

OUT OF CONTROL IN TWO (MAYBE MORE) SALISH LANGUAGES<sup>1</sup>Barry F. Carlson  
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Several studies (e.g. Thompson 1978, 1979; Beaumont 1977; Saunders and Davis 1978; Davis and Saunders 1979; Galloway 1978) make clear that CONTROL is a category of key importance in Salish languages. In at least several of the languages all or nearly all predicates specify control status. In Spokane (and in Kalispel generally) and in Thompson an interesting role is played by a reduplicative affix of considerable influence in the system. It routinely copies the first vowel and second consonant of a root, affixing the copy directly after C<sub>2</sub>; regular phonological rules then apply, so that the vowel often disappears, leaving the effect of C<sub>2</sub> reduplication.<sup>2</sup> It carries a value [- control + emphatic], converting roots that are [+ control]. (A large proportion of roots seem to be basically [- control], but quite a number are [+ control], and a few, like this affix, are [- control + emphatic]--i.e., strongly noncontrol.)

We may generalize the semantic force of this affix as 'out-of-control', but several rather different lack-of-control meanings are involved. In order to provide some notion of the scope, we shall therefore consider examples in different semantic categories. But it should be understood from the outset that no hard and fast lines are intended. And, in fact, the same linguistic form often conveys notions in two or more of these categories.

Simple translations offered by consultants often give little or no indication of their noncontrol force. In early work with the languages these seemed rather innocuous forms with inchoative or mutative sorts of meanings. But when speakers began offering situations in which the forms are appropriate, the dynamics began to be set in bold relief. We therefore include here such details of native speaker glossing.

1. Simple out-of-control forms occur as independent predicatives in both languages. They can appear with any of the system of intransitive subject person markers (clitics), which we may review here:

	Spokane (proclitics)	Thompson (enclitics)
'I'	čn	kn
'you' (sg.)	kw	kw
'we'	qc?	kt
'you' (pl.)	p	kp

Without such marking forms refer to third person subjects, ambiguously singular or plural, but plural reference may be specified--in Spokane by infixing -ʔ- directly after the primary stressed vowel in the word, in Thompson by prefixing a different reduplicative element C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>- (with phonological adjustments, usually reducing the vowel to schwa).

In examples segmentation of the out-of-control reduplicative element is provided. Note that where a root involves more material after the second consonant, the affix automatically appears as an infix. For clarity, the beginning of roots is marked by a preceding slash (/).

Phonological developments are similar in the two languages, but inevitably somewhat different. In Spokane the reduplicative syllables invariably lose their vowels when unstressed (with strong roots). In Thompson, however, the underlying vowel is weakened to schwa, which in some cases is further modified in adaptation to the consonantal environment. Stress falls regularly on the reduplicative affix with weak roots. In Thompson most roots have schwa as underlying vowel, and this appears then in the copy, undergoing the same consonantal adaptations. The corresponding roots in Spokane generally go back to roots with schwa, and the vowels appearing in the stressed reduplicative syllable are affected in ways similar to the Thompson //ə//, suggesting that is what should be set up for Spokane as well.

A few cases have been observed in Thompson in which a weak root with three consonants reduplicates C<sub>3</sub> rather than C<sub>2</sub>; the underlying vowel is invariably schwa.

1.1. Accidents. Forms indicating that something has happened by accident are common.

## Spokane

/kʷél-1-č 'it tipped over by accident'  
(/kʷélč 'inverted')  
/ɪp-ɪp 'it got marked unexpectedly'  
(/ɪip 'marked, as with pencil or pen')  
/qʷúx-χ-š [horses] false-started a race'  
(/qʷúxš 'they raced'--a plural root)  
/míx-χ 'it got smeared on by accident'  
(/míx 'it is smeared on')  
čn /tkʷ-úxʷ 'I fell over by accident'  
(hcs/túxʷ 'it's lying there')  
/čč-íč 'a long object fell over by accident'  
(hcc/čič 'a long object is lying there')

## Thompson

/péy-iʔ ' [container] upset and spread contents around' (/péy 'spread [e.g. berries] out to dry')  
/páʷ-ʃʷ 'they put it in a cold place and it froze' (/páʷ 'freeze')  
/lôqʷ-oqʷ kn ' [blanket] came off me; my [clothes] fell off' (?cs/lôqʷ 'naked')  
/qíw-uʔ 'bones got broken in accident'  
(/qíw 'break stick-like objects')  
/súxʷ-uxʷ 'he was accidentally recognized' (/súxʷ-c 'she recognized him')

1.2 Spontaneous occurrences form another group of out-of-control forms.

## Spokane

/hékʷ-kʷ 'it came open a crack without my knowing it' (hcc/hékʷ 'it's open a crack')  
/cq-úq 'it stopped' (hcs/cíq 'it's placed')  
/xčč-č 's.t. new and different came in view' (/xʔčč 'it came in view')  
/pčč-č 'it's getting warmed up [as might happen to the contents of a pot that was left beside a fire]' (/pʔčč 'it got warm; it got heated')  
/pčxʷ-xʷ 'it got bright all of a sudden' (/pčxʷ 'it's bright')  
/qč-íč 'it got tangled up [as a thread might do as you are sewing]' (/qíč 'braided; woven')

## Thompson

/sísʷ-ʃʷ 'it got loose all by itself'  
(/sísʷes 'he loosened it')  
/píx-əx 'it's fraying, beginning to unravel'  
(/píxes 'she unravels it')  
/cw-úw 'grow, grow up, become adult'  
(/cutés 'do s.t., make s.t.')  
/môxʷ-oqʷ ' [e.g. leaves] gather, pile up'  
(/môqʷes 'he gathers them into a mass')  
/píkʷ-ukʷ 'it comes to pieces [e.g. rock cracked by freezing]' (/píkʷes 'he crushes it into small pieces')  
/tíʃʷ-ʃʷ 'it comes undone, untied, unlaced' (/tíʃʷes 'she undoes, unties, unlaces it')  
/síp-op 'branch bends down [as when heavy with fruit]' (/sípšes 'he bends branch')

1.3. Natural phenomena. In many cases natural forces are involved, making another class into which accidents and spontaneous happenings merge.

Spokane

k<sup>w</sup>/k<sup>w</sup>í-íí 'sunny' (with diminutive reduplication and glottalization) (/k<sup>w</sup>íl 'it's red')

/k<sup>w</sup>úí-í ' (s)he was born' (hec/k<sup>w</sup>úí 'it's made, done')

/láq-ǫ 'it got buried [like by a slide]' (hc/láq 'it's buried')

/čk<sup>w</sup>-úk<sup>w</sup> 'it got hard and straight [like a tree growing]' (/čúk<sup>w</sup> 'it's sticking straight out')

/mq<sup>w</sup>-ǫq<sup>w</sup> 's.t. came up [like on the road] and formed a mound' (hec/mǫq<sup>w</sup> 'it's a mound, hill')

/xí-íl 'he died' (hi /xí 'it's still')

/mí-íí 'it bled' (/míí 'flow')

1.4. Lack of control. Sometimes the contribution of the affix is simply emphasis of the lack of control an entity has in a situation.

Spokane

čs/mčn<sup>w</sup>-n<sup>w</sup>-x<sup>w</sup> 'overdosed' (/mčn<sup>w</sup> 'to smoke')

/q<sup>w</sup>áw-u 'drunk' (/q<sup>w</sup>áw 'silly, crazy')

/ččs-s 'quarrel' (/ččs 'bad')

One example from Thompson is instructive in that it involves a post-contact borrowed element, showing that the process is clearly productive in recent times.

Thompson

/púí-ǫí 's.t. froths, bubbles up' (/púíes 'she splashes, makes waves [in water]')

/q<sup>w</sup>úy-i? 'it gets cloudy' (q<sup>w</sup>i?/q<sup>w</sup>úy 'it's cloudy, there are clouds', with plural reduplication)

/yomyóm-m 'it's making a rainbow' (s/yomyóm 'it's a rainbow')

/q<sup>w</sup>c-ǫc 'it trembles': /q<sup>w</sup>c-ǫc e tmíx<sup>w</sup> 'it's an earthquake' (/q<sup>w</sup>ǫctés 'he shakes it')

/nėk<sup>w</sup>-ǫk<sup>w</sup> 'it changes': /nėk<sup>w</sup>-ǫk<sup>w</sup> e sq<sup>w</sup>-in-cúts 'his voice changed', /nėk<sup>w</sup>-ǫk<sup>w</sup> e sumėxs 'she began menopause (her change of life)' (/nėk<sup>w</sup> 'he changed it')

/nėx-ǫx 'wavy, there are waves' (/nėxk<sup>w</sup>u 'there are waves [in body of water]')

Thompson

mǫn/mčn<sup>w</sup>-n<sup>w</sup>-x<sup>w</sup> 'get sick from smoking' (/mčn<sup>w</sup> 'to smoke [tobacco]')

/q<sup>w</sup>áǫ-ǫ 'drunk; insane' (?es/q<sup>w</sup>áǫ 'act/talk silly')

/nǫx<sup>w</sup>-ǫx<sup>w</sup> '[animal] forced to run' (/nǫx<sup>w</sup> '[animal] runs')

Thompson

nkúí/k<sup>w</sup>úí-l 'schoolmate, s.o. you went to school with [but you had no control over the selection of students]' (with the root /k<sup>w</sup>úí 'go to school', based on the English word *school*)

1.5. Acts of others. In a number of interesting cases speakers give explanations indicating that while a protagonist is not in control, the situation results from the action of some other person or entity.

Spokane

/íí-íí 'it was sprinkling, running [because s.o. else had turned on the water]' (/íí 'sprinkle')

/mėx<sup>w</sup>-x<sup>w</sup> '[cards] have been dealt or shuffled [so that you can't tell which is which]' (/mėx<sup>w</sup> 'mixed')

/ʔáç-ç-x<sup>w</sup> 'he watched or observed [like at a movie]' (/ʔáçx<sup>w</sup> 'he looked')

čn /qíx<sup>w</sup>-x<sup>w</sup> 'I was driven away [like if s.o. did s.t. bad to me and I never wanted to go back]' (/qíx<sup>w</sup> 'to drive away')

1.6. Effort and patience. Some examples mean that the protagonist finally succeeded in accomplishing something, but only after much effort, fuss and bother, or a long wait.

Spokane

/qíy-i 'finally it got to look like a house [which might be said after a construction project has taken shape]' (qíy 'it's a home, house; s.o. has a home, house; s.o. is living in a home, house')

Thompson

n/íčm<sup>w</sup>-m<sup>w</sup> '[hitch-hiker] finally gets a ride' (n/íčmíx 'he goes aboard, gets into a vehicle')

/xíy-i kn 'I paddle (or swim) all the way [across a body of water] and land on the shore' (/xíyne 'I put it ashore')

/cít-ǫt-x<sup>w</sup> kp 'you people finally got a house' (cítx<sup>w</sup> 'house')

2. Transitivity. Transitive stems in both languages are formed by adding a transitive suffix to a base consisting of a root or a root extended by one or more lexical suffixes. But the control status of the transitivity elements differs in the two languages. In Spokane most transitive stems are formed with //nt//; some roots require rather //st//. Both elements are [+ control]. Transitive words are formed by completing the stem with affixes of the transitive paradigm of person markers. While the system of personal affixes is complex, transitive examples in this paper typically have a third person singular object (not overtly marked) and either //cn// '1s subj.' or //cs// '3 subj.'. With a weak stem the complex //nt-cn// and //nt-cs// occur as -ntcn and -ntcs; with a strong stem as -n and -is (with vocalization of the nasal; Carlson 1976). Forms in //st// inflection are -stcn, -stcs with weak stems, -stn, -sc with strong ones.

Thompson has parallel forms -(e)téne, -(e)tés, -sténe, -stés following weak stems (the parenthesized vowels represent vocalizations of the underlying nasal; they tend to drop out unless preceded by an underlying cluster). After strong stems the corresponding endings are -nc, -es, -sne, -sc. Thompson also inflects a few stems with a simple //t// transitive; the corresponding endings are -téne, -tés, -nc (analogical to the other set), -c. The //n-t// transitivity converts a [- control] stem to [+ control], unless it is [+ emphatic]; the other two transitivityizations do not alter the control status of the stem.

2.1. Basic transitives from out-of-control bases. In both languages out-of-control stems can be transitivityized by appropriate selection of these transitivityizers. Spokane regularly forms such transitives via the //nt// or //st// paradigm, depending on which the simple root requires. Since the out-of-control affix carries the marking [- control + emphatic] the resulting forms retain the noncontrol force of the reduplicated bases. In Thompson the transitivityization is accomplished only by means of the //s-t// paradigm, which does not in any case change the control status of bases. Thus in both languages these basic transitivityizations of out-of-control forms retain their noncontrol force, with ranges of meaning similar to those just detailed. Accidental acts and states are particularly common.

There are some further phonological complications. These longer forms make clear that the out-of-control reduplication is a weak affix. That is, while it assumes stress from a weak root, it loses it in turn to any further suffix that will take stress. The result is the same in both languages, although for different internal reasons. In Spokane, the vowel of the copy is lost simply because it is unstressed. In Thompson it follows rules for treatment of //o// in pretonic syllables, dropping out unless it is in the first syllable. With strong roots there is no change--the transitivityization is simply added to the out-of-control stem, which retains stress on the root.

#### Spokane

/cl-1-xw-ntén 'I laid a bunch of round things down accidentally' (/clxw-ntén 'I laid a bunch of round things down')

/ččk<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-n 'I put a light on it by accident' (/ččk<sup>w</sup>-n 'I put a light on it')

/k<sup>w</sup>úp-p-n 'I moved it by accident [like you might move your chair when you stand up]' (/k<sup>w</sup>úp-n 'I moved it')

/k<sup>w</sup>é1-1-č-n 'I tipped it over by accident' (/k<sup>w</sup>é1-č-n 'I tipped it over')

/k<sup>w</sup>ú1-1-stn 'I sent s.o. by accident' (/k<sup>w</sup>ú1-stn 'I sent s.o.')

#### Thompson

/kon<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-sténe 'I accidentally bumped it' (/kon<sup>n</sup>-téne 'I touched it')

n/íém<sup>n</sup>-m<sup>n</sup>-sc 'he put it in by mistake' (n/íém<sup>n</sup>-es 'he put it in on purpose')

/xóp-p-stés 'he's making it dark [by standing in the light]' (xóp-tés 'he's making [the room] dark [by drawing the curtains]')

/xíq<sup>w</sup>-oq<sup>w</sup>-snc 'I cracked it accidentally' (?es/xíq<sup>w</sup> 'there are cracks in it')

/xéw-u-sne 'I made [the line] crooked by mistake' (?es/xéw 'e.g. the line is crooked')

/pús-os-snc '[s.t. I was cooking] frothed up and boiled over on me' (/pús-ne 'I set it to soak so it would swell up')

2.2. Emphatic noncontrol transitivityization. In the two languages strong suffixes which must be historically cognate create stems emphasizing lack of control: Spokane -nú, Thompson -nwč. It seems likely that these go back to an old \*-nōw element. (The Thompson stressed vowel is of uncertain origin.) Both take //nt// transitivityization, but Thompson usually shows glottalized -n̥. The uses are a little different in the two languages: whereas Thompson commonly uses the formation to convert a [+ control] stem to noncontrol, it is not clear that it serves that purpose in Spokane.

An apparent semantic difference is interesting. This suffix in Spokane seems specialized around a notion of 'success': glosses abound with the elements 'finally managed to...', 'succeeded in...', 'after a lot of effort...', and the like. Some examples follow, showing first these 'success' forms based on simple stems, then on out-of-control stems. (Note that the surface form of //nú-nt-en// is -nún, that of //nú-nt-es// -núys.)

#### Spokane

/mq<sup>w</sup>-núys 'he finally made a mound [after looking all around for a place to do it]' (/mq<sup>w</sup>-ntés 'he made a mound')

/ms-nún 'I felt around and finally found it' (/mús-n 'I felt it')

Forms based on out-of-control stems emphasize unexpected or accidental achievement which is the result of extra effort.

/mq<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>-nún 'I made a mound [e.g. after pushing dirt around with an earth-mover, having more dirt than I could use, and eventually piling the excess somewhere out of the way]' (/mq<sup>w</sup>-nún 'I finally made a mound')

/ms-s-nún 'I was feeling around [like in the dark] and finally felt something I didn't expect' (/ms-nún 'I felt around and finally found it')

/pt-t-xw-nún 'I managed to hit it with spit [where I wanted to, but it was an accident; I was surprised]' (/ptxw-nún 'I finally spit it where I was supposed to')

Thompson, on the other hand, does not seem to have specialized semantic coverage with these emphatic noncontrol forms. Both those based on simple stems and those based on out-of-control stems carry a range of noncontrol meanings. It appears that subtle differences of emphasis and focus are involved--a topic that still needs study. The endings of the Thompson emphatic noncontrol forms are uniformly -nwčnnc, -nwčns. The material does not offer extensive sets of contrasting forms; in those available the glosses are similar or identical.

#### Thompson

/təp-nwčnnc 'I blackened it accidentally; I finally managed to blacken it'

/təp-əp-snc id.

/təp-əp-nwčnnc id.

3. Other expansions of out-of-control stems. It is beyond the purpose of this paper to catalogue all the occurrences of out-of-control stems in more complex forms. But it is important to indicate that their use is extensive. Expansions with lexical suffixes are common in both languages, as are forms with specialized intransitive resolutions, such as autonomous and middle. A few examples follow.

Spokane

(with 'autonomous')

/iáq-q-lš 's.o. sat down by accident'  
(/iáq-lš 's.o. sat down')čn /ióm-m-lš 'I lost control of my shouting [due to my getting madder]'  
(/ióm-lš 'he shouted awful things')

(with 'middle')

čn /ʔáxv-xʷ-t-m 'I got carried down-river' (čn ʔáxʷ-t-m 'I went down-river')

čn /lq̄-q̄-čm 'I peeled/sliced it by accident' (čn /lq̄-čm 'I peeled/sliced it')

čn /mús-s-m 'I was feeling around and felt s.t. I didn't expect' (čn /mús-m 'I felt s.t.')

/pt-t-əm 'he boiled it by accident'  
(/pt-əm 'he boiled it')

(with lexical suffixes, marked by preceding =)

/mił-l=áqs 'nosebleed' (/mił 'flow')

/ičp-p=s-n 'I blew it out by accident [e.g. candle]', /iṽp-p=s-nún 'I put out the fire [finally]' (/ičp 'get dark, no more light', =s 'fire')

č /iáq̄-q̄=qn 'he got bald' (/iáq̄ 'bare', =qn 'head')

Kalispel (Vogt 1940:162)

/sáq-q̄=con 'his mouth got open (while sleeping)' (/sáq 'split', with regular deplottalization of first q̄, =con 'mouth')

Thompson/tēi-əi-ix 'he managed to stand up'  
(/tēi-ix 'he stood up')/púx-əx-m 'he can (manage to) get out'  
(/púx-m 'he went out')

/tēw-w-m 'it's been sold' (/tēw-m 'he made a sale, sold s.t.')

/tíʷ-ʷ=ən kʷ 'your shoelace is loose'  
(/tíʷ-es 'he unties it')

n/xʷúí-i=yek 'string or rope wears and fluff comes off' (/xʷúí-es 'he fluffs it out', =yek 'rope, string')

n/púx-ox=cn 'the edge of it is raveled'  
(/púx-cs 'she ravelled it', =cn 'edge')/lʔíʷ-ʷ=qn kn 'my braids came apart'  
(/líʷ-cs 'she undoes her braids', =qn 'head')

ʔesn/iáʷ-ʷ=áp 'there's a little left scattered in the bottom [of container]' (ʔesn/iʷ=áp 'scattered in the bottom', =áp 'bottom').

With these longer forms another difference between the two languages emerges. Spokane regularly reduplicates the second consonant of the root with its preceding vowel. Many Thompson forms, however, show reduplication of the stressed vowel and following consonant of the base word, even when that material is part of the suffixal string. This suggests that Thompson is moving toward a stress-oriented affix rather than a root-oriented affix, and the formation is secondary--based on words at an advanced stage of derivation rather than creating stems for further derivation.

Thompson

n/kʷ=čt-ət-kʷu 'he fell in the water' (/kʷeʔ 'place bulky object', =čtkʷu 'water'; after a weak root stress regularly would fall on the lexical suffix)

/ʔecqʷ=ús-əs-eʔ 'berries dried up and useless because baked by the sun' (/ʔecqʷ 'bake', =úseʔ 'berries, fruit'; base is a secondary form, with stress on the suffix in spite of the strong root--a characteristic of new coinages)

That these forms are productive in the languages is nicely attested by their creative use in conversational situations. For example, in Spokane, an amusing jocular suggestion is reported where some men were proposing to go out for an unstructured survey of females of the species:

qa q s/kʷi-s/ʔac̄-č-x-épl-i 'Let's go watch [women's] butts!' (qa 'we', with vowel lowered in anticipation of following q; q 'unrealized'; compound stem nominalized by s-, then /kʷen 'make effort toward', with reduction and vocalization of //n// before s; /ʔac̄ 'look at'; =épl 'buttocks'; -i 'continuative')

The following Thompson sentence occurred at a meal when chicken was being served again (after what seemed like several days of similar chicken meals):

xʷuy kt nok/nék-ək̄ to k cōkns 'We're going to turn into chickens!' (xʷuy 'going to'; kt 'we'; /nék 'change', with plural reduplicative prefix; to oblique complement marker; k 'unrealized'; cōkns 'chickens' [English loan])

4. Intimations of out-of-control forms in other languages. Because the force of these forms was elusive at first in both Spokane and Thompson, we may reasonably wonder whether similar forms may not stand waiting in the wings for cued entrance in the description of other languages.

4.1. Coeur d'Alene. Reichard's (1938:637-8) category of final reduplication seems to fit quite well. She says it 'expresses the idea "it came to be" and includes the notion that no agent or power from the outside had to do with it.' (Recall our 'spontaneous' notions mentioned above.) Among her examples, several suggest lack of control:

pát-Eč 'mushy stuff spilled' (pát 'pour mushy stuff')

hín-láʷ-ʷyʷ 'he was indicted' (láʷ 'plunge headfirst')

pánlín 'it is bent [through some unknown or natural agency as by frost]'  
(átspán 'it is bent [because someone has acted upon it, as by throwing a rock at it]')

tsaq-tsaq-aq-El-íp-áp 'he fell on his back' (tsaq 'hollow object stands'; -El 'planes meet'; -íp 'back, bottom'; note that both the root and the final suffix enter into the reduplicative process here)

In another section of the grammar (1938:579) she discusses a suffix -p which 'indicates that the action was not voluntary on the part of the subject.' Following up the examples of that suffix, she goes on to say: 'Another means of expressing almost the same idea is by reduplicating the final consonant of the stem in which case the proper translation is "it came to...", that is, without effort on its own part'. One of the examples exactly parallels one of the Spokane examples in 1.1:

pān'-en' 'it has come to be bent'  
 yar-ar 'they assembled' (yar 'be all together')  
 tāk'-uk' 'he fell' (tāk' 'one lies')  
 ām-em 'it lighted' (ām 'one sits')

Reichard (1938:607) also recognizes a -nun suffix which seems to parallel Spokane -nu closely; she glosses it 'succeed after considerable effort'. At least two of her four examples also contain her 'final reduplication', and perhaps also a third one:

ceṭ'-eṭ'-nūn-en 'I succeeded in beating him' (cēt' 'win', -en '1-3 compl.')  
 xās-ās-t-nūn-en 'I succeeded in making it well'  
 lutā-tcāi-u-s-k'wān-ānūn-tx' 'thou wilt not get him back' (uṭ'-s- > us-, lutā- 'neg.', tcāi- 'fut.', uṭ- 'again', s- 'nom.', k'wān 'take one', -tx' '1-3 compl.'; if the affix is present, it is partly fused with the -nu suffix)

Many of her simple examples involve a notion of changed status. It is hardly surprising, then, that she associated this reduplicative element with what she termed (637) 'medial reduplication' (i.e. of vowel, with intervening glottal stop), to which she assigned the meaning 'gradually becoming'.

It seems likely that fuller investigation of Coeur d'Alene will authenticate this reduplicative type as an 'out-of-control' marker similar to that of Spokane and Thompson. (It also seems likely that, as in those two languages, Reichard's 'gradually becoming' formation with glottal stop infix is to be associated with the -p suffix, yielding a morpheme which can be labeled 'inchoative'. The infix occurs with strong roots, the suffix with weak ones.)

4.2. Okanagan-Colville. In the Head of the Lake dialect, Watkins (1970:107-8) recognizes a reduplicative morpheme to which he assigns the label 'completed process'. He contrasts it with 'incomplete process' (106), which is signalled by 'a reduplication of the vowel phoneme of the associated root' (= Reichard's medial reduplication). Incomplete process 'signifies process towards a climax, a sort of imperfective'; completed process 'indicates that the climax has been reached, a sort of perfective'. His examples (108; several more on 122-3) include a number with the sorts of out-of-control meanings we have been exploring. For example:

pā'-aā' 'it (house) collapsed' ('collapse- completed process')  
 nq'w'-aq'w' 'it became a lump' ('lump-completed process')  
 n-ps-s-ōlawx 'it (tyre) is flat' ('on-adhere to-completed process-ground')

n-xw-w-sēm'x' 'he[r] (cow) udder has gone dry' ('in-dry-completed process- udder')

kn-k'n-n-cm 'I was caught' ('I-seize-completed process-body')

x'r-r-ap-p 'he is anxious' ('be frayed-completed process-body-completed process'; note again double occurrence of the reduplicative affix)

Describing a southern dialect, Colville, Mattina (1973:64-5) calls this kind of form 'resultive'. The examples cited are all based on what must be (historically, at least) weak roots; no out-of-control meanings are compelling within the framework of the list, although now in the broader perspective some are recognizable:

χal-āl 'he is dead' (χal 'still', χal-āp 'he was stopped')  
 caq'-āq' 'he hit the target' (caq' 'hit')

4.3. Shuswap. Curiously enough, in this language so closely related to Thompson, the circumstances seem quite different with respect to this type of reduplication. Describing a southeastern dialect, Gibson (1973:49) recognizes a limited set produced by this process; he labels the formation 'stative voice'. The examples seem to be all from weak roots and they do not by themselves suggest out-of-control function, although again wider experience shows that they can fit the semantic pattern:

puk'ūk'w' 'be spilled'  
 χux'ūx'w' 'be paralyzed'  
 pōiēi 'be flattened'  
 x'uṭlēi 'be fluttering in the wind'

In his grammar, based on more northerly and westerly dialects, Kuipers (1974:39-40) says: 'Final reduplication...is comparatively rare (some 25 examples). Many of these words refer to movements (*move, run, sway, drag along*) or to physical states (*stiff, numb, tired*); there are also a few nouns with the nominalizer s-.' The examples from apparent weak roots usually differ also from parallel Thompson forms in not losing their schwa when the stress is on the reduplicative syllable. None of the meanings given are strongly convincing of noncontrol force, although several are suggestive. The 'spontaneous' notion can be read into several (in these citations, the raised ʷ is substituted for the raised circle indicating labialization):

tək'ūk'w' 'die down (of wind)' (?s-tuk'w' 'fall silent')  
 t'ox'ūx'w' 'numb' (t'ux'w' id.)  
 q'ox'ūx'w' 'stiff (from cold)'  
 χew'w' 'dry up' (χew-t 'dry')

A couple of others hint at other noncontrol meanings:

kosēs 'having lasted for some time, low on fuel'  
 x-k'ē?ē?-t 'he) jailed' (k'ēm 'to put', x-k'nt-cs 'he puts it in')

4.4. Tillamook. Although remote from the others just discussed, this language has a formation yielding examples similar to those of Coeur d'Alene. Edell (1939:16) terms this the 'inchoative', doubtless following Reichard. Several examples strongly suggest out-of-control force:

tci't ga-İe'q AC s-na'-win 'the house is about ready to fall' (J) (İuq 'to rot') ('now it-will-start-rotting this house')  
 de ts-quxu-u'i 'I fell asleep' (qux 'to sleep')  
 İa ts-wugüg-el 'she came to life' (wug-el 'to live')  
 s-xisis-ewi-tüga'l-İaİ 'we got to be friends' (xi's-wi 'to like')  
 ts-yic.yicac-ni.wüC 'my sleeve-holder is getting loose on me' (yic 'to be loose')

4.5. Upper Chehalis. Boas (1934:109) clearly identifies a category of 'terminal reduplication', which 'expresses a slow, gradual movement'. While none of his examples clearly indicate a primary noncontrol meaning, they are all compatible with it, and some strongly suggest it:

vt yäppi 'he walks slowly back and forth' (vt yäpİ 'he walks')  
 vt pä'lalİ 'he awakes slowly' (vt pälİ 'he awakes')  
 vt xwona'nİ 'he is getting tired gradually' (vt xwonİ 'he gets tired')  
 sxo'totqwon 'it is getting hot slowly' (xo'tq- 'hot')  
 mätsq<sup>u</sup>ton 'he keeps on grinding it slowly' (mätsq<sup>u</sup>- 'to grind fine')

Kinkade (1963:350-51) recognizes two types of terminal reduplication. In the first, 'only the first consonant after the stressed vowel of the root is repeated: C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>(C<sub>3</sub>) becomes C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>(C<sub>3</sub>).' It is used in forming the superlative form of a verb stem:

sx<sup>w</sup>qöxxs 'most' (qöxi 'many')  
 sx<sup>w</sup>māqqs 'oldest' (māqi 'old')

The second type is that of the Boas examples, which Kinkade precises: 'the first consonant after the root vowel, and sometimes the root vowel too, is repeated'. He was able to get few examples by the time of his field work, but cites one example beyond Boas'; the semantics of this example is perhaps just a little different:

sētctm 'change into' (sētİ 'change, transform')

4.6. Lushootseed. Early in his work, Hess (1966:351) proposed a reduplicative affix he called 'recursive', which 'indicates that the activity designated by the base happens repeatedly but without a specific goal. In most cases there is a strong feeling of circularity.' Many of his examples (354) suggest out-of-control force:

p̄q<sup>w</sup>-aq<sup>w</sup> 'drift about more or less in one small area' (p̄q<sup>w</sup> 'drift')  
 sāq<sup>w</sup>-aq<sup>w</sup> 'fly slowly in circles' (sāq<sup>w</sup> 'fly')  
 toj-ōj-āldōč 'roll belly about (i.e., be tired)' (tōč 'roll')  
 ?İb-İb-ōš 'pace back and forth' (?İb-ōš 'walk')

?ūx<sup>w</sup>-ux<sup>w</sup> 'go about in a dither accomplishing nothing' (?ūx<sup>w</sup> 'go')  
 g<sup>w</sup>āx<sup>w</sup>-ax<sup>w</sup>-g<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup> 'several stroll aimlessly' (g<sup>w</sup>āx<sup>w</sup>g<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup> 'several stroll')  
 q<sup>w</sup>āİ-aİ-q<sup>w</sup>aİ 'be driven out wherever one goes' (q<sup>w</sup>āİq<sup>w</sup>aİ 'drive (team of animals, car) a lot')  
 x<sup>w</sup>ōb-ōb-x<sup>w</sup>ōb 'toss from side to side repeatedly' (x<sup>w</sup>ōbx<sup>w</sup>ōb 'toss repeatedly')

Later he recognized still more of the noncontrol sense of this pattern (repetition of the second and third sounds of the word root--i.e., VC). In his collaborative teaching materials for the languages (Hess and Hilbert n.d. 1:110) he notes the forms often imply 'a somewhat *inconclusive activity*'. Further precision is offered later (Hess and Hilbert n.d. 2:58): 'This repetition pattern means that the action is performed more or less at random or else that the action in some way falls short of the usual or expected.' Still later a longer summary (2:161-2) characterizes the semantic coverage as 'actions...performed randomly, ineffectively or inconclusively and... languid states'. It appears the Lushootseed formation could well represent specialization of a more general older one much like Spokane and Thompson 'out-of-control'. Some added examples from this source follow:

sax<sup>w</sup>-ax<sup>w</sup>-ōb 'scurrying about ineffectively' (sax<sup>w</sup>ōb 'jump, run')  
 xal-al-š 'try it on' (xalš 'wear it')  
 g<sup>w</sup>ōd-ōd-il 'sitting for lack of anything else to do' (g<sup>w</sup>ōdil 'sit down; get up from bed')

4.7. Twana. In appended matter to his phonology, Drachman (1969:269) lists an 'inchoative' reduplication V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> and provides a few examples (271, 279). The vowel of the affix is apparently regularly not under primary stress and shifts to [a]. Only three of the examples show contrasting forms. One of those and two isolated forms have meanings which seem contrary to a noncontrol notion:

bix<sup>w</sup>-ax<sup>w</sup> 'smile' (bix<sup>w</sup> 'laugh')  
 k<sup>w</sup>ōd-ad 'hold'  
 ?İl-al 'sing'

The second may not contain a reduplicative affix, but rather a transitive marker. The third may not be analyzable. The rest are either ambiguous or suggest some noncontrol force:

dōl-al 'stop'  
 cāy-ay 'mix up'  
 k<sup>w</sup>ōİ-aİ 'spill' (k<sup>w</sup>ōİčōd 'I pour')  
 qāx<sup>w</sup>-ax<sup>w</sup> 'freeze' (s-qāx<sup>w</sup> 'ice')  
 İİq<sup>w</sup>-aq<sup>w</sup> 'slip'  
 (s)?ōq<sup>w</sup>-aq<sup>w</sup> 'snow'

5. Implications. Reduplication of non-initial root elements has been noted by some earlier comparatists. Haeblerlin (1918), in his survey of reduplicative patterns in the Salish family, concludes (172) that except for Lushootseed, terminal reduplication may be limited to the Interior. With one exception he sees these elements as marks of the plural. He does recognize (163) 'end reduplication' as a prominent feature of Kalispel, where he notes it 'ordinarily expresses the passing from one state into another'. He also remarks on its frequent association with certain suffixes, including -nũ. But beyond this the material was not adequate to perceive related structures in other languages. Reichard (1959a:158) was able to see in the better material at her disposal a semantic coverage which she characterizes 'without effort on the part of the subject'. She recognized the same process in Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel, and Tillamook, and suggested that the few examples in Upper Chehalis perhaps indicate that language also had it. Later, in treating the formal aspects of reduplication (Reichard 1959b:243) she cites a single Lushootseed form suggestive of the same formation. She still confuses this category with the apparent reduplication of vowels connected with glottal stop infix, which we now know marks an inchoative or mutative meaning. But the glimmerings of the out-of-control notion are there. (We should also point out that it has been difficult to recognize the functioning of this reduplicative morpheme ever when the outline of the control system had already begun to emerge. Since a large majority of roots are marked [- control], simple glosses of these forms based on them would in any case be unlikely to suggest any control-type contrast. It is thus impressive that Haeblerlin and Reichard were able to perceive so much.)

The close match in form, morphological distribution, and meaning of the 'out-of-control' reduplication we have now identified for Spokane-Kalispel (in Southern Interior Salish) and in Thompson (in Northern Interior Salish) invites serious speculation about its history. The evidence from Coeur d'Alene suggests a similar system awaiting full description in that language. Such a system may also be more widespread in Colville-Okanagan than present descriptions demonstrate. Shuswap seems to show at least signs of the residue of such a category. Kinkade (p.c.) has mentioned a similar reduplicative pattern in Columbian with something like inchoative meaning. The similarities noted are not the sort that suggest diffusion. It seems likely that Proto-Interior Salish had such a pattern which has survived as a productive formation in at least Spokane-Kalispel and Thompson.

The formation may, in fact, go back to Proto-Salish. While the evidence from Upper Chehalis and Twana is only vaguely suggestive, that from Lushootseed and Tillamook is hauntingly similar to patterns well attested in the two Interior languages. And again we see no hint of diffusional influence. It may be productive for investigators of other Salish languages to probe for reflexes.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>We are grateful to many persons and institutions that made this study possible. For extensive examples and painstaking explanations first mention must go to our principal consultants: Margaret Sherwood, whose keen mind and endless patience have made it possible for Carlson to explore the intricacies of control in Spokane; Annie York, whose similar qualities have afforded Thompson the wealth of material on the Thompson language.

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<sup>2</sup>Previous descriptions of Spokane have called this reduplication pattern 'inceptive'. In his description of Kalispel, Hans Vogt (1940: 62) treated it similarly, stating that stems reduplicated in this manner indicate 'the verbal process develops gradually and comes to an end'.

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## MORE ON THE CONTROL SYSTEM OF THOMPSON SALISH

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There is now a good deal of information available on control systems in several Salish languages (including a number of papers by Phil Davis and Ross Saunders on Bella Coola control phenomena--e.g. Saunders and Davis 1978, Davis and Saunders 1979, 1980; Beaumont 1977 on Seshelt; Galloway 1978 on Halkomelem). We have ourselves tried to document such phenomena, drawing on our experience with Straits languages, Tillamook, and Lushootseed, and particularly with Thompson River Salish (Thompson and Thompson 1974, Thompson 1978, 1979). Work on this problem has continued, with concentration on the Thompson Salish system, and it seems important to share some new things we have been learning.

1. Semantic features. At an earlier stage we thought that most morphemes of the language were marked either [+ control] or [- control]; to handle some morphemes which introduced especially strong noncontrol notions we used a second feature [+ limited control]. In attempting to explain the system to various people we have found that it has not been easy to make ourselves understood. Certainly part of the problem has related to the notion of [+ limited control]: a number of people have found this notion difficult to grasp in its relationship to [- control]; others have presumed that it referred to situations involving less than full control, but more control than [- control]. This kind of notion may in fact be important in some languages--perhaps, for example, for Bella Coola (Ross Saunders, p.c.)--but such a difference does not seem to be formalized for Thompson Salish. In any case, it has seemed essential to find a different way to mark morphemes which convey strongly noncontrol ideas.

What seems now a more workable solution has evolved with the attempt to analyze this part of the semantic system of the language with binary features. A feature [emphatic], which is needed to specify other types of emphasis in the system, serves to separate strong from less strong control notions. So morphemes which formerly were marked [+ limited control] are now handled by [- control + emphatic]. It will be seen shortly that this permits a meaningful binary scheme which was impossible to work out with the former approach.

2. The marking of morphemes. As work has progressed we have also become aware that while the marking of predicative words is relatively simple--they are, for the most part, either [+ control] or [- control]--the way they come to have that marking is not so simple. A scheme of relative dominance is in operation, so that from the point of view of individual morphemes there is indeed a scale of degrees of control. This has also made clear that more morphemes than we used to think are simply unmarked for control.

At the moment, five degrees along the control axis seem adequate to handle the combinations we have observed. These are specified in Table 1, along with some examples.<sup>1</sup>

[- control] [+ emphatic]	[- control] [- emphatic]	unmarked for control	[+ control] [- emphatic]	[+ control] [+ emphatic]
√pún 'find'	√ník 'cut'	√qú? 'water'		√nés 'go'
√q <sup>w</sup> ənúx <sup>w</sup> 'sick'	√péw 'swell'	√wík 'see'	//ekst//	√kən 'help'
	√núš 'soak'	√xí? 'like'	'hand, arm'	√úq <sup>e</sup> ? 'drink'
	√cəm 'burn'	√kəɪ 'detach'	//xən//	'foot'
-nwétn 'non- ctl. mdl.'	//-šp// 'in- choative'	-s 'caus.'		//-šme// 'mdl.'
//VC// 'out- of-control'		//-min//		//-n// 'ctl.' ?
		'relational'		//-əyx// 'auton.'

TABLE 1.