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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.[1]

$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ control} \\ + \text{ emphatic} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ control} \\ - \text{ emphatic} \end{bmatrix}$	unmarked for control	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ control} \\ - \text{ emphatic} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ control} \\ + \text{ emphatic} \end{bmatrix}$
√púm 'find' √qʷənúx̌ʷ 'sick'	√níkʼ 'cut' √péw 'swell' √nús 'soak' √cəm 'burn'	√qʷúʔ 'water' √wík 'see' √x̌íʔ 'like' √kəɬ 'detach'	//=ekst// 'hand, arm' //=xən// 'foot'	√nés 'go' √kən 'help' √ʔúqʷeʔ 'drink'
-nwéɪn 'non-ctl. mdl.' //·VC// 'out-of-control'	//-šp// 'in-choative'	-s 'caus.' //-min// 'relational'		//-šme// 'mdl.' //-n// 'ctl.' ? //-əyx// 'auton.'

TABLE 1.

The familiar pattern is exhibited by the roots in the second column, which are marked [- control - emphatic]. With affixes that are unmarked for control resulting forms are [- control]; for example, causative inflection involves only unmarked affixes:

níǨ-s-t-xʷ   'you cut it accidentally
péw-s-t-xʷ   'it swelled up on you'
cəm-s-t-éxʷ   '(you weren't watching your cooking and) it burned on you'

In the past we had supposed that all the lexical suffixes were unmarked for control, since forms like the following have noncontrol force:

níǨ=kst kn   'I got my hand/finger cut'
péw=xn   kn   'my foot is swollen'

We had also supposed that a root like √kəɬ 'detach' similarly had [- control] marking. Then how could we account for derivatives like the following with [+ control] force?

ʔes-kəɬ·/kəɬ=xə́n kn 'I have my shoes off, I go barefoot'
kɬ=ékst-mn-e 'I release it, let go of it' (with relational inflection, which involves no control-marked affixes)

What eventually became clear is that √kəɬ 'detach' is unmarked for control, while the lexical suffixes //=ekst// 'hand, lower arm' and //=xə́n// 'foot, leg' are marked for control with weak [+ control] force. That is, their [+ control] marking is not strong enough to convert [- control] stems, but does accomplish this with stems that are unmarked for control. Such affixes, then, are marked [+ control - emphatic], while affixes like the control middle and transitive and the autonomous suffix are [+ control + emphatic]: they convert even [- control] stems to [+ control]. E.g.

níǨ-m kn   'I cut some things, do some cutting'
níǨ-e-s   'she cut it'
péw-ix   '[snake or toad] swells up'

Why then were we fooled about so many examples of √kəɬ 'detach', which seemed to have noncontrol force? That nuance was being added by other affixes, the most common of which is the inchoative:

kɬ-ə́p 'it came apart, got disconnected'
kəɬ-p-s-t-éne 'I accidentally disengaged it'

We were also quite familiar with the strong noncontrol marking of words involving the noncontrol middle -nwéɬn and the out-of-control end-reduplication (for extensive exemplification of the latter see Carlson and Thompson in this same collection). These affixes regularly convert [+ control] stems to [- control]. E.g.

ʔuqʷeʔ-nwéɬn 'he (finally) managed to get a drink'
nés·əs kn   'I managed to go'

We had also identified a few roots that clearly called for [- control + emphatic] marking. Those noted in the early period of study simply lacked the usual control middle and transitive formations. E.g.

pún-mn-e 'I found it' (requiring relational inflection)

One troublesome fact was that there were a number of control middle and transitive forms with obvious strong noncontrol meanings:

təlxʷ-e-t-éne   'I looked and looked but couldn't find it'
xʷúc̓-m kn   'I vomited violently, vomited up blood'
xíǨ-e-s   'he missed the target, missed what he was shooting at'

These were considered to be cases of fringe, product of what does seem likely to be a tendency for //-n-t// transitive inflection (which should mark control positively) to take over cases where we would expect simple //-t// inflection. Now it seems obvious that they represent [- control + emphatic] roots, and such stems are not converted to [+ control] even by [+ control + emphatic] affixes.

An interesting byproduct of this part of the investigation is that we may be getting better information on what the semantic coverage of //-n-t// transitive inflection is--or once was. The root √qʷənúx̌ʷ 'sick, ill' is marked [- control + emphatic]; it appears with both //-n-t// transitive and //-s-t// causative inflection; note the semantic contrast:

qʷnóx̌ʷ-s-t-i-s '(she was spraying some insecticide and it) made us sick'
qʷnóx̌ʷ-e-t-i-s '(she cooked something for us and it) made us sick'

It may well be that the pre-transitive suffix //-n//, rather than simply marking [+ control], indicates something like directed attention. (Both the above forms are [- control] in force.)

3. Implications. This means, of course, that there is a good deal of work now before us. Although we have extensive lexical materials on Thompson Salish, we often do not have the crucial combinations of morphemes necessary to determine the control marking of particular roots and affixes. On the bright side, however, we have learned some interesting things. For example, it now appears that most function morphemes--including the large range of particles--are unmarked for control. We have identified very few morphemes with [+ control - emphatic] marking, and so far no roots are involved. On the other hand, there are many more roots in the category unmarked for control than we had earlier suspected. Among them are cases like √x̌í 'like, find pleasing', which are typically handled not with transitive inflection but with possessive inflection:

n-s/x̌íʔ kʷ 'I like you, you are pleasing to me'

Although this seems to be a logical way to provide for two participants, both of whom are patients (experiencers), the form is really not either [+ control] or [- control]. There is also the possibility of relational inflection for such cases, giving a different shade of meaning:

x̌íʔ-mín-c-n 'I like you; I find you pleasing'

Finally, we may mention the matter of an important dichotomy of [+ control + emphatic] roots which emerges primarily in connection with the [- control + emphatic] affix 'out-of-control'. Such roots are either agent-oriented or patient-oriented. E.g.
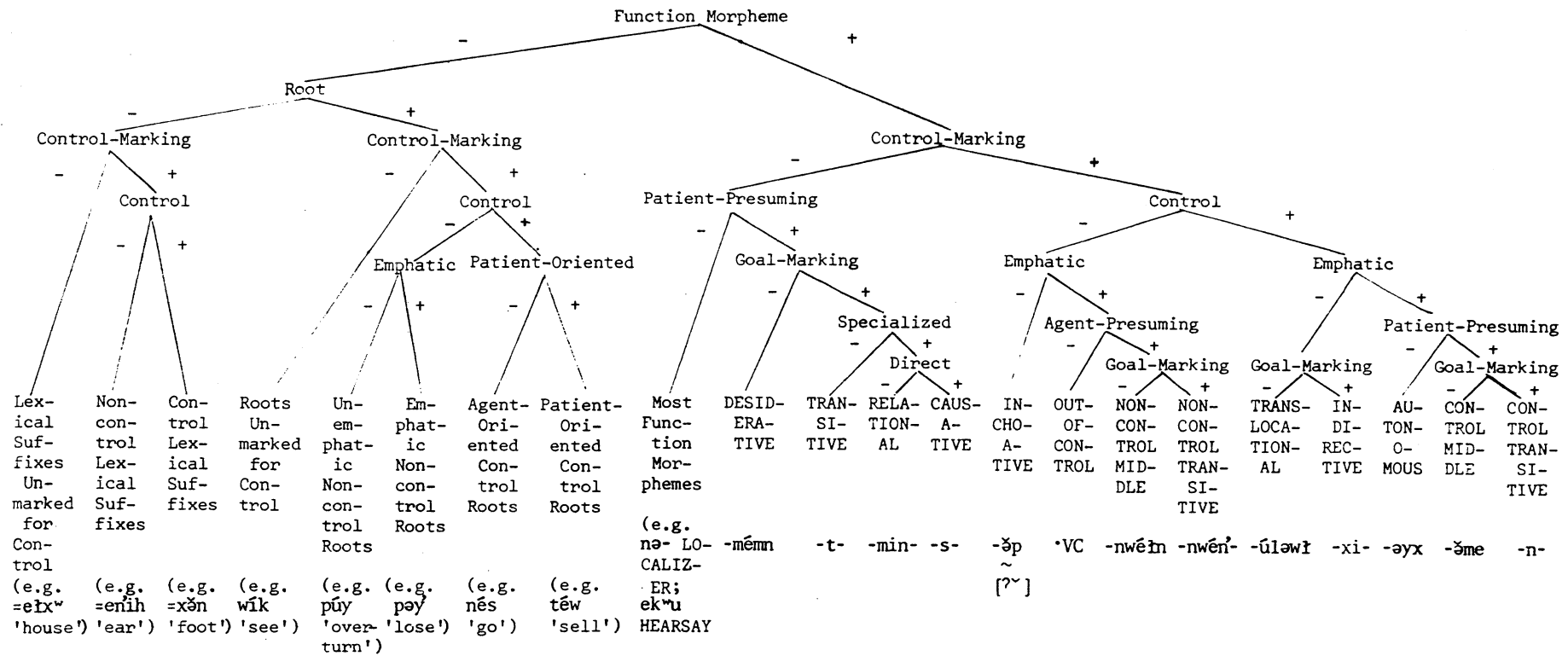
nés kn   'I go (to a particular place)'
nés·əs kn 'I managed to go'
téw kn   'I sell (something to someone)'
téw·u kn   'I am sold something'

Some notion of this part of the semantic structure can be gained from the feature matrix appended here. This is tentative, because many details remain to be worked out, but it may at least be suggestive of the ways we are now looking at the domain of control.

FOOTNOTE

The usual phonemic symbols are supplemented here by a slash (') to mark non-initial roots in forms, by the equals sign (=) to indicate lexical suffixes, and the raised dot (˙) to indicate reduplicative affixes.

Function Morpheme

−   +

Root

−   +

Control-Marking   Control-Marking   Control-Marking

−   +   −   +   −   +

Control   Control   Patient-Presuming   Control

−   +   −   +   −   +   −   +

Emphatic   Patient-Oriented   Goal-Marking   Emphatic   Emphatic

−   +   −   +   −   +   −   +   −   +

Specialized   Agent-Presuming   Patient-Presuming

−   +   −   +   −   +

Direct   Goal-Marking   Goal-Marking   Goal-Marking

−   +   −   +   −   +   −   +

Terminal nodes:

- Lexical Suffixes Unmarked for Control (e.g. =eɫxʷ 'house')
- Non-control Lexical Suffixes (e.g. =eníh 'ear')
- Control Lexical Suffixes (e.g. =xə́n 'foot')
- Roots Unmarked for Control (e.g. wík 'see')
- Unemphatic Noncontrol Roots (e.g. púy 'overturn')
- Emphatic Noncontrol Roots (e.g. pəy̓ 'lose')
- Agent-Oriented Control Roots (e.g. nés 'go')
- Patient-Oriented Control Roots (e.g. tə́w 'sell')
- Most Function Morphemes (e.g. nə- LOCALIZER; ekʷu HEARSAY)
- DESIDERATIVE -mémn
- TRANSITIVE -t-
- RELATIONAL -min-
- CAUSATIVE -s-
- INCHOATIVE -x̌p ~ [ʔ~]
- OUT-OF-CONTROL ·VC
- NON-CONTROL MIDDLE -nwéɫn
- NON-CONTROL TRANSITIVE -nwén̓-
- TRANS-LOCATIONAL -úləwɫ
- INDIRECTIVE -xi-
- AUTONOMOUS -əyx
- CONTROL MIDDLE -x̌me
- CONTROL TRANSITIVE -n-

Feature matrix for Thompson Salish morphemes with respect to CONTROL functions

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COLVILLE -út

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0. Colville[1] (Cv) -út is one of those apparent suffixes with exemplification so limited that identification of its function is problematic. I will try to show that, notwithstanding the synchronic obscurity of the suffix, one might be able to puzzle out some of its history by means of Cv-internal and comparative evidence.

At least three functions and meanings are associated with -út, and I will proceed as though we were dealing with three distinct homophonous suffixes. The first suffix, -út$_1$, is connected with -útya?, and can be tentatively glossed 'susceptible to imitation and approximation; approximating ...'. The second suffix, -út$_2$, is reminiscent of a lexical suffix with the meaning 'surface'; and the third, -út$_3$, is the full-vowel grade of the stative suffix -t when C_2 of the root is a rounded consonant (but not w), and where the stress valence of the root is weak.

1. The analysis of -út into three separate suffixes is not inducible from the Cv data alone, but rather requires supporting evidence from other interior Salish languages.[2]

1.1. -út$_1$. Cv has a very few forms like

tx̣ʷ-m-út 'straight, real(ly)'
lut ?əł-əłn-út-em 'it's not edible'

in which -út has the meaning given here (for short '-able'). There is evidence that other interior Salish (IS) languages, and consequently Proto IS, also have an affix -út of similar meaning.

The best evidence is from Kalispel (Ka) and Coeur d'Alene (Cr). Speck reports that Ka " (-m)-ut 'capability' expresses aptitude, power, or ability to do something." *(p. 40, 47)* She states that the function and distribution of -m (preceding -ut) is not understood, and gives eleven examples in the text, plus two other examples in a footnote, a total of thirteen examples based on nine roots. Of these 13 examples, 5 have -m before -út, and the remaining 3 do not. This -m must be a stem-forming suffix required by the language before the affixation of -út. More significally, all but two of the examples have word-final -m, which Speck presumes to be 'middle'. She offers no explanation for the lack of final -m in two of the forms. The examples are: