

logical constructions. In the second analysis, infixation is, in part, a copying rule in which a tense vowel is inserted and assimilates to following back vowels, but reduced to shwa if not stressed. Stress fails to apply if the next vowel undergoes Strong Syllable Stress. The third analysis assumes that Strong Syllable Stress (but not Main Stress) precedes infixation, determining the placement of the infix before or after the first vowel. While both rules seem descriptively adequate in so far as their consequences on the rest of the phonology have been determined here, the second analysis seems preferable, as it does not require the ordering of infixation, a morphological rule, between two stress rules.

FOOTNOTES

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²I have recorded various stress contours in such forms. Shwa probably receives at least a secondary stress due to the following consonant cluster. However the initial syllable of citation forms has high pitch, which I often misinterpret as stress.

³This may be /čéloyx/ at some level, where shwa reduces out, as unstressed [oy?] and [i?] seem to be alternate pronunciations, as in [p'óli?] or [p'óloy?] 'bark'.

⁴I would have predicted /θé?olt/, as apparent metathesis usually occurs when a sonorant is followed by a homorganic obstruent in this position:

šeł door, path
še?óll PL

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A Contribution to Puget Salish Lexical Studies

Nile Thompson

This paper is intended as an augmentation to information already found in Hess's Dictionary of Puget Salish. Proposed etymologies, utilizing data from closely related Twana, are followed by a preliminary chart showing the lexical selection process for the concept FALL. The symbol # is used to indicate roots, + for lexical affixes, - for syntactic affixes and = for lexical adjectives (Hess's "lexical connectives").

1. #bal+i ("busy" + "head") forget
cf Twana bibal?alčəd (bi-#bal-al-čəd), "I've been busy"
kałi (#kał + i) "tumpline" - literally, "hangs from head"
The Twana lexical suffix +i most specifically refers to the forehead region.
2. #bəl+ups ("stripe" + "tail") raccoon
cf Twana bəlayas (#bəl+ayas), raccoon - literally, "striped eyes"
asbəl', "it has stripes" (as- is the stative aspect marker)
3. #bəl+idg^was ("stripe" + "body") bluebill
cf Twana asbəl', "it has stripes"
This Puget Salish duck name refers to the lesser and greater scaups (Aythya affinis and marila). The lower, central body portion of these ducks is white while the head and neck area, and tail area is black; produces a white striped body appearance.
4. s-#c'əl+ič ("stand up" + "back") backbone
cf Twana asc' lap, "they're standing up"
5. s-#c'əp'+alič ("submerge in water" + "surface") swamp
cf Twana bic'əp'ilas, "the tide is coming in"
The Puget Salish lexical suffix +alič has the meaning "top, crest, surface" (Thom Hess, personal communication).

6. s-#duk^W=al+bix^W Snoqualmie people
Hess (p. 144) places this form under the root #duk^W, "worthless, bad", noting:
The name may derive from the Coastal peoples' low opinion of these upriver dwellers; or, more likely, the root duk^W may also connote ferocity. In the latter case, the name would signify 'ferocious people' rather than 'worthless people'.
Ethnographic and linguistic data from Twana however, which has a term identical to the Puget Salish form, suggests that the name of the Snoqualmie people is rather based on the root #duk^W, "change, transform":
The Snoqualmie were known as living "up the Snohomish River" and as a wealthy tribe who inter-married with peoples east of the Cascade Mountains, but not with the Twana. (Elmendorf, p. 293)
biduk^Wduk^Wuk^W ("miracles were done there")
the Snoqualmie area (Elmendorf)
7. s-#du?=ay+us ("rotten" + "soft, round objects") fermented salmon eggs
cf Twana asdu?, "it is rotten"
In Twana, the complex suffix +ayas refers to the eyes but can be extended to include any of the group "soft, round objects".
8. ʔu-#k^Waʔ ("expected" + "shine") sun
cf Twana ask^Wʔl, "sunshine" and Puget Salish/Twana ʔu- "expected".
s-ʔu-#k^Waʔ-b ("expected to be shone on") moon
9. s-#ʔa-d+ay ("insert" + "transitivizer" + "animate") woman
cf Twana asʔa?, "ejaculated"
10. #k^W'ic'+adi ("ocean" + "side") sunset
cf Twana sq^W'əc'aʔ, "salt water"
11. #ʔal+ap ("smooth" + "bottom") tongue
cf Twana ʔəʔəq^W, "smooth", and ʔəʔəʔ^W, "shine"

12. #ʔəc³+ab ("sharp" + "tail") weasel
cf Twana ʔəc³, "sharp"
13. qayuq^WatX a group in Canada (Hess p. 372)
Originally this term, and the term qayuq^WatX in Twana, were derived from the name of the Kyuquōš. It was later extended to all Nootkan people. As times changed, Puget Salish and Twana speakers knew only that this was the name of a Canadian group, "an ocean tribe".
14. #q'ap'=ux^W ("soft" + "inside") hazelnut
cf Twana asq'ap', "it's soft"
15. #q'^WaX^W STICK OUT
Ia. #q'^WaX^W+ač^Wi ("stick out" + "finger") fingernail
b. #q'^WaX^W+qs+ač^Wi ("stick out" + "point" + "finger") fingernail
IIa. #q'^WaX^W+səd ("stick out" + "foot") toenail
b. #q'^WaX^W+qs+səd ("stick out" + "point" + "foot") toenail
The suffix +ač^Wi also refers to the hand and the entire lower arm, +qs primarily refers to the nose and is extended to "point" or "tip", and +səd also refers to the leg or any support. The Suquamish, as well as the Twana, use forms labeled (a), while the Snohomish use the (b) forms.
cf Twana q'^WaX^Wus, "bump on forehead"
q'^WaX^Wqs, "raven" ("nose way out in front")
16. #sək^W+abac ("split" + "body") alder
The root is related through an ablaut process to #sik^W TEAR and #suk^W PEEL.
17. suq'^Wabš^W Suquamish (Hess p. 450)
Hess provides this as the Northern Puget Salish form. It is related to the Twana name swuq'^Wabš^W, literally meaning "drifted people": s-#wuq'^W+abš^W.
In fast speech this is shortened in Twana to suq'^Wabš^W or suq'^Wabš^W.
18. #Xal+səd ("support" + "feet") bridge
In Twana this same term can refer to a bridge, dock or ladder.
cf Twana Xaltəd, "cradleboard"

EXAMPLES

FALL / _	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ BUILDING} \rightarrow \#ciX \\ 2. \text{ [singular]} \rightarrow \#x^w it' \\ 3. \text{ [collective]} \rightarrow \#bi? \\ \text{ [plural]} \end{array} \right.$	barn, house
		plate, child, book, bobby
		pin, ribbon
		group of plates, group of
		apples, pieces of hair

This (very preliminary) chart is an interpretation of lexical processes in Muckleshoot, a southern dialect. In the instance where the object which falls is one of the lexical notions which can be designated by the suffix +altx^w, which includes the English concept BUILDING, the verb FALL is realized as #ciX. All other singular objects use #x^wit'. Groups of objects which fall are accompanied by the root #bi?. Hess (p. 39) provides an example of the use of this root (unmarked however for dialect) which translates as "river banks are washed away".

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Stress in Lillooet

Jan van Eijk
Mount Currie, B.C.

0. The transcription used in this article differs in the following details from the one used in my contributions to the XV International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages: \dot{i} \dot{i}' \dot{e} \dot{s} a o Δ are now written \downarrow \downarrow ζ ζ ζ ψ ζ respectively, while e is now written \downarrow before uvulars and \downarrow \downarrow ζ ζ , and a elsewhere. Moreover, I now write ζ (instead of ϵ) before uvulars and \downarrow \downarrow ζ ζ .

1. Introduction. In polysyllabic Lillooet words one syllable is stressed. The stress is phonemic, cf. $m\acute{a}q\acute{a}?$ "snow" vs. $maq\acute{a}?$ "poison onion", $\lambda\acute{a}min$ "fur" vs. $\lambda\acute{a}m\acute{i}n$ "axe". Moreover, the stress is mobile, it can move to a later syllable as suffixes and/or enclitics are added. The matrix for the distribution of the stress is therefore the word with enclitics (proclitics are irrelevant here).

In what follows I discuss the rules that govern the movement of the stress. Section 2 discusses rules for separate sets of cases, while in section 3 I present the general stress-rule. Section 4 lists some of the more common exceptions to these rules. Section 5 discusses some special stress-rules concerning enclitics. I will use the term "syllabifier" for any syllable, and for any consonant that with regard to the stress functions as a syllable. The term "full vowel" refers to any vowel other than ϵ ζ (hence a ζ i \downarrow u ψ). The term "weak vowel" stands for ϵ ζ .

2. Separate stress-rules. In this section I discuss three types of stress-rules: those that involve full vowels, under the heading "full syllabifiers" (2.1); those that involve weak vowels and certain consonants, or "weak syllabifiers" (2.2); and full vowels that always attract the stress, or "strong syllabifiers" (2.3)