

TRANSITIVE INFLECTION IN (MOSES) COLUMBIAN SALISH

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0. In this paper¹ I will present a sketch of transitive inflection in Columbian. As used here, "transitive inflection" will include a number of grammatical categories, such as transitive markers, transitivizers, control, indirectives, and pronominal markers. Control will only be touched on, and left for fuller treatment later. Transitive inflection in Columbian is entirely suffixal, and is the most elaborated part of Columbian inflection. Most of the suffixes involved will be familiar to anyone who has followed the growing literature on Interior Salish; cognates for all the suffixes involved in Columbian transitive inflection occur elsewhere, although no attempt at comparison will be made here.² However, Columbian seems to elaborate the overall system by allowing combinations apparently excluded in other Interior Salishan languages. I will first present the subject and object suffixes; second the transitive, control, and causative suffixes; third the transitivizers *-mín-* and *-nún-*; fourth the indirective suffixes. Then I will indicate some of the ordering and co-occurrence possibilities in Columbian.³

1.0. Pronominal suffixes on transitive constructions can be split into object and subject sequences with relative ease, although various morphophonemic processes produce some irregularities in the overall system. These processes have to do with primary stress location, some apparent analogical formations with 1 sg. subjects, and some irregularities when 1 pl. is combined with certain other personal endings.

1.1. The basic subject suffixes are the following. These may be compared with the intransitive subject clitics, which consist basically of *k-* plus the transitive subject suffixes except in the third person.

	<u>transitive</u>	<u>intransitive</u>
1 sg.	-n, -nn	kn
2 sg.	-x ^w	k ^w
3 sg.	-s	∅
1 pl.	-t	kt
2 pl.	-p	kp
3 pl.	-s	lx

The *-nn* variant of the 1 sg. suffix occurs when the stressed vowel immediately precedes this suffix; this can occur only when *-cí-* '2 sg. object' or *-stú-* 'causative' (with a zero 3 sg. object) occur. Ambiguous in this respect are 1 sg. subject after *-mín-* 'relational' or *-nún-* 'success' plus 3 sg. object; if these two suffixes are, alternatively, analyzed as *-mí-* and *-nú-* (which seems perfectly possible in Columbian; morphophonemic rules produce the correct output no matter which variants are considered basic), then *-nn* occurs as after

-cí- or *-stú-*. I will here assume *-mín-* and *-nún-* as basic, and the *-nn* variants of 1 sg. *-n* as being analogical to these forms when followed by *-n* '1 sg. subject'. (For further discussion of *-mín-* and *-nún-*, see below, section 3.) Third person plural forms are not always distinguished from 3 sg. forms, and will largely be ignored in this paper; note, however, that *lx* occurring with a transitive construction will refer to the object, not the subject. Subject suffixes in Columbian, unlike all other Interior Salishan languages, never occur stressed or in a variant with a vowel.

1.2. There are two sets of object suffixes in Columbian, although they are distinct only in 1 sg. and 2 sg. Set one occurs after *-n-* 'control', set two after *-stu-* 'causative'. Continuative aspect forms have generalized the use of 'causative' so that all transitive continuative/customary forms include *-stu-* (although not all causatives are continuative). Hence other transitivizing suffixes occur with both sets of suffixes, although *-xi-* calls for the causative set and *-túit-* 'indirect' calls for the non-causative set.

	<u>non-causative</u>	<u>causative</u>
1 sg.	-sá/-s-	-m-
2 sg.	-sí/-s-	-m-
3	∅	∅
1 pl.	-ál/-l-	-ál/-l-
2 pl.	-úlm-/-lm-	-úlm-/-lm-

All the non-causative endings must be preceded by *-t-* 'transitive'; this fuses with the singular endings, so that they appear as *-cá/-c-* and *-cí/-c-*. Full transitive paradigms follow, showing stressed and unstressed variants of both non-causative and causative object suffixes.⁴

	<u>non-causative</u> <u>subj.-obj.</u>	<u>non-causative*</u> <u>object unstressed</u>	<u>causative</u> <u>object stressed</u>	<u>causative*</u> <u>object unstressed</u>
1sg-3	kʰə́nín	?áçɣn	cəkstúnn	çəhíímá?sn
2sg-3	kʰə́nín ^w	?áçɣntx ^w	cəkstúx ^w	çəhíímá?stx ^w
3-3	kʰə́nís	?áçɣs	cəkstús	çəhíímá?sc
1pl-3	kʰə́nín tm	?áçɣntm	cəkstúm	çəhíímá?stm
2pl-3	kʰə́nín ^{tp}	?áçɣntp	cəkstúp	çəhíímá?stp
1sg-2sg	kʰə́nínçín	?áçɣncn	cəkstúnn	çəhíímá?stnn
3-2sg	kʰə́nínçís	?áçɣnc	cəkstúms	çəhíímá?stms
1pl-2sg	kʰə́nínçít	?áçɣnct	cəkstúmt	çəhíímá?stmt
2sg-1sg	kʰə́nínçáx ^w	?áçɣncx ^w	cəkstúmx ^w	çəhíímá?stux ^w
3-1sg	kʰə́nínçás	?áçɣnc	cəkstúms	çəhíímá?stms
2pl-1sg	kʰə́nínçálp	?áçɣnc ^{lp}	cəkstú(m)p	çəhíímá?stmp
1sg-2pl	kʰə́nínçúlmn	?áçɣntúlmn	cəkstúlmn	çəhíímá?stlmn
3-2pl	kʰə́nínçúlms	?áçɣntúlms	cəkstúlms	çəhíímá?stlms
1pl-2pl	kʰə́nínçúlm ^t	?áçɣntúlm ^t	cəkstúlm ^t	çəhíímá?stlm ^t
2sg-1pl	kʰə́nínçált	?áçɣntlt	cəkstált	çəhíímá?stlt

3-1pl	kʰəmntáls	ʔáçntls	cəkstáls	çəhímaʔstls
2pl-1pl	kʰəmntálp	ʔáçntlp	cəkstálp	çəhímaʔstlp
	'go past'	'look at'	'hit'	'dislike'

Irregularities to be noted are the following: (1) the loss of -t- 'transitive' in all lsg-3 forms and non-causative 3-3 forms; (2) the loss of -n- 'control' in lsg-3 non-causative forms (note the difference between this and the addition of an n in a form like cəkstúnn or kʰəmncínn; n is regularly lost before s, ʔ, or x, as in kʰəms, with this regular loss ordered after the irregular loss of -t-); (3) the merger of t and s to c in 3-3 unstressed causative (this can also be analyzed as loss of t and a suffixed s becoming c after another s, which is a general rule); (4) merger of -cs to -c in 3-2sg and 3-lsg unstressed non-causative forms; (5) occurrence of -m for the expected -t in all 1pl-3 forms; (6) occurrence of -t for the expected -xʷ in all 2sg-1pl forms; (7) stress on the object, rather than on -stu- in stressed causatives with 1 pl. subjects (the same may be true for 2 pl. subjects, but since both -stu- and -úlm- have ú there is no way to tell); (8) the shift of m to u in 2sg-lsg unstressed causative forms.

2. The suffixes that usually immediately precede object suffixes are -t- 'transitive', -n- 'control', and -stu- 'causative'. All three appear in the paradigms above in 1.2, and morphophonemic changes involving them were discussed there. The -n- 'control' regularly occurs with -t- 'transitive', and this sequence is mutually exclusive with -stu- 'causative'—i.e., they cannot co-occur. As noted earlier, -stu- and the causative objects must be used in all transitive continuative/customary aspect constructions, as in Colville-Okanagan, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene. In Columbian, continuative/customary forms have a prefix s-, ʔac-/c-, or sac-/sc- (ʔac- and sac- occur only when the stem to which they are prefixed begins with a single consonant followed by a stressed vowel), as in cəpəçʷstús 'he's spilling it', cmístúnn 'I know it', cəwáwłxsn 'I'm talking to him', ʔackíʷsc lx 'he's praying for them', scqʷúsnn 'I'm reading it' (from cəqʷun- 'call, name, read'), scəkstús 'he's counting them right now'. But many forms with -stu- 'causative' occur without these prefixes, and are clearly completive aspect, as in ʔəxpstúnn 'I raised him', púlxsn 'I put him to bed, I tucked him in', ʔúçqʷsn 'I took it out'. A specific contrast of the two aspectual usages where the causative force is clear occurs in the following forms based on cíʷlx 'bathe': ʔacçíʷlxsc 'she's bathing him', tíl' cíʷlxsc 'she already bathed him'.

The causative suffix may also be used to transitive a stem already containing various intransitive suffixes. Only a few examples will be given here. (1) After -m 'middle': ləkstúnn 'I forced him', wənmstúnn 'I lowered it'. (2) After -p 'inchoative': təxpstúnn 'I stopped him from doing it, I fired him', ʔəxpstúnn 'I raised him'. (3) After -ilx 'autonomous': tálxsn 'I took/got them (fish) up the river bank', cəwáwłxsn 'I'm talking to him'.

3. Both -min- 'relational' and -nú- 'success' may be considered transitivizers, although -nú- may only be the transitive form of -nwáin. As noted in 1.2. these could

apparently equally well be analyzed as -mi- and -nú-, although, at least for 'relational', the form with n seems historically correct.

3.1. As in Thompson (and other Salishan languages), 'relational' "refers to objects toward whom/which the subject is moving or in relation to whom/which the action is accomplished".⁵ It occurs with and without stress, and with both causative and non-causative endings. The four paradigms follow.

subj.-obj.	-min-t-*	-mn-t-	-min-stu-	-mn-st-*
1sg-3	yərmínn	cqánaʔmn	yərmísn	ʔacwákʷcnmnsn
2sg-3	yərmíntxʷ	cqánaʔmntxʷ	yərmístxʷ	ʔacwákʷcnmstxʷ
3-3	yərmís	cqánaʔms	yərmísc	ʔacwákʷcnmssc
1pl-3	yərmíntm	cqánaʔmntm	yərmístm	ʔacwákʷcnmstm
2pl-3	yərmíntp	cqánaʔmntp	yərmístp	ʔacwákʷcnmstp
1sg-2sg	yərmíncn	cqánaʔmncn	yərmístmn	ʔacwákʷcnmstmn
3-2sg	yərmínc	cqánaʔmnc	yərmístms	ʔacwákʷcnmstms
1pl-2sg	yərmínc̣t	cqánaʔmnc̣t	yərmístmt	ʔacwákʷcnmstmt
2sg-1sg	yərmíncxʷ	cqánaʔmncxʷ	yərmístuxʷ	ʔacwákʷcnmstuxʷ
3-1sg	yərmínc	cqánaʔmnc	yərmístms	ʔacwákʷcnmstms
2pl-1sg	yərmínc̣lp	cqánaʔmnc̣lp	yərmístmp	ʔacwákʷcnmstmp
1sg-2pl	yərmíntlmn	cqánaʔmntlmn	yərmístlmn	ʔacwákʷcnmstlmn
3-2pl	yərmíntlms	cqánaʔmntlms	yərmístlms	ʔacwákʷcnmstlms
1pl-2pl	yərmíntlmt	cqánaʔmntlmt	yərmístlmt	ʔacwákʷcnmstlmt
2sg-1pl	yərmíntlt	cqánaʔmntlt	yərmístlt	ʔacwákʷcnmstlt
3-1pl	yərmíntls	cqánaʔmntls	yərmístls	ʔacwákʷcnmstls
2pl-1pl	yərmíntlp 'push'	cqánaʔmntlp 'hear'	yərmístlp 'pushing'	ʔacwákʷcnmstlp 'talking about'

-min- frequently occurs to form secondary derivatives, as from the following reflexive and indefinite intransitive forms. In this function, only the weak form of the suffix occurs: kɪáʔqncútumc 'he's leaning against me', kɪlncútum 'I'm jealous of him', kaslāhlahscútum 'I'm going to play a trick on him', kyaʔmncútumtm 'we all jumped on him', ʔəltxíxum 'I asked other people for it', kʷanxíxum 'I took it away from them; pickpocket', kʷəinxáxum 'I loaned someone else's property to him'.

3.2. -nwáin (intransitive)/-nú- (transitive) 'success' is a strong suffix, i.e., always has primary stress. It usually means 'successful completion of an action' (often after much effort) or 'finally manage to do something'. The intransitive form occurs very infrequently in my data, although I have never tried to elicit it specifically. I have only kn xəpɪnwáin 'I'm finished filling them' and kn scmɪpnwáinexʷ 'I'm learning about it' (-exʷ 'continuative intransitive'). The transitive form is quite common. It is followed by -t- 'transitive' in completive aspect and -stu- 'causative' in continuative aspect; since -nú- is always stressed, it must be followed by the unstressed (vowelless) variants of object suffixes. Paradigms with -nú- follow the pattern of -min-t- and -min-stu-

given in 3.1. Some examples of -nún- are: k'a?k'a'núnc 'he bit me all up', k'u'nús 'he used it up', mipnúnn 'I found it out', lipnúnn 'I hit the target', laxq'núnn 'I got away from him', ktaqna'núnn 'I accidentally put my hand on it and (managed to) smear it', ck'a'nústms 'he's always scolding/getting after me'.

4. I have dealt with Columbian indirectives elsewhere (Kinkade 1980), identifying them and attempting to indicate their syntactic functions. However, I did not treat their role in word composition. Since my data lack full paradigms for indirectives, the following conclusions should be considered somewhat tentative.

4.1. -xi- is followed by causative object suffixes, but with -t- 'transitive' intervening rather than -stu- 'causative': cəkkitms 'he counted for me', c'xmxitms 'he promised me', k'is'xít 'I said a prayer for him', ləmxít 'I stole it for him'. This indirective also occurs unstressed and without its vowel: káixtms 'he gave it to me', táwxts 'he bought it for him', k'í'áyxtn 'I returned it for him', xalíxtn 'I asked him for it'.

4.2. -i- is usually followed by -t- 'transitive' and non-causative object forms: ləmicás 'he stole it from me', pálic 'she braided my (hair)', ?ác'ixcn 'I see what you have', ná'icx' 'you broke my X', ?aníitx' 'you took it for them', hawítáit 'you made us...', cíkítit 'you dug up our...', k'í'w'in 'I prayed and blessed it for him'. 3-3 forms also apparently take non-causative object suffixes, with -t-s merging to -c (two alternative analyses are possible: (1) only -s occurs, and becomes -c after another fricative--note the 3-3 unstressed causative formation; (2) this -c is from the causative paradigm, where this is the expected ending): máya'ic and miyápic both meaning 'he diagnosed her...'. But -i- may also be followed by -t- and causative object suffixes: ?acwíktmm 'I see you', and perhaps xalíitn 'I asked him for it'. Further study and additional inflectional combinations are needed to clarify the use of -i-.

4.3. -tút- is always stressed, and is followed by -t- 'transitive' and non-causative object forms: stám'ay' sawtúic 'what did he ask you?', tərqtútix' 'you kicked it towards them', k'w'ntút 'I loaned it to him', snk'xalq'ptút 'I took it out of his mouth'. -tút- also seems to occur occasionally added to transitive middle forms: cəkmtút 'I threw it to the next person (to catch)', tumistmtúic 'he sold it to me'. I do not yet fully understand the construction of these forms.

5. A wide variety of co-occurrences of causative, transitivizers, and indirectives is possible in Columbian--more than reported for other Interior Salishan languages. Since for all but one of these co-occurrences I have only one or two examples, I will for the most part simply list the forms that occur. Specific combinations are usually difficult to elicit because of the subtle semantics involved and because context is crucial to an acceptable combination.

5.1. -min-xi-: cəkmxít 'I threw it for s.o. else', k'u'nmíxtn 'I used up s.t. belonging to s.o. else'. The two stress patterns appear contradictory.

5.2. -min-i-: ckmíin 'I threw it', náltmín 'I forgot someone's whatever I had'.

5.3. -nún-i-: mipnúin 'I caught on to it (his secret, s.t. unknown)', k'u'nmúitx' 'you used up his X for him', xəsnúin 'I knew he lost it, I know about his loss', təmx'núin 'I wore out his...', cəkknúin 'I accidentally hit it', ma'núin 'I didn't want it (noise) and wanted to be undisturbed'. This is a relatively common combination.

5.4. -stu-i-: cmistúin 'I know about it (a secret)', k'əns'túin 'I showed it to him'. Or this might be -stu-tút-, with -stu- reduced to -s-.

5.5. -xi-tút- k'í'áyxtn 'I brought s.t. to change back, I returned (the gloves)(to the store)'.

5.6. -xi-min-: káixm 'I gave it away'. Compare this form with káin 'I gave it to him' and káixtn 'I gave him s.t.'.

5.7. -i-tú-: cmittúin 'I know what he's got, I know about it'. The identification of the second element is unclear. It seems not to be 'causative'; 5.4. shows that that should precede -i-.

5.8. -cá-i-: xəscáic wa? ?ink'k'úsm 'he lost my watch'. The identification of the first element is unclear.

6.0. The suffixes described in sections 2, 3, and 4 also occur before reflexive and reciprocal suffixes, although these turn the stems into intransitive forms. I have spent little time investigating these constructions, especially reciprocals, but only one major problem seems to arise from them.

6.1. The reflexive suffix is -cút/-ct. Historically this derives from pre-Columbian *-t-sút, but the t and s have fully merged, as can be seen in causative forms, where the causative suffix is reduced to -s- and its t reassigned to -cut. Reflexives occur (1) after -n- 'control' (pəq'ncút 'he spilled it on himself', kayakícút 'he set fire to himself', wák'ncct 'he hid', kn x'úyinct 'I sighed', kn sacq'úncctəx' 'I'm fattening myself up'); (2) after 'causative', here reduced to -s- (pəpəxscút 'he's acting smart', scwəlxscútəx' 'he's talking to himself', ləpləpscút 'he's teasing'); (3) after -min- 'relational' (both -mín-ct and -mn-cút occur--as well as weak -mn-ct--one of which must involve secondary derivation) (wak'míncct 'perjure self, hide s.t. inside self', ckmíncct 'shy at', qənnəqsmíncct 'an unmarried person'; xəsmncct 'dress up, put on one's best', xəc'mncct 'curdle', t'xmncct 'relax'; wák'mncct 'hiding (self)', súlncct 'numb', sútncct 'stretch oneself', líxncct 'pl. lie down'); (4) after -min- plus -stu- 'causative' (?ác'xmscút 'show off', xatmscút 'he's raising up', kn cā'xmscút 'I'm ashamed of myself'); (5) after -xi- 'indirective': scmay'xcútəx' 'he's talking to himself'.

6.2. There are two reciprocal suffixes, -wáp and -wáx' (both always stressed). I do not know the difference between them, and have only four examples of -wáp, all four followed by lx '3d pl. '; two are preceded by -n- 'control' and -t- 'transitive', the other two apparently by neither: tərqnantwáp lx 'they kicked each other', cəkəpsntwáp lx 'they hit each other (with rocks)'; cūcwənwáp lx 'they hit each other with their fists', cəkknawáp lx 'they hit each other (by throwing rocks)'. -wáx' occurs (1) after -n- 'control' and -t-

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1.2. Non-causative object suffixes also occur after what Thompson and Thompson call "control roots", roots which do not require -n- 'control'. These roots are probably fewer in number in Columbian than in Thompson, but they do occur; some which would be expected through similar meanings or cognacy with Thompson occur in Columbian preferably with an indirective suffix before the transitive and object suffixes (e.g., wík-í- 'see'). As with non-control roots, control roots may be stressed or unstressed, so the same variation between stressed and unstressed object forms occurs. Continuative aspect forms again require causative endings. The following are sample paradigms.

subj.-obj.	non-causative object stressed	non-causative object unstressed	causative object stressed
1sg-3	?əmtn	káfn	c?əmstúnn
2sg-3	?əmtx ^w	káftx ^w	c?əmstúx ^w
3-3	?əmc	káfc	c?əmstús
1pl-3	?əmtm	káftm	c?əmstúm
2pl-3	*?əmtp	*káftp	c?əmstúp
1sg-2sg	?əmcínn	káfcn	c?əmstúnn
3-2sg	?əmcís	káfc	c?əmstúms
1pl-2sg	?əmcít	káfc ^t	*c?əmstúmt
2sg-1sg	?əmcáx ^w	káfcx ^w	c?əmstúmx ^w
3-1sg	?əmcás	káfc	c?əmstúms
2pl-1sg	*?əmcáglp	*káfcglp	*c?əmstú(m)p
1sg-2pl	?əmtúlmm	káftlmm	c?əmstúlmm
3-2pl	?əmtúlms	káftlms	*c?əmstúlms
1pl-2pl	*?əmtúlmt	*káftlmt	*c?əmstúlmt
2sg-1pl	?əmtált	káftlt	*c?əmstált
3-1pl	?əmtáls	káftls	c?əmstáls
2pl-1pl	*?əmtálp	*káftlp	*c?əmstálp
3-3obv	?əmtwás	káftus	c?əmstwás
	'feed'	'give'	'feeding'

'transitive' (ckcəkəntwāx 'they ran into one another', qiyqiyəntwāx 'they called each other dirty names', səɾəyā'əntwāx 'they're pulling each other's hair'); (2) after -t- 'transitive' alone (kicəməntwāx 'they're kissing'); (3) after -n- or -na- (kɪ'am'əmmawāx 'they're waiting for each other', tɔ'ntwāx 'they're splitting up, they're separating', scu'cu'nāwāx'u'x 'they're boxing'); (4) after -stu- 'causative' (yəlmstwāx 'they're running off together', wəlxstwāx 'they're arguing', scx'ay'istwāx'əx lx 'they're getting after each other'); (5) after -xi- 'indirective' (mayxtwāx 'they're telling each other stories').

7. As can readily be seen, transitive inflection in Columbian is quite complex. But even given the variety of combinations of suffixes cited here, it seems unlikely that all the possibilities have been discovered yet. A number of logically possible combinations are not attested, although some have been suggested to informants and rejected. Further study is underway, but the general nature of Columbian transitivity is clear, and should make further comparative work possible.

FOOTNOTES

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2. Relevant references may be found in Mattina (to appear); they will not be repeated here since they are not immediately relevant to this paper. At least two additional references, not cited by Mattina, are relevant for comparative purposes, however: Gibson 1973 and van Eijk, et al. 1973. The latter article includes some information on Lillooet. Among Interior Salishan languages, data are least available on Lillooet and Columbian. A forthcoming dissertation on Lillooet by Jan van Eijk will plug one of these gaps; the present paper is a start on the other.
3. A number of problems remain to be worked out, especially relating to co-occurrence, so some of the analysis presented here must be considered tentative.
4. Not all of these paradigms have yet been checked with informants. The order of suffix combinations follows Thompson and Thompson 1981. Columbian also has an obviative object suffix -wā-/u-, apparently the same in both object sets; it appears to occur in exactly the same types of constructions as other object suffixes, although I have only a half dozen examples of it: pəq'ntwās 'he₁ spilled it on him₂', xəlqntwās 'it killed him', wikkus 'she saw him', kārtus 'he₁ gave it to him₂', tɔ'ustus 'it left him', cəkkitus 'he₁ counted for him₂'.
5. Thompson and Thompson 1981:167.

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