

COLUMBIAN PARALLELS TO THOMPSON //-xi// AND SPOKANE //-ši//

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Two articles for the 1976 Salish Conference deal with cognate suffixes aptly labelled 'indirective' by Thompson and Thompson (cf. "Two-goal transitive stems in Spokane" by Barry F. Carlson, and "Thompson Salish //-xi//" by Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson). The Thompson and Thompson article mentions in passing that Columbian has oppositions similar to Okanagan, Spokane-Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene //-xi// or //-ši// and //-i//. I would like to comment further on these oppositions in Columbian because they shed further light on the problem through greater complexities in that language.

Columbian (Cm) //-xi// functions in a manner quite like that described by Thompson and Thompson for Thompson (Th) in that it is not simply benefactive; the label 'indirective' is appropriate for Cm as well. Examples of these two suffixes in Cm follow.

- (1) tāwxts 'he bought it for him'; cf. tāwən 'I bought it'
- (2) qi?xītən 'I wrote to him'; cf. qiyən 'I wrote it'
- (3) tāwɪən 'I bought it from him'

I cannot tell at this time if the Cm contrast between these two suffixes is the same as that so well exemplified by Carlson for Spokane (Sp); most of my examples do not include overt complements. But his examples are convincing, and seem to be parallel, at least superficially.

However, Cm has at least one additional "redirecting" suffix (if I may coin a term to cover this class of suffixes): //-túɪ//, as in

- (4) wak^wtúɪən 'I hid it from him'; cf. wák^wən 'I hid it' and wák^wɪən 'I hid it for him'
- (5) k^wɪəntúɪən 'I loaned it to him'; cf. k^wuɪən 'I loaned it'
- (6) nk^wnakstúɪən 'I took it away from him'; cf. k^wənən 'I took it, I held it' and k^wáɪən 'I took it away from him' (-akst 'hand')

That this suffix is not divisible into // -t-// 'transitive' and another segment is shown by (7), where 'transitive' follows // -túí//.

- (7) wak^wtúítls 'he hid it from us (and wouldn't give it up)'; and
cf. wák^wítls 'he hid it for us'

Turning now to the extended forms in Coeur d'Alene (Cr), Kalispel (Ka), and Sp -šiš, Cm again has parallels and is more complicated. In Cm, there are two forms, // -xíx// and // -xáx//, both of which may be cognate with Cr -šiš (but see below). Ka and Sp -šiš can only be cognate with Cm // -xíx//, however, and Carlson (p.c.) reports that he has found no *-šéš in Sp that would be cognate with Cm // -xáx//. Both these Cm suffixes imply an object that is not specified, and parallel the contrast between indirectives and simple transitives:

- (8) wi^yəmxíx 'finish something for someone else'
(9) wi^yəmxáx 'finish something'

(My data show no simple transitives of this root, but it is common with causative suffixes: wi[?]stúnən 'I finished it'.) Further examples of Cm // -xíx// and // -xáx// follow.

- (10) kaíxíx 'he distributed something to someone'; cf. káiən 'I handed it to him'
(11) xəsmxíx 'he lost something for/of someone'; cf. xəsən 'I lost it'
(12) ki[?]əmxáx 'wait for someone'; cf. ki[?]ámən 'I waited for him'
(13) čə[?]kxáx 'count for someone'; cf. čə[?]kən 'I counted them', čə[?]kíən 'I counted them for him', čə[?]kxítən 'I counted for him'

Both may be extended by // -min// 'relational':

- (14) k^wənxíxmən 'I took it away'
(15) xəsxíxmən 'I lost it for them (not deliberately)'
(16) k^wə[?]nsxáxmən 'I showed it'
(17) k^wíənxáxmənta[?] 'lend him something!'

Of these two suffixes, // -xíx// clearly includes the 'indirective' but the function of the final -x is not clear. If Thompson and Thompson are correct in suggesting that it is the same as what they find in Th kícx, then Cm has also a very few parallels: kícx 'get there', káix 'give', na[?]áwtx 'accompany'. This -x may be some sort of detransitivizer,

making intransitive what would otherwise be transitive.

The source or breakdown of *//-xáx//* is also unclear. But a parallel may exist in Coeur d'Alene, although Reichard does not cite enough examples for me to be sure. Her *-šiš* is certainly the same as Cm *//-xix//*, but *//-xáx//* would have yielded the same form (PS **a* becomes usually Cr **i*). However, she also cites unstressed forms (in Cm these suffixes are always stressed), and these unstressed forms may be equivalent to Cm *//-xáx//*, judging from her glosses (Reichard 1938:626):

Cr *ʔic-xés-əm-šěš-s* 'he is using something carefully'

Cr *mé^hw-šěš-mən-c* 'he broke it (someone else's property)'

Cr *čəł-šěš-mín-ən* 'I gave it to somebody, used something for giving'

Her only example of *-šiš* helps little:

Cr *čət-wəl-wəlč-əm-šiš-ən* 'pool table, that on which something is rolled again and again for someone'

These are the only examples of this suffix (these suffixes?) cited at this point in Reichard's grammar.

Obviously much further work on these various suffixes in Salish is needed, but the Carlson and Thompson and Thompson papers go a long way toward explaining them.

REFERENCES

Reichard, Gladys A. Coeur d'Alene. HAIL 3:517-707 (1938).