

# Irrealis Morphology in Montana Salish

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This paper investigates the form and function of irrealis morphology in Montana Salish. While it has previously been thought that the irrealis prefix had a single form, *qł-*, this paper aims to show that it in fact has two allomorphs, *qł-* and *qs-*. A second aim is to explore the interaction of the irrealis with aspectual morphology. Which allomorph of the irrealis prefix appears in a given form is conditioned by the type of word to which the prefix attaches. Nominals are prefixed with *qł-* and verbs appear with *qs-*. The irrealis may combine with non-continuative or continuative verbal forms. It is not clear how this opposition fits into the larger system of aspect in the language, as most of those irrealis forms marked as continuative do not seem to have continuative meanings.

## 1 Introduction

In Montana Salish<sup>1</sup>, the category of irrealis is marked by a prefix. It has formerly been thought that the irrealis prefix had a single form, *qł-*. This paper argues that there are in fact two allomorphs of the irrealis prefix, *qł-* and *qs-*. The allomorph that appears in a given word is conditioned by the type of word to which the prefix attaches. Nominals are prefixed with *qł-* and verbs appear with *qs-*. The presence of a non-locative prefix after the irrealis may obscure this distribution, as in this circumstance both allomorphs surface as *q-*. A second goal of the paper is to examine the way that the irrealis interacts and fits into the larger aspectual system of Montana Salish. The irrealis may combine with apparent continuative morphology, though such forms do not seem to have continuative semantics. I first give an overview of the various surface realizations of irrealis morphology that have been found in the data in section 2. In section 3, the analysis of irrealis allomorphs is presented along with the factors that condition the distribution of those allomorphs. Irrealis forms that have apparent continuative morphology are examined in section 4, before describing the meaning and functions of the irrealis in section 5. Finally, in section 6, I discuss behavior of similar prefixes in two other Southern Interior languages.

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to sincerely thank Prof. Sally Thomason of the University of Michigan for all her help and advice during the writing of this paper, and for her willingness to make available her Montana Salish field texts and data, without either of which the writing of this paper would not have been possible.

## 2 Overview

Irrealis is marked by a prefix occurring near the left edge of the word. The only prefixes that potentially precede it are the possessive prefixes *in-* 1SG.POSS and *an-* 2SG.POSS (Thomason 1992). There are six surface realizations of irrealis marking that have been found in the data:

- (1) a.  $\check{c}i\ qsq^w\acute{o}m^i$ .  
'I'll take more than one.'
- b.  $q\acute{l}c\acute{i}tx^w$ s.  
'It's going to be his house.'
- c.  $ta\ kw\ qesx^w\ m\acute{q}nc\acute{u}$ !  
'Don't feel safe!'
- d.  $ta\ qwo\ qe\acute{t}w\acute{i}\check{c}tx^w$ .  
'You won't see me again'
- e.  $tam\ esnt\acute{e}\ qe\acute{f}esx^w\ st\acute{u}$ .  
'He didn't want to walk back.'
- f.  $ta\ qep\acute{s}emeyy\acute{e}\ ?\ \acute{h}\ i\ ?e\ sic\ esp^w\ ox^w\ t\acute{i}l^w\ \acute{s}i$ .  
'Those growing up right now won't have this knowledge.'

It will be shown in the next section that surface forms *qes-*, *qel-*, *qeles-* and *qeps-* in (ex. 1c-f) arise from the combination of the irrealis prefix with a following prefix, while all examples of *ql-* (ex. 1b) and most examples of *qs-* (ex. 1a) can not be broken down into separate prefixes. For those cases in which *qs-* can be segmented, it derives from the combination of *ql-* with the nominalizer prefix *s-*.

The presence of the irrealis prefix triggers two types of allomorphy in preceding person morphemes. The first type occurs in the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural particle *qe(?)*, which sometimes appears as *qa(?)* before irrealis forms, as in ex. 2a. The second type of allomorphy involves the deletion of /n/ or change /n/ > [i] in a preceding morpheme, and can be termed the 'n-change rule'. This rule deletes the /n/ in the possessive prefixes *in-* and *an-*, causing them to become *i-* (es. 2b) and *a-* (es. 2c), and changes the /n/ of the 1<sup>st</sup> person intransitive subject particle *\check{c}n*, causing it to become *\acute{c}i* (ex. 2d).

- (2) a.  $qe\ esnt\acute{e}\ qa\ q\acute{l}im\acute{x}^w\ m$ .  
'We both want to be chief.'
- b.  $iqs\check{c}\acute{x}^w\acute{o}y\acute{q}nmc$ .  
'I'm going to pile it up'

- c. aqłnóχ<sup>w</sup>nχ<sup>w</sup>  
 ‘Your wife-to-be’
- d. či qššál'u.  
 ‘I will go up.’

In the next section I exam the form and distribution of the various surface realizations of irrealis morphology listed in ex. 1 more closely, and show that *qs-* and *ql-* are allomorphs of the same morpheme.

### 3 Allomorphs of the irrealis prefix

Previous analyses of irrealis marking have assumed that the irrealis prefix had a single form, *ql-*, and that all other surface realizations of irrealis morphology arose from the deletion of /ł/ before (certain) other prefixes. Under this analysis, all examples of *qs-* derives from *ql-s-*, *qes-* from *ql-es-*, *qel-* from *ql-el-*, and so on (Thomason 2009, p. c.). In this section, I first show that *ql-* is limited to attaching to nominals, and that apparent examples of *qs-* in nominals arises from *ql-s-*. I then show that other examples of *qs-* must be analyzed as a single, unsegmentable unit, and that this prefix form is limited to verbs. I take this distribution to indicate that they are allomorphs of the same morpheme. I also show that other surface realizations of irrealis morphology can be accounted for by combination of one of the irrealis allomorphs with a following prefix.

#### 3.1 *ql-*

Examples of *ql-* are limited to nominals. Consider the following highlighted irrealis forms in ex 3:

- (3) a. **qłřacm'ířs** Lwí.  
**ql-řac=m'í(n=tn)-s** Lwí  
 IRR-tie=INSTR=INSTR-3POSS Louis  
 ‘It will be Louis’ trap.’
- b. k<sup>w</sup> **qłnc'χ<sup>w</sup>éłtis** łu t  
 k<sup>w</sup> qł-n-c'χ<sup>w</sup>=éłt=tn-s łu t  
 2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-in-preach=child=INSTR-3POSS 2<sup>ND</sup> OBL  
 asx<sup>w</sup>síx<sup>w</sup>łt.  
 an-sx<sup>w</sup>-síx<sup>w</sup>=éłt  
 2SG.POSS-REDUP-relative=child  
 ‘You’re preaching to your kids.’ (lit. ‘You’re the model of your children.’)

- c.  $k^w u$        $aqsx^w ic' \dot{t}m$        **$iq\dot{n}o\chi^w n\chi^w$ .**  
 $k^w u$        $an-qs-x^w ic' -\dot{t}-m$        **$in-q\dot{t}-n\dot{o}\chi^w n\chi^w$**   
 IPL.OBJ 2SG.POSS-IRR-give-REL-TR-TR.CONT 1SG.POSS-IRR-wife  
 'You're going to give her to me to be my wife.'
- d.  $qses\acute{e}li$        $\dot{h}u$        **$iq\dot{t}psp\acute{u}s$ .**  
 $qs-es\acute{e}l-i$        $\dot{h}u$        $in-q\dot{t}-ps-p\acute{u}s$   
 IRR-NOM-two-INTR.CONT 2NDRY 1SG.POSS-IRR-REDUP-cat  
 'It's going to be two cats, a pair, of mine.'
- e.  $k^w$        $iqs\lambda' e\acute{s}\dot{t}m$   
 $k^w$        $in-qs-\lambda' e-\acute{s}\dot{t}-m$   
 1SG.INTR.SBJ 1SG.POSS-IRR-look.for-REL-TR-TR.CONT  
 **$t$   $aqlmaly\acute{e}$**   
 **$t$   $an-q\dot{t}-maly\acute{e}$ .**  
 OBL 2SG.POSS-IRR-medicine  
 'I'm going to look for medicine for you.'

All the above highlighted forms refer to entities, and not states or actions. In exx. 3a and 3b, the highlighted words are predicates, and take the intransitive subject particles, as is normal for nominal predicates. Additionally, the irrealis forms in exx. 3b-e are arguments<sup>2</sup> of their predicates, and carry the normal type of marking for the positions they occupy. These observations support the conclusion that these irrealis forms are nominals.

There are a few examples of *q\dot{t}*- with words that do fit the above criteria. Some such forms are shown in ex. 4, below:

- (4) a.  $\acute{c}i$        $q\dot{h}\chi^w \acute{o}pt$ .  
 $\acute{c}n$        $q\dot{t}-\chi^w \acute{o}p-t$   
 1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-lazy-STAT  
 'I'm going to be lazy.'
- b.  $ta$        $k^w$        $q\dot{h}\chi^w \acute{o}pt!$   
 $ta$        $k^w$        $q\dot{t}-\chi^w \acute{o}p-t$   
 NEG 1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-lazy-STAT  
 'Don't be lazy!'
- c.  $iq\dot{t}m\acute{e}n\check{c}$ .  
 $in-q\dot{t}-m\acute{e}n\check{c}$   
 1SG.POSS-IRR-love  
 'I'm gonna like it.'

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<sup>2</sup> Here, I take 'argument' to mean 'semantic argument'. Whether or not the highlighted words in ex. 3 are actually in syntactic argument positions is beyond the scope of this paper.

It is not immediately clear whether or not the forms in ex. 4a-c should be treated as nominals. If the form found in ex. 4b were a nominal, the expected negative particle would be *tam*, which generally negates nominal predicates in the language (Baier & Wdzenczny 2009). The form in ex. 4c could be treated as a nominal, this being motivated by the 1<sup>st</sup> person possessive prefix. However, at this time it is not clear to me if this is the correct analysis. Because this type example is extremely rare, they will be taken for the time being as irregularities.

### 3.2 *qs-*

All examples of *qs-* do not derive from the same source. In some cases, surface *qs-* arises from an underlying *qt-* prefixed to a nominal that is always bound to the nominalizer prefix *s-*. The sequence *qt-s-* simplifies to *qs-*, as can be seen in ex. 5, below:

- (5) a. esiyá iqst'm'á.  
 es-yá in-qt-s-t'm'á  
 ASP-all 1SG.POSS-IRR-NOM-cow  
 'They're all going to be my cows.'
- b. čn esk<sup>w</sup>tuyscúti  
 čn es-k<sup>w</sup>ɫ-wi?-s-cút-i  
 1SG.INTR.SBJ ASP-under-finish-TR-REFL-INTR.CONT  
 χ<sup>w</sup>ɫ' iqscλ'íl  
 χ<sup>w</sup>ɫ' in-qt-s-c-λ'íl  
 for 1SG.POSS-IRR-NOM-here-die  
 'I'm all prepared for my death.'

These nominal irrealis forms do not appear much different from those in ex. 3, the only difference being that the obligatory presence of a nominalizer obscures the underlying *qt-*. This analysis accounts for all nominals with *qs-*.

The vast majority of irrealis forms with *qs-* occur with verbs, as in ex. 6:

- (6) a. či qsq<sup>w</sup>óm'i.  
 či qs-q<sup>w</sup>óm'-i  
 1SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-take.several-INTR.CONT  
 'I'll take more than one.'
- b. k<sup>w</sup> qstex<sup>w</sup>lsi.  
 k<sup>w</sup> qs-ɫex<sup>w</sup>=els-i  
 2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-breathe=thought-INTR.CONT  
 'You're going to rest.'

- c. iqsčšlčmínm  
 in-qs-č-šlič-mín-m  
 1SG.POSS-IRR-to-turn.around=instr-TR.CONT  
 ‘I’m going (to go) around it.’
- d. ta k<sup>w</sup> qsx<sup>w</sup>ú č’ táwn!  
 ta k<sup>w</sup> qs-x<sup>w</sup>úy č’ táwn  
 NEG 2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-go to town  
 ‘Don’t go to town!’
- e. ta qsxménčstn Malí.  
 ta qs-xménč-st-n Malí  
 NEG IRR-love-TR-1SG.TR.SBJ Mary  
 ‘I won’t love Mary.’

All the above irrealis forms are main predicates, and conform to normal verbal morphology. The forms in exx. 6a-c have what appears to be continuative morphology. This point will be returned to below in section 4. In exx. 6d and 6e, negated irrealis predicates take *ta*, the negative particle used most often to negate verbs (Baier & Wdzcency 2009). In exx. 6a, 6b, and 6d, intransitive verbs take the intransitive subject particles normally seen in intransitive predicates. In ex. 6e, the irrealis form has normal transitive marking, with the transitive suffix *-nt* and the 1<sup>st</sup> person transitive subject suffix *-en*. I take all these facts to indicate that the above forms are verbs.

Unlike in ex. 5, above, there is no obvious motivation for segmenting the nominalizer prefix from the irrealis prefix in ex. 6. Free verbal predicates do not take the nominalizer, and there is no other particle or predicate requiring the use of the nominalizer in the clauses.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it seems prudent to analyze the examples of *qs-* in ex. 6 as a single unit.

The two forms of irrealis marking *qs-* and *ql-* do not appear in the same environments, that is, they are in complimentary distribution. This implies that they are allomorphs of the same irrealis prefix. Additionally, both *qs-* and *ql-* trigger the same types of allomorphy in preceding person morphemes as discussed in section 2, strengthening the argument that they belong to the same morpheme.

### 3.3 Other irrealis forms

In addition to *qs-* and *ql-*, there are four other important manifestations of irrealis marking: *qes-*, *qel-*, *qeles-* and *qeps-*. All of these forms can be shown to result from the combination of one of the basic irrealis allomorphs with a following prefix or prefixes. Consider exx. 7 and 8, showing forms with *qes-*

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<sup>3</sup> It may actually be the case that the presence of the negative particle *ta* requires the nominalizer prefix, as is the case for non-irrealis verbs (Baier & Wdzcency 2009). However, it is not clear whether this is the case for those negated irrealis verbs.

and *qel-*, respectively.

- (7) a. ta k<sup>w</sup> qesx<sup>w</sup>úy!  
 ta k<sup>w</sup> qs-es-x<sup>w</sup>úy  
 NEG 2SG.INTR.SBJ IRR-ASP-go  
 ‘Don’t go!’
- b. ta qesʔúst!  
 ta qs-es-ʔús-t  
 NEG IRR-ASP-dive-STAT  
 ‘Don’t dive!’
- d. ta q<sup>w</sup>o qesléč̣’istx<sup>w</sup>!  
 ta q<sup>w</sup>o qs-es-léč̣’-i-st-x<sup>w</sup>  
 NEG 1SG.OBJ IRR-ASP-angry-?-TR-2SG.TR.SBJ  
 ‘Don’t get mad at me!’
- e. i qesiyayáʔi m eɲk<sup>w</sup>’spéntč̣  
 i qs-es-iyáʔ-yáʔ-i m eɲ-nk<sup>w</sup>’uʔ-s-pén=tč̣  
 STAT IRR-ASP-all-REDUP-STAT FUT again-one-NOM-year=time  
 ‘For one year they’d all be together again’
- (8) a. ta q<sup>w</sup>o qeɲwíčtx<sup>w</sup>.  
 ta q<sup>w</sup>o qs-eɲ-wíč-t-x<sup>w</sup>  
 NEG 1SG.OBJ IRR-again-see-TR-2SG.TR.SBJ  
 ‘You won’t see me again.’
- b. x<sup>w</sup>u q<sup>w</sup>o qeɲk<sup>w</sup>’isxécti  
 x<sup>w</sup>u q<sup>w</sup>o qeɲk<sup>w</sup>’isxécti  
 okay 1PL.INTR.SBJ IRR-again-dig.roots-INTR.CONT  
 ‘Then we’ll start digging again’
- c. qe qeɲcʔím’ši.  
 qe qs-eɲ-c-ʔím’š-i  
 1PL IRR-back-here-move.camp-INTR.CONT  
 ‘We’ll move back here.’
- d. q<sup>w</sup>o qeɲq<sup>w</sup>eyq<sup>w</sup>ó.  
 q<sup>w</sup>o qs-eɲ-q<sup>w</sup>-i-q<sup>w</sup>ó(λ’)  
 1SG.OBJ IRR-again-REDUP-PLURAL-race  
 ‘We’re gonna race again.’

The surface sequences *qes-* and *qel-* derive from the underlying sequences *qs-es-* and *qs-el-*, respectively. The allomorph *qs-* is chosen as the underlying form of the irrealis prefix by virtue of the fact that all the forms in exx. 7 and 8 and verbs. I choose to segment the aspectual prefix *es-* and the

prefix *el-* ‘back/again’ from the preceding irrealis prefix in exx. 7 and 8 for two reasons. First, both *es-* and *el-* are independent prefixes found in many examples without irrealis marking. Second, the meaning of the irrealis prefix does not affect the meaning of either *es-* or *el-*. That is, the semantic values of the sequences *qes-* and *qel-* can be predicted from the sum of the semantic values of their constituent parts.

This second point is more easily exemplified by those forms in ex. 8, where the meaning of *el-* is rather clear cut. In those examples, it indicates the repetition of an action (as in exx. 8a, 8b and 8d) or return to an earlier location (ex. 8c). The meaning and function of *es-* is less well understood at this point, but the functions of the prefix in ex. 7 do not seem to deviate from the normal functions of the prefix.

There are two other examples found in the data of the irrealis prefix surfacing as *q-*. Both occur only once. The first is shown in ex. 9, and involves the irrealis prefix followed by both *el-* and *es-*. The second is shown in ex. 10 and involves the prefix *epl-* ‘have’.

- (9) tam esnté qelesx<sup>w</sup>stú.  
 tam esnté qs-el-es-x<sup>w</sup>uy-(m)ist=ú(lex<sup>w</sup>)  
 NEG want IRR-again-ASP-walk-INTR.REFL=land  
 ‘He didn’t want to walk back.’

- (10) ta qepscmeyyé? ħ i  
 ta qs-epl-s-c-meyyé? lu i  
 NEG IRR-have-NOM-toward-tell 2NDRY STAT  
 ?e sic esp’ox<sup>w</sup>til’ši.  
 ?e sic es-p’ox<sup>w</sup>-t=íl’š-i  
 this right.now ASP-old-STAT=become-INTR.CONT  
 ‘Those growing up right now won’t have this knowledge.’

As is predicted by the analysis for *qes-* and *qel-* above, in ex. 9 the surface sequence *qeles-* arises from *qs-el-es*. In ex. 10 the same process is triggered by the following prefix *epl-* ‘have’. This prefix itself becomes *ep-* before the nominalizer *s-*, and the entire sequence *qs-epl-s* becomes *qeps-*.

The deletion of /s/ from *qs-* before the prefixes *es-*, *el-* and *epl-* parallels the deletion of /h/ from *ql-* shown in section 3.2. Though they cannot be shown to form a natural class, all four prefixes, *s-*, *es-*, *el-* and *epl-*, occur between the irrealis prefix and the locatives prefixes. Because of this, these prefixes will be termed the ‘pre-locative’ prefixes. This allows for a simple rule governing the surface form of the irrealis allomorphs before these prefixes, as shown in 11:

- (11) When followed by a pre-locative prefix, the irrealis allomorphs *qs-* and *ql-* both become *q-*.

So, all the forms of the irrealis prefix are morphologically conditioned.



However, the condition that predicts the *q-* instead of *qs-/ql-* is different than the condition that predicts *qs-* vs. *ql-*. In the latter case, it is whether the prefix attaches to a nominal or a verb; in the former case, it is the presence or absence of a pre-locative prefix.

### 3.4 Summary of irrealis prefix allomorphy

The irrealis prefix attaches to a word, following any possessive prefixes. The prefix has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, *qs-* and *ql-*. The allomorph *qs-* attaches to verb words and the allomorph *ql-* attaches to nominal words. This relationship is represented schematically in 12, below:

(12) Allomorphy of the irrealis prefix:

$$\begin{array}{l} qs-[\dots]_{\text{verb}} \\ ql-[\dots]_{\text{nominal}} \end{array}$$

Here, ‘...’ represents any material after the irrealis prefix in the word it attaches to. This material must be taken as a whole: that is, it is not any individual morpheme within the word which predicts the choice of irrealis allomorph, but the type of word as a whole (represented as a subscript in the above example).

As was shown in section 3.3, this conditioning is not sufficient to predict every surface realization in actual irrealis forms. In some cases, the fricatives of the irrealis allomorphs may be deleted, obscuring the underlying distribution. This occurs when the irrealis prefix is followed by a pre-locative prefix. This group of prefixes is made up by the prefix *el-* ‘back; again’, the prefix *epl-* ‘have; exist’, the aspectual prefix *es-* and the nominalizer prefix *s-*. Taking this into account, the distribution can be represented as shown in 13:

(13) a. Allomorphy of the irrealis before a word without a pre-locative prefix:

$$\begin{array}{l} qs-[\emptyset-\dots]_{\text{verb}} \\ ql-[\emptyset-\dots]_{\text{nominal}} \end{array}$$

b. Allomorphy of the irrealis before a word with a pre-locative prefix:

$$\begin{array}{l} ql-[\text{pre-LOC}-\dots]_{\text{nominal}} \rightarrow q-[\text{pre-LOC}-\dots]_{\text{nominal}} \\ qs-[\text{pre-LOC}-\dots]_{\text{verb}} \rightarrow q-[\text{pre-LOC}-\dots]_{\text{verb}} \end{array}$$

The expanded schema in 13 differentiates between words that contain a pre-locative prefix and those that do not. Again, it is not any individual morpheme within the word which predicts the choice of *qs-* or *ql-*, but the type of word as a whole. When there is no pre-locative prefix, the underlying forms of the irrealis allomorphs is apparent, as in 13a. However, when there is a pre-locative prefix, both allomorphs surface as *q-*, as shown in 13b.

## 4 Apparent continuative morphology in irrealis verbs

Non-irrealis verb forms in Montana Salish make a distinction between

non-continuative and continuative forms. The formation of the continuative differs for intransitive and transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs take the aspectual prefix *es-* and the intransitive continuative suffix *-mí/i*. Person marking does not differ in continuative intransitive verb forms: in both non-continuative and continuative forms, the subject is marked by a particle placed before the verb form.

For transitive verbs, there is a significant difference between non-continuative and continuative forms. Non-continuative transitive verbs appear with a transitive suffix and mark both subject and object through a set of transitive person suffixes. In transitive continuative verbs, the transitive continuative suffix *-(e)m* is added directly to a verb root, along with the aspectual prefix *es-*. Because there is no transitive suffix, the suffixes that normally mark the person of the transitive agent cannot be added to the verb. Instead, transitive subjects are marked by the possessive affixes: 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person by the possessive prefixes *in-* and *an-*, respectively, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person by the possessive suffix *-s*. A 3<sup>rd</sup> person object is left unmarked, while 2<sup>nd</sup> person objects are marked with the intransitive subject particles *k<sup>w</sup>* 2SG.INTR.SBJ or *p* 2PL.INTR.SBJ. 1<sup>st</sup> person singular object is marked by the normal object particle *k<sup>w</sup>u*, while 1<sup>st</sup> person plural patient is marked with the particle *qe(?)* (Thomason & Everett 1993).

As mentioned briefly in section 3.2, there are some irrealis forms which appear very similar in form to non-irrealis continuatives. Consider the following two forms, one intransitive and one transitive, in ex. 14:

- (14) a. *či*                      *qsnmúli*.  
           *čn*                        *qs-n-múl-i*  
           1SG.INTR.SBJ      IRR-in-dip-INTR.CONT  
           ‘I’ll get some water.’
- b. *k<sup>w</sup>*                      *iqscu?úm*.  
           *k<sup>w</sup>*                        *in-qs-cu?ú-m*  
           2SG.INTR.SBJ      1SG.POSS-IRR-hit-TR.CONT  
           ‘I’m going to hit you.’

In ex. 14a, the intransitive irrealis verb form *qsnmúli* has the intransitive continuative suffix *-i* and marks subject by the preposed subject particle *čn*. The only difference between this form and an intransitive continuative is the switching of the irrealis prefix *qs-* for the aspectual prefix *es-*. The case is similar for the transitive irrealis verb is shown in ex. 14b. Here, the form looks almost exactly like a transitive continuative: the transitive continuative suffix *-m* is present instead of a transitive suffix, the subject is marked by the possessive prefix *in-* and the object is marked by the subject particle *k<sup>w</sup>*. Like in ex. 14a, the only difference between this and a continuative form is the presence of *qs-* instead of *es-*.

Such forms present a challenge in that they do not seem to be semantically continuative even though they have continuative morphology.

While regular continuatives indicate duration of the event or state in question, there is generally no such indication of duration in irrealis ‘continuative’ forms. When there is an apparent indication of duration, such as in ex. 6b, *k<sup>w</sup> qstex<sup>w</sup>lsi* ‘you’re going to rest’, this seems to come from the verb root itself, and not the continuative marking on the irrealis form.

There are also a great many irrealis verbs that do not have continuative marking. These verbs look just like any other non-continuative verb. Intransitives mark the subject with intransitive subject particles, while transitives have the transitive suffix and transitive person suffixes. A pair of such forms is found in ex. 15:

- (15) a. ta           k<sup>w</sup>                           qSX<sup>w</sup>úy.  
           ta           k<sup>w</sup>                           qS-x<sup>w</sup>úy  
           NEG    2SG.INTR.SBJ   IRR-go  
           ‘You’re not going to go.’
- b. ta           qsk<sup>w</sup>úpncn.  
           ta           qS-k<sup>w</sup>úp-nt-si-n  
           NEG    IRR-push-TR.CONT-2SG.OBJ-1SG.TR.SBJ  
           ‘I’m not gonna push you.’

Because there is no readily apparent aspectual difference between verbs like those in ex. 14 and those in ex. 15, this calls into question the actual function of the so called ‘continuative’ suffixes. If these suffixes do not mark aspect in all the forms in which they occur, it seems inappropriate to refer to them with an aspectual label. Since the exact nature and function of the suffixes is not understood, I continue to gloss them as continuative suffixes in examples. For the rest of this paper, I will refer to irrealis verbs *without* continuative suffixes as ‘unmarked’ irrealis verbs and irrealis verbs *with* continuative suffixes as ‘marked’ irrealis verbs.

The contrast between unmarked and marked irrealis verbs corresponds to what Kroeber (1999) refers to as “Irrealis-I” and “Irrealis-II” in Southern Interior Salishan, respectively. Though he does not devote much discussion to the differences in use or meaning between the two different paradigms, Kroeber does note that “irrealis-II is fairly common as a sort of modally tinged future, perhaps a volitional future.” (1999:225).

I have not found good evidence for this type of use of marked irrealis verbs in Montana Salish. The most obvious difference between unmarked and marked irrealis verbs involves negated irrealis verbs. Almost all examples of negated irrealis verbs belong to the unmarked paradigm. When non-negated, the marked paradigm is more common. However, there are examples of unmarked irrealis verb forms in non-negated main predicates. Hopefully, with a more detailed analysis of text data, a more detailed account of the differences between the unmarked and marked irrealis paradigms will emerge. For the time being, however, those differences are not very well understood.

## 5 Meaning and function of the irrealis

The range of meanings covered by the Montana Salish irrealis is generally modal in character, referring to something that is hypothetical or as having not yet occurred. Nominals marked with the irrealis prefix *qł-* are generally interpreted as hypothetical or future. Consider the meanings of following irrealis marked nominals in ex. 16:

- (16) a.  $aqłnóχ^w nχ^w$   
 $an-qł-nóχ^w nχ^w$   
 2SG.POSS-IRR-wife  
 ‘Your wife-to-be.’
- b.  $qłcítx^w s.$   
 $qł-cítx^w -s$   
 IRR-house-3POSS  
 ‘It’s going to be his house.’
- c.  $čn$                        $esnté$        $či$                        $qłilmíx^w m.$   
 $čn$                        $esnté$        $či$                        $qł-ilmíx^w m$   
 1SG.INTR.SBJ      want      1SG.INTR.SBJ      IRR-chief  
 ‘I want to be chief.’
- d.  $qwo$        $x^w íc’št$                        $t$                        $qłčtx^w cín.tn.$   
 $qwo$        $x^w íc’-ši-t$                        $t$                        $qł-č-tux^w =cín=tn$   
 IOBJ      give-REL-TR                      OBL                      IRR-onadd=mouth=INSTR  
 ‘Give me something to add.’
- e.  $k^w$                        $iqsλ’ešítm$   
 $k^w$                        $in-qs-λ’e-ší-t-m$   
 1SG.INTR.SBJ      1SG.POSS-IRR-look.for-REL-TR-TR.CONT  
 $t$        $aqłmalyé.$   
 $t$        $an-qł-malyé$   
 OBL 2SG.POSS-IRR-medicine  
 ‘I’m going to look for medicine for you.’

Examples 16a and 16b show nominals marked with irrealis having future interpretations. So, in 16a, the person referred to by  $nóχ^w nχ^w$  ‘wife’ has not been married yet, but will be. In 16b, the house referred to by  $cítx^w$  is not yet possessed, but will be. In exx. 16c-e, irrealis nominals are interpreted as hypothetical. Thus, in 16e,  $aqłmalyé$  ‘your medicine’ is marked as irrealis to indicate that it is the goal of searching.

Irrealis verbs acting as the main predicate of a clause are most often translated into English in the future tense, as in ex. 17:

- (17) a. čí                      qsq<sup>w</sup>óm'i.  
           čí                      qs-q<sup>w</sup>óm'-i  
           1 SG.INTR.SBJ      IRR-take.several-INTR.CONT  
           'I'll take more than one.'
- b. iqsčšlčmínm.  
    in-qs-č-šlič-mín-m  
    1 SG.POSS-IRR-to-turn.around=instr-TR.CONT  
    'I'm going (to go) around it.'
- c. qe              qełcʔím'ši.  
    qe              qs-eł-c-ʔím'š-i  
    1 PL            IRR-back-here-move.camp-INTR.CONT  
    'We'll move back here.'
- d. k<sup>w</sup>                      qstc'ím.  
    k<sup>w</sup>                      qs-łc'i-m.  
    2 SG.INTR.SBJ      IRR-whip-ANTIP  
    'You're gonna get whipped'

In some cases, such an irrealis verb may indicate desire, as in ex. 18:

- (18) a. i              čí                      qščln'á  
           i              čn                      qs-čł-n'áqs  
           STAT    1 SG.INTR.SBJ      IRR-on-one  
           'I want to be alone.'
- b. čí                      qsk<sup>w</sup>túnti  
    čn                      qs-k<sup>w</sup>tún-t-i  
    1 SG.INTR.SBJ      IRR-big-STAT-INTR.CONT  
    'I want to be big.'

This meaning seems to be most common with stative verbal predicates.

Irrealis verbs are often found after the negative particle *ta*. When negated, they can function as negative commands (ex. 19a), as simple negative futures (ex. 19b), or as indicating inability (ex. 19c). Irrealis verbs may also be found after the interrogative particle *ha* (as in ex. 20), though this not obligatory.

- (19) a. ta              qstnt'éq<sup>w</sup>ntx<sup>w</sup>!  
           ta              qs-n-t'eq<sup>w</sup>-nt-x<sup>w</sup>  
           NEG      IRR-in-muddy-TR-2 SG.TR.SBJ  
           'Don't muddy the water!'

b. ta            čí                    qsč'úw.  
      ta            čn                    qs-č'úw  
      NEG        1SG.INTR.SBJ    IRR-be.gone  
      'I won't be gone.'

c. ta            qsíw'.  
      ta            qs-íw'  
      NEG        IRR-move  
      'He can't move.'

(20) ha            k<sup>w</sup>                    qsxyílší  
      ha            k<sup>w</sup>                    qs-xy-ílš-i  
      Q            2SG.INTR.SBJ    IRR-raid=motion-INTR.CONT  
      'Are you going on a raid?'

The difference between interrogative and negative clauses with and without irrealis is not understood at this time.

Another major function of irrealis verbs is to appear as the hypothetical compliment of other verbs, as in ex. 21:

(21)a. čn                    esnté            čí                    qsk'<sup>w</sup>úl'm.  
      čn                    esnté            čn                    qs-k'<sup>w</sup>úl'-m  
      1SG.INTR.SBJ    want    1SG.INTR.SBJ    IRR-do-ANTIP  
      'I want to do something.'

b. yoʔnúnt                    k<sup>w</sup>                    qsnč'álí!  
      yoʔ-nú-nt                k<sup>w</sup>                    qs-n-č'álí  
      know-SUCCESS-TR    2SG.INTR.SBJ    IRR-in-swim  
      'Learn how to swim!'

c. k<sup>w</sup>                    nté            čí                    qsx<sup>w</sup>úy.  
      k<sup>w</sup>                    nté            čn                    qs-x<sup>w</sup>úy  
      2SG.INTR.SBJ    think    1SG.INTR.SBJ    IRR-go  
      'You thought I was going.'

d. čn                    c'χ<sup>w</sup>óm            čí                    qsx<sup>w</sup>u  
      čn                    c'óχ<sup>w</sup>-m        čí                    qs-x<sup>w</sup>úy  
      1SG.INTR.SBJ    lecture-ANTIP    1SG.INTR.SBJ    IRR-go  
      č' nʔay.  
      č' nʔay  
      to Missoula  
      'I made plans to go to Missoula.'

All the irrealis verb forms are compliments of the main verb in the sentence, but indicate events or actions that are only hypothetically in nature. Thus, in 20b, the knowledge of how to swim is not real. In 20d, the plans to go to Missoula are

only hypothetical, that is, there is no definite time indicated for when the trip will actually take place.

As can be seen from the above examples of irrealis verbs in exx. 17-21, there does not seem to be any difference in meaning between the unmarked and marked irrealis verbal paradigms. Both paradigms are used as independent predicates and after other verbs.

## 6 Similar prefixes in other Southern Interior languages

There are two other Southern Interior Salishan languages, Kalispel and Okanagan, which have prefixes directly cognate with Montana Salish *qs-/ql-* (Kinkade 2001). In both languages, the prefixes have very similar, if not nearly identical, distributional patterns and functional properties to the prefix in Montana Salish.

Mattina (1996:239) discusses two prefixes, *kl-* and *ks-*, present in Okanagan. The first prefix attaches to nominals, and is translated by Mattina as “to-be”, or as a future tense when the prefix is attached to a predicate nominal. He notes that the *l* of the prefix *kl-* is lost before *s-*. The second prefix attaches to verbs and indicates future. Mattina stresses that the prefix *ks-* “has to be kept separate from the *kl-* ‘likely-to-be’ morpheme,” as, although the morphemes are in complimentary distribution, “their functions and morpho-syntax are different.” (1996:240).

In his grammar of Kalispel, Hans Vogt states that “nouns have a subjunctive, formed by the prefix *ql-* or *q-* before *s-*.” (1940:27). He also discusses subjunctive forms of the verb, which are formed with the prefixes *qs-* or *qe-*. Vogt analyzes *qs-* as the subjunctive prefix *ql-* “always combined with *s-*” (1940:41). The prefix *qe-* occurs before *el-* and *es-* and therefore corresponds to Montana Salish *q-* in forms such as *q-es-* or *q-el-*. As described by Vogt, the functions of the Kalispel subjunctive are very similar to the use of the irrealis in Montana Salish. When used independently, it expresses a “subjective future”, indicating that the action is dependent on factors such as “desire” or “intention.” It is also following another verb, expressing intention (1940:77-78).

While neither Vogt nor Mattina analyzes these cognate prefixes as belonging to the same morpheme, the arguments put forward for Montana Salish in this paper could be as well extended to either Okanagan or Kalispel. In both languages, the prefixes are in complimentary distribution and express similar meanings. Vogt does not explicitly confront the question of whether the two prefixes belong to the same morpheme or not. Mattina cites the different morpho-syntactic properties of the two Okanagan prefixes as his main reason for keeping the prefixes separate, but these differences do not seem to arise from the prefixes themselves. Instead they arise from the type of word to which they are attached. For example, the clearest difference that Mattina notes, the difference in personal inflection in nominal predicates with the *kl-* prefix and verbal predicates with the *ks-* prefix, does not originate in the difference in prefix, but the difference in predicate type: nominal predicates simply take different person inflection than do verbal predicates. This strengthens the case for grouping the

prefixes together (1996:239-240).

## 7 Conclusions

This paper has shown that the irrealis prefix in Montana Salish has two allomorphs, *qs-* and *qt-*, and that these allomorphs are morphologically conditioned by the type of word to which the prefix attaches. The allomorph *qs-* attaches to verbs, while the allomorph *qt-* attaches to nominals. When the irrealis prefix appears before the pre-locative prefixes *s-* NOM, *es-* ASP, *ept-* 'have' or *et-* 'back/again', both allomorphs appear as simply *q-*. This difference in distribution between nominal and verbal prefixes is present in cognate prefixes in Kalispel and Okanagan, as well.

It has also been shown that there are two verbal irrealis paradigms, called here 'unmarked' and 'marked'. The marked irrealis paradigm appears almost identical to the continuative paradigm found in verbs, while the unmarked irrealis verb forms looks like non-continuative verbs. The differences between the two paradigms is not well understood, and deserves further investigation.

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