CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO "DUTCH CONTRIBUTIONS ... 1973"

(A) Contributions to the Study of the Salish Verb

L I L L O O E T

p. 2: For "-(λ)ken, -(λ)kek, -(λ)kél'ep" (itr./subj./tr. subj. 1-2) read: "-(λ)k-en, -(λ)k-ex, -(λ)k-él'ep".

-en, -ex, -él'ep are found in constructions of the following type: 7é-ti7 λ-t'iq-en I came to that place, 7é-ti7 λ-t'iq-ex you came to that place, 7é-ti7 λ-t'iq-él'ep you(pl) came to that place. The suffixes for 3s, 1p and 3p in these constructions are: -eś, -et, -wit-eś.

For "-eliteś" (tr. subj. 3p - i s obj.) and "-lifteś" (tr. subj. 3p - 1p obj.) read: "it-eś", for -el/-l have to be regarded as parts of the 1s and 1p object-suffixes rather than as parts of the 3p subject-suffix and -iteś can be split up in -it, which clearly is related to -wit and refers to 3p, and -eś, which refers to 3s.

For "-č, -umx" (obj. 1-2 of 1s) read: "-č/-čal" and "-umx/-umxal", for "čal, -umxal" are found in passive constructions like ę'Čal-n-čal-m I got burnt and neq'-en-št-umxal-am I was stolen, so "-el" does not belong to the tr. subj. suffix 3p as was previously assumed.

For "-umu" (obj. 1p - 3p subj.) read "-umul". In this way we do not have to assume an extra tr. subj. suffix 3p "-liteś".

p. 3: A 6th transitivizer can be added: "-unu", meaning "to think to believe". Examples: še-me7 white man, še-me7-unu to think smb. is white; wne-axis true, wne-axis-unu to believe smb.

S E C H E L T

Correction: for POSSESSIVE 3pl. -s-it read -it.
Additions: apart from -mi't- there are two more transitive suffixes referring to an object which is only indirectly involved in the action or phenomenon expressed by the stem; these are -7Emt- and -nit-. Further a -∅- transitivizer should be added.

-7Emt- In most instances the action expressed by the stem is performed in favor and/or in stead of the object referred to in only one instance (kway-7Emt- to take away from someone, V kway separate) in disfavor of the object referred to. Examples:

7u-q w-7Emt- to dig clams for someone (7u-q w to dig clams), pn-7Emt- to bury for someone (V pEn to cover with soil), 7u-7Emt- to call for someone (Yu-t to call tr.), yu-st-7Emt- to take home for someone (yu to go home).

-nit- The action or phenomenon expressed by the stem affects the object referred to in a negative way:

2a'Ed-nit-PASSIVE to be caught by rain (2a'Ed rain), kiliq-nit-PASSIVE to be made war against (kiliq to make war), dli'du-nit- to rob tr. (dli'du to steal tr.), yul-ut-awi-nit- to argue with someone (V yul to set in motion, -awi reciprocal suffix), lils-t-awi-nit- to wrestle with someone (lils-t to throw on the ground tr.).

-∅- Typical of this transitivizer are its special sets of object-suffixes, which show a remarkable resemblance to the ones following the transitivizers -n- and -st-:

1 -im-./-am-. 2 -imi-/-ami-
3/3p -iš-/-aš
1p -im-úmu/-am-úmu 2p -(im)-imi-élap/(am)-ami-élap

The suffixes with vowel i are usually found after stems with vowel a, the ones with vowel a usually after stems with E (schwa). Most stems which take the -∅- transitivizer express a motion of some kind. Examples (forms are given with 3sg. object):

0k w al-iš to hide, taw-iš to buy, sáy-iš to show, lEš'-áš to fill, lEš'-áš to hide in the bushes tr., Teš-áš to pick up, áš-áš to take smt. out of smt.

The passive forms that follow the -∅- transitivizer are characterized by the vowels i and a too:

1 -im-ál-m/-am-ál-m 2 -imi-m/-ami-m
3/3p -im/-am
1p -im-úmu-áš/-am-úmu-áš 2p -imi-m-élap/-ami-m-élap

Bella Coola

"The endings -nu, -x0 etc." should read: "The endings -nu, 
-x0 (2nd pers. sg. subj.) are replaced by -x; -(n)ap, -p (2nd pers. pl. subj.) by -(n)aX0; -i- (3d pers. sg. obj.) by -t; -ti- (3d pers. pl. obj.) by -tan"
**Intransitive imperatives:**

2s  ꜜay-x  q-ulx-

2p  ꜜap-axo  q-ulx-naxo

**Transitive imperatives:**

2s-1s  7awl-c-x  7alps-tu-m-x

2s-1s  7awl-t-x  7alps-txO (*-txO-x)*

2s-1p  7awl-tai-x  7alps-tu-mu-x

2s-1p  7awl-tan-x  7alps-tu-tan-x (*)

2s-1p  7awl-tan-x  7alps-tu-tan-x (*)

2p-1s  (7awl-c-x)  (7alps-tu-m-x)

2p-1p  7awl-ta-xO  7alps-t(w)-axO

2p-1p  7awl-tul-axO  7alps-tu-mu-axO

2p-1p  7awl-tan-x  7alps-tu-tan-x

* Cf. the participial forms: ti_7awl-t "the one that followed him", ti_7alps-txO "the one that fed him"; ti_7awl-tan "the one that followed them", ti_7alps-tu-tan "the one that fed them"

**THOMPSOON**

Imp. 2p-1p kn-t-ey-oz-e

Class CII: replace incorrect *taxo-st-es etc. (for correct *taxo-t-es AII) by k*ak*st-es etc. save.

Type BIb: eliminate *le?xén- eat (**le?xéns is an itr. base, cf. s-**le?xéns food). As to the forms (partly misrecorded) that seemed not to fit the classification:

1-3 nséwnine, 3-3 nséwnins (BIb); wetkéyne, wetkéyes (BIA); nk*ik*ine, nk*ik*eyes (BIA); a special glottalized counterpart of BIA in #úq*sehe, #úq*se's, 2p-3 #úq*se'tp; a completely separate type in ïweyne, ïweys, ïweytp, with root-stress (I) and transitivizer -t- (A) in the plural (with 3rd pers. object) only.

**Bella Coola Vowelless Words**

PP: (109) tc little boy, (110) tk* dirty; PP: (111) vs. to mould, (112) ox to rub a string dry, (113) k*x* to match, fit; PP: (114) sc to (get) spray(ed), (115) ak to dry up, (116) xt brittle, (117) kút to bawl out; PP: (118) xs the whole or length of it; (119) pit warm, (120) kxt to brace sth.; FPP: (121) sk*c wrinkles; FPP: *s*àd kind of dried fish (? nominalizer s- + *àd to slap); FPP: sx* afterbirth (I sx bad + -à).
(148) Tł̓pc moss: Li pē7̌-m
(149) psxm pit-lamping: Li pšéxEm "gather firewood"
(150) nu-papnt to boil: Sh pEtEtät
(151) pik sparking: Sq pš-
(152) mno-aq'os to crush: Se mEq'at (the Se extra -q' remains unexplained)
(153) mnē-imut to rest: Sh mēa-Elx
(154) a-tqo mud: Sq tiqo "muddy"
(155) tap-us to spread out, tp-ik put a hide on a stretcher: Sh tp-em "to spread", Sq tp-ul-tn "frame for weaving blankets"
(156) tsk'o's willow grouse: Li tēxx'e? (cf.? Se stīx'im id.)
(157) tks-n to fire a gun: Sq tEq'o's
(158) tā7̌x-o'm to lick: Sh tEq'-Em (the Bo form is a result of deglottalization, giving rise to lengthening of the preceding vowel; cf. pa7̌x'u "to fear" besides Sq (7i)paq'ul id., tix-ti7q-ta "yarn, thread" besides tiq "to sew, mend", six-si7q'o "airplane" besides sq'o "to jump, fly", -li7c "skin, blanket" besides -lic id., -aq's "eye" besides -a7q'o id., nu-a-xo7k-əsta "bath-tub" besides xo'uk "to bathe")
(159) cq'o begin doing sth.: Li q ôEs-ın
(160) ti7x'o-aq'o-s-a to nail: Sh tEq'-Em (see for commentary item (158))
(161) cipcipi bird: Sq cip-øpi7a-tn "nest"
(162) cf'x-o-ta-ıp red willow: Li cFx'-ox'ez
(163) ciq to burn: Sq ox'x
(164) cum-u7s to kiss: Sh cım-qs-Em
(165) smat-mx (? stmat-mx) friend: Sh stEmét
(166) stalt-mx (? s-tl-mx) chief: Sq stEl-mExo "person, Indian"
(167) stakaw sister-in-law: Sh skew (? stkw)
(168) sk'p straight: Li šk'ep
(169) sq to cut, wound, tear: Sq sq-im7 "to split wood"
(170) sk' to scrape: Se sak'-at "id. a hide"
(171) su7̌i, suaq'i younger sibling ("s/E/7̌i7̌?): Li šuq'-ez, šEq'-əz
(172) suq'ustin tadpole: Sh sEq'qin (Sh -i- inexplicable)
(173) nik to cut: Sh nik-Em
(174) li fast: Se ɪ̪ʃ-ɪ̪
(175) qe te slap: Sq éq'°-am
(176) xuc to undress: Sq alufca-m
(177) law loose: Sh lg°-lij°
(178) kx (? k°k) to look: Sq k°ač
(179) kax° empty: Sq ñix° "dry"
(180) k°x to split: Sq k°Eič "be split open"
(181) k°liwas brother-in-law: Sq s-k°Iwas "co-parent-in-law"
(182) k°x to pour out: Sq k°I-at
(183) s-k°ult quills of porcupine: Sh s-k°el
(184) qm weak, soft: Sq qlim
(185) q ¥ to stumble: Sq qač "be stopped"
(186) qa7 žacil-i swallow (qaqacqn → qa7acxn → qa7žacxn
    → qa7žažacil-i): Li qf-qockEn, Th qa7qacqn
(187) qa7žac-xi to tickle: Sh qEs-qIs-Em (Bo -xi prob. analogously
to (186))
(188) qo-Ìž I to stumble: Sh x-oEq-El-qfn-xEn
(189) qlat to steam-cook: Sh qElst-ɛm
(190) nu-s-qem-ta stingy: Li qm-El-tEn
(191) s-žp-ik spine: Sq s-žp-ɛm "fish-tail"
(192) ža-žaq goose: Se ža
(193) q°it blue: Sh q°i-q°fyt
(194) q°a to laugh: Li q°Eič "to scald"
(195) ŋis-m to play, joke: Li ŋiš-ɛm
(196) ŋp-qa's to squeeze: Li pe7
(197) ŋoa tooth (poss. ŋys - ŋyc - ŋyn - ica): Sq ŋEmfs
(198) ŋi and: Sq ŋi
(199) ŋnut say what?: Sq ŋfnat
(200) ŋxf to grind: Sq ŋxf "to scratch", Sh ŋEič-ɛm
(201) ŋano driftwood: Li zenuč
(202) ŋalq, ŋalx round: Sh yilq-ɛn-m "to coil up"
(203) ŋul-ak-m to stir: Se yul-als-t
(204) s-uom-us barnacle: Se ñum-ąyu

Again, the number of Bo-Interior Salish correspondences parallels that
of Bo-Coast Salish corr.; this corroborates the idea of Bo occupying
an isolated position within the Salishan stock.