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COLVILLE -út  
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O. Colville<sup>4</sup>(Cv) -út 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 -út, and I will proceed as though we were dealing with three distinct homophonous suffixes. The first suffix, -út<sub>1</sub>, is connected with -útya?, and can be tentatively glossed 'susceptible to imitation and approximation; approximating ...'. The second suffix, -út<sub>2</sub>, is reminiscent of a lexical suffix with the meaning 'surface'; and the third, -út<sub>3</sub>, is the full-vowel grade of the stative suffix -t when C<sub>2</sub> of the root is a rounded consonant (but not w), and where the stress valence of the root is weak.

1. The analysis of -út into three separate suffixes is not inducible from the Cv data alone, but rather requires supporting evidence from other interior Salish languages.<sup>2</sup>

1.1. -út<sub>1</sub>. Cv has a very few forms like

txw-m-út 'straight, real(ly)'

lut ?əʔ-əʔm-út-em 'it's not edible'

in which -út 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 -út of similar meaning.

The best evidence is from Kalispel (Ka) and Coeur d'Alene (Cr). Speck reports that Ka " (-m)-ut 'capability' expresses aptitude, power, or ability to do something." (p. 90, 97) She states that the function and distribution of -m (preceding -ut) 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 15 examples, 5 have -m before -út, and the remaining 3 do not. This -m must be a stem-forming suffix required by the language before the affixation of -út. 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:

ka. y-es-k <sup>w</sup> l <sup>w</sup> -m-út-m	I can make that
k <sup>w</sup> l <sup>w</sup> -l <sup>w</sup> -út-m	it can be made
ta s-k <sup>w</sup> l <sup>w</sup> -l <sup>w</sup> -út-m	it can't be done
y-es-ac-m-út-m	I can catch it
y-es-ḡ <sup>w</sup> aq <sup>w</sup> -m-út-m	I can grind it
x <sup>w</sup> y-ut-m	it can go
ta s-x <sup>w</sup> y-ut-m	it can't go
wč-č-ut-m	it is visible
lč-č-ut-m	it can be bound
mus-ls-út-m	he can be trusted
ta s-yen-út-m	it can't be counted
čin es-k <sup>w</sup> l <sup>w</sup> -paḡ-m-út-i	I can think, am capable of reflection
ta s-k <sup>w</sup> l <sup>w</sup> -paḡ-m-út	he cannot think, has not the use of reason

Following this group of examples she lists a group of five other forms, preceded by the laconic remark: "But, cf. also:". All of these examples can be shown, I think, to belong to either -út<sub>2</sub> or -út<sub>3</sub>, specifically, the first four to the former, and the fifth one to the latter. They will be discussed again in the appropriate sections.

tk <sup>w</sup> ?-út-i	march, walk
lq <sup>w</sup> -ut	he was lying there
yš-ut	under
lk <sup>w</sup> -ut	far
px <sup>w</sup> -ut	old

Aside from the translations of all these items, one can see that none of the forms in the second group of examples has -m 'middle' affixed to it, while all but two of the forms in the first group have -m 'middle' affixed to them. (p. 63)

Other clues are to be sought in Post's original typescript, where the following groupings are found: (1) examples with m-ut-m (from the first group) are given as "verbs expressing aptitude to do anything: ... its suffix is mutem, mutemsten;" (2) examples with ut-m (from the first group) are given as "verbs expressing passive aptitude... They suffix utem; in some the last consonant of the root is reduplicated;" (3) examples from the second group are found among the "adverbs of place"; the "adjectives", and elsewhere in the grammar where no direct reference to -út is made. Thus -út<sub>1</sub> '-able' occurs in Ka, as reported in Post and in Speck.

The evidence in Cr is also fairly clear. Reichard reports two homophonous suffixes, one of which she identifies as "ut possibility, '-able', used with final reduplication", and exemplifies as follows:

Kul <sup>w</sup> -l <sup>w</sup> -út-em	it is possible to do
qáy <sup>w</sup> -ey <sup>w</sup> -út-em	it is possible to write
píts <sup>w</sup> -its <sup>w</sup> -út-em	it is possible to push
nitč <sup>w</sup> -itč <sup>w</sup> -út-em	it is "cut-able"
lut ḡ-s-luq <sup>w</sup> -uq <sup>w</sup> -út-em	it is impossible (p. 67)

In all these examples -em follows -ut, which in turn follows the reduplicated C<sub>2</sub> 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 k<sup>w</sup>l<sup>w</sup>-l<sup>w</sup>-út-m 'it can be made' : Cr Kul<sup>w</sup>-l<sup>w</sup>-út-em 'it is possible to do'.

I have been unable to find clear examples of cognates of -út<sub>1</sub> in the remaining interior languages except for

On <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup> ḡ-út	plain
	ḡaḡkútm	look mean

which I can only guess to be based on roots /k<sup>w</sup>ḡ/ and /ḡḡ/. The Cv cognate of the first is /k<sup>w</sup>ḡ/ 'perceive', and the form would mean 'perceptible'; and the Cv cognate of the second in /ḡḡ/ 'fear', and the form would mean 'fear-able'. And I have been totally unable to find any examples that might suggest a cognate with -út<sub>1</sub> in any of the northern interior languages. There is, however, a very good probability that -út<sub>1</sub> is related to -útya<sup>w</sup>, and the latter suffix is attested in most of the interior Salish languages.

What first alerted me to the possible connection of -út<sub>1</sub> with -útya<sup>w</sup> was the Cv pair

x <sup>w</sup> əst-út-em	all he can do is walk
c-x <sup>w</sup> əst-útya <sup>w</sup>	he can only walk

in the following contexts:

ḡtá<sup>w</sup> uḡ iwā<sup>w</sup>? k-sp<sup>w</sup>-íca<sup>w</sup>?-s uḡ k-sp<sup>w</sup>-íca<sup>w</sup>?-s, ḡtá<sup>w</sup> lút, way<sup>w</sup> tī x<sup>w</sup>əst-út-em, way<sup>w</sup> lut qḡ-nū-s tē k-s-qā-qc-elx-s axā<sup>w</sup>? i<sup>w</sup>? s-en-kḡ-čá<sup>w</sup>-sqāḡa<sup>w</sup>?. And he whipped and whipped him (his horse), but no, he just walks, his horse couldn't even trot.  
way<sup>w</sup> uḡ hūy i<sup>w</sup>? t s-ḡay<sup>w</sup>-t, kəm tī c-x<sup>w</sup>əst-útya<sup>w</sup>?. He's played out with tiredness, he's just walking (not running).

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. -mīx 'one who ...-ing' vs -x 'he is ...-ing'). 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 affix -út, might be.

All other examples of Cv -útya? contain a notion of 'approximate, barely,' etc., a sort of pejorative of -ú<sub>1</sub> 'able' in nominal-like forms, as in:

cq̄-eln-útya?	(poorly made) bow and arrow
t kəlx-útya?	by hand, poorly
lut t̄i my-útya?	it's not even fit
səp̄-m-útya?	hand mower, scythe
kʷən-m-útya?-st-s	he grabbed hold of him (albeit awkwardly, barely)
mi kʷni-útya?-st-xʷ	you will be able to (manage to) grab her
ŋ-kəxm-útya?	plow (the type you walk behind); travel afoot (cf Ok n-kax-m-útya? travel on foot)
ŋ-xm-m-útya?	(?) 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	čitxútia	a poor, old fashioned kind of house
	qei.mútia	to camp without provisions
	šicemútia	plain kind of blanket
Ok	čitxútia	mat-lodge
Po	kei.mútia	mat-lodge
Spl	cakelənútia	arrow
Cv	kałənútia	arrow (p. 315)

Speck exemplifies a Ka suffix -útya?, -útye?, glossed '?', with the following forms:

sqʷm-útya?	coin
qi?-m-útya?	paper money
lxʷ-m-útye?	a sack
túp-m-útye?	corded ropes (p. 101)

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

cw-əm-ʔútye	he works with his hands, is a simple laborer
s-pəm-ʔútye	it is an open fireplace
citxʷ-útye	it is a simple slab house, a shack (p. 266)

and point out that the suffix is semantically related to Th -ʔúy '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 Om 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

my analysis of the Cv cognate, and bear the meaning of 'approximating...', etc. Here I provide all of Kinkade's forms and glosses, plus my interpretation of the glosses.

qaymútiya?	sqlāw	paper money	/	qiy-	write
		(money like paper, approximately (real) money)			
xʷuʔyútiya?		airplane	/	xʷúwi	fly
		(approximately (real) flying)			
(s)q̄aʔxnútiya?		moccasin	/	sq̄aʔxn	shoe / q̄aʔ-
		(approximately (real) shoe ?)			put away, wedge into

nciyatkʷpmútiya?		fireplace	/	ciy-	fire
		(approximately (real) fire)			
čxʷmútiya?	sqlāw	quicksilver	/	cəxʷ-	spill or pour liquid
		(money like quicksilver (?), approximately real pouring ?)			
npalkʷútiya?	nnikm̄	pocketknife	/	pəlkʷ-	break
		(approximately a (good) break ?, or break might refer to the knife itself that folds in half)			
pəqʷmútiya?		powder	/	pəqʷ-	spill s.t. dry
		(approximately dust ?)			
pulútiya?		wall-tent	/	púl-	turn over
		(approximately a (natural) wall ?)			
n̄iqʷalqʷpútiya?		snaffle bit	/	iqʷ-	put over, drape over
		(?)			
nkčalqʷpútiya?		straight bar bit	/	kəč-	crosswise, across
		(?)			
sunútiya?		smelling salts	/	súm-	smell, sniff at
		(?)			

Other examples seem to have the extended and related meaning of 'poorly, poorly made, haphazard, barely...':

noḡʷtútiya?	walking, afoot	/noḡʷt	sg. go, walk	barely walking
ḥwámútiya? lx	they are walking	ḥwám	pl. " "	" "
yəlámútiya?	running	yəlám-	pl. run	" running
npáʔxáqnútiya?	shovel	paʔxán-	step	? step
kaɪqɪxútiya?	travel on horseback	ḥáq-lx	sg. sit	barely, with diffic.
nḥqɪxkútiya?	ride bareback	ḥaq-lx	sg. sit	" " "
kayʔáʔxútiya?	pl. ride horseback	yər-íx	pl. sit	etc.
kʷánútiya?	carry in the hand	kʷán-	take, carry	
ksəkʷtakstútiya?	one handed, using one hand	səkʷt-	half	
ʔawtútiya?	backwards	ʔawt-	behind, back part	
nwawpnútiya?	backwards	??	(Cf. Cv qwɪwpp 'back up')	
kaɪxútiya?	by hand	káɪx	hand	
tímútiya?	do s.t. lazily	tímúl-	lazy	

This analysis of -útiya? as a sort of pejorative will be confirmed or denied when examples like

caqáɪnútiya? cəqáɪn arrow cəqáɪʔ 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:

mətútiya? snag in a river / mətʔ- ?  
 təkʷpiʔútiya? smother to death / tškʷp choke, smother  
 syəqɪʔútiya? kindling / yəqɪʔ- ? -iʔ- ??

təmʔəmkiyútiya? swallows / ??  
 ɣaʔaʔútətəyʔmn can't, not able, wakened / ɣaʔ- weak  
 pəlʔalwítitiya? butterfly / pál- shake

1.2. -út<sub>2</sub>. Cv -út<sub>2</sub> 'surface, position', may be related to Cv -íwt of the same meaning. My guess is that at one time the unstressed allomorph of -íwt 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 -íwt. Among the Cv forms with -út we find:

ɪkʷ-ut	far
kʷ k-əɪkʷ-út	you're too far
ŋ-cə-cqʷ-út	at the distant edge of woods
ŋ-ɪqʷ-ut	lying in a place
s-ən-ɪqʷ-út-(t)ŋ	a bed
c-ən-leʔʷ-út-əm	a valley
n-yxʷ-ut	inside
kʷ-yxʷ-ut	underground
c-təkʷ-təkʷʔ-út	walk on the ground, travel by land
s-təkʷ-təkʷʔ-út-(t)ŋ	tracks
p taʔkʷʔ-út	you travel around

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

kʷl-iwt	sit around
s-ən-kʷl-ut-ɪ-cítxʷ-xʷ-elx	they were house sitting (a compound)
qəl-wít	step
s-ql-ut-úlaʔxʷ	she stepped on (dry) land

If the -ut of forms like s-ən-kʷl-ut-ɪ-cítxʷ-əxʷ was reinterpreted a stressed suffix, this reinterpretation must have occurred at about the same time that PIS velars were changing to palatals in Fl-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-doublings. Thus the Ka-Fl-Sp cognate of Cv yxʷ-ut (/yaxʷ) is išút, that is, with unrounded consonant in C<sub>2</sub> 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 /ɪqʷ has given rise to the doublet /ɪqʷ under the influence of -ut. Examine these forms:

Cv	ɪqʷ-ilx	lie down
	ɪqʷ-ut	lie down
	ɪqʷ-t-áqs	lie on the road (∅ vowel grade of -ut)
Ka	n-ɪqʷ-t-áqs	he lies on the road ( " " " " )
	čín ɪqʷ-ílš	I lie down
	čín ɪqʷ-út	I am lying (in which the contrast qʷ-qʷ is neutralized)

In summary, the hypothesis that Cv -út<sub>2</sub> and -íwt were originally one and the same posits these diachronic developments:

- (1) Cv -íwt has unstressed allomorph -ut
- (2) Cv -ut is stressed for unknown reasons and becomes distinct from -íwt.

Synchronically, the hypothesis assigns unstressed -ut to -íwt, and unstressed -t to -út. Unfortunately I cannot find the conditioning for the reinterpretation of -ut 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 -iwt following roots with a rounded C<sub>2</sub>:

mpk <sup>w</sup> -iwt	mounds
k- <del>ɬ</del> <sup>w</sup> -iwt	scattered patches (e.g. of berries)

in addition to forms like

k <sup>w</sup> l-íwt-əlx	they were sitting around/dwelling
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Finally, I should point out that -íwt, in turn, is related to -íniwt 'by the side', as in

k-ʔəm-íniwt-ənt-əm	she went to sit by his side
kə n-sək <sup>w</sup> t-íniwt	to one side
t-xəlK <sup>w</sup> -íniwt-m-ənt-m-əlx	they're all around the house
t-xnn-ws-íniwt-s-əlx	they went on both sides of him

The evidence from other IS languages is as follows. Reichard identifies Cr -ut (-ɔt) as meaning 'position, state of', and gives the following examples of the suffix:

tsʔn-tʂɬl-ut	he stood under (note the position of the stress)
s-tct-tɬk <sup>w</sup> -út-ən	bed (tʂk <sup>w</sup> 'one lies') ( " " " " )
tctt-tcis-lɬk-ɬk-út-us-mən-əm	I will use face to be far off, go way off to shine
hin-lak-ʔt-əlqs	long road (note the position of the stress) (p. 67)

These roots should be cognate with Cv /cɬ 'stand', /t<sup>w</sup> 'place, put', and /lk<sup>w</sup> 'far' (for the last two examples). Nicodemus has forms like lu<sup>w</sup>lu<sup>w</sup>ut<sup>w</sup> 'valley', and hntstskhut 'creek' that seem to contain the suffix -út.

Vogt speaks of a Ka 'isolated suffix' -ut in forms like ʔəmút 'he sits'; kqút 'he lies', kqólút 'he lies on his back', ʂalút 'he goes uphill' (cf. Cv t-xr-út-əm), and "perhaps" tku<sup>w</sup>út 'they walk'. Carlson reports Sp lək<sup>w</sup>út 'far', Speck reports Ka lk<sup>w</sup>ut 'far', tk<sup>w</sup>út-i 'march, walk', kq<sup>w</sup>-út 'he was lying there', iʂ-út 'under'.

Ca has

lək <sup>w</sup> út	long ways, far
stqút	s.o. lying down
ʂólút	pl. stand

yəx <sup>w</sup> út	south
kaʔəʔút	area along Columbia river just south of mouth of Methow river
círút lx	they're home (yər- 'pl sit')
tntmút <sup>n</sup>	clothes

in which -út might be assigned a meaning of 'position, place, surface' with relatively little problem. But one needs to know the grammar of the language to determine the proper identification of -út in forms like

pk <sup>w</sup> út	skin, hide
ta <sup>w</sup> mút	bag

and others.

If Cv -íwt is related to Cv -út in the ways that I have outlined, then it will be appropriate to investigate what cognates of -íwt, if any, are present in the other interior languages.

Sh is reported to have a suffix -ewt 'position, state, landmark, area' in forms like

cɬ-ewt	to stand
xmk-ewt	to lie
x <sup>w</sup> əx <sup>w</sup> y-ewt	absent, delayed
n-x <sup>w</sup> y-ewt	sorry, sad
tk-ck <sup>w</sup> -ewt	mountain ridge
x-sək <sup>w</sup> -ewt	big valley
pəst-éwt	area beyond river

and possibly

pəxyewt	yesterday, tomorrow (Cf Cv t <sup>w</sup> -iwt-wíl <sup>w</sup> 'last, next year'--the unstressed i is unexplainably retained)
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and unstressed in the combination

c-x-cɬ-wt-éws	stand in the way (p. 68)
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Carlson reports Sp -ewt (-ewt) 'scattered', giving no examples in context in his unpublished dictionary, but he also reports -íniwt 'side' in the contexts

ɬy eɬ-ʂs-uʂ-íniwt-m	I stood by his side
s-n-ʂm-íniwt	side of the body

Vogt also reports Ka -íni<sup>w</sup>ut 'side of a person' in the contexts

esəncocoíni <sup>w</sup> ut	he has fringes on both sides
ʂíqalíé <sup>w</sup> utən	I sit down at his side
sən <sup>w</sup> əmí <sup>w</sup> ut	side (p. 54)

Kuipers reports Sh -íniwt (always stressed) 'side':

x-səp <sup>w</sup> -íniwt	get hit on the side
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x-kn-iníwt	side of body
cʷ-iníwt	spring salmon (lit. striped side) (p. 65)

Haerberlin reports Th -aut in

česá·ut	'forested plateau
kolá·u.t	grassy, green ridge
čekwá·u.t	flat topped ridge
temá·u.t	barren country (p. 334)

and -ə́me·ut 'side of body in Th, Sh, and Ka (p. 304).

1.3. -ú<sub>3</sub>. There are a very few cases of Cv -ú<sub>3</sub> 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 grounds 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 C<sub>2</sub> position behave as though their V were [u], and, in forming the stative, metathesize it with C<sub>2</sub> if no other stressed suffix follows. Thus we have

lut t' i-s-qʷə-qʷaw-qʷ-út	I am not wild
ʃt-út-əm	it's not much

Both examples are unconvincing, the first because qʷ is not C<sub>2</sub>, but rather an intruding C<sub>1</sub>, and the second because it is susceptible to the analysis of -VC<sub>2</sub> reduplication, lut > lt-ut. And, furthermore, most roots with rounded C<sub>2</sub> have a regular -t stative: ʔayxʷ-t, c-kíw-t, c-ʔiw-t, kə́k-kílxʷ-t, picxʷ-t. Nonetheless, there are some examples from various languages that the analysis accommodates well. Such are

Ka pəx-pəx-út, pəxʷ-út	old
Sp pəxʷ-pəxʷ-t	he is old (cf. qeʔ əc-pəxʷ-t-wílš-i 'we grew old')
Cv skʷ-ut	half, halved
Om skʷút	half

Other forms require explanations. Thus Ka uwáqəʔut 'untamed, wild' (cognate with Cv qʷə-qʷaw-qʷ-út given above) has unstressed -ut, the [u] of which may simply be the echo of [o] following the glottal stop; and Ka yo·yót 'strong' has no perceptible C<sub>2</sub>, but an underlying /w/ must have coalesced with the rounded vowel (< yow-yow-t).

2. Conclusion. The suffix -ú<sub>3</sub> in Cv derives forms that synchronically are not easily analyzed. However, Cv-internal and comparative study point to the existence of

two historically distinct suffixes, -ú<sub>1</sub> '-able', -ú<sub>2</sub> 'position'; and the possibility of a phonologically conditioned process that assigns a third morph -ú<sub>3</sub> to the stative suffix -t.

#### FOOTNOTES

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<sup>2</sup>The works consulted are listed in the bibliography.

<sup>3</sup>All the Om data for this paper were generously provided by Professor M. Dale Kinkade.

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> All Colville data were taken from A. Mattina's unpublished fourth version of Colville Dictionary.
- <sup>2</sup> Two suffixes: -ilx 'motion', -əlx 'plural'
- <sup>3</sup> The list of cognates is based on Kinkade's 1977 materials.
- <sup>4</sup> Karen Booker discusses general pattern in the use of number-paired roots in her paper entitled "A Cross-Linguistic Study of Number Suppletion in North American Languages". Here she notes the types of words commonly supplected, and some constraints on the occurrence of these pairs.

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Proto-Salish \*ɣ and the Velar Nasal Problem<sup>1</sup>  
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The resonant ɣ,<sup>2</sup> a front velar fricative articulated with little friction, has been added as a 'latecomer' to the overall Salish phoneme inventory on the basis of its recent 'discovery' in Lillooet (Li), Thompson (Th), Shuswap (Sh), and northern dialects of Okanagan (NOK). 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 Haeberlin (1927), Vogt (1940b), 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 ɣ in their studies. Interestingly enough, Boas' comparative Salishan vocabularies (APS manuscript) show forms for at least two words now known to contain ɣ: 'tree' and 'lynx'. He transcribes ɣ as either r or ɣ (= x, i.e. front velar), e.g.

(1) Th, Li sye'p; Sh (s)cyə'p : 'tree' <sup>3</sup>	(2) PIS *smya'w) 'lynx' <sup>4</sup>
Boas 4S., item 265:	Boas MS., item 176:
Li cEra'ap	Li sEmɣa'u
Th cira'p	Th sEMEra'u
Sh tsEra'p	Sh sEMr'a'u
Ok tcire'p	

Kuipers was the first to recognize ɣ as a Salish phoneme, and he also posited it as a Proto-Salish (PS) phoneme in 1970 on the basis of its occurrence in Shuswap. In describing his proposed PS phoneme inventory, he writes:

'ɣ (phonetically related to ɣ in the same way as, e.g. Dutch v to labiodental w) is found in Sh[uswap] only; in the other interior languages it has merged with ɣ.' (Kuipers 1970:48)

In the same year Watkins' (1970) dissertation shows ɣ as a phoneme in a northern dialect of Okanagan (NOK). Shortly thereafter Lillooet was added to the list of languages having ɣ, followed by Thompson. Thompson was at first thought to show a reflex ɣ for PS \*ɣ, with ɣ occurring as a fronted allophone of ɣ in the environment of high vowels and ɣ. After directing special attention towards elicitation of this rare sound, however, contrasts became apparent and ɣ was raised to phonemic status (L.C. Thompson, p.c.). In addition, a number of the Th roots containing ɣ were found to have cognates in other northern Interior languages; e.g. Th yəy (PS \*l > Th y), 'insert' and Sh ləy, 'poke' (additional examples in appendix).

Understanding of ɣ increased as more and better materials became available. Kuipers (1974) suggested Southern Interior cognates for Shuswap forms with ɣ in the comparative Salish data included in his Shuswap dictionary, e.g. Sh ɣal, 'strong', Coeur d'Alene ɣar, 'firm'; Sn (s)cyə'p, 'tree', Colville (SOk) cii'p, 'tree'. Later, Kuipers (1976, 1979) formally outlined the reflexes