1. The basic transitive paradigm of Colville is marked by the suffix -nt added to a stem, and followed by suffixes that mark pronoun reference. These transitives obligatorily include reference to two and only two persons, an actor and a primary goal:

1a. 3'q-ont-In. I write something.
1b. kwii-ont-x. You fix something.

Let us note at the outset that the -nt predicate which translates loosely 'I give it to you', with explicit reference in the translation to an actor (I) and two goals (it and you), is to be interpreted as containing reference only to an actor (I) and a primary goal (you), and translated more appropriately as 'I endow you', parallel to wik-ont-s-an 'I see you'.

Person reference in the -nt paradigm is accomplished with an heterogeneous set of affixes and particles. While all actor (subject) persons, singular and plural, are represented by pronominal suffixes, third person singular goal (object) is unmarked, third person plural is optionally marked by a suffix, first person singular and plural goal is marked by proclitics, and second person singular and plural goal are marked by suffixes. Schematically the set is represented thus:

A second transitive paradigm, marked by -st added to the stem, followed by pronominal suffixes, also includes reference to an actor and a primary goal, but in addition implies reference to a third person, a secondary goal coterminous with the actor:

2a. qy-ost-in. I write it (for myself).
2b. kwii-ost-p. You pl fix it (for yourselves).

Similarly to -nt, person reference in the -st paradigm is expressed with an heterogeneous set of affixes and particles, represented thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1sp</th>
<th>2sp</th>
<th>3sp</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p obj</th>
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<td>-st-(1)m</td>
<td>-st-(1)n</td>
<td>-st-(1)s-0lx</td>
<td>-st-(1)m-0lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-st-(1)s</td>
<td>-st-(1)m</td>
<td>-st-(1)n</td>
<td>-st-(1)s-0lx</td>
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<td>-st-(1)s-0lx</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-st-(1)p</td>
<td>-st-(1)n</td>
<td>-st-(1)s</td>
<td>-st-(1)s-0lx</td>
<td>-st-(1)m-0lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ip</td>
<td>-st-(1)s</td>
<td>-st-(1)m</td>
<td>-st-(1)n</td>
<td>-st-(1)s-0lx</td>
<td>-st-(1)m-0lx</td>
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<tr>
<td>dp</td>
<td>-st-(1)p</td>
<td>-st-(1)n</td>
<td>-st-(1)s</td>
<td>-st-(1)s-0lx</td>
<td>-st-(1)m-0lx</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The difference between -nt and -st transitives is the one of reference just alluded to. Even though spontaneous English translations seldom show well this contrast, the -st predicates always imply either purposeful or customary involvement on the part of the actor—and this is why I have characterized them as transitives with coterminous actor and secondary goal. However, context often reveals the nature of this contrast, especially if the predicate is expanded by complements:

4a. k'u ʔac-oqa?, ixi? maʔ ʔuk*-ont-s-on ʔol an-tamx*-ʔiʔatx*. Let’s get out and then I’ll take you back to your place.
4b. naʔxom cnic iʔa k's-c-ʔaq' ul c-ʔuk*-st-s. He’s the one who writes (the letters) and delivers them.
5a. lut k'u to k-s-xaq-ont-p. You don’t have to pay me.
5b. lut to c-xaq-ost-s iʔ c-x'a1-x'it-s. He never paid his debts.
6a. way t aniʔ mi ?am-ont-x* iʔ k-s-k'ʔan-ʔaq-tot. Name what you think we should plant.
6b. tox* axa? c-p'ax* piʔ m'at iʔa c-ʔuk*-mt-s-olx, táymontínl. That’s the kind that shines, they have a name for it, diamond ring.

A third and a fourth paradigm, marked by -it and -x(i)t respectively, are ditransitive and include explicit reference to an actor, a primary goal (the recipient), and a third person secondary goal (the direct object). Person reference in these paradigms parallels that of the transitives. Except for 2p objects, -it ditransitives use the same suffixes and particles as -nt transitives; -x(i)t ditransitives use the same suffixes and particles as -st transitives. Schematically,

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<tr>
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<th>1sp</th>
<th>2sp</th>
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<th>3p obj</th>
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<td>-it-(i)n</td>
<td>-it-(i)n-olx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>k'u -it-(i)x'</td>
<td>-it-(i)x'</td>
<td>-it-(i)m-olx</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>lp</td>
<td>-it-s-(i)t</td>
<td>-it-(i)m</td>
<td>-it-(i)m-olx</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>k'u -it-(i)p</td>
<td>-it-(i)p</td>
<td>-it-(i)p-olx</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>k'u -it-(i)s-olx -it-s-(i)s-olx</td>
<td>-it-(i)s</td>
<td>-it-(i)s-olx</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idf</td>
<td>-it-(i)m</td>
<td>-it-(i)m-olx</td>
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<th>1sp</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
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<td>-x(i)t-m-on</td>
<td>-x(i)t-n-olx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>k'u -x(i)t-x'</td>
<td>-x(i)t-x'</td>
<td>-x(i)t-x'-olx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>k'u -x(i)t-s</td>
<td>-x(i)t-s</td>
<td>-x(i)t-s-olx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lp</td>
<td>-x(i)t-s</td>
<td>-x(i)t-s-olx</td>
<td>-x(i)t-s-olx</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>k'u -x(i)t-p</td>
<td>-x(i)t-p</td>
<td>-x(i)t-p-olx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>k'u -x(i)t-s-olx -x(i)t-s-olx</td>
<td>-x(i)t-s-olx</td>
<td>-x(i)t-s-olx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Idf</td>
<td>-x(i)t-s-olx</td>
<td>-x(i)t-s-olx</td>
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</table>

Corresponding to the simple transitive 3a. x'ic-ont-s-on 'I endow you', the ditransitives 3b. x'ic-ont-m-on and 3c. x'ic-ont-s-on, both translated 'I give you something, I endow you with something', add reference to a third person secondary goal. The difference between -x(i)t and -it ditransitives is one of focus: -x(i)t ditransitives mean 'X does Y for Z', and -it ditransitives mean 'X does Y for Z'. This difference is marked formally in the secondary goal complement which, unless the object is clearly understood in context, is expressed and follows the predicate.
-x(i)t ditransitives require that the secondary goal complement be marked by the proclitic t, and -it ditransitives never do:

2c. ṫ-ūl-uxt-x'i? t k-i-cltv-s. You make a house for him.

2d. ṫ-ūl-uxt-x'i? s-o-n-kì-ča?-sqqxa?. You fix a horse for him.5

3b. x'il-

2xt-x'i? t k-s-qla'i-s. You give him some money.

3c. x'il-

2xt-x'i? s-qla'i. You give him some money.

The "focus" on the primary goal implied by the -x(i)t predicates is manifested in the morphology of the secondary goal complement. The complements of 2c and 3b are possessives coreferential with the direct goal, in the unrealized aspect. The more accurate literal translations

2c. You make for him what will be his house.

3b. You give him what will be his money.

show how -x(i)t ditransitives focus on the primary goal in contrast with the focus on the secondary goal of -it ditransitives:

2d. You prepare (saddle ...) a horse for him.

3c. You give him some money.

If no secondary goal complement follows a ditransitive predicate, it is because context makes it clearly understood:

3d. axa? inca'-i-lon, i? k'u x'il-

2xt-x'. This is my arrow, the one you gave me.

3e. way ḳ-ū-ā-s-ql-lps, way k'ū ḳ-ōq'on-ml-nt k'ū x'il-

2āt. Your scarf is beautiful, be nice and give it to me.

In addition to the secondary goal complement expansions of ditransitives just discussed, it is possible to add primary goal and actor complements. A primary goal complement (placed before or after the predicate) must be coreferential with the object pronoun suffix. It is expressed less commonly with the participant persons (first and second persons)

8. axa? i? k-s-čox'-xt-am-t, i?m: ... This is what we're going to tell you, father: ...

than in non-participant (third) person

3f. x'il-

2xt-s i? s-q'is?-s t k-s-qla'i-s. He gave him some money.

3g. i? s-x'im-λ-wlson x'il-

2xt-am s-qlxikon. He gave the longest (arrow) to Grizzly.

An actor complement must be coreferential with the subject pronoun suffix, and must be marked by the agentive proclitic t. When the actor is expanded by a complement, the predicate remains in one of the participant (I, you, we) definite persons:

3h. t inca? mi x'il-

2xt-n-olx. I myself will give it to them.

When the predicate is in the non-participant third person and the actor is expanded in a complement, then the predicate may either remain in the third person definite subject -(l)s

9. kon ṭl-p-wlson, t swit k'ū maya?-it-s, uš way ṭi-čii? mi-p-ni-n. I'll learn it, if anybody shows it to me, then I'll learn it.

or be changed to the indefinite third person -(i)m. Actual occurrences of indefinite third person predicates with expressed actor complements are by far more common than their definite third person counterparts:

3i. x'il-

2xt-am i? t s-x'?it-x. The oldest one gave it to him.

This use of the predicate in the indefinite person (and complementized
actor) is not restricted to ditransitives, but extends to all transitives:

10. cu-nt-am t s-qolt-nix'... The man said to her: ...
11. c-?am-st-in-xl t nikon. Wolf feeds them.

2. I have been careful to give so far examples of (di)transitive suffixes added directly to a root. All roots that allow the direct affixation of (di)transitive suffixes are transitive roots. Other roots, inferred intransitive, must add the transitivizing suffix -m(i) to form transitive stems which in turn attach the proper transitive suffixes. For example, the root pa?ls 'feel (bad)' typically occurring in intransitive forms as

12a. kon pa?-pa?s-ink. I feel sad.
12b. k' pa?-pa?s-?lx. You'll be feeling bad.
12c. k' pa?-pa?s-?nút. She'll get wise.

is transitivized with -m(i)-, then participates fully in both -nt and -st transitive formations:

12d. pa?-pa?m-?lx 1 qin-kst-(t)p-s. She wishes back her ring. (Wishing refers to a psychic effort following which the ring magically returns.)
12e. lut k' pa?-pa?m-st-x' 1 and-k?w-mon. You never remembered (to say) your prayers. (St Peter's reproach to a rejected supplicant at Heaven's gate.)

Likewise, the root nixol 'hear', intransitive in forms such as

13a. mut k' nixol i' t o? an-kq-?lx-p. Have you heard from your parents?
13b. nixol i' t s-q?lix'. The people heard.

is transitivized by -m(i)- and occurs with either -nt or -st, according to sense:

13c. cu' ayya? ?ol a-k-s-x' 'alq-s-am mi c-?ol-nixol-m-ant-x' i' pa-p?wi-nax'. Shortly after you start snoring (i.e. pretending to be asleep), you will hear the old lady (come up the stairs).
13d. way c-mi-st-xl' way c-nixol-m-st-m-on. You know I always listen (i.e. obey) you.

And in parallel fashion, the root q'it 'capable', occurring in forms like

14a. nikana? q'asqi? q'il-qi'it j s-ir-lwa-xan. Goodness, Blue Jay is good on snow shoes.
14b. tox' way anmi? k' s-q'it-qi'it-x. You can sure do wonders.

is transitivized by -m(i)- in such forms:

14c. cu' ayy- ?oly s-stan-t s-ant-s-on. You must be tired, it's best I pack you.
14d. k' k-s-thin-xl' mi k' uial-c-q'it-om-st-x' You are the woman and you want to pack me?

To the observation just made that intransitive roots can be transitivized, I must now explicitly add that transitivized -m(i)- stems never participate in ditransitive (-it and -x(i)t) constructions, even in those cases where the English translation suggests a ditransitive meaning.

3. Another observation to be made refers to cases of ditransitive stems where a suffix, and sometimes more than one suffix, intervenes between the root and (a) (m(i) {st}) or (b) (x(i)t). Such cases typically include roots plus -t 'stative', -p 'non-control', lexical suffixes, reflexive suffixes, and a few others. For example, the intransitive root ?has
'good', which occurs in intransitive forms such as

18a. k'w ny-xt-nt'. You have a pretty name.
18b. kon y-xt-wltx. I get well.
18c. yx-t s-nt-k'k-sqix?'. It's a beautiful horse.

can be part of transitivized stems such as the following:

18d. n-wl? lut n-xt-nt-x'. It won't do you any good.
18e. c-xt-nt-on. I enjoyed it.
18f. n-xt-on. You enjoy hearing it.

wmix' 'true' is an intransitive root participating in constructions such as

19a. way unix'. That's true.
19b. way s-unix'-. He's telling the truth.
19c. n-unix'-. He believed.

Its occurrence in transitivized -m(1)- stems is normal:

19d. way ut sic n-unix'-.m-nt-on. Finally they believed him.
19e. lut swlt ls c-n-unix'-.m-st-s. Nobody believes in it.

Similarly relevant cases involve longer (transitivized) stems at the heart of which lies a transitive root. For example, the root siw 'ask' is transitive, and normally receives the transitive suffixes:

20a. siw-on. I asked it.
20b. k'u lo-si-w-s. He inquired about me.

Notwithstanding the transitivity of siw, some stems based on that root require the suffixation of -m(1)-:

20c. siw-cm-m-nt-s-on. I called you.
20d. k-s-on-su-cm-mi-st-s-alx. They proposed to him (for something).

4. I have insufficient data to determine with certainty the function or meaning of another suffix, here represented -uit, transitive, or possibly ditransitive. Its cognates in other languages have been given attention in the published literature, and it may be opportune for me to give it here as full a treatment as I now can. I have found about twenty occurrences of it in connected discourse, with nine different stems. When -uit is present the predicate takes on the fairly clear connotation that the logical agent is in charge of the situation over the logical patient (X intends Y to ...). However, in the morphology of the -uit predicate the logical agent is sometimes the subject and sometimes the object pronoun. Thus in the following two examples the goal (marked with a single underscore) is also the logical patient, and the actor (marked with a double underscore) the logical agent:

21. axa? i? k'u k'-h-t i? tkm-llx', ixi? k'u k-s-k's-brst-uit-x'. This is the Golden Woman, the one you sent after.
22. k'u k-s-k's-bk-uit-s i? cix-lln. He wants me to lend him the arrow.

while the opposite case obtains in the next two examples:

23. k'u g-brst-uit-x'. (You) do exactly as I tell you, do it.
24. k'u g-uit-x'. (You) follow me.

Therefore it remains to be proved how it is that the underlying agent sometimes surfaces as subject, other times as object.

The (underlying) form of the suffix also remains to be correctly induced from its several allomorphs (and attendant morphophonemic changes): -uit in 22 and
24. lut to k-s-hi?n-uit-s-olx. She won't be able to instruct them (differently).

-(t)úít (-úít or -túít) in 21, 23 and

25. q′qo?-kst-úít-om axa? molqúps. He put that (arrow) in Eagle's hand.

-túít in

26. cł′qos-úít-om. She pointed to it (for him). (Cf čaq′s-unt-om. She pointed to it.)

-(n)túít (-úít or -ntúít) in 17c and

27a. čqotq-úít-s.8 He threw it at him.

and -ntúít in

28. čqotq-sol-n axa? in-komp-qín-kst-(t)ŋ, ul axa? k-čwim-ntúít-s-om. I might lose my ring, I'll have you keep it. (Cf lut k′u to k-s-ka′kic-it-s-olx 1-k-s-tliom. They won't find for me what I'm giving them to keep.)

NOTES

1 My research on Colville has been supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundation, the Whatcom Museum (Jacobs Fund), the University of Montana and the University of Hawaii. Many thanks to those who read earlier drafts of this paper, discussed many of its points with me, and contributed substantial and much valued comments: Laurence C. Thompson, Anatole Lyovin, M. Terry Thompson, Timothy Montler.

2 All citations are surface forms and reflect broad phonetic reality except where a stop precedes its homorganic spirant or a glottal stop at morpheme boundary, and the coalescence of the two sounds into an affricate or a glottalized stop, respectively, is ignored to preserve the segmentation of morphemes.

3 The data, including all the examples given here, indicate that all Colville roots potentially participate in both the -nt and -st paradigms, and my argument is that the -nt paradigm is basic and the other secondary. In fact I have found some roots occurring only in one or the other paradigm, but not in both. These cases, can be either exceptional, and/or possibly due to semantic incompatibility of the root with one of the two suffixes, or accidental. In the latter case more data are expected to turn up roots in both paradigms. A calculation based on a concordance of about 20,000 words of running text shows that out of approximately 1,000 roots 117 participate in transitive constructions each at least five times.
Of these, 97 roots occur with -nt and 48 with -st; 31 occur with both -nt and -st; 66 occur with -nt but not -st; 17 occur with -st but not -nt.

Although I do not expect a morphological class to match perfectly regularly a given semantic notion, I think nevertheless it is important to try to describe and characterize productive functions as accurately as possible. It might be of interest, therefore, to note that Reichard analyzes the cognate Coeur d'Alene forms as 'customary': 'The customary transitive is formed as follows: customary prefix (nts-) -stem -customary suffix (-stm) -object pronoun -subject pronoun.' (Gladys A. Reichard, Coeur d'Alene, HAIL 3, 517-707, 1958, p. 582.) In Colville -st transitives nearly always occur with c- 'actual', but the term customary seems too restrictive and would not apply to such examples as

7a. k'u c-k-cah-h-m-nu-st-om. I can't get them to match.
7b. k-cq-mon-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7c. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7d. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7e. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7f. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7g. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7h. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7i. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7j. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7k. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7l. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7m. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7n. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7o. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7p. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7q. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7r. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7s. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7t. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7u. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7v. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7w. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7x. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7y. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
7z. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
8a. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
8b. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
8c. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
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8u. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
8v. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
8w. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
8x. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
8y. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
8z. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9a. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9b. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9c. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9d. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9e. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9f. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9g. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9h. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9i. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9j. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
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9s. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9t. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9u. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9v. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9w. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9x. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9y. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.
9z. k'ol-p-nu-nt-om. We can stop her.