

THE SHUSWAP COMPLEX TRANSITIVIZERS¹

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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 -xít-/ -xt-, -mínt-/ -mnt- and -nwént- (always stressed) are treated in more detail.²

0.2 Sh. intransitive forms are either unmarked (t'ek go, piq' look, séx'-le? bathe one's baby -le?) or have the suffix -(V)m (wik-m see, cq-em put, tq'-ekst-m applaud, lit. strike-hand-itr. Transitive forms are marked with a transitivizing suffix -nt- (rarely -t-) or -st-, the latter yielding causatives and, in combination with the prefix c-, customary (progressive-habitual)³ forms; in addition, there are the three complex transitivizers, labeled as such because they end in the -(n)t- found in the 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. -(é)s). 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 yə absolute and tə relative. When the referents of object- and subject-suffixes are specified by separate words in the sentence, these are in the absolute case, so that in active tr. forms actor and goal are both in the absolute. The relative case is used for other complements. The subject of itr. forms is in the absolute 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 tə miñx make-itr. Rel. basket or k'ul-n-ø-s yə miñx make-tr.-(it-)she Abs. basket.

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

1 THE TRANSITIVIZER -x(í)t-

1.1 In SL p. 46 the suffix -x(í)t- 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 səcín-m sing-itr. (tr. səcín-min-s, see 2.3.3) there is səci-xt-s sing-tr.ind.-(him)-he, he sings for him. Furthermore, where another ("logical object"-)entity is involved, the -x(í)t- object frequently refers to the grammatical possessor (see fn. 4) of that entity, e.g., mlmalq'-xt-s tə citx'-s paint-tr.ind.-(him)-he can be translated he paints the/his house for him or he paints his (other's) house, while in pulst-xt-s tə stñk-elts he kills his (other's) daughter the possessive interpretation is normally intended. In this way, Shuswap disambiguates sentences like Mary loves her (1. own, 2. other's) father: x'y-st-es yə M. yə qé'ces (own) vs. x'y-xit-s yə M. tə qé'ces (other's). Like Latin, Shuswap distinguishes x'ystes yə qé'ces amat patrem suum vs. x'yxits tə qé'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'il-m leave food there is c-k'il-xt-s he leaves (some) for obj., from pet-n-s he takes after obj. (parent) pet-xt-s tə xk'tustn-s he has obj.'s (parent's) eyes. In many cases the interpretations are equivalent, cf. mlmalq'xts above and xte'xts he fills (cup) for him / his cup, q'mxits he shortens (hair) for him / his hair, etc. The interpretation may depend on the context, e.g., besides k'ens 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. tq'-ekst-m strike-hand-itr., applaud, tq'-ekst-xt-s he applauds for obj. where the subject (and not the -xt- object) is the possessor of the hands.⁶ 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'ełx'xts in fn. 6 and e.g. k'mm-esi'p-xt-s he gathers (his) firewood (for him).

1.5 In a few cases the -x(í)t- object is neither possessive nor benefactive: x-lm[t]-ci-xt-s close door on sb. (-cin mouth, opening) besides x-kəl-ci-xt-s open door to; təkñem-xt-s refuse to give to obj., withhold from obj., (təkñem-n-s protect, keep obj. under one's wing); ta?-xít-s (also unretracted -xít-s) refuse obj. st. (ta?-st-ás forbid st.).

1.6 In two cases -x(í)t- is combined with the causative transitivizer -st-, viz. in pulst-xt-s kill obj.'s (relative) and in ke-s-xt-s put obj.'s (possession) where? (reduced forms of V+st- (see SL p. 53). Otherwise, caus. -st- remains absent before -x(í)t-, cf. x'ystes and x'yxits in 1.2, ta?stás and ta?xíts in 1.5, also w'ełx'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 cq̄elnə-xt-m 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 practice one leaves the indirective untranslated. Other examples: an outlaw who was in the habit of making a hole in his hat whenever he had killed someone gives himself up saying "Count these!", and the police count them, the word used is xyen-xt-m he was counted them (on), they counted them (on him)/...his holes (T10:60), cf. also pulstxtm they had killed his (daughter) (T11:1), t-susk^v-xt-cl-m tə n-pípłxe on-blow-tr.ind.-ls.obj.-pass. Rel. my-skirt, my skirt gets blown.

1.8 Though -x(í)t- has the same morphology as the other transitivizers, it stands out by adding a relation to a destinee or possessor; as this relatum is expressed by the grammatical object, the transitivizer plays an important rôle in the core syntax of Shuswap.⁷

2 THE TRANSITIVIZER -m(í)nt-

2.1 In SL p. 53 the itr. suffix -m is said to be preserved in a number of tr. derivatives. Normally we have itr. -m, tr. -n-s (3rd pers. obj. and subj.), but besides tx^vusm search there is tr. tx^vusms, where itr. -m is said to be retained and -m-n-s is written. Though there are cases where itr. -m is retained (e.g. in k^vn-m-esłp quoted in 1.4; here m has fused with the root), the correct interpretation is tx^vus-mn-s, with the transitivizer -m(í)nt-.⁸ We have the following correlations between itr., tr. and tr.-customary forms:

itr. <u>pti^v-m</u>	tr. <u>pti^v-n-s</u>	tr. cust. <u>c-pti^v-st-s</u>	<u>spit at obj.</u>
<u>spit</u>	tr. <u>pti^v-mn-s</u>	tr. cust. <u>c-pti^v-m-st-s</u>	<u>spit obj. out</u>

That -mn- is retained as -m- in the cust. form is clear from the fact that the -m- is there also when the itr. form lacks it, cf. ḡ-ḡp-éłce be angry, tr. ḡḡpéłce-mn-s id. at obj. cust. c-ḡḡpéłc-m-st-s; n̄xel be afraid (here with devoiced lateral), n̄xel-mn-s id. of obj., cust. c-n̄xel-m-st-s; of (c-)nes go, come (c- hither) there is a causative derivative (c-)ne[s]-st-s take, bring obj. and a tr. with -mn-: nes-mn-s go up to obj., cust. c-nes-m-st-s. The n is also dropped in combinations with -xt-, e.g., nes-m-xt-s go up to obj.'s st.

2.2 Unlike -x(í)t-, which is fully productive, the suffix -m(í)nt- is limited to specific (groups of) verbs. Also, while the -x(í)t- forms in the large majority of cases have simple transitives besides them (the "possessive" cases imply simple tr. correlates), the -m(í)nt- form is usually the only tr. derivative of a base. The case spit

at (-n-s) vs. spit out (-mn-s) is rather rare; out of over 150 recorded cases of -m(í)nt- verbs only 12 have a simple tr. besides them. Other such examples are mlk^v-um gather, mlk^v-nt-es id., tr., t-mlk^v-min-s gather around obj. (as listeners around storyteller); mey-n-s move obj. closer, my-min-s approach obj.; kəx-t-es give to obj., kex-mn-s give obj. away. In a few cases the meanings of plain and complex tr. forms have drifted apart, e.g., from ten be placed (there) we have t[n]-nt-es put, place and tn-min-s put on (clothes), also use; besides cq̄-nt-es hit, strike there is cq̄-min-s throw (away); besides ḡit-n-s gnaw ḡət-min-s be hungry for. In a few cases identical meanings were registered, e.g., six^v-n-s and six^v-mn-s spill (there probably is a difference like spill vs. pour).

2.3 The productivity of -m(í)nt- is limited to certain semantic categories; its use is not limited to these, i.e., it is often a lexical matter, see 2.4. The two main 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: ptinəsmns think of, pəx^vmins want no longer, be fed up with, pəsmmmins want, tlix^veləsmns give up on, tq̄pmins wonder at, təḡmins be ill-disposed toward, cəx^vmins be happy to see (also congratulate), cəḡmins get fed up with, n̄xelms be afraid of, lək^vmins think of (not forget), k^vyilxms be unwilling to have sb.'s company, x̄m̄nəsmiñs be inimical to, xyelesms intend, n-x^veyms feel bad about (a loss), mourn, qəcəmins find too heavy, qəspmins be tickled about, q^vmins want, try, make effort at, ḡətmins be hungry for, ḡ^vilxms (ES also ḡlxmins) be annoyed with, ḡypmins be angry with, ḡ-ḡpéłcəms id., wlixms consider too good (to waste, give away), t-wyneləsmns be dependent on, expect help from, t-yx^veləsmns get used to, x-yéwemms get fed up listening to.

2.3.2 Bodily movements: t-mlk^vmins gather around sb. (as listeners around storyteller), t-melxms turn away from, mečxms dodge, mymins approach, t^vmins pl. run after, pursue tē^vmins visit, tweḡms step over, tək^vilxms run to, təkmins go towards, tēḡxms charg at, t-səx^vmins pl. leave sb. by himself, cewkstms reach for, t-ḡl-člilxms head off, nesms go up to, go after, n^vilxms hide o.s. from, x-newlxms follow (road, trail), λumlxms snoop down on, l^vilxms jump over, x-keclxms wade up to, (t-)kełm̄lxms sneak up to, x^vičkstms/x^včekstms reach for, t-x^vəsetms go to sb., go after (game, fish), ḡlilxms walk fast toward, qeltms ascend to (sb. on top), q^vəcecmns set out for, t-ḡ^vmtmins climb after, perch on tree near sb., t-yelxms go to obj.'s other side, ḡulx^vms come in on sb.

2.3.3 Sign-behavior: telcnnms send word to, leave word for, cuñms point at, sæcñms sing (a song), sing about obj., leq^vsmns stick out tongue at, kæpcinmns insult, kæscinmns abuse, scold, c-k^vnk^vemns poke fun at, needle, qmcneymns supplicate, beg, qiçsmns wink at, q^vit^vsmns smile at; t-q^vlmins talk about (q^vl-nt-es say to obj.), t-q^vlutmns id., q^ve^vxmns ask, request, xeymns scold, warn. To these may be added three "psychological" cases involving overt behavior: t-wlilmns sg. laughs at, t-x^vymins pl. id., čə[m]mins cry for, mourn.

2.3.4 Placing or shifting: pətmms pour out (mushy stuff), x-pk^vepmns dump out (solid objects like potatoes), t-mətmms put obj. on top of st., trmms put on (clothes), also use, cəqmms throw (away) sg. obj., sæcmmms put, place sg. obj., six^vmms spill, x-ləx^vmms put obj. on o.s., dress o.s. in, l^vmms drag, x-kəp^vxmms clasp obj. under arm, ʔe^vx^vmms throw pl. obj.

2.3.5 Make into or use as: sətnəmmms take possession of, own (sutn possession), swtmms enslave (səsəswt slave), t^vkemms sell (te^vke st. for sale), ʔ^vkemms use as payment (ʔ^vke payment), k^vəλ-nəx^velmmms ES use as a scarecrow.

2.3.6 The most frequent lexical suffix in (1) is -(é)ləs chest, mind, self⁹, in (2) -(í)lx body, in (3) -c(í)n mouth (with -(ú)s face a close second).

2.4 The cases listed in 2.3 comprise a little over half of the recorded -m(í)nt-verbs. Many other examples could be listed under the above headings but show formal or semantic peculiarities. For instance, lwyənmmms catch in trap has itr. lewyn, and with nominalizer s- slewyn animals trapped, the catch, so that the word does not quite fall under 2.3.5; in p^vlxmms stumble over obj., calxmms measure in steps, ʔs-t-k^vmms nudge, klekstmmms drop, let go of (release hand from) the meanings involve more than mere motion. The same is true of tkslmmms accompany, tkslmiñs (also -míñms) to double-bank (səséle two, tkséle two persons, also companion, so that tkslmmms could be listed under 2.3.5). More isolated cases are kexmmms give away, ʔlmmms lose (contest), c-k^vlmmms wait for, q^vxmms make mistake in. In a few cases the object cannot be said to be affected indirectly: q[m]mins suck, cqəλčemms butt, qəx^vmms frighten, q^vnekstmmms ruin.

2.5 In three cases -m(í)nt- has fused with the root to the extent where it allows extension with itr. -m, yielding -mín-m, -mm-m (note that with passive -m we have -m(í)nt-m). These cases are pək^v-min-m scatter, spill (V^vpk^v pour out dry material), s-lək^v-min-m things to remember (ES lək^v-luk^v remember) and ʔəx^v-ʔe^vx^v-mm-m play horse-shoe-pitching game (ʔe^vx^v-mm-s, cust. c-ʔe^vx^v-m-st-s throw pl. obj., ʔe^vx^v-lx spawn); the latter root retains -mm- in other derivatives, e.g., x-ʔəx^v-mm-etk^v-n-s throw obj. in-to the water, ʔəx^v-mm-ilt-m there are sundogs.¹⁰

3 THE TRANSITIVIZER -nwent- (ITR. -nweλn)

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",¹¹ 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); (finally) manage to, succeed in and (2) act or experience unintentionally. Though the suffixes are not very frequent in texts and no more than 25 different cases were recorded (in texts and lexicon), the examples are such that 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 as such is expressed by a derivative of the pro-verb xil-m act thus: itr. xil-nweλh, tr. xil-nweh-s, often reduced to xnweλh, xnweh-s (ES xe^vweh-s < x^vweh-s). In an as yet unpublished text an aged person says: ta^v ʔyi^v k sxl^vnweλn k stem I can't do anything (sc. any more); for a particular occasion cf. ta^v lu^v k nsxl^vnweλn I didn't get around to it, couldn't find time (T27ab15:5). Other examples expressing ability or success: with itr. verbs ʔitx/ʔətitx sleep, ʔətknweλh be able to sleep (T1:48); tq^vmut climb up, tq^vmt^vnweλh manage to scramble up (T5:16); q^vəq^vlut speak, q^vit^vnweλh be able to speak (T28a:36) besides which tr. q^vit^vnweh-s be able to say (a word, obj.) (T28a:37). An itr. derivation also in ptəx^vnweλh be able to spit (T1:32) besides ptix^vm, ptix^vms and ptix^vmms, see 2.1. Most frequent are tr. derivatives: pətk^vnweh-s manage to pierce, n^vnweh-s id. to bend, knəx^vnweh-s be able to help; besides caus. wi^vsts finish (see fn. 6) we^vnweh-s be able to id. Somewhat lexicalized are xəqpnweλn, xəqpnwens understand (xəqem, xəqntes learn, guess, predict), (cə)cətnweh-s be right, hit upon, find (V^vcet right, fitting), also k^v(n)nweh-s in the sense of catch (k^vens 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 w^ve^vx (from w^vex to be) in its idiomatic sense of barely: w^ve^vx tə n^vnweλn I was barely able to bend it, w^ve^vx tə we^vnweλn I had a hard time finishing it, m-w^ve^vx tək me^v noynweh^vx you'll have a hard time bending it (V^vn^vn^v/noy bend, inverted variants).

In a few cases suffixed as well as analytic forms were recorded: besides tq^vmt-nweλh he managed to scramble up (T5:16) there is xlnweλh ʔstq^vmut^s he managed to climb a tree (T27ab1:3), cf. also k^və^vtpnweλh he managed to escape (T27ab2:3) but ta^v k sxl^vnweλh^s ʔsl^vx^vups he couldn't escape (ibid.:4).

3.1.2 The only cases where the meaning unintentionally, involuntarily, accidentally was encountered are qm^vnweh-s swallow accidentally (dict. and T27ab1:1; simplex qm^vntes), qəmmweh-s hit accidentally, also manage to hit (dict.; simplex qəmm^s), msnweh-s feel, happen to notice by touch (T5:27; m^vmsn^s feel (handle)) and xk^vnweλh, xk^vnweh-s miss, fail to hit (VIII:178; simplex xik^vm, xik^vns). 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: k^vsnweh-s miss, fail to find (kəsēs having

lasted) for some time), xsnwens to (perceive a) smell (no other derivatives of \sqrt{x} s; cf. sumns smell at, smsumns sniff obj. all over (T27ab2:4)), qsnweñs feel, sense, have a presentiment of (T18:130; no other der. of \sqrt{q} s), qsnwens long for (q'es be a long time; cf. ksnweñs above).

3.2 Unless ability is stressed or the item is lexicalized, simple transitives are used for actions which are envisaged or expected. Thus, of \sqrt{x} ik miss, fail to hit we have nxeł ?sxikns yə sq'i'q'e he was afraid to miss the whistler (VI:14) but cqełnm ... m xkñwełñ he shot and missed (VIII:178); of \sqrt{x} q learn, guess, predict cut ?səqems he wants to learn it but xqñweñs find out; of \sqrt{p} iñ revive swetý k p'iñ'əstməs me? ?e?yn whoever brings her back to life I'll pay (T11:2) but ta? t'yi? k spəñ'nweñs they were unable to revive her (T11:4); with passive forms m-cuntməs ?sk'entm tə plplism the police wanted to arrest him (T10:18) but ta? t'yi? then k sk'ñweñtm tə plplism there was no way the police could catch him (T10:16). As these examples show, the same treatment is given to \sqrt{x} ik fail to hit and to \sqrt{k} 'en take, grab. The derivative k'ñweñs be able/manage to get (II:6, 11 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'nmintls ?sk'ñweñtls they are after us, want/try to catch us (T27ab12:2; -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'-n-s look at, čx-nt-es id., inspect, check; tx'us-mn-s look (around) for). From a contemporary point of view we have a simple transitivizer in qəqñim-n-s hear (itr. (qə)qñim; cf. k'leñe-mn-s listen to), though this is historically a -m(i)nt- derivative, cf. Columbian cqāna?, cqāna'mən hear, itr. and tr. (etymologically put-ear; listen is xxákəna?). Again, we have a plain tr. in le[n]-n-s notice, sense (VIII:148, T27ab13:4). The "non-control" transitivizer is used in xs-nweñ-s smell (vs. sum-n-s, see above). There is a plain - marked pair only in mus-n-s feel (handle) vs. ms-nweñs notice by touch.

3.4 The basic meanings of -nwełn, -nwens, 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(i)nt- as well as with -nwént-; it takes second place, the combinations are -m(i)nt- and -nwé-xt- (final t absent as in 3-3 -m(i)n-s, -nwén-s; n dropped before -x(i)t- as in k'exts (see 1.3, xlñcixts (1.5) and probably kəxtes (fn. 7)).

4.1.1 Examples of -m(i)nt-: nes-m-xt-s go up to obj.'s st. (nesmns go up to obj.), ?ułx'-m-xt-s enter obj.'s lodging (?ułx'mns come in on sb.), t-?mt-mi-xt-s sit down on obj.'s st. (T18:74, 88; t- on, ?omut sit down, the form presupposes t-?mt-min-s sit down on obj., itself not recorded), swt-mi-xt-s enslave obj.'s (relative) (T19:48; swtmins enslave). Of \sqrt{t} ew buy we have tew-n-s buy obj., tew-xt-s buy for obj., tēw-ke st. for sale, t'wke-min-s sell obj. (i.e. make into/use as st. for sale, see 2.3.5), t'wke-mi-xt-s sell to obj. Of k'əłen borrow: k'əł[n]-nt-es lend to obj., k'əłn-min-s borrow obj., k'əłn-mi-xt-s borrow from obj., borrow obj.'s st. Note that the object of t'wkemixts is a destinee, that of k'əłnmixts a possessor.

4.1.2 Examples of -nwe-xt-: pləkw'-nwe-xt-s manage to gather obj.'s st. (T1:143), ms-nwe-xt-s notice by touch obj.'s st., x-təx'p-nwe-xt-s understand obj.'s utterance (T28a:39; xtəx'péne get correct(ed) information), k'[n]-nwe-xt-s catch for obj., probably also catch obj.'s st.

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 xp-em, xp-nt-es stitch up, join there is xp-nt-wex'-st-s join objs. together; same forms of teq'-m to nail, kiq'-m to pinch, clip, see SL p. 53. On the other hand, from \sqrt{k} l release and the suffix -e'ws half, middle, mutual, kl-e'ws-m, kl-e'ws-n-s split up (kəł-e'ws separated, divorced) we have kl-w[s]-st-wex' split up (itr.) into separate groups, lit. cause each other to be apart, so that -wex'-st- means cause to be/do to e.o. and -st-wex' cause e.o. to be/do. From klwstwex' there is a tr. derivative klwstwex'-mn-s divide obj. among several persons. From \sqrt{x} iy in c-xix' receive parts of slaughtered animal there are the derivatives x'i?-lx-mn-s share out, distribute obj., x'i?-l[x]-xt-s id. to obj. and x?-l[x]-xət-wex'-mn-s share out obj. to e.o. (-xət- with anaptyctic ə). Quite unique is t-x'-nt-wex'-mn-s together lift up obj. (VIII:195, passive) from x'?'i-m, x'-nt-es lift up (t- on). Here more examples are needed.

With reflexive -cut only one similar case was recorded: nxl-s[t]-cut-mn-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: ?lkst-xə[t]-cut work for o.s., do one's own work (T8:34), vs. ?lks[t]cut to work uselessly (T8:93), see RS p. 234. Since -cut, like -wex', always follows a transitivizer, the morphophonemic form is ?el-kst-st-cút, from ?el-kst work (-é)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 γ-, 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 infinitive in the later parts of this article. Abbreviations in translations: e.o. each other, o.s. oneself, sb. somebody, st. something, tr.ind. indirective transitive (the label for -x(í)t-). ES is Eastern Shuswap.
- 2) Morphophonemics: n and m in tr. and itr. suffixes can be glottalized; -nweht- and -nweḥ are much more frequent than their plain counterparts. The final t of transitivizers is dropped in a number of forms, notably in 3-3 ...n-Ø-s (not in suffix-stressed -nt-Ø-es). Moreover, n is dropped before -x(í)t- (exception: tn-xít-s put in place for obj.), leaving of -m(í)nt- the alternant -m(í)-. 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., -nwéẉn for -nwéẉḥ.
- 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^v-s γə k^uuk^up̣ỵ house-his the chief, the chief's house, also k^uuk^up̣ỵ γə citx^v-s (see SL p. 77-8).
- 5) In Sh. there is a syntactic ambiguity as x̣^uystes γə Mary γə qé[?]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 čew-s-m wash-face-itr., wash one's face, čew-s-n-s wash-face-tr.-(hím-)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[?]-elx^v-xt-s he finishes (building) a house for her/her house (wi[?] be finished, wi[?]-st-s finish, tr.).
- 7) The verb kəx-t-es give to obj. parallels English present obj. with st. (and not present obj. to sb.); the derivative kex-mm-s means give obj. away, see 2.2). kəxtes may well go back to *kə-xt-es and contain the pro-verbal Ṿken do what/something. Cf. Squamish sāt-šit give to obj., likewise indirective, besides sāt-an[?] give obj.

- 8) Some but not all of the cases where SL writes -m-n- are corrected to -mm- in RS.
- 9) In SL p. 65-6 -(é)lās is translated as A. chest, floor, character, B. things?; RS adds the meaning field to A (p. 29). Case B was based on s-tew-lās 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(í)nt- is said to refer also to an object that is affected malefactively, with as example "accuse". However, a malefactive meaning is not due to the transitivizer but to the base, and the example num be jealous (esp. of sexual jealous-γ), 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]-mm-s (cf. qəqimms in 3.3).
- 11) The part -nw- may correspond to Squamish -nəx^v non-volitional. Shuswap also has a few instances of a suffix -núx^v be caught/affected by, e.g., tk-təp-núx^v be caught by darkness. This suffix has itr. and tr. extensions in ty-nux^v-m, -n-s want, wish.
- 12) Inability or lack of success are also expressed by ta[?] k pəskerms he has no success (II:1, see comments SL p. 97), ta[?] k pəskerms [?]skntes he couldn't touch it (T27a4:3).
- 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 transitivizers; 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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