DOUGLAS LAKE OKANAGAN: PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis describes aspects of the grammatical structure of Douglas Lake Okanagan, an Indian language spoken in British Columbia, Canada. It is in three parts: phonology, morphophonemics and morphology. The field research on which this study is based was conducted on the Quilchena Reserve near Merritt, B.C. during the summer of 1977.

There are thirty-seven consonants defined by three manners: stop, spirant and resonant; and six points of articulation: labial, apical, lateral, velar, post velar and glottal. A contrast of glottalized and unglottalized occurs in the stop and resonant series and a contrast of labialized and unlabialized in the velar and post velar positions. In general, each series shows a full set of oppositions except there is no plain lateral stop in the stop series, no labial spirant in the spirant series and no labialized post velars in the resonant series. The vowels are i, a and u.

Morphophonemic changes involve consonants, vowels, syllables and stress. They include processes of assimilation, dissimilation, fusion, loss, epenthesis, metathesis and stress shift.

The morphology deals with the structure of words. Words can be simple roots or roots extended by affixes to form stems. Stems may be classified as transitive or intransitive on the basis of accompanying affixes. Transitive suffixes mark stems which express the action of a subject on an object. Intransitive suffixes mark stems which express an activity or state of a subject with no reference to an object.
Affixes also express four aspects: unrealized, continuative, customary and inchoative. Other prefixes are directional, locational, nominal, possessive and agentive. Other suffixes are instrumental and lexical. Reduplicated stems express iteration, plurality, diminuitivity and intensity. Two roots can be linked to form a compound stem.
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I am grateful to my principal informant, Julia Paul for her interest in this project and her willingness to share her knowledge of Okanagan with me. I also thank Julia's mother, Mrs. Harriet Paul, who provided some important data and was always available to help when responses were in doubt.

I thank M. Dale Kinkade for his preliminary instruction and guidance in studying North American Indian languages which greatly facilitated this work.
INTRODUCTION

The Salish linguistic family has three large divisions: the Tsamosan, Central Salish and Interior Salish groups. The Interior Salish languages can be further classified according to a North-South division.

Okanagan is part of the Southern Interior language group which consists of Columbian, Okanagan, Kalispel and Coeur d'Alene. It is bordered on the north by Shuswap, a Northern Interior Salish language; on the east by Kutenai and on the south by Sahaptin. Its southeastern and southwestern neighbors are Salish speaking: Kalispel (southeast) and Thompson and Columbian (southwest).

Okanagan is spoken in south-central British Columbia to the Columbia River in north-central Washington. The dialect described here is spoken in the Douglas Lake area by members of the Quilchena and Douglas Lake Reserves. These reserves are among five in the Nicola Valley where most of the Indians speak Thompson and on these two reserves in particular, many speak both Okanagan and Thompson.

My principal informant has been Julia Paul. Previous to my contact with her, Julia had been recording material in her own language in order to teach a relative who speaks a southern dialect of Okanagan. Julia kindly allowed me the use of the tapes and this material provided the basis for elicitation.
1. Phonology

1.1 Okanagan distinguishes thirty-seven consonants, defined by three manners and six points of articulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Apical</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Post Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k̂</td>
<td>q̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottalized</td>
<td>p̂</td>
<td>ć</td>
<td>ć̂</td>
<td>ć̂</td>
<td>k̂</td>
<td>q̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spirants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x̂</td>
<td>x̂</td>
<td>x̂</td>
<td>x̂</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1.2 There is a fundamental division between voiceless obstruents and voiced resonants. Obstruents can be divided into stops and spirants. Both stops and resonants occur in a plain and glottalized series. The glottalization is usually articulated during the articulation of the consonant.

1.21 In general, the obstruents show a full set of oppositions. The only asymmetry in the stop series is the lack of a contrastive plain lateral stop. c, ć and Ć are affricates. The plain apical affricate has a palatalized allophone [ć] with which it is in free variation. Final plain stops are generally released with aspiration.
Before vowels, these stops are only lightly aspirated and following a homorganic resonant, they are sometimes unreleased. Glottalized stops rarely occur word final.

Spirants occur in all positions except labial. The apical spirant is in free variation with its palatalized allophone [\$].

1.22 Resonants include the nasals m, n; liquids r, l; semivowels w, y; and the pharyngeal \(q\). They parallel the obstruents exactly back to the simple post velar position. There are no labialized equivalents to the simple post velar resonants. Glottalized resonants rarely occur initially. The liquid resonant r occurs only as the second consonant of a root, not initially or in an affix.

1.3 Consonant Positions

1.31 Labials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>plal</th>
<th>grow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tupl</td>
<td>spider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xlilp</td>
<td>floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>ñum</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñsasq</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>məf</td>
<td>maybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qumáp</td>
<td>late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tilm</td>
<td>drying fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>nult</td>
<td>visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rũñs</td>
<td>eyelashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qwiyłm</td>
<td>songs</td>
</tr>
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### 1.32 Apicals

<table>
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<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>timl</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷl⁋tip</td>
<td>wild rhubarb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔat</td>
<td></td>
<td>wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔap</td>
<td></td>
<td>dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li⁋im</td>
<td></td>
<td>easy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>na⁋km</td>
<td>sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xnumt</td>
<td></td>
<td>hurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q⁋win</td>
<td></td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čán⁋cih</td>
<td></td>
<td>grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čplań</td>
<td></td>
<td>eyebrows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>cit⁋w</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sncaqmín</td>
<td></td>
<td>oven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sic</td>
<td></td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>čait</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sčaqw</td>
<td></td>
<td>flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>xʷrap</td>
<td>chilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yar</td>
<td></td>
<td>smooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔČait</td>
<td></td>
<td>tangy sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>swit</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əxast</td>
<td></td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pus</td>
<td></td>
<td>cat</td>
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1.33 Laterals

\[ \mathcal{A} \]
\( \text{Axap} \)  grow
\( \text{x\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ut} \)  rock
\( \text{\textdagger} \)
\( \text{l\textdaggerl\textdagger} \)  raspberries
\( \text{kw\textdagger} \)  borrow
\( \text{pl\textdagger} \)  thick
\( \text{\textdagger} \)
\( \text{l\textdagger} \text{l\textdagger} \text{l\textdagger} \text{p} \)  corn
\( \text{\textdagger?\textdagger} \text{al} \)  in a hurry
\( \text{\textdagger} \)
\( \text{sppl\textdaggern\textdagger} \)  rabbit
\( \text{\textdagger} \text{w\textdagger} \text{l\textdagger} \text{p} \)  sunny

1.34 Velars

Velars show an opposition of simple and labialized.

\( \text{k} \)
\( \text{ktmap} \)  clouds
\( \text{cil\textkst} \)  five
\( \text{x\textmink} \)  want
\( \text{kw\textdaggerq\textmink} \)  hat
\( \text{mk\textwiwt} \)  mountain peak
\( \text{si\textw\textk\textw} \)  water
\( \text{\textk} \)
\( \text{ki\textl\textk\textx} \)  old
\( \text{nik\textm\textn} \)  knife
\( \text{\text{tik}} \)  young
\( \text{kw\textk\textm\textk\textw\textp} \)  dog
\( \text{\text{tik\textw\textt}} \)  lake
Post velars also show the opposition of simple and labialized. Post velar resonants are frequently contiguous with a. They are rare and occur exclusively in root morphemes. In some cases, little pharyngeal friction is discernable and the a vowel appears lengthened. The glottalized pharyngeal is very poorly documented in this data.
glax\textsuperscript{\textdegree}\textsuperscript{\textdegree}night
naqsone
pnimqliver
q\textsuperscript{\textdegree}q\textsuperscript{\textdegree}ayblue
smq\textsuperscript{\textdegree}aq\textsuperscript{\textdegree}age
q\textsuperscript{\textdegree}q\textsuperscript{\textdegree}iltsick
ptq\textsuperscript{\textdegree}i\textsuperscript{\textdegree}hmushroom
q\textsuperscript{\textdegree}q\textsuperscript{\textdegree}acwarm
c\textsuperscript{\textdegree}q\textsuperscript{\textdegree}wilpfir tree
x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}xacthard
x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}axa?crow
lsaxdress
x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}sapfast
?ax\textsuperscript{\textdegree}x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}ntsweep
n\textsuperscript{\textdegree}ax\textsuperscript{\textdegree}x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}ax\textsuperscript{\textdegree}wife
\textsuperscript{\textdegree}ganmagpie
cp\textsuperscript{\textdegree}x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}ya?no good
q\textsuperscript{\textdegree}\textsuperscript{\textdegree}aqdrunk
\textsuperscript{\textdegree}ma\textsuperscript{\textdegree}x\textsuperscript{\textdegree}tbroken

1.36 Glottals

\textsuperscript{\textdegree}p\textsuperscript{\textdegree}itxsleep
sp\textsuperscript{\textdegree}i\textsuperscript{\textdegree}lnmeal time
?ah\textsuperscript{\textdegree}?acold
ha(interrogative)
?ih\textsuperscript{\textdegree}?over there
1.4 The consonants form complex clusters. Many affixes are themselves single consonants or consonant clusters so when combined with roots, complex clusters are inevitable. The most common types of clusters found in roots are:

a. initial clusters consisting of an obstruent followed by another obstruent or resonant

- q\text{la}x\text{w} \quad \text{night}
- x\text{lap} \quad \text{morning}
- x\text{\?al} \quad \text{clean}
- cm\text{ay} \quad \text{maybe}

b. final clusters consisting of a resonant followed by an obstruent

- \text{\^m\text{ilt}} \quad \text{visit}
- \text{t\text{im\text{k}}} \quad \text{eight}
- \text{tarq} \quad \text{kick}
- n\text{\?ayp} \quad \text{always}

Such consonant clusters in roots produce the root shapes CCVC and CVCC. However, forms such as the following indicate that such root structures may be reductions of CVCVC roots by vowel loss.

- cit\text{x\^w} \quad \text{house}
- cc\text{\text{\^itax\^w}} \quad \text{bathroom}
The most commonly occurring root shape is CVC.

1.5 The vowels are \( i, a \) and \( u \). Each vowel has a range of realizations.

1.51 \( i \) is usually \([i]\). Stressed, it may be realized phonetically in a range from \([i]\) to \([\varepsilon]\). Following a post velar it is closer to \([\varepsilon]\) or \([\varepsilon] \). Unstressed, it tends to become lowered or lost altogether.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[\text{inc}}\text{á}] & \quad \text{?incá} \quad \text{me} \\
\text{[\text{inc}}\text{ákn}] & \quad \text{?incákn} \quad \text{me} \\
\text{[g}}\text{él}] & \quad \text{qilt} \quad \text{sick} \\
\text{[c}}\text{qw} \text{alx}] & \quad \text{cqw} \text{alx} \quad \text{tamarac} \\
\text{[?ae} \text{sí}] & \quad \text{?asíl} \quad \text{two} \\
\text{[?ae} \text{síslásýt}] & \quad \text{?asíslásýt} \quad \text{Tuesday} \\
\text{[nqw} \text{alqwéltn]} & \quad \text{nqw} \text{alqwéltn} \quad \text{language}
\end{align*}
\]
1.52 a is basically a low, central vowel with frequent variation to a more front allophone [æ] or lost when unstressed and to a more mid central allophone [ə] when stressed in a short stem.

\[
[\mathit{xúst}] \sim [\mathit{óst}] \quad \text{xast} \quad \text{good}
\]
\[
[\mathit{spælławlx}] \quad \text{spaláwlx} \quad \text{hazy}
\]
\[
[\mathit{sxəlxált}] \quad \text{sxlxált} \quad \text{day}
\]

1.53 u ranges from a mid to high back rounded vowel. The lower allophone [o] is often contiguous to a post velar but there are cases of free variation between [u] and [o].

\[
[\mathit{xonúmt}] \sim [\mathit{xonómt}] \quad \text{xnumt} \quad \text{hurt}
\]
\[
[\mathit{qwöct}] \quad \text{qwuct} \quad \text{fat'}
\]
\[
[\mathit{ntoxoxqlín}] \quad \text{ntuxuxqín} \quad \text{noon}
\]

1.54 Two types of schwa occur in Okanagan words. The stressed schwa varies freely with stressed a in short stems. Unstressed schwas are epenthetic and largely predictable; therefore, they are omitted in the phonemic transcription.

1.55 The vowels usually occur with pre-glottalization when they are in initial position.

\[
\text{ʔi\l{n}} \quad \text{eat}
\]
\[
\text{ʔasíl} \quad \text{two}
\]
\[
\text{ʔuc} \quad \text{(interrogative)}
\]
All of the vowels occur in an unstressed syllable preceding and following stress, although vowels are often lost in those environments. Frequently epenthetic schwa rules will apply when the vowel is lost.

stímtúmá?      grandmother
límlímt         thank you
lkapú          coat
náxwanáxw       wife
nkwupíls       lonely
ktílus         flat surface

All of the vowels occur in absolute final position; however, they commonly have a glottalized coda.

?íncaá          me
?ácqa?          go out
tálki           very
?ihí?           over there
kwu             me
kísu?           pig

1.6 Each word has a single primary stress. Other syllables are weakly stressed.
2. Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic changes affect full words and particles. Full words consist of a root and optional affixes. Particles are not accompanied by affixes.

2.1 Consonant Changes

2.11 Consonant Assimilation

One consonant is assimilated by a like following consonant in a different morpheme.

\[ \text{łumn} \quad \text{łum-mn} \quad \text{s}p\text{oon} \]
\[ \text{sṉḵm̱uṯn} \quad \text{sṉḵ-muṯ-tn} \quad \text{ch}\text{a}\text{i}r \]
\[ ?\text{al} \hat{a} \quad ?\text{i siw} \hat{a} \hat{w} \quad ?\text{al} \hat{a} ? \text{i siw} \hat{a} \hat{w} \quad \text{Here is the water} \]

2.12 Consonant Loss

The suffix -t transitive is lost after n before n or s.

\[ \text{nłkipn} \quad \text{nł-kip-n-t-n} \quad \text{I open it} \]

An n followed by an s is usually lost.

\[ \text{nłkips} \quad \text{nł-kip-n-t-s} \quad \text{He opens it} \]

The n of the prefixes ?in- first person singular possessive and an- second person singular possessive may be optionally lost before s.

\[ ?\text{isx} \hat{i} \text{łwi} \sim ?\text{insx} \hat{i} \text{łwi} \quad \text{my husband} \]
\[ \text{ask} \hat{w} \text{ipst} \quad \text{your name} \]
\[ \text{ansk} \hat{w} \text{uy} \quad \text{your mother} \]
The 1 of the prefix kl- possessive is lost before s- nominalizer.

kn kslaxt kn kl-s-lax-t I have a friend

Root final ? is lost in the reduplicated element of a reduplicated stem.

kwak?am chewing
qiqi?xn cold feet

Glottalized resonants in reduplicated stems lose glottalization in the reduplicated element.

k?l?ummn tools
smamim women
stmit? clothes

2.13 Consonant Fusion

The prefix c- customary aspect combines with a following ? to form ç.

k?u c?iln k?u c?-i?ln We're eating

Transitive -t and a following s become c.

plscut pul-s-t-sut suicide
wikncn wik-n-t-s-n I see you
2.2 Vowel Changes

2.21 Unstressed morphemes often lose their vowel. That vowel is usually replaced by an epenthetic schwa.

\[\text{qilt} \quad [\text{qelt}] \quad \text{stick}\]
\[\text{q\rlsp\us} \quad [\text{q\rlsp\us}] \quad \text{discouraged, depressed}\]
\[\text{citxw} \quad [\text{citxw}] \quad \text{house}\]
\[\text{ctcitxw} \quad [\text{ctcitxw}] \quad \text{houses}\]
\[\text{citx\tt} \quad [\text{citx\tt}] \quad \text{our house}\]

A schwa may also be inserted between morphemes. It is commonly inserted before a resonant or between two identical obstruents.

\[\text{?itxx} \quad [\text{?itxx}] \quad \text{Go to sleep!}\]
\[\text{kn sqiclx} \quad [\text{kn sqiclx}] \quad \text{I'm running}\]
\[\text{pixm} \quad [\text{pixm}] \quad \text{hunting}\]

2.22 Evidence of vowel dissimilation is seen in several reduplicated stems.

\[\text{xixut\th} \quad \text{young girl}\]
\[\text{lal\istn} \quad \text{eyeglasses}\]

2.3 Metathesized Roots

Metathesis of root final -VC to -CV occurs with suffixes such as -p \text{non-control} and -m \text{middle}.

\[\text{xal'} \quad \text{light}\]
\[\text{xlap} \quad \text{morning}\]
2.4 Stress Changes

It has not yet been possible to analyze fully the operation of stress in this dialect but the data indicates that roots may or may not be stressed according to the suffixes which accompany them. Prefixes are never stressed.

Some suffixes appear to be always stressed. These suffixes then will attract stress from the root.

Gačnt Look!
Gačncút look at oneself

Other suffixes are sometimes stressed and sometimes unstressed. When stressed, they draw the stress from the root.

mulmn fish net
sncaqmín oven

Other suffixes are never stressed; therefore, the root to which they are attached will retain the stress.

ks?ixxtaťx He's going to sleep
ksmík-wtaťx It's going to snow

Unstressed roots and suffixes often lose their vowel and in that case, frequently epenthetic schwa rules will apply.
3. Morphology

The root is the essential element of the morphological system. Roots are usually extended by affixes to form stems but they may stand alone as full words. Such unextended roots are all predicative.

\[ \text{qwac} \quad \text{It’s sunny} \]
\[ \text{citxw} \quad \text{It’s a house} \]

Most stems consist of a single root accompanied by affixes. Reduplicated stems consist of a reduplicated root with optional affixes. Two combined roots with optional affixes form a compound stem.

3.1 Voice

Stems generally fall into two categories, transitive and intransitive, when voice is considered; that is, when the position of the subject in relation to the activity or state is considered. Several subcategories may be described within each of the two major divisions.

3.1.1 Transitive

Roots which appear as transitive stems are marked by the transitive suffix \(-t\). These forms make reference to a subject and an object. Transitive stems generally take this form -

\[ \text{Root} \quad -n \quad -t \quad \text{Object} \quad \text{Subject} \quad -s \]

\[
\text{tarqntis} \quad \text{He kicked him} \\
\text{kwu papasîlxstx} \quad \text{You make me worried}
\]
3.111 Transitive stems in -n may be called active stems. They involve an action of a subject upon an object.

kwu ca?ntís   He hit me

3.112 Transitive stems in -s may be called causative stems. These stems involve an action or state resulting from the activity of another.

kwu ca?stíx   You make me ashamed

3.113 The reflexive suffix -sut marks a stem when the action of the subject is directed toward itself. This suffix always follows -t transitive.

tarqncüt   tarq-n-t-sut   kick oneself

3.12 Intransitive

Stems which express an activity or state of a subject but take no object may remain unmarked or take one of several intransitive suffixes.

3.121 The suffix -m indicates that the subject is engaged in an activity. It may be called the middle suffix.

kn?ax?m   I am sweeping
lkalát?m   She is making bread
smćixm    He is frying something
3.122 Intransitive roots may add the stative suffix -t to indicate an integral or natural characteristic of that root.

- dik'  burn
- dik't  burned
- maq'  break
- maqt  broken

Many intransitive stems occur only in their stative form.

- xact  fast
- xact  hard
- ćalt  cold
- limit  happy
- qwaćact  fat
- slaxt  friend

3.123 The suffix -lx indicates that the subject is engaged in an activity involving motion.

- qiclx  run
- lkwiłlx  move away
- caćicälx  bathing
- tkiwlx  climbing

3.124 The suffix -ils expresses a state of mind.

- qawupiłs  lonely
- qawaqiłs  crazy
3.125 Intransitive roots may suffix -p to express a lack of control on the part of the subject.

- takap: grow
- takap: win
- ćsap: finished
- kmap: darkening

3.13 A root may appear as more than one type of stem.

- kwakwa?m: chewing. (intransitive)
- kwakwa?ntís: He is chewing on it (transitive)
- kn?axw: I am sweeping (intransitive)
- ćaxwntís: She is sweeping it (transitive)
- ćucawt: clean (intransitive)
- ćawsm: wash face (intransitive)
- ćawnt: Wash it! (transitive)

3.2 Imperatives

Transitive and intransitive stems may be further distinguished by their imperative form.

Transitive stems without personal reference markings indicate the imperative.

- nkipnt: Open it!
- ćaxwnt: Sweep it!
- kwu cunt: Tell me!
Intransitive stems express the imperative by suffixing -x.

?itx  sleep
?itxx  Go to sleep!
ca'alcálx  bathing
ca'alcálxx  Take a bath!
xwuy  go
xwuyx  Go!

Transitive and intransitive negative imperative forms regularly prefix the second person pronoun affix followed by the unrealized aspect marker and nominalizer.

lut aksšancút  Don't laugh!
lut akskwnim  Don't take it!
lut aksxwúya?x  Don't go!

3.3 Personal Reference System

Transitive and intransitive stems take distinctive personal reference markers. These markers distinguish first, second and third person and singular and plural number.

3.3.1 Intransitive Pronouns

The intransitive pronouns are dependent elements which may be described in two sets. The subject pronouns include three proclitic particles and one suffix. The possessive pronouns include two prefixes and four suffixes.
Subject Pronouns

kn  first person singular
kw  second person singular
kwu  first person plural
lx  third person plural

kn xwuy  I go
kwu xwuy  We go
ha kw ?aha?  Do you have a cold?
ha ?aha?lx  Do they have a cold?

The third person plural suffix -lx serves in both the transitive and intransitive paradigms. In intransitive stems it refers to the subject. In transitive stems, this suffix indicates the plural form of the third person subject and object.

Possessive Pronouns

?in-  first person singular
an-  second person singular
-s  third person singular
-tp  first person plural
-mp  second person plural
-slx  third person plural
In an unusual derivation with the reflexive suffix -sut, these possessive words are formed with the possessive pronoun affixes:

- isútn
  - It's mine
- ansútn
  - It's yours
- sutns
  - It's his/hers
- sutntt
  - It's ours
- sutntmp
  - It's yours (plural)
- sutnslx
  - It's theirs

3.32 Transitive Pronouns

The following transitive pronouns indicate the subject in an active transitive stem when the object is third person singular. Third person singular object is unmarked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Unstressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ix*</td>
<td>-x*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-is</td>
<td>-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-islx</td>
<td>-slx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  - first person singular
  - second person singular
  - third person singular
  - first person plural
  - third person plural

wtntin
  - I put it there
nlkipn
  - I open it
You put it there
You broke it
She is sweeping it
He opens it
We are eating it up
We uncover it
They open it
They are chewing on it

When the object is other than third person singular, these affixes and a proclitic particle are used.

kwu
kwu cunt
-s
-cunct
-lx
cunl

3.4 The Aspectual System

3.41 Unrealized

Stems may be marked by the prefix k- which expresses an intentional future action or state. It is usually translated as
I am going to ... or I am getting .... It always accompanies and precedes s- nominalizer and often occurs with the continuative suffix -a?x.

kn kskúltax I'm getting sick
kskúltax It's going to rain
kn ksácqax I want to go to the bathroom

3.42 Continuative

Continuative aspect is marked by the suffix -a?x when an action or state is considered in progress.

kn scpúta?x I am celebrating
snčíxa?x He is frying something
kn kscafcálxa?x I am going to take a bath

3.43 Customary

Customary aspect is marked on a stem by the prefix c- to indicate a usual or expected action or state.

asckwúl' How is your job?
n?ayp cmqwåqw It's always snowing
asçíttx How was your sleep?
3.44 Inchoative

The infix -? before the root vowel denotes a development to a state.

\[ \text{q\textsuperscript{w}uct} \quad \text{fat} \]
\[ \text{q\textsuperscript{w}uc} \quad \text{He got fat} \]
\[ \text{q\textsuperscript{l}ilt} \quad \text{sick} \]
\[ \text{q\textsuperscript{?}ilt} \quad \text{He got sick} \]

A developmental suffix -wilx expresses the notion of becoming.

\[ \text{x\textsuperscript{ast}} \quad \text{good} \]
\[ \text{x\textsuperscript{astwilx}} \quad \text{getting better} \]
\[ \text{c\textsuperscript{alt}} \quad \text{cold} \]
\[ \text{c\textsuperscript{altwilx}} \quad \text{get cold} \]

3.5 Further Stem Modification by Affixes

Word formation involves other systems of grammatical affixes and a special group of lexical affixes. They are presented here according to affixal type.

3.51 Prefixes

3.511 Directional prefixes include l- movement back, c- movement toward speaker and kl- down, under. Two directional prefixes may co-occur.
26

xwuy  go
lxwuy  return
cxwuy  come
1cxwuy  come back
mutx  Sit!
klmutx  Sit down!
kl'kmusa?  kl-km-us-a?  cheeks
          (under-surface-eyes-animate)

3.5.12 The prefix s- forms nominal stems.

mqwaqw  It's snowing
smqwaqw  age  (how many snowfalls)
?i?ln  eat
s?i?ln  mealtime
pul'  smoking
spul'  smoke

Many roots occur consistently with s- nominalizer.

slaqw  meat
sq?im  milk
skut  bees
slaqw  hawk
sônin  salmon
snina?  owl
3.513 The locative prefix n- indicates that a location is specified.

- qilt sick
- n'jilgn His head aches
- čix fry
- nčixmn kettle

When s- nominalizer and n- locative are both prefixed to a stem, a nominative instrumental function is expressed. An instrumental suffix usually co-occurs with this prefix combination.

- snčačálxtn bathtub
- snkłmutn chair
- sncaqmn oven
- snkiwlxtn ladder, stairs

3.514 The possessive is marked by the prefix kl-.

- kn kłpus I have a cat
- kłxalas xlilp Your floor is clean
- sklqayncút s-kł-ąjy-n-t-sut picture
  (nominalizer-possessive-root-active-transitive-reflexive)
3.515 The prefix sx- expresses an agent. It always co-occurs with the suffix -m middle.

sxkwulm worker
sxmamáym teacher
sxtrqam dancer

3.52 Suffixes

3.521 The suffixes -min and -tn form nominative instrumental stems. These suffixes may co-occur.

mulmn fish net
niwmn fan
klalmín fence
šarmín scissors
klítmintn fishing rod
ttkikstn cane
nxalsáxtn window

3.522 A special group of suffixes add lexical information to the root.

-a? animate
sáma? white man
skkáka? birds
kiláwna? male grizzly bear
-qin  head
kwačqn  hat
qapqíntn  hair
wl’qintn  cover, lid

-cin  mouth
spličen  mouth
wicín  finished eating
məməməcín  You talk too much

-ikst  manual
čawkstm  wash hands
stumkst  thumb
łpikst  glove

-xan  feet
sulxn  frozen feet
snsísuxn  socks
qaxán  shoe

-us  eyes
sqwtus  face
piỳusm  frown
lalústn  eyeglasses
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ank</td>
<td>stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqilnk</td>
<td>stomach ache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqilnk</td>
<td>terribly frightened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ikn</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snikn</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ulk</td>
<td>individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titimuk</td>
<td>lazy person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngwngmuk</td>
<td>thief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čačaxuk</td>
<td>shy person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mixw</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqltmixw</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilmixwm</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-úlawx</td>
<td>space, an area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmxúlawx</td>
<td>world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxúlawx</td>
<td>a cool place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čílawx</td>
<td>shade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ilp</td>
<td>base, bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swilp</td>
<td>sheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stkilp</td>
<td>mattress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sxalílp</td>
<td>floor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6 Survey of Affixes

There is insufficient contrastive material to assure an accurate description of the relative order of affixes but the available data suggests the following order from the closest to the root to the farthest from the root.

Prefixes
1. c-    directional
2. k-    directional
3. kl-   directional
4. sx-   agentive
5. kl-   possessive
6. c-    customary aspect
7. n-    locative
8. s-    nominalizer
9. k-    unrealized aspect
10. possessive pronouns
Infix

-?-

inchoative

Suffixes

1. lexical
2. -p
   non-control
3. -m
   middle
4. -t
   stative
5. -lx
   motion
6. -n
   active
   -s
   causative
7. -t
   transitive
8. transitive pronouns
9. -sut
   reflexive
10. -x
    imperative
11. -wix
    developmental
12. -ils
    state of mind
13. -min
    instrumental
14. -tn
    instrumental
15. -a?x
    continuative aspect
16. possessive pronouns
Examples of stem types where both prefixes and suffixes occur or where more than one prefix or suffix occurs will be illustrated here.

1. asćaqʷ your flowers  
a-s-ćaqʷ possessive pronoun-nominalizer-root

2. snjajmún writing equipment  
s-njajmún nominalizer-locative-root-instrumental

3. ?ингаʔxán my shoes  
?in-ŋaʔ-xán possessive pronoun-root-lexical

4. c klałm always working  
c-klałm customary aspect-root-middle

5. snćixm He is frying something  
s-nćixm nominalizer-locative-root-middle

6. angapqíntn your hair  
an-gap-qin-tn possessive pronoun-root-lexical-instrumental

7. askwíst your name  
a-s-kwís-t possessive pronoun-nominalizer-root-stative

8. scilkstásqt Friday  
s-cil-kst-asqt nominalizer-root-lexical-lexical

9. nsámaʔcn speak English  
n-sam-aʔ-cn locative-root-lexical-lexical

10. kslkwúyaʔx He's going to return home  
k-s-l-kwuy-aʔx unrealised aspect-nominalizer-directional-root-continuative aspect
3.7 Reduplicated Stems

Complete and partial reduplication processes occur to form complex stems.

3.7.1 Complete Reduplication

Complete reduplication can function to express qualities, intensity, iteration and plural. In some cases the function of the reduplication is not apparent.

a. $C_1 V_1 C_2 - C_1 V_1 C_2$

- caxt \(\rightarrow\) hot
- cáxcaxt \(\rightarrow\) very hot
- limt \(\rightarrow\) happy
- límplimt \(\rightarrow\) thank you

b. $C_1 V_1 C_2 - C_1 V_1 C_2$

- citx\(\rightarrow\) house
- ctcitx\(\rightarrow\) houses
- kwul' \(\rightarrow\) work
- kwulkulimn \(\rightarrow\) tools
- sáma? \(\rightarrow\) white man
- smsáma? \(\rightarrow\) white people
A number of stems belong formally to this reduplication type but contrasting non-reduplicated forms are lacking.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
q^\text{ngwant} & \text{poor} \\
maSm\text{gt} & \text{tiresome} \\
lipl\text{p} & \text{corn} \\
x^\text{\textacute{a}tx\textacute{w}at} & \text{ducks} \\
näx\text{\textacute{nax\textacute{w}}} & \text{wife} \\
klkilx & \text{arms}
\end{array}
\]

c. \(C_1\dot{V}_1 - C_1V_1\)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
sq\text{it} & \text{rain} \\
\dot{q}\text{áqat} & \text{a rainshower}
\end{array}
\]

d. \(C_1V_1 - C_1\dot{V}_1\)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
scuxán & \text{foot} \\
scucúxn & \text{feet}
\end{array}
\]
3.72 Partial Reduplication

a. Diminutive forms occur with the reduplication of \( C_1 \) of the root.

- \( \text{kkyy\text{\textquoteleft}na?} \) - little
- \( \text{kk\text{\textquoteleft}wap} \) - dog
- \( \text{sk\text{\textquoteleft}kwimalt} \) - baby
- \( \text{tt\text{\textquoteleft}wit} \) - boy
- \( \text{sc\text{\textquoteleft}wim\text{\textquoteleft}la?} \) - children
- \( \text{cc\text{\textquoteleft}taxw} \) - bathroom

b. Plural can be indicated by the reduplication of \( C_1 \) of the root.

- \( \text{xxmal} \) - fly
- \( \text{xx\text{\textquoteleft}mal} \) - flies

3.73 Multiple Reduplication

A stem may be modified by more than one reduplicative process.

- \( \text{\text{\textquoteleft}xap} \) - grow
- \( \text{\text{\textquoteleft}x\text{\textquoteleft}xap} \) - old person
- \( \text{\text{\textquoteleft}x\text{\textquoteleft}x\text{\textquoteleft}xap} \) - old people
- \( \text{skk\text{\textquoteleft}ka?} \) - birds
3.8 Compound Stems

Compound stems consist of two roots and optional affixes.

- ḡlsbpsus: discouraged, depressed
- ḡil - sbpsus: sick - heart
- sncáxtlkalat: fried bread
- s-n- caxt - lkalá: hot - bread
- lptm'tlkow: rippling of the water
- lpmnt - čikwt: ripples - lake

Some suppletive stems for plural imperative form compounds with the root xwuy go.

- púlxwuy: Go to bed! (plural)
- twistxwuy: Get up! (plural)
- kwílxwuy: Sit down! (plural)

The following numeral compounds combine ṭupnkst ten with the digits one to nine.

1. naqs
2. ṭasíl
3. kalís
4. mus
5. cilkst
6. ṭaqmkst
7. sisplk
8. timł
9. ṭxnut
The numbers eleven to nineteen consist of ?upnkst ten as the first element followed by the digits with the connecting morpheme 1.

11. ?upnkst 1 náqs
12. ?upnkst 1 ?asíl
13. ?upnkst 1 kalís
14. ?upnkst 1 mús
15. ?upnkst 1 cílkst
16. ?upnkst 1 čáqmkst
17. ?upnkst 1 sísplk
18. ?upnkst 1 tímul
19. ?upnkst 1 čxnút

In multiples of ten, ?upnkst ten is preceded by the digits.

20. ?asil ?úpnkst
30. kał ?úpnkst
40. mus 1 ?úpnkst
50. cílk 1 ?úpnkst
60. čáq 1 ?úpnkst
70. sísplk 1 ?úpnkst
80. tímul ?úpnkst
90. čxnút 1 ?úpnkst

One hundred is xccikst.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


