PROPOSITIONAL CONFIGURATIONS

AND THEIR EXPRESSION

IN

SHUSWAP SALISH


by


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THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Languages, Literatures and Linguistics



ⓒ    Dwight Gardiner 1985

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

August 1985

APPROVAL PAGE

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Degree:   Master of Arts

Title of Thesis:   Propositional Configurations and their Expression
                   in Shuswap Salish

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Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

Evidence of Adjoined Clauses in Shuswap Salish

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August 19, 1985
(date)

# ABSTRACT

·This study presents data relevant to the expression of
PROPOSITIONS in the Shuswap language.  The data were
collected on the Dog Creek reservation in August, 1981.

A PROPOSITION is the semantic structuring of a NARRATED
EVENT.  PARTICIPANTS which are CENTRAL to the EVENT may
change their status with respect to their centrality or
peripherality to the PROPOSITION.

In chapter 1 a PROPOSITIONAL configuration for Shuswap is
presented.  The PARTICIPANT ROLES in the language are
exemplified and a graded scale of roles is proposed, based
on the degree of involvement in the EVENT.

Chapter 2 presents some basic phenomena of Shuswap that can
be used as evidence for changes of status of the
PARTICIPANT ROLES in the PROPOSITION.  Word order, case
marking, pronominal marking and transitive marking are
available as arguments to establish the centrality or
peripherality of the PARTICIPANT ROLES to the PROPOSITION.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of constructions in which PERIPHERAL TO

EVENT ROLES become CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION. This is termed

advancement. Two types of advancement are considered:

BENEFACTIVE and RELATIONAL. BENEFACTIVE and RELATIONAL

advancement have a register on the predicate that indicates

a PARTICIPANT that is PERIPHERAL TO EVENT has become

CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION. There are also constructions in

Shuswap in which CENTRAL TO EVENT ROLES become PERIPHERAL

to the PROPOSITION. This is termed demotion. Two types of

demotion are demonstrated in Passive and Antipassive

constructions.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

These abbreviations are used in the glosses of the Shuswap
data:

| | |
|---|---|
| aut | autonomous |
| ben | benefactive |
| caus | causative |
| compl | completive |
| conj | conjunction |
| cust | customary |
| det | determiner |
| encl | enclitic |
| evid | evidential |
| excl | exclusive |
| fctrl | full control |
| imp | imperative |
| incl | inclusive |
| intr | intransitive |
| neg | negative |
| pl | plural |
| poss | possessive |
| rel | relational |
| rep | reportative |
| res | resultative |
| st | stative |
| sup | superior |
| tr | transitive |
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |

INTRODUCTION

0.      This study presents data that concern the notion

of centrality and peripherality in Shuswap, a language of

the Interior Salish Family, of interior British Columbia.

The data was collected in August, 1981 on the Dog Creek

reservation and is representative of the northern dialect

of Shuswap.  My principal consultant was Lilly Harry.

The study follows in general outline the semantic analyses

of Bella Coola, a Coast Salish isolate of British Columbia

presented by Davis and Saunders in a series of papers

(1979, 1981a, 1981b, and 1984.)  It is proposed that an

happening in the real world called a NARRATED EVENT can be

formulated as a set of PROPOSITIONS that differ in their

selection of elements of the NARRATED EVENT.[1]  A particular

PROPOSITION is configured as a set of elements according to

their relative centrality or peripherality.  This depends

on a number of pragmatic factors such as the distribution

of knowledge between the interlocutors, the relative

saliency of the NARRATED EVENT elements in an existing

discourse, or a speaker's source of knowledge.  The

PROPOSITION is given linguistic encoding and occurs as an

EXPRESSION in Shuswap.

It is argued that for each EVENT (predicate) in the language there is a set of PARTICIPANT ROLES that are distributed as CENTRAL TO EVENT or PERIPHERAL TO EVENT. A PARTICIPANT that is CENTRAL TO EVENT may become PERIPHERAL TO PROPOSITION. Similarly, a PARTICIPANT that fulfills a PERIPHERAL TO EVENT role may become CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION. It is proposed that, in unmarked PROPOSITIONS, the centrality or peripherality of roles agrees with the inherent role rankings of its EVENT. A change in the EVENT determined centrality or peripherality of ROLES in a PROPOSITION is reflected in Shuswap by marked expression. This markedness may be manifest by the presence of a register on the predicate or by the distribution of the case marking proclitics.

0.1     PHONOLOGY

A broad phonetic transcription ⁻ used in this study. The distribution of the consonants can be read from the following chart.

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| | | Lab | Alv | Lat | Pal | Vel | Lab-Vel | Uvul | Lab-Uvul | Glot |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops | Plain | p | t | | | k | kw | q | qw | ? |
| | Eject | p' | | | | k' | k'w | q' | q'w | |
| Affr | Plain | | c | | | | | | | |
| | Eject | | c' | t' | | | | | | |
| Fric | Vls | | s | ł | | x | xw | X | Xw | h |
| | Vd | | | | | r | | g | gw | |
| | Glot | | | | | r? | | | gw? | |
| Res | Plain | m | n | l | y | w | | | | |
| | Glot | m? | n? | l? | y? | w? | | | | |

The inventory of the vowels is / i è a o u e /.  In the
northern dialect of Shuswap / è / is a lax mid front vowel
and / e / is the schwa.  Non-syllabic / i u / are
orthographically represented as  / y w / respectively.

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# FOOTNOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1.      I adopt the convention employed by Davis and
        Saunders of indicating semantic categories in the
        upper case.

CHAPTER 1


PROPOSITIONAL CONFIGURATIONS IN SHUSWAP


1.0     INTRODUCTION


This chapter introduces the central concepts of the study.

There is a major distinction between a NARRATED EVENT and

its associated SPEECH EVENT.  A NARRATED EVENT is an actual

event in the real world whereas a SPEECH EVENT is the

linguistic communication about the NARRATED EVENT.  Because

of the complexity of NARRATED EVENTS, there can be no

isomorphism between a NARRATED EVENT and its encoded SPEECH

EVENT.  Instead the SPEECH EVENT involves a selection of

elements of the NARRATED EVENT for linguistic encoding.

Part of the linguistic encoding involves the formation of a

PROPOSITION which contains the selected elements of the

NARRATED EVENT and arranges them into a configuration

according to their relative centrality to it.


There are a number of pragmatic factors that intervene in

the formation of PROPOSITIONS such as the distribution of

shared knowledge between interlocutors, the relative

saliency of the NARRATED EVENT elements to the existing

discourse, or the speakers relative confidence that an

assertion is true of the world based on the source of
knowledge. There are many possible PROPOSITIONS for each
NARRATED EVENT. A selection of a member of this set of
PROPOSITIONS takes expression as a SPEECH EVENT.

For example, in English a single NARRATED EVENT has a set
of PROPOSITIONS that differ according to a number of
pragmatic factors. The following set of English expressions
reflect PROPOSITIONS that are all possible contextual
interpretations of a single NARRATED EVENT about an
EXECUTOR named Jack who wrote a poem about Martians while
sitting beside the juke box drinking brandy in Gino and
Carlo's bar in North Beach in San Francisco.


(1)    Gino and Carlo's was the bar in North Beach where
       Jack wrote poetry.

(2)    Jack wrote poems about Martians when he drank
       brandy.

(3)    The juke box in Gino and Carlo's was so scratchy it
       sounded like Martian language.

(4)    Jack was a lush and a poet.

(5)    Jack was a linguist.


This set of expressions are all linguistic encodings of
PROPOSITIONS formed on a single NARRATED EVENT.


The configuration of a Shuswap PROPOSITION is provided in
figure 6.

(6)

```
                        PROPOSITION
                      /            \
                     /              \
              NUCLEUS            PERIPHERY
             /      \                |
            /        \               |
        EVENT    NUCLEAR ROLES   PERIPHERAL ROLES
```
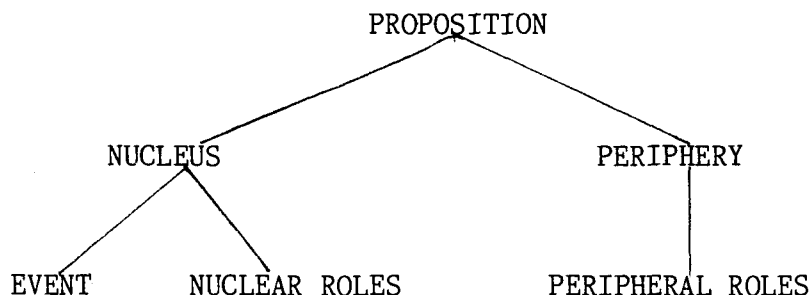
The Shuswap PROPOSITION is comprised of a NUCLEUS and a
PERIPHERY.  The NUCLEUS consists of an EVENT and a set of
PARTICIPANTS that are correlates of non-EVENT elements of
the NARRATED EVENT.  PARTICIPANTS fulfill ROLES in relation
to the EVENT.  NUCLEAR ROLES are central to the PROPOSITON.
The PERIPHERY of the PROPOSITION consists of a set of
PERIPHERAL ROLES.

There are a number of PARTICIPANT ROLES employed in
Shuswap.  These ROLES have inherent predispositions in
relation to the EVENT.  The EXECUTOR is the most active
participant, usually one who performs some ACTION.  The
EXPERIENCER is the next active role, usually one who
experiences an ACTION of the EXECUTOR, or as the result of
some ACTION, ACTION-PROCESS, or PROCESS exists in some
STATE.  The EXECUTOR and the EXPERIENCER are usually
central to the EVENT.  There is also a set of PARTICIPANTS

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that fulfill roles that are PERIPHERAL TO EVENT, such as the BENEFACTOR, GOAL, INSTRUMENT and LOCATIVE. They usually occur in the PERIPHERY of the PROPOSITION.

In this chapter I establish the inherent PARTICIPANT ROLES that operate in Shuswap EVENTS. It is assumed that in its most unmarked expression the Shuswap PROPOSITION maps PARTICIPANT ROLES with the same distribution of centrality and peripherality as is inherent to the specific EVENT. I propose a scale in which PARTICIPANTS are graded as to their centrality or integration to the EVENT.

## 1.1    INHERENT PARTICIPANT ROLES

Shuswap is typologically a VSO language. This designation of word order tendencies is only convenient for expository purposes. The grammatical distinction between nouns and verbs is not sharply drawn in the language. Also, the language has a relatively free word order. Under certain discourse conditions it is the nominal that occupies initial position. Below are several examples of EVENTS which occupy the initial and sole position in the utterance.[1]

(1)    c'ełt
       c'eł-et-0
       cold-st-3

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```
                It's cold.

(2)     ciqw          ,
        ciqw-0
        red-3
        It's red.

 (3)    sexwėpemx
        sexwepemx-0
        Shuswap-3
        He's Shuswap.
```

Examples 1-3 are all examples of STATIVE EVENTS.  They have

a CENTRAL TO EVENT EXPERIENCER.    The overt expression of

independent pronominals is used to provide emphasis.    If

the EXPERIENCER is a nominal it generally follows the

STATIVE as in examples 4-6.

```
(4)     c'ełt re-tmixw
        c'eł-et-0 re-tmixw
        cold-st-3 det-land
        The weather's cold.

(5)     ciqw re-speqpėq
        ciqw-0 re-speqpeq
        red-3 det-berries
        The berries are red.

(6)    .sexwėpemx re-sqėlemxw
        sexwepemx-0 re-sqelemxw
        Shuswap-3 det-man
        The man's Shuswap.
```

In examples 4-6 the EVENT is a STATIVE and occurs in

initial position; following the STATIVE is the PARTICIPANT

ROLE of EXPERIENCER.  These  utterances would be

appropriate as responses to questions.  For example 4 would

be appropriate to the question "How's the weather?" or 5 as

a response to the question "How are the berries?".


The following EVENTS have PARTICIPANTS that fulfill the

role of EXECUTORS.


(7)     t'?ek
        t'?ek-0
        go-3
        He's going.

(8)     xwíselx
        xwis-ilx-0
        run-aut-3
        He's running.


Examples 7 and 8 are EVENTS that have third person

EXECUTORS.  They are responses that would be appropriate to

the requests "What is he doing?".  If the EXECUTOR is

expressed as a nominal it generally follows the  EVENT as

in examples 9 and 10.


(9)     q'ílye re-núXwenuXw
        q'ilye-0 re-nuXwenuXw
        sweatbath-3 det-woman
        The woman is sweatbathing.

(10)    xwíselx re-sek'lép
        xwis-ilx-0 re-sek'lep
        run-aut-3 det-coyote
        Coyote is running.


The examples that have been provided are PROPOSITIONS that

have one NUCLEAR ROLE, either that of EXPERIENCER in

STATIVES or that of EXECUTOR in ACTIONS.  Examples 11-13

show EXECUTORS and EXPERIENCERS co-occuring in the same

expression.


(11)    k'wèsns re-Xpè?e re-sqlèlten
        k'wes-n-t-0-es re-Xpe?e re-sqlelten
        heat-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-grandfather det-salmon
        Grandfather is heating up the salmon.

(12)    q'wlentès re-nùXwenuXw re-c'i?
        q'wl-n-t-0-es re-nuXwenuXw re-c'i?
        roast-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-woman det-meat/deer
        The woman is roasting meat/deer.

(13)    sp'ntès re-sqèlemxw re-kenkèknem
        sp'-n-t-0-es re-sqelemxw re-kenkeknem
        hit-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-man det-blackbear
        The man hit the blackbear.


Examples 11 to 13 all have an EVENT in initial position in

the utterance; they are ACTION predicates which have the

PARTICIPANTS of EXECUTOR, the PARTICIPANT who performs the

ACTION, and EXPERIENCER, the PARTICIPANT that is affected

by the ACTION.  The EXECUTOR precedes the EXPERIENCER in

this utterances.  Examples 11 to 13 are all appropriate

responses to questions that would interrogate what the

EXECUTOR is doing.  The PARTICIPANTS that fulfill the roles

of EXECUTOR and EXPERIENCER are arranged on a scale in

which the EXECUTOR is more actively bound or integrated to

the EVENT.

11
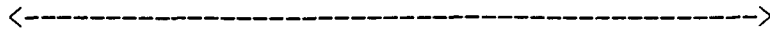
```
               <----------------------------------------------->

                    EXECUTOR        EXPERIENCER
```

Other PARTICIPANT ROLES are available to the Shuswap

speaker. Examples 14-17 demonstrate the PARTICIPANT that

fulfills the role of INSTRUMENTAL.


(14)    yèwem re-sqélemxw te-stùkcen
        yew-em-0 re-sqelemxw te-stukcen
        fish-intr-3 det-man det-dipnet
        The man is fishing with a dipnet.

(15)    nìk'ens-nke re-tuwìwt re-lop te-suq'wmìn
        nik'-n-t-0-es-nke re-tuwiwt re-lop te-suq'wmin
        cut-fctrl-tr-3-3-evid det-little boy det-rope
                det-knife
        The little one cut the rope with the knife.

(16)    cq'èlens-nke re-semrèw? re-tuwìwt te-swelmìn?k
        cq'el-n-t-0-es-nke re-semrew? re-tuwiwt
                te-swelmin?k
        shoot-fctrl-tr-3-3-evid det-lynx det-little boy
                det-rifle
        The young one shot the lynx with the gun.

(17)    nexet'cìns te-sq'weXt re-xk'emcenéɫxw
        nexet'cin-n-t-0-es te-sq'weXt re-xk'emceneɫxw
        shut-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-foot det-door
        She shut the door with her foot.


In example 14 the EVENT is the act of fishing and the man

who is performing the ACTION is the EXECUTOR. There is

another PARTICIPANT being expressed, that of the

INSTRUMENTAL. Similarly, in examples 15 to 17 the EVENT

expresses a relationship between the performer of the

ACTION, the EXECUTOR and that which is affected by the

ACTION, the EXPERIENCER.  In addition the PARTICIPANT ROLE

of INSTRUMENT is being expressed.  This extends the scale

of PARTICIPANT ROLES as follows:


<------------------------------------------------>

EXECUTOR      EXPERIENCER      INSTRUMENT
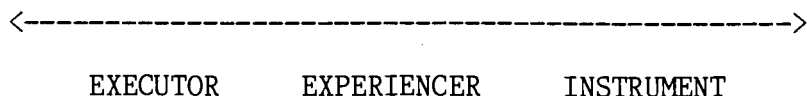

There is a certain amount of flexibility in the order of

the participant roles due to differing contextual

backgrounds.  An alternate expression of example 15 is

given in example 18.


(18)    nik'ens-nke re-lop re-tuwiwt te-suq'wmin
        nik'-n-t-0-es-nke re-lop re-tuwiwt te-suq'wmin
        cut-fctrl-tr-3-3-evid det-rope det-boy det-knife
        The little boy cut the rope with the knife.
        (lit. he cut it, the rope, the boy, with the knife)


Notice that in example 18 the EVENT is the same as in

example 15, the action of cutting.  However, the

PROPOSITION is different in respect to the differing

contextual saliency  of the PARTICIPANTS.  In examples 15

and 18 the INSTRUMENT remains in the final and peripheral

position of the utterance, but there is a transposition of

the roles of EXECUTOR and EXPERIENCER.  I propose that in

example 15 the information that is shared by the speaker

and the hearer is that of EXPERIENCER and INSTRUMENT, the

rope and the knife respectively.  Perhaps a person

encountering the condition of the rope and noticing the presence of the knife may formulate a question, "What happened to the rope?". Example 18 assumes different contextual information. The EVENT is still the cutting of the rope, however the information that is being shared is now the EXECUTOR and the INSTRUMENT, the boy and the knife. They are peripheral to the PROPOSITION. The information that is being communicated is the EXPERIENCER and the ACTION; they are CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION. Notice that in example 17 the INSTRUMENT is contiguous to the EVENT, the closing of the door. It has been moved to a much more central status in the PROPOSITION.[2]

There are a number of PARTICIPANT ROLES that have readings as LOCATIVES and DIRECTIONALS. DIRECTIONALS are demonstrated in examples 19 to 22.

(19) nes re-Xpè?e te-skwelk'wèlt
   nes-0 re-Xpe?e te-skwelk'welt
   go-3 det-grandfather det-snowmountains
   Grandfather is going to the snowmountains.

(20) qwecèc te-esk'èt
   qwecec-0 te-esk'et
   leave-3 det-Alkali Lake
   He is leaving Alkali Lake.

(21) kwèwt-nke re-sc'eq?èwl- tktn-neXlèw?stn
   kwew-et-0-nke re-sc'eq?ewl tktn-neXlew?stn
   drift-st-3-evid det-dugout canoe det-bridge
   The dugout canoe is drifting towards the bridge.

(22) kwèwt-nke re-sc'eq?èwl ptek te-neXlèw?stn

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```
                te-k'weɫxeyùxtes
        kwew-et-0-nke re-sc'eq?ewɫ ptek te-neXlew?stn
                te-k'weɫxeyuxtes
        drift-st-3-evid det-dugout canoe past det-bridge
                det-waterfall
        The dugout canoe is drifting past the bridge to
                the waterfall (at 127 Mile House).
```

Examples 19 to 22 exhibit EVENTS that have DIRECTIONALS as

PARTICIPANTS. Notice that the predicates in 19 and 20

differ as to GOAL and SOURCE. Examples 21 and 22 differ in

terms of their spatial pivots reflected by the glosses

'towards' and 'past'. DIRECTIONALS follow the PARTICIPANT

ROLE of EXPERIENCER as demonstrated in the following scale.


```
        <------------------------------------------------->

            EXECUTOR     EXPERIENCER     DIRECTIONAL
```

Another PARTICIPANT ROLE that can be established is that of

LOCATIVE. LOCATIVES are demonstrated in examples 23-25.


```
(23)    w?ex re-kekèsu? ne-setètkwe
        w?ex-0 re-kekesu? ne-setetkwe
        be-3 det-spring salmon det-river
        There are spring salmon in the Fraser River.

(24)    t-xw?it re-sesèp ne-sesepeɫp
        t-xw?it-0 re-sesep ne-sesepeɫp
        sup-lots-3 det-blueberries det-blueberry bush
        There are lots of blueberries on the blueberry bush.

(25)    kùkpi? xmumt ne-sq'ìlye
        kukpi? xmut-0 ne-sq'ilye
        chief sitting-3 det-sweathouse
        The chief is sitting in the sweathouse.
        (lit. The chief is who is sitting in the
```

sweathouse.)

In examples 23-25 the PARTICIPANT ROLE of LOCATIVE is in
final position following the EXPERIENCER.  The LOCATIVE is
shown on the following scale.  In examples 23 and 24 the
EVENT is in initial position and indicates an existential
STATE and a quantity respectively.  The EXECUTOR in 25 is
initial position; this utterance would be an appropriate
response to the question "Who is sitting in the
sweatbath?".  The LOCATIVE is ordered on the PARTICIPANT
scale as follows.

```
<------------------------------------------------->
     EXECUTOR     EXPERIENCER     LOCATIVE
```
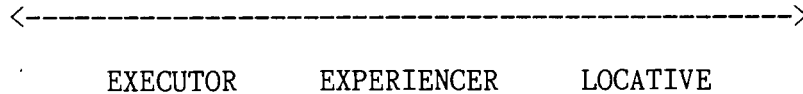
The PARTICIPANT ROLES of  DIRECTIONAL and  LOCATIVE can co-
occur in utterances as demonstrated in examples 26 and 27.

(26)   qw?èq-nke re-sesèp te-sesepèłp ne-łeqwlèxw
       qw?eq-0-nke re-sesep te-seʔ pełp ne-łeqwlexw
       fall-3-evid det-blueberries det-blueberry bush
               det-ground
       The blueberries fell off the blueberry bush onto
               the ground.

(27)   qwecèc kux te-scwexmx ne-Xget'tm? ne-mùle
       qwecec kux te-scwexmx ne-Xget'tm? ne-mule
       leave 1plexcl det-Canoe Creek det-Dog Creek
               det-mule
       We left Canoe Creek for Dog Creek by packtrain
               (on mules).

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There is a flexibility of order of the DIRECTIONALS and
LOCATIVES, due to contextual factors.


1.2    SUMMARY


In this chapter it has been shown that each EVENT is
structured in the PROPOSITION with a set of PARTICIPANTS
that fulfill roles.   I have demonstrated the participant
roles of EXECUTOR, EXPERIENCER, INSTRUMENT, DIRECTIONAL and
LOCATIVE.  It is assumed that in neutral discourse the
EXECUTOR and EXPERIENCER precede the INSTRUMENTAL,
DIRECTIONAL and LOCATIVE and that the following sequential
ordering of PARTICIPANT ROLES is maintained.


<-------------------------------------------------------->
         EXECUTOR      EXPERIENCER     INSTRUMENT
                                       DIRECTIONAL
                                       LOCATIVE


In this chapter I have cc .idered the arrangement of
PARTICIPANT ROLES in relation to their centality or
peripherality to EVENTS.  In chapter 2 I consider the
arguments that are available to suggest that PARTICIPANT
ROLES may change their status in relation to the
PROPOSITION.

# FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1.      In the examples, the first line is the Shuswap
        sentence; the second line is a morpheme by morpheme
        description in Shuswap; line 3 is a morpheme by
        morpheme description in English; line 4 is an
        approximate gloss for the sentence in English.

2.      As example 17 demonstrates there is a great
        flexibility in Shuswap.  An INSTRUMENT that
        is ranked lower than EXECUTOR or EXPERIENCER
        on the PARTICIPANT scale is ordered in the
        PROPOSITION to reflect its saliency in the
        discourse.

CHAPTER 2

SOME BASIC PHENOMENA OF SHUSWAP

2.0     INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present a number of arguments that are
available to determine the PROPOSITIONAL status of
PARTICIPANTS.

2.1.1   WORD ORDER

In the previous chapter I established a neutral word order
in Shuswap.  It was suggested that in discourse neutral
situations the EVENT occured initially, followed by a
series of PARTICIPANTS.  The PARTICIPANTS were ordered on a
graded scale based on their degree of engagement in the
EVENT.  Although in discourse the EVENT will be the same,
there are many different readings of the way the EVENT is
structured in PROPOSITIONS, due to contextual information
such as what is shared knowledge between the speaker and
the hearer.  Examples 1 and 2 are equivalent formulations
of a single EVENT.

(1)     pX̌wentés re-t'ekwílx re-tuwíwt
        pX̌w-n-t-0-es re-t'ekwilx re-tuwiwt
        cure-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-Indian doctor det-boy
        The Indian doctor cured the boy.

(2)     t'ekwílx pX̌wentés re-tuwíwt
        t'ekwilx pX̌w-n-t-0-es re-tuwiwt
        Indian doctor cure-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-boy
        The Indian doctor was who cured the boy.


Both examples 1 and 2 have the same EVENT and the

same PARTICIPANTS.   In both cases there is an EXECUTOR,

the Indian doctor, who performed some activity.   In this

instance, it was an activity of 'curing' upon an

EXPERIENCER, the boy.   The difference between these

utterances is that they are structured to assert different

PROPOSITIONS.   In example 1 the PROPOSITION is focusing on

the activity of curing and the expression would be an

appropriate response to the question "What is the Indian

doctor doing to the boy?".   The second PROPOSITION focuses

on the EXECUTOR, the person who did the curing.   This

statement would be the appropriate formulation of an answer

to the question "Who cured the boy?".   Similarly examples

3-5 reflect different conditions of shared information in

the formation of PROPOSITIONS.


(3)     k'úlens re-tuwíwt re-stúkcen
        k'ul-n-t-0-es re-tuwiwt re-stukcen
        make-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-boy det-dipnet
        The boy made the dipnet.

(4)     k'úlens re-stúkcen re-tuwíwt
        k'ul-n-t-0-es re-stukcen re-tuwiwt

```
        make-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-dipnet det-tuwiwt
        The boy made the dipnet.
        (lit. He made it, the dipnet, the boy.)

(5)     tuwiwt k'úlens re-stúkcen
        tuwiwt k'ul-n-t-0-es re-stukcen
        boy make-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-dipnet
        The boy was who made the dipnet.
```

In examples 3-5 an equivalent NARRATED EVENT has several
different PROPOSITIONAL configurations.    Comparing
examples 3 and 4 demonstrates that word order is highly
flexible.   The situating of an EXPRESSION in a context is
essential.   If there are two animate PARTICIPANTS
fulfilling roles in relation to an EVENT, there are a
number of devices available to provide the appropriate
interpretation.   Generally the EXECUTOR will precede the
EXPERIENCER although this is not entirely clear.   Other
strategies such as the use of passive and antipassive
constructions are available. It is context that mediates
all of the PROPOSITIONAL expressions.

One important point is that although requests for
information interrogatives are being heavily used to
provide contextual situations for utterances, they are not
the only ones.  Requests for information interrogative
constructions are fairly straightforward in terms of the
speech situation but there are other less direct
situations, such as requests for confirmation, and the

foregrounding of salient information.  This figures more

prominently in contextual situations in Shuswap which

result in less easily identifiable structural correlates to

English such as cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions.  I

provide several examples of PROPOSITIONS in which the

PARTICIPANT ROLES take shifting relations to the centrality

of the PROPOSITION.  There will be more to say about the

relation of word order to this phenomenon later.

(6)     qeqninmen re-nùXwenuXw ex te-secinmes
        qeqnim-0-en re-nuXwenuXw ex te-secinem-w-es
        hear-3-1 det-woman be det-sing-dep-3
        I am hearing the woman singing.

(7)     qeqninmen ex re-secinmes te-nùXwenuXw
        qeqnim-0-en ex re-secinem-w-es te-nuXwenuXw
        hear-3-1 be det-sing-dep-3 dep-woman
        I heard that the woman can sing.

(8)     qeqninmen ex te-secinmes re-nùXwenuXw
        qeqnim-0-en ex te-secinem-w-es re-nuXwenuXw
        hear-3-1 be det-sing-dep-3 dep-woman
        I heard her singing.


The three utterances take different PROPOSITIONAL

structures based on the different word orders of the

PARTICIPANT ROLES.  The glosses for the 3 examples were

offered as approximate English equivalents to the Shuswap
                1
utterances.   Example 6 stresses the EXPERIENCER, the

woman, and it was accepted that this would be an

appropriate answer to the question "Whom do you hear

singing?".  Example 8 was offered as preferrable to 6 and

is an appropriate formulation to the question "What is she

doing?". The relative word order and concomitant
grammatical devices then signal different salient features
of the discourse.


## 2.1.2   CASE MARKING

Shuswap nominals are preceded by proclitic elements that
function syntactically as case markers.  Shuswap
distinguishes two series of case markers based on their
status within the PROPOSITION:  NUCLEAR ROLES are CENTRAL
TO PROPOSITION and are marked with the NUCLEAR ROLE case
marker.  PERIPHERAL ROLES are PERIPHERAL TO PROPOSITION and
are marked with NON-NUCLEAR case markers.  The case marking
paradigm for Shuswap proclitics is is given in chart 1.


| (1) | visible | invisible | unrealized |
|---|---|---|---|
| nuclear roles | re- | le- | ke- |
| non-nuclear roles | te-/tk- | | t'k- |

The choice of determiners is mediated by deictic and
pragmatic factors.  The various uses of the determiners are
demonstrated in examples 2-5.


(2)     me? k'úlens re-mexéxye?
        me? k'ul-n-t-0-es re-mexexye?
        exp make-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-basket

```
                  She's going to make the basket.

(3)      m-píqwen le-mexèxye?
         m-piqw-n-t-0-en le-mexexye?
         compl-look-fctrl-tr-0-1 det-basket
         I looked at the basket.

(4)      k'úlem te-mexèxye?
         k'ul-em-0 te-mexexye?
         make-intr-3 det-basket
         She's made a basket.

(5)      me? k'úlem-ekwe tek-mexèxye?
         me? k'ul-em-0-ekwe tek-mexexye?
         exp make-intr-3-rep det-basket
         She's going to make a basket.
```

The NUCLEAR ROLE proclitic / re- / is used in reference to nominals that are in view of the speaker or in discourse focus (2). An additional nuclear role proclitic / le- / is used with nominals that are not in view of the speaker or in reference to deceased relatives and mythological beings. It is also used in reference to events in the completive aspect (3). The proclitic / le- / is optionally used in place of the / re- / when the deictic or pragmatic circumstances are appropriate. The NON-NUCLEAR RCLE proclitics / te- / and / tk- / are used to refer to unspecified nominals (3 and 4) and have a wide range of functions correlated with the peripheral status of PARTICIPANT ROLES in the PROPOSITION.

Corresponding to the NUCLEAR and NON-NUCLEAR determiners that are marked for the deictic status of visibility, there

is a set of determiners that occur in negative, conditional

and interrogative constructions.


(6)     kenm k-sk'wenx re-?ėk'wen
        kenm-0 k-s-k'we-n-t-0-ex re-?ek'wen
        do-3 det-?-taste-fctrl-tr-3-2 det-salmon eggs
        Have you ever tasted fermented salmon eggs?


(7)     swėty? t'k-scunx me? geyėp
        swety?-0 t'k-s-cun-n-t-0-ex me? gey-ep-0
        who-3 det-?-say-fctrl-tr-3-2 exp angry-res-3
        Who (do you say) is going to get angry?


(8)     ex k-kenmùxw
        ex-0 k-kenm-w-ex
        be-3 det-do-dep-2
        What are you doing?


(9)     ta? k-sclXemstės
        ta?-0 k-s-c-lX-em-s-t-0-es
        neg-3 det-?-cust-know-intr-caus-tr-3-3
        He doesn't know.


Examples 6-8 demonstrate the use of the / k- / proclitic in

interrogative constructions.  An example of a negative

construction is given in 9.  This proclitic is termed an

'Unrealized' in this study.


Case markers are used to reference the status of

PARTICIPANT ROLES within the PROPOSITION.  NUCLEAR ROLES

are those that are CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION, whereas NON-

NUCLEAR ROLES are PERIPHERAL TO PROPOSITION.  It should be

noted that there are potential changes of status of

PARTICIPANTS:  a PARTICIPANT that is CENTRAL TO EVENT can

be PERIPHERAL TO PROPOSITION.  Similarly, a PARTICIPANT

that is PERIPHERAL TO EVENT can be CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION.
Case-marking is available as evidence of a change of this
status.

The following examples demonstrate the usage of these
case markers in constructions in which it is assumed that
there is no change in status between the EVENT and the
PROPOSITION.  The initial position of the predicate makes
it plausible that this is the force of the discourse.

(10)    ciqw re-speqpèq
        ciqw-0 re-speqpeq
        red-3 det-berries.
        The berries are red.
        (lit. Red are the berries.)

(11)    q'ilye re-núXwenuXw
        q'ilye-0 re-nuXwenuXw
        sweatbath-3 det-woman
        The woman took a sweatbath.

(12)    xwiselx re-sek'lèp
        xwis-ilx-0 re-sek'lep
        run-aut-3 det-coyote
        The coyote is running.

Examples 10-12 are all EVENTS which assume one PARTICIPANT.
In 10 the EVENT is a STATIVE and the PARTICIPANT is an
EXPERIENCER.  Examples 11 and 12 have EVENTS that are
ACTIONS and have PARTICIPANTS that are EXECUTORS.  Several
examples of EVENTS that semantically have both EXECUTOR and
EXPERIENCER PARTICIPANTS are repeated in examples 13-15.

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(13)     k'wesns re-Xpè?e re-sqlèlten
         k'wes-n-t-0-es re-Xpe?e re-sqlelten
         heat-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-grandfather det-salmon
         Grandfather is heating up the salmon.

(14)     q'wlentès re-nûXwenuXw re-c'i?
         q'wl-n-t-0-es re-nuXwenuXw re-c'i?
         roast-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-woman det-meat/deer
         The woman is roasting meat/deer.

(15)     sp'ntes re-sqèlemxw re-kenkèknem
         sp'-n-t-0-es re-sqelemxw re-kenkeknem
         hit-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-man det-bear
         The man hit the blackbear.


Examples 13-15 all have the EVENT in initial position

followed by the EXECUTOR and then by the EXPERIENCER.

Notice that both the PARTICIPANTS of EXECUTOR and

EXPERIENCER are marked with the NUCLEAR ROLE case marker

/ re- /.


Several other PARTICIPANT ROLES have been demonstrated.

Below are examples of the INSTRUMENTAL, the DIRECTIONAL and

the LOCATIVE.


(16)     me? geyèp te-swelmin?ks
         me? gey-ep-0 te-swelmin?k-s
         exp angry-res-3 det-rifle-3poss
         He's going to get angry about his rifle.

(17)     nik'ens-nke re-tuwiwt re-lop te-suq'wmin
         nik'-n-t-0-es-nke re-tuwiwt re-lop te-suq'wmin
         cut-fctrl-tr-3-3-evid det-child det-rope det-knife
         The little boy cut the rope with the knife.


Examples 16 and 17 demonstrate the INSTRUMENTAL case.  In

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16 the EVENT has the PARTICIPANTS of EXPERIENCER and

INSTRUMENT. Example 17 has an EVENT in which the act of

cutting has the PARTICIPANTS of EXECUTOR, EXPERIENCER, and

INSTRUMENT. Notice that the INSTRUMENTAL case is

marked with the NON-NUCLEAR ROLE case marker / te- /.

Examples 18-20 demonstrate the PARTICIPANT ROLE of

DIRECTIONAL.


(18)     nes re-Xpė?e te-skwelk'wėlt
         nes-0 re-Xpe?e te-skwelk'welt
         go-3 det-grandfather det-snowmountains
         Grandfather is going to the snowmountains.

(19)     qwecėc te-esk'ėt
         qwecec-0 te-esk'et
         leave-3 det-Alkali Lake
         He is leaving Alkali Lake.

(20)     me? Xeyėyp-kn te-t?ikw
         me? Xey-ep-kn te-t?ikw
         exp hot-res-1 det-fire
         I'm going to get hot by the fire.


Examples 18-20 demonstrate how the DIRECTIONAL is employed.

Notice that the DIRECTIONAL is indicated by the same NON-

NUCLEAR ROLE case marker as the INSTRUMENTAL. This is not

the case with the LOCATIVE.


(21)     me? Xeyėyp-kn ne-sq'ilye
         me? Xey-ep-kn ne-sq'ilye
         exp hot-res-1 det-sweathouse
         I'm going to get hot in the sweathouse.

(22)     clXemstės re-kůkpi? ne?ėlye ne-Xget'tm?
         c-lX-em-s-t-0-es re-kukpi? ne?elye ne-Xget'tm?
         cust-know-intr-caus-tr-3-3 det-chief here


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det-Dog Creek
        He knows the chief here at Dog Creek.


Examples 21 and 22 demonstrate the LOCATIVE.  It is marked

with the proclitic / ne- /.  It appears that there is a

generalized case marker / te- / that marks PARTICIPANT

ROLES that are PERIPHERAL TO EVENT, of which the LOCATIVE

marker is a more specialized instance.  Later in this study

I demonstrate that the / te- /  marker extends potentially

to roles that are CENTRAL TO EVENT but which are PERIPHRAL

TO PROPOSITION.



1.3    PERSON MARKING


In the previous section I suggested that Shuswap was

configured in such a way that the NUCLEUS of the

PROPOSITION has potentially two NUCLEAR ROLES.  This two

term system is confirmed by Shuswap person marking.

CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION PARTICIPANTS are referenced on the

predicate.  Typically, independent pronominals are only

overtly expressed to provide emphasis.  The subjective

suffixes are given in table 1.

(1)

|      |         |                    |
|------|---------|--------------------|
| 1st  | -en     | -et (inclusive)    |
|      |         | kux (exclusive)    |
| 2nd  | -ex     | -ep                |
| 3rd  | -0-/-es | -0                 |

Examples 2-12 demonstrate how the subjective markers are employed.

(2)     geyéyp-kn
        gey-ep-k-n
        angry-res-encl-1
        I got angry.

(3)     geyép-k pesc'éɬt
        gey-ep-k-ex pesc'eɬt
        angry-res-encl-2 last night
        You got angry last night.

(4)     geyép
        gey-ep-0
        angry-res-3
        He got angry.

(5)     geyép-kp
        gey-ep-k-ep
        angry-res-encl-1plexcl
        We (inclusive) got angry.

(6)     geyép kux
        gey-ep kux
        angry-res excl
        We (exclusive) got angry.

(7)     geyép-kt
        gey-ep-k-et
        angry-res-encl-2pl
        You guys got angry.

(8)     wɬwkten re-péseɬkwe

```
             wik-t-0-en re-peseɫkwe
             see-tr-3-1 det-lake
             I see the lake.

(9)          wiktx re-péseɫkwe
             wik-t-0-ex re-peselkwe
             see-tr-3-2 det-lake
             You see the lake.

(10)         wikc re-péseɫkwe
             wik-t-0-es re-peseɫkwe
             see-tr-3-3 det-lake
             He sees the lake.

(11)         wikc kux re-péseɫkwe
             wik-t-0-es kux re-peseɫkwe
             see-tr-3-3 excl det-lake
             We (exclusive) see the lake.

(12)         wiktp re-péseɫkwe
             wik-t-0-ep re-peseɫkwe
             see-tr-3-2pl det-lake
             You guys see the lake.
```

Examples 2-7 demonstrate subjective person markers in
intransitive clauses; examples 8-12 demonstrate the same
subject markers for transitive clauses.[2]   Third person
subjects behave differently depending on whether they are
in intransitive or transitive constructions; third person
subjects in intransitive clauses are unmarked whereas third
person subjects in transitive clauses are marked with
/ -es /.  No examples are provided for grammatically
transitive constructions with first person plural inclusive
subjects.  This is due to constraints on the agent
hierarchy that prohibit such constructions.  In order to
express this co-occurance of participants the passive is
employed.  Third person plural is generally unmarked

although it can be expressed by reduplication as
demonstrated in 13.

(13)     wikts re-tutuwíwt re-pespéseɫkwe
         wik-t-0-es re-tutuwiwt re-pes-peseɫkwe
         see-tr-3-3 det-pl-boy det-pl-lake
         The boys saw the lakes.

Notice that in example 13 both the EXECUTOR and the
EXPERIENCER are plural and that this is indicated by
reduplication.  The indication of plurality is optional.

The objective markers are given in table 14.

(14)                    Singular        Plural

        1st            -cem-/-cel-      -el- (inclusive)
                                        kux (exclusive)

        2nd               -ci-          -ulm-

        3rd               -0-           -0-

Examples 15-28 demonstrate how the objective suffixes are
employed.

(15)     wíkcen
         wik-t-ci-en
         see-tr-2-1
         I see you.

(16)     wíktelmen
         wik-t-ulm-en
         see-tr-2pl-1

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I see you guys.

(17)  wɪwkten
      wik-t-0-en
      see-tr-3-1
      I see him.

(18)  wɪwkcemx
      wik-t-cem-ex
      see-tr-1-2
      You see me.

(19)  wiktx
      wik-t-0-ex
      see-tr-3-2
      You see him.

(20)  wiktx kux
      wik-t-ex kux
      see-tr-2 1plexcl
      You see us.

(21)  wɪwkcelp
      wik-t-cem-ep
      see-tr-1-2pl
      You guys see me.

(22)  wiktp
      wik-t-0-ep
      see-tr-3-2pl
      You guys see him.

(23)  wiktp kux
      wik-t-ep kux
      see-tr-2pl 1plexcl
      You guys see us (exclusive).

(24)  wɪwkcems
      wik-t-cem-es
      see-tr-1-3
      He sees me.

(25)  wikcs
      wik-t-ci-es
      see-tr-2-3
      He sees you.

(26)  wikc
      wik-t-0-es
      see-tr-3-3
      He sees him.

(27)     wikc kux
         wik-t-es kux
         see-tr-3 1plexcl
         He sees us (exclusive).

(28)     wiktls
         wik-t-el-es
         see-tr-1plincl-3
         He sees us (inclusive).

(29)     wiktlms
         wik-t-ulm-es
         see-tr-2pl-3
         He sees you guys.


As seen in 2.1.2 PARTICIPANTS that are CENTRAL TO

PROPOSITION are marked with the NUCLEAR ROLE case marker.

It is a two term system that does not distinguish NUCLEAR

ROLES.  This is resolved by the person marking suffixes

which reference NUCLEAR ROLES, and distinguish between

them.


2.4     TRANSITIVE MARKING


An additional argument that is available to distinguish

NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS from PERIPHERAL PARTICIPANTS is transitivity

marking.  Grammatically intransitive constructions have one

NUCLEAR PARTICIPANT whereas transitive constructions have two

NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS.  The presence of the suffix / -t- / can be

correlated with transitivity as shown in the following

examples.

(1)     q'ílye re-núXwenuXw
        q'ilye-0 re-nuXwenuXw
        sweatbath-3 det-woman
        The woman is taking a sweatbath.

(2)     nes re-Xpé?e te-skwelk'wélt
        nes-0 re-Xpe?e te-skwelk'welt
        go-3 det-grandfather det-snowmountains
        Grandfather is going to the snowmountains.

(3)     qwelntés re-núXwenuXw re-c'i?
        qwel-n-t-0-es re-nuXwenuXw re-c'i?
        roast-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-woman det-meat
        The woman is roasting the meat.

(4)     sp'entés re-sqélemxw re-kenkéknem
        sp'-n-t-0-es re-sqelemxw re-kenkeknem
        hit-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-man det-blackbear
        The man hit the blackbear.


Examples 1-2 and 3-4 contrast as to the presence of the

/ -t- / marker.  It is absent in examples 1 and 2 which are

intransitive constructions and present in examples 3 and 4

which are transitive constructions.  It therefore is

correlated with transitivity and provides an additional

argument for detecting the presence of two NUCLEAR ROLES.


2.5     SUMMARY


In this chapter I have provided several arguments that are

available to identify the status of PARTICIPANT ROLES in

relation to the centrality or peripherality of the

PROPOSITION.  Word order, case-marking, pronominal marking

and transitive marking are available as evidence to

determine this status.

# FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1.      The approximate English glosses were provided by
Mary Palmantier of Dog Creek.

2.      Several phonological processes intervene to obscure
the surface forms:  the reduction of unstressed
schwa and a cluster reduction of / -k-x / to
/ -k /.  The enclitic / -k- / occurs with first and
second person subjects in intransitive clauses.  It
is possibly an independent marker.

CHAPTER 3


ADVANCEMENTS AND DEMOTIONS IN SHUSWAP


3.0    INTRODUCTION

Several arguments have been presented that can be used to

determine the status of a PARTICIPANT ROLE within the

PROPOSITION.  The behaviour of case marking, person marking

and transitive marking provide evidence that Shuswap has a

two term system of PARTICIPANT ROLES as part of the NUCLEUS

of the PROPOSITION.  The roles that are CENTRAL TO

PROPOSITION may or may not be the same roles that are

CENTRAL TO EVENT.  In this chapter I present several

constructions that demonstrate a change in status between

the EVENT and the PROPOSITION.  Another argument is

introduced that is available as evidence that there is a

change of status of PARTICIPANT ROLES when mapping the

NARRATED EVENT into a PROPOSITION, based on pragmatic

factors.


3.1    ADVANCEMENTS

In this section I discuss the status of inherently

PERIPHERAL TO EVENT ROLES that assume a centrality in relation to the PROPOSITION. Two types of advancement are evident in Shuswap. BENEFACTIVE and RELATIONAL advancement are accompanied by a register of the advancement to a CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION ROLE.

## 3.1.1 BENEFACTIVE ADVANCEMENT

It has been shown that the expression of EVENTS and the PARTICIPANT ROLES inherent to the EVENT are mapped onto PROPOSITIONS. PROPOSITIONS are configured in such a manner as to distinguish between a two term system of roles that are CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION and a set of PARTICIPANTS that are PERIPHERAL TO PROPOSITION. PARTICIPANTS that are semantically and cognitively CENTRAL TO EVENT may be expressed as NUCLEAR ROLES that are central or peripheral to the PROPOSITION. The same change of status is available for PERIPHERAL ROLES. I first present an example of a construction in which there is no change in status between the ᴇVENT and the PROPOSITION.


(1)     k'úlens re-stúkcen
        k'ul-n-t-0-es re-stukcen
        make-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-dipnet
        He made the dipnet.


In example 1 the EVENT is the act of making a particular

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object; the EVENT has the PARTICIPANTS of EXECUTOR, the
person that performed the act of making, and EXPERIENCER,
that which was made. It is assumed that example 1
expresses a PROPOSITION that would be an appropriate
response to the question "What did he do?" and that the
PARTICIPANTS that are being expressed as CENTRAL TO
PROPOSITION are the same PARTICIPANTS that are CENTRAL TO
EVENT. The predicate has transitive marking and the
PARTICIPANTS are a third person pronominal EXECUTOR and a
third person EXPERIENCER. Both PARTICIPANTS are marked on
the predicate. Overt pronominals are only expressed in
Shuswap to provide emphasis, whereas nominals are typically
expressed. The EXPERIENCER, 'the dipnet' is expressed and
is marked with the NUCLEAR ROLE case marker. The next
example introduces a third PARTICIPANT into the EVENT.


(2)     k'ulxc te-stúkcen
        k'ul-xi-t-0-es te-stukcen
        make-ben-tr-3-3 det-dipnet
        He made for him a dipnet.


In example 2 the EVENT is the same as in example 1 with the
exception that it has an additional PARTICIPANT, that of
the BENEFACTIVE. However the PROPOSITION is not the same.
Notice that the EXPERIENCER, 'the dipnet', is not case-
marked for the status of NUCLEAR ROLE; it is preceded by
the NON-NUCLEAR ROLE case marker. The EXECUTOR and the

BENEFACTOR are both pronominals. Because independent
pronominals are only used for emphasis, in the above
examples it is not possible to determine the status of the
BENEFACTOR. Example 3 however provides evidence that the
BENEFACTOR has advanced to the status of CENTRAL TO
PROPOSITION.


(3)    m-stèt?excms te-XwuXw?ú?s
       m-ste?-xi-cem-es te-XwuXw?u?s
       compl-drink-ben-1-3 det-beer
       She drank for me the beer.


In example 3 the EVENT is the act of drinking and has
the inherent PARTICIPANTS of EXECUTOR, the person doing the
drinking, and EXPERIENCER, that which was drank, in this
example the beer. Additionally there is a BENEFACTOR. The
EXECUTOR is a third person pronominal and is therefore not
expressed; the EXPERIENCER, the beer is marked with the
NON-NUCLEAR ROLE case marker showing that it has changed
its status to PERIPHERAL TO PROPOSITION. Crucially the
BENEFACTOR is a first person pronominal and is marked on
the predicate of the construction. Only CENTRAL TO
PROPOSITION PARTICIPANTS are referenced on the predicate so
that the BENEFACTOR has advanced from a peripheral relation
to the EVENT to a central relation to the PROPOSITION. The
suffix / -xi- / is a register of BENEFACTIVE advancement.

Perhaps the term BENEFACTIVE is not entirely appropriate.

It is quite easy to get a malefactive interpretation from

example 3 that could be glossed as 'She drank the beer on

me.'[1]   I provide additional examples of the BENEFACTIVE.


(4)     tuwɬwt cúcn?emxcems te-qweɬwált
        tuwiwt cun?-em-xi-t-cem-es te-qweɬwalt
        boy show-intr-ben-tr-1-3 det-cave
        The boy was who showed me the cave.

(5)     xwɬc'xte le-?Xpé?e te-sqlélten
        xwic'-xi-t-e le-?-Xpe?e te-sqlelten
        show-ben-tr-imp det-2poss-grandfather det-salmon
        Go show your grandfather the salmon.

(6)     ɬiɬgwxtn tek-stúkcens
        ɬiɬgw-xi-t-0-en tek-stukcen-s
        lose-ben-tr-3-1 det-dipnet-3poss
        I lost on him his dipnet.


Examples 4-6 are all consistent.  The EXECUTOR and the

BENEFACTIVE are referenced on the predicate which is

registered with the advancement marker / -xi- /.  The

EXPERIENCER is case-marked with the NON-NUCLEAR ROLE case

marker / te- / which is evidence that it has had a change

of status to the  periphery of the PROPOSITION.   This type

of construction is productive in Shuswap.


3.1.2   RELATIONAL ADVANCEMENT


There is a second set of constructions that parallel the

advancement of the BENEFACTIVE to the NUCLEUS of the

PROPOSITION. In the following examples there is no change
of status of the PARTICIPANTS between their status in the
EVENT and their status in the PROPOSITION.

(1)     m–nes te–skwelk'wɛlt
        m–nes–0 te–skwelk'welt
        compl–go–3 det–snowmountains
        He is going to the snowmountains.

(2)     qwenɛn re–scmɛmelt t'k–pwumɛke?
        qwen–0 re–scmemelt t'k–pwumeke?
        want–3 det–children det–drum
        The children want a drum.

(3)     xwɪselx–nke te–xtumɛɫxw
        xwis–ilx–0–nke te–xtumeɫxw
        run–aut–3–evid det–store
        He ran towards the store.


Examples 1–3 are all Intransitive constructions with the
EVENT taking either an EXECUTOR, as in the activities of
'going' or 'running', or an EXPERIENCER in the case of
'wanting'. The predicate is referenced with a member of
the set of subject markers. In all three examples the
marker is / –0– / which is typical of third person subjects
in intransitive constructions. Nominals that are either
EXECUTORS or EXPERIENCERS are marked with a member of the
set of NUCLEAR ROLE case markers, as in example 2.
Finally, those roles that are PERIPHERAL TO EVENT are
marked with the NON–NUCLEAR ROLE case marker. In these
examples they have the role of either DIRECTION or GOAL.
It is assumed that the status of the roles in relation to
the EVENT is the same as their role in relation to the

PROPOSITION. Examples 4-6 express the same EVENTS; however

they differ in the PROPOSITIONAL status of the PARTICIPANT

ROLES.


(4)     nėsmins re-nůXwenuXw
        nes-min-n-t-0-es re-nuXwenuXw
        go-rel-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-woman
        He went towards the woman.

(5)     qwenmǐns re-snewt ke-ckwǐnek
        qwen-min-n-t-0-es re-snewt ke-ckwinek
        want-rel-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-snewt det-bow
        Snewt wants a bow.

(6)     xwǐslxmens re-nc'e?sqėXe?
        xwis-ilx-min-n-t-0-es re-nc'e?sqeXe?
        run-aut-rel-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-horse
        He ran after the horse.


Formally, examples 4-6 are grammatically Transitive

constructions; they are all marked with the / -t- / suffix

that references Transitive constructions. They parallel

examples 1-3. The PARTICIPANTS that are marked as

DIRECTIONALS or GOALS in 1-3, and which have NON-NUCLEAR

ROLE case marking, now have NUCLEAR ROLE case marking, and

show a more central involvement of the GOAL in the

PROPOSITION. They are now CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION and are

accompanied by the marker / -min- / which precedes the

transitive marker. The form / -min- / is a register of
                            2
RELATIONAL advancement. Examples 7-9 demonstrate further

uses of this form.


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(7)     t-sìxwmens re-XweXw?ú?s ne-łéqwlexw
        t-sixw-min-t-0-es re-XweXw?u?s ne-łeqwlexw
        sup-pour-rel-tr-3-3 det-beer det-ground
        He spilled the beer on the ground.

(8)     ceq'mìns re-seq'wmìn?
        ceq'-min-t-0-es re-seq'wmin?
        throw-rel-tr-3-3 det-knife
        He threw the knife.

(9)     geyepmìns re-scmèmelt
        gey-ep-min-t-0-es re-scmemelt
        angry-res-rel-tr-3-3 det-children
        He got angry at the children.


The advancement of EVENT PERIPHERAL ROLES to CENTRAL TO

PROPOSITION status is registered with the marker / -min- /.

This analysis is supported by several arguments;

constructions of this type are systematically marked as

transitive with the / -t- / marker.  Secondly the

PERIPHERAL TO EVENT PARTICIPANTS are marked with the

NUCLEAR ROLE case marker.  Finally the PERIPHERAL TO EVENT

PARTICIPANTS are referenced on the predicate.

Constructions of this type  show a great flexibility in

providing contextual information, as demonstrated in

examples 10 and 11.


(10)    m-sìxwens re-sèwłkwe
        m-sixw-n-t-0-es re-sewłlkwe
        compl-spill-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-water
        He spilled the water.

(11)    m-sìxwmens re-sèwłkwe
        m-sixw-mi-n-t-0-es re-sewllkwe
        compl-spill-rel-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-water
        He accidently spilled the water.

The contextual circumstances that provide an appropriate

background to the utterances demonstrated in 10 and 11 are
                                       3
very complex and interesting.

## 3.2    DEMOTIONS

In the last section it was demonstrated that  PERIPHERAL TO

EVENT ROLES can, under the appropriate contextual

conditions, advance and become CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION.

This section presents passive and antipassive constructions

in which CENTRAL TO EVENT ROLES are demoted to PERIPHERAL

TO PROPOSITION status.

### 3.2.1   PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Passive constructions are used productively in Shuswap.

They are often employed to maintain the centrality of focus

in discourse.  The passive is also used where there is a

prohibition against first person plural inclusive forms

occuring in transitive constructions.  Grammatically, a

passive construction is intransitive, an EVENT type that

takes a single NUCLEAR ROLE PARTICIPANT.  The PARTICIPANT

of EXPERIENCER in transitive clauses, is accorded full

status in the PROPOSITION with a concomitant demotion of

the EXECUTOR, to the periphery of the PROPOSITION. The

object is referenced on the predicate which is then

intransitivized. Active and passive pairs are demonstrated

in examples 1-5.


(1)     Xgélemx XweXweystés re-sc'ipeq
        Xgelemx Xwe-Xwey-s-t-0-es re-sc'ipeq
        fox red-love-caus-tr-3-3 det-skunk
        Fox is who loves skunk.

(2)     XweXweystém re-Xgélemx te-sc'ipeq
        Xwe-Xwey-s-t-em-0 re-Xgelemx te-sc'ipeq
        red-love-caus-tr-intr-3 det-fox det-skunk
        Fox is being loved by skunk.

(3)     kúkpi? XweXweystés re-núXwenuXw
        kukpi? Xwe-Xwey-s-t-0-es re-nuXwenuXw
        chief red-like-caus-tr-3-3 det-woman
        The chief is who is praising the woman.

(4)     XweXweystém re-núXwenuXw te-kúkpi?
        Xwe-Xwey-s-t-em-0 re-nuXwenuXw te-kukpi?
        red-like-caus-tr-intr-3 det-woman det-chief
        The woman was being praised by the chief.

(5)     XweXweystém te-kúkpi? re-núXwenuXw
        Xwe-Xwey-s-t-em-0 te-kukpi? re-nuXwenuXw
        red-like-caus-tr-intr-3 det-chief det-woman
        The woman was being praised by the chief.


Examples 1 and 3 are active constructions. The

corresponding passive forms are demonstrated in examples 2

and 4. In the passive forms the PARTICIPANT of EXECUTOR is

now moved to the periphery of the PROPOSITION. The

construction is grammatically intransitive; it is

intransitivized by the marker / -em- /. Furthermore there

is only one person referenced on the predicate. Finally

the EXECUTOR is case-marked with a NON-NUCLEAR ROLE case

marker. Example 5 demonstrates that the contextual

readings of these constructions can be quite subtle. In

the following examples I provide several passive

constructions to show that the object is referenced on the

predicate and that the predicate is intransitive.


(8)     wɬwkcelm te-pesXèXnem
        wik-t-cem-em te-pesXeXnem
        see-tr-1-intr det-Chilcotin Indian
        I was seen by the Chilcotin Indian.

(9)     wɬktem kux te-pesXèXnem
        wik-t-0-em kux te-pesXeXnem
        see-tr-3-intr excl det-Chilcotin Indian
        We were seen by the Chilcotin Indian.


Example 8 demonstrates the passive equivalent of an active
                                                    5
construction with a first person EXPERIENCER. Example 9

is a passive construction with a first person plural

EXPERIENCER for which there is no corresponding active

equivalent.


The passive, then, provides a strategy by which under

certain grammatical and contextual conditions the EXECUTOR

is see as PERIPHERAL TO PROPOSITION, with the EXPERIENCER

assuming the sole NUCLEAR ROLE in an intransitive

construction.


3.2.2   ANTIPASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Passive constructions are derived intransitive

constructions that result in an EXPERIENCER  being accorded

the sole responsibility of NUCLEAR ROLE whereas the

EXECUTOR assumes a PERIPHERAL ROLE in the PROPOSITION.  In

Antipassive constructions it is the EXPERIENCER that

becomes PERIPHERAL to the PROPOSITION.  I demonstrate the

Antipassive and their correlative Active constructions.


(1)     ísweł wikc re-steqt'èq
        iswel wik-t-0-es re-steqt'eq
        iswel see-tr-3-3 det-blanket
        Iswel sees the blanket.

(2)     ísweł wíkem te-steqt'èq
        iswel wik-em-0 te-steqt'eq
        iswel see-intr-3 det-blanket
        Iswel sees a blanket.

(3)     k'úlens re-mexèxye?
        k'ul-n-t-0-es re-mexexye?
        make-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-basket
        She made the basket.

(4)     me? k'úlem-ekwe tek-mexèxye?
        me? k'ul-em-0-ekwe tek-mexexye?
        exp make-intr-3-rep det-basket
        She's going to make a basket.

(5)     meł m-Xwentès re-sqlèlten
        meł m-Xwe-n-t-0-es re-sqlelten
        already compl-dry-fctrl-tr-3-3 det-salmon
        She already dried the salmon.

(6)     ex re-Xwúmes te-sqlèlten
        ex re-Xwe-em-w-es te-sqlelten
        be det-dry-intr-dep-3 det-salmon
        She is drying salmon.

Examples 1, 3 and 5 demonstrate Active constructions in
which the EVENT has the PARTICIPANTS of EXECUTOR and
EXPERIENCER. Both the EXECUTOR and the EXPERIENCER are
encoded as CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION; they are referenced on
the predicate and are case-marked with the NUCLEAR ROLE
case marker. Examples 2, 4 and 6 demonstrate the
equivalent Antipassive constructions. The NARRATED EVENT
is exactly the same; however a different PROPOSITION is
being stated. The EXECUTOR is marked with the NUCLEAR
ROLE case marker and is referenced on the predicate: it is
CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION. The EXPERIENCER however is no
longer CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION, it has assumed a PERIPHERAL
ROLE. For example, the Antipassive construction in example
4 has an EVENT, the making of a basket which has the
PARTICIPANTS of EXECUTOR, the pronominal form 'she' and
EXPERIENCER, the basket. However the basket is not encoded
as CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION. The predicate is marked with
the intransitive suffix / -em- / and references only the
EXECUTOR. The EXPERIENCER is marked with the NON-NUCLEAR
ROLE case marker which is consistent with PERIPHERAL ROLES.
This utterance would be appropriate when the EVENT is the
salient feature, stressing the activity of 'making',
whereas the actual thing that is being made is PERIPHERAL.
Perhaps the gloss, 'She is basket-making' more
appropriately captures the sense of this construction. The
Antipassive construction then is yet another way of

stressing how PARTICIPANTS can assume a central or peripheral responsibility within the PROPOSITION depending on the contextual situation.

3.3     SUMMARY

In this chapter I have demonstrated several types of constructions in which there is a change of status of EVENT PARTICIPANT ROLES in relation to the PROPOSITION. PERIPHERAL TO EVENT PARTICIPANTS may under the appropriate contextal conditions assume a CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION status.  This is termed advancement.  Evidence that a PERIPHERAL TO EVENT PARTICIPANT is now behaving as CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION is available from several sources:  the role is now case-marked with the NUCLEAR ROLE case-marker; it is also referenced by person marking and transitive marking. Two types of advancement were demonstrated: BENEFACTIVE and RELATIONAL.  BENEFACTIVE and RELATIONAL advancement have a register on the pre⸽ ⸽ate that can be correlated with the CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION advancement of a PERIPHERAL TO EVENT PARTICIPANT.

As opposed to advancement, there are CENTRAL TO EVENT ROLES that are demoted to the periphery of the PROPOSITION.  This is demonstrated in passive and antipassive constructions.

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In the passive, a grammatically transitive construction with an EXECUTOR and an EXPERIENCER is intransitivized. The EXPERIENCER assumes the only CENTRAL TO PROPOSTION ROLE, whereas the EXECUTOR is demoted to the periphery of the PROPOSITION. The Antipassive is also a derived construction that results from a Transitive construction becoming intransitive. In this case it is the EXPERIENCER that is demoted and accorded peripheral status in the PROPOSITION.

1.  Carlson (1980) has identified a malefactive
    marker in Spokane.

2.  The form / -mi- / has a suggestive resemblance
    to the instrumental suffix / -min?- / such as in
    the following forms:  / swelmín?k / 'rifle' and
    / suq'wmín / 'knife'.

3.  Thompson (1979) and Saunders and Davis (1982) have
    written important papers on the category of
    control in Salish.  Examples 10 and 11 have
    glosses that suggest that control is involved.
    Shuswap has fairly clear examples of full control
    indicated by the marker / -n- / and limited
    control indicated by the marker / -nwen?- / with
    an intransitive form / -nwelln- /.  In closely
    related Interior Salish languages there is also
    the category of no control or out of control.
    This is formed by the strategy of reduplication.
    See Carlson and Thompson (1981).  Kuipers (1974)
    p. 138 has the following example:

             pepén     'He found (something)'.

    This reduplicated form may be an example of an
    out of control expression.  It contrasts with:

             penmíns   'He found it.'

    ᵼn which the EXPERIENCER is more directly involved
    in the action.

4.  It is possible to have two advancement registers
    on the predicate.  When this is the case the
    RELATIONAL precedes the BENEFACTIVE.  Kuipers
    (1974) p. 159 provides the following example:

             tw?kemíxc 'He sells it to somebody.'

    Unfortunately the expression does not have
    overt nominals so that the relative status of
    RELATIONAL and the BENEFACTIVE can be assessed.
    A hypothesis based on the order of the forms might

suggest that first the RELATIONAL advances and that it is then demoted when the BENEFACTIVE advances.

5.      / -cem- / dissimilates before bilabials.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This study is a contribution to the description of Shuswap.
It adds to the research of Gibson (1973) and Kuipers (1974)
and indicates some possible directions for a pragmatic
study of the language.

It is argued that the notions of centrality and
peripherality are important concepts in the expression of
PROPOSITIONS in the Shuswap language. A ranked scale of
PARTICIPANTS is proposed that indicates the degree of
integration of the PARTICIPANTS in the EVENT. Several
constructions are exemplified that demonstrate the change
in status of PARTICIPANTS from CENTRAL TO EVENT to
PERIPHERAL TO PROPOSITION or from PERIPHERAL TO EVENT to
CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION. The distribution of case marking
proclitics and person marking on the predicate are
available as evidence of the change of status of
PARTICIPANTS. Two types of advancement are shown:
BENEFACTIVE and RELATIONAL advancement. These
types of advancement are accompanied by a register of the
CENTRAL TO PROPOSITION status of a PERIPHERAL TO EVENT
PARTICIPANT. Also, there are constructions in which a

CENTRAL TO EVENT PARTICIPANT is demoted to PERIPHERAL TO

PROPOSITION status.  This is exemplified by PASSIVE and

ANTIPASSIVE constructions.

The study contributes to an understanding of the pragmatics

that operate in the expression of PROPOSITIONS in the Shuswap

language.

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