

CONTROL IN SKW̄W̄U7MESH

by

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Abstract

This dissertation is an examination of the phenomenon of *control* in *Sḵw̓x̓wu7mesh* (a.k.a. the Squamish language). The notion of control has been part of the Salishan linguistic tradition for more than 30 years and it has been described as the ‘degree of control an agent has over an event’ (Thompson 1979). It has been described as having one of two values: *in control* or *limited control*. An agent who is **in control**, is understood to initiate an event *on purpose*, to have control over the process of the event and to bring the event to culmination. An agent who has **limited control** may unintentionally initiate an event, or have difficulty in the process of the event and thus only *managed to* bring the event to completion. In this dissertation I argue that control is properly understood as a construct. That is, it is not a part of the basic meaning of any one morpheme. Rather it is constructed from both real world knowledge about events and from the morphosyntax of the constructions that are used to encode these events.

I argue that control constructions have an aspectual core meaning. A control predicate (or c-predicate) has event initiation as its core meaning. A limited control predicate (or lc-predicate) has event culmination as its core meaning (Ritter and Rosen 2000). They are telic. I argue that it is from these two meanings - event initiation and event culmination - that the other notions commonly associated with control are inferred (e.g. on purpose, accidentally, etc.). I propose a morpho-syntactic analysis for the core aspectual difference between the two types of predicates. In particular, I argue that they differ in the position of object agreement: object agreement of c-predicates is VP-internal, while object agreement of lc-predicates is associated with an aspectual node within the extended verbal projection. I explore the consequences of this proposal for the reconstruction of Proto-Salish in general, and for the historical development of *Sḵw̓x̓wu7mesh* in particular.

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List of Abbreviations

Skwx̣wu7mesh data

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
APPL	applicative
AUX	auxiliary
BENAPPL	benefactive applicative
c-	control
CREFL	control reflexive
CRECIP	control reciprocal
CUE	control unergative
CAUS	causative transitivizer
CAUSAPPL	causative applicative
CONJ	conjunctive
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
ERG	ergative
fe	final event
FUT	future tense
IMPF	imperfective aspect
ie	initiating event
INDP	independent pronoun
INTR	intransitivizer
lc-	limited control
LCTR	limited control transitivizer
LCRECIP	limited control reciprocal
LCREFL	limited control reflexive
MID	middle
NEG	negation
NOM	nominalizer
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique case
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PL	plural
POL	polarity question marker
POS	possessive
RC	relative clause marker
RE	CV- reduplicant
RECIP	reciprocal
RED	CeC- reduplicant

REDAPPL	redirective applicative
REFL	reflexive
RELAPPL	relational applicative
RL	realis
S	singular
SBJ	subjunctive
SUB	subject
TR	transitivizer
UE	unergative

Finnish data

1SG	first person singular subject
ACC	accusative case
PART	partitive case
PAST	past tense
PL	plural

Halkomelem data

1	first person
3	third person
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative transitivizer
DET	determiner
LCTR	limited control transitivizer
NEG	negation
REFL	reflexive
S	singular
SUB	subject
TR	control transitivizer

Hindi data

ACC	accusative
ERG	ergative
PERF	perfective

Lillooet data

1	first person
3	third person
ACT	active intransitivizer
ADD	additive
CAUS	causative transitivizer

CIRC	circumstantial modality
COMP	complementizer
CONJ	conjunctive subject
DET	determiner
DIR	directive transitivizer
ERG	ergative
EXIS	existential
FOC	focus predicate
IMPF	imperfective aspect
IRR	irrealis
NEG	negation
NOM	nominalizer
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject
YNQ	yes/no question marker

Malagasy data

3P	third person plural
DET	determiner
LC	lexical causative
NEG	negation
PAST	past tense
PRES	present tense

Lushootseed data

1S.OBJ	first person singular object
LCTR	limited control transitivizer
PASS	passive
TR	transitivizer

Saanich data

1	first person
ACC	accompanying
AUX	auxiliary
CTR	control transitive
D	demonstrative/determiner
INF	informative
NEG	negation
NCTR	non-control transitive
NOM	nominalizer
SG	singular

Sechelt data

TR	transitivizer
3OBJ	third person object

Sliammon data

1	first person
3	third person
CNJ	conjunctive subject
CTR	control transitivizer
ERG	ergative subject
INDC	indicative subject
LINK	link vowel
NEG	negative
NTR	non-control transitive
PAST	past tense
SG	singular

Thompson data

3OBJ	third person object
DIR	directive transitivizer
TR	transitivizer

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Txwnam̓ ten sk'u7, Rod, men an estétxw kwis na m̓i tl'ik̓. Ts7it men eskw'áy kwins esáp'nexwan, haw as k̓'axw men i tti wa chéncheñts wa tl'i7sts. Chen kw'enmantumi i7xw.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my grandparents:

Adagilakw,

*a natural linguist and teacher. like his grandfather, George Hunt,
before him,*

Granny Lakwa,

who had a “university degree in the Indian language”,

Grampa Alfred,

who taught us all to work hard and enjoy our family,

Granny Lena, I wish you were on this side to see me finish. You taught me

*how to converse like our ancestors in the language, joined me in
learning more about the language, and showed me that ta*

Skw̄xwú7mesh Sníchim is all of our inheritance.

Prologue

I begin here with an introduction to the context in which this dissertation was written. First, I provide a Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh (a.k.a. Squamish) viewpoint of the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh Snichim (a.k.a. the Squamish language). Second, I provide a brief description of the community of Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh people and our language revitalization efforts for the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh language.

1 Territory and Language

Ta Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh snichim (or just Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh) is the ancestral language spoken by the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh people, whose traditional territory extends west from Stelk̓áya (Roberts Creek), south down to Élk̓sen (Point Grey), up through Selílwetulh (the head of Indian Arm), and then again north up through Atl'aká7tsem (Howe Sound), up the headwaters of the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh Stak̓w (Squamish River valley), and also up to the headwaters of the Ch'iyák̓mesh Stak̓w (Cheakamus River) (Squamish Nation Dictionary Project 2011). This territory is situated in present day southwestern British Columbia, Canada.

Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh is most closely related to other Salish languages spoken on the southern coast of British Columbia and around Puget Sound, Washington. The following

is a Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh-centric viewpoint on the origin of these relationships.¹ In the Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh *syets*² (‘story’) of the Flood, one group of Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh people is said to have been stranded on the top of *Nch’kay’* (Mt. Garibaldi) during the Great Flood and survived to be the ancestors of the present day Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh people. Dr. Louis Miranda, a Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh elder and speaker, tells in his version of this *syets* that during the Flood another group split off from the group on *Nch’kay’*. This other group landed on *Xwsa7k* (Mt. Baker, in present day Washington State). It is from these people that the present day *Xwsa7k* people (Nooksack) have descended.

In another account of the Flood story, told by Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh elder Dominic Charlie, he states that other groups also broke off from the *Nch’kay’* group. These groups become the other groups of Salish speaking peoples living around Puget Sound (i.e., the Lushootseed speaking peoples, the Twana and the Klallam). Besides the account of the Flood stories, other Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh stories tell of how other Coast Salish speaking peoples, such as the speakers of Coast Salish languages spoken on southern Vancouver Island, are related to the Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh (i.e., the K’ewíchen dialect of Sk’emínem, or the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem). One such story is recorded in Kuipers (1967) as the legend of a migration, and it was told to him by Dr. Miranda. In this account one family unit moved from *Ch’kw’elhp* (Gibson’s Landing, said to be the first settlement of the Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh) across the Strait of Georgia to various places on southern Vancouver

¹ A linguistic viewpoint of the Salish language family will be given in Chapter 2, §2.

² *Syets* is the Sk̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh word for ‘historical story’. This contrasts with *sxwexwiyám*, the word for a story from the myth time.

Island. These people are the ancestors of the Coast Salish peoples living on southern Vancouver Island.

2 Language revitalization

The research, documentation and analysis of Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh reported in this dissertation is part of the larger effort in language revitalization by the Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh Nation. There are less than 10 first language speakers of Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh and the Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh Nation has been working to revive the use of the language in the community. Baker-Williams (2006) provides an examination of the history of this language revival, as well as some context for the loss of the language in everyday use in the community (e.g. residential school, public school policies, economic and religious factors, etc.). This research is also situated in the greater movement of language revitalization for First Nations languages in British Columbia and the rest of Canada.

The first efforts at language revitalization began with a number of Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh language elders, in the 1960's, and for over forty years now the language has been taught in the community. Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh elder Dominic Charlie began teaching in the village of St'á7mes (a.k.a. Stawamus), then later Dr. Louis Miranda began teaching in the 1970s and 1980s. Uncle Louis (as he was affectionately known in the Sk̓w̓x̓wú7mesh community) also tirelessly hand-wrote hundreds of pages of word lists, stories, legends, language lessons and personal history. These writings were in Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh and often glossed interlinearly in English. They remain as unpublished manuscripts in the possession of the Department of Education. Dr. Miranda received an honorary doctorate

at Simon Fraser University for this work. Much of the linguistic documentation of the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh language by Kuipers (1967, 1969) was done with Dr. Miranda.

The Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh revitalization at present involves Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh language classes being taught at the local public high school in North Vancouver, BC (Carson Graham High School) and in a number of elementary schools in North Vancouver and in the district of Squamish. The Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh Nation also has its own school for 3-5 year olds, called Xwmełch'sten Etsimxw'ałtxw (Capilano Littlest Ones School), where a bilingual-bicultural program provides Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh language curriculum.

The group of people with whom I conducted fieldwork for the research of this dissertation resides within the traditional territory of the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh Nation. They are called **Ta na wa nexwníwen ta a Ímats**, which is translated as *Teachings for Your Grandchildren*. As the name implies, the teaching of language is intimately tied to the passing on of traditional Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh **nexwníw** ('the values and teachings'). This group was formed in 1993 as a consultation group for the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh Language Program, a program under the Department of Education of the Squamish Nation. This group is now the official language authority for the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh language. Since its inception, a number of other language speakers have joined.

Since this group began, we have together worked towards publishing a dictionary (Squamish Nation Dictionary Project 2011) and developing pedagogical materials. This group has also participated as consultants in hundreds of hours of elicitation sessions with graduate students from UBC and other universities. One of the main goals of this group has been to be as inclusive as possible of all Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh language speakers in the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh Nation. For those who chose not to join this group directly, we would

instead make home visits with them to learn from them. My role in these language revitalization efforts is as a member of the Skwxwumesh Language Program. My job has included linguistic research, teaching and program development. The linguistic research serves to provide a stronger linguistic basis for these efforts (cf. Miller 2005 for issues around developing standards and evaluation for First Nations language programs). Present efforts, besides the in-school programming, include the development of a teacher training program to train more Skwxwumesh language teachers. One of the primary goals for this dissertation, then, is, as a Skwxwumesh stélmexw (Squamish human being) to strengthen these efforts (Smith 1999, Wilson 2008).

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1 Introduction

The original question for this dissertation was as follows. *Skw̥wú7mesh* (like other Salish languages) is known for the pervasive marking of *control*. In particular, a transitive predicate is marked differently depending on the degree of control the agent has over the event (Thompson 1979, see also Bar-el 2005, Jacobs 2007).³ Consider the examples in (1).

- (1) a. *chen kw'lh-at-Ø ta tiy*
 1S.SUB pour-TR-3OBJ DET tea
 'I poured the tea.' (on purpose)
- b. *chen kw'élh-nexw-Ø ta tiy*
 1S.SUB spill-LCTR-3OBJ DET tea
 'I spilt the tea.' (accidentally)

Both verbs are complex in that they consist of the verbal root (*kw'elh*) and a transitivizer (*-at* and *-nexw*, respectively).⁴ The difference in the two transitivizers is typically described as marking a difference in degree of control. In (1)a, *-at* triggers an

³ In this dissertation I assume that an agent is the participant who causes an event or change of state in another participant (Dowty 1991:572).

⁴ The schwa of this root is reduced to zero when it occurs pretonically as in (1)a.

interpretation where the agent had a normal level of control over the event. Thus *-at* is sometimes referred to as the *control transitivizer* (henceforth *c-transitivizer*). In the English translation, predicates with a c-transitivizer (henceforth *c-predicates*) can be explicitly marked by an adverb such as *on purpose*. I will refer to this as the *on-purpose* interpretation.

In contrast *-nexw* in (1)b triggers an interpretation where the agent has less than normal control over the event. Thus, *-nexw* is sometimes referred to as a *limited control transitivizer* (henceforth *lc-transitivizer*). Again, in the English translation, predicates with the lc-transitivizer (henceforth *lc-predicates*) can be explicitly marked by an adverb such as *accidentally*. I will refer to this as the *accidental* interpretation.

This description of c- and lc-predicates is deceptively simple. That is, in light of the data in (1), one might hypothesize that c- and lc-transitivizers introduce the agent argument and simultaneously mark the agent's volition. This analysis is supported by the fact that the simplex verb *kw'elh* lacks an agent argument, as illustrated in (2).

- (2) na kw'elh ta tiy
 RL spill DET tea
 'The tea spilt.'

While this analysis in terms of agent volition may capture the contrast in (1), it cannot account for the full range of data. In particular, **both** c-predicates and lc-predicates may be used for an agent which lacks volition. For c-predicates this is shown in (3)a where it is the wind is the cause of the door shutting, but it is not a volitional causer. Thus there is

no volitional agent involved in the first place. The same event may also be expressed with an lc-predicate as in (3)b.

- (3) a. na kp'-ét-Ø-as ta *spahím* ta shewálh
 RL shut-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET wind DET door
 'The wind shut the door.'
- b. na kép'-nexw-Ø-as ta *spahím* ta shewálh
 RL shut-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET wind DET door
 'The wind shut the door.'

Furthermore, lc-predicates can be used even if the agent appears to be fully volitional, as in (4). Here the agent is fully intending to shoot the bottle and there is nothing accidental about the coming about of the event.

- (4) chen kwélash-nexw-Ø ta nexwlamáy
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET bottle
 'I managed to shoot the bottle.'
 Context: the subject is practice-shooting bottles

This much establishes that the semantic contrast between c- and lc-predicates is not as straightforward as it may seem at first sight. In fact, as I will show immediately below in §2, despite a few attempts to come to terms with it, the notion of *control* remains elusive. This then defines the central question to be addressed in this dissertation: how do we account for the interpretative distinction associated with the notion of *control* in Skwxwú7mesh?

The goal of this dissertation is to argue that the notion of *control* is a construct rather than a primitive notion. By construct I mean that no particular morpheme in the control constructions explicitly encodes control/limited control, but rather, control interpretations are constructed from the interaction of the morphological marking on the predicate and pragmatic inferences based on i) what we know about the world, and ii) what speakers of Skwxw7mesh know about the morphological contrasts available in the language. Thus I argue that control/limited control is not a necessary property of the agent argument of either a c-predicate or lc-predicate.

More precisely, I argue that the contrast between c- and lc-predicates is essentially aspectual in nature. The core thesis here is that *lc-predicates encode that the natural endpoint encoded in the verb is in fact the actual endpoint of the event that occurred (or will occur in the future), but c-predicates do not. Furthermore, a c-predicate minimally encodes that its event has been initiated.*

Before I turn to a discussion of previous attempts to understand the notion of control, a note on terminology is in order. Despite the fact that I understand control to be a construct, I will nevertheless use it as a descriptive term because it has been so widely assumed in the previous literature. In particular, I will use the term CONTROL in small caps to refer to the general contrast which appears to pertain to the degree of control the agent has over the event. I will use the prefixes c- and lc- to refer to control and limited control, the two possible values associated with the notion of CONTROL.

2 The problem with CONTROL

The purpose of this section is to examine the literature on CONTROL in Skwxw7mesh as well as in Salish more generally. At the same time, this review will establish i) that CONTROL cannot be equated with volitionality; ii) that control is essentially aspectual in that it is concerned with whether a predicate's natural endpoint coincides with the actual endpoint of the given event — i.e., CONTROL is about event (non)culmination; iii) that the impression that we are dealing with degrees of control an agent has over an event arises because of what we know about the usual course of events.

2.1 Kuipers (1967): volition

As indicated above, CONTROL-marking appears to be tied to transitivizers in Skwxw7mesh. The first systematic description of transitivizers in Skwxw7mesh is found in Kuipers (1967). While he recognizes a systematic contrast between two sets of transitivizers, he does not couch his description in terms of CONTROL, but rather in terms of *volitional* vs. *non-volitional*. Although Kuipers does not provide a definition for volitional, for purposes of the present discussion I will assume that volition is 'the act of using the will' (Neufelt 1997:1496). We have already seen, however, that CONTROL cannot reduce to volitionality. On the one hand, c-predicates can be used in the absence of a volitional agent, as in (5) where we have the wind as the agent of the event. On the other hand, lc-predicates can be used in the presence of a volitional agent as in (6)a-c. In (6)a the agent chose to shoot the bottle and did. In (6)b the agent chose to take all of the children home and he did. In (6)c the man chose to kill the bear and he did.

- (5) na k̄pʰ-ét-Ø-as ta spahím ta shewálh
 RL shut-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET wind DET door
 ‘The wind shut the door.’
- (6) a. chen kwélash-nexw-Ø ta nexwámay
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET bottle
 ‘I managed to shoot the bottle.’
 Context: the subject is practice-shooting bottles
- b. nam hiyám-nexw-Ø-as í7xwaxw
 go get.home-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB all
 ‘He [Tʰitʰkí7tstn] went and took all of them [the children] home.’
 (Kuiper 1967:221)
- c. na kwʰúy-nexw-Ø-as ta swí7ka ta míxalh
 RL kill-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET man DET bear
 ‘The man (has) killed the bear.’ (Kuipers 1967:169)

The examples in (5) and (6) demonstrate that the difference between c- and lc-predicates does not reduce to a difference of volitionality.

Interestingly, even the definitions that Kuipers provides to illustrate the lc-predicates (his non-volitional predicates) do not always appear to indicate that the agent is non-volitional (or that the agent had no or only limited control over the event). Consider the examples listed in Table 1. We observe that the same root (which may or may not be used in isolation, as shown in the first column) can be used with a c-transitivizer (as shown in the second column) or with an lc-transitivizer (as shown in the third column). Note that Kuipers’ translation of the lc-predicates is “*have X-ed*”. There does not appear to be any kind of non-volitionality or limited control involved. If anything, the interpretation appears to be perfect(ive) aspect.

	root	c-transitive	lc-transitive
(7)	--	p'i7- t 'to take, to grab'	p'i7- nexw 'to have, to hold'
(8)	--	ch'áw- at 'to help'	ch'áw- nexw 'to have helped'
(9)	sum̃ 'to smell, to give off odor'	súm- uñ 'to smell, to sniff' ⁵	súm- nexw 'to smell'
(10)	lhaw̃ 'to run away'	lhaw̃- s 'to elope with'	lhaw̃- nexw 'to have eloped with'

Table 1 Volitional and non-volitional transitives (Kuipers 1967:77-78)

Further note that Kuipers describes four transitivizers as being c-transitivizers: *-t*, *-Vt*, *-un*, and *-s*, in examples 7-10 respectively. The first three c-transitivizers, in (7)-(9) he simply labels as transitivizers, while the fourth transitivizer *-s*, in (10) he describes as the causative. He does not provide sentence examples for these c- and lc-transitivizers in his section on transitivizers, but the following sentence examples are from elsewhere in the grammar and also from his dictionary section. For comparison's sake I also provide both the c-predicate and lc-predicate version of the same root. Note that the majority of Kuipers' (1967) sentence examples do not have the 'have X-ed' translation, but instead have the 'accidentally' translation. I provide my own example for the causative version (14)a of the root *hiyám̃* 'to get home' since Kuipers only has the lc-predicate version of this root.

⁵ This form is found in Kuipers (1969:62).

- (11) a. *-t* transitivizer
na p'i7-**t**-s-as
RL take-**TR**-1S.OBJ-3SUB
‘He grabbed me.’
(Kuipers 1967:253)
- b. *-nexw* transitivizer
chen p'i7-**nexw**-Ø
1S.SUB get-**LCTR**-3OBJ
‘I am holding it, I have caught it, I got it (note that the seizure was an act of the will, the resulting holding or having is not).’
(Kuipers 1967:69)
- (12) a. *-Vt* transitivizer
chen wa ch'aw-**at**-umi
1S.SUB IMPF help-**TR**-2S.OBJ
‘I am helping you.’
(Kuipers 1967:321)
- b. *-nexw* transitivizer
n-u chen wa ch'aw-**n**-umi
RL-POL 1S.SUB IMPF help-**LCTR**-2S.OBJ
‘Am I of assistance to you?’
(Kuipers 1967:320)
- (13) a. *-Vn* transitivizer
súm-**un**-Ø-ka
smell-**TR**-3OBJ-IMPER
‘Smell it!’
(Kuipers 1969:62)
- b. *-nexw* transitivizer
chen súm-**nexw**-Ø
1S.SUB smell-**LCTR**-3OBJ
‘I smell it.’
(Kuipers 1967:304)
- (14) a. *-s* causative
chen hiyám-**s**-Ø
1S.SUB get.home-**CAUS**-3OBJ
‘I brought him home.’

- b. *-nexw* transitivizer
 nam hiyám-**nexw**-Ø-as í7xwaxw
 go home-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB all
 ‘He went and took all of them [the children] home.’
 (Kuipers 1967:221)

While Kuipers presents corresponding c-transitivizer and lc-transitivizer forms for each root (or in his terms: volitional and non-volitional transitives), the lc-transitive forms (12)b, (13)b, and (14)b do not have non-volitional translations. Only in example (11)b does Kuipers attempt to provide a possible context for the lc-predicate to indicate a non-volitional meaning. He offers that while the choice to seize was volitional, the resulting state of holding is not volitional. Accepting such a contextualization of events, though, should allow any volitional event which has a resulting state to potentially be compatible with either an lc-predicate or a c-predicate, since all that matters is the non-volitionality of the resulting state. In sum, Kuipers’ (1967) description of volitional/non-volitional transitivizers does not properly characterize the full range of meanings that he describes as being associated with CONTROL-marking.

2.2 Thompson (1979) on CONTROL

Thompson, in his seminal (1979) article, was the first to discuss the relevance of the notion of control for Salish. Even though I will argue that CONTROL is a construct and no particular morpheme encodes control as such, the definition of control and non-control provided by Thompson and Thompson (1992:52) is still vital for the understanding of the use of CONTROL-marking. These definitions are given in (15) and (16) below.

(15) Control

“Controlled situations are those in which the agent functions with usual average capacities in keeping things under control.”

(16) Non-control

- i) can be “events which are natural, spontaneous-happening without the intervention of any agent,” or,
- ii) can be events which are “unintentional, accidental acts,” or,
- iii) can be “limited control [which is] intentional, premeditated [events] which are carried out to excess, or are accomplished only with difficulty, or by means of much time, special effort, and/or patience, and perhaps a little luck.”

These definitions capture the examples we have already seen as follows (relevant examples are repeated below). In example (17)a the c-predicate appears to indicate that the agent is functioning “with usual average capacities”, and as such falls under the definition of control in (15). In contrast, the lc-predicate in (17)b seems to indicate that the agent performed the event accidentally and therefore was not in control of the event. This is captured by definition (16)(ii).

(17) a. chen kwélash-**t**-Ø ta nkw’ekw’chústn
 1S.SUB shoot-TR-3OBJ DET window
 ‘I shot the window.’ (on purpose)

 b. chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta nkw’ekw’chústn
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET window
 ‘I shot the window.’ (accidentally)

Finally, in (18) the lc-predicate is used despite the fact that the agent is fully volitional. However, it appears that the agent “accomplished [the event] only with difficulty”, and therefore was not really in control over the outcome of the event. This is captured by definition (16)(iii).

- (18) chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta nexwlámay
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET bottle
 ‘I *managed to* shoot the bottle.’
Context: the subject is practice-shooting bottles

Thus, on the assumption that difficulty in accomplishing the desired result indicates lack of full control, the use of lc-predicates in this context is accounted for. As such, Thompson and Thompson’s (1992) definition captures a wider range of data than the assumption that the relevant notion that c-marking vs. lc-marking encodes is volition vs. non-volition, respectively.

As for the definition of non-control in (16)(i), it is not clear how such a reading is different from that of a bare unaccusative root. That is, many unaccusative roots can be used on their own, without lc-marking, and still encode events that are: i) natural, ii) spontaneous, iii) without the intervention of an agent. For example, the clause in (19) with the unaccusative root *yulh* ‘to burn’, can be used to describe a situation where the event occurs naturally, spontaneously and without the intervention of an agent, such as a forest fire. This clause fits all three conditions for the definition of non-control in (16)(i), yet there is no lc-marking present.

- (19) na yulh ta stséktsek
 RL burn DET trees
 ‘The forest is burning.’

Such data with bare root unaccusatives shows that the definition of non-control may be too broad. In Chapter 4, §3.3 I examine the types of interpretations that are obtained in

Sḵw̥w̥u7mesh when unaccusatives are combined with lc-marking. In Chapter 6, §5 I provide an account for why some unaccusatives have lc-interpretations without any overt lc-(in)transitivizers present.

The Thompson (1979) analysis has been very influential in Salish linguistics. It captures well the fact that control cannot be reduced to volitionality. It is, however, also not a necessary and sufficient description of control in Sḵw̥w̥u7mesh. In particular, it does not capture what appears to be a purely aspectual use of lc-marking. Consider for example the pair of sentences with a c-predicate (20)a and an lc-predicate (20)b.⁶

- (20) a. chen cháy-**n-t**-umi
 1S.SUB chase-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I chased you.’
- b. chen cháy-**n**-umi
 1S.SUB chase-LCTR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I caught up to you.’

None of the conditions of non-control identified in (16) is met in example (20)b, despite the presence of the lc-transitivizer. This sentence is compatible with a situation where the agent has full control over the event, and had no difficulty completing it.

Of course, this might reflect a difference between languages. Lc-marking in other Salish languages may not be compatible with the purely aspectual interpretation we observe in (20) in Sḵw̥w̥u7mesh. Furthermore, since Thompson and Thompson did not

⁶ Note that sometimes a Sḵw̥w̥u7mesh predicate has two transitivizers as in (20)a. I examine the Sḵw̥w̥u7mesh transitivity system in detail in Chapter 2, §4.1.2.

investigate $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}7mesh$ in particular, their definition may be adequate for the Salish languages that they did investigate. Davis et al. (2009) have demonstrated for Lillooet that certain non-CONTROL interpretations in Lillooet (which overlap significantly with $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}7mesh$ limited control interpretations) have a modal base, and not an aspectual base. Such variation strongly indicates that CONTROL may not be a unified phenomenon across the Salish languages. While such variation would not necessarily be expected if indeed transitivity markers directly encode the notion of CONTROL, on the present assumption that CONTROL is a construct, this type of variation may be expected. That is, CONTROL is expected to be constructed by different grammatical elements in different languages in the same language family (e.g. transitivity markers and modals in Lillooet vs. (in)transitivity markers in $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}7mesh$).

To date, no thorough survey of CONTROL marking exists of all the different CONTROL phenomena in Salish. However, it is interesting to note that different researchers have used different labels for non-control constructions, including limited control, out of control, non-control, etc. It is not always clear if these labels are meant to indicate a difference in analysis or if they are different labels for the same phenomenon. I will informally use the term non-control as a cover term for all these constructions, but reserve the term limited control when referring to non-control in Coast Salish. Table 2 provides an overview of non-control terminology throughout the Salish family and the morphemes that are associated with these non-control meanings.

Branch of Salish	Language	Morphological marking	Label	
Bella Coola	Bella Coola	<i>-aynix</i> <i>-aylayx</i>	limited control transitive; out of control intransitive	Davis and Saunders (1997:69-70)
Coast	Sliammon	<i>-ng</i>	non-control transitive	Watanabe (2003:202)
	Saanich	<i>-nəx^w</i>	non-control transitive	Montler (1986:§2.5.2.2) Kiyota (2008:54)
	Halkomelem	<i>-nəx^w</i>	limited control transitive	Gerds (2008)
	Skwxw7mesh	<i>-nexw</i>	non-volitional transitive; limited control transitive	Kuipers (1967:77); Bar-el (2005:366), Jacobs (2007)
	Sechelt	<i>-nexw</i>	non-purpose; controlled subject; subject-out-of-control	Kuipers et al. (1973:6) Beaumont (1977:12) Beaumont (1985)
Tsamosan	Upper Chehalis	<i>n/a</i>	not encoded	Kinkade (1991)
Interior	Coeur d'Alene	<i>-C₂ reduplication</i> ; <i>-nun</i>	non-control resultative non-control (in)transitive	Doak (1997:45)
	Lillooet	<i>ka- -a</i> ; <i>-sut</i> ; <i>-s</i>	resultative; out of control; circumstantial modal; out of control; causative, neutral control	Van Eijk (1997:51); Demirdache (1997); Davis et al (2009); van Eijk (1997:103) van Eijk (1997:111)
	Thompson	<i>-VC₂ reduplicant</i> <i>-nwéʔn</i> ; <i>-nwént</i>	out of control; noncontrol middle; noncontrol transitive	Thompson (1992:101) Thompson (1992:106) Thompson (1992:107)
	Spokane	<i>-VC₂ reduplication</i>	out of control	Carlson and Thompson (1981)

Table 2 Non-control labels in Salish

For the Interior branch of Salish, Doak (1997) uses the label non-control (in)transitive for the suffix *-nun* in Coeur d'Alene. Van Eijk (1997) labels *ka- -a* in Lillooet as a resultative, while Demirdache (1997) labels it an *out of control marker*. Davis et al (2009), however, analyze *ka- -a* as a circumstantial modal. Both Demirdache (1997) and van Eijk (1997) describe the *-s* causative transitivizer as *neutral control*. For Thompson, Thompson and Thompson (1992:99, 106-7) label *-V2* reduplication as *out of control marking*, the suffix *-nwe~~n~~* as a *non-control middle*, and *-nwén't* as a *non-control transitive*. For Spokane and Thompson, Carlson and Thompson (1981) use the label *out of control* for *-VC₂* reduplication. For the Coast Salish branch Watanabe (2003) uses the label *non-control* for Sliammon as does Kiyota (2008) for Saanich. Gerdt (2008) uses the label *limited control* for Halkomelem, as does Bar-el (2005) and Jacobs (2007) for Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh. Kuipers et al. (1973) uses the term non-purpose for the transitivizer *-nexw* in Sechelt, while Beaumont (1977) describes it as a controlled subject construction, and Beaumont (1985) describes it as a subject-out-of-control construction. Davis and Saunders (1997) use the term *limited control* for the transitivizer *-aynixw* and *out of control* for intransitivizer *-aylayx* in Bella Coola. Apparently none of the languages of the Tsamosan branch encoded a control distinction (Kinkade 1991).

While I will keep using the pre-theoretical label non-control, the question remains as to whether the differences in terms necessarily reflect differences in interpretations. Moreover, given the assumption that CONTROL is a construct, we might expect that CONTROL-marking has different effects depending on the kind of morpheme that it is associated with. In most Coast Salish languages CONTROL-marking is tied to (in)transitivizing suffixes, but this is not the case across all languages for non-control

marking. For example, in most Interior Salish languages c-predicates are marked by transitivizers on the verb as in *Skw̓w̓wu7mesh*, but non-control is variously marked as just discussed. Kroeber (1999:29-30) analyzes the non-control/limited control marker in some languages as a pre-transitivizer because they appear to require the presence of a following transitivizer, such as *-nt*.

2.3 The aspectual character of CONTROL

As mentioned above, lc-predicates appear to be compatible with an interpretation which is neutral about the degree of control the agent has over the event. Nevertheless, even in contexts where CONTROL seems to play no role in the interpretation of the predicate, there still is a semantic difference between c-predicates and lc-predicates. In particular, in these cases, the difference between c- and lc-predicates appears to be primarily aspectual. In particular, the relevant aspectual difference appears to be whether the described event necessarily culminates or not. Lc-predicates are only compatible with a culminated event, while c-predicates are compatible with both a culminated event or a non-culminated event (Bar-el 2005 for *Skw̓w̓wu7mesh*, Gerdts 2008 for Halkomelem, Kiyota 2008 and Turner 2010 for Saanich, Watanabe 2003 for Sliammon). Furthermore, such differences in culmination properties are often translated by completely different lexical items in English. Consider for example the sentences in (21). The c-predicate in (21)a encodes that an event of chasing occurred but not necessarily an event of catching up. In other words, the chasing event did not culminate in an event of catching up. The limited control version in (21)b, in contrast, indicates that both an event of pursuing and an event

of catching up occurred. That is, the chasing/pursuing event did culminate in a catching up event.

- (21) a. chen cháy-**n**-t-umi
 1S.SUB chase-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I chased/pursued you.’
- b. chen cháy-**n**-umi
 1S.SUB chase-LCTR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I caught up to you.’

The following table of examples shows more pairs of c-predicates and lc-predicates that appear to differ primarily, not in terms of CONTROL, but in what appears to an aspectual difference with regards to event culmination. These data also presents us with a non-trivial problem in analyzing CONTROL: why are some pairs of S_kw_xwu₇mesh c- and lc-predicates translated by completely different lexical items in English. I return to this issue in Chapter 6, §4.

C-predicate version	C-predicate translation	Lc-predicate	Lc-predicate translation
(22) a. kw'ach-t	'to look at it'	b. kw'ách-nexw	'to see it'
(23) a. p'i7-t	'to take/grab it'	b. p'í7-nexw	'to have/hold/receive it'
(24) a. yelx-t	'to search for it'	b. yélx-nexw	'to have found it'
(25) a. ta7l-t	'to study it'	b. tél-nexw	'to have learnt it, to realize it, to have found it out, to discover'
(26) a. kw'úy-ut	'to beat (a person)', 'to kill (game)'	b. kw'úy-nexw	'to have beat (a person) up' 'to have killed (game)'
(27) a. húy-ut	'to create it'	b. húy-nexw	'to finish it'
(28) a. kw'eñ-án	'to pour it'	b. kw'éñ-nexw	'to spill it; to have poured it'

Table 3 C- and lc-predicates pairs with primarily aspectual differences

In (22)a the c-predicate version of the root *kw'ach* refers to an event of looking while in (22)b the lc-predicate version of the same root refers to an event of seeing. From an aspectual viewpoint, seeing could be understood as the culmination of an event of looking. In (23)a the c-predicate version of the root *p'i7* refers to an event of grabbing/taking, while the lc-predicate version of the same root in (23)b refers to an event of having/holding/receiving. From an aspectual viewpoint, having/holding/receiving could be understood as the culmination of an event of grabbing/taking. In (24)a the c-predicate version of the root *yelx* refers to an event of searching, while the lc-predicate version in (24)b refers to an event of finding. From an aspectual viewpoint, finding could be understood to be the culmination of a searching event. The c-predicate version of the root *tél/ta7l* (25)a refers to an event of studying, while the lc-predicate version in (25)b refers to an event of finding out/learning/realizing.

From an aspectual viewpoint, events involving learning/realizing/finding out/realizing could be seen as types of culmination of an event of studying.

The relationship between the c- and lc-predicate versions of the roots in (26) and (27) and the types of events that they refer to are more complex and less straightforward than the relationship of other c- and lc-predicate pairs we have seen so far. The relationship is even more idiosyncratic from the point of view of their English translations. The c-predicate version in (26)a refers to either beating (a person) or to killing (game), and the lc-predicate version in (26)b refers to either an event of having beat (a person) up or an event of killing (game) (to refer to an event of killing of a person, *Skw̄w̄u7mesh* has a separate lexical item *kwáyutsmixw* ‘to murder’). The complicating factor in understanding the relationship between the c- and lc-predicate versions here, is their relationship to the root *kw’uy* which means ‘to die’ (whether the subject is human, animal or plant). Thus, it is not possible to straightforwardly derive the meanings of the transitive versions of this root to the root itself, which does not simply mean ‘to cause to die’.

The c-predicate version of the root *huy* (27)a refers to an event of creating, while the lc-predicate version in (27)b refers to an event of finishing. An aspectual description of these two form is more difficult to make, unless we consider that the lc-predicate means something like ‘finish creating’. Then we would have finish as the culmination of an event of creating, which does not seem to be the correct way to define these predicates. Finally, in (28) the c-predicate version of the root *kw’elh* refers to an event of pouring, while the lc-predicate version can have either an event of spilling, which could be construed as pouring unintentionally (a limited control translation), or as ‘to have poured’

which from an aspectual viewpoint could be understood as the culmination of a pouring event.

On the basis of examples such as those in Table 3, we may conclude that CONTROL marking is not always about the degree of control the agent has over the event. There are some idiosyncrasies in the relationship between the c- and lc-predicates of some roots. If control were the only relevant distinction between c- and lc-predicates, we would expect a more regular correspondence between the c-predicate and lc-predicate versions of a root which represented this difference in CONTROL than we actually do find. We, in fact, obtain a richer description of event types than is predicted by a primarily CONTROL-based account. For example, the root in (25) *tel'ta7l* is not translated as 'managed to study,' or 'accidentally study', but rather it has a wide range of meanings such as 'to have learnt/realize/found out/discovered'. Such examples, again, point to a problem in the investigation of control in *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh* – the problem of the differing patterns of lexicalization between *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh* and English which I return to in Chapter 6, §4. Such examples, also indicate that at least in some contexts, the CONTROL meanings of CONTROL-marking are neutralized. But even if we identify the contexts for the neutralization of CONTROL, we would still have to determine how the difference in event culmination gets to be associated with CONTROL-marking.

The central goal of this dissertation is to argue for an alternative hypothesis according to which the aspectual contrast in terms of event culmination constitutes the semantic core of CONTROL-predicates. I analyze all cases pertaining to the notions of *control* or *volition* as cases of pragmatic inferences (see Kiyota 2008:82, for a similar

claim for Saanich limited control). That is, the CONTROL meanings are inferred from the aspectual properties.

The assumption that CONTROL in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* is essentially about event completion leads to the question of whether this aspectual meaning is found in other Salish languages, and not just specific to *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*. This is indeed the case for Coast Salish. A number of other researchers who have investigated the aspectual quality of c- and lc-predicates in Coast Salish have come to similar conclusions. For example, according to Watanabe (2003:202-219) lc-predicates in Sliammon are compatible with the *accidental* and the *managed to* interpretation.⁷ However, they also have a clearly aspectual character which Watanabe explores with the following test. When a c-transitive verb (control is marked by the suffix *-t*, a cognate to the *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* control transitive suffix in (1)a) is in the perfective aspect, the result expressed by the verb can be explicitly denied without inducing a contradiction (29)a. But with the lc-predicate version, marked by the transitive suffix *-axʷ* (a cognate to the *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* lc-transitivizer *-nexw* as in (1)b), the result cannot be cancelled without inducing a contradiction (29)b:

(29) Sliammon

a. c-predicate

k'əp-t-uʔ	čən	ʔiy	xʷaʔ	k'əp-as
cut-CTR-PAST	1SG.INDC	and	NEG	cut-3CNJ
'I cut it, but it is not cut.'		(Watanabe, 2003:205, ex. 18-41a)		

⁷ Watanabe (2003) notes that for Sliammon, this property of CONTROL was also noted by Davis (1978).

- b. lc-predicate
 k'əp-əx^w-an #ʔiy x^waʔ k'əp-as
 cut-NTR-1SG.ERG and NEG cut-3CNI
 ('I cut it, but it is not cut.') (Watanabe 2003:205, ex.18-41b)

Because of this aspectually based difference between c- and lc-predicates in Sliammon, Watanabe (2003:204) considers the possibility that an event culmination reading — that is, an aspectual reading — is the basic meaning of limited control in Sliammon and that the other limited control interpretations, such as *accidentally* or *managed to*, are derived from this basic meaning. Watanabe does not further explore, though, how these interpretations might be derived from their aspectual meanings.

S_kw_xwu₇mesh exhibits the same contrast regarding event culmination as Sliammon. Bar-el et al. (2005) were the first to note this for S_kw_xwu₇mesh c-predicates (and for Lillooet). In particular, they note that for a c-predicate in S_kw_xwu₇mesh used in the perfective aspect, event culmination can be explicitly denied without inducing a contradiction (30)a. Thus, as noted in Bar-el (2005), the aspectual properties of c-predicates have important ramifications for the aspectual classification of predicates (that is, their inner aspect or Aktionsart properties). Both Bar-el et al. (2005) and Bar-el (2005) provide an analysis of the absence of event culmination in c-predicates. Moreover, both studies also note that lc-predicates in S_kw_xwu₇mesh behave differently in this respect, although they do not investigate their properties (n.b. Lillooet does not have lc-transitive predicates). In my research I have found that the S_kw_xwu₇mesh lc-predicates, like their Sliammon counterparts, can only be used if the event culminates. Lc-predicates (in this case marked with *-nexw*) require event culmination. As a result, the culmination may not be denied without inducing a contradiction (30)b:

(30) *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*

a. c-predicate

na p'ayak-**en**-t-∅-as ta John ta snexwilh-s
RL fix-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET John DET canoe-3POS
'He (John) fixed his canoe,

welh haw k'-as i húy-nexw-∅-as
but NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
but he didn't finish (fixing) it.'

(Bar-el et al. 2005, ex. 12)

b. lc-predicate

na p'ayak-**nexw**-∅-as ta John ta snexwilh-s
RL fix-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET John DET canoe-3POS
'He (John) fixed his canoe,

#welh haw k'-as i húy-nexw-∅-as
but NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
but he didn't finish (fixing) it.'

This is a striking result in light of the fact that these c-predicates otherwise look like what Vendler (1967) describes as accomplishment predicates in English. In English, accomplishment predicates do not allow for event culmination to be cancelled, as shown in (31), much like the lc-transitive in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* in (30)b.

(31) John fixed the fence (# but he didn't finish fixing it).

The absence of a requirement for event culmination for c-predicates appears to be quite common throughout the Salish family (Gerdt 2008 for Halkomelem, Kiyota 2008 for Saanich, Matthewson 2004a for Lillooet, Turner 2010 for Saanich and Watanabe 2003 for Sliammon). The requirement of event completion for lc-predicates appears to be quite common throughout Coast Salish (Gerdt 2008 for Halkomelem, Kiyota 2008 for Saanich, Turner 2010 for Saanich and Watanabe 2003 for Sliammon). For example,

Kiyota (2008) demonstrates this contrast between c- and lc-predicates for Saanich, another Coast Salish language closely related to Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh. The result expressed by the c-predicate (marked by *-t*, cognate to the Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh *-t*) can be cancelled without inducing a contradiction (32)a. In contrast, the lc-predicate (marked with *-nəxʷ*, a cognate to the Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh *-nəxʷ*) requires event culmination and consequently the culmination cannot be cancelled without inducing a contradiction (32)b.

(32) Saanich

a. c-predicate

ləʔə sən kʷəʔ lé-t tsə latəm
 AUX 1.sg INF get.fixed-CTR D table
 ‘I fixed the table,
 ʔiʔ ʔawa sən šəq-nəxʷ
 ACC NEG 1.SG complete-NCTR
 but I didn’t finish it.’ (Kiyota 2008:59, ex.42a)

b. lc-predicate

ləʔə qsən kʷəʔ qʷəy-nəxʷ tə spēʔəs
 AUX 1.SG INF die-NCTR D bear
 ‘I (accidentally) killed the bear,
 #ʔiʔ ʔawa s-qʷəy
 ACC NEG NOM-die
 but it didn’t die.’
 Speaker’s comment: Contradiction! (Kiyota 2008:59, ex.43a)

Gerdt (2008) provides similar data from Halkomelem. C-predicates do not require event culmination while lc-predicates do. As a consequence the culmination of the event can be cancelled without a contradiction with c-predicates (marked by *-t*, cognate to

S_kw_xwu7mesh -t) as in (33)a. The cancellation of event culmination results in a contradiction with lc-predicates (marked by -nəx^w), however (33)b.

(33) Halkomelem

- a. c-predicate
 niʔ cən q̄a:y-t t^θə speʔəθ
 AUX 1S.SUB kill-**TR** DET bear
- ʔiʔ ʔəwə niʔ -əs q̄ay.
 and NEG AUX-3SSUB die
 ‘I killed the bear but it didn’t die.’
- b. lc-predicate
 #niʔ cən q̄áy-nəx^w t^θə speʔəθ
 AUX 1S.SUB kill-**LCTR** DET bear
- ʔiʔ ʔəwə niʔ -əs q̄ay.
 and NEG AUX-3SSUB die
 ‘I managed to kill the bear but it didn’t die.’

These data also support the claim that lc-marking has a core aspectual meaning (cf. Kiyota 2008 and Watanabe 2003), at least for Coast Salish. Kiyota (2008:82) states that the various interpretations associated with lc-marking in Saanich are pragmatic inferences, but he leaves the exact nature of these inferences to further research.

The analytical challenge remains then. What is the relation between CONTROL-marking and event culmination? And how do these aspectual properties lead to meanings that appear to pertain to the notion of control? In other words, if control or volition is not part of the meaning of CONTROL marking then why do c-predicates appear to differ from lc-predicates in this respect, at least sometimes? The generalization to be accounted for is summarized in Table 4.

	core meaning	inferred meaning
c-predicate	event culmination possible	control
lc-predicate	event culmination necessary	limited control

Table 4 The meaning of CONTROL in Skw̄wu7mesh (Jacobs 2011)

In sum, one of the goals of this dissertation is to establish that, indeed, the core meaning of control constructions is about event culmination rather than about degrees of control the agent has over the event. But the question is how? This raises another analytical challenge associated with control marking: identifying the particular morpheme which is responsible for encoding whether or not the event culminates. The answer to this question is not quite straightforward. I turn to this problem in the next section.

3 Where is the morphological marking for CONTROL?

While Kuipers' (1967) analysis does not adequately describe the meanings associated with CONTROL-marking, it nevertheless provides us with an important description of some of the morphological properties associated with it. Consider again the contrast between c- and lc-predicates illustrated in Table 1, repeated below as Table 5:

	root	c-transitive	lc-transitive
(34)	--	pʰi7- t take, grab	pʰi7- nexw have, hold
(35)	--	chʰáw- at help	chʰáw- nexw have helped
(36)	súm to smell, to give off odor	súm- uñ smell, sniff ⁸	súm- nexw smell
(37)	lháw to run away	lháw- s elope with	lháw- nexw have eloped with

Table 5 Volitional and non-volitional transitives (Kuipers 1967:77-78)

Paying attention to the c-transitivizers, we observe that there are four different types of c-transitivizers and only one lc-transitivizer (-*nexw*): i) the root may be followed by the -*t* transitivizer as in as in (34), ii) the root may be followed by the transitivizer -*Vt* (where V is a copy vowel of the root) as in (35), iii) the root may be followed by -*Vn* (where V is sometimes a copy of the root vowel as in (36), and finally iv) the root may be followed by the causative transitivizer -*s* as in (37). Each of these different c-predicates has a corresponding lc-counterpart.

This introduces another puzzle associated with the CONTROL marking that I set out to address in this dissertation. If CONTROL-marking is best analyzed as a morphologically marked semantic contrast, then why are there four c-transitivizers but only one lc-transitivizer among the core transitivizers?

Moreover, in addition to the core transitivizers, Kuipers (1967:95-97) notes that the contrast of volitionality also pertains to some of the intransitivizers: reflexives and reciprocals. In particular, he classifies the reflexive -*sut* and the reciprocal -*way* as

⁸ This form is found in Kuipers (1969:62).

encoding volitionality. They contrast with the non-volitional reflexive *-numut* and the non-volitional reciprocal *-new'as*, respectively. This is summarized in Table 6, where I have replaced Kuipers' label *volitional/non-volitional* with the terminology I am using: *control (c)/limited control (lc)*.

	Transitive	Reflexive	Reciprocal
control	- <i>t</i> - <i>Vt</i> - <i>Vn</i> - <i>s</i>	- <i>sut</i>	- <i>way</i>
limited control	- <i>nexw</i>	- <i>numut</i>	- <i>new'as</i>

Table 6 C- and lc-(in)transitivizers (adapted from Kuipers 1967)

Note that the transitivizers are not transparently related to the reflexive and reciprocal counterparts. Thus, if indeed we are dealing with the same morphological contrast, then what is responsible for CONTROL marking in each case?

In sum, while Kuipers' semantic characterization of CONTROL in terms of volitionality is not empirically adequate, his initial description still sets the agenda for our investigation. We can identify the following issues any analysis needs to address.

The morphosyntax of CONTROL:

- A) Why are there 4 control transitivizers as opposed to 1 limited control transitivizer?
- B) What determines the distribution of the different control transitivizers?
- C) Is this problem reducible to allophony or is there more to this problem?
- D) If the contrast in CONTROL extends to reflexives and reciprocals,

then what is the morpheme that encodes the contrast?

4 **Outline of my proposal**

The following is the outline of this dissertation.

A) Background (Chapter 2)

I present a linguistic viewpoint of the place of Skw̓w̓w̓7mesh in the Salish language family. I provide the background on the methodology I used to collect the data used for this dissertation. I then provide a grammatical sketch, outlining some of the morphological issues that I address in this dissertation.

B) Aspectual core for CONTROL (Chapter 3)

I show that c- and lc-transitivizers mark **an aspectual difference**. In particular, lc-predicates assert that the natural endpoint encoded in the predicate is the actual endpoint of the event that occurred. In contrast, c-predicates do NOT assert that the natural endpoint encoded in the predicate is in fact the final point of the event. Rather, all that they assert is event initiation.

C) The context of use of CONTROL: Pragmatic inferences (Chapter 4)

I show that the impression that c- vs. lc-transitives encode a degree of control comes about via pragmatic inferences. These inferences arise via a combination of linguistic knowledge on the one hand and world-knowledge on the other hand. In particular, if a speaker chooses to make an assertion about the culmination of the event, the listener can

infer that there must be a reason for this choice: why wasn't the initiation of the event not asserted? The listener may infer that something was unusual about the initiation of the event, e.g. the agent caused the event accidentally. As such, this type of inference is triggered by linguistic knowledge pertaining to the systematic morphological contrast available in the language.

Moreover, the impression that c-predicates mark control is the result of world-knowledge. If a speaker indicates that an agent initiated an event, and does not state otherwise, the listener assumes that the agent was **volitional** and had full **control** over the process of event such that she brought the event to culmination.

D) The syntax of CONTROL (Chapter 5)

Assuming that event culmination or the lack thereof is about telicity, I provide a morphosyntactic model for representing these two different aspectual differences assuming Travis' (2010) phrase structure. I propose that when object agreement is associated with FP-delimit, a telic reading is obtained: that is, our lc-predicates. But, when object agreement is associated with VP then the predicate is not telic: that is our c-predicates. Instead, only the thematic role of the participant is marked. I then provide a preliminary account of how this analysis can be extended to the causative and the intransitivizers. I separate the causative from the other c-transitivizers because it presents a more complicated picture regarding event structure than the other c-transitivizers.

E) Implications (Chapter 6)

Assuming that the two different types of object agreement were present in Proto-Salish, I provide a very preliminary account for the development of the present day

Skw̓w̓mesh object agreement/intransitive markers from the two Proto-Salish object sets (Newman 1979). I then provide a preliminary account of how my morphosyntactic model can be extended to other Coast Salish languages. I also examine briefly why limited control-like meanings are not associated with culmination in languages like English. I then discuss how other non-control constructions in Skw̓w̓mesh and other Salish languages might fit with my analysis of CONTROL presented in this dissertation.

Chapter 2 - Background on Sk̓w̓x̓wú7mesh

1 Introduction

In this chapter I first provide a linguistic background to the Sk̓w̓x̓wú7mesh language in §2. I then provide a description of the methodology used in collecting the data for this dissertation in §3. I then provide a grammatical sketch of the Sk̓w̓x̓wú7mesh language with a focus on the parts that are relevant to the construction of CONTROL in §4.

2 Linguistic classification

In the current Salishanist linguistic classification, Sk̓w̓x̓wú7mesh is a member of the Central Salish branch of the Salish language family. This term, however, is not used by Sk̓w̓x̓wú7mesh people themselves. The preferred term is ‘Coast Salish people’. The following table is a classification based on Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998a) but with the term ‘Coast Salish’ instead of ‘Central Salish’. I also provide the Sk̓w̓x̓wú7mesh names, where they exist, for other Salish languages or dialects. This classification is based on Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998a).

Branch	Language	Skwxwu7mesh Name	Dialects
Bella Coola	Bella Coola	Pélxwela	
Coast	Comox	Sliyámin, Xwemáhkwx Tsalhúlhtxw	Sliammon, Halmalko, Island Comox Klahoose
	Sechelt	Shishá7lh	
	Pentlatch		
	Squamish	Skwxwu7mesh	
	Halkomelem	Sk'emínem	Upriver, Downriver, Island
	Nooksack	Xwsa7k	
	Northern Straits		Semiahmoo, Saanich, Lummi, Songish, Samish, Sooke
	Lushootseed	(Xwlesh)	Northern, Southern
	Klallam		
	Twana		
Tsamosan	Upper Chehalis		Satsop, Oakville, Tenino
	Cowlitz		
	Lower Chehalis		
	Quinault		
Tillamook	Tillamook		
Interior	Shuswap		
	Thompson	Lhekápmexw	
	Lillooet	St'álmexw Lúxwels	Lillooet/Upper Lillooet Mt. Currie/Lower Lillooet
	Okanagan		Northern, Southern/Colville
	Moses-Columbian		
	Kalispel		Kalispel, Spokane, Flathead
	Coeur d'Alene		

Table 7 Salish language family

3 Methodology

The data in this dissertation comes from four sources.

One source of data for this dissertation is Aert Kuipers' two volume: *The Squamish Language: Grammar, Texts and Dictionary* (1967, 1969). Kuipers' consultants were largely from a generation previous to the consultants that I worked with. His consultants were older family members of a number of the consultants that I worked with.

Descendents of Kuipers' consultants still recall stories of his visits to the Sk̓wx̓wu7mesh communities in the 1950's and 1960's.

A second set of data I used was collected by employees of the Sk̓wx̓wu7mesh Nation Department of Education (SNED) in North Vancouver, Canada, and it includes:

- i) words and sentences collected as part of the Sk̓wx̓wu7mesh-Xwelíten Sk̓exwts (the Squamish-English Dictionary Project),
- ii) texts from traditional stories,
- iii) texts from curriculum for the Squamish Language Program (elementary, high school and college level Sk̓wx̓wu7mesh language classes).

A third source of data I used was the data collected by researchers other than myself and it includes elicitation sessions from graduate students from the Department of Linguistics at UBC and post-doctoral researchers, also associated with UBC. As an employee of SNED I participated in most of these elicitation sessions. All these sessions were originally recorded on minidisc and have since been transferred to external hard drives.

The fourth source of data is my own elicitation sessions conducted as part of the research for this dissertation. The methodology that I used when eliciting data for this dissertation consisted primarily of four tasks:

- i) translation of constructed Skwɔ̃wu7mesh sentences into English,
- ii) translation of English sentences into Skwɔ̃wu7mesh,
- iii) providing the speakers with Skwɔ̃wu7mesh sentences and then asking them about the appropriateness of that sentence in various contexts,
- iv) providing the speakers with Skwɔ̃wu7mesh sentences and then asking them for appropriate contexts for those sentence.

All my elicitation sessions were originally recorded on my laptop Dell XPS-M1530. The second, third and fourth sets of data I used are all housed with SNED and have been transferred to external hard drives.

4 **Grammatical sketch**

It is the main goal of this dissertation to show that CONTROL is constructed from a combination of morphological marking and pragmatic inference. As such, we need to get acquainted with those aspects of the Skwɔ̃wu7mesh grammar that are relevant to the construction of CONTROL. Moreover, a general discussion of some of the key aspects of the grammar will facilitate the discussion of the data. Since CONTROL is intimately tied to the transitivizer system in the form of (in)transitive suffixes on the verb, we start with a discussion of the template for the complex verb in §4.1. We briefly examine the verbal stem in §4.1.1. We then examine in some detail the properties of the transitivizing

system in §4.1.2. Then we discuss person marking in §4.1.3. We then move on to discuss other components of the grammar that are not directly relevant for CONTROL-marking but that are still vital in the understanding of the Skw̥w̥w̥ mesh data: verb phrase auxiliaries and particles in §4.2, the determiner phrases in §4.3, case in §4.4 and linearization and word order in §0.

4.1 The verbal template

As mentioned above, CONTROL marking is intimately tied to the (in)transitivity system in Skw̥w̥w̥ mesh. In particular, the difference between c-predicates and lc-predicates lies in the choice of the (in)transitivizer. Thus, a useful starting point for our discussion is the morphological template for the Skw̥w̥w̥ mesh verb, given in (1). This template is based on the one given by Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998a: 23) for the Salish word.

(1) Template for the Skw̥w̥w̥ mesh verb

ASPECT-REDUPLICATION-ROOT-LEXICAL.SUFFIX-TRANSITIVIZER/INTRANSITIVIZER-OBJECT-SUBJECT-NUMBER

I discuss each of these morphological slots and the pieces that occupy them in turn. The depth of discussion will depend on the degree of relevance the pieces have for the discussion throughout the dissertation.

I will start with a discussion of the central part of the verbal template, the parts of the verbal stem: roots in §4.1.1.1 and lexical suffixes in §4.1.1.2. I then briefly discuss the prefixes in §4.1.1.3 before moving on to those pieces that play a key role in the construction of CONTROL, namely the (in)transitivizers, in §4.1.2. Finally I discuss person marking in §4.1.3.

4.1.1 **The verbal stem**

The verbal stem consists of the root (§4.1.1.1), lexical suffixes (§4.1.1.2), and the verbal prefixes (§4.1.1.3).

4.1.1.1 **Roots**

I start the discussion with a brief overview of the morpho-syntactic and semantic behaviour of roots. Roots are the core of the template:

- (2) Template for the $S_{kwx}wu_{7mesh}$ verb: the ROOT
 ASP-RED-**ROOT**-LS-TR/INT-OBJ-SUB-NUM

As illustrated in (3)a, many roots may appear in their bare form (i.e., when the agreement affixes are phonologically null). However, roots may be surrounded by both prefixes and suffixes as shown in (3)b, which is an example of a verb that has various morphological slots occupied.

- (3) a. na tsexw-Ø
 RL hit-3SUB
 ‘he got hit.’ (by something thrown)
- b. na es-ch’us-um-nit-Ø-as-wit
 RL STAT-shun-MID-RELAPPL-TR-3OBJ-3SUB-PL
 ‘They shunned him.’

In Skw̥w̥u7mesh, all roots are morphologically intransitive. The majority of roots are inherently patient oriented: that is, their only argument is the participant that undergoes the event (rather than the agent). Since Perlmutter (1978), such verbs have been known as unaccusative.

- (4) a. chen tsexw
 1S.SUB hit
 ‘I got hit.’ (by something thrown)
- b. na áynexw-Ø
 RL alive-3SUB
 ‘S/he is alive.’
- c. chet p’áyak̥
 1P.SUB recover
 ‘We recovered, we got better (from being sick).’

Also, as per Bar-el (2005), I assume that all unaccusatives have culmination entailments in the perfective aspect. Bar-el (2005:90-91, ex.53a-b) shows that it is not possible to question the culmination of an accusative root in the perfective without inducing a contradiction shown in (5) below:

- (5) a. na k̥w'uy kwa John
 RL die DET John
 'John died.'
- b. na7-xw u wa es-k̥w'úy kwa John
 RL-still POL IMPF STAT-sick DET John
 'Is John still sick?'
- Speaker's comments: Not OK as a question after the previous statement:
 "Why would you ask a question like that if he's already dead?"

Because of these facts, I assume that unaccusative roots, besides having a patient/undergoer argument, also have culmination as part of their inherent meaning.

There are also roots whose only argument appears to be the agent of the event. As such they could be classified as unergative roots (Perlmutter 1978).

- (6) a. chen lhich'
 1S.SUB cut
 'I am cutting.'
- b. na ílhen-Ø-wit
 RL eat-3SUB-PL
 'They ate.'
- c. chet ts'its'áp'
 1P.SUB work
 'We work.'

Bar-el (2005) demonstrates that unergatives (in her terms, *activities*), in contrast to unaccusatives, do not have culmination entailments as the following example

- (7) a. na ímesh kwa John
 rl walk det John
 'John is walking,

- b. i iwáyti na7-xw wa ímesh
 and maybe RL-still IMPF walk
 and maybe he's still walking.'

This example shows that it is possible add a phrase that indicates that the event of the unergative root is still continuing. It does not have to culminate. Because of these facts, I assume that unergative roots have an agent argument and they do not have culmination as part of their inherent meaning.

Davis (1997) argues that all Salish roots are underlyingly unaccusative. This is known as the deep unaccusativity hypothesis. For those roots that appear to be agent-oriented he argues for the presence of a zero morpheme which makes the root unergative. However, for the purpose of this dissertation I assume that roots can be underlyingly unaccusative or unergative. This assumption is similar to Gerdts and Hukari (2006a), except that I do not assume that there are also inherently transitive roots in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*. That is, I do not assume that there are any roots which have both an agent and a theme role associated with them. I argue in Chapter 5 that this assumption for *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* provides for a clearer basis for understanding the differences between the various transitivizers in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*.

I also assume that unaccusatives come in two subclasses: i) regular unaccusatives and verbs of motion (Gerdts 1991 for Halkomelem). Verbs of motion can be classified as unaccusative because their subject functions as a theme: it is the participant who undergoes the change in location. But these roots, in addition to having a theme role are also lexically specified for the goal of their motion or the source from which this motion takes place. Take, for example, the verb of motion *t'ukw* 'to come/go home' as in

examples (8)a-b. Not only does this verb indicate motion, but it also has as the goal of this motion: ‘home’. The verb of motion *wukw*’ has as its goal ‘downstream’ (8)c and *úmich* has as its goal ‘upstream’ (8)d. Some verbs of motion, such as *kwum* in (8)e, indicate movement away from a source ‘the beach’.

- (8) a. chen naṁ t’ukw’
 1S.SUB go go.home
 ‘I went **home**.’
- b. naṁ chen t’ukw’
 go 1S.SUB go.home
 ‘I will go **home**.’
- c. na mi wúk’-i7-Ø
 RL come go.downstream-INCH-3SUB
 ‘He got **downstream** here.’
- d. na wa úmich-Ø
 RL IMPF go.upstream-3SUB
 ‘He is going **upstream**.’
- e. chet naṁ kwum
 1P.SUB go go.up.from.beach
 ‘We went up **away from the beach**.’

Normally these roots occur with an auxiliary *mi* ‘to come’ or *naṁ* ‘to go’, which serve to indicate the location of the goal/source with regards to the speaker or to the narrative

context.⁹ For example, the auxiliary *nam'* in (8)a-b indicates that the speaker is not physically located at 'home' at the time of utterance.

While I treat these verbs of motion as a type of unaccusative, it is ambiguous as to whether their argument, other than the goal/source argument, is a theme or agent. In Chapter 5 I will discuss some of their aspectual properties and their interaction with the causative to provide a clearer picture of the issues in describing the inherent thematic roles of verbs of motion.

One other issue regarding roots in Skwxwú7mesh, and in Salish in general, is the issue of whether nouns and verbs exist as distinct lexical categories (cf. Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998a: 35-38 for a brief overview of the issues). For the purposes of this dissertation I assume that there is such a distinction, along with Demirdache and Matthewson (1995) and others.

4.1.1.2 **Lexical suffixes**

Beside the root, there is another slot in the verbal template which hosts morphemes with lexical content. That is, roots can combine with suffixes which in the Salishanist literature are known as lexical suffixes (Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998a, Gerds 2003, Hinkson 1999, Kinkade 1998, Wiltschko 2009). In particular, these suffixes

⁹ For reasons which are not clear, for some of these verbs of motion (e.g. *t'ukw'* 'go home'), the presence of these auxiliaries appears to be obligatorily. This requires further research.

(mostly) attach directly to the root as shown in the template repeated below for convenience and illustrated in the data below.

(9) Template for the S_kw_xwu₇mesh verb: Lexical suffixes

ASP-RED-ROOT-**Lexical.Suffixes**-TR/INT-OBJ-SUB-NUM

The following are examples containing lexical suffixes. In (10)a, the lexical suffix is -*áyus* ‘eye’ and in (10)b it is -*k_w* ‘head’. Note that the transitivizers are attached outside of the lexical suffixes.

- (10) a. na chem_x-**áyus**-en-t-∅-as ta stá₇uxwlh
 RL pitch-**eye** -TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET children
 ‘She put pitch on the children’s eyes.’
- b. na es-hám-**k_w**-s-t-em-∅
 RL STAT-covered-**head**-CAUS-TR-PASS-3SUB
 ‘They had her head covered.’

S_kw_xwu₇mesh (like the other Salish languages) has over a hundred such suffixes. They differ from roots in that they cannot stand on their own. Moreover, the lexical suffix is often not transparently phonologically related to the corresponding independent noun. In a number of cases in S_kw_xwu₇mesh there is some obvious relation with the independent noun, but the relation is never fully transparent.

The following table provides examples of some of the lexical suffixes. The independent full word is listed in the first column, the corresponding lexical suffix in the second column and then an example word with the lexical suffix in the third column.

	independent word	lexical suffix	example
bed	slhawín	-a7lh	p'ayaḵ- a7lh -m 'fix one's own <i>bed</i> ' fix- bed -MID
eye	kelúm	-ayus	xw-hiy- áyus 'have big <i>eyes</i> ' LOC-big- eye
fire	yíyulh	-ikwup	hiy- ikwup 'big <i>fire</i> ' big-fire
foot, leg	sxeñ	-shen	hiyí- shen 'have big <i>feet</i> ' big- foot
nose	méksen	-ks	si7- ks -ám 'wipe one's own <i>nose</i> ' wipe- nose -MID
tongue	meḵálxwtsalh	-alxwtsalh	tsiḵ- álxwtsalh 'stabbed in the <i>tongue</i> ' stabbed- tongue

Table 8 Lexical suffixes in Sḵwḵwu7mesh

4.1.1.3 Verbal prefixes

The number of prefixes in Sḵwḵwu7mesh is considerably less than the number of suffixes. Nevertheless, the prefixes that do occur are productive. While the template has the ASPECTUAL and REDUPLICANT prefixes, semantically the REDUPLICANTS can also have aspectual meanings. Furthermore, the ASPECTUAL slot also includes the NOMINALIZER. Nevertheless, I will still use these two labels as pretheoretical labels.

There are two types of prefixal reduplication: CVC- and CV-. These occur directly preceding the root as indicated in the template:

(11) Template for the Sḵwḵwu7mesh verb: Reduplicants

ASP-**RED**-ROOT-LS-TR/INT-OBJ-SUB-NUM

CVC reduplication can occur with both verbs and nouns. With nouns it indicates plurality.

- (12) a. push
 'cat'
- b. pesh-púsh
 RED-cat
 'cats'
- c. s-kwemáy
 NOM-dog
 'dog'
- d. s-kwem-kwemáy
 NOM-RED-dog
 'dogs'

With verbal roots it can indicate plurality for the internal argument as in reading (i) of example (13) or it can indicate repetitive aspect (i.e. plurality of the event) as in reading (ii) of example (13).

- (13) na kwel-kwélash-t-Ø-as ta míxalh
 RL RED-shoot-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET bear
 i) 'He shot a number of bears.' (at the same time)
 ii) 'He shot the bear repeatedly.'

Bar-el (2005) analyzes the CV- reduplicant as the progressive aspect. It only occurs with verbs. Compare the verbal root without CV- (14)a and then with it (14)b.

- (14) a. chen nam̃ t'ukw'.
 1S.SUB go go.home
 'I went home.'
- b. t'ú-t'ukw' chen.
 RE-go.home 1S.SUB
 'I'm on my way home.'

The next prefix out from the REDuplicants is the stative *es-*, which I place in the ASPect slot, as indicated in the template:

- (15) Template for the Sk̃w̃x̃wu7mesh verb – Aspectual prefix
 ASP-RED-ROOT-LS-TR/INT-OBJ-SUB-NUM

The aspectual prefix *es-* 'stative' derives a predicate denoting a resulting stative.

- (16) a. na **es**-ch'ich'-Ø
 RL STAT-twisted-3SUB
 'It is twisted.'
- b. na ch'ich'-Ø
 RL twisted-3SUB
 'It got twisted.'

I include the nominalizer *s-*, in the same slot as *es-* in ASPect slot, even though its function appears to be more syntactic than aspectual. It can derive nouns from verbs as in (17). It also occurs to indicate a nominalized (dependent) clause, wherein it looks more like a clausal proclitic than a prefix. The example in (18) has the nominalized clause functioning as a complement clause. The *s-* can also indicate certain types of

extraction. In (19)a the *s-* indicates that a formerly oblique argument, *ta lhach'tn* (19)b, has been extracted.

(17) **s-takw**
NOM-drink
 'water'

(18) na tél-nexw-Ø-as kwi-n-s na ts'its'áp'
 RL know-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET-1S.POS-NOM RL work
 'He knows that I worked.'

(19) a. nilh ti lhach'tn (na n-s-7éxwa7-t-umi)
 FOC DET knife RL 1S.POS-NOM-give-TR-2S.OBJ
 'This is the knife that I gave you.'

b. chen éxwa7-t-umi t-ti lhach'tn
 1S.SUB give-TR-2S.OBJ OBJ-DET knife
 'I gave you this knife.'

Since neither lexical suffixes nor prefixes are the focus of our investigation, we can revise the template to reflect only the pieces relevant for the present discussion. I will refer to the root in combination with prefixes and lexical suffixes as the stem. This leaves us with the following template which isolates all and only the pieces relevant for the present discussion.

(20) Template for **Skw̄w̄u7**mesh verb: stem
 [ASP-RED-ROOT-LS]_{STEM}-TR/INT-OBJ-SUB-NUM

4.1.2 The transitivity system

As noted above, all $S_{kw}w$ roots are inherently intransitive and consequently may only co-occur with one argument, which is realized as the subject. Thematically, this argument may be an agent (21)a or a patient (21)b.

- (21) a. chet ts'its'áp'
1P.SUB work
'We work.'
- b. na tsexw-Ø
RL hit-3SUB
'He got hit.' (by something thrown)

Bare roots may never be transitive and as such cannot directly combine with object agreement. This is illustrated in (22).

- (22) *chen tsexw-umi
1S.SUB hit-2S.OBJ
(intended meaning: I hit you)

Rather, in order for any root to co-occur with two arguments a transitivizer needs to be added to allow for object agreement (23)a, or one of the arguments must occur as an oblique argument (23)b.

- (23) a. chen tsexw-**n**-umi
 1S.SUB hit-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I hit you.’
- b. chet kxw-im **t**-kwi sts’á7kin
 1P.SUB collect-CUE OBL-DET bullrush
 ‘We collected bullrushes.’

Within the morphological template, the transitivizer occupies the position immediately following the stem and preceding object markers as illustrated in (24).¹⁰

- (24) Template for Skwxwu7mesh verb: transitivizer
 STEM-**TR**/INT-OBJ-SUB-NUM

There are a number of transitivizers and intransitivizers in Skwxwu7mesh that appear to occupy this morphological slot, many of which have been described as encoding either control or limited control (Jacobs 2007). While the main thesis I put forth in this dissertation is that CONTROL is a construct and therefore not directly encoded in any morpheme (including the (in)transitivizers), morphological marking still plays a role in constructing the relevant interpretations. Crucially, the locus of c- and lc-marking can be identified as TR/INT. This can be seen on the basis of the contrast introduced in Chapter 1 and repeated below:

¹⁰ None of the morphemes that occur inside the stem has an effect on the arguments that the root can co-occur with.

- (25) a. chen kw'lh-**at**-Ø ta tiy
 1S.SUB pour-TR-3OBJ DET tea
 'I poured the tea.' (on purpose)
- b. chen kw'élh-**nexw**-Ø ta tiy
 1S.SUB spill-LCTR-3OBJ DET tea
 'I spilt the tea.' (accidentally)

In (25)a the stem is immediately followed by the transitivizer *-at* and the result is a c-predicate: the agent is interpreted as having control over the event. In contrast, in (25)b the stem is immediately followed by the transitivizer *-nexw* and the result is an lc-predicate: the event is interpreted as coming about accidentally or with great difficulty. Since the transitive system plays a crucial role in CONTROL-marking, I discuss it in some detail. For now, the discussion is based on the only previous description of the transitivizers in *Sḱwḱwu7mesh*, namely that of Kuipers (1967). It will be clear from this discussion that CONTROL-marking in the form of transitivizers not only presents us with questions regarding the semantics associated with it (as discussed in chapter 1) but it also presents us with some non-trivial morphological problems. I first discuss the core transitivizers (§4.1.2.1), and then the applicative transitivizers that add a different type of argument (e.g. a benefactive argument) to the predicate (§4.1.2.2). Finally I show that there are also a number of intransitivizers that appear to occupy the same morphological slot (§4.1.2.3).

4.1.2.1 Core transitivizers

The transitivizers have already been introduced in Chapter 1 and appear to be responsible for c- and lc-marking, I now call them core transitivizers, in contrast to the applicative transitivizers. They are repeated below.

	Core Transitivizers
control	-t -Vt -Vn -s
limited control	-nexw

Table 9 Core transitivizers in S_kw_xwu7mesh

The *V* preceding *t* and *n* represents an abstract vowel. The quality of this vowel depends on various phonological factors. It can appear as a copy of the root vowel and henceforth, I refer to it as the *copy-vowel*.¹¹ In my own database, I have 59 roots (listed in Appendix A, §1) that occur in the *-t* transitive construction, 68 roots (listed in Appendix A, §2) that occur in the *-Vt* construction and 233 CVC roots (listed in Appendix A §3) that occur in the *-Vn* construction. The number of roots that can occur with the causative *-s* appears to be open ended.

¹¹ See Dyck (2004) for a phonological account of the copy vowels. I provide an alternative account in Appendix B §2.

Each of these transitivizers is illustrated in examples (26)-(29) below. For each transitivizer I provide an example with the bare root first (the a examples) and then an example with the same root with the relevant transitivizer (the b examples).

(26) *-t*

- a. na lixw-Ø ta smant
 RL put.down-3SUB DET rock
 ‘The stone has been laid down (e.g. as a marker)’
- b. na lixw-**t**-Ø-as ta smant
 RL put.down-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET rock
 ‘He put the rock down.’

(27) *-Vt*

- a. chen lhich’
 1S.SUB cut
 ‘I cut.’
- b. chen lhích’-**it**-Ø
 1S.SUB cut-TR-3OBJ
 ‘I cut it.’

(28) *-Vn*

- a. na yulh-Ø ta yíyulh
 RL burn-3SUB DET fire
 ‘The fire is burning.’
- b. chen yúlh-**un** ta s7ilhen
 1s.sub burn-tr det food
 ‘I burned the food.’

(29) *-s*

- a. chen ilhen
 1S.SUB eat
 ‘I ate.’
- b. na ilhen-**s**-t-úmulh-as
 RL eat-CAUS-TR-1PL.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘She fed us.’

- (30) *-nexw*
- a. chen kwélash
1s.sub shoot
'I shot.'
 - b. chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø
1s.sub shoot-lctr-3obj
 - i) 'I managed to/got to shoot it.'
 - ii) 'I accidentally shot it.'

We also noted in Chapter 1 two morphological puzzles that arise in this context:

why are there four c-transitivizers as opposed to one lc-transitivizer? And what determines the distribution of the different c-transitivizers?

According to Kuipers, the distribution of three of the transitivizers is partly lexically conditioned. In particular, the use of *-t* and *-Vt* is restricted to a closed class of roots. In contrast, *-Vn* appears to be a productive c-transitivizer, as is the causative *-s*. One reason to consider the *-Vn* transitivizer as a productive transitivizer come from certain combinations of root and lexical suffixes combinations. For roots that normally take the *-t* or *-Vt* transitivizers, when a lexical suffix is present, they instead take the *-Vn* transitivizer. For example, take the bare root in (31)a. It takes the transitivizer *-t* in (31)b. But, when a lexical suffix is present it takes the transitivizer *-Vn* in (31)c. The same holds for the root from (27), repeated here again as (32)a, which takes the transitivizer *-Vt*, when the root has no lexical suffixes (32)b. However, when a lexical suffix is present, the stem takes the *-Vn* transitivizer (32)c.

(31) $-t \rightarrow -Vn$

- a. na xwíl-Ø te-n yenís
RL come.off-3SUB DET-1S.POS teeth
'My teeth come about (by themselves).'
(Kuipers 1967:372)
- b. chen xwi7l-t-Ø te-n kapú
1S.SUB take.off-TR-3OBJ DET-1S.POS coat
'I took off my coat.'
- b. chen xwíl-ts-en-Ø ta shewálh
1S.SUB take.off-mouth-TR-3OBJ DET door
'I opened the door.'

(32) $-Vt \rightarrow -Vn$

- a. chen lhich'
1S.SUB cut
'I cut.'
- b. chen lhích'-it-Ø
1S.SUB cut-TR-3OBJ
'I cut it.'
- c. chen lhich'-ách-n-Ø
1S.SUB cut-hand-TR-3OBJ
'I cut his hand.'

There is an wrinkle with the productive $-Vn$ transitivizer and the causative $-s$ when the object is third person. Both the $-Vn$ transitivizer and the causative $-s$ are sometimes followed by $-t$ (which is homophonous with the simple $-t$ transitivizer), and sometimes not. Thus, consider the two sets of examples in (33) and in (34). In (33)a, $-Vn$ is followed by $-t$. In contrast, in (33)b which contains the same root, $-Vn$ is not followed by $-t$. In (34)a, $-s$ occurs followed by $-t$. In contrast, in (34)b which contains the same root, $-s$ is not followed by $-t$.

- (33) a. *-Vn-t* 3sg. subject → 3sg. object
na lhákw'-an-t-Ø-as
RL slap-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
‘He slapped him.’
- b. *-Vn-[]* 1sg. subject → 3sg. object
chen lhákw'-an-[]-Ø
1S.SUB slap-TR-?-3OBJ
‘I slapped him.’
- (34) a. *-s-t* 3sg. subject → 3sg. object
na tá7-s-t-Ø-as ta kw'áxwa7
RL do-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET box
‘He made a box.’
- b. *-s-[]* 1 sg. subject → 3sg. subject
chen ta7-s-[]-Ø ta kw'áxwa7
1S.SUB do-CAUS-?-3OBJ DET box
‘I made a box.’

The two sets of examples minimally differ in that the subject of the (a) examples is realized by the third person agreement suffix *-as* on the verb, while in the (b) examples it is realized by a preverbal clitic for first person singular subject.

The contrast in (33) and (34) raises two questions. First, if *-t* and *-Vn* are both transitivizers, then why can they co-occur? And, if *-t* and *-s* are both transitivizers, then why can they co-occur? In other words, why does *Skw̄xwu7mesh* have *-t* as an apparently redundant transitivizer? Or, does *-t* have a separate function?

Kuipers' (1967) answer to these questions was that *-t* is only a true transitivizer if it functions as the sole transitivizer. If, however, it co-occurs with *-Vn* or *-s*, then *-t* appears to be redundant and in such cases Kuipers (1967:68) calls it an “extender” for a following suffix (i.e. object or subject suffixes, or the passive suffix). But he also describes it as the same morpheme as the *-t* transitivizer (Kuipers 1967:259). This

suggests that the status of *-t* is unclear in such cases. In Appendix B §1, I provide a preliminary phonological account according to which *-t* is present morphologically in cases like (33)a and (34)a, and that it is simply deleted word finally due to phonotactic constraints. In anticipation of this analysis, then, I mark the presence of the second transitivizer with square brackets when I understand it to be present morphologically, but deleted phonologically. This is illustrated in (35) and (36):

- (35) a. na lhákw'-an-**t**-∅-as
 RL slap-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He slapped him.'
- b. chen lhákw'-an-[]-∅
 1S.SUB slap-TR-**TR**-3OBJ
 'I slapped him.'
- (36) a. na tá7-s-**t**-∅-as ta kw'áxwa7
 RL do-CAUS-**TR**-3OBJ-3SUB DET box
 'He made a box.'
- b. chen ta7-s-[]-∅ ta kw'áxwa7
 1S.SUB do-CAUS-**TR**-3OBJ DET box
 'I made a box.'

Another related puzzle regarding the putative extender function of *-t* is its absence with the lc-intransitivizer. That is, when the lc-transitivizer is present, the *-t* never occurs.

- (37) na kw'ach-nexw-(*t)-∅-as
 RL see-LCTR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He saw it.'

I will return to this issue in chapter 5, where I will argue for a unified analysis of *-t*. In particular, I will argue that *-t* plays a crucial role in encoding the event-structure associated with c-predicates.

The limited control transitive predicates present us with another interesting feature. Kuipers (1967:68) describes the lc-transitive as having two allomorphs. When an overt object suffix (38)a-d or the passive (38)e follows it, then it surfaces just as *-n*. In any other context (i.e. when the object is third person), it surfaces as *-nexw*, whether an overt subject suffix follows (39)a or not (39)b.

- (38) a. na máy-**n**-emsh-as
 RL forget-LCTR-1S.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He forgot me.’
- b. na máy-**n**-umulh-as
 RL forget-LCTR-1P.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He forgot us.’
- c. chen kw’ach-**n**-umi
 1S.SUB see-LCTR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I saw you.’
- d. chen kw’ach-**n**-umi-yap
 1S.SUB see-LCTR-2S.OBJ-PL
 ‘I saw you all.’
- b. chen kw’ach-**n**-m
 1S.SUB see-LCTR-PASS
 ‘I was seen.’
- (39) a. na kw’ách-**nexw**-Ø-as
 RL see-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He saw him.’
- b. chen kw’ách-**nexw**-Ø
 1S.SUB see-LCTR-3OBJ
 ‘I saw him.’

This distribution raises the question of what phonological environment subsumes the overt object suffixes and the passive, yet excludes the subject suffixes. Does this merely have to be stipulated or can it be derived?

4.1.2.2 **Applicative transitivizers**

In addition to the core transitivizers, whose function appears to be grammatical transitivization, there are a number of transitivizers that add an extra argument (beyond agent and patient). These transitivizers are typically described as applicative transitivizers or simply as applicatives in the Salishanist literature (cf. Kiyosawa 2006, and Kiyosawa and Gerdtz 2010, for a broad overview and analysis of Salish applicatives). I have adopted some of Kiyosawa's (2006:109 for *-ni* and 146 for *-shi* and) labels for these applicatives, since Kuipers (1967:78-9) only describes all the applicatives as complex transitivizers. As per Kiyosawa, I label *-nit* as a relational applicative and *-shit* as a redirective applicative. I provide my own term for *-min'* as a causative applicative, partly to differentiate it from *-nit*, since Kiyosawa only describes them both as relational applicatives. In Skw̓x̓wu7mesh, *-min'* also has a different semantics from *-nit*, although I do not explore this issue in this dissertation. The benefactive applicative *-ch'ewan'* has not been described by Kuipers (1967) or others as such. I propose that it is also an applicative since it also allows for object agreement on the verb. The applicatives are summarized in Table 10 below.

Form	Label
-nit	relational applicative (RELAPPL)
-shit	redirective applicative (REDAPPL)
-miñ	causative applicative (CAUSAPPL)
-ch'ewañ	benefactive applicative (BENAPPL)

Table 10 Applicative transitivizers in Skw̃w̃u7mesh

Each of these applicatives is illustrated in examples (26)-(29) below. For each applicative I provide an example first with the bare root (the (a) examples) and then an example of the same root with the relevant applicative transitivizer (the (b) examples).

(40) a. *-nit*

chen yew̃ints
1S.SUB understand
'I understand.'

b. chen yew̃ints-**nit**-Ø
1S.SUB understand-RELAPPL-3OBJ
'I understand him.'

(41) a. *-shit*

chen ts'its'áp'
1.SUB work
'I worked.'

b. chen ts'its'áp'-**shit**-Ø
1.SUB work-REDAPPL-3OBJ
'I worked for him.'

(42) a. *-miñ*

chen tkwaya7n
1S.SUB listen
'I listened/heard.'

b. chen tkwaya7n-**miñ**-Ø
1S.SUB listen-CAUSAPPL-OBJ
'I listened to/heard him.'

- (43) a. *-ch'ewán'*
 chen lulum
 1S.SUB sing
 'I sang.'
- b. chen lulum-**ch'ewán'-Ø**
 1S.SUB sing-BENAPPL-3OBJ
 'I sang for him.'

As with any transitive clause in S_kw_xwu7mesh, the clause with an applicative has only two positions for grammatical roles: subject and object. If there is another argument present, it must be realized as an oblique (cf. §4.4 on DP case). In the following example, the predicate has the redirective applicative *-shit*, and the object agreement is with the second person goal/recipient. The theme/patient, the car, is realized as an oblique argument. There is no agreement marking on the verb for this patient argument.

- (44) chen sat-shit-umi **t**-ta tétxwem
 1S.SUB hand.over-REDAPPL-2OBJ OBL-DET car
 'I gave the car to you.'

While the relational and redirective applicatives contain the segment *-t* (45)a-b as part of their lexical entry, the causative and benefactive applicatives do not contain *-t* (45)c-d as a part of their lexical entry. Note for the causative transitivizer in (42)c and the benefactive transitivizer in (42)d, that they do not have the *-t* transitivizer following. Now compare those examples to those in (45)c-d below where these transitivizers do have the transitivizer *-t* following.

- (45) a. na yewínts-**nit**-Ø-as
 RL understand-RELAPPL-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He understands him.’
- b. na ts’its’áp’-**shit**-Ø-as
 RL work-REDAPPL-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He worked for him.’
- c. na tkwaya7n-**miñ**-t-Ø-as
 RL listen-CAUSAPPL-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He listened to him.’
- d. na lulum-**ch’ewán**-t-Ø-as
 RL sing-BENAPPL-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He sang for him.’

This pattern for *-t* with the applicatives is reminiscent of the pattern we observed with the *-t* with the core transitivizers. Some of the applicatives have *-t* as part of their lexical entry and the other applicatives only have *-t* in certain contexts.

	Core transitivizers	Applicative transitivizers
control	- <i>t</i> - <i>Vt</i> - <i>Vn-[t]</i> - <i>s-[t]</i>	- <i>nit</i> - <i>shit</i> - <i>miñ-[t]</i> - <i>chewán-[t]</i>
limited control	- <i>nexw</i>	

Table 11 Transitivizers and applicatives with/without *-t*

For some transitivizers the presence of *-t* appears to be obligatory. According to Kuipers (1967:78-9) the presence of *-t* is part of the lexical entry of *-nit* and *-shit*. That is, they are no longer synchronically analyzable as morphologically complex. Moreover, for those transitivizers where *-t* is only optionally present, there are two questions we need to consider: i) What is the function of *-t* and ii) what determines its distribution? I address

the first question in Chapter 5 and the second question in Appendix B, §2. In Chapter 5 I analyze it as the same *-t* that is present with the core transitivizers. In Appendix B, §1. I provide a preliminary phonological explanation for the distribution of *-t*, wherein *-t* is present underlyingly in cases like (42)b and (43)b but gets deleted due to phonotactic constraints.

4.1.2.3 Intransitivizers

Just like there are transitivizers in Skw̄x̄wu7mesh which appear to be responsible for c- and lc-marking, there are also intransitivizers that appear to be responsible for the same contrast in CONTROL. They are presented in Table 12.

	Unergative (UE)	Reflexive (REFL)	Reciprocal (RECIP)
Control (C)	<i>-im̄</i>	<i>-sut</i> <i>-nam̄ut</i>	<i>-way</i>
Limited control (LC)	<i>-nalhn</i>	<i>-numut</i>	<i>-new̄as</i>

Table 12 Core intransitivizers in Skw̄x̄wu7mesh

First, note that the c-intransitivizers and the lc-intransitivizers are not transparently related to one another. The intransitivizers have their own morphological complexities. I discuss the lc-intransitivizers first and then the c-intransitivizers.

The following are examples of the lc-intransitivizers.

- (46) a. chen kwelash-**nálhn**
 1S.SUB shoot-LCUE
 ‘I managed to shoot (it).’
- b. na kwelash-**númut-Ø**
 RL shoot-LCREFL-3SUB
 i) ‘He shot himself accidentally.’
 ii) ‘He got to shoot.’
- c. chet kw’ach-**newas**
 1P.SUB see-LCRECIP
 ‘We got to see each other.’

The lc-intransitivizers appear to attach directly to the verbal stem. Each of the lc-intransitivizers has an initial element *n* just like the lc-transitivizer *-nexw*. This leads to the question of whether the lc-transitivizer and lc-intransitivizers are further decomposable such that both sets would contain *-n* as a morpheme. And if so, what is its function?

The description of the control intransitivizers is more complex. I present them in order from simpler to more complex.

The control unergative *-im'* attaches directly to the verbal stem.

- (47) root + c-unergative
- a. nam chet kexw-**im'** t-kwi sts'á7kin
 go 1P.SUB gather-CUE OBL-DET bullrush
 ‘We are going to collect bullrushes.’
- b. na wa pe-peh-**im'**-Ø ta spahim ti stsi7s
 RL IMPF RE-blow-CUE-3SUB DET wind DET today
 ‘The wind is blowing today.’

The c-reflexive *-sut* and the c-reciprocal *-way* do not attach directly to the verbal stem. They always attach to a c-predicate. The following are examples of the c-

reciprocal *-way* attached to a stem with the transitivizers *-t* (48)a, *-Vt* (48)b, *-Vn* (48)c and *-s* (48)d.

(48) transitive + c-reciprocal

- a. na wa kw'awch-**t-way**-wit
 RL IMPF staring-TR-RECIP-PL
 'They are staring at one another.'
- b. chet wa ch'áw-**at-way**
 1PL.SUB IMPF help-TR-CRECIP
 'We help one another.'
- c. na wa chema7-**n-t-way**-Ø-wit
 RL IMPF back.carry-TR-TR-CRECIP-3SUB-PL
 'They were piggy-backing each other.'
- d. lhik'-t na wa ch'aw-ch'áw-**s-t-way**
 always-PAST RL IMPF RED-help-CAUS-TR-RECIP
 ta kwekwín stémexw
 DET old people
 'The old people used to always help one another.'

The reciprocal with the *-Vn* and *-s* also presents us with the same wrinkle as with the object suffixes. The *-t* occurs following the transitivizer. This raises the same question as we have with the object suffixes. Why do these transitivizers occur with a seemingly redundant transitivizer *-t* when the reciprocal follows?

As for reflexives, there are two different control reflexives. The c-reflexive *-sut* occurs with a c-predicate constructed with one of the control transitivizers *-t*, *-Vt* or *-Vn* (49)a-c. The c-reflexive *-namut* only occurs with a c-predicate with the causative transitivizer *-s* (50). I follow Dyck (2004:325-327) and Kuipers (1967:95, §137) in assuming that the schwa preceding the c-reflexive *-namut* in (50) is epenthetic. Note that

the c-reflexive *-na^hmut* is similar to the lc-reflexive *-numut* as in (46)b. Historically they may have come from the same source, but synchronically they are different.

(49) transitivity + c-reflexive

- a. na kwú7-t-**sut**-Ø
 RL be.with-TR-CREFL-3SUB
 ‘He joined in.’
- b. ch’áw-at-**sut** chexw
 help-TR-CREFL 2S.SUB
 ‘Help yourself!’
- c. na xim-in̄-t-**sut**-Ø
 RL pull.hair-TR-TR-CREFL-3SUB
 ‘She grabbed her own hair.’

(50) causative + c-reflexive

- wa chexw yuu-s-t-**éna^hmut**
 IMFP 2S.SUB careful-CAUS-TR-REFL
 ‘Take care of yourself!’

When the *-Vn* transitivity and the causative *-s* are followed by the respective reflexive marker, the *-t* appears, with *-Vn* in (49)c and with *-s* in (50). This is reminiscent of the distribution of *-t* preceding object suffixes. This raises the question of why these two transitivity markers require *-t* when they take the reflexive suffix.

For completeness’ sake I present the remaining intransitivity markers, which I do not investigate in this dissertation.

Intransitivizers
- <i>m</i> passive (passive)
- <i>Vm̂</i> middle (MID1)
- <i>Vm</i> middle (MID2)

Table 13 Intransitivizers not investigated

It is in fact not clear if the first three intransitivizers are allomorphs of the same intransitivizer *-m*. Except for the passive *-m*, the control status of these intransitivizers has not been ascertained. The passive simply has the same control interpretation as the transitive base that it is attached to. The passivized c-predicate has a control interpretation in (51)a while the passivized lc-predicate has a limited control interpretation in (51)b.

- (51) a. n-u chexw kw'ach-t-**m**
 RL-POL 2S.SUB look-TR-PASS
 'Did he look at you?'
- b. n-u chexw kw'ach-n-**m**
 RL-POL 2S.SUB look-LCTR-PASS
 'Did he see you?'

Below are examples of the two middle intransitivizers: the MID1 (52)a and the MID2 (52)b.

- (52) a. mikw'-shn-**ám̂** chexw
 clean-feet-MID 2S.SUB
 'Clean your feet!'

- b. chen shúkʷ'-**um**
 1s.sub bathe-MID2
 'I had a bath'

4.1.2.4 The (in)transitivizers and the verbal template

In this section, I describe the (in)transitivizing system in S_kw_xwu₇mesh in terms of the verbal template. I identify some analytical issues that arise in this context. First, if *-t*, *-Vn* and *-s* are all transitivizers, then why can *-Vn* and *-t* co-occur, and why can *-s* and *-t* co-occur? In other words, what is the function of *-t* in (33)b and (34)b (repeated here as (53)a and (53)b respectively)?

- (53) a. *-Vn-t*
 na lhákw'-**an-t-Ø**-as
 RL slap-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He slapped him.'
- b. *-s-t*
 na ta₇-**s-t-Ø**-as ta kw'áxwa₇
 RL do-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET box
 'He made a box.'

The possibility for two transitivizers to co-occur suggests that we need to revise the template of the S_kw_xwu₇mesh verb to accommodate for the distribution of *-t*. For the time being I will label both slots in the template as TR, indicating that both have to do with transitivity. The precise role of each slot will be the subject of investigation in chapter 5, where I argue that *-t* contributes to the aspectual reading of the predicate.

(54) Revised template for the $S_{kwx}wu_7$ mesh verb: 2 transitivizers

STEM-**TR1-TR2**-OBJ-SUBJ-NUM

-*Vn* -*t*

-*s* -*t*

Since the other two c-transitivizers, *-t* and *-Vt* contain *-t*, I will associate them with the TR2 slot for the time being. This raises the question of why these two transitivizers do not have a transitivizer in the TR1 slot. In Chapter 5, §2.3, I propose that both of these constructions are two transitivizer constructions. For the constructions with the transitivizer *-t* I propose that they are composed of a zero transitivizer $-\emptyset$ followed by the transitivizer *-t*; for the constructions with the transitivizers *-Vt*, I propose that they are composed of a transitivizer *-V* followed by the transitivizer *-t*.

(55) Revised template for the $S_{kwx}wu_7$ mesh verb: transitivizers only in TR2

STEM-**TR1-TR2**-OBJ-SUBJ-NUM

-? -*t*

-? -*Vt*

The intransitivizers present some further challenges with the revised template. The relevant examples of the lc-intransitivizers, from (46)a-c, are repeated here as (56)a-c.

- (56) a. chen kwelash-**nálhn**
1S.SUB shoot-LCUE
'I managed to shoot (it).'
- b. na kwelash-**númut- \emptyset**
RL shoot-LCREFL-3SUB
'He shot himself accidentally.'
'He got to shoot.'

- c. chet kw'ach-**new**as
 1P.SUB see-LCRECIP
 'We got to see each other.'

The lc-intransitivizers appear to occur directly after the stem, in the same slot where the transitivizers occur. This is illustrated in (57):

- (57) Revised template for the S_kw_xwu₇mesh verb: lc-intransitivizers (in TR1 slot)
 STEM-TR1 -TR2-OBJ-SUBJ-NUM
 -LCINTR-

Recall that the c-unergative also attaches directly to the stem as shown in (47)a, repeated below as (58).

- (58) nam chet kexw-**im** t-kwi sts'á7kin
 go 1P.SUB gather-CUE OBL-DET bullrush
 'We are going to collect bullrushes.'

The c-unergative also seems to occur right after the stem just as the transitivizers and lc-intransitivizers do, suggesting that the c-unergative occurs in the same slot TR1. This is illustrated in (59):

- (59) Template for S_kw_xwu₇mesh verb: c-unergative (in TR slot)
 STEM-TR1 -TR2-OBJ-SUBJ-NUM
 -CUE-

Note that the appearance of the c-unergative precludes the presence of object agreement.

The c-reflexive *-sut* and the c-reciprocal *-way*, however, present a more complicated picture. Consider the c-reflexive *-sut* (48)c and the c-reciprocal *-way* (49)c, repeated here as (60)a and (60)b, respectively.

- (60) a. na xim-in-t-sut-Ø
 RL pull.hair-TR-TR-CREFL-3SUB
 ‘She grabbed her own hair.’
- b. na wa chema7-n-t-way-Ø-wit
 RL IMPF back.carry-TR-TR-CRECIP-3SUB-PL
 ‘They were piggy-backing each other.’

They are attached after the TR2 rather than after the stem, suggesting that they occur in the same slot as the object agreement:

- (61) Template for Skwxwu7mesh verb: c-intransitivizer (in OBJECT slot)

STEM-TR1-TR2-OBJ -SUBJ-NUM
 -Vn -t -CREFL -
 -Vn -t -CRECIP-

This raises the question as to why the c-reflexive and the c-reciprocal occur in the object slot while the lc-reflexive and the lc-reflexive attach directly after the stem in the same slot as the transitivizers? Suppose we assume that the lc-intransitivizers are associated with the object slot, just like the c-reciprocal and c-reflexives. If so, then the lc-intransitivizers would not occur with an overt transitivizer. This is illustrated in (62):

- (62) Revised template for the Skwxwu7mesh verb: lc-intransitivizers (in OBJECT slot)

STEM-TR1-TR2-OBJ -SUBJ-NUM
 -? -? -LCINTR-

This would leave us with the question of why the c-reciprocal and c-reflexive require an overt transitivizer while their counterparts, the lc-reciprocal and the lc-reflexive, do not? In Chapter 5, §6.2.1, I propose that the lc-intransitives are decomposable into a transitivizer *-n* followed by their respective intransitivizers.

Another question that the template approach poses concerns the lc-transitivizer.

Consider again (37)b repeated below as (63).

- (63) na kw'ach-**nexw**-Ø-as
 RL see-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He saw it.'

Again, this transitivizer does not occur with a second transitivizer. This could suggest that it occurs in the same slot as the other transitivizers. This is shown in (64):

- (64) Template for *Skw̄w̄u7*mesh verb: lc-transitivizer

STEM-TR1 -TR2-OBJ-SUBJ-NUM
-LCTR-

A question then arises as to why the lc-transitivizer is the only transitivizer to not have *-t*, either as part of its lexical representation or as a second transitivizer. This may suggest that *-nexw* and *-t* occupy the same position (TR2) and are thus in complementary distribution. In Chapter 5, §4, I propose that *-nexw* is decomposable into the transitivizer *-n* followed by an overt agreement marker *-exw* for third person. I also provide a morphosyntactic account where object agreement is associated with the same syntactic position as the transitivizer *-t*.

Table 14 summarizes the templatic distribution of the transitivizers and Table 15 summarizes the templatic distribution of the intransitivizers we have developed so far.

Transitivizer	stem	TR1	TR2	Object	Suffix
-t	stem		<i>-t</i>	O	S
-Vt	stem		<i>-Vt</i>	O	S
-nit	stem	<i>-nit</i>		O	S
-shit	stem	<i>-shit</i>		O	S
-Vn	stem	<i>-Vn</i>	<i>-t</i>	O	S
-s	stem	<i>-s</i>	<i>-t</i>	O	S
-miñ	stem	<i>-miñ</i>	<i>-t</i>	O	S
-ch'ewañ	stem	<i>-ch'ewañ</i>	<i>-t</i>	O	S
-nexw	stem	<i>-nexw</i>		O	S

Table 14 Templatic distribution of transitivizers

Intransitivizer	stem	TR1	TR2	Object	Subject
lc-unergative	stem	<i>-nalhn</i>			
lc-reflexive	stem	<i>-numut</i>			
lc-reciprocal	stem	<i>-newas</i>			
c-unergative	stem	<i>-im'</i>			
c-reflexive	stem		<i>-t</i> <i>-Vt</i>	-sut	
	stem	<i>-Vn</i>	<i>-t</i>	-sut	
c-reciprocal	stem		<i>-t</i> <i>-Vt</i>	-way	
	stem	<i>-Vn</i>	<i>-t</i>	-way	

Table 15 Templatic distribution of intransitivizers

This leaves us with those slots of the template which host person marking: object, subject and number marking. I will discuss these immediately below.

4.1.3 Person marking

In this section I provide a description of person marking in S_kw_xwu7mesh. I begin with object agreement followed by subject agreement and then possessive marking, and finally the independent pronouns.

4.1.3.1 Object agreement

As described by Kuipers (1967:85-87), S_kw_xwu7mesh has a set of object agreement suffixes with two distinct forms for first person singular. This is illustrated in Table 16.

	Singular	Plural
1	- <i>ts</i> - <i>emsh</i>	- <i>umulh</i>
2	- <i>umi</i>	- <i>umi-yap</i> ; - <i>umi-wit</i>
3	-∅	-∅(- <i>wit</i>)

Table 16 S_kw_xwu7mesh object agreement suffixes (Kuipers 1967:85)

Object agreement is associated with the following slot in our template:

(65) Template for S_kw_xwu7mesh verb: object agreement

STEM-TR1-TR2-**OBJ**ect-SUBJ-NUM

The distribution of the two first singular agreement suffixes is determined by the preceding transitivizer that they occur with. The first singular object agreement -*emsh* is

only used with the limited control transitivizer *-nexw* (in its reduced form *-n*) and the suffix *-ts* is used with all other transitivizers.

The following are some examples of these object suffixes: the first singular *-ts* (66)a, the first singular *-emsh* (66)b, the first plural *-umulh* (66)c, the second singular *-umi* (67)a, the second plural *-umi-yap* in both (67)b and (67)c, the third singular \emptyset (68)a and the third plural \emptyset -*wit* (66)b. Plurality is optionally marked for third person.

- (66) a. chexw kw'ach-t-**ts**
 2S.SUB look.at-TR-1S.OBJ
 'You looked at me.'
- b. chexw kw'ach-n-**emsh**
 2S.SUB see-LCTR-1S.OBJ
 'You saw me.'
- c. chexw ch'aw-at-**umulh**
 2S.SUB help-TR-1PL.OBJ
 'You helped us.'
- (67) a. chen ch'aw-at-**umi**
 1S.SUB help-TR-2S.OBJ
 'I helped you.'
- b. chen ch'aw-at-**umi-yap**
 1S.SUB help-TR-2S.OBJ-2PL
 'I helped you (pl.).'
- c. chen ch'aw-at-**umi-wit**
 1S.SUB help-TR-2S.OBJ-PL
 'I helped you (pl.).'
- (68) a. chen ch'aw-at- \emptyset
 1S.SUB help-TR-3OBJ
 'I helped him/her.'
- b. chen ch'aw-at- \emptyset -**(wit)**
 1S.SUB help-TR-3OBJ-PL
 'I helped them.'

A few further notes about plural marking and object agreement are in order. The main point of this examination is to motivate the analysis that plural agreement is separate from person agreement. There are two plural markers, *-yap* which only occurs with second person arguments and *-wit* which occurs with second and third person arguments. The first person plural object, however, does not co-occur with a separate plural marker.

The plural *-yap* also occurs with the second person plural possessives (69)a and with the second person independent pronoun (69)b.

- (69) a. ta a-sk_wemáy'-**yap**
 DET 2.POS-dog-2.PL
 'your (pl) dog'
- b. ta new-**yap**
 DET 2S.INDP -2.PL
 'You all'

When *-yap* is used to agree with the object, it may either directly follow the second person agreement marker *-umi* (70)a or it can optionally appear after subject clitic as in (70)b.¹²

- (70) a. lh_k'i7-s-t-**umi-yap** chan
 know-CAUS-TR-2S.OBJ-2.PL 1S.SUB
 'I know you (pl).'

¹² Closely related Sechelt has a very similar pattern with its second person plural agreement marker *-elap*, (Beaumont 1985:83-87), cognate to Sk_wx_wu7mesh *-yap*.

- b. lhk'i7-s-t-**umi** chan-**yap**
 know-CAUS-TR-2S.OBJ 1S.SUB -2.PL
 'I know you (pl).'

The plural marker *-wit* may either mark plurality of the object (71)a or the subject (71)b (cf. Bar-el, Jacobs and Wiltschko 2001 for a more detailed description).¹³

- (71) a. chen súxwt-nexw-Ø-**wit**
 1S.SUB recognize-LCTR-3OBJ-PL
 'I recognize them.'
- b. na suxwt-n-emsh-ás-**wit**
 RL recognize-LCTR-1S.OBJ-3SUB-PL
 'They recognize me.'

Plural *-wit* does not normally occur when a plural DP is present, though (72).

- (72) na suxwt-n-emsh-as-(***wit**) t-en síiyay'
 RL recognize-LCTR-1S.OBJ-3SUB-(PL) DET-1S.POS friends
 'My friends recognized me.'

Furthermore, *-wit* can occur as an alternative to mark plural second person objects instead of *-yap*; compare (73)a to (73)b (repeated from (70)b).

- (73) a. lhk'i7-s-t-umi chan-**wit**
 know-CAUS-TR-2S.OBJ 1S.SUB-PL
 'I know you (pl).'

¹³ Roberts (1999) and Davis (2003) provide analyses of *-wit* in Lillooet, the cognate to the Skwxwu7mesh *-wit*. The distribution of *-wit* in Lillooet appears to differ from *-wit* in Skwxwu7mesh, and I leave a fuller comparison to future research.

- b. lhk'i7-s-t-umi chan-**yap**
 know-CAUS-TR-2S.OBJ 1S.SUB -2.PL
 'I know you (pl).'

Furthermore, the plural marker *-wit* does not have the same status as the other parts of the template, in that it can encliticize to a clitic which precedes the verb (compare (69)c-d to (74)a-b).

- (74) a. chen-**wit** kw'ach-nexw-Ø
 1S.SUB-PL see-LCTR-3OBJ
 'I saw them.'
- b. chen kw'ach-nexw-Ø-**wit**
 1S.SUB see-LCTR-3OBJ-PL
 'I saw them.'

In contrast, the second person plural *-yap* cannot encliticize to a clitic preceding the verb (75).

- (75) chen-(***yap**) kw'ach-n-umi
 1S.SUB-2PL see-LCTR-2S.OBJ
 'I saw you all.'

When *-wit* occurs in a clause with two third person null arguments, it is ambiguous between a reading where it pluralizes a subject or an object (53).

- (76) na lhk'i7-s-t-Ø-as-**wit**
 RL know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB-**PL**
 'They know him, he knows them.'

As already mentioned, the first person plural suffix is not further segmentable into person and number components (compare (77)a and (77)b).¹⁴

- (77) a. *kw'ach-t-um chexw-**ulh**
 look-TR-1PL.OBJ 2S.SUB-1PL.OBJ
 'Look at us!'
- b. kw'ach-t-**umulh** chexw
 look-TR-1PL.OBJ 2S.SUB
 'Look at us!'

Because of these facts on the separability of the plural markers *-yap* and *-wit*, I treat second and third person plural marking as separate from the object agreement and part of the **NUM** slot as proposed in the template for the S_kw_xwu7mesh verb, represented such as:

¹⁴ Historically it may have contained an older form of the 1st plural possessive, since the independent possessive has the *-ulh* part in common:

nilh **s7ulh** lam
 FOC 1P.INDP.POSS house
 'That's **our** house'

(78) Template for S_kw_xwu7mesh verb: Plural marking
 STEM-TR1-TR2-OBJ-SUBJ-NUM
 -2PL
 -3PL

With plural second and third object agreement separated from the object agreement, we have the following revised object agreement paradigm.

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-ts</i> <i>-emsh</i>	<i>-umulh</i>
2	<i>-umi</i>	
3	<i>-∅</i>	

Table 17 S_kw_xwu7mesh object agreement suffixes - revised (Jacobs 2011)

4.1.3.2 Subject agreement

S_kw_xwu7mesh subject agreement is conditioned by clause typing (cf. Jacobs 1992): i) matrix clauses, ii) conjunctive clauses, iii) factive clauses, and iv) nominalized clauses (Kuipers 1967:85-93). Since most of the examples in this dissertation are matrix clauses and conjunctive clauses, I only focus on these two types of subject agreement.

In the matrix clause, S_kw_xwu7mesh has been described as having a split ergative system (Jacobs 1992). Third person is marked in an ergative/absolute alignment by means of suffixes on the verb. First and second persons are marked in a nominative/accusative alignment by means of clitics. This is summarized in Table 18.

Person	Subject of Transitive (S)	Subject of Intransitive (A)	Object of Transitive (O)
1 st and 2 nd	Subject clitics		Object suffixes
3 rd	-as	∅	

Table 18 Types of subject/object agreement in Skwxwu7mesh

The third person subject of a transitive predicate is marked by the suffix *-as* on the verb, as shown in (79)a.¹⁵ The absolutive argument has the null agreement marker \emptyset : that is, the third person object of a transitive, as in (79)b, and the third person subject of an intransitive, as in (79)c.

- (79) a. na ch'áw-at-s-as lha slhánay'
 RL help-TR-1S.OBJ-3SUB DET woman
 'The woman helped me.'
- b. chen kw'ách-nexw-∅ ta míxalh
 RL see-LCTR-3OBJ DET bear
 'I saw the bear.'
- c. na huyá7-∅ ta míxalh
 RL leave-3SUB DET bear
 'The bear left.'

From this data, we can conclude that at least third person is marked following object marking on the verb. This can be represented in our template as in (80):

¹⁵ I refrain from glossing *-as* as ergative, since my reanalysis in Chapter 5 ultimately has two different types of agreement for third person objects, making either a nominative/accusative or ergative/absolutive description problematic. I simply gloss *-as* as third person subject.

(80) Template for Skwɣwɯ7mesh verb: Plural marking
 STEM-TR1-TR2-OBJ-SUBJ-NUM
 -third

First and second person subjects are marked by nominative subject clitics, as shown in Table 19 below.¹⁶

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	<i>chen/chan</i>	<i>chet/chat</i>
2 nd person	<i>chexw/chaxw</i>	<i>chap/chayap</i>

Table 19 Nominative subject clitics

For example, take the first and second persons singular. They are marked by nominative subject clitic both for the subject of the transitive, as in (81)a and (82)a and for the subject of an intransitive clause, as in (81)b and (82)b. Meanwhile the first person singular and second person object are marked by object agreement suffixes (as discussed in § 4.1.3.1) on the verb, as in (81)c and (82)c, respectively)

- (81) a. **chen** ch'áw-at-umi
 1S.SUB help-TR-2S.OBJ
 'I helped you.'
- b. **chen** huyá7
 1S.SUB leave
 'I left.'

¹⁶ In §4.5 I discuss the syntax of these subject clitics.

- c. na kw'ach-n-**emsh**-as
 RL see-LCTR-1S.OBJ-3SUB
 'He saw me.'
- (82) a. **chexw** ch'áw-at-Ø
 2S.SUB help-TR-3OBJ
 'You helped him.'
- b. **chexw** huyá7
 2S.SUB leave
 'You left.'
- c. chen kw'ach-n-**umi**
 1S.SUB see-LCTR-2S.OBJ
 'I saw him.'

Note that all the subject clitics begin with *ch-*. This suggests the possibility of decomposing these clitics: for example, Kuipers (1967:156, §223) analyzes *ch-* as a clitic which acts essentially as a kind of do-support, thus relating it to the verbal root *cha-* 'to do, to act, to make'. The remaining part of the subject clitics usually occurs in its reduced form (i.e., the vowel is a schwa) as in (83)a and (84)a. However, they can also occur in non-reduced form with the full vowel /a/. The full form is typically used for verum focus as in (83)b and (84)b. For the purpose of this dissertation I treat subject clitics as unanalyzable units since nothing bears on their decomposition.

- (83) a. **chen** ts'its'áp'
 1S.SUBJ work
 'I worked, I am working, I work.'
- b. **chan** ts'its'áp'
 1S.SUB work
 'I **did** work.'

- (84) a. **chet** ts'its'áp'
 1P.SUBJ work
 'We worked, we are working, we work.'
- b. **chat** ts'its'áp'
 1PL.SUBJ work
 'We **did** work.'

The second person plural, though, does not have a reduced form. The two forms differ in register. The longer form *chayap* is more likely to occur in formal settings, while the shorter form *chap* is used in both formal and informal settings.

From these examples, we can conclude that these subject clitics are not part of our verbal template.

Conjunctive subject clitics are marked in a nominative/accusative alignment for all three persons as shown in the following table. In the data in this dissertation they are always attached to the subjunctive marker *k̲* (which is further glottalized when the conjunctive subject clitic is attached). This is not always the case, but I do not explore this issue in this dissertation.

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	<i>k̲'-an</i>	<i>k̲'-at</i>
2 nd person	<i>k̲'-axw</i>	<i>k̲'-ap, k̲'-ayap</i>
3 rd person	<i>k̲'-as</i>	<i>k̲'-as(-wit)</i>

Table 20 Conjunctive subject clitics in Skw̲x̲wu7mesh

In the data in this dissertation, the conjunctive subject clitics are always used in the context of negation as in (85). They can, however, occur in a variety of other constructions which I do not explore here.

- (85) a. haw k'-an i ts'its'áp'.
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES work
 'I didn't work.'
- b. haw k'-as i ílhen.
 NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES eat
 'S/he didn't eat.'

4.1.3.3 Possessive marking

The possessive affixes are summarized in Table 21.¹⁷

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>n-</i>	<i>-chet</i>
2	<i>ʔa-</i>	<i>ʔa- -yap</i>
3	<i>-s</i>	<i>-s-wit</i>

Table 21 Possessive marking in Sḱwḱwu7mesh

The possessives in Sḱwḱwu7mesh occur either preceding or following the nominal head, depending on the particular affix. The first and second person singular possessives precede the head. The first plural and third person are suffixed to the head. The second person plural possessive is comprised of the second person possessive *a-* preceding the

¹⁷ I include the initial glottal stop here for the second person possessives. Note, though, that in the practical orthography that it is normally not written.

head and the plural morpheme *-yap* following the head. This is illustrated in (86) with the noun *chéssha7* ('mother').

- (86) a. **n**-chéssha7 d. chéssha7-**chet**
 'my mother' 'our mother'
- b. **7a**-chéssha7 e. **7a**-chéssha7-**yap**
 'your (sg.) mother' 'your (pl.) mother'
- c. chéssha7-**s** f. chéssha7-**s-wit**
 'his/her mother' 'their mother'

While the first and second person singular possessives can occur directly attached to the head as in (87)a and (88)a, they often encliticized to the preceding determiner as in (87)b and (88)b:

- (87) a. ta etsím **n**-push
 DET small 1S.POS-cat
 'my small cat'
- b. **te-n** etsím push
 DET-1S.POS small cat
 'my small cat'
- (88) a. ta hiyí **7a**-sna
 DET big 2S.POS-name
 'your great name'
- b. ta-**7a** hiyí sna
 DET-2S.POS big name
 'your great name'

4.2 Verb phrase auxiliaries and particles

Sḱwḱwu7mesh has approximately 20 auxiliaries, particles and clitics in the verb phrase. Kuipers (1967:155-164) describes them all as clitics. They include the person clitics described in the previous section. The distribution of the remaining particles has not been well researched. In this section I discuss two of the auxiliaries, and two particles which have variable syntax.

Much of the data discussed in this dissertation have the auxiliaries *na* (89)a or *i* (89)b. In the Sḱwḱwu7mesh practical orthography, these auxiliaries are written as separate words. I follow this convention in this dissertation.

- (89) a. **na** wa ts'its'áp'-Ø
RL IMPF work-3SUB
'He is/was working.'
- b. **i** wa ts'its'áp'-Ø
PRES IMPF work-3SUB
'He is working.'

Kuipers (1967:155-158) describes *na* and *i* as **deictic** clitics because they can occur as full predicates on their own when they have a deictic meaning: *na7* 'be located over there' (90)a and *i* 'be located here' (90)b.

- (90) a. chen wa **na7** t-kwetsi
1S.SUB IMPF be.there OBL-DEM
'I was **there**.'

- b. chen wa i t-ti
 1S.SUB IMPF be.here OBL-DET
 ‘I am **here**.’

The semantics of the auxiliaries *na* and *i* is not well understood nor researched. Ritter and Wiltschko (2005) analyze their cognates in Halkomelem as locative auxiliaries which serve as the functional equivalent of tense. I simply gloss these clitics as *realis* (RL) and *present* (PRES) respectively.

Two important particles are the two tense morphemes: *-t* past tense (91)a-b and *ek'* future tense (92)a-c.

- (91) a. chen-t ts'its'áp'
 1S.SUB-PAST work
 ‘I worked.’
- b. chexw-t wa éntcha?
 2S.SUB-PAST IMPF where
 ‘Where have you been?’
- (92) a. ts'its'áp' chen ek'
 work 1S.SUB FUT
 ‘I will work.’
- b. chen ek' ts'its'áp'
 1S.SUB FUT work
 ‘I will work.’
- c. silha7-án-[]-Ø u chexw ek'??
 buy-TR-TR-3OBJ POL 2S.SUB FUT
 ‘Will you buy it?’

These tense morphemes are particles with variable syntax. When a nominative subject clitic is present, they are encliticized to them as in (91) and (92). In the absence of a subject clitic (i.e., when the subject is third person), the tense morphemes attach to the first word in the sentence. For the past tense *-t*, this is usually one of the auxiliaries *na* or *i* (93)a-b, while for the future tense this is usually the verb *in*, as in (94)a, or an adverb, as in (94)b.

- (93) a. na7(-t) wa ts'its'áp'-Ø
 RL-PAST IMPF work-3SUB
 'He was working, he used to work.'
- b. i(-t) wa eskw'úy-Ø
 PRES-PAST IMPF sick
 'He has been sick.'
- (94) a. xwekw-s-t-Ø-as *(ek')
 use-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB FUT
 'He will use it.'
- b. ka7ís *(ek')
 soon FUT
 'It won't be long,' 'He'll be right back.'

The properties of the tense morphemes have not been well researched (see Bar-el et al. 2004 for an examination of word order and tense effects). Note that while the past tense morpheme often seems to be optional, unless required to disambiguate, the future tense morpheme seems to be almost obligatory. Thus while the above sentences (93)a-b are acceptable without the past tense morpheme, the two future tense sentences (94)a-b are not.

4.3 Determiner phrases

A determiner phrase (henceforth DP) minimally consists of a determiner and a noun phrase, as illustrated in (95). In *Skw̥wu7mesh*, all noun phrases are obligatorily preceded by an overt determiner as illustrated in (96)a-b.

(95) a. **ta** swí7k̥a
DET man
'the/a man'

b. **lha** shánaŷ
DET woman
'the/a woman'

(96) a. chen kw'ách-nexw-Ø *(**ta**) swí7k̥a
1S.SUB see-LCTR-3OBJ DET man
'I saw the/a man.'

b. chen kw'ách-nexw-Ø *(**lha**) slhánaŷ
1S.SUB see-LCTR-3OBJ DET woman
'I saw the/a woman.'

Skw̥wu7mesh determiners are marked for several features: case (direct vs. oblique),¹⁸ gender (feminine vs. gender-neutral), deixis (neutral, proximal, medial, distal vs. non-deictic) as in Table 22. The *Skw̥wu7mesh* demonstratives mark case (direct vs. oblique), gender (feminine vs. gender-neutral), number (singular, number-neutral vs. plural) and deixis (neutral, proximal, medial vs. distal) as in Table 23. For a fuller

¹⁸ See §4.4 following for a description of these terms.

discussion of the syntax and semantics of the Skwxw7mesh determiners and demonstratives see Gillon (2006, 2009).

	Deictic			Nondeictic
	Neutral	Proximal	Distal, invisible	
gender-neutral	<i>ta</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>kwi</i>
feminine	<i>lha</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>kwelhá</i>	<i>kwes</i>

Table 22 The determiner system of Skwxw7mesh (adapted from Gillon 2009)

		Neutral, invisible	Proximal	Medial	Distal	
					Unmarked	Invisible
gender-neutral	number-neutral	<i>kwíya</i>	<i>tí, tíwa</i>	<i>tay'</i>	<i>kwetsi</i>	
	plural	<i>kwiya'wit</i>	<i>iyá(wit)</i>	<i>iytsi(wit)</i>	<i>kwétsi'wit</i>	<i>kwá'wit</i>
feminine		<i>kwesá</i>	<i>tsíwa</i>	<i>álhi</i>	<i>kwélhi</i>	

Table 23 The demonstrative system of Skwxw7mesh (adapted from Gillon 2009)

Skwxw7mesh is a pro-drop language. DPs themselves are not obligatory and third person arguments are often realized by what I assume is a null pronoun. In the following example, there are no overt DPs for the third person arguments. While I assume a null third person pronoun in these cases, I do not include them in the glosses.

- (97) a. na súxwt-nexw-Ø-as
 RL recognize-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'S/he recognizes it/him/her.'

- b. chen súxwt-nexw-Ø
 1S.SUB recognize-LCTR-3OBJ
 ‘I recognize it/him/her.’
- c. na suxwt-n-emsh-as
 RL recognize-LCTR-1S.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘S/he recognizes me.’

4.4 Case

Kuipers (1967:136) describes two cases for the DP in *Skw̥xwu7mesh*: absolutive and relative case. Similar case types in other Coast Salish languages are sometimes labelled as direct case and oblique case (Kroeber 1999:37), and these are the terms that I will use for them in this dissertation. The corresponding markers for these cases are given in Table 24.

direct case DPs	Ø
oblique case	<i>t-</i>
oblique case with: i) proper names ii) first and second person independent pronouns	<i>tl'a</i>

Table 24 Case marking for DPs in *Skw̥xwu7mesh*

Direct case is not overtly marked. It is the case that occurs with both subject and direct object DPs. Take, for example, a transitive clause with two third person arguments in (98). Here both the subject DP and the object DP are in the direct case and hence not overtly marked for case.

(98) na kw'ach-nexw-Ø-as ta swí7ka ta ns-húhupit
 RL see-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET man DET rabbit
 'The man saw a rabbit.'

The oblique case marker *t-* attaches only to a determiner preceding a common noun, while *tl'a* only attaches to proper names or to first or second person independent pronouns. The distribution of oblique case *t-* is summarized and exemplified below in

(99)-(104). It occurs with:

i) the agent of a passive:

(99) na kw'ach-n-em t-kwa meñ-s
 RL see-LCTR-PASS OBL-DET child-3POS
 'He was seen by his son,' 'His son saw him.'

ii) the object of an unergative verb:

(100) chen wa kexw-ím t-kwi sts'á7kin.
 1S.SUB IMPF gather-CUE OBL-DET bullrush
 'I'm gathering bulrushes.'

iii) the second object of a ditransitive:

(101) chen tsexw-shit-Ø ta swíwlus t-kwetsi sch'kwéla
 1S.SUB get.hit-RDIR-3OBJ DET young.man OBL-DEM ball
 'I threw the ball to the young man.'

iv) the object of a prepositional verb:

(102) chen wa na7 t-kwa áyalhk̄w
 1S.SUB IMPF be.at OBL-DET beach
 'I was at the beach.'

v) the object of a prepositional verb (txwnew) functioning like a preposition:

(103) tsexw-s-[]-Ø chexw txw-new t-ta switn
 get.hit-CAUS-TR-3OBJ 2S.SUB OOC-inside OBL-DET net
 ‘Throw it into the net.’

vi) an instrument:

(104) na kw’úkw-ut-ts-as t-kwetsi kw’kwémen
 RL hit-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL-DEM axe
 ‘He hit me with an axe.’

The distribution of oblique marker *tl’a* is summarized and exemplified below in . It occurs with:

i) the agent of a passive

(105) kw’ach-n-em **tl’a** Asxw
 RL see-LCTR-PASS OBL/DET Seal
 ‘He was seen by Seal,’ ‘Seal saw him.’

ii) the second object of a ditransitive:

(106) na kw’ach-mixw-s-t-s-as-wit **tl’a** new
 RL see-person-CAUS-TR-1S.OBJ-3SUB-PL OBL/DET 2S.INDP
 ‘They showed you to me.’

iii) the object of a prepositional verb

(107) na xwey kwelhi na7 tl’a St’á7mes
 RL born dem at obl/det St’a7mes
 ‘She was born at St’a7mes (a village near Squamish).’

The oblique marker *tl'a* does not occur with object of an unergative, nor with instruments.

4.5 Word order

Word order in *Skw̥w̥u7mesh* differs in matrix clauses depending on whether the subject is a speech act participant (that is, first or second person) or not (that is, third person). As noted in §4.1.3, first and second person subjects are encoded with subject clitics and third person is marked by agreement on the verb. The word order for subject clitics is as follows: they either appear at the beginning of the clause (108)a or following the first word (108)b.

- (108) a. *chen* *ts'its'ap'*
 1S.SUB work
 'I work, I am working, I worked.'
- b. *ts'its'ap'* *chen*
 work 1S.SUB
 'I will work.'

The word order possibilities for DPs in a transitive clause are as follows. A clause with VP DP DP can be interpreted as VSO (reading (i) of (109)a) or VOS (reading (ii) of (109)a). A clause with DP VP DP can only be interpreted as SVO (reading (i) of (109)b), but not OVS (reading (ii) of (109)b). The subject DP of an intransitive clause can appear either following the verb (110)a or preceding the verb (110)b:

- (109) a. VSO or VOS
na ch'áw-at-Ø-as lha slhánaý ta swí7ka
RL help-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET woman DET man
i) 'The woman helped the man.'
ii) 'The man helped the woman.'
- b. SVO but not OVS
lha slhánaý na ch'áw-at-Ø-as ta swí7ka
DET woman RL help-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET man
i) 'The woman helped the man.'
ii) *'The man helped the woman.'
- (110) a. VS
na ts'its'áp'-Ø **ta swí7ka**
RL work-3SUB DET man
'The man worked.'
- b. SV
ta swí7ka na ts'its'áp'-Ø
DET man RL work-3SUB
'The man worked.'

Certain tense effects have been noted for these different word orders with subject clitics (Bar-el et al. 2004, Currie 1997, Jacobs 1992, Kuipers 1967:172). When a subject clitic precedes the verb, a past or present tense reading is obtained (111)a-b. But, when the subject clitic follows the verb, a future reading is obtained (112)a-b.

- (111) SV
- a. chen ílhen
1S.SUB eat
'I ate, I am eating.'
- b. chet ts'its'áp'
1P.SUB work
'We worked, we are working.'

(112) VS

- a. ílhen chen
eat 1S.SUB
'I'll eat.'
- b. ts'its'áp' chet
work 1P.SUB
'We'll work.'

Such tense effects are not obtained with overt subject DPs. The positioning of the DP does not have any tense effect. The tense of the clause is the same when the DP follows the verb (110)a as when it precedes the verb (110)b.

(113) a. VS

- na ts'its'áp'-Ø **ta swí7ka**
RL work-3SUB DET man
i) 'The man worked.'
ii) *'The man will work.'

b. SV

- ta swí7ka** na ts'its'áp'-Ø
DET man RL work-3SUB
'The man worked.'

Chapter 3: The core meaning of CONTROL

1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, the central question for this dissertation is: how do we account for the semantic contrast associated with the marking of CONTROL by means of the transitive and intransitive markers? Consider again the examples in (1) which appear to indicate that CONTROL is about the degree of control an agent has over the event.

- (1) a. chen kw'lh-**at**-Ø ta staḵw
 1S.SUB pour-TR-3OBJ DET water
 'I poured the water.' (*on purpose*)
- b. chen kw'élh-**nexw**-Ø ta staḵw
 1S.SUB pour-LCTR-3OBJ DET water
 i) 'I spilt the water.' (*accidentally*)
 ii) 'I *managed to* pour the water.'

As discussed in chapter 1, the degree of control does not always seem to be an inherent part of the meaning of such predicates. When speakers translate c- or lc-predicates, they often do not translate them into English with the adverbs *on purpose* or *accidentally*. This, of course, could mean that the phenomenon of CONTROL is not easily translatable into English. I take the fact that these adverbs are often not used to translate control constructions to at least suggest that these adverbial meanings (and other adverbial

meanings used to translate control constructions) are not part of the lexical entry of any (in)transitivizer.

Moreover, there is another difference that correlates with c- and lc-marking which has nothing to do with the degree of control the agent has over the event. In particular, c-predicates, in past perfective contexts (as first noted by Bar-el et al. 2005 and Bar-el 2005), do not require event culmination but lc-predicates do. This is illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. c-predicate does not require culmination
 chen kwélash-**t**-Ø ta míxalh,
 1S.SUB shoot-TR-3OBJ DET bear
 ‘I shot the bear,’
- welh na t’emt’ám te-n skwélash
 but RL astray DET-1S.POS shot
 ‘but I missed (lit. my shot went astray).’
- b. lc-predicate requires culmination
 chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta míxalh,
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET bear
 ‘I shot the bear,’
- #welh na t’emt’ám te-n skwélash
 but RL astray DET-1S.POS shot
 ‘but I missed.’

The example in (2)a shows that it is possible to use the c-predicate even if the event does not culminate as intended, i.e., if the bear did not actually get shot. In other words, the c-predicate in (2)a can be felicitously uttered if the natural endpoint of the event is not reached.

In contrast, the example in (2)b with the lc-predicate shows that it is not possible to deny the culmination of the event without inducing a contradiction. The bear must be

shot. Thus, the lc-predicate can only be uttered felicitously if the natural endpoint of the event is reached. For the rest of this chapter I will use the term *event culmination* (or simply *culmination*) to refer to this type of meaning.

The goal of this chapter, then, is to show that this difference in event culmination is one of the primary meaning contrasts between c- and lc-predicates. Thus, c-predicates do not require event culmination, whereas lc-predicates do. I examine all types of predicates that have been analyzed as being marked for either control or limited control by means of different transitivizers and intransitivizers. In particular, I investigate whether or not they require culmination. We will see that all of the lc-predicates require event culmination whereas none of the c-predicates do. I also show that all that is required to felicitously use a c-predicate is that the event was initiated. It does not commit the speaker to anything regarding the end of the event (whether it culminated or not). However, note that c-predicates can still be used if the event has culminated, and especially in out-of-the-blue contexts culmination is implied. This is summarized in (3).

- (3) Core contrast associated with CONTROL
- i) lc-predicate: event culmination necessary
 - ii) c-predicate: event culmination possible

I begin, in §2, by reviewing Bar-el's (2005) investigation of culmination in Skw̄w̄u7mesh. I present the four diagnostics she uses to test if a verbal predicate entails culmination. I then present a summary of her findings. Crucially, however, Bar-el does not systematically investigate lc-predicates; nor does she systematically investigate each type of c-predicate. Furthermore, she does not investigate the properties of c-predicates

marked by the *-Vt* transitivizer. This present section fills these gaps. The systematic investigation of all CONTROL predicates will help provide the basis for another goal of this present study: to understand the relation between verbal morphology and CONTROL, a topic I return to in Chapter 5. Thus, in (§3) I systematically investigate all four predicates identified in chapter 2 as c-transitives as well as the lc-transitives. I do not only investigate the core transitivizers, but also the intransitives (§4) (with the exception of c- and lc-reciprocals and a type of c-reflexive). I, then, examine in (§5) the applicatives with regards to culmination entailments. In (§6) I examine the c-predicates with regards to culmination implicatures (that is, where a c-predicates implies culmination or not). In §7 I provide a summary of our findings.

2 Background

Bar-el (2005) argues for the existence of four different predicate classes in Skwxw7mesh: activities, accomplishments, achievements and inchoative states. These predicate classes are based on the verb classes originally introduced by Vendler: activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states (Vendler 1967). Bar-el's study, in part, tests the cross-linguistic validity of these predicate classes. As a result of her findings, Bar-el proposes a number of modifications to the standard definitions of these predicate classes in order to account for the properties of their Skwxw7mesh

equivalents.¹⁹ In particular, Bar-el's primary claim is that Skwxwu7mesh predicate classes are defined by the absence or presence of initial and final event points in their semantic representation (Smith 1997 and Rothstein 2004). Initial and final points are defined as basic parts of the event structure of a verbal predicate.²⁰ In order to determine whether a verb has inherent initial or final points, Bar-el (2005:67-75) develops various diagnostics. They are summarized in (4). The main focus of my study is on culmination and thus final points and I will only consider her diagnostics for final points. In the summary section of this chapter, §7, however, I return to the issue of inherent initial points and how this relates to c-predicates (which I argue are initiating predicates).

(4) Diagnosing final points in Skwxwu7mesh (Bar-el 2005:64-74)

- i) The culmination cancellation test
If a predicate encodes event culmination, then adding a sentence that indicates that culmination did not take place is infelicitous.
- ii) The event continuation test
If a predicate encodes event culmination, then adding a sentence that asserts that the event (may have) continued is infelicitous.
- iii) The scope of *kilh* 'almost'
If a predicate encodes event culmination then *kilh* may take scope over the final point alone, indicating that the event *almost culminated* (i.e., it started).

¹⁹ Bar-el does not explore the properties of homogeneous states in Skwxwu7mesh. See Kiyota (2008) for an analysis of homogeneous states in Saanich.

²⁰ A verb with an inherent initial point has an initial BECOME subevent as in (i), whereas a verb with an inherent final point has a final BECOME subevent in its denotation., as in (ii).

- (i) Initial point: $\lambda e.\exists e_1\exists e_2[e=s(e_1\cup e_2) \wedge (\text{BECOME}(P))(e_1) \wedge (\text{DO}(P))(e_2)]$
- (ii) Final point: $\lambda e.\exists e_1\exists e_2[e=s(e_1\cup e_2) \wedge (\text{DO}(P))(e_1) \wedge (\text{BECOME}(Q))(e_2)]$
(Bar-el 2005, ex. 9a-b, 8)

If a predicate does not encode culmination, then *kilh* takes scope over the whole event, indicating that the event *almost started*.

- iv) The scope of negation:
 If a predicate encodes event culmination then negation may take scope over the final point alone, indicating that the event started but *did not culminate*.
 If a predicate does not encode culmination, then negation takes scope over the whole event, indicating that the event *did not start*.

Table 25 is a summary of Bar-el’s results from the first two tests and Table 26 is a summary of the second two tests (the scopal tests). In this dissertation I also call the first two tests the culmination entailment tests since they test whether a predicate in the past-perfective has to culminate in the real world. I also call the second two tests the scopal tests since they use scopal operators to test for inherent points.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation		Test 2 Event Continuation		Final Point
	Conjunctions	Questions	Conjunctions	Questions	
Activity	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
Accomplishment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
Achievement	✗	-	✗	-	✓
Inchoative State	-	-	✓	✓	✗

Table 25 Culmination cancellation and event continuation (Bar-el 2005:135, ex. 137)

(✗ =infelicitous; ✓ =felicitous; - =data not yet tested)

	Readings induced by scope tests			
	Test 3: The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4: The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
Activities	✓	✗	✓	✗
Accomplishments	✓	✗	✓	✗
Achievements	✓	✗	✓	✗
Inchoative States	✓	✗	✓	✗

Table 26 Event Cancellation vs. Event Continuation (Bar-el 2005:136, ex. 138)

(✗ =infelicitous; ✓ =felicitous)

As summarized in Table 25, the culmination cancellation tests shows that only achievements do not allow for cancellation of culmination (Bar-el did not test inchoative states). She concludes that achievements, and only achievements have inherent final points. Note that Bar-el for the Test 1 and Test 2 used both conjunctions (a conjoined sentence) and questions to test if it is possible to deny the culmination of a given predicate. Since both conjunctions and questions always have the same result, I only use the conjunction test for Test 1 and Test 2.

As for the scopal tests in Table 26, the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test obtained an *almost started* reading (i.e. the event cancellation reading) for all four predicate types and not an *almost culminated* reading (i.e. the event non-completion reading). The scope of negation test obtained a *did not start* reading (i.e. the event cancellation reading) for all four predicate types and not a *did not culminate* reading (i.e. the event non-completion reading). Bar-el concludes that *kilh* ('almost') is taking scope over the whole event.

Consequently - she argues - activities, accomplishments and inchoative states do not have

inherent final points. If they did, then these scopal tests should allow for a reading wherein the event started and it almost culminated. Bar-el argues that for achievement these scopal tests indicate that achievements only have one subevent, BECOME subevent, and this subevent tests as both an inherent initial point and an inherent final point.

After also exploring tests for initial points, Bar-el (2005) argues for the following classification for activities, accomplishment, achievement and inchoative state predicates in Skwxwú7mesh, with regards to both inherent initial and final points.

	Initial point	Final point
activities	✓	×
accomplishments	×	×
achievements	✓	✓
inchoative states	✓	×

Table 27 Skwxwú7mesh predicates: initial and final points (Bar-el 2005:200)

Again, I do not explore initial points in this dissertation, but I do claim that c-predicates are I(nitiating) predicates. I also claim that this initiating property is different from predicates with inherent initial points. This issue is discussed in the conclusion in (§7).

Bar-el also provides a formal semantic analysis of the $-Vt$, and $-Vn$ transitivizers, the transitivizers present in most of her accomplishment predicates, an analysis which will I discuss more fully in Chapter 5, (§5.3), after providing my own analysis. She demonstrates that unaccusative roots have culmination entailments. She also assumes that c-transitives are all are derived from unaccusative roots following Davis (1997). Following Matthewson (2004a), Bar-el then argues that c-marking in the form of $-Vt$ and

-*Vn* transitivizers “introduces the agent’s control over the event (and possibly also the agent itself ...), but must also be responsible for removing the culmination entailment, the requirement that the event culminate in the actual world, which is part of the meaning of the achievement from which the accomplishment is derived” (Bar-el 2005:130f, also see Matthewson 2004). Note that Bar-el does not examine lc-predicates, and thus does not provide an account for them. For the other transitivizers and intransitivizers that occur in any of the predicates that she examines, she notes their existence and provides some preliminary observations about the possible semantic contribution they make.

One of the goals of this dissertation is to establish the morphology-semantics mapping for both c-predicates and lc-predicates, to investigate whether there is a strict correspondence between the morphological make-up of a predicate and its semantic interpretation, in particular relative to culmination. To do this we need to investigate whether or not culmination is entailed for all types of predicates, although as stated in Chapter 2 (§2.1.2.3), I do not examine the properties of all types of intransitives. In what follows, I will present data on all the c- and lc-transitivizers (§3). In anticipation of my morphosyntactic analysis for CONTROL, I also examine the applicatives with regards to culmination entailments. In §4 then I examine the c- and lc-intransitivizers, with regards to culmination. From this examination we will be better able to describe the culmination properties of Skwxwú7mesh predicates based on the type of (in)transitivizer they occur with.

3 Core transitives and culmination

In this section I will test whether each of the five different core transitivizers behaves the same with respect to culmination. The core transitivizers as discussed in Chapter 2 (that is, those transitivizers which appear to be responsible for control and limited control meanings) are presented here again:

	Core Transitivizers
c-marking	- <i>t</i> - <i>Vt</i> - <i>Vn</i> - <i>s</i>
lc-marking	- <i>nexw</i>

Table 28 Core transitivizers in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh*²¹

We will see that predicates marked with c-transitivizers do not require event culmination. As such, event culmination does not appear to be part of the inherent meaning of c-predicates. I demonstrate, however, with the culmination cancellation test that a c-predicate minimally requires that its event has been initiated. I further demonstrate that predicates marked with the lc-transitivizer require culmination, and consequently I argue that culmination is part of the inherent meaning of lc-predicates.

In the following sections I present data for each of the core transitivizers with Bar-el's four tests. Most of the examples of the c-transitivizers are from Bar-el (2005). She

²¹ See Appendix A, §1, for all the roots that occur in the *-t* transitivizer construction, Appendix A, §2, for all the roots that occur in the *-Vt* construction and Appendix A, §3, for all the CVC roots that occur in the *-Vn* construction. As mentioned in Chapter 2 §4.1.2.1, except for a handful of roots, all roots or stems longer than CVC occur in the *-Vn* construction.

has examples of c-predicates with the *-t* and with the *-Vn* transitivizer. She does not have any examples of c-predicates with the *-Vt* transitivizer. For this transitivizer, I provide data from my own field work. For the causative *-s* she has one example. I provide a few more examples from my own field work.

Bar-el does not investigate lc-transitive predicates, except for one example. I provide data from my own field work for this transitivizer. These findings are new for Skw̓w̓w̓mesh and they confirm a pattern for lc-transitives that various researchers have reported for other Coast Salish languages: that is, that lc-predicates entail culmination (Davis 1978 and Watanabe 2003 for Sliammon, Gerds 2008 for Halkomelem, Kiyota 2008 for Saanich). Bar-el (2005:133) herself suggests this is the case for Skw̓w̓w̓mesh but does not further investigate it.

3.1 The *-t* transitivizer and culmination

In this section I show that the c-predicates marked with the *-t* transitivizer do not entail culmination. Consider the example below.

Culmination cancellation test: c-predicate with *-t*

(5) chen lhen̓-t-Ø ta hém̓ten
 1S.SUB weave-TR-3OBJ DET blanket
 ‘I’m making a blanket,

welh haw k̓'-an i húy-nexw-Ø
 but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
 but I didn’t finish it.’

(Bar-el 2005:82, ex. 33f)

The test in (5) shows that it is possible to explicitly deny that the event culminated. This test shows that these predicates do not have culmination entailments.

The next test also shows that predicates marked by the *-t* transitivizer can felicitously be used if the event still continues. This also shows that these c-transitives with *-t* do not have culmination entailments. Example (6)c is from my own field work.

Event continuation test: c-predicates with *-t*

(6) a. na xél-t-Ø-as ta sxwexwiýám lha Mary,
 RL write-TR-3OBJ-3SUBJ DET story DET Mary
 ‘Mary wrote a story.’

iwáyti na7-xw wa xél-t-Ø-as
 maybe RL-still IMPF write-TR-3OBJ-3SUBJ
 ‘Maybe she’s still writing it.’

(Bar-el 2005:83, ex. 37a)

b. chen kw’el-t-Ø ta smeys ti natlh,
 1S.SUB cook-TR-3OBJ DET meat DET morning
 ‘I cooked the meat this morning,’

iwáyti na7-xw wa kw’el ta smeys
 maybe RL-still IMPF cook DET meat
 and (maybe) it’s still cooking.’

(Bar-el 2005:83, ex. 37a)

c. na ch’em-t-Ø-as ta skwemáy ten sxen,
 RL bite-TR-3OBJ-3SUBJ DET dog DET-1.POS leg
 ‘The dog jumped me on my ankle,’

i na7-xw wa ch’em-t-Ø-as
 and RL-still IMPF bite-TR-3OBJ-3SUBJ
 and he’s still holding me, on my ankle.’

Next we turn to the scope of *kilh* (‘almost’). In (7), *kilh* (‘almost’) takes scope over the whole event and obtains the *almost started* reading (i.e. the event cancellation reading) wherein Mary never even started the event of writing. It does not obtain the

almost culminated reading (i.e. the event non-completion reading), the reading wherein the event of writing started but never culminated. This test shows that c-predicates with *-t* do not have inherent final points. If they did, then we would expect *kilh* ('almost') to take scope over this final subevent.

Scope of *kilh* ('almost') test: c-predicate with *-t*

- (7) **kilh** na xél-t-Ø-as ta s̄wex̄wiýám lha Mary
 almost RL write-TR-3OBJ-3SUBJ DET story DET Mary
 'Mary almost wrote a story.'
 Speaker's comments: 'She didn't even start.'
 (Bar-el 2005:106, ex. 83a)

The same effects can be observed with the *-t*-marked c-predicate under the scope of negation in (8) (the (b) example is from my own field work). Its sentence can only mean that the whole event did not take place (i.e. the *did not start* reading). It cannot receive the *almost culminated* reading wherein the event started but only the event culmination is negated (i.e. the event non-completion reading). In both the (a) and (b) examples the event did not take place at all. No writing took place in (a) and no shooting took place in (b). This test also shows that these predicates do not have inherent final points.

Scope of negation test: c-predicates with *-t*

- (8) a. **haw** k-an xél-t-Ø ta s̄wex̄wiýám
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ write-TR-3OBJ DET story
 'I'm not writing a story.'
 * Context: You started it but you are not doing it now
 Speaker's comments: "I'm not going to write a story."
 (Bar-el 2005:117, ex.108a)

- b. **haw** **k'**-an i kwélash-**t-Ø** ta míxalh
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES shoot-TR-3OBJ DET bear
 'I didn't shoot the bear.'
 ✓**Context**: You didn't shoot at all. You didn't shoot.
 Speaker's comments: "You were going to shoot it but then you didn't."

The findings of this section are summarized in the two tables below.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-t</i>	✓	✓

Table 29 C-transitive (*-t*) and the culmination entailment tests

(**x**=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
	Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-t</i>	✓	x	✓	x

Table 30 C-transitive (*-t*) and the scopal tests

(**x**=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

The results of the tests in Table 29 show that c-transitives with *-t*, in the past-perfective, do not have culmination entailments. The results in the two tests in Table 30 show that these predicate do not have inherent final points. In summary, all four of Bar-el's tests show that c-predicates marked with the *-t* transivizer do not have culmination entailments.

3.2 The *-Vt* transitivizer and culmination

Bar-el (2005) does not provide any examples c-predicates with the *-Vt* transitivizer. I, therefore, provide examples from my own field work. Consider the examples in (9) which contain c-predicates marked with the *-Vt* transitivizer in the culmination cancellation test.

Culmination cancellation test: c-predicates with *-Vt*

(9) a. chen ch'aw-**at**-Ø te-n siyáy'
 1S.SUB help-TR-3OBJ DET-1S.POS friend
 'I (went to) help my friend,

welh haw k'-as ya emút
 CONJ NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES at.home
 but he wasn't home,

chen melh huyá7
 1S.SUB so leave
 so I left.'

b. chen lhích'-**it**-Ø ta seplín
 1S.SUB cut-TR-3OBJ DET bread
 'I tried to cut the bread,

welh es-kw'áy. an tl'exw-Ø
 but STAT-cannot too hard-3SUB
 but I couldn't. It was too hard.'

It is possible to deny the culmination of a *-Vt* marked event without inducing a contradiction. In (9)a it is possible that no actual helping takes place; only an attempt to help took place. In (9)b, it is possible that the bread did not actually get cut. There was an attempt to cut the bread. I will call this the *tried to* interpretation. It occurs even though the lexical item *t'a7tsut* 'to try' is not present. I argue that this interpretation

indicates that a c-predicate minimally indicates that an event has been initiated. This interpretation also occurs with c-intransitives, as is shown in (§4.1).

The next test also shows that c-predicates marked by the *-Vt* transitivizer can felicitously be used if the event still continues.

Event continuation test: c-predicates with *-Vt*

(10) a. chen ch'aw-**at-Ø** te-n siyáy
 1S.SUB help-TR-3OBJ DET-1S.POS friend
 'I helped my friend,

na7-xw chen wa ch'áw-at-Ø.
 RL-still 1S.SUB IMPF help-TR-3OBJ
 (and we're still working on it.)

b. chen lhích'-**it-Ø** ta seplín
 1S.SUB cut-TR-3OBJ DET bread
 'I sliced the bread,

na7-xw chen wa lhích'-it-Ø
 RL-still 1S.SUB IMPF cut-TR-3OBJ
 and I'm still slicing it.'

The event continuation test thus shows that the c-predicate marked by the *-Vt* transitivizer does not entail event culmination. If these c-predicates entailed culmination, it should not be felicitous to say that the event continued after having already said that event culminated.

Next we turn to the scope of *kilh* ('almost').

Scope of *kilh* ('almost') test: c-predicates with *-Vt*

- (11) a. **kilh** chen i ch'áw-**at-Ø**.
 almost 1S.SUB PRES help-TR-3OBJ
 'I almost helped her.'
Context and speaker's comments: '... but I decided not to, or I changed my mind.'
Context: I helped her a bit, but decided to quit.
- b. **kilh** na lhích'-**it-Ø**-as ta sts'úkwi7 lha Kirsten
 almost RL cut-TR-3OBJ-3SUBJ DET fish DET Kirsten
 'Kirsten was going to slice the fish but never got around to it.'

In (11)a, *kilh* ('almost') is compatible with either the *almost started* reading or the *almost culminated* reading. In (11)b, *kilh* ('almost') takes scope over the whole event and therefore asserts that Kirsten never even started the event of cutting the fish, that is, the *almost started* reading. The result of this test are less clear than what Bar-el (2005) found for c-transitives with *-t*, which only obtained the the *almost started* reading.

C-predicates with *-Vt* under the scope of negation only obtain one reading, namely the *did not start* reading (an event cancellation reading).

Scope of negation test: c-predicates with *-Vt*

- (12) a. **haw** k-an ch'aw-**at-Ø** lhe-n siyáy
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ help-TR-3OBJ DET-1S.POS friend
 'I didn't help my friend.'
 ✗ Context: You started to but you are not doing it now.
 ✓ Context: You were going to help, but then you didn't.
- b. **haw** k'-an i lhích'-**it-Ø** ta sts'úkwi7
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES cut-TR-3OBJ DET fish
 'I didn't cut the fish.'
 ✗ Context: You started to cut it, but you didn't finish cutting it.
 ✓ Context: You didn't cut it at all. You didn't cut.

The sentence can only mean that the whole event did not take place (it did not even start). It cannot receive the interpretation according to which the event started but only the culmination of the event is negated. Since negation cannot take scope over the final event, we can conclude that the c-predicates with the *-Vt* transitivizer are not associated with inherent final points.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-Vt</i>	✓	✓

Table 31 C-transitive (*-Vt*) and the culmination entailment tests

(✗=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

	Readings induced by scope tests			
	Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-Vt</i>	✓	✓	✓	✗

Table 32 C-transitive (*-Vt*) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

In sum, Bar-el's (2005) tests show that c-predicates marked with *-Vt* do not have culmination entailments. The second two scopal tests are less clear than what Bar-el (2005) found for the c-predicates with *-t*. Note, though that with the scope of negation test, the only reading is the *did not start* reading. After analyzing other predicates with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test, I will conclude that it is a less reliable test for inherent points, especially with transitive predicates. Importantly, though, for our investigation

here, neither scope test allows for only the event non-completion reading. I take this as a strong indication that predicates with *-Vt* do not have inherent final points.

3.3 The *-Vn* transitivizer and culmination

In this section I provide data from Bar-el (2005) for c-predicates with the *-Vn* transitivizer. The following example is of a c-predicate with the *-Vn* transitivizer and the culmination cancellation test.

Culmination cancellation test: c-predicates with *-Vn*

(13) na mǐkw'-**in**-t-Ø-as ta lh̥enptn lha Mary
RL clean-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET floor DET Mary
'Mary washed the floor,'

welh haw k'-as i húy-nexw-Ø-as
but NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
'but she didn't finish.'

(Bar-el 2005:81, ex. 33c)

This example shows that it is possible to deny the culmination without inducing a contradiction. This shows that c-predicates with *-Vn* do not have culmination entailments.

The next test also shows that c-predicates marked by the *-Vn* transitivizer can felicitously be used if the event still continues.

Event continuation test: c-predicate with *-Vn*

(14) na mǐkw'-in-t-Ø-as ta lh̄x̄enptn lha Mary
RL clean-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET floor DET Mary
'Mary washed the floor,'

i na7-xw wa mǐkw'-in-t-Ø-as
and RL-still IMPF clean-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
'and she's still washing it.'

(Bar-el 2005:84, ex. 37d)

The event continuation test thus shows that the c-predicate marked by the *-Vn* transitivizer does not entail event culmination. If these c-predicates entailed culmination, it should not be felicitous to say that the event continued after having already said that the event culminated.

Next we turn to the scope of *kilh* ('almost').

Scope of *kilh* ('almost') test: c-predicate with *-Vn*

(15) **kilh** chen mǐkw'-in-[]-Ø ta tétxwem
almost 1S.SUB help-TR-TR-3OBJ DET car
'I *nearly started* to wash the car.'

(Bar-el 2005:106, ex. 83b)

In (15) *kilh* ('almost') takes scope over the whole event and obtains the *almost started* reading and therefore asserts that I never even started the event of washing the car. This suggests that c-predicates with the *-Vn* transitivizer do not encode inherent final points - otherwise *kilh* 'almost' should be able to take scope over the final event. Note under the scope of *kilh* ('almost'), the c-predicate can be translated as 'nearly started'.

The same effects can be observed with the c-predicate marked with *-Vn* under the scope of negation.

Scope of negation test: c-predicate with *-Vn*
 (16) **haw** *k*-as i míkwa'-**in**-t-Ø-as
 NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES wash-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB

ta lh_xénpten kwa John
 DET floor DET John
 'John didn't wash the floor.'

✓Context: he didn't even start.
 (Bar-el 2005:117,ex.108b)

The sentence can only mean that the whole event did not take place (it did not even start). It does not receive the interpretation according to which the event started but only the event culmination is negated. Since negation does not take scope over the final event, c-predicates with the *-Vn* transitivizer, I argue, do not have inherent final points in their semantic representation.

The following tables are a summary of all four of Bar-el's tests for the c-predicates marked with the *-Vn* transitivizer.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-Vn</i>	✓	✓

Table 33 C-transitive (*-Vn*) and the culmination entailment tests

(**x**=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test		
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
-Vn	✓	✗	✓	✗

Table 34 C-transitive (-Vn) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

Bar-el's (2005) testing of c-transitives with -Vn shows that these predicates do not have culmination entailments, and they do not have inherent final points.

3.4 The causative -s transitivizer and culmination

Bar-el (2005) only provides one example of her tests with c-predicates with the -s causative, with the culmination cancellation test. I, therefore, provide data from my own field work

Culmination cancellation test: c-predicate with -s

(17) a. na chá7-s-t-Ø-as kwi kw'áxwa7 lha Mary
 RL do-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET box DET Mary
 'Mary made a box.'

b. na7 u húy-nexw-Ø-as
 RL POL finish-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'Did she finish it?'
 (Bar-el 2005:82, ex.34a-b)

The fact that the question in (b) can felicitously uttered following (a) indicates that the c-predicate marked with the -s causative does not entail culmination.

In my own field work, I have tested other causative-marked predicates using the culmination cancellation test as shown in (18). The same result is obtained. It is possible to deny the culmination of the causative *-s*-marked predicate without inducing a contradiction.

Culmination cancellation test: c-predicates with *-s*

(18) a. chen tá7-s-[]-Ø ta kw'áxwa7
 1S.SUB do-CAUS-TR-3OBJ DET box
 'I made a box,

welh haw k'-an i húy-nexw-Ø
 but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
 but I didn't finish it.'

b. chen nam-s-[]-Ø tiwa s7ixwalh (t)-ta kw'uyáwtxw,
 1S.SUB go-CAUS-TR-3OBJ DEM child OBL-DET hospital
 'I'm bringing my child to the hospital.

chiyálh i tsixw chet.
 soon PRES arrive 1P.SUB
 We're just about there.'

Context: I'm on the phone telling someone this.

c. chen nam-s-t-umi ta s7ilhenawtxw, welh es-kw'ay.
 1S.SUB go-CAUS-TR-2OBJ DET restaurant but STAT-cannot
 'I was going to invite you to the restaurant, but I couldn't make it.'
Speaker's comment: Something turned up, (so that's why I didn't take you).'
Speaker's comment: I didn't take you because *Hawk n tala* ('I didn't have any money').'

All three c-predicates marked with the causative *-s* allow the cancellation of the culmination of the event without inducing a contradiction. This shows that c-predicates with the causative, like all the other c-predicates, do not entail culmination. Note that the same predicate *nam'-s* 'go-CAUS = to bring' is used in both (b) and (c) examples. In the

(b) example the event of bringing has started but has not culminated. In the (c) example, though, no event of bringing has actually taken place. Just the intention of bringing took place or possibly an invitation, but no actual bringing nevertheless.

The next test also shows that c-predicates marked by the *-s* causative can felicitously be used if the event still continues.

Event continuation test: c-predicate with *-Vs*

(19) na ta7-s-t-Ø-as ta kw'áxwa7 kwa Ray
 RL make-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET box DET Ray

i na7-xw wa ta7-s-t-Ø-as
 and RL-still IMPF make-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB

'Ray's still carving it, and he's carving it. He never got around to finishing it.'

In this example, the speaker judges the sentence grammatical, but does not provide a literal clause by clause translation. Instead she indicates that the point of these clauses is to indicate that despite all this activity of making and making (more specifically 'carving') a box, the event has not yet culminated in the box actually being finished. The event continuation test, then, shows that the c-predicate marked by the *-s* causative does not entail event culmination. If these c-predicates entailed culmination, it should not be felicitous to say that the event continued after having already said that event culminated.

Next we turn to the scope of *kilh* ('almost').

Scope of *kilh* ('almost') test: c-predicate with *-s* causative

(20) *kilh* na ta7-s-t-Ø-as ta kw'áxwa7 kwa Ray
 almost RL make-CAUS-TR-3OBJ DET box DET Ray
 'He almost finished a box.'

In (20) *kilh* ('almost') takes scope only over the final part of the event. This is the *almost finished* reading. This at least indicates that for c-predicates with the *-s* transitivizer, the final event scopes under *kilh* ('almost'). Note again that this test is a less reliable diagnostic for inherent points. That is, I argue that this test does not show that these c-transitives with *-s* have inherent final points. It may actually point to a more pragmatically based account for the scopal test of *kilh* ('almost'), especially when the results of the other three of Bar-el's tests are taken into account.

The following examples test the c-predicate marked with *-s* under the scope of negation.

Scope of negation test: c-predicate with *-s*

(21) *haw k-as* *i* *tá7-s-t-Ø-as* *ta* *kw'áxwa7* *kwa* Ray
 NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES make-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET box DET Ray
 'He didn't make a box.'
 Speaker's comments: 'He never touched it. Period. He didn't do anything.
 Na *mi umet* ('he got lazy').'

Under the scope of negation the c-predicate with *-s* obtains the *did not start* reading, which the speaker's comments indicate very clearly. Negation here takes scope over the whole event. Possibly the only event that took place was the promise of making a box.

The results for the *c*-predicate with *-s* the causative are summarized in the following two tables.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-s</i>	✓	✓

Table 35 C-transitive (*-s*) and culmination entailment tests

(**x**=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
	Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-s</i>	--	✓	✓	x

Table 36 C-transitive (*-s*) and the scopal tests

(**x**=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

Three out of four of Bar-el's tests show that *c*-predicates marked with the *-s* transitivizer, do not have culmination entailments. Only the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test seems to contradict this generalization in that it appears to indicate that these predicates do have final points, although I have only one token and I did not check it for the event cancellation reading. We have to conclude, therefore, that this test is not a reliable diagnostic for inherent points. The data here with the causative further suggests that the scopal effects of *kilh* ('almost') are pragmatically conditioned and that they do not necessarily pick out inherent initial or final points. Since the first two tests clearly

indicate that c-transitives with *-s* do not have culmination entailments and the scope of negation test clearly indicates that it can only take scope over the final event, I argue, that c-transitives with *-s* do not have inherent final points.

That c-transitives with *-s* do not have inherent final points is consistent with the fact that many predicates formed with the causative *-s* have stative meanings, as shown in (22)a-b. Stative predicates are standardly assumed to not have any internal event structure, meaning they have neither inherent initial nor inherent final points.

- (22) a. es-lhk'i7-s
 STAT-know-CAUS
 'to know (a person, or thing)'
- b. es-li7-s
 STAT-store-CAUS
 'to keep (something) stored away.'

3.5 The limited control transitivizer *-nexw* and culmination

In this section, I investigate lc-transitives. These are marked with the lc-transitivizer *-nexw*. Since lc-predicates were not systematically investigated in Bar-el (2005), I provide data from my own field work, using all four of her tests for culmination. They all converge on the same result: lc-transitives entail culmination.

The data in (23) show that event culmination cannot be cancelled.

Culmination cancellation test: lc-predicates with *-nexw*

- (23) a. chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta míxalh
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET bear
 'I shot the bear,'

#welh chen t'emt'ám
 but 1S.SUB astray
 ('but I missed.)

- b. chen lhích'-nexw-Ø ta p'ésxwem
 1S.SUB cut-LCTR-3OBJ DET crusty
 'I cut the crusty bread...'

#welh es-kw'áy
 but STAT-cannot
 ('but I couldn't.)

- c. chen p'áyak-nexw-Ø ta tetxwem
 1S.SUB fix-LCTR-3OBJ DET car
 'I fixed the car.'

#welh haw k'-an i húy-nexw-Ø
 but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
 ('but I didn't finish.')

- d. chen tá7-nexw-Ø ta kw'áxwa7
 1S.SUB make-LCTR-3OBJ DET box
 'I made a box.'

#welh haw k'-an i húy-nexw-Ø
 but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
 ('but I didn't finish it.')

In all examples in (23), it is impossible to deny culmination without inducing a contradiction. Thus, I conclude that lc-predicates entail culmination.

For completeness, note that all the examples in (23) have a corresponding c-predicate. The c-predicate version of the root in (23)a is formed with the *-t* transitivizer (24)a. The c-predicate version of the root in (23)b is formed with the *-Vt* transitivizer (24)b. The c-predicate version of the root in (23)c is formed with the *-Vn* transitivizer (24)c. The c-predicate version of the root in (23)d is formed with the *-s* causative transitivizer (24)d. All of the c-predicate versions in (24)a-d are minimal pairs to the

sentences in (23)a-d. All of the c-predicate versions can have their culmination denied without inducing a contradiction.

Culmination cancellation test: all four c-transitives

(24) a. -*t*

chen kwélash-**t**-Ø ta míxalh
 1S.SUB shoot-TR-3OBJ DET bear
 ‘I shot the bear,’

welh na t’emt’ám te-n skwélash
 but RL astray DET-1S.POS shot
 ‘but I missed.’

b. -*Vt*

chen lhích’-**it**-Ø ta p’ésxwem
 1S.SUB cut-TR-3OBJ DET crusty
 ‘I (tried to) cut the crusty bread,’

welh es-kw’áy
 but STAT-cannot
 ‘but I couldn’t.’

c. -*Vn*

chen p’áyak-**en**-[]-Ø ta tetxwem
 1S.SUB fix-TR-TR-3OBJ DET car
 ‘I fixed the car,’

welh haw k’-an i húy-nexw-Ø
 but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
 ‘but I didn’t finish (fixing it).’

d. -*s*

chen tá7-**s**-[]-Ø ta kw’áxwa7
 1S.SUB make-TR-TR-3OBJ DET box
 ‘I made a box,’

welh haw k’-an i huy-nexw-Ø
 but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
 ‘but I didn’t finish it.’

As for the event continuation test with the lc-transitive, Bar-el (2005) provides the following example.

Event continuation test: lc-transitive

(25) chen xéwtl'-nexw-Ø
 1S.SUB break-LCTR-3OBJ
 'I broke it.'

#i na7-xw chen wa xéwtl'-án-[]-Ø
 and RL-still 1S.SUB IMPF break-TR-TR-3OBJ
 (#'and I'm still breaking it.')

Speaker's comments: "You already broke it ...can't still be breaking it ...
 it's already broken." (Bar-el, 2005:220, ex.35)

This example shows that it is impossible to assert that event continued when the predicate is marked as an lc-transitive.

The following is an example of the lc-transitive with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test.

Scope of *kilh* test: lc-transitives

(26) **kilh** na i p'áyak-nexw-as ten tétxwem.
 almost RL PRES fix-LCTR-3OBJ DET-1S.POS car
 'They almost repaired my car, but they never got around to it.'
 ✓Context: They started but never finished the car.
 ✗Context: They never even started fixing the car.

The scope of *kilh* 'almost' test with the lc-transitive in (26) obtains the *almost culminate* reading (i.e. the event non-completion reading) but not the *almost started* reading. *Kilh* ('almost'), then, is only taking scope over the final subevent. Importantly, speakers reject the *almost started* reading with the lc-transitive under the scope of *kilh* ('almost').

The following are examples of the lc-transitive with the scope of negation test.

Scope of negation test: lc-transitives

(27) a. **haw** k'-an i kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta míxalh
NEG SBJ-1.CONJ PRES shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET bear
'I didn't shoot the bear.'

✓Context: I shot, but I missed.

✗Context: I didn't shoot at all.

Speaker's comment: No, you said you shot already.

b. **haw** k'-an i p'áyak-**nexw**-Ø te-n tétxwem
NEG SBJ-1.CONJ PRES fix-TR-3OBJ DET-1S.POS car
'I didn't get my car fixed.'

✓Context: You started fixing it but didn't finish fixing it.

✗Context: You didn't start fixing it yet.

In both of these examples, the lc-transitive only obtains the *did not culminate* reading (i.e. the event non-completion reading). The speaker rejects the *did not start* reading (i.e. the event cancellation reading). In (27)a an event of shooting must have taken place. In (27)b an event of fixing must have taken place. The negation, then, simply cancels that either of these events culminated. I conclude that these examples indicate that there is only one subevent of the lc-predicate that *kilh* ('almost') can take scope over: the final event of the lc-transitive.

The following two tables summarize our findings with Bar-el's four tests applied to the lc-transitives. This is the first systematic examination of the culmination properties of lc-transitives in Skwxwú7mesh.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test		Test 2 Event Continuation Test	
	<i>-nexw</i>	x	--	x

Table 37 Lc-transitive (*-nexw*) and culmination entailment tests

(**x**=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
	Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-nexw</i>	x	✓	x	✓

Table 38 Lc-transitive (*-nexw*) and the scopal tests

(**x**=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

The first two tests, in Table 37, show that it is not felicitous to deny the culmination of the lc-transitive without inducing a contradiction, nor is it felicitous to indicate that its event continued. I argue that these two test indicate that the lc-transitive predicates **do** have culmination entailments, in contrast to c-transitives, which do **not** have culmination entailments.

The two scopal tests summarized in Table 38, show that *kilh* ('almost') and negation can only take scope over the culmination of the event. I conclude that lc-transitive predicates are associated with inherent final points.

3.6 Summary

The following two tables summarize our findings for Bar-el's four tests for final points, for all four c-transitives and for the lc-transitives.²²

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
-t	✓	✓
-Vt	✓	✓
-Vn	✓	✓
-s	✓	✓
-nexw	✗	✗

Table 39 C-transitives, lc-transitives and the culmination entailment tests

(✗=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

	Readings induced by scope tests			
	Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
-t	✓	✗	✓	✗
-Vt	✓	✓	✓	✗
-Vn	✓	✗	✓	✗
-s	--	✓	✓	✗
-nexw	✗	✓	✗	✓

Table 40 C-transitives, lc-transitives and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

²² Note that I did not use questions for the two culmination tests. The

One of the goals of this dissertation is to investigate the relation between a predicate’s morphological make-up and its semantic properties. In this section, we have investigated predicates marked as c-transitives and lc-transitives, respectively. Using Bar-el’s (2005) tests we have determined that none of the transitive c-predicates have culmination entailments, while the transitive lc-predicates do have culmination entailments, as indicate in Table 39. The results of the scopal tests, indicated in Table 40, show that they have inherent final points. This is, in fact, in line with the behaviour of lc-transitives in other Coast Salish languages (Gerdtz 2008, Kiyota 2008, Watanabe 2003).

		Culmination Entailments	Inherent final points
C-transitives	- <i>t</i>	✗	✗
	- <i>Vt</i>	✗	✗
	- <i>Vn</i>	✗	✗
	- <i>s</i>	✗	✗
Lc-transitives	- <i>nexw</i>	✓	✓

Table 41 Distribution of culmination entailments and inherent final points

One other interpretation that we found with the culmination cancellation test, with one of the c-transitives, -*Vt*, is the *tried to* interpretation. This interpretation will also be important in our understanding the essential contrast between c- and lc-predicates. In §4 when we examine both c- and lc-intransitives, we will find this same *tried to* interpretation is available with c-intransitives, similar to their c-transitive counterparts. In §7, I propose that this *tried to* interpretation indicates that c-predicates minimally indicate event initiation. I also argue that predicates with inherent initial points as per Bar-el (2005) are a different from predicates which minimally indicate event initiation.

Based on this distribution of culmination entailments, we may conclude that the $\text{Skw}\bar{x}\text{wu}7\text{mesh}$ contrast in CONTROL-marking is fundamentally about event-culmination. If so, we might expect that culmination entailments will be associated with all and only lc-predicates, but never with c-predicates. We still need to investigate whether other morphologically complex predicates are associated with culmination entailments and whether they have inherent final points. We also still need to investigate whether other predicates occur with the *tried to* interpretation, as we have found with the c-transitives. In what follows I discuss the culmination entailments of intransitives, which have also previously been described as contrasting in CONTROL (Chapter 2, §4.1.2.3).

4 Intransitives and culmination

In Table 42, I show the set of $\text{Skw}\bar{x}\text{wu}7\text{mesh}$ intransitivizers which are purported to derive c-intransitives and lc-transitive, respectively (Jacobs 2007).

	Unergative (UE)	Reflexive (REFL)	Reciprocal (RECIP)
c-intransitive	-im̃	-sut -namut	-way
lc-intransitives	-nalhen	-numut	-newas

Table 42 C- and lc-intransitivizers

The intransitivizers divide into suffixes which derive unergative predicates from roots and suffixes which derive reflexive and reciprocal predicates from predicates which are already transitivized. In what follows I investigate four out of the seven intransitivizers

in terms of their culmination entailments. For lack of data, however, I will have to leave the reflexive *-namut*²³ and both reciprocals (all of which are shaded in Table 42) for future research.²⁴

In what follows, I show that the two c-intransitivizers, the c-nergative *-im* and the c-reflexive *-sut* do not have culmination entailments. I also show that they can occur with the *tried to* interpretation. Thus, they behave like the c-transitives in both respects. Moreover, I show that the two lc-intransitivizers (lc-nergative and lc-reflexive) are associated with culmination entailments, just like the lc-transitives are.

4.1 The control intransitives and culmination

In this section I present my results using Bar-el's four tests for inherent final points with the c-nergative *-im* and the c-reflexive *-sut*.

4.1.1 The control nergative *-im* and culmination

In this section I present my findings with the c-nergative *-im*. I demonstrate that the c-nergative predicates do not have culmination entailments and that they do not inherent

²³ Since this reflexive only occurs with the causative I will call it the caus-reflexive to distinguish it from the other c-reflexive *-sut*.

²⁴ For Sliammon, Watanabe (2003) found that the event culmination entailments of reciprocals must take into consideration all the possible pairs. For example, an lc-reciprocal can be used in a situation where only one relevant pair completed the event. It does not require all the event pairs to have completed the event.

final points.

The following are examples of the c-unergative with the culmination cancellation test (28)a-b.

Culmination cancellation test: c-unergatives with *-im'*

(28) a. chen suxwt-**im'** welh es-kw'ay
1S.SUB recognize-CUE but STAT-cannot
'I *tried to* recognize him, but I couldn't.'

b. chen kw'sh-**im'** welh es-kw'ay
1S.SUB count-CUE but STAT-cannot
'I *tried to* count, but I couldn't.'

c. chen kw'sh-**im'** (t)t-en tala
1S.SUB count-CUE OBL-DET-1S.POS money
'I'm counting my money,

welh haw k'-an i húy-nexw-Ø.
but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
but I never finished it.

Speaker's comments: Maybe I got tired because I had too much money to count.

c. ta John na tah-**im'** (t)ta la^m,
DET John RL do-CUE OBL-DEThouse
'John is building a house,'

welh xwe^waxw k'-as i húy-nexw-Ø-as
but not.yet SBJ-3CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
'but he hasn't finished it yet.'

As with the c-transitives, the c-unergative is compatible with the cancellation of event culmination. Also, as predicted from our examination of the c-transitives, the c-unergative, can be translated into English with the *tried to* interpretation, an interpretation which we have already seen in §3.2 with the c-transitivizer, *-Vt*. Again, *try* does not have

a direct correspondent in the Skwxwu7mesh data. Thus, the c-unergative does not entail culmination but instead minimally requires that its event be initiated.

The following example has the c-unergative with the event continuation test.

Event continuation test: c-unergative with *-im'*

(29) na kw'sh-**im'**-wit (t)ta tala-s-wit,
 RL count-CUE-PL OBL-DET money-3POS-PL
 'They're counting,

iwáyti na7xw wa kw'sh-im.
 maybe RL-still IMPF count-CUE
 maybe they're still counting their money.'

Example (29) shows that it is possible to continue the event denoted by the c-unergative without inducing a contradiction.

The following examples show the c-unergative with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test.

Scope of *kilh* ('almost') test: c-unergatives with *-im'*

(30) a. **kilh** chen i kw'sh-**im'** (t)ten tala.
 almost 1S.SUB PRES count-CUE OBL-DET-1S.POS money
 'I was going to count my money.'

Context: I had too much money, so I didn't count it at all.

Context: I started but I got tired because I had so much money.

b. **kilh** chen i tah-**im'** (t)ta lam
 almost 1S.SUB PRES make-CUE OBL-DET house
 'I was going to build a house, (but I never got around to it yet).'

✓Context: You were just thinking about it.

✓Context: The house could almost be finished.

The example in (30)a obtains the *almost started* reading (an event cancellation reading) in the first context and the *almost culminated* reading (an event non-completion reading) in the second context. Example (30)b also obtains both readings. I note here that the

almost started reading is, more often than not, the first reading provided for these sentences in an out-of-the-blue context. But if questioned, speakers also readily accept a context for the *almost culminated* reading.

The following example shows the c-unergative under the scope of negation.

Scope of negation test: c-unergative with *-im'*

- (31) **haw** **k'**-an i tah-**im'** (t)-ta lam'.
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES make-CUE OBL-DEThouse
 'I never made a house.'
 ✓Context: I didn't start.
 ✓Context: I haven't finished it yet.

In (31) the c-unergative predicate, under the scope of negation, can obtain the *did not start* reading (i.e. the event cancellation reading). But, it is also compatible with the *did not culminate* reading (i.e. an event non-completion reading), a context wherein the event of building the house has started but is not yet finished. As with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test with the c-unergative, the scope of negation test with the c-unergative can obtain either the *almost started* or the *almost culminated* reading.

The following table summarizes our findings for the c-unergative.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-im'</i>	✓	✓

Table 43 C-unergative (*-im'*) and the culmination entailment tests

(**x**=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
	Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-im'</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 44 C-unergative (*-im'*) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

The results of the first two tests, given in Table 43, show that c-unergatives allow for the event cancellation reading. This, I argue, shows that c-unergatives do not have culmination entailments. The results of the second two tests, given in Table 44, show that c-unergatives are compatible with both the event cancellation reading and the event non-completion reading. The fact that c-unergatives **do** obtain the event cancellation reading shows that these predicates do not have inherent final points. If they did, these two tests should only allow for one reading, the event non-completion reading, as we saw for lc-transitives.

4.1.2 The control reflexive *-sut* and culmination

In this section I present my findings with the c-reflexive *-sut* with Bar-el's (2005) four tests for final points. I demonstrate that the c-reflexive predicates do not have culmination entailments and that they do not inherent final points.

The following examples are of c-reflexives with the culmination cancellation test.

Culmination cancellation test: c-reflexives with *-sut*

(32) a. na kwélash-t-**sut**-Ø welh es-kw'ay
 RL shoot-TR-CREFL-3SUB but STAT-cannot
 'He tried to shoot himself, but he couldn't.'

b. chen ch'áw-at-**sut**
 1S.SUB help-TR-CREFL
 'I tried to help myself,'

welh es-kw'áy. chen men kelím
 but STAT-cannot 1S.SUB just weak
 'but I couldn't. I was weak.'

The same results are obtained with the c-reflexive as with the c-unergative. The culmination of the event can be denied without inducing a contradiction. The event of shooting (32)a does not have to result in the subject actually shooting himself. The c-predicate can be translated with the *tried to* interpretation, an interpretation which we have seen with the c-transitives and the c-unergative. The translation, *tried to*, does not have a direct correspondent in the Skwxwú7mesh data. The culmination of the event in (32)b can also be denied without inducing a contradiction. The agent in (32)b only need have 'tried to help'.

The following are examples of the c-reflexive with the event continuation test. The (a) example has the c-reflexive with the *-Vt* transitivizer and the (b) example has the c-reflexive with the *-Vn* transitivizer.

Event continuation test: c-reflexives with *-sut*

(33) a. na ch'aw-**at-sut**-Ø-wit,
 RL help-TR-CREFL-3SUB-PL
 'They started helping them,

i na7-xw wa ch'aw-at-sut-Ø-wit.
 and RL-still IMPF help-TR-CREFL-3SUB-PL
 and they're still helping.'

b. chen ch'it-en-t-sut,
 1S.SUB near-TR-TR-CREFL
 'I'm going near you,

i na7-xw chen wa ch'it-en-t-sut.
 and RL-still 1S.SUB IMPF near-TR-TR-CREFL
 and I'm still near you.'

In both examples in (33) the event continuation test shows that is felicitous to add a sentence which indicates that the event of the c-reflexive is continuing. The (a) example describes a situation wherein the event of helping has not culminated.²⁵ But the (b) example describes an event wherein the event has culminated, i.e. the subject has successfully brought himself close and the continuing clause asserts that the subject is maintaining this position. The event continuation test shows that for the c-reflexive, the continuation may be the event itself (the (a) example) or the continuation may be where the resulting state of the event continues (the (b) example). In neither case does the addition of this continuation clause create a contradiction.

The following examples are of the c-reflexive with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test.

²⁵ Note that often the c-reflexive is translated very similarly to its c-transitive counterpart, with an agent and a theme argument which are not co-referential. In this way they resemble the c-unergatives.

Scope of *kilh* ('almost') test: c-reflexive with *-sut*

- (34) a. **kilh** chen i lixw-t-sut.
almost 1S.SUB PRES laid.down-TR-CREFL
'I was just about to sit down and rest [i.e. lie down] (and then the phone rang).'
- b. **kilh** chen i ch'it-en-t-sut.
almost 1S.SUB PRES near-TR-TR-CREFL
'I was going to sit near you.'
✓Context: I was just thinking about it.
✓Context: I was already going towards you (to sit next to you), but someone come along and took that seat beside you.

Both examples of the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test with the c-reflexive obtain the *almost started* reading. In (34)a the subject had the intention of lying down, but then was interrupted. Example (34)b, can be used to describe a situation wherein the subject had the intention of going closer, but they never did more than think about it, as described in the first context. It is also compatible with a situation wherein the subject did start to move closer but then was interrupted. This is the *almost culminated* reading (i.e. the event non-completion reading). Thus, in the scope of *kilh*, the c-reflexive can obtain either the *almost started* or *almost culminated* readings.

The following are examples of the c-reflexive with the scope of negation test.

Scope of negation test: c-reflexives with *-sut*

- (35) a. **haw** k'-an i lixw-t-sut.
NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES lay-TR-CREFL
'I never got around to resting.'
Context: I was too busy.
Context: Just as I was sitting down, someone phoned me so I had to get up.
- b. **haw** k'-an i hil-it-sut.
NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES roll-TR-CREFL
'I'm not one for rolling.'

Example (35)a, obtains the *didn't start* reading wherein the subject did not even get a chance to try and rest, as in the first context. The second context describes the *didn't culminate* reading wherein the event started but never actually culminated. In (35)b, the c-reflexive has a reading wherein the subject never got around to even starting to roll since she was not in the habit of rolling in the first place. This, I argue, is an instance of the *didn't start* reading.

The following two tables provide a summary of our findings for the c-reflexive *-sut*.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-sut</i>	✓	✓

Table 45 C-reflexive (*-sut*) and the culmination entailment tests

(✗=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
	Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-sut</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 46 C-reflexive (*-sut*) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

The results of the first two tests, given in Table 45, show that predicates marked with the c-reflexive *-sut* allow for the event cancellation reading. This, I argue, shows that c-reflexives do not have culmination entailments. I conclude that c-reflexives are not associated with inherent final points. If they were, we would expect that the first two

tests would only pick out the final point. The results of the second two tests, summarized in Table 46, show that c-reflexives are compatible with both the event cancellation reading and the event non-completion reading. Again this shows that c-reflexives are not associated with inherent final points. If they did, these two tests should only allow for one reading, the event non-completion reading.

4.2 The limited control intransitives and culmination

In this section I present my results of the lc-unergative *-nalhn*, and the lc-reflexive *-numut* with Bar-el's four tests for inherent final points. I demonstrate that predicates with these intransitivizers **are** associated with culmination entailments and argue that they do have inherent final points.

4.2.1 The limited control unergative *-nalhn* and culmination

In this section I examine the lc-unergative. This construction was not described as such by Kuipers (1967:133, §187:40). He gives only two lexical items with this morpheme.²⁶

- (36) a. \underline{k} 'aw-alhn
paid-LCUE
'to be punished'
-

²⁶ Note, that the *-n* part of the lc-unergative *-nalhn* appears to get elided when the final consonant of the root is a *w*.

- b. k'aw-alhn-s
 paid-LCUE-CAUS
 'to punish (someone)'

In my own research I have found that it is still productive to a limited degree, and only for some speakers. For those speakers for whom it is productive, it is used less so than the lc-transitive or the lc-reflexive constructions. This made it difficult at times to collect data. The following are some of the data I was able to obtain.

Here are examples of lc-unergatives with the culmination cancellation test.

Culmination cancellation test: lc-unergatives with *-nalhn*

- (37) a. chen suxwt-**nálhn**, #welh es-kw'áy
 1S.SUB recognize-LCUE but STAT-cannot
 i) 'I recognized him, (#but I couldn't).'
 ii) *'I tried to recognize him, but I couldn't.'
- b. chen kw'ach-**nálhn**, #welh es-kw'áy
 1S.SUB look-LCUE but STAT-cannot
 i) 'I saw, (#but I couldn't).'
 ii) *'I tried to see him, but I couldn't.'

The cancellation of the event culmination results in a contradiction in both examples in (37). Furthermore, the lc-unergatives do not obtain the *tried to* interpretation, as the c-unergatives do with this test.

The next example is of the lc-unergative under the scope of *kilh* ('almost').

Scope of *kilh* ('almost') test: lc-unergative with *-nalhn*

(38) **kilh** chen i kwelash-**nalhn** ta s_xwi7shn.
almost 1S.SUB PRES shoot-LCUE DET deer

'I almost shot the deer.'

✓Context: I tried to shoot it but I missed it.

✗Context: I didn't even try to shoot anything.

The lc-unergative under the scope of *kilh* ('almost') obtains only the *almost culminated* (i.e. the event non-completion reading). That is, this sentence is only compatible with a context where I tried to shoot the deer. It does not obtain the *almost started* reading (i.e. the event cancellation reading), as can be seen on the basis of the fact that (38) is not compatible with the second context.

The following is an example of the lc-unergative under the scope of negation.

Scope of negation test: lc-unergative

(39) **haw** k'-an i kwelash-**nalhn** ta s_xwi7shn.
NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES shoot-LCUE DET deer

'I missed it.'

✓Context: I was trying to shoot the deer but I missed.

✗Context: I didn't even try to shoot it.

The lc-unergative under the scope of negation obtains only the *almost culminated* (i.e. the event non-completion reading). It does not obtain the *almost started* reading (i.e. the event cancellation reading). Thus (39) is only compatible with the first context but not the second context.

The following two tables summarize our findings for the lc-unergative.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-nalhn</i>	✗	✗

Table 47 Lc-unergative (*-nalhn*) and the culmination entailment tests

(✗=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
	Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-nalhn</i>	✗	✓	✗	✓

Table 48 Lc-unergative (*-nalhn*) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

The results of the first two tests, given in Table 47, show that lc-unergative (*-nalhn*) predicate does not allow for the event cancellation reading. This, I argue, shows that lc-unergatives do not have culmination entailments. The results of the second two tests, given in Table 48, show that lc-unergatives are only compatible with the event non-completion reading and they do not obtain the event cancellation reading. I argue that these results show that the lc-unergatives predicates **do** have inherent final points. If they did not, then we would expect that these two tests should allow for both readings as the c-unergative does.

4.2.2 The limited control reflexive *-numut* and culmination

In this section, I examine the lc-reflexive *-numut* with Bar-el's (2005) four tests for final points. The results of some of these tests at first appear to indicate that the lc-reflexives do not have final points. This contradicts our expectation for the lc-reflexives. I provide an account for the lc-reflexives wherein they do have culmination entailments and they do have final points.

The following examples are of lc-reflexives with the culmination cancellation test.

Culmination cancellation test: the lc-reflexive

- (40) a. na kwelash-**númut**-Ø #welh es-kw'áy
 RL shoot-LCREFL-3SUB but STAT-cannot
 i) 'He shot himself, (#but he couldn't).'
 ii) *'He tried to shoot himself, but he couldn't.'
- b. chen ts'its'áp'-**numut**, #welh es-kw'áy
 1S.SUB work-LCREFL but STAT-cannot
 i) 'I managed to work, (#but I couldn't).'
 ii) *'I tried to work, but I couldn't.'
- c. chen huy-númut, #welh haw k'-an i huy-nexw-Ø
 1S.SUB finish-LCREFL but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
 'I managed to finish, (#but I didn't finish it).'

As with the lc-transitives and lc-unergative, it is not possible to cancel the event culmination without inducing a contradiction. Furthermore, the lc-reflexives do not obtain the *tried to* interpretation, unlike the c-reflexives.

The following example is of the lc-reflexive with the event continuation test.

Event continuation test: the lc-reflexive

(41) chen ilhen-**númut**
1S.SUB eat-LCREFL
'I started eating,

✓i na7xw chen wa ilhen.
and RL-still 1S.SUB IMPF eat
and I'm still eating.'

Speaker's comment: I never got around to finishing.

The data in (41) appears to contradict our expectations about that the lc-reflexive predicate, as an lc-predicate. Other lc-predicates do not allow for a following sentence which indicates that its event continues, without inducing a contradiction. Because of those results, I have analyzed those other lc-predicates as having inherent final points. The lc-reflexive in (41), however, can be used in a context where the event continued. That is, the lc-reflexive does not appear to require event culmination. I now provide an account wherein these lc-reflexives still do have culmination entailments.

I propose that that the lack of culmination entailment is only apparent. In particular, I propose that the lc-reflexive (with an unergative root) encodes two events. The first event is an event of getting oneself to the point wherein one can start eating. For example, the agent overcame his nausea after being sick. The second event is an event of eating. A more literal translation that would help express this could be 'I *managed to get myself to the point* where I could start eating.' The reflexive event, some unnamed event in which the agent got himself to the point of being able to start eating, **is** the event that culminated. The clause with the continuation phrase in (41) is not a continuation of this first culminated event, but rather a continuation of the second event - the event of eating - which may or may not have culminated. The data in (41), taken this way, then, does not

contradict our expectations of the lc-reflexives as lc-predicates. The lc-reflexives do have culmination entailments.

This analysis predicts that unaccusatives should test differently than the unergatives with the lc-reflexive with the event continuation test. In Bar-el's (2005) analysis of unergatives, their only inherent point is a DO event, and the inherent point of an unaccusative is a BECOME event. In my analysis for (41), the culmination of the lc-reflexive, with the unergative root, is when the agent reaches the point where he can begin the eating event. I predict that unaccusative roots should not allow for an event continuation clause because its inherent point is its culmination. I leave this for future research.

One other feature of these lc-reflexives with unergative roots is the appearance of an overt DP for the theme/patient. For example, the above example in (41) could also have an overt DP as in (42).

- (42) chen ilhen-**númut** kwi sháwiḵ
1S.SUB eat-LCREFL DET carrot
'I ate the carrot.'
Speaker's comment: '(You ate) the whole thing.'

Although, I have not tested this, I predict that the presence of the overt DP in examples with the lc-reflexive with an unergative root will force a specific type of culmination reading. I predict that the culmination coincides, not with the starting point of the unergative as we saw in (41), but rather with the culmination of the eating of the carrot.

The following are examples of the lc-reflexive with the scope of negation test.

Scope of negation test: the lc-reflexive

- (43) a. **haw** k'-an i ts'its'ap'-**númut**.
NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES work-LCRELF
i) 'I didn't get a job.'
ii) 'I didn't manage to work.'
- b. **haw** k'-as i nam-**númut**.
NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES go-LCREFL
'(Somehow) he couldn't go.'

In both examples in (43), the lc-reflexives only appear to obtain the *did not start* reading. The first example (43)a has two translations. The first translation describes a situation where the agent *did not start* working because they could not even get a job. The second translation simply indicates that the agent was not able to overcome some impediment to starting to work. This is the reason why he did not work. Example (43)b indicates that the agent did not go because he was unable to go, for whatever reason. The lack of ability is what prevented him from starting to work.

That the lc-reflexives only obtain the *did not start* reading is unexpected from the viewpoint of other lc-predicates such as the lc-transitives and the lc-unergatives. Both of these other lc-predicates only obtained the *did not culminate* reading, and they did not obtain the *did not start* reading. My account for this unexpected behaviour is very similar to my account just presented for the behaviour of the lc-reflexive with the event continuation test. I propose that the lc-reflexive here also makes reference to two different events. In (43)a for the first translation, the first event was an event of looking for a job. This event actually took place and it is this event which *did not culminate* in the successful finding of a job. This is the reason for the agent not working. Thus we have a covert *did not culminate* reading with the lc-reflexive.

The second translation for (43)a, I argue also describes two events. The first event is the attempt at overcoming some impediment to starting to work (e.g. fatigue, laziness, distractions). But, the agent was not successful in overcoming this impediment. This lack of success is the reason for the agent not working. This, too, I argue is another instance of a covert *did not culminate* reading.

Example (43)b, I argue, also describes two events similarly to the second translation of (43)a. The first event is an attempt to overcome some unnamed impediment to going. The agent, though, was unsuccessful at overcoming this impediment. The result of this is that the agent did not go. Again, I argue, that that this represents a covert *almost culminated* reading. The agent started an event of trying to overcome the impediment but this event *did not culminate* in him overcoming the impediment.

The following two tables summarize our findings for the lc-reflexives.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-numut</i>	✘	✘

Table 49 Lc-reflexive (*-numut*) and the culmination entailment tests

(✘=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test		
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-numut</i>	--	--	✗	✓

Table 50 Lc-reflexive (*-numut*) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

The results of the first test, given in Table 47, show that lc-reflexive (*-numut*) predicate does not allow for the cancellation of its culmination without inducing a contradiction.

The second test showed that it is possible to add a sentence which says that its event continues without inducing a contradiction. I argued, though, that there is actually an event present which has culminated. This is the event leading up to where the agent got himself to the point where he is able to perform the activity described by the root. Thus I argue that both tests show that lc-reflexives have culmination entailments.

I do not have data for the third test. The results of the fourth test, though, at first appeared to contradict our expectations of lc-reflexives as lc-predicates. They only appear to obtain the *did not start* reading, an event cancellation reading. I provide a similar account to what I said for the event continuation test. I proposed that the lc-reflexive under the scope of negation describes two separate events. The first event describes an event wherein the agent started an event with the intention of getting to the point of starting the event described by the root. This first event is the event that started but *did not culminate*.

This, I argue, shows that lc-reflexives do have culmination entailments and they do have inherent final points, just like other lc-predicates.

4.3 Summary

The following two tables provide a summary of my findings using Bar-els' (2005) four tests for inherent final points, on four of the intransitivizers previously described by Jacobs (2007) as c- and lc-intransitivizers.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-im'</i>	✓	✓
<i>-sut</i>	✓	✓
<i>-nalhn</i>	✗	✗
<i>-numut</i>	✗	✗

Table 51 Intransitivizers and the culmination entailment tests

(✗=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
	Test 3 The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		Test 4 The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-im'</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>-sut</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>-nalhn</i>	✗	✓	✗	✓
<i>-numut</i>	✗	✓	✗	✓

Table 52 Intransitivizers and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

From these four tests I concluded that the two c-intransitivizers constructions do not have inherent final points and that the lc-intransitivizers do have inherent final points. This is summarized in the following Table 53.

		Culmination Entailments	Inherent final points
C-intransitives	<i>-im'</i>	✗	✗
	<i>-sut</i>	✗	✗
Lc-intransitives	<i>-nalhn</i>	✓	✓
	<i>-numut</i>	✓	✓

Table 53 Intransitivizers, culmination entailments and inherent final points

Besides not having culmination entailments, we noted that with the culmination cancellation test, c-intransitives can also occur with the *tried to* interpretation, just as the c-transitives can. The lc-predicates, though, do not have this interpretation.

			<i>tried to</i>
c-intransitives	c-unergative	<i>-im'</i>	✓
	c-reflexive	<i>-sut</i>	✓
lc-intransitives	lc-unergative	<i>-nalhn</i>	✗
	c-reflexive	<i>-numut</i>	✗

Table 54 C- and lc-intransitives and the *tried to* interpretation

5 Applicatives and culmination

In this section, I investigate whether or not predicates marked with applicatives require culmination. The four *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* applicatives are repeated in Table 55.

Form	Label
<i>-nit</i>	relational applicative (RELAPPL)
<i>-shit</i>	redirective applicative (REDAPPL)
<i>-min'</i>	causative applicative (CAUSAPPL)
<i>-ch'ewan'</i>	benefactive applicative (BENAPPL)

Table 55 Applicative transitivizers in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*

These four applicatives have not been described for *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* as having a particular CONTROL value. In this dissertation, I only examine these predicates with regards to culmination entailments and leave the matter of CONTROL interpretations for further research. I investigate the applicatives in this chapter, with regards to their culmination properties, in anticipation of my morphosyntactic analysis of CONTROL constructions. Recall that for the causative applicative and the benefactive applicative, that they are followed by *-t* when an object or subject suffix is present. I argue in Chapter 5, that applicative constructions and c-predicates share one thing morphologically in common, the element *-t*. I will argue that the presence of this *-t* correlates with predicates which lack culmination entailments.

I examine all four of the applicative constructions: *-nit*, *-shit*, *-min'* and *-ch'ewan'*. I use all four of Bar-el's tests for final points when it was possible to elicit the data. I do not have extensive data for the causative applicative *-min'* because of problems with

elicitation. It only appears with a few lexical items. Some examples recorded in Kuipers (1967), are not recognized by contemporary speakers. I argue that although the data is limited, its behaviour mirrors that of the c-predicates: applicative predicates do not have culmination entailments and they do not have inherent final points.

5.1 The relational applicative *-nit* and culmination

Consider first the behaviour of a predicate marked with the relational applicative *-nit* in the context of the culmination cancellation test a in (44).

Culmination cancellation test: applicative predicate with *-nit*

(44) a. na he-mi-**nit**-umulh-as ta mixalh,
 RL PROG-come-RELAPPL-1P.OBJ-3SUB DET bear
 ‘The bear was coming towards us,

i haw k’as i tl’ik
 and NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES arrive
 but didn’t reach us.’

b. chen tkwaya7n-**nit**-umi
 1S.SUB listen/hear-RELAPPL-2OBJ
 ‘I listened to you,

welh hawk n-s-tkwaya7n. an chexw s7alh
 but none 1S.POS-NOM-listen/hear very 2S.SUB quiet
 but I didn’t hear a thing. You were too quiet.’

In (44)a, the event of the bear coming towards us does not have to culminate in the bear actually reaching us. In (44)b, the event of listening does not have to culminate in actually hearing anything that you say since you were speaking too quietly. A problem

with testing the predicate *tkwáya7n* in this example is that all that might be necessary for it to culminate is an act of listening. That is, actually hearing what one is listening to may not be a requirement for culmination. This is at least a problem with the pair of predicates ‘listen’ and ‘hear’ in English. But at least these data suggest that the relational applicative predicates do not have culmination entailments.

The next examples are with relational applicative predicates with the event continuation test.

Event continuation test: applicative predicate with *-nit*

(45) a. na he-mi-**ni-t**-umulh-as ta miḵalh,
 RL RE-come-RELAPPL-TR-1P.OBJ-3SUB DET bear
 ‘The bear’s coming closer to us,

i na7xw wa heḿi
 and RL-still IMPF come
 and it’s coming (even) closer.’

b. chen tkwaya7n-**nit**-umi
 1S.SUB listen/hear-RELAPPL-2OBJ
 ‘I listened to you,

i na7xw chen wa tkwáya7n
 and RL-still 1s.sub IMPF listen
 and I’m still listening.

In (45)a it is felicitous to indicate that the event of the bear coming this way can still continue. That is, the bear has not reached us yet. In (45)b it is felicitous to indicate that the event of listening may still be continuing. What is not clear from this example is whether we have two events of listening or just one. That is, does this sentence mean something like ‘I listened to you (before), and I’m still listening to you (now).’ These

data are suggestive that the relational applicative predicates do not have culmination entailments.

The following shows the relational applicative predicate with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test.

Scope of *kilh* ('almost') test: applicative predicate with *-nit*

- (46) **kilh** na he-mi-**nit**-umulh-as ta miḵalh.
almost RL RE-come-RELAPPL-1P.OBJ-3SUB DET bear
'The bear almost reached us. It came to us, but it didn't reach us.'

In (46) the scope of *kilh* ('almost') obtains the *almost culminated* reading (i.e. a event non-completion reading). This is the reading where the event begins, but does not culminate in the bear reaching us. I did not find the *almost started* reading (i.e. an event cancellation reading) wherein no event of the bear coming towards us happened at all. This needs to be checked. As we have seen in §3 and §4, this test is not always reliable in testing for a predicate's inherent points.

The following example shows the relational applicative predicate with the scope of negation test.

Scope of negation test: applicative predicate with *-nit*

- (47) **haw** k'as i he-mi-**nit**-umulh-as ta miḵalh.
NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES RE-come-RELAPPL-1P.OBJ-3SUB DET bear
'The bear didn't come towards us. It went the other way. It didn't come at us at all.'

In (47) in the scope of negation, the relational applicative predicate obtains the event *did not start* reading (i.e. an event cancellation reading). I did not find the *did not culminate* reading here.

I provide a summary of our finds with the relational applicative *-nit* with Bar-el's (2005) tests for final points, and then provide some discussion.

	Test 1 Culmination Cancellation Test	Test 2 Event Continuation Test
<i>-nit</i>	✓	✓

Table 56 The relational applicative (*-nit*) and the culmination entailment tests

(✗=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
	The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-nit</i>	--	✓	✓	--

Table 57 The relational applicative (*-nit*) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

Table 56 shows that for the relational applicative predicate, it is felicitous to deny its culmination without inducing a contradiction. It is also felicitous to indicate that the event of the relational applicative predicates continues, without inducing a contradiction.

I argue that these two test show that relational applicative predicates do not have culmination entailments.

The data in Table 57 is a bit more complicated. The scopal test with *kilh* ('almost') obtains the *almost culminated* reading (i.e. an event non-completion reading). In Bar-el's (2005) analysis, this should indicate that these predicates have inherent final points. But as we have seen elsewhere with the c-predicates, if a predicate has neither inherent initial or final points, then the predicate may obtain either reading with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test. The scope of negation test, though, obtains the *did not start* reading (i.e. an event cancellation reading). I argue that the availability of this reading shows that relational applicative predicates do not have inherent final points. I conclude that these tests indicate that relational applicative predicates do not have inherent final points.

5.2 The redirective applicative *-shit* and culmination

I present my findings for the applicative predicates with redirective applicative *-shit* first and then I will provide some discussion about these data.

The following examples show the behaviour of the redirective applicative predicates with the culmination cancellation test.

Culmination cancellation test: applicative predicate with *-shit*

(48) a. chen p'ayak-**shit**-úmi ta a tétxwem,
 1S.SUB repair-REDAPPL-2OBJ DET 2POS car
 'I've repaired your car,

welh haw k'-an i húy-nexw-Ø.
 but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
 but I didn't finish it.'

Context: I only did some but not all of the repairs.

- b. chen nám-**shit**-Ø t-en siyáy (t)-t-en tétxwem,
 1S.SUB go-REDAPPL-3OBJ DET-1S.POS OBL-DET-1S.POS car
 ‘I was going to lend my car (to my friend),

welh es-kw’áy.

but STAT-cannot

but I couldn’t.’

Speaker’s comment: ‘The car still needs repairs.’

- c. chen nám-**shit**-Ø t-en siyáy (t)-t-en tetxwem,
 1S.SUB go-REDAPPL-3OBJ DET-1S.POS OBL-DET-1S.POS car
 ‘I was going to drive my car to my friends,

welh haw k’an i tsixw.

BUT NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES arrive

but I didn’t make it.’

Context: I decided not to.

Context: I was going there and then it broke down.

In (48)a, it is possible to deny the culmination of the redirective applicative predicate without inducing a contradiction. The car does not have to be completely fixed. In (48)b, the predicate *nám-shit* besides meaning ‘to lend’ can also mean ‘to take/bring to (someone)’. It is possible to deny that the event culminates without inducing a contradiction. The described event indicates that there was only an intention to lend the car. Likewise, as in (48)c, the same predicate *nám-shit* can be used in a context where only an intention to lend happened (as indicated by the second context), and this is the reason for not arriving at the friend’s place. But, this predicate can also be used in a context where the event of taking the car had started but it did not culminate because the car broke down half way there (as indicate in context one). These data show that the redirective applicative predicates do not have culmination entailments.

The following example shows the redirecive applicative predicate with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test.

The scope of *kilh* ('almost') test: applicative predicate with *-shit*

(49) **kilh** chen i nám-**shit**-Ø
 almost 1S.SUB PRES go-REDAPPL-3OBJ

t-en siyáy (t)-t-en tétxwem.
 DET-1S.POS friend OBL-DET-1S.POS car

'I was thinking of driving my car to my friends.'

Context: I only thought about it and that's as far as I got.

Context: I got it part way and then the car died.

In (49) the scope of *kilh* ('almost') obtains the *almost started* reading (i.e. an event cancellation reading). This is the first context where all that happened was an intention to bring the car to the friend's place. But it can also obtain the *almost culminated* reading (i.e. the event non-completion reading). This is the second context, where the car was brought half way to the friend's place and then it broke down. Again these data show the unreliability of the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test with regards to inherent points.

The next example is of the redirecive applicative predicate with the scope of negation test.

The scope of negation test: applicative predicates with *-shit*

(50) **haw** k'an i nám-**shit**-Ø
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES go-REDAPPL-3OBJ

t-en siyáy (t)-t-en tétxwem.
 DET-1S.POS friend OBL-DET-1S.POS car

'I couldn't make it to my friends place (to bring them my car).'

In (50), the scope of negation test with the redirective applicative predicate obtains the event *did not start* reading (i.e. the event cancellation reading). I have not checked for the event non-completion reading.

I provide a summary of our findings with the redirective applicative predicates, formed with *-shit* and Bar-el's four tests for final points, and then provide some discussion.

	Culmination Cancellation Test	Event Continuation Test
<i>-shit</i>	✓	--

Table 58 The redirective applicative (*-shit*) and the culmination entailment tests

(✗=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

	Readings induced by scope tests			
	The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		The Scope of Negation Test	
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-shit</i>	✓	✓	✓	--

Table 59 The redirective applicative (*-shit*) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

Table 58 shows that for the redirective applicative predicate with *-shit*, it is felicitous to deny its cancellation without inducing a contradiction. I conclude that redirective applicative predicates do not have culmination entailments. I do not have any data with the event continuation test.

The scope of *kilh* ('almost') test as indicate in Table 59 is a bit more complicated. The redirective applicative predicate obtains both the *almost started* and the *almost*

culminated reading, just as it did with the relational applicative predicates. I take these results as evidence that the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test does not only pick out inherent points. The negation test obtains the *did not start* reading (i.e. the event cancellation reading). I conclude, from these data, that the redirective applicative predicates do not have inherent final points.

5.3 The causative applicative *-min'* and culmination

I present my findings for the applicative predicates with the causative applicative *-min'* first and then I will provide some discussion about these data.

The following example has the causative applicative predicate with the culmination cancellation test.

Culmination cancellation test: applicative predicate with *-min'*

(51) *chen ch'íwi7-min'-t-umi,*
 1S.SUB fed.up-CAUSAPPL-TR-2OBJ
 'I got tired of you,

welh haw k'an i húy-nexw-Ø
 but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ
 and I'm not done (being tired of you).'

It is not clear what is being tested here, since it is not clear what the culmination of an event of getting tired/fed up with someone is. But if culmination requires finishing, then we can at least say here that the causative applicative predicate does not require that its event has finished without inducing a contradiction.

The next example has the causative applicative with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test.

The scope of *kilh* ('almost'): applicative predicate with *-min'*

(52) **kilh** chen i ch'iwɪ7-**min'**-[]-Ø kwen ska7k
 almost 1S.SUB PRES bored-CAUSAPPL-TR-3OBJ DET younger.brother
 'I was almost bored with my brother.'

It is not clear which reading is obtained with this test. It appears to be getting the *almost culminated* reading. I argue here, as I did with the other instances of this test we have seen, that it is not accurate with regards to picking out inherent points.

The next example has the causative applicative predicate with the scope of negation test.

The scope of negation test: applicative predicate with *-min'*

(53) **haw** k'an i ch'iwɪ7-**min'**-[]-Ø kwen ska7k
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES bored-CAUSAPPL-TR-3OBJ DET younger.brother
 I didn't get bored with him (my younger brother), (I continued talking with him).'

The scope of negation test, with the causative applicative predicate, obtains the *did not start* reading. The negation cancels the initial part of this event - the point of **getting** bored. I argue that this test at least shows that the causative applicative predicates do not have inherent final points.

The following tables summarize our findings for the causative applicative predicates.

	Culmination Cancellation Test	Event Continuation Test
<i>-min'</i>	✓	--

Table 60 The causative applicative (*-min'*) and the culmination entailment tests

(✗=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		The Scope of Negation Test		
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-min'</i>	--	✓	✓	--

Table 61 The causative applicative (*-min'*) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

The results of the first test show that causative applicative predicates do not have to finish. With the particular predicate used in this example there are problems in defining what a culminated event would look like. I argued that the fact that the event does not have to finish is consistent with a predicate that does not have culmination entailments. The results of the scope of *kilh* ('almost') are ambiguous, as I have argued they are with other types of predicates. The scope of negation test shows that these causative applicative predicates do not have inherent final points. I conclude that the causative applicative predicates do not have inherent final points.

5.4 The benefactive applicative *-ch'ewan'* and culmination

I present my findings for the applicative predicates with benefactive applicative *-ch'ewan'* first and then I will provide some discussion about these data.

The following examples have the benefactive applicative predicate with the culmination cancellation test.

Culmination cancellation test: applicative predicate with *-ch'ewán'*

(54) a. na lulum-**ch'ewán'-t**-umulh-as ta Ha7lh Skwayl Slulum.
RL sing-BENAPPL-TR-1P.OBJ-3SUB DET good day song
'They (the children) tried to help us sing (the Good Day Song),

welh eskw'ay

but STAT-cannot

but they couldn't do it. '

Speaker's comment: 'They weren't familiar with the song.'

b. chen kw'enmaylh-**ch'ewán'-t**-umi-yap ta Ha7lh Mali,
1S.SUB pray-BENAPPL-TR-2OBJ-2PL DET good Mary
'I was going to say the Hail Mary for you,

welh chen may-nexw-Ø

but 1S.SUB forget-LCTR-3OBJ

but I forgot the prayer.'

In example (54)a the children never sang the song that they were going to help to sing.

They only *tried to* help with singing it. In (54)b, the culmination of the event - the saying of the prayer - never actually took place, and thus the event never culminated. Both examples show that it is possible to deny the culmination of the benefactive applicative predicates without inducing a contradiction.

The next examples are with benefactive applicative predicates with the event continuation test.

Event continuation test: applicative predicate with *-ch'ewán'*

(55) chen kw'enmaylh-**ch'ewán'-t**-umi ta Ha7lh Mali,
1S.SUB pray-BENAPPL-TR-2S.OBJ DET good Mary
'I'm saying the Hail Mary for you,

i na7-xw chen wa kw'enmaylh.

and RL-still 1S.SUB IMPF pray

but I'm still praying.'

In (55) it is felicitous to indicate that the event of praying the Hail Mary is still continuing without inducing a contradiction.

The following example is the scope of *kilh* ('almost') with the benefactive applicative predicate.

Scope of *kilh* ('almost'): applicative predicate with *-ch'ewan'*

(56) **kilh** chen lulum-**ch'ewan-t**-umi ta ha7lh skwayl slulum,
 almost 1S.SUB sing-BENAPPL-TR-2S.OBJ DET good day song
 'I was going to sing to you (the Good Day Song),

welh es-kw'ay. chen es-7i7xi. chen may-nexw-Ø
 but STAT-cannot 1S.SUB STAT-shy 1S.SUB forget-LCTR-3OBJ
 but I couldn't make it (because) I was shy (or because) I forgot it.'

The scope of *kilh* ('almost') obtains the *almost started* reading (i.e. an event cancellation reading). This is the reading where the event does not begin.

The following tables summarize our findings for the benefactive applicative (*-ch'ewan'*) and Bar-el's (2005) tests for inherent final points.

	Culmination Cancellation Test	Event Continuation Test
<i>-ch'ewan'</i>	✓	✓

Table 62 The benefactive applicative (*-ch'ewan'*) and the culmination entailment tests

(**x**=infelicitous; ✓=felicitous; -- data not yet tested)

Readings induced by scope tests				
The Scope of <i>kilh</i> ('almost') Test		The Scope of Negation Test		
	Event Cancellation (= almost started)	Event Non-completion (=almost culminated)	Event Cancellation (=did not start)	Event Non-completion (= did not culminate)
<i>-ch'ewān'</i>	✓	--	--	--

Table 63 The benefactive applicative (*-ch'ewān'*) and the scopal tests

(✗=not obtained; ✓=obtained; -- data not yet tested)

As shown in Table 62 it is possible to deny the culmination of the benefactive applicative predicate without inducing a contradiction. This shows that these predicates do not have culmination entailments. I do not have any examples of the event continuation test.

In Table 63 the results of the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test is consistent with a predicate that lacks inherent final points (although as I have already argued, this test is not always reliable for picking out inherent points). I do not have any examples of the scope of negation test.

I conclude from these findings that benefactive applicative predicates do not have inherent final points.

6 Culmination implicatures

Thus far I have shown that c-predicates do not entail culmination. However, as I now show, c-predicates are still compatible with event culmination, a property first described for c-transitives in Skw̄xwu7mesh by Bar-el et al. (2005) and Bar-el (2005) (Bar-el et al. 2005 also show this for c-transitives in Lillooet). Both studies show that in out-of-the-blue contexts c-transitives are most naturally interpreted as referring to a culminating

event. To put it another way, c-predicates in out-of-the-blue contexts imply that the event culminated. That is, c-predicates have *culmination implicatures*. Both Bar-el et al. (2005) and Bar-el (2005) provide a modal analysis to derive this implicature. I examine their analysis in Chapter 5, §5.3, after providing my own analysis in Chapters 4 and 5. In this section, I demonstrate that most, but not all, c-predicates in out-of-the-blue contexts have culmination implicatures. The data I draw on primarily is taken from Bar-el (2005) and Bar-el et al. (2005). I also include data from my own field work.

Bar-el et al. (2005) note that in out-of-the-blue contexts, and without any explicit denial of culmination, accomplishment c-predicates in the perfective aspect are normally translated in the past tense and involve culmination. I present data for each of the c-transitives here. Since neither Bar-el et al. (2005) nor Bar-el (2005) have examples of a c-predicate with *-Vt* nor with the causative *-s*, I provide data from my own field work. They confirm the conclusion that *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* c-predicates are compatible with culmination and even imply culmination in out-of-the-blue contexts.

Consider the following examples with the *-t* transitivizer (57), with the *-Vt* transitivizer (58), with the *-Vn* transitivizer (59) and with the causative transitivizer *-s* (60).

Out-of-the-blue context with the *-t* transitivizer

(57) na xel-t-Ø-as ta sḵweḵwiḵám lha Mary
 RL write-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET story DET Mary

‘Mary wrote a story.’

Speaker’s comments: ‘She wrote it ...she’s finished.’

(Bar-el et al 2005:6a)

Out-of-the-blue context with the *-Vt* transitivizer

(58) a. chen lhích'-it-∅ ta seplín
1S.SUB cut-TR-3OBJ DET bread
'I cut the bread.'

b. a-stl'í7 u
2POS-want POL
'Do you want some?'

Out-of-the-blue context with the *-Vn* transitivizer

(59) chen p'áyak-en-[]-∅ ta tétxwem
1S.SUB fix-TR-TR-3OBJ DET car
'I fixed the car.'

Speaker's comments: 'You already fixed it.'
(Bar-el et al 2005:6b)

Out-of-the-blue context with the *-s* transitivizer

(60) chen tá7-s-[]-∅ ta sitn
1S.SUB do-caus-TR-3OBJ DET basket
'I made a basket.'

Speaker's comments: 'Chen melh húynexw ('Yes, I finished it').'

In all cases, c-predicates in out-of-the-blue contexts, without any denial of culmination, are translated in the past and are interpreted as reaching culmination. In examples (57), (59) and (60) the speaker indicates that the event is finished as intended. In (58) the speaker assumes that the bread has been cut and thus it is ok to question if someone wants some of this bread.

The same facts obtain with the c-reflexive. The data presented here is from my own field work. Since the c-reflexive can occur with any of the c-transitivizers *-t*, *-Vt* or *-Vn*, I present data with each transitivizer plus reflexive.

Out-of-the-blue context with *-t* and c-reflexive

- (61) na kwélash-**t-sut**-Ø
RL shoot-TR-CREFL-3SUB
'He shot himself.'
Speaker's comment: 'He killed himself.'

Out-of-the-blue context with *-Vt* and c-reflexive

- (62) a. chen ch'áw-**at-sut**
1S.SUB help-TR-CREFL
'I helped myself.'
Speaker's comment: 'You were successful.'
- b. chen kw'lh-**at-sut**
1S.SUB spill-TR-CREFL
'(I was riding my canoe and) I tipped over (lit. I had a spill).'
Interviewer: 'It happened?'
Speaker: 'Yes. It really happened.'

Out-of-the-blue context with the *-Vn* and c-reflexive

- (63) chen kwáy-**an-t-sut**
1S.SUB hide-TR-TR-CREFL
'I hid myself.'
Speaker's comment: 'You're hiding behind the house right now.'

The c-reflexives in (61), (62) and (63) are all translated in the past, regardless of the c-transitivizer they are based on. In an out-of-the-blue context, the c-reflexive with *-t* in (61) indicates that the subject killed himself by shooting himself. In an out-of-the-blue context, in (62)a, the c-reflexive with *-Vt*, the subject was successful in helping herself. In an out-of-the-blue context, in (62)b, the c-reflexive with *-Vt* obtains a reading wherein the canoe actually tipped over. In (63), in an out-of-the-blue context, the subject was successful in hiding himself. I conclude that c-reflexives (just like c-transitives) are associated with culmination implicatures.

C-transitives and c-reflexives (which are based on c-transitives) differ, however, from the c-unergatives with regards to culmination implicatures. The latter are often not

translated in the past tense and are often not translated with culmination. Bar-el et al. (2005) and Bar-el (2005) examine the translations of activity predicates in out-of-the-blue contexts, but they do not examine c-unergative predicates. I provide some examples here of the c-unergative from my own database.

Out of the blue context with the c-unergative

- (64) a. chen tselkw'-**ím**
 1S.SUB kick-CUE
 i) 'I kick'
 ii) 'I am kicking.'
- b. na kw'sh-ím-wit (t)ta tála
 RL count-CUE-PL OBL-DET money
 i) 'They're counting their money.'
 ii) 'They counted their money.'
- c. na sát-**ím**-Ø
 RL hand.out-CUE-3SUB
 'He was paying.'
- d. chen yúlh-**ím**
 1S.SUB burn-CUE
 'I did a burning, I made a fire.'
- e. chen tah-**ím** t-kwi lám
 1S.SUB make-CUE OBL-DET house
 'I'm making a house.'
- f. chen tah-**ím** t-ta lám
 1S.SUB make-CUE OBL-DET house
 'I built a house.'
- g. chen p'áts'-**ím** (t)-ta swita
 1S.SUB sew-CUE OBL-DET sweater
 'I knit a sweater.'

In examples (64)a-c of the c-unergative, the event can be interpreted as ongoing, in the present tense (64)a,b,e or in the past tense (64)b-d. It can have an habitual reading, as in

translation (i) for (64)a. Without an overt oblique DP for the patient, the patient is translated as non-specific in (64)d. With an overt DP (64)e with the non-deictic determiner *kwi*, the event is translated in the present tense without culmination, but with an overt DP with the deictic determiner *ta*, the event is translated in the past tense and with an apparent event culmination interpretation.²⁷ From this set of meanings of c-predicates with the c-unergative, I conclude that they do not imply culmination, although they are not incompatible with culmination. I will thus describe them as unspecified for culmination.

In this section I showed that c-transitives and c-reflexives have culmination implicatures in out-of-the-blue contexts. In contrast, I showed that c-unergatives do not have culmination implicatures in out-of-the-blue contexts. This is summarized in the table below.

²⁷ The implicature or lack of implicature that the event is completed may actually be coming not from the predicate but from the determiner. The non-deictic determiner *kwi* could be said to be blocking any implicature of event culmination or the deictic determiner *ta* could be said to be giving rise to this implicature. This requires further research (Thank you to Carrie Gillon for discussion on the possible role of the determiners).

	Culmination implicature
c-transitives: - <i>t</i> c-transitivizer - <i>Vt</i> c-transitivizer - <i>Vn</i> c-transitivizer - <i>s</i> causative transitivizer	✓
C-intransitive: - <i>sut</i> c-reflexive	
C-intransitive - <i>im'</i> c-unergative	✗

Table 64 C-predicates and culmination implicatures

7 Summary

In this chapter, we have seen that there is a strict correspondence between culmination and the morphological marking for CONTROL in Słkwxwu7mesh. Using Bar-el's (2005) four tests for inherent final points, we have found for all the lc-predicates I have investigated that they have culmination entailments. This includes the lc-transitivizer *-nexw*, the lc-unergative *-nalhn* and the lc-reflexive *-numut*. In contrast, these same tests have shown that none of the c-transitivizers or intransitivizers that I investigated have culmination entailments. My results with the scope of *kilh* ('almost') were more variable than Bar-el's (2005) finding, and I concluded that it is a less reliable test for inherent points. I also tested the four applicative predicates with these same four tests and found that none of them have culmination entailments. In the final section, however, I showed that all of c-predicates are still compatible with event culmination, i.e., they do not encode non-culmination. In fact, in out-of-the-blue contexts they are normally considered to encode culmination. The c-unergative has more variable behaviour with

regards to culmination. I concluded from this that they do not have culmination entailments nor do they have culmination implicatures. These findings for this chapter are summarized in Table 65. Note that if a predicate already has culmination entailments, it cannot have culmination implicatures also.

		Culmination	
		Entailment	Implicature
Core transitives	<i>-t</i>	✗	✓
	<i>-Vt</i>	✗	✓
	<i>-Vn</i>	✗	✓
	<i>-s</i>	✗	✓
	<i>-nexw</i>	✓	
Applicatives	<i>-nit</i>	✗	--
	<i>-shit</i>	✗	--
	<i>-miṅ</i>	✗	--
	<i>-ch'ewan'</i>	✗	--
Intransitives	<i>-im'</i>	✗	✗
	<i>-sut</i>	✗	✓
	<i>-nalhn</i>	✓	
	<i>-numut</i>	✓	

Table 65 Summary of culmination entailments and implicatures

We now have a partial answer to the question regarding the semantic-morphology mapping: lc-predicates require culmination, c-predicates are compatible with but do not require culmination and finally c-unergatives do not have a culmination implicature.

The fact that transitive c-predicates do not require culmination is remarkable from the point of view of English. As Bar-el (2005) notes, these predicates are akin to accomplishment predicates in English; but in English, event culmination with accomplishments in the perfective is required. Consequently, Bar-el (2005) argues that

the class of accomplishments differs cross-linguistically as to whether or not they contain a final point. Moreover, Kiyota (2008:82) argues that lc-transitives in Saanich, which do require culmination, are transitive achievements. Kiyota, assuming Davis' (1997) Deep Unaccusativity Hypothesis, proposes that the function of the lc-transitivizer is simply to take an intransitive achievement and add an overt agent. Even more recently, Turner (2010) has shown, that c- and lc-reflexives in Saanich pattern like c- and lc-transitives. The c-reflexives have culmination implicatures but the lc-reflexives have culmination entailments.

Non-culminating accomplishments have been observed to exist in a variety of languages. For instance, Kothari (2008) demonstrates this for Hindi. In the following example, it is felicitous to deny the culmination of the event of the Hindi predicate *khaa* 'to eat' in the perfective aspect, without inducing a contradiction.

- (65) maayaa-ne apnaa sandwich **khaa-yaa**
 Maya-ERG her sandwich eat-PERF
 'Maya ate her sandwich,'
- par use khatam nahiin ki-yaa
 but it-ACC finish not do-PERF
 'but did not finish it.'

Other researchers have described non-culminating accomplishments for many other unrelated languages such as Koenig and Muansuwan (2000) for Thai, Ritter and Rosen (2000) for Central Pomo, Dyirbal, Icelandic, Irish, Southern Tiwa, Lakhota, and in some instances in Japanese, Smith (1997) for Chinese and Travis (2010) for Malagasy.

While exploring the culmination properties of c- and lc-predicates, we also noted that c-predicates, with the culmination cancellation test, obtain what I have described as the *tried to* interpretation. This interpretation is obtained even though the predicate *t'a7tsut* 'to try' is not present. In contrast, lc-predicate do not obtain this *tried to* interpretation. These findings are summarized in Table 66 following.

			<i>tried to</i>
c-intransitives	c-unergative	<i>-im'</i>	✓
	c-reflexive	<i>-sut</i>	✓
lc-intransitives	lc-unergative	<i>-nalhn</i>	✗
	c-reflexive	<i>-numut</i>	✗

Table 66 C- and lc-intransitives and the *tried to* interpretation

I argue now that there is another way to think about the connection between CONTROL-marking, culmination and the *tried to* interpretation. According to Ritter and Rosen (2000), languages divide into delimiting languages (D-languages) and initiating languages (I-languages). D-languages are characterized by accomplishments patterning with achievements: they require culmination. Accordingly, Chinese, English, Finnish and Haitian Creole belong to the class of D-languages. In contrast, I-languages are characterized by accomplishments patterning with activities: they do not require culmination. Accordingly, Icelandic, Irish and Japanese belong to the class of I-languages. Ritter and Rosen's (2000) D- and I-languages are summarized in Table 67. The shaded cells indicate predicate types that have culmination entailments. The clear cells indicate predicate-types that do not have culmination entailments.

	Activities (run, sing, walk)	Accomplishments (build a house, fix a car)	Achievements (arrive, win a race)
I-languages (Icelandic, Irish, Japanese)			
D-languages (English, Finnish, Haitian Creole, Chinese)			

Table 67 I-languages and D-languages (Ritter and Rosen 2000)

S_kw_xwu₇mesh presents an interesting case in that it is a language where both patterns are observed. As far as culmination entailments are concerned, c-predicates pattern with accomplishments in I-languages and could thus be characterized as (minimally) initiating predicates, or I-predicates. We find the clearest evidence for this, I argue, with the *tried to* interpretation that occurs with c-predicates with the culmination cancellation test. This is shown in Table 68 with the clear cells. In contrast, lc-predicates pattern with achievements in that they have culmination entailments, and thus could be characterized as delimiting predicates (or D-predicates). This is shown in with the shaded cells in Table 68.

	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
I-language		C-predicates	
D-language		Lc-predicates	

Table 68 I-languages and D-language behaviour in S_kw_xwu₇mesh

An important point to make here is that I am not conflating initiating predicates with predicates that have inherent initial points. Bar-el's (2005) examination of accomplishments and inherent initial points already requires us to make such a distinction. Take for example, one of Bar-el's tests (2005:140) for initial points - the "readings induced by punctual/adverbials test". She uses this test to see what reading(s) can occur with a predicate when a punctual temporal phrase is present. The assumption in this test is that if a predicate has an inherent point, then this punctual temporal phrase will pick out that point. Thus the punctual temporal phrase and the predicate's inherent initial point will coincide. For accomplishments, Bar-el found that they are quite variable regarding which subevent (i.e. initial, mid or final subevent) the punctual temporal phrase picked out.

In the following example adapted from Bar-el (2005), the punctual temporal phrase *na7 tkwi áñusk* 'at two o'clock' may coincide with the inception of the c-predicate event, that is, with the starting point of the writing of the story, the mid point of the event of writing the story, or the final point of the event of writing the story, that is, when the story is finished being written.

(66) na xél-t-Ø-as ta s̄wex̄wiyám̄ kwa John
 RL write-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET story DET John

na7 t-kwi áñus-k
 at OBL-DET two-o'clock
 'John wrote the story at two o'clock.'

Context: Inceptive; he started writing at two o'clock.

Context: Medial; he was in the midst of writing at two o'clock.

Context: Final; he finished the story at two o'clock.

(Bar-el 2005:163, ex.46)

Since the punctual temporal phrase does not consistently pick out any one subevent, Bar-el concludes that c-transitives do not have inherent initial points, and argues that it also provides supporting evidence for her proposal that they do not have inherent final points. If they had either inherent initial or final points, then the punctual temporal phrase should pick out this point.

Take the medial reading in (66). It indicates an event has been initiated but not yet finished. Even though the predicate is used to describe an initiated event, this does not force an alignment of the punctual temporal phrase with this initiation point. The temporal phrase may, in fact, still align with the medial part of the event. As per Bar-el (2005), I argue that this shows that event initiation and inherent initial points are not the same thing. A c-predicate can be used to describe an event which has been initiated but this does not mean that they have inherent initial points. Likewise, a c-predicate can describe an event which has culminated, but this also does not mean that they have inherent final points.

A possible reason why c-predicates indicate event initiation is as follows. When a c-predicate indicates that its event has taken place (i.e. the c-predicate is in the past-perfective), then the minimal requirement for that to be true is that the agent initiated that event. Therefore, when the process and the culmination of the event are denied, all that is left to assert is the initiation of the event. In Chapter 5, §6.3, I return to the issue of how predicate classes are constructed in *Sḵwḵw7mesh* and compare Bar-el's (2005) account to mine with regards to predicates with inherent initial points versus initiating predicates.

As for the notion of CONTROL, if c-predicates are I-predicates and lc-predicates are D-predicates, the question is raised as to how event initiation and event culmination relate

to this notion of CONTROL? What determines whether or not c- and lc-marking is associated with a difference in the degree of control the agent has over the event? This is the question I take on in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 - The context of use of CONTROL

1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to investigate the context of use for c- and lc-predicates. We have seen in the last chapter that Skwxwu7mesh has a productive contrast between predicates that entail culmination and those that do not, that is, our lc- and c-predicates, respectively. We also saw that c-predicates, with the culmination cancellation test, can occur with the *tried to* interpretation, but lc-predicates cannot. At the end of Chapter 3, I further proposed that another way to look at c- and lc-predicates is as initiating predicates (I-predicates) and delimiting predicates (D-predicates), respectively, following Ritter and Rosen's (2000) language typology. An initiating-predicate, I proposed, minimally requires event initiation but event culmination is not required. Similarly, I assumed that delimiting-predicates minimally require event culmination, i.e., that the end of the event is, in fact, demarcated by its natural endpoint. In (1)a, I informally represent c-predicates. The event is initiated (**ie**=initiating event) but nothing is said explicitly about the nature of the end of the event: it may be reaching its natural endpoint but it need not. This is indicated by the absence of **fe** (**f**inal **e**vent) at the right edge of the event.

- (1) a. c-predicates = initiating predicates²⁸
 [**ie** -----]event
- b. lc-predicates = delimiting predicates
 [-----**fe**]event

I informally represent lc-predicates as in (1)b. The event culminates. This is indicated by the presence of **fe**. Nothing, however, is said explicitly about the nature of the beginning of the event. This is indicated by the absence of **ie** at the left edge of the event.

In this chapter I argue that the so-called control and limited control interpretations emerge because of this contrast, but are not directly encoded by any morpheme in the c- and lc-predicates themselves. That is, CONTROL-interpretations do not arise because they are part of the lexical entry of any of the (in)transitivizing suffixes. Rather, I argue, they arise via an interaction of the linguistic context (I- or D-predicate) and the discourse context. I call the combination of these two contexts – the context of use. In particular, c-predicates, since they only demarcate the initiation of the event, can be used in contexts where the natural endpoint of the event is not reached. Conversely, lc-predicates, since they only demarcate that there is a final event, but say nothing about how this final event comes about, can be used in contexts where the natural endpoint comes about in unusual ways.

²⁸ I take this representation to be informal in nature, not to be confused with the formal representation of Bar-el (2005). Bar-el argues that initial points are not represented in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* accomplishments (my c-predicates). I will have to leave the formal implementation of the generalization in (1) for another occasion.

As a point of departure, I start with an overview of the literature on the meanings associated with limited-control (§2). I then show which of these meanings are obtained by Skwxw7mesh lc-predicates (§3). Finally I show how these meanings are derived under the present proposal (§4).

2 Background

In this section I provide the background on the control interpretations that may be associated with c- and lc-predicates. In the literature on CONTROL, the discussion is mainly in terms of the *readings* associated with CONTROL. On my analysis, however, these meanings are not encoded in the predicates. Instead, the semantic contrast is that between an initiating and a delimiting predicate. All other meanings are not directly encoded in the predicates themselves. Rather, they reflect the context of use for these predicates.²⁹ Some contexts of use associated with a given predicate are somewhat unexpected from the point of view of English, a purely delimiting language. As a consequence, translations will sometimes reflect this discrepancy between Skwxw7mesh and English predicates.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Thompson (1979) is the first to identify CONTROL as the relevant contrast that divides Salish predicates into two classes. Since then, other

²⁹ A similar distinction is made in Davis, Matthewson, and Rullmann 2009. They refer to meaning-components that are directly encoded as “readings” whereas meaning-components which arise via inferences are referred to as “interpretations”. On the present view, “reading” corresponds to the core meaning of a predicate and “interpretation” corresponds to the context of use.

researchers such as Demirdache (1997), Davis and Demirdache (2000) and Davis, Matthewson and Rullman (2009) have further refined our understanding of the interpretation of the non-control construction in Lillooet. Note that Lillooet differs from $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$ in its morphological make-up. While both control and limited control marking are tied to the system of morphological transitivizers and intransitivizers in $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$, in Lillooet control marking is associated with transitive marking while non-control is associated variously. In Lillooet, as in $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$, a c-predicate can be derived from an intransitive root by a transitivizer *-Vn* (cognate to the $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$ transitivizer *-Vn*). Compare the unaccusative root in (2)a with the same root transitivized with the *-Vn* transitivizer in (2)b.

Lillooet

- (2) a. $k'ác$ ti $s-ts'wán-a$
 dry DET NOM-salmon-EXIS
 ‘The salmon dried, the salmon is dry’
 (Demirdache 1997:ex. 1a)
- b. $k'ác-an'$ -as ti $s-ts'wán-a$ $s-Bucky$
 dry-*DIR-3ERG* DET NOM-salmon-EXIS NOM-Bucky
 ‘Bucky dried the salmon.’
 (Demirdache 1997:ex.52)

Non-control interpretations can be associated with a dedicated circumfix *ka- -a*, the ‘circumstantial modal’. It obtains the *managed to* interpretation, attached to an intransitive predicate in (3)a, or a predicate transitivized with the causative in (3)b.

- (3) a. t'u7 **ka**-tsunam'-cal=kan-a=t'u7
 but CIRC-teach-ACT=1SG.SUBJ-CIRC=ADD
 ‘(I was sick), but I still *managed to* teach.’
- b. **ka**-gwél-s=kan-a
 CIRC-burn-CAUS-1S.SUBJ-CIRC
 ‘I *managed to* get it lit.’
 (Davis et al. 2009:ex.6b)

The causative transitivizer has been described as a neutral control marker in Lillooet (Demirdache 1997, van Eijk 1997:111). For the causativized predicate in (4), van Eijk (1997:111) proposes that this predicate is neutral control because ‘the subject causes the object to carry out an action over which the object is in control (i.e., the object is not in full control, since it had to share control with the object).’

- (4) tl'ik-s³⁰
 arrive-CAUS
 ‘to bring (here)’ (= ‘to cause to arrive here’)

As a consequence, non-control marking does not systematically contrast with its converse, control, in Lillooet. Davis et al. (2009) focuses their investigation on the interpretation of non-control but do not address the interpretations associated with control. For control they assume the analysis of Bar-el et al. (2005), wherein the transitivizer *-Vn* introduces control.

³⁰ This predicate is a cognate to the Skw̥x̥w̥7mesh predicate tl'ik-s ‘to bring (him/it) here’.

Another difference between non-control marking in Lillooet and lc-predicates in Skwxwúmesh is that non-control predicates in Lillooet are not associated with culmination entailments. I do not have data on the causative, though, so it is not clear if they also lack culmination entailments. Since the morphological systems associated with CONTROL differ between the two languages, it is therefore expected that the context of use for non-control marking differs from that of limited control marking in Skwxwúmesh. Nevertheless, I use the five interpretations that Davis et al. (2009) describe for *ka-* -*a* as the basis for my investigation into the context of use for Skwxwúmesh lc-predicates. This is because it is the most thorough description of the available meanings to date.

Davis et al. (2009) identify the following five interpretations associate with non-control predicates.

- (5) Interpretations of *ka-...-a*:
- a. ability
 - b. manage-to
 - c. accidentally
 - d. suddenly/unexpectedly
 - e. non-controllable

I illustrate each of these interpretations with one of the Lillooet examples provided by Davis et al. (2009). The *ability* interpretation covers typical ability attributions, which in English are expressed with *can* or *be able to*.

- (6) cúy'=lhkacw=ha **ka-cwák-a** lh=ma7g'úlm'ecw=as
 going.to=1SG.SUBJ=YNQ **CIRC-wake-CIRC** COMP=daybreak=3CONJ
 'Are you going *to be able* to wake up at dawn?' (Davis 2006)

impression that we are dealing with control because of the interaction of circumstantial modality and the context of use. In this respect my analysis of $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$ *lc*-marking converges with Davis et al. (2009) analysis of non-control marking. The difference in our analyses is based on the different behaviour of the respective constructions. Davis et al. argue that non-control interpretations are derived from the lexical meaning of *ka-* *-a* as a circumstantial modal, while in my analysis the limited control interpretations are derived from the aspectual nature of the CONTROL constructions. I argue that event culmination and event initiation – aspectual notions – underlie the contrast in CONTROL in $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$. Davis et al. (2009) argue that the core meaning of *ka-* *-a* is a modal meaning, since the *ka-* *-a* predicate in Lillooet does not have an actuality entailment, meaning the *ka-* *-a* marked event does not have to have taken place in the actual world as the following sets of data demonstrate.

- (11) a. $qwen\acute{u}xw=kan$ $i=n\acute{a}tcw=as,$
sick=1SG.SUBJ when.PAST=day=3CONJ
‘I was sick yesterday,

$t'u7$ **ka** - $tsunam'$ - $cal=lhk\acute{a}n-a=t'u7$
but CIRC-teach-ACT=1S.SUBJ-CIRC=ADD
but I still managed to teach.’ (Davis 2006)

- b. $qwen\acute{u}xw=kan$ $i=n\acute{a}tcw=as,$
sick=1SG.SUBJ when.PAST=day=3CONJ
‘I was sick yesterday.

ka - $tsunam'$ - $cal=lhk\acute{a}n-a=ka,$ $t'u7$ $cw7\acute{a}oy=t'u7$
CIRC-teach-ACT=1S.SUBJ-CIRC=IRR but NEG=ADD
I could have taught, but I didn't.’ (Davis 2006)

These two examples differ in that in (11)a the teaching event marked by *ka- -a* is asserted to have happened in the real world, whereas in (11)b the teaching event, also marked with *ka- -a*, is asserted to not have taken place in the real world. This suggests that predicates with *ka- -a* do not have actuality entailments. These predicates may imply that they took place in the real world but they do not entail it.

Such a difference in the core meaning of a control construction is to be expected if CONTROL is a construct in Salish. That is, we may expect CONTROL to be derived in different ways, with different morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties. As shown for Lillooet, some CONTROL meanings are in part associated with modality. The interpretations associated with this construction overlap with limited control interpretations in Skwxwuw7mesh, but they also diverge. In Skwxwuw7mesh CONTROL is associated with an aspectual meaning. Possibly in languages where CONTROL is associated with -C₂ reduplication (e.g. Spokane), which is also described as having aspectual properties (Carlson 1996), it has different, but overlapping, properties with CONTROL in Skwxwuw7mesh and Lillooet.

In the following sections I will investigate the meanings that occur with lc-predicates in Skwxwuw7mesh.

3 What can limited control predicates mean?

The goal of this section is to examine whether the five interpretations of *ka- -a* listed in (5) above are available for Skwxwuw7mesh lc-predicates, including those which contain the lc-transitivizer, the lc-unergative and the lc-reflexive. We will see that some, but not

all, interpretations are compatible with lc-predicates. Out of the five interpretations compatible with non-control predicates in Lillooet, only three are available for lc-predicates in Sḱwḱwu7mesh. The results of this investigation are summarized in Table 69 following.

	Lillooet	Sḱwḱwu7mesh
i) managed to	✓	✓
ii) accidentally	✓	✓
iii) able to	✓	✓
iv) unexpectedly/suddenly	✓	✗
v) non-controllable	✓	✗

Table 69 Compatibility of non-control interpretations

In the course of the discussion, I will also note the linguistic context that the various interpretations occur in (e.g., past-perfective, future tense, the scope of negation, the scope of the imperfective, the scope of *-xw* ‘still’) and their discourse context. This approach of examining the linguistic contexts is inspired by Demirdache’s (1997) approach in her investigation of *ka-* *-a* in Lillooet. She proposes that its various non-control interpretations are derived from the grammatical context that *ka-* *-a* occurs in. Note, though, that further examination of *ka-* *-a* in Lillooet has revealed that these generalizations do hold, hence the modal analysis of Davis et al. (2009). The merit of using Demirdache’s approach here is to first of all to establish for Sḱwḱwu7mesh whether lc-interpretations are determined by their linguistic context or not. I show that they are not. Secondly, the data collected using this approach allows us to see that some interpretations appear to be restricted to certain linguistic contexts. For instance, we do

not find the ‘accidentally’ or ‘managed to’ interpretations in future tense contexts. They are mainly found in past-perfective contexts. Nevertheless, while these interpretations appear to be restricted to past-perfective contexts, it is the discourse context which solely determines whether the ‘accidentally’ or ‘managed to’ interpretations is obtained. Thus inclusion of the discourse context is crucial in our understanding of how CONTROL interpretations arise (Matthewson 2004b). For this reason, I also provide the discourse contexts that are typical of where these interpretations are found. In §3.3 I examine three types of non-control interpretations which do not occur with lc-predicates in Skwxw7mesh: i) a sub-type of the ‘able to’ interpretation - the personal ability meaning, ii) the ‘unexpectedly/suddenly’ interpretation, and iii) the ‘non-controllable’ interpretation. These results will provide us with the empirical basis for the analysis developed in §4.

3.1 Limited control transitivizer

The lc-transitivizer *-nexw* is compatible with the *accidentally* meaning. That is, sometimes, a past-perfective sentence with the lc-transitive is translated into English with the adverb *accidentally*. In my database this meaning is only found with past perfective predicates. Moreover, even if *accidentally* is not part of the translation, it is clear from the context provided that lc-transitives are compatible with a context in which the agent didn’t intend the event to culminate the way it did.

- (12) a. chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta míxalh
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET bear
 ‘I accidentally shot the bear.’
 Context: I was just trying to scare him off with a shot but instead I shot him.
- b. na kw’élh-**nexw**-Ø-as
 RL spill-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘She accidentally spilt it.’
 Context: She was trying to pour some tea, but instead she spilt it.
- c. na kw’úk’w’-**nexw**-Ø-as
 RL hit-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He accidentally hit him (with a stick).’
 Context: He was just playing with the stick but not actually trying to hit anyone.
- d. na xewtl’-**nexw**-Ø-as ta naχch-s
 RL break-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET hand-3POS
 ‘He accidentally broke his hand.’
 Context: While two were playing, one knocked the other down and accidentally broke the other’s hand.
- e. na xép’-**nexw**-Ø-as ta lapát
 RL break-LCTR-3OBJ DET cup
 ‘He broke the cup.’ (by accident)
 Context: The cup slipped and he dropped the cup and broke it.

The lc-transitivizer is also compatible with the *managed to* interpretation. Again, this interpretation is limited to past-perfective contexts. It may or may not be reflected in the English translation. What is crucial is that lc-transitives are compatible with a context in which the agent had difficulties in bringing the event to culmination.

- (13) a. na lhích’-**nexw**-Ø-as ta p’ésxwem.
 RL cut-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET crusty
 ‘She managed to cut the crusty bread.’
 Context: The bread was hard to cut because it was old and crusty, nevertheless she cut it.

- b. chet ch'áw-**nexw**-Ø-wit
 1P.SUB help-LCTR-3OBJ-PL
 'We managed to help them.'
Context: We didn't think we'd get to the place on time to be able to help them, but we did.
- c. na ch'é^m-**nexw**-Ø-as
 RL bite-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He managed to bite it.'
Context: A dog was chasing a cat for a long time and it didn't look like he would catch up to it, but he did and bit it.
- d. na xítl'-**nexw**-Ø-as
 RL chop-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He managed to chop it.'
Context: The axe was not sharp, making it difficult to chop, but nevertheless he did chop it.
Context: He was not a very strong person, but nevertheless he did chop it.
- e. chen kwé^lash-**nexw**-Ø ta s^xwí⁷shen
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET deer
 'I managed to shoot the deer.'
Context: The shot was very difficult, but nevertheless I did shoot the deer.

In all of the examples above, the English translation does in fact directly reflect the *managed to* aspect of the interpretation. This is, however, not always the case.

Sometimes the translation contains *finally*, as shown in (14) below. Note, however, that English *manage to* and *finally* can be used in the same type of contexts, namely when it is difficult for the agent to reach event culmination.

Interestingly, the *finally* translation is not only possible with past-perfective contexts (14)a-c but also with future tense contexts (marked by the clitic ek' 'future tense'), as in (14)d-e.

- (14) a. chen p'áyak-**nexw**-Ø ta tétxwem
 1S.SUB fix-LCTR-3OBJ DET car
 'I *finally* got the car fixed.'
Context: I was taking a long time to fix the car and no one thought I was going to finish it, but nevertheless I did.
- b. chen huyá7-**nexw**-Ø kwetsi n-tala7áy
 1S.SUB leave-LCTR-3OBJ DEM 1S.POS-purse
 'I *finally* took my purse.'
Context: I kept forgetting my purse, but this time I did take it.
- c. chen xél-**nexw**-Ø ta sníchim
 1S.SUB write-LCTR-3OBJ DET words
 'I *finally* wrote the words.'
Context: I kept stalling because I didn't know what to write but then I did write it.
- d. p'áyak-**nexw**-Ø chen ek' ta tétxwem k kwayl es
 fix-LCTR-3OBJ 1S.SUB FUT DET car SBJ tomorrow 3CONJ
 'I'll *finally* have the car fixed tomorrow.'
 ✓ Context: I've been taking longer to fix the car than you thought I would take, but I'm reassuring you that tomorrow I will finish fixing it.
 ✗ Context: I'll do some fixing of the car tomorrow, but I may not finish it tomorrow. [Speaker's comment: you said that you were going to finish fixing it tomorrow!]
- e. kw'ách-**nexw** chen ek' kwayl es
 look-LCTR-3OBJ 1S.SUB FUT tomorrow 3CONJ
 'I'll *finally* see it tomorrow.'
Context: I've been trying to see something for a while and I'm sure I'll get to see it tomorrow.

While both the *managed to* and the *finally* interpretation have in common that they indicate some difficulty in bringing the event to culmination, there appears to be a difference between the two, since the former but not the latter does not occur in future contexts in my database. I will return to this issue in §4.2.

In addition to the *accidentally* and the *managed to* interpretation, the lc-transitivizer is also compatible with the *able to* interpretation. I have found this interpretation with the

imperfective (marked by *wa* in (15)a-b), in future tense contexts (15)c-d and under the scope of negation (15)e.

- (15) a. chen wa kw'ach-**n**-umi
 1S.SUB IMPF look-LCTR-2S.OBJ
 'I *can* see you.'
 Context: An adult is playing peek-a-boo with a child.
- b. ... kwi-s na7-xw-t wa ch'aw-**n**-émsh-as
 DET-NOM RL-still-PAST IMPF help-LCTR-1S.OBJ-3SUB
 '(I'm glad) that he was still *able to* help me.'
 Context: He had been very busy, but nevertheless found time to help me.
- c. men huy ta new kw'úy-**nexw**-Ø kwetsi³¹
 just finish DET 2S.INDP kill-LCTR-3OBJ DEM
 'Only you *can* kill it!' (lit. It is only you that can kill it!)
 Context: A father speaking to his son about killing the Two-headed-serpent (a supernatural creature) that no one else is spiritually strong enough to kill.
- d. men huy ta meñ-s p'í7-**nexw**-Ø ek' kwi welh7iyím-s
 just finish DET son-3POS get-LCTR-3OBJ FUT DET strength-3POS
 '(He knew that) only his son would *be able to* get the strength (to kill it)' (lit. his son is the only one that will be able to get the strength ...)
 Context: About the same father knowing that his son alone would be capable of getting the spiritual strength to kill the Two-headed-serpent.
- e. chen wa tkwáya7n
 1S.SUB IMPF listen/hear
 'I can only hear it (an owl),
- welh haw k'-an kw'ách-**nexw**-Ø
 but NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ see-LCTR-3OBJ
 but I *can't* see it.'

³¹ In this sentence, the future interpretation arises due to the absence of the realis auxiliary *na*. See Bar-el et al. (2004) for a discussion on how future interpretations can be obtained in the absence of dedicated marking.

Table 32 summarizes the lc-meanings associated with the lc-transitivizer and the contexts in which these interpretations have been found. In the past tense, the lc-transitivizer is compatible with the *accidentally* and the *managed to/finally* interpretation. In the imperfective or in the future, lc-predicates are compatible with the *able-to* interpretation as well as with the *finally* interpretation. The *able to* interpretation is also found under the scope of negation. The cells with two dash lines indicate that I have not have examples of the given interpretation in the given context and that I have not tested them yet for this interpretation.

	Contexts			
	Past-perfective	Imperfective	Future	Negation
accidentally	✓	--	--	--
managed to	✓	--	--	--
finally	✓	--	✓	--
able to	--	✓	✓	✓

Table 70 The interpretations for lc-transitives and their linguistic contexts

(✓ =interpretation found in this context; -- =data not yet tested)

3.2 Limited control intransitivizers

In this section I examine the interpretations compatible with the lc-reflexive (§3.2.1), and the lc-unergative (§3.2.2). As with the lc-transitivizer, I will pay attention to the contexts that these interpretations are found to occur in.

3.2.1 The limited control reflexive

In the past-perfective, the lc-reflexive is compatible with the *accidentally* interpretation, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. na kwelash-**númut**-Ø
RL shoot-LCREFL-3SUB
'He *accidentally* shot himself.'
Context: he was cleaning his gun and he inadvertently hit the trigger and shot himself.
- b. chen lhaḵw'-**númut**
1S.SUB slap-LCREFL
'I *accidentally* slapped myself.'
Context: I was pulling up my shirt sleeve and my hand slipped and I ended up slapping myself.

The lc-reflexive obtains the *managed to* interpretation in the past-perfective (17)a-g, under the scope of the imperfective (17)h and under the scope of negation (17)i, where both the *managed to* and *able to* meaning occur together. I provide the examples first and then I will discuss some of the issues in defining the interpretations associated with the lc-reflexive.

- (17) a. chen ch'aw-**númut**
1S.SUB help-LCREFL
'I *managed to* help myself.'
Context: I had been quite sick, but nevertheless I was able to help myself.
- b. ... kwi-s ne-s p'ayaḵ-**númut**-Ø
DET-nom RL-3POS fix-LCREFL-3SUB
'(He ate again) when he doctored *himself* (i.e., got himself better).'

- c. chen mí es-kw'úy kwi cheláklh,
 1S.SUB come STAT-sick DET yesterday
 'I was sick yesterday,'
 welh chen ilhen-**númut**
 but 1S.SUB eat-LCREFL
 'but I *managed to eat*.'
- d. na t'ayak'-**númut**-Ø kwa Peter
 RL angry-LCREFL-3SUB DET Peter
 'Peter *managed to get angry*.'
Context: Peter was not all that concerned about something like others were, but then after thinking about it, he also became angry.
- e. chen tl'ík-**númut**
 1S.SUB arrive-LCREFL
 'I *managed to arrive (here)*.'
Context: I had a hard time getting here because of distractions, but I overcame them and did arrive here.
- f. chen (wa) ts'its'áp'-**numut**
 1S.SUB IMPF work-LCREFL
 'I *got to work*.'
Context: I couldn't get work for some time and then I did get to work.
- g. chen kwelash-**númut** ta míxalh
 1S.SUB shoot-LCREFL DET bear
 'I *managed to shoot the bear*.'
Context: The bear was very elusive, but nevertheless I did shoot it.
- h. na7 men wa ch'aatl'am-**númut**
 RL just IMPF hunt-LCREFL
 'He still *manages to hunt*.'
Context: He is quite busy; nevertheless he still hunts.
- i. haw chen kelh i ts'its'áp'-**númut**
 NEG 1S.SUB PART PRES work-LCREFL
 'I couldn't *manage to get a job*.'
Context: I was looking for work but there were no jobs.

Note that the lc-reflexive obtains both reflexive (17)a-b and non-reflexive (17)c-i interpretations. The lc-reflexive is often translated without an explicit lc-meaning

provided. Sometimes the *managed to* meaning is translated instead as *got to* (17)f. The *managed to* meaning is obtained under the scope of the imperfective (17)f. Note that there is no apparent difference in translation with or without the imperfective.

Syntactically the lc-reflexive can be used in cases where there is an overt patient DP which is not coreferential with the agent (17)g, in a construction that looks very similar to the lc-transitivizer construction. The lc-reflexive, in fact, often has a non-reflexive meaning. This is a meaning that has also been noted by other researchers for the lc-reflexive in other Coast Salish languages (for example, Gerdts 1998b and 2000 for Halkomelem, Turner 2010 for Saanich). I explore the non-reflexive meaning of the lc-reflexive in Chapter 5 more closely, when I provide a morphosyntactic account for it. For the rest of this chapter I will focus on the lc-interpretations themselves that are associated with the lc-reflexive.

The lc-reflexive also obtains the *finally* interpretation, both in past-perfective contexts (18)a and in future tense contexts (18)b.

- (18) a. chen usayelh-**númut**
 1S.SUB teach-LCREFL
 ‘I *finally* got to teach.’
 Context: I have been preparing to be a teacher for a long time and now I get to teach.
- b. huyá7-**numut** chet ek’ kwayl es
 leave-LCREFL 1P.SUB FUT tomorrow 3CONJ
 ‘We’ll *finally* get to leave tomorrow.’
 Context: We tried to leave before but were repeatedly stopped, but tomorrow we will leave.

The lc-reflexive also obtains the *able to* meaning. I have found this meaning in the past-perfective (19)a-b, under the scope of negation (19)c-e, in the future tense contexts

(19)f, and under the scope of *-xw* ‘still’ with the imperfective (19)g. Note in example (19)d that it is even possible to get both the *able to* and *managed to* meaning together.

- (19) a. chen imesh-**númut**
 1S.SUB walk-LCREFL
 ‘I *can* walk.’
Context: I wasn’t able to before, but now I can.
- b. na ilhen-**númut** kwa Peter
 RL eat-LCREFL DET Peter
 ‘(Peter) he was *able to* eat.’
Context: Peter had been sick for a while but now he was eating.
- c. haw k’-an i umsem-**númut**
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES wake.up-LCREFL
 i) ‘I *couldn’t* wake up.’
 ii) ‘I didn’t wake up.’
Context: I’ve been overly tired lately and not sleeping well.
- d. haw chen kelh i ts’its’ap’-**númut**
 NEG 1S.SUB PART PRES work-LCREFL
 ‘I *couldn’t* manage to get a job.’
Context: I was looking for work but there were no jobs.
- e. haw chen kelh na xel’-**númut** kwi sxwexwiýám
 NEG 1S.SUB PART RL write-LCREFL DET story
 ‘I’m *unable to* write the story.’
 Speaker’s comment, said jokingly: Did you break your finger?!
- f. ts’its’ap’-**númut** chen ek’ kwayl es
 work-LCREFL 1S.SUB FUT tomorrow 3CONJ
 ‘I’ll be *able to* go to work tomorrow.’
Context: I am recovering from being sick but I’m better now and I’m sure I’ll be ok to work tomorrow.
- g. chen p’elkw’-ách,
 1S.SUB sprain-hand
 ‘I sprained my wrist,’
 welh na7-xw chen wa xel’-**númut**.
 but RL-still 1S.SUB IMPF write-LCREFL
 ‘but I am still *able to* write.’

In summary, as shown in Table 71, the lc-reflexive obtains the *accidentally* interpretation in past-perfective contexts. It obtains the *managed to* meaning in past-perfective contexts and under the scope of negation. It obtains the *finally* meaning in past-perfective contexts and in future tense contexts. It obtains the *able to* meaning in past-perfective contexts, under the scope of negation, in future tense contexts and under the scope of -*xw* ‘still’ with the imperfective *wa*. Again, the cells with two dash lines, such as --, indicate that the given interpretation was not found to occur in the given context in my database.

	Restriction			
	Past-perfective	Scope of - <i>xw</i> (and imperfective)	Future tense	Scope of negation
accidentally	✓	--	--	--
managed to	✓	--	--	✓
finally	✓	--	✓	--
able to	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 71 The interpretations of lc-reflexives and their linguistic contexts

3.2.2 The limited control unergative

The lc-unergative, unlike the lc-transitive and the lc-reflexive, does not obtain the *accidentally* meaning, for example:

- (20) na kwelash-**nálhn**-Ø
 RL shoot-LCUE-3SUB
 *'He *accidentally* shot.'

The lc-unergative obtains the *managed to* interpretation in past-perfective contexts.

Note that sometimes the *managed to* sense is translated as *got to do X* (21)b,c,e,f.

- (21) a. es-kwekwiñ haw k̲'-an i kw'ach-nexw-Ø
 STAT-long.ago NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES see-LCTR-3OBJ

kwetsi n siyay'
 DEM 1S.POS friend
 'I hadn't seen my friend in a long time,'

welh chen men suxwt-**nálhn**
 but 1S.SUB just recognize-LCUE
 'but I *managed to* recognize him.'

- b. chen lhem-**nálhn**
 1S.SUB pick-LCUE
 'I *got* it picked.'

Context: The patch of berries was quite large and I didn't think I would be able to pick the whole patch, but I did.
 Speaker's comment: I did it all by myself!

- c. chen kwelash-**nálhen** ta míxalh
 1S.SUB shoot-LCUE DET bear
 'I *got to* shoot the bear.'
 'I just *managed to* shoot the bear.'

Context: It was a difficult shot and I was not sure if I could make it but I did.

- d. chen kw'elh-**nálhn** ta stakw
 1S.SUB spill-LCUE DET water
 'I *managed to* spill the water.'

Context: The container was quite large and I didn't think that I would be able to pour water out of it, but I did..

- e. na p'ayak-**nálhn**-Ø
 RL fix-LCUE-3SUB
 'He *got* it fixed.'
Context: It was hard to fix, but nevertheless he did fix it.
- f. chen huy-**nálhn**
 1S.SUB finish-LCUE
 'I *got to* stop.'
Context: It didn't look like I'd get to take a break, but then I did.

Note that the lc-unergative is often translated with an implied object (21)a,b,e, or with an overt object DP (21)c-d, although it is not always translated as having either (21)f.

Further note that its implied object can be co-referential with a DP in the previous clause as in (21)a. I have not extensively examined the syntactic or discourse functions associated with the object of the lc-unergative. I leave this issue for further research and focus on their lc-interpretations.

The lc-unergative also obtains the *finally* interpretation both in past-perfective contexts (22)a-e and future tense contexts (22)f.

- (22) a. n-u chexw kw'ach-**nálhn**
 RL-POL 2S.SUB look-LCUE
 'Did you *finally* get to see?'
Context: I know that you have wanted to see something but other people were in the way, so I'm asking if you got past them and did see.
- b. chen kw'elh-**nálhn**
 1S.SUB spill-LCUE
 'I *finally* managed to pour it.'
Context: The container was quite large and I tried to pour water out of it for while and then I did.
- c. chen wilkw'-**nálhn**
 1S.SUB ask-LCUE
 'I *finally* asked them.'

Context: You wanted to ask something for a while, and then you did ask.

- d. chen kw'álakwus-**nálhn**
1S.SUB club-LCUE
'*Finally*, I hit/whipped him.'

Context: No one thought I would hit him, but he became too bothersome so I did.

- e. chen nuḵw'-**nálhn**
1S.SUB poke-LCUE
'I *finally* poked it.'

Context: (When spearing fish, you probe with the blunt end of the spear in the water feeling for a fish first. When you feel/poke a fish, then you turn the spear around and spear the fish.) It took me a long time but I finally sensed a fish with the blunt end of the spear.

- f. kw'ach-**nálhn** chen ek' kwayl es
look-LCUE 1S.SUB FUT tomorrow 3CONJ
'I'll *finally* get to see it tomorrow.'

Context: I was trying to see something for a while but I repeatedly never got the opportunity, but I know that tomorrow I will.

I have found the *able to* meaning with the lc-unergative in past-perfective contexts (23)a-b, under the scope of the imperfective (23)c, in future tense contexts (23)d, and under the scope of negation (23)e.

- (23) a. na xítsk-án-t-m ta stsek.
RL fell-TR-TR-PASS DET tree
'They cut down the trees.'

chen melh kw'ach-**nálhn**
1S.SUB so look-LCUE
'Now I *can* see.'

Context: My view was obstructed before they cut the trees down.

- b. nilh ti-n méksen
foc DET-1S.POS nose
'This is my nose'

wa-n-lh na wa suṁ-náhn
 IMPF-1S.POS-NOM RL IMPF smell-LCUE
 ‘that I *can* smell with.’

Context: In a Skwxwú7mesh language children’s book where the functions of the various body parts are described.

c. wáyti kw’ach-náhn chen ek’ kwayl es
 maybe look-LCUE 1S.SUB FUT tomorrow 3CONJ
 ‘Maybe I’ll be *able to* come and see tomorrow.’

Context: I haven’t had the opportunity to see something but I am thinking that it might be possible tomorrow.

d. haw k-’an i kw’ach-náhn
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES look-LCUE
 ‘I *couldn’t* see (it).’

Context: I didn’t see it because there were trees in the way.

In Table 34 following, I summarize the meanings that are obtained with the lc-unergative, and their restrictions. The lc-unergative does not obtain the *accidentally* interpretation. This is indicated by the ✕ mark. The lc-unergative obtains the *managed to* interpretation in the past-perfective and in the imperfective. It obtains the *finally* interpretation in the past-perfective and in the future tense. It obtains the *able to* interpretation in the past-perfective and in the imperfective, and under the scope of negation. Again, the cells with two dash lines, such as --, indicate that the given interpretation was not found to occur in the given context in my database.

	Restriction			
	Past-perfective	Imperfective	Future tense	Scope of negation
accidentally	✗	--	--	--
managed to	✓	--	--	--
finally	✓	--	✓	--
able to	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 72 The interpretations of lc-nergative and their linguistic contexts

3.3 Other non-control meanings

In this section I examine three interpretations that Davis et al. (2009) describe for the Lillooet construction marked by *ka- -a*: the *personal ability* interpretation (a sub-type of the ability interpretation), the *unexpectedly/suddenly* interpretation, and the *non-controllable* interpretation. I demonstrate that none of these interpretations appear to be compatible with lc-marking in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*. Note, however, that it is at times difficult to directly compare Lillooet and *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* with regards to the lc-meanings. This is because (among other things) Lillooet *ka- -a* never affects argument structure while lc-marking in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* can affect argument structure. I look at the personal ability interpretation first.

Skw̥w̥wu7mesh speakers reject the use of limited control marking to encode a personal ability reading.

- (24) chen wa lulum-**númut**
 1S.SUB IMPF sing-LCREFL
 i) ‘I *got to* sing.’
 ii) Interviewer: Can it mean: ‘I *can* sing’ ?
 Speaker’s comment: ‘No. You said that you already sang.’

Note that this appears to contradict what we have found in §3.1 and §3.2, where we have seen that lc-predicates can be translated as *able to*. Example (15)b is repeated below as:

- (25) kwi-s na7-xw-t wa ch’aw-**n-émsh-as**
 DET-NOM RL-still-PAST IMPF help-LCTR-1S.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘(I’m glad) that he was still *able to* help me.’
Context: He had been very busy, but nevertheless found time to help me.

So why is the ability interpretation available in (25) but not in (24)? I propose that lc-predicates in Skwɣwu7mesh are compatible with an *impersonal ability* meaning (in the sense of Lechner 2005, as discussed in Davis et al. 2009) but not with the *personal ability*. The two types of *ability* meanings are defined as in (26).

- (26) a) *Impersonal modality*: Meaning of the proposition can be calculated by considering only the facts and circumstances of the background.
 b) *Personal modality*: Interpretation is dependent upon properties of the subject (disposition, abilities, desires, etc.) (Lechner 2005:2)

Impersonal ability refers to the ability of an individual to perform an action due to external circumstances, while the personal ability meaning is about inherent abilities of the individual which allows her to perform an action. For example, in the sentence ‘The

fish *can* swim upstream now’, a possible context is that the ability arises due to the rain and the higher water in the river. In this case, it is the external circumstances of the weather that provide them with the right context. This is the impersonal ability meaning.

This contrasts with personal ability. Take for example, the sentence ‘I *can* swim’. Here ‘can’ refers to the agent’s knowledge of how to swim as the reason why he is *able to swim*. Here the *able to* meaning is not about external circumstances but about the inherent abilities of the agent.

As discussed by Davis et al. (2009), the personal modality admittedly can be difficult to distinguish from impersonal modality, since a person’s disposition, their abilities, and desires, etc. are also part of the circumstances that need to be considered. Nevertheless, the distinction is useful for understanding the different types of ability interpretations that are obtained in Skwɔ̃wu7mesh.

The personal ability meaning in Skwɔ̃wu7mesh is not obtained by limited control marking in Skwɔ̃wu7mesh. Rather, it can be obtained by the bare predicate under the scope of the imperfective (27)a-b or by the bare predicate in the future tense (27)c. The examples (27)a-b are the Skwɔ̃wu7mesh translations provided when speakers are asked for how to translate English sentences with the personal ability meaning, such as, “how do you say “I can sing””? The other translations are other ways that these sentences have been translated in other elicitation contexts. The translations in (27)c were offered as two possible translations of the Skwɔ̃wu7mesh sentence.

- (27) a. chen wa lulum
 1S.SUB IMPF sing
 i) ‘I *can* sing.’
 ii) ‘I sing.’
 iii) ‘I am singing.’
- b. n-u chexw wa lulum
 RL-POL 2S.SUB IMPF sing
 i) ‘*Can* you sing?’
 ii) ‘Do you sing?’
 iii) ‘Did you sing’,
- c. chen ek’ ts’its’áp’
 1S.SUB FUT work
 i) ‘I *can* work.’
 ii) ‘I will work.’

Some Skwxwú7mesh speakers describe personal ability using specific constructions. One such construction can be seen in (28) with the predicate *es7á7awts* ‘quickly, can’, which apparently has both a personal ability reading (28)a or an impersonal ability reading (28)b. This construction, though, is not accepted by all speakers to describe personal abilities. I assume that personal ability arises in (28)a because of a couple of factors. The presence of only the imperfective marker *wa* with no other aspectual marker (e.g. *na* ‘realis aspect’) in the nominalized clause, can encode a habitual reading. Furthermore, there is an implication that in order to habitually do something quickly, you must have the ability to do it. That is, it is assumed that one must be **able to** work in order to habitually work fast. In (28)b, the question assumes that one has the disposition (personal ability) and the wherewithal (impersonal ability) to lend money. This construction, then, appears to subsume both personal and impersonal ability readings.

- (28) a. **es7á7awts** kwi-n-s wa ts'itsáp'.
 can/fast DET-1S.POS-NOM IMPF work
 'I can work.' (lit., I am quick to work)
- b. men **es7á7awts** u
 just can/fast POL
- kwi-Ø-s ixem-s-t-s-axw kwi áñus-uýs
 DET-2S.POS-NOM lend-CAUS-TR-1S.OBJ-2S.SUB DET two-money
 'Could you lend me two dollars?' (lit. are you quick to lend me two dollars?)

A common way for speakers to describe personal ability is to use a predicate, such as *eschechewát* 'clever, know how to do something, smart', which indicates exceptional personal ability or skill:

- (29) a. an chexw s-**che-chewát** tl-'axw wa lulum
 very 2S.SUB STAT-RE-clever RC-2S.CON IMPF sing
 'You are a very good singer.'
 'You really know how to sing.'
 (lit. You are really skilled when you sing)
- b. an s-**che-chewát** tl-'as wa lulum
 very STAT-RE-clever RC-3CONJ IMPF sing
 'He is a very good singer.'
 'He really knows how to sing.'
 (lit. He is very skilled when he sings)

Compare these personal ability interpretations in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* to those obtained with *ka-* *-a* in Lillooet. This circumfix obtains both personal and impersonal ability interpretations. In (30)a, it obtains a personal reading where the subject has the personal ability to perform the act of lifting. In (30)b, it obtains an impersonal reading. The ability of the sagebrush to grow is due to the surrounding conditions.

Lillooet

- (30) a. wá7=lhkan **ka-cát-s-a** ta=k'ét'h=a
IMPF =1SG.SUBJ CIRC-lift-CAUS-CIRC DET=rock=EXIS
'I can lift the rock.'
(Davis et al. 2009:ex.4b)

- b. *Situation: The soil and climate are right, but the speaker knows no sagebrush actually grows here.*

wa7 **ka-ríp-a** ku=káwkew kents7á
IMPF CIRC-grow-CIRC DET=sagebrush around.here
'Sagebrush can grow around here.'

Consultant's comment: "If somebody brought some seeds it would grow here – it's just a possibility it would grow here."

(Davis et al. 2009: ex.47)

Importantly here for the comparison to S_kw_xwu7mesh, *ka-* -a obtains a *personal ability* meaning. S_kw_xwu7mesh, on the other hand, obtains the *personal ability* meaning by using the bare predicate as shown in (27). It does not use a lc-predicate.

Another interesting difference between Lillooet and S_kw_xwu7mesh with regards to ability is that S_kw_xwu7mesh has a dedicated lexical item that translates as 'cannot': *eskw'áy* (31). Lillooet, on the other hand, does not (Henry Davis, p.c.). To obtain the sense of *cannot* in Lillooet, the verb with **ka-** -a is simply negated (32).

S_kw_xwu7mesh

- (31) a. **es-kw'áy** kwi-n-s wa lulum
STAT-cannot DET-1S.POS-NOM IMPF sing
'I *can't* sing.'
- b. **es-kw'áy** kwi-s wa-s tl'íya7
STAT-cannot DET-NOM IMPF-3POS stop
'He *can't* stop.'

Lillooet

- (32) a. **cw7aoz** k=wa=s **ka-gwél-a**
NEG DET(NOM)=IMPF=3POSS CIRC-burn-CIRC
i=nesnú=s=a sp'ams
PL.DET=damp=EXIS firewood
'The damp firewood *can't* be burned.'
(Davis et al. 2009:ex.5a)
- b. **cw7aoz** kw=s= **ka-gwél-s-tum'-a** i= sp'ams=a
NEG DET(NOM)=IMPF=3POS-CIRC-burn-CIRC PL.DET= firewood=EXIS
'We *can't* get the firewood to burn.'
(Davis et al. 2009:ex.5c)

We now turn to the *suddenly* or *unexpected* meaning, which is the second interpretation which is available for Lillooet *ka-* *-a* (33) but not for Skw̥wu7mesh *lc-* predicates (34).

Lillooet

- (33) a. **ka-q'ek'w-ts=kán-a**
CIRC-close-mouth=1SG.SUBJ-CIRC
'My mouth got closed *suddenly*.' (Alexander et al. in prep.)
- b. nilh láti7 **ka-t'ál=s-a** ta=káoh-s=a
FOC there CIRC-stop=3POS-CIRC DET=car-3POS=EXIS
'His car stopped *suddenly*.'
(Davis et al. 2009:ex.8e)

Skw̥wu7mesh

- (34) a. chen tl'iya7-**númut**
1S.SUB stop-LCREFL
i) *'I stopped *suddenly*'
ii) 'I *managed to stop*.'
- b. na ts'its'ap'-**númut-Ø**
RL work-LCREFL-3SUB
i) *'She *unexpectedly* worked.'

- ii) ‘She *managed to work*.’
- c. na kwélash-**nexw**-Ø-as ta sɣwí7shen
 RL shoot-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET deer
 i) *‘He shot the deer *suddenly/unexpectedly*.’
 ii) ‘He *managed to shoot/shot* the deer.’

Speakers reject translations of lc-predicates with the meaning ‘unexpectedly/suddenly’.

Sɣwɣw7mesh, instead, can obtain a *suddenly/unexpectedly* interpretation with the clitic *txw*, described by Jacobs (2007) as an out of control marker in Sɣwɣw7mesh (35), or with the predicate *huyú* (‘suddenly’) (36).³²

Sɣwɣw7mesh

- (35) a. chen men **txw**-tl’iya7
 1S.SUB just OOC-stop
 i) ‘I stopped *suddenly*’
 ii) ‘I *had to stop*.’

Context: a flag person was waving a stop sign

- b. an chen s-em-úmat,
 very 1S.SUB STAT-RED-lazy
 ‘I’m very lazy,’

welh chen men **txw**-ts’its’áp’
 but 1S.SUB just OOC-work
 ‘but I went to work.’ (*contrary/unexpectedly* to what everybody expected of me)

- (36) na melh **huyú** kwi s-Ø-s huyá7
 RL so **suddenly** DET NOM-RL-3POS leave
 ‘He left *suddenly*.’

³² I discuss the out of control marker *txw* in Chapter 6, §5.

One further non-control interpretation that Davis et al. (2009) describe for Lillooet is the *non-controllable* interpretation. Basically, in this construction, *ka-* *-a* is used with unaccusatives, which already do not allow for the expression of an agent. Therefore it would appear somewhat vacuous to indicate non-control. The non-controllable interpretation has been found to occur with weather verbs (37)a, verbs of appearance (37)b, and change of state verbs (37)c.

Lillooet

- (37) a. **ka-t'ál-a** ta=sk'éxem=a kekáw' kent7ú ku=szénk
 CIRC-stop-CIRC DET=wind=EXIS far around DET=circle
 'The wind stopped blowing, far around that circle.' (Davis 2006)
- b. **ka-lhéxw-a** ta=snéqwem=a
 CIRC-come.out-CIRC DET=sun=EXIS
 'The sun came out.'
 (Davis et al. 2009:ex.9b)
- c. **ka-lhót-a** aylh i=s7áy'tsqw=a
 CIRC-get.squished-CIRC then PL.DET=raspberry=EXIS
 'The raspberries got squished' (Matthewson 2005:73)

In contrast, *Skwxwu7mesh* lc-predicates are not compatible with this type of interpretation. In particular, when these types of predicates are turned into lc-predicates they are associated with the type of interpretations we have seen to be associated with lc-predicates in general, with one possible exception. Consider first the weather predicates in (38).

Skw̥w̥wu7mesh

- (38) a. na k̥ɛ̃p-númut-Ø ta snékwem
RL set-LCREFL -3SUB DET sun

‘The sun **finally** set.’

Context: It was too hot and we couldn’t wait for the sun to set so it would cool down, so we were really happy when it did.

- b. na k̥ɛ̃p-Ø ta snékwem
RL set-3SUB DET sun

‘The sun set.’

If the lc-reflexive attaches to a weather predicate, as in (38)a, we observe the *finally* interpretation. In this context ‘finally’ refers not to the sun having any difficulty in setting. Rather, it refers to the perception of people on earth who *felt like the sun would never set*. Thus the ‘finally’ interpretation refers to difficulty in the people’s minds in believing that the sun would ever set (even though it always does set) and how the length of time felt longer than normal. Without the lc-reflexive, the weather predicate is not found with an lc-meaning (38)b.

Next we turn to verbs of appearance, as in (39).

Skw̥w̥wu7mesh

- (39) a. chen xwey-númut
1S.SUB appear-LCREFL
‘I *managed to* show myself.’

- b. chen xwey
1S.SUB appear
i) ‘I appeared.’
ii) ‘I was born.’

In (39)a the lc-reflexive triggers a reflexive *managed to* interpretation, which is absent when the root is used in its bare form.

The following now are a few examples of inchoative states. These verbs which are a type of unaccusative, by their nature are not subcategorized for an agent thematic role and thus cannot have a *controlling* agent.

Skw̥w̥wu7mesh

(40) a. na ch'eyxw-númut ta s7áttam̥-s
 RL dry-LCREFL DET things-3POS
 'His things got dry.'

b. na ch'eyxw-í7 ta s7áttam̥-s
 RL dry-INCH DET things-3POS
 'His things got dry.'

(41) a. chen k'aw-númut
 1S.SUB pay-LCREFL
 'I *finally* got paid.'
Context: I feel like I've been waiting a very long time to get paid.

b. chen k'aw
 1S.SUB pay
 'I got paid.'

Example (40)a has no overt lc-interpretation for the lc-reflexive. The inchoative state in this example describes a simple change of state. In (40)b, the same root with the lc-reflexive appear to describe the same simple change of state as the inchoative state without the lc-reflexive. This lack of apparent meaning difference between the two forms makes the presence of the lc-marker appear vacuous. If so, then this case may in fact be similar to the Lillooet cases in that it may indicate that the event is not controllable. Assuming that there is a meaning difference, it is possible that the difference is hidden by the potentially ambiguous translation of 'got'. That is, 'got' could refer to a simple change of state that has occurred as in (40)b. But, it could also be like the 'got to'

version of the ‘managed to’ meaning, as in, ‘his things managed to get dry.’ Note, however, that in (41)a the inchoative state with the lc-reflexive does have the lc-interpretation *finally*, in contrast to the form without it (41)b. I will have to leave this issue for future research.

The following table summarizes the findings reported in this section. Sḵwḵwu7mesh does not obtain the *personal ability* interpretation nor the *unexpectedly/suddenly* interpretation with lc-marking. It also does not obtain a non-controllable interpretation with unaccusative predicates, with some possible exceptions. Lillooet, on the other hand, obtains all these interpretations with *ka-* -*a*. In the final column I have indicated how these meanings can be encoded in Sḵwḵwu7mesh.

		ka- -a in Lillooet	lc-marking in Skw̥xu7mesh	Skw̥xu7mesh construction used
personal ability		✓	✗	bare root; es7á7awts 'quickly'; eschechewát 'be clever'
unexpectedly/suddenly		✓	✗	txw 'out of control'; huyú 'suddenly'
non-controllable	weather predicates	✓	✗	bare root
	verbs of appearance	✓	✗	bare root
	inchoative states	✓	?/✗	bare root; ?lc-reflexive

Table 73 Non-control interpretations: Lillooet and Skw̥xu7mesh

3.4 Summary

Table 36 following summarizes which lc-interpretations have been found to occur with which lc-markers (the lc-transitive, the lc-reflexive and the lc-unergative) and in which context these interpretations occur. A checkmark ✓ indicates that the interpretation has been found in that context. A ✗ mark indicates that the interpretation does not occur in the given context. A line such double dash line -- indicates that the interpretation has not been found in this context (although further research is still required). I expect that with further research, the managed to and able to interpretations will be found to be available with all limited control markers.

	lc-transitivizer	lc-reflexive	lc-unergative	Restriction
accidentally	✓	✓	✗	past-perfective
managed to	✓	✓	✓	past-perfective
	--	✓	--	negation
finally	✓	✓	✓	past-perfective
	✓	✓	✓	future tense
able to (impersonal)	✓	✓	✓	past-perfective
	✓	--	✓	imperfective
	✓	✓	✓	future tense
	--	✓	--	under -xw 'still'
	--	✓	✓	under negation
able to (personal)	✗	✗	✗	
suddenly/expectedly	✗	✗	✗	
non-controllable	✗	--	✗	

Table 74 Lc-markers, their interpretations and restrictions in S_kw_xwu₇mesh

(✗=incompatible context; ✓=compatible context; --=data not yet tested)

4 How to derive CONTROL

My proposal here is that the meanings that pertain to the control an agent has over the event are pragmatic inferences which are not directly encoded in either of the c- or lc-predicates. These inferences come about as a matter of what we know about the normal

course of the events in addition to knowledge about the grammatical means available in the language to encode different types of events.

4.1 The proposal in a nutshell

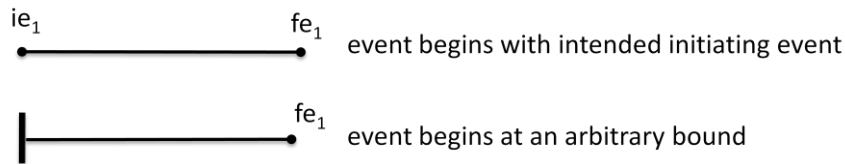
Recall my proposal that the basic contrast in CONTROL is that between an initiating predicate and a delimiting predicate in the sense of Ritter and Rosen (2000). Initiating-predicates minimally require event initiation but event culmination is not required as in (1)a, repeated below as (42)a. Similarly, delimiting predicates minimally require event culmination, as in (1)b, repeated below as (42)b.

- (42) a. c-predicates = initiating predicates
 [**ie** -----]event
- b. lc-pred = delimiting predicates
 [-----**fe**]event

As a consequence of their initiating character, c-predicates are compatible with contexts where the event culminates as well as with contexts where the event does not culminate. When using a c-predicate the speaker simply does not have to commit herself to the nature of the end of the event: it may be the natural endpoint (represented as the point **fe** in (43)a), but it may also be an arbitrary bound (as represented by bolded vertical line in (43)b). In other words, the event may have been disrupted arbitrarily and then terminates before it reached its natural endpoint.

consequence of their delimiting character that lc-predicates are compatible with contexts where the culminating event is initiated intentionally (as in the normal course of events) and where the agent is in full control over the event. But crucially, lc-predicates are also compatible with contexts in which either the initiation or the process of the event is unusual. When using an lc-predicate, the speaker does not have to commit herself to the nature of the beginning of the event: it may be a natural (i.e., intended) beginning (represented as *ie* in (45)), but it may also be an arbitrary bound (represented as by the bolded vertical line in (45)). In other words, the event that results in culmination may not have been initiated in precisely a way that would normally lead to its natural endpoint.

(45) Possible context of use for lc-predicates



In sum, even though **ie** is not directly encoded in their representation, lc-predicates are still compatible with an intended event initiation. In fact, if the event proceeds in a normal fashion, it will be initiated. But crucially, lc-predicates are also compatible with an abnormal course of events, indicating that there is no restriction on the context of use associated with the initial event or the duration of the event in process. It is this lack of a restriction on the nature of the initial event, I argue, which derives the interpretations associated with lc-predicates discussed above. In other words, it is the linguistic context as well as the discourse context that determine which of the lc-interpretations is obtained

(cf. Kiyota 2008:82 for a similar claim about lc-marking in Saanich). I now examine each of these lc-interpretations paying attention to both of these contexts.

4.2 The context of use for lc-predicates

4.2.1 The event culmination meaning

According to the proposal developed here, it is the event culmination properties of c- and lc-predicates which are responsible for the contrast in CONTROL interpretations. If event culmination is the core meaning of lc-predicates, we first of all predict that they are compatible with all contexts in which the event has culminated or contexts in which event culmination is considered inevitable (e.g. future tense contexts). This prediction is borne out. The examples in (46) show that lc-predicates can be used in contexts where they only indicate event culmination. That is, they are used when there is no special restriction such that the agent needs to have limited control over the event and its culmination. It therefore does not come as a surprise that lc-predicates do not require a translation which would involve an adverb that indicates limited control (such as *accidentally*).

- (46) a. chen kw'úy-**nexw**-Ø
1S.SUB kill-LCTR-3OBJ
'I killed it.' (some type of game)
- b. chen lhíkw'-**nexw**-Ø
1S.SUB hook-LCTR-3OBJ
'I hooked/gaffed it.'

- c. chexw xép'-nexw-Ø
 2S.SUB break-LCTR-3OBJ
 'You broke it.' (e.g. a cup)
- d. chen xwí7-nexw-Ø te-n snewkw
 1S.SUB lose-LCTR-3OBJ DET-1S.POS sweater
 'I lost my sweater.'
- d. ta Peter, na xélk'-nexw-Ø-as ta lhách'ten
 DET Peter RL drop-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET knife
 'Peter, it's his fault that the knife dropped.'
- f. chen ts'ís-nexw-Ø ta míxalh
 1S.SUB nail-LCTR-3OBJ DET bear
 'I hit the bear right on.'

Sometime lc-transitives are translated with an explicit indication of event completion, such as 'finished' as in (47)a and (47)b. In (47)c, the speaker comments that the event already happened. Watanabe (2003:212) also notes a similar effect for Sliammon.

- (47) a. chen ts'its'áp'-nexw-Ø
 1S.SUB work-LCTR-3OBJ
 'I *finished* my work.'
- b. na míkw'-nexw-Ø-as ta snexwílh
 RL clean-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET canoe
 'He *finished* washing his canoe.'
- c. chen tséxw-nexw-Ø ta swíwłus t-kwetsi smant
 1S.SUB hit-LCTR-3OBJ DET young.man OBJ-DEM rock
 'I hit the young man with a rock.'
 Speaker's comment: [The lc-transitive predicate] *already happened*.

On the analysis developed here, this interpretation which emerges under the normal course of events - the event simply culminates. This interpretation of the lc-predicates

follows if we assume that they are delimiting predicates and as such impose a restriction on the final event (i.e., it has to culminate) as shown in (41), repeated from example (1)b:

(48) lc-pred = delimiting predicates
 [-----**fe**]_{event}

As such, lc-predicates in past-perfective contexts are only felicitous if the event did indeed culminate. There is, however, no restriction imposed on the context of use relative to the initial event. Consequently, lc-predicates are compatible with an initial event that is in line with the normal course of events, i.e., an initial event that is intentionally initiated by the agent. This context of use is illustrated in Figure 1



Figure 1 The normal course of events: past-perfective context

I argue that this accounts for the fact that many examples involving lc-predicates are never translated with any kind of limited control interpretation. The lc-predicate simply marks event completion.

Note in (49), that the lc-transitive, in the future tense with the temporal phrase, *kwayl es* ‘tomorrow’, indicates that the culmination of the event must take place ‘tomorrow’. It cannot culminate at some future time after tomorrow. However, the

initiation of the event of fixing does not necessarily have to be tomorrow. It could be some other time prior, such as yesterday or today.

- (49) p'ayak-nexw-Ø chen ek' ta tétxwem k kwayl es
 fix-LCTR-3OBJ 1S.SUB FUT DET car SBJ tomorrow 3CONJ
 'I'll finish fixing the car tomorrow.'
 ✓Context: I started fixing it yesterday/today. Tomorrow, I'll finish fixing the car.
 ✓Context: I will start and finish fixing the car tomorrow.
 ✗Context: Maybe I'll do some of the fixing tomorrow, and some the day after.

A similar argument can be made for the future tense context as in Figure 2. All that is required of the lc-transitive in the future tense is that its event must culminate in that reference time. Note that the initiation event can occur either before or after now (as indicated in Figure 2). This is because there is no restriction on when this event may take place. It does not have to coincide with the reference time.

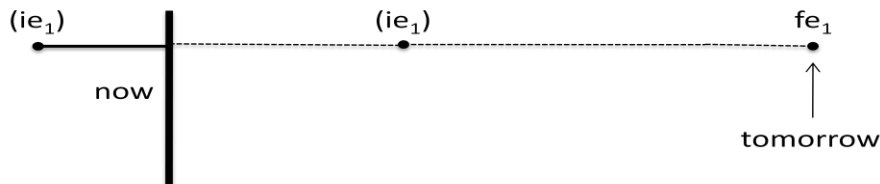


Figure 2 The normal course of events: future tense

Finally note that some lc-transitives do not have lc-interpretations, such as in (50)a and (50)b, and they also have no corresponding c-transitive forms.

- (50) a. chen kwí7-nexw-Ø
 1S.SUB doubt-LCTR-3OBJ
 ‘I doubt (that he’ll go).’
- b. chen máy-nexw-Ø
 1S.SUB forget-LCTR-3OBJ
 ‘I forgot it.’

It is, in fact, difficult to conceive what the difference between a non-culminating vs. a culminating event of doubting or forgetting might be. The lack of such a contrast may be due to the idiosyncrasies of lexicalization.

4.2.2 The normal course of events does not allow for accidents

The lc-meaning *accidentally* indicates either that the agent did not intend the final outcome of the event, as in (51)a, or that he did not even intend to initiate the event, as in (51)b.

- (51) a. chen kwélash-nexw-Ø ta nkwekw’chústn
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET window
 ‘I accidentally shot the window.’
Context: I was aiming at another target (e.g. a bottle) but I mistakenly shot the window.
- b. na kwelash-númut-Ø
 RL shoot-LCREFL-3SUB
 ‘He *accidentally* shot himself.’
Context: he was cleaning his gun and he accidentally pushed the trigger and shot himself.

In (51)a, the agent intended to shoot but hit the wrong target (e.g., because of poor skills at shooting). Thus, the outcome of the event was not the intended outcome but the act of shooting was itself intentional. In (51)b, the agent was not intending to shoot anything at all, but he unintentionally hit the trigger and shot himself. Thus, the agent did not intend the act of shooting nor the outcome of this shooting: the hitting of the target — himself.

I propose that the accidental interpretation arises simply because lc-predicates are compatible with a specific type of unusual event, namely one that was not initiated intentionally. This is schematized in Figure 3:

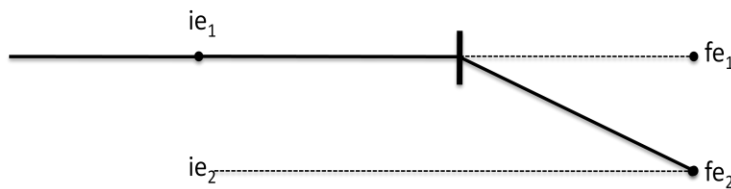


Figure 3 The final event was not intended

I first provide a description of the parts of this figure and then discuss how it represents the ‘accidentally’ interpretation. In this figure:

- i) both horizontal lines represents different events.
- ii) the top line represents the intended event of shooting, where the intended target was, for example, a bottle.
- iii) the bottom line represents an event where the intended target of shooting is the window.
- iv) the bold line represents the event that actually occurred.
- v) The dashed line represents an event that may have occurred but did not.

- vi) The bolded vertical line on the first event represents a disruption. In other figures, it will also mean an arbitrary bound (where the event ends without culminating).

In Figure 3 the event that actually occurred includes the initiation of a shooting event (**ie₁**) on the top line with, for example, a bottle as the target. If the event had proceeded as normal it would have culminated in a certain way, namely the intended target - the bottle - would have been shot (**fe₁**). This final event, however, never occurred, as indicated by the dashed line. Instead, something led the event off its normal course, indicated by the bolded vertical line followed by the bolded line leading to **fe₂**. The event culminated in a way that was not intended (**fe₂**), that is, the window was shot instead. Had the actual final event (**fe₂**) been part of an event that proceeded as normal, it would have had its own different initiating event (**ie₂**), that is, it would have involved an initiation event where the target was the window. In English, the context in Figure 3 can be marked by means of the adverb *accidentally*.

This accounts for the accidental interpretation in past perfect contexts. But why is this interpretation not found in future tense contexts?³³ I propose that this is so because we can only make predictions about the normal course of events. We cannot predict accidents. Consequently, the context depicted in Figure 4 is not a possible context of use

³³ As pointed out by my examination committee, if a person is accident prone, there is nothing in my proposal from precluding that one might use an lc-predicate to predict that they will do something accidentally in the future, e.g. I bet he will accidentally spill the tea (since he always does). If this interpretation is available in this context, then its absence in my database is probably due to its highly restricted context. Conversely, if someone is accident prone, then the normal course of events **is** for them to do things accidentally, thus possibly leading to the use of the c-transitive. This requires further investigation.

for lc-predicates. Both lines represent events in the future. The top line represents the event that is intended to take place. Again, the vertical bolded line between **ie₁** and **fe₁** represents an unexpected event which interrupts the intended event leading to an unexpected culmination represented by **fe₂**.

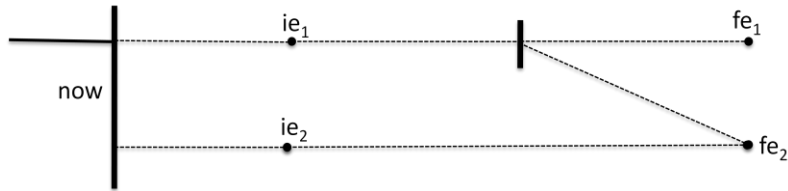


Figure 4 We can't predict accidents

4.2.3 The normal course of difficulty is failure

The second lc-interpretation - *managed to* - indicates that there were difficulties in completing the event. The source of the difficulty can be various as the following examples show.

- (52) a. chen tl'ik-**númut**
 1S.SUB arrive-LCREFL
 'I managed to arrive (here).'
Context: This phrase can be used as a greeting, and said jokingly when arriving somewhere; meaning that even though circumstances were difficult for me to get here, I was so determined to get here that I overcame them to be here.

- b. chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta sɣwíʔshen
 1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET deer
 ‘I *managed to* shoot the deer.’
Context 1: I was hunting and the target, the deer, was at a great distance, making it difficult to shoot it.
Context 2: I’m a novice hunter and I don’t have great accuracy yet in shooting.
- c. chen ts’its’ap’-**númut**
 1S.SUB work-LCREFL
 ‘I *managed to* work.’
Context 1: There were not a lot of jobs around, but I managed to get a job and work.
Context 2: I had been sick and then I returned to work and managed to work.
- d. chen lhem-**nálhn**
 1S.SUB pick-LCUE
 ‘I *managed to* pick them.’
Context: The patch of berries was large, but I managed to pick it.

The difficulty could have been due to unforeseen circumstances which made the completion of the event seem less likely (52)a. The difficulty could be part of the nature of the event, as in example (52)b (which is similar to (51)a above, the only difference being the object DP). The difficulty of the shot made the agent unsure whether he would be able to shoot the deer or not. Thus it is not the skill level of the shooter that is in question but the particulars of the event. In the second context offered in (52)b, the skill level of a novice hunter could have brought into question whether he would accomplish his shot or not. The difficulty could be due to external circumstances beyond the control of the agent, as in (52)c, context 1). Here the agent was having a difficult time getting employment and thus did not expect to work, but nevertheless he did get a job. The difficulty could also come about from some temporary personal circumstance such as

sickness, which prevented the agent for working temporarily, as in (52)c, context 2). The difficulty could be due to size of the task, as in (52)d, and not necessarily the capabilities of the agent.

This type of context (i.e., the difficulty context) is sometimes translated as *manage to* as in the above examples, and sometimes translated with *finally* as in the following examples. English *finally* seems to focus more on the completion of the event, and the counter-expectation that the event would complete because of these difficulties.

- (53) a. chen x̣éɫ-**nexw**-Ø ta sníchim
 1S.SUB write-LCTR-3OBJ DET word
 ‘I *finally* wrote the words.’
 Context: No one, including maybe myself, expected me to finish writing but I eventually did.
- b. na paym-**númut**-Ø
 RL rest-LCREFL-3SUB
 ‘She *finally* rested.’
 Context: she overworks herself, and so she was not expected to rest, but eventually she did.
- c. n-u chexw kw’ach-**nálhn**
 1S.SUB 2S.SUB look-LCUE
 ‘Did you *finally* get to see?’
 Context: I know that you wanted to see something but you weren’t able to before, and now I’m questioning if you got to see.

In (53)a, the difficulty may have been the difficulty of the writing process, which caused others to question its culmination. In (53)b, the difficulty may have been the agent’s own reluctance to take a break, which he unexpectedly overcame. In (53)c, the speaker knows that the agent was not able to see something after trying and is now questioning if she overcame whatever was stopping her from seeing.

In terms of the informal representation we have used thus far, we can understand this context of difficulty as in Figure 5. The agent initiates an event that is difficult to bring to culmination and he is, therefore, not sure that the event can be brought to completion. That is, the normal course of difficulty is failure. The final point (fe_m) in brackets, but with no dot on the top line in Figure 5 is meant to indicate the culmination is not expected. In fact, the agent may have initiated the same event a number of times without success. This is indicated by the other occurrences of ie on the top line (ie_1, ie_2). In each case the initiated event is terminated (indicated by the vertical line) without culmination. However, as in the accidental interpretation, something happens after ie_m such that the event comes to completion fe_n , even though the agent did not expect that completion was possible. The bottom line represents an event that is initiated and culminates as expected.



Figure 5 Difficulty normally results in failure

Since lc-predicates do not put any restrictions on the type of ie , they are compatible with this type of context. In English, this type of situation can be explicitly encoded with *managed to X*, or *finally*, or *got to X*.

As with the accidental interpretation, I have only found the *managed to* interpretation in the past-perfective but not in future contexts. In this case, I propose that this is

because the normal course of events of difficulty is failure and something out of the ordinary must happen for the event to culminate. So the same reasoning applies as with the accidental interpretation: we cannot predict events that are out of the ordinary.

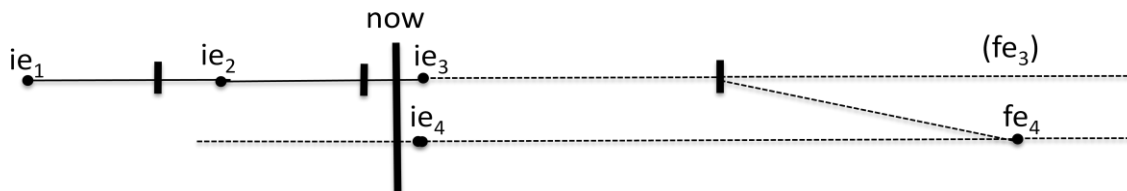


Figure 6 We can't predict unusual circumstances

If, however, the speech time occurs right after a turning point, i.e., when the difficulty is overcome and there is suddenly confidence that culmination will occur (as illustrated in Figure 7), then we expect lc-predicates to be possible. This prediction is borne out, as shown in the examples in (54).

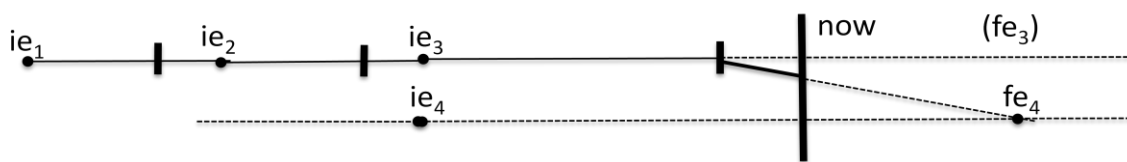


Figure 7 Overcoming difficulty creates confidence

- (54) a. wáyti kw'ach-nálhn chen ek' kwayl es
 maybe look-LCUE 1S.SUB FUT tomorrow 3CONJ
 'Maybe, I'll finally see (it) tomorrow.'
Context: I've been trying to see it for some time, but I'm thinking that I'll see it tomorrow.

- b. ts'its'ap'-**númut** chen ek' kwayl es
 work-LCREFL 1S.SUB FUT tomorrow 3conj
 'I'll finally get to work tomorrow.'

Context: I've been trying to get work for a while, but I've been assured that I'll have a job tomorrow.

In (54)a, it was not expected that the agent would get to see something perhaps after multiple attempts as indicated by the three **ie** on the top line and the lack of a period for **fe**₃. But, circumstances have changed and she is guessing that this change will result in her being successful at overcoming the difficulties that previously prevented her from seeing. In (46)b the agent was not able to work for a prolonged period because he was not able to get a job. But he has overcome this difficulty and has finally be promised a job and this is why he can say that he will get to work tomorrow. English use the adverb *finally* rather than *manage to* for such a context, where the agent has overcome difficulties which enable him to perform some event in the future.

Note for completeness that the expectation of non-completion and the difficulties perceived in event culmination does not have to be in the mind of the agent. Take the following example where the sun is the subject. In this example it is not the sun itself which is construed as expecting or not expecting to set. Rather, it is in the mind of the speaker (or the character the speaker is describing) where this counter-expectation is taking place. In fact, there is no real counter-expectation about the sun actually setting. Instead, it is a feeling that the sun would not set due the perception that it was taking longer than usual to set.

- (55) na kɛ̀n̩p-númut-Ø ta snek̩wm.
 RL set-LCREFL-3SUB DET sun
 ‘The sun finally set.’

In the normal course of events, if it is believed that an agent is not able to bring about the culmination of an event, then that event does not culminate. In the right discourse context, another possible way that an event does not proceed as normal is that even when the agent was not expected to be able to bring an event to culmination, nevertheless he does. Again, such an event can be described in English with the adverb *finally*.

4.2.4 **The normal course of events requires ability for completion**

The *able to* interpretation, like the *finally* interpretation, is also obtained with the lc-predicates in a number of different contexts, as I will now show. Again, I argue that the ability interpretation is not directly encoded in the lc-predicates. Instead lc-predicates are merely compatible with contexts where (impersonal) ability plays a role.

We start with a discussion of future contexts. I argue that the *ability* interpretation is similar to the *finally* interpretation. Consider again example (19)f, repeated here as (56). There are two possible contexts provided. In the first context the predicate is translated as *be able to work*, while in the second context it is translated as *finally work*.

- (56) ts'its'ap'-**numut** chen ek' kwayl es
 work-LCREFL 1S.SUB FUT next.day 3CONJ
- i) 'I'll be *able to* work tomorrow'
Context 1: I am recovering from being sick but I'm better now and so I'm sure I'll be ok to work tomorrow.
- ii) 'I'll *finally* work tomorrow.'
Context 2: I've been trying to get a job for a while but have been having difficulty, but I've been hired to work tomorrow.

In terms of our schematic representation, the first of the two contexts can be illustrated as in Figure 8. In the past, there was a time (the time of being sick) when the speaker knew that it was impossible for him to get to work, even if he tried. **ie₁** represents the event that would initiate an activity of getting work (e.g. having breakfast, driving to work). This event was not successful (indicated by the dashed line following **ie₁** indicating that this event did not culminate in the agent getting to work). Since the speaker has recovered from her illness now (indicated by the arrow), she predicts that tomorrow when she initiates those activities in preparation for work that she will be successful in completing them (this is indicated by **ie₂** followed by the bold line and then **fe₂**). The result of this success is that she will **be able to** work tomorrow.

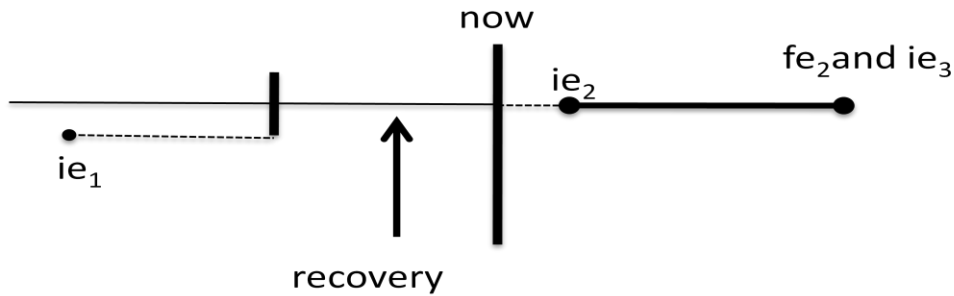


Figure 8 Overcoming difficulty creates ability in the future - Context 1
Context 1: I am recovering from being sick but I'm better now and so I'm sure I'll be ok to work tomorrow.

Since the speaker is certain that the event of getting to work will culminate (**fe₂**) the lc-predicate is felicitous in this context. Consequently, lc-predicates appear to give rise to the *impersonal ability interpretation*. Note that there is nothing unusual or difficult about the course of the future event. Rather, the difficulty lies in the past in the form of illness.

We now turn to the second context where (56) is felicitous. It minimally differs from the first one in that the events of initiating getting to a job happened repeatedly.

Therefore, two initiating events, (**ie₁**) and (**ie₂**) in Figure 9, are located on the time line meant to indicate that there was more than one attempt to get a job. Here the change of circumstance is the hiring event (which the arrow points to). This gives the agent confidence that when he initiates whatever activities are required to go to work tomorrow, that it will successfully result in him **finally** working tomorrow.

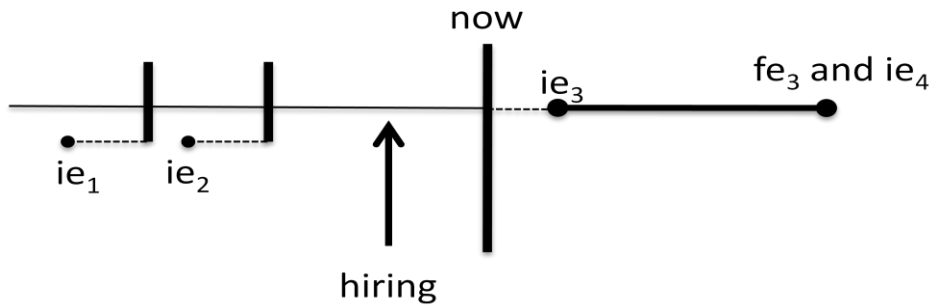


Figure 9 Overcoming difficulty creates ability in the future - Context 2
Context 2: I've been trying to get a job for a while, but have been having difficulty but I've been hired to work tomorrow.

Now observe the minimally contrasting clause without the lc-reflexive. This clause can be used in a context to express the intentions of the agent for tomorrow, that is, to work. It can also be used for disambiguation, wherein it is not clear which activity the agent will perform tomorrow, i.e., work instead of taking a break. But, it is not used to indicate the impersonal ability meaning.

(57) ts'its'ap' chen ek' kwayl es
 work 1S.SUB FUT next day 3CONJ
 'I'll work tomorrow.'

I assume that this is because bare root activities have only an initial point, followed by a process (Bar-el 2005), as indicated in Figure 10.

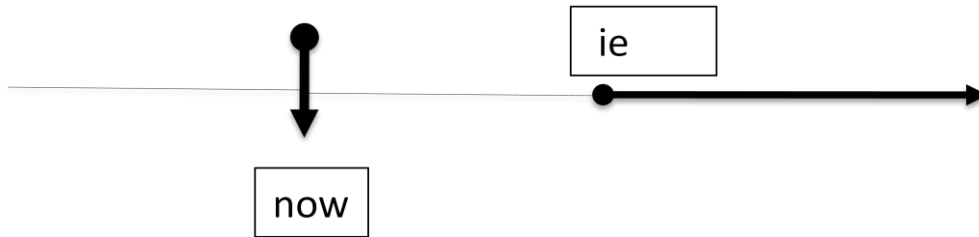


Figure 10 Activities only have initiation

In the absence of lc-marking the speaker can only assert in (57) that there will be an initiation of the event of working. The speaker does not make implicit reference to other events that lead up to him working tomorrow as we have with the lc-predicate version of this activity.

If all we need for the ability interpretation to surface is confidence that an event will culminate, and a context of difficulty, then we predict that it can also surface in the present tense, in the midst of an event that has not yet culminated in the real world. This prediction is borne out. Recall that with a predicate without overt tense reference, and where the word order is subject clitic followed by verb, the tense interpretation can be past or present. In the following example (58), this is the word order we have in the clause with the lc-predicate and it is translated into the present tense. The agent was not able to have a clear view of the mountains from her back yard because trees were blocking her view. But then she was able to see them because someone cut down the trees that were blocking the view.

- (58) a. na x̣itsk-án-t-m ta stseḳ.
 RL fell-TR-TR-PASS DET tree
 ‘They cut down the trees.’

chen melh kw'ach-nálhn
 1S.SUB so look-LCUE
 'Now I *can* see.'

Context: My view of the mountains was obstructed by trees before they cut the trees down.

The speaker had no view prior to the cutting down of the trees and therefore any attempt to see failed. But since circumstances changed (i.e., the trees got cut down), now she is able to see. Again, with the lc-ungative, culmination is achieved if the activity can take place.

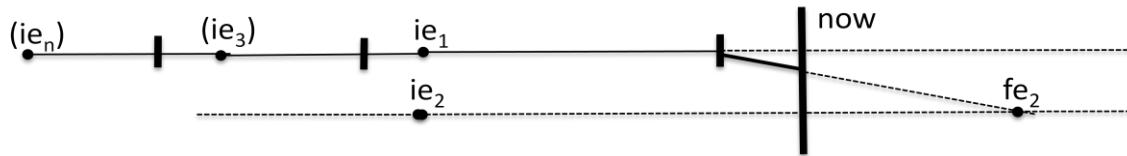


Figure 11 Confidence in the present tense

In this context, speakers of English may use *able to* or *finally* while speakers of Sḵwḵw7mesh may use lc-predicates.

Note that in order to understand this particular predicate, we have to understand the root *kw'ach* as meaning 'to look'. The c-transitive form (*kw'ach-t*) of this root, then, straightforwardly means 'to look at'. We must then understand that the culmination of an event of looking is to see. This is the lc-transitive form of this root, *kw'ach-nexw* 'to see'. We previously saw such mismatches between English and Sḵwḵw7mesh

regarding the lexicalization of c- vs. lc-transitive forms (cf. Chapter 1, §2.3 Table 3).

Thus, when the event of looking has culminated, then the agent will have seen the trees.

Another context where the *able to* meaning is obtained is when the lc-predicate is under the scope of negation, as in the following examples. I repeat example (19)c here as (59)a and (23)d as (59)b. In (59)a, the agent had difficulty in waking up because she was over-tired. In (59)b, the agent was not able to see because trees were in the way of the mountain view.

- (59) a. haw k-'an i umsm-númut
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES wake.up-LCREFL
 i) 'I didn't wake up.'
 ii) 'I *couldn't* wake up.'
- b. haw k-'an i kw'ach-nalhn
 NEG SBJ-1S.CONJ PRES look-LCUE
 'I *couldn't* see (them).'
- Context: The trees were blocking my view of the mountains.

As we have seen in Chapter 3, negation of an lc-predicate results in a *did not culminate* reading, the negation of culmination, i.e. an event non-completion reading. The event was initiated but it did not culminate. In terms of our schematic representation this can be illustrated as follows in Figure 12.

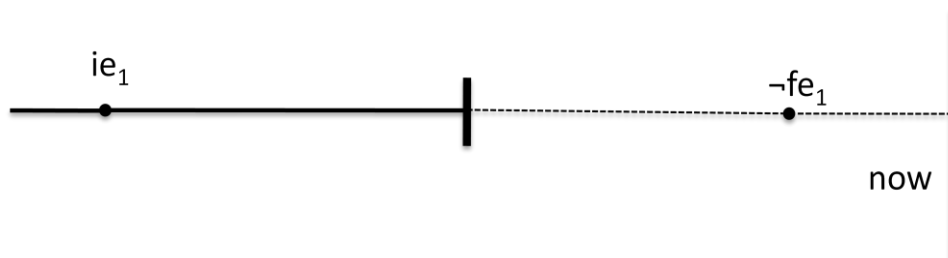


Figure 12 Negation cancels event culmination

The event of seeing (it) was initiated, but because of the circumstances culmination could not be reached (i.e., the trees were in the way). So under the normal course of events the event would have culminated (indicated by the dashed line leading up to fe_1). The obstructing trees changed the normal course of events such that culmination could not be reached. Thus by stating that the event was initiated but that it did not culminate, it can be inferred that the reason it did not culminated was because the agent *was not able to* in this context. Recall that in contrast, the c-predicate version under negation states that the event did not even start and this is the reason for the event not culminating.

The same type of analysis holds for the event of waking up. An event of waking was initiated. Under the normal course of events the agent would wake up; the event would have culminated. Circumstances (e.g., over-tiredness from over-work), though, prevented this culmination (indicated by the dashed line leading up to fe_1). Again, in English it is possible to use *couldn't* in this context (although this is not the only possible interpretation of the Skwxw7mesh sentence, as translation (i) shows).

4.2.5 Summary of limited control interpretations

We have now seen the contexts of use for lc-predicates. Due to the fact that they serve as delimitation predicates, the context of use restrictions are limited to the final event: lc-predicates are felicitous only if the event culminates. Culmination may be reached as part of the normal course of events, in which case the use of lc-predicates merely indicates completion. However, since no restriction is associated with the event leading up to culmination, including the initial event, lc-predicates are compatible with an

unusual course of events, i.e., one where initiation was not intentional or one where the agent was not in full control of the event due to its difficult nature. Because, in Słw7mesh, delimiting predicates systematically contrast with initiating predicates (in the form of c-predicates), they introduce a contrast. That is, the culminating event under discussion is (in most contexts) contrasted with a non-culminating event (either actual or hypothetical).

In the next subsection we briefly turn to the contexts of use for c-predicates.

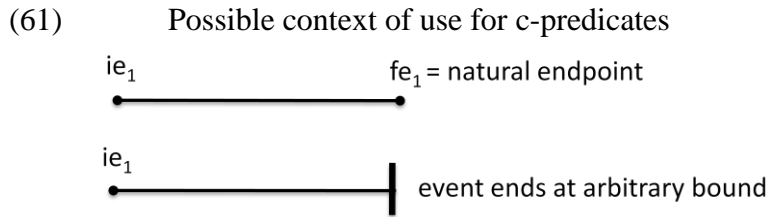
4.3 The contexts of use for c-predicates

As we have seen in Chapter 3, c-predicates do not require culmination and as such they pattern with accomplishments in initiating languages (in the sense of Ritter and Rosen 2000) as in (1)a, repeated below as (60):

(60) c-predicates = initiating predicates
 [ie -----]event

In light of the present analysis, this means that there should be no restrictions on the context of use associated with the final event. Instead, I argue that it only commits the speaker to asserting that an event is initiated (cf. (42)a). As mentioned in §4.1, just like lc-predicates, c-predicates can be used in contexts where the event proceeds as normal and with contexts where the event precedes in unusual ways. Regarding culmination, if the event proceeds as normal, it will culminate in its natural endpoint. If the event does

not proceed as normal, culmination does not occur. The event may be terminated by some arbitrary bound. This is schematized in (43), repeated below as (61).



We start with contexts where the event does indeed culminate. An example is provided in (62).

- (62) na xel-t-Ø-as ta sxwexwiým lha Mary
 RL write-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET story DET Mary
 ‘Mary wrote a story.’
 Speaker’s comments: ‘She wrote it ...she’s finished.’
 (Bar-el et al. 2005:6a)

We can now understand why event culmination is an implicature in out-of-the-blue contexts. By their very nature, out-of-the-blue contexts do not introduce any special types of context (Bar-el 2005:127-135, Bar-el et al. 2005). Instead, in such contexts discourse participants will assume the normal course of events. And since in their normal course events culminate, the sentence will be interpreted as referring to an event which came to completion. I propose that this constellation of facts gives rise to the impression that CONTROL is indeed about the degree of control an agent has over the event. In out-of-the-blue contexts, c-predicates are compatible with the normal course of events, in

which an intentional, controlling agent brings the event to completion giving us the impression that c-predicates require a controlling agent.

But just as c-predicates do not require culmination, they also do not require intentional agents for initiation, nor do they require the agent to remain in control of the event. In what follows, I show that c-predicates are fully compatible with events where the agent was unintentional, lacked full control and did not bring about the completion of the event. By showing this, I will demonstrate that c-predicates, like lc-predicates, do not have CONTROL-interpretations as a core part of their meaning.

In exploring culmination (Chapter 3) we have already seen examples which demonstrate that c-predicates do not require event culmination. I repeat one example below.

- (63) chen lhích' **it**-Ø ta seplín
1S.SUB cut-TR-3OBJ DET bread
'I tried to cut the bread,'
- welh es-kw'áy. an tl'exw-Ø
but STAT-cannot too hard-3SUB
'but I couldn't. It was too hard.'

In terms of the schematic representation of the context of use, we can illustrate this context as in Figure 13. An event of cutting got initiated (most likely with the intention of culmination). However, it turns out that cutting the bread was too hard for the speaker. This is indicated by the vertical which indicates a disruption to the normal course of events.

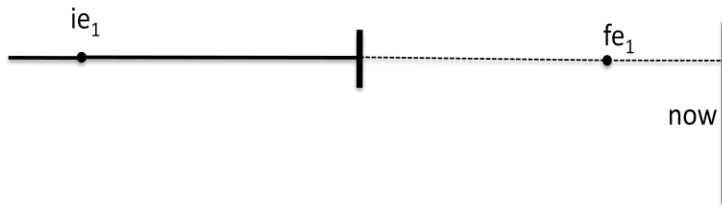


Figure 13 Initiation does not lead to culmination

Note that this context is almost identical to the accidental context, except for the fact that in the accidental context the initiated event gets off track and comes to an unintended culmination. Comparing the two contexts (as in Figure 14 and Figure 15 below) we observe that the c-predicate describes an event that is initiated but is interrupted arbitrarily and does not terminate (Figure 12). The lc-predicate also describes an event which was initiated and arbitrarily interrupted but, it also indicates that the event culminate in an unintended way. The interruption of the event also serves as an arbitrary bound, but in this case it is the unintended initial event of an accidental event that comes to completion (Figure 13).

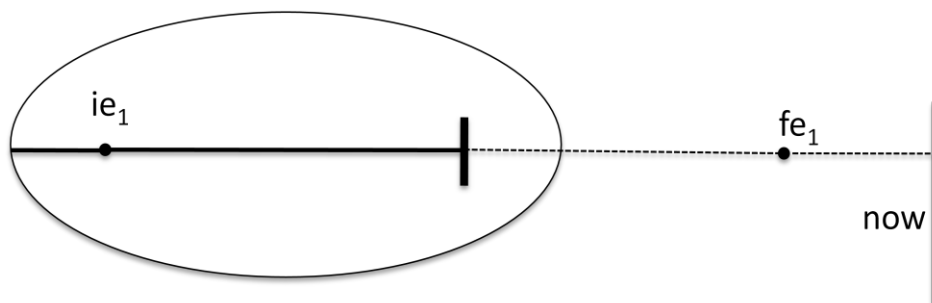


Figure 14 C-predicates assert the initial event

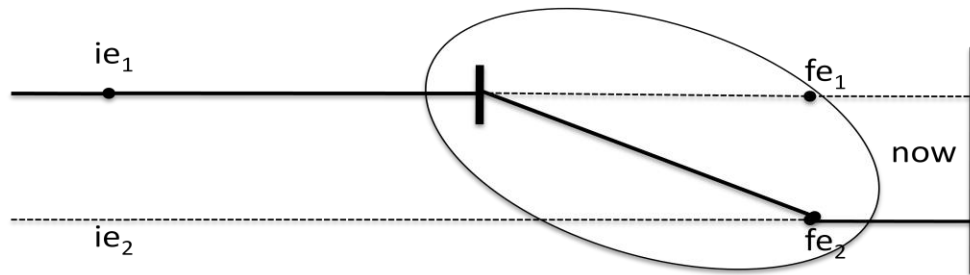


Figure 15 Lc-predicates assert the final event

What about the other proto-typical agent properties that are commonly associated with c-predicates, for example, intentionality? As we already discussed in Chapter 1, intentionality is not a prerequisite for the agent of a c-predicate. The agent of the c-predicate with the *-Vt* transitivizer in (64) is a force of nature. The agent of the c-unerative in (65) is also a force of nature. The agent of the c-reflexive in (66) is the inanimate door. Intentionality is not part of any of these agents. Because of these facts, I conclude that intentionality is not a necessary part of the meaning of a c-predicate.

(64) na *kp' -ét-Ø*-as ta spahím ta shewálh
 RL close-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET wind DET door
 'The wind closed the door.'

(65) na pe-pah-*ím-Ø* ta spahím ti stsi7s
 RL RE-blow-CUE-3SUB DET wind DET today
 'The wind is really blowing today.'

(66) na *kp' -ét-sut* ta shewálh
 RL close-TR-CREFL DET door
 'The door shut itself,

nilh kwi-s an-s pe-pah-ím
 foc DET-NOM very-3POS RE-blow-CUE
 because it was very windy.'

Just as with potentially intentional agents of c-predicates (i.e. human or animal agents), culmination is not required for inanimate agents of c-predicates. In the following example the agent, the wind, is pushing on the door, which would normally result in the door shutting. But, since the door is damaged, it does not shut.

(67) ta spahím na kp'-ét-Ø ta shewalh,
 DET wind RL shut-TR-3OBJ DET door
 'The wind shut the door,

welh na s-kw'ey-kw'áy-ach ta shewalh.
 but RL NOM-RED-cannot-hand DET door
 but the door was out of order.' (and therefore did not completely shut)

Recall example (3)b in Chapter 1, repeated here as (68) that intentionality is, in fact, not a requirement for lc-predicates either. The lc-transitive version of the same predicate as in (67) can also take a force of nature for its external argument.

(68) na k'ép'-nexw-Ø-as ta spahím ta shewálh
 RL shut-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET wind DET door
 'The wind shut the door.'

From these data in (67) and (68) we can conclude that intentionality is not an essential prerequisite for CONTROL in general.

What about the notion of control itself? Does the agent of a c-predicate necessarily have to have control over the event? It could be argued that in (64) and (65) the wind – even though it is not intentional – is still in control by nature of its force. But it is not possible to argue that the door in (66) is in control. This particular context indicates that

the reason the door shut was because of windy conditions. That is, it was the wind that shut the door rather than the door itself. Therefore, even though a c-predicate is used here, there is no connotation that the door had any sort of control over the event. On our account this is not surprising because the only restriction on the felicitous use of c-predicates is that there be an initial event. However, it need not be a prototypical event where the agent is in control. C-predicates are compatible with events that do not conform to the normal course of events.

Note one other interpretation that is obtained is the *tried to* interpretation. I repeat examples (9)b and (28) from Chapter 3 here as (69)a,b, respectively. This type of meaning is often called a conative meaning in Hebrew, Arabic and Biblical Greek grammars, where it describes a context where an attempt is made to perform an activity but the event never culminates. Such a meaning indicates that it is the agent's lack of full control which is the very reason why the event did not culminate.

- (69) a. chen lhích'-**it**-Ø ta seplín
 1S.SUB cut-TR-3OBJ DET bread
 'I *tried to* cut the bread,
- welh es-kw'áy. an tl'exw-Ø
 but STAT-cannot too hard-3SUB
 but I couldn't. It was too hard.'
- b. chen súxwt-**im** welh es-kw'áy
 1S.SUB recognize-CUE but STAT-cannot
 'I *tried to* recognize him, but I couldn't.'

This interpretation of c-predicates also provides evidence that our c-predicates are better understood as initiating predicates, or I-predicates. In this context where the culmination

of the c-predicate event is cancelled, the minimal requirement of the I-predicate is still met - the agent made an attempt to perform the event - she *tried to* do it.

Another feature of c-predicates is that they are fully compatible with the limited control type of contexts, such as *accidentally*, *managed to*, *finally* or *with difficulty*. The following example shows that c-predicates can be used in contexts where the agent did not intend to perform the act, as is indicated by the question to the speaker and her response.

- (70) chen síkw'-**in**-[]-Ø ti-n yekwáy.
 1S.SUB tear-TR-TR-3OBJ DET-1.POS dress
 'I tore my dress.'
 Interviewer: Could it be by accident?
 Speaker's comment: Yes.

Note, though, that while this accidental context is permissible with c-predicates, the lc-predicates are the preferred construction to encode an accidental event. I argue that c-predicates are not blocked from being used in contexts where the event was accidental because neither c-predicates nor lc-predicates have the meaning *accidentally* as an inherent part of their meaning. Without an explicit modifier encoding the notion of *accidentally*, lc-predicates are preferred since they imply these notions.

Another piece of evidence that c-predicates are compatible with accidental events comes from Dr. Louis Miranda's unpublished notes. He lists a c-predicate with the -Vn transitivizer as having *accidentally* as part of its meaning:

- (71) tíxw-**in**
 rip-TR
 'to rip the branches of trees off *accidentally*'

C-predicates are compatible with the overt predicate *yalh* 'finally', which indicates that the event took longer than planned (72)a, or that the event was not expected to culminate (72)b.

- (72) a. **men yalh** kwi s-Ø-s p'ayaḱ-én-t-Ø-as
 just finally DET NOM-RL-3POS fix-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ta-n tetxwem
 DET-1S.POS car
 'Finally he fixed my car.'
- b. **yalh** kwi s-Ø-s mikw'-in-t-Ø-as
 finally DET nom-RL-3POS wash-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ta naḱch-s lha Carrie
 DET hand-3POS DET Carrie
 'Carrie finally washed her hands.'

A c-predicate (here with the *-Vn* c-transitivizer) is compatible with an overt predicate that indicates that the agent lacks control: *eskw'áy* 'cannot'.

- (73) a. **es-kw'áy** kwi-s p'ayaḱ-én-t-Ø-as ta-n tetxwem
 STAT-cannot DET-nom fix-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET-1S.POS car
 'He *can't* fix my car.'
- b. **es-kw'áy** kwi-n-s ilhen-s-t-umi
 STAT-cannot DET-1S.POS-NOM eat-CAUS-TR-2S.OBJ
 'I cannot feed you.'

These examples demonstrate that, first, c-predicates are compatible with contexts where the agent does not have full control, in contexts with lc-interpretations such as *finally* (72)a-b, and in contexts where the agent is explicitly stated to not have the ability (73)a-b. Second, these examples also show that it is not necessary to have an lc-predicate in

these contexts. In fact, in my database, when explicit modifiers like *yalh* ‘finally’ or *eskw’áy* ‘cannot’ are present, c-predicates are preferred.

Finally, c-predicates are compatible with a context where the agent performed the act with difficulty as the following example shows:

- (74) an **tl’i7** kwi s-Ø-s xíkw’-in-t-Ø-as
 very difficult DET-NOM-RL-3POS chew-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
- ta seplín kwi-s an-s tl’exw.
 DET bread DET-NOM very-3POS hard
 ‘She had very hard time chewing the bread because it was so hard.’

In this example the agent had difficulty in performing the act of chewing, yet the c-transitive form *xíkw’in* ‘to chew’ is used. I assume that the c-predicate is used here since the description of difficulty is encoded explicitly with the higher predicate *tl’i7* ‘difficult’.

In this section, I have argued that the c-predicate minimally indicates that there is an initiation event. This means, then, that there is no restriction on the final event. If things proceed as normal, the c-predicate event culminates in the expected manner. But, it does not have to culminate. The initiating nature of c-predicates can be seen with the culmination cancellation test when it obtains the *tried to* interpretation, even though the predicate *t’á7tsut* ‘to try’ is not present. I also provided evidence that the c-predicates are compatible with contexts which are more typical of the lc-interpretations, such as, *finally*, *with difficulty* or with predicates that indicate that the agent lacked control such as *eskw’áy* ‘cannot’. I proposed that the c-predicate is acceptable in this contexts because there is already an explicit predicate encodes these notions, and thus the lc-predicate

version, which implies these same meanings. From these facts I conclude that the core meaning of c-predicate is not a controlling agent, but rather event initiation.

5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the contexts of use for c- and lc-predicates. In §3 I examined the lc-interpretations and the linguistic contexts these meanings occurred in. I showed that the lc-interpretations are dependent on the discourse context and not the linguistic context. I demonstrated that none of the lc-interpretations is exclusive to any one linguistic context. For example, in past-perfective contexts, either the ‘accidentally’ or ‘managed to’ meanings are found. Which of these meaning occurs is dependent solely on the discourse contexts. On the other hand, some meanings are restricted from certain linguistic contexts. For example, the two meanings ‘accidentally’ and ‘managed to’ are not found in future tense contexts. I take this to be a feature of the English translation and not an inherent meaning difference.

Having argued that these interpretations are not inherent to the predicates themselves, I proposed instead that they arise from the aspectual nature of these predicates. C-predicates, as initiating predicates, only place a restriction on the predicate that its event is initiated. They are compatible with, but do not require, culmination. Culmination is obtained if the event proceeds as usual, but if the event does not proceed as usual, culmination may not happen. If a c-predicate is used to encode an event, and no further information is provided, it is assumed the agent was intentional, she was in

control of the event and she brought it to culmination. This is how the impression arises that c-predicates have controlling agents. As demonstrated in this chapter, though, c-predicates can be used in contexts where the agent does not have control.

Lc-predicates, as delimiting predicates, only place a restriction on the predicate that its event culminates. Its use does not commit the speaker to making any claims about the nature of the initiation of the event, or the carrying out of the event. Therefore lc-predicates are compatible with contexts in which events do not occur as usual. For example, lc-predicates are compatible with, but do not require, an unintentional/non-volitional agent (that is, the ‘accidental’ meaning). They are also compatible with instances where the carrying out of the event was more difficult than the agent planned for (that is, the ‘managed to’ meaning). Thus, when an lc-predicate is used, it may be assumed that the agent performed the event ‘accidentally’ or only ‘managed to’ bring the event to culmination. This, I argue, is how the impression arises that lc-predicates have agents with only limited control. As demonstrated in this chapter, though, lc-predicates can be used in contexts where the agent has control.

This is summarized in Table 75.

	predicate type	status of other event	context of use
c-predicates	initiating	final event (fe) natural	normal course of events (event culmination)
		final event (fe) arbitrary	culmination not required
lc-predicates	delimiting	initial event (ie) natural	normal course of events (event initiation intended)
		initial event (ie) arbitrary	intended event initiation not required

Table 75 C- and lc-predicates and their context of use

As far as culmination is concerned, Skwxwumesh differs from purely initiating languages, where accomplishments always pattern with activities, and purely delimiting languages, where accomplishments always pattern with achievements. That is, accomplishments in Skwxwumesh pattern with activities when they are marked as c-predicates, and they pattern with achievements when they are marked as lc-predicates. As a consequence, we expect that the context of use for the initiating c-predicates and the delimiting lc-predicates may differ from the corresponding predicates in languages that lack this contrast. I argue that it is precisely the existence of this systematic and obligatory contrast between the two types of predicates which is responsible for our impression that the contrast is about the degree of control the agent has over the event.

I have shown that many but not all of the interpretations that occur with the Lillooet circumstantial modal *ka-* *-a* overlap with the lc-interpretations that are obtained with lc-predicates in Skwxwumesh. A crucial difference is that predicates with *ka-* *-a* do not have actuality entailments (that is, they do not have to take place in the actual world), pointing towards their core modal meaning, while lc-predicates in Skwxwumesh have

culmination entailments, indicating that their core meaning is aspectual. If CONTROL is a construct across Salish, this type of difference in the basic meaning of the construction(s) that it occurs in is to be expected. This conclusion leads to an interesting question with regards to the nature of CONTROL in other languages of the world. For example, Austronesian languages have been described as having CONTROL meanings, and they have limited control-type meanings such as *able to* and *accidentally* (cf. Gerdts 1979 for Ilokano, Travis 2000 for Malagasy and Tagalog). The constructions that these CONTROL meanings occur in, as in *Skw̓w̓w̓mesh*, also have culmination entailments.

In the next chapter I will return to the question regarding the morphology-semantics mapping. That is, we have seen that c-predicates and lc-predicates differ in their core meaning: the former are compatible with non-culminating events while the latter require culmination. Moreover, in this section, we have treated all c-predicates uniformly and all lc-predicates uniformly. This leaves us with the question regarding the differences between the various c-predicates we have examined in Chapter 3 - the c-transitives, c-unergative and c-reflexives - and between the various lc-predicates that we have examined: lc-transitives, lc-unergatives, and lc-reflexives.

Chapter 5: The morphosyntax of CONTROL

1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide a morphosyntactic analysis of CONTROL. We have seen in Chapter 3 that the difference between c-predicates and lc-predicates is an aspectual one: c-predicates do not require culmination whereas lc-predicates do. I also showed that c-predicates minimally require event initiation. I proposed that the behaviour of these two types of predicates is very similar to the contrast between initiating (I) and delimiting (D) languages in the sense of Ritter and Rosen (2000). In I-languages, accomplishments pattern with activities in that they do not require culmination; in D-languages, accomplishments pattern with achievements in that they do require culmination. S_kw_xwu7mesh is interesting in that we find the same contrast language-internally. When c-predicates are used, S_kw_xwu7mesh looks like an I-language, neither activities nor c-predicates require culmination, but do require initiation. But when lc-predicates are used, S_kw_xwu7mesh looks like a D-language, both achievements and lc-predicates require culmination. Therefore, I have referred to c-predicates and lc-predicates as initiating (I-)predicates and delimiting (D-)predicates, respectively.

There are at least two consequences of the availability of this contrast within a single language. The first has to do with the context of use, as discussed in Chapter 4. Given that a speaker of S_kw_xwu7mesh has a choice between the two types of predicates, it

comes as no surprise that the choice of one type of predicate over the other comes with certain inferences. That is, the use of a D-predicate comes with restrictions concerning the final event, but places no restrictions on the nature of the initial event. As a consequence, lc-predicates are compatible with accidental events and events where the agent lacks full control. In contrast, the use of a c-predicate comes only with a requirement that there be an initiating event, but places no restriction on the nature of the final event. As a consequence, c-predicates are compatible with events that culminate and with ones that do not culminate.

The second consequence of the availability of this contrast within a single language is that it must be marked in some way. The precise nature of this marking constitutes the focus of the present chapter. In particular, I provide an analysis in which there is no particular morpheme that marks lc-predicates as such (§2). That is, the actual morphological difference between c- and lc-transitives is not the presence of c- and lc-(in)transitivizers as I have assumed thus far following previous analyses of *Skw̥w̥mesh* (Jacobs 2007, Kuipers 1967). A consequence of this morphological reanalysis is that we cannot postulate a simple mapping between the morphology of a given predicate and its semantic interpretation. Rather, I argue that this mapping is mediated by the syntax. To do this, I first argue for an analysis of c- and lc-transitives in which the only morphological difference is a difference in object agreement. I then draw on much recent work on the mapping of certain semantic components of event structure to the syntactic structure (§3). I argue that transitive c-transitives differ from lc-transitives in the syntactic position of object agreement. Whereas the object agreement of c-predicates is associated with VP, the object agreement of lc-transitives is associated

with a functional projection dedicated to the representation of final subevents, i.e., (inner) Asp(ect) or as I call it - FP-delimit (§4) following Ritter and Rosen (2000). As such, the difference between c- and lc-predicates can be viewed as the head-marking equivalent of languages in which the value of telicity (i.e., whether or not the event reaches its natural endpoint) correlates with case-marking, an instance of dependent marking. I further show how this analysis extends to the non-core cases of c- and lc-predicates: causatives and intransitives (§5). Note, though, that nothing of my conclusions from Chapters 3 and 4 hinges on the reanalysis of CONTROL marking that I present in this chapter. The first order of business then is to present an analysis of the c- and lc-transitives such that their only morphological difference is different types of object agreement.

2 In search of the morphological marking of CONTROL

In this section I provide a reanalysis of the transitivizer system in S_{kwxu}7mesh. I first observe that the presence of *-t* correlates with predicates that lack culmination entailments. Because of this observation I propose that *-t* is responsible for the lack of culmination entailment, albeit in an indirect way, as I will show. All occurrences of *-t* are its own morpheme (§2.1). This leaves us with the question as to why *-t* does not always surface. I provide a phonological account for this in §2.2. Furthermore, I provide a reanalysis of the transitivizers in the three c-predicates we have discussed thus far: *-t*, *-Vt*, and *-Vn* (§2.3) Finally, I provide a reanalysis of the lc-transitive predicates. In particular, I will argue that the *-n* found in the c-predicates and in the lc-predicates is the same morpheme (§2.4).

2.1 The transitivizer *-t*

Consider Table 76. It is essentially the same table as Table 65 in Chapter 3. However, we have simply divided the morphemes up depending on whether they contain a *-t* or not.

What jumps out is that no predicate that contains *-t* is associated with culmination entailments.

		culmination entailment	culmination implicature
With <i>-t</i>	-t	✗	✓
	-Vt	✗	✓
	-Vn-t	✗	✓
	-s-t	✗	✓
	-t-sut	✗	✓
	-nit	✗	(?)
	-shit	✗	(?)
	-miñ-t	✗	(?)
	-ch'ewañ-t	✗	(?)
no <i>-t</i>	-im	✗	✗
	-nexw	✓	
	-nalhn	✓	
	-numut	✓	

Table 76 Culmination entailments: *-t* or no *-t*

This leads me to the first step in my reanalysis. In particular, I propose that *-t* is a separate morpheme. In other words, *-t* is never ‘fused’ with a preceding transitivizer.

This reanalysis affects the *-Vt*, *-nit* and *-shit* transitivizers. This change in analysis is represented as follows:

(1) Reanalysis of final *-t*

	Kuipers (1967)		Jacobs (this account)	
a.	<i>-Vt</i>	→	<i>-V-t</i>	c-transitivizer
b.	<i>-nit</i>	→	<i>-ni-t</i>	relational applicative
c.	<i>-shit</i>	→	<i>-shi-t</i>	redirective applicative

The following examples demonstrate this reanalysis for *-Vt*, *-nit* and *-shit*:

- (2) a. *-V*
chen ch'aw-**a**-t-umi
1S.SUB help-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
'I help you.'
- b. *-ni*
chen yewiñts-**ni**-t-Ø
1S.SUB understand-RELAPPL-TR-3OBJ
'I understand him.'
- c. *-shi*
chen ts'its'áp'-**shi**-t-Ø
1S.SUB work-REDAPPL-TR-3OBJ
'I worked for him.'

While I have proposed that *-t* is a separate morpheme, we are still left with the question of why it does not always surface phonetically. I now turn to a phonological sketch for the appearance/disappearance of *-t*.

2.2 The disappearing *-t*

Note in the following examples in (3) the transitivizer *-t* surfaces phonetically.

- (3) a. *-t*
 na p'i7-**t**-as
 RL grab-TR-3SUB
 'He grabbed it.'
- b. *-Vt*
 chen ch'áw-**a-t**-umi
 1S.SUB help-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
 'I help you.'
- c. *-Vn-t*
 na lhákʷ'-**an-t-Ø**-as
 RL slap-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He slapped him.'
- d. *-s-t*
 na ta7-**s-t-Ø**-as ta kw'áxwa7
 RL do-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET box
 'He made a box.'

In the next examples, however, *-t* only surfaces when it directly follows the root as in (4)a or when it follows the transitivizers *-a* in (4)b. When it follows the transitivizer *-Vn* in (4)c or *-s* in (4)d, it is not realized.

- (4) a. *-t*
 chen kw'ach-**t-Ø**
 1S.SUB look-TR-3OBJ
 'I looked at it.'
- b. *-V-t*
 chen ch'aw-**a-t-Ø**
 1S.SUB help-TR-TR-3OBJ
 'I helped him/her.'
- c. *-Vn-[]*
 chen lhákʷ'-**an-[]-Ø**
 1S.SUB slap-TR-TR-3OBJ
 'I slapped him.'

- d. -s-[]
 chen tá7-s-[]-Ø ta kw'áxwa7
 1S.SUB do-CAUS-TR-3OBJ DET box
 'I made a box.'

So why does *-t* not always surface? To answer this question I propose the following: when *-t* occurs word finally and it immediately follows another transitivizer, which itself has a final consonant, then *-t* is deleted. This accounts for all the data in (3)-(4). In all examples in (3), the transitivizer *-t* is not word final and therefore it is not deleted. In (4)a, *-t* does not delete because, while it is word final, it does not follow a transitivizer. In (4)b, *-t* does not delete because, while it is word final, the transitivizer it follows does not have a final consonant. In (4)c-d, *-t* does delete because it is word final and it follows a transitivizer which has a final consonant.

Recall that *-t* with the applicatives has a similar distribution to that with *-t* and the c-transitivizers. When it is word internal, it surfaces phonetically as in the following examples in (5):

- (5) a. *-ni-t*
 na yewínts-ni-**t**-Ø-as
 RL understand-RELAPPL-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He understands him.'
- b. *-shi-t*
 na ts'its'áp'-shi-**t**-Ø-as
 RL work-REDAPPL-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He worked for him.'
- c. *-min't*
 na tkwaya7n-min-**t**-Ø-as
 RL listen-CAUSAPPL-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He listened to him.'

- d. *-ch'ewán'-t*
 na lulum-ch'ewán-**t**-Ø-as
 RL sing-BENAPPL-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He sang for him.'

When *-t* is word final following an applicative that does not have a final consonant, it surfaces as in (6)a-b. However, when *-t* follows an applicative that does have a final consonant, then *-t* is deleted as in (6)c-d.

- (6) a. *-ni-t*
 chen yewínts-**ni-t**-Ø
 1S.SUB understand-RELAPPL-TR-3OBJ
 'I understand him.'
- b. *-shi-t*
 chen ts'its'áp'-**shi-t**-Ø
 1S.SUB work-REDAPPL-TR-3OBJ
 'I worked for him.'
- c. *-mín-[]*
 chen tkwaya7n-**mín**-[]-Ø
 1S.SUB listen-CAUSAPPL-TR-3OBJ
 'I listened to him.'
- d. *-ch'ewán'-[]*
 chen lulum-**ch'ewán**-[]-Ø
 1S.SUB sing-BENAPPL-TR-3OBJ
 'I sang for him.'

Even though Skwxwu7mesh regularly allows large consonant clusters, in this subdomain of the grammar with the transitivizers it appears not to. A formal phonological account, though, is still required for why *-t* deletes only in this subdomain of the grammar. Note that another morpheme *t*, the oblique *t*-, regularly deletes when it precedes a determiner that itself begins with a segment *t* as in example (7). This, I argue,

at least shows that consonant cluster reduction is active elsewhere in the grammar (although obviously not across the board).

- (7) chet kxw-im̃ (t)-ta sts'á7kin
1PL.SUB collect-CUE OBL-DET bullrush
'We collect bullrushes.'

Also note, that some speakers, when speaking slowly and exactly, have on occasion include *-t* word finally in those environments where it is normally deleted. In the following example *-t* occurs word finally following a transitivizer which has a final consonant, yet *-t* is not deleted.

- (8) chen us-uñ-t-Ø
1S.SUB teach-TR-TR-3OBJ
'I teach them.'

2.3 **Reanalyzing the c-transitivizers *-Vn*, *-V-t* and *-t***

In this section I provide a reanalysis of the c-transitive predicates with *-V*, *-Vt* and *-Vn*. My first observation concerns the c-transitivizer *-Vn*. With most CVC roots, the vowel (V) of the transitivizer is realized as a copy vowel of the root. This is illustrated with all four vowels in (9).

-*Vn* vowel is realized as copy vowel: most CVC roots

- (9) a. na yéxw-en-t-Ø-as ta skwemáy.
 RL free-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET dog
 ‘He untied the dog.’
- b. na páts’-an-t-Ø-as ta hémtén
 RL sew-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET blanket
 ‘She sewed a blanket.’
- c. na míkw’-in-t-Ø-as ta lhénptén
 RL clean-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUBDET floor
 ‘He washed the floor.’
- d. na lhút’-un-t-Ø-as ta tiy
 RL slurp-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET tea
 ‘He slurped the tea.’

However, in casual speech, this vowel -*V* is often reduced to schwa. Thus, roots which have full vowels as in (9)(10)b,c,d, often have the -*V* vowel realized as schwa instead of as a copy vowel as in (10)a-c.

-*Vn* vowel is realized as schwa

- (10) a. na páts’-en-t-Ø-as ta hémtén
 RL sew-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET blanket
 ‘She sewed a blanket.’
- b. na míkw’-en-t-Ø-as ta lhénptén
 RL clean-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUBDET floor
 ‘He washed the floor.’
- c. na lhút’-en-t-Ø-as ta tiy
 RL slurp-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET tea
 ‘He slurped the tea.’

The vowel -*V* does not surface with a small number of CVC roots. These roots have either a *y* coda as in (11)a or glottal stop coda as in (11)b.

-*Vn* vowel is not realized: root is CVy or CV7

- (11) a. chen chá-y-n-t-umi
1S.SUB chase-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
'I chased you.'
- b. chen mú7-n-t-umi
1S.SUB drop-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
'I dropped/let go of you.'

For any root or stem larger than CVC, the –*V* is realized as schwa as in (12).

However, if the syllable that this sequence occurs in is stressed, then the schwa is strengthened to *á* as in (13).

-*Vn* vowel is realized as *e*: STEM + -*Vn* (*V* is unstressed)

- (12) chen p'í7-shn-en-[]-Ø
1S.SUB grab-foot-TR-TR-3OBJ
'I grab him by the foot.'

-*Vn* vowel is realized as *á*: STEM + -*Vn* (-*V* is stressed)

- (13) p'í7-shn-án-[]-Ø chexw
grab-foot-TR-TR-3OBJ 2S.SUB
'Grab him by the foot!'

I make the following claims about this vowel. Because this vowel only appears as a copy vowel when it is next to CVC roots as in (9)b,c,d, I assume, following Dyck's (2004) proposal, that the copy vowel phenomenon is actually a phonotactic property of the root. This implies that this vowel is not actually part of the transitivizer itself. Bates et al. (1994) also make a similar, though not identical, claim for Lushootseed where they analyze all occurrences of copy vowels as part of the root. The following is a brief phonological account of how this vowel can be accounted for according to root and foot structure instead of being a part of the lexical entry of the transitivizer.

I propose that the copy vowel phenomenon is a property of the phonotactics of the root and not of the transitivizers. I argue that not every vowel that surfaces as a copy vowel is derived from the same source. My proposal is based on Dyck's (2004:288-317) proposal for copy vowels in Skw̄wu7mesh. According to this proposal a copy vowel is an underspecified vowel, and an underspecified vowel in the same foot as the root gets its features from the root vowel.³⁴ The following example shows how this works for the *-V-t* construction:

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| (14) lhičʰ-V-t | underlying morphemes: | cut-TR-TR |
| [lhi.chʰVt] | foot structure | |
| [lhi.chʰit] | copy vowel | |

In this example, the transitivizer *-V* (which is an underspecified vowel) gets parsed into the same foot as the root. This vowel gets its features from the root vowel because it is in the same foot.³⁵

As for the vowel in the *-Vn-t* construction, I propose that it is simply an epenthetic vowel which is inserted to break up a consonant cluster which arises from the

³⁴ As for lexical suffixes which occur adjacent to the root, Dyck (2004) has them in the same phonological domain as the root. In essence, they are part of the root. This claim is compatible with Blake (2001) who on phonological grounds analyzes lexical suffixes as bound roots in Sliammon. Wiltschko (2009) also claims that lexical suffixes in Halkomelem are bound roots as opposed to unbound roots or other types of suffixes. Thus the 'root' plus lexical suffix is actually a root plus root combination. Assuming this account, we could derive why the suffixation of lexical suffixes never results in a copy vowel (or even an epenthetic schwa): they are still part of the root.

³⁵ Elsewhere, an unspecified vowel gets its value from an interaction with adjacent consonants and from stress.

concatenation of the root plus transitivizers. It also gets its features from the root vowel, as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (7) | yuts'-n-t-Ø
[yu.ts'nt]
[yu.ts'ent]
[yu.ts'unt] | underlying morphemes: nudge-TR-TR-3OBJ
foot structure
epenthetic vowel
epenthetic vowel realized as a copy vowel |
|-----|---|---|

In this construction the two transitivizers are parsed in the same foot as the root. An epenthetic vowel is inserted between the root and the first transitivizer *-n*, presumably due to well-formedness conditions for syllables. This underspecified vowel gets its features from the root vowel.

This proposal is also able to account for why *c*-predicates with roots or stems of the shape CVCX, with the transitivizer *-n*, never have a copy vowel. Take the following example in (15)

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|
| (15) | lhich'-kw-n-t-Ø
[lhich'] [kwent] | underlying morphemes: cut-head-TR-TR-3OBJ
foot structure |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|

Here the transitivizer *-n* and the preceding epenthetic vowel are never in the same foot as the root and hence there is no copy vowel. The epenthetic vowel is realized as schwa.

Further support for this proposal comes from the *lc*-predicates. I argue that the reason that none of the *lc*-predicates ever has an epenthetic/copy vowel is because a consonant cluster never arises in the concatenation of an *lc*-predicate. Take the three examples in (16).

- (16) a. yuts'-nexw underlying morphemes: nudge-LCTR-3OBJ
 [yuts'] [nexw] foot structure
- b. yuts'-n-emsh underlying morphemes: nudge-LCTR-1S.OBJ
 [yuts'] [nemsh] foot structure
- c. yuts'-n-umi underlying morphemes: nudge-LCTR-2OBJ
 [yuts'] [nu.mi] foot structure

In all three examples, the root is parsed as its own foot - a CVC foot. Dyck (2004) argues that CVC is a sufficient foot in *Skw̥xwu7mesh*. With this foot structure, the schwa of the following suffix in (16)a-b is in a different foot than the root. Since the requirement on copy vowels only applies to the root foot, any other foot remains unaffected. In fact, all lc-marking always has a vowel after the *n*, the same structure as in (16) will always be obtained where the root itself forms its own foot. This, I argue, is why the lc-predicates never have a copy vowel of the root and why c-predicates with *-n* most often do have a copy vowel of the root.

Another reason that I posit that the *-V* in the *-V-t* construction is different than the epenthetic vowel in the *-n-t* construction, has to do with stress. Dyck (2004) notes that the vowel in the *-V-t* construction receives stress when it is realized as schwa (8)a.³⁶ The

³⁶ The schwa of this root gets deleted since it is pretonic. Compare:

- i) chen tl'exw
 1s.sub beat
 'I lost, I got beat.'

copy vowel version of the epenthetic vowel in the *-n-t* construction never gets stress next to the root, whether the epenthetic vowel is realized as schwa (8)b or not (8)c.

- (17) a. na tl'xw-é-t-Ø-as
 RL beat-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'S/he beat him' (in a contest)
- b. na lése-n-t-Ø-as *lesé-n-t-Ø-as
 RL low-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'S/he lowered it.'
- c. na mík-w'í-n-t-Ø-as *mík-w'í-n-t-Ø-as
 RL clean-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'S/he washed it.'

Because of these differences in stress, I assume that the *-V* in the *-V-t* construction has weight like a full vowel, but unlike schwa.

The following piece of evidence may indicate that the copy vowel phenomenon is not relegated to just the (in)transitivizer domain. *Skw̥wu7mesh* has a small set of CV7 roots, that is, roots which have a glottal stop for their coda. When these roots surface as bare roots, they have an extra copy vowel of the root following the root, as in (18)a-b. Note that the root *ta7* in (18)b no longer has the copy vowel when it is further suffixed in (18)c-d.

- (18) a. tl'u7-u
 rest-?epenthetic.vowel
 'to rest after pain'

- b. tá7-a
happen-?epenthetic.vowel
'to happen'
- c. ta7-s
make-CAUS
'to make, tr'
- d. tá7-n-exw
make-TR-3OBJ
'to make (tr)'

A possible reason for the insertion of an epenthetic vowel here may have to do with well-formedness conditions for feet. It may be that there is a requirement that a predicate must minimally consist of a foot. If the glottal stop is not a sufficient coda to create a CVC foot, then in order to create a full foot an extra vowel is added: a vowel without features. It creates the foot: [CV.7V]. [CV.CV] is another acceptable foot according to Dyck (2004). Since the added vowel does not have any features and it is in the same foot as the root vowel, it receives its features from the root vowel. Importantly for our discussion, this instance of a copy vowel is not related to the presence of an (in)transitivizer.

A formal phonological account is, of course, required for all of these phenomena, especially one that more fully articulates the relationship of epenthetic vowels to schwa. This brief discussion here was intended to show that the postulation of a copy vowel which is independent of the transitivizer is at least possible. In fact, all the necessary pieces for the analysis are already in place in Dyck's (2004) account.

There is one more necessary assumptions we have to make for the proposed analysis to go through. In particular, for those roots where *-t* appears to be the sole transitivizer,

we have to argue that there is in fact an additional zero transitivizer preceding *-t*, as shown in (19).

- (19) Reanalysis of *-t* transitivizer construction
 Kuipers (1967) Jacobs (2011)
 STEM-*t* → STEM- \emptyset -*t*

The following examples demonstrates this reanalysis:

Zero transitivizer \emptyset construction

- (20) a. chen kwélash- \emptyset -*t*- \emptyset ta míxalh
 1S.SUB shoot-TR-TR-3OBJ DET bear
 ‘I shot the bear.’
- b. na lhén- \emptyset -*t*- \emptyset -as ta hémtén lha Mary
 RL weave-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET blanket DET Mary
 ‘Mary wove a blanket.’

We now have the following four c-transitivizer constructions, which all have two transitivizers.

- (21) Four c-transitivizer reanalyzed (Jacobs 2011)
- a. STEM- \emptyset -*t* c-transitivizer
 - b. STEM-*V*-*t* c-transitivizer
 - c. STEM-*n*-*t* c-transitivizer
 - d. STEM-*s*-*t* causative transitivizer

Such an analysis still leaves unanswered our earlier question, though: what conditions the distribution of these different transitivizers (*-n*, *-V*, \emptyset and *-s*)? For the first three c-transitivizers, I claim that they are allomorphs of the same transitivizer, which I assume is underlyingly *-n*. This claim is very similar to Kuipers’ (1967:69) in that he calls his c-transitivizers *-Vt* or *-t* “non-automatic allomorphs” of *-n*. My analysis differs, though, in

that I claim that *-t* is a separate morpheme in every case. That is, I claim that there are no cases where *-t* has been lexicalized as part of a preceding transitivizer. I provide an analysis of the causative in §6.1. Recall, c-predicates formed with *-V* or with *-∅* are from a closed sets of roots. In Appendix A, §1, I provide all 59 roots that are known to occur with *-∅*, which I call the zero transitivizer. In Appendix A, §2, I provide all 70 roots that are known to occur with the *-V* transitivizer, which I will call the vowel transitivizer. Appendix A, §3, has all 233 CVC roots that are known to occur with the *-n* transitivizer. Roots and stems longer than CVC all occur with *-n* (with a few exceptions which occur with the zero transitivizer). We now have an answer to our question. The distribution of the zero transitivizer, as well as the *-V* transitivizer, is lexically conditioned. In contrast, the *-n* transitivizer is the else-where case. After providing a phonological account for stress patterns with these transitive constructions, Dyck (2004) comes to a similar conclusion: the occurrence of the *-V* or *-∅* allomorphs is determined by the lexicon. That is, these allomorphs are not phonologically conditioned by root shape. The differences from Dyck (2004) are that I have posited that a zero transitivizer is also present in the *-t* construction.

Having motivated the claim that *-t* is a separate morpheme, and that it is underlyingly present with all c-transitives, I now turn to my reanalysis of the limited control constructions.

2.4 Reanalysis of the morphology of limited control transitives

If *-t* is a separate morpheme, we are still left with a question about the limited control transitive. Why is it the only transitivizer to not have *-t* present? Why is it the only transitive construction to not have two transitivizers?

- (22) na kw'ach-nexw-(*t)-Ø-as
RL see-TR-TR-3OBJ-SUB
'He saw it.'

I propose that a partial answer to this question lies in the claim that *-nexw* is morphologically complex. It can be decomposed into *-n* and *-exw*. Furthermore, I argue, the initial *-n* morpheme is, in fact, the very same *-n* that we find in some of the *c*-predicates, and that the *-exw* morpheme is an overt third person agreement marker.³⁷ I have three reasons to motivate this claim.

The first reason has to do with the lc-paradigm. The only segment common to whole limited control paradigm is the segment *-n*. This is shown in the following table which provides all the occurrences of limited control marking for both the lc-transitives and the lc-intransitives in *Skw̄x̄wu7mesh*. Note that the only construction that the sequence *-n-exw* occurs in is with a third person object.

³⁷ Thank you to Henry Davis for getting me to think about why there is an *-n* in both the *c*-transitives and the lc-transitive constructions.

	Limited control
1 st person singular object	<i>-n-emsh</i>
1 st person plural object	<i>-n-umulh</i>
2 nd person object	<i>-n-umi</i>
3 rd person object	<i>-n-exw</i>
passive	<i>-n-m</i>
reflexive	<i>-n-umut</i>
reciprocal	<i>-n-ewas</i>
unergative	<i>-n-alhn</i>

Table 77 Occurrences of limited control marking in *Skw̄x̄wu7mesh*

A second reason that I analyze *-n*, rather than *-nexw*, as the relevant transitivizer in the limited control constructions in *Skw̄x̄wu7mesh* is that it provides for a simpler phonological account. In my account for the lc-predicates, the predicate has the transitivizer *-n* followed by the respective lc-marker. The only phonological requirement is simply the attachment of the relevant suffixes to the transitivizer *-n*. Now compare this to Kuipers' (1967) account summarized in (23) below for his lc-transitivizer *-nexw*:

(23) Phonological distribution of *-nexw* (Kuipers 1967:69)

-nexw → *-n*_____ / object suffixes
*-n*_____ /passive
*-nexw*_____#
*-nexw*_____ /subject suffixes

Kuipers' account requires that the lc-transitivizer has two allomorphs *-n* and *-nexw*. It is not clear, however, how to characterize the phonological environment which conditions this allomorphy. One possibility is to propose that *-exw* deletes in the environment of a suffix. But, this would not account for why *-exw* is not deleted when subject suffixes are present. Another possible proposal is that *-exw* deletes when a vowel initial suffix

follows, but this does not account for why subject suffixes, which are also vowel initial do not trigger the deletion of *-exw*. Another possible proposal is that *-exw* deletes in the environment of a consonant (i.e. the passive *-m*), but this would not account for why the vowel initial object suffixes do not occur with *-exw*. The only way for Kuipers' account to work is that the allomorphy of the lc-transitivizer *-nexw* has to be lexically specified since it cannot be derived from any phonological principles.

Another possible phonological account is one that has been proposed for the lc-transitivize construction in a number of other Salish languages. In these accounts the lc-transitivizer has an underlying form which has two allomorphs: *-nexw* and *-nu*. Take, for example, Beaumont's (1985:113-120, 129-135) account for the lc-paradigm in Sechelt. Table 78 following provides all of the lc-predicate forms that I was able to determine for Sechelt (I was unable to determine if Sechelt has a similar construction to the *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* lc-nergative or if it has a dedicated lc-reciprocal form). Furthermore, note that Sechelt, like many other Salish languages but unlike *Sḵwḵwu7mesh*, has special person marking for passive. This additional marking provides us with a larger lc-paradigm than in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh*.

	Limited control markers
1 st person singular object	<i>-nu-msh</i>
1 st person plural object	<i>-nu-mulh</i>
2 nd person singular object	<i>-nu-mi</i>
2 nd person plural object	<i>-nu-mi-elap</i>
3 rd person object	<i>-nexw</i>
1 st person singular passive	<i>-nu-mal-m</i>
1 st person plural passive	<i>-nu-múl-m</i>
2 nd person singular passive	<i>-nu-mi-m</i>
2 nd person plural passive	<i>-nu-mi-m-elap</i>
3 rd person passive	<i>-nu-m</i>
reflexive	<i>-nu-mut</i>
reciprocal	?
unergative	n/a

Table 78 Occurrences of limited control marking in Sechelt (Beaumont 1985)

Beaumont analyzes the transitivizer in the lc-transitive construction as having two allomorphs: *-nexw/-nu*. The spirantized version *-nexw* only occurs when there is a third person object, otherwise the vocalized version *-nu* occurs. Every lc-construction in Sechelt has either *-nexw* or its allomorph *-nu*. A simple phonological account of this distribution could be that the allomorph *-nu* occurs when the lc-transitivizer is followed by a consonant, otherwise *-nexw* occurs. Importantly for our discussion, there is always a phonetic realization of the coda of this transitivizer and its phonological distribution can be straightforwardly be accounted for.

Contrast the Sechelt data with the data in Sḱwḱw7mesh, where not every limited control construction has either *-nexw* or *-nu*. In particular, the limited control constructions with a first person singular object *-n-emsh*, unergative *-n-alhn* and passive *-n-m*, do not have either *-exw* nor *-u*. They only have *-n*. Because of these facts, it is not

possible in Skwxwumsh to posit a straightforward phonological account for an lc-transitivizer *-nexw* as it is for other Salish languages.

The third reason that I propose we have the exact same transitivizer *-n* in both c- and lc-constructions has to do with our findings in Chapter 4. There I showed that lc-interpretations are not actually part of the lexical meaning of any predicate, but rather these meanings are derived by inference. This, then, removes the necessity in our morphological analysis of Skwxwumsh of having a marker lexically specified to have limited control meanings since it is not a necessary meaning of any of the lc-predicates.

We could still argue, however, that there is a transitivizer that itself marks event completion (an lc-transitivizer) and another that does not (a c-transitivizer), and, therefore, we still have two transitivizers. For instance, we could say that both the c- and lc-transitive constructions have agents for their external argument. Both c- and lc-transitivizers occur with object agreement following. But one of the transitivizers (the lc-transitivizer) simply designates that the predicate also encodes event completion, while the other transitivizer (the c-transitivizer) does not commit the speaker to encoding event completion or event non-completion. In the next few sections I argue for a morphosyntactic account wherein it is object agreement that determines whether c- and lc-predicates encode culmination entailments and not the transitivizer. I argue that this provides a better account of the facts than previous accounts.

If *-nexw* is indeed decomposable, into *-n-exw*, then we still have to determine the identity of *-exw*. Since *-exw*, as has already been mentioned, only occurs when the object is third person, *-exw* is best analyzed as an overt third person agreement marker in the lc-transitive construction. The reanalysis is represented as follows:

second person singular/plural and first person plural object agreement are the same for both c-transitives and lc-transitives. Take, for example, the second singular object agreement in (26) and (27). It has the same phonetic form *-umi* in both c-predicates (26)a and (27)a and lc-predicates (26)b and (27)b. Therefore, we cannot say that the object forms directly encode event culmination or lack thereof.

- (26) a. chen cháy-n-t-**umi**
 1S.SUB chase-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I chased you.’
- b. chen cháy-n-**umi**
 1S.SUB chase-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I caught up to you.’
- (27) a. chen mu7-n-t-**umi**
 1S.SUB drop-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I dropped you.’
- b. chen mu7-n-**umi**
 1S.SUB drop-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I dropped you.’ (by accident)

The only morphological difference between the c- and lc-predicates in these examples is the presence versus absence of *-t* respectively. In §4 I provide my account of how this difference results in different culmination patterns.

2.5 **Summary**

In this section I have provided a reanalysis of all the transitivizers in *Skw̄wu7mesh*. In Table 79 and Table 80 below I present Kuipers’ (1967) analysis for the core transitivizers

and for the applicatives. I use the revised template for the S_kw_xwu₇mesh verb as proposed in Chapter 2 to display the data.

	Stem	Transitivizer 1	Transitivizer 2	Object (3 rd)
c-transitivizer	STEM		- <i>t</i>	-∅
c-transitivizer	STEM		- <i>Vt</i>	-∅
c-transitivizer	STEM	- <i>Vn</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅
causative transitivizer	STEM	- <i>s</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅
lc-transitivizer	STEM	- <i>nexw</i>		-∅

Table 79 S_kw_xwu₇mesh core transitivizers: Kuipers (1967)

	Stem	Transitivizer 1	Transitivizer 2	Object (3 rd)
relational applicative	STEM	- <i>nit</i>		-∅
redirective	STEM	- <i>shit</i>		-∅
causative applicative	STEM	- <i>miñ</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅
benefactive	STEM	- <i>ch'ewan'</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅

Table 80 S_kw_xwu₇mesh applicative transitivizers: Kuipers (1967)

In Table 81 and Table 82 below I provide my conclusions thus far for my reanalysis of the S_kw_xwu₇mesh core transitive and the applicative transitive constructions, respectively. Again the data is displayed using the revised template for the S_kw_xwu₇mesh verb as proposed in Chapter 2.

	Stem	Transitivizer 1	Transitivizer 2	Object (3 rd)
zero transitivizer	STEM	-∅	- <i>t</i>	-∅
vowel transitivizer	STEM	- <i>V</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅
n-transitivizer	STEM- <i>V</i>	- <i>n</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅
causative transitivizer	STEM	- <i>s</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅
lc-transitives	STEM	- <i>n</i>	-∅/?	- <i>exw</i>

Table 81 Sḱwḱwu7mesh core transitivizers: reanalyzed (Jacobs 2011)

	Stem	Transitivizer 1	Transitivizer 2	Object (3 rd)
relational applicative	STEM	- <i>ni</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅
causative applicative	STEM	- <i>min'</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅
redirective applicative	STEM	- <i>shi</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅
benefactive applicative	STEM	- <i>ch'ewan'</i>	- <i>t</i>	-∅

Table 82 Sḱwḱwu7mesh applicative transitivizers: reanalyzed (Jacobs 2011)

Note for the lc-transitives that we have left open the question of what morpheme, if any, occurs in the Transitivizer 2 slot. Also note that what I analyze as an allomorph of the *-n* transitivizer in Sḱwḱwu7mesh - the *-V* allomorph - appears to be a cognate to the transitivizer for c-predicates in most other Coast Salish languages. Nooksack appears to be the only other Salish language to have both allomorphs, the *-n* and *-V* allomorphs, similar to Sḱwḱwu7mesh. The *-n* pattern is the common pattern in Interior Salish (where it is commonly referred to as the directive transitivizer). What I have analyzed as the construction with the zero transitivizer allomorph apparently occurs in a number of Salish languages. Doak (1997:115-120) calls them ‘lone transitivizer’ constructions in Coeur d’Alene. Kuipers (1974:48) calls them “Type A” verbs in Shuswap and further describes them as a ‘relic-class’ since there are only four such roots. Thompson and Thompson (1992:62-64) describe them as ‘root stems’ in Thompson. Where this pattern is noted in these languages, it always occurs in a fairly small set of roots (less than 20 roots).

S_kw_xwu7mesh, with 59 such roots occurring with the zero transitivizer allomorph, appears to be different in this respect. I leave the exact nature of this allomorphy in S_kw_xwu7mesh, any possible semantic correlates that these two constructions might have and any historical explanation to future research.

In summary, the differences in analysis between Kuipers' (1967) analysis and my analysis in this section are:

- i) the copy vowel in the c-transitivizer $-Vn$ is actually part of root; this analysis leaves us with just $-n$ as the actual transitivizer.
- ii) $-t$ on the verb is a separate morpheme; this analysis leave us with $-V$ and $-\emptyset$ as allomorphs of the $-n$ transitivizer.
- iii) the lc-transitives have only $-n$ for their transitivizer; this $-n$ is the same transitivizer $-n$ in the c-transitives.
- iv) the sequence $-exw$ in lc-transitives is an overt marker for third person object agreement, unlike the $-\emptyset$ third person agreement that occurs with all other transitivizers.

This reanalysis, though, leaves us with the question of how culmination is encoded if we have the same transitivizer for both the c-predicates and lc-predicates. The goal of the remaining parts of this chapter is to provide answers to these questions:

- i) Why do some transitive predicates have two transitive suffixes where the second transitivizer is consistently $-t$?
- ii) Why do all the transitivizers with $-t$ lack culmination entailments?
- iii) What is the role of object agreement in the calculation of telicity?

The goal of this chapter, then, will be to account for why c-predicates with *-t* have culmination implicatures, why the absence of *-t* with lc-predicates correlates with a predicate having culmination entailments, and finally, why the absence of *-t* with c- unergative predicates results in the absence of either culmination entailments or culmination implicatures. I now turn to the morphosyntactic assumptions that I make in order to account for their differences in culmination.

3 **The syntax of events: an overview**

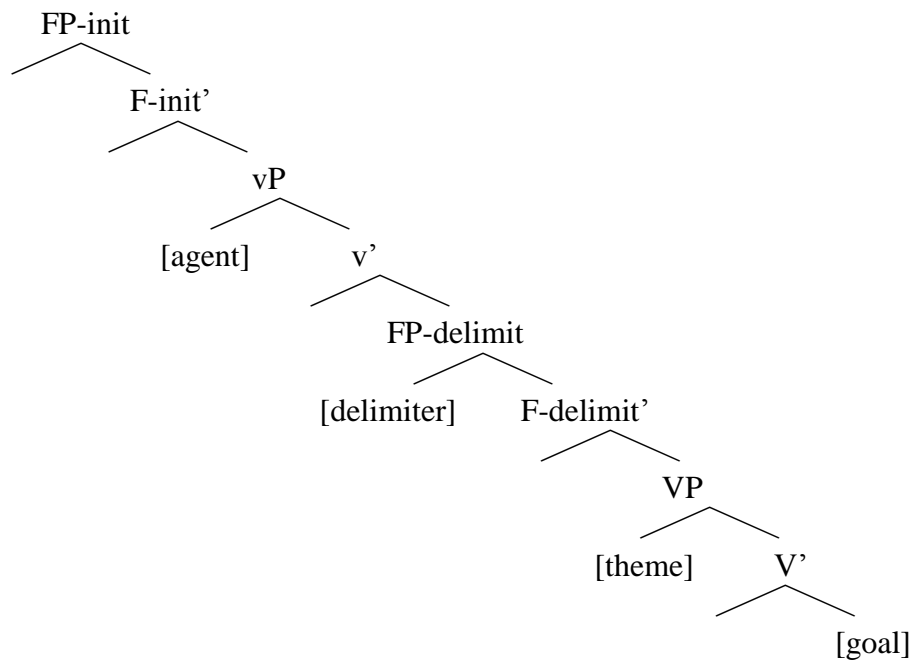
We have now seen that the contrast between c- and lc-predicates cannot be found in the morphological make-up of the transitivizers. On the one hand no overt morpheme directly marks lc-predicates, and therefore no overt morpheme directly encodes event culmination. On the other hand all c-predicates are marked with *-t*; however, it is not clear what the semantic contribution of this morpheme should be. We cannot say that it asserts non-culmination, because, as we have seen in Chapter 3, c-predicates are compatible with culminating events.

This analysis leads us to conclude that there is no direct mapping between the morphology and the semantics. Instead, I argue that this mapping is mediated syntactically. To do this, I will draw on much recent work on the mapping of certain semantic components of event structure to the syntactic structure. The purpose of this section, then, is to provide the background relevant to developing my analysis of *Skw̄w̄u7mesh* CONTROL and how event culmination is encoded.

The basic idea I will use is that initiation and termination points of events are represented syntactically by means of functional projections (FPs) and that events are compositionally determined by the content of these FPs (Borer 1994, Ramchand 2008, Ritter and Rosen 2000, Travis 2010). Following Ritter and Rosen (2000) I will call these functional projections FP-init and FP-delimit. Following Travis (2010), I assume that the functional projection encoding termination (FP-delimit), is located between two separate verbal projections: VP and vP, as illustrated in (28). Note that this position is sometimes referred to as **inner aspect**, or Asp. I discuss FP-init when I discuss the causative in §6.1. The event spine that I assume is provided in (28) both in bracketed form and in tree form.

(28) The event spine

[_{FP-init} [_{F-init}] [_{vP} AG(ent) [_v] [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit}] [_{vP} TH(eme) [_V GOAL]]]]]



In the remainder of this section, I briefly discuss some of the relevant milestones in the semantic and syntactic literature that have led to this particular version of event syntax.

3.1 Decomposing verbs: generative semantics and beyond

It is interesting to note that even in a morphologically poor language such as English, it has been proposed the verbs may be decomposed into smaller subparts, such that each of these parts corresponds to a subevent. The first analysis of this kind was famously developed by McCawley (1968a, 1968b) within the framework of generative semantics. In particular, McCawley proposes that the sentence in (29)a would be represented by the

underlying semantic structure in (29)b (see McCawley, 1968b:158). While in (29)b the predicate which is eventually spelled out as *kill* does not form a constituent, McCawley proposes a rule of predicate raising which moves [BECOME NOT ALIVE] to attach to CAUSE as in (29)c. Once this composition has occurred, the corresponding lexical item *kill* can be inserted

- (29) a. John killed Mary
b. [CAUSE x(John) [BECOME NOT ALIVE y(Mary)]]
c. [[CAUSE [BECOME NOT ALIVE]] x(John) y(Mary)]

In a famous debate, McCawley's treatment of *kill* was refuted based on the fact that *John killed Mary* and *John caused Mary to die* (i.e., *to not be alive*) differ in their truth conditions (Fodor 1970). As a result, the level of structure associated with this type of lexical decomposition was no longer considered to form any part of syntax, but instead was assumed to be part of the semantics of a predicate.

Dowty (1979), for example, uses many of the insights of generative semantics and translates them into Montague's semantic framework, using predicates such as CAUSE, DO, and BECOME (see also Rothstein 2004) which are part of the lexical semantic representation of a verb. Crucially, these complex lexical entries enter the syntactic component as single lexical items and no internal syntactic structure is associated with them.

Pustejovsky (1991) also argues that subparts of events are represented in the lexical entry of a predicate. However, he argues that these subevents are mapped onto a separate component, namely *Event Structure* (ES), which contains only types of events separate from other semantic information.

This postulation of a separate Event Structure component paves the way to representing event-structure in the syntax, in the same component as other syntactic processes, as in the proposals I adopt here. The reason that these types of syntactic analyses of Event Structure do not face the same problems as McCawley's analysis of *kill* has to do with the fact that our assumptions regarding syntactic structure have changed, as I will now show.

3.2 Expanding the verb phrase

When McCawley developed his decomposition of verbs, the actual syntax of verbal phrases was simple: they consisted of the verb and its objects, as shown in (30), while the subject occupied a position outside of the VP.

(30) [_S subj (AUX) [_{VP} V (obj)]]

While this assumption adequately captures a number of subject/object asymmetries, it also faces some challenges. In particular, if the subject is external to the VP, it is not immediately clear how it relates to the predicate-argument structure introduced by the verb. That is, at least in English the presence or absence of an external argument depends on the verb. But in the representation in (30) the subject is not within the projection of the verb.

This problem disappeared within the VP-internal subject hypothesis (Fukui and Speas 1986, Kitagawa 1986, Koopman and Sportiche 1991), according to which the

subject is introduced within VP, where it receives its thematic role, and then moves up to the grammatical subject position (SpecIP).

(31) [IP subj I_{tns,agr} [VP AG [V TH]]]

Accordingly, all verbal arguments are introduced in the projection of the argument introducing the head V. In her seminal paper, Kratzer (1994) further introduces the idea that the agent is introduced by its own verbal head, which she labels *voice* but which since has come to be known as little verb (henceforth *v*).

(32) [IP subj I_{tns,agr} [_vP AG [*v* [VP V TH]]]]

Accordingly, agents and themes are both introduced by their own heads (see Pytkäinen 2008 for an extension of this insight to applicative arguments). This allows for a direct mapping of the *predicate-argument structure* of the verb (henceforth PAS) onto syntactic structure. According to Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002), PAS can in fact be equated with a verb's syntactic structure, more precisely with its l(lexical)-syntactic structure, which is a separate component of the grammar and differs from s(syntactic)-syntax. In a similar vein, Travis (2000, 2010) argues that *Event Structure* is part of l-syntax, but she proposes instead that it is a subcomponent of s-syntax. In particular, she argues that there is a

functional projection responsible for the calculation of telicity between the two argument-introducing heads V and *v*, as shown in (33).

- (33) The syntactic representation of inner aspect
 [_{VP} AG [*v*] [_{Inner aspect} [Inner Asp] [_{VP} TH [V Goal]]]]

Note that according to this proposal there is a separation between the argument-introducing head (V) and the functional head responsible for the calculation of telicity, inner Aspect. This differs from claims according to which PAS reduces to event structure (van Hout 1996, 2000). As we will see, the properties of *S_{kwxu}7mesh* require this distinction.

The separation of predicate argument structure from event structure is fully developed in Ritter and Rosen (2000). In their approach, there is an aspectual projection not only associated with VP, but also with *v*P. While the former aspectual projection is responsible for the calculation of the final event (FP-delimit), the latter is responsible for the calculation of the initial event (FP-init) (see also Borer 2005). In Ritter and Rosen's (2000) analysis FP-init is projected above IP. Since I am not concerned with properties of IP in this thesis, I will abstract away from this projection and represent FP-init as immediately dominating *v*P as in (28) repeated below:

- (34) The event spine
 [_{FP-init} [F-init] [_{VP} AG [*v*] [_{FP-delimit} [F-delimit] [_{VP} TH [V GOAL]]]]]

Assuming that event structure is represented syntactically in the form of dedicated positions in the extended verbal projection predicts that the calculation of initial and final points is not only a matter of heads but also that event structure can interact with the phrases that may occupy their specifier positions. In the next subsection I briefly show that this is a desired result, though I will restrict the discussion to the projection associated with final events, FP-delimit.

3.3 Calculating telicity: the syntax-semantics interface

Recall that the core difference between c- and lc-predicates concerns whether the event is asserted to have been initiated or if has been asserted to reach its natural endpoint. In Chapter 3 we have talked about this property in terms of event culmination and inherent final points. In the aspectual literature these properties are also known as *telicity*. An event that is associated with and reaches its natural endpoint is known as a *telic* event. In contrast, an event that is not associated with a natural endpoint is known as an *atelic* event.

It has long been known that whether an event is telic or not does not just depend on the telicity of the verb. For example, certain inherent properties of objects contribute to the calculation of telicity. Only if the verb is +telic (i.e., has an inherent natural endpoint) **and** if the direct object refers to a specified quantity, or +SQ, (Verkuyl 1993) is the entire verb phrase construed as telic (or terminative in Verkuyl's terms). A DP lacking SQ is labeled -SQ. This is exemplified with data from English in (35).

- (35) a. John ate_{+telic} a sandwich_{+SQ} → telic
 b. John wanted_{-telic} a sandwich_{+SQ} → atelic
 c. John ate_{+telic} sandwiches_{.SQ} → atelic
 d. John wanted_{-telic} sandwiches_{.SQ} → atelic

Thus, even if the verb itself refers to a potentially telic event, the entire verb phrase is only interpreted as telic if the object is inherently bounded. Consequently, in the context of bare plurals, like *sandwiches* in (35)c as well as mass nouns (*John drank wine*), the event need not come to its natural endpoint. In §4.2.2 we will see that this is not the case in Skwxw7mesh: the properties of object DPs do not determine the calculation of telicity (also see Bar-el 2005:37-39).

The inherent properties of objects are, however, not the only factors which influence the calculation of telicity. For example, in Finnish, the choice of case of the direct object determines the telicity of the VP (Kiparsky 1998). If the direct object is marked for partitive case, then the VP is ‘unbounded’ (atelic). In contrast, if the direct object is marked for accusative case, then the VP is ‘bounded’ (telic). Note that the correlation between case and telicity is independent of whether or not the object denotes a specified quantity, as in (38), or not, as in (36) and (37). Note, in fact, that specificity (translated by ‘a’ or ‘the’) plays no role in determining telicity.

Finnish

- (36) a. Ammu-i-n karhu-a Partitive → atelic
 shoot-PAST-1SG bear-PART
 i) I shot at a bear.
 ii) I shot at the bear.
- b. Ammu-i-n karhu-n Accusative → telic
 shoot-PAST-1SG bear-ACC
 i) I shot a bear.
 ii) I shot the bear.

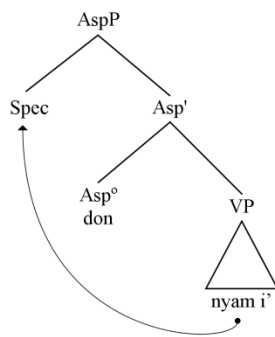
- (37) a. Ammu-i-n karhu-j-a Partitive → atelic
 shoot-PAST-1SG bear-PL-PART
 i) I shot bears.
 ii) I shot at the bears.
 iii) I shot at bears.
- b. Ammu-i-n karhu-t Accusative → telic
 shoot-PAST-1SG bear-PL-ACC
 I shot the bears.
- (38) a. Ammu-i-n kah-ta karhu-a Partitive → atelic
 shoot-PAST-1SG two-PART bear-PART
 i) I shot at two bears.
 ii) I shot at the two bears.
- b. Ammu-i-n kaksi karhu-a Accusative → telic
 shoot-PAST-1SG two-ACC bear-PART
 i) I shot two bears.
 ii) I shot the two bears.
- (Kiparsky 1998, ex.1a-b)

Further evidence that DPs which occupy the spec of FP-delimit trigger a telic interpretation comes from languages where the movement of the DP manifests itself overtly. This is the case in Jamaican Creole (Durreleman 2007). The adverb *don* ‘done’ has two different interpretations depending on whether it precedes or follows the VP. *Don* can have two meanings ‘already’ or ‘completed’. When it surfaces before the verb, as in (39)a, it can mean either ‘already’ or ‘completed’. But, when it surfaces after the VP, it can only have the ‘completed’ reading, the reading where the object must be completely consumed. This is the event completion reading.

- (39) a. Im don nyam i'
 s/he done eat it
 i) ‘She already ate it.’
 ii) ‘S/he finished eating it.’

- b. Im nyam i' don
 s/he eat it done
 i) *‘She already ate it.’
 ii) ‘S/he is finished eating it (up).’

Durreleman provides various properties of movement in Jamaican Creole and demonstrates the unique behaviour of *don* among adverbs in the language with regards to movement. She then argues that, for this completed reading, *don* occurs in the head of AspP (my FP-delimit) and that the whole VP moves up past this adverb to the spec of AspP.



(40) Completive aspect in Jamaican Creole

Durreleman then argues that it is the occurrence of the move VP in Asp is what accounts for the event completion reading.

The interaction between DPs and verbal aspect in Finnish and in Jamaican Creole supports a syntactic approach towards calculating telicity. That is, we expect the phrasal position associated with inner aspect to play a role in calculating telicity. This is indeed what we find.

Because case plays a role for the calculation of telicity, it is often assumed that inner aspect is in fact the functional projection responsible for accusative case-assignment (Borer 2005, Ritter and Rosen 2000, Travis 2000, among many others). We can assume that an accusative DP occupies Spec of F-delimit (represented in (41)a). In contrast, partitive DPs remain within the VP (Belletti 1988) and as such cannot function to delimit the event (represented in (41)b).

- (41) a. accusative case
 [FP-init [F-init] [VP AG [V] [FP-delimit DP-accusative [F-delimit] [VP [V]]]]
- b. partitive case assignment
 [FP-init [F-init] [VP AG [V] [FP-delimit [F-delimit] [VP DP-partitive [V Goal]]]]

Within this background on event structure in syntax, I will now develop my morphosyntactic analysis of CONTROL in *Skw̄wu7mesh*.

4 The morphosyntax of CONTROL in *Skw̄wu7mesh*

In this section, I present my analysis for the core transitivizers except for the causative, to which we turn in §6.1.

Recall the revised morphological template of S_{kwxw} verbs introduced in §2. In particular, I have argued that we need to recognize two transitivizer positions. The first transitivizer is *-n* (and its allomorphs $-\emptyset$ and *-V*, which I ignore for the moment). This transitivizer is the transitivizer for both c- and lc-predicates. The second transitivizer *-t*, however, is restricted to c-predicates. According to this template, then, the second transitivizer position remains unoccupied with lc-predicates. In contrast, according to my analysis, lc-predicates are associated with an overt exponent for third person object agreement while c-predicates are not. This is summarized in Table 83.

	Stem	Transitivizer 1	Transitivizer 2	Object (3 rd)
c-predicate	STEM	-n	-t	--
lc-predicate	STEM	-n	--	-exw

Table 83 The revised morphological template for core transitivizers

I propose that the two transitivizer positions correspond to the two functional heads within the extended verbal projection: *v* and F-delimit, respectively. In particular, for the first transitivizer *-n*, I propose that it occupies the head of *v*, which introduces the agent argument. I argue that having *-n* situated in *vP* this accounts for both the c- and lc-predicate having an agent as their external argument. I further propose that the second transitivizer position corresponds to F-delimit. This is illustrated in (42).

Ritter and Rosen (2000) propose that at least one of the two functional categories associated with subevents must be activated (Ritter and Rosen 2000). If F-delimit is activated then F-init is not activated and vice versa. I argue that the presence of object agreement in F-delimit activates FP-delimit. The activation of F-delimit triggers the interpretation that the event reaches its natural endpoint (Ritter and Rosen 2000).³⁸ In contrast, in the presence of *-t*, FP-delimit is deactivated. This is how I propose to account for the fact that *c*-predicates do not require culmination.

This introduces the essence of my proposal for the solution to the problem regarding the morphology-semantics mapping. In my account, there is in fact no dedicated morpheme which marks culmination. Instead, this interpretation is syntactically mediated: it derives from the presence of object agreement in F-delimit. Moreover, on this account *-t* need not be associated with a special interpretation. Instead it simply spells out F-delimit in the absence of object agreement. Therefore we do not need to say that *-t* encodes the absence of culmination, which would cause a problem because *c*-predicates are in fact compatible with event culmination.

There are, however, still a number of issues that need to be addressed before we can consider this analysis empirically adequate. First, it is not immediately clear how the actual order of morphemes is derived. I address this issue in section 4.1. Moreover, I discuss the syntax of object agreement in more detail in section 4.2.

³⁸ While I do not provide a formal semantic account in this dissertation, I argue that my morphosyntactic account is compatible with recent proposals regarding telicity in syntax. For instance, Kratzer (2004), assuming that there is a projection above VP, proposes that universal grammar may have an unpronounced predicate - **telic**. This predicate is available to interact syntactically with VP to derive telicity.

4.1 The linearization of complex predicates

The first order of business here is to account for the linear ordering of the two transitivizers relative to the root. This is best illustrated if we compare the syntactic structure of c-predicates (irrelevant material omitted) to the corresponding morphological template.

(44) The linearization problem

Syntax: [VP **-n** [FP-delimit **-t** [VP STEM-**obj**]]]]

Morphology: [STEM-**n-t-obj**]

The morphological order in (44)b does not match the order we would expect to be derived by the syntactic structure in (44)a. First, while syntactically the verbal stem is adjacent to object agreement, morphologically they are separated from each other. Second, the order of morphemes appears to be in the reverse order of the syntactic heads in a tree structure. That is, the morpheme that would be syntactically represented furthest from the verb is in fact the affix closest to the verb stem. As such, it appears to violate the Mirror Principle, as proposed by Baker:

(45) Baker's Mirror Principle (1985:375)

Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivation (and vice versa).

The situation is further complicated if we also assume the Head Movement Constraint of Travis (1984):

- (46) Head Movement Constraint (HMC) (Travis 1984:131)
An X° may only move into the Y° that properly governs it.

If we understand this constraint to mean, every time a constituent moves from head to head that an affix attaches outside of previously attached affixes, for the S_{kwxwu7} mesh verb we should have object agreement immediately following the root and then any affix in FP-delimit and then vP . This order is, however, not attested in S_{kwxwu7} mesh, as illustrated in (47).

- (47) *chay-s-t-n-as
follow-1S.OBJ-TR-TR-3SUB
'He chased me.'

Note that this problem is not particular to S_{kwxwu7} mesh. It also occurs in Navajo as well as Malagasy, as discussed in Travis (2010). In the following Navajo example note that subject marking and tense are closest to the root while aspectual morphemes are further away from the verb. I have greatly simplified this representation from Travis since multiple morphemes can attach at one head. We are more concerned with the general property of the proposed functional projects. If the Mirror Principle and HMC are assumed, then in Navajo we are left to explain why the phrase expected to be closest to the stem, namely Inner.Aspect, occurs farthest away and why the phrase expected to be farthest away from the stem, namely Infl (including Tense and Subject) is closest to the stem.

- (48) Navajo verb order of affixes (simplified)
Inner.Aspect+[Tense +Subject]+Stem

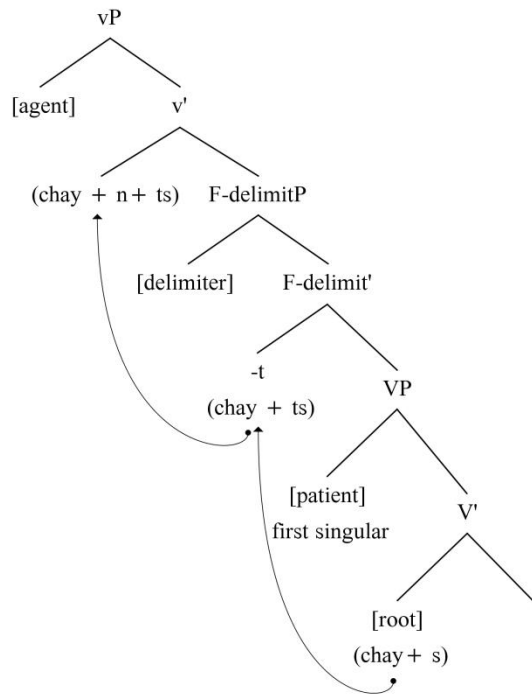
To account for this syntax-morphology mismatch, Speas (1990) suggests that affixation may be sensitive to a phonological environment giving the appearance of infixation. In particular, Travis (2010:62-71), following Speas, proposes a morphophonological constraint: the *Minimal Word constraint*. According to this constraint an affix must directly attach to the Minimal Word, which in Navajo is the stem (plus a non-segmentable voice marker). The effect of this constraint is that, as successive affixes are attached, previously attached affixes move further away from the root. This is because the previous concatenation of root plus affix itself does not qualify as a Minimal Word. Only the stem itself qualifies as a Minimal Word. Thus, each newly attached morpheme then ‘tucks in’ and attaches to the edge of the root instead of attaching to the edge of any of the other affixes already attached. In the following simplified representation, the stem in Navajo first attaches to affixes in Inner Aspect. Then the affixes in Infl attach (i.e. Tense + Subject). They attach directly to the stem and at the same time displace the Inner Aspect affixes.

- (49) Navajo affix attachment
- a. [Stem]
 - b. [Inner Aspect] + [Stem]
 - c. [Inner Aspect] + [Tense+Subject] + [Stem]

To account for the suffix ordering on the *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* verb, I propose that a version of the Minimal Word (MW) constraint is also in effect. We do not consider the position of subject agreement here, since subject agreement involves a more complex interaction between thematic roles in vP, person and IP. Recall that in matrix clauses only the transitive third person subject agreement *-as* occurs as a suffix on the verb, while first and second person subject agreement is realized by the subject clitics. Furthermore, most categories commonly assumed to occur syntactically higher than vP, such as outer aspect, modals, tense, are not encoded by affixes on the verb. The following example in (50) demonstrates how this proposal works for the c-predicate. In (50)a is the c-predicate parsed with the surface order of the morphemes. The order of attachment of this predicate is shown in (50)b.

- (50) a. *chaynts*
 chay-n-t-s
 pursue-TR-TR-1S.OBJ
 ‘pursue me’
- b. order of attachment
- | | | |
|------|---|------------------------------------|
| i) | [<i>chay</i>] _{MW} +s | V plus object agreement |
| ii) | [<i>chay</i>] _{MW} +t +s | V to F-delimit, V combines with -t |
| iii) | [<i>chay</i>] _{MW} +n +[t+s] | V to v, V combines with -n |

The following tree represents this order of attachment for *chaynts*:



(51) Order of attachment for c-predicate: *chaynts*

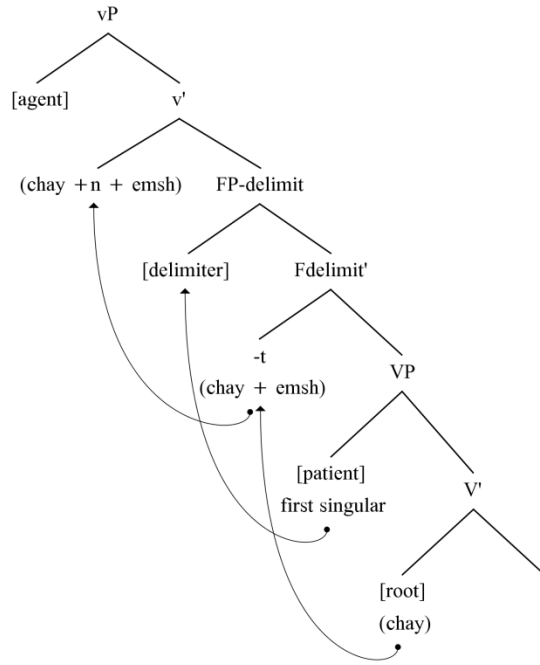
The following examples demonstrate how this works for the lc-predicate (52). In (52)a is the lc-predicate parsed with the surface order of the morphemes. The order of attachment of this predicate is shown in (52)b.

(52) a. cháynemsh
 chay-n-emsh
 pursue-TR-1S.OBJ
 ‘catch up to me’

b. order of attachment
 i) [chay]_{MW} V
 ii) [chay]_{MW} +emsh V to F-delimit, V combines with object agreement

iii) [chay]_{MW} +n +emsh V to v and combines with -n

The following tree represents this order of attachment for *chaynemsh*. One difference in my proposal from the c-predicate is that I have proposed that the patient DP moves from the spec of VP to the spec of FP-delimit where object agreement takes place.



This approach to suffix attachment derives the correct order of morphemes on the *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh* verb. Note, however, that nothing crucial hinges on this morpho-phonological account. It may be possible to derive the order by other means. For example, another possible analysis is one wherein the root moves and adjoins to vP. This adjoined root could then take in its complement the transitivizers and object agreement. Such an approach could also derive the correct linear order.

4.2 The distribution of object agreement

With an account for the linearization of the morphemes in place, we can now turn to a discussion of the role of object agreement. According to my proposal in (43)a,b repeated below as (53) the syntactic position of object agreement plays an important role for the calculation of telicity. In particular, I propose that with c-predicates, object agreement is VP-internal (53)a. In contrast, with lc-predicates, object agreement is in F-delimit (53)b.

(53) The morphosyntax of CONTROL and object agreement

a. c-predicates

[_{FP-init} [F-init] [_{vP} AG [_v] [_{FP-delimit} [F-delimit] [_{vP} [V]]]]]
-n **-t** **-obj**

b. lc-predicates

[_{FP-init} [F-init] [_{vP} AG [_v] [_{FP-delimit} [F-delimit] [_{vP} [V]]]]]
-n **-obj**

In the remainder of this section, I will motivate this claim, both on the basis of typological considerations (§4.2.1) as well as on the basis of Skwxw7mesh internal evidence (§4.2.2-4.2.4).

4.2.1 A universal object to event mapping

As discussed in §3, it is a common property of several (unrelated) languages that the syntactic position of objects is crucial for the calculation of telicity. If the object associates with Spec-FP-delimit, the event is interpreted as telic; if the object remains VP-internal, it cannot enter into the calculation of telicity. Note that the position of the

object may be marked differently across languages. In some languages, the position of the object has consequences for word order. For example, in Jamaican Creole the position of overt DPs differs according to whether or not the event is interpreted as telic. In other languages, the position of the object is realized by means of morphological marking in the form of case-marking on the overt DP. For example, in Finnish, the case of the overt DP differs according to whether or not the event is interpreted as telic (accusative vs. partitive).

Suppose then that this type of object-event mapping is universal (cf. Kratzer 2004). If so, the $S_{kwx}wu_7$ mesh pattern I propose in (53) conforms with a universal pattern. The difference between the $S_{kwx}wu_7$ mesh pattern and the Jamaican Creole and Finnish patterns reduces, then, to the surface realization of this mapping. That is, in $S_{kwx}wu_7$ mesh the mapping from thematic role to event role is marked on the head (in the form of object agreement) rather than on the dependent. The position of object agreement (a form of head-marking) differs according to whether or not the event is interpreted as telic.

At an abstract level, Finnish, Jamaican Creole, and $S_{kwx}wu_7$ mesh are more similar than surface patterning would lead us to think. In fact, we know independently that languages differ as to whether they are head-marking or dependent-marking (Nichols 1986). Under the assumption that each head is associated with a specifier position (Cinque 1996, Jackendoff 1977), it is not unexpected that the same phenomenon can be marked on either the head, as in (54)a or on the phrase which functions as its specifier, as in (54)b.

- (54) a. head marking: [XP YP [X- α]]
 b. dependent marking: [XP YP- α [X]]

In fact, it has been proposed that for a projection to be activated, either the head or its specifier must be overt (Koopman 2000).

In sum, my proposal for Skwxwu7mesh is conceptually motivated on the grounds of what we know about language universals (the object-event mapping) and language variation (head vs. dependent marking). In the following subsections I discuss some Skwxwu7mesh internal evidence for this proposal.

4.2.2 **Dependent marking and word order are irrelevant**

If all that is needed for a projection such as FP-delimit to be activated is either head marking *or* dependent marking, we may predict that if a language marks F-delimit on the head, then dependent marking is not necessary, and vice versa. For the case at hand, this would mean that the dependents (i.e., overt object DPs) are not used to calculate telicity. This is indeed the case. In Skwxwu7mesh, properties of overt DPs do not contribute to the calculation of telicity.

C- and lc-predicates do not differ in the case of the object DP. Note that in (55) the DP *ta sxwi7shn* has the same direct case marking with both the c-predicate (55)a and with the lc-predicate (55)b. Thus, Skwxwu7mesh does not mark the difference in telicity by the use of case, unlike languages like Finnish.

- (55) a. na chá-y-n-t-Ø-as ta swí7k̄a ta s̄xwi7shn
 RL chase-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET man DET deer
 ‘The man chased the deer.’
- b. na chá-y-n-exw-as ta swí7k̄a ta s̄xwi7shn
 RL chase-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET man DET deer
 ‘The man caught up to the deer.’

Further note that, unlike languages such as Jamaican Creole, S̄kw̄x̄wu7mesh does not mark the difference using word order either. The word order is identical for both c- and lc-predicates. They are both VSO. Again, the only difference in S̄kw̄x̄wu7mesh between the two types of predicates is the nature of the object agreement.

Moreover, the quantization properties of objects play no role in the calculation of telicity in S̄kw̄x̄wu7mesh (Bar-el 2005). As we have seen in §3 in this chapter, in languages where the object plays a role in the calculation of telicity (e.g. English), for a telic interpretation, the object needs to denote a specified quantity. Bare plurals and mass nouns, therefore, do not trigger a telic interpretation in such languages. Determiners are always obligatory in S̄kw̄x̄wu7mesh and therefore it is not possible to test for the properties of bare plurals (Gillon 2006, Matthewson 1998). However, DPs that are introduced by the non-deictic determiner *kwi* behave like bare plurals (Gillon 2006). According to Bar-el (2005), the use of this determiner does not render an lc-predicate atelic.

- (56) John na kw’ach-n-exw-as **kwi** k̄ex sp’ák̄w’us kwi chelák’lh
 John RL see-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET many eagle DET yesterday
 ‘John saw a lot of eagles yesterday.’
 (Bar-el 2005:38, ex.62)

I was not able to replicate examples such as these with the lc-transitivizers, since present speakers do not allow for the use the determiner *kwi* with the object DP of such a predicate. Thus, I was unable to test these sentences with any of Bar-el's four tests for inherent final points. From my data base of sentences from previous speakers, I did obtain the following contrast between a bare unergative root with an object with *kwi* and then the same root with the lc-reflexive *-numut*.

- (57) a. chen ílhen kwi sháwek̄
 1S.SUB eat DET carrot
 'I am eating a carrot.'
- b. chen ílhen-**númut** kwi sháwek̄
 1S.SUB eat-LCREFL DET carrot
 'I ate a carrot.'
- Speaker's comment: (You ate) the whole thing.

The bare unergative root in (57)a, in the perfective aspect, obtains an in-process reading. The eating of the carrot has not finished. But, the bare unergative root with the lc-reflexive in (57)b, in the perfective aspect, obtains a reading where the whole carrot has been eaten. In both examples, the object DP has the non-deictic determiner *kwi*. I argue that these data support our conclusion that it is the lc-marking itself which is inducing an event completion reading and not the determiner itself. Further research is required.

The only apparent exceptions to this generalization are the determiners with the oblique object of the c-unergatives (cf. Chapter 3§6). Here the choice of determiner appear to be affecting culmination implicatures, but importantly not culmination entailments.

In sum, overt full DPs in $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}$ do not appear to enter into the calculation of telicity. However, as we have seen, this does not mean that direct objects play no role. Rather, in $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}$, as I have argued, it is the position of object agreement which enters into this calculation.

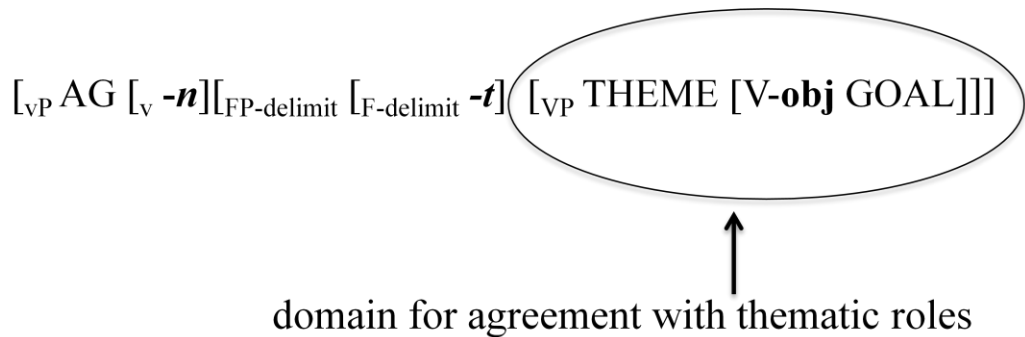
4.2.3 **When CONTROL determines who to agree with**

According to my proposal, c-predicates differ from lc-predicates in the position of object agreement. This implies that agreement is with different types of arguments. Since with c-predicates agreement is VP-internal, we expect it to mark agreement with an argument in VP, e.g. theme, as schematized in (58).

(58) c-predicates: agreement with thematic role

In contrast, since with lc-predicates agreement is in FP-delimit, we expect it to mark agreement with an aspectual role, i.e., the delimiting argument, which I call the DELIMITER, as schematized in (59).

(59) lc-predicates: agreement with aspectual role



In most cases the difference between agreement with the aspectual role and agreement with the thematic role is hard to tease apart. Often the thematic role which c-predicates agree with (i.e. theme/patient), is also further mapped onto the aspectual role which lc-predicates agree with. There are, however, some cases where we can tease the two apart as I will now show.

Verbs of motion (cf. Chapter 2, §4.1.1.1) can be transitivity to form either c-predicates (object agreement in VP) or lc-predicates (object agreement in F-delimit). Crucially, when they are used in the context of a c-predicate, object agreement is with the goal role, i.e., the destination of the arrival (reading (i) of example (60)), and not with the patient role (i.e. the one arriving at the goal) (reading (ii) of example (60)).³⁹

³⁹ Recall that the $-t$ gets deleted in word-final position (see chapter 2 §4.1.2 for data and Appendix B §1 for an analysis).

- (60) chet tsixw-n-[]-Ø ta shiyútsin
 1P.SUB arrive-TR-TR-3OBJ DET dropoff
 (i) ‘We reached/arrived the dropoff.’
 (ii) *‘We brought the dropoff there.’

However, with the lc-predicate, agreement is with the patient, i.e., one who is caused to arrive at the goal (reading (i) of example (61)). Crucially, object agreement may not be with the goal (reading (ii) of example (61)).

- (61) na tsixw-n-umulh-as t-ta kw’yúwátxw
 RL arrive-TR-1P.OBJ-3SUB OBL-DET hospital
 i) ‘He brought us to the hospital.’
 ii) *‘He brought the hospital to us.’

That the object agreement with c-predicates must be with the goal of a verb of motion can be seen most clearly when the goal is a speech act participant as in the examples in (62). Notice that in order to accommodate the first plural object, the idiomatic interpretation “our place” is obtained in (62)a and “my place” in (62)b. I take this to indicate that this translation serves to highlight the locational role that the object agreement must be with. That is, even with speech act participants, object agreement cannot be with the patient, i.e., one who is caused to arrive at the goal (reading (ii) of examples (62)a-b).

Presumably, an individual does not properly qualify as a goal and, therefore, to accommodate the first person objects, the object is understood as the ‘place’ belonging to that first person(s) referent(s) and not just the person(s). Recall from Chapter 2 that there

are two predicates in $S_{kw}w_{7mesh}$ that translate ‘arrive’. One verb $tl'ik$ means ‘to arrive (here)’ and the other verb $tsixw$ ‘to arrive (there)’.

- (62) a. na tsixw-n-t-umulh-as
 RL arrive-TR-TR-1P.OBJ-3SUB
 (i) ‘He reached our place (there).’
 (ii) *‘He brought us there.’
- b. chap tl'ik-n-t-s
 2P.SUB arrive-TR-TR-1S.OBJ
 (i) ‘You all have reached my place (here).’
 (ii) *‘You all brought me here.’

On our analysis, this difference in agreement can be explained as follows. Recall from Chapter 2 that verbs of motion have both a theme/patient role and a goal/source role associated with them. The former is associated with SpecVP while the latter functions as the complement of V (Larson 1988), as illustrated in (63).

(63) [_{VP} THEME [V GOAL]]

Evidence that the goal is indeed part of the argument structure of verbs of motion comes from the fact that there are two different verbs for that translate the English predicate *arrive*. One verb, $tl'ik$ ‘arrive (here)’ requires that its goal is proximal to the speech situation (or discourse situation) as in (64) where it is only compatible with a proximal demonstrative indicating the goal ($t-tiwa$). This verb cannot be used with a distal goal ($t-kwetsi$). Instead, a separate verb of motion, $tsixw$ ‘arrive (there)’, must be used and it

- (67) lc-predicates
 [_{VP} AG [_v] [_{FP-delimit} DELIMITER [F-delimit] [_{VP} TH [V GOAL]]]]
 -n **DELIMITER_i** **-obj_i** **(TH_i)**

In sum, only the most local DP may map onto SpecFP-delimit to trigger object agreement. This triggers a telic interpretation. With the verbs of motion, when the agreement is in VP, the most local argument to the verb is its sister, the goal. When the verb moves to FP-delimit, then the most local argument to the verb is the delimiter. Because the lc-transitive verb of motion never has object agreement with the goal, I conclude that only themes can become delimiters. I assume that the reason that non-patients cannot move to F-delimit is due to a locality constraint on movement. The theme is always the more local argument to F-delimit than the goal.

What we are looking at here is a tripartite nature of objectization. Givón (1984:169) describes a functional dilemma in objectization, when the grammatical object is not a patient.

- (68) A functional dilemma in objectization is:
 “how to express simultaneously the semantic case-role of an argument
 and its pragmatic case-role as secondary topic [its grammatical role as direct
 object].”

Givón’s discussion here is about how languages choose to encode the thematic role of direct object which are non-patient, patient being the prototypical object in his framework. That is, there is a conflict in the grammar about encoding a DPs discourse

topicality role (subject vs. object) and its thematic role (e.g. patient vs. goal). He argues that languages overall tend not to overtly encode every role that a DP has in a clause. I offer that there is another dilemma here. The third part of this functional dilemma is how to encode the role that a participant has in the given event: that is, how to encode its event participant role. Did the participant reach the intended state described by the predicate or not? In Givón's terms, was the patient completely affected or not? Take, for example, the predicate 'build a house'. A patient, such as the house in our example, can go through various stages of being built. In Skwxwumsh, when the house has only gone through partial stages of being built, only its thematic role, patient, can be encoded by object agreement. But, when the house is completely built, then it can (but does not necessarily have to be) encoded by an event participant role, the delimiter.

4.2.4 **Morphological differences in object agreement**

The final piece of Skwxwumsh internal support for our claim that object agreement with c-predicates is essentially different from object agreement with lc-predicates has to do with the morphological exponents associated with the two types of object agreement. In particular, Skwxwumsh has two different, yet overlapping, object sets for c- and lc-predicates. I argue that this difference reflects the difference in the syntactic position of object agreement. In particular, one object set is used where agreement is where agreement is in VP and the other is used where agreement is in F-delimit. I will describe these two object sets as the VP Object set and the Aspect Object Agreement Set, or Asp-set and VP-set for short.

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-s</i>	<i>-umulh</i>
2	<i>-umi</i>	
3	<i>-∅</i>	

Table 84 VP Object Agreement Set (VP-set)

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-emsh</i>	<i>-umulh</i>
2	<i>-umi</i>	
3	<i>-exw</i>	

Table 85 Aspect Object Agreement Set (Asp-set)

While some forms are identical across the two paradigms (first plural and second person), others differ (first singular and third). In Kuipers' (1967) account third person has only one type of agreement - null agreement. My account here instead has two different third person object agreement markers: null and *-exw*. However, Kuipers' (1967:68) account already requires us to have two distinct forms for first person singular object agreement and therefore positing two distinct forms for third person is in keeping with an already established pattern in the language. Note that the syncretism in these cases does not lead to ambiguities due to the presence of *-t*, as shown in (69) and (70).⁴⁰ That is, the presence of *-t* will unambiguously indicate that object agreement is VP-internal.

⁴⁰ In Chapter 6 §2, I provide a preliminary historical account of how this syncretism may have arisen.

- (69) a. cháyntumulh
 chay-n-t-umulh
 pursue-TR-TR-1PL.OBJ
 ‘pursue us’
- b. cháynumulh
 chay-n-umulh
 pursue-TR-1PL.OBJ
 ‘catch up to us’
- (70) a. cháyntumi
 chay-n-t-umi
 pursue-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘pursue you’
- b. cháynumi
 chay-n-umi
 pursue-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘catch up to you’

From a functional perspective, the role of *-t* is similar to the role of the VP-internal, partitive case in Finnish. Both *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh -t* and Finnish partitive case mark that the object is not used for the calculation of telicity. Interestingly, as we have seen in Chapter 2, the *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh* marker of oblique case is *-t* as well. The functional similarity between *-t* preceding object agreement and *t-* preceding full DPs explains why some of my *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh* languages students (in high school and college level courses) thought that the two *t*’s may in fact be the same morpheme. Both these *t*’s mark that the object is not used for the calculation of telicity.⁴¹ Note that my students also made a connection

⁴¹ Note Kuipers (1967:173, §255) proposes the possibility that the verbal *-t* historically was derived from the oblique case.

between *past tense -t*, and the oblique *t*- Whether this use of *t* may be unified to the same morpheme is still an open question. I note here that my account of object agreement in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* differs from the way object agreement is standardly analyzed in the Salish literature. In particular, the type of object agreement I analyze as being associated with inner aspect is typically described as causative object agreement. I return to this matter in Chapter 6, §2.4.

5 Alternatives

I have argued in this chapter that the mapping between the morphological make-up of a predicate and its semantic interpretation is mediated syntactically. In particular, predicate argument structure and event structure are syntactically represented in the form of functional projections within the verb phrase. Arguments are introduced by syntactic heads and furthermore, each argument-introducing head is immediately dominated by an aspectual head (F-init and F-delimit, respectively). These aspectual heads are responsible for grammaticizing events and their subevents (the initial and final point). The analysis as such augments Bar-el's (2005) analysis of aspectual classes in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh*. For Bar-el, initial and final event-points are inherent to the lexical entries of predicates themselves (and are defined in terms of DO and BECOME operators). One of the main goals of this dissertation is to understand the relation between the morphological make-up of a predicate and its interpretation. Moreover, Bar-el did not analyze lc-predicates. Since they appear to encode a final point, she noted in passing that they might be analyzed as achievements. However, since it is not possible to identify a single morpheme that would turn the accomplishment (which does not contain a final event in

Słw_xwu7mesh, according to Bar-el) into an achievement, it is not clear how such an analysis based on lexical entries alone would work. I conclude that Bar-el's (2005) analysis must be augmented by a syntactic analysis, while acknowledging that further work is still required in understanding the relationship between my analysis and Bar-el's as far as a formal semantic implementation is concerned.

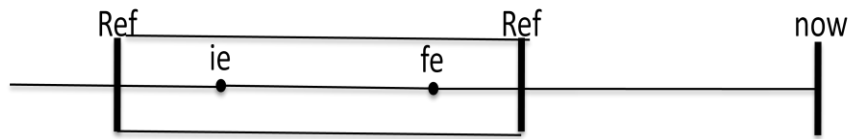
In this section I briefly discuss some alternative approaches towards the contrast between c- and lc-predicates.

5.1 CONTROL is not a contrast in perfectivity

On my analysis, the contrast between c- and lc-predicates is a contrast in telicity associated with FP-delimit. The two predicates differ as to whether or not the natural endpoint of the event is reached.

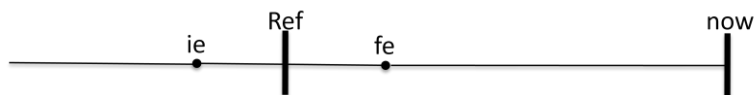
We instead might hypothesize that the contrast is a matter of perfectivity (i.e., outer aspect, or viewpoint aspect). I will now show that this hypothesis cannot be upheld. The essence of viewpoint aspect is that it introduces a reference time, which may interact with the time of subevents. The use of perfective aspect places the event inside a reference time (cf. Kratzer 1998). It allows one to view the event as a whole, since the end of the event is still inside the reference time. This is illustrated in (71), based on Bar-el's (2005:226) analysis of the perfective in Słw_xwu7mesh.

(71) Perfective aspect



Perfective aspect contrasts with imperfective aspect, which places the reference time *inside* the event. As such it allows one to view the event from inside, as illustrated in (72).

(72) Imperfective aspect



Telicity may be distinguished from perfectivity in that the former but not the latter requires the event to come to its natural endpoint. As such, inner aspect is only concerned with the subevents of a predicate, but does not introduce a reference time. In contrast, the use of the perfective only requires the event to be over. This event may have reached its natural endpoint as in (71) above, where the natural endpoint is depicted by the dot. But it may also simply have terminated at an arbitrary bound as marked in (73), where the arbitrary terminal endpoint is indicated by a vertical line at **fe**.

(73) Perfective aspect with event that ends in arbitrary bound



I argue that c- and lc-predicates differ in what is being said about the final event, but there is no reference time introduced. While lc-predicates require the final event to be the natural endpoint, c-predicates place no such restriction on the event (though they are compatible with the event coming to its natural endpoint). This predicts that both c- and lc-predicates may be used in the perfective aspect as well as in the imperfective aspect. I show below that this prediction is borne out.

In *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*, perfective aspect is not overtly marked. I follow Bar-el (2005) in assuming that in the absence of imperfective marking, a predicate is in the perfective. Thus, the two sentences in (74) and (75) below are both in the perfective (which is unmarked). C-predicates differ from lc-predicates in that only the latter require event culmination. C-predicates also differ from lc-predicates in that if the event does finish it can be at an arbitrary bound (as in the diagram in (73), while with lc-predicates the event has to finish at its natural endpoint (as in diagram (71)).

(74) C-predicate in the perfective

na tá7-s-t-as ta kw'áxwa7 ti stsi7s
 RL make-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET box DET today
 'She made a box today.' (and she finished it today)
 'She made a box today.' (but she did not finish it today)

- (75) Lc-predicate in the perfective
 na tá7-n-exw-Ø-as ta kw'áxwa7 ti stsi7s
 RL make-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET box DET today
 'She made a box today.' (and she had to have finished it today)
 *'She made a box today.' (but she did not finish it today)

If the contrast between c- and lc-predicates were itself a contrast in perfectivity, we would expect that lc-predicates differ from c-predicates in introducing a reference time.

This is not the case. Both types of predicates may be used in the perfective.

Similarly, both types of predicates may also be used in the imperfective, which in Skw̄wu7mesh is marked by *wa* (see Bar-el 2005, Chapter 5, for a detailed discussion). The c-predicate under the scope of the imperfective obtains either an on-going reading (context 1) or a habitual reading (context 2):

- (76) na wa mikw'i-n-t-Ø-as ta lh̄énpten
 1S.SUB IMPF wash-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET floor
 'They're washing the floor.'
 ✓Context 1: They are doing it right now.
 ✓Context 2: It's their job (they do it all the time).
 (Bar-el 2005, pg. 284, ex.94)

Crucially, lc-predicates may also be used in the context of the imperfective marker. The result is a present tense on-going meaning, as in (77).

- (77) a. chen wa yákw-n-exw kwetsi mit
 1S.SUB IMPF find-TR-3OBJ DEM dime
 'I'm finding a dime right now.'
 (Bar-el 2005, pg. 287, ex.100)
- b. chen **wa** kw'ach-n-umi
 1S.SUB IMPF look-LCTR-2S.OBJ
 'I can see you.'
Context: An adult is playing peek-a-boo with a child.

c. chen p'elkw'-ách,
 1S.SUB sprain-hand
 'I sprained my wrist,'

welh na7-xw chen wa xel-númut.
 but RL-still 1S.SUB IMPF write-LCREFL
 'but I am still *able to* write.'

In sum, if the contrast between c- and lc-predicates were indeed a contrast in perfectivity, we would not expect that both predicates can be used in the perfective and in the imperfective.⁴²

5.2 Alternative morpho-syntactic accounts

In this section I briefly compare my account, which I will call the object-movement account, to two other possible alternative accounts. These are accounts which I considered in earlier stages in the development of my analysis in this dissertation. One alternative is to say that *-t* alternates with $-\emptyset$ in FP-delimit. I will call this the argument selection pattern since *-t* and $-\emptyset$ must stipulate which thematic argument to agree with. The second alternative is to assume the morphemes as in Kuipers (1967), which I will

⁴² Watanabe (2003:205-6) notes for Sliammon that it is not always possible to get a lc-transitive predicate in the imperfective. He provides examples where it is possible, and provides the contexts that allow this. One context involves plural patients. I have not tested this in Skwxwu7mesh. In my early elicitations of lc-transitives with the imperfective, I found strong judgements against them cooccurring. Perhaps this has to do with a strong assumption that the object is singular unless otherwise stated. I leave this to future research.

call the two transitivizer solution. I will save a discussion of a third possible alternative, namely that of Bar-el et al. (2005), for the following section.

In the first possible alternative, *-t* would alternate with a zero morpheme $-\emptyset$. This approach assumes that the slots on the template are rigid. Object agreement always occurs rigidly in the same slot in a verbal template as in (78).

(78) Revised template for the $\text{Skw}\bar{x}\text{wu}$ 7mesh verb

	STEM-TR1	-TR2-OBJ	-S-NUM
c-pred:	-n	-t	$-\emptyset$
lc-pred:	-n	$-\emptyset$	-exw

If we map these morphemes onto the syntax of Event Structure adopted here, we get the following representation:

(79) The morphosyntax of CONTROL and object agreement – argument selection

a. c-predicates

[_{VP} AG [_v] [_{FP-delimit} [F-delimit] [_{VP} [V]]]]]
-n -t -obj (-\emptyset)

b. lc-predicates

[_{VP} AG [_v] [_{FP-delimit} [F-delimit] [_{VP} [V]]]]]
-n $-\emptyset$ -obj (-exw)

Assuming the Minimal Word constraint, this analysis can also account for morpheme order. This approach essentially assumes that the morpheme *-t* in F-delimit selects for one type of agreement (represented by $-\emptyset$ third agreement) in VP and that $-\emptyset$ in AspP selects for another type of agreement (represented by *-exw* third agreement) also occurring in VP. In order to account for the different agreement patterns that we have

seen with verbs of motion, in this account we would have to further stipulate that *-t* selects for the lowest argument in VP and that $-\emptyset$ can only select for the most local argument, the patient. This amounts to saying that *-t* selects for the most non-local argument and $-\emptyset$ selects for the most local argument. This approach, I argue, fails in that we would lose the generalization of locality in agreement that the object movement account presents.

In order to account for the differences in telicity, this account is in a sense a covert form of the object movement analysis. In order to derive the telicity reading, the zero morpheme in F-delimit would have to allow the verb plus agreement, when it moves to FP-delimit, to further agree with the delimiter position. This, I argue, amounts to saying the same thing as the object movement account, where the object occurs in F-delimit.

I argue then that this approach fails to account for the object agreement patterns for verbs of motion. It must stipulate object agreement for the two types of object agreement patterns. As for telicity, it presents more or less a similar account to the verb movement analysis.

A second alternative to consider is to assume two transitivizers: a c-transitivizer *-Vn* and an lc-transitivizer *-nexw*. This is Kuipers' (1967) two transitivizer solution, which has the problem of providing a principled phonological account for the distribution of the allomorphs of *-nexw* as already discussed previously in this chapter in §2.4. For argument's sake, let us assume Kuipers' account and further assume, even though Kuipers did not assume this, that *-t* has the same function as I proposed in the object movement account. Assuming the same model of syntax that I have been using, both these transitivizers would appear in the head of vP as follows:

(80) The syntax of CONTROL and object agreement – two transitivizer solution

a. c-predicates

$$[\text{VP AG } [\text{v } \text{-Vn}] \text{ } [\text{FP-delimit } [\text{F-delimit } \text{-t}] \text{ } [\text{VP } [\text{V } \text{-obj}]]]]$$

b. lc-predicates

$$[\text{VP AG } [\text{v } \text{-nexw}] \text{ } [\text{FP-delimit } [\text{F-delimit } \text{-}\emptyset] \text{ } [\text{VP } [\text{V } \text{-obj}]]]]$$

As for object marking, this solution would be essentially the same as the object movement account. The one type of agreement would be realized in VP and the other would be realized in FP-delimit. This difference would only show up phonetically with first person singular objects, *-emsh* in FP-delimit and *-s* in VP (instead of with both first singular and third person).

One other problem for this approach is that the lc-transitives do not actually have as part of their inherent meaning a different type of agent than the c-transitives. This transitivizer would have to be described, in essence, as having the same function as the transitivizer *-Vn* as far as introducing an agent, but with the further property of requiring culmination. Thus, it would be a type of portmanteau morpheme, which is not a problem in itself. Such an approach, however, misses an important cross-linguistic generalization about the calculation of telicity - the role of the direct object.

I argue then that the two transitivizer solution does not fare as well as the object movement account. It cannot provide a phonologically motivated account for the distribution of its lc-transitivizer *-nexw*. It has to lexically specify this allomorphy. It fails to capture the generalization that all lc-predicates have *-n* in common. Lastly, the transitivizer *-nexw* would end up like the other transitivizer *-Vn* as far as introducing an

agent is concerned but further requiring telicity, an approach which fails to capture a cross-linguistic generalization about the role of the object in calculating telicity.

A third alternative to consider is to say that there is a c-transitivizer *-Vnt* and an lc-transitivizer *-nexw*. This is the approach taken in Bar-el et al. (2005) and Bar-el (2005). I will examine their claim in more detail in §5.3.

5.3 CONTROL is not a contrast in modality

A third morphosyntactic and semantic alternative approach is presented by Bar-el, Davis and Matthewson (2005). They provide a formal account for the $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$ c-transitivizer *-Vnt*, as well as for its Lillooet cognate *-Vn*. Since Bar-el (2005) provides the same account again for $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$, I include it here with Bar-el et al.'s (2005) account. Both accounts are based on Matthewson's (2004) earlier account of the *-Vn* transitivizer in Lillooet and its lack of culmination entailments. Note, however, that they do not provide an account for lc-predicates in $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$, although they do note that they have culmination entailments. Furthermore, they do not examine the causative in $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$. I do not provide a formal semantic denotation for any of the (in)transitivizers in this dissertation, so I do not have a separate denotation to compare to Bar-el et al.'s (2005) denotation. I will instead examine three particular claims that they make regarding the c-transitivizer: i) control, ii) agency and iii) removing culmination

Assuming Davis' (1997) deep unaccusativity hypothesis, according to which all roots in Salish are underlyingly unaccusative and have culmination entailments, Bar-el et al. (2005) propose that the c-transitivizer, both introduces a **controlling agent** and also

removes the culmination entailment of the root. They provide a modal analysis for the c-transitivizer using Dowty's (1977, 1979) inertia worlds model. In an inertia world, everything proceeds in the same manner that the event began in. This is how they derive the notion of the normal course of events. They propose for the predicate marked by the c-transitivizer that "in all inertia worlds, the event leads to the culmination expressed by the root" (Bar-el et al. 2005). In instances where we do not have an inertia world (one where we do not have the normal course of events), there is the possibility that the event does not culminate in the real world.

In their analysis then, the underlying telic root is made atelic by a higher functional head. They further propose that if we accept a universal hierarchy of functional heads such as in (81) and accept the possibility that adjacent functional heads can be 'bundled' into a single morpheme, then we can understand how this works. The same morpheme, i.e. the c-transitivizer, can both introduce a controlling agent (a function associated with the functional head Voice) and remove the culmination entailments of the root (a function associated with the higher functional head associated with Root/inertia modality). The root itself, then, has the bundled function of V and Telic associated with it, and therefore, the roots are telic.

(81) [(Im)perfective [Root/inertia modality [Voice [Telic [V]]]]]

I now discuss three main parts of their analysis: i) control, ii) agency, iii) removing culmination.

As for control, part of the reason that Bar-el et al. (2005) assume that the c-transitivizer introduces a *controlling* agent (besides the fact that they assume Thompson's (1979) control analysis) is that they assume for both languages that all c-predicates can only take sentient, controlling agents for their external argument. This assumption is based on facts about the external argument of the c-predicate in Lillooet, facts which had been investigated in Lillooet but had not yet been investigated for Skwxwumsh. In Lillooet a force of nature cannot be the external argument of a c-predicate. Instead, the causative transitivizer *-s* must be used (which they furthermore analyze as a *neutral* control transitivizer). In Chapter 3, we have seen that this is not the case in Skwxwumsh. Skwxwumsh c-predicates readily take forces of nature as their external argument. An example is repeated below:

- (82) nilh ta spahim na xelk'á-n-[]-Ø ta lapat.
 FOC DET wind RL roll.over-TR-TR-3OBJ DET cup
 'It was the wind that tipped the cup over.'

Such data clearly indicates that the nature of agent in Skwxwumsh is different than that of agent in Lillooet. In Skwxwumsh, an agent does not have to be sentient, nor does it have to be in control. In order to accommodate the Skwxwumsh data, Bar-el et al.'s (2005) denotation for the control transitivizer in Skwxwumsh would be required to only state that it introduces an agent and not a *controlling* agent.

As for removing culmination, I do not assume the deep unaccusativity hypothesis for Skwxwumsh as discussed in Chapter 2, §4.1.1.1. One Skwxwumsh internal reason

why I do not consider the deep unaccusativity hypothesis as a necessary assumption for understanding c-predicates is that a c-predicate can have a noun as its root, and nouns are not normally be considered to have a telicity value. In the following example, the nouns *kapú* ‘coat’(83)a and *shúkwa* ‘sugar’ (83)b are the base for the transitive c-predicates. The noun, *skakl* ‘baby’ (83)c is the base for the reflexive c-predicate .⁴³

- (83) a. *chen kapu7-n-t-umi*
 1S.SUB coat-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I put your coat on you.’
- b. *chen shukwa7-án-[]-Ø ta-7 kapi*
 1S.SUB sugar-TR-TR-3OBJ DET-2POS coffee
 ‘I put some sugar in your coffee.’
- c. *na skakl-án-t-sut-Ø*
 RL baby-TR-TR-CREFL-3SUB
 ‘He acted babyish.’

One possible way to fix Bar-el et al.’s denotation for the c-transitivizer in *Skwx̣wu7mesh* is to remove the requirement that it necessarily takes a **telic** root and then removes its telicity. In order to accommodate the *Skwx̣wu7mesh* data, Bar-el et al.’s (2005) denotation would simply be required to indicate that the c-transitivizer takes a root (minus its value for telicity) and creates a predicate with the modal values we just discussed.

⁴³ The comparable construction in Lillooet the *-Vn* construction does not allow for nominal roots (Henry Davis, pc). This is another difference between the Lillooet and *Skwx̣wu7mesh* c-predicates.

Such an approach, though, creates problems for the definition of lc-predicates for the following reasons. Accounts for lc-predicates subsequent to Bar-el et al. (2005), such as Kiyota's (2008) account for Saanich, assume the deep unaccusativity hypothesis. Kiyota defines the function of the lc-transitivizer as simply adding an agent to a telic root. Since the roots are all telic, then all the lc-transitives are therefore telic. But, if we accept the adjustment to Bar-el et al.'s denotation of the c-transitivizer, as I just argued is necessary because of its behaviour with nouns, then we are required to say that the lc-transitives are lexically specified to take the root plus its telicity value. This account, however, fails because some lc-transitives are built on states as in (84)b, which are inherently atelic. Consider, for example, the stative locative predicate *ch'it* 'to be near/close' in (84)a:

- (84) a. an chen ch'it
 very 1S.SUB near
 'I am very near.'
- b. chen an ch'it-n-umi
 1S.SUB very near-TR-2S.OBJ
 'I brought you very close.'

I argue that data like these indicates that we require an analysis of lc-predicates wherein they introduce telicity to the clause rather than an account wherein lc-predicate merely take the inherent telic value of the root as is. In my account, then, whether a root is telic (or in Bar-el's 2005 terms - has an inherent final point) or not, is not relevant to calculating the telicity of c- and lc-predicates.

Another reason that I do not adopt Bar-el et al.'s (2005) claim that the c-transitivizer removes the telicity of the root has to do with differences in our morphological parsing of

the $S_{kw}w_{mesh}$ verb. In their analysis of the $S_{kw}w_{mesh}$ verb, they conflate the two transitivizers $-n$ and $-t$ into one transitivizer, e.g., $-Vnt$. This is, in fact, a common way that this transitivizer sequence is analyzed in a number of Salish languages. The following shows the four different ways that the two transitivizers $-n$ followed by $-t$ has been analyzed in $S_{kw}w_{mesh}$:

- (85) Analyses of c-transitivizer: $-n$
- a. Kuipers (1967) $-Vn-t$
 - b. Dyck (2004) $-Vn-t$
 - b. Bar-el et al. (2005) $-Vnt$
 - c. Jacobs (2011) $-n-t$

I now examine this aspect of their approach.

This morphological approach is a variation of Kuipers' (1967) solution to the transitivizer problem. But, unlike Kuipers' analysis, the second transitivizer $-t$ is now a non-segmentable part of the transitivizer. It is assumed to be inert, both morphosyntactically and semantically. This is, in fact, the approach that Kuipers (1974:45-46) takes in his analysis of the Salish language Shuswap. Now assuming the same model of syntax that I have been using, both these transitivizers would appear in the head of vP as follows:

- (86) The syntax of CONTROL and object agreement – 2 transitivizer solution, no active $-t$
- a. c-predicates

$$[_{vP} \text{AG } [_{v}] \text{ [FP-delimit [F-delimit] [VP [V]]]]]$$

$-Vnt$ $-obj$
 - b. lc-predicates

$$[_{vP} \text{AG } [_{v}] \text{ [FP-delimit [F-delimit] [VP [V]]]]]$$

$-nexw$ $-obj$

This account, I argue, requires double duty from the transitivizers. They have both introduce the agent and mark a telicity value for the predicate (a function often associated cross-linguistically with objects). As for object agreement, the transitivizer *-Vnt* has to be stipulated to select for the lowest thematic argument with the verbs of motion (ie. the goal), while the transitivizer *-nexw* has to select for the highest thematic argument (i.e. the theme/patient). As for telicity, *-Vnt* must remove the telicity of the root, even when this is redundant (such as for nouns and adjectives). The transitivizer *-nexw*, though, must not remove the telicity of the root when it is present, but introduce telicity when it is absent from the root. Thus, telicity in this account is assumed to not be related to the syntax (except as part of the agent introducing morpheme), as I have argued for in the object movement account. FP-delimit appears to have no overt morphological manifestation according to this account, except that it is encoded in all verbal roots.⁴⁴ It is an account of telicity without any syntactic manifestation and could be taken as an argument against the universality of this functional projection. The removal of telicity from telic roots is certainly an available function in the grammar and is not a problem on its own. I argue, though, that it creates more analytical problems than my account.

It is not clear to me how Bar-el et al.'s (2005) denotation of the c-predicate in *Skw̄w̄u7mesh* could be adapted to indicate it is the second transitivizer *-t* which is indicating that culmination is possible but not necessary, and not *-n*. One interesting question I note here concerning Lillooet is that it no longer has *-t* as a morpheme. The *-t*

⁴⁴ Admittedly, the authors also did not assume the functional projection FP-delimit, but they do use the functional projection Telic, which I assume to be essentially the same projection.

transitivizer historically became fused with other morphemes, such as some of the object agreement suffixes, and it is not segmentable synchronically. Possibly in Lillooet it is the object suffixes themselves which are portmanteau morphemes. Besides marking agreement, they also have the function of removing telicity (or at least not making telicity as necessary). A question for the Lillooet c-predicate construction then is as follows: is it possible to determine that it is not the object suffix which is affecting telicity and not the transitivizer? If the object suffixes themselves also carry a function which affects telicity, then they should do so with all other transitivizers that they occur with. I leave Lillooet object suffixes for further research.

One area that I have not examined in this dissertation is the role of modality, which Bar-el et al. (2005) do for the c-transitivizer. I leave this matter as well and the issue of a full formal semantic analysis of the transitivizers compatible with my morphosyntactic analysis for further research.

6 Extending the analysis

We have so far provided a morpho-syntactic analysis of the core transitivizers. However, we have seen in Chapters 2-4 that there are other affixes which belong to the system of transitivizers that participate in CONTROL. In Table 86 repeated from Table 76, in §2 of this chapter, we have the list of all (in)transitivizers and their culmination properties.

		culmination entailment	culmination implicature
With <i>-t</i>	-t	x	✓
	-Vt	x	✓
	-Vn-t	x	✓
	-s-t	x	✓
	-t-sut	x	✓
	-nit	x	(?)
	-shit	x	(?)
	-min-t	x	(?)
	-ch'ewan-t	x	(?)
no <i>-t</i>	-im	x	x
	-n-exw	✓	
	-nalhn	✓	
	-numut	✓	

Table 86 Culmination entailments: predicates with *-t* or no *-t*

There are thus still a number of transitivizers left whose morpho-syntax we have not yet analyzed: the causative transitivizer (*-s*), the intransitives and the applicatives. I have not investigated the morphosyntax of the applicatives and so leave their analysis to further research. We discuss the causative in §6.1, and the intransitives in §6.2. Finally, in §6.3 I return to the issue of defining aspectual classes in *Skw̄x̄wu7mesh* and what my morphosyntactic account has to say about this matter.

6.1 The causative

While an in-depth analysis of the causative in *Skw̄x̄wu7mesh* is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I will outline what the logic of my analysis leads us to say about it. We will see that this investigation of the causative offers support for the phrase structure I have

adopted in this chapter. This work builds on Kuipers' (1967:73-74) description of causative in Skw̓w̓w̓mesh, as well as many previous descriptions and analyses of the causative in other Salish languages, such as Beaumont (1977) for Sechelt, Beck (2007) for Lushootseed, Davis and Saunders (1976, 1980, 1986) for Bella Coola, Demirdache (1997) and Davis and Demirdache (2000) for Lillooet, and Gerdts (2004) and Gerdts and Hukari (2006b) for Halkomelem, amongst many others.

In order to analyze causatives, we have to recognize the difference between what has been described as s-causatives (syntactic causative) and l-causatives (lexical causatives) (Travis 2010), while at the same time acknowledging the Anglo-centric basis for this description. Many languages of the world lexicalize these two types of causatives in a much more fine-grained way than this description might lead us to believe. The difference between these two types of causatives may manifest itself morphologically, syntactically, and/or semantically (see Shibatani 1975). An example of s-causatives in English is the periphrastic construction *make/have VP* (87)a, which contrasts with the non-causative version in (87)b.

- (87) a. He made/had me work. s-causative
b. He worked. intransitive

An example of an l-causative in English is the transitive version of the verb *break* (88)a which contrasts with its non-causative inchoative counterpart (88)b.

- (88) a. He broke the window. l-causative
b. The window broke. inchoative

What is relevant for our purpose is that the s-causatives denote two separate events: the causing event as well as the working event. In contrast, with l-causatives, there is only one event which, however, has an initiating and a final subevent. On the assumption that event-structure and predicate argument structure are both syntactically construed, the difference between s-causatives and l-causatives cannot simply be captured by saying that one is constructed syntactically while the other is constructed lexically. Following Hale and Keyser (1993), I adopt the assumption that event structure and predicate argument structure are part of l-syntax, but, I also adopt the insight of Travis (1994, 2010) according to which the projection above ν P is claimed to demarcate the border between l-syntax and s-syntax. Thus in Travis' account, l-syntax is a part of the same syntactic tree as the rest of syntax. As such, the edge of l-syntax is at the same time the edge of an event. According to Travis the relevant functional projection is EventPhrase (EP). I will assume here that F-init serves that same function of demarcating the event boundary. I propose that the initiation event encoded at F-init may, but need not, be identified with the lower event. In particular, in all the cases we have seen thus far, F-init was not associated with a particular morpheme, and in these cases there is only one event (which, however, consists of an initial and a final subevent). As such, c- and lc-predicates behave like l-causatives.

(89) The morphosyntax of CONTROL

c-predicates

[_{FP-init} [F-init] [_{VP} AG [_V -n] [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit} -t] [_{VP} -obj [V]]]]]



event

lc-predicates

[_{FP-init} [F-init] [_{VP} AG [_V -n] [_{FP-delimit} -obj [_{F-delimit}] [_{VP} [V]]]]]



event

I propose that the causative *-s* in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* marks an s-causative. Consider the examples in (90).

- (90) a. na p'ayak-s-t-Ø-as ta tetxwem
RL fix-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET car
'He had the car fixed.'

Context: He is the boss and he had one of his mechanics do the actual fixing. He wasn't necessarily involved in the actual fixing at all.

- b. na ts'its'áp'-s-t-s-as kwe-n sísi7.
RL work-CAUS-TR-1S.OBJ-3SUB DET-1S.POS uncle
'My uncle put me to work.'

Context: I was a young man without a job and my uncle didn't want me to turn out lazy, so he gave me a job to do on his farm.

I propose that *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* causative *-s* spells out F-init, as shown in (91). As before, I assume that *-t* spells out F-delimit. Moreover, I assume that *-s* in F-init indicates that F-init is an event on its own, and therefore there are two events involved.

- (92) a. chen ha7lh-s-[]-Ø ta sxwúsum
 1S.SUB good-CAUS-TR-3OBJ DET soapberry
 ‘I like soapberries.’
- b. chen smeñálh-s-[]-Ø te-n síiyay’
 1S.SUB respectable-CAUS-TR-3OBJ DET-1S.POS friends
 ‘I treat my friends with respect.’

The absence of an agent in (92) results in the absence of an agentive reading, i.e., the sentence in (92)b cannot mean ‘I cause my friends to become respectable’. In this respect s-causatives in Skw̄xwu7mesh minimally contrast with c-predicates, which contain *-n* (but not *-s*) and which do trigger an agentive interpretation, as in (93).

- (93) chen smeñálh-n-t-umi
 1S.SUB respectable-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
 ‘I made you respectable.’

Here the *-n* transitive version indicates that the agent causes the patient to change their state to match that of the property denoted by the root.

I tentatively suggest that the type of interpretation of the causative as in (92)a-b is reminiscent of an *experiencer* interpretation and I suggest that we might interpret such s-causatives as ‘I CAUSE (in my mind) the soapberries to be good.’ Beaumont (1977:9), in fact, makes a similar proposal for similar causative constructions in Sechelt. Let us call this the *experiencer effect*. According to my analysis, this experiencer effect arises in the context of an initiating predicate that lacks a corresponding agent.

Note in passing that it is not surprising that there is also an experiencer effect observable with English s-causatives (see Ritter and Rosen 1993). Consider for example the English sentence with the s-causative constructed with *have*.

event culmination (and consequently *-t* occupies F-delimit). This may suggest that object agreement occurs VP-internally, as in (96).

(96) The syntax of causative and object agreement (to be revised)

[FP-init [F-init] [FP-delimit [F-delimit] [VP [V]]]]
 -s **-t** **-obj**

This analysis, however, runs into problems in that it is not able to account for all instances of object agreement. As shown in (97) with the unergative roots *ts'its'áp* 'to work', and *ilhen* 'to eat', object agreement is with whatever would be the subject of intransitive form of the root. Thus in (97)a, object agreement is with the agent of working, which is reading (i) in (97)a and not with a patient, which would be the patient being worked on, which is reading (ii) in (97)a. The same holds in (97)b. The object agreement is with the agent of eating, which is reading (i) in (97)b and not with a patient, which would be the patient being eaten, which is reading (ii) in (97)b.

- (97) a. na ts'its'áp'-s-t-s-as kwe-n sísi7
 RL work-CAUS-TR-1S.OBJ-3SUB DET-1S.POS uncle
 i) 'My uncle put me to work.'
 ii) *'My uncle worked on me.'
- b. na ilhen-s-t-umulh-as
 rl eat-CAUS-1P.OBJ-3SUB
 i) 'She fed us.'
 ii) *'She ate us.'

Since agents are introduced in Spec-*v*P, it is not clear how VP-internal agreement may access the agent. This casts doubt on the assumption that object agreement with s-causatives is VP-internal. If it was, the difference between c-predicates and s-causatives in the target of object agreement would be unexpected. We would not expect the s-causatives to have agreement with the agent of the unergative predicate.

Similarly, with verbs of motion like *tsixw* (used as a bare root in (98)a), when causativized with *-s*, object agreement is with the **theme** argument, not with the **goal** argument, as in (98)b. That is, the agreement is with the participant who arrives and not with the location of the arrival. Crucially, this contrasts with c-predicates, where object agreement is with the GOAL argument, as in (98)c. That is, object agreement **is** with the location of the arrival.

- (98) a. na tsixw-∅ t-kwetsi
 RL arrive-3SUB OBL-DEM
 ‘He reached there.’
- b. na tsixw-s-t-∅-as t-kwetsi
 RL arrive-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB OBL-DEM
 ‘He brought him there.’
- c. na tsixw-n-t-∅-as kwetsi swa7lt
 RL arrive-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DEM creek
 ‘He reached the creek.’

I tentatively propose that in *Skwɣwu7mesh* s-causatives, object agreement is in F-init and agrees with the next available argument in its complement, which is the agent if there

is one, otherwise the theme.⁴⁶ That is, agreement will always be with an argument in spec (agent, theme) and not an argument in comp (e.g. goal).

(99) The syntax of causative and object agreement

[_{FP-init} [_{F-init}] [_{VP AG} [_v] [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit}] [_{VP TH} [_V]]]]
-s-obj *-t*

Note finally that verbs of motion have corresponding causative forms and lc-transitive forms. The (a) sentences below have the causative version of a verb of motion and the (b) sentences are the corresponding lc-transitive version. Note that the only apparent meaning difference is the lc-interpretations for the lc-transitive.

(100) a. na tsixw-s-t-Ø-as t-kwetsi swa7lt
 RL arrive-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB OBL-DEM creek
 ‘He brought it to the creek.’

b. na tsixw-n-exw-as t-kwetsi swa7lt
 RL arrive-TR-3OBJ-3SUB OBL-DEM creek
 ‘He managed to bring it to the creek.’

(101) a. na tsixw-s-t-s-as t-kwetsi swa7lt
 RL arrive-CAUS-TR-1S.OBJ-3SUB OBL-DEM creek
 ‘He brought me to the creek.’

b. na tsixw-n-emsh-as t-kwetsi swa7lt
 RL arrive-TR-1S.OBJ-3SUB OBL-DEM creek
 ‘He managed to bring me to the creek.’

⁴⁶ One might suggest that s-causatives do in fact introduce another V above F-init. This would allow us to maintain the claim that this type of object agreement is VP-internal, though in this case it would be internal to the higher VP. I will have to leave this question as a matter for future research.

- (102) a. na nam-s-t-Ø-as ta s7ekwelash
 RL go-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET gun
 ‘He brought his gun (there).’
- b. na nam-n-exw-as ta s7ekwelash
 RL go-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET gun
 ‘He finally brought his gun (there).’
- (103) a. na nam-s-t-s-as
 RL go-CAUS-TR-1S.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He brought me (there).’
- b. na nam-n-emsh-as
 RL go-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He finally brought me (there).’

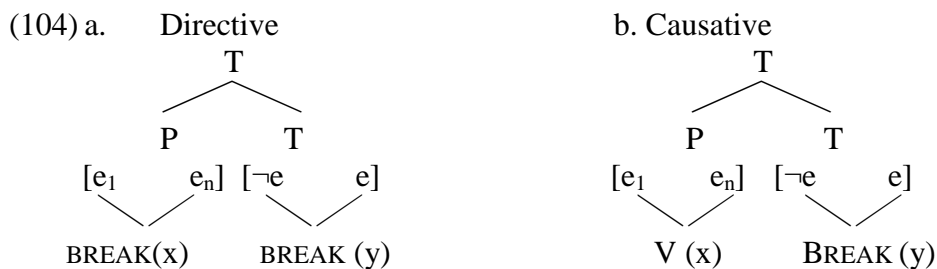
I have not tested these pairs of forms with the verb of motion to see if there are other interpretational differences other than the aspectual difference of telicity and its inferred limited control meanings. Since I have proposed that the causative introduces its own causing event, we might expect to have a reading available wherein the external argument of the causative is not directly responsible for the physical movement of the patient to the goal. That is, the causing event could be a totally separate event from the arriving event. Such a reading for (100)a could be ‘I had it taken to the creek’. This is the reading where the one who physically ‘took it to the creek’ was a person, one who I may have asked/forced/coerced to do it. Such a reading for (102)a could be ‘he had the gun brought there’. This is the reading where the one who physically ‘brought the gun there’ was a person who he may have asked/forced/coerced. That is a reading where there is an unnamed intermediary agent. The limited control version, though, should only allow for a reading wherein its external argument is directly responsible for the physical movement of the patient to the goal. I leave this to further research.

In summary, I propose that the reason that there are pairs of causative and lc-transitive version of the verbs of motion with near-identical meanings is due to a convergence of object agreement patterns with these roots and these different transitive construction. It is not the case, I argue, that there is some type of random selection wherein some roots select the causative for their c-predicate version while others select *-n*. This appears to be implicit in Kuipers (1967:77) assumption regarding c- and lc-transitives. As we have seen, the verbs of motion allow for both a causative *-s* and a transitive *-n* version, and both versions have differing semantics with regards to the thematic role of the object.

I now briefly survey three different proposals concerning causatives in Salish and compare and contrast them with mine: Beck's (2007) analysis of Lushootseed, Demirdache's (1997) analysis of the causative in Lillooet and Gerdt's and Hukari's (2006b) analysis for Halkomelem. Beck (2007) provides an analysis for the Lushootseed c-predicates constructed with *-t* in Lushootseed as 'internal causatives' and predicates with *-txw* as 'external causatives'. The construction with *-t* in Lushootseed is comparable to the $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$ c-transitivizer construction with the *-V* allomorph (which, recall always surfaces with the *-t* following) of the transitivizer *-n*. The Lushootseed construction with *-txw* is cognate to the causative transitive *-s* construction in $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$. The notions of internal and external causative, I argue, can be captured by the phrase structure that I have adopted in this chapter. This syntactic model is able to capture a semantic description that Beck (2007:47) provides for the external argument of the causative: the "AGENT [the external argument of the causative] is construed as being less directly involved in or affected by the event than stems formed with the internal

causative”. In my proposal about the interpretation of the causative, the external argument may not actually be directly involved at all in the event encoded by the root. This feature is encoded in the syntax of the causative. The result is that its external argument (which Beck calls an agent) is less directly involved in the event.

My syntactic proposal is also, I argue, able to capture a feature of the proposal that Demirdache (1997) makes for the causative in Lillooet, an analysis also adopted by Davis and Demirdache (2000). Their analysis involves a Pustojevsky-type of model to account for the semantic differences between predicates with the *-Vn* transitivizer (commonly called the directive transitivizer in Interior Salish, cognate to the *-n* transitivizer in *Sḵw̓x̓wu7mesh*) and those with the causative *-s* transitivizer. In their model, the root has an “inherent relationship” with the external argument of the *-Vn* predicate, but with the causative, the root does not have an “inherent relationship” with the external argument. These inherent relationships are modeled as follows:



In this model T is a transition event, e is an event and *x* and *y* represent the external and internal arguments of these predicates, respectively. Thus these transitive events are comprised of subevents. The important detail to note in this model is that both the external and internal argument of the directive are associated with the root. But, with the

causative, only the internal argument is associated with the root. Its external argument is associated with a variable. Demirdache argues that this lack of an inherent relationship for the causative's external argument captures the non-control readings that are obtained with the causative in Lillooet.

I propose that this notion of inherent relationship can be captured by my syntactic model in this chapter. In the transitivizer *-Vn* construction, the external argument has an inherent relationship with the root because the syntax forces a single event reading. In the causative *-s* construction, the external argument does not have an inherent relationship with the root because the syntax allows for a two-event reading. The fact that in Lillooet the causative obtains non-control readings (similar to the lc-meanings in $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$), at least with *ka-* *-a*, while in $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$ it can function as a c-transitive, indicates that the interpretation of the causative is more complex than simply CAUSE. In Chapter 6, §5, I provide a possible reason why *ka-* *-a* does not occur with the *-Vn* version of root, but instead occurs with the causative version.

One other proposal that I examine is Gerdts (2004) proposal for the causative in Halkomelem. Gerdts provides an account of what can count as the base of a *-stax^w* causative (cognate to the *-s* causative in $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$). In particular, Gerdts explores what kind of predicates can be causativized by *-stax^w*. Importantly for our comparison here, Halkomelem appears to allow a wider range of predicates to occur as the base for the causative than does $S\bar{k}w\bar{x}wu7mesh$. For example, the Halkomelem allows for sequence root+**causative**+lexical.suffix+**causative**, a sequence where two causatives appear in the same word.

- (105) niʔ ʔəmət-**st**-ənəq-**st**-namət
AUX sit-CAUS-LEXICAL.SUFFIX-CAUS-REFL
'He pretended to seat people. He played usher.'
(Gerds 2004:ex. 41)

This construction is not attested in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh*. Such data makes a direct comparison more difficult to make between Gerds' analysis and mine. In essence, Gerds' analysis is an account of why the Halkomelem causative can take a previously causative verb.

Gerds (2004:328, ex.48) primary proposal is that in Halkomelem the final valence of a transitive clause must be two:

- (106) The valence total principle: the valence total must be 2 for a transitively inflected clause and 1 for an intransitively inflected clause.

Thus whatever types of concatenation involving valency increasing or decreasing morphemes occur, ultimately when subject and object agreement occur, the final number of available participants for agreement must be two for a transitive clause and one for an intransitive clause. In example (105) then, the intransitive root has a valence of one. The following causative increases the valence to two. The lexical suffix following decreased the valence back to one, allowing the causative to occur again. Finally the reflexive follows this second causative and it decrease the valence to one again.

My account on object agreement patterns for the causative in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* does follow a similar line of thought to Gerds. In order to account for object agreement with the causative in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh*, I tentatively proposed that the causative takes the next

participant who is doing the work (reading (i)) and not with a patient, i.e. the participant who is being worked on (reading (ii)).

- (108) na ts'its'áp'-s-t-s-as kwe-n sísi7
 RL work-CAUS-TR-1S.OBJ-3SUB DET-1S.POS uncle
 i) 'My uncle put me to work.'
 ii) *'My uncle worked on me.'

If the root was inherently unaccusative, the causative version would be expected to have reading (ii) where the object agreement is with a the theme/patient and not reading (i), where the object agreement is with the agent. This is assuming, of course, that all transitivizers take the deep unaccusative form of the root. In fact, in order to get the reading wherein the object agreement is with the patient, the c-transitive as in (109)a or the lc-transitive as in (109)b must be used. Note that neither of these constructions is attested to have a reading wherein the object agreement is with an agent who performs the action denoted by the root (i.e. reading (ii) in both examples):

- (109) a. na ts'its'áp'-n-t-Ø-as ta shaw̃
 RL work-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUBDET bone
 i) 'He worked on the bone (in order to make it into an arrow).'
- ii) *'He made him work on the bone.'
- b. na ts'its'áp'-n-exw-as
 RL work-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 i) 'He finished working on it.'
 ii) *'He finished making him work.'

I argue from data like these that roots in Ṣḳẉx̣wu7mesh are best understood as inherently unergative or inherently unaccusative.

In this section I have argued that the causative in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* is located in the syntactic position which demarcates the border between l-syntax and s-syntax and which simultaneously marks the edge of an event. This phrase encodes its own CAUSE event which itself can be interpreted variously across languages within a language family (i.e., Salish) and cross-linguistically. The fact that *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* has verbs of motion which have causative forms and corresponding lc-transitive forms with near identical semantics is due to the particulars of object agreement for both constructions and is not due to an inherent contrast in CONTROL.

6.2 Intransitives

In this section I show that it is possible to extend my Event-Structure based morpho-syntactic analysis to the intransitivizers. Recall that besides c- and lc- transitives, I also posited that there are c- and lc-intransitives, as summarized in Table 45.

	unergatives	reflexives	reciprocals
c-intransitives	<i>-im'</i>	<i>-sut</i>	<i>-way</i>
lc-intransitives	<i>-nalhn</i>	<i>-numut</i>	<i>-newas</i>

Table 87 C- and lc-intransitivizers (Jacobs 2007)

In line with my morphological analysis, I argue all lc-(in)transitivizers are further divisible such that the initial *-n* is the *-n* transitivizer we have already seen. Gerdts (1998a, 2000) makes a similar claim for *-namət*, the Halkomelem cognate of the lc-reflexive *-numut* in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh*. She analyzes this *-n* as the lc-transitivizer (which I

have further reanalyzed as simply the *-n* transitivizer). The following table shows my reanalysis of the Skwxw7mesh intransitivizers.

	unergatives	reflexives	reciprocals
c-intransitives	<i>-im'</i>	<i>-sut</i>	<i>-way</i>
lc-intransitives	<i>-alhn</i>	<i>-umut</i>	<i>-ewas</i>

Table 88 C- and lc-intransitivizers - revised (Jacobs 2011)

I will first present my proposal for the lc-intransitives and then for the c-intransitives.

6.2.1 Lc-intransitivizers

My proposal for all three lc-intransitivizers is that they are associated with FP-delimit, the same position where object agreement is associated with in the context of lc-transitives.

As before, I analyze *-n* being associated with *v*, introducing the agent. The morpho-syntactic analysis I propose is given in (110).

- (110) a. lc-reflexive

$$[_{VP} AG [_{v}] \quad [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit}] \quad [_{VP} [V]]]]$$
-n *-umut*
- b. lc-unergative

$$[_{VP} AG [_{v}] \quad [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit}] \quad [_{VP} [V]]]]$$
-n *-alhn*
- c. lc-reciprocal

$$[_{VP} AG [_{v}] \quad [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit}] \quad [_{VP} [V]]]]$$
-n *-ewas*

This proposal captures the ordering of the affixes, in the same manner as it does with the object agreement. Under this analysis, we can also account for why the lc-intransitive predicates we have examined are telic (although, the reciprocals still need to be investigated), just like the lc-transitives are . In addition to spelling out (and thus activating) FP-delimit, reflexives and reciprocals also have semantic content. Just as object agreement places a restriction on the object in terms of person and number, reflexives and reciprocals place another restriction on the object. In particular, the lc-reflexive indicates that agent and patient refer to the same participant. In other words, there is a coreference, and binding relationship, between them. The lc-reciprocal I propose also indicates there is a coreference and binding relationship between the patient and the agent, but it further stipulates that there are plural instances of this event. As for the lc-unergative, I argue that it suppresses object agreement, while still activating FP-delimit.

One interesting feature of the lc-unergative *-alhn* is that it can co-occur with the causative *-s*.

(111) chen kwʔach-n-**alhn-s**-[]-Ø
 1S.SUB see-TR-LCUE-CAUS-TR-3OBJ
 ‘I got to see it.’

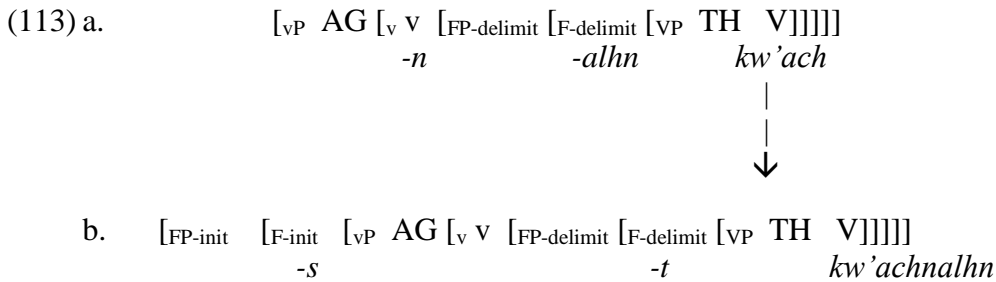
I argue that this construction provides some evidence for my syntactic analysis of the causative as occurring in a phrase higher than the *-n* transitivizer. But it also brings more complexities to the nature of the suffixal attachment to the verb. Consider the predicate of (111) with all the relevant phrases that I have proposed for each morpheme:

(112) The linearization problem – causativized intransitives

Morphology: [Stem *-n -alhn -s -t -obj*]
 Syntax: [VP -vP -FP_{delim} -F_{init}P -FP_{delim} -VP]

In this structure we have both FP-delimit and VP occurring recursively but in separate parts of the word. One possible analysis of this pattern is to say that the derived lc-unergative itself feeds into another VP and attaches at the root node in the head of VP.

This is illustrated in (113):



In this model of morphological attachment, the first round of derivation in (113)a is not accessible to the second round of derivation in (113)b. In other words, the word that results from the first round of derivation enters the second round as an indivisible word.

I argue that this analysis also provides some support for the Travis (2010) account of affix attachment that I have adopted. Recall that the reason successive affixes displace affixes that have already been attached is because there is a Minimal Word constraint according to which affixes can only attach directly to a Minimal word. As we have seen, the lc-unergative construction may be understood to qualify as a Minimal Word since it can occur as a predicate on its own. Therefore, further affixes attach outside of these morphemes. These affixes do not displace the affixes attached in the previous derivation.

We have one other problem to discuss which is a semantic problem with regards to lc-reflexive and their “non-reflexive” interpretation. This non-reflexive interpretation has been noted for various other Coast Salish languages (cf. Gerds 1998a for Halkomelem, Turner 2010 for Saanich, Watanabe 2003 for Sliammon). Most commonly in *Skw̓w̓mesh* when the root itself is an unergative, the lc-reflexive construction does not actually have an apparent reflexive meaning, although it still has a telic meaning. This is shown in (114).

- (114) a. chen ts’its’áp’-n-umut
 1S.SUB work-TR-LCREFL
 i) ‘I managed to work.’
 ii) ‘I manage to get a job.’
 iii) *‘I worked on myself.’
- b. chen tl’ik-n-úmut
 1S.SUB arrive-TR-LCREFL
 i) ‘I managed to arrive.’
 ii) ?‘I managed to bring myself here.’

I propose that the reflexive in this case is used because there is only one thematic role associated with the verb (either agent as in the (a) example, or theme as in the (b) example). The use of the transitive indicates that there are two event roles (agent and delimitter). Since only one thematic role is available, we need to use the reflexive which already indicates that there is only one participant. The interpretation is something like: I initiated an event such that it culminated in my working. In other words, with ‘non-reflexive’ reflexives, the culmination of the event is not the final subevent of the working event. Rather the culmination is getting to the point of having a job: ‘I managed to get myself a job.’ The difficulty that is implied by the use of the lc-reflexive, then, is not a

difficulty in the activity of working. Rather, the implied difficulty is getting to the stage where one has a job: ‘I did something for myself that was difficult and this resulted in me getting a job.’ But, when the implied difficulty is about the process of the working, then it can be paraphrased as ‘I managed to get myself to finish the job.’ This contrasts with regular lc-predicates where culmination indicates that the work is complete.

- (115) a. chen ts’its’áp’-n-exw
 1S.SUB work-TR-3OBJ
 ‘I finished working (on it).’
- b. chen ts’its’áp’-n-[]-Ø
 1S.SUB work-TR-TR-3OBJ
 ‘I worked on it.’

6.2.2 C-intransitivizers

For the c-reflexive and the c-reciprocal, as with their lc-counterparts, I propose that they indicate as part of their lexical entry that there is coreference between the patient and the agent. I argue that they occur in VP, like the VP object agreement does:

- (116) The syntax of c-intransitives
- a. c-reflexive: [_{VP} AG [v] [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit} -t] [_{VP} [**V-sut**]]]]
- b. c-reciprocal: [_{VP} AG [v] [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit} -t] [_{VP} [**V-way**]]]]

The c-reciprocal, I propose, further stipulates that there are plural instances of this event. This proposal captures the ordering of the affixes, just as it does with the object agreement and the lc-intransitivizers. Under my assumptions, it also accounts for why

the c-intransitive predicates which we have examined are not inherently telic, just like the c-transitives are not. They do not have agreement in F-delimit (acknowledging that the matter of the culmination entailments for the reciprocals still needs to be investigated). But, unlike with the transitive c-predicates, not all of the c-intransitivizers have *-t* in F-delimit, namely the c-unergative. I now provide an analysis for this morpheme.

For the unergative intransitivizer *-im'* I tentatively propose the analysis in (117), according to which it lacks F-delimit.

(117) The morphosyntax of intransitives
 $[_{VP} \text{ AG } [_{v} \mathbf{-im'}] \text{ } [_{VP} [\text{V}]]]$

The c-unergative *-im'* introduces the agent and spells out *v*. It contrasts with *-n*, which spells out *v* in the context of c- and lc-predicates. I propose that the two morphemes differ in whether their complement is a bare VP (as with *-im'*) or FP-delimit (as with *-n*). On this analysis, then, unergative intransitives lack the syntactic position for FP-delimit, inner aspect. This may be the reason why they are neither associated with a culmination implicature nor with a culmination entailment. In the absence of F-delimit, intransitive unergatives are literally unmarked for culmination.⁴⁷

I argue that this difference in the construction of the c-unergative from all other c-predicates supports my thesis that CONTROL is a construct. The c-unergatives show that

⁴⁷ I acknowledge here that the lack or presence of a functional projection on its own cannot provide an interpretation. I leave a more formal semantic analysis and representation of *-im'* to future research.

the notion of a controlling agent is itself connected primarily with the thematic role agent and not to any inner aspectual marking (e.g. *-t*).

I also have cases of nesting for the c-intransitivizers with the causative. In my database, I have some examples with the c-reflexive with the causative (118)a and the c-unergative with the causative (118)b.

- (118) a. na k'an-a-t-**sut-s-t**-Ø-as
 RL return-TR-TR-CREFL-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He brought it back.'
- b. na t'elkw-ím-s-t-Ø-as ta meñ-s
 RL nurse-CUE-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-SUB DET child-3POS
 'She had her child nursing.'

The causativized reflexives are not all that common in my database, comprising only a handful of examples, but the causativized c-unergative construction is productive. Note for the causative with the derived unergatives in (118)b that the object agreement is with the agent of the derived c-unergative. This is the same as the causative version of a bare unergative.

I have only one example of a formally c-reciprocal predicate (119)a which can also occur with the causative (119)b.

- (119) a. lhelwá7-s-t-ay-s
 side.by.side-CAUS-TR-CRECIP-CAUS
 'put them side by side'

- b. lhelwá7-s-t-ay
 side.by.side-CAUS-TR-CRECIPI
 ‘to be side by side’

It remains to be seen if they can productively be causativized.

These causativized c-intransitives present us with the same morphosyntactic problems that the lc-nergatives do. I propose that these constructions can also be explained by a kind of nesting taking place wherein the intransitivized version of the root is itself inserted in a higher phrase in a second VP, as I proposed for the lc-intransitives

As for interpretational matters, the c-reflexive has also been recorded with an inchoative type of meaning.

- (120) a. chen swi7ka7-a-n-t-sut
 1S.SUB man-EPH-TR-TR-REFL
 ‘I became a man.’

- b. na sheway-an-t-sut te-n skwemáy
 RL grow-TR-TR-REFL DET-1S.POS dog
 ‘My dog’s growing up.’

Such an interpretation has been noted for the c-reflexive in other Salish languages (cf. Demirdache and Davis 2000 for Lillooet, Galloway 1993 for Halkomelem, Gerds 1998a and 2000 for Halkomelem, Turner for Saanich 2010). It does not appear to be as common in Skwxwú7mesh, though, possibly because of another specifically inchoative suffix *-i7*, which is normally used instead. I adopt a similar approach to Davis and Demirdache (2000) for Lillooet and Wiltschko (2004) for Upriver Halkomelem for this

reading, approaches which follow Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995). They propose that the inchoative meaning of the reflexive is an “internally caused” meaning. In such an account, it is some inherent physical characteristic of the argument that is responsible for the change of state. Thus the physical characteristic of the argument of the verb in (120)a must be a boy who has gone through puberty. The physical characteristic of the argument in (120)b is the natural characteristics of the dog’s body which causes it to grow. This restriction on the type of argument that an internally caused verb can take is a very common property of such verbs. I argue, therefore, that these non-reflexive reflexives are still reflexive in the sense that it is the inherent characteristic of the subject that causes something to happen to itself.

6.3 **Implications for predicate classes**

In this section I re-examine the issue of predicate classes in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* in light of the proposals that I have made in this dissertation. I provide some preliminary proposals about how predicate classes are derived in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh*: by a complex interaction of thematic roles, event participant roles and assumptions about events. I also argue that the data in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* requires us to have a more fine-grained set of predicate-types. Recall the predicate classes that Bar-el (2005) proposes for *Sḵwḵwu7mesh*, which are defined by whether they have inherent initial or final points in their semantic representation. I will go over each of Bar-el’s predicate types and discuss how I have analyzed them. I examine how my account fits within or contrasts from Bar-el’s, looking for correlates between inherent points and the predicate - features that I have proposed.

The following table provides a summary of Bar-el's (2005) analysis of four predicate classes in Skwxwú7mesh. An important note for our discussion here is that Bar-el (2005) does not attempt to provide an analysis of all predicate classes in Skwxwú7mesh. Rather, she confines her examination to Vendler's four predicate classes and compares and contrasts their behaviour in Skwxwú7mesh as compared to English.

	Initial point	Final point
activities	✓	✗
accomplishments	✗	✗
achievements	✓	✓
inchoative states	✓	✗

Table 89 Skwxwú7mesh predicates: their initial and final points (Bar-el 2005:200)

In my account the only activity-like predicates I examine are the derived c-unergatives. Bar-el (2005) proposes that activities are comprised of an initial DO event followed by a process event. I proposed that syntactically c-unergatives are comprised of vP and VP, and that they lack the projection FP-delimit. I proposed that the lack of agreement in FP-delimit correlates with them lacking culmination entailments and culmination implicatures (although I left an analysis of how the semantics are derived to future research).

Bar-el's accomplishments are my c-transitives. I proposed that syntactically that they are comprised of vP, FP-delimit and VP. I argued for the presence of *-t* in FP-delimit, hence the lack of object agreement there, and that this correlates with the lack of culmination entailments with these predicates. I propose that agreement is VP internal.

The only achievements that I examined are the verbs of motion. I proposed that syntactically they have FP-delimit and VP. The subject of the verb of motion has both the thematic role of theme and the aspectual role of delimiter. They also have an inherent goal role associated with them. The presence of the delimiter role, I argued, is responsible for their culmination entailments.

I did not examine or provide an analysis for inchoative states. I tentatively propose that they are similar to verbs of motion, except that they do not have the goal role associated with them. Furthermore, as proposed by Bar-el (2005) they also have a resulting state occurring after this change of state.

This is summarized in the following table. I have placed the thematic roles and the aspectual role, delimiter if they are present. The \times means that I have proposed that there is no agreement associated with these projections in these constructions. The (theme) in brackets indicates that the argument in Spec-VP has moved to Spec-FP-delimit where it gets delimiter agreement.

	vP	FP-delimit	VP
bare unergatives (activities)	agent	\times	\times
c-transitives (other than verb of motion)	agent	-t	theme
verbs of motion (achievements)	\times	delimiter	(theme) + goal
inchoative states	\times	delimiter	(theme)

Table 90 Skwxwú7mesh predicate classes with thematic and aspectual roles

In my typology, a predicate that has agreement associates with FP-delimit has culmination entailments. This is how I account for the verbs of motion having culmination entailments. I argued that the lack of agreement in FP-delimit for the c-

transitives accounts for these predicates lacking culmination entailments. I still need to explain, however, why bare unergatives have initial points and why predicates with delimiter agreement tests as an initial point for verbs of motion (a sub-type of Bar-el's achievements) with Bar-el's tests for inherent initial points. To answer the first questions I now compare the c-unergatives and the c-transitive. The following table present my analysis of these two constructions.

	vP	FP-delimit	VP
c-unergative	agent	✗	[theme]
c-transitive	agent	-t	theme

Table 91 Comparing c-unergative and c-transitive (Jacobs 2011)

Both constructions have a theme/patient associated with them. The difference for the c-unergative, though, is it does not allow this argument to be expressed with verbal agreement, while the c-transitive does. I then argued that the *tried to* interpretation associated with c-intransitives supports our claim that they are I(nitiating)-predicates.

- (121) a. C-unergative with *tried to* interpretation
 chen suxwt-**im** welh es-kw'ay
 1S.SUB recognize-CUE but STAT-cannot
 'I *tried to* recognize him, but I couldn't.'
- b. C-transitive with *tried to* interpretation
 chen lhích'-**i-t-Ø** ta seplín
 1S.SUB cut-TR-TR-3OBJ DET bread
 'I *tried to* cut the bread.'

welh es-kw'áy. an tl'exw-Ø
 but STAT-cannot too hard-3SUB
 'but I couldn't. It was too hard.'

I argued that as I-predicates, the c-unergative and c-transitives minimally require event initiation. I also proposed that this minimal requirement for initiation may itself be derived. When these predicates, which have an agent role, are stated to have taken place, the minimal requirement for them to be true is that the agent initiated its event. Thus, perhaps bare unergatives are also I-predicates. I have not yet tested bare unergatives with the event cancellation test using the predicate *eskw'áy* 'cannot'. This seems to be the best way to test for the *tried to* interpretation. I leave this for future research.

So far, though, my proposal does not account for why the c-transitives test as having neither initial nor final points in Bar-el's tests for initial points. I argue that Bar-el's classification may also have problems here, in that with some of Bar-el's accomplishments the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test translate as 'almost start to X'.

Consider, for example, (122):

- (122) *kilh* chen míkw'-en-[]-Ø ta tétxwem
 almost 1S.SUB wash-TR-TR-3OBJ DET car
 'I almost **started to** wash the car.'
 (Bar-el 2005:106, ex.83b)

Such translations seem to indicate that the initial event is being picked out. I propose that these facts can be accounted for with my analysis of c-predicates as having only two thematic roles present, agent and patient, no aspectual roles (i.e., no delimiter role). In Bar-el's terms these predicates have neither a DO event nor a BECOME event. In my

account then, all they have is thematic roles. Possibly as far as inherent points are concerned, thematic roles have equal weight as far as inferences about initial and final points in an event. Since there are two thematic roles present, neither role takes prominence over the other and forcing an initial or final point reading. Bar-el (2005:167) provides a similar explanation for the ambiguity of c-transitives (that is, her accomplishments) suggesting that “no particular point ... will necessarily be more salient”. I propose that in those cases where it is stated that there is no final event, an event associated with the theme/patient, then minimally something must be said about the agent, i.e. event initiation.

Further support for such a proposal might come from the c-unergatives, which in $\text{Skw}\bar{x}\text{wu}7\text{mesh}$ appear to be largely derived from unaccusative roots, which have an inherent patient role. In my analysis, the suffix *-im'* suppresses the grammatical expression of the patient while also adding an agent role which gets expressed as the grammatical subject. Thus these derived unergatives have both an agent and an underlying patient. They have two thematic roles, like the c-transitives, with no agreement taking place in FP-delimit. Where they differ is in the expression of these roles as grammatical arguments. If my hypothesis is correct, I predict that diagnostics for initial points should indicate that c-unergatives do not have inherent initial points either. This would contrast with bare root unergatives which do test as having inherent initial points and only have one thematic role -agent. That is, c-unergatives should also be ambiguous about inherent points in the same way that c-transitives are.

As for why the inchoative states have inherent initial points, Bar-el proposes that is their initial BECOME event which counts as their inherent initial point. In my syntactic

framework I have associated this feature with agreement in FP-delimit. This very same event is present in the lc-transitives but it does not count as an inherent initial point, but rather as an inherent final point. While agreement in FP-delimit counts as a final point for lc-transitives, for these inchoative states, which are unaccusatives, this agreement counts as an initial point. I propose that this indicates that initial points as an aspectual class are a much more heterogeneous class than final points.

In summary, assuming my analysis of predicates examined in this dissertation, I proposed that predicates with final points correlate with predicates having agreement in FP-delimit. As for initial points I proposed that they can be derived from various sources: i) DO event for bare root unergatives, ii) agreement in FP-delimit (inchoative states). Initiating predicates differ, though, in that minimally require initiation only if their final event is explicitly denied. Further research on initial points will certainly reveal other contrasts and similarities between these two properties of predicates.

7 Conclusion

The main idea I have developed in this chapter is that the difference in culmination between c-predicates and lc-predicates is syntactically conditioned. Lc-predicates mark object agreement in F-delimit. As a consequence, F-delimit is activated (in the sense of Ritter and Rosen 2000) and lc-predicates behave like delimiting predicates. In contrast, c-predicates mark object agreement VP-internally. As a consequence, F-delimit is not activated and c-predicates behave like initiating predicates. Note in passing that the lack of activation of F-delimit does not mean that the projection is not present. In fact, I have

argued that F-delimit can be occupied by *-t*. This may indicate that *-t* functions as an expletive. Since its presence does not activate F-delimit, we may conclude that it is not interpreted.

This analysis, I argued provides a solution to the problem of the mapping of form to meaning. I have argued that the contrast between c- and lc-predicates is not straightforwardly marked morphologically. On the one hand no overt morpheme directly marks lc-predicates, and therefore no overt morpheme directly encodes event culmination. On the other hand all c-predicates are marked with *-t*. However, the semantic contribution of this morpheme is not immediately clear. We cannot say that it asserts non-culmination because, as we have seen in Chapter 3, c-predicates are compatible with culminating events.

I have argued that the mapping between the morphology and the semantics is mediated by the syntax. According to my analysis, it is the *position of object agreement* and not a dedicated morpheme which marks whether or not the object is mapped onto the delimiter role. Moreover, I proposed that the mysterious *-t* is not associated with a function: it is an expletive which serves to spell out F-delimit in the absence of object agreement in this position.

As such, the contrast in CONTROL can be viewed as the head-marking equivalent of the contrast between accusative and partitive case to mark telicity, as in Finnish.

Properties of overt DPs do not enter into the calculation of telicity.⁴⁸ As such, in S_kw_xwu7mesh (overt) object DPs do not serve to measure out the event (in the sense of Tenny 1994). Instead I have said that in S_kw_xwu7mesh it is the object agreement which has this function.

⁴⁸ Recall, though, that the determiners appear to play some role in calculating telicity with c-nergatives. This requires further research.

Chapter 6: Implications

1 Introduction

In this chapter I first examine some implications of my morphosyntactic model of the S_kw_xwu7mesh verb. In §2, I provide a preliminary sketch of the historical development of the two S_kw_xwu7mesh object sets. I argue that assuming that the two Proto-Salish object sets were both much like the S_kw_xwu7mesh system with aspect agreement and VP internal agreement provides for a simpler historical account for the development of present day S_kw_xwu7mesh object agreement. I also provide a possible account for how aspect agreement became generalized to the causative in Coast Salish giving us the most common pattern for object agreement in the rest of Salish. In §3 I provide a preliminary examination of some implications for other Coast Salish languages synchronically. Most Coast Salish languages do not have the *-n* version of the transitivizer, but instead have the *-V* version of the transitivizer. I examine the consequences of my event-structure based analysis for our understanding of the morphosyntax of other Coast Salish languages. In §4 I examine the implications of my analysis of inner aspect for languages like English, which do not mark inner aspectual distinctions by object agreement patterns and do not have lc-interpretations associated with telic predicates. In §5 I examine another so-called control construction in S_kw_xwu7mesh, the VP clitic *txw*, which I previously described as an out of control marker (Jacobs 2007). I also examine how so-called control

constructions in other Salish languages may be analyzed in light of the analysis developed in this dissertation.

2 **S_kw_{x̣}wu7mesh and the Proto-Salish object sets**

In this section I sketch a tentative historical account for the development of the two object sets in S_kw_{x̣}wu7mesh from Proto-Salish (henceforth PS) to S_kw_{x̣}wu7mesh based on the assumption that the PS object sets had the same agreement patterns as I have proposed for S_kw_{x̣}wu7mesh. This account differs from previous accounts of the two object sets in PS (Kiyosawa 2006:268-272, Newman 1979). I begin by presenting Newman's two proposed PS object sets in §2.1. I then present my alternative account in §2.2. In §2.3, I then compare the two accounts, from the point of view of S_kw_{x̣}wu7mesh. Then in §2.4 I provide an tentative account for how the agreement associated with inner aspect (FP-delimit) became to be used for the causative transitivizer.

2.1 **Proto-Salish object sets**

Newman (1979) analyzes Proto-Salish as having two object sets: the *neutral set* and the *causative set*. In his analysis, it is the transitivizers themselves which select for the two object sets. The causative selects for the causative object set and other transitivizers (e.g. *-n*, *-ni*, *-shi*, etc.) select for the neutral set. Newman does not provide a hypothesis, either semantic or syntactic, for the nature of this selection. He treats it as a morphological fact. He also does not provide an account for why most Coast Salish languages use the same

object agreement set for both the causative and the lc-transitives. Note that in Skw̥w̥w̥mesh, the reflex of Newman’s causative set is only used with the lc-transitive construction and not with the causative. The reflex of the neutral set occurs with all other transitivity markers, including the causative.

Kiyosawa (2006:38-40) provides an alternative account of the two PS object sets. She describes them as the S-set and the M-set.⁴⁹ The label S-set is due to the presence of *-s* in the agreement markers of both the first and second singular of Newman’s neutral set. The label M-set is due to the presence of *-m* in both first and second singular and plural object agreement markers of Newman’s causative set. One of the reasons that she does this is that many of the daughter languages of PS that have the lc-transitive construction use the M-set, and thus the label ‘causative’ does not do justice to its use. Furthermore, some of the daughter languages have certain other transitivity markers that can take both object sets.

	Neutral (Newman) S-set (Kiyosawa)	Causative (Newman) M-set (Kiyosawa)
1 sg	*-ts	*-mx
2 sg	*-tsi	*-mi
1 pl	*-al	*-muʔ
2 pl	*-ulm	*-muʔ
3 sp	*-0	*-0

Table 92 Proto-Salish object sets

⁴⁹ Montler (1996) is, apparently, the first to use these terms, for the two object sets in Klallam.

Before providing my account, I introduce a couple of modifications to these reconstructed PS object sets as proposed by Kroeber (1999:25). One modification he proposes is that the first and second person plurals in the S-set (his neutral set) were both **-ul*. He proposes this because the plurals that Newman's proposes for the S-set have reflexes mainly in one branch, namely Interior Salish. Kroeber (1999:25) also proposes that the plural of the M-set (his causative set) is **-mul* (where the final *l* gets devocalized to *ʎ* in certain contexts). This leaves us with the following PS object sets:

	S-set (Neutral set)	M-set (Causative set)
1 sg	*-ts	*-mx
2 sg	*-tsi	*-mi
1 pl	*-ul	*-mul
2 pl	*-ul	*-mul
3 sp	*-0	*-0

Table 93 Proto-Salish object sets (revised) (Kroeber 1999:25)

Note that neither Newman's (1979) account nor Kiyosawa's (2006) account provides a reason for why all the first and second person object markers in the M-set start with the segment *m*. I do not either, but simply note it.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Hess (1995: 42) provides an interesting analysis of the reflex of the common element *-m* in the M-set in Lushootseed: *-b*. Hess analyzes each occurrence of *-b* before the object agreement as actually being a separate morpheme – the passive marker.

i) u-bəch-du-**b**-sh
PART-remember-LCTR-PASS-1S.M.OBJ

Before turning to my account, a few notes are required for our discussion about proposed proto-forms for transitivizers. No thorough historical account exists of the reconstruction of the transitivizers in Salish. Newman (1979:299, 301) tentatively proposes that the Proto-Salish form of the causative is **-stəw* or **-staxʷ*, although he does not provide motivation for his reconstruction. Since Newman (1979), however, this is the commonly accepted form for the Proto-Salish causative in Salishanist linguistics (Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998a). Also, with the common assumption that there is a limited control transitivizer in Salish, it has also been proposed that the Proto-Salish limited control transitivizer was **-nəw* (Kroeber 1999:6,29). No account exists for why both these transitivizers has the sequence *-əw*.

2.2 The development of Sk̄wx̄wu7mesh object sets

In light of my analysis of Sk̄wx̄wu7mesh, I propose two further revision to the PS object sets as follows. First, I propose that the first and second person object suffixes in the S-set do not have *-t* as part of their makeup. Newman assumes that this *-t* was originally the PS transitivizer **-t* that became fused with the following object suffixes. This process

‘He remembered me.’

Thus in his analysis the *-b* is not even properly a part of the object agreement. Although, in an earlier analysis Hess (1967) does argue that it is part of the object agreement. In most of the daughter languages of Salish *-m* does not appear to be a segmentable part of the object agreement.

of fusing undoubtedly has happened in a number of the daughter languages, but I do not assume that this was so in PS since in my analysis of *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*, the *-t* still as a separate morpheme.

Second, I propose that the two sets had as their function to mark aspect agreement versus VP agreement, just as I have for the reflexes of these sets in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*. This leaves us with the following revised reconstruction.

	*Aspect-agreement	*VP-agreement
1 sg	*-s	*-mx
2 sg	*-si	*-mi
1 pl	*-ul	*-mul
2 pl	*-ul	*-mul
3 sp	*-Ø	*-Ø

Table 94 Proto-Salish object sets (Jacobs)

This proposal contrasts with Newman’s proposal where these PS object sets were morphologically determined by the transitivizer that they occurred with, i.e. the causative vs. other transitivizers. It also contrasts with a hypothesis of Kiyosawa (2006:268-272) that the M-set is akin to “dative” case in dependent marking languages and that the S-set is akin to “accusative” case in dependent marking languages. We are in agreement that there are functional parallels between the Salish object agreement sets and case in dependent marking languages. Our accounts differ, though, in that in my account the M-set (my Asp-set as proposed in Chapter 5, §4.2.4) is most comparable to “accusative” case and the S-set (my VP-set) is most comparable to “dative/partitive” case. For example, recall the data in Finnish discussed in Chapter 5, §3.3. The predicate with accusative case is telic in Finnish, just as the predicate with the Asp-set is in

Sḵwḵwu7mesh, and the predicate with partitive case is atelic in Finnish, similar to how the predicate with the VP-set is not necessarily telic. These three different approaches are summarized in following table:

	Newman (1979)	Kiyosawa (2006)	Jacobs (present analysis)
type of analysis	morphological	semantic	morphosyntactic
nature of object sets	transitivizer selects for object set	similarity to case in dependent languages	marks where the object is syntactically
M-set	selected by the causative	similar to “dative” case	marks agreement with DP in the spec of FP-delimit
S-set	selected by transitivizers other than the causative	similar to “accusative” case	marks agreement with DP in VP

Table 95 Three analyses of PS object sets

In what follows, I briefly provide my own tentative historical proposal for the developments that took place from PS to contemporary Sḵwḵwu7mesh. Since Newman (1979), the common assumption in Salishanist linguistics is that the Aspect-set was originally used for the causative in PS. Consequently, I also include the causative object agreement in my account here. Thus, I will compare the object agreement markers that occur with the c-transitives, lc-transitives and the causative. I argue that assuming that the PS causative originally took the VP-agreement set for object agreement, and not the Asp-set, provides for a simpler diachronic account for the development of object agreement in Sḵwḵwu7mesh. I argue that it is simpler than assuming that the causative originally took the Asp-set (Newman’s causative set).

To begin, I first provide the contemporary Sḱwḱwu7mesh object agreement markers for the c-transitives, the causative and the lc-transitives (Table 96). I have colour coded the object markers indicating which PS object set they are derived from:

- red indicates that the object suffix is a reflex of the PS Asp-set.
- blue indicates that the object suffix is a reflex of the PS VP-set.
- white indicates that the status of the passive is not clear.

I have also include all the intransitivizers to provide a complete comparison of all inflectional marking across the three paradigms. For ease of exposition, I have converted all of the Sḱwḱwu7mesh morphemes to a standard Northwest orthography.⁵¹

	c-transitive	causative	lc-transitive
1 sg	-s	-s	-əms̥
1 pl	-umul	-umul	-umul
2 sg	-umi	-umi	-umi
2 pl	-umi-yap	-umi-yap	-umi-yap
3 sp	-∅	-∅	-əx ^w
Reflexive	-sut	-namut	-umut
Reciprocal	-way	-way	-əwas
Unergative	n/a	n/a	-aln
Passive	-m	-m	-m

Table 96 Sḱwḱwu7mesh object sets and intransitivizers

Note in this table that all of the object markers, and the intransitivizers, for the lc-predicates are reflexes of the Proto-Salish Asp-set. First person plural and second person singular and plural are the same across all paradigms, and they are all reflexes of the

⁵¹ Basically, for the data presented in this section, I have changed schwa /e/ to /ə/, /lh/ to /l/, /sh/ to /š/ and /xw/ to /x^w/. I leave /ts/, though, as is, since changing it to /c/ would obscure some of the observations that I make.

Proto-Salish Asp-set. First person plural and second person singular are direct reflexes of the Proto-Salish Asp-set. The second person plural is derived from the Proto-Salish second singular Asp-set and the Proto-Coast Salish possessive **-alap* is realized as *-yap* in *Skw̥wu7mesh*.

The contemporary *Skw̥wu7mesh* causative object marking, and intransitivizers, are identical to that of c-transitives except for the reflexive marker. I have tentatively analyzed the causative reflexive as a derived form of the lc-reflexive. I am not convinced that this is entirely right. At any rate, it is clearly not the same as the c-reflexive.

I propose five stages that took place from Proto-Salish (PS) to contemporary *Skw̥wu7mesh* (SQ). Any intermediate stages between Proto-Salish and *Skw̥wu7mesh* I will call Pre-*Skw̥wu7mesh* (PSQ).

Stage 1: Asp-set and VP-set: object agreement in Proto-Salish

My first hypothesis is that the Proto-Salish Asp-set was marked by *-w* in F-delimit and the Proto-Salish VP-set was marked by *-t* in F-delimit. For ease of exposition I will describe predicates with agreement from the Asp-set as lc-transitives and predicates with VP-set agreement as c-transitives. I have no strong case to make concerning the role that *-w* played here in Proto-Salish, since it does not appear to play a role in any of the daughter languages. Recall that Newman (1979) proposed that the Proto-Salish causative was **-stəw* and the Kroeber (1999) proposed a Proto-Salish limited control transitivizer **-nəw*. In these analyses the *-əw* sequence that these transitivizers have in common is accidental or historically unrecoverable. I have essentially moved the problem of the *-əw* sequence to the object agreement domain instead of the transitivizer domain,

acknowledging the problem that this creates for my account in that it still has no clearly recoverable role synchronically. In order for the ordering of morphemes to work, both *-w* and the object agreement have to occupy the same syntactic head. The analysis of Proto-Salish object agreement is schematized in (1).

(1) The event spine for Proto Salish

[_{FP-init} [F-init] [_{VP AG} [V] [_{FP-delimit} [F-delimit] [_{VP TH} [V Goal]]]]]

c-predicate:	-n	-t	-obj
lc-predicate:	-n	-w-obj	

As for the allophony of *-w*, I assume an account in which it was vocalized to *-u* when it occurred between two consonants: i.e., in the first singular, first plural, second singular, second plural, reflexive and passive (Dale Kinkade, p.c.). With third person objects *-w* was spirantized to *-xw*. Otherwise it is realized as *-w*: i.e., in the unergative and in the reciprocal (which further glottalizes to *w̌*).

In the following Table 97 I provide a full paradigm for Proto-Salish and for *Skw̌xwu7mesh* with all object forms, using the *Skw̌xwu7mesh* root *yuts* ‘to nudge’ for the root. Since there exists no reconstruction of the intransitivizers for the Asp-set, I assume that they were more or less the same as in *Skw̌xwu7mesh*, acknowledging that a thorough investigation will undoubtedly bring revisions to this preliminary proposal. From a survey of Coast Salish limited control marking, this assumption is least clear for the reciprocal.

	Proto-Salish	Sḱwḱwu7mesh
1sg	yuts' -n -u -mx	yuts' -n -əṃš
1pl	yuts' -n -u -mul	yuts' -n -umuł
2sg	yuts' -n -u -mi	yuts' -n -umi
2pl	yuts' -n -u -mul	yuts' -n -umi-yap
3	yuts' -n -əx ^w -∅	yuts' -n -əx ^w
reflexive	yuts' -n -u -mut	yuts' -n -umut
reciprocal	yuts' -n -ẇ - as	yuts' -n -əẇas
unergative	yuts' -n -w -ałn	yuts' -n -ałn
passive	yuts' -n -u -m	yuts' -n -əṃ

Table 97 Proto-Salish and Sḱwḱwu7mesh object and intransitivizers: Asp-set

The differences that need to be accounted for between Proto-Salish and Sḱwḱwu7mesh Asp-set are that the Sḱwḱwu7mesh first singular, second plural, unergative and passive differ phonetically from their Proto-Salish counterparts. The first person singular, as well as the passive, in Sḱwḱwu7mesh has schwa instead of *-u*. The second plural has a completely different suffix. The lc-unergative does not have a reflex of the *w* in Sḱwḱwu7mesh.⁵²

I now present the VP-set for Proto-Salish and for Sḱwḱwu7mesh. The reconstructed reflexive and reciprocal are from Kroeber (1999:32).

⁵² The following languages appear to have cognates of this suffix, although, the function appears to be different: Columbian *-nwaln* 'intransitive limited control' (Willet 2003:231), Nooksack *-wəłən* 'first person object pronoun suffix' (Galloway 1997) and Thompson *-nwəłn* 'noncontrol middel' (Thompson 1992: 106-7). Note that in all these cognates that the *-w* is still present.

	Proto-Salish VP-set	Sḱwḱwu7mesh VP-set
1sg	yuts' -n -t -s	yuts' u -n -t -s
1pl	yuts' -n -t -ul	yuts' u -n -t -umul
2sg	yuts' -n -t -si	yuts' u -n -t -umi
2pl	yuts' -n -t -ul	yuts' u -n -t -umi-yap
3	yuts' -n -t -∅	yuts' u -n -t -∅
reflexive	yuts' -n -t -sáwt	yuts' u -n -t -sut
reciprocal	yuts' -n -t -wal	yuts' u -n -t -way
unergative	X	X (yuts'-im̃)
passive	yuts' -n -t -m	yuts' u -n -t -m

Table 98 Proto-Salish and Sḱwḱwu7mesh objects and intransitivizers: VP-set

The following are the differences that need to be accounted for between Proto-Salish and Sḱwḱwu7mesh VP-set. The first plural and second singular and plural differ.

Furthermore, in Sḱwḱwu7mesh there is a copy vowel of the root vowel following the root. I do not provide a dedicated unergative form in the VP-set since one has not been reconstructed for Salish. The c-unergative in Sḱwḱwu7mesh is not properly part of the VP-set. The construction that fits the discourse function of this role, I have noted in brackets. The nucleus of the reflexive in Sḱwḱwu7mesh has a vocalized form *u* of the nucleus of the Proto-Salish reflexive -áw. The Sḱwḱwu7mesh reflexive is also not inherently stressed. The reciprocal in Sḱwḱwu7mesh has a *y* for its coda instead of *l*. This is a regular sound change from Proto-Salish to Sḱwḱwu7mesh: **l* → *y*.

Stage 2: -w deletion

In this stage, I hypothesize that Pre-S_kw_xwu₇mesh inherited the object sets as presented in Stage 1 from Proto-Salish. The first change that I hypothesize to Pre-S_kw_xwu₇mesh object agreement was with the Asp-set - the deletion of -w in three instances. The arrows in the following table indicate the three places where this took place: first singular, the unergative, and the passive. For the rest of our discussion I assume that all the relevant sound changes that have taken place in S_kw_xwu₇mesh: x → š for first person singular, l → ł for first person plural,

	Proto-Salish	PSQ
1sg	yuts' -n -u -mš	yuts' -n -Ø -mš ←
1pl	yuts' -n -u -mul	yuts' -n -u -muł
2sg	yuts' -n -u -mi	yuts' -n -u -mi
2pl	yuts' -n -u -mul	yuts' -n -u muł
3	yuts' -n -əx ^w -Ø	yuts' -n -əx ^w -Ø
Reflexive	yuts' -n -u -mut	yuts' -n -u -mut
Reciprocal	yuts' -n -ẉ -as	yuts' -n -ẉ -as
Unergative	yuts' -n -w -áłn	yuts' -n -Ø -áłn ←
Passive	yuts' -n -u -m	yuts' -n -Ø -m ←

Table 99 PS and PSQ with schwa reduction

I hypothesize that this reduction may have occurred when the vocalized -w — that is, -u — occurred in one of two places: i) in a closed syllable, i.e., with first singular and the

passive, or ii) as part of a complex onset, i.e., with the unergative. The following table shows how this syllabification could have taken place, showing the environments where deletion occurred.

	PSQ
1sg	yuts'. numš → yuts'. nəmš
1pl	yuts'.nu.muł
2sg	yuts'.nu.mi
2pl	yuts'.nu.muł
3	yuts'.nəx ^w
Reflexive	yuts'.nu.mut
Reciprocal	yuts'.nə.was
Unergative	yuts'. nwá.ɫn → yuts'. ná.ɫn
Passive	yuts'. num → yuts'. nəm

Table 100 PSQ and -w deletion

Stage 3: reanalysis of the -w as part of the object marker

I hypothesize that at this stage a reanalysis took place wherein the remaining instances of the -w morpheme became reanalyzed as part of the Asp-set agreement markers. This may have taken place because three members of the Asp-set now regularly had -w reduced, as just proposed in Stage 2.

1sg	yuts' -n -əms̥	
1pl	yuts' -n -umuł	←
2sg	yuts' -n -umi	←
2pl	yuts' -n -umuł	←
3	yuts' -n -əx ^w	←
Reflexive	yuts' -n -umut	←
Reciprocal	yuts' -n -əw'as	←
Unergative	yuts' -n -áln	
Passive	yuts' -n -m	

Table 101 PSQ -w reanalyzed as part of object marker

Stage 4a: the reanalysis of the n-object for second person plural

The next stage that I hypothesize took place is the second person plural Asp-set object is adopted into all paradigms. Recall that on the analysis of Newman (1979), the Proto-Salish object does not distinguish between person for first and second person plural object agreement. In order to disambiguate between first and second person plural in the Asp-set, the second person plural possessive is added to the second person singular Asp-set resulting in *-umi-yap*. Newman (1979) notes this change also took place in Sechelt.

1sg	yuts' -n -əmš
1pl	yuts' -n -umuł
2sg	yuts' -n -umi
2pl	yuts' -n -umi-yap ←
3	yuts' -n -əx ^w
Reflexive	yuts' -n -umut
Reciprocal	yuts' -n -əw'as
Unergative	yuts' -n -áłn
Passive	yuts' -n -m

Table 102 PSQ second person plural form innovated for the Asp-set

The changes up to this point give us the present state of the Asp-set for contemporary S_kw_xwu7mesh.

Stage 4b: the generalization of the first person plural, second person singular/plural

I hypothesize that concurrent with the change in second person plural took place in the Asp-set, the second person singular and plural and the first person plural were adopted into all other person marking paradigms. Now all other transitivizers (-n, -s, -ni, miń, -shi, -č'əw'an') also have the same markers for these persons. In the following table I take the transitivizer -n as representative of all these transitivizers.

	PSQ <i>-n</i> with VP-set	PSQ <i>-n</i> with VP-set
1sg	yuts'-n-t-s	yuts'u-n-t-s
1pl	yuts'-n-t-ul →	yuts'u-n-t-umul
2sg	yuts'-n-t-si →	yuts'u-n-t-umi
2pl	yuts'-n-t-ul →	yuts'u-n-t-umi-yap
3	yuts'-n-t-∅	yuts'u-n-t-∅
Reflexive	yuts'-n-t-sówt →	yuts'u-n-t-sut
Reciprocal	yuts'-n-t-wal →	yuts'u-n-t-way
Unergative	X	X
Passive	yuts'-n-t-m	yuts'u-n-t-m

Table 103 PSQ first plural, second singular and plural innovation for VP-set

As for the copy vowel on the root, it is not clear when it took place. In Appendix B, §2, I analyze it for *Skw̄x̄wu7mesh* as an epenthetic vowel which copies the root vowel only when they are in the same root. Thus, the copy vowel is not properly a part of the root nor the transitivizer. I assume that this phonological process was not part of the original construction since it only exists in smaller subset of the daughter languages, namely Lillooet, Nooksack and *Skw̄x̄wu7mesh*. I assume that this change took place at the same time as this innovation of object marking. I also assume that the changes to the reflexive and reciprocal also took place at this stage. We now have the present state of the VP-set with all transitivizers in contemporary *Skw̄x̄wu7mesh*, except for the causative.

Stage 5: the causative partly adopts the Asp-set reflexive

The next step is less clear, but I hypothesize that the causative adopts the Asp-set reflexive instead of the VP-set reflexive, but for unclear reasons the transitivizer *-n* is also included, possibly indicating that the Asp-set reflexive is being reanalyzed as one unit which includes the *-n*.

	PSQ causative -s	SQ causative -s
1sg	yuts'-s-t-s	yuts'-s-t-s
1pl	yuts'-s-t-umut	yuts'-s-t-umut
2sg	yuts'-s-t-umi	yuts'-s-t-umi
2pl	yuts'-s-t-umiyap	yuts'-s-t-umiyap
3	yuts'-s-t-Ø	yuts'-s-t-Ø
Reflexive	yuts'-s-t-sut	yuts'-s-t- ónamut ←
Reciprocal	yuts'-s-t-way	yuts'-s-t-way
Unergative	X	X
Passive	yuts'-s-t-m	yuts'-s-t-m

Table 104 Causative reflexive reanalyzed

We now have the present inflectional paradigm for contemporary Skw̥w̥u7mesh. It remains to be determined how this brief account would fare in light of developments that took place in other Salish languages.

2.3 Comparing accounts

I first provide a summary of my account and then compare it to Newman's (1979) approach. The following three tables show the various stages that the c-transitives, the causative and the lc-transitive undergo.

	PS – Stage 1	PSQ – Stage 2	PSQ – Stage 3	SQ – Stage 4a
1s	yuts'-n-u-mx	yuts'-n-ə-mš	yuts'-n-əmš	yuts'-n-Ø-əmš
1p	yuts'-n-u-mul	yuts'-n-u-muł	yuts'-n- umuł	yuts'-n-Ø-umuł
2s	yuts'-n-u-mi	yuts'-n-u-mi	yuts'-n- umi	yuts'-n-Ø-umi
2p	yuts'-n-u-mul	yuts'-n-u-muł	yuts'-n- umuł	yuts'-n-Ø-umiyap
3	yuts'-n-Ø-əx ^w	yuts'-n-əx ^w -Ø	yuts'-n-əx ^w	yuts'-n-Ø-əx ^w
Reflexive	yuts'-n-u-mut	yuts'-n-u-mut	yuts'-n- umut	yuts'-n-Ø-umut
Reciprocal	yuts'-n-ŵ-as	yuts'-n-ŵ-as	yuts'-n- əŵas	yuts'-n-Ø-əŵas
Unergative	yuts'-n-w-áłn	yuts'-n-Ø-áłn	yuts'-n-áłn	yuts'-n-Ø-áłn
Passive	yuts'-n-u-m	yuts'-n-ə-m	yuts'-n-əm	yuts'-n-Ø-əm

Table 105 Stages with the Asp-set

	PSQ – Stage 1	SQ – Stage 4b
1s	yuts'-n-t-s	yuts'-un-t-s
1p	yuts'-n-t-ul	yuts'-un-t-umuł
2s	yuts'-n-t-si	yuts'-un-t-umi
2p	yuts'-n-t-ul	yuts'-un-t-umiyap
3	yuts'-n-t-Ø	yuts'-un-t-Ø
Reflexive	yuts'-n-t-səwt	yuts'-un-t-sut
Reciprocal	yuts'-n-t-wal	yuts'-un-t-way
Passive	yuts'-n-t-m	yuts'-un-t-m

Table 106 Stages for c-transitive with the VP-set

	PS – Stage 1	PSQ –Stage 4b	SQ – Stage 5
1s	yuts'-s-t-s	yuts'-s-t-s	yuts'-s-t-s
1p	yuts'-s-t-ul	yuts'-s-t- umul	yuts'-s-t-umul
2s	yuts'-s-t-si	yuts'-s-t- umi	yuts'-s-t-umi
2p	yuts'-s-t-ul	yuts'-s-t- umiyap	yuts'-s-t-umiyap
3	yuts'-s-t-Ø	yuts'-s-t-Ø	yuts'-s-t-Ø
Reflexive	yuts'-s-t-sówt	yuts'-s-t- sut	yuts'-s-t-ónamut
Reciprocal	yuts'-s-t-wal	yuts'-s-t- way	yuts'-s-t-way
Passive	yuts'-s-t-m	yuts'-s-t-m	yuts'-s-t-m

Table 107 Stages for the causative with the VP-set

A comprehensive comparison of the two accounts is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but I offer the following thoughts.

First, note that Newman's account assumes that there was a Proto-Salish causative *-stəw and a Proto-Salish limited control transitive *-nəw. The fact that the sequence *-əw occurs in both transitivizers is accidental. Possibly at some stage of Proto-Salish before it began diverging into the daughter languages, it had a function, but this function was lost by the time Proto-Salish began to diverge. My account also does not provide a clear function for *-w, although I do place its function with object agreement and not with the transitivizer.

The transitivizer -t is also not segmented in the causative in Newman's account. Even though all transitivizers in Sḵwḵwu7mesh, except the Asp-set, have -t, this -t has no function according to this account. The lack of -t with the Asp-set is another historical accident, in Newman's account.

I now run through briefly through Newman's account, assuming the Proto-Salish forms were *-stəw causative and a Proto-Salish *-nəw limited control transitivizer.

Stages 1-4a in my account would simply happen for both the causative and the limited

control in Newman's. They would both take the Asp-set (I will assume that the causative never took the unergative, though).

In Stage 1-N (that is stage 1-Newman) we have Proto-Salish. In Stage 2-N, the vocalized *-w* gets deleted. In Stage 3-N, the remaining instances of *-w* get reanalyzed as part of the object marker. Stage 4, then, requires that while all the rest of the transitive paradigms are taking the Asp-set for first plural and second singular and plural, at the same time the causative is going in the opposite direction with the rest of its object marking, in that it takes the VP-set of markers. The reasons for this development are not clear. One reason could be that, by analogy with the other transitivizers which have *-t* as their final element, the causative **-stəw* was reanalyzed as **-st-* and thus ended up taking the same object markers (Henry Davis, pc). Furthermore, a fifth stage, call it Stage 5-N, would have to posit that the causative, after adopting the reflexive form from the VP-set, adopted a different reanalyzed form of the reflexive from the Asp-set.

	PS – Stage 1-N	PSQ – Stage 2-N	PSQ – Stage 3-N	PSQ – Stage 4-N	PSQ – Stage 5-N
1s	R-stu-mx	R- stə -mš	R-st-əmš	R-st- s	R-st-s
1p	R-stu-mul	R-stu-muł	R-st- umul	R-st-umul	R-st-umul
2s	R-stu-mi	R-stu-mi	R-st- umi	R-st-umi	R-st-umi
2p	R-stu-mul	R-stu-muł	R-st- umul	R-st-umul	R-st-umul
3	R-stəx ^w -Ø	R-stəx ^w -Ø	R-st-əx ^w	R-st-Ø	R-st-Ø
Reflexive	R-stu-mut	R-stu-mut	R-st- umut	R-st- sut	R-st- ónamut
Reciprocal	R-stu-ʔas	R-stʔwas	R-st-əw ^ʔ as	R-st- way	R-st-way
Unergative	R-st-w-áln?				
Passive	R-stu-m	R- stə -m	R-st-əm	R-st-əm	R-st-əm

Table 108 Stages for the causative – Newman's account

While this account arrives at the correct paradigm, I argue that it has problems at Stage 4-N and Stage 5-N for the causative. In Stage 4-N part of the causative set (i.e. both singular and plural first person and first person plural) is being regularized to all object paradigms. At the same time, the causative itself is abandoning other parts of its object marking paradigm (i.e. first person singular, third person, the reflexive) for the neutral set markers. Furthermore, at Stage 5-N the causative takes another non-causative marker for its reflexive. Besides these problems with reconstructions, this account fails to provide a reason why all the transitivizers have *-t* except the lc-transitives. It also does not explain why the causative and the limited control have the same object set in Coast Salish, except to stipulate this. I now provide an alternative hypothesis for how this may have come about (see also Chapter 5 §6).

2.4 Asp-set reanalyzed as spec agreement

Assuming my Asp-set, I hypothesize the following possible account for how this set came to be used for the causative construction in all Coast Salish languages, except for *Skw̓w̓mesh*. A fuller explanation for the causative in the rest of the family outside of Coast Salish is still required (i.e. Bella Coola, Tsamosan, Tillamook and Interior Salish). I hypothesize that the Asp-set was extended to the causative construction in the rest of Coast Salish for the following reasons. The Asp-set, instead of only agreeing with the delimiter in FP-delimit, became generalized to just object agreement with the argument that occurs in the specifier position closest to the transitivizer, assuming the phrase structure that I proposed for *Skw̓w̓mesh*.

To understand how this change may have occurred, recall first the following analysis that I proposed for the Asp-set in $S_{kwx}wu7mesh$. I argued that the Asp-set is only used to indicate agreement with an argument in the spec of FP-delimit. In my system, then, agreement for the lc-transitive is with an argument in the spec of the next lowest projection from the transitivizer $-n$, such as:

(2) $S_{kwx}wu7mesh$ Asp-set
 $[_{VP} AG [_{v} V [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit} [_{VP} TH [V GOAL]]]]]]$
 $-n$ obj (obj)

Now also recall my proposal for object agreement with the causative in $S_{kwx}wu7mesh$. When the causative occurs with an unergative root, the object agreement is with the agent as in (3). Thus, object agreement is with the argument in the specifier of the next lowest projection from the causative $-s$, which in this instance is the spec of vP. When the causative occurs with an unaccusative root, the object agreement is with the patient/theme as in (4). This agreement is with the argument in the spec of VP, again the next lowest projection from the causative $-s$. I also argued that for verbs of motion with the causative, the agreement is with the theme/patient (marked by $\checkmark obj$ in (5)) and not with the goal (marked by $\times obj$ in (5)). I argued that the reason for this is the goal argument is not in spec but rather in the complement of VP (e.g. the goal of the verb of motion) as shown in (5). I argued, then, that the generalization that can be made for causative object agreement is that it is always with the argument in the next lowest spec.

b. comp of VP agreement

[_{VP} AG [_v V [_{FP-delimit} [_{F-delimit} [_{VP} TH [V GOAL]]]]]]
 -TR obj

One way to test this hypothesis is to examine the verbs of motion in the rest of Coast Salish to see what the object agreement patterns are. Counterevidence to this proposal would be languages where object agreement for the causative or lc-transitives can be with goals or other arguments that might be considered not to occur in spec.

Another interesting set of predicates in *Skw̓̓wu7mesh*, whose interaction with the transitivizers may shed more light on object agreement, are stative locative verbs such as *na7* ‘be over there’, *i* ‘be here’, *nexwta7* ‘be around there’, *nexti7* ‘be around here’. Like the verbs of motions, these verbs also appear to be subcategorized for two thematic roles – the locatee/theme (the one situated at the location) and the location (the location argument inherent to the root). As far as I know for *Skw̓̓wu7mesh*, when these predicates have the causative, object agreement is always with the locatee (which I assume is an argument in spec) and not with the location (which I assume is an argument in comp).

One other interesting question is: what are the culmination entailments of the causative in Coast Salish languages? The answer to this could tell us more about the relationship of agreement to telicity throughout Salish. If they have culmination entailments, then I would argue that the object agreement markers also carry a telic value. If they do not have culmination entailments, then, like *Skw̓̓wu7mesh*, telicity is constructed through the morphosyntax. When the Spec-set is used for agreement with an argument in the spec of FP-delimit, then the predicate is telic, otherwise the predicate is

non-telic. To date, no thorough examination exists of culmination entailments for the causative in Salish.⁵³

This story is, of course, far from complete. The following are some remaining questions: i) why do the lc-transitive constructions in some languages use reflexes of the VP-set for object agreement (e.g. in Bella Coola and Interior Salish)? ii) what is the nature of object agreement in languages, like Sliammon, where the same transitivizer can take either the Spec-set or the VP set, with apparently different culmination entailments? iii) how does object agreement pattern in languages outside of Coast Salish as for thematic roles, iv) as for *-t*, can the patterns of how it fused with other morphemes (e.g. with a transitivizer or with the object markers) tell us more about the history of Salish? The answer to these and other questions will give a clearer picture of object agreement in Salish and how the object agreements sets have changed in the various daughter languages.

3 Occurrence in FP-delimit

I have argued in Chapter 5, §4 when FP-delimit is present, it must be filled (via an EPP-feature). In this section, I briefly examine some possible ramifications of this analysis for other Coast Salish languages.

⁵³ Masaru Kiyota (pc) says a cursory examination of the causative construction in Saanich seems to indicate that it does not have culmination entailments.

Most other Coast Salish languages do not have the *-n* version of the transitivizer, but instead have a cognate to the *-V* version of the transitivizer. While the *-V* transitivizer construction is relegated to a closed set of roots in Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh (and possibly the same situation obtains in Nooksack), this construction is **the** productive construction in the rest of Coast Salish for c-transitives. The following sample shows this construction in various Coast Salish languages.⁵⁴ I provide one example from Thompson to provide a comparison with the c-transitive pattern in most of Interior Salish. While I use *-∅* for object agreement, it is only meant to indicate that there is no overt agreement marker for third person. It does not necessarily indicate that each of the researchers has proposed an analysis wherein there is a null morpheme present for third person object agreement.

- (11) a. ch'aw-a-t-∅
 help-TR-TR-3OBJ
 'to help' (Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh)
- b. č'ag-a-t-∅
 help-LINK-TR-3OBJ
 'to help, tr' (Sliammon, Watanabe 2003:54, from ex. 8-1)
- c. c'ew-ət-∅
 help-TR-3OBJ
 'to help' (Halkomelem, Suttles 2004:328)
- d. kʷən-ət-∅
 look-TR-3OBJ
 'look at it!' (Saanich, Montler 1986:§2.5.21)

⁵⁴ Unfortunately for this comparison, the lexical items that translate 'to help' do not occur in the *-Vt* construction in Saanich and Sechelt.

- e. t'uc'-ut-Ø
shoot-TR-3OBJ
'to shoot, tr' (Sechelt, Beaumont 1977:6, ex.7a)
- f. k^wax^wa-d-Ø
help-TR-3OBJ
'to help' (Lushootseed, Bates et al. 1994:123)
- g. sələk-n-t-Ø underlying form
sələk-e-t-Ø surface form
turn.around-DIR-TR-3OBJ
'to turn someone or something around (to face another direction)'
(Thompson, Thompson and Thompson 1992:64, §21.412)

Several notes about these forms are in order. The vowel between the root and *-t* surfaces differently in most of the languages. In Sliammon and Sechelt it often surfaces as *-a* regardless of the root vowel. For Sliammon, Watanabe (2003:214-218) analyzes it as a link morpheme. He provides a phonological account of when this vowel surfaces as a copy vowel of the root or as *-a* or when it is elided. Beaumont (1977) analyzes the vowel as part of the transitivizer itself. In Halkomelem and Saanich the vowel often surfaces as schwa. Suttles (2004) for Halkomelem and Montler (1986, §2.5.2.1) for Saanich analyze this vowel as part of the transitivizer. In Lushootseed this vowel is normally a copy of the root vowel. Bates et al. (1994:123) analyze it as part of the root itself.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Bates et al. (1994) analyze the underlying form of this transitivizer as *-d*, but Beck (2007) analyzes the underlying form as *-t*, presumably because it surfaces as *-t* in all environments except word finally. The phoneme *-n* is the most common correspondent of the phoneme *d* in Lushootseed. There are some instances, though, of *d* in Lushootseed corresponding to *t* in Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh. For example, the clitic *txw* 'out of control/directional' in Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh is realized as *dx^w*- 'toward' in Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:86). I assume Beck's analysis here, making the underlying construction *-Vt* a cognate to the *-Vt* construction in the rest of Coast Salish.

Note that it is possible to develop a similar analysis to the one I developed for the *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh* *-V* allomorph of *-n*. That is, the vowel is a transitivizer occurring in *vP*, *-t* is a transitivizer occurring in *FP-delimit*, and the object agreement is *VP*-internal. This is schematized in (12).

(12) C-transitives

	[_{vP} AG [_v V]]	[_{FP-delimit} DELIM [_{F-delimit}]]	[_{VP} TH	[V]]
<i>Skw̥w̥wu7mesh</i> :	-V	-t	-obj	ch'aw
<i>Sliammon</i> :	-a	-t	-obj	č'ag
<i>Sechelt</i> :	-u	-t	-obj	t'uc'
<i>Saanich</i> :	-ə	-t	-obj	k ^w ən
<i>Halkomelem</i> :	-ə	-t	-obj	ts'ew
<i>Lushootseed</i> :	-V	-t	-obj	k ^w ax ^w
<i>Thompson</i> :	-n	-t	-obj	sələk

In this proposal the *-t*, and its cognates in all Coast Salish languages, is the same type of transitivizer as the *-t* in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*. It occurs in *FP-delimit*. The other transitivizer in *vP* has its own phonetic value in each of the individual languages. This analysis preserves the same structure with cognate morphemes in each language.

A second, more radical approach that I hypothesize is that the various transitivizers have been reanalyzed. In particular, the vowel might now fulfill the EPP feature of *FP-delimit*. The *-t* transitivizer is no longer segmentable, but is purely a part of the onset of some of the object markers. As for the head of *vP*, it is now filled by a zero transitivizer - Ø, as follows:

(13) C-transitives

	[_{VP} AG [_v V]]	[_{FP-delimit} DELIM [_{F-delimit}]]	[_{VP} TH]	[_V]]
Skw̥w̥wu7mesh:	-V	-t	-obj	ch'aw
Sliammon:	-∅	-a	-obj	č'ag
Sechelt:	-∅	-u	-obj	t'uc'
Saanich:	-∅	-ə	-obj	kʷən
Halkomelem:	-∅	-ə	-obj	ts'ew
Lushootseed:	-∅	-ə	-obj	kʷaxʷ
Thompson:	-n	-t	-obj	sələk

This proposed structure is the same, then, as the zero transitivizer construction that I proposed for Skw̥w̥wu7mesh, the difference being that the actual morpheme filling the FP-delimit position was derived from a different historical source as shown in (14) and (15). In (13), the *-t* in Skw̥w̥wu7mesh and Thompson comes from Proto-Salish **-t*. The *-V* in the rest of Coast Salish outside of Skw̥w̥wu7mesh was historically the allomorph of the transitivizer **-n* which occurred in *vP* but it was then reanalyzed to instead fill FP-delimit. I hypothesize that a reason this may have occurred is because *-t* lost its function and simply became fused with either the preceding transitivizer (e.g. *-nt*, *-st*) or it became fused with the following object suffix (e.g. *-ts* first person).

- (14) kw'ach-∅ -t-∅
 look-TR-TR-3OBJ
 'to look at'

(15) C-transitives: zero transitivizer in Skw̥w̥wu7mesh

[_{VP} AG [_v V]]	[_{FP-delimit} DELIM [_{F-delimit}]]	[_{VP} TH]	[_V]]
-∅	-t	-obj	kw'ach

One possible piece of supporting evidence has to do with possible connections between the *-t* in FP-delimit and the oblique case *t-* in Skw̥w̥wu7mesh. If the majority of Coast

Salish languages have gone through this radical reanalysis of the marker *-t* in FP-delimit to *-V* (or its cognate), then they could have also reanalyzed its equivalent in the DP domain to also being *V-* (and no longer *-t*). The phonetic realization of *V-* in the DP domain could be \mathcal{Z} . This is indeed the present day oblique marker in all of these Coast Salish languages. One problem with such a proposal is that Lillooet, an Interior Salish, also has \mathcal{Z} for their oblique marker and Coeur d'Alene has $\mathcal{Z}e$ unlike the rest of the Interior which has *-t* (Kroeber 1999:43). Perhaps when Lillooet lost the segmentability of *-t* on the verb, and thus a part of its core function, it borrowed its oblique marker from Halkomelem. I have not account for Coeur d'Alene, though.

Another piece of supporting evidence has to do with the fact that in some of those languages in which *-t* is part of the first and second person singular object suffixes, it no longer surfaces as such. Instead, the object agreement surfaces as *-θ*. This is the case in Sliammon:

- (16) $\check{c}'ag-a-\theta$
 help-LINK-TR/1S.OBJ
 'to help me' (Sliammon, Watanabe 2003:54, from ex. 8-1)

Watanabe notes that there is no synchronic phonological reason for this change, presumably because concatenations of the sequence *-t* and *-s* do not regularly become *-θ*. He acknowledges that historically it must have come from the sequence *-t-s*. Further note that PS **ts* → Sliammon θ is a fairly regular sound change. I argue that if *-t* no longer had a function at some historical time before this sound change took place. Consequently, it became fused as part of some of the object suffixes. Historically the

first person object became *-ts*, then the language went through the sound change PS **ts* → Sliammon θ , and now the first singular object is synchronically just *- θ* . Now we instead have the following possible zero transitivizer analysis illustrated in (17):

- (17) $\check{c}'ag-\emptyset-a-\theta$
 help-TR-TR-1S.OBJ
 'to help me' (Sliammon, reanalyzed)

In this section I proposed two possible reanalyses of the common c-transitive construction *-Vt* in the rest of Coast Salish using my analysis of *Skw̥x̥wu7mesh*. In one analysis I proposed that like *Skw̥x̥wu7mesh*: i) the *-V* is the transitivizer in vP, ii) the *-t* occurs in FP-delimit and iii) agreement occurs in VP. The other proposal is a more radical approach where: i) there is a *- \emptyset* transitivizer in vP, ii) the vowel *-V* occurs in FP-delimit and ii) the object agreement occurs in VP. This second proposal requires us to accept that it is not necessary to assume that cognates of the same morpheme necessarily have the same function in the daughter languages. Clearly, in some languages, *-t* on the verb is no longer a segmentable morpheme. In *Skw̥x̥wu7mesh*, though, it has the function of selecting for a certain type of agreement.

4 **Telicity without CONTROL**

In this section, I briefly examine the construction of CONTROL cross-linguistically. First I examine why languages like English do not have CONTROL associated with their telic constructions. I then briefly look at Austronesian.

I argue that the cross-linguistic difference responsible for whether or not CONTROL arises in the context of telicity marking is due to a property of language described by Jakobson (1959):

“...the true difference between languages is not in what may or may not be expressed but in what must or must not be conveyed by the speakers.”

(Roman Jakobson 1959:492)

In light of this view, I propose that a Skwxw7mesh speaker, when encoding object agreement, always has to make a choice about whether to encode telicity or not. In a language like English, such a distinction is not immediately available to a speaker. This lack of an immediate contrast, I argue, is why English predicates with culmination entailments do not have the further inference that the event did not proceed as normal.

English has a number of different strategies to construct a predicate with culmination entailments or to construct a predicate without culmination entailments, depending on a number of factors. Take, for example, the construction of predicates without culmination entailments. The conative construction with ‘at’ derives a predicate which does not entail culmination, as follows:

- (18) a. I kicked **at** the fence, but I missed.
b. I kicked the fence, #but I missed.

This preposition, though, is not the only possible way to create a predicate that does not entail culmination. The choice of determiner also influences telicity in English, as we have seen.

- (19) a. I ate **some** fish, but I couldn't finish it.
b. I ate fish, but only a little.

The important point I make here is that in English a speaker may encode the lack of culmination entailments in a number ways: with a preposition, with a determiner or a lack of determiner, etc. In Skwxwu7mesh, though, a speaker must first encode a transitive predicate indicating culmination entailments or lacking culmination entailments. This difference, I argue, is why English lacks a control contrast like that of Skwxwu7mesh. Instead English uses adverbials like 'accidentally', 'on purpose', etc.

There are, however, other languages, unrelated to Skwxwu7mesh, where CONTROL plays a role. This is the case in Austronesian languages. For example, Travis (2005) shows that it plays a role in Malagasy. In particular, she describes Malagasy as an atelic language. I take this to mean that transitive predicates, unless marked specifically for telicity, do not entail culmination. Atelic predicates can be made telic by the addition of certain verbal prefixes, *-a-ha* (20)a, in and *tafa-* in (20)b. Besides indicating telicity, these suffixes bring with them other meanings such as 'able to' and 'accidentally/suddenly', the very interpretations that we have seen associated with limited control in Skwxwu7mesh.

(20) a. **M-a-ha**-teny Rabe
 PRES-**a-ha**-speak Rabe
 ‘Rabe *can* talk.’
 (Travis 2005, 25a, from Phillips 1996:32)

b. **Tafa**-petraka aho n-a-ha-re ilay vaovao
 TAFa-sit I PAST-a-ha-hear that news
 ‘I sat *in spite of myself* on hearing the news’
 (Travis 2005, 26a, from Rajemisa-Raolison 1971:96)

Travis also shows that predicates in Malagasy differ in whether they have culmination entailments, much like the data we have seen in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*. The following examples differ minimally in that the predicate in (21)a has this prefix *an/am-*, while the predicate in (21)b has the prefix *aha-*.

(21) a. n-**am**-ory ny ankizy ny mpampianatra
 PAST-LC-meet DET children DET teacher
 ‘The teacher gathered the children,
 nefa tsy nanana fotoana izy.
 but NEG PAST.have time 3P
 but s/he didn’t have time.’
 (Travis 2010:218, ex.23a-b)

b. n-**aha**-vory ny ankizy ny mpampianatra
 past-**AHA**-meet DET children DET teacher
 ‘The teacher gathered the children,
 *nefa tsy nanana fotoana izy.
 but NEG PAST.have time 3P
 but s/he didn’t have time.’
 (Travis 2010:218, ex.26a-b)

Example (21)a shows that it is possible to deny the culmination of the *an-* marked predicate without inducing a contradiction. Example (21)b shows that it is not possible to deny the culmination of the *aha-* marked predicate without inducing a contradiction. This contrast is very similar to the contrast we have observed in *Skw̥w̥wu7mesh*.

One difference between Malagasy and Skwxwumsh is that the morphemes which mark telicity/atelicity do not appear to be involved directly in object agreement. Nevertheless, there is a difference between telic and atelic predicates and this contrast appears to require a necessary choice in verbal marking. The speaker of Malagasy must choose to encode either value for a transitive predicate. Data like these suggest that the limited control-like interpretations in Malagasy, which like Skwxwumsh are also associated with telic predicates, arise from pragmatic inferences based on the choice of the telicity value and from context of use. In other words, Malagasy obtains similar non-control meanings to Skwxwumsh because it also has this immediate and obligatory contrast between predicates without culmination entailments and those with culmination entailments. As Travis (2005, §2.4.3) describes it, “telicity brings in other meanings”. Some interesting questions for Malagasy, and Austronesian languages in general, are: do the atelic predicates actually have culmination implicatures? Are certain meanings preferred in certain grammatical environments? For example, is the ‘ability’ meaning only obtained in contexts where the event has not yet culminated in the actual world? I will have to leave these questions for future research.

5 Other non-control constructions in Salish

I have proposed in this dissertation that CONTROL is a construct and I have argued that since it is a construct, it can be constructed variously. In Skwxwumsh I argued that it is constructed using a difference in the marking of object agreement. Davis et al. (2009)

argue that non-control interpretations are constructed from a circumstantial modal *ka-* *-a* in Lillooet. In both analyses CONTROL interpretations are not part of the lexical meaning of any individual morpheme in a CONTROL construction, e.g. a transitivizer or intransitivizer, the circumstantial modal *ka-* *-a*. I demonstrate now that lc-interpretations may indeed be constructed in other ways than we have seen so far in Skw̥w̥u7mesh. First, one way that they can be obtained is with the unaccusative bare root. Recall that unaccusative bare roots have culmination entailments, and there are no contrasting eventive, unaccusative bare roots without culmination entailments. Sometimes speakers will translate these unaccusative roots with ‘accidentally’, even though an agent is not explicitly mentioned (and in fact cannot be) as in (22)c. The only way the presence of the DP *ta swi7ka* can be construed is if the man was the instrument and not the agent. Note that often the citation form of an unaccusative includes the adverb ‘accidentally’ as in (22)f.

- (22) a. na kw’elh ti-n tiy
 RL spill DET-1S.POS tea
 ‘My tea spilt.’
 i) ‘I *accidentally* spilt my tea.’
 ii) ‘My tea spilt.’
 Interviewer: ‘Was this accidental?’
 Speaker: ‘It was neither accidental or intentional. It just happened.’
- b. chen tsexw
 1S.SUB hit
 ‘I *accidentally* got hit.’ (by something thrown)
 Context: I don’t think that anyone meant to hit me.
- c. chen tsexw t-kwetsi swi7ka
 1S.SUB hit OBL-DEM man
 ‘I got hit by the man

✗Context: The man threw something and it hit me.

?Context: I got hit by a man (who was flying through the air)

- d. chen nukw'
 1S.SUB poke
 'I got poked *accidentally*.'
- d. na txw yulh ta lam̃
 RL OOC burn DET house
 'The house burnt (*accidentally*).'
- f. t'em-ách
 chop-hand
 'to have chopped your hand *accidentally*'

A bare root can be translated with 'accidentally' as in (22)a, translation (i). Note, though, the speaker's comment when explicitly asked if this predicate means 'accidentally' that they respond that it means neither 'accidentally' nor 'intentionally'.

I propose that the reason the 'accidentally' interpretation is also obtained with these unaccusatives is by inference from two possible contexts of use such as:

- i) if the speaker did not know who the agent was, then we cannot impute intentionality. The most likely context of use then, is when the event happened by accident.
- ii) if the speaker did know who the agent was, but still chose to not encode the agent, then we can assume the agent's role in the discourse was minimal. A context of use that is compatible with an unimportant agent is their involvement in the event was by accident. For example a possible context of use for (22)d could be where a group are playing lacrosse and one of the players accidentally pokes another.

Non-control meanings are also obtained in *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* with the clitic *txw*, as argued by Jacobs (2007). These meanings are similar in range to the non-control meanings associated with *ka- -a* in Lillooet (Davis et al. 2009): ‘have to’, ‘unexpectedly’, etc.

- (23) a. chen men **txw** x̣ay-m
 1S.SUB just OOO laugh-INTR
 ‘I just *had to* laugh.’
 Context: I was trying not to laugh, but I couldn’t stop myself.
- b. na men **txw** míkw’i-n-t-Ø-as ta lḥxénpten
 RL just OOO wash-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET floor
 ‘She just *had to* wash the floor.’
 Context: She didn’t want to but her mother made her do it.
- c. chen men **txw** uys
 1S.SUB just OOO go(inside)
 ‘I fell inside *all of a sudden*.’
 Context: I was leaning against a door and I didn’t know it was open, and the door opened, and then I fell inside.

I propose that *txw* is probably best analyzed also as a modal operator, very much like Davis et al. (2009) have proposed for *ka- -a* in Lillooet. One apparent difference between Lillooet *ka- -a* and *Sḵwḵwu7mesh txw* is that *txw* does not obtain, at least for most speakers, an ‘accidentally’ meaning. This difference could be due to differences in the assumptions about the nature of agent between the two languages, as we have already seen. The agent in the Lillooet c-transitive construction does not allow natural forces, while *Sḵwḵwu7mesh* allows them for both c-predicates and lc-predicates.

The difference could also be due to a difference in how events are construed in the two languages. In Lillooet the causative predicate is used when the causer is a force of

nature, but the c-transitives with *-Vn* cannot take a force of nature for its external argument. I have argued for Skw̥w̥wu7mesh that the causative indicates that there are two events. If this is the case in Lillooet also, then a reason that natural forces only occur as the external argument of the causative could be that natural forces are first considered their own event in Lillooet. It may be the case then that the Lillooet *-Vn* transitive block events from occurring as its external argument. The causative, on the other hand, can freely take an event, such as a force of nature for its external argument.

This two-event analysis for the causative might also help us understand why the circumstantial modal *ka-* *-a* can occur with the causative but not with *-Vn* versions of the same root. Recall that the causativized version of a predicate in Lillooet, with *ka-* *-a* can have non-control meanings associated with it, such as ‘managed to’, ‘accidentally’. If we take a two-event model for these two meanings, then ‘accidentally’ could mean something like ‘something caused the event (an accident), and then the agent performed the event’ (cf. Beaumont 1977 for a similar claim). Thus, there is a separate causer from the agent. The ‘managed to’ meaning could be ‘the agent initiated an event (on purpose), but in the end it was both the agent and the circumstances that determined the outcome.’ Thus, there are two separate events: the agent’s event and the events of the circumstances. If events are construed in this manner in Lillooet, then both non-control meanings actually involve two events. Again, we find that CONTROL is being constructed from other parts of the grammar.

In Jacobs (2007) I makes a similar argument for *txw* in Skw̥w̥wu7mesh and the ‘had to’ meaning, although I do not develop a formal account. In an event marked by *txw*, which indicates that the agent ‘had to do X’, the ultimate cause of the event was some

other person or force and not the agent. Thus there are two different events: the causing event and the agent's carrying out of the event.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter I examined some of the implications of my analysis of control and telicity in *Sḵw̥w̥w̥* for the reconstruction of Proto-Salish object sets, for the analysis of c-transitives in other Coast Salish languages, for the relationship between telicity and CONTROL in other languages of the world, and for other non-control constructions in Salish.

In §2 I provided a tentative alternative proposal of how the contemporary *Sḵw̥w̥w̥* two object sets were derived from Proto-Salish object sets. I put forth the hypothesis that the original function of the Proto-Salish object sets was very similar to what I proposed for *Sḵw̥w̥w̥* - to mark object agreement with an argument in Spec-FP-delimit. I argued that such an account offers a more straightforward historical account for the various stages that happened between Proto-Salish and *Sḵw̥w̥w̥*. I also provided a hypothetical account for how the Asp-set became generalized as Spec agreement and that this is the reason that we find this object agreement set with both the lc-transitives and the causative constructions.

In §3 I propose that my morphosyntactic account for *Sḵw̥w̥w̥* can be straightforwardly applied to the c-predicates construction in other Coast Salish language, most of which have some form of *-Vt* for their c-transitivizer. I proposed that one possible analysis for this construction is that the *-V* is the transitivizer in these languages

much like I proposed for $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}7mesh$ -*V* allomorph transitivizer constructions. I also offer a more radical hypothesis that the -*V* actually fills the EEP (or occurrence) role that -*t* does on $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}7mesh$.

In §4 I discussed why telic predicates and atelic predicates in languages like English do not have CONTROL interpretations associated with them as does $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}7mesh$. I argued that this follows from the absence of a systematic morpho-syntactic contrast between *c*- and *lc*-predicates. Telic predicates are constructed in a number of different ways in English, as are atelic predicates. In $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}7mesh$, speakers are forced choose between two types of object agreement for transitive predicates. I also noted that in Austronesian language like Malagasy, in contrast to English, and similar to $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}7mesh$, a predicate must be directly marked by a prefix which with either indicates that the predicate is atelic or telic. I proposed that this binary choice creates the same conditions for control-like interpretations.

In §5 I looked at other types of non-control constructions in $S_{k\bar{w}\bar{x}wu}7mesh$ and Lillooet. I noted that the bare unaccusative roots can at times be translated with the *lc*-interpretation ‘accidentally’. I proposed that this meaning also arises due to the context of use and not because of an inherent lexical meaning for the root. Another construction with non-control interpretations is with the verb phrase clitic *txw* ‘out of control’. I proposed that it is probably best understood as a modal marker similar to Davis et al.’s (2009) proposal for *ka-* *-a* in Lillooet. I also provided an account for the Lillooet *ka-* *-a* with causative predicate. I proposed the reason that *ka-* *-a* does not occur with the *c*-transitivizer -*Vn* and only with causative has to do with the restrictions for the agent of the *c*-predicate with -*Vn*. I proposed that the causative allows for a two event reading and

that, and that the non-control interpretations that can occur with the modal marker *ka- -a* require this two event structure. I also noted that *txw* ‘out of control’ in *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh* also has this two event type of reading. Still a number of questions remain on the differences between the *txw* construction in *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh* and the *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh* *lc-* predicates, and between *txw* in *Skw̄w̄wu7mesh* and *ka- -a* in Lillooet.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

1 Summary

In this dissertation I have provided a semantic and morphosyntactic analysis for CONTROL in Skwxwú7mesh. The following is a chapter by chapter summary of this analysis.

Chapter 3

In this chapter I proposed that CONTROL is primarily about event (non-)culmination. Lc-predicates must culminate, while c-predicates not do. Most c-predicates are compatible with, and in fact imply, culmination. Only the c-unergatives neither entail nor imply culmination. A c-predicate minimally indicates event initiation. Because of these facts, I proposed that c-predicates are I(nitiating) predicates and lc-predicates are D(elimiting) predicates in the sense of Ritter and Rosen (2000).

Chapter 4

CONTROL interpretations arise out of the context of use for both c- and lc-predicates as I- and D-predicates. The term ‘context of use’ is used to describe both the linguistic and discourse context of the CONTROL predicate. C-predicates only demarcate the initial event of a predicate, but have nothing to say about the final event. Lc-predicates only demarcate the final event of a predicate but have nothing to say about the initiating of the

event, or the process leading up to the culmination of the event. Given that either predicate type can be used to describe an event that culminates, the use of an I- or D- predicates comes with certain inferences about the events they describe.

From the use of an Ic-predicate to specifically indicate that the event culminated, it is possible to infer that something unusual happened at the initiation of the event or during the process of the event leading up to its culmination. An unusual event initiation could be one where the agent *accidentally* initiates an event with an unintended outcome, hence the *accidentally* interpretation. An unusual process leading up to the culmination of an event could be one where the agent only *manages to* bring about the culmination of an event that s/he intentionally initiated, hence the *managed to* interpretation. Another unusual type of event is as follows. Because of previous circumstances, an agent was been unable to bring an event to culmination. In the ‘normal course of events’ then, s/he will be assumed to continue to lack this ability. However, because of present circumstances s/he is now *able to* perform this event. Thus, counter to previous expectations of agent inability, the agent is now *able to* perform this event, hence the *able to* interpretation. This interpretation comes about in contexts where the event has not yet culminated in the real world (future tense and some present tense contexts).

When a c-predicates is used, it minimally indicates that its event is initiated. Without any further indications, it is assumed that the event proceeded as intended: the agent was intentional, in control and brought the event to culmination. This is how the agent control interpretations arise. However, agent control is not a necessary component of the meaning of c-predicates. C-predicates are compatible with events where the agent was

not intentional (e.g. the agent was a force of nature), or where the agent was not full control (e.g. the process of the event was difficult), or where the event did not culminate.

Chapter 5

In this chapter I first provide a morphological reanalysis of CONTROL marking. I, then, provide a morphosyntactic analysis of CONTROL marking. In this account it is object marking which determines whether a predicate is a c- or lc-predicate (and not the transitivizer). My morphological reanalysis of c- and lc-predicates in *Skw̥wu7mesh* is summarized in (24) below. In this reanalysis, every c-predicate has two transitivizers, where *-t* is the second transitivizer.

- (24) C-predicates - reanalyzed
Kuipers (1967:68) This analysis
- | | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| STEM- <i>t</i> | → | STEM-∅- <i>t</i> |
| STEM- <i>Vt</i> | → | STEM- <i>V-t</i> |
| STEM- <i>Vn-t</i> | → | [root- <i>V</i>]- <i>n-t</i> |
| STEM- <i>s-t</i> | → | STEM- <i>s-t</i> |

Lc-predicates are comprised of the transitivizer *-n* (the same transitivizer found in c-predicates) followed by object agreement. The sequence *-exw* is an overt third person agreement marker for lc-transitivizes.

- (25) Lc-predicates - reanalyzed
Kuipers (1967:69) This analysis
- | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------------|
| stem- <i>nexw</i> | → | stem- <i>n-exw</i> |
|-------------------|---|--------------------|

I also provided a comparison of how my account of transitivity might affect its analysis in other Salish languages.

I, then, examined why telic predicates in other languages do not come with the same set of inferences that they do in *Sḵw̓x̓wu7mesh*. I proposed many other languages do not have an immediate contrast in their predicates between telic and non-telic as does *Sḵw̓x̓wu7mesh*. In languages that do have such a contrast, e.g. Malagasy, the telic choice also comes with similar lc-interpretations.

I lastly examined other non-control interpretations both in *Sḵw̓x̓wu7mesh* and in Lillooet. I proposed that these can also be derived by inference or possibly by a modal account.

2 Remaining questions

The following are some questions arising from our investigation of CONTROL in *Sḵw̓x̓wu7mesh*.

- i) The lc-reflexives with an unergative root can occur with a *managed to* get to the point of starting (cf. Chapter 4, §4.2.2). Are there any interpretive differences if there is an overt DP for the patient/theme present? Does its presence disallow an event continuation reading?
- ii) In my testing, the scope of *kilh* ('almost') test was ambiguous for c-predicates about whether it picked out the initial or final event. Can this ambiguity tell us something about the interaction of grammatical aspect (e.g. the perfective) with inner aspect.

- iii) How will the reciprocals test with regards to final points?
- iv) How will plural direct objects affect the interpretation of c- and lc-predicates?
- v) What would a morphosyntactic model of CONTROL look like for the rest of Coast Salish, since these languages for the most part do not have the same double transitivizer phenomena with c-transitives?
- vi) What would a morphosyntactic model of CONTROL look like for Interior Salish, since these languages do have two transitivizers constructions, but for both their c- and lc-transitives?
- vii) Are there any Salish languages where lc-meanings having become lexicalized as part of a transitivizer's meaning? If so, which lc-meanings get lexicalized, and what could account for that?
- v) What kind of interpretations occur with CONTROL constructions in other language families of the world? Are they the same as Salish? How are they different? What do these similarities and differences tell us about CONTROL?

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Appendix A: Roots and their transitivizers

In this appendix I provides all the roots that are known to occur with -Ø allomorph, the -V allomorph and the -n allomorph of the c-transitivizer.

A few notes about the roots:

- 1) The roots are divided according to root shape, following Dyck's (2004) breakdown of root shapes in S_kw_xwu₇mesh. CVCX means any root longer than CVC.
- 2) The status of these roots as free standing or bound roots has not been thoroughly checked, so this list is not the final word on their status. The roots that are known to occur as free standing roots are provided with a translation in the "Bare root meaning" column. For the roots whose status is yet unknown, no translation is given in this column.
- 3) If a root does not occur as a free standing root, then, where possible I have placed a reduplicated form of the root in the "Bare root meaning" column along with a translation. These are all CVC reduplicative forms and as far as is known, this reduplication does not change the status of a root from unergative to unaccusative, or vice versa, although this also needs to be thoroughly checked. It typically has an aspectual meaning of progressive or iterative.
- 4) Glossary: C=any consonant V=any full vowel (a,i,u)
K=any obstruent a,e,i,u=a,e,i,u
X=any segment
7=h or 7
R=resonant (l,m,n,w,y)

1 Zero transitivizer roots: -Ø

In this section I provide all 59 roots that are known to occur with the -Ø allomorph of the -n transitivizer. Here are a few notes about it:

- 1) Note the intransitive form *k'emk'amay* 'to threaten him when he is present', does not only have reduplicaiton, but it also has an extra suffix -ay whose meaning is not known.
- 2) The root *tl'am* 'to be enough' is in brackets because it is not clear if it is the root of the transitive form.
- 3) Two forms I have placed at the end of the chart and labeled 'idiomatic forms'. The word *áyaxwt* only occurs in one sentence which seems to be an idiom. It does not translate as a transitive. I have placed the sentence and its meaning in brackets to indicate this. Another transitive form *xlhan-t-m* only occurs in my database as a passive. I have also placed this form in brackets.

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
CVCX			
√amēk		ámēk-t	to return him/it
√exwa7		éxwa7-t	to give him something
√heykw		heykw-t	to invite him along
√isun	to paddle, to pull canoe	ísun-t	to paddle it
√ilhen	to eat, to have a meal	ílhen-t	to eat it
√kwelash	to shoot	kwélash-t	to shoot it
√kweshnach	price (noun)	kwéshnach-t	to price it
√kw'ach		kw'áwchus-t RED-kw'ach-us-t pl-look-face-t	to be staring at him/it
√kw'alakwus		kw'alakwus-t	to beat him, to club him, to keep hitting him
√kw'iya		kw'iyá-t	to refuse him
√malkw	to be scattered; to be mixed	malkw-t	to mix it
√milch'		milch'-t	to confuse him
√ntelk		ntelk-t	to answer him
√nu7nach	(newnéwnech to be repaying)	nú7nach-t	to repay him
√temáy		temáy-t	to wish for it (a certain type of food)
√teyexw	to be bothered	téyexw-t	to bother him
√ts'ayx		ts'ayx-t	to rush him
√ulx		ulx-t	to harvest it, to put it away for eating

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√wilkw'		wilkw'-t	to ask him
CeCX			
√yelx	to look for it	yelx-t	to search for him/it
√s7elk'		s7elk'-t	to fling him/it
CV7			
√cha7		cha7-t	to make it
√li7		li7-t	to store it
√p'i7	(p'ep'i7 to be captive)	p'i7-t	to take him/it, to grab him/it
√xi7	to appear out of nowhere; to be created; to appear suddenly	xi7-t	to transform him
√ya7		ya7-t	to vomit it
√xwa7		xwexwá7-t	to copy him/it
√t'a7		t'a7-t	to taste/try it
√kw'u7		kw'u7-t	to join him
√kwaa		kwaa-t	to save him (from danger)
√puu		puu-t	to blow on him/it
√uu		uu-t	to invite him
CVR			
√tl'am	(?to be enough)	tl'am-t	to do it [plural subject: a group does it]
√k'am	(k'emk'ámay to threaten him when he's present)	k'emk'ám-t	to threaten him (when he's present)
√paal		paal-t	to skim it
√kwul	to come in (about water)	kwul-t	to draw it (about water)
√tl'al		tl'al-t	to keep it
√yuul		yuul-t	to choose/mix/sort it
√xwil	to come off	xwi7l-t	to take it off
CVK			
√kik'		kik'-t	to repay him
√xwak'	to be anxious/eager	xwak'-t	to covet/desire/want it
√ti7ch/tich		ti7ch-t, ticht	to do it
√kw'ach	(kw'awch to be staring)	kw'ach-t	to look at him/it

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√nilh	Focus Marker	nelhnilh-t	to go through the same thing as him
√lixw	to fall/lay down; to put/lay/hand it down	lixw-t	to put it down; to hand her down in marriage (about one's daughter)
CeR			
√ch'em	to bite	ch'em-t	to bite him
√cheñ		cheñ-t	to support him
√lheñ		lheñ-t	to weave it
√pen		pen-t	to bury it
√tel		ta7l-t	to study it
√xel	to write	xel-t	to write it
√kw'el	to be ripe/cooked/done	kw'el-t	to cook it
√xwel		xwel-t	to make a ditch in it
√sel		sel-t	to spin it
√tsey		tsey-t	to paint his face
√xay	(xay-m to laugh)	xeyxéy-t	to laugh at him
√yew		yew-t	to praise him
Idiomatic forms (based on nouns?)			
√xlhan	an epidemic, a sickness	[xlhan-t-m]	to be visited by an epidemic
√ayaxw	wasted food (noun)	[áyaxw-t-as]	[It's a pity! = ?what a waste!]

2 -V transitivizer roots

This list includes all 70 roots that are known to occur with the -V transitivizer, allomorph of the -n transitivizer. A few notes about the -V transitivizer roots:

- 1) For some transitive forms I only have a reflexive form of the root. I have included these forms in brackets at the end of the chart.
- 2) For a few of the roots that do not occur as free roots, I have placed in square brackets other forms that have the same root.

Root type	Bare Root Meaning	Transitive Form	Transitive Meaning
CVK			
√ch'ikw		ch'ikw-i-t	to be closing in on it
√hik		hík-i-t	to put it under the house
√nikw		ník-w-i-t	to swing it
√kw'ukw	get hit by a stick-like object	kw'úk-w-u-t	to hit him with a stick
√shukw'		shúk-w'-u-t	to bathe him
√tukw		túk-w-u-t	to go easy with it
√tsukw		tsúk-w-u-t	to squeal on him
√wik'		wík'-i-t	to spread it (about a canoe)
√hich	to increase	hích-i-t	to increase it
√lhich'	to cut	lhích'-i-t	to cut it
√lhit'	to give something away at a feast; to distribute things at a potlatch	lhít'-i-t	to distribute it
√sit'		sít'-i-t	to start it (about a song)
√tl'ap		tl'áp-a-t	to diminish it
√tl'ich'		tl'ích'-i-t	to sneak up on him
√kwash		kwásh-a-t	to lance him
√yech'	to get full	yích'-i-t	to fill it up
√yulh	to burn	yúlh-u-t	to burn it
√k'as		k'ás-a-t	to ask for it
CeK			
√pek'w'	spekw'm 'dust (noun)'	pkw'-e-t	to make (a lot of smoke) from pipe or cigarette
√hep	to fall down (about a tree)	hep-e-t	to fell it
√xet'		x't'-e-t	to curse him
√kep'	to close	k'p'-e-t	to close it
√p'elh	to sober up	p'lh-e-t	to sober him up

Root type	Bare Root Meaning	Transitive Form	Transitive Meaning
√pelh		plh-e-t	to force him out of the way
√tl'exw	to lose	tl'xw-e-t	to beat him in a contest
√tsex		tsx-e-t	to shove him
√kw̄wech		kw̄ch-e-t	to vomit it up
√ch'exw		ch'xw-u-t, c'xw-i-t	to add on to it
√lhexw		lhexw-ú-t	to spit it out
√kw'esh		kw'sh-a-t	to count it
√kw'elh	to spill	kw'lh-a-t	to pour it out
√tek̄	[?to be pinned down, to get wiped out by the enemy]	t̄k̄-a-t, t̄k̄-e-t	to accuse him
CVR			
√ay		áy-a-t	to be gentle with him
√ch'iȳ		ch'iȳ-i-t	to take it from him
√huy	to finish	húy-u-t	to create it
√nay		náy-a-t	to scold him
√kw'ay	? to not be able	kw'áy-a-t	to purify him
√kw̄'ay		kw̄'áy-a-t	to fire it [e.g. a canoe]
√kw̄'aȳ		kw̄'áȳ-a-t	to tame it
√kw'uy	to die	kw'úy-u-t	to beat it
√shuy		shúy-u-t	to bore a hole in it
√way	to become known	wáy-a-t	to reveal it
√xway	to die, (plural) = to get slaughtered	xwáy-a-t	to slaughter them
√ch'aw		ch'áw-a-t	to help him
√lhaw̄	to escape/run/get away, to recover	lhaw̄-a-t	to cure/heal him
√niw̄/new̄	to be inside a container	nexwnīw̄-i-t	to instruct him
√k'aw	to get paid	k'áw-a-t	to pay him
√k'iw		k'íw-i-t	to put it over the top; to go around it [about a point of land]
√lhim̄	to be accepted/approved	lhim̄-i-t	to accept him, to approve him (as fiancé for one's daughter), to pull it towards yourself
√tim		tím-i-t	to do it with all your strength
√t'am	to guess (in the slahal game) to "throw the white bone (in slahal)" = to be outguessed	t'am-a-t	to guess him
√sin	to move over	sín-i-t sín-i-n	to move it over
√xwin		xwín-i-t	to curse him
√hil		híl-i-t	to roll it

Root type	Bare Root Meaning	Transitive Form	Transitive Meaning
CeCC			
√tsikw'		tsetskw'-í-t	to startle him
√ts'ap'		ts'ets'p'-á-t	to distract him
√wats'		wewts'-á-t	to tease him
√siwi	to become aware of something you can't see; to become attentive; to prick one's ears	sesewí-t	to sense it
CVCX			
√kwetxw		kwétxw-e-t	to scramble for it
√ayaxw	wasted food (noun)	áyaxw-a-t	to make use of it
√an	[an-u-ń to allow him] [an-u-lh to agree]	án-ami-t	to allow him to have his way
√lhken̄	[lhkén̄ten an anchor]	lhkén̄-a-t	to anchor it
Reflexive only forms			
√kix̄		kix̄-i-t-sut	to slide
√ix̄	to get scraped	ix̄-i-t-sut	to scratch oneself
√yik'		yík'-i-t-sut	to ask someone to give
√mek'	to get/be full	mek'-é-t-sut	to overeat
√k'an		k'an-a-t-sut k'én-n-exw	to return to return something
√tsakw'	[tsákw'-shn-am̄ stretch-leg-intr to stretch your legs]	tskw'-á-t-sut	to run

3 -n transitivizer roots

This list includes all 233 CVC roots that take the -n transitivizer. The -n transitivizer can also occur on roots longer than CVC, but this is an open ended set. A few notes about the -n transitivizer roots:

- 1) For some transitive forms I only have a reflexive form of the root. I have included these forms in brackets at the end of the chart.
- 2) For a few of the roots that do not occur as free roots, I have placed in brackets other forms that have the same root.

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
CaC			
√kwash		kwásha-n also kwásh-a-t	to cut (wound); to lance a (boil)
√kw'as	to be warm	kw'ása-n	heat it up
√kw'atl'		kw'átl'a-n	to have sex with him/her
√kək'		kək'-n	to brake it; to slow it down
√kat		katá-n	give him a steam bath; cause him to take a steam bath
√katl'		kátl'e-n	block it; stop it
√kats'		káts'e-n	stop it from leaking
√k'ap'		k'áp'a-n	give him a disease; infect him
√k'atl'		k'atl'-n	wash away (ground) [as done by a swollen river]
√lhakw'		lhák'w'a-n	slap him
√lhap'		lháp'e-n	hang it up to dry; hang it
√matl'		mátl'e-n	smear him; smear him with dirt; make him dirty
√nach'	to be different/strange/ wrong	nách'e-n	transform it; change it
√paakw		páak'we-n	put (kettle) on stove
√pach		pácha-n	spread it; spread out it
√pakw		pákwa-ñ	cut (meat)
√pakw'		pák'w'e-n	put it over smoke of fire
√p'akw		p'ákwa-ñ	launch (canoe or boat); put it in the water
√p'akw'		p'ák'w'a-n	to make use of it what's almost useless; to use it as a last resort; to make do with it; to use it for the lack of anything better

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√p'ats'		p'áts'a-n	sew it
√sak'		sák'a-n	rip it; tear it; split it
√sat		sáta-ñ	pass it; hand it over; give it
√saxw/ sa _x w	to be greased	sáxwa-ñ ~ sá _x wa-ñ	rub him with oil
√sa _x		sáxa-ñ	scrape it
√shat'		shát'a-n	bring it up to the surface; ladle it
√takw'	tekw' to be tight (ab. clothes)	tákwa-ñ	tighten it; pull it tight
√ta _k w	to drink	tákwa-ñ	drink it
√ta _k w'	te _k w' to be straight	tákwa-ñ	straighten it; make it straight
√tats		tátsa-ñ	pat it; pet it; stroke it
√ta _x		táxa-ñ	spread it out vertically
√t'akw'		t'ákw'e-n	dig it
√t'ak'		t'ák'a-n	put it across
√t'akw'	t'ekw' to break (ab. rope)	t'ákw'e-n	break (a rope); cut (a rope) in two
√t'axw		t'áxwa-ñ	take it out of a container
√tl'akw/ tl'a _k w		tl'ákwa-n	stamp it; mark it
√tl'ats'		tl'áts'e-n	make it tight; stop it leaking
√tsas		tsása-ñ	feel it with hands; perceive it by touch
√ts'alh		ts'álhe-n	dampen it
√ts'ap'		ts'áp'a-n	delay it; interrupt him; derange him; cause him to slow down [in working]
√walh		wálha-ñ	chase it away (an animal); shoo it away (an animal); chase him out
√wash		wásha-ñ	move it away from the fire or heat; seat him (a dancer); put it in the background; take a pot from the fire
√wats'		wáts'a-n	lever it up; pry it up; pry it loose
√xwat		xwáta-ñ	lighten (a load); take off it from s.b.; diminish it; make it less [heavy]
√xap'	xep' to break (ab. a cup)	xáp'e-n	crush it small; split it small
√xwakw'		xwakw'é-ñ	bar it shut
√yak'		yák'a-n	polish it by filing; sharpen it by filing

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√yak'		yák'a-n	cause it to fall down; fell it [as by the old method of using wedges and hot-rock burning]
√yákw	to be extinguished (ab. fire or light)	yákwa-ñ	to extinguish it (ab. a fire); to put it out (ab. a fire); to turn it down (ab. a light)
√yaḵw		yáḵwa-ñ	thaw it; melt it
CeC			
√chesh		chesh-n	send him
√ekw	ekw to fall out (ab. hair)	ékwe-n	remove hair from (a hide)
√kwelh	to be split (ab. a log)	kwelh-n	to split it
√kw'ek'		kw'ék'e-n	cut open (game or fish)
√kw'ets		kw'étse-n	pluck it; pull out (feathers)
√kexw	to be gathered; to get together; to be gathered together	kéxwe-n	collect it; gather (them) together; invite (people); pick (berries)
√kw'ets'	to be wet	kw'éts'e-n	wet it; make it wet
√les	to be deep/low	lése-n	lower it; humble (s.o.)
√lhek		lhékwe-n	peck at it
√lhesh	to play "pulling stick" game (a game involving trying to jerk the other player off their feet)	lhéshe-ñ	jerk it; pull it
√lhexw		lhéxwe-n	spit on (s.t./s.b.); spit at (s.t./s.b.)
√mekw		mékwe-n	loosen it
√mes	to get stuck to something	mése-ñ	stick it on it; put (them) together; connect (them)
√nekw		nékwe-n	drive (a car); shake it
√nekw		nékwe-n	warm it near the fire
√nesh		néshe-n	put it on its side
√pekw'		pékw'e-n	scatter it in clouds

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√pets	to be bent	pétse-n	fold it; tuck it in; bend it [in one direction]
√peᵾw		péᵾwe-n	spit medicine on him; blow it out; spit at him
√p'ek		p'éke-n	make one's way through (bushy spot)
√p'es	to get to shore	p'ése-n	bring it to shore
√seᵾw		seᵾwe-n	cut strips of (skin)
√tl'exw		tl'éxwe-n	pick (blueberries or huckleberries with leaves)
√ts'exw	to be rotten	ts'éxwe-n	rot it
√ᵾek		ᵾéke-n	straddle it
√ᵾets		ᵾetse-n	put it on the fire
√ᵾwesh		ᵾwéshe-n	rinse it
√yets'		yéts'e-n	step on it
√yeᵾw	to be loose	yeᵾwe-n	turn it loose; set it free; untie it
CiC			
√chikw		chíkwi-ñ	smash it; grind it
√chix		chíxi-ñ	singe it over a fire
√ch'it	to be close	ch'íte-n	move it closer; put it close; bring it close
√ik'		ík'i-n	scrape (hides)
√ikw'	to be rubbed	íkw'i-n	wipe it; rub it off
√ixw		ixw-n	give it; make a present of it
√ixw		íxwi-ñ	sweep it
√kit		kíti-ñ	to bandage it/him
√kix		kíxi-ñ	to make it smaller or even by chopping
√k'is	to be tied; to be knotted	k'ísi-ñ ~ nk'ísi-n	tie it up; knot it together
√kw'ik'		kw'ík'i-n	rip (fish or animal) open
√kw'it		kw'íti-ñ	put it close to the edge
√lhikw'	to be hooked	lhikw'i-n	hang it up; hang it; hook it up; butt it [about horned animals]
√lhikw'		lhikw'i-n	pull it apart

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√lhítʰ	to give thing away at a potlatch; to distribute at a potlatch	lhítʰi-n	scatter it
√mikwʰ	to be washed/clean	míkʰwʰi-n	clean it; wash it
√mikʰ		míkʰi-n	press it down
√nilh	to be the same	nílhe-n	compare him
√pítʰ		pítʰi-n	jam it
√pixw	to be falling (ab. leaves); to be removed (ab. berries from bush, dust from clothes, etc.)	píxwi-n	brush it using a brush; brush off (clothes)
√pʰitsʰ	to be bruised	pʰitsʰi-n	squeeze it together; squeeze it
√sikwʰ	to get ripped	síkʰwʰi-n	tear it
√tixw	to be stripped off (ab. leaves from a tree)	tíxwi-ñ	rip it off accidentally [as of branches on a tree]; strip (limbs off tree)
√tʰixw	to descend; to reach level country	tʰixwi-ñ	take it down
√tlʰik	to arrive (here)	tlʰik-n	approach him sexually
√tsik	to get poked/stabbed/speared	tsíkí-ñ	to spear it
√tsikʰ		tsíkʰi-n	to poke around it (ab. fire); to stir it up (ab. fire)
√tsixw	to arrive there; to reach there	tsixwe-n	reach it; arrive at it
√tsʰis		tsʰisi-ñ	nail it; nail it up
√tsʰit		tsʰiti-ñ	chew on (a bone); nibble it; gnaw on it [e.g., about a rat gnawing a hole in the wall]
√tsʰixw		tsʰixwe-n	pity him; help him [out of trouble]
√tsʰix	to singe it	tsʰixi-ñ	singe it by fire
√witʰ		wítʰi-n	tease it [e.g., wool; pull the wool fibers apart]
√xwikw	to rub against something	xwíkwi-n	to brush it; to wash it off at the river
√xikw		xíkʰwʰi-n	munch it; chew it [about human, not at regular meal]
√xikʰ	to be scratched	xíkʰi-n	scratch it
√xipʰ	to get nicked; to get scratched; to get nipped	xípʰi-n	claw it; scratch it

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√xítl'		xítl'i-n	chop it; cut it [especially wood]
√xwíkw'	to be tied up; to be arrested	xwíkw'i-n	put him in jail; tie it up; arrest him; connect it
CuC			
√kw'uts'		kw'úts'u-n	bend it [in several directions]; make it crooked
√kw'up'		kw'úp'u-n	put it in pleats [as in a dress]; pleat it [as in a dress]
√kw'utl'		kw'útl'u-n	tuck it in
√kw'uts	fat (noun)	kw'útsu-n	fatten him; make him fat
√kw'uts'		kw'úts'u-n	wring it
√kw'uxw		kw'úxwu-n	glance at it; look sideways at it
√lhukw	to be out of the way	lhúkwu-n	scatter it around; push it out of the way
√lhukw		lhúkwu-n	dig into it
√lhukw'	to be peeled off	lhúkw'u-n	peel (thin bark)
√lhup	to be out of reach	lhúpu-n	put it out of reach; put it away
√lhus	to drift back (ab. a canoe)	lhúsu-n	lower it down
√lhut'		lhút'u-n	sip (tea or water); slurp it
√mutl'	(mutl'-ts to get smothered)	mútl'u-n	put hand over him; suffocate him; crush him [by one-sided pressure]
√nukw'	to get poked	núkw'u-n	poke it
√puts		pútsu-n	twist (a cedar bough) to make a rope
√puxw		púxwu-n	blow it with mouth
√sut'		sút'u-n	inhale it [as in smoking]
√tuxw		túxwu-n	run it out [e.g., a rope]
√tl'ukw		tl'úkwu-n	hide it
√tl'ukw'		tl'úk'wu-n	stick it into; force it in; plug it in

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√tl'up'	to be retracted; to be driven back (ab. a candle wick; a nail in the end of a stick)	tl'úp'u-n	turn down (a light)
√tl'uts'	to be close together	tl'úts'u-ñ	put (them) close together; pack (them) close together
√ts'uḵw		ts'úḵwu-ñ	suck it
√ts'up'		ts'úp'u-n	fill up (a hole) in the wall or ground; attach it to it; connect it to inserting it
√us		úsu-ñ	teach him how to do s.t.; instruct him how to do s.t.; advise him how to do
√ut'	to be stretched out	út'u-n	stretch it out [e.g., a rope]; extend it; lengthen it
√uts		útsu-n	add on clothes to him; splice (rope)
√uḵw		úḵwu-ñ	whittle it; cut it; shave it down; shear it
√xwukw'		xwúkw'e-n	drag it; pull it
√xwus		xwúsu-ñ	take a lot of it in one's hand
√xwutl'		xwútl'u-n	chew it up
√xwuts'	to be stuck/bruised	xwúts'u-n	block it up; squeeze it into s.t.; lever it up
√yukw'		yúkw'u-n	destroy it; dismantle it; take it apart; smash it up
√yulh	to burn up; to make a fire	yúlhu-ñ	burn it
√yup'		yúp'u-n	shove (s.b./s.t.) with a pole
√yutl'		yútl'u-n	knead (bread)
√yuts		yútsu-n	to shove him using one's hands; to push him steadily
√yuts'		yúts'u-n	to nudge him; to shove him [deliberately]; to push him aside [with elbow or shoulder]

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
CV7 and CVV			
√kwaa		kwaa-n	relieve him
√kwaa	to be perforated	k _u waa-n ~ k _u wa-n	make a hole in it; pierce it; perforate it
√lha7		lha7-n	touch it [with hands]; approach it
√naa		na-n	call out (s.b's) name; call or give him a name; name (s.b); call him
√ts'aa	to get hit	ts'aa-n ~ ts'a-n	punch him; hit him
√xaa		xaa-n	look at it [e.g., a bottle] toward the light
√yaa		yaa-n̩	warn him
√ya7	to get stuck; to be tight; to be shut/tied tightly	ya7-n	tighten it; put it on; hold it tightly; tie it tightly
√ch'ii		ch'ii-n	lift it up; raise it
√si7		si7-n	wipe it
√kwu7		kwu7-n	peel off a layer from it [especially thick bark]; pull it off
√kw'u7		k _u w'u7-n	bring it close to one's body to heat it
√new	second singular independent pronoun	nuu-n	hailing (the house)
√ts'u7	to come out (ab. a nail, etc.)	ts'u7-n	pull out (teeth, nail out of a wall)
Cay			
√chay		chay-n	chase (someone); pursue (someone); follow (something)
√kway	to hide	kwáya-n	hide (something)
√k'ay	to be high; to be on top	k'áya-n̩	put (something) on top
Cey			
√chey		chey-n	to cause it to lean over

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√tiy		tíye-n	clear (a small area of land)
√tl'iy	tl'iyá7 to stop	tl'íye-n	stop (something); quit (something)
√xíy	? to appear, to become visible	xíya-n	stop (them); quiet (someone); stop (them) from arguing, fighting, gambling
Cuy			
√muy	to be touched by rising water; to submerge; to be soaked	múyu-ñ	put (something) in the water; soak (something)
√tuy	to cross over a large body of water	tuy-n	abandon (something/someone); leave (something/someone)
√tsuy		tsúyu-n	peel (something) [e.g., bark]; remove (something) [e.g., bark]
√ts'uy		ts'úyu-ñ	peel (fruit or vegetable)
Caý			
√hay		hayá-ñ	pacify (a child)
√lhay		lhayá-n	dim (light); decrease (fire)
√nexw7ay	to change	nexw7áy-n	change (something) around; train in or follow (a tradition); replace (something)
√tuý		tuýú-n ~ túyu-n	lean (something) over; put (something) at an incline
√xwey	to appear; to be born	xwíyi-ñ	bring (something) forward to be seen
CVm, Cem			
√k'em		k'éme-n	swallow (something)
√lhem		lhéme-n	pick (berries) individually [e.g., salmonberries, raspberries]
√kwum		kwúmu-n	bend around (something); bend (something)

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
√xam	to repair	xáma-n̄	repair (something) [about canoes or shoes, not clothes]
√sham	to be going out (ab. tide); to be low (ab. tide); to be in shallow water; to stick out of the water	sháma-n̄	bring (something) out of the water; bring (something) to the surface of the water
√xim		xími-n̄	pull (someone's) hair; grab (someone) by the hair
CVm̄			
√ch'um̄	to split shakes	ch'umú-n̄	split (red cedar) into shakes
√lham̄		lháma-n	dampen (something)
√nam̄	to go	náme-n	go and get (something or someone); pick (someone) up
√sum̄	to smell; to give off a stink	sumú-n̄	smell (something); sniff at (something)
√t'am̄		t'amá-n	put (something) aside; remove (something); move (something) over
√ts'im̄	to dip food into oil; to eat grease	ts'imí-n̄	lick (something)
√ham̄	to be covered	háme-n	cover (someone) with a blanket
√p'em̄, p'am̄		p'emá-n̄	put (something) over smoke to colour
√t'em̄		t'éme-n	chop (something)
Cin			
√sin	to move over	síni-n ~ sín-i-t	move (something) over; move (something) from one place to another
√xwin		xwíni-n̄	curse (someone); wish for (someone's) death

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
CVñ			
√kãñ		kãña-n	put a little bit of pressure on (something)
√kãñ	to steal	kãñe-n	rob (someone)
√t'ĩñ		t'ĩñi-ñ	line (them) up in a row
√kw'eñ		kw'eña-ñ	use (a ladle); ladle (something)
CVw			
√kw'uw		kw'úwe-n	raise (something) up a little bit in order to get a look at it
√maw		máwa-ñ	side with (someone) in an argument; support (someone) in an argument; defend (someone)
CVw̃			
√lhaw̃	to escape; to run away	lháw̃e-n	run away from (someone)
√new̃		néw̃e-n	put (something) inside; put (something) into it
√t'iw̃		t'íw̃i-n	move (something) to less heat; remove (something) from the fire
√taw̃	to be bright	taw̃á-n	brighten (something); illuminate (something)
CVI			
√kw'el	to cook	k̃w'éle-n ~ k̃w'el-t	cook (something)
√yul		yúlu-ñ	to roll (something); to sort (something) out; to spin (something)

Root type	Bare root meaning	Transitive form	Transitive Meaning
CVI			
√k'al	to believe; to obey	k'ále-n	believe (someone); believe in what (someone) says; obey (someone)
Reflexive only forms			
√nak		nák-nake-n-t-sut	to bob and weave
√p'ach'	to be red hot	p'ách'e-ñ-t-sut	to heat up
√yak		yáka-n-t-em	to poke him in the rear
√tl'ekw		tl'ékwe-n-t-sut	to ease off [about pain]
√yex	to be far apart	yéxe-n-t-sut	to be spread apart
√kip'		kíp'i-n-t-sut	to tighten up [as in a muscle cramp]
√mitl'		mítl'i-n-t-sut	duck; stoop
√mits		mítsi-ñ-t-sut	squat
√mixw		míxwi-n-t-sut	to bob up and down on a board or branch
√ship		shípi-n-t-sut	to put up its hair [about animals]
√tsip		tsípi-ñ-t-sut	to duck; to stoop; to flinch
√tl'ip		tl'ípe-n-t-sut	curl up; disguise oneself hide; duck down
√xich'		xích'i-n-t-sut	to have raised hair on neck [e.g., a cat]; to raise hackles
√xit'		xít'i-n-t-sut	to stretch oneself
√xwich'		xwích'i-n-t-sut	make a humming noise
√kw'up'		kw'úp'u-n-t-sut ~ kw'úpu-n-t-sut	wrinkled, become
√kwulh		kwúlhu-ñ-t-sut	be swimming closely together near the shore while going to the spawning grounds [about salmon]
√xwun		xwun-ú-ñ-t-sut	make bullroarer noise from cold weather