NOOKSACK PRONOUNS, TRANSITIVITY, AND CONTROL

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0. Introduction[1]. The Nooksack language, called /ɬə́čæləsəm/ by its speakers, is a Salishan language of the Central Coast branch. The Nooksack people call themselves /nox^{w}sə́ʔæq/. Both names derive from place names, the former from the village of /ɬəčə́ləs/, within what is now Lynden, Washington, and the latter from /(no)x^{w}sə́ʔæq/, the name for Anderson Creek, especially the area at its mouth ('always' + 'bracken fern root').

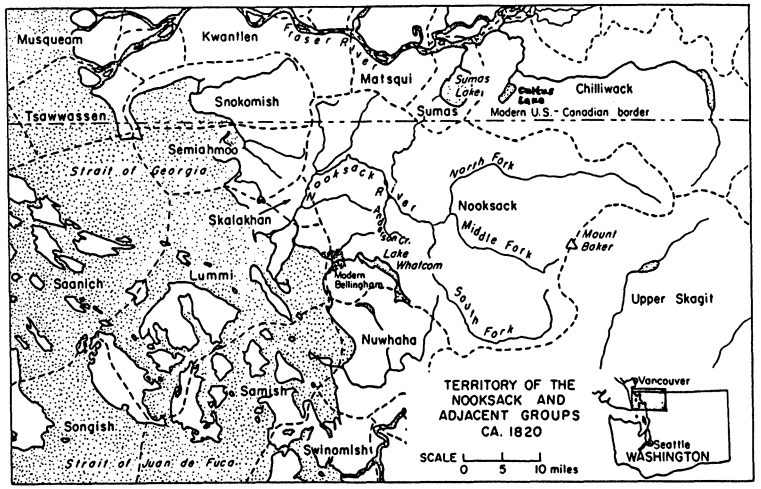
The Nooksack language was spoken along the Nooksack River and its tributaries, throughout almost all of western Whatcom County, Washington. In historic times it was spoken also in British Columbia, in the areas of Aldergrove and Peardonville, and in bilingual villages southwest of old Sumas Lake and at Cultus Lake (see Galloway and Richardson 1983). The inhabitants of /mə́qsən/, 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: Nuwhaha 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 1974), and Wayne Suttles (1949, 1950, 1952, 1955). 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 Fetzer (Fetzer 1950-1951), texts and about 7500 file slips, unpublished. Fetzer 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, Nuksack 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.



Territory of the Nooksack and adjacent groups, ca. 1820 (after Richardson 1977)

Figure 1.

from Pamela Amoss: Coast Salish Spirit Dancing (1978)

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), the last fluent speaker. Before Sindick died in 1977, Margaret Kelley 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 from Sindick and the last two partial speakers, Mrs. Louise George (LG) and Mrs. Esther Fidele (EF) (Galloway 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 Gerdts, copies os 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.

The difficulty linguists have had with the materials till recently is that, as Thompson (1976:392-393) notes, all the materials show extensive influence from Chilliwack Halkomelem, and with little early fieldwork on Upriver Halkomelem or Nooksack it was difficult to sort out what was original Nooksack. All the last speakers and partial speakers were at least trilingual in Nooksack, Upriver Halkomelem, and English. LG was also more fluent in Skagit, while SJ also spoke some Skagit. Not enough was known of Upriver Halkomelem and Lushootseed or comparative Central Salish to be able to sort out these influences. Now there are enough materials to bring to bear on Upriver Halkomelem (Hill-Tout 1902, 1904, Elmendorf and Suttles 1960, Harris 1966, Galloway 1970-1980, 1971, 1973, 1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1982b, 1987c, 1988c, 1989c, 1989d, 1990b, 1991c, 1992a, 1992b, 1993a, 1996a, 1996c), Lushootseed (Hess 1967, 1976, 1995, Hess and Hilbert 1981, Bates, Hess and Hilbert 1994), Proto-Central Salish (Galloway 1982a, 1986a, 1988a, 1992c), and Proto-Salish (Suttles 1965, Kuipers 1967a, 1970, 1973, 1981, 1982, 1995, 1996, Kinkade and Thompson 1974, Thompson 1979b, Newman 1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1980, Kinkade 1989, etc., Egesdal and Thompson 1996).

The method I have followed here is, first, to transcribe substantial portions of the tapes of each linguist and speaker, comparing these with the linguist's field notes, when available; second, to analyze the patterns, processes, forms 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, Lushootseed, and Straits, as well as with the Proto-Central Salish sound correspondences, to distinguish influences and borrowings from things which are original Nooksack. This method was used in Galloway (1983a, 1984a, 1984b, 1993b) 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 1996e and here it is applied to morphology and syntax.

Some examples follow of the method of interpreting field notes of earlier workers, standardizing orthographies, and comparing transcriptions, cognate forms, and sound correspondences. Where several sets of initials are separated by a colon, those to the left are linguists and those to the right are speakers. Thus PF:GS represents Paul Fetzer's notes from George Swanaset; PA is Pamela Amoss, LT is Laurence Thompson, BE is Barbara Efrat, BG is the author's transcription from tapes.

PF:GS has [i·łčaxʷ čo·qʷ ɛsqəθɛ́·n tʷutəɛ́ tə słíʃo·ł] 'You have far less than we have.' Because there are no vowel-initial words, PF and PA do not write word-initial [ʔ] before vowels in most cases. LT, BE, and BG write [ʔ] and /ʔ/ in these places, as is the more current practice. PF's -[čaxʷ] 'you (subj.)' is a rare version of what he writes elsewhere as -[čɛxʷ] ~ -[čəxʷ]; PA:GS has -[čexʷ], -[cæxʷ], -[čəxʷ], BE:SJ has -[čɛxʷ], -[čəxʷ], LT:LG has -[čɛxʷ], -[čəxʷ], and BG:GS,SJ,LG has -[čæxʷ], -[čəxʷ]. There is also a pattern that PF often writes [a] where everyone else and the tapes of GS have [æ] in the same word. Galloway (1982a, 1983a) demonstrates that [a] /a/ is present in Nooksack only in cases of borrowing or influence from Upriver Halkomelem (UHk), Lushootseed (Ld), Chinook Jargon, or English. Both UHk and Ld have -[čəxʷ] only, not -[čaxʷ]. So it seems clear that PF's -[čaxʷ] is a rare error for -[čæxʷ] or -[čəxʷ].

PF's [čo·qʷ] 'far' is cognate with UHk /čá·kʷ/ 'far, be far', so Nooksack /kʷ/ is expected in this word. In fact, BE:SJ and BG:SJ have the root with [kʷ] in Nooksack /txʷ-čókʷ-owʔil/ 'went a long way'. Other examples of PF's mistranscriptions of velar and postvelar stops and of glottalization are not uncommon.

Rather than PF:GS [ɛsqəθɛ́·n] 'less' in the sentence two paragraphs above, PA:GS has [kʼθǽ·m] 'short (of rope or mind), absent-minded', and UHk has cognate [qʼθǽ·m] /qʼθɛ́·m/ 'short (of reach or memory)'. Galloway (1983a) shows that Nooksack probably has no /kʼ/ and that these are errors for /qʼ/. The word in the PF:GS citation above begins with 'stative' prefix /ʔæs-/. Also the final <n> is clearly /-m/ 'intransitive' or /-m/ 'middle voice' rather than /-n/ 'purposeful control transitivizer'.

Regarding [tʷutəɛ́], PF often writes vowel clusters (as PA does sometimes); in all cases these can now be shown to be either V?V (V = vowel) or glide plus V or V plus glide. As knowledge on Central Salish languages has increased since the 1950's we have discovered true phonemic vowel clusters to be rare, if not non-existent, in these languages. In addition, PA, LT, BE, and BG all transcribe [txʷtæʔǽ - txʷtəʔǽ] 'towards, than, for' for this word. Similarly BE:SJ and BG:SJ have [słiyóɬ - słiyóʔɬ] for the last word found in the PF:GS sentence.

Length is not phonemic in Nooksack; stressed vowels automatically receive length of from one to one-half mora (Amoss 1961, Galloway 1983a). So in phonemic renditions length can be omitted. There are also a fair number of examples in PF:GS of length on unstressed syllables, with stress on another unlengthened syllable, where other transcriptions of GS (PA, BG) have the lengthened syllable stressed. After listening to tapes of GS, it seems most likely to me that such discrepancies are partially due to GS's slow citation speeds (see also LT's notes on this in LT:GS) and to his frequent sounding out of words by syllables. Where stress cannot be determined from tapes or other citations it must be left as PF has it.

Thus the sentence above can be interpreted as /ʔíɬ-čəxʷ čókʷ ʔæs-qʼθǽ-m txʷ-təʔǽ tə słiyóɬ/. Features influenced by Halkomelem, such as GS's /θ/, are left as they occur. Only clearly proven errors or orthographic equivalents are changed. In most cases evidence is available in variant transcriptions by the same linguist or other linguists working with the same speaker. Citations from other speakers, well-established phonemic patterns, patterns of error, and regular cognates with closely related Central Salish languages often clinch the proof of transcription errors or transcription correctness.

PA:SJ has [mi skʼo kʼæ ɛ́nɛc] 'come with me'. By using similar comparisons of citations, linguists, speakers and tapes, it is possible to show that this phrase should be phonemicized /mi sqʼó kʼæʔǽnæc/. Other citations might tempt one to fill in glottal stops here, */mʔi sqʼóʔ

Xæʔǽnæc/, but these citations also vary: [mʔi ~ mi] and [sqʕóʔ ~ sqʷóʔ ~ sqʕó]. To be conservative in presuming errors, it seems best to leave /mi sqʕó/ here. Other citations will show /mʔi/ and /sqʕóʔ/, and if loss of /ʔ/ or loss of labialization here is Halkomelem influence (cf. UHk /mi/ 'come (to), coming (to)' and /sqʕá·/ '(be) with, (be) together'), that will become apparent. On the morphemic level we can list {sqʕóʔ} and {mʔi}.

PA:GS has [nɬčimtxʷɬɛ́ tæ John] 'Speak to John!' This sentence can be shown to be correctly transcribed. It is phonemicizable as /nɬčimtxʷɬɛ́ tæ ǰán/, with stress on -/ɬæ/ probably due to GS's citation speed since other citations show {-ɬæ} 'strong imperative, second person singular' is usually unstressed.

LT:LG has [sqʷoʔ tænəwɬ] 'with you'. This can be phonemicized /sqʷoʔ tænəwɬ/. Other evidence points to the possibility that we might have /sqʕóʔ/ here since there is some neutralization of labialization before /o/ in Nooksack. Also phonetic transcriptions of sentences and even phrases often show sentence stress patterns reducing /ˊ/ to /ˋ/ or /ˉ/ (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:SJ [ʔiɬ ʔʌn sXiʔ kʷɨns ʔúχʷ yi sqʷuʔ Xʌwulǽpˌ] 'I wish I could go with you folks.' This can be phonemicized /ʔɬɨ ʔənsXɬʔ kʷəns ʔóχʷ yisqʷóʔ Xəwolǽp/. 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:LG has [yuwǽnʔ nuwitxʷ kʷayʔ cɛ́yʌt tʌ snʌxʷɨˀɬ] 'first you build a canoe.' This can be phonemicized /yowǽnʔ nowɬtxʷ kʷayʔ cɬyət tə snɛ́xʷiɬ/ and morphologically written {yowǽnʔ nowɬ-txʷ kʷ ʔæy(ʔ) ciy-ət tə s-nəxʷ-wiɬ}. Two words, {ʔəmʔɬ} 'come (to)' and {ʔæy(ʔ)} 'continuative; keep on' can lose their initial /ʔ/ 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 phonemicization. Only Amoss (1961) and Thompson (1967, 1969-1970) have given any phonemic citations.

1. Nooksack phonemes, synchronically and diachronically. The Nooksack phonemes ar /p, t, (k), kʷ, q, qʷ, ʔ, p̓, t̓, kʷ̓, q̓, qʷ̓, c, č, (θ), c̓, č̓, X, (θ), s, š, (xʸ), ɬ, xʷ, χ, χʷ, h, m, n, y, l, w, i, æ, ə, (a), o, ˊ, #/.

/k/ is found in borrowings from Chinook Jargon, English, and perhaps Lushootseed; it is so far attested only in one morpheme which may be indigenous to Nooksack. /θ/ and /θ̓/ in the speech of GS and sometimes EF (but not in that of SJ and LG) replace /c/ and /č/ through UHk influence. GS, also by Hk influence, sometimes has /č/ ~ /c/ and /č̓/ ~ /c̓/ where other speakers have /č/ and /č̓/ respectively. /c/ and /c̓/ stand for alveolar affricates, [ʦ] and [ʦ̓], in all the Central Salish languages except Hk; /c/ and /c̓/ there represent [ʦ ~ č] and [ʦ̓ ~ č̓].

/xʸ/ in the speech of GS replaces /š/ in many words (lexically determined), again through UHk influence. /a/ appears in loans or words influenced by UHk or Ld. Nooksack unstressed /o/, /æ/, and /i/ usually correspond to UHk unstressed /ə/, and they become Nooksack /ə/ in some cases, through UHk influence. Conversely /ǽ/ sometimes replaces /ɛ́/ at slower, careful speeds in Nooksack. Nooksack vowel allophones include /i/[i, ɪ, e], /æ/[ɛ, æ], /ə/[ɨ, ə, ʌ], /o/[u, ʊ, o, ɔ], (/a/[a]). Their environments are given in Galloway 1983a.

Nooksack ʔC and Rʔ (where C =consonant, R = resonant) correspond to UHk ·C and ·R, R·, or R and are sometimes so influenced in Nooksack.

Phonetic aspiration of obstruents is predictable (Amoss 1961, Galloway 1983a); for expediency I have omitted it here from phonetic citations.

Historically the correspondences in tables 1 and 2 are relevant in comparing PCS, Nk, UHk, DHk, IHk, 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, *p̓, *t, *t̓, *kʷ, *kʷ̓, *q, *q̓, *qʷ, *q̓ʷ, *X, *s, *ɬ, *xʷ, *χ, *χʷ, *h, and *l. *ʔ has complex correspondences of position, presence, absence, and /·/ (length) in the daughter languages, depending upon environment (see Galloway 1988a).

TABLE 1
Non-identical Consonant Correspondences[1]

PCS	*m	*n	*y	*y	*w	*w	*c	*c̓	*č	*č̓	*xʸ
Nk (GS)	m	n	y	y	w	w	θ	θ̓	č-c	č̓-c̓	xʸ,š
Nk (SJ,LG)	m	n	y	y	w	w	c	c̓	č	č̓	š
UHk	m	l	y	y	w	w	θ	θ̓	c	c̓	xʸ
DHk	m	n	y	y	w	w	θ	θ̓	c	c̓	xʸ
IHk	m	n	y	y	w	w	θ	θ̓	c	c̓	š
Ld	b	d	y	ɾ,ǰ	w	gʷ	c	c̓	č	č̓	š
environment			_C,#	_V	_C,#	_V					

[1]Galloway (1988a)

TABLE 2
Relevant Vowel Correspondences[1]

PCS	*ú	*u	*á	*a	*í	*i	*ɛ́	*ə
Nk	ó	o	ǽ	æ	ɪ	i	ɛ́,ǽ	ə
Hk	á	ə	ɛ́	ə	ɪ	i,ə	ɛ́	ə
Ld	ú	u	á	a	ɪ	i,ə	ɛ́	ə

[1]Galloway (1988a)

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 one of six or seven transitivezers 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 s (singular) or p (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 works 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 5, except the 1p 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 {wəɬ-}. The nominal sets derive from the verbal sets by prefixing demonstrative articles. 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 serve 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 > /c/ 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, 1991, 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 (1996, 1997), Upriver Halkomelem (Galloway 1978), and Bella Coola (Sanders and Davis 1978, 1980, 1982, Davis and Saunders 1979, Nater 1984:59-72). Discussions of transitivity also include those for Squamish (Kuipers (1967b), Shuswap (Kuipers 1974), Island Halkomelem (Hukari 1976), Colville-Okanagan (Mattina 1978) Spokane (Carlson 1980), Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1981b), Columbian (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 (1969, 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 /i/, /æ/, or /o/ are most likely the uninfluenced Nooksack forms. Where both unstressed /i/-, /æ/-, or /o/-forms and /ə/-forms alternate, the /ə/-forms are probably influenced by UHk (Halkomelemized). Native free variation in Nooksack however cannot be entirely ruled out here.

TABLE 3
Nooksack Subject and Possessive Affixes

	Set 1. Subject of Independent Clause		Set 2. Subject of Subjunctive Clause
	aux_ MV or MV_	_-kʷom? 'future'	neg., if/when V_
1s	-čæn, -čən, -čæ	-č	-æn
2s	-čæxʷ, -čəxʷ, -čxʷ	-čxʷ	-æxʷ
3s/p	-Ø (Vi_),-æs (Vt)	-Ø,-æs	-æs
1p	-čæɬ	-čæɬ	-æɬ
2p	-čǽlæp	-čǽlæp	-ælæp,-æp

	Set 3. Subject of Subordinate Clause		Set 4. Possessive Affixes		
	_#N	N_	_#N,	##_N	_N
1s	-n-s		-n,	næ-,nə-	
2s	-æ-s		-ʔæ(n),	ʔæ(n)-	
3s/p	-s	-s			-æs, -əs,-s
1p	-s	-čæɬ			-čæɬ
2p	-s	-ɬæp			-əlǽp

= sentence initial

The alternate /-čæ/ for /-čæn/ is unexpected but is fairly frequent. SJ prefers /-čæ/ and GS prefers /-čæn/. One minimal pair is given below (example 1) which hints that /-čæn/ shows more emphasis or focus on the pronoun than does /-čæ/. This is not indicated elsewhere and perhaps just indicated more emphasis because it was pronounced more fully with the /n/. Even further reductions occur before /-kʷəm?/ 'future tense.' The reduction to /-čxʷ/ occurs at fast tempos whether before /kʷəm?/ or not.

Syntactically the subject affixes for independent clauses occur suffixed to 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 /-æs/ 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 /-č-/ in set 1 is an independent clause marker, though this distinction is neutralized in 1p in sets 3 and 4, and there is no /-č-/ in third person in set 1. Newman (1979a) shows that the Proto-Salish ancestor of /-č-/ 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 infixing on nominals and/or verbs.

(1) PA:GS /ʔɔ́wæ-čæn-kʷəm/ 'I won't' vs. PA:GS /ʔɔ́wæ-čæ-kʷəm/ 'I won't'
(2) PA:GS /ʔɬɬ-č-kʷəm tɬɬ-ni-θi/ 'I will be lonesome for you.'
(3) PA:SJ /čɬχʷ-nit-čáɬæp/ 'You folks took pity on s-o.' (s-o = someone, s-t = something, 3s/p objects)

2.2 Subjects of subjunctive clauses. A different set of subject pronouns, set 2 in table 3, is required in subjunctive clauses. Subjunctive clauses in Nooksack cover semantic areas of negative, hypothetical, and conditional expressions. So far three types of constructions have been found: a) those beginning with negative verbs {ʔɔ́w(ʔ)æ} 'to be not, not to be' or {xʷ-ʔɔ́wʔæ} 'not yet, be not yet' plus pronoun suffix from set 1 (or plus {-łæ} '2s strong imperative' or {-ałæ} '2p strong imperative') followed by the main verb (or its auxiliary) and pronoun suffix from set 2 (sentences 4 and 5 below); b) those beginning with {qə} 'if, when (conditional)' followed by the main verb (or its auxiliary) and the set 2 pronoun suffix (sentence 6); c) those beginning as a regular or subordinate verb phrase with verb or auxiliary and pronoun suffix from set 2 (sentence 7).

(4) PA:GS /ʔɔ́wæ-čən ʔɬɬ-æn pǽxʷ-əm/ 'I'm not quiet.'
(5) PA:GS /ʔɔ́wʔæ-łæ xʷələ́ʔolt-os-æxʷ/ 'Don't look cross!'
(6) PA:GS /qə ʔɬɬ-æxʷ nɔ́s-il ʔ ʔił mæ? ʔæsɬstæ kʷə-n-s (s)Ƛi-nɬ-θi/ 'If you get fat, I'll like you anyway.' (if)(aux-2s subjunc.)(fat-get/go)(aux [new info.])(depend. adverbial particle/prefix)(it is the same)(that-1s subord. subj.-nominalizer)(like-indirectly affecting control-2s obj.)
(7) PA:SJ /tɬɬ-nit-čał-kʷəm tæ-wələ́p [kʷ-]s ʔił-læp ʔɔ́xʷ łəw-ǽlʔ-tɔ́mʔoł/ 'We'll be lonesome for you folks when you leave us.' (lonesome-indirectly affecting control-1p indep. subj.-future)(art. -2p indep. pron.)(demonstr. article -subord. clause nominalizer)(aux.-2p subjunc. subj.)(go, aux.)(leave behind-[go?]-purposeful control-1p object)

2.3. Possessive affixes. When possessed by 1s or 2s pronouns, Nooksack nominals 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 nominals are preceded by a demonstrative article; adjectives intervene if present. In these 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!'), existentials ('This is my son.' or 'This is not my son.'), and nominal-style verbs such as {s-Ƛɬʔ} 'want' and {s-qʷə́l-iwən} 'thought, think' (typically 'It is my want that you go.' = 'I want you to go.'), the nominal is not preceded by an article; in these constructions, /næ-/, /nə-/, /ʔæn-/, or /ʔæ-/ are prefixed to the nominal directly. The reduced versions, /nə-/, /ʔæ-/, and /-əs/ or /-s/, 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 *ʔən- reflexes (as in Se, Sq, Hk, Tw, UC, Ti, Th and Sh, where the *n reflex is lost; in the other Salishan languages the *n reflex is kept). And Newman (1979a) also comments on the instability of juncture in the Salish pronominal prefixes (as in Nooksack /-n/ attached to the word before the nominal vs. /næ-/ or /nə-/ prefixed to the nominal); Newman notes the Hk and UC parallel examples.

(8) PA:GS /tæ-n kʷɔ́ʔot/ 'my mat' (/tæ ~ tə/ 'demonstrative article, present, in sight, or location unspecified')
(9) PA:GS /tæ-ʔæ nɬ/ 'your plan'
(10) PA:GS /tæ-ʔæn kʷɔ́ʔot/ 'your mat'
(11) PA:SJ /tæ qɛ́noxʷ-s tæ sqʷəmǽy/ 'the dog's mouth' (the)(mouth-his)(the)(dog)
(12) PA:GS /tæ kʷɔ́ʔot-əlǽp/ 'your (pl.) bed [mat]'
(13) PA:GS /tæ nɬ-čał/ 'our plan'
(14) PA:GS /næ Ƛɬ tæ sqʷə́ltən łɔ́cələsəm/ 'I like the Nooksack language.'
(15) PA:GS /ʔił s-Ƛɬʔ-æs tæ łɔ́cələsəm/ 'He likes the Nooksack language.'

2.4. Subjects of subordinate (non-subjunctive) clauses. Subordinate non-subjunctive 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 {kʷə} and the {s-} nominalizer in front of the phrase. Instead of a 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 article in 1s and 2s and suffixed to the first word after the article in plural and third person. Phonologically the {s-} nominalizer 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 contrasts with situations where a nominal unit has been formed by {s-} + verb and lexicalized, as in Nooksack {tæ-ʔæ s-tɬlim} 'your song' vs. {kʷ-æ-s tɬlim} 'that you sing'. Other ways in which subordinate clauses differ from possessives include lack of /ʔ/ and /n/ in 2s set 3, lack of /-æs, -əs/ alternates in set 3, and lack of /ə/ in 2p set 3. As in Hk, the third person suffix can also precede the nominal as an alternate construction (Nooksack /kʷ-s-i-s/ + nominal = /kʷ-s/ + nominal + /-s/.

(16) PA:GS /næ-s-ƛ́ɬ kʷə-n-s ʔóxʷ yə-s-q̓ó ƛ́-nəwɬ/ 'I want to go along with you.' ([is] my-nom.-want)(the-my-nom.)(go) (travelling-nom.-together with)(obj. of preposition-2s)
(17) PA:GS /hǽʔɬ-txʷ-čæ kʷ-s mæ-yóc-læp m-æy ʔæmʔɬ-ni-c/ 'I like it that you folks come to me all the time.'
(18) PA:GS /q(ə) ʔɬɬ-æn təmǽxˀ kʷ(ə) kóp̓i q(ə)-ƛ́o kʷ(ə)-n-s mæ hǽk̓ʷə-ni-θɬ/ 'When I wish for coffee then I'll think about [remember] you.'
(19) BG:GS /kʷ-s hǽʔɬ-s/ or /kʷ-s-i-s hæʔɬ/ 'that it is good'

2.5. Independent (non-possessive) pronouns, verbal. Set 5 pronouns in table 4 occur in most, if not all, syntactic positions where verbs occur. They can take several verb inflections, namely, 'future' {-kʷomʔ), '2s strong imperative' {-łæ} and probably '2p strong imperative' {-æłæ} (contrast 2s and 2p set 1, used for 'weak imperative, mildly urging'), 'causative control' {-txʷ}, 'interrogative' {-(ʔ)ə ~ -ʔæ}, and probably others. The reduced alternates with /ə/, again, are probably Halkomelem-influenced. Abbreviations in table 4 third person headings indicate sex gender, i.e., m = male, f = female, un = unspecified gender, ku = known to speaker but gender unspecified.
(20) BG:GS /ʔóxʷ-kʷom nowɬ-n swǽqəθ/ (/ʔóxʷ ~ ʔóx̓ʷ/) 'You will be my husband.' (going to-future)(be you-my)(husband)
(21) PA:GS /ʔǽnəθ ʔæn-q̓ǽməyʔ/ 'I'm your girl.' (is me, it is me)(your-girl)
(22) PA:SJ /nəwɬʔ-łæ nɬčim yæwǽnʔ/ 'You speak first!' (imperative of the verbal pronoun/pronominal verb)
(23) PA:GS (Q.) /wǽtčæxʷ/ 'Who are you?' (A.) /ʔǽnæc/ 'It's me.' (very unusual GS /c/ here instead of /θ/)
(24) LT:LG /ʔǽnəc tə ʔəẏ cɬyət/(ʔəy ~ LG ʔəẏ ~ LG ʔəy?) 'I'm the one that's building it.'
(25) PF:GS /ʔɬɬ-čæł nɬməł/ 'That's us.'
(26) PF:GS /ʔɬɬ wolǽp/ 'You're (pl.) the ones.'

TABLE 4
Nooksack Independent Personal Pronouns

	Set 5. Verbal Non-possessive	Set 6. Nominal Non-Possessive	Set 7. Object of Preposition
s 1	ʔǽnæc, ʔǽnec	tæʔǽnæc	ƛ́æʔǽnæc, ƛ́əʔǽnəc
2	nowɬ, nəwɬ(ʔ)	tænəwɬ, tənəwɬ	ƛ́ænəwɬ, ƛ́ənəwɬ
3m		tæmǽƛ́ó, təmǽƛ́ó	tæmǽƛ́ó
3f		cæmǽƛ́ó, cəmǽƛ́ó	cæmǽƛ́ó
3un	ƛ́ó	tæmǽƛ́ó	
p 1	nɬməł, nɬməł	tænɬməł	ƛ́ənɬməł[1]
2	wolǽp, wəlǽp	tæwolǽp, təwolǽp	ƛ́əwolǽp
3un	ʔǽliɬtən	ʔǽliɬtən	ƛ́əʔǽliɬtən
3ku	ƛ́óƛ́om, ƛ́óƛ́əm	tæmǽƛ́óƛ́om	tæmǽƛ́óƛ́om

	Set 8. Verbal Possessive Emphatic	Set 9. Nominal Possessive Emphatic	Set 10. Nominal (n.i.s.) Possessive Emphatic
s 1	wəł(ʔ)ǽnæc	toɬǽnæc	kʷəθoɬǽnəθ
2	(w)əɬnəwɬ	tæɬnəwɬ	kʷəθəʔəɬnəwɬ
3m		tæwəɬtǽčəs, toɬtǽč	kʷəθoɬtǽčəs
3f		θæwəɬtǽčəs	
3un	wəɬtǽč(ə)s		
p 1	sɬiyóʔɬ	tæ sɬiyóɬ	
2	ɬwolǽp, ɬwəlǽp	tæɬwəlǽp	
3un	wəɬtǽc(əs)	toɬtǽčəs	

[1]By internal reconstruction.
n.i.s. = not in sight

2.6. Independent (non-possessive) pronouns, nominal. Set 6 pronouns are used as subject or object nominal phrases and in third person are the main pronominal means of specifying sex gender. They are less frequent in first and second persons since the subject and object affixes can do the full semantic job. When both first or second person affix and independent forms are used, the latter adds focus or emphasis. Set 6 forms can precede nominals in apposition, adding a demonstrative flavor in third person (examples 34 and 35). Examples of V O, V S, and S V O (surprisingly since the neighboring languages have V S O) have been found so far with set 6 pronouns as S (subject) or O (object) (V = verb).

Set 6 pronouns are derived from set 5 by prefixing demonstrative articles {tæ} or {cæ}. As an article, {tæ} is normally preposed to nominals, rather than prefixed; it can be glossed as 'the (present and visible, male); the (proximity, visibility, and/or sex unspecified)'. The article {cæ} can be glossed as 'the (present and visible, female); 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 {mæ-} prefix between {tæ-} or {cæ-} and {ƛ́ó}. This {mæ-} may appear also in the Nooksack conjunction

/ƛ̓o-s-ʔɬ-s-mæ/ 'then', prefixed to some temporal adverbs as in /mæ-yóc/ ~ /yóc/ 'always', and between adverbs and adjectives (suffixed to the adverb or prefixed/preposed to the following adjective)(as in examples 37-39).[3] Nooksack {mæ-} seems to be a complementizer to introduce and precede pronominal, adverbial or adjectival verbs; it seems to have a syntactic rather than semantic function. It appears in one example also before {ɬwəlʌ́p} set 8 possessive emphatic independent pronoun. In set 6, p3un {ʔʌ́liɬtən} does not require the article prefix nor the {mæ-} prefix.
(27) PA:GS /ʔiɬ kʷʌ́ʔ-æt-əwʌ́ɬən-æs ʔʌ́liɬtən/ 'They (that bunch) let us go.'
(28) PA:GS /nə-s-ƛ̓ɬ tənəwɬ/ 'I like you.'
(29) LT:LG /ʔiɬ-čən χɬ-ó́t təməƛ̓ó/ 'I beat him up, I hurt him.' and /ʔiɬ-čən χɬ-ó́t təwəlʌ́p/ 'I beat you folks up.'
(30) LT:LG /ʔiɬ-čəɬ χɬ-ó́t cəməƛ̓ó/ 'We beat her up.'
(31) PF:GS /tæwolʌ́p ʔoxʷ-čʌ́læp noxʷ-yiθ-yíθ-æqin/ 'You gossipers!'
(32) PF:GS /θəmæƛ̓ó ʔiɬ ʔóxʷ-xʸit-əwʌ́ɬən-ʌ́s/ 'She gave it to us.'
(33) PF:GS /tæʔʌ́nəθ/ 'myself', /tænəwɬ/ 'yourself', /təmæƛ̓ó/ 'himself', /θəmæƛ̓ó/ 'herself', /tænɬməɬ/ 'ourselves', /tæwəlʌ́p/ 'yourselves', /tæmæƛ̓ó ƛ̓om/ 'themselves'
(34) BG:GS /tænɬməɬ stɬʔixʷ/ 'us people'
(35) BG:GS /tə s-nʌ́-s tæmæƛ̓óƛ̓əm sóťič/ 'the name(s) of those North Wind people' (the)(nom.-name-their)(them, those)(north wind)
(36) BG:GS /tənəwɬ nə-kʷʌ́s/ 'you (vocative), my burned one'
(37) PA:GS /ʔæn-čəxʷ mæ ʔæs-kʷʌ́sən/ 'you are so[really] pot-gutted'
(38) BG:LG /ʔʌ́n mʌ́ʔ qʌ́l/ 'It's real bad.'
(39) LT:LG /čʌ́n-čəxʷ mæ ʔəyʌ́m/ 'You're really strong.'

2.7. 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/or influence of English). In Nooksack, prepositions, like adverbs and adjectives, are verbs. For example, the following prepositional verbs are so far attested with set 7 pronouns: {sq̓ó?} 'be with, be along', {txʷ-tæʔʌ́} 'be towards, for; than', {tolɬ(ʔ)} 'be from', {ʔɬʔ}'be at, on', and {txʷ-əm(ʔ)ɬ} 'be coming towards'.

Set 7 pronouns ar formed by prefixing {ƛ̓æ-) /ƛ̓æ- ~ ƛ̓ə- ~ ƛ̓-/ to set 5; 3m, 3f, and 3ku forms, however, take articles {tæ} and {cæ} instead so that gender can still be specified in third person. The {ƛ̓æ-} prefix probably derives from {ƛ̓æ} /ƛ̓ ~ ƛ̓æ/, an article used before proper names (of people, myth characters, and places), somewhat like {ƛ̓} in Halkomelem (Galloway 1977a:395-396, Gerdts 1981:32) and {ƛ̓a} in Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:136). Proper names, like all nominals, in Nooksack must be preceded by an article, unless used vocatively. Nooksack {ƛ̓æ} 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). {ƛ̓æ} (as in Squamish) is not attested with direct objects of transitive verbs, but it is attested with objects not coreferenced with object suffixes, sort of indirect objects (examples 40-42):
(40) PF:GS /θæ Mathilda ʔiɬ ʔɬənʌ́s tə sčʌ́ƛ̓ ƛ̓ Sammy/ 'Matilda hid the toy from Sammy.'

(41) PA:GS /χʷiyʌ́m-ɬæ ƛ̓ qəlʌ́ʔw-iyæ/ 'Tell the story of Beaver!' (tell a story-2s strong imperative)(article)(Beaver-proper name)
(42) PA:GS /xʷiyʌ́m-ni-θ-ɬæ ƛ̓ qəlʌ́ʔw-iyæ/ 'Tell me the story of Beaver!'

So {ƛ̓æ} seems to mark several functions: 1) proper name agent after passive verb, 2) proper name object of prepositional verb not transitivized, 3) proper name indirect object uncoreferenced in verb. In function 2 {ƛ̓æ} + nominal could be seen as an indirect object in the sentence, thus collapsing this function with function 3. If {ƛ̓æ} fits into the demonstrative article system, as all the other articles do, it is semantically unmarked as to the components of [presence/nearness], [visibility], and [sex gender].

Unlike {ƛ̓a} in Squamish and {ƛ̓} in Halkomelem, Nooksack {ƛ̓æ} is attested (twice so far) with nominals that are not proper names. In example 43 the nominal is a demonstrative pronoun, {tíyæ} 'that one':
(43) PF:GS /ʔɬɬ-čæ(n) nʌ́č tolɬ ƛ̓ tíyæ/ 'I'm different from that.'
In example 44 the nominal is a relative clause used as agent of a passive verb (verb phrases can be made into relative clauses in Nooksack by preceding them with an article plus the /-s/ nominalizer). The example is from a taped text by GS:
(44) BG:GS /čæ-hɬ-t-əm tə-mæ-ƛ̓ó sóťič ƛ̓-s ʔɬɬ-æs mə łč-ɬl/ 'That North Wind is being thanked by those that have arrived.'
How widespread such use of {ƛ̓æ} without proper names may be is yet to be determined.

Comparison of Nooksack {ƛ̓æ} with its cognates in Sq and Hk shows that in Sq, IHk, and I believe in DHk, {ƛ̓} is always used in the relative or oblique case (the case of nominal phrases that are neither subjects nor direct objects of transitive verbs). Sq uses {ƛ̓a} to indicate this case with proper names and personal pronouns (Kuipers 1967b:136, 169-170). IHk (Cowichan) uses {ʔə} to indicate this case, and {ʔə} merges phonologically with {ƛ̓}, which is required here before proper names, to yield /ʔəƛ̓/ (Gerdts 1981:32). UHk and Sq have lost the {ʔə} marker entirely. Ld has retained the {ʔə} but lost the {ƛ̓} (Hess and Hilbert 1981,2:22, Hess 1967:80-81). So far no examples of {ʔə} 'relative/oblique case' have been found in Nooksack.

One member of Nooksack set 7 is not attested but can be internally reconstructed as shown in table 4. The only time a fieldworker asked for a context where the 1p set 7 form would occur, the form /tə sɬiyóɬ/ was obtained. For some reason some 1p and 2p subject and object forms were either seldom requested by fieldworkers or seldom known (or both). For the same reason two object forms are not attested: 1p with 'accidental control' and 2p with 'purposeful completive control.'; they can be internally reconstructed as shown in table 6 (/-n-wʌ́ɬən/ and /-nt-ómoɬ/). I have not starred these forms because in current synchronic usage starring indicates "known to not occur" or "rejected by speakers," while I believe the reconstructed forms do occur but just are not yet attested.
(45) PA:SJ /mí-ɬæ təs-əwɬl xʷ-əmí ƛ̓æ-ʔʌ́næc/ 'Come close to me!'
(46) PF:GS /ʔɬɬ-čæn ʔəy əhʌ́y txʷ-təʔʌ́ ƛ̓ə-nəwɬ/ 'I'm working for you.'
(cf. PA:GS /ťɬlim-ɬæ txʷ-tæʔæ ƛ̓ John/ 'Sing for John!')
(47) BG:GS /tulɬʔ tæ-mæ-ƛ̓óƛ̓om sóťič/ 'from those North Wind people'
(48) PF:GS /yʌ́swo kʷo-wʌ́t-æs wə-nɬl ʔiʔ ƛ̓ nəwɬ/ 'Someone might sit on you.' (cf. BG:GS /ťó-n-om ƛ̓æ qəlʌ́ʔwiyæ/ 'It was understood by Beaver.')

(49) PF:GS /ʔíɬ(-)tə nέč txʷ-təʔέ x̌ nəwí/ 'He's different from [than/towards] you.'
(50) PA:GS /hí-łæ ʔoxʷ x̌ Seattle/ 'Let's go to Seattle!'
(51) PF:GS /ʔíɬ-oɬ-čən tós tolí x̌ nowí/ 'I was hit by you [I got hit from you].'
Also see example 16 above.

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 {wəɬ-} to set 5, or in third person, to /tǽč(ə)s/. The derivation and history of /tǽč(ə)s/ is so far unclear. In second person, {ɬ-} is prefixed instead of {wəɬ-}. A new, suppletive form /sɬiyó(ʔ)ɬ/ is used in 1p; both it and the 2p form may contain an element common to {wəɬ-}, namely {ɬ-}. The 2s and 2p forms with {ɬ-} in sets 8, 9, and 10 show that /wəɬ-/ is really {wə-ɬ-}. The origin of the prefix is unclear. Hk, St, and BC also have /ɬ-/ in 1p set 5 cognates, which Newman (1977:310) derives as a remnant of a pluralizer (NSh /wɬ-/ 'group of people', SSh /ʔuɬ/ 'collective plural', and cognates in Ka, Ti, SLd, and probably CA and Sq). The Nooksack {wə-ɬ-}, however, is used in the singular as well as the plural.
(52) PA:GS /wə-ɬ-ǽnæθ-čæxʷ/ 'You belong to me.'
(53) PA:GS /wə-ɬ-nəwíʔ kʷθæ swánəsət/ 'That Swanaset is yours.'
(54) PA:SJ /wə-ɬ-ǽnæc tæ s-qʷəmέyʔ/ 'That's my dog.'
(55) PA:SJ /x̌ó wə-ɬ-tǽčs s-qʷəmέyʔ/ "That's his dog.'
(56) PA:SJ /sɬiy(-)óʔɬ s-qʷəmέyʔ/ 'That's our dog.'
(57) PA:SJ (Q.) /x̌ó· mæ ɬ-wəlέp ɬiyæ s-qʷəmέyʔ/ 'Is this you folks' dog?' (/·/ here < UHk for Nooksack /-ə/ 'interrogative'), (A.) /sɬiyóɬ/ 'It's ours.'
(58) PF:GS /ʔiɬ ɬ-wolέp/ 'It's yours (plural) [2p].'
(59) PF:GS /ʔówæ ʔíɬ-æs woɬ-tǽcəs təmæx̌ó/ 'It doesn't belong to him.'
(60) PF:GS /ʔíɬ woɬ-tǽc tíyæ-no/ 'It belongs to them.'
(61) PF:GS /ʔíɬ woɬ-ǽnəθ/ 'It belongs to me.'
(62) PF:GS /woɬ-tǽc/ 'It is his.'
(63) PF:GS /ʔiɬ ʔǽnʔ mæ θəʔít kʷəs woɬ-ǽnəθ/ 'It is definitely [really truly] mine.'
(64) PF:GS /woɬ-ǽnəθ/ '(It's) my own', /ʔæɬ-nəwí/ '(It's) your (singular) own', /sɬiy(-)óɬ/ '(It's) our own', /woɬ-tǽč ʔǽliɬtən/ '(It's) their own', /woɬ-tǽcəs θə-mæ-x̌ó/ 'It's hers'

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 prefix to set 8 it does not require another article in the resulting nominal phrase. The articles prefixed are {tæ-} 'present, visible, male [in 3s or 3p]; present, visible, gender unspecified [elsewhere])' and {cæ-}(GS /θæ-/) '(present, visible, female)'. With 1s, 3sm, and 3pun {tæ-wə-ɬ-} --> /tə-wɬ-/ --> /toɬ-/. Uncollapsed forms with /tæ-wəɬ-/ are also found in 3sm, parallel to the 3sf form,

/θæ-wəɬ-tǽč-əs/. The /wə-/, optional or absent in second person set 8 forms, disappears entirely in second person set 9 forms. Similar collapsing or loss can be seen with /(-)əs/ (probably third person possessive in origin), which occurs after /tǽč/ in both sets 8 and 9.
(65) PA:GS /tæʔæɬnəwí kʷóʔot/ 'your own mat (in sight)'
(66) GF:GS /ʔiɬ ʔǽn mæʔ sió[ʔ] txʷ-təʔέ toɬénəθ/ 'He has far less than I have.'
(67) PF:GS /ʔiɬ χʷθθ̓-ən-έs towəɬtέc tέpsəm/ 'He cut his own neck.'
(68) PF:GS /tæ sɬiyóɬ ménæ/ 'our (own) son'
(69) PF:GS /toɬtέc s-q̓ələ-xʸέn/ 'his (own) moccasin'
(70) PF:GS /tæɬnəwí s-q̓ələ-xʸέn/ 'your (own) moccasin'
(71) PF:GS /θæwoɬtέcəs/ 'her own' and /tæwoɬtέcəs/ 'his own'
(72) PF:GS /ʔiɬ-čæxʷ čókʷ ʔæs-q̓əθέm txʷ-təʔέ tə sɬiyóɬ/ 'You have far less than we have.'
(73) PF:GS /tæɬwəlέp ɬ-iyæ ɬ-iyέ/ 'Yours (plural) is here.'

2.10. Emphatic possessive independent pronouns, nominal, not in sight. Set 10 in table 4 is only attested from PF:GS and only partially, thus the forms with /θ/ in the table instead of /c/. Set 10 is used like set 9 but substitutes the demonstrative article {kʷəθæ} 'the (not in sight)' as the prefixed article; this article seems to be unmarked for gender. Two examples have /kʷəɬ-/ prefixed instead, with the same meaning. Some careful study is required yet to sort out the forms and gender functions of the 'not in sight' demonstratives. In 1s and 3sm forms some morphophonemic collapsing is attested, i.e., {kʷəθæ-wəɬ-} --> /kʷəθoɬ-/. Set 10 forms can be used with set 4 forms as well. Below are all examples found.
(74) PF:GS /kʷəθoɬénəθ næ-mέn/ 'my father'
(75) PF:GS /kʷəθæʔæɬnəwí ʔæn-tέn/ 'your mother'
(76) PF:GS /kʷəθoɬtέcəs siyέyæ/ 'his friend'
(77) PF:GS /kʷəθoɬénəθ ɬiyæ ɬiyέ/ 'mine is here'
(78) PF:GS /kʷəθoɬtέcəs ɬiyæ ɬiyέ/ 'his is here'
(79) PF:GS /kʷəɬoɬέnəθ næ-s(i)yέyæ/ 'my friend'
(80) PF:GS /kʷəɬoɬtέcəs səʔæsəwət sóq̓ʷæy-s/ 'his younger brother'

2.11 Object pronoun affixes. Two sets are attested, as in other Salishan languages (Newman 1979b). Set 11 in table 5 occurs with transitivizers {-noxʷ} and {-txʷ}, and set 12 occurs with all the other transitivizers. A surprising feature of Nooksack sets 11 and 12 is the 1p object suffix form, {-(ə)wέɬən}. Comparison with Newman (1979b) shows this form is not found in these sets in any other Salishan language he lists, but comparison with Thompson and Thompson (1991) shows that Nooksack has borrowed the affix, with changed function, from Thompson {-nwélˀn} -[nwέɬən] 'non-control middle voice'. This is possible because middle voice forms are never inflected with pronoun object forms in Salishan languages. Verbs in the middle voice in Nooksack, Halkomelem (Galloway 1977a:272-283), and most other Salishan languages have only one inherent participant, an actor/agent ('X sneezed', 'Y washed her (own) face'). Nooksack then has changed the function of {-nwélˀn} to 1p object with all control transitives in active voice (no longer middle). More on this borrowing in the conclusion of this paper.
Reflexive, reciprocal, and passive inflections are added to the bottom of each set in tables 5 and 6 because of their pronominal implications,

their mutual exclusivity with the object affixes, and their position in the same syntactic slot as the object affixes. Reflexive {-mot} only occurs with the accidental/limited control transitivizer, {-nox^{w}}; reflexive {-sot} occurs with the other transitivizers.

TABLE 5
Nooksack Object Pronoun Affixes

	Set 11	Set 12
1s	-miš	-s
2s	-mi(ʔ)	-sí
3s/p	-Ø	-Ø
1p	-wáłən	-əwáłən
2p	-(ó)moł	-ómoł
reflexive	-mot	-sot
reciprocal	-towáłʔ, -(t)áł	-(o)wáłʔ, -áł
passive	-m	-əm

(the second reciprocal forms in each column sometimes lack stress)

Passive inflection in Nooksack consists solely of {-əm} (/-m/ in set 11 and /-əm/ in set 12). If no personal pronouns or nominal phrases occur in the verb phrase, the passive verb expresses third person object or patient and impersonal or unstated subject or agent: 'they (unspecified)/ someone Xed him/her/it/them, he/she/it/they was/were Xed'. The agent of a passive verb is preceded by the article {ƛ̓æ} if a proper name. If the agent is not a proper name it is preceded by the other articles {tæ}, {cæ}, {k^{w}θæ}, {k^{w}}, etc.; this includes nominals, relative clauses, demonstrative pronouns, and third person independent pronouns, When nominal phrases expressing both agent and patient are present, the order is: passive verb + patient phrase + agent phrase. Thus example 81.

(81) PA:GS /ʔiɬ χóƛ̓-ən-əm tə John tæ sq^{w}əmáyʔ/ 'The dog bit John [John was bitten by the dog].'

When {ƛ̓æ} and a proper name are present, showing agent, the order is flexible. Thus examples 82 and 83.

(82) PA:GS /ʔiɬ χóƛ̓-ən-əm ƛ̓ John tæ sq^{w}əmáyʔ/ 'The dog got bit by John.'

(83) BG:GS /čæhí-t-əm təməƛ̓ó sótič ƛ̓-s ʔíɬ-æs mə łčíl/ 'That North Wind is being thanked by those that have arrived.'

When there is only one nominal, not a proper name, after a passive it is interpreted as the patient. Thus:

(84) BG:GS /χæχæ-to-m k^{w} stáx^{w}əɬ/ 'It's forbidden to the children.' (taboo-causative control-passive)(demonstrative article)(children)

(85) PF:GS /ʔíɬ k^{w}o x^{ʸ}óƛ̓^{w}-ot-əm tæ ʔæs-χóɬ swíyəqə/ 'Someone bathed the sick man (recent past).'

(86) PA:GS /ʔiɬ k^{w}ə(n)-nó-m k^{w}θæ ʔíɬ-oɬ nə-s-ʔik^{w}ə-no-m/ 'What was lost has been found.'

(87) PA:GS /ʔowʔæ-tó-m k^{w}θæ ʔiɬ ʔæy č-čwæx^{ʸ}/ 'girl's family refuse to let her marry [The one who was taking a wife was refused].' (is not-causative control-passive)(the, not in sight)(aux.)(continuative) (verbalizer-wife)

When the patient is a first or second person pronoun, subject pronouns from set 1 are used; They usually precede the verb but sometimes follow it. Thus:

(88) PA:SJ /ʔiɬ-čæn k^{w}æʔ-áƛ̓t-əm tíyə/ 'He let me go [I was let go by that one (male)].'

(89) PA:SJ /ʔiɬ-æ-čæx^{w} k^{w}áʔ-æt-əm/ 'Did he let you go [Were you let go]?'

(90) BG:LG /ʔíɬ-čəɬ wə-náƛ̓-t-əm/ 'We're invited.'

(91) PA:GS /ʔiɬ-čæx^{w} ʔæ-síʔsæyʔ-nít-əm k^{w}æs-íyə/ 'That guy doesn't trust you [You are not trusted/are felt afraid of by that one (male)].'

(92) PA:GS /ʔiɬ ʔæ-síʔæyʔ-nit-əm-čx^{w}/ 'You're not trusted.'

(93) PA:GS /ʔiɬ ʔæ-síʔæyʔ-nít-əm-čən/ '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 (1979b) 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^{w}} and the accidental/limited control transitivizer {-nox^{w}}. 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^{w}/ 'happen to, accidentally, manage to do to s-o/s-t (limited control transitivizer)' (s-o = someone, some people, s-t = something, some things; these are used to show third person object, {-Ø} in form)

/-tx^{w}/ 'causes s-o/s-t to do, make s-o/s-t do (causative control transitivizer)'

/-(V)t/ 'purposely do to s-o/s-t (full or purposive control transitivizer)'

/-ši-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 (indirective control transitivizer)'

/-(V)n/ ({-(V)n(t)}) 'do purposely to s-o/s-t (and complete the action)(purposive completive control transitivizer)'

/-ns/ '(happen to) do to s-o/s-t (probably another limited control transitivizer)'

/-əx^{ʸ}/ '(do purposely to s-t, inanimate object preferred)'.

TABLE 6
Nooksack Control Transitivizers + Object Pronouns

	Set 13, with -nox^{w} 'happen to, manage to, accidentally'	Set 14, with -tx^{w} 'causative'	Set 15 with -(V)t 'purposely'	Set 16, with -ši-t 'benefactive, malefactive'
1s	-nó́miš	-tó́miš	-c	-šic
2s	-nó́mi	-tomí?	-cí	-šicí
3s/p	-nox^{w}	-tx^{w}	-t	-šit
1p	-nwǽłən[1]	-twǽłən	-təwǽłən	-šitəwǽłən
2p	-nó́moł	-tó́moł	-tó́moł	-šitó́moł
refl.	-nó́mot	-cot	-cot	
recip.	-ntowǽl?	-towǽl?	-towǽl?	
pass.	-nó́m	-tó́m	-təm	-šitəm

	Set 17, with -nit 'indirectly affecting'	Set 18, with -(V)n 'purposely (completive)'	Set 19 with -ns (happen to)'	Set 20, with -(ə)x^{ʸ}, -æx^{ʸ} '(do purposely to (inan.)'
1s	-nic	-nc		
2s	-nicí	-ncí	-nsi	
3s/p	-nit	-n	-ns	-(ə)x^{ʸ}, -æx^{ʸ}
1p	-nitwǽłən	-ntəwǽłən		
2p	-nitó́moł	-ntó́moł[1]		
refl.	-nicot	-ncot		
recip.	-nitowǽl?	-ntowǽl?	-nswǽl?	
pass.	-nitəm	-nəm	-nsəm	-æx^{ʸ}əm

[1]By internal reconstruction

Many of the control suffixes have coalesced with or phonologically adjusted to the object suffixes. //t-s// --> /c/ in sets 15 through 18; this goes back to Proto-Salish (Newman 1979b) but is still transparent is Nooksack. The 'accidental, manage to' control suffix {-nox^{w}} has the shape /-nó́/ with 1s, 2s, 2p object, and reflexive and passive suffixes, and /-nox^{w}/ with 3s/p {-Ø}, and /-n/ with reciprocal and probably 1p object suffixes. Similarly the 'causative' control suffix {-tx^{w}}, having lost its initial /s/ (like Lushootseed) which characterizes it in nearly all the other Salishan languages, has allomorphs /-tó́/ with 1s and 2p object and passive suffixes, /-to/ with 2s object and reciprocal suffixes, /-tx^{w}/ with 3s/p object {-Ø}, and /-t/ with 1p object and reflexive suffixes.[4]

(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 {-ši-t} 'purposely benefactive/malefactive' can clearly be separated historically as two suffixes, the second being cognate with /-t/ in set 15. But the first suffix, {ši}, does not occur without the second, /-t/. There are no 'accidental benefactives' or 'causative benefactives' attested as there are in Lushootseed. So it may be that {-ši-t} now functions as a unit control suffix. Cognates of {-ši} are not usually described as control suffixes in the other Central Salish languages; neither are Upriver Halkomelem {-əɬcɛ} '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 {-ši} certainly modifies the

interaction between subject and object, as does /-ni-/ 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 /-n/ in sets 13, 17, 18, and 19. {-nox^{w}} 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 {-nit} 'indirectly affecting object' also shows this partial control or lack of control but over the object. Set 18 {-(V)n(t)} 'purposely (completive)' has a strong purposeful control element, but a /-t/ 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 {-nit}, on the other hand, seems unrelated; set 17 has no purposive 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 comparisons 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 1981a, 1981b, Carlson and Thompson 1981), there are likely covert degrees of inherent control present in individual verb roots in Salish 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

-nox^{w}	-tx^{w}	-(V)t	-ši-t
k^{w}ə́nox^{w} 'have/get/obtain/capture s-o/t'	k^{w}ənt5́m? 'it's been taken'	k^{w}ənk^{w}ənǽt 'to control s-o'	yæs-k^{w}ənšít 'take/carry it for s-o'
p5́ynox^{w} 'bend s-t by mistake, manage to bend it'		p5́yot 'try to bend s-t'	
k^{w}ə́łnox^{w} 'spill s-t unintentionally'		k^{w}ə́łət, k^{w}ə́łæt 'spill s-t on purpose'	
šók^{w}onox^{w}æs 'he's succeeded in bathing s-o against his will/by accident'		šók^{w}otəm 's-o bathed him (a sick man)'	
	?əs-c5́tx^{w}æs 'they said s-t'	c5́(?o)t, c5́wot 'say/plan s-t'	
	?æmítx^{w} 'bring s-t here, make it come'		?ǽmšit 'give hand over s-t to s-o'
	?5́x^{w}tx^{w} 'make s-o/t go on'		?5́x^{w}šit 'bring it for s-o, go get it for s-o, take it over to s-o'
x^{w}ə́c̓nomot 'cut oneself accidentally'			x^{w}ə́c̓šit 'cut it for s-o'
	?æsq̓5́tx^{w} 'include s-t'		
?5́lænox^{w} 'hear a little noise of s-o/t'			
		X̌ə́yəq̓ə́t 'cheat s-o'	
?íkʷænom 'it was lost'		?íkʷit 'throw s-t away'	

-nit	-(V)n	-ns	Intransitive
	k^{w}ənǽ?n 'get/take/grab s-o/t'		k^{w}ənǽ? 'hold/take/carry/grab/catch'
	p5́yon 'bend s-t (on purpose)'		p5́y 'bend, be limber', ?æsp5́y 'be curved'
	k^{w}ə́łæn, k^{w}ə́łən 'pour s-t out'		k^{w}ə́ł 'spill'
	šók^{w}on 'bathe s-o'		šók^{w}əm 'bathe' (middle voice)
	c5́n 'tell s-o, give s-o an order'		
?æm?ínit 'come to'			?æm?í 'go'
?5́x^{w}nit 'go after/seek s-o'			?5́x^{w}, ?5́x^{w} 'go'
	x^{w}ə́c̓ən 'cut s-o/t', x^{w}ə́c̓ənc5́t 'cut oneself intentionally'		x^{w}ə́c̓ 'get cut'
yə-s-q̓5́nit 'along with s-o'		q̓onswǽl 'come together (just meet, no purpose)'	s-q̓5́(?), ?æsq̓5́ '(be) with'
?5́lænit 'hear s-o/t'			?5́lænæ? 'heat'
	X̌ə́yəq̓ən 'cheat s-o'		

TABLE 7 (continued)
Nooksack Control Contrasts

-nox^{w}	-tx^{w}	-(V)t	-ši-t	-nit	-(V)n	-ns	Intransitive
pónox^{w} 'see s-o/t, happen to/accidentally see s-o/t'		pó(?o)t 'look at s-o/t (in sight, ?æspót 'look after/tend/ guard (s-o/t)'					pón 'look (open one's eyes)', ?æs-pón 'observe or on-look'
hónox^{w} 'burn s-t by accident/not on purpose, finally succeed in getting it started burning'					hónon 'burn s-t on purpose'		hón 'burn'
x̌éx̌ənox^{w} 'bite s-t by mistake, happen to bite s-o/t'					x̌éx̌ən 'bite s-o on purpose'		
	?əhæytx^{w} 'hire s-o (cause s-o to work)'			?əhæynit 'work on s-o'			?əhæy 'work'
		cək^{w}ét 'pull/ straighten it'			cək^{w}ənæs 'he straightened it out'		cék^{w} 'straight, become straight'
		cí?it 'build s-t'	cíšit 'build it for s-o'	čælænit 'follow s-o'	čælæn 'already followed s-o'		
łq̓ílnox^{w} 'know s-o/t'		łq̓íit 'question s-o'					
?itotnómot 'unintentionally went to sleep'	?ítotx^{w} 'put s-o to sleep'						
		?íliq̓ət 'buy s-t'	?íliq̓šit 'buy it for s-o'				?ítot 'to sleep'
t̓ów(?)nox^{w} (about) s-o/t, find out s-t, t̓ownómot 'understand'		t̓ówot 'figure s-t', t̓owt̓ów(?)cot 'think'					

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 {-ƛ̓min} '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 {-Ø} is called for, a set 6 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 /ʔiɬ-čən qʷə́lʔəs-noxʷ-ƛ̓mən/ 'I've really decided to boil it [I want to/in my mind manage to boil it].'
(95) PA:GS /ʔiɬ ɬəmoxʷ-noxʷ-ƛ̓mən/ 'Someone has been trying to make it rain.'
(96) PA:GS /ʔiɬ ʔəy kʷə́n-(n)oxʷ-ƛ̓mən/ '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 /ʔiɬ ʔəy hə́kʷ-oʔθ-ən-ƛ̓s/ 'He's kissing s-o.'(/-oʔc/ 'on the mouth')
(98) PA:GS /ʔiɬ-čən ʔoχʷ pə́n-xʸi(n)-noxʷ/ 'I've discovered his footprints.' (aux.-1s subj. indep. cl.)(go, aux.)(see-foot/feet-manage to-[Ø] 3s/p object)
(99) LT:GS /tə́p-os-ən/ 'hit s-o in the face' (contrast LT:LG /yəqʷ-ə́s-əm-čəxʷ/ 'Wash your face!' with /-əm/ 'middle voice')
(100) LT:LG /ʔiɬ nəxʷ-tə́p-os-c/ 'He hit me in the face.'
(101) PF:GS /məmə́ʔ-əqʷ-txʷ/ 'decapitate them' (come off-head-causative-[Ø] 3s/p object)
(102) PA:GS /mɬ-čxʷ ʔɬy-os-θot-(t)omixʸ/ 'You came (and) made me happy.' (come-2s subj. indep. cl.)(good-in face-get/become-causative-1s object) ({-cot$_2$} 'get, become')
(103) PA:GS /ʔiɬ poy-no-m-ƛ̓mən/ 'Somebody's decided to bend it.' ({-ƛ̓min} after control + passive)
(104) BE:SJ /ʔiɬ ɬqʷ-ə́s-ən-ƛ̓min-əs tə nəwɬ cə-mə-ƛ̓o/ 'She wants to slap you on the face.'
(105) PA:GS /ʔiɬ cəkʷ-ət-ƛ̓mən-(ə)s/ 'He wants to straighten it out.' (rare GS /c/)
(106) PA:GS /ʔiɬ čən xʸə́kʷ-əm-nə́mən/ 'I'd like to take a bath, I should take a bath.' (allomorph /nə́mən/ after /-əm/ 'middle voice')
(107) PF:GS /qʷoy-ə́ls-əmin/ 'to try to kill' ({-ƛ̓min} after intransitivizer 'patterned activity' {-ə́ls})

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

{-noxʷ} 'happen to, accidentally, manage to'

(108) PA:GS /ɬə́moxʷ-noxʷ-ə́s/, BG:LG /ɬə́məxʷ-nəxʷ-əs/ 'He made it rain.' (/ɬəmə́xʷ/ 'to rain')
(109) PA:GS /ʔɬ-čən qʷə́lʔəs-nə́xʷ/ 'I've succeeded in boiling it.' (/qʷə́lʔəs/ 'to boil')
(110) PA:GS /ʔɬ-čən hə́čəm-noxʷ tə kə́pi/ 'I've already had a little drink of coffee.' (/hə́čəm/ 'water; to drink')
(111) PA:GS /ʔiɬ ʔɬməxʸ-noxʷ/ 'help s-o to walk' (/ʔɬməš/ 'to walk')
(112) PA:GS /ʔiɬ tɬ̓ilim-nə́-mot/ 'never got a chance but now has a chance to sing' (/tɬ̓ilim/ 'to sing')
(113) PF:GS /ʔɬ-ə-cəɬ yəɬ χʷəθ-nə́moɬ/ 'Did we just cut you folks?'

(114) PF:GS /ʔɬχ-noxʷ-əs/ 'He scraped it off accidentally.'
(115) PF:GS /ʔɬɬ sə́q̓-noxʷ-əs/ 'He has it cracked.'
(116) PF:GS /ʔɬ-čə məlʔ tə́s-noxʷ/ 'I hit it accidentally.'
(117) PF:GS /ʔiɬ-tə səlƛ̓y-əs-noxʷ-əs tə s-yə́ʔyə-s/ 'He's making his friend drunk now.'
(118) PA:GS /ʔɬɬ-čəxʷ χə́X̌ə-nə́-mixʸ/ 'You just happened to bite me.'

{-txʷ} 'causative'

(119) PA:GS /yə́X̌-txʷ/ 'bring s-o/s-t back' (/txʷ-yə́X̌/ 'to return', /txʷ-/ 'towards')
(120) PA:GS /ʔiɬ-čən χə́ʔχəʔ-tə́-m kʷ-ən-s nɬčičəm-to-mɬʔ/ 'I was forbidden to tell you my story.'
(121) PA:SJ /X̌ə́-txʷ-ɬə cə-n čwə́š yəwə́nʔ nɬčim/ 'Let my wife speak first!' (be her-causative-2s strong imperative)(female, present, in sight-my)(wife)(be first)(to speak)
(122) BG:GS /ʔiɬən-tə́-m tə hə́ʔɬ s-ʔɬɬ-ən/ 'They were fed the best food.' (/ʔɬɬən/ 'to eat')
(123) PF:GS /tə́kʷ-txʷ-əs/ 'She took it home.' (/tə́kʷ/ 'go homeward')
(124) PF:GS /ʔɬɬ-oɬ hə́cəm-tə́-m/ 'He was given a drink.'
(125) PF:GS /ʔəs-nə́wʔ-txʷ/ 'have it in[side] s-t'
(126) PF:GS /mə[ɬ]č-ɬl-txʷ/ 'arrive with s-t' (/mə-ɬč-ɬl/ 'to arrive')

{-(V)t} 'purposely, intentionally'

(127) BG:GS /yə́lχ-t-əs/ 'he looks around/searches for s-o/s-t'
(128) PF:GS /ʔɬɬ-oɬ-čən noxʷ-mə́lqʷ-os-t-əm/ 'I was bashed on the face intentionally.'
(129) PA:SJ /kʷəʔ-ət-ə́moɬ-čəxʷ/ 'Let us go!' and /kʷəʔ-ə́t-əs/ 'He lets it go.'
(130) PA:GS /ʔə́χʷ-čən hiwəl-tə́n-t/ 'I'm going to trap s-t.'
(131) PA:SJ /χʷə́qʷ-ot/ 'pole it (a canoe)'
(132) PA:SJ /ʔɬɬ-čəɬ wə-nə́-t tə ləplɬt/ 'We called the preacher.'

{-ši-t} 'benefactive, malefactive'

(133) PF:GS /xʷə-mə-xʸɬ-t-əwə́ɬən-čxʷ/ 'Open it for us (mild imperative!'
(134) PF:GS /kʷo-wə́t-əs ʔɬɬ kʷə[l]-xʸɬ-θ-əs/ 'S-o hid s-t from me.' (/kʷə́l/ 'hide')
(135) PF:GS /ʔɬɬ ko[ʔ] ʔəy p̓ə́ʔθ-xʸi-t-əs kʷo-wə́t-əs/ 'S-o is sewing clothes for someone.' (/p̓ə́č-ən/ 'sew s-t', /kʷo-wə́t-əs/ 'someone')
(136) PF:GS /ləklɬt-xʸɬ-t kʷiə-mə-X̌ə́/ 'wind it for her' (/ləklɬ/ 'key' < Chinook Jargon /ləklɬ/ < French la clef)
(137) PA:SJ /ʔəy X̌əʔə́-ši-t-əwə́ɬən/ 'inviting us'
(138) LT:LG /ʔə́χʷ-ši-c/ 'go get it for me'
(139) PF:GS /ʔɬɬ-ə-kʷom χʷə́θ-xʸi-t-əs θ-ɬyə́/ 'Will he cut [it off for] her?'
(140) PF:GS /xʷə-mə-q-ɬlč-t-owə́ɬən/ 'open it for us' (/-ilč/ probably < UHk /-əlc(ɛ)/ 'benefactive')

{-nit} 'indirectly affecting object'

(141) PA:GS /ʔɬɬ čən tɬ̓ɬ-ni-θɬ/ 'I got lonesome for you.' (/tɬ̓ɬ/ 'to be lonesome')
(142) PA:GS /ʔiɬ ʔə(s) -sɬ[y]ʔsəyʔ-ni-θ-əs/ 'He's afraid of me, he doesn't trust me.' (/sɬyʔsəyʔ/ 'to be afraid')
(143) PA:GS /ʔəs-θɬxʷ-ni-t-owəlʔ/ 'pity each other, be kind to each other'
(144) PA:GS /(ʔəs-)hə́ʔkʷə-nit/ 'remember s-o/s-t' and /ʔəs-hə́kʷə-ni θɬ-č-kʷəm/ 'I'll think about [remember] you'
(145) PA:GS /ʔəs-θə́l-nit/ 'wish for s-o, be stuck on s-o'

(/ʔæs-/ stative aspect')
(146) BG:GS /ʔóχʷ čəwǽχ-nit-æs/ 'He went to get her for a wife.'
{-(V)n(t)} 'purposely (+ completive)'
(147) PF:GS /hó-on-æs tə lə-lǽlæm/ 'They burn(ed) a village on purpose.'
(148) PF:GS /s-kʷǽy kʷə-s hælí-n-c/ 'He couldn't cure me.' (/hælí/ 'be alive; healthy')
(149) PF:GS /ʔił χǽykʷ-æn-æs/ 'he dried it (deliberately)' (cf. PA:GS /ʔæy χǽykʷ-æn/ 'to be drying s-t')
(150) PA:GS /ʔówʔæ-čæxʷ tóp-on-θ-æxʷ/ 'Don't hit me!'
(151) PA:GS /ʔíł póy-on-æs/ 'He bent it.'
(152) PA:GS /téq-ən-łæ tæ xʸǽł/ 'Close the door!'
(153) BG:LG /nə-s-X̌íʔ kʷə-n-s łǽc-ənʔ cə píš/ 'I want to pet the cat.'
{-ns} '(happen to)'
(154) PA:GS /ʔíł-čæn X̌í-nsi/ 'I like you.', but BG:LG has /ʔíł-čən X̌í-nʔci/ (set 18) 'I like you.'
(155) PA:GS /ʔíł-čæxʷ X̌í-ns-əm/ vs. BG:LG /ʔíł-čəxʷ X̌í-nʔc-əm/ (both 'S-o wants you, you are wanted/liked.'
(156) LT:LG /kʷǽʔæ-ns-əẃǽlʔ/ 'come apart, separate into two parts, fall apart (e.g. glue loosens and books falls apart; it's all coming apart)', PA:GS /kʷænswǽl/ 'fall apart', LT:LG [kʷə̂ʔn̓sᵊwɛ́lˈ] 'to come apart, separate into two parts' (cf. /kʷǽʔ-æt/ 'let s-o/s-t go')
{-(əxʸ, -æxʸ} '(purposely)(inanimate obj, preferred)'
(157) BG:GS /híw-əxʸ-æs kʷθə hǽʔł s-ʔíłən/ 'they bring forward the best [good] food'
(158) PF:GS /ʔíł ʔæy kʷǽl-xʸ-əs/ 'He is hiding it.' (cf. UHk /kʷɛ́l-xʸ-əs/ 'he hides it')
(159) PF:GS /ʔíł-tæ ʔæy noxʷ-mǽ-xʸ-əs/ 'they go along opening it (a door)' (cf. UHk /xʷ-mɛ́-xʸ/ ' open it (door, gate, anything similar)')
(160) PF:GS /tə ʔił s-qíq̓ s-tíʔixʷ ʔił ʔoχʷ nóʔw-æxʸ-əm/ 'The arrested person was put inside (jail).' (cf. UHk /lɛ́w-əxʸ-əm/ '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. Tables 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 /nəkʷ/ and 1p possessive /-ł/). Samish pronouns (Galloway 1990a:29-38) are also similar to those of Saanich.

TABLE 8
Upriver Halkomelem Personal Pronoun Affixes

	Set 1. Subject of Independent Clause MV_, aux_ MV	Set 2 Subject of Subjunctive Clause a. V_	or b. aux_
1s	-cəl	-ɛ́l	-l
2s	-cəxʷ	-əxʷ	-xʷ
3s/p	-Ø (Vi_), -əs (Vt_)	-əs	-s
1p	-cət	-ət	-t
2p	-cɛp	-ələp, -ɛ́p	-p

	Set 3. Subject of Subordinate Clause _#V + V_		Set 4. Possessive Affixes _#N + N_	
1s	-əl-s		-əl	
2s	-ɛ́-s		-ɛ	
3s/p	-s	-s		-s
1p	-s	-cət		-cət
2p	-ɛ-s	-ələp	-ɛ	-ələp

	Set 11. Object -1_, -sT_	Set 12a. Object	Set 12b Passive
1s	-ǽxʸ	-ǽxʸ	-ɛ̀ləm
2s	-ǽmə	-ǽmə	-ə̀·m
3s/p	-əxʷ	-Ø	-əm
1p	-alxʷ	-alxʷ	(-alxʷ-əs)
2p	-alə	-alə	-ə̀ləm

TABLE 9

UHK indep. pers. pronouns

	Set 5. Verbal	Set 6. Nominal	Set 7. Object of Preposition	Set 8b. Possessive Emphatic, Verbal
s1	ʔɛ́lθɛ[1]	tɛ-ʔɛ́lθɛ[2]	X̌ɛ-ʔɛ́lθɛ[4]	əl swɛ́
s2	lɛ́wə	tɛ-lɛ́wə	X̌ə-lɛ́wə	ʔɛ swɛ́
s3m		tʊ́-X̌a[3]	tʊ́-X̌a	
s3f		θʊ́-X̌a[3]	θʊ́-X̌a	
s3un	X̌á	tʊ́-X̌a[3]	tʊ́-X̌a	swɛ́s
p1	łlíməł	tɛ-łlíməł	X̌ɛ-łlíməł[4]	s?áł,swɛ́-cət
p2	łwɛ́ləp	tɛ-łwɛ́lp	X̌ɛ-łwɛ́ləp	ʔɛ swɛ́ʔəlɛ́p
p3m		tu-X̌á·ləm[3]	tu-X̌á·ləm	
p3f		θu-X̌á·ləm[3]	θu-X̌á·ləm	
p3un	X̌á·ləm	yu-X̌á·ləm[3]	yu-X̌á·ləm	swɛ́s
p3ku		ʔɛ́·ɬtəl		

	(Set 9b. Possessive Emphatic, Nominal)[5]	(Set 10b. Possessive Emphatic, Nominal (near, not in sight))[5]
s1	təl swɛ́	kʷθəl swɛ́
s2	tɛ(ʔ) swɛ́	kʷθɛ swɛ́
s3m	tə swɛ́-s	kʷθə swɛ́
s3f	θə swɛ́-s	kʷsə swɛ́
s3un	tə swɛ́-s	kʷθə swɛ́
p1	tə s?áł,tə swɛ́-cət	kʷθə s?áł,kʷθə swɛ́-cət
p2	tɛ swɛ́ʔəlɛ́p	kʷθɛ swɛ́ʔəlɛ́p
p3m	tə swɛ́-s	kʷθə swɛ́-s
p3f	θə swɛ́-s	kʷsə swɛ́-s
p3un	tə swɛ́-s	kʷθə swɛ́-s

[1]The s1 form alone has an emphatic form, /ʔɛ́ʔɛlθɛ/.
[2]The s1 form alone has an emphatic form, /tɛ-ʔɛ́ʔɛlθɛ/.
[3]Also members of a set of demonstrative pronouns:

	m	f	human plural
s	tʊ́X̌a	θʊ́X̌a	---
p	tuX̌á·lən	θuX̌á·ləm	yuX̌á·ləm
absent	kʷθʊ́·X̌á	kʷsʊ́·X̌á	kʷθʊ́·X̌áləm
deceased	kʷʊ́·X̌á·ł	kʷsʊ́·X̌á·ł	kʷθʊ́·X̌á·lə́məł
diminutive	tʊ́·X̌áX̌əm	(?)	X̌ə́X̌ələ́·m

[4]X̌ɛ- ~ X̌ə- in these forms.
[5]More constructions than paradigms.

TABLE 10
Upriver Halkomelem Control and Object Suffixes

	Set 13, -ləxʷ 'accidentally, manage to'	Set 14, -sT-əxʷ 'causative'	Set 15, -(ə)T-Ø 'purposely'	Set 16b, -əlcɛ 'benefactive, malefactive'
1s	-l-áxʸ	-sθ-áxʸ	-θ-áxʸ	-əlcɛ-θáxʸ
2s	-l-ámə	-sθ-ámə	-θámə	-əlcɛ-θámə
3s/p	-l-əxʷ	-st-əxʷ	-t	-əlcɛ-t
1p	-l-álxʷ	-st-álxʷ	-t-álxʷ	-əlcɛ-t-álxʷ
2p	-l-álə	-st-álə	-t-álə	-əlcɛ-t-álə
refl.	-l-á·mət	-st-əlámət, -st-ələ́mət	-θ-ət	
recip.	(-l-átəl?)	(-st-təl?)	-təl,-tá·l	-(ə)ɬ-t-əl

	Set 17b, -məT 'indirective'	Set 19, -(ə)ləs '(happen/manage) to do regarding'	Set 20, -(ə)xʸ 'purposely do (to s-t)'
1s	-məθ-áxʸ	-ləs-áxʸ	-xʸ-áxʸ
2s	-məθ-ámə	-ləs-ámə	-xʸ-ámə
3s/p	-mət	-ləs	-xʸ
1p	-mət-álxʷ	-ləs-álxʷ	-xʸ-álxʷ
2p	-mət-álə	-ləs-álə	-xʸ-álə
refl.	-məθ-ət		

Fuller glosses (allosemes) of third person forms:
Set 13 -l-əxʷ 'do accidentally to s-o/t, happen/manage to do to s-o/t'
Set 14 -sT-əxʷ '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 -(ə)T 'do purposely/intentionally to s-o/t'
Set 16b -əlcɛ-T 'do for s-o, (less often) do on s-o'
Set 17b -məT 'happen (with little control) to do (a mental/emotional action) regarding s-o/t'
Set 19 -(ə)ləs '(happen/manage to) do an action regarding s-o/t'
Set 20 -(ə)xʸ 'do purposely to s-t (rarely to s-o)'

TABLE 11
Lushootseed Subject, Possessive, and Independent Pronouns

	Set 1. Subject of Independent Clause	Set 2. Subject of Dependent Clause[1] if all preceding vowels = ə[2]	Set 2. Subject of Dependent Clause[1] elsewhere	Set 3. Subject of Subordinate Clause
1s	čəd	-ad	-əd	d-s-
2s	čəxʷ	-axʷ	-əxʷ	ʔad-s-
3s/p	not marked	-as	-əs	s- -s
1p	čəł	-ałi	-əłi	s- -čəł
2p	čələp	-alәp	-əlәp	s- -ləp

	Set 4. Possessive (or Absolute)	Set 5. Emphatic Independent (Verbal)[4] NLd, SLd (1s)
1s	d-	ʔəcə́, ʔə́cə
2s	ʔad-	dəgʷ ́
3s/p	-s	cədíł (3s)
1p	-čəł[3]	díbəł
2p	-ləp	gʷəlápu
3p	-s	(h)əlgʷəʔ

No prefixed set 6 or 7 but article + set 5 can occur, as in bə́d-čəł ti dəgʷ ́ 'You are our father.'

	(Set 8a. Independent Possessive with gʷəł 'belonging to')[5]	Set 8b. Independent Possessive (Verbal) 'is one's own'	(Set 9b. Independent Possessive (Nominal))[5]
1s	gʷəł ʔəcə́	d-s-gʷə́ʔ	tə d-s-gʷə́ʔ
2s	gʷəł dəgʷ ́	ʔad-s-gʷə́ʔ	tə ʔad-s-gʷə́ʔ
3s/p		s-gʷə́ʔ-s	tə s-gʷə́ʔ-s
1p	gʷəł díbəł	s-gʷə́ʔ-čəł	tə s-gʷə́ʔ-čəł
2p	gʷəł gʷəlápu	s-gʷə́ʔ-ləp	tə s-gʷə́ʔ-ləp

[1]Contrary to fact, doubtful, conjectural, (gʷə-V_) 'when/if/ought/might/must'
[2]Excluding prefixes
[3]Cannot occur in the same clause with sets 1 or 2
[4]1s for example glossed 'I, I am (the one)'
[5]More a construction than a paradigm

TABLE 12
Lushootseed Control Transitivizers and Object Suffixes

	Set 11. Object	Set 12. Object	Set 13. -dxʷ/-du- 'responsible'	Set 14. -txʷ/-tu- 'causative'
1s	-bš	-s	-du-bš	-tu-bš
2s	-bicid	-sid	-du-bicid	-tu-bicid
3s/p	not mkd.	not mkd.	-dxʷ	-txʷ
1p	-buł	-ubuł	-du-buł	-tu-buł
2p	-buləd	-ubuləd	-du-buləd	-tu-buləd
refl.	-but	-sut	-du-but	-tu-but
recip.	-agʷəl[3]	-agʷəl[3]	-d-agʷəl	-t-agʷəl
spc. goal[1]	-b	-əb	-du-b	-tu-b

	Set 15a. -c 'purposive'	Set 15b. -s (allomorph of {-c} 'purposive'[2]	Set 18. -d/-t- {-(V)T} 'general transitivizer'
1s	-c-əbš	-i-s-əbš	-t-s > -c
2s	-c-əbicid	-i-s-bicid	-t-s-id > -cid
3s/p	-c	-i-s	-əd
1p	-c-əbuł	-i-s-buł	-t-ubuł
2p	-c-əbuləd	-i-s-buləd	-t-ubuləd
refl.	-cə-but	-i-s-but	-t-sut > -cut
recip.	-c-agʷəl	-i-s-agʷəl	-t-agʷəl
spc. goal[1]	-c-əb	-i-s-əb	-t-əb

	Set 16. NLd -yi-T, SLd -ši-T 'transferred responsibility'[5]		Set 17a. -di-T (transitive)
1s	-yi-c	-ši-c	-di-c
2s	-yi-cid	-ši-cid	-di-cid
3s/p	-yi-d	-ši-d	-di-d
1p	-yi-t-ubuł	-ši-t-ubuł	-di-t-ubuł
2p	-yi-t-ubuləd	-ši-t-ubuləd	-di-t-ubuləd
refl.			-di-cut
recip.			-di-t-agʷəl
spc. goal[1]	-yi-t-əb	-ši-t-əb	-di-t-əb

	Set 17b. -bi-T 'indirective'	Set 20. -š allomorph[4] of {-(V)T}
1s	-bi-c	-(ə)bš
2s	-bi-cid	-(ə)bicid
3s/p	-bi-d	-(ə)š
1p	-bi-t-ubuł	
2p	-bi-t-ubuləd	
refl.	-bi-cut	-cut
recip.	-bi-t-agʷəl	
spc. goal[1]	-bi-t-əb	-i-b

Fuller glosses (allosemes) of third person forms:
Set 13 -d-xʷ/-du- 'do to s-o/t with little control but responsible for outcome, accidentally, unintentionally, manage to succeed in spite of difficulties'
Set 14 -txʷ/-tu- 'causative, (in some contexts) ask/invite s-o to do, (after set 5 as roots) allow/permit/require s-o to do, (after some adverbs + negative) let s-o do'

TABLE 12 (continued)

Set 15a -c 'do purposely to s-o/t'
Set 15b -s 'do purposely to s-o/t' (allomorph of 15a)
Set 16 -yi-T/-ši-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 -(V)d/-(V)t- 'general transitivizer, neutral regarding purpose and degree of control'
Set 20 -š 'general transitivizer' (allomorph of 18)

[1]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 {?ə}
[2]This allomorph follows (-il) 'inceptive' or (-agʷil) 'go'
[3]-əgʷəl if preceding syllable has stressed or long vowel
[4]Occurs only after certain stems: SLd ƛ̓ál-š 'put it on', tagʷš 'buy it', ʔiši-š 'paddle it', χ̓ál-š 'mark it', suxʷt-əš 'recognize him'; NLd dəgʷá-š 'put it inside of', łq̓á-š 'put it down', p̓t̓á-š 'put it away', t̓ágʷt-əš 'put it up on s-t'(SLd uses {-(V)T} instead for all these)
[5]Set 16 can follow control affixes in sets 13, 14, 15a, and 15b, as in: ƛ̓ál-dxʷ-yi-d 'manage to put it on for him', ʔúχ̓ʷ-txʷ-yi-d 'take it for him' ʔús-is-yid 'dive after it for him', ʔúχ̓ʷ-c-yi-d 'go after it for him'

Sets 1 are similar in form and function in all three languages (Nk, Hk, and Ld). Nk and UHk differ from Ld in having a 3s/p subject suffix after transitive verbs. Nk differs from UHk and Ld in having a 1s alternate without the final consonant. In set 2, Nk differs from UHk and Ld in not having two sets, one with full vowel and one with /ə/ 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 negation; Ld requires sets 1, 3a or 4 in negative constructions (Ld /xʷiʔ/ + set 1 + /lə-/ + V; /xʷiʔ/ + /gʷə-/ + set 3a- + V; /xʷiʔ/ + set 4- + N; etc. /xʷiʔ/ represents negation, V = verb, N = nominal). Nk and UHk also differ from Ld in having alternative 2p set 2 forms with and without the /-æl-/ or /-əl-/ pluralizer.

All three languages are alike in form and function in having sets 3 based on sets 4; {s-} nominalizes and the pronouns "possess" subordinate verb phrases. All three languages are also similar in beginning the nominalized verb phrase with a demonstrative article expressing 'abstract/distant', then 1s or 2s pronouns (if appropriate), nominalizer, verb phrase, and plural or 3s/p pronouns (if appropriate). For 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 2s alternative forms with final /n/ (like Ld) and without (like UHk).

Sets 5 and 6 show Nk and UHk different from Ld in having three cognate 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 /ɬ-/ in 1p and 2p sets 5, 6, and 7; Nk only has this /ɬ-/ in 2s and 2p in

sets 8, 9, and 10. Set 5 is used verbally and for focus or emphasis in all three languages.

Sets 6 and 7 have prefixed articles in both Nk and UHk but not in Ld; the article/particularizer is preposed in Ld, which has a construction then (particularizer + set 5) rather than a paradigm for set 6. Nk and UHk also differ from Ld in having third person forms constructed with another prefix between the prefixed article and the set 5 root. But Nk and Ld differ from UHk in not having articles prefixed to show gender distinctions in 3p forms.

Nk and UHk again are alike in having a set 7, similar in form and function, which Ld lacks. Nk and UHk also share the use of set 6 forms in set 7 third person, though Nk has /ƛ̓ə-ʔǽɬiɬten/ while no cognate form is attested in UHk set 7 (i.e., no */ƛ̓ɛ-ʔɛ́·ɬtəl/).

Ld has a construction (set 8a) cognate in form and function to Nk set 8; so far no Nk cognates for sets 8b in Ld and UHk have been found. An alternative form for 1p {swɛ́-cət} in UHk set 8b, namely {s-ʔáɬ}, may be related to Nk set 8 /sɬiyʊ́(ʔ)ɬ/; /sɬiyʊ́(ʔ)ɬ/ may derive from {s-ɬiyə́-ʔoɬ} with {s-} nominalizer, and demonstrative {ɬiyə́} 'here'.

Constructions rather than paradigms are used in both UHk and Ld in place of Nk sets 9 and 10. Evidence for set 10 constructions or paradigms is hard to find in all three languages.

UHk set 12a has diverged from Nk and Ld (and Proto-Salish) sets 12. UHk has replaced its reflexes of PS set 12 *-s and *-sí everywhere with its reflexes from PS set 11. It has developed /θ/ regularly < *c, even where *c < control transitivizer *-t + object *-s or *-sí or reflexive *-sut. Thus UHk has /θ/ in 1s, 2s, and reflexive, alternating with /t/ in the other persons. This alternation (symbolized by the morphophoneme //T//) is now part of the UHk control transitivizers and has also been extended to the 'causative', replacing plain *{-stəxʷ} with UHk {-sT-əxʷ}. UHk set 11 also has reanalyzed the /əxʷ/ of its causative and accidental control suffixes as 3s/p object, replacing zero which used to carry that meaning in the set.

Nk and Ld differ from UHk in having only one suffix in each set for the passive (= Ld 'specific goal'); the patient is shown with set 1 affixes. UHk cannot use set 1 with its passive; instead Uhk has a distinct passive paradigm (12b), derived largely from its object set 12a. An /-m/ or /-əm/, cognate with the Nk and Ld forms, is used to derive UHk passive inflections. The UHk passive paradigm has distinct forms for each person and number, except for 1p where it uses the active set 12a form and for 3s/p where it does not distinguish number. The UHk passive affixes serve the same functions as the Nk passive + set 1 and the Ld 'specific goal' + set 1. UHk passive inflections are attested with all UHk transitivizers and benefactive. Nk passive and Ld specific goal inflections are also attested with all the other transitivizer and recipient paradigms.

In sets 11, Nk, UHk, and Ld share cognates in 1s, 2s, and reflexive. In 2s Ld has /-bi-ci-d/ in which /-bi-/ is cognate with Nk and Uhk set 11 forms, /-ci-/ is cognate with forms in set 12 in most of the other Salishan languages (Newman 1979b), and /-d/ is shared only with Twana. In 3s/p Nk, UHk and Ld have cognates with each other, but UHk has reanalyzed part of the accidental and causative control suffixes as 3s/p object, as noted. Nk and Ld 2p suffixes are cognate with each other but not with that of UHk. The 1p forms in sets 11 all appear unrelated in the three languages. UHk has 1p and probably 2p forms in sets 11 and 12 developed from Proto-Salish set 12 forms; Ld has continued the Proto-Salish set 11 forms, adding its

own /-əd/ to distinguish 2p; Nk has continued the Proto-Salish 2p forms but has borrowed {-wə́łən} in 1p sets 11 and 12 from Thompson {-nwé̓łn} 'non-control middle voice'. This borrowing probably took place first into the Nk non-control 'manage to, accidentally' paradigm (set 13), which internal reconstruction shows would be /-n-wə́łən/, and then was extended by analogy to the other sets. 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 (Ld) or identical (St) to those in 2p (Charles, Demers and Bowman 1978, Efrat 1969, Raffo 1972, Newman 1979b).

The antiquity of this Nk borrowing from Thompson is not clear yet, but Hk and Songish (via Hk) also show intimate borrowing from Thompson. Hk has 1p and 2p object suffixes borrowed at some stage from Interior Salish (Newman 1979b:302)(I suggest Thompson); these probably diffused from UHk to DHk to IHk. Songish then borrowed the 1p form, probably from IHk. Both Hk and Sg borrowings from Th were probably also to avoid ambiguous 1p and 2p object forms. Ld solved the problem by adding /-əd/ on its 2p forms.

Nk shows at least one other Th influence, {kʷənə́ʔ} 'take it', a control transitive, unique in that it lacks a Nk control transitivizer. It seems to have been borrowed from the Spuzzum dialect of Th /kʷénne/ (Lytton and Nicola Valley dialects have /kʷéna/) 'take it'. Neither this nor {-nwé̓łn} seem 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, Teosaluk, 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 1p has just been discussed. In the other persons and numbers of sets 12 Nk and Ld have regular cognates, with Ld only adding /-d/ in 2s and /-əd/ in 2p to help distinguish them from otherwise similar first person forms. The Nk reciprocal forms /-owə́lʔ/ and /-ə́l ~ -əl/ show no differences in meaning between them, but the former may be related to the Ld reciprocal, and the latter may be related to the UHk reciprocal; the vowels show traces of borrowing and metathesis. 'Reciprocal' cognates Sq /-way/, Ld /-agʷəl/, Lm /-əkʷəl/, Sg /-əkʷəl ~ -əwəl/, Th /-wə́xʷ/, Sh /-wexʷ/, Col /-wixʷ/ (Interior /xʷ/ unexplained) favor the idea that Nk /-owə́lʔ/ was inherited and /-ə́l ~ -əl/ borrowed 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 seven examples with Nk /-(t)ə́l ~ -(t)əl/ and eighteen with /-(t)owə́lʔ/ reciprocals.

The control transitivizers in all three languages are cognate in form and function in sets 13, 14, 15a, and perhaps 20. Historically it appears that PS had *-stəw 'causative' and *-nəw 'accidental/manage to' control transitivizers (Thompson 1979a, Newman 1979b, Kinkade 1981b). By the time of PCS these had developed an alternation *-stu ~ *-stuxʷ/*stəxʷ and *-nu ~ *nuxʷ/*-nəxʷ (see footnote 4 below), with the /xʷ/-allomorphs only in 3s/p. /xʷ/ developed as an irregular devoiced version of /w/ in these two suffixes. A few of the daughter languages, such as Nk, retained both /u/ and /xʷ/ in 3s/p object forms, but most developed (or retained) the /əxʷ/ version in 3s/p, in alternation with /-stu/ and /-nu/ elsewhere. With PCS *ɑ̈ > Hk and SSt /ə́/ and PCS unstressed *u > Hk and St /ə/ (Galloway 1988a) the link of rounding between /xʷ/ and /u/ alternates was broken.

UHk reanalysis of /əxʷ/ as /-əxʷ/ was further facilitated by the extension of Hk set 11 forms with /ə́/ to set 12 1p and 2p, where there was no *u ot *xʷ in the control suffixes at all. Thus the /a/-forms appeared independent of the /əxʷ/ forms, and /-əxʷ/, appearing only in 3s/p, was free to replace /-Ø/ '3s/p object' in set 11 in UHk. There is now no synchronic reason in UHk to see /-əxʷ/ as part of /-st/ or /-l/, and there are several reasons why it needs to be segmented: a) nothing remains of it in the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, or persons 1 or 2, b) it is consistent in form across different transitivizers (sets 13 and 14), and c) a consistent and otherwise unmarked meaning is present, 3s/p object.

In sets 13 and 14, once the reanalyses by UHk is taken into account, it is clear that there are good correspondences in the control and object suffixes:

3s/p object:	set 13	Nk /-noxʷ/	set 14	Nk /- t xʷ/
		UHk /-ləxʷ		UHk /-st-əxʷ/
		Ld /-d xʷ/		Ld /- t xʷ/
1s object:	set 13	Nk /-n ɓ-miš/	set 14	Nk /- t ɓ-miš/
		UHk /-l-ə́ xˀ/		UHk /-sθ-ə́ xˀ/
		Ld /-d u-b š/		Ld /- t u-b š/

In all three languages the set 13 control suffix means 'manage to, happen to, accidentally'; often there is purposeful action and successful completion, but the actor always has only partial control over the action, thus 'manage to, finally succeed in'. The set 14 control suffix is 'causative' in all three languages, with a weaker meaning, 'let, allow' when suffixed to set 5 verbal pronoun roots ('let me, let it be me').

Set 15(a) features Nk /c ~ t/, UHk /θ ~ t/, and Ld/c/ (/-s/ in 15b is also cognate though the set is labelled 15b). The Nk /c/ represents //t-s// where the /t/ is part of the control suffix and the /s/ is part of the 1s, 2s, and reflexive suffixes, {-s}, {-sɪ}, and {-sot}. UHk has /θ/ < *c < *t-s in 1s, 2s, and reflexive only, reflecting the same ancient coalescence. Ld has generalized the /c/ < //t-s// to all persons in set 15a but has dropped the //-t// in set 15b. In both 15a and 15b the control suffix is 'purposive' or to do purposely (with full control over the action)' in all three languages.

Thompson (1979a) shows that the Thompson language has {-t} as a simple transitivizer rather than as a control suffix: to form [+control] stems from inherently [-control] or [+limited control] roots, {-t} is not enough; {-n} must be added, then the {-t} transitivizer. [+control] stems with {-t} but no preceding {-n} are the test: they are only formed from roots that are already inherently [+control]. So {-t} does not affect the control status. Ld has also headed in this direction since its {-d/-t-} in sets 16-18 is glossed as 'general transitivizer'; its /-d/ < PCS *n has merged with /-t/ everywhere in sets 16-18 except in 3s/p and has lost its [+control] force. Ld has {-c} in set 15a instead to show purposive control. UHk has no trace of the purposive [+control] *-n inflection, and so the {-T} has taken over the purposive [+control] function.

Nooksack, as seen above, has both the {-(V)n(t)} inflection (set 18) and the {-(V)t} inflection (set 15) expressing purposive [+control]. A subtle and covert semantic contrast has developed between these suffixes: the former adds the element [+completive] and the latter adds (or implies) [-completive] or [+partial completion]. See the contrasts in table 7. To insure that the [+control] is from the inflection {-(V)t} and not from the root, I surveyed the Nooksack examples. So far 45 Nk verbs are attested with the {-(V)t} inflection alone as control transitivizer, and all but one

show both 'purposive' and [+control] with this inflection. Fifteen of these 45 also 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] ot [+control], so {-(V)t} contributes those elements.

For example, {kʷɬ} 'to spill' has no purposive element and no agent specified who controls the action (the subject is a semantic patient). {kʷɬłæt ~ kʷɬłæt} 'spill s-t (on purpose), pour s-t' has both purposive and agent full control. Table 7 shows other examples. The only verb that seems to show purposive but limited control with {-(V)t} is /pɔ́y-ot-æš/ in /ʔił ʔæy pɔ́yotæs/ 'He's been trying to bend it.' This counter-example would be explained if the attempt had achieved some bending (only not enough); the improved gloss, 'He's been bending it.', would fit better and show full control with partial completion. This also illustrates part of the interaction of control with its semantic environment.

In the preceding and following discussion notice that [intent] is probably a separate semantic feature of the control transitivizers. 'Purposive' is [+intent][+control]; 'happen to, accidentally' is [-intent][+limited control ~ -control], but 'manage to' is [+intent] [+limited control]. 'Causative' is [+intent][+control} and [+object performs action] or some such feature. Knowing the control feature, intent may be predictable for most Salishan languages, but this should not be taken for granted. Also as noted by Thompson (1979a)(presented in 1976), Galloway (1978), and Saunders and Davis (1978), control also appears as a feature in intransitivizers in Thompson, Upriver Halkomelem, and Bella Coola. This is another fascinating area to investigate for Nk and other Salishan languages but is beyond the scope of this paper.

Sets 16a and 16b feature a secondary suffix, 'benefactive/malefactive' in combination with a following purposive control suffix from set 15(a) in Nk and UHk and with the general transitivizer from set 18b in Ld. The malefactive use is rare in all three languages. Notice from table 9 that the Ld 'benefactive' can co-occur with (follow) each of the control suffixes. Such co-occurrence is not attested in UHk or Nk so far; only the purposive control transitivizer is attested with 'benefactive/malefactive' in UHk and Nk.

Sets 17a and 17b may also have once combined secondary suffixes (*-ni and *-mi respectively) with the purposive control suffix *-t, but, as a number of examples show, there is no longer a consistent 'purposive' meaning in the combination in Nk, UHk, and Ld; some examples show implications of 'purposive', some show implications of 'happen to', etc. So in all three languages the /-t/ in sets 17a and 17b is best regarded as showing an alloseme, a general transitivizer as in Ld, if segmented at all. Semantically and functionally Nk {-nit} and UHk {-məT} can be regarded as unit control transitivizers meaning 'indirectly affecting s-o/s-t'. Formally the control transitivizers ar cognate in Nk and Ld in set 17a and in UHk and Ld in set 17b. Verbs with these suffixes often express mental or emotional actions in all three languages.

Set 18b in Ld has 'general transitivizer' {-d/-t-}, which seems in part cognate with Nk set 18 'purposely (+completive)' control transitivizer {-(V)n(t)}. The Nk suffix may be derived from {-(V)n} plus 'purposive' {-t} (from set 15) or the /-t/ may just be extended from the other paradigms by analogy. The Nk /-t/ however is absent in 3s/p and passive, unlike the purposive /-t/ in the other paradigms. This points to the /-t/ being added

by analogy and the {-(V)n} already containing the purposive control element as in Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:74-76). UHk has no cognate in form or function with this set.

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 /-noxʷ/ in set 13 in Nk and similarly in UHk; any added meaning that the /s/ element contributes is so far unclear, though in UHk it may add 'regarding s-o, indirectly affecting s-o', much as set 17b {-məT} does. More examples are needed to prove or disprove this for Nk. In fact, the suffix may be borrowed from UHk since two of the only four examples have the set 18 suffix {-(V)n(t)} instead when spoken by a different speaker (LG).

Set 20 seems cognate in form and function in all three languages but may be borrowed into Nk from UHk. So for it is only attested by GS in Nk without confirmation by other speakers (who should have /-(ə)š/). Further supporting the possibility of borrowing from UHk are almost identical UHk cognates for all the root + suffix combinations attested in Nk except one, and 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 from the examples above. In Ld /-š/ 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 /nɔ́ʔw-æxʸ-əm/ 'he was put inside', UHk /lɔ́w-əxʸ-əm/ 'it was put in something hollow', Ld /dəgʷɑ́-š/ '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 /sɑ́xʷt-əš/ 'recognize him') the suffix shows purposeful control in all three languages.

5. Conclusion. In a language such as Nooksack, where sociolinguistic and phonological interference, borrowing, and influence have been attested from its neighbors UHk, Ld, and English for one or more centuries, it is not surprising to find morpho-syntactic borrowing, influence, and interference as well. On the morpho-syntactic level, as on the sociolinguistic and phonological levels, language interference comes most from UHk, then from Ld, English, and perhaps Straits. An old level of morphological borrowing from Thompson is also beginning to show up.

UHk influence on the Nk systems con be seen in 1) pressure for alternative forms of pronouns and affixes with unstressed /i/, /æ/, or /o/ becoming /ə/, 2) pressure to drop the final /n/ from 2s set 4 affixes, 3) the second reciprocal suffix /-(t)ɑ́l, -(t)æl/ probably borrowed from UHk /-tɑ́·l, -təl/ 'reciprocal', 4) probable borrowing by GS of Nk /-ilč/ 'benefactive' (one example) from UHk /-əɬcɛ/ 'benefactive/malefactive', 5) possible borrowing by GS of Nk {-əxʸ} (four examples) from UHk {-(ə)xʸ} 'do purposely to s-t (inanimate object preferred)', 6) possible borrowing of Nk {-ns} '(happen to) transitivizer' from UHk {-(ə)ləs} 'happen/manage to do regarding/indirectly affecting s-o' (or from DHk and IHk which have {-nəs} for this).

Ld influence on the Nk systems can be seen in 7) GS's difficulty producing Nk 1p and 2p object-affixed forms, probably due to interference

of similar Ld 1p {-(u)buł} and 2p forms {-(u)bułəd}, 8) GS's sometimes using 1p NK {-(ə)wɛ́łən} as 2p form instead of 2p {-ɓmoł}, 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-cid/ forms. These effects are less profound and structured than those from UHk influence.

St influence on the Nk systems can be seen in 10) GS's sometimes giving Nk 2s form /-cí/ when asked for 2p object forms with /-ɓmoł/, probably due to interference from the St identical 2s and 2p object affixes based on the 2s form (Cl /-c/, So /-əs/, Sg /-sə/ '2s/p neutral object' and Cl /-c/, So /-ŋə/, Sg /-ŋə/ '2s/p causative object')(Newman 1979b:300).

Th influence can be seen in 11) the borrowing of Nk 1p object affix sets 11 and 12 {-(ə)wɛ́łən} (first probably through set 13 {-nwɛ́łən} from Th {-nwɛ́ɬn} 'non-control middle voice', and probably in 12) a few Nk /-V?/ verb forms like /kʷənɛ́?/ 'take it' and possibly /?ɔ́lænæ?/ 'to hear' (UHk /xʷlelɛ́·/ 'to hear' after Th verbs like {kʷɛ́nne} 'take it'. It is interesting to note that Th, in return, seems to have borrowed /-nʊ́xʷ/ 'preservative' from the Nk /-noxʷ/ '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.

As the study of 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 add to the discoveries of diffusion within Salishan and 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 Salishan as a whole. Newman (1977) found that BC, Hk, Sg, and Cl share the innovation of a /ɬ-/ prefix added tho their reflexes of PS independent 1p pronoun *nímeɬ. Nk shares this innovation. Newman (1977) also found that Hk, Sq, MCx, and BC replaced reflexes of PS third person independent pronoun *cənɬí with deictic/demonstrative elements; Nk also shares this replacement.

Comparison with Newman (1979a) on the possessive and subject pronouns shows that Nk shares with Ld, UC, Ti, and Li the adding of its reflex of PS *k- 'intransitive subject' to its reflex of PS 1p possessive to form 1p possessive and 1p intransitive subject. Nk does not take its 1p possessive and 1p (intransitive) subject from a reflex of PS 1p 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 shares with Ld, Tw, and BC replacement of its PS *-at reflex for 1p transitive subject by a reflex of PS 1p possessive *-iɬ. Nk shares with Hk and Sq use of reflexes of both PCS 2p possessive *-alap and PS 2p transitive subject *-ap as subjunctive clause subject alternates. Nk also shares with Se, Ld, UC, Ti, and Li the use of a reflex of PS *k- and *-alap in 2p transitive subject, rather than an inherited reflex of PS *k-ap (as do Hk and Sq).

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 *-muł.[5] Nk is like Se, Sq, So, Cl, Ld, Tw, and Ti in merging its object sets in 1p (causative object set 1p > neutral/causative object set 1p), but Nk is unique in borrowing this 1p causative object form from the Th middle {-nwɛ́ɬn}.

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 *-Ø with intransitive verbs. Nk elsewhere, like Sq, Hk, So, Cl, and NLd, also changed the transitive subject vs. intransitive subject contrast to subordinate subject vs. main clause subject; in Nk, Sq, Hk, Ld, and St (and probably others), this subordinate function is usually subjunctive ('if, when, contrary to fact') and follows reflexes of PS *w(ə)- (Hk, Ld, St) or *q- (Nk, Sq).

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 an 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, PIS Proto-Interior Salish, Cx Comox (MCx Mainland Comox, ICx Island Comox), Pt Pentlatch, Se Sechelt, Sq Squamish, Hk Halkomelem (UHk Upriver Halkomelem dialects, DHk Downriver Halkomelem dialects, IHk Island Halkomelem dialects), Nk Nooksack, Ld Lushootseed (= Puget Salish)(NLd Northern Ld, incl. Skagit, SLd Southern Ld, incl. Snohomish, etc.), St Straits (NSt Northern St, incl. Lm Lummi, San Saanich, Sg Songish, So Sooke, and Sam Samish dialects), Cl Clallam (= SSt Southern St), Tw Twana; UC Upper Chehalis; Li Lillooet, Th Thompson, Sh Shuswap (NSh Northern Shuswap dialects, SSh Southern Shuswap dialects), Cm Columbian, Ok Okanagan (Col Colville-Okanagan), Ka Kalispel (Sp Spokane dialect), CA Coeur d'Alene; Ti Tillamook; BC Bella Coola.

[3]UHk has an affix (or more than one), {wə- ~ ʔu- ~ -(ə)w ~ -u} which occurs in exactly the same constructions as Nk {mæ- ~ -mæ}, i.e. UHk /tʊ́·ƙa/ 'he, him (present + visible, or unspecified)', /θʊ́·ƙa/ 'she, her (present + visible, or unspecified), /tuƙə́·ləm/ 'they (male or gender unspecified' (see note 4 on table 9 for others in this set, all of which have prefixed demonstrative articles as in Nk, thus //tə-w-ƙa// or //tə-ú-ƙa// > /tʊ́·ƙa ~ tʊ́ƙa/, etc.), /ƙa-s-ʔə-s-u/ 'then', /wi-yə́θ/ 'always, /cə́cəl-əw/ 'to be very', /wə-ʔə́l (əw)/ 'too (overly)', /wə-lə́y/ 'only, just'. DHk, IHk and St (but not Ld) all have a similar morpheme (morphemes), cognate with the UHk form and similar in functions to Nk

{mæ- ~ -mæ}. Glosses in these languages, suggested very tentatively, include 'habitual', 'complementizer', 'time sequencer', 'definite', 'contemporary'.

[4]The Nk /-nox^{w}/ suffix preserves the full vowel found in other persons and the /x^{w}/ found in 3s/p in all the Central Salish languages for which I have data (all but Pt); before /x^{w}/ the other Central Salish languages have /ə/, except perhaps for Tw, where /-dux^{w}/ 'finally completed [transitive]' is shown (N. Thompson 1979). PCS then already had *-nəx^{w} or *-nux^{w} in 3s/p alternating with *nɑ́ in the other persons. Thompson (1979a) reconstructs PS *nəw '[+limited contro]]', Newman (1979b:299) reconstructs PS *-stəw 'causative', and Kinkade (1981b) reconstructs PS *-stə́w 'causative' and discusses the devoicing of *w to /x^{w}/ which occurred in these morphemes in most Central Salish languages word-finally. /u/ ~ /w/ or just /u/ remains in the non-Central Salish causatives (Kinkade 1981b:337) and in Interior Salish limited control reflexes of PIS *-nwə́ɬn 'non-control middle voice/success' and PIS *-nwə́n 'success' (which precede *-t 'transitive') (Kinkade and Mattina 1981). But Ti /nəx^{w} ~ -nəg-/ and BC /-nix/ (Thompson 1979a) show the devoicing of *w in this suffix had already started in Proto-Coast Salish. Th, besides /-nwə́ɬn/ 'non-control middle voice' and /-nwə́n̓-t/ 'non-control transitive', also has a lexical suffix, /-nɑ́x^{w}/ 'preservative', usually translated 'make it through (of an action)'. This /-nɑ́x^{w}/ appears to be a borrowing from Nk /-nox^{w}/ for several reasons: a) only Nk and Tw retained both /u/ and /x^{w}/ in this suffix, b) the Interior Salish languages do not show the devoicing to /x^{w}/ in these morphemes, and c) the Th /-nux^{w}/ is not integrated into the control and transitive system but is used, uprooted, as a lexical suffix.

[5]The Hk 2p object /-ɑ́lə/ derives from PS *ulm by irregular replacement of the *m with /ə/; this replacement may be Th influence since *m > Th ə in some positions. Otherwise Hk /-ɑ́lə/ follows regular correspondences (PS *ɑ́l > Hk /ɑ́l/). So table 1 in Newman (1979b:300) should probably show Hk /-al-ə/ out of parentheses. The Hk 1p object form < PS 1p object *-al should be Hk */-ɛ́l/ instead of /-al-x^{w}/; however, pre-Hk *-ɛ́l, with its /x^{w}/ accretion, may have become /-alx^{w}/ by analogy with the Hk 2p /-ɑ́lə/ and by viewing both /-al/ portions as pluralizers, such as occur elsewhere in both Hk pronouns and nominals (/-əl- ~ -lə-/ infix). 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 1p and 2p forms inherited from PS.

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