INTERIOR SALISHAN PARTICLES

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0. Particles are usually defined as words which may not be inflected and, in Salishan languages, may not be predicative. For the most part, they tend to be difficult to define, and harder to classify, yet they are essential to fluent and colloquial use of a language.[1] Nor is it even easy to distinguish between affix, clitic, particle, and predicate. Particles have been variously treated (defined, classified) by people writing on Interior Salishan languages, and at first do not appear to be particularly comparable. But in spite of different treatments, a certain amount of comparison is possible, both semantically and functionally, and it is my hope that what follows will be useful in further understanding the role of particles in Salishan, and may be an aid in search for and identification of additional particles. I exclude here any consideration of pronominal and deictic particles; these constitute self-contained sets that require individual treatment.

No one has pretended to list and explain all the particles in any Interior Salishan language, but all seven sources identify over 40: 50 in Th, 45 in NSh, 52 in SSh, 50 in Cv, 73 in Sp/Ka, 71 in Cr, and 74 in Cm. Different classification schemes are used:

some use traditional terminology, such as 'prepositions', 'conjunctions', 'interrogatives', 'adverbs', or 'interjections' (Kuipers, Reichard, Vogt); the Thompson school speaks of 'predicative particles', 'complement particles', 'adjunct particles', and 'clause particles', and specifies whether they are prepositive or postpositive (Thompson, Carlson, Gibson, Mattina). But the particles which occur in these categories are not necessarily cognate or semantically the same. I will not be directly concerned with these classification schemes, but will use my own vague semantic scheme (which will say nothing about the position particles take in sentences). The distinction of whether particles are preposed or postposed is not particularly useful for comparison, because nearly all particles here considered are preposed; but there is a small group of particles in Th and Sh which are postposed, and these tend to be the same (i.e., cognate) particles (cf. section 11). Differences in position should be considered together with the location of pronominal and deictic particles for an understanding of historical movements of particles in general.

I will discuss particles according to the following categories (which are obviously based on English function and semantics, not Salishan): prepositions, conjunctions, temporals (vaguely), modals, assertives, aspectoidals, adverbials, interrogatives, and miscellaneous. A few items will be considered which are most likely predicative (e.g., some of the interrogatives and some of the aspectoidals), at least in some of the languages, but which have been

classed as particles by one or another author; a thorough search for cognates for such forms was not undertaken, except in Cm and NSh. For each category, a table of semantically similar forms will be given (with a rough English gloss for each item), then glosses of all these forms as given in the sources. Then cognates will be noted, and reconstructions of cognate sets offered (even if based on only two languages); glosses are not automatically suggested for reconstructions, but are assumed to be something like the key word given for each numbered item on the tables. Finally, additional, semantically unrelatable forms in each category are listed; this will provide a complete catalogue of particles cited in the available sources.

1. Prepositions. Four prepositional concepts seem to be semantically comparable, although more bases than that can be identified. The meanings of these forms do not match English prepositions well, but the notions of 'toward the referent', 'away from the referent', and 'location at' seem to be general.

	Th	NSh	SSh	Ok	Ka	Cr	Cm
1. to	//wə//	tk-(t-)n-	//tktn//	ʾkl, ʾk	ʾč-	teč	ʾkl
2. from		tl-		tl	təʾl-	teʾl	tʾl
3. from	//təw//		t	t	t-		tu
4. at	//nə//	n-	n	l	l-		l

Table 1. Prepositions

Glosses for these particles as given in the sources are 1. Th //wə// 'to, toward', NSh tk-n-, tk-t-n- 'by way of, in the direction of', SSh //tktn// tkn 'toward (not having arrived at destination', Ok ʔkl 'motion to/into', Ok ʔk 'motion or direction towards', Ka ʔč- 'to, in', Cr teč 'to, toward', Cm ʔkl 'to, into'; 2. NSh tl- 'from', Ok tl 'ablative, motion from, causal, comparative', Ka təʔl- 'from', Cr teʔl 'from, comparative degree, about, on account of', Cm tʔl 'from, off, than'; 3. Th //təw// 'from', SSh t 'from', Ok t 'point of departure, source of action, point of view', Ka t- 'point of reference, by', Cm tu 'from'; 4. Th //nə// 'at, to, in(to), on(to), with', NSh n- 'on(to), in(to)', SSh n 'in, on, at', Ok l 'location, point of time or place at which, point of reference in time or place', Ka l- 'at, in', Cm l 'in'. Further segmentation may be possible for some of these forms: the t of 3 is surely related to the t of 2, and the l's in 1, 2, and 4 may be the same. But several forms are reconstructible, at least for limited groups of languages: *ʔkəl (Ok, Ka, Cm), *tək- (Sh, Cr), *təʔl (Sh, Ok, Ka, Cr, Cm), *təw/tu (Th, Sh, Ok, Ka, Cm), *n(ə) (Th, Sh), and *l (Ok, Ka, Cm). These last two could also be related to each other. Only Th //wə// corresponds to nothing else in an obvious way.

Besides these four sets, additional prepositional concepts occur isolated in the various languages: Th //təw̓// 'from' (derived from //təw//); NSh ʔƛ-, ʔƛk-, ʔƛl- 'at, by, to, as'; SSh ʔƛ 'to, at, about, around (having arrived at destination), with, by means of, in connection with'; Ka x̣ʷəʔl 'for, during'; Cr penеʔ 'as far as',

twe 'be with, at, alongside in the sense of accompaniment' (to 3 above?), meɬ 'on, near, touching, in addition to'; Cm kɬ 'for' (?), taɬ 'for', ʔáɬm 'instead'.

2. Conjunctions. There are eight sets of conjunctions, with the same limitations as for prepositions.

	Th	NSh	SSh	Ok	Ka	Cr	Cm
5. and	//ʔeɬ//	ʔeɬ	ʔeɬ	ʔuɬ/ʔúɬi?	u	hɪɬ, ɬ	kʷaʔ, n
6. with/and		mʌ̓-/mt-, mʌ̓uɬ	//meʌ̓//	laʔɬ			kaɬ
7. and (then)					kʷent, kʷémt	kʷum̓	kʷam̓
8. because			ʔiye	ʔaɬiʔ	néɬiʔ	ʔeýníɬ	ʔaɬi
9. if	//ʔè//	ʔe	ʔe	ɬ	ne	neʔ	naʔ
10. when				ɬaʔ			ɬuʔ
11. so that	//ʌ̓uʔ//						tuʔ, túwaʔ
12. until		wl	wúl		we		

Table 2. Conjunctions

Glosses are given as follows: 5. Th //ʔeɬ// 'and, but', NSh ʔeɬ 'and', SSh ʔeɬ 'additive, also, in addition, and, while, and then, before', Ok ʔuɬ/ʔúɬiʔ 'additive, and, so', Ka u 'and', Cr hɪɬ, ɬ 'and, yet, but, general connective', Cm kʷaʔ 'and', Cm n 'and'; 6. NSh mʌ̓-/mt-, mʌ̓uɬ '(together) with', SSh //meʌ̓// məʌ̓ 'be combined, associated, mixed, with, and', Ok laʔɬ 'comitative, with', Cm kaɬ 'and, with'; 7. Sp kʷent 'then', Ka kʷémt 'and, and then', Cr kʷum̓ 'and', Cm kʷam̓ 'and, (where)'; 8. SSh ʔiye 'because', Ok

ʔaɬiʔ 'causal, because', Ka nēɬiʔ 'because, therefore', Cr ʔeʸnīɬ 'because', Cm ʔaɬi 'because'; 9. Th //ʔè// 'advance notice, future, if, perhaps', NSh ʔe 'if, when', SSh ʔe 'conditional, might, if', Ok ɬ 'sequential, if, that', Ka ne 'conditional, dependent, if, then', Cr neʔ 'doubt, uncertainty, prediction, imperative', Cm naʔ 'future, inceptive, intend, if, then'; 10. Ok ɬaʔ 'temporal sequence, when, after', Cm ɬuʔ 'when, as'; 11. Th //ʔλuʔ// 'until, so (that)', Cm ʔtuʔ 'only, but', Cm ʔtūʔwaʔ 'so that'; 12. NSh wl 'until', SSh wūl 'in spite of, even, until, and then', Ka we 'in spite of, slight contrast'.

There are obvious cognates among these sets, but reconstructions are problematical. For 5, *ʔaɬ is suggested by Th and Sh, but the variable laryngeal in Cr may reflect *aɬ instead, with laryngeal initials excrescent in all three languages. The u of the Ok forms suggests that they are not cognate with *aɬ (although contamination or contraction may be involved), but must be related to Ka u; a further connection with the expanded NSh form in 6, mʔλuɬ, seems likely. The final -iʔ of the alternate Ok form is identified by Mattina as an infrequent suffix attached to this and a few other particles to indicate past time; this will be dealt with in section 3 below, and will assist in the analysis and reconstruction of item 8 'because'. The Cm forms in 5 are isolated, as are the forms in all three languages in 6. 7 is reconstructible as *kʷaʔm, with a -t suffix in Ka-Sp, assimilation of the nasal to this -t in Sp, and a reduced vowel (becoming u between labials)

in Cr. 8 is a puzzler, and the SSh form may not be related. Assuming known historical sound changes and morphophonemic changes in these languages (i.e., *a to Cr i, Ka e--but the retention here of a in Ok is problematical--and *ə to Cr e; y to i and ŷ to i? are automatic in all these languages between consonants or between the beginning or end of a word and another consonant), the following intermediate forms can be reconstructed: Pre-Ok *?aɬŷ, Pre-Ka *nā́ɬŷ, Pre-Cr *?əŷnā́ɬ, Pre-Cm *?aɬy. The complementarity of the position of y/ŷ is obvious, and suggests that it is (part of) a separate morpheme compounded in different orders with a base PIS *nā́ɬ. I would relate this y/ŷ with item 13 'past', below, with appropriate reductions of the vowel: a vowel (reduced to ə) is retained in pretonic position, but deleted in posttonic position, both usual processes in IS. The glottalization is somewhat problematical, but may be excrescent, since in Cm, the only language where this particle is used as such, its glottalization is determined by phrasal margins (see below). The base *nā́ɬ may be further related to *aɬ 'and' (or could even be a further compound), and would corroborate the reconstruction of the latter without an initial ?. SSh ?iye is not clearly related, but it seems likely that it is: the initial ?iy- may be the same as Cr ?eŷ-, with i automatic before y from either ə or Ø; -e may represent the vowel of *nā́ɬ, with both consonants lost--e frequently derives from n in Sh, but in this position it should be retained, or develop to i after y, if *-ā́ɬ had fallen away. The semantic make-up of this

reconstruction of 'because' also seems reasonable, since the use of 'because' (in any language) requires that one clause refer to a time prior to the other. Two forms are reconstructible in 9: *ʔa for Th and Sh, and *naʔ for Ka, Cr, and Cm. These two may be related, but just how to connect them is not clear. The ɬ in Ok is likely connected with ɬaʔ in 10, and these in turn with Cm ɬuʔ in 10, but it is unclear how to account for the vocalic differences. 11 is reconstructible as *t̓uʔ. I cannot explain the expanded Cm form, which is semantically more like the Th form; it may be merely a reduplication of the ʔ, with a automatic as the unstressed vowel before it (if this is the case, the underlying Cm form would be *t̓úʔ-ʔ). In 12, the Sh and Ka forms are surely related, but not reconstructible without further evidence.

A number of other conjunction-like elements occur isolated in the various languages. These frequently have adverbial qualities, and might better be included in that category; likewise some particles classified as adverbials might have been included here. These additional conjunctions are: Th //weɬ̓// 'that's why', //ʔìɬ// 'before, (and) then'; NSh pe 'and, but', ɬ̓iwl 'however, but, on the other hand' (Kuipers classes this as an adverb); Ok kn̓ 'alternative, or', mɬ/məɬi 'additive, then next' (-i 'past'), kiʔ 'relative; (it was there) that . . .', nàx̣mɬ 'contrastive, but, however', x̣l 'causal, the reason(s) for a certain state/action/feeling'; Ka hóy 'finally, then' (there is also a hoy in the Cr grammar, but I do not find a gloss for it; cognates for this form

do occur elsewhere, but were not cited in the sources), šé 'then', šé? 'then, look!', x̣ʷəl̓ 'because, so that', kʷɬú? 'hypothetical, contrary to fact', kʷuné u 'what would happen if the hypothesis proved true', ném 'future' (this form is from Vogt, who suggests that it is a combination of ne 'conditional' [cf. 9 above] and m 'future' [cf. 14 below]); Cr cut 'although', tgʷel̓ 'that is the reason', ɬoqʷ 'and, also'; Cm kʷl 'and when', ?i 'and so', k̓ʷtas 'in order to', wana? 'even if', ya 'or'.

3. Temporals. Only three sets occur in this category. Although future and unrealized are probably properly aspectoidal concepts, they are both included here because of a tendency to consider 'future' temporal.

	Th	NSh	SSh	Ok	Ka	Cr	Cm
13. past	//ɬə//	m		-i?			?ay̓
14. future	//meɬ//	me(?), m	me?	mi	m,ném	k̓ʷne?	na?(sú?)
15. unrealized	//kə//			kɬ-	qɬ-	čeɬ	kaɬ-

Table 3. Temporals

Glosses are given as follows: 13. Th //ɬə// 'established in past', NSh m 'past', Ok -i? 'past', Cm ?ay̓ 'past'; 14. Th //meɬ// 'imminent', NSh me(?), m 'intention, expectation', SSh me? 'intention, will', Ok mi 'future', Ka m, ném 'future', Cr k̓ʷne? 'future', Cm na? 'future, inceptive, intend, if, then' (cf. 9 above), Cm na?sú?, nasu 'future, when'; 15. Th //kə// 'unrealized', Ok kɬ- 'unreal', Ka qɬ- 'unreal', Cr

čeɬ 'immediate or continuing future', Cm kaɬ- 'unrealized'.

In 13, Ok -i? and Cm ?aẏ are clearly cognate, but a reconstruction is not as straightforward as it looks. I suggest *ay or *aẏ. I consider the initial ? in Cm as excrescent, and the final glottalization has some tendency to be so too; in Cm, an initial ? occurs only when the particle is phrase-initial, and final glottalization tends to occur only when it is phrase-final (this particle does not occupy a fixed position in Cm, but may either precede or follow the predicate head). Further corroboration of this reconstruction is provided by the reconstruction offered above for 'because' (item 8); the lack of ? before the y or ẏ in Cm, Ka, and Cv supports the reconstruction of 'past' given above. A reconstruction *ma is suggested for 'future' from Th, Sh, Ok, and Ka; the final -ɬ in Th is unexplained. The né- of Ka ném and Cm na? are from set 9 'if', above, but the final -sú? in Cm na?sú? is unexplained. Cr k̓ʷne? is isolated. 'Unrealized' is reconstructible as *kəɬ-, although the Cm vowel reflex and the q in Ka are unexplained; most sources treat this element as a prefix.

The only additional forms in this category are two Cr expansions of 'unrealized': čeɬšɪɬ 'past future' and ?učeɬ 'just as, preparatory to'. šɪɬ is probably identical with šɪɬ 'be fitting, exacting, sharp (as prompt)', treated in part 7; ?u- is 'just, emphasis'.

4. Modals. There are five sets of forms which can be linked semantically, but among these there are only four pairs of cognates.

	Th	NSh	SSh	Ok	Ka	Cr	Cm
16. maybe		heqn	cəx̌éke	mt			məṯ, max^{w}
17. might						x̣iɬ	sl̓ə́pas
18. perhaps	we				k^{w}untá		k^{w}ʔn
19. should	ske, se?	-s-ke,-c-ke		cak^{w}		če?	sa(?)k
20. can't	//tem//		tm				

Table 4. Modals

Glosses are given as follows: 16. NSh heqn 'maybe', SSh cəx̌éke 'be a possible event, maybe', Ok mt 'conjectural', Cm məṯ 'maybe, could be, wonder if', Cm max^{w} 'maybe, might be'; 17. Cr x̣iɬ 'might, ordinary possibility; used in sense of possibility of any kind', Cm sl̓ə́pas 'might'; 18. Th we 'dubitative, perhaps, in vain', Ka k^{w}untá 'perhaps (?)', Cm k^{w}ʔn 'I guess'; 19. Th ske 'presumptive, ought, should', NSh -s-ke, -c-ke 'conditional', Ok cak^{w} 'conditional, should, would, wish, if . . . then', Cr če? 'ought, sense of obligation', Cm sak, sá?k 'can, will, should'; 20. Th //tem// 'lack', SSh tm 'not to be able to'.

The Sh forms of 16 are not obviously cognate, unless one or the other has been transcribed erroneously: heqn and -x̌éke look suspiciously similar. Cm max^{w} is isolated, but *mt can be reconstructed for forms in Ok and Cm. 17 allows of no reconstructions. In 18, *k^{w}n can be reconstructed from Ka and Cm, leaving an unidentified -tá in Ka, and an isolated we in Th. 19 suggests PIS *s-ka(?), from Th, Sh, Cr, and Cm, with metathesis in Cm; Ok cak^{w} is not

obviously related to these. 20 can be reconstructed as *tem for Th and Sh.

There are only a few additional modal-like particles: Ok cm̓ 'probable', ńiń̓əẃi? 'contingency, if and when, may, probably'; Ka x̣ʷa 'possibly, indetermination'; Cr x̣eli?, x̣ele? 'might, in sense of threatening, "it might but you don't want it to", or evidential "there is evidence that . . ."; used in sense of expecting something unfavorable' (these forms are likely derived from x̣iɬ, given in 17 above), ne? ci? 'condition of doubt'; Cm ?ám̓n̓ 'couldn't'.

5. Assertives. This is a rather mixed group of particles indicating attitude toward a statement: agreement, disagreement, or indication that it is not first-hand information. Seven sets of forms occur.

	Th	NSh	SSh	Ok	Ka	Cr	Cm
21. negative	//té?//	tá?a	te?	lút	ta(m)	lu(t)	lút
22. yes	?í	mé?e	mé?e	wáy̓	?á, ?é·		?á·
23. indeed	wi?						t̓íl̓
24. evidential	nukʷ ?	nukʷ(ɬ)	nukʷ	t̓i	k̓ʷ	t̓i?	? t̓í?
25. evidential	//nkè//	-nke	nkə	t̓xʷ			
26. quotative	//ekʷù//		ukʷ				
27. descriptive	//tə̀k//	təkə(mé?)					

Table 5. Assertives

Glosses are given as follows: 21. Th //tɛ̄?// 'there is not', NSh tā?a 'no', SSh te? 'negative', Ok lūt 'it is not', Ka ta, tam 'not', Cr lut, lu 'negative', Cm lūt 'negative'; 22. Th ?ī 'yes', NSh mɛ̄?e 'yes', SSh mɛ̄?e 'affirmative, indeed, really', Ok wā̓y 'assertive, yes, sure, well', Ka ?ā 'yes, hallo', Ka ?ɛ̄· 'yes', Cm ?ā· 'yes'; 23. Th wi? 'indeed', Cm t̓ī̓l̓ 'indeed, yes, already'; 24. Th nuk^{w} 'observational', SSh nuk^{w} 'evidential, it appears', Ok t̓i 'evidential, as it appears, as one can see', Ka k̓^{w} 'evidently', Cr t̓i? 'already, surely, absolutely, quite' (glosses are not provided for the NSh and Cm forms in 24, but their cognacy seems certain); 25. Th //nkɛ̀// 'conjectural', NSh -nke 'evidential, must be, is apparently', SSh nkə 'speculative, must have', Ok t̓x^{w} 'evidential, apparently'; 26. Th //ek^{w}ù// 'heresay', SSh uk^{w} 'reported but not observed, it is said'; 27. Th //tə̀k// 'descriptive', NSh təkə, təkəmɛ̄? 'you see, and so, that is to say'.

Several reconstructions are possible among the assertives. For the negative, there are *tā?, based on Th, Sh, and Ka, and *lūt, based on Ok, Cr, and Cm. Only two languages provide a basis for reconstructing an affirmative: *?ā, from Ka and Cm; the forms in the other three languages are isolated. Neither form in 23 is reconstructible, although Cm t̓ī̓l̓ may be related somehow to *t̓i(?) (based on Ok, Cr, and Cm) in 24. Also in 24, Th and Sh suggest *nuk^{w}. Ka k̓^{w} is isolated. The Th and Sh forms in 25 suggest *nke, but Ok t̓x^{w} is not connected. 26 can be reconstructed as *ak^{w}u, with either metathesis or contamination of the a by the following

u in Sh. 27 is reconstructible as *tək, with an unidentified suffix -mé? in Sh; the second ə in Sh is probably epenthetic.

There are only five additional, isolated assertives: Ka k̓ʷu and pəǹ 'opposition, contrary to preceding statement', ?unéxʷ 'affirmation' (a predicate, cognate with NSh wnexʷ-m 'really, Cr gʷunixʷ 'be true', Cm wənáxʷ 'right, correct, true, real'); Cr waxə̓m 'I told you so', x̣ʷumút 'of course'.

6. Aspectoidals. Salishan languages contain a large number of particles with aspectual meanings. These are optional elements, and may co-occur with obligatory aspectual categories, hence the distinction in terminology, which follows Friedrich.[2]

	Th	NSh	SSh	Ok	Ka	Cr	Cm
28. always						pin(t)č	cíɬu
29. forever				nəyʕíp	ni?áp	yem-p	niʕáp
30. long time		q̓?es		q̓əsápi?	q̓asíp	q̓esp	q̓ə́sp
31. still,yet	//uy̓//	?ey	?ey		č̓e		púta y̓
32. again	xʷúy̓ce?	xʷú?cm	xʷú?ce				ciy̓úst
33. again		?uxʷ	?uxʷ				
34. just now	//yəč̓úx̓ʷ//			ʕápna?			cmál̓
35. now,today					yetəɬx̣ʷá	?ax̣iẇɬ	
36. now,only		k̓émə̓ɬ, kə́k̓me?ɬ	k̓éməɬ	k̓m		č̓am̓	k̓am̓
37. almost	//wə́ɬè//	wt?e, wte, wɬ̓			x̣iɬəńé	xʷa?aɬ	k̓ʷasa
38. almost		stétme				ẇim̓	
39. incipient	//nés//	nes			?enés		

40. just	put	pũt	pũt	pũt		put
41. just then //ƛ̓əm̓//						ƛ̓əm̓
42. right then			sĩc	sic	sɪc,šɪc	
43. finally	ʔẽycəɬ			ʔaxʷĩ		

Table 6. Aspectoidals

Glosses are given as follows: 28. Cr pinč, pintč 'always', Cm cĩɬu 'always'; 29. Ok nəyʕĩp 'continuously, forever, always', Ka niʔãp 'still, yet', Cr yem-p 'forever', Cm niʕãp 'forever, always'; 30. NSh q̓ʔes 'to take a long time, be of long duration', Ok q̓əsãpiʔ 'for a long time it used to be that . . . , it has been a long time since . . .', Ka q̓asĩp 'late', Cr q̓esp 'be long time, long ago', Cm q̓ẽsp 'long time, old, past'; 31. Th //uy̓// ʔi 'still, yet', NSh ʔey 'yet, still', SSh ʔey 'incomplete, still, while', Ka c̓e 'still, yet', Cm pũtay̓ 'still is'; 32. Th xʷũy̓ceʔ 'again', NSh xʷũʔcm 'again', SSh xʷũʔce 'again, additional', Cm ciy̓ũst 'again'; 33. NSh ʔuxʷ 'again', SSh ʔuxʷ 'repetition, again'; 34. Th //yəc̓ũx̣ʷ// yc̓õx̣ʷ 'just now, immediate past', Ok ʕãpnaʔ 'it is now that . . .', Cm cmãl̓ 'just now, just beginning'; 35. Ka yetəɬx̣ʷã 'today, now', Cr ʔax̣iẘɬ 'now, today'; 36. NSh k̓ẽməɬ 'but, only', kẽk̓meʔɬ 'almost', SSh k̓ẽməɬ 'in addition, more, while, and', Ok k̓m 'contrastive, except, all but', Cr c̓am̓ 'just', Cm k̓am̓ 'now, only, any more, almost'; 37. Th //wẽƛ̓è// 'almost', NSh wtʔe, wte, wƛ̓ 'almost', Ka x̣iɬəñẽ 'almost', Cr xʷaʔaɬ 'almost', Cm k̓ʷasa 'almost'; 38. NSh stẽtme 'almost', Cr ẘim̓ 'very nearly, almost'; 39. Th //nẽs// 'go

toward; incipient', NSh nes 'to go, to go/come along, to almost do something', Ka ʔenés 'to be on one's way going someplace'; 40. NSh put 'just', SSh pút 'be necessary, must', Ok pút 'it is just/enough', Ka pút 'just, exactly the measure', Cm put 'just'; 41. Th //ƛ̓ə̀m̓// 'completed', Cm ƛ̓əm̓ 'just as, just then'; 42. Ok sic 'new, just', Ka sic 'right then', Cr sɪc, šɪc 'then finally'; 43. NSh ʔéycəɬ 'finally, at last', Ka ʔaxí 'finally'.

Several cognate sets occur among these forms, and allow some reconstructions. Cr pin(t)č (28) has cognates referring to time, e.g., Cm pan- 'time', but these are normally predicates. In 29, Ok, Ka, and Cm derive from *nyʕáp; this form can be analyzed into a prefix, root, and suffix (the analysis is also possible synchronically), *n- 'locative, on, in', *yaʕ- 'gather', *-ap 'base'. The Cr form in 29 is again probably predicative, and cognate with Cm yəm- 'old', *inter alia*. The Ok, Ka, Cr, and Cm forms in 30 have a suffixed -p 'non-control', which causes metathesis of the root vowel and the second consonant of the root in Ok and Ka; the form can be reconstructed as *q̓és-, but the extra ʔ in Sh is not accounted for. The Ok form has a suffix -iʔ 'past'. In 31, the Cm form is based on put 'just' (set 40), with (probably) the clitic ʔay̓ 'past'. Whether the Th and Sh forms in 31 are cognate or not is unclear--Th u and Sh e would not normally correspond, but they might both derive from a longer original (something like *uʔay ʔ). At least the Sh form may be cognate with *ay̓ 'past', discussed above as item 13. Although the Th and Sh forms in 32 are clearly cognate, I do

not see what the reconstruction should be. Cm cmáʔl (in 34) may be cognate with Sh 1-címəɬ-əs 'in the beginning (of time)', but I would like to find forms in other languages before asserting this. Item 36 reconstructs as *ʔkam or *ʔkaʔm, with an unidentified suffix -ɬ in Sh. The Th and Sh forms in 37 may derive from *wéʔλe, but the Sh variants need explaining. 39 derives from either *nés or *ʔnés. 40 clearly and simply reconstructs as *put, and 42 as *sic (presumable the š of Cr šɪc is due to assimilation to the following front vowel). 41 is simply reconstructible as *ʔλəʔm, and could be connected with the Sh forms in 6 (mʔλ-, meʔλ) by metathesis if a semantic connection could be made. None of the other aspectoidal forms have cognates in the table, and are not reconstructible.

As can be expected from the large number of aspectoidal sets given above, there are several additional, isolated forms in the various languages: Th //ʔλúʔ// 'persistent', //nə-wéʔn// 'old; perfective', cəsʔéyɬ 'now'; NSh xʷəɬyéʔ 'soon', cem 'first, before', pyin 'now', kʷmt-us 'always (cf.? Cm qʷə́ʔm 'a long time'), m- 'aspect particle'; SSh m 'perfective' (this is the same as the last cited NSh form), c 'action completed prior to the time of speaking or in relation to another event, on the way through', ʔes 'unrealized state'; Ok kʷmíɬ 'it was suddenly/unexpectedly that . . .', qʷúʔm 'it was at a particular moment long ago that . . .' (this is probably predicative, and is cognate with Cm qʷə́ʔm 'a long time'); Ka ʔλe 'already, now, then', ʔλəm 'customarily', ʔi 'as soon as, immediately after', ʔiɬtšeʔné 'after a short while'; Cr cmiʔ 'used

to . . . but is not now, had the intention but did not carry it out; it was to be but is not', kʷɪm̓ɨ 'immediately', k̓ʷuk̓ʷn̓íy̓eʔ 'in a short while', k̓ʷuk̓ʷiʔɨ 'in a short time'; Cm cimíx 'whenever', t̓íl̓xʷ 'already', wiy̓áʔs 'just got through doing' (?), x̣ə́ɬu and x̣əlú 'just', x̣ʷəl̓a 'all over, done', n̓n̓áwiy̓aʔ 'after a while' (this looks as if it could be cognate with Cv n̓íl̓n̓əw̓iʔ 'contingency, if and when, may, probably', cited at the end of section 4, but I cannot make a semantic connection).

7. Adverbials. In spite of the fairly large number of adverbials cited in the sources, few seem semantically similar, and only three general sets are presented, plus two for forms that match only in the two Shuswap dialects.

	Th	NSh	SSh	Ok	Ka	Cr	Cm
44. too		meɬ	mɨ	məyáɬ	míɬ	miyeɬ	myáɬ
45. also,too	néxʷəm			nixʷ	nexʷ	x̣el	ʔ naʔxʷ
46. only		cukʷ	cúkʷ	kmíx,kmáx	čəmíš	təmíš	kməx
47. just		x̓uxʷ	x̓uxʷ				
48. even		yúməɬ	//yumɨ//				

Table 7. Adverbials

Glosses are given as follows: 44 NSh meɬ 'already', SSh mɨ 'previous, already', Ok məyáɬ 'it is too much', Ka míɬ 'very, too, much', Cr miyeɬ 'too, very', Cm myáɬ 'too'; 45. Th néxʷəm 'exceed', Ok nixʷ 'additional, also, too, even, again', Ka nexʷ 'also, too',

Cr x̣el 'also, likewise', Cm na?x^{w} (uncertain meaning, but seems a reasonable cognate to Th, Ok, and Ka); 46. NSh cuk^{w} 'to be all there is (left)', SSh cúk^{w} 'exclusively, only', Ok kmíx, kmáx 'it is only . . .' (kmáx is a northern Ok form, kmíx southern), Ka čəmíš 'only', Cr təmíš 'just, only', Cm kmə́x 'only, alone'; 47. NSh ƛ̓ux^{w} 'only, just, as soon as', SSh ƛ̓ux^{w} 'just, merely'; 48. NSh yúməɬ 'anyway, even so, even that', SSh //yumɬ// yúməɬ 'but (in spite of it), even'.

Three forms can be reconstructed from these sets. 44 must go back to *myə́ɬ; Ok and Cr have an epenthetic vowel before the y, and the *ə́ has been changed to á in Cm for some reason. Ka has deleted the vowel entirely, then vocalized the y to i (or deleted the y and retained the vowel *ə́, which regularly becomes i in Ka); NSh has lost the y, and SSh the y and the ə́. The Th, Ok, Ka, and Cm forms in 45 are regularly derived from *nax^{w}; if the Cm na?x^{w} is indeed cognate, I assume that the ? has been added, and may be 'inchoative'. Two reconstructions are necessary for the Ok, Ka, Cr, and Cm forms in 46: *kmə́x and either *kmáx or *kmíx. Cm kmə́x and Ok kmáx must derive from *kmə́x, but Ok kmíx and the Cr form must derive from something with either *á or *í (further evidence is needed to determine which); Ka čəmíš can derive from either *kmə́x or *kmíx. Cr also has an unexplained, and highly unusual, shift of the initial consonant from *k to t. The other adverbials are isolated and not reconstructible.

Several other adverbials occur isolated in each language:

aux. 7.1.3.

Th //ʔəɬ// 'readied', //ʔeɬ// 'also, along with', //cúʔ// 'in limited fashion, somewhat', tékm 'all'; NSh pewl 'nevertheless, after all', weʔ 'however (big, small, etc.), at least, if only', xʷúm 'reinforcing particle'; SSh nɬ 'unanticipated', //yexmɬ// yéxəməɬ 'but (for some time)'; Ok ʔiwaʔ 'unsuccessful, even, even . . . but to no avail', talíʔ 'it is very much'; Ka ʔəxʷ 'very well, then', ʔem 'in vain' (related to Cm ʔámn̓ 'couldn't', cited above at the end of section 4ʔ), ʔečaxíɬ 'similarly, like' (cognate with the Cm predicate ʔačxíl 'same, like that'; cf. NSh xil-m 'act thus', xiɬ-t-s 'to do something thus', Ka ʔaxil- 'to behave in this way, that way', Cr ʔaxil 'do thus'); Cr šɪɬ 'be fitting, exacting, sharp (as prompt)', ʔušɪɬ 'just at the moment, he was just to . . . but he did not', ʔuč-axíɬ 'suddenly, in vain, to no purpose, without explanation', ṗunal 'at least', ẇemnús 'in vain, useless', deʔeɬ 'exceptionally, surprisingly', šiʔmiš 'anywhere, at random'; Cm waʔx 'too much', núm̓, núm̓as 'any more, also', qʷay '[not] much of anything', təɬ 'straight, right', tiʔxʷaɬ 'another', xʷl̓ 'about'.

8. Interrogatives. There are few interrogative particles, but some sources list various wh-words in this category, and so I include them here, although it seems more likely that these are predicative everywhere.

	Th	NSh	SSh	Ok	Ka	Cr	Cm
49. interrog.	//eɁ//	-n	n	háɁ	ha	ni / čəɁ	sáɁ
50. dubitative interrog.				Ɂúc	Ɂuc		
51. happen	//Ɂkén-ŏme//	čken-m		//Ɂkín//			čkán-
52. what	//s-téɁ//	stem	stémɁ	stímɁ	stémɁ	tiɁ	stáɁ
53. who	//s-wétɁ//	swet	suwétɁ	swítɁ	səwétɁ	ségʷetɁ	swátɁ
54. how many	//kʷinèx//	kʷinx	kʷínx		kʷinšɁ	kʷinšɁ	kʷín-
55. where	//keɁ(è)//	ken-		-kíɁ	čéɁ	híče?	-káɁ
56. what say	Ɂínut					Ɂíngʷet	

Table 8. Interrogatives

Glosses are given as follows: 49. Th //eɁ// Ɂ 'interrogative', NSh -n 'interrogative', SSh n 'dubitative, interrogative', Ok háɁ 'simple interrogative', Ka ha 'interrogative' (Vogt offers Latin ne as a gloss), Cr ni and čəɁ 'interrogative', Cm sáɁ 'interrogative, I wonder'; 50. Ok Ɂúc 'dubitative interrogative', Ka Ɂuc 'question of possibility, dubitative question'; 51. Th //Ɂkén-ŏme// 'what happened, what's the matter, why?', NSh čken-m 'to be how (many), how about . . .', Ok //Ɂkín// 'happen', Cm čkán- 'how, what sort of'; 52. Th //s-téɁ// 'what?', NSh stem 'what, something', SSh stémɁ 'indefinite object, what', Ok stímɁ 'what', Ok stémɁ 'what', Cr tiɁ 'what', Cm stáɁ 'what, something'; 53. Th //s-wétɁ// 'who?', NSh swet 'who, somebody', SSh suwétɁ 'indefinite person, who', Ok swítɁ 'who', Ka səwétɁ 'who', Cr ségʷetɁ 'who', Cm swátɁ, 'who'; 54. Th

//k̓ʷinèx// 'how many?', NSh k̓ʷinx 'how many (objects), several', SSh k̓ʷi̓nx 'indefinite number, how many', Ka k̓ʷinš 'how many', Cr k̓ʷinš 'how many?', Cm k̓ʷi̓n- 'how many'; 55. Th //ke?(è)// 'which?, is it (that) . . . ?', NSh ken- 'to do, to be where', Ok -ki̓n̓ 'where', Ka čə̓n̓ 'how, where', Cr hi̓če? 'where (at)', Cm -ka̓? 'where'; 56. Th ?i̓nut 'what did (he) say?', Cr ?i̓ngʷet 'what was it?'.

Several forms can be reconstructed. For 49, Th and Sh suggest *an, and Cr ni may be a metathesis of this; glottalization in Th is unexplained. Ok and Ka suggest *ha, but Cr čən̓ and Cm sa̓? appear isolated. On the basis of the only two forms in 50, *?uc can be reconstructed. 51 derives from *?ka̓n-; the c in Sh and Cm is a prefix, and the merger of this prefix and the initial ? of the root is automatic. All the forms in 52 can be derived from *s-ta̓m̓, where s- is the absolutive prefix. The forms in 53 derive from *s-wa̓t; the first vowel in the SSh, Ka, and Cr forms is epenthetic, and Cr has shifted stress back to this epenthetic vowel, reducing the root vowel to *ə, which regularly becomes e. The forms in 54 may be reconstructed as *k̓ʷinax. The best reconstruction for 55 may be *ka̓n̓, with loss of the n in Th, Cr, and Cm, and shift of stress back to a prefix in Cr (with vowel reduction as in 'who'). Item 56 may be reconstructed as *?i̓nwat.

Only three other isolated interrogative particles occur: NSh -he̓?n, -he̓?e, -hen 'which (interrogative, indefinite, relative)', SSh //hen-// he̓?e 'indefinite time or place, where'; Ka təma̓

'rhetorical interrogative' (glossed by Vogt as Latin nonne); Cr ni kʷum̓ 'interrogative expecting the answer "no"'.

9. Miscellaneous. There are various other miscellaneous particles, seven of which are tabulated into sets below.

	Th	NSh	SSh	Ok	Ka	Cr	Cm
57. collective		wɨ-	ʔuɨ	həɨ-	ʔuɨ-	gʷuɨ	wəl
58. located	//(we)ʔex//	(w)ʔex	(ʔu)ʔə́x				
59. let it be	//xʷúy̓//	xʷuy̓, xʷəxʷúy̓	xʷúy̓				
60. subject	//è//	ɣ	ɣ				
61. object	//te//	t/λ̓			t		t
62. each						gʷuĺc-	p̓úĺus
63. have	//peɨ//	pə(ɨ)			epɨ-	epɨ-	ta?

Table 9. Miscellaneous

Glosses are given as follows: 57. NSh wɨ- 'group of people', SSh ʔuɨ 'collective plural', Ok həɨ- 'homogeneous group', Ka ʔuɨ- 'collective', Cr gʷuɨ 'verbalizing or demonstrative pluralizing element', Cm wəl 'collective'; 58. Th //we?ex//, //?ex// 'exist, be located, reside, stay; persistent, progressive, actual', NSh w?ex, ?ex 'to be there, to be present, to stay', SSh ʔuʔə́x, ʔə́x 'be present'; 59. Th //xʷúy̓// 'go; future', NSh xʷuy̓, xʷəxʷúy̓ 'well!', SSh xʷúy̓ 'let it be thus, let's . . . , come on, go on'; 60. Th //è// 'direct complement, subject', NSh ɣ- 'absolutive case, subject', SSh ɣ 'present, specified'; 61. Th //te// 'oblique complement,

, Ka t 'oblique', Cm t 'oblique(?)';

object', NSh t/ƛ̓ 'relative case, object'; 62. Cr gʷul̓c- 'each', Cm p̓úl̓us 'each'; 63. Th //peɬ// 'inherent', NSh pəɬ-, pə- 'having, possessing, owner of', Ka epɬ- 'possession, there is', Cr epɬ- 'there is, have', Cm ta? 'have'.

Only four reconstructions seem to be possible. 57 derives from *wl, with vowels epenthetic and/or derived from the w, and final devoicing of l, usual in all these languages except Cm. Cv has further reduced u from *w to ə, then added an excrescent h. The reconstruction of 58 is not clear, but may be something like *w?ex. 59 derives from *xʷu̓y̓. The Th and Sh forms in 60 are not obviously related; those in 61 are, but a reconstruction is unclear because of the alternative Sh form ƛ̓. 63 would derive from either *paɬ or *apɬ, with metathesis in two languages and vowel reduction in Sh and Cr.

Several other isolated miscellaneous particles occur: Th //ex// 'co-referential', //?é// 'there is . . . , it is (that) . . . , that is . . .'; NSh ym '(it is) so', nuxʷm 'isn't that right, ain't it?'; SSh pe? 'wish for, hope for', p̓ɬ̓ 'comitative (a secondary involvement in an act)', //sn// sən 'intensified; superlative', ?i 'demonstrative'; Ka xʷəmí and kʷumí? 'please, desire', ɬ 'secondary in importance', u? 'particular', hi 'specially noted', x̣í 'desire to prevent something', ƛ̓émi 'please!'; Cr ʊl- 'belonging to', c̓it- 'offspring, child of', t̓u? 'answer', wihu? 'short distance', nem̓m̓us 'I don't know'; Cm mi̓yas 'comparative degree', sáw̓ 'so-and-so', ti̓yas 'be without', wa? 'specifier'.

A few other particles are cited, but without glosses; this is

not surprising, as many particles can only be given vague glosses. Unglossed particles are simply listed here: Ka x̣íɬ, čitəɬx̣ʷá; Cr hoy; Cm ʔani, ci, k̓ʷaɬ, ɬuʔ, t̓, t̓əxʷ.

10. Interjections. Interjections are also usually cited as types of particles, but these proved to be comparable only rarely, and were seldom listed (elicited?) systematically. Although it does not seem unlikely that cognates occur among them, lack of sufficient data makes it impractical to do more here than list those interjections that are cited in the sources: Th ʔú 'anticipation', téye 'calling attention', xʷst, xʷst, xʷst 'expression of affection, used by old people'; NSh ʔəx̣ʷqʷícw (used when one suddenly remembers one has to do something), ʔa, ʔo, wo (contempt), ʔe, ʔek, ʔex, wex (indicates duration, in stories), ʔu, ʔox, xʷuxʷ, xʷoxʷ (emphasis, astonishment, etc.), ʔyʔey (interjected by listener to a story, to show interest); SSh ʔax̣ték 'it is/will be thus, all right', x̣ʷú 'surprise, awe', ʔú 'ah' (to emphasize and heighten interest), //ʔeyʔey// 'continued interest', //ʔene// 'fright and shock'; Ok məʕán 'surprise!', kmátəm 'that's right!', nət̓á? 'good!', níkxna? 'my goodness!', ʔámsəm̓ 'poor thing!', ʔáx̣ 'disgusting!', nák̓ʷəm 'indeed!'; Ka ti? 'surprise', ʔah 'well!', hayo 'recognition, cry of startle, reproof', k̓ʷə 'voila!', ʔení 'cry of startle, reproof', má 'look!', xʷú 'approval, agreement, yes, all right, good', yó 'surprise', yóm 'surprise, startle', ʔáy, ʔéxʷ, há, hé, ʔó (all from Vogt and unglossed); Cr ʔa··· (with rising intonation) 'oh!', ʔa··· (with level intonation) 'disapproval', caʔx̣al̓púɬ 'what's the

use! (a very mean word)', xʷɪsc̓̌i 'interjection of admiration "how nice it is"', x̣̌eme?č 'just you dare!'; Cm ?ǎna 'I wonder', ?anǎ· 'ouch!', ?ǎnacxʷ 'oh my!, oh dear!', ?ǎw 'well . . .', ha?ǎm· 'oh my!'.

11. As noted at the beginning of this paper, most particles are preposed. But ten Th particles and seven Sh particles (according to Gibson; Kuipers does not usually note the position of particles) are noted as being postposed; these tend to be comparable. These postpositions were assigned to various categories above, and four Th forms and four SSh forms occurred in the same tables (Th nukʷ 'observational' and SSh nukʷ 'evidential, it appears' as item 24; Th //nkè// 'conjectural' and SSh nkə 'speculative, must have' as item 25; Th //ekʷù// 'heresay' and SSh ukʷ 'reported but not observed, it is said' as item 26; Th //eʔ̓// 'interrogative' and SSh n 'dubitative, interrogative' as item 49). Th //meɬ// 'imminent' occurred as item 14, and SSh mɬ 'previous, already' occurred as item 44; the Th form agrees fully with the reconstruction offered for item 44, although it does not fit there as well semantically. Because both this Th form and the Sh form are postpositions, I suggest that the Th form does indeed belong at item 44. Other postpositions were not comparable (Th //ƛ̓ə̀ɬ// 'readied' at the end of section 7, //ƛ̓ə̀m̓// 'completed' at item 41, //uy̓// ʔi 'still, yet' at item 31, //ʔeɬ// 'also, along with' at the end of section 7, //ƛ̓ǔʔ// 'persistent' at the end of section 6; SSh nɬ 'unanticipated' at the end of section 7, ʔuxʷ 'repetition, again' at item 33).

Thus position, although generally not useful in comparisons of particles, allows a reassignment of one Th form.

12. Additional particles most probably occur in all these languages; some are infrequent, and many are semantically elusive, and hence difficult to discuss in a grammar. On the other hand, some of the words discussed here will turn out to be predicates, perhaps restricted in some way in their usage. It is hoped that this compendium will assist others in searching for, identifying, and classifying particles, not only in IS, but in all Salishan languages.

I have deliberately avoided any reference to particles in other branches of Salish. For the most part, sufficient data are not available on particles in these languages, and the addition of any of them would have complicated the comparisons offered. IS languages form a distinct subset of Salishan languages (only Lillooet is not included in these comparisons), and this compilation may serve *en bloc* for wider comparisons.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sources used in this paper are as follows: Thompson, Thompson and Thompson (1975), Northern Shuswap, Kuipers (1974), Southern Shuswap, Gibson (1973), Okanagan, Mattina (1973; Colville dialect), Spokane, Carlson (1972), Kalispel, Vogt (1940), Coeur d'Alene, Reichard (1938, 1939), Columbian, Kinkade field notes. Abbreviations used are Cm Columbian, Cr Coeur d'Alene, Ka Kalispel, Ok Okanagan, NSh Northern Shuswap, SSh Southern Shuswap, Sp Spokane, Th Thompson, IS Interior Salishan, PIS Proto-Interior Salishan. Research on Columbian Salish has been made possible by grants from the National Science Foundation, the American Philosophical Society Library, and the University of Kansas. Orthog. of some sources is retranscribed for uniformity.

2.

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