An Enumeration and Syntax of Satellites of the Predicate-head in Coast Salish: A Comparison of Two Languages.[1]

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

Sooke: k̓ʷənət   'look at him'!
Clallam: ʔəcɫtayənəxʷ   'He's an Indian'
Snohomish: dxʷbəčəb-t-əb   '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 *languages* 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.

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

[2]For data sources, see List of References.

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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 preceed 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:

Sooke   Clallam

1) /ʔan/ 'very, too much!'   /manʔ/ 'very'

   a) Sooke.   ʔn ʔan sn ʔu? łčiuʔs 'I'm too tired' (collective /ʔan/
               I contemporaneous be-tired)[3]

   b) Cl: manʔ cxʷ uʔ xʷəŋ, ʔəł štəŋə xʷ   'you walk too fast.' (/manʔ/
              you contemporaneous fast, as walk you)

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[3]All examples are given two translations, the first in readable English, and the second as a word-by-word translation.

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	Sooke	Clallam

2) /ƛe?/ 'again'   /ƛay/ 'additionally'

  a) Sooke: ƛe? sn kʷɬ čté-?-t-ŋ-? 'they're asking me again' (ƛe? I already
          ask-continuative-transitive-affected)

  b) Cl: ƛay u cxʷ u ?eɬən? 'are you eating too?' (/ƛay/ interrogative
          you contemporaneous eat-continuative)

3) /?a?/ 'if'   ----

  a) Sooke: ?a? sə? sxʷ q̓ʷačt ?i? qʷačt sn 'If you hit him I'll hit him'
          (/?a?/ future you beat-up simultaneous beat-up I)

4) /ias/ 'always'[4]   ----

  a) hu? ias sn u ?əi? 'I am always good' (contemporaneous /ias/
          contemporaneous be-good)

5) /mək̓ʷ/ 'all, every'   ----

  a) mək̓ʷ ɬt u? ?eɬə? 'We're all here now' (/mək̓ʷ/ we contemporaneous
          be-here-continuative)

6) /his/ 'a long time'[5]   ----

  a) kʷɬ (h)is sn xeɬ 'I've been sick for a long time' (already /his/
          I be-sick-resultative-durative)

7) /čein/ 'straight, alright, very' ----

  a) ?əs-če?in sn u? k̓ʷek̓ʷi 'I am very hungry' (stative-/čein/-continuative
          I contemporaneous be-hungry-collective-resultative)

8) ----   /ču?in?/ 'even'

  a) Cl: ču?in? cən yu? qi?nu?ŋət 'even I was angry' (/ču?in?/ I past
          be-angry)

9) -----   /tu?x̣ʷ/ 'just'

  a) Cl: tu?x̣ʷ ya? u? wəsəyəs '... just beginning to bark' (/tu?x̣ʷ/ past
contemporaneous to-bark)

ASPECTUAL PARTICLES:

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

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[4]Efrat analyzed [y] as the allophone of /i/ in initial and final positions in Sooke.

[5]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 preceeds it. More will be said of this later.

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No they don't. His claims were for Cl; these examples are Sooke. But see 2b on p. 6.

a) Sooke: kʷən-i-t sn kʷə s-(h)i? hne-?-əs 'I see they are coming this way'
(to-see-persistant-transitive I article nominalizer-/hi?/ to-come-
continuative-3rd-person-possessive)

b) Cl: čə i? kʷa?qəŋ? kʷsə s-kʷaqəŋ 'The flower is just beginning to
bloom' (just-now /?i?/ to-bloom-continuative article nominalizer-
to-bloom)

2) /(h)u?/~/(?)u?/ 'contemporaneous situation, activity or entity'
/(?)u?/ same as Sooke

a) Sooke: hu? xəč-t sn kʷə nə s-q̓ʷačt sə? 'I plan to hit him' (/hu?/ to-
plan-transitive I article my nominalizer-hit future)

b) Cl: ?u? ča?sa? kʷsə ?a?icłtayəŋəxʷ 'There are only two people'
(/?u?/ two-people article people)

3) /kʷł/ 'already' /kʷł/ same as Sooke

a) Sooke: kʷł ?əs-kʷəi xełł 'he's very sick' (/kʷł/ stative-very be-sick-
resultative-durative)

b) Cl: kʷł cače cən 'Now I am an aunt' (/kʷł/ be-aunt I)

4) /tuuə?/ 'still' ----

a) tuuə? nə-q̓ix cə si?etn-s 'He's still black-haired' (/tuuə?/ 'colour-
prefix'-black article hair-3rd-person-possessive)

5) /txʷ(ə)/ 'comparative, become, towards' -----

a) txʷə stəqəqə sə sxʷ 'You'll be turned into a wolf' (/txʷə/ wolf future
you)

6) /ću?/ 'right away' ----

a) ću? ie? sə? n 'I'll go right away' (/ću?/ to-go future I)

7) /čə/ 'just now' /čə?/ same as Sooke

a) Sooke: čə hai sn kʷə nə s-ščə-t 'I just finished hitting him' (/čə/
finish I article my nominalizer-hit-continuative-transitive)

b) Cl: čə ?e?łən? st kʷł 'We're just now eating' (/čə/ eat-continuative
we article)

8) ---- /yu?/ 'really, in fact'

a) Cl: yu? spču? kʷł '(as a matter of fact) it's a berry basket' (/yu?/
be-berry-basket article)

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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 inconsistancies 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) /č̓/ 'quotative'	/č̓/ 'apparently'

a) Sooke: sq̓ʷaʔ-sn č̓ səʔ n   'I'm going to be a walking companion, I hear'
   (be-companion-foot /č̓/ future I)

b) Cl: kʷənət č̓ caʔ st   'We'll see him, apparently'   (see /č̓/ future we)

CONJECTURAL:

1) /i(ə)xʷ/ 'derived inference'	/ixʷ/ 'must be'

a) Sooke: ƛ̓əqt-eʔł ixʷ səʔ   'He's going to be tall'   (be-tall-continuative-durative /iəxʷ/ future)

b) Cl: sistəŋ č̓ ixʷ kʷłi taləs   'must be his money fell out'   (fall-out apparently /ixʷ/ article money)

2) /teʔ/ 'uncertainty'   ----

a) hiʔ či̓ʔesŋ łt tiʔə stəŋəs č̓ təʔ   'something is following us'   (simultaneity to-follow-purposive-affected we this sominalization-what-3rd-person-possess. quotative /təʔ/)

3) /iəq/ 'optative'   ----

a) kʷən-nəxʷ iəq sn   'I wish to see him'   (see-indirect-transitive /iəq/ I)

4) /q/ 'conditional, probability'[6]   ----

a) kʷən-ʔ-nəxʷ q sn   'I might get it'   (take-resultative-continuative-non-directed-transitive /q/ I)

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[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.

Sooke	Clallam

5) ----- /(ʔ)u/ 'interrogative'

 a) čxʷəyuʔ u̱ 'Is it a whale?' (be-whale interrogative)

TEMPORAL:

1) /sə(ʔ)/~/łə(ʔ)/ 'future' /caʔ/ 'future'

 a) Sooke: šəmen sə̱ʔ n 'I'm going to have enemies' (be-enemy /sə?/ I)

 b) Cl: paʔqʷł č ca̱ʔ tsanu 'looks like he's going to race' (to-race
   apparently /caʔ/ article)

2) /iə(ʔ)/ 'past' /yaʔ/ 'past'

 a) Sooke: čəkʷ-iqʷ-n̓ i̱ə? sn 'I washed my hair' (wash-hair-continuative-
   affected /iə(ʔ) / I)

 b) Cl: kʷł uʔ yəcusc ya̱ʔ cən 'I already told you' (already contemporan-
   eous to-tell-you /yaʔ/ I)

3) ---- /qł/ 'conditional' (see footnote 6)

 a) xʷtəq q̱ł cən 'I'd sink (if I stepped on the ice)' (sink /qł/ I)

INTERROGATIVE:

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

 a) nəq̓iẋ ə̱ cə pišpəš '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' /cən/~/n/ 'I'

 a) Sooke: ẋəl-sn s̱n 'I've got sore feet' (sick-continuative-foot I)

 b) Cl: saʔsiʔsiʔ cə̱n ʔə ti łač 'I'm afraid of the dark' (be-scared I
   oblique article dark)

c) Sooke: x̌ʷa-ŋ sə? sn kʷə qʷ̌ča-t-ŋ n 'I will cry if he beats me' (cry-
affected future I article beat-transitive-affected I)

2) /sxʷ/~/(ə)xʷ/ 'You sg. and pl.'   /cxʷ/~/xʷ/ 'you sg. and pl.'
  a) Sooke: ?əs-təŋ?xʷ sxʷ 'you are dirty' (stative-be-dirty /sxʷ/)
  b) Cl: ?u ?e?łən? u cxʷ ?uč   'oh, are you folks eating?' (contemporaneous
        eat-continuative interrogative /cxʷ/ emphatic)
  c) Cl: man? cxʷ u? x̌ʷəŋ ?əł štəŋə xʷ 'you walk too fast' (very you
        contemporaneous fast as walk you)

3) /łt/ 'we'   /st/~/ł/ 'we'
  a) Sooke: qm?-as-t-i łə łt 'we'll meet together' (meet-fact-transitive-
        reciprocal future /łt/)
  b) Cl: čə ?e?łən? st kʷi 'we're just now eating' (just-now eat-continuative
        /st/ article)
  c) Cl: kʷanəŋət qł kʷə? šćət ł 'he'll run if we hit him' (run conditional
        if hit we)

4) /∅/~/s/ 'third person sg. and pl.'   /∅/~/s/ 'third person, sg. and pl.'
  a) Sooke: sét kʷə sakʷ-ŋ əs 'tell him to swim' (order-transitive article-
        (introducing dependent clause) bathe-affected /s/)
  b) Cl: ŋakʷa?cut cən kʷə? čaŋ? əs 'I'm waiting for her to come back' (wait
        I when return /s/)
  c) Sooke: ?əš-xʷ-teqł cə sał 'the door is closed' (stative-locative-be-
        closed-resultative-durative /∅/ 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'	t-	'present visible'
kʷ-	'remote definite'	ɬ-	'secondary importance'
		s-	'particular one'

A concatenation of these morphemes can occur with one further element, chosen from the following two:

-i	'new information'	ə-	'clear in context, but specially designated'

Forms observed:

				ɬə		sə	ɬəs	
č	či	čə						
kʷ	kʷi	kʷə	kʷɬi	kʷɬə	kʷsi	kʷsə	[kʷssə]= /kʷɬsə/	
				kʷələ		kʷəsə	kʷɬəsə	
t	ti	tə	ci	cə	tsi	tsə	csə	
						təsə	cəsə	
						təs	cəs	

Certain of these bases can occur with other elements to form 'emphatic' demonstratives:

	Person	Entity	Nearby Entity
	-anu	-ayə	-i?ə
e.g. t-s	tsanu	tsayə	----
t-	----	----	ti?ə

A suffix {-?} 'emphatic' can be affixed to non-emphatic demonstratives in phrase final position in the predicate phrase.

C1: hihiyəŋ kʷə? kʷə sx̌iƛax̌qɬ   'the child fell' (fall-intensive article-/-?/ article child)

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:

ASPECTUAL--PRED. HEAD--EVIDENTIAL--CONJECTURAL--TEMPORAL--INTERROGATIVE--SUBJECT--DEMONSTRATIVE[7]

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"
(Aspectual-Pred. Head-Evidential-Conjectural-NP)
Cl: čə? sistəŋ č ixʷ kʷłi taləs

where ⊤=⊤ indicates equal status relative to the modified element, and

⊤<⊤ 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.)

ASPECTUAL--AUXILIARY--EVIDENTIAL--CONJECTURAL--TEMPORAL--INTERROGATIVE--SUBJECT--AUXILIARY--ASPECTUAL--PRED. HEAD[8]

"I'm always good"
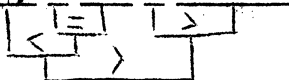(Aspectual-Auxiliary-Subject-Contemporary-Pred. Head)
Sooke: hu? ias sn u ?ei?
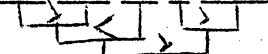
"Are you eating too?"
(Auxiliary-Interrogative-Subject-Aspectual-Pred. Head)
Cl: ƛay u cxʷ u ?e?łən?

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[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.

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

    Cl: pastən k^wi   'He's a white man'

2) a simple noun

    Sooke: čəs təčsŋ   'Her neck was hit'

3) a demonstrative - noun

    Sooke: k^wł ʔinŋ cə łqəič 'It's already a new moon'

4) a nominalized form

    Cl: čə iʔ k^waʔqəŋʔ k^wsə s-k^waqəŋ 'The flower is just beginning to bloom'

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

5) Any of the forms exemplified by 2,3,4 above may be preceded by /ʔə/.

    Sooke: k^wł ʔəčenəstx^w ə cə łqic '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 /ʔə/ and the other be simply a nominal expression.

    Sooke: qəitŋ cə sλiλəλqəł ə cə mens 'The boy is ill-treated by his father'

7) Two consecutive phrases, the second modifying the first.

    Sooke: čečək^wt iə sn cə səmiʔs cə swiqaʔəł '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) /ʔəł/ 'relative to time or action' as, when, where (both dialects)

    a) Cl: man? cxʷ u? xʷəŋ, <u>?əł</u> štəŋəxʷ 'you walk too fast' (very you

        contemporaneous fast, /?əł/ your-walking)

    b) Sooke: x̣əł sn <u>?əł</u> q̓ʷčatŋ n 'Whenever I get beat up, I get sick'

        (be-sick I /?əł/ beat-up-transitive-affected I)

2) /kʷə?/ 'remote demonstrative' <u>if, when</u> (both dialects)

    a) Cl: kʷanəŋət qł <u>kʷə?</u> ščətł 'He'll run if we hit him' (run

        conditional /kʷə?/ we-hit)

    b) Sooke: set iə? sn <u>kʷə</u> kʷanŋət s 'I told him to run' (order-transitive

        past I /kʷə/ to-run him)

SENTENCES:

Sentences may be simple, compound, or complex. Simple sentences are composed of one independent clause. A compound sentence is analagous 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: <u>hiya?</u> ya? cən kʷi t̓akʷi 'I was going across (the river)' (depart

        past I article across?)

    Sooke: <u>ie?</u> sn ?ax̣ʷ '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 (/əwə/) 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? <u>əwə</u> sču nił su? qsətŋs 'He didn't throw it in right away' (simult-

    aneous /əwə/ nominalizer-right-away anaphoric nominalizer-contemporaneous

    fall-in-affect-3rd-person-possessive)

2) Operating as a Predicate Head:

    a) hi? <u>əwə</u> snən?   'but not much' (simultaneous negative nominal-not-much)

    b) <u>?əwnə</u> nə šk̓ʷn?ał '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[9] and T.E.Hukari'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:

Snohomish	Skagit
1) /cḱʷaqid/ 'always'	/cḱʷaqid/ same as Snohomish

  a) Sn: <u>cḱʷaqid</u> ʔəs-tagʷ-əxʷ 'He's always hungry' (/cḱʷaqid/ stative-hungry-affected-change)

  b) Sk: <u>cḱʷaqid</u> ʔəsx̣əl 'He's always sick' (/cḱʷaqid/ stative-be-sick)

2) /didiʔł/ 'still'	/didiʔł/ same as Sn.

  a) Sn: <u>didiʔł</u> ʔəs-tagʷ-əxʷ 'he's still hungry' (/didiʔł/ stative-hungry-change-affected)

  b) Sk: <u>didiʔł</u> (h)uʔxʷ ʔəs-tagʷ-əxʷ ti d-syaʔya 'My friend is still hungry' (/didiʔł/ yet stative-hungry-affected-change article my-friend)

3) /daʔxʷ/ 'just now'	----

  a) <u>daʔxʷ</u> ʔałčił 'He's just now arrived' (/daʔxʷ/ remote-arrived)

4) /tux̣ʷ/ 'merely'	---- see 13 below

  a) <u>tux̣ʷ</u> ʔudxʷłiʔłqʷyuqʷəb 'He merely wants to wet his throat a bit' (/tux̣ʷ/ wet-his-throat-a-bit)

5) /ƛ̓ub/ 'may'	/ƛ̓ub/ 'had better'

  a) Sn: <u>ƛ̓ub</u> łukʷədad ciʔił dəbədaʔ 'He may take my daughter' (/ƛ̓ub/ expectative-take demonstrative my-daughter)

  b) Sk: <u>ƛ̓ub</u> čəxʷ łu-ʔuxʷ 'You'd better go' (/ƛ̓ub/ you expectative-go)

6) /cicḱʷ/ 'really'	/cicḱʷ/ 'intensive'

  a) Sn: <u>cicḱʷ</u> həlaʔb ʔəs-qad tə stiqiw 'The horse is really quite slow' (/cicḱʷ/ quite stative-be-slow article horse)

  b) Sk: <u>cicḱʷ</u> čəxʷ cḱʷaqid ʔəs-tagʷ-əxʷ 'You're always hungry all the time' (/cicḱʷ/ you always stative-hungry)

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[9]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) ----   /cukʷ/ 'but, rather'

  a) xʷiʔ gʷətudšudxʷ, <u>cukʷ</u> čəxʷ tušudxʷ 'I didn't see him, only you saw him'
     (neg hypothetical-remote-see-I?, /cukʷ/ you remote-see)

8) /həlaʔb/ 'quite'   /laʔb/ 'very'

  a) Sn: cickʷ <u>həlaʔb</u> ʔəs-qad tə stiqiw 'The horse is really quite slow'
     (really /həlaʔb/ stative-slow article horse)

  b) Sk: <u>laʔb</u> čəxʷ ʔu ʔəs-tagʷ-əxʷ 'Are you very hungry?' (/laʔb/ you interrog-
     ative stative-hungry-change-affected)

9) ----   /ƛ̓al...ba/ 'additionally, too'

  a) <u>ƛ̓al</u> čəxʷ ʔu <u>ba</u>-s-tagʷ-əxʷ 'Are you hungry too?' (/ƛ̓al/ you interrogative
     /ba/-stative-hungry-change-affected)

10) ----   /put/ 'very, really'

  a) ƛ̓al čəd <u>put</u> ba-ʔəs-qʷələd 'I'm really tired too!' (additional I /put/
     /ba/-stative-hungry-?)

11) ----   /tiləb/ 'right away'

  a) <u>tiləb</u> čəd ɬukʷaxʷacid 'I'll help you right away' (/tiləb/ I expectative-
     help-you)

12) ----   /təɬ/ 'actually'

  a) <u>təɬ</u> čəxʷ ʔu tušudxʷ kʷi buus spaʔc 'Did you really see four bears?'
     (/təɬ/ you interrogative remote-see article four bears)

13) ---- see 4 above   /tuxʷ/ 'comparative'

  a) xʷiʔ gʷə-ds-əstagʷ-əxʷ <u>tuxʷ</u> čəd ʔəstaqʷ 'I'm not hungry, but I'm thirsty'
     (negative hypothetical-?-stative-hungry-change-affected /tuxʷ/ I
     stative-hungry)

14) ----   /xʷuʔələ/ 'maybe'

  a) <u>xʷuʔələ</u> təɬ tə sʔugʷagʷəds 'Maybe he's telling the truth' (/xʷuʔələ/
     actually article tell-truth-continuative)

15) ----   /x̌ʷuɬ/ 'comparative'

  a) <u>x̌ʷuɬ</u> čəd ʔugʷəlald ti spaʔc, xʷiʔ gʷədsqʷələd 'I just killed the bear, I
     didn't cook it' (/x̌ʷuɬ/ I hypothetical-kill article bear, negative
     hypothetical-nominalizer-cook I)

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16) ----   /yəx̣i/ 'because'

 a) ʔadcʔutilib čəd y<u>əx̣i</u> čəd ck^waqid ʔəs-hiʔił   'I sing because I'm always
         happy'   (sing I /yəx̣i/ 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'
        x^wiʔ-<u>tu</u>-bš̌ ləx^witil '<u>do not cause</u> me to fall'[10]
2) by restrictive reduplication:
        <u>tux^w</u>-<u>ux^w</u> ʔutab   'It was <u>not much</u> of an event'
3) a) with /-ax^w/ 'change affected'
        həlaʔb-əx^w čəx^w łasluƛ̣əb 'You <u>will be quite</u> old'
    b) with /bə-/ 'anew'
        <u>bə-x^wiʔ</u> ləhiƛ̣ub 'He is <u>not</u> good <u>enough either</u>'
    c) with /g^wə-/ 'hypothetical'
        <u>g^wə-ck^waqid</u> ələp g^wučaləc '<u>If</u> you folks <u>always</u> 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) /čəd/~/ad/ 'I,me' (both dialects)
  a) Sn: g^wə-tuhəlaʔb <u>əd</u> g^wə-tasxəłxəł 'If I had been <u>really</u> sick' (hypothetical-
        remote-very /əd/ hypothetical-?-sick)
  b) Sk: ƛ̣al <u>čəd</u> put baʔəsq^wəłəd   'I'm <u>really</u> tired too' (Additionally /čəd/
        emphasis stative-be-tired-I)

2)/čəł/~/ałi/ 'we' (both dialects)
  a) Sn: ʔəsxəc <u>čəł</u> g^wəčalətəb əs   'we are afraid he might get chased' (stative-
        be-scared /čəł/ hypothetical-be-chased he)
  b) Sk: ʔəsxəc čəd g^wəčalətəb <u>əłi</u> 'I am afraid we might get chased' (stative-
        be-scared I hypothetical-be-chased /ałi/)

---
[10]/x^wiʔ/ 'negative' has been treated as an Auxiliary. More will be said of
this particle later.

УЎУЎУЎУ

b) Sk: ƛ̓al čəxʷ k̓ʷəɬ ba-ʔəs-xəɬ 'You're sick too, I hear' (additionally
   you evidential stative-be-sick)

Snohomish	Skagit

5) /sixʷ/ 'annoying frequency, again'   /sixʷ/ 'again'

  a) Sn: gʷəl ʔaʔ tiʔə qaẃqs <u>sixʷ</u> čakʷ 'And there was Raven again, down by
    the shore' (and be-located demonstrative raven /sixʷ/ by-shore)

  b) Sk: ʔəs-gʷəɬəb čəxʷ ʔu <u>sixʷ</u> 'Are you tired again?' (stative-be-sick
    you interrogative /sixʷ/)

6) /uʔxʷ/ 'still, yet'   /huxʷ/ 'still, yet'

  a) Sn: həlitub <u>uʔxʷ</u> jəɬ čəcʷ 'You must still be permitted to live' (live-
    causative-passive /uʔxʷ/ apparantly you)

7) ---   /k̓ʷədaʔ/ 'maybe'

  a) Sk: ʔəs-tagʷ-əxʷ k̓ʷədaʔ ʔu tiʔiɬ 'Maybe he's hungry?' (stative-be-
    hungry-change affected /k̓ʷədaʔ/ interrogative demonstrative)

INTERROGATIVE:

  /ʔu/ 'question marker'   /ʔu/ same as Sn.

  a) Sn: hikʷ čəxʷ <u>ʔu</u> ƛuxəɬqid 'Do you generally get severe headaches?'
    (be-big you /ʔu/ have-headache)

  b) Sk: ʔəs qʷəl-əb čəxʷ <u>ʔu</u> 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 pred-
icate-head. Any number of modal particles can occur, provided they are not sem-
antically 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·   ʔəstagʷəxʷ cəxʷ jəł ʔu

2) PRED-HEAD - SUBJECT - INTERROGATIVE - MODAL

"Are you tired again?"

Sk: ʔəsgʷəłəb čəxʷ ʔu sixʷ

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: laʔb čəxʷ ʔu sixʷ ʔəsqʷəłəb

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

"Maybe I'm just hungry"

xʷuł čəd ʔəstagʷəxʷ xʷuʔələ

(AUXILIARY - SUBJECT - PRED-HEAD - AUXILIARY)

Since there are two Auxiliary particles in this phrase, xʷuł and xʷuʔələ, and
since xʷuʔələ is the second of these two, the expected order of the elements would
be:

xʷuɫ čəd xʷuʔələ ʔəstagʷəxʷ

(AUXILIARY - SUBJECT - AUXILIARY - PRED.-HEAD)
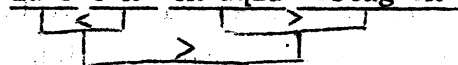
There are two possible explanations of the observed order of the particles:

1) /xʷuʔələ/ 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) /xʷuʔələ/ 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"
(AUXILIARY - SUBJECT - AUXILIARY - PRED.-HEAD)

laʔb čəxʷ ckʷaqid ʔəstagʷəxʷ

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-həxʷ ciə? kaʔkə ʔi tiʔə? dəbəɫ tiʔiɫ xʷčiɫqs   'Crow and the worthy son of Oyster were married'   (marry-change-affected demonstrative Crow and demonstrative son the oyster)

Sk: ckʷaqid ʔəsχəɫ   'He is always sick.'   (always stative-be-sick)

Sn: dayʔəxʷ čəd cickʷ ʔəslaqid   '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 /gʷə/ '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[11]. These constructions are semantically determined, and will be ignored in this discussion. Some examples of dependent clauses introduced by /gʷə/ are:

Sn: ʔəsx̣əc čəd g̲ʷ̲ə̲č̲a̲l̲-̲ə̲c̲-̲ə̲s̲ 'I fear he will chase me' (stative-be-scared I hypothetical-chase-transitive-me-he)

One dependent clause can modify another:

Sn: ʔəs-x̣əc čəd g̲ʷ̲ə̲-̲č̲ə̲l̲p̲-̲š̲ə̲d̲-̲ə̲d̲ g̲ʷ̲ə̲-̲t̲ə̲l̲ə̲l̲a̲w̲i̲l̲-̲ə̲d̲ ̲ʔ̲ə̲ ̲k̲ʷ̲i̲ ̲ʔ̲a̲ɬ '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)

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: ʔ̲ə̲x̲ʷ̲-̲c̲u̲t̲ə̲b̲ ̲č̲ə̲d̲ c̲i̲c̲k̲ʷ̲ ̲č̲ə̲d̲ ̲h̲a̲ʔ̲ɬ̲-̲š̲u̲ɬ 'I think I am very good looking' (to-think I really I good-looking)

Sn: x̣ʷk̲ʷus-əd čx̲ʷa txʷus-əd 'take it out and drag it' (take-out-transitive and-you drag-transitive)[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 /xʷiʔ/ functions as an auxiliary or as a predicate-head. As an Auxiliary it can be compounded with the forms mentioned above (for Auxiliary particles.)

e.g. Sn: bə-x̲ʷ̲i̲ʔ̲ l̲ə̲-̲h̲i̲ƛ̲-̲u̲b̲ 'He is not good enough either' (also-negative neg-good-middle-voice)

When the negative particle, serving as an Auxiliary, co-occurs with another Auxiliary in the same predicate phrase, it conditions the addition of a prefix /lə/ onto the second Auxiliary, and serves to negativize the meaning conveyed by the other Auxiliary.

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[11] T.E. Hukari, personal communication

[12] Hess introduces the particle /yəxi/ as a connective. This analysis is probably more desireable than one which categorizes it as an Auxiliary particle, as it only occurs between two independent predications in compound sentences.

Sk: x̌ʷiʔ čəd ləlaʔb ʔəstagʷəxʷ   'I'm not very hungry'   (negative I very stative-
        be-hungry-change-affected)

Sk: x̌ʷiʔ kʷ ad sx̌ʷilʔalc   '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
analagous. 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.

^{e.g.}Cl: <u>čə</u> ʔeʔłən? st kʷi 'we're just now eating' (just-now eating we
     demonstrative)

Sn: <u>daʔxʷ</u> ʔułčił 'He's just now arrived' (just-now completive-arrive)

<u>Evidential</u> and <u>Conjectural</u>- The elements in the Evidential and Conjectural
categories are semantically analagous to some of the Puget Modals. These Straits
categories, however, precede the Subject particles, while their Puget counter-
parts follow the Subject particles. Thus, they are not distributionally equivalent.

^{e.g.}Cl: kʷənət <u>č</u> caʔ st 'We'll see him, apparently' (see-transitive apparently
     future we)

Sn: həlitub uʔxʷ <u>jəł</u> čəxʷ 'Apparently, you must still be permitted to live'
     (live-causative still apparently you)

<u>Temporal</u>- 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.

<u>Interrogative</u>- 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.

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

<u>Negative</u>- 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 sattelites 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.

STRAITS		PUGET		SQUAMISH
Sooke	Clallam	Snohomish	Skagit	Squamish
ʔán aux 'very, too much'	man? aux 'very'			
		həlà?b aux 'quite'	la?b aux 'very'	
			put aux 'very'	
ʔa? aux 'if'				ʔu 'if'
ƛe? aux 'again'	ƛay aux 'additionally'		ƛal..ba aux 'additionally'	ʔimn 'also, too'
iás aux 'always'		ckʷaqid aux 'always'	ckʷaqid aux 'always'	
məkʷ aux 'all,every'				
his aux 'a long time'				
čein aux straight, alright,very	ču?in? aux 'even'			
	tu?xʷ aux 'just'			
hi? asp 'simultan- eous'	ʔi? asp 'simultan- eous'			ʔi asp 'here,now'
hu? asp 'contempor- aneous'	ʔu? asp 'contempor- aneous'			
kʷɫ asp 'already'	kʷɫ asp 'already'			kʷ asp 'now,then'

STRAITS		PUGET		SQUAMISH
Sooke	Clallam	Snohomish	Skagit	Squamish
túuə? asp 'still'		didi?ɬ aux 'still'	didi?ɬ aux 'still'	
		u?xʷ mod 'still'		-xʷ 'still'
txʷə asp "comparative"		tuxʷ aux "comparative"	tuxʷ aux "comparative"	
			xʷul? aux "comparative"	
ču? asp 'right away'			tiləb aux 'right away'	
čə asp 'just now'	čə asp 'just now'			čiáɬ 'soon'
		da?xʷ aux 'just now'		
	ya? asp 'really, in fact'	cickʷ aux 'really, in fact'	cickʷ aux "intensive"	
			təɬ aux 'really, in fact'	
č evid 'apparantly'	č evid 'apparantly'			-č 'apparantly'
		jəɬ mod 'apparantly'	jəɬ mod 'apparantly'	
iəxʷ conj 'must be'	iəxʷ conj 'must be'	kʷa? mod "denies absolute certainty"	kʷa? mod 'must be'	kʷəh~kʷa 'don't know'
iəq conj "optative"				
q cond "probability, conditional"	qɬ temp "probability, conditional"			q 'as if,when'
?ə interr "interrogative"	?u conj "interr."	?u interr "interr"	?u interr "interr."	?u~əw "interr."

STRAITS		PUGET		SQUAMISH
Sooke	Clallam	Snohomish	Skagit	Squamish
sə? temp "future"	cu? temp "future"			ʔaq̓~ʔit "future"
iə? temp "past"	ya? temp "past"			t "past"
sn~n subj 'I'	cən~ən subj 'I'	čəd~ad subj 'I'	čəd~ad subj 'I'	č-n~ʔan 'I'
sxʷ~əxʷ subj 'you'	cxʷ~xʷ subj 'you'	čəxʷ~axʷ subj "you sg."	čəxʷ~axʷ subj "you sg."	č~xʷ~ʔaxʷ "you sg."
ɫt subj 'we'	st~ɫ subj 'we'	čəɫ~aɫi subj 'we'	čəɫ~əɫ subj 'we'	č-t~ʔat 'we'
		čələp~ələp "you pl."	čələp~ələp sbj "you pl."	č-ap~ʔa(ya)p "you pl."
s subj "3rd psn."	s subj "3rd psn."	as subj "3rd psn."	s subj "3rd psn."	ʔas "3rd psn."
		ƛub aux 'may'	ƛub aux 'had better'	
			cukʷ aux 'but, rather'	
			xʷuʔələ aux 'mabye'ə	
			kʷəda mod 'mabye'	
		yəxi connect "connective"	yəxi aux 'but'	
		aw̓ə mod 'indeed'	haw̓ə mod 'must be'	
		sixʷ mod 'again'	sixʷ mod 'again'	
ʔə dp.ph "oblique"	ʔə dp.ph "oblique"	gʷə dp.ph "hypothet-ical"	gʷə dp.ph "hypothetical"	
				na(ʔ) 'there, then'
				ʔiƛi 'all the time, still'
				yaɫ 'finally, at last'
				ɫkʷun 'probably'

	STRAITS		PUGET		SQUAMISH
Sooke	Clallam	Snohomish	Skagit		Squamish
					ʔiwpayt 'maybe'
					ʔiwʔanił 'must'

Abbreviation	Category
aux	Auxiliary
mod	Modal
asp	Aspectual
subj	Subject
conj	Conjectural
interr	Interrogative
cond	Conditional
dp.ph	Dependent phrase introducer
temp	Temporal
evid	Evidential

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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 a 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?"

Sk: la?b čəxʷ ?u sixʷ ?əsqʷələb

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

        la?b čəxʷ ?u sixʷ ?əsqʷələb

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: la?b čəxʷ ckʷaqid ?əstagʷəxʷ

"You are always real hungry"

2) Sk: ck̓ʷaqid čəxʷ laʔb ʔəstagʷəxʷ

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 /ck̓ʷaqid/'always' presumably has greater affinity with the predicate-head 'hungry' than does the Auxiliary-head /laʔb/'very'. This accounts for the 'all the time' reading of the sentence. /laʔb/ 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) /laʔb/ is more closely affiliated with the predicate-head than /ck̓ʷaqid/ 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,   ʔəstagʷəxʷ čəxʷ jəł ʔu

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

"Are you tired again?"

Sk: ʔəsqʷələb čəxʷ ʔu sixʷ

Where what is being questioned is 'you-be-tired'. The proposition 'you-be-tired-?' is marked for repetition by /sixʷ/'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: hikʷ čəxʷ ʔu ƛ̓uxʷəlqid

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

2) Sn: hikʷ čəxʷ ƛ̓uxʷəlqid ʔu

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^w čəx^w/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 t e word order of the following sentence to be /x^{w}ul? čəd x^{w}u?alə? ?əstag^{w}əx^w/. Instead we observe the following.

"Maybe I'm just hungry"

Sk: x^{w}ul? čəd ?estag^{w}əx^w x^{w}u?alə?

Where /x^{w}u?alə?/'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 interresting to note the effect of a predicate qualifier on the word order of a "predicate nominal" construction.

"I am a shaman"

Sk: dəx^{w}da?ab čəd

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(/dəx^{w}da?ab/) becomes an adjunct of the predicate phrase.

"I'm a good shaman"

Sk: hał čəd dəx^{w}da?ab

The occurrance 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^{w}ł (h)is sn xełł

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.

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Satellites of the Predicate-head in Coast Salish

ERRATA

Page	Dialect	Nc.	
209	Cl.		?cᵻtayənəxʷ 'He's an Indian'

AUXILIARIES

210	Cl.	1	/mən?/ 'very'
211	Cl.	2	/ƛ̓əy/ 'additionally'
	Cl.	2b	ƛ̓əy u cxʷ u ?e?ƛən?

ASPECTUALS

212	Cl.	1b	čə i? kʷə?qən? kʷsə s-kʷaqən
	Sooke	2a	hu? x̣əčt sn kʷə nə s-ƛ̓ʷačt sə?
	Cl.	2b	?u? čə?sə? kʷsə ?ə?icᵻtayənəxʷ
	Cl.	3b	kʷƛ čačc cn

EVIDENTIAL

213	Cl.	1b	k̓ʷənət č cə? st

CONJECTURAL

	Sooke	2	/tə?/ 'uncertainty'
	Sooke	4	/q/ 'conditional, possibility'
	Sooke	4a	kʷen?nəxʷ q sn

TEMPORAL

214	Cl.	1	/cə?/ 'future'
	Cl.	1b	pa?qʷƛ č cə? tsanu

SUBJECT

	Cl.	1b	sə?si?si? cən ?ə ti ƛač
215	Cl.	2c	mən? cxʷ u? x̣ʷən ?əƛ štənə xʷ
	Cl.	4b	nək̓ʷə?cut cən kʷə? čan? əs
217	Cl.		čə? sistən č ixʷ kʷƛi taləs

	Cl.		ƛ̓əy u cxʷ u?e?ƛən?

CLAUSES

218	Cl.	4	čə i? kʷə?qən? kʷsə s-kʷaqən
219	Cl.	1a	mən? cxʷ u? ?əƛ štənə_xʷ
	Cl.	2a	kʷanənət qƛ kʷə? s̓čət ƛ

SENTENCES

		1	?i? ?əwə s̓ču? niƛ su? qsətŋs

<u>NOTE</u> 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).

<u>NOTE</u> The predicate /ʔəs-tagʷəxʷ/ has been analysed as 'stative-hungry-change affected'. This analysis is probably erronious. For the present we shall regard it as being 'stative-hungry'.

Page	Dialect	No.	
221	Sk.	9	/ƛal...bə/ 'additionally, too'
	Sk.	9a	ƛal cəxʷ ʔu bə-s-tagʷəxʷ
	Sk.	10a	ƛal čəd put bə-ʔəs-gʷəƛəd
	Sk.	13	/tuxʷ/ 'merely' (same as Sn. - p.220, no.4)
	Sk.	15	/xʷul'/ 'just, only'

POST PARTICLES

222	Sn.	2a	ʔəsx̣əc čəƛ gʷəčaləteb əs
	Sk.	2b	ʔəsx̣əc čəd gʷəčaləteb əƛi
223	Sk.	3b	ʔuwiliq̓ʷid gʷəsəydxʷ əxʷ
	Sn.	4a	ƛəgʷƛ čəd gʷəšudubš ələp
	Sn.	5a	ʔəsx̣əc čəƛ gʷəčaləteb əs

MODAL PARTICLES

	Sk.	2b	ʔəstagʷəxʷ huʔxʷ jəƛ təd syaʔya
224	Sk.	4b	ƛal čəxʷ k̓ʷəƛ bə-ʔəs-x̣əƛ
	Sk.	5b	ʔəs-qʷəƛəb čəxʷ ʔu sixʷ 'Are you tired again?' (stative-be-tired you interrogative /sixʷ/)
	Sk.	6	/huʔxʷ/ 'still, yet'

INTERROGATIVE

	Sk.	b	ʔəs-qʷəƛəb čəxʷ ʔu sixʷ 'Are you tired again?' (stative-be-tired ___ you /ʔu/ again)
225			xʷul' čəd ʔəstagʷəxʷ xʷuʔələ
226			xʷul' čəd xʷuʔələ ʔəstagʷəxʷ
231	Sn.,Sk.		Insert xʷul' 'just,only'
232	Sn.,Sk.		Change /yəxi/ in both columns to /yəx̣i/ - Thom says no.
234	Sk.		Gloss - 'Are you very <u>tired</u> again?'
236	Sk.		haʔƛ čəd dəxʷdaʔab

✿ ✿ ✿ ✿ ✿ ✿ ✿ ✿

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.