Many utterances in Coast Salish languages consist of a predicative element alone:

- Sooke: ʔwənət 'look at him'!
- Clallam: ʔəcətəyəxʷ 'He's an Indian'
- Snohomish: ʔəcəcəbəɬ-təb 'They drowned him'

The predicative element may consist of one morpheme, or it may be morphologically complex. Most utterances are more complex. The predicate may be internally expanded with satellites or externally with adjunct phrases, which serve to indicate, among other things, the agent and patient of a predication.

The focus of this paper is on the satellites to the predicate-head in two Coast Salish languages, Straits and Puget. These satellites are particles which occur in predicate phrases of these languages. They serve to specify and qualify the predicative expressions.

The order of particles within the predicate phrase is, for the most part, predictable. That is, the particles have a fixed order of occurrence which is prescribed by the presence or absence of certain elements, with which they interact.

This discussion is based on data from Sooke and Clallam, both dialects of Straits Coast Salish, and Snohomish and Skagit, dialects of Northern Puget Salish.²

Straits speakers were concentrated in the area adjacent to the Straits of Juan de Fuca. Sooke was spoken around the southern-most tip of Vancouver Island and Clallam was spoken in an area on the northern tip of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington. Puget was spoken along most of the eastern coast of Puget Sound. Snohomish was spoken in an area near what is now Seattle. Skagit was spoken a little farther north and east of Snohomish.

¹This paper is the result of an amalgamation of two undergraduate papers presented by the authors as coursework. These courses were instructed by Dr. T. E. Hukari and Dr. B. F. Carlson.

²For data sources, see List of References.
The grammatical variation within the Straits dialects is minimal. The same is true of the Puget dialects. Therefore, this analysis will consider Sooke and Clallam simultaneously, and so with Snohomish and Skagit.

All of the analyses consulted group the satellites into categories. We will do the same in this analysis. The notion of categories implies that a functional similarity and a distributional similarity exist for all elements subsumed under a given category heading.

For each language a sketch of the extant categories and particles will precede a discussion of the distribution of categories of satellites within the predicate. Nominal constructions will be handled as external to the predicate in this comparison, and will not be formally discussed.

Predicate nominals (rendering translations such as "you are a big man", etc.) will be discussed in Appendix II. The scope of this paper is intentionally restricted, therefore no discussion of nominalized constructions serving as predicate heads will be presented.

**STRAITS COAST SALISH**

An enumeration of the extant particles in Sooke and Clallam are given below. This is followed by a characterization of the syntax of the particles in the predicate phrase. Syntactic environments of the various categories of particles and the elements subsumed under them are illustrated by way of examples.

**Pre-particles**

Two categories of pre-predicate head particles are observable in Straits. These two categories are Auxiliary particles and Aspectual particles.

**AUXILIARY PARTICLES:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sooke</th>
<th>Clallam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/?an/ 'very, too much' /man?/ 'very'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Sooke. ?n ?an.sn.?u? lčiu? 'I'm too tired' (collective /?an/ I contemporaneous be-tired)³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Cl: man? cx? u? x'æn, ?e? xteye x? 'you walk too fast.' (/man?/ you contemporaneous fast, as walk you)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³All examples are given two translations, the first in readable English, and the second as a word-by-word translation.
2) /\ae/?/ 'again'
   Clallam /\ay/ 'additionally'
   a) Sooke: \ae? sn k\w'1 \d{\d'\d'}-t-? - ? 'they're asking me again' (\ae? I already
       ask-continuative-transitive-affected)
   b) Cl: \ay u cx' u ?ei\a? ? 'are you eating too?' ( /\ay/ interrogative
       you contemporaneous eat-continuative)
3) /\a?/ 'if'
   a) Sooke: \a? se? sx' q\a?\a? ?i? q\a?\a? sn 'If you hit him I'll hit him'
       ( /\a?/ future you beat-up simultaneous beat-up I)
4) /\ias/ 'always'
   a) hu? ias sn u ?ei? 'I am always good' (contemporaneous /\ias/
       contemporaneous be-good)
5) /\mek\w'/ 'all, every'
   a) \mek\w' it u? ?ei\a? 'We're all here now' ( /\mek\w'/ we contemporaneous
       be-here-continuative)
6) /\his/ 'a long time'
   a) k\w' (h)is sn \xei\a? 'I've been sick for a long time' (already /\his/
       I be-sick-resultative-durative)
7) /\chein/ 'straight, alright, very'
   a) ?es-\chein sn u? k\w'ek\w' 'I am very hungry' (stative-/\chein/-continuative
       I contemporaneous be-hungry-collective-resultative)
8) /\cu?in?/ 'even'
   a) Cl: \cu?in? con yu? qi?nu?\a?u? 'even I was angry' ( /\cu?in?/ I past
       be-angry)
9) /\tu?\x\w'/ 'just'
   a) Cl: \tu?\x\w' ya? u? w\es\es\es? '... just beginning to bark' ( /\tu?\x\w'/ past
       contemporaneous to-bark)

ASPECTUAL PARTICLES:
1) /(h)i/?~/(?)i?/ 'accompanying situation, activity or entity'
   /(?)i?/ same as Sooke

\footnote{Efrat analyzed [y]as the allophone of /i/ in initial and final positions
in Sooke.}

\footnote{Thompson claims that the auxiliary must be first in a predicate phrase.
These examples contradict this claim. It seems that if a particle which is
inherently pre-predicate head should modify the auxiliary, it proceeds it.
More will be said of this later.}

\textit{But see 26 on p. 6.}
a) Sooke: k'wun-i-t sn k'wə s-(h)i? hne-ʔ-os 'I see they are coming this way' (to-see-persistant-transitive I article nominalizer-/hiʔ/ to-come-continuative-3rd-person-possessive)
b) Cl: čə iʔ k'waʔqəʔ k'wə s-k'waqəʔ 'The flower is just beginning to bloom' (just-now /ʔiʔ/ to-bloom-continuative article nominalizer-to-bloom)

2) /h(u)ʔ/~//(ʔ)uʔ/ 'contemporaneous situation, activity or entity' /ʔ(ʔ)uʔ/ same as Sooke
a) Sooke: h(u)ʔ xeʔ-t sn k'wə nə s-ʔwačt soʔ 'I plan to hit him' (/h(u)ʔ/ to-plan-transitive I article my nominalizer-hit future)
b) Cl: ?uʔ čəʔsəʔ k'wə ḥaʔिद 'There are only two people' (/ʔuʔ/ two-people article people)

3) /k'və/ 'already' /k'və/ same as Sooke
a) Sooke: k'və ḥaʔsə k'vəxəl 'he's very sick' (/k'və/ stative-very be-sick-resultative-durative)
b) Cl: k'və caʔe cən 'Now I am an aunt' (/k'və/ be-aunt I)

4) /tuəʔ/ 'still' ----
a) tuəʔ nə-ʔix čə siʔetn-s 'He's still black-haired' (/tuəʔ/ 'colour-prefix'-'black article hair-3rd-person-possessive)

5) /txʷ(ə)/ 'comparative, become, towards' ----
a) txʷə steq-qa so sxʷ 'You'll be turned into a wolf' (/txʷə/ wolf future you)

6) /čuʔ/ 'right away' ----
a) čuʔ ieʔ səʔ n 'I'll go right away' (/čuʔ/ to-go future I)

7) /čə/ 'just now' /čə/ same as Sooke
a) Sooke: čə hai sn k'wə nə s-ʔčə-t 'I just finished hitting him' (/čə/ finish I article my nominalizer-hit-continuative-transitive)
b) Cl: čə ?eʔɬənʔ st k'vai 'We're just now eating' (/čə/ eat-continuative we article)

8) ---- /yuʔ/ 'really, in fact'
a) Cl: yuʔ spčə k'vai '(as a matter of fact) it's a berry basket' (/yuʔ/ be-berry-basket article)
Post-particles

Efrat and Thompson do not classify the post-particles in the same way. Efrat recognizes seven categories while Thompson recognizes only six. Any inconsistencies in the two analyses will be noted. Changes in the order of the post-particles within the predicate phrase are affected by the presence of an auxiliary particle. This process will be treated in detail later.

OBJECT:

Whether the object markers are best analyzed as suffixes or particles is an area still in dispute, which is reflected by the analyses consulted. For this reason they will not be included in this discussion.

EVIDENTIAL:

Sooke                        Clallam
1) /t/ 'quotative'              /t/ 'apparently'
   a) Sooke: sq'w? sn n 'I'm going to be a walking companion, I hear'
       (be-companion-foot /t/ future I)
   b) Cl: k'æwnt ca? st 'We'll see him, apparently' (see /t/ future we)

CONJECTURAL:
1) /i x w/ 'derived inference' /i x w/ 'must be'
   a) Sooke: hæqt-æ?i ix w so? 'He's going to be tall' (be-tall-continuative-durative /i x w/ future)
   b) Cl: sistor ix w k'æli tales 'must be his money fell out' (fall-out apparently /i x w/ article money)

2) /te?/ 'uncertainty' ....
   a) hi? ci?es? it ti? stinos t o? 'something is following us' (simultaneity to-follow-purposive-affected we this nominalization-what-3rd-person-possess. quotative /o?/ )

3) /iæq/ 'optative' ....
   a) k'æn-æq w iæq sn 'I wish to see him' (see-indirect-transitive /iæq/ I )

4) /q/ 'conditional, probability'6 ....
   a) k'æn-?-æq w q sn 'I might get it' (take-resultative-continuative-non-directed-transitive /q/ I )

6 From the data at hand, it is not possible to determine whether the Sooke 'conditional' and the Clallam 'conditional' belong to the same positional class (share the same environment). No data which employed the 'conditional' and 'interrogative' in the same predicate phrase was found.
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Sooke | Clallam
---|---
5) | /(?)u/ 'interrogative'

a) čxʷeyu? u 'Is it a whale?' (be-whale interrogative)

TEMPORAL:

1) /so(?)~|/iə(?)| 'future' /ca?/ 'future'

a) Sooke: ṣəmən so? n 'I'm going to have enemies' (be-enemy /so?/ I )
b) Cl: paʔqʷi č caʔ tsamu 'looks like he's going to race' (to-race apparently /caʔ/ article )

2) /iə(?)| 'past' /yaʔ/ 'past'

a) Sooke: čəkʷ-iqʷ- n iəʔ sn 'I washed my hair' (wash-hair-continuative-affected /iəʔ/ I )
b) Cl: kʷi u? yəcusc yaʔ con 'I already told you' (already contemporaneous to-tell-you /yaʔ/ I )

3) | /qɪ| 'conditional' (see footnote 6)

a) xʷtəq qɪ con 'I'd sink (if I stepped on the ice)' (sink /qɪ/ I )

INTERROGATIVE:

1) /(?)ə/ 'interrogative' ---- (see footnote 6)

a) noqix ḵəpišpəš 'Is that a black cat?' (colour-prefix-black /ə/ article cat)

SUBJECT:

Two series of subject pronouns are realised in Straits (as in most Coast Salish languages.) One set occurs only in dependent clauses, the other (with č-) occurs only in independent clauses. The independent forms will be given to the left of the dependent forms. The third person proves exceptional, in that only a dependent form is overtly manifest. The author contends, however, that a third person pronoun for independent clauses should be posited, and that its only allomorph in that environment is "empty". Motivation for this claim will be presented in Appendix II.

Sooke | Clallam
---|---
1) /sn~|n/ 'I' /con~|n/ 'I'

a) Sooke: xəɬ-sn sn 'I've got sore feet' (sick-continuative-foot I )
b) Cl: saʔsiʔsiʔ conʔə ti łač 'I'm afraid of the dark' (be-scared I oblique article dark)
c) Sooke: \(x^{\text{wa}}{}_{-n} s_{\text{se}}\) \(s_{n} k^{\text{w}}{}_{-q} \text{wa-t-n n}\) 'I will cry if he beats me' (cry-affected future I article beat-transitive-affected I)

2) /sx\text{w}~/~/s\text{x}\text{w}/ 'You sg. and pl.' /cx\text{w}~/~/x\text{w}/ 'you sg. and pl.'
   a) Sooke: \(?_{\text{os}}\text{-tu-n}\) \(x^{\text{w}}\) \(sx^{\text{w}}\) 'you are dirty' (static-be-dirty /sx\text{w}/)
   b) Cl: \(?_{u} ?_{\text{e}}\text{-ion-n}\) \(u\) \(cx^{\text{w}}\) \(?_{u}c\text{c}\) 'oh, are you folks eating?' (contemporaneous eat-continuative interrogative /cx\text{w}/ emphatic)
   c) Cl: \(\text{man}^{\text{x}}\text{u}\) \(x^{\text{w}}\text{en}\) \(?_{\text{e}}\text{il}\) \(\text{st}_{\text{e}}\text{u}^{\text{w}}\) 'you walk too fast' (very you contemporaneous fast as walk you)

3) /\text{lt}/ 'we' /st~/~/\text{lt}/ 'we'
   a) Sooke: \(?_{\text{m}}\text{-as-t-i l}\text{e}\) \(\text{lt}\) 'we'll meet together' (meet-fact-transitive-reciprocal future /lt/)
   b) Cl: \(\text{e}^{\text{e}}\text{-ion-n}\) \(\text{st}\) \(\text{k}\text{i}\) 'we're just now eating' (just-now eat-continuative /st/ article)
   c) Cl: \(\text{k}\text{w}_{\text{an}}\text{o}\text{t}\) \(\text{q}\text{i}\) \(\text{k}\text{w}_{\text{o}}\) \(\text{\u201c}\) \(\text{he'll run if we hit him}\) (run conditional if hit we)

4) /\varnothing~/~/\varnothing/ 'third person sg. and pl.' /\varnothing~/~/\varnothing/ 'third person, sg. and pl.'
   a) Sooke: \(\text{set}^{\text{k}}\text{w}_{\text{o}} \text{sa}^{\text{k}}\text{w}_{-n} \text{as}\) 'tell him to swim' (order-transitive article-(introducing dependent clause) bathe-affected /\varnothing/)
   b) Cl: \(\text{n}^{\text{ak}\text{w}}\text{a}\text{cut c}\text{on}^{\text{k}}\text{w}_{\text{o}}\) \(\text{c}\text{n}_{\text{a}}\text{ny} \text{as}\) 'I'm waiting for her to come back' (wait I when return /\varnothing/)
   c) Sooke: \(?_{\text{u}}\text{S-x}\text{-teq} \text{i} \text{co sa} \text{i}\) 'the door is closed' (static-locative-be-closed-resultative-durative /\varnothing/ article door)

EMPHATIC:
Both sketches include emphatic particles. The categorization of these is very confused, and would not shed much light on this analysis. For this reason, they will not be enumerated, and otherwise will be treated peripherally.

DEMONSTRATIVES:
The demonstratives (articles and emphatic demonstratives) are composed of series of discrete morphemes in both dialects. Efrat's analysis of these particles is vague; Thompson's is much more specific. The morphemes and forms observed in Clallam are as follows:
Morphemes:
- č- 'remote indefinite'
- kw- 'remote definite'
- t- 'present visible'
- l- 'secondary importance'
- s- 'particular one'

A concatenation of these morphemes can occur with one further element, chosen from the following two:
- -i 'new information'
- -o 'clear in context, but specially designated'

Forms observed:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{č} & \text{či} & \text{čo} \\
\text{kw} & \text{kwi} & \text{kwi} & \text{kwi} & \text{kwi} & \text{kwi} & \text{kwi} & \text{kwi} & \text{kwi} \\
\text{t} & \text{ti} & \text{to} & \text{ci} & \text{co} & \text{tsi} & \text{tsi} & \text{tso} & \text{tso} & \text{tso} & \text{tso} \\
\end{array}
\]

A suffix \([-?]\) 'emphatic' can be affixed to non-emphatic demonstratives in phrase final position in the predicate phrase.

**THE SYNTAX OF STRAITS SATELLITES:**

A predicate may be simple or complex. A complex predicate phrase consists of an Auxiliary-predicate phrase and a Predicate-head phrase. Simple and complex predicate phrases are best treated as two separate constructions.

**Simple Predicate**

A simple predicate phrase has only one constituent phrase, with a predicative head (nominalized constructions serving as predicate heads will not be discussed here.)
All categories except the predicate head are optional. The order of categories is as follows:

\[ \text{ASPECTUAL} \rightarrow \text{PRED. HEAD} \rightarrow \text{EVIDENTIAL} \rightarrow \text{CONJECTURAL} \rightarrow \text{TEMPORAL} \rightarrow \text{INTERROGATIVE} \rightarrow \text{SUBJECT} \rightarrow \text{DEMONSTRATIVE} \]

The following example is contrived, in that an Aspectual particle has been added to illustrate an expanded predicate phrase. It should serve, however, to illustrate the relationships between the various categories.

"Must be his money fell out just now"

(Aспектual-Pred. Head=Evidential-Conjectural-NP)

\[ \text{Cl: } \text{co? sis te } \text{i } \text{ix u ku? u tal e} \]

where \( \in \) indicates equal status relative to the modified element, and \( \ll \) indicates that the right member is subordinate to the left.

**Complex Predicate**

A complex predicate phrase is comprised of two constituents. The head of the first is an Auxiliary particle, the head of the second is a predicate-head. The Auxiliary constituent is attributive to the predicate-head constituent. Thus, the relationship is one of subordination. The order of categories in a complex predicate phrase is as follows: (all categories but Auxiliary and Predicate-head are optional.)

\[ \text{ASPECTUAL} \rightarrow \text{AUXILIARY} \rightarrow \text{EVIDENTIAL} \rightarrow \text{CONJECTURAL} \rightarrow \text{TEMPORAL} \rightarrow \text{INTERROGATIVE} \rightarrow \text{SUBJECT} \rightarrow \text{AUXILIARY} \rightarrow \text{ASPECTUAL} \rightarrow \text{PRED. HEAD} \]

"I'm always good"

(Aспектual-Auxiliary-Subject-Contemporary-Pred. Head)

Sooke: \[ \text{hu? ias sn u } \text{?ei?} \]

"Are you eating too?"

(Auxiliary-Interrogative-Subject-Aспектual-Pred. Head)

\[ \text{Cl: } \text{?ay u } \text{cx? u } \text{?e?ion?} \]

---

7 Thompson states that the last particle in a predicate phrase may be a demonstrative, which relates the predication to the situation or context of the utterance. This phenomenon seems to be idiosyncratic to Straits among the Coast Salish Languages. See Thompson, page 260.

8 More is said of the order of categories, and the occurrence of ASPECTUAL initially in particular, in Appendix II.9
Clauses:

Clauses are either independent or dependent. Independent clauses contain a simple or complex predicate phrase. This phrase may stand alone as a sentence, or the clause may be expanded by incorporating a nominal construction. The presence of a nominal construction does not influence the order of elements within the predicate phrase. The nominal phrase may consist of:

1) a demonstrative
   C1: pasten k'\text{w}\text{i} 'He's a white man'

2) a simple noun
   Sooke: čōs t\text{ačsŋ} 'Her neck was hit'

3) a demonstrative - noun
   Sooke: k'\text{w} i \text{?inŋ} ce \text{iqic} 'It's already a new moon'

4) a nominalized form
   C1: čō i? k'\text{w} a\text{?qen} k'\text{w}\text{se} s-k'\text{w}aqen 'The flower is just beginning to bloom'

Nominal constructions may be introduced by the /?œ/ 'oblique' (prepositional) particle. The presence of /?œ/ indicates that the phrase which it modifies is less directly concerned with the action of the predicate phrase than if no /?œ/ occurred.

5) Any of the forms exemplified by 2, 3, 4 above may be preceded by /?œ/.
   Sooke: k'\text{w} i ?očepstx\text{'} o ce iqc 'Put his blanket on him'

6) The nominal construction may be complex. That is, it may consist of two nominal phrases. One may be introduced by /?œ/ and the other be simply a nominal expression.
   Sooke: q\text{u}\text{itn} co s\text{a}l\text{i}\text{?aqel} o ce mens 'The boy is ill-treated by his father'

7) Two consecutive phrases, the second modifying the first.
   Sooke: 'čč\text{ek}'\text{t} i\text{o sn co} s\text{ami}'\text{s co} swi\text{qa?œ} 'I was washing the boy's blanket'

Dependent clauses are marked by a special set of subject pronoun particles (if they occur in the clause.) Dependent clauses are introduced by one of two particles:

1) /?œi/ 'relative to time or action' as, when, where (both dialects)
a) Cl: man? cx wu? x'øn, ¿e?i štenox w 'you walk too fast' (very you contemporaneous fast, /¿e?/ your-walking)
b) Sooke: ¿e?i sn ¿e?i q'ëcatr n 'Whenever I get beat up, I get sick' (be-sick I /¿e?/ beat-up-transitive-affected I)

2) /k'ø/ 'remote demonstrative' if, when (both dialects)
a) Cl: k'anonot q¿ k¿ w 'He'll run if we hit him' (run conditional /k'ø/ we-hit)
b) Sooke: se? sn k'ø k'anonot s 'I told him to run' (order-transitive past I /k'ø/ to-run him)

SENTENCES:

Sentences may be simple, compound, or complex. Simple sentences are composed of one independent clause. A compound sentence is analogous to a complex predicate phrase. The difference between the two is that in a compound sentence a predicate head fills the position normally occupied by an auxiliary particle in a complex predicate phrase.

Cl: hiya? ya? con k'wi tak'i 'I was going across (the river)' (depart past I article across?)
Sooke: se? sn ?ax w 'I'm going there' (to-go I to-go-to)

A complex sentence contains both an independent and a dependent clause.

One important phenomenon which has been ignored to this point is negation. The negative particle (/¿e?/) operates in a similar way to the predicate head or an auxiliary particle. The examples given here have both been extracted from a Sooke folk tale, "The Old Man and the Transformer".

1) Operating as an Auxiliary:
   ¿i? ¿e? scu nil su? qsonq 'He didn't throw it in right away' (simultaneous /¿e?/ nominalizer-right-away anaphoric nominalizer-contemporaneous fall-in-affect-3rd-person-possessive)

2) Operating as a Predicate Head:
a) hi? ¿e? spen? 'but not much' (simultaneous negative nominal-not-much)
b) ¿e? nò sk'ën?al 'I cannot see' (negative-there-is my nominalizer-locative-see-continuative)
NORTHERN PUGET SALISH

The discussion in this section is based on T.M. Hess's grammar of Snohomish and T.E. Hakari's data on Skagit, both dialects of Northern Puget Salish.

Pre-Particles

The only category of particles which is distributionally pre-predicate-head is the Auxiliary category.

AUXILIARY PARTICLES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Snohomish</th>
<th>Skagit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) /ckʷaqid/</td>
<td>same as Snohomish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Sn:</td>
<td>/ckʷaqid/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ckʷaqid</td>
<td>'always'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔos-tagʷ-ox'</td>
<td>'He's always hungry!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Sk:</td>
<td>/ckʷaqid/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔos-xiːl</td>
<td>'He's always sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) /didiʔi/</td>
<td>'still'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Sn:</td>
<td>/didiʔi/ same as Sn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/didiʔi</td>
<td>'he's still hungry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔos-tagʷ-ox'</td>
<td>'/didiʔi/ stative-hungry-change-affected)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Sk:</td>
<td>/didiʔi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)ʔuxʷ</td>
<td>ti d-syaʔya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔas-tagʷ-ox'</td>
<td>'My friend is still hungry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) /daʔxʷ/</td>
<td>'just now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) daʔxʷ</td>
<td>?alːciːl 'He's just now arrived'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) /tuxʷ/</td>
<td>'merely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) /tuxʷ</td>
<td>'He merely wants to wet his throat a bit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔudxʷliʔiqʷyuqʷeb</td>
<td>'/tuxʷ/ wet-his-throat-a-bit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) /³ub/</td>
<td>'may'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Sn:</td>
<td>/³ub/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³ub</td>
<td>ʔukʷedad ciʔiːl dəbodaʔ. 'He may take my daughter!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔos-qad te stiqiw</td>
<td>'/³ub/ expectative-take demonstrative my-daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Sk:</td>
<td>/³ub/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³ub</td>
<td>ʔoxʷ  'You'd better go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) /cickʷ/</td>
<td>'really'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Sn:</td>
<td>/cickʷ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cickʷ</td>
<td>'intensive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holaʔb</td>
<td>ʔos-qad te stiqiw 'The horse is really quite slow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cickʷ/</td>
<td>quite stative-be-slow article horse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Sk:</td>
<td>/cickʷ/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/cickʷ</td>
<td>ckʷaqid ʔos-tagʷ-ox'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔid</td>
<td>'You're always hungry all the time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cickʷ/</td>
<td>you always stative-hungry)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to a late-discovered oversight, some of the examples labelled as Snohomish are actually Skagit, although they have been extracted from Hess's thesis.
7) /cuk/ 'but, rather'
   a) x'i? g'otudšudxʷ, cuk' čox' tušudxʷ 'I didn't see him, only you saw him'
      (neg hypothetical-remote-see-I?, /cuk/ you remote-see)

8) /halaʔb/ 'quite'
   a) Sn: cick' halaʔb ʔas-qad to stiqiw 'The horse is really quite slow'
      (really /halaʔb/ stative-slow article horse)
   b) Sk: laʔb čox' ʔu ʔas-tagʷ-oxʷ 'Are you very hungry?' (/laʔb/ you interrogative
      stative-hungry-change-affected)

9) /'ål...ba/ 'additionally, too'
   a) 'ål čox' ʔu ba-s-tagʷ-oxʷ 'Are you hungry too?' (/'ål/ you interrogative
      /ba/-stative-hungry-change-affected)

10) /put/ 'very, really'
    a) 'ål čed put ba-ʔas-qead 'I'm really tired too!' (additional I /put/
        /ba/-stative-hungry-change-affected)

11) /tîləb/ 'right away'
    a) tîləb čed luk'ax'acid 'I'll help you right away' (/tîləb/ I expectative-help-you)

12) /təl/ 'actually'
    a) təl čox' ʔu tušudxʷ k'î buus spaʔc 'Did you really see four bears?'
       (/təl/ you interrogative remote-see article four bears)

13) /tuxʷ/ 'comparative'
    a) x'i? g'as-ds-ʔas-tagʷ-oxʷ tux' čed ʔas-taq 'I'm not hungry, but I'm thirsty'
       (negative hypothetical-ʔ-stative-hungry-change-affected /tuxʷ/ I
        stative-hungry)

14) /x'uʔeʔa/ 'maybe'
    a) x'uʔeʔa təl to sʔug'agʷeds 'Maybe he's telling the truth' (/x'uʔeʔa/
       actually article tell-truth-continuative)

15) /x'uʃ/ 'comparative'
    a) x'uʃ čed ʔug'elaid ti spaʔc, x'i? g'as-ds-ʔelod 'I just killed the bear, I
       didn't cook it' (/x'uʃ/ I hypothetical-kill article bear, negative
       hypothetical-nominalizer-cook I)
16) ---- /yəxɨ/ 'because'
   a) ?adc?utilib cəd yəxɨ cəd cʷəqid ?əs-hiʔiʔ / I sing because I'm always happy/ (sing I /yəxɨ/ I always stative-be-happy)

   At least some of the Auxiliary particles have been observed in compound forms. The forms they can be expanded with are: (all Snohomish forms)

   1) /-tu/ 'causative'
      x̌iʔ- tu-tə əkʷaʔiʔl 'do not cause me to fall'

   2) by restrictive reduplication:
      txuʔ-uxʷ ?utəb 'It was not much of an event'

   3) a) with /-axʷ/ 'change affected'
      holəʔb-oxʷ əkəxʷ ?aʔsuʔəb 'You will be quite old'
   b) with /be-ː/ 'anew'
      be-x̌iʔ əʔsuʔəb 'He is not good enough either'
   c) with /gʷoː-ʔ/ 'hypothetical'
      gʷoː-cwəqid ələp gʷuʔələc 'If you folks always chase me'

Post-Particles

   The categories of particles occurring after the predicate head are limited to three. These are the Subject particles, the Modal particles, and the Interrogative particle.

SUBJECT:

1) /cəd/ 'I/me' (both dialects)
   a) Sn: gʷo-ʔuʔɬəʔb əd gʷo-tasxələxʷ 'If I had been really sick' (hypothetical-remote-very /əd/ hypothetical-ʔ-sick)
   b) Sk: ʔaʔl cəd put baʔəsqʷətəd 'I'm really tired too' (Additionally /cəd/ emphasis stative-be-tired-I)

2) /cəʔ/ 'we' (both dialects)
   a) Sn: ʔəxəc cəʔ gʷəʔələtəb əs 'we are afraid he might get chased' (stative-be-scared /cəʔ/ hypothetical-be-chased he)
   b) Sk: ʔəxəc cəʔ gʷəʔələtəb əli 'I am afraid we might get chased' (stative-be-scared I hypothetical-be-chased /əli/)
3) /cex'/ 'you singular' (both dialects)
   a) Sn:  c\b'aqid cex'  lasxol  'You will always be sick' (always /cex'/ be-sick)
   b) Sk:  guxil\b'id g'osaydx'  ox'  'He asked if you knew it' (completive-ask-?
     hypothetical-to-know /ox'/)
4) /alap~//alap/ 'you folks' (both dialects)
   a) Sn:  lag\b'alap  g\b'asubud\b'alap  'I will leave if you folks see me' (expectative-
     too I hypothetical-disappear-transitive /alap/)
5) /as/ '3rd person referent sg. or pl.' (only with dependent predications) see
   Appendix II.
   a) Sn:  g\b'osdx\b'ay\b'as  alap  'We are afraid he might get chased' (stative-
     be-scared we hypothetical-be-chased /as/)

**MODAL PARTICLES:**

If the data consulted for Skagit is representative of the language, most
modal particles follow the subject particles. Hess, however, feels that the
majority of the Modal particles precede the pronouns.

**Snohomish**

1) /k\b'a?/ 'must be'  /k\b'a?/ same as Sn.
   a) Sn:  le\b'ux2ox\b' k\b'a?  'He is going now (must be)' (be-going /k\b'a?/)
   b) Sk:  k\b'ax\b'ad k\b'a?  'He has been helped' (be-helped /k\b'a?/)
2) /jal/ 'apparently'  /jal/ 'apparently' (expressing 'should')
   a) Sn:  helitub u\b'ox\b' jal cex'  'You must still be permitted to live' (live-
     causative still /jal/ you)
   b) Sk:  ?astag\b'ox\b' hu\b'x\b' jal to d sya?ya  'My friend must still be hungry'
     (stative-hungry-change-affected still /jal/ article my friend)
3) /awo/ 'indeed'  /hawo/ 'must be'
   a) Sn:  hela\b' b\b'uxawo jol six\b'  g\b'osxol  'Indeed it is said he must be very sick'
     (quite evidential /awo/ apparently again stative-be-sick)
   b) Sk:  ?astag\b'ox\b' hawo to stub\b' 'That man must be hungry' (stative-hungry-
     change-affected /hawo/ article man)
4) /k\b'ol/ 'evidential, known by hearsay' /k\b'ol/ same as Sn.
   a) Sn:  c\b'ix\b' k\b'ol jol g\b'osxol  'It is said he must be very sick' (really
     /k\b'ol/ apparently stative-be-sick)
b) Sk: ḥal ḍəxʷ ḍəl ba-ʔəs-ʔəl 'You're sick too, I hear' (additionally you evidential stative-be-sick)

Snohomish
Skagit

5) /sixʷ/ 'annoying frequency, again' /sixʷ/ 'again'
   a) Sn: γəl ʔə? tiʔ qəˈʔə̄s sixʷ čəkʷ 'And there was Raven again, down by the shore' (and be-located demonstrative raven /sixʷ/ by-shore)
   b) Sk: ʔəs-γəˈʔə̄ləb čəxʷ ṣu sixʷ 'Are you tired again?' (stative-be-sick you interrogative /sixʷ/)

6) /uʔxʷ/ 'still, yet' /huxʷ/ 'still, yet'
   a) Sn: halitub uʔxʷ joł čəcʷ 'You must still be permitted to live' (live-causative-passive /uʔxʷ/ apparently you)

7) --- /kʷədəʔ?/ 'maybe'
   a) Sk: ʔəs-tagʷ-əxʷ kʷədəʔ? ṣu tiʔiʔ 'Maybe he's hungry?' (stative-be-hungry-change affected /kʷədəʔ/? interrogative demonstrative)

INTERROGATIVE:

/?u/ 'question marker' /ʔu/ same as Sn.
   a) Sn: hikʷ čəxʷ ʔu ˈuxə̄qid 'Do you generally get severe headaches?'
      (be-big you /ʔu/ have-headache)
   b) Sk: ʔəs, qʷəl-əb čəxʷ ṣu sixʷ 'Are you tired again?' (stative-be-tired-passive you /ʔu/ again)

THE SYNTAX OF PUGET SATELLITES:

Predicate phrases may be either simple or complex.

Simple Predicate

A simple predicate phrase contains only one head. The head is a predicative element. The only obligatory category in a simple predicate phrase is the predicate-head. Any number of modal particles can occur, provided they are not semantically anomalous in concatenation. The orders of categories in simple predicate phrases are as follows.

1) PRED-HEAD - SUBJECT - MODAL - INTERROGATIVE
"You must still be hungry?"

Sk: ḋeṣtəγʷəxʷ ćəxʷ jəl ῥu

2) PRED-HEAD - SUBJECT - INTERROGATIVE - MODAL

"Are you tired again?"

Sk: ḋəsgʷəɬəb ćəxʷ ῥu səlxʷ

Complex Predicate

A complex predicate phrase has two constituent phrases. The head of the first is an Auxiliary particle, the head of the second is a predicate head. The auxiliary predicate phrase is subordinate to the predicate head phrase.

A complex predicate phrase may contain more than one Auxiliary particle. Their relationships with the predicate-head will be different though, as only one can occur in the Auxiliary predicate phrase. Which of two Auxiliaries present in a predicate phrase will be head of the first constituent is semantically determined.

The order of categories within a complex predicate phrase is as follows (all but the first Auxiliary and the Predicate-head are optional):

AUXILIARY - SUBJECT - INTERROGATIVE - MODAL - AUXILIARY - PRED. HEAD

"Are you very sick again?"

(AUX - SUBJECT - INTERROG - MODAL - PREDICATE-HEAD)

Sk: ləʔəb ćəxʷ ῥu səlxʷ ḋəsqʷəɬəb

The following Skagit example does not fit the orders described above:

"Maybe I'm just hungry"

xʷuʔəl ćəd ḋeṣtəγʷəxʷ xʷuʔəɬə

(AUXILIARY - SUBJECT - PRED-HEAD - AUXILIARY)

Since there are two Auxiliary particles in this phrase, xʷuʔəɬə and xʷuʔəɬə, and since xʷuʔəɬə is the second of these two, the expected order of the elements would be:
There are two possible explanations of the observed order of the particles:

1) \(/x^u\) does not belong to the Auxiliary category. If this is the case, then the particle would stand alone in a category of its own.

2) \(/x^u\) has been post-posed to emphasize the conjectural nature of the whole idea expressed by the sentence.

The authors feel that the second explanation is probably more correct than the first. This will be discussed in depth in Appendix II.

When two Auxiliaries are manifest in a complex predicate phrase, the second in sequence is grammatically more closely bound to the predicate-head than the first.

"You are always hungry all the time"

CLAUSES

An independent clause consists of a simple or complex predicate phrase. The clause may optionally be expanded to incorporate a nominal construction as well. The nominal may be simple, compound (two noun-phrases with equal status relative to the predication), or complex (one noun phrase has a greater affinity with the predication than the other.)

Some examples of Independent clauses are:

Sn:  balyi-he\(x\) ci\(\bar{\alpha}\) ka\(\bar{i}\) ti\(\bar{i}\) dob\(\bar{e}\) ti\(\bar{i}\) x\(\bar{e}\)s \(\bar{e}\)s 'Crow and the worthy son of Oyster were married' (marry-change-affected demonstrative Crow and demonstrative son the oyster)

Sk:  \(\bar{k}\)aq\(\bar{\iota}\) 'He is always sick.' (always stative-be-sick)

Sn:  day\(\bar{e}\) \(\bar{e}\)s c\(\bar{e}\)ck\(\bar{\iota}\) \(\bar{e}\)sla\(\bar{\iota}\) 'Indeed, I am very late' (very I indeed stative-be-late)

Dependent clauses in Puget, as in other Coast Salish languages, are marked with a special set of Subject particles. These have been discussed above. Dependent clauses are usually marked by the presence of /g^\(w\)\(e\)/ 'hypothetical' as the first element in the predication. Some constructions composed of two seemingly independent predicate phrases with one being subordinate to the other
have recently been observed by T.E. Hukari\textsuperscript{11}. These constructions are semantically determined, and will be ignored in this discussion. Some examples of dependent clauses introduced by /g'\textcircled{e}/ are:

Sn: ?əx\textacutec əd g'\textcircled{e}əčal-əc-əs 'I fear he will chase me' (stative-be-scared I hypothetical-chase-transitive-me-he)

One dependent clause can modify another:

Sn: ?əx\textacutec əd g'ə-tolp-šəd-əd g'ə-tololawil-əd ?ə k'\textcircled{i} ət 'I fear I might twist my ankle if I run fast' (stative-be-scared I hypothetical-twist-ankle-I hypothetical-run-fast-I oblique article fast)

\textbf{SENTENCES}

A sentence may be simple, compound or complex. A simple sentence is composed of one independent clause. Compound sentences are composed of two independent predications. The relationship between them is equational, that is, they share equal status relative to each other. Compound sentences may be formed simply by concatenating the two phrases, or by introducing a connective particle between them. Some examples of compound sentences follow:

Sn: ?ex'\textcircled{w}-cutəb əd cick'ə əd ha?i-šuš 'I think I am very good looking' (to-think I really I good-looking)
Sn: x'\textcircled{w}us-əd əx'ə tx'us-əd 'take it out and drag it' (take-out-transitive and-you drag-transitive)\textsuperscript{12}

Complex sentences contain at least one independent clause and at least one dependent clause. For examples of complex sentences, see the description of dependent clauses above.

The negative particle /x'\textcircled{i}/ functions as an auxiliary or as a predicate-head. As an Auxiliary it can be compounded with the forms mentioned above (for Auxiliary particles.)

\textsuperscript{11}T.E. Hukari, personal communication
\textsuperscript{12}Hess introduces the particle /yə\textcircled{x}i/ as a connective. This analysis is probably more desirable than one which categorizes it as an Auxiliary particle, as it only occurs between two independent predications in compound sentences.
Sk: **xʷiʔ ʔad ɬəɬəʔb qʷəstagʷəxʷ** 'I'm not very hungry'  (negative I very stative-be-hungry-change-affected)

Sk: **xʷiʔ kʷ ad sxʷilʔalc** 'Don't lose it'  (negative article you nominalizer-to-lose)

This last example shows that the negative particle can also serve as a predicate-head.

**COMPARISON OF THE TWO SATELLITE SYSTEMS**

There is little congruity between the configuration of the Straits satellites and those of Puget. Briefly, the configurations are as follows:

**STRAITS**

**Simple Predicate:**

- ASPECTUAL - PRED.HEAD - EVIDENTIAL - CONJECTURAL - TEMPORAL - INTERROGATIVE
- SUBJECT - DEMONSTRATIVE

**Complex Predicate:**

- ASPECTUAL - AUXILIARY - EVIDENTIAL - CONJECTURAL - TEMPORAL - INTERROGATIVE
- SUBJECT - AUXILIARY - ASPECTUAL - PRED.HEAD

**PUGET**

**Simple Predicate:**

- PRED.HEAD - SUBJECT - MODAL - INTERROGATIVE

**Complex Predicate:**

- AUXILIARY - SUBJECT - INTERROGATIVE - MODAL - PRED.HEAD

In comparing the two systems, the Puget satellites will be discussed in terms of the Straits satellites.

**Auxiliary** - The Auxiliary systems in the two languages are almost totally analogous. The major differences are lexical.

**Aspectual** - The Straits dialects have a large category of pre-particles labelled with the rubric "Aspectual". The Puget dialects do not have a category which is distributionally equivalent to the Aspectual category. A few of the notions expressed by the Aspectual particles of Straits are conveyed by Auxiliaries or Modals in Puget.
Evidential and Conjectural - The elements in the Evidential and Conjectural categories are semantically analogous to some of the Puget Modals. These Straits categories, however, precede the Subject particles, while their Puget counterparts follow the Subject particles. Thus, they are not distributionally equivalent.

E.g. Cl: k'oenet cca? st 'We'll see him, apparently' (see-transitive apparently future we)

Sn: holitub u?x' jo1 cca? 'Apparently, you must still be permitted to live' (live-causative still apparently you)

Temporal - The Straits Temporal particles follow the Evidential and Conjectural particles. The Temporal particles place the topic of the utterance in time relative to the time of the utterance. Puget totally lacks a system of Temporal particles. The topic of the utterance is temporally placed through Aspectual prefixes affixed to the predicate-head or the auxiliary head.

Interrogative - The only difference in the use of Interrogative is distributional. In Straits the Interrogative particle invariably precedes the Subject pronouns. The Interrogative particle in Puget follows the subject pronouns. In the event that the post-particles are pre-posed due to the presence of an Auxiliary, the Interrogative in Puget may follow the predicate-head.

Subject - There are few differences in the Subject pronouns in the two languages. The major differences are distributional, as mentioned above.

Negative - The negative particle can function as an Auxiliary predicate-head in both Straits and Puget. The Puget negative particle seems to be more dynamic in that is can be compounded with a number of affixes.
## APPENDIX 1

### COMPARISON OF EXTANT SATELLITES IN SOME COAST SALISH DIALECTS

To offer a more complete overview of the systems of satellites to the predicate-head in Coast Salish the satellite particles of Squamish will be included in the following comparison.

It is not possible to compare the particles category for category, as they are not comparable. The particles will be aligned by function or meaning only.

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<th>STRAITS</th>
<th>Puget</th>
<th>Squamish</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Sooke</td>
<td>Clallam</td>
<td>Snohomish</td>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>STRAITS</th>
<th>CLALLAM</th>
<th>SNOHOMISH</th>
<th>SKAGIT</th>
<th>SQUAMISH</th>
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Note: The table represents the categories of language elements for different linguistic groups.
APPENDIX 11

A NOTE ON WORD ORDER

It has come to mind that some variations in word order in Puget could be accounted for in terms of meaning. The authors contend that the distance of a satellite from the predicate-head, within a predicate-head phrase or through an auxiliary-head phrase, is proportional to the degree of affinity between the two.

The subject particles always occur immediately after the predicate-head or the auxiliary-head. If the hypothesis of proximity + affinity holds, then this distribution of subject markers makes sense. The primary proposition in any utterance is between the subject and the predication. This motivates reanalysis of some earlier claims. Consider the following sentence, which was presented earlier.

"Are you very sick again?"

Reanalysis of the sentence would produce the following relations among the elements.

Further analysis of this sort would motivate a claim that a 3rd person subject morpheme exists for independent clauses (though there is no overt manifestation of an allomorph in that environment), simply because the primary proposition in a sentence is between the subject (agent in our examples) and the predicate.

Varying relationships between particles and the predicate-head are observed in phrases containing the same two Auxiliary particles in alternating positions.

"You are always hungry all the time"

1) Sk:  

- 26 -
"You are always real hungry"

2) Sk: ck'aqid čox 1a?b ?əestag'ox'

We see that the order of constituents, and thus the degree of affinity with the predicate-head, is contingent upon the semantics of the utterance.

In sentence (1) above, the Auxiliary /ck'aqid/ 'always' presumably has greater affinity with the predicate-head 'hungry' than does the Auxiliary-head /1a?b/ 'very'. This accounts for the 'all the time' reading of the sentence. /1a?b/ is modifying the constituent 'always-hungry'. This being the case, 'all the time' is the primary focus of the proposition 'you-be-hungry'.

In sentence (2) /1a?b/ is more closely affiliated with the predicate-head than /ck'aqid/ is. The primary comment about the 'you-be-hungry' relationship is the degree of hunger as opposed to the duration of hunger in sentence (1).

This motivates reanalysis of sentence structures.

"You must still be hungry?"

Sk, ?əestag'ox' čox jəl ?u

Where what is being questioned is 'you-be-hungry-still'.

"Are you tired again?"

Sk: ?əsq'əlob čox ?u six'

Where what is being questioned is 'you-be-tired'. The proposition 'you-be-tired-?' is marked for repetition by /six'/ 'again'.

Hess noted that an Interrogative which would normally appear between the auxiliary-head and the predicate-head can appear after the predicate-head, depending upon the question.

"Do you generally get headaches?"

1) Sn: hik' čox ?u ʃuxolqid

"You generally get severe headaches, don't you?"

2) Sn: hik' čox ʃuxolqid ?u
The contention here is, that by not conforming to the general word order, the Interrogative is external to the predicate per se and, therefore, modifies the whole construction as opposed to /hik’ čex’/only. This accounts for the gloss of sentence (2) above.

The same sort of phenomenon is observed with a deralict Auxiliary particle. One would expect the word order of the following sentence to be /čul? čed x’u?ala? čestag’čex’/. Instead we observe the following.

"Maybe I’m just hungry"

Sk: x’ul? čed čestag’čex’ x’u?ala?

Where /x’u?ala?/ 'maybe' is focusing on 'I’m-just-hungry' as opposed to 'hungry' alone, as would be the case if the anticipated word order were observed.

It is interesting to note the effect of a predicate qualifier on the word order of a "predicate nominal" construction.

"I am a shaman"

Sk: dax’dah?ab čed

The introduction of an adverbial modifier alters the internal grammatical relations of the predicate phrase. The adverbial becomes the predicate-head, while the predicate-head of the above sentence (/dax’dah?ab/) becomes an adjunct of the predicate phrase.

"I’m a good shaman"

Sk: hái čed dax’dah?ab

The occurrence of an aspectual particle before an auxiliary particle in Straits could be explained by the the same sort of reasoning as used above. An aspectual particle which occurs immediately before the initial Auxiliary in a sentence should be analysed as modifying the auxiliary-head as opposed to the predicate-head.

"I’ve been sick for a long time"

Sooke: k’l (h)is sn xelh
One would argue the case for a 3rd person pronoun morpheme in Straits with the same argumentation employed for Puget above.

It is felt, then, that word order reflects the degree of affinity a particle has with the auxiliary-head and the predicate head. The word order of the Puget dialects seems to be freer than of the Straits dialects. It would seem that different word orders render different readings and colourings to sentences of the languages we have considered.

REFERENCES

Efrat, Barbara S. A Grammar of Non-Particles in Sooke, a Dialect of Straits Coast Salish. University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1970


Hukari, Thomas E. field notes on Skagit (personal communication)

Jones, Michael K. field notes


Satellites of the Predicate-head in Coast Salish

ERRATA

Page 209
Cl. Dialect Dialect Dialect Dialect Dialect
209 Cl. 

AUXILIARIES
210 Cl. 1 'men?/ 'very'
211 Cl. 2 'may,' 'additionally'
Cl. 2b 'ay u cx u ?e?e?en?

ASPECTUALS
212 Cl. 1b ëa i? k̓əʔqən? k̓ə se s-ʔ̑qən
Sooke 2a hu? ḣ̑ʔ̑c t sn k̓ə ne s-ʔ̑qət se?
Cl. 2b ?u? ëa?se? k̓ə se ?e?ic̓itəyənəx
Cl. 3b k̓ʷt ḣ̑ʔ̑c t cn

EVIDENTIAL
213 Cl. 1b k̓ʷənət ñ cn? st

CONJECTURAL
Sooke 2 /te?/ 'uncertainty'
Sooke 4 /q/ 'conditional, possibility'
Sooke 4a k̓ʷənənənəq sn

TEMPORAL
214 Cl. 1 /ca?/ 'future'
Cl. 1b pa?qʷt ñ cn? təmən

SUBJECT
Cl. 1b sə?si?si? cən ?ə ti ḣəč
215 Cl. 2c mən? cxʷ u? k̓ən ?ək štənə xʷ
Cl. 4b nək̓əʔcut cən k̓əx? cən? əs
217 Cl. ëa? sistən ñ ixʷ k̓ʷəli tələs

Cl. ñəy u cx u ?e?ən?

CLAUSES
218 Cl. 4 ëa i? k̓əʔqən? k̓ə se s-k̓əqən
219 Cl. 1a mən? cxʷ u? ?ək štənə xʷ
Cl. 2a k̓ʷənənət qə k̓ʷə? šət ḣ

SENTENCES
**NOTE** It should be stressed that the validity of the Snohomish-Skagit comparison is questionable, in that some of the examples extracted from Hess's dissertation are Skagit and some are Snohomish (as mentioned in Fn. 9).

**NOTE** The predicate */?as-tag"ex"/* has been analysed as 'stative-hungry-change affected'. This analysis is probably erroneous. For the present we shall regard it as being 'stative-hungry'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Sk.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>/?al...ba/</em> 'additionally, too'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sk.</td>
<td>9a</td>
<td>*/?al cx&quot; u be-s-tag&quot;ex&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sk.</td>
<td>10a</td>
<td>*/?al čad put ba-?as-g&quot;śāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sk.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>*/txy&quot;/ 'merely' (same as Sn. - p.220, no.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sk.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>*/x'ul&quot;/ 'just, only'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**POST PARTICLES**

| 222  | Sn.     | 2a  | */?es-xac čad g"čelatāb as |
|      | Sk.     | 2b  | */?es-xac čad g"čelatāb eki |
| 223  | Sk.     | 3b  | */umálik"ld g"essydx" ex" |
|      | Sn.     | 4a  | */ieg" čad g"ęxsupëlë alep |
|      | Sn.     | 5a  | */?es-xac čad g"čelatāb as |

**MODAL PARTICLES**

| 224  | Sk.     | 2b  | */?es-tag"ex" hu?xw joč tāq sì?ya |
|      | Sk.     | 4b  | */?al čex" /?es-xal |
| 225  | Sk.     | 5b  | */?es-q"čəłb čex" u sìk" 'Are you tired again?' (stative-be-tired you interrogative /sìk") |
|      | Sk.     | 6   | */hu?xw"/ 'still, yet' |

**INTERROGATIVE**

| 225  | Sn.,Sk. | b   | */?es-q"čəłb čex" u sìx" 'Are you tired again?' (stative-be-tired you /?u/ again) |
| 226  | Sn.,Sk. |     | */x'ul" čad ?es-tag"ex" x'x?alë |
| 231  | Sn.,Sk. |     | Insert */x'ul"/ 'just, only' |
| 232  | Sn.,Sk. |     | Change */yaxi/ in both columns to */yaxi/ - Thom says μo |
| 234  | Sk.     |     | Gloss - 'Are you very tired again?' |
| 236  | Sk.     |     | */ha?i čad dəx"da?ab |

****

We wish to extend our apologies to Lawrence C. Thompson and M. Terry Thompson for any negative implications conveyed by our Footnote 5 (p.211). Fn. 5 constitutes mis-information, as the reference of the footnote is to Sooke (not Clallam) data. This does not imply that Barbara Efrat's analysis is faulty, as she makes no claims similar to that of Fn. 5.