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Introduction

This paper will examine the difference between
two special transitive stem types in Spokane. Both
of these stems form words that indicate an actor
and two goals, one direct, and one indirect. The
paper will show that the distribution of syntactic
markers associated with adjuncts is different for the
two stem types, and that this difference reflects a
change in goal focus.

Adjuncts and Predicates

Every Spokane word has potential predicative
force, and so can stand alone as a complete utterance.
The predicate as clause head may be followed by words
which add information relating to the predicate.
These are called adjuncts. Some examples follow.

k̓ʷíl. 'It's red.'

sqélixʷ. 'He's a man/Indian.'

čən?úɫxʷ. 'I went inside.'

x̌émt. It's heavy.'

səwi?númti ɫu? səmə?ém. 'The woman is pretty.'

   Pred.   Adj.

She-is-pretty the woman

tix⁰ʷínóx⁰ʷnox̣⁰ʷ   łuʔ spílyeʔ.   'Coyote got a wife.'
    Pred.   Adj.

he-got-a-wife   Coyote

ʔełƛułəʔúsəm   łuʔ ʔełčənsčté·łčeʔ łuʔ čtx̣⁰ʷíčən
    Pred.   Adj.   Adj.

  he-looked   across   top

łuʔ č ecəmóq̇⁰ʷ.   'He looked across to the top of
   Adj.   the mountain.'

  to mountain

Words

At the heart of every Spokane word is a <u>base.</u>
The base is either a root morpheme (usually CVC(C))
or a root extended by one or more <u>lexical suffixes</u>
(LS).[1]   The two types of bases are labelled <u>short bases</u>
(SB) and <u>long bases</u> (LB). Bases are often complete
words, but may be expanded by grammatical affixes:
prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Some examples follow.
Bases are underlined.

   qeʔ-<u>x⁰ʷúy</u>.   'We went/left.'
       SB

  we-went

č-ʔamx̣ʷ-áyeʔ-qi-s. 'He shaved someone's head.'
        LB

at-shave-surface(LS)-head(LS)-he

s-ʔánɫq. 'It's summertime.'
   SB

nominal-summertime

s-n-ʔánɫq-éɫxʷ-tən. 'It's a summer mat-house.'
      LB

nominal-in/at-summer-house(LS)-instrumental

Intransitive and transitive words

Both intransitive and transitive words may be recognized in Spokane. Intransitive words occur with the set of intransitive subject markers.

čən-	I	qeʔ-	we
kʷ-	you	p-	you (pl.)

Third person is not overtly marked. An infixed glottal stop (-ʔ-), inserted directly after the stressed vowel in a word, serves to pluralize third person. Some examples follow. Subject markers are underlined.

čənʔahóʔ. 'I coughed.'

ʔáx̣ʷt. 'He went downriver.'

ʔáʔx̣ʷt. 'They went downriver.'

qeʔx̣ʷúy. 'We went/left.'

kʷsqélixʷ. 'You are an Indian.'

ppx̣px̣px̣t.   'You folks are smart/wise.'

Transitive suffixes are added to a base to
create a transitive stem.   Transitive words are formed
from transitive stems by the addition of the
transitive set of person markers.   The framework is
as follows.

PERSON MARKERS + BASE + TRANSITIVE + PERSON MARKERS
SUFFIXES

$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Actor} \\ \text{Goal} \end{matrix} \right\}$ Goal + Actor

The person markers are given below.

Actor

$\quad$ -en   I   qeʔ-   -em, -t we

$\quad$ -exʷ you   -ep, -t you (pl.)

$\quad$ -es   he/she/it

Third person plural may be optionally indicated by
-ʔ- 'plural'.   This infix is inserted directly after
the (one) primary stressed vowel in a word.   The
stressed vowel may be in a root or suffix.

Goal

    k^{w}u- me   qe?- -1 us

    -si you   -m you (pl.)

Third person is not overtly marked. Third person plural may be optionally indicated by distributive reduplication of the root morpheme. Following are some examples of transitive words. All are with short bases. Transitive suffixes are underlined.

pk^w-ən-t-én. 'I piled it/them up in one place.'
pile-transitive-I

púl-s-t-x^w.[2] 'You killed him.'
kill-transitive-you

qe?-q^{w}s-ən-t-ém. 'We covered it with screen/lace.'
we-lacy-transitive-we

tapəncís. //tap-n-t-si-es// 'He shot you.'
shoot-transitive-you-he

k^{w}u-sp-ən-t-ép. 'You folks beat me.'
me-beat-transitive-you (pl.)

The inventory of transitive suffixes

There are two orders. First, after a base comes one of a set of four (4) suffixes: -n-, -s-, -ł-, -ši-.[3] Second, comes the suffix -t-, which may generally be glossed as 'transitive'.

The suffixes -ł- and -ši- precede -t- to form the
two types of transitive stems which are the central
concern of this paper. These are <u>two-goal</u> <u>stems.</u>
The suffixes -n- and -s- form <u>one-goal</u> <u>stems.</u> Certain
bases always occur with -n- to form one-goal stems;
others take -s-. However, there seems to be no
semantic distinction between the two classes of bases
thus formed. For labelling purposes I have called
-s- 'causative' and -n- 'control'. Some examples of
the 'control' and 'causative' transitive stems follow.
Bases are underlined and glossed separately.

<u>ʔamx̣ʷ</u>-n-t-én. 'I shaved it.'

shave

<u>łc</u>-n-t-én. 'I laid them side by side.'

overlapped/side-by-side

<u>níc</u>-n-t-xʷ. 'You cut it.'

cut

<u>púl</u>-s-t-ən. 'I killed him.'

kill

<u>ʔaxí</u>-s-t-ən. 'I did it that way.'

do a certain way

<u>ʔemút</u>-s-t-ən. 'I left him at home.'

sit

Adjuncts with one-goal stems

     Adjuncts which indicate goal and actor follow the transitive word.

   łapəntés   łuʔ xxȧcín łuʔ t sqélixʷ.

   Pred.   Goal   Actor

   he-shot-it Art. dog Art. t Indian

   'The Indian shot the dog.'

Normally, actor follows goal. The general adjunct marking particle (article) łuʔ usually precedes them both. The particle t marks the actor. t also marks adjuncts that translate as instruments, as in the following sentence.

   sṕəntén łuʔ xxȧcín łuʔ t lúkʷ.

   Pred.   Goal   Instr.

   I-Beat-It Art. dog Art. t stick

   'I beat the dog with a stick.'

     If there is a goal adjunct and both instrument and actor adjuncts, either the actor or instrument is positioned in front of the predicate, and linked to it by the conjunctive particle u 'and'.

łuʔ t sqélixʷ u łapəntés łuʔ x̣x̣ᴧcín łuʔ t ckʷíňč.

    Actor   Pred.   Goal   Instr.

Art. t Indian   he shot it Art. dog Art. t bow and
                                             arrow

or:

łuʔ t ckʷíňč u łapəntés łuʔ x̣x̣ᴧcín łuʔ t sqélixʷ.

'The Indian shot the dog with a bow and arrow.'

It seems reasonable to consider t an oblique
(''case'') marker. This would mean that in transitive
sentences like these the goal (unmarked) is primary
and other information is secondary and specially
marked.

Two goal stems (Base+-ł-+-t- and Base+-ši-+-t-)

The word ʔulłtén //wil-ł-t-en// (wil 'burn) 'I
burned it for him' displays a two-goal stem. The
corresponding one-goal stem would be ʔuləntén 'I burned
him/her/it. With -ši- instead of -ł- the word would
be ʔulšítən //wil-ši-t-en// 'I started the fire for him.'
The examples have the first person actor //-en// 'I'
and third person (not overtly marked) goals.[4]

It would be difficult to determine the basic
difference between the two types of stems by studying
them only when they occur as isolated predicates, with-
out adjuncts. Often, transitive words built on these

two stems translate identically.

k̇ʷúlštən. 'I did/made it for him.' (k̇ʷul 'make/do')

k̇ʷúlɬtən. 'I did/made it for him.'

(The corresponding one-goal transitive is k̇ʷúlən

//k̇ʷul-n-t-en// 'I made/did it.')

or:

xʷíčštən. 'I gave it to him.'

xʷíčɬtən. 'I gave it to him.'

(No one-goal transitive is possible with xʷič 'give'.)

However, when adjuncts are added to fully specify the

goals, the difference between the two types becomes

clearer.

1. k̇ʷúlštən   ɬuʔ Agnes   ɬuʔ t yámxʷeʔ.

   Pred.   Adj.   Adj.

   I-made-it-for-her Art. Agnes Art t (oblique) basket

   'I made a basket for Agnes.'

2. k̇ʷúlɬtən   ɬuʔ yámxʷeʔ   ɬuʔ xʷəl Agnes.

    Pred.   Adj.   Adj.

   I-made-it-for-her Art. basket Art. for Agnes

   'I made a basket for Agnes.'

3. xʷíčštən   ɬuʔ Agnes   ɬuʔ t yámxʷeʔ.

    Pred.   Adj.   Adj.

   I-gave-it-to-her Art. Agnes Art. oblique basket

   'I gave a basket to Agnes.'

4. <u>xʷíċɬtən</u>　ɬuʔ yámx̣ʷeʔ　ɬuʔ č̣ Agnes.

　　Pred.　　　Adj.　　　　Adj.

　　I-gave-it-to-her　Art. basket　Art. to Agnes

　　'I gave a basket to Agnes.'

　　If in each sentence, the least (syntactically)
marked adjunct is considered the <u>direct</u> <u>goal</u> (DG)
and the other the <u>indirect</u> <u>goal</u> (IG) then <u>Agnes</u> is
direct with the <u>-ši-</u> stems, but ỹámx̣ʷeʔ is direct with
the <u>-ɬ-</u> stems. <u>t</u> 'oblique' marks the indirect goal
for the <u>-ši-</u> stem and <u>x̣ʷəl</u> 'relative to/by/for' and č̣
'to' mark the indirect goals for the <u>-ɬ-</u> stems. There
is clearly a difference in goal focus in these sentences.
However, the examples do not explain the function of
this difference.

Usage

　　Only very general statements regarding usage can
be made. The usefullness of the distinction between
the two stems is clearer in some semantic situations
than in others. The two-goal stem based on <u>ʔiɬən</u>
'eat' appears in the following sentences.

5.　ʔiɬištən　ɬuʔ Albert　ɬuʔ t sq̇éltč

　　　Pred.　　DG　　　IG

　　I-ate-him-it　Art. Albert　Art. oblique meat

　　'I ate some meat for Albert.'

6. ʔiɬiɬtən   ɬuʔ Albert sqéltčs.

   Pred.   DG

   I-ate-it-him Art. Albert his-meat (-s 'his')

   'I ate Albert's meat.'

The native speaker who generated the material used
in this paper describes the situation in the first
sentence as follows. "Albert couldn't eat, so I ate
ior him (in <u>place of</u> him)." In the other sentence (6.)
something belonging to someone else is eaten. Here the
(underlying) indirect goal is still Albert, but he appears
in the possessive construction which serves as the direct
goal. A translation for the predicate alone might be
'I ate something of his'.

Stems in -ɬ- are often followed by a possessive
construction as direct goal.

7. ʕʷósɬtən   ɬuʔ Albert xxʎcís.

   Pred.   DG

   I-lost-it-him Art. Albert his-dog

   'I lost Albert's dog.'

A sentence with *ʕʷósštən is unacceptable to a native
speaker because, "It sounds like you'd be losing
something for someone <u>on purpose</u>." Stems in -ši-
never describe an activity detrimental to the direct
goal. But -ɬ- stems can describe non-beneficial
activity applying to the indirect goal.

The -ł- stem based on ʔaxən 'do a certain way'
(one-goal ʔaxístən. 'I did it a certain way.') is used
only to refer to adulterous sexual activity, as
demonstrated by the following sentence.

8. ʔaxíłtən   łuʔ Albert   nóxʷnoxʷs.

    Pred.   DG

    I-did-her-him Art. Albert his-wife

    'I had sexual intercourse with Albert's wife.'
There is a direct goal--the wife, and someone else is
involved--Albert (the underlying indirect goal). A
-ši- stem here is not acceptable because the situation
is not viewed as beneficial to Albert.

It seems then, that -ši- stems are used to
indicate that the actor of a transitive predication
is in some sense substituting for, or doing for the
benefit of someone (or perhaps just something animate).
When present as an adjunct, this someone is the direct
goal (or direct concern). The other goal is indirect
and marked by t 'oblique'. Stems in -ł- are used to
indicate two goals, but it is not the case that the
actor substitutes for or necessarily does something
beneficial for one of them.

The difference between sentences 1. and 2. thus becomes clearer. In 1. someone makes a basket for the benefit of Agnes, maybe because she can't do it herself. In 2. a basket is made and Agnes is the recipient. In 3. and 4. a similar distinction can probably be made.

A few more examples will suffice to emphasize how benefactive/substitutive activity is basic to -ši- stems. Two-goal stems based on mus 'to feel (as with the hands, for example)' are shown in the following sentences.

9. mústən   łuʔ Albert sənʔurəšíctis.

    Pred.   DG

    I-felt-it-him Art. Albert his-stove

    'I felt Albert's stove.'

10. məsəmússtən   łuʔ Albert.

     Pred.   DG

    I-felt-him-it Art. Albert

    'I felt around for Albert.'

In 9. the situation is described by a native speaker as follows. "I felt Albert's stove to see if it was hot." In 8. "Albert dropped something and I felt around (like on the floor) to find it for him." (Distributive reduplication of the root in 10. gives the sense of 'feeling around'.)

Another type of feeling is expressed by ?enǝwe 'feel/sense'. It is possible to have a -ɫ- stem with this base.

.11. ?enǝwéɫtǝn   ɫu?   Albert   spu?úsc.

      Pred.   DG

      I-felt-it-him Art. Albert his-heart

      'I felt Albert's heart.' ("to see if it was

                           beating")

A -ši- stem is felt to be unacceptable, because, "You can't feel (sense) for someone else."

Conclusion

The suffix -ši- can be glossed 'benefactive/ substitutive'. The suffix -ɫ- is glossed (somewhat uncomfortably) 'relative', because it builds a stem with two goals (one direct, the other indirect) that relate to each other somehow in the predication. In the examples available, with -ɫ- stems it is always a person who is indirectly involved in a transitive situation. For example, as beneficiary (give X to Y, as in sentence 4.),or possessor (feel X of Y, as in sentence 9.), or informant (séwɫtǝn 'I asked about that [X] of him [Y]), or source (kʷúɫiɫtǝn 'I borrowed it [X] from him [Y]).

When more is understood of Spokane syntax it may be
possible to describe both suffixes in a more formal
way. Perhaps also, comparison with cognate suffixes
in other Salishan languages will explain their function
in Spokane more clearly.

FOOTNOTES

1
 A small number of grammatical suffixes may intervene
between a root and following lexical suffix.

2
 When the suffixed person markers are not stressed
they lose their underlying vowels. A number of other
morphophonemic alternations may then occur. Rules
involving stress placement and vowel reduction/retention
are complex. For a discussion see The N shift in
Spokane Salishan, Carlson, IJAL (In Press).

3
 -ši- has two allomorphs: -š- unstressed and -šî-
stressed.

4
 ʔulɫcîn //wil-ɫ-t-si-en// 'I burned it for you' (-si-
'you'sg.) and ʔulšcîn //wil-š-t-si-en// 'I started the
fire for you' show two-goal stems with overt goal
markers. Since there is only one set of goal markers
it is never possible to have more than one non-third
person goal.