CONTROL AND TRANSITIVITY IN UPRIVER HALKOMELEM

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0. Introduction. Halkomelem is a Coast Salish language (Central Salish group) spoken along the Fraser River, B.C., from Five-mile Creek (five miles above Yale) to Vancouver, along part of the east coast of Vancouver Island (from Malahat to Nanoose), and in the area of Everson and Deming, Washington. It is spoken on both sides of the rivers within these areas and especially along the Fraser River and its tributaries. Upriver dialects include Tait, Chehalis, and Chilliwack River dialects, and within each of these there are village microdialects.

Control suffixes in Halkomelem are transitivizers which indicate whether the subject had full control of the verbal action (did it purposely), had little control of the verbal action (did it accidentally, happened or managed to do it), or had control over someone else's action and caused someone else to do it. The control suffixes are the only transitivizing devices in the Upriver dialects of Halkomelem. Since they are obligatory with all transitive verbs (Vt) and a decision as

to degree of control must be made for each Vt, control suffixes seem to have the status of grammatical inflection rather than that of derivation. Perhaps also because they are obligatory with transitive verbs the control element is often covert in the translation. But it is also interesting to discover that at least one of the intransitivizing suffixes (-ə́·ls ~ -els) also contains features of control semantically.

Before discussing the transitivizers in detail it may be helpful here to sketch the phonemes of Upriver Halkomelem:

Obstruents												
plain	p		t		c	(k)		k^w	q	q^w		· :
glottalized	p'	θ'	t'	ƛ'	c'	(k')		k'^w	q'	q'^w	ʔ	
Spirants		θ		ɬ	s	x^y		x^w	x̣	x^w	h	
Sonorants	m			l		y		w				
High						i		u				ˊ
Mid						ɛ	ə	o				ˋ #
Low							a			unmarked		##

(Notes: /θ', ƛ', c, and c' are affricates. /k/ and /k'/ are found almost exclusively in borrowings. /c/ and /c'/ have allophones [ć] ~ [č] and [ć'] ~ [č'] respectively (the variation is largely free variation with partial complementary distribution). Length functions

somewhat like an obstruent and corresponds to /ʔ/after vowels in Downriver and Island dialects of Halkomelem; length (/·/) after consonants generally represents gemination; length of two or more morae (/:/, etc.) is used solely for emphasis. Stops are unaspirated only prevocalically after s (s__V) or before syllabic consonants ([l̥] and [m̥]); elsewhere stops are aspirated. /s/ has allophones [š] before [x^{w}], and [s] elsewhere. /i/ has allophones [e] in free variation with [i^{ə}] between postvelars, [i^{ə}] elsewhere before postvelars, and [i] elsewhere; the allophones remain the same when length occurs between /i/ and postvelars, but the main vowel not the glide in the allophone is lengthened (thus [e·] or [i·^{ə}] which usually seem like [ey] or [i^{yə}]). /ɛ/ has allophones [e] between postvelars or glottals and y (Q,ʔ,h___y), [æ] elsewhere before y or length, and [æ] ~ [ɛ] elsewhere (usually [æ] when stressed and [ɛ] when unstressed, but also much free variation). /ə/ has allophones determined by the speed of speech and by three sets of consonants: Y = [l,ɬ,x^{y},y,s,ǵ,ǵ',k,k'] (largely palatals), W = [k^{w},k'^{w},x^{w},q^{w},q̓^{w},χ^{w},m,w] ([w], [m], and labialized consonants), and X = the remaining consonants ([p,t,č,q,p',tθ',t',č',q',ʔ,θ,š,χ,h]). The allo-

phones of /ə/ are [ɪ] central unrounded lower-high vowel, [I] front unrounded lower-high, [U] back rounded lower-high, and [ə] central unrounded mean-mid (stressed or unstressed). Thus,

/ə/ → [ɪ] in allegro unstressed syllables

At normal speed → [I]: x^{y},ǵ___, ___x^{y}, y___m

At normal speed → [U]: k'^{w}___ǵ, x^{w}___l

At normal speed → [ə]: X___X, (Y,W,X)___#, l___(ǵ,ǵ')

At normal speed elsewhere → [I] in free variation with [ə]: (Y,W,X)___Y, Y___X

At normal speed elsewhere → [U] in free variation with [ə]: (Y,W,X)___W, W___X

(Items separated by commas within parentheses mean that one item or another within the parentheses must occur.) With some speakers [ǵ] and [č] are nearly in free variation, and as a result [č] is a member of the palatal set, Y, which conditions /ə/ → [I]. [u] and [o] are neither in complementary distribution nor free variation in Upriver Halkomelem and so must be separate phonemes; /o/ is more common in the Chilliwack River area (probably influenced by Nooksack), while Chehalis and Tait dialects have /u/ more common (even corresponding to Chwk. /o/ in a few words). /a/ has allophones [ɔ] in free variation

with [a] in the environment: C^W ˊ · or · ˊ · C^W (where C^W is any labialized consonant); elsewhere /a/ → [a]. The [ə] allophone was more frequent in Bob Joe's speech (used about 43 percent of the time) than in Amy Cooper's; it was hardly found at all in Dan Milo's speech, and all three of these speakers spoke the Chwk. dialect. /ˊ/ is high-pitch stress, /ˋ/ is mid-pitch stress, and unstressed syllables with low pitch are unmarked. /ˊ/ has several allophones: [ˊ6], loud stress with high and level pitch which seems to be about the musical interval of a sixth above unstressed low pitch; this allophone is found only on short vowels immediately preceding a weakened word boundary (on the vowel in #CV(#) or #CCV(#)); the short vowel is always at the end of a monosyllabic demonstrative article or particle or auxiliary le or me. Another allophone is [ˆ 5-1], loud stress with high falling pitch which starts about 5 tones above unstressed low pitch (1) and falls to low pitch; this allophone occurs on long vowels in word-final syllables, and in free variation with [ˊ5 or 4] on the last long vowel in a word in non-final syllables. Finally /ˊ/ has allophone [ˊ5 or 4] elsewhere, loud stress with high level pitch varying between 4 or 5 tones above low pitch.

/ˋ/ is level mid pitch about 3 tones above unstressed low pitch, with loudness ranging from moderate to loud; it has no allophones. Both /ˊ/ and /ˋ/ can occur more than once within a word; words with as many as four of each have been attested.)

1. Transitivizers (control suffixes). As explained in the introduction, the control suffixes are the only transitivizing devices in Upriver Halkomelem. The six that have been found so far are:

-(ə)T ~ -ə́T ~ -á(·)T ~ -é(·)T 'do purposely to s-o/s-th'

-l 'do accidentally (to s-o/s-th), happen to do (to s-o or s-th), manage to do (to s-o/s-th)'

-sT 'cause (s-th / s-o) to do, make (s-o or s-th) do'

-(ə)x^y 'do purposely to s-th or s-o (especially to an inanimate object)'

-məT 'happen (with little control) to do an action not directly affecting s-o or s-th' (mostly in verbs of mental or emotional action)

-(ə)les '(happen to, manage to) do to s-o or s-th' (majority in verbs of mental or emotional action)

The meanings given for these suffixes are seldom overtly translated as given here. The usual case is for these semantic elements to combine with the root

or stem meaning, to yield a gloss more succinct than the sum of its parts. For example, ʔɛ́·y-st-ɛx^{w} 'chase s-o or s-th' < 'keep on going' + 'cause to' + '3rd person object', mɛ́-x^{y} 'take it off (of a button, etc.)' < 'come off' + 'do purposely to inanimate object', t'f·lɛ́m-t 'sing it' < 'sing' + 'do purposely to s-th'. As can also be seen from some of the examples, the control suffixes are often translated as mere transitivizers with the degree of control more implied than overtly stated (but definitely present semantically).

Control transitivizers are immediately followed by object personal pronoun suffixes, summarized below. (I have used a few abbreviations in this section which should be mentioned: 's-d (someone) actually replaces 'him, her, them, someone'; 's-tH (something) actually replaces 'it, them, something'; but since the gender and number are specified elsewhere in the sentence these abbreviations are suitably neutral. The translation of ʔɛ́·ystɛx^{w} could also be given 'chase him, her, it, them'. The choice of 's-o' or 's-th' or of both 's-o/s-th' depends mostly on the context; so I have glossed the examples in this section as I obtained them, and the s-o or s-th should be understood to depend somewhat on

context. Also the morphophoneme T is realized as /θ/ before 1st person singular and 2nd person singular object personal pronouns, and as /t/ elsewhere.)

Summary of Personal Pronoun Affixes:

Object	Passive Object	Depend. Passive Object	Subject	Nom. Possess. or Subord. Subject on wd. + before	Subjunctive Subj. (Subord.subj.with neg. or doubt) on nom. or verb	on {or} verb	on aux. hí, ʔí, mí
1 sg -ɛ́x^{y}	-ɛ̀lə̀m	-ɛ̀lə̀m-ə̀t	-cəl	-əl		-ɛ́l	-l
2 sg -ɛ́mə	-ə̀·m	-ə̀·m-ə̀t	-cəx^{w}	-ɛ(?)		-ɛx^{w}	-x^{w}
3 -ø~-ɛx^{w}	-əm	-ə̀m-ə̀t	-ø~-əs		-s	-əs	-s
1 pl -ɛ́lx^{w}	(-ɛ́lx^{w})	(-ɛ́lx^{w})	-cət		-cət	-ət	-t
2 pl -ɛ́lə	-ə̀lə̀m	-ə̀lə̀m-ə̀t	-cɛp	-ɛ(?)	-ələp	-ɛ́p~-ələp	-p

Notes: Object set 1 has 3rd person object marker -ɛx^{w} after the -1 partial control transitivizer and after the -sT causative control transitivizer; elsewhere the 3rd person object is marked by zero or is unmarked; 1st person plural object marker in this set is -ɛ́lx^{w} in free variation with -ɛ́x^{w} for some speakers of Tait and Cheh. dialects. 1st person plural does not have any specifically passive forms, so the active object -ɛ́lx^{w} substitutes with a 3rd person subject. The dependent passive merely adds -ə̀t to the end of the passive object pronouns; it occurs especially when passive verbs are subordinated to negative verbs or sk'^{w}ɛ́y 'can't, is impossible' or with wə- 'if; when'. The 3rd rson subject pronoun -əs appears with all transitive verbs; elsewhere

it is zero or unmarked. However -əs cannot be used with 2nd person objects; instead the 2nd person objects are made passive. The subject pronouns with -c usually have phonetic realizations [ɕIl], [ǒUx^{W}], [ɕIt] and [ǒæp]. Pronoun affixes for subordinate subject are the same as those for possessive pronoun affixes used with nominals: -əl and -ɛ are attached to the word before the nominal (usually a demonstrative article), while -s, -cət, and -ələp are attached to the nominal itself (note that in 2nd person plural -ɛ is attached to the word before the nominal and -ələp is attached to the nominal). With subordinate verbs the -əl and -ɛ are attached to the word before the subordinate verb (usually the article k'^{W}ə) and in all persons an -s nominalizer is added after this; -s, -cət, and -ələp are added to the subordinate verb where required. Thus subordinate clauses are first nominalized and then possessed by their subjects; for example, compare the following sets: t-əl slə́x^{W}əɬ 'my canoe', t-ɛ(?) slə́x^{W}əɬ 'your canoe', tə slə́x^{W}əɬ-s 'his/her/its/their canoe', tə slə́x^{W}əɬ-cət 'our canoe', t-ɛ(?) slə́x^{W}əɬ-ələp 'you folks's canoe'; sx̌'ís k'^{W}-əl-s ?íləɬ 'he wants that I sleep', k'^{W}-ɛ(?)-s ?íləɬ 'that you sleep', k'^{W}ə-s ?íləɬ-s 'that he/she/it/they sleep', k'^{W}ə-s ?íləɬ-cət 'that we sleep', and k'^{W}-ɛ(?)-s ?íləɬ-ələp 'that you folks sleep'. Subjunctive subject pronouns are used after negative verbs (themselves inflected with regular subject pronouns as well) and also after verbs prefixed with wə- 'if, when'. So ?ə́wə-cəl lə́m-ə́l 'I'm not going.' or ?ə́wə-cəl lí-l lə́m 'I'm not going.' (equivalent constructions) or wə-lə́m-ə́l 'if I go, when I go' or yáswə wə-lə́m-ə́l 'perhaps I'm going'

or x^{W}əwə́-cɛp ?í-p tatəlá·məɬ 'You folks don't yet understand.' Lastly it should be mentioned that 2nd person subordinate subject and possessive suffix -ɛ(?) has the shape -ɛ in the Chwk. dialect and -ɛ? in the Cheh. dialect and most Tait microdialects.

The first control suffix listed is {-(ə)T} 'do purposely to s-o/s-th'. It has several stressed allomorphs, -ə́T, -á(·)T, and -é(·)T, which must be accounted for by morphophonemic rules with morphemic and phonological conditioning. Out of over 400 transitive verbs only the following show stressed control suffixes:

-á(·)T: pəq^{W}át 'break it in two', x^{W}ək'^{W}át 'drag s-o', ɵ'əx̣^{W}át 'wash s-o or s-th', ɬəq'^{W}á·t 'bark it (a tree)', ɬx̣^{W}á·t 'spit s-th out', ɬx̣^{W}áɵáx^{Y}əs 'he spit me out', ləkʷát 'break it (of stick or bone)', t'q'^{W}át 'break it (of rope or string)' (cp. t'éq'^{W} 'to break (of rope, string)'), t'əkʷát 'plug it (a hole or leak)', and possibly ?əhá·t 'wrap s-th up'.

-é(·)T: tqét 'close s-th' (cp. s-təq-tél 'door'), k'^{W}əx^{Y}é(·)t 'count s-th/s-o' (cp. k'^{W}(ə)x^{Y}é·m 'count'), k^{W}elé·t 'hold s-th (in hand)' (cp. k^{W}él·əx^{W} 'get s-th, get s-o'?), k'^{W}əɬét 'pour it out, spill s-th or s-o', k'^{W}əɬéɵáx^{Y}əs 'he spilled me (from a canoe)' (cp. k'^{W}éɬ 'to spill'), səq'ét (~ sə́q'əɬ) 'split it, crack it'

(cp. séq' 'it split, it cracked' and łséq' 'half, be half, half dollar, half-breed'), wəθ'ét 'tease s-o', wəθ'éθàmə̀ 'tease you', ləmé·t 'kick s-o or s-th', ləmé·θáxʸəs 'he kicked me', cəsé·t 'send s-o', xʷtét 'tear s-th' (cp. xʷét 'to tear' and xʷətxʷét 'all torn up'), ʔɛyétəs 'he went (or chased) after s-o/s-th without slowing (till he caught it)', q'ɛyq'xéθáxʸəs 'he argued with me', and xʸəʔét 'carry s-th/s-o (baby) in one's arm'.

-éT: ləc'ét 'fill it up' (cp. slíc' 'full'), məkʷ'ét 'pick it all up' (cp. mékʷ 'all, everything, everybody'), θəkʷ'ét 'pull s-th/s-o', xəθ'ét 'shove s-o or s-th', xəθ'éθáxʸəs 'he shoved me', θəxét 'push s-th (or s-o)', q'ʷəmét 'pull s-th up by the roots' (cp. q'ʷém 'came up by the roots'), xʸəc'ét 'store s-th away, put s-th away', θq'ét 'spear it (esp. fish), pierce it, stab s-th/s-o' (cp. θéq'ət 'spearing s-th'), xłét 'hurt s-o (on purpose)' (cp. xéł 'to hurt'), ƛ'xʷét 'cover s-o/s-th (with something cloth-like)', ƛ'xʷét 'beat s-o in a contest, win it (race, game, etc.)' (cp. ƛ'éxʷət 'beating s-o in a contest'), q'pét 'gather or collect s-th, pick s-th up' (cp. s-q'ép 'a gathering'), qʷsét 'launch or push s-th into the water, push s-o into the water', qʷséθáxʸəs 'he pushed me into the water',

xʷpét 'pick s-th up from floor or ground', xt'ét 'put a spell on s-o' (cp. xt'é·ls 'cast or throw a spell'), qəθ'ét 'press it down (like yeast dough)', təłét 'spread it out (of blanket, net, etc.)', qəwét 'warm s-th/s-o up', k'ʷəmét 'bring up s-o (a child), raise s-o (as a child' (k'ʷəmlámət 'raise oneself, make it through childhood'), c'q'ʷét 'poke it, pick it up on a fork or spike' ~ c'éq'ʷt 'poke s-o'.

The roots in all these examples are $C_1əC_2$ or C_1C_2; in other derivations or inflections of these roots, the roots always have the shape C_1C_2 or $C_1əC_2$ or at most $C_1éC_2$ (with the exception of a few continuatives and participles). For example: péqʷ 'broken in two', θ'éxʷ 'wash', léxʷ-əłcɛ 'spitting' (where the stress shift to root is 'continuative'), s-təq-tél 'door', ł-séq' 'half', xʷét 'to tear', xéł 'to hurt', ƛ'éxʷ 'covered', s-q'ép 'a gathering', qʷés 'fall into water'. The only exceptions or counter-examples found so far are continuatives and participles (which use continuative inflection and/or s- prefix): k'ʷéxʸt 'counting s-th', q'épət 'collecting s-th', qéqəc'ət 'kneading it (bread), pushing it down (bread, hops, etc.)', θéq'ət 'spearing s-th', səθék'ʷ '(pulled) tight', slíc' 'full'. (Note that these exceptional con-

tinuatives seem to all have ablaut to stressed é.)

So it seems that the roots found before stressed transitivizers are zero-grade or schwa-grade roots. Most are only found in zero-grade or schwa-grade; the others are found in é-grade in continuatives and perhaps in other grades in participles, but in zero-grade or schwa-grade elsewhere. It is not clear yet whether the root vowel grade triggers the selection of the stressed transitivizer or vice versa. But roots taking -á(·)T all end in a labialized consonant (C^W), w, or h, while those taking -é(·)T never end in C^W, w, or h. Unfortunately roots taking -óT do not also show complementary distribution in this regard. However it seems possible to set up two classes of roots which take stressed transitivizers: one which takes transitivizers with ə and one which takes transitivizers with non-schwa vowels.

A handful of transitive examples have an abnormally stressed 3rd person object suffix after the control suffix: xəɬ-l-éx^W 'hurt s-o/s-th (by accident)' (cp. xəɬ-l-áx^y-əs 'he hurt me (by accident)', xəɬ-l-ém '(he got hurt), s-o hurt him, he was hurt'), ləkʷ-l-éx^W 'break it accidentally (of a bone or sticklike object)' (cp. ləkʷ-l-ém 'he got a bone broken', ləkʷ-l-éx^W-əs təl célóx^y

'he broke my hand (accidentally)'), c'əq'^{W}-l-éx^W 'hit s-o/s-th accidentally with a piercing projectile', x^{y}əq-l-éx^W 'complete s-th', θəx-l-éx^W 'discover s-th'; kʷəl-l-éx^W 'catch s-th (ball, animal, disease)', cəm-l-éx^W-əs 'he met up with her'; q'əl-st-é·x^W 'fool s-o' (cp. q'əl-sθ-áx^y-əs 'he fooled me' and q'íq'əl-st-é·x^W 'fooling s-o', q'íq'əl-sθà·m '(I'm being fooled), they're fooling me'), sisi-st-éx^W-əs 'he's scaring them'. These cases are peripheral to control suffixes but seem explainable in much the same way as the stressed control transitivizers (with zero- and schwa-grade roots). In fact many of the roots are the same roots (xəɬ, ləkʷ, c'əq'^{W}, kʷəl). The exceptions are cəm-l-éx^W-əs which is related to cá·m-təl 'meet up with each other, elope' and sisi-st-éx^W-əs (sisi < sí·si, certainly not a zero-grade or schwa-grade root in Upriver Halkomelem).

Some idea of the semantic effect of control suffixes can be obtained from the examples given above and from the examples which now follow:

{-(ə)T} 'do purposely to s-o/s-th': k'^{W}éc-ət 'look at s-o/s-th' (cp. k'^{W}éc 'to see'), ʔɛy-ét 'go after (or chase after) s-o/s-th without slowing till it is caught' (cp. ʔé·y 'keep on going', ʔé·y-əl 'go away, go on one's

way'), k'^{W}áq^{W}-ət 'hit s-o/s-th intentionally with a stick-like object, club s-o/s-th intentionally', łíc'-ət 'cut s-th/s-o (on purpose)', há·q^{W}-ət 'smell s-th/s-o on purpose' (cp. há·q^{W}-əm 'smell, give off smell' and há·q^{W}-əls 'smelling, sniffing (of animals for ex.)'), tá·l-t 'think about s-th/s-o', k^{W}əl-é·t 'hold s-th in one's hand', x̣ł-ét 'hurt s-o', ləkʷ-át 'break s-th (bone or stick)', c'q'^{W}-ét 'poke s-th/s-o, pick s-th up on a sharp object', ?ayám-t 'delay s-o on purpose', k^{W}ətéx^{W}-t 'bring s-th/s-o inside' (cp. k^{W}ótəx^{W}-t 'bringing s-th/s-o inside', k^{W}ətx^{W}-í·l-əm 'come inside, go inside', and k^{W}ətx^{W}-élcəp 'bring in firewood'), q'əx^{y}-í·l-t 'accompany s-o', pətə́·m-ət (or ptə́·m-ət) 'ask s-o' (cp. pətə́·m or ptə́·m 'ask'), lép'-ət 'eat s-o', mə́·y-t-əs 'he helps s-o', píx^{W}-əɬ-àx^{y}-əs 'he brushes me off', k^{W}ə́·-t-álx^{W}-əs 'he lets us go', ?íwəs-t-əs 'he teaches s-o', ?áx^{W}əs-t-əs 'he gives it to s-o', ƛ'ə́w-t 'bark at s-o/s-th', tás-ət 'mash s-th (berries, etc.)' (tás 'get hit by something moving, get bumped, get mashed'), síx̣-ət 'move s-th over' (cp. səx̣-ə́yl-əm 'move over'), lépəc-t 'send s-th' (lépəc 'send'), ləq'ə́l-cəs-t 'turn the tables on s-o', ?íkʼ^{W}-ət 'throw s-th away, discard s-th' (?íkʼ^{W} 'lost, be lost'), θíy-t 'make s-th, fix s-th' (θíy 'make, fix'), x̣ə́ym-ləq^{W}-t

'pull s-o's hair' (x̣ə́ym-ət 'grab s-o/s-th', -ləq^{W} 'on the hair, on the top of the head'), q'á·y-t 'kill s-th/s-o' (q'á·y 'die'), qíq'-ət 'apprehend s-o, catch s-o' (qíq' 'apprehended, caught, grounded').

{-l} 'do accidentally (to s-o/s-th), happen to do (to s-o/s-th), manage to do (to s-o/s-th)': k'^{W}ə́c-l-əx^{W} 'see s-th/s-o', sí·silə́x^{W} 'scare s-o accidentally' (sí·si 'be scared, afraid, nervous'), (Cheh., Tait) ł-q'ə́l-l-əx^{W} [łq'ə́l·Ux^{W}] and (Chwk.) słə́q'əl-l-əx^{W} [słə́q'əl·Ux^{W}] 'know s-th/s-o', k'^{W}əq^{W}-l-áx^{y}-əs 'he hit me accidentally (or unintentionally) with a stick-like object', łəc'-l-áx^{y}-əs 'he cut me accidentally', há·q^{W}-l-əx^{W} 'catch scent of s-th/s-o, smell s-th/s-o', tə́l-l-əx^{W} [tə́l·Ux^{W}] 'understand s-th/s-o', k^{W}əl-l-əx^{W}-əs 'he caught s-th', x̣əł-l-éx^{W} 'hurt s-o unintentionally', ləkʷ-l-éx^{W} 'break s-th (esp. a bone) accidentally', c'əq'^{W}-l-éx^{W} 'hit s-o/s-th accidentally or unintentionally with a piercing projectile', ?é·yələx^{W}-l-əx^{W} 'save s-o, save s-o's life' (?é·yələx^{W} 'be alive, live'), mélq-l-əx^{W} 'forget s-th/s-o' (mélq 'to forget'), pə́t-l-əx^{W} 'recognize s-o/s-th', wəc'ə́ƛ'-l-əx^{W} 'drop s-th by accident' (wəc'ə́ƛ' 'drop down'), cə́lq-l-əx^{W} 'dropped it' (cə́lq 'to fall'), x̣ə́yx̣əl-l-əx^{W} 'insult s-o' (x̣ə́yl-əx̣ 'make war'), x̣əł-wíł-l-àmə 'disappoint you'

(xəɬ-wíɬ 'disappointed', -wíɬ 'in the mind or feelings'), q'ep'-l-áx^{y}-əs 'he infected me, he passed a sickness on to me, he got me addicted (to an activity, food, drug, etc.)', ?ák'^{w}-l-ex^{w} 'lose s-th' (?ík'^{w} 'lost'), yéq'-l-əx^{w}-əs 'he fell a tree, he accidentally fell it' (yéq'-ət 'fall it (of a tree, on purpose)', yéq' 'to fall (of a tree)', s-yéyeq' 'a fallen tree, log').

{-sƏ} 'cause (s-th/s-o) to do, make (s-o/s-th) do': sisi-st-éx^{w} 'scaring s-o/s-th', q'əl-st-é·x^{w} 'fool s-o, deceive s-o', ?é·y-st-əx^{w} 'chase s-o', ?ayém-st-əx^{w} 'delay s-o, slow s-o down', k^{w}ətéx^{w}-st-əx^{w} 'keep s-o/s-th inside', s-k^{w}ətéx^{w}-st-əx^{w} 'leave s-th inside' (cp. s-k^{w}ətéx^{w} 'be inside (a building, cave, etc.)'), ?é·yəlex^{w}-st-əx^{w} 'keep s-o alive', ?im-əx^{y}-sə-amé-cəl 'I make you walk' (cp. ?ím-əx^{y} 'walk', ?ím-ət 'step on s-th', -əx^{y} is lexical suffix meaning 'upright'), x̣ét'ə-st-əx^{w}-əs 'he said to s-o' (cp. x̣ét'ə 'say'), lə?əmé-st-əx^{w}-əs 'she took s-o, he brought s-o', ?éy-st-əx^{w}-əs 'he likes s-th/s-o', qəl-st-əx^{w}-cəl 'I don't like s-th/s-o', silíx^{w}-st-əx^{w} 'make s-o slow' (cp. silíx^{w} 'slow down, go slow'), ?á·ɬ-st-əx^{w} 'put s-th/s-o aboard', x^{w}ləlé-m-sə-à·m 'you are called to listen/witness, they made you listen' (x^{w}lélé·-m 'listen', x^{w}lélé· 'listen hard'), s-c'éc'əl-st-əx^{w}

'carry it carefully, handle it with care' (cp. c'éc'əl 'very, be very'), qéx̣-st-əx^{w} 'make it lots, make it thick' (qéx̣ 'be many, lots'), ?ówə-st-əx^{w} 'deny s-th' (?ówə ~ ?ówe 'be not, not be, no'), ə'q'əɬx̣amé-st-əm 'he was made to kneel' (ə'q'əɬx̣ém 'kneel'), mé-st-əx^{w} 'bring s-th, fetch s-th' (mə ~ mí ~ ?əmí 'come'), x̣éyx̣ə-st-əx^{w} 'make s-o ashamed' (x̣éyx̣ə 'be ashamed'), ?epalés-st-əx^{w}-əs 'it costs ten dollars' (?epál-əs 'ten dollars', ?á·pəl 'ten'), ɬəqtá·lə́-st-əx^{w} 'join s-th together', s-x^{w}á·x^{w}əl-st-əx^{w} 'holding s-th up' (cp. x^{w}él-x^{y} 'lift s-th'), ?iyá·ləm-st-əx^{w} 'obey s-o' (?iyá·ləm 'be alright, correct, okay, can'), x̣té·-st-əx^{w} 'do it' (x̣té· 'do').

{-məT} 'happen (with little control) to do an action not directly affecting s-o/s-th' (mostly in verbs of mental or emotional action): k'^{w}éck'^{w}əc-mət 'expect s-o, look for s-o', sí·si-mət 'be afraid of s-th/s-o', q'él-mət 'believe s-th/s-o' (q'é·l 'believe'), s-q'əx^{y}-í·l-mət 'follow s-o', ?éliyə-mət 'dream of s-o/s-th' (?éliyə 'to dream'), s-qəl-wíɬ-mət 'hate s-o', sq'á-məə-àx^{y} 'come with s-o' (sq'á 'be together'), ə'éx^{w}-mət 'pity s-o, feel sorry for s-o', c'ímél-mət 'get close to s-o' (c'ímél 'get close, near(ly)'), x^{w}flex^{y}-mət 'stand up for s-o respected' (x^{w}í-l-éx^{y} 'stand up, rise from seat'),

θél-məɬ 'admire s-o' (θéθəl-məɬ 'admiring s-o', cp. θ'éle 'heart'), ƛ'əlƛ'el-məɬ 'get used to s-th/s-o', s-íwél-məɬ 'sense s-th/s-o' (-íwel 'thoughts, feelings, insides'), st'əwél-məɬ 'thinking about s-th' ((Chwk.) stə?é-wəl ~ (Cheh., Tait) st'é-wəl 'guess, think'), x^{w}lélé·-məɬ 'listen to s-o/s-th', sq'əq'á-məɬ 'stay together with s-o' (sq'əq'á ~ sq'á 'be together'), lów-məɬ 'run away from s-o' (ɬé·w 'run away; cured', ɬíw ~ ƛ'íw 'run away'), θ'íwél-məɬ 'be fed up with s-th/s-o' (θ'-íwél 'annoyed'), wawistéləq-məɬ 'jealous of s-o' (wawi-stéləq or wawist-éləq 'jealous'), x^{y}áɬ-məɬ 'look after s-o, take care of s-o' (x^{y}áɬ-nə-θəɬ 'take care of oneself, look after oneself'), q^{w}él-məɬ 'scold s-o, bawl s-o out' (q^{w}è·l 'talk, speak'), probably t'íləm-məθ-áx^{y}-əs 'he sings about me' (cp. t'íləm-t 'sing s-th'), possibly sí·yé·məθàx^{y}əs 'he/she flirts with me' (root sí·yé·m 'chiefs'??).

{-(ə)ləs} '(happen to, manage to) do regarding s-o or s-th' (this is the least common of the transitivizers): ?é·y-ələs 'leave s-o/s-th behind' as in ?é·y-ələs-áx^{y}-əs 'he left me (behind)' and ?é·y-ələs-əs 'he went away from s-o/s-th, he left s-o behind' (?é·y 'keep on going'), pəté·m-əs (in free variation with) ~ pəté·m(ə)ləs 'ask for s-o, ask about s-o, ask after s-o' (also compare

pétəm 'asking', pétəm-əɬ 'asking s-o', and pétəm-ləs-áx^{y}-əs in free variation with pétəm-əs-áx^{y}-əs 'asking for/about/after s-o'), mélq-ələs 'forget about s-o/s-th, forget s-o or s-th in one's mind' (cp. mélq-l-əx^{w} 'forget s-o/s-th behind'), hék'^{w}-ələs 'remember s-o/s-th' (hék'^{w}-ələs-áx^{y}-əs 'he remembered me'), ƛ'í·-ls-áx^{y}-əs 'he/she loves me, he/she likes me' (s-ƛ'í· 'want, desire'), x^{w}ə?í·-ls 'he reached s-o/s-th (here)' ((Tait) x^{w}ə?í·-ls-áx^{w}-əs 'he reached us here', cp. x^{w}ə?í·l-st-əx^{w} 'bring s-o/s-th here' (< x^{w}ə?í· 'get here, arrive' + -í·l 'come, go' + -sT 'cause to' + -əx^{w} '3rd person object'; x^{w}ə- 'get, become' + ?í· '(be) here')), x^{w}elí·-ls 'he reached s-o/s-th there' (x^{w}elí·-ls-áx^{y}-əs 'he reached me there', cp. x^{w}elí·l-st-əx^{w} 'bring s-o/s-th there'), k^{w}ú·-ls 'hang onto s-o' (as in k^{w}ú·-ls-áx^{y}-əs 'he/she hangs onto me', cp. k^{w}ú·-T 'take s-o/s-th').

{-(ə)x^{y}} 'do purposely to s-th/s-o (especially to an inanimate object)': lép'-əx^{y} 'eat s-th' (cp. lép'-əT 'eat s-o'), lów-əx^{y}-əs 'he put it in' and lów-əx^{y}-əm 'it was put in' (lí·w 'inside (something)', ləw-í·l-əm 'go inside a hole'), té·l-x^{y} 'track s-th (or s-o), follow tracks of s-th', k^{w}é·l-x^{y} 'hide s-th (an object, not a person)' (k^{w}é·l 'hide, hide oneself'), ƛ'p-í·l-x^{y} 'bring

s-th down (from upper shelf, upstairs, etc.)' (ƛ'p-í·l 'descend, go down'), wé·l-x^y-es 'he threw it (upwards)' (wé·ls 'throw to a crowd, scramble-give (['throw a pole or blanket to a crowd at a winter ceremony; the thrower gives each person a gift proportionate to the portion of pole or blanket he is able to hold onto; coins are also sometimes thrown'])'), há·k^w-əx^y-es 'he used it, he uses s-th', hák'^{w}-əx^y 'put s-th on (clothes, shoes, etc.)', x^wél-x^y-es 'he lifted it', x^wə-mé-x^y 'open s-th (a door for ex.)' and mé-x^y 'take s-th off (from something it is fastened to), unfasten s-th' and məmé-x^y 'to separate or split up people fighting' (all compared with məmé 'it came off (a button, etc.)'), t́ém-əx^y 'desire s-th, wish for s-th', t'ém-əx^y 'braid s-th', yəlé·w-x^y 'pass by s-th/s-o'.

The examples above include all of the examples found so far of {-(ə)les} and {-(ə)x^y} transitivizers, which are not common. Only a selection of examples obtained so far of the other transitivizers has been listed in the above lists. The tables which follow on the next two pages show all of the examples found so far with more than one transitivizer attested on the same root. "s-o/t" stands for "s-o/s-th" or in other words for 'him, her, it, them'.

{-(ə)T}	{-l}	{-sT}	{-məT}	{-(ə)les}	{-(ə)x^y}
k'^{w}ə́cət look at s-o	k'^{w}ə́clex^w see s-o		k'^{w}ə́ck'^{w}əmət look for/expect s-o		
	sí·silex^w	sisistə́x^w	sí·simət be afraid of s-o/t		
	scare s-o accidentally	scaring s-o			
	ƛq'él·ex^w know s-o/t	q'əlstə́·x^w deceive s-o, fool s-o	q'él·mət believe s-o/t		
		ʔə́·ystəx^w chase s-o/t		ʔə́·yələs go away from s-o/t, leave s-o/t behind	
ʔəyə́t go after s-o/t without slowing					
háq^{w}ət smell s-o/t on purpose	há·q^{w}lex^w catch scent of s-o/t, smell$_w$ s-o/t				
tə́·lt think about s-o/t	tə́l·ex^w understand s-o/t				
x̌ə́t hurt s-o purposely	xəƛlə́x^w hurt s-o unintentionally		ʔəyə́məstəx^w		
ʔəyámt delay s-o purposely			delay s-o, slow s-o down		
k^{w}ətə́x^wt bring s-o/t inside			k^{w}ətə́x^wtəx^w 'keep s-o/t inside'		
q'əx^yf·lt accompany s-o			sk^{w}ətə́x^wstəx^w 'leave s-o/t inside'		
pə́təmləs asking s-o			sq'əx^yf·lmət follow s-o		
				pə́təmləs asking after/for/ about s-o	16p'əx^y eat s-th
16p'ət eat s-o		sx^{w}á·x^{w}əlstəx^w holding s-th up			x^{w}ə́lx^y lift s-th

{-(ə)T}	{-l}	{-sT}	{-məT}	{-(ə)ləs}	{-(ə)xʸ}
	ʔɛ́·yələxʷləxʷ save s-o('s life)	ʔɛ́·yələxʷstəxʷ keep s-o/t alive			
	xɛ́yxələxʷ accidentally make s-o ashamed	xɛ́yxəstəxʷ make s-o ashamed			
	mɛ́lqləxʷ forget s-o/t behind			mɛ́lqələs forget s-o/t in one's mind	
		xʷlɛlɛ́·mstəxʷ make s-o listen	xʷlɛlɛ́·mət listen to s-o/t		
		xʷəʔí·lstəxʷ bring s-o/t here		xʷəʔí·ls reach s-o here	
		xʷəlí·lstəxʷ bring s-o/t there		xʷəlí·ls reach s-o there	
kʷú·t take s-o/t				kʷú·ls hang onto s-o	

{-(ə)T}	{-l}
łíc'ət cut s-o/t on purpose	łéc'ləxʷ cut s-o/t accidentally
kʷəlɛ́·t hold s-th in the hand	kʷə́l·əxʷ get s-o/t
ləkʷát break s-th (bone/stick) purposely	ləkʷlɛ́xʷ break s-th (bone) accidentally
c'q'ʷə́t poke s-o/t	c'əq'ʷlɛ́xʷ hit s-o/t accidentally w/piercing projectile
yɛ́q'ət fall s-th (tree) purposely	yɛ́q'ləxʷ accidentally fall s-th (a tree)
k'ʷáqʷət hit s-o/t intentionally with a stick-like object	k'ʷə́qʷləxʷ hit s-o/t accidentally with a stick-like object

Conclusions about the meanings of these control suffixes come from several sources: comparing all the examples with each suffix and extracting the common semantic elements from them for each suffix, contrasting each example with its intransitive version (if attested) to see which semantic elements have been added, and contrasting the transitives of each root which is attested with more than one transitivizer to see how the meanings of the transitivizers contrast.

The transitivizers can be looked at semantically from several angles; each perspective has some validity and sheds some light on the subject. First there are the glosses:

{-(ə)T} /'do purposely to s-o/s-th, do intentionally to s-o or s-th'/

{-l} /'do accidentally (to s-o/s-th), happen to do (to s-o/s-th), manage to do (to s-o/s-th)'/

{-sT} /'cause (s-o/s-th) to do, make (s-o/s-th) do, keep (s-o/s-th) doing, make (s-o/s-th) in one's mind to be'/

{-məT} /'happen (with little control) to do a (mental or emotional) action regarding s-o/s-th (not directly affecting the object)'/

{-(ə)ləs} /'(happen to, manage to) do an action regarding s-o/s-th'/

{-(ə)x^{y}} /'do purposely to s-th (rarely to s-o)'/

Each gloss represents a sememe. Items separated by commas or slashes are allosemes conditioned by the meanings of root or stem (root + derivational affixes), and conditioned by the semantic context of the phrase, sentence, speech event, and shared information between speaker and hearer.

The choice of ['s-o'] or ['s-th'] is conditioned by the semantic environment external to the verb, in the third person. ['Purposely'] and ['intentionally'] are free variants in {-(ə)T} and probably in {-(ə)x^{y}}. With {-l} and {-sT} the third person object is parenthesized in the gloss because with these transitivizers there is a third person object suffix {-əx^{w}} (the other transitivizers have {-Ø} or are unmarked for third person object).

With {-l} and {-(ə)ləs} the alloseme ['manage to do'] implies intent but little control; it is not literally attested in many examples given here, but it seems to be present (along with ['accidentally'] and ['happen to']) with verbs of mental or physical accomplishment, like: k'^{w}écləx^{w}, łq'él·əx^{w}, há·q^{w}ləx^{w}, tél·əx^{w}, pétləx^{w},

ʔé·yələx^{w}ləx^{w}, yéq'ləx^{w}, cémléx^{w}, k^{w}él·éx^{w}, c'əq'^{w}léx^{w}, θəxléx^{w}, and x^{y}əqléx^{w}; hék'^{w}ələs, x^{w}əʔí·ls, and x^{w}əlí·ls, possibly also k^{w}ú·ls and ʔé·yələs. With k^{w}él·éx^{w} one '(manages to) catch' a ball or an animal (for example) but '(happens to) catch' a disease.

The ['accidentally'] alloseme (always in free variation with ['happen to'] and ['unintentionally']) is also present in the list just quoted, and the choice seems to be determined by the semantic context external to the verb. On the other hand, ['accidentally'] and its free variant allosemes seem to be present, with ['managed to'], when the verbs are ones with negative connotations (for example causing pain or physical or emotional discomfort): xəłléx^{w}, lək^{w}léx^{w}, sí·siləx^{w}, q'ép'ləx^{w}, k'^{w}éq^{w}ləx^{w}, łéc'ləx^{w}, mélqləx^{w}, xéyxələx^{w}, xəłwíłləx^{w}, ʔák'^{w}ləx^{w}, wəc'éx^{w}'ləx^{w}, célqləx^{w}; mélqələs and possibly ʔé·yələs.

The allosemes of {-sT} are more overtly attested in the glosses of the examples found (['cause (s-o/s-th) to do'] and ['make (s-o/s-th) do'] are free variants): ['make (s-o/s-th) in one's mind to be']: ʔéystəx^{w} 'like s-o/s-th' (< ʔéy '(be) good'), qélstəx^{w} 'dislike s-o or s-th' (< qél '(be) bad'), ʔówəstəx^{w} 'deny s-o/s-th',

ʔiyá·ləmstəxʷ 'obey s-o/s-th', ʔəpaləstəxʷ 'costs ten dollars'.

['keep (s-o/s-th) doing']: sisistéxʷ 'scaring s-o' (probably < 'keep s-o being scared', sí·si 'be scared'), kʷətéxʷstəxʷ 'keep s-o/s-th inside', (skʷətéxʷstəxʷ 'leave s-th inside' may belong here too), ʔé·yələxʷstəxʷ 'keep s-o/s-th alive', sc'éc'əlstəxʷ 'carry s-th carefully, handle it with care', sxʷá·xʷəlstəxʷ 'holding s-th up' (xʷél-xʸ 'lift s-th', s- + infixed reduplication = past participle; thus sxʷá·xʷəl- 'lifted' + -sT + -əxʷ --> '(keep s-th lifted), holding s-th up')(also notice s- prefix (participial) on skʷətéxʷstəxʷ and sc'éc'əlstəxʷ).

['make/cause (s-o/s-th) to do']: ʔé·ystəxʷ 'chase s-o or s-th' (ʔé·y 'keep on going'), ʔiméxʸstəxʷ 'make s-o walk', ləʔəméstəxʷ 'take s-o, bring s-o', silíxʷstəxʷ 'make s-o slow (make someone slow down, make s-o go slow)', ʔá·ɬstəxʷ 'put s-th/s-o aboard' (ʔá·ɬ 'get aboard'), xʷləlé·mstəxʷ 'make s-o listen, call s-o to witness', qéẋstəxʷ 'make it lots, make it thick (of frosting for example)', ə'q'əɬẋaméstəxʷ 'make s-o kneel', méstəxʷ 'bring s-th/s-o, fetch s-th/s-o' (mə 'come'), xéyẋəstəxʷ 'make s-o ashamed', ɬəqtá·léstəxʷ 'join s-th together' (ɬéqət 'patch it (by joining)', léqowəɬ 'patch a canoe', ɬəqlí·s 'to button').

['make (s-o/s-th) do'] and/or ['keep (s-o/s-th) doing']: q'əlsté·xʷ 'deceive s-o, fool s-o' (< q'é·l 'believe'), possibly ʔé·ystəxʷ 'chase s-o' (*'make them keep on going' or *'keep them keeping on going') and ʔayémstəxʷ 'delay s-o, slow s-o down'.

Two examples fit all these allosemes poorly: xét'estəxʷ 'say to s-o' and xté·stəxʷ 'do s-th' (gloss may be in error).

These {-sT} allosemes are determined by the root meanings, but the semantic generalizations that can be made for each alloseme group from the present examples seem ad hoc (roots expressing 'attitudes or values' for ['make (s-o/s-th) in one's mind to be'], 'physical states' for ['keep (s-o/s-th) doing'] and 'actions' for ['make or cause (s-o/s-th) to do']. More examples are needed for a better formulation.

The gloss for {-məT} is quite long but can be condensed by omitting the parenthesized elements. The features 'mental/emotional action' actually apply as a semantic description of the roots found with this transitivizer. The word 'regarding' is an improvement over the glosses given earlier for both {-məT} and {-(ə)ləs}; it seems to capture the idea of the action not directly

affecting the object, and it is compatible with all the examples.

More examples are needed of {-(ə)ləs} before semantic environments conditioning 'happen to' and 'manage to' allosemes can be surely stated. For some of the examples the control allosemes seem to be distributed as they are for {-l}. But for pətέ·m(ə)ləs 'ask for/after/about s-o', neither the 'happen to' nor 'manage to' element seems to be implied, and for ƛ'ί·ls 'love/like s-o' the 'happen to' seems most appropriate although the root has no negative connotation. Elicitation is continuing in hopes of adding to the eight examples found so far.

Another perspective on Upriver Halkomelem transitivizers is provided by attempts to isolate semantic components or distinctive features. The term 'control' is such a semantic feature, as is 'causative' and 'intent'. Others which seem relevant, especially for the less common transitivizers, {-məT}, {-(ə)ləs}, and {-(ə)x^y}, are 'action has direct result on object', 'realization of awareness' and 'inanimate object preferred'. These features or components may be + or - or unmarked (U). 'Control' and 'causative' however are somewhat more complex. Ron Beaumont links the two in Sechelt in an

interesting paper, "Causation and Control In Sechelt," given at the 12th International Conference on Salishan Languages, Aug.18-20, 1977 at Omak, Washington. He suggests that the Sechelt transitivizers, -(V)t-, -nəx^w-, and -stəx^w- (often translated respectively 'on purpose, intentionally', 'accidentally, unintentionally, happen to, manage to, with lack of control' and 'causative'), can be described in terms of 'controlling subject' vs. 'controlled subject' and 'strong causation' vs. 'weak causation', and 'causative' vs. 'non-causative'. Thus:

Sechelt	-(V)t-	controlling subject
	-nəx^w-	controlled subject + causative (on subj.)
	-stəx^w-	controlling subject + causative (on obj.)

This is a useful approach because it helps to clarify both the nature of the 'control' and of the 'causative'. With -nəx^w- the controlled subject is "controlled" by an unspecified outside agency; the subject (S) is caused to act (or complete the act) by some outside agency. With -stəx^w- the subject is controlling the object and causing the object (O) to act. Similar things can be seen in the Upriver Halkomelem cognates, -(ə)T, -l-əx^w, and -sT-əx^w and in the other transitivizers too. But for Upriver Halkomelem several other features must also be specified to account for the six transitivizers. The features

which may be relevant are shown in the following chart.

	control alt.#1	alt.#2	causative on S	on C	intent	action has direct result on obj.	realization of awareness	inanimate object preferred
-(ə)T	much	controlling S	-	+,-	+	+	-	U
-l	none/little	controlled S	+	+ (manage to +)	-	+ and -	- and +	U
-sT	much	controlling S	-	+	most U some +	+	-	-, some U
-məT	little	controlled S	+	-	U	-	+	U
-(ə)les	little	controlled S	+	- (manage to +)	U	-	+,-	U
-(ə)x^{y}	much	controlling S	-	-	+	+	-	+

The preceding chart is not an obligatory apparatus necessary to explain Halkomelem transitivizers. It merely summarizes semantic observations which can be made from the examples I have given so far. Some have not been mentioned so far. Alternate analysis #1 of control specifies how much control the subject has. Alternate analysis #2 analyzes the subject's control as in Beaumont 1977. The causative columns analyze causation as in Beaumont 1977 but contain a few surprises. Unlike Beaumont's data, my data shows a few -(ə)T verbs which may have a causative effect: k'^{w}əɬɛ́t 'pour it out, spill s-o/s-th on purpose' (k'^{w}ɛ́ɬ 'spill'), q^{w}sɛ́t 'launch or push s-o/s-th into the water' (q^{w}ɛ́s 'fall into water'), x̣ɬɛ́t 'hurt s-o (on purpose)' (x̣ɛ́ɬ 'to hurt'), qewɛ́t 'warm s-th/s-o up', ʔayámt 'delay s-o on purpose' (ʔáyem 'slow, late')(but cp. ʔayámstəx^{w} 'delay s-o, slow s-o down'), k^{w}ətɛ́x^{w}t 'bring s-th/s-o inside' (but compare k^{w}ətɛ́x^{w}stəx^{w} 'keep s-o/s-th inside' and sk^{w}ətɛ́x^{w}stəx^{w} 'leave s-o/s-th inside'), and especially q'á·yt 'kill s-th/s-o' (cp. q'á·y 'die'). A few of these operate very much like causative {-sT}. But the difference is that the -(ə)T examples emphasize intent ('on purpose') and emphasize that the action has a direct result on the

object and is a more active manipulation of the object. The causative -sT is usually unmarked for intent, and even when intent seems positive it is never expressed overtly in the translation.

Some -l verbs also may show causation on the object (in addition to causation on the subject), for example: sí·silex^{W} 'scare s-o accidentally' (sí·si 'be afraid, be scared')(but cp. sisistéx^{W} 'scaring s-o'), x̣ə́ɬléx^{W} 'hurt s-o unintentionally' (cp. x̣ə́ɬ and x̣ɬə́t), ʔé·yələx^{W}ləx^{W} 'save s-o's life, save s-o' (ʔé·yələx^{W} 'be alive')(but cp. ʔé·yəlex^{W}stəx^{W} 'keep s-o/s-th alive'), x̣ə́ɬwíɬləx^{W} 'disappoint s-o' (x̣ə́ɬwíɬ 'be disappointed'), q'ə́p'ləx^{W} 'infect s-o, pass on a sickness to s-o, get s-o addicted (to an activity, food, drug, etc.)' (cp. q'ə́p' 'get addicted'). Fortunately here too there are minimal sets with -sT causative; these sets emphasize the lack of intent ('accidentally, unintentionally') with {-l} and the 'keep s-o/s-th doing' alloseme with {-sT}. With {-məT} and {-(ə)ləs} no causative elements on the object can be seen. With {-(ə)x^{y}} the same is probably true (no causative can be seen), though ƛ'pí·lx^{y} 'bring s-th down (from upper shelf, upstairs, etc.)' (cp. ƛ'pí·l 'go down, descend') is a possibility.

An interesting aspect of the 'intent' feature is that {-məT} and {-(ə)ləs} are unmarked in regard to 'intent' and {-sT} is usually unmarked. This means that the action could be done on purpose or accidentally, intentionally or unintentionally. No statement on intent is made or implied. However, positive intent must be attributed to those verbs with allosemes ['managed to ...'].

Under the feature 'action has direct result on object' notice that {-məT} and {-(ə)ləs} are both negative in this feature (both involve actions 'regarding' the object). But also notice that {-l} is either positive (its action has a direct (though unintended) result on the object) or involves 'realization of awareness'. This latter feature may instead be the semantic environment provided by the root to produce an action with no direct result on the object. But it is also interesting to note that practically no {-(ə)T}, {-sT}, or {-(ə)x^{y}} verbs found so far are verbs of realization of awareness (only three such have been found: ʔéystəx^{W} 'like s-th/s-o', qə́lstəx^{W} 'dislike s-th/s-o', and ƛ'ə́məx^{y} 'desire s-th, wish for s-th').

Most of the transitivizers are unmarked in preference of animate or inanimate objects. But {-(ə)x^{y}} pre-

fers inanimate objects, and {-sT} prefers animate objects. As Tom Hukari notes in his excellent paper on the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem, "Transitivity in Halkomelem," given at the 11th International Conference on Salishan Languages, Aug.12-14, 1976, at Seattle, Washington, the Cowichan transitivizer -(ə)š (cognate to Upriver {-(ə)x^y}) may be viewed as a suppletive allomorph of Cowichan -t (cognate to Upriver {-(ə)T}). So may the Upriver {-(ə)x^y}. But, as with Cowichan, speakers of Upriver Halkomelem are reluctant to use {-(ə)x^y} with first and second person pronoun object inflections. When necessary they do form words like yəlé·w-x^y-áx^y-əs 'he passed by me', but they are said hesitantly. {-(ə)x^y} may well be in the process of developing as a separate morpheme by the addition of ['inanimate object'] as one of its required semantic components (in contrast to unmarked {-(ə)T}). The one minimal pair (with lép'-əT somewhat hesitantly produced) seems to confirm this.

There is no space here to treat the syntax of transitivity in Upriver Halkomelem, as Hukari 1976 did for Cowichan. But with a few corrections[1] this syntactic subject is covered in my Ph.D. dissertation ("A Grammar of Chilliwack Halkomelem," University of California at

Berkeley, 1977). As noted in the dissertation, there are some intransitive words which cannot take object affixes but which must take nominal phrase objects (prepositional verbs for example). A few words like lám 'go, going, go to, going to', mí ~ ʔəmí 'come (to), coming (to)', and sƛ'í· 'want, want s-th' (inflected as a nominal) also frequently have NP objects but cannot have personal pronoun object affixes. These words are all intransitives from the Halkomelem viewpoint.

2. Intransitivizers. Since unadorned verb roots and verbs without transitivizers are all intransitive, intransitivizers are not needed with many verbs. {-(ə)θət} 'get, become, go' and {-í·l ~ -əl} 'go, come, get' act somewhat like intransitivizers but are probably best considered as lexical suffixes which do not change the intransitivity of the root; they add a clear lexical meaning and are not needed to intransitivize the root. In fact some examples have been seen of transitivizers added after {-í·l ~ -əl}, as in q'əx^y-í·l-t 'go/come/be a partner with s-o, accompany s-o', ƛ'p-í·l-x^y 'bring s-th down', məθ'-í·l-t 'make it blue; dye it, color it (any color)' (cp. məθ'-í·l 'go blue, get blue' and c'-méθ' 'blue, be blue').

This leaves the intransitivizers {-əm} and {-é·ls}. {-əm} 'intransitive' (and {-əm} 'middle voice' as well) appears to have several allomorphs, namely -m (after vowels), -ə́m (after l or y which follows a high-stressed vowel, i.e. V́(l,y)___), -ə̀m (after l or y which follows a mid-stressed vowel, V̀(l,y)___), -é·m (after a few morphemes which are either vocalically a weak or zero grade or which become so before the stressed suffix), and -à·m (after a few morphemes with root vowel á· which metathesizes to the -əm suffix).

Some examples of the {-əm} intransitives include: q'^{W}ə́lə́m ~ q'^{W}ə́l·ə́m 'barbecue, roast, put in oven' (q'^{W}ə́l 'cooked; ripe'), łəqlí·səm 'to button' (lúł słəqlí·s 'it is buttoned'), sfq'^{W}əm 'peel (cedar bark)', θ'ə́m ~ c'ə́m 'chew' (θ'ə́t ~ c'ə́t 'chew s-th'), k'^{W}x^{y}é·m 'count' (cp. k'^{W}x^{y}ə́t 'count s-th/s-o', k'^{W}ə́x^{y}ət 'counting s-o/s-th', k'^{W}x^{y}é·ls 'count'), qá·m 'pack water, fetch water, (also 'dip water' in some dialects)' (qá· 'water'), łí·m 'pick (fruit, leaves), picking', t'í·ləm ~ t'flə́m 'sing', x̣^{W}i(y)x̣^{W}iyə́m 'tell stories, tell children's stories', táx̣^{W}əsəm 'pull a canoe (by rope)(usually through rough water)', cθ'ə́yləm 'spearing silver spring salmon (sq^{W}ə́x̣əm) in clear water after waiting for them', θíyə́m 'bake

(bread, etc.), fix (food)' (θíy 'fix, make', θíy-t 'make s-th, fix s-th', θíy-θət 'fix oneself up'), k'^{W}fk'^{W}əc'əm 'butchering' (k'^{W}íc'-ət 'butcher s-th'), k^{W}ə́l·əm 'get, fetch' (cp. k^{W}ələ́t 'hold s-th', k^{W}ə́l·ə́x^{W} 'catch s-th', k^{W}ú·t 'take s-th/s-o'), ʔé·x^{W}əm 'give, giving' (aspect unclear)(cp. ʔáx^{W}-əs-t 'give s-th'), θ'ə́yé·m 'marry a sibling of one's deceased spouse' (θ'ə́yɛ 'sibling of deceased spouse'), cə́məm 'pack (on one's back)' (cə́m-ət 'pack s-th/s-o on one's back')(the imperative form is interesting, cə́məm-łɛ 'pack some!, pack a bit! (on your back)'), k'^{W}íyè·m 'stingy of food, refuse to give (food)' (k'^{W}íyɛtəs 'he refuses s-o something'), hé·k'^{W}ələm 'remember' (cp. hé·k'^{W}ələs 'remember s-o/s-th', may shed some light on the origin of {-(ə)ləs}), x^{W}áyə́m 'to sell' (cp. x^{W}á·ym-ət 'sell s-th', s-x^{W}iym-é·lɛ 'a store').

All the examples have subjects which are agents and implied objects which are patients not equivalent to the agent subject. The agent is usually animate. The fact that the agent and patient are different from each other proves that these are neither middle voice nor reflexive. Other groups of examples could be cited which are successively harder to distinguish from the middle voice. An attempt is made in section 6.1.6 of my

dissertation to sort these out for Upriver Halkomelem. The passive voice can be defined as a verb with an object pronoun being acted upon by an unspecified subject pronoun; the middle voice can be defined as a verb with a subject pronoun acting on or for itself without an object pronoun; the active voice in Halkomelem is perhaps best defined as non-passive and non-middle. The middle voice is similar semantically to reflexives and also to many intransitives which have a patient (semantically) as subject. However, middles (with {-əm}) are found most clearly and characteristically with verbs having somatic lexical suffixes or applying to actions done to one's own body. Thus x^{y}á·k'^{w}əm 'take a bath, bathe (oneself)' (vs. x^{y}á·k'^{w}-əɬ 'bathe s-o'), ʔí·θ'əm 'to dress (oneself)', ɬé·χ̣əm ~ k'^{w}é·ləm 'serve oneself (food, drink)', θ'əχ̣^{w}-á·s-əm 'wash one's face', x^{w}ám-x^{y}əl-əm 'run' (< χ̣^{w}ém 'hurry, be fast' + -x^{y}əl '(on the) foot/feet' + -əm 'middle voice, (one's, etc.)'), q^{w}ɛyχ̣-éləc-əm 'shake one's hips', ʔəχ̣á·yə̂ɬə̀m ~ ʔəχ̣á·yə́flə́m 'shave oneself (on the jaw)' (< ʔíχ̣ 'scratch, scrape' + -á·yθəl 'on chin or jaw' + -í·l 'come, go, get' + -əm), etc. are all middle voice. Reflexives will be considered later.

The suffix -é·ls ~ -əls is also an intransitivizer.

-é·ls occurs in non-continuative forms, and -əls occurs in continuative forms, consistently. Since continuatives are inflected forms and the non-continuatives are the base forms, it follows that -é·ls is the base form of this intransitive suffix; then, since most of the examples found with this transitivizer form their continuatives by ablaut and stress-shifting, it is natural to expect -əls as the unstressed version of -é·ls. The stress-shifting even takes place in the continuatives formed by reduplication however because a morphophonemic rule operates to de-stress, downgrade to schwa, and drop root vowels before stressed suffixes like -é·ls.

Here are some examples of {-é·ls}: ɬətq̓^{w}é·ls 'boil' (ɬá·tq̓^{w}əm 'is boiling, (being boiled)'), yəq^{w}é·ls 'burn at a ritual, perform a burning' and héyəq^{w}əls '(performing a) burning at a ritual for the dead' (yéq^{w} 'burn', héyəq^{w} 'burning', this root and a number of others beginning in y or l have hé- prefixed for continuative; another group beginning in m or w have hé- prefixed for continuative aspect), θiyq^{w}é·ls 'dig' and θéyq^{w}əls 'digging' (θíyq^{w}t 'dig s-th up'), x^{w}əq^{w}é·ls 'drag (for ex. drag the river for a body)' (x^{w}əq^{w}át 'drag s-o/s-th', some speakers have k'^{w} instead of q^{w}), ɬək'^{w}é·ls 'hook (fish

for ex.)' (łí·k'^{W} 'hooked, gaffed', łík'^{W}ət 'hook it, gaff it'), k^{W}x^{W}él̓s ~ k^{W}x^{W}è·ls (é probably misrecorded for é·) 'knock (once), rap' and k^{W}ák^{W}ex^{W}əls 'knocking, rapping' (k^{W}ák^{W}ex^{W}əm 'rapping, knocking (in distance)', k^{W}ák^{W}ex^{W}əcəsəm 'knocking with one's hand', k^{W}áx^{W}ət 'beat or rap on it (drum, wood, etc.)'), θq'é·ls 'to spear' and θé·q'əls 'spearing (fish for example)' (θq'ét 'spear s-th/s-o', θéq'təs 'he's spearing s-th'), ʔɛlqé·ls 'buy' (ʔiléqət 'buy s-th'), x̣ət'k'^{W}é·ls 'carve in wood' and x̣ét'k'^{W}əls 'carving, whittling', łc'é·ls 'cut (for ex. wood with a saw)' (łíc'ət 'cut s-th/s-o, cut s-th off', łéc'cəs 'cut on the finger/hand'), c'ək^{W}x̣él̓s 'fry' and c'ék'^{W}x̣əls 'frying' (c'ék^{W}x̣t 'fry s-th', c'ék^{W}x̣t 'frying s-th'), x̣t'é·ls 'cast or throw a spell' (x̣t'ét 'cast or throw a spell on s-o'), yəq'é·ls 'to file (abbrasively)' (yéq'ət 'file s-th'), q'ətx̣é·ls 'to rattle (cans, etc.), to shivaree or wake newlyweds' (q'étx̣əm '(make) a scraping or rattling sound (dishes, metal pots, food off dishes, wagon on gravel, etc.)', q'étx̣təs 'he's rattling s-th (dishes, etc.)'), qétx̣əls 'feeling around' (qétx̣t 'feel s-th/s-o (with one's hands, etc.)'), ƛ'émq'^{W}əls 'making a crunching/crackling noise (ice breaking, eating apples, etc.)', x̣éyx̣əq'əls 'scratching (without breaking surface)'

(x̣éyq'ət 'scratch s-th (w/o breaking its surface)'), yéyəq'əls 'falling (of trees)' (yéyəq'ət 'falling s-th (a tree)', łéłəq'əls 'laying down, putting down (bricks, foundation, probably anything)' (łéłəq'ət 'putting s-th down', łéłəq' 'laying down (on the ground for ex.)'), łéłəwəls '(an Indian doctor) working, curing' (łé·wət 'cure s-o by Indian doctoring', łé·w 'cured by Indian doctoring (by a shaman, Indian doctor)'), t'éqəls 'farting' (t'éq 'to fart'), c'étx^{W}əls '(mice) chewing (a wall, a box, etc.--esp. the sound)', t'éłəq'^{W}əls 'scratching to get in' (t'éłəq'^{W}təs 'he scratched on s-th'), t'əłt'éłəq'^{W}əls 'scratching repeatedly to get it' (t'əłt'éłəq'^{W}təs 'it has scratched s-th up'), há·q^{W}əls 'smelling, sniffing (of dog, other animals)' (há·q^{W}əm 'smell, give off smell', há·q^{W}ət 'smell s-th on purpose', há·q^{W}ləx^{W} 'happen to smell s-th, catch scent of s-th'), sé·yt'əls 'tickling' (sé·yt'əm 'being tickled', sé·yt'ət 'tickling s-o', síyt'ət 'tickle s-o').

The semantics of {-é·ls} is interesting. All the examples show: the subject is a semantic agent, doing the action on purpose (except where the agent is inanimate), and the semantic focus is upon the activity not upon its results. The 'on purpose' element is most

interesting because in the few examples where there is an -əm intransitive with the same verb root, the -əm intransitive has the implication 'not on purpose, happen to, accidentally'. The 'not on purpose, (etc.)' element however only seems to turn up in verbs which also have contrasting -é·ls forms; in the other examples cited above of -əm intransitivizer the action seems to be done almost always 'on purpose'. At any rate, {-é·ls} would seem in part to be the intransitive equivalent of purposeful control transitivizer {-(ə)T}! The other strong semantic element in {-é·ls} is 'focus upon the activity not upon its results'. And it is here that most {-é·ls} verbs are contrasted with {-(ə)T} counterparts; {-é·ls}-{-(ə)T} pairs are fairly common; notice that {-é·ls} has the feature 'focus upon the activity and <u>not the results</u>' while {-(ə)T} (and {-sT} and {-(ə)x^{y}} as well) have the feature 'action <u>has</u> direct <u>result</u> on object' (treated above on pp.31 and 34).

<u>3. Benefactive, reflexive, and reciprocal.</u>

{-(ə)łc} 'benefactive, for s-o' (precedes control suffixes)

{-l-á·məθ} '(happen to/accidentally/manage to) do to oneself' (replaces -l control and object pronouns)

{-(ə)θəθ} 'reflexive, oneself, itself' (replaces control suffixes and object pronouns)

{-təl} 'reciprocal, one another, each other' (replaces control suffixes and object pronouns)

Benefactive {-(ə)łc} follows the stem (i.e. follows all the lexical suffixes) and precedes the control suffix {-(ə)T}; it might also, in the shape of -(ə)ł, precede the control suffix {-sT}, but this is poorly attested and doubtful. The schwa is dropped from {-(ə)łc} after vowel-final stems; otherwise it is present (-əłc); it is stressed (high stress) after θiy 'make, fix'. {-(ə)łc} can also be used as a malefactive but with somewhat humorous force as in the English constructions. Examples: θiy-éłc-ət 'make it for s-o', θéy-əłc-ət 'making it for s-o', qá··-łc-əθ-áx^{y}-əs tə qá· 'he brought me the water' (cp. qá··-m 'fetch water, pack water'), cəl ʔiléq-əłc-ət 'I bought it for him', ʔiléq-əłc-tá·lx^{w}-łɛ 'buy it for us!', k^{w}é·l-x^{y}-əłc-θ-áx^{y}-əs θúx̌'à 'she hid it for me', k^{w}é·l-x^{y}-əłc-t-əm θúx̌'à 'it was hidden for her', k^{w}é·l-x^{y}-əłc-θ-amé-cəl-cɛ 'I'll hide it for you' (last three examples apparently have {-(ə)x^{y}} transitive control suffix for the direct object and {-(ə)T} transitive control suffix for the benefactive object!), c'ək^{w}ẋ-əłc-θ-áx^{y}-cəx^{w} '(you) fry it for me(!)', q'^{w}əm-əws-əłc-θ-áx^{y}-cəx^{w} '(you) pluck it for me(!)', q^{w}éls-əłc-t-əs θə słélí tə swéqəθ-s 'the woman boiled it for her husband', píx^{w}-əłc-t-łɛ 'brush it for s-o!',

ɬíc'-əɬc-θ-amə́-cəl-cɛ tə sməýəθ 'I'll cut off the meat for you', cəl yéq^{W}-əɬ(c)-t 'I burned it for s-o', yəq^{W}-əɬ(c)-θ-áx^{y}-cəx^{W} '(you) burn it for me(!)' (cp. yə̀q^{W}-əlcəp-θ-áx^{y}-ɬɛ 'make a fire for me', -əlcəp 'firewood'), p'ə́wiy-əɬc-θ-áx^{y}-cəx^{W} tə(l) s(ə)q̣íws 'Patch my pants for me!', pətə́m-əɬc-θ-áx^{y}-cəx^{W} wə?ə́s-uɬ x^{W}ə?í· tə-l s-?à·m 'Ask for me if my order is in!', mɛ̀·lɛ-ɬc-θ-áx^{y}-cəx^{W} '(you) bait it for me(!)', k^{W}ú-ɬc-θ-áx^{y}-əs 'he took it for me', cələ́q-əɬc-t 'divide it in half with s-o (for s-o)', qá·qə-ɬc-θ-áx^{y}-əs tə-l tí '(s)he drank my tea on me', cəx^{W} lək^{W}á-ɬc-θ-áx^{y} tə-l sx̣ə́lə 'you broke my leg for me', ?i-ɬ-st-ɛx^{W}-cəx^{W} (?)à tə sq^{W}əmɛ́·y 'Just leave it here for the dog!', ƛ'əs ?í-ɬ-st-əx^{W}-əs tə sq^{W}əmɛ́·y 'That's what he left here for the dog' (cp. ?í-st-əx^{W} 'leave s-th here').

Notice that with benefactives the direct object is always inanimate, and the object suffixes apply only to the benefactive object.

{-l-á·mət} and {-(ə)θət} are the two reflexivizing suffixes in Upriver Halkomelem. Both replace control suffixes and their following object pronoun suffixes. {-l-á·mət} is less common of the two and seems to contain the -l control suffix, 'do accidentally, happen to do, manage to do'. It also has allomorphs -là(·)mə̀t (when

high stress precedes in the word), -lə́mə́t (after ɬistə́(l)), and -lá(·)mət (elsewhere). The allomorph -là·mə̀t is homophonous with the -l control + 2nd person sg. passive + subordinate -ə̀t (for subordinate passives), but the syntactic environments of the two rule out equating the two. Both {-lá·mət} and {-(ə)θət} can be followed by normal subject pronoun suffixes. Examples of {-lá·mət} include: c'ísəmlà·mə̀t 'grow up, raise oneself' (c'í·səm 'grow'), x̣ə́yx̣əlà·mə̀t 'shame oneself, be embarassed' (x̣ə́yx̣ə 'be ashamed'), q^{W}á·làmə̀t 'make it through the winter', ?itətlámət 'fall asleep' (?ítət '(to) sleep'), ɬxɛylex^{y}lámət 'stand up by oneself' (ɬxə́yləx^{y} 'stand'), k'^{W}əmlá·mət 'raise oneself, pull through (illness, crisis, or childhood)' (k'^{W}ə́mət 'raise s-o'), təl·á·mət ~ tatəl·á·mət 'understand' (cp. tə́l·əx^{W} 'understand s-th, learn s-th, find s-th out', and esp. tá·l-θət 'wonder, think about s-th'), sí·silàmə̀t 'scare oneself, do something dangerous and get even more scared than expected', ƛ'əwlàmə̀t 'escape, get oneself free (like from a trap)' (ƛ'íw 'run away, escape'), wəc'ɛ́·làmə̀t 'bring oneself to a summit (of mountain for ex.), masturbate' (wəc'ɛ́· 'get to the top or summit', s-c'əc'ɛ́· 'be on top of'), x^{W}ə?ílàmə̀t 'manage to get here' (x^{W}ə?í· 'get here, arrive'),

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łél·àmèt 'get to the shore (from water), land', łistélémét 'feel sorry for oneself'.

There are more examples of {-(ə)θət} reflexive: lá·sθət 'get fat, make oneself fat' (lá·s 'be fat'), q'á·yθət 'kill oneself' (q'á·y 'die'), q'^{W}íyẋθət 'shake oneself, shake itself (for ex. of the earth in earthquake), bob about (for ex. of canoe in water)', ʔiyá·qθət 'change oneself' and ʔíyəqθət 'get out of the way, dodge' (ʔiyé·q-T 'change s-o/s-th'), qəlqəlí·lθət 'go get oneself dirty' (qél 'bad, dirty'), ẋélc'θət 'turn (oneself) over/around' (ẋ-élc' 'twist, turn over, turn around'), x^{y}á·łməθət 'take care of oneself' (x^{y}á·łməʔ 'look after s-o, take care of s-o'), ẋəhá·məθət 'cry for oneself' (ẋɛhé·mət 'cry for s-th', ẋè·m 'weep, cry'), łílθət 'bail (water), bail (oneself out)' (łí·lt 'bail s-th'), q'á·lθət 'come back' (q'élstəx^{w} 'bring s-th back',sq'əq'á· 'be together with'), ẋéylθət 'mark oneself' (ẋéyl-t 'write s-th, mark it'), x^{w}íθət 'wake (oneself) up' (x^{w}í-x^{y}-ət 'wake s-o up'), ləc'éθət 'fill oneself' (ləc'ét 'fill s-th'), x^{w}éθət 'make oneself famished, starve oneself' (x^{w}é 'starved'), θíyθət 'fix oneself up', q'əpéθət 'gather (themselves)' (q'pét 'gather it'), θəx^{w}á·θət 'disappear on purpose' (θéx^{w} 'disappear'), léẋ^{w}əθət 'cover oneself

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up' (léẋ^{w}ət 'cover s-o/s-th'), k'^{w}ək'^{w}íyəθət 'training oneself (to be a shaman, spirit dancer, canoe-puller (canoe racer), etc.)' (k'^{w}ək'^{w}íy 'climbing up'), k'^{w}q^{w}əméθət 'drop oneself into a seat angrily, throw oneself on the floor or ground in a tantrum, throw a tantrum' (k'^{w}áq^{w}ət 'club s-o/s-th'), q'əq'á·θət and q'á·θət 'mix, associate or go with someone' (sq'əq'á· 'be together with'), ʔát'əθət 'to stretch (oneself) out' (ʔát'ət 'stretch s-th'), qəẋáθət 'to slide (purposely slide oneself as in skating, sledding, playing)' (qéyẋəm 'to slip, skid'), ẋéyẋəθət 'shame oneself' (cp. esp. ẋéyẋəlà·mèt above).

It is tempting to propose that the -(ə)θ in {-(ə)θət} represents the purposive control suffix {-(ə)T} and that the final -ət in {-(ə)θət} might be equated with that in {-l-á·mət}(allomorph -á·mət) as the reflexivizer. Most of the examples support this semantically and phonologically (especially those with stressed transitivizers and stressed {-(ə)θət}). The large number of roots with both {-(ə)T} and {-(ə)θət} attested also clearly point in this direction. Only one proviso needs to be added: {-(ə)θət} also seems at times to have implications of 'manage to' and 'causative', so it may be the reflexive

for other control transitivizers as well ({-sT} and {-məT} for example). Since {-l-á·met} is clearly used for {-l} verbs, {-(ə)θət} may have expanded its use to cover more than just {-(ə)T} verbs.

A number of examples, not cited above, seem to either have a homophonous suffix {-(ə)θət} '(verbalizer), get, become' or to have extended the semantic content of reflexive {-(ə)θət} to include these meanings in the environment of inanimate subjects. This might take the form of a morphosememic rule (Galloway 1977) such as //'reflexive'// → /'get, become'/ in the environment /'inanimate'/. Also in support of a single -(ə)θət suffix is the fact that in both the clearly reflexive examples and those with 'get, become' the suffix seems to be accompanied by ɛ → ə ablaut; it seems unlikely that this ablaut would be found co-incidentally in two homophonous suffixes.

The reciprocal suffix, {-təl}, is an easier matter. When not overtly translated with 'each other, one another', words containing this suffix still can be seen to have this reciprocal meaning present. {-təl} 'reciprocal' may have allomorphs -í·təl and -tá·l ~ -tà·l (the latter set seems used in contests, perhaps meaning 'against each

other'), but there are not enough examples yet to predict their occurrence. Examples are not too numerous, but the suffix seems productive and seems usable with nominals as well as verbs. Examples:
q^{W}ə́lq^{W}eltəl ~ q^{W}ó·lq^{W}eltəl '(a lot of people) talking together' (q^{W}ə̀·l 'talk' (~ q^{W}əl in derivations) + reduplication for plural subject), q'əq'átəl 'to meet' (sq'əq'á· 'be together with'), θəθk'^{W}í·təl 'tug-of-war' (θə́k'^{W} 'pull', 'continuative' reduplication, possibly θəθk'^{W}-íy-təl with -íy 'wood, bark' if the tugged item was cedar withe rope, poles, etc.), qəqəmátəl 'having the same parents' (qəmá· 'suckle' + 'continuative' reduplication, -təl here 'with each other'), qəlá·qtəl 'be siblings (to each other), be cousins (to each other)' (s-qə́·q 'younger sibling, cousin of junior line', -əl- 'plural' infix as in sqələ́·q 'younger siblings, cousins of junior line'), sə́ƛ'ɛtəl 'elder sister (or sibling)' and sə́·ƛ'ɛtəl 'elder sisters (or siblings)' (sə́lƛ'a 'oldest (of children)'), k^{W}əltá·l 'wrestle', sk^{W}ək^{W}átəl 'to separate in marriage, divorce', ƛ'íƛ'əx^{W}tà·l 'beating one another (in contest), competing' (ƛ'x^{W}ə́t 'beat s-o in a contest, win it'), q'ɛyq'x̣átəl 'contradicting each other' (q'ə́yq'x̣ə̀t 'contradicting s-o'), ʔiyá·təl

'fight', ʔá·ytəl 'fighting', yέyetəl 'make friends', yáyetəl 'making friends' (cp. siyέyə (or better, s-yέyə) 'friend'), lə st'əlá·stəl 'they were sitting side by side (beside each other)' (t'έləs-T 'sit beside s-o'), ʔέ·x^wí·təl '(they're) sharing (food esp.)' (ʔέ·x^westəs 'he's giving gifts to s-o'), məmíyəɬtəl 'helping one another' (məmíy-əT 'helping s-o', -əɬ meaning unclear), xέyəslátəl 'wild ginger (asarum caudatum)(lit. 'facing one another', referring to the paired, facing leaves).

Since this is the only reciprocal affix attested, it is not surprising that no one control element is clearly found in all the examples. More examples are needed to see if patterns can be found. As of now, implications of most of the control elements seem to be present in various of the examples cited.

tέ·n 'holler'

tέ·mət 'holler at s.o'

tέ·mstəxʷ 'repeat the holler' or

θ'έ θ'iyəkʷ 'really worried'

əmət 'worried about s.o'

č'í'č'əwəl 'being bored'

č'í'wəlmət 'tired of s.o.'

Footnote

1. Some corrections which should be made in Galloway 1977 include: p.139 line 6 'he, him' delete "him", p.139 line 7 'she, her' delete "her", p.139 line 11 'they (male), them (male)' delete "them (male)", p.139 line 12 'they (female), them (female)' delete "them (female)", p.139 line 14 'they, them' and line 16 'they, them' delete "them".

p.140 line 1 change "also" to "only", p.140 line 2 change "object" to "subject of an active verb or object of a passive verb", p.140 delete line 7 "To make it clear that a", p. 140 delete lines 8-14 inclusive, replace lines 8-14 with: "Since the 3rd person pronouns of set three can only be subjects in active voice, sentences like téslex^wes θúλ'à te swíyeqe. 'She bumped the man.' and téslex^wes te swíyeqe θúλ'à. 'She bumped the man.' mean the same thing. The second sentence violates the VERB SUBJECT OBJECT order but is clear because θúλ'à can only be a subject.", p. 140 line 17 change to "k'^wáq^wetes te swéqeθ θúλ'à 'She hit her husband (with a stick-like object).'", p. 140 line 18 change "VERB SUBJECT OBJECT" to "VERB OBJECT SUBJECT", p. 140 line 19 change 'female' 'him' '(male)' 'she'
'wife' to 'husband'
'his' 'her'

p. 140 delete lines 20-24 inclusive and replace with: "To give the sex of a 3rd person object the passive is used with normal passive word order:
VERB-3rd person passive OBJECT SUBJECT, as in
téslem θúλ'à te swíyeqe. 'The man bumped her., She was bumped by the man.'
There may also be some consequent corrections to the chapter on syntax.

TH Lushootseed pups u before m-

NB loss of final — cət ləs adn of roots before transitivizers