

(A) Contributions to the Study of the Salish VerbL I L L O O E T

p. 2: For "-(λ)ken, -(λ)kex, -(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'íq-en I came to that place, 7é-ti7 λ-t'íq-ex you came to that place, 7é-ti7 λ-t'íq-él'ep you(pl) came to that place. The suffixes for 3^S, 1^P and 3^P in these constructions are: -eš, -et, -wit-eš.

For "-éliteš" (tr. subj. 3^P - 1^S obj.) and "-líteš" (tr. subj. 3^P - 1^P obj.) read: "it-eš", for -el/-l have to be regarded as parts of the 1^S and 1^P object-suffixes rather than as parts of the 3^P subject-suffix and -iteš can be split up in -it, which clearly is related to -wit and refers to 3^P, and -eš, which refers to 3^S.

For "-č, -umx" (obj. 1-2 of 1^S) read: "-č/-čel" and "-umx/-umxel", for "čel, -umxel" are found in passive constructions like š'əl-n-čél-m I got burnt and neq'°-en-št-úmxel-am I was stolen, so "-el" does not belong to the tr. subj. suffix 3^P as was previously assumed.

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

p. 3: A 6th transitivizer can be added: "-nun", meaning "to think to believe". Examples: šéme7 white man, šéme7-nún to think smb. is white; wnex° true, wnéx°-nun to believe smb.

S E C H E L T

Correction: for POSSESSIVE 3pl. -s-it read -it.

Additions: apart from -mit- 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 -ø- 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 (k^way-7Emt- to take away from someone, V^wk^way separate) in disfavor of the object referred to. Examples:

7u^wq^wu-7Emt- to dig clams for someone (7u^wq^wu to dig clams), pn-7Emt- to bury for someone (V^wpEn to cover with soil), 7u-7Emt- to call for someone (7u-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:

↳ č'Eł-nit-PASSIVE
to be caught by rain (č'Eł rain), xiliš-nit-PASSIVE to be made war against (xiliš to make war), čl'úł-nit- to rob tr. (čl'úł to steal itr.), yul-ut-áwl-nit- to argue with someone (V^wyul to set in motion, -awł reciprocal suffix), lils-t-áwl-nit- to wrestle with someone (lEs-t to throw on the ground tr.).

-ø- 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 -imš-/-amš-
- 2 -imi-/-ami-
- 3/3p -iš-/-aš
- 1p -im-úmul-/-am-úmul-
- 2p (-im)-imi--Ełap/(-am)-ami--Ełap

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 -ø- transitivizer express a motion of some kind. Examples (forms are given with 3sg. object):

↳ k^wál-iš
to hide, táw-iš to buy, sáy-iš to show, lEč'-áš to fill, lEš-áš to hide in the bushes tr., 7Ew-áš to pick up, lEw-áš to take smt. out of smt.

The passive forms that follow the -ø- 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-úmul-m/-am-úmul-m
- 2p -imi-m-Ełap/-ami-m-Ełap

BELLA COOLA

"The endings -nu, -x^o etc." should read: "The endings -nu, -x^o (2nd pers. sg. subj.) are replaced by -š; -(n)ap, -p (2nd pers. pl. subj.) by -(n)aš^o; -i- (3d pers. sg. obj.) by -t-; -ti- (3d pers. pl. obj.) by -tan-"

Intransitive imperatives:

2s ʔap-ǰ q^oula-ǰ
 2p ʔap-aǰ^o q^oula-naǰ^o

Transitive imperatives:

2s-1s	7awl-c-ǰ	7aǰps-tu-m-ǰ
2s-3s	7awl-t-ǰ *	7aǰps-tǰ ^o (*-tǰ ^o -ǰ) *
2s-1p	7awl-tul-ǰ	7aǰps-tu-mul-ǰ
2s-3p	7awl-tan-ǰ *	7aǰps-tu-tan-ǰ *
2p-1s	(7awl-c-ǰ)	(7aǰps-tu-m-ǰ)
2p-3s	7awl-t-aǰ ^o	7aǰps-t(w)-aǰ ^o
2p-1p	7awl-tul-aǰ ^o	7aǰps-tu-mul-aǰ ^o
2p-3p	(7awl-tan-ǰ)	(7aǰps-tu-tan-ǰ)

*) Cf. the participial forms: ti_7awl-t "the one that followed him", ti_7aǰps-tǰ^o "the one that fed him"; ti_7awl-tan "the one that followed them", ti_7aǰps-tu-tan "the one that fed them"

T H O M P S O N

Imp. 2p-1p kn-t-éy-oz-e

Class CII: replace incorrect *tǰ^o-st-és etc. (for correct tǰ^o-t-és AII) by k^oak^o-st-és etc. save.

Type BIb: eliminate ǰe'xén- eat (ǰe'xéns is an itr. base, cf. s-ǰe'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^oik^oíne, nk^oik^oíyes (BIa); a special glottalized counterpart of BIa in ǰúq^oseñe, ǰúq^ose's, 2p-3 ǰúq^ose'tp; a completely separate type in ǰwéyne, ǰweys, ǰweytp, with root-stress (I) and transitivizer -t- (A) in the plural (with 3rd pers. object) only.

(B) Bella Coola Vowelless Words

PP: (109) tc little boy, (110) tk^o dirty; PF: (111) ps to mould, (112) px to rub a string dry, (113) k^ox^o to match, fit; FP: (114) sc to (get) spray(ed), (115) ǰk to pry up, (116) ǰt brittle, (117) ǰǰ to bawl out; FF: (118) xs the whole or length of it; PFP: (119) pǰt warm, (120) kǰt to brace sth.; FPP: (121) sk^oc wrinkles; (122) FFP: sǰq kind of dried fish (? nominalizer s- + ǰq to slap); FFF: sxǰ afterbirth (? sx bad + -ǰ).

(C) Bella Coola Etymologies

- (148) ā-pc moss: Li p^é7š-m
- (149) psxm pit-lamping: Li pš^éxEm "gather firewood"
- (150) nu-papnt to boil: Sh p^ÉtEtét
- (151) pik sparking: Sq pič-
- (152) mnc-aq^o s to crush: Se m^Écq^o-át (the Se extra -q^o- remains unexplained)
- (153) mnł-imut to rest: Sh m^éł-Elx
- (154) s-tq^o mud: Sq tiq^o "muddy"
- (155) tap-us to spread out, tp-ik put a hide on a stretcher:
Sh pt-em "to spread", Sq tp-^uł-tn "frame for weaving blankets"
- (156) tak^o s willow grouse: Li t^ékx^oe7 (cf.? Se st^íx^oim id.)
- (157) tks-n to fire a gun: Sq t^Ék^os
- (158) ta7^š^o-m to lick: Sh t^éq^o-Em (the Bc form is a result of deglot-talization, giving rise to lengthening of the preceding vowel; cf. pa7^š^ou "to fear" besides Sq (7i)páq^ouł 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^os "eye" besides -a7q^os id., nu-s-x^ou7k-sta "bath-tub" besides x^ouk "to bathe")
- (159) cq^o begin doing sth.: Li q^oEč-n
- (160) ti7^š^o-aq^os-a to nail: Sh t^éq^o-Em (see for commentary item (158))
- (161) ciccipi bird: Sq cip-cpi7ł-tn "nest"
- (162) c^š^o-ta-łp red willow: Li c^Éš^o-c^š^o-ez
- (163) ciš to burn: Sq c^Éš
- (164) cum-u7s to kiss: Sh c^um-qs-Em
- (165) smat-mx (? *stmat-mx) friend: Sh stEmét
- (166) stalt-mx (? *s-ta(ł)-tl-mx) chief: Sq st^Éł-mEx^o "person, Indian"
- (167) stakaw sister-in-law: Sh skew (? *stkew)
- (168) sk^op straight: Li šk^oep
- (169) sq to cut, wound, tear: Sq sq-im7 "to split wood"
- (170) sš to scrape: Se sáš^o-at "id. a hide"
- (171) su7^ši, susq^oi younger sibling (*s^É/u^oq^oi7): Li šúq^o-ez, š^Éšq^o-éz
Sq s-(7)Eq^oi7-tł (see for commentary item (158))
- (172) suq^ou7šin tadpole: Sh sl^ÉEq^oqín (Sh -ł- inexplicable)
- (173) nik to cut: Sh ník-Em
- (174) ʎi fast: Se ʎi-ʎi

- (175) lq to slap: Sq l'áq^o-an
 (176) luc to undress: Sq lu'íca-⁷m
 (177) law loose: Sh lǵ^o-lǵ^o
 (178) kx (? *k^ok) to look: Sq k^oač
 (179) kax^o empty: Sq čix^o- "dry"
 (180) k^ol to split: Sq k^oElč "be split open"
 (181) k^oliwas brother-in-law: Sq s-k^oíwas "co-parent-in-law"
 (182) k^ol to pour out: Sq k^ol-at
 (183) s-k^oult quills of porcupine: Sh s-k^oel
 (184) qm- weak, soft: Sq qlim
 (185) q' to stumble: Sq qa' "be stopped"
 (186) qa7'xacxil-i swallow (*qaqacqn → qaqacqn → qa7qacxn → qa7'xacxn → qa7'xacxil-i): Li q'qckEn, Th q'qacqn
 (187) qa7-xac-xi to tickle: Sh qEs-qís-Em (Bc -xi prob. analogously to (186))
 (188) qc-i7'x^o-al to stumble: Sh x-cEq-El-qín-xEn
 (189) qlst to steam-cook: Sh q'Elst-ém
 (190) nu-s-qam-ta stingy: Li qm-él-tEn
 (191) s-xp-ik spine: Sq s-x'Ep-šn "fish-tail"
 (192) ša-ša^o goose: Se ša
 (193) q^oit blue: Sh q^oi-q^oíyt
 ?(194) q^ol to laugh: Li q^oEl "to scald"
 (195) x'is-m to play, joke: Li x'íč-ém
 (196) 7ip-aq^os to squeeze: Li pe7
 (197) 7ica tooth (poss. *y^ons - ync - ycn - ica): Sq yEnís
 (198) 7in and: Sq 7i
 (199) 7inut say what?: Sq 7ínat
 (200) 7i' to grind: Sq 7i' "to scratch", Sh yEǵ-ém
 (201) yanc driftwood: Li zénuč
 (202) yalq, yal' round: Sh yilq-ín-m "to coil up"
 (203) yul-ak-m to stir: Se yúl-als-t
 (204) s-uom-uš barnacle: Se cum-áyu

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

