A BOAS ORIGINAL
Don Watkins
Red Deer College, Alberta

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0. Between 1889 and 1900 Franz Boas, the great American anthropologist made at least two field trips into the Interior of British Columbia, making notes and collecting data on the Okanagan Salish Indians. The linguistic material of his first trip formed part of a word list and brief grammatical statement published in 1890. The Okanagan material gathered during the later trip was never reworked and presented for publication. His linguistic notes on Okanagan, preserved in the American Philosophical Society Library at Philadelphia, contain three Okanagan tales, of which the one below is the lowest. Their interest lies in the fact that they are the earliest Okanagan stories recorded verbatim, and form part of a broad series of animal tales recounted by Okanagan elders to their descendants. They reveal the Okanagan's belief that Coyote created the world, that he and his sons possessed magical powers, but that at heart he was the eternal prankster subject to human failings, much like the Greek deities and quite unlike the model of moral perfection exemplified in the Christian ideal. The story presented here also illustrates the hunter's belief that a wounded or startled grizzly bear will roll downhill to trap or outmanoeuvre an enemy. A grizzly bear, it is believed, can be killed only by an attacker approaching him from above.

For comparison with present-day Okanagan, the story was read to Larry Pierre, called Skatan, a native Okanagan
Indian. For the most part, the story was entirely comprehensible. The informant, however, did make a few minor grammatical adjustments on listening to the text. These adjustments were uncorporated into the phonemized version of the text presented below. They can be found in sections numbered 10, 21, 30, and 63. The nature of the modifications can be established through a comparison with the original Boas version also included below.

1.1. The northernmost dialects of Okanagan are characterized by two stress phonemes and thirty-five sequential phonemes, consisting of three vowels, a, e, and o, and thirty-two consonants, c, c', g, h, k, k', k'', l, l', m, n, p, p', q, q', q'', r, s, t, t', x, x', y, q, and ?. The phonetic actualizations of these phonemes can, in general, be ascertained from the Boas text below. Some of the listed phonemes are worth commenting on, either because they are not represented in the text, or because their phonetic nature is open to discussion. For example, the africate /c/ is frequently heard as [ts], but sometimes as [tʃ]. It is considered distinct from the sequence /ts/ which is heard with an intervening and predictable open-thetic vowel. The phoneme g, not present in the text below, is a voiced uvular fricative, reminiscent of the Parisian uvular r, but with no trill. Distributionally it occurs only in stem morphemes, as /r/ does.2
Examples of words with /æ/ are "ceep tree," "goxythn bachear," "lyoon insect's stinger." ³

The voiceless laryngeal continuant /ɾ/, characterized by Swadesh as rare in Salishan languages,⁴ appears in the text in the interrogative particle ha (95),⁵ and appears sometimes⁶ in acsmagóws loc across a creek (92, 99). Nondistinctively, an aspirated onset is heard with utterance initial vowels carrying secondary stress.

Pharyngeal. The voiced pharyngeal continuant, /.Console/, is a back consonant often difficult to hear.⁷ Boas heard it and symbolized it as r and r.⁸ Most frequently, this consonant is continuous with /a/; and in this environment the vowel is articulated quite far back. A mutual resemblance thus develops between /a/ and /Console/, so that when /a/ and /Console/ appear together, it is often difficult to decide which comes first. There is no labialized equivalent of /Console/ in the northern dialects of Okanagan comparable to those that appear in the more southerly dialects of this language. The glottalized pharyngeal in the north is allophonic.

Glottal Stop. Okanagan has a glottal stop phoneme, occurring for example in man's father 1ʔew (2). In addition, however, there is a stylist glottal stop which a speaker will choose to use depending on nonlinguistic considerations. To establish whether a given occurrence of glottal stop is stylist or not, it is necessary to
have different informants pronounce the utterance in question, or have one informant pronounce it several times with an intervening time lapse. The stylish glottal stop is recognizable by its fluctuating presence and absence. Examples of this stylish glottal stop are found in the phonemicized version of the text: ma?2 and (1), cq'æl?ne his arrows (3), tassa?st two arrows (22), e1]?e?2s in a bark canoe (47), askok?62p rose bush (64), koi?i he made himself (79), træmq?al?w he jumped up and down on the log (97). These glottal stops were noted in Larry Pierre's pronunciation of the text at hand, and are correspondingly recorded in the phonemicized version. Their addition constitutes a deviation from the original Boas text, but are included as a point of interest. The glottal stop in estra?telo his youngest son (18) is a diminutive marker.

Allophonic variation is slight. Perhaps most noticeable is the allophonic glottalization of vowels. A vowel has a glottalized coda when utterance final, and also when preceding another vowel that bears primary stress, in which case the first vowel also bears primary stress, e.g. /spoos/ : [spo'sor] heart. Nasal consonants are preglottalized utterance initially, and postglottalized before one or more voiceless consonants that end an utterance. W occurring non utterance-initially is postglottalized before a stop phoneme or s. Every voiced continuant is postglottalized when intervocallic, provided
that the second vowel is primarily stressed. It is similarly
glottalized in utterance final position. Some speakers
extend the postglottalization of voiced continuants into
another environment—that is, between a primarily stressed
vowel and another voiced continuant. All these cases of
consonantal glottalization, however, are quite slight and
often pass unnoticed by the untrained linguist.¹⁰

Phonetically, the most noticeable difference among
Okanagan dialects lies with the vowels. For instance, the
phoneme e is articulated anywhere from [ɪ] to [ɛ] depending
on the dialect. Similarly the spread for /o/ lies between
[u] and [o]. The higher articulation characterizes dialects
found around the southern end of Okanagan Lake, while the
lower articulation is heard at the Head (northern end) of
Okanagan Lake. A more noticeable glottalization of voiced
consonants and a greater recourse to the stylistic glottal
stop, already described, are dialectal traits of the area
around Penticton at the southern end of Okanagan Lake.

1.1.2. Phonetically, the only consonant clusters heard
in careful Okanagan speech are composed either of s/l plus
another consonant, or of a glottalized continuant followed
by a voiceless consonant. Otherwise we hear [CV(C)]. When
V is heard clearly and distinctly, it is phonemic. But when
V is heard as a murmur, it can be treated as a predictable
element and omitted in phonemic transcription. This pre-
dictable perst vowel¹¹ is a compromise between full voice and
a whisper, occurring only interconsonantally and never utterance initially or finally. The actual quality of the vowel is difficult to specify because of its indistinct nature and its tendency to fluctuate. But it is always lax, always bears minimal stress, is always short in duration, and always of central articulation, high to mid. Slight labialization can be detected in the environment of labialized consonants. Thus a [CVC] syllable that peaks on a pepet vowel is rewritten as /CC/.

In some speakers it is occasionally difficult to distinguish the pepet vowel from certain variants of the phoneme /a/. But in most speakers the two are distinguishable: in citation forms the pepet vowel is centrally articulated while /a/ is not; in normal to rapid speech the pepet vowel is of very brief duration, sometimes even disappearing, while variants of /a/, even though centralizing to schwa, have about the same duration as variants of any other vowel phoneme.

1.2. When examined in terms of morpheme classes, Okanagan morphemes are found to follow a rigid ordering scheme. For example, certain pronoun morphemes are always used as prefixes, while other pronoun morphemes are always used as suffixes, with no interchange possible. This ordering scheme can be brought into relief through the establishment of position classes, in the present instance twelve, and by assignment of morphemes to specific classes. The construction of utterances can then be described in terms of these classes.
The first utterance in the text below is made up of three morphemes: live - side by side - 3 person pluralizer, that is, a stem morpheme and two suffixes. The second utterance, mna'd and, is simply a stem morpheme without affixation.

Representatives of one or more of seven morpheme classes in various combinations can be found preceding stem morphemes. Likewise, representatives of one or more of four morpheme classes in various combinations can be found following stem morphemes. No single utterance has been found that includes representatives of all twelve morpheme classes. But on the other hand utterances are numerous that contain representatives of a single morpheme class, for example, those with compound stems.

The second sentence (2) of the text has: e-ha-k'os-ga-um I'm going to see him (I - intentional - go - look at - indefinite object). Both k'os go and ga look at are class 3 stem morphemes appearing here with two prefixes and a suffix. As a mnemonic device, the various Okanagan morpheme classes have been named. The names also suggest that certain semantic features characterize the members of a given class. The seven prefix classes are 1. Emphatic, 2. Pronoun, 3. Nominalizer, 4. Adverb, 5. Verbalizer, 6. Preposition-Adverb, 7. Nominal. Stem morphemes belong to class 8. The remaining four classes are suffixes: 9. Adverb, 10. Lexical, 11. Verbalizer, 12. Pronoun. Members of these various
position classes are presented in the appended morpheme list, where the bracketed number denotes morpheme class. The number of constituent morphemes in each class varies greatly. In general, the total number of suffix morphemes far outnumbers the prefixes. Unassigned to any position class is the proclitic - functioning as an article. It is the most commonly used prefix; and when it appears it precedes every other morpheme present.\textsuperscript{14} Word formation in Okanagan is effected by affixation, reduplication, glottalization and encorporation, in varying combinations.

1.2.1. Partial or complete morpheme reduplication is common in Okanagan stems. It produces semantic modifications of the following types: diminution,\textsuperscript{15} process, iteration, and plurality. In the following examples of these phenomena hyphens separate the morphemes. Sám-a \textit{whiteman}, sm-sám-a \textit{white people}, sm-sám-a \textit{white children}; tahn-ólax\textsuperscript{w} \textit{land}, t-tahn-ólax\textsuperscript{w} \textit{small piece of land}; te-\textsuperscript{q}áx \textit{it is furrowed} (striped or scratched), te-\textsuperscript{q}áx \textit{it has tiny furrows} (stripes or scratches); ox\textsuperscript{w}-áp \textit{it's burning}, o-ox\textsuperscript{w}-áp \textit{it's starting to burn}; n-\textsuperscript{q}al-t \textit{he went under} (water), n-\textsuperscript{q}a-al \textit{he's going under}; x\textsuperscript{r}-áp \textit{he trembled}, x\textsuperscript{r}-r-áp-p \textit{he became anxious}; ko-t'ap-n-tém \textit{he shot at us}, ko-t'a-t'ap-n-tém \textit{he kept shooting at us}; en-kél-x \textit{my hand}, en-kl-kél-x \textit{my hands}; cet-x\textsuperscript{w} \textit{house}, ot-cet-x\textsuperscript{w} \textit{houses}.\textsuperscript{16} Other examples of reduplication can be found in the text below, noted in the appended List of Morphemes under Reduplication.\textsuperscript{17}
1.2.2. While the concept of tense is poorly developed morphemically in Okanagan (see -x nonfuture listed under Suffixes below), the language expresses three aspects: continuative, sequential, and completive.\(^{18}\) The continuative aspect, not illustrated in the text, expresses continued action or being, without specific time reference. The sequential aspect indicates a usual or expected action under a given set of circumstances, or an event resulting from or following a previous event. The completive aspect signifies an action in its totality, with no regard to duration, frequency of occurrence, location in time, or causation. Aspectual morphemes are verbalizers, members of morpheme classes 5 and 11, and illustrated as follows.

**Continuative:** sc- (class 5), no suffix. \(\text{Kn-sc-kec-x}\)

(I - continuative - come - nonfuture) \(\text{I am coming}\); kn-sc-t'ap-ám (I - continuative - shoot - indefinite object) I'm shooting at something; \(\text{kW-sc-ka-ám}\) (thee - I - continuative - seek - indefinite object) I'm looking for you.

**Sequential:** s- (class 5), -s (class 11). \(\text{Kn-s-kec-x}\)

(I - sequential - come - nonfuture) (then) \(\text{I came}\); s-t-xoy-n-s (sequential - thither - go - indefinite object - he) (then) he approached something; t'ap-s-tém-n (shoot - sequential - thee - I) (then) \(\text{I fired at you}\). Further examples can be found in the text.
Completive: no prefix, -n (class 11). kn-kəd (I -  
come) I came; kn-t'ap-ám (I - shoot - indefinite object)  
I shot at something; t'ap-n-tən (shoot - completive - I)  
I shot at it. Further examples are in the text.

1.2.3. In common with other Interior Salish languages,  
Okanagan is characterized by a large number of pronoun morphemes—in this case, about twenty-seven, plus -lx a third  
person pluralizer, depending on how allophonic variants are  
assigned. An interesting feature is the double set of intransitive pronouns. 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular: 1st person kn-</th>
<th>e-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd person kW-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural: 1st person ko-</td>
<td>-tt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person -p</td>
<td>-mp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person -(lx)</td>
<td>-s(lx)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is often possible to substitute a pronoun from the first  
column for the corresponding pronoun from the second without  
any great semantic change: kn-wek-m (I - see - indefinite  
object) I saw something; e-wek-m (I - see - indefinite object)  
I saw something. 20 Pronouns in the second column are also  
used to denote possession, unlike those of the first column:  
e-s-láx-t (my - nominalizer - friend - integral characteristic)  
my friend; 1?ew-s (father - his) his father. 21 On other  
occasions, a single sequence of morphemes can have two  
semantic interpretations. Co-n-təm (co tell, -n completive
said 22 In--"aepect, the former meaning being consistently used in the text below. He told him can also be rendered as co-s, a transitive construction in which the-in completive aspect suffix has been assimilated before the sibilant. Reference to the second pronoun column above, however, reveals the intransitive pronoun -a third person. Thus co-s, without any assimilated aspect-suffix, can also be an intransitive construction, he said. In the text below the sequence k'ol-s (k'ol work, make) he worked / he made them (35, 36) illustrates these intransitive and transitive functions.

It is clear that some pronoun morphemes are prefixes while others are suffixes. They occur in utterances singly or doubly in various prefixal and suffixal combinations. The most apparent restriction of occurrence among pronouns is found in the environment of specific aspect markers. While some pronouns appear with aspect prefixes and never with aspect suffixes, kn-I, for example, others occur only in the converse environment, like -tex thou, for example. 23

1.3. The Boma text illustrates various morphophonemic processes that characterize Okanagan: assimilation, vowel alternation, vowel loss, stress shift.

1.3.1. In suffixes one consonant is assimilated by a like following consonant in a different morpheme. Thus -mon instrument plus -n completive aspect are realized as
/men/ in /tx'tépi'mental/ it chased after him (15). This rule does not prevent suffixal reduplications, however. The form /x'trépp/ he became anxious has already been mentioned. In /s-kí'ël-ë-k-s/ (sequential aspect - reflexive - body - 3 person) she rolled down (43), there is no assimilation since kí'ël, like x's, is a stem morpheme.

The assimilation of n before n-initial suffixes is a selective process. It does not occur before all such n-initial suffixes. In the text is found n-caq'-men-s (in - throw - instrument - completive aspect - 3 person subject transitive) appearing as /ncaq'més/ he threw it in (49); but the selectivity of this assimilation rule reveals two -s third person suffixes. Before one of them -n is assimilated, while before the other -n survives. For example xl-men-s (chop - instrument - completive aspect - 3 person subject transitive) is realized as /xlmés/ he chopped it, while xl-men-s (chop - instrument - 3 person possessive) is realized as /xlmés/ his axe. The survival of -n before this possessive pronoun is illustrated in section (29) of the text.

T and a following suffixal s become c. Examples: x'vel-est-n-s (throw away - causative - completive aspect) --> x'vel-est-s --> x'vel-esc --> /x'velsc/ he threw it away (34). The assimilation of t and s into c obscures a morpemat boundary. To maintain this boundary in the phonemized version of the text below, we write t-s.
1.3.2. Certain classes of Okanagan morphemes show vowel alternations of the type a→e, e/a/ under the influence of following primary stress. The a→e change is illustrated with the stem morpheme *æt* move along. The vowel is unchanged in /myæt/ he crossed the water (35), but is modified in /vegæt/ he ran away from him, where it no longer bears primary stress. Two occurrences in the text of the morpheme *æt* down, under illustrate this process: /sææt/ he went down river (47) and /sææt/ go along below his (13). The e→a alternation is illustrated with the stem morpheme *em* sit, stay, as it appears in /kææm/ wait for me! When the morpheme precedes another morpheme bearing primary stress, the vowel changes: /nææt/ he took his place in (his canoe) (34). The e→a change is not illustrated in the text, but can be exemplified with *em* ten: /k'ææpt/ ten people, /k'ææakt/ ten hands.

1.3.3. Okanagan roots and suffixes can be subdivided into those that retain their vowel regardless of stress location, and those that lose their vowel when they lose primary stress. A morpheme that retains its vowel without regard to stress location is *ay* mouth region. It bears primary and secondary stress in /on-ay-ay-təm/ my teeth (35), and secondary stress only in /c-ay-ay-æt/ laughter (62), the vowel phoneme remaining unchanged. A morpheme that loses its vowel is *oy* go, *take* up. In /xøy/ he went (62), the morpheme bears primary stress and keeps
the vowel. But in /k'ax-ko-m-úšá/ you really want \*m (54),
the second morpheme in the stem, \*k' (from \*kán) be high;
now, carries the primary stress, and \*m does not lose its vowel.
In a form already quoted, /k'ax-šú-ka-tékšá-t/ \*kän \*hand,
the suffix -šú-ka finger, hand, arm appear twice: once with
primary stress and its vowel, and once without its vowel.
The text below contains numerous other examples of vowel
loss in stem and suffix morphemes when they do not bear
primary stress. When w or y is the first segment in a root
that loses its vowel in the manner described, the w under
certain conditions changes to o, and y changes to e. This
happens in the case of wet step, for example. Compare
/wel-\*wet-\*w/ I stepped on his foot and /u-qel-\*wet-\*wá-e/ he
stepped on the (arrow) points (29). Similarly \*xán \*fell
off: /\*xán-wá/ he fell off and /u-\*xán-\*wá-\*m/ he fell off
into the water (100).

1.3.4. One of the most perplexing questions in Salishan
studies is the determination of stress location in a specific
utterance. \*23 Okomagin is typically Salishan in this matter.
The prediction of stress in an utterance is subject to a
complex hierarchy of rules based on the morphology. It is
inadequate to assert that primary stress falls on the last
vowel phoneme in an utterance that has at least one following
consonant. This is a frequent location for primary stress.
But such a rule fails to account for the presence or absence
of a vowel in, e.g., the last morpheme. For example, the
suffix -en instrument. Suffix -en in the latter sometimes appears with a vowel sometimes without. For comparison we consider /mæ-n/ fastener and /mæl-ən/ paint. In both cases primary stress coincides with the last vowel phoneme; but the analyst is still left with the problem of accounting for the presence of the vowel in -en instrument in the former term, and its absence in the latter term. By way of further exemplification, the stem morpheme /æk tiŋ up/ can be combined with certain suffixes thus: /seen-seen (tie up - completive aspect - thee - I) → /šac'een/ I tied you up. Here primary stress appears on the suffix. If the stem morpheme /æk tiŋ up/ is replaced with /æk/ look at, see, a morpheme used in the text, and is then used with the same suffixes, the result is /šac'een/ I looked at you. Here again is a case of a suffix morpheme, as thee, losing its vowel when the stem carries primary stress.

To predict primary stress location it becomes necessary to subdivide stem and suffix morphemes into primary morphemes and nonprimary morphemes. The subdivision applies only to morphemes with at least one vowel in their base forms. A stress rule can then be formulated applying primary stress to the last occurring primary morpheme in an utterance. The primary morphemes are Gay mouth region and -cat self. When combined with the nonprimary suffix -an locative they occur as /šayn-cot/ he laughed, with primary stress appearing on the suffix—the last primary morpheme.
To predict primary stress location when there is no primary morpheme in an utterance, a similar rule is applied. Primary stress falls on the last vowel in an utterance with at least one following consonant. Thus t’ap aim at, shoot will combine with -am indefinite object, both nonprimary morphemes, to form /t’apám/ he shot something.

A significant difference between primary and nonprimary morphemes is that primary stress can fall on the final phoneme of an utterance when that phoneme is (part of) a primary morpheme, as in /sqso/ son. But in the absence of primary morphemes, primary stress must fall on a nonfinal vowel, as in /sáma/ whiteman.

A further characteristic of primary morphemes is that they retain their vowels regardless of stress location in an utterance. Nonprimary morphemes consist of two groups: variable morphemes, i.e. those that lose their vowel when they do not carry primary stress, e.g. -am indefinite object in /paxm/ he hunted something, and invariable morphemes, i.e. those that retain their vowel even when they do not carry primary stress, e.g. -a person as in /sáma/ whiteman.

Primary stress can be heard twice in a single utterance when the prefix talé- very appears with a primary morpheme, e.g. /talésá’t/ it is very solid (96), and when a stressed vowel is preceded immediately by the same vowel, e.g. /st’askéél/ daughter. In this latter case two distinct syllable peaks are
heard. Telkwa is a rare example of an Okanagan prefix that can bear primary stress.

Primary suffixes appearing in the text are: -ot self, -e having outward extension, -on body, -on bully, -att alike, -ep bottom of something, mouth, door, -at abundant, -on surrounded: middle, together, -on side by side, -on triseman, -on manage to: finally succeed in, -on fire.

Occurrence of these morphemes under the stated conditions coincides with primary stress.

Primary stem morphemes are: -ot, -es, -en, -an, if, -i, -as head, kes come, k'ol work, makes, fix, in, k'ol go.

k'ol roll, kans grizzly bear, ma loud object lies, not out, sho, rep bear, pok kill, q'el his gun, be sick, top stand upright, wak sea, wan leave, now go, take up, p'el throw away, pas' look at, sea, bay don't notice, palm pas' eat.

Nonprimary morphemes are found in the list of morphemes under stem morphemes and suffixes. The relative morphemes are identifiable by the bracketed vowel shown. If the remaining stem and suffix morphemes are not listed among the primary morphemes above, they can be assumed to be invariable morphemes as far as the presence and absence of their vowels is concerned. Those stem and suffix morphemes listed without vowels, of course, are not involved in the stress rule.
These statements account for most stress occurrences and vowel losses in the text. The vowel activity in a few of the compound stems remains to be accounted for, e.g. (93), as does the loss of vowels and primary stress from the primary morphemes -em body, which has been incorporated into the stem in (21) and -enkel belly in (65). In these latter cases, we see the effects of reduplications and certain back consonants. Insufficient data hinder the formulation of reliable rules here.
2. Coyote and Grizzly's Translation

(1) Coyote and his children lived together. (2) His oldest son said "Father, I'm going. I want to go and see Grizzly Bear's daughter." (3) He made his arrows. (4) And then he went. (5) When he arrived, Grizzly Bear spoke to him "Greetings, you have come, my son-in-law!" said Grizzly Bear. (6) He said to his daughter "Go out and dig roots!" (7) And so his daughter went. (8) She went on to a bare side-hill. (9) Grizzly Bear went outside and stepped on the point of his son-in-law's arrows. (10) He said: "Come on, my son-in-law! Shoot that grizzly bear over there for me to eat". (11) Then the son of Coyote set out. (12) He went off. (13) Grizzly Bear called to him "Go along below him and shoot at him!" (14) He went along and shot at him. (15) Then that bear chased after him. (16) She killed him.

(17) Coyote found out about it. (18) Then his youngest son found out about it. (19) So he made some arrows. (20) He made two arrows. (21) He fashioned stones for his arrow points. (22) He said "Well, now I'm going, father." (23) "I'm going to learn what happened." (24) He left. (25) When he arrived, Grizzly Bear spoke to him. "Greetings, you have come!" said Grizzly Bear. (26) He said to his daughter "Go out and dig roots!" (27) Grizzly Bear's daughter went out on to the bare side-hill. (28) Grizzly Bear went outside. (29) He stepped on the point of his son-in-law's arrows. (30) He said "Come on, my son-in-law." (31) Shoot that grizzly
bear ever there for me to eat!" (32) He started off. (33)
He went outside and took up his arrows. (34) He took his
place in his canoe. (35) He crossed the river and set to
work. (36) And he made two tips for his arrows. (37) Grizzly
Bear called out to him "Go along below him and shoot at him!"
(38) Then he set out. (39) But he went above him. (40)
The bear came at him. (41) He stood up and shot at it.
(42) Again he shot at it. (43) Then the grizzly rolled down
the hill. (44) Then he chased down after the bear. (45)
Then he cut off its head. (46) Then he went and sat in his
canoe. (47) In his bark canoe he moved downstream. (48)
He went to his father-in-law's house. (49) And he threw
the head into his father-in-law's house. (50) Then along
came Grizzly Bear. (51) He heard laughing. (52) Grizzly
Bear went into his house. (53) He saw a lump—a stone.
(54) He bit into it. (55) He said "My teeth will not break".
(56) Then Grizzly Bear went out from that place. (57) He
wandered a short distance away, and heard laughing in the
house. (58) He returned and went back in, and saw a worm-
eaten mass. (59) He wanted to bite it. (60) He said "No,
it's too repulsive". (61) Then Grizzly Bear went out from
that place. (62) He went off a short distance and heard
laughter coming from the house. (63) He returned and went
in again. (64) There was something lying by the door—a
rose-bush. (65) It scratched his underside. (66) Then
Coyote went out of the house. (67) Coyote laughed. (68)
Then Coyote ran off. (69) Grizzly Bear raced after him. (70) Coyote kept going. (71) Then he made himself into a little bush. (72) Grizzly Bear came on and saw the bush. (73) And Grizzly Bear kept coming. (74) He came close. (75) Coyote laughed at him. (76) Then Coyote ran off. (77) Then Grizzly Bear chased after him. (78) Coyote kept going. (79) He made himself into a stick. (80) Grizzly Bear saw the stick. (81) He said "Very good, I'll take that walking stick". (82) Grizzly Bear continued his way. (83) Grizzly Bear said "It's too heavy. Now I'm going to leave it". (84) He threw it away. (85) Grizzly Bear set off again. (86) Coyote laughed at him. (87) Coyote ran off again. (88) Grizzly Bear charged after him. (89) Coyote kept going. (90) He walked across a log. (91) Coyote bribed the woodworms. (92) He said "Go ahead, chew away the middle of this log across the creek". (93) Grizzly Bear approached, and asked "Which way did you actually go over?" (94) Coyote replied "This way. I came across the log". (95) Grizzly Bear asked "is it solid?" (96) "Yes indeed. It's really solid. Come on!" (97) Grizzly Bear jumped up and down on the log. (98) And then he came further, right to the middle of the log, and jumped up and down again. (99) This log over the creek broke in the middle. (100) Grizzly Bear fell off into the water. (101) And then Coyote went away.
(1) Kulē'utaglīg nātāl ak'gelo'p nātāl ak'wēšk'us'ilas.
(2) İshatamē'galts toót : leē'ū wēkineqog'ig hēkakōs
k'tsam k'yōl'una hāstemki'ilete. (3) K'o'lems tītskom'oles
kūnemil'k'ig? Teūt gyēla'una. (4) Tsūc hāstemki'ile is:
gō'ig uē'tsq. (7) Gësq'ic hāstemki'ilete (9) Gō'i
il k'stelpemē'nik. (9) A'tek'a gyēla'una, nk'alōtsakt'ilte
hē tsk'š'īnē hē senē'kig (10) Teūt : togō'i kuō'senē'kelg.
Ku'ā'st'āpēm iwaq's hēgyēla'una ; hēkst'sē'len.
(11) Gësq'is senkelōp hēsk'sō'is. (12) Gōi. (13) teōndem
k'yōl'una t'īāsk'tlēqō'temdas mē'tēpentē'q. (14) Gō'i
tēpentis. (15) Gōs tūtnam'ntem hēstēkōla'una. (16) Pō'lestis.
(17) Mē'pesis senkelōp (18) hēstē'ote'lite mō'penus
(19) gē'es k'o'lems tē tsk'ē'len. (20) K'o'lems tēslē'stat.
(21) K'o'lems tēlōt hēkēnōlūlēmē'srē'sts. (22) Teūt
wāqge'esqō'i, leē'ū ! (23) hēskē'se mō'penem. (24) Gō'i.
(25) K'ōtsq. teōndem gyēla'una : wā'uktekqoq teūt gyēla'una.
(26) Tsūc hāstemki'ilete gō'ig uē'tsq ! (27) Gō'i kāla'una
hāstēkōla'ilete, kīl k'stelpemē'nik, (28) A'tek'a gyēla'una.
(29) Nē'ek'alōts'tē'k'tīte hēs'ēnēhlōs hēstsk'ē'len.
(30) Teūt teqō'i kuō' senē'kelg, (31) Ku'ā'st'āpē'm
iwaq's hēgyēla'una hēsk tsk'é'tlan. (32) Gō'i. (33) A'tsq
qū's hēstsk'ē'lenes. (34) Nē'mō't. (35) Nō'ak k'ōls.
(36) K'o'les hē'asēlē'ist hēsk'ē'tēlen. (37) Teūt gyēla'una.
(39) gu'telent (40) stg'imiis hëgyal'una. (41) Stëtlq t'ë'pentes. (42) Nëg t'ë'pentes (43) hö isku'ilikës hëgyal'una. (44) Kätut më'ntem hë xylal'una. (45) Hëmmë'ksëntem. (46) Qo'is gö'ic në'mëot. (47) el tliis'is gësätaq (48) qoi kyer'ë'us hëcität. (49) Ntekk'samä's hëlëcay'k'en al teigtö al?q'us. (50) Tëgü'i këlä'una. (51) Në'gilems tsarë'r'incut. (52) Nës'tö'g këlä'una. (53) våks hëstap yë'qütät. (54) sk'c'a'ntës (55) Tëöt : löt teimë'l'at ënëra'ittemen. (56) qe'që qe'telë s'aë'tsk'as kyël'una. (57) qo'i l'kwak në'gilems tsarë'r'incut elteitq. (58) Tëpalikö'sem tsmë'ö'tlq våks hëmä'mela. (59) Kskoë'antës (60) teüte : löt më'ltk'ast. (61) qëtelës saa'tsk'as kyël'una. (62) qo'i l'kwak në'gilems tsarë'g?'incut k'elteitq. (63) Sqeëtë'sem teimë'ö'tlg (64) hëstak'tl'ntk'oi'p hës kukoiltlp. (65) K'tëlëqsiqilirentsë. (66) hëhë's a'ësk'as snkë'ë'p. (67) Pëntëcö't sënkalë'ë'p. (68) Eqë' equptëncö'its sënkalë'ë'p. (69) Tgutsë'ntëm kyer'ë'una. (70) Tëgü'ë sënkalë'ë. (71) Qëck'ë'as tásatalkë. (72) Qo'i gyël'una wëlëgi'ëhstatalkë. (73) qëtelë's qo'ic kyël'una. (74) Lëkwë'uk'. (75) Rë'ëntëcö'tqëntëm te sënkëlë'ë'p. (76) Qësquptëncö'its sënk'ëlë'ë'p. (77) Qëtquptëncö'ntem kyël'una. (78) qo'i sënkëlë'ë'p. (79) Kë'ë tseqqëtsë'. (80) våks gyël'una hë sqaqtae'. (81) tööt : tëlë'qast wëks kunë'm hëktë'kstëm. (82) qo'i gyël'una. (83) Tëöt gyël'una : mën'ëll nást wëqë'ktlën. (84) qëë'listë
(85) qū'i gyā'λ'a'na. (86) Rā'intečü'tementem te snkuł'p.
(87) Qutpentcüt sonele'p. (88) Tqutnẽ'tem te gyā'λ'a'na.
(89) qi' sonele'p. (90) Tkgemä'łuk'. (91) Qak' snkuł'p
hi quiš'łuk'. (92) too : qo'saN ̂ yu e'usante
hātsemarai'us. (93) Takite gyā'λ'a'na, too'. Takintel'kui
ust? (94) too sonele'p. Hā'te kā'kinstkegmen'łuk.
(95) Too sonele'na : hā'qatst? (96) gyo'oa talš'qatst
tqū'i! (97) gyel'una ter'edâ'rek'emää'łuk' (98)
giš'ls tcqo'is, po tokas'usul'uk, nesug ter'edâ'rek'emää'łuk'.
(99) Qutsqetsä'us hātsemehä'ius. (100) no'quitk' gyēl'una.
(101) giššlgqo'í sonele'p,30
4. Coyote and Grizzly: Morpheme Analysis

In a comparison between the Roas original above and the phonemicized version below, the following features become apparent: 1. The automatic pauta vowels have been deleted in the version below. 2. The phoneme c in word final position has been broken down into t + s to show morpheme boundaries in (2, 6, 7, 18, 21, 26, 27, 33, 60, 76, and 94). 3. Stylish glottal stops have been inserted into the version below in (1, 3, 9, 18, 19, 26, 36, 47, 64, 79, 97, and 98). 4. The morpheme kl- on, at has been added below to idcg’el’n arrows in (2, 19). 5. There are slight grammatical deviations in (10, 21, 30, 47, 53, 63, and 65). All the additions and deviations just listed are incorporated into the phonemicized version as a result of consultation with Skatán, the present Okanagan informant.

(1) K\(^n\)-ewt-\(lx\) m\(a\)\(s\) an-k\(^l\)-ep m\(a\)\(s\) e-q\(^x\)s-q\(^x\)m\(a\)\(s\)-\(n\)-s.
(2) E-s-exut-méx-\(lt\)-\(s\) cot "L\(de\)w, way kn-c-xoy-x, e-ks-k’os-q\(a\)c’\(x\) ka-lávm-a e-s-t\(m\)-ke-él-t-s."
(3) K’ol-m te-kl-c-q’el\(n\)-s. (4) Nex\(^N\) exé s-xoy-x. (5) Kee-x, co-n-ta t-ke-láwm-a "Way, k\(^W\)-c-köc-x, k\(^W\)-c-s-nék’-lx."
(6) Co-s e-s-t\(m\)-ke-él-t-s "Xoy-x wec-x." (7) Exé s-xoy-s exé s-t\(m\)-ke-él-t-s, (8) Xoy e-l-k\(^l\)-pl-m-\(é\)nk. (9) Ácqa ke-láwm-a, n-qí-o-tåqí-s exé e-q’el\(n\)-s exé e-s-nék’-lx. (10) Cot "C-xoy-x, k\(^W\)-s-s-nék’-lx, ko-a-s-t\(a\)p-\(lt\)-\(s\) yaxé exé ke-lávm-a e-ks-c\(^x\)-áñ."
(11) Exé s-xoy-s an-k\(^l\)-ep exé s-qí-s-s. (12) Xoy. (13) Co-n-ta t-ke-láwm-a "\(n\)-s-k-exót-r-s-s.
Xoy t'ap-n-tés, (15) Exé t-x't-p-me-n-tm exé te-ke-láwn-a, (16) Poš-s-tm,

n-tés, (42) NexW t'ap-n-tés, (43) Exé kW'el-l-k-s e-ke-
5. The numbers in brackets refer to the morpheme position class to which morphemes have been assigned. See 1.2. above.

The numbers not in brackets refer to the numbered divisions in the continuous text in 4. above.

5.1.

a. 'thou' (2) 10, 31.

a. 'nominaliser' (3) 49, 71, 72, 92, 99.

c. 'durative' (5) 2, 3, 9, 10, 19, 29, 31, 32, 36, 51, 57, 62, 64, 70.

c. 'movement towards a goal' (6) 5, 10, 25, 30, 50, 57, 59, 63, 93, 94, 98.

en. 'possibility' (1) 55.

en. 'natural feature' (3) 92, 99.

e. 'productive' 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 21, 26, 27, 29, 33, 36, 40, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 53, 57, 58, 63, 64, 72, 73, 81, 91.

e(n). 'my, I' (2) 2, 10, 22, 23, 30, 31, 55, 81.

k. 'movement at or to a specific place' (6) 13, 37, 75, 86.

ke. 'indeed' (1) 63, 94, 96.

ke. 'standing upright or person, bear' (7) 2, 5, 9, 10, 13, 15, 25, 27, 28, 31, 37, 40, 43, 44, 50, 32, 55, 61, 63, 69, 72, 73, 77, 80, 82, 83, 88, 93, 95, 97, 100.

kw. 'me' (2) 10, 31.

kn. 'I' (2) 2, 84.

ke. 'intentional, future' (5) 2, 10, 21, 23, 31, 59, 81.

k'1. k1. 'into, towards' (6) 27, 48, 62.

k'1. k1. 'on, at, covering' (6) 3, 9, 19, 27, 64, 65, 82.

kW. 'thou' (2) 5, 10, 25, 30, 63.
1. "location" (6) 8, 47, 57.
2. "back, behind" (6) 39.
3. "again" (6) 59, 63.
me "obligation: should, please" (1) 13, 37, 49.
4. "in(to), on(to)" (6) 9, 21, 29, 34, 35, 49, 68, 58, 63, 64, 100.
5. "nominaliser" (3) 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 26, 27, 29, 33, 37, 64, 72, 79, 80, 91.
7. "nominaliser" (3) 1, 11, 17, 66, 68, 70, 75, 76, 78, 82, 87, 91, 93, 101.
8. t(a) "location, towards" (6) 15, 40, 44, 69, 71, 77, 79, 83, 90, 93, 94.
tale "very" (1) 31, 56.
t(e), t(e) "location in time or space; article" (1) 3, 5, 13, 15, 19, 20, 75, 86, 88.
9. A, & "from a time or place" (6) 13, 37, 39.

5.2.

10. the "this way" 90.
11. and "demonstratives: this one" 99.
12. as(e)l "two" 20, 36.
13. a(s)q "throw" 49.
14. cat "house" 48, 49, 57, 52.
15. co(a) "say, tell" 5, 6, 12, 25, 26, 92.
16. cat "express oneself" 2, 5, 9, 22, 25, 30, 37, 55, 60, 81, 83, 93, 94, 95.
k  "jump" 55.
k  "the" 59.
ke  "demonstratives: this one, then" 4,7,9,11,15,18,19, 
22,31,36,38,43,44,45,46,56,51,52,56,61,71,73,76,77,83, 
95,101.
ha  "interrogative particle" 75.
kej  "interrogative stem" 93.
kec  "come" 5,25,93.
kes  "climb up" 64.
ke?  "person's relative" 2,6,7,26,97.
kek  "walk" 92,94.
ke:  "bad, ugly, repulsive" 60.
keol  "work, make, fix, do" 3,19,23,21,35,36,71,79.
keos  "go" 2,23,59,63.
km  "body" 98
ke(oll  "sit, locate, dwell" 1.
ke(n)  "take one object" 81.
ke(o)?  "this" 54,59.
ke(o)el  "roll" 43.
lekh  "separate off" 57,62,74.
lawn  "grizzly bear" 2,5,9,10,13,15,25,27,38,41,42, 
44,53,56,51,69,72,73,77,80,82,93,85,88,93,95,97,100.
let  "no" 55,60.
l?er  "father" 2,22,33,49.
ma?  "break" 55.
ma: 'long object lies' 59,92,99.
we[l]'i: 'round body' 59.
mep 'know' 17,18,23.
myak 'too, very much' 60,96.
mt 'heavy' 23.
ma:² 'and' 1.
nek: 'cut, chop' 5,9,10,29,30,45.
xet 'hear' 51,57,62.
p(e)(l) 'enter' 59,62.
pot 'right, exactly' 98.
pok 'kill' 16.
pl 'grow' 3,22.
q(e)(l) 'top' 9,23.
q'el 'lie down, be sick' 3,9,10,29,33,36.
q²(e)š 's, qs 'something' 1,21.
te 'jump' 97,98.
tat 'stand upright' 41.
t(e)š 'next generation female' 2,6,7,25,37.
tev 'young' 13.
t'ak², t'ak² 'lie down' 64.
t'ap 'shoot' 10,13,14,32,37,40,42.
t'saq² 'hush' 71,72.
t'k 'pop up' 61.
ʔ 'ʔ' 'bark cane' 87.
way 'exclamation or greeting: well!' 2,5,22,25,81,83,96.
waš 'dig roots' 6,66.
waš 'sea' 53,58,72,86.
we(n) 'leave' 83.
were, es 'be high, above, over' 39, 93.
wt, ot 'step' 9, 29.
we, ol 'burn, iron' 21.
xat 'son' 2.
xy 'go, take up' 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 22, 24, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 38, 39, 40, 46, 48, 50, 57, 62, 70, 72, 73, 78, 82, 85, 89, 92, 93, 96, 98, 101.
x"(a)y 'cut, chew' 91, 92.
x"a't 'run' 15, 44, 68, 69, 76, 77, 87, 85.
x(a)c 'rigid, hard' 79, 80, 95, 96.
xaq 'pay' 91.
xas 'good' 81.
X 'stone' 21, 53.
x"a't 'break' 99.
x"al 'throw away' 84.
jaxes 'that, yonder' 10, 31.
y(a)x", ex" 'fall off' 100. (C.f. ?ex" 'down, under, below')
yas 'move along' 35.
qac 'look at, see' 2.
qap 'scratch' 65.
qay 'south region' 55, 57, 62, 67, 75, 86.
?acqa 'be or go outside' 9, 28, 33, 58, 61, 66.
?ax"t, ?ex"t 'down, under' 13, 37, 47.
?aw 'sit' 38, 46.
?ak 'enter' 52, 58, 63.
Complication 1, 21, 31, 53, 57, 62, 64, 65, 72, 74, 79, 80, 97, 98, 99.
5.3.

a. "little" (10) 21, 58.

b. "person, person-like" (18) 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 13, 15, 25, 27, 28,
   31, 37, 40, 43, 44, 50, 52, 56, 61, 69, 72, 73, 77, 80, 82, 83, 85, 88, 92,
   95, 97, 100.

(a)iq" 'log' (10) 90, 91, 94, 97, 98.

(c)m "indefinite object" (12) 2, 3, 19, 20, 23, 40, 51, 57, 59,
   62, 65, 90, 94.

(a)n "locative" (10) 51, 57, 62, 67, 68, 75, 76, 86, 87, 92.

(a)p "body" (10) 1, 5, 44, 53, 63, 69, 76, 77, 82, 88.

aqh "tip of something" (10) 9, 29.

aqn "head" (10) 49.

cot "cell" (10) 51, 52, 62, 67, 68, 75, 76, 86, 87.

c "having outward extension" (10) 1, 11, 29, 60, 477.

(e)k "somatic, body" (10) 43.

(e)ks "finger, hand, arm" (10) 81.

(e)kn "water" (10) 35, 100.

alt "property, child" (10) 2, 6, 7, 10, 26, 27.

at "shelters, enter" (10) 5, 9, 10, 29, 30.

asp "tree, bush" (10) 64.

sm "body" (10) 10, 21, 31, 81.

(e)ak "belly, belly-like" (10) 8, 27, 65.

sp "bottom of something, mouth, door" (10) 1, 11, 17, 64, 66,

(a)s(t) "casative" (9) 16, 33, 71, 84.

(a)s "tooth, arrow" (10) 20, 21, 36.

at, at "abundant" (10) 100.

sws "surrounded; middle, together" (10) 92, 98, 99.
'illative' (9) 43, 51, 57, 62.
'3 person pluralizer' (12) 1.
'dative for (benefit of)' (9) 10, 31.
'household member through alliance' (10) 5, 9, 10, 29, 30.
'instrument' (10) 5, 14, 15, 25, 33, 43, 44, 52, 55, 69, 75, 77, 86, 88.
'max', max 'tribesman, weapon carrier' (9) 2.
'maximalizer' (10) 3, 9, 12, 29, 33, 36, 81.
'compleтив aspect' (11) 5, 13, 14, 15, 23, 37, 41, 42, 63, 85.
'manage to, finally succeed in' (9) 17, 18, 22.
'body' (10) 8, 13, 27, 37, 57, 99.
'fire' (10) 21.
'round object' (10) 45.
in position, condition' (9) 24, 46, 55.
'describing a curve' (9) 37, 93.
'3 person subject/possessive' (12) 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18, 21, 26, 29, 33, 35, 37, 38, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 58, 73, 76, 78, 96, 101.
'3 person subject, transitive' (12) 6, 19, 21, 26, 33, 36, 40, 49, 51, 53, 57, 62, 72, 80, 84, 92, 52.
'moving along' (9) 35, 93.
'integral or natural characteristic' (10) 18, 20, 21, 36, 39, 55, 60, 61, 83, 95, 96.
'ye imperative, transitive compleтив' (12) 92.
'the '3 person subject' (12) 5, 13, 14, 15, 16, 25, 44, 42, 54, 59, 65, 69, 75, 77, 86, 88.
we 'ye imperative, intransitive' (12) 32.

x 'body' (10) 41.

x 'nonfuture' (11) 25.

x 'thou imperative, intransitive' (12) 6, 10, 26, 30.

x 'house' (10) 48, 49, 52, 57, 58, 62, 63.

y 'round, circular mass' (10) 49.
Footnotes

Page 180. See References Cited for the full title. I wish to thank the Committee on the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society for their generous support enabling me to carry out necessary field work for this study. The Library of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia is also thanked for making available to me Boas's notebook (Number 12) now part of the Library's Boas Collection.

2 Coeur d'Alene r has the same distribution as Okanagan r. See Reichard 1958:208.

3 An utterance with one vowel phoneme bears primary stress on that phoneme. Primary stress is marked with an acute accent in these utterances with two or more vowel phonemes.

4 Swadesh 1952:256.

5 The bracketed numbers refer to sections in the Okanagan text in paragraph 4, below (pages 25-7).

6 Larry Pierse, my Penticton informant, uses /h/ here, smouncil, while Ernest Brewer, my Head of the Lake informant, uses instead /9/, a voiced pharyngeal continuant. Boas heard a voiced consonant in (92) and a voiceless one in (99).

7 Kinkade 1967:229.

8 Boas's choice of symbol is interesting here. To Gladys Reichard, a student of Boas, r signified in Coeur d'Alene a situation where "the apex of the tongue is drawn
down and back and the uvula is strongly vibrated; it should be considered as voiced. . . . For Okanagan, this description is more applicable to /g/ rather than /v/, but nowhere is the uvula strongly vibrated. Kinkade 1968, believed that the Coeur d'Alene sound was a pharyngeal.

9 Glottalization is a means of expressing diminution in Coeur d'Alene and Kaliapal. See Reichard 1959:252, para 9.1.6.

10 These allophones typify the dialect found at the Head of Okanagan Lake. It is doubtful whether they characterize other dialects. Reichard 1958:299, para 2.37 finds glottal stop in Tillamook to be "slight and indeterminate".

11 The term 'pepet' was ascribed to Boas in Swadesh 1952:235. Swadesh himself referred to the phenomenon as 'the interconsonantal murmur' and 'the false vowel: a vocalic murmur between consonants in clusters, whose timbre is much influenced by the neighbouring consonants'. Reichard 1938:533 suggested a "purely mechanical" vowel after certain voiced consonants in Coeur d'Alene, but appears to abandon the idea in 1958:130, para 2.3 where she fails to distinguish mechanical vowels from phonemes.

12 For a general description of murmured vowels see Reffner 1960:96-7. /CC/-type syllables are called Onset Type in Hockett 1955:57.

13 Other descriptions of Interior Salishan languages include brief references to morpheme classes. See, for example, Reichard's Coeur d'Alene 1938:601, and Hans Vogt's Kaliapal 1940:13-60, especially 158. For a coast language,
A methodology for the establishment of morpheme classes is described in Harris 1951:243-61.

14 C.f. the very common Kalispel "proclitic particle" i- in Vogt 1940:73, 217.

15 Exemplified in the text with ast't'áqw bush (72) and ast't'áqw little bush (72). The glottalization on a t in this context is often dropped.

16 Many of the morphemes isolated here can be found below in 5. List of Morphemes.

17 In general, the rule for reduplication is \( C_1 VC_2 \rightarrow C_1 (V)(C_2) \rightarrow C_1 VC_2 \), where glottalization of the reduplicated \( C_1 \) fluctuates. In the practical situation the general rule is of little use since it is difficult to predict whether the \( V \) or the \( C_2 \) will be duplicated in a given lexical item, or even whether reduplication can be resorted to at all. For a treatment of reduplication in another Salish language see Sapir 1915.

18 These three aspects, with a name change, have been noted for Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel. See respectively Reichard 1938:574, 581-4, and Vogt 1940:28-42. Reichard uses the term 'customary' not 'sequential'; and Vogt uses 'resultative'. But Reichard 1959:14, 160 equates resultative and customary 'whatever their meaning'.

19 The term intransitive suggests that these pronouns appear without accompanying object pronouns. Indeed they do. They also occur, however, with object pronouns, but under this circumstance: \( \text{an indefinite object is always present} \).
There is an example under Continuative Aspect above. A different set of pronouns is called transitive. They are always used with objects.

20 Similar pairs are noted for Kalispel in Vogt 1940; 29, and for Coeur d'Alene and Tillamook in Reichard 1959:153.

21 Hoard 1970:19 comments on this dual function in Proto-Salish.

22 Aspect suffixes are absent in all intransitive constructions. When an aspect suffix is used, the utterance is transitive.

23 Reichard 1959:8 footnote 1; 9; 159 presented the idea of 'two systems' of personal pronouns for Salishan languages. This idea could be applied to Okanagan.

24 This and following morphophonemic statements apply specifically to the Head of Okanagan Lake dialect. There is evidence, e.g. in the next footnote, suggesting that different rules apply even in neighbouring dialects.

25 In this discussion of morphophonemics we make use of base forms. To distinguish base forms from phonemicized forms we leave the former unmarked and write the latter between slants.

In (83), *i-wen-n-n (behind - leave - completive aspect - I) is realized as */wén/ I'm going to leave it behind.

This is a Head of the Lake form. In the Penticton dialect we find */wén/.

26 Comparable vowel alternations are mentioned for Coeur d'Alene in Reichard 1958:299, para 2.33. They occur
in Kalispel, see Vogt 1940:29-21, and in Upper Chehalis, see Kirkade 1966. Newman 1969:175 found a number of Bella Coola roots with related meanings showing vowel contrasts. Reichard 1959:247, para 9.1.1, offers the Salishan generalization, "All the vowels of any one language are interrelated and are in turn influenced by the consonants". Such alternations present difficulties in comparative work and give substance to the statement by Foas and Haeberlin 1927:127 "It is not possible in most cases to use the unaccented vowels for studying the sound shifts, unless we know them to be long".

27 In this utterance the prefix n- signifies in, while -ot signifies in position. Vogt 1940:51, para 166 isolated the suffix -ut without assigning a gloss.


29 An instance where a primary stem morpheme will lose its vowel is in a compound stem where that primary morpheme is followed by another stem morpheme that bears primary stress. Such a case is in (93) where my 'go', a primary morpheme is followed by was 'be over': ke-k^x~xy~og~t 'you really went over'.
Here the second stem morpheme carries the primary stress.

This is a common, but not exceptionless, location for primary stress in compound stems. Primary morphemes do not consistently lose their vowel in this environment. Insufficient data preclude a more definite statement here.

30 In examining Boas's phonetic transcription of this tale I find myself in general agreement with J.V. Powell's 1972:106 comments on Boas as a transcriber—and I strongly support his closing sentence:

I am tempted to speculate on the dialect area in which Boas's informant was raised. A number of factors all suggest that he (or she) originated from the northernmost limits of the Okanagan area, i.e., the northern shores of Okanagan Lake. For instance I'm going to leave it (33) is expressed as even at the northern limits of Okanagan Lake, but as when at the southern end of the Lake. Characteristic of the Head of Okanagan Lake dialect is the comparative paucity of stylish glottal stops. The stylish glottal stops in the phonemicized version of the text were inserted by my modern day informant who originated from lands south of Okanagan Lake. Glottal stops in general are less numerous in the north than in the south. Thus while the glottal stops in PVC stems survive in the south, they tend to disappear in the north, resulting in varying pronunciations for n?am?t he sat in (his sense) (46) and n?ok? he went in (52). In this latter region, and (1) is rendered as n?á, while in the south, and is heard as n?á.
Also in the north a labialized onset is often heard with labialized consonants. Such is not the case in the south. Thus northern speakers have a pronunciation for *nax^n* than (98) that is quite distinct from the pronunciation heard in the south. Most characteristic of the northern dialect is the realization of the *e* phoneme, when primarily stressed, as [e], see again *nax^n* than in (42) and (98). In dialects spoken south of the Head of Okanagan Lake, /e/ has a distinctly higher articulation: [i~ι].
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