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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a grammatical sketch of Colville, a Salishan language of eastern Washington. After an introductory chapter on language family, the phonology (consonants, stops, resonants, vowels) is outlined. The chapter on morphology discusses the basic intransitive nature of all roots and the production of transitive, middle, and intransitive bases. Further grammatical forms such as imperatives, reflexives, instrumentals, and developmentals are included. Syntactic patterns are outlined in the final chapter. (Author/DD)

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COLVILLE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN LINGUISTICS

MAY 1973

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I am very grateful to Mrs. Madeline DeSautel, Mr. Pete Seymour, the late Mrs. Helen Toulou, and many other Colvilles, not only for their help, but also for their continuing friendship.

I offer special thanks to Professor Thompson. He has provided me with counsel, guidance and assistance in a measure greater than I deserve.

## Preface

In writing this grammatical sketch of Colville I have not adhered to any particular model of linguistic description. Rather, the goal I have set for myself is to couch my description in clear prose statements. Some of these are completely explicit; they account for those phenomena I understand well. Others attempt to state as clearly as possible the conditions for those phenomena which I do not fully understand. Whatever solution is offered in such cases is specifically indicated as tentative. Thus I have intended to present not a formal hypothesis, but an accurate description of the facts of the language. In fact this sketch aims to be written in such a way that a linguist, if he so wishes, may draw upon the data to test any given theory of linguistic description.

Stating the facts of Colville in terms of clear prose statements does allow an accurate description, and at the same time makes the grammar accessible to non-specialists. In this effort I have drawn on a long tradition in Amerindian linguistics, from Boas to Li, Newman, Haas and many others, that aims to allow the individual structure of the language emerge.

## COLVILLE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

By Anthony Mattina

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Division of the  
University of Hawaii in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a grammatical sketch of Colville, a Salishan language of eastern Washington. It is based on the data obtained in four summers of field work, from 1968 to 1971.

After an introductory chapter which places the language within its family, and otherwise defines the aims of the study and the conditions under which it was undertaken, the phonology is outlined. Consonants occur in six positions: labial, apical, lateral, velar, postvelar and glottal. Stops are voiceless and pattern in two series, glottalized and unglottalized. In the apical complex there are both stops t̚, t, and affricates c̚, c; the glottalized lateral affricate lacks an unglottalized counterpart; velar and postvelar stops occur rounded and unrounded. In the spirant series the labial position is not represented; the principal allophones of the spirants are voiceless. Resonants are voiced and, like the stops, occur in glottalized and unglottalized series; the postvelar resonants are actually pharyngeals. Vowels are i, a, u, and ə, of which the last is never stressed. Morphophonemic sections introduce the most straight-forward phenomena of epenthesis and syllabicity of resonants, then deal with other changes. The most complex of these are stress assignment rules, affecting the vowels of roots and suffixes.

The chapter on morphology discusses the basic intransitive nature of all roots, and the processes these may undergo to produce the simplest kinds of transitive, middle, and intransitive bases. The pronominal system is detailed here. A presentation of more complex bases follows--reduplicated, infix and extended bases. These last include in their make up one or more lexical affixes--bound morphemes with concrete primarily non-grammatical meanings. This chapter then describes a variety of further grammatical forms such as imperatives, reflexives, instrumentals and developmentals. It also treats three aspectual distinctions signalled by affixes, and concludes with a discussion of compounds.

Syntactic patterns are outlined in the final chapter. All full words are basically predicative; in simple sentences they function either as predicates or, with appropriate marking, as complements. Predicates are sentence-initial; complements follow. Complements may be marked by several preposed particles such as the definite, sequential, locational, agentive, causal, or comitative. Clause types are interrogative, evidential, modal, future. More complicated sentences are formed by juxtaposition of clauses introduced by dependent clause particles. The variety of particles is discussed and exemplified here. The chapter closes with a discussion of restricted words -- words which are more like full words than particles, but which lack the wide distribution of full words; among these are impersonal, deictic, and interrogative words, and proper names.



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## 1. Introduction

The Salishan family of North American Indian languages comprises two main divisions: Coast Salishan and Interior Salishan. The Interior Salishan languages can be subdivided in two branches, the Northern and the Southern.

Colville-Okanogan<sup>1</sup> is a language complex of the Southern Interior, flanked to the west by Columbian, and to the south and east by Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead. Further south and east is Coeur d'Alene. All of these languages belong to the Southern Interior branch. Generally north of the Colville-Okanogan speaking territory are found (roughly from east to west) Shuswap, Thompson, and Lilloet, forming the Northern Interior branch.<sup>2</sup>

The Colville-Okanogan continuum can be divided into the two northern dialects Okanogan and Lakes, and the southern dialect, Colville. The northern dialects have recently been studied (research conducted concurrently with that reported on here), by Donald Watkins, who based a doctoral dissertation at the University of Alberta (1971) on the materials collected. The southern dialect has provided the great bulk of the materials on which the present analysis is founded, and has suggested the title of this study.

The language is spoken on the Colville reservation of northeastern Washington, which has existed in its present size and state since July 1, 1892. It is bounded on the east

and south by the Columbia River (now Roosevelt Lake), on the west by the Okanogan River, and on the north by the 48.5° north parallel of latitude. For twenty years before 1892, the Colville Reservation extended northward as far as the international boundary with Canada, for an additional 1,501,000 acres of territory, but this was restored to the public domain in 1872. As a result of the reduction in size of the land reserved for Indians, many local residents migrated south, resulting in a certain amount of dialectal admixture.

Of the eleven bands making up the Colville Confederated Tribes, six are of Salishan linguistic stock: Methow, Okanogan, San Poil, Lake, Colville-Nespelem, and Moses;<sup>3</sup> the remainder speak a Sahaptian language, Nez Perce. Although these are the official names of the bands, residents of the Reservation distinguish themselves sharply from the Okanogans, their Canadian kinsmen, and from the Moses (speakers of a distinct language, Columbian). Within the Colville proper they distinguish between the 'North-Half Colvilles' and the 'South-Half Colvilles', the latter subdivided into the Nespelem and the San Poil. Differences between the northern (Okanogan and Lake) dialects, and the southern (Colville), are not easily assessed, partly because of the high incidence of movements within the Colville speaking territory. Aside from a few lexical items, reported by

Colvilles to differ between geographical areas, noteworthy is the absence in Colville of a phonemic voiced front velar fricative found in the northern dialects.

The number of speakers of Colville cannot be estimated to exceed a few hundred--all middle-aged to elderly speakers. It seems certain now that in a few years the language will no longer be heard spoken by residents of the Reservation. The situation is less desperate in British Columbia, where Okanogan children are reported to be fluent in the language.

Earlier work on the Colville and Okanogan peoples has included very little with linguistic focus. The most common studies are ethnographic in nature--e.g. the report by Hill-Tout (1911) on the Okanogans, and the very important work by Ray that resulted in a book (1932) on the Southern Colvilles. Tales in English translations were also collected. Gould, Ray, Teit, Mourning Dove and a few others recorded some materials, all prior to 1933. There is also the undated translation in Okanogan of a catechism and a missal by Fr. De Rougé. In the archives of Gonzaga University I have found a few manuscript pages of notes of linguistic nature, some by Fr. Collins, and some anonymous. The latter include the transcription in syllabic script of a prayer and some paradigmatic material.

Important work has been, and is now being done, on related languages. A summary of past and on-going research



is found in Thompson (in press); here it will suffice to mention the availability of grammars of Coeur d'Alene (Reichard), Kalispel (Vogt), and, most recently, Spokane (Carlson), in addition to the comparative works of Reichard, Vogt, and Kinkadeand Sloat.

I began my research on Colville in the summer of 1968 under the auspices of the National Science Foundation and the direction of Professor L.C. Thompson. Since then I have spent four summers in the town of Inchelium, Washington, gathering materials for my analysis. My first contact with Colville amounted to a few brief sessions with Mrs. Sophie Bailey McDonald (now deceased), originally from Marcus, Washington; and with Mrs. Mary Quintasket Lemery of Inchelium; they were followed by more substantial work with Mrs. Helen Perkins Toulou, originally of Ford, Washington (now deceased). My main source for narrative tales has been Mr. Pete Seymour, originally from Marcus, Washington. In terms of quantity and quality his aid has proved of immense value. I have also obtained excellent narrative materials from Mrs. Dora DeSautel, originally from Orcville, Washington, and conversational materials from Mrs. Cecilia Andrews, Mr. George Quintasket, Mrs. Mary Ensminger, Mrs. Dora DeSautel and Mrs. Helen Toulou. My main informant has been Mrs. Madeline Saint Paul DeSautel, originally from St. Paul's Mission, Washington, who helped

patiently and very effectively with the transcriptions and analysis of the texts.

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Spelled Okanagan in Canada.

<sup>2</sup>For further details on the classification of Salishan languages, cf. Thompson (in press).

<sup>3</sup>Members of the Methow, San Poil and Colville-Nespelem bands all speak the same dialect, Colville. However, for the members of each band these terms are synonymous with the dialect they speak.

## 2. Phonology

Colville exhibits a rich consonantal system that distinguishes five manners and nine points of articulation. The vocalic system includes four phonemes. There are also three levels of stress and a system of intonational contours.

2.1. The consonantal system. Colville stops and resonants pattern in a plain and a glottalized series; all stops are voiceless, and all resonants voiced; the principal allophones of the spirants are voiceless. Each of the five manners of articulation is represented in the velar and post-velar positions, rounded and unrounded; the glottal position is represented by the glottal stop and h. A voiceless plain lateral affricate is lacking in the system, thus leaving a gap in that position; the bilabial position lacks a spirant. Finally, the apical complex includes two sets: the dental, represented by stops and nasal resonants; and the alveolar, represented by affricates and liquid resonants. The only apical spirant is s.

ᵀ	ᵀ	ᶜ	ᵀ	ᵀ	ᵀ <sup>w</sup>	ᵀ	ᵀ <sup>w</sup>	ʔ
p	t	c		k	k <sup>w</sup>	q	q <sup>w</sup>	
		s	ɬ	x	x <sup>w</sup>	ʃ	ʃ <sup>w</sup>	h
ᵐ	ᵐ	ᵐ	ᵐ	ᵐ	ᵐ <sup>w</sup>	ᵐ	ᵐ <sup>w</sup>	
m	n	r	l	y	w	ɹ	ɹ <sup>w</sup>	

2.11. Stops. The glottalized stops are fortis (strongly articulated), and, as a rule, they can be easily distinguished from their plain counterparts. Affricates pattern as stops. Plain stops are aspirated and released finally (a feature that Colville speakers carry over into English), while they are unreleased immediately preceding a homorganic nasal. The underlying sequences //pʰm// and //tʰn// each have two phonetic realizations: [pʰʔᵐ] and [tʰʔᵐ]; and [pəm] and [tən]. [pəm] and [tən] are the careful, formal pronunciations, while [pʰʔᵐ] and [tʰʔᵐ] occur in ordinary speech (cf. also section 2.44). The plain alveolar affricate, but not its glottalized counterpart, has a palatalized allophone [č] in free variation with the norm [c].

2.12. Spirants. All spirants except h can occur voiced intervocalically. In fact, it is sometimes hard to identify the lateral spirant correctly, because the voiced lateral spirant resembles the lateral resonant so closely. h is quite rare and, as with ʔ, it can often be lost in rapid speech, especially in word initial position (h does not occur word-finally).

2.13. Resonants. The resonants occur glottalized (often phonetically laryngealized) and plain, parallel to the glottalization of the stops. However, it may eventually be established that the glottalized resonants should be

interpreted as sequences of resonant plus glottal stop. Glottalized resonants are quite uncommon in initial position.

With the pharyngeal resonants one is faced with grave problems of recognition. The phonetic reality presents vowels with pharyngeal constriction. This constriction is somewhat greater at the beginning or at the end of the syllabic segment, and the phenomena seem best interpreted as sequences of vowels and pharyngeal non-syllabics. In terms of the system these fit logically with post-velar obstruents, supplying otherwise missing resonants in these columns. Their presence introduces a number of contrasts that are extremely difficult for the non-native to perceive: r:ʔ; ʔ:ʔ; rʷ:w; ʔʷ:w..

In connection with some current hypotheses about marked sequences, it is worth noting that /n/ does not assimilate to a following velar (see Chomsky and Halle, The Sound Pattern of English, especially p. 419).

2.2. The vocalic system. The vowels of Colville are /i/, /a/, /u/, and /ə/.

2.21. Full vs. reduced vowels. The term full vowel distinguishes /i/, /a/, and /u/, on the one hand, from /ə/, on the other. Full vowels (i, a, u) can occur stressed or unstressed, while ə does not occur stressed. We recognize two functionally (not qualitatively) different types of schwa: the first is systematic--a number of forms require its use in their underlying representations; the second is epenthetic--schwa is inserted by rule.

2.22. Allophonic range of vowels.

2.221. Schwa. The phonetic reality of schwa is determined by phonetic environment. It is [U<sup>◌</sup>] in the neighborhood of rounded consonants:

[U<sup>◌</sup>] məq<sup>w</sup>əməq<sup>w</sup>. 'They are mountains.'

It is [ə<sup>◌</sup>] in the neighborhood of post-velar and glottal (henceforth 'back') consonants (unrounded):

[ə<sup>◌</sup>] qáqəna. 'She's the grandmother.'

It ranges from [I<sup>◌</sup>] to [ɪ] contiguous to labial and alveolar consonants:

[I<sup>◌</sup>] ~ [ɪ] sípən. 'She's the daughter-in-law.'

It is [ə] elsewhere:

[ə] skəkʰakaʔ. 'It's a chicken.'

2.222. /i/ ranges from [i] down to [e^], in free variation,

[i] ~ [e^] kiláwnaʔ. 'It's a lion.'

kíkət. 'It's near.'

But it has a transition [ə] glide before or after post-velars.

[əI̯] xíl. 'He's scared.'

[I̯ə] píq. 'It's white.'

2.223. /u/ ranges freely from [u] down to [o],

[u] ~ [o] lút. 'It is not.'

But it is usually [ə] contiguous to a post-velar:

[ə] sqʰúí. 'It's a yellow jacket.'

In addition, /u/ has a rare allophone [əU] or [əu] after unrounded (post)velar obstruents. These occurrences are all word-internal, at morpheme junctures, and prevent the neutralization of unrounded and rounded (post)velars before /u/.

//ɬ-płk-ús-m// ipəlkúsəm [ipɬlkʰúsɪm]. 'They turned back.'

2.224. /a/ ranges from [æ] after ɣ (less noticeably fronted after other non-back consonants),



[æ] myál 'It is too much ...'

to [ɑ] contiguous to back consonants:

[ɑ] spfás. 'It's a nighthawk.'

sxáxa?. 'He's the father-in-law.'

It ranges from [a] to [ɑ] elsewhere.

[a] kást. 'It's bad.'

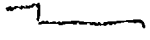
2.3. Stress and intonation. I have recognized three distinctive degrees of stress in Colville; primary /1/, secondary /2/, and weak (unmarked). No word contains more than one primary stress. However, polysyllabic words sometimes contain a secondary stress. Other syllables have weak stress. Over a whole utterance stresses interacting with intonation may shift, but no systematic study of these phenomena has as yet been possible.

Intonation has not been studied in detail, but certain basic generalizations can be made about the most common types of intonational contours.

One type occurs in connection with declarative sentences. They usually have medium pitch throughout, with slight ups and downs, falling sharply at the end. Certain restricted words (see 4.5) in sentence initial position are accompanied by a rising-falling pitch. Thus the intonational contour of the sentence can be represented as



This same type of contour characterizes imperative sentences.

Another type of pitch contour is that which marks interrogative sentences. It can be represented as  and it will be discussed further in 4.41.

Noteworthy is a striking feature of conversational and narrative Colville (shared by all Salishan languages).

It is a phenomenon manifested in extra vowel length, together with a sharp rise in pitch, often going into falsetto voice; it achieves the stylistic effect of emphasis. The falsetto vowel is sometimes sustained for as long as three or four seconds.

2.4. Morphophonemics. Colville words are of two types (cf. 4.1): independent words, and proclitic particles. Independent words consist of a base and optional affixes; proclitic particles occur only with a following independent word, and do not undergo inflectional affixation.

Morphophonemic changes affect particles, prefixes, roots, infixes, and suffixes. Changes involving particles, infixes and prefixes do not depend on rules of stress placement; changes involving roots and suffixes, on the other hand, depend on such rules. General morphophonemic changes are discussed here, other changes in section 2.5. Except where they are specifically exemplified, word boundary morphophonemic changes are not reflected in the broad phonetic surface transcriptions.

2.41. Apocope. In the normal flow of speech (but not in careful citations) a word-final glottal stop is lost before a word beginning in glottal stop.

//?ix-í? ?áyx<sup>w</sup>-t// ?ixí ?áyx<sup>w</sup>t. 'That one is tired.'

2.42. Insertion of glottal stop. A glottal stop is automatically inserted before word-initial vowels after pause.

//incá?// incá?. [?incá?] 'It is I.'

2.43. Schwa-epenthesis. An automatic ə is inserted in certain phonological environments, as defined below.

2.431. Epenthesis between two identical obstruents.

//mɨmɨ-tt// mənɨmɨtət. 'We're the ones.'

//x-xnút// xəxənút. 'They are nine.'

//p-píwt// pəpíwt. 'It's lightweight.'

2.432. Epenthesis between a stop and its glottalized counterpart.<sup>2</sup>

//lút tíc// lut tíc. [lutətíc] 'It isn't pitch.'

//piq qay-m-í-n// piq qəymín. [pɨqəqəymín] 'It's a white pencil.'

2.433. Epenthesis between a glottalized consonant and a following consonant.

//tʰx// təxʷ 'indeed'

//kʰn// kəx 'except'

//k-číl-(ú)laxʷ// kčíləlaxʷ. 'It's shade.'

2.434. Epenthesis between a consonant and a following glottal stop.

//s-tʰiw-t-xx// stəʰíwtx. 'He's the youngest one.'

//xʷʰít// xʷəʰít. 'They are many.'

2.435. Epenthesis between an unrounded (post)velar and a following //w// at morpheme boundary (for a related phenomenon cf. 2.223).

//k-wík-n-t// kəwíkent! 'Find out!'

//s-ía?kámíx-wílX// stá?kəmxəwílX. 'She is becoming a woman.'

2.436. Epenthesis rules apply to proclitic particles, across word boundaries.

//t anwí?// t anwí? [tanwí?] 'by you'

//t tapít// t tapít [tətapít] 'by David'

2.44. Syllabicity of resonants. In cases involving resonants, a insertion is closely related to syllabicity.

2.441. A schwa is inserted between a consonant and a following resonant (R) if the R, in its turn, is not followed by a full vowel.

//sípn// sípən. 'She's the daughter-in-law.'

//kn// kən 'I'

//lm-lim-s-t-sút// lmlmstsút (unstressed vowel deletion;  
cf. 2.541)

ləmələmscút. 'He is glad.'

//tař-m-í-sút// tǝmíst (unstressed vowel deletion; 2.541)  
təřəmíst. 'It unraveled.'

2.442. A schwa is inserted between an initial R and a following consonant.

//mɪ// məɪ 'and, subordinate'

//mɪk// məɪk. 'It's excrement.'

//lkapɪʔ// ləkəpɪʔ. 'It's coffee.'

2.443. All sequences əR (or Rə) vary freely with ʀ (syllabic resonants). For the sake of uniformity ə will be written consistently in the broad phonetic transcriptions.

2.444. The resonants ɣ and w are related to the vowels i and u, respectively. Sequences VR or RV when unstressed become əR and Rə; if R is ɣ or w, then əɣ and ɣə vary freely with i, and əw and wə vary freely with u; analogously əɣ̣ varies with iʔ, ɣ̣ə varies with ?i; əẉ varies with uʔ, ẉə varies with ?u.

//əc-miy-s-t-(i)n// cməystɪn ~ cmistɪn. 'I know it.'

//qəỵ-m-i-n// qəỵəmɪn ~ qiʔmɪn. 'It's a writing implement.'

//ṣẉ-sịẉ-n-t-(i)x̣// səẉəsɪẉəntx̣ ~ suʔsɪẉəntx̣. 'You questioned him.'

Sometimes, however, the morphophonemics involved are not evident and the representation of an underlying form, in the absence of grammatical motivation, remains arbitrary. Thus [ʔilmix̣<sup>w</sup>əm] 'he is the chief' can be represented //ʔilmix̣<sup>w</sup>m// or //ỵlmix̣<sup>w</sup>m//.

2.445. Two identical resonants in a sequence are simplified:

//kn n-st-(í)ls// kən nəstíls. [kənəstíls] 'I think.'

whiles two dissimilar ones insert a e between them:

//kn mút// kən mut. [kənemút] 'I sit.'

//mlqn-(ú)ps// məlqnúps. 'It's an eagle.'



2.5. Other morphophonemic changes. This section treats morphophonemic changes connected with particles, affixes, and roots.

2.51. Changes connected with particles.

2.511. Vowel apocope. The vowel of the particle //t̥i// 'evidential' (4.221) is obligatorily lost before words beginning with a vowel.

//t̥i an-s-t̥mk?-ílt// t̥i ast̥mkə?ílt. [t̥ast̥mkə?ílt] 'As you can see, it's your daughter.'

It is optionally lost before words beginning with a consonant, in which case the ə-epenthesis rules apply.

//t̥i pus// t̥i pús ~ t̥ pús [t̥əpús]. 'As you can see, it's a cat.'

2.512. Vowel dissimilation.

(a) The vowels of the particles //y̥i// 'definite' (4.321), and //t̥i// 'evidential' (4.221) dissimilate to a immediately preceding words the first (non-initial) full vowel of which is i.

//y̥i y̥lmíx<sup>w</sup>m// y̥i y̥əlmíx<sup>w</sup>əm [y̥a?ilmíx<sup>w</sup>əm] 'the chief ...'  
 //t̥i əc-miy-s-t-(í)n// t̥i cməystín [t̥acmístín]. 'As you can see, I know it.'

(b) a similar rule of vowel change applies to the particles

//l//, //t//, //t1//, //k//, //k1// (4.32) after epenthesis rules have applied: schwa becomes [a] immediately before words the first (non-initial) full vowel of which is i.

//l ?kín// lə ?kín  
la ?kín. 'where is it?'

//t ?ilík<sup>w</sup>lk-x(á)n// tə ?ilík<sup>w</sup>əl<sup>w</sup>kxən.  
ta ?ilík<sup>w</sup>əl<sup>w</sup>kxən 'by Ramhorn ...'

//t1 ?kín// tələ ?kín  
tela ?kín. 'where is it from?'

Contrast the last derivation with one involving a word-initial i:

//t1 in-s-kíwl-xx// təl iskíwəl<sup>w</sup>x 'because I am old ...'

//k<sup>1</sup> yəlmíx<sup>w</sup>m// kə yəlmíx<sup>w</sup>əm  
ká yəlmíx<sup>w</sup>əm ~ ká ?ilmíx<sup>w</sup>əm 'to the chief'

//k<sup>1</sup>i ?kín// kələ ?kín  
kəla ?kín 'where to?'

Contrast this last derivation with one not involving the epenthesis of a before a glottal stop:

//k<sup>1</sup>i cítx<sup>w</sup>-tt// kəl cítx<sup>w</sup>tət 'to our house ...'

2.52. Changes affecting prefixes. Prefixes are never stressed. (For an apparent exception, cf. section 3.2112.)

2.521. Decapitiation. e of the prefix //əc-// 'actual' (3.373) is optionally lost when sentence initial; it is obligatorily lost when word internal. If //əc-// retains its initial e after pause, a glottal stop is automatically inserted before it.

//əc-x<sup>wúy</sup>// cx<sup>wúy</sup>. ~ ?əcx<sup>wúy</sup>. 'He has actually gone.'

//s-əc-x<sup>wúy</sup>-x// scx<sup>wúy</sup>ex. 'He is actually going.'

2.522. Consonant fusion. The consonant of //əc-// 'actual' (3.373), //c-// 'cislocative' (3.241), and //k-// 'numeral classifier' (3.42) combine with a following glottal stop to yield əc-, c-, and k-, respectively.

//əc-?ácqa?// cácqa?. ~ ?əccácqa?. 'He has actually gone out.'

//əc-c-?ácqa?// ccácqa?. ~ ?əcccácqa?. 'He has actually come out.'

//k-?s-?asíl// kəse?asíl. 'There are two of them.'

Presumably the same rule applies to //k-// 'directive' (3.242), but no examples in the material establish this.

2.523. Consonant dissimilation. //k-// 'directive' (3.242) and //k-// 'numeral classifier' (3.42) dissimilate to //t-// before a following velar.

//k-kíc// tkíc. 'He met (someone).' (kíc 'reach')

//k-xwíl// txwíl. 'He came along.' (xwíl 'road')  
 //k-ka?-ka?lís// tka?ka?lís. 'There are three people.'  
 (ka?lís 'three')

2.524. Consonant loss.

(a) n of the absolutive pronouns //in-// 'my', and //an-// 'yours sg.' (3.112), is lost before s; and before the prefix //kí-// 'unrealized aspect' (3.371);

//in-s-x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>?</sup>-t-n// isx<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>?</sup>etən. 'They are my tracks.'  
 //an-kí-tkimíl<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>// akítkimíl<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>. 'She is your wife to be.'  
 //an-sipn// asípən. 'She is your sister-in-law.'

(b) i of //kí-// 'possessive' (3.384), and of //kí-// 'unrealized aspect' (3.371), is lost before s.

//kí-s-talm// kstálem. 'He has a boat.'  
 //kí-s-talm-s// kstálems. 'It's going to be his boat.'

2.525. Changes in reduplicative prefixes.

(a) Underlying pharyngeals of reduplicative prefixes vocalize to a.

//cʕ-cʕay-p-m// cacʕáypəm. 'He cried out loudly.'  
 //s-n-ʕc-ʕac-(í)na?-s// snacʕacína?s. 'They are her earrings.'

(b) No reduplicated root initial consonant remains glottalized, except /ʔ/.  
 //t̥n-t̥inaʔ// t̥ənt̥inaʔ. 'They are ears.'  
 //p̥n-p̥inaʔ// p̥ənp̥inaʔ. 'They are baskets.'  
 //ʔaʔ-ʔaʔkʷiɫx// ʔəʔʔaʔkʷiɫx. 'They are medicine men.'

(c) Non-initial //ʔ// of a reduplicative prefix is replaced by [t], which functions as its plain counterpart.

//s-kʷʔ-(ú)s// skʷʔús. 'It's an eye.'  
 //s-tkʷʔ-kʷʔ-(ú)s// skʷtkʷʔús. 'They are eyes.'

For further discussion of reduplicative affixes see 3.21.

2.53. Changes affecting roots. This section briefly handles certain morphophonemic changes that are peculiar to a few roots. (Root reduplication is more properly affixation and is treated in section 3.21)

2.531. The root //mut// 'sit' loses its t before another t.

//s-n-ki-mut-t-n// sənklmúten. 'It's a chair.'

2.532. Root-final s of //yʔis// 'drive deer' is lost before //x(i)-// 'benefactive' (3.15).

//yʔis-x(i)-t-(ú)m-(i)n// yəʔixtəmen. 'I drive the deer'

to you.' (Cf. //k<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>-s-yx<sup>h</sup>is-x-a<sup>h</sup>?-x// k<sup>h</sup>n k<sup>h</sup>səyx<sup>h</sup>isa<sup>h</sup>?x.  
'I am about to drive deer.')

2.533. Roots that have never been recorded stressed are represented without vowel in their underlying forms (but cf. 2.543), and they are underlined.

//k<sup>h</sup>// 'wait'

#### 2.54. Changes involved in suffixes.

2.541. Stress placement. Morphophonemic changes in suffixes are affected by stress placement. In words containing suffixes, stress falls sometimes on the root, sometimes on one of the suffixes.

Suffixes are of three kinds: inherently stressed suffixes which always take the stress from a root; variable stress suffixes, with stressed and unstressed forms; and unstressed suffixes. These last never occur with primary stress, but some contain a full vowel which is never deleted. Variable stress suffixes receive stress unless it is automatically placed on the root or on a cooccurring inherently stressed suffix. When variable stress suffixes occur unstressed, their vowel is deleted, at which time the general morphophonemic rules of e-epenthesis may apply. The vowel of an inherently stressed suffix may also be deleted if another inherently stressed suffix precedes in the word.

Inherently stressed suffixes are marked with primary stress in morphophonemic notation (e.g. // -sút//); unstressed suffixes have their vowel unmarked (e.g. // -wi?//); variable stress suffixes have their vowel parenthesized and marked with stress (e.g. // -(î)x<sup>w</sup>//).

Roots are of two types: stress retentive roots, which receive primary stress unless an inherently stressed suffix is present; and stress shifting roots, which lose their stress to both inherently stressed and variable stress suffixes. Stress falls on the root if there is no suffix present which takes the stress.

When roots occur unstressed they usually lose their vowel, with some exceptions noted below. Stress retentive roots are marked with primary stress in morphophonemic notation (e.g. //x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>2</sup>//); stress shifting roots have their vowel unmarked (e.g. //kar//). Except in cases of full reduplication, the reader will have no difficulty identifying the root: it follows any prefixes--none of which have the shape CVC(C) typical of roots (vowelless roots are underlined; cf. 2.533).

The following general rules apply to all suffixes, including lexical suffixes:

1. stress is placed on the inherently stressed suffix closest to the root;

2. if no inherently stressed suffixes are present, then
- (a) stress will be placed on the root if it is stress retentive,
- (b) if the root is stress shifting, stress will be placed on the variable stress suffix closest to the root.
3. If no variable stress suffix is present, then it is placed on the root.

Stress retentive roots occur stressed with variable stress suffixes:

//x<sup>w</sup>úk// 'pull out'

//x<sup>w</sup>úk-n-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>// x<sup>w</sup>úkentx<sup>w</sup>. 'You pull it out.'

//k<sup>w</sup>úí// 'make, do'

//k<sup>w</sup>úí-s-t-(í)s// k<sup>w</sup>úíasc. 'He fixes it.'

Stress retentive roots lose their stress (and their vowel) when an inherently stressed suffix is added:

//-nú// 'success'

//x<sup>w</sup>úk-nú-n-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>// x<sup>w</sup>knúntx<sup>w</sup>. 'You managed to pull it out.'

//-sút// 'reflexive'

//s-k<sup>w</sup>úí-c(í)n-sút-s// sk<sup>w</sup>éíecencúc. 'It's his cooking.'

(-c(í)n 'mouth')



Stress shifting roots lose their stress if either inherently stressed or variable stress suffixes follow:

//xas// 'good'

//xas-t-wilx// xstwilx. 'He gets better.'

//iax<sup>w</sup>// 'hanging, loose'

//iax<sup>w</sup>-p-n-t-(í)n// íx<sup>w</sup>pentín. 'I let it hang, put it up.'

Additional examples of stress placement rules:

//kn kí-s-k<sup>w</sup>úl-(í)kst-m-í-sút-x-a<sup>?</sup>-x// kən ksk<sup>w</sup>ələkst-místa<sup>?</sup>x. 'I am about to fix myself up.' (I unrealized-absolute mode-make-hand-middle-secondary-self-inchoative)

//kn n-xas-(á)qs(t)-x(á)n// kən nxsáqstxən. 'I have a good hip.' (I locative-good-rear-legs)

//táq<sup>w</sup>-p-q(í)n-n-t-(í)m// t<sup>w</sup>ápqəntəm. 'Someone was slapped on the head.' (slap-noncontrol-head-active-transitive-indefinite; cf. 2.543)

//k<sup>w</sup>u n-xas-t-(í)ls-m-í-sút// k<sup>w</sup>u nxsələsmíst. 'Our feelings will be settled.' (we locative good-stative-desiderative-middle-secondary-reflexive)

Although most roots are either stress retentive or stress shifting, there is at least some controversial--if not contradictory--evidence. The root //miy// 'know' is sometimes stress shifting:

//miy-s-t-(í)n// məystín ( ~ mistín). 'I know it.'  
and sometimes stress retentive:

//míy-s-t-(í)n// mǐstən. 'I know it, I am sure of it.'  
The difference in glosses may well reflect a basic grammatical process; however, the evidence at hand does not warrant any conclusive statement.

2.542. Unstressed roots with full vowels. It has been stated as a general rule that root vowels are deleted when unstressed. Some roots, however, retain an unstressed full vowel. Often such root vowels are contiguous to a pharyngeal or laryngeal consonant; it is also intriguing to note that some forms (not all) that retain a full unstressed vowel also contain the suffix //-í-// 'secondary' (3.141). It has not been possible to formulate rules predicting the retention of full unstressed vowels. Pertinent examples and related discussion are in sections 3.131 and 3.33; additional examples are provided here.

//kɪ-skʃaw-m-í-s-t-(í)m// kskʃawmǐstəm. 'Someone  
is going to be hired.'

//s-əc-ʔaw-p-m-i-xx// scʔawəpmix. 'It's drooping.'

Note, however, that some roots, which phonetically may contain an unstressed full vowel, have an unambiguous underlying representation (cf. 2.444), and can be interpreted as containing no full root vowel.

//s<sup>1</sup>iw// 'ask'

//n-si<sup>1</sup>w-c(i)n-m-i-sút// nəsewəcənmíst ~ nəsu<sup>?</sup>cənmíst.

'He proposed in marriage.'

//w<sup>1</sup>t// 'take out'

//əc-w<sup>1</sup>t-n-t-(i)s// cəwətəntís ~ cu<sup>?</sup>təntís. 'He took it out.'

2.543. Metathesized roots. There are certain roots which, before the suffixes //-p// 'non-control', //-m// 'middle', and //-n-t//, //-n-t-i<sup>?</sup>// 'imperative',

(a) metathesize their vowel with C<sub>2</sub>

(b) insert a between C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> if either is a pharyngeal or laryngeal consonant.

e-epenthesis rules apply regularly thereafter.

All of the roots for which there is a vowel attested, contain [a] as the vowel; all of the roots which are attested only in their derived form, also contain [a]. It is therefore inferred that the root vowel is [a].

## List of forms with attested root vowel [a]:

- //kám-m// kámám. 'He took a lot.'  
 //taʔ-m// taʔám. 'He pounds.'  
 //qáy-m// qáyám. 'He writes.'  
 //caʔ-p// caʔáp. 'He's hit.'  
 //s-xal-p// sxláp. 'It's tomorrow.'  
 //cax<sup>v</sup>-m// cax<sup>v</sup>ám. 'He pours in.'  
 //psaʔ-p// psááp. 'He guessed.'

## List of forms without an attested root vowel:

- //kár-m// kárám. 'He cuts.'  
 //kár-n-t// káránt! 'Cut it!'  
 //láʔ-m// láʔám. 'He is searching.'  
 //láʔ-n-t// láʔánt! 'Look for it!'  
 //ʕal-p// ʕaláp. 'He lost, gambling.'  
 //lax-p// laxáp. 'He grows.'  
 //lax<sup>v</sup>-p// lax<sup>v</sup>áp. 'It got away.'  
 //k<sup>v</sup>aʔ-m// k<sup>v</sup>aʔám. 'He bites.'  
 //kax-m// kxám. 'He walks along.'  
 //x<sup>v</sup>ar-p// x<sup>v</sup>ráp. 'He is shaking.'  
 //k<sup>v</sup>as-p// k<sup>v</sup>ésáp. 'It scorches.'  
 //ʕam-p// ʕamáp. 'It's wet.'  
 //ham-p// hamáp. 'It's damp.'  
 //tak<sup>v</sup>-p// tk<sup>v</sup>áp. 'It smothers.'  
 //lax<sup>v</sup>-m// lax<sup>v</sup>ám. 'It makes a hole.'  
 //paq-m// pqám. 'It glues.'

//táy-m// tɔyám. 'He balks.'  
 //qaw-m// qəwám. 'He cracks.'  
 //xaɻ-p// xɻáp. 'He is beaten.'  
 //k<sup>w</sup>aɻ-p// k<sup>w</sup>ɻáp. 'He comes in sight.'  
 //x<sup>w</sup>aç-m// x<sup>w</sup>çám. 'It breaks.'  
 //sɻak-m// sɻɛkám. 'He twists.'  
 //tɻap-m// tɻapám. 'He shoots.'  
 //ɻal-p// ɻəláp. 'He stops.'  
 //cak<sup>w</sup>-n-t// ck<sup>w</sup>ánt! 'Pull it!'

Cf. also the following:

//cak<sup>w</sup>-p// çək<sup>w</sup>áp. 'It feels stiff.' (Cf. çák<sup>w</sup>ət.  
 'It's stiff.'; cúk<sup>w</sup>ət. 'It's stiff.!')

And the irregular formation

//ʔam(n)-n-t// ʔamnánt! 'Feed him!' (Cf. ʔamtín. 'I  
 feed him.')

Roots with i (presumably also those with u) are not found to undergo metathesis.

//çiq<sup>w</sup>-m// çíq<sup>w</sup>əm. 'He butchers.'  
 //kíp-m// kípəm. 'He pinches.'  
 //qít-m// qítəm. 'He hooks rugs.'  
 //sʔiy-m// səʔílyəm. 'He weaves grass mats.'

One root has been recorded with i metathesizing in a similar way with C<sub>2</sub>:

//k<sup>w</sup>in-m// k<sup>w</sup>ním. 'He takes.'

However, other roots in i do not exhibit such forms.

2.544. s-affrication. //s// 'third person absolute pronoun' dissimilates to c following another [s] or [l].

//s-pʔús-s// spəʔúsc. 'It's his wish.'

//páckl-s// páckíc. 'It's his leaf.'

2.545. t- and n-deletion.

(a) //-t// 'transitive' is deleted between n and homorganic consonants;

(b) //-n// 'active' (or stem-final n) is deleted before all s's, except //s// 'third person absolute pronoun' (cf. 2.524);

//cú-n-t-(í)n// cún. 'I told him.'

cú-n-t-in (stress assignment)

cú-n-t-n (unstressed vowel deletion)

cú-n-n (t-deletion)

cún (resonant simplification)

//ʔaw-ʔaw-c(í)n-n-t-(í)s-lx// ʔawəʔawcíselx. 'They went to ask it.'

ʔaw-ʔaw-cín-n-t-is-lx (stress assignment)

ʔaw-ʔaw-cín-n-t-s-lx (vowel deletion)

ʔaw-ʔaw-cín-n-s-lx (t-deletion)

ʔaw-ʔaw-cín-s-lx (resonant simplification)

ʔaw-ʔaw-cí-s-lx (n-deletion)

ʔawəʔawcísəlx (ə-epenthesis)

Note that the resonant simplification rule has to apply before the n-deletion rule.

Note further that the n-deletion rule before s is a general rule of Colville--an analogous rule applies to the absolutive pronouns, 1st and 2nd sg. forms (cf. 2.524). n, however, is not lost before //-s// '3rd sg. absolutive pronoun':

//s-x<sup>wúy</sup>-t-n-s// sx<sup>wúy</sup>ətəns. 'They are his tracks.'

Note, finally, that s (unstressed form of //-(í)s// '3rd transitive') does not dissimilate to c after stem final s (it is recalled that //-s// '3rd absolutive' becomes c after s; cf. 2.544). One may wish to speak of a general dissimilation rule, and invoke a different rule ordering to derive the correct surface forms (e.g., ə-epenthesis precedes n-deletion). In any case, the morphophonemic behavior of //-s// 'absolutive' and //-(í)s// 'transitive' is different. Thus,

//ʔáq<sup>w</sup>-(ú)s-n-t-(í)s// ʔáq<sup>w</sup>əsəs. 'He shaved him.'

2.546. x-deletion. The first x of //-xx// 'progressive' is always deleted, except in inchoative forms directly after the secondary suffix //-í-//

//kí-s-íaw<sup>w</sup>-p-m-í-x-a<sup>w</sup>-x// ksíaw<sup>w</sup>əpmíxa<sup>w</sup>x. 'It's about to begin drooping.' (//-a<sup>w</sup>-// 'inchoative'; cf. 3.39)

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Gender is not a marked category in Colville. Throughout this study 'he' is a cover term for a generic third person.

<sup>2</sup>Exception to this rule is the deletion of t of the negative lút before the evidential predicative particle ti.  
 //lut ti in-s-əc-wík// lut ti iscwík [lutiscwík]. 'I didn't see him.' (Cf. 2.521.)



### 3. Morphology

Colville independent words consist of a base and optional affixes. A base may be simple, extended, or compound. A simple base is one that consists of a simple root, or a root with a primary suffix (3.113); an extended base consists of a root and one or more lexical affixes (3.25); a compound base (3.4) consists of more than one root.

3.1 Transitive and intransitive bases. Bases are of two main types: transitive bases are marked by a transitive suffix; other bases are intransitive.

Roots underlie bases. Certain roots tend to appear only as transitive bases, others only as intransitive bases. Most roots, however, can appear as either transitive or intransitive bases.

All intransitive bases may receive the middle suffix // -m // and the resulting stems are labelled middle stems.

The middle suffix // -m //, the transitive suffix // -t //, and the unmarked intransitive, define the Colville referent-focus system, discussed in the following sections and summarized in 3.16.

3.11. Bases in their uninflected state are intransitive.

x<sup>w</sup>úy̌. 'He goes.'

tíì. 'He is grimy.'

pús. 'It's a cat.'

3.111. Personal reference with intransitive bases is marked by means of the primary reference pronouns, a set composed of four proclitic particles,

//kn// ken '1st sg.'

//k<sup>w</sup>// k<sup>w</sup> '2nd sg.'

//k<sup>w</sup>u// k<sup>w</sup>u '1st pl.'

//p// p '2nd pl.'

and one suffix,

//-lx// -(ə)lx '3rd pl.'<sup>1</sup> (Cf. examples in 3.11 above.)

Third person singular forms are unmarked.

ken x<sup>w</sup>úy̌. 'I go.'

k<sup>w</sup> tíì. 'You are grimy.'

x<sup>w</sup>úy̌alx. 'They go.'

3.112. Personal reference with intransitive bases may also be marked by means of the absolute pronouns, a set

consisting of two prefixes and four suffixes,

//in-// in- '1st sg.'  
 //an-// an- '2nd sg.'  
 //-s// -s '3rd sg.'  
 //-tt// -tət '1st pl.'  
 //-mp// -(ə)mp '2nd pl.'  
 //-s-lx// -səlx '3rd pl.'

attached directly to the base as in

inpús. 'It's my cat.'

Absolutive pronouns cooccur with the absolute mode prefix //s-// (hereafter glossed 'absolute'; cf. 3.32) in intransitive bases, as in the following examples:

//in-s-x<sup>wúy</sup>// isx<sup>wúy</sup>. 'I go; it is my going.'

//in-s-ííi// istíi. 'I am grimy.'

Absolutive pronouns may also cooccur with the unrealized aspect prefix //kí-// (3.371).

//in-kí-tkímílx<sup>w</sup>// íkítkímílx<sup>w</sup>. 'She is my wife to be.'  
 (tkímílx<sup>w</sup> 'woman, wife').

//kí-//, in turn, may cooccur with //s-// 'absolute', and, in that case, pronominal reference is marked by means of the primary reference pronouns (Cf. example 3.371c).

3.113. Intransitive bases may add the primary suffix *//-p//* indicating lack of control on the part of the primary referent.

*cá?*. 'He is hit.'

*ca?áp*. 'He is hit, and can't help it.'

*kən ca?áp*. 'I am hit, and can't help it.'

*//-p//* is called a primary suffix because it is attached immediately to the base, before any eventual lexical suffix.

*c.a?ápqən*. 'He is hit on the head.' (*//-q(í)n//* 'head')

3.114. Intransitive bases may add the primary suffix *//-m//*. This suffix is not common, and its function is not entirely clear. It seems to narrow the semantic import of the root to which it is suffixed, to its most natural property. Whenever a segment m occurs word-finally, it is always possible and desirable to analyze it as the middle suffix *//-m//* (cf. section 3.12). There are two other suffixes, *//-(í)m//* '1st pl. transitive' (cf. section 3.131), and *//-(í)m//* '3rd indefinite recipient' (3.132); that, unstressed, are realized as [-m]. However, they are affixed to transitive stems.

In sum, it is preferable not to identify the suffix under discussion with *//-m//* 'middle', even though the two may ultimately be related.

*//xíλ//* (intransitive root) 'go up'

*//xíλ-x(á)n//* *xíλexen*. 'They are trousers.' (*//-x(á)n//* 'legs')

*//xíλ-m-ús//* *xíλemús*. 'It's an incline.' (*//-ús//*

'surface'; not the same suffix as *//-(ú)s//* 'fire' or *//-(ú)s//* 'face')

*//xíλ-m//* *xíλem*. 'He goes uphill' (middle).

*//kár//* (intransitive root) 'swim'

*//kár-n-t-(í)n//* (transitive form) *kérentín*. 'I take it somewhere swimming.' (*//-n//* 'active'; *//-t//* 'transitive'; *//-(í)n//* '1st sg. transitive')

*//kár-m-íws//* *kérmíwes*. 'It's a (good) place to cross swimming.' (*//-íws//* 'middle')

*//kár-m//* *kéram*. 'He swims' (middle).

3.115. Intransitive bases may also add the suffix *//-t//* 'stative'. Unlike *//-p//* and *//-m//*, it cannot

appear before a lexical suffix.

//xas// 'good'

//xas-t// xást. 'It's good.'

//xas-t-wílx// xstwílx. 'He is healing.' (//-wílx//  
'developmental')

//s-əc-xas-(í)kst-m-s// scxsíkstəms. 'He is good at  
fixing things.' (//s-// 'absolute mode'; //əc-//  
'actual aspect'; //(í)kst// 'hands'; //m-//  
'middle'; //-s// '3rd sg. absolute pronoun')

Many intransitive bases are found to occur consistently  
in their stative form:

xácət. 'It's strong.'

čált. 'It's cold.'

kínt. 'He is uneasy.'

láxt. 'It's fast.'

q'úct. 'It's fat.'

k'ícət. 'It's full.'

qált. 'It's fresh.'

k'álet. 'It's warm.'

čárt. 'It's sour.'

But many occur in forms that allow clear identification of the stative suffix:

//paʔ// 'think'

paʔxam. 'He is thinking.' (//-ʔ-// 'inchoative'; cf. 3.22)

pəpəxt. 'He is smart.'

//kiy// 'cold'

kəyikst. 'They are cold hands.'

kəyəyexim ~ kəyəyixən. 'They are cold feet.'

//xal// 'clear'

sxəlɣált. 'It's a day.'

sxláp. 'It's tomorrow.'

3.12. Middle stems. Bases may also receive the middle suffix // -m //, which indicates some involvement on the part of the primary referent. Middle forms are always conjugated with the primary reference pronoun set. The suffix // -m // is not a primary suffix, and follows any lexical suffixes in the stem formation.

//iax<sup>w</sup>-p-(ú)s-m// ix<sup>w</sup>púsem. 'He looped it around his neck.' (loose-non control-neck-middle)

//k-caʔ-caʔ-ál-aʔ-q<sup>w</sup>-m// kcaʔcaʔálaʔq<sup>w</sup>em. 'He knocked at the tipi poles.' (directive-hit-hit-diminutive cylindrical objects [//-álq<sup>w</sup>// 'cylindrical objects'; //-aʔ-//

'diminutive infix']-middle)

Many examples concerning //-m// 'middle' are listed in section 2.543; the discussion of //-m// in conjunction with success stems is presented in 3.1422. Middle stems can also add the transitive suffixes //-n-t// or //-s-t// in the formation of reflexive words, which, however, function as all other intransitive forms. They are discussed in 3.33. For the discussion of transitivized middle stems, see 3.141.

3.13. Transitive stems. Bases occurring with the transitive suffix //-t// constitute transitive stems. The label 'transitive' is used to indicate that these forms make reference to both an actor and a recipient. A simple transitive form consists of:

```

      -n-
      -s-
BASE  -i-      - t - Recipient - Actor
      -x(i)-

```

As indicated above, one of four suffixes may intervene between the base (intransitive or middle) and the transitive suffix //-t//. They are: //-n-// 'active'; //-s-// 'causative'; //-i-// 'expressed goal'; //-x(i)-// 'benefactive'. //-n-// and //-s-// are the two most common of the four.

Theoretically, each root can appear with any of these four suffixes; in practice many such occurrences are not recorded. The following general rules prevail:



Each base tends to appear predominantly with either //n-t//, or //s-t//; however, cases of the same base occurring now with //n-t//, now with //s-t//, are not uncommon.

//x(i)-t// may be suffixed to any base to indicate action on behalf of (even if the action is directed against, or to the detriment of ) the recipient. It is a sort of 'dative of interest.'

//i-t// optionally replaces either //n-t// or //s-t// to introduce a third party, which is then usually specified by a complement, or is clearly understood in context.

The difference in meaning between forms in //s-t// and forms in //n-t// is subtle and often very hard to convey in a translation:

//wík// 'see'

//wík-n-t-(i)x<sup>w</sup>// wíkəntx<sup>w</sup>. 'You see it.'

//wík-s-t-(i)x<sup>w</sup>// wíkstx<sup>w</sup>. 'You look at it.'

//kíc// 'reach'

//kíc-n-t-(i)x<sup>w</sup>// kícəntx<sup>w</sup>. 'You reached him.'

//kíc-s-t-(i)x<sup>w</sup>// kícstx<sup>w</sup>. 'You got to him.'

//wík<sup>w</sup>// 'hide'

//wík<sup>w</sup>-n-t-(i)m// wík<sup>w</sup>əntəm. 'Something was hidden by someone.'

//wík<sup>w</sup>-s-t-(í)m// wík<sup>w</sup>stəm. 'Something was hidden by someone.' (//- (í)m// 'indefinite')

In a number of cases, parallel forms with //-i-t// and //-n-t// or //-s-t// were recorded without difference in translation.

cməystín ask<sup>w</sup>íst. 'I know your name.' (//əc-miy-s-t-(í)n//)

cməyítín ask<sup>w</sup>íst. 'I know your name.' (//əc-miy-i-t-(í)n//)

káwəntəm pít. 'We cleaned Pete out.' (//káw-n-t-(í)m//)

káwítəm pít. 'We cleaned Pete out.' (//káw-i-t-(í)m//)

x<sup>w</sup>ícəntx<sup>w</sup>. 'You give it to him.' (//x<sup>w</sup>íc-n-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>//)

x<sup>w</sup>ícəltx<sup>w</sup>. 'You give it to him.' (//x<sup>w</sup>íc-i-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>//)

x<sup>w</sup>ícəxtx<sup>w</sup>. 'You give it to him, and it's for him.'  
(//x<sup>w</sup>íc-x(i)-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>//)

Transitive stems without personal pronoun marking have imperative force (cf. 3.31).

3.131. The transitive pronoun affixes. Transitive pronouns accompany transitive stems. They mark a two-party relationship, while they place special attention on the party responsible. Thus, in all cases two entities are

involved, an actor and a specific goal or object. Transitive pronouns are all variable-stress suffixes.

The basic subset of transitive pronouns marks the actor in conjunction with third person recipients (singular and plural; disambiguation of third person number is discussed below), and is charted thus:

//-(í)n// '1st sg.'  
 //-(í)x<sup>w</sup>// '2nd sg.'  
 //-(í)s// '3rd sg.'  
 //-(í)m// '1st pl.'  
 //-(í)p// '2nd pl.'  
 //-(í)s-lx// '3rd pl.'

//kí-s<sub>1</sub>-n-t-(í)n// kí-sələntín. 'I place something upon a surface.' (//kí-// 'down on a surface')  
 //ʔáq<sup>w</sup>-(ú)s-n-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>// ʔáq<sup>w</sup>əsəntx<sup>w</sup>. 'You shaved him.'  
 //k<sub>1</sub>-s-t-(í)s// kəlstís. 'He has been waiting for him.'  
 //kím-s-t-(í)m// kímstəm. 'We dislike him.'  
 //əc-miy-s-t-(í)p// cməystíp. 'You (pl.) know it.'  
 //əc-miy-í-t-(í)s-lx// cməyítísəlx. 'They know it.'

Third person recipient forms can optionally be disambiguated for number when the actor is singular. Specifically, first and second person singular forms receive the

suffix //lx// to indicate third person plural recipient:

txəməntín. 'I stuck it on something.'

txəməntínəlx. 'I stuck some things on something.'

txəməntíx<sup>v</sup>. 'You sg. stuck some things on something.'

txəməntíx<sup>v</sup>əlx. 'You sg. stuck some things on something.'

Third person singular actor forms reduplicate their stem to show third plural recipient:

//n-lx<sup>v</sup>-lax<sup>v</sup>-p-(á)xn-n-t-(í)s// nəlx<sup>v</sup>ix<sup>v</sup>páxs. 'He hooked something on their shoulders.' (//- (á)xn// 'arms, shoulders, hands')

//n-lax<sup>v</sup>-p-(á)xn-n-t-(í)s// nəlx<sup>v</sup>páxs. 'He hooked something on his (someone's) shoulders.'

A number of stems, however, refer only to singular or plural recipients. For example,

noqəʔíksəs. 'He gives it to someone.'

nəxáíksəs. 'He gives it to more than one person.'

When the actor is plural, disambiguation of number for the recipient can be accomplished only by specific reference in an accompanying complement. Thus,

cársəməntp. 'You pl. made a motion to him/them.'

cársəməntp yí tkaʔkaʔlíis. 'You pl. made a motion to three people.'

When the recipient is other than third person, and thus is expressed by a pronoun, the shape of the pronominal markers is conditioned by the combination of suffixes they cooccur with: // -s-t//, // -i-t// and // -x(i)-t// on the one hand; and // -n-t// on the other. The following charts give underlying forms; the morphophonemics involved are discussed, and the surface realizations exemplified, in 2.545.

## // -s-t// paradigm

Actor	Recipient	
	1st sg./pl.	2nd sg./pl.
1st sg.	// -----	-s-t-(ú)m-(í)n
2nd sg.	k <sup>u</sup> -s-t-(í)x <sup>u</sup>	-----
3rd sg.	k <sup>u</sup> -s-t-(í)s	-s-t-(ú)m-(í)s
1st pl.	-----	-s-t-(ú)m-(í)t
(2nd pl.	k <sup>u</sup> -s-t-(í)p	----- )
3rd pl.	k <sup>u</sup> -s-t-(í)s-lx	-s-t-(ú)m-(í)s-lx//

## //-n-t// paradigm

Actor	Recipient	
	1st sg./pl.	2nd sg./pl.
1st sg.	// -----	-n-t-s-(í)n
2nd sg.	k <sup>w</sup> u -n-t-(í)x <sup>w</sup>	-----
3rd sg.	k <sup>w</sup> u -n-t-(í)s	-n-t-s-(í)s
1st pl.	-----	-n-t-s-(í)t
(2nd pl.	k <sup>w</sup> u -n-t-(í)p	----- )
3rd pl.	k <sup>w</sup> u -n-t-(í)s-lx	-n-t-s-(í)s-lx//

Note that all second person plural forms are listed in parentheses; in ordinary speech situations they are usually replaced by second person singular forms. In the following examples the first in each group is given in both underlying and surface forms as a model for the group.

//k<sup>w</sup>u əc-t-k̄l-k̄l-s-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>//, etc.

k<sup>w</sup>u ctk̄əl̄k̄əl̄stíx<sup>w</sup>. 'You have been expecting me/us.'

k<sup>w</sup>u ctk̄əl̄k̄əl̄stís. 'He has been expecting me/us.'

(k<sup>w</sup>u ctk̄əl̄k̄əl̄stíp. 'You (pl.) have been expecting me/us.')

k<sup>w</sup>u ctk̄əl̄k̄əl̄stísəl̄x. 'They have been expecting me/us.'

//k<sup>w</sup>u əc-kím̄-s-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>//, etc.

k<sup>w</sup>u ckím̄əstx<sup>w</sup>. 'You dislike me/us.'

k<sup>w</sup>u ckím̄əsc. 'He dislikes me/us.'

(k<sup>w</sup>u ckím̄əstp. 'You (pl.) dislike me/us.')

k<sup>w</sup>u ckím̄əscəl̄x. 'They dislike me/us.'

//əc-t-k̄l-k̄l-s-t-(ú)m-(í)n//, etc.

ctk̄alk̄alstúman. 'I have been expecting you.'

ctk̄alk̄alstúms. 'He has been expecting you.'

ctk̄alk̄alstúmt. 'We have been expecting you.'

ctk̄alk̄alstúmsəlx. 'They have been expecting you.'

//lút-s-t-(ú)m-(í)n//, etc.

lútstəmən. 'I refused you.'

lútstəms. 'He refused you.'

lútstəmt. 'We refused you.'

lútstəmsəlx. 'They refused you.'

//k<sup>u</sup> c̄lx-n-t-(í)x<sup>u</sup>//, etc.

k<sup>u</sup> c̄əlxəntix<sup>u</sup>. 'You grab me/us.'

k<sup>u</sup> c̄əlxəntis. 'He grabs me/us.'

(k<sup>u</sup> c̄əlxəntíp. 'You (pl.) grab me/us.')

k<sup>u</sup> c̄əlxəntisəlx. 'They grab me/us.'

//k<sup>u</sup> ?áq<sup>u</sup>-(ú)s-n-t-(í)x<sup>u</sup>//, etc.

k<sup>u</sup> ?áq<sup>u</sup>əsəntx<sup>u</sup>. 'You shave me/us.'

k<sup>u</sup> ?áq<sup>u</sup>əsəs. 'He shaves me/us.'

(k<sup>u</sup> ?áq<sup>u</sup>əsəntp. 'You (pl.) shave me/us.')

k<sup>u</sup> ?áq<sup>u</sup>əsəsəlx. 'They shave me/us.'

//c̣x̣<sup>v</sup>-n-t-s-(í)n//, etc.

c̣ax̣<sup>v</sup>əncín. 'I correct you (in speech).'

c̣ax̣<sup>v</sup>əncís. 'He corrects you.'

c̣ax̣<sup>v</sup>əncít. 'We correct you.'

c̣ax̣<sup>v</sup>əncísəlx. 'They correct you.'

//c̣ú-n-t-s-(í)n//, etc.

c̣úncən. 'I told you something.'

c̣úncs. 'He told you something.'

c̣únc̣t. 'We told you something.'

c̣únc̣səlx. 'They told you something.'

3.132. Indefinite forms. It seems appropriate to discuss here a third person indefinite recipient form. It consists of the suffix //-(í)m// 'indefinite' following the combinations //-n-t// or //-s-t//.

//c̣ú-n-t-(í)n// c̣ún. 'I told him.'

//c̣ú-n-t-(í)x̣<sup>v</sup>// c̣úntx̣<sup>v</sup>. 'You told him.'

//c̣ú-n-t-(í)s// c̣ús. 'He told him.'

But note

//c̣ú-n-t-(í)m// c̣úntəm. 'Someone was told.'

and the homophonous form

//c̣ú-n-t-(í)m// c̣úntəm. 'We told him.'



Indefinite forms are limited to third person. Thus \*kən cúntəm is not possible; nor is \*k<sup>w</sup>u cúntəm, meaning either 'I was told', or 'We were told'; the first person primary referent intransitive form is kən cút.<sup>2</sup> 'I said (so).' Further examples:

//púl-s-t-(í)m// púlstəm. 'Somebody was being fought.'

//kíc-n-t-(í)m// kícəntəm. 'Somebody was reached.'

//kí-sí-n-t-(í)m// kíśələntím. 'Something was set down.'

For syntactic use of these forms, see 4.212.

3.14. Secondary stems. Two suffixes added to a base participate in the formation of secondary stems: //-í-// 'secondary formative' (hereafter glossed 'secondary'); and //-nú-// 'success'.

3.141. Purposive stems. //-í-// is added to middle bases which are then transitivized. These forms seem to contain a purposive notion, and they contrast with primary transitive and middle forms.<sup>3</sup>

//tə̀r̥q̥<sup>2</sup>-m-í-n-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>// tə̀r̥q̥míntx<sup>w</sup>. 'You danced around him.' (cf. tə̀r̥q̥əntíx<sup>w</sup>. 'You kicked him' [transitive]; k<sup>w</sup> tə̀r̥q̥ám. 'You danced' [middle].)

//čax<sup>v</sup>-m-í-n-t-(í)m// čex<sup>v</sup>míntəm. 'We poured it [for a reason].' (cf. čex<sup>v</sup>əntím. 'We poured it' [transitive]; k<sup>v</sup>u čex<sup>v</sup>ám. 'We poured it' [middle].)

//kšáw-m-í-s-t-(í)m// kšawmístəm. 'Someone is hired for it.' (cf. kšáwent. 'Hire him' [transitive]; kšawəm. 'He does the hiring' [middle].)

//-í-// participates in the formation of more complex intransitive words. Pertinent discussion is presented for reflexive forms (3.33); instrumental forms (3.35); and progressive forms (3.372).

3.142. Success stems. //-nú-// is suffixed to an intransitive base to form a (bound):success stem which, in turn, will be transitivized or put in the middle form. In transitive stems //-nú-// denotes that an action is performed by an actor only with great difficulty; in middle stems it indicates that the state or situation is not anyone's direct responsibility, but rather that it exists or occurs accidentally.

3.1421. Transitive success stems. //-nú-// is found in active-transitive stems (i.e. before the active-transitive suffixes //-n-t//) or in causative-transitive stems (i.e. before the causative-transitive suffixes //-s-t//). It

exhibits an optional variant // -nú-// occurring in the third person singular and plural.

//áal-1-nú-n-t-(í)n// áeləlnún. 'I finally killed it.'  
 áeləlnún<sup>w</sup>tx. 'You finally killed it.'  
 áeləlnús ~ áeləlnúys. 'He finally killed it.'  
 áeləlnún<sup>cən</sup>. 'I finally killed you.'  
 etc.

//kc-ha-ham-nú-s-t-(í)n// kchahamnústən. 'I finally got it right.' (kc - prefix of uncertain meaning, occurring only in this formation)

// -nú-// may be affixed to a stem after the primary suffix // -p// 'non-control'.

//kí-s-lax<sup>w</sup>-p-nú-n-t-(í)s// ksíx<sup>w</sup>pnús ~ ksíx<sup>w</sup>pnúys. 'He will get away from him.' (More literally, 'He will manage to have him lose him.')  
 //k<sup>w</sup>úí-nú-n-t-(í)n// k<sup>w</sup>əlnún. 'I managed to fix it.'

//ʔí-ʔíín-nú-n-t-(í)n// ʔíəʔínún. 'I finally learned how to eat it.'

3.1422. Middle success stems. // -nú-// may also be found in the stative form of middle stems. These forms may then be inflected with the primary reference pronouns.

//wiy// 'finish'

//kn wiy-nú-m-t// kən wəynúmt. 'I am ready.'

//s-wiy-nú-m-t-xx// səwəynúmtx. 'He is handsome.'

(//-xx// 'progressive'; cf. 3.372)

//ʔitx// 'sleep'

//kn ká-ʔt-ʔitx-nú-m-t// kən kəʔəʔtəʔtxnúmt. 'I overslept.'

//k'áw// 'gone'

//s-əc-k'w-k'áw-p-nú-m-t-xx// sčəw'kəw'pnúmtx. 'He is feeling lonesome.'

//x'n'// 'hurt'

//s-x'n'-nú-m-t-xx// sçə'nənúmtx. 'He is hurt.'

3.15. Grammatical range of bases. It can be seen that a given base may appear in three different stems: intransitive, middle, and transitive, even though the full range of possibilities is not commonly exhibited by any one root. In addition, a base may further appear in purposive and success stems.

//in-s-əc-n-čax'// iscənc'áx'. 'It's my pouring in (that did it).' (intransitive)

//kn n-čax'-m// kən nəčəx'ám. 'I pour some in.' (middle)

//n-čax'-n-t// nəčəx'ánt! 'Pour it in!' (transitive)

//n-čax'-nú-n-t-(i)n// nəčəx'nán. 'I managed to pour it in.' (success)

//n-čax<sup>w</sup>-m-í-n-t-(í)n// nəčax<sup>w</sup>mín. 'I pour it in.'  
(purposive)

//kíc// kíc. 'He got there.' (intransitive)

//kíc-m// kícəm. 'He reached a particular place.'  
(middle)

//kíc-n-t// kícənt! 'Meet him!' (transitive)

//kíc-s-t-(í)s// kícsc. 'He reached him.' (transitive)

//tařq-n-t-(í)n// təřqəntín. 'I kicked him.' (transitive)

//tařq-m-í-n-t-(í)m// təřqmíntəm. 'We danced around him.'  
(purposive)

//?ácqa?// ?ácqa?. 'He went out.' (intransitive)

//?ácqa?-n-t// ?ácqa?nt! 'Take him out!' (transitive)

//k-?aw// káw. 'He is gone.' (intransitive)

//k-?aw-p-m-í-n-t// kəwpmínt! 'Leave him alone!' (purposive)<sup>4</sup>

//pux<sup>w</sup>// púx<sup>w</sup>. 'It blows (as of wind).' (intransitive)

//pux<sup>w</sup>-m// púx<sup>w</sup>əm. 'He blows.' (middle)

//pux<sup>w</sup>-n-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>// px<sup>w</sup>əntíx<sup>w</sup>. 'You blow it.' (transitive)

//ca?-p// ca?áp. 'He is hit.' (intransitive)

//ca?-m// ca?ám. 'He hits.' (middle)

//ca?-n-t-(í)s// ca?əntís. 'He hit him.' (transitive)

//k<sup>w</sup>úm// k<sup>w</sup>úm. 'It's put away.' (intransitive)

//kn k<sup>w</sup>úm-m// kən k<sup>w</sup>úm. 'I put things away.' (middle)

//k<sup>w</sup>úm-n-t-(í)n// k<sup>w</sup>úmən. 'I put it away.' (transitive)

3.16. Summary of referent-focus system. Intransitive stems make reference to an actor by means of the primary reference pronouns, or the absolutive pronouns. No direct control or responsibility is attributed to the primary referent other than the necessary connection.

Middle stems also make reference to an actor by means of the primary reference pronouns, or the absolutive pronouns. A limited amount of control or responsibility is attributed to the primary referent, beyond the measure of necessary connection.

Transitive stems make reference to an actor as well as to a recipient. The actor is in full control, or has full responsibility; the emphasis is on the recipient. Pronominal reference is expressed with the transitive pronouns.

Purposive stems make reference to an actor who is performing a given action for a specific purpose; success stems make reference to an actor who exerts only limited control: either succeeding to control after trying or struggling, or being victimized by an accidental happening.

3.17. Summary of the pronominal system. Reference to persons is made by means of various pronominal elements.

3.171. The dependent pronouns. Dependent pronouns are so labeled in contrast with independent pronouns (see 3.172): members of this broad class can only be affixes or particles, whereas independent pronouns are full words. In addition, pronominal forms pattern in sets that are not necessarily morphologically homogeneous; in fact, most sets include elements of disparate grammatical classes.

The unifying feature for all the pronominal sets is semantic; each of the personal markers in a set identifies the entity that is being focused upon, or it relates to an expressed notion (i.e. it points to the connection between itself and a second party, or a concept, or action, or state). Thus each set is labeled to reflect these orientations or relationships. One such set focuses on (marks, points to) the primary referent, the most important entity referred to; another focuses on the recipient of a certain action or activity in relation to an actor; yet another focuses neither on the actor nor on the goal, but rather on the totality of the concept expressed, the action or state, and particularly on its result or product. Thus we have:

1. a primary reference set (discussed in 3.111.);
2. a transitive set (discussed in 3.131.);
3. an absolutive set (discussed in 3.112.).

3.172. The independent pronouns are full words, albeit restricted (cf. section 4.55). Reference to one or more specific persons ('I, you, we...') is implicit in each form.

3.1721. The members of the set are:

- incá? . 'It is I.'  
 anwí? . 'It is you. sg.'  
 cnáic. 'It is he/she/it.'  
 menímitat. 'It is we.'  
 menímiemp. 'It is you. pl.'  
 menímicelx. 'It is they.'

The absolute pronoun affixes are incorporated in this paradigm: //in-// and //an-// are prefixes in their corresponding independent pronouns; //-s// and //-s-lx// appear in their regular morphophonemic alternants -c and -c-lx, respectively, following i-; //-tt// and //-mp// appear affixed to a general plural stem //máimí-//.

3.1722. Personal enclitic markers. Exceptionally, and for the stylistic effect of emphasis, the proclitic (primary reference pronouns, 3.111) can be used enclitically, each postposed to its independent pronoun counterpart.

- incá? kən kən ?sýx<sup>w</sup>t. 'As for me, I am tired.'  
 anwí? k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup> ikítkimílx<sup>w</sup>. 'You will be my wife!'



3.2. Complex bases. Discussion thus far has centered on simple bases (containing just a single root, or a root and a primary suffix). Often, however, bases are more complex. They are still basically intransitive, and, like simple bases, may undergo transitive and middle suffixation.

3.21. Reduplicated bases. A number of reduplicative processes apply to Colville roots to form iterative bases, diminutive bases, and resultive bases.

3.211. Unanalyzable reduplicative forms. A number of words show reduplication of apparent roots which do not occur except in this double form. Regular morphophonemic rules apply, except that initial glottalized stops do not lose their glottalization, and pharyngeals are deleted (cf. 2.525).

3.2111. Full reduplication with two different stress patterns:

(a)  $C_1\acute{V}_1C_2 - C_1V_1C_2$  (suggesting perhaps a full reduplicative suffix)

//x<sup>w</sup>at-x<sup>w</sup>at// x<sup>w</sup>átx<sup>w</sup>t. 'It's a duck' or 'They are ducks.'

//cix<sup>w</sup>-cix<sup>w</sup>// cix<sup>w</sup>cex<sup>w</sup>. 'It's a fish hawk.' etc.

//s-xa<sup>?</sup>-xa<sup>?</sup>// sxá<sup>?</sup>xa<sup>?</sup>. 'He is the father-in-law.' etc.

//pál-pal-q(í)n// pálpelqen. 'It's a thimbleberry.' etc.

//nəx<sup>w</sup>-nəx<sup>w</sup>// nəx<sup>w</sup>ənəx<sup>w</sup>. 'She's the wife.' etc.

//q<sup>w</sup>am-q<sup>w</sup>am-t// q<sup>w</sup>ámq<sup>w</sup>əmt. 'It's excellent.' etc.

//k<sup>w</sup>us-k<sup>w</sup>us-t// k<sup>w</sup>úsk<sup>w</sup>st. 'It's frisky.' etc.

(b) C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub> - C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>3</sub> (suggesting perhaps a full reduplicative prefix)

//k<sup>w</sup>ək-k<sup>w</sup>ək// kəkəkəkək. 'It's a blackbird.' etc.

//č<sup>w</sup>ən-č<sup>w</sup>ən// čənčənčən. 'It's a grasshopper.' etc.

3.2112. Partial reduplication: an apparent C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>-prefix.

//s-q<sup>w</sup>á-q<sup>w</sup>áelq<sup>w</sup>// s<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>áq<sup>w</sup>əlq<sup>w</sup>. 'It's a prairie chicken' or 'they are prairie chickens.'

//k<sup>w</sup>ú-k<sup>w</sup>ux<sup>w</sup>-(í)na?// k<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>na?. 'It's a mouse.' etc.

3.212. Iteratives are formed by prefixation of C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-of the root. Regular morphophonemic rules then apply.

Often iterative forms resemble English plurals; however, the Colville forms are used only when disambiguation or emphasis require it.<sup>5</sup>

//k<sup>w</sup>ək-káw-lx// kəkəkəkəlx. 'They are all gone.' (káw 'gone'; cf. káwəlx. 'They are gone.')

//k<sup>w</sup>əl-kíl-lx// kəkəkélx. 'They are hands.' (Cf. kíl. 'It's a hand.')

//s-xá-xíá-x(á)n// sxáxíáxən. 'They are (pairs of) trousers.' (Cf. xčíáoxən. 'It's a pair of trousers.')

//s-n-ʒc-ʒac-(í)na?// snacʒacína?. 'They are earrings.' (Cf. senʒacína?. 'It's an earring.')

//sq<sup>w</sup>s-q<sup>w</sup>si?// sq<sup>w</sup>sq<sup>w</sup>si?. 'They are the sons.' (Cf. sq<sup>w</sup>si?. 'He is the son.')

//tw-twít// tewətwít. 'They are young men.' (Cf. //twít// 'young man')

//mí-míʒas// mətəmʒás. 'They are kidneys.' (Cf. məʒás. 'It's a kidney.')

//xm-xmʒalt// xəmʒəʒáit. 'They are flies.' (Cf. xəmʒáit. 'It's a fly.')

The following form is irregular:

//p̣s-p̣ʒas// p̣sp̣ʒás. 'They are nighthawks.' (Cf. p̣əʒás. 'It's a nighthawk.')

Otherwise iterative forms may emphasize a repeated action, an intense activity, or a customary function.

//s<sup>w</sup>-s<sup>w</sup>-n-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>// s<sup>w</sup>es<sup>w</sup>entx<sup>w</sup>. 'You questioned him.' (s<sup>w</sup> 'ask')

//sx<sup>w</sup>-súx<sup>w</sup>-n-t-(í)n// sx<sup>w</sup>súx<sup>w</sup>ən. 'I identify it.' (súx<sup>w</sup> 'recognize')

//s-xl-xal-t// sxəlʒált. 'It's a day.' (xal 'clear')

//ec-x<sup>w</sup>l-x<sup>w</sup>al-t// cx<sup>w</sup>əlx<sup>w</sup>ált. 'He's alive.' (x<sup>w</sup>al 'live')

//p̣x-p̣ax-t// p̣xp̣áxt. 'He's smart.' (p̣ax 'think')

Roots which are found to metathesize (cf. 2.543), have a special reduplicative prefix,  $C_1V_1C_2-$  of the root, which retains a full, unstressed vowel.

//caʔ-caʔ-m// caʔcaʔám. 'He hits repeatedly.' (caʔám 'he hits.')

//n-ʎaʔ-ʎaʔ-(ú)s-t-n// neʎaʔʎaʔústen. 'It's eyesight.'  
(//ʎaʔ// 'search')

All iterative forms may undergo diminutive affixation (cf. 3.215).

3.213. Two special kinds of iterative forms are discussed here.

3.2131. Numeral iteratives. When numerals cooccur with the classifier //k-// 'persons' (3.42), their roots obligatorily undergo reduplicative suffixation,  $-C_1C_2$  of the root.

//k-mus-ms// kmúsoms. 'They are four people.' (\*kmús is not permissible.)

//k-cíl-cl-(í)kst// kcílcalkst. 'They are five people.'  
(cíl of uncertain meaning; //-(í)kst// 'hands'; cíkst 'five': \*kcílkst is not permissible.)

3.2132. Intensive forms. Some forms which, semantically, contain a notion of intensity, customary or iterative action, have a special (non-productive) reduplicative infix: a consonant identical to that immediately preceding the

stressed vowel is infixes after the same stressed vowel. Note that the deglottalization rule of reduplicated consonants does not apply to these infixes (cf. 2.525).

//ní-n-ḳ-m-n// ninḳəmən. 'It's a knife.' (níḳ 'cut')

//ḳi-ḳ-t// ḳíḳət. 'It's quite near.' (ḳít 'near')

The following form seems to follow the same formative pattern, but remains otherwise unanalyzed (cf. 4.5661):

//ní-n-wi?// níñowi?. 'If and when...'

3.214. Resultive forms acquire a special meaning from that of their underlying roots. The process by which these forms are derived is similar to that discussed in 2.543:

- a. the root vowel metathesizes with C<sub>2</sub>;
- b. the resultive suffix, -C<sub>2</sub> of the root, is added.

Thereafter the general rules of epenthesis apply.

//ḳal-1// ḳəlá1. 'He is dead.' (ḳal 'still'; ḳəláp 'he was stopped.')

//caq̣-q̣// cq̣áq̣. 'He hit the target.' (caq̣ 'hit')

//xaẉ-ẉ// xẉáẉ. 'It has (been) dried.' (xaẉ 'dry')

//q̣ax̣<sup>w</sup>-x̣<sup>w</sup>// q̣əx̣<sup>w</sup>áx̣<sup>w</sup>. 'He put it above all else.'

(q̣ax̣<sup>w</sup>, basic meaning uncertain)

//xaḷ-ḷ// xláá1. 'He grew.' (xaḷ, basic meaning uncertain)

Resultive forms may undergo iterative reduplication.

However, the addition of the reduplicative iterative prefix shifts the stress back on the root.

//*łax-χ*// *łaxáx*. 'He's an elder.' (*łax* 'grow')  
 //*łx-łax-χ*// *łaxłáxəx*. 'They are elders.' (Cf. *łaxáp*  
 'he grows.')

3.215. Diminutives are formed with the prefix *C<sub>1</sub>-* of the root. (Other diminutive forms are discussed in 3.23.)

//*-kewáp*// (bound morpheme) 'horse'  
 //*k-kewáp-a?*// *kəkewápa?*.<sup>6</sup> 'It's a dog.'  
 //*s-iwíic*// *siwíic*. 'She's the niece.'  
 //*s-i-iwíic*// *siəiwíic*. 'She's the little niece.'

Iterative bases may undergo diminutive derivation:

//*s-ti-táim*// *stítáim*. 'They are boats.'  
 //*s-t-ti-táim*// *stəttítáim*. 'They are little boats.'  
 (Cf. //*s-táim*// *stáim* 'it's a boat', and //*s-t-táim*//  
*stətáim* 'it's a little boat.')

3.22. Infixed bases. A rare infix //*-ʔ-//*, inserted after a root vowel, denotes inchoative aspect. It has been observed very sporadically in Colville, and it has not been possible to determine how active the process is. Related

languages exhibit active cognate forms. (Cf. 3.372; 3.39.)

//pax// 'think'

//pa-ʔ-x// páʔx. 'He begins to think.'

//pux<sup>u</sup>// 'blow'

//pu-ʔ-x<sup>u</sup>// púʔx<sup>u</sup>. 'It begins to blow [as of wind].'

3.23. Glottalization of resonants. Root resonants are glottalized to add a diminutive notion. This process is not as important as the reduplicative and it applies only to a small class of roots.

sʔanix<sup>u</sup>. 'It's a muskrat.'

sʔanix<sup>u</sup>. 'It's a little muskrat.'

Sometimes the glottalization of root resonants produces the effect of singling out a particular referent:

suyápix. 'It's the White race.'

suyápix. 'He's a white man.'

The same process may apply to resonants in reduplicated diminutive bases, adding a notion of endearment.

islaíwílc. 'She's my little niece.'

islaíwílc. 'She's my cute little niece.' (Cf. islwílc  
'she's my niece.')

inkəkəwápa?. 'It's my dog.'

inkəkəwápa?. 'It's my cute little dog.'

3.24. Other derived forms as bases. In this section are discussed several prefixes which participate in the formation of complex bases.

3.241. Directional prefixes. With the exception of //í-// 'back', which may precede other directionals, all the directional prefixes are attached directly to the root.

They are:

//í-// 'back'

//c-// 'cislocative'

//kí-// 'down'

//kí-// 'around, back to'

Examples:

x<sup>w</sup>úy. 'He went.'

ix<sup>w</sup>úy. 'He went back.'

cx<sup>w</sup>úy. 'He came.'

icx<sup>w</sup>úy. 'He came back.'

kíc. 'He got there.'

ckíc. 'He got here.'

ickíc. 'He got back here.'

keckíc. 'He got back there.'



nút. 'He sat.'

kinút. 'He sat down.'

//sɪ// 'place'

kisələntín. 'I put something down on a surface.' (//kɪ-  
sɪ-n-t-(í)n// 'down-place-active-transitive-I')

//ník// 'cut'

kəiníkes. 'He cuts around it.' (//kɪ-ník-n-t-(í)s//  
'around-cut-active-transitive-he')

púl. 'It smokes.'

kəlpúl. 'It smokes from under.'

3.242. The directive prefix is //k-//, with an allomorph [t-] before roots beginning with a velar. The meaning of bases so derived is an extension of the meaning of the root. For example,

//wík// 'see'

//k-wík// 'find out'

//k-wík-n-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup>// kəwíkəntx<sup>w</sup>. 'You find it out.'

//təɾq// 'kick'

//k-təɾq// 'jump'

//k-təɾq-n-t-(í)n// ktəɾəqəntín. 'I jump on it.'

//kíc// 'reach'

//k-kíc// 'meet'

//k-kíc-n-t// tkícant! 'Go meet him!'

//xewíl// 'road'

//k-xewíl// 'travel along'

//k-xewíl-m// txewílem. 'He came along.'

5.243. //n-// is the locative prefix. It specifies that a state or action has reference to a particular place.

//kex// 'walk'

//n-kax// 'follow a trail'

//n-kax-m// nekxám. 'He follows the trail.' (locative-walk-middle)

//čáí-t// čáit. 'It's cold.' (cold-stative)

//n-čáí-t// načáit. 'It's cold water.'

Most often locative bases undergo more complex derivation:

//kśáw// 'greet, pray'

//n-kśáw//

//s-n-kśáw-m-n// senkśáwmen. 'It's a church.' (absolute-locative-pray-middle-instrumental)

//qílx<sup>w</sup>// 'Indian'

//n-qílx<sup>w</sup>//

//s-n-qílx<sup>w</sup>-c(í)n// sənqílx<sup>w</sup>cən. 'It's the Indian language.' (absolute-locative-Indian-mouth)

//pút// 'suffice'

//n-pút//

//n-pút-(í)ls// nəpútəls. 'He is satisfied.' (locative-suffice-state of mind)

For further examples of //n-// cf. sections 3.35 and 3.365.

3.244. Extended bases consist of a root and at least one lexical affix, a bound morpheme with concrete meaning(s). There is insufficient contrastive material involving extended bases to assure that stress placement rules are the same as those affecting all other affixes, but the available data suggest that they are. Note, however, that no unstressed lexical suffixes have been recorded (cf. 2.541).

Lexical prefix, root:

//pu<sup>?</sup>-ʎal//

//in-s-pu<sup>?</sup>-ʎal-l// ispu<sup>?</sup>ʎəlál. 'It was my dead spouse.'

(pu<sup>?</sup>- 'marriage partner'; //ʎal-l// 'dead', cf. 3.214)

Stress-retentive root, inherently stressed suffix:

//s-xíá-m-ús// sɣáəmús. 'It's a slope.' (xíá 'go up';  
-ús 'surface')

Stress-retentive root, variable stress suffix:

//síç-x(á)n// síçxən. 'They are new shoes.' (síç 'new';  
-x(á)n 'feet, shoes')

Stress-shifting root, inherently stressed suffix:

//xáw-w-áíq<sup>w</sup>// xəwəwáíq<sup>w</sup>. 'They are dry sticks.' (xáw  
'dry'; -áíq<sup>w</sup> 'cylindrical objects')

Stress shifting root, variable stress suffix:

//n-xas-c(í)n// nəxscín. 'It's a good sound.' (xas  
'good'; -c(í)n 'mouth, language')

Two lexical suffixes may cooccur, affixed to a root:

//kn n-xas-(á)qs(t)-x(á)n// kən nəxsáqstxən. 'I have a  
good hip.' (-á)qs(t) 'rear, back'; -x(á)n 'legs, feet')

3.3. Further affixation of intransitive, middle, and transitive stems. A number of important affixes can be added to the stems already discussed to create more complex forms.

3.31. Imperatives. It has already been stated (3.13) that transitive stems without personal pronoun markings have imperative force. This is commonly the case with active-transitive and with benefactive forms:

//sac̣-n-t// sac̣ənt! 'Look at it!' (sg.)

//k<sup>w</sup>u ḳɪ-paɣ-x(i)-t// k<sup>w</sup>u ḳəlpɣxít! 'Think of something for me!' (sg.)

Plurals of these imperative forms add the unstressed suffix // -i?//.

//sac̣-n-t-i?// sac̣ənti?! 'Look at it!' (pl.)

//k<sup>w</sup>u ḳɪ-paɣ-x(i)-t-i?// k<sup>w</sup>u ḳəlpɣxítí?! 'Think of something for me!' (pl.)

Intransitive stems form imperatives by means of the suffixes // -x// 'singular', and // -wi?// 'plural'.

//x<sup>w</sup>úy-x// x<sup>w</sup>úyəx! 'Go!' (sg.)

//x<sup>w</sup>úy-wi?// x<sup>w</sup>úyəwi?! 'Go!' (pl.)

//?iɪn-x// ?iɪnəx! 'Eat!' (sg.)

//?iɪn-wi?// ?iɪnəwi?! 'Eat!' (pl.)

3.32. Absolute mode. The absolute mode prefix is //s-// It is better known to Salishanists as 'nominalizer'.<sup>7</sup> In its primary function //s-// is prefixed to simple intransitive or middle stems.

//ʔiɪn// 'eat'

//ʔiɪn// ʔiɪn. 'He eats.'

//s-ʔiɪn// səʔiɪn. 'It's food.'

//cix// 'warm'

//cix// cix. 'He's warm.'

//s-cix// scix. 'It's heat.'

//taɾq// 'kick'

//taɾq-m// tɛɾɛqám. 'He dances.'

//s-taɾq-m// stɛɾɛqám. 'He's a dancer.'

The resulting forms are intransitive, and typically can be found with the absolutive pronouns.

//in-s-ʔiɪn// isəʔiɪn. 'It's my food.'

//an-s-cix// ascix. 'You are feeling warm.' (more literally, 'it is your feeling warm.')

Where semantics do not restrict it, absolutive forms can be found with one of the marked forms of the primary reference pronouns.

//lax// 'share'

//s-lax-t// sláxt. 'He's the partner.'

//in-s-lax-t// isláxt. 'He's my partner.'

//k<sup>w</sup> in-s-lax-t// k<sup>w</sup> isláxt. 'You are my partner.'

Although most stems require //s-// prefixation before they can be inflected with the absolutive pronouns, some do not. Underlying such stems are roots which do not appear as transitive bases. For example,

//in-citx<sup>w</sup>// incítx<sup>w</sup>. 'It's my house.'

//an-kəwap// ankəwáp. 'It's your mount.'

Conversely, there are some roots which are consistently accompanied by //s-//.

//s-qltmix<sup>w</sup>// sqeltmíx<sup>w</sup>. 'He's a man.'

//s-wa<sup>?</sup>níx<sup>w</sup>// swa<sup>?</sup>níx<sup>w</sup>. 'They are thornberries.'

Absolute forms undergo additional derivational cycles: they can function as stems underlying instrumental (3.35), unrealized (3.371), and progressive words (3.372), all of which are intransitive. (Other intransitive derivations are discussed in 3.38.)

3.33. Reflexives. The reflexive suffix is // -sút//. It occurs after transitive (3.13) and purposive (3.141) stems. The resulting forms are handled like intransitives: pronominal reference is marked with the primary reference pronouns, or with the absolutive pronouns. Reflexives are in a sense paradoxical: they are intransitive in grammatical terms, but have underlying transitive motivation, both in meaning and in form.

//x<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>// 'separate'

//ec-x<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>// cx<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>. 'He is divorced.' (intransitive; ec- 'actual')

//x<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>-n-t-sút// x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>əncút. 'He divorced her.' (more literally, 'he separated himself from her.')

//wal// 'burn'

//wal-p// weláp. 'It burns.' (intransitive)

//wal-n-t-sút// weləncút. 'He burns himself.'

//tərq// 'kick'

//tərq-m// tərəqám. 'He dances.' (middle)

//tərq-n-t-sút// tərəqəncút. 'He kicks himself.'

//tax<sup>w</sup>// 'straight'

//tax<sup>w</sup>-m-í-sút// tax<sup>w</sup>míst. 'He reached for something.'

(purposive; cf. //tax<sup>w</sup>-m-s-t-(í)s// tx<sup>w</sup>ənstís 'he straightened it out.' [transitive])<sup>8</sup>



Occasionally purposive reflexives contrast with transitive reflexives:

//tiim// 'straight, flat'

//tiim-m-í-sút// tiimíst. 'He lay flat.' (purposive; the glottalization of [m] is unexplained)

//tiim-n-t-sút// tiimencút. 'He straightened out, reformed.' (transitive)

3.34. Reciprocals. The inherently stressed suffix //nwíx<sup>w</sup>// is added to intransitive stems to form reciprocals. Personal reference marking is accomplished by means of the primary reference pronouns, or the absolutive pronouns. Like reflexive forms, reciprocals have underlying transitive motivation while they are grammatically intransitive.

Personal reference is necessarily plural, but singular forms often substitute their plural counterparts, most commonly in the second and third persons.

//ca<sup>?</sup>-nwíx<sup>w</sup>-lx// ca<sup>?</sup>nwíx<sup>w</sup>əlx. 'They hit one another.'  
(hit-reciprocal-plural)

//ca<sup>?</sup>-nwíx<sup>w</sup>// ca<sup>?</sup>nwíx<sup>w</sup>. 'They hit one another.' (hit-reciprocal)

//p čl-člx-nwix<sup>w</sup>// p čəlčəlxənwix<sup>w</sup>. 'You grabbed one another.' (you pl. grab-grab-reciprocal)

//k<sup>w</sup> čl-člx-nwix<sup>w</sup>// k<sup>w</sup> čəlčəlxənwix<sup>w</sup>. 'You grabbed one another.' (you sg. grab-grab-reciprocal)

Reciprocal forms, however, may be transitivized. Compare:

//in-s-kl-kl-nwix<sup>w</sup>// iskəlkelənwix<sup>w</sup>. 'I chase deer with him (towards one another).' (More literally, 'It is my reciprocal deer-chasing.')

//kl-kl-nwix<sup>w</sup>-s-t-(i)s// kəlkelənwix<sup>w</sup>sc. 'He started to chase deer with someone.'

3.35. Instrumentals. The instrumental suffix is //n//. It occurs after intransitive stative stems, or after middle and purposive stems.

Whereas the label 'stative' may have been literally appropriate in all the examples discussed in 3.115, in the case of many instrumental forms it may not seem equally adequate.<sup>9</sup> The difficulty stems mostly from the English glosses. All Colville instrumental forms correspond to English nouns. But it is to be remembered that underlying all Colville words are intransitive roots (verb-like), and that //-t// 'stative' indicates the result or the inherent property of whatever (verbal) notion is contained in the root. Indeed it is often extremely difficult to identify

the meaning of Colville roots (and Salishan roots in general), and this is just because of their nature: they are all intransitive and verb-like; they often convey very abstract notions. For a speaker of English it is hard to see how an item such as 'hit' is intransitive; but it is even harder to see how the item 'nose' is really verb-like. Not surprisingly, very often instrumental forms occur in the absolute mode (noun-like) form, and/or in the locative form (cf. sections 3.32 and 3.243).

### 3.351. Stative instrumentals.

3.3511. Instrumentals discussed in this section are built upon complex bases. They reflect the basic, natural function of the notion contained in the root. No manipulative or effort-like notions are included in these forms.

//s-n-wix<sup>w</sup>-t-n// sənwix<sup>w</sup>tən. 'It's a place where people used to live.' (absolute-locative-live-stative-instrumental)

//s-n-ki-mut-t-n// sənklmútən. 'It's a chair.' (absolute-locative-down-sit-stative-instrumental)

//in-s-x<sup>w</sup>úy-lwís-t-n// isx<sup>w</sup>əyəlwístən. 'They are the places where I travel all over.' (my-absolute-go-frequentative-stative-instrumental)

//an-ki-s-n-?ilí<sup>3</sup>-t-n// aksəmə<sup>3</sup>ilí<sup>3</sup>?tən. 'It's your future residence.' (your-unrealized-absolute-locative-be there-stative-instrumental)

//s-n-?istk-t-n// sənə<sup>3</sup>?istktən. 'It's a wintering place.' (absolute-locative-winter-stative-instrumental)

//s-n-?iln-t-n// sənə<sup>3</sup>?iləntən. 'It's a feeding place (as of deer).' (absolute-locative-eat-stative-instrumental)

//s-n-q<sup>w</sup>l-q<sup>w</sup>il-t-n// sənq<sup>w</sup>olq<sup>w</sup>iltən. 'It's a language.' (absolute-locative-talk-talk-stative-instrumental; cf. the causative form //q<sup>w</sup>l-q<sup>w</sup>il-s-t-(i)n// q<sup>w</sup>olq<sup>w</sup>ilstən 'I talk words.')

//s-x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>2</sup>-t-n// sx<sup>w</sup>úyətən. 'They are tracks.' (absolute-go -stative-instrumental)

3.3512. Instrumental stems may be compound (3.4) or extended (3.25). Such forms are also stative.

//s-n-ʔac-qáxa<sup>2</sup>-t-n// sənʔacqáxa<sup>2</sup>?tən. 'It's a corral.' (absolute-locative-tie-animal-stative-instrumental)

//n-áa<sup>2</sup>-áa<sup>2</sup>-(ú)s-t-n// nəáa<sup>2</sup>?áa<sup>2</sup>?ústən. 'It's eyesight.' (locative-search-search-eyes-stative-instrumental)

//n-?iān-a<sup>2</sup>-s-qilx<sup>w</sup>-t-n// nə?ina<sup>2</sup>?sqilx<sup>w</sup>?tən. 'He's a cannibal.' (locative-eat-compound formative-absolute-person/Indian-stative-instrumental)

3.3513. Some forms involving more than one derivational cycle apparently affix // -n // directly to intransitive stems without the stative marker.

//k<sup>w</sup>úí// 'make, do' (intransitive root)

//k<sup>w</sup>úí-n-t// k<sup>w</sup>úíent! 'Do it!' (active-transitive)

//k<sup>w</sup>úí-n-t-sút// k<sup>w</sup>əlencút. 'He made it himself.' (intransitive stem)

//k<sup>w</sup>úí-n-t-sút-n// k<sup>w</sup>əlencútən. 'It's God.'

//k<sup>w</sup>íí// 'sweat' (intransitive root)

//k<sup>w</sup>íí-s-t-(í)s// k<sup>w</sup>ííesc. 'He sweats.' (causative-transitive)

//s-n-k<sup>w</sup>íí-s-t-n// sən<sup>w</sup>ííəstən. 'It's a sweat house.'

3.352. Middle instrumentals. The instrumental suffix // -n // may be added to middle and purposive stems. The difference between the two types of forms seems to hinge upon the notion of direct effort on the part of an agent. In contrast with purposive instrumentals, middle instrumentals do not refer to (mechanical) tools requiring an agent's manipulation. Neither do they refer, however, to natural functions, as was the case with stative instrumentals.

//n-kʰáw-m-n// nəkʰáwmen. 'It's a prayer.' (locative-greet-middle-instrument)

//s-n-ní-n-k-m-n// sənínəkəmen. 'It's a knife holder.'  
(absolute-locative-cut [intensive, cf. 3.2132] -middle-instrumental)

//n-kʰúl-m-n// nəkʰúləmen. 'It's a work horse.' (locative-make-middle-instrumental. Cf. //sxʷ-kʰúl-m// sxʷkʰúləm. 'He's a working man.' [sxʷ - 'person'])

//n-taʔ-m-í-n// nətəʔmín. 'It's a pestle.' (locative-pound-middle-secondary-instrumental)

//láp-m-í-n// ləpəmin. 'It's a line maker.' (line-middle-secondary-instrumental)

//s-tax-m-í-n// stxмін. 'It's a comb.' (absolute-comb-middle-secondary-instrumental)

//áʔ-m-í-n// qəyəmin. 'It's a pen.' (write-middle-secondary-instrumental)

3.36. State of mind. The variable stress suffix //-(í)ls// denotes a state of mind, often a wish. It usually cooccurs with the locative prefix //n-//. All state of mind forms discussed in sections 3.361 and 3.362 are intransitive and pronominal reference is marked by either the primary reference pronouns, or by the absolute pronouns; those discussed in 3.363 are of a different type.

3.361. //-(i)ls// is suffixed directly to intransitive stems, including those marked non-control or stative.

//k<sup>w</sup>u n-qi<sup>?</sup>-(i)ls// k<sup>w</sup>u nəqə<sup>?</sup>íls. 'We are bothered.'  
(qi<sup>?</sup> 'trouble')

//n-nax<sup>w</sup>-nax<sup>w</sup>-(i)ls// nəx<sup>w</sup>ənax<sup>w</sup>íls. 'He's thinking about/  
wants a mate.' (nax<sup>w</sup>-nax<sup>w</sup> 'mate'; cf. 3.2111)

//n-st-(i)ls// nəstíls. 'He thinks.' (st 'think')

//kn sanq-(i)ls// kən sanqíls. 'I am satisfied.' (sanq  
of uncertain meaning)

//kn n-pút-(i)ls// kən nəpútéls. 'I am satisfied.' (pút  
'suffice')

//lut kl-s-əc-n-pút-(i)ls-s// lut kscənpútéls. 'He is  
not satisfied.' (More literally, 'It is not his satis-  
faction.')

//əc-n-xl-(i)ls// cənxlíls. 'He was thinking that.'  
(xl of uncertain meaning)

//n-xil<sup>w</sup>-(i)ls// nəxəl<sup>w</sup>íls. 'She wants a husband.'  
(xil<sup>w</sup> 'husband')

//n-k-ʔaw-p-(i)ls// nəkəwpíls. 'He wants to be happier.'  
(ʔaw 'go'; cf. sckəwkəwpnúmtx. 'He's feeling lonesome.')

//n-ʔayx<sup>w</sup>-t-(i)ls// nəʔayx<sup>w</sup>tíls. 'He's feeling tired.'  
(ʔayx<sup>w</sup> 'tired')

//k<sup>w</sup> n-x<sup>w</sup>l-x<sup>w</sup>al-t-(i)ls// k<sup>w</sup> nəx<sup>w</sup>əl<sup>w</sup>altíls. 'You want to  
stay alive.' (x<sup>w</sup>al 'live')

//stím an-s-ec-n-qi?-(i)ls// stím ascənqə?íls. 'What's  
on your mind?' (stím 'what?'; qi? 'trouble')

3.362. //-(i)ls// may be affixed to middle stems.

//k<sup>w</sup> n-kax-m-(i)ls// k<sup>w</sup> nekxmíls. 'You want to follow  
along.' (kax 'walk')

//s-ec-n-kax-m-(i)ls-xx// scənkmílsx. 'He is thinking  
of going along.' (absolute-actual-locative-walk-middle-  
state of mind-progressive)

//s-k<sup>w</sup>ilx-m-(i)ls// nek<sup>w</sup>elxmíls. 'He wants to leave.'  
k<sup>w</sup>ilx 'leave')

//p s-ec-n-sixl-m-(i)ls-xx// p scənsxəlmílsx. 'You are  
in the mood to move away.' (you pl. absolute-actual-locative-move-middle-state of mind-progressive)

3.363. Intransitive state-of-mind words can undergo an additional derivational cycle, that characteristic of all intransitive bases. They can receive further affixes to form middle and transitive stems. There seem to be no grammatical restrictions on this type of secondary derivation, but further research may disclose some.

//kn n-xas-t-(i)ls-m-í-sút// kən xaxstəlsmíst. 'I  
am satisfied.' (I locative-good-stative-state of mind-  
middle-secondary-reflexive)



//n-pút-(í)ls-m-n-t-(í)m// nepútelsementem. 'He is feeling satisfied with it.' (locative-suffice-state of mind-middle-active-transitive-indefinite)

//n-kʷʔ-(í)ls-n-t-sút// nekʷeʔelsencút. 'He started to get cross.' (locative-?-state of mind-active-transitive-reflexive)

//kʷu n-xʔ-(í)ls-m-n-t-(í)m// kʷu nexəʔílsementem. 'Someone is getting tired of us.' (we locative-?-state of mind-middle-active-transitive-indefinite)

//ec-kí-k-t-(í)ls-s-t-(í)s-lx// ckekatílscolx. 'It came to their minds.' (actual-near [intensive, cf. 3.2132]-state of mind-causative-transitive-3rd person-plural)

This example is the only case recorded which lacks the locative prefix; its absence may be conditioned by the causative suffix.

3.37. Aspectual affixes. In this section are discussed two prefixes and one suffix which function as part of the aspectual system. Other aspect markers are two particles (cf. 4.45 and 4.4221), and one infix (3.22).

3.371. Unrealized. All unrealized words are intransitive. //kɪ-// 'unrealized aspect' marks the action, state, or entity it refers to as not yet realized. The ɪ of kɪ- is lost before a stem beginning in s- (this loss is very common because kɪ- so often occurs before absolutive stems, formed with the prefix s-; cf. 3.32); the two absolutive pronouns //in-// and //an-// lose their n before //kɪ-// (cf. 2.524).<sup>10</sup>

//kɪ-// is involved in several types of constructions:

(a) together with absolutive pronouns,

//in-kɪ-s-qltmix<sup>w</sup>// iksqɛltmɪx<sup>w</sup>. 'He's my husband-to-be.'

(Cf. kɛn sqɛltmɪx<sup>w</sup> 'I am a man'; kɛn ksqɛltmɪx<sup>w</sup> 'I have a man/husband.' [kɪ- 'possessive'; cf. 3.384])

//an-kɪ-citx<sup>w</sup>// akɪcɪtx<sup>w</sup>. 'These are the materials with which your house will be built.' ('your-unrealized-house')

(b) together with absolutive pronouns and primary reference pronouns,

//k<sup>w</sup> in-kɪ-s-qltmix<sup>w</sup>// k<sup>w</sup> iksqɛltmɪx<sup>w</sup>. 'You are my husband-to-be.'

(c) together with the inchoative marker // -x-a?-x// (and primary reference pronouns; cf. 3.372)<sup>11</sup>

//kn ki-s-?iɪn-x-a?-x// kən ksə?iɪnə?x. 'I am about to eat.' (Cf. kən ksə?iɪn 'I have food'; ikəsə?iɪn 'that's what I am going to eat'; k<sup>w</sup> ikəsə?iɪn 'I am going to eat you.')

3.372. Progressive and inchoative. The progressive suffix is // -xx//. The infixation of // -a?-// 'diminutive' to // -xx// yields // -x-a?-x// 'inchoative' (cf. 3.39). (For morphophonemic details, cf. 2.546. Also, 3.22.)

// -xx// 'progressive' performs several functions, the most prominent of which is reflected by the label assigned to it.

(a) It denotes action in progress; always cooccurring with the absolute mode prefix //s-// (3.32), and often with the actual aspect prefix //əc-// (3.373) as well.

//s-əc-k<sup>w</sup>úɪ-xx// sk<sup>w</sup>úɪəx. 'He is working.'

//s-cú-t-xx// scútx. 'He was saying.'

(b) It corresponds to the various English suffixes -ite, -er, -an, of forms such as New Yorker, Chicagoan, etc.

//s-k<sup>w</sup>tíkn-xx// sk<sup>w</sup>ətíknəx. 'He is a Seattleite.'

(c) It corresponds to the English 'one (who is)' as in:

//s-x?ít-xx// sxə?ítx. 'He is the oldest one.'

//s-wiy-nú-m-t-xx// sweynúmtx. 'He is the handsome one.'

(d) It denotes a state or condition, as in:

//s-ec-wix-xx// scwixəx. 'He is living.'

//s-ʔácqaʔ-xx// səʔácqaʔx. 'He's staying out.'

//-x-aʔ-x// is the inchoative marker. Its function is to indicate that an action is about to begin; it often occurs in connection with the unrealized aspect prefix //kɪ-// (3.371).

//k<sup>w</sup>u kɪ-s-x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>-x-aʔ-x// k<sup>w</sup>u ksx<sup>w</sup>úyaʔx. 'We are about to go.'

//kn kɪ-s-cfawlx-x-aʔ-x// kən kscfáwəlxəʔx. 'I am about to bathe.'

//s-x<sup>w</sup>ar-p-m-í-x-aʔ-x// sx<sup>w</sup>ərpmíxaʔx. 'He is beginning to shake.'

//s-ec-íaw<sup>ʔ</sup>-p-m-í-x-aʔ-x// scíawəpmíxaʔx. 'It's beginning to droop.'

However, in some cases, the meaning is extended or more difficult to characterize. In the following examples the common denominator would seem to be 'at the beginning of...'

//s-wiy-nú-m-t-x-aʔ-x// sweynúmtaʔx. 'He is rather handsome.' (Cf. sweynúmtx 'he is the handsome one.')

//s-tʔíwt-x-aʔ-x// stəʔíwtaʔx. 'He is quite young. (Cf. stəʔíwtx. 'He is young.')

//s-xʔít-x-aʔ-x// sxəʔítaʔx. 'He is rather old.' (Cf. sxəʔít. 'He is old'; sxəʔítx. 'He is the first, the eldest.')

Thus it is interesting to note that in Colville 'less handsome' is to 'handsome' as 'younger' is to 'young', and as 'old' is to 'older'.

3.373. Actual. The actual aspect prefix is //ec-//. It refers to an action, entity or state obtaining at a particular main time or situation of reference. The e of [əc-] is always lost word-internally; it is optionally retained after pause, in which case a glottal stop automatically precedes it. c- and stem-initial ʔ combine to yield č (cf. sections 2.521 and 2.522).

//əc-ʔácqaʔ// čácqaʔ ~ ʔəčácqaʔ. 'He is actually out.' (ʔácqaʔ 'he went out.')

//əc-ʔác-n-t-(í)s// cʔácəs ~ ʔəcʔácəs. 'He watches it.' (ʔácəs 'he watched it.')

//əc-n-st-(í)ls// cənstíls ~ ʔəcənstíls. 'He actually thinks that...' (nəstíls 'he thought.')

//əc-kʷúí// c kʷúí ~ ʔəckʷúí. 'He actually works.' (kʷúí 'he works.')

3.38. Intransitive derivations. In addition to the derivations already discussed, a number of derivations apply to either intransitive or middle stems, to form intransitive words. In all such cases personal reference is regularly indicated by means of either the primary reference pronouns, or the absolute pronouns.

3.381. Preferential-customary. The inherently stressed suffix // -ímn // is added to intransitive or middle stems to form a preferential-customary word.

//kən piḡ-m-ímn// kən pɣmímən. 'I like to hunt' or 'I hunt often/all the time.' (middle stem)

//captik<sup>h</sup>l-ímn// captk<sup>h</sup>límən. 'He likes to tell stories' or 'He tells stories often.' (intransitive stem)

//k<sup>h</sup>il-s-t-n-ímn// k<sup>h</sup>eləstnímén. 'He likes to go to the sweat-house' or 'He goes to the sweat-house all the time.' (intransitive stem)

3.382. Developmentals. The inherently stressed suffix // -wílx // is attached to intransitive (but not middle) stems to form developmentals.

//kn paḡ-paḡ-t-wílx// kən pɣpɣtwílx. 'I got wise.'  
(paḡ 'think')

//xas-t-wílx// xstwílx. 'He got better.' (xas 'good')

//s-ta?kímíx-wílx-s// stá?kémxawílxs. 'She has grown  
into a woman.' (ta?kímíx 'woman')

3.383. Frequentatives. The inherently stressed suffix //l-wís// is attached to intransitive or middle stems. It is usually glossed 'all over, over and over, a lot'.

kən lúx<sup>w</sup>t. 'I go in the brush.' (intransitive stem)

kən íx<sup>w</sup>təlwís. 'I go all around in the brush.'

cx<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'He goes.' (intransitive stem)

cx<sup>w</sup>əyəlwís. 'He travels around a lot.'

kərám. 'He swims.' (middle stem)

kəráməlwís. 'He swims all over.'

3.384. Possessives. The possessive prefix is //kí-//, with regular variant [k-] before stems beginning with s- (2.524). It is prefixed to intransitive stems only. The possessor of the item in question is always expressed by means of a primary reference pronoun, in contrast with //kí-// 'unrealized aspect', which is always accompanied by an absolutive pronoun (3.371).

//kn kí-tkímílx<sup>w</sup>// kən kítkímílx<sup>w</sup>. 'I have a woman/wife.'

//kí-pús// kípús. 'He has a cat.'

//k<sup>w</sup>ki-s-qltmix<sup>w</sup>// k<sup>w</sup>ksqəltmix<sup>w</sup>. 'You have a man/husband.'

3.39. Diminutive infixation. The diminutive //-a?-//<sup>12</sup> is infixated between the two consonants of a lexical suffix:

//n-x<sup>w</sup>y'-x<sup>w</sup>úy'-ít-a?-k<sup>w</sup>// nəx<sup>w</sup>əy'əx<sup>w</sup>əy'íta?k<sup>w</sup>. 'It's Meteor.'  
 (place name, literally, 'where the little waters go';  
 x<sup>w</sup>úy' 'go', -ít<sup>w</sup> 'water'--reference to a place where  
 several creeks converge)

//k-ca?-ca?-á1-a?-q<sup>w</sup>-m// kca?ca?á1a?q<sup>w</sup>əm. 'He knocked at the tipi poles.' (k- 'directive' [3.242], ca? 'hit', -á1q<sup>w</sup> 'cylindrical objects')

The same element //-a?-// is also infixated between the two consonants of //-xx// 'progressive'. The resulting form //x-a?-x// is the inchoative marker. For examples and pertinent discussion cf. sections 3.372.

Occasionally -a?- is found infixated in a root, as in //s-q<sup>w</sup>s-q<sup>w</sup>-a?-s-íya?// sq<sup>w</sup>sq<sup>w</sup>a?síya?. 'They are little children.' (Cf. sq<sup>w</sup>sí? 'he's the son'; sq<sup>w</sup>sq<sup>w</sup>sí? 'they are children.' The element -íya? is not well understood; it probably contains a pluralizing marker -iy- and the suffix //-a?// discussed in footnote 6.



3.4. Compounds consist of at least two roots, usually connected by a formative morpheme, and optional affixes.

3.41. Compounds are fairly rare in Colville and at the present time are imperfectly understood. All compounds discussed in this section contain two roots.

The following general principles seem to prevail: primary stress is never on the first member of the compound; regular stress placement rules apply to the second member of the compound and its affixes. The first member of the compound may or may not retain a full (but unstressed) vowel, depending on the make-up of the second member. If the second member of the compound contains a stress retentive root, or an inherently stressed suffix, then the vowel of the first member is deleted; otherwise it is retained, but unstressed.

Some compounds require a connecting morpheme. Two such morphemes have been identified: // -i- // and // -a? - // . The rules that govern the use of these compound formatives are not fully understood.

//k<sup>u</sup> tax<sup>w</sup>-i-x<sup>w</sup>ic-(ú)lax<sup>w</sup>-t-n// k<sup>u</sup> tx<sup>w</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>iclax<sup>w</sup>tən.

'We obtained machinery.' ( 'we obtain-formative-work-earth-stative-instrumental )

//tax<sup>w</sup>-i-sp-q(í)n-t-n// tax<sup>w</sup>ispqíntən. 'They obtained threshers.' (obtain-formative-beat-head-stative-instrumental)

//k<sup>w</sup> ec-miy-i-qay<sup>o</sup>-m-í-n// k<sup>w</sup> cmeyiqay<sup>o</sup>mín. 'You know how to write.' (you actual-know-formative-write-middle-secondary-instrumental)

//s-k<sup>w</sup>úl-ck<sup>w</sup>ínk-s// sk<sup>w</sup>əléck<sup>w</sup>íńks. 'It's the bow he made.' (absolute-make-bow-his)

//n-?iin-a?-s-qilx<sup>w</sup>-t-n// nə?ina?sqilx<sup>w</sup>tən. 'He's a cannibal.' (locative-eat-formative-absolute-person/Indian-stative-instrumental)

3.42. Numeral compounds form a subset of the broader class of compounds. They are based on ten numerals, of which some are partially analyzable.

náqs 'one'

?asíi 'two'

ka?íis 'three'

mús 'four'

cílkst 'five' (//cíl-(í)kst// '?-hand')

táqəmkst 'six' (//táq-m-(í)kst// 'cross-middle-hand')

síspəlk 'seven'

tími 'eight'

xəx nút 'nine' (//x-/xnút// 'diminutive-?')

?úpənkst 'ten' (//?úp-(í)kst// '?-hand')

Numbers eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the digits 1-9 to ?úpenkst 'ten' (in first position), with the connecting morpheme // -i- //. The stress of ?úpenkst is reduced to weak (but the full vowel is retained), while stress on the following digit remains primary. For example,

?upenkstle?asíl 'twelve'

?upenkstlmús 'fourteen'

Multiples of ten reverse the order, placing the digit first; in addition most of these digits appear in special allomorphs; in one case // -i- // 'formative' is deleted. Stress remains primary on ?úpenkst, and is reduced to weak on the preceding digit, while vowels remain full (however, the allomorph of xəx.nút 'nine' in these forms is xəxən, without a full vowel).

?asele?úpenkst 'twenty'

kafole?úpenkst 'thirty'

musle?úpenkst 'forty'

ciikle?úpenkst 'fifty'

taqemle?úpenkst 'sixty'

sispelkole?úpenkst 'seventy'

timle?úpenkst 'eighty'

xəxənele?úpenkst 'ninety'

Intermediate numbers above twenty are formed analogously to 11-19, based on the above. Stress is primary on the last digit, is reduced to secondary on ʔúpenkst, and remains weak on the first digit.

ʔasələʔúpenkstləʔasíl 'twenty-two'

musləʔúpenkstləsísəpəlk 'forty-seven'

Finally, the numeral 100 is xəcəcákst.

Numeral stems exhibit a propensity for compounding and for lexical affixation.

neqsqáxaʔ. 'There's one horse.'

ʔasələʔíwí. 'There are two boats.'

kaʔiláyqən. 'There are three heads.'

kən muspústxən. 'I jump four times.'

knáqs. 'It's one person.'

kəsəʔasíl. 'They are two persons.'

tkaʔkaʔíís. 'They are three persons.'

kən knáʔnaqs. 'I am all alone.'

The last four examples contain the numeral classifier //k-// 'person'. Its morphophonemics are discussed in sections 2.522 and 2.523.

In the following charts, prefixes and suffixes are listed (in underlying form) according to their position relative to the root, proceeding from the closest to the farthest.

#### PREFIXES

1. lexical prefixes
2. c- directional 'cislocative'  
ki- directional 'down'  
ki- directional 'around, under'  
k- directive  
k- personal
3. i- directional 'back'
4. ac- actual aspect
5. n- locative
6. s- absolute mode
7. ki- possessive  
ki- unrealized aspect
8. absolutive pronoun prefixes

## INFIXES

1. -ʔ- inchoative
2. -aʔ- diminutive

## SUFFIXES

1. -p non-control  
-m primary formative
2. lexical suffixes
3. -nú- success
4. -m middle
5. -î- secondary formative  
-t stative
6. -n- active  
-s- causative  
-l- expressed goal  
-x(i)- benefactive
7. -t transitive
8. transitive pronouns
9. -sút reflexive

10. -i? transitive imperative plural  
-x intransitive imperative singular  
-wi? intransitive imperative plural
  
11. -nwi<sup>w</sup> reciprocal  
-imn preferential-habitual  
-(i)ls desiderative  
-wi<sup>w</sup>lx developmental  
-n instrumental
  
12. -xx progressive  
absolute pronoun suffixes
  
13. -lx plural

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>// -lɣ// has the broader function of third person plural marker. With intransitive and middle forms it refers to the actor; with transitive forms it refers to the recipient (see sections 3.112 and 3.131).

<sup>2</sup>This form is tentatively analyzed //cú-t// 'say-stative'. // -t// seems to be of a broader scope than its label implies.

<sup>3</sup>The workings of // -í -// are not fully understood. The sporadic glottalization of m preceding it has been observed; some cases of unstressed i have also been observed. For example,

//wíkʷ// hide

kən wíkʷmíst 'I am hiding.'

kən wəkʷmíst 'I'm keeping a secret.'

Note that these forms are intransitive, and, presumably both reflexive (cf. 3.33).

<sup>4</sup>The root //ʔaw// is different from, although related to, the root //káw// of similar meaning, exemplified elsewhere in this study. Reduplicated forms confirm this analysis.

kəwkáwəlɣ. 'They are all gone.'

ʔawəʔawcincən. 'I went to talk to you.'



<sup>5</sup>In addition to the reduplicative prefix under discussion there is a prefix //həi-// 'homogeneous group' which derives iteratives.

həisq<sup>w</sup>si<sup>?</sup>s. 'They are all his sons.'

həisenkəlíp. 'They are the members of the Coyote family.'

<sup>6</sup>The suffix //-a<sup>?</sup>// is of uncertain meaning. It may be a lexical suffix meaning 'living being' or 'concrete entity'. Cf. the following:

sáma<sup>?</sup>. 'He is a Frenchman.'

ɪqáqca<sup>?</sup>. 'He is the older brother.'

míla<sup>?</sup>. 'It's bait.' (live?)

q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>cəwíya<sup>?</sup>. 'It's a chipmunk.'

sxáxpá<sup>?</sup>. 'He is the grandfather.'

qáqona<sup>?</sup>. 'She is the grandmother.'

ta<sup>?</sup>túpa<sup>?</sup>. 'He is the great-grandfather.'

sínca<sup>?</sup>. 'He is the younger brother.'

sxá<sup>?</sup>xá<sup>?</sup>. 'He is the father-in-law.'

-qáxa<sup>?</sup> (lexical suffix) 'animal'

But cf.

qípx<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>. 'It's a nut.'

?ítx<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>. 'It's black camas.'

<sup>7</sup>The more revealing label 'absolute mode' is adopted here from L.C. Thompson in seminar discussions.

<sup>8</sup>It is noteworthy that the roots which appear with the purposive suffix are most frequent with transitive inflection.

<sup>9</sup>See footnote 2.

<sup>10</sup>//kɪ-// may possibly be analyzed as consisting of the directive //k-// and the subordinating sequential //ɪ//, containing a notion 'potential-directive'. Forms with //kɪ-//, however, may also contain a separate //k-// 'directive', as in //kn kɪ-s-k-taʔq-x-aʔ-x// kən ksktáʔqaʔx. 'I'm going to jump.'

<sup>11</sup>Inchoatives always contain the absolute mode prefix //s-//, that is, the ɪ of kɪ- is always lost. Nonetheless one would not want to analyze these forms as containing a different prefix \*//ks-//, or //k-//.

<sup>12</sup>Attention is drawn to the similarities this infix bears to the inchoative infix //-ʔ-// (3.22). Further study may prove the two forms to be different surface realizations of the same underlying form.

#### 4. Syntax

Colville sentences may be simple, compound, and complex. Simple sentences consist of a single clause; compound sentences of two or more independent clauses; complex sentences of two or more clauses, of which at least one has to be a dependent clause. Sentences that can occur as opening sentences in some independent utterance are independent; those that cannot are dependent. Dependent sentences include responses to questions, continuations of the thoughts of another speaker (e.g. reactions to comments, commands, accusations, etc), and continuations of the speaker's own thoughts following an opening sentence. (Sentences left unfinished or otherwise elliptical are fragmentary.)

A clause consists of a predicate and, optionally, one or more complements. An independent clause is one that can stand alone and function as a (simple) independent sentence; other clauses are dependent. Dependent clauses normally cooccur with an independent clause in a complex sentence.

A predicate is the essential component of a clause, i.e. its head. It consists of an independent word (with or without affixes) and optional particles. Ordinarily it is clause-initial.

A complement is the predicate's optional dependent in a clause. It follows the predicate to expand it, complete

it, or explain it. It consists of one or more independent words and optional particles.

4.1. Words. Colville exhibits two main word types: particles and independent words. Each constitutes a separate syntactic class, defined by privileges of occurrence within a clause.

Particles are dependent words. They cannot occur as heads of predicates and complements. The syntactic class of particles is not a phonologically homogeneous set. Although for the most part particles do not occur with primary stress, on certain occasions certain particles are so stressed. They are of three types: predicative particles, clause particles, and complement particles.

In all cases the function of a particle is defined by its maximum possible immediate constituent partner. Each particle has its typical position in a fixed order with reference to the head of the construction. Preposed particles are the norm in Colville; exceptionally particles that are usually preposed can occur postpositionally (cf. 3.1722).

Independent words are the predicative elements of the language. Most of them have extensive inflectional and derivational patterns, as described in Chapter 3.

4.2. Predicates. The simplest Colville words are intransitive and refer to states, activities, entities, without necessary overt reference to particular persons, times, and places.

píq. 'It's white.'

tíç. 'It's pitch.', 'There is pitch.'

x<sup>w</sup>úy. 'He went.'

More complex are middle and transitive words.

x<sup>w</sup>úyəm. 'He leads.' (middle)

x<sup>w</sup>úyesc. 'He takes him there.' (transitive).

Reference to persons is added to words by various pronominal elements. They are of various types, from affixes to full words, discussed and exemplified in sections 3.111, 3.112, 3.131, and 3.17.

4.21. Distribution of words as predicates. All Colville full words are basically predicative. By themselves they may constitute complete sentences. When they cooccur with other words they may function as predicates or as complements: they may be expanded by following complements, or they themselves may follow a predicate and constitute complements.

4.211. Intransitive and middle words are conjugated with either the primary reference pronouns, or with the absolutive pronouns.

Words accompanied by primary referent pronouns usually occur in the predicate slot and can be expanded by positional complements and by other complements marked by complement particles (see 4.32).

xiǎem susàp. 'Joseph climbed the hill.'

kən x<sup>w</sup>úȳ kəl cǐtx<sup>w</sup>s. 'I went to his house.'

?áyx<sup>w</sup>t incà?. 'I am tired.'

kən ?áyx<sup>w</sup>t təl anwǐ?. 'I am tired of you.'

Words accompanied by the absolutive pronoun affixes may be followed by positional complements (otherwise unmarked):

inxmǐnk susàp. 'I like Joseph.'

But more often they occur in the complement slot:

wíkən anpūs. 'I saw your cat.'

4.212. Transitive words are accompanied by a transitive marker and pronominal reference is indicated with the transitive pronouns. They can be followed by complements of various sorts:

ckímesc xəl ?axà?. 'He dislikes him because of that.'

wíkentx<sup>w</sup> sàpna?. 'You can see it now.'

The most common kind of complement with transitive predicates specifies a goal.

cús sənkelip. 'He told Coyote.'

Sentences of this type may be expanded further by an instrumental complement:

cús sənkelip t neqilx<sup>w</sup>cən. 'He told Coyote in Indian.'

If an agent is expressed, then it occurs (exceptionally) sentence-initially, followed by the relativizing particle ki? (4.414).

t sənxičen ki? cus sənkelip t neqilx<sup>w</sup>cən. '(It was)

Grizzly (who) told Coyote in the Indian language.'

(See section 4.53 for further discussion of this type of construction.)

In the third person indefinite recipient construction (3.132), if an agent is to be expressed, that is accomplished by means of an agentive complement, as in

cúntəm t incà?. 'Someone was told by me.'

cúntəm t cniic. 'Someone was told by him.'

But the recipient cannot be further marked in the same sentence; it is either clear in the context or it is truly indefinite ('someone').

4.22. Predicative particles. In addition to the pronominal particles, which belong to the system just summarized, there exist in Colville a few other predicative particles--

i.e. particles always found in IC partnership with a predicate. These particles add to the predicate various notions: emphatic, exceptional, intensive, etc. They differ from pronominal particles on one further account: whereas pronominal particles are clitics, these other predicative particles can, and do on occasion, have their own stress.

4.221. Evidential. The function of //t̃i// 'evidential' is to add to the predicate a notion of evidential emphasis, while it relieves the speaker of any responsibility about or control over the action or situation. Thus the resulting predicate singles out an event, state, or activity as observable; the semantic import of t̃i is, approximately, 'as it appears, as one can see (but I cannot be held responsible for it)'. (For morphophonemic details on t̃i see 2.51)

t̃i s̃t̃et̃ep̃inaʔk. 'He was somewhat pot-bellied.'

t̃i x̃ást̃ i x̃<sup>w</sup>íc̃ex̃ementem. 'It's best that we give it away.'

lut̃ keñ t̃e c̃ek̃iñem, wáỹ t̃i keñ x̃ást̃. 'There is nothing wrong with me, as you can see I'm quite OK.'

The last example shows t̃i in two different positions-- first in IC partnership with c̃ek̃iñem, then with keñ x̃ást̃. Typically, primary reference pronouns precede t̃i when in construction with the negative lut̃. It may then be possible to interpret the pronoun (like keñ here) as being used



postpositionally in relation to the base lút. This may be a relic of an original postpositive pronominal system, similar forms of which are still observable in related languages.

There is another aspect of the use of ti in negative sentences. Compare

lut t aksx<sup>wúy</sup>. 'You will not go!'

lut aksx<sup>wúy</sup>. 'You will not go.'

Whereas lut aksx<sup>wúy</sup> is a simple statement merely asserting that the person addressed will not go, lut t aksx<sup>wúy</sup> has emphatic force by virtue of the evidential ti: 'As you can understand / for reasons that should be clear to you, you won't go.' Note further that t aksx<sup>wúy</sup> and aksx<sup>wúy</sup> in these examples function as positional complements.

4.222. Contrastive. A predicate constructed with //kəm// 'contrastive' refers to an action, state, situation or activity that is singled out as exceptional to or in contrast with an expressed norm. Thus kəm is usually glossed into English as 'except', 'all but'.

ksxstwílsx; kəm sk<sup>wúsc</sup>. 'He was healing (in general); [but] his face wasn't.'

lax<sup>wt</sup> ?i sq<sup>w</sup>sq<sup>w</sup>si<sup>?s</sup>; kəm kəsə<sup>?asíl</sup>. 'His children were dead; except for two who weren't.'

kəm cx<sup>w</sup>elx<sup>w</sup>áit. 'He is the only one alive.'

4.223. Unsuccessful. A predicate with //ʔiwaʔ// 'unsuccessful' refers to an action or activity that is pointed out as extreme, or intense, but unsuccessful. ʔiwaʔ is often glossed in English by the informants as 'even', but in most cases it would seem more accurately rendered as 'even ... but to no avail'. Examples:

ʔiwaʔ piʔeməlx. 'They hunted, but unsuccessfully.'

ʔiwaʔ siwentem. 'He was asked, but to no avail.'

ʔiwaʔ cfáces. 'He looked and looked, [but couldn't see].'

4.3. Complements. Complements follow the predicate to expand it, clarify it, or add to it.

4.31. Positional complements. The simplest expansions of the predicate are complements marked merely by position.

sfáyemc sëmxiķen. 'Grizzly was mad.' (sfáyemc predicate 'it was his being mad', sëmxiķen complement, 'it was Grizzly')

k<sup>w</sup>u nekáwłax<sup>w</sup>itx<sup>w</sup> isq<sup>w</sup>sq<sup>w</sup>a?siya?. 'You took every one of my little children.' (me locative-gone-earth-expressed goal-transitive-you my-children-diminutive)

x<sup>w</sup>úy patłl. 'Matilda went.'

cút. sxiłpù?. 'Daylight [man's name] spoke.'

cús sxiłpù?. 'He told Daylight.'

Note that the form cús of the last example is the third person singular of the transitive paradigm (//cú-n-t-(í)s//), whereas cút of the previous example is the general intransitive form of the primary reference paradigm.

In the sentence cús sxiłpù?, sxiłpù? is the object or goal, whereas in the sentence cút sxiłpù?, sxiłpù? is the agent. In more detail, cús contains the information that a two-party relationship is involved, with a third person singular responsible party (//-(í)s// 'actor') and a third

person object which may be further specified by a complement; cút points to a primary referent which may be further specified by the complement.

These facts are consonant with the notion that in Colville all predications refer to events, actions or situations without necessarily any reference to particular persons, time, or place; and that the inclusion of such referents implies of necessity the specification of the relationship(s) involved. We have already seen that three such basic relationships obtain in Colville; they were discussed in sections 3.111, 3.112, and 3.131, and recapitulated in section 3.171.

4.32. Marked complements. In addition to those complements that are marked only by their position following the predicate, other complements may be marked by a number of prepositive complement particles. These particles are discussed and exemplified below. Some can be further analyzed, a matter of derivation which is not discussed here except to point out certain phonological similarities in the course of the discussion. In the following chart particles are given in their underlying forms:

## COMPLEMENT PARTICLES

//y <sup>h</sup> i	l
la <sup>h</sup> ?	t, t1
i	k, k1
	ʒ1
	la <sup>h</sup> i//

4.321. Definite. //y<sup>h</sup>i// 'definite' functions somewhat like an article in Western European languages. Its use is optional with complements, except for certain definable cases in which it is not permissible. When y<sup>h</sup>i is preposed to a complement it signals a definite referent; otherwise the referent is indefinite. Exceptions are proper nouns (personal and geographic) and non-third person absolutive forms, which may not be preceded by y<sup>h</sup>i. It should not be concluded, however, that to each possible complement marked by y<sup>h</sup>i corresponds naturally an indefinite unmarked complement, or vice versa. This is not an essential dichotomy in Colville. It is true that to the sentence wiken sqilx<sup>w</sup>. 'I saw some people.'

corresponds a sentence

wiken y<sup>h</sup>i sqilx<sup>w</sup>. 'I saw the/those people.'

But this fact may not seem very meaningful to a Colville speaker, nor the observation a very insightful one. He may in fact point out that other Colville sentences may

express contrasts that are much more significant; for example,

sqíl<sup>w</sup> ki? wíkən. 'It was people I saw.'

wíkən ?axa? ýi sqíl<sup>w</sup>. 'I saw those (obviative) people.'

wíkən ?ixi? ýi sqíl<sup>w</sup>. 'I saw these (proximate) people.'

?ixi? ýi sqíl<sup>w</sup> ki? wíkən. 'It was those people that I saw.'

and, besides many others, he may even point out a sentence with the complement in emphatic position (see 4.33),

ýi sqíl<sup>w</sup> ki? wíkən, (lut ýi suyápix). 'It was Indians I saw, (not white people).'

Further examples:

x<sup>w</sup>e?ít ýi sqíl<sup>w</sup>. 'There are many people.' (many definite person/Indian)

sqít ýi sk<sup>w</sup>isc. 'What's his name?' (who definite name-his)

tkimíl<sup>w</sup> ýi stəmke?íl<sup>c</sup>. 'His daughter is a woman [not a girl].' (woman definite daughter-his)

?axá? ýi stá?kəmix. 'This is the girl.' (this-obviative definite maiden)

ýi may cooccur with other complement particles (as can be inferred from observing the chart above), but its

function remains essentially intact.. For example,

?axá? yí təl scəne?ùix<sup>w</sup>s. 'It's right inside the door.'

(this-obviative definite ablative absolute-actual-locative-enter-3rd person')

cwíltəm ?axa? yí təl tka?ka?iís. 'He had children from

these three persons [women].' (//cəw-(i)lt-m ?ax-a?

yí tɪ k-ka?ka?iís// 'beget(?)-children-middle these-obviative definite ablative person-three-three')

4.322. Sequential. //i// and //ia?// are sequential complement particles. They are both subordinating particles, but whereas ia? conveys the notion of temporal sequence, i does not. Thus it is possible to say that i is the subordinating element, and -a? the temporal. Contrast the following sentences:

way xást i k<sup>w</sup> cx<sup>w</sup>ùy'. 'It's good if/that you come.'

way xást ia? k<sup>w</sup> cx<sup>w</sup>ùy'. 'It will be good when/after you come.'

In these sentences i and ia? are found in IC partnership with the complement. Note, however, that different partnerships are involved in the two sentences:

way xást k<sup>w</sup> i cx<sup>w</sup>ùy'. 'It's good if/that you come.'

way xást k<sup>w</sup> ia? cx<sup>w</sup>ùy'. 'It'll be good when you will have come.'

Here the complements í cx<sup>w</sup>úy' and ía? cx<sup>w</sup>úy' are embedded in the larger complements k<sup>w</sup> í cx<sup>w</sup>úy' and k<sup>w</sup> ía? cx<sup>w</sup>úy', respectively. These constructions seem to emphasize the pronominal element(s) in the complement. The flavor of these sentences can perhaps be conveyed by the following paraphrases:

'It's good if (when) you come.'

'That you eventually (will sometime) come, is good.'

Further examples of í and ía? are:

qəsápi? ía? cpúlxlxl. 'It was a long time before they camped.' (//qás-p-i? í-a? ec-púlxl-lx// 'old-non-control-past sequential-temporal actual-camp-plural')

čəpxíl məypnus í kscx<sup>w</sup>əlxisc. 'That's how he learned to get around.' (//ec-?xíl miy-p-nú-n-t-(í)s í kí-s-cx<sup>w</sup>-lwís-s// 'actual-be-so know-noncontrol-success-active-transitive-he sequential unrealized-absolute-go-around-his')

məypnúntəm ýi t íkíkxa?s í stíx<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup>ələms. 'Her older sister realized that she [the younger sister] was different.' (//miy-p-nú-n-t-(í)m ýi t íkíkxa?-s í s-íx<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>lm-s// 'know-noncontrol-success-active-transitive-indefinite definite agent older sister-hers sequential absolute-different-hers')

Characteristically, í occurs after the restricted deictic words ?ixí? and ?axá? (4.5151). These cases are equivalent to 'it was there/then that ...' For example,



?ixì? senhá?əlsɛ; ?ixì? ɪ ɪx<sup>wúy</sup>əs. 'That's when he became angry; that's when he took him back.' [//?ix-í? s-n-há?-(í)ls-s ?ix-í? ɪ ɪ-x<sup>wúy</sup>-n-t-(í)s// 'it was then-proximate absolute-locative-anger-state of mind-his it was then-proximate sequential back-go-active-transitive-he']

In two different versions of the same text I have found the following two sentences:

- a. myáɪ kən ?áyx<sup>w</sup>t kən ɪa? cknànaqs. 'I am too tired of being alone.'
- b. wáy kən ?áyx<sup>w</sup>t kən ɪ cknànaqs. 'I am too tired of being alone.'

these are linguistically different sentences and careful English translations should attempt to reflect grammatically this fact. The following glosses may suggest more of the different flavor of the two sentences:

- a. 'I have been alone so long, I am tired of it.'
- b. 'I am alone and I am tired of it (already).'

4.323. Locational. //l// is the locational complement particle. It means, roughly, 'point of time or place at which ...', 'point of reference in time or place'. Indeed, the concepts of time and space in Colville are found to be inextricably interrelated; this is reflected most transparently in the organization and function of deictic elements, a brief discussion of which is presented in section 4.515.

kitk<sup>w</sup>əntísəlx lə pùyxən. 'They put him down in the car.'  
 (//kì-tk<sup>w</sup>-n-t-(í)s-lx l púy-x(á)n// 'down-put-active-  
 t-transitive-3rd person-plural locational wrinkle-feet')  
 ya'yáʃət p nəyáʃ lə cìtx<sup>w</sup>. 'Gather together, all you  
 people, in the house.' (//yʃ-yáʃ-t p n-yáʃ l cìtx<sup>w</sup>//  
 'gather-gather-stative you pl. locative-gather loca-  
 tional house')  
 x<sup>w</sup>úy lə sən<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>əʔàc. 'He went in the night.'

In addition l is found to occur in extended uses; for example,

?ixí? c<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>úləmscəlx lə x<sup>w</sup>aw<sup>w</sup> yi sliq<sup>w</sup>. 'That's what they do  
 when they dry meat.' (//?ix-í? əc-k<sup>w</sup>úl-m-s-t-(í)s-lx l  
 xaw<sup>w</sup>-w yi sliq<sup>w</sup>// 'it is this-proximate actual-make-  
 middle-causative-transitive-3rd person-plural locational  
 dry-dry definite meat')

The form la is a morphophonemic variant of //l//, the conditioning factors for which are phonological (cf. 2.512).

An element l identified as the same l of the locational particle is present in the two directional particles //t1// 'ablative' and //k1// 'allative' (cf. sections 4.3242 and 4.325). It is not fruitful to elaborate on the derivational processes involved with these two particles, although it is appropriate to point out the obvious phonological and semantic connections; thus //t1// and //k1// will be treated as independent particles, though related to //t// and //k//.

## 4.324. Source complements.

4.3241. Agent-instrument. The particle //t// shows point of departure, source of action, and, figuratively, point of view.

As an agentive particle, t occurs in sentences that when translated "literally" into English are rendered as passive sentences. In each case there exist two Colville sentences, one that appears passive, another active. For example,

cúntəm t wàpupxən ... 'Lynx told him ...' ('He was told by Lynx ...')

cút wàpupxən ... 'Lynx said ...'

(For related discussion, cf. section 4.31.) Further examples:

wáy x<sup>w</sup>a?spíntk ki? cxtfáməlx ýi t səsí?s. 'It's many years that her uncle has been taking care of them.' (//wáy x<sup>w</sup>a?-s-píntk ki? əc-k-xát-m-lx ýi t səsí?-s// 'it is so many-absolute-year relative actual-directive-handle-middle-plural definite agent uncle-hers')

lut íi cməystín ki? k<sup>w</sup>u kícs t naspəpàsəs. 'I don't know when (that) Sea Gull got to me.' (//lút íi əc-miy-s-t-(í)n ki? k<sup>w</sup>u kíc-n-t-(í)s t naspəpàsəs// 'not evidential actual-know-causative-transitive-I relative me reach-active-transitive-he agent Sea Gull')

t is also found in complements that are dominated by a

number of specific items such as those listed below, which seem to involve in their semantics a notion of manipulation, and sometimes of instrumentality.

k<sup>w</sup>úlaməlx yí t ksənxəwiiçàtənsəlx. 'They fix a scaffold to dry meat.'

stxɬəmíx yí t sk<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>iməlt. 'She was pregnant with a baby.'

kən ksck<sup>w</sup>úm yí t akicítx<sup>w</sup>, ?uɪ yí t aksçiiən, ?uɪ yí t akɬtəmtmütən. 'I have kept some poles for your house, and food for you, and clothes for you.' (//kn kɬ-s-əc-k<sup>w</sup>úm yí t an-kɪ-cítx<sup>w</sup> ?uɪ yí t an-kɪ-s-əc-?iɪn ?uɪ yí t an-kɪ-tm-tmútn// 'I possessive-absolute-actual-store definite instrument your-unrealized-house and definite your-unrealized-absolute-actual-eat and definite instrument your-unrealized-clothes')

4.3242. Ablative. //tɪ// is an ablative particle, indicating 'motion from'. Examples:

k<sup>w</sup> scútɬ təl sk<sup>w</sup>ətíkənx?--təl nəsq<sup>w</sup>út. 'Were you saying [that he is] from Seattle?--From across the ocean.'

(//k<sup>w</sup> s-cú-t-xx tɪ sk<sup>w</sup>ətíkənx tɪ n-sq<sup>w</sup>út// 'you absolute-speak-stative-progressive ablative Seattle ablative locative-other side of the water')

x<sup>w</sup>a?ásqət təl sckícxs. 'It was many days after he got

there.' (//x<sup>w</sup>a?-(á)sqət tɪ s-əc-kícx-s// 'many-days ablative absolute-actual-arrive-his')

Two extended uses of təl, a causal and a sort of comparative, are exemplified below.

təl náqs ki? kímən ?axa? isəne?alà?tən. 'There's one reason why I don't like my house.' (//t1 naqs ki? kím-n-t-(í)n ?ax-a? in-s-n-?ala?-t-n// 'ablative one relative dislike-active-transitive-I this-obviative my-absolute-locative-be here-stative-instrumental')

há?, təl iskiwəlx? 'Why, because I am old?' (fragmentary responsive utterance: //in-s-kíwl-xx// 'my-absolute-old-progressive')

sxə?ítx təl incà? kən. 'He is older than I am.' (//s-x?ít-xx t1 inca? kn// 'absolute-first-progressive ablative me I')

4.325. Directionals. There are in Colville two allative complement particles: //ḳ// and //ḳl//. //ḳ// does not refer to a specific destination, but rather to 'motion or direction towards', in contrast with //ḳl// which refers to 'motion to/into' a specific location. On occasion //ḳ// and //ḳl// are used interchangeably, but this is a function of the circumstances involved in the actual situation.

ḳ incítx" 'to my house (towards, not necessarily into it)'

ḳel incítx" 'to my house (specifically there)'

x"ətəpúsəsəlx ḳel sx"ənrim. 'They started out to the

doctor.'

penəkín mi cx<sup>wúy</sup> k<sup>w</sup> cmílet kəl cítx<sup>w</sup>tət? 'When are you coming to visit at our house?' (//pn-?kín mi c-x<sup>wúy</sup> k<sup>w</sup> ec-mílt kəl cítx<sup>w</sup>-tt// 'time-interrogative future cislocative-go you actual-visit allative house-our')

tanəmús kəl cniic i ksx<sup>w</sup>əyəlwis yi t kəsulax<sup>w</sup>. 'It's nothing for him to run around in the brush.' (//tanmús kəl cniic i ki-s-x<sup>wúy</sup>-lwís yi t kas-(ú)lax<sup>w</sup>// 'nothing allative him sequential unrealized-absolute-go-around definite instrumental bad-land')

4.326. Causal. The causal complement particle is //x̄l//. It introduces a complement that specifies the reason(s) for a certain state, action, feeling. We may suspect an analysis x̄-l, but no independent x̄ appears in the material.

neíptemən xəl stím lut iscx<sup>wúy</sup>. 'I forget why I didn't come.' (//nəípt-m-n-t-(i)n x̄l stím lut in-s-c-x<sup>wúy</sup>// 'forget-middle-active-transitive-I causal what not my-absolute-cislocative-go')

náq<sup>w</sup>emontx<sup>w</sup> yi steməlsçút; xəl ?ixi? ?uı x<sup>w</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>íiəms t asəsi?. 'You stole the beads; that's why your uncle expelled you.' (//náq<sup>w</sup>-m-n-t-(i)x<sup>w</sup> yi steməlsçút x̄l ?ix-i? ?uı x<sup>w</sup>i-x<sup>w</sup>íi-m-n-t-(i)s t an-səsi?// 'take-middle-active-transitive-you definite beads causal this-proximate and

throw away-middle-active-transitive-he agent your-uncle')

4.327. Comitative. //laʔi// 'with' is an uncommon particle and it can probably be further analyzed. Evidence at hand does not warrant this at the moment. We note, however, one element resembling phonologically the locational l, and another the sequential l (cf. 4.323 and 4.322).

kmix wápupxən yí laʔi skʷùmalt. 'There is only Lynx with the virgin.' (only Lynx definite with virgin)

t xʷíxʷutxən txtəntis yí sləwíwílc yí laʔi skʷúyəs. 'It was Badger who took care of his nieces and his mother.' (by Badger [emphatic complement; cf. 4.33] were-taken-care-of definite nieces-his definite with mother-his')

4.33. Emphatic complements. We have seen that, normally, complements marked by particles follow the predicate in accordance with the general principle that in Colville the first element is the predicate, and following elements are complements.

However, this norm can be contravened in two clearly definable circumstances. Specifically, a complement so marked by a complement particle may be found to precede its predicate either when

- (a) special rhetorical emphasis is required; or
- (b) for stylistic effect its predicate is preceded by one

of the clause particles ki?, ?u!, me!. Constructions of the latter type have been presented as examples pertinent at other points of the discussion; however, they require additional comment here.

Consider the sentence

kəl nespílem ki? kən x<sup>wúy</sup>. '[It was] to Nespílem that I went.'

The predicate kən x<sup>wúy</sup> 'I went' is in fact relativized by means of the clause particle ki?. kəl nespílem does not occur as an independent sentence (nespílem by itself, of course, constitutes a full sentence 'It is Nespílem.') although it can occur as a responsive (fragmentary) utterance to the question

ka ?kín ki? k<sup>w</sup> x<sup>wúy</sup>? 'Where was it that you went?'

The normal reply to such a question is

kəl nespílem ki? kən x<sup>wúy</sup>.

or, as an alternative that does not employ the use of the word x<sup>wúy</sup> 'go',

wáy, kəl nespílem. 'Well, it was to Nespílem.'

The relativization of kən x<sup>wúy</sup> in examples such as these is not obligatory, and in fact one finds

kəl nespílem kən x<sup>wúy</sup>. 'To Nespílem I went.'

but this last case is the exemplification of the emphatic use of sentence-initial complements mentioned above under (a) and it may imply a variety of factors such as:



'To Nespelem I went, [not Omak].'

'To Nespelem I went [I repeat/I swear ...].'

etc.

What needs to be said is that the sentence  
ken x<sup>wúy</sup> kəl nespílem. 'I went to Nespelem.'  
is the normal (basic) declarative sentence, and that the  
other sentences are secondary (derived) types. (In a trans-  
formational treatment, these latter would be derived from  
the first by means of transformations.)

4.4. Clauses. A clause contains a predicate as head. It may consist of a predicate alone, as shown by many earlier examples, or it may contain one or more complements, as in

kən x<sup>w</sup>úy' kəl cìtx<sup>w</sup>s. 'I go to his house.' (kən x<sup>w</sup>úy'  
predicate 'I go'; kəl cìtx<sup>w</sup>s complement 'to his house')

Clauses may further be introduced by (have as their immediate constituent partner) a clause particle that modifies them in some specific way. For example,

cak<sup>w</sup> kən x<sup>w</sup>úy' kəl cìtx<sup>w</sup>s. 'I should go to his house.'

Clause particles define further clause types.<sup>1</sup> They are of two types, independent clause particles, and dependent clause particles. Independent clause particles introduce clauses which may stand alone as independent sentences, simple or compound; dependent clause particles introduce dependent clauses. Clause particles are charted below (in underlying form) so as to reflect the normal order of occurrence of each particle relative to other particles.

CLAUSE PARTICLES

//há? simple interrogative	naɣmi contrastive	ʔaif? causal	cm̄ probable
ʔúc dubitative interrogative	t̄x <sup>w</sup> evidential	cak <sup>w</sup> conditional	mt conjunctural
ʔuɪ additive			mi future
			nix <sup>w</sup> additional
	mi additive		ki? relative
	km̄ alternative		//

Independent  
clause  
particles


Dependent  
clause  
particles

## 4.41. Interrogative.

4.411. Simple interrogative. //há?// is the interrogative independent clause particle. Often, though not always, its immediate constituent partner is a whole sentence. One peculiar characteristic of há? is its tendency to be repeated at the end of the sentence, especially in stereotyped expressions such as

há? nak<sup>w</sup>əm hà?. 'Is that so?'

in which the predicate nák<sup>w</sup>əm is a restricted word meaning 'indeed' (4.53).

The intonation of interrogative sentences can be mapped thus: . The pitch of the first stressed vowel is the highest in the sentence, dropping rapidly and remaining level for the rest of the utterance. Those clauses in which há? is both clause-initial and clause-final, exhibit a sharp rise in pitch in the last vowel. However, whereas each interrogative sentence is obligatorily marked by the interrogative contour, the use of the particle há? is optional.

(Morphophonemic note: when há? occurs before a word beginning with a, the glottal stop is usually lost, with a resulting long a.)

Examples of initial há? in a dependent, responsive, or in a fragmentary sentence:

há? təl iskìwəlx? 'Why, because I am old?' (interrogative-ablative my-old-progressive)

há? ?axa? ancìtxʷ? 'Do you mean your house?' (interrogative this-obviative your-house)

há? scəkìnx? 'What's the matter?' (//há? s-əc-?kín-xx//  
'interrogative absolute-actual-interrogative-progressive')

Examples of clause-initial há?:

há? kʷ ckìcəms ýi t sqìlxʷ? 'Did somebody get to you?'  
(More literally, 'Were you approached/attacked by some people?')

há? kʷ kskʷənìxʷə?ìlta?x? 'How many times are you going to hold the baby?' (//há? kʷ kì-s-kʷin-ì-xʷ-(í)lt-x-a?-x// 'interrogative you unrealized-absolute-how many-formative-hold-child-inchoative')

4.412. The dubitative interrogative particle is //?úc//. It is not a very common particle.

?úc kʷu ksìxʷpnúys? 'Maybe I'll get away from him.'  
(More literally, 'Maybe he won't catch me' or 'Will he catch me? [I don't know.]' Informant's comment: 'He has his fingers crossed.')

?úc kʷ?àyxʷt? 'Are you tired?' [You shouldn't be.]'

?úc mi kən qʷəlqʷìlt? 'Will I be allowed to talk?'

ʔúç way kʷinməʔàntpʔ 'Have you really decided?' ('Is that really your decision?')

#### 4.42. Conjunctive.

##### 4.421. Independent clause conjunctives.

4.4211. Additive. The particle //ʔuɿ// is the most common of all Colville clause particles. Its function is to connect constructions by introducing a notion, a development, a state in keeping with the situation previously established, be it expressed or implied.

In English it is usually glossed as 'and' or 'so', but very often not translated at all. ʔuɿ often opens an utterance and it is profusely used by many speakers at points of indecision, pause, or hesitation. A form ʔúɿiʔ has been observed (cf. 4.511). It is considered a fossilized derived form //ʔuɿ-iʔ// 'and-past'.

The following narrative passage exemplifies the uses of ʔuɿ:

[a] ʔixiʔ xaʔtúscəlx ýi ʔilmìxʷəmsəlx. [b] ʔuɿ kstəmkaʔ-ilt. [c] way ʔuɿ taʔkəmxəwìlx. [d] way ʔuɿ tkimìlxʷ ýi stəmkaʔìlc. [e] ʔuɿ swəynúmtx. '[a] This one was their leader, their boss. [b] And he had a daughter. [c] She was becoming a woman. [d] Yes, his daughter was already

a woman. [e] And she was good looking.'

4.4212. Contrastive. //naḁəmi// is a particle that introduces an independent clause. However, the notion contained in this clause takes exception to an earlier statement, assumption or premise, be it expressed or implied. naḁəmi is usually glossed as 'but , however'.

x<sup>w</sup>úy'əx, nəpq<sup>w</sup>əmnít<sup>w</sup>əntx<sup>w</sup> yí scím, nəḁəmi lut tí aks'áçəm.

'Go, throw the bones in the water, but don't look!'

((//x<sup>w</sup>úy'-x n-pq<sup>w</sup>mn-(í)tk<sup>w</sup>-n-t-(í)x<sup>w</sup> yí scím naḁəmi lut tí an-kí-s-áç-m// 'go-imperative locative-throw-water-active-transitive-you definite bones contrastive not evidential your-unrealized-absolute-look-middle')

nəḁəmi ikspúlstəm ?iti? yí k<sup>w</sup>u pulsc istəm<sup>w</sup>kə?ílt. 'But I am going to kill the one who killed my daughter.'

((//naḁəmi in-kí-s-púl-s-t-(í)m ?it-í? yí k<sup>w</sup>u púl-s-t-(í)s in-s-ímkə?-(í)lt// 'but my-unrealized-absolute-kill-causative-transitive-indefinite this-proximate definite me kill-causative-transitive-he my-absolute-daughter-child')

4.4213. Additional. //nix<sup>w</sup>// is most commonly translated into English as 'also, too, even, again'. It defines the clause it introduces as similar in content or result to a previously expressed or implied condition.

nix<sup>w</sup> nəíptəmən ɪ ikscut xə́l stím' luti? kən ckícx. 'Again I forgot to say what my excuse is for not coming.'

(//nix<sup>w</sup> n-íptm-n-t-(í)n ɪ in-kɪ-s-cú-t ɣl stím' lut-i? kn c-kícx// 'again locative-forget-active-transitive-I sequential my-unrealized-absolute-say-stative causal what not-past I cislocative-reach')

nix<sup>w</sup> ?ixí? ɪpələ̀k. 'He too turned back.'

#### 4.422. Dependent clause conjunctives,

4.4221. Additive. //mɪ// is the dependent counterpart of ?uɪ. It cannot occur sentence-initially; the clause introduced by məɪ is the logical or temporal sequence to a previously expressed notion. An English gloss that approximates this notion is 'then next'. A form məɪi?, parallel to ?uɪi? (cf. 4.4211) has been recorded.

The following passage exemplifies the use of məɪ:

[a] x<sup>w</sup>úy', məɪ x<sup>w</sup>ícəɪc yí xa?xa?íc ... [b] k<sup>w</sup>ís yí pəptw-ina?x<sup>w</sup>, məɪ kəl'kí'ca?s, məɪ k<sup>w</sup>ums lə sən'kə?ina?s. '[a] He would go, and give it to his grandmother ... [b] The old lady would take it, then she would wrap it, and then she would store it in [under] her bed.' ([a] //x<sup>w</sup>úy' mɪ x<sup>w</sup>íc-ɪ-t-(í)s yí xa?-xa?ít-s// 'go and-then give-expressed goal-transitive-he definite grandmother-his'; [b] //k<sup>w</sup>ín-n-t-(í)s yí p-ptwína?x<sup>w</sup> mɪ kɪk'-(í)ca?-n-t-(í)s mɪ k<sup>w</sup>úm-



n-t-(í)s 1 s-n-kəʔinaʔ-s// 'take-active-transitive-she definite old-lady and-then wrap-blanket-active-transitive-h.e and-then store-active-transitive-she locational absolute-locative-bed-hers')

4.4222. Alternative. //km// is a conjunctive particle meaning 'or'. It never occurs initially in independent sentences.

ksq<sup>w</sup>əlq<sup>w</sup>ələnwi<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>aʔx, kəm s<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>úsem p ksəʔinaʔx. 'There is going to be a pow-wow, or [maybe] you folks are going to eat foam berries.' (//kí-s-q<sup>w</sup>l-q<sup>w</sup>il-nwi<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-x-ʔa-x k<sup>w</sup>m s-x<sup>w</sup>us-m p kí-s-ʔiin-x-aʔ-x// 'unrealized-absolute-talk-talk-reciprocal-inchoative or absolute-foam-middle you pl. unrealized-absolute-eat-inchoative')

mət skəmxi<sup>w</sup>st, kəm mət səmxi<sup>w</sup>kən. 'It was maybe a black bear, or maybe a grizzly.' (maybe black-bear or maybe grizzly)

4.4223. Causal. We have seen that məi is the dependent sequential counterpart of ʔuɪ. //ʔaɪiʔ// 'causal' is the dependent non-temporal counterpart of ʔuɪ. Its function is to introduce a clause which logically is a sequel to, a consequence of, the reason for, a given premise. The premise may be expressed or implied.

?ixí? ikl̩tkim̩lx<sup>w</sup>, ?aíi? q<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>ənə?q<sup>w</sup>ána?t. 'This one is going to be my wife, because she arouses pity.'

kən cx<sup>w</sup>úy̌, ?uɪ ?aíi? k<sup>w</sup> inx̩m̩nk. 'I came because I like you.' (More literally, 'I came, and that's because I like you.')

4.43. Evidential. //t̩x<sup>w</sup>// 'evidential' is used fairly frequently in narration and in conversation. It appears to be the clause level counterpart of t̩i, exempting the speaker from responsibility in what he is reporting. It may be glossed 'apparently', although informants usually do not translate it at all.

?uɪ stím̩ ?ixi? sck̩<sup>w</sup>úl̩əs?--t̩əx<sup>w</sup> sq̩lx<sup>w</sup>. 'And what is his [line of] work?--Apparently Indian work.' (//?uɪ stím̩ ?ix-í? s-əc-k̩<sup>w</sup>úl̩-s t̩x<sup>w</sup> s-q̩lx<sup>w</sup>// 'and what this-proximate absolute-actual-make-his evidential absolute-Indian')

?ilí? ?uɪ ksə?stk̩na?, t̩əx<sup>w</sup> ?aíi? ?ístkəm. 'He settled there for the winter because it was already winter.' (//?ilí? ?uɪ k̩-s-?ístk-ína? t̩x<sup>w</sup> ?aíi? ?ístk-m// 'be-there and possessive-absolute-winter-time evidential causal winter-middle')

#### 4.44. Modal Particles.

4.441. Conditional. //cak<sup>w</sup>// 'conditional' adds to its IC partner the notion 'should', 'would', or 'wish'.<sup>2</sup>

cak<sup>w</sup> sulí? ckícx! 'Wish that Julie would get here!'

cak<sup>w</sup> ?alá? kí? nə́cùsəntəm. 'We should set a trap for it right here.'

In complex sentences cak<sup>w</sup> is the IC partner of the dependent clause (the protasis); the independent clause constitutes the apodosis. These constructions are roughly equivalent to the English 'if ... then ...'.

cak<sup>w</sup> swit k<sup>w</sup>u íx<sup>w</sup>íç'ælcælx inə'ístən, wáy' təwmístən. 'If someone gave me back what I paid for it, I'd sell it.'  
 (//cak<sup>w</sup> swit k<sup>w</sup>u í-x<sup>w</sup>íç'-í-t-(í)s-lx in-?is-t-n wáy' tw-m-í-s-t-(í)n// 'should someone me back-give-expressed goal-transitive-he-plural my-pay-stative-instrumental it-is-so sell-middle-secondary-causative-transitive-I')

4.442. Probable. //cm// is a particle that marks the contents of the clause it introduces as probable.

nəçíxc'æxəls, ?alı? cəm k<sup>ç</sup>w<sup>w</sup>?ncútəmsəlx. 'This is shameful, because people might laugh at it.' (//n-çix-çx-(í)ls ?alı? cəm k<sup>ç</sup>w<sup>w</sup>?-n-t-sút-m-s-lx [this form involves more than one derivational cycle]// 'locative-shame-state of mind causal probable laugh-active-transitive-reflexive-middle-his-plural')  
 cəm cútəlx: lút. 'They might say: No.'

4.443. Conjectural. //mt// marks the contents of the clause it introduces as possible (but in doubt).

mət təwmísc Myrtle yí cìtx<sup>w</sup>s. 'Myrtle's house must have been sold.' (//mt tw-m-í-s-t-(í)s ... yí citx<sup>w</sup>-s// 'conjectural sell-middle-secondary-causative-transitive-she ... definite house-hers')

mət k<sup>w</sup>ənxásqət ki? ɪyaʔápəlx. 'It was an indeterminate number of days before they all returned.' (//mt k<sup>w</sup>inx-(á)sqət ki? ɪ-yaʔ-p-lx// 'conjectural how many-days relative back-gather-non-control-plural')

4.45. Future. //mi// is a particle which marks its (independent) clause as future.<sup>3</sup>

?ixì? mi kən ckícx, ?ixì? mi k<sup>w</sup>u tk<sup>w</sup>ə?út. 'Then I will return here, and that's when we will go away.'

?ilí? mi kən púl<sup>x</sup>. 'It's there that I will camp.'

4.46. Relative. //ki?// is a dependent clause particle that occurs obligatorily with a preceding predicative constituent. It is a relativizing particle, pinpointing, specifying or expanding the notion contained in the preceding clause. The reference may be temporal, spatial, or causal. It functions very much like the English conjunction 'that' in sentences like 'It was there that ...'.

swít ki? k<sup>w</sup>is ýi sq<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>íməlt? 'Who was it that took the  
baby?'

?ilí? ki? cǎlpùlax<sup>w</sup>. 'It was there that we camped.'

(//?ilí? ki? əc-ǎal-p-(ú)lax<sup>w</sup>// 'be-there relative actual  
stop -non-control-land')

For further discussion related to ki?, cf. 4.33.

4.5. Restricted words. It has been stated that Colville independent words are predicative. By themselves they constitute full sentences. However, the function and distribution of a number of independent words is restricted. Consider the restricted word k<sup>w</sup>míí 'it was suddenly/unexpectedly that ...':

(a) it can occur (as the first clause) in a compound sentence

k<sup>w</sup>míí ?uí x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'He went suddenly.' ('It was suddenly, and he went.' Cf. sqíl<sup>w</sup> ?uí x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'The Indian went.' ['He was Indian, and he went.'])

(b) it can occur as the predicate followed by a complement in a simple sentence

k<sup>w</sup>míí x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'He went suddenly.' (Cf. sqíl<sup>w</sup> x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'An Indian went, [not someone else].' Cf. also the non-emphatic sentence x<sup>w</sup>úy' sqíl<sup>w</sup>. 'An indian went,' to which there is no parallel form \*x<sup>w</sup>úy' k<sup>w</sup>míí.)

(c) it can appear in the same position that an independent sentence would appear in, in a complex sentence

k<sup>w</sup>míí ki? x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'He went suddenly.' ('It was suddenly that he went.' Cf. sqíl<sup>w</sup> ki? x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'It was an Indian who went.')

(d) but it cannot occur alone as the predicate of a simple independent sentence. k<sup>w</sup>míí does occur by itself as a re-

sponse, but it is felt to be incomplete--a fragmentary sentence (cf. the opening paragraph of section 4.)

kən sqílx<sup>w</sup>. 'I am an Indian.'

kən x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'I go.'

(but not \*kən k<sup>w</sup>míí.)

sqílx<sup>w</sup>. 'He is an Indian.'

x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'He goes.'

(but not \*k<sup>w</sup>míí.)

Thus,

(a) restricted words as predicates are always accompanied by other independent words;

(b) restricted words, with the exceptions noted below, do not participate in the inflectional and derivational patterns characteristic of other independent words.

Some of the words discussed in the following sections meet both these conditions; others only one of the two.

4.51. Impersonals are restricted words. Most commonly they introduce a dependent clause, as exemplified in section 4.5, example (c), above; often they also occur in compound sentences, as exemplified in (a); and sometimes before a complement in a simple sentence (b). In English they are usually glossed with adverbial phrases.

4.511. Imperfective impersonals. qəsápi?, ʕápnə? and nəyʕíp are three restricted words which share the unifying semantic feature 'duration of time'. They are imperfective. They share a segment p which may well be, or at least it is probably historically related to the suffix //p// 'non-control' (3.113).

qəsápi? refers to duration of past time and can be translated 'for a long time it used to be that ...', 'it has been a long time since ...'

Comparative evidence shows that this form can be analyzed as //qas-p-i?//: qas 'long time, old'; -p 'non-control'; -i? 'past'. In Colville //-i?// is a very rare morpheme. It occurs with two intransitive stems, púti? 'it was just then' (cf. pút 'it suffices'); and lúti? 'it was not' (cf. lút 'it is not'). Interestingly, it also occurs attached to two particles which, otherwise, never undergo inflection or derivation: ʔúli? 'and, in the past' (cf. ʔul 'and'); and məli? 'and, subordinate, in the past' (cf. məl 'and, subordinate').

qəsàpi? ʔi sqilx<sup>w</sup> səʔiʕəns ʔi sʕaʔcínəm. 'For a long time the Indians used to eat deer.'

qəsápi? sənk<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>əʔàc. 'It was long after dark.'

qəsápi? has been found in the absolute mode, conjugated with the third person absolutive pronoun, sqəsápi?s 'it was



a long time.' This form is fully predicative, and can occur as an independent sentence, in isolation.

ʃápnáʔ refers to duration of present time and can be translated 'it is now that ...'

ʃápnáʔ kʷu ksyaʃəmìxaʔx. 'It is now that we are all going to gather.'

ʃápnáʔ skəlàxʷ. 'It's this evening.'

nəyʃíp is probably related to yaʃ 'gather' (cf. the example four lines above).<sup>4</sup> It refers to duration of time without specification of tense and can be translated 'it is/was/will be continuously/forever/always that ...'

nəyʃíp cùntəm t ʔilìkʷəl̀kxən ... 'Ramhorn kept telling him ...' (More literally, 'It was over and over that he was told by Ramhorn ...')

nəyʃíp lut skəwàps. 'All the time it wouldn't stop.'

4.512. Perfective impersonals. Two restricted words share the semantic feature 'specific point in time': kʷmíì 'it is/was at once/suddenly/unexpectedly that ...'; and qʷúm 'it was at a particular moment long ago that ...'

kʷmíì kiʔ kʷu cùsəl̀x. 'It was unexpectedly when they told me that.'

t̥i kʷm̥i̥i silxʷatw̥ilx. 'Suddenly she grew large (as from pregnancy).'

kʷm̥i̥i qʷəlqʷilstəm̥ y̥i t sc̥ims. 'It was suddenly that that pile of bones began to talk.'

qʷúm̥ kiʷ wikən isənq̥s̥ilxʷ. 'It was a long time ago that I last saw my relatives.'

qʷúm̥ ʔəl̥əl̥. 'It's a long time ago that he died.'

4.513. Quantitative words. Three restricted words have quantitative or limiting references: talíʔ 'it is very much'; məyáɪ 'it is too much'; and km̥ix 'it is only...'. These words do not occur in the environment described in section 4.5(c).

talíʔ kən ʔəyχʷt. 'I am very tired.'

talíʔ sm̥ənxʷ. 'There is a great deal of tobacco.'

məyáɪ sm̥ikʷət. 'There is too much snow.'

məyáɪ t̥ət̥əq̥aʔt. 'He is too short.'

km̥ix has a dialectal variant km̥ax which is used as the norm by those Colville speakers who lived as children, or still live in the northern portion of the Colville speaking territory.<sup>5</sup>

km̥ix inc̥əʔ. 'There is only me.'

km̥ix scq̥ʔəwx. 'He is always drunk.'

kmíx undergoes some inflection, albeit very limited.

Cf. the defective paradigm (other forms seem to be lacking):

k<sup>u</sup> kəmxáx. 'We are by ourselves.'

kəmxáxəlx. 'They are by themselves.'

ckmáxəlx ~ ckəmámáxəlx. 'They are all by themselves.'

The last form is apparently a diminutive as shown by the glottalization of m).

4.514. Assertive. wáy' regularly occurs in isolation, usually as a responsive utterance. When so uttered it is an assertive positive form signaling agreement or concurrence with the interlocutor's yes or-no question, or statement. It can also be followed by a positional complement reaffirming the first interlocutor's statement or question, much as in English one would say, 'Yes, I/it/they...do/did/went...', etc.

When wáy' opens an independent (non-responsive) sentence, it signals that the statement about to follow is an assertion, and its function may be compared to the stylistic effect obtained by 'well' in an utterance such as 'Well, it finally worked.' In such cases it is accompanied by a rising-falling pitch contour.

It should be noted that wáy' bears a phonetic resemblance to ?íwa? (see 4.223), and to the root wíy' 'complete, finish', and that both may be related to húy 'finish'.

ʔúç kʷ xʷúyʔ--wáy. (kən xʷúy.) 'Did you go?--Yes, I did. (I went.)'

wáy kən pəptwínaʔxʷ. 'I am sure an old lady.'

wáy kʷ inxəmínk. 'I really like you.'

4.515. Topicals. All topicals are restricted words. They occur sentence initially as predicates, roughly translatable as 'It is that ...', 'It is from /to here/there that ...'; and similar expressions. They do not occur alone as predicates. Topicals are part of the Colville deictic system, which is convenient to discuss here as a whole.

4.5151. All deictic words are compositional in nature. Their bases are of the type  $C_1VC_2$ . To them are added two suffixes,  $//-íʔ//$  'proximate', and  $//-áʔ//$  'obviative'; the root vowel V harmonizes with the suffix vowel: it is i before  $//-íʔ//$ , and a before  $//-áʔ//$ .

With the exception of the consonant x ( $C_1$  in  $ʔixíʔ$  and  $ʔaxáʔ$ ),  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  are clearly related to particles found in the language (Cf. 4.32):  $//t//$  'source';  $//l//$  'location';  $//ḳ//$  'motion toward'. In addition, the combination of these elements yields additional forms:  $//t1//$  'direction from';  $//ḳ1//$  'direction (in)to'. Forms with x are the unmarked, generic deictics.

The Colville topical deictic words are:

//?Vx-í?// ?ixí? 'It is at this place/time (proximate) that ...', 'It is he (proximate) who ...' etc.

//?Vx-á?// ?axá? 'It is at this place/time (obviative) that ...' etc.

//?Vt-í?// ?ití? 'It is he (proximate) who ...' etc.

//?Vt-á?// ?atá? 'It is he (obviative) who ...' etc.

//?Vt-1-í?// ?itlái? 'It is from there (proximate) that ...' etc.

//?Vt-1-á?// ?atlá? 'It is from there (obviative) that ...' etc.

//?Vk-1-í?// ?ikəlí? 'It is to there (proximate) that ...'

//?Vk-1-á?// ?akəlá? 'It is to there (obviative) that ...'

It is the rule that of any of two items in pairs exhibiting the opposition 'proximate': 'obviative', the proximate forms are the more common, by the approximate ratio of 4 to 1. No topical word has been found to combine with any further affixes or with any particles to yield more complex forms, with two rare exceptions: ?ixí?əm and ?axá?əm (of meanings identical to ?ixí? and ?axá?, respectively), which appear to be middles.

By far the most common type of construction that involves topical words is one in which the topic is followed

by a simple sentence, predicate and optional complement(s). To exemplify effectively the proximate and obviative functions of these words, longer contexts will have to be quoted.

- [a] lut sqəsápi?s, 'It wasn't long (after that),  
[b] wáy, ?ixí? ?ui silx<sup>w</sup>a- well, it happened, she grew  
twílxs. larger.  
[c] ?ixì? stxtətí?sc. The fact was that she was  
pregnant.  
[d] ?ui ?axá? nəstils yi And at this point the girl  
stá?kəmìx: ... thought: ...
- [a] ?itì? sx<sup>w</sup>stálq<sup>w</sup>s 'It was (from) there that Ape  
spapśàla?. had crossed (on) the log.  
[b] "ta ?kín ki? k<sup>w</sup> "Where is the place where you  
nì?ak<sup>w</sup>?" crossed?"  
[c] "?atá? kən ctkxmálq<sup>w</sup>." "It's right here that I crossed."
- ksxəlpína?əlx, ?ui ?itlì? x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ə</sup>lx. 'Daylight came upon  
them, and from that moment they started their journey.'  
śácənt! ?atlá? k<sup>w</sup> ?uckəlìpəm. 'Look! You can get down  
to the bottom (of the canyon) from here.'
- ?ikəlì? ki? x<sup>w</sup>ùy<sup>ə</sup>esc. 'It was there that we took him.'  
cak<sup>w</sup> kən kscìmxax ?akələ?. 'I should move to this place  
(not stay where I live).'

4.5152. The remainder of the deictic system. In addition to the eight deictic forms just discussed, all found to be restricted words, two other forms complete the system, both independent words. They are

//?V1-í?// ?ilí?. 'It's here/there (proximate).'

//?V1-á?// ?alá?. 'It's here/there (obviative).'

(Cf. //1// 'location')

Unlike all the other deictics, ?ilí? and ?alá? undergo inflection and derivation freely. In addition, they may stand alone as simple predicates:

//?V1-í?// ?ilí?. 'He lives here.'

ken ?ilí?. 'I live here.'

k'u ?alá?. 'We live here.'

sənə?ilítəntət. 'This is our residence.' (//s-n-?V1-í?-t-n-tt// 'absolute-locative-be there-proximate-stative-instrumental-our')

The following chart summarizes the Colville deictic system.

	Generic	Source	Direction from which	Location	Direction to which
	(x)	(t)	(t1)	(1)	(k1)
Prox.	?ixí?	?ití?	?itlí?	?ilí?	?ikəlí?
Obv.	?axá?	?atá?	?atlá?	?alá?	?akəlá?

4.5153. Certain forms have been found that appear to function as deictic (restricted) words, but do not lend themselves to extensive analysis and discussion. It is extremely rare to find them used in normal speech situations, and attempts to elicit material that could clarify their functions have so far proved ineffective. They are la? 'near', and lu?, of undetermined meaning. Forms that may be cognate with these have been described for other Interior Salishan languages: Coeur d'Alene, Columbian, Kalispel and Spokane.

4.52. Interrogative-indefinites. Not all of the interrogative-indefinite roots form restricted words. Cf., for example, the root *//?kín//* 'happen', which forms intransitive stems that stand alone as full predicates, and otherwise function like independent words.

*//s-əc-?kín-xx//* s'əkínx. 'What's the matter with him?'  
*kʷ* s'əkínx. 'What's the matter with you?'  
*lut kən ʔi cəkínəm.* 'As you can see, nothing has happened to me.'

*//?kín//* may also cooccur with several particles, forming elements which function very much like the impersonals discussed above:



//l ʔkín// la ʔkín 'Where is it?'

ká ʔkín 'Where has it gone?' ('To where is it?')

tla ʔkín 'Where did it come from?' ('From where is it?')

Examples in longer sentences follow.

ká ʔkín ʔui kʷ xʷùý. 'Where is it you went?'

ká ʔkín kʷ xʷùý. 'Where did you go?'

ká ʔkín kiʔ kʷ xʷùý. 'Where is it that you went?'

In contrast with ʔkín, the independent words stím 'what', and swít 'who', also interrogative-indefinite words, are restricted.

stím ʔaxàʔ. 'What is this?'

lut stím. 'It's nothing.'

stím ckʷùləsc. 'What's he doing?'

swít askʷíst. 'What's your name?' (Note that \*stím as-kʷíst is not permissible.)

swít ʔaxàʔ. 'Who's that person?'

lut swít. 'It's nobody.'

yayaʔt swít. 'It's everybody.'

There is, however, one example in the corpus in which stím undergoes affixation typical of an independent word:

lut ti kstíməlx. 'As you can see, they have nothing.'

(//lut ti kɪ-stím-lx// 'not evidential possessive-something-plural')

4.53. Interjections very often occur as isolated utterances; elsewhere they are always analyzable as independent clauses in compound sentences. Some common interjections are:

məʃán. 'Surprise!'  
 kmátəm. 'That's right!'  
 nə'tá?. 'Good!'  
 níkxna?. 'My goodness!!'  
 ?ámsəm. 'Poor thing!'  
 ?áx. 'Disgusting!'  
 nákwəm. 'Indeed!'

4.54. Proper names do not undergo inflection. In addition to native place and personal names, Coiville has borrowed a great number of proper names, primarily from French, but also from English.

k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>itás. 'He is k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>itás.'  
 si?<sup>w</sup>pí'ca?. 'She is si?<sup>w</sup>pí'ca?.'  
 supí?. 'She is Sophie.'  
 susáp. 'He is Joseph.'  
 nəca?<sup>w</sup>líwəm. 'It is [the town of] Inchelium.'  
 wahú?. 'It is Hawaii.' (Oahu?)

4.55 Independent pronouns. Although independent pronouns can stand alone as predicates, they do not undergo any derivation beyond that described in section 3.172. In any given sentence they can function as predicates or as complements.

incá? kən x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'It is I who went.'

incá? ki? kən x<sup>w</sup>úy'. 'It is I who went.'

cúntəm t incà?. 'Someone was told by me.'

4.56. Some problematic restricted words. In this section are presented

(a) words that at the present stage of research are difficult to classify; and

(b) words that participate widely in inflection and derivation, but whose frequency of occurrence is overwhelmingly in their uninflected form.

A brief discussion of both types follows.

4.561 Words difficult to classify.

nínəwi? is a quite common word. It is translated by the informants in a bewildering variety of ways. It is impossible at this time to be certain of its basic meaning(s). The one tenuous evidence of a common denominator involves the concept of 'contingency'. Except for one case, a stereotyped expression, the reference is to future time. I can

only list a few of the more plausible ways to render it in English: 'If and when that happens...', 'It may happen that...', 'There will probably be...'

nínəwí? kənxítənt. 'If that happens we will help.'

nínəwí? ?aʔəsaʔəcínəməncən. 'When that happens I will chew you up.'

nínəwí? is involved only in two stereotyped expressions, tə snínəwí?. 'It was a little while ago.', and kʷa? nínəwí?. 'It will be in a little while.'

síc is readily glossed by the informants. They usually translate it 'new'. However, the range would seem to be somewhat broader than that gloss would suggest.

?ixi? aniqʷíkəntən síc. 'That tire of yours is new.'

sic xʷíkʷsəlx. 'Tanning hides is just this [what I have been describing].'

sic cúš. 'He finally spoke to him.'

4.562. pút and lút are two very common words. Although they can undergo extensive derivational and inflectional changes, they nearly always occur uninflected.

//pút// means 'It is just/enough.':

put kən xstwílx, mi sic kən ?ácqa?. 'Just when I get  
better, [that's when] I'll come out.'

nəpútəls. 'He is satisfied.'

//lút// is the negative stem 'It is not.'

?úc k<sup>w</sup> ?àyx<sup>w</sup>t?--lút. 'Are you tired?--No.'

lút ?ayx<sup>w</sup>t. 'He's not tired.'

sclútəm. 'He refuses.'

kslúts. 'He is excepted.'

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>We have seen that in Colville, predicates are modified by means of pronominal and other elements to mark certain relationships with the complements of the proposition. Crudely, these relationships are summarized as follows: (1) primary reference, reminiscent of English intransitive verbs; (2) transitive, reminiscent of English transitive verbs; (3) absolutive, reminiscent of English nominalizations. It is also to be noted that (4) Colville has no copula. This summary amounts to a list of Colville basic sentence types (for analogous analytical procedures applied to English, see Thomas [1965:21ff]). Clause particles (from a generative point of view) reflect the operation of certain changes on the basic Colville sentences, such as coordination, subordination, relativization, interrogation, etc.

<sup>2</sup>I have noticed an occasional variant cak<sup>w</sup>əm. I have not been able to determine with certainty that this is merely an optional stylistic variant of cak<sup>w</sup>, and the possibility remains that cak<sup>w</sup> is an independent word, perhaps restricted.

<sup>3</sup>A rare form mína? exists in Colville with the meaning 'will not'. Clearly it is related to mi, but the element -na? does not recur elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup>The relationship may be seen more clearly if it is recognized that pre-Colville \*a regularly developed to modern i except before a back consonant. Thus here an old \*//n-yaʔ-p// \*nəyʔáp became nəyʔíp ~ niʔíp, while old \*//yaʔ// became yáʔ

<sup>5</sup>This fact surely will deserve further attention since it has important historical implication; however, these considerations are beyond the immediate scope of this description.

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