

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".

SOURCES

- Elmendorf, William The Structure of Twana Culture. Washington State University. Pullman, 1960.
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Stress in Lillooet

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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", $\acute{\lambda}ámin$ "fur" vs. $\acute{\lambda}amín$ "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)

2.1 Full syllabifiers. In words with only full vowels, we have the following shift as suffixes or enclitics are added: the stress moves two vowels at a time from the originally stressed one, as long as it does not fall on the last one. We may have a stress-shift within a root (as in ʔúx°almix° "Indian", ʔux°almix°-kan "I am an Indian", ʔux°almix°-kálap "you folks are Indians"), or from a root to a suffix, as in the following lists:

	cun "to order"	cúl-un̄ "to point at"
2S-3S	cún-akax°	cúl-un̄-akax°
2S-1P (imperative)	cún-tumuλ	cúl-un̄-tumuλ
2S-1P	cun-tumúλ-kax°	cúl-un̄-tumúλ-kax°
2P-1P	cun-tumúλ-kálap	cúl-un̄-tumúλ-kálap

We may also have an enclitic influencing the stress in the preceding word (as in cúl-un̄-akáx°_ha "do you point at him?" with the question-marker _ha), or we may have the stress moving to a clitic, as in waʔ-λkan_há_ka_λuʔ "should (_ka) I (-λkan) stay (waʔ)?" (_λuʔ "well, but, so"), from wáʔ-λkan "I am, I stay".

An example with the stress not starting from the first full vowel: qańim "to hear", qańim-akálap "you folks (-akálap) hear". qańim-akálap_ha "do you folks hear?"

We will use the term "full syllabifiers" for all syllables that act like full vowels with regard to the stress,¹ and we will use the term "first full syllabifier" to refer to the stressed full vowel of the root (hence in ʔúx°almix° the first full syllabifier is u, while in qańim it is i).

2.2 Weak syllabifiers. In words with weak vowels only, the stress falls, as a rule, on the first vowel: t̄q̄q-ən "to touch (t̄q̄q-), transitive (-ən)", ʃ̄əl-ʃ̄əl "strong", s̄ák-men "whip, switch" (s̄ek- "to whip, hit with stick", -men "implement, instrument").²

In words with both weak and full vowels, the weak vowels also have to be counted when assigning the stress, as in ʔíλəm "to sing", ʔíλəm-akálap "you folks sing", sáwλənmin "to ask about",

sáwλənmin-λkan "I asked about him". However, the stress can not fall on ə or ɛ in this type of words.³ When ə or ɛ are in a position where full vowels receive the stress, they are in fact ignored. We have the following cases here:

(a) when there is more than one syllable after ə ɛ the stress moves to the first of these syllables, as in záxalq°əm "tall", saxalq°əm-akálap "you folks are tall";

(b) when there is only one syllable after ə ɛ the stress does not move: záxalq°əm-λkan "I am tall".

When a root or root-suffix combination with weak vowels only is followed by a suffix with at least one full vowel, the counting base is the (first) full vowel of the suffix, e.g. qəl "bad", qəl-λkán "I am bad", qəl-akálap "you folks are bad"; ʃ̄əl-ʃ̄əl "strong", ʃ̄əl-ʃ̄əl-λkán "I am strong", ʃ̄əl-ʃ̄əl-akálap "you folks are strong". In this type of words, the first full syllabifier is simply the (first) full vowel.

As a rule, full vowels followed by ʔ act as weak vowels, hence qaʔ "to eat", qaʔ-λkán "I ate"; caʔx° "happy", caʔx°-kán "I am happy".⁴

2.2.1 Consonants as weak syllabifiers. Some consonants function as weak vowels for stress-purposes. We have two groups here:

(a) the second consonant in a root- or suffix-final cluster, like t in ʔawt "to be late", or x in -ilx "body";

(b) lexical suffixes and clitics of the shape C or CC, like -c "mouth", -k "back", -qs "nose", ~~-kλ "remote future, possibility"~~, -λλ "and then".

Like weak vowels, these consonants or vowel-less morphemes have to be counted when assigning the stress, as in ʔawt-kálap "you folks are late"; ʃ̄áwən "low", ʃ̄áwən-ílx "to humble oneself",⁵ ʃ̄áwən-ilx-kálap "you folks humble yourselves"; ʔúx°almix° "Indian", ʔux°almix°-c "to speak Indian"; pań-c "to share (pań-) somebody's meal", pań-c-kálap "you folks share somebody's meal";

súp-c-am̄ "to scratch (sup-) one's mouth, lips", sup-c-ám-λkan "I scratch my lips" (-am̄ intransitivizer); cúλ-un̄-λkan "I point at it", cuλ-un̄-λkán_kλ "I will point at it".

When any of these elements is in the same position where a full syllabifier would receive the stress, it is ignored: cúk°-al̄-c "to finish (cuk°-) eating", cúk°-al̄-c-kan "I am finished eating", cuk°-al̄-c-kálap "you folks are finished eating".

We will use the term "weak syllabifier" for weak vowels and for the consonantal elements that behave like weak vowels.

The suffixes -s (3S poss.), -s (causativizer), -c (1S object) have no syllabic value: cf. pún-c-kálap "you folks found (pun) me (-c)" vs. pañ-c-kálap (p.3). These are the only non-lexical suffixes of the shape C.

2.2.2 Suffix doublets. A number of suffixes that consist of two syllabifiers have two forms depending on whether they are able to attract the stress or not. Here belong, e.g., -íl̄x/íl̄lex "body", -álp/álex "tree, plant", -úlm̄x°/úlm̄x° "land, soil". The first member of each pair is the basic form: when the stress, according to the rules discussed so far, should fall on the suffix, the suffix retains this form; when the suffix cannot attract the stress we have the second form. Examples: x°p-il̄x "to stand up from lying position" (x°ap- "to be put on one's feet"), táλ-l̄lex "to stand up from sitting position" (taλ- "upright"); s-pác̄n-álp "Indian hemp" (s-pác̄n "net"), pún-λap "Rocky Mountain juniper" (pun- unique root); zu°x°-úlm̄x° "to get used (zu°x°) to the land", pús-lum̄x° "wet (pus) ground".

3. Strong syllabifiers. Next to full and weak syllabifiers there are also strong syllabifiers. Only certain suffixes fall in this category. When in word-final position, they attract the stress regardless of the rules given so far. Suffixes that belong here are: -ʔul "real, original, par excellence", -sút (reflexive), -uλ "step-relative", -uλ "always". Examples: ʔúx°almix° "Indian, person", ʔux°almix°-ʔúl "Indian"; páplaʔ "one person", paplaʔ-sút "by oneself, alone"; s-k°úzaʔ "child,

offspring", s-k°uzʔ-úλ "stepchild"; lúlem̄ "jealous", lulm̄-uλ "always jealous", lulm̄-uλ-sút "always jealous without reason". As the last example shows, the second of two consecutive strong syllabifiers is stressed. When more suffixes follow a strong syllabifier the stress moves according to the pattern described: λuq°-xi-cút "to serve oneself" (-xi-cút ← *-xit-sút), λuq°-xi-cut-kálap_ha "did you folks serve yourselves?"

3. General stress-rule. We may now state the general rule for the distribution of the stress:
 1. The counting base for the distribution of the stress is
 - (a) the (last) strong syllabifier in a word, or, if there is no strong syllabifier,
 - (b) the first full syllabifier, or, if there is no full syllabifier,
 - (c) the first weak syllabifier.
 2. From this base the stress moves two syllabifiers at a time, as suffixes or clitics are added, as long as
 - (a) it does not fall on the last syllabifier in a word, except when the last syllabifier is also the only full syllabifier (here it may move also one syllable);
 - (b) it does not fall on a weak syllabifier (where it would, the weak syllabifier is ignored).
4. General exceptions. Most exceptions to the stress-rule comprise frequently used and easily recognizable morphemes:
 - (a) most roots ending in a full vowel followed by a glottalized resonant are weak syllabifiers before a direct transitivizer,⁶ but full syllabifiers before other suffixes, e.g. k°uí- "to make", k°uí-ún "to make smt., trans.", k°uí-xal "to make, intr.", k°uí-xit "to make smt. for sb."
 - (b) the passive-former -em̄ (which is also used in the relations 1P-2S, 1P-3S) is a full syllabifier, so it may attract the stress as in t̄q̄-en "to touch", t̄q̄-n-ém̄ "it is touched, we touch it",

cúl-un'-əm "we point at it, it is pointed at", λ-cuλ-un'-əm-as "if we point at it", cuλ-un'-əm_kλ "we will point at it".

(c) the suffix -tam- (which precedes -álap and -kálap "you folks" in forms where these suffixes refer to the logical object) is a weak syllabifier, so it is ignored when it should attract the stress, e.g. cuλ-un'-tam-kálap "you folks are pointed at, we point at you folks" (instead of expected *cuλ-un'-tám-kálap); in the same way it is ignored when it should be the starting-point for the next placement of the stress, e.g. cuλ-un'-tam-álap-as "he (-as) points at you folks" (instead of *cuλ-un'-tam-álap-as) - cf. these cases with pun-tam-kálap "we find you folks" and pun-tam-álap-as "he finds you folks" where the stress is regular.

5. Enclitics. Enclitics stand apart from other syllabifiers for the following reasons:

(a) they are, as a rule, full syllabifiers regardless of their shape, so even enclitics like _k'u? (quotative), _tu? (past tense marker), and _kλ may attract the stress (_kλ changing to _kəλ in that case), as in ka_xím_a "it disappeared", ka_xím_a_k'u?_tu? "it disappeared, I heard" (ka..._a "suddenly, after an effort, out of control"); qlil-min-ciĥ-as "he (-as) is angry (qlil) at (-min) you (-ciĥ)", qlil-min-ciĥ-as_kéλ_tu? "he might get angry at you";

(b) single clitics do not attract the stress after words with only weak syllables: qəł_tí? "that is bad", tí_séps_a "the door (séps)", ka_q'ól_a "it got scorched". Note that in this respect they are different from other full syllabifiers (cf. qəł-λkán, 2.2, p. 3);

(c) all roots, even those with weak vowels only, are full syllabifiers when imbedded in the combination ka..._a (see (a)), cf. ka_q'ól-kan_a "I got burned by accident" vs. q'ól-p-kán_id. (-p formative, the second form suggests a lesser degree of incidence than the first one). When a root in a ka..._a construction is followed by more suffixes the stress moves from the root according to the usual pattern, e.g. ka_q'ól-tumx-ás_a "he scorched me by accident"⁷ vs. q'ól-p-s-tumx-as "he scorched me"

(either by accident or on purpose) - the difference -tumx/-tumx regularly accompanies the difference in stress-patterns.

Notes

1. note that "full syllabifier" includes most syllables with a full vowel, but not -tam-, while it does include -əm (see section 4).
2. words consisting of more than two weak syllables are very rare and therefore not suitable for generalizations; one case in point is λx'əx'məx-tən "lodge for pubescent girl"; note also the onomatopoeia tət-tət-tét "sound of sunflower root being pounded".
3. I ignore here those (quite infrequent) roots with both full and weak vowels, and with the stress on a weak vowel, e.g. ġ'əlalél "fire flickering" (reduplication of ġ'əl- "to burn"), kaλóləs "three animals" (reduplication of kaλás "three").
4. not all words with a full vowel followed by ? are weak, e.g. wa? "to be (busy with, involved in)", wá?-λkan "I am"; note also maqá? "poison onion".
5. unstressed ə is dropped before a stem-final consonant when this consonant is followed by a vowel, hence xáwə́n ⇒ xáw'n-ílx; note that both ə and x function as syllables.
6. a direct transitivizer is used in forms that require a direct object (there are also indirect and benefactive transitivizers).
7. the causativizer -s (which is present in the underlying form) is dropped between λ and t.