

Secondary Suffixation in Puget Salish

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Secondary Suffixation in Puget Salish

The fundamental descriptive unit of Puget Salish verb stems¹ is either a root or a root plus one of three suffixes, {-b} 'middle voice,' {-il} 'persistent,' or {-t} 'general transitive.'² These four basic units are referred to as follows:

1. ʔúx^w (go) class, suffixless
2. łčíl (come) class, takes {-il}
3. sáx^web (run, jump) class, takes {-b}
4. čáx^wed (club it) class, takes {-t}

ch. -t ?

ch. -m

ch. -t-,
-n-

All four classes can be expanded into various resolution constructions in roughly parallel fashion:³

I. Non-transitive

| | | | |
|---|------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | ʔúx ^w | łéč | čáx ^w |
| 2 | | łč-íl | sáx ^w ·eb ⁴ |

II. Transitive

| | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 3 | ʔúx ^w -c | łč-í-s | sáx ^w ·eb-i-d | čáx ^w -e-d |
| 4 | ʔúx ^w -tx ^w | łč-íl-tx ^w | sáx ^w ·eb-tx ^w | |
| 5 | | | | čáx ^w -dx ^w |

III. Passive

| | | | | |
|---|------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 6 | ʔúx ^w -c-eb | łč-í-s-eb | sáx ^w ·eb-i-t-eb | čáx ^w -e-t-eb |
| 7 | ʔúx ^w -tu-b | łč-íl-tu-b | sáx ^w ·eb-tu-b | |
| 8 | | | | čáx ^w -du-b |

The syntactic differences among I, II, and III are illustrated with łčíl 'arrive.' In the first category pronominal referents bear the same relation to the verb as other nouns. In I.1. there is no

agent nor goal for the lčíl and čáx^wed classes. The noun or pronoun simply happen to be caught up in acts of nature. In the ʔúx^w class the noun or pronominal referent is the agent. This is also true of both cases in I.2.

ʔul^{éč} čed 'I began (under the influence of a spirit).'

ʔul^{éč} ti stùbš 'The man began (under the influence of a spirit).'

ʔul^{číl} čed 'I arrived.'

ʔul^{číl} ti stùbš 'The man arrived.'

In the transitive category the pronominal referents are agents but nouns are goals.⁵

ʔul^{čís} čed 'I arrived (for some special purpose).'

ʔul^{čís} čed ti stùbš 'I arrived in order to see the man.'

ʔul^{čís} ti stùbš 'Someone arrived in order to see the man.'

ʔul^{číltx^w} čed 'I brought it.'

ʔul^{číltx^w} čed ti stùbš 'I brought the man.'

ʔul^{číltx^w} ti stùbš 'Someone brought the man.'

In the passive category, as in the non-transitive, pronouns and nouns have the same relation to the verb.

ʔul^{číseb} čed 'I was visited.'

ʔul^{číseb} ti stùbš 'The man was visited.'

ʔul^{číltub} čed 'I was taken.'

ʔul^{číltub} ti stùbš 'The man was taken.'

Many (but by no means all) roots of the three suffix classes can stand alone as complete predications. Thus, in the lčíl class we find (in addition to /l^{éč}/ itself) /pús/ 'get hit by a flying object' occurring as a possible utterance as well as /púsil/ 'throw.'

Moreover, a number of roots are found with two class suffixes (rarely all three). Compare /píx^wil/ 'fall through the air' with /píx^wid/ 'shake it off' and /ǵág^web/ 'make mats' with /ǵág^wed/ 'stitch it.'

Therefore, it would seem that the root might be a more logical point of departure for the description of Puget stem classes. Except for members of the ǵúx^w class, however, many roots are bound, and they are bound to only one suffix. Further, if all items were listed by the root, it would not be possible to tell which class a verb belongs to. Given /ǵǵč/ 'begin (under influence of a spirit),' there is no way of knowing what suffix it requires in II.3. It could as well be */ǵǵčed/; and, /čáx^w/ 'clubbed (as by a branch whipping or snapping back across one)' might be expected to occur as */čáx^wil/.⁶

Native speakers' sprachgefühl lends credence to the scheme adopted here. Just as schooled English speakers refer to verbs in the infinitive, so Puget Salish speakers recite lists of verbs in specific grammatical forms -- precisely those presented here as being the fundamental descriptive unit. The significance of this can be appreciated when it is realized that all informants refer to all verbs in these four forms. Verbs of the ǵúx^w class are always given in the form I.1. on the chart; the ǵčíl class in form I.2, never I.1. even for those roots that can occur without suffixes. All čáx^wed class verbs are given in the form II.3. even though some of these roots also occur without endings.

In the chart on page 1 stem expansion by resolution suffixes is illustrated. There are three other major ways stems can be built, reduplication, lexical suffixation, and secondary suffixation.⁷ This

paper is concerned with the last of these.

Secondary morphemes allow the class suffixes {-b}, {-il}, and {-t} to follow a stem that they otherwise could not. In many instances, secondary morphemes have the effect of changing the stem class. There are six:

1. the harmonics
2. {-i-}
3. {-a-}
4. {-yi-}
5. {-ag^w-}
6. {-uɿ}

Harmonic suffixes provide for the resolution morphemes {-t} and {-b}.⁸ Except for athematic roots, harmonics reflect the root vowel:⁹

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| píx ^w - <u>i</u> -d | 'shake it off' | píx ^w - <u>i</u> -t-əb | 'get shaken off' |
| pús- <u>u</u> -d | 'throw at it' | pús- <u>u</u> -t-əb | 'be thrown at' |
| čáx ^w - <u>ə</u> -d | 'club it' | čáx ^w - <u>ə</u> -t-əb | 'get clubbed' |

(The harmonic /ə/ is a reduced /a/.)¹⁰

Many roots do not have a root vowel other than epenthetic /ə/.¹¹ These athematic roots belong to two classes, those requiring a harmonic before {-t} and those that do not.

Requiring harmonics:

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|---|------------|
| ʔəs-téq | 'closed' | tq- <u>á</u> -d | 'close it' |
| lə-k ^w éd | 'carrying' | k ^w əd- <u>á</u> -d | 'get it' |
| ʔəs-léq ^w | 'wet' | lq ^w - <u>ú</u> -d | 'wet it' |
| ʔəs-té ^k _ɸ | 'broken' | t ^k _ɸ - <u>ú</u> -d | 'break it' |

Not requiring harmonics:

| | | | |
|----------|-----------------|---------|----------------------|
| ʔes-kʷél | 'spilled' | kʷél-ed | 'pour it' |
| ʔes-xéč | 'think' | xéč-ed | 'count it' |
| ʔes-čéx | 'split' | čéx-ed | 'split it' |
| ʔes-déč | 'lying on side' | déč-ed | 'lay it on its side' |

Harmonics are never found with roots having three or more consonants.

Some roots belong to both the čaxʷed class and the saxʷeb class. Those that take harmonics belong to two groups. One group requires harmonics before both {-t} and {-b}, e.g., /yíd-i-d/ 'weave it,' /yíd-i-b/ 'make baskets.' The other group has a harmonic vowel only before {-t}, e.g., /píl-i-d/ 'flatten it,' /píl-eb/ 'get flat.'

Some roots belonging to the čaxʷed class but not to the saxʷeb class can, nevertheless, be expanded with {-b-i-}.¹² If such roots require a harmonic vowel before {-t}, they also must have it before {-b-i-}. Compare /ʔukʷedátəb čed/ 'I was grabbed' and /ʔukʷedábiteb čed/ 'I was captured.'

Whereas the harmonics provide for {-t} (and {-b}) after certain roots, the secondary suffix {-i-} allows for {-t} to occur with a variety of extended stems:

(1) After the saxʷeb class (excluding those whose roots belong also to the čaxʷed class)

| | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------------|
| xʷúyubid | 'sell to him' | cf. xʷúyub | 'sell' |
| xáyebid | 'laugh at him' | xáyeb | 'laugh' |
| | | xáyebdxʷ | 'make him laugh' |
| bédčəbíd | 'lie about him' | bédčəb | 'lie, fib' |
| qesqəbíd | 'talk excessively to someone' | qésqəb | 'converse excessively' |

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------|--------------|
| ʔíčib <u>id</u> | 'wade out after him' | ʔíčib | 'wade, swim' |
| xá(hə) <u>b</u> id | 'cry because someone is gone' | xá(hə)b | 'cry' |

(2) After some lexical suffix stems¹³

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|---|
| ʔučəlpáči(?) <u>id</u> | 'twisted his wrist' | cf. {-ači?} | 'hand' |
| ʔučəlcəlpáxəd <u>itəb</u> | 'hammer lock' | {-l-axəd} | 'arm, wing' |
| dxʷʔədyáxəd <u>id</u> (Sk) | 'open the door' | {-y-axəd} | 'hinged door' |
| ʔudxʷpúhigʷəd <u>itəb</u> čəl | 'the wind is blowing in on us' | {-(h)igʷəd} | 'inside' |
| lexšád <u>id</u> | 'give him light' | {-šad} | 'light' |
| ʔulíčšəd <u>itəb</u> | 'his leg got cut' | {-šad ~ šəd} | 'foot, leg' |
| ʔábucd <u>id</u> | 'take him his lunch' | {-uc(i)d} | 'mouth, language; separation; covering' |

A number of lexical stems are followed by {-t} directly. There is no {-i-}, e.g., /dxʷ-xkʷ-ús-əd/ 'turn it over,' {-us} 'face, head, hair, top.' The presence of {-i-} seems to depend upon the particular lexical affix rather than upon the root. Compare /líč-šəd-i-d/ 'cut his leg' with /líč-ús-əd/ 'cut his hair.'

Only a few of the seventy or so lexicals have been checked for the occurrence with {-i-}. In addition to {-us}, the following are not found with {-i-}: -ap 'bottom, tail'

- apšəb 'neck, stem'
- dup 'distributive'
- al-ikʷ 'patterned activity'
- qid 'head, top.'¹⁴

Some speakers occasionally use {-i-} after {-qs} 'nose, point'; but no pattern has been discovered. Other speakers never allow it after

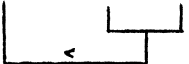
{-qs}.

(3) After a small number of miscellaneous stems:

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| q ^w úq ^w adid | 'drink it' | cf. q ^w úq ^w a? | 'drink' |
| | | q ^w ú? | 'fresh water' |
| qádadid | 'steal it' | qáda? | 'steal' |
| dx ^w qədíd | 'commit adultery' | qədəb | 'fornicate' |
| há?lid | 'clean it up, polish it' | há?l | 'good' |
| | | há?ləb | 'good weather' |
| | | há?lil | 'be well' |

In the preceding cases {-i-} creates category II stems. With two roots this suffix also makes stems for category III. The roots involved are {xál} 'cover body' and {tak^w ~ tag^w-} 'buy.' These belong to a small class of roots that take the transitive suffix {-š}. The construction is unusual. All other category III forms retain the transitive suffix which {-b} then follows: root - transitive suffix - {-b}. These two, however, lose {-š} before {-i-b}. Rather than the expected */xál-š-i-b/, we find /xál-i-b/ 'it was put on someone.'¹⁵ (Compare /xál-š/ 'put it on,' /xál-tx^w/ 'wear it,' /xál-tu-b/ 'lend someone something to wear.') The same is true of /tág^w-i-b/ 'bought.' (Compare /tág^w-š/ 'buy it,' /tákw/ 'bought,' /tág^w-tx^w/ 'bought,' /tág^w-tu-b/ 'bought.' The meaning of {tak^w ~ tag^w-} is not exactly 'buy' as the identical glosses for this variety of expansions indicate.)

In the discussion thus far all cases of {-i-} involve the same IC structure: stem - i - suffix. However, {-i-} also occurs in a different hierarchy. Some sequences /-b-i-/ have the IC arrangement

stem - b - i -. This second structure obtains when {-b} is not a

part of the underlying stem; that is, when {-b} is impossible without {-i-}. Whereas both /x^wúyub/ 'sell' and /x^wúyubid/ 'sell to him' occur, we find only /ʔúp**bid**/ 'seat self on his lap' never */ʔup**ub**/. Note also that the root {x^wuyu} (and many others) never appears without {-b}, but {ʔup} (and many others) does:

- ʔúp 'happen to sit on his lap'
- ʔúpud '(she) holds him on her lap'
- ʔúptx^w 'seat him on someone else's lap.'

{-b} is impossible without {-i-} following two types of more complex stems:

(1) The reflexive

- ʔelábut**id** 'understand him' cf. ʔelábut 'understand'
- qelqelálitut**id** 'dream about him' qelqelálitut¹⁶ 'dream'

(2) Stems in {-il-ul}

- ʔəldílu**bitubu** 'come in order to eat with us'
- cf. ʔéled 'eat'
- ʔəldílu 'go somewhere in order to eat'
- čəbəbílul**bitubu** 'come in order to pick berries off us'
- čəbəb 'pick berries'
- čəbəbílul 'go in order to pick berries'

{-a-} creates stems that take the suffixes {-b} and {-t}. It expands three kinds of stems, root, distributive, and a third somewhat more heterogeneous group. The significance of {-a-} is not understood. With distributive stems it performs the same function as the harmonics:

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| lédlēád | 'trample it' | cf. lédēd | 'step on it' |
| g ^w ēčg ^w ēčád | 'looking around for it' | g ^w ēčēd | 'look for it' |
| g ^w ēčg ^w ēčáb | 'looking all about' | g ^w ēčēb | 'seek' |

In the heterogeneous group it is conveniently glossed 'by means of, with' when {-b} follows; when {-t} follows, the meaning is apparently instrumental.¹⁷

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| čēlēšáb ¹⁸ | 'with the hands' | cf. čálēš | 'hand' |
| putáb | '(travel) by boat' | pút | 'boat' |
| yídibād | 'awl for weaving' | yídíd | 'weave it' |
| | | yídib | 'make baskets' |
| čēddísbād ¹⁹ | 'fork' | čēdēd | 'stick into it' |
| | | -dis | 'tooth, pin' |

čēddísbād²⁰ 'toothpick'

With root stems, {-a-} narrows the significance of the stem giving it a more specialized sense.

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------|------------|
| q ^w cáb | 'slip' | cf. q ^w écéd | 'slide it' | | |
| sə [?] sx ^w áb | 'broad jump' | sáx ^w əb | 'jump, run' | | |
| dx ^w cútàb | 'think' | cút | 'say' | cúuc | 'tell him' |
| k ^w x ^w ád | 'helper, luck' | k ^w áx ^w əd | 'help him' | | |
| tpád | 'have knife in hand ready to use on him' | tpád ²¹ | 'stab him' | | |
| tú [?] ád | 'salivate' | tú [?] ud | 'spit on him' | | |
| x ^w tád | 'take it down from height' | x ^w ítild | 'knock it down from height' | | |
| | | x ^w ítíl | 'fall from height' | | |
| pədádub | 'cooked in the ground' | pédəd | 'bury it' | | |
| ťsádub | 'cooked in a pan' | ťésəd | 'bake it' (lit: 'decold it') | | |
| | | ťés | 'cold weather' | | |

There are a number of forms involving the derivational prefix {g^wə-}.²² The IC structure of these forms is not certain. It may

be g^wə - root - a - or g^wə - root - a - . There is some evidence to support either interpretation. Both may be accurate depending on the particular word.

| | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| g^wecútàd 'make a fuss' | cf. dx ^w cútàb | 'think' |
| | cút | 'say' |
| | cúuc | 'tell him' |
| g ^w əʔəlád 'behave, keep still' | ʔəlád | 'figure it out' |
| | ʔəlcút | 'keep still' |
| | ʔəlábut | 'understand' |
| g ^w əq ^w íbàd 'get ready' | g ^w əq ^w íbicut | 'get self ready' |
| | q ^w íbid | 'fix it' |
| g ^w əqpád 'mesmerize, anesthetize' | qép | 'foolish, senile' |
| g ^w əsəbád 'be quiet, shut up' | | |
| g ^w ətq ^w ád 'faint, pass out' | | |

One other case may involve {-a-}. The analysis is uncertain.

Some ʔux^w class verbs apparently mark imperative mood with this morpheme, e.g., /ʔ(ə)ʔá(hə)x^w/ 'come on, let's' ({ʔəʔ} 'come,' {-həx^w} 'change effected'). In allegro speech the form is usually /ʔəʔáx^w/. In the southern area it is /ʔéʔəhəx^w/. Compare also northern /ʔúx^wəx^w/ 'go now' (presumably {ʔux^w-a-həx^w} with southern /ʔúx^wàhəx^w/.

The secondary suffix {-yi-} indicates that someone else is responsible for an act; the expected agent is replaced by some other actor. {-yi-} is realized as /-ii-/ in Snohomish, /-ši-/ in the southern dialects, and /-yi-/ in Skagit. It is potentially the

ch. -š(e)-

widest distributed of the secondary suffixes. It provides for {-t} in the following environments:

(1) After roots of the ʔux^w class

| | | | |
|----------------------|--|------------------|-----------------|
| ʔábyid | 'give to him' | cf. ʔáb | 'reach, extend' |
| ʔíšlyid | 'paddle in his place' | ʔíšl | 'paddle' |
| ʔúx ^w yid | 'fetch it for him, go in his place' | ʔúx ^w | 'go' |

(2) After roots of the čáx^wəd class

| | | | |
|------------------------|---|---------------------|-------------|
| k ^w edyíteb | 'took it (a switch) to him' (i.e., whipping) | k ^w ədád | 'grab it' |
| łíčyid | 'cut it for him' | łíčid | 'cut it' |
| łág ^w yid | 'stitch it for him' | łág ^w əd | 'stitch it' |

(3) After stems in {-il}

| | | | |
|----------|-----------------|-------|----------------|
| púsilyid | 'throw for him' | púsil | 'throw, toss' |
| | | púsud | 'throw at him' |
| túcilyid | 'shoot for him' | túcil | 'shoot' |
| | | túcud | 'shoot at it' |

(4) After stems in {-b}

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| łíčibyd | 'cut cattails for her' | łíčib | 'cut cattails' |
| | | łíčid | 'cut it' |
| łág ^w ebyid | 'make mats for her' | łág ^w eb | 'make mats' |
| | | łág ^w əd | 'stitch it' |

(5) After all lexical stems

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| łálšedyid | 'put shoes on him for her' | łál | 'cover body' |
| dx ^w əd ^w yáxedyd | | dx ^w əd ^w yáxed | 'open the door' |

(6) After {-dx^w}²³

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|--------------|
| łáldx ^w yid | 'manage to get it on for him' | łál | 'cover body' |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|--------------|

ʔex^wslèk^wəd^wyítəbēb 'want to be able to eat his food (without his consent)' cf. lék^wəd 'put it in the mouth'

(7) After {-tx^w} 'causative',²³

| | | | |
|--|-------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| ʔúx ^w tx ^w yíd | 'take it for him' | cf. ʔúx ^w | 'go' |
| | | ʔúx ^w tx ^w | 'take it' |
| x ^w úyubtx ^w yíd | 'sell it for him' | x ^w úyub | 'sell' |
| | | x ^w úyubtx ^w | 'sell it' |
| | | x ^w úyubíd | 'sell to him' |

{-ag^w-} provides for {-il}. Most examples in the present corpus comprise roots of the čax^wəd class. (The glosses are expanded in parentheses to show the situations in which such constructions are spoken.)

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------|---------------------------|
| běčág ^w il | 'lie down for a rest' | cf. běč (Snoh) | 'fall down from standing' |
| | | běčád (Snoh) | 'put it down' |
| deg ^w ág ^w il | 'get inside' | dék ^w | 'be inside' |
| | | deg ^w ád | 'put it inside' |
| ǰídag ^w il | 'enter the water' | ǰíd | 'drown' |
| | | ǰíqíd | 'immerse it' |
| ǰídag ^w is | 'soak in (mineral) water (to cure a disease)' | ǰíqcut | 'soak in water' |
| q ^w cág ^w il | 'slide down' | q ^w écéd | 'slide it' |
| q ^w cág ^w is | 'slide down after it' | q ^w cáb | 'slip' |
| q ^w íq ^w cawil | 'ice skate, go sledding' | | |

(With attenuative stems {-ag^w-} has the allomorph /-aw-/.²⁴)

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| q ^w íbag ^w il | 'get out of canoe, car, etc.' | q ^w íb | 'be disembarked' |
| | | q ^w íbid | 'unload it' |

q^wíbag^wis 'get off (the bus because one happens to see a friend on the street)'

'get out of (his car because of his insults)'

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|--|
| šíg ^w ag ^w il | 'come out of the water' | šík ^w (Sk) | 'low tide' |
| | | šíg ^w id | 'pull it out of the water' |
| šílag ^w il | 'come out from under something' | šílíd | 'dig to uncover something lost' |
| šúlag ^w il | 'go under (a fence)' | šúl | 'happen to get knocked under (a bush)' |
| šúlag ^w is | 'go under something after it' | šúlud | 'put it beneath' |
| | | šúlalik ^w | 'put in the oven' |
| šíqag ^w il | 'come out of (the brush)' | šqíl | 'come out of hibernation' |
| šíqag ^w is | 'come out of (the brush in order to be seen)' | šíq | 'come out of (hiding place)' |
| | | šíqdx ^w | 'manage to extract it' |
| qílag ^w il | 'board, mount' | qílil | 'be on board, mounted' |
| | | qíl | 'ride' |
| | | qílíd | 'load it' |
| x ^w tág ^w il | 'climb down from height' | x ^w ítíl | 'fall from height' |
| x ^w tág ^w is | 'climb down from height after it' | x ^w ítild | 'drop it from height' |

The corpus has only one example of {-ag^w-} after a member of the sax^web class and one after a šcíl class form.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| púšebàg ^w il | '(a fish) comes to the surface' | púšeb | 'float, surface' |
| yú'ybilàw ^w il | 'play dead' | yúbil | '(person) starves, (animal) dies' |

{-uɫ} means to proceed to some place in order to perform the action of the underlying stem. It does not belong to the same category as the preceding secondary morphemes. {-uɫ} is a final suffix in contrast to the others which form a base for further suffixation. (Stems ending in {-uɫ} can be expanded only by the constitute {-b-i-}. See (2) on page 8.)

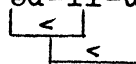
With the possibility of one (known) exception, {-uɫ} provides for the class suffix {-il}. Stems never found with {-il} alone can be expanded by the sequence {-il-uɫ}.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| dəbəbílulɫ | 'go berry picking' cf. | dəbəb | 'pick berries' |
| júbelik ^w ilulɫ | 'go to a dance' | júbelik ^w | 'dance' |
| | | júbud | 'kick him' |
| dəlbílulɫ | 'go camping' | dél(ə)b | 'spend night away from home' |
| tíwílilulɫ | 'go to church' | tíwíl | 'pray' |

The possible exception is /g^wədílulɫ/ 'go (there) to sit.' In all other cases involving {-il-uɫ}, the IC structure is clearly stem - il - uɫ. {-il} alone is impossible. Beside /g^wədílulɫ/, however, we find the following:

- g^wədíl 'sit down, sit up'
- g^wədís 'sit beside someone'
- g^wéd 'below'

Thus, the more obvious analysis is /g^wəd-íl-uɫ/.²⁵



Footnotes

1 The term verb is not rigorously defined here. It refers to those words that occur more often as predicate heads than as any other part of a sentence. They are translated by English verbs and adjectives.

2 {-b} 'middle-voice' has cognates in all Salish languages I know of. In Squamish, Kuipers calls it intransitive. See his The Squamish Language pp 68, 78, 80ff. In Clallam, the Thompsons refer to it as the involvement suffix. Their discussion of its meaning is highly insightful. See Clallam: A Preview by Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson, in press. A detailed consideration of this suffix was presented to the Second International Conference on Salish Languages in my paper "The Morph /-(e)b/ in Snohomish."

There are two allomorphs: /-b/ after vowels and /-əb/ after consonants. After /l/ either allomorph occurs.

{-il} 'persistent' also has cognates in a number of Salish languages, usually with the shape /-i/. It refers not so much to the inception as to the continued state or activity, a growing or developing. (This view of {-il}, which has eluded me for several years, I owe to Professor Thompson.)

There are two allomorphs of {-il}: /-i-/ before {-s}, a transitive suffix and /-il/ elsewhere.

{-t} 'general transitive' refers to intended acts where an object is implied. It is neutral with respect to the agent's degree of control over the outcome (in contrast with {-dx^w} which indicates a lack of full control).

{-t} has four allomorphs: /-d/ finally after a vowel, /-əd/ finally

after a consonant, (either /-d/ or /-əd/ finally after /l/), /-c-/ before {-ut} 'reflexive,' and /-t-/ elsewhere (except that /t + s/ becomes /c/).

3 Compare with the Thompsons' discussion of control constructions in Clallam, ibid.

4 Like -, the . represents a morpheme boundary but also shows that the particular root is always bound to the suffix.

5 Nouns are goals if the verb is predicate head. If a noun heads the predication, it is the agent of verbs in category II. See my paper presented to the Third International Conference on Salish Languages, "Directive Phrases, a consideration of one facet of Puget Salish syntax."

6 Predictability has not been utilized to its fullest extent. The łčíł class consists of two subgroups on the basis of their suffixes in II.3. One group takes {-s}, /xíc·íl/ 'grow angry' : /xíc·i-s/ 'hex him.' The other takes {-t}, /čł·íl/ 'bleed' : /čł·íl-d/ 'bleed him.'

7 In addition, several prefixes figure in stem expansion.

8 They also provide for {-š} which replaces {-t} after a few roots in Skagit. Compare Skagit /dəg^w-á-š/ 'put it inside' with Snohomish /dəg^w-á-d/. These suffixes might be considered allomorphs of the same transitive morpheme. See page 7 and footnote 15.

9 This contrasts with Squamish where the "vowel is often -- but by no means always -- identical with the (last) vowel of the stem to which the suffix is added." Kuipers, ibid., p. 68.

10 The /ə/ of words like /čáx²wəd/ 'club it' is significant whereas the second vowel of forms like /tésəd/ 'hit it with fist' is merely epenthetic. This distinction is revealed when the stems are expanded with {-b):

/čáx²wə**t**əb/ 'get clubbed'

/tés**t**əb/ 'get hit with fist'

In the first, the vowel is a harmonic and remains. In the second, the vowel is epenthetic and disappears.

11 The epenthetic /ə/ disappears from athematic roots consisting of two voiceless consonants when a stressed vowel immediately precedes or follows.

12 See page 7 ff.

13 Compare with the similar phenomenon in Squamish. Kuipers, ibid., p. 119.

14 Squamish agrees with Puget in requiring a secondary suffix with the lexicals for hand, arm and in not having one after neck. The languages differ in their treatment of the lexical for foot. Puget requires {-i-}; Squamish does not.

15 Complete assimilation to {-i-} may account for the absence of {-š}. See under {-yi-} page 10.

No other {-š} roots known take {-i-b}. Instead, the {-š} is replaced by {-t} before {-b}, e.g., /xál-š/ 'mark it,' /xál-t-eb/ 'get marked,'

I do not believe that -š and -t are allomorphs of the same morpheme. Some roots are found with both, especially in Skagit, e.g., /pʔáš/ and /pʔád/ (both glossed 'put it away'). The difference is not understood.

16 /qəlqəlálitut/ 'dream' is derived from /qəlálitut/ 'spirit power' which in turn comes from a root {qəl} 'hear' (?), a connector {-al-}, which figures in many lexical stems, and /ʔitut/ 'sleep.' This last is derived from a bound root {ʔit} plus the reflexive suffix {-ut}. (Kuipers interprets the Squamish cognate ʔítut 'sleep' differently. He suggests that the suffix is a reduplication, *ibid.*, p. 108.)

17 There are other affix constructions that also seem to mean instrumental. The two most common are /-t-ed/ and /se-xʷ-/.

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| túʔkʷtəd | 'tape measure' | cf. {tuʔkʷ ~ tugʷ-} | 'figure, reckon, measure' |
| šíctəd | 'a file' | {šic} | 'rub, file' |
| səxʷʔígʷəl (Sk) | 'ladder, stairway' | {ʔígʷəl} (Sk) | 'climb a tree, stair' |
| səxʷgʷədíl (Sno) | 'chair' | {gʷəd-il} | 'sit' |

18 For example, /čələsáb tə səʔibəšš/ 'walking on his hands.'

19 In allegro speech /ceḑedíseḑed/.

20 In allegro speech /čecedísḑed/.

21 The vowel of this form is a harmonic.

22 This prefix occurs on both the inflectional and derivational levels. As an inflectional prefix it has optative meaning. In derivations its significance is unknown.

23 {-dx^w} indicates responsibility for but lack of full control over an act. It is in paradigmatic relationship with {-t}. Both occur with the čax^wed class. {-tx^w} 'causative' is found with the other three classes. ({-t}, of course, also turns up in the sax^web class, III.6., but only by virtue of {-i-}).

The allomorphs of {-dx^w} and {-tx^w} are /-(e)dx^w/ (often assimilated to /-tx^w/ in allegro speech) and /-tx^w/ when final. Elsewhere they are /-du-/ and /-tu-/. The fact that {-yi-} follows the position-final allomorphs testifies to the secondary nature of the constructions.

24 Other examples of /g^w/ ~ /w/ alternation are given in my Stem List of Puget Salish under W.

25 These two IC structures embracing the same sequence of suffixes is like the phenomenon pointed out on page 7 ff. regarding {-b-i-}. One of the more intriguing and sometimes exasperating problems in Puget Salish morphology is determining affix and particle hierarchies. The language is in the process of coalescing a variety of formerly

freer elements. In addition to several cases where the same series of suffixes belong to different IC's, there are instances of identical sequences of elements sometimes representing individual formatives and sometimes a single formative composed of several historical components. For example, /bid/ is a single suffix after such roots as {dil} 'ride' and {dal} 'obstruct the view of':

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| /dílbid/ | 'vehicle' | cf. /dílid/ | 'load it' |
| | | /dílag ^w il/ | 'mount, board' |
| /dálbid/ | 'shadow' | /dáld/ | 'block the view of it' |
| | | /dáličtəd/ | 'umbrella' |

In other forms /bid/ represents three morphemes:

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| /sáx ^w .əb-i-d/ | 'run after it' | /sáx ^w .əb/ | 'run, jump' |
| | | /sáx ^w .əb-yi-d/ | 'run after it for him' |
| | | /sáx ^w .əb-tx ^w / | 'kidnap him' |
| /tíč.i.b-i-d/ | 'wade out after it' | /tíč.i.b/ | 'wade' |

Problems of this sort are further complicated by homonymy and morpho-phonemic alternations.

probably different entries?