This paper investigates the form and function of irrealis morphology in Montana Salish. While it has previously been thought that the irrealis prefix had a single form, ql-, this paper aims to show that it in fact has two allomorphs, ql- and qs-. A second aim is to explore the interaction of the irrealis with aspectual morphology. Which allomorph of the irrealis prefix appears in a given form is conditioned by the type of word to which the prefix attaches. Nominals are prefixed with ql- and verbs appear with qs-. The irrealis may combine with non-continuative or continuative verbal forms. It is not clear how this opposition fits into the larger system of aspect in the language, as most of those irrealis forms marked as continuative do not seem to have continuative meanings.

1 Introduction

In Montana Salish, the category of irrealis is marked by a prefix. It has formerly been thought that the irrealis prefix had a single form, ql-. This paper argues that there are in fact two allomorphs of the irrealis prefix, ql- and qs-. The allomorph that appears in a given word is conditioned by the type of word to which the prefix attaches. Nominals are prefixed with ql- and verbs appear with qs-. The presence of a non-locative prefix after the irrealis may obscure this distribution, as in this circumstance both allomorphs surface as q-. A second goal of the paper is to examine the way that the irrealis interacts and fits into the larger aspectual system of Montana Salish. The irrealis may combine with apparent continuative morphology, though such forms do not seem to have continuative semantics. I first give an overview of the various surface realizations of irrealis morphology that have been found in the data in section 2. In section 3, the analysis of irrealis allomorphs is presented along with the factors that condition the distribution of those allomorphs. Irrealis forms that have apparent continuative morphology are examined in section 4, before describing the meaning and functions of the irrealis in section 5. Finally, in section 6, I discuss behavior of similar prefixes in two other Southern Interior languages.

1. I would like to sincerely thank Prof. Sally Thomason of the University of Michigan for all her help and advice during the writing of this paper, and for her willingness to make available her Montana Salish field texts and data, without either of which the writing of this paper would not have been possible.
2 Overview

Irrealis is marked by a prefix occurring near the left edge of the word. The only prefixes that potentially precede it are the possessive prefixes in-1SG.POSS and an-2SG.POSS (Thomason 1992). There are six surface realizations of irrealis marking that have been found in the data:

(1) a. či qsq\textsuperscript{w}wóm’i.
   ‘I’ll take more than one.’

b. qłćitx\textsuperscript{w}s.
   ‘It’s going to be his house.’

c. ta kw qesx\textsuperscript{w}mqncú!
   ‘Don’t feel safe!’

d. ta qwo qelwičtx\textsuperscript{w}.
   ‘You won’t see me again’

e. tam esnté qelesx\textsuperscript{w}stú.
   ‘He didn’t want to walk back.’

f. ta qepscmeyyéʔ ł i ʔe sic esp’ox\textsuperscript{w}til’ši.
   ‘Those growing up right now won’t have this knowledge.’

It will be shown in the next section that surface forms qes-, qel-, qeles- and qeps- in (ex. 1c-f) arise from the combination of the irrealis prefix with a following prefix, while all examples of ql- (ex. 1b) and most examples of qs- (ex. 1a) can not be broken down into separate prefixes. For those cases in which qs- can be segmented, it derives from the combination of ql- with the nominalizer prefix s-.

The presence of the irrealis prefix triggers two types of allomorphy in preceding person morphemes. The first type occurs in the 1\textsuperscript{st} person plural particle qe(?), which sometimes appears as qa(?) before irrealis forms, as in ex. 2a. The second type of allomorphy involves the deletion of /n/ or change /n/ > [i] in a preceding morpheme, and can be termed the ‘n-change rule’. This rule deletes the /n/ in the possessive prefixes in- and an-, causing them to become i-(es. 2b) and a- (es. 2c), and changes the /n/ of the 1\textsuperscript{st} person intransitive subject particle čn, causing it to become či (ex. 2d).

(2) a. qe esnté qa qlimíx\textsuperscript{w}m.
   ‘We both want to be chief.’

b. iqsčχ\textsuperscript{w}óyqncmc.
   ‘I’m going to pile it up’
In the next section I examine the form and distribution of the various surface realizations of irrealis morphology listed in ex. 1 more closely, and show that qs- and ql- are allomorphs of the same morpheme.

3 Allomorphs of the irrealis prefix

Previous analyses of irrealis marking have assumed that the irrealis prefix had a single form, ql-, and that all other surface realizations of irrealis morphology arose from the deletion of /ł/ before (certain) other prefixes. Under this analysis, all examples of qs- derives from ql-s-, ques- from ql-es-, qel- from ql-el-, and so on (Thomason 2009, p. c.). In this section, I first show that ql- is limited to attaching to nominals, and that apparent examples of qs- in nominals arises from ql-s-. I then show that other examples of qs- must be analyzed as a single, unsegmentable unit, and that this prefix form is limited to verbs. I take this distribution to indicate that they are allomorphs of the same morpheme. I also show that other surface realizations of irrealis morphology can be accounted for by combination of one of the irrealis allomorphs with a following prefix.

3.1 ql-

Examples of ql- are limited to nominals. Consider the following highlighted irrealis forms in ex 3:

(3) a. qlʕacm’íʔs
qlʕac=m’í(n=tn)-s
IRR-tie=INSTR=INSTR-3POSS Louis
‘It will be Louis’ trap.’

b. kʷ qlnc’χʷéltis
kʷ ql-n-c’χʷ=élt=tn-s
2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-in-preach=child=INSTR-3POSS 2ND OBL
asxʷsíxʷlt.
an-sxʷ-síxʷ=elt
2SG.POSS-REDUP-relative=child
‘You’re preaching to your kids.’ (lit. ‘You’re the model of your children.’)
c. kʷu aqsxʷicʰtm
kʷu an-qs-xʷ-icʰ-ɬ-t-m
1PL.OBJ 2SG.POSS-IRR-give-REL-TR-TR.CONT 1SG.POSS-IRR-wife
You’re going to give her to me to be my wife.’

d. qseséli ĺu iqłpspús.
qs-esél-i ĺu in-qł-ps-pús
IRR-NOM-two-INTR.CONT 2NDRY 1SG.POSS-IRR-REDUP-cat
‘It’s going to be two cats, a pair, of mine.’

e. kʷiqšɬ’eéštìm
kʷ in-qš-ɬ’e-ší-t-m
1SG.INTR.SBJ 1SG.POSS-IRR-look.for-REL-TR-TR.CONT
  t aqlmalyé
  t an-ql-malyé.
OBL 2SG.POSS-IRR-medicine
‘I’m going to look for medicine for you.’

All the above highlighted forms refer to entities, and not states or actions. In
exx. 3a and 3b, the highlighted words are predicates, and take the intransitive
subject particles, as is normal for nominal predicates. Additionally, the irrealis
forms in exx. 3b-e are arguments² of their predicates, and carry the normal type
of marking for the positions they occupy. These observations support the
conclusion that these irrealis forms are nominals.

There are a few examples of qł- with words that do fit the above
criteria. Some such forms are shown in ex. 4, below:

(4) a. či qtlχʷópt.
 čn qtl-χʷóp-t
1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-lazy-STAT
‘I’m going to be lazy.’

b. ta kʷ qtlχʷópt!
 ta kʷ qtl-χʷóp-t
NEG 1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-lazy-STAT
‘Don’t be lazy!’

c. iqłménč.
in-ql-ménč
1SG.POSS-IRR-love
‘I’m gonna like it.’

² Here, I take ‘argument’ to mean ‘semantic argument’. Whether or not the
highlighted words in ex. 3 are actually in syntactic argument positions is beyond the
scope of this paper.
It is not immediately clear whether or not the forms in exx. 4a-c should be treated as nominals. If the form found in ex. 4b were a nominal, the expected negative particle would be *tam*, which generally negates nominal predicates in the language (Baier & Wdzenczny 2009). The form in ex. 4c could be treated as a nominal, this being motivated by the 1st person possessive prefix. However, at this time it is not clear to me if this is the correct analysis. Because this type example is extremely rare, they will be taken for the time being as irregularities.

3.2 *qs-*

All examples of *qs-* do not derive from the same source. In some cases, surface *qs-* arises from an underlying *qł-* prefixed to a nominal that is always bound to the nominalizer prefix *s-* . The sequence *qł-s-* simplifies to *qs-* , as can be seen in ex. 5, below:

(5) a. esiyá iqst'm'á.
es-yá in-qł-s-t’m’á
   ASP-all 1SG.POSS-IRR-NOM-cow
   ‘They’re all going to be my cows.’

b. čn esk’włuyscúti
čn es-k’wiʔ-s-cút-i
1SG.INTR.SBJ ASP-under-finish-TR-REFL-INTR.CONT
   χw’l’ iqscƛ’íl
   χw’l’ in-qł-s-c-ƛ’íl
   for 1SG.POSS-IRR-NOM-here-die
   ‘I’m all prepared for my death.’

These nominal irrealis forms do not appear much different from those in ex. 3, the only difference being that the obligatory presence of a nominalizer obscures the underlying *qł-* . This analysis accounts for all nominals with *qs-* .

The vast majority of irrealis forms with *qs-* occur with verbs, as in ex. 6:

(6) a. čí qsq’wóm’í.
čí qs-q’wóm’-í
1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-take.several-INTR.CONT
   ‘I’ll take more than one.’

b. k’w qsłex’wlsi.
k’w qs-lex’w=els-i
2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-breath=thought-INTR.CONT
   ‘You’re going to rest.’
All the above irrealis forms are main predicates, and conform to normal verbal morphology. The forms in exx. 6a-c have what appears to be continuitive morphology. This point will be returned to below in section 4. In exx. 6d and 6e, negated irrealis predicates take ta, the negative particle used most often to negate verbs (Baier & Wdzenczny 2009). In exx. 6a, 6b, and 6d, intransitive verbs take the intransitive subject particles normally seen in intransitive predicates. In ex. 6e, the irrealis form has normal transitive marking, with the transitive suffix -nt and the 1st person transitive subject suffix -en. I take all these facts to indicate that the above forms are verbs.

Unlike in ex. 5, above, there is no obvious motivation for segmenting the nominalizer prefix from the irrealis prefix in ex. 6. Free verbal predicates do not take the nominalizer, and there is no other particle or predicate requiring the use of the nominalizer in the clauses. Therefore, it seems prudent to analyze the examples of qs- in ex. 6 as a single unit.

The two forms of irrealis marking qs- and qł- do not appear in the same environments, that is, they are in complimentary distribution. This implies that they are allomorphs of the same irrealis prefix. Additionally, both qs- and qł- trigger the same types of allomorphy in preceding person morphemes as discussed in section 2, strengthening the argument that they belong to the same morpheme.

3.3 Other irrealis forms

In addition to qs- and qł-, there are four other important manifestations of irrealis marking: qes-, qel-, qeles- and qeps-. All of these forms can be shown to result from the combination of one of the basic irrealis allomorphs with a following prefix or prefixes. Consider exx. 7 and 8, showing forms with qes-

---

3 It may actually be the case that the presence of the negative particle ta requires the nominalizer prefix, as is the case for non-irrealis verbs (Baier & Wdzenczny 2009). However, it is not clear whether this is the case for those negated irrealis verbs.
and qel-, respectively.

(7) a. ta $k^w$ qes$x^w$úy!
   ta $k^w$ qs-es-$x^w$úy
   NEG 2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-ASP-go
   ‘Don’t go!’

b. ta qesʔúst!
   ta qs-esʔúst
   NEG IRR-ASP-dive-STAT
   ‘Don’t dive!’

c. ta q$^w$o qesléé’istx$^w$!
   ta q$^w$o qs-es-léé’-i-st-x$^w$
   NEG 1SG.OBJ IRR-ASP-angry-?-TR-2SG.TR.SBJ
   ‘Don’t get mad at me!’

d. i qesiyayáʔi m elnk$^w$spéntč
   i qs-es-iyáʔ-yáʔ-i m el-nk$^w$uʔ-s-pén=tč
   STAT IRR-ASP-all-REDUP-STAT FUT again-one-NOM-year=time
   ‘For one year they’d all be together again’

e. x$^w$u q$^w$o qelwičtx$^w$.
   x$^w$u q$^w$o qs-ɛl-wič-t-x$^w$
   okay 1PL.INTR.SBJ IRR-again-see-TR-2SG.TR.SBJ
   ‘You won’t see me again.’

f. qe qełcʔím’ši.
   qe qs-ɛl-cʔ-ím’š-i
   1PL IRR-back-here-move.camp-INTR.CONT
   ‘We’ll move back here.’

g. q$^w$o qełq$^w$eyq$^w$ó.
   q$^w$o qs-ɛl-q$^w$-i-q$^w$ó(ƛ’)
   1SG.OBJ IRR-again-REDUP-PLURAL-race
   ‘We’re gonna race again.’

The surface sequences qes- and qel- derive from the underlying sequences qs-es- and qs-el-, respectively. The allomorph qs- is chosen as the underlying form of the irrealis prefix by virtue of the fact that all the forms in exx. 7 and 8 and verbs. I choose to segment the aspectual prefix es- and the
prefix el- ‘back/again’ from the preceding irrealis prefix in exx. 7 and 8 for two reasons. First, both es- and el- are independent prefixes found in many examples without irrealis marking. Second, the meaning of the irrealis prefix does not affect the meaning of either es- or el-. That is, the semantic values of the sequences ges- and qel- can be predicted from the sum of the semantic values of their constituent parts.

This second point is more easily exemplified by those forms in ex. 8, where the meaning of el- is rather clear cut. In those examples, it indicates the repetition of an action (as in exx. 8a, 8b and 8d) or return to an earlier location (ex. 8c). The meaning and function of es- is less well understood at this point, but the functions of the prefix in ex. 7 do not seem to deviate from the normal functions of the prefix.

There are two other examples found in the data of the irrealis prefix surfacing as q-. Both occur only once. The first is shown in ex. 9, and involves the irrealis prefix followed by both el- and es-. The second is shown in ex. 10 and involves the prefix epl- ‘have’.

As is predicted by the analysis for ges- and qel- above, in ex. 9 the surface sequence qeles- arises from qs-el-es. In ex. 10 the same process is triggered by the following prefix epl- ‘have’. This prefix itself becomes ep- before the nominalizer s-, and the entire sequence qs-epł-s becomes qeps-.

The deletion of /s/ from qs- before the prefixes es-, el- and epl- parallels the deletion of /ł/ from ql- shown in section 3.2. Though they cannot be shown to form a natural class, all four prefixes, s-, es-, el- and epl-, occur between the irrealis prefix and the locatives prefixes. Because of this, these prefixes will be termed the ‘pre-locative’ prefixes. This allows for a simple rule governing the surface form of the irrealis allomorphs before these prefixes, as shown in 11:

(11) When followed by a pre-locative prefix, the irrealis allomorphs qs- and ql- both become q-.

So, all the forms of the irrealis prefix are morphologically conditioned.
However, the condition that predicts the $q$- instead of $qs-/qł$- is different than the condition that predicts $qs$- vs. $qł$-. In the latter case, it is whether the prefix attaches to a nominal or a verb; in the former case, it is the presence or absence of a pre-locative prefix.

3.4 Summary of irrealis prefix allomorphy

The irrealis prefix attaches to a word, following any possessive prefixes. The prefix has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, $qs$- and $qł$-. The allomorph $qs$- attaches to verb words and the allomorph $qł$- attaches to nominal words. This relationship is represented schematically in 12, below:

(12) Allomorphy of the irrealis prefix:  
\[
\begin{align*}
qs- & \text{[…]}_{\text{verb}} \\
qł- & \text{[…]}_{\text{nominal}}
\end{align*}
\]

Here, ‘…’ represents any material after the irrealis prefix in the word it attaches to. This material must be taken as a whole: that is, it is not any individual morpheme within the word which predicts the choice of irrealis allomorph, but the type of word as a whole (represented as a subscript in the above example).

As was shown in section 3.3, this conditioning is not sufficient to predict every surface realization in actual irrealis forms. In some cases, the fricatives of the irrealis allomorphs may be deleted, obscuring the underlying distribution. This occurs when the irrealis prefix is followed by a pre-locative prefix. This group of prefixes is made up by the prefix el- ‘back; again’, the prefix epl- ‘have; exist’, the aspectual prefix es- and the nominalizer prefix s-. Taking this into account, the distribution can be represented as shown in 13:

(13) a. Allomorphy of the irrealis before a word without a pre-locative prefix:  
\[
\begin{align*}
qs- & \text{[∅-…]}_{\text{verb}} \\
qł- & \text{[∅-…]}_{\text{nominal}}
\end{align*}
\]

b. Allomorphy of the irrealis before a word with a pre-locative prefix:  
\[
\begin{align*}
qł- & \text{[pre-LOC-…]}_{\text{nominal}} \rightarrow q-\text{[pre-LOC-…]}_{\text{nominal}} \\
qs- & \text{[pre-LOC-…]}_{\text{verb}} \rightarrow q-\text{[pre-LOC-…]}_{\text{verb}}
\end{align*}
\]

The expanded schema in 13 differentiates between words that contain a pre-locative prefix and those that do not. Again, it is not any individual morpheme within the word which predicts the choice of $qs$- or $qł$-, but the type of word as a whole. When there is no pre-locative prefix, the underlying forms of the irrealis allomorphs is apparent, as in 13a. However, when there is a pre-locative prefix, both allomorphs surface as $q$-, as shown in 13b.

4 Apparent continuative morphology in irrealis verbs

Non-irrealis verb forms in Montana Salish make a distinction between
non-continuative and continuative forms. The formation of the continuative differs for intransitive and transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs take the aspectual prefix *es-* and the intransitive continuative suffix *-mi/i*. Person marking does not differ in continuative intransitive verb forms: in both non-continuative and continuative forms, the subject is marked by a particle placed before the verb form.

For transitive verbs, there is a significant difference between non-continuative and continuative forms. Non-continuative transitive verbs appear with a transitive suffix and mark both subject and object through a set of transitive person suffixes. In transitive continuative verbs, the transitive continuative suffix -(e)m is added directly to a verb root, along with the aspectual prefix *es-*.

As mentioned briefly in section 3.2, there are some irrealis forms which appear very similar in form to non-irrealis continuatives. Consider the following two forms, one intransitive and one transitive, in ex. 14:

(14) a. či  qsnmúli.
     čn    qs-n-múl-i
     1SG.INTR.SBJ  IRR-in-dip-INTR.CONT
     ‘I’ll get some water.’

b. kʷ  iqscuʔúm.
     kʷ   in-qs-cuʔú-m
     2SG.INTR.SBJ  1SG.POSS-IRR-hit-TR.CONT
     ‘I’m going to hit you.’

In ex. 14a, the intransitive irrealis verb form *qsnmúli* has the intransitive continuative suffix –i and marks subject by the preposed subject particle čn. The only difference between this form and an intransitive continuative is the switching of the irrealis prefix qs- for the aspectual prefix es-. The case is similar for the transitive irrealis verb is shown in ex. 14b. Here, the form looks almost exactly like a transitive continuative: the transitive continuative suffix -m is present instead of a transitive suffix, the subject is marked by the possessive prefix *in-* and the object is marked by the subject particle kʷ. Like in ex. 14a, the only difference between this and a continuative form is the presence of qs- instead of es-.

Such forms present a challenge in that they do not seem to be semantically continuative even though they have continuative morphology.
While regular continuatives indicate duration of the event or state in question, there is generally no such indication of duration in irrealis ‘continuative’ forms. When there is an apparent indication of duration, such as in ex. 6b, *kʷ qslexʷlsi* ‘you’re going to rest’, this seems to come from the verb root itself, and not the continuative marking on the irrealis form.

There are also a great many irrealis verbs that do not have continuative marking. These verbs look just like any other non-continuative verb. Intransitives mark the subject with intransitive subject particles, while transitives have the transitive suffix and transitive person suffixes. A pair of such forms is found in ex. 15:

(15) a. ta kʷ qsxʷ uy.
    ta kʷ qs-xʷ uy
    NEG 2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-go
    ‘You’re not going to go.’

b. ta qskʷ upcn.
    ta qs-kʷ up-nt-si-n
    NEG IRR-push-TR.CONT-2SG.OBJ-1SG.TR.SBJ
    ‘I’m not gonna push you.’

Because there is no readily apparent aspectual difference between verbs like those in ex. 14 and those in ex. 15, this calls into question the actual function of the so called ‘continuative’ suffixes. If these suffixes do not mark aspect in all the forms in which they occur, it seems inappropriate to refer to them with an aspectual label. Since the exact nature and function of the suffixes is not understood, I continue to gloss them as continuative suffixes in examples. For the rest of this paper, I will refer to irrealis verbs without continuative suffixes as ‘unmarked’ irrealis verbs and irrealis verbs with continuative suffixes as ‘marked’ irrealis verbs.

The contrast between unmarked and marked irrealis verbs corresponds to what Kroeber (1999) refers to as “Irrealis-I” and “Irrealis-II” in Southern Interior Salishan, respectively. Though he does not devote much discussion to the differences in use or meaning between the two different paradigms, Kroeber does note that “irrealis-II is fairly common as a sort of modally tinged future, perhaps a volitional future.” (1999:225).

I have not found good evidence for this type of use of marked irrealis verbs in Montana Salish. The most obvious difference between unmarked and marked irrealis verbs involves negated irrealis verbs. Almost all examples of negated irrealis verbs belong to the unmarked paradigm. When non-negated, the marked paradigm is more common. However, there are examples of unmarked irrealis verb forms in non-negated main predicates. Hopefully, with a more detailed analysis of text data, a more detailed account of the differences between the unmarked and marked irrealis paradigms will emerge. For the time being, however, those differences are not very well understood.
5 Meaning and function of the irrealis

The range of meanings covered by the Montana Salish irrealis is generally modal in character, referring to something that is hypothetical or as having not yet occurred. Nominals marked with the irrealis prefix qł- are generally interpreted as hypothetical or future. Consider the meanings of following irrealis marked nominals in ex. 16:

(16) a. aqłnóχw nχw
   an-qł-nóχw nχw
2SG.POSS-IRR-wife
   ‘Your wife-to-be.’

b. qlcítxw-s.
   ql-cítxw-s
IRR-house-3POSS
   ‘It’s going to be his house.’

c. čn esnté či qłilmíxw-m.
   čn esnté či qł-ilmixw
1SG.INTR.SBJ want 1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-chief
   ‘I want to be chief.’

d. qwo xwic’št t qłcítxw-cintn.
   qwo xwic’-št-t t qł-c-tuxw=cín=tn
1OBJ give-REL-TR OBL IRR-onadd=mouth=INSTR
   ‘Give me something to add.’

e. kw iqsƛ’ešítm
   kʷ iqsƛ’e-ší-t-m
1SG.INTR.SBJ 1SG.POSS-IRR-look.for-REL-TR-TR.CONT
   t aqlmalyé.
   t an-qł-malyé
OBL 2SG.POSS-IRR-medicine
   ‘I’m going to look for medicine for you.’

Examples 16a and 16b show nominals marked with irrealis having future interpretations. So, in 16a, the person referred to by nóχw nχ ‘wife’ has not been married yet, but will be. In 16b, the house referred to by cítxw is not yet possessed, but will be. In exx. 16c-e, irrealis nominals are interpreted as hypothetical. Thus, in 16e, aqlmalyé ‘your medicine’ is marked as irrealis to indicate that it is the goal of searching.

Irrealis verbs acting as the main predicate of a clause are most often translated into English in the future tense, as in ex. 17:
In some cases, such an irrealis verb may indicate desire, as in ex. 18:

(18) a. i či qsčln’á
i čn qs-čl-n’áqs
STAT 1 SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-on-one
’I want to be alone.’

b. či qsk’w’túnti
čn qs-k’w’tún-t-i
1 SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-big-STAT-INTR.CONT
’I want to be big.’

This meaning seems to be most common with stative verbal predicates. Irrealis verbs are often found after the negative particle ta. When negated, they can function as negative commands (ex. 19a), as simple negative futures (ex. 19b), or as indicating inability (ex. 19c). Irrealis verbs may also be found after the interrogative particle ha (as in ex. 20), though this not obligatory.

(19) a. ta qsnt’éq’w’tnxw!
ta qs-n-t’eq’w-nt-xw
NEG IRR-in-muddy-TR-2SG.TR.SBJ
’Don’t muddy the water!’
b. ta či qsč’úw.
ta čn qs-č’úw
NEG 1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-be.gone
‘I won’t be gone.’

c. ta qsʕíw’.
ta qs-ʕíw’
NEG IRR-move
‘He can’t move.’

(20) ha kʷ qsxylší
ha kʷ qsx-ylš-i
Q 2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-raid=motion-INTR.CONT
‘Are you going on a raid?’

The difference between interrogative and negative clauses with and without irrealis is not understood at this time.

Another major function of irrealis verbs is to appear as the hypothetical compliment of other verbs, as in ex. 21:

(21) a. čn esnté či qskʷúlm.
čn esnté čn qsk-iúlm
1SG.INTR.SBJ want 1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-do-ANTIP
‘I want to do something.’

b. yoʔ-núnt kʷ qsńc’ali!
yoʔ-núnt kʷ qs-nč’ali
know-SUCCESS-TR 2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-in-swim
‘Learn how to swim!’

c. kʷ nté či qsxʷúy.
kʷ nté čn qsx-xúy
2SG.INTR.SBJ think 1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-go
‘You thought I was going.’

d. čn c’χʷóm či qsxʷu
čn c’óχʷ-m či qsx-xúy
1SG.INTR.SBJ lecture-ANTIP 1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-go
c’ nłʔay.
č’ nłʔay
to Missoula
‘I made plans to go to Missoula.’

All the irrealis verb forms are compliments of the main verb in the sentence, but indicate events or actions that are only hypothetically in nature. Thus, in 20b, the knowledge of how to swim is not real. In 20d, the plans to go to Missoula are
only hypothetical, that is, there is no definite time indicated for when the trip will actually take place.

As can be seen from the above examples of irrealis verbs in exx. 17-21, there does not seem to be any difference in meaning between the unmarked and marked irrealis verbal paradigms. Both paradigms are used as independent predicates and after other verbs.

6 Similar prefixes in other Southern Interior languages

There are two other Southern Interior Salishan languages, Kalispel and Okanagan, which have prefixes directly cognate with Montana Salish qs-/ql- (Kinkade 2001). In both languages, the prefixes have very similar, if not nearly identical, distributional patterns and functional properties to the prefix in Montana Salish.

Mattina (1996:239) discusses two prefixes, kl- and ks-, present in Okanagan. The first prefix attaches to nominals, and is translated by Mattina as “to-be”, or as a future tense when the prefix is attached to a predicate nominal. He notes that the l of the prefix kl- is lost before s-. The second prefix attaches to verbs and indicates future. Mattina stresses that the prefix ks- “has to be kept separate from the kl- ‘likely-to-be’ morpheme,” as, although the morphemes are in complimentary distribution, “their functions and morpho-syntax are different.” (1996:240).

In his grammar of Kalispel, Hans Vogt states that “nouns have a subjunctive, formed by the prefix ql- or q- before s-.” (1940:27). He also discusses subjunctive forms of the verb, which are formed with the prefixes qs- or qe-. Vogt analyzes q- as the subjunctive prefix ql- “always combined with s-” (1940:41). The prefix qe- occurs before el- and es- and therefore corresponds to Montana Salish q- in forms such as q-es- or q-el-. As described by Vogt, the functions of the Kalispel subjunctive are very similar to the use of the irrealis in Montana Salish. When used independently, it expresses a “subjective future”, indicating that the action is dependent on factors such as “desire” or “intention.” It is also following another verb, expressing intention (1940:77-78).

While neither Vogt nor Mattina analyzes these cognate prefixes as belonging to the same morpheme, the arguments put forward for Montana Salish in this paper could be as well extended to either Okanagan or Kalispel. In both languages, the prefixes are in complimentary distribution and express similar meanings. Vogt does not explicitly confront the question of whether the two prefixes belong to the same morpheme or not. Mattina cites the different morpho-syntactic properties of the two Okanagan prefixes as his main reason for keeping the prefixes separate, but these differences do not seem to arise from the prefixes themselves. Instead they arise from the type of word to which they are attached. For example, the clearest difference that Mattina notes, the difference in personal inflection in nominal predicates with the kl- prefix and verbal predicates with the ks- prefix, does not originate in the difference in prefix, but the difference in predicate type: nominal predicates simply take different person inflection than do verbal predicates. This strengthens the case for grouping the

7 Conclusions

This paper has shown that the irrealis prefix in Montana Salish has two allomorphs, *qs-* and *ql-*, and that these allomorphs are morphologically conditioned by the type of word to which the prefix attaches. The allomorph *qs-* attaches to verbs, while the allomorph *ql-* attaches to nominals. When the irrealis prefix appears before the pre-locative prefixes *s- NOM*, *es- ASP*, *epł- ‘have’* or *el-* ‘back/again’, both allomorphs appear as simply *q-. This difference in distribution between nominal and verbal prefixes is present in cognate prefixes in Kalispel and Okanagan, as well.

It has also been shown that there are two verbal irrealis paradigms, called here ‘unmarked’ and ‘marked’. The marked irrealis paradigm appears almost identical to the continuative paradigm found in verbs, while the unmarked irrealis verb forms looks like non-continuative verbs. The differences between the two paradigms is not well understood, and deserves further investigation.

References