NOOKSACK PRONOUNS, TRANSITIVITY, AND CONTROL
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0. Introduction1. The Nooksack language, called /ḵəmsəm/ by its speakers, is a Salishan language of the Central Coast branch. The Nooksack people call themselves /noxʷsumʔ/. Both names derive from place names, the former from the village of /šəmsə/, within what is now Lynden, Washington, and the latter from /noxʷsumʔ/, the name for Anderson Creek, especially the area at its mouth ("always + 'bracken fern root').

The Nooksack language was spoken along the Nooksack River and its tributaries, throughout almost all of western Whatcom County, Washington. In historic times it was spoken also in British Columbia, in the areas of Aldergrove and Peardonville, and in bilingual villages southwest of old Sumas Lake and at Cultus Lake (see Galloway and Richardson 1983). The inhabitants of /məqən/, a Nooksack village near Aldergrove, B.C., in 1880 gave up their U.S. affiliation in exchange for keeping their territory, which became Canadian, Matsqui Indian Reserve #4.

The Nooksack language was bounded on the north by dialects of Halkomelem: Chilliwack, Sumas, Matsqui, Kwantlen, and Snokomish (see figure 1). On the west it was bounded by dialects of Straits: Semiahmoo and Lummi, and by Skalakhan, whose affiliation is uncertain. On the south Nooksack was bounded by Lushootseed dialects: Nwhaha and Skagit. And on the east it was bounded by mountains occasionally used by speakers of Thompson. All these languages, except Thompson, are Central Salish. Thompson is in the Interior Salish branch.2

For at least 200 years Nooksack has been heavily influenced by the upriver dialects of Halkomelem, especially Chilliwack. This happened largely as a result of exogamy, with Nooksack men frequently marrying Halkomelem-speaking women, usually from the Chilliwack area (Thompson 1976:392-393). Halkomelem was (and to some extent still is) maintained, and over the last hundred years (or more) it has become the predominant Indian language of the Nooksack tribe. A number of Nooksack people also intermarried with Lushootseed speakers over the years, and some Lushootseed has also been maintained, though much less. Fluent Nooksack was maintained into the twentieth century only in a few families.

Linguistic records on Nooksack begin with some comparative vocabularies and some place names gathered by George Gibbs (n.d. #1 [1859], n.d. #2 [ca 1860], n.d. #3 [1857-1861], 1887), James Tait (appearing in Haeberlin 1918, Boas and Haeberlin 1927, Boas et al. n.d. [ca 1925]), and Haeberlin (1927). Only the work of 1887, 1918, 1927, and 1974 has been published. The first comprehensive linguistic work on Nooksack that survives is that of Paul Petzer (Petzer 1950-1951), texts and about 7500 file slips, unpublished. Petzer also took ethnographic notes and wrote two term papers (1951a. n.d. [1951b]), but he died suddenly of cancer in 1952. He worked with a number of people, but all of his linguistic files seem to come from his work with George Swanaset.

In 1942 Pamela Amoss began work with George Swanaset (GS) and Sindick Jimmy (SJ), the last two fluent speakers. She produced the first linguistic analysis of Nooksack as her master's thesis, Nooksack Phonemics (1961). She also made some of the first tape recordings of Nooksack (1955-1956, 1969-1970). In 1961 Jimmy Harris taped a word list with Sindick Jimmy.
Subsequently Laurence Thompson did linguistic field-work with a partial speaker of Nooksack, Mrs. Louise George (Thompson 1967, 1969-1970), and Barbara Efrat did fieldwork with Sindick Jimmy (Efrat 1970-1972, 1974). That last informant died before tapes were available; therefore Sindick died in 1977. Margaret Kelley has also made some tapes with him in Nooksack.

My work with Nooksack elders began in 1974 but at their request was primarily on Halkomelem. I did gather sporadic words and sentences of Nooksack and some of the last two partial speakers, Mrs. Pamela Amoss, LT and Mrs. Esther Fidele, (Efrat 1974-1981). This includes some tapes made with anthropologist Allan Richardson of Nooksack place names and their etymologies (Richardson and Galloway 1979-1980).

Thanks to Wayne Suttles, Pamela Amoss, Laurence Thompson, Barbara Efrat, and Donna Gerds, copies of the above tapes and field notes (besides mine and Margaret Kelley’s) have been made available to me. Thanks to a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (#410-82-0913) I worked on these materials full-time 1983-1984.


Some examples follow of the method of interpreting field notes of earlier workers, standardizing orthographies, and comparing these with the linguist’s field notes, when available; second, to analyze the patterns found in the field materials and rules of each of the last speakers and semi-speakers; third, to include what all speakers share as Nooksack of that era; fourth, to compare the analysis and data with those of Upriver Halkomelem, as well as with that of other Central Salish languages, to distinguish influences and borrowings from things which are original Nooksack. This method was used in Galloway (1983, 1984, 1984b, 1983b) in discovering the phonemic rules and processes and some morphophonemic processes of Nooksack; Galloway and Richardson (1983) and Galloway (1985c) used a similar method to sort out the forms and meanings in the semantic domain of place names. In Galloway 1989a and here it is applied to morphology and syntax.

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Xaw's language, but these citations also vary: [mɪ - m] and [sq̂6? - sq̂6]. To be conservative in presuming errors, it seems best to leave /mɪ sq̂6/ here. Other citations will show /mɪl/ and /sq̂6/. and if loss of /y/ or loss of labialization here is Halkomelem influence (cf. UHK /mɪ/ 'come (to), coming (to) and /sq̂6/ 'be with, (be) together'), that will become apparent. On the morphemic level we can list (sq̂6?) and (mɪl). 'Speak to John' I. This sentence can be shown to be correctly transcribed. It is phonemicizable as /nŝn̂tx îl ŝn̂w/ with stress on -/-/ probably due to GS's citation stress since other citations show -/-' 'strong imperative, second person singular' is usually unstressed. Other evidence points to the possibility that we might have /sq̂6/ here since there is some neutralization of labialization before /o/ in Nooksack. Also phonetic transcriptions and even phrases often show sentence stress patterns reducing /y/ to /y/ or /j/ (Galloway 1983a), and few words in Nooksack are normally without phonemic stress. However, more comparison of citations remains to be done to be sure enough to add stress or subtract labialization here.

BE:SL [mɪl ŝn̂x n̂x ŵi l y ŝn̂x û m̂x̂p]. I wish I could go with you folks.' This can be phonemicized /mɪl ŝn̂x n̂x ŵi l y ŝn̂x û m̂x̂p/. BE's phonetic transcriptions properly show sentence stress reductions, but these are predictable, and comparison with citation forms, etc., allows restoration of phonemic stresses.

BE:SL has [yoŵn̂? n̂ŵîtx k̂a'ŷ? ĉŷêt ŝt̂a ŝn̂x̂ŵ-ŵîl]. This can be phonemicized /yoŵn̂? n̂ŵîtx k̂a'ŷ? ĉŷêt ŝt̂a ŝn̂x̂ŵ-ŵîl/. Two words. (/mɪl? 'come (to)' and /yoŵn̂?/) 'continuative; keep on' can lose their initial /y/ in rapid speech, the only vowel-initial words attested. They merge phonologically with consonant-final, preceding words. Since this is morphologically as well as phonologically-conditioned, it is a morphophonemic rule. From here on, unless preceded by initials PA or LT, forms within slashes are the author's phoneticization. Only Amos (1961) and Thompson (1967, 193-50) have given any phonetic citations.

I. Nooksack phonemes, synchronically and diachronically. The Nooksack phonemes are: /s/, /x/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /w/, /y/, /a/, /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/, /c/, /t/, /d/, /k/ is found in borrowings from Chinook Jargon, English, and perhaps Russian. It is phonemic in some words which may be indigenous to Nooksack. /θ/ and /θ/ in the speech of GS and sometimes EF (not in that of SJ and LG) replace /c/ and /s/ through UHK influence. GS, also by Halkomelem influence, sometimes has /θ/ - /c/ and /θ/ - /s/ where other speakers have /c/ and /s/ respectively. /θ/ and /θ/ stand for alveolar affricates, [θ] and [θ], in all the Central Salish languages except Hk; /c/ and /s/ there represent [θ] and [θ]. /x/ in the speech of GS replaces /θ/ in many words (lexically determined), again through UHK influence. /æ/ appears in loans or words influenced by UHK or LD. Nooksack unstressed /æ/ and /æ/ usually correspond to UHK unstressed /æ/ and /æ/ respectively. /æ/ and /æ/ stand for alveolar affricates, [θ] and [θ], in all the Central Salish languages except Hk; /c/ and /s/ there represent [θ] and [θ]. /x/ in the speech of GS replaces /θ/ in many words (lexically determined), again through UHK influence. /æ/ appears in loans or words influenced by UHK or LD. Nooksack unstressed /æ/ and /æ/ usually correspond to UHK unstressed /æ/ and /æ/, and they become Nooksack /æ/ in some cases, through UHK influence. Conversely /æ/ sometimes replaces /θ/ at slower, careful speeds in Nooksack. Nooksack vowel allophones include /i/ [i, ɪ, ə], /j/ [ɛ, ə], /u/ [u, ʊ, o, ə] 

### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-identical Consonant Correspondences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PCS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relevant Vowel Correspondences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PCS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Phoneme Correspondences

Historically the correspondences in tables 1 and 2 are relevant in comparing PCS, NK, UHK, DHK, HX, and LD. Those consonant correspondences not shown in table 1 are one-for-one in the sister languages in the table. This includes reflexes of PCS *p, *t, *s, *w, *q, *q', *k', *a, *x, *y, *h, and *l. *l has complex correspondences of position, presence, absence, and /-/- (length) in the daughter languages, depending upon environment (see Galloway 1983a).
2. The Nooksack personal pronoun system. The Nooksack personal pronoun system is a fairly complex system, but it is the key to and the core of Nooksack grammatical inflection. There are three subject sets, four possessive sets, three non-possessive independent sets, and two object sets which require use of one of six or seven transitivizers preceding them. The subject sets are for the subject of an independent clause, subject of a subjunctive clause, or subject of a (nonsubjunctive) subordinate clause. These sets are shown in table 3. Number is abbreviated by a (singular) or 2-3 (plural) after persons 1, 2, 3. I will not discuss the indefinite and demonstrative pronoun systems in this paper.

As in other Salishan languages, Nooksack has a category of nominals which work somewhat like that of nouns in other languages but which largely consists of verb roots overtly nominalized with (s-) nominalizer. One set of possessive pronouns modifies nominals. This set is also shown in table 3 because it is formally related to the subject pronouns and because it is at the base of the inflections for subjects of subordinate clauses.

There are six independent personal pronoun sets. They are shown in table 4. By independent I mean that they are not affixes; they occur in positions where nominals or verbs occur and are used as such. Three have a possessive force ('it is mine', etc.) and three do not ('it is me', etc.). The possessive sets include one set used as verbs ('it is mine; it belongs to me'), and two sets used as nominals (subjects or objects) ('mine [in sight]', 'mine [not in sight]', etc.). The non-possessive sets include one, set used as verbs ('it is me', etc.), one set used as nominal subjects or objects ('I', 'me', etc.), and one set used as nominal objects of a preposition (as in 'with me, be with me' or 'toward me', etc.). Morphologically all six sets can be derived from the non-possessive verbal set. Except for the ip and 3s/p forms in the possessive sets (they derive from distinct roots in the possessive verbal set). The possessive sets derive from the non-possessive sets by prefixing (wel-). The nominal sets derive from the verbal sets by prefixing demonstrative pronominals. When used with the verbal affixes for subject or object pronouns, the independent sets add emphasis. They are also used periphrastically sometimes to replace object suffixes; this use may have been accelerated by language loss and the influence of English. The verbal sets are to foreground the pronouns.

Personal pronoun object affixes are shown in table 5. There are two sets in 1s and 2s and one set elsewhere. The two sets differ in use only with different transitivizers. Each object suffix must be preceded by a transitivizing suffix. Table 6 shows the object affixes combined with each of the transitivizers. In some cases transitivizer and pronoun have phonologically combined ('t-s > /o/ for example).

So far six or possibly seven Nooksack transitivizers have been found. They do more than just transitivize however; each expresses a different degree of control the subject has over the action or the object. Such systems have been found in most, if not all, Salishan languages. Laurence and Terry Thompson were the first to describe them in terms of control, limited control, and non-control and have pioneered in discovering additional levels of subtlety in their semantic interaction and inflectional use (Thompson and Thompson 1971, 1974, 1980, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, Thompson 1978, 1979a, 1979b, Carlson and Thompson 1981). Other discussions of control in Salishan languages include those for Spokane (Carlson 1972), Colville-Okanagan (Mattina 1973), Sechelt (Beaumont 1977, 1985), Sliammon (Mainland Comox) (Davis 1978, Watanabe 1995, 1997), Upriver Halq'emeylem (Galloway 1978), and Bella Coola (Sanders and Davis 1978, 1980, 1982, Davis and Saunders 1979, Nater 1984:59-72). Discussions of the transitivizers include those for Squamish (Kuipers 1967b), Shuswap (Kuipers 1974). Island Halq'emeylem (Hukari 1976), Colville-Okanagan (Mattina 1978) Spokane (Carlson 1980), Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1981b), Columbia (Kinkade 1980, 1981a, 1982), Proto-Interior Salish (Kinkade and Mattina 1981), Interior Salish (Shapard 1980), and those in the available grammars of Salishan languages. Discussions of Salishan pronoun systems can be found in many of the preceding works but particularly include those by Stanley Newman (1963, 1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1980) and James Hoard (1971).

2.1. Subjects of independent clauses. The first set shown in table 3 features several alternative suffixes. In this set and in others in tables 3 through 5 the alternates with unstressed /l/, /a/, or /o/ are most likely the uninfluenced Nooksack forms. Where both unstressed /l/, /a/, or /o/ forms and /a/-forms alternate, the /a/-forms are probably influenced by UnK (Halkomelemized). Native free variation in Nooksack however cannot be entirely ruled out here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 1. Subject of Independent Clause</th>
<th>Set 2. Subject of Subjunctive Clause</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aux- MV or MV_ -kwom? =future neg., if/when V_</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s -em, -en, -m = -en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s -emw, -ewn, -emw -enw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/-0 (Vl), -as (Vl) -en, -as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p -em -al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p -enl, -enlp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p -enlp, -enlp, -al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 3. Subject of Subordinate Clause</th>
<th>Set 4. Possessive Affixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-N N_ -N, #N N_</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s -n, -m, -ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s -en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p -s -s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p -al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p -nlp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# = sentence initial
The alternate */-cm/* for */-cm/* is unexpected but is fairly frequent. SJ prefers */-cm/* and GS prefers */-cm/* with 1 singular possessive pronouns. One minimal pair is given below (example 1) which shows more emphasis or focus on the pronoun than does */-cm/*: This is not indicated more emphasis because it was pronounced more fully with the */-m/*.

Further reductions occur before */-s*om/* /future tense/. The reduction to */-Cm/* occurs at fast tempos whether before */-s*om/* or not.

Compared to the subject suffixed for independent clauses occurring with the first word in the clause, usually an auxiliary preceding the main verb or the main verb itself (abbreviated MV in table 3). In the third person, zero is used with intransitive verbs (VI), and */-as/* is used after the object suffix with transitive verbs (VT).

Comparing set 1 with sets 2, 3, and 4 in table 3, it is clear that */-c/* in set 1 is an independent clause marker, though this distinction is neutralized in IP in sets 3 and 4, and there is no */-c/* in third person in set 1. Newman (1979a) shows that the Proto-Salish ancestor of */-c/* was */*-k/* which then marked intransitive subject pronouns. With all pronoun sets in tables 3 and 5 note that third person forms do not distinguish singular from plural, nor do they distinguish sex gender. One use of the sets in table 4 is to express these components. Sex gender is also expressed by demonstrative articles or demonstrative pronouns. Plural is also expressed by forms of reduplication or infinising on nominals and/or verbs.

2.1.2. Subjects of subordinate clauses. A different set of subject pronouns, set 2 in table 3, is required in subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses in Nooksack cover semantic areas of negative, hypothetical, and conditional expressions. Some constructions have been found: a) those beginning with negative verbs */-ow/* to 'be not, not to be' or */-x-low/* 'not yet, not yet' plus pronoun suffix from set 1 (or plus */-as/* 2s strong imperative) or */-als/* 2p strong imperative) followed by the main verb (or its auxiliary) and noun phrase from set 2 (sentences 4 and 5 below); b) those beginning with */-s/* 'if, when (conditional)' followed by the main verb (or its auxiliary) and the noun phrase from set 2 (sentences 6 and 7 below): c) those beginning as a regular or subordinate verb phrase with verb or auxiliary and noun phrase as the auxiliary and noun phrase set 2 (sentence 8).

Comparing set 2 with sets 1 and */-c/* set 2 is an independent clause marker, though this distinction is neutralized in IP in sets 3 and 4, and there is no */-c/* in third person in set 1. Newman (1979a) shows that the Proto-Salish ancestor of */-c/* was */*-k/* which then marked intransitive subject pronouns. With all pronoun sets in tables 3 and 5 note that third person forms do not distinguish singular from plural, nor do they distinguish sex gender. One use of the sets in table 4 is to express these components. Sex gender is also expressed by demonstrative articles or demonstrative pronouns. Plural is also expressed by forms of reduplication or infinising on nominals and/or verbs.

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2.3. Possessive affixes. When possessed by 1s or 2s pronouns, Nooksack nominalizations are preceded by the 1s or 2s possessive pronoun affixes. When possessed by 3s/p, 1p, or 2p pronouns, nominals are followed by the possessive pronoun affixes. These affixes are shown in set 4 of table 3. The 1s and 2s affixes have several alternates. In most constructions nominalizers are preceded by a demonstrative article: adjectives intervene if present. In some constructions the 1s or 2s possessive pronoun is added by suffixing it to the word preceding the nominal (whether article or adjective). In some other constructions, such as vocatives ('My son, come here'), existential cases ('This is my son.' or 'This is not my son.'), and nominal-style verbs such as */-X-If/* 'want' and */-x-Æ-1wan/* 'thought, think' (typically 'It is my want that you go...'), the nominal is not preceded by an article; in these constructions */-hw/*, */-hw/*, */-hw/*, or */-hw/* are prefixed to the nominal directly. The reduced versions, */-h/*, */-hw/*, and */-h/* or */-h/*, could be due to faster tempos or Halkomelemizing or both.

GS leaned more toward the unreduced forms, and SJ and LG seemed to prefer the reduced forms. GS also spoke much slower in citation forms than SJ and LG. Newman (1979a) also comments on the instability of the */-n/* in the 2s Proto-Salish */-an- reflexes (as in Se, Sq, Hk, Tw, UC, Ti, Th and Eh, where the */-n/* reflex is lost; in other Salishan languages the */-n/* reflex is kept). And Newman (1979a) also comments on the instability of the subjunctive in the Salish nominal prefixes (as in Nooksack */-na/* attached to the word before the nominal vs. */-na/* or */-na/* prefixed to the nominal); Newman notes the Hk and UC parallel examples.

(8) PA:GS */-x-n-Æ-1wan/* 'my mat' (/ta/ 'demonstrative article, present, in sight, or location unspecified')
(9) PA:GS */-n-Æ-1wan/* 'your plan'
(10) PA:GS */-n-Æ-1wan/* 'your mat'
(11) PA:SG */-x-Æ-1wan/* 'the dog's mouth' (/the mouth

2.4. Subjects of subordinate (non-subjective) clauses. Subordinate non-subjective clauses are formed by nominalizing the whole verb phrase and "possessing" it with pronouns to show the subject. The nominalization is done by adding the demonstrative article */-Æ-1wan/* and the */-s/* nominizer which is subject of the phrase. Instead of subject from pronoun set 1, pronouns from set 3 are used which are nearly identical with the possessive pronoun affixes. As with possessives, set 3 pronouns are suffixed to the first word after the article in plural and third person. Phonologically the */-s/* nominizer is suffixed to the article word however; this may help show that it nominalizes the whole verb phrase and not just the first word. It also corresponds with situations where a nominal unit has been formed by */-s/* and lexicalized, as in Nooksack */-ta/* 'your song' vs. */-Æ-1wan/* 'that you sing'.

Other ways in which subordinate clauses differ from possessives include lack of */-n/* and */-n/* in 2s set 3, lack of */-s/*, */-s/*, and */-s/* alternates in set 3, and lack of */-s/* in 2p set 3. As in Hk, the third person suffix can also function as the nominal an alternate construction (Nooksack */-Æ-1wan/* + nominal */-Æ-1wan/* + */-s/* or */-s/*).


6 pronouns are derived from set 5 by prefixing demonstrative articles (tma) or (cm). As an article, (tma) is normally preposed to nominals, rather than prefixed; it can be glossed as 'the (proximity and visible, male). the (proximity, visibility, and/or sex unspecified)' the (female)'. No preposed article is used before set 6 pronouns; it is clear that set 6 forms have the articles as prefixes because inflections normally suffixed to articles are only added to the ends of these pronouns. Additional evidence of the articles being prefixed here is that they remain in vocatives where unaffixed articles are always dropped (example 36). The third person forms also require a (cm-) prefix between (tma-) and (K). This (cm-) may appear also in the Nooksack conjunction...
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/Ke-s/-?a-s-ma/ 'then', prefixed to some temporal adverbs as in /ma-y6c/-
y6c/; /ta/- prefix and between adverbs and adjectives (suffixed to the adverb
or prefixed/preposed to the following adjective) (as in examples 37-39). Nooksack (ma-)
seems to be a complementizer to introduce and precede
pronominal, adverbial or adjectival verbs; it seems to have a syntactic
function rather than semantics. It appears in one example also before
(1wal6p) set possessive emphatic independent pronoun. In set 6, p3un
(?a1lit) does not require the article prefix nor the (ma-) prefix.
(27) PA:GS /?il k?6?w-at-w?6man-ma ?a1lit/ 'They (that bunch) let us
go.'
(28) PA:GS /ma-s-ki taw?w/ 'I like you.'
(29) LT:LG /?i1-5am x?l-at taw?w/ 'I beat him up. I hurt him.' and
/ta/- prefix x?l-at taw?w/ 'I beat you folks up.'
(30) LT:LG /?i1-5am x?l-at taw?w/ 'We beat her up.'
(31) PA:GS /taw?w/ txW-setl ap nor-yi8-y6-?a1n1 'You gossipers!'
(32) PA:GS /taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma 'She gave it to me.'
(33) PA:GS /taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma 'Yourself',
/taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma 'Myself',
/taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma 'Himself',
/taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma 'Herself',
/taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma 'Ourselves',
/taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma 'Yourselves'.
(34) BG:LS /taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma ?a8/ 'I'm really bad.'
(35) BG:LS /te s-m9-s taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma ?a8/ 'The(name(s) of)those NorthWind
people' (the) (nom.-name-their) (them, those) (north wind)
(36) BG:LS /taw?w/ txW-setl ap x?l-at-w?6man-ma ?a8/ 'Your (vocative), my burned one'
(37) PA:GS /ma-em Cex?/ ma-s-k5?6am/ 'you are so [really] pot-gutted'
(38) BG:LS /ma-em Cex?/ ma-s-k5?6am/ 'It's a real bad.'
(39) BG:LS /ma-em Cex?/ ma-s-k5?6am/ 'You're really strong.'

2. Independent pronouns, objects of prepositions. Set 7 pronouns
function only as objects of prepositions. There are some examples of set 6
pronouns also as objects of prepositions, but they seem to be the exception
rather than the rule (sporadic forgetting of set 7 due to language death
and the like). In Nooksack, prepositions, like adverbs and
adjectives, are verbs. For example, the following prepositional verbs are
so far attested with set 7 pronouns: (29) 'he be with', be along
(tw-ta?w) 'be towards; for; than', (tw-ta?w) 'be at,
'on', (tw-em?) 'be coming towards'.
Set 7 pronouns are formed by prefixing (Ke-) /Ke - Ke - K/ to set 5:
2m, 3l, and 3ku forms, however, take articles (ta) and (ca) instead so that
gender can still be specified in third person. The (Ke-) prefix probably
derives from (Ke) /Ke - Ke', an article used before proper names of people,
myth characters, and places, somewhat like (K) in Halkomelem (Galloway
197a and 197b; de Groot 1981:32) and (K) in Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:136).
Proper names, like all nominals, in Nooksack must be preceded by an
article, unless used vocatively. Nooksack (Ke) precedes these nominals in
two constructions: 1) after prepositions (where the nominal phrase is the
object/patient of the preposition and 2) after verbs in the passive (where
the nominal phrase is the agent of the verb). (Ke) (as in Squamish) is not
attested with direct objects of transitive verbs, but it is attested with
objects not coreferenced with suffixes, sort of indirect objects (examples
40-42):
(40) PF:GS /ma Mathilda ?a1l ?f7an?as te st?6a K Sammy/ 'Matilda hid the
toy from Sammy.'
(41) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-1a K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell the story of Beaver:' (tell a
story-2s strong imperative(article) (Beaver-proper name)
(42) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(43) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(44) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(45) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(46) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(47) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(48) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(49) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(50) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(51) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
(52) PA:GS /?a1l y6m-ni-?a1l K qalaw-w-iy6/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver:'
2.8. Emphatic possessive independent pronouns, verbal. Set 8 pronouns are used verbally like set 5 pronouns but with an emphatic possessive meaning, 'belongs to X, is X's'. As in set 5, gender is unspecified; number is unspecified in third person as well. Set 8 is constructed by prefixing (-wel-) to set 5, or in third person, to /ta/(a)/. The derivation and history of /ta/(a)/ is so far unclear. In second person, (-wel-) is prefixed instead of (-wel-). A new, suppletive form /sliy611/ is used in 1p; both it and the 2p form may contain an element common to (-wel-), namely (-1). The 2s and 2p forms with (-1) in sets 8, 9, and 10 show that (-wel-) is really (-wel-). The origin of the prefix is unclear.

Hk, St, and BC also have /-1/ in '2p set 5 cognates, which Newman (1977:310) derives as a remnant of a pluralizer (NSH /-1/ - 'group of people'. SSN /-1/ - 'collective plural', and cognates in Ka, Ti, Sld, and probably CA and Sg). The Nooksack (wa-1), however, is used in the singular as well as the plural.

2.9. Emphatic possessive independent pronouns, nominal. Set 9 in table 4 is also possessive and emphatic, 'X's own', and is used directly before nominals. Since it modifies nominals it is perhaps more adjectival than nominal in function. It is more nominal in form. Because set 9 is constructed by adding the article as prefox to set 8 it does not require another article in the resulting nominal phrase. The articles prefixed are /ta/- (present, visible, male [in 1s or 3p]; present, visible, gender unspecified [elsewhere]) and /cm;/ (present, visible, female).

With 1s, 3s, and 3p (ta-we-1) --> /ta/- --> /tol-/. Uncollapsed forms with /ta-/ are also found in 3s, parallel to the 3s form.
their mutual exclusivity with the object affixes, and their position in the same syntactic slot as the object affixes. Reflexive (-sot) only occurs with the accidental/limited control transitivizer. (-nox*); reflexive (-sot) occurs with the other transitivizers.

### Table 5
**Nooksack Object Pronoun Affixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 11</th>
<th>Set 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-m1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-m1(?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/p</td>
<td>-g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-w1lan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-(c)mol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td>-not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reciprocal</td>
<td>-(t)-$1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(88) PA:JS /111-0m k*sw-0-t-am ?fye/ 'He let me go (I was let go by that one (male)).'
(89) PA:JS /111-a-0m x k*sw-0-t-am/ 'Did he let you go (Were you let go)?'
(90) BG:LG /?i1-0m w-e-n-s-t-am/ 'We're invited.'
(91) PA:GS /?i1-0m x w-e-n-s-t-am/ 'That guy doesn't trust you (You are not trusted/are felt afraid of by that one (male)).'
(92) PA:GS /?i1 ?m-s-f?im-y? n-t-am-0m-x/ 'You're not trusted.'
(93) PA:GS /?i1 ?m-s-f?im-y? n-t-am-0m-x/ 'I'm not trusted.'

As in other Central Salish languages (like HK), Nooksack has a prohibition against using second person object suffixes with third person subject affixes. All such cases are replaced by second person subject suffixes (showing the patient) plus passive (showing third person agent). These constructions are usually translated in the active as in most of the examples above.

The two object sets do not differ in meaning in Nooksack, only in what they co-occur with. Newman (1973b) reconstructs the two sets for Proto-Salish and calls them the causative object paradigm and the neutral object paradigm. In Nooksack, set 11 occurs with both the causative control transitivizer (tx*) and the accidental/limited control transitivizer (-nox*). Further examples are given in the following section.

### 3. The Nooksack control system

Table 6 shows the control transitivizers in combination with the pronoun object suffixes (sets 11 and 12) and with reflexive, reciprocal, and passive suffixes. Each set in table 6 is labelled by its characteristic third person form: /-nox*/ 'happen to, accidentally, manage to do to s-o/s-t (limited control transitivizer) (s-o + someone, s-t + something, these are used to show third person object, (-s) in form) /-tx*/ 'causes s-o/s-t to do, make s-o/s-t do (causative control transitivizer) /-(V)n/ (purposive do to s-o/s-t (full or purposive control transitivizer)) /-d1-t/- do purposely for s-o/s-t (benefactive), do purposely on s-o/s-t (malefactive) (includes purposive control transitivizer -t) /-nit/- do indirectly affecting s-o/s-t (indicative control transitivizer) /-(V)n/ (complete the action) (pursuasive completive control transitivizer) /-ns/- (happen to) do to s-o/s-t (probably another limited control transitivizer) /-ek*/ (do purposely to s-t, inanimate object preferred).'
TABLE 6
Nooksack Control Transitivizers + Object Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 13, with -nox'</th>
<th>Set 14, with -tx'</th>
<th>Set 15 with -(V)</th>
<th>Set 16, with -tl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to, manage to, accidentally</td>
<td>'causative'</td>
<td>'purposely'</td>
<td>'malefactive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-nömì</td>
<td>-tömì</td>
<td>-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-nömì</td>
<td>-tömì</td>
<td>-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-nox'</td>
<td>-tx'</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/p</td>
<td>-nöwél̓ən</td>
<td>-twöwél̓ən</td>
<td>-töömól</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-cot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refl.</td>
<td>-ntowél̓</td>
<td>-ntowél̓</td>
<td>-tém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass.</td>
<td>-nóm</td>
<td>-töm</td>
<td>-em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 17, with -nit</td>
<td>Set 18, with -(V)n</td>
<td>Set 19, with -ns</td>
<td>Set 20, with -(s)x', -(a)x'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'indirectly affecting'</td>
<td>'purposely (complete)' (happen to)</td>
<td>'do purposively' to (inanimate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-nic</td>
<td>-nc</td>
<td>-ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-nicf</td>
<td>-ncf</td>
<td>-ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/p</td>
<td>-nitön̓</td>
<td>-ntöön̓</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ntöömól</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refl.</td>
<td>-nicot</td>
<td>-nticot</td>
<td>-ntowél̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass.</td>
<td>-ntiñ̓</td>
<td>-ntiñ̓</td>
<td>-nem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*By internal reconstruction*

Many of the control suffixes have coalesced with or phonologically adjusted to the object suffixes. /-t/- allophonic to /c/ in sets 15 through 18: this goes back to Proto-Salish (Newman 1979b) but is still transparent in Nooksack. The 'accidental, manage to' control suffix (-nox') has the shape /-nó/ with 1s, 2s, 2p object, and reflexive and passive suffixes, and /-nox'/ with 3s/p (-o), and /-nox/ with reciprocal and probably 1p object suffixes. Similarly the 'causative' control suffix (-tx'), having lost its initial /s/ (like Lushootseed) which characterizes it in nearly all the other Salishan languages, has allomorphs /-t/ with 1s and 2p object and passive suffixes, /-t/ with 2s object and reciprocal suffixes, /-tx'/ with 3s/p object (-o), and /-t/ with 1p object and reflexive suffixes. The (V) in sets 15 and 18 is a vowel present with some verb roots and identical with the last stressed vowel of the root. Set 16 (-rlt') 'purposely benefactive/malefactive' can clearly be separated historically as two suffixes, the second being cognate with /-tl/ in set 15. But the first suffix, /rl/, does not occur without the second, /-tl/. There are no 'accidental benefactive' or 'causative benefactive' attested as there are in Lushootseed. So it may be that (-rlt) now functions as a unit control suffix. Cognates of (-rl) are not usually described as control suffixes in the other Central Salish languages, neither are Upriver Halkomelem (-ału) 'benefactive, malefactive' and its cognates in other Central Salish languages. But table 6 is a convenient place to show how the benefactive/malefactive combines with control /-(V)t/, and /-rl/ certainly modifies the interaction between subject and object, as does /-nl/ in set 17 (if segmentable).

Set 19 is a fragmentary set which survives in Nooksack, Halkomelem, and other Central Salish languages and may reflect the *-s in the early origin of the /c/-/t/-alternations in sets 15 through 18.

Derivationally and semantically there are some interesting possible connections between Nooksack control suffixes. Compare the /-nl/ in sets 13, 17, 18, and 19. (-nox') in set 13 is lack of control or partial control; 'happen to, accidentally; manage to'. Set 19 (-ns) seems to show the 'happen to' partial control. Set 17 (-nt) 'indirectly affecting object' also shows this partial control or lack of control but over the object. Set 18 (-t(V)l(l)) 'purposely (completive)' has a strong purposeful control element, but a /-tl/ is present in all but 3s/p and passive, which could supply the purposeful element. That would leave the '(completive)' implication which could be a trace of the 'manage to' element in set 13. Set 13 is often used with verbs to show 'persistent action + partial control/lack of control + successful completion', i.e., 'manage to'. Similarly compare the /-t/ in sets 14, 15, 16, and 17. /-t/ in set 15 reflects full control, or more accurately, 'do purposely (with full control)'. Set 14 'causative' is also purposeful action, as are set 16 'purposely benefactive/malefactive' and set 18 'purposely (completive)'. The /t/ in set 17 (-nt), on the other hand, seems unrelated; set 17 has no purposeful element present consistently.

Table 7 shows some of the minimal contrasts of control attested so far. The control meanings can be isolated by both vertical and horizontal contrasts. As these examples show, control can be overtly translated, subtly translated, implied, or not translated (as the example 'cheat s-o' shows). As Thompson and Carlson have proposed for other Salish languages (Carlson 1972, Thompson 1978, 1979a, Thompson and Thompson 1981), there are likely covert degrees of inherent control present in individual verb roots in Salishan languages which interact semantically with the control suffixes in complex ways. This interaction, along with historical accident, may well be what determines which Nooksack control suffixes occur with which roots. This semantic interaction is a fascinating area of study which deserves further study in all Salishan languages.
TABLE 7
Nooksack Control Contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-nox</th>
<th>-tx</th>
<th>-(V)t</th>
<th>-si-t</th>
<th>-nit</th>
<th>-ns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{x}ok}_\text{\textsc{w}}$ 'have/get/take control s-o/t'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{x}ont}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}$? 'it's been taken'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{x}omk}_{\text{\textsc{e}}}\text{\textsc{en}st}$</td>
<td>yae-x\text{\textsc{x}enst}</td>
<td>'take/carry it for s-o'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{x}en}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}?$ 'take/grab s-o/t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p'\text{\textsc{dy}ox}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}$ 'bend s-t by mistake, manage to bend it'</td>
<td>$p'\text{\textsc{dyox}}\text{\textsc{ot}}$ 'try to bend s-t'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{w}l}<em>{\text{\textsc{e}}}t, k'\text{\textsc{w}l}</em>{\text{\textsc{e}}}t$</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{w}l}_{\text{\textsc{e}}}t$</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{w}l}_{\text{\textsc{e}}}t$</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{w}l}_{\text{\textsc{e}}}t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$s'\text{\textsc{ok}_\text{\textsc{w}}}$ 'spill s-t unintentionally'</td>
<td>$s'\text{\textsc{ok}_\text{\textsc{w}}}$otm 's-o bathed him (a sick man)'</td>
<td>$s'\text{\textsc{ok}_\text{\textsc{w}}}$otm 's-o bathed him (a sick man)'</td>
<td>$s'\text{\textsc{ok}_\text{\textsc{w}}}$otm 's-o bathed him (a sick man)'</td>
<td>$s'\text{\textsc{ok}_\text{\textsc{w}}}$otm 's-o bathed him (a sick man)'</td>
<td>$s'\text{\textsc{ok}_\text{\textsc{w}}}$otm 's-o bathed him (a sick man)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'cut oneself accidentally'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'cut oneself accidentally'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'cut oneself accidentally'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'cut oneself accidentally'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'cut oneself accidentally'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'cut oneself accidentally'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'hear a little noise of s-o/t'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'hear a little noise of s-o/t'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'hear a little noise of s-o/t'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'hear a little noise of s-o/t'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'hear a little noise of s-o/t'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'hear a little noise of s-o/t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'it was lost'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'it was lost'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'it was lost'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'it was lost'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'it was lost'</td>
<td>$?x'\text{\textsc{amot}}$ 'it was lost'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-nox</th>
<th>-nit</th>
<th>-ns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{enm}}?$ 'hold/take/carry s-o/t'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{enm}}?$ 'hold/take/carry s-o/t'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{enm}}?$ 'hold/take/carry s-o/t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p'\text{\textsc{dy}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}}$ 'be curved'</td>
<td>$p'\text{\textsc{dy}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}}$ 'be curved'</td>
<td>$p'\text{\textsc{dy}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}}$ 'be curved'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{w}l}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}$an 'pour s-t out'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{w}l}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}$an 'pour s-t out'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{w}l}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}$an 'pour s-t out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$s'\text{\textsc{ok}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}}$on 'bathe s-o' (middle voice)</td>
<td>$s'\text{\textsc{ok}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}}$on 'bathe s-o' (middle voice)</td>
<td>$s'\text{\textsc{ok}_{\text{\textsc{w}}}}$on 'bathe s-o' (middle voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$c'\text{\textsc{on}}$ 'tell s-o, give s-o an order'</td>
<td>$c'\text{\textsc{on}}$ 'tell s-o, give s-o an order'</td>
<td>$c'\text{\textsc{on}}$ 'tell s-o, give s-o an order'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$?\text{\textsc{am}}\text{\textsc{?}}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}\text{\textsc{f}}$ 'go'</td>
<td>$?\text{\textsc{am}}\text{\textsc{?}}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}\text{\textsc{f}}$ 'go'</td>
<td>$?\text{\textsc{am}}\text{\textsc{?}}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}\text{\textsc{f}}$ 'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$?\text{\textsc{am}}\text{\textsc{?}}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}\text{\textsc{f}}$ 'go'</td>
<td>$?\text{\textsc{am}}\text{\textsc{?}}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}\text{\textsc{f}}$ 'go'</td>
<td>$?\text{\textsc{am}}\text{\textsc{?}}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}\text{\textsc{f}}$ 'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$?\text{\textsc{am}}\text{\textsc{?}}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}\text{\textsc{f}}$ 'go'</td>
<td>$?\text{\textsc{am}}\text{\textsc{?}}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}\text{\textsc{f}}$ 'go'</td>
<td>$?\text{\textsc{am}}\text{\textsc{?}}_{\text{\textsc{m}}}\text{\textsc{f}}$ 'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut s-o/t'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut s-o/t'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut s-o/t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut oneself intentionally'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut oneself intentionally'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut oneself intentionally'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut s-o/t'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut s-o/t'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut s-o/t'</td>
<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut s-o/t'</td>
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<td>$x'\text{\textsc{sdan}}$ 'cut oneself intentionally'</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
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<th>213</th>
<th>214</th>
<th>215</th>
<th>216</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{yaq}}_{\text{\textsc{et}}}$ 'cheat s-o'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{yaq}}_{\text{\textsc{et}}}$ 'cheat s-o'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{yaq}}_{\text{\textsc{et}}}$ 'cheat s-o'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{yaq}}_{\text{\textsc{et}}}$ 'cheat s-o'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{yaq}}_{\text{\textsc{et}}}$ 'cheat s-o'</td>
<td>$k'\text{\textsc{yaq}}_{\text{\textsc{et}}}$ 'cheat s-o'</td>
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</tbody>
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<th>219</th>
<th>220</th>
<th>221</th>
<th>222</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{\textsc{y}a-s-q'6}$n 'come along with s-o'</td>
<td>$\text{\textsc{y}a-s-q'6}$n 'come along with s-o'</td>
<td>$\text{\textsc{y}a-s-q'6}$n 'come along with s-o'</td>
<td>$\text{\textsc{y}a-s-q'6}$n 'come along with s-o'</td>
<td>$\text{\textsc{y}a-s-q'6}$n 'come along with s-o'</td>
<td>$\text{\textsc{y}a-s-q'6}$n 'come along with s-o'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 7 (continued)
Nooksack Control Contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-nox'</th>
<th>-(V)t</th>
<th>-ni-t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p6nox' 'see s-o/t, happen to/accidentally see s-o/t'</td>
<td>p6(?)t 'look at s-o/t (in sight, ?aspot 'look after/tend/ guard s-o/t)'</td>
<td>-ni-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h6nox' 'burn s-t by accident/not on purpose, finally succeed in getting it started burning'</td>
<td>h6non 'burn s-t on purpose'</td>
<td>-ni-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ah~ytx' 'hire s-o (cause s-o to work)'</td>
<td>?ah~ynit 'work on s-o'</td>
<td>-ni-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cak'W 'pull/straighten it'</td>
<td>cak'W 'build s-t' for s-o'</td>
<td>-ni-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ah~ynit</td>
<td>-ni-t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lq'Ht 'question s-o'</td>
<td>cak'W 'already followed s-o'</td>
<td>-ni-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?lq'at</td>
<td>-ni-t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ah~ytx' 'hire s-o (cause s-o to work)'</td>
<td>?fotot 'to sleep'</td>
<td>-ni-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t6w(?)nox' 'bite s-o by mistake, happen to bite s-o/t'</td>
<td>t6w(?)nox' 'figure s-t', towt'ow(?)cot 'think'</td>
<td>-ni-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-(V)n</th>
<th>-ns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p6n 'look (open one's eyes)', ?as-p6n 'observe or on-look'</td>
<td>h6n 'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ah~y 'work'</td>
<td>-ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cak'W 'straight, become straight'</td>
<td>cak'W 'already followed s-o'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?lq'at</td>
<td>-ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?fotot 'to sleep'</td>
<td>-ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t6w(?)nox' 'bite s-o by mistake, happen to bite s-o/t'</td>
<td>t6w(?)nox' 'figure s-t', towt'ow(?)cot 'think'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Control transitivizers can also co-occur with lexical suffixes in Nooksack, as the following examples show. The lexical suffixes precede the inflectional control suffixes in almost all cases. But (3min) 'in the mind, want to, feel like' follows the control transitivizers, intransitivizers, and even the passive suffix, though not the subject suffixes. In examples where an object suffix other than 3s/p {-0} is called for, a set of independent pronoun is used (after the verb) or a passive - set 1 subject pronoun (the passive paraphrase seen above with third person subject + second person object).

(94) PA:GS /tl–Cam q6 ’i7aw–noxw–dmin/ 'I’ve really decided to boil it [I want to/in my mind manage to boil it].'

(95) PA:GS /tl–lamoxx–nixw–dmin/ 'Someone has been trying to make it rain.'

(96) PA:GS /tl–kwa–dmin (3s)/ 'He’s anxious to obtain s-t, he wants to get it all the time [he’s managing to get it in his mind].'

(97) PA:GS /tl–hay kwa–o–s–en–d/- 'He’s kissing s-o.' (‘(o–c)’/’on the mouth.’)

(98) PA:GS /tl–Cam qow–pdn–x4(4n)–nokx/ ‘I’ve discovered his footprints.’ (aux.–ls subj. indep. cl.)(go, aux.) (see-foot/feet-manage to–)

(99) LT:GS /top–os–an/ ’hit s-o in the face’ (contrast LT:LG /aqw–ds–en–cmx/’Wash your face’ with middle voice)

(100) LT:LG /t11 nax–tp–os–c/ ’He hit me in the face.’

(101) PF:GS /ma–m6–q–t6x/ ‘decapitate them’ (come-off-head-causative-[0]

(102) PA:GS /mif–cwx/ ’fly–os–b6t–(t)omixw/’You came (and) made me happy.’ (come-2s subj. indep. cl.) (good-in face-get/become-causative-1s object)

(103) PA:GS /tl–poy–no–d–m6m–/ ‘Somebody’s decided to bend it.’ ( (d–min)

(104) BS:JS /tl–q6–ds–en–dmin–te ns n6–ma–ko/ ‘She wants to slap you on the face.’

(105) PA:GS /tl–cek–st–dmin–(3s)/ ‘He wants to straighten it out.’ (rare GS/cf.)

(106) PA:GS /tl–Cam x6–x6–en–n6m–/ ‘I’d like to take a bath, I should take a bath.’ (allomorph /n6m–/ after –/m–/middle voice)

(107) PF:GS /q–oy–dls–amin/ ’to try to kill’ ( (d–min)

Now follow some examples of control and object suffixes to show their meaning contrasts and uses in sentences, and attestations by different speakers

(108) PA:GS /l6mox–nokw–dmin/’He made it rain.’ ( /l6mox/’to rain’)

(109) PA:GS /tl–Cam q6i7aw–nokx/ ‘I’ve succeeded in boiling it.’ (‘q6i7aw/’to boil’)

(110) PA:GS /tl–Cam h6dsm–nokw/ te k6pl/ ’I’ve already had a little drink of coffee.’ (h6dsm/’water; to drink’)

(111) PA:GS /tl–f6mxw–nokx/ ‘help s-o to walk’ (‘(f6mxw/’to walk’)

(112) PA:GS /tl–f6lim–n6–m6t/ ’never got a chance but now has a chance to sing’ (‘f6lim/’to sing’)

(113) PA:GS /tl–e–cal xal y6–x6–d6m6l/ ‘Did we just cut you folks?’

(114) PF:GS /?tx–nokw–x–s/ ‘He scraped it off accidentally.’

(115) PF:GS /?fl–s6–nokw–x–s/ ‘He has it cracked.’

(116) PF:GS /?fl–s6–nokw• ‘I hit it accidentally.’

(117) PF:GS /?fl–te s6–l6j–nokw• as s–s6–t6y–s–/ ‘He’s making his friend drunk now.’

(118) PA:GS /?fl–caw• x66–n–m6x–m6– / ‘You just happened to bite me.’ (‘-txw’ causative

(119) PA:GS /?tx–y6x–?txw– ‘bring s-o/s-t back’ (‘/txw/’to return, /txw/’towards’)

(120) PA:GS /?fl–Cam x66–n–m6x–m6– s6–fl6j–m6–n–m6– / ‘I was forbidden to tell you my story.’

(121) PA:SJ /k5–txw–la co–n–o–d6–m6– y6w6wa– h6m/ ‘Let my wife speak first:’ (be her-causative-2s strong imperative)(female, present, in sight-my)(wife)(be first)(to speak)

(122) BG:GS /?fl–l6m–n–m6x–m6– s6–fl6j–m6–n–m6– / ‘They were fed the best food.’ (‘/fl6j–m6–’to eat’)

(123) PF:GS /?tx–y6x–?txw– ‘She took it home.’ (‘/txw–’go homeward’)

(124) PF:GS /?fl–o–l h6dsm–n6m– / ‘He was given a drink.’

(125) PF:GS /?s6–nd6–m6x–m6– ‘have it in(side) s-t’

(126) PF:GS /me[l]–fl–txw– ‘arrive with s-t’ (‘me–l–fl–’to arrive’)

(127) BG:GS /?y6l–t–d6– ‘he looks around/searches for s-o/s-t’

(128) PF:GS /?fl–o–l h6dsm–n6q–m6–s6–t–s– ‘I was bashed on the face intentionally.’

(129) PA:JS /kwa–st–sh6m–s6–m6x–m6– ‘Let us go!’ (‘kwa–st–’to s-t, he lets it go.)

(130) PA:GS /?tx–y6x–?txw– ‘He was going to trap s-t.’

(131) PA:JS /?’fl–k6–m6– ‘we–n6m–t ma–l6j6– ’We called the preacher.

(132) PA:JS /?’fl–k6–m6– ‘we–n6m–t ma–l6j6– ’We called the preacher.

(133) PF:GS /?tx–y6x–?txw– ‘Open it for us (mild imperative:)

(134) PF:GS /?x–m6–s6–f6j–t–o–w6a–n–d6– ‘open it for us for someone.’

(135) PF:GS /?k6–w–s6–t–s6–fl6j–m6–x–m6– ‘s–o hid s-t from me.’ (‘/k6/’hide’)

(136) PF:GS /?fl ko–fl6j– m6–s6–fl6j–m6–x–m6– ‘s–o is sewing clothes for someone.’ (‘/k6–m6–x–m6–’sew s-t, /k6–d6–s6–t– someone’)

(137) PF:GS /?l6j6–l6j6–fl6j–m6–x–m6– ‘wind it for her’ (‘/l6j6–l6j6/’key’

(138) PA:GS /?’fl–k6–m6– x6–m6– ‘He scraped it off accidentally.’

(139) PF:GS /?tx–y6x–?txw– ‘he looks around/searches for s-o/s-t’

(140) PF:GS /?tx–y6x–?txw–/ ‘Will he cut [it off for her]’

(141) PA:GS /?’fl–k6–m6– ‘I got lonesome for you.’ (‘/fl6/’to be lonesome’)

(142) PA:GS /?’fl–m6–s6–f6j–m6–s6–t6– ‘He’s afraid of me, he doesn’t trust me.’

(143) PA:GS /?’fl–nd6–m6x–m6– ‘pity each other, be kind to each other

(144) PA:GS /?’fl–m6–s6–f6j–m6– ‘remember s-o/s-t and

(145) PA:GS /?’fl–m6–s6– ‘wish for s-o, be stuck on s-o’
(/?~s-I stative aspect)

(146) BG:GS /xwiw'-ni-w/-as/ 'He went to get her for a wife.'

(147) PF:GS /no-on-as te la-lēlam/ 'They burn(ed) a village on purpose.'

(148) PF:GS /s-xk'/x's half-n-o/ 'He couldn't cure me.' (/half/ 'be alive; healthy')

(149) BG:GS /?i? xk'/x'-am-as/ 'he dried it (deliberately)' (cf. PA:GS /?i? xk'/x'-am 'to be drying s-t')

(150) PA:GS /?o'wms-ox/-m 'Don't hit me!'

(151) PA:GS /?i? pōy-on-as/ 'He beat it.'

(152) PA:GS /?d-qen-a?e te ?x'šl/ 'Close the door!'

(153) BG:LG /ns-s-K? xk'/x-n-s ?šc-m? ce pf/- 'I want to pet the cat.'

(154) PA:GS /?i? w-ox/-s K?w-a? 'they bring forward the best [good] food'

(155) PA:GS /?i? ox-x/-s K?w-a? 'They are forwarding the best food'

(156) LT:LG /k'/x'-m?-ns-wāl/- 'come apart, separate into two parts, fall apart (e.g. glue loosen and books falls apart; it's all coming apart)', PA:GS /k'/x'-mns-wāl/ 'fall apart', LT:LG /k'/x'-mns-wäch/ 'to come apart, separate into two parts' (cf. /k'/x'-m-at/ 'let s-o/s-t go')

(157) BG:GS /f'w-ox-x/-s K?w-a? hā! s-wām/ 'they bring forward the best [good] food'

(158) PF:GS /?i? w-ox-x/-s K?w-a? 'He is hiding it.' (cf. UHK /k'/x'-m?-ns-wāl/- 'he hides it')

(159) PF:GS /?i? w-ox-x/-s K?w-a? 'they go along opening it (a door)' (cf. UHK /k'/x'-m?-ns-wāl/- 'open it (door, gate, anything similar)')

(160) PF:GS /ta ?i? s-qf s-t?i?x/-m 'The arrested person was put inside (jail).' (cf. UHK /s-wax'-em/- 'it was put inside s-t hollow')

4. Comparisons with Upriver Halkomelem and Lushootseed. Tables 8, 9, and 10 show the UHK pronouns and control system. Table 11 and 12 show the LD pronouns and transitive (control) system. In both tables the numbers of each set correspond to the numbers of the Nooksack sets with cognate form and/or function from tables 3 through 6. Sets numbered with "b" do not correspond to Nooksack sets in form, whereas sets numbered with "a" (or without letters) do correspond in form to Nooksack sets. Straits pronouns are not listed here because they do not appear to have influenced Nooksack forms or functions to any extent. Newman (1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1980) lists a representative selection, those from Clallam, Songish, and Sooke dialects of Straits. The Saanich forms (Bouchard 1974a, Montler 1986:142-155) are nearly identical to those of Songish. Lummi pronouns (Charles, Demers, and Bowman 1978, Demers p.c.) resemble those of Saanich but with several forms identical to those in Clallam (2s independent pronoun /nek'/ and ip possessive /-l/). Saanich pronouns (Galloway 1950a:29-36) are also similar to those of Saanich.
TABLE 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s1</td>
<td>te-7e5es²</td>
<td></td>
<td>s1 swf</td>
<td>te swf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s2</td>
<td>te-15we</td>
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<tr>
<td>s3m</td>
<td>td-Ka³</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>s3f</td>
<td>Od-Ka³</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>s3un</td>
<td>Kf</td>
<td>td-Ka³</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>p1</td>
<td>li5male</td>
<td>te-li5male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p2</td>
<td>li5lap</td>
<td>te-li5lap</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>p3m</td>
<td>tu-Kf-lam²</td>
<td>tu-Kf-lam</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>p3f</td>
<td>Ou-Kf-lam³</td>
<td>Ou-Kf-lam</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>p3un</td>
<td>yu-Kf-lam³</td>
<td>yu-Kf-lam</td>
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<tr>
<td>p³ku</td>
<td>yu-1tal</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Set 9b. Possessive, Nominal)³

(Tabular data and detailed linguistic information follows, with specific person and number designations: singular, dual, plural, etc., and various morphological features like tense, aspect, and mood.

The sl form alone has an emphatic form, */7e5el0e/.

²The s1 form alone has an emphatic form, */te-7e5el0e/.

³Also members of a set of demonstrative pronouns:

m: f: human plural

s tdKa: ouKf-lam: yuKf-lam: Kf-ldmale

absent Kf-ldKf: Kf-ldKf-lam: Kf-ldKf

diminutive td-Kf-lam: Kf-ldKf-lam: Kf-ldKf

1The sl form alone has an emphatic form, */7e5el0e/.

2The s1 form alone has an emphatic form, */te-7e5el0e/.

TABLE 10

Upriver Halkomelem Control and Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 13, -lex²</th>
<th>Set 14, -st-ax²</th>
<th>Set 15, -T-0</th>
<th>Set 16b, -alcE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manage to</td>
<td>'causative'</td>
<td>'purposely'</td>
<td>'benefactive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-l-ax²</td>
<td>-s0-ax²</td>
<td>-s0-ax²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-l-dme</td>
<td>-s0-dme</td>
<td>-s0-dme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/p</td>
<td>-l-ax²</td>
<td>-st-ax²</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-l-ax²</td>
<td>-st-ax²</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-l-dle</td>
<td>-st-dle</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refl.</td>
<td>-l-damat</td>
<td>-st-damat</td>
<td>-o-st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recip. (-l-fal?)</td>
<td>(st-tal?)</td>
<td>-tal-tal</td>
<td>(a)-tal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fuller glosses (allomorphs) of third person forms:

Set 13 -lex² 'do accidentally to s-o/t, happen/manage to do to s-o/t'
Set 14 -st-ax² 'cause s-o/t to do, make s-o/t do, keep s-o/t in one's mind
to do' (morphophoneme T represents /t/-/θ/)
Set 15 -(a)T 'do purposely/intentionally to s-o/t'
Set 16b-alce-T 'do for s-o, (less often) do on s-o'
Set 17b -maT 'happen (with little control) to do (a mental/emotional action) regarding s-o/t'
Set 19 -(a)las '(happen/manage to) do an action regarding s-o/t'
Set 20 -(a)x² 'do purposely to s-t (rarely to s-o)'

' manipulate to' s-o/t, happen/manage to s-o/t'

Also members of a set of demonstrative pronouns:

m: f: human plural

s tdKa: ouKf-lam: yuKf-lam: Kf-ldmale

absent Kf-ldKf: Kf-ldKf-lam: Kf-ldKf

diminutive td-Kf-lam: Kf-ldKf-lam: Kf-ldKf

¹Kf- - Ka- in these forms.

²More constructions than paradigms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 1: Subject of Independent Clause</th>
<th>Set 2: Subject of Dependent Clause</th>
<th>Set 3: Subject of Subordinate Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td></td>
<td>d-s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td>d-s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11**

Lushootseed Subject, Possessive, and Independent Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 1: Subject of Possessive Clause</th>
<th>Set 2: Subject of Possessive Clause</th>
<th>Set 3: Subject of Independent Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>1p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 12**

Lushootseed Control Transitivizers and Object Suffixes

**Fuller glosses (allo-sequences) of third person forms:**
- Set 13: -dx'/-du-‘do to s-o/t with little control but responsible for outcome, accidentally, unintentionally, manage to succeed in spite of difficulties.’
- Set 14: -tx'/-tu-‘causative, (in some contexts) ask/invite s-o to do, (after set 5 as roots) allow/permit/requ ire s-o to do, (after some adverbs + negative) let s-o do’
Set 15a -c 'do purposely to s-o/t'
Set 15b -a 'do purposely to s-o/t' (allomorph of 15a)
Set 16 -yi-T/-bi-T 'beneficial/detrimental, roughly benefactive, do for/from s-o (instead)'
Set 17a -di-T (general transitive) do to s-o/t
Set 17b -bi-T 'do indirectly affecting s-o/t'
Set 18 -aV-d/-aVt- 'general transitiveizor, neutral regarding purpose and degree of control'
Set 20 -S 'general transitiveizor' (allomorph of 18)

Specific goal: indicates that set 1 pronouns, if present, are recipients of the verb act and permits mention of non-pronominal actor; works like NK 'passive'; agent NP following is introduced by (?e)

This allomorph follows (-ll) 'inceptive' or (-ag+ll) 'go'

Hk, and Ld). Nk and Ld in not having sets, one with full vowel and one with /a/ or no vowel. In function, sets 2 are similar in all three languages, being used for 'if/when', contrary to fact, dependent subjunctive clauses. NK and UHk differ from Ld however in requiring set 2 after the verb which follows.


does not differ from Ld in having alternative 2p set 2 forms with and without the verb phrases. All three languages are also similar in beginning the distant', then ls or 2s pronouns (if appropriate), nominalizer, verb nominalized verb phrase with a demonstrative article expressing 'abstract/pronouns. Nk has some alternates similar to Ld in being prefixed to the third person forms (though the 3p forms have reversed functions in NK from those in UHk). UHk differs from NK and Ld however in having an initial /i/- in 1p and 2p sets 5, 6, and 7; NK only has this /i/- in 2s and 2p in 3s/p.

TABLE 12 (continued)

Sets 2, NK and Ld differ from UHk in having a 3s/p subject suffix after transitive verbs. NK differs from UHk and Ld in having a 3s/p subject suffix after transitive verbs. NK differs from UHk and Ld in having a 3s/p subject suffix after transitive verbs.

UHk set 12a has diverged from NK and Ld (and Proto-Salish) sets 12. UHk has replaced its reflexives of PS set 12 -s and -sf everywhere with its reflexives from PS set 11. It has developed /p/ regularly < c, even where c < control transitiveizer *-t + object *-s or *-sf or reflexive *-st. Thus UHk has /p/ in 1s, 2s, and reflexive, alternating with /t/ in the other persons. This alternation (symbolized by the morphophoneme /T/1) is now part of the UHk control transitiveizers and has also been extended to the 'causative', replacing plain *(-atav) with UHk *-(atav).

In 2p set 11, NK, UHk, and Ld have cognates and absolutes with /a/ or reflexive alternating with /t/ in the other persons. This alternation (symbolized by the morphophoneme /T/1) is now part of the UHk control transitiveizers and has also been extended to the 'causative', replacing plain *(-atav) with UHk *-(atav).

In 3s/p the passive affixes serve the same functions as the passive affixes in the passive (Ld 'specific goal'); the patient is shown with set 1 affixes. Differences set 11, NK, UHk, and Ld have cognates in 1s, 2s, and reflexive.

In 2s set 11, NK, UHk, and Ld share cognates in 1s, 2s, and reflexive. In 1s and 2s pronouns NK has some alternates similar to Ld in being prefixed to the verb. NK is also torn both ways in having 2a alternative forms with final /a/ (like Ld) and without (like UHk).

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own \(-\text{sd}\) to distinguish 2p. NK has continued the Proto-Salish 2p forms but has borrowed \(-\text{w}\) in lp sets 11 and 12 from Thompson \(-\text{w}\) nor-control *manage', and optionally *manage' (paradigms 13), which internal reconstruction shows would be \(-\text{n}\) or \(-\text{w}\) in NK, and then was extended by analogy to 2p. The borrowing may have been prompted by Nooksack's confusion of its own inherited 1p and 2p forms with each other or by language interference from Ld and Straits, which have 1p endings similar \(-\text{d}\) or identical \(-\text{s}\) to those in 2p (Charles, Desmers and Bowman 1978). 

The antiquity of this NK borrowing from Thompson is not clear, but NK and Songish (via NK) also seem to have borrowed from Thompson. NK has lp and 2p object suffixes borrowed at some stage from Interior Salish (Newman 1979b:302) (I suggest Thompson); these probably diffused from UHK to HK. Songish then borrowed the 1p form, probably from HK. Both HK and SG borrowings from TH were probably also to avoid ambiguous 1p and 2p object forms. LD solved the problem by adding \(-\text{sd}\) or its 2p forms. NK shows at least one other TH influence, \(-\text{k}\) 'take'. A control transitive, unique in that it lacks a NK control transitivizer. It seems to have been borrowed from the Spuzzum dialect of TH (Lyttton and Nicola Valley dialects have \(-\text{k}\) take'). Neither of these \(-\text{n}\) or \(-\text{w}\) seems to have diffused through UHK. As UHK lacks any trace of either borrowing. Perhaps these are indications of a more prominent Thompson presence in the mountains east of Nooksack territory. Place-names, especially from a map by a Thompson Indian, Tosealuk, ca. 1859 for the U.S. Boundary Survey, also reflect a more permanent Thompson presence east of NK and UHK (Galloway and Richardson 1983:137-138).

In sets 12, NK, UHK, and LD have cognate unmarked or zero forms in 3s/p and cognate forms in the reflexive. The borrowing in NK set 12 has just been discussed. In the other persons and numbers of sets 12 NK and LD have regular cognates, with LD only adding \(-\text{d}\) in 2s and \(-\text{sd}\) in 2p to help distinguish them from otherwise similar first person forms. The NK reciprocal forms \(-\text{ow}\) and \(-\text{sl} - \text{sm}\) show no differences in meaning between forms. It may be repeated that the latter may be related to the UHK reciprocal; the vowels show traces of borrowing and metathesis. 'Reciprocal' cognates Sq /-\text{w}\/, Ld /-\text{al}\/, Lm /-\text{ak}\/, Sh /-\text{ak}\/, Cw /-\text{al}\/. In both of the \(-\text{ow}\) and \(-\text{sl} - \text{sm}\) forms, it appears that NK /-\text{ow}\/, LD /-\text{ow}\/, and \(-\text{sl} - \text{sm}\) were inherited from HK. Nooksack, with two competing forms, seems likely to be a borrower, especially given the sociolinguistic situation it was in. So far, I have found several examples with NK /-\text{t}\-\text{sl} /-\text{ow}\/, and eighteen with /-\text{t}\-\text{ow}\/ reciprocals.

The control transitivizers in all three languages are cognate in form and function. In sets 13, 14, 15a, and c. So far, I have found several examples with NK /-\text{t}\-\text{sl} /-\text{ow}\/, and eighteen with /-\text{t}\-\text{ow}\/. The control transitivizers in all three languages are cognate in function. The antiquity of this NK borrowing from Thompson is not clear yet. But NK and Songish (via NK) also seem to have borrowed from Thompson. NK has lp and 2p object suffixes borrowed at some stage from Interior Salish (Newman 1979b:302) (I suggest Thompson); these probably diffused from UHK to HK. In both HK and SG borrowings from TH were probably also to avoid ambiguous 1p and 2p object forms. LD solved the problem by adding \(-\text{sd}\) or its 2p forms. NK shows at least one other TH influence, \(-\text{k}\) 'take'. A control transitive, unique in that it lacks a NK control transitivizer. It seems to have been borrowed from the Spuzzum dialect of TH (Lyttton and Nicola Valley dialects have \(-\text{k}\) take'). Neither of these \(-\text{n}\) or \(-\text{w}\) seems to have diffused through UHK. As UHK lacks any trace of either borrowing. Perhaps these are indications of a more prominent Thompson presence in the mountains east of Nooksack territory. Place-names, especially from a map by a Thompson Indian, Tosealuk, ca. 1859 for the U.S. Boundary Survey, also reflect a more permanent Thompson presence east of NK and UHK (Galloway and Richardson 1983:137-138).

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show both 'purposive' and [+control] with this inflection. Fifteen of these are attested uninflected for control or transitivity so that any inherent control or purposive elements in the root can be isolated: all fifteen are [+purposive] and [-control] or [+limited control]. None are inherently [+purposive] or [-control], so (-V) contributes those elements.

For example, (*k'61) 'to spill' has no purposive element and no agent specified who controls the action (the subject is a semantic patient). The two verbs that 'manage to' appear as in [+control] and [+purposive] are also of the type just described. The only verb that seems to show purposive control is the one that appears in [+control] and [+purposive] (from set 15). The [+limited control] suffix may derive from /-t/ in the partial control transitivizer /-noxt/ in set 13 in NK and similarly in UHk; any added meaning that the /s/ element contributes is so far unclear, though /s/ may on occasion be seen occurring in the partial control transitivizer containing the meaning 'happen to, manage to' also the small number of examples in NK (four). The meaning in all three languages is 'do purposely to s-t (inanimate object preferred)'. This meaning and function has been described for UHk already (Galloway 1977a, 1978) and can be seen for NK in the examples above. In LD /-s/ is described as an allomorph of 'general transitivizer' (-d/-t-), occurring only with a small set of verbs in Snohomish (SLD) and with a few more verbs in Skagit (NLd). The nine examples are given in table 12 and show the same predominance of inanimate objects; they also include one example with NK and UHk cognates: NK /n0v-wx-im/ 'he was put inside'. LD /sGxw-at-/ 'put it inside of'. In all three languages first and second person objects are hard to find and are avoided, due to the preference for inanimate objects. In all but one example (LD /sDxw-t-at-/ recognizes him) the suffix shows purposeful control in all three languages.

5. Conclusion. In a language such as Nooksack, where sociolingusitic and phonological interference, borrowing, and influence play a prominent role in its grammar, it is to be expected that many of the root + suffix combinations attested in NK except one, and also the small number of examples in NK (four) are similar in meaning and function. The meaning in all three languages is 'do purposely to s-t (inanimate object preferred)'. This meaning and function has been described for UHk already (Galloway 1977a, 1978) and can be seen for NK in the examples above. In LD /-s/ is described as an allomorph of 'general transitivizer' (-d/-t-), occurring only with a small set of verbs in Snohomish (SLD) and with a few more verbs in Skagit (NLd). The nine examples are given in table 12 and show the same predominance of inanimate objects; they also include one example with NK and UHk cognates: NK /n0v-wx-im/ 'he was put inside'. LD /sGxw-at-/ 'put it inside of'. In all three languages first and second person objects are hard to find and are avoided, due to the preference for inanimate objects. In all but one example (LD /sDxw-t-at-/ recognizes him) the suffix shows purposeful control in all three languages.

Sets 19 in NK and UHk appear to be cognate in form and function, the control suffix containing the meaning 'happen to, manage to' in both languages. Ld lacks a cognate. As mentioned above, this suffix may derive from /-n/ in the partial control transitivizer /-noxt/ in set 13 in NK and similarly in UHk; any added meaning that the /s/ element contributes is so far unclear, though /s/ may on occasion be seen occurring in the partial control transitivizer containing the meaning 'happen to, manage to' also the small number of examples in NK (four). The meaning in all three languages is 'do purposely to s-t (inanimate object preferred)'. This meaning and function has been described for UHk already (Galloway 1977a, 1978) and can be seen for NK in the examples above. In LD /-s/ is described as an allomorph of 'general transitivizer' (-d/-t-), occurring only with a small set of verbs in Snohomish (SLD) and with a few more verbs in Skagit (NLd). The nine examples are given in table 12 and show the same predominance of inanimate objects; they also include one example with NK and UHk cognates: NK /n0v-wx-im/ 'he was put inside'. LD /sGxw-at-/ 'put it inside of'. In all three languages first and second person objects are hard to find and are avoided, due to the preference for inanimate objects. In all but one example (LD /sDxw-t-at-/ recognizes him) the suffix shows purposeful control in all three languages.

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of similar Ld ip -(u)bul and 2p forms -(u)bulad. 8) GS's sometimes using 1p NK -(e)wǎlən as 2p form instead of 2p -(e)molə, probably due to interference from similarity of Ld 1p and 2p object affixes. 9) Lg's sometimes using /-cin/ as NK 2s object affix instead of the expected /-ci/, due to interference from Ld 2s /-cid/ and /-bi-ci/ forms. These effects are less profound and structured than those from UHk influence.

St influence on the NK system can be seen in 10) GS's sometimes giving NK 2s form /-cf/ when asked for 2p that k forms with /-smolə/, probably due to interference from the St identical 2s and 2p object affixes based on the 2s form (CL /-c/, So /-sə/, Sq /-sə/ '2s/p neutral object' and CL /-c/, So /-sə/, Sq /-sə/ '2s/p causative object'). (Newman 1979b:300).

Th influence can be seen in 11) the borrowing of NK ip object affix sets 11 and 12 (-[e]wələn) (first probably through set 13 (-nəwələn) from Th (nəwələn) 'non-control middle voice', and probably in 12) and-w NK /-wə/ verb forms like *(kəwənə?) 'take it' and possibly /-wəme?/ 'to hear' (UHk /xəwələ-/ 'to hear' after Th verbs like (kəwənə?) 'take it'. It is interesting to note that Th, in return, seems to have borrowed /-ndəx/ 'preservative' from the NK /-ndəx/ 'limited control, manage to, happen to' (see footnote 4). Thus we see a nice trade of limited control (non-control) suffixes.

English influence on the NK system can be seen in 13) pressure for and more frequent use of independent pronouns instead of affixes for GS, LG, and possibly SJ, and 14) pressure for and more frequent use of S V O word order with NP's for GS, LG, and possibly SJ, when UHk lacks this entirely and Ld has it only to show subject focus: NK S V O word order uses the standard NK nominal phrase syntax for both S and O here, i.e., article + (optional adjectives) + nominal.

Nooksack proceeds it should be possible to build a clear picture of the structure of NK and of the influences and pressures on it from its neighbors, UHk, Ld, St, Th, and English. This picture should in turn help us understand the pattern of diffusion within the Northwest Coast area. The present study meshes particularly with those by Newman (1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1980). It is now possible to place NK within patterns of diffusion discovered by Newman in the pronoun systems of Salish (Newman 1979a) and other Salish languages (Newman 1980) discusses functional changes in the Salish pronoun systems. Comparing this with the NK system shows that NK merged its neutral object and causative object reflexes in the plural like most other Central Salish languages; my own comparative research shows that NK also expanded the 'causative object' function to include 'limited control' as did all the other Central Salish languages. NK, like Hk, retained a vestige of the transitive vs. intransitive subject contrast in its reflex of PS *-e (Newman) and possibly *-ə (Tw), Ld, St, or *-ə (UHk, SQ, SG).

Comparison of object sets with Newman (1979b) shows that NK again is like Ld, Tw, UC, and Ti in replacing its 2p neutral object set reflex from PS *ulm with its reflex from the 2p causative object *-ul. 5) NK is like SG (PO-Mt ) and Ti in merging its object sets in 1p (causative object set ip > neutral/causative object set ip), but NK is unique in borrowing this ip causative object form from the Th middle (*nəwələn).

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FOOTNOTES

1) A short version of this paper was first presented as Galloway (1983b) at the 22nd Conference on American Indian Languages in Chicago. I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a research grant which allowed me a full year's research on Nooksack and made this and a number of other papers possible. I am also grateful to the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages at the University of California at Berkeley for the support of my Halkomelem fieldwork 1970-1972 and to Coqualeetza Education Training Centre which made possible my fieldwork 1975-1980.

2) Salish language abbreviations used here (following Thompson 1979b and Galloway 1982) are: PS Proto-Salish, PCS Proto-Central Salish, PSIB Proto-Interior Salish, CX Comox (MCX Mainland Comox, ICX Island Comox), Pt Pentlatch, SC Squamish, NK Halkomelem (UHK Upriver Halkomelem dialects, DHK Downriver Halkomelem dialects, IHK Island Halkomelem dialects), NLd Northern Ld, incl. Shuswap (NSh Shuswap dialects, NSK Southern Shuswap dialects, NSK Southern Shuswap dialects, PSA Columbia River-Okanagan, KA Kalispel (Sp Spokane dialect), CA Coeur d'Alene (CI, CAl), LC Lower Columbia, BC Bella Coola.

3) UHk has an affix -(u)bə (-ubə) 'more than one', *(we - əw - -(u)bə - w) which occurs in exactly the same constructions as NK *(me - əm) - mə, i.e. UHk /təkə/ 'he, him (present + visible, or unspecified)', *(ə)kə/ 'she, her (present + visible, or unspecified), /təkənə/ 'they (male or gender unspecified)' which are a nice trade of limited control (non-control) suffixes. English influence on the NK system can be seen in 13) pressure for and more frequent use of independent pronouns instead of affixes for GS, LG, and possibly SJ, and 14) pressure for and more frequent use of S V O word order with NP's for GS, LG, and possibly SJ, when UHk lacks this entirely and Ld has it only to show subject focus: NK S V O word order uses the standard NK nominal phrase syntax for both S and O here, i.e., article + (optional adjectives) + nominal.

4) Newman (1979a) on the possessive and subject pronouns shows that NK shares with Ld, UC, and SJ the adding of its reflex of PS *k- 'intransitive subject' to its reflex of PS ip possessive to form ip possessive and ip intransitive subject. NK does not take its ip possessive and ip (intransitive) subject from a reflex of PS ip intransitive subject *-k-at, as do HK, Sq, and Se. NK also does not combine its 2s possessive prefix and 2p possessive suffix to form the 2p possessive as HK, Sq, and Se do. NK, in merging its reflexes of PS third person independent subject *-aləp for 1p possessive subject by a reflex of PS ip possessive *-II, NK shares with HK and Sq use of reflexes of both PCS 2p possessive *-aləp and PS 2p transitive subject *-ap as subjunctive clause subject alternatives. NK also shares with HK, LG, and Ld the reflex of a reflex of PS *-ka/ and *-aləp in 2p transitive subject, rather than an inherited reflex of PS *-ka/ (as do HK and Sq).
discusses the devoicing of voice/success’ and most Central have data (all but Prot Coasl PCS *-naw morphemes, and c) the Th causative, and Kinkade (1981b) reconstructs PS *stxw ‘causative’ and discusses the devoicing of *w to *x/ which occurred in these morphemes in most Central Salish languages word-finally. /u- /-w/ or just /w/ remains in the non-Central Salish causatives (Kinkade 1981b:337) and in Interior Salish limited control reflexes of PIS *-nw4n ‘non-control middle voice/success’ and PIS *-nw4n ‘success’ (which precede *-t ‘transitive’) (Kinkade and Mattina 1981). But Ti /nax/ -nag/- and BC /nix/ (Thompson 1979a) show the devoicing of *w in this suffix had already started in Proto-Coast Salish. Th, besides /-nw4n/ ‘non-control middle voice’ and /-nw4n-t/ ‘non-control transitive’, also has a lexical suffix. /-ndw*/ ‘preservative’, usually translated ‘make it through (of an action)’. This /-ndw*/ appears to be a borrowing from Nk /-nwx/ for several reasons: a) only Nk and Th retain both /u/ and /x/ in this suffix, b) the Interior Salish languages do not show the devoicing to /x/ in these morphemes, and c) the Th /-nxw/ is not integrated into the control and transitive system but is used, uprooted, as a lexical suffix. The Th 2p object /-4w/ derives from PIS *ulm by irregular replacement of the *m with /w/; this replacement may be Th influence since *m > Th e in some positions. Otherwise Hk /-4w/ follows regular correspondences (PIS *dl > Hk /4l/). So table 1 in Newman (1979b:300) should probably show Hk /-al-<e out of parentheses. The Hk 1p object form < PIS 1p object *-al should be Hk *-al instead of /-al-x/; however, pre-Hk *-al, with its /x/ accretion, may become *alx/ by analogy with the Hk 2p /-4w/ and by viewing both /-al-<e/ portions as pluralizers, such as occur elsewhere in both Hk pronouns and nominals (/-al- -4l- /infX/). Newman’s innovations should probably be changed then to show that both Hk forms are inherited with added accretions, and that the forms then replaced the causative object ip and 2p forms inherited from PIS.

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