Aspect and the Pronominal System of Coeur d'Alene:
A Re-analysis of Gladys Reichard's Material[1]
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1. Introduction

1.1. The purpose of this paper is to revise Gladys Reichard's analysis of the pronouns of Coeur d'Alene (Cr.), and to relate it to the aspectual system of that language. In order to demonstrate these things, it is necessary to examine the verb morphology in some detail, as the pronouns and the aspectual affixes of Cr. are an integral part of the verb and closely bound to it not only semantically by syntactically.

1.2. When one gets right down to the problem, the pronounse of Cr. turn out to be remarkably similar to those of its close neighbour, geographically and linguistically, Spokane, but had I relied solely on the existing Cr. data and not finally compared those forms to the ones given in Carlson's A Grammar of Spokan, I might still be working on the analysis. Therefore, a good deal of the credit for this paper goes to Barry Carlson, both for allowing me to borrow his dissertation, and for making several helpful suggestions that at last cleared away the fog in which I was enveloped.

1.3. The data for this paper is taken entirely from Gladys Reichard's Coeur D'Alene (1938); my transcription is based on Sloat[1], with one or two changes explained below (1.3.2.). It might be useful, before embarking on the analysis of the pronominal system, to give the phonemic inventory of Cr.

1.3.1. Consonants. Reichard lists a few consonants that appear rarely, and then mainly (or only) in borrowings. These appear in parentheses on the chart:

	Labial	Alveolar	Lateral	Palatal	Velar Fr. Bk.	Laryngeal
Stops:	ŋ ŋ̓ p̓	t c t̓' c̓ t' c̓		x̌ x̌̓ c̓̌	kʷ q qʷ k'ʷ q̓ q̓ʷ	ʔ
	(b)	d		(ǰ)	gʷ	
Spirants:		s	ł	š (ƛ̓)	xʷ x̣ xʷ	h
Resonants:	m m'	n r n' r'	l l'	y y'	w R Rʷ R'R'ʷ	

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[1] Clarence Sloat. "A Skeleton Key to Reichard's Coeur d'Alene Transcriptions," Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 10 (1968) No. 5, pp. 8-11

Except for the absence of ƛ and the presence of some voiced obstruents, the inventory is almost identical to that of Spokane.

1.3.2. Vowels. The vowel system presents more difficulties as there is a system of vowel harmony or vowel assimilation in Cr. that makes it sometimes difficult to determine what the vowels actually should be, especially when they are unstressed. However, the system seems to be a basically simple one of five vowels:

$$i \qquad\qquad u$$
$$e \qquad o$$
$$a$$

I use these symbols for convenience of typing; /i/ appears as both [i] and [I] - Reichard's [ι], but since [I] never appears stressed except in a few onomatopoetic words[2], I have used i throughout. /e/ is [e] and [ε], and /o/ is [ɔ] (as is /u/ before back velars and pharyngeals) but distribution of these allomorphs does not affect the rules given here, so it is infinitely simpler to use the standard key-board symbols. For the same reason, I have kept Reichard's R for the pharyngeals usually transcribed as ʕ.

2. Aspect and the Pronominal Systems - Outline

2.1 There are three aspects built in, as it were, to the Cr. verb -- completive, customary, and continuative -- and each of these three can occur both transitively and intransitively. The completive, like most perfectives (I use this term to indicate action completed as opposed to action still going on, incomplete, or habitual) in Salish languages, is the unmarked form. The customary and continuative are marked by a prefix which indicates imperfective aspect. This takes the form /ʔec-/ in the customary and /ʔic-/ in the continuative; they are apparently different forms of the same morpheme having alternating shapes depending on its function in the construction.

2.2 The pronouns of Cr. fall into two main subdivisions; within these there are subgroupings of pronouns used for specific purposes. The two main systems are the intransitive, including the independent pronouns, the intransitive subject pronouns, and the possessive pronouns, and the transitive, having two sets of almost identical patient agent [3] forms, one used with the completive and the other with the customary. (I have called these systems 'transitive' and 'intransitive' because these terms seem best to describe their basic uses, even though some aspects of the transitive verb make use of the intransitive subject and possessive pronouns.) There are also some other forms that I feel must be regarded as pronominal, even though they fall somewhat outside the regular systems. These include the forms used with the imperative, ~~the independent demonstrative pronouns,~~ and three forms that Reichard lists as lexical *syntactic* suffixes: the reflexive, the reciprocal, and a suffix -šeš that turns up in the transitive system in the suppletive 2-1P and 2P-1P forms, but also has other uses.

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[2] Sloat, op. cit, p.10.   [3] For reasons which will become clear later on, it seems to me to make more sense in the transitive to use the terms 'agent' and 'patient' rather than 'subject' and 'object' in most cases. I therefore propose to do so from here on.

probably not —
possibly the
opposite

2.2.1. The independent pronouns are the basis for the forms that are attached to ṫ'e verb as intransitive subjects and as transitive objects or patient-markers. They are:

1.	čine? 'I(am)'	1P.	člipust 'we (are)'
2.	kʷuw?e 'thou (art)'	2P.	kʷuplipust 'you (are)'
3.	čenil 'he/she/it (is)'	3P.	čenil-ilš 'they (are)'

(It seems immediately evident that in the first and second persons, a separate morpheme can be cut off: singular -e? or -?e or perhaps even -?e? and plural -lipust. I am inclined to think that the latter is two morphemes, as the commonest morphemic shape in Cr. is CVC(C) and it is seldom that one finds a bisyllabic stem or suffix that is not a compound, either on the surface or in its underlying form. However, I am unable, even after a thorough search of the list of lexical suffixes and Reichard's later "Stem List of the Coeur d'Alene Language" to suggest what the meaning of these suffixes might be. The parts of the independent pronouns used as the subjects of intransitive verbs are:

1.	čin-	1P.	č-
2.	kʷu-	2P.	kʷup-
3.	--	3P.	-ilš (see below)

In the completive aspect, these forms are prefixed directly to the verb stem. In the customary and the continuative they precede the aspect marker, and in the 1st and 2nd singular combine with it to give a new surfac$_e$ form. Thus the rules for the formation of the intransitive verb could be expressed in this way:

$$V_{Intr.} \rightarrow \text{AGENT} + \text{Aspect} + \text{STEM}$$

$$\text{Aspect} \rightarrow \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Completive} \\ \text{Customary} \\ \text{Continuative} \end{array}\right)$$

Completive → ∅

Customary → ?ec

Continuative → ?ic

2.2.2. The possessive pronouns are:

1. hin- 'my'   1P. -(m)et 'our'   *middle*
2. -in- 'thy, your (sg.)' 2P. -(m)p 'your (pl.)'
3. -s   'his, hers, its'

(When these pronouns are attached to a noun, the resulting stem may be preceded by the subject pronouns to express an idea such as 'I am his father' činpipe?s < čin 'I' - pipe? 'father' -s his/her')

2.3.   In the transitive system, the 'transitive' and 'control' markers are suffixed to the verb stem before the pronoun suffixes, which are patient-agent complexes. The aspect markers are the same as in the intransitive.

2.3.1. The patient-agent pronoun complexes can be broken down into underlying forms for the completive and customary as follows:

	PATIENT		AGENT	
	Completive	Customary		
1.	-sel	-mel	-n	*Where does this l come from? Is it part of 2P?*
2.	-si	-mi	-x ʷ	
3.		∅	-s	
1P.	-el		-(m)et	?
2P.	-ulm		-p , -lp	↙

These combine in both aspects with the -t 'control' (I use Carlson's term) to give the surface patient-agent forms (See Tables I and II).

2.3.2. The transitive continuative does not use the same patient-agent forms as do the other two transitive aspects, but rather goes back to the intransitive system for its pronouns. This is probably explained by the fact that, in this aspect, the verb is preceded by the s- 'nominal' and thus seems to be regarded as a verbal noun. The intransitive subject form is used to express the PATIENT relationships, and the possessive pronoun expresses the AGENT. Thus 'I was/am seeing you' comes out something like 'You(are) my seeing' in our terms. (See Table III for surface forms).

3. Aspect and the Pronominal Systems - Detail

3.1.   Completive. The completive, as it is the unmarked aspect, is
the simplest in construction. In the first and second persons of the
intransitive, the combining forms of the independent personal pronouns are
simply attached to the verb: 1. čingʷíč // čin-gʷíč // 'I saw'   2. kʷup'ékʷn
// kʷup-ʔekʷun //'You said'. The third person agent is unmarked: 3.gʷíč
'He saw'; although the plural may be indicated by a suffix /-ilš/:
4. nícəmilš // nič-m-ilš // 'they cut (something)'. (The -m in this last
form will be discussed below). In the transitive forms, the 'transitive'
and 'control' elements are added before the pronoun suffixes, which are
patient-agent complexes. The transitivizer used with the completive is
/-n/, and it is commonly followed by /-t/ which seems to indicate that the
agent is in control of his actions; I do not propose to go into the morpho-
phonemic rules governing these forms here (see Appendix). I shall there-
fore simply give the surface forms and the underlying forms from which I
believe them to be derived:

5. wíšənc // wiš-n-t-s //'He built it' (3rd patient is unmarked).

6. t'ápə̆ncexʷ // t'ap-n-t-sel-xʷ //'You (s.) shot me'.

Eight verbs in the language do not take the transitive marker /n/ in the
completive; for example /gʷíč-/ 'see':

7. gʷíčcin // gʷíč-t-si-n //   'I saw you (s.)'.

3.2.   Customary. The customary, expressing habitual action, is
indicated by a prefix /ʔec-/. Reichard says that this is not to be confused
with the prefix /ʔec-/ 'actual', but there is really little to choose between
them, semantically or otherwise. The only conceivable difference is one of
position; /ʔec-/'actual' must precede all other prefixes, but in the only
examples of it in the data, it is attached directly to the stem. The possible
subtle differences in meaning can be argued about endlessly, and attempts
at cross-cultural semantic interpretation usually prove fruitless in the
final analysis. It therefore seems to me that it would be best to say that
there is one morph /ʔec-/ indicating 'customary/actual action or state of
being' as opposed to completed action on the one hand, and continuing action
(in whatever time continuum) on the other. This prefix appears on the
surface as /ʔec-/~/ʔe-/~/ʔa/ according to regular morphophonemic rules.
Briefly, the full /ʔVc-/ forms are found before minus-coronal consonants,
that is to say, before bilabials, velars, back velars, laryngeals and
pharyngeals. The /ʔV-/ forms occur before dentals and alveolars. The
vowel /e/ backs and lowers to /a/ when there is one of the so-called
'faucalizing' consonants, that is to say, one of the back velars or
pharyngeals, or a low vowel in the root; it disappears if it is preceded
by a high vowel in the pronoun marker.

3.2.1. The intransitive forms of this aspect use the same pronominal
markers as did the completive:

8. čin?cxést //čin-?ec-xes-t// 'I am cust. good'.

9. ?ecgʷíč // ?ec-gʷíč // 'He cust. sees'.

10. čeníčəm //č-'ec-nič-m // 'We cust. cut (something)'

11. kʷup'at'at'apsčént // kʷup-?ec-t'at'ap-sčent// You (pl.) cust. shoot(people)'.

Sometimes it disappears altogether except for the glottal stop:

12. čin?t'apsčént // čin-?ec-t'ap-sčent // 'I cust. shoot'.

3.2.2. The transitive customary uses almost the same patient-agent pronoun complexes as does the completive; the first and second person singular patient-markers that had an initial /s/ have an initial /m/ in this aspect, and the transitive marker is /s/ rather than /n/ even for those verbs that lacked /n/ in the completive:

13. ?ecgʷíčstmin // ?ec-gʷíč-s-t-mi-n // 'I cust. see you (s.)'.

14. ?ec?ekʷǎstmes //?'ec-?ekʷun-s-t-mel-s // 'He cust. says to me'.

15. ?eníčstxʷ // ?ec-nič-s-t-xʷ // 'You (s.) cust. cut it'.

3.3.   It is these 'transitive' and 'control' markers, and particularly the latter, that I believe caused Reichard to posit an unnecessarily complicated pronoun system. She gives -c as a 'completive' marker, and -stm as 'customary'. However, this analysis creates several problems:

3.3.1. It cannot account for the disappearance of the -m in the forms other than those having first and second singular patient-markers; if the -m is part of the patient-marker, this difficulty is obviated, and only the -st remains. When the customary is compared with the completive (we can regard -c as -ts , which is how it appears in the data, it becomes obvious that the -t must be functioning as a marker of some sort, and a further comparison with Spokane shows this to be a probabl hypothesis. This leaves the -s of -stm to be accounted for. Since she has already remarked on the -n 'transitive' of the completive, and since Spokane has a transitive paradigm where -n is replaced by -s, it is surely logical to assume that the -s in Cr. orms indicates something that we might temporarily call 'transitive-customary'. Thus we can say that the customary is formed as ?ec-STEM-s 'transitive' -t 'control' - PATIENT-AGENT.

3.3.2. The problem of Reichard's -c marker is even more interesting. If we go beyond the surface -c and break it down into its component phones, we at once see that we have the -t occurring throughout the entire paradigm.

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as it did in the customary; we know that in most verbs the completive requires the -n 'transitive' immediately after the stem. Thus the completive begins to look remarkably similar in construction to the customary, and indeed we find that we can establish the following rules for forming these two aspects of transitive verbs:

$$V_{Tr} \rightarrow \text{Aspect} + \text{STEM} + \text{Transitive} + \text{Control} + \text{PATIENT} + \text{AGENT}$$

Transitive $\rightarrow$ n in completive; s in customary

Control $\rightarrow$ t

The underlying patient-agent pronouns combine with -t 'control' to make the following surface forms:

	Completive	Customary
1-2	-cən //t-si-n//:	-tmin //t-mi-n//
	(The unstressed vowel is reduced to /ə/ before /n/)	
1-3	-ən /t-n//	-ən //t-n//
	(epenthetic /ə/ occurs before /n/ if no other vowel is present)	
1-2P	-tulmən	-tulmən
2-1	-cex^w //t-sel-x^w//	-tmex^w //t-mel-x^w//
2-3	-tx ^{w}	-tx ^{w}
2-1P	(k^{w}u...šeš)	(k^{w}u...šeš)
3-1	-ces //t-sel-s//	-tmes //t-mel-s//
3-2	-cis	-tmis
3-3	-c	-tus (might not this be /təs/?)
	(Why the customary should have a vowel between t and s I do not know)	
3-1P	-telis	-telis
3-2P	-tulmis	-tulmis
1P-2	-cit //t-si-met//	-tmit //t-mi-met//
1P-3	-tmet	-tmet
1P-2P	-tulmit //t-ulm-met//	-tulmit
2P-3	-tp	-tp
2P-1P	(k^{w}up...šeš)	(k^{w}up...šeš)

(It would, of course, have to be noted in the lexicon that there are eight verbs that are minus the -n 'transitive' rule; these verbs do however take the -s 'customary'.) For typical surface forms of these aspect systems see Tables I and II.

3.4. Continuative. The continuative is the most complicated of the three"built-in" aspects of Coeur d'Alene. Not only does the prefix have various surface forms, but the pronominal system used is different. As the continuative is apparently regarded as a verbal noun, it requires the s- 'nominal' prefix to be attached to the root, although this marker does not clearly appear in the surface forms. It would seem that [ʔits-] + [s]→/ʔic-/ by a cluster simplification rule that holds for all geminate consonants. The same rules regarding the loss of /c/ apply to /ʔic-/ as to /ʔec-/.

3.4.1. The intransitive continuative again uses the combining forms of the independent pronouns:

16. čiʔcᵍʷíč //čin- ʔịc-s-gʷič// 'I am/was selling'

17. kʷuy̓cĕkʷún //kʷu-ʔic-s-ʔekʷun// 'You (s.) are/were saying'

18. ʔicʔácqeʔ /ʔịc-s-ʔatsqeʔ// 'He is going out'

19. čiʔníč̓əmš //čin-ʔic-s-níč-mš// 'I am cutting (something)

20. čiʔt̓apsčént //čin-ʔic-s-t̓ap-sčent// 'I am shooting'

3.4.2. There is an apparently separate form /ʔis-/ that occurs with verbs of sound, accompanied by the suffix /-iš/ (cf. Spokane /-i/ 'continuative'). But it is interesting that all these roots begin with either a glottalized obstruent or with /h/, the glottal fricative. Were it not for the verb /t'ap-/ 'shoot' where the /c/ of /ʔic-/ disappears as it normally should before a plus-coronal obstruent (see 3.2. above), we could say that the form /ʔis-/ was //ʔic-// changed by a morphophonemic rule involving glottalized obstruents and /h/; as it is we shall have to leave it unexplained for the present:

21. ʔisheRʷeRʷiš //ʔic (?)-heRʷeRʷ-iš// 'He is growling'

22. ʔispé'p̓ugʷuš //ʔic (?) -p̓e'p̓egʷ-iš// 'It is echoing' (note vowel assimilation)

23. ʔiscátčatiš // ʔic (?)- čatcat-iš // 'It is ticking'

24. ʔist̓ilt̓iliš // ʔic (?)-t̓ilt̓il-iš // 'It makes a tearing sound'

3.4.3. The intransitive continuative is probably the most complicated aspect of the whole verbal system. Since the stem is a verbal noun, there is no transitive marker as such, but rather an /m/ which apparently corresponds to the -m 'middle' of Spokane. An -m appears again in some form

of the transitive passive, in the intentional, and in some intransitive verbs that seem to require completion by a "psychological object" (although this is -ms in the continuative), for example ni?č? 'cut (something) with a blade'. Reichard interprets this -m as a causative, but I am more inclined to equate it with Carlson's -m 'middle' (except possibly where it fulfills the object-completion function):

> Bases may also take a suffix -m which seems to indicate that the pronoun referent is not only principally involved in the predication ... but is in some deeper sense involved and affected. In other words, there seems to be more emphasis on direct participation than in the other forms. [4]

The agent in the transitive continuative is expressed by the possessive affixes, and the patient by the forms used for the intransitive subjects:

25. kʷi ʔčgʷíčəm //kʷu-hin-ʔic-s-gʷic-m// (you-my-CONT.-NOM.-see-MIDDLE) 'I am/was seeing you (s).'

26. ʔiníčəm //ʔic-s-hič-m// 'He is/was cutting it'

27. kʷuyčʔekunəmet //kʷu-ʔic-s-ʔekʷun-m-met // (you-CONT.-NOM.-tell-MID.-our) 'We are/were telling you (pl)'

We can now make a rule for the formation of the continuative:

V → PATIENT + Aspect + Nominal + STEM + Middle + AGENT

Nominal → s-

Middle → -m

We can then account for the first and second person singular forms where the agent precedes the aspect-marker by a simple transformational rule:

*T Number	PATIENT	-	Aspect	-	Nominal	-	STEM	-	Middle	-	AGENT
S.I.:	1		2		3		4		5		6
S.C.:	1	6	2		3		4		5		∅

*If AGENT is first or second person singular.

The derivation of the continuative pronouns is complicated by the aspect marker; for surface forms of this paradigm see Table III.

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[4] Barry Carlson, A Grammar of Spokan, Working Papers in Linguistics, University of Hawaii, 1972, p.75

TABLE I

SAMPLE PARADIGM OF TRANSITIVE ACTIVE COMPLETIVE

AGENT \ PATIENT	1	2	3	1P	2P	3P
1	✕	nič-ən-cin	nič'-ən	✕	nič-ən-t-u-lmən	nič-ən-ilš
2	nič-ən-cexʷ	✕	nič-ən-t-xʷ	(kʷu-nič-šeš)	✕	nič-ən-t-xʷ-ilš
3	nič-ən-ces	nič-ən-cis	nič-ən-c	nič-ən-t-elis	nič-ən-t-ulmis	nič-ən-c-ilš
1P	✕	nič-ən-cit	nič-ən-t-met	✕	nič-ən-t-ulmit	nič-ən-t-met-ilš
2P	nič-ən-celp	✕	nič-ən-t-p	(kʷup-nič-šeš)	✕	nič-ən-t-p-ilš
3P	nič-ən-ces-ilš	nič-ən-cis-ilš	nič-ən-c-ilš	nič-ən-t-elis-ilš	nič-ən-t-ulmis-ilš	nič-ən-c-ilš(ilš?)

TABLE II

SAMPLE PARADIGM OF TRANSITIVE ACTIVE CUSTOMARY

AGENT \ PATIENT	1	2	3	1P	2P	3P
1	X	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-min	ʔec-gʷič-s-ən	X	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-ulmən	ʔec-gʷič-s-ən-ilš
2	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-mexʷ	X	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-xʷ	(kʷuʔc-gʷič-šeš)	X	ʔec-gʷic-s-t-xʷ-ilš
3	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-mes	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-mis	ʔec-gʷič-s-c	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-elis	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-ulmis	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-ilš
1P	X	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-mit	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-met	X	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-ulmit	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-met-ilš
2P	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-melp	X	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-p	(kʷupʔec-gʷič-šeš)	X	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-p-ilš
3P	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-mes-ilš	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-mis-ilš	ʔec-gʷič-s-c-ilš	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-elis-ilš	ʔec-gʷič-s-t-ulmis-ilš	ʔec-gʷič-s-c-ilš (-ilš)

TABLE III

SAMPLE PARADIGM OF TRANSITIVE ACTIVE CONTINUATIVE

AGENT \ PATIENT	1	2	3 ∙	1P	2P	3P
1	✕	kʷiʔc-gʷič-əm	hiʔc-gʷič-əm	✕	kʷupiʔc-gʷič-əm	hiʔc-gʷič-əm-ilš
2	činʔiʔc-gʷič-əm	✕	ʔiʔc-gʷič-əm	(kʷuʔc-gʷič-šeš	✕	ʔiʔc-gʷič-əm-ilš
3	čiʔc-gʷič-əm-s	kʷuyʔc-gʷič-əm-s	ʔic-gʷič-əm-s	čʔic-gʷič-əm-s	kʷup-ʔic-gʷič-əm-s	ʔic-gʷič-əm-s-ilš
1P	✕	kʷuyʔc-gʷič-əmet	ʔic-gʷič-əmet	✕	kʷup-ʔic-gʷič-əmet	ʔic-gʷič-əmet-ilš
2P	čiʔic-gʷič-əmp	✕	ʔic-gʷič-əmp	(kʷupʔic-gʷič-šeš	✕	ʔic-gʷič-əmp-ilš
3P	čiʔc-gʷič-əms-ilš	kʷuyʔc-gʷič-əms-ilš	ʔic-gʷič-əms-ilš	čʔic-gʷič-əms-ilš	kʷup-ʔic-gʷič-əms-ilš	ʔic-gʷič-əms-ilš (-ilš)

3.5. The Passive. The passive forms are based on those of the active, but the patient marker is used where in the English gloss we would use the subjective pronoun. As far as meaning goes, this would seem eminently sensible and logical, as the grammatical subject of the passive is indeed the object or patient undergoing the action.

3.5.1. The passive marker for the completive and customary is -m in the first and third persons singular and -it elsewhere; there is no apparent phonological conditioning. In the continuative it is -m throughout. Perhaps in view of the close personal involvement of the patient/ subject in the passive, it would be better to call this -m morpheme 'middle' also, and possibly the -it forms in the other aspects as well. In all aspects, the agent-markers are deleted in the passive (or middle); apparently, onecannot say in Cr. 'I was seen by you' except as 'you saw me'. The completive and customary therefore use the 'patient' part of the patient-agent form as the subject of the passive, followed by the passive marker where the agent would normally occur. The continuative again uses the intransitive subject pronouns as the patient-marker (grammatical subject) of the passive. The passive forms can thus be derived from the active by another transformational rule:

$T_{Passive}$: 1.

	Aspect	- STEM -	Transitive -	Control	PATIENT	- AGENT
S.I. :	1	2	3	4	5	6
S.C. :	1	2	3	4	5	Ø Middle

where 'Aspect' = Completive or Customary

2.

|	PATIENT	- Aspect -	Nominal	- STEM -	Middle -	AGENT
S.I. :	1	2	3	4	5	6
S.C. :	1	2	3	4	5	Ø

where 'Aspect' =Continuative

The surface forms of the passive then appear as follows (stem ni c -):

	Completive	Customary	Continuative
1.	nič̓ncel̓m	ʔenič̓stmelɔm	či ʔnič̓m
2.	nič̓ncit	ʔenič̓stmit	kʷuyʔnič̓m
3.	nič̓ntɔm	ʔenič̓stɔm	ʔinič̓m
1P.	nič̓ntelit	ʔ nič̓stelit	č ʔinič̓m
2p.	nič̓ntulmit	ʔ nič̓stulmit	kʷupʔinič̓m

3.5.2. Obviously, in order to apply any of the phrase structure rules for the formation of transitive verbs in active or passive, it is going to be necessary to distinguish somehow just which set of patient-agent forms is being referred to. The most obvious method of doing this would be by copying the aspect feature on to the patient-agent markers, and specifying in the lexicon the selectional restrictions for each set of pronominal forms.

The aspect will also have to be copied on to the 'transitive' P-marker before the correct suffix can be selected. Thus the internal structure of a verb like ?ecgʷičstmin might be diagrammed like this (the simplest 'sentences' in Cr. consist solely of a verb complex):
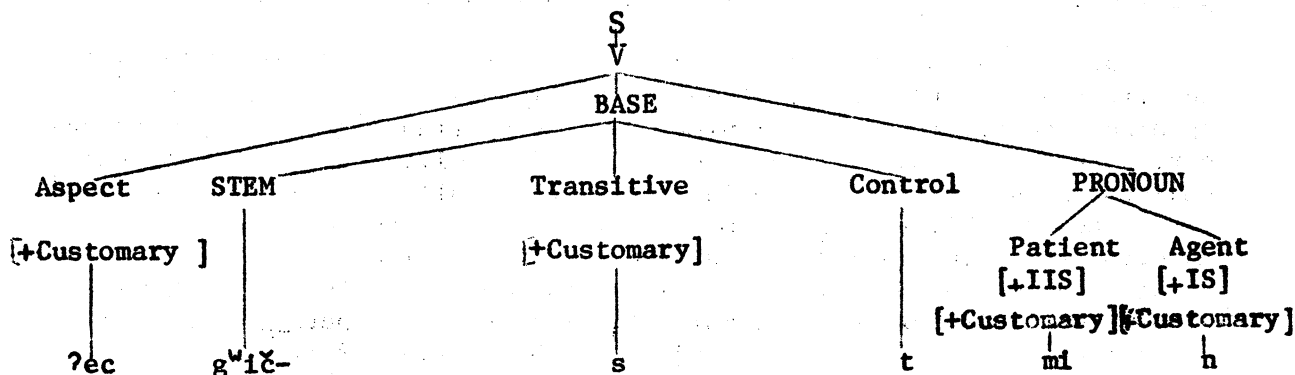
4. Other Pronominal Forms

4.1. Imperative. The intransitive imperative is formed by suffixing -š in the second singular and -ul in the second plural; e.g.

28. xʷuiš 'go!'
29. xʷuyul '(you all) go!'

These forms are also used if the verb has an indefinite or psychological object completion expressed by -m, or if the object is known but not, apparently, openly referred to, expressed by ?ic or ?ec:

30. pulutᵻmul '(you all) kill (something) (somebody)'

31. uⁱxʷuyečš 'take back the thing'.

It is interesting that in the transitive, the same forms appear, but only with some objects. The transitive imperative pronouns that Reichard gives are:

2-1	-c	2P-1	-c-el
2-3	-t	2P-3	-t-ul
2-1P	-šeš.š	2P-1P	šeš- š/ul

As no examples are given, it is rather difficult to figure out exactly what is happening here. The -el of the 2P-1 looks remarkably like the -sel and -mel of the completive an d customary; in fact, if one assumes the -t 'control' to be present in this form and in 2-1, 2-3, and 2P-3, then the object is obviously the same -sel, which has absorbed the imperative suffix; I would posit a derivation along the lines of t-sel--ul> t-sel-l > t-sel> cel. The lack of a third person object pronoun in the 2P-3 form is perfectly regular. Unfortunately, the singular forms have me baffled. I would expect surface forms of -ceš and possibly -c arising from t+sel-š > t-se-š> -ceš, and t-š> č. Such obviously, is not the case. The only other thing to notice in this set is the fact that the same form can be used for 2-1P and 2P-1P; there is no indication that -ul might be commoner than or preferable to -s for 2P-1P, as one would deduce from the intransitive paradigm.

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4.2.   Reflexive, reciprocal, and -šeš. Reichard lists these three forms as lexical suffixes, and as they are sometimes used on nouns, this *syntactic* interpretation might reasonably be argued for. However, the fact that they also occur as verbal suffixes makes me inclined to feel that they should be included in a discussion of pronouns, even if only because we regard the ideas that these forms represent as pronominal in English.

4.2.1. Reflexive. Reichard gives the reflexive pronoun (or lexical suffix) as -cut, but I feel that this is actually -t 'control' +sut; Spokane has a reflexive -sut that follows the 'control' marker of transitive verbs, and judging by Reichard's examples, the same is probably true of Cr. (I give her glosses):

32. k̓ʷulʼ-ən-cut-ən, 'God' (k̓ʷulʼ , 'create'; -ən, 'the one who')

33. k̓ʷul -cən-cut, 'cook' (k̓ʷulʼ , 'make'; -cin, 'mouth')

She does say that the reflexive is usually preceded by the "transitivizer -ən", but even so, I feel the forms should be further broken down:

//k̓ʷulʔ+n+t+sut+n//   k̓ʷulʔ əncutən

//k̓ʷulʔ+ts ən+n+t+sut//   k̓ʷulʔ cəncut

Unfortunately, all Reichard's verbal examples of the reflexive and the reciprocal are in the third person, so it is impossible to say from the data alone what their position would be in relation to the other pronouns. However, Carlson says that pronominal reference with reflexives is handled by the intransitive pronouns, and gives the example čən pəlscut 'I killed myself'. As there is no marked third person subject in the intransitive, there is no need to revise the analysis of Reichard's examples on that basis.

4.2.2. Reciprocal. Reichard gives the reciprocal as -twiš/~ -tweš; partly on the analogy of -sut preceded by -t 'control', and partly because the Spokane reciprocal is -weʔxʷ, I offer the suggestion that the Cr. reciprocal form is -wiš ~-weš. Again, her examples are in the third person, but it is obvious that a reciprocal requires a plural subject pronoun, which indeed is what Carlson says.[6]

4.2.3. -šeš. I include this form in the pronouns because it appears throughout the paradigms as the patient-marker in the 2-1P and 2P-1P slots. Reichard lists a lexical suffix -šiš ~-šeš ~-šeš glossed as 'something for someone'. Ordinarily, it can be used as an indefinite pronoun to complete the meaning of an intransitive verb, or it can be used transitively to mean 'for someone' -- a sort of benefactive? She goes on to say, "I believe that, for some undiscernible reason, this suffix was taken

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[5] Carlson, op. cit. p. 94

[6] Ibid., p.95

over for the pronominal completives 2-1P and 2P-1P where the forms for the completive and customary...have no correspondence to any Coeur d'Alene system." [7] According to her own paradigms given at the end of the grammar, these suppletive forms occur not only in the completive and customary, but in all three aspects of the transitive system. No more than she, can I offer any explanation for this strange adoption, unless on semantic grounds. Could it be that a statement such as 'You . . . us' (supply any transitive verb) has a somewhat accusatory ring? Then perhaps the reason for taking over an indefinite benefactive could be a matter of diplomacy; or perhaps it is felt that 'we' is in itself vague -- does it include the hearer or not (though with a second person subject, that is unlikely)? This peculiarity does not seem to have a counterpart in Spokane, so comparison is to no avail here. For the moment, we shall simply have to accept the transitive forms with -šeš as suppletive.

5. Summary

5.1.   I do not pretend in this paper to present an analysis of the Cr. verb system, but because the Cr. pronouns and aspect markers are bound to verbal forms, it has been necessary to attempt to formalize a few of the phrase-structure rules and transformations that might apply in the language:

1. $V_{Intr.}$ → AGENT + Aspect + STEM

2. V_{Trans_I} → Aspect+ STEM + Transitive + Control+ PATIENT + AGENT

$V_{TransII}$ → PATIENT + Aspect + Nominal+ STEM + Middle + AGENT

These last two might be condensed into one rule:

3. V_{Trans} → Aspect +(Nominal+) STEM + (Transitive +)(Control+)PATIENT.
AGENT

    Condition: 'Nominal' cannot co-occur with 'Transitive' and 'Control'

4. Aspect → (Completive)
               (Customary)
               (Continuative)

5. Transitive → -n for Completive   -s for Customary

6. Control → -t

7. Middle → (-m, - it)

(There will have to be some way of specifying, probably in the lexicon, which form must be selected).

8. Nominal → s-

9. Completive → ∅

10. Customary → ʔec-

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[7] Reichard, _Coeur d'Alene_, p.626

11. Completive → ʔic-

5.2.   The main transformations needed will be two for person in the continuative and one for the formation of the passive/middle. In generating surface forms, T-passive should probably precede T-person:

$T_{Passive}$:   X   -   PATIENT   -   AGENT
S.I.   1   2   3
S.C.   1   2 $\emptyset$ Middle

T_{Person} I: ʔic   -   X   -   PATIENT   -   AGENT
S.I.   1   2   3   4   →
S.C.   3   1   2   4
Condition: AGENT ≠ 1st or 2nd person singular

T_{Person} II: PATIENT   -   ʔic   -   X   -   AGENT
S.I.   1   2   3   4
S.C.   1   4   2   3
Condition: AGENT = 1st or 2nd person singular

5.3.   The surface forms of the personal pronouns that are affixed to verbs may be summarized as follows:

I. Intransitive Pronouns.

   A. Subject (derived from Independent Pronouns):

      1. čin-   1P. č __

      2. k^wu-   2P. k^wup___

      3. _____   3P. ...(-ils)

   (used also as patient-marker in continuative)

   B. Possessive:

      1. hin-   1P. -met

      2. in-   2P. -mp

      3. -s

   (used also as agent-marker in continuative)

II. Transitive Pronouns

AGENT \ PATIENT	1 COMP	1 CUST	2 COMP	2 CUST	3	1P	2P	3P
1			-sən	-mən	-ən		-ulmən	-ənilš
2	-sex^w	-mex^w			-x^w	(k^wu..šeš)		-x^{w}ilš
3	-ses	-mes	-sis	-mis	-s		-ulmis	-silš
1P			-sit	-mit	-met		-ulmit	-metilš
2P	-selp	-melp			-p	(k^wu..šeš)		-pilš

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III. Other Pronominal Forms:

    A. 1. Reflexive: -sut

          2. Reciprocal: -weš ~ -wiš

    B. Imperative

          1. Intransitive: 2 -š   2P. -ul

          2. Transitive: 2-1 -c   2P.-1 -cel

                       2-3 -t   2P.-3 -tul

                       2-1P -šeš.š   2P.-1P -šeš (š)
                                                   (ul)

5.4.   It seems to me that this analysis shows that the pronouns of Coeur d'Alene are closer to those of other Eastern Interior Salish languages, and to Spokane in particular, than might be suspected from a first look at the data.

APPENDIX

Ordered Morphophonemic Rules

1. $h \rightarrow \emptyset$ / ___   (non-initial h-deletion)

2. $u \rightarrow \emptyset$ / C [+labialized] ___ V   (rounding reduction)

3. v [+low] $\rightarrow$ [+high] / $\begin{bmatrix} +back \\ +high \end{bmatrix}$ C ___   (vowel harmony)

4. $e \rightarrow \emptyset$ when the vowel of the preceding syllable is strong and followed by a nasal consonant (e-reduction)

5. $n \rightarrow \emptyset$ / ___-s 'nominal' and ?ic - [?its-] (n-deletion)

6. $l \rightarrow \emptyset$ / -$\begin{Bmatrix} s_w \\ x^w \end{Bmatrix}$ (l-deletion)

7. $t \rightarrow \emptyset$ / -n   (t-deletion)

8. $m \rightarrow \emptyset$ / -t   (m-deletion)

9. $C_1 C_2 \rightarrow C_1$ if $C_1 = C_2$ (cluster simplification)

10. $?i \rightarrow \overset{?}{y}$ /V ___   (glide formation)

11. $y \rightarrow \emptyset$ /i ___   (homorganic glide deletion)

12. $t + s \rightarrow c$ (affrication)

13. CC [+nasal] $\rightarrow$ C ə C [+nasal]   (schwa-insertion)

Some sample derivations will illustrate the application of these rules

3-1 Completive //STEM+ n +t +sel+ s //

... n +t + se+ s	(l-deletion)
... n + ce+ s	(affrication)
... ənces	(shwa insertion)

1P-2P Completive //STEM +n+ t + ulm +met //

... n +t + ulm +mit	(vowel harmony)
... n +t + ulm +it	(cluster simplification)
... əntulmit	(shwa insertion)

1-2 Continuative   // k^wu +hin +ʔits+ s +STEM +m //

k^wu +in +ʔits +s ...	(non-initial h-deletion)
k^w +in +ʔits + s ...	(rounding reduction)
k^w +i + ʔits + s ...	(n-deletion)
k^w +i + ʔits ...	(cluster simplification)
k^w +i + yts ...	(glide formation)
k^w +i + ʔ +ts ...	(homorganic glide deletion)
k^wiʔc	(affrication)

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