CAUSATION AND CONTROL IN SECHELT

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1. Introduction.

Among the transitivizers in Sechelt are two frequently occurring derivational suffixes, -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- , both of which have related forms in other Salishan languages. -stəx^{w}- is clearly a causative suffix, but -nəx^{w}- , which has usually been discussed in terms of its opposition to the most productive transitivizer -(V)t-, is described variously as possessing the meanings "non-purpose", "non-volition", "non-intent", "lack of control", etc.[1] The purpose of this paper is to suggest a more satisfactory description of the function of -nəx^{w}- by demonstrating that - at least in Sechelt - both -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- can be brought under the rubric of "causative".

2. Examples of -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- .

The following list of Sechelt sentences is intended to illustrate semantic contrasts between -stəx^{w}- , -nəx^{w}- and -(V)t- , and between them and other verb-forms. To the right of each sentence is the free translation either approved or offered by my informant.[2] Additional comments made by the informant are enclosed in parentheses. Glosses relevant to this analysis are entered beneath the Sechelt sentences.[3] Frequently recurring

items are not repeated.

(1) a. cú - čən yu.
go I home
I'm going home.

b. cú - stx^{w} 4 - čən tə s?iltən.
caus. the food
I'm taking the food (somewhere).

c. cú - stu - mi - čən - sk^{w}a.
caus. you fut.
I'm taking you/ I'm going to make you go.

d. cú - stx^{w} - čən - sk^{w}a łən ?imac.
my granddaughter
I'll send my granddaughter.

e. cú - stx^{w} - la!
imper.
Go ahead! ("Say it, sing it")

f. t'i cú ?imaš tə st'ə́mt'əm.
fact walk wren
The wren went walking....

g. xáxa tə x^{w}álitən ; ?ə́?imaš - stx^{w} tə q'^{w}áx^{w}a !
holy white man walking box
The white men are holy; they make the box walk! (referring to the automobile)

(2) a. ?íltən - stx^{w} - čən - sk^{w}a.
I'll feed him / I'll make him eat (it) / I'll give him something to eat.

b. t'i q^{w}ə́ƛ̓ - uɬtx^{w} - stx^{w} - as — He brought the man in (e.g. "in the house").
come inside he

čə stúmiš.
man

c. tí - stx^{w} - čən! — It's (too) big for me!
big

d. húy - stx^{w} - la! — That's enough!
finish

e. t'í - čx^{w} ẋ́ətas - stu - mš - — You treated me like a dog!
you same me

ax^{w} ʔə šə sc'ə́nu!
you prep. a dog

f. ku yáyəƛ̓ - stu - m ʔə šə — Some rats ran away with my bread.
invis. run(pl.) passive

sk'^{w}ák'^{w}x^{w}ə min čən sápəlin.
rat bread

(3) a. t'í - čən sə́p' - t - an. — I slapped him.
slap trans. I

b. t'í - čən sə́p' - nə́x^{w} - an. — I managed to slap him.
trans.

c. t'i sə́p' - t - cál - əm. — I'm hit ("on purpose").
I passive

d. t'i sə́p' - nu - mál - əm. — I'm hit ("accidentally").
trans. I

e. t'í - čən sə́p' - t - cut. — I hit myself ("on purpose").
refl.

f. t'í - čən sə́p' - nu - mut. — I hit myself ("accidentally").
refl.

g. sə́sap' - at - awəł - uł - — Were you slapping each other?
hit(pl.) trans. recip. past

a - čálap?
interr. you (pl.)

(4) a. pə́ləm - at- čən - sk^{w}a tə — I'm going to drop the dish.
drop

q'^{w}ə́łt.
dish

b. t'í - čən pə́ləm - nə́x^{w} - — I dropped the dish.

an tə q'^{w}ə́łt.

(5) a. t'i k'^{w}ə́ɬ čə s?íwuc. — The water spilled.
spill(itr.) water

b. t'í - čən k'^{w}ə́ɬ - áš - an — I spilled the water ("on purpose").
trans.

čə s?íwuc.

c. t'í - čən k'^{w}ə́ɬ - nə́x^{w} - an — I spilled my water ("accidentally").

čən s?íwuc.

(6) a. qánam - it - a - čx^{w} ɬən — Do/did you hear my mother singing? ("listening to her")
listen trans. my

tán t'ít'ilim?
singing

b. qánam - nə́x^{w} - a- čx^{w} ɬən — Do/did you (manage to, happen to) hear my mother singing?

tán t'ít'ilim?

c. t'í - čən qánam - nə́x^{w} - an. — I overheard it.

d. qánam - nə́x^{w} - čən - sk^{w}a. — I'm going to listen (in).

e. qánam - stu - míš - as! — She lets <u>me</u> hear it! ("What she is saying about me")
<u>me</u> she

(7) a. t'i t'úc' - ut - as ʔə tə — He shot (at) them with his arrow, but he could not hit them.
shoot trans. he

hiyáytən - s , qəm x^{w}a sčálim -
arrow his then not able

as qəm t'úc' - nəx^{w} - as.
when

(8) a. páłam - stx^{w} - čən - sk^{w}a. — I'll make it bleed ("on purpose").
bleed (itr.)

b. t'í - čx^{w} páłam - nəx^{w} - ax^{w} — You made my arm-wound bleed.

tən sx̣ə́ł - úya.
hurt arm,hand

c. t'i x̣áwam - stu - mš - as. — He made me cry ("on purpose").
cry (itr.)

d. t'i x̣áwam - nú - mš - as. — He made me cry ("accidentally").

e. t'i ʔúluł - stx^{w} - as ʔə tə — He put her into the canoe.
get into

snəx^{w}íł.
canoe

f. t'i - šst ʔuluɬ - nəx^{w} - at — We got him into the boat.
we we

ʔə tə snəx^{w}il.

(9) a. hiwus - t - šst - k^{w}a ɬə — We're going to honour the Queen.
chief trans. fut.

Queen.

b. hiwus - stx^{w} - as tam — She adores/spoils that child of hers.
that

məna - s.
child her

3. Personal affixation with -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- .

-stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- have allomorphs -stu- and -nu- occurring before personal object suffixes in the active voice (i.e. 1st and 2nd persons), before the reflexive suffix -mut , and throughout the passive. The -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- variants occur with 3rd person objects (= ∅) and in the imperative. Personal suffixes appear in the order object, subject. The personal object and subject suffixes which follow these transitivizers are listed below. The object suffixes differ in form from those which follow other transitivizers.[5]

Active:

	transitivizer		object	subject (primary)[6]	subject(secondary)
1	-st-/-n-	u-	-mš-	-čən	-an
2	"	u-	-mi-	-čx^{w}	-ax^{w}
3	"	əx^{w}-	-Ø-	-as	-as
1p	"	u-	-mułˑ-	-št	-at
2p	"	u-	-mi...ə́lap	-č(aĺ)ap	-á́lap
3p	"	əx^{w}-	-Ø-	-asit	-asit

Reflexive: The reflexive has the same primary subject affixation as above, but does not occur with secondary suffixes in positive, factual statements. The transitivizer has the variant -stu-/-nu- throughout, and the object suffix is replaced by the reflexive suffix -mut (as opposed to -cut in -(V)t- transitives).

Passive:

	transitivizer		subject	passive suffix
1	-st-/-n-	u-	-mal-	-əm
2	"	"	-mi-	-m
3	"	"	-Ø-	-m

	transitivizer		subject	passive suffix
1p	-st-/-n-	u-	-mul-	-əm
2p	"	"	-mi...ə́lap	-m-
3p	"	"	-Ø-	-m

4. The function of -stəx^{w}- .

The suffix -stəx^{w}- is normally added to intransitive verb stems, including adjectivals such as ti 'big' and xə́tas 'same' (set 2,c and e). It is evident from the examples cited above that the function of -stəx^{w}- is to indicate that the subject of an active sentence causes the object to perform an action or assume a state described by the verb. In set 1,for example, cú 'goes' becomes cú-stx^{w}- etc. 'causes to go', which may translate into English as 'takes' or 'sends', depending on the context.[7] In the passive the subject is caused to perform the action or enter the state of the verb, and specified agents are introduced as oblique complements (cf. 2f). In the case of 2c the subject does not "make" the object big in the literal sense, but conceives of it as such in his own mind. This is reminiscent of a colloquial expression in English "What time do you make it?", meaning "What time is it by your watch?"

Sentences 1c and 2a illustrate the capacity of a single causative statement to contain two rather contrary meanings with regard to animate objects. The sentence cú-stu-mi-čən-sk^{w}a is usually translated as 'I'm going to take you', but out of context the Sechelt statement is as ambiguous as its English translation. Both can mean either 'I'm going to make

(force,compel) you (to) go' or 'I'm going to let (permit, allow) you (to) go'. Similarly, ʔíltən - stx^{w}- čən - sk^{w}a has the possible meanings 'I'll make him eat (something)' and 'I'll let him have something to eat'. This potential for both "strong" and "weak" causation[8] within a single Sechelt causative construction will play an important role in the following discussion of -nəx^{w}-.

5. The function of -nəx^{w}-.

a. Intent/non-intent: In contrast to the other transitives some -nəx^{w}- derivatives convey the sense that the subject of the active sentence performs the action or fulfils the state of the verb accidentally or against his will, as in sentences 4b, 5c, 6c and 8d. In these examples the subject unintentionally drops, spills,hears something and makes someone cry as opposed to sentences 4a, 5b, 6a and 8c, where the subject performs the same acts intentionally. In other instances, however, the subject following -nəx^{w}- manages to execute the action or fulfil the state of the verb in the face of some unspecified obstacle or difficulty (3b, 6b and d, 8f), in contrast to sentences with other transitivizers (3a, 6a, 8e) in which there is no implication of a difficulty being overcome. In the -nəx^{w}- transitives indicating an action or state being achieved in the face of unnamed difficulty, intent on the part of the subject is implied. This is confirmed by sentence 6d, in which the intent is clearly stated, but the realization of the action is only anticipated. To summarize: while intent on the part of the subject is evidently included in the meaning of the other transitive suffixes, it may or may not be implied

by -nəx^{w}- .[9] For this reason "lack of intent" cannot be regarded as an adequate description of the meaning of -nəx^{w}- in its relationship to the other transitivizers of Sechelt.

b. Control/ lack of control: Since subjects after -nəx^{w}- realize the action of the verb only unintentionally or after overcoming some obstacle or difficulty, it seems reasonable to say that these conditions represent a kind of "lack of control" on the part of the subject. But if "control" or the lack of it is to be a useful definition characterizing an evident opposition between subjects of -nəx^{w}- transitives and those of -(V)t- and -stəx^{w}- , it is important to understand what precise meaning this otherwise vague designation has for Sechelt transitives. The essence of this "lack of control" on the part of -nəx^{w}- subjects is revealed by an examination of the relationship between the functions of -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- , whose structural and semantic similarities invite comparison in any case.[10] As outlined above in section 4, the basic function of -stəx^{w}- is to indicate that the subject causes the object to perform the action or assume the state described by the verb. Depending on the context and the semantic limits of the stems concerned, this causation may be "strong" or "weak", as in English. As noted above, the object may be compelled (forced) by the subject to do or be something, or it may be enabled (permitted, allowed) to do or be something. This lack of independence on the part of the object, reflected in two degrees of causation, has its counterpart in the "lack of control" of -nəx^{w}- subjects, where the latter is compelled or enabled, as it were, by an outside controlling agency to perform an action or assume a state. In other

words, the subject after -nəx^{w}- fulfils the same role as does the object after -stəx^{w}- . This semantic parallel between -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- , together with their structural similarities, suggests that -nəx^{w}- is also a causative suffix and that its subject operates under the same restrictions as does an object after -stəx^{w}- . Just as the object following -stəx^{w}- is "controlled" by the subject, the subject following -nəx^{w}- is "controlled" by some unspecified outside agency. This is the essence of the "lack of control" attributed to -nəx^{w}- subjects. Subjects following -(V)t- and -stəx^{w}-, on the other hand, can be said to possess "control" because they act independently, that is, without assistance or compulsion.

The fundamental difference between transitives in -(V)t- on the one hand and those in -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- on the other, is that the former are non-causatives and tha latter are causatives. Otherwise, -nəx^{w}- contrasts with both -(V)t- and -stəx^{w}- . That is, the same control opposition exists between the subjects of -nəx^{w}- and -stəx^{w}- as between the subjects of -nəx^{w}- and -(V)t-. In sentence 8c (-stəx^{w}-) the subject intentionally makes the object cry, whereas in 8d (-nəx^{w}-) the subject achieves the same end accidentally. That is, he is "caused" to make the object cry. Depending on the context 8d could also mean 'He managed (e.g. after some effort) to make me cry'. Similarly, 8b could mean 'You accidentally/ unintentionally made my arm wound bleed' or 'You finally managed... etc.' The essential difference between 8e (-stəx^{w}-) and 8f (-nəx^{w}-) is that in the former the subject made or let the object get into the canoe, while in the latter the subject managed to get the object into the boat.[11] The "unintentional" variant of 8f would be a rather unlikely meaning.

Certainly the most productive contrasts among the suffixes under discussion are those involving a control opposition relating to the subject of active transitive sentences. In the passive the subjects correspond to objects of active sentences, and the choice of -(V)t-, -stəx^{w}- or -nəx^{w}- identifies 1) the type of transitivity (non-causative vs. causative) and 2) the control status of the subject, as in the active voice (cf. 2f, 3c and d). Since most -stəx^{w}- transitives are based on intransitive stems, there appear to be few contrasts between -stəx^{w}- and -(V)t- formations. Sentences 9 a and b represent one such pair, where hí́wus-stx^{w}- means 'makes somebody a chief' (i.e. treats him like a chief) as opposed to hí́wus-t-, which describes behaviour towards someone who is already a kind of chief.

6. Summary.

Of the productive transitivizers in Sechelt:

-(V)t- = controlling subject

-st- + -əx^{w}- = controlling subject + causative

-n- + -əx^{w}- = controlled subject + causative

where "control" is defined in terms of the presence or absence of an outside causative agency affecting the subject.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Hill-Tout calls Sechelt -nəx^{w}- a "determinative particle" (1904:65) and presents two -nəx^{w}- derivatives in a partial paradigm of "Accidental Action" contrasting with a single example in -(V)t- under "Purposive Action" (1904:75). This contrast is not maintained, however, in the rest of his paradigms.

Timmers (1973: 6f.) reduces Sechelt -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- to -st- and -n- and labels them "causative" and "non-purpose" respectively.

Among the designations for cognates of -n(əx^{w})- in other Salishan languages are Clallam: "responsible...but...not in control..." (Thompson and Thompson 1971: 281); Cowichan: "lack-of-control" (Hukari 1976: 75f.); Puget: "responsible...but not in full control" (Hess 1973: 90); S. Puget: "nonintentive" (Snyder 1968: 37); Sliammon: "responsibility" (rather than "control") - (Davis 1973: 11); Songish: "...without control or intention" (Raffo 1970: 7); Squamish: "non-volitional" (Kuipers 1967: 77), etc.

[2]Mrs. Jennie Erickson, formerly of Sechelt, now residing in North Vancouver, B. C.

[3]Sechelt citations are in a tentative phonemic transcription (slashes omitted) indicating the contrasts critical to this analysis.

[4]Since -stəx^{w}- is an unstressed suffix, ə tends to be reduced to the point of deletion. -nəx^{w}- is a stressed suffix in which ə is sometimes intensified to i . (cf. Hukari 1976:49).

[5] a. For paradigms of -(V)t-, -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- transitives, see Timmers (1973: 6f.).

b. With the exception of the example sentences in section 2 and the suffix charts in section 3, isolated references to -(V)t-, -stəx^{w}- and -nəx^{w}- are to be understood as the morphemes {-(V)t-}, {-stəx^{w}-} and {-nəx^{w}-} with brackets omitted.

[6] Primary personal subject endings are attached to simple predicates in Sechelt: cú - čən yú 'I'm going home.' In complex predicates primary subject endings are added to the first member (usually an auxiliary) and secondary subject endings follow the predicate centre, if it is transitive: t'í - čən sə́p' - t - an 'I slapped him.'

[7] The intransitive q^{w}əλ' 'come' normally means 'bring' when transitivized by -stəx^{w}- (cf. 2b, which shows the 3rd person secondary transitive subject ending -as). But q^{w}əλ' also occurs intransitively with -stəx^{w}- in the special meaning of 'become, turn into': t'i q^{w}ə́λ' miman 'It became a child', t'i q^{w}ə́λ' ʔúlqay 'It turned into a snake'.

[8] For a treatment of these "semantic inverses" in English see Leech (1969: 208 ff.).

[9] A similar observation has been made concerning {-n-} and {-t-} in Clallam (Thompson and Thompson 1971: 281).

[10] On the basis of "clear semantic parallels" Snyder (1968: 37)

assigns both $\{-\underline{dx}^{w}-\}$ and $\{-\underline{tx}^{w}-\}$ in S. Puget to what he calls the "referential voice".

[11]Sentences 8 b, d and f contain double causative meaning. This is because pá́łam 'bleed', x̣á́wam 'cry' and ?ú́luł 'get into' are fundamentally intransitive and are only transitivized as causatives, in contrast to verbs like t'uc'- 'shoot', səp'- 'slap', etc., which may also be transitivized by -(V)t-. Thus, for example, t'i x̣á́wam - nú́ - mš̌ - as (8d) (fact - cry - controlled subject - causative - me - he) * 'He happened/managed to "cry" me' must mean 'He happened/managed to make me cry'.

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