Two-Goal Transitive Stems in Spokane

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Introduction

This paper will examine the difference between two special transitive stem types in Spokane. Both of these stems form words that indicate an actor and two goals, one direct, and one indirect. The paper will show that the distribution of syntactic markers associated with adjuncts is different for the two stem types, and that this difference reflects a change in goal focus.

Adjuncts and Predicates

Every Spokane word has potential predicative force, and so can stand alone as a complete utterance. The predicate as clause head may be followed by words which add information relating to the predicate. These are called adjuncts. Some examples follow.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Pred.} & \textbf{Adj.} \\
\text{K'il.} & 'It's red.' \\
\text{sqelix}. & 'He's a man/Indian.' \\
\text{čen?ülx}. & 'I went inside.' \\
\text{xémt.} & 'It's heavy.' \\
\text{swi?númti iu? soma?émt}. & 'The woman is pretty.' \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
"Coyote got a wife.'

Pred. Adj.
he-got-a-wife Coyote

he-looked across top

"He looked across to the top of

Adj. the mountain.'

Words

At the heart of every Spokane word is a base.
The base is either a root morpheme (usually CVC(C))
or a root extended by one or more lexical suffixes
1 (LS). The two types of bases are labelled short bases
(SB) and long bases (LB). Bases are often complete
words, but may be expanded by grammatical affixes:
prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Some examples follow.

Bases are underlined.

qe?-x'uy. 'We went/left.'

we-went
Intransitive and transitive words

Both intransitive and transitive words may be recognized in Spokane. Intransitive words occur with the set of intransitive subject markers.

\[ \text{čən- I} \quad \text{qeʔ- we} \]
\[ \text{kʷ- you} \quad \text{p- you (pl.)} \]

Third person is not overtly marked. An infixed glottal stop (ʔʔ-), inserted directly after the stressed vowel in a word, serves to pluralize third person. Some examples follow. Subject markers are underlined.

\[ \text{čənʔahʔʔ�. 'I coughed.'} \]
\[ \text{ʔaχʷʔt. 'He went downriver.'} \]
\[ \text{ʔaʔχʷʔt. 'They went downriver.'} \]
\[ \text{qeʔxʷʔy. 'We went/left.'} \]
\[ \text{kʷsqélixʷ. 'You are an Indian.'} \]
ppxpåxt. 'You folks are smart/wise.'

Transitive suffixes are added to a base to create a transitive stem. Transitive words are formed from transitive stems by the addition of the transitive set of person markers. The framework is as follows.

\[
\text{PERSON MARKERS} + \text{BASE} + \text{TRANSITIVE} + \text{PERSON MARKERS SUFFIXES}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Actor} & : -en, \text{ I } \quad \text{qe?} : -em, \text{} -t \text{} \text{we} \\
\text{Goal} & : -exw, \text{} \text{you} \quad -ep, \text{} -t \text{} \text{you (pl.)} \\
\text{es} & : \text{he/she/it}
\end{align*}
\]

The person markers are given below.

Actor

- en I
- exw you
- es he/she/it

Third person plural may be optionally indicated by -? - 'plural'. This infix is inserted directly after the (one) primary stressed vowel in a word. The stressed vowel may be in a root or suffix.
Goal

\[ k^\text{w}_u - \text{me} \quad qe? - 1 \text{us} \]
\[ -\text{si} \quad \text{you} \quad -m \quad \text{you (pl.)} \]

Third person is not overtly marked. Third person plural may be optionally indicated by distributive reduplication of the root morpheme. Following are some examples of transitive words. All are with short bases. Transitive suffixes are underlined.

\[ \text{p}k^w - \text{en} \]
I piled it/them up in one place.

pile-transitive-I

\[ p^\text{ul} - \text{s-t-xw} \]
You killed him.

kill-transitive-you

\[ qe? - q^\text{w}s - \text{en-t-}\text{ém} \]
We covered it with screen/lace.

we-lacy-transitive-we

\[ \text{t}a\text{p}^\text{d}n\text{c} \text{s} / \text{tap-n-t-si-es/} \]
He shot you.

shoot-transitive-you-he

\[ k^\text{w}_u - \text{sp-t-ép} \]
You folks beat me.

me-beat-transitive-you (pl.)

The inventory of transitive suffixes

There are two orders. First, after a base comes one of a set of four (4) suffixes: -n-, -s-, -t-, -sì-. Second, comes the suffix -t-, which may generally be glossed as 'transitive'.


The suffixes -i- and -ši- precede -t- to form the two types of transitive stems which are the central concern of this paper. These are two-goal stems. The suffixes -n- and -s- form one-goal stems. Certain bases always occur with -n- to form one-goal stems; others take -s-. However, there seems to be no semantic distinction between the two classes of bases thus formed. For labelling purposes I have called -s- 'causative' and -n- 'control'. Some examples of the 'control' and 'causative' transitive stems follow. Bases are underlined and glossed separately.

\_\_\_amx\_n-t-én. 'I shaved it.'

shave

\_\_\_nc-n-t-én. 'I laid them side by side.'

overlapped/side-by-side

\_\_\_nic\_n-t-x'. 'You cut it.'

cut

\_\_\_púl-s-t-én. 'I killed him.'

kill

\_\_\_\_axi\_s-t-én. 'I did it that way.'

do a certain way

\_\_\_\_\_emūt-s-t-én. 'I left him at home.'

sit
Adjuncts with one-goal stems

Adjuncts which indicate goal and actor follow the transitive word.

\[ \text{tapontés } \text{́} \text{u} \text{? } \text{xx} \text{́} \text{ácin } \text{́} \text{u} \text{? } \text{t } \text{sqélix} \text{́} \text{́}. \]

Pred. Goal Actor

he-shot-it Art. dog Art. t Indian

The Indian shot the dog.'

Normally, actor follows goal. The general adjunct marking particle (article) \text{́} \text{u} \text{?} usually precedes them both. The particle \text{t} marks the actor. \text{t} also marks adjuncts that translate as instruments, as in the following sentence.

\[ \text{spontén } \text{́} \text{u} \text{? } \text{xx} \text{́} \text{ácin } \text{́} \text{u} \text{? } \text{t } \text{lúk} \text{́} \text{́}. \]

Pred. Goal Instr.

I-Beat-It Art. dog Art. t stick

'I beat the dog with a stick.'

If there is a goal adjunct and both instrument and actor adjuncts, either the actor or instrument is positioned in front of the predicate, and linked to it by the conjunctive particle \text{́} \text{́} 'and'.
'The Indian shot the dog with a bow and arrow.'

It seems reasonable to consider an oblique ("case") marker. This would mean that in transitive sentences like these the goal (unmarked) is primary and other information is secondary and specially marked.

Two goal stems (Base+-i+-t- and Base+-ši+-t-)

The word ?uliten //wil-i-t-en// (wil 'burn') 'I burned it for him' displays a two-goal stem. The corresponding one-goal stem would be ?ulonten !I burned him/her/it. With -ši- instead of -i- the word would be ?ulšitən //wil-ši-t-en// 'I started the fire for him.' The examples have the first person actor //en// 'I' and third person (not overtly marked) goals. 4

It would be difficult to determine the basic difference between the two types of stems by studying them only when they occur as isolated predicates, without adjuncts. Often, transitive words built on these
two stems translate identically.

\[
\text{k'u\text{\textl{l}st\text{\textl}n}. 'I did/made it for him.' (k'u 'make/do)  
k'u\text{\textl{li}t\text{\textl}n. 'I did/made it for him.'  
\]

(The corresponding one-goal transitive is k'u\text{\textl{lo}n  
//k'u\text{\textl{l}{\textl{n}-t-en// 'I made/did it.)  

or:

\[
x\text{\textl{l}st\text{\textl}n. 'I gave it to him.'  
x\text{\textl{l}t\text{\textl}n. 'I gave it to him.'  
\]

(No one-goal transitive is possible with x\text{\textl{i}c 'give'.)  

However, when adjuncts are added to fully specify the  
goals, the difference between the two types becomes  
clearer.

1. k'u\text{\textl{l}st\text{\textl}n  iu? Agnes  iu?  t y\text{\textl{a}m\text{\textl{x}e?).  

\text{Pred.}  \text{Adj.}  \text{Adj.}  
\text{I-made-it-for-her}  \text{Art.}  \text{Agnes}  \text{Art t (oblique) basket}  
'I made a basket for Agnes.'  

2. k'u\text{\textl{l}t\text{\textl}n  iu? y\text{\textl{a}m\text{\textl{x}e?  iu?  x\text{\textl{w}l Agnes.  

\text{Pred.}  \text{Adj.}  \text{Adj.}  
\text{I-made-it-for-her}  \text{Art.}  \text{basket}  \text{Art.}  \text{for Agnes}  
'I made a basket for Agnes.'  

3. x\text{\textl{l}st\text{\textl}n  iu? Agnes  iu?  t y\text{\textl{a}m\text{\textl{x}e?.  

\text{Pred.}  \text{Adj.}  \text{Adj.}  
\text{I-gave-it-to-her}  \text{Art.}  \text{Agnes}  \text{Art.}  \text{oblique basket}  
'I gave a basket to Agnes.'  

If in each sentence, the least (syntactically) marked adjunct is considered the direct goal (DG) and the other the indirect goal (IG) then Agnes is direct with the -și- stems, but yámxe? is direct with the -i- stems. t 'oblique' marks the indirect goal for the -și- stem and xʷǝl 'relative to/ by/ for' and č 'to' mark the indirect goals for the -i- stems. There is clearly a difference in goal focus in these sentences. However, the examples do not explain the function of this difference.

Usage

Only very general statements regarding usage can be made. The usefullness of the distinction between the two stems is clearer in some semantic situations than in others. The two-goal stem based on ?išen 'eat' appears in the following sentences.

5. ?išeten ċu? Albert ċu? č sqeqtč

Pred. DG IG
I-ate-him-it Art. Albert Art. oblique meat
'I ate some meat for Albert.'
   Pred.        DG
   I-ate-it-him Art. Albert his-meat (-s 'his')
   'I ate Albert's meat.'

   The native speaker who generated the material used in this paper describes the situation in the first sentence as follows. "Albert couldn't eat, so I ate for him (in place of him)." In the other sentence (6) something belonging to someone else is eaten. Here the (underlying) indirect goal is still Albert, but he appears in the possessive construction which serves as the direct goal. A translation for the predicate alone might be 'I ate something of his'.

   Stems in -i- are often followed by a possessive construction as direct goal.

7. ḳwosštōn ḳu? Albert ḳhččis.
   Pred.        DG
   I-lost-it-him Art. Albert his-dog
   I lost Albert's dog.'

   A sentence with *ḳwosštōn is unacceptable to a native speaker because, "It sounds like you'd be losing something for someone on purpose." Stems in -ši- never describe an activity detrimental to the direct goal. But -i- stems can describe non-beneficial activity applying to the indirect goal.
The -i- stem based on ?axon 'do a certain way' (one-goal ?axiston. 'I did it a certain way.') is used only to refer to adulterous sexual activity, as demonstrated by the following sentence.


Pred. DG
I-did-her-him Art. Albert his-wife
'I had sexual intercourse with Albert's wife.'

There is a direct goal—the wife, and someone else is involved—Albert (the underlying indirect goal). A -?i- stem here is not acceptable because the situation is not viewed as beneficial to Albert.

It seems then, that -?i- stems are used to indicate that the actor of a transitive predication is in some sense substituting for, or doing for the benefit of someone (or perhaps just something animate). When present as an adjunct, this someone is the direct goal (or direct concern). The other goal is indirect and marked by t 'oblique'. Stems in -i- are used to indicate two goals, but it is not the case that the actor substitutes for or necessarily does something beneficial for one of them.
The difference between sentences 1. and 2. thus becomes clearer. In 1. someone makes a basket for the benefit of Agnes, maybe because she can't do it herself. In 2. a basket is made and Agnes is the recipient. In 3. and 4. a similar distinction can probably be made.

A few more examples will suffice to emphasize how benefactive/substitutive activity is basic to -ši-stems. Two-goal stems based on mus 'to feel (as with the hands, for example)' are shown in the following sentences.

   Pred. DG I-felt-it-him Art. Albert his-stove
   'I felt Albert's stove.'
    Pred. DG I-felt-him-it Art. Albert
    'I felt around for Albert.'

In 9. the situation is described by a native speaker as follows. "I felt Albert's stove to see if it was hot." In 8. "Albert dropped something and I felt around (like on the floor) to find it for him."

(Distributive reduplication of the root in 10. gives the sense of 'feeling around'.)
Another type of feeling is expressed by enewe 'feel/sense'. It is possible to have a -r- stem with this base.


Pred.   DG
I-felt-it-him Art. Albert his-heart
'I felt Albert's heart.' ('to see if it was beating')

A -r- stem is felt to be unacceptable, because, "You can't feel (sense) for someone else."

Conclusion

The suffix -r- can be glossed 'benefactive/substitutive'. The suffix -r- is glossed (somewhat uncomfortably) 'relative', because it builds a stem with two goals (one direct, the other indirect) that relate to each other somehow in the predication. In the examples available, with -r- stems it is always a person who is indirectly involved in a transitive situation. For example, as beneficiary (give X to Y, as in sentence 4.), or possessor (feel X of Y, as in sentence 9.), or informant (sewiten 'I asked about that [X] of him [Y]), or source (k'wililītén 'I borrowed it [X] from him [Y]).
When more is understood of Spokane syntax it may be possible to describe both suffixes in a more formal way. Perhaps also, comparison with cognate suffixes in other Salishan languages will explain their function in Spokane more clearly.
FOOTNOTES

1
A small number of grammatical suffixes may intervene between a root and following lexical suffix.

2
When the suffixed person markers are not stressed they lose their underlying vowels. A number of other morphophonemic alternations may then occur. Rules involving stress placement and vowel reduction/retention are complex. For a discussion see The N shift in Spokane Salishan, Carlson, IJAL (In Press).

3
-ši- has two allomorphs: -x- unstressed and -ši- stressed.

4
?ulšcin //wil-š-t-ši-en// 'I burned it for you' (-ši- 'you' sg.) and ?ulšcin //wil-š-t-ši-en// 'I started the fire for you' show two-goal stems with overt goal markers. Since there is only one set of goal markers it is never possible to have more than one non-third person goal.