Best wishes
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A BOAS ORIGINAL

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0. Between 1889 and 1900 Franz Boas, the great American anthropologist made at least two field trips into the Interior of British Columbia, making notes and collecting data on the Okanagan Salish Indians. The linguistic material of his first trip formed part of a word list and brief grammatical statement published in 1890.[1] The Okanagan material gathered during the later trip was never reworked and presented for publication. His linguistic notes on Okanagan, preserved in the American Philosophical Society Library at Philadelphia, contain three Okanagan tales, of which the one below is the longest. Their interest lies in the fact that they are the earliest Okanagan stories recorded verbatim, and form part of a broad series of animal tales recounted by Okanagan elders to their descendants. They reveal the Okanagans' belief that Coyote created the world, that he and his sons possessed magical powers, but that at heart he was the eternal prankster subject to human failings, much like the Greek deities and quite unlike the model of moral perfection exemplified in the Christian ideal. The story presented here also illustrates the hunter's belief that a wounded or startled grizzly bear will roll downhill to trap or outmanoeuvre an enemy. A grizzly bear, it is believed, can be killed only by an attacker approaching him from above.

For comparison with present-day Okanagan, the story was read to Larry Pierre, called Skatán, a native Okanagan

Indian. For the most part, the story was entirely comprehensible. The informant, however, did make a few minor grammatical adjustments on listening to the text. These adjustments were encorporated into the phonemicized version of the text presented below. They can be found in sections numbered 10, 21, 30, and 63. The nature of the modifications can be established through a comparison with the original Boas version also included below.

1.1. The northernmost dialects of Okanagan are characterized by two stress phonemes and thirty-five segmental phonemes, consisting of three vowels, a, e, and o, and thirty-two consonants, c, c', g, h, k, k', k^w, $k^{w'}$, l, ɬ, m, n, p, p', q, q', q^w, $q^{w'}$, r, s, t, t', λ, λ', w, x, x^w, x̣, $x̣^w$, y, ɣ, and ʔ. The phonetic actualizations of these phonemes can, in general, be ascertained from the Boas text below. Some of the listed phonemes are worth commenting on, either because they are not represented in the text, or because their phonetic nature is open to discussion. For example, the africate /c/ is frequently heard as [ts], but sometimes as [tš]. It is considered distinct from the sequence /ts/ which is heard with an intervening and predictable epenthetic vowel. The phoneme g, not present in the text below, is a voiced uvular fricative, reminiscent of the Parisian uvular r, but with no trill. Distributionally it occurs only in stem morphemes, as /r/ does.[2]

Examples of words with /g/ are cgep tree, goyxótn badger, lgmen insect's stinger.[3]

The voiceless laryngeal continuant /h/, characterized by Swadesh as rare in Salishan languages,[4] appears in the text in the interrogative particle ha (95),[5] and appears sometimes[6] in acnmaqéws log across a creek (92, 99). Nondistinctively, an aspirated onset is heard with utterance initial vowels carrying secondary stress.

Pharyngeal. The voiced pharyngeal continuant, /ʕ/, is a back consonant often difficult to hear.[7] Boas heard it and symbolized it as ṛ and r.[8] Most frequently, this consonant is contiguous with /a/; and in this environment the vowel is articulated quite far back. A mutual resemblance thus develops between /a/ and /ʕ/, so that when /a/ and /ʕ/ appear together, it is often difficult to decide which comes first. There is no labialized equivalent of /ʕ/ in the northern dialects of Okanagan comparable to those that appear in the more southerly dialects of this language. The glottalized pharyngeal in the north is allophonic.

Glottal Stop. Okanagan has a glottal stop phoneme, occurring for example in man's father lʔew (2). In addition, however, there is a stylish glottal stop which a speaker will choose to use depending on nonlinguistic considerations. To establish whether a given occurrence of glottal stop is stylish or not, it is necessary to

have different informants pronounce the utterance in question, or have one informant pronounce it several times with an intervening time lapse. The stylish glottal stop is recognizable by its fluctuating presence and absence. Examples of this stylish glottal stop are found in the phonemicized version of the text: naʔl and (1), cq'elʔns his arrows (3), teaslé'st two arrows (20), elλ'ʔéʔs in a bark canoe (47), eskokwʔélp rose bush (64), kolʔl he made himself (79), trtarqmʔálqʷ he jumped up and down on the log (97). These glottal stops were noted in Larry Pierre's pronunciation of the text at hand, and are correspondingly recorded in the phonemicized version. Their addition constitutes a deviation from the original Boas text, but are included as a point of interest. The glottal stop in estaʔwtélc his youngest son (18) is a diminutive marker.[9]

Allophonic variation is slight. Perhaps most noticeable is the allophonic glottalization of vowels. A vowel has a glottalized coda when utterance final, and also when preceding another vowel that bears primary stress, in which case the first vowel also bears primary stress, e.g. /spoos/ : [spó'ós] heart. Nasal consonants are preglottalized utterance initially, and postglottalized before one or more voiceless consonants that end an utterance. W occurring non utterance-initially is postglottalized before a stop phoneme or s. Every voiced continuant is postglottalized when intervocallic, provided

that the second vowel is primarily stressed. It is similarly glottalized in utterance final position. Some speakers extend the postglottalization of voiced continuants into another environment--that is, between a primarily stressed vowel and another voiced continuant. All these cases of consonantal glottalization, however, are quite slight and often pass unnoticed by the unwary linguist.[10]

Phonetically, the most noticeable difference among Okanagan dialects lies with the vowels. For instance, the phoneme e is articulated anywhere from [i] to [e] depending on the dialect. Similarly the spread for /o/ lies between [u] and [o]. The higher articulation characterizes dialects found around the southern end of Okanagan Lake, while the lower articulation is heard at the Head (northern end) of Okanagan Lake. A more noticeable glottalization of voiced consonants and a greater recourse to the stylistic glottal stop, already described, are dialectal traits of the area around Penticton at the southern end of Okanagan Lake.

1.1.2. Phonetically, the only consonant clusters heard in careful Okanagan speech are composed either of s/l plus another consonant, or of a glottalized continuant followed by a voiceless consonant. Otherwise we hear [CV(C)]. When V is heard clearly and distinctly, it is phonemic. But when V is heard as a murmur, it can be treated as a predictable element and omitted in phonemic transcription. This predictable penet vowel[11] is a compromise between full voice and

a whisper,[12] occurring only interconsonantally and never utterance initially or finally. The actual quality of the vowel is difficult to specify because of its indistinct nature and its tendency to fluctuate. But it is always lax, always bears minimal stress, is always short in duration, and always of central articulation, high to mid. Slight labialization can be detected in the environment of labialized consonants. Thus a [CVC] syllable that peaks on a pepet vowel is rewritten as /CC/.

In some speakers it is occasionally difficult to distinguish the pepet vowel from certain variants of the phoneme a. But in most speakers the two are distinguishable: in citation forms the pepet vowel is centrally articulated while /a/ is not; in normal to rapid speech the pepet vowel is of very brief duration, sometimes even disappearing, while variants of /a/, even though centralizing to schwa, have about the same duration as variants of any other vowel phoneme.

1.2. When examined in terms of morpheme classes, Okanagan morphemes are found to follow a rigid ordering scheme. For example, certain pronoun morphemes are always used as prefixes, while other pronoun morphemes are always used as suffixes, with no interchange possible. This ordering scheme can be brought into relief through the establishment of position classes, in the present instance twelve, and by assignment of morphemes to specific classes. The construction of utterances can then be described in terms of these classes

The first utterance in the text below k^{w}l-ewt-lx they lived together is made up of three morphemes: live - side by side - 3 person pluraliser, that is, a stem morpheme and two suffixes. The second utterance, na?l and, is simply a stem morpheme without affixation.

Representatives of one or more of seven morpheme classes in various combinations can be found preceding stem morphemes. Likewise, representatives of one or more of four morpheme classes in various combinations can be found following stem morphemes. No single utterance has been found that includes representatives of all twelve morpheme classes. But on the other hand utterances are numerous that contain two representatives of a single morpheme class, for example, those with compound stems. The second sentence (2) of the text has e-ks-k'os-^{9}as-m I'm going to see her (I - intentional - go - look at - indefinite object). Both k'os go and ^{9}as look at are class 8 stem morphemes appearing here with two prefixes and a suffix. As a mnemonic device, the various Okanagan morpheme classes have been named. The names also suggest that certain semantic features characterise the members of a given class. The seven prefix classes are 1. Emphatic, 2. Pronoun, 3. Nominaliser, 4. Adverb, 5. Verbaliser, 6. Preposition-Adverb, 7. Numeral. Stem morphemes belong to class 8. The remaining four classes are suffixes: 9. Adverb, 10. Lexical, 11. Verbaliser, 12. Pronoun.[13] Members of these various

position classes are presented in the appended morpheme list, where the bracketed number denotes morpheme class. The number of constituent morphemes in each class varies greatly. In general, the total number of suffix morphemes far outnumbers the prefixes. Unassigned to any position class is the proclitic e- functioning as an article. It is the most commonly used prefix; and when it appears it precedes every other morpheme present.[14] Word formation in Okanagan is effected by affixation, reduplication, glottalization and encorporation, in varying combinations.

1.2.1. Partial or complete morpheme reduplication is common in Okanagan stems. It produces semantic modifications of the following types: diminution,[15] process, iteration, and plurality. In the following examples of these phenomena hyphens separate the morphemes. Sám-a whiteman, sm-sám-a white people, s-sm-sám-a white children; tmh-ólax^{w} land, t-tmh-ólax^{w} small piece of land; te-^{q}áx it is furrowed (striped or scratched), te-^{q}-^{q}ax it has tiny furrows (strives or scratches); ox^{w}-áp it's burning, e-ox^{w}-áp it's starting to burn; n-^{q}al-t he went under (water), n-^{q}a-al he's going under; x^{w}r-sp he trembled, x^{w}r-r-ap-p he became anxious; ko-t'ap-n-tém he shot at us, ko-t'a-t'ap-n-tém he kept shooting at us; en-kél-x my hand, en-kl-kél-x my hands; cet-x^{w} house, ct-cet-x^{w} houses.[16] Other examples of reduplication can be found in the text below, noted in the appended List of Morphemes under Reduplication.[17]

1.2.2. While the concept of tense is poorly developed morphemically in Okanagan (see -x nonfuture listed under Suffixes below), the language expresses three aspects: continuative, sequential, and completive.[18] The continuative aspect, not illustrated in the text, expresses continued action or being, without specific time reference. The sequential aspect indicates a usual or expected action under a given set of circumstances, or an event resulting from or following a previous event. The completive aspect signifies an action in its totality, with no regard to duration, frequency of occurrence, location in time, or causation. Aspectual morphemes are Verbalizers, members of morpheme classes 5 and 11, and illustrated as follows.

Continuative: sc- (class 5), no suffix. Kn-sc-kec-x (I - continuative - come - non-future) I am coming; kn-sc-t'ap-ám (I - continuative - shoot - indefinite object) I'm shooting at something; k^{w}-e-sc-k'a-ám (thee - I - continuative - seek - indefinite object) I'm looking for you.

Sequential: s- (class 5), -s (class 11). Kn-s-kec-x (I - sequential - come - nonfuture) (then) I came; s-t-xoy-m-s (sequential - thither - go - indefinite object - he) (then) he approached something; t'ap-s-tóm-n (shoot - sequential - thee - I) (then) I fired at you. Further examples can be found in the text.

Completive: no prefix, -n (class 11). Kn-kec (I - come) I came; kn-t'ap-ám (I - shoot - indefinite object) I shot at something; t'ap-n-tén (shoot - completive - I) I shot at it. Further examples are in the text.

1.2.3. In common with other Interior Salish languages, Okanagan is characterized by a large number of pronoun morphemes--in this case, about twenty-seven, plus -lx a third person pluralizer, depending on how allophonic variants are assigned. An interesting feature is the double set of intransitive pronouns.[19]

Singular :	1st person	kn-	e-
	2nd person	k^w-	a-
	3rd person		-s
Plural :	1st person	ko-	-tt
	2nd person	-p	-mp
	3rd person	-(-lx)	-s(lx)

It is often possible to substitute a pronoun from the first column for the corresponding pronoun from the second without any great semantic change: kn-wek-m (I - see - indefinite object) I saw something; e-wek-m (I - see - indefinite object) I saw something.[20] Pronouns in the second column are also used to denote possession, unlike those of the first column: e-s-lǎx̣-t (my - nominalizer - friend - integral characteristic) my friend; l?ew-s (father - his) his father.[21] On other occasions, a single sequence of morphemes can have two semantic interpretations. Co-n-tm (co tell, -n completive

co-s) can mean he told him or we told him, the former meaning being consistently used in the text below. He told him can also be rendered as co-s, a transitive construction in which the -n completive aspect suffix has been assimilated before the sibilant. Reference to the second pronoun column above, however, reveals the intransitive pronoun -s third person. Thus co-s, without any assimilated aspect-suffix, can also be an intransitive construction, he said.[22] In the text below the sequence k'ol-s (k'ol work, make) he worked / he made them (35, 36) illustrates these intransitive and transitive functions.

It is clear that some pronoun morphemes are prefixes while others are suffixes. They occur in utterances singly or doubly in various prefixal and suffixal combinations. The most apparent restriction of occurrence among pronouns is found in the environment of specific aspect markers. While some pronouns appear with aspect prefixes and never with aspect suffixes, kn- I, for example, others occur only in the converse environment, like -tex^{w} thou, for example.[23]

1.3. The Boas text illustrates various morphophonemic processes that characterise Okanagan: assimilation, vowel alternation, vowel loss, stress shift.

1.3.1. In suffixes one consonant is assimilated by a like following consonant in a different morpheme.[24] Thus -mex instrument plus -n completive aspect are realised as

/-men/ in /tx^{w}t'pméntm/ it chased after him (15).[25] This rule does not prevent suffixal reduplications, however. The form /x^{w}rrápp/ he became anxious has already been mentioned. In /s-k^{w}'él-l-k-s/ (sequential aspect - roll - illative - body - 3 person) she rolled down (43), there is no assimilation since k^{w}'el, like x^{w}r, is a stem morpheme.

The assimilation of n before s-initial suffixes is a selective process. It does not occur before all such s-initial suffixes. In the text is found n-caq'-men-n-s (in - throw - instrument - completive aspect - 3 person subject transitive) appearing as /ncq'més/ he threw it in (49); but the selectivity of this assimilation rule reveals two -s third person suffixes. Before one of them -n is assimilated, while before the other -n survives. For example xl-men-n-s (chop - instrument - completive aspect - 3 person subject transitive) is realized as /xlmés/ he chopped it, while xl-men-s (chop - instrument - 3 person possessive) is realized as /xlméns/ his axe. The survival of -n before this possessive pronoun is illustrated in section (29) of the text.

T and a following suffixal s become c. Example: x^{w}el-est-n-s (throw away - causative - completive aspect) --> x^{w}el-est-s --> x^{w}el-esc --> /x^{w}élsc/ he threw it away (84). The assimilation of t and s into c obscures a morpheme boundary. To maintain this boundary in the phonemicized version of the text below, we write t-s.

1.3.2. Certain classes of Okanagan morphemes show vowel alternations of the types a~e, e/o~a under the influence of following primary stress.[26] The a~e change is illustrated with the stem morpheme ya^{q} move along. The vowel is unchanged in /nyá^{q}k^{w}/ he crossed the water (35), but is modified in /ye^{q}ltmés/ he ran away from him, where it no longer bears primary stress. Two occurrences in the text of the morpheme ^{ʔ}ax^{w}t down, under illustrate this process: /s^{ʔ}áx^{w}t'/ he went down river (47) and /ƛ'skexótms/ go along below him (13). The e~a alternation is illustrated with the stem morpheme ^{ʔ}em sit, stay, as it appears in /kokl^{ʔ}émnte/ wait for me! When the morpheme precedes another morpheme bearing primary stress, the vowel changes: /n^{ʔ}amót/ he took his place in (his canoe) (34).[27] The o~a change is not illustrated in the text, but can be exemplified with ^{ʔ}opn ten: /k'^{ʔ}ópnkst/ ten people, /k'apnkstékst/ ten hands.

1.3.3. Okanagan roots and suffixes can be subdivided into those that retain their vowel regardless of stress location, and those that lose their vowel when they lose primary stress. A morpheme that retains its vowel without regard to stress location is ^{q}ay mouth region. It bears primary and secondary stress in /en-^{q}ay-^{q}áy-t-mn/ my teeth (55), and secondary stress only in /c-^{q}ay-^{q}ay-n-cót/ laughter (62), the vowel phoneme remaining unchanged. A morpheme that loses its vowel is xoy go, take up. In /xóy/ he went (62), the morpheme bears primary stress and keeps

the vowel. But in /ko-k^{w}-xy-ós-t/ you really want over (93), the second morpheme in the stem, /ós/ (from wes) be high, over, carries the primary stress; and xoy go loses its vowel. In a form already quoted, /k'-apn-ks-t-éks-t/ ten hands, the suffix -eks finger, hand, arm appear twice: once with primary stress and its vowel, and once without its vowel. The text below contains numerous other examples of vowel loss in stem and suffix morphemes when they do not bear primary stress. When w or y is the first segment in a root that loses its vowel in the manner described, the w under certain conditions changes to o, and y changes to e. This happens in the case of wet step, for example. Compare /ql-wét-xn/ I stepped on his foot and /n-ql-ot-áql-c/ he stepped on the (arrow) points (29). Similarly yax^{w} fall off: /yáx^{w}-t/ he fell off and /n-ex^{w}-ét'-k^{w}/ he fell off into the water (100).

1.3.4. One of the most perplexing questions in Salishan studies is the determination of stress location in a specific utterance.[28] Okanagan is typically Salishan in this matter. The prediction of stress in an utterance is subject to a complex hierarchy of rules based on the morphology. It is inadequate to assert that primary stress falls on the last vowel phoneme in an utterance that has at least one following consonant. This is a frequent location for primary stress. But such a rule fails to account for the presence or absence of a vowel in, say, the last morpheme. For example, the

suffix -men instrument [illegible] in the text sometimes appears with a vowel sometimes without. For comparison we consider /mg-mén/ fastener and /méλ'-mn/ paint. In both cases primary stress coincides with the last vowel phoneme; but the analyst is still left with the problem of accounting for the presence of the vowel in -men instrument in the former term, and its absence in the latter term. By way of further exemplification, the stem morpheme ʕac tie up can be combined with certain suffixes thus: ʕac+n+ce+n (tie up - completive aspect - thee - I) --> /ʕacncén/ I tied you up. Here primary stress appears on the suffix. If the stem morpheme ʕac tie up is replaced with ʕac' look at, see, a morpheme used in the text, and is then used with the same suffixes, the result is /ʕác'ncn/ I looked at you. Here again is a case of a suffix morpheme, ce thee, losing its vowel when the stem carries primary stress.

To predict primary stress location it becomes necessary to subdivide stem and suffix morphemes into primary morphemes and nonprimary morphemes. The subdivision applies only to morphemes with at least one vowel in their base forms. A stress rule can then be formulated applying primary stress to the last occurring primary morpheme in an utterance. Two primary morphemes are ʕay mouth region and -cot self. When combined with the nonprimary suffix -an locative they occur as /ʕayncót/ he laughed, with primary stress appearing on the suffix--the last primary morpheme.

To predict primary stress location when there is no primary morpheme in an utterance, a similar rule is applied. Primary stress falls on the last vowel in an utterance with at least one following consonant. Thus t'ap aim at, shoot will combine with -am indefinite object, both nonprimary morphemes, to form /t'apám/ he shot something.

A significant difference between primary and nonprimary morphemes is that primary stress can fall on the final phoneme of an utterance when that phoneme is (part of) a primary morpheme, as in /sqsé/ son. But in the absence of primary morphemes, primary stress must fall on a nonfinal vowel, as in /sáma/ whiteman.

A further characteristic of primary morphemes is that they retain their vowels regardless of stress location in an utterance.[29] Nonprimary morphemes consist of two groups: variable morphemes, i.e. those that lose their vowel when they do not carry primary stress, e.g. -am indefinite object in /paxm/ he hunted something, and invariable morphemes, i.e. those that retain their vowel even when they do not carry primary stress, e.g. -a person as in /sáma/ whiteman.

Primary stress can be heard twice in a single utterance when the prefix talé- very appears with a primary morpheme, e.g. /talékáč't/ it is very solid (96), and when a stressed vowel is preceded immediately by the same vowel, e.g. /st'mkéélt/ daughter. In this latter case two distinct syllable peaks are

heard. Talé- very is a rare example of an Okanagan prefix that can bear primary stress.

Primary suffixes appearing in the text are -ale^{w} log, -cot self, -e having outward extension, -em body, -enk belly, bellylike, -ep bottom of something, mouth, door, -et' abundant, -ews surrounded: middle, together, -ewt side by side, -mex tribesman, -non manage to, finally succeed in, -os fire. Occurrence of these morphemes under the stated conditions coincides with primary stress.

Primary stem morphemes are cet house, con say, tell, c'as head, kec come, k'ol work, make, fix, do, k'os go, k^{w}'el roll, lawn grizzly bear, maʕ long object lies, nek' out, chop, nex hear, pok kill, q'el lie down, be sick, tel stand upright, wek see, wen leave, xoy go, take up, ʕ^{w}el throw away, ʕac' look at, see, ʕay mouth region, ʔeln eat, ʔol enter.

Nonprimary morphemes are found in the List of Morphemes under Stem Morphemes and Suffixes. The variable morphemes are identifiable by the bracketed vowel phoneme. If the remaining stem and suffix morphemes are not listed among the primary morphemes above, they can be assumed to be invariable morphemes as far as the presence and absence of their vowels is concerned. Those stem and suffix morphemes listed without vowels, of course, are not involved in the stress rule.

These statements account for most stress occurrences and vowel losses in the text. The vowel activity in a few of the compound stems remains to be accounted for, e.g. (93), as does the loss of vowels and primary stress from the primary morphemes -em body, which has been encorporated into the stem in (21) and -enk belly in (65). In these latter cases we see the effects of redunlications and certain back consonants. Insufficient data hinder the formulation of reliable rules here.

2. Coyote and Grizzly : Translation

(1) Coyote and his children lived together. (2) His oldest son said "Father, I'm going. I want to go and see Grizzly Bear's daughter". (3) He made his arrows. (4) And then he went. (5) When he arrived, Grizzly Bear spoke to him "Greetings, you have come, my son-in-law!" said Grizzly Bear. (6) He said to his daughter "Go out and dig roots!" (7) And so his daughter went. (8) She went on to a bare side-hill. (9) Grizzly Bear went outside and stepped on the point of his son-in-law's arrows. (10) He said: "Come on, my son-in-law! Shoot that grizzly bear over there for me to eat". (11) Then the son of Coyote set out. (12) He went off. (13) Grizzly Bear called to him "Go along below him and shoot at him!" (14) He went along and shot at him. (15) Then that bear chased after him. (16) She killed him.

(17) Coyote found out about it. (18) Then his youngest son found out about it. (19) So he made some arrows. (20) He made two arrows. (21) He fashioned stones for his arrow points. (22) He said "Well, now I'm going, father." (23) "I'm going to learn what happened." (24) He left. (25) When he arrived, Grizzly Bear spoke to him."Greetings, you have come!" said Grizzly Bear. (26) He said to his daughter "Go out and dig roots!" (27) Grizzly Bear's daughter went out on to the bare side-hill. (28) Grizzly Bear went outside. (29) He stepped on the point of his son-in-law's arrows. (30) He said "Come on, my son-in-law.(3)Shoot that grizzly

bear over there for me to eat!" (32) He started off. (33) He went outside and took up his arrows. (34) He took his place in his canoe. (35) He crossed the river and set to work. (36) And he made two tips for his arrows. (37) Grizzly Bear called out to him "Go along below him and shoot at him!" (38) Then he set out. (39) But he went above him. (40) The bear came at him. (41) He stood up and shot at it. (42) Again he shot at it. (43) Then the grizzly rolled down the hill. (44) Then he chased down after the bear. (45) Then he cut off its head. (46) Then he went and sat in his canoe. (47) In his bark canoe he moved downstream. (48) He went to his father-in-law's house. (49) And he threw the head into his father-in-law's house. (50) Then along came Grizzly Bear. (51) He heard laughing. (52) Grizzly Bear went into his house. (53) He saw a lump--a stone. (54) He bit into it. (55) He said "My teeth will not break". (56) Then Grizzly Bear went out from that place. (57) He wandered a short distance away, and heard laughing in the house. (58) He returned and went back in, and saw a worm-eaten mass. (59) He wanted to bite it. (60) He said "No, it's too repulsive". (61) Then Grizzly Bear went out from that place. (62) He went off a short distance and heard laughter coming from the house. (63) He returned and went in again. (64) There was something lying by the door--a rose-bush. (65) It scratched his underside. (66) Then Coyote went out of the house. (67) Coyote laughed. (68)

Then Coyote ran off. (69) Grizzly Bear raced after him. (70) Coyote kept going. (71) Then he made himself into a little bush. (72) Grizzly Bear came on and saw the bush. (73) And Grizzly Bear kept coming. (74) He came close. (75) Coyote laughed at him. (76) Then Coyote ran off. (77) Then Grizzly Bear chased after him. (78) Coyote kept going. (79) He made himself into a stick. (80) Grizzly Bear saw the stick. (81) He said "Very good, I'll take that walking stick". (82) Grizzly Bear continued his way. (83) Grizzly Bear said "It's too heavy. Now I'm going to leave it". (84) He threw it away. (85) Grizzly Bear set off again. (86) Coyote laughed at him. (87) Coyote ran off again. (88) Grizzly Bear charged after him. (89) Coyote kept going. (90) He walked across a log. (91) Coyote bribed the woodworms. (92) He said "Go ahead, chew away the middle of this log across the creek". (93) Grizzly Bear approached, and asked "Which way did you actually go over?" (94) Coyote replied "This way. I came across the log". (95) Grizzly Bear asked "is it solid?" (96) "Yes indeed. It's really solid. Come on!" (97) Grizzly Bear jumped up and down on the log. (98) And then he came further, right to the middle of the log, and jumped up and down again. (99) This log over the creek broke in the middle. (100) Grizzly Bear fell off into the water. (101) And then Coyote went away.

3. Coyote and Grizzly : Boas Original

(1) Kulē'utelig nātl snkelē'p nātl sk'uēsk'usī'as. (2) Īshatemē'qelts tcūt : leē'ū wāekinecqō'iq hēkskōs ā'tsem kyēlā'una hēstemkie'letc. (3) K'ō'lem titsk''ē'lens. (4) Niqē'sqō'ic. (5) Kyitcq tcō'ndem tkyēlā'una : Wā'ēk'tskitc, kuesini'k'lq ? Tcūt gyēla'una. (6) Tcūc hēstemkiē'ls : qō'iq uē'tsq. (7) Qēsqō'ic hēstemkiē'litc (8) Qō'i il k'etlpelmē'nk. (9) Ā'tck'a gyēlā'una, nk'alōtak'tltc hē tsk'ē'lēnc hē senē'klq (10) Tcūt : tcqō'i kuē'snē'kelq. Kuā'st'āpltēm iāaqē's hēgyēlā'una ; hēksts'ē'tlen. (11) Qēsqō'is senkelēp hēsk'sē'is. (12) Qōi. (13) tcō'ndem tkyēlā'una ; tl'lsk'tlēqō'temis mēt'ā'pentē'q. (14) Qō'i t'āpentis. (15) Qēs tqutmē'ntem hētekēlā'una. (16) Pō'lstem. (17) Mē'penūs senkelē'p (18) hēistā'otē'litc mē'penus (19) qē'es k'ō'lems te tsk''ē'len. (20) K'ō'lem teaslē'est. (21) K'ōls qtlōt hēksnōlūlmōserē'sts. (22) Tcūt wāēqē'esqō'i, leē'ū ! (23) hēksk'ōs mē'penō'nem. (24) Qō'i. (25) K'ētcq tcōndem gyelā'una : wā'ēuktckitcq tcūt gyēlā'una. (26) tcūc hēstemkiē'litc qū'iq ue'tsq ! (27) Qū'i kelā'una hēstemkē'litc, kil ke'tlpelmē'nk. (28) Ā'tsk'a gyēlā'una. (29) N'ek'alōtā'k'tltc hēs'nēkhlus hēstsk''ē'lens. (30) Tcūt tcqō'i kuē senē'kelq. (31) Kuā'st'āpltē'm iāaqe's hēgyēlā'una hēks ts'ētlen. (32) Qō'i. (33) Ā'tsqa qui's hētsk''ē'lenes. (34) Nā'mōt. (35) Nē'ak' k'ols. (36) K'ols hiē'aselē'ist hētsk''ē'len. (37) Tcūt gyēlā'una.

Tllck'tlē'qōtqmis : mēt'ā'rpentē'q. (38) qēsqū'is.
(39) qū'itelōwist (40) stqū'imis hēgyelā'una. (41) Stētlq
t'ā'pentis. (42) Nēqt t'ā'pentis (43) hē iskuē'lilkes
hēgyēlā'una. (44) Hotqut mē'ntem ho gyēlā'una. (45)
Hennē'ksentem. (46) Qē'is qō'is nā'mōt. (47) el tliē'is
qēsāqtcq (48) qōi kyel'ē'us hētcitqs. (49) Ntck'amē's
hītcasyā'k'en il tcītqs al'ē'us. (50) Tcqū'i kilā'una.
(51) Nē'qilems tsarā'r'incut. (52) Neo'tltq kēlā'una
(53) wīks hētst'ap yē'qtlōt. (54) sk'oa'ntēs (55) Tcōt :
lōt tcimmā'at ēnarai'temen. (56) ē'qē ē'telē s'eā'tsk'as
kyēlā'una. (57) qō'i l'kwak nē'qilems tcarar'incut eltcītq.
(58) Tspelikō'sem tsinōō'tlq wēks hēmā'mela. (59) Kskoā'antēs
(60) tcūte : lōt mēā'tlk'ast. (61) qētelēs saa'tsk'ās
kyēlā'una. (62) Qō'i l'kwak nē'qilems tsar'ar'incut
k'eltcītq. (63) Spelek'ō'sem tcinuō'tlq (64) hētsketl'ntk'oi'p
hēo kukoi'tlp. (65) K'tlāāqaqilirentem. (66) hēhē's
a'tsk'ās snkelē'p. (67) Rāintcō't senkelē'p. (68) Eqē'
cqutpentcō'ts snkelē'p. (69) Tqutmē'ntem kyelā'una.
(70) Tcqo'i senkelē'p. (71) Qēck'ō'les tasteta'k' (72) Qōi
gyēlā'una wēksiqē'āsteta'k'. (73) qētelē's qō'ic kyēlā'una.
(74) Lekwā'uk'. (75) R'ā'intcō'tementem te snkelē'p.
(76) Qēsqutepentcō'tc snk'elē'p. (77) Qētqutpenē'mtem
kyēlā'una. (78) Qō'is snkelē'p. (79) K'ōl tesqeqtsē'.
(80) wēks gyēlā'una hē sqaqtsē'. (81) tcūt : tālē'qast
wa'iks kunē'm hēktkē'ksten. (82) qō'i gyēlā'una. (83) Tcōt
gyēlā'una : mēā'tl nāst wāēqē'tluin. (84) qoē'lists

(85) gū'i gyēlā'una. (86) Rā'inteū'tenentem te snkelē'p. (87) Gu'tpenteūt senkelē'p. (88) Tgutmē'ntem te gyēlā'una. (89) Gē'i snkelē'p. (90) Tkeqemā'luk'. (91) Qak' snkelē'p Mī cquiā'luk'. (92) teōc : qō'ēuē ? quiē'usentē hātsemarai'us. (93) TskIte gyēlā'una, teūt. Takinkē'kquî ust ? (94) teūt cenkelē'p. Hā'ta kē'kinstkeqemā'luk. (95) Teūt gyelā'una : Hā'qatst ? (96) gyē'oa talē'qatst tcqū'i ? (97) gyelē'una ter^{e}edar^{e}ēk'ēmā'luk' (98) gētlēs tcqō'is, pot tekmē'usā'luk, nēug ter^{e}edā'r^{e}ek'emā'luk'. (99) Qutsqtsē'us hātsenemhā'ius (100) nē'quitk' gyēlā'una. (101) gētlēcgō'i snkelē'p.[30]

4. Coyote and Grizzly : Morpheme Analysis

In a comparison between the Boas original above and the phonemicised version below, the following features become apparent: 1. The automatic epset vowels have been deleted in the version below. 2. The phoneme c in word final position has been broken down into t + s to show morpheme boundaries in (2, 6, 7, 18, 21, 26, 27, 33, 68, 76, and 84). 3. Stylish glottal stops have been inserted into the version below in (1, 3, 9, 14, 19, 20, 36, 47, 64, 79, 97, and 98). 4. The morpheme kl- on, at has been added below to klecq'el?n arrows in (3, 19). 5. There are slight grammatical deviations in (10, 21, 30, 47, 58, 63, and 65). All the additions and deviations just listed are encorporated into the phonemicised version as a result of consultation with Skatán, the present Okanagan informant.

(1) K^{w}l-ewt-lx ne?l sn-k'l-ep ne?l s-q^{w}s-q^{w}as-é-a-s. (2) E-s-xat-néx-lt-s cot "l?ew, way kn-c-xoy-x, e-ks-k'os-ɂác'-m ke-láwn-a e-s-t'm-ke-élt-s." (3) K'ol-m te-kl-c-q'él?-n-s. (4) Nex^{w} exé s-xoy-x. (5) Kec-x, co-n-tm t-ke-láwn-a "Way, k^{w}-c-kec-x, k^{w}-c-s-nék'-lx^{w}." cot ke-láwn-a. (6) Co-s e-s-t'm-ke-élt-s "Xoy-x wec-x." (7) Exé s-xoy-s exé s-t'm-ke-elt-s. (8) Xoy e-l-k'l-pl-m-énk. (9) Ácqa ke-láwn-a, n-ql-ot-áql-c exé c-q'el?-n-s exé e-s-nék'-lx^{w}. (10) Cot "l-xoy-x, k^{w}-e-s-nék'-lx^{w}, ke-a-s-t'ap-lt-ém yaxés exé ke-láwn-a e-ks-c'-éan." (11) Exé s-xoy-s sn-k'l-ep exé s-qs-é-s. (12) Xoy. (13) Co-n-tm t-ke-láwn-a "ɂ'-s-k-exót-n-s

me-t'ap-n-téx". (14) Xoy t'ap-n-tés. (15) Exé t-x^{w}t'-p-me-n-tm exé te-ke-láwn-a. (16) Po?-s-tm.

(17) Mep-nó-s sn-k'l-ep. (18) Exé e-s-ta?w-t-élt-s mep-nó-s. (19) Exé k'ol-m-s te-kl-c-q'él?-n. (20) K'ol-m te-asl-é?s-t. (21) K'ol-s xλ'-ot e-k-n-ol-ol-m-ós-a-s-t-s. (22) Cot "Way exé e-s-xóy, l?ew! (23) E-ks-k'os-mep-nón-m. (24) Xoy. (25) Kec-x, co-n-tm ke-láwn-a "Way, k^{w}-c-kec", cot ke-láwn-a. (26) Co-s e-s-t'm-ke-élt-s "Xoy-x, wec-x!" (27) Xoy ke-láwn-a e-s-t'm-ke-élt-s kl-kl-pl-m-enk. (28) Ácqa ke-láwn-a. (29) N-ql-ot-áql-c e-s-nék'-lx^{w}-s e-c-q'él-n-s. (30) Cot "C-xoy-x, k^{w}-e-s-nék'-lx^{w}. Ko-a-s-t'ap-lt-ém yaxés exé ke-láwn-a, e-ks-c'-éln. (32) Xoy. (33) Ácqa, xoy-st-s e-c-q'él-n-s. (34) N-?am-ót. (35) N-ya?-k^{w} k'ol-s. (36) K'ol-s exé asl-é?s-t e-c-q'él-n. (37) Cot ke-láwn-a "λ'-s-k-exót-m-s! Me-t'ap-n-téx^{w}." (38) Exé s-xoy-s (39) Xoy λ-wes-t. (40) S-t-xoy-m-s e-ke-láwn-a. (41) S-tel-x, t'ap-n-tés. (42) Nex^{w} t'ap-n-tés. (43) Exé s-k^{w}'el-l-k-s e-ke-láwn-a. (44) Exé n-nek'-s-n-tm. (46) Exé s-xoy-s n-?am-ót. (47) E-l-λ'?é?-s e-s-?áx^{w}t'. (48) Xoy kl-l?ew-s e-cét-x^{w}-s. (49) N-cq'-me-s e-c'ás-y-aqn e-l-cét-x^{w}-s a-l?éw-s. (50) C-xoy ke-láwn-a. (51) Nex-l-m-s c-?ay-?ay-n-cót. (52) N-?ol-x^{w} ke-láwn-a. (53) Wek-s e-c-t'án, e-xλ'-ót. (54) S-k^{w}'a?-n-tés. (55) Cot "Lot cn-ma?-t sn-?ay-?áy-t-mn." (56) Exé eλé s-?ácqa ke-láwn-a. (57) Xoy lk^{w}-ak^{w}, nex-l-m-s c-?ay-?ay-n-cót e-l-cét-x^{w}. (59) C-pl-k'os-m, e-l-c-n-?ól-x^{w}, wek-s e-má?-ml-a. (59) Ks-k^{w}'a?-n-tés. (60) Cot "Lot myal

k'as-t." (61) Exé eλé s-ʔácqa ke-láwn-a. (62) Xoy lkʷ-akʷ, nex-l-m-s c-ʕay-ʕay-n-cót k'l-cet-xʷ. (63) S-pl-k'os-m, e-l-c-n-ʔól-xʷ. (64) Exé c-kl-n-tkʷ'-ep, e-s-ko-kwʔ-élp. (65) K'l-ʕax-ʕáx-nk-n-tm. (66) Exé s-ʔácqa sn-k'l-ep. (67) ʕay-n-cót sn-k'l-ep. (68) Exé s-xʷt'-p-n-cot-s sn-k'l-ep. (69) T-xʷt'-p-ne-n-tm ke-láwn-a. (70) C-xoy sn-k'l-ep. (71) Exé s-k'ol-st t-a-s-t-t'áqʷ. (72) Xoy ke-láwn-a, wek-s e-a-s-t'áqʷ. (73) Exé eλé s-xoy-s ke-láwn-a. (74) Lkʷ-akʷ. (75) K-ʕay-n-cót-m-n-tm te-sn-k'l-ép. (76) Exé s-xʷt'-p-n-cot-s sn-k'l-ep. (77) Exé t-xʷt'-p-ne-n-tm ke-láwn-a. (78) Xoy-s sn-k'l-ep. (79) K'olʔ-l t-s-χ-χc'-é. (80) Wek-s ke-láwn-a e-s-χ-χc'-é. (81) Cot "talé-χás-t, way e-ks-kʷn-ém e-kl-t'k-éks-t-n." (82) Xoy ke-láwn-a. (83) Cot ke-láwn-a "Myal nas-t, way exé l-wen." (84) χʷel-st-s. (85) Xoy ke-láwn-a. (86) K-ʕay-n-cót-m-n-tm te-sn-k'l-ép. (87) Xʷt'-p-n-cot sn-k'l-ep. (88) T-xʷt'-p-ne-n-tm te-ke-láwn-a. (89) Xoy sn-k'l-ep. (90) T-kx-m-alqʷ. (91) χaq'-s sn-k'l-ep e-s-xʷy-álqʷ. (92) Cos "Xóy-we, xʷy-éws-n-te a-cn-maʕ-éws." (93) C-kec ke-láwn-a, cot "Te-kén ke-kʷ-xy-ós-t ?" (94) Cot sn-k'l-ep "Atá, ke-kn-s-t-kx-m-álqʷ." (95) Cot ke-láwn-a "Ha χac'-t ?" (96) "Ke-wáy, talé-χác'-t. C-xoy !" (97) Ke-láwn-a tr-tar-q-mʔ-álqʷ. (98) Exé eλé s-c-xoy-s, pot c-k'n-ews-álqʷ, nexʷ tr-tar-q-mʔ-álqʷ. (99) χʷc'-χʷc'-ews axá a-cn-maʕ-éws. (100) N-exʷ-ét'-kʷ ke-láwn-a. (101) Exé eλé s-xoy-s sn-k'l-ep.

5. The numbers in brackets refer to the morpheme position class to which morphemes have been assigned. See 1.2. above. The numbers not in brackets refer to the numbered divisions in the continuous text in 4. above.

5.1.

a 'thou' (2) 10,31.

a 'nominalizer' (3) 49,71,72,92,99.

e 'durative' (5) 2,3,9,10,19,29,31,33,36,51,57,62,64,70.

e 'movement towards a goal' (6) 5,10,25,30,50,57,58,63, 93,96,98.

en 'possibility' (1) 55.

en 'natural feature' (3) 92,99.

e 'proclitic' 2,6,8,9,18,21,26,27,29,33,36,40,43,44, 47,48,49,53,57,58,63,64,72,80,81,91.

e(n) 'my, I' (2) 2,10,22,23,30,31,55,81.

k 'movement at or to a specific place' (6) 13,37,75,86.

ke 'indeed' (1) 93,94,96.

ke 'walking upright : person, bear' (7) 2,5,9,10,13,15, 25,27,28,31,37,40,43,44,50,52,56,61,69,72,73,77,80,82, 83,88,93,95,97,100.

ke 'me' (2) 10,31.

kn 'I' (2) 2,94.

ke 'intentional, future' (5) 2,10,21,23,31,59,81.

k'l,kl 'into, towards' (6) 27,48,62.

k'l,kl 'on, at, covering' (6) 3,8,19,27,64,65,81.

k^{w} 'thou' (2) 5,10,25,30,93.

l 'location' (6) 8,47,57.

ł 'back, behind' (6) 33.

ł 'again' (6) 58,63.

me 'obligation: should, please' (1) 13,37,49.

n 'in(to), on(to)' (6) 9,21,29,34,35,45,49,52,58,63, 64,100.

n 'nominalizer' (3) 1,2,6,7,9,10,11,13,18,26,27,29,30, 37,64,71,72,79,80,91.

n' 'sequential aspect' (5) 4,7,10,11,22,31,38,40,41,43, 46,47,54,56,61,63,66,68,71,73,76,94,98,101.

nn 'nominalizer' (3) 1,11,17,66,68,70,75,76,78,86,87,91, 94,101.

t(a) 'location, towards' (6) 15,40,44,69,71,77,79,88,90, 93,94.

talé 'very' (1) 81,96.

t'(e), t(e) 'location in time or space; article' (1) 3, 5,13,15,19,20,75,86,88.

ł', ł 'from a time or place' (6) 13,37,39.

5.2.

até 'this way' 94.

aná 'demonstrative: this one' 99.

aa(e)l 'two' 20,36.

a(a)q' 'throw' 49.

aat 'house' 48,49,57,62.

aa(n) 'say, tell' 5,6,13,25,26,92.

aat 'express oneself' 2,5,9,22,25,30,37,55,60,81,83,93, 94,95.

ct' 'lump' 53.

c'as 'head' 49.

cxé 'demonstrative: that one; then' 4,7,9,12,15,18,19,
22,31,36,38,43,44,45,46,56,61,64,66,68,71,73,76,77,83,
98,101.

cλé 'afterwards, thence' 56,61,73,98,99,101.

ha 'interrogative particle' 95.

ken 'interrogative stem' 93.

kec 'come' 5,25,93.

k(e)w 'climb up' 64.

ke? 'person's relative' 2,6,7,26,27.

kx 'walk' 90,94.

k'as 'bad, ugly, repulsive' 60.

k'ol 'work, make, fix, do' 3,19,20,21,35,36,71,79.

k'os 'go' 2,23,58,63.

k'l 'dark' 1,11,17,66,67,68,70,75,76,78,86,87,89,91,94,101.

k'm 'body' 98

k^{w}(e)l 'sit, locate, dwell' 1.

k^{w}(e)n 'take one object' 81.

k^{w}'a? 'bite' 54,59.

k^{w}'el 'roll' 43.

lak^{w} 'separate off' 57,62,74.

lawn 'grizzly bear' 2,5,9,10,13,15,25,27,28,31,37,40,43,
44,50,52,56,61,69,72,73,77,80,82,83,85,88,93,95,97,100.

lot 'no' 55,60.

l?ew 'father' 2,22,48,49.

ma? 'break' 55.

maʕ 'long object lies' 58,92,99.

m(e)l 'round body' 58.

mep 'know' 17,18,23.

myaɫ 'too, very much' 60,83.

nas 'heavy' 83.

naʔɫ 'and' 1.

nek' 'cut, chop' 5,9,10,29,30,45.

nex 'hear' 51,57,62.

p(e)l 'enter' 58,62.

pot 'right, exactly' 98.

poƛ 'kill' 16.

pl 'grow' 8,27.

q(e)l 'top' 9,29.

q'el 'lie down, be sick' 3,9,19,29,33,36.

qʷ(e)s, qs 'engender' 1,11.

tar 'jump' 97,98.

teɫ 'stand upright' 41

t(e)m 'next generation female' 2,6,7,26,27.

tew 'young' 18.

t'akʷ', tkʷ' 'lie down' 64.

t'ap 'shoot' 10,13,14,31,37,41,42.

t'aqʷ 'bush' 71,72.

t'k 'prop up' 81.

ƛ'ʔeʔ 'bark canoe' 47.

way 'exclamation or greeting: well!' 2,5,22,25,81,83,96.

wec 'dig roots' 6,26.

wek 'see' 53,58,72,80.

wə(n) 'leave' 83.

wəs, əs 'be high, above, over' 39,93.

wət, ət 'step' 9,29.

wəl, əl 'burn, iron' 21.

xat 'son' 2.

xəy 'go, take up' 2,4,6,7,8,10,11,12,14,22,24,26,27,30,
32,33,38,39,40,46,48,50,57,62,70,72,73,78,82,85,89,92,
93,96,98,101.

x^{w}(ə)y 'cut, chew' 91,92.

x^{w}t' 'run' 15,44,68,69,76,77,87,88.

x̣(ə)c' 'rigid, hard' 79,80,95,96.

x̣aq' 'pay' 91.

x̣as 'good' 81.

x̣^{ʔ} 'stone' 21,53.

x̣^{w}c' 'break' 99.

x̣^{w}əl 'throw away' 84.

yaxés 'that, yonder' 10,31.

y(ə)x^{w}, əx^{w} 'fall off' 100. (c.f. ?əx^{w}t' 'down, under' below)

ya^{ʕ} 'move along' 35.

^{ʕ}ac' 'look at, see' 2.

^{ʕ}ax̣ 'scratch' 65.

^{ʕ}ay 'mouth region' 55,57,62,67,75,86.

?éɬqa 'be or go outside' 9,28,33,56,61,66.

?əx^{w}t', ?exót 'down, under' 13,37,47.

?əɬn 'eat' 10,31.

?əw 'sit' 34,46.

?oɬ 'enter' 52,58,63.

Reduplication 1,21,51,55,57,62,64,65,71,74,79,80,97,98,99.

5.3.

a 'little' (10) 21,58.

a 'person, person-like' (10) 1,2,5,9,10,13,15,25,27,28, 31,37,40,43,44,50,52,56,61,69,72,73,77,80,82,83,85,88,93, 95,97,100.

(a)lqʷ 'log' (10) 90,91,94,97,98.

(a)m 'indefinite object' (12) 2,3,19,20,23,40,51,57,58, 62,63,90,94.

(a)n 'locative' (10) 51,57,62,67,68,75,76,86,87,92.

(a)p 'body' (10) 15,44,53,68,69,76,77,87,88.

aqɬ 'tip of something' (10) 9,29.

aqn 'head' (10) 49.

aɬ 'self' (10) 51,57,62,67,68,75,76,86,87.

e 'having outward extension' (10) 1,11,79,80,(471)

(e)k 'somatic, body' (10) 43.

(e)ks 'finger, hand, arm' (10) 81.

(e)kʷ 'water' (10) 35,100.

elt 'property, child' (10) 5,6,7,18,26,27.

eɬ 'sheltered, enter' (10) 5,9,10,29,30.

eɬp 'tree, bush' (10) 64.

em 'body' (10) 10,21,31,81.

(e)nk 'belly, belly-like' (10) 8,27,65.

ep 'bottom of something, mouth, door' (10) 1,11,17,64,66, 67,68,70,75,76,78,86,87,89,91,94,101.

(e)s(t) 'causative' (9) 16,33,71,84.

(e)s 'tooth, arrow' (10) 20,21,36.

et', eɬ 'abundant' (10) 100.

ews 'surrounded: middle, together' (10) 92,98,99.

ent 'side by side' (10) 1.

l 'illative' (9) 43,51,57,62.

lx '3 person pluralizer' (12) 1.

l(t) 'dative: for (benefit of)' (9) 10,31.

lx^{w} 'household member through alliance' (10) 5,9,10,29,30.

n(e)(n) 'instrument' (10) 15,40,49,55,69,75,77,86,88.

nex^{w}, nex 'tribesman, weapon carrier' (9) 2.

n 'nominalizer' (10) 3,9,19,29,33,36,81.

n 'completive aspect' (11) 5,13,14,15,25,37,41,42,44,45, 54,59,65,69,75,77,86,88.

no(n) 'manage to, finally succeed in' (9) 17,18,23.

(o)m 'body' (10) 8,13,27,37,97,98.

os 'fire' (10) 21.

(o)s 'round object' (10) 45.

ot 'in position, condition' (9) 34,46,53.

q 'describing a curve' (9) 97,98.

s,o '3 person subject/possessive' (12) 2,3,6,7,9,11,13, 17,18,21,26,29,33,35,37,38,43,46,47,48,49,68,73,76,78, 98,101.

s,o '3 person subject, transitive' (12) 6,19,21,26,33,36, 40,49,51,53,57,62,72,80,84,91,92.

t 'moving along' (9) 55,93.

t 'integral or natural characteristic' (10) 18,20,21,36, 39,55,60,81,83,95,96.

te 'ye imperative, transitive completive' (12) 92.

t(e)m, tes '3 person subject' (12) 5,13,14,15,16, 25,41, 42,44,45,54,59,65,69,75,77,86,88.

(te)n 'I' (12) 83.

(te)x^{W} 'thou' (12) 13,[illegible].

we 'ye imperative, intransitive' (12) 92.

x 'body' (10) 41.

x 'nonfuture' (11) 25.

x 'thou imperative, intransitive' (12) 6,10,26,30.

x^{W} 'house' (10) 48,49,52,57,58,62,63.

y 'round, circular mass' (10) 49.

Footnotes

[1] Boas 1900:679-715. See References Cited for the full title. I wish to thank the Committee on the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society for their generous support enabling me to carry out necessary field work for this study. The Library of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia is also thanked for making available to me Boas's notebook (Number 12) now part of the Library's Boas Collection.

[2] Coeur d'Alene r has the same distribution as Okanagan r. See Reichard 1958:298.

[3] An utterance with one vowel phoneme bears primary stress on that phoneme. Primary stress is marked with an acute accent in those utterances with two or more vowel phonemes.

[4] Swadesh 1952:236.

[5] The bracketed numbers refer to sections in the Okanagan text in paragraph 4. below (pages 25-7).

[6] Larry Pierre, my Penticton informant, uses /h/ here, acmahéws, while Ernest Brewer, my Head of the Lake informant, uses instead /ʕ/, a voiced pharyngeal continuant. Boas heard a voiced consonant in (92) and a voiceless one in (99).

[7] Kinkade 1967:229.

[8] Boas's choice of symbol is interesting here. To Gladys Reichard, a student of Boas, r signified in Coeur d'Alene a situation where "the apex of the tongue is drawn

down and back and the uvula is strongly vibrated; it should be considered as voiced. . ." For Okanagan, this description is more applicable to /ɢ/ rather than /ʔ/, but nowhere is the uvula strongly vibrated. Kinkade 1968, believed that the Coeur d'Alene sound was a pharyngeal.

9 Glottalization is a means of expressing diminution in Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel. See Reichard 1959:252, para 9.1.6.

10 These allophones typify the dialect found at the Head of Okanagan Lake. It is doubtful whether they characterize other dialects. Reichard 1958:299, para 2.37 finds glottal stop in Tillamook to be 'slight and indeterminate'.

11 The term 'pepet' was ascribed to Boas in Swadesh 1952:235. Swadesh himself referred to the phonomenon as 'the interconsonantal murmur' and 'the false vowel: a vocalic murmur between consonants in clusters, whose timbre is much influenced by the neighbouring consonants'. Reichard 1938: 533 suggested a 'purely mechanical' vowel after certain voiced consonants in Coeur d'Alene, but appears to abandon the idea in 1958:30, para 238 where she fails to distinguish mechanical vowels from phonomes.

12 For a general description of murmured vowels see Hoffner 1960:86-7. /CC/-type syllables are called Onset Type in Hockett 1955:57.

13 Other descriptions of Interior Salishan languages include brief references to morpheme classes. See, for example, Reichard's Coeur d'Alene 1938:601, and Hans Vogt's Kalispel 1940:8-60, especially 158. For a coast language,

see Newman 1969:175 on Bella Coola. A methodology for the establishment of morpheme classes is described in Harris 1951:243-61.

[14] C.f. the very common Kalispel "proclitic particle" i- in Vogt 1940:73,217.

[15] Exemplified in the text with ast'áq^{w} bush (72) and astt'áq^{w} little bush (71). The glottalization on a t in this context is often dropped.

[16] Many of the morphemes isolated here can be found below in 5. List of Morphemes.

[17] In general, the rule for reduplication is $C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1(V)(C_2) - C_1VC_2$, where glottalization of the reduplicated C_1 fluctuates. In the practical situation the general rule is of little use since it is difficult to predict whether the V or the C_2 will be duplicated in a given lexical item, or even whether reduplication can be resorted to at all. For a treatment of reduplication in another Salish language see Sapir 1915.

[18] These three aspects, with a name change, have been noted for Coeur d'Alene and Kalispel. See respectively Reichard 1938:574, 581-4, and Vogt 1940:28-42. Reichard uses the term 'customary' not 'sequential'; and Vogt uses 'resultative'. But Reichard 1959:14,160 equates resultative and customary 'whatever their meaning'.

[19] The term intransitive suggests that these pronouns appear without accompanying object pronouns. Indeed they do. They also occur, however, with object pronouns, but under this circumstance: -am indefinite object is always present.

There is an example under Continuative Aspect above. A different set of pronouns is called transitive. They are always used with objects.

[20] Similar pairs are noted for Kalispel in Vogt 1940:29, and for Coeur d'Alene and Tillamook in Reichard 1959:158.

[21] Hoard 1970:19 comments on this dual function in Proto-Salish.

[22] Aspect suffixes are absent in all intransitive constructions. When an aspect suffix is used, the utterance is transitive.

[23] Reichard 1959:8 footnote 1; 9; 159 presented the idea of 'two systems' of personal pronouns for Salishan languages. This idea could be applied to Okanagan.

[24] This and following morphophonemic statements apply specifically to the Head of Okanagan Lake dialect. There is evidence, e.g. in the next footnote, suggesting that different rules apply even in neighbouring dialects.

[25] In this discussion of morphophonemics we make use of base forms. To distinguish base forms from phonemicized forms we leave the former unmarked and write the latter between slants.

In (83), ɬ-wən-n-n (behind - leave - complotive aspect - I) is realized as /ɬwén/ I'm going to leave it behind. This is a Head of the Lake form. In the Penticton dialect we find /ɬwénn/.

[26] Comparable vowel alternations are mentioned for Coeur d'Alene in Reichard 1958:299, para 2.38. They occur

in Kalispel, see Vogt 1940:19-21, and in Upper Chehalis, see Kinkade 1966. Newman 1969:175 found a number of Bella Coola roots with related meanings showing vowel contrasts. Reichard 1959:247, para 9.1.1. offers the Salishan generalization, "All the vowels of any one language are interrelated and are in turn influenced by the consonants". Such alternations present difficulties in comparative work and give substance to the statement by Boas and Haeberlin 1927:127 'It is not possible in most cases to use the unaccented vowels for studying the sound shifts, unless we know them to be long'.

[27] In this utterance the prefix n- signifies in, while -ot signifies in position. Vogt 1940:59, para 166 isolated the suffix -ut without assigning a gloss.

[28] Reichard 1959:294 called stress 'a major Salish problem'. See her other comments in Reichard 1938:647,686; 1958:294,299, and 1959:249. On Kalispel stress, Hans Vogt 1940:51 wrote 'It has not been possible to find the general rules which determine its place'. For rules and exceptions in Twana, see Drachman 1969:72-3, 125-6. The studies on Snoqualmie-Duwamish by Tweddell and Snyder omit description of stress distribution.

[29] An instance where a primary stem morpheme will lose its vowel is in a compound stem where that primary morpheme is followed by another stem morpheme that bears primary stress. Such a case is in (93) where my 'go', a primary morpheme is followed by wes 'be over': ke-k^{w}-xy-ó$\underline{g}$-t 'you really went over'.

Here the second stem morpheme carries the primary stress. This is a common, but not exceptionless, location for primary stress in compound stems. Primary morphemes do not consistently lose their vowel in this environment. Insufficient data preclude a more definite statement here.

[30] In examining Boas's phonetic transcription of this tale I find myself in general agreement with J.V. Powell's 1972:106 comments on Boas as a transcriber--and I strongly support his closing sentence !

I am tempted to speculate on the dialect area in which Boas's informant was raised. A number of factors all suggest that he (or she) originated from the northernmost limits of the Okanagan area, i.e. the northern shores of Okanagan Lake. For instance I'm going to leave it (33) is expressed as ɬwen at the northern limits of Okanagan Lake, but as ɬwenn at the southern end of the Lake. Characteristic of the Head of Okanagan Lake dialect is the comparative paucity of stylish glottal stops. The stylish glottal stops in the phonemicized version of the text were inserted by my modern day informant who originated from lands south of Okanagan Lake. Glottal stops in general are less numerous in the north than in the south. Thus while the glottal stops in ʔVC stems survive in the south, they tend to disappear in the north, resulting in varying pronunciations for nʔamót he sat in (his canoe) (46) and nʔokxʷ he went in (52). In this latter region, and (1) is rendered as nai, while in the south, and is heard as naʔi.

Also in the north a labialized onset is often heard with labialized consonants. Such is not the case in the south. Thus northern speakers have a pronunciation for nex^{w} then (98) that is quite distinct from the pronunciation heard in the south. Most characteristic of the northern dialect is the realization of the e phoneme, when primarily stressed, as [e], see again nex^{w} then in (42) and (98). In dialects spoken south of the Head of Okanagan Lake, /e/ has a distinctly higher articulation: [i~I].

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