Notes

1 Kinkade, M. Dale and Clarence Sloat. Proto-
Eastern Interior Salish Vowels." IJAL 38: 26-48,
1972. My paper is meant to be read with this article
at hand.

2 'Back' consonants are r, uvulars and pharyngeals.

3 For a discussion of this phenomenon see my paper
"Pharyngeal movement in Colville and related phenomena
in the Interior languages." 11th ICSL, Seattle (UW

4 Strong suffixes are stressed. See the immediately
following paragraph in the text for further discussion
of stress and morpheme weight.

5 Spokan forms are taken from Barry F. Carlson's
unpublished Spokan Dictionary.

Spokane -e-

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0. Introduction
1. The Spokane Word
2. Repetitive Infixation -- Suffix Stressed Forms
3. Repetitive Infixation -- Root Stressed Forms
4. Conclusion

Appendix A -- Suffix Stressed Repetitive Forms
Appendix B -- Root Stressed Repetitive Forms
O. While basic grammatical descriptions for Interior Salishan Spokane and nearly identical Kalispel have been available for some time (Barry F. Carlson, A Grammar of Spokane, 1972; Hans Vogt, The Kalispel Language, 1940), until recently a very interesting morpheme, the \(-e\) 'repetitive' aspect, has gone unnoticed. This has been a particularly glaring omission since it seems that nearly any word, simple or complex, has the potential to occur in the repetitive aspect. In this way \(-e\) is like the three very productive reduplication patterns that occur in the language: \(C_1VC_2\) 'plural', \(C_2V\) 'diminutive', and \(-VC_2\) 'inceptive'.

The following paper discusses the rules which allow correct placement of \(-e\) within a word. As well, it shows how previously unexplained occurrences of unstressed surface vowels, root reduplications and glottalized resonants are due to this morpheme. Since the insertion of \(-e\) must be discussed within the broader framework of Spokane word building and phonological rules, I will first provide a brief sketch of Spokane words.

1. At the heart of the Spokane system of word building are typical CVC(C) roots. Roots may take prefixes or suffixes or stand alone to form words.

   When a root occurs alone to form a word, it takes primary stress. When prefixes are added, primary stress is still placed on the root. When the suffixes are added, primary stress may occur on the root or on one of the suffixes. Roots and suffixes involved will determine stress placement.

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

   Roots are divided into three main groups: strong roots, which take the stress unless a strong suffix is present; weak roots, which lose stress to variable suffixes as well as to strong suffixes. Unstressed, these roots usually lose their underlying vowels. If no variable or strong suffixes are present, weak roots occur stressed. There are also a number of variable roots, which sometimes act like strong roots, at other times as weak roots. Various combinations are illustrated below. Underlying and surface forms are given.

   There are some conventions for citing underlying forms. Strong roots and strong suffixes are listed in underlying forms with a stressed vowel; vowels of weak roots and variable suffixes are not marked. Variable roots are marked with a \(\sim\) over the vowel.
The suffixes in the last two examples are lexical suffixes. All other suffixes are called grammatical suffixes. Lexical suffixes follow a root and precede grammatical suffixes, although a small number of primary grammatical suffixes may intervene between a root and lexical suffixes. The term lexical is used because they often have very concrete meanings. They are cited in underlying forms with a preceding slash (/) and a hyphen (-).

When two variable grammatical suffixes occur with a weak root or a weak acting variable root, the first is stressed.

//s̃ĩl-n-t-si-es// ʂalancis  He chopped you (up).
(root //s̃ĩl// chop, variable suffixes //si-// you, //es// he)

Variable lexical suffixes are stressed rather than accompanying variable grammatical suffixes.

//?ayx̱/-e̱st-m-s-t-en// ʔayx̱e̱stomstan  I tired him out.
(root //?ayx̱// tired, variable suffixes //e̱st// hand, work, //en// I)

It is not (yet) possible to predict which lexical suffix will be stressed when more than one lexical suffix forms a long base.

The above discussion has assumed two rules thus far:
(1) stress assignment; (2) deletion of unstressed vowels.
Unstressed vowels of roots or affixes can be retained if they are adjacent to a laryngeal or unrounded pharyngeal consonant. For example, the vowel of the weak root //?amw?// shave is retained in ?amw?anten? be shaved it.

Other unstressed surface vowels are due to syllabification of semivowel resonants //y// and //w// (in either roots or affixes), and uvular pharyngeal resonant //?w// (only in roots) which become i, u and o respectively when they are not adjacent to vowels. The root //tew// buy, sell shows this development when it occurs:

- unstressed in tumist she sells or buys things, from //tew-mist//, strong suffix //míst// middle [voice] reflexive. (Compare ste?con groceries, from //s-tew/-cin//, variable suffix //cin// mouth, food.) This rule of syllabification must follow stress assignment and vowel deletion.

2. If the component morphemes of a word require stress to be placed on a suffix, marking for repetitive aspect is achieved by inserting -e- within the root, in place of a deleted underlying vowel. In addition, if there are unglottalized resonants (m, n, l, r, y, w, t, ?) within the word, in the repetitive form they become glottalized. For example, the repetitive form leoaltah I kept poking. It is based on the weak root //lili// followed by suffixes of the transitive system: //t// control, //t// transitive, and //en// I.

The corresponding non-repetitive form would be li?anten I tied it.

In the same way, the repetitive form ?aq'altah I put bands on over and over, is based on the weak root //?aq?// banded. The -g- allomorph of the repetitive is due to the vowel lowering rule (cf. fn. 2). The corresponding non-repetitive would be ?aq'anten I put a band around it. Derivations showing the development of these two repetitives follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Repetitive</th>
<th>Non-repetitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>li?-n-t-en</td>
<td>?aq'-'n-t-en</td>
<td>Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 li?-n-t-en</td>
<td>?aq'-'n-t-en</td>
<td>Vowel deletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 le?-n-t-en</td>
<td>?aq'-'n-t-en</td>
<td>Inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 le?-A-t-eh</td>
<td>?aq'-'A-t-eh</td>
<td>Glottalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 le?altah</td>
<td>?aq'altah</td>
<td>Schwa insertion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roots containing the semivowel resonants y or w syllabify these segments to i or u respectively when their underlying root vowel is deleted under lack of stress (cf. 1.). For example, a root like //wil// poke becomes wil in a form like ?ilantah I poked it (//wil-n-t-en// poke-control-transitive-I). However, when it occurs in a repetitive form the -e- infix is present and the semivowel does not syllabify: yelaltah I kept poking. As well, the root //cin// say, tell becomes c? in a repetitive like ne?cin?inta 'You repeated what somebody said' (//cin/-cin-n-t-exa//)
say-mouth-control-transitive-you). The root //qey// to live becomes qe when it loses stress to a suffix as in qe~yutey// tipei (//qey-m-utey// to live-derivational suffix-on ground). However, when it occurs unstressed in a repetitive form it appears as qe~y, as in qe~yx~e~y? play house (//qey-ox~e~y// live-house-seems to be but is not).

The rule of resonant syllabification is ordered after -e-insertion, as shown by the following derivations of yel~en
I kept poking and yel~en I poked it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Repetitive</th>
<th>Non-repetitive</th>
<th>Rules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yel-n-t-én</td>
<td>yel-n-t-én</td>
<td>Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y 1-n-t-én</td>
<td>y 1-n-t-én</td>
<td>Vowel deletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel-n-t-én</td>
<td>yel-n-t-én</td>
<td>Infixation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel-Á-n-t-én</td>
<td>yel-Á-n-t-én</td>
<td>Glottalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 1-n-t-én</td>
<td>i 1-n-t-én</td>
<td>Syllabification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel<del>e</del>en</td>
<td>yel<del>e</del>en</td>
<td>Glottal insertion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a root containing a rounded pharyngeal resonant 1~ as Cz occurs unstressed, the underlying vowel is deleted and 1~ syllabifies to a [a]. Thus the resonant syllabification rule applies to 1, 1, and 1. In this way //ca~e~y// bathe becomes ca as in ca~e~y~en He likes to bathe (//ca~e~y-ox~en// bathe-get in a state, position-one who), and //ca~e~y// fringed also becomes ca as in conten I fringed it (//ca~e~y-n-t-én// fringed-control-transitive-I). However, in repetitives like ca~e~y~e~y? He seems to be bathing (//ca~e~y-ox~e~y// bathe-get in a state, position-STB) and ca~e~y~e~y? I kept fringing it (//ca~e~y-n-t-én// fringed-control-transitive-I), -e- is present (lowered to -a- by the vowel lowering rule) and there is no resonant syllabification. In the same way //ca~e~y// muddy appears with a vowel in a repetitive like ca~e~y~e~y? He kept smearing here and there (//ca~e~y-n-t-én// muddy-control-transitive-he), but syllabifies its resonant in a non-repetitive like kont~en I smeared it (//ka~e~y-n-t-én// muddy-control-transitive-I). Derivations of non-repetitive conten I fringed it and repetitive ca~e~y~e~y? I kept fringing it follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Repetitive</th>
<th>Non-repetitive</th>
<th>Rules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca<del>e</del>y-n-t-én</td>
<td>ca<del>e</del>y-n-t-én</td>
<td>Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1~n-t-én</td>
<td>c 1~n-t-én</td>
<td>Vowel deletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ce<del>e</del>y-n-t-én</td>
<td>ce<del>e</del>y-n-t-én</td>
<td>Infixation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ce<del>e</del>y-Á-t-én</td>
<td>ce<del>e</del>y-Á-t-én</td>
<td>Glottalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca<del>e</del>y-n-t-én</td>
<td>ca<del>e</del>y-n-t-én</td>
<td>Syllabification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca<del>e</del>y-Á-t-én</td>
<td>ca<del>e</del>y-Á-t-én</td>
<td>Vowel Lowering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca<del>e</del>y~en</td>
<td>ca<del>e</del>y~en</td>
<td>Schwa insertion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As outlined in section 1, roots with protective laryngeal or unrounded pharyngeal consonants can retain their vowels under lack of stress. However, in suffix stressed forms, roots with the shape //?uC2(C3)\\n// appear with the vowel a replacing the underlying vowel in repetitive formations. The root //?itsh\\n// asleep shows this development in ?etsoye? Be feigns asleep (;;)itch-\-eye?// sleep-STR) and the root //?its\\n// eat shows it in ?eheg\-ye? Be just sneaks (;;)ich-\-eye?// eat-STR).

Roots with the shape //?eC2(C3)\\n// (where neither C2 or C3 can be a uvular) appear with the vowel a in both repetitive and non-repetitive formations. The root //?en\\n// to skin, peel as in ?emk\-nt-en I tied it (//?emk\-n-t-en// tie-control-transitive-I) is non-repetitive and ?en\\n// eat shows it in ?eheg\-ye? Be just sneaks (;;)ich-\-eye?// eat-STR).

In like fashion, roots with the shape //?eC2(C3)\\n// (where either C2 or C3 must be uvular) appear with the vowel a in repetitive formations, as shown by heco?\-y\-t\-eye?\-ey Be's always making believe he's tired (;;)hec-?\-y\-t\-eye?\-i// progressive-tired-stative-STR-continuative). Again, only the glottalized resonants mark the form as repetitive. To date, there are no examples showing repetitive formations with the root shapes //?uC2(C3)\\n// or //?eC2(C3)\\n// (Spokane has the underlying vowels i, e, a, u, and o.) Examples are also lacking for roots beginning with the laryngeal h.

Roots with protecting y or \ as C1 or C2 all have an underlying vowel a. This vowel remains a in surface forms regardless of whether the word form is repetitive or non-repetitive. For example, Sacant\-en I tied it (//Sac-n-t-en// tie-control-transitive-I) is non-repetitive and ?acant\-en I kept tying it is repetitive. As well, yahumst\-en I gathered it (//yah\-m-s-t-en// gathered, all-derivational suffix-causative-transitive-I) is non-repetitive and ?ahumst\-ey? He was supposed to gather but didn't (//yah\-m-s-t-\-ey?// gathered, all-derivational suffix-causative-transitive-STR) is repetitive.

There is no evidence to date to show that roots with the shape //C1V\\n// can enter into -e- repetitive formations. Instead, distributive plural reduplication is used to indicate that an activity repeats or continues. The Spokane distributive plural is C1VCZ, although with //C1V\\n// roots the reduplicated glottal stop is regularly lost, so that the pattern looks like C1V. Thus //ku\\n// poke, spear as in hu\-ant\-en I stabbed him in the distributive plural would be hu\-ku as in hu\-hu\-ant\-en I kept stabbing him.

Therefore, except in the case of C1V roots, -e- replaces unlike underlying vowels that are protected from deletion. However, to date there is only evidence to show //j\\n// replaced by -e-. Since //e\\n// and //a\\n// of roots are in complementary distribution (a occurring only before a uvular obstruent or uvular pharyngeal or after
a uvular pharyngeal), this analysis assumes that they are both like vowels and no replacement occurs. If -e- did replace //a// it would become -a- by vowel lowering in any case. Appendix A contains more examples of suffix stressed repetitives.

3. When stress must occur on the root of a Spokane word, marking for repetitive aspect is achieved by reduplicating C1 of the root and inserting -e- after this reduplicated element. As before, glottalization of resonants accompanies the infix. For example, note the repetitive h:l:le:nix You kept cutting (/\nl: n-t-ex// cut-control-transitive-you), based on the strong root /\nl: // out. The corresponding non-repetitive would be n:le:nix You cut it.

Even weak roots form the repetitive in this way when they occur without suffixes. For example, h:le:l:le:nix It's tied all up, h:applied together (/\hec-n-11:e// progressive-in, at-tied) is based on the weak root /\l:e//. (Compare suffix stressed le:h:sh:le:nix I h:applied it back together cf. 2.) Derivations of these two repetitives follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>//\nl: n-t-ex//</th>
<th>/\hec-n-11:e//</th>
<th>Rules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n:le:nix</td>
<td>h:ec-n-11:e</td>
<td>Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n:le:n-t-x</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vowel deletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n n:le:n-t-x</td>
<td>h:ec-n-l 11:e</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n:n:le:n-t-x</td>
<td>h:ec-n-le11:e</td>
<td>Infixation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix B contains more examples of root stressed repetitives.

4. For some time now, my Spokane corpus has contained seemingly aberrant forms with unexplained occurrences of unstressed surface vowels, root reduplications and glottalized resonants. These are now analyzable as repetitives. For example h:ek:ix:le:nix meadowlark can now be seen as a repetitive based on a root //wick\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\\n\n
Appendix B contains more examples of root stressed repetitives.

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Footnotes

1. The inventory of consonants and vowels in Spokane is as follows: p t c q k w q' k'. It is a general rule that /e// becomes a and /u// becomes o (/o/) before a following uvular within a word; a [-low] vowel becomes a [+low] vowel before [+low] consonants. This is the vowel lowering rule.

2. Apparently, resonants in prefixes are not affected.

3. It is a general rule that glottal stop is inserted before word initial vowels. This is the glottal insertion rule.

4. The suffix /-eye?// seems to be but is not is often accompanied by the repetitive morpheme. The semantic contribution of the repetitive is sometimes difficult to determine in these forms. Numerous examples occur in the paper. Henceforth this suffix will be glossed STB.

5. There are no examples showing /w/ as C1 syllabifying.

6. Note that /-en/ / has a lowered suffix vowel in the non-repetitive (but not in the repetitive). Sometimes a root with a pharyngeal will cause a suffix to have a lower vowel. For a thorough discussion of this topic see Anthony Mattina, "Pharyngeal movement in Colville and related phenomena in the Interior languages," XI ICSL Working Papers, 1976.

8. Historically, Spokane a developed from *a which fronted and raised unless a following uvular or a preceding uvular pharyngeal was present, in which case it remained a. There are some exceptional roots with a where this conditioning is not apparent, for example /ham// melt. For a full discussion see M. Dale Kinkade and Clarence D. Sloat, "Proto-Eastern Interior Salish Vowels," IJAL 38 (1972):26-48.


10. Cf. fn. 2. The environment of the vowel lowering rule would have to be expanded to include preceding uvular pharyngeals; [+low], [+voice] consonants.

11. A very limited rule deletes e of /hec-/ actual before /u// in, at.
Appendix A

Suffix Stressed Repetitive Forms

Appendix A

Suffix Stressed Repetitive Forms

I chopped just to do it (//sil-n-t-en// chop-control-transitive-he)

He's just seeing for nothing (//toq'-m-aye?-i// sew-derivational suffix-STB-continuative)

He's just passing the time (//hec-k'ul-m-aye?-i// progressive-make, do-derivational suffix-STB-continuative)

He was just singing for nothing (//hec-n-k'Vh-m-aye?-i// progressive-in, at-sing-derivational suffix-STB-continuative)

He's pretending to be dead (//Ail (inceptive reduplication)-STB)

He's pretending to be crying (//caq'-aye?// cry (inceptive reduplication)-STB)

He's trying to be old (//ew-l3-aye?// old-get to a position, state-STB)

He's moving for nothing (//?~-aye?// move-STB)

He's making believe that he's tying something (//ac-m-aye?// tie-derivational suffix-STB)

I put it together and took it apart again until it fit (//loV'-n-t-en// fit together-control-transitive-I)

He shouted for nothing (//EY's-aye?-i// shout-STB)

He shouted over and over to get their attention (//EY's-n-t-en// shout-control-transitive-I)

thief, robber (//nadh'-em// steal-one who)
Appendix B

Root Stressed Repetitive Forms

Kw?k?li? He kept making things to see if they worked (like a puzzle) (/k?k?-n-t-es// make, do-control-transitive-he)

Heh?k?i? He kept cutting (/m?k?-n-t-es// cut-control-transitive-he)

Sahnh?k?b?a saw mill (/s-n-h?i-min// nominal-in, at-cut-instrument)

Hek?ek?g?i? He kept borrowing (/hec-k?g?-n-i// progressive-borrow-continuative)

Kw?k?g?p? I kept pushing (/k?g?-n-t-en// push-control-transitive-I)

Lah? I just covered things as I went along (/laq-n-t-en// bury-control-transitive-I)

Lah? He heated it over and over (aimlessly) (/laq-n-t-es// hot-control-transitive-he)

Lah? He found it (/laq-n-t-ex// see-control-transitive-we)

Lek? He keeps hiding things (/w?k?-n-t-es// hide-control-transitive-he)

La?ist He paced back and forth just to exercise (/a?ist// walk)

Reduplication: He kept going there (/ci-c-n-t-es// arrive at-control-transitive-he)
Additions:

1. Ɂɛwəhtən 'I stabbed in different places' //ɁW-w-n-t-en// stab, spear-control-transitive-I

2. Ɂɛwəkəwən 'I keep taking it back' //Ɂukw-n-t-en// bring-control-transitive-I

3. Ɂukəwən 'I took it back'

4. nəwɛnɪkxʷ 'He kept going in' //n-Ɂɪxʷ// at, in, go, enter

5. nənɪkxʷ 'He went in'

6. Ɂɛwəskəwələn 'I scattered here and there' //Ɂskʷl-n-t-en// scatter-control-transitive-I