PREFACE

This slightly revised version of my 1984 University of Hawaii dissertation 'Saanich Morphology and Phonology' is based on field work carried out during the summers of 1978 through 1981. I have since been back to Saanich country and worked with a number of other speakers. The analyses presented here have, for the most part, been confirmed. At least the basic distributional properties of the forms discussed here seem to be correct. I have, however, discovered a few lexical suffixes and post-predicate particles not mentioned here.

The analyses I have been rethinking are those of the reduplicative processes and the demonstrative particles. I now feel that at least some of the reduplicative processes analyzed as vowelless with a subsequent insertion of schwa might be better analyzed as having an underlying full vowel that reduces when unstressed. The problems with the demonstratives involve the two formatives referring to place and their relationship to a preposition /ƛ̕əʔ/ which indicates direction toward a specific place.

It is my hope that this work will be useful despite its holes. They will never be all patched; "all grammars leak." A Elsie Claxton put it when as a summer was coming to an end I expressed to her how much more I wanted to learn about her language: "skʷey kʷsʔaw̕kʷs." There's no end to it.

Research for this work was supported by grants from the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities through the Northwest Indian Languages Studies Project under the direction of Professor Laurence C. Thompson and by grants from the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Fund of the Whatcom Museum and the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society. Office space and computer facilities were provided through the Linguistics Laboratory of the University of Montana.

I am deeply grateful to Professor Thompson and M. Terry Thompson for introducing me to Salish linguistics and for their continued support and encouragement. Professor Thompson has been an inspiration both in his ideas of the details of Straits grammar and in his general approach to linguistic scholarship.

The comments on drafts of this work from Thom Hess, M. Dale Kinkade, and Anthony Mattina, have been invaluable. Professor Hess introduced me to the Saanich people and kindly made the material he has collected on the language available to me. Innumerable discussions with Professor Mattina have helped clarify my ideas on many of the issues presented here. I also thank for their comments Iovanna Condax, Ivy Doak, Gregory Lee, Patricia Lee, Anatole Lyovin, and Peter Nicholson.

I am grateful to Elsie Claxton, Vi Williams, Thomas Charles, Lillian Charles, and the people of the East Saanich and Becher Bay reserves for their hospitality and for patiently attempting to teach me their languages.
Contents
Preface
List of tables
Abbreviations and symbols
0. Introduction
0.1. Place of Saanich in the Salish languages
0.2. Previous scholarship
0.3. Current status of the language. The informants
0.4. Purpose, focus, and structure of this study
Notes to Section 0

1. Phonology
1.1. Consonants
1.1.1. Obstruents
1.1.2. Resonants. The status of glottalized resonants
1.2. Vowels
1.3. Canonical forms
1.4. Stress
1.4.1. Morpheme stress valence
1.4.2. Other factors
1.4.3. Metathesis
1.5. Other processes
Notes to Section 1

2. Morphology
2.0. Outline of morphology – terminology
Notes to Section 2.0

2.1. Prefixation (excluding person)
2.1.1. ||s-|| ‘nominalizer’
2.1.2. ||s-|| ‘stative1’
2.1.3. ||xʷ-|| ‘locative’
2.1.4. ||txʷ-|| ‘mutative’
2.1.5. ||č-|| ‘have’
2.1.6. ||šxʷ-|| ‘reason for; means to’
2.1.7. ||čan-|| ‘time of’
2.1.8. ||šxʷ-|| ‘functioning as’
2.1.9. ||na-|| ‘basic color’
2.1.10. ||ča-|| ‘single, alone’
2.1.11. ||t-|| ‘partake’?
Notes to Section 2.1.

2.2. Suffixation (excluding person and voice)
2.2.1. ||-i|| ‘persistent’
2.2.2. ||-ə+|| ‘durative’
2.2.3. ||-t|| ‘stative2’
2.2.4. ∥-il∥ 'directional'
2.2.5. ∥-ásəŋ∥ 'directionless'
2.2.6. ∥-é̱fən∥ 'desiderative'
2.2.7. /-tan/ ~ /-ən/ 'instrumental'
2.2.8. ∥-naq∥ 'habitual'
2.2.9. ∥-əf∥ 'modified color'
2.2.10. Lexical suffixes

Notes to Section 2.2.

2.3. Radical morphological processes
2.3.0. Introduction
2.3.1. C1C2+ 'characteristic'
2.3.2. C1+ with /(ʔ)/ 'diminutive'
2.3.3. Plural
2.3.3.1. +C1í
2.3.3.2. C1C2+
2.3.3.3. C1C2+ with C2 being /l/ or /l̕/
2.3.3.4. /(l)/
2.3.3.5. Stems that apparently do not change
2.3.3.6. Unaccounted for 'plurals'
2.3.3.7. C1C2+ 'repetitive'
2.3.5. Actual aspect
2.3.5.1. /(ʔ)/
2.3.5.2. C1+
2.3.5.3. C1+
2.3.5.4. Stress shift/metathesis
2.3.5.5. Morphemes with special 'actuals'
2.3.5.6. Unaccounted for 'actuals'
2.3.5.7. C2 +C2 'out-of-control'?
2.3.6. Resultive 130
2.3.6.1. C1+
2.3.6.2. a/a, a/e ablaut
2.3.7. +C2 'out-of-control'?
2.3.8. Ordering of radical morphological processes
2.3.9. Unaccounted for reduplication

Notes to Section 2.3.

2.4. Person
2.4.0. Introduction
2.4.1. Predicative
2.4.2. Possessive
2.4.3. Objective
2.4.4. Subjective
2.4.5. Summary paradigms
Notes to Section 2.4.

2.5. Voice
2.5.0. Introduction
2.5.1. Control
2.5.2. Transitives
2.5.2.1. ∥-at∥ 'control transitive'
2.5.2.2. ∥-naxʷ∥ 'non-control transitive'
2.5.2.3. ∥-staxʷ∥ 'causative'
2.5.2.4. ∥-nas∥ ‘purposive’
2.5.2.5. ∥-as∥ 'effort’?

2.5.3. Factives.
2.5.3.1. ∥-si∥ ‘indirective’
2.5.3.2. ∥-ŋiy∥ 'relational'

2.5.4. Intransitives.
2.5.4.1. /-alaʔ/ ~ /-efs/ ‘structured activity’
2.5.4.2. ∥-əŋ∥ ‘control middle’
2.5.4.3. ∥-naŋət∥ ‘non-control middle’
2.5.4.4. ∥-əŋ∥ 'passive'
2.5.4.5. ∥-taf∥ ‘control reciprocal’
2.5.4.6. ∥-nəwel∥ ‘non-control reciprocal’
2.5.4.7. ∥-sat∥ ‘reflexive’

Notes to Section 2.5.

2.6. Particles
2.6.1. Pre-predicate particles
2.6.1.1. ∥kʷɬ∥ ‘realized’
2.6.1.2. ∥sə∥ ‘unrealized’
2.6.1.3. ∥ʔiʔ∥ ‘accompanying’
2.6.1.4. ∥ʔəw∥ 'contemporaneous'
2.6.1.5. ∥ʔəʔ∥ ‘immediate past’
2.6.1.6. ∥təwə∥ ‘still, yet’
2.6.1.7. ∥ʔəwəwə∥ ‘perhaps’
2.6.2. Post-predicate particles
2.6.2.0. Introduction
2.6.2.1. First position.
2.6.2.1.1. ∥ə∥ ‘yes/no question’
2.6.2.1.2. ∥čə∥ 'command'
2.6.2.2. Second position
2.6.2.2.1. ∥čəʔ∥ ‘evidential’
2.6.2.2.2. ∥yəq∥ ‘optative’
2.6.2.2.3. ∥yəxʷ∥ ‘conjectural’
2.6.2.2.4. ∥q∥ ‘conditional’
2.6.2.3. Third position.
2.6.2.3.1. ∥ləʔ∥ ‘past’
2.6.2.3.2. ∥səʔ∥ ‘future’
2.6.2.4. Fourth position
2.6.2.5. Fifth position.
2.6.2.5.1. ||qəʔ|| 'emphatic'
2.6.2.5.2. ||kʷəʔ|| 'informative'
2.6.2.5.3. ||ʔačə|| 'request information'
2.6.2.5.4. ||kʷəče|| 'explanative'
2.6.2.5.5. ||hələ|| '2nd person pluralizer'
2.6.2.5.6. ||ʔaf|| 'limiting'
2.6.2.6. Unknown position
2.6.2.6.1. ||čtəʔ|| 'probable'
2.6.2.6.2. ||waʔačə|| 'presumptive'
2.6.3. Demonstratives.
2.6.3.0. Bases: ||-eʔə||, ||-iʔə||, ||-awlə||, ||-ə||
2.6.3.1. ||kʷ-|| 'invisible, remote'.
2.6.3.2. ||t-|| 'not invisible or generally existent'
2.6.3.3. ||θ-|| 'particular feminine individual'
2.6.3.4. ||s-|| 'particular individual, thing, or class'
2.6.3.5. ||l-|| 'particular place' ||ɬ-|| 'particular near place'
2.6.3.6. Unresolved problems
2.6.4. Other particles
2.6.4.1. ||ʔə|| 'oblique case marker'
2.6.4.2. ||kʷə|| 'subordinator'

Notes to Section 2.6.

3. Sample text: ‘Raven abandons his son’
3.1. Text with interlinear analysis
3.2. Sentence by sentence translation

References

List of Tables
1. Consonants
2. Vowels
3. Lexical suffixes
4. Predicative pronominals
5. Possessive pronominals
6. Object suffix set 1
7. Object suffix set 2
8. Main clause subject pronominals.
9. Subordinate clause subject pronominals
10. Pre-predicate particles
11. Post-predicate particles
12. Demonstrative formatives
**Abbreviations and symbols**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SUBJ</td>
<td>'first person subject'</td>
<td>$2.6.2.4, $2.4.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PLSUBJ</td>
<td>'first person plural subject'</td>
<td>$2.6.2.4, $2.4.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1OBJ</td>
<td>'first person object'</td>
<td>$$2.4.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PLOBJ</td>
<td>'first person plural object'</td>
<td>$$2.4.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1POS</td>
<td>'first person posessive'</td>
<td>$$2.4.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PLPOS</td>
<td>'first person plural posessive'</td>
<td>$$2.4.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SUBJ</td>
<td>'second person subject'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.4, $2.4.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2OBJ</td>
<td>'second person object'</td>
<td>$$2.4.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2POS</td>
<td>'second person posessive'</td>
<td>$$2.4.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>'second person pluralizer'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.5.5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SUBJ</td>
<td>'third person subject'</td>
<td>$$2.4.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3OBJ</td>
<td>'third person object'</td>
<td>$$2.4.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3POS</td>
<td>'third person posessive'</td>
<td>$$2.4.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCOM</td>
<td>'accompanying'</td>
<td>$$2.6.1.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>'actual aspect'</td>
<td>$$2.3.5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>'causative'</td>
<td>$$2.5.2.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAR</td>
<td>'characteristic'</td>
<td>$$2.3.1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMDL</td>
<td>'control middle'</td>
<td>$$2.5.4.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMAND</td>
<td>'command'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.1.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONDIT</td>
<td>'conditional'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.2.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJEC</td>
<td>'conjunctural'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.2.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONNEC</td>
<td>'lexical suffix connector'</td>
<td>$$2.2.10.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTEMP</td>
<td>'contemporaneous'</td>
<td>$$2.6.1.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRECIP</td>
<td>'control reciprocal'</td>
<td>$$2.5.4.5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTRAN</td>
<td>'control transitive'</td>
<td>$$2.5.2.1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>'demonstrative'</td>
<td>$$2.6.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESID</td>
<td>'desiderative'</td>
<td>$$2.2.6$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>'diminutive'</td>
<td>$$2.3.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>'directional'</td>
<td>$$2.2.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRLESS</td>
<td>'directionless'</td>
<td>$$2.2.5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>'durative'</td>
<td>$$2.2.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFFORT</td>
<td>'effort'</td>
<td>$$2.5.2.5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>'emphatic'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.5.1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVID</td>
<td>'evidential'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.2.1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPLAN</td>
<td>'explanative'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.5.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>'future'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.3.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABIT</td>
<td>'habitual'</td>
<td>$$2.2.8$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAVE</td>
<td>'have'</td>
<td>$$2.1.5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMMED</td>
<td>'immediate past'</td>
<td>$$2.6.1.5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIRECT</td>
<td>'indirective'</td>
<td>$$2.5.2.1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFORM</td>
<td>'informative'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.5.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>'instrumental'</td>
<td>$$2.2.7$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIMIT</td>
<td>'limiting'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.5.6$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>'locative'</td>
<td>$$2.1.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUT</td>
<td>'mutative'</td>
<td>$$2.1.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCR</td>
<td>'non-control result, out-of-control?'</td>
<td>$$2.3.7$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNDL</td>
<td>'non-control middle'</td>
<td>$$2.5.4.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRECIP</td>
<td>'non-control reciprocal'</td>
<td>$$2.5.4.6$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTRAN</td>
<td>'non-control transitive'</td>
<td>$$2.5.2.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>'oblique case marker'</td>
<td>$$2.6.4.1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>'optative'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.2.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>'partake'</td>
<td>$$2.1.11$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>'passive'</td>
<td>$$2.5.4.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>'past'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.3.1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERHAPS</td>
<td>'perhaps, maybe'</td>
<td>$$2.6.1.7$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSIS</td>
<td>'persistent'</td>
<td>$$2.2.1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>'plural, distributive'</td>
<td>$$2.3.3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESUM</td>
<td>'presumptive'</td>
<td>$$2.6.2.6.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Section(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROB</td>
<td>‘probable’</td>
<td>§2.6.2.6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPOSE</td>
<td>‘purposive’</td>
<td>§2.5.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUEST</td>
<td>‘yes/no question’</td>
<td>§2.6.2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REAL</td>
<td>‘realized’</td>
<td>§2.6.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REAS</td>
<td>‘reason for; means to’</td>
<td>§2.1.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>‘reflexive’</td>
<td>§2.5.4.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>‘relational’</td>
<td>§2.5.3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPET</td>
<td>‘repetitive’</td>
<td>§2.3.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REQINF</td>
<td>‘request information’</td>
<td>§2.6.2.5.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>‘resultive’</td>
<td>§2.3.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>‘nominalizer’</td>
<td>§2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>‘stative’</td>
<td>§2.1.2, §2.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STILL</td>
<td>‘still, yet’</td>
<td>§2.6.1.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STRUC</td>
<td>‘structured activity’</td>
<td>§2.5.4.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>‘subordinator’</td>
<td>§2.6.4.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
<td>‘time of’</td>
<td>§2.1.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNREAL</td>
<td>‘unrealized’</td>
<td>§2.6.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√X</td>
<td>X is a root</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=X</td>
<td>X is a lexical suffix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-X</td>
<td>X is a suffix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X- or X√</td>
<td>X is a prefix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X+ or +X</td>
<td>X is a reduplicative element</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(X)</td>
<td>X is an infix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*X</td>
<td>X is rejected by informants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
0. Introduction.

0.1. Saanich is a dialect of North Straits, a Central Coast Salish language. The Straits languages, North Straits and Klallam form a subgroup within the Central group of the Coast division. Klallam was spoken along the north shore of the Olympic Peninsula and in a few isolated settlements across the Strait of Juan de Fuca notably at Becher Bay. The North Straits dialects were aboriginally spoken along the southern tip of Vancouver Island, in the southern Islands of Haro Strait, and at the area around Bellingham, Washington on the mainland. Although native speakers of the various North Straits dialects recognize the similarities, they refer to the dialects as if they were different languages. The major North Straits dialects are, from west to east: Sooke, spoken around Sooke Basin; Songish (or Songhees), spoken around what is now Victoria; Saanich, spoken on the Saanich Peninsula north of Victoria and neighboring islands; and Lummi, spoken around what is now Bellingham, Washington and neighboring islands. Two other little recorded eastern dialects were Samish and Semiahmoo.

0.2. Published treatments of the grammars of Straits languages include Sooke (Efrat, 1969), Klallam (Thompson and Thompson, 1971), and Songish (Raffo, 1972). The present sketch is the first major treatment of Saanich, although an outline of the phonology and morphology is presented with a list of lexical suffixes by Pidgeon (1970). The major advances this study of Saanich presents are in the sections on the radical morphological processes, person, voice, and post-predicate particles.

0.3. Saanich is at present spoken by around twenty people. Most of these speakers live on or around the Saanich reserves on the Saanich Peninsula of Vancouver Island.

The main informant for this study was Mrs. Elsie Claxton (xatəłəwat), born in 1911 or 1912 at the East Saanich Reserve on Saanichton Bay. Mrs. Claxton is reputed to be the most knowledgeable speaker of "old time Saanich." Her English is very limited since her parents kept her away from the white-man's school and provided her with a traditional education. Mrs. Claxton knows the Cowichan language and understands the other dialects of North Straits, Lummi, Songish, and Sooke. Lummi seems to her to be closer to Saanich than the other two. She is unable to understand Lushootseed or Klallam. She never used English until her children started going to school so her five oldest children (all adults) are native speakers of Saanich. Some of them are still fluent and have created with others at West Saanich Reserve language lessons for children in an English-based orthography of their own devising.

All work with Mrs. Claxton was conducted with the help of Mrs. Vi Williams (Híqalwat) of the Cole Bay Saanich Reserve. Mrs. Williams is a native speaker of Cowichan and is also fluent in Saanich and English. Her husband, the chief at Cole Bay, is a fluent native speaker of Saanich. Mrs. Williams has spent quite a bit of time herself tape recording elders telling traditional tales, local history, and genealogical and ancestral name information.

Mrs. Claxton and Mrs. Williams have worked together for a number of years teaching traditional crafts (spinning, knitting, beadwork, etc.) to the younger generations at the East Saanich Culture Centre. When speaking together or to other local elders they speak only Saanich, though occasionally one hears an odd phrase or two of English mixed in.

Before answering a question of mine about the meaning or use of a particular word or phrase, Mrs.
Claxton and Mrs. Williams would often discuss the problem at length in Saanich. Although I have yet to transcribe most of these discussions, they have proved of invaluable assistance in the preparation of this sketch.

0.4. This study is comprised of three sections. In §1 is a brief, informal outline of the most significant aspects of the Saanich sound system. It is incomplete with important questions remaining, particularly in the area of stress placement. The primary purpose of §1 is to provide support and background for the more thorough analyses of §2.

The goal of section 2 has been to provide a complete description of the distribution, morphophonemics, meaning, and function of every non-root morpheme in the language. Limitations on the availability of data have necessarily narrowed the scope of this goal.

The third section is a sample of connected discourse with a complete analysis based on the findings presented in §2.

Although no section is headed "syntax" it is everywhere important. Much of what is included in §2 is ordinarily included in sections on syntax in other grammatical sketches of Salish languages. The sections on person (§2.4), voice (§2.5), and particles (§2.6) are particularly relevant in this respect. Since Saanich, like all Salish languages, displays an especially rich polysynthetic morphology, any accurate discussion of syntax must be informed by an accurate understanding of the formatives of basic predicates. This grammar is intended to be a practical, useful basis for further synchronic and diachronic studies of Saanich and related dialects.

Notes to §0.

1. The Salish family is one of the largest in America north of Mexico (only Uto-Aztecan, Nadene, and Algonquian have more languages). The Salish languages were aboriginally spoken in parts of what are now British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and Montana. The three main subgroups of the family are Coast, Interior, and Tsamosan. For more on the grouping and history of the Salish family see Thompson (1979a).

The following abbreviations will be used for North Straits dialects: Sa Saanich, Sg Songish, So Sooke, Lm Lummi. Other Coast Salish languages will be abbreviated as follows: Kl Klallam, Sq Squamish, Hl Halkomelem, Cw Cowichan (a dialect of Hl), Ld Lushootseed, and Ti Tillamook.

2. The preferred spelling of the Klallam people at Lower Elwha and Port Gamble reservations.

3. It has been suggested that Straits, including Klallam, is all one language. But, in fact, Klallam and Saanich are not mutually intelligible. Native speakers of Saanich were unable to understand clear tape recordings of Klallam discourse though they immediately recognized it as being "just like Saanich." It seems that they were reacting to a few familiar words and sounds such as /ŋə́nəʔ/ 'son, daughter' which contains /ŋ/, a sound that is common to all of Straits but lacking in all neighboring languages. The degree of mutual intelligibility among the North Straits dialects has not been determined.
1. Phonology.
The native Saanich sound system exhibits thirty-five consonants and four vowels. The consonants contrast five manners of articulation: plain and glottalized voiceless stops, fricatives, and plain and glottalized resonants. There are nine contrasting places of articulation: labial, dental, alveolar, alveo-palatal, lateral, labio-velar, uvular, labio-uvular, and laryngeal. The simpler vowel system contrasts two levels of height and two of backness.

The following list shows the relative frequency of occurrence (most to least common) of Saanich segmental phonemes in a randomly selected set of one thousand different utterances: /ə, s,ʔ, n, t, e, ɬ, l, xʷ, kʷ, η, č, i, a, q, f, w, x, y, š, w, kʷ, tθ, θ, m, n, q, qʷ, χ, t, m̕, p, y, č, ɾ, xʷ, qʷ, h, p/.

1.1. Consonants.
Figure 1 shows a functional diagram of the consonant system. The gaps in the labial and lateral series are typical of Salishan languages. Labials in Saanich are rare in general. Of the over eighty function morphemes discussed in §2 none has a labial consonant. Only three lexical suffixes, ||=čap||, ||=iimʔ||, and ||=amʔ|| show labials (see §2.2.10).

Table 1: Consonants

| p  | t  | č (k) | kʷ | q | qʷ |
| p’ | tθ | t’ | č’ | kʷ | q’ | qʷ |
| θ | s | ɾ | š | xʷ | x’ | h |
| m  | n | l | y | w | η |
| m’ | n’ | l’ | y’ | w’ | η’ |

The phonemes /θ/ and /tθ/ have arisen from Proto-Straits /c/ and /č/. Although these two sounds are not particularly rare in Saanich, they appear in only two other Salish languages, Halkomelem and Comox. The symbol in parentheses, /k/, is found only in a few relatively recent loans from English and French through Chinook Jargon. The following are the only words seen to bear this phoneme: /kúk/ ‘cook’, /ləklí/ ‘key’, /káa/ ‘car’, /lakwin/ ‘crucifix’, /kapu/ ‘coat’, /kúl/ ‘gold’, /kālants/ ‘current’, and /lisék/ ‘sack’. Native speakers readily recognize these as being of foreign origin.

1.1.1. Obstruents.
The obstruents are usually lenis but never voiced. The glottalized obstruents are ejective but weakly so. It is often difficult, especially in the anterior consonants, to perceive the contrast. Unlike the closely related Klallam language, Saanich obstruents are only rarely and weakly aspirated.

1.1.1.1. The labial, /p/ plain voiceless and /p’/ glottalized, are always bilabial.
with a spoon'; ʔápən 'ten', ḥápən 'spoon'.

1.1.1.2. The dentals, /θ/ and /θ/, are only rarely interdental. They are phonetically [θ_θ], a glottalized dental affricate, and [ʃ], a grooved dental fricative, respectively. /θ/ is easy for the non-native to recognize when it occurs because there is nothing else like it. /θ/, on the other hand, is as difficult for the non-native speaker to distinguish from /s/ as /x/ is from /x/ (see §1.1.1.6). /θ/ is unlike the fricative in English 'thin' in two ways: it is not interdental but articulated with the tip of the tongue behind and against the incisors and it is grooved rather than slit. Although /θ/ and /s/ are phonetically similar, there are a number of contrasting pairs:


1.1.1.3. The alveolars, /t/ a voiceless stop, /t/ its glottalized counterpart, and /s/, are produced with the tip of the tongue above the teeth on the forward part of the alveolar ridge. The distribution of the sounds is rather uneven; /s/ and /t/ are two of the most frequently occurring phonemes while /t/ is one of the rarest.


See §1.1.1.2 for /s/ in contrast to /θ/ and §1.1.1.5 for /s/ vs. /ʃ/.

1.1.1.4. The laterals /ɬ/, a voiceless glottalized affricate, and /č/, a voiceless fricative, are bilateral and articulated with the tip of the tongue against the forward part of the alveolar ridge. In comparison to Klallam the Saanich /ɬ/ is quite lenis while /č/ is somewhat noisier. The /č/ is slightly affricated occasionally in initial position. Contrasts are found between /č/ and /ɬ/:


and between /č/ and /ɬ/ or /ʃ/:

*čə́θ̪él’s ‘cut’, lə́θ̪él ‘fill it’; *čálat ‘splash it’, lálat ‘invite someone on a hunting trip’; √čiqʷ ‘meat’, √liqʷ ‘loosen’; √xə́t ‘feel bad’, ʷə́ ’write, draw’; ʔə́t’ ‘piercing it’, ʔə́φqt ‘sharing it’; q’á̱s ‘smelts’, q’dfəs ‘boil’.

See §1.1.1.5 for contrasts between /č/ and /ʃ/.

1.1.1.5. The alveopalatals /č/, a voiceless affricate, /č/, its glottalized counterpart, and /ʃ/, a grooved fricative, are produced with the tip of the tongue just behind the alveolar ridge. /č/ and /ʃ/ are similar to

http://www.cas.unm.edu/~montler/Saanich/Outline/index.htm
the obstruents in English ‘church’ and ‘she’. A number of forms of forms show contrast among /č/, /ć/, and /ťθ/.

Contrasts are found between /s/ and /š/:
and between /t̥s/ and /š/:
ʔal ‘splash’, šal ‘climb’; ʔáptan ‘eyelash’, ʔapt ‘whistle’; ʔáqas ‘edible seaweed’, šáqtas ‘he finished it up (a job).’

1.1.1.6. The labio–velars /kʷ/, a voiceless stop, /k̩ʷ/, its glottalized counterpart, and /x̩ʷ/, a voiceless fricative, may also be called labialized pre–velars since they are articulated with the dorsum of the tongue placed far forward on the soft palate with concomitant rounding of the lips. Contrasts found between /kʷ/ and /k̩ʷ/:

The difficulty in distinguishing /kʷ/ vs. /q̩ʷ/, /k̩ʷ/ vs. /q̩ʷ/, and /x̩ʷ/ vs. /x̩ʷ/ are well known to anyone who has studied a Salish language. Numerous forms show these contrasts:
x̩ʷίtəŋ ‘jump’, x̩ʷátat ‘prop up’, x̩ʷíqat ‘rub, buff’; x̩ʷəy ‘die, be lost’, x̩ʷəy ‘wake up’; t̥θ̕íx̩ʷəŋ ‘pity’, t̥θ̕əx̩ʷəŋ ‘chokecherry’; /k̩ʷax̩ʷ ‘knock’, /k̩ʷix̩ʷ ‘argue’; ʔx̩ʷétəʔ ‘three people’, ʔx̩ʷástəŋ ‘telling someone’ off’; sɬə̱x̩ʷ ‘he lost’, ɬə̱x̩ʷ ‘hard’, máx̩ʷısət ‘rock oneself’, máx̩ʷəʔaʔ ‘navel’.

1.1.1.7. The uvulars /q̩/, a voiceless stop, /q̩/, its glottalized counterpart, and /x̩/, a voiceless fricative, are post–velars. They are articulated with the dorsum of the tongue on the back part of the soft palate. In Klallam the fortis articulation often gives these stops an affractive quality, but in Saanich they are so weakly articulated that they are sometimes difficult to distinguish from /ʔ/. Nevertheless, /q̩/, /q̩/, and /ʔ/ do contrast:

The fricatives /x̩/ and /h/ contrast:
ʔ̱x̩əʔəŋ ‘marten’, haʔ ‘if, when’; /x̩ɛʔ ‘sacred’, heeʔ ‘yes’; x̩itθ ‘raw’, hɛʔ ‘breathe’; x̩əkʷ ‘gnaw’, hekʷ
‘remember’.

1.1.1.8. The labio-uvulars /qʷ/, a voiceless stop, /q̕ʷ/, its glottalized counterpart, and /x̣ʷ/ are labialized post-velars. The articulation of these is the same as the corresponding unlabialized uvulars but with lip rounding. See §1.1.1.6 for contrasts with labio-velars. Contrasts are found between /qʷ/ and /q̕ʷ/: sqʷʔt̕θ 'brown grouse', q̕ʷʔt̕θəŋ 'root'; sq̕ʷʔqʷiʔ 'dead'; t̕θʔqʷiʔ 'spring salmon', t̕θʔq̕ʷəŋ 'rotten'; čq̕ʷʔf 'fire', čq̕ʷʔəŋ 'sweat'.

1.1.1.9. The laryngeals are /ʔ/, glottal stop, and /h/, a voiceless fricative. The former is the second most common consonant in Saanich; the latter is the second least common one. /ʔ/ occurs initially, finally, in consonant clusters, and intervocally. /h/ occurs initially and occasionally appears intervocally. The glottal stop forms an important grammatical morpheme in itself, the ‘actual’ aspect (see §2.3.5.1). Contrasts are found between /ʔ/ and /h/:

ʔíʔt̕θəŋ 'getting dressed', héʔt̕θəŋ 'breathing'; ʔəléʔ 'hear', hálí 'alive'; ʔis 'paddle', hiθ 'long time'. nah̕ímat 'ancestral name', slah̕él 'stick game'.

See §1.1.1.7 for contrasts between /ʔ/ and /q, q̕/ and between /h/ and /x̣/.

1.1.2. Resonants.
The resonants are always voiced. The glottalized resonants are usually realized phonetically as voiced resonants with accompanying laryngeal constriction, creaky voice. However, often in multisyllabic forms they are realized as a sequence of glottal stop and resonant: ʔR when following stress and Rʔ when preceding stress. The glottalized resonants never appear in root initial position.

1.1.2.1. Since underlying glottalized resonants are not common, their distribution in roots is limited, and they often appear as sequence of glottal stop and resonant, there is a question as to whether they should be considered unit phonemes at all.

1.1.2.1.1. Raffo (1972:12–15) argues against positing underlying glottalized resonants in Songish. Most of the arguments presented there are based on comparisons to other Coast Salish languages and therefore based on other synchronic analyses. The major synchronic arguments -- no minimal pairs are found and glottalized resonants do not function as a unit in reduplicative patterns -- do not hold for Saanich. Though minimal pairs of any kind are few and far between in a language with such a large phonemic inventory as Saanich, they are especially difficult to find for plain versus glottalized resonants since the latter never occurs root initially. Nevertheless there are a few such roots: ʔ?am ‘fed up’, ʔ?am ‘wet’; ʔ?en ‘obey’, ʔ?en ‘very, too’; ʔkʷey ‘unable’, ʔkʷey ‘hungry’; ʔt̕m ‘guess’, ʔt̕m ‘hit’. For many examples of reduplicated glottalized resonants see §2.3.1, §2.3.3.3, and §2.3.3.4.

1.1.2.1.2. Efrat (1978) argues for underlying glottalized resonants in Sooke and Saanich by showing that certain forms of the ‘actual’ aspect are best accounted for in terms of a basic glottalized/non–glottalized opposition in resonants. The analysis of the ‘actual’ presented here in §2.3.5 differs substantially from that given by Efrat. But, given the present analysis of the ‘actual’, much the same data provides somewhat different evidence for underlying glottalized resonants. Before presenting this evidence it will be useful to discuss some of the phonetic characteristics of glottalized resonants.
1.1.2.1.3. What are assumed here to be glottalized resonants are often perceived as a sequence, /ʔR or Rʔ. As mentioned above, this decomposition is predictable and depends on the position of the stress: R → /ʔR / V ______ V and R → Rʔ / V ______ V. These are both optional, however, so that often R is perceived as ṙ in these two environments as well as in others such as final position. This decomposition does not occur with the glottalized obstruents because of the fundamental differences between obstruents and resonants. The perceived and distinguishing effect of the ejectives is necessarily provided by the simultaneous release of two otherwise independent articulations: oral and glottal. For the resonants, on the other hand, release is irrelevant. Simultaneity of oral and glottal articulations is an underlying target but not a surface necessity. Stress necessarily involves increased physiological tension in the laryngeal area due to increased pitch and pulmonic pressure. When a glottalized resonant follows a stressed vowel the laryngeal part of the articulation already has, in a manner of speaking, a head start. And when a glottalized resonant precedes a stressed vowel the laryngeal tension is carried beyond the oral articulation.

1.1.2.1.4. When underlying sequences of glottal stop and resonant do occur, the glottal stop sometimes tends to carry into the resonant producing a surface glottalized resonant. For example, the surface form /ʔəlénəŋθ/ ‘hear it’ is derived from two underlying morphemes: || √ʔale–nax'||. Therefore, glottalized resonants and sequences of glottal stop and resonant are superficially indistinguishable. The underlying contrast does surface, however, in certain forms of the ‘actual’ aspect.

1.1.2.1.5. In §2.3.5 the rules for the placement of the ‘actual’ infix /ʔ/ are described. When this infix is inserted in the environment V ______ ?, a schwa is automatically inserted between the two glottal stops. In contrast, the insertion of the infix in the environment V ________ R or V ________ R is never accompanied by the insertion of a schwa. These environments, then, show a surface effect of the underlying distinction between R and ʔR. The ‘actual’ infix before the latter is accompanied by a following /ə/, with the former it is not. See §2.3.5 for examples, especially 135.

1.1.2.1.6. Since 1) minimal pairs of roots are found distinguishing R and R, 2) glottalized resonants do function as a unit in reduplication, 3) contrast can be demonstrated between R and ʔR, and 4) the decomposition of R is sporadic and phonetically justified, it is clear that an underlying glottalized resonant series must be posited for Saanich.

1.1.2.2. The labial resonants /m/ and /m̩/ are bilabial nasals. They contrast with /n/ and /n̩/: smātθqən ‘brains’, nātθəʔ ‘one’; smāčəʔ ‘lump on a tree’, nāčəŋ ‘laugh’; mīθə ‘dance’, nīθ ‘it is’; māq ‘full stomach’, nāq̕əŋ ‘dive’; maq̕m ‘thick’, naq̕m ‘sleep’; ʔam ‘fed up’, ʔen ‘very’; ʔámət ‘sleeping’, ʔínət ‘say what’; stθəm ‘bone’, tθánəŋ̕ ‘cold’; xʷčən̕sōkʷəl ‘meet someone going in opposite direction’, čən̕sən̕əŋ̕ ‘taking a step’.

and with /ŋ/ and /ŋ̕/:


and with /w/ and /w̕/:

smāk̕əl ‘curled up’, swāk̕ən ‘loon’; swáltən ‘net, web’, smāfaq ‘forget’; mīθə ‘dance’, wéθət ‘chase’

1.1.2.3. The alveolars /n/ and /ŋ/ are articulated at the same position as the alveolar obstruents (§1.1.1.3.). They contrast with /l/ and /ɬ/:


and with /ŋ/ and /ŋ̕/:

See §1.1.2.2 for contrasts with /m/ and /m̕/.

1.1.2.4. The laterals /l/ and /ɬ/ are always apico-alveolar. They contrast with /y/ and /y̕/:


See §1.1.1.4 for contrasts with /ɬ̓/ and §1.1.2.3 for contrasts with /n/ and /ŋ/.

1.1.2.5. The palatals /y/ and /y̕/ are glides, much the same as the glides in English ‘yet’ and ‘toy’. See §1.1.2.4 for contrasts with /l/ and /ɬ/, §1.5.9 on y; č, and §1.5.7 on y; i and y̕; iʔ.

1.1.2.6. The labio-velars /w/ and /w̕/ are glides much the same as the glides in English ‘wet’ and ‘cow’. See §1.1.2.2 for contrasts with /m/ and /m̕/ and §1.5.9 on w; kʷ.

1.1.2.7. The uvulars /ŋ/ and /ŋ̕/ are post-velar, usually produced farther toward the back of the soft palate than the velar nasal in English ‘lung’. See §1.1.2.2 for contrasts with /m/ and /m̕/ and §1.1.2.3 for contrasts with /n/ and /n̕/.

1.2. Vowels.

Figure 2 shows the Saanich vowel system. It is an unusual symmetrical four vowel system in that there are no native rounded vowels. The /u/ in parentheses in figure 2, like the /k/ in figure 1, occurs only in a few obvious loans. The following are the only roots recorded with this phoneme: kúk ‘cook’, kúl ‘gold’, kəpú 'coat', skʷúl 'school', músməs 'cow, beef', matúlia 'Victoria', pús 'cat', pút 'boat', pýuəkʷ 'gun', and šúkʷə 'sugar'. These forms can undergo various morphological processes, occur in various aspects, be pluralized, appear in compounds, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Vowels:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1. /i/ is a high front vowel usually a tense cardinal [i]. It is often lax and somewhat lower and centralized.
1.2.2. /e/ is a mid-front vowel approximating a tense cardinal [e]. It is often lax, lowered, and centralized in the environment of uvulars, labio-uvulars, and /ʔ/. It rarely appears as low as [ɛ], never as [æ]. Contiguous to a lateral, a palatal obstruent, or a velar resonant it is often quite high and difficult to distinguish from /i/.

1.2.3. /a/ is a low back vowel. It is usually tense [a] but ranges from low lax central before palatal resonants to back in the environment of uvulars, labio-uvulars, and /ʔ/.

1.2.4. /a/ shows the greatest variation among the vowels. When stressed it is usually a mid-central [ə]. Stressed or unstressed, it is lower and back, approaching [a] when contiguous to a uvular, labio-uvular, or laryngeal. This lowering is particularly marked between two of these consonants. Otherwise, when unstressed its quality, though always lax and central, is largely determined by neighboring sounds. It varies from [i] following palatals and before resonants, including /ŋ/ and /n̩/ to [u] before the labio-velar and labio-uvular obstruents.

1.2.5. The following list shows the vowels in contrast:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ʔiʔã̱ ‘scoop up’, ʔač̕a̱ ‘request information’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>ʔiʔen ‘eat’, ʔeʔe ‘here, now’, ʔaʔaʔ ‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>ʔiʔoʔat ‘halibut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>ʔiʔuʔat ‘removing the insides, hollowing it out’, ʔiʔuʔat ‘heal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrast between /a/ and /a/ and between /a/ and /e/ forms an important aspectual distinction. See §2.3.6.2.

1.3. Canonical forms.

1.3.1. The following list contains some examples of the most common root shapes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CCC</th>
<th>CCVC</th>
<th>CCVC</th>
<th>CCVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>-/ʔ/</td>
<td>̕ê/</td>
<td>̕e/</td>
<td>̕a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>-/ʔ/</td>
<td>̕ê/</td>
<td>̕e/</td>
<td>̕a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>-/ʔ/</td>
<td>̕ê/</td>
<td>̕e/</td>
<td>̕a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>-/ʔ/</td>
<td>̕ê/</td>
<td>̕e/</td>
<td>̕a/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only sequences of two vowels that have been geminate non-schwas. These are phonetically realized as long vowels. These words here as two identical vowels since they function as two separate vowels with respect to the ‘actual’ inflex, a /ʔ/ inserted after the stressed vowel.6 See §2.3.5.1 for details. Following are a few examples of VV in roots. See §2.2.10 for VV in suffixes.

A few borrowed words also show VV:


A few roots have been recorded with more than three consonants. Of these many are obvious borrowings: ʔéqal̓q ‘apple’, pésən ‘America’, keʔł̓ents ‘current’, səp̓il̓ ‘bread’, čič̓men ‘iron’, ʔatx̱as ‘shovel-nose canoe’ etc.

Of those that are not obviously borrowed most may actually involve as yet unidentified affixation.6


The predominant root shape is CVC; over sixty percent of all recorded roots have this form. Roots involving three consonants are also very common and account for another twenty-five percent. Three consonant roots with more than one non-schwa are very rare. In fact only one such root, /ʔiʔaʔiʔat/ ‘sleep’, has been recorded. This root is also exceptional in that it is the only root with three obstruents to appear on the surface with two vowels, schwa or non-schwa, depending on the absence or presence of a suffix (see §1.4.3). Aside from this root, all three consonant roots appearing on the surface with two vowels (i.e. CVCVC) involve at least one resonant. Three consonant roots having no resonants are either
CVCC or CCVC.

1.3.2. When roots are extended by affixation, reduplication, etc. it is much more difficult to typify the shapes. Words with five or six affixes are not uncommon. The basic shapes of prefixes and suffixes exceed those of roots in variety, and the shape of a word can be drastically altered by one or more of the various radical morphological processes (see §2.3). Nevertheless, there are some restrictions on word shapes. Tautosyllabic strings of contiguous consonants longer than two are not common in Saanich. No strings of consonants occurring initially or finally have been found longer than three and those always include at least one fricative. Initially these clusters always include at least one prefix: sk’-t’a? ‘raven’, sa?sxʷ ‘dew’. Strings of up to four consonants have been found word internally but these always contain morpheme and syllable boundaries: iʔəč⁴sːt;áʔéʔ ‘fifty’ /iʔəqː-ə=čə=ɬeʔʔ/, xʷɬəʔqtnəč ‘cougar’ /xʷɬəqː-t=nač/. ¹¹

1.4. Stress.

Stress in Saanich is phonetically much like English stress: vocalic prominence based on a combination of increased loudness and higher pitch. Three levels with respect to stress can be recognized: primary (V’), secondary (V’), and unstressed (V). There is one primary stressed vowel per full word (see §2 for definition). Any non-schwa vowel and some schwas that do not carry primary stress carry secondary stress. Words with more than one non-schwa are not common. /i/ is the most frequently occurring non-schwa appearing without primary stress, usually representing the vocalization of /y/ or /w/ (see §1.5.7). Stress placement in Saanich is a complicated matter. The system described in this section accounts for only the most common stem shapes.

1.4.1. Primary stress can fall on either the root or a suffix; prefixes are always unstressed. Three types of roots with respect to underlying stress properties can be recognized: strong, weak, and vowelless. Similarly there are four types of suffixes: strong, ambivalent, weak, and unstressed.

Strong roots tend to attract stress, losing it only to strong suffixes. For example, /kʷə̱qː/ ‘feel bad’ is a strong root and /i=ɨwəs/ ‘body, skin’ is a strong suffix. So /kʷə̱qː+ɪsː/ ‘suffer’ is the stress assignment. The ‘habitual’ suffix /-nəq/ has weak valence, so /kʷə̱qː+nəq/ ‘habitually hurt (people’s feelings)’ is the stress assignment. With /i=ɨqː/ ‘head’, an ambivalent suffix the stress is on the strong root: /kʷə̱qː+ɪqː/ ‘headache’. Weak roots lose stress to both strong and ambivalent suffixes. For example, /kʷɪkːʷə̱/ ‘get hooked, snagged’ is a weak root. With the ambivalent suffix /i=ɨqː/ ‘head’, mentioned above, stress is on the suffix: /kʷɪkː+ɪqː/ ‘get hooked’. With the weak suffix /-sə̱n/ ‘foot’, however, stress is on the root: /kʷɪkː+sə̱n/ ‘trip, get hooked on the foot’. Weak suffixes are stressed only when following vowelless roots. See examples in §2.3.5.4, §2.5.2, and §2.5.4 for weak grammatical suffixes. The fourth type of suffix is never stressed. Included in this group are /-a/ ‘durable’ and /-tan/ ‘instrument’. ¹²

1.4.2. Several factors complicate this system: 1) some suffixes have two vowels, and in some of these the vowels differ in valence. The ‘structured activity’ suffix /-aláʔ?,/ for instance, is a strong suffix stressed on the second vowel, the first is never stressed (see §2.5.4.1 for examples). The lexical suffix /-aʔin/ ‘mouth’, on the other hand, is an ambivalent suffix that can be stressed on either vowel depending upon which is penultimate (see §2.2.10.1.50 for examples). 2) There is a tendency to penultimate stress. Given a suffix with two vowels or two contiguous suffixes of equal valence, stress will be on the penultimate, even if the root is of greater valence than either of the two suffixes. The ‘mouth’ suffix mentioned above is an example of such a suffix with two vowels. The strong root /kʷə̱qː/ ‘feel bad’ was mentioned in §1.4.1 above and was shown to take stress from either a weak or an ambivalent suffix. But when followed by two weak suffixes such as /-a?l/ ‘control transitive’ and /-as/ ‘third person subject’ stress moves on to the penultimate suffix: /kʷə̱qːtas/ ‘he hurt him’. See also §1.4.3. 3) Vowelless roots with a resonant in C2 position¹³ are strengthened before stress assignment to the status of weak roots. The root /kʷɪʔm/ ‘hit’, for example, is vowelless but a rule that inserts /a/ between an initial obstruct and a following resonant precedes stress assignment (see §2.3.5.4 for more on this rule). The root then acts as a weak root taking stress over a weak suffix: /kʷɪʔm+as/ ‘get hit in the face’ has the weak suffix /-as/ ‘face’ (see other examples above). This strengthening happens, however, only with vowel initial suffixes. Weak consonant initial suffixes remain stressed: /tʰə̱m+náʔx/ ‘hit it (accidentally)’ contains the ‘non-control transitive’ /-náʔx/ which is stressed only following vowelless roots. Because of these complicating factors and the number of different valences it is often difficult to determine the exact stress valence of a morpheme. In order to determine the valence of a root it must be observed with a variety of suffixes. And the stress properties of these suffixes need to have been seen in a number of different stems. Since stress valence of most roots has not yet been determined, underlying forms will not be prejudiced as to stress valence throughout this sketch. See §1.5.4 on reduction of unstressed

http://www.cas.unt.edu/~montler/Saanich/Outline/index.htm
vowels.

1.4.3. Given a form with a number of suffixes of equal valence, stress will fall on the penultimate vowel. Given any CVC root with two one-syllable suffixes, stress will fall on the first suffix unless it is weak and the second suffix is strong. Penultimate stress placement is in some cases accompanied by metathesis of the root vowel and following obstruent. This metathesis occurs when the vowel of a strong root is a non-schwa and penultimate stress placement would otherwise cause stress to fall on a following /a/-initial suffix. The following examples show a) a CVC root followed by one suffix and b) the same root followed by two suffixes:

1a. qʷ¡xʷáʔ ’miss it (a shot)’
   b. qʷ’xʷítas ’he missed it’
2a. máčát ’aim it’
   b. mačáñt ’it was aimed’
3a. ƛʷép’át ’feel it’
   b. ƛ’p’étn ’it was felt’
4a. kʷ’esát ’scald it’
   b. kʷ’sétəs ’he scalded it’

When the penultimate syllable is a non-schwa the metathesis does not occur. Compare 5 to 4 above:

5. kʷ’esínəs ’burn one’s chest (drinking something hot)’

In example 5 stress is placed on the penultimate vowel of /=ínəs/ ’chest’ while the vowel of the root is reduced to /ə/.

1.5. Other processes.

This section describes a few of the most common and generally applicable phonologically conditioned alternations that are not described elsewhere. Phonological alternations that are specific to particular morphemes are treated under the respective morphemes in §2. C indicates any consonant; V is any vowel; R is any resonant; - indicates a morpheme boundary; # is a word boundary; % indicates a ‘mirror image’ environment, i. e. if the environment specified is X ________, the process also occurs in ________ X.

1.5.1. I → I’ /________ C’
   /l/ becomes glottalized preceding a glottalized consonant. This typically occurs in certain ‘plural’ formations. See §2.3.3.3.
   /t̕élaw/ ’am’ with ‘plural’ reduplication ( §2.3.3.3): /t̕’al’á’ləw’/; /st̕élan’ax’/ ’medicine’ with ‘plural’ reduplication: /st̕’a’l’á’lən’ax’/; /p’ə+I/ ’emerge, hatch’ with ‘actual’ (§2.3.5.2) and ‘plural’ (§2.3.3.4): /p’ə́’l’p’ə+I/ ’hatch a bunch of eggs’.

1.5.2. h → ò /C________ , where C is an obstruent but not /ʔ/. This loss of /h/ includes in its environment the final obstruent of a preceding proclitic or enclitic. It is not limited to the word. This is an optional process.
   /háy’/ ’finish’ or /híó’/ ’long time’ preceded by /k̕ʷ+i/ ’realized’ ( §2.6.1.1): /k̕’w+i ay’/; /k̕’d+i ʔó/; /hêla/ ’second person pluralizer’ (§2.6.2.5.5) following /sx/ ’second person subject’ (§2.4.4): /sx éla/; but /háy’/ ’finish’ following /ʔów’/ ’contemporaneous’ (§2.6.1.4): /ʔów’/ háy’/; and /háy’aw’/ ’sitting in the bow’ following /ʔiʔ/ ’accompanying’ (§2.6.1.3): /ʔiʔ har’y’aw’/.

1.5.3. ə → h /ə________ V
   A ò sequence is separated by /h/. See §1.5.11 for Və sequence.
   /m̕h̕’e̱/ ’dance’ with /=éw’tx’/ ’house’; /m̕h̕’ahéw’tx’/ ’dancehouse’; /t̕éla/ ’money’ followed by /=ela/?’container’: /štal’héloʔ/ ’purse’.

1.5.4. V (unstressed) → ə
   An unstressed vowel is reduced to schwa. See §1.4 on stress assignment for examples. There is only one vowel with primary stress and usually all other vowels are reduced to /ə/. There are cases, however, of non-schwas occurring without primary stress. /l/ is the most common example of this. Almost all of these represent vocalizations of /l/ or /ɬ/’. See §1.5.7. Some suffixes, notably /=-si/ ’indirective’ and /=-i/ ’persistent, resist reduction even when a following suffix carries stress: /kʷ’o’ntíl’x’/ ’watch us’; /k̕̕’átsít’áʔ’as ’fix it for me’. There is a small group of suffixes that take stress from the root but leave the root vowel intact. /=éw’tx’/ ’house’ is one of these suffixes. When following /=ela/ ’money’; /=tal’héw’tx’/ ’bank’. With other suffixes such as /=éloʔ/ ’container’ the vowel of the root reduces: /=tal’héloʔ/ ’purse’. Other suffixes that do not cause reduction of the root vowel are /=H̕č/
One case of apparent free variation has been recorded for each of these alternations: /s/ but when /-ét/ 'fawn' and in the 'plural' /smemiyəθáɬ/ 'some fawns'.

There are a few loan words that appear with an unstressed -schwa that does not carry primary stress. These include: /lísəł/ 'sack', /sənt/ 'Sunday', and /stiq̓ ʷə/ 'horse'.

There are a few words that do not obviously fall into one of these categories of exceptions. These include: /síʔem/ 'rich, high class', /píʔət/ 'duck hunt', /síʔétən/ 'hair (on head)', and /sxʔíʔem/ 'fairy tale'. The unstressed -schwa in each of these may represent a vocalization of /y/ or /ɨy/ but there is at present no other evidence for such an analysis.

1.5.5. a → V % V'? __________
Unstressed /a/ assimilates to a stressed vowel opposite /ʔ/i. Schwas affected by this rule often remain lax and unstressed and therefore remain in surface contrast with non-schwas. This process is optional.

/yʔi/? 'go' with 'first person subordinate subject' /-ənl/ (§2.4.4): yęʔen; ħʔeʔi/? 'taste, try' with /-ət/ 'control transitive' (§2.5.2.1): tęʔet; /xʔi/? 'want, like' followed by /a/ 'yes/no question marker' (§2.6.2.1.1): xʔi? i; /tə̕ akəʔi/? 'left' with /ə̕ łwʔs/ 'body': tə̕ akəʔíə̕ łwʔs; /stʔeʔaʔi/? 'bruise' with /ə̕ alasʔ/ 'eye': stʔeʔaʔə̕ alas 'black eye'; /xʔaʔi/? 'comfort (someone)' followed by /-ət/ 'control transitive': xʔaʔ at.

1.5.6. a (unstressed) → ə / __________ y or y'
See §1.5.7 below for examples.

1.5.7. y → i / C __________ C or #
y' → iʔ / C / C
This process is also usually accompanied by loss of /ə/ (see §1.5.6).
/yʔaʔ/ 'good' followed by a suffix that will take stress such as =enk̕as/ 'stomach' loses the /ə/: /ʔiʔenk̕as/ 'brave'; with /ə̕ ʔiʔimaʔi/? 'appearance': /ʔiʔiʔimaʔi/? 'neat, tidy'; /ęʔeʔ/ 'work' with 'characteristic' reduplicative pattern (§3.2.1): /ęʔeʔu/ 'diligent'; /k̕əʔyəʔx/ 'move back and forth' followed by the suffix =is/ 'hand': /k̕iʔiʔxəʔisəʔ/ 'knit'; /k̕əʔy̕eʔ/ 'be hungry' in the 'actual' (čV̕ + with glottalization of the resonant): /k̕eʔiʔiʔ/.

1.5.8. ø → ø / #C __________ C#
This environment applies only to vowelless roots occurring without suffixation. See §2.3.5.4. for discussion.

1.5.9. y → ə̕ and w → k̕

The environments for these processes have not been, and perhaps cannot be, determined. These two alternations are not fully automatic; there are many cases of /y̕/ and /k̕/ in various environments that never alternate with obstruents, and there are many cases of /ə̕/ and /k̕/ that never alternate with resonants. Nevertheless, a few general observations can be made regarding those resonants that do alternate.

First, in the 'actual' aspect the resonant is always preserved by glottalization since all non-initial resonants in a word become glottalized in this aspect (see §2.3.5): /k̕ɪʔətal/ 'fight with someone', /k̕ɪw̕əʔəntəl/ 'fighting' (this latter form shows C1V̕ + reduplication and indicates that the underlying form of the root is /k̕eʔiʔiʔ/); /caʔk̕əʔasəʔ/ 'show off', /cəʔw̕əʔasəʔ/ 'showing off' (/k̕eʔiʔaʔ/), the change of underlying root /a/: to /ə̕/ regularly accompanies the 'actual'); /haq̕əʔeɬ̕/ 'launch a canoe', /haq̕əʔeɬ̕ʷəɬ̕/ 'launching a canoe'; /ə̕nəʔcaʔ/ 'laugh', /ə̕nəʔəʔ/ 'laughing'; /c̕əčəsʔ/ 'pursue', /c̕əʔisʔ/ 'pursuing' (the latter shows subsequent decomposition and vocalization of /y̕/); /k̕əʔət̕/ 'wake him', /k̕əʔəʔ/ 'waking him'.

While cases of 'non-actual' intervocalic /y̕/ and /w̕/ are rare, there are a number of cases of /ə̕/ and /k̕/ preceding the /ʔiʔ/ infix of the 'actual': /ʔiʔə̕ʔaʔ/ 'scoop', /ʔiʔə̕ʔaʔ/ 'scooping'; /θə̕ʔəʔ/ 'squeal on someone', /θə̕ʔk̕əʔət̕/ 'squealing on someone'. These must, therefore, represent underlying /ə̕/ and /k̕/, while those that alternate represent underlying /y̕/ and /w̕/.

Second, in cases where /y̕/ (or /iʔ/ from /y̕/) appears in other than root initial position and stress precedes it in the word, it remains a resonant. But when subsequent suffixation causes stress to shift so that it follows the resonant, it shifts to /ə̕/. For example, in /ęʔeʔ/ 'work' and /ęʔeʔu/ 'diligent' stress precedes the resonant, but when /-ə̕ləʔə̕n̕ε/ 'desiderative' takes stress from the root: /ęʔeʔə̕n̕ε/ 'want to work'; the underlying form of the root in /śə̕ʔeʔən̕iʔ/ 'woman' must be /śə̕ʔeʔən̕iʔ/ and the /y̕/ surfaces as /ə̕/ when stress follows: /śə̕ʔə̕nəʔəʔaʔ/ 'girl'. No clear cases of this have been observed for /w̕/; /k̕/.

One case of apparent free variation has been recorded for each of these alternations: /q̕əʔwən̕/; /q̕əʔk̕əʔə̕n̕/ 'bake' and /θə̕ʔən̕̕/; /θə̕ʔən̕̕/ 'bled'. In each of these two pairs native speakers feel no particular preference for one or the other; one is just as good as the other.

1.5.10. ø → ø / V/C __________ CC
There are no occurrences of root initial strings of three consonants. For example, /t̕s̕/ 'break' with /-ət/
'control transitive': t'sə́t/ 'break it'; but with -naxʷ' 'non-control transitive': t'asnáxʷ/. The /a/ breaks up the consonant cluster. Prefixes do not provide environment for the application of this process: /st'sə́ts/ 'his breaking it'.

1.5.11. ə → ø / ə V ______

Whereas a ə V sequence is separated by an epenthetic /h/, a Və sequence is resolved by deletion of the /a/. Many examples of this can be seen where the /-si/ 'indirective' or /-i/ 'persistent' precedes /-ət/ 'control transitive'. See §2.2.1 and §2.5.3.1. Also, //və/ 'bid to do, send' followed by /-ət/ 'control transitive': /set/ 'send him'; //vəl/ 'be alive' with /-ət/: /həltəŋ/ 'he was revived'.

Notes to §1.
1. Although labio-uvular is not, strictly speaking, a place of articulation different from uvular, it is, within Salish linguistics the traditional way of presenting the data.
2. Typical too of many languages of the Northwest. See Thompson (1979a).
3. /θ/ (but not /tθ/) also appears in Pentlatch (Kinkade, p.c.). See Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) for details on the phonological developments in the various Straits Salish dialects.
4. In my early transcriptions forms sometimes show /s/ and other times /θ/. This may reflect a certain amount of free variation, but I suspect that the variation is entirely in my non-Saanich ear. Informants coming to understand that I was interested in phonetic accuracy later insisted on one or the other phoneme. In my later transcriptions the variation is minimal.
5. One other Salish language, Tillamook, has such a system (Thompson and Thompson, 1966), but that language lacks labials entirely. Klallam cognates show /u/ for Saanich /a/ and /a/ for Saanich /e/. The Klallam vowels apparently reflect those of the Proto-Straits system. See Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) for details.
6. Historically, these geminate vowels have arisen from the loss of an intervening consonant. For example, Kl ščenənəxʷ: Ld ščəʔádxʷ (Hess, p.c.): Sa ščëenəxʷ 'salmon'; Kl muhûy': Sg məhûy' (Hess, p.c.): Sə máay' 'basket'.
7. This last is borrowed from Southern Wakashan (Hess, p.c.) the others from Chinook Jargon and English.
2. Morphology.

2.0.1. There are two types of words in Saanich: full words and particles. The particles are function morphemes that cannot stand alone. They are cliticized to full words but do not form phonological parts of them. See §2.6 for descriptions of each of them. Full words, on the other hand, are predicative. Any full word can stand alone and form a sentence by itself.

2.0.2. Each full word has at least one root, a basic content morpheme. Most roots are free and predicative. So, most roots can act as full words and therefore sentences themselves. Since all full words are predicative, there are neither structural criteria nor usefulness in categorizing roots or any full word in terms of noun\(^1\), verb, adjective, etc.

2.0.3. Although roots can stand alone as predicates, most often they occur with one or more morphological processes including prefixation (§2.1), suffixation (§2.2), and various radical morphological processes (§2.3). These processes then usually form a stem. A stem is any predicative form which may undergo further morphological processes. Therefore, the bare free root is the most basic stem.

2.0.4. In most cases the addition of an affix to a stem forms a new stem. There are some affixes, however, that must be accompanied by further affixation. The ‘transitive’ suffixes (§2.5), for example, must be followed by at least one other morpheme such as an object suffix. It will therefore be useful to distinguish between stems and bases. A base is any form that includes a root and may undergo further morphological processes but is not necessarily a full word. If a base is a full word it is also a stem. All stems are bases but not all bases are stems.

2.0.5. The root ∥√t̕θ∥ ‘punch, pound’, for example, can occur alone meaning ‘someone got punched.’ It is a root since it is a single, basic, content morpheme. It is also a base for other morphemes, and, since it can stand as a predicate, it is also a stem. Adding the lexical suffix ∥=as∥ ‘face’ (see §2.2.10) and the ‘locative’ prefix ∥xʷ∥ (see §2.1.3) produces the stem /xʷt̕θsás/ ‘someone got hit in the face.’ The addition of ∥-ət∥ ‘control transitive’ produces a base but not a stem. With the third person object (see §2.4.3) a full word is produced: /xʷt̕θsást/ ‘punch him in the face.’

2.0.6. This section primarily divides and discusses the morphology of Saanich along formal lines. The first three subsections deal with prefixation (§2.1), suffixation (§2.2) and radical morphological processes (§2.3), and the last section describes the particles (§2.6). Two subsections diverge from this strictly formal break-down. Person (§2.4) and voice (§2.5) involve prefixation, suffixation, and particles, but these two functional subsystems are of such importance in the structure of Saanich it seems best that each be discussed in a separate subsection.

In the example sentences in this section, Saanich forms with no bracketing or those bracketed by single slashes are given in the form of a phonological level of surface contrast. Each such example is followed by an English translation in single quotes. This is then followed when it is particularly relevant by an underlying form bracketed by double slashes. A morpheme by morpheme gloss of the example is often given in square brackets. Note to §2.0.
1. See Kinkade (1983) for a discussion of the lack of categories such as ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ for Salish in general.
2.1. Prefixation.

This section lists and describes all prefixes observed in Saanich except the two possessive prefixes (see §2.4.2). The prefixes are listed here approximately in order of their frequency of occurrence. Prefixes are never stressed and are independent of the radical morphological processes (see §2.3).

2.1.1. ||s-|| ‘nominalizer’.

2.1.1.1. A prefix having the same shape and function as this one appears in all of the Salish languages that have been described to date. It has been referred to by other names such as ‘substantive’ (Hess, 1967) and ‘absolute’ (Mattina, 1973), but ‘nominalizer’ is the most commonly used label. One reason for the variety of terminology is that ‘nominalizer’ can be misleading. This term is ordinarily used in European and other languages to refer to a morpheme which functions to derive one syntactic category, ‘noun’, from another such as ‘verb’ or ‘adjective’. As in many Salish languages, the syntactic categories of ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ are not usefully distinguished in Saanich. Therefore, the ||s-|| prefix is really something quite different from what is usually thought of as a nominalizer.

What ||s-|| has in common with nominalizers in more familiar languages is not the syntactic function of converting one category into another, but the semantic function of converting a form that refers to a process into one that refers to an entity. Forms with ||s-||, like those without, can function as arguments to predicates (examples 1–3) or as predicate heads themselves (examples 4–11). They can take voice, person, and aspect morphology the same as any other predicative word.

1. √was-éfs tə s√qêxə? ‘The dog barks.’ [√bark-STRUC(ACT) DEM S√dog]
2. √ʔəɬən-i-sxʷ san tə s√qêxə? ‘I fed the dog.’ [√eat-REL(||ʃiy||)-CAUS-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM S√dog]
3. √xč-í-t sxʷ θa na-√s√čéʔəʔ ‘You know my (lady) friend.’ [√figure out, know-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 2SUBJ DEM 1POS-S√friend]
4. s√ʔ(al)ʃən kʷəʔ ‘It’s a lot of food.’ [S√eat(PL) INFORM]
5. na-√sʔəŋj(?)-sə ‘I’m giving it to you.’ [1POS-S√give(ACT)-(CTRAN)-2OBJ]
6. sƛ̕éʔnaq sən ‘I’m giving a potlatch.’

2.1.1.2. Many roots always seem to occur with the ||s-|| ‘nominalizer’ (examples 7–10).
7. swóʔqaʔ ‘Man; it’s a man.’
8. sɬéniʔ ‘Woman; it’s a woman.’
9. sn̓áx̑ʷa̓ ‘It’s a canoe.’
10. s̓腈ət ‘It’s a rock, mountain.’

These clearly refer to common substantive entities and are translated as nouns or as “it’s a ...” plus noun. There are also many roots that never occur with this prefix and these are just as surely translated as nouns. Two classes of roots can be identified with respect to this morpheme: those that take ||s-|| and those that do not. This distinction is most clearly seen in forms with the ‘possessive’ pronominals (see §2.4.2). Some roots must have the ‘nominalizer’ when in a ‘possessive’ form (example 11), while others never do (example 12).
11. na-√sʔə̱n ‘It’s my food.’
12. na√tən ‘It’s my mother.’

Though this distinction may reflect an older noun/verb distinction, it plays no further syntactic role in modern Saanich.
2.1.1.3. Forms with ||s–|| ‘nominalizer’, though usually translated as nouns, can be seen to be "verbal" in translation (see examples 5–6 above). Such forms with a subject pronominal show that this morpheme is marked ‘non–control’.

13. s√ʔi(ʔ)hən san ‘I’m getting eaten up (by insect pests).’
14. √ʔi(ʔ)hən san ‘I’m eating.’

In examples 13 and 14 ||ʔi|| ‘eat’ is a ‘control’ root. The subject is a controling agent in 14 without the ||s–||, but in 13, with the ||s–||, the subject is not in control. See §2.5.1 for more on ‘control’.

2.1.1.4. An initial /s/ in borrowed words is readily treated as an ||s–|| ‘nominalizer’.

15. s-tə√tákən ‘Little sock.’ [S-DIM√sock] (stákən ‘sock’)
16. s√w(ə)létən ‘Sweaters.’ [S√sweater(PL)] (swétə ‘sweater’)
17. s-kʷú√kʷəlsən ‘I’m going to school.’ [S-ACT√school1SUBJ] (skʷúl ‘school’)

Examples 15 to 17 show English loans with various radical morphological processes (see §2.3). In each of these the rule for placement of the reduplicative or infixed morpheme involves reference to the first consonant of the root. In each of these the borrowed /s/ is ignored, as would be any prefix.

2.1.1.5. The ||s–|| ‘nominalizer’ serves a syntactic function in introducing subordinate clauses that have subjects marked by the ‘possessive’ pronominals. See §2.6.4.2.

2.1.1.6. This morpheme varies in surface form only when preceding ||xʷ–|| ‘locative’. See §2.1.3.3.

2.1.2. ||as–|| ‘stative1’. This is a frequently occurring aspectual morpheme. It is opposed to ‘non–stative’ and indicates that the subject is, was, or will be in a state or condition characterized by or the result of that which is indicated in the stem.

2.1.2.1. This morpheme very often occurs with the ‘resultive’ (§2.3.6) and the ‘durative’ (§2.2.2). See under those sections for examples.

2.1.2.2. By far the most common surface form of the ||as–|| ‘stative’ is /s–/. The form /as–/ has been observed only following the ||txʷ–|| ‘mutative’ prefix. Compare especially examples 18 and 19.

18. txʷ–s√ʔiʔən san səʔ ‘I’m going to get some food.’ [MUT–S√eat 1SUBJ FUT]
19. txʷ–as√ʔiʔən san səʔ ‘I’m going to eat first (before I go).’

20. txʷ–as√náw–əɬ ‘He got inside.’ [MUT–STAT√be inside(RS)–DUR]
21. txʷ–as√xé–əɬ ‘He got sick.’
22. txʷ–as√čén–əɬ ‘He’s been buried (for quite a while).’ [MUT–STAT√bury–DUR]
23. kʷkʷał txʷ–as√kʷas–əɬ ‘It’s already counted.’ [ALREADY MUT–STAT√count(RES)–DUR]

See §2.1.5 on the meaning and function of the ‘mutative’.

2.1.2.3. Since most occurrences of the ‘stative’ are identical in appearance to ||s–|| ‘nominalizer’ it is usually difficult formally to distinguish the two. It has not been possible to tell if the two morphemes cooccur since no sequence of two identical consonants appear in initial position¹.

2.1.2.4. The ‘stative’ can usually be clearly distinguished from the ‘nominalizer’ in the meaning of the
form. The following examples show forms referring to qualities and characteristic outcomes rather than to entities; hence the /s/ is known to represent the ‘stative’ and not the ‘nominalizer’.

24. sčəpx ‘It’s filthy.’
25. slilaq‘It’s slack.’
26. shi̱lalak‘He’s happy.’
27. smāyə‘It’s cheap.’
28. sléṭəɬ‘It’s full.’
29. shíʔəɬxʷ ‘You’re right.’
30. sxʷəxʷék ‘You’re wrong.’
31. slílə ‘It’s slack.’
32. sx̣ʷəɬsxʷ ‘He’s drunk.’
33. šíʔəθ ‘He’s leaning (against something).’
34. sθénəč ‘It’s leaning (against something).’
35. sqʷə́ q̣ʷi ‘He’s dead.’
36. xʷ√ṭə́ ṃ=əs sən ‘I got hit on the face.’
37. xʷ√č̣ xʷ=ás-s- ‘He spat on my face.’
38. xʷ√ʔə̱ ṃə t=né čəs ‘I’m squatting.’
39. xʷ√ƛ̣ə́ qt=ṇəč ‘Cougar.’
40. xʷ√q̣ ál=wəɬ ‘He’s stingy.’
41. xʷ√ɬəŋ=sís-əla ‘Saanich language.’
42. xʷ√ɬ x̣ =ás-t ‘She painted her face.’
43. xʷ√šč̣ =əẉ é ṭ sxʷ ‘You spanked him.’
44. xʷ√ʔə̱ ỵ-ʔə̱ ‘Clean water.’
45. xʷ√q̣ ə̱ ləŋ q̣=á ‘Dirty water.’
46. xʷ√nəq̣ =ás- ‘He nodded his head.’
47. xʷ√ʔə̱ ẉ áль ‘Just sit down.’
48. xʷ√ɬəŋ-ə lá ‘He cleared it (land).’
49. xʷ√q̣ p̣-ət sən ‘I patched it.’
50. xʷ√ḳ éṇ-ət sən ‘I poured it (from one container to another).’
51. xʷʔə̱ ỵ q̣ ‘Clean water.’
52. xʷq̣ ə̱ṇ q̣ ‘Dirty water.’
53. xʷḷ ámi ‘Lummi people.’
54. xʷ√ʔə̱ ʔə̱ ‘He kissed him.’
55. xʷ√ɬəŋ=sís-əla ‘He separated (people fighting).’
56. xʷ√ʔə̱ ỵ-ʔə̱ ‘Clean water.’
57. xʷ√q̣ ə̱ ləŋ q̣=á ‘Dirty water.’
58. xʷ√nəq̣ =ás- ‘He nodded his head.’
59. xʷ√ʔə̱ ẉ áль ‘Just sit down.’
60. xʷ√ɬəŋ-ə lá ‘He cleared it (land).’
61. xʷ√q̣ p̣-ət sən ‘I patched it.’
62. xʷ√ḳ éṇ-ət sən ‘I poured it (from one container to another).’
63. xʷʔə̱ ỵ q̣ ‘Clean water.’
64. xʷq̣ ə̱ṇ q̣ ‘Dirty water.’
65. xʷḷ ámi ‘Lummi people.’

2.1.2.5. The ||əs—|| ‘stative’ has a special surface realization when preceding ||x”—|| ‘locative’. See §2.1.3.3.

2.1.3. ||x”—|| ‘locative’.

2.1.3.1. This morpheme indicates that the situation referred to by the predicate involves a particular location. Though it is often translated as English "on the ..." (examples 36 and 37), it is usually not directly represented in the English at all

2.1.3.2. The ‘locative’ has been recorded with around two hundred different stems. Approximately eighty percent of these contain lexical suffixes. Lexical suffixes need not occur with the ‘locative’ (see §2.2.10 for examples). Examples 36 to 47 all involve lexical suffixes Examples 48 to 54 show the ‘locative’ without lexical suffixes.
54. xʷsénačə ‘It belongs to Saanich.’

2.1.3.3. The ‘locative’ can be preceded by either ||s−|| ‘nominalizer’ or ||as−|| ‘stative’. The /s/ of either of these two prefixes becomes /ʃ/ when preceding the |x+|| ‘locative’. The /xʷ/ of the ‘locative’ then usually is deleted except when a /ʔ/ follows (examples 55–60). A few cases show apparent free variation between /ʃ/ and /ʃxʷ/ for these combinations of prefixes (examples 61–64). In the great majority of cases when either the ‘nominalizer’ (examples 65–72) or the ‘stative’ (examples 73–75) occur with ‘locative’ the /xʷ/ deletes.

55. š–xʷ’yʔap-âl=qan ‘Hair brush.’ [S−LOC√stroke−CONNECT=hair]
56. š–xʷ’yʔaxʷ’i−sat ‘Broom.’ [S−LOC√sweep−REFL]
57. šxʔílaxan ‘Sides of the body.’
58. šxʔawafiwán ‘Den, burrow, lair.’
59. š–xʷ’yʔiʔ=élâʔ ‘Bladder.’ [S−LOC√good=container]
60. š–xʷ’yʔiʔ=âóʔ ‘Tide pool.’ [S−LOC√good=bottom]
61. šxʷnéʔəm ‘Indian doctor.’
62. snéʔəm ‘Indian doctor.’
63. našxʷ’qʷélakʷən ‘My feelings.’
64. našqʷélakʷən ‘My feelings.’
65. š/kʷən=âs−ən ‘Mirror; window.’ [S,LOC√see=face−CMDL]
66. š/təʔə?=wéč−ən ‘Chair.’ (Compare with example 46 above.)
67. š/vxʷ=îqʷ−ən ‘Comb.’
68. šnáwás ‘Cloud.’ (xʷnáwás ‘cloudy’)
69. š/mələʔ=čas ‘Wedding ring.’ [S,LOC√wed=hand]
70. š/vtäq=əθ ‘Whetstone.’ [S,LOC√sharpen=edge]
71. š/vtaləʔ=éləʔ ‘Purse.’ [S,LOC√money=container]
72. š−kʷi+√wat³ √šip−an ‘Butcher knife.’ [S,LOC−ACT+√butcher √whittle−INST]
73. kʷn′txʷ−aš √əw̓−a̓ʔ ‘It’s done (a canoe).’ [ALREADY MUT−STAT,LOC√hollow out−DUR]
74. kʷn′šnáŋəs ‘It’s folded up.’
75. kʷn’š√xʷʔ=ən ‘It’s already cleared (land).’ [ALREADY STAT,LOC√separate(STAT)=face] (Compare with example 48 above.)

2.1.3.4. Two words have been observed to have a /xʷ−/ prefix but it does not seem to have a ‘locative’ meaning. Furthermore these cases precede rather than follow an /s−/ prefix.
76. xʷ−s√ʔán−əq ‘He’s obedient.’ (√ʔen−a−sa sən ‘I obey you.’)
77. xʷ−s√ʔáč+əč ‘He stutters.’

2.1.4. ||txʷ−|| ‘mutative’. This morpheme indicates a gradual change of state. It precedes the ‘nominalizer’ and ‘stative’ prefixes. With the ||s−|| ‘nominalizer’ and ‘control’ roots ||txʷ−|| can convey the meaning ‘have ...’ or ‘come into the possession of ...’. See examples 18 above and 78 below for ||txʷ−|| with the ||s−|| ‘nominalizer’. See also examples 19 to 23 for ‘mutative’ with the ‘stative’ prefix.
78. txʷ−s√təʔə? sən ‘I got a bruise.’ [MUT−S√bruise, salal berry 1SUBJ]

2.1.5. ||č−|| ‘have’.
2.1.5.1. This morpheme indicates possession, but unlike the 'possessive' pronominals it does not indicate person. The possessor is the subject of the predicate to which this prefix is attached. It differs from the 'possessive' pronominals also in that it does not necessarily imply ownership. Examples 79 and 80 show two Saanich renderings of the same English sentence.
79. √niʔ kʷsə na-ʔtélə 'I have some money.' [√exist DEM 1POS-√money]
80. ħʔtélə san 'I have some money.' [HAVE√money 1SUBJ]
The major semantic difference between these is that in 79 the money must belong to the possessor, while in 80 the money is not necessarily the subject's property. Also, 79 implies that the possessor has money put away, not necessarily with him, where 80 implies that the subject is carrying money.

2.1.5.2. The 'possessive' pronominals can, in fact, cooccur as in example 81.
81. na-ʔs-√ʔHən san səʔ 'I'll keep this for my own food.' [1POS-S-HAVE√eat 1SUBJ FUT] (Compare with /nasʔHən kʷəʔ/ 'It's my food' and examples 83–84 below.)
It seems, however, that the 'possessive' affix must be the same person as the subject in constructions like example 81. Sentences with different persons in these positions were consistently rejected. Meanings such as 'I have your ...' are not rendered with ||č-|| 'have', but with predicates involving the root ||√kʷʔn|| 'take, grasp' in the 'persistent' aspect (§2.2.1) as in example 82.
82. √kʷʔn-ʔi-t san kʷsə n-ʔs-√náxəqʷ 'I have your canoe.' [√take, grasp-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(∅) 1SUBJ DEM 2POS-S√canoe]

2.1.5.3. The ||s-|| 'nominalizer' is usually deleted when preceded by ||č-|| 'have'. In most cases the deletion is optional. Examples 83 and 84 are apparently identical in meaning and equally acceptable.
83. č-ʔs-√ʔHən san 'I have some food.'
84. č-ʔHən san 'I have some food.'
However, forms with two ||s-|| prefixes are rejected. Compare 83 to example 81 above. 81 must represent a renominalization but /∗nasčʔsʔHən san səʔ/ is rejected.

2.1.5.4. The 'have' prefix can occur in predicate heads and have a "verb-like" translation. In these cases it has the sense of 'come into the possession of something by means of ...'.
85. √qáčəʔ təs-√xəs-ʔn 'The trap caught it.' [HAVE√catch DEM √trap-INST]
86. č-√t̃q̃ʷjən san òʔ kʷs s√t̃q̃ʷiʔ 'I caught a spring salmon.' [HAVE√snag, snare, hook, pinch 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√spring salmon]

2.1.5.5. Several forms show ||č-|| 'have' with special meaning.
87. č-√kʷʔeʔ òʔ tə s√q̃ʷél 'He's a gossiper.' [HAVE√possession OBL DEM S√speak(RES)]
88. kʷeʔ č-√q̃eʔ 'She gave birth (had a baby).'</ALREADY HAVE√baby]
89. kʷeʔ č-√ŋəʔaʔ 'She gave birth (had a child).'</ALREADY HAVE√son, daughter]
90. č-√t̃q̃ʷəʔn san 'I have a cold.' [HAVE√cold weather 1SUBJ]
Example 87 illustrates ||č-|| with the emphatic possession root (see §2.4.2.5). A more literal translation of 87 might be 'he indeed has the word.' The last three examples, and especially 90, may be calques from English.

2.1.6. ||sχʷ-|| 'reason for; means to'. This prefix is not common. It usually appears in subordinate clauses and is often translated "that's why ..."
111. \(\sqrt{x}ač-aláʔ\) ?af \(\sqrt{s}x^*\)/\(\sqrt{ʔ}ən?é-s\) ‘Just to nose around is why he came.’ [\(\sqrt{figure\ out-STRUÇ\ LIMIT\ REAS-\come-3POS}\]

112. \(\sqrt{x}ənînʔ\) \(k^*oče\) ?ən\(-\sqrt{s}x^*/\sqrt{y}éʔ\) ‘Why did you go?’ [\(\sqrt{how\ EXPLAN\ 2POS-(S)?-REAS-\go}\]

113. \(\sqrt{n}íč\) \(ʔaw\) \(\sqrt{s}x^*/\sqrt{háy-s}\) ‘That’s the end.’ [\(\sqrt{it\ is\ CONTEMP\ REAS-\finish-3POS}\]

It cannot be determined whether \(\sqrt{s}x^*-\) is preceded by \(\sqrt{s}^-\) ‘nominalizer’ or not.

2.1.7. \(\sqrt{t}čə\) \(čə\) \(čə\) \(čə\) \(čə\) \(čə\) \(čə\) \(čə\) \(čə\) ‘Half.’ 

2.1.8. \(\sqrt{s}x^*\)-‘functioning as, acting in the capacity of’. This morpheme precedes the \(\sqrt{s}^-\) ‘nominalizer’ and indicates affinal relationship. It resembles the use of “in–law” in English but note /slëʔa\#/

98. \(\sqrt{s}x^*s?áč\)\(a\#\) ‘Step–parent.’

99. \(\sqrt{s}x^*sílaʔ\) ‘Spouse’s grandparent.’ (sílaʔ ‘grandparent’) 

100. \(\sqrt{s}x^*\)\(čə\)\(čə\) ‘Woman’s sister–in–law.’

101. \(\sqrt{s}x^*\)\(ňíjəs\) ‘Grandchild’s spouse.’ (ňíjəs ‘grandchild’)

102. \(\sqrt{s}x^*\)\(séč\) ‘Uncle/aunt’s spouse.’

2.1.9. \(\sqrt{n}a\)-‘basic color’. This prefix appears only with five roots referring to color. These roots can occur without this prefix when occurring with \(\sqrt{-af}\) ‘modified color’ (§2.2.9).

103. \(\sqrt{n}ač\) ‘Red.’

104. \(\sqrt{n}ač\)\(éy\) ‘Grass green.’

105. \(\sqrt{n}ač\)\(x\) ‘Brown.’

106. \(\sqrt{n}ač\)\(k\) ‘Gray.’

107. \(\sqrt{n}ač\)\(x\) ‘Black.’

2.1.10. \(\sqrt{ča\}-\) ‘single, alone’. This prefix has been seen in only two stems.

108. \(\sqrt{čašw}yqaʔ\) ‘Bachelor.’ (sw\(y)q\(a\#\) ‘man’)

109. \(\sqrt{čaš}šeniʔ\) ‘Spinster.’ (š\(š\)eniʔ ‘woman’)

2.1.11. \(\sqrt{4\}\)-‘partake’. This prefix is segmentable in a number of forms but the meaning is unclear. The gloss here is especially suggested by examples 111 and 117. Only vague connections can be seen in the meanings of the other examples.

110. \(\sqrt{4\}qít\) ‘Clothes.’ (\(\sqrt{qít}\=as ‘headband’)

111. \(\sqrt{4\}páx\)-\(aŋ\) san ‘I smoke (cigarettes).’ (sp\(áx\)\(aŋ\) ‘smoke from a fire’)

112. \(\sqrt{x}\)-\(\sqrt{qít}=\sqrt{wá}+\sqrt{bad}\) ‘Stingy.’ [\(\sqrt{LOC-PART\bad=canoe}\]

113. \(\sqrt{4\}səq\) ‘Half.’ (\(\sqrt{\sqrt{səq} ‘split’}\)

114. \(\sqrt{ʔəwə\}s\qít\) ‘He’s not sure.’ (\(\sqrt{ʔ\qít ‘believe’})

115. \(\sqrt{ʔəwə\}ən\s\qít\) ‘I don’t believe it.’

116. \(\sqrt{sčὲy\}n\) \(əw\) \(s\qít\) ‘I’m very sure.’

117. \(\sqrt{ʔəwə\}n\)\(s\sqrt{\chi}i\)\(k\)\(a\)\(n\)\(a\)-\(4\)\(\sqrt{ʔes\}x\)\ ’I don’t want to eat seal.’ [\(\sqrt{not\ 1SUBJ\ 1POS-S\want\ SUB}

http://www.cas.unt.edu/~montler/Saanich/Outline/index.htm
These examples show that this prefix follows all other prefixes.

Notes to §2.1.

1. It would probably be safe to assume that these two morphemes can cooccur with the ‘nominalizer’ preceding the ‘stative’, since this is the order of their cognates in the other Salish languages. See Hess and Hilbert (1980:103) for Lushootseed and Thompson and Thompson (in press) for Thompson Salish.

2. In some of these a locative interpretation is more obscure than in others. It may be that there is more than one morpheme represented here. Historically, at least, this prefix seems to reflect several morphemes. Lushootseed (Hess, 1970) has a number of prefixes containing /xʷ/ whose meanings seem to be collected in Saanich ∥xʷ∥.

3. It would be possible to analyze these as a single prefix ∥šxʷ∥ meaning something like ‘instrument’ in forms such as examples 55 and 56. Hess (1970) describes a Lushootseed prefix /šxʷ-/ that is apparently cognate with what I have analyzed here as a sequence of two prefixes.

4. Hess (p.c.) suggests that this is actually a root that commonly enters into compounds.
2.2. Sufffixation.
This section documents all Saanich suffixes discovered to date except those that indicate person (see §2.4) and voice (see §2.5). The suffixes listed here include the large set of lexical suffixes (§2.2.10) and a number of other suffixes used to indicate various aspects and modes.

2.2.1. ||−i|| ‘persistent’. \(^1\) This is an aspecral morpheme opposed to unmarked ‘non–persistent’. It indicates that the activity expressed in the stem to which it is attached continues past inception as a state. The absence or presence of this suffix allows differences in meaning comparable to the differences in such English pairs as ‘figure out/know’, ‘look at/watch’, and ‘take/hold’.
This affix is morphophonemically unusual in that it has qualities of the radical morphological processes (see §2.3). It is classified here as a suffix since it always follows and never directly affects the root phonologically. But it does directly affect other suffixes. ||−i|| ‘persistent’ is what might be called a "parasitic" morpheme. Its placement requires the presence of another suffix having an underlying /a/ that acts as "host". This /i/ assumes the position of the rightmost /a/ of a host suffix that is not preceded by a suffix with a non–schwa. This morpheme has never been recorded occurring without another suffix having an underlying ||a||.
A possible formal analysis would consider this suffix to be initially placed immediately after the root. A special metathesis rule something like:

\[ [+\text{PERSIS}] [+\text{OBST}] \alpha \]

then determines its surface position. The [+PERSIS] must be specified since other morphemes having /i/ do not undergo this process. See, for example, ||−s|| ‘indirective’ (§2.5.3.1). Examples 1 to 4 are analyzed with such a rule, and the rule that deletes /a/ following another vowel (see §1.5.11) is assumed.
1. kʷə́nít san 'I watch it.' || kʷə́n-i-at−ø san || [√see−PERSIS−CTRAN−3OBJ 1SUBJ] (kʷə́nát san 'I look at it."
2. kʷə́nís sxʷ ‘You watch me.’ || kʷə́n-i-at−s sxʷ || [√see−PERSIS−CTRAN−1OBJ 2SUBJ] (kʷə́nás sxʷ ‘You look at me.’)
3. kʷə́nís san ‘I watch you.’ || kʷə́n-i-at−s a san || [√see−PERSIS−CTRAN−2OBJ 1SUBJ] (kʷə́nás a san ‘I look at you.’)
4. kʷə́nítáfxʷ sxʷ ‘You watch us.’ || kʷə́n-i-at−áfxʷ sxʷ || [√see−PERSIS−CTRAN−1PLOB 2SUBJ] (kʷə́nátáfxʷ sxʷ ‘You look at us.’)
The rule that deletes the ‘control transitive’ /t/ when followed by /s/ (see §2.5.2.1) must precede the special ‘persistent’ metathesis rule to account for forms like example 3.
In §2.4.5.6 a complete object and subject paradigm is given for ||√xč|| ‘figure out’ with ||−i|| ‘persistent’. The form with third person subject and first person singular object would be analyzed as in 5.
5. xčásís ‘He knows me.’ || √xč-i-at−s-as || [√figure out−PERSIS−CTRAN−1OBJ−3SUBJ] (xčásás ‘He figured me out.’)
Examples 6 to 9 illustrate ||−i|| ‘persistent’ with another common root, ||√kʷə́n|| ‘take, grasp’.
6. kʷə́nít san sa? ‘I’ll hold it.’ || kʷə́n-i-at−ø san sa? || [√take, grasp−PERSIS−CTRAN−3OBJ 1SUBJ FUT] (kʷə́nát san sa? ‘I’ll take it.’)
7. kʷə́ntís ‘He held it.’ || kʷə́n-i-at−ø-as || [√take, grasp−PERSIS−CTRAN−3OBJ−3SUBJ] (kʷə́ntas ‘He took it.’)
8. nánıʔ antélə kʷə́ntíxʷ ‘You’ve got lots of money with you.’ || nánıʔ anıʔ telə kʷə́n-i-at−ø-axʷ || [√lots 2POS √money √take, grasp−PERSIS−CTRAN−3OBJ−2SUBJ]
9. nán télә́tә kʷəntɨtә 'We've got lots of money with us.' [\lot s\\\two\POSS\money\tak, \grasp-PERSIS-\CONTROL-\OBJ-1PLSUBJ]

Examples 8 and 9 show the /i/ of the 'persistent' morpheme replacing the /a/ of the subordinate subject suffixes (see §2.4.4.2).

Examples 10 to 12 illustrate ||-i|| 'persistent' with ||-əŋ|| 'control middle'. Note that the resonant here (examples 11 and 12) blocks the metaphor explanation.

10. s\təq-í-ŋ 'He's underwater (he dove and is now under).' [\CONTROL-\submerge-PERSIS-\CONTROL-\OBJ-1PLSUBJ (nàqəŋ 'He dive.)]
11. \pákw-í-ŋ-ə́tə 'We smoked (hides, fish, etc.).' [\smoke, preserve-PERSIS-\CONTROL-\OBJ-\DUR 1PLSUBJ]
12. \ʔəl-í-ŋ-ə́ sən 'I saved, stored away (money, etc.).' [\put away-PERSIS-\CONTROL-\OBJ-\DUR 1SUBJ (ʔélat sən 'I put it away. ')

2.2.2. ||-ə́|| 'durative'.² This is an aspectual morpheme opposed to unmarked 'non-durative'. It indicates that the activity or situation expressed in the stem is a condition with some duration. It can occur alone with a root but more often it occurs with other aspectual morphemes, especially 'stative' (§2.1.2) and 'resultive' (§2.3.6).

13. kʷ"a\tən-š-aŋ-ə́ sən 'I'm irona.' [\REAL \rub-PERSIS-\CONTROL-\OBJ-\DUR 1SUBJ]
14. kʷ"a s\tən'tə-ə́t 'It's been cut in two.' [\REAL \CONTROL-cut in two\REAL-\OBJ-\DUR]
15. s\tən'kéq-ə́ 'They're together.' [\CONTROL-\gather\OBJ-\DUR]
16. kʷ"a ñá punk"a 'It's rising to the surface.'
17. qέəs-ə́ 'He's falling overboard.'
18. sλétə́ 'It's crowded.'

A number of forms with this suffix are translated 'belonging to ...' or 'from ...' in the sense of 'originating from', 'customary of', or 'typical of'.

19. x"a\tənäk-ə́ 'It belongs to Saanich (a given personal name).' [\LOCATION-\Saanich-\DUR]
20. s\tən'yəng-ə́ 'It's from the Indians (e.g. lacrosse, totem poles).'
21. s-x¹\tən'xən-k-ə́ s\tən'w-ə́ 'It's a Lummi power song.'
22. s\tən'xənítəm-ə́ s\tən'tə-ə́ 'It's modern music.' [\CONTROL-\white person-DUR S\CONTROL-sing]
23. s\tən'pésəntan-ə́ 'It's American.' [\CONTROL-\America < Eng. "Boston"-\DUR]

This suffix is never used in this context to describe people, so /*spéstanə́ sən/ is unacceptable. Example 23 was used to describe a long feathered headdress which some Saanich people perceive as being typical of Indians from the United States. The meaning produced by the addition of ||-ə́|| in forms such as examples 19–23 seems different enough from the meaning of examples 13–16 to assume two homophonous morphemes. Native Saanich speakers, however, feel these to be all the same.

2.2.3. ||-t|| 'stative₂'. This aspectual morpheme is rare and probably not productive³. There are very few observed roots from which it is clearly segmentable. Example 24 is one of these.

24. kʷ"a sə+yən-t 'He's lying down.' [\REAL \RES+\put down\OBJ-\CONTROL]
The root in 24 has never been recorded with the ||-ə́t|| 'control transitive', but it has been recorded with the ||-ə́|| 'effort transitive'. It may be that the same class of roots that take this transitivizer also take 'stative₂' rather than 'stative₁' (see §2.1.2). Example 24 is also in the reduplicated form of the 'resultive'.

In §2.3.6.2 examples show that the ablaut form of the 'resultive' often occurs with 'stative₁'. It may be that 'stative₂' patterns with a set of roots that reduplicate in the 'resultive'. Too few examples have been recorded to make any definitive analysis. The following examples may also bear this suffix.

25. ʔqət 'It's wide, flattened.'
26. ččát 'It's thick.'
27. ṭamát šan 'I sat.'
28. Xéqt 'It's tall, long.' (Xqé=qan 'long feather')
29. stiwat 'A northerly wind.' (xtiwal 'Northern people')
30. ?itát šan 'I'm in bed.'

See §2.2.7 for other possible occurrences of this morpheme.

2.2.4. ||-il|| 'directional'. This suffix signals development in a direction indicated by the stem. It is most closely matched in English by 'towards'. It can precede 'control' or 'non-control', 'transitive' or 'intransitive' morphemes. It is itself unmarked for control. When following a strong root it appears unstressed as /-əl/.

31. √čč-il-aj 'It sank.' (√Xč 'deep, under, below')
32. √čč-al-ŋi-stxw šan 'I sank it.'
33. √ye? la? šan √naw-il-aj 'I went in.' [√go PAST 1SUBJ √be inside-DIR-CMDL]
34. √ye? la? šan √sq-il-aj 'I went out.'
35. √ts-il-aj 'Get away.' [√break-DIR-CMDL]
36. xʷalq'ilan 'He went downstream.'
37. kʷi? i? √tēy-əf 'He's going upstream now.' [REAL ACCOM √upstream(.ACT)-DIR]
38. xʷqak-il-at šan 'I went with him.' [LOC √accompany-DIR-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
39. √tē-al-aj 'He mounted (a horse).' [√on, upon, high, above-DIR-CMDL]
40. kʷi? √tēč-al 'He already arrived.' [REAL √be here-DIR] (tčítas 'He brought it here.')</p>

2.2.5. ||-asəŋ|| 'directionless'? This morpheme has been recorded with only one root. Attempts made to elicit it with others were unsuccessful. It may actually be a post-predicate particle. Its classification here as a suffix is based on the fact that it takes more prominent stress than any syllable of the stem which it follows. This morpheme has only been recorded in 'actual' stems, therefore the glottalization of the final resonant may be due to the 'actual' (see §2.3.5) and not an underlying feature.

41. ?aw ša+√št-əŋ-ásəŋ šan ?əf 'I'm just going to wander around a little (sightseeing).' [CONTEMP
   DIM,ACT,√walk-CMDL-DIRLESS]
42. šalaštəŋásəŋ 'A lot of people are wandering around.'

2.2.6. ||-efəŋ|| 'desiderative'. This suffix indicates that the state of affairs expressed in the predicate is desired by the subject. This differs in meaning from the post-predicate particle ||-yaq|| 'optative' (§2.2.6.2.2) in that the latter implies some expectations on the part of the speaker. ||-efəŋ|| simply indicates desire.

This suffix is unusual in that it can follow the transitive and intransitive suffixes (examples 45–47). The only other suffixes that do this are other transitive or intransitives and the objective pronominals. It cannot be analyzed as a post-predicate particle, however, since it can be followed by other suffixes (examples 49–50).

43. √čč-efəŋ šan 'I want to work.' [√work-DESID 1SUBJ]
44. ččefəŋ a sxw 'Do you want to work?'
45. √kw-an-t-efəŋ šan 'I want to look at it.' [√see-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-DESID 1SUBJ]
46. √kʷan-at-as-efəŋ 'He wants to take it.' [√take, grasp-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ-DESID]
47. √tam-t-efəŋ la? šan 'I wanted to hit him.' [√hit-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-DESID PAST 1SUBJ]
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich

2.2.7. /-an/ ~ /-tən/ 'instrumental'. Forms with this suffix refer to implements, tools, etc. This suffix is not a case marker as the gloss might suggest; it is never, for example, translated 'with'. The two alternate forms are apparently morphologically conditioned. The form without the /t/ (examples 55–64) occurs about twice as often as the other (examples 65–75). For one stem (examples 51–52) both forms of the suffix were recorded at different times with the same meaning. When this was pointed out to native speakers they decided that the form with the /t/ (51) was a mistake and that it sounded more Cowichan than Saanich.

One pair of words (53–54) with clearly the same root seems to show /-an/ in contrast to /-tən/. The form with /-tən/ has an apparently older meaning, so may simply be a relic form, or it may be a borrowing from Cowichan. Another more interesting possibility is that the /t/ here is a separate suffix related, perhaps, to the 'control transitive' ||-at||. Example 53 is clearly intransitive, but the difference between 53 and 54 does seem to be in part at least one of 'control' versus 'non-control'. The root ||τθís|| means 'punch, pound, hit by throwing or flinging'. Horns or antlers as in example 53 with the /t/ are instruments that pound; a nail as in example 54 is an instrument that gets pounded. The former implies control while the latter implies non-control. Nevertheless, no other such pair has been recorded and nowhere else is there an apparent 'control'/'non-control' distinction between /-tən/ and /-an/.

There are at least two other reasonable analyses. One would identify this /t/ with the poorly understood 'stative2' (§2.2.3). Colville in the Interior has a /-t/ 'stative' preceding a /-n/ 'instrumental' (Mattina, 1973).5

Another more interesting possibility is that the /t/ here is a separate suffix related, perhaps, to the 'control transitive' ||-at||. Example 53 is clearly intransitive, but the difference between 53 and 54 does seem to be in part at least one of 'control' versus 'non-control'. The root ||τθís|| means 'punch, pound, hit by throwing or flinging'. Horns or antlers as in example 53 with the /t/ are instruments that pound; a nail as in example 54 is an instrument that gets pounded. The former implies control while the latter implies non-control. Nevertheless, no other such pair has been recorded and nowhere else is there an apparent 'control'/'non-control' distinction between /-tən/ and /-an/.

The other analysis would recognize two separate morphemes: ||-tən|| and ||-an||. Upper Chehalis has been described this way (Kinkade, 1963).6

51. √mät=ás-τan 'Harpoon.' [S,LOC√point=face−INST]
52. Šmätasən 'Harpoon.'
53. τθís-τan 'Horn, antler.'
54. τθís-ən 'Nail.'
55. √pəθ=sən-τan 'Floor mat.' [√spread=foot−INST]
56. ʃ√q̕ə̕l-τan 'Diaper.' [S,LOC√curl, wrap around−INST]
57. √d̕ap-τan 'Eyelashes.' [√blink−INST]
58. τθéŋτan 'Bailer.'
59. ʃ√x̕iim=ás-τan 'Mask.' [S,LOC√adornment=face−INST]
60. sw̕áltan 'Net, web.'
61. špénətan 'Adze.'
62. sálsałτan 'Leg spindle.'
63. τθəxtan 'Poison.' (tθəxtθəx 'stinging nettles')
64. ʃ√p̕ak-τan 'Float on fishing line.' [S,LOC√rise to surface−INST]
65. √d̕áp-ən 'Spoon.' [√eat by sipping−INST] (səap 'soup')
66. √sip-ən 'Knife.' [√whittle−INST]
67. √t̕e=ás-ən 'Short fish spear.' [√poke=face−INST]
68. péečən 'Fishing rod.'
69. √x̕əš-ən 'Animal trap.' [√trap animals−INST]

http://www.cas.unt.edu/~montler/Saanich/Outline/index.htm
Some of the suffixes (§2.2.10.0.1) seem to have a basic tangible signification that can be extended metaphorically. For example ||=q̃san|| seems to have a basic meaning 'nose' as in 88 and 89.

88. s√mat=ʔ̃san ‘Nasal mucus’
89. x√’am̩-él=q̃san san ‘I got hit on the nose’ [LOC √hit−CONNEC=q̃san 1SUBJ]

More often, however, this suffix appears with a more abstract meaning 'point, protrusion'.

90. √ʔil=q̃san ‘Point of land.’
91. √šap=q̃san ‘Sharp point (on pencil, knife, etc.)’

Some of the suffixes (§2.2.10.1.4, §2.2.10.1.9, §2.2.10.1.14, §2.2.10.1.16, §2.2.10.1.27, §2.2.10.1.30, §2.2.10.1.33, §2.2.10.1.40, §2.2.10.1.42, §2.2.10.1.44, §2.2.10.1.50, §2.2.10.1.53) show a greater
tendency to metaphorical extension than others. Each lexical suffix can probably best be viewed as representing a complex network of associations rather than a concrete or abstract base from which metaphorical extensions are made. Certain salient elements of the real world (body parts, plants, buildings, etc.) form high priority nexus in the semantic network. Thus the first thing the suffix ₕ=ʔqsₜₜ, for example, will bring to mind when considered in isolation is "nose". The glosses given in §2.2.10.1 do not define the suffix but simply reflect the most prominent nexus. The list in figure 3 is provided for ease of reference. The numbers to the left of the suffixes indicate subsections under §2.2.10.1.

Table 3. Saanich Lexical Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜ</td>
<td>'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜʔcole</td>
<td>'animal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øc</td>
<td>'leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ œn</td>
<td>'waist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øp</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ œs</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ œsIan</td>
<td>'neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øqila?</td>
<td>'inside surface'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øqila</td>
<td>'canoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ økʷil</td>
<td>'torso'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ økʷo</td>
<td>'mind, emotion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øiwaṣ</td>
<td>'body, skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ økʷat</td>
<td>'clothing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øqila?</td>
<td>'container'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øeleq</td>
<td>'wave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øeas</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øeasIan</td>
<td>'testicles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ ønas</td>
<td>'offspring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ ønas</td>
<td>'times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øales</td>
<td>'plant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øesas</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øesas</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ ø españ</td>
<td>'tens'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øesas</td>
<td>'appearance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øamat</td>
<td>'blanket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øen</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øeen</td>
<td>'arrow, angle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øneč</td>
<td>'tail, rear end'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ ønaŋkʷ</td>
<td>'ground, floor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øenkʷas</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øenkel</td>
<td>'throat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ ønas</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ øinas</td>
<td>'chest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>ₕ=ʔₜₜₜₜ ønet</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
35. ||=enaxʷ|| ‘season’
36. ||=arjəʔ|| ‘berry’
37. ||=ŋəxʷ|| ‘being’
38. ||=qač|| ‘smell’
39. ||=qən|| ‘hair’
40. ||=qən|| ‘pharynx’
41. ||=iqən|| ‘belly’
42. ||=aŋ̕əʔ∥ ‘berry’
43. ||=ŋəxʷ∥ ‘being’
44. ||=qəč∥ ‘smell’
45. ||=qən∥ ‘hair’
46. ||=qən∥ ‘pharynx’
47. ||=as∥ ‘face’
48. ||=as∥ ‘day’
49. ||=ətxʷ∥ ‘dollar’
50. ||=əθ∥ ‘edge’
51. ||=aθin∥ ‘mouth’
52. ||=itθəʔ∥ ‘cloth’
53. ||=awíč∥ ‘back, spine’
54. ||=ewəqʷ∥ ‘bundle’
55. ||=əwíč∥ ‘back, spine’
56. ||=ewtxʷ∥ ‘building’
57. ||=exə̣n∥ ‘arm, side’
58. ||=ey∥ ‘wood’

2.2.10.0.2. For many of the lexical suffixes there are independent words with the same meaning. There are five full words in Saanich that, with the addition of a single initial consonant, incorporate the corresponding suffix: /téčəŋ/ ‘neck’ (§2.2.10.1.7), /čə́n/ ‘tooth’ (§2.2.10.1.32), /tə̣ŋəxʷ/ ‘earth’ (§2.2.10.1.37), /ŋə̣qsən/ ‘nose’ (§2.2.10.1.42), and /θáθən/ ‘mouth’ (§2.2.10.1.50).

A few of the full words corresponding to lexical suffixes contain the suffix as well as a separable root: /tθə̣méen/ ‘arrow’ (§2.2.10.1.27), /sθə̣pə̣sən/ ‘tail’ (§2.2.10.1.28), and /sʔáθəs/ ‘face’ (§2.2.10.1.44). Other suffixes are entirely unrelated to the corresponding independent words, for example, /xə̣nəʔ/ ‘leg’ (§2.2.10.1.1), /kʷə́ləw/ ‘skin’ (§2.2.10.1.12), /q̕ə̣nit/ ‘clothing’ (§2.2.10.1.13), /q̕ələŋ/ ‘eye’ (§2.2.10.1.16), /ʔə̣ʔ/ ‘water’ (§2.2.10.1.22), /ʔə̣pən/ ‘ten’ (§2.2.10.1.23), /xə̣nəʔ/ ‘throat’ (§2.2.10.1.31), /tθə̣ŋət/ ‘chest’ (§2.2.10.1.33), /xəs/ ‘belly’ (§2.2.10.1.41), /sqʷə̣n̕iʔ/ ‘head’ (§2.2.10.1.43), and /ʔɛfən/ ‘house’ (§2.2.10.1.56).

2.2.10.0.3. The lexical suffixes vary greatly in degree of productivity and in frequency of occurrence. Of those listed here, some appear in a fairly large number of words which seem to be frozen forms, the root of the word never appearing without the suffix (§2.2.10.1.1, §2.2.10.1.37, §2.2.10.1.58). Others occur with a very limited set of roots but are clearly analyzable (§2.2.10.1.19, §2.2.10.1.23, §2.2.10.1.25, §2.2.10.1.47, §2.2.10.1.54). Some of the suffixes appear frequently in the corpus with a wide variety of roots (§2.2.10.1.6, §2.2.10.1.12, §2.2.10.1.13, §2.2.10.1.14, §2.2.10.1.16, §2.2.10.1.33, §2.2.10.1.42, §2.2.10.1.43, §2.2.10.1.44, §2.2.10.1.46, §2.2.10.1.47, §2.2.10.1.50), while others are quite rare (§2.2.10.1.2, §2.2.10.1.3, §2.2.10.1.8, §2.2.10.1.17, §2.2.10.1.21, §2.2.10.1.22, §2.2.10.1.24, §2.2.10.1.25).
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich

2.2.10.0.4. Most of the lexical suffixes fit into a few semantic or functional categories. The numeral classifiers often fit into other categories as well (§2.2.10.1.1, §2.2.10.1.14, §2.2.10.1.19, §2.2.10.1.20, §2.2.10.1.23, §2.2.10.1.25, §2.2.10.1.47, and §2.2.10.1.54). Body parts and functions form the largest category (§2.2.10.1.3, §2.2.10.1.4, §2.2.10.1.6, §2.2.10.1.7, §2.2.10.1.10, §2.2.10.1.11, §2.2.10.1.12, §2.2.10.1.16, §2.2.10.1.17, §2.2.10.1.24, §2.2.10.1.26, §2.2.10.1.28, §2.2.10.1.30, §2.2.10.1.31, §2.2.10.1.32, §2.2.10.1.33, §2.2.10.1.38, §2.2.10.1.39, §2.2.10.1.40, §2.2.10.1.41, §2.2.10.1.42, §2.2.10.1.43, §2.2.10.1.44, §2.2.10.1.46, §2.2.10.1.47, §2.2.10.1.50, §2.2.10.1.52, §2.2.10.1.53, §2.2.10.1.57). Two other smaller categories are natural phenomena (§2.2.10.1.5, §2.2.10.1.14, §2.2.10.1.15, §2.2.10.1.18, §2.2.10.1.20, §2.2.10.1.21, §2.2.10.1.27, §2.2.10.1.29, §2.2.10.1.34, §2.2.10.1.35, §2.2.10.1.36, §2.2.10.1.45, §2.2.10.1.55, §2.2.10.1.58) and man–made items (§2.2.10.1.19, §2.2.10.1.13, §2.2.10.1.25, §2.2.10.1.27, §2.2.10.1.48, §2.2.10.1.51, §2.2.10.1.54, §2.2.10.1.56). The suffixes that do not fit into one or more of these categories (§2.2.10.1.1, §2.2.10.1.2, §2.2.10.1.8, §2.2.10.1.37) are problematic for other reasons as well.

2.2.10.0.5. Saanich appears to have few lexical suffixes compared to other Salish languages. Only fifty-eight have been observed so far. Perhaps a few lexical suffixes have not yet been discovered, but even double this number would be few in comparison to Chilliwack Halkomelem, for instance, for which Galloway (1977) has recorded over 150.

Pidgeon (1970) lists most of the lexical suffixes found in Saanich. In the list that follows I will try to avoid any duplication of that admirable work, but some repetition of data will be inevitable, especially in the less frequently occurring suffixes. The examples have been chosen to give some idea of the phonological variation, semantic range, and productivity of the suffix.

The analysis presented here, based on a broader and later view of the language, differs in a number of instances from that presented by Pidgeon. Several suffixes will appear to have forms quite different from those listed by Pidgeon, but comparison of the examples will show that the differences in most cases are matters of analysis. For example, in this analysis \(=\)kʷat\(\) (§2.2.10.1.12) is considered a single morpheme; Pidgeon shows two: \(-k^*\)/ and \(-at\)/.

Aside from differences in analysis and transcription twenty suffixes not identified previously are listed here (§2.2.10.1.1, §2.2.10.1.2, §2.2.10.1.10, §2.2.10.1.15, §2.2.10.1.21, §2.2.10.1.22, §2.2.10.1.23, §2.2.10.1.24, §2.2.10.1.25, §2.2.10.1.34, §2.2.10.1.36, §2.2.10.1.38, §2.2.10.1.41, §2.2.10.1.45, §2.2.10.1.48, §2.2.10.1.49, §2.2.10.1.50, §2.2.10.1.52, §2.2.10.1.54, §2.2.10.1.58).

Five suffixes listed by Pidgeon are not listed here because I was unable to elicit them myself: \(=\)iʔás/ ‘belly, outside of a rounded object such as barrel, basket’ (p.28), \(=\)eq/ ‘penis’ (p.25), \(=\)səʔ/ ‘liquid of a certain consistency (dense)’ (p.39), \(=\)xʷəʔ/ ‘tongue’ (p.44), and \(=\)ēʔaq/ ‘whole leg’ (p.27).

2.2.10.1.1. \(=\)ʔʔl/ ‘person, relation’? This suffix appears regularly in only a few forms and is certainly not productive. It has \(\text{a/}\) only when stressed (examples 103, 104, and 108), otherwise it appears as \(=\)ʔʔl/ (examples 94 through 102) or \(=/\)/ when preceded by a vowel or syllabic resonant (examples 92 and 93). 92. sʔ\(\sqrt{\text{hni}}\)ʔʔl/ ‘Woman.’
93. √qéʔniʔ = 'Maiden.'
94. s√céʔc = aʔ 'Friend, relative.'
95. s√ʔáy = aʔ 'Sweetheart.' [S√good = person]
96. √ʔán = aʔ 'Son, daughter.'
97. šxʷ√ʔáw = aʔ 'Brother, sister.'
98. √ŋə́n = aʔ 'Son, daughter.'
99. šxʷ√ʔá = aʔ 'Brother, sister.'
100. s√č̕əyá = aʔ 'Twins.'
101. s√ɬənəč = aɬ 'Girl.'
102. s√wéyq = aɬ 'Boy.'
103. s√ɬəq̕ət = aʔ 'Co-wife.'
104. s√č̕éeʔ = aʔ 'Spouse of one’s deceased sibling.'
105. maqéʔaʔ 'Makah people.'
106. 4aq̕ataʔ 'Non-Coast Indians.'

Examples 103 and 104 can be seen to have the same roots as examples 92 and 100. The /i/ of 92 and the /č/ of 103 both arise from an underlying ||y|| (see §1.5.7). The second /a/ in 103 is epenthetic. Example 95 is the only form that is clearly analyzable. No other kinship terms have this suffix and those that do show no clear pattern.

A number of other words seem to have this suffix but do not refer to people. The following refer to animals:

107. s√qéx = aʔ 'Dog.'
108. s-qə +√q = a? ‘Puppy.’ (Compare with 103 and 104.)
109. stq̕eʔaʔ 'Wolf.'
110. skʷtāʔ 'Raven.'
111. qaqqéyəʔ 'Snipe.'
112. nāq̕əʔaʔ 'Great blue heron.'
113. sʔt̕aqu̕iʔ 'Spring salmon.'
114. sqʷáməʔ 'Catfish.'
115. pəwʔeʔ 'Flounder.'
116. 4amak̕aʔ 'Sole.'
117. kʷənəčətk̕aʔ 'Shark.' (This may involve a root meaning "cut" and the lexical suffix for "tail" (§2.2.10.1.28))
118. kʷlict̕iʔ 'Small green–yellow sea eggs.'
119. sʔáq̕əʔaʔ 'Snake.'

Referring to plants:
120. t̕akʷiʔ 'Skunk cabbage.'
121. sən̕iʔ 'Oregon grape.'
122. téq̕aʔ 'Salal berry.'

Referring to body parts:
123. xənaʔ 'Leg.'
124. sqamáʔ 'Breast.'
125. máxʷəyaʔ 'Navel.'
126. qʷən̕iʔ 'Head.'

Referring to natural phenomena:
127. sʔímaʔ 'Ice.'
128. xáčəʔ 'Lake.'

Referring to tools:
129. čáłəʔ 'Clam barbecuing stick.'
130. ʃə́łəʔ 'Reef net.'
131. qəkʷəʔ 'Cane; walking stick.'

Of all of these only the last clearly has a root that appears elsewhere without the suffix: /√qəkʷ-əŋ/ 'knee'.

2.2.10.1.2. ∥=əʔəč∥ 'antlered animal'? Only two examples of this suffix have been seen; the root is not recognizable in either. This may be related to the suffix for 'back' (§2.2.10.1.52).
132. √kʷəʔɛw=əʔəč 'Moose.'
133. √q̕ə́kʷy=ə́ʔəč 'Elk.'

The usual Saanich word for 'deer', /smə́yəθ/, does not show this suffix. It may be that these two examples are borrowings. Neither moose nor elk are to be found on the Saanich Peninsula.

2.2.10.1.3. ∥=eyəč∥ 'leg'. Pidgeon gives the gloss "upper leg above and including the knee" (p.26) and several clear examples. I have been able to elicit only two examples of this suffix. The ∥y∥ surfaces as /č/ unless glottalized by the 'actual' (see §2.3.5).
134. s-x̣ʷ(əl)+√x̣ʷč=éčəč 'Lame.'
135. s√tkʷ=éy̕əč 'He’s limping.'

2.2.10.1.4. ∥=ečən∥ 'waist, circumference'.
136. √ƛ̕ə́θ=éčən 'Belt.' [√tight=waist]
137. √q̕p−ał=éčən 'Lid, cover.' [√cover−CONNEC=waist]
138. √q̕p̕−ał=éč−t 'Bundle them (sticks) up.' [√gather−CONNEC=waist−CTRAN−3OBJ(ø)]
139. q̕am+=√q̕am=éčən 'Type of wasp.' [CHAR+=√cut in two=waist]
140. š√q̕éw=əčən 'Anterior dorsal (waist?) fin of a fish.'
141. √q̕p̕−s=əčən 'Swallow (bird).'
142. √k̕w̕ya=éčən 'Grizzly bear.'

Example 141 is questionable because of the /á/. The root in 142 may be the root meaning ‘refuse, unable, wrong, forbidden’ as in /sk̕w̕ey kʷə nasyʔ?/ ‘I can’t go’; /k̕w̕éyisit san/ ‘I refused him (to have it)’; and /k̕w̕ey kʷə níšč̕q̕áłgułʔ/ ‘It’s forbidden to talk about it.’ But connections between the meaning of 142 and the meanings of the component morphemes are far from clear.
143. š√q̕ə́m=əčən 'Bracelet.' [S,LOC√bone=waist]

The suffix in 143 may be better analyzed as two: /=ač/, a variant of ∥=čas∥ ‘hand’, and /−an/ ‘instrument’. Haeberlin (M. T. Thompson, 1974:283) shows a Nanaimo word for bracelet looking very similar to this under a suffix meaning ‘wrist joint, ankle joint’.
144. √q̕ə́š=čən 'Blood.'

This last example is entirely unclear.

2.2.10.1.5. ∥=čəp∥ ‘fire’.
145. √šə́ł=čəp 'Firedrill.' [√circle, turn around=fire]
146. √q̕ə́y−a=čəp 'Ashes, soot.' [√dead−CONNEC=fire]

2.2.10.1.6. ∥=čas∥ ‘hand’. See also §2.2.10.1.47.
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich

2.10.1.7. \(=\)éčšəŋ\] ‘neck, back of head’.
2.10.1.8. \(=\)kʷιlaʔ\] ‘inside surface of open container’?
2.10.1.9. \(=\)wi\] ‘canoe’. The \(=\)w\] surfaces when glottalized in the ‘actual’.
2.10.1.10. \(=\)kʷə\] ‘torso’. This may be related to the ‘canoe’ suffix through metaphorical extension by way of ‘container’. See §2.2.10.1.14. Examples 159 and 160, above, could fit just as well here.

\(=\)wəʔ\] ‘Generous.’ [LOC\(=\)good\(=\)canoe]
\(=\)šω\] ‘Stingy.’ [LOC\(=\)bad\(=\)canoe]
\(=\)šx\(=\)kʷιf\(=\)an ‘Cross-piece in a canoe’ [S,LOC\(=\)cross\(=\)canoe\(=\)INST]

\(=\)wəʔ\] ‘He’s building a canoe.’ [LOC\(=\)build\(=\)canoe]
\(=\)šω\] ‘War canoe.’ [LOC\(=\)canoe]
\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘He’s a nice person.’ [LOC\(=\)canoe]
\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I got discouraged.’ [CONTEM \(=\)bad\(=\)NCR LIMIT 1SUBJ]

\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘He’s smart.’ [S\(=\)trained\(=\)canoe]
\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I’m disgusted.’ [1POS\(=\)S,LOC\(=\)canoe]

\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I got discouraged.’ [CONTEM \(=\)bad\(=\)NCR LIMIT 1SUBJ]

\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I got discouraged.’ [CONTEM \(=\)bad\(=\)NCR LIMIT 1SUBJ]

\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I’m disgusted.’ [1POS\(=\)S,LOC\(=\)canoe]

\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I got discouraged.’ [CONTEM \(=\)bad\(=\)NCR LIMIT 1SUBJ]

\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I’m disgusted.’ [1POS\(=\)S,LOC\(=\)canoe]

\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I got discouraged.’ [CONTEM \(=\)bad\(=\)NCR LIMIT 1SUBJ]

\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I’m disgusted.’ [1POS\(=\)S,LOC\(=\)canoe]

\(=\)š\(=\)wə\] ‘I got discouraged.’ [CONTEM \(=\)bad\(=\)NCR LIMIT 1SUBJ]
2.2.10.1.13. \( \| \| = k^\| a t \| \) 'clothing'. This suffix appears as \( / = k^\| a t / \) when stressed, \( / = k^\| a t / \) when not stressed, and \( / = k^\| a t / \) when unstressed and followed by an alveolar or another stressed suffix.

180. \( S \sqrt{k}^\| a m - a l = k^\| a t \) 'Bathing suit.' \([S, L O C \sqrt{b a t h e - C O N N E C = c o s h i n g}]

181. \( S \sqrt{p a q}^\| a l = k^\| a t \) 'Potlatch blanket.' \([\sqrt{w h i t e - C O N N E C = c o s h i n g}]

182. \( S \sqrt{\theta a k}^\| a l = k^\| a t - a n \) 'She's washing clothes.' \([\sqrt{w a s h - C O N N E C = c o s h i n g - C M D L}]

183. \( S \sqrt{m a l y i - t a l - h a l} = k^\| a t \) 'Wedding gown.' \([\sqrt{w e d d i n g - R E C I P - C O N N E C = c o s h i n g}]

184. \( S \sqrt{\chi \chi \chi}^\| a n \) 'Underwear.' \([\sqrt{b e n e a t h = c o s h i n g - I N S T}]

185. \( S \sqrt{\chi \pi}^\| a n \) 'Shirt.'

Example 185 is probably a borrowing from Cowichan and cognate morpheme for morpheme with example 184 showing regular sound correspondences. However, a root \( \| \sqrt{\chi \pi} \| \) different from \( \sqrt{\chi \chi \chi} \) does occur in Saanich with a meaning that fits this context, something like 'extending outer layer', appearing, for example, in the words /\( \sqrt{\chi \chi \chi} \sqrt{\chi} \sqrt{\pi} \sqrt{t} \sqrt{n} / 'skirt' and /\( \sqrt{\chi \pi} \sqrt{q} \sqrt{a} / 'long, outside feathers of a bird'.

2.2.10.1.14. \( \| = e l a ? \| \) 'container; person'. Because the two glosses for this suffix are so different, this form may represent two homophonous morphemes. However, it may be that people are perceived as being in some sense containers. This suffix appears with the meaning 'person' when and only when affixed to a numeral or ordinal stem, so examples 186 to 189 can only refer to containers; examples 190 and 191 can refer only to people.

186. \( S \sqrt{x}^\| a w s = e l a ? \) 'Fireplace.' \([S - L O C \sqrt{b u r n = f i r e - c o n t a i n e r}]

187. \( S \sqrt{t a f}^\| a l = e l a ? \) 'River bank.' \([S, L O C \sqrt{r i v e r = c o n t a i n e r}]

188. \( S \sqrt{x}^\| a \sqrt{i} = e l a ? \) 'Bladder.' \([S - L O C \sqrt{g o o d = c o n t a i n e r}]

189. \( S \sqrt{x}^\| i m = e l a ? \) 'Store.' \([S, L O C \sqrt{b u y = c o n t a i n e r}]

190. \( S \sqrt{n a s} = e l a ? \) 'Four people.' \([\sqrt{f o u r} = c o n t a i n e r}

191. \( S \sqrt{\delta} = e l a ? \) 'He's first (in a race).' \([\sqrt{a h e a d} = c o n t a i n e r}

2.2.10.1.15. \( \| = e l e q \| \) 'wave'.

192. \( \sqrt{\theta a y} = e l e q \) 'Ocean swell.' \([\sqrt{p r o t r u d e = w a v e}]

193. \( S \sqrt{\chi \delta} = e l a q \) 'Big wave.' \([\sqrt{b i g (A C T) = w a v e}]

194. \( S \sqrt{q}^\| a l q = e l a q - a n \) 'Wave breaking into shore.'

195. \( S \sqrt{x}^\| a n \) 'Swift water.' \([\sqrt{f a s t} = w a v e - I N S T}]

2.2.10.1.16. \( \| = e l a s \| \) 'eye; round; color'. See also \( \| = e l a s \| \) 'eye; round; color'. The connection between 'eye' and 'round' is obvious. Connections between either of these and 'color' are less so. It may be that beads, brightly and variously colored, form the semantic link.

196. \( S \sqrt{\chi \delta \pi} = e l a s - a n \) 'His eyes are closed.' \([\sqrt{c l o s e = e y e - C M D L}]

197. \( S \sqrt{\chi \delta \pi} = e l a s \) 'Black eye.' \([\sqrt{b r u i s e = e y e}]

198. \( S \sqrt{\chi \delta \pi} = e l a s \) 'Oblong.' \([\sqrt{l o n g = e y e}]

199. \( S \sqrt{\chi \delta \pi} = e l a s \) 'Pare (potatoes, apples, etc.).' \([\sqrt{w h i t t l e = e y e}]

200. \( S \sqrt{\chi \delta \pi} = e l a s \) 'Tight weave.' \([\sqrt{t i g h t = e y e}]

201. \( S \sqrt{\chi \delta \pi} = e l a s \) 'Loose weave.' \([\sqrt{l o o s e = e y e}]

202. \( S \sqrt{\chi \delta \pi} = e l a s \) 'It's wound up (yarn into a ball).' \([S T A T \sqrt{t u r n a r o u n d = c o s h i n g - e y e}]

203. \( S \sqrt{\chi \delta \pi} = e l a s \) 'Bright eyes; bright color.' \([\sqrt{g o o d = e y e}]

http://www.cas.unt.edu/~montler/Saanich/Outline/index.htm
204. √nač-álas 'Multicolored.' [√/different=eye]
205. √əaph=álas-an 'He blinked.'

2.2.10.1.17. ||=élas|| 'testicles'. See also §2.2.10.1.44.
206. xʷ√čxʷ-l=élas-t-as 'She (the mother) spits on his (the baby’s) testicles.' [LOC√/expectorate-CONNEC=testicles-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ]

2.2.10.1.18. ||=ač|| 'offspring, youngster'. Pidgeon gives /=álə as 'Boy.' [S√bear=offspring]

207. s√peʔəθ=áɫ 'Baby bear.' [S√bear=offspring]
208. s√wəy̕q=áʔ=əɬ 'Boy.' [S√man=person=offspring]
209. √pus=áɬ 'Kitten.' [√/cat=offspring]

2.2.10.1.19. ||=eɬ∥ 'times'. This suffix is acceptable, apparently, only with numbers three through ten and with the roots ||√kʷən∥ 'how many' and ||√ŋən∥ 'many'.

210. √kʷən=éɬkʷən̕-s√y̕ 'How often did you go?' [√/how many=times SUB 2POS–S√/go]

211. √ŋən=éɬ 'Lots of times.'
212. √ŋəs=éɬ 'Four times.'
215. √ʔapan=éɬ 'Ten times.'

2.2.10.1.20. ||=iɬč∥ 'plant, tree, bush'.

216. s√ŋəs=iɬč 'Four trees.'
217. √saniʔ=iɬč 'Oregon grape bush.' [S√Oregon grape=plant]
218. √čaŋ=iɬč 'Oak tree.' [√/adze=plant]

A few words have /=əp/, presumably a cognate loan from Cowichan.

219. čawnaʔp 'Cottonwood.'
220. qʷəyəfəšəɬp 'Blue Spruce.'

With roots borrowed from English, however, ||=iɬč∥ regularly occurs:

221. √kalənts=iɬč 'Currant bush.'
222. √ʔepals=iɬč 'Apple tree.'

2.2.10.1.21. ||=aɬan|| 'fish'? The gloss for this is tentative since this suffix has been found in only one word.

223. s√tθəm=áɬan 'Salmon backbone.' [S√/bone=fish]

2.2.10.1.22. ||=eɬsa∥ 'water'.

224. √xət=éɬsa 'Salt water.'
225. s√čxʷ=éɬsa 'Saliva.' [S√/expectorate=water]
226. √ŋəq=áɬsa-ŋ 'Swallow with no food in mouth.' [√swallow=water–CMDL]

2.2.10.1.23. ||=təɬeʔ|| 'tens'. This suffix appears only on the numbers thirty through seventy-nine and ninety through ninety-nine. The word for ‘twenty’ is /tθəxʷkʷəs/ and ‘eighty’ is /šəməʔas/.
227. √ɬəxʷ=ɬšéʔ 'Thirty.' [√three=tens]
228. √ŋəs=ɬšéʔ 'Forty.'
229. √qə=ɬšéʔ 'Fifty.'
230. √tʃə=ɬšéʔ 'Sixty.'
231. √θəʔkʷəs=ɬšéʔ 'Seventy.'
232. √təʔkʷə=ɬšéʔ 'Ninety.'
233. √ɬəxʷ=ɬšéʔʔiʔkʷs √nə̀ t̕θəʔ 'Thirty-one.'

2.2.10.1.24. ∥=íim ∥'appearance'.
234. √ql=íiməʔ 'It's dirty, messy (e.g. a house).' [√bad=appearance]
235. √iʔ=íiməʔ 'It's clean (neat, tidy).' [√good=appearance]
236. xʷ√qəl=íiməʔ=əs 'He's ugly.' [LOC√bad=appearance=face]

2.2.10.1.25. ∥=am ∥'blanket, flat object'. All observed occurrences of this suffix are with roots denoting quantity. It is used with numerals for counting blankets, sheets, or other flat objects. It does not occur with /təʔkʷəs/ 'seven', /təʔθəs/ 'eight', /ʔəpəʔs/ 'eleven', or numbers greater than nineteen.
237. √nə̀ t̕θəʔ=áməʔ√sə̚máy̕ 'One blanket.' [√one=blanket √blanket]
238. √ŋəs=áməʔ 'Four blankets.'
239. √ʔəʔc̕ə̚n=áməʔ 'Twelve blankets.' [√ten=blanket ACCOM DEM√two √blanket]

2.2.10.1.26. ∥=en ∥'ear'.
240. s√ƛ̕ə̚n̕éy̕s=ən 'Earring.'
241. √q̕=en 'One of a pair of earrings (but not one of a pair of ears).'</√one of a pair=ear]
242. s√ʔaʔc̕=én 'Pair of ears, earrings.' [√pair=ear]
243. s√q̕ə̚l=éen 'Corner inside a house.'

2.2.10.1.27. ∥=en ∥'arrow, angle'. This suffix denotes flat pointed objects whereas ∥=aq̕ən∥ (§2.2.10.1.42) involves conical pointed objects. This may be related to the suffix for 'ear'. Saunders and Davis (1975) suggest that the angle formed by the side of the head, neck, and shoulder, the ear area, is the semantic connection.
244. √θə̚m=éen 'Arrow.' [√bone=arrow]
245. √̕p=éen=at 'Sharpen the point (of an arrow or knife).'</√whittle=arrow-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) (Compare with example 290.)
246. √sə̚q=éen 'Type of fern that grows in open fields.' [√outside=arrow]
247. s√c̕ʔ=éen̕əʔ 'Corner inside a house.'
The analysis of example 247 is uncertain.

2.2.10.1.28. ∥=neč ∥'tail, rear end'.
248. s√ʔapə̚y̕s=ən̕c̕ 'Tail.'
249. xʷ√ʔéqv=ən̕c̕ 'Cougar.' [√long=tail]
250. xʷ√q̕ɛ́̚v̕=ən̕c̕ 'Rattlesnake.' [LOC√shake a rattle-CMDL=tail]
251. xʷ√ʔə̚m=ə̚c̕ 'He's squatting.' [LOC√sit=tail]
252. √kʷəθ=neč̕-t 'He tilted it (lifted it at one end).'
2.2.10.1.29. ||=anak'|| 'ground, floor'. The word for floor itself shows the occasional Cowichan borrowing /=anáp/.

253. 4aʔanáʔtən 'Floor.'

254. s√4aq=anák' 'Flat; level ground.' [S√wide=ground]

255. √ʔəʔən=anák'-'s 'It's the ir village.' [√/home=ground-3POS]

2.2.10.1.30. ||=enkʷas|| 'stomach, gut feelings'. Pidgeon gives several examples of this suffix with the literal meaning 'stomach' (p.25). I have not been able to elicit these, but see §2.2.10.1.41 below.

256. √ʔi=énkʷə 'He's brave.' [√good=stomach]

257. √ʔə=énkʷə 'He's cowardly.'

2.2.10.1.31. ||=nel|| 'throat'.

258. √tikʷ=nel-ən 'He got strangled.' [√choke=throat-CTRAN-PASS]

259. s√qsȃ=4nəl 'Necklace.'

2.2.10.1.32. ||=nəs|| 'tooth'.

260. √tâm=nəs 'He got hit in the teeth.'

2.2.10.1.33. ||=nas|| 'chest'.

261. √tâm=ínas 'He got hit on the chest.'

262. s√təm=ínas 'Sternum.' [S√bone=chest]

263. √tkʷ=ínas 'He choked.' [√choke=chest]

264. √ʔən=ínas 'Heartburn.' [√/eat=chest]

2.2.10.1.34. ||=net|| 'day, twenty-four hour period'. It is not clear whether this morpheme should be considered a lexical suffix or a root that commonly appears in compounds. A root having the same form and similar meaning does exist: ||√net|| as in /snet/ 'night'. When this form appears as a root it always has the meaning 'night' rather than 'twenty-four hour period', the consistent meaning of the suffix.

265. s-x̣ʔeʔ+√x̣əʔ-4=net 'Sunday.' [S-CHAR+√sacred-DUR=day]

266. s√θə=net=s 'Tuesday.' [S√second=day=day]

2.2.10.1.35. ||=enax'|| 'season'.

267. s√xʷis-a=énax' 'Autumn.'

2.2.10.1.36. ||=anəʔ|| 'berry'.

268. √tθqʷ=ánəʔ 'Red raspberry.'

This same root appears with the cognate suffix, /=aṃəʔ/, borrowed from Cowichan but with a slightly different meaning.

269. √tθqʷ=áṃəʔ 'Blackcap berry.'

There are two roots, meaning 'rotten' and 'punch', with the same form as the root in these examples. It is unclear which, if either, it may be.

2.2.10.1.37. ||=nix'|| 'being'. The gloss here is certainly inadequate, but it is difficult to come up with a single phrase common denominator for this suffix. L. C. Thompson (p.c.) suggests the gloss 'cluster' since each word this suffix is used with refers to a complex cluster of attributes. Another common characteristic
is that each of the things referred to using this suffix can be thought of as animate or almost animate. And this is perhaps related to the fact that each of the words refers to things that are thought of as possessing a high degree of natural spiritual power. In any case, consider the gloss merely a suggestive mnemonic tag.

270. √ʔəmt-éł=ŋəxʷ ‘Person, Indian.’
271. √xʷɪl=ŋəxʷ ‘Indian.’
272. s.√xʷal=ŋíxʷ-ɑ̈ ‘It’s from the Indians (e.g., lacrosse, totem poles).’
273. √ŋəθ-éł=ŋəxʷ ‘West Coast people.’
274. s.√qal-éł=ŋəxʷ ‘Tree (large).’
275. s.√tél=ŋəxʷ ‘Medicine.’ [S./numb=being]
276. √č̕əθ-éł=ŋəxʷ san ‘I’m milking (a cow).’
Haeberlin (M. T. Thompson, 1974:283) has several examples of a Kalispel suffix /-mxʷ/ meaning ‘breast’. This last example may show the Saanich cognate.

2.2.10.1.38. ||=qəč| ‘smell’.
277. √ʔiʔ-éł=qəč ‘It smells good.’ [√good-CONNEC=smell]

2.2.10.1.39. ||=qən| ‘hair, fur, feather’.
278. s.√x̆pí-l=qan ‘Feather.’ [S./extending outer layer-CONNEC=hair]
279. s.√xʷʔap-áł=qan ‘Hair brush.’ [S./LOC/LOC-CONNEC=hair]
280. √téw=qan ‘Mourn the dead.’ [√break=hair]
281. √ʔamátuẁ-áł=qan ‘Sheep’s wool’ [√sheep (< French "le mouton")-CONNEC=hair]

2.2.10.1.40. ||=qən| ‘pharynx, language’. See also §2.2.10.1.50.
282. √xʷʔanitam=qan san ‘I speak English.’ [√White man=pharynx 1SUBJ]
283. xʷ√sēnáč=qan san ‘I speak Saanich.’ [LOC/Saanich=pharynx 1SUBJ]
284. xʷ√méʔkʷəɬ=qan san ‘I said something I didn’t mean to say.’ [LOC/LOC/mistake, hurt=pharynx 1SUBJ]
285. √ŋəθ-éł=ŋəxʷ=qan ‘West Coast language.’
286. √x̆ʔy̆=ʔəq-əɬ ‘Something’s stuck in his throat.’

2.2.10.1.41. ||=qən| ‘belly’.
287. √ʔam=qən ‘He’s big bellied.’ [√big=belly]
288. √ʔam=qən san ‘I got hit on the belly.’ [√hit=belly 1SUBJ]

2.2.10.1.42. ||=qəsan| ‘nose, point, protrusion’. See §2.2.10.0.1 for other examples of this suffix. See also §2.2.10.1.27.
289. s.√θəm-éł=qəsan ‘Bridge of the nose.’ [S./bone=nose]
290. √ʔp=qəs-t san sa? ‘I will sharpen it (a pencil).’ [√whittle=nose-CONNEC=3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ FUT]
291. √naw=qəs-t ‘Stick it in (something pointed into something hollow).’ [√inside=nose-CONNEC=3OBJ(ø)]
292. √ʔkwʷ=ʔəqsan ‘He broke the point; he broke his nose.’

2.2.10.1.43. ||=qən| ‘head’.
293. √ʔam=qən ‘He got hit on the (top of his) head.’
294. s.√ʔəɬp=qən ‘Curly hair.’ [S./curl (borrowed from Cowichan? Saanich root is ||qəlkʷ||)=head]
295. √ʔap=qən-t-əŋ san ‘Some body squeezed my head.’ [√squeeze=head-CONNEC-PASS]
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich

296. √tʰakʷʷ=ɬiqʷʷ-əŋ ‘She’s cleaning her hair.’
297. √xʷ̣=ɑqʷ ‘Headache.’ [√feel bad=head]
298. √čas=əqʷ ‘Hat.’ [√cover=head]

2.2.10.1.44. ||=as|| ‘face’. This seems to be the most frequently occurring of all the lexical suffixes. Suffixes ||= alas|| (§2.2.10.1.16) and ||= élas|| (§2.2.10.1.17) are probably related to this one.
299. xʷ=tám=as ‘He got hit in the face.’
300. ʃ=xʷ=tám=as ‘Cheek bone.’
301. xʷ=néč=as ‘He looks different.’ [LOC √ different=face]
302. √x̣af=ɑs- t- əŋ san ‘Somebody’s taking my picture.’ [√ draw=face-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]
303. ś=xʷən=ɑs- əŋ ‘Mirror; window.’ [S, LOC √ see=face-CMDL]
304. √qap=ɑs- t tsə n- s √ ṭiqew ‘Tie up your horse.’ [√ gather, tie=face-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM 2POS- S √ horse]
305. xʷ=čxʷ=ɑs- t- əŋ ‘Somebody spat on his face.’ [LOC √ expectorate=face-CTRAN-PASS]

2.2.10.1.45. ||=as|| ‘day’.
306. s=ɬixʷ=s ‘Wednesday.’ [S √ three=day]

2.2.10.1.46. ||=san|| ‘foot, lower leg’.
307. xʷ=tʰakʷʷ=sən- əŋ san ‘I’m washing my feet.’ [LOC √ wash=foot-CMDL(ACT) 1SUBJ]
308. √q̣at=əsan- tan ‘Dancer’s leg wraps.’ [√ wrap around=foot-INST]
309. s=ɬax=asn ‘Toe.’ [S √ digit=foot]
310. s=ʔəc̣- ə=əsan ‘Pair of feet, shoes, or socks.’
311. √tám=as ‘He got hit on the (lower) leg.’
312. √akʷʷ=sən- at ‘Trip him.’ [√ snare, snag=foot-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)]
313. paθ=əsan- tan ‘Floor mat.’ [√ spread out=foot-INST]
A few words appear with the suffix /=sən/ for ‘foot’. These are apparently borrowings from Cowichan.
314. qʷəmaxʷ̕əsn ‘Ankle (thin part of leg).’
315. ə̕xal̕əsn ‘Calf of leg.’
316. qʷəny̕əsn ‘Shoe (log on the foot?).’

2.2.10.1.47. ||=sis|| ‘hand, lower arm’.
317. xʷ=tʰakʷʷ=siʔ(?)s- əŋ san ‘I’m washing my hands.’ [LOC √ wash=hand-CMDL(ACT) 1SUBJ]
318. √kʷ̕ə=əs ‘He got hooked on the hand. [√ snare, snare=hand]
319. s=ɬax-áł=əsas ‘Finger.’ [S √ digit=CONN=hand] See also example 121 in §2.2.10.1.6.
320. √p̣=e̕y- é=əsas ‘Cedar bough.’
321. k=w̕sí̕s- ən ‘He knocked (on the door).’
322. √q̣əxʷ=sí̕s- t- əŋ ‘He got slapped on the hand.’

2.2.10.1.48. ||=ətxʷ|| ‘dollar’. This suffix apparently previously referred to ‘round objects’ (see M. T. Thompson, 1974 section 12.2.). However, today it is used only with words refering to numbers of dollars.
323. nətθ̕ékʷətxʷ ‘One dollar.’
324. √ṇəs- él=ətxʷ ‘Four dollars.’
325. √ʔəpan- él=ətxʷ ‘Ten dollars.’
2.2.10.1.49. \(=a\theta\) \(\|\) ‘edge’. Notice that this suffix is similar in shape to \(=a\theta\)in \(\|\) ‘mouth’ (§2.2.10.1.50). In other Salish languages a cognate is considered to be a single suffix with the meanings ‘mouth, edge’. M. T. Thompson (1974:238) suggests that the general meaning for both is ‘edge’ with the connection being the lips considered “the edge of the mouth”.

It seems unlikely that the final /n/ in \(=a\theta\)in \(\|\) is the instrument suffix in Saanich as Pidgeon suggests (pp.40–41). Since there are two different forms with corresponding different meanings, it will be best to assume two separate morphemes, at least synchronically, for Saanich.

326. \(\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a\theta}=a\theta\) ‘It’s sharp edged.’ \([\sqrt{\text{good}}=\text{edge}]\)

327. \(\text{s}\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a}\theta=a\theta\) ‘Whetstone.’ \([\text{S,LOC}\sqrt{\text{sharp}(\text{RES})}=\text{edge}]\)

328. \(\sqrt{q}\text{ʔ}=a\theta\) ‘It’s dull edged.’ \([\sqrt{\text{bad}}=\text{edge}]\)

2.2.10.1.50. \(=a\theta\)in \(\|\) ‘mouth, chin, language’. See also §2.2.10.1.40.

329. \(\sqrt{\text{ʔ}am}=\text{ʔ}a\theta\)an ‘He got hit on the mouth (or chin).’

330. \(s\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a}\theta\text{mi}=\text{ʔ}a\theta\)an ‘Jaw.’ \([\sqrt{\text{bone}}=\text{mouth}]\)

331. \(s\sqrt{\text{ʔ}(\text{al})p}=\text{ʔ}a\theta\)an ‘Lips.’ \([\sqrt{\text{sip}(\text{PL})}=\text{mouth}]\)

332. \(s\sqrt{\text{ʔ}C}=\text{ʔ}a\theta\)an ‘Lower lip.’ \([\sqrt{\text{below}}=\text{mouth}]\)

333. \(\sqrt{s}a\text{m}x=\text{ʔ}a\theta\)an ‘Be quiet.’

334. \(\sqrt{s}a\text{n}C=\text{ʔ}a\theta\)an ‘I speak Saanich.’ \([\sqrt{\text{Saanich}}=\text{mouth} 1\text{SUBJ}]\)

335. \(\sqrt{x}a\text{n}i\text{t}a\text{m}=\text{ʔ}a\theta\)an ‘English language.’

336. \(\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a\theta\text{an}}=\text{ʔ}a\theta\)an ‘Eating berries out of the basket while picking.’ \([\sqrt{\text{eat}}=\text{mouth}]\)

337. \(\sqrt{k}a\text{x}=\theta\text{in}-\text{ʔa} ‘He screamed.’

338. \(\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a\text{x}}=\theta\text{in}-\text{ʔa} ‘I shaved.’ \([\sqrt{\text{scrape}}=\text{mouth–CMDL} 1\text{SUBJ}]\)

2.2.10.1.51. \(=i\theta\alpha\?) \(\|\) ‘cloth, skin, hide’.

339. \(\sqrt{\text{l}C}w=\text{i}\theta\alpha\?) ‘Stiff cloth.’ \([\sqrt{\text{hard}}=\text{cloth}]\)

340. \(\sqrt{\text{ʔ}}a\text{fs}=\text{i}\theta\alpha\?) ‘She dyed it.’ \([\sqrt{\text{boil}}=\text{cloth}]\)

341. \(\sqrt{\text{ʔ}aw=\text{i}\theta\alpha\?) \text{ʔ}\text{i}\text{p}=\text{ʔa} ‘Pocket knife.’ \([\sqrt{\text{S,LOC}}\sqrt{\text{inside}}=\text{cloth} \sqrt{\text{whittle–INST}}]\)

342. \(s\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a\text{f}k}=\text{i}\theta\alpha\?) ‘Screech owl, ghost, human corpse.’

The connection between the meaning of example 342 and the meaning of the suffix is unclear. This example may not actually belong here.

2.2.10.1.52. \(=\text{awič} \|\) ‘back, spine’.

343. \(x\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a\text{m}}=\text{awič} ‘He got hit on the back.’

344. \(\sqrt{k}=\text{awič} ‘He got burned on the back.’

345. \(\sqrt{\text{tk}}=\text{awič} ‘He broke his spine.’

2.2.10.1.53. \(=\text{ewéč} \|\) ‘bottom’.

346. \(x\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a\text{m}}=\text{awéč} ‘He got hit on the bottom.’

347. \(s\sqrt{\text{ʔ}C}=\text{éwač} ‘Cellar.’ \([\sqrt{\text{deep}}=\text{bottom}]\)

348. \(\text{s}\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a\text{t}}=\text{awéč} ‘Heel.’

349. \(x\sqrt{\text{ʔ}C}=\text{awéč} ‘I spanked him.’ \([\sqrt{\text{LOC}}\sqrt{\text{slap}}=\text{bottom–CTRAN–3OBJ}(\text{ø}) 1\text{SUBJ}]\)

350. \(x\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a}=\text{awéč} ‘Lizard.’ \([\sqrt{\text{LOC}}\sqrt{\text{break in two}}=\text{bottom–INST}]\) (So named, presumably, for its ability to regrow a severed rear end.)

351. \(\text{s}\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a}=\text{awéč} ‘Chair.’ \([\sqrt{\text{LOC}}\sqrt{\text{upon}}=\text{bottom–INST}]\)
When unstressed and following a /l/ or /l̕/ this suffix appears as /=əč/: 

352. xʷ√líl=əč ‘Towner Bay.’ [LOC√far=bottom]  
353. s√čs-éł=əč ‘Stump; tree trunk.’ [S√grow−CONNEC=bottom]  
354. s√4l-ál=əc = ‘Thigh; rump.’

2.2.10.1.54. ||=awʷq”|| ‘bundle’. The only recorded occurrences of this suffix involve numbers. Apparently this suffix is used today only in counting bundles of blankets at ceremonial gatherings.

355. √nətθ=áw̕əqʷ ‘One bundle.’  
356. √čs=áw̕əqʷ ‘Two bundles.’  
357. √xʷ=áwq” ‘Three bundles.’  
358. √ŋəs=áwq” √paq-ál=kʷat ‘Four bundles of blankets.’ [√four=bundle, √white−CONNEC=clothing]

2.2.10.1.55. ||=ə́w̕sə|| ‘fire’.  
359. š-xʷ√čəqʷ=ə́w̕s=eləʔ ‘Fireplace.’ [S,LOC√make=fire−container]  
360. √səq-əl=əw̕sə ‘He split firewood.’ [√split−CONNEC=fire]

2.2.10.1.56. ||=ew̕txʷ|| ‘building, house, campsite’.  
361. √čəq=éw̕txʷ ‘Longhouse.’ [√big=building]  
362. √mičəq=éw̕txʷ ‘Dance−house.’ [√dance=building]  
363. √telah=éw̕txʷ ‘Bank.’ [√money (< English "dollar")=building]  
364. √saxʷəq+éw̕txʷ ‘Barn.’ [√grass=building]  
365. s√tθeʔ=aw̕txʷ ‘East Saanich Reserve (high campsite).’

2.2.10.1.57. ||=exən|| ‘arm, side of the body’.  
366. s√kʷamλ-əl=exən ‘Elbow.’  
367. √təm-əl=exən ‘He got hit on the arm.’  
368. s-čə+√čəl=exən ‘I’m carrying it under my arm.’ [STAT−ACT+√under, after=arm 1SUBJ]  
369. š-xʷ√ʔil=əxən ‘Side of the body.’

2.2.10.1.58. ||=ey|| ‘wood’. None of the roots listed here occur without this suffix.  
370. √qʷ̕=ey ‘Log.’  
371. √xp=ey ‘Cedar.’  
372. s√l̕w=iy ‘Cedar bark.’  
373. √čəl=ey ‘Bark (not cedar).’  
374. s√təc=iʔ ‘Snag, dead tree.’  
375. √paqʷ=ey ‘Rotten wood.’  
376. √tθs=ey ‘Douglas fir.’

2.2.10.2. The connectors are suffixes that appear between some roots and some lexical suffixes. Although they sometimes seem to narrow or extend the basic meaning of the suffix, any such semantic function is vague and inconsistent. It is also possible that they serve a prosodic function. When the connector has a vowel it is usually stressed.

The connectors are not limited to occurring between root and lexical suffix. They can also appear between roots of compound words, as in √√put-l√kʷʔ/s/ ‘oar’ [√boat (< English)−CONNEC√move back and forth]. The functions of the connectors need much more detailed study. But here I merely list those observed to
Notes to §2.2.

1. This term has been used by Thompson and Thompson (1971) and Raffo (1972) for the cognate morpheme in other Straits dialects.

2. This term has also been used by others for the cognate morpheme in other Straits languages.

3. This suffix is apparently cognate with a common Interior Salish morpheme glossed ‘stative’ by Mattina (1973) and ‘immediate’ by Thompson and Thompson (in press).

4. This may be cognate with any or all of three morphemes in Interior Salish labeled ‘autonomous’, ‘developmental’, and ‘translocational’ by Thompson and Thompson (in press).

5. Mattina (p.c.) has since reanalyzed this as /-tn/ ‘instrumental’. The /t/ always precedes the /n/ in this morpheme.


8. The suffixes in §2.2.10.1 are listed in alphabetical order (ʔ č č̕ h kʷ l f ñ ñ̕ m n n̕ ʃ p q q̕ w w̕ x x̣̕ y y̕) ignoring vowels. Forms that show /y/ ~ /ɣ/ or /w/ ~ /kʷ/ alternation are given with the resonant in the underlying form but are alphabetized as obstruents.

9. A sixth may be /tíxʷθəɬ/ ‘tongue’. Though I was unable to elicit a corresponding lexical suffix, Pidgeon (1970) gives several examples of /=xʷθəɬ/ ‘tongue’.

10. This may be true of Straits in general. Efrat (1969) and Raffo (1972) each list fewer than forty. These low numbers may simply be due to the relatively little work Straits has seen in this area.
2.3. Radical morphological processes.

2.3.0.1. The radical morphological processes include all morphology that is not prefixation or suffixation. Radical morphological processes may also be called non-concatenative morphology since they involve morphemes that are not merely attached to the ends of the stem but are internal alterations or copies of it. The radical morphological processes active in Saanich are reduplication, infixation, ablaut, stress shift/metathesis, and glottalization.

These processes are felicitously grouped together in Saanich for several reasons. First, they all seem to indicate an allied set of notions: diminutive, collective, distributive, repetitive, continuative, resultive, etc. Taking Comrie’s (1976) definition of aspect referring to "the internal temporal constituency of a situation," and the fact that all Saanich stems are basically verb-like, we can see that all of the radical morphological processes mark various aspects in a broad sense.

Second, they are formally allied in opposition to the concatenative processes of suffixation and prefixation in that all morphemes involving processes of infixation, ablaut, and stress shift/metathesis have reduplicative allomorphs, while neither prefixes nor suffixes do. In fact, morphemes that involve prefixation and suffixation have only prefixal or suffixal allomorphs. Of the seven reduplicative patterns two (§2.3.1 and §2.3.2) occur with only reduplicative allomorphs. Moreover, when these processes cooccur there arise some interesting complications that appear with no other morphological process. A strict linear ordering of application of these processes can be established (§2.3.8).

The third and least significant reason for grouping these processes together is convenience. Because of their radical altering nature and their formal interaction, these processes present the most difficulties to anyone attempting to parse a Saanich word. The task will be made easier by grouping them together.

2.3.0.2. Six reduplicative C-V patterns have been observed in Saanich: C1VC2+, C1C2+, C1V+, C1+, +C1i, and +C2. All C-V notations refer to the consonants and vowels of the root only. Reduplicative processes in Saanich never affect prefixes or suffixes.

Reduplication in Saanich seems to function as a morphological process in itself distinct from affixation. Besides the patterning with the other radical morphological processes noted above, reduplication differs from affixation in two other ways. First, no prefixes in Saanich can carry stress, but three regressive, "prefixal", reduplicative patterns are stressed (§2.3.1, §2.3.5.1, and §2.3.5.5). And, second, while infixation ignores prefixes it does not ignore reduplication. That is, infixes can be inserted into prefixal reduplicative material (see §2.3.3.4.3).

There are two infixes in Saanich: /i/ ‘actual’ (§2.3.5) and /l/ ‘plural’ (§2.3.3). Each of these has a reduplicative allomorph, and ‘actual’ has in addition a stress shifted or metathesized allomorph. The ‘actual’ aspect is also always accompanied by the glottalization of all non-initial resonants in the word.

Ablaut of the stressed root vowel, ə/e or ə/a, is the primary way the ‘resultive’ (§2.3.6) is marked. The ‘resultive’ also has a reduplicative allomorph. Substitution of /e/ for an underlying /ə/ accompanies the ‘actual’ infix (§2.3.5).

2.3.1. /C1VC2+/ ‘characteristic’. This pattern occurs without significant variation and seems to be fairly productive. Words with this morpheme are descriptive predicates emphasizing a characteristic trait, tendency, or disposition. A number of animal names involve this pattern.

When primary stress is attracted by certain strong suffixes the stress on the vowel will be reduced. The
vowel of the root is reduced to unstressed [a] and is subject to deletion (see §1.5.4, §1.5.6).

I have analyzed this as regressive (prefixal) reduplication. An alternative would be to consider it progressive (suffixal with two consonant roots and infixal with roots having more than two consonants). There does seem to be some evidence that the regressive analysis is better. The evidence comes from words exhibiting complex reduplication, that is, the cooccurrence of the ‘characteristic’ pattern with another reduplicative morpheme.

1. sèy+√siʔ san ‘I’m afraid.’
2. xiʔ+√xaʔ san ‘I’m embarrassed.’

Examples 1 and 2 are typical cases of the ‘characteristic’ reduplication pattern. When combined with the C1 + ‘resultive’ reduplication (§2.3.5.6) examples 3 and 4 are the products.

3. sèy+sə+√siʔ san ‘I’m scared.’
4. xiʔ+sə+√xaʔ san ‘I’m embarrassed.’

If the ‘characteristic’ morpheme were a case of progressive reduplication, we could expect *čə+√xiʔ+xaʔ and *sə+√sèy+siʔ since the ‘resultive’ reduplication is clearly regressive. The ‘characteristic’ morpheme must precede\(^2\) the ‘resultive’ morpheme.

5. s–nēw+√naw k’a ‘They’re in now.’ (This form also shows the ‘resultive’ (§2.3.6) of √naw ‘be inside’.)
6. q”ál+√q”al ‘He’s talkative.’ (√q”al ‘speak’)
7. čèy+√či ‘He’s diligent.’ (√čey ‘work’)
8. māt+√mat ‘It’s flexible.’ (√māt ‘bend’)
9. q’āmí+√q’āmí=ēčan ‘A type of wasp.’ (√q’āmí ‘cut in two’)
10. xèʔ+√xaʔ–q=net ‘Sunday.’ (√xeʔ ‘sacred’)
11. x’axʷ+√x’axʷ ‘Oyster.’ (√x’axʷ ‘hard’)
12. s–tθeʔ+√tθaʔ ‘He’s mounted (a horse).’ (√tθeʔ ‘upon, high’)
13. s–qén+√qan–s ‘He’s a thief.’ (√qen ‘steal’)
14. tθax+√tθax ‘Stinging nettles.’ (√tθax ‘poison’)

Some words have been recorded that certainly involve this morpheme, though their roots do not seem to occur independently.

15. séxʷ+√sxʷ ‘He’s lazy.’
16. sāl+√sāl ‘He’s lonesome.’
17. q”ál+√q”al ‘It’s tame.’ (√q”al ‘cooked, ripe’)
18. təl+√təl–éts–an ‘It’s numb.’
19. cəl+√cəl ‘It’s loose.’
20. k”am+√k”am ‘He’s strong.’
21. sənt+√sənt ‘He’s alone.’
22. s–təl+√təlq ‘It’s speckled.’
23. k”y+√k”iʔ ‘He’s hungry.’

A few words whose roots do not occur elsewhere seem to bear this reduplicative pattern, but connections between the meanings of the words and the meaning of the morpheme ‘characteristic’ are obscure:

24. s–qət+√qət ‘Muskrat.’
25. s–k”ən+√k”ən ‘Carbuncle.’
26. s–x”əʔ+√x”ʔ ‘Masked dancer.’
27. sáf+√sať-tan ‘Leg spindle.’
28. mús+√mas ‘Cow.’ (< Chinook Jargon)
29. s-qařm+√qařm-īl ‘High tide.’
30. néf+√nař ‘Fish bait.’
31. s-χam+√χam ‘Horsetail.’ (√χam ‘heavy?’)
32. t̕θ íxʷ+√t̕θə xʷ ‘Fish hawk.’ (√t̕θixʷ ‘pity?’)

2.3.2. C1+...(? ‘diminutive.’ This morpheme is, unfortunately, poorly represented in the corpus. There are enough examples, however, to discern some patterns. The reference of stems with this pattern is always to something less in size, number, or frequency than the reference of the stem without it. This morpheme is distinct from one meaning ‘young of a species’ (see example 49 below and §2.2.10.1.18).

2.3.2.1. As the notation above implies, the basic form of this morpheme is discontinuous: reduplication of the first root consonant is accompanied by a glottal stop infixed after the stressed vowel (see §1.5.8 on epenthetic schwa):
33. pə+√pά(ʔ)xʷ-ən ‘Small sail.’ (pάxʷən ‘sail’)
34. s-tə+√tá(ʔ)ən ‘Little sock.’ (stákən ‘sock’ < English)
35. s-čə+√čə́(ʔ)s=əqʷ ‘Little hat.’ (sčəsqʷ ‘hat’)
36. k”ə+√k”í(ʔ)θ=əč ‘It’s tilted a little.’ (k”əθnéčt ‘tilt it’)
37. ñi k”ə+√k”é(ʔ)yəl ‘It’s dawn.’ (k”éčəl ‘it’s daytime.’ See §1.5.9 on y ~ č.)
38. k”ə+√k”á(ʔ)əʔ ‘Crow.’ (sk”táʔ ‘raven’)

2.3.2.2. When the consonant following the stressed vowel is a resonant or glottal stop, the infix coalesces with it. This differs from the ‘actual’ infix, which does not merge with a following /ʔ/. See §2.3.5.1.
39. ča+√č’ayəχ ‘He’s short.’
40. k”ə+√k”ówəkʷ ‘Small fish hook.’ (k”ówəkʷ ‘fishhook’)
41. s-qa+√qə=əʔ=əf ‘Little puppy.’ (sqəəʔ ‘dog’)
42. mə+√mimən ‘It’s little.’
43. ḥə+√ḥə́wəxəʔ ‘A little bit; few.’ (ḥə́wəxəʔ ‘less’)

Examples 42 and 43 are similar in form and may involve a double reduplication that is not yet understood.

2.3.2.3. When the morphemes ‘diminutive’ and ‘actual’ cooccur in a stem the ordinary realization of the ‘actual’ (see §2.3.5) for the stem is replaced. The simple ‘actual’ has several different morphologically and phonologically conditioned allomorphs: reduplicative, infixed, and stress shifted/metathesized. Though the evidence is limited, the ‘actual’ of the ‘diminutive’ seems to be formed uniformly with C1V+ reduplication. Compare the following:
44. √štəŋ ‘He walked.’
45. ñi? √štəŋ ‘He’s walking now.’ [ACCOM √walk(ACT)]
46. ñi? šá+√štəŋ ‘He’s taking a little walk.’ [ACCOM DIM(ACT)+√walk]

Example 44 is the simple ‘non–actual’ form; 45 is the ordinary metathesized ‘actual’. Example 46 is the ‘actual’ of the ‘diminutive’.
Another case is the word for ‘river’ which is ordinarily in the ‘actual’ form with the infixed /ʔ/ (§2.3.5.2)
realized as glottalization on the /l/:

47. s√tálw ‘River.’
48. s-tā+√talaw ‘Creek.’

Note that the /l/ in 48 is not glottalized. It is the diminutive of example 47 and exhibits the C1V+ form of the ‘actual’ of the ‘diminutive’. This may not be simply a substitute reduplicative pattern but a case of the metathesized allomorph of the ‘actual’ replacing the infixed allomorph. See §2.3.8 on the relative ordering of the radical morphological processes.

2.3.2.4. The C1V+ form of the ‘diminutive’ has been recorded also in one ‘non-actual’ form:

49. pú+√ps ‘Small cat.’ (√pus ‘cat’; √pus=áɬ ‘kitten’)

The root in example 49 happens to be borrowed, but it is doubtful that this is the reason for its apparently unique ‘diminutive’. Borrowed words in Saanich generally take the least marked allomorph for any morpheme. Strictly morphologically conditioned variation in derived forms of borrowed words is, if non-existent, extremely rare. It makes sense then to look for some phonological factors influencing the form of the ‘diminutive’ in example 49. This word, /pús/, also happens to be the only one syllable, CVC stem recorded with a corresponding ‘diminutive’. The expected but non-occurring form for the diminutive of /pús/, *pəpúʔs, would be unusual in that it carries ultimate stress. Some forms of the ‘plural’ (§2.3.3.4), for instance, have special allomorphs that have the effect of avoiding final word stress. For example, the ‘plural’ of the word for ‘cat’ is not *pəlús but /púʔləs/. Only one syllable stems have this allomorph of the ‘plural’. It seems likely then that the form of the ‘diminutive’ in example 49 is phonologically conditioned. We can expect the ‘diminutive’ of other CVC stems to have C1V+ reduplication.

2.3.3. Plural.

The term ‘plural’ is a bit misleading in that the meaning of this morpheme does not exactly correspond to usual notions of purality. This morpheme usually indicates a ‘collective’ idea, referring to a group of items considered together rather than a number of items considered individually. Translations usually are in the form of phrases such as "a bunch of ..." or "lots of ...". Generally, in intransitive forms the plurality reflects on the subject, in transitives on the object. Plurality as a category in Saanich is obligatorily marked in only the first person subjects, objects, and possessives (see §2.4).

There are four major allomorphs of the ‘plural’. /(l)/ is by far the most common and itself has some variation (§2.3.3.4). +C1í is less common and usually phonologically predictable (§2.3.3.1). The other two major allomorphs both involve C1C2+. One occurs fairly frequently and is phonologically predictable (§2.3.3.3), while the other is rare and morphologically conditioned (§2.3.3.2). Aside from these four, there are a number of words that seem to remain unmarked in the plural (§2.3.3.5). And, there are a few apparently irregularly marked plurals (§2.3.3.6).

2.3.3.1. +C1í ‘plural’. About fifty examples of this form have been recorded in quite common words. It has never been recorded in European loans (see §2.3.3.4).

This form exhibits regressive or infixal reduplication of the first consonant of the root accompanied by the replacement of the stressed /a/ of the root by /i/.

This form of the plural is generally predictable given the following conditions:

A. The root is marked for plural at all.
B. The stem has no vowel but /a/.
C. The root does not begin with /ʔ/.
D. The stem involves no other form of reduplication.

A fifth condition might be that the root not be a borrowed form. Stems have been recorded that are exceptions: /tʰəxтан/ ‘poison’, /ʃʈəmkʷas/ ‘automobile’, /ʃkʰastənəŋ/ ‘bridge’, /ʃqʰməsət/ ‘trail’, /qʰəxʷət/ ‘big canoe’, and /χəlχəkʷət/ ‘war canoe’. Another exception, /həmən/ ‘hammer’, is apparently a borrowing. The first four are considered "modern" words. The last two are likely loans from Wakashan.

Each of these exceptions takes the /l// form of the plural (§2.3.3.4) even though they all have only /ə/ as vowels, do not have /ʔ/ as C1 and are not reduplicated. /ŋənəʔ/ 'offspring' is another exception, but it does not take the infix. See §2.3.3.2. Any other stem that does not meet these conditions does not form the 'plural' with +C1í.

Some examples are:
50. s√qʷə+qʷils ‘Pots.’ (sqʷafs ‘pot for cooking’)
51. s√Χə+Χɨwən ‘Several pairs of earrings.’ (Χɨwən ‘earrings’)
52. s√wa+wɨl–tən ‘Nets.’ (swáltən ‘net, web’)
53. s√qʰə+qʰɪməl ‘Paddles.’ (sqʰməl ‘canoe paddle’)
54. ᵍkʷə+kʷɪləw ‘A bunch of hides.’ (kʷɪləw ‘hide, skin’)
55. s√mə+mit=aqən ‘Lots of snot.’ (sməqən ‘nasal mucus’)
56. s√a+símʔ ‘Blankets.’ (sməʔ ‘blanket’)
57. s√mə+mɪyəʔ ‘A group of deer.’ (sməyəʔ ‘deer’)
58. s√ŋə+ŋιqsən ‘A lot of noses.’ (ŋιqsən ‘nose’)
59. s√tə+τίɡəxʷ–s ‘They’re his lands.’ (τίɡəxʷ ‘It’s his land.’)
60. s√nə+nɨxʷət ‘Canoes.’ (snəxʷət ‘canoe’)
61. s√pə+piʔxən ‘Valleys.’ (spəxən ‘valley, field’)
62. s√χə+χɨnəʔ ‘Legs.’ (sxənəʔ ‘leg’)
63. s√čə+čínəs ‘Teeth.’ (čínəs ‘tooth’)

2.3.3.2. C1C2+ ‘plural’. A very small number of stems form the ‘plural’ with this reduplicative pattern. Only three stems involving two roots have been observed. These stems occur frequently and have obvious semantic similarity:
64. s–repositories+√ʔɛnɪ=ʔ ‘Women.’ (sʔɛnɨʔ ‘woman’)
65. s–tən+√ʔənəc=ʔəʔ=st ‘Girls.’ (sʔənəʔəʔ ‘Girl’)
66. ʔən+√ʔən–ʔəʔ–s ‘Her/his children.’ (ʔənəʔ ‘son, daughter’)

2.3.3.3. C1C2+ ‘plural’ with C2 being either /l/ or /ɬ/. About twenty examples of this ‘plural’ have been recorded. The rule can be stated as follows: stems that do not form the 'plural' by +C1í (§2.3.3.1) and have /l/ or /ɬ/ in C2 position form the ‘plural’ by regressive reduplication of the first and second consonants (with epenthetic /a/).

Three forms have been found to be exceptions⁶: /kʷəlɬɨqʷ/ ‘small bare hill’, /ʃmalqʷəɬʔ/ ‘grave’, and /χəlχəkʷəɬ/ ‘war canoe’. Note that this last is also one of the exceptions to the +C1í form of ‘plural’ mentioned in §2.3.3.1. And as with those exceptions the plural of each of these is formed with the infix (§2.3.3.4).

Some examples:
67. s–təl+√ʔɛl=ŋəxʷ ‘Medicines.’ (stəfŋəxʷ ‘medecine’)

[Notes and references are not included in the natural text representation.]
2.3.3.4. /I/ 'plural'. This is by far the most common form of the ‘plural’. Over two hundred words have been recorded using this infix.

2.3.3.4.1. This is the ‘plural’ marker for all words that can be marked for ‘plural’ (see §2.3.3.5 for those that are not marked and §2.3.3.6 for irregular plurals) except those that meet the conditions for +C1í (§2.3.3.1), those that take C1C2+ (§2.3.3.2 and §2.3.3.3), and those listed in §2.3.3.6. The placement of this infix follows simple and quite clear-cut rules: 1) /al/ is placed immediately after the first consonant of the root (see examples 77 through 90) unless 1) the word consists of only one (C)CVC syllable, in which case /?a/ is placed after the vowel, which if it is /i/ becomes /e/ (examples 91 through 96), or 2) the second consonant of the root is /?/ and it is followed by another consonant, in which case /?a/ is placed between the first vowel and the glottal stop. (Examples 97 through 101).

The conditions for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√n(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
80. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔAvailability of the ‘plural’ marker is not clear-cut for these two restrictions rarely occur. The examples listed here (91 – 101) are, in fact, the only ones found.

77. s√ʔ(ʔal)–éʔman ‘It’s a lot of oil.’ (Compare with example 94 below. The suffix here is unidentified.)
78. s√ʔ(ʔal)áʔ=as ‘Faces.’ (sʔáʔas ‘face’)
79. s√ʔ(ʔal)p=ʔqst ‘He sharpened some points (e.g. pencils).’ (ʔpəʔst ‘He sharpened it.’)
Bases with ...V?C:
97. \(\sqrt{\text{mél}(a)\text{k}^\text{w}a}\) 'They got hurt.' (\(\sqrt{\text{mél}k^\text{w}a}\) 'hurt')
98. \(\sqrt{\text{qé}(l)a}\text{n}^\text{w}i\) 'Several maidens.' (\(\sqrt{\text{qé}n} \text{i}\) 'maiden')
99. na-\(\sqrt{\text{čé}(l)a}\text{č}^\text{w}a\) 'They're my friends.' (nasčéča? 'my friend')
100. \(\sqrt{\text{ʔe}(l)a}\text{ʔ}a\)ŋ 'Houses.' (\(\sqrt{\text{ʔe}ʔ}a\)ŋ)

2.3.3.4.2. When a borrowed word is marked for plural it takes /l/) like native words:
101. \(\sqrt{\text{pú}(l)a}\)s 'Cats.' (\(\sqrt{\text{pus}\)s
102. \(\sqrt{\text{k}a\text{l}pú} 'Coats.' (\(\sqrt{\text{k}a\text{p}ú} < \text{French "capot"}
103. \(\sqrt{\text{t}l}(a)\text{ʔak} 'Socks.' (\(\sqrt{\text{sták} < \text{English}
104. \(\sqrt{\text{k}a\text{l}a} 'Cars.' (\(\sqrt{\text{k}a < \text{English}
105. \(\sqrt{\text{w}a\text{l}i} 'Wedges.' (\(\sqrt{\text{wi}c < \text{English}
106. \(\sqrt{\text{s}a\text{l}pí} 'Lots of bread.' (\(\sqrt{\text{səplil < \text{Chinook Jargon}
107. \(\sqrt{\text{ʔ}l}\text{ʔ}e\text{p}a\text{l}s 'Apples.' (\(\sqrt{\text{ʔép}a\text{l}s < \text{English}
108. \(\sqrt{\text{ʔ}(l)\text{k}l} 'Keys.' (\(\sqrt{\text{Iakl} < \text{French "la clef"}

2.3.3.4.3. This form of the plural has been found to occur in words involving other types of radical morphological processes. Reduplicated material is treated as part of the root, not as a prefix.
109. \(\sqrt{\text{s}(l)a}\text{+}\sqrt{\text{l}â}(l)m\) 'There's a bunch of them swimming.' [\(\text{ACT(PL)+}\sqrt{\text{swim(ACT)}}\]
110. \(\sqrt{\text{k}m}\text{a\text{y}w} 'Little fishhooks.' [\(\text{DIM(PL)+}\sqrt{\text{fishhook}}\) (Compare with §2.3 example 40.)
111. s–\(\sqrt{\text{t}l}(a)\text{+}\sqrt{\text{tal}w 'Creeks.' [\(\text{S–DIM,ACT(PL)+}\sqrt{\text{river}}\) (Compare with §2.3 examples 47, 48, and 69.)
112. \(\sqrt{\text{k}a\text{l}\text{+}\sqrt{\text{l}â} 'Crows.' [\(\text{DIM(PL)+}\sqrt{\text{raven}\]
113. \(\sqrt{\text{q}a\text{m}+\sqrt{\text{ə}{q}m} 'It's cut up (into a lot of strips).' [\(\text{CHAR(PL)+}\sqrt{\text{cut off}}\) (\qâm\qam̕at san 'I cut it up.'; \qâm\qam̕at san 'I cut it off.'))
114. s–\(\sqrt{\text{q}a\text{+}l}\text{+}\sqrt{\text{ʔ}a\text{l} 'Several stories.' [\(\text{S–CHAR(PL)+}\sqrt{\text{sp}e\text{ak}\]

One example has been observed of this suffix being treated as part of the root in a reduplicative process:
115. \(\sqrt{\text{x}}(l)\text{+}\sqrt{\text{xml}x} 'It's stormy; the wind's blowing and blowing.' [\(\text{REPET(PL)+}\sqrt{\text{wind(PL)–REFL}\) (\xmlx 'It's windy; the water's rough'; \xml\text{sat 'It's a storm.')

2.3.3.5. There are a number of words for which no plural form could be elicited and all tries at plural formation were rejected. This may involve a zero allomorph for the plural, but I suspect that for many, if not all, of these there are pragmatic reasons for rejecting plural forms. These reasons are sometimes easy to see. For example, there are two words for 'raven', /\(\text{k}e\text{w}a\text{ʔač} / and /\(\text{sp}a\text{f}ā/. The second cannot be pluralized because it is the special word for the character 'Raven' in traditional stories and there is only one 'Raven'. In another instance the word for 'moose', /\(\text{k}e\text{w}a\text{ʔač} /, cannot be pluralized because "you never see a bunch of moose, just one or two." In the same vein, it was difficult to elicit plurals for /\(\text{sq}q\text{â}̃n̕i/ 'head' and /\(\text{m}ẽn/ 'father' since "you can only have one." Plurals of these were elicited, however, through the invention of appropriate contexts: "There's a bunch of fish heads" and "All the boys' fathers ...".

For the words in the following list even imagined contexts were unsuccessful in eliciting plurals: /\(\text{qeq/ 'baby', /\(\text{qeq}\text{ʔa}/ 'snow', /\(\text{s}^\text{w}mā/a/ 'ice', /\(\text{sq}a\text{fēw}/ 'beaver', /\(\text{sq}á\text{m}a/ 'catfish', /\(\text{t}θ\text{̄}m\text{̄}k\text{̄}a/ 'perch', /\(\text{q}w\text{ā}f\text{̄}x)/ 'chum salmon', /\(\text{q}e\text{a}qs/ 'pitch torch', /\(\text{s}m\text{ā}ʔ\text{̄}ʔ/ 'lump on a tree', /\(\text{pq}ɛ\text{̄}y/ 'rotten wood', /\(\text{h}q\text{́q}\text{̄}ʔ\text{̄}s/ 'edible seaweed', /\(\text{sq}w\text{θ}w/ 'potato', /\(\text{k}w\text{̄}m\text{̄}k\text{̄}ʔəm/ 'drum', /\(\text{q}ɛ\text{̄}m\text{̄}n/ 'dancer's rattle', /\(\text{q}̕aʔa/ 'clam
barbecuing stick’, /lašás/ ‘angel’, /lámátú/ ‘sheep’, and /sənéñát/ ‘sinker for fish line’. The last three items are particularly puzzling. The words for ‘angel’ and ‘sheep’ are obviously borrowings and many other similar loans readily take the infixed ‘plural’. Why not these two? The word for ‘sinker’, also meaning ‘rock, mountain’, is not a borrowing. One can say /ŋəñ sənéñát/ meaning ‘many stones’, ‘many mountains’, or ‘many sinkers’, but /ŋəñ sənéñát/ can mean only ‘many stones’ or ‘many mountains’. /sənéñát/ as ‘sinker’ cannot be marked for plural.

2.3.3.6. Five words have been found to have plural forms that do not fit into any of these patterns:

116. mēʔən ‘Fathers.’ (mēn ‘father’)
117. téʔən ‘Mothers.’ (tēn ‘mother’)
118. swəʔəwəs ‘Young men.’ (swəwəs ‘young man’)
119. swəwəyəʔ ‘Men.’ (swəyəʔ ‘man’)
120. čiyənaxʷ ‘Lots of fish.’ (sčéenaxʷ ‘fish, salmon)

2.3.4. /C1C2+ / ‘repetitive’. The limited number of examples of this morpheme in the corpus is probably due to the fact that I made no specific attempts to elicit it rather than to its natural scarcity. Only ten examples have been recorded.

Though similar in form and meaning to the reduplicative forms of the ‘plural’, ‘repetitive’ differs in a number of respects and must be considered a distinct morpheme. ‘Plural’ and ‘repetitive’ are not in complementary distribution. The same root can occur with either or both morphemes with corresponding differences in meanings. Where a predicate in the ‘plural’ refers to the number of the subject or object, a predicate marked ‘repetitive’ refers to iterations of the action or state expressed in the predicate itself.

The following examples show ‘repetitive’ in contrast to ‘actual’ and ‘plural’ of ‘actual’.

121. nəč+√nəč-ʔən ‘He laughed and laughed at him.’ [REPET+/laugh-CMDL-PASS]  
122. √nəč-ʔən ‘He laughed.’ [laugh-CMDL]  
123. kʷnən+√nən-ʔən ‘He’s laughing now.’ [REAL ACT+laugh(ACT)-CMDL]  
124. n(əl)+√nən-ʔən ‘They’re laughing.’ [ACT(PL)+laugh(ACT)-CMDL]

See example 115 above for the cooccurrence of ‘repetitive’ and ‘plural’.

Note in the following examples that the ‘repetitive’ is sometimes translated with English progressive ‘-ing’ and sometimes with English plural. Nevertheless, it is distinct from the Saanich ‘actual’, usually translated with ‘-ing’ forms in English, and ‘plural’ morphemes.

125. xʷ-ʔən+ʔəč+√ʔəč+ač ‘He’s stuttering.’ (See §2.3.7 on the second reduplication in this form.)
126. xʷənəxʷəməyəsət ‘He’s spinning like a top.’
127. xʷ-ʔən+ʔən+ʔəxɑʔ ‘He’s looking around (moving head back and forth.).’
128. nəq+√nəq-ʔən ‘He keeps diving and coming up, diving and coming up.’ (nəq ‘He dove.’)
129. čəqʷ+√čəq-ʔən+s ‘He’s turning the light off and on and off and on.’ (čəq ‘Light it.’)
130. nətθ+√nətθ+ʔən ‘kə nə-s-iʔ/√səʔéw-ʔəs ‘I put them down one by one.’ [REPET+one SUB 1POS-S-?</put down(FACT)]
131. θəŋ+√θəŋ ‘Twice.’ (θəŋ’étex ‘second day, Tuesday’)
132. ʔəŋ+√ʔən ‘Too much.’ (√ʔen ‘much’)
133. ʔən+√ʔən ‘Several bracelets.’ (ʔəməcən ‘bracelet’)
134. ʔəŋ+√ʔən-ʔən ‘Hawk.’ (Root meaning unknown)

Example 133 is translated as plural and a ‘repetitive’ reading of the form is not obvious. However, this
form contains the root /t̕θam/ 'bone' the 'plural' of which is /t̕θāʔlam/, the expected infix 'plural' form (see §2.3.3.4.1 examples 86 and 91).

2.3.5. Actual aspect.
The 'actual' aspect is opposed to 'nonactual' and signals that the action, state, or other reference of the predicate is actually occurring at an indicated time. It is often translated into English in the form of 'be ...-ing' progressive aspect and the English progressive is nearly always rendered in the 'actual' in Saanich. However, a predicate in the 'actual' need not refer to a continuous or progressing action. See especially examples 139–140 in this section and examples 47–48 in §2.3.2.3. Predicates in the 'actual' often occur with the proclitics /kʷɬ/ 'already' and /ʔiʔ/ 'accompanying'.

2.3.5.0.1. Around three hundred examples of the 'actual' have been recorded. It is the most frequently occurring aspect after the 'nonactual' and quite easy to elicit.

2.3.5.0.2. It has three primary forms: /ʔ/(§2.3.5.1), C1V+ (§2.3.5.2), and stress shift/metathesis (§2.3.5.4) and one rather marginal form: C1+ (§2.3.5.3). Each of these forms is accompanied by the glottalization of all non-initial resonants. The distribution of these forms is largely, but not entirely, phonologically predictable.

2.3.5.1. /ʔ/ 'actual'. This is the most common form of the 'actual'. This form occurs in almost half of all recorded occurrences of the 'actual' aspect. The complete picture of the rules for the placement of this infix involves references to rules for the placement of other morphological processes with which /ʔ/ is in complementary distribution. For the sake of perspicuity the distribution of the most obviously regular cases of the most common allomorph will be described first. As the distributions of the other allomorphs are described, the rule for the placement of this infix will be simplified.

2.3.5.1.1. A first approximation to the rule for placement of the infix can be stated as follows: In monosyllabic stems with roots of the shapes CV, CVVC, or CVCC or in multi-syllabic stems where A) an underlying /í/, /é/, or /á/ is followed by either 1) /ʔ/ or 2) one or no consonants, or B) /ə́/ is followed by a resonant, the 'actual' is formed by the insertion of /ʔ/ after the stressed vowel.

There are exceptions to this rule (§2.3.5.1.5) which will contribute to a reformulation in §2.3.5.4.3.4. This rule for the placement of the 'actual' infix includes more than it excludes. Specifically, it excludes the environments for the C1V+ (§2.3.5.2) and stress shift/metathesis (§2.3.5.3) forms. So, in other words, a /ʔ/ infixed after the stressed vowel forms the 'actual' unless 1) the stressed vowel of the root is /a/ followed by an obstruent (but see §2.3.5.1.4), 2) the vowel is followed by two consonants the first of which is not /ʔ/, or 3) the 'non-actual' stem is a single syllable, i.e. it has only one vowel. When stress of the base is not in the root but in a suffix, the 'actual' is always formed by insertion of /ʔ/ after the stressed vowel (§2.3.5.1.4).

2.3.5.1.2. The following examples illustrate environment A.1 (§2.3.5.2). Note that a /ʔ/ is automatically inserted between the two glottal stops. Note also that this infixed /ʔ/ differs from the 'diminutive' infix. See §2.3.2.2.

135. √ʔəlėʔ(ʔ)aʔ-ːnaxʷ sən 'I'm hearing it now.' (ʔəlēnaxʷ sən 'I heard something.' Note that /ʔn/ is
realized as /ni/. They are separated in the example to illustrate the structure.

136. kʷa?ñaʔ kʷaʔ ‘He’s pulling the nail.’ (ʔanəʔ ‘cough’)

2.3.5.1.3. The following examples illustrate environment A.2. Note that when the infix precedes one or no consonants before a word boundary (i.e. _______(C)#) a /a/ is automatically inserted.

137. kʷaʔ ʔanəʔ ‘He’s pulling the nail.’ (ʔanəʔ ‘come’)

2.3.5.1.3.1. Examples 145–153 show the most frequently occurring environment for /(|)/ with the stressed vowel followed by CV.

145. ʔiʔ(ʔ)ʔθ-ʔj ‘He’s getting dressed.’ (ʔiʔ(ʔ)ʔ ‘He got dressed.’)

2.3.5.1.3.2. When a resonant follows the stressed vowel in the stem, the glottal stop infix merges with the resonant as usual. A /a/ in an immediately following syllable is deleted.

152. ʔiʔ ʔəʔkʷ=ʔsán-t san ‘I’m tripping him.’ (ʔəʔkʷ=ʔsán-at san ‘I tripped him.’)

163. xʷʔ=ʔsán-t san ‘I’m tripping him.’ 

2.3.5.1.4. The following are examples of the ‘actual’ infix in strong suffixes.

167. xʷʔqʷ=ʔsán-t san ‘I’m tripping him.’ (ʔəʔkʷ=ʔsán-at san ‘I tripped him.’)

2.3.5.1.4. The following are examples of the ‘actual’ infix in strong suffixes.

168. ʔaʔkʷ=ʔsán-t san ‘I’m tripping him.’ (ʔəʔkʷ=ʔsán-at san ‘I tripped him.’)
2.3.5.1.5. A few forms are apparent exceptions to the placement rules outlined above. These will prove to be no exceptions at all when other facts related to the stress shift/metathesis form of the ‘actual’ are considered (§2.3.5.4.3.4).

The exceptions are of two kinds. A few stems that have /á/ in the ‘nonactual’ have this converted to /é/ when followed by the ‘actual’ infix (examples 168–173). And there are some other forms where the schwa preceded by the ‘actual’ infix and a resonant does not delete (examples 171–176).

168. √xéʔ(ʔs-ʔa)n san ‘I’m tripping.’ (xâšan ‘He tripped.’) 169. kʷs-téʔ(ʔi)m san ‘I’m herring fishing.’ (tâʔam)

170. kʷ-s-téʔ(ʔs-ʔa-l-t) san ‘I’m turning it upright now.’ (tâšalt san ‘I turned it upright.’)
171. √ʔaʔé-ʔa’n ‘She’s berry picking.’ (ʔaʔé-ʔa’n ‘pick berries’)

172. √kʷén-ʔat ‘I’m looking at it now.’ (kʷáńat san ‘I looked at it.’)
173. kʷiʔ √téʔ-ʔa’l ‘He’s going upstream.’ (táʔal ‘go upstream’)

174. kʷiʔ √ʔám-ʔat ‘He’s sleeping.’ (√ʔám’at)
175. kʷiʔ √ʔd-ʔi-f-ʔa’n san ‘I’m mounting (a horse) now.’ (t⁶ʔi láńaŋ san ‘I got on.’)
176. ?iʔ √sq-ʔi-f-ʔa’n ‘I’m going out.’ (sqílə nam ‘go/come out’)

2.3.5.2. C1V+ ‘actual’. This reduplicative pattern marks the ‘actual’ in around forty of the three hundred occurrences of this aspect in the corpus.

2.3.5.2.1. When the stem is monosyllabic but not CV, CVVC, or CVCC, or when the stressed vowel in the root is followed by CVC (where the first C is not /ʔ/), the ‘actual’ is formed by regressive12 reduplication of the first consonant of the root and an immediately following stressed vowel. The unstressed vowel then reduces to /a/. Some generalizations are made on this in §2.3.5.4.3.5.

2.3.5.2.2. The following are a few of the clear cases of the ‘actual’ in this form.

177. ?iʔ iʔ+√ʔaκ̰=sán san ‘I’m tripping.’ (hiʔsán san ‘I tripped.’) Compare with 154 above.)
178. qé+√qan ‘He’s stealing (something).’ (sqén ‘It’s stolen.’)
179. kʷi+iʔ+wáñ-taf ‘They’re fighting.’ (kʷintal ‘They fought.’ The /kʷ/ of the root is an underlying resonant which surfaces when taking the ‘actual’ glottalization.)

180. t⁶ʔé+√t⁶ʔa ‘He’s riding a horse.’ (√t⁶ʔ ‘on top’. Compare with 175 above.)
181. kʷiʔ qʰé+√q̰yll ‘He’s saying it now.’ (√q̰yll. Compare with examples 253 and 262 below.)
182. kʷiʔ tê+√tíʔ ʔta ‘We’re canoe racing.’ (√tey ‘canoe race’. Unstressed /a/ is deleted before /y/. See §1.5.6.)

183. čá+ʔyaq ‘He’s getting big.’ (√ʔyaq ‘big’)
184. ?iʔ ʔi+iʔ+√ʔaw ‘He’s running away.’ (√ʔaw)
185. s-qé+√qaw ‘He’s resting.’ (√qew)
186. kʷiʔ ʔa+√ʔap su san ‘I’m eating (soup).’ (√ʔap)
187. s-kʷú+√kʷəl ‘He’s going to school.’ (skʷú < English)

2.3.5.2.3. C1V+ is also the form of the ‘actual’ of the ‘diminutive’. See §2.3.2.3.

2.3.5.3. C1+ ‘actual’. Nine words have been found to form the ‘actual’ by regressive reduplication of the first consonant of the root. Roots forming the ‘actual’ in this way have not been seen in stems forming the
‘actual’ in other ways. It seems, then, that this form of the ‘actual’ is morphologically determined by the root.

The following examples are the only ones recorded with this form of the ‘actual’.

188. šə+√škʷáʔəm ən ‘I’m swimming.’ (škʷám ‘swim’)
189. kʰa+√kʰéč-əŋ ‘He’s yelling.’ (kʰéčəŋ ‘yell’)
190. šə+√šiwaʔ ‘She’s urinating.’ (√šiwaʔ)
191. tə+√tulaʔəm ən ‘I’m singing.’ (tuləm ‘sing’)
192. pa+√púʔ ‘He’s defecating.’ (Recorded only in the ‘actual’.)
193. kʰə+√kʰəx=xin-əŋ ‘He’s screaming.’ (kʰəxənəŋ ‘scream’)
194. tə+√tuləʔəɬ ‘She’s praying.’ (Recorded only in ‘actual’.)
195. xə+√xɬé(ʔə)m-ət ‘I’m watching it.’ (xɬém ‘watch’)

Note that some of these are marked with the regular ‘actual’ infix as well as with reduplication. Analysis of forms with C1+ reduplication is difficult because this also marks the ‘diminutive’ (§2.3.2) and the ‘resultive’ (§2.3.6). Some of the examples given here may actually be better analyzed as containing one of these two other morphemes.

2.3.5.4. The stress shift/metathesis form of the ‘actual’ has undergone two rather different analyses for two other Straits languages, Klallam (Thompson and Thompson, 1969) and Lummi (Demers, 1974). The Saanich data differ significantly from both Klallam and Lummi, so, it will be necessary to present a third analysis (§2.3.5.4.3). It will first be useful to describe the differences between Saanich and Klallam on the one hand (§2.3.5.4.1) and Saanich and Lummi on the other (§2.3.5.4.2).

2.3.5.4.1. Thompson and Thompson (1969) recognize a class of stems in Klallam that form the ‘actual’ directly by a metathesis of the stressed vowel and the following consonant. They give a number of examples like: čkʷúť ‘shoot’, čúkʷt ‘shooting’; x̣čit ‘scratch’, x̣čt ‘scratching’ (p.216). Rather than assume a never surfacing root shape of CVVC with identical vowels and a complication of Klallam’s stress rules, Thompson and Thompson convincingly posit a morphologically conditioned metathesis for the ‘actual’ of a certain class of stems.

Saanich differs from Klallam in that there are no pairs of forms like those above with the position of a non-schwa in a biconsonantal root carrying the difference between ‘actual’ and ‘nonactual’. All cases of apparent metathesized one–syllable ‘actuals’ in Saanich have only /ə/ (see examples 198–211). Metathesis of non–schwas and following consonants does clearly occur in Saanich but as an entirely phonologically conditioned process having nothing necessarily to do with the ‘actual’. Compare example 145 above with 196 and 197:
196. ?atʰiŋjastxʷ ‘Get him dressed.’
197. ?atʰaŋjastas ‘She’s getting him dressed.’

The vowel of the strong root, √ʔítʰ, is carried rightward into the syllables of weak suffixes by the maintenance of penultimate stress. See §1.4 for more on Saanich stress and metathesis. Since there is a great deal of phonological metathesis in Saanich and no morphologically functioning metathesis of full vowels in roots with two consonants, an analysis for the Saanich ‘actual’ different from Thompson and Thompson’s analysis of Klallam seems advisable.
2.3.5.4.2. The data presented by Demers (1974) for Lummi match Saanich more closely than Klallam does. All examples of apparent ‘actual’ metathesis listed by Demers involve /ə̃/. Demers, assuming for Lummi the alternative analysis suggested by Thms as involving underlying CəCə roots. A stress protraction rule moves the stress across a single obstruent onto the second syllable when it is followed by two consonants. This then accounts for Lummi ‘nonactuals’ like tʼsáatsən ‘I smashed it’, tás ‘it got smashed’. The ‘actuals’ like təst ‘he’s breaking it’ are then accounted for as involving the regular glottal stop infix for ‘actual’, which evidently works in Lummi similarly to the way it works in Saanich (§2.3.5.1). Thus the underlying form of Lummi təst is ||təʔsət||. The unstressed schwa is then deleted and all glottal stops between schwas and obstruents are deleted. This is an elegant solution for Lummi. It is, however, not viable for Saanich for two reasons. First, the Lummi stress protraction rule has no Saanich analog. A number of forms have /ə̃/ between the second root consonant and only one following consonant14 (see examples 198-211) and in the second syllable when the first is followed by two consonants (see examples 213-215 for a few of the many occurrences of this). And, conversely, there are a number of forms that have /ə̃/ in the first syllable when the second syllable is followed by two consonants (e.g. /təʔsət san/ ‘I turned it upright’; /q̕ələpsət/ ‘It shrank’; /q̕ʷəłəʔsən/ ‘I peeled it’).

Second, Saanich /ʔ/ does not ordinarily delete between /ə̃/ and an obstruent as it does in Lummi (e.g. /ŋənəʔs/ ‘his/her child’; /təʔsət san/ ‘I’m trying to learn it’; /scəcəʔsaʔʷ/ ‘little hat’). These two facts demand a different approach to Saanich.

2.3.5.4.3. The following are examples of ‘actual’ and ‘nonactual’ pairs. In each of these pairs the (a) member is the ‘nonactual’ and (b) is the ‘actual’.

198a. t̕qəŋ ‘It dripped.’
b. t̕əqəŋ ‘It’s dripping.’
199a. čtəŋ ‘He crawled.’
b. čtəŋ ‘He’s crawling.’
200a. kʷsən ‘He counted.’
b. kʷsən ‘He’s counting.’
201a. xʷq̕pət ‘Patch it.’ (/xʷ- /‘locative’)
b. xʷq̕pət sən ‘I’m patching it.’
202a. sqəts ‘He’s tearing it.’
b. kʷsəq̕tən ‘I’m tearing it’.
203a. ščə́t ‘Push it.’
b. kʷq̕ə́t ‘He’s pushing it.’
204a. sqət ‘Put it out (a fire).’
b. X̕əq̕ʷt sən ‘I’m putting it out.’
205a. ščə́t ‘He’s whipped it.’
b. t̕qə́t ‘He whipped it.’
206a. tkʷt ‘He walked.’
b. kʷt sən ‘I’m walking.’
207a. tkʷt ‘Break it (a stick).’
b. t̕ətkə́t ‘He’s breaking it.’
208a. tqʷt ‘Tighten it.’
b. kʷq̕ʷt ‘I’m tightening it.’
209a. t̕sət sən ‘I broke it (intentionally)’
b. ţå̂st san 'I'm breaking it.'
210a. ŧkʷát 'Straighten it out.'
b. ŧå̂xt san 'I'm straightening it out.'
211a. ŧx̣át 'Shove him.'
b. kʷθå̂xt san 'I'm shoving it.'

2.3.5.4.3.1. Since in all other forms of this opposition the 'actual' is the marked form and stems in the 'nonactual' constitute the base forms, we may assume that the 'nonactuals' of these pairs exhibit the base forms. These bases have a number of things in common. Two things are obvious: 1) they each have /ə̂/ following the two consonants of the root and preceding the single consonant of the suffix, and 2) they are all monosyllabic. Given this second fact it might be expected that these bases would form the 'actual' the way all other monosyllabic bases involving roots with two consonants and one vowel do, that is, with C1V+ reduplication (see §2.3.5.2). That they do not might suggest that these are (as in Lummi) underlying CVCV bases. But, as noted above (§2.3.5.4.2), the then necessary stress protraction and glottal stop deletion rules are otherwise unmotivated in Saanich. Another less abstract possibility, and the one for which there seems to be support, is that these bases do not form the actual by C1V+ reduplication because there simply is no underlying root vowel. In each of these bases the underlying root is CC, vowelless, and therefore the stress falls on the suffix. The analysis of 209a, for example, would be as 212.
212. √t's-å̂t [√break-CTRAN]

2.3.5.4.3.3. In each of these bases the root occurs with either ||-əŋ|| 'middle' or ||-ət|| 'control transitive'. It happens that these are the only roots that allow stress to fall on these suffixes. Support for this analysis comes from the fact that there are a number of other suffixes whose underlying vowel surfaces only when following these roots. The 'non-control transitive' suffix ||-naxʷ|| is an example.15 The following three examples contain the roots of examples 203, 207, and 209. The schwa within the root is predictable (see §1.5.10).
213. √så̂q-nå̂xʷ san 'I tore it accidentally; I finally managed to tear it.'
214. √tə̂kʷ-ñåxʷ san 'I broke it accidentally; I finally managed to break it.'
215. √tå̂s-ñåxʷ san 'I broke it accidentally; I finally managed to break it.'

2.3.5.4.3.4. Recognizing this set of roots as underlyingly vowelless allows us a non-arbitrary way of dealing with some of the exceptions to the infixed form of the 'actual' mentioned in §2.3.5.1.5 and, further, to generalize the rule for 'actual' infix placement (§2.3.5.1.1). Part A of this rule states that the glottal stop infix follows the stressed vowel unless it is /a/. Some of the forms listed in §2.3.5.1.5 were exceptions to this (part B and the other exceptions are dealt with in §2.3.5.4.3.6). The proviso against the infix following /ə/ was made precisely because of the existence of the set of roots exemplified in 198–211. Now that these roots are out of consideration as having /a/ in the underlying form, part A of the rule can be restated as follows:

In monosyllabic stems with roots of the shapes CV, CVVC, or CVCC or in multi-syllabic stems where an underlying stressed vowel is followed by either /ʔ/ or one or no consonants, /ʔ/ is inserted after the stressed vowel and /ə̂/ is replaced by /é/.

http://www.cas.unt.edu/~montler/Saanich/Outline/index.htm
The underlying distinction is between roots with no vowels (examples 198–211) and roots with underlying /ə́/ (examples 168–173 in §2.3.5.1.5). More facts that support the analysis of this underlying distinction are discussed in regard to the resultive in §2.3.6.3. See also §2.5.2.3, §2.5.4.5, and §2.5.4.7 for other suffixes whose underlying vowels surface only with underlyingly vowelless roots.

2.3.5.4.3.5. Now that the underlying vowelless nature of the roots has been established the problem remains how to account for the ‘actual’ forms in examples 198–211. Though the precise nature of the mechanism is as yet unclear I would like to suggest that the ‘actual’ forms in these examples are functionally allied with the C1V+ reduplicative form (§2.3.5.2). Both the C1V+ reduplicated and metathesized forms of the ‘actual’ are primarily characterized by a leftward shift in stress. Then, as with the other stress placement rules (mentioned above in §2.3.5.4.1 examples 196–197 and in §1.4), the stressed vowel of the base moves to accommodate the position. When stress is shifted leftward beyond the first consonant of the root, a copy of that consonant is carried along. This stress shift in both cases is triggered by phonological environments complementary to those for the ‘actual’ infix placement described in §2.3.5.1 and revised in §2.3.5.4.3.4. The ‘actual’ is marked by stress shift (with concomitant reduplication or metathesis) either when the base is monosyllabic or when the stressed vowel is in the initial syllable and followed by CCV. When roots taking C1V+ ‘actual’ in monosyllabic stems are involved in polysyllabic forms, the ‘actual’ is formed with the glottal stop infix (see examples 177 and 180 in §2.3.5.2.2). Similarly, when roots taking metathesized ‘actuals’ (examples 198–211) in monosyllabic stems are involved in polysyllabic forms, the ‘actual’ is formed with the glottal stop infix. Compare 216 to 206.

216a. štanjístas ‘He walked/ran/operated it.’  
b. kʷštanjístas ‘He’s operating it (a machine).’

2.3.5.4.3.6. Part B of the ‘actual’ infix placement rule (§2.3.5.1.1) states that the glottal stop is infixed after a /ə́/ with no change in vowel quality (see revision of part A of the rule in §2.3.5.4.3.4) only when the consonant following the stress is a resonant. Given the analysis of the previous two sections and in particular the revised version of part A of the infix placement rule we can see that part B is unnecessary. The infix occurs after underlying /ə́/ before obstruents as well.

Each of the metathesized ‘actuals’ in examples 198–211 involves a vowelless root with an obstruent as the second consonant. The question that now arises is whether or not there are vowelless roots with a resonant in C2 position and, if there are, how they form the actual.

The vowelless roots with obstruents in C2 position allow stress to fall on the transitive suffixes ||-ət|| and ||-naxʷ||. There are roots with a resonant as the second consonant that allow stress to fall on the transitive suffix:

217. √tam̃-náxʷ san ‘I hit it accidentally; I finally managed to hit it.’  
218. √qam̃-náxʷ san ‘I cut it (in two) accidentally; I finally managed to cut it.’

The schwa within the root is predictable as in examples 213–215 above.

In §2.3.5.4.3.4 and §2.3.5.4.3.5 it was established that there are two types of ‘nonactual’ bases with obstruents in C2 showing /a/ on the surface: 1) those with underlying /a/ which form the ‘actual’ by a glottal stop infix and the change of /ə́/ to /é/, and 2) those with no underlying vowel which form the ‘actual’ by stress shift/metathesis. A parallel distinction is found in ‘nonactual’ bases with surface /a/ and a resonant in C2 position: 1) those with underlying /a/ form the ‘actual’ just as do bases with an
obstruent as the second root consonant, with a glottal stop infix and change of /á/ to /é/ (example 219 and examples 171–172 in §2.3.5.1.5), and 2) those with no underlying vowel, which form the ‘actual’ as in examples 220–225.

219a. √kʷə́n-ə̀tsə̀n ‘I took it.’
b. √kʷə́n-ə̀tsə̀n ‘I’m taking it.’

220a. √t̕ə́m-ə̀tsə̀n ‘I hit it.’
b. √t̕ə́m-ə̀tsə̀n ‘I’m hitting it.’

221a. √q̕ə́m-ə̀tsə̀n ‘I cut it in two.’
b. √q̕ə́m-ə̀tsə̀n ‘I’m cutting it.’

222a. √q̕ə́m-ə̀tsə̀n ‘I looked at it.’
b. √q̕ə́m-ə̀tsə̀n ‘I’m looking at it.’

223a. √čə́n- ‘Bury it.’
b. √čə́n- ‘I’m burying it.’

224a. √f̕ə́l-ə̀tsə̀n ‘I splashed it.’
b. √f̕ə́l-ə̀tsə̀n ‘He’s splashing it.’

225a. kʷə́l- ‘Pour it out.’
b. kʷə́l- ‘I’m pouring it out now.’

If we recognize that there are no root initial obstruent–resonant sequences in Saanich, it can be seen that the ‘actual’ in examples 220–225 are formed by the same rule as the ‘actuals’ in examples 198–211. Two otherwise well justified rules, a rule to insert a schwa into a root initial obstruent–resonant cluster and the regular penultimate stress assignment rule, must be ordered with respect to one another and after the ‘actual’ stress shift/metathesis rule.

2.3.5.4.3.7. Some sample derivations should suffice to illustrate how these rules work. The rules are numbered 1) ‘actual’ stress shift/metathesis, 2) schwa insertion, 3) penultimate stress assignment. A hyphen indicates that the environment for the application of the rule is not present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t̕m̕-ə́t̕</th>
<th>–</th>
<th>t̕m̕m̕ə́t̕</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>U.F.</strong></td>
<td>∥t̕s̕-ə́t̕∥</td>
<td>∥t̕s̕-ə́t̕∥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>t̕̕st̕</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S.F.</strong></td>
<td>t̕̕st̕</td>
<td>t̕̕s̕̕t̕</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two more derivations show how the other apparent exceptions mentioned in §2.3.5.1.5 are accounted for. The rule that applies inserts the actual infix and replaces /á/ by /é/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>x̕áš-ə́ŋ</th>
<th>x̕áš-ə́ŋ</th>
<th>kʷá̱n-ə́t̕</th>
<th>kʷá̱n-ə́t̕</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>U.F.</strong></td>
<td>∥x̕áš-ə́ŋ∥</td>
<td>∥x̕áš-ə́ŋ∥</td>
<td>∥kʷá̱n-ə́t̕∥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x̕éʔšə́ŋ̕</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>kʷéʔnə́t̕</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.5.4.3.8. Thus far only roots with two consonants have been considered. There are a few roots that have three consonants. They form the ‘actual’ just like roots with two consonants. When there is only one underlying vowel and it is between the second and third consonants, the ‘actual’ is formed by stress shift/metathesis. The behavior of these triconsonantal roots further supports the preceding analysis, especially in cases where the root vowel is a non–schwa.

Following are examples of triconsonantal roots exhibiting stress shift/metathesis in the ‘actual’.

226a. √ʷtɬə́kʷ-tn ‘I pinched it.’
b. √ʷtɬə́kʷ-ts ‘I’m pinching it.’
227a. √ləméʔ-t-ən ‘Someone kicked me.’
b. √lêmeʔ-t-ən ‘Someone’s kicking me.’
228a. √ɬə́qʷ-t ‘Smash it up.’
b. √ɬə́qʷ-t ‘He’s smashing it up.’
229a. √ƛəčə́q ‘Moon.’
b. √ƛə́q-l ‘It’s a bright moon.’
230a. √ƛəčə́q ‘Press down on it.’
b. √ƛə́q-l ‘He’s pressing down on it.’ (Note that the /č/ is underlying /y/ and that /ə/ insertion must precede y ~ č §1.5.9.)
231a. ƛə́x ‘Scatter it.’
b. ƛə́x ‘I’m scattering it.’
232a. √mə́ləč ‘Roll over.’
b. √mə́ləč ‘I’m rolling over.’
233a. √θə́ɬqʷ-tn ‘Pierce it.’
b. √θə́ɬqʷ-tn ‘I’m piercing it.’

2.3.5.5. Three morphemes have special forms in the ‘actual’: ‘diminutive’, ‘resultive’, and the ‘structured activity’ suffix. See §2.3.2.3 on the ‘actual’ of the ‘diminutive’, §2.3.6.3 on the ‘actual’ of the ‘resultive’, and §2.5.4.1 on the ‘actual’ of ‘structured activity’.

2.3.5.6. The following words all seem to take a form of the glottal stop infix, but not as expected. With each exception the expected but non–occurring form is preceded by an asterisk.

234. čəʔáwəş sn ‘I’m using it now.’ (čákʷəs ‘use something’. *čáwəş)
235. səʔéwəş sn ‘I’m putting it down.’ (sékʷəs ‘put something down’. *séwəş)
236. ?áfə앩 sn ‘I’m boarding (a canoe) now.’ (?áaf ‘go aboard’. *ʔáʔə앩)
237. kʷpáhaj ‘It’s swelling up; it’s swollen.’ (pâhaj ‘swell up’. This may also be an exceptional form of the ‘resultive’.)

2.3.6. Resultive.
The ‘resultive’ aspect is opposed to ‘nonresultive’ and indicates an emphasis on the result or outcome of the action expressed in the predicate. The ‘resultive’ is usually translated into English as a participle. In Saanich it often occurs with the ‘stative’ prefix (§2.1.2), the ‘durative’ suffix (§2.2.2), or both. Only about sixty different examples of the ‘resultive’ appear in the corpus. Its rarity relative to the ‘actual’
aspect is perhaps due to my belated realization of the productiveness of this morpheme. The ‘resultive’ has two primary forms, C1+ reduplication (§2.3.6.1) and ablaut (§2.3.6.2).

2.3.6.1. C1+ ‘resultive’. This form appears in fewer than half of the recorded examples of the ‘resultive’. The C1+ form is less often recorded with the ‘stative’ or ‘durative’ affixes than the ablaut forms. Bases all have /i/, /e/, or /a/.

Since this reduplicative pattern is also employed in the ‘actual’ and since English translations can be ambiguous, it is often difficult to decide which morpheme is represented in the form. Often both are. This problem is particularly evident in the first two examples below.

238. tʰə=tʰəʔ=wéč sən ‘I’m sitting.’ [RES+\ upon(\tʰʔeʔ)=bottom 1SUB]
239. θə+/θɪʔ–əŋ sən ‘I’m standing.’
240. xʷə+\xʷˈəyəmʔə sə tsə \ʔéwkwʷ–s ‘She’s a prostitute.’ [RES+\ sell(ACT) OBL DEM \sqrt–self–3POS]
241. kʷ̣ə sə+\səw–t ‘He’s lying down.’ [REAL RES+\ put down(ACT)–STAT]
242. s–θə+\θɪʔməʔ ‘It’s frozen.’ (θɪʔməʔ ‘freeze it’)
243. s–kʷə+\kʷˈəl ‘He’s in hiding.’ [STAT–RES+\hide] (Compare with the ‘actual’ kʷ‘e+kʷʔəf ‘He’s hiding now.’)
244. tə+\tə´yəq ‘He’s angry.’

2.3.6.2. /a/ or /e/ substitute for root /a/ ‘resultive’. This is the most common form of the ‘resultive’ and the most easily recognized. It appears both in roots with underlying /a/ and in underlying vowelless roots. For a particular root either /a/ or /e/ appears consistently and no phonological conditioning factors have been discovered. It appears, then, that two morphological classes must be recognized for roots with surface /a/ in the ‘nonresultive’: those that have /a/ in the ‘resultive’ (examples 245–252) and those that have /e/ (examples 253–261).

Forms with ‘resultive’ /a/:
245. kʷ̣ə txʷ̣–as\√kʷ́əs–əf ‘It’s already counted.’ [REAL MUT–STAT√count(\√kʷs)–DUR]
246. kʷ̣ə s\√xʷ́əq–əf ‘It’s stuck on.’ [REAL STAT√stick on(\√xʷq)–DUR]
247. s√mákʷ–əf ‘He’s curled up.’
248. √náqʷ–əf ləʔ sən ‘I was asleep.’ (náqʷ sxʷ ‘Go to sleep.’)
249. s√pákʷ–əf ‘He’s floating.’ (√pákʷ ‘rise to the surface.’)
250. s√pəʔ–əf ‘He’s sober.’ (pəʔ sən ‘I sobered up.’)
251. s√tákʷ–əf ‘It’s tight.’ (Compare with example 208 above.)
252. s√θákʷ–əf ‘It’s straight.’ (Compare with example 210 above.)

Forms with ‘resultive’ /e/:
253. s\√qʷˈəf ‘Word; a speech.’ (√qʷəf ‘say’. Compare with example 181 §2.3.5.2.2.)
254. s√ləʔ–əf ‘It’s full.’ (√ləʔ ‘fill!’)
255. s√qép–əf ‘They’re together.’ (√q̕p ‘gather’)
256. s√q̕ʔθ–əf ‘It’s not enough.’
257. √səq–əf ‘It’s outside.’ (√səq ‘out’)
258. s√t̕ε–əf sxʷ ‘You’re wrong.’
259. txʷ–s√x̕e̕p–əf ‘He got sick.’ (x̕əf sən ‘I feel bad.’)
260. s√l̕e̕p–əf ‘It’s level.’
261. s√q̕ə–əf ‘He’s overboard.’ (√q̕as ‘fall overboard’)
2.3.6.3. When the ‘resultive’ occurs with the ‘actual’ the form sometimes exhibits C1+ reduplication. Though the data are limited, it seems that this is the form that occurs when there is an underlying root vowel.

262. qʷa+-qʷélf ‘He’s giving a speech.’ (Compare with examples 181 and 253.)
263. pə+√pé(ʔ)kʷ–əŋ ‘He’s floating now.’ (Compare with example 249.)

The ‘actual’ morpheme follows normally the ‘resultive’ when a vowelless root is involved. Compare the following:

264a. √ɬ̕qʷ–ə́t–as ‘He took it off.’ (nonactual)
b. √ɬ̕qʷ–t–as ‘He’s taking it off.’ (actual)
c. √ɬ̕qʷ–əŋ ‘He got undressed.’ (resultive)
d. √ɬ(ʔ)qʷ–əŋ ‘He’s getting undressed.’ (resultive and infixed form of actual)
e. s–ɬ̕qʷ–ə́ ‘He’s naked.’ (resultive and reduplicative form of the actual)

2.3.7. +C2 ?. Only four examples of this reduplicative pattern have been recorded. Although there are not enough samples to determine a meaning, the glosses of the recorded forms do seem to suggest that this may be the Saanich cognate of a +C2 reduplicative morpheme that is widespread in the Interior Salishan languages. Carlson and Thompson (1981) discuss a +C2 reduplicative morpheme they call ‘out-of-control’. They give many examples of this morpheme, which seems to be a sort of ‘non-control resultive’, from Interior Salishan languages and a few from some Coast Salishan languages. At least the first three examples here seem to have glosses that fit the ‘out-of-control’ idea.

265. Ꞅw /q̕al+əl Ꞅf ʃan Ꞅ–q–x̂ √qʷélf=kʷəŋ ‘I got discouraged.’ [CONTEMP √bad–‘out-of-control’? LIMIT 1SUBJ 1POS–S,LOC √say(RES)=mind]
266. Ꞅ–s√ʔə̕č+əč ‘He stutters.’
267. Ꞅmál+əl ‘It got soft (butter).’
268. Ꞅwə̕q+əq ‘Tree toad.’

2.3.8. Ordering of the radical morphological processes.

By inspecting forms in which pairs of radical morphological processes cooccur, a definite order of application can be discovered. The order described here is not intended to be definitive but merely suggestive. Although the order given here is completely consistent with the facts, it is based on an assumption that is not formally founded: that the order of the radical morphological processes is determined by the morpheme. That is, I offer no justification for the assumption that, for example, the reduplicative ‘actual’ appears at the same point in the derivation as the infixed ‘actual’.

2.3.8.1. The following have been observed in instances of cooccurrence of radical morphological processes:
1. Examples 3 and 4 in §2.3.1 demonstrate that ‘characteristic’ precedes the ‘resultive’.
2. Example 264 in §2.3.6.3 shows that ‘actual’ follows ‘resultive’.
3. Examples 110–112 in §2.3.3.4.3 show that ‘plural’ follows ‘diminutive’.
4. Though example 48 in §2.3.2.3 is inconclusive, example 46 suggests that ‘diminutive’ precedes ‘actual’ if we assume that the /ə́/ is the metathesized vowel of the suffix.
5. In §2.3.3.4.3 examples 109 and 111 it can be seen that ‘actual’ must precede ‘plural’.
6. Examples 113–114 in §2.3.3.4.3 show that ‘plural’ follows ‘characteristic’.
7. Example 115 in §2.3.3.4.3 shows that ‘plural’ precedes ‘repetitive’.
2.3.8.2. Given the facts of §2.3.8.1 the productive radical morphological processes can be seen to apply in the following order:

1. characteristic
2. resultive
3. diminutive (1, 2)?
4. actual
5. plural
6. repetitive

The arcs indicate pairs that have an order established in §2.3.8.1. The relationships between ‘diminutive’ and ‘resultive’ and between ‘diminutive’ and ‘characteristic’ have not been determined. No contradictions to this order have been observed.

2.3.9. Unanalyzable reduplication.
A number of forms have been recorded that apparently exhibit reduplication, but whose roots do not occur elsewhere.
269. pəpəŋ ‘Skunk.’
270. sqaqwə ‘Rabbit.’
271. qátqamás ‘Lacrosse.’
272. tînt ‘Ring a bell.’
273. šíqθEQθaxʷnač ‘Tailbone.’
274. šíʔšač ‘The bushes (if nobody’s in them).’
275. šífšač ‘The bushes (if somebody’s in them).’

For the first three examples, 269–271, I have no plausible analysis. Example 272 is probably a loan from Chinook Jargon, but it could very well be a ‘characteristic’ (§2.3.1) form. If it is, then the ‘actual’ form of the word, /títantən/ ‘ringing a bell’, establishes an ordering relationship between ‘characteristic’ and ‘actual’ and supports the order described in §2.3.8.2. Example 273 looks like, and could be, the C1 V+ form of the ‘actual’. An analysis of 273 would then be 276:
276. š−tθé+√tθaxʷ−nəč [S,LOC−ACT+=tail]

Examples 274 and 275 are the most interesting. They seem to fit none of the analyzable patterns, and the glosses, confirmed by two informants, are puzzling. The two forms must certainly be related, but how? And these are probably related to another form, /šálač/ ‘world, universe’, that does not help clarify the issue.

Notes to §2.3.

1. This gloss was suggested by L. C. Thompson (p.c.).

2. The precedence can be thought of either in terms of linear order as prefixes or as transformational processes. See §2.3.8 on the relative ordering of the radical morphological processes.

3. It is doubtful but not entirely out of the question. Although the word for ‘cat’ in Songish recorded by
Raffo (1972:162) is quite different from the Saanich word, it is also borrowed and seems to have a unique reduplicative ‘diminutive’: /píš/ ‘cat’, /píšpiš/ ‘kitten’.

4. There is, at present, no evidence to decide between the analysis presented here and an analysis of this as a discontinuous morpheme with regressive, C1+, reduplication and concomitant change of the root vowel to /i/.

5. Raffo (1972:137) has analysed cognate forms in Songish as involving two morphemes, a reduplicative ‘plural’ and an /-i-/ infix ‘collective’. The ‘plural’ always occurs when the ‘collective’ occurs but not vice versa. I find no evidence in Saanich for such an analysis.

6. Kinkade (p.c.) suggests that the two /C1C2+/ forms of ‘plural’ can be viewed as the same with the general conditioning environment C1VRX, where V is not á and X is not a word boundary. This way the three exceptions here are not exceptions at all, but example 76 then is. This analysis is probably the correct one, but the large number of examples with /l/ or /f/ as the resonant is striking especially since these are not the most frequently occurring resonants in the language.

7. The placement of the Saanich l–infix plural is similar to, but simpler than, that of the Cowichan cognate described by Hukari (1982). For Saanich too, the placement of this infix cries for a unified explanation in terms of its interaction with the other radical morphological processes. Here I simply describe its distribution.

8. The /ʔ/ is lost in the ‘plural’ here. I have no explanation for this.

9. The absence of a plural marking for /ləmatù/ may have something to do with the fact that ‘sheep’ in English has a zero plural. The word for ‘angel’ may represent a borrowing of a French plural, “les anges”, and so is not needed to be pluralized again. But see example 107 above where ‘apples’, a plural form borrowed into Saanich from English can be further pluralized.

10. This term was first used by Thompson and Thompson (1969, 1971).

11. In this and most of the following translations of the ‘nonactual’ I use the past tense. It should be kept in mind that the Saanich sentences are unmarked for tense except when one of the post–predicate particles /ləʔ/ or /səʔ/ (§2.6.2.3.1) is present.

12. An alternative would be to analyze this as a progressive reduplication. If the suggestions made in §2.3.5.4.3.5 below are correct, the analysis as regressive reduplication is clearly preferable. An other possibility is that C1í is infixed after the root /ə/.

13. These two forms involve the ‘relational’ suffix ||–ŋiy|| (§2.5.3.2) as well as the ‘causative’ (§2.5.2.3.).
2.4. Person.

2.4.0.1. Saanich has four basic sets of person markers: predicative, possessive, objective, and subjective. In each of these sets means are provided for referring to the speaker (first person), the addressee (second person), and others (third person). The predicative pronouns (§2.4.1) are independent roots that refer to first, second, and third persons. The possessives (§2.4.2) include prefixes for first singular and second persons and suffixes for first plural and third persons. The objective pronouns (§2.4.3) are suffixes that always occur with a transitivizing suffix (see §2.5.2). The subjective pronouns (§2.4.4) include a suffix for the third person transitive and post-predicate particles (see §2.6.2.) for the first and second persons in main clauses, and suffixes for all three persons in both transitive and intransitives in certain subordinate clauses.

2.4.0.2. In all four sets plurality is obligatorily marked only in the first person. Moreover, separate singular and plural forms are available only in the first person. For all four sets a plural second person may be indicated with the addition of an independent post-predicate particle (see §2.6.2.5.5). Plurality may be marked in second and third person predicative pronouns by means of a suffix. Plurality in second and third persons may also be marked indirectly by means of the ‘plural’ morpheme (see §2.3.3).

2.4.1. Predicative pronouns.

The predicative pronouns are independent full words with predicative force. They serve primarily as emphatics in stylistic variation. They may function either as predicate head or as oblique or non-oblique arguments to predications.

Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ʔə́sə</td>
<td>ɬníʔəɬ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>nə́kʷən</td>
<td>nəkʷíʔliʔə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>níʔ</td>
<td>nəníʔliʔə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 lists the predicative pronouns. This diagram is a bit deceptive in that it puts the second and third plurals on par with the other four forms. These two are obviously derived from the corresponding singular forms. The suffixes on these two forms are apparently related but appear nowhere else. Third plural carries reduplication in addition to this suffix.¹ These two forms differ also in that they serve strictly to emphasize the plurality. Unlike the first person plural, they are not obligatory in plural reference. The following examples show each of these pronouns in the same context. In each the pronoun serves as the main predicate head of the sentence.

1. √ʔə́sə ʔə́ʔalʔə w̕áyə́ʔə w̕áyə́ɬ ‘I scared myself.’ [√I LIMIT CONTEMP CHAR+√scare]
2. nə́kʷəaf ʔə́ʔaw̕áyə́síʔ ‘You scared yourself.’
3. ʔə́ʔaw̕áyə́n nə́ʔəaf ʔə́ʔaw̕áyə́síʔ ‘He scared himself.’
4. ɬníʔəɬ ʔə́ʔaw̕áyə́síʔ ‘We scared ourselves.’
5. nəkʷíʔliʔə af ʔə́ʔaw̕áyə́síʔ ‘You folks scared yourselves.’
6. ʔə ʔə̕w ʔə̕níʔə ʔə̕l ʔə̕w ʔə̕séyíʔi? 'They scared themselves.'

The use of the predicative pronominals in examples 1–6 with the post-predicate particle /ʔə/ 'limiting' (see §2.6.2.5.6) emphasizes that only one person is involved.

Examples 7 and 8 illustrate the stylistic variation allowed by the use of these pronominals.

7. ʔə̕sə ʔə̕xə̕ʔə̕l ʔə̕w ʔə̕séyíʔsi ʔə̕ ʔə̕l 'I am Transformer.'

8. ʔə̕sə ʔə̕xə̕ʔə̕l ʔə̕w ʔə̕séyíʔsi ʔə̕ ʔə̕l 'I am Transformer.'

Example 8 can be seen in context in §3.1 sentence 66. The gradual build-up to the mysterious "white robed guy" announcing himself concludes with this sentence. It is clearly used for dramatic effect and is better translated "it is I, Transformer." Example 7 is the more ordinary construction parallel to sentences such as /pést ʔə̕n ʔə̕n/ 'I'm American.'

In examples 1 to 6 only the third person pronominals are preceded by /ʔə̕w/ 'contemporaneous' (see §2.6.1.4). This particle often occurs with the third person predicative pronominal where other persons occur without it. This is unexplained, but it may offer a clue to the analysis of two other forms that translate as third person pronominals.

9. √ƛ̕íw ʔə̕sə ʔə̕n ʔə̕kʷs ʔə̕tsə ʔə̕n ʔə̕níɬ 'I ran away from him.' [√escape 1SUBJ OBL DEM him]

10. ƛ̕íw ʔə̕sə ʔə̕n ʔə̕kʷs ʔə̕θə ʔə̕n ʔə̕níɬ 'I ran away from her.'

The third person pronominals in examples 9 and 10 obviously contain ||níɬ|| the third person predicate pronominal. They also certainly contain the 'general' and 'feminine' demonstrative formative ||ts-|| and ||θ-|| (§2.6.3). The /ʔə̕w/ may be identifiable with the 'contemporaneous' particle though it never otherwise appears between a demonstrative and a full word argument to a predication. Another problem with this analysis is that nowhere else do such sequences of demonstratives occur. In 9, in fact, they are contradictory: /kʷs/ indicates 'invisible, particular' where /ts/ indicates 'not invisible, particular'. It seems best at present to leave the analysis of these forms an open question.

2.4.2. Possessive pronominals.

2.4.2.1. The possessive pronominals are a set of prefixes and suffixes that function in ways similar to the English possessives 'my', 'your', etc. They primarily indicate personal possession of the entity or state indicated in the full word to which they are affixed. They are also used to indicate the subject of certain subordinate clauses.

| 1st | nə-      | -tə |
| 2nd | ʔə̕n̓-    | ʔə̕n̓- |
| 3rd | -s       | -s   |

Table 5 shows the possessive pronominal affixes. Note that as in the other pronominal systems the first person differs from the other two in that it has separate singular and plural forms.

The following examples illustrate each of the possessive pronominals in the same context.

11. natən 'It's my mother.'
12. ʔə̕ntən 'It's your mother.'
13. téns 'It's his/her/their mother.'
14. ténʔa 'It's our mother.'

Examples 11 to 14 are predicate heads. They can take one of the subject pronouns as in example 15. Like example 15, examples 16 and 17 are formally intransitive, though they seem from the translation to refer to an agent and a patient.

15. ?antén san 'I am your mother.'

Therefore does not show deletion.


Examples 16 and 17 can be literally, though awkwardly, translated 'you are my liking' and 'I am your inviting.'

4.2.3. The possessive pronouns can occur affixed to transitive as well as intransitive forms.

18. √ʔawa-/naʔ na–s/xčʔ–i–t 'I don't know him/her/it.' [√not √exist 1POS–S√know, figure–PERSIS–CTRAN–3OBJ[ø]]

19. √ʔawa-/naʔ n̕–s/xčʔ–i–t–áfxʷ ‘You don’t know us.’ [√not √exist 2POS–S√know, figure–PERSIS–CTRAN–1POBJ]

Example 18 might more literally be translated ‘my knowing him does not exist.’

4.2.4. The subject of a subordinate clause marked by ||kʷə|| (see §2.6.4.2) is often indicated by a possessive pronoun. Example 20 shows the possessive pronouns in both the main and subordinate clauses.

20. na–s/xiʔ kʷə na–s/čte–sə 'I want to ask you (a question).' [1POS–S√want, like SUB 1POS–S√ask–(CTRAN)–2OBJ]

21. √ʔaksʷáʔ–sə san kʷə n̕–s–xʷ/sémač=qan 'I'm teaching you to speak Saanich.' [√teach(ACT)–(CTRAN)–2OBJ] SUB 2POS–S–LOC/Saanich=pharynx]

Note that the initial /ʔa/ of the second person possessive deletes when following /ʔ/ as in example 19 or /a/ as in example 21. This deletion occurs, however, only when the preceding /ʔ/ or /a/ is part of the same clause. Examples 22 to 24 show possessive pronouns functioning as subjects of nominalized conjunctive clauses (see §2.1.1). In example 24 the second person possessive is clause initial and therefore does not show deletion.

22. √kʷán–at san kʷə na–s–awv/nawə–s 'I took it and carried it in.' [√take, grasp–CTRAN–3OBJ[ø] 1SUB]

INFORM 1POS–S–CONTEMP √inside(RES)–EFFORT–3OBJ[ø]]

23. √kʷán–at ɬtə kʷə s–awv/nawə–s–4ta 'We took it and carried it in.' [√take, grasp–CTRAN–3OBJ[ø] 1PLSUB] INFORM S–CONTEMP √inside(RES)–EFFORT–3OBJ[ø]–1POBJ]


4.2.5. Emphatic pronouns are formed by affixing the possessive pronouns to a special base, /skʷέ/, which can function as a predicate head as in examples 25 to 30.

25. naskʷέ? 'It's mine.'

26. naskʷέ? naʔéfəŋ 'It's my house.'

27. ?anískʷέ? n̕éfəŋ 'It's your house.'

28. ?anískʷέ? həla n̕éfəŋ 'It's your folks' house.'

29. skʷέʔtə ?éfəŋɬ ta 'It's our house.'

30. skʷέʔs ?éfəŋɬ 'It's his/her/their house.'
See §2.1.5 on the possessive pronominals in contrast and combination with ||č∥ ‘have’.

2.4.3. Objective pronominals.

2.4.3.1. The objective pronominals indicate the objects of transitive predicates. They are all suffixes which always immediately follow one of the transitivizing suffixes (see §2.5.2).

There are two sets of object suffixes. One (table 6) occurs only following the ‘control transitive’; the other (table 7) follows the other transitivizers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. Object suffix set 1</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-alxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-sə</td>
<td>-sə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7. Object suffix set 2</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-aŋəs</td>
<td>-aľxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-aŋə</td>
<td>-aŋə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with the other pronominals, a regular, distinct plural form is available only in the first person where plurality is obligatorily marked.

The two systems of object suffixes show a number of similarities. The third person object is a zero morpheme in both systems. The first person plural is the same in both systems. First person singular ends in /s/³ and second person ends in /ə/ in both systems. No differences in meaning or function between the two systems have been observed.

2.4.3.2. It may be that the first and second person objects of set 2 are further analyzable as involving a morpheme /-aŋ/. Since apparently nothing is gained from such an analysis I will continue to represent each of these two as single morphemes.

It is also tempting, for these two suffixes, to presume that the /a/ is not a part of the object but rather a part of the preceding transitivizer. The two transitivizing suffixes that object set 2 most commonly occurs with both have an underlying /a/, ||-naxʷ∥ ‘non-control transitive’ and ||-staxʷ∥ ‘causative’. It seems reasonable to assume that the /xʷ/ is deleted when followed by an object suffix, /-ŋəs/ or /-ŋə/, leaving the /a/ as in 31.

31. kʷənánə san ‘I see you.’ ||√kʷən-naxʷ-ŋə san∥ [√see-NTRAN-2OBJ] 1SUB]

However, there does seem to be evidence to assume the contrary: that the vowel and final consonant of the transitivizer are deleted and the /a/ is part of the suffix as in 32.
32. kʷənnáŋə san ‘I see you.’ || kʷən–naxʷ–aŋə san || [ √ see–NTRAN–2OBJ 1SUBJ]

There are two reasons for assuming the analysis as in 32. First, the /a/ of the transitivizers ordinarily surface only when the root is vowelless (see §2.5 and §2.3.5). The /a/ appears with first and second person objects regularly both with vowelless roots and with roots having full vowels. This suggests that the /a/ appearing with the object suffixes is different from that of the transitive suffixes. The second and more compelling reason to assume the analysis as in 32 is the fact that the first and second person object suffixes occurring with the transitivizer || –nas|| ‘purposive’ have /a/. The /s/ of this transitivizer does not delete and there is no reason to assume any underlying /a/ for it. See §2.4.5 for summary paradigms with various transitivizers and especially §2.4.5.7 for || –nas||.

2.4.4. Subjective pronominals.

2.4.4.1. In main clauses the subjective pronominals include post-predicate particles in first and second person, a suffix in third person transitive, and a zero morpheme for third person in some other contexts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>s–ən</td>
<td>ətə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>s–xʷ</td>
<td>s–xʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>–əs ~ ø</td>
<td>–əs ~ ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with other pronominal systems, no special forms for second and third plurals are available. Plurality is obligatory only in the first person.

2.4.4.2. The /s/ of the first singular and second persons is segmentable as a main clause subject base. The /–ən/ and /–xʷ/ appear suffixed to the predicate head of certain subordinate clauses. Table 9 shows the subordinate clause subject markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>–ən</td>
<td>–ətə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>–əxʷ</td>
<td>–əxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>–əs</td>
<td>–əs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In subordinate clauses, /–əs/ marks the third person subject in intransitives as well as transitives.

2.4.4.3. Ergative or split ergative systems have been noted for several Coast Salish languages (Squamish, Kuipers (1967); Halkomelem, Gerdts (1980); and Lummi, Jelinek and Demers (1983)). Saanich also displays limited ergativity. It is ergative in that the intransitive subject is marked the same as the transitive object, a zero morpheme; it is split in that this is true only of the third person in main clauses. However, the third person subject appears as a zero morpheme not only in main clause intransitives but also in transitives.
having a first person object from set 2. In §2.4.5 summary paradigms give examples.

2.4.4.4. In Saanich a second person object almost never occurs with a third person subject. In eliciting paradigms, sentences such as ‘he looked at you’ appear in the passive, ‘you were looked at’, as in example 33.

33. \( \sqrt{kʷān-āt-āŋ s}x^w \)  [\( \sqrt{\text{see-CTRAN-PASS 2SUBJ}} \)]

The expected underlying form, \( ||\sqrt{kʷān-āt-ās-ās||} \), with second person object and third person subject would, by regular phonological rules, merge on the surface with another underlying form, \( ||\sqrt{kʷān-āt-s-ās||} \), with first person object and third person subject. Example 34, which could be the surface realization of either of these, has ordinarily only one reading.

34. \( kʷānasəs \) ‘He looked at me.’

It is interesting how the language has chosen to avoid a sensitive, possibly highly confusing ambiguity. The choice of reading here is undoubtedly determined by the high pragmatic salience of “looking out for number one,” probably a human universal reflected also in the traditional grammatical terminology ‘first person’. Jelinek and Demers (1983) discuss similar phenomena occurring in other Coast Salish languages. Sentences like 34 do rarely occur with a second person object interpretation. Example 35 occurred in running text and was later translated with second person object. When questioned on this, informants confirmed that it could mean either of the two glosses.

35. tāməsəs ʔa tsa snəˈnət ‘He hit you with a rock; he hit me with a rock.’

In attributive constructions that translate as relative clauses the subject is always third person. In these cases the subject is never overtly marked by the pronominal suffix. Since the third person subject is zero here, the ambiguity can never arise. Therefore, first and second person objects appear freely. In examples 36 and 37 first and second person objects occur with the zero third person subject. The relative clause is in boldface.

36. \( \sqrt{kʷān-nəxʷ sən kʷə s \sqrt{wəyəqʔa} \ x^w\sqrt{t^θs}=ás-sə} ‘I saw the man who hit you in the face.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{see-NTRAN-3OBJ(o) 1SUBJ DEM S}\sqrt{\text{man LOC}}\sqrt{\text{punch=face-(CTRAN)-2OBJ}} \)]

37. \( \sqrt{kʷān-nəxʷ sx^w s}n kʷə s \sqrt{wəyəqʔa} \ x^w\sqrt{t^θs}=ás-s ‘You saw the man who hit me in the face.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{see-NTRAN-3OBJ(o) 2SUBJ DEM S}\sqrt{\text{man LOC}}\sqrt{\text{punch=face-(CTRAN)-1OBJ}} \)]

2.4.4.5. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate that the third person subject marker is a suffix where the first and second person subject markers are particles.

38. \( ?ətθʔənjəx^w sən ‘I dressed him.’

39. \( ?ətθʔənjəx^w sx^w ‘You dressed him.’

40. \( ?ətθʔənjəx^w ʔtə ‘We dressed him.’

41. \( ?ətθʔəŋəʃəw ‘She (he, they) dressed him.’

Stress placement is discussed in §1.4. In general, given two contiguous syllables with equal stress valence, stress will fall on the penultimate. In 38–40 the subject pronominals do not count as ultimate syllables for stress placement, but in 41 the third person subject pronominal does cause stress to be placed on the /i/ of the ‘relational’ suffix. Stress placement in these examples indicates that the phonological word ends in 38–40 after the ‘causative’ suffix and before the subject pronominal and in 41 the phonological word includes the subject pronominal.

Aside from stress placement, these examples offer a second reason for considering the first and second person subject pronominals to be particles while the third person subject pronominal is a suffix. All four of these examples contain the ‘causative’ suffix which, like the ‘non-control transitive’, has a final /x^w/ which invariably deletes when followed by any suffix (see §2.5.2.3). Examples 38–40 show that the /x^w/
does not delete before the first and second person subject pronominals, but in 41 it does delete before the third person. The third person subject behaves like a suffix; the first and second person subjects behave like they are not phonologically part of the word.

2.4.5. Summary paradigms.
This section provides a summary, exemplification, and a convenient reference to the objective and subjective pronominals. Paradigms are provided for intransitives, each of the transitive suffixes of §2.5.2, and for transitives in combination with the 'indirective' (§2.5.3.1) and ‘persistent’ (§2.2.1) suffixes.

2.4.5.1. Examples 42–45 illustrate main clause intransitives.
42. yêʔ san 'I go.'
43. yêʔ sxʷ 'You go.'
44. yêʔ 'He/she/it goes.'
45. yêʔ tta 'We go.'
Examples 46–49 illustrate the subject pronominals in subordinate clause intransitives. Note that whereas the third person main clause intransitive subject is ø, the third person subordinate intransitive subject is /-as/, the same as the third person transitive subject. The subordinate subject in 46–49 is suffixed to the same root that appears in 42–45.
46. séš sxʷ kʷă yéʔan tť sxʷiméla? ‘You sent me to the store (you sent me that I go to the store).’ ||/se- at-s sxʷ kʷă √yeʔ–an tl s–xʷ √xʷaym=ela?|| [√send–CTRAN–1 OBJ 2SUBJ SUB √go–1 SUBJ DEM S–LOC √sel=container]
47. séša san kʷă yéʔaxʷ tť sxʷiméla? ‘I sent you to the store (I sent you that you go to the store).’ ||/se- at–s a san kʷă √yeʔ–axʷ tl s–xʷ √xʷaym=ela?|| [√send–CTRAN–2 OBJ 1SUBJ SUB √go–2 SUBJ DEM S–LOC √sel=container]
48. séť san kʷ’s tsawní½ kʷă yéʔas tť sxʷiméla? ‘I sent him to the store (I sent him that he go to the store).’ ||/se–at–ø san kʷ’s tsawní½ kʷă √yeʔ–as tl s–xʷ √xʷaym=ela?|| [√send–CTRAN–3 OBJ 1SUBJ DEM him SUB √go–3 SUBJ DEM S–LOC √sel=container]
49. setácxʷ sxʷ kʷă yéʔatťa tť sxʷiméla? ‘You sent us to the store (you sent us that we go to the store).’ ||/se–at–æf sxʷ kʷă √yeʔ–æťa tl s–xʷ √xʷaym=ela?|| [√send–CTRAN–1 PLOBJ 2SUBJ SUB √go–1 PLSUBJ DEM S–LOC √sel=container]

2.4.5.2. Object (columns) and subject (rows) paradigm with ||–at|| ‘control transitive’ (§2.5.2.1). The root ||√kʷan|| ‘see’ with the ‘control transitive’ has the gloss ‘look at’ as in ‘I look at you.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1pl</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷánasə san</td>
<td>kʷánat san</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷánasə tťa</td>
<td>kʷánat tťa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kʷánas sxʷ</td>
<td>kʷánatáför sxʷ</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷánat sxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kʷánasəs</td>
<td>kʷánatáför sxʷ (kʷánatəŋ sxʷ)</td>
<td>kʷánatəs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.5.3. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ||–nax|| ‘non–control transitive’ (§2.5.2.2). The root ||√kʷan|| ‘see’ with this transitivizer is glossed as, for example, ‘I see you.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1pl</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷánasə</td>
<td>kʷánat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

http://www.cas.unt.edu/~montler/Saanich/Outline/index.htm
2.4.5.4. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ||-staxʷ|| ‘causative’ (§2.5.2.3). The root √kʷən|| ‘see’ with this transitivizer is glossed ‘show’ as in ‘I show (it to) you.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1pl</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷənstaŋəsən</td>
<td>kʷənstxʷsən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷənstaŋəstə</td>
<td>kʷənstxʷstə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kʷənstaŋəsxsxʷ</td>
<td>kʷənstaľxʷsxʷ</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷənstxʷsxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kʷənstaŋəs</td>
<td>kʷənstaľxʷəs</td>
<td>(kʷənstəŋ sxʷ)</td>
<td>kʷənstaśas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.5.5. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ||-ət|| ‘control transitive’ and ||-si|| ‘indirective’ (§2.5.3.1). The root √kʷən|| ‘see’ with these two suffixes is glossed as, for example, ‘I look at it for you.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1pl</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷənsisən</td>
<td>kʷənsit sən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷənsisstə</td>
<td>kʷənsitstə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kʷənsisxsxʷ</td>
<td>kʷənsitľxʷsxʷ</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kʷənsit sxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kʷənsisəs</td>
<td>kʷənsitľxʷəs</td>
<td>(kʷənsitəŋ sxʷ)</td>
<td>kʷənsitəs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.5.6. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ||-ət|| ‘control transitive’ and ||-i|| ‘persistent’ (§2.2.1). The root 4√xč|| ‘figure out’ with these two suffixes is glossed ‘know’ as in ‘I know you.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1pl</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>xčísən</td>
<td>xčıt sən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>xčisstə</td>
<td>xčıtstə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>xčísxsxʷ</td>
<td>xčitľxʷsxʷ</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>xčıt sxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>xčısıs</td>
<td>xčitľxʷəs</td>
<td>(xčıtəŋ sxʷ)</td>
<td>xčıtıs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.5.7. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with ||-nas|| ‘purposive’ (§2.5.2.4). The root...
\[\sqrt{kn iris} \parallel \text{'run, race'} \text{ with this transitivizer is glossed as, for example, 'I run after you.'} \]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 1p1 & 2 & 3 \\
1 -- & -- & kʷənanətəsənə sən & kʷənanətəsənə sən \\
1p1 -- & -- & kʷənanətəsənə ɬəs & kʷənanətəsənə ɬəs \\
2 kʷənanətəsənə sxʷ & kʷənanətəsənə ləs sxʷ & -- & kʷənanətəsənə sxʷ \\
3 kʷənanətəsənə & kʷənanətəsənə ləs (kʷənanətəsənə sxʷ) & kʷənanətəsənə \\
\end{array}
\]

2.4.5.8. Object (columns) subject (rows) paradigm with \parallel nəw \parallel 'effort transitive' (§2.5.2.5). Only partial paradigms have been recorded with this transitivizer. The following set with \parallel nəw \parallel 'be inside' is the most complete. Note that when both first and second persons are involved \parallel nəi \parallel 'relational' also appears. See also §2.5.2.5.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 1p1 & 2 & 3 \\
1 -- & -- & nəwɨnə sən & nəwés sən \\
1p1 -- & -- & not recorded & not recorded \\
2 nəwɨnəs sxʷ & not recorded & -- & nəwés sxʷ \\
3 (nəwɛn sən) & not recorded (nəwɛn sxʷ) & not recorded \\
\end{array}
\]

Notes to §2.4.

1. The prosodic similarity between the second and third plurals here is striking but as yet unaccounted for.

2. I recorded no examples with the first plural possesive and a second person subject. Hess (p.c.) has data indicating that constructions like *tən tə sxʷ are unacceptable in Saanich. This is also the case in other Salish languages. In order to say 'you are our mother' one must resort to the second person predicative pronominal: nəkʷə tən tə.

3. This similarity is an historical accident. The first singular /s/ of object set 1 comes from Proto-Salish *c, while that of object set 2 comes from *x (Kinkade, p.c.).

4. A full paradigm for the root of previous paradigms, \parallel kʷən \parallel, with \parallel i \parallel 'persistent' was not recorded. However, forms such as /kʷənsí sən/ 'I watch you' do occur. See examples 1–4 in §2.2. This root has not been recorded with either \parallel nəs \parallel 'purposive' or \parallel as \parallel 'effort'.
2.5. Voice.
The morphology of voice in Saanich involves a system of highly productive suffixes that function to indicate various relationships between the participants and the action or state expressed in the predicate. The transitive suffixes (§2.5.2) indicate the involvement of at least two participants: a subject and an object. See §2.4.5 for summary paradigms for subjects and objects with various transitivizers. The factive suffixes (§2.5.3) indicate the secondary involvement of a goal as well as a patient. The intransitive suffixes (§2.5.4) differ among themselves in whether the subject is agent or patient. They differ formally from the transitives in that they never occur with the object suffixes (see §2.4.3).

2.5.1. Control.
Control as a major category in the Salish languages has been discussed in a number of places (see especially Thompson, 1979b). This category cuts across the entire language with each morpheme, including each root, being either marked or unmarked with respect to control. The marked morphemes are either 'control' or 'non–control'. A 'control' morpheme implies a participant exerting conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. A 'non–control' morpheme implies a participant expressly not exerting control. Since control involves reference to participants, it is particularly important in the voice system. In fact, this section may just as appropriately be titled "Control" and be organized in terms of 'control', 'non–control', and unmarked for control morphemes rather than in terms of transitive, factive, and intransitive.

Control, to the native speaker of English, is a semantically striking category. It seems at first that the 'control/non–control' distinction is one of voluntary versus involuntary action or purposive vs. accidental occurrence. However, one soon encounters sentences like 1 recorded at two different times in different contexts and having two glosses that seem to be at opposite ends of a semantic scale.

1. naqʷnáŋat san 'I finally managed to fall asleep (after tossing and turning for hours trying to get to sleep)' OR 'I fell asleep (accidentally while driving).'

While the first gloss is clearly volitive, the second is just as clearly non–volitive. What the two glosses for example 1 have in common is that the subject fell asleep and was not able to exert control over it. Such pairs of glosses are readily and repeatedly given by informants. Although all the suffixes of the voice system are either marked or unmarked with respect to control there are three pairs of suffixes that differ primarily in the control status they assign to the subject. The following examples briefly illustrate two of these pairs. The following sections give further exemplifications and more detailed descriptions.

2a. kʷə́nət sən 'I looked at it.'
   b. kʷə̃nə̃sən 'I saw it.'

3a. t̓ə̃m̕ʷə́ tə ‘We hit each other (while throwing rocks at each other).’
   b. t̓ə̃m̕ʷə̃lə tə ‘We hit each other (we ran into each other accidentally).’

4a. ?ə̃w nə̃sə̃lə kʷə̃ nə̃sə̃q ‘I intentionally tore it (a rag).’ || ?ə̃w nə̃-s√lə kʷə̃ nə̃/sə̃q̕-ət|| [CONTEMP 1POS–S√ intend SUB 1POS√ tear–CTRAN]
   b. ?ə̃w nə̃sə̃lə kʷə̃ nə̃sə̃q̕nə̃x ‘I intentionally tore it accidentally.’ || ?ə̃w nə̃-s√lə kʷə̃ nə̃/sə̃q̕–nə̃x√|| [CONTEMP 1POS–S√ intend SUB 1POS√ tear–CTRAN]

The sentences in example 2 contain the same root and differ only in that the first has the 'control
transitive' while the second has the 'non-control transitive'. 'Looking' is a controlled activity while 'seeing' is not.

A gloss like that given in 4b makes one think at first that the informant is working too hard. But given the notion of control and appropriate context it makes perfect sense: 'a nail was sticking out of the wall and I deliberately rubbed up against it and tore my shirt.' It corresponds to the idea sometimes expressed in English as "accidentally on purpose" but without the humorous connotations.

2.5.2. Transitives.

There are three common and highly productive transitive suffixes: ||−at|| 'control transitive', ||−nax|| 'non-control transitive', and ||−stax|| 'causative'. Two others are quite rare: ||−nas|| 'purposive' and ||−as|| 'effort'. The last of these may actually be an allomorph of one of the others.

2.5.2.1. ||−at|| 'control transitive'. The presence of this suffix implies a patient object and an agent subject which exerts conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. This suffix appears on the surface in six forms: /−át/, /−at/, /−t/, /−â/, /−ə/, and ø. It is stressed (examples 5–6) when following a vowelless CC root with an obstruent as the second consonant in the 'non-actual' (see §2.3.5.4). Otherwise the unstressed vowel is present or not (examples 7–10) depending on regular rules for /a/ deletion. The /t/ deletes (examples 6,8,9) when followed by the /s/ of the first and second person objects (see §2.4.3).

5. sč̕át sxʷ 'You spanked him.' ||/sč̕−at−o sxʷ|| [√spank−CTRAN−3OBJ 2SUBJ]
6. sč̕ás sxʷ 'You spanked me.' ||/sč̕−at−s sxʷ|| [√spank−CTRAN−1OBJ 2SUBJ]
7. kʷánat 'Look at it.' ||/kʷan−at||
8. kʷánasa san 'I looked at you.' ||/kʷan−at−sa san|| [√see−CTRAN−2OBJ 1SUBJ]
9. léʔs sxʷ 'You fixed me up.' ||/leʔ−at−s sxʷ|| [√repair−CTRAN−1OBJ 2SUBJ]
10. leʔ táťfxʷ sxʷ 'You fixed us up.' ||/leʔ−at−áfxʷ sxʷ|| [√repair−CTRAN−1 PLOBJ 2SUBJ]

2.5.2.2. ||−nax|| 'non-control transitive'. This suffix is opposed to both the 'control transitive' and the 'causative'. Its presence implies a patient object and an agent subject but the subject does not exert conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate.

This suffix appears in four forms: /−náxʷ/, /−naxʷ/, /−ná/, and /−n/. The underlying vowel surfaces only when stressed. The suffix is stressed (examples 11–14) only when occurring with a underlyingly vowelless root (see §2.3.5.4) and no other suffixes. The form /−náxʷ/ appears with third person object otherwise (examples 15–16). The /xʷ/ is deleted when it is followed by other suffixes (examples 13,14,17).

11. ōʃnáxʷ san 'I hit it accidentally; I finally managed to hit it.' ||/tʃ−náxʷ−ø san|| [√hit−NTRAN−3OBJ 1SUBJ]
12. ōʃnáxʷ sxʷ 'You broke it accidentally; you finally managed to break it.' ||/tʃ−náxʷ−ø sxʷ|| [√break−NTRAN−3OBJ 2SUBJ]
13. ōʃná 'He hit him (accidentally).'</s> ||/tʃ−náxʷ−ø−as|| [√hit−NTRAN−3OBJ−3SUBJ]
14. ōʃná 'Somebody got hit (accidentally).'</s> ||/tʃ−náxʷ−øŋ|| [√hit−NTRAN−PASS]
15. ?atátínxʷ san 'I finally managed to get him to sleep.' ||/ʔatát−naxʷ−ø san|| [√sleep−NTRAN−3OBJ 1SUBJ]
16. hάq"náxʷ san 'I smell it.' ||/hákʷ−náxʷ−ø san|| [√smell−NTRAN−3OBJ 1SUBJ]
17. kʷánə̱náxʷ sx 'You see me.' ||/kʷan−naxʷ−ações sxʷ|| [√see−NTRAN−1OBJ 2SUBJ]

2.5.2.3. ||−stax|| 'causative'. This suffix is opposed to the 'control transitive' and the 'non-control
transitive'. Its presence implies a patient object and an agent subject that exerts conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. It differs from the 'control transitive' in that it adds the implication that the subject is causing or obliging the activity expressed in the predicate.

The complete underlying form never appears on the surface. But the morphophonemic rules that lead to each of the five surface forms, /-táxʷ/, /-stxʷ/, /-txʷ/, /-st/, and /-t/, are straightforward. The underlying vowel appears only when the root is vowelless and the word contains no other stressable morpheme, that is, the /a/ appears only when it is the only underlying vowel in the word (examples 14–15). The underlying /s/ appears only when this suffix is preceded by a vowel (examples 16–18). The /s/ may actually represent an entirely different morpheme, but there is not enough evidence to analyze it clearly as such. As with ||-naxʷ|| 'non-control transitive', the /xʷ/ is deleted when followed by other suffixes (examples 18, 19, 21–23).

Note that often in the 'passive' (§2.5.4.4) the 'causative' will be phonologically identical to the 'control transitive'. Also it is often the case that the 'control transitive' can be distinguished from the 'causative' on the surface only with reference to their different object suffix sets (see §2.4.3).

18. čaqtáxʷ sán 'I made it big.' ||√ʔaxʷ-CAUS-3 OBJ 1SUBJ
19. xaftáxʷ sán 'I designed it.' ||√f-taxʷ-CAUS-3 OBJ 1SUBJ
20. ?atθiŋståxʷ 'Get him dressed.' ||/θ-ŋiy-staxʷ-CAUS-3 OBJ
21. šánjistxʷ sán 'I walked him (a dog); I ran it (a machine).' ||√stŋiy-staxʷ-CAUS-3 OBJ [√ locomote-REL-CAUS-3 OBJ 1SUBJ]
22. čakʷistáŋxas sxʷ 'You took me home.' ||/čakʷ-ŋiy-staxʷ-ŋas sxʷ|| [√ go home-REL-CAUS-1 OBJ 2SUBJ]
23. ?atθánista 'He fed it (the dog).' ||/θ-ŋiy-staxʷ-ŋas sxʷ|| [√ eat-REL-CAUS-3 OBJ 3SUBJ]
24. čeʔxəʔtxʷsxʷ 'You embarrassed him.' ||C1V C2+√eʔ-staxʷ-CAUS-3 OBJ [CHAR+√embarrass-CAUS-3 OBJ 2SUBJ]
25. ?atatáŋxas sán 'I put him to sleep.' ||/θät-at-staxʷ-ŋas sxʷ|| [√ sleep-CAUS-2 OBJ 1SUBJ]
26. hiʔtánxas sxʷ 'You kept me for a long time.' ||/θ-hy-staxʷ-ŋas sxʷ|| [√ long time-CAUS-1 OBJ 2SUBJ]
27. hiʔtəŋ hta 'We were kept for a long time.' ||/θ-hy-staxʷ-ŋas hta|| [√ long time-CAUS-PASS 1PLSUBJ]

It seems that many of the stems that can occur with the 'causative' cannot occur with the 'control transitive'. For all of the stems listed in this section corresponding forms with the 'control transitive' in place of the 'causative' are rejected. But see examples 53 and 55 below in §2.5.3.1 for a pair showing the difference between the two transitivizers with the same stem.

2.5.2.4. ||-nas|| 'purposive'. This suffix is rare in the corpus and seems to appear on a very limited number of stems. It has been found occurring with only five different roots: √ʔaxʷ 'go to', √yeʔ 'go, depart', √kʷaniŋat 'run', √ʔanʔé 'come', and √st 'walk'. Enough paradigms have been elicited, however, to show that this suffix parallels the other transitivizing suffixes. Its presence implies a patient object and an agent subject that exerts conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. It differs from the 'control transitive' in that it adds the implication that the subject has a specific purpose in its action. It often, but not always, carries an implication of malevolent intent. This suffix apparently suffers no morphophonemic variation. Since this suffix occurs no more than twenty times in the corpus the analysis here must be considered very tentative. It may turn out that this is no transitivizer at all, but another one of the factives similar to the 'relational' (§2.5.3.2).

28. √yeʔ-\-nas sán sà 'I'll go (to do something).' [√ go-PURPOS 1SUBJ FUT]
29. √ʔaxʷ-\-nas sán 'I went over there (for some specific purpose).' [√ go-\PURPOS 1SUBJ]
30. √ʔanʔé-\-nas-\-ŋ sán ?a tsə s/qéxəʔ 'The dog came at me (probably not in a friendly way).'
31. štəŋnas ʔəl ‘I’m just going to walk over there (with something in mind such as to tell somebody off.’
32. √kʷənənəj-at–nəs–əs ‘He ran after it.’ [√run–PURPOS–3SUBJ]
33. kʷənənətənəsəngə sx ‘You ran after me.’

2.5.2.5. ||–as|| ‘effort’? This suffix has been recorded as a clearly separable unit with only a few roots:
34. √sékʷ–as sən ‘I put it down.’
35. √nəw–as sən ‘I put it inside.’
36. √sqé–s sən ‘I put it outside.’
37. √kʷəyəl–as sən ‘I hid it.’
38. √čákʷ–as sən ‘I used it.’

Two of the roots have been recorded in the ‘resultive’ form with the ‘durative’ suffix and the ‘causative’
transitivizer and just about the same glosses:
39. s√nəw–əɬ–txʷ sən ‘I got it inside.’ [STAT√inside(RES)–DUR–CAUS 1SUBJ]
40. səqəhtxʷ sən ‘I put it outside.’

It may be that this suffix is not a transitivizer at all. There is no clear reason to separate it from the
‘purposive’ suffix, which itself has a questionable status as a transitivizer. Furthermore, there is a
possibility that this suffix is to be identified with the /s/ of the ‘causative’ transitivizer analyzed in
§2.5.2.3 as ||–staxʷ||. Examples 41–42 seem to point in this direction.
41. θɬíŋətxʷ sən ‘I stood him (a baby) up.’ (θɬəŋ sən ‘I’m standing.’)
42. θɬíŋəstxʷ sən ‘I put it (a tent) up.’

This is, however, the only such pair recorded, and each of these was recorded only once. Example 41 is a
case of the causative following a vowel without the /s/ (see §2.5.2.3 and 55 §2.5.3.1). Nevertheless, the
glosses seem to differ in a way comparable to the glosses of examples 34–38.
A problem in considering this ||–as|| suffix to be identical to the /s/ in the ‘causative’ is that paradigms
involving ||–as|| have been recorded without any trace of the expected forms of the ‘causative’. Examples
43–45 with 36 form part of a paradigm for ||–as|| as a transitivizer.
43. √sqé–ŋ sən ‘He put me outside.’ [√outside–PASS 1SUBJ]
44. √sqə–ŋ–ŋə sən ‘I put you outside.’ [√outside–REL–2OBJ 1SUBJ]
45. √sqə–ŋ–ŋəs sxʷ ‘You put me outside.’ [√outside–REL–1OBJ 2SUBJ]

The /s/ of the suffix deletes when followed by another suffix as does the /xʷ/ of the ‘non-control
transitive’ and the ‘causative’. See §2.4.3 on the form of the first and second person objects.
I will continue to gloss this morpheme as ‘effort’ when it is clearly not ‘causative’ or ‘purposive’. More data
are needed to clarify the issue here.

2.5.3. Factives.
The factives are two suffixes, ||–si|| ‘indirective’ and ||–ŋiy|| ‘relational’, that imply a secondary involvement
between the object and the subject. This involvement may be benefactive, malafactive, or neutrafactive.
These suffixes occupy the same position class and appear immediately after the stem and before a
transitive suffix.
2.5.3.1. ||-si|| ‘indirective’. When this suffix is present a third participant is implied and the participant expressed in the object suffix is the goal rather than the patient of the predicate.

46. kʷšənət sən ‘I looked at it.’ ||√kʷən-at-ə sən|| [√see-CTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ]
47. kʷənsít sən ‘I looked at it for him (e.g. a boat he was thinking about buying).’ ||√kʷən-si-at-ə sən|| [√see-INDIRECT-CTRAN 1SUBJ]
48. kʷənəsə sən ‘I looked at you.’ ||√kʷən-at-sə sən|| [√see-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ]
49. kʷənsísə sən ‘I looked at it for you.’ ||√kʷən-si-at-sə sən|| [√see-INDIRECT-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ]

In examples 46 and 48 the participant indicated in the object suffix is the patient. Examples 47 and 49 differ from these two only in the presence of the ‘indirective’ suffix. In 47 and 49 the participant indicated by the object suffix is the goal or beneficiary of the action. See §2.4.5.5 for a complete paradigm involving this root and suffix combination.

Though other glosses come to mind (such as ‘benefactive’ or ‘substitutive’), ‘indirective’ seems more appropriate. This morpheme seems to be the Saanich cognate of a suffix that has been widely noted in Interior Salishan (Carlson, 1976; Thompson and Thompson, 1976; Mattina, 1982). In Saanich, as in the Interior languages, this morpheme often seems to convey a benefactive meaning or the idea that the subject is acting as a substitute for the object as in examples 47, 49, and 50–53.

50. leʔsít sxʷ ‘You fixed it for him.’ ||√leʔ-si-at-ə sxʷ|| [√repair-INDIRECT-CTRAN-3OBJ 2SUBJ]
51. leʔsís sxʷ ‘You fixed it for me.’ ||√leʔ-si-at-s sxʷ|| [√repair-INDIRECT-CTRAN-1OBJ 2SUBJ]
52. xatsísas ‘He got it ready for me.’ ||√xat-si-at-s-as|| [√prepare, make, do-INDIRECT-CTRAN-1OBJ-3SUBJ]
53. xatsísə sən sə? ‘I’ll make it (a paddle) for you.’ ||√xat-si-at-sə sən sə?|| [√prepare, make, do-INDIRECT-CTRAN-2OBJ 1SUBJ FUT]

But the ‘indirective’ can also carry a malafactive sense as in 54.

54. kʷəyesít sən ‘I refused it to him.’ ||√kʷəy-si-at-ə sən|| [√unable, forbid-INDIRECT-CTRAN-3OBJ 1SUBJ]

That most occurrences of the ‘indirective’ have a benefactive sense can be attributed to the fact that this morpheme is quite easily elicited with contexts involving the English “for” benefactive construction. The occurrences with malafactive readings are more difficult to elicit directly and usually appear only incidentally in running text.

Most recordings of the ‘indirective’ occur with ||-ət||, the ‘control transitive’ suffix. It has also been found occurring with ||-stax||, the ‘causative’ as in example 55.

55. xatsitənə sə? ‘I’ll fix it(a paddle) for you.’ ||√xat-si-staxʷ-ənə sə?|| [√prepare, make, do-INDIRECT-CAUS-2OBJ 1SUBJ FUT]

Although the expected /s/ of the ‘causative’ is missing in example 55, the object suffix clearly indicates ‘causative’ (see §2.4.3). Examples 53 and 55 mean very nearly the same thing. The difference lies in the fact that 55 implies that the paddle to be prepared already exists, where in 53 the paddle will be made from scratch.

The ‘indirective’ has not been recorded occurring with ||-nax||, the ‘non-control transitive’. This is probably just an accidental gap in the corpus.

2.5.3.2. ||-ŋiy|| ‘relational’. When this suffix is present the participant expressed in the object suffix is the
goal as well as the patient of the predicate. Where ||–si|| ‘indirective' with a transitivizer implies three participants (an agent subject, a goal object, and an unspecified patient), ||–niy|| ‘relational' with a transitivizer implies two (an agent subject and an object both goal and patient).

56. q"éttxʷ san 'I talked to him.' ||√q"el–staxʷ–ø san|| [\talk, say(RES)–CAUS–3OBJ 1SUBJ]
57. q"élŋat san 'I gave him a talking to.' ||√q"el–niy–at–ø san|| [\talk, say(RES)–REL–CTRAN–3OBJ 1SUBJ]

Example 56 with the ‘causative' implies 'I conversed with him', 'causing' him to talk. The ‘control transitive' in example 57 implies 'I talked at him.' The ‘relational' in 57 adds the implication that the subject was scolding him, giving him a piece of his mind, or giving him advice: 'I talked at him for him.' As with ||–si|| ‘indirective', the implication is not necessarily either benefactive or malafactive. Besides the ‘control transitive', the 'relational' has been recorded occurring with the ‘causative' and the ‘effort' transitivizers. See examples in §2.5.2.3 and §2.5.2.5.

The gloss for this morpheme, ‘relational', is the gloss used by Thompson and Thompson (in press) in their discussion of the apparent Thompson Salish cognate ||–min||. The term ‘relational' can be thought of as referring to the fact that the morpheme indicates that there is a special relationship between the subject and the object other than that of agent/patient. No further significance should be given to the choice of terminology than that it is difficult to find a better label. The /y/ of the underlying form surfaces as /ỹ/ in the 'actual' (see §2.3.5). The suffix appears as /–niy/ when stressed and followed by a consonant (examples 21, 44, 45 above), /–niy/ when followed by a consonant and stress is in a following syllable (examples 58–59), /–nja/ when followed by a consonant and stress is in a preceding syllable (examples 20, 41, 42), /–ŋəč/ when unstressed and followed by a vowel (examples 60, 62), and /–ŋəy/ in the ‘actual' and followed by a vowel (example 61). The /ŋ/ deletes in three environments: 1) following a sequence of two obstruents (examples 64–65), 2) following another nasal (examples 23, 63), and 3) following another velar (example 22 above). Thus other forms of ||–niy|| include /–i/, /–ŋ/ /–ə/ and ø. No cases of the /ŋ/ ~ /č/ surfaces without the /ŋ/ are evident in the corpus, but such should be expected.

60. q"síməqəʔtəŋ san ‘Somebody scolded my kid.' ||√q"al–ŋiŋ=ať–at–اغ san|| [\talk–REL=offspr–CTRAN–PASS 1SUBJ]
61. q"sífŋəŋəŋ şan ‘I’m scolding my kid.' ||√q"al–ŋiŋ=ať–اغ san|| [\talk(ACT)–REL=offspr–CMDL 1SUBJ]
63. xʷáʔarčas ‘She was crying for him.' ||√xʷaʔar–ŋiŋ–staxʷ–o–as|| [\cry(ACT)–REL–CTRAN–3OBJ–3SUBJ]
64. tčìstas ‘He brought it.' ||√tč–ŋiŋ–staxʷ–o–as|| [\arrive–REL–CAUS–3OBJ–3SUBJ]

Examples 60–62 show that the ‘relational' suffix may precede a lexical suffix. Example 61 shows that it need not occur with a transitivizing suffix. The translation given here for 61 is transitive though the Saanich form is not. An awkward but more literal translation would be 'I'm doing some kid-scolding.'

2.5.4. Intransitives.
The intransitivizing suffixes variously indicate the relationship between the subject and the predicate. They never occur with an object suffix unless they form a stem that is subsequently transitivized.

Stems are intransitive unless marked for transitivity with one of the suffixes listed in §2.5.2. Most stems are also basically 'non-control'. Therefore, subjects of unmarked predicates are interpreted as patients as in examples 66–67.
66. /tə́nʔ=íqʷ snā n ‘I got hit on the head.’ [/hit=head 1SUBJ]
67. /tə́nʔ a sxʷ ‘Did you get hit?’ [/hit QUEST 2SUBJ]

The transitive suffix provides the interpretation of the subject as a controlling or non-controlling agent as in 68.
68. /tə́nʔ=át a sxʷ ‘Did you hit it?’

Like the transitive suffixes, the intransitive suffixes provide a way of specifying the role of the subject as well as its control status.

2.5.4.1. /-alaʔ/ ~ /-és/ ‘structured activity’. When this suffix is present the subject is to be interpreted as agent. It seems to be similar in function and meaning to the ‘control middle’ §2.5.4.2. There are, however, several important differences. First, unlike the ‘control middle’, the ‘structured activity’ suffix does not seem to imply a necessarily controlling agent (examples 69–72). Second, though this suffix is quite common, it is uncertain how productive it is. The meaning of forms with this morpheme are not entirely predictable from the meaning of the stem (examples 73, 78, 80–82). Third, this suffix contains the implication that the subject is participating in a regular, perhaps culturally defined activity, that is generally characterized in the meaning of the stem. It often conveys the notion of a habitual or characteristic activity (examples 73–82). And, fourth, the ‘structured activity’ morpheme can be followed by both lexical and transitivizing suffixes (examples 74, 87).

The two forms of the morpheme, /-alaʔ/ and /-és/ are the ‘non-actual’ and ‘actual’ (see §2.3.5), respectively. I have been able to find no morphophonemic rules to relate them.
69. pxʷałʔ ‘The wind blows.’ (páxʷ ‘blow it (with mouth).’)
70. pxʷéš ‘The wind is blowing now.’
71. xpéš ‘It’s scattering.’ (xpět ‘I scattered it.’)
72. tə́ménʔ sən ʔaʔ ‘I’m just guessing.’ (těmat sən ‘I guessed it.’)
73. qɑ̃qéš ‘He’s a policeman.’ (qiqut sən ‘I bound it up.’)
74. qaqéšewtšxʷ ‘Jail; police station.’
75. xəfələʔ ‘Write.’ (x̌əf ‘draw, write’)  
76. xəfəš ‘He’s a writer; he’s writing.’
77. śxəfəš ‘Pencil, pen.’
78. xčəše ‘He’s noisy.’ (xčət sən ‘I figured it’; xčıt sən ‘I know it.’)
79. qxčən sən ‘I’am clam digging.’
80. sə̓ qoxʷ-és ‘Pliers.’ [S,LOC/ý̓,bite–STRUC]
81. xəfəš ‘Transformer (an important Coast Salish spiritual personage).’ (x̌eʔ ‘sacred’)
82. xʷafʷéš ‘He’s rolling (a cigarette).’
83. wəɬəʔ tə səqəʔaʔ ‘The dog barks.’
84. wəfəš tə səqəʔaʔ ‘The dog is barking.’
85. ɬə̓ nqʷəłʔ sən ‘I shot it (a gun, arrow, etc.).’ (ɬə̓ nqʷ ‘I shot him.’)
86. qʷəŋéš 'He's borrowing (money).'</n87. √qʷəŋ̕-əláʔ-t-əŋ san 'He loaned me some money.' [√borrow-STRUC-CTRAN-PASS 1SUBJ]

2.5.4.2. ||-əŋ|| 'control middle'. This suffix occurs on roots that are not inherently control oriented. It implies an agent subject exerting conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. The term 'middle' for Salish cognates of this suffix is long established. It corresponds to the Indo-European notion of 'middle voice' insofar as it usually implies an agent acting in its own interest. But often the 'control middle' does not have any apparent reflexive/benefactive component to its meaning. It seems that in most cases the primary function of the 'control middle' is to indicate the controlled agency of the subject. In general, it usually can be read as "do some X-ing" where X represents the translation of a basic 'non-control' root.

88. √q̕ékʷ-əŋ san 'I rested; I'm resting.' [√rest-CMDL 1SUBJ]
89. qʷáš̕ʔənəj-əŋ san 'I'm scolding my child.' (See §2.5.3.2 example 61.)
90. √qʷač̕áxʷ-əŋ t̕a n̕s √ʔ̕əs 'My stomach's grumbling.' [√grumble-CMDL DEM 1POS √stomach]
91. √q̕áp-əŋ san 'I collected (money for a funeral).' [√gather(ACT)-CMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare q̕p̕át san 'I collected it'; q̕əp̕a̕ + t̕a 'We got together. ')
92. √m̕áʔ-əŋ san 'I bent.' [√bend-CMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare m̕át̕a̕t san 'I bent it'; m̕ámt̕a̕t ts̕a sq̕ał̕él̕n̕a̕xʷ 'The tree is bent. ')
93. √kʷə̕á̕s-əŋ san 'I'm counting.' [√count(ACT)-CMDL 1SUBJ]
94. √qʷá̕l-əŋ san 'I'm (doing some) cooking.' (Compare qʷá̕lat san 'I cooked it'; qʷá̕l 'It's cooked. ')
95. √t̕əs̕ási-n-ə̕+ san 'I'm pounding, hammering.' [√pound-CMDL-DUR 1SUBJ] (Compare t̕ol̕is̕at san 'I punched it'; xʷt̕əs̕ás 'get punched in the face. ')
96. √ʔ̕a̕c̕=ikʷə̕s-əŋ san 'I dried (with a towel).' [√wipe=body-CMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare ʔ̕e̕c̕at san 'I wiped it. ')
97. √ʔ̕ax̕=0̕in-əŋ san 'I shaved.' [√scrape=mouth-CMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare ʔ̕i̕x̕at san 'I scraped it. ')
98. √s̕á̕w̕q-əŋ 'He's whispering.' [√whisper(ACT)-CMDL] (Compare skʷ̕a̕q̕a̕ san 'I whispered it to you. ')

There are a number of forms with /-əŋ/ for which neither control nor agency is evident:

99. √c̕á̕ʔ=xʷ-əŋ 'It's thawing, melting.' [√melt(RES)(ACT)-CMDL] (Compare c̕á̕ʔ=x̕at san 'I'm thawing it. ')
100. √x̕̕ɛ-íl-ə̕+ sxʷ 'You sank.' [√deep, low, down-DIRECT-CMDL 2SUBJ]
101. t̕ɛ́t̕ən 'It's going sour.'

2.5.4.3. ||-náŋ̕|| 'non-control middle'. This suffix follows a pattern parallel to the 'control middle'. This suffix, however, usually appears on inherently 'control' stems and thus occurs less frequently. It indicates that the subject is an agent not exerting conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate. It is most often translated "finally".

102. √q̕elm-náŋ̕ t̕a 'We finally got to shore.' [√get to shore-NMDL 1PLSUBJ] (Compare q̕el̕ t̕a s̕a̕ʔ 'We'll get to shore. ')
103. √ʔ̕i̕t̕at-náŋ̕ 'He finally went to sleep.' (√ʔ̕i̕tat 'be asleep')
104. √náqʷ-náŋ̕ san 'I finally managed to fall asleep.' (See also example 1 above.)
105. √ʔ̕i̕ən̕-náŋ̕ san 'I finally ate (after waiting a long time).' (ʔ̕i̕ən̕ san 'I ate. ')

This suffix has been found occurring with both the 'control middle' and the 'causative' as in examples 106 and 107, but it is rejected with 'causative' and other roots. More systematic elicitation is required to clear up these problems and those with the 'control middle'.

106. √q̕e̕kʷ-əŋ-náŋ̕ san 'I finally managed to rest.' [√rest-CMDL-NMDL 1SUBJ] (Compare example 88
and kʷ* sqéqw’ sán ‘I’m resting now (‘stative’ and ‘actual’).’
107. √qekʷ–aŋ–náŋat–txʷ sán ‘I finally managed to rest it (a horse).’
108. * naqʷ náŋatxʷ sán (with expected meaning ‘I finally managed to get him to sleep.’ Compare with example 104.)

2.5.4.4. ||–aŋ|| ‘passive’. This suffix creates intransitive stems from transitive ones. When it occurs it always follows one of the transitive suffixes described in §2.5.2. It has the function of reversing the status of the transitive subject from agent to patient without affecting the control status. It is therefore unmarked for control.

The ‘passive’ is formally an intransitivizing suffix for two reasons. First, it is either agentless, has an indefinite agent, or the agent is marked by ||ʔa||, the ‘oblique’ case marker (see §2.6.4.1) as in other intransitives. When the ‘passive’ is present no object suffixes are. This is one of the defining characteristics of the intransitives. And, second, in most transitives the third person subject is marked ||–as|| (see §2.4.4). In intransitives third person subject is ø. The ‘passive’ patterns with the intransitives and takes a ø third person subject.

Although the ‘passive’ and the ‘control middle’ are both intransitive suffixes and are phonetically identical, they must be recognized as two separate morphemes. Their functions are quite different: ‘control middle’ implies a controlled agent subject, where ‘passive’ is unmarked for control and implies a patient subject. The following examples illustrate the ‘passive’ occurring with various subjects and each of the transitivity suffixes.

109. qʷáŋəčáŋtəŋ sán ‘Somebody scolded my kid (I was child-scolded).’ ||√qʷəŋ–əŋ=at–aŋ sán|| [√talk−REL=offspring−CTRAN−PASS 1SUBJ]
110. ?atáttəŋ sán ‘It put me to sleep; I was put to sleep.’ ||√ʔiʔat–staxʷ–aŋ sán|| [√sleep−CAUS−PASS 1SUBJ]
111. hiʔtəŋ ʧta ‘We were kept for a long time.’ ||√hiθ−staxʷ–aŋ ʧta|| [√long time−CAUS−PASS 1PLSUBJ]
112. kʷəŋatnəŋ ‘Somebody’s running after him; he’s being run after.’ ||√kʷəniŋat–nas–aŋ|| [√run−PURPOS−PASS]
113. sqéŋ sán ‘Someone put/took me outside; I was put outside.’ (Compare with examples 36, 43–45 above)
114. čáŋ aŋ sán ‘They used me; I was used (employed).’ ||√čákʷ–as–aŋ sán|| [√use−EFFORT−PASS 1SUBJ] (See §2.5.2.4 on the deletion of the /s/.)
115. kʷanstəŋ sxʷ ‘He showed it to you (you were caused to see it).’ ||√kʷəŋ=staxʷ–aŋ sxʷ|| [√see−CAUS−PASS 2SUBJ]
116. kʷəŋnxəŋ sxʷ ‘Someone saw you; you were seen.’ ||√kʷəŋ=naːxʷ–aŋ sxʷ|| [√see−NTRAN−PASS]
117. wəɫəʷəstəŋ tsə swáʔqəʔ ?ə tsə sqéxəʔ ‘The man got barked at by the dog.’ ||C1⟨⟩+√was−at–aŋ tsə s/qwáʔqəʔ ?ə tsə s/qeχəʔ|| [RES(PL)+√bark−CTRAN−PASS DEM S/√man OBL DEM S/√dog]
118. 4ṭaxtnəŋ sán ‘I’m shivering.’ ||√4ṭaxt−at–aŋ sán|| [√shake(ACT)−CTRAN−PASS 1SUBJ]
119. ?əxˈhínatəŋ sán ‘I got shaved.’ (Compare with example 97 above.)
120. əxˈhástəŋ sán kʷaʔ ‘He took my picture; I got x-rayed.’ ||xˈhaf=as−at–aŋ sán kʷaʔ|| [√write, draw=face−CTRAN−PASS 1SUBJ INFORM]
121. əxˈhásəŋ sán kʷaʔ ‘I got my picture taken (I was in the picture by chance).’ ||√xˈhaf=as−naːxʷ–aŋ sán kʷaʔ|| [√write, draw=face−NTRAN−PASS 1SUBJ INFORM]
122. əxˈhátəŋ sán ‘Somebody hurt me.’ ||√xˈhaf−at–aŋ sán|| [√feel bad−CTRAN−PASS 1SUBJ]
123. əxˈhánəŋ sán ‘I got (my feelings hurt).’ ||√xˈhaf−naːxʷ–aŋ sán|| [√feel bad−NTRAN−PASS 1SUBJ]
2.5.4.5. ∥-tal∥ 'control reciprocal'. This suffix creates a formally intransitive stem with two implied participants. Each participant is both agent and patient. It is most often translated into English as "each other". This suffix additionally implies that both participants exert conscious control.

124. sáyptəł 'They're tickling each other.' (sač̕ə̱p səxʷ ‘You tickled me.’)
125. sáyptəł ʰtə ‘We’re tickling each other.’
126. sáyptəł səxʷ ‘You’re tickling each other.’

This suffix creates a formally intransitive stem with two implied participants. Each participant is both agent and patient. It is most often translated into English as "each other". This suffix additionally implies that both participants exert conscious control.

124. sə́y̕pə́təł ‘They’re tickling each other.’
125. sə́y̕pə́təł ʰtə ‘We’re tickling each other.’
126. sə́y̕pə́təł səxʷ ‘You’re tickling each other.’

127. ʔəwáʔəł sən ‘I’m racing.’ ∥√ʔəwáʔ-tal sən∥ [√contest(ACT)–RECIP 1SUBJ]
128. təməl ‘We hit each other; they hit each other.’ (Compare with example 136 below.)
129. ʔəxθínəł ‘We shaved each other; they shaved each other.’ (Compare with examples 97 and 119 above.)

Specific participants can be indicated in two ways: 1) with the addition of transitive and object suffixes (example 131), and 2) with the specification of an oblique object (examples 132–133).

130. kʷíwəntəł ‘They’re fighting.’ ∥C1V+√win-tal∥ [ACT+√fight–RECIP]
131. kʷíwəntəťəłəs ‘We’re fighting; he’s fighting with me.’ ∥C1V+√win-tal–staxʷ–ʔəs∥ [ACT+√fight–RECIP–CAUS–1OBJ]
132. kʷíwəntəł sən ʔə tsə̱wəńɬ ‘I’m fighting with him.’
133. kʷíwəntəł sən ʔə tə nəkʷə ‘I’m fighting with you.’

In examples 131–133 both the subject and object are equally agent and patient. The subject, however, is marked ‘control’ by the ‘control reciprocal’ suffix so that, in this context, the implication is that the subject is the instigator of the fight. See also examples 142–145 below for object and subject markings on the ‘non-control reciprocal’.

The underlying /a/ of the ‘control reciprocal’ surfaces, like the underlying vowels of the ‘control transitive’, ‘non-control transitive’, and the ‘causative’, only when the root is vowelless and no other stressable vowels are present.

134. ʔəč̕ə́tal ‘We know each other.’ ∥√xč̕-tal∥ [√figure, know–RECIP 1PLSUBJ]

It may be that this suffix is further analyzable as involving the /t/ of the ‘control transitive’. The fact that the difference between a ‘control’ and ‘non-control’ transitive is often carried by the difference between /t/ and /n/ suggests the separation of the /t/ and /n/ from the ‘control’ and ‘non-control’ reciprocals. Since there is no supporting evidence for such an analysis and nothing lost or gained either way, this description will consider the /t/ and /n/ parts of the morphemes. ³

2.5.4.6. ∥-nəwel∥ ‘non-control reciprocal’. This suffix functions just like the ‘control reciprocal’ except that it implies that neither participant is exerting conscious control. As with the ‘control reciprocal’ it is often translated with "each other," and the subject need not be plural. When no overt subject is mentioned the form is ambiguous between first and second persons.

135. pítnə̱kʷəł ‘We recognized each other; they recognized each other.’ (pítnaxʷ sən ‘I recognized him.’)
136. təmənə̱kʷəł ‘We hit (ran into) each other; they hit each other.’ (Compare with example 128 above.)
137. kʷənənkwʷəl ʔə ‘We saw each other.’
138. xʷəq̓əm̕sn̕ənkwʷəl ʔən ‘I met him (on the road, not for the first time).’ [LOC.√meet=face–NRECIP 1SUBJ]
139. nənkwʷəl ‘They look like (are) each other.’ [√ni–nawel|| [√it is–NRECIP]

As with the ‘control reciprocal’ specific participants can be mentioned. But the ‘non–control reciprocal’ differs in that one of the two mechanisms available to the ‘control reciprocal’ for this purpose is not used with the ‘non–control reciprocal’. Specific participants are indicated only by the addition of transitive and object suffixes. It is in this form that the underlying /e/ surfaces. It takes stress when followed by a single syllable (see §1.4 on stress placement).

There are, however, forms where stress placement).

The /w/ appears only when it is glottalized by the ‘actual’ resonant glottalization (see §2.3.5). In the following examples the forms are in the ‘actual’ and contain subjects and objects that are the primary participants in the reciprocal activity.

140. ʔənkwʷəl ʔət san ‘I spliced it (rope).’ || ʔənkwʷəl ʔət–əʊ san|| [√front–NRECIP–CTRAN–3OBJ 1SUBJ]

It should be noted that in examples 140–141 the subject and object are not the primary participants in the reciprocal activity. In 140, for example, it is the two facing ends of the rope.

The /w/ appears only when it is glottalized by the ‘actual’ resonant glottalization (see §2.3.5). In the following examples the forms are in the ‘actual’ and contain subjects and objects that are the primary participants in the reciprocal activity.

142. qʷəfəqʷən̓əxʷətəxən san [CHAR+√talk(ACT)–NRECIP–CAUS–2OBJ 1SUBJ]
143. qʷəfəqʷən̓əxʷətəxəs sxʷ [CHAR+√talk(ACT)–NRECIP–CAUS–1OBJ 2SUBJ]
144. qʷəfəqʷən̓əxʷətəxʷəs [CHAR+√talk(ACT)–NRECIP–CAUS–1 PLOBJ–3SUBJ]
145. qʷəfəqʷən̓əxʷətəxʷə sxʷ [CHAR+√talk(ACT)–NRECIP–CAUS–1 PLOBJ 2SUBJ]

Examples 142–145 all have the same translation: ‘We were talking, chatting together.’ Example 142 implies ‘I’m telling you something;’ 143 implies ‘you’re telling me something.’ Examples 144–145 imply that more than two people are chatting. The former excludes, while the latter includes, the addressee.

2.5.4.7. ||-sat|| ‘reflexive’. This suffix creates formally intransitive stems where a single participant, the subject, is implied and is both agent and patient. It is often translated with English "self".

This morpheme is unmarked for control. A control/non–control contrast for reflexives can be produced with the inclusion of ||-ət|| ‘control transitive’. Since most roots are ‘non–control’, the addition of ‘reflexive’ to a root produces a ‘non–control reflexive’. The addition of the ‘control transitive’ to the root before the ‘reflexive’ has the effect of producing a ‘control reflexive’.

Since the /t/ of ||-ət|| ‘control transitive’ always deletes before the /s/ of the ‘reflexive’ as it does before the object suffixes (see §2.5.2.1), the presence of the transitivizer can often be seen only in the meaning of the form. There are, however, forms where ||-ət|| shows itself before the ‘reflexive’. In §2.3.5.4 it was shown that some roots are best considered to be underlyingly vowelless. When these roots are in the ‘non–actual’ form stress falls on the vowel of the suffix. The underlying vowels of several suffixes (‘control transitive’, ‘non–control transitive’, ‘causative’, and ‘control reciprocal’) surface only when following these vowelless roots. This is also true of the ‘reflexive’. Examples 146 to 148 show the /a/ of the reflexive following vowelless roots.

146. √ʔə–sat yaq sxʷ ‘I hope you’ll get better.’ [√good–REFL OPT 2SUBJ]
147. √q̕ə–sat it’s getting bigger.’ [√big–REFL] (Compare /q̕ən̓əxʷ san/ ‘I made it (a sweater) big (accidentally);’ /q̕ətəxʷ san/ ‘I made it big (meaning to).’

http://www.cas.unb.ca/~montler/Saanich/Outline/index.htm
148. \( kʷ\hat{n}i\sqrt{\text{white}}-\text{REFL(ACT)} \) 'She’s getting gray (hair).'

Notice that each of these involves a ‘non-control’ predicate. There are some cases, though, where the ‘reflexive’ follows a vowelless root and the underlying /a/ does not surface. Examples 149 and 150 illustrate this.

149. \( tčə́s tə̚śt \) ‘I poked myself.’

150. \( θk̕ʷə́s tə̚śt \) ‘He stretched himself.’

(Compare /θk̕ʷnáxʷsə̚t/ ‘I managed to straighten it;’ /θk̕ʷə́t sə̚t/ ‘I straightened it.’)

Notice that these involve ‘control’ predicates.

Since roots like \( ∥\sqrt{θk̕w}∥ \) ‘poke’ and \( ∥\sqrt{čq}∥ \) ‘big’ pattern together with respect to other suffixes, we would expect them to pattern together here. That is, the expected surface form of \( ∥\sqrt{θk̕w}∥ \) with \( ∥-sə́t∥ \) would be ‘/θk̕wsə́t/’. Since a semantic difference between forms with /-sə́t/ and forms with /-ə́sə́t/ is one of ‘non-control’ versus ‘control’ we might assume two separate morphemes: a ‘non-control reflexive’ and a ‘control reflexive’. But another difference between forms exemplified in 146–148 and those in 149–150 is that the latter are logically, though not formally, transitive; an action mediates an agent and a patient. This all suggests that forms with /-ə́sə́t/, involving both semantic categories of control and transitivity as well as reflexivity, should be analyzed as involving two suffixes: \( ∥-ə́t∥ \) ‘control transitive’ and \( ∥-sə́t∥ \) ‘reflexive’. The /a/ of the ‘reflexive’ does not surface because the stress is taken by the preceding suffix. The analysis for examples 149 and 150 will then be as follows: \( ∥\sqrt{tč-at}-sə́t∥ \) and \( ∥\sqrt{θk̕w}-at-sə́t∥ \). The reduction of /a/ to /ə̚/ and the deletion of the ‘control transitive’ /t/ before /s/, and the placement of stress on the /a/ of the ‘control transitive’ are well justified elsewhere (see §1.4, §2.5.2.1, §2.4.3, and §2.3.5.4).

Following are a few more examples of the ‘reflexive’.

151. \( \sqrt{šém}-sə́t sxʷ \) ‘You dried yourself (in the sun).’

152. \( má̱čsə́t sə̚t \) ‘I’m rolling over.’

153. \( ʷám̥x-sə́t \) ‘He rubbed himself.’

154. \( má̱w-sə́t \) ‘He rocked (himself in a chair or boat).’

155. \( x̣á̱̣m̥x̣a̱̣sə́t \) ‘He scattered.’

156. \( hal-isə́t \) ‘He saved himself (his soul).’ (⁄halí ‘alive’)

157. \( čq̕-sə̚t sə̚t \) ‘I have a fever.’ (⁄čq̕ ‘fire’. Not ‘I burned myself’ or ‘I set myself on fire.’

158. \( čé̱w-sə́t \) ‘He’s showing off.’ (čé̱w sə̚t ‘I’m admiring him.’)

159. \( x̣̣̃á̱̣̣m̥sə́t \) ‘It fits (a coat).’ (⁄Xam ‘correct, well’)

160. \( x̣̣̃è̱̣̣sə́t \) ‘It’s a storm.’ (⁄xe̱̣ ‘windy’)

Since there are at least three other ways in Saanich to express reflexive–like ideas (‘control middle’, ‘non-control middle’, and the bare ‘non-control’ root), the number of occurrences of this suffix in the corpus is quite limited.

Notes to §2.5.

1. Shifts of Proto–Salish *n to i have been noted in Interior Salish. See especially Kinkade (1982). This suffix in Saanich illustrates a case to the expected intermediate stage of *n > y.

2. These examples are complex forms exhibiting a secondary layer of derivation. While not unusual in Saanich and Salishan in general, secondary derivation is not common. This important topic in Saanich morphology is not covered in this work, but it deserves further investigation.
2.6. Particles.

There are three major classes of particles in Saanich: 1) the pre-predicate particles (§2.6.1), which are proclitics on the predicate head and generally indicate aspect; 2) the post-predicate particles (§2.6.2), which are enclitics on the predicate head and generally indicate the pragmatic setting of the speech act; and 3) the demonstratives (§2.6.3), which are proclitics on full word arguments of the predicate head and generally indicate various deictic qualities of the argument. Two other particles that do not obviously fall into any of these three classes are ∥kʷə∥ ‘subordinator’ and ∥ʔə∥ ‘oblique case marker’. These two are discussed in §2.6.4.

2.6.1. Pre-predicate particles.

Preceding any full word that is the predicate head of a main or subordinate clause is a group of particles that indicate various nuances of aspect. The semantic and syntactic distribution and functions of these particles is not yet completely understood. The following discussions provide a starting point for further study. They are discussed in the order in which they appear before the predicate head. This order is shown in table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10. Pre-predicate particles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʷɬ ‘realized’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iʔ ‘accompanying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čəɬ ‘immediate past’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s ‘unrealized’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?əw ‘contemporaneous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təwə ‘still,yet’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One other particle is discussed here, ∥ʔiʔwəw∥ ‘perhaps’ (§2.6.1.7). Its place among the pre-predicate particles has not been determined.

2.6.1.1. ∥kʷɬ∥ ‘realized’ closely corresponds to English ‘already’. It is, however, used much more frequently and in situations where ‘already’ would be inappropriate in English. This is the best understood and most common of the pre-predicate particles. It has been recorded in over 300 different examples. This particle often occurs before predicates in the ‘actual’ (§2.3.5). When it occurs with pre-predicate particles ∥ʔiʔ∥ ‘accompanying’ and ∥ʔəw∥ ‘contemporaneous’, it always precedes them. It has not been recorded occurring with any other pre-predicate particles. The following examples have been chosen to illustrate ∥kʷɬ∥ occurring with various other aspects. Other examples can be found throughout this work. See especially §2.3.5 and §2.3.6.

1. kʷɬ √tέč–əl sən ‘I arrived.’ [REAL √be here–DIR 1SUBJ]
2. kʷɬ č√qéq ‘She gave birth.’ [REAL HAVE√baby]
3. kʷɬ √xʷəʔyʔ ʔəf ‘He already died.’ [REAL √die LIMIT]
4. kʷɬ nəwə sən ‘I entered.’
5. kʷɬ məkʷət sən ‘I picked it up.’
6. kʷɬ ?ənəxʷtxʷ sən kʷəʔ ‘I shut it off.’
7. kʷɬ xέčəŋ sən ‘I’m dry.’
8. √xlɛʔ səʔ kʷɬ √qalét √t(əl)ətθ–t–as ‘He will squirt it again.’ [√again FUT REAL √repeat √squirt(PL)–CTRAN–3OBJ(ø)–3SUBJ]
9. kʷt čiq 'Snow fell.'
10. kʷt √ʔámát san 'I'm sitting now.' [REAL √sit(CT) 1SUBJ]
11. kʷt hay ḡta 'We're all done.'
12. kʷt s√qém-ať 'It's been cut in half.' [REAL STAT√cut in two(RES)-DUR]

2.6.1.2. ||s|| 'unrealized' does not appear often in the corpus. It has never been recorded preceding the predicate head of a main clause. It most often occurs before a subordinate clause when the main predicate is ||√ʔawa|| 'not' or ||xʷʔawê|| 'not yet'. It occurs before ||ʔiʔ|| 'accompanying' and ||ʔaw|| 'contemporaneous', but it has not been recorded with other pre-predicate particles.

13. √ʔawa s n̤-s√lāl 'I didn't mean to.' [√not UNREAL 1POS-S√pretend]
14. ?awʔ√ʔawa ḡaf s?ʔav 'It isn't good.' [CONTEMP √not LIMIT UNREAL √good]
15. s√kʷéy kʷa n̤-s√ʔawa s aw√yéʔ 'I have to go.' [STAT√be unable, be forbidden SUB 1POS-S√not UNREAL CONTEMP √go]
16. √ʔawa s iʔ √halí-sát 'He didn't revive.' [√not UNREAL ACCOM √live-REFL]
17. ?awa san s aw√makʷ√kʷán-at tsə s√čéenaxʷ 'I didn't take all the fish.' [√not 1SUBJ UNREAL CONTEMP √all √take-CTRAN-3OBJ(o) S√salmon]
18. √ʔawa kʷa n̤-s√kʷán-naxʷ s√t̕ánámát 'He ignored you.' [√not SUB 2POS-S√see-NTTRAN-3OBJ(o) UNREAL √pretend]

2.6.1.3. ||ʔiʔ|| 'accompanying' indicates that the activity or situation referred to in the predicate head follows which it actually or conceptually accompanies some other activity or situation. When ||ʔiʔ|| is part of a clause that is not the main clause it often functions as a kind of conjunction and is translated as "and" or "with". It is, however, best considered an aspect morpheme. There is nothing like it in English, but it may be useful to imagine the possibility of sentences like "and it's flying now" being grammatical, acceptable in isolation, and ordinary as discourse initial utterances. Such is not actually the case in English; 'and' must refer to some previous linguistic context. In Saanich, however, ||ʔiʔ|| can refer to extralinguistic, presupposed context. Most often the meaning added by the presence of ||ʔiʔ|| is vague and difficult to abstract. The meaning of this morpheme is most clearly highlighted in contrast to ||ʔaw||. See §2.6.1.4 for a discussion of this contrast.

When occurring with other pre-predicate particles it follows only ||kʷt|| 'realized' and ||s|| 'unrealized'. It precedes ||ʔaw|| 'contemporaneous', ||ča|| 'immediate past', and ||t̕awa|| 'still, yet'. The initial /ʔ/ deletes following other particles. The final /ʔ/ deletes preceding ||ʔaw||.

The following examples illustrate ||ʔiʔ|| in sentence initial position. In each of these the same translation is given for an otherwise identical sentence without the ||ʔiʔ|| particle. The translations are the same but the meanings differ. In each of the following forms with sentence initial ||ʔiʔ||, the speaker is conceiving of the stated situation or activity as necessarily involving some other, unstated situation or activity.

19. ʔiʔ √4éŋ-əť 'It's coming off now.' [ACCOM √separate(CT)-DUR]
20. ʔiʔ s√tkʷ=éyəč san saʔ 'I'm going to be limping (as part of the first sockeye ceremony).'</ACCOM S√break=leg 1SUBJ FUT]
21. ʔiʔ /Gate√šwaq=šaŋ san 'I'm tripping.' [ACC ACT+√snare, snag=foot 1SUBJ]
22. ʔiʔ s√čéenaxʷ kʷaʔ 'It's "sčéenaxʷ."' [ACC S√salmon INFORM] (This was the answer to the question /ʔanšʔinat ḡača t̕a "fish"/ 'What do you call "fish"?')
23. ʔiʔ weʔq̕aj 'The fish is diving.'
24. ʔiʔ kʷaľ̕aj 'It's flying now.'
25. \( ? i ? \) ə1lq̪ t ə ‘We’re sharing it.’

The following examples illustrate \( ||?i??\) in non-initial position. The clause that it appears before may be coordinate or subordinate but \( ||?i??\) is not a strictly conjunctive or subordinative morpheme in itself.

26. ?ápan ?i? k"s \( \sqrt{\text{ná}\text{th}a} ? \) ‘Eleven.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{ten}} \) ACCOM DEM \( \sqrt{\text{one}} \)]

27. \( \sqrt{\text{tan} ?} \) san ?i? \( \sqrt{\text{y} ?} \) san ‘I come and I go.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{come}} \) 1SUBJ ACCOM \( \sqrt{\text{go}} \) 1SUBJ]


29. \( \sqrt{\text{nák} ?} ? \) ?ə ?á ‘It’s you and me.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{you}} \) ACCOM \( \sqrt{\text{i}} \)]

30. \( \sqrt{\text{0ål} ?} – tə ? tə \? ?i? \) \( \sqrt{\text{nák} ?} ? \) ‘We’ll share it with you.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{share–CRECIP}} \) 1PLSUBJ FUT ACCOM \( \sqrt{\text{you}} \)]

31. \( \sqrt{\text{t} ?} – \text{at} \) san tsə s\( ? ?j ? ? ?\) \( \sqrt{\text{á} ?} ? \) ‘I tasted the food and it was good.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{taste–CTRAN–OBJ(ø)}} \) 1SUBJ DEM S \( \sqrt{\text{eat}} \) ACCOM \( \sqrt{\text{good}} \)]

32. \( \sqrt{\text{á} ?} ? \) la? san ?i? \( \sqrt{\text{nák} ?} ? \) ‘I went with you.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{go}} \) PAST 1SUBJ ACCOM \( \sqrt{\text{you}} \)]

33. \( \sqrt{\text{x} ?} \text{áŋ} ? \) san ?i? \( \sqrt{\text{x} ?} – t i ‘I can do it.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{be able}} \) 1SUBJ ACCOM \( \sqrt{\text{prepare, do, make–CTRAN–OBJ(ø)}} \)]

34. \( \sqrt{\text{\( ? \) ?j ?} \) ?ə ? \( \sqrt{\text{nák} ?} ? \) ‘We ate together (you and I).’ [\( \sqrt{\text{eat}} \) 1PLSUBJ ACCOM \( \sqrt{\text{you}} \)]

35. \( \sqrt{\text{h? ?} ? \) la? san \( \sqrt{\text{á} ?} \) \( \sqrt{\text{q} ?} \text{áw?yak} ? ? \) \( \sqrt{\text{ñ? n? – s}} \) \( \sqrt{\text{q?\( ð\)\( ð\)\( ð\)\( ð\)}} \) ‘When I used to go fishing I caught lots.’ [\( \sqrt{\text{when, if PAST 1SUBJ \( \sqrt{\text{go}} \) \( \sqrt{\text{fishing}} \) ACCOM \( \sqrt{\text{much}} \) 1POS–S \( \sqrt{\text{catch}} \)]

2.6.1.4. \( ||?aw\) | ‘contemporaneous’ is a marker of aspect. It indicates that the activity or situation referred to in the predicate which it precedes has some usually contrasting relevance to some other activity or situation.

The initial \( /?/ \) deletes when following another particle. The \( /a/ \) is never stressed and so often deletes.

\( ||?aw\) | is then realized phonetically as a glottalized [u].

This morpheme is similar to \( ||?i??\) ‘accompanying’ in that when it is sentence initial it refers to context outside that of the sentence; when it precedes a non-initial clause the context referred to is stated in the main predicate. Like \( ||?i??\), it often seems to be an introducer of a subordinate or coordinate clause. Unlike \( ||?i??\), it does not imply a necessarily accompanying situation. The following pairs of examples show \( ||?aw\) | ‘contemporaneous’ in contrast with \( ||?i??\) ‘accompanying’.

36a. \( ?i? \) šátaŋ san ‘I’m walking.’

b. \( ?aw \) šátaŋ san ‘I’m walking.’

37a. \( ?i? \) təwa šátaŋ san ‘I’m still walking.’

b. \( ?aw \) təwa šátaŋ san ‘I’m still walking.’

38a. \( ?i? \) k\( ð\)\( ð\)\( ð\)\( ð\)\( ð\)‘He can see.’

b. \( ?aw \) k\( ð\)\( ð\)\( ð\)\( ð\)\( ð\)‘He can see.’

In each of these six sentences the absence of \( ||?i??\) or \( ||?aw\) | produces a sentence with the same translation. The differences between \( ||?i??\) and \( ||?aw\) | are evident when the contexts are considered. The speaker of 36a is on her feet, moving, and stating a fact about what she is doing. In 36b, on the other hand, the speaker may be on her feet, moving, but \( ||?aw\) | here indicates that a contrasting or preceding state of affairs is relevant and provides the sentence with the implication that the speaker is able to walk. This distinction comes out more clearly in 37 with the addition of \( ||?aw\) | ‘still, yet’ (see §2.6.1.6). The contexts for these two sentences provided later by informants were: for 37a, ‘I’ve been walking all day and I’m still walking;’ for 37b, ‘my husband’s sick, laid up, but I’m still walking.’ 37a implies a necessarily accompanying situation; 37b implies a contemporaneous situation but no necessary involvement.

Examples 38a and 38b in context display the same differences. The context of 38a was ‘he’s trying to look at something and he can see.’ For 38b the context was ‘his eyes are okay; he can see.’ Note that \( ||?aw\) |
imply here, as it often does, a contrasting state of affairs.
The two pre-predicate particles ||ʔi?|| ‘accompanying’ and ||ʔaw|| ‘contemporaneous’ can cooccur. Given the meanings of the individual morphemes as described above, ‘necessarily involved accompanying situation’ and ‘contemporaneous, not necessarily involved, possibly contrasting situation’, the usual translation for the combination of the two is not surprising. When ||ʔi?|| precedes ||ʔaw|| they are usually translated as "but". Compare 39 to 38 above.

39. ʔi aw kʷánaʔ ‘But he can see!’

The context for 39 differs from the contexts of the sentences in 38: ‘he’s pretending he’s blind, but he can see.’ The following are a few more examples of ||ʔaw|| in combination with ||ʔaw||. Note that the translation does not always include “but”; ||ʔaw|| does not always imply contrast.

40. ʔiʔámʔ–t–as tsa s/qéxaʔ? ʔi aw ʔqʷəʔi–t–as ʔaf ‘He was throwing rocks at the dog but kept missing it.’ [\throw, hit(ACT)–CTRAN–3OBJ(o) DEM S/dog ACCOM CONTEMPT \miss–CTRAN–3OBJ(o)–3SUBJ LIMIT]

41. ʔiʔéʔ–at san ?i ʔaw ʔʔawa ʔaf ʔʔáʔ ‘I tasted it but it wasn’t good.’ [\taste–CTRAN–3OBJ(o) 1SUBJ ACCOM CONTEMPT \not LIMIT UNREAL \good]

42. ʔiʔcaléʔ san ʔi aw ʔkʷána–ʔ mákʷ ‘I took almost all of it.’ [\almost 1SUBJ ACCOM CONTEMPT \take–CTRAN–3OBJ(o) \all]

43. ʔiʔawaʔa xʷʔón–ťa i aw x/yéʔ–nānət ‘We might be able to go.’ [PERHAPS \be able 1PLSUBJ ACCOM CONTEMPT \go–NMDL]

The following are a few examples of ||ʔaw|| in sentence initial position. Notice how most of them imply a contrasting situation.

44. ʔaw x/qáʔ san ʔaf ‘I’m fine.’ [CONTEMPT \good 1SUBJ LIMIT]

45. ʔaw x/qéʔ saʔ kʷəʔ ‘Somebody will work.’ [CONTEMPT \work FUT INFORM]

46. ʔaw x/yáʔ ʔaf ʔaw x/páʔ–əʔ ‘He’s always smoking.’ [CONTEMPT \always LIMIT CONTEMPT PART x/smoke–CMDL]

47. ʔaw x/qáʔ x̣ʔ nəʔ x/yéʔ ‘I can go.’ [CONTEMPT \be able 1SUBJ ACCOM \go]

48. ʔaw x/níʔ tsa ʔpús ‘It’s just a cat.’ [CONTEMPT \it is LIMIT DEM \cat]

49. ʔaw x̣ʔələʔm ʔə ‘Is it right?’

50. ʔaw x̣ʔələʔm ʔə ‘Is it right?’

51. ʔaw x̣ʔələʔm ʔə ‘I’ll stay there.’

52. ʔaw x̣ʔələʔm ʔə ‘I’ll stay there.’

53. ʔaw x̣ʔələʔm ʔə ‘I managed to tear it.’

When ||ʔaw|| appears within a sentence, and particularly when it is part of a subordinate clause introduced by ||–|| ‘nominalizer’, it is often transliterated "and", "and so", "so", or "so then".

54. ʔkʷána–ṭ–at kʷə nə–s ʔaw x̣ʔələʔ–s ‘I took it and carried it in.’ [\take–CTRAN–3SUBJ(o) 1SUBJ SUB 1POS–S CONTEMPT \inside–EFFORT]

55. ?ʔənʔən san ʔaw x̣ʔč–ikʷə as nə–s x/yéʔ? ʔaw x̣ʔítat ‘I was very tired so I went to bed.’ [\very 1SUBJ CONTEMPT \tired=body 1POS–S/\go CONTEMPT \sleep]

56. ʔháʔ ?ʔən+ʔən san x̣ʔyán tsa ?ʔən–s x̣ʔítan ʔən–s ʔaw txʷ–as x̣ʔət–əʷ ‘If you eat too much you’ll get sick.’ [\if, when REPET+\very CONTEMPT \much DEM 2POS–S \eat 2POS–S CONTEMPT MUT–STAT \sick–DUR]

2.6.1.5. ||ʔəʷ|| ‘immediate past’ does not occur often, but when it does its meaning is clear. It carries a
sense that can be expressed in English with "just now". It follows both ||?i?|| ‘accompanying’ and ||?aw|| ‘contemporaneous’, the only pre-predicate particles with which it has been recorded.

57. ?aw ʔaf na-s√kʷən-nax” I just saw it.'
58. ʔa-s√ʔaan-naʔat ‘I just now finally got on.’
59. ʔa-s√ʔiʔan-naʔat ‘I just finally ate.’
60. ?aw ʔaf √ʔee-l-naʔat-ʔta ‘We just finally got to shore.’
61. ?aw ʔaf na-s√ʔamat ‘I just (now) sat.’

2.6.1.6. ||tawa|| 'still, yet' adds the implication that the situation referred to by the predicate was true in the past and continues to be true. This particle does not appear often in the corpus, but its meaning is clear where it does. It follows ||?i?|| ‘accompanying’ and ||?aw|| ‘contemporaneous’ and has not been recorded with any other pre-predicate particle.

62. tawa ?éʔaʔ san ‘I’m still here.’ (ʔéʔaʔ san ‘I’m here.’)
63. tawa √ʔiʔan san ‘I’m still eating.’ [STILL √eat(ACT) 1SUBJ]
64. tawa naʔqéq ʔaf ‘She’s still my baby.’ [STILL 1POS baby LIMIT]
65. tawa √ʔaθ san ʔaf ?aw √ʔéʔ(ʔ) ‘I’m still always working.’ [STILL √always 1SUBJ LIMIT CONTEMP √work(ACT)]

2.6.1.7. ||ʔiʔwawa|| ‘perhaps, maybe’ may actually be a combination of two particles including ||ʔi?|| ‘accompanying’. If so, the second of the pair, ||wawa||, never occurs without the first. There is at present no good syntactic or semantic reason to divide this form. That it can appear in isolation (example 66) suggests that ||ʔiʔwawa|| or ||wawa|| is a root itself. But when not occurring in isolation it precedes predicate heads that have main clause subject markers. It never takes a subject marker itself. Since it seems to pattern with other pre-predicate particles, it is here tentatively classified as one. It has been recorded preceding ||?aw|| ‘contemporaneous’ and ||kʷ|| ‘realized’.

66. ʔiʔwawa ‘Maybe.’ (Given as an answer to /yéʔ a saʔ sx’/ ‘Will you go?’)
67. ʔiʔwawa ʔaw √ʔúk san saʔ ‘I might cook.’ [PERHAPS CONTEMP √cook 1SUBJ FUT]
68. ʔiʔwawa č√tél ‘Maybe he’s got money.’ [PERHAPS HAVE√money]
69. ʔiʔwawa kʷʔapən ʔalénən ‘Maybe he’s ten years old (he’s about ten).’
70. ʔiʔwawa ʔél ʔta saʔ ‘We might get to shore.’
71. ʔiʔwawa ʔéʔ saʔ ʔaf ‘Maybe I’ll just go alone.’
72. ʔiʔwawa ʔéʔ sx’ ‘You might go.’

2.6.2. Post-predicate particles.

Following the first full word of a main clause is a group of particles that indicate qualities of subjectivity. They indicate the speaker’s and addressee’s subjective relationship to the propositional content of the sentence. The notions expressed by these particles include tense, modality, speech act type, and first and second person subject markers.

2.6.2.0.1. Translations are an infamously dubious way of determining grammatical structure. It would, for example, be a serious mistake to label the post-predicate particle ||?af|| ‘limiting’ (§2.6.2.5.6.) an adverb because it is ordinarily translated into English as an adverb, viz. ‘only, just’. Similarly, it would be less than useful to determine that the post-predicate particle ||sʔa|| (§2.6.2.3.2.) cannot mean ‘future’ because it modifies forms that translate into English as nouns and nouns in English cannot be inflected for tense (see §2.6.2.3.1.1 and §2.6.2.3.2.3).
However, when it comes to determining the semantics and pragmatic functions of morphemes aside from grammatical category, one is often obliged to consider the various ways a morpheme is translated and further to consider the context in which it is uttered. It is with this in mind that the following discussions refer to translations and extra-linguistic context.

2.6.2.0.2. Sixteen of the post-predicate particles recorded thus far fall into five position classes. Two other post-predicate particles, ∥čtə∥ and ∥waʔačə∥, have been recorded but evidence to determine their position is lacking (§2.6.2.6). Sections 2.6.2.1 to 2.6.2.5 deal with the five classes in the order of their position to the right of the predicate head. Section 2.6.2.7 offers some concluding remarks. A summary of the post-predicate particles is given in table 11 showing the five classes in order of occurrence following the predicate head. For an exception to the order shown here see §2.6.2.3.2.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11.</th>
<th>Post-predicate particles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>∥ə∥ 'yes/no question'</td>
<td>∥čə∥ 'command'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∥čə∥ 'command'</td>
<td>∥yəq∥ 'optative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∥yəxʷ∥ 'conjectural'</td>
<td>∥q∥ 'conditional'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∥q′əʔ∥ 'emphatic'</td>
<td>∥k'yə∥ 'informative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∥?ačə∥ 'request information'</td>
<td>∥k’yəčē∥ 'explanative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∥hə∥ '2nd person pluralizer'</td>
<td>∥?af∥ 'limiting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∥čtə∥ 'probable'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∥waʔačə∥ 'presumptive'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6.2.1. Position one includes the primary illocutionary force markers ∥ə∥ 'yes/no question' and ∥čə∥ 'command'.

2.6.2.1.1. ∥ə∥ 'yes/no question' forms an interrogative sentence that can be answered with a 'yes' or a 'no'.

1. √tč̕-á-sat ∥a∥ sxʷ ‘Did you poke yourself?’ [√poke−CTRAN−REFL QUEST 2SUBJ]
2. √háqʷ-naxʷ ∥a∥ sxʷ ‘Do you smell it?’ [√smell−NTRAN QUEST 2SUBJ]
3. √ʔanʔé ∥a∥ sa? ‘Is he coming?’ [√come QUEST EVID FUT]
4. √yé? a ∥a∥? sxʷ ‘Did you go?’ [√go QUEST PAST 2SUBJ]
5. √ʔaw ∥w̕-as̕-éls a ∥tsa∥ s. ∥qēxə∥ ‘Does the dog bark?’ [CONTEMP √bark−STRUC(ACT) QUEST DEM ∥s∥dog]
6. √k’yən-í-t ∥a∥ n̕′-s-xʷ ∥tθs̕=ás-t-aŋ ‘Did you see him hit you?’ [√see−PERSIS−CTRAN−3OBJ(o) QUEST 2SUBJ SUB 2POS−S−LOC ∥hit=face−CTRAN−PASS]
7. √čəkʷ−as ∥a∥ ∥sən∥ sa? ‘Am I going to use it?’ [√use−EFFORT QUEST 1SUBJ FUT]
2.6.2.1.2. ∥čə∥ ‘command’ forms emphatic imperatives.
8. yéʔ čə ‘Go away!’
9. ?ámát čə ‘Sit up!’
10. √pré-á-sát čə ‘Sober up!’ [√emerge-CTRAN-REFL COMMAND]
11. √ʔantē čə ‘Come!’ [√come COMMAND EMPH]
12. √kʷan-at-áfšʷ čə ‘Look at us!’ [√see-CTRAN-1 PLOBJ COMMAND]
13. √čéy čə ș̀ʔ sxʷ ‘You will work!’ [√work COMMAND FUT 2SUBJ]

The second person subject is usually not explicitly mentioned when ∥čə∥ is used to form a command, but there are sentences, such as 13, where both ∥čə∥ and ∥sxʷ∥ appear.

2.6.2.1.2.1. Imperatives of weaker force can be formed without ∥čə∥. These are perhaps better considered ‘instructions’ than ‘commands’. Example 14 is one of a series of similar instructions given by Transformer to Raven’s son in the traditional story ‘Raven abandons his son’ (§3).
14. √θí-əŋ sxʷ ‘Stand up.’ [√stand-CMDL 2SUBJ]

Imperatives with the force of requests have no ∥čə∥ and no overt second person subject. They are thus homophonous with the corresponding declarative sentence with a third person subject.
15. √xat-sí-s-əŋ ‘Fix it for me.’ [√prepare-INDIRECT-(CTRAN)-1OBJ-?]}
16. √ʔə xʷ-t-áŋə șə ‘Take me to my mother.’ [√go to-CAUS-1OBJ OBL 1POS √mother]

2.6.2.2. The second position post-predicate particles include the modality markers ∥čʔ∥ ‘evidential’, ∥yaq∥ ‘optative’, and ∥yəxʷ∥ ‘conjectural’.

2.6.2.2.1. ∥čʔ∥ ‘evidential’ expresses a qualification of the speaker’s knowledge of or control over the truth of a statement. In using ∥čʔ∥ the speaker is saying that he is assuming the statement to be true based on evidence from some unspecified third person.

The lack of first-hand knowledge of the speaker expressed by ∥čʔ∥ extends, apparently, to the addressee. That is, ∥čʔ∥ is used to express the fact that neither the speaker nor the addressee has first-hand knowledge of or control over the truth of the statement. Thus, ∥čʔ∥ is used most commonly with a third person subject. It is relatively rare that a speaker will say something about himself or the addressee that neither he nor the addressee has first-hand knowledge of or control over.

The following examples show ∥čʔ∥ with third person subjects.
17. √ʔantē čə ‘He’ll come (I hear he’s coming).’ [√come EVID]
18. √ték-al čə șà ‘Somebody’s coming (I’m expecting somebody).’ [√arrive-DIR EVID FUT]
19. √mèʔkʷəʕ čə ‘He got hurt.’ [√hurt EVID]
20. ʔë-tél čə ‘He’s got money, apparently.’ [HAVE √money EVID]
21. √Χ̀wí čə ?ə t¼ √nāʔkʷə ‘He ran away from you.’ [√escape EVID OBL DEM √you]
The implication in 21 is that the addressee did not know he ran away and the speaker knows it only second-hand.

Examples 22 and 23 show ∥č̕əʔ∥ with a first person subject.

22. √ʔíɬənsən'səʔ ‘I’m going to eat.’ [√eat EVID 1SUBJ FUT]

23. √ʔəṉʔənsəʔ ‘Somebody’s going to come see me.’ [√come EVID 1SUBJ FUT √see(RES)–CTRAN–PASS]

The context for 22 involves the speaker’s having been invited to a feast. That is, the speaker has been told by a third person that he is going to eat. It is this third person, not the speaker or the addressee, that is in control of the speaker’s immediate future eating. In 23 the first person subject is the semantic patient, not in control of the person who is coming, and therefore not in control of the truth of the statement. No examples of ∥č̕əʔ∥ used with a second person subject have been recorded, but it seems reasonable to assume that sentences like 24 and 25, parallel in structure and interpretation to 22 and 23, would be considered grammatical.

24. (ʔíɬənsəxʷsəʔ) ‘You’re going to eat.’

25. (ʔəṉʔənsəxʷsəʔkʷánətəŋ) ‘Somebody’s going to come see you.’

2.6.2.2.1.1. Because ∥č̕əʔ∥ marks a statement as coming from a third person source, it often seems to mark a statement as ‘hearsay’. To gloss the form as ‘reportative’ or ‘quotative’, however, would incorrectly limit its range of use and meaning. Sentence 20, for example, is neither hearsay nor report, but involves the context of the speaker seeing that the subject has recently bought a new boat.

2.6.2.2.1.2. ∥č̕əʔ∥ often appears with ∥ləʔ∥ ‘past’ in the first sentence of traditional stories, as in 26, setting a certain limitation on the speaker’s subscription to the factuality of it.

26. sèxʷ+√səxʷč̕əʔləʔkʷáŋ-təŋ ‘He was lazy to get water, the pigeon.’ [CHAR+√lazy EVID PAST SUB √water-CMDL–3SUBJ, DEM √pigeon]

It appears similarly in descriptions of life in the old days, often translated as ‘it is said’, ‘they say’, or ‘so they say’.

27. √nîňč̕əʔš√qén+qəŋ–s kʷən–s√qáŋ–t ‘They say they become thieves when you cut them (a baby’s fingernails).’ [√it is EVID S,LOCATION–CHAR+√steal–3POS SUB 2POS–S√cut(ACT)–CTRAN–3OBJ(ø)]

2.6.2.2. ∥yəq∥ ‘optative’ forms a sentence that expresses the speaker’s hope or wish for some remote but distinct possibility. Saanich sentences with ∥yəq∥ are translated into English with first person subjects, ‘I wish’, ‘I hope’, and rarely, ‘I ought’, whether or not the Saanich grammatical subject is first person.

28. √ɬ̕éw yəq sən ‘I hope I get better.’ [√heal OPT 1SUBJ]

29. √ɬ̕éw yəq sxʷ ‘I hope you get better.’ [√heal OPT 2SUBJ]

30. ɬ̕éw yəq ‘I hope he gets better.’

2.6.2.2.2.1. ∥yəq∥ and ∥səʔ∥ ‘future’ (§2.6.2.3.2.) may not both occur in a sentence. ∥yəq∥ like ∥səʔ∥ expresses the notion of an unrealized state of affairs. A difference between the two morphemes is in the degree to which the speaker expects the proposition eventually to become factual. For ∥səʔ∥ there is a
clear positive expectation; for ||yəq|| the expectation is distinctly negative.

31. ◼ yəʔ yəq  kʷáwəyəkʷ ‘I wish he’d go out fishing’ [√go OPT √fishing]
32.  ◼ yəʔ  səʔ  kʷáwəyəkʷ ‘He’s going to go fishing.’

Since the cooccurrence of ||yəq|| and ||səʔ|| would produce a contradiction, sentences such as 33 are rejected.

33.  ◼ yəʔ  yəq  sən  sə?

2.6.2.2.2.2. The translation 'I ought' comes with the cooccurrence of ||yəq|| with ||ləʔ|| ‘past' in certain contexts. But such sentences have alternate translations, as in 34 and 35.

34.  ◼ yəʔ  yəq  ləʔ  sən  ‘I ought to go/I wish I’d gone.’
35.  kʷəʔ  √ʔ ləʔ  sən  ‘I wish I was eating already/I wish I’d been eating already/I ought to be eating already.’ [REAL  √eat(ACT) OPT PAST 1SUBJ]

One should not take the alternate translations to show that the Saanich sentences are ambiguous. Rather, it is the element of meaning that the English sentences have in common that shows the sense of the Saanich sentence. Unlike one meaning of ‘ought’ in English, ||yəq|| does not involve obligation. With ||ləʔ||, ||yəq|| implies a desirable but unrealized state of affairs the possibility of which has been previously determined.

2.6.2.2.3. ||yəxʷ|| ‘conjunctural’ like ||čəʔ|| expresses a limitation on the reliability of the propositional content of the sentence. In using ||yəxʷ|| the speaker limits his responsibility for the factuality of the sentence. With ||čəʔ|| the speaker ascribes responsibility to a third person; the factuality of the proposition is based on second–hand evidence. ||yəxʷ|| marks the sentence as a conjecture with no or little evidence implied.

Although ||yəxʷ|| is most often translated as 'must be', it represents only the epistemic component of the English phrase. There is neither a sense of obligation nor of necessity implied by ||yəxʷ||.

36.  √niʔ  yəxʷ  kʷθə  na  √tən  ‘It must be my mother.’ [√it is CONJEC DEM(invisible,feminine) 1POS √mother]
37.  s–qé+  √qəwí  yəxʷ  sxʷ  ‘You must be resting.’ [STAT–ACT+ √rest CONJEC 2SUBJ]

2.6.2.2.3.1. Often ||yəxʷ|| is translated as 'I wonder'.


Another translation for example 38 could be ‘he mustn’t have been able to fly.’ Though this was not the translation given by the speaker, the context of sentence 38 shows that the translation that was given is actually a report of what the speaker was doing in saying the sentence. The speaker was listening to a story about Raven’s son (who must have been a bird) being abandoned on a drifting log and crying for help. The speaker took advantage of a pause in the narrative to make the comment 38. The translation was given only after it was requested while relistening to the tape recorded narrative and comments. Since the speaker was interested in actually translating the narrative she merely reported or commented on her comment on the narrative. The speaker’s comment on the use of 38 may be interpreted as a comment on the use of ||yəxʷ||. When a speaker uses ||yəxʷ|| he is ‘wondering’, considering an unevined state possibility.
2.6.2.2.3.2. Examples 40 to 42 have neither 'must be' nor 'I wonder' in the translation but can be seen in context to express the 'conjectural' sense as described.

40. √niʔ yaʔ̕] kʷs'a √θá(ʔ) kʷ-<as 'Somebody’s squealing on me (but I don’t know who).’ [√exist CONJEC DEM √turn informer(Act)-(CTRAN)-1OBJ]
41. √yéʔ a yaʔ̕] 4t+a saʔ w̕aw √yéʔ-nanət ‘Are we ever going to go?’ [√/go QUEST CONJEC 1PLSUBJ FUT CONTEMP √go-NMDL]
42. kʷ<ɪʔ √ʔanʔé a yaʔ̕] ‘Is he coming?’ [REAL ACCOM √come QUEST CONJEC]

The speaker of 42 had been waiting a long while for her husband who was out fishing with a group of boats. When she saw a some boats coming in from the horizon she wondered aloud 42.

2.6.2.2.4. ||q|| 'conditional' appears too infrequently in the corpus to determine its status. It appears in only a few sentences all having the same general structure as example 43.

43. √háʔ q laʔ san č√télə, na-s√aw √ʔaq-ʔáləʔ ?a kʷ's √ʔéfəŋ ‘If I had money, I’d buy a house.’ [√/if, when CONDIT PAST 1SUBJ HAVE√money, 1POS-S-CONTEMP √buy-STRUC OBL DEM √house]

2.6.2.3. The third position post-predicate particles include the tense markers ||ləʔ|| and ||səʔ||.

2.6.2.3.1. ||ləʔ|| ‘past’ marks the proposition as having factuality at a time previous to the present.

2.6.2.3.1.1. ||ləʔ|| is often translated into English by a sentence with the emphatic past tense ‘did’ (examples 44 to 46) and often with non-emphatic past tense (examples 47 to 50).

44. √sč̱â-sə ləʔ sə ‘I did spank you.’ [√/spank-(CTRAN)-2OBJ PAST 1SUBJ]
45. kʷ<ɪʔ √ləʔ-sí-s-əŋ ləʔ sx̕] ‘You did fix it for me.’ [REAL √/repair-INDIRECT-(CTRAN)-1OBJ-? PAST 2SUBJ]
46. w̕aw √ʔaʔ ləʔ san w̕aw √kʷ<ş-í-t ‘I did hold it steady.’ [CONTEMP √/long time PAST 1SUBJ CONTEMP √hold-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(o)]

47. kʷ<ɪʔ √kʷ<ş-an-<t-áŋ̕uš ləʔ sx̕] ‘You showed it to me already.’ [REAL √/see(ACT)-CAUS-1OBJ PAST 2SUBJ]
48. w̕aw s√qé+ʔ/qp̕u ləʔ ‘It used to be tied.’ [CONTEMP STAT–ACT+√gather PAST]
49. √yéʔ a ləʔ sx̕] ‘Did you ever go?’ [√/go QUEST PAST 2SUBJ]
50. √kʷ<ş-an-t-éfəŋ̕u ləʔ san ‘I wanted to see it.’ [√/see–CTRAN-3OBJ(o)–DESID PAST 1SUBJ]

Since tense marking is not obligatory in Saanich ||ləʔ|| is often used for emphasis. Also, in extended narratives the time is set usually by the occurrence of ||ləʔ|| in the first sentence.

2.6.2.3.1.2. ||ləʔ|| occasionally appears in sentences that have a past tense English translation. Such occurrences are due to the absence in Saanich of a formal correlate to a semantic distinction between things and actions or states, which in English is expressed by the distinction between nouns and verbs.

51. na-s√táləs ləʔ ‘He’s my ex–husband.’ [1POS-S√spouse PAST]
52. na√wetr ləʔ ‘It’s my mother who’s passed away.’ [1POS√mother PAST]

In both 51 and 52 the predicate heads are translated as nouns. However, both conform to the definition of ||ləʔ|| given above. The propositions are marked as having factuality at a time previous to the present. For other examples of ||ləʔ|| see §2.6.2.3 34, 35, and 38. For ||ləʔ|| cooccurring with ||čəʔ|| see §2.6.2.2.1.2. For ||ləʔ|| cooccurring with ||yaʔq|| see §2.6.2.2.2.
2.6.2.3.2. ||saʔ|| ‘future’ marks the proposition as being strongly expected to have factuality at a time
subsequent to the present.
As would any morpheme involving the notion of future, ||saʔ|| has an irrealis component to its meaning.
This, however, is not significant as a characteristic or defining aspect of its meaning. ||saʔ|| is always to be
interpreted as concerning expectations with regard to the future.

2.6.2.3.2.1. When the predicate translates into English as a verb, sentences with ||saʔ|| are translated with
English future ‘will’ or ‘going to’.
53. √sča-ːsə sən saʔ 'I'm going to spank you' [√spank-(CTRAN)-2OBJ 1SUBJ FUT]
54. √mēʔkʷ-ːsə sxʷ 'You'll get hurt.' [√hurt-DUR FUT 2SUBJ]
55. √ʔanʔé ʔəʔ saʔ 'He'll come.' [√come EVID FUT]
56. √ʔalq-ːalâʔ saʔ ?a kʷs√ʔéʔnan 'He's going to buy a house.' [√buy FUT OBL DEM √house]
57. √kʷʔakʷ-ːnáʔkʷal ʔəʔ saʔ 'They're going to separate (a married couple).' [√separate–NRECIP EVID FUT]
58. √ʔǎlq-ːtal 4ṭa saʔ 'We're going to share it.' [√share–CRECIP 1PLSUBJ FUT]
59. √t̕ee-ːl 4ṭa saʔ 'We'll get to shore.' [√go ashore–DIR 1PLSUBJ FUT]

2.6.2.3.2.2. ||saʔ|| occurs also in sentences that do not seem from the English translation to be in the
future tense. As with ||ləʔ|| ‘past’ (§2.6.2.3.1.2.) this is due to the fact that the predicate in Saanich
sometimes translates into English as a noun.
60. na-ː√t̕alaś saʔ 'He's my husband to be.' [1POS–S√spouse FUT]
61. s√q̕ap səʔ 'It's the gathering (naming ceremony) that's coming up.' [S√gather FUT]

2.6.2.3.2.3. ||saʔ|| differs from the other post-predicate particles in that its position depends on which
pronominal clitic it occurs with. Whereas ||ləʔ|| ‘past’ always precedes the subject person markers ||sən||,
||t̕a||, and ||sxʷ||, ||saʔ|| precedes only the second person, ||sxʷ||. It follows the first person subject
markers ||sən||, singular, and ||t̕a||, plural. This can be seen in examples 53, 54, 58, and 59.

2.6.2.3.2.4. ||saʔ|| seems to add the implication that the speaker has a certain amount of control over or is
quite sure of the future truth of the proposition. An aspect of the meaning of ||saʔ|| that is perhaps related
to this is that it only occurs with predicates that do not involve an emotional state. The addition of ||saʔ|| to
such predicates produces sentences that are rejected by informants.
62.(a) √kʷson–t~e̱n̕ən̕san 'I want to see it.' [√see–CTRAN–3OBJ(ø)–DESID 1SUBJ]
   (b) * kʷʔant̕e̱n̕ən̕san saʔ
63.(a) šxʷət̕a̱n̕-san saʔ ‘Somebody hates me.’
   (b) * šxʷət̕a̱n̕ san saʔ
64.(a) √kʷixʷ–tal 'They're quarrelling.' [√quarrel–CRECIP]
   (b) * kʷixʷtal saʔ
In 63 to 65 the (a) forms are identical to the (b) forms except that the (b), rejected, forms have ||saʔ||
added. What they have in common is that in each the proposition concerns someone's emotional state.
For other examples of ||saʔ|| see §2.6.2 7, 13, 18, 22, 23, 32, and 41. For the non-cooccurrence of ||saʔ||
with ||yaq|| see §2.6.2.2.2.1.

2.6.2.4. In the fourth position to the right of the predicate head are the three subject person markers
||sən|| ‘first person singular’, ||t̕a|| ‘first person plural’, and ||sxʷ|| ‘second person’.
Examples of these three morphemes can be found throughout this work. See especially §2.4.4. The position of the first person subject markers with respect to ||saʔ|| future is discussed in §2.6.2.3.2.4. See §2.6.2.5.5 for a description of ||hela|| ‘second person pluralizer’. ||sxʷ|| itself is unmarked as to number.

||səʔ|| and ||sxʷ|| can be analyzed as composed of two morphemes each: ||s-||, a main clause subject particle base, with ||-ən|| and ||-xʷ||, personal suffixes. In subordinate clauses these latter two morphemes appear as subjects suffixed to the predicate head. See §2.4.4 for discussion and examples.

2.6.2.5. The fifth position post-predicate particles include ||qəʔ|| ‘emphatic’, ||kʷəʔ|| ‘informative’, ||ʔačə|| ‘request information’, ||kʷəče|| ‘explanative’, ||hela|| ‘second person pluralizer’, and ||ʔaʃ|| ‘limiting’. The meaning and use of the particles appearing in this position is more diverse than that of the particles in the other positions. The frequency of occurrence of the particles in this group also varies widely. ||qəʔ||, for instance, is quite rare while ||kʷəʔ|| and ||ʔaʃ|| are ubiquitous. Actually, it is not entirely clear that these particles form a single position class. There seems to be no semantic or pragmatic reason for ||hela||, for instance, to preclude the occurrence of any of the others. Nevertheless, none of the particles in this group has been recorded occurring with any of the others, while each has been recorded following the subject person markers and other post-predicate particles.

2.6.2.5.1. ||qəʔ|| ‘emphatic’ intensifies the force of the speech act. It is used in declaratives to express the speaker’s certainty; it is used in commands to express the speaker’s insistence. Compare 65 and 66.

65. √ʔə̀t čə ‘Come!’ [√come COMMAND]
66. ʔə̀t čə qəʔ ‘Come!’

E.C. commented on these two sentences: “you use [65] if you’re telling somebody to come; you use [66] if they’re stubborn.”

67. √háy sxʷ qəʔ ‘Thank you!’ [√thank(?) 2SUBJ EMPH]
68. √ʔəwə̀q qəʔ sʔ tέ ‘There is nothing!’ [√not √exist EMPH S√what]

Example 67 is a frequently used phrase. Example 68 is Raven’s son’s reply when his father, trying to trick him, insists that he sees something out on the water (see §3 sentence 39).

2.6.2.5.2. ||kʷəʔ|| ‘informative’ is used when the speaker is offering the propositional content of the sentence as new or particularly salient information to the addressee. ||kʷəʔ|| is very common in conversational discourse but quite rare in narratives. It appears most frequently in isolated sentences with a first person subject.

2.6.2.5.2.1. Despite its frequency of occurrence, or perhaps because of it, the meaning and function of ||kʷəʔ|| is the most difficult to determine of all the post-predicate particles. However, one thing that seems clear about ||kʷəʔ|| is that it is neither positionally nor semantically related to the demonstrative element ||kʷ-|| ‘invisible’ (see §2.6.3.1.). Nevertheless, the gloss and definition above should be regarded as first approximations. They have been determined from speakers’ comments on sentence pairs such as 69 to 72.

69.(a) √čétθ̣-at sən ‘I sewed it.’ [√sew-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ]
69.(b) čétθ̣-at sən kʷəʔ ‘I sewed it.’
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich

70. (a) kʷt na-s kʷás-as laʔ ‘I already sent it.’ [REAL 1 POS-S √send-EFFORT PAST]
(b) kʷt na-s kʷás-as laʔ kʷa ‘I already sent it.’
71. (a) kʷt ?aní-s kʷás-as ‘You sent it.’
(b) kʷt ?anískʷásas kʷa ‘You sent it.’
72. (a) kʷt háy kʷs√âmxʷ-s ‘It stopped raining.’ [REAL √finish SUB √rain-3POS]
(b) kʷt háy kʷaʔ kʷs√âmxʷs ‘It stopped raining.’

The difference between the (a) and (b) sentences in 69 to 72 are expressed in English by means of intonation and stress. In the translation for 71(b), for example, the second person subject clearly has extra stress. The context for 69(b) involves the speaker informing the addressee that she made the dress herself. The appropriate contexts for 70(b), 71(b), and 72(b) as opposed to the (a) sentences are given by informants as "if you asked me" and "if I were telling somebody."

2.6.2.5.2.2. A problem with the definition above is that it seems to limit ||kʷa|| to declarative sentences. But it does rarely make an appearance in questions such as 73 and 74.
73. √xal=âs-t a sxʷ kʷa ‘Did you take a picture?’ [√draw=face-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) QUEST 2SUBJ INFORM]
74. √ʔaxín kʷa ‘Where is it?’

It may be that ||kʷa|| is describable in terms of an intersection of discourse functions such as ‘new information’ and ‘topic’.

2.6.2.5.3. ||ʔača|| ‘request information’ forms an interrogative sentence that is specifically marked as a request for information. It is not an interrogative marker in itself but adds to the proposition the implication that the speaker is not in fact in possession of the information requested. ||ʔača|| is used only in sincere requests; it is not used if the speaker already knows the answer to his question. ||ʔača|| appears only in questions asking "what", "who", "whose", "when", and "where", though it is not itself to be glossed as any of these. It does not cooccur with ||a|| ‘yes/no question’ ([§2.6.2.1.1.]), and does not occur in questions involving manner, quantity, or in those requiring an explanation (see §§2.6.2.5.4.).

2.6.2.5.3.1. Each of the example sentences 75 to 84 may occur without ||ʔača|| with the same translation. Occasionally the difference is indicated by putting extra stress on the wh-word in the translation of the sentence with ||ʔača|| as in 75.
75. (a) txʷ√sén √mây̲ tseʔa ‘Whose basket is it?’ [MUT√who √basket DEM]
(b) txʷsén ʔača mây̲ tsêʔa ‘Whose basket is it?’
76. √nît ʔača√sén ‘Who is it?’ [√it is REQINF √who]
77. √nît ʔača√sên ðêʔa ‘Who is she?’ [√it is REQINF √who DEM]
78. nâkʷa ʔača sên ‘Who are you?’
79. ʔaxín ʔača ‘Where is it?’
80. txʷ√ʔaxín saʔ sxʷ ʔača ‘Where are you going?’ [MUT√where FUT 2SUBJ REQINF]
81. s√tê̂ŋ ʔača ðêʔa ‘What is this?’ [S√what REQINF DEM]
82. √ʔîn̲-at sxʷ ʔača ‘What did you say?’ [√mean–STAT 2SUBJ REQINF]
83. ʔaní-s√ʔîn̲-at ʔača ‘What do you mean?’ [2POS–S√mean–STAT REQINF]
84. ʔaní-s√ʔîn̲-at ʔača tsə ‘fish’ ‘What do you call “fish”?’ [2POS–S√mean–CTRAN–3OBJ(ø) REQINF DEM
“fish”]
2.6.2.5.4. ||kʷəč|| 'explanatory' marks a sentence as an offer of or a request for an explanation. In interrogatives ||kʷəč|| is complementary to ||ʔača|| 'request information' (§2.6.2.5.3.) in that it occurs, where ||ʔača|| does not, in questions of manner and quality. It never appears, however, with ||a|| 'yes/no question'. ||kʷəč|| frequently appears in traditional "explanatory" tales as in 85.

2.6.2.5.5. ||hel|| 'second person pluralizer' indicates that any second person reference in the clause is to be construed as a plural reference. ||hel|| pluralizes second person subjects (examples 93 to 92), possessives (93 and 94), and objects (95 to 97).

2.6.2.5.6. ||ʔaf|| 'limiting' marks a limit to the truth of the proposition or on the speaker's intentions with regard to the proposition. It is used to indicate that nothing more than what is said is implied.

||ʔaf|| is often translated vaguely as 'just', meaning 'only' or 'merely', never meaning 'just now' or 'immediate past'. Compare 98 and 99.

The independent pronoun ||√nákʷa|| 'you' has a special plural of its own (see §2.4.1) and does not occur with ||hel||. Sentences with ||hel|| but without a second person reference are rejected.

The context for example 101 involves the speaker waiting for someone who does not come; she is
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich


108. kʷa+ ?ʔápan ?iʔ kʷs+ ʔqéʔčas ?iʔ tawa ná/ʔéq? af 'She’s fifteen but she’s still my baby.' [REAL ten ACCOM DEM √five ACCOM STILL 1POS√baby LIMIT]

2.6.2.6. ||čtəʔ|| 'probable' and ||waʔačə|| 'presumptive' are sparsely documented and neither is recorded occurring with any other post-predicate particle.

2.6.2.6.1. ||čtəʔ|| 'probable' would seem, from its modal function, to fit into the second position group of post-predicate particles. It expresses a limitation on the speaker’s control of the factuality of the proposition. With ||čtəʔ|| the speaker is expressing his belief that the proposition is true, but he’s not sure.

2.6.2.6.1.1. One reason why the position of ||čtəʔ|| has not been determined is that it has been impossible to elicit it with other than a third person subject. All combinations of ||čtəʔ|| with first or second person subjects have been rejected. It may be that ||čtəʔ|| is like ||čəʔ|| 'evidential' (§2.6.2.2.1.) in that the lack of control is implied of both the speaker and the addressee. In this case, as with ||čəʔ||, it would be pragmatically unlikely for ||čtəʔ|| to appear with a first or second person subject.

116. ?iʔ?wawaʔ √čéʔ čtəʔ ‘He might work.’ [PERHAPS √work PROB]

117. kʷa+ ʔq³ʔáčtəʔ kʷsá ʔq³ʔáɬ-ʔəʔ kʷsá ná/ʔén ‘My father’s barbecue must be ready.’ [REAL √barbecue(PL)+ PROB DEM √barbecue—CMDL DEM 1POS√father]

2.6.2.6.2. ||waʔačə|| 'presumptive' may also belong to the second position group of post-predicate particles. It appears in sentences translated with "I guess...".
2.6.2.7. This discussion of the post-predicate particles is not an exhaustive description. The meaning and function of some of the particles is only vaguely understood, particularly most of those in the fifth position (§2.6.2.5.) and the two whose positions are undeterminable (§2.6.2.6.). A major gap is in the understanding of how these particles function in combination. Not counting the two particles discussed in section 2.6.2.6, there are over eleven hundred possible combinations of post-predicate particles from different groups. Only seventy-four different combinations have been observed; only six different combinations are known to be rejected. It should also be noted that it would not be surprising to discover that there are more post-predicate particles than the nineteen discussed here. Halkomelem (Suttles, 1982), it seems, has at least twenty-six.

2.6.3. Demonstratives.

Demonstratives in Saanich are deictic words that function as either articles or pronominals. In the function of article they precede and modify full word arguments of predications. In the function of pronominal they are themselves arguments of predications.

Forms with bases ||-éʔa|| 'non-proximate', ||-iʔa|| 'proximate', and ||-áwλa|| 'distant' function as both articles and pronominals. Those with ||-a|| 'unspecifed distance' function only as articles. One demonstrative, ||léʔa||, functions as an argument or as a predicate itself meaning 'be at a particular place'. A suffix ||-ʔ|| may be attached to any demonstrative to form an emphatic demonstrative.

Similar to the demonstratives of Klallam (Thompson and Thompson, 1971), Songish (Raffo, 1972), and Sooke (Efrat, 1969), Saanich demonstratives are composed of a number of recognizable elements.

Table 12. Demonstrative formatives

The schema in table 12 shows the order of the ten elements in the twenty-one demonstratives observed to date. It summarizes the following combinations of demonstrative elements: kʷs, kʷsêʔa, kʷsiʔa, kʷsáwλa, kʷθa, kʷθéʔa, kʷθáwλa, tsą, tséʔa, tla, tléʔa, tiʔa, táwλa, θa, θléʔa, θéʔa, θáwλa, θéʔa, léʔa. The following combinations have been tested and rejected as demonstratives: *kʷə, *kʷiʔa, *ta, *téʔa, *tsáwλa. Other combinations have not been tested.

The demonstratives translate into English variously as 'a', 'the', 'this', 'that', 'these', 'those', etc.. Because of the relative richness of deictic distinctions in Saanich, precise meanings are difficult to elicit and even more difficult to infer from textual material. The glosses given for the component morphemes presented here are those that have been consistently evident.

2.6.3.1. ||kʷ−|| 'invisible, remote'.

1. √xč̓-í-ʔ sąn kʷsiʔe s√wáŋqʷaʔ 'I know this man (here but in another room)' [√know-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM s√man]
2. kʷə́ʔs̕ʷə́l čtə kʷsə s̕ʷqʷə́l–ənə k̕ʷsə nəʷmén 'My father's barbecue must be ready' (He's hiding from his father and can smell the food cooking.) [REAL √ready PROB DEM S√barbecue DEM 1POS√father]

3. x̣čit san kʷséʔə swámqəʔ 'I know that man (not necessarily near)'
4. x̣čit san kʷsawəʔ swámqəʔ 'I know that man (way over there someplace)'
5. √kʷə̚n̕–naxʷ san k̕θ̕ə s√/q̕ə́n̕i? 'I saw the woman' (She's not here now) [√see-NTRAN–3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM S√woman]
6. x̣čit san k̕θ̕iʔə s̕t̕éʔi? 'I know this woman (in another room)'
7. x̣čit san k̕θ̕eʔə s̕t̕éʔi? 'I know that woman'
8. x̣čit san k̕θ̕əwəʔ s̕t̕éʔi? 'I know that woman (way over there someplace).'
9. √q̕ə̚lét sxʷ √x̣án–ən k̕séʔə 'Say that again.' [√again 2SUBJ √say–CMDL DEM]

2.6.3.2. ||-t|| 'not invisible or generally existent'.
All forms but tsə precede only non–feminine or plural forms, i.e. such constructions as *t̕iʔə s̕t̕éʔi? are unacceptable.
10. x̣čit san tsə swámqəʔ 'I know the man'
11. x̣čit san tsə s̕t̕éʔi? 'I know the woman'
12. √s̕x̣ə̚n̕–t̕ixʷ sx̕ə s̕ʷq̕ə́l 'How do you say that word?' [STAT√how–? 2SUBJ DEM S√speak]
13. x̣čit san t̕iʔə s̕x̣ə̚nt̕éʔi? 'I know these women'
14. x̣čit san t̕iʔə swámqəʔ 'I know this man' (He's here and visible)
15. x̣čit san t̕əwləʔ swámqəʔ 'I know that man' (He's visible but far away)

2.6.3.3. ||θ–|| 'particular feminine individual'.
Articles with this element appear only before forms with a singular feminine referent, so *θə s̕x̣ə̚nt̕éʔi? is unacceptable.
The form ||θə|| is used in place of ||tsə|| for purposes of emphasis and contrast.
Compare:
16. √n̕iʔ nə̚/s̕iwəm̕ tsə s√/q̕ə̚n̕i? 'The lady is my boss.' [√it is 1POS√boss DEM S√woman]
17. n̕iʔ θə s̕t̕éʔi? nə̚s̕iwəm̕ 'The lady is my boss'
18. √ʔə̚wə s√SFQwámqəʔ nə̚/s̕iwəm̕ √n̕iʔ θə s√/q̕ə̚n̕i? 'The man isn't my boss; the lady is' [√/not UNREAL √it is DEM S√man 1POS √boss √it is DEM S√woman]
19. √x̣ə̚–í–t sə̚n̕ tsə n̕i–s√/č̕eʔəʔaʔ 'I know your friend.' [√know–PERSIS–CTTRAN–3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ DEM 2POS–S√friend]
20. x̣čit san θə n̕išč̕eʔəʔaʔ 'I know your (lady) friend.'

Other forms with ||θ–|| in initial position are obligatory with feminine full forms, i.e. forms such as *t̕iʔe s̕t̕éʔi? are unacceptable.
21. x̣čit san t̕iʔə s̕t̕éʔi? 'I know this woman.'
22. x̣čit san t̕əwəʔ s̕t̕éʔi? 'I know that woman (way over there).'

2.6.3.4. ||s–|| 'particular individual person, thing, or class'
This element appears only after ||kʷ–|| and ||t–||.
23. ?aw √mákʷ tsə s√q̕ə̚xtə? √was–ė́łs 'All dogs bark' (possibly all dogs in the world) [CONTEMP √all DEM S√dog √bark–STRUC(ACT)]
24. waséf tsə sqéxə? 'The dog is barking.'
25. waséf kʷsə sqéxə? 'The dog (not visible) is barking.'

See also examples in 2.6.3.1 and 2.6.3.2.

2.6.3.5. ||tléʔa|| and ||θléʔa|| have as clear an interpretation as any of the demonstratives.
26. x̌č̌it san tléʔa swáyʔa? 'I know the man over there.'
27. x̌č̌it san θléʔa stíeníʔ 'I know the woman over there.'

2.6.3.5.2. ||léʔa|| appears often as a predicate meaning ‘be at a particular place’.
28. ?aw léʔa san ?af 'I'll stay there.' [CONTEMP be there 1SUBJ LIMIT]

However, it never appears as an article, i.e. before a full word argument of a predication. This may be simply a deficiency of the corpus.

2.6.3.5.3. ||ťeʔa|| occurs as do the other demonstratives either as an article before a full word argument or as an argument itself. It is most often translated as ‘this ... here’.
29. x̌č̌it san ťeʔa swáyʔa? 'I know this man here.'
30. x̌č̌it san ťeʔa stíeníʔ 'I know this woman here.'

2.6.3.5.4. ||tlə||, the remaining form poses the most problems, primarily morphophonemic. ||tlə|| appears in two morphophonemic alternants, phonetically [t_\_4] and [t_\_a]. As the ||tl|| and ||s|| of other demonstratives combine to form the affricate [t_s], ||tl|| and ||l|| combine to form the voiceless unglottalized lateral affricate. Neither [t_s] nor [t_\_4] appear elsewhere in Saanich. [t_\_4] appears only following forms ending in [a]; [t_\_a] appears elsewhere.
31. √yéʔ sən səʔ √axwʔa tə √sat=ínəs 'I'm going over to Sidney.' [√go 1SUBJ FUT √go to OBL DEM √? =chest(Sidney)]
32. yéʔ sən tə satínəs 'I'm going to Sidney.'
33. √sə=táxw sxʷ kʷsə √yéʔe tə √saxwim=élə 'You sent us to the store.' [√send=CTTRAN=1 POBJ SUB 2SUBJ SUB √go(1ST) 1PSOBJ DEM S,LOC √buy=container(store)]
34. yéʔ sən tə šaxwimélə 'I'm going to the store.'

The schwa in ||tlə|| often disappears in rapid speech as does the schwa in the demonstratives ||tsə|| and ||kʷsə||. This schwa is never stressed, but it always appears in careful pronunciation. However, ||tlə|| following [a] always appears as [t_\_4], even in careful, slow pronunciation. Nevertheless, as the examples show, [t_\_4] and [t_\_a] perform the same function and are in complementary distribution and hence should be regarded as being alternants of one form.

2.6.3.5.4.1. There is a question as to whether the underlying form should be ||ťa|| rather than ||tľa|| since
the affricate is always voiceless.

As can be seen from the glosses given for the elements ||-| and ||-||, the two are very similar in meaning. The interpretations, ‘a particular proximate place’ and ‘a particular place’, are, however, clear for the forms ||-ʔə||, ||-ʔə||, ||-ʔə||, and ||-ʔə||. In the latter three the ||-|| is consistently [l]. In ||-ʔə|| the ||-|| is released and the ||-|| remains voiced due to the following stress.

||-|| is used with either a proximate or non-proximate meaning. It appears notably with a proximate sense in sentences of comparison when first or second person is involved. When third person is involved other demonstratives are used.

35. \( \sqrt{ni}/\sqrt{čaq} \) tə tə \( \sqrt{šə} \) ’He’s bigger than me.’ [\( \sqrt{v} \) big OBL DEM \( \sqrt{l} \)]
36. \( \sqrt{ʔə}sə \) \( \sqrt{čaq} \) tə tə \( \sqrt{nəkʷə} \) ’I’m bigger than you.’ [\( l \) big OBL DEM \( \sqrt{v} \) you]
37. \( \sqrt{ni}/ \) tə s \( \sqrt{wəyqə} \) \( \sqrt{čaq} \) tə s \( \sqrt{4əni} \) ’The man is bigger than the woman.’ [\( \sqrt{v} \) it is DEM S \( \sqrt{man} \) \( \sqrt{big} \) OBL DEM S \( \sqrt{woman} \)]

It appears in other examples with neither a clear proximate nor a clear distant sense.

38. \( \sqrt{təyəm} \) tə \( \sqrt{wəl} \) tən \( \sqrt{ʔə} \) tə \( \sqrt{qətəcəlä} \) ’They put a spider’s web on the baby’s hand.’ [\( \sqrt{v} \) put-CTRAN-PASS DEM S \( \sqrt{web,net} \) INST OBL DEM \( \sqrt{v} \) baby’s hand(analysis uncertain)]

In most occurrences it appears with an non-proximate sense.

39. \( \sqrt{və}ʔə \) san \( \sqrt{pəstən} \) ’I’m going to America.’ [\( \sqrt{v} \) go 1SUB] DEM \( \sqrt{America} \)

If! It seems likely that ||-|| and ||-|| have merged in this environment. Since it is ||-|| that is marked proximate and ||-|| unmarked for proximity, \( ||-|| \) has been chosen as the underlying form. There seems to be some comparative evidence (see §2.6.3.5.5.4.) that \( ||-|| \) is at least the historical form of this demonstrative.

2.6.3.5.5. It will be useful to compare Saanich to other Straits dialects with regard to this particle, ||-|. 2.6.3.5.5.1. The demonstrative system of Songish as described by Raffo (1972:66–72) differs in a number of respects from Saanich. Raffo shows a form /tə/ but no clear occurrences of it in context. It is charted as –proximate, +definite, –visible. This may or may not be the same as Saanich ||-||. Raffo (1972:69) states "demonstratives precede all emphatic pronominals and all roots functioning as subject or object to predications." As noted earlier, this is also the case in Saanich. However, the passage continues, "demonstratives do not precede these when they are objects of the prepositional particle {ʔə}." {ʔə} is listed (p.207) as "the prepositional particle" with the gloss ‘to, of, with’. In this section and in various places throughout Raffo gives examples of {ʔə} that parallel Saanich sentences with /ʔə tə/.

Compare 40 with 31.

40. Sg /ʔuʔ yəʔə san {ʔəxʷ} {ʔə} təwən / ‘I go to town.’ (Raffo,1972:207)

No examples of a /tə/ or /xə/ particle are given for Songish and no form /ʔə/ appears in Saanich. So far this looks like a case of different analyses for a single phenomenon (though Saanich ||-|| is not glottalized). However, Songish also has sentences like 41.

41. Sg /ʔiʔtəʔan san {ʔə} nəkʷə/ ‘I eat with you.’ (Raffo,1972:208)

The parallel sentence, 42, is thought strange by Saanich informants. The translation they give shows why.

42. ?ʔiʔtəʔan san {ʔə} tə nəkʷə ‘I’m eating (on) you.’
'I'm eating with you' is in Saanich:

43. √ʔiʔ(ʔ)əŋ ʔən ʔiʔ ʔ/ˈnákʷə [√eat(ACT) 1SUBJ ACCOMP √you]

Clearly Songish and Saanich differ surprisingly in this respect.

2.6.3.5.5.2. Examples of a form /ƛ̕əʔ/ have been recorded in Klallam but nothing like /ʔəƛ̕/. Compare 44 and 34.

44. Kl hiyá? can ƛ̕əʔ šxʷimáy 'I'm going to the store.'

The lateral affricate in Klallam /ƛ̕əʔ/ is clearly glottalized. The affricate of ||tlə|| in Saanich is not glottalized and clearly contrasts phonetically with /ƛ̕/, though occasionally in rapid speech ||tlə|| followed by the emphatic demonstrative suffix ||−ʔ|| appears as [ł] when the unstressed [a] is lost.

2.6.3.5.5.3. E.O., a younger native speaker of "modern" Saanich who has learned to write his language, consistently transcribes this form as ʔə:

45. ʔət

This corresponds to:

46. √ʔə n̕əʔət

E.O.'s dialect differs phonologically from "old time" Saanich in other respects. For example, the affricate [t_s] never appears but is replaced by [tθ].

47. ʔən ƛ̕əʔ šx̕ʷaləʔθəq̕ ɬ̕əɬč 'Really hard is the hardhack.’ (E.O.)

This corresponds to:

48. √ʔə n̕əʔət

His Saanich is perhaps influenced by his fluency in Cowichan, which exhibits the historical change t_s > tθ.

2.6.3.5.5.4. A possible historical picture of these developments in Straits would involve the pan-Salishan avoidance of the unglottalized lateral affricate.

Although [tθ] occasionally appears in Saanich and other Salish languages (e.g. Thompson Salish (Thompson and Thompson,in press)) as the realization of a sequence of phonemes, [tθ] has phonemic status in only one Salish language, Comox, and there it is an "obviously borrowed phoneme" (Thompson,1979a).

Thompson further notes that when a rule in Shuswap deglottalizes the first of a sequence of glottalized consonants /ƛ̕/ appears as [t]. This seems to be the strategy taken by E.O.’s dialect where /tθ/ becomes [t].

The strategy taken by Klallam seems to be similar to that taken by Squamish. Kuipers (1967:136) discusses a case morpheme /t−/ which when prefixed to the feminine article /ʔa/ produces the glottalized lateral affricate in /łəa/. However, in their discussion of Klallam demonstratives Thompson and Thompson (1971:265) note that the sequence {tθ} ‘present – feminine, secondary’ "is represented by /c/." This /c/ in Klallam is cognate with /θ/ in Saanich, so the reinterpretation of /tθ/ as /c/ must have preceded the historical change PS *c > θ in Saanich as well as the devoicing of the /l/ in the demonstrative sequence
As pointed out by Thompson, Thompson, and Efrat (1974) this development is a rather late one in Saanich, diffused from Cowichan. Saanich /l/ corresponds to Klallam /y/. A deictic distinction between /ɬ/ and /y/ in Klallam is cognate with that between /ɬ/ and /l/ in Saanich: Kl /ʔəɬaʔ/ 'be here' and /ʔiyáʔ/ 'be there'. A reinterpretation in Klallam of /tl]/əʔ/ to /ƛ̕əʔ/ must have involved a change of l > y in this environment and so must have preceded *l > y. It is possible that at one time in the history of Straits there were two demonstrative elements ||ɬ-||, one ‘feminine, secondary’ and the other ‘proximate’. Another possibility is that in Proto–Straits only ||ɬ-||, ‘feminine, secondary’ was a demonstrative formative, whereas the ||ɬ|| ‘proximate’, ||l|| ‘non–proximate’ distinction was found only in the deictic predicates. Klallam reflects the older system while Saanich shows a spread of this deictic predicate distinction to the demonstrative system. In Saanich ||léʔe|| is the only demonstrative seen to function also as a predicate. This and other differences among the demonstrative systems of the Straits languages must be resolved by further historical/comparative investigation.

2.6.3.6. Unresolved problems relating to demonstratives.

2.6.3.6.1. As noted earlier ||léʔe|| functions as a predicate meaning ‘be at a particular place’, and thus differs from other demonstratives. A corresponding ‘proximate’ predicate, ||ʔéɬəʔ|| ‘be at a particular near place’ appears only as a predicate, though it does seem to exhibit the ||ɬ-|| demonstrative formative. 49. ʔaw léʔe san sa? 'I'll be there.' [CONTEMP there 1SUBJ FUT] 50. ʔawʔéɬəʔ san sa? 'I'll be here.'

||ʔéɬəʔ|| shows no other formal similarities to the demonstratives. It is cognate with Klallam /ʔəɬaʔ/ ‘be here’, but there is no Saanich */ʔaléʔ/ corresponding to Klallam /ʔiyáʔ/ ‘be there’ (see §2.6.3.5.5.4).

2.6.3.6.2. ||léʔe|| and ||ʔéɬəʔ|| both appear with a suffix /-tiʔ/ with the meanings ‘something is at a particular place’ and ‘something is at a particular near place’, respectively.

51. léʔe tiʔ tsa √ʔaqay ‘That one is the sockeye.’ [that-? DEM √sockeye] 52. ʔéɬ-tiʔ tsa s√ʔɪhən 'Here is the food.' [this-? DEM S√eat] 53. léʔetii ‘There it is.’ 54. ʔétiʔ ‘Here it is.’

It is possible that this ||tiʔ|| is another post–predicate particle (§2.6.2).

2.6.4. Other particles.
The two particles listed here are important syntactic function morphemes. An adequate description of them would require a thorough investigation of the syntax of Saanich. This is beyond the scope of the present work. Here I merely give a gloss, brief description, and a few examples.

2.6.4.1. ||ʔə|| ‘oblique case marker’ precedes certain full word arguments to predications. With transitive predicates it occurs before any argument that is not coreferential to the pronominal subject or object. With intransitive predicates it occurs before any argument that is not the subject. Compare examples 1 and 2.

1. √ʔáp–ʔən san ?ə tsa s√čåt ‘I gathered the firewood.' [√gather–CMDL 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√firewood] 2. √ʔáp–ʔən san tsa s√čåt ‘I gathered the firewood.' [√gather–CTRAN–3OBJ(o) 1SUBJ DEM S√firewood]
In both 1 and 2 /tsɬ sčáʔ/ is the logical patient. In 1, the intransitive form, the patient is marked by the 'oblique'; in 2, the transitive form, the patient is coreferential to the object and the 'oblique' morpheme is absent.\footnote{Examples 3 to 14 illustrate other intransitives with the oblique argument in various semantic/case roles. 3. \( s^\sqrt{q^\text{ʔániʔ}} \) ṣa\( t^\sqrt{\text{q}^\text{ʔáy}} = \text{ʔáy} \) 'It's the head of the canoe.' [∞/head OBL DEM √/race canoe] 4. \( s^\sqrt{\text{näs}} \) ṣa\( t^\sqrt{\text{ʔésx}} \) 'It's seal fat.' [∞/fat OBL DEM √/seal] 5. \( \text{ʔín}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}} \) ṣa\( \text{sčá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}} \) 'It's the top of the mountain.' 6. \( \text{ʔéčə}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}} \) ṣa\( \text{q}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}} \) 'It's the bottom of the water.' 7. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔétiʔ}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{máay}} \) 'She's making a basket.' [√/make, work(ACT) OBL DEM √/basket] 8. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá} \text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{náxl}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'I got on the canoe.' [√/go aboard 1SUBJ OBL DEM √/canoe] 9. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'I bought a canoe.' [√/but-STRUC 1SUBJ OBL DEM √/canoe] 10. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá} \text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'I bought a salmon.' [HAVE/hook, pinch 1SUBJ OBL DEM √/spring salmon] 11. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{náxl}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'I was given a canoe.' [√/give(ACT)–CTRAN–PASS 1SUBJ OBL DEM √/canoe] 12. \( \text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{náxl}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \)='He climbed the tree.' 13. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'He ran away from me.' [√/escape OBL DEM √/l] 14. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'He is (i.e. looks like) his father.' [CONTEMP √/is LIMIT OBL DEM √/father–3POS] 15. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'He bought his kids shoes.' [√/buy–INDIRECT–CTRAN–3OBJ(œ)–3SUBJ he DEM PL+√/offspring–3POS OBL DEM √/shoe=foot] 16. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'The boy gave his girl a ring.' [√/give–CTRAN–3OBJ(œ)–3SUBJ S/boy DEM √/girl–3POS OBL ring] 17. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'I'm holding it with your hands.' [√/take, grasp–CTRAN–3OBJ(œ) OBL DEM √/hand] 18. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'I'm holding it with my hands.' [√/take, grasp–PERSIS–CTRAN–3OBJ(œ) 1SUBJ OBL DEM 1POS/√/hand] 19. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'I'm selling you my fish.' [√/sell–(CTRAN)–2OBJ 1SUBJ OBL DEM 1POS–S √/salmon] 20. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'I tied the horse to a tree.' [√/tie up=face–CTRAN–3OBJ(œ) 1SUBJ S/come OBL DEM √/horse canoe tree] 21. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'I sent him a message.' [√/send–EFFORT–3OBJ(œ) 1SUBJ OBL DEM √/speak(RES)] 22. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}^\sqrt{\text{ʔá}}} \) 'Put your hand over here on the table.' [√/go over to–CAUS–3OBJ(œ) DEO DEM 2POS/√/hand OBL DEM √/table] 2.6.4.2. [\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}} \) 'subordinator'] introduces certain subordinate clauses. It has been recorded with two types of complements: 1) those that are nominalized with subjects indicated by the possessive affixes (examples 23–31) and 2) those that are not nominalized and have subjects indicated by the subject suffixes (examples 32–37). 23. \( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}} \) ṣa\( \sqrt{\text{ʔá}} \) 'I'm learning how to make a canoe.' [ACT+√/learn–...
REFL 1SUBJ SUB 1POS—S√make,work OBL DEM S√canoe

24. ƛ̕ʷəʔə́ə̕ʔə́ə̕ʔáqə stàn kʷə na-śənč́=áʔən ‘I’m learning to speak Saanich.’ [ACT+√learn—REFL 1SUBJ SUB 1POS—Sahamouth]

25. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√kʷəńʔ-t ‘I’m protecting it.’ [√good SUB 1POS—S√see(ACT)—CTRAN—3OBJ(ø)]

26. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√lēʔ—at ‘I know how to fix it.’ [√figure out—PERSIS—CTRAN—3OBJ(ø) 1SUBJ SUB 1POS—S√repair—CTRAN—3OBJ(ø)]

27. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√śé-t=qən ‘I’m teaching you to speak Saanich.’ [√/teach(ACT)—(CTRAN)—2OBJ] 1SUBJ SUB 2POS—S LOC√Sahamouth=pharynx

28. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্sśən ʔə ʔəs ʔəqéwə ‘The potato (chips) made me thirsty.’

29. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√śən ʔə ʔəqéwə ‘I don’t eat seal.’ [√/not SUB 1POS—S√eat DEM S√seal]

30. ʔən-्s√śəʔ ʔə kʷə n-্s√čēy ‘Do you want to work?’ [2POS—S√want QUEST SUB 2POS—S√work]

31. qʷə∥∥ʔəł̕ʷ-্sʔən ʔə n-্sʔəʔit ‘You talked to me in your sleep.’ [ACT+√speak—CAUS—1OBJ 2SUBJ SUB 2POS—S√sleep]

32. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√ʕəł̕ʷ-্sʔəʔit ‘You told me to go to the store.’ [√/command—(CTRAN)—1OBJ 2SUBJ SUB 1POS—S√INFORM SUB 1POS—S√go—1SUBJ DEM S LOC√sell=container]

33. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√ʕəł̕ʷ-্sʔəʔit ‘He told me to stir it.’ [√/command—CTRAN—PASS 1SUBJ SUB 1POS—S√stir,move—CTRAN—3OBJ(ø)—1SUBJ]

34. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√ʕəł̕ʷ-্sʔəʔit ‘If I had money, I’d buy a house.’ [SUB HAVE√money—1SUBJ, ACCOM√buy—STRUC 1SUBJ OBL DEM S√house]

35. ʔəqéwəʔən ʔə kʷə na-্sʔəʔəʔit ‘I’d buy a house if I had money.’ (Compare with 34.)

36. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√ʕəł̕ʷ-্sʔəʔit ‘If you go, I’ll go too.’ [SUB √/go—2SUBJ, ACCOM√also 1SUBJ √/go]

37. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√ʕəł̕ʷ-্sʔəʔit ‘I’ll go too if you go.’ (Compare with 36.)

Notes to §2.6.

1. This term and ‘contemporaneous’ have been used by others referring to cognate morphemes in other Coast Salish languages. See for example Thompson and Thompson (1971).

2. See §2.5 on other differences between transitives and intransitives.

3. The root √ʔəŋ∥ actually means ‘give something to’. In this it is similar to English ‘endow’.

The ||kʷə|| ‘subordinator’ is not used in introducing relative clauses³. Compare examples 38, which has ||kʷə|| and a nominalized complement, and 39 which contains a relative clause.

38. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√ʕəł̕ʷ-্sʔəʔit ‘Did you see the man hit me?’ [√/see—NTRAN—3OBJ(ø) QUEST 2SUBJ DEM S√man SUB 1POS—S LOC√punch—face—CTRAN—PASS]

39. ƛ̕ʷə∥∥ʔə’m na-্s√ʕəł̕ʷ-্sʔəʔit ‘Did you see the man who hit me?’ [√/see—NTRAN—3OBJ(ø) QUEST 2SUBJ DEM S√man LOC√punch—face—CTRAN—1OBJ]
3. Sample text: Raven abandons his son.

3.1 Text with interlinear analysis.

1. \(\text{v̓ma} \text{'kw} \text{'k̓wəčəl} \) iʔ əw\(\) \(\text{v̓k̓wəłə'ykw} \) tsə sv̓páal\'.
   \(\) every \(\) vday \(\) ACCOM \(\) CONTEMP \(\) v̓fishing(ACT) \(\) DEM \(\) SV Raven

2. \(\text{v̓nə'ni} \) tsə nən+\(\) v̓nə'niʔ-s tsəw̓hí4 sv̓páal\'.
   \(\) many \(\) DEM \(\) PL+\(\) child-3POS \(\) he \(\) SV Raven

3. k̓w̓é+v̓kw̓i7.
   \(\) ACT+\(\) hungry

4. k̓w̓é+v̓kw̓i7 ʔa1' v̓ə̓wə̓wə̓ʔa sv̓t̓ə̓ʔə sv̓ʔiʔən-s
   \(\) ACT+\(\) hungry \(\) LIMIT \(\) \(\) \(\) not\(\) exist \(\) SV what \(\) SV eat-3POS

5. \(\text{v̓nə'ʔə} \) sv̓k̓w̓éčəl iʔ? v̓ʔə̓x,wí-t-as ʔa tsə
   \(\) v̓one \(\) SV day \(\) ACCOM \(\) \(\) sv̓̓w̓-CTRAN-30BJ(ə)-3SUBJ \(\) OBL \(\) DEM
   \(\) sv̓n̓-xʷə4 tsə ʔv̓mén-s
   \(\) SV canoe \(\) DEM \(\) \(\) v̓father-3POS

6. \(\) v̓ʔə̓x,wí-t-as tsə sv̓n̓-xʷə4 tsə sv̓mén-s
   \(\) sv̓̓w̓-CTRAN-30BJ(ə)-3SUBJ DEM SV canoe DEM \(\) v̓father-3POS

7. ʔiʔ k̓w̓4 v̓t̓i̓lə̓c ʔa tsə sv̓q̓al-ə4
   \(\) ACCOM \(\) \(\) v̓find \(\) OBL \(\) DEM \(\) STAT \(\) V barbecue(RES)-DUR

8. s-əw\(\) v̓tal-nəx\(\) k̓w̓s-əw\(\) v̓ʔi(ʔ)4ən-s
   \(\) S-CONTEMP \(\) vδiscover-NTRAN-30BJ(ə) \(\) SUB \(\) S-CONTEMP \(\) \(\) sv̓eat(ACT)-3POS
   \(\) tsə sv̓mén-s ʔa k̓w̓siʔə sv̓h̓eʔə
   \(\) DEM \(\) \(\) v̓father-3POS \(\) OBL \(\) DEM \(\) SV away

9. s-əw\(\) v̓tal-nəx\(\) k̓w̓s-əw\(\) v̓ʔi(ʔ)4ən-s
   \(\) S-CONTEMP \(\) vδiscover-NTRAN-30BJ(ə) \(\) SUB \(\) S-CONTEMP \(\) \(\) sv̓eat(ACT)-3POS
   \(\) tsə sv̓mén-s ʔa k̓w̓siʔə sv̓k̓w̓əłə'ykw\(\)
   \(\) DEM \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) v̓father-3POS \(\) OBL \(\) DEM \(\) SV fishing(ACT)

10. \(\) v̓ʔa4 ʔa tsə sv̓n̓-xʷə4 tsə sv̓mén-s s-əw
    \(\) \(\) v̓go-aboard \(\) OBL \(\) DEM \(\) SV canoe \(\) DEM \(\) v̓father-3POS S-CONTEMP
    \(\) v̓k̓w̓éy1-s ʔa tsə v̓k̓w̓əčəl
    \(\) \(\) v̓hide-3POS \(\) OBL \(\) DEM \(\) v̓day

11. təwə \(\) v̓x,wənə́ʔj ʔiʔ k̓w̓4 v̓tə́s tsəw̓hí4 tsə sv̓̓w̓lə̓s
    \(\) STILL \(\) \(\) vδow \(\) ACCOM \(\) REAL \(\) vbe-there \(\) he \(\) DEM \(\) SV young-man
    \(\) ʔa tsə sv̓n̓-xʷə4 tsə sv̓mén-s
    \(\) OBL \(\) DEM \(\) SV canoe \(\) DEM \(\) v̓father-3POS

12. s-əw
    \(\) S-CONTEMP \(\) v̓t̓a4-s
    \(\) S-CONTEMP \(\) vgo aboard-3POS

13. v̓tə́s tsə sv̓páal\(\) ʔa tsə sv̓n̓-xʷə4 s-əw
    \(\) vbe there \(\) DEM \(\) SV Raven \(\) OBL \(\) DEM \(\) SV canoe \(\) S-CONTEMP
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich

14. √ʔə́wə́nəʔ svx̣-č-i-t-s kʷ s kʷ4
   √not\exist SVfigure out-PERSIS-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS SUB - REAL
   ʔə́l̕áʔə́  tsə svwíwlə̱s ʔə tsə svnə́xʷə́l̕ə̱  tsə
   √go aboard(ACT) DEM Svyoung man OBL DEM Svcanoe DEM
   s-kʷə́l̕+kʷéyl'
   STAT-RES+hide

15. √ʔə́wə́nəʔ svx̣-ač-t-i-ŋ-s ʔə t4
   √not\exist SVfigure out-PERSIS-PASS-3POS OBL DEM
   svpáal’ kʷ s kʷ4 ʔə́l̕áʔə́-s tsə svwíwlə̱s s-kʷé\kʷə́l̕
   SVRaven SUB - REAL √go aboard(ACT) DEM Svyoung man S-ACT+\hide
   s-aw√ vỵ-s kʷx̣wə́\ẉ ə̱ kʷ wṣẉhí4 svpáal’
   S-CONTEMP √go-3POS S\fishing(ACT) he SVRaven

16. √iʔ ʔəw√ iʔ ʔə́l̕áʔə́  tsə̱ẉhí4 tsə ṿ̣ə́nəʔ-s s-aw√
   ACCOM CONTEMP ACCOM √go aboard(ACT) he DEM √child-3POS
   ʔiʔ  s-kʷé\+kʷə́l̕'
   ACCOM STAT-ACT+\hide

18. √ʔée-l̕ tsəẉhí4 ʔə tsə sṿ̣il=qsən tsə svpáal’
   √go ashore-DIR he OBL DEM Svland?=nose DEM SVRaven

19. √kʷə́tθí-t-ə̱̱ ṣẉg̣q̣-čəʔ-s
   √butcher-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3OBJ DEM S\catch-3POS

20. √kʷ̣θí-t-ə̱̱ ṣẉg̣q̣-čəʔ-s
   √butcher-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3OBJ DEM S\catch-3POS

21. √ṭθé(ʔ) kʷ̣-at-s
   S-CONTEMP √clean(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS

22. √q̣ʷə́l̕-at-s
   S-CONTEMP √barbecue-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS

23. iʔ aw√ s-kʷé\+kʷə́l̕’ tsəẉhí4 ʔə t4 ʔála4
   ACCOM CONTEMP STAT-ACT+\hide he OBL DEM √go aboard
   ʔə tsə svnə́xʷə́4 tsə svwíwlə̱s
   OBL DEM Svcanoe DEM Svyoung man

24. √vx̣-č-à-t-s “kʷ4 √q̣ẉə́l̕’
   S-CONTEMP √figure out-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS REAL √barbecue(ACT)
   čtə ḳẉsə́ svq̣ẉə́l̕-ə̱̱ ḳẉsə́ nə́mən”
   PROB DEM Svbarbecue-CMDL DEM 1POS\father
25. kʷə́ č̣ṿḥá’hʷ-n-əs ʔiʔ ʔiʔ-1=ə́ ʔαə́
   REAL  ṿsmẹll-NTRAN-3OBJ(ə)-3SUBJ  ACCOM  ṿgood-CONNEC=smell
   ṣṿq̣ẉə́-l-əʔ̣ Ṣṿbarbecue-CMDL
26. s-aʷ  ṿxʷiʔ-t-əŋ-s  tsəẉṇí’̣ ṿʔáxʷ ʔa  tsə
   S-CONTẸM  ṿjump(ACT)-CMDL-3POS  he  ṿgo over to OBL DEM
   ṣṿḷéʔ-s  tsə  ḳṃén-s  ṿq̣ẉə́-l-əŋ̣ Ṣṿplace-3POS DEM  ṿfather-3POS Ṣṿbarbecue-CMDL
27. s-aʷ  ṭθ̣ə’+ṿṭθ̣əkʷ-sət  tsə  ṿθ̣iʔsət
   S-CONTẸM  ACT+ṿstartle-REFL DEM  ṿparent
28. "čəṇe  ṿṇí’̣  yəẉə̣ ḳẉsə̣ nəṿṇə̣ʔ̣̣ṇ?"
   goodness  ṿịt  is  CONJEC DEM  1POS=offspring
29. ʔiʔ  ṿxʷ."álk”t-əŋ̣  tsə  ṿc̣ə̣q̣  ṿq̣ẉ4=ʔỵ′
   ACCOM  ṿdrift-CMDL DEM  ṿbig  ṿlog=wood
30. s-aʷ  ṿx̣,ə̣’n-nəxʷ-s  tsə  ḳṇ’éṭʔ̣ nəʔ̣-s
   S-CONTẸM  ṿṣay-NTRAN-3OBJ(ə)-3POS DEM  ṿoffspring-3POS
   "ṿḳẉə́-ṇ-aṭ  tsə  ṿq̣ẉáṇị́.
   ṿṣẹ-CTRAN-3OBJ(ə) DEM  ṿseagull
31. ʔṇiʔ  ḳ”sə̣  ṿṇá(ʔ)-ət-əs”
   ṿexist DEM  ṿeat(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ə)-3SUBJ
32. s-aʷ  ṿx̣,ə̣’n-əŋ-s  tsə  ṣṿẉíẉḷas  "ṿṇá’ẉṿṇə̣  ṿṣṭëŋ
   S-CONTẸM  ṿṣay-CMDL-3POS DEM  ṿyoung man  ṿnot=ṿexist ṣṿwhat
   ṿṇá(ʔ)-ət-əs  tsə  ṿg̣ə̣ṇị́,  ṿṃén.”
   ṿeat(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ə)-3SUBJ DEM  ṿseagull ṿfather
33. ʔiʔ  aʷ  ṿṇá’ẉə̣  tsəẉṇí’̣ ṿp̣áal’  ṿʔéx-.əŋ̣  ḳẉə̣
   ACCOM  CONTẸM  not he  ṢVRaven  ṿṣay-CMDL SUB
   s-aʷ  ṿṇiʔ-ʔ-s  ḳẉsə̣  ṿṇá(ʔ)-ət-əs  tsə
   S-CONTẸM  ṿexist-3POS DEM  ṿeat(ACT)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ə)-3SUBJ DEM
   ṿq̣ẉáṇị́.
   ṿseagull
34. s-aʷ  ṿṣé-t-əŋ-s  tsə  ṣṿẉíẉḷas
   S-CONTẸM  ṿcommand-CTRAN-PASS-3POS DEM  ṿyoung man,
   "ṿʔáa’̣ ʔa  tsə  ṣṿṇá’xʷə̣tə.  ṿỵéʔ  4ṭə  ṿḳẉə́-ṇ-əṭ’.
   ṿgo aboard OBL DEM  ṢVcanoe  ṿgo  1PSEX  ṿṣẹ-CTRAN-3OBJ(ə)
35. s-aʷ  ṿỵéʔ-s  ṿṭạálṭ.  ṿṭạs’  ʔə  tsəʔə.  
   S-CONTẸM  ṿgo-3POS  ṿway out at sea  ṿbe here OBL DEM
36. s-aʷ  ṿṭạs’  ʔə  tsə  ṣṿq̣ə̣ḷ-él=ŋəẉ  ʔiʔ
   S-CONTẸM  ṿbe there OBL DEM  ṢṾtree-CONNEC=being ACCOM
   ṿx”álk”t-əŋ̣.
   ṿdrift-CTRAN
37. s-aʷ  ṿṣé-t-əŋ-s  tsəẉṇí’̣ ṿẉíẉḷas  ḳẉə̣
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich

47. \( \sqrt{k^w\text{čal}^t} \) ʔa \( \sqrt{k^w\text{čal}^t} \) ʔa \( \sqrt{k^w\text{čal}^t} \) ʔa \( \sqrt{k^w\text{čal}^t} \) ʔa

46. \( \sqrt{\text{finish off-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S-CONTEMP \( \sqrt{\text{all} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

45. \( \sqrt{\text{day} \) ACCOM CONTEMP \( \sqrt{\text{day} \) ACCOM CONTEMP \( \sqrt{\text{day} \) SUB

44. \( \sqrt{\text{hear-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S-CONTEMP \( \sqrt{\text{put-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{fly-CMDL} \) DEM

43. \( \sqrt{\text{return-CMDL-3OBJ(ø)-3POS}} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

42. \( \sqrt{\text{hear-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{wear-3OBJ(ø)-3POS}} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{how-3OBJ(ø)-3POS}} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

41. \( \sqrt{\text{day} \) ACCOM CONTEMP \( \sqrt{\text{day} \) ACCOM CONTEMP \( \sqrt{\text{day} \) SUB

40. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

39. \( \sqrt{\text{not exist EMPH S\text{what}} \)

38. \( \sqrt{\text{means} \) SUB  S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

37. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

36. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

35. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

34. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

33. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

32. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

31. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

30. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

29. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

28. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

27. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

26. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

25. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

24. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

23. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

22. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

21. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

20. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

19. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)

18. \( \sqrt{\text{what-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ} \) S\( \sqrt{\text{what}} \)
s-iʔ √ʔəlālə4-s ʔə tsə svqəl-əl=ŋɛxʷ.
S-ACCOM vgo aboard(ACT)-3POS OBL DEM S√tree-CONNEC=being

48. ?əw √háy ʔəl √híʔ kʷə s-iʔ
CONTEMP vdone LIMIT vlong time SUB S-ACCOM
√ʔəlālə4-s ʔə tsə svqəl-əl=ŋɛxʷ.
√vgo aboard(ACT)-3POS OBL DEM S√tree-CONNEC=being

49. √sé-t-as tsə √ŋə´naʔ-s kʷə
√command-CTRL-3OBJ(φ)-3SUBJ DEM √offspring-3POS SUB
√ʔəlālə4-as ʔə tsə √qʷ4=ɛy.
√vgo aboard-3SUBJ OBL DEM √log=wood

50. s-əw √x, -ə´-t-s  s-əw
S-CONTEMP √push-CTRL-3OBJ(φ)-3POS S-CONTEMP
√4ə´-l-as.
vgo ashore-DIR-3POS

51. s-iʔ  s-əw √vyeʔ-s √4ee-l  tsəwhi4.
S-ACCOM S-CONTEMP √vgo-3POS √vgo ashore(RES)-DIR he

52. s-əw √ʔi4ən-s ʔə tsə svqʷə´l-ən-s.
S-CONTEMP √eat-3POS OBL DEM S√barbecue-CTRL-3POS

53. s-əw √háy-s kʷə svʔi(ʔ)4ən-s  s-əw
S-CONTEMP √finish-3POS SUB S√eat(ACT)-3POS S-CONTEMP
√vyeʔ-s √tákʷ.
vgo-3POS vgo home

54. txʷháy tsə √ŋə´naʔ-s √xʷə´lkwʷt-ən √ʔəlālə4
MUT√alone DEM √offspring-3POS √drift-CTRL √vgo aboard(ACT)
ʔə tsə √qʷ4=ɛy.
OBL DEM √log=wood

55. √kʷéčəl ʔiʔ √néʔ, √kʷéčəl ʔiʔ √net.
vday ACCOM vnight vday ACCOM vnight

56. √ʔə´we kʷə √skʷ-il √Məʔ.
ACCOM CONTEMP not SUB √approach-DIR vagain

57. √v. wá(ʔa)ʔ tsə svwíwləs s-əw tə+√tíəm̥-s.
včry(ACT) DEM S√young man S-CONTEMP ACT+√sing-3POS

58. "√vέʔəʔ sən √w.ə´l-t-ən ʔə tɨ svqə´naxʷ
√here 1SUBJ √vabandon(ACT)-CTRL-PASS OBL DEM S√greedy
√wíwíl."
S√Raven

59. təwə √v. wənín̥ tsəwhi4 svwíwləs.
STILL vthat way he S√young man

60. təwə √v. wənín̥ ʔəʔ ʔiʔ kʷ4 √síkʷ-ə1.
STILL vthat way EVID ACCOM REAL vapproach(ACT)-DIR
61. s-əw ʔəʷən-nəxʷ  təʔəʷəʔə́łəs.
S-CONTEMP ʔsee-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø) DEM ʔgood Sʔyoung man

62. ʔpə́q  təʔ ʔ4q̣í-t-əs.
ʔwhite DEM ʔclothes-3POS

63. s-əw ʔvcte-t-əŋ  təʔə́łəs ʔa  təʔ ʔpə́q
S-CONTEMP ʔask-CTRAN-PASS DEM Sʔyoung man OBL DEM ʔwhite

64. s-əw ʔxə,ən-əŋ-s  "ʔwə́ʔə́l'-t-əŋ
S-CONTEMP ʔsay-CMDL-3POS ʔhere 1SUBJ STAT/ʔabandon(ACT)-CTRAN
ʔəʔ ʔa  t4 ʔvə́n̕-nəxʷ ʔsə́páal'."  
PAST OBL DEM ʕSʔgreedy ʔSʔRaven

65. s-əw ʔxə,ən-əŋ-s  təʔə̓łəs,  "ʔnə́ʔkʷə́ ʔəčə
S-CONTEMP ʔsay-CMDL-3POS DEM Sʔyoung man ʔyou  REQINF
ʔsə́ʔə?
ʔwho

66. s-əw ʔxə,ən-əŋ-s  tə̓ʔə́l̓i4 ʔiʔ ʔʔə́y̓ə̓mæt  tə̓ʔa
S-CONTEMP ʔsay-CMDL-3POS he ACCOM ʔgood=ʔappearance DEM

67. s-əw ʔxə,ən-ə-t-əŋ-s  tə̓ʔə́l̓i4 ʔə̓n̕-ənəʔ ʔa  t4
S-CONTEMP ʔsay-CTRAN-PASS-3POS he ʔoffspring OBL DEM

68. s-əw ʔθi(ʔ)4-əŋ-ə̓s  tə̓ʔə́l̓i4 ʔsə́łəs.
S-CONTEMP ʔstənd-(ACT)-CMDL-3POS he Sʔyoung man

69. s-əw ʔq̣ẉén-əs-ən̕-s  ʔa  tə̓ʔa ʔx̣,ə̓ʔə̓l̓-ə̓l̓s.
S-CONTEMP ʔsummon-EFFORT-PASS-3POS OBL DEM ʔsacred-STM(ACT)

70. s-əw ʔkʷə̓n̕-i-t-əŋ-s  ʔaʔə
S-CONTEMP ʔgrasp-PERSIS-CTRAN-PASS-3POS CONTEM

71. ʔk̓ʷə́n-ət-ə̓s  tə̓ʔa ʔq̣í-t-əs  ʔiʔ  ʔx̣,ə̓ʔə̓l̓-ə̓l̓s.
S-CONTEMP ʔsee-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM ʔclothes-3POS ACCOM ʔalso

72. s-əw ʔxə,ən-ə-t-əŋ-s  ʔa  t4 ʔx̣,ə̓ʔə̓l̓-ə̓l̓s
S-CONTEMP ʔsay-CTRAN-PASS-3POS OBL DEM ʔsacred-STM(ACT)

k̓ʷə́ ʔmałə́q̣-t-ə̓s  tə̓ʔa ʔsə́l̓eʔ-t-əŋ-s.
SUB ʔforget-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3SUBJ DEM ʔSʔrepair-CTRAN-PASS-3POS
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich

73. "ʔəw' ʔmahq-t  sxw  ʔal'
   CONTEMP \(\text{forget-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)}\) 2SUBJ LIMIT

ʔən-sylv-ʔ-t-əŋ."
2POS-S\(\text{repair-CTRAN-PASS}\)

74. s-əw' \(\text{Vše-t-əŋ-s}\) kəə' \(\text{Vyeʔ-əs}\)
   S-CONTEMP \(\text{command-CTRAN-PASS-3POS}\) SUB \(\text{go-3SUBJ}\)

\(\sqrt{λəʔ-əŋ}\) ʔə kəə' \(\text{svtáləς}  \sqrt{λáx.}  \) ʔə t4
\(\text{look for-CMDL OBL DEM S\(\text{vt} \text{spouse vgo to OBL DEM}\)}

smákəč.
place near Blaine, WA

75. "ʔiʔ  sxw '"ən(ʔ)əŋ' sən  səʔ kəə'čə  kəə' na-\(\text{sVyéʔ?}\)"
   ACCOM \(\text{S\(\text{where(ACCT)}\)}\) 1SUBJ FUT EXPLAN SUB 1POS-S\(\text{vgo}\)

76. "\(\sqrt{níʔ}  səʔ  kəə'ʔ  tsə \(\text{n-śx}'\sqrt{λələʔ}\) ʔi
\(\text{vit is FUT INFORM DEM 2POS-REASvgo aboard(ACCT) ACCOM}\)

ʔən-sx\(\sqrt{λələʔ}\)  kəə'  n-sVyéʔ?\.
2POS-REAS\(\text{vgo abroad(ACCT)}\) SUB 2POS-S\(\text{vgo}\)

77. s-əw'  \(\text{Vyéʔ}  tsə\(\text{ńhí4}  \sqrt{λá4}  \) ʔə  tə  \(\sqrt{q^w4}  \text{=éy}\).
   S-CONTEMP \(\text{vgo he vgo aboard OBL DEM vlog=wood}\)

78. s-əw'  \(\text{Vyéʔ-s}  \sqrt{λáx}  \)  \(\sqrt{ʔ}  \)  t4  smákəč.
   S-CONTEMP \(\text{vgo-3POS vgo to OBL DEM}\)

79. s-əw'  \(\text{Vvé|e-1-s}  \)  s-əw'  \(\text{Vstå̇̃-s}  \)  tsə\(\text{ńhí4}\)
   S-CONTEMP \(\text{vgo ashore-DIR-3POS S-CONTEMP vwalk-3POS\he}

\(\text{s\(\text{vwiwlas}.\ S\text{young man}\}}

80. ?iʔ  \(\text{Və|tən̄}  ?iʔ  kə\(\sqrt{λ}^w4\) \(\text{vλaleʔ-n-əs}\)  tsə
   ACCOM \(\text{vwalk(ACCT)}\)  ACCOM REAL \(\text{V\(\text{hear-NTRAN-3OBJ(ø)}\)-3SUBJ DEM}\)

\(\sqrt{λnə́}  s(\sqrt{λl}+\sqrt{šk}^wά(ʔ)m).\)
\(\text{\(\sqrt{m}\)\(\text{many PL+swim(ACCT)}\})

81. \(\sqrt{λğ(lə)}h\(\text{ŋi7}.\)
   \(\text{V}\text{girl(PL)}\)

82. \(\sqrt{λni4}  s-əw'  \(\text{Včal=ə|gsən s-i\?}  \sqrt{λ}^wə\text{n-nəx}^w-s\)
\(\text{vit is S-CONTEMP vturn=point S-ACCUM \(\text{vsee-CTRAN-3OBJ(ø)-3POS}\)}

tə  \(\sqrt{λn}^h  s+\sqrt{šk}^wə(ʔ)m.\)
\(\text{DEM \(\sqrt{m}\)\(\text{many ACT+swim}\}

83. \(\sqrt{λni4}  s-əw'  \(\text{Vçé-ŋ-s,}  \"\sqrt{λ}\text{ex.in k}\(\sqrt{λ}^w\)ə k}^w\text{sə}
\(\text{vit is S-CONTEMP \(\text{vask-CMDL-3POS vwhere INFORM DEM}\}

\(\text{smákəč?}\)
-

84. \(\sqrt{λni7}  čə  k\(\sqrt{λ}^w\)ə \(\sqrt{λnə́}nəʔ-s.\ \text{nəv\(\text{vé-t-əŋ}\)
\(\text{Vexist EVID DEM voffspring-3POS 1POSvcommand-CTRAN-PASS}\)

\(k\text{"ə Vyéʔ-əŋ Vçtē-n}  \)  \(\sqrt{λ}  \)  k\(\sqrt{λ}^w\)ə \(\text{nə-s-cvtáləς.}\)"
An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich

85. ʔíʔ ʔvéʔsáʔ ʔsá ʔvé(ʔa)ʔíʔ.
   ACOM ʔtwo people DEM ʔgirl(PL)

86. ʔníʔ ʔγxʷ ʔnáʔ+ʔγáʔ-ʔáʔ ʔʔ t4 ʔsmákʷʔáč.
   ʔít is CONJEC ʔPL+ʔoffspring ʔOBL ʔDEM -

87. ʔs-ʔw ʔx,ʔá–ʔn–ʔ-s ʔs-ʔw ʔná+ʔníʔ(ʔ)4–ʔýáʔ?, "ʔváníʔə-
   S-CONTEMP ʔsáy-CMDL-3POS ʔS-CONTEMP ʔthey are ʔvwe
   ʔváníʔə? ʔʔ t4 ʔsmákʷʔáč."
   Offspring ʔOBL ʔDEM -

88. ʔs-ʔw ʔvéʔ–ʔt–ʔn–ʔ-s ʔtsáʔníʔ? ʔʔ ʔsá ʔvé(ʔa)ʔíʔ?
   S-CONTEMP ʔvgo-CAUS-PASS-3POS he ʔOBL ʔDEM ʔvgirl(PL)
   ʔvšíxʷ–ʔt–ʔn
   ʔʔ ʔsá ʔvmédia–s.
   ʔgo over to-CAUS-PASS ʔOBL ʔDEM ʔʔfather–3POS

89. ʔs-ʔw ʔvché–ʔn–ʔ-s ʔkʷʔ ʔná–ʔtóʔ–ʔs ʔʔ ʔsá ʔvé(ʔa)ʔíʔ?
   S-CONTEMP ʔvask-CMDL-3POS ʔSUB ʔʔone–3SUBJ ʔOBL ʔDEM ʔvgirl(PL)
   ʔkʷʔ ʔsvtáʔləs ʔsáʔ?
   SUB ʔSvspouse ʔFUT

90. ʔʔw ʔvómə–ʔkw ʔtsá ʔvé(ʔa)ʔíʔ? ʔʔw ʔcv reliably ʔkwáʔ
   S-CONTEMP ʔvall ʔDEM ʔvgirl(PL) ʔS-CONTEMP ʔHAVEʔwant ʔDEM
   ʔsvtáʔləs ʔʔ ʔtsá ʔvʔáʔ-y ʔsvvívíləs.
   ʔHAVEʔspouse ʔOBL ʔDEM ʔʔgood ʔvʔyoung ʔman

91. ʔšxʷ–ʔkwí+ʔvón–ʔtál? ʔʔ ʔsá ʔvé(ʔa)ʔíʔ?
   ʔRéA–ACT+ʔvfight–CRECIP ʔOBL ʔDEM ʔvgirl(PL)

92. ʔs-ʔw ʔvché–ʔn–ʔ-s, "ʔʔw ʔvómə–ʔkw ʔsáʔ? ʔxʷ-
   S-CONTEMP ʔsáy-CMDL-3POS ʔCONTEMP ʔvall ʔFUT ʔ2SUBJ
   ʔná–svtáʔləs."
   ʔ1POS–Svspouse

93. ʔs-ʔw ʔxʷvté=ʔqqn ʔtsá ʔsmákʷʔáč, "ʔvómə–ʔkw ʔxʷ-
   S-CONTEMP ʔLOCvagree=pharynx ʔDEM - ʔvall ʔ2SUBJ
   ʔʔw ʔvkwá–ʔn–ʔat
   ʔsá ʔná–ʔnáʔ+ʔvγáʔ–ʔáʔ?
   S-CONTEMP ʔvtake,ʔgrasp-CMDL–3OBJ(ʔ) ʔDEM ʔ1POS–PL+ʔOffspring

94. ʔs-ʔw ʔvXh–ʔs–ʔsn ʔtsá ʔsmákʷʔáč ʔʔ ʔtsá ʔʔw
   S-CONTEMP ʔvítvite–CONNECT=foot ʔDEM - ʔOBL ʔDEM ʔCONTEMP
   ʔvómə–ʔkw ʔsvché(ʔa)ʔčʔ–ʔs.
   ʔvall ʔSvfriend(PL)

95. ʔs-ʔw ʔqʷʔé–ʔvqʷʔál? ʔkwáʔ ʔsvtáʔləs ʔtsá
   S-CONTEMP ʔACT+ʔvspake ʔSUB ʔS-HAVEʔspouse ʔDEM
   ʔnáʔ+ʔvγáʔ–ʔáʔ–ʔs.
   ʔPL+ʔOffspring–3POS

96. ʔs-ʔw ʔtxʷ–ʔvšláʔ.
   S-CONTEMP ʔMUT–HAVEʔspouse
97. √mə́kʷ  vtə́s  ?i əw  √kʷən-s-ɬŋ-
vəll  varri ve ACCOM CONTEMP √take,grasp-EFFORT-PERSIS-PASS

?ə  tsə  s√vŋ̆txʷ-s.
OBL DEM Svdivide distribute-3POS

98. √ʔɑ́t-ʔəŋ  tsə  s√vil̓il-s  ?ə  tsə  s-ən+√n̓iʔət.
ʔog aboard-CAUS-PASS DEM Svbring-3POS OBL DEM S-PL+√canoe

99. √ʔɛm̕ʔ̓q-ʔəŋ  √təkʷ-ʔ-i-st-ʔəŋ.
ʔodeliver-CAUS-PASS √go home-REL-CAUS-PASS

100. √ʔn̓aʔʔəʔ  ʔə  ʔə  √q̓e̓n̓iʔ?  kʷə  s√vtə̓yəm̕-s  tsə
vone person OBL DEM √girl SUB Svput on-3POS DEM

√q̓ix̌=as,
S,LOC√paint=face

101. √ʔáʔ  √kʷá̓n-ət-əs  tsə  əw
√if,when √see(RES)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ə)-3SUBJ DEM CONTEMP

txʷ√n̓éč-əs  ?aɬ.
MUT√different-3SUBJ LIMIT

102. √ʔn̓aʔʔəʔ  tsə  √q̓e̓n̓iʔ?  ʔə  kʷə  s√vtə̓yəm̕-s  tsə
vone person DEM √girl OBL SUB Svput on-3POS DEM

√q̓ix̌=as,
S,LOC√paint=face

103. ʔiʔ  √ʔáʔ  √kʷá̓n-ət-əs  kʷə  s-əw
ACCOM √if,when √see(RES)-CTRAN-3OBJ(ə)-3SUBJ SUB S-CONTEMP

sq̓tə̓n  s-əw  txʷ√n̓éč-əs.
S√what S-CONTEMP MUT√different-3SUBJ

104. ʔiʔ  √ʔáʔ  s√ʔiʔ-s  kʷə  s-əw  s√vtə̓n  s-əw
ACCOM √if,when √swant-3POS SUB S-CONTEMP S√what S-CONTEMP

txʷ√as√v̓q̓n̓ént-əs.  ʔiʔ  √ʔə̓q̓-t-əs.
MUT√STAT√rock-3POS ACCOM √change-CTRAN-3OBJ(ə)-3SUBJ

105. √ʔháʔ  ʔə  √ʔn̓aʔʔəʔ?,  √ʔháʔ
valone,remaining one DEM √one person √if,when

√vtə̓yəm̕-t-əs  tsə  s√kʷeʔ-s  ʔiʔ  √niʔ  √put on-CTRAN-3OBJ(ə)-3SUBJ DEM Svpossess-3POS S,LOC√paint=face ACCOM √it is

s-əw  xʷ√v̓q̓l̓q̓-ən̓-s  √ł̓ən̓ʔə  kʷə  s-əw  s√vtə̓n  ʔaɬ.
S-CONTEMP LOC√ret urn-CMDL-3POS √come SUB S-CONTEMP S√what LIMIT

106. s-ʔiʔ  s-əw  √tə́s  kʷ4  √yʔ  s-əw  √vtə́s
S-ACCOM S-CONTEMP √varri ve REAL √go S-CONTEMP √varri ve

kʷ4  ʔiʔ  ʔa+√ʔə(ʔ)-əl  ʔiʔ  kʷ4  √vtə́l̓-ət  tsə
REAL ACCOM RES+√go ashore-DIR ACCOM REAL √dance(ΑCT)-REFL DEM

svpáal'.
S√Raven
107. √tə́ł-sət tsə ʔə́mén-s tə səv̓ iw̓ ləs.
   √dance(ACT)-REFL DEM √father-3POS DEM ʔə́w̓ young man

   √tə́ł-sət tsə ʔə́mén ʔə tə̕ səv̓ iw̓ ləs.
   √dance(ACT)-REFL DEM √father OBL DEM ʔə́w̓ young man

108. "ʔv̓eʔ 1əʔ sən ʔəv̓ k̓axe-sə
   √go PAST 1SUBJ √make spiritually strong-(CTRAN)-2OBJ

   nə̕-sx̱√ʔə̕aaf-t-ə̕nə ʔə k̓w̓ə̕sə ʔəv̓ʷ4=έ'y.'
   1POS-REAS√go aboard-CAUS-2OBJ OBL DEM √log=wood

109. s-əw √tə̕yə̕m-sə tə səv̓ə̕nʔiʔ tə sə səv̓k̓w̓6ʔ-s
   S-CONTEMP √put on-3POS DEM √gə̕l DEM ʔə́w̓possess-3POS ʔə̕nʔiatus 4

   ʔə̕v̓4ix,=əs s-əw iʔ ʔə̕v̓eq-t-ə̕nə tə̕səw̓nə̕i4
   S,LOC√paint=face S-CONTEMP ACCOM √change-CTRAN-PASS he

   sə̕v̓p̓ə̕l̓  tx̱ʷ-asv̓ə̕nə̕nə̕t-t-ə̕nə.
   S√Raven MUT-STAT√rock-CAUS-PASS

110. √n̓i4 k̓w̓ə̕axe tə̕ sə̕ ʔə̕v̓cə̀n=sə̕n-ə̕n-s ʔə k̓w̓ə̕sə
   √it is EXPLAIN DEM S,LOC√step=foot-CMDL-3POS OBL DEM

   ʔə̕v̓m̓eq-s.
   √n̓i4 k̓w̓ə̕axe s-əw ʔv̓eq-s.
   √get off-3POS √it is EXPLAIN S-CONTEMP √go-3POS

111. √tə̕yə̕m-t-ə̕s tə̕ ʔə̕nʔə̕tə̕ʔaʔ tə̕ sə
   √put on-CTRAN-3OBJ(o)√3SUBJ DEM S√oneperson DEM

   sə̕v̓k̓w̓6ʔ-s ʔə̕v̓4ix =əs ʔv̓eq ʔə̕s-əw iʔ ʔə̕nʔiatus 3POS
   S,LOC√paint=face √again S-CONTEMP ACCOM

   ʔv̓eq-t.
   √change-CTRAN-3OBJ(o)

112. s-əw ʔv̓eq tə̕ tx̱ʷ-as√v̓p̓ə̕l̓.
   S-CONTEMP √again MUT√S√Raven

113. s-əw √v̓et-ə̕n-s tə̕səw̓nə̕i4 sə̕v̓iwiłəs, "ʔv̓ax ʔə̕w̓ k̓w̓ə̕?
   S-CONTEMP √v̓as√CMDL-3POS he S√ʔə̕w̓ young man √where INFORM

   k̓w̓ə̕sə ʔə̕v̓tə̕nə̕?
   DEM 1POS√ʔə̕mother

114. √v̓ə̕w̓ ʔə̕qʷə̕l̓ tə̕ sə√v̓p̓ə̕l̓; "ʔə̕w̓ ʔə̕v̓āmə̕t k̓w̓ə̕?
   ACT+√speak DEM S√Raven CONTEMP √sita-up INFORM

115. s-əw √v̓ə̕x,ə̕n-ə̕n-s tə̕səw̓nə̕i4 sə̕v̓iwiłəs, "ʔv̓eq ʔə̕s
   S-CONTEMP √v̓ə̕s√CMDL-3POS he S√ʔə̕w̓ young man √go

   ʔv̓ə̕x,ʔ-v̓-ʔə̕nə̕s ʔə k̓w̓ə̕sə ʔə̕v̓tə̕nə̕.
   √go over to-CAUS-1OBJ OBL DEM 1POS√ʔə̕mother

116. s-əw ʔv̓eq tə̕.
   S-CONTEMP √go

117. s-əw √tə̕s-s tə̕ ʔv̓tə̕n-s.
   S-CONTEMP √v̓ə̕rri√v̓e-3POS DEM √ʔə̕mother-3POS

118. k̓w̓4 tx̱ʷə̕-v̓ə̕ʔə̕w̓naʔ ʔə̕v̓k̓ə̕l̓-ə̕w̓4-s.
3.2. Translation of ‘Raven Abandons his Son.’

1. Every morning he’d go out fishing, the Raven.
2. Raven had lots of children.
3. They were hungry.
4. They were hungry but they didn’t have any food.
5. One day his son was sweeping his father’s canoe.
6. He was sweeping his father’s canoe
7. and he found cooked fish.
8. He found out his father eats while he’s away.
9. He found out his father ate while he was fishing.
10. He got on the canoe and hid early in the morning.
11. Soon the young man gets there and gets on his father's canoe.
12. So he got on.
13. Raven came and got into the canoe.
14. He didn't know his son was hiding on the canoe.
15. Raven didn't know his son already got on the canoe and hid.
16. So Raven went fishing
17. and his son was on the canoe hiding.
18. So he went fishing and he could hear his father catching fish.
19. Raven went ashore at the point.
20. He was cutting his catch.
21. So he washed it.
22. So he barbecued it.
23. And the young man was still hiding in the canoe.
24. So he figured, "My father's barbecue must be ready."
25. He smelled the good aroma of the barbecue.
26. He jumped up where his father was barbecuing.
27. The parent was startled.
28. "Goodness! It's my child!"
29. There was a big log floating in the water.
30. So he said to his son, "Look at the seagull.
31. He's eating something."
32. So the young man said, "He's not eating anything, father."
33. Raven kept on insisting that there was something that the seagull was eating.
34. So he told the young man, "Get on the canoe. We'll go see."
35. So they went way out in the water. They got there.
36. So they got to the drifting log.
37. So he told his son to get off. "Board the log and see what the seagull was eating.
38. Get off and see what that seagull who flew away was eating."
40. Raven kept on insisting, telling his son to get off.
41. So he got off.
42. He got on the log.
43. So when his son got on the log he pushed it away.
44. So he went back to his barbecue.
45. So he ate it.
46. He finished everything he had cooked.
47. Day after day after day he was on the log.
48. For a long time he was on the log.
49. He told his son to get on the log.
50. So he pushed it away and left.
51. So he went ashore.
52. So he ate his barbecue.
53. Then he finished eating and he went home.
54. Only his son floating on the log.
55. Day and night, day and night.
56. He never came back again.
57. The young man cried and he sang.
58. "I've been abandoned by greedy Raven."
59. He was still there, the young man.
60. He was still there when he heard something coming.
61. Then he saw a nice young man
62. with a white robe.
63. The young man was asked by the white-robe, "What happened to you?"
64. So he said, "I got abandoned by greedy Raven."
65. So the young man asked, "Who are you?"
66. Then he replied, the nice, white-robbed guy, "It is I, Transformer!"
67. He said to Raven's son, "Stand up!"
68. So he stood up.
69. Transformer called him to come to him.
70. He was taken and brushed all over by Transformer.
71. He looked at what he was wearing and it became nice, too.
72. So Transformer told him to forget about what was done to him.
73. "Forget your being fixed up."
74. He told him to go look for a wife over at Smákʷəč.
75. "How am I going to get there?"
76. "What you're on now is what you'll be on to get there."
77. So he went on the log.
78. So he went over to Smákʷəč.
79. So the young man went ashore and walked.
80. He was walking and he heard a lot of them swimming.
81. They were girls.
82. So he went around the point and he did see a bunch of swimmers.
83. So he asked, "Where is Smákʷəč?"
84. He's got a daughter. I was told to go and ask for her as my wife."
85. There were two girls.
86. They must have been daughters of Smákʷəč.
87. So they said, "We are the daughters of Smákʷəč."
88. So the girls took him over to their father.
89. He asked for one of the girls to be his wife.
90. Both of the girls wanted to be the wife of the nice young man.
91. The girls were fighting over him.
92. So he said, "You'll both be my wives."
93. Smákʷəč agreed. "Take both of my daughters."
94. Smákʷəč invited everybody, all his friends.
95. He told them that his daughters had gotten married.
96. So they got married.
97. Everyone that got there carried a gift to give them.
98. They put the gifts into the canoes.
99. They brought them home.
100. One of the girls, when she puts paint on her face,
101. when she looks at something she can change it into whatever she wants.
102. One of the girls puts paint on her face,
103. and if she looks at something it becomes different; it changes.
104. And if she wants to, anything becomes a rock. She changes it.
105. The other one, when she puts on !bu!her!eu! paint it will come back to whatever it was.
106. They arrived and when they arrived, they were coming ashore, Raven was dancing.
107. The young man's father was dancing. The young man's father was dancing.
108. "I was going to make you strong. That's why I sent you off on that log."
109. So the girl put on her paint and changed him, Raven, into a rock.
110. That's what they used for a stepping stone when they got off.
111. The other one put on her paint and changed it back.
112. So he became Raven again.
113. Then the young man asked him, "Where is my mother?"
114. Raven told him, "She's at home."
115. So the young man said, "Take me to my mother."
116. So they went.
117. So they arrived at his mother's.
118. She couldn't see anymore.
119. It was because she was always crying for her son.
120. So she became blind.
121. So he moved, the young man, and brushed his mother.
122. She could see again.
123. Her clothes were nice, too.
124. He changed, his father, into a raven and flew away.
125. He was changed into a raven by his daughter-in-law.
126. So Raven flew away.
127. So he became a raven.
128. That's the end.
References


