

Coeur d'Alene Aspect

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the grammatical aspect markers of an extremely endangered language, Coeur d'Alene. Coeur d'Alene is a Southern Interior Salish language spoken by two remaining fluent speakers in Northern Idaho. The Coeur d'Alene aspect system has not previously been subject to a formal analysis. There are three grammatical aspects in the language, traditionally called the *completive* (\emptyset), *customary* (*?ec-*) and *continuative* (*?ic-*). In this thesis I reanalyze the completive as a standard perfective, the customary as a general imperfective and the continuative as a progressive. The thesis provides data on the different readings that these grammatical aspects induce on the four Vendlerian verb classes of activities, states, accomplishments and achievements. I adopt the semantics used by Bar-el (2005), who follows the formal model of aspect laid out by Rothstein (2004) to analyze the Squamish language.

Preface

This thesis is original, independent work by the author. A. Vincent

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ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person
ACT	active
AUG	augmentative
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CHAR	characteristic
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative
CTR	control
CUST	customary
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DUR	durative
EXCL	exclamation
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
IM.FUT	immediate future
INCH	inchoative
INDEF	indefinite
INH	inherent
INSTR	instrumental
INT	intentional
INVL	involuntary
LCR	limited control
LOC	locative
MDL	middle
MOD	modal
MUT	mutative
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
NTE	non topic ergative
NVOL	non volitional
OBL	oblique
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POSSA	possessive applicative
PREP	preposition
PST	past
PURP	purposeful

QUANT	quantifier
REFL	reflexive
REL	relational
REP	repetitive
RES	resultive
STAT	stative
SUB	subordinator
SUCC	success
TRAN	transitive

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Dedication

*t'is Lawrence Nicodemus ku'm t'i's Reva Hess; I promised you both that I would do everything
in my power to keep the language alive.*

t'i's Kerry Franklin for teaching me to never give up.

*t'i's hiinune' Patricia Vincent ku'm t'i's hnpipe' Richard Vincent Sr., my parents who supported
me in my education my whole life until their passing,
and all of the past, present, and future Coeur d'Alene language learners/speakers.*

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

If there were only three elderly fluent speakers of your language left in the world and you had one last chance to linguistically study one part of that language, what would you choose? This is what I asked myself when deciding on a master’s thesis topic. The following quote from Kinkade (1996) helped me make my decision. “Aspect and person marking are the two most important morphosyntactic categories in Salishan languages” (185). Aspect is a big part of Coeur d’Alene grammar that has not been fully researched or documented. It is also a topic that requires systematic fieldwork with fluent speakers. Aspect plays a part in nearly every sentence used in the Coeur d’Alene language. Understanding more about this will help in documentation of this extremely endangered language as well as current and future revitalization efforts.

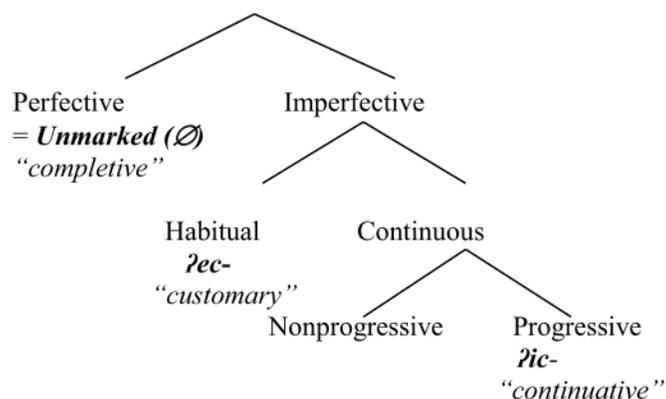
This thesis undertakes a semantic analysis of the Coeur d’Alene aspectual system. Below, in Table 1, are the grammatical aspect markers in Coeur d’Alene. These markers are known as *completive*, *customary*, and *continuative* in the linguistic literature on the language (Reichard 1938, Doak 1997, Nicodemus 2000, Brinkman 2007). The completive is unmarked and the other two markers both historically derive from the Proto-Salish stative marker *ʔac- (Kinkade 1996, Kroeber 1986). Beyond basic morphological description, there has been no research into the semantics or the syntax of these markers.

Table 1: Coeur d’Alene Aspectual Markers (based on Kinkade (1996))

Completive <i>(perfective)</i>	Customary <i>(habitual)</i>	Continuative <i>(progressive)</i>
unmarked	ʔec-	ʔic-

Figure 1 provides a preliminary classification of the Coeur d’Alene aspectual morphemes within the framework of Comrie (1976). According to this classification, what is called completive in the Coeur d’Alene literature corresponds to a perfective, what is called the customary corresponds to a habitual, and what is called the continuative corresponds to a progressive.

Figure 1 Grammatical Aspect Representaton (based on Comrie 1976)



Since these aspectual forms have not been thoroughly studied in Coeur d’Alene, my first research question is to establish whether the correspondences proposed in Figure 1 actually hold; though the labels are suggestive, no systematic empirical work has been carried out on aspect. This question will be addressed in Chapter 2.

Before this thesis, there has been no attempt to classify Coeur d’Alene verbs according to aspectual class. Chapter 3 provides a preliminary division into Vendlerian classes, along with an examination of the interaction between the verb classes and grammatical aspect.

1.2 Previous research on the Coeur d’Alene language

The earliest linguistic research on Coeur d’Alene is by Gladys Reichard, a student of Franz Boas. Her fieldwork was conducted in 1927 and 1929, and then again later in 1936 and 1938. Her grammar was published in 1938 in Volume 3 of the *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Reichard 1938). Her stem list of Coeur d’Alene was published in Reichard (1939). Her later works include *Composition and symbolism of Coeur d’Alene verb-stems* (Reichard 1940), *An analysis of Coeur d’Alene Indian myths* (Froelich and Reichard 1947), and a series of papers published posthumously in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* (Reichard 1958-1961).

The next linguist to work on Coeur d’Alene was Clarence Sloat, who wrote his dissertation and a series of subsequent papers on Coeur d’Alene phonology (Sloat 1966, 1968, 1971, 1972, 1980). In 1975, Eric Johnson wrote another dissertation on Coeur d’Alene phonology, *The Role of Phonetic Detail in Coeur d’Alene Phonology* (Johnson 1975).

Fluent speaker Lawrence Nicodemus authored several books on the Coeur d’Alene language.

This included a set of dictionaries (Nicodemus 1975a) and a curriculum book (Nicodemus 1975b). He also co-authored two high school curriculum books with an accompanying reference guide (Nicodemus et al 2000) as well as two semantic papers with Gary Palmer (1982, 1985). Palmer co-authored two additional books with Nicodemus, one on Coeur d'Alene familial names (Palmer et al 1987) and one on Coeur d'Alene geography and place names (Palmer et al. 1987). Palmer wrote two additional papers on geographical nomenclature (Palmer (1989, 1990)).

Ivy Doak has written many papers on different aspects of Coeur d'Alene grammar, including vowel harmony (Doak (1987, 1992)), truncation (Doak 1990), the *-stu* transitivizer (Doak 1993), imperatives (Doak 1996), and her dissertation on Coeur d'Alene grammar (Doak 1997). She also co-authored a paper with Anthony Mattina (Doak and Mattina 1997) on *-ilsh* 'plural'.

Raymond Brinkman, a cultural anthropologist who works for the Coeur d'Alene Language Program, has been writing and updating an unpublished manuscript on the Coeur d'Alene language (Brinkman 2007). Shannon Bischoff has written a dissertation on Coeur d'Alene clause structure (Bischoff 2007) and a paper on lexical affixes (Bischoff 2011). John Lyon and Rebecca Greene-Wood wrote a root dictionary based on Nicodemus's two-volume dictionary set (Lyon and Greene-Wood 2007). Lyon also wrote a paper on Nicodemus's file card collection (Lyon 2010).

1.2.1 Publications with aspectual information

There is currently only one paper that solely focuses on grammatical aspect in Coeur d'Alene: Harris (1974). Paul Kroeber's cross-linguistic investigation of Salish morphosyntax (Kroeber 1999) contains some remarks on aspect in Coeur d'Alene, and Kroeber (1986) explores the origins of the Southern Interior Salish 'progressive'. Reichard (1938) and Doak (1997) both contain a lot of data on aspect as well as general descriptions of the aspectual system. Reichard was the first to label *?ec-* and *?ic-* 'customary' and 'continuative', respectively, and researchers working on Coeur d'Alene since have employed her terminology. Kinkade (1996) wrote a paper on the reconstruction of aspect in Salish which labels *?c-* as an imperfective and *?ec-* as a stative.

These papers have provided labels for and preliminary descriptions of aspectual morphemes in Coeur d'Alene. Looking at the data in these sources and conducting fieldwork with fluent speakers, I was able to see that there was more that needed to be said about the completive,

customary and continuative. As a first step, I thought it would be helpful to translate these labels into current terminology, as used in linguistic literature on aspect: hence, I will provisionally treat the completive as a perfective, and the customary and continuative as imperfectives.

1.3 My fieldwork experience

The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted with the two remaining fluent speakers of Coeur d'Alene.¹ There were 14 elicitation sessions spread from December 2010 to June 2012. The speakers were able to provide translations from English to Coeur d'Alene, and provided some translations from Coeur d'Alene to English. They also gave some semantic judgments on Coeur d'Alene sentences. Towards the end of my data gathering there were a small number of tests that I conducted to get semantic judgments on verb classes. These tests only yielded fragmentary information, because the speakers were not used to the elicitation procedures I employed. I do not know at this time whether further fieldwork can be conducted with these speakers and whether that fieldwork would provide more information on verb classes and their semantics. The methodologies used during my fieldwork will be discussed in section 1.6.

There were limitations on my data gathering with the fluent speakers, because of their age and infirmity. The language is extremely endangered, at level 8 on Fishman's (1991) endangerment scale, which happens to be the last stage. GIDS stands for *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale*. Parkin (2010) applies Fishman's scale to Southern Interior Salish languages. He describes stage 8 in his paper: "A stage-8 language on the GIDS is at extreme risk of extinction and is characterized by having only a few, culturally isolated fluent speakers" (7). With there being only two fluent speakers, there are not enough fluent speakers to maintain a speech community for Coeur d'Alene to be used in everyday situations. The speakers mainly speak at events and when they visit each other. The two speakers met weekly at the Coeur d'Alene Language Program in Plummer, Idaho and at these meetings they talk about their past experiences and Coeur d'Alene tribal history. They spend the majority of the time speaking in English but will often provide Coeur d'Alene sentences and words throughout their stories and recollections. They are also often given requests from the community for Coeur d'Alene names for people, buildings, programs etc., or recollections on certain time periods. They translate by request, various speeches and songs.

¹ When this research was begun there were 3 fluent speakers of Coeur d'Alene. Lavinia Felsman was not working at the time of this research because of health reasons and passed away in 2012.

The meetings at the Coeur d'Alene Language Program are set up in a way that the speakers are given an open ended amount of time that starts at 11:00 am and goes until they are tired, which is usually by mid to late afternoon. They often come in and discuss whatever is on their minds; memories they have thought of or what they have been doing lately. Sometimes the requests from the community or other researchers trigger memories of the same or similar topics. I am explaining this because this is how my fieldwork sessions were structured. I would often come in prepared with many sentences and questions. One of these sentences could trigger a long conversation on the topic of the sentence before I would get the actual Coeur d'Alene. So data gathering was not as fast as it can be with speakers who are used to working with linguists and their types of questions and elicitation procedures. As a community member and out of respect for my elders I could not force an elicitation procedure on them that they were not used to. I simply fit my questions into the structure that they already had for their meetings.

I was not able to elicit much information on verb classes or semantic judgments. Because of one speaker's difficulty in hearing it was hard to get translations from Coeur d'Alene to English. Both speakers have not learned the Coeur d'Alene writing system, so typing the Coeur d'Alene and getting an English translation from the speakers was not an option. Because of this I also could not get negative data. I was not able to say sentences in Coeur d'Alene and have them both understand me.

Even though there were limitations, the data I was able to gather from written sources and fieldwork gave me enough information so that I have been able to re-define the aspectual morphemes and provide more information about their uses. This will be relevant for language teaching and revitalization efforts as well as theoretical work in Salish linguistics.

In the rest of this chapter, I will provide some background information on Coeur d'Alene, including the location of the Coeur d'Alene people, language revitalization history, and relevant information on phonology, morphology and morphosyntax.

1.4 Language background

1.4.1 Language

The Coeur d'Alene language is a Southern Interior Salish language. It is most closely related to Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, Okanagan and Moses-Columbian.

Figure 2: Map of Salish Tribes



(<http://www.syilx.org/who-we-are/the-syilx-people/language/history-of-the-language/>)

The Coeur d'Alene reservation is located in what is now Northern Idaho but the traditional tribal territory extended into Eastern Washington and Western Montana. The Coeur d'Alene tribe currently has over 2190 enrolled members (<http://www.cdatribe-nsn.gov>).

1.4.2 Language revitalization

Brinkman (2003) states that there were a low number of speakers even during the time period of Reichard's fieldwork.

Reichard would later publish her conclusion that '[the] only part of Coeur d'Alene culture left in 1929 was the language, which survived among the old people' (1947: 2). But it's evident from her correspondence and my direct work with one of her primary consultants, and others, that even then there were few speakers (Brinkman 2003: 18).

Reichard's work with Julia Nicodemus introduced her to Julia's son Lawrence Nicodemus, who would become the main speaker-linguist working on language revitalization for the Coeur d'Alenes. "Lawrence was to spend thirteen months at Columbia University in 1935-36

(Reichard 1938: 521), staying at the International House, sitting in on classes, dining at the home of Franz Boas, walking the streets of Depression-era Harlem” (Brinkman 2003: 3). This experience taught him about linguistics and helped him in the understanding of the linguistic structure of Coeur d’Alene. This contributed to his work on language revitalization and documentation. “[Reichard] taught him to write his language in broad phonetic transcription and [he] apparently learned a good deal about its phonetic and phonological complexities from his reactions to this experience (Thompson 1976: 1003, cited in Brinkman 2003: 4). Lawrence spent his life all the way up until his death in 2002 working on the Coeur d’Alene language and was at the forefront of revitalization efforts.

The last thirty years of his life were marked by scholarly contribution. ...The Coeur d’Alene Tribe published a self-study course in the tribal language that he authored (1975). It remains an invaluable record of the language. He was a co-author of two publications (1987); one a record of tribal family and historical names in *Coeur d’Alene*; the other an ethno-geography of *Coeur d’Alene* place names for the aboriginal territory (Brinkman 2003: 2).

Lawrence was the main person who worked on revitalization efforts for the Coeur d’Alene language. His publications remain invaluable resources for anyone working on revitalizing and teaching the Coeur d’Alene language.

Coeur d’Alene language classes were held from 1995 to 2001 at Lakeside High school in Plummer, Idaho. In 2000, textbooks were published for the two levels taught at the high school along with a reference guide. Lawrence attended most, if not all, of these classes to model pronunciation for the students. These classes ended after the passing of Reva Hess, the co-teacher who taught with Lawrence. Although Reva was not a Coeur d’Alene tribal member, she worked hard at learning the language and strongly believed that it was important for the students at the high school to learn it as well. There were also college level classes held through North Idaho College in Coeur d’Alene, Idaho. These classes have continued to be taught by Raymond Brinkman from the Coeur d’Alene Language Program.

The Coeur d’Alene Language Program was started in 1994. It consisted of 3-4 employees until 2011. In the summer of 2011 the program was awarded an Administration for Native Americans (ANA) grant to start a teacher-training program. This has increased the staff size to 8 employees.

1.5 Grammatical background

1.5.1 Phonology

The Coeur d'Alene consonants are listed in table 2 below.

Table 2: Consonant Chart

	labial	alveolar	alveo-palatal	lateral	palatal	labio-velar	uvular	labio-uvular	pharyngeal	labiopharyngeal	glottal
voiceless stops and affricates	p	t	c		č	k ^w	q	q ^w			ʔ
glottalized voiceless stops and affricates	p'	t'	c'		č'	k' ^w	q'	q' ^w			
voiced stops and affricates	b	d			ǰ	g ^w					
voiceless fricatives		s		ʈ	š	x ^w	χ	χ ^w			h
plain resonants	m	n	r	l	y	w			ʕ	ʕ ^w	
glottalized resonants	m'	n'	r'	l'	y'	w'			ʕ'	ʕ' ^w	

(CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Table 3: Vowel Chart

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə*	o
low		a	

*note that ə is not phonemic

1.5.1.1 Syllables

The most common syllable types are CVC and CV. Consonant clusters occur in both onset and coda positions, resulting in syllable shapes of the form CSV(C), CVSC, and C-CVC-CC-CVSSC² (<http://www.ivydoak.com> n.d.).

² The S stands for sonorant.

1.5.1.2 Stress

Stress in Coeur d'Alene has not been thoroughly researched, though it is briefly discussed by Reichard: "Every word of more than one syllable has a definite stress which remains stable, or changes for cause. Stress is primary, only in very long words is there evidence of secondary stress and that is weak" (Reichard 1938: 534). Reichard mentions that some suffixes are lexically stressed, including lexical suffixes. She also mentions differences in meaning depending on whether the stem is accented. Doak summarizes the stress system in Coeur d'Alene on her website: "The tendency in Coeur d'Alene is to penultimate or final stress or, more accurately, to stress on the penultimate or final stressable vowel" (<http://www.ivydoak.com> n.d.). She also mentions that "the rules of Coeur d'Alene reduction versus deletion of unstressed vowels are currently impenetrable" (<http://www.ivydoak.com>). The example in (1) shows penultimate stress, while (2) shows final stress.

(1) ni'y'lkhwusshmn³
niʔylx^wúsšnn
niʔ-yeI'x^w=us=šin-n
among-cover=face=leg-NMLZ
apron (<http://www.ivydoak.com>)

(2) y'lkhwaqsn
yl'x^wáqsn
yeI'x^w=aqsn
cover=breast-NMLZ
bib (<http://www.ivydoak.com>)

In example (1) the vowel in =š*in* is deleted, which often happens in an unstressed position. "Unstressed root and suffix vowels often (but not always) reduce or delete, leaving the impression that both examples carry final stress" (<http://www.ivydoak.com> n.d.). Vowels can also reduce to schwa, which is the unmarked value of vowels in unstressed positions.

³ Coeur d'Alene data will be given with a five-tier interlinear gloss. The first tier is the Nicodemus orthography. The second tier employs the standard northwest phonemic alphabet used by most Salishanists. The third tier is the morpheme breakdown with the underlying forms. The fourth tier is the morpheme gloss. Finally, the fifth tier is the English translation.

For more information on vowel harmony in Coeur d'Alene, see Sloat (1972), Doak (1987) (1992), and Fitzgerald (1997).

1.5.1.4 Coronal sequence reduction

Deletion of coronals often happens at morpheme boundaries. This applies to aspectual prefixes as well as other morphemes. “Where two coronal segments meet at a morpheme boundary, the first will drop out” (ivydoak.com n.d.). The examples below in (5) show a customary sentence with no deletion (a) and a customary sentence with deletion (b).

(5) a. chn'tsgwich
 čnčg^wič
 čn ʔec-g^wič
 1SG.NOM CUST-see
 I usually see things of that nature. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

b. chn' ts'u'um
 čn' čuʔum
 čn ʔec-č^uʔum
 1SG.NOM CUST-cry
 I customarily weep. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

1.5.1.5 Glide formation

The vowel *i* in the continuative aspect often changes to a glide. According to Doak it is because “/y y' w w' / are semivowels, and often vocalize between consonants; the glottalized segments may vocalize in initial position followed by a consonant” (<http://www.ivydoak.com>). The sentences in (6) show the difference between glide formation with *c* retained (a) versus glide formation with *c* deleted (b).

(6) a. ku'yts'oqws
 ku^yts ʔoq^ws
 ku ʔic-ʔoq^ws
 2SG.NOM CONT-drink
 You are drinking. (Nicodemus 1975: 56)

b. ku'yts'u'umsh
 ku^y čuʔumš
 ku ʔic-č^uʔum-š

2SG.NOM CONT-cry-ACT
You are weeping. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

1.5.1.6 Vowel deletion

The first person pronoun *čin* has a vowel *i* that only appears when the *n* is deleted. This is shown below. The vowel *i* of the continuative marker also deletes in this example.

- (7) *chi'ts'ih̄n*
čih̄cʔih̄n
čin *ʔic-ʔih̄n*
1SG.NOM CONT-eat
I am eating. (Nicodemus et al. 2000: 56)

The reason for the *i* in *čin-* showing up in certain contexts is unclear. Doak states that “/n/ vocalizes to [i] before s” (ivydoak.com n.d.). Brinkman (2007), when discussing the first person genitive pronoun, states “[b]ut the vowel drops out of *hin-* a lot, so it’s often written *hn-*. Or when the verb root, or another prefix that follows, begins with an s, the n will drop out, leaving *hi-*” (Brinkman 2007: 15). So there are two options: option (i) is that *čin-* and *hin-* are the underlying forms but occur most often as *čn-* and *hn-* except when an *s* follows; option (ii) is that *čn-* and *hn-* are the underlying forms but the *n* changes to *i* in front of *s*, as Doak states.

Example (8) shows the first person nominative pronoun *chin-* in front of an *s*. Example (9) shows the first person genitive pronoun in front of an *s*. Example (10) shows the first person genitive pronoun with the deletion of *n* and the appearance of *i*. This occurs in front of a word beginning with *n*. The *i* still shows up even though there is no *s*. So maybe the *i* is a part of *čn-* and *hn-*. Further research is needed to determine this.

- (8) *chismi'yems*
čismiyèms
čn *s-miyim-s*
1SG.NOM NMLZ-woman-3SG.GEN
I am his wife. (<http://www.ivydoak.com>)

- (9) *histi'*
histiʔ
hn-s-tiʔ
1SG.GEN-NMLZ-possession (personal)
It's mine. (<http://www.ivydoak.com>)

- (10) hiinune'
 hi:núneʔ
 hin-núneʔ
 1SG.GEN-mother
 My mother (lit. She is my mother) (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

There are also deletions that occur in continuative transitive sentences in the preverbal part of the sentence. The data in (11a) shows a transitive sentence with deletion of the *i* of the continuative marker. (11b) shows multiple deletions including *c* deletion in the continuative aspect.

- (11) a. kwi'tsekunm
 k^wiʔcʔek^wúnəm
 ku hin-s-ʔic-ʔek^wun-m
 2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-NMLZ-CONT-say-MDL
 I am telling you. (Doak 1997: 180)
- b. kwi'chsts'u'minm
 k^wiʔčscúʔminm
 ku hin-s-ʔic-čs-c'uʔum-mín-m
 2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-NMLZ-CONT-for.a.purpose-weep-INSTR-MDL
 I am weeping for you. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

The *h* and *n* delete from the genitive marker. The nominalizer deletes. The *i* and *c* delete from the continuative marker. Table 5 summarizes the deletions that occur in continuative transitive sentences. Row 1 shows the prefixes that attach to the stem. The stem has to occur with a beginning coronal consonant for the *c* to delete from the continuative marker. Row 2 shows the segments that delete in bold. Row 3 shows what is left after the deletions. The nominalizer *s* and glottal ʔ palatalize at a morpheme boundary.

Table 5: Deletions in Continuative Transitive Sentences

ku-hin-s-ʔic-[stem that starts with coronal consonant]
ku hins ʔic-[stem that starts with coronal consonant]
ku ^y -[stem]

1.5.2 Overview of morphology

In this section I give an overview of Coeur d'Alene morphology, focusing on morphemes

which are important for this thesis. Aside from the inflectional morphemes discussed immediately below, Coeur d’Alene also has many derivational morphemes, including lexical, locative, directional, and aspectual affixes. There are only a few lexical prefixes but there are approximately 80 lexical suffixes, according to Reichard (1938). Lexical suffixes, which are a prominent feature of all Salish languages, are root-like morphemes with lexical content which attach to the root, usually inside aspectual and valence-related suffixes. Some of them resemble free-standing nouns but there are many that do not. There are also locative, directional, aspectual, intransitivizing and transitivizing affixes. There is one infix *-ʔ-* which is an allomorph of the inchoative suffix *-p*. The infix occurs with strong roots, the suffix with weak roots (Reichard 1938: 579). Coeur d’Alene has four types of reduplication: diminutive, intensive, noncontrol/resultive and augmentative/distributive.

1.5.2.1 Transitivity and pronominal morphemes

Coeur d’Alene has six transitivizing suffixes. The most widely used are the *causative* transitivizer and the *control* transitivizer.

Table 6: Transitivizers

lone-t	-t
control	-nt
causative	-st(u)
possessor applicative	-łt
benefactive applicative	-š(i)t
dative	-túłt

(adapted from Bischoff 2007: 42)

I list the *-nt* transitivizer in the table above as a control transitivizer. Like other Salish languages, Coeur d’Alene grammatically encodes a notion of ‘agent control’. For more on agent control in Salish see Thompson (1979), Carlson and Thompson (1981), Thompson and Thompson (1981), Thompson (1985), Carlson (1996), Demirdache (1997), Davis and Demirdache (2000), Davis (2010), Davis et al (2009), and Jacobs (2011). With respect to *-t* and *-nt*, Bischoff states that “[t]hese transitivizers indicate most often that the subject is an agent in control of his or her actions” (Bischoff 2007: 42). Both Harris (1974) and Bischoff (2007) call the *-nt* a control transitivizer.

Table 7 shows the intransitive pronominal morphemes. Intransitive subjects in all three grammatical aspects are marked with the nominative morphemes in the lefthand column. The morphemes in the righthand column are used as possessive markers.

Table 7: Intransitive Pronominal Morphemes

	Nominative	Genitive
1S	čn/čin	hn-/hin-
2S	ku	in-
3S	∅	-s
1P	č	-et
2P	kup	-mp
3P	-lš	-slš

The transitive pronominal morphemes are shown in Table 8 below. Transitive sentences in the completive and customary are marked with the set of pronominal suffixes listed in the two rightmost columns below. In transitive continuative sentences the genitive markers listed in the second column from the left occur as grammatical subjects while the nominative morphemes in the leftmost column are used as grammatical objects.

Table 8: Transitive Pronominal Morphemes

	Nominative	Genitive	Accusative Object	Ergative Subject
1S	čn/čin	hn-/hin-	-sel/-mel	-n
2S	ku	in-	-si/-mi	-x ^w
3S	∅	-s	-∅	-s
1P	č	-et	-eli	-met
2P	kup	-mp	-ulmi	-p
3P	-lš	-slš	∅ -lš	-silš

Sentence (12) shows the use of a nominative pronoun in an intransitive completive sentence.

Intransitive completive

- (12) ku khwist
 ku x^wist
 ku x^wist
 2SG.NOM walk
 You walked. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Sentence (13) shows a genitive marker marking possession in predicate position of a completive sentence.

Genitive sentence

- (13) hnqwatsqn
 hnq^wacqn
 hin-q^wacqn
 1SG.GEN-hat
 It is my hat. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

The examples in (14) and (15) below show the contrast between sentences with the unmarked completive and the *ʔec*-marked customary. Observe in (14a) and (15a) that the unmarked completive occurs with the *-nt* transitivizer. In contrast, in (14b) and (15b), the *ʔec*-marked customary aspect appears with the *-st(u)* transitivizer⁵. Note that in Table 8 the second person pronominal suffixes differ in whether they start with *s* or *m*. This alternation is triggered by the transitivizer. The *-nt* always occurs with the *s* pronouns and *-st(u)* always occurs with the *m* pronouns. See Newman (1979) for a reconstruction of object pronouns which postulates these two series for Proto-Salish.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(14) a. wi^ʔntsekhw
 wi^ʔncex^w
 wi^ʔ-nt-se-x^w
 shout-CTR-1SG.ACC-2SG.ERG
 ‘You shouted at me’</p> | <p>b. ‘etswi^ʔstmekhw
 ʔecwi^ʔstmex^w
 ʔec-wi^ʔ-st-me-x^w
 CUST-shout-CAUS-1SG.ACC-2SG.ERG
 ‘You shout at me’</p> |
| <p>(15) a. wi^ʔntselp
 wi^ʔncelp
 wi^ʔ-nt-sel-p
 shout-CTR-1SG.ACC-2SG.ERG
 ‘You all shouted at me’</p> | <p>b. ‘etswi^ʔstmelp
 ʔecwi^ʔstmelp
 ʔec-wi^ʔ-st-mel-p
 CUST-shout-CAUS-1SG.ACC-2SG.ERG
 ‘You all shout at me’ (Brinkman 2007: 63)</p> |

⁵ There are a handful of verbs that do occur with the causative transitivizer in the completive yet there are no customary sentences with the control transitivizer.

Sentence (16) shows a transitive sentence in the continuative aspect. This sentence type is nominalized and occurs with a genitive marker as the subject and a nominative marker as the object.

- (16) kwi'tswi'm
 k^{wi}?cwi?m
 ku-hin-s-ʔic-wi?-m
 2SG.NOM-1SG.GEN-NMLZ-CONT-shout-MDL
 I am calling you aloud. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

1.5.2.2 *Out of control*

There is morphology used in some Salish languages that shows whether the agent has control over the situation. There are situations where the agent does something accidentally or with difficulty that are marked with ‘out of control’ morphology. There are two ways to mark out of control in Coeur d’Alene: C₂ reduplication and *-nun*. Doak (2004: 120) remarks “C₂ reduplication results in NONCONTROL/RESULTIVE stems; these indicate that the subject is not in a controlling role in the event”, whereas *-nun* just marks noncontrol (Doak 1997: 45). Reichard also mentions the meaning behind C₂ reduplication in her grammar: “If I say ‘peññ, it is bent’, I mean it has come to be bent through some unknown or natural agency as by frost” (Reichard 1938: 636). Reichard (1938) refers to *-nun* as marking success “-nun, succeed after considerable effort” and this is how I translate it here. *-nun* occurs in intransitive and transitive sentences. When it occurs with transitive sentences it precedes the *-nt* transitivizer. In neighboring Spokane, Carlson (1996) refers to C₂ as ‘out of control’ and *-nu* as ‘SUCCESS’ (Carlson 1996: 61-62). *-nun* is cognate with *-nəx*’/*-nu* in Central Salish: there, it is referred to as limited control and has both ‘accidental’ and ‘success’ readings.

The examples in (17) through (20) show the control and out of control morphemes with the root *kul*’ ‘to make’. Sentence (17) is a transitive sentence with a control transitivizer but no success morphology. Sentence (18) is a sentence with limited control reduplication. Sentence (19) is a transitive sentence with limited control reduplication and the success marker *-nun*. Example (20) is with a different root but shows the use of *-nun* with transitivization but without C₂ reduplication.

Transitive

- (17) k'u'Ints
k'wúnc
k'wú-nt-Ø-s
make-CTR-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
He made it. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Out of control

- (18) k'u'lu'l
k'wull
k'wul-C₂
make-RES
He/she was born. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Out of control and success

- (19) k'u'l'Inunts
k'wulúnunc
kul-C₂-nún-t-Ø-s
make-RES-SUCC-CTR-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
He succeeded in making it. (carried it out, executed it) (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Success transitive

- (20) hnts'pnunts
hnc'spnunc
hn-c's-p-nún-t-Ø-s
LOC-collect-INCH-SUCC-TRAN-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
He succeeded in emptying it. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

In other related languages (e.g. Carlson (1996), Kinkade (1982)), C₂ tends to refer to spontaneously occurring events. There is limited data on these two morphemes and their differences in Coeur d'Alene. Further research is needed.

1.5.3 Morphological template

The following figure shows a template for the building of a predicate from a root.

Figure 3: Doak's Template for Intransitive Stems

[locative/directional/derivational][lexical[redup[√root]redup]intransitive][lexical]transitive]

(<http://www.ivydoak.com> n.d.)

The template shows the root in the middle, together with the types of morphemes that attach to it to make either an intransitive or a transitive stem. The types of morphemes that prefix to the root are locatives, directionals, derivational prefixes, lexical prefixes, and reduplication. The types

of morphemes that suffix to the root are reduplication, intransitive suffixes, lexical suffixes and transitivizers. The most common uses for reduplication are CVC- ‘augmentative’, C₁- ‘diminutive’ and -C₂ ‘out of control’.

1.5.4 Syntax

This section provides a brief introduction to the syntax of Coeur d’Alene. Other syntactic research on Coeur d’Alene has been carried out by Doak (1997) and Bischoff (2007). A thorough analysis of Coeur d’Alene syntax has yet to be done.

1.5.4.1 Word order

When there is an overt subject the word order is: **verb subject**, as is seen in (21).

- (21) ‘etswísh khwe smiyíw
 ʔecwíš x^we smiyíw
 ʔec-wíš x^we smiyíw
 CUST-dwell DET coyote
 he dwelt the coyote. (Reichard 1938: 679)⁶

When an overt object is present the order is: **verb object**, as is seen in (22).

- (22) chi’tsgwíh e ts’i’
 čičg^wi’č ʔe číʔ
 čn ʔic-g^wič ʔe číʔ
 1SG.NOM CONT-see OBL deer
 I am seeing a deer. (Reichard 1938: 679)

When there is an overt subject and object the default word order is: **verb object subject** (VOS) according to Reichard (1938). This is shown below in example (23).

- (23) itsgwíhms khwe tsi’ khwe e Ben
 ʔicg^wičms x^we ciʔ x^we ʔe Ben
 ʔic-g^wič-m-s x^we ciʔ x^we ʔe Ben
 CONT-see-MDL-3SG.GEN DET deer DET OBL Ben
 Ben is seeing the deer. (Reichard 1938: 679)

VSO word order is also possible. This is the word order shown in (24) with the same

⁶ I am using Reichard’s glossing which is very literal and treats pronominal markers as though they were English pronouns, even when they are zero-marked. This glossing is also in the myths that Reichard gathered and that Doak has on her website (<http://www.ivydoak.com>).

meaning as (23).

- (24) itsgwičhms khwe e Ben khwe tsi'
ʔicg^wičms x^we ʔe Ben x^we ci?
ʔic-g^wič-m-s x^we ʔe Ben x^we ci?
CONT-see-MDL-3SG.GEN DET OBL Ben DET deer
Ben is seeing the deer. (Reichard 1938: 679)

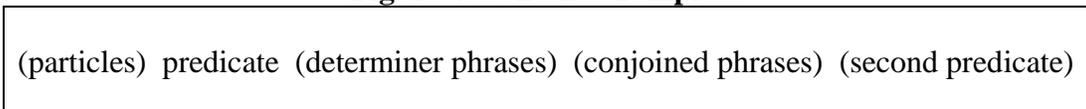
Sentence (23) could also mean ‘The deer is seeing Ben.’ Doak (1997) mentions this in her dissertation. “Reichard (1938: 679, 834-835) indicates that though this is the expected order, the reverse is also possible. The sentence in (25) may also read, ‘Vinnie is going to fool Margaret’” (Doak 1997: 254).

- (25) chestaqaqnunms khwe Vinnie khwe Magari
čestəqəqənúnəms x^we Vini x^we magari
čel s-teq-C₂-nun-m-s x^we Vinnie x^we Margaret
FUT NMLZ-deceive-NCR-SUCC-MDL-3SG.GEN DET Vinnie DET Margaret
Margaret’s going to fool Vinnie. (Doak 1997: 254)

1.5.4.2 Order of other elements in the sentence

Doak has a template that shows the order of different elements in a sentence (<http://www.ivydoak.com>). This is shown below in fig. 4. Minimally, the predicate together with aspectual affixes and morphologically bound pronouns, occurs without the elements that are contained in the parentheses.

Figure 4: Sentence Template



As is seen in fig. 4, the particles occur before the predicate. There are many different types of particles including prepositions, conjunctions, temporal markers, modals, negation, adverbs, aspectual markers and interrogatives. Determiner phrases can occur after the predicate to convey the subject, object and indirect object. Other phrases, such as prepositional phrases, also follow the predicate.

The sentence in (26) shows the addition of a prepositional phrase to the predicate.

- (26) kup khwuy tech Coeur d’Alene
kup x^wúy teč Coeur d’Alene

kup x^wúy teč Coeur d'Alene
 2SG.NOM go PREP Coeur d'Alene
 You folks go to Coeur d'Alene. (<http://www.ivydoak.com>)

The sentence in (27) shows the use of particles.

- (27) k^wne' ul chn taqhoqhw khwe tech tçmasq'it k^wne' lut chnq'elukhw
 k^wne? ?ul čn taŋuŋ^w x^we teč tčmasqit k^wne? lut čn qelx^w
 k^wne? ?ul čn taŋ-C₂ x^we teč tčmasqit k^wne? lut čn qelx^w
IM.FUT again 1SG.NOM stop-RES DET PREP Heaven **IM.FUT NEG** 1SG.NOM-snag
 When I die I want to go right to Heaven, I don't want to get hooked on nothing.
 (volunteered) FA.12.30.10

1.5.4.3 Determiners

Determiner phrases occur after the predicate. The most commonly used determiner is *x^we* and there are two other determiners. Doak (1997: 46) remarks that “There are three definite determiners that correlate phonetically and deictically with the three demonstratives...” (Doak 1997: 46). Table 9 shows the determiners in Coeur d'Alene while table 10 shows the demonstratives. “The distinction between *x^we* and *le* is purportedly one of proximity: *x^we* is near, *le* is far; *ce* is somewhere in between” (Doak 1997: 215).

Table 9: Coeur d'Alene Determiners

x ^w e	det ₁
ce	det ₂
le	det ₃

Table 10: Coeur d'Alene Demonstratives

x ^w i?	'here'
ci?	'there near you'
lu?	'there near third person'

(Doak 1997: 36)

Sentence (28) shows a sentence that has the addition of a determiner phrase with *x^we*.

- (28) ats'qhn khwe hnqine'
 ?áčxn x^we hnqine?
 ?áčx-nt-Ø-n x^we hn-qine?
 look.at-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG DET 1SG.GEN-father's.mother
 I watched my grandmother.

(Doak 1997: 215)

Sentence (29) shows the use of the determiner *ce*.

- (29) khwe e nune's Alberta hił tse pipe's Ernest
 x^we ʔe núneʔs Alberta hił ce pípeʔs Ernest
 x^we ʔe núneʔ-s Alberta hił ce pípeʔ-s Ernest
 DET OBL mother-3SG.GEN Alberta CONN DET father-3SG.GEN ERNEST
- etu'sp'ekwle', 'etsekwustm 'golf', tech e (Coulee Dam)
 ʔetuʔsp'ék^wəleʔ, ʔecʔek^wustm 'golf', teč ʔe (Coulee Dam)
 ʔec-tuʔ-s-p'ék^wəleʔ, ʔec-ʔek^wun-stu-∅-m 'golf', teč he (Coulee Dam)
 CUST-MUT-NMLZ-ball CUST-say-CAUS-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG golf PREP SUB
 Their mother Alberta and their father Ernest, they're playing ball, it's called 'golf',
 over at (Coulee Dam). (Doak 1997: 217)

Sentence (30) shows the use of the determiner *le*.

- (30) nak'wsq'it le e'ekhwus'nts
 nákw^sqít le eʔex^wúsənc
 nek^w=asqít le ʔe ʔex^wus-nt-∅-s<ʔ>
 one=day DET OBL look.for-CTR-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG-<dim>
 A whole day he looked for it. (Doak 1997: 219)

Doak has written about Coeur d'Alene syntax on her website and within her dissertation (Doak (1997)). Bischoff (2007) also wrote his dissertation on Coeur d'Alene clause structure. There is still much to be researched in Coeur d'Alene syntax.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Coeur d'Alene myths

My first round of data gathering was from the Reichard myths. “In 1927 and 1929, Gladys Reichard conducted linguistic fieldwork among the Coeur d'Alene people of northwestern Idaho. She recorded 50 texts; forty-eight of these have been published in translation with analysis of motifs provided by Adele Froelich (Reichard 1947)” (<http://upodn.com/ivydoak>). Thirteen of the myths have been glossed and are available on Doak's website (<http://www.ivydoak.com>). I went through each of the 13 glossed texts to pull out the sentences that had the customary or continuative aspects. Following this I then organized the data by verb class and grammatical aspect. When beginning this research I did a verb count in the customary and continuative aspects of the data from these myths. In these myths there are no customary accomplishments

and no continuative accomplishments. There is one customary achievement and no continuative achievements. These are very low numbers compared to all verb types in the completive (see Table 19), and compared to activities and states in the customary and the continuative. This could be because of a restriction on which verb classes can occur with which aspects. The myths cannot tell us if this is a systematic restriction or whether the relevant forms are just missing by accident, so testing through fieldwork was an important further step after this. Also, of course, myths are set in the past, where there is a relatively high proportion of completed action.

1.6.2 Written sources

Along with the Reichard myths I have also searched through various other written sources to pull out example sentences of the completive, customary, and continuative. There are more written sources available for data gathering: these are just the ones that I was able to get through for this thesis. The sources that I used are listed below.

Table 11: Written Sources

Source	Title
Reichard (1938)	<i>The Coeur d'Alene Language</i>
Doak (1996)	<i>Coeur d'Alene Grammatical Relations</i>
Nicodemus et. al (2000)	<i>Snychitsu'umshstn vol. I and II</i>
Brinkman (2007)	<i>Features of the Coeur d'Alene Language: sndoldolq'wti'lshn ha hngwa'qwe'elnet.</i>
Lyon and Greene-Wood (2007)	<i>Lawrence Nicodemus's Coeur d'Alene Dictionary in Root Format</i>
Lyon (2010)	<i>Lawrence Nicodemus's Snychitsu'umshtsn File Card Collection in Dictionary Format</i>

The written data gathered from the sources listed above provided the groundwork for further fieldwork on Coeur d'Alene aspect. I divided the data into verb classes based on English. At the time of writing, language-specific tests have not been conducted for lexical aspectual classes. The aspectual division based on English was an assumption to start out the investigation of Coeur d'Alene verbs and their interaction with aspect. The purpose of this data gathering was to see what patterns emerged from the aspectual data. It was important to see if there were gaps in the data where certain verbs did not show up with certain aspects.

1.6.3 Fieldwork methodology

I was able to work with both remaining fluent speakers. Early on in my elicitation work I tried translation from Coeur d'Alene to English and vice versa. This technique got some results but was challenging, mostly because one of the speakers is hard of hearing.

Most communication is done through typing onto a computer screen. Neither speaker reads or writes the Coeur d'Alene language. This limits some of the success of certain elicitation methods. For example, when doing verb class tests which would require a judgment on an English translation of a Coeur d'Alene sentence, the English would have to be given first, and then I would get the Coeur d'Alene translation. Later I would bring back the Coeur d'Alene and have them give judgments on possible interpretations of the sentence. Even so, the speakers greatly preferred going from English to Coeur d'Alene.

Another method used was providing a sentence in the customary or continuative aspect, and having two translation choices underneath. One translation was for the habitual reading and one was for the progressive reading. This was to see if the customary and continuative really were different morphemes with separate meanings.

Another method used was having pictures of animals doing actions and having the speakers provide Coeur d'Alene sentences for them.

The best method was based on the Hampton Storyboard project (<http://totemfieldstoryboards.org/>). This method used pictures that corresponded to a story in English. The speakers were able to see the English story first and then translated the English story using the pictures as a guide. Because of the various difficulties of working with the last speakers of a language, all of the elicitation methods except the storyboard method proved challenging. The storyboard kept the speakers focused on the topic in the story, which allowed me to collect more data during an elicitation than I was able to using other methods.

Later I ended up tweaking the method a little to have the stories focus on the speakers' lives and stories that they actually told in English during these meetings. I would take little short stories they told me and would combine them into a storyboard. I was hoping this would help them with a context, since this is something I know they have experienced. Giving them a storyboard that was based on their experiences and interests would hopefully be able to pull up the memory of the language. Also, this would lessen the chance that they would lose interest in the topic of elicitation. This worked to get some relevant linguistic data and also historical

information.

1.7 Organization of the thesis

Chapter 2 discusses the three grammatical aspects in Coeur d'Alene. It goes through the similarities and differences between the three aspectual morphemes. Chapter 3 goes through lexical aspect and its interaction with grammatical aspect. The different readings that occur with this aspect and different verb classes are presented. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the theoretical background of grammatical aspect as well as previous research on grammatical aspect within other branches of the Salishan family. This chapter then provides the analysis for Coeur d'Alene. Chapter 5 concludes this thesis.

Chapter 2 Coeur d'Alene Grammatical Aspect

2.1 Overview

Kinkade (1996) states that “[t]he basic aspectual contrast, which is to be found in all Salishan languages, is between perfective and imperfective” (Kinkade 1996: 185). However, traditional descriptions of Coeur d’Alene do not distinguish imperfective from perfective, but between ‘completive’, ‘customary’, and ‘continuative’. I propose to recast the completive and the customary labels as in Table 12.

Table 12: Proposal for Coeur d’Alene Grammatical Aspect

	Traditional Analysis	Reanalysis
∅	completive	standard perfective
<i>ʔec-</i>	customary	general imperfective
<i>ʔic-</i>	continuative	progressive

In this chapter I will show the characteristic properties of the perfective and imperfective; then I will show that the completive corresponds to the perfective, the customary corresponds to a general imperfective and that the continuative corresponds to a progressive. The next section provides a brief introduction to perfective and imperfective.

2.1.1 What are perfective and imperfective?

Comrie (1976) defines the perfective and imperfective by stating that “...the perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation...” (Comrie 1976: 4). The perfective tends to give rise to terminated or culminated readings, as is shown in the English example below in (31a). In English, imperfectives tend to have a habitual or progressive reading, such as in (31b) and (c).

(31) a. He read. (*perfective*)

b. He was reading. (*imperfective*)

c. He used to read. (*imperfective*) (Comrie 1976: 1)

The example in (31a) has a terminated reading, (31b) has a progressive reading and (31c) has a habitual reading. A terminated event is one that has stopped but can be continued. This contrasts with a culminated reading, where the event reaches its end point. Using the verb *read* as an example, someone can read and then stop without finishing the book. This would be an activity. Someone can also read a whole book, which would then be an accomplishment. In that case the event would have been culminated.

Examples are given below of the three grammatical aspects in Coeur d'Alene. Sentence (32), a repeat of (12), is in the completive, (33) and (34) are customary marked sentences, while (35) is a continuative marked sentence.

Completive

- (32) ku khw_ist
 ku x^wist
 ku x^wist
 2SG.NOM walk
 You walked. (Doak 1997: 31)

Customary

- (33) 'uts'aqh_il khwe 'etskhw_istes 'u'yats'qhms.
 ?ucax_il x^we ?ecx^wistes ?u_yac_xms
 ?uc?ax_il x^we ?ec-x^wis-t-es ?u-s-?ac_x-m-s
 suddenly DET CUST-walk-STAT-COND STAT-INT-lookat-MDL-3SG.GEN
 Suddenly as he was walking he looked back at it. (DW 1.3)

Customary

- (34) ku'tskhw_ist
 kuč^wist
 ku ?ec-x^wis-t
 2SG.NOM CUST-travel-DUR
 You walk/go places. (Doak 1997: 85)

Continuative

- (35) ku'ytskhw_ist
 ku_ycx^wist
 ku ?ic-x^wis-t
 2SG.NOM CONT-walk-DUR
 You are walking. (Doak 1997: 103)

The Coeur d’Alene sentence in (32) is similar to the English perfective sentence in (31a), and also has a terminated reading. The aspectual properties of the verbs in (33) through (35) are similar to the English imperfective verbs in (31b) and (c).

2.2 Morphosyntax

I give the morpheme orders for the three aspects in tables (13) and (14). These templates represent the surface order of the morphemes in these sentence types. There are different templates based on transitivity (intransitive vs. transitive) as well as aspect (completive and customary vs. continuative). Table 13 shows intransitive templates for the completive, the customary and the continuative. Intransitive sentences use the nominative pronominal markers listed in table 7 in the previous chapter. These are attached to the front of the verb. For third person plural a nominative marker is used which is attached as a suffix. The only difference between completive and customary is that completive aspect is unmarked, while customary is marked by the prefix *ʔec-*.

Table 13: Template for Intransitive Verbs Inflected for Aspect

Intransitive Completive (∅)	(NOM)-[∅-VERB]	-(NOM) ⁷
Intransitive Customary (ʔec-)	(NOM)-[CUST-VERB-]	-(NOM)
Intransitive Continuative (ʔic-)	(NOM)-[CONT-VERB-MDL]-(NOM)-ACT	

The continuative differs from both the completive and the customary in occurring with the active suffix *-š*, marked ‘ACT’ in Table (13), as well as the middle marker *-m*, marked ‘MDL’ in the table. The suffix *-š* occurs in most, but not all, intransitive continuative sentences. Nearly all verbs that are marked with *-š* are activity verbs yet not all activity verbs are marked with *-š*. As of now, it is not known what the difference is between *-š*-marked verbs and those not marked with *-š*. I analyze *-š* here as a component of continuative morphology although I do not know why it occurs with some intransitive continuative verbs and not others. The middle marker *-m* co-occurs with the *-š* marker in intransitive continuative sentences yet it is not restricted to just continuative sentences, the middle marker occurs in the other aspects as well.

Sentences (36) through (38) show the verb ‘weep’ in the completive (36), the customary (37)

⁷ The nominative pronouns are all prefixes except for the third person plural *-lsh*, which is a suffix.

and the continuative (38), a repeat of (6b).

Completive

- (36) kuuts'u'um
kuu cúʔəm
ku-ćúʔ-m
2SG.NOM-weep-MDL
You wept. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Customary

- (37) kup'eets'u'ts'u'um
kup ʔeećuʔəm
kup-ʔec-ćúʔ-m
2PL.NOM-CUST-weep-MDL
You weep. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Continuative

- (38) ku'yts'u'umsh
kuýćuʔəmš
ku-ʔic-c'úʔ-m-š
2SG.NOM-CONT-weep-MDL-CONT
You are weeping. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Sentence (36) is similar to (37) but with the addition of *ʔec-*. Sentence (38) has the addition of *ʔic-* and *-š*.

Table 14 shows the different structures for the transitive sentences in all three aspects. There are two differences between the completive and the customary. The first difference is that the completive is unmarked and the customary is marked. The second difference is in the choice of transitivizer. The completive uses the *-nt* transitivizer while the customary uses the *-st(u)* transitivizer. Both aspects, however, use the same pronominal morphology, consisting of ergative suffixes for the logical subject and accusative suffixes for the logical object.

The continuative sentence shows a different structure from the other two aspects by employing nominative and genitive pronouns, as well as containing nominalizing and middle morphology. Some of the genitive markers as well as the third person plural nominative marker are suffixes. The middle marker *-m* attaches to verbs in transitive continuative sentences. The same verb in a different aspect will not be marked with the middle suffix.

Table 14: Template for Transitive Verbs Inflected for Aspect

Transitive Completive (∅)	[COMPL-VERB-TRANS] -ACC-ERG
Transitive Customary (ʔec-)	[CUST-VERB-TRANS] -ACC-ERG
Transitive Continuative (ʔic-)	ABS-GEN-NMLZ-[CONT-VERB-MDL] -GEN-ABS

Sentences (39) through (41) show the verb *love* in the completive (39), the customary (40) and the continuative (41).

Completive

(39) qheminchstmn
 xeminčstmn
 xem=inch-stu-mi-n
 love=STOMACH-CAUS-2SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
 I loved you. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Customary

(40) ‘atsqheminchsn
 ʔacxeminčsn
 ʔac-xem=inč-stu-∅-n
 CUST-love-STOMACH-CAUS-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
 I love him/her. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Continuative

(41) kwi'tsqheminchm
 kʷiʔcxeminčm
 ku-hin-s-ʔic-xem=inč-m
 2SG.NOM-1SG.GEN-CONT-NMLZ-love=STOMACH-MDL
 I am loving you.
 Literally ‘You are my loving.’ (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

In the following sections, I will provide an account of the range of interpretations available for each of the aspects, beginning with the completive.

2.3 The Completive

As was stated in section 2.1 of this chapter, I analyze the completive as a standard perfective. There are different types of perfectives cross-linguistically, including the *standard*, *completive*, and *neutral* perfectives. Bar-el (2008) goes through these different types of perfectives to see if they apply to Skw̓xwú7mesh (Squamish). She analyzes the Skw̓xwú7mesh perfective as a standard perfective. In the standard perfective telic events (accomplishments and achievements) are interpreted as culminated and activities are interpreted as terminated. Examples are given

later in this section. The difference between completed and terminated is that a terminated activity can be continued, i.e., it has no ‘natural’ endpoint. I adopt Bar-el’s analysis for the Coeur d’Alene perfective.

Although the Coeur d’Alene perfective has been called a completive, that does not necessarily mean that it is a completive perfective. Comrie (1976) mentions the difference between a completive and a perfective.

The perfective does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end. The use of ‘completed’, however, puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis, necessarily, on the end of a situation than on any other part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole (Comrie 1976: 18).

Sentences in the zero-marked completive aspect tend to be translated into English in the past, as is shown in the data in (42) below. This makes it seem like all perfective sentences are completed.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| (42) a. chn ‘ats’qh
čn ʔač̣x̣
čn ʔač̣x̣
1SG.NOM watch
I watched. | b. ch gwich
č g ^{wi} č
č g ^{wi} č
1SG.NOM see
We saw. | c. ku ekwn
ku ʔek ^{wn}
ku ʔek ^{wn}
2SG.NOM say
You said. (Doak 1997: 81) |
|--|---|--|

However, even though the sentences are translated here in the past, Doak states that perfective clauses are not always interpreted in the past. “Clauses like these that are unmarked for tense and aspect are interpreted as either present or simple past in Coeur d’Alene” (Doak 1997: 82). The sentences above are activities and tend to have a past interpretation. According to Dahl (1985) this interpretation of perfectives is common. “In other words, for all languages it holds that ‘past time reference’ characterizes prototypical uses of PFV- single, completed events will in the ‘typical cases’ be located in the past” (79). This typical translation makes it seem like the Coeur d’Alene perfective could be a completive perfective, but it is not. As Bar-el (2005) discusses, Dëne Sų́łíné has a completive perfective (Wilhelm 2003). In that language all verb classes in the completive perfective are required to be completed.

Coeur d’Alene activities in the perfective have terminated and on-going readings; accomplishments and achievements have culminated readings; and states have stative⁸ and inchoative readings. So for activities, accomplishments and achievements there is a tendency for them to be translated as occurring in the past. The verbs in (42) showed the past interpretation. The present interpretation of perfective verbs is rare in written documentation: (43) and (44) are examples from elicitation.

(43) khwa aqhi? t’ikhum khwe stshastq khwe Kim
 x^{wa} ?axi? tix^wm x^{we} stšastq x^{we} Kim
 x^{we} ?axi?wł tix^w-m x^{we} s-tš=astq x^{we} Kim
 DET right.now look.for-MDL DET NMLZ-sweet=CROP DET Kim.
 Kim is looking for huckleberries right now. (English to CDA translation) FA.11.03.11

(44) chn tikhum
 čn tix^wm
 čn tix^w-m
 1SG.NOM obtain-MDL
 I picked huckleberries last week *or* I am picking huckleberries.
 (English to CDA) FA.12.08.11

The on-going reading with perfectives is not a common reading. This reading also occurs in *Skw̄wú7mesh* (Bar-el 2005: 203).

The sentence in (45) is given a terminated translation. Even so, an appropriate context might give an on-going interpretation. The sentence in (46) has a terminated and an on-going reading.

(45) chn mi’nm
 čn mińm
 čn miń-m
 1SG.NOM paint-MDL
 I painted. (English to CDA) FA.12.30.10

(46) chn it.sh
 čn ?itš
 čn ?itš
 1SG.NOM sleep
 I was sleeping; I slept. (Speaker translation for volunteered sentence) MIL.02.17.11

For accomplishments and achievements in the perfective there is a reading of event culmination. The data in (47) is an accomplishment.

⁸ Stative verbs contrast with verbs of action and tend to apply to states of being, such as emotions and feelings.

- (47) aya) ‘ilnts khwe hnsmlīchn FA.01.26.12
 ʔayaʃ ʔilnc x^we hnsmlīčn
 ʔayaʃ ʔiln-nt-Ø-s x^we hn-smlič-n
 QUANT eat-CTR-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG DET PREP-salmon-NMLZ
 He ate all the fish, he ate all the salmon. (English to CDA) MIL.01.26.12
 Speaker Comment: It means the same thing as he ate the entire salmon.

The data in (48) and (49) involve transitive and intransitive achievements respectively. These have culminated readings.

- (48) sukhwntses
 sux^wnces
 sux^w-nt-se-s
 know-CTR-1SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
 He recognized me. (volunteered) FA.12.30.10

- (49) q’awshn khwe eschiche’
 qawšn x^we esčiče?
 q’ew=šn x^we ʔesčiče?
 break=LEG DET horse
 The horse broke his leg. (volunteered) FA.11.03.11

While these sentences are culminated, it is possible to cancel a culmination. Cancelling the culmination of an accomplishment occurs in other Salish languages (see Matthewson 2004, Bar-el et al. 2005, Bar-el 2005, Kiyota 2008 and Turner 2011). This also occurs in Coeur d’Alene. The data in (50) and (51) show a sentence involving an accomplishment with a cancelled culmination, provided by both speakers.

- (50) khwa aqhi’ ułk’u’ln khwe hnp’uyp’uyshn FA.07.07.11
 x^wa axi’ ułkułn x^we hnpuyḡuyšn
 x^wa ʔaxi’wł ʔuł-kul-nt-Ø-n x^we hn-CVC-ḡuy=šn
 DET right.now again-make-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG DET 1SG.GEN-AUG-wrinkled=FOOT
 I fixed the car today.

lut shipepn
 lut šipepn
 lut šip-C₂-nt-Ø-n
 NEG finish-LCR-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
 I didn’t finish it. (English to CDA) MIL.07.07.11

- (51) khwa aqhi’ ułk’u’ln khwe hnp’uyp’uyshn FA.07.07.11
 x^wa axi’ ułkułn x^we hnpuyḡuyšn

x^wa ʔaxiʔwł ʔuł-kul¹-nt-∅-n x^we hn-CVC-ḥuy=šn
 DET right.now again-make-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG DET 1SG.GEN-AUG-wrinkled=FOOT
 I fixed the car today

khwe lut chn shipep
 x^we lut čn šipep
 x^we lut čn-ship-C₂
 DET NEG 1SG.NOM-finish-LCR
 I didn't finish you know S.G. FA.07.07.11
 I fixed the car today but I didn't finish. (English to CDA)

One speaker provided the accomplishment while both of the speakers provided a sentence to cancel the accomplishment. Unfortunately, this was the only elicited non-culminating accomplishment. This does show that this type of sentence is in fact possible in Coeur d'Alene.

The sentences in (52) and (53) contain change of state predicates. These sentences show entry into a state, which is an inchoative reading.⁹

(52) twi' chn (ust
 t^wiʔ čn ʔust
 t^wiʔ čn ʔus-t
 EXCL 1SG.NOM lost-STAT
 I got lost. (volunteered) FA.12.30.10

(53) chsq'emiln
 čsqemiln
 čs-ḥem=iln
 LOC-desire=FOOD
 He/she got hungry. (Nicodemus et.al 2000: 202)

Sentence (54) has a stative reading.

(54) uchnqhees
 učnḥe:s
 u-čn ḥes
 INH-1SG.NOM good
 I'm well. (Nicodemus et.al 2000: 155)

This section showed that the completive occurs with readings of termination, culmination,

⁹ The suffix –t in sentence (52) is referred to as a stative suffix but Kinkade (1996) mentions that it is different from the stative prefix. “All seven Interior Salishan languages have a –t suffix that occurs quite commonly and is an important aspect marker of some sort. Although some are labelled ‘stative’, the use of this suffix is distinct from the stative prefix; in order to distinguish them I will label them ‘state’” (Kinkade 1996: 18). For now I label the –t suffix as stative, yet it needs further study.

non-culmination, change of state and stative. These readings are typical of a perfective aspect. The next section will go through the readings that occur with the customary marker *ʔec-*.

2.4 The Customary

ʔec- has been translated and described as an aspectual marker that gives a habitual interpretation (Reichard 1938, Doak 1997, Brinkman 2007). Examples of *ʔec-* being used in habitual contexts are very common, as shown in the examples below. Examples (55) through (58) were elicited by providing an English sentence to the speakers and getting a Coeur d'Alene translation. The sentence in (58) has a past habitual interpretation.

- (55) 'esukhwn
 ʔesux^wn
 ʔec-sux^w-nt-∅-n
 CUST-recognize-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
 I usually recognize her. (English to CDA) FA.12.30.10
- (56) pintch etikhum e nek'we' e yomqhwe'
 pintč ʔetix^wm ʔe nek^we? ʔe yomx^we?
 pintč ʔec-tix^w-m ʔe nek^we? ʔe yomx^we?
 always CUST-look.for-MDL OBL one OBL basket
 Kim usually picks a basket of huckleberries. (English to CDA) FA.11.03.11
- (57) spintch 'etstikhum khwe Kim
 spintč ʔectix^wm x^we Kim
 spintč ʔec-tix^w-m x^we Kim
 year CUST-gather-MDL DET Kim
 Kim picks huckleberries every year. (English to CDA) FA.11.03.11
- (58) tsmi' 'etswinsh
 cmi? ʔecwinš
 cmi? ʔec-winš
 PST CUST-wardance
 He used to dance. (Doak 1997: 87)

An imperfective is often described as having two different readings, as in Comrie (1976). "In traditional grammars of many languages with a category covering the whole of imperfectivity, the impression is given that the general area of imperfectivity must be subdivided into two quite distinct concepts of habituality and continuousness" (26). Since Coeur d'Alene aspect has not been studied in detail, there has been no research into whether *ʔec-* has other readings besides habitual. It was just assumed that the customary gave a habitual interpretation. The data in (59)

through (61) show *ʔec*- marked verbs with an in-progress reading. (59) is a repeat of (33) and (60) is a repeat of (29).

(59) 'uts'aqhīl khwe 'etskhwistes 'u'yats'qhms.

ʔucʔaxīl x^we ʔecx^wistes ʔuýʔacx̣ms

ʔucʔaxīl x^we ʔec-x^wis-t-es ʔu-s-ʔacx̣-m-s

suddenly DET CUST-walk-STAT-COND STAT-INT-lookat-MDL-3SG.GEN

Suddenly as he was walking he looked back at it. (DW 1.3)

(60) khwe e nune's Alberta hił tse pipe's Ernest 'etu'sp'ekwle'

xwe ʔe nuneʔs Alberta hił ce pipeʔs Ernest ʔetuʔsp'ekwaleʔ

xwe ʔe nuneʔ-s Alberta hił ce pipeʔ-s Ernest ʔec-tuʔ-s-pekweʔ,

DET OBL mother-3SG.GEN Alberta CONN DET father-3SG.GEN Ernest CUST-MUT-NMLZ-ball

Their mother Alberta and their father Ernest, they're playing ball... (Doak 1997: 217)

(61) ku'm khwu' 'u'Its'ukwīnm tsi'ye tsi'ł khwa he 'antsi'

k^wum' x^wu' ʔulcək^wīnəm ciyè ciʔł x^wa he ʔanciʔ

k^wum' x^wu' ʔul ʔec-ck^win-m ciʔ ʔe ciʔ-ł x^we he ʔen-ciʔ

CONJ x^wu' again CUST-run-MDL DEM OBL DEM-CONN DET SUB LOC-DEM

Then xu' again he was running where there was a

chits'usmi'wes

čičūsəməwès.

čičūsmiwès

cliff

cliff. (CSH 7.12)

The examples above are activity verbs with an in-progress reading. Activities are the only verbs that occur with the customary with non-habitual readings.

This section showed that *ʔec*- has more readings than just habitual. *ʔec*- marked sentences also occur with a progressive interpretation. These types of readings are typical of a general imperfective and that is what I analyze the customary marker *ʔec*- as. The next section will look at the different readings that continuative *ʔic*- has.

2.5 The Continuative

While the majority of the customary marked sentences are translated as habitual, the majority of sentences with the continuative marker *ʔic*- are translated as being in-progress. The data in (62) through (67) show the use of the continuative with an in-progress reading.

(62) w'aqhī hił 'ini'selmstus

wəʔaxí hił ʔiniʔsélmstus
 weʔaxíł hił ʔic-niʔ-sel-m-stu-ø-s
 now CONJ CONT-amid-turn-MDL-CAUS-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
 He's mixing it now. (Doak 1997: 136)

(63) 'inich'met
 ʔiničmet
 ʔic-nič-m-et
 CONT-cut-MDL-1PL.GEN
 We are cutting it. (Doak 1997: 179)

(64) chi'laq'msh 'e swi'ynun
 čiʔláqmš ʔe swiynún
 čn ʔic-laq-m-š ʔe swiy=numt
 1SG.NOM CONT-search-MDL-ACT OBL handsome=DESIRE
 I'm looking for a good one. (Doak 1997: 104)

(65) hiʔčšipm
 hiʔčšipm
 hn-ʔic-čšip-m
 1SG.GEN-CONT-chase-MDL
 I am chasing him. (Doak 1996: 179)

(66) 'ichełts'i'
 ʔičelčíʔ
 ʔic-čel-s-čiʔ
 CONT-hunt-NMLZ-deer
 He's hunting deer; He's hunting for a deer. (Doak 1996: 287)

(67) hei chi'ynq'w'yitkwe'
 hei čiynq'witkwe'
 hei čn-ʔic-hnq'witkwe'
 yes 1SG.NOM-CONT-wash.clothes
 Yes, I am washing clothes. (Nicodemus 1975: 58)

The progressive use of the continuative marker shows up as early as Reichard (1938) and occurs in fieldwork from Doak (1997) and my own fieldwork conducted in 2010-2012. The data in (68) and (69) show this reading in Reichard (1938).

(68) 'inich'm
 ʔiničm
 ʔic-nič-m
 CONT-cut-MDL
 He is cutting it. (Reichard 1938: 584)

- (69) 'itsw_ishmsh
 ?icw_išmš
 ?ic-w_iš-m-š
 CONT-build-MDL-ACT
 He is building. (Reichard 1938: 547)

The data in (70) is from one of the myths that Reichard gathered and also shows the progressive use of the continuative.

- (70) hoy le 'its'itsh le ylm_ikhwm hnn_ich'usnts
 hoy le ?ic?itš le ylm_ix^wm hnn_ič_iusnc
 hoy le ?ic-?itš le ylm_ix^w-m hn-nič²=us-nt-s
 stop DET CONT-**sleep** DET chief-MDL LOC-cut=FACE-CTR-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG

 n_ich'its
 nič_ič
 nič²-t-Ø-s
 cut-POSSA-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
 Then the one sleeping he cut his face he cut for him. (TWP 3.16)

The data in (71) through (73) are from Doak (1997) and show the continuative being translated as a progressive.

- (71) gw_ich khwe sm_ilkhw † 'atsqe' † ?itsm_ilkhw
 g^wič x^we sm_ilx^w † ?ácqe? † ?icm_ilx^w
 g^wič x^we s-m_ilx^w † ?ácqe? † ýc-m_ilx^w
 see DET NMLZ-tobacco CONN go.outside CONN CONT-**tobacco**
 He saw the tobacco and he went outside and he's smoking. (Doak 1997: 277)

- (72) 'its'ihn
 ?ic?ihn
 ?ic-?ihn
 CONT-eat
 He's eating. (Doak 1997: 32)

- (73) 'itsgw_elp khwe syólalq^w
 ?icg^wélp x^we syólalq^w
 ?ic-g^wélp x^we syólalq^w
 CONT-burn-INVL DET forest
 The forest is burning. (Doak 1997: 103)

During my own fieldwork the continuative was translated as a progressive. This is shown in (74) and (75).

(74) chi'yŋkwɪnm
 čiyŋkwɪnm
 čn-ʔic-hnkʷɪnm
 1SG.NOM-CONT-sing
 I am singing. (English to CDA) FA.12.30.10

(75) khwe mulsh 'itstaqhwipm
 xʷe mulš ʔictəxʷíp̄m
 xʷe mulš ʔic-təxʷ=íp̄-m
 DET beaver CONT-stop=BACK=MDL
 He's blocking the water. He's stopping the flow. (English to CDA) FA.11.17.11

These data led me to believe that the continuative marker could be a progressive marker. Now I will show the characteristics of a progressive marker and whether *ʔic-* meets these criteria.

Dahl (1985) provides a characterization of the progressive based on an extensive cross-linguistic survey. He lists five qualities of the progressive, which are shown below.

- a. Tendency to be marked periphrastically
- b. The prototypical uses can be categorized as “on-going activity”
- c. Usually (almost) independent of time reference
- d. Infrequently extended to habitual meaning
- e. Normally used in non-stative situations (cited in Bar-el 2005: 248)

Coeur d'Alene continuatives are marked by the morpheme *ʔic-*. This morpheme is a prefix. So in regards to criterion (a) above, the continuative is not marked periphrastically like progressives usually are.

Criterion (b) states that progressives often have ‘on-going’ readings. This is shown in the examples in (76) and (77) below.

(76) khwe hnsɔp'uyɔ'uyshn hi'tsk'u'lm FA.07.07.11
 xʷe hnsɔpuyɔyʃn hiʔtskuʔlm
 xʷe hn-puy-CVC=ʃn hin-ʔic-kul-m
 DET 1SG.GEN-wrinkle-CHAR=FOOT 1SG.GEN-CONT-fix-MDL
 I'm working on my car. (English to CDA with context) MIL.07.07.11

(77) itsmat'q'umsh
 ʔicmátq'w̄mš
 ʔic-mát'q'w̄-m-š
 CONT-pull.trigger-MDL-ACT
 He is pulling back the trigger (Lyon 2006: 54)

As stated in (c), progressives are usually independent of time reference. Most of the examples found of *ʔic-* are translated in the present. The data in (78) and (79) show two continuative marked sentences with both a present and past interpretation. Sentence (80) shows a continuative marked sentence in the future tense. So the continuative marker is independent of time reference.

(78) *chi'tsgwɨch*
čiʔcɣwɨč
čin-ʔic-s-gwɨč
 1SG.NOM-CONT-NMLZ-see
 I am/was seeing. (Harris 1974: 8)

(79) *ku'ytsekwun*
kuýcekwún
k^wu-ʔic-s-ʔekwun
 2SG.NOM-CONT-NMLZ-say
 You are/were saying. (Harris 1974: 8)

(80) *lut chelchischlip*
lut čelčisčlip
lut čel-čhin-s-ʔic-člip
 NEG FUT-1SG.NOM-NMLZ-CONT-hunt
 No, I am going hunting. (Nicodemus 1975: 58)

One of the most common properties of the progressive aspect is that it does not occur with stative verbs. Jóhannsdóttir (2011) shows that progressives do in fact occur with stative verbs in some languages and argues that stative verbs shift to eventive verbs in the progressive. In Coeur d'Alene the continuative marker does often occur with lexically stative verbs, with an in-progress translation. This is shown in (81), a repeat of (41), through (86) below.

(81) *kwi'tsqheminchm*
k^wiʔcɣemínčm
k^wu-ʔic-ɣem=ínč-m
 2SG.NOM-CONT-love=STOMACH-MDL
 I am loving you. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

(82) *ku'yts qhiwt*
kuýcɣiwt
ku-ʔic-ɣiwt
 2SG.NOM-CONT-ashamed
 You are being ashamed, you are being embarrassed. (CDA to English) MIL.07.07.11

- (83) ku'ytsq'ekhwukhwminms
 kuycqexux^wminams
 ku **ɰic**-qex^w-C₂-min-m-s
 2SG.NOM CONT-desire-RES-INSTR-MDL-3SG.GEN
 He/she is desiring to have you. (Lyon 2010: 69)
- (84) ku'm khwe 'e 'ytspasps chiitenmstus.
 ku^m x^we ʔe ycpasps či:cénmstus
 ku^m x^we ʔe s-**ɰic**-pas-CVC-3g čic-ten-m-stu-∅-s
 CONT DET OBL NMLZ-CONT-surprise-AUG-3SG.GEN cisl-pull-m-CAUS-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
 and while he was being frightened he kept on pulling it. (PJ 2.6)
- (85) khwarmstm khwi'ye hñch'emch'mench ku'm hoy khwi'ye guł
 x^warmstm x^wiye hñčemčmenč ku^m hoy x^wiye guł
 x^war-m-stu-m x^wiye hn-čem-CVC=inč k^wu^m hoy x^wiye guł
 tremble-m-CAUS DEM LOC-surface-AUG=interior CONJ stop DEM plural
- šij'wt tts'lts'llmits'e' khwe 'e spumls khwe 'a
 šiwł tčəlčəlmice? x^we ʔe spúmlš x^we ʔa
 šiwł t-čel-CVC-C₂-m=icé? x^we ʔe s-pum-lš x^we ʔe
 rat LOC-upright-AUG-RES-MDL=COVER DET OBL NMLZ-fur-3PL.NOM DET OBL
- 'ynqhiłslsh hił khwe 'a 'ytspaspslsh.
 ýnxilslš hił x^we ʔa ýtspaspslš
 s-ʔen-xil-s-lš hił x^we ʔe **ɰic**-pas-CVC-3p
 NMLZ-LOC-fear-3SG.GEN-3PL.NOM CONN DET OBL CONT-surprise-aug-3PL.NOM
 it was shaken these walls and then these rats they were set up on end all over their hides by
 their fur from their fearing and being alarmed (Ar 1.13)
- (86) kwi'tspiyichtmnm
 k^wiʔcpiyičtmənəm
 ku-hin-s-**ɰic**-piy=ičt-min-m
 2SG.NOM-1SG.GEN-NMLZ-CONT-delight=HAND-INSTR-MDL
 I am delighting you. (Lyon 2010: 60)

Table 15 summarizes how *ɰic*- fits in with the qualities of the progressive from Dahl (1985).

Table 15: Qualities of a progressive

<i>ɰic</i> -	
Marked periphrastically	✗
“on-going” reading	✓
independent of time reference	✓
infrequent habitual meaning	✓
used in non-stative situations	✗

ʔic- meets three of the five characteristics of a progressive laid out by Dahl. The data gathered during the research for this thesis have the continuative marker occurring with an in-progress reading. Because the readings are based on English translations it is hard to tell if there is any semantic difference between states marked with the customary versus the continuative.

2.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has shown the different types of readings that the \emptyset -marked perfective and the imperfective markers *ʔec-* and *ʔic-* have in written documentation and elicitation. The unmarked perfective aspect has readings typical of a perfective. The imperfective marker *ʔec-* has readings typical of a general imperfective including in-progress as well as habitual interpretations. *ʔic-* has progressive readings. *ʔic-* does not have all of the characteristics typically associated with the progressive such as occurring only with non-statives. Research such as Jóhannsdóttir (2011) shows that statives occurring with an in-progress reading may not be an issue for a progressive analysis.

The following chapter will discuss lexical aspect as well as its interaction with grammatical aspect.

Chapter 3 Lexical Aspect

3.1 Overview

The last chapter was about grammatical aspect in Coeur d'Alene and now this chapter will provide an introduction to lexical aspect in Coeur d'Alene. Rothstein (2004: 1) defines lexical aspect as follows: "Lexical aspect, sometimes called 'Aktionsart' and corresponding to Smith's situation aspect, covers distinctions between properties of event-types denoted by verbal expressions, which linguists have tried to capture by classifying verbs into verb classes." The most common division was originally proposed by Vendler (1957). He divided verbs into four classes; states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements. These four classes are known to occur in English, but verb classes can differ depending on the language. For English,

[c]rudely, states are non-dynamic situations, such as *be happy* or *believe*; activities are open-ended processes, such as *run*; achievements are near-instantaneous events which are over as soon as they have begun, such as *notice*; and accomplishments are processes which have a natural endpoint, such as *read the book* (Rothstein 2004: 6).

Verbs classes are often divided into whether they are *telic* or *atelic*. Verbs that are telic have a natural endpoint. These are accomplishment and achievement verbs. Verbs that are atelic do not have a natural endpoint. These are states and activities. Below, in Table 16, are examples of English verb classes and telicity.

Table 16: English Verb Classes

Verb class	Intransitive	Transitive	telic/atelic
State	be happy	see	atelic
Activity	walk	drive a car	atelic
Accomplishment	walk to the store	build a house	telic
Achievement	reach the top of the mountain	recognize	telic

You can be happy with no end point or goal. You can walk without a destination or certain distance in mind. But if you walk a mile or walk to the store then there is a goal in mind and this turns the predicate into an accomplishment. Walking to the store and reaching the top of the mountain are focused on an end point.

These aspectual classes have not been studied in Coeur d'Alene, although they have been

studied in other Salish languages (Bar-el 2005, Kiyota 2008 and Turner 2011, among others). The following sections are divided by grammatical aspect and within those sections data from each verb class will be discussed. This chapter is far from being a thorough analysis of Coeur d’Alene verb classes. Because of time constraints, thorough verb class testing was not done with the speakers. With only two elderly speakers left this may not now be possible to do.

3.2. Perfective \emptyset

3.2.1 States

In the perfective, states have both inchoative and stative readings. This is also what Bar-el (2005) found for *Skwxwú7mesh*. “[P]erfective inchoative states in *Skwxwú7mesh* have both inchoative and stative readings” (Bar-el 2005: 204). There are no examples of a Coeur d’Alene state having both an inchoative interpretation and a stative interpretation. I do believe this to be possible yet I do not have any elicited examples. Inchoative readings are shown in (87) and (88) below, repeats of (52) and (53) respectively.

(87) *twi’ chn* (ust
tʷiʔ čn ζ ust
tʷiʔ čn ζ us-t
 EXCL 1SG.NOM lost-STAT
 I got lost. (volunteered) FA.12.30.10

(88) *chsq’emiln*
čsqemiln
čs-qem=iln
 LOC-desire=FOOD
 He/she got hungry. (Nicodemus et.al 2000: 202)

The stative readings are shown below in (89) through (91).

(89) *uuchn qwe(w*
u:čn qʷeʃʷ
u-čn $qʷeʃʷ$
 INH-1SG.NOM crazy
 I am crazy; same as foolish. (Nicodemus et.al 2000: 198)

(90) *chn se’l’l*
čn sell
chn *sel[-ʔ-]-C₂*
 1SG.NOM obscure[-INCH-]-RES

I was confused. (volunteered) FA.12.30.10

- (91) ku paspst
ku paspst
ku pas-CVC-t
2SG.NOM surprise-CHAR-STAT
You're surprising. (volunteered) FA.02.17.11

The only test for states that was done was the punctual clause test. This was a test that Bar-el (2005) and (Kiyota 2008) used to test for the initial points of inchoative states. Bar-el states “that the fact that punctual clauses/adverbials yield inchoative readings with these predicates in *Skw̥wú7mesh* suggests that they have initial points as part of their meaning” (Bar-el 2005: 173). First, the sentence (92) was elicited and then there was a follow up elicitation to get the possible meanings of the sentence.

- (92) peyilgwes khwe Michelle khwe tsaqine'
peyilg^{wes} x^we Michelle x^we caqine?
piy=ilg^{wes} x^we Michelle x^we caq=ene?
joy=STOMACH DET Michelle DET vessel=EAR
Michelle was happy when she heard the news. (English to CDA) MIL.01.26.12

- ✓ (a) she was happy **before** she heard the news
- ✓ (b) she was happy **after** she heard the news?

Speaker Comment: Could be used either way. FA.06.14.12

During the follow up elicitation the speakers were asked whether (a) or (b) were true of sentence (92). The speakers stated that it could be used either way. The (b) reading is similar to the one found for Kiyota (2008) in *SENĆOŦEN* and Bar-el (2005) in *Skw̥wú7mesh*. Reading (a) was not available for *SENĆOŦEN* or *Skw̥wú7mesh*.

3.2.2 Activities

In the perfective, activities have terminated and ongoing readings. This parallels what Bar-el (2005) finds for *Skw̥wú7mesh*. “Perfective activities in *Skw̥wú7mesh* can have terminated readings (a), what seem to be on-going readings (b), and inceptive readings (c)” (203). There are no data to show whether Coeur d’Alene activities have inceptive readings in the perfective. The data in (93) and (94), a repeat of (45), are activities with a terminated reading.

(93) hoy ku'm tsi'l ni' **qaqaqsm**.
 hoi ku'm ci?l ni? **qáqaqsm**
 hoy k^wum' ci?-l ni? **C₁V-qaqs-m**
 stop CONJ DEM-CONN amid **DUR-serenade-MDL**
 And then there they serenaded (TWP 2.5)

(94) chn mi'nm e tsetkhw
 čn miñm ?e cetx^w
 čn miñ-m ?e cetx^w
 1SG.NOM paint-MDL OBL house
 I painted a house. (volunteered) FA.12.30.10

The data in (95), a repeat of (46) and (96), a repeat of (44), both show an ongoing reading and a terminated reading.

(95) chn it.sh
 čn ?itš
 čn ?itš
 1SG.NOM sleep
 I was sleeping; I slept. (volunteered) MIL.02.17.11

(96) chn tikhum
 čn tix^wm
 čn tix^w-m
 1SG.NOM obtain-MDL
 I picked huckleberries last week or I am picking huckleberries.
 (English to CDA) FA.12.08.11

Sentence (97) is another example of an activity in the perfective being translated as ongoing.

(97) khwa aqhi? t'ikhum khwe stshastq khwe Kim
 x^wa ?axi? tix^wm x^we stšastq x^we Kim
 x^we ?axi?wł tix^w-m x^we s-tš=astq x^we Kim
 DET right.now look.for-MDL DET NMLZ-sweet=CROP DET Kim.
 Kim is looking for huckleberries right now. (English to CDA) FA.11.03.11

3.2.3 Accomplishments

Bar-el (2005) found that “perfective accomplishments in Skw̥wú7mesh have culminated readings ..., that are implicatures only ..., and can also be used to refer to inceptive, medial and final events...” (Bar-el 2005: 203). For Coeur d’Alene, perfective accomplishments have culminated readings. Bar-el (2005) finds that “accomplishments yield past culminated events in

out of the blue contexts” (124). The sentences in (98-101) show past culminated readings in out of the blue contexts. Sentence (99) is a repeat of (47).

(98) khwa aspa taqhwipm khwe mulsh
 x^we aspá taḡwipm x^we mulsh
 x^we ḡaspálaql taḡw=ip-m x^we mulš
 DET yesterday stop=BACK-MDL DET beaver
 Yesterday the beaver built a dam. (English to CDA) FA.11.17.11

(99) aya) ‘iḡnts khwe hnsmlīchn FA.01.26.12
 ḡayaḡ ḡiḡnts x^we hnsmlīčn
 ḡayaḡ ḡiḡn-nt-Ø-s x^we hn-smlič-n
 QUANT eat-CTR-TRAN-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG DET LOC-salmon-NMLZ
 He ate all the fish, he ate all the salmon. (English to CDA) MIL.01.26.12
 Speaker Comment: It means the same thing as he ate the entire salmon.

(100) khwa aspa q’ət’pich’n khwe Kim
 x^we ḡaspálaql q̇etpičn
 x^we ḡaspálaql q̇et-p=ičn
 DET yesterday reach-INCH=RIDGE
 Yesterday Kim climbed a mountain. (English to CDA) FA.11.03.11

For Coeur d’Alene there was no testing done on inceptive, medial and final sub-events but I do have one example where an accomplishment can be cancelled, so Coeur d’Alene accomplishments do have culminated readings that are only implicatures, like *Sḡwḡwú7mesh*. The example is in (101) below, a repeat of (50).

(101) khwa aaḡhi’ uḡk’u’ln khwe hnp’uyp’uyshn
 x^wa aaḡiḡ? uḡkuln x^we hnṗuyṗuyšn
 x^wa ḡaḡiḡwḡ ḡuḡ-kul-nt-Ø-n x^we hn-CVC-ṗuy=šn
 DET right.now again-make-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG DET 1SG.GEN-AUG-wrinkled=FOOT
 I fixed the car today.

lut shipepn
 lut šipepn
 lut šip-C₂-nt-Ø-n
 NEG finish-LCR-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
 I didn’t finish it. (English to CDA) MIL.07.07.11

khwe lut chn shipep
 x^we lut čn šipep
 x^we lut čn-ship-C₂
 DET NEG 1SG.NOM-finish-LCR

I didn't finish. (English to CDA) FA.07.07.11

I fixed the car today but I didn't finish. [English sentence provided by elicitor]

In the sentence above, both speakers provided a sentence to cancel the culmination. Although this is only one example, it does show that these types of sentences are possible in Coeur d'Alene. So for Coeur d'Alene, the culmination of an accomplishment is an implicature.

3.2.4 Achievements

Perfective achievements in Coeur d'Alene have culminated readings. This is also the case for *Skw̥wú7mesh*. “Perfective achievements in *Skw̥wú7mesh* have culminating readings . . . , which are entailments. . .” (Bar-el 2005: 204). The data in (102), a repeat of (48), through (105) show elicited achievements that have culminated readings. Sentence (106) is a repeat of (49).

(102) *sukhwntses*

sux^wnces

sux^w-nt-se-s

know-CTR-1SG.ACC-3SG.ERG

He recognized me. (English to CDA) FA.12.30.10

(103) *chn gwich e sqigwts* FA.12.15.11

čn g^wič ʔe sqig^wc

čn g^wič ʔe sqig^wc

1SG.NOM see OBL water.potatoes

I found some potatoes. (English to CDA with context) MIL.12.15.11

(104) *q'awshn khwe eschiche'*

q^aawšn x^we esčičeʔ

q'ē^w=shn khwe eschiche'

break=LEG DET horse

The horse broke his leg. (volunteered) FA.11.03.11

(105) *chn 'nułkhw*

čn nułx^w

čn nułx^w

1SG.NOM enter

I entered. (English to CDA with context) FA.12.30.10

(106) *khwe hnqine' gwich spist'e'yt*

x^we hnqineʔ g^wič spisteʔyt

x^we hin-qineʔ

g^wič spisteʔyt

DET 1SG.GEN-grandmother.paternal see big

She found a big water potato. (English to CDA with context) FA.12.15.11

The examples (107) through (112) are non-elicited achievements that also have all culminated readings.

- (107) meʷ(wsheshmnts
méʷšəšmnc
me[-ʔ-]ʷšəš-mi-nt-∅-s
break-[-INCH-]-INDEF-REL-CTR-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
He broke something for somebody else. (Doak 1997: 66-67)
- (108) chiniʷdekhus
činiʷdexus
čic-niʷ-dexʷ=us
LOC-LOC-fall=FIRE
She fell into the fire. (Doak 1997: 31)
- (109) tsʷelʷ
čel
čel[-ʔ-]-C₂
stand-[-INCH-]-RES
He reached his destination. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)
- (110) qheluuustus
xelu:stus
xel=us-stu-∅-s
clear=EYE-CAUS-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
He recognized him immediately. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)
- (111) qiłnts
qiłnc
qił-nt-∅-s
awake-CTR-3SG.ACC-3SG.ERG
He awoke him. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)
- (112) tsʷllišuʷlumkhw
čellišulmxʷ
čel[-ʔ-]-C₂=iš=ulmxʷ
stand-[-INCH-]-RES-BE.IN.ACT.OF=GROUND
The bird came to a stand after a flight. (alight) (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

As far as I can tell from the data available, achievements in the perfective always culminate. This is consonant with findings from other Salish languages (Bar-el 2005, Kiyota 2008, Turner 2011).

In this section we saw that activities have terminated and ongoing readings in the perfective, accomplishments and achievements have culminated readings and states have stative and inchoative readings. The culmination of accomplishments can be cancelled.

3.3 Imperfective *ʔec-*

3.3.1 States

In the imperfective *ʔec-*, states have stative readings (113) through (117) below as well as a habitual inchoative reading (116).

(113) *khuuł khwi' khwe s̥ikwe' ɫ 'etsets'lu'tech'n*
xu:ɫ x^wiʔ x^we s̥ik^weʔ ɫ ʔecečlutečn
xuɫ x^wiʔ xwe s̥ik^weʔ ɫ ʔec-c̥el-ut=ičn'
 proceed.to DEM DET water CONJ CUST-stand-STAT=BACK
 ... and proceeded to the water and she was standing on the ice. (DW 1.19)
 He saw his wife standing on the ice. (Froelich and Reichard 1947: 199)

(114) *'ets'elut*
ʔečelut
ʔec-c̥el-ut
 CUST-stand-STAT
 She is standing. (English to CDA) MIL.02.17.11

(115) *'ets'apq khwe tech hnsnq̣hapi'wes*
ʔečapq x^we teč hnsnq̣hapi'wes
ʔec-čapq̣ x^we teč hin-snq̣hapi'wes
 CUST-adhere.to DET PREP 1SG.GEN-soul
 It is stuck to my soul. (English to CDA) FA.11.03.11

(116) *'echayp khwe 'e lu'p khwe he s̥laq̣wqn*
ʔečayp x^we ʔe luʔp x^we he s̥laq̣^wqn
ʔec-čay-p x^we ʔe lup<ʔ> x^we he s-ɫaq̣^w=qin
 CUST-hard-INCH DET OBL dry-<INCH> DET SUB NMLZ-basket
 The dry basket gets hard. (Doak 1997: 260)

3.3.2 Activities

Activities marked with imperfective *ʔec-* have habitual and in-progress readings. The sentences in (117) and (118), a repeat of (57), are habituals and (119), a repeat of (58), is a past habitual.

- (117) 'echlíp khwe hisíle'
 ʔečlíp x^we hisíle?
 ʔec-člíp x^we hin-síle?
 CUST-hunt DET 1SG.GEN-maternal.grandson
 My grandson hunts. (Doak 1997: 46)
- (118) spintch 'etstikhum khwe Kim
 spintč ʔectix^wm x^we Kim
 spintch ʔec-tix^w-m x^we Kim
 year CUST-look.for-MDL DET Kim
 Kim picks huckleberries every year. (English to CDA) FA.11.03.11
- (119) tsmi' 'etswinsh
 cmi? ʔecwínš
 cmi? ʔec-winš
 used.to.be CUST-wardance
 He used to dance. (Doak 1997: 87)

Sentences (120), a repeat of (33), through (122) have in-progress readings. Sentence (121) is a repeat of (3) and (122) is a repeat of (61).

- (120) 'uts'aqhił khwe 'etskhwístes 'u'yats'qhms
 ʔucʔaxil x^we ʔecx^wístes ʔuyáčxms
 ʔucʔaxil x^we ʔec-x^wis-t-es ʔu-s-ʔacx-m-s
 suddenly DET CUST-walk-STAT-COND STAT-INT-lookat-MDL-3GEN
 Suddenly as he was walking he looked back at it. (DW 1.3)
- (121) khwe e nune's Alberta hił tse pipe's Ernest 'etu'sp'ekwele'
 x^we ʔe nuneʔs Alberta hił ce pípeʔs Ernest ʔetuʔsp'ekwəle?,
 x^we ʔe nuneʔ-s Alberta hił ce pipeʔ-s Ernest ʔec-tuʔ-s-pekwele?,
 DET OBL mother-3SG.GEN Alberta CONJ DET father-3SG.GEN Ernest CUST-MUT-NMLZ-ball
 Their mother Alberta and their father Ernest, they're playing ball... (Doak 1997: 217)
- (122) ku'm khwuuuu 'u'lc'kwim
 k^wum' x^wu... ʔulčək^winəm
 k^wum' x^wu... ʔul ʔec-ck^win-m
 CONJ x^wu...again CUST-run-MDL
 then xu... again he was running... (CSH 7.12)
 He was running where there was a cliff.

Sentence (123) shows an activity verb in the customary that has an in-progress reading. Next to the customary marked verb is a continuative marked verb with an iterative reading.

- (123) ku'm khwe'ya (etsich'n 'etsk'wi'stm 'itsqhetm

kum̩ x^weɣǎ ʃecičn̩ ʔeck^wistm̩ ʔicxétm̩
 kum̩ x^wiɣě ʃec=ičn̩ ʔec-k^wiʔ-stu-m̩ ʔic-xet-m̩
 CONJ DEM tie=BACK CUST-bite-CAUS-NTE CONT-hit.with.sth-MDL
 “He came to a house where a man was thrumming the string of a bow one end of which he held in his mouth.

'u pam pam pam.
 ʔu pam pam pam
 pam pam pam (BTF 1.10)
 ‘O pam pam.’” (Froelich and Reichard 1947: 209)

3.3.3 Accomplishments

There are not many examples of accomplishments marked with the customary marker. Sentences (124) through (126) are three examples and they all have a habitual reading.

(124) st(wetsi^ˈwes pintch ch^ˈntsku^ˈln khwe
 stʃ^weciʔwes pintč čnckuln x^we
 stʃ^weciʔwes pintč čn-ʔec-kul^ˈ-nt-Ø-n x^we
 Sunday always 1SG.NOM-CUST-fix-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG DET

hnsp^ˈuyp^ˈuyshn
 hnɸuyɸuyšn
 hin-CVC-ɸuy=šn
 1SG.GEN-CVC-wrinkle=FOOT
 I always fix my car on Sundays. (English to CDA) FA.11.03.11

(125) ‘echkhw^uyystmes tech sntch^ˈe(wmin
 ʔečx^wúystmes teč sntč^ˈeʃ^wmin
 ʔec-č-x^wuy-st-mel-s teč s-n-t-čeʃ^w-min
 CUST-DIR-go-CAUS-1SG.ACC-3SG.ERG PREP NMLZ-LOC-LOC-pray-INSTR
 He takes me to church. (Doak 1997: 140)

(126) pintch ‘etikhum ‘e nek^ˈwe’ ...e yomq^hwe^ˈ
 pintč ʔetix^wm ʔe nek^weʔ ʔe yomx^weʔ
 pintč ʔec-tix^wm ʔe nek^weʔ ʔe yomx^weʔ
 Always CUST-look.for OBL one OBL basket
 Kim usually picks a basket of huckleberries. (English to CDA) FA.11.03.11

3.3.4 Achievements

Imperfective ʔec- marked achievements have result state and habitual readings. Sentences (127), a repeat of (55), through (129) have habitual readings while (130) and (131) have result

state readings.

- (127) 'esukhwn
ʔesux^wn
ʔec-sux^w-nt-∅-n
CUST-recognize-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
I usually recognize her. (English to CDA) FA.12.30.10
- (128) 'echayp khwe 'e ɫaqwn khwe lu'pes
ʔečáyp x^we ʔe ɫáq^wqn x^we lúʔpes
ʔec-čay-p x^we ʔe ɫaq^wqin x^we lup-<?>-es
CUST-hard-INCH DET OBL basket DET dry-<INCH>
The basket gets hard when it dries. (Doak, 260)
- (129) 'etsk'wet't'
ʔeck^wétt'
ʔec-k^wet'-C₂
CUST-appear-RES
He/she usually shows up. (Lyon 2010: 44)
- (130) 'ech'naqhntses khwe hnq'ine' e Laura
ʔečnákxənces x^wə hnq'ineʔ e Laura
ʔec-čəñ=aχn-t-se-s x^we hn-ǰineʔ he Laura
CUST-grasp=ARM-TRAN-1SG.ACC-3SG.ERG DET 1SG.GEN-paternal.grandmother SUB Laura
My granddaughter Laura grabbed me by the arm. (Doak 1997: 219)
- (131) chite-khuuy he tčhnek'we' he stq'wi 'eesukhwstm.
čitexúuy he tčnék^weʔ he stq'wí ʔe:súx^wn
čic-te-x^wuy he t-č-nek^weʔ he s-t-q^wih=šin=mš ʔec-sux^w-stu-m
LOC-LOC-go SUB LOC-LOC-one SUB NMLZ-LOC-black=FOOT=TRIBE CUST-know-CAUS-NTE
When they arrived one of the Blackfoot was recognized. (WB 1.3)

Even though (130) and (131) appear to have result state readings this is based only on the English translation provided. Sentence (130) could have been translated as “My granddaughter Laura was grasping me by the arm.”

3.4 Continuative *ʔic-*

3.4.1 States

In the continuative *ʔic-*, states have stative and in-progress readings. The data in (132) through (136) have stative readings.

- (132) hn q'omqn 'its'a'r
 hn q'omqn ?içá?r
 hin qumqin ?ic-çá[-?-]r
 1SG.GEN head CONT-sick-[-INCH-]
 My head aches. (FCS 4.1)
- (133) 'its'elut epł stu(wits'e' unpeyilgwes
 ?içelut ?epł stuçwice? unpeyiylgwes
 ?ic-çel-ut ?epł caçw=içe? u-hn-piy-C₂=ilgwes
 CONT-stand-STAT have fringe=AROUND STAT-happy-RES=STOMACH
 She is standing there, with her shawl, she is happy. (English to CDA) FA.02.17.11
- (134) 'its'a'ar
 ?içá?ar
 ?ic-çá?ar
 CONT-sick
 She's sick. (English to CDA) MIL.07.21.11
- (135) ku'ytsayqhwł
 kuçç?áyç^wt
 ku ?ic-?ayç^w-t
 2SG.NOM CONT-tired-STAT
 You're tired. (Doak 1997: 102)
- (136) chi'ynqhił
 činçil
 čin-?ic-hn-çil
 1SG.NOM-CONT-LOC-afraid
 I am afraid. (Nicodemus et.al 2000: 148)

States can have in-progress readings in the continuative. The examples in (137), repeat of (82) through (138) have in-progress translations. Sentence (138) is a repeat of (75) and (139) is a repeat of (41).

- (137) ku'yts qhiwt
 kuçç çiwł
 ku-?ic-xiw-t
 2SG.NOM-CONT-ashame-STAT
 You are being ashamed, you are being embarrassed. (CDA to English) MIL.07.07.11
- (138) chi'tsgwiç
 či?cg^wiç
 čin-?ic-g^wiç
 1SG.NOM-CONT-see
 I am/was seeing. (Harris 1974: 8)

(139) kwi'tsqheminchm
 k^{wi}?c^xemínčm
 ku-hin-s-**ʔic**-x^mem=inč-m
 2SG.NOM-1SG.GEN-**CONT**-NMLZ-love=STOMACH-MDL
 I am loving you. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Sentence (140) contains the verb *love* in the perfective and (141) shows the imperfective use of the verb *love*. Sentence (140), a repeat of (39), is in the past, and (141), a repeat of (40), is in the present.

(140) qheminchstmn
 x^memínčstmn
 x^mem=inch-stu-mi-n
 love=STOMACH-CAUS-2SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
 I loved you. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

(141) ‘atsqheminchsn
 ʔac^xemínčsn
 ʔec-x^mem=inč-stu-∅-n
 CUST-love-STOMACH-CAUS-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
 I love him/her. (CRD Archive, Bischoff 2009)

Some states in Coeur d’Alene are translated as in-progress with the continuative marker. Much of this data is from written sources. With the limited data there is little information on the differences between the same verbs marked with a customary marker versus a continuative marker.

3.4.2 Activities

Activities marked with *ʔic*- have in-progress readings, as shown below in (142) and (143).

(142) ‘itskhwistelwis
 ʔicx^wistelwis
ʔic-x^wist=elwis
CONT-walk=TO.INDEF.PLACES
 He is walking. (English to CDA) MIL.02.17.11

(143) ‘itsahoyt
 ʔicəhoyt
ʔic-hoy-t
CONT-stop-STAT
 She’s coughing. (volunteered) MIL.07.21.11

Sentence (144), a repeat of (79), is from Harris (1974), and shows that *ʔic*-marked sentences can have a present progressive reading as well as a past progressive reading.

- (144) ku'y^tsek^wuⁿ
 ku'y^tcek^wuⁿ
 ku-**ʔic**-ʔek^wuⁿ
 2SG.NOM-CONT-say
 You are/were saying. (Harris 1974: 8)

3.4.3 Accomplishments

ʔic-marked accomplishments have in-progress readings. Sentences (145) (a repeat of (75)) through (149) are in-progress. Sentence (146) is a repeat of (76).

- (145) khwe mulš 'itsteqhwipm
 x^we mulš ʔictəx^wipm
 x^we mulš **ʔic**-tax^w=ip-m
 DET beaver CONT-stop=BACK-MDL
 He's blocking the water, he's stopping the flow. (English to CDA) FA.11.17.11

- (146) khwe hns^puy^puyshn hi'tsk'u'lm FA.07.07.11
 x^we hns^puy^puyšn hiʔckulm
 x^we hn-^puy-CVC=šn hin-**ʔic**-kul-m
 DET 1SG.GEN-wrinkle-CHAR=FOOT 1SG.GEN-CONT-fix-MDL
 I'm working on my car. (English to CDA) MIL.07.07.11

- (147) 'itswi^hsh^hkhw
 ʔicwiš^hlx^w
ʔic-wiš=lx^w
 CONT-build=HOUSE
 He is building a house. (Lyon 2010: 90)

- (148) kwi'tsk^u'ltm
 k^wiʔck^wúltəm
 ku hn-**ʔic**-kul-lt-m
 2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-CONT-make-POSSA-MDL
 I am making it for thee. (Doak, 182)

- (149) ku 'yteg^wminshesh khwe nqhalatse
 k^wu yteg^wminšes x^we n^xalacé
 ku **ʔic**-tig^w-min-šes x^we n^xalace?
 2SG.NOM CONT-buy-REL-INDEF DET raspberry
 You are buying us raspberries. (Doak 1997: 183)

3.4.4 Achievements

There is only one example of an achievement marked with the continuative. It has an in-progress reading.

- (150) 'it'khwup
 ?itx^wup
 ?ic-tx^wup
 CONT-win
 They're winning the game. (Doak 1997: 102)

3.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has shown the different readings that verb classes have in the three grammatical aspects. Section 3.2.3 showed that Coeur d'Alene has the possibility of cancelling the culmination of an accomplishment in the perfective, as in other Salish languages. In section 3.4.1, I showed that Coeur d'Alene has states that receive in-progress translations. Because these are translations, the evidence for a progressive interpretation is suggestive rather than conclusive. The tables below summarize the readings found with each verb class in the three grammatical aspects.

Table 17: Perfective Readings

	States	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
inchoative	✓(87) (88)			
stative	✓(89) (90) (91)			
terminated		✓(93) (94)		
ongoing		✓(95) (96) (97)		
culminated			✓(98-100)	✓(102-112)
non-culminating			✓(101)	

I will now compare the readings that occur with the customary marker *?ec-* and the continuative marker *?ic-*. Looking at the readings that occur for states, accomplishments, achievements and activities there is a split in interpretation, where the customary has habitual readings and the continuative has in-progress readings. Although in-progress is listed under the continuative column for states, this may just be a translation effect.

Table 18: Customary and Continuative Comparison

	Customary	Continuative
States	stative (113-115)	in progress (137-139)
	habitual inchoative (116)	stative (132-136)
Accomplishments	habitual (124-126)	in-progress (145-149)
Achievements	habitual (127-129)	in-progress (150)
	result state (130) (131)	
Activities	habitual (117-119)	in-progress (142-144)
	in-progress (120-123)	

As is shown in the continuative column and state row, one of the readings of states is in-progress. Further research is needed as to whether this is a case of the English translation being misleading or not. Since it does look like states can occur in the progressive, this could be evidence that Coeur d'Alene is one of the languages that shift their states into an activity when marked with the progressive.

Accomplishments in the customary have habitual readings, while in the continuative there are in-progress readings. I do not have data showing a customary marked accomplishment with an in-progress reading. This is the case also with the achievements. There are small numbers of examples where the verb classes of accomplishments and achievements occur with the customary and the continuative. In general, accomplishments and achievements occur less with the imperfective than other verb classes.

Below, in table 19, is a summary of all the data used for this thesis. The data is divided up by the source, which is listed in the columns. While gathering data from the Reichard's stories only customary and continuative were counted. The totals show that there are more examples of activities and states and less of accomplishments and achievements. There are higher numbers of examples from writtens sources and the myths.

Table 19: Number of Examples by Source

	Elicitation	Written	Stories	Total
Completive Activities	6	26	1	33
Customary Activities	5	32	21	58
Continuative Activities	15	79	23	117
Total of activities	26	137	45	208
Completive States	8	11	∅	19
Customary States	1	7	15	23
Continuative States	3	24	13	40
Total of states	12	42	28	82
Completive Accomplishments	6	17	∅	23
Customary Accomplishments	2	5	∅	7
Continuative Accomplishments	1	3	∅	4
Total of accomplishments	9	25	0	34
Completive Achievements	8	32	∅	40
Customary Achievements	4	5	1	10
Continuative Achievements	∅	1	∅	1
Total of achievements	12	38	∅	51

Chapter 4 Semantic Analysis of Coeur d’Alene Grammatical Aspect

4.1 Overview

In the previous chapters I have shown that Coeur d’Alene has a perfective aspect which is zero marked, a general imperfective marker *ʔec-* and a progressive marker *ʔic-*. Section 4.2 will discuss semantic research on grammatical aspect in *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* and *SENĆOFEN*. I will present the analyses of Bar-el (2005) for *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* and Kiyota (2008) and Turner (2011) for *SENĆOFEN* as well as the semantic theory that they use. Section 4.3 provides a semantic analysis for Coeur d’Alene grammatical aspect. Finally, section 4.4 summarizes this chapter.

4.2 Cross-Salish comparison

Table 20 shows the distribution of grammatical aspect in two Central Salish languages, *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* and *SENĆOFEN*.

Table 20: Grammatical Aspect Markers in *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* and *SENĆOFEN*

	Perfective	Imperfective	Progressive
<i>Skw̓x̓wú7mesh</i> (Bar-el 2005)	unmarked	<i>wa</i>	CV reduplication
<i>SENĆOFEN</i> (Kiyota 2008)	unmarked	(1) CV reduplication (2) glottal infix (3) stress shift	
<i>SENĆOFEN</i> (Turner 2011)	unmarked	(1) suffixation + vowel change (2) contrastive schwa (3) reduplication (4) glottal infix	

Both *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* and *SENĆOFEN* have unmarked perfectives like Coeur d’Alene. *SENĆOFEN* has multiple ways to mark imperfective while *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* has a general imperfective marker *wa* and a reduplicant as a progressive marker.

4.2.1 The perfective

Bar-el’s (2005) dissertation is on the Central Salish language *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh*. This language is spoken by the Squamish people who currently reside along Howe Sound and Burrard Inlet in Southwest coastal British Columbia. Bar-el examines various types of perfectives cross-linguistically. She argues that the *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* perfective is not a completive perfective, a semi-perfective or a neutral perfective. She analyzes the perfective as “... a standard perfective

that has different readings with different predicate classes, much like English” (Bar-el 2005: 225). Bar-el’s semantics for the perfective are given below.

Perfective

- a. ----- [Reference Time---- [---Event Time---] ----] -----
- b. $\lambda P\lambda t\exists e [P(e) \wedge \tau(e) \subseteq t]$
- c. A property of events *P* is mapped into a property of times and it is true of a time *t* just in case *t* includes the running time (τ) of a P-event. (Bar-el, 226)

Bar-el analyzes the perfective in *Skwxwú7mesh* as having the running time of the event form a subpart of the reference time, and provides the denotation in (b), based on Kratzer (1998), and paraphrased in (c).

Bar-el gives states and activities different denotations than in English: both are analyzed as containing an initial change of state. Examples of an initial change of state are in (152) and (153).

(152) chen **xay-m** [kwi-n-s kw’ach-nexw kwa John]
 1S.SG **laugh-INTR** [DET-1POSS-NOM see-TR(LC) DET John]
 ‘I laughed when I saw John.’
Speaker’s comments: It’s because you saw John that you started to laugh
 (Bar-el 2005: 153).

(153) chen **lulum** [yew’aniwilh kwi-s-es huyá7 ta Peter]
 1S.SG sing [before DET-NOM-3POSS leave DET Peter]
 ‘I started singing before Peter left.’ (Bar-el 2005: 154).

Table 21 gives the readings of the *Skwxwú7mesh* perfective with the different verb classes.

Table 21: *Skwxwú7mesh* Perfective Predicates

	Perfective Readings		
	Inceptive/Inchoative	Medial (“in progress”/stative)	Final (termination/culmination)
Activities	Inceptive	“in-progress”	Terminated
Accomplishments	Inceptive	“in-progress”	Culminated
Achievements	✗	✗	Culminated
Inchoative States	Inchoative	Stative	✗

(Bar-el 2005: 205)

Kiyota's (2008) dissertation is on the SENĆOŦEN language, which is a dialect of the Central Salish language Northern Straits Salish. This dialect is spoken by the Saanich on South Eastern Vancouver Island. Kiyota adapts the standard analysis of the perfective to fit his analysis of the SENĆOŦEN perfective.

$$[[\text{Perfective}]] = \lambda Q.\lambda i.\exists e' [e' \sqsubseteq e \ \& \ \tau(e') \subset i \ \& \ Q(e)] \quad (\text{Kiyota 2008: 92})$$

The perfective takes a predicate and asserts that there is an event of the relevant type, and that event has a sub-event whose run-time is included within the reference time. Kiyota provides an explanation of why he analyzes the SENĆOŦEN perfective as above. "The perfective must be able to view a sub-event of an event because in Sənčáθən, there are various readings depending on the situation type: an inceptive reading with inchoative states and activities, and a completive reading with accomplishments and achievements" (Kiyota 2008: 94). An example of an inchoative state reading is given in (154).

(154) čəl'kʷɪnet ʔiʔ čey sən ʔə kʷsə nə ʔeʔləŋ
 Tuesday ACC work 1.sg OBL D my house
 'I started working on my house on Tuesday' (Kiyota 2008: 94).

Turner's (2011) dissertation is also on the SENĆOŦEN language. She disagrees with calling the perfective 'non-standard' and states that the perfective behaves like perfectives in other languages (258).

4.2.2 The imperfective

For Skw̓xw̓7mesh, Bar-el (2005) analyzes the *wa* morpheme as a standard imperfective, adopting Kratzer's (1998) analysis. This is shown below.

Imperfective

- a. ----- [Event Time----- [---Reference Time---] -----] -----
- b. $\lambda P\lambda t\exists e [P(e) \wedge t \subseteq \tau(e)]$
- c. A property of events *P* is mapped into a property of times which is true of a time *t* just in case *t* is included in the running time (τ) of a P-event. (Bar-el 2005: 263)

The reference time is inside the event time. The denotation is shown in (b) and the description of the denotation is given in (c).

Table 22 shows the readings that occur with *wa* with each predicate class.

Table 22: Skwxwú7mesh Predicates + *wa*

	Occurs with <i>wa</i>	Reading
Activities	✓	in progress habitual
Accomplishments	✓	in progress habitual
Achievements	✓	% in progress habitual
Inchoative States	✓	stative habitual (?)

(Bar-el 2005: 278)

For SENĆOŦEN, Kiyota adopts Bar-el’s (2005) analysis for the imperfective, which is based on Kratzer (1998).

$$[[\text{Imperfective}]] = \lambda Q.\lambda i.\exists e. [i \subseteq \tau(e) \ \& \ Q(e)] \quad (\text{Kiyota 2008: 92})$$

Turner (2011) states that the SENĆOŦEN imperfective behaves like imperfectives in other languages. She gives data to show the various uses of the imperfective, such as progressive, habitual and iterative, and provides a description of the imperfective from Boneh & Doron (2009). “[I]mperfective aspect is ‘a mapping from properties Q of an event e (either a dynamic event or state) to those intervals i (*reference time*) which stand in particular inclusion relations to the *event time* $\tau(e)$, the time of e’ (p. 339).’ So any interval time serving as the reference time must be included in the running time of the event in order for the imperfective aspect to be used” (Turner, 249).

4.3 Analysis of grammatical aspect in Coeur d’Alene

4.3.1 Overview

The previous section covered the analyses of grammatical aspect in two other Salish languages. Although these languages are from a different branch of Salish than Coeur d’Alene, their grammatical aspects behave similarly. Coeur d’Alene has three grammatical aspects that

have been labeled the completive, customary and continuative. In Table 23 below, the forms are listed in column one, the traditional label in column two, the paradigm used in column three and my reanalysis in column four.

Table 23: Reanalysis of Coeur d’Alene Aspectual Markers

Form	Traditional label	Reanalysis
\emptyset	completive	Perfective
<i>ʔec-</i>	customary	Imperfective
<i>ʔic-</i>	continuative	Progressive

4.3.2 Data

The readings for the Coeur d’Alene perfective are similar to the readings that occur in *Skw̥wú7mesh* and *SENĆOFEN*. The culminated reading is shown again in (155) (a repeat of (98)), the inchoative is given (156) (a repeat of (52)), and the stative is given in (157), a repeat of (54).

Completive

(155) *khwa aspa taqhwipm khwe mulsh*
x^we aspá taṣ^wipm x^we mulsh
x^we ʔaspalaqł taṣ^w=ip-m x^we mulš
 DET yesterday stop=BACK-MDL DET beaver
 Yesterday the beaver built a dam. (English to CDA) FA.11.17.11

(156) *twi’ chn (ust*
t^wiʔ čn ʃust
t^wiʔ čn ʃus-t
 EXCL 1SG.NOM lost-STAT
 I got lost. (volunteered) FA.12.30.10

(157) *uchnqhees*
učnṣe:s
u-čnṣes
 INH-1SG.NOM-good
 I’m well. (Nicodemus et.al 2000: 155)

Habitual and progressive readings occur with the imperfective in Coeur d’Alene, *Skw̥wú7mesh* and *SENĆOFEN*. An in-progress reading is shown in (158) (a repeat of (33)), while a habitual reading is shown in (159), a repeat of (34).

Customary

- (158) 'uts'aqhił khwe 'etskhwistes 'u'yats'qhms.
ʔuçaxił x^we ʔecx^wistes ʔuyáčxms
ʔucʔaxił x^we ʔec-x^wis-t-es ʔu-s-ʔacx̣-m-s
suddenly DET CUST-walk-STAT-COND STAT-INT-lookat-MDL-3SG.GEN
Suddenly as he was walking he looked back at it. (DW 1.3)

- (159) ku'tskhwist
kuçx^wist
ku ʔec-x^wis-t
2SG.NOM CUST-travel-DUR
You walk/go places. (Doak 1997: 85)

The continuative has in-progress readings, as shown in (157), a repeat of (35).

Continuative

- (160) ku'ytskhwist
kuyçx^wist
ku ʔic-x^wis-t
2SG.NOM CONT-walk-DUR
You are walking. (Doak 1997: 103)

4.3.2 Analysis

I adopt Bar-el's semantics for the Skwxwú7mesh perfective and imperfective. Her semantics are repeated below.

Perfective

- [Reference Time]----[---Event Time---]-----
- $\lambda P \lambda t \exists e [P(e) \wedge \tau(e) \subseteq t]$
- A property of events P is mapped into a property of times and it is true of a time t just in case t includes the running time (τ) of a P -event. (Bar-el 2005: 226)

Imperfective

- [Event Time]----[---Reference Time---]-----
- $\lambda P \lambda t \exists e [P(e) \wedge t \subseteq \tau(e)]$
- A property of events P is mapped into a property of times which is true of a time t just in case t is included in the running time (τ) of a P -event. (Bar-el 2005: 263)

For the perfective, the event time occurs within the reference time. This means that the whole event will have occurred at the time of reference, which is the case for most verbs in Coeur d’Alene. Activities do appear to have on-going readings in addition to terminated readings. This also occurs in Skwxwú7mesh. Bar-el (2005) explains this by stating that “[c]rucially this suggests that even in the case of the seemingly ‘on-going’ translation, the event includes the initial point. This contrasts with a progressive in that the initial point of a progressive is not included in the reference time” (Bar-el 2005: 226). Like with the representations of perfective and imperfective, I adopt Bar-el’s analysis of verb classes in Skwxwú7mesh.

Bar-el (2005) conducted various tests on whether verb classes in Skwxwú7mesh had initial or final points. These tests are listed in table 24.

Table 24: Skwxwú7mesh Verb Class Tests

Final points	Initial points
culmination cancellation	punctual clause/adverbials
event continuation	come
almost	
scope of negation	

Table 25 summarizes her findings for initial and final points in Skwxwú7mesh.

Table 25: Skwxwú7mesh Initial and Final Points

	Final points	Initial points
States		✓
Activities		✓
Accomplishments		
Achievements	✓	✓

For Coeur d’Alene, I was only able to do the culmination cancellation test and the punctual clause test. In (161) and (162) below, a repeat of (50) and (51), one accomplishment was elicited but both speakers provided a cancelling sentence.

- (161) khwa aqhi’ ułk’u’ln khwe hnp’uy’uyshn FA.07.07.11
x^wa axi? ułkułn x^we hnpuy’puyšn
x^wa ʔaxi?wł ʔuł-kul-nt-Ø-n x^we hn-CVC-ḡuy=šn
DET right.now again-make-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG DET 1SG.GEN-AUG-wrinkled=FOOT
I fixed the car today.

lut shipepn
 lut šipepn
 lut šip-C₂-nt-Ø-n
 NEG finish-LCR-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
 I didn't finish it. (English to CDA) MIL.07.07.11

(162) khwa aqhi' ulk'u'ln khwe hnp'uyp'uyshn FA.07.07.11
 x^wa axi? ulkuln x^we hnpuyḡuyšn
 x^wa ʔaxi?wł ʔul-kul-nt-Ø-n x^we hn-CVC-ḡuy=šn
 DET right.now again-make-CTR-3SG.ACC-1SG.ERG DET 1SG.GEN-AUG-wrinkled=FOOT
 I fixed the car today

khwe lut chn shipep
 x^we lut čn šipep
 x^we lut čn-ship-C₂
 DET NEG 1SG.NOM-finish-LCR
 I didn't finish you know S.G. FA.07.07.11
 I fixed the car today but I didn't finish. (English to CDA)

Even though this is one example, this suggests that Coeur d'Alene accomplishments do not have final points.

There was also one punctual clause test done listed in (163) below, a repeat of (92).

(163) peyilgwes khwe Michelle khwe tsaqine'
 peyilg^wes x^we Michelle x^we caqine?
 piy=ilg^wes x^we Michelle x^we caq=ene?
 joy=STOMACH DET Michelle DET vessel=EAR
 Michelle was happy when she heard the news. (English to CDA) MIL.01.26.12

- ✓ (a) she was happy **before** she heard the news
- ✓ (b) she was happy **after** she heard the news?

Speaker Comment: Could be used either way. FA.06.14.12

The results for this test were different from Sk_wx_wú7mesh. In Sk_wx_wú7mesh the (b) interpretation is possible but not the (a) interpretation. For Coeur d'Alene, both (a) and (b) interpretations are possible. So this means that in Coeur d'Alene, stage-level states are ambiguous between inchoative and stative readings, rather than behaving as a separate class of inchoative states.

Table 26 shows the perfective readings for each verb class, comparing Sk_wx_wú7mesh with

Coeur d’Alene.

Table 26 Skwxwú7mesh and Coeur d’Alene Perfective Readings

	Skwxwú7mesh perfective	Coeur d’Alene perfective
Activities	inceptive “in-progress” terminated	?inceptive ongoing terminated
Accomplishments	inceptive “in-progress” culminated	terminated ?ongoing culminated
Achievements	culminated	culminated
Inchoative States	inchoative	
States	stative	inchoative stative

For the Coeur d’Alene perfective, activities have terminated and ongoing readings. The ongoing readings are comparable to the “in-progress” readings in the Skwxwú7mesh column. There are no examples of Coeur d’Alene activities with an inceptive reading but that does not mean they are not possible. This is just something that I did not get the chance to test for. Coeur d’Alene accomplishments have a culmination that can be cancelled, like in Skwxwú7mesh. For Coeur d’Alene accomplishments I do not have any data on initial or medial readings. Coeur d’Alene Achievements culminate like Skwxwú7mesh. I list ‘states’ for Coeur d’Alene in Table 26 and in the following tables instead of ‘inchoative states’ because Coeur d’Alene states have both stative inchoative readings in the perfective.

Table 27 shows the progressive readings for each verb class, comparing Skwxwú7mesh with Coeur d’Alene.

Table 27: Skwxwú7mesh and Coeur d’Alene Progressive Readings

	Skwxwú7mesh CV	Coeur d’Alene <i>ʔic-</i>
Activities	in progress	in progress
Accomplishments	in progress	in progress
Achievements	*/in progress	in progress
Shifted achievements	in progress	
Inchoative states	stative	
States		in progress stative

In both languages activities and states have an in-progress reading. For *Skwxwú7mesh*, reduplicated achievements get an ungrammatical reading but when it is okay for them to be reduplicated, they get an in-progress reading. These achievements require a shift operation. For Coeur d’Alene, I have examples of in-progress but do not have any data on ungrammatical progressive achievements. Coeur d’Alene states in the progressive get in-progress and stative readings. This differs with *Skwxwú7mesh* which only has stative readings, although it is difficult to tell the difference between a stative and in-progress reading.

Table 28 shows the general imperfective readings for each verb class, comparing *Skwxwú7mesh* with Coeur d’Alene.

Table 28: *Skwxwú7mesh* and Coeur d’Alene General Imperfective Readings

	<i>Skwxwú7mesh wa</i>	Coeur d’Alene <i>ʔc-</i>
Activities	in progress habitual	in progress habitual
Accomplishments	in progress habitual	habitual
Achievements	%in progress habitual	habitual result state
Shifted achievements	in progress	
Inchoative states	stative habitual(?)	
States		stative habitual inchoative

Activities in both languages have habitual and in-progress readings. This is the only verb class in Coeur d’Alene that shows both a habitual and in-progress reading. Accomplishments in Coeur d’Alene have a habitual reading. Coeur d’Alene achievements have a habitual and result state reading. Coeur d’Alene states have both stative and a habitual inchoative reading.

In the data available to me there are low numbers of accomplishments and achievements in the imperfective and progressive. Because of these low numbers there is no way to tell if there are other readings available for these classes.

4.4 Chapter summary

For this chapter I reviewed work by Bar-el (2005), Kiyota (2008) and Turner (2011) on grammatical aspect in Salish. I found that Kratzer’s (1998) analysis used by Bar-el (2005) and

Kiyota (2008) fit with the Coeur d'Alene grammatical aspect markers. I also compared verb classes between Coeur d'Alene and Skw̓wú7mesh, adopting Bar-el's analysis of verb classes.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

For this thesis I conducted fieldwork with the two remaining fluent speakers of the Coeur d'Alene language. Based on this fieldwork, as well as existing written sources, I analyzed the three grammatical aspects in a contemporary semantic theory. Previously the completive marker has been shown to only occur with past completed verbs. I have shown that the completive has more readings than just completive and analyzed it as a standard perfective marker. The customary marker has been described and taught as a marker that only gives habitual readings. In this thesis I show that the customary marker has in-progress and habitual readings typical of a general imperfective marker. The continuative marker has been described as occurring with in-progress readings. Even so, there has never been an analysis of whether the continuative was a progressive or if it had more readings than just in-progress. Since the continuative seems to occur exclusively with progressive readings, I analyze it as a progressive marker.

My chapter on verb classes is a preliminary analysis. Even though there is much more to be learned about Coeur d'Alene verb classes, this chapter provides research to start the discussion on lexical aspect in Coeur d'Alene.

The study of grammatical aspect and lexical aspect is vast. There is a lot that was not covered in this thesis. Future data to look for to clear up some of these issues with the customary and the continuative are: are there customary sentences that have an in-progress reading that are not activities? Are there customary and/or continuative marked sentences with both in-progress and habitual readings (i.e. I run/I am running)?

The goal I had in mind for this thesis was to find out as much as possible about the grammatical aspects while there were fluent speakers to elicit data from. Finding out what these grammatical aspect markers corresponded to in linguistic terms was important to me because this could help future efforts to teach the language and develop curriculum that accurately as possible reflect what these aspectual markers are and how they are used.

The fieldwork for this thesis was completed with the last first language speakers of Coeur d'Alene. No one knows how much time is left to learn from these speakers, hopefully many more years. The small number of speakers provided a unique situation for fieldwork. Other endangered languages may be near this state of endangerment and inevitably, the endangered languages of the world may get to this point if serious revitalization work is not done.

I wanted to share what I learned about conducting fieldwork with the last speakers for other people who may potentially reach this situation with their own languages or language that they are studying. My fieldwork was with two speakers. One was very hard of hearing. Both speakers could not read or write Coeur d'Alene. This limited the way I could conduct my elicitations. My elicitations had to be typed up before each elicitation so that they could read it. I could not say something in Coeur d'Alene and have them correct me or tell me if it was grammatical or ungrammatical. I could not write Coeur d'Alene and ask them to correct it or give me an English translation. These were limitations that I had to work around, and may be relevant to other people working with other severely endangered languages.

My first suggestion is that if you have elderly speakers who do not know how to read and write their language, then offer to teach them. This can help the speakers if they want to write anything on their own or just read what is already written in the language. This will also help you or other people in the future who are working with these speakers. It is common for elderly people to have bad hearing. If your language is limited to a few speakers and the ones left cannot hear, then the speakers knowing the writing system can greatly help with documentation, revitalization and fieldwork. I wish this had been done with our last speakers.

Another thing that could be useful for language documentation purposes would be to teach speakers to use recording devices. There are often times where speakers do not remember certain words but would remember in the correct context. If speakers knew how to record themselves they could record when they remember something or even record their own stories in their language. This type of information is very valuable to language learners and people wishing to document their language.

These speakers are used to 4+ hour meetings where they tell stories of their lives and tribal history. So when I would elicit I would get a lot of valuable information yet had a slow time getting the data I was trying to get for this thesis. To help with this I had to adjust my elicitation methods. By listening to them during previous meetings I was able to find out what they liked to talk about and some of their own personal stories from their childhood. One way I used this information was by doing a picture elicitation. One of the elders liked to talk about beavers and bears a lot. So I found pictures of these animals doing actions so that I could get sentences in the continuative aspect. Since the speaker was already excited about the topic he was enjoying giving

sentences about the topic in Coeur d'Alene. This makes elicitation easier on the speaker by making it relevant to them and their interests.

I tried using an elicitation method that involved pictures of people doing various actions. One of the speakers had a problem with the people not looking Native and how some of their actions were not typical of Coeur d'Alene families when she was growing up. This made me realize that they would prefer more culturally relevant materials during elicitation. They often talked about trips picking huckleberries, digging camas and digging water potatoes. So I drew pictures of their stories from childhood to elicit the Coeur d'Alene with. This worked a lot better than previous methods that I had used. Oftentimes they had a hard time remembering certain terminology so by eliciting stories that they were familiar with they were more likely to be familiar with the Coeur d'Alene terminology associated with those events. This method helped speed up the amount of Coeur d'Alene I would get within an elicitation session. In previous elicitations I would get only one sentence or maybe a few sentences for the whole elicitation period. So preparing culturally relevant elicitation materials and sentences would be a suggestion for fieldworkers working with an endangered language.

My last suggestion is more relevant for language revitalization/documentation purposes. If your speakers are still able to, then take them out into the land of their people. One of the speakers I worked with spent a lot of time in the mountains and areas surrounding our tribe's lake. A small group of us who worked at the language/culture departments asked him if he could take us out to different places and teach us about those places. We also asked if he would teach us language about what we saw and the places we went to. These trips occurred during a summer and involved a few trips. During these trips we would learn about the history of these places, the land, plants, animals and what our people used these places for. Also, we would learn new vocabulary that would never come up in an elicitation in a conference room. There is so much vocabulary and so many sentences that come up naturally in the environment that would be nearly impossible to get in an elicitation setting. Even if the speaker is unable to go hiking or walking, just taking them for a car ride could trigger memories and language.

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Appendix A: Reichard Myths

Reichard Myths Abbreviations

Name of Story	Abbreviation
Turtle's War party	TWP
Two-headed Snakes	THS
The Dwarf	DW
Man Caught in a Fire Corral	MCF
Flathead Chief Sends his Daughter to Chief Waxane	FCS
The Coeur d'Alene Attacked	CA
Two Women Overcome Nez Perce Man	TWO
Woman Saved by Loose Saddle Cinch	WS
The Coeur d'Alene Fight the Kutenai	TCF
Boy Takes Food	BTF
The Practical Joker	PJ
War between the Blackfoot and the Coeur d'Alene	WB
Arthur	AR
Church Teachings	CT
Coyote Cuts Sun's Heart	CSH