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PROBLEMS IN PROTO-SALISH PRONOUN RECONSTRUCTION

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O.0 It has been some ten years now since the publication of Gladys A. Reichard's "A Comparison of Five Salish Languages: I-VI".¹ The five languages Reichard used in her comparison were Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel, Upper Chehalis, Puget Salish, and Tillamook. In the present paper, comparison has been restricted to pronominal elements and data has been added for Bella Coola, Squamish, Clallam/ Songish, Halkomelem, Sliammon, Sechelt, Twana, Columbian, Shuswap, Okanagan, and Lillooet.² A significant amount of data from other Salish languages--- Quinault, Lower Chehalis, and Thompson, in particular--- has not been available to me. As will be apparent in what follows, many potentially relevant forms are lacking even in the languages examined. Moreover, the available language descriptions are often difficult to use for comparative purposes since the different languages have received widely varying amounts of attention. Hence, the tentative and often speculative nature of the reconstructions offered here must be emphasized.

O.1 One problem that must be considered in Salish reconstruction (and in descriptions of particular Salish languages) is

Skagit	Nisqually
/bad/	/bad/
/bəd+aʔ/	/bəd+əʔ/
/čəx' +aʔ/	/čəx' +əʔ/
/xəp+ayʔ/	/xəp+ayʔ/
/x'əl+ayʔ/	/x'əl+ayʔ/
/čəg ^w +as/	/čəg ^w +əš/

If we apply the Puget Salish stress rule and the rule that deletes a when it precedes stress, the appropriate phonetic forms for each of the two dialects results. It is apparent that the phonemic shape of the suffixes for 'child' and 'rock' and for 'wife' are different in Skagit and Nisqually.

There are a large number of stress/ ablaut alternations like Skagit bad/ bdaʔ and Nisqually bad/ bədəʔ in Puget Salish. In Nisqually, for example, note: x'ep 'low' / sx'pubš 'Cowlitz (lower people)'; q^wax^wšed 'toe nail' / q^wx^wačiʔ 'fingernail'. From synchronic evidence such as this, it is clear that Puget Salish has no initial consonant clusters in roots. However, for a number of Puget Salish roots, (for example, those of x'layʔ and xpayʔ), only the a-grade occurs. Hence, there is no way of knowing synchronically what the full grade is in these cases.

From comparative evidence, however, it should ^{often} be possible to determine what the full grade of the root originally was.

For 'rock', Quileute has borrowed the Salish word as kála; and

1.0 The independent pronouns are given in tables 1 and 2.

	1S	2S	3S
Bella Coola	ńc	ʔinu	tix, cix
Tillamook	ʔenjə ¹⁰	ʔengí	jení·ł
Squamish	ʔens	nəw	tíwa, cíwa
Sliammon	čínəł	négi(ł)	tíʔtə
Clallam/ Songish	ʔəc/ʔésa	nek ^w /nək ^{wa}	níl
Halkomelem	ʔé·nθə, ʔénθə	néwe	ʔá (Cw. níł) ¹¹
Sechelt	cáliyo	nəwíl	nít
Puget Salish	ʔəcá	dəg ^{wí}	cedíł
U. Chehalis	ʔénca	nəw pe	cén pe
Twana	dəcéh	dəʔwéh	cedíł
Shuswap	n-čəwaʔ	nuwíʔ	nuwiʔs
Okanagan	ʔinčə	ʔənəwí	
Lillooet	sʔinč	snu	sníl
Kalispel	quyeʔé	ʔanuí	cəníc
Columbian	ʔincá	ʔin wí (ł)	cəní(ł)
Coeur d'Alene	čínə čín ^ʔ ə (ngʔt)	kuwə kuw ^ə (ngʔt)	cəníl

Table 1. Independent Pronouns---Singular

by the synchronic phonological rule [d, t] + s + c. It is unclear why Songish and Clallam show loss of n here, since *n is not changed to a voiced stop in Straits dialects.

1.2 PS *(?V)nəwí for 2S. *w is chosen here as the precursor of the correspondence set: Tillamook g, Sliammon g, Clallam/Songish k^w, Puget Salish g^w, Twana ?w, and w/u elsewhere.

Gaberell Drachman suggests that Puget Salish g^w derives from ?w (1969: 206). However, since Proto-Salish apparently had no root initial consonant clusters, (there are a fairly large number of initial g^w's in Puget Salish), the uni-segmental *w seems a better starting point.¹² Coeur d'Alene has an initial ku-element that occurs also in 2P. It is not clear that the -wæ part of the Coeur d'Alene form corresponds to *wi; Reichard suggests that an n has been lost from an earlier *ku-n-wæ, (1959: 8). Shuswap nuwi? is used as the base for all persons except 1S and seems derived from the *nəwí 2S form; for the remaining persons the possessive pronoun is added to nuwi?.

1.3 PS *cəníl for 3S. The *l is assumed for the final segment of the proto-form since devoicing to ɬ in final position seems more reasonable than voicing. Bella Coola, Squamish, Sliammon, and Halkomelem have forms which are apparently from the deictic system.

1.4 PS *(ɬ) + nímal for 1P. Bella Coola, Clallam/Songish, and Halkomelem show an additional *ɬ element. Columbian has ɬ

2.0 The possessive pronouns are given in Tables 3 and 4.

	1S	2S	3S
Bella Coola	-c	-nu	-s
Tillamook	n-	ʔis-	-s
Squamish	ʔn-	ʔə-	-s
Sliammon	-ə̂lʒ	-e	-s
Clallam/ Songish	n(ə)-	nʔ-	-s
Halkomelem	nə-	ʔən-	-s
Puget Salish	d-	ʔəd-	-s
U. Chehalis	n-	ʔa-	-s
Twana	d-	ʔi(s)-	-(a)s
Shuswap	n-	æʔ-	-s
Okanagan	ʔi-	æ-	-s
Lillooet	ʔæ-	wəswæʔ	sæ
Kalispel	ʔin-	ʔan-	-s
Columbian	ʔə(n)-	ʔə(n)-	-s
	ʔin-	ʔin-	
Coeur d'Alene	hIn-	ʔIn-	-s

Table 3. Possessive Pronouns---Singular

2.2 PS *ʔen- for 2S. Bella Coola has -nu from the subject pronouns. Squamish, U. Chehalis, Shuswap, and Okanagan have lost the n. Clallam/ Songish shows metathesis. The Tillamook and Sliammon forms have -s rather than n. The Sliammon form seems to derive from *c.

2.3 PS *-s for 3S.

2.4 PS *-t and *-l for 1P. Squamish, Puget Salish, U. Chehalis, and Shuswap have *k from the subject pronouns. Lillooet seems to share a qeʔ- element with Kalispel. Sliammon -ms does not fit. Songish has ^{ik}l and t.

2.5 PS *-p and *-lap for 2P. Okanagan, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene have m before p; it is not clear whether this was originally part of PS 2P or is an interior innovation.

2.6 PS *-s for 3P (as for 3S). A distinctive plural element is added for most of the languages. Tillamook -agas and Puget Salish -alg^weʔ seem related.

	1P	2P	3P
Bella Coola	-(i)ɫ	-p	-t
Tillamook	-yɪɫ	yáɫə	∅
Squamish	-(a)t	-a(ya)p	-aswɪt
Sliammon	-št	-əp	∅
Clallam/ Songish	-st/ɫtə	/-x ^w	-(ə)s
Halkomelem	-ət	-ɛ•p	-əs
Sechelt	-at	-aləp	
Puget Salish	-əɫ	-aləp	-as, -əlg ^w əʔ
U. Chehalis	-ɫ	-alp	-yamš, -əɫt
Twana	-ɫ	-p	wəɫ, ʔəɫ
Shuswap	-t, (k ^w)ux ^w	-p	-s, ∅
Okanagan	(k)o-	p-	-ələx
Lillooet	qəɫ-	æʔləp-	-əwít
Kalispel	qeʔ-, -t	p-	∅
Columbian	tɫ -t, -m	-p, -t	-s, -lx
Coeur d'Alene	(č-), -mæt	ku-p, -p, -əlp	-ilš

Table 6. Subject Pronouns---Plural

	1S	2S	3S
Bella Coole	-c	-nu, -c	∅
Tillamook	-c, -(i(w))š	-c, -iw	-n, -t
Squamish	-c, -mš	-umi	∅
Clallam	-c, -s	-s	∅
Halkomelem	-samx	-same	∅
Sechelt	-š, -sal	-i, -im	∅, -em
Puget Salish	-s, -bš	-(b)icid	∅
U. Chehalis	-c, -mš, -cal -wal-	-ce, -me	-n, -x ^w , -l, -ł, -y, -t, -s-
Twana	-beš	-i(d)	∅
Shuswap	-š, -tas, -tam	-ši	-æ, ∅
Okanagan	ko...əntəm	łəms	sələx
Lillooet	čəs	čixəs	əs
Kalispel	ku-	-c, ci?	∅
Columbian	c(á)-s(á)-/ú)m-	se-s(i)-/ú)m-	(∅, -t-) ∅
	(-c(á)-, -t(ú)m-)	(-c(i)-, -t(ú)m-)	
Coeur d'Alene	-c	-c, -ci	-t

Table 7. Object Pronouns---Singular

4.2 PS *-s+i+? ? A number of languages show i in the 2S form. This has apparently been added to the 1S form. Puget Salish shows an additional *n, as does Twana. The *n also appears in the Puget Salish 2P form as an addition to the 1P form.

4.3 PS \emptyset for 3S.

4.4 PS *-ul for 1P. The t of Bella Coola, Tillamook, etc. is historically probably a transitivizer.

4.5 PS *-ul+? for 2P. Kalispel, Columbian, and Coeur d'Alene have added -m to 1P as a 2P marker.

4.6 PS \emptyset for 3P.

the t or n transitive markers do not seem to have been originally a part of the form.

5.3 PS *(s)+wat for 'who' interrogative. The Clallam/ Songish forms are what one would expect for 'where' rather than 'who'. *s- nominalizer was apparently optional. The t is missing in U. Chehalis.

6.0 Table 10 gives a chart of the reconstructed pronouns.

	Independent	Possessive	Subject	Object
1S	*ʔenća	*n-	*(a)n	*-s
2S	*(?V)nəwí	*ʔen-	*(a)x ^w	*-s+i+?
3S	*cəníl	*-s	*(a)s, ∅	∅
1P	*(l̥)+nímal	*-t, *-l̥	*-t, *-l̥	*-ul
2P	*(wə)láp	*-p, *-lap	*-p, *-lap	*-ul+?
3P	(*cəníl) ?	*-s	*(a)s, ∅	∅

Table 10. Proto-Salish Pronouns

6.1 There is obviously a good deal of commonality among the proto-forms suggested in Table 10. There seems to have been no distinction between 3S and 3P in Proto-Salish. Except for 2S, there was apparently no distinction between the possessive and subject pronouns. There are similarities between the independent pronouns and the others but the constituents out of which the independent pronouns may have been formed are not clear.

6.2 The Salish languages are usually grouped into four divisions: Bella Coola, Coast, Interior, and Tillamook. It may be of some interest to examine these divisions with respect to pronominal forms.

FOOTNOTES

¹ IJAL, 1958, 24. 293-300; 1959, 25. 8-15, 90-96, 154-167, 239-253; 1960, 26. 50-61.

² The sources used here are:
Bella Coola: Stanley Newman, "Bella Coola Grammatical Processes and Form Classes," IJAL, 1969, 25. 175-179; "Bella Coola Paradigms," IJAL, 1969, 25-299-306. Tillamook: May M. Edel, "The Tillamook Language," IJAL, 1939, 10. 1-57. Squamish: Aert H. Kuipers, The Squamish Language, The Hague, 1967. Sliammon: John H. Davis, Some Phonological Rules in Mainland Comox, Master's thesis, Univ. of Victoria, 1970. Clallam: Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson, "Clallam: A Preview," 1968, dittoed. Songish: Yolanda Raffo, (personal communication). Halkomelem: Wayne Suttles, "Halkomelem Personal Pronouns," dittoed. Sechelt: George V. Grekoff, (personal communication). Puget Salish: Thomas M. Hess, Snohomish Grammatical Structure, Ph. D. dissertation, Univ. of Washington, 1967; the data for the Skagit and Nisqually dialects is from my own field work. Upper Chehalis: M. Dale Kinkade, "Phonology and Morphology of Upper Chehalis: I-IV", IJAL, 1963, 29. 181-195, 345-356; 1964, 30. 32-61, 251-260. Twana: Gaberell Drachman, Twana Phonology, The Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics, No. 5, 1969. Shuswap: James A. Gibson, (personal communication). Okanagan and Lillooet: Randy Bouchard, (personal communication). Kalispel: Hans Vogt, The Kalispel Language, Oslo, 1940. Columbian: M. Dale Kinkade, (personal communication). Coeur d'Alene: Gladys A. Reichard, Coeur d'Alene, in HAIL, Vol. 3, New York, 1938, 517-707.

I should like to thank Laurence and Terry Thompson for corrections to many of the Tillamook forms.

All errors in the languages I have considered here are mine.

³ In the Nisqually dialect the second half of the statement should read: or on the first syllable if all stem vowels are schwa or i. Thus, dég^wi 'thou', jédis 'tooth', g^wéd^wbix^w 'be seated', etc.

^{3a} Randy Bouchard, (personal communication).

⁴ John Davis informs me that Sliammon also has no root initial consonant clusters.

⁵ See M. Dale Kinkade and Clarence Sloat, "Proto-Interior Salish Vowels," 1969, unpublished, for ablaut in interior Salish languages.

⁶ Kuipers, 1967, 254-255.