Secondary Suffixation in Puget Salish


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Secondary Suffixation in Puget Salish

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

1. \texttt{?úx}' (go) class, suffixless
2. \texttt{kičil} (come) class, takes {-il}
3. \texttt{sáxw} (run, jump) class, takes {-b}
4. \texttt{čáxw} (club it) class, takes {-t}

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

I. Non-transitive

1. \texttt{?úx}'
2. \texttt{kič-íl}
3. \texttt{sačw}.

II. Transitive

3. \texttt{?úx}-c
4. \texttt{?úx}-tx
5. \texttt{čáxw}-c

6. \texttt{?úx}-c
7. \texttt{?úx}-tu-b
8. \texttt{čáxw}-du-b

The syntactic differences among I, II, and III are illustrated with \texttt{kičil} 'arrive.' In the first category pronominal referents bear the same relation to the verb as other nouns. In I.I. there is no
agent nor goal for the ¹číl and ³áxʷed classes. The noun or pronoun simply happen to be caught up in acts of nature. In the ²uxʷ class the noun or pronominal referent is the agent. This is also true of both cases in I.2.

²ušč čed 'I began (under the influence of a spirit).'
²ušč ti stùbš 'The man began (under the influence of a spirit).'
²uščil čed 'I arrived.'
²uščil ti stùbš 'The man arrived.'

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

²uščís čed 'I arrived (for some special purpose).'
²uščís čed ti stùbš 'I arrived in order to see the man.'
²uščís ti stùbš 'Someone arrived in order to see the man.'
²uščíltxʷ čed 'I brought it.'
²uščíltxʷ čed ti stùbš 'I brought the man.'
²uščíltxʷ 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.

²uščísab čed 'I was visited.'
²uščísab ti stùbš 'The man was visited.'
²uščíltub čed 'I was taken.'
²uščíltub 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 ¹číl class we find (in addition to /ίčč/ itself) /pós/ '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 /pixwil/ 'fall through the air' with /pixwil/ 'shake it off' and /kągweb/ 'make mats' with /kągwe/ '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 ~ 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 /iel/ 'begin (under influence of a spirit),' there is no way of knowing what suffix it requires in II.3. It could as well be */iēčad/; and, /čaw/ 'clubbed (as by a branch whipping or snapping back across one)' might be expected to occur as */čawwil/.

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 ~ class are always given in the form I.1. on the chart; the ~ class in form I.2, never I.1. even for those roots that can occur without suffixes. All ~ 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.
paper is concerned with the last of these.

Secondary morphemes allow the class suffixes {-b}, {-ll}, 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. {-agw-}
6. {-ul}

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pīxʷ-i-d</td>
<td>'shake it off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūs-u-d</td>
<td>'throw at it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕáxʷ-a-d</td>
<td>'club it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Requiring harmonics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'as-táq</td>
<td>'closed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tē-kʷád</td>
<td>'carrying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'as-iáq</td>
<td>'wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕas-táq</td>
<td>'broken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'q-₅-d</td>
<td>'close it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷad-₅-d</td>
<td>'get it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lqʷ-₅-d</td>
<td>'wet it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'qʷ-₅-d</td>
<td>'break it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not requiring harmonics:

\[ \text{?as-}k\acute{\text{w}}\acute{\text{d}} \ 'spilled' \quad k\acute{\text{w}}\acute{\text{d}}-\acute{\text{ad}} \ 'pour it' \]
\[ \text{?as-x\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{c}} \ 'think' \quad x\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{c}}-\acute{\text{ad}} \ 'count it' \]
\[ \text{?as-\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}}x \ 'split' \quad \acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}}x-\acute{\text{ad}} \ 'split it' \]
\[ \text{?as-d\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{c}} \ 'lying on side' \quad d\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{c}}-\acute{\text{ad}} \ 'lay it on its side' \]

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

Some roots belong to both the \( \text{\acute{c}ax\acute{w}ad} \) class and the \( \text{sax\acute{w}ab} \) class. Those that take harmonics belong to two groups. One group requires harmonics before both \{-t\} and \{-b\}, e.g., \( /y\acute{\text{i}}\acute{\text{d}}-\acute{\text{i}}-\acute{\text{d}}/ \ 'weave it,' \)
\( /y\acute{\text{i}}\acute{\text{d}}-\acute{\text{i}}-\acute{\text{b}}/ \ 'make baskets.' \) The other group has a harmonic vowel only before \{-t\}, e.g., \( /\acute{\text{p}}\acute{\text{i}}l-\acute{\text{i}}-\acute{\text{d}}/ \ 'flatten it,' \)
\( /\acute{\text{p}}\acute{\text{i}}l-\acute{\text{a}}b/ \ 'get flat.' \)

Some roots belonging to the \( \text{\acute{c}ax\acute{w}ad} \) class but not to the \( \text{sax\acute{w}ab} \) 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 \( /\text{\acute{\text{u}}k\acute{\text{w}}\acute{\text{d}}\acute{\text{a}}-\acute{\text{te}}\acute{\text{b}} \acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{d}}/ \ 'I was grabbed' \) and \( /\text{\acute{\text{u}}k\acute{\text{w}}\acute{\text{d}}\acute{\text{a}}-\acute{\text{b}}\acute{\text{i}}-\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{b}} \acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{d}}/ \ 'I was captured.' \)

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 \( \text{sax\acute{w}ab} \) class (excluding those whose roots belong also to the \( \text{\acute{c}ax\acute{w}ad} \) class)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{x"uyub"d} & \text{'sell to him'} \\
\text{x\acute{\text{a}}y\acute{\text{e}}b"d} & \text{'laugh at him'} \\
\text{b\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{d}}\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}}b"d} & \text{'lie about him'} \\
\text{q\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{sq}}\acute{\text{e}}b"d} & \text{'talk excessively to someone'}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{cf. x"uyub} & \text{'sell'} \\
x\acute{\text{a}}y\acute{\text{e}}b & \text{'laugh'} \\
x\acute{\text{a}}y\acute{\text{e}}b\acute{\text{d}}\acute{\text{w}} & \text{'make him laugh'} \\
\text{b\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{d}}\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}}b} & \text{'lie, fib'} \\
\text{q\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{sq}}\acute{\text{e}}b} & \text{'converse excessively'}
\end{array}
\]
After some lexical suffix stems\textsuperscript{13}:

\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{?učelpáči(?)id} 'twisted his wrist' \quad cf. \{-ači\} 'hand'
\item \texttt{?učelčapláxədətəb} 'hammer lock'
\item \texttt{dxʷ?uqyaáxədəd} (Sk) 'open the door'
\item \texttt{?údxʷpúhígədətəb čež} 'the wind is blowing in on us'
\item \texttt{lexšádəd} 'give him light'
\item \texttt{učičšədətəb} 'his leg got cut'
\item \texttt{ábucdíd} 'take him his lunch'
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{učelpáči(?)id} 'twisted his wrist' \quad \texttt{?učelčapláxədətəb} 'hammer lock'
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\item \texttt{učičšədətəb} 'his leg got cut'
\item \texttt{ábucdíd} 'take him his lunch'
\end{itemize}

A number of lexical stems are followed by \{-t\} directly. There is no \{-i\}, e.g., \texttt{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 \texttt{lič-šəd-i-d}/ 'cut his leg' with \texttt{lič-ùs-əd}/ 'cut his hair.'

Only a few of the seventy or so lexical stems 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.'\textsuperscript{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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa.wúqwa'id</td>
<td>'drink it'</td>
<td>qúqwa?</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qádadid</td>
<td>'steal it'</td>
<td>qáda?</td>
<td>'steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dxwqádí</td>
<td>'commit adultery'</td>
<td>qédéb</td>
<td>'fornicate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há?lí</td>
<td>'clean it up, polish it'</td>
<td>há?l</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>há?lèb</td>
<td>'good weather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>há?ll</td>
<td>'be well'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the preceding cases {-i-} creates category II stems. With two roots this suffix also makes stems for category III. The roots involved are {ñál} 'cover body' and {takw - tagw-} '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 */ñál-š-i-b/, we find /ñál-i-b/ 'it was put on someone.'¹⁵ (Compare /ñál-š/ 'put it on,' /ñál-txw/ 'wear it,' /ñál-tu-b/ 'lend someone something to wear.') The same is true of /tágw-i-b/ 'bought.' (Compare /tágw-š/ 'buy it,' /ták/ 'bought,' /tágw-txw/ 'bought,' /tágw-tu-b/ 'bought.' The meaning of {takw - tagw-} 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'uyub/ 'sell' and /x'uyubid/
'sell to him' occur, we find only /?upbid/ 'seat self on his lap'
never */?upub/. Note also that the root {x'uyu} (and many others)
ever appears without {-b}, but {?u}$ (and many others) does:

?úp 'happen to sit on his lap'
?úpud '(she) holds him on her lap'
?úptxw 'seat him on someone else's lap.'

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

(1) The reflexive

\( {\text{Xelábutbid \ 'understand him'}} \) \quad \text{cf. \( Xelábut \ 'understand' \)}

\( {\text{qelqelálitutbid \ 'dream about him'}} \) \quad \text{qelqelálitut} \text{16 'dream'}

(2) Stems in {-il-ul}

?eldíluibitubul 'come in order to eat with us'
\text{cf. \( ?éld \ 'eat' \)}

\( ?eldíluil 'go somewhere in order to eat' \)

debélíluibitubul 'come in order to pick berries off us'

debélíluil '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 some-
what more heterogeneous group. The significance of \{-a-\} is not
understood. With distributive stems it performs the same function
as the harmonics:
ledladad 'trample it'          cf. léđad 'step on it'
gwëcgwëcäd 'looking around for it'                  gwëcèd 'look for it'
gwëcgwëcáb 'looking all about'                       gwëcèb '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
čalesáb18 'with the hands'                cf. čáles 'hand'
pútáb '(travel) by boat'                    pút 'boat'
yídibäd 'awl for weaving'                   yídíd 'weave it'
yídib 'make baskets'
ceđísbad19 'fork'
ceđed 'stick into it'
-dis 'tooth, pin'
čedísbad20 'toothpick'

With root stems, {-a-} narrows the significance of the stem giving it a more specialized sense.
qwcáb 'slip'                                    cf. qwécad 'slide it'
se?sxwáb 'broad jump'                           sáxwáb 'jump, run'
dxwcútáb 'think'                                cut 'say'     cúuc 'tell him'
kwxwád 'helper, luck'                           kwxwed 'help him'
tpád 'have knife in hand ready to use on him'
 tpád21 'stab him'
tú?äd 'salivate'                               tú?ud 'spit on him'
xwtađ 'take it down from height'
 xwifild 'knock it down from height'
 xwifil 'fall from height'
padádub 'cooked in the ground'
pádèd 'bury it'
tsgádub 'cooked in a pan'                      tésèd 'bake it' (lit: 'decold it')
tés 'cold weather'
There are a number of forms involving the derivational prefix \(gw\)\(\text{a}-\). The IC structure of these forms is not certain. It may be \(gw\)\(\text{a}\) - root - \(a\) - \(\text{a}\) - or \(gw\)\(\text{a}\) - root - \(a\) - \(\text{a}\) - . There is some evidence to support either interpretation. Both may be accurate depending on the particular word.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(gw\)\(\text{ecút}\)\(\text{d}\) & \text{'make a fuss'} & \text{cf. \(dx\)\(\text{cút}\)\(\text{b}\) & \text{'think'} & \text{cút} & \text{'say'} & \text{cúuc} & \text{'tell him'} \\
\text{\(gw\)\(\text{e}l\)\(\text{ád}\) & \text{'behave, keep still'} & \text{\(\text{e}l\)\(\text{ád}\) & \text{'figure it out'} & \text{\(\text{e}lcút\) & \text{'keep still'} & \text{\(\text{e}l\)\(\text{ábut\) & \text{'understand'} \\
\text{\(gw\)\(\text{qíb}\)\(\text{ád}\) & \text{'get ready'} & \text{\(g\)\(w\)\(\text{e}q\)\(\text{íb}\)\(\text{icu}\)\(\text{t}\) & \text{'get self ready'} & \text{\(q\)\(\text{íbid}\) & \text{'fix it'} \\
\text{\(gw\)\(\text{e}p\)\(\text{ád}\) & \text{'mesmerize, anesthetize'} & \text{\(q\)\(\text{ép}\) & \text{'foolish, senile'} \\
\text{\(gw\)\(\text{e}q\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{b}\)\(\text{ád}\) & \text{'be quiet, shut up'} \\
\text{\(gw\)\(\text{e}t\)\(\text{d}\)\(\text{ád}\) & \text{'faint, pass out'}
\end{align*}
\]

One other case may involve \(-\text{a}-\). The analysis is uncertain. Some \(ux\)\(\text{a}\) class verbs apparently mark imperative mood with this morpheme, e.g., /\(a\)\(\text{a}x\)\(\text{a}(\text{h})\(\text{a}\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{x}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{w}\)/ 'come on, let's' (\{\(e\)\(\text{x}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{x}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{w}\)\} 'come, ' \{-\text{hex}\} \) 'change effected'). In allegro speech the form is usually /\(a\)\(\text{a}x\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{x}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{w}\)/. In the southern area it is /\(a\)\(\text{a}x\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{x}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{w}\)/. Compare also northern /\(a\)\(\text{ux}\)\(\text{ex}\)\(\text{w}\)/ 'go now' (presumably \{\(a\)\(\text{x}\)\(\text{w}\)-\text{a}-\text{hex}\}) with southern /\(a\)\(\text{uxw}\)\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{hex}\)/.

The secondary suffix \{-\(\text{y}\)\(\text{i}\)-\} indicates that someone else is responsible for an act; the expected agent is replaced by some other actor. \{-\(\text{y}\)\(\text{i}\)-\} is realized as /\(\text{ii}\)\(\text{i}\)/ in Snohomish, /\(-\(\text{si}\)\-\)/ in the southern dialects, and /\(-\(\text{y}\)\(\text{i}\)\-\)/ in Skagit. It is potentially the
widest distributed of the secondary suffixes. It provides for (-t) in the following environments:

(1) After roots of the ?uxw class

?ábyid 'give to him' cf. ?áb 'reach, extend'
?íšiyid 'paddle in his place' ?íši 'paddle'
?uxw?yid 'fetch it for him, go in his place' ?ux 'go'

(2) After roots of the šaxwad class

k?edýíteb 'took it (a switch) to him' (i.e., whipping) k?edád 'grab it'
šícyid 'cut it for him' šícid 'cut it'
šágwyid 'stitch it for him' šágwad 'stitch it'

(3) After stems in (-il)

púsilyid 'throw for him' púsil 'throw, toss'
šúdílyid 'shoot for him' šúdíl 'shoot'

(4) After stems in (-b)

šíčibyid 'cut cattails for her' šíčib 'cut cattails'
šágwebyid 'make mats for her' šágweb 'make mats'

(5) After all lexical stems

šálšedýid 'put shoes on him for her' šál 'cover body'
dxw?edw?yáxedýid 'open the door for her' dxw?edw?yáxed 'open the door'

(6) After (-dxw)
"want to be able to eat his food (without his consent)"

(7) After {-tx́} 'causative' ́

?ux́tx́vid 'take it for him' cf. ?ux́ 'go'

?ux́tx́ 'take it'

xwyubtx́vid 'sell it for him'

xwyub 'sell'

xwyubtx́ 'sell it'

xwyubid 'sell to him'

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

bečágwil 'lie down for a rest' cf. béč (Snoh) 'fall down from standing'

bečád (Snoh) 'put it down'

deágwil 'get inside'

dék 'be inside'

déágád 'put it inside'

jídágwil 'enter the water'

jíd 'drown'

jídíd 'immerse it'

jídágis 'soak in (mineral) water (to cure a disease)'

jídcut 'soak in water'

qcágwil 'slide down'

qcéced 'slide it'

qcágis 'slide down after it'

qcáb 'slip'

qcíq'cawil 'ice skate, go sledding'

(With attenuative stems {-aǵ-} has the allomorph /-aw-/. ́)

dwibagwil 'get out of canoe, car, etc.'

dwib 'be disembarked'

dwibid 'unload it'
dibagwis 'get off (the bus because one happens to see a friend on the street)'

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

šigagwil 'come out of the water' šikw (Sk) 'low tide'

šilagwil 'come out from under something'

šúlagwil 'go under (a fence)'

šúlagwis 'go under something after it'

šúlud 'put it beneath'

šúlalikw 'put in the oven'

šiqagwil 'come out of (the brush)'

šiqagwis 'come out of (the brush in order to be seen)'

šiqdxw 'manage to extract it'

dílagwil 'board, mount'

dílil 'be on board, mounted'

díl 'ride'

dílid 'load it'

xtagwil 'climb down from height'

xítil 'fall from height'

xitagwis 'climb down from height after it'

xítild 'drop it from height'

The corpus has only one example of {-agw-} after a member of the saxweb class and one after a lčil class form.

púsebagwil '(a fish) comes to the surface'

púseb 'float, surface'

yúybilawil 'play dead'

yúbil '(person) starves, (animal) dies'
{-(u̯l)} 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. {-(u̯l)} is a final suffix in contrast to the others which form a base for further suffixation. (Stems ending in {-(u̯l)} can be expanded only by the constituent {-(b-i-)}. See (2) on page 8.)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
debebibul & \quad \text{'go berry picking'} \quad \text{cf. debeb} \quad \text{'pick berries'} \\
jubelikwilul & \quad \text{'go to a dance'} \\
jubud & \quad \text{'dance'} \\
qelbilul & \quad \text{'go camping'} \\
qel(ə)b & \quad \text{'spend night away from home'} \\
tiwélul & \quad \text{'go to church'} \\
tiwil & \quad \text{'pray'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
gʷədîl & \quad \text{'sit down, sit up'} \\
gʷədíś & \quad \text{'sit beside someone'} \\
gʷéd & \quad \text{'below'}
\end{align*}
\]

Thus, the more obvious analysis is /gʷəd-il-u̯l/. 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 / -eb/ 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 } which indicates a lack of full control).

{ -t } has four allomorphs: / -d/ finally after a vowel, / -ed/ 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
\l{o} class consists of two subgroups on the basis of their suffixes in
II.3. One group takes {-s}, /xíc-iř/ 'grow angry' : /xíc-i-s/ 'hex him.'
The other takes {-t}, /čį-iš/ 'bleed' : /čį-il-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 /dagʷ-á-š/ 'put it inside' with Snohomish
/dagʷ-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 /cáxʷəd/ '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}:

   /cáxʷəṭəb/ 'get clubbed'
   /tésəṭəb/   '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-šb/ '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., /ptáš/ and /ptád/ (both glossed 'put it away'). The difference is not understood.

16 /qelqelálitut/ 'dream' is derived from /qelálitut/ 'spirit power' which in turn comes from a root \{qel\} 'hear' (?), a connector \{-al-\}, which figures in many lexical stems, and /qitut/ 'sleep.' This last is derived from a bound root \{qit\} plus the reflexive suffix \{-ut\}. (Kuipers interprets the Squamish cognate \{qitut\} '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-/.

| tů?kwíted            | 'tape measure' | cf. \{tů?kw - tugw\} 'figure, reckon, measure' |
| śícised             | 'a file'       | \{śic\} 'rub, file' |
| sexw?igwež (Sk)    | 'ladder, stairway' | \{igwež\} (Sk) 'climb a tree, stair' |
| sexwğwedíl (Sno)    | 'chair'        | \{ğwed-ıl\} 'sit' |

18 For example, /čelesáb te se?ıbešs/ 'walking on his hands.'
19 In allegro speech /cačedísebad/.

20 In allegro speech /čacedísebad/.

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 {dxw} indicates responsibility for but lack of full control over an act. It is in paradigmatic relationship with {t}. Both occur with the saxwab class. {txw} 'causative' is found with the other three classes. ({t}, of course, also turns up in the saxwab class, III.6., but only by virtue of {i-}).

The allomorphs of {dxw} and {txw} are /-(e)dxw/ (often assimilated to /-txw/ in allegro speech) and /-txw/ 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\textsuperscript{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 coalesing 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 {qil} 'ride' and {dal} 'obstruct the view of':

/dílbíd/ 'vehicle'  
 cf. /dílid/ 'load it'  
 /dílagwil/ 'mount, board'  
 /dílbid/ 'shadow'  
 /díld/ 'block the view of it'  
 /díličted/ 'umbrella'

In other forms /bid/ represents three morphemes:

/sáxʷ·eb-i-d/ 'run after it'  
 /sáxʷ·eb/ 'run, jump'  
 /sáxʷ·eb-yi-d/ 'run after it for him'  
 /sáxʷ·eb-txʷ/ '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 morphophonemic alternations.