One of the goals of generative phonology has been to predict what sort of rules can be in a 'disjunctive' relationship, that is where the application of one rule prevents the application of the other, even if its structural description is present. The question is interesting because all cases of disjunction constitute counterexamples, hopefully principled ones, to the general hypothesis that rules apply in linear order, each to the output of the preceding one.

In particular, I should like to discuss the behavior of pairs of rules often called 'neighborhood' or 'mirror-image' rules. These are rules that state that a change takes place in some focus segment if it is next to, or 'in the neighborhood' of some conditioning segment (determinant). A familiar example is the description of English velar stops, which are fronted in the neighborhood of a front vowel, whether the vowel precedes ([lik̩]) or follows ([kil]). This observation can be implemented by a set of two rules, one effecting the progressive assimilation, the other the regressive. A notation has been proposed which would then collapse these two rules into a single rule schema - informally:

\[ k \rightarrow k [\ys] \]

The question now arises: if one of the rules abbreviated by this notation applies, can the other apply also? Anderson(1974), attempting to answer this question, proposed that:

The cases supporting differ systematically from those supporting conjunctive order in that the disjunctive cases all involve rules which alter the categorial value (+/-) of features, while the conjunctive sets all involve rules which specify the numeric detail value of a feature on an arbitrary, quasi-continuous scale, without thereby affecting the categorial value distinctively. [p.122; a footnote credits this observation to Allan Timberlake.]

The purpose of this paper is twofold. By investigating the mirror-image rule assigning vowel height in a Skagit dialect of Lushootseed, I hope to make clearer just what sorts of rules should apply conjunctively, without having to refer to the somewhat ill-defined notion of a numeric detail rule assigning a quasi-continuously scaled feature. Secondly, I wish to add to the known cases of conjunctively applied mirror-image rules an example which gives two kinds of evidence for repeated application within a single language. Anderson cites several examples of languages where conjunctive application can be inferred because the affected segment undergoes the rule to a greater phonetic degree when
The retracted vowels can occur independently in roots (e.g., "acm to smash vs. acm to pet, stroke") and certain roots (including those with retracted vowels) require them in suffixes. Accordingly, many suffixes have plain and retracted alternants, e.g., "-us/"-us face, "-xan/-xan leg.

### 3.2
Immediately before uvular consonants the opposition in roots, e.g., "to get blown away" Cb "to drift downstream versus as this allows simpler morphophonemic rules, cf. "-"-"-k" al lukesawm, ky-kayt chickenhawk (kay-kayt), kaw-kw sagebrush (kaw-kw)" (second velar automatically labialized), "-xan" "-xan hard" ("xik" : "(cf. "-xim to make hard ("-xim")."

### 3.3
Whereas syllabic _y w y_ and their glottalized counterparts _y W_ , etc., are phonetically vowels [e' o' A' a' o'], resp. [o' o'], etc., syllabic m n h i i i i have variants [or or] and [i i] (where _R_ = resonant and _A_ stands for [e a A u a], depending on surrounding and speech-style). The variants [i i] occur when the resonants are preceded by a consonant of their own series (labial or dental-lateral). Thus we have _tump_ [tump] to twist ([p] with velar release) but _tumps_ [tump] he twists it; _sumps_ [sumps] he sucks it but _pups_ [pups] he rubs it. The vowelless pronunciation [p : p] then, is characteristic of the second members in the sequences _pm_ _mn_ _tn_ _tn_ _nn_ _ii_ and also _ph_ , etc. (_mm_ _nn_ _ii_ are pronounced as long [p : p : p]). Note that this phonetic feature places _t i n h i i i i_ in a different class then _c _s _y_ _tn_ _tn_ _nn_ _ii_ and also _ph_ , etc., (_mn_ _nn_ _ii_ are pronounced as long [p : p : p]).

### 4.
The Shuswap consonant system is identical with the Proto-Interior-Salish one, except that _t_ and _s_ are merged in Sh. _t_. (Also, in roots containing two glottalized obstruents, Sh deglottalizes the first one). The full vowels a _i u y_ likewise reflect the old system, except that certain instances of _a_ and _u_ (the latter before labialized cons.) may reflect an older stressed _o_ , cf. Sh swat Ch swat Ka _swet_ (e _a_ ) where, Sh sapp Ch sapon Cr spon _i_ _a_ daughter-in-law versus Sh qalt Ch qalt Cr qel fresh, Sh sasap blueberry Ch sasap huckleberry; and for _u_ cf. Sh _muix_ woman Ch _muix_ Cr _muix_ _uix_ Cr _muix_ _uix_ to get blown away Ch _muix_ Cr _muix_ _uix_ to drift downstream versus Sh _muix_ snow Ch _muix_ _uix_ snow falling Cr _muix_ cover with snow, Sh _socx_ Ch _socx_ blue grouse.

In addition, we find Sh a where a retracted _i_ would be expected; for instance, the suffix _-ax_ has the form _-ax_ with roots requiring retracted suffixes (cf. 3.1, end). Sh has in fact a re-
tracted § in these cases (see 7).

5.1 In the ESh dialect of Enderby Reserve the consonant system is the same as that of WSh, but the syllabic resonants m, n, ŋ show certain -- clearly innovative -- deviations as compared to the WSh dialects. These deviations are covered by the following rules:

A. Syllabic m

- (A1) remain unchanged after p ʰ m (series 1);
- (A2) become w [o' o?] after labialized cons. (incl. w ŋ; series 7, 8);
- (A3) become a after y ŋ (series 7).

B. Syllabic n

- (B1) remain unchanged after t t ŋ t ŋ t ŋ (series 2);
- (B2) become y ŋ [o' o?] after c ʃ s y ŋ (series 3);
- (B3) become a ŋ in all other cases.

It will be seen that rules (A1–3) and (B1–3) parallel each other. Rules (A3) and (B3) can be collapsed into a single rule to the effect that m n ŋ change to a ŋ unless special conditions (rules A1, 2 and B1, 2) hold. Rules (A1) and (B1) can be collapsed into a single rule to the effect that m n ŋ remain unchanged if preceded by a cons. of their own series. Rules (A2) and (B2) cannot be combined as simply, but if we associate the "grave" labial series with the "flat" labialized ones into one class, and the "acute" dental-lateral series with the "sharp" palatal one into another class, then we can say that the grave resp. acute nasal resonants shift to the glides of their own class after a flat resp. sharp consonant.

5.2 Rules (see the WSh and Enderby forms separated by a slant, except for (A1) and (B1), where they are identical):

- (A1) tups to twist, ʰqəm to wipe, Enderby Sh məxəp large basket carried on the back (WSh has suffixless məxəp), Enderby Sh məlta'p [məlta'p] poplar (WSh has the total reduplication m- məlta'p).
- (B1) sqala'tn salmon, məntə he mixes it, tənts he stabs him, tklāns he uncovers it, suln he freezes it.
- (A2) tsən's'm tsən's'w island, kəntus/kəntus always, pux's'm/

pux's'm to blow, ʰwən/ʰwən to fish with a dipnet, qəməqʷət/ qəməqʷət good-looking, qəməp/qəməp to be exhausted, all gone,
ptən'w/ptən'w to spit, ślənəm/klən'w (sic) to scratch, cəxəuqʷ/ cəxəuqʷ to dip water.

(B2) tənts/ctan's he hits him, spən/spən string, sək'usət/ sək'usətə star, sək'antəsəntə yət [sək'antəyət] ice.

(B3) stəmul/stakəlt daughter, səkəsəx/xəkəsəx grizzly bear, səkən'səkən brain, qiq'ət/qiqtət to twitch, təwələnt/təsələnt stəwidner(ə)

-B- mən'm/sən'mə wife, cəqələn/cənələn to shoot.

(B3) pəmən/pəmən at some time, ever, skəpən/skəpəp head, stəmənt/stəmənt dream, qəmət/qəmət poor, təpsən/təpsən he twists it, ʰəśtəkəsəx'/ʔəstəkəsəx' to go out, exit, səxən/səxən as he spills it, səkənəsəx/xəkənəx pebbles (double reduplication of sxənəx stone).

5.3 Though these shifts are few and regular, they considerably complicate Enderby Sh morphophonemics. Instances:

5.3.1 The interrogative enclitic ʰn and the evidential enclitic nka have the alternative forms n, a, a and nka, yka, aka depending on the consonant they follow, cf. "mt should you be tired?", sta't'lu's-n-k stata-lu's-y-k are you blind?, sxə'nək'sən-k/sxə'nək'sən-k a-k are you Shuswap? In the same way, the suffix -a people, person retains its m only after labials (cf. the last example) but has the form -a after a labialized consonant, e.g., cəkətəkəxə Chase people (the name contains the suffix -ak's/a water, river), and the form -a in the remaining cases, e.g., splənəx people of Enderby Reserve (spləcən, in WSh spləcən). The 2 pl. possessive suffix, in WSh -məp, likewise has the three forms -məp, -wp, -əp. The 1 sg. possessive prefix, in WSh n-, has the form n- after the absolutive article γ- but is n- after the relative article ʰ-, e.g., γ-a-čitəx', ʰn-čitəxə my house, cf. also n-čitəxə on (n-) my house.

5.3.2 Whereas in WSh the unstressed form of the suffixes -min (-m) implement, -ta means, -cin (-qən) mouth, etc., -qin (-qən) head, top, -xin (-xən) leg, foot is simply derived from the stressed one by dropping the vowel, in Enderby Sh the resonant takes the form required by the preceding consonant, and we have -mə(ʔ), -tn, -cy (-qət), -qə(ʔ), -xn(ʔ) respectively.
5.3.3 For any root $C_1C_2$ with a nasal $C_2$ the regular reduplication pattern is cut across by the phonetic rule, unless $C_1$ is of the same series as the nasal (as, e.g., in tāna ear, pl. tāntāna), cf. sxanx stone, sxanxə/sxaxax small stone, pebble, sxanxə/sxaxax stones, sxanxəsxanxə sxaxax pebbles; further cases like xʷaxʷəmt/xʷaxʷəmt lonesome, stəmtəm/stəmtəm dream, q̓ən̓əq̓ət/q̓ən̓əq̓ət good-looking, mnəmən/mnəmən shadow, skʷənkʷim/skʷənkʷim Indian potato, kn̓k̓int/kn̓k̓int slow/gentle.

5.3.4 Especially verb-morphology is on the surface more complex in Enderby Sh than in the WSh dialects. For example, in the latter we have with root-stressed verbs the suffix -m for the intransitive form, matched by -n-s for the 3rd pers. transitive form, e.g., siqm to break, siqms he breaks it. In Enderby Sh there are five different possibilities according to whether the rules 1, 2 or 3 of sect. 5.1 apply to either of these forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>WSh</th>
<th>Enderby Sh</th>
<th>Rules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>twist</td>
<td>tūpm : tūps</td>
<td>tūpm : tūps</td>
<td>1:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blow</td>
<td>puxʷm : puxʷns</td>
<td>puxʷm : puxʷas</td>
<td>2:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rub fire</td>
<td>xʷulm : xʷulns</td>
<td>xʷulm : xʷulns</td>
<td>3:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stroke</td>
<td>iacm : iacns</td>
<td>iacm : iacns</td>
<td>3:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break</td>
<td>siqm : siqns</td>
<td>siqm : siqns</td>
<td>3:3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A further complication consists in the fact that in the intrans. form the underlying n will reappear when a suffix or clitic beginning with a vowel is added, making the n nonsyllabic. This is the case, e.g., with the 3rd pers. suffix -os and idem clitic akwə. Therefore, besides siqm, puxʷm we have siqms, puxʷms and siqm-akwə, puxʷm-akwə in Enderby as well as in WSh.

6. The "Kinbasket" Shuswap dialect of Athalmer, B.C. -- the easternmost of all Sh dialects -- likewise shifts the syllabic nasals to w y ə a under certain conditions, but with the following two differences as compared to Enderby Sh. In the first place, n ə shift to y ə exclusively (and never to a a?), so that, e.g., WSh pneum he finds it is here pneum (Enderby Sh pamins). In the second place, the resonants are preserved in their original form not only after a consonant of their own series, but m is also retained before p, and n before t (both are probably retained before all consonants of their own series, but our material contains neither examples nor counter-examples). In this way, we have WSh and Athalmer Sh mixntas he kicks him (n preserved before t) versus Enderby Sh mixntas; WSh and Athalmer Sh q̓ʷmpaʔ to be exhausted, all gone (n preserved before p) versus Enderby Sh q̓ʷmpap; WSh and Athalmer Sh sokʷusət star (h preserved before t) versus Enderby Sh sokʷusət. The 2nd pl. possessive suffix, in WSh -mp, always has this same form in Athalmer Sh (m preserved before p), versus Enderby Sh -mp, -wp, -ap (see 5.3.1).

7. To sum up, in cases like tūpm to twist, ?in to eat all three types of Sh have the same forms. In cases like mixntas, q̓ʷmpap, sokʷusət (see above) WSh and Athalmer Sh go together versus Enderby Sh mixntas, q̓ʷmpap, sokʷusət. In cases like q̓ʷmpaʔmt handsome, pneum he rubs it, skaxis grizzly bear, WSh stands alone versus Enderby and Athalmer Sh q̓ʷmpaʔ, pneum, skaxis. Finally, each type has a different form in cases like WSh pneum Enderby Sh pneum Athalmer Sh pneum he finds it.

7.1 The Enderby Sh vowel system adds to that of WSh the retracted vowel ə, phonetically [ʃː]. It differs from q̓ ə not only in timbre but also in that it lacks a peculiar strangulated or "rasping" quality that is often heard in q̓ ə in this dialect. This characteristic of q̓ ə is lacking in WSh. The peculiar pronunciation of these Enderby Sh vowels may explain the impression this dialect made on Teit (p. 456): "The Shuswap Lake division differs the most, these people having a 'heavy', labored mode of utterance, and their speech sounds jerky and guttural in comparison with that of other Shuswap." The "guttural" pronunciation of q̓ ə reflects the fact that these vowels originally represent syllabic t ə (cf. WSh noys or niʔns he bends it, a case of inversion where the vowels/resonants o/ə and ə/ change place; Enderby Sh has myəs, with a different initial and nonretracted u). The status of ə in terms of antiquity is less clear than that of q̓ ə, which certainly go back to Proto-Salish. Because of their etymological importance, all record-
ed cases with ḥ are summed up here, with their WSh counterparts. Comments follow.

In roots CV ā the vowel ḥ occurs in:

*ešl-t to overflow, WSh ḥšl-t, ḥšl-t.

*či[ payment for a cure, WSh čai- to pay for a cure.

čl-čl[ grove, clump of trees, cf. WSh čl- to stand (up), a root not requiring retracted vowels in suffixes.

s-ččl-sa Oregon grape, WSh s-ččls. In Enderby Sh the word contains the suffix berry.

síl-t to fall off (of leaves), WSh sal- to come off, come apart.

s-čl board, WSh c-čl, c-čl id., cf. also c-čl strip of skin.

In longer units not containing productive suffixes ḥ occurs in:

pot-tít to boil, WSh pot-tít.

mln-ıp balsam tree, WSh mlanp.

s-k’člím messed up, WSh s-k’člím rough, branchy, with a plain vowel, cf. also, however, WSh c-k’člíc crooked, a possible inversion with a retracted vowel.

k’ččl’q grass, WSh k’ččl’q.

s-wlía iron, WSh s-wl-wlaim (in Kuipers 1974:264 incorrectly given with i instead of e).

Retracted ḥ in suffixes:

m-t-’lx to lie flat on the stomach, pl. besides c-máč lying flat, WSh c-máč id., m-t-’lx to roost.

mln-’lä to have one’s child baptized, WSh c-mläm to get baptized, to get married. Derivative not recorded for WSh.

*s-tn-’lx to appear briefly, allow a glimpse to be caught of one, WSh *stamā (Kuipers 1974:148), possibly related to WSh s-tnq̓ača, a reduplication of *x-ton-qlča? easily hurt or moved to tears, and perhaps ultimately to WSh stq̓a easy.

ck’l-’lx to pull away, WSh ck’lalx (Kuipers 1974:17). x-čl-cčn having a “raw” mouth (after eating certain berries), WSh čl-t bitter, sour, salty. Derivative not recorded for WSh.

8

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9

t-’x-l-’p-’sč to burst open (as a barrel), spring a large leak (vs. t-’potk’-’p-’sčs id. small leak), WSh x’al-m to open a ditch, divert water. x’l-gp there is a break in the ditch.

yl-p-’lx to turn around, WSh yl-p-’lxc to change direction, turn back.

7.2 In the large majority of cases we find the regular correspondence ESh ḥ - WSh < *j. Where this is not the case, ESh sometimes has a retracted vs. WSh a plain i-form (cl-čjil, s-k’člíc -jm), a variation well-known in Interior Salish, and which sometimes results from the replacement of retracted by plain vowels, sometimes reflects an older symbolic alternation (Kuipers 1979: 11). In the case of c-čjil WSh has both retracted and plain a-forms, but historically these are both retracted (a < *j and q < *q, see sect 4). As is pointed out in Kuipers 1975, sect. 11, there is a class of originally suffix-stressed verbs which have secondary root-stressed derivatives with i i, expressing meanings which involve a demolishing, breakage or loss. These root-stressed forms account for ESh čjil-t overflow, sîl-t fall off (of leaves), c-čjil board, orig. something cut up. The WSh cases with q reflect the original o-form of the root, which appears in monosyllabic forms, and also in languages which retract the stress, cf. Cb &enwct spread (of water). Sq ḥlám overflow, Cb áron to peel, Cb áron cut thin material. The original suffix-stressed nature of these verbs is clear from simplices like WSh kl-qm cut strips of skin, from derivatives like ESh t-sl-’l-’sča? skin peels off, bark is shed and from the Coast Salish cognateSq, ḥlám = ḥy-ḥy-qm (with q < *l). In this way, the WSh correlates of ESh words with ḥ can be fully accounted for, except for the case ESh sčl-sa WSh sčl-sa Oregon grape, where the above explanation does not apply. If the word is connected with Sh čls-qm to oil Sq čls to be shiny, the WSh q is regular, and ESh has modeled the word so as to contain the suffix -uʔqa? berry, but the vowel remains unexplained. One can compare Cb sčls currants, also with i, and Cb i corresponds to WSh čla also in WSh čla Cb
Čoris kingfisher (for which I recorded Enderby Sh čiąš, with plain a); here Cr has čálus, which suggests a remodeling of the same Proto-Salish root *čyšs shiny, but the palatal vowels in ESh sćił-sa and in Ch sćiíí, čoris remain to be explained.

In potiti to boil (Ka *pat, with retracted vowel) we have, in the same way as in the "verbs of demolishing", a morphological formation requiring a palatal vowel, cf. WSh mluxixiq to kick about besides ml-ix'am to kick. In almost all cases, then, we find -sa and in formations requiring a palatal vowel, cf. formations where a palatal vowel is dictated by morphology, so identical with the y in Ch k'ráyq yellow and the i in Ch q'číîí7 gall. In či payment for a cure we have an additional case with i belonging to the root *či'al- (Kuipers 1979, no. 41), and hence an additional retracted-nonretracted doublet (ibid., sect. 2).

8. In the few available examples, Enderby Sh a < m, n in a suffix appears as retracted q in combination with roots requiring retracted vowels, cf. mluxlcq to cure oneself < *mlm-n-cq (WSh mlq-qms he blesses him, mlqm nedicinge); WSh mlxmcq to consider oneself too good, keep aloof (WSh wlxmcq); sxlq1lx Salmon River people < *s-xl-xql-xx (cf. xl-xl-t steep).

9. As was mentioned in sect. 3.3, WSh can have unstressed a at the end of a word; examples are q'čca father, pilxa skirt. This a is not opposed to o. When the 3rd pers. possessive suffix -s is added to such a word, the resulting unaccented sequence -as does not differ from, e.g., the 3rd pers. subject suffix -as, or from the final part of the unanalyzable suffix -alos chest. In Kuipers 1974, a difference in transcription (es vs. os) is maintained to express a morphophonemic difference (see sect. 3.4). In Enderby Sh there is a phonemic difference between a and a < n, e.g., in 3rd pers. transitive verb-forms such as tüpas < *tupas he twists it with [w:] vs. q'čcas his father with [g:] a is not sure whether a difference is maintained word-finally, say, in sqáx dog (WSh sqáx) vs. pilxa to hunt (WSh pilx).6

10. A change of syllabic nasal resonants to open vowels is known from Greek and Indo-Iranian. It also occurs sporadically (and for n only) in other Salish languages, cf. Th šąmas WSh šams he asks him, Th šąmalt WSh šąmalt you pl. ask him (in Th this shift takes place in verb endings before s and t only, cf. Th šamalt WSh šamalt you sg. ask him, mram shade, kntas he helps him, where syllabic n is preserved). An interchange of -- consonantal or syllabic -- n with y or i is found even more sporadically in other Salish languages, cf. Sq nik7- to swing, rock Se yik7- to shake; WSh pm- Ka pi- Th pi7- in words with temporal reference, but these cases must be studied against the background of the merger of n and l (Halkomelem) and the shift of 1 > y (Thompson, Clallam, Comox, part of Squamish). The regular shifts of both syllabic m and n are typical of ESh only.

The tendency of m to shift to w, and of n to shift to y lends support to Jakobson's identification of the opposition labial vs. dental consonant with the opposition back vs. front vowel. However, the term "vowel" refers here to the phonetic realization of syllabic resonants.

There is a certain lack of elegance in the necessity of indicating the place of the stress in such Enderby Sh words as sxáxax pebble, while such an indication is superfluous not only in the WSh and Athalmer Sh equivalents sxáaxsxáax but also in parallel Enderby Sh cases like q'ammt good-looking (WSh q'ammt), sx'uyt ice (WSh sx'uynt). If unstressed a < m, n is regarded as "syllabic h", then resonants shift to resonants and all cases will be of the same type (Enderby Sh sxáaxsxáax). In Kuipers 1974:30 (sect. 3.4) another parallel between unstressed a and syllabic resonants in WSh is pointed out. The etymological identity and phonemic near-identity (i.e., near-predictability of consonantal and vocalic occurrences) of the consonants w y h and the vowels u i a is characteristic of a number of Salish and Wakashan languages, cf. Nater 1979, Kuipers 1967:58 (sect. 76), Lincoln and Rath 1980 (introduction).
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Footnotes

1) Data on the Shuswap dialect of Enderby were collected in the summer of 1979, on that of Athalmer during a few days' visit in 1974. Thanks are due to Mrs. Cindy Belknap and Mrs. Suzan David (Enderby) and to Mr. Gus Pascal (Athalmer) for their cooperation. For Western Shuswap see Kuipers 1974; I use a different transcription for some of the vowels, the 1974 symbols e a o being replaced by a q y respectively. The following abbreviations of language names are used: Cb Columbian, Cr Coeur d'Alene, Ka Kalispel, Sh Shuswap, ESh Eastern Sh, WSh Western Sh, Sq Squamish, Th Thompson.

2) The two roots are etymologically related, providing another example of the symbolic alternation of retracted and nonretracted forms (Kuipers 1979, sect. 2).

3) The name derives from that of Chief Xnasqikt, lit. "Thunder-Day". The ancestors of the Kinbasket Band "belonged mostly to the Upper North Thompson Band. It seems, however, that some of them belonged to the Lower North Thompson Band, and a few to the Adams Lake and Shuswap Lake Bands" (Teit 460).

4) The dialect of Chase (Gibson 1973) does not differ in its phonology from that of Enderby. The resonant-rule given l.c. 18, to the effect that "m, n > i after front obstruents" is inexact, cf. such examples as qam laugh, stim blanket, xit centre again (e, a for our a) < qia'm, sit'm, xit'm.

5) As Thompson (1977:29) mentions, the semantic character of this formation is not defined in Kuipers 1974:52; this was done, however, in Kuipers 1973 (sect. 11), where also a parallel formation in Proto-Slavic is pointed out (ibid. fn. 3). The semantics of the Th cases (Thompson, l.c.) differs from that in Sh, making it probable that we are dealing with language-specific innovations here.

6) This also goes for parallel cases extended with possessive -s. Gibson's transcription does not settle this detail for the Chase dialect, either, cf. the examples with final -e and -a in fn. 4 above.

7) A direct shift of n to i occurs in the 1st pers. sing. prefix (en> ei) in some Southern Interior Salish languages, cf. Vogt 18, 21, Carlson 16.