Secwepemctsín is a Northern Interior Salish language. The independent pronouns in this language, and in the entire Salish family, have been relatively unexplored. This paper will present a preliminary analysis on the syntactic behaviour of these independent pronouns.

Section 1 gives a brief overview of Secwepemc syntax; section 1.2 presents the full Secwepemc pronominal paradigm, including an introduction to the independent pronouns and the characteristics that they exhibit. The syntactic behaviour of independent pronouns are presented in section 2. Based on the syntactic behaviour of independent pronouns, sections 2.1 to 2.3 show that there is a subject-object structural asymmetry, supporting a configurational view of Secwepemctsín.

1. Secwepemctsín

1.1 Overview of Secwepemctsín

In Secwepemctsín, the predicate is marked by pronominal clitics and affixes, with nothing else needing to be present (1-4).

1 wikt-(t)-e-s'
   see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj
   He saw him.

2 pelq’-ile-φ
   leave-aut-3sg.ind
   He left

3 tsu-n-t-a-em
   punch-fc-tr-3sg.obj-pas
   He was punched

Overt DPs are optional (5, 6), and when they are present, the most common word orders are SVO and VOS, although VSO is also possible because order of post-predicate nominals is free (7, 8).

5 pelq’-ile-φ re John
   leave-aut-3sg.ind det John
   John left

6 tsu-n-t-a-em re John
   punch-fc-tr-3sg.obj-pas det John
   John was punched

7 wikt-(t)-e-s re John re Mary
   see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John det Mary
   John saw Mary / Mary saw John

8 wikt-(t)-e-s re Mary re John
   see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary det John
   John saw Mary / Mary saw John

If there is only one post-verbal overt nominal in a transitive clause, it is the object. This constraint is known as the “One nominal constraint”.

9 wikt-(t)-e-s re John
   see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
   S/he saw John / *John saw him/her

Only the subject, but not the object, can appear to the left of the verb unless A’ extraction has taken place. The pre-verbal positions available in a clause are: a) external topic position, b) wh position, and c) focus position. All three positions can be filled at one time. These positions are shown in (10).

The external topic is base-generated; this is the position for dislocated nominals, and is equivalent to nominals following “as for...” in English. The wh-position is adjoined to CP, but it is not limited to wh words. It can be occupied by clefted elements. The position referred to as the focus position is the position for preverbal subjects. The term “focus” is used differently from the way it is generally used (Gardiner, 1993).

1Research and elicitation are supported by SSHRC Grant #410-95-1519. Many thanks to Henry Davis, Hamida Demirdache, Dwight Gardiner, Lisa Matthewson, Martina Wiltschko, and the members of the Linguistics 524 seminar for discussions and input. All errors are my own responsibility. Secwepemctsín data are primarily elicited from language consultant Mona Jules, to whom I am grateful. Additional data obtained from Gardiner (1993). For a list of correspondences between the Secwepemctsín orthography used throughout this paper and IPA, and for a list of abbreviations, please refer to the appendices at the end of the paper.

2Suffixes in brackets are those merged with the root or another neighbouring suffix due to phonological reasons.

3I assume the DP Hypothesis (Abney 1987)
Since Secwepemctsin exhibits characteristics of non-configurationality, it has often been classified as a non-configurational language, with a relatively flat structure. However, Gardiner (1993) shows that Secwepemctsin is highly restrictive in its binding possibilities. He has therefore claimed Secwepemctsin to be a configurational language. The characteristics exhibited by independent pronouns, to be presented in this paper, will support Gardiner’s claim.

1.2 Secwepemctsin Pronouns

1.2.1 Pronominal Paradigms

It has been mentioned in the previous section that Secwepemctsin pronouns are usually clitics or affixes attached to the predicate of a clause. The full pronominal paradigms are shown in the following tables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11</th>
<th>Intransitive Clitic Paradigm (Clitics)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 sg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>-ken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>-wen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>n-</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12</th>
<th>Transitive Suffix Paradigm (Suffixes)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-6m</td>
<td>-6c</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13</th>
<th>Object paradigm (Suffixes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 sg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-sem/-am</td>
<td>-st/-s</td>
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</table>

In addition to the clitic and affinal paradigms, there is a separate set of pronouns in Secwepemctsin. Since this set of pronouns are free morphemes and behave like independent lexical items, as opposed to the bound status of the pronominal clitics and suffixes, I will refer to them with the analysis-neutral term, “independent pronouns”.

These are used in intensifying contexts only, to emphasize the reference to a particular nominal in the discourse context (14, 15). The independent pronouns are anaphorically related to a referent available either deictically or in the discourse, and they are used to place contrastive, or narrow, focus on the intensified referent. An independent pronoun can appear adjacent to and on the left of its overt referent, as in (14), or without an overt referent in the sentence, as in (15a, b). Regardless of the referent, the pronominal suffix or clitic on the predicate is always present. The full independent pronoun paradigm is given in table (16).

1.2.2 Characteristics of Secwepemctsin Independent Pronouns

Independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin can be arguments. Although Salish arguments in general are accompanied by a determiner, independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin are never accompanied by determiners, except for the first person singular.

In addition to the clitic and affinal paradigms, there is a separate set of pronouns in Secwepemctsin. Since this set of pronouns are free morphemes and behave like independent lexical items, as opposed to the bound status of the pronominal clitics and suffixes, I will refer to them with the analysis-neutral term, “independent pronouns”.

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Characteristics of non-configurational languages include free word order, use of discontinuous expressions, and free or frequent pro-drop. (Gardiner 1993, Davis 1997b and reference therein.)

These independent pronouns are generally known as “emphatic pronouns” across Salish languages because of their function to emphasize. The emphatic stem for the first singular form is different from the rest of the paradigm. According to Newman (1977), the first person singular stem in Secwepemctsin is derived from the proto-Salish first person singular emphatic stem *newi7-s, while the stem for the rest of the Shuswap paradigm is derived from the proto-Salish second person singular stem *newi7-s.
Independent pronouns can also be predicates (19), which in Salish typically do not take determiners (19, 20).  

19 a *re newi7-s re wikt-(-t)-o-m-es  
   *det emph-3sg.poss det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj  
   It is him that saw him/her  
   b newi7-s re wikt-(-t)-o-m-es  
   emph-3sg.poss det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj  
   It is him that saw him/her  

20 a *re John re wikt-(-t)-o-m-es  
   *det John det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj  
   It is John that saw him/her  
   b John re wikt-(-t)-o-m-es  
   John det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj  
   It is John that saw him/her  

Independent pronouns display an interesting human effect: They cannot refer to inanimates or animals. Instead, they always refer to humans. This is consistent with Cardinaletti’s (1994) claim that strong pronouns crosslinguistically refer to [+human] elements.

21 re n-tsetswe7 re  illen-a-s re te t'si  
   det Isg.poss-emph det wolf det 3rd person emphatic  
   The wolf ate the deer  

22 *newi7-s ilen-a-s re te t'si  
   *emph-3sg.poss det 3rd person emphatic  
   It itself ate the deer  

Independent pronouns can also be the possessor in a DP.

23 xwe.xwii-c-t-a-en newi7-s te úq'wi-s  
   like(redup)-ben-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj det emph-3sg.poss  
   I like his brother  

There can be no more than one independent pronoun per clause.  

24 *re John xwist-ö-ës re Mary,  
   *det John like-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary,  
   ts'um-qs-en-a-s newi7-s newi7-s  
   lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj emph-3sg.poss emph-3sg.poss  

John likes Mary, 3rd person emphatic kisses 3rd person emphatic (uninterpretable)  

1.2.3 The Construction of Secwepemctsin Independent Pronouns  
1.2.3.1 Internal Construction  
Although an independent pronoun can function as a unit per se, as an argument, or as a predicate, the fact that independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin are all marked by possessive clitics (see table in (16)) suggests that they are not single morpheme items, and that they must have internal structure.

The first person singular form is composed of the first person singular possessive clitic, m-, the first person singular emphatic stem (often appearing in reduplicated form) -ts'um-, and the deictic marker -we7, no longer productive (Newman 1977). The rest of the paradigm consists of the emphatic stem -newi7-, derived from the proto-Salish second person singular possessive clitic -newi-, and the appropriate possessive clitic. In addition, the plural independent pronouns contain the affix -ll-, ‘group of people’, ‘collective plural’. Since -ll- and -we7 are never separated from independent pronouns and are never dropped, they are syntactically invisible, and I will simply analyze them as being part of the pronouns themselves.  

1.2.3.2 Independent Pronouns and Determiners.

According to Kuipers (1974:59), who did research on the Northern dialect of Secwepemctsin, the singular independent pronouns are all recorded with articles re (present absolute actual determinate article, which I gloss as (present) determiner) or te (relative actual determinate article, which I gloss as oblique (determiner)), but not any other article. This is so even in predicate position (26).

25 *re John xwist-ö-ës re Mary,  
   *det John like-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary,  
   re newi7-s ts'um-qs-en-a-s re newi7-s  
   det emph-3sg.poss lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det emph-3sg.poss  

John likes Mary, 3rd person emphatic kisses 3rd person emphatic (uninterpretable)  

This paper concentrates on the Southern dialect of Secwepemctsin, which does not have any determiner (either re or te) co-occurring with independent pronouns11, even when an ordinary argument nominal would require one in the same position (27-29)12.

12) is the absent determiner
11According to Newman (1977), Halq’emeyem is the only Salish language where determiners are found on independent pronouns.
10The only countercase to this is with the first person singular independent pronoun. However, re is sometimes judged to be optional in the predicate position with, and only with, the first person independent pronoun. Such judgments suggest that re may have been merged into the first person independent pronoun. I will treat these cases as exceptional.  

This is so even in predicate position (26).

26 re n-ts'tswes7 i wcstö-ö-ës  
   det 1sg.poss-emph det mention-3sg.obj-2sg.subj  
   I am the one you mentioned (Kuipers 1974:117, line 39)  

This paper concentrates on the Southern dialect of Secwepemctsin, which does not have any determiner (either re or te) co-occurring with independent pronouns, even when an ordinary argument nominal would require one in the same position (27-29).
the empty argument to the wh position. When the clefted element is an absolutive-marked argument (object),

been attributed to the distinction of ergative versus absolutive arguments. While the ergative-absolutive

2  Syntactic Behaviour of Independent Pronouns

Although there is evidence that there are syntactic asymmetries in Secwepemctsin, these asymmetries have all been attributed to the distinction of ergative versus absolutive arguments. While the ergative-absolutive distinction does in fact exist, as illustrated in section 3.1, I will show in sections 3.2 to 3.4 that there indeed is structural asymmetry between subjects and objects in Secwepemctsin.

2.1 Cleft Constructions

In Secwepemctsin cleft sentences, the clefted element is base-generated at the left edge of the sentence, and it is predicative. A lower clause within the clausal DP is present containing a predicate and operator movement of the empty argument to the wh position. When the clefted element is an absolutive-marked argument (object),

nothing happens to the lower predicate (32). When the clefted element is an ergative-marked argument (transitive subject)\(^\text{30}\), conjunctive morphology and passive marking are triggered on the lower predicate (33).

32 Scott xwe.xwistét-a-en
Scott like(redup)-3sg.obj-1sg.subj
It is Scott that I like

33 (*re) John wikt-(t)-a-m-es
(*det) John see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
It is John who saw him/her / *It is he who saw John

Independent pronouns behave just like these nominal predicates in terms of extraction facts. There is no change to the lower predicate with a clefted absolutive (34), while conjunctive morphology accompanies forms where the ergative argument (subject) is clefted (35, 36).

34 newi7-s xwe.xwistét-a-en
emph-3sg.pos like(redup)-3sg.obj-1sg.subj
It is him that I like

35 newi7-s wikt-(t)-a-m-es
emph-3sg.pos see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
He himself saw him/her

36 7-ermi7 wikt-(t)-a-m-es
2sg.pos-emph see-tr-3sg.ind-pas-3sg.conj
You saw him/her

37 77-ermi7 wikt-(t)-a-c
?2sg.pos-emph see-tr-3sg.obj-2sg.subj
You saw him/her

Note that although (36) and (37) are both grammatical, and mean the same thing, the consultant prefers (36), the clefted sentence, for greater emphasis on 7-ermi7, 'you'.

Thus, cleft facts show that there is a difference between subjects/ergative-marked arguments versus objects/absolutive-marked arguments. Whether this is a pure structural distinction (subject versus object positions) or an ergative versus absolutive distinction is the subject of the following section.

2.2 Subject - Object Asymmetry

2.2.1 Transitive Clauses

It has been shown that post-verbal nominals exhibit free word order (38). While the only restriction on DP arguments in relation to predicates is that only the subject can be preverbal in the canonical word order (39), there is a further limitation on independent pronouns. Independent pronouns prefer to be the subject of a clause in contexts where the arguments are all third person. This is so regardless of whether the independent pronoun is

\(^{30}\)Secwepemctsin is a split-ergative language. Subjects of transitive clauses are ergative, while objects of transitive clauses and subjects of intransitive clauses are absolutive.

\(^{31}\)
pre-verbal or post-verbal (40, 41). Readings where an independent pronoun is interpreted as the object are not possible.

38 wikt-(t)ə-s re Mary see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary / John saw Mary
Mary saw John / John saw Mary

39 re Mary wikt-(t)ə-s re John det Mary see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John / *John saw Mary
Mary saw John / *John saw Mary

40 wikt-(t)ə-s re John newi7-s see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John emph-3sg.poss
He himself saw John / *John saw him

41 newi7-s wikt-(t)ə-s re John emph-3sg.poss see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
He himself saw John / *John saw him

Independent pronouns’ preference for subject orientation is also true for cases where the independent pronoun appears adjacent to its overt referent. In (42) the pronoun is subject oriented, and in (43) the pronoun is object oriented.

42 [newi7-s re Mary] trūm-qə-en-a-s re John
[emph-3sg.poss det Mary] lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
Mary herself kissed John

43 ts’um-qə-en-a-s [newi7-s re John]
*lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj [emph-3sg.poss det John]
Someone/She/She kissed John himself

(44) below presents an interesting case. It is marginal because it is caught in a conflict of grammatical constraints. The one nominal effect (section 1.1) forces the post-verbal overt DP (independent pronoun) to be the object, while the independent pronoun prefers to be the subject of the clause. The sentence cannot satisfy both restrictions at the same time, and becomes difficult for the consultant to interpret. (45), on the other hand, satisfies both constraints, and is therefore grammatical.

44 ?wikt-(t)ə-s newi7-s ?see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj emph-3sg.poss
He himself saw someone / *Someone saw him/her

45 newi7-s wikt-(t)ə-s emph-3sg.poss see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj
He himself saw something/somebody

In sentences with non-third person independent pronominal arguments, there appears to be no asymmetrical restriction for independent pronouns’ subject orientation. The sentences below are judged to be grammatical by the language consultant.

(46) below presents an interesting case. It is marginal because it is caught in a conflict of grammatical constraints. The one nominal effect (section 1.1) forces the post-verbal overt DP (independent pronoun) to be the object, while the independent pronoun prefers to be the subject of the clause. The sentence cannot satisfy both restrictions at the same time, and becomes difficult for the consultant to interpret. (45), on the other hand, satisfies both constraints, and is therefore grammatical.

46 a wi.w.kt-(t)ə-en n-tsetswe7
see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-1sg subj 1sg poss-emph
/ saw him (you didn’t)

b n-tsetswe7 wi.w.k-t-ə-en
1sg.poss-emph see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj
/ saw him (you didn’t)

47 wi.w.kt-(t)-siem-s n-tsetswe7
see(redup)-tr-1sg.obj-3sg subj 1sg poss-emph
He saw me / It’s myself that he saw

The fact that independent pronouns can only be interpreted as the subject, and not the object, of a transitive clause with two third person arguments can lead to two interpretations: A) There is an asymmetry between subjects and objects, and B) There is an asymmetry between ergative arguments and absolutive arguments.

The next section will show that interpretation B is the correct one.

2.2.2 Intransitive Clauses

The variety of intransitive predicates shown below illustrates that the subject restriction for independent pronouns is indeed based on the property of the syntactic subject, and not on semantic roles or ergative/absolutive distinctions, which are unavailable in intransitive clauses because of Secwepemctsin’s having a split-ergativity system. (48-50) show intransitive clauses with independent pronoun arguments without overt referent in the same clause, and (51) shows intransitive clauses with independent pronoun arguments adjacent to their overt referents.

48 a lecsus-k 7-envi7
pretty-2sg.ind 2sg.poss-emph
It is you who is pretty

b 7-envi7 lecsus-k
2sg.poss-emph pretty-2sg.ind
It is you who is pretty

49 a qwetsets-kt wll-envi7-kt
leave-1pl.ind pl-epm-1pl.poss
We are the ones that left

b wll-envi7-kt qwetsets-kt
pl-epm-1pl.poss leave-1pl.ind
We are the ones that left

50 a setsinem-s newi7-s
sing-3sg.ind emph-3sg.poss
It is her that sings.
There has been an extensive debate among Salish linguists regarding the passive construction, centering around the question of whether the patient truly achieves syntactic subject status in a passivized sentence (see Blake 1997 and references therein). The use of independent pronouns shows evidence that patients indeed get promoted to subject, and this promotion is only possible if there is a subject-object asymmetry.

(52, 53) are two ordinary transitive sentences. (53) cannot be interpreted as "Mary kissed he himself" because the independent pronoun cannot be interpreted as the object. This is the constraint I will reinforce presently.

(54) is the passivized counterpart of one reading of (52). (55) shows that the derived subject DP can be replaced by an independent pronoun, evidence for subject status.

After the semantic subject (agent) is demoted, it can no longer be an independent pronoun. Compare the ungrammatical sentence in (56) with the grammatical sentence in (53). The semantic roles of newi7-s are exactly the same; it is the syntactic status that makes them different.

The distinction between non-passivized transitive sentences and passivized sentences shown here presents compelling evidence that promotion of the object does result in a new derived subject. Passivization in Secwepemctsin indeed has syntactic promotion of the object to subject, and demotion of the agent to oblique status. It is not merely a process of eliminating the ergative argument. Moreover, the syntactic asymmetry between the subject and object positions also support Gardiner's claim that Secwepemctsin is a configurational language.

2.3 Discourse factor

There is a possibility that the subject-object asymmetry is a result of discourse factors, and not structural configurationality. Subjects more easily correspond to topics, and pronouns also more easily correspond to topics. The relationship between topicality, subject, and pronoun may give rise to the observation that independent pronouns prefer to be in subject position and not in object position. Although this is a likely scenario, a resolution is available which overturns the topicality explanation.

In the examples given in this section, all the utterances are introduced by a "like" clause: John likes Mary, or Mary likes John. This is to establish the person who likes as the discourse topic and to set up the person who is liked as an available discourse referent. The second clause of each utterance, the "kiss" clause, contains an independent pronoun argument.

All things being equal, the independent pronoun in the second clause is associated with the discourse topic and the subject of the "like" clause.
interpreted as reading (c), with 'Mary' being the overt referent. Yet, the independent pronoun resists any reading in which it is associated with the object of the "like" clause, resulting in reading (a) being the only grammatical reading.

Even in questionable utterances (59) and (60)\(^{16}\), the only possible reading is for the independent pronoun to be subject oriented within the clause, disregarding the established topic.

59  ?re John xwist-ə-és  re Mary,
   ?det John  like-3sg.obj-3sg.obj  det Mary,
   ts'um-qs-en-ə-s  newi7-s  re John
   lick-nee-3s.obj-3sg.obj  emph-3s.poss  det John

??John likes Mary, she herself kisses John (the only possible reading)

60  ?re John xwist-ə-és  re Mary,
   ?det John  like-3sg.obj-3sg.obj  det Mary, lick-nee-3s.obj-3sg.obj-3s subj
   ts'um-qs-en-ə-s  re John  newi7-s  det John
   lick-nee-3s.obj-3sg.obj  subj  emph-3s.poss  det John

??John likes Mary, she herself kisses John (the only possible reading)

The judgments on the above sentences show that the subject restriction for independent pronouns is at play, and that it is not simply that the independent pronoun prefers to be coreferent with the established discourse topic.

3 Conclusion

I have shown that Secwepemctsin independent pronouns, which function as intensifiers, can be predicates as well as arguments. Being the strong pronouns of the language, they can only refer to humans, but not animals or inanimates. A brief discussion of the internal construction of independent pronouns also took place.

I established, through clefts, transitive clauses, intransitive clauses, and passives, that not only is there an ergative-absolute distinction, a clear structural asymmetry between subjects and objects exist. This asymmetry manifests itself in the independent pronouns' preference to be subject oriented in clauses containing two third person arguments. Thus, the behaviour of independent pronouns supports the claim that Secwepemctsin is a configurational language that exhibits non-flat syntactic structure.

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APPENDIX A: ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbr.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>aut</td>
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APPENDIX B: KEY TO SECWEPEMCTSIN/SHUSWAP ORTHOGRAPHY:

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