logical constructions. In the second analysis, infixation is, in part, a copying rule in which a tense vowel is inserted and assimilates to following back vowels, but reduced to shwa if not stressed. Stress fails to apply if the next vowel undergoes Strong Syllable Stress. The third analysis assumes that Strong Syllable Stress (but not Main Stress) precedes infixation, determining the placement of the infix before or after the first vowel. While both rules seem descriptively adequate in so far as their consequences on the rest of the phonology have been determined here, the second analysis seems preferable, as it does not require the ordering of infixation, a morphological rule, between two stress rules.

FOOTNOTES

1This work was supported in part by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. My thanks go to Ms Ruby Peter of Duncan, B.C. Without her patient help the project would have been altogether impossible.

2I have recorded various stress contours in such forms. Shwa probably receives at least a secondary stress due to the following consonant cluster. However the initial syllable of citation forms has high pitch, which I often misinterpret as stress.

3This may be /c6lo′yk/ at some level, where shwa reduces out, as unstressed [oy?] and [i?] seem to be alternate pronunciations, as in [p′5li?] or [psloyi] "bark".

4I would have predicted /p673ol/, as apparent metathesis usually occurs when a sonorant is followed by a homorganic obstruent in this position: %65 door, path %67 PL

REFERENCES


6. s-#dukʷʷaI+bixʷ

Snoqualmie people

Hess (p. 144) places this form under the root #dukʷʷ, "worthless, bad", noting:

The name may derive from the Coastal peoples' low opinion of these upriver dwellers; or, more likely, the root dukʷ may also connote ferocity. In the latter case, the name would signify 'ferocious people' rather than 'worthless people'.

Ethnographic and linguistic data from Twana however, which has a term identical to the Puget Salish form, suggests that the name of the Snoqualmie people is rather based on the root #dukʷ, "change, transform":

The Snoqualmie were known as living "up the Snohomish River" and as a wealthy tribe who intermarried with peoples east of the Cascade Mountains, but not with the Twana. (Elmendorf, p. 293)

bidukʷdukwukʷ ("miracles were done there")

the Snoqualmie area (Elmendorf)

7. s-duʔ=ay+us

("rotten" + "soft, round objects") fermented salmon eggs

cf Twana asduʔ, "it is rotten"

In Twana, the complex suffix +ayas refers to the eyes but can be extended to include any of the group "soft, round objects".

8. ʃu-ʃaI ("expected" + "shine") sun

cf Twana askʷaI, "sunshine" and Puget Salish/Twana ʃu- "expected".

s-ʃu-ʃaI-b ("expected to be shone on") moon

cf Twana aslaʔ, "ejaculated"

9. s-#a-e-ay ("insert" + "transitive" + "animate") woman

cf Twana aslaʔ, "ejaculated"

10. #kʷ-ic+adI ("ocean" + "side") sunset

cf Twana sqʷoc'atI, "salt water"

11. #aI+ap ("smooth" + "bottom") tongue

cf Twana ʃəʔaqʷ, "smooth", and ʃəʔas, "shine"

12. ʃəqʷ+ap ("sharp" + "tail") weasel

cf Twana ʃəq', "sharp"

13. qayuqʷatX a group in Canada (Hess p. 372)

Originally this term, and the term qayuqʷatX in Twana, were derived from the name of the Kyuquot. It was later extended to all Nootkan people. As times changed, Puget Salish and Twana speakers knew only that this was the name of a Canadian group, "an ocean tribe".

14. #q'apʷ+us ("soft" + "inside") hazelnut

cf Twana asq'ap', "it's soft"

15. #qʷaxʷ

STICK OUT

Ia. #qʷaxʷ+ačI ("stick out" + "finger") fingertip

b. #qʷaxʷ+qs+ačI ("stick out" + "point" + "finger") fingertip

IIa. #qʷaxʷ+sd ("stick out" + "foot") toenail

b. #qʷaxʷ+qs+sd ("stick out" + "point" + "foot") toenail

The suffix +āčI also refers to the hand and the entire lower arm, +qs primarily refers to the nose and is extended to "point" or "tip", and +sd also refers to the leg or any support. The Suquamish, as well as the Twana, use forms labeled (a), while the Snohomish use the (b) forms.

cf Twana qʷaxʷus, "bump on forehead"

cf Twana qʷaxʷqs, "raven" ("nose way out in front")

16. #skʷ+abac ("split" + "body") alder

The root is related through an ablaut process to #sikʷ TEAR and #suksʷ PEEL.

17. suqʷabs Suquamish (Hess p. 450)

Hess provides this as the Northern Puget Salish form. It is related to the Twana name suqʷabs, literally meaning "drifted people": s-#wuqʷabs.

In fast speech this is shortened in Twana to suqʷabs or suqʷabs.

18. #kʷs+ad ("support" + "feet") bridge

In Twana this same term can refer to a bridge, dock or ladder.

cf Twana Xaltx, "cradleboard"
This (very preliminary) chart is an interpretation of lexical processes in Muckleshoot, a southern dialect. In the instance where the object which falls is one of the lexical notions which can be designated by the suffix +al'tw, which includes the English concept BUILDING, the verb FALL is realized as #ciX. All other singular objects use #xwit'. Groups of objects which fall are accompanied by the root #bi?.

Hess (p. 39) provides an example of the use of this root (unmarked however for dialect) which translates as "river banks are washed away".

**SOURCES**


