THE SHUSWAP COMPLEX TRANSITIVIZERS

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0 INTRODUCTORY

0.1 The grammatical account of Shuswap in SL p. 20-87, somewhat expanded in RS p. 11-32, needs elaboration on many points. In this paper the complex transitivizers -xt-/xt-, -m1nt/-mnt- and -w1nt- (always stressed) are treated in more detail.2

0.2 Sh. intransitive forms are either unmarked (t'ok go, piq' look, sóx'-le? bathe one's baby -le?) or have the suffix -(ó)w (wik-m see, cq-mn put, iq'-ekst-á applaud, lit. strike-hand-itr. Transitive forms are marked with a transitivizing suffix -xt- (rarely -t-) or -st-, the latter yielding causatives -t (depending on its order; 3rd pers. obj. zero, 3rd pers. subj. and midtx separate words in the sentence, these are in the absolutive case, so that in active other complements. The subject of itr. forms is in the absolutive case;4 but itr. tr. forms actor and goal are both in the absolutive. The relative case is used for forms can be accompanied by a complement English direct object: she makes (a/the) basket(s) can be expressed either simple ones and, unlike caus. -st-, have stressed forms (historically, caus. -st- had its own set of object suffixes, see Newman 1979).

0.3 The transitivizers are always followed by an object- and a subject-suffix (in this order; 3rd pers. obj. zero, 3rd pers. subj. -(ó)w). In passive forms the subject is referred to by the object-suffixes as found in the active, followed by a suffix -m or -t (depending on person).

0.4 Shuswap has two cases, expressed (among others) by the articles ye absolute and ta relative. When the referents of object- and subject-suffixes are specified by separate words in the sentence, these are in the absolutive case, so that in active tr. forms actor and goal are both in the absolutive. The relative case is used for other complements. The subject of itr. forms is in the absolutive case;4 but itr. forms can be accompanied by a complement in the relative case corresponding to an English direct object: she makes (a/the) basket(s) can be expressed either k'ul-m to miwx make-itr. Rel. basket or k'ul-n-ó-s ye miwx make-tr.-it- she Abs. basket.

There are itr. forms which incorporate a goal-object by means of a lexical suffix, e.g., sóx'-le? bathe-baby, k'ul-sxn-m make/earn-money-itr.

1 THE TRANSITIVIZER -xt- / xt-

1.1 In SL p. 46 the suffix -(ó)w is said to refer to "a human secondary object, usually a benefactive". Examples have since been recorded where the object is a dog assisting hunters (see 1.7), and horses taking part in dances. This does not mean that "human" must be replaced by "animate"; it will suffice to extend the definition to domestic animals taking an active part in human affairs.

1.2 The term "secondary object" in the above definition is also not satisfactory: it presupposes a primary object, which is not necessarily there, e.g., besides sacin-m sing-itr. (tr. sacin-min-s, see 2.3.3) there is saci-xt-s sing-tr.ind.- (him-) he, he sings for him. Furthermore, where another ("logical object")-entity is involved, the -(ó)w- object frequently refers to the grammatical possessor (see fn. 4) of that entity, e.g., mlmalq'-xt-s to cixm'-s paint-tr.ind.- (him-) he can be translated he paints his house for him or he paints his (other's) house, while in pulst-xt-s ta smâk-els he kills his (other's) daughter the possessive interpretation is normally intended. In this way, Shuswap disparages sentences like Mary loves her (1. own, 2. other's) father: x'ý-st-es ya M. ya që?ces (own) vs. x'ý-st-x-s ya M. ta që?ces (other's). Like Latin, Shuswap distinguishes x'ýstes vs. x'ý-xis to që?ces amat patrem suam vs. x'ý-xixs to që?ces amat patrem eius, though the grammatical means are quite different.5

1.3 There are cases where of the benefactive and possessive interpretations only one is possible. From c'k'ul-m leave food there is c'k'ul-xt-s he leaves (some) for obj., from pet-n-s he takes after obj. (parent) pet-xt-s to k'uxbstn-s he has obj.'s (parent's) eyes. In many cases the interpretations are equivalent, cf. mlmalq'-xt-s above and xtekxts he fills (cup) for him / his cup, q'mixts he shortens (hair) for him / his hair, etc. The interpretation may depend on the context, e.g., besides k'ans he takes it k'exts (n dropped) can mean he gets X for obj, as well as he takes obj.'s X.1.4 Where a somatic suffix refers to a goal-object, the possessive interpretation is excluded, cf. q'-ekst-á strike-hand-itr., applaud, q'-ekst-xt-s he applauds for obj. where the subject (and not the -xt- object) is the possessor of the hands. With non-somatic suffixes the two interpretations can once more be equivalent (as they are in English, especially in habitual cases: bring food to sb./sb. his food), cf. w'ëlx'xts in fn. 6 and e.g. k'ë-ës-ix-st-s he gathers (his) firewood (for him).

1.5 In a few cases the -(ó)w- object is neither possessive nor benefactive: x'-ix-st-s close door on sb. (-cin mouth, opening) besides x-kal-ci-xt-s open door to; toknen-xt-s refuse to give obj. (n drop in from obj., toknen-n-s protect, keep obj. under one's wing); ta-xt-xt-s (also unretracted -xt-s) refuse obj. st. (ta-xt-as forbid st.).

1.6 In two cases -(ó)w- is combined with the causativizer -st-, viz. in pul-st-xt-s kill obj.'s (relative) and in ke-s-xt-s put obj.'s (possession) where? (reduced forms of V'ken do what, be where and of caus. -st-) both are petrified cases of V'st- (see SL p. 53). Otherwise, caus. -st- remains absent before -(ó)w- cfr. x'ystes and x'y-xixts in 1.2, ta-stsas and ta-sts in 1.5, also w'ëlx'xts in fn. 6.

1.7 Due to the fact that the choice between active and passive is a matter of topic
in Shuswap (the topic being made the subject), passive forms are frequent in texts. In an account of the role of dogs in hunting mention is made of how a dog will pursue a wounded deer, bring it to bay and bark, upon which the hunters come up and shoot the deer; the shooting is expressed cëel,na-m-x= shoot-tr.ind.-pass. The dog is the topic and the subject of the passive form; a translation preserving the voice would be "it (dog) was shot it for", freer they shot it on him, they shot its (catch), in Shuswap (the topic being made the subject), passive forms are limited to certain semantic categories; its use is limited to these, i.e., it is often a lexical matter, see 2.2. Two major categories where the suffix is productive involve (1) mental acts or states and (2) bodily movements of the subject with regard to the object. In addition, a fairly common case is (3) sign-behavior toward or about the object; less common are (4) a shifting or placing of the object and (5) subj. makes obj. into st. or uses it as st. As is usually the case with lexical-semantic categories, the borders around and between these are not sharp. Only the most transparent examples are listed here.

### 2.3.1 Mental acts or attitudes: ptinasmns think of, pax'xins want no longer, be fed up with, qax'mins want, tll'xelasmsms give up on, tawams wonder at, tawins be ill-disposed toward, caq'mins be happy to see (also congratulate), coq'mins get fed up with, pax'mins be able to (also forget), k'ylxamsns will be unwilling to have sb.'s company, xawënsms be inimical to, xylesmsms intend, n-x'xamsms feel bad about (a loss), x'xënsms find too heavy, x'x.gmsms be tickled about, q'xënsms want, try, make effort at, x'xënsms be hungry for, tpyx'smsms (ES also tpyx'smsms) be annoyed with, tpyx'mins be angry with, x'-yphëlëxmsms id., wixamsms consider too good (to waste, give away), x-ynëmsms be dependent on, expect help from, x'xëxelasmsms get used to, x-ynëmsms get fed up listening to.

### 2.3.2 Bodily movements: t-'ll'xelxmsms gather around sb. (as listeners around storyteller), t-xëxxmsms turn away from, xëxxmsms dodge, yamins approach, t'xëxmsms pl. run after, pursue t'xëxmsms visit, xëxxmsms step over, t'xëxxmsms run to, xëxxmsms go towards, t'xëxmsms charg at, t-sax-xmsms pl. leave sb. by himself, cëxxmsms reach for, t-x'-ëxxmsms head off, xëxxmsms go up to, go after, n'x'ëxxms hide o.s. from, x-xëxxmsms follow (road, trail), x-ëxxmsms sweep down on, n'x'ëxxmsms jump over, x-ëxxmsms wake up to, (t-)ëxxmsms sneak up to, x'ëxxmstmsx/x'ëxxmsms reach for, t-x'xëxxmsms go to sb., go after (game, fish), t'xëxxmsms walk fast toward, xëamsms ascend to (sb. on top), q'xëxmsms set out for, t-x'-ëxxmsms climb after, perch on tree near sb., t-x'ëxxmsms go to obj.'s other side, wixëxmsms come in on sb.
2.3.3 Sign-behavior: telêmsns send word to, leave word for, cuhâms point at, sacâmsmin sing (a song), sing about obj., leô'smsns stick out tongue at, kapçâmsmin insult, kôsâmsmins abuse, scold, c-k^n'k'âmsns poke fun at, needle, qâm'êmsms intrigue, beg, qîcânsms wink at, q'îtems smile at, t-q'mâns talk about (q'î-l-nts say to obj.), t-q'îlutsms id., q'êêmsms ask, request, qêyêms scold, warn. To these may be added three "psychological" cases involving overt behavior: t-wîlmsns sg. laughs at, t-x'âmsns pl. id., c'ênâmsns cry for, mourn.

2.3.4 Placing or shifting: pûmâns pour out (mushy stuff), x-pk'êmsns dump out (solid objects like potatoes), t-mâmâns put obj. on top of st., trâmsns put on (clothes), also use, câmâns throw (away) sg. obj., sacâmsns put, place sg. obj., sîx'âmsns spill, x-lax'mâns put obj. on o.s., dress o.s. in, t'âmâns drag, x-kêlêmsns clasp obj. under arm, q'êêmsns throw pl. obj.

2.3.5 Make into or use as: sâtmâns take possession of, owm (own possession), sêkânsms enslave (sâsâské slave), cêkâmsns sell (toke st. for sale), q'êêmsns use as payment (?yke payment), k'ê ô-n'kêlêmsns ES use as a scarecrow.

2.3.6 The most frequent lexical suffix in (1) is -(ô)las chest, mind, self; in (2) -l(t)lx body, in (3) -c(l)n mouth (with -ûs face a close second).

2.4 The cases listed in 2.3 comprise a little over half of the recorded -m(l)nt- verbs. Many other examples could be listed under the above headings but show formal or semantic peculiarities. For instance, t'êomâns catch in trap has itr. leom, and with nominalizer s- sêwom animals trapped, the catch, so that the word does not quite fall under 2.3.5; in pûmâns stumble over obj., câmâns measure in steps, t-sât-kêns nudge, k'êkêstmsms drop, let go of (release hand from) the meanings involve more than mere motion. The same is true of têlêms accompany, têlêms (also -âdâms) to double-bank (sâsâsè two, tsâkè two persons, also companion, so that têlêms could be listed under 2.3.5). More isolated cases are kêsânsms give away, fâmâns lose (contest), c-kîlêmsns wait for, qûmâns make mistake in. In a few cases the object cannot be said to be affected indirectly: q'âmâns suck, cêkêlêmsms butt, qâx'âmsns frighten, q'êkêstmsms ruin.

2.5 In three cases -m(l)nt- has fused with the root to the extent that it allows extension with itr. -a, yielding -m'n-m, -m'n-m (note that with passive -m we have -m(l)nt-). These cases are pok'i-k'ân'm scatter, spill (Y-pk'p' pour out dry material), s-lax'ê-k'ân'm things to remember (ES lak'ê-x'êw remember) and q'ax'ê-k'êx'ânm-n play horseshoe-pitching game (q'êêx'-m's, cust. c-q'êêx'ê-m-st-s throw pl. obj., q'êêx'-lx spawn); the latter root retains -m- in other derivatives, e.g., x-q'ax'-m-etk'-n's throw obj. into the water, q'êêx'-mlm-lt-m there are sundogs.10

3 THE TRANSITIVIZER -mwent- (ITR. -mweñ) This is the only complex transitivizer that has a special itr. counterpart. We treat the two together so as to have a wider range of examples. The meanings expressed could be subsumed under the general heading "non-control", though this should not be pressed too hard, and in any case needs further specification. The two basic meanings are (1) be able (in general); (2) act or experience unintentionally. Though the suffixes are very frequent in texts and no more than 25 different cases were recorded (in texts and lexicon), the examples are such we are clearly dealing with a productive category.

3.1.1 Most frequent by far are the cases where ability or success are expressed. The meaning be able is such as is expressed by a derivative of the proto-verb -îl-ì act thus: itr. -îl-xweñ, tr. -îl-xweñ-s, often reduced to xweñ, xweñ (ES xêñxêñ xweñ). In an as yet unpublished text an aged person says: ta? l'înl k xweñ k stem I can't do anything (sc. any more); for a particular occasion cf. ta? l'înl k xâlêweñ I didn't get around to it, couldn't find time (T27ab15:5). Other examples expressing ability or success: with itr. verbs ?îtx/îtx sleep, ?xâlêweñ be able to sleep (T1:48); ?xînlm&Wl&lump t, mâtnweñ manage to scramble up (T5:16); q'înlm&Wl&lump speak, q'înlm&Wl&Wl manage to speak (T28a:36) besides which tr. q'înlm&Wl&Wl be able to say (a word, obj.) (T28a:37). An itr. derivation also in ptâlêxweñ be able to spit (T31:32) besides ptîlêm, ptîlêns and ptîlêns, see 2.1. Most frequent are tr. derivatives: ptîlêm&Wl&lump manage to pierce, n'lêm&Wl&Wl id. to bend, knax'llêm&Wl&Wl be able to help; besides causes, wi'sm(Wl&lump finish (see fn. 6) wo'lêm&Wl&Wl be able to id. Somewhat lexicalized are bpm&Wl&lump, bpm&Wl&Wl understand (sêm, sêm&Wl&Wl learn, guess, predict), (ca)câtnweñ be right, hit upon, find (V'cet right, fitting), also k'êm&Wl&Wl in the sense of catch (k'êm&Wl&Wl take, grab).

About half the cases in texts are negative, involving inability or lack of success.12 The dictionary in SL has several examples with wêñx (from wêx to be) in its idiomatic sense of barely: wêñx to n'lêm&Wl&Wl I was barely able to bend it, wêñx to n'lêm&Wl&Wl I had a hard time finishing it, n'lêm&Wl&Wl I'll have a hard time bending it (V'n'lêm&Wl&Wl not bend, inverted variants).

In a few cases suffixed as well as analytic forms were recorded: besides mâtnweñ he managed to scramble up (T5:16) there is xweñ xêñxêñ xweñ I was barely able to bend it, wêñx to n'lêm&Wl&Wl I had a hard time finishing it, n'llêm&Wl&Wl lak me? n'lêm&Wl&Wl you'll have a hard time bending it (V'n'llêm&Wl&Wl not bend, inverted variants).

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3.1.2 The only cases where the meaning unintentionally, involuntarily, accidentally was encountered was qâmânsns swallow accidentally (dict. and T27ab1:1; simplex qâmte), qâmânsns hit accidentally, also manage to hit (dict.; simplex qâmte), n'msnâns feel, happen to notice by touch (T5:27; msns feel (handle)) and xkweñ, xkweñ miss, fail to hit (VIII:178; simplex xkîm, xkîm). Though the examples are few, they are such that here, too, productivity of the suffixes is indicated. Here also belong a few lexicalized items without simple tr. correlates: kmsnâns miss, fail to find (kases having
3.2 Unless ability is stressed or the item is lexicalized, simple transitives are used for actions which are envisaged or expected. Thus, of V'x'àk miss, fail to hit we have nàkì x'sànìs yà sq"? as he was afraid to miss the whistler (VI:14) but c'élànm ... m x'mwès'ì he shot and missed (VIII:178); of V'qaq learn, guess, predict cut ?sxqëms he wants to learn it but x'wès'ì find out; of V'piùq' revive sq'ë'ì k pìît'sxìmns me? q?ëyn whoever brings her back to life I'll pay (T11:2) but tâ? tì q? spà'ìsxëmns they were unable to revive her (T11:4); with passive forms x'mènt's k'ent'mà to pilpilsm the police wanted to arrest him (T10:18) but tâ? tì? then k x'mwès'ìtx to pilpilsm there was no way the police could catch him (T10:16). As these examples show, the same treatment is given to V'x'àk fail to hit and to V'k'êm treat, grab. The derivative k'mwès'ìs be able/manage to get (I1:16, 21 with prefix c- hither) is lexicalized in the sense to catch, and it is here that we find a deviation from the rule stated above: q'màntìslís x'k'mwèntsìls they are after us, want/try to catch us (T27ab1:2; -1-1 pl. inclusive obj.).

3.3 It is also instructive to consider the verbs of passive perception (such as see, hear vs. look at, listen to) in Shuswap. wik-t's see has a simple transitivizer (so have piq"-ns look at, x'k-nt-es id., inspect, check; tx'us-m-s look (around) for). From a contemporary point of view we have a simple transitivizer in qìnqm-n-s hear (itr. (q)qmìn; cf. qìene-m-s listen to), though this is historically a -m(l)nt- derivative, cf. Columbian c'qàna?, c'qà'ì'men hear, int. and tr. (etymologically put-ear; listen is x'àkòma)? Again, we have a plain tr. in le[n]-n-s notice, sense (VIII:148, T27ab1:3:4). The "non-control" transitivizer is used in x's-mwès'ì smell (vs. sum-n-s, see above). There is a plain - marked pair only in mus-n-s feel (handle) vs. ms-mwès'ì notice by touch.

3.4 The basic meanings of -mewe, -mëns, then, are on the one hand ability, on the other hand non-intention. The semantic ambiguity as such is comparable (though not identical) to that of German lassen in the sense of faire and laisser, or of the English ambiguous type to have a book stolen.13

4 COMBINATIONS OF TRANSITIVIZERS

4.1 Indirective -xt- can be combined with -m(l)nt- as well as with -mënt-; it takes second place, the combinations are -m(l)xt- and -mëxt- (final t absent as in 3-5 -m(l)n-s, -mën-s; n dropped before -xl-jt- as in k'exts (see 1.3, x'màctixt's (1.5) and probably k'toxst (fn. 7)).

4.1.1 Examples of -m(l)xt-: nes-mxt-s go up to obj.'s st. (nesmms go up to obj.), nàkì-mxxt-s enter obj.'s lodging (?xìkmms come in on sb.), t-ìmt-mxt-s sit down on obj.'s st. (T18:74; 88; t-on, 2 outfit sit down, the form presupposes t-ìmt-mšns sit down on obj., itself not recorded), sàkì-mxxt-s enslave obj.'s (relative) (T19:48; sàmms enslave). Of V'txw we have t-e-n-s say obj., t-xwxt-s buy for obj., t-xwxt-k st. for sale; tàkì-mšns sell obj. (i.e. make into/use as st. for sale, see 2.3.5), t-xì-mxt-s sell to obj. Of k'akìlsm borrow: k'ákìl-n-es lend to obj., k'akìlm-m-s borrow obj., k'akìlm-m-xt-s borrow from obj., borrow obj.'s st. Note that the object of tàkìmxits is a destinee, that of k'akìlmixts a possessor.

4.2 In addition to the above simple cases there are a few examples of combinations of transitivizers (both plain and complex ones) involving reciprocal -wex", which always follows a transitivizer but itself allows transitive derivations, so that the latter contain two transitivizers. From x'pì-em, x'pìt-s stïchup, join there is x'pìt-wex"-xt-s join obj.'s together; same forms of teq"-m to nail, k'òlx to pinch, clip, see SL p. 53. On the other hand, from V'xìl release and the suffix -ìks half, middle, mutual, kì-es-n, kì-êks-n split up (kâx-êks separated, divorced) we have kì-kì-[s]-st-wex" split up (itr.) into separate groups, lit. cause each other to be apart, so that -wex"-xt- means cause to be/do to e.o. and -st-wex" cause e.o. to be/do. From k'ak'stëwxì there is a tr. derivative k'ak'stëwxì-m-s divide obj. among several persons. From V'xìy in c-xìyì receive parts of slaughtered animal there are the derivatives x'ìxì-exn-s share out, distribute obj., x'ìxì-ì[n]-xt-s st. to obj. and x'ìxì-ì[l]-x-wex"-m-s share out obj. to e.o. (-xt- with anaptyctic a). Quite unique is t-x"-nt-wex"-m-s together lift up obj. (VIII:195, passive) from x'ìxì-m, x'ìxìt-s lift up (t-on). Here more examples are needed.

With reflexive -cut only one similar case was recorded: xàl-s[t]-cut-mns-s to be scared of sb. (in the sense of not daring to do st. he might disapprove of). There is also one single example of -cut as an indirective object: ?kst-xa[t]-cut work for o.s., do one's own work (T8:34), vs. ?kstcut to work uselessly (T8:93), see RS p. 234. Since -cut, like -wex", always follows a transitivizer, the morphophonemic form is e[kst-xt-cut, from ?et-kst work (e[kst hand), the whole transitivizer -st- being "telescoped", see SL p. 47.
Footnotes

1) The transcription is that of Kuipers 1974, 1989 (referred to as SL and RS), except that the articles are written separately (and not y-, etc.) so as to allow a (selective) indication of morpheme borders within words. References to texts are as in RS p. 4. In English translations the Shuswap object is rendered as obj. (present to obj., present obj. with, kill obj.'s (relative), etc.). The dictionary form of tr. verbs is the 3rd pers. subject and object one and is translated as an English inifinitive in the later parts of this article. Abbreviations in translations: e.g., each other, o.s. oneself, sb. somebody, st. something, tr.ind. indirective transitive (the label for -x(1)t-). EL is Eastern Shuswap.

2) Morphophonemics: n and m in tr. and itr. suffixes can be glottalized; -nwaâ- and -nwelâ- are much more frequent than their plain counterparts. The final t of trans Allocator is dropped in a number of forms, notably in 3-3...n-0-s (not in suffix-stressed -nt-0-es). Moreover, n is dropped before -x(1)t- (exception: nt-xt-s put in place for obj.), leaving of -m(l)nt the alternant -m(l)nt-. In cases of "telescoping", one cons. being pronounced where morphophonemically there are two, [n]n, etc., is written. First person forms can have reduplication, e.g., -nweâln for -nwelâ.

3) The term was used by Reichard (1938:691) for a similar formation in Coeur d'Alene, where, however, there is a separate continuative. For Shuswap the term "continuative" would have been better. The term "customary" must be taken as a mere label for the c-...st- formation.

4) The remaining use of the absolutive is that in possessive constructions, e.g., citx"s yo k'uk"py house-his the chief, the chief's house, also k'uk"py yo citx"s (see SL p. 77-8).

5) In Sh. there is a syntactic ambiguity as xъystes yo Mary yo qâ'ces can mean Mary likes her father and (s)he likes Mary's father (cf. fn. 4).

6) With somatic suffixes Sh has the common Salish pattern ēw-s-m wash-face-itr., wash one's face, ēw-s-n-s wash-face-tr.-(him-)she, she washes his face. Occasionally such tr. forms occur with non-somatic suffixes, in which case the subject need not be the possessor, e.g., w'-ēl'-xt-s he finishes (building) a house for her/house (w' be finished, wi?-st-s finish, tr.).

7) The verb kex-t-es give to obj. parallels English present obj. with st. (and not present obj. to sb.); the derivative kex-m-s means give obj. away, see 2.2. koxtes may well go back to *koxt-es and contain the pro-verbal V'ken do what/something. Cf. Squamish sat-fit give to obj., likewise indirective, besides sat-an? give obj.

8) Some but not all of the cases where SL writes -m-n- are corrected to -mn- in RS.

9) In SL p. 65-6 -(ē)los is translated as A. chest, floor, character, B. things? RS adds the meaning field to A (p. 29). Case B was based on s-ēw-los buy st. (c-/s-hither), but the precise meaning is buy st. for oneself. There is only one range of meanings: (flat surface), field, floor, chest, mind, character, self, where chest → mind shows the usual extension of the physical to the mental domain.

10) In SL p. 46 -m(1)nt- is said to refer also to an object that is affected malefactoriously, with as example "accuse". However, a malefactorive meaning is not due to the transativizer but to the base, and the example num be jealous (esp. of sexual jealousy), num-n-s accuse (esp. of infidelity) is doubtful as the root ends in m and the tr. form may or may not reflect *nu[m]-mn-s (cf. qaqnimns in 3.3).

11) The part -mw may correspond to Squamish -nax non-volitional. Shuswap also has a few instances of a suffix -nax be caught/affected by, e.g., tk-ēl-nax be caught by darkness. This suffix has itr. and tr. extensions in ty-nu"m- m, n-s want, wish.

12) Inability or lack of success are also expressed by ta? k poskerms he has no success (II:1, see comments SL p. 97), ta? k poskerms ?skntes he couldn't touch it (T72a4:3).

13) Of the various theoretical approaches to language, that of Ebeling (1978) is the most congenial to the descriptivist, as it is non-speculative and has due regard to facts. For the English case, Ebeling concludes that have is polysemic (1983:184-7). In the Shuswap case, too, two meanings must be specified; having one semantic feature "control" is descriptively inadequate. There is no question of a feature "control" in the simple transativizers; like other morphemes, -nwe- adds to the semantic content. -- In Ebeling's terms, the Shuswap voice dimension is a matter of referential arrangement (subject refers to topic), while in English voice is a matter of assemblage (in a 2-place relation speaker presents one relatum before or to the exclusion of the other; see Ebeling 1978:28f.).

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