This paper contains a presentation of the paradigms and phonology of the pronominal markers in Sliammon. No attempt is made to describe their usage fully, since an account of the syntax of the language is beyond the scope of this paper.

I wish to thank M. Dale Kinkade and Y. L. Hébert-Stenger for reading an earlier and shorter version of this paper and offering their comments. Without them, this paper would be even more incomprehensible than it probably is.
0. Introduction
   morphophonemes and phonemes.

0.1. Transitive suffixes
   meanings and allomorphs.

1. Object suffixes
   chart of suffixes, relevant sound changes.

1.1. Active paradigms

1.2. Passive paradigms
   independent clauses, dependent clauses.

2. Other pronominal markers
   chart of markers.

2.1. Subject suffixes in dependent clauses

2.2. Subject suffixes in independent clauses
   full forms and short forms.

2.3. Possessive markers

3. Independent pronouns

4. Some deictics

5. Conclusion

Appendix: a note on //t// transitive

0. The purpose of this paper is to present the object, subject, and possessive pronominal markers that occur in Sliammon. Because object pronominal suffixes occur only with transitive predicates and not with intransitive ones, a discussion of the three most commonly occurring transitive suffixes is included. In addition, because there are no third person independent pronouns, mention is made of the deictics that occur in Sliammon.

The transcription of words herein assumes two levels: the morphophonemic and the phonemic. The capital letters //I//, //a//, //e//, and //u// represent morphophonemes. The morphophoneme //I// combines with a preceding //a//, and the two together are pronounced as /e/. The other three capital letters are cover symbols for alternations. The symbol //e// stands for the alternation /a/ - /æ/ - /æ/ in transitive suffixes and /a/ - /æ/ elsewhere. The symbol //e// represents the alternations /a/ - /æ/, /æ/ - /æ/, and /æ/ - /æ/. Most segments of a morpheme are not written with capital letters at the morphophonemic level because they are not assimilated nor do they alternate.

There are four vowel phonemes: /a u o a/. These are the symbols that are used for cognate vowels in other Salish languages. The reader is cautioned that /æ/ and /u/ are underlying mid vowels that are raised to [i] and [u] only next to a non-gloralised high (palatal or velar) consonant in the same syllable. The sequences /wa/ and /au/ are pronounced [i] and [u] except when lowered to [æ] and [o] next to a low (postvelar) consonant in the
some syllables. The symbol ¼ represents a glottalised interdental affricate.

0.1. Predicates in Sliammon are intransitive unless they are explicitly marked as transitive by a transitivising suffix. Such a suffix is present only if the sentence describes a situation in which an agent acts upon another agent (causative) or upon a patient (noncausative). If the situation described involves only a patient and an instrument, then the predicate is intransitive. In the following pairs of sentences, the first member is intransitive and the second is transitive, involving an agent.

1a) gay ¼ k'w̱e James ʔe to ḥonəm
die  prep. art. cold
together
'James died from the cold.'

2b) gay - t - ʔə k'w̱e Samuel James ʔe to ḥapə
tran-he  club
'samuel killed James with the club.'

2a) ʔaŋ ¼ k'w̱e James ʔe to yanas'ajə
cold club
'the branch hit James.'

2b) ʔaŋ - t - ə k'w̱e Samuel James ʔe to ḥapə
cold club
'samuel hit James with the club.'

Before presenting the object suffixes it is necessary to discuss the allomorphs of the transitivising suffixes.

The three most commonly occurring transitivising suffixes are /-t/, /-n̓a/, and /-stə/. These can be glossed as "control or intent", "responsibility or success", and "causative". For a note on one of the many parameters contrasting /-t/ and /-n̓a/ see the appendix to this paper. A good discussion of all three suffixes is contained in Beaumont 1977.

The suffix /-t/ combines with a following /-a/ to form /-at/; for an explanation of the sound change that has produced this see section 4 below. Some roots have a second vowel before /-t/ that they do not have elsewhere. Examples of these are:

3a) pàqʷə  'to fall into the water'

3b) pàqʷəsa - t  'to push someone into the water'

4a) ḥəq - oxʷ  'to (successfully) shoot (something)'

4b) ḥəqu - t  'to (intend to) shoot (something)'

5a) ʕəy - oxʷ  'to hear'

5b) ʕəye - t  'to listen (to)'

The suffix /-n̓a/ has six allomorphs. It is /-ən̓xʷə/ before the reciprocal suffix /igəs/:

6) ʔaŋ - ən̓xʷ - igəs  'to shoot each other'
The suffix //anapi// has five allomorphs. It is
/-nu-/ before /-anapi/ 'you(pl.)':
18) 66x - st - anapi 'to dislike you(pl.)'
It is /-stu-/ before /-mä/ 'me', /-mi/ 'you(sg.)', and
/-mut/ 'us':
19) 66x - st - anapi 'to dislike you(pl.)'
20) 66x - stu - mä 'to dislike me'
21) 66x - stu - mi 'to dislike you(sg.)'
22) 66x - stu - mut 'to dislike us'
When the object suffix is zero, //anapi// is realised as
/-stu-/ on a passive predicate in a main clause and as
/-tag-/ on a passive predicate in a subordinate clause:
23) 66x - anapi - m; someone sees him/her/it/them'
24) 66x - anapi - m; someone feeds him/her/it/them'
When the object suffix is zero, //anapi// is realised as
/-stu-/ on a passive predicate in a main clause and as
/-tag-/ on a passive predicate in a subordinate clause:
25) 66x - anapi - m; someone sees him/her/it/them'
26) 66x - anapi - m; someone feeds him/her/it/them'
There are three sound changes that have occurred in the history of the Sliarmmon language which are relevant to the analysis of Sliarmmon suffixation.

In one sound change, the affricate /c/ has become the fricative /θ/ and the affricate /v/ has become the interdental affricate /ʃ/. Compare the following Sechelt (from Beavon & 1977) and Sliarmmon forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sechelt</th>
<th>Sliarmmon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27) ča</td>
<td>EDURE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28) čimac</td>
<td>čimae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29) čatut</td>
<td>čatut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This change has resulted in the /θ/ of the suffixes /-a/ 'me', /-i/ 'you(sg.)', and /-u/ combining with the preceding /-a-/ to form /e/. However, /-a/ 'his/hers/its/their' does not do this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sechelt</th>
<th>Sliarmmon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30) čana-t-S/S</td>
<td>čanaθ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31) čana-t-S-S</td>
<td>čanaθaθ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32) čana-t-S/S</td>
<td>čanaθaθaθ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a second sound change, the sonorants /w/ and /u/ have become the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ before a vowel. Compare the following Pentlatch (from Beas ms.) and Sliarmmon forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sechelt</th>
<th>Sliarmmon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33) čana-t-S/S</td>
<td>čanaθ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34) čana-t-S-S</td>
<td>čanaθaθ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35) čana-t-S/S</td>
<td>čanaθaθaθ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this chart of object suffixes, the first column summarises the features that are common across each row.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pentlatch</th>
<th>Sliammon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33) $\text{w}i\tilde{\text{i}}\text{wa}$</td>
<td>$\text{gi}\tilde{\text{i}}\text{wa}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34) $\text{h}i\text{vas}$</td>
<td>$\text{higus}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35) $\text{n}a\tilde{\text{u}}$</td>
<td>$\text{nagi}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36) $\text{g}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{qa}\tilde{\text{a}}$</td>
<td>$\text{gaqa}\tilde{\text{a}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37) $\text{ja}$</td>
<td>$\text{ja}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38) $\text{-u}\tilde{\text{a}}$</td>
<td>$\text{-u}\text{ja}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39) $\text{g}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{qa}\tilde{\text{u}}$, $\text{g}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{sa}\tilde{\text{u}}$</td>
<td>$\text{gaq}u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40) $\text{j}\tilde{\text{e}}\text{n}\tilde{\text{e}}$</td>
<td>$\text{jenes}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41) $\text{j}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{x}\tilde{\text{at}}$, $\text{j}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{x}\tilde{\text{e}}$</td>
<td>$\text{jaq}a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42) $\text{y}\tilde{\text{e}}\text{n}\tilde{\text{e}}\tilde{\text{t}}$</td>
<td>$\text{j\tilde{e}n\tilde{e}}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This sound change has resulted in the alternations $/\text{t}/ - /\text{c}/$ and $/\text{y}/ - /\text{J}/$. Examples are:

- 43a) t\text{o}v | 'ice/to freeze'
- 43b) t\text{a}\text{g}i\text{t} | 'frozen'
- 44a) n\text{y} | 'to end'
- 44b) h\text{a}j\text{i}t | 'ready'

The third sound change arose after an earlier change of the voiced consonant $/\text{l}/$ to the voiceless fricative $/\text{y}/$ in word final position. In this third sound change, $/\text{y}/$ became $/\text{u}/$ before or after $/\text{a}/$ and became $/\text{y}/$ elsewhere. Compare the following Pentlatch (from Boas ms.) and Sliammon forms:

- 45) $\text{q}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{l}\text{a}z$, $\text{q}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{w}\text{e}z$ | 'to get aboard'
- 46) $\text{q}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{w}\text{a}n$ | 'eye'
- 47) $\text{x}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{w}\text{e}z$ | 'dried salmon'
- 48) $\text{y}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{wak}$ | 'wave'
- 49) $\text{u}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{m}i\tilde{\text{x}}$, $\text{u}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{m}i\tilde{\text{x}}$ | 'land/ground'
- 50) $\text{n}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{v}a$ | 'you(pl.)'
- 51) $\text{u}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{m}i\tilde{\text{x}}$ | 'medicine'
- 52) $\text{y}a\text{d}$ | 'full'
- 53) $\text{-a}l$ | 'stone'
- 54) $\text{q}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{m}i\tilde{\text{x}}$ | 'person'

This third sound change has resulted in the alternations $/\text{y}/ - /\text{u}/$ and $/y/ - /\text{y}/$. One example of this result is the first person plural object suffix; other examples are:

- 55a) $\text{ma}\tilde{\text{q}}\text{u}z$ | 'pus'
- 55b) $\text{ma}\tilde{\text{g}}\text{u}\text{w}e$ | 'pus forming'
- 56a) $\text{y}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}$ | 'he(etc.) was there'
- 56b) $\text{n}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}$ | 'that he(etc.) was there'
- 57a) $\text{t}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}$ | 'tongue'
- 57b) $\text{t}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}$ | 'his(etc.) tongue'
- 58a) $\text{y}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}$ | 'wet throat'
- 58b) $\text{y}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}\text{\text{u}}$ | 'to wet one's throat'
- 59a) $\text{\text{u}}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}$ | 'shaman'
- 59b) $\text{x}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}$ | 'power of a shaman'
1.1. Object suffixes in active paradigms.

After the transitive suffix //t// the object suffixes are:

- s - umül
- š - anapi
- š -mut
- š - anapi

Examples of these are:
60) //k'š-t-s// /k'š/ 'to look at me'
61) //šugu-t-ši// /šuguši/ 'to know/recognize you'
62) //šes-t-umul// /šistemul/ 'to punch us'
63) //šen-š-anapi// /šéntanapi/ 'to push you(pl.)'
64) //šagš-t-š// /šagšt/ 'to take him(etc.) out of the water'
65) //šigš-t-ši// /šigštši/ 'to scratch oneself'
66) //šugš-t-š// /šugštši/ 'to shoot (at) each other'

After the transitive suffix //-nul// the object suffixes are:

- š - anapi
- š - mut
- š - igas

Examples of these are:
67) //k'š-š-nul// /k'šnumul/ 'to see me'
68) //šay-nul// /šaynumul/ 'to hear you(sg.)'
69) //k'š-š-nul// /k'šnumul/ 'to see us'
70) //šay-nul-anapi// /šaynumulanapi/ 'to hear you(pl.)'
71) //tuq-nul-š// /tuqš/ 'to shoot (at) him(etc.)'
72) //k'š-š-nul-mut// /k'šnumulmut/ 'to see oneself'
73) //tuq-nul-igas// /tuqšxigas/ 'to shoot (at) each other'

The reciprocal looks as though it could be derived from a combination of the explicitly collective plural suffix //-š/ and //-u// third person subject of a transitive predicate. Compare:
73) //tuq-nul-igas// /tuqšxigas/ 'to shoot (at) each other'
74a) //tuq-nul-š-un-an// /tuqšxunana/ 'they shoot (at) him(etc.)'
74b) //tuq-nul-š-an// /tuqšxan/ 'he(etc.) shoots (at) him(etc.)'
After the transitive suffix ////-st// the object suffixes are:
-nds
-mu3
-mi
-anapi

Examples of these are:
75) //itin-stN-x// /*itinstum/ 'to feed me'
76) //q'ay-st@-mi// /*q'aystum/ 'to talk to you'
77) //q'sl-stW-mu3// /*q'slstum@/ 'to bring us'
78) //aIt-stW-anapi// /*aItstumani/ 'to take you'
79) //s'In-stW-2// /*s'Inanax/ 'to dance with him/her/it/them'
80) //ay-stW-mu3// /*aystum/ 'to like each other'

Examples of these in main clauses are:
81) //xana-t-Say-am// /xana@ayam/ 'someone gives it to me'
82) //k'a-t-SI-om// /k'a@em/ 'someone sees you(sg.)'
83) //tiXI-t-uw-om// /tiXItu@om/ 'someone warns us'
84) //y'aga-t-anapi-om// /y'aga@tanapi/ 'someone calls you(pl.)'
85) //qah-t-@-om// /qah@em/ 'someone lifts him(etc.)'

Examples of these in subordinate clauses are:
86) //k'a-t-Say-it// /k'a@ayit/ '(if) someone sees me'
87) //xana-t-SI-it// /xana@it/ '(if) someone gives it to you'
88) //yaIt-t-uw-it// /yaIttu@it/ '(if) someone warns us'
89) //k'a-t-anapi-it/ /k'a@tanapi/ '(if) someone calls you'
90) //qah-t-@-it// /qah@it/ '(if) someone lifts him(etc.)'

The suffix ////-am// occurs often in Sliammon and in other Salish languages. It has been glossed "mediopassive", though it has a wide range of meanings. The suffix ////-it// seems to be the same as the stative suffix. Compare:
91a) hu@y 'to come to an end'
91b) hu@it 'ready'
After the transitive suffixes //-nW// and //-stW// the object suffixes are:

- day-
- me-
- mi-
- anapi-
- st-

Examples of these in main clauses are:

92) //day-nW-day-an// /daynumayen/ 'someone hears me'
93) //day-stW-mi-on// /daynumim/ 'someone sees you'
94) //ay-nW-mi-on// /jaynumuwen/ 'someone hears us'
95) //ay-stW-anapi-on// /aynanapi/ 'someone sees you'
96) //xay-nW-st-on// /xaynum/ 'someone loves him/her/it/them'
97) //xay-stW-nW-on// /xaystumayen/ 'someone brings me'
98) //qay-stW-mi-on// /qaystumim/ 'someone takes us'
99) /xay-stW-mw-on// /xaystumunet/ 'someone takes you'
100) //xay-stW-anapi-on// /xaystananapi/ (if) someone rejects you(pl.)
101) //qay-stW-er-on// /qaytem/ 'someone likes him/her/it/them'
102) //qay-nW-day-it// /qaynumarit/ '(if) someone sees me'
103) //ay-nW-mi-it// /aynumarit/ '(if) someone hears you(pl.)'
104) //ay-nW-mw-it// /aynumunit/ '(if) someone loves us'
105) //qay-nW-anapi-it// /qaynanapit/ '(if) someone shoots you(pl.)'
106) //xay-nW-it// /xaynagit/ 'someone loves him/her/it/them'
107) //xay-stW-may-it// /xaystumayit/ '(if) someone takes me'
108) //qay-stW-mi-it// /qaystumit/ '(if) someone talks to you'
109) //xay-stW-muw-it// /xaystumuwit/ '(if) someone dances with us'
110) //qay-stW-anapi-it// /qaystananapit/ '(if) someone likes you(pl.)'
111) //xay-stW-st-it// /xaystastit/ '(if) someone dislikes him/her/it/them'
2. The other pronominal markers in Sliammon include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dependent</th>
<th>independent</th>
<th>possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-an</td>
<td>čan, čen</td>
<td>č, q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-axʷ</td>
<td>čax²</td>
<td>čax²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-at</td>
<td>čat</td>
<td>ċt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ap</td>
<td>čap</td>
<td>čap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-p, -as</td>
<td>-s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first person singular /č/ 'I, my' is the only instance of the plain interdental affricate occurring in Sliammon. It is probable that it comes from an earlier /č/ plus /-ə/. In the independent subject series, the /-ə/ would come from the onclitic /-ən/ "future" (see below) and in the possessive series the /-ə/ would be the pan-Salish "nominaliser" which has been lost as a prefix in Sliammon. If this is so, then the historical change could be formalised as:

č * s → č
2.2. Independent subject markers co-occur with a main predicate. In the first and second person, they consist of the exclamative /-ʃ-/ (from Proto Salish *k) plus the dependent subject suffixes. In the third person the marker is zero if the predicate is intransitive, but if the predicate is transitive the subject marker is the suffix /-ən/. It is only in the third person that a distinction is made between transitive and intransitive predicates; no such distinction is made in the first or second persons. Number is not an obligatory category in the third person.

The first and second person independent subject markers occur in two phonologically conditioned forms: full and reduced. The reduced forms occur after a vowel, full forms do not occur to. Both forms can occur after a consonant, but if the predicate consists of more than one syllable there is a tendency for the reduced form to be used. In the imperative, only the reduced forms have been recorded. The full forms appear to be used more frequently than the reduced ones are for describing an action or state of a second person, although there is not a great deal of data on this last point. These rules contradict each other, but that seems to be the actual situation. There is more variation in choice of full and reduced forms for a number of predicates, both by the same speaker and between speakers, which is further evidence that conflicting rules actually do exist.

In the full forms, 'I' is usually /ʃən/ but occasionally is /ʃən/, which is a case of free variation and is not conditioned.

The full forms are:

- ʃən [ʃən], ʃən [ʃən] ʃət [ʃət]
- ʃəx' [ʃəx'] ʃəp [ʃəp]

Examples of these are:

122) /maq ʃən/ /maq ʃən/ 'I'm satiated'
123) /qəyəm ʃən ʃəm/ /qəyəm ʃən ʃəm/ 'I will camp'.
124) /qəwl ʃəx' ʃəm/ /qəwl ʃəx' ʃəm/ 'you will come.'
125) /kwə-t ʃəx' ʃəm//kwət ʃəx' ʃəm/ 'you will put it over there'
126) /kwə-t-s ʃəx' ʃəm//kwət-s ʃəx' ʃəm/ 'you will see me'
127) /qəvəx' ʃət//qəvəx' ʃət/ 'we are Indians'
128) /qəwl ʃəp ʃəm//qəwl ʃəp ʃəm/ 'you will come.'
129) /kwə-t ʃəp ʃəm//kwət ʃəp ʃəm/ 'you will see him/her/it/them'
130) /kwə-t-s-s//kwəsəs/ 'he/she/it/they look(s) at me'
131) /tətəm//tətəm/ 'what is he/she/it/they doing?'
The reduced forms of the independent subject markers are given below. In the first person singular two forms are given. The form /q/ occurs with the future //sém//, the form /e/ occurs in the nonfuture. After the reduced forms of 'I', 'we', and 'you(sg.)', the future tense enclitic //sém// is reduced to /-sem/.

The reduced forms of the subject markers are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e}, & \quad \text{ṣt} \\
\text{ṭx'}, & \quad \text{ṣap} (\text{ṣ1p}) \\
\theta, & \quad -\text{as}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of these are:

132)  //nAX'sen e-ṣ// /nAX'sen ṣ/ 'I'm strong'
133)  //nAX'sen e-ṣ sam// /nAX'sen ṣam/ 'I will be strong'
134)  /e-x-e-ni-ca ṣ-ê// /e-x-e-nuṣ ṣ/ 'I see you'
135)  /e-x-e-t-s ṣ-x''// /e-x-e ṣx''/ 'look at me'
136)  /naq a ṣ-x''// /naq a ṣx''/ 'are you satiated?'
137)  /naq-e-t-s a ṣ-x'' sam// /naq-e a ṣx''eš/ 'are you going to wait for me?'
138)  /hâ ṣt//' /hâ ṣt/ 'we are going'
139)  /hâ ṣt sam// /hâ ṣtam/ 'we will go'
140)  /naq-e-t-s a ṣ-ap sam// /naq-e a ṣap sam/ 'are you going to wait for me?'
141)  /e-x-e-ni-ca // /e-x-e-nuṣ // 'he/she/it/they see(s) you'
142)  /e-x' ḍa ṣ//' /e-x' ya'/ 'where is/are he/she/it/they?'

2.3. The possessive markers are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{θ}, & \quad \text{ṣam} \\
\text{e}, & \quad -\text{ap} \\
\theta, & \quad -\text{s}
\end{align*}
\]

First person singular and plural and second person singular are proclitics. Second person plural and third person are suffixes.

Examples of these are:

143) /q nAX'ez/ 'my boat'
144) /q aṣya/ 'my house'
145) /e nAX'ez/ 'your boat'
146) /e aṣya/ 'your house'
147) /ṣam nAX'ez/ 'our boat'
148) /ṣam aṣya/ 'our house'
149) /nAX'ezap/ 'your boat'
150) /aṣyaap/ 'your house'
151) /nAX'eky/ 'his/her/its/their boat'
152) /aṣya/ 'his/her/its/their house'
For the first and second persons there is a set of independent pronouns. These are:

153) /ámə/ or /ánəʔ/ 'I/me/my'
154) /négi/ or /négaʔ/ 'you/you/your (sg.)'
155) /nénaʔ/ 'we/us/our'
156) /nénap/ 'you/you/your (pl.)'

In the first and second person singular there is an /ə/ - /a/ alternation. First person singular looks similar to the form that Newman (1977) gives for Proto-Salish third person, but it also resembles the first person singular /ən/ independent subject marker. First person plural is the same as what Newman (1977) gives for Proto-Salish. Second person singular and plural seem to have an /u/-/y/ alternation: //néw-/ // and //né-yap//.

Examples of the independent pronouns in predicate position:

153) /ámə son ə ə/ 'I'm the one to go'
154) /nénaʔ ə kʷətəs/ 'I'm the one no(etc.) is looking at'
155) /nénaʔ ə ə/ 'you're the one who's going'
156) /xʷnénaʔ ə ə/ 'we're not the one who's going'
157) /xʷnénaʔ ə kʷətəs/ 'we're not the one he(etc.) is looking at'
158) /nénap ə pəpətəs/ 'you're the one he(etc.) is watching'

Examples as subjects:

159a) /áməʔ qəm əmən/ 'I will slug you'
159b) /áməʔ qəm ənak/ 'I will slug you'
160a) /xənət əxʷ nəgi/ 'you give it to him!
160b) /xənət əxʷ nəgaʔ/ 'you give it to him!

Examples as objects:

161a) /áməʔ qəm nəgi/ 'I will slug you'
162b) /áməʔ qəm nəgaʔ/ 'I will slug you'
163a) /xənət əxʷ əmən/ 'you give it to me!!'
163b) /xənət əxʷ ənaʔ/ 'you give it to me!!'

Examples as possessives:

164a) /mətəxʷ əxʷ te qə ənam ənə/ 'feed my dog!
164b) /mətəxʷ əxʷ te qə ənam ənak/ 'feed my dog!' (eat-causative you the my dog ənak)
165a) /ə ənam ənə tsətəs əq lamət/ 'your dog chased my sheep!'
165b) /ə ənam ənətəs əq lamət/ 'your dog chased my sheep!' (your dog now-L chase the my sheep)
4. Just as there is no third person object suffix and there is no third person subject marker of an intransitive predicate in a main clause, so there are no third person independent pronouns.

Parallel to the first and second person independent pronouns there is a large number of deictics, at least some of which can act as modifiers within an NP or as an NP by themselves. Some of these are:

166) /ta-ya/ /t?ita/ 'that/there'
167) /ti-ya/ /ti?i/ 'this/here'
168) /wi-ya/ /wi?i/ 'this/that'
169) /ta-n/ /t?i/ 'that one'
170) /wa-n/ /wi?i/ 'this/that one'
171) /kaa-n/ /ka?i/ 'that one'
172) /ta-n/ /ty?i/ 'this/here'
173) /ta-n/ /ty?i/ 'that/here'
174) /ta-n/ /ty?e/ major topic (also: male as opposed to female)
175) /ta-e/ /te?e/ minor topic (also: female as opposed to male)

One can analyze these deictics further, but such an analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. It would require comparison with the article system of Sliammon, comparison with other Salish languages, and analysis of monologues and conversations to determine their range of use.

5. This concludes the presentation of data in this paper. Future papers on the syntax of Sliammon will explore the uses of these pronominal markers.

For the present, it is hoped that this body of data will be of use to other students of Salish languages.

References cited:


Examples of the deictics are:

176) /ht?i t?i?ta q s?attx/ 'that's my wife'
177) /y?i ti?i t?i?i/ 'this man came'
178) /td?i ti?i/ 'right here'
179) /t?i t?i?ta/ 'what's he doing?'
180) /te?ya?i x?i/ 'it's o.k. like that'
Appendix: a note on //-t// transitive

The sentences quoted herein are taken from texts given by language consultants who are members of the Homalco band. Homalco and Glimann are two dialects of the same language, which is called "pay'a'ajæam" by its speakers.

In other Salish languages, cognates of the pay'a-ajæam //-t// transiting suffix have been called "full control" and cognates of the pay'a'ajæam //-w// transiting suffix have been called "limited control". These labels also apply in pay'a'ajæam, so long as "control" does not mean "success". In pay'a'ajæam, //-t// has within its range of meaning "try to". The suffix //-t// implies intent, with or without success, and the suffix //-w// implies an accomplished action, with or without intent. The following quotes from three different language consultants illustrate the meaning "try". Each of the sentences quoted contains a word with the suffix //-t// in opposition to another form of the same word with the suffix //-w//.

1. From the legend which tells how the birds killed the man who made the wind blow, told by Hool George Harry.

   pæw'k' -t- as /w / pæk' / -xw' - as
   watch-for -t- he and see -næ- he

   "(Raven) was watching for it and he saw it."

2. From the story about the historical personage, Tochuwahancm, told by Ambrose Wilson.

   hay !#y k'æ - t - en 7o k' qay'iwa'm. x'ok't.
   then look -t- passive the people nothing

   x'æ kæ am 7o yk'æ - nax' ëx'w
   no way and see -næ you

   "Then the people looked at it. There was nothing. You couldn't see (the scar)."

3. From an explanation of the constellations and shooting stars, by Tommy Paul.

   ëk mæ' - t- as, x'ok't k' tam mæ' - x' - uk
   go get -t- he nothing the thing get -næ past

   "He went to get it and he got nothing."

In stories told in pay'a'ajæam, this opposition of stem-plus-æ and stem-plus-næ seems to be fairly common. It is a statement of intent followed by a statement of success or lack of success.