ* 'they say you're just visiting'; *l/x-m-əp*

Table 5. Order of Predicative Particles after Predicate Head

Intransitive Pronouns	Enclitic		Nonenclitic		
	Evidentials	Modal	Aspectuals	Emphatic	
<i>kn, k', etc.</i>	<i>ñ</i> 'interrogative'	<i>we</i> 'dubitative, in vain'	<i>ł̄ał</i> 'readied, contemporaneous'	<i>ʔel</i> 'also, along with'	<i>ł̄uʔ</i> 'persistent'
<i>wn, ɪkʰ, etc.</i>	<i>nke</i> 'conjunctural'	<i>ł̄əp</i> 'unusual'	<i>ł̄əm</i> 'completed'	<i>wiʔ</i> 'indeed'	<i>tuʔ</i> 'emphatic'
	<i>ek-u</i> 'reportive'	<i>ske, seʔ</i> 'presumptive, ought, should'	<i>(u)j - iʔ</i> 'yet, still'	<i>ceʔ</i> 'ameliorative'	
	<i>nukʰ</i> 'perceptual'		<i>mel</i> 'consequential'		

kʰ nukʰ 'I can see you're lonely'; *lnés kʰ nke we* 'I guess you went for no purpose'; *Iséw-tn kn we ł̄ał* 'I already inquired, but I doubt anything will come of it'; *lnés kn ł̄ał* 'I'm ready to go; I'm on my way'; *lnés kʰ ñ ł̄ał ł̄uʔ* 'are you going, too?'; *Itéy-t kn iʔ* 'I am still hungry'; *lmél-ix-uz-e mal* 'you people had better rest'; *lcʰés kʰ ñ ł̄əm ʔel ł̄uʔ* 'did you come along, too, already?'; *Iséw-tn kn ł̄ał wiʔ* 'I did indeed already ask'. The modal *ske* 'presumptive' usually takes the same position as the evidentials, but with an indicative intransitive pronoun it is replaced by *seʔ*, preceding the pronoun; neither particle combines with evidentials: *lcu-t-é-x ske ł̄əm* 'you should have done it', *ʔe lnés wn ske* 'if I should go' (*ʔe* 'if', 7.6.2.), *cuʔ/cw-əm ske* 'they ought to work'; *lcw-əm seʔ kʰ* 'you should work'.

7.1.2.

Deictic emphasis is furnished by demonstratives (6.4.2.), which follow any predicative particles (7.1.1.) and close simple predicates.

ʔes/xéł=ewit nke ł̄ał xéʔe '(I) guess this truck's already unloaded',

ʔes/xéł=ewit ñ ł̄ał néʔe 'is it unloaded right there?';

lnés kʰ ñ ł̄ał ł̄uʔ xéʔe 'are you ready to go, too?';

lq̄ty-m-e téʔe 'camp/stay overnight there!';

təxʰ/tóxʰ-t-e ł̄uʔ wéʔe 'you'd better toe the mark!' said to someone who has a tendency to get into trouble (*tóxʰ-t* 'straight').

Sequences of two demonstratives have been observed (see examples in 7.3.1.).

7.1.3.

Compound predicates contain, in addition to their major word (the predicate head), an auxiliary, which adds some modal or aspectual notion. A few words are limited to this function: [cúʔ] 'somewhat, in limited fashion', [wéłé] 'almost', [yáçúxʰ] 'just now, immediate past'. But the most common auxiliaries are major words adapted to this use with specialized meanings (in following glosses auxiliary meaning follows the semicolon): [xʰúy] 'go; future', [lnés] 'go toward; incipient', [(w)ʔex] (often shortened) 'exist, be located, reside, stay; persistent, progressive, actual', [ł̄ʔek] 'continuative', [nə-wéh] 'old; perfective'. They appear both before and after the predicate head, slightly more

emphatic when after; when first, they take the pronominal enclitics, and often other elements as well.

cúʔ kʰ ñ ł̄ał /ʔe-wiʔʰ x 'are you a little better now?';

lcʔʰJék cúʔ 'it has gotten a little cooler';

wéle kn n/zuq=étk-u ~ n/zuq=étk-u kn wéle 'I nearly drowned' ([nəʔzúqʰ+etkəw] 'die in water');

yçóxʰ kn ł̄ał /séw-tn 'I just now inquired';

xʰúy xéʔe /tékt-m-t-t-s 'we will get rained on';

xʰúy kʰ ñ lnés 'will you go?';

lmít-m-c-n xʰúy 'I'm going to visit you';

nés kʰ ñ ł̄áxi 'are you getting cold?';

(w)éx kt /méw-e-me 'we are gossiping';

ltʔʰJkʰ ł̄uʔ uʔex 'it's still smoldering';

nwéh ł̄ał n-kʰæc/kʰúce wéʔe 'they're already a good ways downriver there';

lcəm-t ł̄əm nwéh 'it's already burned';

ł̄ʔek /ptx-m 'he kept on hunting'.

Combinations make for some delicate nuances of tense and aspect (for special word order in the following examples see 7.1.4.);

ł̄əm xʰúy kn /xʰəst 'I was going to go home (but haven't gone yet)';

ł̄uʔ xʰúy kn /xʰəst 'I'm going to go home (about to be on my way)';

ł̄ał xʰúy kn /xʰəst 'I've made up my mind to go home'.

7.1.4.

Rearranged predicates have appearing before the predicate head nonenclitic particles that usually follow it (7.1.1.); they seem to differ primarily in emphasis or style:

ł̄əm /peʔʰ]xʰ-mín-t-m (ł̄əm) 'we got tired of it';

ł̄əm /peʔʰ]xʰ-mín-t-m (ł̄əł - ł̄ał /peʔʰ]xʰ-mín-t-m ł̄əm 'suddenly we got tired of it'.

Rearrangement permits use of two particles of the same position class (and repetition of the same particle, as in the first example); it also increases flexibility with auxiliaries (7.1.3.).

7.2.

Complements, specifying third-person entities directly connected to predicates, are introduced by proclitic particles distinguishing relationships to their predicates

and to the general context. The heads of such complements are predicative words subordinated to their predicates by position and their introductory particles.

Certain entities associated with predicates are implicit. First- and second-person entities are marked in the predicate itself (section 4) and in context always refer to specific persons. However, third-person entities are often indicated only by absence of a first- or second-person marker; in any case their reference is not fully specified and may be unclear in the context. It is these third-person entities that are specified by complements, along with certain other logically related entities.

7.2.1.

Direct complements, introduced by [è], specify the entities implicit in predicates. With intransitives and indefinite subjects these are subject:

lq'c-àc e /tmix' 'it's an earthquake' ['it.moves-uncontrolled direct earth'],

lník-e-t-m e n/c'yan-s 'he had an abdominal operation' ['it-is-cut direct his-belly'].

With a third-person possessed form, the possessor is specified: *n/k'uk'-tân-s e /seytkm-x 'it is the people's blessing' ['their-blessing direct people']*. With transitives, complements specify primarily objects: *lqáy-e-s e snúk'e'2-s 'he shot his friend' ['he-shoots-him direct his-friend']*. But where first- or second-person objects are marked, complements specify subjects: *n/k'ah-cém-s e lq'ú' 'the water poisoned me' ['it-poisons-me direct water']*. (See also 7.2.3.)

7.2.2.

Oblique complements, introduced by [te], specify logically related entities that the predicate does not mark. This includes logical objects with simple intransitives (*lpút kn xè'2 e tã /fíy 'I've had enough tea' ['suffice I nearby oblique tea']*) and with middles (*lq'yéw-m kt tã s-paq/páq 'we're picking Saskatoon berries' ['pick-harvest-food we oblique juicy-variety-Saskatoon-berries']*). With various predicates they can refer to means, substances, and instruments:

lq'éc-ne tã s/ta'x'áns 'I filled him up with food' ['I-fill-him oblique food'],

n/ty'ús-m tã lq'ú' 'they're sprinkling water over (the baked fish)' ['sprinkle-surface oblique water'],

l'kãt-t kn tã /c'íl 'I got stuck up with pitch' ['sticky I oblique pitch'],

n/c'éw-léi'2-t-m tã /súp 'he's getting an enemy' ['he-is-washed-inside oblique soap'],

n/lq'éc-e-wíl tã s/c'ak-mín 'the (railroad) car is full of wood-chips' ['full-conveyance oblique wood-chips'].

They can specify the reference of incorporated lexical suffixes: *lpul'p]h'éwíl tã s/c'aq'x'éwíl 'he found a boat' ['he-finds-conveyance oblique boat']*.

For indefinite-subject forms, agents with third-person patients are handled in this way: *lqáy-e-t-m tã*

snúk'e'2-s 'he was shot by his friend' ['he-is-shot oblique his-friend']. However, with other indefinite-subject forms no agent can be specified (4.2.2.): *l'ekl-m-t-i-t 'we got rained on', lkàn-c'éy-me 'someone helped me'*.

7.2.3.

Complements with indirectives (5.2.4.) differentiate formally between interested entity (direct complement) and effective goal of the action (oblique): *lh-t-éne he n/sínci' 'I gave it to my brother', lh-t-éne tã lq'ú' 'I gave him some water'; lne-t-éne tã s/k'ést 'I named him, gave him a name' ['I-name-him oblique name']; lq'ú'-x-cm-e tã n-s/yíq-m 'water my garden for me' ['water-for-me oblique my-garden']; lmad'-x-cm-s tã n-s/zélt 'she broke my dish on me' ['she-breaks-for-me oblique my-dish']*.

7.2.4.

Multiple complements are quite common, combining the various uses outlined above. Direct complements generally precede oblique, but either order is acceptable; clause-final position lends slight emphasis. *lta'x'áns e n/c'él[ce]?' tã s/lq'íy-t 'my younger sister ate some berries' ['she-eats direct my-younger-sister oblique fruit']*, *n/mé[?]'nús-m tã s/lq'úy-i'2 e s/k'ák'es 'a cloud covered the sun' ['it-gets-eye-shaded oblique uncontrolled-clouding direct sun']*.

Sentences with both subject and object specified as complements to a single transitive predicate are occasionally used. The order with the subject specifier first is preferable, although the object specifier can also come first; subject and object are thus recognized by context rather than by formal means: *lné-x-c e /li'2-s/qáyx' e s/k'áze'2-s tã s/k'i(?)'2-úy (Spuzzum) 'the man gave his son a bow and arrow' ['he-gives-to-him direct person direct his-offspring oblique (bow-and-)arrow']*; compare, with the same gloss, *lné-x-c e s/k'áze'2-s e /li'2-s/qáyx' tã s/k'i(?)'2-úy (Spuzzum)*. More commonly, the subject is understood in the context (either specified in a preceding sentence or simply clear in the situation) and the transitive sentence specifies only the object. Occasionally the transitive subject or object is specified in an adjunct (7.3.). In a few cases a transitive subject appears as an emphatic complement (7.2.6.).

7.2.5.

More complex uses of complements reveal various hierarchical relationships and serve to point up the fact that complements have underlying predicates as heads. In *lpút e s/h-t-éne tã s/ta'x'áns 'I gave him enough to eat' ['suffice direct what-I-give-him oblique food']*, the intransitive predicate *lpút* has a direct complement specifying its subject ('what I give him') and an oblique complement ('as food, in the way of food'): *s/h-t-éne* is a nominalized transitive (6.5.4.). *lye-mín-ne tã s-n/l'2'h'élus-c 'I like him because he's good-natured'*

['I-good-relational-to-him oblique his-being-good-natured'] has an oblique complement specifying a reason; it has the underlying predicate *n/i?h-élus* 'he is good-natured'.

7.2.6.

Emphatic complements are transposed to the position directly before the predicate; the introductory particle is dropped. Such sentences are not common. Most often the transposed complement is a subject: *nčǎ[ŋce]? /la?x-ǎns tǎ s/q?y-t* 'my younger sister eat some berries' ['my-younger-sister she-eats oblique fruit'] /*li?·s/qǎyx? /n-é-x-c e s/k?ǎxe?·s tǎ s/k-i(?)·úy* (Spuzzum) 'the man gave his son a bow and arrow' ['person he-gives-to-him direct his-offspring oblique (bow-and-) arrow'].

7.3.

Adjuncts are other predicate modifiers. They either refer to implied predicate references in more special (largely unpredictable) ways or introduce details beyond those suggested by the predicate forms.

7.3.1.

Simple adjuncts specify referents related to the predicate and indicate their temporal or aspectual relation to it. They are introduced by proclitic specializing particles. Generally the grammatical relationships involved are recognized contextually.

[ǎ] 'established in past' (entities or situations no longer in evidence or absent from immediate situation): *lpi?-p-s-t-éne t n/qwís-qn* 'I lost my axe (and haven't found it)' ['I-lose-it established-past my-axe'] (cf. *lpi?-p-s-t-éne he n/qwís-qn* 'I lost my axe (but later found it again)', with direct complement); *l?e s/yém-e-t-m ek'u t qat/qalmín* 'the old people (in the story) welcomed him, they say' ['introductory he-is-welcomed reportive established-past they-are-old'].

[ka] 'unrealized' (to be established in future; unknown, unreal, or contrary to fact; sometimes indefinite): *lk[?r?k]e?jt k s-n/ǎ-tóq-s* 'it's close to boiling' ['near unrealized its-boiling'] (cf. *lk[?r?k]i?k]e?jt e s/x-esít-kt* 'let's just have a little walk' ['near-diminutive direct our-walking']; *l?ǎxe-s-cm-s k slé? us nke* 'something or other made me sneeze' ['it-makes-me-sneeze unrealized what? conjunctive conjunctural'] (adjunct is itself a conjunctive predicate, 7.6.1.); *tǎwité? k ?esit-é?·s* 'they didn't have anything' ['there-is-not unrealized their-having-what?']; *lcúk us k e?-s/l?ǎ-m* 'don't sing!' ['finish conjunctive unrealized your-singing'].

[tǎk] 'descriptive' introduces adjuncts particularizing the entities being described or identified by their predicates: *lyé k tǎk /li?-s/qǎyx* (Spuzzum) 'you are a good person' ['good you descriptive person'], *lǎx-et xe? té? tǎk /lyé* 'it's a different basket' ['different near/ particular descriptive basket'], *qat/qalmí-n ek'u né?e tǎk sǎ/séye /w?éx* 'there were two very old

people there, they say' ['they-are-(very)-old reportive established-in-context descriptive two-people be'].

[pel] 'inherent' introduces adjuncts particularizing entities related to their predicates in terms of origin, purpose, or proper function: *éle xe? l n-s/kix-ze? pǎl s/k-úx* 'this basket was made by my mother' ['it-is (-emphatic) nearby established-past my-mother inherent product-of-basket-weaving'], *lséme? xe? pǎl pǎl/pi[?l]ǎx-m* 'this is White people's news' ['White-person nearby inherent giving-news (-diminutive-augmentative)'].

[ǎl] 'collective' identifies with special emphasis a group of entities or unit expected to be together; it is very rare: *lk'én-t-m ek'u xe?e t ǎl /kix-s* 'her older sisters took hold of her' ['they-grasp-her reportive nearby established-past collective her-older-sister']; *lǎt n/lé...m-ix ek'u xe?e t s/cm-él?m]i? t ǎl /q'i[?q?l]ǎx-qǎ-t* 'right away the children came in, those Smiling Ones (mythical four bear brothers who were transformers)' ['contemporaneous they-enter reportive nearby established-past children established-past collective smile-diminutive-characteristic-immediate'].

Occasionally a specializing particle combines with a complement particle. [ka] follows [ǎ] or [te]: *lx?-ít té?e he k n-s-zi?/zǎ[?z]i?-tǎ* 'I do lots of little things here and there' ['many particular direct unrealized my-little-activities(-diminutive-augmentative)']; *n/lém-siip-e-cm-e tǎ k /súyp-m* 'bring me in some wood!' ['put-in-wood-for-me oblique unrealized firewood']; *lla?x-ǎns kn ek'u tǎ k s/q?y-t* 'they tell me I ate some kind of berries [I don't remember]' ['eat I reportive oblique unrealized fruit']. [tǎk] 'descriptive' probably developed from this latter combination, but is now used in circumstances where the functions of [te] and [ka] do not fit.) [ǎ] also follows [te] (rarely), but precedes [ǎ]: *l?uq-e?-nwé-x-cm-s t n/tyi* 'she drank my tea' ['she-drinks-it-on-me(-out-of-control) oblique established-past my-tea']; *s/wét k /?ápi-t-m us t e s/q?y-t* 'who ate those berries?' ['who unrealized it-is-eaten-up conjunctive established-past direct fruit'] (first subordinated predicate is conjunctive, 7.6.1.).

[xǎ] 'particularizing' is relatively uncommon for some speakers, and it is elusive in meaning and function. It lends to predications an obscure kind of emphasis: *éle xe?e he /qǎz-t-és e x /qǎd[?q]y-m* 'this (bow and arrow) is what's used for hunting' ['it-is(-emphatic) nearby direct they-use-it direct particularizing they-hunt(-diminutive)']. It can follow either [ka] or [ǎ]: *tǎwité? kǎ x s/wik-t-m* 'we never saw him' ['there-is-not unrealized co-referential we-see-him'] (negative predicate reinforced to 'never'), *l/qǎ-t-és nke xe?e tǎ k x /zǎm-t* 'a menstruating woman must touch it' ['she-touches-it conjunctural nearby particular unrealized particularizing she-menstruates'] (an unfortunate violation of taboo), *éle xe?e t ax e?-n/kǎl/qǎd* 'that's

the fellow you used to quarrel with' ['it-is-(emphatic) nearby established-past particularizing your-co-quarrel-er'].

Simple adjuncts with [hə] also cover temporal and instrumental notions: /wík-t-m e s/pé-t-ec t s-n/wén*wn 'we saw a bear this morning' ['we-see-it direct black-bear established-past morning'], /po*^c-t-és ek-u n t e s/p'útx- t /úúkist-s 'he pounded on the inside with his stone hammer' ['he-pounds-it reportive at established-past direct the-inside established-past his-stone-hammer'] (for prepositional phrase see 7.3.2.).

7.3.2.

Prepositional phrases are adjuncts introduced by prepositions, proclitics followed by either [ə] 'direct' (7.2.1.) or a specializing particle (7.3.1.) or both. They cover primarily locational and directional notions. The most important prepositions are [nə] 'at, to, in(to), on(to), with' (precise location or direction), [wə] 'to, toward' (direction or general location), [təw] 'from' (vantage point), and [təw] 'from' (origin), the last two apparently etymologically related. They also often appear with simply a demonstrative (6.4.2.).

iszúm n t e s/p'útx- t, /k-m+i?me? tu t e /?éyčq? he n/k'éh-in-s 'the house is big inside, (but) looks small from outside' ['big at established-past direct inside, small from established-past direct outside direct its-way-of-looking'].

/?e /mí?-t k' tu? xé?e 'you'll get infected from that fellow' ['future get-infected you origin nearby'].

*/w?éx k' u c/é e w t /cətx-ut-úyím*x* 'you've been over there in Okanagan country' ['stay you toward yonder toward established-past Okanagan-land'];

/m?éx kn n ?éye 'I'm here' ['stay I at here'].

/kat-t-é-t-e tu? k /čyé 'take it out of some basket other!' ['detach-it! origin unrealized basket'].

7.3.3. ADVERBS

In addition to full predicative words and phrases used as adjuncts, there are a few single words that appear only in this capacity. Two common adverbs are *x'úyce?* 'again' and *cə-s-?éy-t* 'now': *tə/te? k s/púł-əł-m-s tu? xe?e x'úyce?* 'once again he couldn't get out of it' ['there-is-not unrealized his-managing-to-go-out origin nearby again']; */nəx-m tək /člós* tək /słtq't cə-s-?éy-t* 'it's a really hot day today' ['exceed descriptive hot descriptive day now'].

7.3.4.

Order of adjuncts and complements is flexible, allowing for placing an element in mildly emphatic final position (see also 7.2.4., 7.2.6.): */x?-t/[*?] tək s/míyc e s/čq[á]j/i? -s* '(they) got a good many deer (when they went) hunting' ['many-(diminutive) descriptive deer-as-game direct their-product-of-shooting']; cf. (with same gloss) */x?-t/[*?] t e s/čq[á]j/i? -s tək s/míyc*.

7.4.

Attributive phrases have a head with a preceding modifier. They are used in place of single words acting as heads of predicates, adjuncts, or complements.

Descriptive phrases of this type are derived without formal change from predications with adjuncts introduced by [tək] 'descriptive' or [pəl] 'inherent' (7.3.1.): */?e tək /hu?-s/qáyx-* 'a good person' (based on the predication meaning 'good is the person'), *s/čóq? tək s/čəq? éwt* 'a paper boat' (based on the predication meaning '(of) paper is the boat'), */cə-t-és e /łax-t tək /máče* 'honey bee' ['it-makes-it direct sweet descriptive stinging-hymenopter'] (based on the predication meaning 'the bee that makes honey' or, more literally, 'it makes sweet that bee'); *s/łúle? pəl /łémn* 'deer hair' (based on the predication meaning 'from the deer is the hair'), *s/qáyx- pəl /qem't* 'man's hat' (based on the predicate meaning 'for a man is the hat'), *s/čəq?-éwt-?úy pəl s/čəq?-ékt* 'canoe paddle' (based on the predicate meaning 'for the aboriginal canoe is the paddle').

The construction with [tək] is very common, and in many cases an underlying predication is unlikely: */nəx-m tək /?é* 'it's very good' ['exceed descriptive good'], */péye? tək /słt-áq't* 'one day' ['one descriptive day'].

A simpler (and far less common) type is not marked in any overt way: *s/k'əze?-s s/múlec* 'his daughter' ['his-offspring woman'].

7.5. LIMITED PREDICATIVES

There are a number of common words that appear in predicate head position but form predications primarily with other words.

7.5.1.

Introductory predicatives create predicates with demonstratives (6.4.2.), various adjuncts (7.3.), and nominals (6.5.): [$\sqrt{?é}$] 'there is, it is (that)..., that is...' has an emphatic counterpart *č/é* (derived with this special result with [c-] 'emphatic').

/?e /hu? xe?xé?e k s/q'c-lyxs 'they'll soon be gone' ['there-is-persistent nearby-(augmentative) unrealized their-moving'];

č/é /n xé?e k e? -n/tý-tm 'is that your teapot?' ['it-is (emphatic) interrogative nearby unrealized your-way-for-tea'];

/?é tu? xé?e s/púł-m-s 'it was out of there (where he just was) that he went' ['it-is origin nearby his-going-out'];

/?e s/hu?éx-s 'that's where he was'.

7.5.2.

Interrogative-indefinites appear as predicates in questions. For example, [ke?(é)] 'which?', is it (that...?)', with its emphatic counterpart [c-ke?(é)] (6.4.2.), [s/vé?] 'what?', [s/vé?é] 'who?', and [$\sqrt{?kén-3me}$] 'what's the matter?; why?'

ké?e k e?-s/x-úy /nés? 'will you go?' ['is-it-that? unrealized your-going depart'].

c-ké?e k s/x-úy-ep /q-c-íx? 'are you people about to leave?' ['is-it-that-(emphatic)? unrealized you-people-s-going move'].

s/té? k e?-s/cúw 'what are you doing?' ['what? unrealized your-doing'].

s/wét us nke xè?e pól /é?yé '(I) wonder whose basket this can be' ['who? conjunctive conjectural nearby inherent basket'].

lkén-m kn 'what did I do wrong?'.

lkén-m k' áu? /cu?-t-éx? 'why did you hit him?' ['why? you persistent you-punch-him'].

s/té? compounds with a restricted element */pi?-* 'time when' to give */pi?-s/té?* 'when?': */pi?-s/té? e x-úy up /c?és* 'when will you people come?' ['when? direct go you-people-conjunctive come'].

The indefinite meaning of these words emerges in combination with negatives (7.5.3.) and a few other words (e.g., *lték-m* 'all' in 7.5.4.).

7.5.3.

Negatives are [$\sqrt{\text{te}}$] 'there is not' (forceful), its affective (6.2.3.) derivative [$\text{te}\sqrt{\text{te}}$] (more common), and [$\sqrt{\text{tem}}$] 'lack'.

The first two are usually followed by a nominalized adjunct introduced by [ka] 'unrealized' (7.3.1.); transitives remain unchanged, but intransitives are converted to possessive inflection (4.3.): *t-á?é? k s/cu-t-éne* 'I didn't do it' (*/cu-t-éne* 'I did it'), *t-á?é? k n-s/láxi* 'I'm not cold' ['there-is-not unrealized my-being-cold'] (*/láxi kn* 'I'm cold'), *t-á?é? k n-s-?es/xáywi* 'I (woman) am not married' (*?es/xáywi kn*, lit. 'I have a husband'). There is also a less common construction converting intransitives to conjunctive (3.2.) in an adjunct introduced by [tak]; *t-á?é? tak /xíy-m wn* 'I can't do anything about it' (*/xíy-m kn* 'I'm acting (in a particular way) for a reason/purpose'). Longer negative sentences typically show the same sort of continuing strings of adjuncts; transitives serving as adjuncts are sometimes possessed: *t-á?é? xe?e k e?-s/wík-t-x' tak /sáytkn-mx ?es/cít-x wé?e* 'you can't see the people that own those houses there' ['there-is-not nearby unrealized your-what-you-see descriptive people direct they-have-house(s) particular-context']. These negatives appear with a suffix *-e* as single-word negative replies: *lté?e* or *t-á?é?e* 'no!'

[$\sqrt{\text{tem}}$] is less common; it also can take possessed adjuncts introduced by [ká]; *ltém ek-u té? k e s/té?-s e /sáytkn-mx* 'they say the people didn't have anything' ['lack reportive particular unrealized their-having-what? direct people'] (note semantic effect on *s/té?* 'what?'). In the conjunctive it yields a negative imperative (prohibitive): *ltém us t-é?e k e?-s-?es/ká-xán* 'don't go barefoot!' ['lack conjunctive particular unrealized your-being-detached-(of)-foot']. A common

formula involves [$\sqrt{\text{tem}}$] nominalized in construction with [$\text{s}\sqrt{\text{té}}$] 'what?': *s/tém e s/té? k s-kw/kw-ét-ne* 'I won't step on it' ['lack direct what? unrealized what-I-step-on']. It also has causative inflection (5.2.3.) (*ltám-s-t-és* 'he doesn't believe it') and forms derivatives with certain lexical suffixes: *ltám-étus* 'there's a shortage of fish', *ltám-élti?* 'there's no game (no carcasses at all)', *ltám-élti?x* 'there are no berry bushes', *ltám-éltq* 'there are no berries (on the bushes)', *n/ltám-á?tn* 'there are no berries in the basket', *ltám-úyíx-m* 'it's a lonely place'.

The root [$\sqrt{\text{cúk}}$] 'finish' with the conjunctive provides negative imperatives. What is prohibited appears as an adjunct treated like those after (*t-á?/té?* and *ltém*: */cúk us k s/kít-ix-m-cm-x* 'don't come near me!') ['finish conjunctive unrealized you-approach-me'], */cúk us k e?-s-yu-?yuu?x-xán* 'don't trip!' ['...your-trip-foot'].

7.5.4.

Intensifiers are very common but do not form independent predicates by themselves.

Inéx-m 'exceed' takes an adjunct introduced by [tak] (7.3.1.): *Inéx-m tak /t-áq-t-min-t-wáx* 'they hit each other hard head on' ['exceed descriptive strike-against-each-other']. Such phrases then often serve as predicates for longer clauses: *Inéx-m tak /t-lóx' tak /stá-áq c-á-s-?éy-t* 'it's a very hot day today' ['exceed descriptive hot descriptive day now']. The simple stem *lnéx* 'excessive' is less frequent; it takes a direct complement that is nominalized and possessed: *lnéx e s/néx-ax-s* 'it's a big (dangerous) wave' ['excessive direct its-uncontrolled-billowing'].

ltékm 'all' participates in varied constructions: *ltékm tak /má-s-xe-in* 'every month' ['all descriptive moon'], *ltékm té? e s/té?-s e q'-ac/q'-c-íx us tak s/kt'/?ki? x pól /cu-min* 'everything runs by electricity' ['all particular direct its-what? direct they-move conjunctive descriptive thunder inherent means-of-doing'] (note semantic effect with *s/té?* 'what?'). *Inés lám ltékm ut* 'we all went' ['depart completed all we-conjunctive'].

7.5.5.

Numbers (system in 8.) also belong in this category; *ltám-l/pé[?p]ye? tak /sáytkn-mx n ?éy-e* 'there are nine people here' ['nine-persons descriptive people at here'], *lq-in-cút kn u?éx /pé[?p]ye? wn* 'I'm talking to myself' ['talk I actual one-person I-conjunctive'].

7.6. CLAUSE PATTERNS

Each predicate with its satellite complements and adjuncts constitutes a clause. Since the major words that serve as heads of complements and adjuncts are themselves fundamentally predicative, these satellite elements actually contain subordinated predicates. However, it is useful to distinguish these simpler structures from more complex ones in which longer sentences are subordinated.

7.6.1. SUBORDINATING PATTERNS

Complements and adjuncts are subordinated to their predicates. Sometimes the subordination is marked only by the introductory particle: *s/pʔec e /wɪk-ne* 'it was a bear I saw' ['black-bear direct I-see-it']. More often the first predicative element of a complement or adjunct is nominalized: *lyé te s/ník-e-s* 'it's a good thing that he cut (the undergrowth back)' ['good oblique what-he-cuts']. *wɪk-ne t s-n/wénwɪn* 'I saw him this morning' ['I-see-him established-past morning']. Some longer complements and adjuncts are themselves clauses of this sort: *lpút e s/n-t-éne to s/taʔx-áns* 'I gave him enough to eat' ['suffice direct what-I-give-him oblique food'] (subordinated clause is *ln-t-éne to s/taʔx-áns* 'I gave him food' with the head word nominalized; *s/taʔx-áns* is nominalized from *ltaʔx-áns* 'eat'). (Note also examples in 7.5.2.)

Possessed (4.3) satellites are also common: *ʔe-s-t/k-ás-e he n-s/áʔék* 'just before dark I managed to get home' ['suddenly-getting-dark direct my-arriving'], *n/xálp/ák-súymx e n-s/k-én-tq* 'my garden is getting dry' ['becomes-dry-earth direct my-watching-things-to-harvest'].

Other complements and adjuncts are marked by the conjunctive, which implies a closer relationship to the predicate: *Iséw-e-cm-s e wn /ʔinu-t* 'he asked me what I said' ['he-asks-me direct I-conjunctive say-what?'], *n/k-s-éik k t /wɪk-c-n us* 'when I saw you, you were cranky' ['angry you established-past I-see-you conjunctive'].

On the other hand, nominalized and possessed elements are not limited to satellite phrases: *s/é-x-t-m tuʔ e s/k-ú[k*]piʔ-s* 'it was given to him by his chief' ['product-of-being-handed-to-him origin direct his-chief'], *n-s/púlp]h xeʔ e ták s/éaqʔ-éwt* 'I found that boat' ['my-finding(-diminutive) nearby descriptive boat'].

7.6.2.

Clause particles introduce many clauses. Some of these require a particular type of structure.

wéł 'that's why': *téye, l/x-m-áp k nke wál uʔex k teʔe l/xy-m* 'say, you must be lonely, that's why you're acting that way' ['say], get-lonely you conjunctive that's-why actual you particular act-for-a-reason'].

ʔe 'advance notice, future; if, perhaps': *ʔe /wɪk-cn tak s/piʔhʔéwt* 'I'll see you tomorrow' ['future I-see-you descriptive one-day-removed'], *ʔe /hékt lúʔ /ʔe k s/tém e s/téʔ k n-s/nés* 'if it rains, I won't go at all' ['future rain so it-is unrealized lacking direct what? unrealized my-going'], *ʔe l/x-óx-t-l-m-n-x us lúʔ /ʔe k s/pilex-cm-x* 'if you like it, tell me' ['future you-like-it conjunctive so it-is unrealized what-you-tell-me'].

ʔey-ɪ ([ʔɪ]) Spuzzum 'before; (and) then' requires the conjunctive wherever it appears. *ʔil /k-enk-s-e-t-lyx us, ʔil /k-tq-t us l qat/qat-min* 'they shook hands

with him, and (then) they wept, those old people' ['then they-grasp-him-by-the-hand conjunctive, then they-weep conjunctive established-past they-are-old']. *ʔil /cun-t-lyx us /húmel cə-s-ʔéy-t* 'and then they said to him "Goodbye, now"' ['then they-say-to-him conjunctive goodbye now'].

lúʔ 'until; so (that)' is probably *lúʔ* 'persistent' (7.1.1.) extended to clause particle function; transitional usage is seen in clauses like *lʔalx-e-t-és lúʔ /cq-áp* '(the) trains) disturbed us with their noise all night' ['make-noise-on-us until daybreak']. It introduces a result or later circumstance, and is followed directly by a predicate: *lúʔ /kíc-x u t e /máʔ-xe-tn* 'until he reached the moon' ['until arrive-at destination toward established-past direct moon']. It is extremely common with predicates constructed with *ʔé* 'it is' (7.5.1.) (combination pronounced *lúʔe*, 2.7., rule [25], but here written *lúʔ /ʔe* for clarity) and a nominalized, often possessed, element. *qiʔiʔ/qʔúy lúʔ /ʔe n-s/tém e s/teʔ k s/wɪk-ne he n-s-ʔaq/áqnx-eék* '(when) it's cloudy, then I don't see my shadow at all' ['cloudy so it-is my-lacking direct what? unrealized what-I-see direct my-shadow']. *lpúl-m tuʔ xéʔe lúʔ /ʔe s/wɪk-e /k-m-[f*m]ʔmeʔ to s/ʔistk-n lúʔ /ʔe s/kfc-e-s* 'when he got out of there, he saw a tiny little winter-house and went over to it' ['he-goes-out origin nearby so it-is what-he-see direct small(-diminutive) oblique winter-house so it-is what-he-visits'].

Such clauses often begin sentences; the meaning is 'so then, next, and so, and then...': *lúʔ /ʔe tuʔ xéʔe he s/púl-m lúʔ /ʔe s/kíc-e-s t /péyeʔ t /cixʔ* 'two and two are four' ['two and two, it-is its-being-four'], *siʔiʔ/séjʔsiʔ ʔéʔ ʔeʔeʔ/úy-m* 'they're playing and laughing', *ʔe-s-ʔáʔ/áqil-xeʔ e s/ʔixʔ ʔéʔ /ʔh-useʔ e s/ʔixʔ* 'some berries are scared but some are very good' ['there-are-scared-berries direct some and good-berries direct some'].

7.7. COORDINATION

The particle 'et' 'and, but' (presumably the same as the predicative particle, 7.1.1.) operates at both phrase and clause level joining similar elements: *lseyé ʔe lseyé, /ʔe s/mús-c* 'two and two are four' ['two and two, it-is its-being-four'], *siʔiʔ/séjʔsiʔ ʔéʔ ʔeʔeʔ/úy-m* 'they're playing and laughing', *ʔe-s-ʔáʔ/áqil-xeʔ e s/ʔixʔ ʔéʔ /ʔh-useʔ e s/ʔixʔ* 'some berries are scared but some are very good' ['there-are-scared-berries direct some and good-berries direct some'].

The opposition of subordination and coordination is less sharply drawn in Thompson than, for example, in English. Actually, independent clauses of the types recognized in 7.6. could be considered coordinate with other clauses when they are juxtaposed in the same sentence, although in many cases English translations suggest a dependent status.

7.8.

Sentences are sequences bounded by terminal intonations (2.3.) or silence. The major sentence contains a clause or a series of clauses. Most examples given in

the discussion on syntax above (7. et seq.) are major sentences, but intonation punctuation has been omitted for simpler serial presentation. Minor sentences are of two types—fragments and expletives (7.9.). Fragments are simply portions of clauses left incomplete because the context is adequate for understanding: *n t e l̥k'áx'e* 'in the box' (e.g., in answer to a query about the location of an object), *t n-s/kix-ze?* 'my mother' (e.g., affirming who made a particular basket).

Major sentences are extremely varied. Because of the many possibilities for combination of clause elements a rigorous classification of types remains to be accomplished.

7.9.

Expletives are words occurring independently as the whole of minor sentences; they also appear as parts of longer sentences but are not integrated into the structure. Among these are the affirmation *?i* 'yes' (Spuzzum), *?éy* (Lytton); exclamations like *?u* (anticipation), *téy(e)* (calling attention), *x'st*, *x'st*, *x'st* (expression of affection, used by old people); and a rich system of sound-imitative expressions, like *cát* (sound of hot toasted dried salmon dipped in cool liquid), *caxcaxáx* (chuffing of steam locomotive), *sotás*, *sotás*, *sotás* (noise made by stiff cloth of woman's skirt rubbing as she walks).

Vocatives also belong here. They are common at the beginning or end of longer sentences, and also on occasion are inserted between regular sentence elements, usually set off from the rest of the utterance by nonterminal intonation (2.3.). Various words inflected for first-person possessive (4.3.) are used as vocatives: *n/kzé* (addressing unrelated older woman) ['my-grandmother'], *n-s/páp-ze?* (for unrelated older man) ['my-grandfather']; but these two are not used to address real grandparents, for which there are special vocative forms: *lyéy* 'grandma!', *lpép* (for grandfather or father). Many special vocatives are related to corresponding nonvocative words: *lsín* (for younger brother; regular *lsinci?*), *lcé'e* (for younger sister; *lcá?ce?*), *lkík* (for mother; *s/kix-ze?*), *lk'úy* (for aunt; *s/k'óz*). A number of nominals (6.5.) have vocatives without *s-*: *lnúk'e?* 'friend!' (*s/núk'e?*), *m'ém* 'wife!' (*s/m'ém*).

8. SELECTED VOCABULARY

Underlying forms are given in some confusing cases, regularly for lexical suffixes. Transitives are in 3sbj.-3obj.form. Words having inherent plural reference are marked (pl.). Occasionally literal glosses are supplied within quotation marks. For pronouns, see 4.; for demonstratives, see 6.4.2.

above, high (n)/*wís-t*
afraid, fear *lpáq-u?*
afraid, fear *lpáq-u?-s-c* (frighten)

alive, live *lwméx*
all *ltek̄m*
and *?et*
and then... *?it*
animal, large bird *s/pzú?*
arm (lower), hand *l=ekt̄l* (6.3.1.), *lkéyx*
arm (upper), shoulder *l=xənl*, *s/q'm'áx̄n*
arrow *s/k'i(?)?áy* (cf. bow and arrow)
ashes *n/súȳp-t̄n*
at, in, on *n* (7.3.2.)
aunt, great-aunt *s/k'óz*
autumn *ltwéȳst*
back *l=ikəñl*, *n/km-i'kñ* (lengthwise)
back *n/léwt* (laterally)
bad *l/kás-t*
bad *lkás-t ~ lkás-t* (evil; ill-tempered)
bank, edge of river *s/kám-c̄tn*
bark of tree *lpe?yén* (rough, heavy)
bark of tree *s-x'əz/x'əz* (fine, prickly)
bark, inner red cedar *l/sisek'*
basket, looseweave *l=etəmxl*, *l/tyé* (general)
basket, water-carrying *s/qwáqet*
basket, large berry *s/lpéñeq*
basket, small picking *lnwém-t̄n*
beach *s-áq'áqape?c̄tn* (sandy)
beach *l/léx-t* (gravel)
belly *l=ene(?)k*, *n/'yán* (inside)
belly *n/pr'éñk-t̄n* (abdomen, entrails)
below *n/lp'éñk* (under)
below *?es/lp̄s* (low, from above)
berry, fruit *l=use?*, *s/q'íy-t* (general)
berry *s/ketúx'* (blackberry)
berry *l/máçak'* (blackcap)
berry *s/cáq-m* (serviceberry, saskatoon berry)
berry *s-paq/páq* (serviceberry; juicy variety)
berry *s/l?húse?* (serviceberry; dry variety)
berry *s/x'ús-m* (soapberry)
berry *s/lák-m̄* (thimbleberry)
big *l/xzúm*
bird *s/pzú[?zu]* (small)
bird See animal
bite *lqəl-t-és*
black *?es/táp'tap-t*
blanket *l/sicm*

blanket made of mountain goat hair *s/náʔ*;
 bleed *lɕ[ʔ]lʰ*
 blood *lpetáleʔ*
 blow *lsy-ám* (of shaman)
 blow *lnéw-t* (of wind)
 blow *lpúx-m* (with mouth)
 bone, small *s/čém*
 bone, large *qʰə/qʰúʔ*
 bow and arrow *lckʰ=ihəkʰ-ʔúy*
 breast, milk *s/qʰém* (cf. suck)
 breath *lsúp*
 breathe *lsúp-m*
 brother See sibling
 brother-in-law See in-law
 burn *lʰə-i(y-e)-t-és* (set fire, burn up)
 burn *lkʰas-t-és* (singe)
 burn *lcam-t-és* (burn black)
 burn *lpáʰ-t* (flesh burns)
 canoe *l=éwfl], s/čəqʰ=éwł*
 cedar (tree) *lkʰárlp*
 child *s/kʰ-ú[ʰkʰ]m=iʔ* (youngster)
 child (son, daughter) *s/kʰ-əzeʔ*
 children *s/cm=éyít* (pl.)
 claw (animal's) *s/kiyeʰ=qín=xn*
 clothing *l=elqs], l=ičeʔ]* (wrapping)
 clothing *lʰe[ʔ]p-it* (thing made of cloth)
 cloud *s/qʰ-úy+iʔ*
 cold *lčál-t* (weather)
 cold *lháxi* (feel cold)
 come *lɕʰés*
 come *lǎʔék* (arrive)
 cook *lqʰ-y-ám*
 cook *n/cu=cín-n-cút* (do the cooking)
 cooking pit, earthen oven *n/qás=tám-tn*
 count *l/xzén-m* (cf. big)
 cousin See sibling
 coyote *s-n/kýép*
 cradle basket *n/qʰ-líy(t)-tn*
 cradle basket, with baby in it *lqʰ-tít--éyít*
 cry, weep *wə/wíyɕ*
 cry, weep *lkʰ-iqʰ-t* (pl.)
 cut *lkʰəl-t-és, lník-e-s*
 cut *lkʰil-e-s* (pl.)
 cut in pieces *lčíw-e-s*

cut *lkʰətʰ-e-t-és* (sever)
 dance *lqʰ-iʰ-cúit*
 daughter See child
 daughter-in-law or nephew's wife *l/sépn*
 day *l=esq̄t], l/síl-áq̄t*
 deer *s/láüleʔ*
 deer (as game; meat) *s/miyc*
 die *l/zóqʰ- |√zúqʰ|*
 die *lʰə-áy-t* (pl.)
 different *l/łix-et*
 dig (a hole) *(n)/cíq-m*
 dig (cedar roots) *lkʰ-áw-e-me*
 dig (roots for food) *lkʰm-ám*
 dig up *lǎq-ám*
 dirty *kəł/kéł-t*
 dive *n/kem-úy=qn-me*
 dog *s/qáxaʰ*; usually diminutive *s/qá[+q]xaʰ?*
 dog *l/áč-lqn* (wool-bearing dog)
 downstream *n/kʰ-úce* (direction; cf. *lkʰ-úce* 'go down toward water; toward fire in house')
 downstream *l/wúqʰ-ol* (by water)
 downstream *l/witémk* (location)
 drink *lʰúqʰ-eʰ, lʰúqʰ-eʰ-s* (transitive)
 dry *lkʰéx-t*
 dry *ʰes/xám* (dehydrated)
 dry *l/sám-t* (dripped dry, drained)
 dry *n/sʰ-áp* (evaporated)
 dull (of blade edge) *n-mək-ə/makʰ=ús*
 dust *s/pýúikʰ*
 ear *l=enih], l/łéni*
 earth, ground *l=uyəmxʰ], l/míxʰ*
 eat *l/aʰxʰ-áns, lʰúpi-s, |√úpəy-t-es|* (transitive)
 egg (of bird) *ʰeʰʰ=úseʰ*
 elk *s/txéč*
 eye *l=us|* 'eye, face, fire, sun' (6.3.1.), *n/kʰ-ł-ús-tn*
 face *l=us|, s/kʰ-ł-ús*
 fall *lkʰ-ís*
 fall *l/záł-t* (pl.)
 fall (from standing position) *l/zik-t*
 fall (into water) *n/kʰ-éw-t*
 fall (suddenly) *l/sén-t*
 far *kə/kéw*
 fat *s/qʰ-úč* (animal fat)
 fat *s/láúy=s/kʰ-ýe* (fish oil)

fat /q^htél (grease)
 father s/qác-ze?
 father-in-law or spouse's uncle s/hí^hhi?
 feather s/łi[^h•ł]u?
 feather /łémn 'feathers, fur'
 few tə^h/iə^h? k s/x^h-ít (not many)
 fight /łaq^h-e-t-wáx^h (beat one another)
 fire (controlled) =us, s/pém(-s)
 fire (uncontrolled) s^h-y-áp
 fish |ełəwš|, s/wéwł (other than salmon; cf. salmon)
 float /k^h-éw-t
 float /p[^h?]ék^h (come to surface)
 flow /ziy-t (running)
 flow /łx^h-áp (fast)
 flow /k^h-šł (pouring)
 flower, blossom s/páq-m
 fly(ing) n/x^hél-ix
 fog s/púł-t
 food |ciin| (cf. eat)
 foot See leg
 forest, woods /zš^h-éwt
 freeze: frozen (n)/páč^h-t, /úx^h-t
 freeze /čəl-núx^h (freeze to death)
 freeze /x^h-ák^h-t (hard frost)
 full /q^h-éc-t
 fur See feather, leaf
 give /ł-t-és
 give n/mi^h?-e-s (pl.)
 give /né-x-c |Vné(h)-xi-t-es| (hand over)
 give away /x^h-ít^h-m-s |Vx^h-ít^h-min-t-es|
 go /x^h-áy (set out)
 go /nés (depart, go to a destination)
 go /q^h-c-íyx (move, start out)
 go /x^h-ás-t (go home)
 good /yé |Vjəh|
 grandchild /^himc
 grandfather (occasionally great-uncle) s/páp-ze?
 grandmother (occasionally great-aunt) /kžé
 grass, hay s/yiq-m
 great-aunt See grandmother, aunt
 great-uncle See grandfather, uncle
 green, yellow /k^h-[^h?]ál (grass green)
 green, yellow ^hes-tə/k^h-l-ít (pale green or yellow)
 green, yellow ^hes/k^h-l-ó^h? (dark yellow-green)

guts s/čm^h-énk
 hair s/kép^h-qn (Spuzzum /qéw^h-tn)
 hand See arm
 head |qin|, /q^h-úm-qn
 hear /qe^h?nim-e-s
 heart s/x^h-ák^h-uk^h
 heavy /šm^h-énk
 here ^héy-e
 hit /cu^h?-t-és (with fist)
 hit /čaq^h-t-és (with projectile)
 hit /sək-t-és (with stick, etc.)
 hit /qém^h-e-s (hit target)
 hit /túp-e-s (collide with)
 horn, antler s/q^h-áy^h-exkn
 hot /lóləx^h |Včəlúx^h-|
 house |ełx^h-|, /cít^h-
 house s/^hístk-n (winter house)
 how? č/kéh^h-m
 hunt (for game) /płx^h-m
 hunt /qá[^h•q]jy^h-m (shooting)
 husband s/xáywi
 ice n/páč^h-
 if ^he (7.6.2.)
 in (see 'at', 6.3.1.)
 in (n)/^húlx^h (enter)
 in-law after death of linking relative n/kəl-we^h/wí yx
 ('co-mourner') (conversational) n/q^h-íc-tn
 (technical)
 in-law: man's male in-law of same generation
 (brother-in-law, wife's male cousin, cousin's
 husband) s/čéxt
 in-law: woman's female in-law of same generation
 (sister-in-law, husband's female cousin, cousin's
 wife) s/kéw
 in-law: spouse's relatives wə^h/wíne^h?x^h
 in-law: spouse's in-law n/kəl/xi^h?tném ('co-visit-
 or to spouse's family')
 in-law of opposite sex in same generation (man's
 sister-in-law, wife's female cousin, cousin's wife;
 woman's brother-in-law, husband's male cousin,
 cousin's husband) s/^h?-éstm
 in-law of sibling or child s/x^h-némt
 kill /púys-c |Vpúys-t-es|
 kill /łiq^h-e-s (pl.)
 kinnikinnick /^héyk (berries)
 kinnikinnick /^hik=élp (plant)

knee |eWès-xǝn], s/km=éwès-xǝn
 know /ʒǝk-s-t-és, /yǝʒ-m-s-t-és
 lake /pélus-k-u
 laugh ?e*/?úy-ǰm
 leaf |e-ytx*| 'foliage, fur, plumage', /pcǝkt
 left n/cǝk*?eǝkst (left arm)
 leg |e-yaws], |(-ele)-xǝn] (leg, foot), s/ǝ'áxt (id.)
 lie down /cút-ix
 lie down to sleep /cǝx'-ix, n/mǝx'-ix (id., pl.)
 lie down; lying (position) /púyt, ?es/cút, ?es/cǝx'
 lightweight x*uk*/x*ǝk*
 liver n/ʒǝcǝt-mn
 long /zǝx-t
 louse /q*ttǝxǝ?
 man, male s/qǝyx*
 many, much /x*?-it
 meat |e-elǝ?| (carcass), s/mfyc cf. deer
 moon, month /mǝc'=xe-tǝ
 mother s/kǝx-zǝ?
 mother-in-law or spouse's aunt (female in-law of ascending generation) /tcǝck
 mountain s/q*ǝm
 mouth |cǝn], /cú-cn, s/plǝw-cn
 name s/k*ést, /k*ést-e-s (name someone)
 name /?úm-e-s (give name to)
 name /ne-t-és (pronounce name)
 narrow /tx*?xe?-t, /wn*?ne?-t
 narrow /qǝmǝǎ (tapering)
 narrow ?es/ʒǝk (tall and thin)
 narrow /?úǝ-t (small around)
 near /k|*?kǝ?|t
 near ?es/?é? (close by)
 neck n/q*zǝǝps-tǝ
 nephew s/q*se?
 new /cǝy*ci
 niece s/ǎamk*éyǝt
 night (s)/'ǝp (dusk)
 night /sǝtǝst (dark)
 no (tǝ)/tǝ?ǝ (no)
 not (tǝ)/tǝ? (there is not)
 not /tém 'lack' (7.5.3.)
 nose |e-aqs], s/ǝs-ǝqs
 numbers (basic numerals)
 1 /pǝye?

2 /séye
 3 /ke?tés
 4 /mús
 5 /cǝy*kst
 6 /ǎǎq-m*ekst
 7 /cút*ke?
 8 /pǝ'úps
 9 /tǝm-l/pǝye?
 10 /?úpn*ekst
 11 /?úpn*ekst ?et /pǝye?
 12 /?úpn*ekst ?et /séye, etc. (see coordinate phrases, 7.7.)
 20 /si-l/?úpn*ekst
 21 /si-l/?úpn*ekst ?et /pǝye?, etc.
 30 /ke?úpn*ekst
 40 /mu-l/?úpn*ekst
 50 /cǝk-l/?úpn*ekst
 60 /ǎǎq-m*ek-l/?úpn*ekst
 70 /cút*ke?-l/?úpn*ekst
 80 /pǝ'úpn-l/?úpn*ekst
 90 /tǝm-l/pǝye?-l/?úpn*ekst (see compounds, 6.1.1.)
 100 /ʒǝc-p*qi[*q]ǝ*kst
 how many? /k'ínex
 numbers (persons)
 1 /pǝ[*p]ye?
 2 sǝ*/séye
 3 kǝ*/ke?tés
 4 /mús*mǝs
 5 /cǝy*ci*kst
 6 /ǎǎq*ǎǎq-m*ekst
 7 /cút*cút*ke?
 8 /pǝ'ú[*?]ps
 9 /tǝm-l/pǝ[*p]ye?
 10 /?úp[*ǝp]n*ekst
 how many (people)? /k'ín[*k'n]ex
 numbers (animals)
 1 /pǝ*?éye?
 2 /sé[*s]ýe
 3 /ke?[*k]tǝ[*t]s
 4 /mú[*m]s
 5 /cǝ[*c]jǝ*kst
 6 /ǎǎ[*ǎ]ǎq-m*ekst
 7 /cú[*c]t*ke?

8 /pi²ú[²]*]ps
 9 /təm-l/pi²*éye²
 10 /²ú[²]*]pñ²kst
 how many (animals)? /k²=[²*k²]*ñex
 numbers (counting) Many other classes of things are counted with special derivatives through 10: e.g., berries, round objects, dollars: /pi²*úse²?, /siy²*úse²?, /ke²*túse²?, /mus²-úse²?, /ci²*ks²*úse²?, /láq²-m²eks²*úse²?, /cut²-ke²*úse²?, /pi²*ups²-úse²?, /təm-l/pi²-úse²?, /²upn²eks²-úse²?, /k²*ənex²*úse²?; blankets: /pi²*íce²?, /siy²*íce²?, etc.; outer garments: n/pi²*éqs, n/siy²*éqs, etc. (note n- prefix); fruit bushes and trees: /pi²*étzi²x, etc.; roots: /pi²*úpe²?, etc.; berries or roots by basketful: /pi²*éltze²?, etc.; fish caught: /pi²*étus, etc.; days: pi²*ésqt, etc.

ocean, sea /q²u²-míx (also lower Fraser River; cf. water)

old /qəlmín (aged person)

old n/wéñ (old thing, perhaps still in good condition)

path See road

person, human being, Indian [eyt], /áhu²-s/qáyx² (Spuzzum /áí²-s/qáyx²) (cf. man)

person, human, Indian [eməx], /séytkn²=mx (pl.: 'people')

play /séy²*si²

prairie s/péy²-m

pull /cək²-t-és

pull /cilk²-e-s (pl.)

pull /ya²*-t-és (drag)

pull out /láq²-e-s

push (n)/k²*úp²-e-s

push /cək²-t-és (propel)

rain s/tékt

rain /tékt 'it rains'

red ²es/cíq²

right n/í²*h²*ékst (right arm) (cf. good)

river /q²*ú²? 'water'

road, trail, path [xəwəy], [e-ws] (middle of), /xwél

roast or barbecue fish beside fire /láq²*se²-me

rock, stone [eyst], s/xéñx

root [upe²] 'root; tail', /k²*mi²*x²-ép

root /k²*ənyéx² (cedar root, for basket making)

root s/kémeç (dog-tooth [snow] lily root, for food)

rope [eye²k], /x²*í²lm

rotten (spoiled) /n[²]*dáq

rotten (of wood) /²*óq²*ñ

round ²es/qmóx² (spherical)

round ²es/qyáq² (circular)

rub /zəł²-t-és

rub /x²*əł²-t-és (against rough surface, grind)

rub between hands /zéc²-e-s

run /t²*-lyx

salmon s/qy²*éyt

salmon /k²*yí²e (Chinook, spring, king)

salmon /k²*úlu²*x² (chum, dog)

salmon s/xáy²*qs (coho, silver)

salmon /héni²? (pink, humpback)

salmon s/x²*á²?es (sockeye, red, blueback)

salt /cál²-t

sand s-áq²*áqápe²

say /cú²-t

say /cún²-s (instruct)

say /pílax²-e-s (inform)

say /q²*in²-cút (talk)

say /q²*in²-t-és (talk to)

say what? /²tmw²-n-s

scratch /²ix²-e-s

scratch /céñ²-e-s (breaking skin)

scratch /qəs²-t-és (to relieve itching)

scratch /cýó²*-e-s ~ /cì²*-e-t-és (claw)

see /wík²-c [√wík²-t-es]

see /k²*én²-e-s (look at)

seed s/kəx²*qin²-tn

sew /áq²u²-t-és

sharp n-x²*əz²*h²*z²*ús (of blade edge)

sharp ²es-cəm²*lcm²*áqs (of point)

shoot /qáy²-e-s (cf. hunt)

shoot /tá[²]*t]neç (target shooting)

short /táq²*í²*qé²-t

sibling: elder brother or male cousin /qéçk

sibling: elder sister or female cousin /kíx

sibling: younger brother or male cousin /stñci²?

sibling: younger sister or female cousin /cá[²*ce]²? (reference of sibling terms varies when applied to cousins: in Spuzzum a cousin is reckoned as older if his parent is older than ego's parent through whom they are related, regardless of actual chronological age; from Boston Bar upriver only chronological age relative to ego is pertinent. In all dialects s/q²*ól²*q²*-ze²? refers only to persons younger than ego.)

sibling: younger sibling *s/q̣'ó/•q̣'//-ze?*
 sing */ʔiǎ-m*
 sister See sibling
 sister-in-law See in-law
 sit */míce?q*
 sit */táq-ix* (pl.)
 skin, pelt, hide */sipéć*
 skin, pelt, hide *s/xil-éć* (tanned buckskin)
 sky *s/ǎíqt*
 sleep */c'óyt*
 small */k'm'f?me?*
 smell */súǎ-e-s*
 smell */x'úx'* (give off odor)
 smoke (of fire) *s/x[?]éc*
 smooth *ʔes-t/k'áz'k'áz-t* (polished)
 smooth *ʔes-t/k'ám'k'ám-t* (flat, level)
 smooth */čx'-áp* (eroded by water)
 smooth *k'u/k'íw* (slippery)
 snake *s/méyx*
 snow *s/wúx't*
 snow */wúx't* 'it snows'
 some (certain ones) *s/ʔix't*
 son See child
 son-in-law or niece's husband *s/cutét*
 spear */tu?mín*
 spear */mníp* (fishing)
 spit (expectorate) */ptíx'-m*
 spit on */ptíx'-e-s*
 spit out */ptíx'-m-s* |√ptíx':-min-t-es| or */táx'-m-s*
 |√táx':-min-t-es|
 split */səq-t-és*
 split */səq-t-és* (crack)
 spring (of water) */ptúk'*
 springtime */taǎtík, n/x'úyt*
 squeeze */yép-e-s*
 squeeze */čip-e-t-és* (pinch)
 squeeze */píc-e-s* (press)
 squeeze */pi?-t-és* (wring)
 stab, pierce */tu?-t-és*
 stab, pierce */xəp-t-és* (pin, prick, sting)
 stand(ing) *ʔes/tél-ix* (of person)
 stand(ing) *ʔes/čy-áp* (of object)
 stand(ing) *ʔes/ýép* (sticking straight up out of ground)

star *n-k'əw/k'úsh*
 step on */k'w-é-t-e-s*
 stick (of wood) |weyèq| (tree, wood, table, line),
s/xíc
 stick */qálex* (digging stick)
 suck */čúǎ-e-s*
 suck */q'ém* (baby nurses)
 summer *s-n/q'y-énk*
 sun |us|, *s/k'ák'es*
 sweat */qál=ze?* (take sweatbath)
 sweathouse *n/qál=ze?-tn*
 sweating */q'áz'z*
 swell up */péw-t*
 swell up */px'-áp* (inflate, puff up)
 swim *n/qáy-ix*
 swim *n/xáy-ix* (of fish)
 tail |upeʔ|, */s-úpe?* (of animal, bird)
 tail *s/ʔ-éleʔxn* (of fish)
 take, take hold */k'én-s* |√k'én:-t-es|, */k'né-m*
 there *čʔe* (not far)
 there *túʔe* (remote)
 there *tʔé* (over there)
 thick */pt át-t*
 thick */zúy-t* (stout)
 thick */kq-áp* (of liquid)
 thin */p'xiʔxa?-t* (of layer) (cf. narrow)
 think */pt=ínus-m* |√pt=ínus:-min-t-es| (think about)
 think */tək'-mín-s* (remember)
 throw */čəq-mín-s*
 throw down */q(a)mín-s* (cf. hit)
 tie */c'ac-t-és*
 tie */zús-e-s* (restrain)
 tongue */tǎt-e?*
 tooth |énš| 'tooth, board, plank', */xyéx'*
 trail See road
 tree |weyèq|, *s/ýép* (cf. 'stand), |eip| (plant)
 turn */piq'éytx'-e-s* (leaf or page)
 turn */sív-ix* (off road)
 turn */mén-ix* (away from)
 turn */púy-e-s* (upside down, of concave object)
 turn around */salk-e-t-és*
 turn over */siq-e-t-és*
 uncle, great-uncle */s[•s]qe?*

upstream *n/k'úme* (direction: cf. *lk'úme* 'go up
away from water; from fire in house')

upstream */háx-ix* (go by water)

upstream *n/k'ú[•k']me* (location)

vomit */wéłk'*

vomit it out */x'úč-e-s*

walk */x'esít*

warm *qəm*/qəm-t*

warm */q'éc* (feel warm)

wash */čéw-e-s*

wash */séx-m* (bathe)

wash */q'č-e-s* (laundry)

water *|etkəw|, /q'ú?*

wet */č[?]áq'*

wet *h[?]áł* (from spatter)

wet */s[?]jéw* (from undergrowth)

wet */q'[?]éń* (soaked)

what? *s/té?* (cf. say)

when? */pi?-s/té?*

where? *n /héh, w /héh*

white *ʔes-t/píq*

who? *s/wét*

why? */kén-m* (7.5.2.)

wide */dđq-t*

wife *s/mʔ-ém*

wind (blowing) *s/néw-t*

wing *s/čk=daxn*

winter *s/ʔístk*

wipe */ʔép-e-s*

with *kiʔ*/k'éy-x* (accompanying)

with *n/kəl-* (companion), (6.1.1.)

with *ʔes-n/xiʔ* (included, involved)

woman, female *s/mútec*

work */cw-əm* (*|vcəw|* 'do, make')

worm */ʔíxic* (wood worm)

worm *s-up*/up-l-[i•]jéčeʔ* (caterpillar)

worm *wap*wap-l-[i•]j[•y]eč* (id.)

worms *s-miʔ*/mél[•h]iʔx* (diminutive augmentative
of 'snake'; no sg., 6.7.1.)

year *|=(sz)enx'|, /zəl-p-szénx'*

year *s/wúx-t* 'snow'

yellow See green