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Pronominal paradigms in Sliammon

John H. Davis

This paper contains a presentation of the paradigms and phonology of the pronominal markers in Sliammon. No attempt is made to describe their usage fully, since an account of the syntax of the language is beyond the scope of this paper.

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0. The purpose of this paper is to present the object, subject, and possessive pronominal markers that occur in Sliammon. Because object pronominal suffixes occur only with transitive predicates and not with intransitive ones, a discussion of the three most commonly occurring transitivity suffixes is included. In addition, because there are no third person independent pronouns, mention is made of the deictics that occur in Sliammon.

The transcription of words herein assumes two levels: the morphophonemic and the phonemic. The capital letters //S//, //W//, //Y//, and //L// represent morphophonemes. The morphophoneme //S// combines with a preceding //-t// and the two together are pronounced as /θ/. The other three capital letters are cover symbols for alternations. The symbol //W// stands for the alternation /u/ - /x^w/ - /g/ in transitivity suffixes and /w/ - /g/ elsewhere. The symbol //L// represents the alternations /ɛ/ - /y/, /ɛ/ - /i/, and /ɛ/ - /w/. Most segments of a morpheme are not written with capital letters at the morphophonemic level because they are not assimilated nor do they alternate.

There are four vowel phonemes: /i u ə a/. These are the symbols that are used for cognate vowels in other Salish languages. The reader is cautioned that /i/ and /u/ are underlying mid vowels that are raised to [i] and [u] only next to a nonglottalised high (palatal or velar) consonant in the same syllable. The sequences /ey/ and /ew/ are pronounced [i] and [u] except when lowered to [e] and [o] next to a low (postvelar) consonant in the

same syllable. The symbol /ç/ represents a glottalised interdental affricate.

0.1. Predicates in Sliammon are intransitive unless they are explicitly marked as transitive by a transitivity suffix. Such a suffix is present only if the sentence describes a situation in which an agent acts upon another agent (causative) or upon a patient (noncausative). If the situation described involves only a patient and an instrument, then the predicate is intransitive. In the following pairs of sentences, the first member is intransitive and the second is transitive, involving an agent.

- 1a) qay' k'we James ?e te čemčem
die repor- prep. art. cold
tedly
'James died from the cold.'

- 1b) qay' - t - es k'we Samuel James ?e te čapay
tran- he club
sitive
'Samuel killed James with the club.'

- 2a) sep' k'we James ?e to yamačaja
club branch
'The branch hit James.'

- 2b) sep' - t - es k'we Samuel James ?e te čapay
'Samuel hit James with the club.'

Before presenting the object suffixes it is necessary to discuss the allomorphs of the transitivity suffixes.

The three most commonly occurring transitivity suffixes are //-t//, //-nɰ//, and //-stɰ//. These can be glossed as "control or intent", "responsibility or success", and "causative". For a note on one of the many parameters contrasting //-t// and //-nɰ// see the appendix to this paper. A good discussion of all three suffixes is contained in Beaumont 1977.

The suffix //-t// combines with a following //-s// to form /θ/; for an explanation of the sound change that has produced this see section 1. below. Some roots have a second vowel before //-t// that they do not have elsewhere. Examples of these are:

- 3a) pəq^Ws 'to fall into the water'
3b) pəq^Wsa - t 'to push someone into the water'
4a) túč - əx^W 'to (successfully) shoot (something)'
4b) túč - t 'to (intend to) shoot (something)'
5a) čəy - əx^W 'to hear'
5b) čəye - t 'to listen (to)'

The suffix //-nɰ// has six allomorphs. It is /-ənɰ^W-/ before the reciprocal suffix /igas/:

- 6) túč - ənɰ^W - igas 'to shoot each other'

It is /-n-/ before /-anapi/ 'you(pl.)':

- 7) túç - n - anapi 'to shoot you(pl.)'

It is /-nu-/ before /-mš/ 'me', /-mi/ 'you(sg.)', /-muš/ 'us', and /-mut/ reflexive:

- 8) túç - nu - mš 'to shoot me'
 9) túç - nu - mi 'to shoot you(sg.)'
 10) túç - nu - muš 'to shoot us'
 11) túç - nu - mut 'to shoot oneself'

When the object suffix is zero, //-nW// is realised as /-nex^W/ after a vowel and as /-ex^W/ after a consonant in the active paradigm:

- 12) k'wé - nex^W 'to see him/her/it/them'
 13) túç - ex^W 'to shoot him/her/it/them'

When the object suffix is zero, //-nW// is realised as /-nu-/ on a passive predicate in a main clause and as /-neg-/ on a passive predicate in a subordinate clause:

- 14) k'wé - nu - m 'someone sees him/her/it/them'
 15) túç - nu - m 'someone shoots him/her/it/them'
 16) k'wé - neg - it '(that) someone sees him/her/it/them'
 17) túç - neg - it '(that) someone shoots him/her/it/them'

The suffix //-stW// has five allomorphs. It is /-st-/ before /-awš/ reciprocal and /-anapi/ 'you(pl.)':

- 18) šéš - st - awš 'they dislike each other'
 19) šéš - st - anapi 'to dislike you(pl.)'

It is /-stu-/ before /-mš/ 'me', /-mi/ 'you(sg.)', and /-muš/ 'us':

- 20) šéš - stu - mš 'to dislike me'
 21) šéš - stu - mi 'to dislike you(sg.)'
 22) šéš - stu - muš 'to dislike us'

When the object suffix is zero, //-stW// is realised as /-stex^W/ after a vowel and as /-sx^W/ after a consonant in the active paradigm:

- 23) šášeye - stex^W 'to think him/her/it/them strange'
 24) ʔiltən - sx^W 'to feed him/her/it/them'

When the object suffix is zero, //-stW// is realised as /-stu-/ on a passive predicate in a main clause and as /-steg-/ on a passive predicate in a subordinate clause:

- 25) ʔiltən - stu - m 'someone feeds him/her/it/them'
 26) ʔiltən - steg - it '(if) someone feeds him/her/it/them'

1. The object suffixes that occur in Sliammon are:

	active paradigm			passive paradigm		
	-t__	-nW__	-stW	-t__	-nW__ -stW__	
-s -s _{al} -s _š	-S		-mš	-Say-	-may-	1s.
-s _i -s _m	-Si		-mi	-Si-	-mi-	2s.
-urul	-umut		-mut	-uw-	-muw-	1p.
-anapi	-anapi		-anapi	-anapi-	-anapi-	2p.
-ø	-ø		-ø	-ø-	-ø-	3.
-Sut -s _m	-Sut	-mut	--			ref.
-awl -iws	-awt	-igas	-awt			rec.

In this chart of object suffixes, the first column summarises the features that are common across each row.

There are three sound changes that have occurred in the history of the Sliammon language which are relevant to the analysis of Sliammon suffixation.

In one sound change, the affricate /c/ has become the fricative /θ/ and the affricate /č/ has become the interdental affricate /č/. Compare the following Sechelt (from Beaumont 1977) and Sliammon forms:

	Sechelt	Sliammon	
27)	cú	θú	'to go'
28)	ʔimac	ʔimaθ	'grandchild'
29)	túcut	túčut	'to shoot'

This change has resulted in the //S// of the suffixes //-S// 'me', //-Si// 'you(sg.)', and //-Sut// combining with the preceding //-t// to form /θ/. However, //-s// 'his/her/its/their' does not do this.

30)	//Xana-t-S//	/Xánaθ/	'to give to me'
31)	//s Xana-t-S-s//	/s Xánaθs/	'that he gives it to me'
32)	//s Xana-t-s//	/s Xánats/	'that he gives it to him'

In a second sound change, the sonorants /w/ and /j/ have become the voiced stops /g/ and /j/ before a vowel. Compare the following Pentlatch (from Boas ms.) and Sliammon forms:

	<u>Pentlatch</u>	<u>Sliammon</u>	
33)	wi'iws	gi'iws	'body'
34)	hiwus	hiqus	'chief'
35)	néwi	négi	'you(sg.)'
36)	wáqaθ	gáqaθ	'husband'
37)	yá?	ǰá?	'home(ward)'
38)	-uya	-uǰa	'hand'
39)	θéyaq ^w up	θéǰaq ^w up	'hat'
40)	yónes	ǰónes	'tooth'
41)	yúx ^w at	ǰúx ^w at	'to vomit'
42)	yúθut	ǰúθut	'to push'

This sound change has resulted in the alternations /w/ - /g/ and /y/ - /ǰ/. Examples are:

43a)	téw	'ice/to freeze'
43b)	tá?git	'frozen'
44a)	háy	'to end'
44b)	háǰit	'ready'

The third sound change came after an earlier change of the voiced sonorant /l/ to the voiceless fricative /t/ in word final position. In this third sound change, /l/ became /w/ before or after /u/ and became /y/ elsewhere. Compare the following Pentlatch (from Boas ms.) and Sliammon forms:

36 husband

cuwaka s = 10 //swáqaθ//
 //šwáqaθ//

	<u>Pentlatch</u>	<u>Sliammon</u>	
45)	ʔúleɪ	ʔúweɪ	'to get aboard'
46)	qálum	qáwum	'eye'
47)	sk ^w úlex ^w	k ^w úwex ^w	'dried salmon'
48)	yúlak ^w	ǰúwak ^w	'wave'
49)	-ulmix ^w	-uwmix ^w	'land/ground'
50)	núlap	núwap	'you(pl.)'
51)	stélmix ^w	téymix ^w	'medicine'
52)	léč	yéč	'full'
53)	-als	-ays	'stone'
54)	sqálmix ^w	qáymix ^w	'person'

This third sound change has resulted in the alternations /t/ - /w/ and /t/ - /y/. One example of this result is the first person plural object suffix; other examples are:

55a)	máçuɪ	'pus'
55b)	máçuwem	'pus forming'
56a)	ní?uɪ	'he(etc.) was there'
56b)	s ní?uws	'that he(etc.) was there'
57a)	tíx ^w θaɪ	'tongue'
57b)	tíx ^w θays	'his(etc.) tongue'
58a)	ǰémɪaɪ	'wet throat'
58b)	ǰémɪayem	'to wet one's throat'
59a)	ǰáǰgeɪ	'shaman'
59b)	ǰáǰgeyánan	'power of a shaman'

1.1. Object suffixes in active paradigms.

After the transitive suffix *//-t//* the object suffixes are:

-S -urui
-Si -anapi
-Ø
-Sut
-awt

Examples of these are:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---------------------|---|
| 60) | // ^h we-t-s// | /k ^h we/ | 'to look at me' |
| 61) | //tugu-t-si// | /túguSi/ | 'to know/recognize you' |
| 62) | //xes-t-umu±// | /xéstumu±/ | 'to punch us' |
| 63) | //juθu-t-anapi// | /júθutanapi/ | 'to push you(pl.)' |
| 64) | //çaga-t-ø// | /çága±/ | 'to take him(etc.)
out of the water' |
| 65) | //xiqi-t-sut// | /xiqíθut/ | 'to scratch oneself' |
| 66) | //túgu-t-aw±// | /túgú±/ | 'to shoot (at)
each other' |

After the transitive suffix *// -nW //* the object suffixes are:

-mš -mut
-mi -anapi
-Ø
-mut
-igas

Examples of these are:

- 67) //k^Wə-nw-mš// /k^Wənumš/ 'to see me'
 68) //čəy-nw-mi// /čəynumi/ 'to hear you(sg.)'
 69) //k^Wə-nw-muž// /k^Wənumuž/ 'to see us'
 70) //čəy-nw-anapi// /čəynanapi/ 'to hear you(pl.)'
 71) //tuç-nw-ø// /tuçəx^W/ 'to shoot (at) him(etc.)'
 72) //k^Wə-nw-mut// /k^Wənumut/ 'to see oneself'
 73) //tuç-nw-igas// /tuçənx^Wigas/ 'to shoot (at)
 each other'

The reciprocal looks as though it could be derived from a combination of the explicitly collective plural suffix //iW// and //as// third person subject of a transitive predicate. Compare:

- 73) //tuɕ-nW-ɣas// /tʉɕəx^Wɣas/ 'to shoot (at) each other'
 74a) //tuɕ-nW-ø-ɪw-as// /tʉɕəx^Wɣas/ 'they shoot (at) him(etc.)'
 74b) //tuɕ-nW-ø-as// /tʉɕəx^Was/ 'he(etc.) shoots (at) him(etc.)'

After the transitive suffix *//stW//* the object suffixes are:

-mš	-muš
-mi	-anapi
	-ø
	--
	-awš

Examples of these are:

- 75) *//ʔiɬten-stW-mš//* */ʔiɬtenstumš/* 'to feed me'
 76) *//q^way-stW-mi//* */q^wáystumi/* 'to talk to you'
 77) *//q^wel-stW-muš//* */q^wéɬstumuš/* 'to bring us'
 78) *//θu-stW-anapi//* */θústanapi/* 'to take you'
 79) *//čəɬem-stW-ø//* */čəɬemsx^w/* 'to dance with him/her/it/them'
 80) *//ʔey-stW-awš//* */ʔəystawš/* 'to like each other'

1.2. Object suffixes in passive paradigms.

After the transitive suffix *//-t//* the object suffixes are:

-Say-	-uw-
-Si-	-anapi-
	-ø-

Examples of these in main clauses are:

- 81) *//Xana-t-Say-em//* */Xánaθayem/* 'someone gives it to me'
 82) *//k^we-t-Si-em//* */k^wéθim/* 'someone sees you(sg.)'
 83) *//tiXi-t-uw-em//* */tiXituwem/* 'someone warms us'
 84) *//yaɬa-t-anapi-em//* */yáɬatanapim/* 'someone calls you(pl.)'
 85) *//qah-t-ø-em//* */qahtem/* 'someone lifts him(etc.)'

Examples of these in subordinate clauses are:

- 86) *//k^we-t-Say-it//* */k^wéθayit/* '(if) someone sees me'
 87) *//Xana-t-Si-it//* */Xánaθit/* '(if) someone gives it to you'
 88) *//yaɬa-t-uw-it//* */yáɬatuwit/* '(if) someone calls us'
 89) *//k^we-t-anapi-it//* */k^wétanapit/* '(if) someone sees you'
 90) *//qah-t-ø-it//* */qáhtit/* '(if) someone lifts him(etc.)'

The suffix *//-em//* occurs often in Sliammon and in other Salish languages. It has been glossed "mediopassive", though it has a wide range of meanings. The suffix *//-it//* seems to be the same as the stative suffix. Compare:

- | | | |
|------|-------|---------------------|
| 91a) | háy | 'to come to an end' |
| 91b) | hájit | 'ready' |

After the transitive suffixes *//-nW//* and *//-stW//* the object suffixes are:

-may- -muw-
-mi- -anapi-
 -ø-

Examples of these in main clauses are:

- 92) //čəy-nw-may-əm// /čəynumayəm/ 'someone hears me'
 93) //kʷə-nw-ri-əm// /kʷənumim/ 'someone sees you'
 94) //čəy-nw-nuw-əm// /čəynunuwəm/ 'someone hears us'
 95) //kʷə-nw-anapi-əm// /kʷənapanim/ 'someone sees you'
 96) //xɑ́n-w-ǝ-əm// /xɑ́num/ 'someone loves
 him/her/it/them'
 97) //qʷəi-stw-may-əm// /qʷəistumayəm/ 'someone brings me'
 98) //qʷay-stw-ri-əm// /qʷəystumim/ 'someone talks to you'
 99) //əu-stw-nuw-əm// /əůstumuwəm/ 'someone takes us'
 100) //xʷa²-stw-anapi-əm// /xʷa²stanapim/ 'someone
 rejects you(pl.)'
 101) //ʔəy-stw-ǝ-əm// /ʔəystum/ 'someone likes
 him/her/it/them'

Examples of these in subordinate clauses are:

- 102) //k^ho-ni-may-it// /k^hnumajit/ ' (if) someone sees me'
 103) //čey-nw-mi-it// /čeynumit/ ' (if) someone hears
 you(sg.)'
 104) //xã^h-nw-mux-it// /xã^hnumuxit/ ' (if) someone loves us'
 105) //tuç-nw-anapi-it// /túçnanapit/ ' (if) someone shoots
 you(pl.)'
 106) //xã^h-nw-it// /xã^hnægít/ ' (if) someone loves
 him/her/it/them'

- 107) //əu-stW-may-it// /əústumayit/ '(if) someone takes me'
 108) //q^way-stW-mi-it// /q^wáystumit/ '(if) someone talks
 to you'
 109) //čeləm-stW-muw-it// /čéləmstumuwit/
 '(if) someone dances with us'
 110) //ʔey-stW-anapi-it// /ʔéystanapit/
 '(if) someone likes you(pl.)'
 111) //təx-stW-ø-it// /təxstegit/ '(if) someone dislikes
 him/her/it/them'

2.2. Independent subject markers co-occur with a main predicate. In the first and second person, they consist of the enclitic //č-// (from Proto Salish *k) plus the dependent subject suffixes. In the third person the marker is zero if the predicate is intransitive, but if the predicate is transitive the subject marker is the suffix /-as/. It is only in the third person that a distinction is made between transitive and intransitive predicates; no such distinction is made in the first or second persons. Number is not an obligatory category in the third person.

The first and second person independent subject markers occur in two phonologically conditioned forms: full and reduced. The reduced forms occur after a vowel, full forms do not seem to. Both forms can occur after a consonant, but if the predicate consists of more than one syllable there is a tendency for the reduced form to be used. In the imperative, only the reduced forms have been recorded. The full forms appear to be used more frequently than the reduced ones are for describing an action or state of a second person, although there is not a great deal of data on this last point. These rules contradict each other, but that seems to be the actual situation. There is some variation in choice of full and reduced forms for a number of predicates, both by the same speaker and between speakers, which is further evidence that conflicting rules actually do exist.

In the full forms, 'I' is usually /čən/ but occasionally is /čan/, which is a case of free variation and is not conditioned.

The full forms are:

čən [čIn], čan [čən]	čat [čət]
čax ^W [čex ^W]	čap [čəp]

-Ø, -as

Examples of these are:

- | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| 122) //məq č-ən// | /məq čən/ | 'I'm satiated' |
| 123) //qayəm č-an səm// | /qayəm čan səm/ | 'I will camp' |
| 124) //q ^W əl č-ax ^W səm// | /q ^W əl čax ^W səm/ | 'you will come' |
| 125) //k ^W a-t č-ax ^W səm// | /k ^W ət čax ^W səm/ | 'you will put it
over there' |
| 126) //k ^W e-t-S č-ax ^W səm// | /k ^W éθ čax ^W səm/ | 'you will
see me' |
| 127) //qaymix ^W č-at// | /qaymix ^W čat/ | 'we are Indians' |
| 128) //q ^W əl č-ap səm// | /q ^W əl čap səm/ | 'you will come' |
| 129) //k ^W e-t č-ap səm// | /k ^W ət čap səm/ | 'you will see
him/her/it/them' |
| 130) //k ^W e-t-S-as// | /k ^W éθas/ | 'he/she/it/they
look(s) at me' |
| 131) //tatam// | /tátam/ | 'what is he/she/it/
they doing?' |

3. For the first and second persons there is a set of independent pronouns. These are:

- 153) /čəni/ or /čəneɪ/ 'I/me/my'
 154) /négi/ or /négeɪ/ 'you/you/your (sg.)'
 155) /nínuɪ/ 'we/us/our'
 156) /núwap/ 'you/you/your (pl.)'

In the first and second person singular there is an /ɛ/ - /i/ alternation. First person singular looks similar to the form that Newman (1977) gives for Proto-Salish third person, but it also resembles the first person singular /čən/ independent subject marker.

First person plural is the same as what Newman (1977) gives for Proto-Salish. Second person singular and plural seem to have an /u/ - /ɛ/ alternation: //neɪ-L// and //nɛ-Lap//.

Examples of the independent pronouns in predicate position:

- 153) /čəni sɛm ʔə θu/ 'I'm the one to go'
 154) /čəneɪ ʔə kʷətas/ 'I'm the one he(etc.) is looking at'
 155) /négeɪ ʔə θu/ 'you're the one who's going'
 156) /xʷə nəgeyas ʔə θu/ 'you're not the one who's going'
 157) /xʷə nínuɪtas ʔə kʷətas/ 'we're not the ones he(etc.) is looking at'
 158) /núwap ʔə pəpʰkʷatas/ 'you're the ones he(etc.) is watching'

Examples as subjects:

- 159a) /ʔəsəi ɬəm čəni/ 'I will slug you'
 159b) /ʔəsəi ɬəm čəneɪ/ 'I will slug you'
 160a) /ʔánaθ čxʷ négi/ 'you give it to him!'
 160b) /ʔánaθ čxʷ négeɪ/ 'you give it to him!'

Examples as objects:

- 161a) /ʔəsəi ɬəm négi/ 'I will slug you'
 162b) /ʔəsəi ɬəm négeɪ/ 'I will slug you'
 163a) /ʔánaθ čxʷ čəni/ 'you give it to me!'
 163b) /ʔánaθ čxʷ čəneɪ/ 'you give it to me!'

Examples as possessives:

- 164a) /ʔitənsxʷ čxʷ tɛ ɬ čənu čəni/ 'feed my dog!'
 164b) /ʔitənsxʷ čxʷ tɛ ɬ čənu čəneɪ/ 'feed my dog!'
 (eat-causative you the my dog čəniL)
 165a) /θ čənu négi ʔəqatas šə ɬ lamath/ 'your dog chased my sheep!'
 165b) /θ čənu négeɪ ʔəqatas šə ɬ lamath/ 'your dog chased my sheep!'
 (your dog neW-L chase the my sheep)

4. Just as there is no third person object suffix and there is no third person subject marker of an intransitive predicate in a main clause, so there are no third person independent pronouns.

Parallel to the first and second person independent pronouns there is a large number of deictics, at least some of which can act as modifiers within an NP or as an NP by themselves. Some of these are:

166)	//ta-ʔə//	/táʔa/	'that/there'
167)	//ti-ʔə//	/tíʔi/	'this/here'
168)	//ei-ʔə//	/éiʔi/	'this/that'
169)	//ta-n//	/tán/	'that one'
170)	//ta-n//	/tán/	'this/that one'
171)	//kʷa-n//	/kʷán/	'that one'
172)	//təy-n//	/təyn/	'this/here'
173)	//šəy-n//	/šəyn/	'that/there'
174)	//təy-tə//	/təyte/	major topic (also: male as opposed to female)
175)	//éi-šə//	/éiə/	minor topic (also: female as opposed to male)

One can analyse these deictics further, but such an analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. It would require comparison with the article system of Sliammon, comparison with other Salish languages, and analysis of monologues and conversations to determine their range of use.

Examples of the deictics are:

176)	/hił təyte ʔ sãłtxʷ/	'that's my wife'
	(deictic deictic my woman)	
177)	/qʷéł kʷé tiʔi tũmĩš/	'this man came'
	(come reportedly deictic man)	
178)	/niš ʔə tíʔi/	'right here'
	(be-here preposition deictic)	
179)	/tátam təyte/	'what's he doing?'
	(doing-what deictic)	
180)	/ʔəymut kʷán/	'it's o.k. like that'
	(good-very deictic)	

5. This concludes the presentation of data in this paper. Future papers on the syntax of Sliammon will explore the uses of these pronominal markers.

For the present, it is hoped that this body of data will be of use to other students of Salish languages.

References cited:

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Appendix: a note on //-t// transitive

The sentences quoted herein are taken from texts given by language consultants who are members of the Homalco band. Homalco and Sliammon are two dialects of the same language, which is called "ʔayʔaǰúθem" by its speakers.

In other Salish languages, cognates of the ʔayʔaǰúθem //-t// transitive suffix have been called "full control" and cognates of the ʔayʔaǰúθem //-nW// transitive suffix have been called "limited control". These labels also apply in ʔayʔaǰúθem, so long as "control" does not mean "success". In ʔayʔaǰúθem, //-t// has within its range of meaning "try to". The suffix //-t// implies intent, with or without success, and the suffix //-nW// implies an accomplished action, with or without intent. The following quotes from three different language consultants illustrate the meaning "try". Each of the sentences quoted contains a word with the suffix //-t// in opposition to another form of the same word with the suffix //-nW//.

(1) From the legend which tells how the birds killed the man who made the wind blow, told by Noel George Harry.

pápkʷa - t - as ʔey pákʷ - exʷ - as
watch-for -t- he and see -nW- he

"(Raven) was watching for it and he saw it."

(2) From the story about the historical personage, Techuwahanem, told by Ambrose Wilson.

huy ʔey kʷé - t - em ʔə kʷ qáiywmixʷ. xʷékʷt.

then look -t- passive the people nothing

xʷà čámas ʔey kʷé - nexʷ čxʷ
no way and see -nW you

"Then the people looked at it. There was nothing.
You couldn't see (the scar)."

(3) From an explanation of the constellations and shooting stars, by Tommy Paul.

ə̀m máʔ - t - as, xʷékʷt kʷ tám máʔ - xʷ - uł
go get -t- he nothing the thing get -nW past

"He went to get it and he got nothing."

In stories told in ʔayʔaǰúθem, this opposition of stem-plus-t and stem-plus-nW seems to be fairly common. It is a statement of intent followed by a statement of success or lack of success.