

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE SALISH VERB

INTRODUCTORY

An analysis of the Salish verb is a central requirement both from a descriptive and from a historical point of view. If by "verb" we understand all finite, all participial ("who went, who saw me"), and all factual ("that he went, (for) him to see me") expressions, then a very large part of morphology as well as syntax is involved. From a historical point of view a closer study of the Salish verb may be expected to lead to a better insight into Salish ablaut patterns (cf. Kuipers 1970:52, Kin-kade and Sloat 1972:41-44), which in turn will elucidate the PS vowel system and its reflexes in the individual languages.

In general, the Salish languages have a subject-paradigm for intransitives, an object-subject paradigm for transitives, the latter marked by overt transitivizers. Factuals are nominalizations which take, in addition to object- and sometimes also subject-affixes, affixes of the possessive paradigm. Some of the languages have a "dependent" personal paradigm besides the finite one (e.g. Sh. "iʔən-kn I eat vs. "ex Ɂe "iʔən-wn I am eating). Some have in part alternative object-suffixes which go with different transitivizers. Forms with transitivizers can be detransitivized by the suffixation of itr. -(V)m to yield passive forms, the use of which is to a large extent a matter of focus but also comprises semantically actor-less constructions. Besides these -m passives, some of the languages have passives with 1st and 2nd pers. object-suffixes. A curious fact is that some of the personal trans. forms are identical with passive ones, but that these identities are not the same in different languages (e.g. in Sq. the identity holds between the 3s, p -- 2s, p forms, i.e. "he sees you" = "you are seen", whereas in Sh. it holds between the 1p -- 2, 3s, p forms, i.e. "we see you, him" = "you are seen, he is seen".)

Some languages affix all personal elements to the stem, others affix the subject-elements wholly or in part to clitics.

The material which follows is intended to show the main features of the verbal system in a number of languages. Some data are lacking (in particular the participial forms, which in general comprise a subject-centered ("who sees me/you, etc.") and an object-centered ("whom I/you, etc., see") series). We plan to add to this material at future conferences. A prime desideratum is a listing of all verbs belonging to a particular type (say, Sechelt verbs with transitivizer -t (rather than -n, -nt, -it)).

A. LILLOOET VERB FORMS

Personal Affixes

	<u>Possessive</u>	<u>Itr. subj.</u>	<u>Tr. subj. 1</u>	<u>Tr. subj. 2</u>
1s	n-	-(λ)ken		-(λ)ken
2s	-šu	-(λ)keχ°		-(λ)kex°
3s	-š	-Ø		-(h)eš
1p	-(λ)kel	-(λ)kel	-m	-um (3s obj.)
2p	-lep	-(λ)kélep		-(λ)kélep
3p	-i	-Ø-wit		-éliteš (1s obj.)
				-(h)ešwit (2s/p obj.)
			-iteš (3s/p obj.)	-witeš (3s/p obj.)
				-liteš (lp. obj.)

When -ken, -kex°, -kel, -kélep are preceded by V, R, R̄, or ?, a λ is inserted. An h is inserted between -eš and a preceding vowel.

	<u>Tr. obj. 1</u>	<u>Tr. obj. 2</u>	<u>Tr. subj. 3</u>
1s	-č	-umx	-n (2s obj.)
2s	-či	-umi	-hen (3p obj.)
3s	-Ø	-Ø	
1p		-umuλ	
		-umu (3p subj.)	
2p		-umuλ (1s subj.)	
		-emélep (3s/p subj.)	
3p		-eni (1s subj.)	
		-wit (2s/p subj.)	
		-?iz (3s subj.)	

Transitivizers

1. -n(t) / -én(t)
2. -Vn(+) : with verbs having itr. form with -xel. Vowel of stem is repeated before -n(t).

u	púx ^o xel	to blow on it	** tr. púx ^o un
i	ncíxxel	to ladle food	** tr. ncíxin
e	čéšxel	to feel	** tr. čéšen
ə	č ^o élxel	to saw	** tr. č ^o élen

3. -š(t)- : Causative. This transitivizer is followed by tr. obj. suffixes of type 2. Verbs whose meaning is intrinsically intransitive (think of 'to laugh'), take this causative transitiver only. Examples:

qemt	to get hit
qemt-š(t)	** qemč(t) to (cause to get) hit
čiq	to come
čiq-š(t)	to cause to come = to bring

In addition, this transitivizer -š(t)- is used after stems extended with -p , to refer to a non-purpose action.

4. -min(t)-

5. -xit- : to do for or to somebody.

Intransitivizer

-m / -ém

Examples of tr. subj. and obj. suffixes

Tr. obj. and subj. suffixes 1 are used after transitivizers -n(t), -Vn(t)- , -min(t)- , -xit- . Tr. obj. and subj. suffixes 2 are used after -š(t) (causative) and -p-š(t)- (non-purpose).

g°əl to scald

1s - 3s	g°əl-n-∅-kén	3s - 1s	g°əl-n-č-éš
2s - 3s	g°əl-n-∅-kék°	2p - 1s	g°əl-n-č-kélep
3s - 3s	g°əl-n-∅-éš	3p - 1s	g°əl-n-č-éliteš
1p - 3s	g°əl-n-∅-ám (passive)	2s - 1p	g°əl-nt-úmuλ-kex°
2p - 3s	g°əl-n-∅-kélep	3s - 1p	g°əl-nt-úmuλ-eš
3p - 3s	g°əl-n-∅-íteš	3p - 1p	g°əl-nt-umu-líteš
1s - 2s	g°əl-n-čí-λken	2p - 1p	g°əl-n-umuλ-kélep
3s - 2s	g°əl-n-čí-heš	3p - 2p	g°əl-nt-emélep-ešwit
1p - 2s	g°əl-n-čí-m	1s - 3p	g°əl-nt-éni-λken
3p - 2s	g°əl-n-čí-hešwit	2s - 3p	g°əl-n-wít-kex°
1s - 2p	g°əl-nt-úmuλ-ken	3s - 3p	g°əl-n-éš-?iz' (subj. - obj.)
3s - 2p	g°əl-nt-emélep-eš	1p - 3p	g°əl-nt-én-əm-wit (passive)
1p - 2p	g°əl-nt-emλkélep (passive)	2p - 3p	g°əl-n-wít-kelep
2s - 1s	g°əl-n-č-kék°	3p - 3p	g°əl-n-íteš (= 3s - 3s)

g°əl-p-š(t) to scald by accident

1s - 3s	g°əl-p-š-∅-kén	3s - 1s	g°əl-p-št-úmx-eš
2s - 3s	g°əl-p-š-∅-kék°	2p - 1s	g°əl-p-št-umx-kélep
3s - 3s	g°əl-p-š-∅-éš	3p - 1s	g°əl-p-št-umx-éliteš
1p - 3s	g°əl-p-št-∅-ám	2s - 1p	g°əl-p-št-úmuλ-kex°
2p - 3s	g°əl-p-š-∅-kélep	3s - 1p	g°əl-p-št-úmuλ-eš
3p - 3s	g°əl-p-št-∅-wít-eš	3p - 1p	g°əl-p-št-umu-líteš
1s - 2s	g°əl-p-št-úmi-λken	2p - 1p	g°əl-p-št-umuλ-kélep
3s - 2s	g°əl-p-št-úmi-heš	3p - 2p	g°əl-p-št-emélep-ešwit
1p - 2s	g°əl-p-št-úmi-m	1s - 3p	g°əl-p-št-éni-λken
3p - 2s	g°əl-p-št-úmi-hešwit	2s - 3p	g°əl-p-š-wít-kex°
1s - 2p	g°əl-p-št-úmuλ-ken	3s - 3p	g°əl-p-š-éš-?iz' (subj. - obj.)
3s - 2p	g°əl-p-št-emélep-eš	1p - 3p	g°əl-p-št-én-əm-wit
1p - 2p	g°əl-p-št-emλkélep	2p - 3p	g°əl-p-š-wít-kelep
2s - 1s	g°əl-p-št-úmx-kex°	3p - 3p	g°əl-p-št-wít-eš

Future

huz' plus pers. intr. subj. suffixes, followed by verb with obj. suffixes 1. When 3 s/p is subject, subj. suffixes 3s/p are added to obj. suffixes.

Note 1: before -ken, -kex", -keλ, -kelep, /λ/ is inserted, which turns huz' into huy'.

Note 2: -λkeλ does not occur in 1p - 2s, 1p - 3s, 1p - 3v.

In 1s - 2s /-n/ is placed after obj. suffix -či- : huy'ken nuk'enčin I'll help you.

In 1s - 3p /-hen/ is placed after obj. suffix -eni- : huy'ken nuk'ent-éni-hen I'll help them.

/-n/ and /-hen/ are tr. subj. suffixes 3.

Passive:

1s	g°el-n-čél-əm
2s	g°el-n-čí-m (= 1p-2s)
3s	g°el-n-ém (= 1p-3s)
1p	g°el-nt-úmul-əm
2p	g°el-nt-emλkélep (= 1p-2p)
3p	g°el-nt-énemwit (= 1p-3p)

Imperative:

2s-3s	g°el-n (meλ)
2s-1s	g°el-n-č (meλ)
2s-1p	g°el-nt-úmul (meλ)
2s-3p	g°el-n-wit (meλ)
2p-3s	g°el-n-i
2p-3p	g°el-n-i-wit
2p-1p	g°el-nt-úmul-i
2p-1s	g°el-n-čél-i

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B. SECHELT VERB FORMS

	POSSESSIVE	ITR. SUBJ.	TR. OBJ.(1)	TR. OBJ.(2)	TR. SUBJ.
1	n-	-č-n/-č-an	-c-	-umš-	-č-n/-an
2	?-	-č-x°/-č-ax°	-ci-	-umi-	-č-x°/-ax°
3	-s	ZERO	ZERO	-x°/-éx°-	-as
1p	ms-	-š-t/-č-at	-umuλ-	-umuλ-	-š-t/-at
2p	?- -élap	-č-al-ap	-ci--élap	-umi--élap	-č(-al)-ap/-al-ap
3p	-s-it	ZERO	ZERO	-x°/-éx°-	-as-it

TR. OBJ.(2) is used after the transitivizers -n- and -st-; the 3s forms -x°/-éx°- are in complementary distribution: the former is found after transitivizer -st-, the latter after transitivizer -n-.
The secondary forms of the TR. SUBJ. are used after -éx°-.

TRANSITIVIZERS

- <i>(V)t-</i>	V is often the root-vowel. -ut- is found only in combination with root-vowel -u-, but V'CuC does not necessarily take -ut- as a transitivizer. <i>-at-:</i> čá-t-at- <u>to cut</u> , tán-at- <u>to bend</u> , témul-at- <u>to patch up</u> , xis-iw-at- <u>to twist/curl</u>
	<i>-ut-:</i> q'úy-ut- <u>to kill</u> , yúλ-ut- <u>to paint</u> , sux°-t- <u>to catch sight of</u>
	<i>-it-:</i> nil-it- <u>to mix</u> , hil-it <u>to roll over</u> , k'ən-it- <u>to look at</u> , qanam-it- <u>to listen to</u>
	<i>-t-:</i> meq°-t- <u>to swallow</u> , ček°-t- <u>to wipe</u> , k'ənám- <u>t-</u> <u>to help</u> , ?ix-yús-t- <u>to peel</u>
-st-	Causative: ?iy-st- <u>to like</u> (to cause to be good), mi-st- <u>to bring</u> (to cause to come), cu-st- <u>take along</u> (to cause to go)
-n-	Non-purpose: talač-n- <u>to cure</u> , λəm-n- <u>to forget</u> , k'ən-n- <u>to catch</u> qanam-n- <u>to overhear</u>
-mit-	Refers to an object which is only indirectly involved in the action expressed by the stem: qalit-mít- <u>to believe</u> , tayač-mít- <u>to be angry at</u> , qilil-mít- <u>to mourn for</u> , qemit-mít- <u>to accompany</u>

TRANSITIVE PARADIGM (qanam-it- to listen to)

1-3	qanam-it-č-n	1-2p	qanam-it-ci-č-n-élap
2-3	qanam-it-č-x°	3-2p	qanam-it-ci-m-élap (PASS.)
3-3	qanam-it-as	1p-2p	qanam-it-ci-š-t-élap
1p-3	qanam-it-š-t	2-1	qanam-it-c-č-x°
2p-3	qanam-it-č-ál-ap	3-1	qanam-it-c-as
3p-3	qaqnam-it-as-it	2p-1	qanam-it-c-č-ál-ap
1-2	qanam-it-ci-č-n	3p-1	qaqnam-it-c-as-it
3-2	qanam-it-ci-m (PASS.)	2-1p	qanam-it-úmuλ-č-x°
1p-2	qanam-it-ci-š-t	3-1p	qanam-it-úmuλ-as
		2p-1p	qanam-it-úmuλ-č-ál-ap
		3n-1n	qaonam-it-úmuλ-as-it

PASSIVE (*səp-iq°-at-* to club on the head)

1	<i>səp-iq°-at-c-al-m</i>	1p	<i>səp-iq°-at-úmul-m</i>
2	<i>səp-iq°-at-ci-m</i>	2p	<i>səp-iq°-at-ci-m-élap</i>
3	<i>səp-iq°-at-m</i>	3p	<i>səp-səp-iq°-at-m</i>

IMPERATIVE

itr: VERB +/− SUBJ.	tr: VERB-transiv.-OBj. +/− SUBJ.
mi	come!
<i>cəx°-iws-am</i>	wash your body!
<i>'imaš-č-x°</i>	walk!
<i>cəx°-úya-m-č-x°</i>	wash your hands!
<i>q°əλ-č-ax°-la</i>	come in!
qiysi-la	don't!
cu-la	go!
	tr: VERB-transiv.-OBj. +/− SUBJ. +/− -la
	leave me alone!
	give (it) to me!
	listen to me!
	help us!
	wait for me!
	give it to us!
	kiss me!
	bring it!

TRANSITIVE PARADIGM with transitivizer *-n-* (*qanam-n-* to overhear)

1-3	<i>qanam-n-ěx°-an</i>	1-2p	<i>qanam-n-umi-č-n-élap</i>
2-3	<i>qanam-n-ěx°-ax°</i>	3-2p	<i>qanam-n-umi-m-élap</i> (PASS.)
3-3	<i>qanam-n-ěx°-as</i>	1p-2p	<i>qanam-n-umi-s-t-élap</i>
1p-3	<i>qanam-n-ěx°-at</i>	2-1	<i>qanam-n-úmš-č-x°</i>
2p-3	<i>qanam-n-ěx°-al-ap</i>	3-1	<i>qanam-n-úmš-as</i>
3p-3	<i>qanam-n-ěx°-as-it</i>	2p-1	<i>qanam-n-umš-č-ál-ap</i>
1-2	<i>qanam-n-umi-č-n</i>	3p-1	<i>qanam-n-úmš-as-it</i>
3-2	<i>qanam-n-umi-m</i> (PASS.)	2-1p	<i>qanam-n-úmuλ-č-x°</i>
1p-2	<i>qanam-n-umi-s-t</i>	3-1p	<i>qanam-n-úmuλ-as</i>
		2p-1p	<i>qanam-n-umul-č-ál-ap</i>
		3p-1p	<i>qanam-n-umul-as-it</i>

TRANSITIVE PARADIGM with transitivizer *-st-* (*cu-st-* to take along)

1-3	<i>cu-st-x°-č-n</i>	1-2	<i>cu-st-úmi-č-n</i>
2-3	<i>cu-st-x°-č-x°</i>	3-2	<i>cu-st-úmi-m</i> (PASS.)
3-3	<i>cu-st-x°-as</i>	1p-2	<i>cu-st-úmi-s-t</i>
1p-3	<i>cu-st-x°-s-t</i>	1-2p	<i>cu-st-úmi-č-n-élap</i>
2p-3	<i>cu-st-x°-č-ál-ap</i>	3-2p	<i>cu-st-úmi-m-élap</i> (PASS.)
3p-3	<i>cu-st-x°-as-it</i>	1p-2p	<i>cu-st-úmi-s-t-élap</i>
1-3p	<i>cu-suwt-x°-č-n</i>	2-1	<i>cu-st-úmš-č-x°</i>
2-3p	<i>cu-suwt-x°-č-x°</i>	3-1	<i>cu-st-úmš-as</i>
3-3p	<i>cu-suwt-x°-as</i>	2p-1	<i>cu-st-úmš-č-ál-ap</i>
1p-3p	<i>cu-suwt-x°-s-t</i>	3p-1	<i>cu-st-úmš-as-it</i>
2p-3p	<i>cu-suwt-x°-č-ál-ap</i>	2-1p	<i>cu-st-úmuλ-č-x°</i>
3p-3p	<i>cu-suwt-x°-as-it</i>	3-1p	<i>cu-st-úmuλ-as</i>
		2p-1p	<i>cu-st-úmuλ-č-ál-ap</i>
		3p-1p	<i>cu-st-úmuλ-as-it</i>

C. BELLA COOLA VERB FORMS *)

Personal Affixes

	Poss./Intr.	Tr.obj.	Tr.obj.caus.	Tr.subj.	Tr.subj.caus.
1s	-c	-c(a(n))-	-m(an(ca))-	-c/-cin-	-c/-min-
2s	-nu	-c/-nu	-m/-nu	-x°	-x°
3s	-(s)	-i-	-θ-	-s	-s
1p	-(i)λ	-tuλ-	-muλ-	-λ/-tuλ-	-λ/-muλ-
2p	-(n)ap	-ap	-ap	-p	-p
3p	-(n)aw	-ti-	-ti-	-t/-t-	-t/-t-

A number of verbs are used both transitively and intransitively and can take the (in)transitive endings attached directly to the stem: kλ-c (kλ-nu etc.) "I fall", kλ-i-c (kλ-i-x° etc.) "I drop it"; kx-c "I'm looking", kx-i-c "I see it, look at it".

A second class of verbs takes the root for transitive use and forms its intransitive by means of an intransitivizer -m/-a-: q'uλ-i-c "I write it", q'uλ-a-c "I'm writing" (q'uλ-i-x° etc., q'uλ-a-nu etc.); cp-ak-i-c "I wipe his hand", cp-ak-m-c "I wipe my hand".

The third class of verbs comprises roots that are used intransitively only and from which transitive forms are derived with a transitivizer -m-: co-ak-c "I'm wiping sth. with my hand", co-ak-m-i-c "I wipe it with my hand" (co-ak-nu etc., co-ak-m-i-x° etc.).

Possessive/Intransitive paradigm : λap "go", man "father", mna "child"

1s	λap-e	man-c	mna-c
2s	λap-nu	man-nu	mna-nu
3s	λap-(s)	man-(s)	mna-(s)
1p	λap-iλ	man-λ	mna-λ
2p	λap-ap	man-ap	mna-nap
3p	λao-aw	man-aw	mna-naw

(-s is optional, -iλ after obstruents only, -nan and -naw after vowels only)

Transitive paradigm: ?awλ "follow", ?alps-tu "feed" ("cause to" ?alps "eat")

1s-2s	?awλ-c(i)n- ^h -nu	?alps-tu-mi(n)-nu
1s-3s	?awλ-i-c	?alps-tu-∅-c
1s-2p	(?awλ-tuλ-ap)	(?alps-tu-muλ-ap) / ?alps-tu-min-ap
1s-3p	?awλ-ti-c	?alps-tu-ti-c
2s-1s	?awλ-c-x°	?alps-tu-m-x°
2s-3s	?awλ-i-x°	?alps-tu-∅-x°
2s-1p	?awλ-tuλ-x°	?alps-tu-muλ-x°
2s-3p	?awλ-ti-x°	?alps-tu-ti-x°
3s-1s	?awλ-c-s	?alps-tu-m-s
3s-2s	(?awλ-c-t)	(?alps-tu-m-t)
3s-3s	?awλ-i-s	?alps-tu-∅-s
3s-1p	?awλ-tuλ-s	?alps-tu-muλ-s
3s-2p	(?awλ-t-ap)	(?alps-tu-t-ap)
3s-3p	?awλ-ti-s	?alps-tu-ti-s
1p-2s	?awλ-tuλ-nu	?alps-tu-muλ-nu
1p-3s	?awλ-i-λ	?alps-tu-∅-λ
1p-2p	?awλ-tuλ-ap	?alps-tu-muλ-ap
1p-3p	?awλ-ti-λ	?alps-tu-ti-λ
2p-1s	?awλ-ca-p	?alps-tu-man(ca)-p
2p-3s	?awλ-i-p	?alps-tu-∅-p
2p-1p	?awλ-tuλ-p	?alps-tu-muλ-p
2p-3p	?awλ-ti-p	?alps-tu-ti-p
3p-1s	?awλ-can-t	?alps-tu-man-t
3p-2s	?awλ-c-t	?alps-tu-m-t
3p-3s	?awλ-i-t	?alps-tu-∅-t
3p-1p	?awλ-tuλ-t	?alps-tu-muλ-t
3p-2p	?awλ-t-ap	?alps-tu-t-ap
3p-3p	?awλ-ti-t	?alps-tu-ti-t

Passive paradigm: x ti mack° "by the frog", x ci stan-c "by my mother"

1s	?awλ-tinic x ti mack°	?alps-tu-minic x ci stanc
* 2s	?awλ-c-t "	?alps-tu-m-t "
3s	?awλ-i-m "	?alps-tu-p-m "
1p	?awλ-tiniλ "	?alps-tu-miniλ "
* 2p	?awλ-t-ap "	?alps-tu-t-ap "
3p	?awλ-ti-m "	?alps-tu-ti-m "

*: taken from the transitive paradigm.

Imperative endings:

The endings -nu, -x° (2nd pers. sing. subj.) are replaced by -x; -ap, -o (2nd pers. plur. subj.) by -x°; -i- (3d pers. sing. obj.) by -t-, -ti- (3d pers. plur. obj.) by -tt-:

λap-nu "you go" - λap-x "go!"

?awλ-c-x° "you follow me" - ?awλ-c-x "follow me!"

λap-ap "you pl. go" - λap-x° "go!"

?awλ-tuλ-p "you pl. follow us" - ?awλ-tuλ-x° "follow us!"

?awλ-i-x° "you follow him" - ?awλ-t-x "follow him!"

?awλ-i-p "you pl. follow him" - ?awλ-t-x° "follow him!"

?awλ-ti-x° "ydu follow him" - ?awλ-tt-x "follow them!"

?awλ-ti-p "you pl. follow them" - ?awλ-tt-x° "follow them!"

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*) See Stanley Newman, "Bella Coola Paradigms", IJAL 35 (1969) pp. 299-306. We differ in details of morpheme-divisions. Imperative forms are added.

D. THOMPSON TRANSITIVE VERBS COMPARED TO SHUSWAP *)

O. The Thompson material which follows is presented to allow comparison with Shuswap, data for which can be found in Kuipers 1970 and 1975 (sect. 13). We give first the personal affixes (possessive and intransitive ones are added for the sake of comparison), then the transitivizers, and finally the individual verb classes are discussed. The Th. affixes closely match the Sh. ones. The same morphophonemic mergers take place in both languages ($nn > n$; $ts, tc > c$). But the distribution of the verbs over the basic classes is different.

I. Personal Affixes

	Poss.	Itc. I	Itc. II	Tr. Obj.	Tr. Subj.
1s	-n-	-kn	-un, -wn	{ -cém-/ -cm- ¹ -cý-/ -ci- ²	-éne/-n(e) ³
1p	-kt	-kt	-ut	-éy-/ -i-	(see Passive) ⁴
2s	ha?-	-k ^o	-ux ^o	-ci-/ -c-	-éx ^o / -x ^o
2p	-ep	-kp	-up	-úyme-/ -ime-	-ép/-p
3s	-s	ø	-us	ø	-és/-s
3p	-iyxs	ø	-us	ø, (-iyxs-) ⁵	-és/-s, (-iyxs) ⁵

Passive (suff.-str.)

1s	kn-cý-me	I receive	2s-1s	kn-cém-e	2p-1s	kn-cém-oz-e
1p	kn-t-éy-t	help	2s-1p	kn-t-éy-e	2p-1p	?
2s	kn-ci-t		---		---	
2p	kn-t-úyme-t		---		---	
3	kn-t-ém		2s-3s	kn-t-ét-e	2p-3s	kn-t-ét-oz-e
			2s-3p	kn-t-iyxs-et-e	2p-3p	?

Tr. Imperative (suff. str.)

1) A slash separates stressed and unstressed alternants.

2) Alternants -cý-/ -ci- before labials (same alternation in Sh.).

3) Alternate -ne with 3rd pers. object.

4) 1 Pl. subject forms identical with passive, as in Sh.

5) kniyxs they help him, wiktifyxsne I saw them. The fact that this suffix is common to the subj. and obj. series and requires the 1s subj. alternant -ne sets it apart from the other subj. and obj. suffixes. There is no Sh. correlate (this also goes for the 3p poss.).

Apart from -iyxs every Th. element has a Sh. cognate.

The relation Th. kntéte - kntétoze (Imp.) is matched by Sh. lxtéke - lxuték^oye, where labialization plus y correspond to Th. -oz--.

There are slight deviations in the 2s subj. elements: Itr. I Th. -k° // Sh. -k, Tr. Th. -(é)x° // Sh. -(é)x.

Th. has me, ne in a number of cases where Sh. has m, n: ls subj. Th. -(é)ne // Sh. *-én, 2p obj. Th. -úyne- // Sh. -úlm-, ls pass. Th. -céy-me // Sh. *-cél-m (Sh. starred forms underly -tétn, -céclm, with consonant reduplication). Th. also has itr. -me (Sh. -m) in certain categories of cases, e.g. siš-xn-me take a step (Sh. siš-xn-m), kéyni-me listen (Sh. kéln-m).

2. Transitivizers.

A -t-	C -st-	E -m(in)-
B -∅-/ -n-/ -e(t)-	D -x(i)t-	F -nwéñ-

These parallel the Sh. transitivizers. The Th. picture is more complex, however. In Sh., the root-stressed paradigm has transitivizer B in two not phonetically predictable alternants: -n- in the ls-3, 2s-3, 3-3 forms and -nt- in all others (barring the cases of t>c). The Th. underlying forms are the same, but the picture is further complicated by the vocalization of n. Transitivizer B can appear as ∅ due to the merger nn>n (as in Sh.), as n (before x°, where *n is preserved), as e (before s, where *n is vocalized) and as et (< *nt, with vocalized n).

3. Verb Classes.

The Th. verb classes are exemplified below. They are uniquely defined by the 3-3 forms, which are quoted first. In parentheses we add the ls-3, 2s-3 and 2p-3 forms in order to show the morphological and morphophonemic alternations. Due to special Th. developments class B I (tr. *-n(t)-, root-stressed) must be subdivided into three sub-classes.

AI wík-t-s (wík-t-ne, wík-t-x°, wík-t-p) see

II ŋec-t-é-s (ŋec-t-éne, ŋec-t-éx°, ŋec-t-ép) tie

BIA séw-e-s (séw-∅-ne, séw-n-x°, séw-et-p) ask

b k°én-s (k°éne, k°én-x°, k°én-t-p) take

c téq°-ñ-s (téq°-ñe, téq°-ñ-x°, téq°-ñt-p) lick

II pík-et-é-s (pík-et-éne, pík-et-éx°, pík-et-ép) roll

CI zúq°-st-s (zúq°-st-ne, zúq°-st-x°, zúq°-st-p) kill (a person)

II ḫex°-st-é-s (ᬁex°-st-éne, ḫex°-st-éx°, ḫex°-st-ép) beat in game ~~scold~~

DI péye-xt-s (péye-xt-ne, péye-xt-x°, péye-xt-p) show

II čeq°-xít-s (čeq°-xít-ne, čeq°-xít-x°, čeq°-xít-p) write to

EI pún-m-s (pún-m-ne, pún-m-x°, pún-mt-p) find

II ḫek°-mín-s (ᬁek°-mí-ne, ḫek°-mín-x°, ḫek°-mínt-p) remember

F k°e(n)-nwéñ-s (k°e-nwéñ-ne, k°e-nwéñ-x°, k°e-nwéñt-p) catch

þ 29.

Class AI is a relict-class, as in Sh. -- wikt is the only recorded example.

Class AII is a major class, whereas in Sh. it is a relict-class. Many Sh. verbs belonging to to BII are matched by Th. AII. Th. examples of AII: puk^o- spill (solid), ph̄- bend, þeq- press together, teq- touch, t̄eq^o- slap, cu^o- hit, ce- put (long obj.), cew- fix, repair, čəx- clean, sek- hit (w. stick), n-səg^o- skin (small animals), n- send, nc- name, zet- rub, zəw- delay, le^o- lean, lu^o- poke, h̄ep- hang up, kec-kec- admit, let in, km- help, ke^o- put (e.g. a sack), k̄es- singe, k̄el- pour out, qəs- scratch, n-qə^o- bait a trap, qəw- break (as stick), q^oəc- shake, q̄o^oc^o- chew (Sh. k̄o^oe^o-), q̄o^oey- roast, x̄ep- pile up (as blankets), x̄l- grind, ġec- knot, tie, ḡey- light, burn, yək- bandage, yeğ- drag, yeğ^o- hide. Note that Th. roots ending in ^o, unlike the Sh. ones, behave regularly: Th. Vcu^o- hit : cu^ot̄s he hits it vs. Sh. cu^o- : ont̄s.

Class BI is a major class, as in Sh., and the verbs belonging to it are largely the same in both languages. The verbs with roots in n stand out in Th. as a type apart because tr. *-n(t)- merged with root-final n before the vocalization of *n. Compare:

1s-3 *k ^o én-n-ne > k ^o éne	2s-3 *k ^o én-n-x ^o > k ^o énx ^o
*séw-n-ne > séwne	*séw-n-x ^o > séwnx ^o
3-3 *k ^o én-n-s > k ^o éns	2p-3 *k ^o én-nt-p > k ^o éntp
*séw-n-s > séwes	*séw-nt-p > séwetp

In its glottalized form the n of the transitivizer is not vocalized, constituting a third subdivision of this class. Examples of BIA: péñ- fold, pik^o- crush, púx^o- blow, péğ^o- freeze, píč- press down, mís- feel, méğ- destroy, tál- stretch, extend, tix- spread (as blanket), tíg^o- turn loose, túp- twist, téł- stick on, téq^o- nail, n-ték^o- fill w. liaw-id, cùl- point at, cék- cool off, cik^o- (q^o?) pull out (as tooth, nail), céy^o- put (pl. obj.), čím- suck, ček^o- illuminate, čeq- pluck (bird), séw- ask, sút- suck, siğ^o- loosen, nék- change, nik- cut, h̄ep- forget, n-kém- insert, kéc- stroke, pat, kóq^o- patch up, kiy- sprinkle, key- pursue, kém- hate, káp- tan hide, xíz- mix, xík- miss target, xúy- pierce, xiy- pull ashore, x^oúč- take out (e.g. of box), x^oél- lift up, ǵep- support, prop up, qém- wound, qéz- wave at, qíl- awaken, qix^o- chase away, ǵéy- shoot, q^oén- soak, q^oil- lie to, n-q^oéc- fill w. solid, q^oél- invite on hunting trip, xéq- pay for cure, yéþ- squeeze, yám- pacify (a child), yéq- bury, wéy- tilt, ǵép- wipe, ǵús- discard, ǵéz- pay, buy, ǵík- delouse. Longer units (some possibly containing suffixes): pilex- squeal on, péq^ou^os- fear, púyq- close, méys- cure, timúx^o- admire, desire, cuném- advise, súx^ot̄- recognize, zúyk^o- rub, nikém- gather, pick

up, kék- delouse, k'ést name, k'én^o- look at, xcús- pile up (as stones), q'él^o- carry on back, xeyét- invite (to feast).

Type B1b: pəzén- meet, məstén- try one's best, le^oxán ~~eat~~^{eat}, k'én- take, es-k'én- choose, xszén- count, y'én- feel.

Type B1c: téq^o- lick, téy- imitate, ncík- wrap up (n- prefix?), q'eq^oéx- scare, ne^onuk^o- "ghost". In addition, with plain n: tīq^ons he beats him up (misrecording, or loan from Sh.?)

Class BII is a minor class in Th., a major one in Sh. Many Sh. BII verbs are matched by Th. AII (see above); all Th. BII verbs are matched by Sh. BII. Examples: n-pi^oq- turn inside out, pi^ok- roll, c^og- tear, k^og^o- stab, pi^oc- squirt, n-u^oq^o- (*n-w^oq^o-) boil, zlk- coil up.

Classes C-F concern the complex transitivizers. Morphologically, Th. E I and II do not form a regular pair, as they do in Sh., due to the absence of n in EI. Whether Th. EI and BII should be grouped together at all depends on whether the type E as such is semantically productive or at least recognizable. The few examples in our material (púnms finds, téwms sells, néq^oms robs) do not suffice to determine this.

A few forms in our material do not fit the above classification, but their tr. status is not well-established and only 3rd pers. subject forms are available: nséwnins whispers to, kwéys leaves all alone, luq^ose^os peels, ws^otkés levers up, nk^oik^oiyés insults.

It remains to be determined whether the Th. major AII class is old or an innovation. In Kal. only two verbs of class A are known, both AI: wič- see and ?ém- feed (Vogt 1940:37), matched in Sh. by AI wič- and AII m(t)-. CdA. has both the transitivizers -t- and -nt-, cf. g^oiáts he sees him, níčnts he cuts it (Reichard 1938:690). More information on transitivizers and listings of verbs belonging to the different classes in other IS languages are necessary to settle the question.

The difference in distribution of the Th. and Sh. verbs over the tr. classes is the more striking against the background of the close parallelism between the languages in all other respects, cf. such details as the verb take having suffix-stressed itr. k^on-ém and root-stressed tr. k'én-s, the verb cut (strips of skin) having alternative stress and *í in Th. k^ol-/kíl- and Sh. kl-/kél- (for k^ol- see Kinkade and Thompson 1972:40), etc.

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*) The Th. material was collected during two brief stays in Lytton for the purpose of filling out an 1852-word list originally prepared by the present writer for the B. C. Indian Language Project. See also introduction to these Contributions. For references see About Evidence for Proto-Salish *r p. 19.