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 +altxʷ, 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?.

1. Introduction. In polysyllabic Lillooet words one syllable is stressed. The stress is phonemic, cf. m̓q̓aʔ "snow" vs. m̓q̓aʔ "poison onion", X̌əm̓ ʔəm̓ ʔəm̓ "fur" vs. X̌əm̓ ʔəm̓ "axe". Moreover, the stress is mobile, it can move to a later syllable as suffixes and/or enclitics are added. The matrix for the distribution of the stress is therefore the word with enclitics (proclitics are irrelevant here).

In what follows I discuss the rules that govern the movement of the stress. Section 2 discusses rules for separate sets of cases, while in section 3 I present the general stress-rule. Section 4 lists some of the more common exceptions to these rules. Section 5 discusses some special stress-rules concerning enclitics. I will use the term "syllabifier" for any syllable, and for any consonant that with regard to the stress functions as a syllable. The term "full vowel" refers to any vowel other than a ə (hence a ə ə ə u u). The term "weak vowel" stands for a ə.

2. Separate stress-rules. In this section I discuss three types of stress-rules: those that involve full vowels, under the heading "full syllabifiers" (2.1); those that involve weak vowels and certain consonants, or "weak syllabifiers" (2.2); and full vowels that always attract the stress, or "strong syllabifiers" (2.3).
2.1 Full syllabifiers. In words with only full vowels, we have the following shift as suffixes or enclitics are added: the stress moves two vowels at a time from the originally stressed one, as long as it does not fall on the last one. We may have a stress-shift within a root (as in "ùx-almix" "Indian", "ùx-almix"-kan "I am an Indian", "ùx-almix"-ka&ap "you folks are Indians"), or from a root to a suffix, as in the following lists:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2S-3s</th>
<th>2S-1P (imperative)</th>
<th>2S-1P</th>
<th>2P-1P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
súp-c-sí "to scratch (sup-) one's mouth, lips", sup-c-sá-kán "I scratch my lips" (-sá intransitivizer); cúl-un-kán "I point at it", cúl-un-kán "I will point at it". When any of these elements is in the same position where a full syllabifier would receive the stress, it is ignored: cúk'-al-c "to finish (cuk-) eating", cúk'-al-c-kán "I am finished eating", cúk'-al-c-kálap "you folks are finished eating".

We will use the term "weak syllabifier" for weak vowels and for the consonantal elements that behave like weak vowels. The suffixes -s (3s poss.), -s (causativizer), -c (1s object) have no syllabic value; cf. pún-c-kálap "you folks found (pun) me (-c)" vs. pún-c-kálap (p.3). These are the only non-lexical suffixes of the shape C.

2.2.2 Suffix doubles. A number of suffixes that consist of two syllabifiers have two forms depending on whether they are able to attract the stress or not. Here belong, e.g., -fix/lix "body", -sáp/ásp "tree, plant", -úlúx/-úlúx "land, soil". The first member of each pair is the basic form: when the stress, according to the rules discussed so far, should fall on the suffix, the suffix retains this form; when the suffix cannot attract the stress we have the second form. Examples: xáp-ílx "to stand up from sitting position" (xáp- "to be put on one's feet"), tál-ílx "to stand up from sitting position" (tál- "upright"), s-pán-áláp "Indian hemp" (s-pácan "net"), pún-áláp "Rocky Mountain juniper" (pun- unique root); suúx-úlúx* "to get used (suúx*) to the land", pús-lúx* "wet (pus) ground".

3. General stress-rule. We may now state the general rule for the distribution of the stress:

1. The counting base for the distribution of the stress is
(a) the (last) strong syllabifier in a word, or, if there is no strong syllabifier,
(b) the first full syllabifier, or, if there is no full syllabifier,
(c) the first weak syllabifier.

2. From this base the stress moves two syllabifiers at a time, as suffixes or clitics are added, as long as
(a) it does not fall on the last syllabifier in a word, except when the last syllabifier is also the only full syllabifier (here it may move also one syllable),
(b) it does not fall on a weak syllabifier (where it would, the weak syllabifier is ignored).

4. General exceptions. Most exceptions to the stress-rule comprise frequently used and easily recognizable morphemes:
(a) most roots ending in a full vowel followed by a glottalized resonant are weak syllabifiers before a direct transitivizer, but full syllabifiers before other suffixes, e.g. k'úl- "to make", k'úl-úl "to make smt., trans.", k'úl-xl "to make, intr.", k'úl-xl "to make smt. for sb.
(b) the passive-former -am (which is also used in the relations 1P-2S, 1P-3s) is a full syllabifier, so it may attract the stress as in tág-an "to touch", tág-an-am "it is touched, we touch it"
(c) the suffix -tam- (which precedes -alap and -kaalap "you folks" in forms where these suffixes refer to the logical object) is a weak syllabifier, so it is ignored when it should attract the stress, e.g. cuł-un-tam-kaalap "you folks are pointed at, we point at you folks" (instead of expected "cuł-un-tam-kaalap"); in the same way it is ignored when it should be the starting-point for the next placement of the stress, e.g. cuł-un-tam-alap-as "he (-as) points at you folks" (instead of "cuł-un-tam-alap-as") - cf. these cases with pun-tam-kaalap "we find you folks" and pun-tam-alap-as "he finds you folks" where the stress is regular.

5. Enclitics. Enclitics stand apart from other syllabifiers for the following reasons:

(a) they are, as a rule, full syllabifiers regardless of their shape, so even enclitics like _ku subpo (quotative), _tu subpo (past tense marker), and _ka may attract the stress (_ka changing to _ka in that case), as in ka_xim-a "it disappeared", ka_xim-a _ku subpo "it disappeared, I heard" (ka..._a "suddenly, after an effort, out of control"); qil-min-cih-as "he (-as) is angry (qil) at (-min) you (-cih)", qil-min-cih-as_kalu "he might get angry at you"

(b) single clitics do not attract the stress after words with only weak syllables: qil-ti subpo "that is bad", ti_seps_a "the door (seps)", ka_qub a "it got scorched". Note that in this respect they are different from other full syllabifiers (cf. qil-kaal, 2.2, p. 3);

(c) all roots, even those with weak vowels only, are full syllabifiers when imbedded in the combination ka..._a (see (a)), cf. ka_qub a "I got burned by accident" vs. qub-p-kan id. (-p formative, the second form suggests a lesser degree of incendence than the first one). When a root in a ka..._a construction is followed by more suffixes the stress moves from the root according to the usual pattern, e.g. ka_qub-tuxa-as_a "he scorched me by accident" vs. qub-p-a-tuxa-as "he scorched me" (either by accident or on purpose) - the difference -tux/tux regularly accompanies the difference in stress-patterns.

Notes

1. note that "full syllabifier" includes most syllables with a full vowel, but not -tam-, while it does include -a as (see section 4).

2. words consisting of more than two weak syllables are very rare and therefore not suitable for generalizations; one case in point is _ku subpo _kaal "lodge for pubescent girl"; note also the onomatopoeia _ta-ta-ta "sound of sunflower root being pounded".

3. I ignore here those (quite infrequent) roots with both full and weak vowels, and with the stress on a weak vowel, e.g. _ku subst "fire flickering" (reduplication of _ku "to burn"), _kaal "three animals" (reduplication of _kaal "three").

4. not all words with a full vowel followed by _a are weak, e.g. _a "to be (busy with, involved in)", _a _a "I am"; note also _a _a "poison onion".

5. un韆ressed a is dropped before a stem-final consonant when this consonant is followed by a vowel, hence _a - _a _a _a note that both a and x function as syllables.

6. a direct transitivizer is used in forms that require a direct object (there are also indirect and benefactive transitivizers).

7. the causativizer -s (which is present in the underlying form) is dropped between _a and t.