REFERENCES


COLVILLE -gt

Anthony Mattina
University of Montana

0. Colville's (Cr) -gt is one of those apparent suffixes with exemplification so limited that identification of its function is problematic. I will try to show that, notwithstanding the synchronic obscurity of the suffix, one might be able to puzzle out some of its history by means of Cv-internal and comparative evidence.

At least three functions and meanings are associated with -gt, and I will proceed as though we were dealing with three distinct homonymous suffixes. The first suffix, -gt1, is connected with -gt'ya", and can be tentatively glossed 'susceptible to imitation and approximation; approximating...'. The second suffix, -gt2, is reminiscent of a lexical suffix with the meaning 'surface'; and the third, -gt3, is the full-vowel grade of the stative suffix -t when Cv of the root is a rounded consonant (but not w), and where the stress valence of the root is weak.

1. The analysis of -gt into three separate suffixes is not inductable from the Cv data alone, but rather requires supporting evidence from other interior Salish languages.

1.1. -gt1. Cv has a very few forms like

'tx-m-gt 'straight, real(ly)'

but 'gt-am-gt-em 'it's not edible'

in which -gt has the meaning given here (for short 'able'). There is evidence that other interior Salish (IS) languages, and consequently Proto IS, also have an affix -gt of similar meaning.

The best evidence is from Kalispel (Ka) and Coeur d'Alene (Cr). Speck reports that Ka "(m)-gt 'capability': expresses ability, power, or ability to do something."(p. 425)

She states that the function and distribution of -m (preceding -gt) is not understood, and gives eleven examples in the text, plus two other examples in a footnote, a total of thirteen examples based on nine roots. Of these 13 examples, 5 have -m before -gt, and the remaining 3 do not. This -m must be a stem-forming suffix required by the language before the affixation of -gt. More significantly, all but two of the examples have word-final -m, which Speck presumes to be 'middle'. She offers no explanation for the lack of final -m in two of the forms. The examples are:

---
Thus adjectives, groupings are found: (1) examples with suffixes, one of which she identifies as -ut, which in turn follows the reduplicated C\textsubscript{2} of the root. In other words, these Cr forms are directly comparable to Post's 'verbs expressing passive aptitude', and in fact one such pair constitutes a set of cognates--root and all: Ka \textit{K}r\textsubscript{1}'-l\textsubscript{-}Gt\textsubscript{m} 'it can be made' : Cr \textit{K}r\textsubscript{1}'-l\textsubscript{-}Gt\textsubscript{m} 'it is possible to do'. I have been unable to find clear examples of cognates of -Gt\textsubscript{1} in the remaining interior languages except for

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{X}a\textsubscript{1} \textit{K}r\textsubscript{1}'-Gt plain
  \item \textit{X}y\textsubscript{a}t\textsubscript{1} look mean
\end{itemize}

which I can only guess to be based on roots \textit{K}r\textsubscript{1}' and \textit{Gt}. The Cv cognate of the first is \textit{K}r\textsubscript{1}' 'perceive', and the form would mean 'perceptible'; and the Cv cognate of the second in \textit{Gt} 'fear', and the form would mean 'fear-able'. And I have been totally unable to find any examples that might suggest a cognate with -Gt\textsubscript{1} in any of the northern interior languages. There is, however, a very good probability that -Gt\textsubscript{1} is related to -Gtya\textsubscript{2}, and the latter suffix is attested in most of the interior Salish languages.

What first alerted me to the possible connection of -Gt\textsubscript{1} with -Gtya\textsubscript{2} was the Cv pair

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{x}a\textsubscript{1}Gt\textsubscript{an} all he can do is walk
  \item \textit{c}x\textsubscript{1}a\textsubscript{2}Gt\textsubscript{tya\textsubscript{2}} he can only walk
\end{itemize}

in the following contexts:

\begin{itemize}
  \item g\textsubscript{t}\textsubscript{a} u\textsubscript{1} w\textsubscript{a} k-s\textsubscript{p}l'c\textsubscript{a\textsubscript{2}}-s u\textsubscript{2} k-s\textsubscript{p}f\textsubscript{c}\textsubscript{a\textsubscript{2}}-s, q\textsubscript{a} l\textsubscript{a}t, way\textsubscript{1} t\textsubscript{a}x\textsubscript{a\textsubscript{1}}Gt\textsubscript{an}, way\textsubscript{1} q\textsubscript{a}l\textsubscript{n}-s h\textsubscript{a} k-s\textsubscript{p}q-q\textsubscript{e}\textsubscript{a\textsubscript{2}}-s a\textsubscript{x}\textsubscript{1} t\textsubscript{a} q\textsubscript{a}m-k\textsubscript{1}l\textsubscript{a\textsubscript{2}}-s q\textsubscript{a\textsubscript{2}}pa\textsubscript{a}\textsubscript{2}. And he whipped and whipped him (his horse), but no, he just walks, his horse couldn't even trot.

  \item way\textsubscript{1} u\textsubscript{1} h\textsubscript{a}y\textsubscript{1} i\textsubscript{1} t s\textsubscript{2}Gt\textsubscript{y}\textsubscript{a\textsubscript{2}}-t, k\textsubscript{a}m t\textsubscript{1} c\textsubscript{1}x\textsubscript{1}a\textsubscript{2}Gt\textsubscript{tya\textsubscript{2}}. He's played out with tiredness, he's just walking (not running).
\end{itemize}

The two constructions seem equivalent, one middle, the other nominalized: 'he only walks' vs 'he's one who can only walk', and reminiscent of other pairs in such relationship (e.g. -m\textsubscript{f}X 'one who ...ings' vs -x 'he is ...ings'). Despite such a neat example, I have not been able to ascertain how productive/regular the process is, and the one informant I have worked with recently has not volunteered any comparable examples.

I have no doubts that careful elicitation will uncover a regular process--however limited the number of roots that suffix -Gt\textsubscript{1}, might he.
All other examples of CV -Gtya? contain a notion of "approximate, barely," etc., a sort of pejorative of -Gtya? 'able' in nominal-like forms, as in:

c'f-eln-Gtya? (poorly made) bow and arrow

t kax-Gtya? by hand, poorly

let ch my-Gtya? it's not even fit

soy-m-Gtya? hand mower, scythe

k-"on-m-Gtya?-st-s he grabbed hold of him (albeit awkwardly, barely)

mi k"ni-m-Gtya?-st-x you will be able to (manage to) grab her

p-kaxm-Gtya? plow (the type you travel afoot (cf Ok n-kax-m-Gtya? travel on foot)

p-xm-m-Gtya? (?) pistol (?)

The suffix is attested in most other interior languages. Haeberlin reports it in Th, Ok, Po (Pend Oreille), Spl (San Poil), and Cv:

Th čitgūtia a poor, old fashioned kind of house

qei.mūtia to camp without provisions

Šicemūtia plain kind of blanket

Ok čitgūtia mat-lodge

Po kei.mūtia mat-lodge

Spl cakelanūtia arrow

Cv kažnūtia arrow (p. 24)

Speck exemplifies a Ka suffix -Gtya?, -Gtye?, glossed '?', with the following forms:

sq"m-Gtya? coin

q"l-m-Gtya? paper money

bx-"m-Gtya? a sack

šeg-m-Gtya? corded ropes (p. 32)

Carlson also lists the Sp suffix -Gtye? in his unpublished dictionary, but gives no examples of it in context. Thompson and Thompson report Th -Gye 'simple, rustic, crude', and give the following examples:

cw-εm-"Gye he works with his hands, is a simple laborer

s-θbm-"Gye it is an open fireplace

citx-"Gye it is a simple slab house, a shack (p. 145)

and point out that the suffix is semantically related to Th -Gye 'reaffirmative: basic, ordinary, plain, simple, real, genuine.' And while I have found no cognates in the published Cr and Sh materials, I have obtained the most extensive exemplification from Kinkade's Qa data. Kinkade's tentative gloss is 'by means of'. However, many of the 31 examples I have been provided, seem to confirm, or at least not to contradict
Other examples seem to have the extended and related meaning of 'poorly, poorly made, haphazard, barely...':

noq½tútiya? walking, afoot /nɔq˘t/ sg. go, walk barely walking
b'wátiya?ix they are walking bâm pl. " " "
yuq½tútiya? running ýulanim- pl. run " running
ná‰xqútiya? shoveling pañâm- step ? step
kaq½xútiya? travel on horseback faq-lx sg. sit barely, with diffic.
nášqútiya? ride bareback haq-lx sg. sit " " etc.
kaq½útiya? pl. ride horseback yâr-lx pl. sit " etc.
k'araq½útiya? carry in the hand k'âm take, carry
kaq½takútiya? one handed, using one hand sak˘t- half
?awqútiya? backwards ñwt- behind, back part
mamqútiya? backwards ?? (Cf. Cv gamqoq 'back up'
kaqútiya? by hand káix hand
tamútiya? do s.t. lastily t'ámû- lazy

This analysis of -átiya? as a sort of pejorative will be confirmed or denied when examples like
câlqútiya? âdlâm arrow âdr- shoot
are better understood. The same root occurs twice, once with and once without the suffix. Other examples do not suggest any pejorative sense, or have an allomorph of the suffix that needs explaining:
máqútiya? snag in a river / màt-?
tak˘p?átiya? smother to death / taq˘p-choke, smother
syáq˘qútiya? kindling / yaq˘?- ? -i?- ??
t'amânqútiya? swallows / ??
q­q²atútiya?an can't, not able, wakened / q­q²- weak
pálpáqútiya? butterfly / pâl- shake

Synchronically, Cv unstressed -ut is the zero-vowel grade allomorph of two suffixes: -lwt, and -wít. The first, -lwt, is very much the subject of the present discussion; the second is limited in its occurrence with the root /q̪l/ 'step'. Thus we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cv</th>
<th>Ka</th>
<th>Lie down</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'í-lwt</td>
<td>n-k'í-lít</td>
<td>lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'í-ut</td>
<td>n-k'í-t-áqs</td>
<td>lie on the road (Ø vowel grade of -ut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'í-t-áqs</td>
<td>n-k'í-t-áqs</td>
<td>he lies on the road (&quot;&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'í-t-áqs</td>
<td>ñín k'í-t-áqs</td>
<td>I lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'í-t-áqs</td>
<td>ñín k'í-t-áqs</td>
<td>I am lying (in which the contrast ñ'-ñ is neutralized)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2. -út, Cv -út, 'surface, position', may be related to Cv -lwt of the same meaning. My guess is that at one time the unstressed allomorph of -lwt was -ut, and that at a later time, for unknown reasons unstressed -ut was reassigned stress, becoming -út. The language now has both -út and -lwt. Among the Cv forms with -út we find:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cv</th>
<th>Ka</th>
<th>Lie down</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k˘w k-ôk˘-út</td>
<td>q-ç-a-q˘-út</td>
<td>you're too far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q-ç-a-q˘-út</td>
<td>p-ñ˘t-út</td>
<td>lying in a place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ôn-ñ-út (t)</td>
<td>s-ôn-ñ-út (t)</td>
<td>a bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-ôn-ôn˘-ñ-út (a)</td>
<td>c-ôn-ôn˘-ñ-út (a)</td>
<td>a valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-ñ˘vt-út</td>
<td>n-ñ˘vt-út</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ˘t-ñ˘vt-út</td>
<td>ñ˘t-ñ˘vt-út</td>
<td>underground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-tak˘-tak˘-ñ-út</td>
<td>c-tak˘-tak˘-ñ-út</td>
<td>walk on the ground, travel by land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-tak˘-tak˘-ñ-út (t)</td>
<td>s-tak˘-tak˘-ñ-út (t)</td>
<td>tracks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p- tô-ñ-út</td>
<td>p- tô-ñ-út</td>
<td>you travel around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the -ut of forms like s-ôn-k˘-ñ-út (l-ôt˘x˘-x˘-élx) was reinterpreted a stressed suffix, this reinterpretation must have occurred at about the same time that Pis velars were changing to palatals in F1-Ka-Sp. -ut has influenced the root-final consonant (velar or post-velar) that immediately preceded it in the following ways: either (1) it rounded the consonant forcing the reinterpretation of the root, or (2) it produced root-doublets. Thus the Ka-F1-Sp cognate of Cv yx˘-út (/yx˘/) is 16ú-út, that is, with unrounded consonant in C2 position. That points to a Pis unrounded velar fricative, the consonant having been rounded in Cv as it assimilated to the following rounded vowel, [u] of -út. But another root, Pis /ñ/ has given rise to the doublet /ñ/ under the influence of -ut.
In summary, the hypothesis that Cv -<i>ut</i> and -<i>iwnt</i> were originally one and the same posits these diachronic developments:

1. Cv -<i>iwnt</i> has unstressed allomorph -<i>ut</i>
2. Cv -<i>ut</i> is stressed for unknown reasons and becomes distinct from -<i>iwnt</i>.

Synchronously, the hypothesis assigns unstressed -<i>ut</i> to -<i>iwnt</i>, and unstressed -<i>t</i> to -<i>ut</i>. Unfortunately I cannot find the conditioning for the reinterpretation of -<i>ut</i> as a stressed suffix, neither Cv-internally, nor comparatively. Thus in Cv all the roots of the examples just given have a rounded C in C<sub>2</sub> position—but we can also find -<i>iwnt</i> following roots with a rounded C<sub>2</sub>:

-<i>gk</i>-<i>iwnt</i> mounds
-<i>k-<i>g</i>iwnt</i> scattered patches (e.g. of berries)

in addition to forms like

-<i>k-l<i>iwnt</i>-alx</i> they were sitting around/dwelling

Finally, I should point out that -<i>iwnt</i>, in turn, is related to -<i>hwnt</i> 'by the side', as in

-<i>k-<i>am</i>-mhwnt-ont-<i>am</i></i> she went to sit by his side
-<i>n-sak</i>-<i>hwnt</i> to one side
-<i>t-xal</i>-<i>hwnt</i>-m-ont-<i>alx</i> they're all around the house
-<i>t-xmn</i>-<i>hwnt</i>-s-alx they went on both sides of him

The evidence from other IS languages is as follows. Reichard identifies Cv -<i>ut</i> (-<i>st</i>) as meaning 'position, state of', and gives the following examples of the suffix:

-<i>tsm-tal</i>-<i>ut</i> he stood under (note the position of the stress)
-<i>s-tcm-tak</i>-<i>ut</i>-<i>am</i> bed (<i>tak</i> 'one lies')
-<i>tcm-tcm-sik</i>-<i>ut</i>-us-man-<i>am</i> I will use face to be far off, go way off to shine
-<i>hin-lak</i>-<i>al</i>-<i>al</i>-<i>al</i> long road (note the position of the stress)

These roots should be cognate with Cv /<i>c</i> <i>stand</i>, /<i>xm</i> <i>lie</i>, and /<i>xk</i> 'far' (for the last two examples). Naidoimk has forms like <i>lu</i> (<i>valley</i>) and <i>hn</i> (<i>interior</i>) that seem to contain the suffix -<i>ut</i>.

Vogt speaks of a Ka 'isolated suffix' -<i>ut</i> in forms like <i>lcm</i> 'he sits', <i>kut</i> 'he lies', <i>h</i><i>uk</i> 'he lies on his back', <i>h</i><i>al</i> 'he goes uphill' (cf. Cv <i>t-xr</i>-<i>ut</i>-<i>am</i>), and "perhaps" <i>ut</i> 'they walk'. Carlson reports Sp <i>lk</i>-<i>ut</i> 'far', Speck reports Ka <i>lk</i>-<i>ut</i> 'far', <i>tk</i>-<i>ut</i>-<i>i</i> 'march, walk', <i>h</i><i>uk</i>-<i>ut</i> 'he was lying there', <i>isk</i>-<i>ut</i> 'under'.

Cv has

-<i>lsk</i>-<i>ut</i> long ways, far
-<i>st</i><i>h</i><i>uk</i> s.o. lying down
-<i>d</i><i>h</i><i>uk</i>-<i>ut</i> pl. stand

Vogt also reports Ka -<i>hwnt</i> 'side of a person' in the contexts

-<i>esancoom</i>-<i>hwnt</i>-<i>m</i> he has fringes on both sides
-<i>chl</i>-<i>hwnt</i>-<i>am</i> I sit down at his side
-<i>san</i>-<i>hwnt</i>-<i>m</i> side (pl sing)

Kuipers reports Sh -<i>hwnt</i> (always stressed) 'side':

-<i>x-sap</i>-<i>hwnt</i> get hit on the side
Haeberlin reports Th -aut in:
- Čės adolescentu 'forested plateau'
- Kool ėt 'grassy, green ridge'
- Čėkwaut flat topped ridge
- Tmō-ut barren country

and -̕ohe-ut 'side of body in Th, Sh, and Ka (p.e.)'.

1.3. -̕got. There are a very few cases of Cv -̕ot where it is remotely possible to analyze the suffix as the stressed allomorph of -t 'stative'. They are so few and unclear that one wouldn't entertain the analysis, if it weren't for some comparative evidence. The analysis is suspect on the further ground that neither the workings of (1) stress assignment nor those of (2) metathesizing roots in Cv are fully understood.

The analysis proposes that weak roots (membership in this class remains to be fully identified) with a rounded consonant in C2 position behave as though their V were [u], and, in forming the stative, metathesize it with C2 if no other stressed suffix follows. Thus we have:
- lut ̕i-s-qa̕-aw-q̕-̕ot I am not wild
- ̕ot-̕ot-am it's not much

Both examples are unconvincing, the first because qa is not C2, but rather an intruding C1, and the second because it is susceptible to the analysis of -VC2 reduplication, lut-̕ot-ut. And, furthermore, most roots with rounded C2 have a regular -t stative:
- ?aw̕-t, c-kiw-t, c-ʔaw̕-t, kəl-w̕ix-t, pice-t. Nonetheless, there are some examples from various languages that the analysis accommodates well. Such are:
- Ka pək̕-pək̕-̕ot, pək̕-̕ot old
- Sp pək̕-pək̕-̕ot he is old (cf. qa-ka-aw-t-wi13-i 'we grew old')
- Cv sək̕-ut half, halved
- Om sək̕-̕ot half

Other forms require explanations. Thus Ka unək̕-ʔut 'untamed, wild' (cognate with Cv qa-qa-aw-aw-ʔ ot given above) has unstressed -ut, the [u] of which may simply be the echo of [a] following the glottal stop; and Ka yo-yot 'strong' has no perceptible C2, but an underlying /w/ must have coalesced with the rounded vowel (əyow-yaow-yaow).
The resonant \( \gamma \), a front velar fricative articulated with little friction, has been added as a 'lateral' to the overall Salish phoneme inventory on the basis of its recent discovery in Lillooet (Ll), Thompson (Th), Shuswap (Ss), and northern dialects of Okanagan (Okk). Its existence as a Salish phoneme came to light only after detailed research on these northern languages of the Interior uncovered this exceedingly rare sound.

Earlier studies on Salish comparative phonology by Boas and Peace (1927), Vogt (1943b), Swadesh (1952) and Reichard (1958) dealt very little with the northern Interior languages, and it is therefore not surprising to find a complete lack of reference to \( \gamma \) in their studies. Interestingly enough, Boas' comparative Salishan vocabularies (APS manuscript) show forms for at least two words now known to contain \( \gamma \): 'tree' and 'lina'. He transcribes \( \gamma \) as either \( r \) or \( z \), i.e. front velar, \( w \).

(1) Th. li sny'p; Sh (s)cya'p: 'tree' (2) PIS *snyaw'p 'lina'

Boas 156, item 165:

Ll ci'ra'p

Th ci'ra'p

Sh t'ra'p

Ok tc'ra'p

Kuipers was the first to recognize \( \gamma \) as a Salish phoneme, and he also pointed it out as a Proto-Salish (Ps) phoneme in 1977 on the basis of its occurrence in Shuswap. In describing his proposed Ps phoneme inventory, he writes:

'\( \gamma \)' (phonetically related to \( y \) in the same way as, e.g. Dutch \( v \) to labiodental \( w \)) is found in Sh[uw]ap only in the other Interior languages it has merged with \( y \)' (Kuipers 1970:90).

In the same year, working (1973) dissertation shows \( \gamma \) as a phoneme in a northern dialect of Stz'umin (Ss). Shortly thereafter Lillooet was added to the list of languages having \( \gamma \), followed by Thompson. Thompson was at first thought to show a reflex \( c \) for Ps \( \gamma \), with \( y \) occurring as a fronted allophone of \( c \) in the environment of high vowels and \( i \). After directing special attention towards elicitation of this rare sound, however, contrasts became apparent and \( y \) was raised to phonemic status (C. Thompson, p.c.). In addition, a number of the \( \gamma \) roots containing \( \gamma \) were found to have cognates in other northern Interior languages; e.g. Th t'ya'p (Ps \( *T \) \( \gamma \)), 'insert' and Sh sya'p, 'rock' (additional examples in appendix).

Understanding of \( \gamma \) increased as more and better materials became available. Kuipers (1974) suggested Southern Interior cognates for Shuswap forms with \( \gamma \) in the comparative Salish data included in his Shuswap dictionary, e.g. Sh y'ya'p, 'strong', Coeur d'Alene y'ya'p, 'firm'; Sh (s)cya'p, 'tree', Colville (Ss) ci'pa'p, 'tree'. Later, Kuipers (1976, 1979) formally outlined the reflexes.