CONTROL AND TRANSITIVITY IN UPRIVER HALKOMELEM

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O. 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 Eversen and Deniing, 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 (-e'ls - elas) 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 \( p \ t \ c \ (k) \ k'q \ q' \)

-- glottalized \( p' \ t' \ c' \ (k') \ k'q' \ q' \)

Spirants \( s \ t' \ s' \ s' \)

Sonorants \( m \ l \ y \ w \)

High \( i \ u \)

Mid \( e \ o \)

Low unmarked

Notes: /s' /, /k', /c, and /c' are affricates. /k/ and /k'/ are found almost exclusively in borrowings. /c/ and /c'/ have allophones [d] - [z] and [d'] - [z'] respectively (the variation is largely free variation with partial complementary distribution). Length functions
somewhat like an obstructant and corresponds to /?/ 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 prevocally after s (s_?) or before syllabic consonants ([t] and [z]); elsewhere stops are aspirated.

/s/ has allophones [?] before [x^], and [s] elsewhere.

/i/ has allophones [e] in free variation with [i^] between postvelars, [i^] 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^o] which usually seem like [ey] or [iF^]).

/e/ has allophones [e] between postvelars or glottals and y (q, ?, h__,y), [e] elsewhere before y or length, and [e] - [e] elsewhere (usually [e] when stressed and [e] when unstressed, but also much free variation).

/o/ has allophones determined by the speed of speech and by three sets of consonants: Y = [l, z, x^, y, s, c, ?, k, k'] (largely palatals), W = [w, k_w, x^, q, c, q, ?, m, w] ([m], and labialized consonants), and X = the remaining consonants ([p, t, d, q, p', t', h, q', ?, o, s, ?, h]). The allo-

phones of /o/ are [I] central unrounded lower-high vowel, [I] front unrounded lower-high, [U] back rounded lower-high, and [e] central unrounded mean-mid (stressed or unstressed). Thus, /o/ → [I] in allegro unstressed syllables

At normal speed → [I]: x^, y__, _, x^, y__=
At normal speed → [U]: k_w' _, c', x^_1
At normal speed → [e]: x___, (X, W, X) __, l__ (c, e')
At normal speed elsewhere → [I] in free variation
with [e]: (X, W, X) __, Y, Y__X
At normal speed elsewhere → [U] in free variation
with [e]: (X, W, X) __, W__X

(Items separated by commas within parentheses mean that one item or another within the parentheses must occur.) With some speakers [e] and [?] are nearly in free variation, and as a result [I] is a member of the palatal set, Y, which conditions /o/ → [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). /e/ has allophones [e] in free variation
with [a] in the environment: $\text{C'}[\text{O}]$ or $\text{[\text{O}}]$ (where $\text{C'}$ is any labialised consonant); elsewhere /a/ $\rightarrow$ [a]. The [a] 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. // is high-pitch stress, */ is mid-pitch stress, and unstressed syllables with low pitch are unmarked. */ has several allophones: [°5], 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 /CV(#)/); the short vowel is always at the end of a monosyllabic demonstrative article or particle or auxiliary or me. Another allophone is [°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 [°5 or 4] on the last long vowel in a word in non-final syllables. Finally // has allo­phone [°5 or 4] elsewhere, loud stress with high level pitch varying between 4 or 5 tones above low pitch.

/* is level mid pitch about 3 tones above un­stressed low pitch, with loudness ranging from moderate to loud; it has no allophones. Both */ and /* 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:

- (a)T $\rightarrow$ -aT $\rightarrow$ -a(·)T $\rightarrow$ -g(·)T 'do purposely to s-o/s-th'
-1 'do accidentally to s-o/s-th', happen to do (to s-o or s-th), manage to do (to s-o/s-th)
-1T 'cause (s-th/ s-o) to do, make (s-o or s-th) do'

- (a)xT 'do purposely to s-th or s-o (especially to an inanimate object)'
-1T 'happen (with little control) to do an action not directly affecting s-o or s-th' (mostly in verbs of mental or emotional action)

- (a)es 'happen to, manage to) do to s-o or s-th'

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 more succinct than the sum of its parts. For example, 'he's-take it off' + 'cause to' + past object 'off button, etc.' < 'come off' + 'do purposely to inanimate object'.

As can also be seen from some of the examples, the control transitive personal pronoun affixes are often translated as mere transitive suffixes, but the degree of control must be implied in the sentence, depending on context. Also the morphophonemes T is realized as /t/ + -t before 1st person singular and /3/ + -t elsewhere.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Passive Object</th>
<th>Passive Subject</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>-əl-m</td>
<td>-əl-m-bt</td>
<td>-əl</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>-əl-m</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-əl-m</td>
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Summary of Personal Pronoun Affixes:

1. Present Passive Subject: -əl
2. Present Passive Object: -əl-m
3. Present Passive Subject: -əl-m-bt
4. Present Passive Object: -əl-m-bt

Note: Object set 1 has 3rd person object marker -əl after the -l partial control transitive suffix and after the -əl causative control transitive suffix. Additionally, the 3rd person object is marked by zero or is unmarked; 1st person plural object marker in this set is -əl-m in free variation with /-əl-m/ for some speakers of Tait and Cheh dialects. 1st person plural does not have any specifically passive forms, so the active object -əl-m substitutes with a 3rd person subject. The dependent passive merely adds -əl to the end of the passive object pronouns; it occurs especially when passive verbs are subordinated to negative verbs or skv'ed 'can't', is impossible' or with wa- 'if', when'. The 3rd person subject pronoun -əl-m appears with all transitive verbs; elsewhere
it is zero or unmarked. However -es cannot be used with 2nd person objects; instead the 2nd person objects are made passive. The subject pronouns with -e usually have phonetic realizations [ɛt], [ɛtʰ], [ɑt] and [ɛmp]. Pronoun affixes for subordinate subject are the same as those for possessive pronoun affixes used with nominals: -al and -e are attached to the word before the nominal (usually a demonstrative article), while -s, -eot, and -eap are attached to the nominal itself (note that in 2nd person plural -e is attached to the word before the nominal and -eap is attached to the nominal). With subordinate verbs the -al and -e are attached to the word before the subordinate verb (usually the article k'we) and in all persons an -e nominalizer is added after this; -s, -eot, and -eap 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 sə'wa 'my canoe', t-ə'? sə'wa-əl 'your canoe', t-ə'əl sə'wa-s 'his/her/its/their canoe', t-ə'əl sə'wa-eap 'our canoe', t-ə'əl sə'wa-eap 'you folks' canoe', t-ə'? sə'wa-eəl 'that you sleep', k'we-ə'əl-s 'that you sleep', k'we-s 'that we sleep', and k'we-eəl-s 'that you sleep'.

Subjective subject pronouns are used after negative verbs (themselves inflected with regular subject pronouns as well) and also after verbs prefixed with we- 'if, when'. So ə'wa-əl ənə-əl 'I'm not going.' or ə'wa-əl ənə-əl 'I'm not going.' (equivalent constructions) or we-ənə-əl 'if I go, when I go' or ə'wa-ənə-əl 'perhaps I'm going'

or k'we-əl-əl tə-p tabəl-əlu 'You folks don't yet understand.' Lastly it should be mentioned that 2nd person subordinate subject and possessive suffix -e(?) has the shape -e in the Chuk dialect and -es in the Cash dialect and most Tait microdialicts.

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

-ə(?)T: peq'ət 'break it in two', k'wek'ət 'drag s-o', è'q'ət 'wash s-o or s-th', æq'ət 'bark it (a tree)', èq'ət 'spit s-th out', k'weæk'əs 'he spit me out', lek'ət 'break it (of stick or bone)', t'q'əs 'break it (of rope or string)' (cp. t'q'ə 'to break (of rope, string)')

t'ek'ət 'plug it (a hole or leak)', and possibly t'eq'ət 'wrap s-th up'.

-ə(?)T: təq 'close s-th' (cp. s-teq-təl 'door'), k'wek'əl(ə)T 'count s-th/s-o' (cp. k'we(ə)k'əl 'count'),

k'we-əl-əl 'hold s-th (in hand)' (cp. k'we-əl-əl 'get s-th, get s-o?'), k'weæk'əs 'he spilled me (from a canoe)' (cp. k'weæ 'to spill'), sæq'ət (- sæq'et) 'split it, crack it'
(cp. sóq' 'it split, it cracked' and ḍóq' 'half, be half, half dollar, half-breed'), wećeet 'tease s-o', wećeće 'tease you', lense 'kick s-o or s-th', lenseće 'he kicked me', ceset 'send s-o', ḍweće 'tear s-th' (cp. ḍweće 'to tear' and ḍwetće 'all torn up'), ḍweće 'he went (or chased) after s-o/s-th without slowing (till he caught it)', ḍweće 'he argued with me', and ḍweće 'carry s-th/s-o (baby) in one's arm'.

-ète: lećeet 'fill it up' (cp. sfic 'full'), mekteet 'pick it all up' (cp. mék 'all, everything, everybody'), ḍekteet 'pull s-th/s-o', ḍwećeet 'shove s-o or s-th', ḍweće 'he shoved me', ḍwećeet 'push s-th (or s-o)', ḍwećeet 'pull s-th up by the roots' (cp. ḍwećeet 'came up by the roots'), ḍwećeet 'store s-th away, put s-th away', ḍetCodeet 'spear it (esp. fish), pierce it, stab s-th/s-o' (cp. ḍetCodeet 'spearing s-th'), ḍetCodeet 'hurt s-o (on purpose)' (cp. ḍetCodeet 'to hurt'), ḍmćeet 'cover s-o/s-th (with something cloth-like)', ḍmćeet 'beat s-o in a contest, win it (race, game, etc.)' (cp. ḍmćeet 'beating s-o in a contest'), qetCodeet 'gather or collect s-th, pick s-th up' (cp. qetCodeet 'a gathering'), qetCodeet 'launch or push s-th into the water, push s-o into the water', qetCodeet 'he pushed me into the water', ḍwetće 'he argued with me', and qetCodeet 'carry s-th/s-o (baby) in one's arm'.

The roots in all these examples are C₁S₂ or C₁Q₂; in other derivations or inflections of these roots, the roots always have the shape C₁Q₂ or C₁S₂ or at most C₁O₂ (with the exception of a few continuatives and participles). For example: pag 'broken in two', ḍEq 'washed', ḍEqće 'spitting' (where the stress shift to root is 'continuative'), s-teq-tel 'door', l-sóq 'half', ḍwetće 'to tear', ḍmće 'to hurt', ḍmćeet 'covered', s-qóp 'a gathering', ḍwóq 'fall into water'. The only exceptions or counter-examples found so far are continuatives and participles (which use continuous inflection and/or s- prefix): kwećet 'counting s-th', ḍetCodeet 'collecting s-th', qetcodeet 'kneading it (bread), pushing it down (bread, hops, etc.)', ḍetCodeet 'spearing s-th', sésećet '(pulled) tight', sfic 'full'. (Note that these exceptional con-
tinutives seem to all have ablaut to stressed (.)

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 0-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 -T all end in a labialized consonant (O\textsuperscript{w}), w, or h, while those taking -I\textsuperscript{w}T never end in O\textsuperscript{w}, w, or h. Unfortunately roots taking -T 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 e 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: \(\chi\text{\textasciitilde}l-\acute{e}x\text{\textasciitilde} \) 'hurt s-o/s-th (by accident)' (cp. \(\chi\text{\textasciitilde}l-\acute{e}x\text{\textasciitilde}-e\) 'he hurt me (by accident)', \(\chi\text{\textasciitilde}l-\acute{e}x\text{\textasciitilde} '(he got hurt), s-o hurt him, he was hurt'), \(l\text{\textasciitilde}k-\acute{e}x\text{\textasciitilde} \) 'break it accidentally (of a bone or sticklike object)' (cp. \(l\text{\textasciitilde}k-\acute{e}x\text{\textasciitilde} 'he got a bone broken', l\text{\textasciitilde}k-\acute{e}x\text{\textasciitilde}-e\) 'he broke my hand (accidentally)'), c'eq\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w} 'hit s-o/s-th accidentally with a piercing projectile', x\textsuperscript{w}eq\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w} 'complete s-th', \(\theta\text{\textasciitilde}eq\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w} 'discover s-th'; k\text{\textasciitilde}w\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w} 'catch s-th (ball, animal, disease)', cem\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w}-e\ 'he met up with her'; q'\text{\textasciitilde}w\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w} 'fool s-o' (cp. q'\text{\textasciitilde}w\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w}-e 'he fooled me' and q'f\text{\textasciitilde}w\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w} 'fooling s-o', q'f\text{\textasciitilde}w\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w}-m '(I'm being fooled), they're fooling me'), sis\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w}-e '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 (\(\chi\text{\textasciitilde}, l\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}, c'eq\textsuperscript{w}, k\text{\textasciitilde}w\textsuperscript{w}\)). The exceptions are cem\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w}-e which is related to c\textsuperscript{w}m\textsuperscript{w}-t 'met up with each other, slope' and sis\textsuperscript{w}-l-\acute{e}x\textsuperscript{w}-e (sis < af\textsuperscript{w}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:

\(-T\)'do purposely to s-o/s-th'; k\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{w}-t 'look at s-o/s-th' (cp. k\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{w} 'to see'), \(\gamma\text{\textasciitilde}y\text{\textasciitilde}t 'go after (or chase after) s-o/s-th without slowing till it is caught' (cp. \(\gamma\text{\textasciitilde}y\text{\textasciitilde} 'keep on going', \(\gamma\text{\textasciitilde}y\text{\textasciitilde}w 'go away, go on one's
way'), k‘vuqw‘-et 'hit s-o/s-th intentionally with a stick-like object, club s-o/s-th intentionally', fi‘-et 'cut s-th/s-o (on purpose)', há‘q‘-et 'smell s-th/s-o on purpose' (cp. há‘q‘-em 'smell, give off smell' and há‘q‘-als 'smelling, sniffing (of animals for ex.)'), tá‘-t 'think about s-th/s-o', k‘wel-‘t 'hold s-th in one's hand', xa‘-t 'hurt s-o', lek‘-‘t 'break s-th (bone or stick)', c‘q‘-‘t 'poke s-th/s-o, pick s-th up on a sharp object', ay‘‘-t 'delay s-o on purpose', k‘metax‘-t 'bring s-th/s-o inside' (cp. k‘metax‘-t 'bringing s-th/s-o inside', k‘metx‘-‘t -em 'come inside, go inside', and k‘metx‘-‘polp 'bring in firewood'), q‘ex‘-f‘-t 'accompany s-o', pete‘-t (or pt‘-t) 'ask s-o (cp. pet‘-m or pt‘-m 'ask'), lép‘-‘t 'eat s-o', n‘y-te‘-s 'he helps s-o', q‘ix‘-‘s-‘ax‘-w ‘he brushes me off', k‘w‘-‘t ‘bring inside', n‘‘-‘t ‘save s-o, save s-o's life' (n‘-ya1ax ... !rtioi;‘‘ 'be alive, live'), melq‘-‘w ‘forget s-th/s-o', pet‘-‘w ‘recognize s-o/s-th', melq‘-‘w ‘drop s-th by accident' (wac ... 'drop down'), n‘‘-‘w ‘dropped it' (n‘‘ ‘to fall'), q‘eyx‘-‘l-w ‘insult s-o (q‘eyl- ‘make war'), n‘-w‘l-‘amb ‘disappoint you!

'pull s-o's hair' (q‘eyw‘-et 'grab s-o/s-th', -leq‘ ‘on the hair, on the top of the head'), q‘ey-y ‘kill s-th/s-o' (q‘ey ‘die'), q‘eq‘-et 'apprehend s-o, catch s-o' (q‘eq‘ 'apprehended, caught, grounded').

(-1) 'do accidentally (to s-o/s-th), happen to do (to s-o/s-th), manage to do (to s-o/s-th)'; k‘wu-l-ex‘ ‘see s-th/s-o', s‘li-l-ex‘ ‘scare s-o accidentally' (s‘isi 'be scared, afraid, nervous'), (Cheh., Tait) k‘q‘el-l-ex‘ [aq‘el-Ux‘] and (Chukt.) s‘q‘el-l-ex‘ [s‘q‘el-Ux‘] 'know s-th/s-o', k‘weq‘-l-‘m ‘he hit me accidentally (or unintentionally) with a stick-like object', pete‘-l-ex‘ ‘he cut me accidentally', há‘q‘-l-ex‘ 'catch scent of s-th/s-o, smell s-th/s-o', t‘el-l-ex‘ [t‘el-Ux‘] 'understand s-th/s-o', k‘ved-l-ex‘-w ‘he taught s-th, xq‘-l-ex‘ ‘hurt s-o unintentionally', lek‘-l-ex‘ ‘break s-th (esp. a bone) accidentally', c‘eq‘-l-ex‘ ‘hit s-o/s-th accidentally or unintentionally with a piercing projectile', q‘eyx‘-l-ex‘ ‘save s-o, save s-o's life’ (q‘eyx‘ ‘be alive, live'), melq‘-l-ex‘ ‘forget s-th/s-o' (n‘lq ‘to forget'), pet‘-l-ex‘ ‘recognize s-o/s-th', melq‘-l-ex‘ ‘drop s-th by accident' (wac‘-l ‘drop down'), n‘‘-‘w ‘dropped it' (n‘‘ ‘to fail')
(qēq-unā 'disappointed', -ufā 'in the mind or feelings'), qēp'-l-ār-na 'he infected me, he passed a sickness on to me, he got me addicted (to an activity, food, drug, etc.)', qēqaw-um 'lose s-th' (qēq 'lost'), yēq-om 'as he fell a tree, he accidentally fell it' (yēq-ēt 'fall it (of a tree, on purpose)', yēq 'to fall (of a tree)', yēqyeq 'a fallen tree, log').

(-a) 'cause (s-th/s-o) to do, make (s-o/s-th) do': sis-separated-um 'separating s-o/s-th', qēl-parent-um 'fear s-o, deceive s-o', qēl-s-parent-um 'delay s-o, slow s-o down', kēl-parent-um 'keep s-o/s-th inside', s-kēl-parent-um 'leave s-th inside' (cp. s-kēl-parent 'be inside (a building, cave, etc.)'), qēl-parent-um 'keep s-o alive', lium-parent-samāl 'I make you walk' (cp. lium-parent 'walk', lium-st 'step on s-th', -um is lexical suffix meaning 'upright'), qēl-parent-um 'he said to s-o' (cp. qēl-parent 'say'), litam-parent-um 'she took s-o, he brought s-o', qēl-parent-um 'he likes s-th/s-o', qēl-parent-um 'I don't like s-th/s-o', silix-parent-um 'make s-o slow' (cp. silix 'slow down, go slow'), qēl-parent-um 'put s-th/s-o aboard', xīlīfim-parent-um 'you are called to listen/witness, they made you listen' (xīlīfim-ām 'listen', xīlīfim 'listen hard'), qēl-parent-um 'very, be very'), qēl-parent-um 'make it lots, make it thick' (qēl 'be many, lots'), qēl-parent-um 'deny s-th' (qēl-s 'be not, not be, no'), qēl-parent-um 'he was made to kneel' (qēl-parent 'kneel'), se-parent-um 'bring s-th, fetch s-th' (se - māl - qēl 'cone'), qēl-parent-um 'make s-o ashamed' (qēl-yē 'be ashamed'), qēl-parent-um 'it costs ten dollars' (qēl-parent 'ten dollars', qēl 'ten'), isqēl-parent-um 'join s-th together', s-xīlīfim-parent-um 'holding s-th up' (cp. xīlīfim-parent 'lift s-th'), qīl-parent-um 'obey s-o' (qīl-parent 'be alright, correct, okay, can'), xīlīfim-parent-um 'do it' (xīlīfim 'do').

(-aw) 'happen (with little control) to do an action not directly affecting s-o/s-th' (mostly in verbs of mental or emotional action): kāl-parent-um 'expect s-o, look for s-o, sīl-parent-um 'be afraid of s-th/s-o', qēl-parent-um 'believe s-th/s-o' (qēl 'believe'), s-qēl-parent-um 'follow s-o', qēl-parent-um 'dream of s-o/s-th' (qēl 'to dream'), xīlīfim-parent-um 'hate s-o', qēl-parent-um 'dream of s-o' (qēl-parent 'be'), qēl-parent-um 'feel sorry for s-o, feel close to s-o' (qēl-parent 'get close, near(ly)'), xīlīfim-parent-um 'stand up for s-o respected' (xīlīfim-parent-um 'stand up, rise from seat'),
eul-met 'admire s-o', (eul-met 'admiring s-o', cp. eul-met 'heart'), k'el-hel-met 'get used to s-th/s-o', s-fwél-met 'sense s-th/s-o' (fwél 'thoughts, feelings, insides'), st'emél-met 'thinking about s-th' ((Chk.) st'elm-wel - (Chkh., TaJt) st'elm-wel 'guess, think'), x'ell-met 'listen to s-o/s-th', sq'eq'ad-met 'stay together with s-o' (sq'eq'ad - sql 'be together'), low-met 'run away from s-o' (lows 'run away; cured', lòw = k'èl 'run away'), s'f'wl-met 'be fed up with s-th/s-o' (sf'wél 'annoyed'), wavi-stéeq-met 'jealous of s-o' (wavi-stéeq or wavi-stéeq 'jealous'), x'vél-met 'look after s-o/s-th' (x'vél-met 'look after oneself, look after oneself'), possibly sf'yé-moéélax'es 'he/she flirts with me' (root sf'yé = 'chiefs'?).

(-el)es 'happen to, manage to' do regarding s-o or s-th' (this is the least common of the transitive verbs): l'é-y-elas 'leave s-o/s-th behind' as in l'é-y-elas-x'é-es 'he left me (behind)' and l'é-y-elas-es 'he went away from s-o/s-th, he left s-o behind' (l'éy 'keep on going'), peté-m-es (in free variation with) - peté-m(ol)'es 'ask for s-o, ask about s-o, ask after s-o' (also compare peté 'ask', peté-m 'asking for/about', and peté-m-es-x'é-es 'in free variation with peté-m-es-x'é-es 'asking for/about after s-o'), melq-elas 'forget about s-o/s-th, forget s-o or s-th in one's mind' (cp. melq-l-xé 'forget s-o/s-th behind'), hék'w-elas 'remember s-o/s-th' (hék'w-elas-x'é-es 'he remembered me'), k'èl-x'é-es 'he/she loves me, he/she likes me' (s-k'èl 'want, desire'), x'wèl-elas 'he reached s-o/s-th (here)' ((TaJt) x'wèl-elas-x'é-es 'he reached us here', cp. x'wèl-elas-x'é-es 'bring s-o/s-th here' (< x'wèl 'get here, arrive' + -l 'come, go' + -s? 'cause to' + -x'é '3rd person object'; x'wèl 'get, become' + ?l. '(be) here')), x'wèl-elas 'he reached s-o/s-th there' (x'wèl-elas-x'é-es 'he reached me there', cp. x'wèl-elas-x'é-es 'bring s-o/s-th there'), k'èl-elas 'hang onto s-o' (as in k'èl-elas-x'é-es 'he/she hangs onto me', cp. k'èl-elas 'hang onto s-o/s-th').

(-ax'y) 'do purposely to s-th/s-o (especially to an inanimate object)': lèp-l-x'é-es 'eat s-th' (cp. lèp-l-x'é-es 'eat s-o'; lèp-l-xé-es 'he put it in' and lèp-l-xé-es 'it was put in' (lèw 'inside (something)', lèw-l-xé-es 'go inside a hole'), tèl-x'y 'track s-th (or s-o), follow tracks of s-th', k'èl-x'y 'hide s-th (an object, not a person)' (k'èl 'hide, hide oneself'), x'pèl-x'y 'bring
### Translators' Notes

The examples above include all of the examples found so far for 

- **kʷéxelxʷ** (see a-o)
- **sísíxʷ** (scaring a-o)
- **q̓elxíxʷ** (know a-o/t)
- **q̓áxíxʷ** (deceive a-o)
- **q̓estxʷ** (believe a-o/t)

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### Examples

- **kʷéxelxʷ** (look at a-o)
- **sísíxʷ** (scaring a-o)
- **q̓elxíxʷ** (know a-o/t)
- **q̓áxíxʷ** (deceive a-o)
- **q̓estxʷ** (believe a-o/t)
- **xʷelxíxʷ** (chase a-o/t)
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- **kʷéxelxʷ** (see a-o)
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- **xʷelxíxʷ** (chase a-o/t)
- **xʷelxíxʷ** (go away from a-o/t, leave a-o/t behind)

### Dictionaries

- **kʷéxelxʷ** (look at a-o)
- **sísíxʷ** (scaring a-o)
- **q̓elxíxʷ** (know a-o/t)
- **q̓áxíxʷ** (deceive a-o)
- **q̓estxʷ** (believe a-o/t)
- **xʷelxíxʷ** (chase a-o/t)
- **xʷelxíxʷ** (go away from a-o/t, leave a-o/t behind)
Conclusions about the meanings of these control suffixes come from several sources: comparing all the examples with its intrinsically more than one transitive contrasts the transitive elements from several angles; each perspective has some validity: the transitive elements 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:

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Conclusions about the meanings of these control suf­
{-(e)les} /'(happen to, manage to) do an action regarding s-o/s-th'/

{-(e)x} /'do purposely to s-th (rarely to s-o)' /

Each gloss represents a seme. Items separated by commas or slashes are allophones 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 {-(e)x} and probably in {-(e)z}. With {-(e)} and {-(e)x} the third person object is parenthesised in the gloss because with these transitivizers there is a third person object suffix {-(e)x} (the other transitivizers have {-(e)} or are unmarked for third person object).

With {-(e)} and {-(e)x} the allophone ['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'woloxw, ḥq'6l·exw, ḥa'q'6lexw, fāl·exw, pélixw,

γ̇e·yolexw, γ̇e·q'lexw, cēmlōxw, k̄̄w6l·exw, c'eq'w·lōxw, θex·lōxw, and x̄̄eq'·lōxw; ḡk'w·lōxw, x̄̄eq'·lōxw, and x̄̄eq'·lōxw, possibly also k̄̄w·l·exw and γ̇e·yolexw. With k̄̄w·l·exw one '(manages to) catch' a ball or an animal (for example) but 'happens to' catch' a disease.

The ['accidentally'] allophone (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 allophones seem to be present, with ['managed to'], when the verbs are ones with negative connotations (for example causing pain or physical or emotional discomfort): χex·lōxw, lək'w·lōxw, sfa·siloxw, q'qep'lexw, k̄̄wq'·lexw, ḥe·q'·lexw, mālqlexw, ȳ̄q'·lexw, χēsiloxw, ḡk'·lōxw, wəc'·l·lexw, cēqlexw, mālqles and possibly γ̇e·yolexw.

The allophones of {-(e)} are more overtly attested in the glosses of the examples found (['cause (s-o/s-th) to do'] and ['make (s-o/s-th) to do'] are free variants): ['make (s-o/s-th) in one's mind to be']: χystexw 'like s-o/s-th' (e.g. 'be good'), qalstexw 'dislike s-o or s-th' (e.g. 'be bad'), γ̇owstexw 'deny s-o/s-th',
131

iyá·l'estex' "obey s-o/s-th'
repal'estex' 'costs ten dollars'.

['keep (s-o/s-th) doing']: sisístex' 'scaring s-o'
(proverb < 'keep s-o being scared', si'si 'be scared'),
k'etá'stex' 'keep s-o/s-th inside', sk'etá'stex' 'leave s-th inside' may belong here too), q'elstex'stex' 'keep s-o/s-th alive', sc'elstes'tex' 'carry s-th carefully, handle it with care', sk'dá'elstex'stex' 'holding s-th up' (x'el-x' 'lift s-th', s- + infixed reduplication = past participle; thus x'el-x'el- 'lifted' + -sT + -ox' → '(keep s-th lifted), holding s-th up')(also notice s-prefix (participial) on sk'stásstex'stex and sc'elstex'stex).

['make (s-o/s-th) do']: q'elstex' 'deceive s-o, fool s-o' (< q'el 'believe'), possibly q'yestex' 'chase s-o' ('*make them keep on going' or '*keep them keeping on going') and q'yestex' 'delay s-o, slow s-o down'.

Two examples fit all these allomorphs poorly: q't'estex' 'say to s-o' and q't'estex' 'do s-th' (gloss may be in error).

These {-sT} allomorphs are determined by the root meanings, but the semantic generalizations that can be made for each allomorph 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 {-eələs}; 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 (-e)les) 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 petf·m(e)les 'ask for/after/about s-o', neither the 'happen to' nor 'manage to' element seems to be implied, and for e'f·is '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, (-me), (-e)les), and (-e)x), 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-, -nexw-, and -stexw- (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
-nexw- controlled subject + causative (on subj.)
-stexw- 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 -nexw- 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 -stexw- the subject is controlling the object and causing the object (O) to act. Similar things can be seen in the Upriver Halkomelem cognates, -(e)t, -l-exw, and -s-1-exw 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

30
which may be relevant are shown in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Controlling subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Sentence Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>preferred</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>U</td>
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<td>some U</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 analyses the subject's control as in Beaumont 1977. The causative columns analyse causation as in Beaumont 1977 but contain a few surprises. Unlike Beaumont's data, my data shows a few -(e)T verbs which may have a causative effect: k'as 'pour it out, spill s-o/s-th on purpose' (k'as 'spill'), q'as 'launch or push s-o/s-th into the water' (q'as 'spill'), x's 'hurt s-o (on purpose)' (x's to hurt'), q'as 'warm s-th/s-o up', ?ay's 'delay s-o on purpose' (?ay's 'delay s-o, slow s-o down'), k'as 'bring s-th/s-o inside' (but compare k'as 'keep s-o/s-th inside' and k'as 'leave s-o/s-th inside'), and especially q'as 'kill s-th/s-o' (cp. q'as 'die'). A few of these operate very much like causative -(e)T. But the difference is that the -(e)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 -I verbs also may show causation on the object (in addition to causation on the subject), for example: sf·silex 'scare s-o accidentally' (sf·si 'be afraid, be scared') (but cp. sissistex 'scaring s-o'), xə'fulex 'hurt s-o unintentionally' (cp. xə'f and xə'f), xə'yelex 'save s-o's life, save s-o' (xə'yalex 'be alive') (but cp. xə'yelex'xtex 'keep s-o/s-th alive'), xə'wilex 'disappoint s-o' (xə'wif 'be disappointed'), q'xpalex 'infect s-o, pass on a sickness to s-o, get s-o addicted (to an activity, food, drug, etc.)' (cp. q'xp 'get addicted'). Fortunately here too there are minimal sets with -sT causative; these sets emphasize the lack of intent ('accidentally, unintentionally') with {-I} and the 'keep s-o/s-th doing' allosemes with {-sT}. With {-meT} and -(e)les no causative elements on the object can be seen. With {-(a)x} the same is probably true (no causative can be seen), though h'p'f·lax 'bring s-th down (from upper shelf, upstairs, etc.)' (cp. h'p'f·l 'go down, descend') is a possibility.

An interesting aspect of the 'intent' feature is that {-meT} and -(e)les 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 {-meT} and -(e)les are both negative in this feature (both involve actions 'regarding' the object). But also notice that {-I} 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 {-meT}, {-sT}, or {-(e)x} verbs found so far are verbs of realization of awareness (only three such have been found: xə'stetex 'like s-th/s-o', q'alstex 'dislike s-th/s-o', and tə'mex 'desire s-th, wish for s-th').

Most of the transitivizers are unmarked in preference of animate or inanimate objects. But {-(a)x} pre-
fers inanimate objects, and {-sE} 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 transitiveizer -(a)E (cognate to Upriver {-(a)xY}) may be viewed as a suppletive allomorph of Cowichan -t (cognate to Upriver {-(a)T}). So may the Upriver {-(a)xY}. But, as with Cowichan, speakers of Upriver Halkomelem are reluctant to use {-(a)xY} with first and second person pronoun object inflections. When necessary they do form words like yel'w-x'6-yX as 'he passed by me', but they are said hesitantly. {-(a)xY} 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 {-(a)E}). The one minimal pair (with 16p'-6T 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 corrections¹ 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 lAm 'go, going, go to, going to', mf - ?emf 'come (to), coming (to)', and sÉ '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 undorned verb roots and verbs without transitiveizers are all intransitive, intransitiveizers are not needed with many verbs. {-(a)E} 'get, become, go' and {-(a)l - -e1} 'go, come, get' act somewhat like intransitiveizers 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 intransitize the root. In fact some examples have been seen of transitiveizers added after {-(a)1 - -e1}, as in q'o-x'7-f'l-t 'go/com/e be a partner with s-o, accompany s-o', k6p-f'l-x'7 'bring s-th down', me0'-f'l-t 'make it blue; dye it, color it (any color)' (cp. meb'-f'l 'go blue, get blue' and o'-m6E 'blue, be blue').
This leaves the intransitizers (-em) and (-elm). (-em) 'intransitive' (and -em) 'middle voice' as well) appears to have several allomorphs, namely -m (after vowels), -em (after l or y which follows a high-stressed vowel, i.e. ĕ(1,y)**), -m (after l or y which follows a mid-stressed vowel, ĕ(1,y)**), -em (after a few mor-
phemes which are either vocally a weak or zero grade or which become so before the stressed suffix), and -em (after a few morphemes with root vowel ĕ which metathesi-
sizes to the -em suffix).

Some examples of the (-em) intransitives include:
qw'ēlm - qw'ēl'm 'barbecue, roast, put in oven' (qwélm 'cooked; ripe'), ēqgl'ēm 'to button' (lūk skgl's 'it is buttoned'), sfq'ēm 'peel (cedar bark)', ū'ēm - c'ēm 'chew' (c'ēlt - c'ēts 'chew s-th'), ḡ'ēl'm 'count' (cp. ḡ'ēl't 'count s-th/s-o', ḡ'ēlx'et 'counting s-o/s-th', ḡ'ēlx'el'm 'count'), q'ēm 'pack water, fetch water, (also 'dip water in some dialects)' (q'ēm 'water'), ū'em 'pick (fruit, leaves), picking', tī'ēl'm - tīľ'm 'sing', ṡ'ēl'm 'tell stories, tell children's stories', ṡ'ēkesa 'pull a canoe (by rope) (usually through rough water)', cēyēl'm 'spearing silver spring salmon (squēl'm) in clear water after waiting for them', ḡ'ēlyēm 'bake
(bread, etc.), fix (food)' (ḡ'ēly 'fix, make', ḡ'ēly-t 'make s-th, fix s-th', ḡ'ēly-ēt 'fix oneself up'), ḡ'ēly'ēca'ēm 'butchering' (ḡ'ēl'ēt 'butcher s-th'), ḡ'ēl'em 'get, fetch' (cp. ḡ'ēl't 'hold s-th', ḡ'ēl'ēx'ēm 'catch s-th', ḡ'ēl't 'take s-th/s-o'), ḡ'ēlx'ēm 'give, giving' (aspect unclear) (cp. ḡ'ēlx'os-t 'give s-th'), ḡ'ēlyēn 'marry a sibling of one's deceased spouse' (ḡ'ēlyēc 'sibling of deceased spouse'), cēl'm 'pack (on one's back)' (cēl-ēt 'pack s-th/s-o on one's back') (the imperative form is interesting, cēl'm-ēs 'pack some!', cēl-am a bit! (on your back)'); ḡ'ēlyēt 'stingy of food, refuse to give (food)' (ḡ'ēlyētēs 'he refuses s-o something'), hé-k'wēl'm 'remember' (cp. hé-k'wēl's 'remember s-o/s-th', may shed some light on the origin of (-el's)), k'wēya'm 'to sell' (cp. k'wēy'm-ēt 'sell s-th', k'wēy'm-ēl's '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 {-en}) are found most clearly and characteristically with verbs having somatic lexical suffixes or applying to actions done to one's own body. Thus ꤢ�퓃-ClearColor 'take a bath, bathe (oneself)' (vs. ꤢ福祉-ClearColor 'bath(s) -en'), ꤢ혜-ClearColor 'to dress (oneself)', ꤢ혜-ClearColor 'serve oneself (food, drink)', ꤢ.ret-ClearColor 'wash one's face', ꤢ.ClearColor-ClearColor 'run' (< ꤢ清算 'hurry, be fast' + 같다-ClearColor 'in/on the foot/feet' + -en 'middle voice, (one's, etc.)'), ꤢ.ClearColorClearColor-ClearColor 'shake one's hips', ꤢ.ClearColorClearColor-ClearColorClearColor 'shave oneself (on the jaw)' (< ꤢClearColor 'scratch, scrape' + 같다-ClearColor 'on chin or jaw' + -1 'come, go, get' + -en), etc. are all middle voice. Reflexives will be considered later.

The suffix - elves is also an intransitivizer.

-elves occurs in non-continuative forms, and -els occurs in continuative forms, consistently. Since continuatives are inflected forms and the non-continuatives are the base forms, it follows that -elves 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 -els as the unstressed version of -elves. 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 -elves.

The semantics of [ -t 's] 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 -en intransitive with the same verb root, the -en intransitive has the implication 'not on purpose, happen to, accidentally'. The 'not on purpose, accidentally' element however only seems to turn up in verbs which also have contrasting -é-1s forms; in the other examples cited above of -en intransitive the action seems to be done almost always 'on purpose'. At any rate, (-é-1s) would seem in part to be the intransitive equivalent of purposeful control transitivizer (-aT): The other strong semantic element in (-é-1s) is 'focus upon the activity not upon its results'. And it is here that most (-é-1s) verbs are contrasted with (-aT) counterparts; (-é-1s)-(-aT) pairs are fairly common; notice that (-é-1s) has the feature 'focus upon the activity and not the results' while (-aT) (and -sT and (-eY) as well) have the feature 'action has direct result on object' (treated above on pp. 31 and 34).

2. Benefactive, reflexive, and reciprocal.

(-eY) 'benefactive, for s-o' (precedes control suffixes)
(-l-é-t) 'happen to/accentually/manage to do to oneself' (replaces -l control and object pronouns)
(-é-t) 'reflexive, oneself, itself' (replaces control suffixes and object pronouns)
(-s1l) 'reciprocal, one another, each other' (replaces control suffixes and object pronouns)

Benefactive (-eY) follows the stem (i.e. follows all the lexical suffixes) and precedes the control suffix (-aT); it might also, in the shape of -eY, precede the control suffix (-sT), but this is poorly attested and doubtful. The schwa is dropped from (-eY) after vowel-final stems; otherwise it is present (-eY); it is stressed (high stress) after éy 'make, fix'. (-eY) can also be used as a malefactive but with somewhat humorous force as in the English constructions. Examples: éy-ék-é-at 'make it for s-o', ééy-ék-é-at 'making it for s-o', qá-ék-é-e-axY-es to qá 'he brought me the water' (cp. qá-m 'fetch water, pack water'), cèl 'iléq-ék-é-at 'I bought it for him', 'iléq-ék-té-1xY-es 'buy it for us!', k'eléq-1xY-ék-é-axY-es élèk 'she hid it for me', k'eléq-1xY-ék-t-æs élèk 'it was hidden for her', k'eléq-1xY-ék-é-æs-cel-es 'I'll hide it for you' (last three examples apparently have (-eY) transitive control suffix for the direct object and (-aT) transitive control suffix for the benefactive object!), o'eléq-ék-é-axY-æxY 'you fry it for me(!)', q'eléq-æk-é-axY-æxY 'you pluck it for me(!)', q'eléq-æk-t-æs òe sæfl to sæflæ 'the woman boiled it for her husband', pléq-æk-t-æs 'brush it for s-o!'.
I'll cut off the meat for you', col SuccessListener('I burned it for s-o'),SuccessListener('I cut the meat for me'), SuccessListener('I će've'ment for me'), SuccessListener('I cut it for me!'), SuccessListener('Ask for me if my order is in!'), SuccessListener('Ask me if it is ready!'), SuccessListener('Ask me if I have tea at hand!'), SuccessListener('you broke my leg for me'), SuccessListener('you took it for me'), SuccessListener('you divided it in half with s-o (for s-o)'), SuccessListener('you drank my tea on me'), SuccessListener('you left it for the dog!'), SuccessListener('she left it here for the dog!'), SuccessListener('that is what he left here for the dog!'), SuccessListener('I left it here for the dog!'), SuccessListener('I leave it here for the dog!'), SuccessListener('I left it here for the dog!'), SuccessListener('I left it here for the dog!'), SuccessListener('I left it here for the dog!'),

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

{-la'-net} and {-a'et} are the two reflexivizing suffixes in Syriac Alalam. Both replace control suffixes and their following object pronoun suffixes.

{-la'-net} is less common of the two and seems to contain the -1 control suffix, 'do accidentally, happen to do, manage to do'. It also has allomorphs -la'(·)net (when high stress precedes in the word), -la'(·)net (after list(1)), and -la'(·)net (elsewhere). The allomorph -la'(·)net is homophonous with the -1 control + 2nd person as, passive + subordinate -et (for subordinate passives), but the syntactic environments of the two rule out equating the two. Both {-la'-net} and {-a'et} can be followed by normal subject pronoun suffixes. Examples of {-la'-net} include:

'cilamla'(·)net 'grow up, raise oneself' (cil 'grow'),

'cilamla'(·)net 'shame oneself, be embarrassed' (cil 'be ashamed'),

'cilamla'(·)net 'make it through the winter',

'cilamla'(·)net 'fall asleep' (cil 'to sleep'),

'cilamla'(·)net 'stand up by oneself' (cil 'stand'),

'cilamla'(·)net 'raise oneself, pull through (illness, crisis, or childhood)' (cilma 'raise s-o'),

'tatla'(·)net 'understand' (cp. tat 'understand s-th, learn s-th, find s-th out', and esp. tat-at 'wonder, think about s-th'),

'cilamla'(·)net 'escape oneself, do something dangerous and get even more scared than expected',

'cilamla'(·)net 'escape, get oneself free (like from a trap)' (cil 'run away, escape'),

'cilamla'(·)net 'bring oneself to a summit (of mountain for ex.), masturbate' (cil 'get to the top or summit', s-o'ac· 'be on top of'),

'cilamla'(·)net 'manage to get here' (cil 'get here, arrive'),
fēl-anēt 'get to the shore (from water), land', fēl-anēt 'feel sorry for oneself'.

There are more examples of -(e)əet reflexive:
lā-yəet 'get fat, make oneself fat' (lā-s 'be fat'), qā'ə-yəet 'kill oneself' (qā'ə-y 'die'), q'ēf-yəet 'shake oneself, shake itself (for ex. of the earth in earthquake), bob about (for ex. of canoe in water)', q'iyā-qəet 'change oneself' and q'yəqəet 'get out of the way, dodge' (q'iyā-q 'change s-o/s-th'), qəqelə-ləet 'go get oneself dirty' (q'el 'bad, dirty'), qələ-əet 'turn (oneself) over/around' (q-ələt 'twist, turn over, turn around'), xələ-əet 'take care of oneself' (xələ-ləet 'look after s-o, take care of s-o'), qəhā-məeəet 'cry for oneself' (qəhā-met 'cry for s-th', qəh-e 'weep, cry'), ifəeəet 'ball (water), ball (oneself out)' (ifəl 'ball s-th'), qələ-əet 'come back' (qələ-əet 'bring s-th back', qələq 'be together with'), qələ-əet 'mark oneself' (qələl 'write s-th, mark it!'), xəfə-əet 'wake (oneself) up' (xəfə-xə-əet 'wake s-o up'), ləcə-əet 'fill oneself' (ləcə-ləet 'fill s-th'), xə-əet 'make oneself ashamed, starve oneself' (xəx 'starve!'), eʃə-əet 'fix oneself up', q'epəeəet 'gather (themselves)' (q'epət 'gather it!'), əxə-lə-əet 'disappear on purpose' (əxə-w 'disappear'), ləxə-əeəet 'cover oneself up' (ləxə-ləet 'cover s-o/s-th'), k'wak-wəyəəet 'training oneself (to be a shaman, spirit dancer, canoe-puller (canoe racer), etc.)' (k'wak-wəy 'climbing up'), k'wq'ə-məeəet 'drop oneself into a seat angrily, throw oneself on the floor or ground in a tantrum, throw a tantrum' (k'wq'ə-əet 'club s-o/s-th'), q'əq'ə-əet and q'ə-əet 'mix, associate or go with someone' (sq'əq'ə- 'be together with'), q'ətəeəet 'to stretch (oneself) out' (q'ətələet 'stretch s-th'), qəfə-əet 'to slide (purposely slide oneself as in skating, sledding, playing)' (qəfəəm 'to slip, skid'), q'əfə-əet 'shame oneself' (cp. esp. q'əfələ-əet above).

It is tempting to propose that the -(e)ə in -(e)əet represents the purposive control suffix -(e)əə and that the final -et in -(e)əet might be equated with that in -(l-ə-məet)(allonorph -ə-məet) as the reflexivizer.

Most of the examples support this semantically and phonologically (especially those with stressed transitivizers and stressed -(e)əet). The large number of roots with both -(e)əə and -(e)əet attested also clearly point in this direction. Only one proviso needs to be added: -(e)əet 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 -(moT) for example). Since -(l-á-met) is clearly used for (l) verbs, -(o-get) may have expanded its use to cover more than just -(oT) verbs.

A number of examples, not cited above, seem to either have a homophonous suffix -(o-get) 'verbalizer', get, become' or to have extended the semantic content of reflexive -(o-get) 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 -(o-get) suffix is the fact that in both the clearly reflexive examples and those with 'get, become' the suffix seems to be accompanied by e → a ablaut; it seems unlikely that this ablaut would be found coincidentally in two homophonous suffixes.

The reciprocal suffix, -(tel), 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. -(tel) 'reciprocal' may have allomorphs -t-tel and -t-tal - t-tal (the latter set seems used in contexts, 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-wáqtel - qóqsilqtel 'a lot of people) talking together' (qóqtel 'talk' - qtel in derivations + reduplication for plural subject), qeqátel 'to meet' (sqeq'l: 'be together with'), eëk'ëétel 'tug-of-war' (eëk'ë 'pull', 'continuative' reduplication, possibly eëk'ë-fy-tel with -fy 'wood, bark' if the tugged item was cedar withe rope, poles, etc.), gëqëtel 'having the same parents' (gëqë 'suckle' + 'continuative' reduplication, -tel here 'with each other'), qelq-qtel 'be siblings (to each other), be cousins (to each other)' (s-qeq 'younger sibling, cousin of junior line', -el- 'plural' infix as in sqélq 'younger siblings, cousins of junior line'), sëtel 'elder sister (or sibling)' and sëqtetel 'elder sisters (or siblings)' (sëtle a 'oldest (of children)'), këlta-tel 'wrestle', skexétel 'to separate in marriage, divorce', këk'ext-tal 'beating one another (in contest), competing' (këk'ët 'best s-o in a contest, win it'), qeqyqetel 'contradicting each other' (qyqtel 'contradict s-o'), piyétel
'fight', ɣyestel 'fighting', ɣyestel 'make friends',
yestel 'making friends' (op. sýyey (or better, s-yęye)
'friend'), le ɣestel'they were sitting side by side
(beside each other)' (t'oles-2 'sit beside s-o'),
ɣel-zel '(they're) sharing (food esp.)' (ɣel-zel'stes
'the's giving gifts to s-o'), memiyelstel 'helping one
another' (memyel'o? helping s-o', -o meaning unclear),
yestel '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. Here 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.

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
teslekas 6xk'ta to sýyeyeq. 'She bumped the man.' and
teslekas to sýyeyeq 6xk'ta. 'She bumped the man.' mean
the same thing. The second sentence violates the
VERB SUBJECT OBJECT order but is clear because 6xk'ta
can only be a subject.", p. 140 line 17 change to
"6xk'tas to sýyeyeq 6xk'ta. '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:
Verbs 3rd person passive OBJECT SUBJECT, as in
teslekas 6xk'ta to sýyeyeq. 'The man bumped her, She was
bumped by the man.'
There may also be some consequent corrections to the
chapter on syntax.