Spokan is the dialect of Salishan spoken in the westernmost section of the area extending east from the Columbia River in Washington to the foothills of the Rockies in Montana. The present study is an overall treatment of its grammar, presented in three parts—phonology, morphology, and grammar. Extensive illustrations and charts are provided. A bibliography is also included. (DD)
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A GRAMMAR OF SPOKAN:
A SALISH LANGUAGE OF EASTERN WASHINGTON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN LINGUISTICS
MAY 1972

By
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M. Dale Kinkade
Dedication

This work is dedicated to the two people who first initiated and then sustained my interest in the Salish languages of northwestern North America: Dr. Laurence C. Thompson and his wife M. Terry Thompson of the University of Hawaii. It has been an honor for me to study with them over four wonderful, happy years.

Acknowledgments

I am also indebted to a number of other people. Dr. M. Dale Kinkade of the University of Kansas sacrificed his valuable time to help me in the preparation of this grammar. Without his help I would not have been able to understand many of the complexities of the Spokan language. My intelligent friends, Alex and Margaret Sherwood of the Spokane tribe, cannot be thanked enough for their hours of perceptive, careful work with me on the analysis of their exquisite language.

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

The reservation is located about fifty miles northwest of the city of Spokane, Washington, in the lands north of the Spokane River above its confluence with the Columbia. Before the reservations of the area were established, the Indians speaking the Spokan dialect occupied the territory
from that confluence back up the Spokan River to the steep falls where the city of Spokane now stands. The Indians were closely tied to the river for a major portion of their subsistence. Three Spokan groups were distinguished at one time, based on the location of their river camps: Lower, near the mouth of the Spokane River (and the modern reservation); Middle, near the confluence of the Little Spokane River with the Spokane; and Upper, near the falls.3

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

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

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

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

The earliest studies of the language were done by
missionaries in the nineteenth century. Resulting publica-
tions are an extensive dictionary by Giorda (1877-79) and a
grammar in the Latin mold by Mengarini (1861). The rest of
the early published studies consist mainly of short vocab-
ularies collected at various times by Dawson, Bélls, Gibbs,
Hale, Hoffman, Pinart, Powell, Roehrig, and Tolmie. Refer-
cences to these can be found in Pilling (1893). More recent-
ly, another missionary, Post (1904), has done a grammatical
sketch of Kalispel. The next important study of the language
was undertaken in 1937 by Hans Vogt of the University of
Oslo, who spent eleven weeks on the Kalispel Reservation and
published a grammar and dictionary with texts (Vogt 1940a).
At the same time, he presented a brief comparative study of
Kalispel and Coeur d'Alene, making available also the short
vocabularies he had collected in Spokan and Colville (Vogt
1940b). During this same period, forms of an ethnographic
nature were published by Turney-High (1937). Further lexical
materials on Flathead were collected on brief field trips
in 1957 and 1963 by John Krueger. He published these as
topical word lists (Krueger 1960, 1961a, 1961b), and later
presented an index to his own and Vogt's materials (Krueger
1967). Other recent collections of forms deal with ethno-
zoology (Weisel 1952), and ethnomusicology (Merriam 1967).
In the summer of 1969 I began field work on the Spokane Indian Reservation, working with both Spokan and Chewelah speakers. There I found the language to be very much alive and the situation amenable to linguistic work. Given the increasingly rapid demise of the language, I have felt that my further work was necessary to a fuller understanding of this interesting native American language. Previous study has been miniscule in comparison with that done on languages in Europe and many other parts of the world.

This present study is an overall treatment of the grammar of the Spokan dialect. More broadly, it assumes that the overall structure of Kalispel and Flathead is essentially the same as that presented for Spokan, given their close relationship. However, it does not undertake to criticize or specifically reanalyze earlier works. Rather, it is a presentation of the system reflected in my own data. I have, of course, learned from my predecessors, and I hope that I have carried on successfully from where they left off. Vogt attained an understanding of the structure that was particularly impressive, especially considering the short time he had to collect material. But I believe I have been able to resolve a number of questions left by earlier analyses and have paved the way for development of the missionary lexicographic materials. I hope also to have provided a firmer basis for comparative studies of the Interior Salishan languages and of the Salishan family more broadly.
The material utilized in this study was collected during three successive summers (1969-71) on the Spokane Indian Reservation (a total of six months in the field). Principal informants were Alex and Margaret Sherwood. Alex supplied Chewelah data—primarily lexical and grammatical materials—for a running check in comparison with the Spokan forms. Margaret, a Spokan speaker, supplied textual material of both ethnographic and traditional narrative nature, as well as lexical and grammatical materials. She was thus the key source. In addition, traditional narratives in Spokan were obtained from Albert Sam, and in Chewelah from Antoine Andrews. John B. Flett lent help in filling out word lists in Chewelah. Agnes Wynne, Margaret Sherwood's sister, kindly let me tape long conversations between her and her sister in order to provide samples of conversational language in context. Overall, textual collection with subsequent analysis was my primary research procedure. Much of the lexicon obtained has emerged from the texts themselves and from the exploratory sessions necessary for their analysis.

For the position of Spokan-Salishel-Flathead in the Salishan family, see Swadesh (1950), Bittles and Elmondorf (1963), Elmondorf (1955). The fundamental comparative work on Salishan was done by Boas and Meleberlin (1927) and later the unpublished sources were restudied by Swadesh, who published a number of surveys of results (see especially Swadesh 1950, 1952). Reichard (1958-60) compared grammatical and
lexical systems of five languages. More recently Kuipers (1970) has undertaken etymological studies with a different small set of languages. The phonological relationships of the southern interior group have been studied in detail by Kinkade and Sloat (1972). For a general survey of work on Salishan languages and for further bibliography, see Thompson (in press).
FOOTNOTES

1 These languages are in the Plateau Culture Area.

2 There is no single term for the three dialects in either the linguistic literature or the vocabulary of the Indians. The Indian terms for these dialects are sponqini for Spokan, qanispé for Kalispel and for Flathead they use either qanispé or šq̓q̓əltsəči. The terms are unanalyzable. Spokans will also refer to themselves as spqení? 'sun children'. The term sîʔliš is used to refer to the three dialect groups and the Colville-Okanagan and Columbian languages as well.

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

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

5 The placement of peoples on the reservations was determined in part by their religious affiliations and political relationships, as well as by their earlier geographic location (Ruby and Brown 1970).
This dissertation is a grammatical treatment of an aboriginal language of northwestern North America. It is in three parts: phonology, morphophonemics, and grammar. The aim has been to present an analysis of a language that previously had not been sufficiently studied. Field work was carried out on the Spokane Indian Reservation during the summers from 1969 to 1971.

The grammar begins with the discussion of the phonology. The language has a rich consonant system with three manners: spirant, stop, and resonant—the latter two featuring an intersecting contrast of glottalized-unglottalized. Stops have labial, alveolar, lateral, palatal, velar, postvelar, and laryngeal series. There is a contrast of round-unround
in the postvelars; all front velars are rounded. The alveolar series contrasts affricates and stops. The lateral stop is a glottalized affricate and lacks an unglottalized counterpart. The palatal is an affricate. Except in labial position there is a spirant corresponding to each stop series. Each series also has a corresponding resonant. The apical series has a contrast apical-retroflex (n and r). The postvelar resonants are actually pharyngeals, which are disappearing. Vowels are i, e, a, u, and o.

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

Although the grammar recognizes a separation of morphological and syntactic processes, there is much interrelationship. In order to provide clarity in exposition the pronominal system is described first. This includes both affixes and particles. All full words are capable of standing as complete utterances; thus they have a basically predicative nature. Preposed particles are demonstrative, interjective, interrogative, modal, aspectual, negative and temporal elements. Restricted words are special types of
full words. In utterances longer than a single full word, the initial word is predicate; a following full word is an adjunct. Syntactically, these adjuncts are optional elements. In cases where adjuncts are translated by subjects and objects in English, the resulting clauses seem much like the familiar ones of western languages. But just as often it may seem--from the English point of view--that the first word looks like a noun, adverb or adjective. But since all full words are predicative they are the predicates of the native clause. Adjuncts also frequently look like verbal elements, and translation requires an embedded clause. But in Spokan terms these are functionally no different from more nominal appearing adjuncts. There thus seems to be no real noun-verb opposition of the familiar kind in Spokan. Sentences, however, show the familiar simple, compound and complex types.

In the morphological statements, roots are classed into transitive, intransitive and ambivalent on the basis of their occurrence with certain suffixes--the elements of the transitive system. Stems thus formed may take imperative, reflexive and reciprocal suffixes. Roots may also be extended with lexical suffixes added before all those just listed. These suffixes constitute another special feature of the language; they usually denote concrete objects or metaphorical extensions of them. They include reference to body parts and many everyday cultural items,
as well as some rather abstract relational concepts. Roots are modified by reduplication to indicate plurality, diminutivity and developmental aspect. Prefixes mark the rest of the aspects: actual, stative, and repetitive. Other systems of prefixes are locational, directional, and modal.
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## Vowels

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

1.2. Consonant Manners.

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

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

χɛi. 'He gambles.'
χɛiʔ. 'They gamble.'

Also, a vowel followed by a glottal stop has an echo vowel (cf. 1.46). This makes the sequences VʔR and VR or VʔR quite distinct.
1.23. Spirants are voiceless in all environments. The only gap in the spirant series is in the labial position.

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

1.4. Consonant Positions.

1.41. Labials.

/p/ poʔíč. '(It's) beargrass.'
puʔéwolš. 'He breathes.'
ʔuʔtíp. 'He burns.'

/ʰ/ ēʔín. 'It's bent.'
spapqóntx̂. 'You club someone over the head.'

/m/ mórínip. '[(It's a) balsam.'
čɔnɔmín. 'He's blind.'
pxʷúm. 'He blows.'

/h/ mɛhscút. 'He plays.'
χcwúnton. '(They're) clothes.'
číh. 'It's dark.'
sčóm. '(It's) bone.'

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

Second Column.

/t/ máʔwot. 'It's broken.'
čišcitiw. 'It's before, ahead.'
tilpt. 'It's broken.'
/t/ téye? 'It's bad.'
hectém. 'It's bunched.'
/n/ na?éysón. 'I bought it.'
sćonílomón. '(It's) poison.'
témon. 'I bunch it.'
/ʌ/ ck'ínč. '(It's a) bow.'
sćonírəmón. '(It's a) buttercup, (It's) February.'
mín. 'It's covered with paint.'

Third Column.
/c/ ck'ínč. '(It's a) bow.'
qéce? 'He's an older brother.'
šic. 'It's hard, set.'
/t/ čosqáqwe? 'It's a) Chickadee.'
sćešt. '(He's a) brother-in-law.'
síčom. '(It's a) blanket.'
/s/ se'sík'. '(It's) Bobwhite.'
sǒnk'síx'xw. '(He's a) relative.'
kvéys. 'He took it.'
/r/ sćoníromón. '(It's a) buttercup, (It's) February.'
čért. 'It's cold.'
/h/ səŋšíct. '(It's) fire.'
stoʃtoʃ'm. '(It's) thunder.'
1.43. Laterals. The one asymmetry in the lateral column is the lack of contrastive /\/. (In the dialects from Chewelah on north and east, where glottalized stops are deglottalized in certain reduplicative patterns, surface [\'] appears representing underlying /\/ in such circumstances. Spokan does not deglottalize in this way and [\'] does not occur at all.)

Chewelah:

sčkw'úston. '(It's an) eye.'
sčkw'ákw'úston. '(It's) eyes.'

/\/ is usually [\'] after a stressed vowel, elsewhere [1].

púlye? [\'] '(It's a) gopher.'

/\/ ƛ'íc 'It's hard, set.'

sƛ'úk'sey ' (It's a) mountain goat.'

mída 'It's covered.'

/1/ ʔúmín '(It's a) fish spear.'

nàʔúk'ýš 'Go inside!'

q'úl 'It's grey.'

/\/ lémt 'He's glad.'

ʔólq'əʔey 'He goes down toward water.'

hipél 'It's easy.'

/1/ səλáxt '(He's a) friend.'

x'əλšéy 'Why?'

xál 'It's light.'
1.44. Palatals. The palatal consonants make up the fifth column. The affricates and fricative č, ħ, and ǵ are grooved alveopalatals much like those in English.

/č/ čta?xéls. 'It aches, hurts.'
      scöwáxón. '(It's an) arm.'
      spéntče. '(It's a) year.'

/š/ ši?léxʷ. '(It's) bark.'
      scéšancínson. '(It's an) ankle.'
      hecolíč. 'It was bandaged.'

/ʒ/ šóloλín. '(It's an) axe.'
      čipaxšitém. 'He was advised.'
      x'úyš. 'Go!'

/y/ jánxʷoʔ. '(It's a) basket.'
      t'éyeʔ. 'It's bad.'
      sčóʔóy. '(It's) autumn.'

/γ/ jólýílt. 'It's dull.'
      somxóýě̀on. '(It's a) grizzly bear.'
      šeý. 'That's it.'
      tčč'y. '(It's) urine.'

1.45. Velars. There is no unrounded front velar series. Historically, *k, *k̑, and *kh have shifted to č, ħ, and ǵ. The language has only a rounded front velar series of stops and spirant and two postvelar series--plain and rounded.
1.451. Unrounded postvelars. The unglottalized postvelars present no perceptual problem because there is no unrounded front velar series to confuse them with. Phonetically, they are produced very far back in the mouth.

/q/ qáxeʔ. '(She's a) mother.'
q'ácqan. '(It's a) hat.'
stšáq. '(It's a) huckleberry.'

/q/ qétt. '(It's a) hide, skin.'
čsloqét. 'He's hungry.'
méd. 'It's rotten.'

/x/ xést. 'It's good.'
stxénc. '(They're) guts.'
ťalox. 'He looks.'

Two uvular-pharyngeal resonant consonants, formed by narrowing the pharyngeal cavity with frequent concomitant narrowing in the postvelar area, fill out this set. They are only marginally present in the language and so are enclosed in parentheses in the table. The glottalized pharyngeal is very poorly documented and the cases may actually involve simply glottal stop. Overall, they have presented many phonetic problems. The language seems to be at a stage of losing pharyngeals (the Chewelah dialect has lost them almost entirely) and many cases of supposed pharyngeals may just be differences in vowel quality.
1.452. Rounded velars present rather difficult perceptual problems. The front series of stops and fricatives and the postvelar series are difficult to distinguish. The rounded postvelar series is articulated slightly farther forward than the unrounded postvelars and the front rounded series only slightly farther forward. Again, there are probably mistakes in the data arising from this closeness. Vowel morphophonemics and allophony can be of some help here; for example, /i/ has a very low variant before postvelars and expected /v/ is replaced by /u/ before a postvelar within the word.

/kʷ/ kʷén. 'I take it.'
  skʷiskʷs. '(It's a) grouse.'
  sλ̓əxétkw. 'It's fast moving water.'
/kʷ/ kʷíłot. 'There is some.'
  skwik. '(It's a) porcupine.'
  milkw. 'It's all, whole.'
/xʷ/ xʷíst. 'He walks.'
  čsíxʷom. 'He pours.'
  xoʔíleʔkw. '(It's a) rattlesnake.'
/qʷ/ qʷásqʷey. '(It's a) bluejay.'
  sqʷáqʷciʔ. '(It's a) rabbit.'
skʷóxʷolálqʷ. '(It's a) quail.'

/ƛʷ/ ḥʷáy. 'It's black.'
qwiłqʷósít. 'It's excellent.'
loʔáłqʷ. 'It shows up, appears.'

/χʷ/ χʷöčʷúčł. '(It's a) pigeon.'
soχʷép. '(It's a) root.'
sptáχʷ. 'He spits.'
χʷél. 'It's abandoned.'

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

/ŋʷ/ ŋwóyónčút. 'He laughs.'
čáw. 'He pray.'

/ʍ/ máhůnt. 'It breaks.'

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

/w/ wîčon. 'I see it.'
hanowíʔ. 'It's you.'
čúw. 'It's empty, gone.'

/ʍ/ ṣúł. '(It's a) loon.'
šəłšəłčl. '(It's a) road.'
pséws. '(It's a) prairie dog.'
héwt. '(It's a) woodrat.'
1.46. Laryngeals. /ʰ/ occurs initially, medially and finally, but /h/ is rare except in word initial position. 

/ʔ/ ţistč. 'It's winter.'
čtaʔxéls. 'It hurts.'
šewonč. 'He hears.'

/h/ hin- 'my'

heńishéms. '(It's a) mourning dove.'

sehč. '(It's) wild onion.'

hecxwúy. 'He goes.'

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

[ŋokwúʔu] 'It's one.'

1.5. Vowels.

1.51. /i/ is normally [i].

[i] cíl. 'It's five.'

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

[œ] -qín 'head' (lexical suffix).

Before postvelars /i/ tends to [iœ] with a centralizing off-glide. Unstressed, the vowel tends to [E] in the same environment.
[i³] píq. 'It's white.'

[E^n] hiqsilmíx²om. 'He's going to be my chief.'

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

[æ] kwen. 'I took it.'

[e] méy. 'It's told.'

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

[æv] qéy. 'He lives.'

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

[u] sonx⁵ul. 'It's blood.'

[o] mox⁵ul. 'It's a cradle board.'

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

mús. 'It's four.'

//mús-sát// mósdát. 'It's Thursday.'

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

heco²osti. 'It's lost.'
1.55. /a/. This phoneme is basically low and central [a], but there is some variation to a more front allophone after [i] and to a more back variant before postvelars.

[a] sx'omarayem. '(He's a) doctor.'
[a'] noiâmqe?. '(It's a) bear.'
[ə] qâxe?. '(She's a) mother.'

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

spəsâs. '(It's a) nighthawk.'

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

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

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

// Glacier // Salmon. '(It's an) axe.'
// S-Ne-Cam-Ax // Soncanmaxon. '(It's an) armpit.'
// N-Wist // Newist. 'It's up high.'
// Xuy // Xuy. 'He goes.'
// Cuw // Cuw. 'He disappears.'

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

// N-?Uix // Ne?Uix~N?Uix. 'He goes in.'

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

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

// Xacin // Xacin. '(It's a) horse.'
// Csqaqne // Csqaqone. '(It's a) chickadee.'
// SacoX // SacoX. 'He is hungry.'

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

// Chn hec-?itshi // Chay ec?itshi. 'I am sleeping.'

There remain many problems concerning these vowels, both because they vary greatly in length and quality and because they are much involved in the continuum of style.
Actually [ə] here is a convenient surface symbol for a set of varying vowels. Although it has proven hard to be consistent, varieties do seem to occur as follows:

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

čon xʷúy. 'I went.'

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

cəʔúkəl. 'It is brought.'

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

qəʔələmín. '(They're) ashes.'

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

χəʔúleʔxʷ. '(It's a) rattlesnake.'

[ə], mid central unrounded, elsewhere.
2. Morphophonemics

A Spokan word has the following structure:

(PREFIXES) ROOT (SUFFIXES)

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

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

2.1. Changes involved in prefixation.

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

/hec-tix"l-m// hestix"alam. 'It's different.'
/hec-pul-s-te-m// hecpulstam. 'He'd been killed.'

The dialects from Chewelah on north and east do not have this alternation. There the 'actual' morpheme is /hec-/.
In another case of dissimilation, //s-// 'nominal' followed by //s-// 'nominal' becomes sc.

//s-s-?iIn// sc?iOn. '(They're) groceries.'

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

//qe? qI-s-i1-mixw-m// qa? qsilmixwem. 'We are going to be chiefs.'

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

2.131. The //I// of //?epI-// 'have' and //qi-// 'unreal' is lost before //s-// 'nominal'.

//?epI-s-n?em// ?epsom?em. 'He has a woman.'

//qi-s-n-?I?//qsom?ol. 'He is going to be a coyote.'

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

//?n s-m?em// ?i somo?em. 'I am a woman.' (Proclitic

//?n// 'I' provides the only example of this change.

When preceded by a vowel (the only examples of this are with //hin-// 'my' and //han-// 'your') the //n// develops
to i but is lost by a subsequent rule which deletes i after a and i. (This rule is more general and should be extended to delete any i or y after i and any u or w after u.)

//han-s-m?émm// 'She's your woman.'
haís m?ém n becomes i
has?oméém. i is lost

//hin-s-m?émm// 'She's my woman.'
hiís m?ém n becomes i
his?oméém. i is lost

There is one instance of //n// loss in which it is necessary to propose metathesis to account for the circumstances. This takes place in the combinations //hin-// 'my', //¿n// 'I' and //han-// 'your' with the 'unreal' prefix //q1-// in turn followed by //s-// 'nominal'.

//hin-q1-s-n-¿lé// hiqs?ën¿éle. 'He's going to be my coyote.'
//¿n q1-s-n-¿lé// ¿i qqs?ën¿éle. 'I'm going to be coyote.'
//han-q1-s-n-¿lé// haqs?ën¿éle. 'He's going to be your coyote.'

All the results here can be accounted for by the earlier statements about consonant loss, except that the morpheme //q1-// intervenes between the conditioning spirant and the underlying //n//. Metathesis of the pronouns and //q1-// after //n// has been affected can explain such a situation. After metathesis //s// causes the loss of //i//.
Finally, it should be pointed out that stem initial //s// does not cause the loss of //n// of the proclitic //čn// 'I'. Only //s-// 'nominal' has this effect.

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

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

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

//hin-hec-x'wé1-m// yecx'wé1om. 'I am abandoning someone.'
//han-hec-x'wé1-m// hacx'wé1om. 'You are abandoning someone.'
It should be noted that while the dialects from the Chewelah area on north and east also lose the /n/ in the second person and first person possessive prefixes before the same 'actual' morpheme, they have ċon es- corresponding to Spokan ċoy oc-. It seems, then, that in these dialects /hes-/ affects only prefixal elements.

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

/kw?epi-s-m?em/ kw epsamu?ém. 'You have a woman.'

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

/hin-hec-xwel-m/ 'I abandon someone.'

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

//čn hec-č'el-iy// 'I am being abandoned.'

či hecč'élí n becomes i
či ecč'élí h is deleted
čy ecč'élí i becomes y
čey ecč'élí schwa insertion

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

//han-hec-č'él-m// 'You abandon someone.'

haihecč'élm n becomes i
hahecč'élm i is deleted
haecč'élm h is deleted
hacč'élm e is lost
hacč'élom schwa insertion

2.16. Changes between words. Syllabicity changes and vowel losses also take place when prefixal elements are preceded by particles ending in vowels. First, word initial laryngeals in the prefixes previously discussed are lost.
in this environment. Then //e// of prefixes is lost after particles ending in //a//.

//ta ?epí-x-cín// ta píxocín. 'He doesn't have a dog.'
//ta hec-miy-s-té-n// ta cemi'stén. 'I didn't know it.'

Root //c// and //?// are not affected in this way.

//ta ?em-út// ta ?emút. 'He didn't sit.'

Thus root initial glottal stop is not deleted like prefixal glottal stop, and vowels may not come into contact. (Although there are no examples in the data to prove it, root initial //h// is probably not lost in this situation either.)

In addition, the laryngeal is never deleted if two vowels of identical quality would come into contact.

//?e ?epí-x// ?e ?epíxíl. 'He had already died.'
//...u ?ui-s-pílye?// ...u ?ûispílyêye?. '...and the coyotes.'

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

//ta hin-s-m?êm// ta ysêmô?êm. 'She's not my woman.'
//?e hin-s-m?êm// ?e ysêmô?êm. 'She's my woman already.'
It is interesting that \( i \) is not lost after the vowel \( a \) of a particle—such as \( /\text{ta}/\). Earlier it was pointed out that the \( /n/\) of \( /\text{han-}/\) (and \( /\text{hin-}/\)) becomes derived \( i \) before \( /s-/\) and is then lost (cf. 2.132). Rule ordering can account for this apparent contradiction. Compare the two derivations below:

\[
/\text{ta} \text{ hin-s-}m^?\text{ém}/ \quad /\text{han-}\text{xʷél-}m/\n\]

\begin{align*}
\text{ta } & \text{hiism}^?\text{ém} \quad \text{n becomes } i \quad \text{haihecxʷélm} \\
\text{ta } & \text{hism}^?\text{ém} \quad i \text{ is lost } \quad \text{hahec}xʷélm \\
\text{ta } & \text{ism}^?\text{ém} \quad h \text{ is deleted } \quad \text{haec}xʷélm \\
\text{ta } & \text{ysm}^?\text{ém} \quad i \text{ becomes } y \quad \text{--------} \\
\text{--------} & \text{e is lost } \quad \text{hac}xʷélm \\
\text{ta } & \text{ysm}^?\text{ém} \quad \text{schwa insertion } \quad \text{hac}xʷél\text{om}
\end{align*}

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

Another syllabic change takes place between words when the particle \( /\text{u}/\) 'and' becomes \( w \) before \( /\text{eI-}/\), 'back', \( /\text{ePÎ-}/\) 'have', and \( /\text{hec-}/\) 'actual'.

\[
/\text{êEV} \quad \text{u hec-}êEV// \quad êEV \quad \text{ow eCÉY}. \quad '\text{There they lived.}'
\]
They always had houses.'

'Then he went back.'

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

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

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

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

//pul// 'kill'
//pul-site-s// pûlsc. 'He kills it.'
//k'ul// 'do, make'
//k'ul-n-te-ţw// k'ûlţontxw. 'You did it.'

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

//-sût// 'reflexive'
//pul-s-te-sût// pûlscût. 'He killed himself.'
//-nû-// 'successfully'
//k'ul-nû-n-te-n// k'ûlnûn. 'I managed to do it.'

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

// caq// 'put, place'
//caq-n-te-n// cûntén. 'I placed it.'
//ş1// 'chop'
//ş1-min// şûmîn. '(It's an) axe.'
When two variable-stress suffixes occur, the second receives stress.

//taq-n-te-ci-n// tqa'nxcín. 'I hit you.'

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

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

//lìl-p// lólıp. 'He died.'
//lux'-p// lóx'úp. 'He won back.'
//kù'ë?-m// kó'ë'em. 'He bit.'
//pux'-m// px'úm. 'He scattered.'
//lù?-m// ló'úm. 'It was jabbed.'
//moh-m// mohóm. 'He howls.'
//pis-m// pósím. 'He scrapes.'
//čuw-p// čówúp. 'It got silent.'
//k'ën-m// kó'xném. 'He took.'
//cù?-m// có'úm. 'He hit.'
Some additional abstractness will be necessary to handle cases like cqé̂m 'He hit'. The underlying form would have to be //ceq// to get the correct suffix vowel. Then a general backing rule, applying before a postvelar, would be necessary to derive căq (cf. 2.22 for other cases of this rule). This means, however, that the backing rule would be counter to an established historical rule: *a to e unless conditioned by a postvelar. There is no reason to suspect that roots with a postvelar preceded by a ever had an //e// vowel. For the present I will continue to write underlying //a// for these roots.

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

//yaʔ-m-s-te-n// yaʔomsten. 'I assemble them.'
//ʔoʔ-y-n-te-sút// ʔoʔoncút. 'He laughs.'

When glottal stop is present as C₁:

//ʔaxl-asát// ʔəxolasət. 'It's everyday.' (CVCC root)
//ʔem-ut// ʔemút. 'He sits.'

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

//wiʔ-n-te-n// 'I burned it.'

w ʔ n té n stress assignment and vowel deletion
u'ʔ n té n w becomes u'
ʔu'ʔn té n glottal stop insertion
ʔu'ʔontén. schwa insertion

//wič-s-qé1-ix// ʔo·čsqélix'. 'He sees people.'

The lower vowel in this example is due to the postvelar (cf. 2.22).
There are no examples of underlying roots with initial //y// showing a parallel development to long i'. (There is one example, ʔiləmìx’em 'He is chief', that shows an unstressed i that may have come from a root with initial //y//. However, the surface vowel is not long.)

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

//miy-s-te-n// mi’stén. 'I know it.'
//puw-min// pu’mín. '(It's a) drum.'

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

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

//ta’p-n-te-n// ta’pəntén. 'I shot it.'
2.22. Vowel Assimilation Involved in Suffixation.

When suffixes with postvelars are added to a root, //u// becomes o and //e// becomes a.

//mus-as电量// mósqet. 'It's Thursday.'
//xes-alqs// xásolqs. 'It's a moose.'

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

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

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

//hec-qey// hecqey. 'They lived.'
2.23. Consonant Changes Involved in Suffixation.

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

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

//k'wúl-min-s//= 'It's his tool.'

* k'wúl m i s  stress assignment and vowel deletion
  * k'wúl m i s  n becomes //i//
  * k'wúlomis.  schwa insertion

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

//šl-min-s//= 'It's his axe.'

* šl m i n s  stress assignment
  * šl m í i s  n becomes //i//
  * šl m i s  i is deleted
  * šélamís  schwa insertion

There is a third realization of //n//= that arises in suffixation. When //e//= or //u//= (again, stressed--avoiding deletion) precedes //n//=, which in turn is followed by //s//=, //n//= becomes //i// and then //y// (by the general resyllabification
rule; cf. 2.16). The surface result is eys and uys.

//k'ul-nú-n-te-s// 'He finally succeeded in doing it.'

k'ul nú n te s stress
k'ú l nú n t s vowel deletion
k'ú l nú n s (see discussion)

k'ú l nú i s n becomes i
k'ú l nú y s resyllabification

k'uloniúys. schwa insertion

//k'en-n-te-s// 'He took it.'

k'en n te s stress
k'ón n t s vowel deletion
k'ón s (see discussion)

k'ei s n becomes i
k'éys resyllabification

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

a. N becomes i before s or h.

b. i is deleted after i or a.

c. i becomes y after a vowel.

(The derivations of these last examples involve rules that have not been discussed yet: loss of t and simplification of geminate sequences. These and other rules involving consonant changes in suffixation will not be discussed here, in isolation, but in following sections dealing with the individual morphemes that undergo these changes.)
2.24. The System of Pronominal Reference--An Illustration of the Processes Involved in Affixation. There are two reasons for presenting the system of pronominal reference here: First, an explanation of this system shows the general way in which words are built in Spokan. Thus pronouns are discussed by way of summary of previously discussed morphophonemic processes. Some additional morphophonemic rules will also be suggested. These rules are not as easily isolated for explanation as the ones considered thus far, and so will be considered as they appear in a complex of rules. Second, the system of pronominal reference is rather complex and because of this it can present difficulty for a reader trying to understand and follow examples relating to the grammatical system of Spokan. Therefore, an overview before the initial remarks about grammar seems essential.

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

As a starting point, it seems possible to divide the pronominal system into two main paradigms: the intransitive pronoun forms and the transitive pronoun forms. Certain suffixes occur with these paradigms and in general these can be called intransitive and transitive endings.
The functional label for the intransitive pronoun elements is subject. The transitive elements can be called subjects and objects. A set of possessive pronouns constitutes a third paradigm.

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

/čn/ 'I'   /qe?/ 'we'

/kw/ 'you'   /p/ 'you plural'

General third person is unmarked.

čen ?emút. 'I sat.'
kw ?emút. 'You sat.'
?emút. 'He/they sat.'
qe? emút. 'We sat.'
p ?emút. 'You folks sat.'

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

?emú?t. 'They sat.'

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

/qe? ?emút/ çe? emút. 'We sat.'
2.242. The Possessive Paradigm. The possessives are prefixes, suffixes and a proclitic.

//hin-// 'my' //qe?// 'our'

//han-// 'your' //-mp// 'your plural'

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

hincitxw. 'It's my house.'
hancitxw. 'It's your house.'
citxws. 'It's his/their house.'
qe? citxw. 'It's our house.'
citxwomp. 'It's your (plural) house.'

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

//sp?us-s// sp?usc. 'It's his/their blood.'
2.243. The Transitive Paradigm. Pronouns in transitive forms exhibit considerable complexity. The transitive form has the general organization:

BASE-TRANSITIVE-CONTROL-OBJECT-SUBJECT

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

TRANSITIVE

// -n-

CONTROL

-te- //

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>tqancín</td>
<td>tqantén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>k'u tqantéx'</td>
<td>tqantéx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>k'u tqantés</td>
<td>tqancís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>tqancít</td>
<td>qe? tqantém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>k'u tqantép</td>
<td>tqantép</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>k'u tqanté's</td>
<td>tqancí's</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2431. The forms which refer to general third person objects (third column in the table) actually have only a subject marked; third person object—singular or plural—is understood. They show the stem //BASE-n-te//, to which pronominal subject endings are suffixed directly. With an unstressed base, the stress is assigned regularly to the variable-stress suffix //-te-//. Except for first person plural, the forms are straightforward, showing the following regular subject endings:

First singular -n  
Second singular -x'  
Third general -s  
//taq-n-te-n//  tqəntén. 'I hit him/them.'  
//taq-n-te-x'//  tqəntéx'. 'You hit him/them.'  
//taq-n-te-s//  tqəntès. 'He hits him/them.'  
//taq-n-te-p//  tqəntép. 'You (pl) hit him/them.'

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

//qe? taq-n-te-m//  qe? tqəntém. 'We hit him/them.'
Third plural objects (sixth column) are represented by reduplication of the root: \textit{tq-tq-}; otherwise the forms are the same as for the general third person. Formation of third plural subject is regular throughout the paradigm: -? is infixed in the corresponding third singular subject form.

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

\begin{verbatim}
//kwu taq-n-te-xw// kwu tqantexw. 'You hit me.'
\end{verbatim}

etc.

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

Second person singular object forms have the same fundamental stem, to which the second person singular object suffix //si// is added: //taq-n-te-si/>. Appropriate subject suffixes complete the forms. The first plural subject here is -t. As regularly, the final variable-stress suffix takes the stress (.212.), the control suffix appears in reduced grade, and the resulting sequence -t-s- is realized as -c-.

\begin{verbatim}
//taq-n-te-si-n// tqancin. 'I hit you (sg).'
\end{verbatim}
First and second person plural objects, however, introduce a suppletive element with the underlying form //\-ıul//- replacing //TRANSITIVE-CONTROL/>. To this stem are added first plural object //\-l//- and the second plural object //\-m//. Subject suffixes complete the forms. Here, however, there is an additional complication. Whenever first plural and second person (singular or plural) are both represented in the same form, the subject suffix is realized as \-t; the preceding object suffix and the presence or absence of \(\text{qe}\) 'us' makes clear whether first plural or (general) second person is subject.

//taq-ıul-m-n// tqiúłomən. 'I hit you people.'
//taq-ıul-m s// tqiúłoms. 'He/they hit you people.'
//taq-ıul-m-t// tqiúləmt. 'We hit you people.'
//\(\text{qe}\)// taq-ıul-1-s// qe? tqiúləls. 'He/they hit us.'
//\(\text{qe}\)// taq-ıul-1-t// qe? tqiúləlt. 'You (sg or pl) hit us.'

With stressed bases the transitive paradigm shows a number of differences resulting from reductions of endings under no stress. Table 2 shows a full paradigm of surface forms with a stressed base.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg 1</td>
<td>nícəncən</td>
<td>nícən</td>
<td>nícələmən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k’m nícəntx’</td>
<td>nícəntx’</td>
<td>qe? nícələlt</td>
<td>nəcənícəntx’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen 3 k’m nícis</td>
<td>nícis</td>
<td>qe? nícələls</td>
<td>nícələms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl 1</td>
<td>nícənct</td>
<td>qe? nícəntəm</td>
<td>nícələmt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k’m nícəntp</td>
<td>nícəntp</td>
<td>qe? nícələlt</td>
<td>nəcənícəntp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 k’m nícis</td>
<td>nícis</td>
<td>qe? nícələls</td>
<td>nícələms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All these forms are derivable from underlying representations of the same pattern as those in the paradigms with stressed endings. Some of the forms differ from the suffix stressed ones only in having a stressed root vowel and a reduced ending -c- from //te//.

//nič-te-xv// ničontxv. 'You cut him/them.'
//nič-te-p// ničontp. 'You (pl) cut him/them.'
//qe? nič-te-m// qe? ničontem. 'We cut him/them.'

However, the remaining forms show that a more complicated system of rules is operating to derive the surface forms. The following derivations show this rule complex.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying form</th>
<th>níčnten</th>
<th>níčntes</th>
<th>níčntesin</th>
<th>níčntesis</th>
<th>níčlult</th>
<th>níčlulms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stress rules</td>
<td>níčnten</td>
<td>níčntes</td>
<td>níčntesin</td>
<td>níčntesis</td>
<td>níčlult</td>
<td>níčlulms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel deletion</td>
<td>níčtnn</td>
<td>níčnts</td>
<td>níčntsín</td>
<td>níčntsís</td>
<td>níčilt</td>
<td>níčlms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affrication</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t deletion</td>
<td>níčnn</td>
<td>níčns</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. stress del.</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel deletion</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n becomes i</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>níčís</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster simpl.</td>
<td>níčn</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwa insertion</td>
<td>níčen</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>níčencn</td>
<td>níčenc</td>
<td>níčeltilt</td>
<td>níčeltems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2432. These rules are explained as follows: The stress rules, which operate initially on the underlying form, first assign primary stress to the vowel requiring it. In this case the base has a root requiring stress, so this vowel gets primary stress. Then a secondary stress rule assigns secondary stress to the last of two variable-stress suffixes. This rule is necessary to keep the suffix vowel from reducing and thereby accounts for the operation of a later affrication rule. The next rule deletes unstressed vowels resulting in the loss of the control suffix vowel or the vowel of the suppletive element //-iul-/. Affrication (ts to c) then operates before a vowel. The rule must be limited to this environment because final //ts// does not become c—as shown in the second column of the derivations (third person subject). Deletion of t between two underlying coronal consonants comes next. Then a rule deletes secondary stress, and vowel deletion (applying again) subsequently deletes the unstressed vowel. After this, n becomes i before s by a rule which is already familiar (cf. 2.231). Next, the members of an identical consonant cluster merge and those clusters of non-identical consonants with the same release (s after c and l after l) lose the second member. This rule applies once per form. The late schwa insertion rule completes the derivations. All the pronoun forms, with both stressed and unstressed bases, may be derived with this complex of rules.
2.3. Stress and prefixes. It is clear that many alternations are involved in the system of stress placement and subsequent reduction of unstressed elements. However, prefixal elements do not undergo changes due to lack of primary stress. They never have such a stress and do not have weak and full forms like the variable-stress suffixes. It is not clear why prefixes act this way. This is perhaps the same problem as that involved in non-reduction of roots when unstressed. In section 2.214 it was pointed out that certain root shapes tend to retain full vowels under weak stress. One of these shapes had a laryngeal //ʔ// as the first consonant of the root. Prefixes with vowels are few in number (perhaps due to historical reduction of vowels under weak stress) and those that do occur have an initial laryngeal consonant (for example: //ʔepī-// and //han-//). Thus it may be that this laryngeal protects the vowel until after vowel reduction. Then the laryngeal element itself may be lost if not initial in the word (cf. 2.133).
3. Syntax

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

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

hečə vá'. 'It's everything.'
1a?é. 'It's there.'
xwúyš. 'Go on!'
?iłemíxwəm. 'Hē's chief.'
kwúlon̓txw. 'You did it.'
3.11. Predicates may be expanded with a number of preposed particles. These are called **predicative particles**.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čen</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe?</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>'you sg.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>'you pl.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General third person is unmarked.

čen xwly. 'I went.'
kw l‘aqšolš. 'You sat down.'

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

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

3.1121. Exclamations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclamation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti?</td>
<td>'surprise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?h</td>
<td>'well!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayo</td>
<td>'recognition'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclamation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti? īlis.</td>
<td>'He ate it!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(surprise he-eats-it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ah kw eícčicš.</td>
<td>'So, he came back.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(well evidently he-comes-back)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayo kw šéy.</td>
<td>'Oh, that's him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(recognition evidently that-is-he)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1122. Evidential.

\( k^w \) 'evidently'

\( k^w \) aniččišče?. 'It seems it's your sister.'

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

3.1123. Interrogatives.

\( ha \) 'interrogative'

\( təmā \) 'rhetorical interrogative'

\( ?uc \) 'question of possibility'

\( ha yəscsq'utz. \) 'Is it just your one eye?'

( interrogative it-is-your-eye-on-one-side)

\( təmə pulstp. \) 'So you people killed him?'

( rhetorical-interrogative you-kill-him)

\( ?uc k^w nətē. \) 'What do you think--is it possible?'

( question-of-possibility you think)

3.1124. Possibility.

\( x^w a \) 'possibly'

\( k^w x^w a təm k^w stēms. \) 'I thought perhaps she was nothing to you.'

( evidentially possibly negative you her-anything)
3.1125. Modality.

we 'in spite of'
λαξ 'very well, then'
?em 'in vain'
xw'omí 'please'

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

we le čen elecoʔo-čqélixʔ u niʔáp u qeʔ ecšíʔgéy
'Even though I could see again, we still went together.'
(even-though now I actually-see-again-people and it-is-still[-the-same-way] and we are-together)

This particle is also used in a sentence protesting something.

we tam či sʔoʔélixʔ". 'But I'm not one of your tribe.'
(even-though [-it-may-seem-otherwise] negative I [one-of-your-]tribe)

The other modal particles are shown in the following examples:

λαξ' kwént. 'Very well, then, take it!'
(very-well-then take-it)
?em scúntem. 'They told him but he wasn't paying any attention.'
(in-vain him-tell[-they])
x'emi kwu sáčěxíti. "Please look at them for me!"

(please [for-]me look-at-them-for)

3.1126. Aspect.

he 'already'

cē 'still'

nexw 'also'

lám 'customarily'

sic 'right then'

he nil. 'Now he's dead.'

(already he-dies)

he sêwone?omontp. 'You already heard it.'

(already you-hear-it)

cē nək'ú? 'There is still one.'

(still there-is-one)

nexw čen xwu'y. 'I went too.'

(also I go)

lám cúys. 'He used to tell.'

(customarily he-tells-it)

sic nil. 'Right then he died.'

(right-then he-dies)

3.1127. Negative.

ta 'not'

ta sipįépston. 'I didn't turn it off.'

(not I-turn-it-off)

m 'will'

m qe? u fentém. 'We will burn it.'

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

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

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

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

In addition to this type of marking, adjuncts are nearly always preceded by the particle ₁ 'secondary in importance'. When ₁ occurs it is always followed by a phrase—one demonstrative particle, other optional particles, and then at least one full word. This is an adjunct phrase. In terms of immediate constituent partners, then, ₁ always goes with a phrase and is a phrase particle which marks this
whole phrase 'secondary'; the demonstrative and other optional particles go with the full word. Thus adjuncts are doubly marked to set them off from the predicate. (In another situation, 1, again followed by a demonstrative particle, marks a predicate phrase (clause) as secondary in relation to another predicate phrase (clause). This is discussed in 3.313.)

3.131. Types of adjuncts. In the examples that follow only the demonstrative particle  use 'particular' occurs after 1 'secondary' before the full word. In 3.132 demonstratives with adjuncts will be discussed more fully.

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

xʷuíš ḥ u? spíləyeʔ. 'Coyote got up.'
(he-gets-up secondary particular coyote)

kʷeys ḥ u? ḥə·pəmís. 'He took his bow and arrow.'
(he-took-it secondary particular his-bow-and-arrow)

ʔəʔáχ ḥ u? isčkwʷəustən. 'My eye healed.'
(it-heals secondary particular my-eye)

ʔeʔəwɨčən ḥ u? isənkwʷəlixʷ. 'I could see my people.'
(I-see-them secondary particular my-people)

3.1312. Sometimes they serve as locational referents.

xʷúy ḥ u? čəʔənəwi·tɛixʷtən. 'He went to the hospital.'
(he-goes secondary particular to-hospital)
3.1313. Frequently they occur with the particle $\chi''\omega$ $\tilde{\omega}$; during'. Thus they indicate the purpose or duration of a predication. This particle only occurs with adjuncts.

$k^w\tilde{\omega}y\tilde{s} \ i \ u? \ \chi''\omega \ \tilde{\omega}a'p\tilde{\omega}m\tilde{s}$. 'He took it for his arrow.'

(he-takes-it secondary particular for his-arrow)

$k^w u \ ek^w\tilde{u}l\tilde{t}om \ i \ u? \ is\tilde{\omega}k\tilde{\omega}\mu\tilde{u}t\tilde{\omega}n \ i \ u? \ \chi''\omega \ \tilde{\omega}s\tilde{\omega}p\tilde{\omega}i$ 'They were treating my eye for a long time.'

([for-] me they-are-treating-it-for secondary particular my-eye secondary particular during it-is-long-time)

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

$\tilde{\iota}\til{c}i\til{\iota} \ sp\til{\iota}l\til{\iota}o\til{\iota}y?$. 'He saw Coyote.'

(he-saw-him coyote)

$k^w \ nu\til{e}\til{c}\til{\iota}\til{\iota}n\til{\iota}u\til{\iota}t \ qe? \ \til{\iota}m\til{\iota}\til{\iota}n\til{\iota}$. 'You sensed that our enemies were near.'

(you sense-them our enemies)

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

$\til{\iota}l\til{\iota}\til{\iota}k \ i \ u? \ is\til{\iota}\til{\iota}l\til{\iota}\til{\iota}w\til{\iota}?$. 'Alex is the one that is my husband.'

(it-is-Alex secondary particular my-husband)

$\til{\iota}l\til{\iota}m\til{\iota}\til{\iota}m\til{\iota}x\til{\iota}m\til{\iota} \ i \ u? \ \til{\iota}l\til{\iota}\til{\iota}k$. 'Alex is chief.'

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

λəx’ məsəwi ɡə? ecoʔílonəm. 'You know it's just məsəwi we're eating.'

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

le nək’əspə ɛχ’ectomy. 'It's been past a year.'

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

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

čəćən 1 u? kw xwiîp. 'Where is it you're running to?'

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

χ’wa k’mašə ɡəy esčənəmqιn. 'I was being-blind several days.'

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

če nək’u? 1 u? esčia’ləne? 'There was still one [eye] that was covered.'

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

The initial elements in the last two sentences are predicative particles (for their function see 3.1124 and 3.1126). The last example shows how a "verb-like" adjunct can translate as an English dependent clause. However, it seems best not to consider it a clause in Spokan. Some adjuncts may look like dependent clauses but this is due to the function in English of the words used to gloss them. (Of course,
in a sense all full words used as adjuncts are dependent predicates, because elsewhere they have the possibility of standing as the head of a clause; thus they might be considered embedded predicates. As adjuncts they provide attribution for a head—the predicate of the clause. There are true dependent clauses which are marked in a different way; cf. 3.22.)

3.132. Demonstratives—their use in adjunction. As explained in 3.13, an adjunct is often marked by 1 'secondary importance.' This phrase particle is always followed by a demonstrative particle which indicates that the following full word adjunct is either "particular, but not specially noted" (u?) or "specially noted" (hi). The combination 1 u? followed by a full word occurs in most of the examples given thus far. u? occurs only following 1.

The combination 1 i (the h is lost in combination) requires a special full word as adjunct. Either ?é 'this/these', ?é 'that/those', cí? 'that/those near a person spoken to or referred to', or u? 'that/those emphatic' must occur after this combination. These are called demonstrative words. (Actually, because of their distributional patterns, these demonstrative words belong to a special class of full words—restricted words; cf. 3.3.)
wičon 1 i ḥé? 'I saw that.'
(I-see-it secondary special that)
wičon 1 i ṭé. 'I saw this.'
(I-see-it secondary special this)
wičon 1 i cí?. 'I saw that by you.'
(I-see-it secondary special that-near-you)
wičon 1 i lu?. 'I saw that very one.'
(I-see-it secondary special that-very-one)

The combination 1 lu? may also be followed by these demonstrative words. (There are no cases with 1u? 'that/those'.)

wičon 1 u? ḥé?. 'I saw that.'
(I-see-it secondary particular that)

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

wičon 1 u? ḥe? sqélixu. 'I saw that Indian.'
wičon 1 i ḥe? sqélixu. 'I saw that Indian.'
púlst̨on 1 i cí? sqélixu. 'I killed that Indian near you.'
(I-kill-him secondary special that-near-you Indian)
ex'ist 1 i lu? ec̓ənəs̓ən. 'He is walking right on the edge [of the cliff].'  
(he-walks secondary special that-very it-is-the-edge)

Since in these cases there are two full words in the adjunct phrase, the phrase may be considered compound.
uʔ and hi are obviously mutually exclusive elements. The meaning 'special' for hi seems to be fairly well established. hi occurs more widely than uʔ. It can occur before a predicate to emphasize that a situation is to be specially noted (thus it is a predicative particle).

hi čon ㅈिः. 'I'm fine.'
(special I good)

hi レビ ec⁷àゃョx. 'I'm watching carefully.'
(special I actually-am-watching)

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

hi いqşोlş u 骀qʷəntेम. 'Right when he ㅅ̣️ down he got shot.'
(special he-sits-down and [somebody-]shoots-him)

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

贞 佬qʷúṭ hi ,readonly. 'I was lying there in the dark.'
(I lie special it-is-dark)

The meaning 'particular' for uʔ is not certain. At this time the gloss should be considered tentative. In compound sentences it does occur with a predicate and so it is also considered a predicative particle (cf. 3.213).
3.2. Sentences are of three types. There are simple sentences consisting of a single clause. Many of the preceding examples are this type. In addition, there are compound sentences composed of two independent clauses; and complex sentences, with a dependent clause.

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

** Examples: **

-hecpenə Axes u cúys. 'He went in and told her.'
(he-goes-in and he-tells-her)

-xwúy u čconəwé? Axes. 'They went and met.'
(they-go and they-meet-each-other)

ćiicn Xwúy čəxšəmarayém u kwúulstom čəsənəwi.ťeix'wen. 'I went to a doctor and was sent to a hospital.'
(I go to-doctor and me [he-]sends to-hospital)

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

ćiicn ełxwúy u kwent wíčən. 'I went back and then I saw it.'
(I go-back and then I-see-it)
k'ent may also occur when u does not precede it.

'tux'ut u ?enés. k'ent šéy. 'He flew up and left. Then that was all.'

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

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

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

ʔaxelásqat u kw esčísix'səm. 'Every day I have drops put in my eye.'

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

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

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

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

While the above seem unusual as compound sentences, it must be remembered that all full words do have fundamental predicative force.
3.213. Sometimes the first clause of a compound sentence appears with the particle Ɂ 'secondary'. Ɂ marks this clause secondary in importance in relation to a following clause. Just as with adjuncts, Ɂ is always followed by a demonstrative particle. Sometimes the first clause with Ɂ translates like a dependent one in English.

Ɂ u? čən ɬəxe? u ɭə xe st ye coɭəq̌e xɭix. 'When I was there I could not see very well.'

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

This sentence may be contrasted with:

čən ɬəxe? u wičən. 'I was there and I saw him.'

(I there and I-see-him.)

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

Ɂ u? ɬəsípi əw ecq̌e y. 'A long time ago people lived.'

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

Ɂ i ?e təwaɭwíckəɭe? u cúntəm Ɂ i ?e sxəxəx̂o

'It was meadowlark that told Fox.'

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

ne čəmə?é? i u? inšənənûstañ či qstòk'wok'wamí.

'When my glasses get out of order, then I about fall.'
(conditional they-get-out-of-order secondary particular my-glasses I unrealized-fall)

ne čəmîp m ?ené?š. 'As soon as it gets dark they will go.'
(conditional it-gets-dark will they-go)

ne qe? eix'əlx'ílţọłt i u? qe? søx'x'íx'ọlt k'ənt m qe? eiq'omím i u? anəcxənûmtən. 'If you make our children alive again, then we will take your clothes back.'
(conditional us you-make-back-alive-for secondary particular our children then will we take-back-for secondary particular your-clothes)

If the ne clause follows the main clause dependent clause explains why the substance of the predication in the main clause obtains.
ta cəmi'stən šəwət ne ta kʷu sqʷəlqʷələstəm. 'I didn't know who they were if they didn't talk to me.'

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

nətə ciʔ špəspəsi ne kʷu qəsčənəstəms. 'He thought: I'll call on my magic powers so they can help me.'

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

m qə? tuxʷt ne kʷəssəsəm. 'We will fly up so as to startle him.'

(will we fly-up conditional he-startles)

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

ne qʷəlqʷələstən iʔ sqələlxʷ. 'So I'd talk to any person.'

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

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

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

   hi ?é. 'It's this/these.'
   hi ŗé?. 'It's that/those.'
   hi ci?. 'It's that/those near someone referred to.'
   hi iú?. 'It's that/those very one(s).'
3.312. They combine with the locative prefix 1- 'at' to form the words:

1əʔé. 'It's at this place.'
1əʔéʔ. 'It's at that place.'
1əciʔ. 'It's at that place near someone referred to.'
1əlúʔ. 'It's at that very place.'

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

čən 1əʔéʔ. 'I was there.'
m 1əʔéʔ. 'It will be there.'
či sələʔéʔ. 'I stayed there.'
qəʔ sələʔéʔ. 'We stayed here.'

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

1əʔéʔskw. 'Leave it there!'
1əʔéskw. 'Leave it here!'
1əciʔskw. 'Leave it there--near you!'

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

1əʔé ñ čən méiəm. 'I rested here.'
(it-is-at-this-place and I rest)
1əʔéʔ ñ ecqíqéy. 'They were camped there.'
(it-is-at-that-place and they-camp)
3.313. These same demonstratives also occur with the prefix =tmp- 'to'. The words formed are:

čóvē. 'It's to here.'
čošē? 'It's to there.'
čací? 'It's to there near someone referred to.'
čošuí? 'It's to that very place.'

These four words can be predicates in simple sentences.

k'ent čošē i u? esčtāx'olûs. 'Then he came this way.'
(then it-is-to-here secondary particular he-comes)

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

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

tšē? u či ecx'scålôwisì: 'I'm walking around here.'
(it-is-here and I walk-around)
tšē? u sëyûst. 'He came through there.'
(it-is-there and he-comes-through)

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

tələʔé. 'It's from here/now.'
tələšé?. 'It's from there/then.'

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

tələšé? u sic čən tîʔx'í. 'Right after that I got something.'

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

But they can be predicates with following adjuncts.

tələʔé xʷíst. 'He walked from here.'

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

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

3.316. ʔé?, followed by the continuative aspect suffix //i·y//, forms a special restricted word ʔéj, which may be translated 'That's he/she/it!'. It often occurs with nominal forms as adjuncts. It takes predicative particles.

ʔéj stə́yáqʷəti. 'Right then they started to fight.'

(that-is-i. they-fight)
fcw W I u? tspíloye? 'So, it was Coyote.'
(evidently that-is-he secondary particular coyote)

It need not have a full word after it.

ha šey. 'Is this far enough?'
(interrogative already that-1.-it)

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

ćeň is the interrogative demonstrative 'How/where is he/she/it?' It occurs also with 1- 'at', t- 'point of reference', tČ- 'from' and č- 'to'.

1ćeň. 'Where is he/she/it?'
tćeň. 'Where is he/she/it?'
tčěň. 'Where is he/she/it?'
čćeň. 'Where is he/she/it [going]?'

Examples with adjuncts and particles:
kʷ ecsćeňi. 'How are you?' (a common greeting)
1ćeň i u? isľaxt. 'Where is my friend?'
(where-is-he secondary particular my-friend)
ćeň xʷúy. 'Where is he going to?'
(to-where-is-it he-goes)
Two other words, sawet 'who' and stem 'what', are used as interrogatives or after negatives as indefinites.

kw sawet. 'Who are you?'

stem i u? ask'ūlom. 'What is it you are doing?'

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

ta sawet. 'There is no-one [around].'

ta stem. 'There is nothing [left].'

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

?axi 'finally'
čomís 'only'
χilehó 'almost'
ni?áp 'still, yet'

?axi u ?ocqe?. 'Finally he came out.'

(finally and he-comes-out)
čomís u čen ecu'númt. 'All I could do was listen.'

(only and I listen)
χilehó u kwéct. 'It was most full.'

(almost and it-is-full)
niʔáp u ʔesčiłšənéneʔ. 'It still had a disk on it.'
(still and it-has-disk-on-it)

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

kwuv: 'I'
hanəw? 'you sg.'
cańic 'he'
qəʔənpəlɛʔ 'we'
nəpəlɛʔ 'you pl.'
cańic 'they'

The first person forms consist of a number of elements. The first person singular seems to be formed with kwu, the first person transitive object pronoun (cf. 2.243), the demonstrative particle hi 'special', and the demonstrative word ?é 'this/these' (for both cf. 3.132). The first person plural uses familiar qeʔ 'we' to distinguish a common first and second plural word nəpəlɛʔ. Third plural is the singular word with the -ʔ- infix 'plural' (for both qeʔ and -ʔ- cf. 2.241). Finally, second singular makes use of the possessive prefix han- (cf. 2.242). The rest of the elements can not be analyzed further at this time. These words can occur as separate adjuncts denoting a referent already indicated by a bound pronoun. Thus they are often emphatic.
xwítəlcən anəwɨ? 'I gave you something.'
(I-give-something-to-you you)

They can be predicates.

hanəwɨ?. 'It w-i: you.'
kuwə?é i u? čsáxəm. 'I am closer.'
(I secondary particular close)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic forms</th>
<th>Personal forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nək'wɨ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>?esél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>čeʔiés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mús</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>cíl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>táqən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sispol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>hoʔéhəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>x̣x̣xəhút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ḟúpən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the personal forms are simply the basic forms with the personal prefix č-. 3, 4, and 5 are reduplicated in addition. 7 and 9 show diminutive reduplication in both basic and personal forms.
11-19 are formed by adding the forms for 1-9 after ?úpon 'ten' and a conjunction el.

11  ?úpon el nák'ú?
11 persons  ?úpon el čənáqs

The forms for 20-90 are multiples of 10.

20  ṭesal ?úpon
20 persons  čəsal ?úpon

21  ṭesal ?úpon el nák'ú?
21 persons  čəsal ?úpon el čənáqs

One hundred is nák'woqín (nák'ú? 'one' plus -qín 'head, top). The lower vowel is due to the postvelar following.
4. Morphology

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

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

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

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

'I am walking.'

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

'I'll go blind.'

but:

'He's blind.'

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

'My head got cut.'

'I' nîc 'cut' -p 'lack of control' -qən 'head')

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

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

The wolf was lying down.'
(he-is-lying secondary particular wolf)

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

'I made some bread.'
(I make secondary particular bread)

't- 'point of reference' introduces an adjunct referring to an object that is the main concern of the predication. Thus middle forms can convey a "transitive" notion although the construction is grammatically intransitive. It seems helpful to translate these sentences in a different way; for example, 'I am breadmaking' as opposed to a transitive counterpart, 'I am making bread'. Overall, it seems that there is no clear semantic dividing line between the intransitive forms and the transitive ones. Rather, the endings, or lack of them, refer to the role of the subject in
a predication—not only to whether there is an object or not. The role is defined in terms of the degrees of involvement and control.
4.12. Transitive forms occur with the transitive paradigm of pronouns (cf. 2.243). The transitivity of these forms is actually best considered the final degree of involvement and control—actually doing something to someone. The emphasis thus is on the agentive function. Transitive forms have the organization:

BASE-TRANSITIVE-CONTROL-OBJECT-SUBJECT

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

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

and those that have the organization:

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

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

Actually, there is no clear semantic dividing line between simple and causative stems. Simple transitive stems include: //cù?-n-te-// 'hit', //miñ-n-te-// 'paint', //taq-n-te-// 'wave the hand', and //nič-n-te-// 'cut'. Causative stems include: //kwul-s-te// 'send', //pul-s-te-// 'kill', //wiy-s-te-// 'finish, stop', //pil-s-te-// 'make go', and //laq-s-te-// 'make sit down'. In any case, the terms
simple transitive and causative serve to distinguish the two stem shapes and the two classes of roots that underly these stems.

4.122. Pronouns with causative forms. The introductory presentation of the transitive pronoun system of Spokan considered their occurrence only with simple transitive stems (with both stressed and unstressed bases; cf. 2.243). Following are examples of the pronouns with causative stems. Table 4 gives the surface forms with an unstressed base.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg 1</td>
<td>wi·stúmen</td>
<td>wi·stén</td>
<td>wi·lúlømen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k'ú wi·stéx'</td>
<td>wi·stéx' qe? wi·lúlølt</td>
<td></td>
<td>wi·wi·stéx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen 3</td>
<td>k'ú wi·stés</td>
<td>wi·stúms</td>
<td>wi·stés qe? wi·lúløls wi·lúløms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl 1</td>
<td>wi·stúmt qe? wi·stém</td>
<td>wi·lúlømt qe? wi·wi·stém</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k'ú wi·stép</td>
<td>wi·stép qe? wi·lúlølt</td>
<td></td>
<td>wi·wi·stép</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 k'ú wi·sté's</td>
<td>wi·stúms wi·sté's qe? wi·lú?løls wi·lú?løms</td>
<td>wi·wi·sté's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The forms which refer to general third person objects (third column in the table) actually have only a subject marked; third person object—singular or plural—is understood. They show the stem //BASE-s-te//, to which pronominal subject endings are suffixed directly. With an un-stressed base the stress is assigned regularly to the variable-stressed suffix //-te-//--. The forms are straightforward, showing the same regular pronoun elements as with simple transitive forms.

First singular -n First plural qa?...-m
Second singular -xʷ Second plural -p
Third general -s

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

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

Pertinent forms from among those unmarked for object (those that refer to third person objects) are expanded by the proclitic kʷu... to provide reference to first person singular object.

//kʷu wiy-s-te-xʷ// kʷu wi·stéxʷ. 'You hit me.'
Second person singular object forms have a different fundamental stem, to which a second person suffix ////-m// is added: //wiy-s-tu-m//.

//wiy-s-tu-m-n// wištúmon. 'I stop you sg.'
e·c.

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

To avoid the necessity of setting up the special stem //-s-tu-// only in the singular second person object forms of the causative, it might alternatively be supposed that the underlying stem is regular and the stem and object suffix occur as follows: //BASE-s-te-um//. The surface realization BASE-stúm would not be incompatible with the established rules—in particular, the stress rule would assign stress to the last variable-stressed suffix. However, setting up //-um//- as the second person general suffix
creates a problem when it is used in the plural. First and second person plural objects introduce a suppletive element with the underlying form //−1ul−// replacing //TRANSITIVE-CONTROL//. To this stem are added first plural object //−1−// and second plural object //−m−//. Since the surface realizations of this stem and suffixes are BASE−1ul−al− and BASE−1ul−om−, the object suffixes must not be variable ones—they must have no vowel or by the general rule they would become stressed. Thus to capture the generality that in the singular and plural the object suffix for second person is the same underlying element, the form must be //−m−//.

(Comparative evidence shows that other Southern Interior languages have a more generally used causative stem ending //−s−tu−//. Spokan has apparently extended the use of what was once only a simple transitive control suffix //−te−// into the causative paradigm. Only in the second person singular object forms may the older ending be seen.)

The proclitic ae? also occurs if the object is first plural. Subject suffixes complete the forms. As with the simple transitives, there is one additional complication. Whenever first plural and second person (sg. or pl.) are both represented in the same form, the subject suffix is realized as −t; the preceding object suffix and the presence or absence of ge? 'us' makes clear whether first person plural or (general) second person is the subject.
With stressed bases the causative paradigm shows some differences resulting from reductions of endings under weak stress. However, all these forms are derivable from underlying representations identical with those given in the paradigm with stressed endings. Table 5 shows the surface forms with a stressed base. For the most part, the differences are simply due to vowel deletion under weak stress. For example, //-tu-//, the control ending in the second person singular object forms, is realized as -t-. The remaining changes due to consonant contacts are by previously stated rules. The reduction of //-iul-1-// and //-iul-m-// to -ial- and -lam- is covered by the rules of vowel deletion under weak stress, cluster simplification and schwa insertion. Forms with third person subject and third person object or first person singular object show a reduction of the stem and pronouns as follows:

//BASE-s-te-s//

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASE-s-t -s</th>
<th>BASE-s -s</th>
<th>BASE s c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stress placement and vowel deletion</td>
<td>deletion of t</td>
<td>dissimilation of ss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The general rule simplifying clusters by deleting the second member does not apply to //ss// which instead undergoes dissimilation of the second member to c. It is not possible to consider that //sts// becomes sc directly by the affrication rule since it is necessary that this rule apply only before a vowel (compare the derivations of the second and third columns of Table 3 in section 2.2432).

//ss// also yields sc when s- 'nominal' is followed in turn by s- 'nominal' (cf. 2.11), and when -s 'his/their' follows s of a base (cf. 2.242).

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

//kwul-iul-m-t// 'We send you folks.'
k'ul li l m t stress and vowel deletion rules
k'ul l m t cluster simplification
k'uliomt. schwa insertion
Table 5

Causative transitive paradigm with stressed base //k'ul// 'send'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT</th>
<th>S I N G U L A R</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
<th>P L U R A L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>1  2  3</td>
<td>1  2  3</td>
<td>1  2  3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg 1</td>
<td>k'úlstəmən</td>
<td>k'úlsten</td>
<td>k'úlləmən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k'u k'úlstə</td>
<td>k'úlstə</td>
<td>qe? k'úlləlt</td>
<td>k'elk'úlstə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen 3 k'u k'úlsc</td>
<td>k'úlstəms</td>
<td>k'úlsc</td>
<td>qe? k'úlləls k'úlləms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl 1</td>
<td>k'úlstəmt qe? k'úlstəm</td>
<td>k'úlləmt</td>
<td>qe? k'elk'úlstəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k'u k'úlstp</td>
<td>k'úlstp</td>
<td>qe? k'úlləlt</td>
<td>k'elk'úlstp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 k'u k'úl?lsc</td>
<td>k'úl?lstəms</td>
<td>k'úl?lsc</td>
<td>qe? k'úlləls k'úlləms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.123. An adjunct following the transitive predicate can indicate an object. It is not preceded by $t$- 'point of reference' (as with bases taking the middle ending).

$spon\, t\, u\, x\chi\varphi\omega\iota\dot{\iota}n$. 'He hit the dog.'

(he-hits-it secondary particular dog)

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

$spon\, t\, u\, x\chi\varphi\omega\iota\dot{\iota}n\, t\, u\, tsg\acute{e}l\, i\, x\, w$. 'The Indian hit the dog.'

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

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

$t\, u\, tsg\acute{e}l\, i\, x\, w\, u\, spon\, t\, u\, x\chi\varphi\omega\iota\dot{\iota}n$. 'The Indian hit the dog.'

Thus a compound sentence is formed. $t$ marks the first clause as secondary in importance to the following clause.
It is also possible to add an instrument adjunct to a sentence. The instrument is also marked by t-. If no agent adjunct is present it occurs where the agent would.

\[\text{spontēs i u? χχλοcín i u? tōlūk'w. 'The Indian hit the dog with a stick.'}\]

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

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

\[\text{i u? tsqēlix' u spontēs i u? χχλοcín i u? tōlūk'w. or:}\]

\[\text{i u? tōlūk' u spontēs i u? χχλοcín i u? tsqēlix'.}\]

'The Indian hit the dog with a stick.'

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

\[k'ūlēntēm. 'Someone did something to him/them.'\]

\[k'u k'ūlēntēm. 'Someone did something to me.'\]
It has been impossible to elicit forms for second person or first person plural object with this system of endings. Instead, the informant volunteers the usual transitive combinations.

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

**BASE TRANSITIVE CONTROL: BASE- lon-**

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

//wiṭ- lon-// ?u·̣tên. 'I burned it for him.'
//wiṭ- lon-si-n// ?u·̣tocín. 'I burned it for you.'

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

m kw'eitom. 'He will have her taken away by someone.'

(will someone-takes-it[-her]-relative-to-him)
In another example, from a traditional narrative, the relational form again is clearly not benefactive. When Coyote discovers that he is being robbed by Lynx he says:

hayó...k'u ecənáqʷəmíčm kʷ tsənqvú. 'Oh...I am being robbed by Lynx!'

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

With adjuncts, contrasts like the following occur.

hesčitóitén Ɂ uʔ səluɬamíkč. 'I keep the gun for him.'

(relational stem)

hesčitóstén Ɂ uʔ səluɬamíkč. 'I keep the gun.'

(causative stem)

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

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

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

III. Ambivalent roots, serving as bases for both intransitive and transitive forms (and occurring with both intransitive and transitive pronouns). Roots identified in the corpus are listed according to this classification in Appendix A.
4.16. Imperatives. The forms of the transitive-intransitive system may take suffixes which create imperative words.

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

xwúyş. 'Go!' (singular)
xwúuyuy. 'Go!' (plural)

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

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

púlskw'. 'Kill him!'
púlskw'i. 'Kill hım!' (plural)

As above, a rule must vocalize the semivowel.

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

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

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

nek'ent. 'Sing it!'
nek'enti. 'Sing it!' (plural)
k'úpit. 'Push it for him!'
k'úpiti. 'Push it for him!' (plural)
When the form has a stress-shifting root, metathesis occurs. This proves that the variable-stress control suffix //-te//- has indeed been replaced.

//šil-n-t// šolínt. 'Chop it!'
//šil-n-t-y// šolínti. 'Chop it!' (plural)
//tuqʷ-n-t// təqʷúnt. 'Sew it!'  
//tuqʷ-n-t-y// təqʷúnti. 'Sew it!' (plural)

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

//kʷul-ys// kʷúliš. 'Work, do something!'

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

//puxʷ-yš// pxʷúyš. 'Scatter it!'

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

//kʷul-wy// kʷúlyu. 'Work, do something!'

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

//puxʷ-ywy// pxʷúuyu. 'Scatter it.'
If the stress-shifting root has //i//, after metathesis the first //y// of the suffix is deleted by general rule.

//šil-ywy// šolíowí. 'Chop it!'

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

4.17. Reflexives.

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

//pul-s-te-sút// pálscút. 'He killed himself.'
//lù?-n-te-sút// lù?encút. 'He stabs himself.'

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

čon pálscút. 'I killed myself.'

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

//čn lù?-m-ist// čon lù?emíst. 'I stabbed myself.'
With a stressed base:

//čn wekʷ-m-ist// čon wékʷíst 'I hide myself.'

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

4.18. Reciprocals. The suffix //-w?xʷ//, an inherently stressed suffix, forms reciprocal words from transitive stems.

//iù?-n-te-wé?xʷ// .lu?ẹntwé?xʷ. 'They stabbed each other.'

//pul-s-te-wé?xʷ// połståwé?xʷ. 'They killed each other.'

These words occur only with the intransitive plural pronouns.

//qe? iù?-n-te-wé?xʷ// qe? lu?ẹntwé?xʷ. 'We stabbed each other.'
4.2. Long bases. Previous sections have exemplified formations with short bases. It is possible to expand a root with a lexical suffix to form a long base.

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

Normally they add concrete objective reference to a root.

//wiy/ /'finish' //elx/ /'house' //čn wiy-elx/ čn wi·?elx%. 'I am through with the house.'

//x'ist/ /'walk' //etk/ /'water'
//n-x'ist-etk/ nəx‘stétk%. 'He waded.'
//laχ/ /'fast' //etk/ /'water'
//s-lax-etk/ s'laχétk%. '(It's) fast water.'
//huq/ /'go' //éws/ /'half, middle'
//huq-p-éws/ huq'apéwes. 'They separate.'
//sac/ /'tie' //sqáxe?/ /'animal' //tn/ /'instr.'
//sac-sqáxe?-tn/ sacqáxe?tən. '(It's a) rope.'
//líc/ /'tie' //us/ /'eye, face'
//n-lic-us-i-te-si-n/ nəlćúlicən. 'I bandaged your eyes for you.'

(I-tie-eye-relative-to-you)
Sometimes the long base requires a more metaphorical translation.

//čuw// 'gone, empty' //cin// 'mouth'
//čn čuw-cin// čn čucən. 'I was silent.'
//p˧ // 'fall' //ečst// 'hand'
//p˧-p-ečst-mi-n-te-n// pəpəčstəmən.
//wiy// 'finish' //ečst// 'hand'
//wiy-ečst// wiʔečst. 'He finished work.'

Appendix B lists the lexical suffixes which have been observed.

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

Inherently stressed: //-áiq// 'race, game'
Stress-retentive root: //xʷəl// 'abandon, leave'
//xʷəl-áiq// xʷəláiq. 'He was left behind in a race.'

Variable-stressed: //cin// 'mouth, eat, food'
Stress-retentive root: //tixʷ// 'get'
//tixʷ-cin// tixʷcən. 'He got food.'

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

Variable-stress lexical suffix: //enʔe// 'all over a surface'

Stress-shifting root: //pʼu// 'put'
//či-pʼu-enʔe-n-te-xʷ// čiʔpuʔ'enʔentxʷ. 'You put [dirt] all over it.'

Stress-retentive root: //laq// 'bury'
//či-laq-enʔe-n-te-xʷ// čilʔaq'enʔentxʷ. 'You covered it all over.'

(In both examples, the second //e// of the lexical suffix does not reduce due to the glottal stop; cf. 2.215.)
4.212. Combinations of two lexical suffixes occur, although they are not common in the material. A few examples follow. By the general principles, an inherently-stressed lexical suffix takes stress rather than a variable-stressed lexical suffix.

//šil// 'chop' //-ěs// 'half, middle' //-qin// 'head'
//n-šil-ěs-qin-n-te-m// něšilěšqinčom. 'His head got chopped in the middle.'

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

//iù?// 'jab' //-qin// 'head, top' //-ečst// 'hand, finger'
//č-ìu?-qin-ečst-m// čiùqinčstom. 'He put a flint under his fingernail.'
//tuk'// 'lay' //-cin// 'mouth' //-etk'// 'water'
//s-ìuk'-'cin-etk'// stěk'cënětk'. 'It's lying by the shore of a river.'
//taq// 'put' //-ep// 'back' //-qin// 'head, top'
//čl-taq-ep-qin-n-te-x'// čltaqepqinčom. 'You put it on the back of the head.'
4.213. Two lexical prefixes have been noted.

//šm-// 'poor little'
//šm-ttwit// 'He's a poor little boy.'

//pu?-/ 'spouse'
pu?alîk. 'She's Alex's wife.' [Margaret]
pu?Margaret. 'He's Margaret's husband.' [Alex]
4.3. Secondary stems. A base may be followed by another type of suffix to form a secondary stem.

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

//šil// 'chop'
//šil-nu-n-te-xu// šošonúntxw. 'You got it chopped.'
//k'uí// 'do'
//k'uí-nu-n-te-xu// k'óšonúntxw. 'You managed to do it.'

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

//miy// 'know' (hecemištén. 'I know it.')</n
//miy-p-nu-n-te-xu// miıpənúntxw. 'You succeeded in knowing, found out.'

By the general principles of stress placement, the inherently stressed suffix is stressed, not any variable stress suffix that may be present. Thus, in combination with the TRANSITIVE-CONTROL-SUBJECT suffixes, the surface forms are as follows:
There are no examples in the corpus with object pronouns.

4.32. Instrumental stems.

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

//tɑ:p// 'shoot' (ta'pontén. 'I shot it.')
//tɑ:p-min// ta'pomín. '(It's a) bow and arrow.'
\[\begin{align*}
\text{ta'pomís. } & (\text{It's) his bow and arrow.}\]
\text{hinta'pomín. } & (\text{It's) my bow and arrow.}\]

//iù?// 'jab'
//iù?-min// 1u?mín. '(It's a) spear.'
//lič// 'tie'
//s-n-lič-min// sənəlčəmín. '(It's a) jail.'

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

//k'ul// 'do' (k'ulontxw. 'You do it.')
//k'ul-min// k'uləmən. '(It's a) tool.'
//k'ul-min·n-te-x// k'uləməntxw. 'You use it.'
The only examples in the corpus are with roots that normally form simple transitive stems. Thus it is not known if roots that form causative stems would use this ending after //min//.

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

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

This suffix often comes after the instrumental stems just discussed.

//sàc// 'tie'
//sàc-min-tn// səcəmímtən. '(It's a) trap.'
//lù?// 'jab'
//lù?-min-tn// ləmímtən. '(It's a) spear.'

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

//x\textsuperscript{u}uy// 'go'

//č-x\textsuperscript{u}uy-mi-n-te-x// čx\textsuperscript{u}uyəməntx. 'You go on to it.'

//x\textsuperscript{u}x\textsuperscript{w}ey// 'laugh'

//k\textsuperscript{w}u č-x\textsuperscript{u}x\textsuperscript{w}ey-mi-n-te-x// k\textsuperscript{w}u čx\textsuperscript{w}əx\textsuperscript{w}eyəməntx. 'You laugh at me.'

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

//puxw-ičn-ečst-mi-n-te-x// px\textsuperscript{w}čənėčstəməntx. 'You scatter it out from the palm of your hand.'

//čan// 'tie, pinch'

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

This last example shows that //-mi-//, "transitive derivational" and //-min// "instrumental" are indeed different elements. If the derivational ending were //-min//, the n would develop to i before s.
4.34. Stress with secondary stems. Short unstressed bases with either //\-min// "instrumental" or //\-mi-// "transitive derivational", which are in turn followed by the TRANSITIVE-CONTROL suffixes, take stress on //\-min// or //\-mi-// not the following variable-stress CONTROL suffix.

//\sil\-min\-n\-te\-x\w// \sil\ol\om\intx\w. 'You use the axe to chop.'
//\č\-x\w\č\-\ę\-\y\-mi\-n\-te\-x\w// \č\w\ę\č\ę\ľ\ż\y\om\intx\w. 'You laugh at it.'

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

//\pux\w\ičn\-e\č\st\-mi\-n\-te\-x\w// \pux\w\ę\č\ę\č\st\ę\men\xtx\w. 'You scatter it out from the palm of your hand.'
4.35. Substitutive stems. The variable-stress suffix //−šiš// can be added to a base to form a derived stem. This stem may be used in intransitive and transitive forms. A form with a substitutive stem conveys the meaning that a particular course of action is being followed by a person in place of another person who might otherwise be doing it.

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

//kʷup// 'push'
//čn hec-kʷup-šiš-iy// čey eckʷúpši. 'I am pushing something for someone.'

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

//tqʷ// 'sew'
//čn hec-tqʷ-šiš-iy// čey esteqʷšíši. 'I am sewing something for someone.'

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

−šiš−CONTROL−OBJECT−SUBJECT
Second person singular object forms show that these stems occur with the causative paradigm of pronouns.

//wi\#// 'burn'
//wi\#-\#i\#-tu-m-n// ?u-\#i\#\#it\#m\#n. 'I burned something for you.'
cf. Simple transitive:
//wi\#-n-te-si-n// ?u-\#i\#\#inc\#n. 'I burned you.'

//k\#\#up// 'push'
//k\#\#up-\#i\#-tu-m-n// k\#\#up\#t\#m\#n. 'I pushed something for you.'
cf. Simple transitive:
//k\#\#up-n-te-si-n// k\#\#up\#nc\#n. 'I pushed you.'

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

4.3.5. Although these stems occur in organization with the transitive pronouns, they are not completely transitive. They may not take a separate object adjunct. Thus they are different from the semantically similar relational forms with //i-//. The contrast may be seen below.
"I uncovered his house for him.'

\(\text{I-uncover-relative-to-him secondary particular his-house}\)

"I uncovered something for him.'

It seems, then, that \(-i-\) (and \(-n-\) and \(-s-\)) may be considered a transitive marker but \(-\text{šiš}\) may not. The transitive pronouns with substitutive forms serve to denote the person substituting (subject) and the person substituted for (object).
4.4. Summary of stress placement with variable-stress suffixes. To recapitulate, stress is generally predictable even when a number of different variable suffixes are present after a stress-shifting root. With a short base that does not form a secondary stem, a final variable-stress suffix receives stress (cf. 2.213). All long bases are stress-retentive: either the root itself is stress-retentive, or else the lexical suffix is stressed (except in the presence of an inherently stressed suffix; cf. 4.211). With two lexical suffixes in a long base the rules of stress placement are not yet determined, although a hierarchy of suffixes is apparent (cf. 4.212). With secondary stems, those involving a variable-stress suffix receive stress on that suffix unless they are derived from a long base. In this latter case they are unstressed and the long base receives the stress (cf. 4.34).
4.5. Summary of suffix order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASE</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROOT (-p) 'non-control' (lexical suffixes)</td>
<td>-n-</td>
<td>-te--tu-</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>simple transitive</td>
<td>control</td>
<td>'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-s-</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>OBJECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i-</td>
<td>relational</td>
<td>-tn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-šiš</td>
<td>substitutive</td>
<td>-sút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wēʔxʷ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SUBJECT
4.6. Base modifications.

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

4.611. Plural reduplicative patterns.

(a) $C_1C_2$ - (before $C_1VC_2$)

//ROOT//

//tem// stəmtəm. '(They're) things.'
//χal// sxəlxəlt. '(They're) days.'
//xes// χsxəxst. '(They're) good things.'
//tix// tx'tix'cč. '(They're) tongues.'
//aq// łaqəlaqəčst. '(They're) warm hands.'

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

In this type, if the underlying root is //C₁ey// or //C₁ew// the semivowel becomes a long vowel.

//qey// hecq'i·qéy. 'They were camped.'
//sew// su·séwik'. '(They're) rivers.'
If the semivowel is glottalized it becomes a sequence—
short vowel—glottal stop.

//$ey// he$e$i$? $e$e$. 'They were together.'

(b) $C_1VC_2-$ (before $C_1VC_2$)

//wič// wičowičontxw. 'You see them.'

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

(c) $C_1C_2-$ (before $C_1C_2$)

//kw// sčkwɔk’wústɔn. '(They're) eyes.'
//taq// tqtjonten. 'I hit them.'
//kw’t// k’w’k’túnsan. '(They're) big feet.'

This is the pattern when the word is suffix stressed
and the root is in reduced grade. (Roots listed //C₁C₂//
do not occur in the corpus with a vowel.)

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

//yl// ʔi1lomìxa’om. '(They're) chiefs.'

Initial underlying w becomes a long vowel.

//wil// ʔu’lu’lím. '(It's) money.'
Other roots that are stress-shifting, but retain full vowels in unstressed syllables, keep the full vowel in reduplication as well (cf. 2.214).

//?ù?// łuż?αù?으면. '(They're) spears.'
//të?// ʨ?te??もらえ. '(They're) pounding stones.'

(d) C₁V− (before C₁C₂)

In this type stress stays on the first syllable.

qéce?. '(He's an) older brother.'
qâqce?. '(They're) older brothers.'

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

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

ku⁷lis. 'He/they did it.'

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

ku⁷ʔlis. 'They did it.'

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

ʔemút. 'He sits.' ʔaʔewet. 'They sit.'
šit. 'It stands.' čišt. 'They stand.'
Reduplication creates plurals that are best called distributives. Although they often look like plurals, there are many cases of contrast like the following:

\( qéy \). 'He lived.'
\( qé\hat{y} \). 'They lived.'
\( ḡi·qéy \). 'They were camped.' ('camped' refers to people distributed.)

Note also:

\( ḡ\hat{e}n q\hat{w}aq\hat{w}em\hat{e}ncút. \) 'I practiced a lot--over and over.'
\( k\hat{w}u\ ecoh\hat{ey}m\hat{e}yesc. \) 'He told me every time what to do.'

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

\( ?iləmîx\dot{w}om. \) 'He is chief.'
\( ?ililəmîx\dot{w}om. \) 'They are chiefs.'

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

\( nəc\hat{e}nîč\hat{e}ontx\hat{w}. \) 'You sg. cut them.'
An element //?ui-// 'collected', is another pluralizer. It refers to two or more referents as a group or as members of a certain category.

?uičəsqáqoneʔ. 'They are the chickadees.'
?uisəməʔem. 'They are women.'

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

-C₁- (in C₁V_C₂)

4.6131. Root stressed forms.

/\nič/  níičəmən. '(It's a) little knife.'
cf.

nícəmən. '(It's a) knife.'

Resonants are commonly glottalized in diminutives.

/lukʷ/  lúləkʷ. '(It's a) little stick of wood.'

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

/\xi/  čχƛəcín. '(It's a) dog.'
cf.

čƛəcín. '(It's a) horse.'

/tʰw/  stəʔəwáneʔ. '(It's a) little flint.'
cf.

stəʔəwáneʔ. '(It's a) flint.'
4.6133. The diminutive forms of some numerals also shows this type of reduplication.

mús 'four'

můmůs 'four little'

cíl 'five'

cícōl 'five little'

ťāqān 'six'

ťātāqān 'six little'

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

síspal 'seven'

χχ教学质量 'nine'

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

ttēwît. '(He's a) boy.'
titēwît. '(They're) boys.'
ččayé?. ' (He's a) grandchild.'
čićayé?. '(They're) grandchildren.'
4.614. Developmentals. Reduplication of the final root consonant forms a developmental base. It is used in intransitive forms.

//nič// ničôč. 'It got cut.'

cf.

heconīč. 'It's cut.'

With a stress-shifting root the underlying vowel is meta-thesized.

//xwukw// xw'ukw. 'He got clean.'

cf.

xw'ukw. 'He is clean.'

4.62. Other base modifications.

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

laq'îc. 'It gets strong.'

cf.

laq. 'It's hard, set.'

q'ωq'uct. 'He gets fat.'

cf.

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

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

cf.

hi laq. 'It's wide, spread.'
téšelš. 'He's standing up.'

cf.

hi téš. 'It's straight.'

With a long base:

čeiltšélšélq. 'He stands under a tree.'

(čeil- 'under' tš 'straight' -ölš 'get' -álq 'tree')

4.7. Stem modifications. Stems are further modified by a number of affixes which add aspectual and other notions. Most of these elements are prefixes, which fall into a number of position classes. These are presented below beginning with the class farthest from the stem.
4.71. There are a number of particles that mark mood (cf. 3.1125.). Only one affix indicates a modal feature. This is the very frequently used prefix //qi-// 'unreal'. This prefix has two surface realizations: before //s-// 'nominal' and //hec-// 'actual', the lateral spirant is lost; elsewhere it is realized as qi-.

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

či qxwisti. 'I'm going to walk.'
či qecxwúy. 'I'm going to go.'

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

ta qswóičon i u? stèm. 'I couldn't see a thing.'
(not unreal-I-see-it secondary particular anything)
ta kwo qswéli. 'He wouldn't leave me.'
(not me unreal-he-leaves)

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

//epl-citxw// ?epicítxw. 'He has a house.'
//epl-s-m?em// ?epsòmə?ém. 'He has a woman.'
4.73. Directional system.

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

cxw’uy. 'He came.' (speaker is the referent)

cf.

xw’uy. 'He went.'

?eixw’tip. 'He ran back.'

?eicxw’tip. 'He ran back [here].'

cf.

xw’tip. 'He ran.'

4.732. Two other prefixes, //C//- 'to' and //t/- 'from', are different from the above in that their derivations are usually adjuncts (see 3.313 and 3.315 for their use with demonstrative words).

xw’uy i u? ñocítx’s. 'He went to his house.'

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

ñen cxw’uy i u? tèlçítx’s. 'I came from his house.'

(I come secondary particular from-his-house)

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

/ô-xw’uy-mi-n-te-xw/ ñxw’uyàmøntx. 'You go after it.'

cf. xw’uy. 'He goes.'
4.74. Aspect. While some aspectual notions are marked by means of particles (see 3.1126), there are also a number of aspectual affixes, which are discussed here.

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

Čo\x90 ec\x98wist\x90. 'I am walking.'
hec\x98omi\x97. 'It's covered.'
hec\x98onk\x98on\x97y. 'He was singing.'
qe\x92 ect\x98ix\x98om. 'We're getting something.'
ta čo\x90 ecomi\x98iq\x98ol\x98om. 'I don't know how to sing very well.'
hes\x98t\x98est\x98en. 'I keep it, take care of it.'

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

če\x90 ře\x98y\x90im. 'I typed it.'
če\x90 ?ócq\x90e\x90? . I went out.'
k\x98\x98ú\x98i\x98ontx\x98w. 'You did it.'

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

má\x98w\x98et. 'It's broken.'

cf. má\x98w\x98ontx\x98w. 'You broke it.'
Many words with /*-t/* look like English adjectives.

yoyót. 'It's strong.'

lōkwút. 'It's far.'

xést. 'It's good.'

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

xwúy. 'He went.'

?eīxwúy. 'He went back.'

?eīluīxwúy. 'He went back again.'

?eīluī?īlon. 'He ate again.'

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

hecxwstēlwís. 'She was just walking around aimlessly.'

cf.

hecxwís. 'She's walking.'

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

hecxécti. 'She's digging roots.'

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

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

4.751. //či-// 'on' and //či-// 'under'.
čiʔemút. 'He sits on something.'
hesčiʔemút. 'He's sitting under it.'
cf.
ʔemút. 'He sits.'

4.752. //n-// general locative 'in, position in'.
nəʔemút. 'He sits inside something.'
neŋˈóxˈolqˈs. '(It's) in their buggies.'
nəsˈoxetkˈw. '(It's) in fast water.'

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

ləʃéʔ u xˈuy. 'He went there.'
(it-is-at-that-place and he-goes)
Non-demonstrative forms with //1-// are used in ways similar to the demonstrative words.

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

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

tlələʔúšən. 'I was watching (keeping an eye out) for him.'

cf.

lələʔúšən. 'I looked at him.'

Here //t-// signals a point of reference for looking.
4.76. Nominal forms. The prefix //s-// 'nominal' forms nominal words. In comparison with forms without s- it can be seen to establish that a situation, state, or activity is to be viewed as an entity.

so?íon. 'It's) food.' ?íon. 'He eats.'
skwöršín. '(It's a) crane.' kwörí. 'It's yellow.'
štín 'feet'
sptáxu. '(It's) spit.' pťáxw. 'He spits.'
šxaxált. '(They're) days.' hi xál. 'It's light.'
sqøyim. '(It's) writing.' hecqéy. 'He writes.'

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

sqálqice?. '(It's a) grouse.'
sq̓aq̓ci?. '(It's a) rabbit.'
sq̓ó?i. '(It's a) bee.'
štélxʷəm. '(It's a) woodpecker.'
sq̓í. '(It's a) hawk.'
sq̓əx̱ápqən. '(It's) tree moss.'
4.761. Possessives with nominals. These nominals occur with the possessive pronouns.

//hin-s-ʔ societàn. '(It's) my food.'
//han-s-ʔ societàn. '(It's) your food.'
//s-ʔ societàn. '(It's) his/their food.'
//qe? s-ʔ societàn. '(It's) our food.'
//s-ʔ societànomp. '(It's) your food.' (pl)

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

čən sqółtomixʷ. 'I am a man.'
kʷ sqółtomixʷ. 'You are a man.'

sqółtomixʷ. 'He is a man.' (unmarked third person)
qe? sqółtomixʷ. 'We are men.'
p sqółtomixʷ. 'You folks are men.'

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

kʷ isqółtomixʷ. 'You are my man.'

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg 1</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{w} isqélix\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>hisqélix\textsuperscript{w}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k\textsuperscript{w}u asqélíx\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>hasqélix\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>qe? sqélix\textsuperscript{w}lte\textsuperscript{lt}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen 3</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{w}u sqélix\textsuperscript{w}s</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{w} sqélix\textsuperscript{w}s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl 1</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{w} sqélix\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>qe? sqélix\textsuperscript{w}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k\textsuperscript{w}u sqélix\textsuperscript{w}emp</td>
<td>sqélix\textsuperscript{w}emp</td>
<td>qe? sqélix\textsuperscript{w}emp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 k\textsuperscript{w}u sqé?lix\textsuperscript{w}s</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{w} sqé?lix\textsuperscript{w}s</td>
<td>sqé?lix\textsuperscript{w}s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As in the transitive paradigm, the forms which refer to general third person objects (third column) are unmarked. The subject forms are the possessives. These forms are translated as follows.

hisqélīxʷ. 'He is my Indian.'

e etc.

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

These forms are expanded for first person singular object reference by the familiar transitive object proclitic kʷu 'me', here translated 'I'.

kʷu asqélīxʷ. 'I am your Indian.'

e etc.

Second person singular and plural objects are indicated by kʷ 'you' and p 'you plural'. These are the regular intransitive subject pronouns.

kʷ isqélīxʷ. 'You are my Indian.'

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

kʷ sqelixʷ. 'You are our Indian.'

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

kw sqélix." 'You are an Indian.'
p sqélix." 'You folks are Indians.'

The forms with reference to first plural object and second or third person singular subject, use an organization identical with that of a transitive form. The base has the suffix //1ul//- (which is here reduced since it is not stressed) and the object pronoun suffix -1 'us', which here translates as 'we'. The familiar proclitic qe? completes the marking for first person plural. The possessor subject is marked by -t and -s for second and third person respectively.

qe? sqélixwīalt. 'We are your Indians.'
qe? sqélixwīals. 'We are his Indians.'

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

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

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

qe? čūr. '(It's) our salt.'
huťinemp. '(It's) you people's bellies.'
qáxeʔəmp. '(It's) you people's aunt.'
məʔwóls. '(It's) her cradle-board.'
pəʔíčəmp. '(It's) your beargrass.'
hanlúk'. '(It's) your wood.'
hinqétt. '(It's) my skin.'
čeʔ neƛ̓ámqεʔ. '(It's) our black bear.'
hiníʔqətəqət. '(It's) my bass-fish.'
hintaʔpəmín. '(It's) my arrow.'
yámxʷeʔs. '(It's) her basket.'

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

hinčelš. 'It's my hand.'
hi čúr. 'It's salt, salty.'
sqeltemíxʷ. 'He's a man.'

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

//kwu han-hec-xwel-m//= kwu acxwelom. 'You are abandoning me.'

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

//cn hec-xwel-m//= cey ecxwelom. 'I am abandoning [someone].'  

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

skwulam. kwulam. 'He works.'
či soaχilam. čan aχilam. 'It happened to me.'
či selšey. čan ləšey. 'I'm staying somewhere.'
sčuntəm. cuntsəm. 'He was told.'

In negative constructions these words with - are most typical.

ta kwu səmeyelic. 'He didn't tell me anything.'
cf.
kwu méyeic. 'He told me something.'
In keeping with the previously stated 'establishment' function of \( s^- \) in deriving entities, it may be said that here events are established clearly (perhaps negatively). Overall, \( s^- \)-forms seem regularly to serve this purpose of establishing a fact, concept, entity, or event.

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

\begin{align*}
\text{tam } k^w \text{ sqəltəmikw'y's.} & \quad \text{'You are not her man.'} \\
(\text{be-nothing you her-man}) \\
\text{tam či səmə'ém.} & \quad \text{'I am not a woman.'} \\
(\text{be-nothing I woman})
\end{align*}
4.765. Some additional nominal forms.

4.7651. Double nominals. There are ₃- derivatives based on forms which are already ₃- nominals. In this case the two spirants disaggregate and the surface realization is ₃c. Double nominals seem to be slightly more specific in comparison with regular nominals. They do not occur frequently.

₃cʔiʔan. '(They're) groceries.'
₃aʔiʔan. '(It's) food.'
₃cʔəʔim. '(They're) the [particular] writings.'
₃sʔəʔim. '(It's) writing.'

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

sxwʔəmarəyém. '(He's a) doctor.'
marəyém. 'He heals.'

It seems likely that this is a prefixal or compound development of the root //suxʷ// 'know' and therefore not a combination of ₃-'nominal' and a prefix xʷ-.

cf. hecsúxʷstən. 'I know him.'
Appendix A  Root classification

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

?àw (I) drip, leak
?axil (I) do something a certain way
?ayxw (I) tired
?a·1 (I) lose
?emut (I) sit sg.
?enes (I) go
?ep (T) wipe
?iin (A) eat
?ihš (I) move camp
?itš (I) sleep
?ocqe? (I) go out
?ölqw (T) help, assist
?os (A) lose
?ukw (I) bring
?ùixw (I) go
?ùst (I) dive
caq (A) put
ciq (I) dig
citxw (I) house, dwelling
corq (A) pull out
cùp (A) hit
cuw (A) say

can (A) tight
caqw (I) cry
cer (I) cold
cew (I) wash
cil (A) stand (long objects)
cis (I) consume all
cōqw (I) point with finger
cur (I) salt
cic (A) arrive
cist (A) watch, guard
caw (I) pray
cep (T) lock a door
cey (I) shade
cic (I) to lie (long object)
cim (I) dark
cir (I) swim
çm (I) general word stem
cs (I) bad, ugly
cut (I) half
cuw (A) empty, gone
hem (I) fog
hoj (A) finish
hukw (A) bring
k'wek'wst (I) early
k'wen (T) take
k'wil (I) red
k'ri (I) yellow
kws (A) startle
k'wil (T) send
k'wul's (I) run pl.
k'up (T) push
k'wê? (A) bite
k'wil (I) some
k'wil (A) do
læq (I) bury
la'p (I) go by boat, paddle
le'm (A) happy, glad
lič (A) tie
lk (I) far
lux (I) wood
lux (I) hurt
lax (I) friendly
laq (A) sit down
laq (I) wide
laq (I) show up, appear
lk (T) put, lay
loxw (A) hole, make a hole
lu? (A) stab, poke
lač (I) fast
lič (I) hard, set
li (A) die, kill
lu? (A) look
luxw (A) win back
m'ot (I) smoke
mar (A) heal
maw (A) break
me? (T) bother
menxw (I) smoke
mey (A) tell
mi'k (I) all, whole
miš (I) covered
mič (A) cover with paint
miy (A) know
mheč (I) defecate
moh (I) howl
mul (I) get water
muxw (I) snow
meč (A) play, make play
naq (I) rotten
naqw (I) steal, rob
nas (I) wet
new (I) wind blows
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Synonym</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni?ekw</td>
<td>(I) cross a river</td>
<td>qely (A) write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nite</td>
<td>(A) cut</td>
<td>qim (A) swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nos</td>
<td>(I) blow nose, snot</td>
<td>qs (I) late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nte</td>
<td>(I) think</td>
<td>q’am (I) very, much, good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwis</td>
<td>(I) go up</td>
<td>q’ay (I) blue, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pax</td>
<td>(A) smart, advise</td>
<td>q’asw (I) crazy, drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pel</td>
<td>(I) easy</td>
<td>q’oc (I) hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pem</td>
<td>(I) breathe</td>
<td>q’el (A) talk, speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilś</td>
<td>(A) go in pl.</td>
<td>q’il (A) cheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pik</td>
<td>(I) white</td>
<td>q’im (A) die, kill pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptkw</td>
<td>(A) poke through</td>
<td>q’l (A) burn, cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’taxw</td>
<td>(A) spit</td>
<td>q’uil (I) dusty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pul</td>
<td>(A) kill</td>
<td>q’ay (I) black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puw</td>
<td>(T) pound</td>
<td>q’oc (A) full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pexw</td>
<td>(I) bright, shining</td>
<td>q’il (I) good, very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pin</td>
<td>(A) bend</td>
<td>q’lew (A) pick berries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pis</td>
<td>(A) scrape</td>
<td>q’uc (I) fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pum</td>
<td>(I) brown</td>
<td>q’uil (I) grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puy</td>
<td>(I) wrinkle</td>
<td>saq (A) split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaxe?</td>
<td>(I) mother</td>
<td>sax (I) near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qil</td>
<td>(A) wake</td>
<td>sel (A) turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’em</td>
<td>(I) run away pl.</td>
<td>sew (A) hear, ask for information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qett</td>
<td>(I) skin</td>
<td>šil (A) chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qey</td>
<td>(I) live</td>
<td>šit (A) stand (one object)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
six' (A) pour
šiy' (I) go through, pass
šn (T) shut
sp' (T) hit
sust (A) drink
sux' (T) to know
syen (A) count
šil (T) chop
taq (T) hit
ta'x' (I) start
tčey' (I) urine
tè? (A) pound
tēš (I) stand
tew (I) buy, sell
ti? (I) melt
til (I) break
tix' (A) get
tox' (I) straight	' tam (A) suck
'tas (I) hard
ta'p (T) shoot	'tem (A) bunch	'tey (I) fall	'til (A) tear
tili (I) dirty
tip (A) stand pl.
šiš (A) sweet
šix' (I) different
tloq' (I) run pl.
toq' (A) sew
toq' (T) slap
tp (A) cook
tuk' (A) to lay sg.
tux' (I) fly sg.
wek' (A) hide
wenš (I) dance war-dance
wič (T) see
wiš (A) burn
wis (I) long
wiy (T) finish
x'wit (I) many
x'wep (A) spread
x'wic (A) give
x'wis (I) walk
x'wit (I) run sg.
x'wt (I) angry
x'uk' (A) clean
x'wuy (I) go
xal (I) light
xam (A) lay, put (several objects)
χαμ (I) dry
χc (I) ready, prepared
χc (I) gamble
χem (I) heavy
χes (I) good
χ"el (A) abandon
γαλ: (I) gather
γευ (A) weave
γιλ (I) dull
γιρ (I) round
σακχ (A) look
σακχ’ (I) hungry
σαμ (I) melt
σαγμ (I) angry
σα’κ (A) tie
Appendix B  Lexical suffixes

Underlying forms

-alqs clothes, shirt
-alq" cylindrical object
-alq race, game
-aqs nose; road
-á(sqt) day (may be abbreviated)
-axn arm
-cin mouth, lips, speech, tongue, food
-ečst hand, work, finger, edge
-élix people
-elp cover
-élips back part of the neck
-élip plant
-élix skin, hide; house
-en?e all over a surface
-ene ear
-enč stomach
-ep below, base, bottom
-etk water
-eśī something in the water
-eśt scattered
-éśs half, middle
-éys tooth; rain
-ičn back, behind
-iħč  bow, weapon
-igít  body covering
-qin  head, top
-sqáxe?  animal, cow, horse
-šśn  foot, leg
-tč  winter
-ule?xʷ  ground
-úps  tail, rump
-ús  eye, face, neck; fire
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Merriam, Alan P. 1967. Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians. Chicago, Aldine. [Also VFPA 44.]


