INTERIOR SALISH IMPERATIVES: COLUMBIAN ADDENDA

Anthony Mattina
University of Montana

0. Introduction. Once again the preprint system of the Salish Conference is producing the desired effect of meaningful exchanges. Whereas usually a paper in the preprints   prompts a note from another participant, this time my paper on the Colville Imperatives prompted a different kind of response from Professor Kinkade. On July 19, 1980, he sent me a substantial list of Columbian (Cm) imperatives. The list consists of 129 items, subdivided into the following groups:

Columbian Imperatives

1.	Intrans.	4	examples
2.	intrans + -t	1	"
3.	intrans + -m	4	"
4.	intrans + -ílx	3	"
5.	intrans. - double predicates	12	"
6.	trans. -3rd sg. obj.	13	"
7.	trans. -1st sg. obj. (stressed)	1	"
8.	trans. -1st sg. obj. (unstressed)	15	"
9.	trans. -1st pl. obj.	4	"
10.	trans. - reflexive	1	"
11.	trans. - -mín (stressed) (3rd sg. obj.)	2	"
12.	trans. - -mín (unstressed) (3rd sg. obj.)	4	"
13.	trans. - -mín (unstressed) (1st sg. obj.)	3	"
14.	trans. - -mín (unstressed) (reflexive)	2	"
15.	trans. - -mín (-ms-) (3rd sg. obj.)	4	"
16.	trans. - -mín (after -xíx)	1	"
17.	trans. - -mín (after -xáx)	1	"
18.	causative (3rd sg. obj.)	5	"
19.	causative (1st sg. obj.) [irregularities?]	3	"
20.	causative (-stms)	1	"
21.	Redirectives		
22.	-xí- (stressed) (3rd sg. obj.)	1	"
23.	-xí- (stressed) (1st sg. obj.)	3	"
24.	-xí- (unstressed) (3rd sg. obj.)	2	"
25.	-xí- (unstressed) (1st sg. obj.)	3	"
26.	-ł- (3rd sg. obj.)	4	"
27.	-ł- (1st sg. obj.)	3	"
28.	-ł- (1st pl. obj.)	1	"
29.	-tuł- (3rd sg. obj.)	2	"
30.	-xáx	2	"
31.	-s-	3	"
32.	Plural imperatives		
33.	Intrans.	2	"
34.	intrans. -m	1	"
35.	intrans. -ílx	2	"
36.	-mín (reflexive)	2	"
37.	Negative "imperatives"	14	"

Kinkade's headings and sub-headings suggest a straight-forward analysis of the Cm imperative system, based on a less transparent analysis of the transitive/intransitive system of the language. In the note that accompanied the list, Professor Kinkade made only two remarks to clarify points of analysis in the list: (1) "the

1st or 2nd person possessive (both are the same) is put in the middle of kas- re-placing the a." (2) "As to the imperative [marker], I guess I have to consider it a clitic, rather than a suffix."

In order to incorporate the Cm data into my larger paper on Interior Salish Imperatives, I took the following minor liberties (the intent, of course, is not to re-analyze, but to make my discussion of these data more understandable): (1) I have ignored Kinkade's suggestion that the imperative marker is a clitic, except to point out at the appropriate place why I think he made the suggestion; (2) I have relabeled Kinkade's 10th and 14th groups to read intransitive rather than transitive; (3) in all cases where Kinkade analyzes -mín- (stressed or unstressed) I have segmented out the n, and assigned it to the transitive -nt.[1] What follows, then, is a description of the Cm imperatives as I induce from the Kinkade data (all 129 forms will be accounted for).

1. Columbian Intransitive Imperatives. The Cm intransitive sg imptv suffix is -ta? added to any intransitive stem. For example,

1. kúp-ta?	don't cry	8. tímkʷ-m-ta?	pump water	"
2. ?a?íxa?-ta?	hurry up	9. nacáw-lqʷ-p-m-ta?	wash your mouth	"
3. cq-ána?-ta?	listen	10. lkʷ-ílx-ta?	get away	-ílx
4. xʷús-əs-ta?	hurry up	11. łáq-lx-ta?	sit down	"
5. cnóxʷ-t-(t)a?	come here	12. pəqʷ-n-cú(t)-ta?	powder yourself	-n-cut[2]
6. cnəqín-m-ta?	come in	13. xəlk-m-n-cú(t)-ta?	move in a circle	-m-n-cut[2]
7. ciátkʷp-m-ta?	start a fire	14. yəx-m-n̓-cú(t)-ta?	move (over) a little	-m-n̓-cut[2]

I presume that, as in Colville, forms 1-14 constitute full imptv sentences. Again, as in Cv, they may occur in (longer) imperative constructions. The Cm data show that intransitive imptvs are followed by what I judge to be either (1) inflected transitive predicates in the indicative mode, or (2) uninflected intransitive predicates:

15. ?inwí-ta?	?aní-nt-xʷ	take him over	-xʷ	
16. "	cq̓ʷú-nt-xʷ	you read it	"	
17. ?íxa? ?inwí-ta?	xʷíy-nt-xʷ	here, you hold him	"	
18. " "	kʷa(n)-nt-xʷ	" you'd better take it	"	
19. " "	?ackʷá-st-xʷ	" hold it	"	
20. ləplápst-ta?[3]	saw-nt-p	you guys ask him	-p	
126. húy-ta?	nóxʷt	go		
127. łə́x-ta?	nóxʷt	walk/go fast		
128. tíl-ta?	?ítx	you'd better go to sleep		
129. ?ítx-ta?	tíl	" " " " "		

The Cm intransitive plural imptv suffix complex is -wən-ta?, as in the following examples:

21.	?imx-wən-ta?	move
22.	?ucəcqa?-wən-ta?	get out of here
23.	máłm-wən-ta?	rest
24.	lkʷ-íylx-wən-ta?	get out of here
25.	líx-mn-ct-wən-ta?[3b]	lie down
26.	cík-mn-ct-wən-ta?[3b]	stand up

2. Cm (Di)transitives. (Kinkade's transitives and redirectives). A sparkling example of a parallel phenomenon in two related languages (another will be pointed out presently) is the conspicuous scarcity in Kinkade's Cm data of -st imperative forms matching the Cv case where "the -st imperatives are seldom recorded in texts and [are] difficult to elicit." There is no Cm example of -st suffixed directly to a root, and only seven examples of -st following the transitive stem formative -m. And while Kinkade analyzes (at least four of) these forms as containing -min- (cf group 15), the fact remains that -st follows an extended stem only in rare instances (if the list is indicative at all of actual frequency). Examples of -m-st, with 3rd sg. obj. are:[4]

27.	xát-m-s(t)-ta?	lift it
28.	nəqín-m-s(t)-ta?	take him in
29.	tłəm-áp-m-s(t)-ta?	straighten out the rope
30.	wáł-m-s(t)-ta?	tilt it
31.	q̓ʷáłst-m-s(t)-ta?[5]	pack it

Examples of -m-st with 1st sg. obj. are:[6]

32.	táxʷ-m-st-uxʷ-ta?	leave me alone
33.	xák-na?-m-st-uxʷ-ta?	listen to me

2.1. -nt Imperatives. The Cm transitive imptv is formed by adding -ta? to a (di)transitive stem. In its turn, -ta? may be preceded by an object pronoun: (1) -cxʷ 1st sg. obj with -nt and -łt paradigms; (2) -uxʷ 1st sg. obj. with -st and -x(í)t paradigms;[7] (3) -l- 1st pl. obj. 3rd person object is Ø.

Examples (with 3rd person obj.) following -nt:

34.	?ácx-n(t)-ta?[8]	look at him
35.	k̓ʷá?ə-n(t)-ta?	take a bite
36.	cók̓ʷ-n(t)-ta?	pull it
37.	púxʷ-n(t)-ta?	blow it
38.	k̓ʷúł(n)-n(t)-ta?	lend it to him
39.	x̌áq̓-n(t)-ta?	pay it
40.	x̌ʷáʕ-n(t)-ta?	pierce it
41.	k-tq-ík(n)-n(t)-ta?	put the brake on
42.	k-txʷ-ána?a-n(t)-ta?	add some more
43.	katxənqí(n)-n(t)-ta?	cover it
44.	caní-n(t)-ta?	bring it
45.	k̓ʷá(n)-n(t)-ta?	take it

Examples (with 3rd person object) following m-nt:[9]

    46. n-ck^w-áp-m-n(t)-ta?   drag it

    47. sai-m-n(t)-ta?   let him be

    48. nalt-m-n(t)-ta?   forget him, forget about it

    49. káɫx-m-n(t)-ta?[10]   give it away

    50. cəx^w-mí-n(t)-ta?[11]   throw/spill it out

Examples (with 3rd person obj.) following $\begin{Bmatrix} -xix \\ -xax \end{Bmatrix}$- m - nt[12]

    51. xolt-xíx-m-n(t)-ta?   ask him for that

    52. k^{w}ɫon-xáx-m-n(t)-ta?   lend him s.t.

    53. k^{w}ons-xáx-m-n(t)-ta?   show it

Examples (with 1st person sg. obj. -cx^w[13]) following -nt:

    54. ?ácx-n(t)-cx^w-ta?[14]   look at me

    55. c-na-múl-c(n)-n(t)-cx^w-ta? bring me water to drink

    56. k^{w}úɫ(n)-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   lend it to me

    57. n-qs-ík(n)-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   scratch my back

    58. n-?awt-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   come with me

    59. ?awt-áp-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   follow me

    60. t-kíʕ^w-pla?a-n(t)-cx^w-ta? pray for me

    61. ?aní-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   take me

    62. k-cx^w-ús-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   put drops in my eye

    63. kɫwá-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   get out of the way

    64. t-xap-áws-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   cover me

    65. k-tp-ána?a-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   cover me

    66. kɫ-?ám-n(t)-cx^w-ta?   wait for me

Examples (with 1st sg. obj. -cx^w) following -m-nt:

    67. lk^w-íylx-m-n(t)-cx^w-ta?[15] get away from me

    68. xák-na?-m-n(t)-cx^w-ta?[15] listen to me

Examples (with 1st pl. obj. -1-) following -nt:

    69. ?ácx-nt-l-ta?   look at us

    70. kíʕ^w-nt-l-ta?   bless us

    71. kíʕ^w-pla?a-nt-l-ta?   bless it for us

2.2. -ł Imperatives.

2.2. -ł Imperatives. -ł imperatives are formed like the -nt imperatives. Examples (with 3rd person obj.) following -ł:

72. qíy-ł(t)-taʔ	write it to her
73. kʷá-ł(t)-taʔ	take it from him
74. ʔaní-ł(t)-taʔ	take it to him
75. kł-ʔáy-ł(t)-taʔ	change it for him

Examples (with 1st sg. obj.) following -ł:

76. caní-ł(t)-cxʷ-taʔ	bring it to me
77. n-miy-cí-ł(t)-cxʷ-taʔ	translate it for me
78. cqʷú-ł(t)-cxʷ-taʔ	read/name it to me

Example (with 1st pl. obj.) following -ł:

79. kíʕʷ-plaʔ-ł(t)-l-taʔ	bless it for us

2.3. -x(í)t imperatives.

2.3. -x(í)t imperatives. -x(í)t imperatives are formed as follows:
Examples (with 3rd person obj.) following -x(í)t:

80. qíy-xí(t)-taʔ[16]	write to her	stressed
81. kał-x(t)-taʔ	give him something	unstressed
82. n-xəl-cí-x(t)-taʔ	ask for food for your friend	unstressed

Examples (with 1st sg. obj.) following -x(í)t:

83. qʷəl-xít-uxʷ-taʔ[17]	roast it for me	stressed
84. kíʕʷ-xít-uxʷ-taʔ	pray for me	"
85. qíy-xít-uxʷ-taʔ	write it for me	"
86. t-kíʕʷ-xt-uxʷ-taʔ	pray for me	unstressed
87. t-xəlk-álqʷ-xt-uxʷ-taʔ	roll me a cigarette	"
88. t-pulkʷ-ícaʔ-xt-uxʷ-taʔ	roll me a cigarette	"

2.4. Other ditransitive imperatives.

2.4. Other ditransitive imperatives. Similarly to Cv, Cm ditransitives with -tułt may be imperatives with the suffixation of -taʔ:

89. kʷəns-túł(t)-taʔ[18]	show it
90. kʷułn-túł(t)-taʔ	lend him that

Whereas I still do not know if/how Cv makes imperatives of -xix forms, Kinkade gives two examples of -xax imptvs:[19]

91. saw-xáx-taʔ	you ask
92. kłwan-xáx-taʔ	get out of his way

3. Negative imperatives.

3. Negative imperatives. The Cm negative imptvs work in ways reminiscent of their Cv cognates. As in Cv, the predicate lut 'not' is followed by an unrealized intransitive form. A second person possessive infix (homophonous with the 1st person possessive) is added in the unrealized prefix. I presume that all these forms are ambiguous, e.g. lut kishimt would translate both 'don't get mad' and 'I won't get mad'. While most of Kinkade's examples are intransitive stems,

93. ǩú-cn-ta?, lút kis-wwáwlx   be quiet, and don't say anything

94.   "   "   kis-acíwət   "   "   "   "   "   "

95. lút kis-?íɜn   don't you eat

96.   "   kis-náwlx   "   "   run

97.   "   nɨmas kis-yúpa?   "   "   play any more

98.   "   kis-ḥímt   "   get mad

99.   "   kis-xóst   "   "   lost

100.   "   kis-qʷú?c   "   "   fat

101.   "   kis-ɫa?ɫá?txn   "   you get your feet wet

102.   "   kis-ɫà?a?tncút   "   get wet

103.   "   kis-sawxás   "   ask

tree of them are (probably) middle stems:

104. lút kis-axíl-m   don't you dare

105.   "   kis-ptíxʷ-m   "   "   spit

106.   "   nɨmas kis-lɜm-m   quit stealing, don't you steal any more

Kinkade's list has no examples of Cm forms equivalent to the elaborate system of four Cv middle unrealized stems.

     4. Conclusions. We have a Cm imptv system that approaches the complexity of the Cv system. Its salient features are:(1) the imptv suffix is -ta? for both transitives and intransitives; (2) a trace of the original intransitive plural marker *-wy remains in the forms -wən-ta?. The Cm system lacks any parallels to (1) the Cv "second hand imptv", and to (2) the elaborate Cv middle unrealized forms. Additional data would clarify whether or not the Cm "double imptvs" pattern like their Cv counterparts.

     A number of forms in the Cm list remain unexplained and/or deserve individual comments:

    (1)   How do we explain the five forms that Kinkade labels 'causative (3rd sg. obj.):

107. cən-m-stúxʷ-ta?   tighten it

108. tɫəm-stúxʷ-ta?   straighten out the rope

109. xəlk-m-stúxʷ-ta?   crank the car

110. pəlk-m-stúxʷ-ta?   turn it over

111. kɜɫ-m-stúxʷ-ta?   change it

What is -stúxʷ? (It is not to be identified as -st-uxʷ, where -úxʷ '1st sg. obj.' because it is stressed.)

    (2)   What is the make up of

112. təxʷəxʷstúmxʷta?   take me across the river

(Kinkade labels the form 'causative (1st sg. obj.) and questions it: '[irregularities?]'.

(3) What is the make up of
113.   sáwntpta?   you guys ask him

Kinkade includes it in a list of 'intrans. - double predicates', but that does not
explain (1) where the second predicate might be; (2) why this is intransitive. It
seems to me that this is saw-nt-p 'you pl. ask him', a simple transitive, followed
by ta?. This might be (one of the) reason(s) why Kinkade would call ta? a clitic.

(4) . What conditions the loss of 1 (-ilx > -ix) in

114. cólix-ta?   stop, stand still

115. yorix-won-ta?   sit down, get up

Kinkade lists these as 'intrans.+ -ilx', but does not elaborate on the absence of 1.

(5) 116. táx°mnc-ta? is glossed by Kinkade as 'leave me alone! (?)' and listed as
a 'trans. - min (unstressed) (1st sg. obj.)', but no explanation is offered why the
form is what it is and not the expected *tax°mn-cx°-ta?.

(6) 117. ?amcáx°ta? 'feed me' is listed by Kinkade as the only example of 'trans. -
1st sg. obj. (stressed).' i.e., -cax° is analyzed as the stressed variant of -cx°.
-cáx° might just be an exceptional form. Note that it occurs with √?amt 'feed', a
root that is problematic in other respects. For example, its Shuswap cognate is one
of only three roots that comprise Kuiper's Class A of Sh transitive verbs (verbs that
take -t, not -nt, in the transitive). Cf. J. Shapard's paper in the preprints, p. 231.

(7) Several forms, all based on the root √kał, are aberrant in an interesting way.

118. kał-ta?   give it to him
119. kał-cx°-ta?   give it to me
120. yaštúta? c-kał-cx°   give it all to me
121. c-kál-t-l-ta?   give it to us

Except for 121, these forms do not seem to have a transitivizer in their surface
phonetics. Of course, it is possible (and desirable) to show that these forms have
-t in their underlying structures, as follows:

118. kał-(t)-ta?
119. kał-(t)-cx°-ta?
120. c-kał-(t)-cx°

The -t is justified by 121. c-kał-t-l-ta?, where it shows up in the surface. On the
other hand, the absence of -n (-n-t 'trans') is not explained--but interestingly
enough, the Sh root √kox 'give to' belongs to the 3-member class (just mentioned)
that take -t, not -nt, to form a transitive stem. The roots are probably related.
Finally, note that this root is extended to kałxm- to form a transitivizable stem,
to form

122. kałxm-n(t)-ta?   give it away

(8) Finally, I do not know how to analyze these forms:

123. lk°-íłx-s-ta?   take it away   -s '?'
124. x°ayš-s-ta?   get after him   "
125. x°ayš-sn-ta?   "   "   "   -sn '?'

FOOTNOTES

1

Here I am not addressing the question of how many transitivizers with -m Cm has (-mi- and -min-; or, -m- and -min-; or some such). I am segmenting the n so as to isolate -nt- 'trans' which is pan-interior.

2

Kinkade analyzes 12. as 'trans. reflexive'; 13. and 14. as 'trans. -min $\neq$ reflex. Of course I can't disagree with an analysis of which I don't know the arguments. However, the Cv cognates raise two points of contention: (1) pronominal reference in the Cv non-imperatives is accomplished with the intrans pronouns, so that one would call these intransitive; (2) since in Cv there are forms

$$\left\{\begin{array}{c} -cut \\ -ncut \\ -scut \\ -mncut \\ -mscut \end{array}\right\} \quad \text{which parallel forms with} \quad \left\{\begin{array}{c} -nt \\ -st \\ -mnt \\ -mst \end{array}\right\}$$

one would naturally segment the m away, rather than identifying it with -min.

3

I take note of the fact that in this instance /t-t/ > [tt]. This differs from the 3rd person obj. imptv forms where -nt-ta? > -nta?. Cf below for further discussion.

3b

Items 25 and 26 comprise Kinkade's set No. 36.

4

Kinkade analyzes these forms as containing -min (-ms-) with 3rd sg. obj.

5

This root seems to behave like Cv q̓ʷilt, with two allomorphs.

6

Kinkade simply calls these 'causatives (1st sg. obj.)' but questions them as '[irregularities ?]'. The allomorphic distribution of 1st sg. obj. is discussed below.

7

Note how this distribution parallels the distribution of the Cv 2nd person obj. pronouns, where

-nt-s-(i)n   vs   -st-úm-ən
-it-s-(i)n   -xit-m-ən

This isn't just a coincidence. It is proof that -nt and -it pattern together, as do -st and -xit, in both languages.

8

I don't know if this is the best possible segmentation. But it makes sense comparatively and seems to me preferable to either -n-ta? or -nt-a?.

9

Kinkade analyzes all these forms as transitive forms containing unstressed -min. In my Cv imptv paper I gave no examples of m-nt to keep my focus on the imptvs. Cv -m-nt forms are grammatical as I describe them elsewhere.

10

For a discussion of this root, cf. section 4. (7).

11

Kinkade analyzes this form as containing stressed -mín.

12

For a discussion of Cv -xix cf....

13

Kinkade gives one form with -cáx^w (stressed) 1st sg. obj. Since it is the only example with stressed -cáx^w I would consider it exceptional. Cf section 4. (6).

14

This would be set up as ʔácx-nt-sx^w-t.

15

Kinkade analyzes these forms as containing the unstressed form of -mín.

16

Compare this form with ex No. 72.

17

Refer to footnote 7 for a comment on the distribution of -cx^w/-ux^w.

18

Kinkade questions '[includes causative ?]' referring to the s preceding -tuɫt. Note that s is likewise present in the Cv cognate. Preprints, p. 213.

19

These may turn out to be intransitive.

FOOTNOTES

*
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[1] Occasionally -xaʔx reduces to the stylistic variant -x.

[2] An alternative would be to analyze the imptv suffix as -(a)nt (and middle forms such as xʷkʷam could be analyzed similarly xʷkʷ-am--likewise non-control kʷƛ-ap). Interestingly, several of the roots that require a in the imptvs and middles occur in attested ablaut pairs that function outside the imptv and middle constructions: xʷic / xʷac; ƛixʷp / ƛaxʷp; ƛikʷ / ƛakʷ; xʷukʷ / xʷakʷ. The other roots that take a in the imptv have either i or a in them: (paʔ)pin, xlak, cak, xʷiƛ, kʷiƛ (but, for the last root, cf also kʷƛap). When I understand better Cv ablaut I'll be able to see what the relationship between it and these forms with a is. I suspect that at one time two imperatives could be based on each of these roots, with different meanings (possibly indefinite (a) vs definite (i) goal).

[3] The last example is semantically odd, but grammatical. It may be impossible to comply with a request to swallow pills for someone else, but the request might actually be made.

[4] For a discussion of these cf Mattina and Springer's "A Note on Colville -xix and -(t)uƚt." MS.

[5] 'Middle' may not be the best label for these Colville forms, and certainly isn't a very helpful label in general. In Greek, for example, John Hay tells me middle forms have reflexive or purposive ('do something in one's own interest') import, while in Sanskrit middle forms have active meaning. Sanskrit grammarians' efforts to find a difference in meaning to match the difference between the active and middle forms is an effort in historical reconstruction, not helpful/useful to clarify the synchronic situation. I explain my reasons for retaining this label in the concluding paragraph of the section.

[6] In her paper "A Note on Aspect in (Nicola Lake) Okanagan", XIV Salish Conference, 1979, Hebert remarks that "the prefix ks- 'unrealized action' may not co-occur on predicates which accept either the -s-t or -n-t marking." She also notes that ks- occurs in what she calls the medio-passive construction. The latter observation is correct, but the former is not. The incompatibility is between ks- and the transitive pronoun affixes, not the transitivizers, as I explain here.

[7] Sources for these languages are: Vogt, Hans The Kalispel Language. Oslo, 1940 (Ka); Carlson, Barry F. A Grammar of Spokan: a Salish Language of Eastern Washington. UHWPIL 4:4, 1972 (Sp); Speck, Brenda J. An Edition of Father Post's Kalispel Grammar. UMOPL 1, 1980 (Ka); Reichard, Gladys A. Coeur d'Alene. HAIL 3, 517-707, 1938 (Cr); Kuipers, Aert H. The Shuswap Language. Mouton, 1974 (Sh); Thompson, Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson Thompson. MS (Th).

[7a] Post, Rev. John, S.J. Kalispel Grammar. Typescript, 1904. p.36 ff.

[8] This is just the indicative.

[9] Some of these plurals are not attested.