

## Some Klallam Paradigms

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1. **Introduction.** The purpose of this paper is to present the various transitive and intransitive paradigms of Klallam<sup>1</sup> to make this data and grammatical information available preliminary to a thorough descriptive treatment. Thus this paper continues and expands upon Thompson and Thompson's 1971 'preview'.

2. **Subject.** In main clauses first and second persons are marked in a nominative/accusative pattern while third person is marked in an ergative/absolute pattern. The third person absolute is zero. Examples are found in §2.1. In subordinate clauses (§2.2) and in the genitive constructions (§§3.2, 3.3, 3.4) the third person subject is marked in both transitives and intransitives.

2.1. **Main clause nominative and ergative.** The first and second person main clause subjects belong to a class of enclitics that also includes markers of tense and various speech act indicators such as the yes/no question and the evidential markers. The following shows the intransitive paradigm. The root is *hiyá?* 'go':

<sup>1</sup> Klallam is a language of the Straits group of Central Coast Salishan languages. Klallam is presently spoken by fewer than ten elders living on and near the Elwha, Port Gamble, and Jamestown Klallam reservations of Washington's Olympic Peninsula and at the Becher Bay Reserve on Vancouver Island in British Columbia. The data here are based on field work with the late Edward C. Sampson of Elwha, Thomas Charles of Becher Bay and Elwha, Lillian Charles of Becher Bay, Adeline Smith of Elwha, Beatrice Charles of Elwha, and Hazel Sampson of Jamestown and Elwha.

(1)	Singular	Plural
1st	hiyá? cn	hiyá? st
2nd		hiyá? cx <sup>w</sup>
3rd		hiyá?

The second and third person are either singular or plural. The plural of any second person (subject, genitive, object, independent predicate) can be explicitly specified through the use of the additional enclitic *háy* as in *hiyá? cx<sup>w</sup> háy* 'y'all go'. The third person plural subject can be made explicit by taking plural morphology, usually an infix *əy ~ a?y ~ i ~ i?*.

The transitive paradigms are listed in the various subsections of §4. I will give one example here to illustrate the subject. In this paradigm the basic *-t* transitivizer is used (§4.1) giving the predicate the meaning 'look at her/him/it/them':

(2)	Singular	Plural
1st	k'ʷə́nt cn	k'ʷə́nt st
2nd		k'ʷə́nt cx <sup>w</sup>
3rd		k'ʷə́nts

Note that this differs from the intransitive only in that the third person subject is here marked not with zero but with the suffix *-s*. Thompson and Thompson 1971 did not report this ergative suffix and it does not occur often. Usually when there are two third person participants the passive form is used: *k'ʷnátəy*. Note also that the form *k'ʷə́nts* 'he looks at him' is phonetically distinct from the form *k'ʷə́nc* 'look at me'. Unlike the *-s* '1st/2nd person object' suffix (see (18) in §4.1 for example), the ergative *-s* does not combine with the *-t* transitivizer to form an affricate.

2.2. **Subordinate clause nominative.** In certain subordinate clauses subjects are indicated with a set of suffixes. The first and second person subordinate subjects are clearly related to the main clause subjects. It would be possible to analyze the main clause first singular and second person clitics as being composed of a *c-* element with the suffixes *-n* and *-x<sup>w</sup>* as listed below. But this is certainly etymological rather than morphological. The *c-* element has no identifiable function and the clitics are phoneme by phoneme cognate with the Interior Salishan intransitive subject clitics. We must presume that the *\*k-* element of Proto-Salishan came from some pre-Proto-Salishan auxiliary.

The following paradigms show first a transitive example then an intransitive one. The *k'ʷə́* particle preceding the predicate introduces the subordinate clause and can be translated 'if, when' so that the first transitive form would be 'if I see it' and the first intransitive form would be 'if I go.'

(3) Transitive:	Singular	Plural
1st	k'ʷə́ k'ʷə́ntn	k'ʷə́ k'ʷə́ntt
2nd		k'ʷə́ k'ʷə́ntx <sup>w</sup>
3rd		k'ʷə́ k'ʷə́nts

(4) Intransitive:

	Singular	Plural
1st	k <sup>w</sup> ə hiyáʔn	k <sup>w</sup> ə hiyáʔt
2nd	k <sup>w</sup> ə hiyáʔx <sup>w</sup>	
3rd	k <sup>w</sup> ə hiyáʔs	

**3. Genitive.** The genitive affixes are used in four functions. 1) On stems whose semantics allow for possession the genitive affixes indicate the person of the possessor (§3.1). 2) On stems expressing emotion and those having inherent objects the affixes are part of a sort of inversion construction where the expected subject role is indicated by the genitive and the object role is indicated in the nominative or absolutive (§3.2). 3) On ditransitive stems the genitive is used to mark the former subject in a second passive construction that puts the patient into subject position (§3.3). 4) In certain subordinate clauses a subjective genitive is found similar to that found in many languages (§3.4).

**3.1. Possessor genitive.** The genitive affixes are prefixes in the first person singular and second person; they are suffixes in the first person plural and third person. In the following the root is *cát* 'father'. So, for example, the first form in the first row means 'my father'.

	Singular	Plural
1st	ncát	cát
2nd	n'cát	
3rd	cáts	

Each of the forms in (5) is actually an intransitive predicate and includes a zero third person absolutive. Thus *ncát* means 'it/he is my father', and so on. It is therefore possible to get intransitive subjects (1) with some of these:

(6)	1sGen	1pGen	2Gen	3Gen
1sNom	-	-	n'cát cn	X
1pNom	-	-	X	X
2Nom	ncát cx <sup>w</sup>	X	-	X
3Nom	ncát	cát	n'cát	cáts

The positions in (6) that are marked with a dash are semantically anomalous with this stem—first person possessing first person and second person possessing second person are not possible. The positions marked with X are semantically possible but are nevertheless nonoccurring. The expected forms are consistently and immediately rejected by all speakers, fluent and semifluent. Thus, \**cáts cn*, \**cáts st*, \**cáts cx<sup>w</sup>*, \**cát cx<sup>w</sup>*, and \**n'cát st* are all rejected.<sup>2</sup> The corresponding sense is expressed in periphrastic forms involving the predicative person deictics (§5).

Although the positions in (6) marked with a dash are not possible with the stem given, it is possible to get at least some of these when the stem includes a lexical suffix. In such cases it is the referent of the lexical suffix that is interpreted as what is possessed as in (7):

<sup>2</sup> In Saanich (Northern Straits) the pattern is the same, but forms corresponding to *n'cát cn* are also rejected: \**ʔən'mén sən*.

(7)	n-é' áq' = sən	cn
	1GEN-sprain = foot	1NOM
	'I sprained my ankle.'	

**3.2. Main clause genitive inversion.** In these constructions the genitive affixes indicate not possessors but experiencers or agents and are semantically transitive but syntactically intransitive.

The types of this construction are formally the same as the pattern shown in (6), but it seems useful to show them separately since the semantic relations are so different. There is a class of roots that semantically imply two participants but do not allow regular transitive constructions. Instead they participate in a construction similar to what has been called an inversion construction where the expected subject is in an oblique case and the expected object is in the nominative. This class can be divided into two types: roots expressing a psychological state and roots that have an inherent object.

**3.2.1. Psychological roots.** The first and the most common type is the root indicating a psychological state. These require two participants but are of very low semantic transitivity in that the semantic object is unaffected. Examples include the roots *λ'é?* 'like, want', *x'áitn* 'hate', *xéʔc'i* 'shame', *hák<sup>w</sup>* 'remember', and *mimáy'əq* 'forget'. It is important to note that this class is not entirely semantically determined. There are two-participant 'psychological' roots that do not participate in this construction including *xč* 'know, figure, think', *q<sup>w</sup>'áy* 'believe', *təy'ád?* 'crave', *šít* 'covet'.

In the following the root is *λ'é?* 'like, want', and the meaning of the first form in the first column, for example, is 'I like you.'

(7)	1sGen	1pGen	2Gen	3Gen
1sNom	-	-	n'sλ' é? u cn <sup>3</sup>	X
1pNom	-	-	X	X
2Nom	nsλ' é? cx <sup>w</sup>	X	-	X
3Nom	nsλ' é?	sλ' éʔt	n'sλ' é?	sλ' éʔs

**3.2.2. Inherent object roots.** The second type is a small class of agent oriented roots that are not low in semantic transitivity but have the object inherent in the root meaning. Examples include the roots *qáčə?* 'catch (game animals)' and *ʔəən* 'eat (food)'. These, shown in (8), follow the same pattern as (6) and (7):

(8)	1sGen	1pGen	2Gen	3Gen
1sNom	-	-	n'sqáčə? cn	X
1pNom	-	-	X	X
2Nom	nsqáčə? cx <sup>w</sup>	X	-	X
3Nom	nsqáčə?	sqáčəʔt	n'sqáčə?	sqáčəʔs

<sup>3</sup> The *u* here is the yes/no question marker which is required in this form 'do you like me?' The non-question form in this slot is rejected for all the psychological roots.

Note also that in these forms the *s-* prefix is required. But this is not a distinguishing trait of this type since many roots taking the possessor genitive (section 3.1) also require the *s-* prefix.

The meaning of the first form in the first column is 'I caught you.' The forms with the zero third person nominative in the last row of (8) can be translated the same as the possessor forms so that the possessor and agent roles overlap. The last form in the first column can, thus be translated either as 'I caught it' or 'it's my catch'. The forms in (7) can only very awkwardly be translated in this way. This is merely a problem of translation. This difference is not a property of Klallam but of the English noun/verb distinction, the exact like of which is not to be found in Klallam.

The types shown illustrated in (7) and (8) differ from the possessor genitives in another way. Forms corresponding to the expected semantics of the nonoccurring third person genitive forms in (7) and (8) can be achieved by omitting the genitive suffix. That is the expected form for 'he likes me' in (7) would be \*sλ'élʔs cn but this is just the meaning one gets with sλ'élʔ cn and so on for the rest of the column and for the last column of (8). On the other hand, the possessor forms such as cət cn in (6) do not give 'I am his father' but 'I am a father'.

**3.3. Genitive passive of ditransitive stems.** There is a small set of roots in Klallam whose semantics imply two objects—a patient and recipient or source. Unlike the stems participating in the genitive inversion constructions, these roots may participate in ordinary transitive constructions (§4). In such constructions there are two explicit pronominal arguments: the subject (nominative or ergative) is the agent and the object (accusative) is the recipient or source while the optional patient is oblique. It is also possible to derive stems with these properties using the dative applicative (§4.3.2).

These ditransitive stems, both inherent and derived, can also participate in a genitive passive construction. In this construction there are three explicit pronominal arguments: nominative (or absolutive), genitive, and accusative. In the primary form of this construction the nominative/absolutive marks the patient, the accusative marks the recipient/source, and the genitive marks the agent. This construction must be considered structurally intransitive even though it has the accusative. See §4 for full accusative paradigms.

The following examples give the general picture. In (9) the ordinary transitive form is illustrated with a root that is inherently ditransitive. The final -c is the morphophonemic realization of the *t* transitivizer and the second person accusative (see (18) in §4.1); the cn is the first person nominative, and the -əŋ is the first passive.

- (9) a. ʔəŋa-c cn 'I give (it) to you'  
 b. ʔəŋa-t cn 'I give (it) to him/her/them'  
 c. ʔəŋá-t-əŋ cn 'He/she/they gave (it) to me'

In (10) the genitive passive form is illustrated. Here the agent is marked by the first person genitive prefix, the recipient is marked by the second person accusative as in (9) and the patient, the actual grammatical subject, is the zero third person.

- (10) n-s-ʔəŋa-c 'I give it to you'

In such constructions at least one of the participants must be third person. Since the third person is zero in both intransitive subject and object, one can only infer it. In (11) it is the recipient (rather than the patient as in (10)) that is in the third person.

- (11) n-s-ʔəŋa-t ca? cx<sup>w</sup> cə n'-tán  
 1GEN-S-give-TRANS FUTURE 2NOM DET 2GEN-mother  
 'I'll give you to your mother.'

When it is the agent that is third person and the other participants are first and second person, the first passive is required just as in the basic transitive paradigms shown in §4. In (12) it is the agent that is third person. Compare this to (10) where the patient is third person and (11) where the recipient is third person.

- (12) n-s-ʔəŋa-t-əŋ cx<sup>w</sup> ʔa? cə n'-cát  
 1GEN-S-give-TRANS-PSV 2NOM OBLIQUE DET 2GEN-father  
 'Your father gave you to me'

The function of the first passive is to put the recipient into subject position; the function on the second, genitive, passive is to put the patient into subject position. In the basic transitive the subject is agent and the primary object is recipient as in (9). In the first passive the recipient becomes the subject while the agent, if mentioned, becomes oblique:

- (13) ʔəŋá-t-əŋ cx<sup>w</sup> ʔa? cə n'-cát.  
 give-TRANS-PSV 2NOM OBL DET your father  
 'You were given (it) by your father.'

In the genitive passive it is the patient that becomes the subject while the displaced subject is in the genitive. In (12) both passives are found. The first passive has applied to put the recipient in subject position then the second passive puts the patient in subject position and moves the recipient subject to the genitive.

**3.4. Subordinate subjective genitive.** The genitive person markers are used as subjects in certain subordinate clauses. This construction is similar to the subjective genitives found in English and other languages. In these cases there seems to be no restriction on roots. Examples (14) and (15) are typical; one can change the genitive affix here to any of those given in (5) and get a corresponding change of meaning. Note that the form *nshiyá?* cannot occur as the main predicate since *hiyá?* 'go' does not fit into either of the classes shown in §3.2.

- (14) ʔáy' ɛi n-s-hiyá?  
 good DET 1GEN-S-go  
 'I should go (lit. 'it's good that I go' or 'my going is good')'  
 (15) ʔáy' ɛi s-hiyá?-s.  
 good DET S-go-3GEN  
 'He/she/it/they should go.'

It is also possible to get transitive forms. In these forms the third person subordinate subject is marked in both transitive and intransitive forms with the -s third person genitive.

- (16) ʔáy' ɛi n-s-k'<sup>w</sup>ʔn-n-úŋə  
 good DET 1GEN-S-see-TRANS-2ACC  
 'It's good that I see you.'

(17) ?áy' éi s-k'wón-n-úŋə-s  
 good DET s-see-TRANS-2ACC-3GEN  
 'It's good that he/she/it/they see you.'

4. **Accusative.** There are basically two morphologically conditioned object sets as there are in almost all Salishan languages—an *s*-set and an *m*-set. The *s*-set involves an /s/ in the first and second person singular suffixes and occurs with the basic transitivizer (§4.1) and with the causative (§4.3.1) and dative (§4.3.2) applicatives. The *m*-set<sup>4</sup> involves an /m/ in the first and second person singular suffixes and occurs in the non-control transitivizer (§4.2) and in the locative (§4.3.3), aggressive (§4.3.4), and object of emotion (§4.3.6) applicatives.<sup>5</sup>

4.1. **Basic transitive.** The basic transitivizer, also called the control transitivizer, has the form -*t* and is cognate with the -*nt* transitivizer of Interior Salishan languages. In unmarked active constructions this transitivizer indicates a controlling agent subject and an object whose semantic role is determined by the inherent semantics of the root. The object is thus typically a patient but in inherent ditransitives (see §3.3 especially (9)) the object is recipient or source.

In this paradigm the third person object is zero and the first and second person objects are homophonous. The /s/ of the objects merge with the /t/ of the transitivizer to yield /c/. This is not a general phonological process in Klallam. Note that the /s/ of the ergative suffix does not combine with the /t/ of this transitivizer (see (3)) nor does the /s/ of the third person genitive merge with a preceding /t/ (see (5)). When the agent is third person and the patient first or second person, the passive construction is required.

In (18) the complete subject/object paradigm is illustrated. The root is *k'wən*; with this transitivizer the stem is glossed 'look at'.

Subj/Obj	1	1pl	2	3
1	-	-	k'wónc cn	k'wónt cn
1pl	-	-	k'wónc st	k'wónt st
2	k'wónc cx <sup>w</sup>	k'wntúŋt cx <sup>w</sup>	-	k'wónt cx <sup>w</sup>
3	(k'wónəŋ cn)	(k'wónəŋ st)	(k'wónəŋ cx <sup>w</sup> )	k'wónts

4.2. **Non-control transitive.** The non-control transitivizer has the form -*náx*<sup>w</sup> if stressed, -*ná* if stressed and followed by any suffix, -*n* if unstressed and followed by any suffix, or -*nəx*<sup>w</sup> otherwise. This suffix indicates the presence of a patient (or recipient/source in ditransitives) and an agent that is not in conscious control. The agent is acting either with effort to finally manage to succeed or without effort and volition. The semantic difference between this and the basic transitivizer in §4.1 can be partially seen in the difference between English 'look' and 'see'.

This transitivizer is followed by the *m*-set object suffixes. Unlike the *s*-set suffixes illustrated in (18), the first and second persons are distinguished in the *m*-set. In (19) the complete

subject/object paradigm is illustrated. Here the root is the same as that in (18); with this transitivizer the stem is glossed 'see'.

Subj/Obj	1	1pl	2	3
1	-	-	k'wónnúnə cn	k'wónnəx <sup>w</sup> cn
1pl	-	-	k'wónnúnə st	k'wónnəx <sup>w</sup> st
2	k'wónnúnə cx <sup>w</sup>	k'wónnúnə cx <sup>w</sup>	-	k'wónnəx <sup>w</sup> cx <sup>w</sup>
3	(k'wónnəŋ cn)	(k'wónnəŋ st)	(k'wónnəŋ cx <sup>w</sup> )	k'wónnəx

4.3. **Applicatives.** Perhaps the six special transitivizing morphemes included in this section should not all be lumped together. And perhaps they do not all fit in a category of what is traditionally termed applicative. In any case, what they have in common is that they signal that the participant indicated by the object morphology has a marked semantic relation.

4.3.1. **Causative.** There are three causative morphemes. The forms are -*ístx*<sup>w</sup>, -*tx*<sup>w</sup>, and -*as*. The first two are probably related, but at present there is no independent evidence for a separate -*íst* suffix. In both suffixes the *x*<sup>w</sup> is absent when followed by other suffixes as it is in the non-control (§4.2) and object of emotion (§4.3.6) suffixes.

4.3.1.1. **Subject of effect.** The most common causative is -*ístx*<sup>w</sup>. This transitivizer usually occurs with the *s*-set objects, but one speaker accepts either the *m*-set or the *s*-set with this transitivizer. The participant indicated in the object suffix is a causee that is the subject of the effect. The causee in this construction is usually, though not necessarily, animate.

The vowel of this suffix reduces to schwa or is deleted when unstressed. As with the basic transitivizer (§4.1) the *t* of this suffix merges with the *s* of the first and second person objects to form an affricate *c*.

In (20) the root is *k'wən*, which with this suffix produces a stem meaning 'show'. Note that in this paradigm as in the others the combinations of third person subject with first and second person objects require the passive. There is also no occurrence in the data of the ergative in this paradigm. Thus, the combination of third person subject with third person object is also in the passive. Repeated attempts with various speakers to elicit the ergative in this paradigm have failed. Although in all paradigms the ergative affix is rare compared to the passive when both participants are third person, the ergative with the basic and non-control transitivizers, in contrast with the causatives, does occasionally appear in texts and it is fairly easy to elicit.

Subj/Obj	1	1pl	2	3
1	-	-	k'wónfsc cn	k'wónfstx <sup>w</sup> cn
1pl	-	-	k'wónfsc st	k'wónfstx <sup>w</sup> st
2	k'wónfsc cx <sup>w</sup>	k'wónístúŋt cx <sup>w</sup>	-	k'wónfstx <sup>w</sup> cx <sup>w</sup>
3	(k'wónfstəŋ cn)	(k'wónfstəŋ st)	(k'wónfstəŋ cx <sup>w</sup> )	(k'wónfstəŋ)

4.3.1.2. **Object of effect/imperative.** The second causative is -*tx*<sup>w</sup>. Unlike the -*ístx*<sup>w</sup> causative, this transitivizer occurs with the *m*-set objects. Functionally it contrasts with the -*ístx*<sup>w</sup> causative in

<sup>4</sup> The *m*-set is so-called because in most of the Salishan languages the phoneme here is /m/ and in all of the languages the phoneme is a reflex of Proto-Salishan \*m (/m/, /ŋ/, /b/, or /w/).

<sup>5</sup> This distribution of the two object sets differs in Saanich, where the causative objects are marked with the *m*-set suffixes.

that this suffix indicates a causee that is the object of the effect and is thus usually inanimate as in *hiyá?* 'go', *hiyá?tx* 'take'.

The primary difference between *-fstx* and *-tx* is illustrated in (21).

- (21) a. *λ'čfstx* cn *cə snóx*† 'I sank the canoe'  
 b. *λ'ččtx* cn *cə snóx*† 'I made the canoe deep'

The root here is *λ'əč* 'deep, below, under', and either (21a) or (21b) could be translated 'I caused the canoe to become deep'. (21b) can only mean that the canoe has been carved deep. In (21a) the canoe is the subject of the 'deepening' effect while in (21b) the canoe is the object of the effect. The pattern of uninterpretability shown in (22) also illustrates this difference.

- (22) a. *λ'čfstx* cn *cə sɲant* 'I sank the rock'  
 b. \**λ'ččtx* cn *cə sɲant*  
 c. *λ'ččtx* cn *cə šx* cšy' q'əŋ 'I made the hole deep'  
 d. \**λ'čfstx* cn *cə šx* cšy' q'əŋ

On the stems mentioned in §3.2.2, which have an inherent object and require an animate subject, such as *?#ən* 'eat', it forms a special 'let' imperative. This difference between *-fstx* and *-tx* is illustrated in (23) where the causee must be animate.

- (23) a. *?əfənfstx* 'feed him/her/it/them'  
 b. *?fəntx* 'let him/her/it/them eat'  
 c. *?əfənfstx* cn 'I feed him/her/it/them'  
 d. \**?fəntx* cn

The imperative is usually indicated, as in English, by the absence of an overt subject.<sup>6</sup> The ungrammaticality of forms like (23d) was confirmed by attempted elicitation from different speakers and from same speakers at widely different times. This last example shows that where the causee must be animate the *-tx* form can only be imperative.

In (24) the stem allows for an inanimate causee. In such cases the *-tx* form has two readings—one a 'let' imperative and one a simple causative.

- (24) a. *hiyá?tx* 'let him/her/it/them go (somewhere)' or  
 'take it (somewhere)'  
 b. *hiyá?tx* cn 'I take it (somewhere)' or  
 'I put him/her (somewhere)'

Consultants insist that (24b) cannot mean 'I take him/her', a sense which would be expressed using a different root meaning 'accompany'. If the object of (24b) is animate, especially human, the interpretation is with 'put' and the person is seen as being treated as an inanimate object of the effect.

In (25) the full paradigm for the stem shown in (24) is given. In this paradigm as in (20) the only form recorded for third person subject and object was a passive.

(25)	1	1pl	2	3
Subj/Obj	1	1pl	2	3
1	–	–	<i>hiya?túŋə</i> cn	<i>hiyá?tx</i> cn
1pl	–	–	<i>hiya?túŋə</i> st	<i>hiyá?tx</i> st
2	<i>hiya?túŋəs</i> cx <sup>w</sup>	<i>hiya?túŋə</i> cx <sup>w</sup>	–	<i>hiyá?tx</i> cx <sup>w</sup>
3	( <i>hiyá?təŋ</i> cn)	( <i>hiyá?təŋ</i> st)	( <i>hiyá?təŋ</i> cx <sup>w</sup> )	( <i>hiyá?təŋ</i> )

**4.3.1.3. Locative causative.** The locative causative has the form *-as* when stressed and *-əs* or *-s* when unstressed. This affix occurs only on a few roots, most of which have inherent locative semantics. The following is a complete list of roots the locative applicative has been found on: *yəx* 'release', *tuy* 'leave', *nəw* 'be in', *səq* 'be out', *č'əyəx* 'enter', *k'an* 'lose', *k'ay* 'hide', *čəč* 'chase', *cač* 'be down', *čən* 'move', *čuk* 'use', *x'ək* 'be low, be down', *fəŋ* 'remove'.

Given the meaning of the root, most of the time this suffix seems to function as a transitivizer no different from the basic *-t* transitivizer or the *-tx* causative. There are however cases where it contrasts with the basic transitivizer and with the object of effect causative. This contrast shows that the presence of this suffix indicates that the direct object is caused to be at a particular location. Examples (26) through (29) show this contrast.

- (26) a. *č'ix*ás cn 'I took/brought it in (there)'  
 b. *č'əyəx*tx<sup>w</sup> cn 'I let/made it enter'  
 (27) a. *k'əyəs* cn 'I hid it (there)'  
 b. *k'əyət* cn 'I hid it away'  
 (28) a. *čánəs* cn 'I moved it (there)'  
 b. *čánət*x<sup>w</sup> cn 'I moved it (somewhere)'  
 (29) a. *yəx*ás cn 'I undid it'  
 b. *yəx*št cn 'I freed it'

<sup>6</sup> An emphatic imperative is formed by using a particle *č'i* following the stem.

In these examples the locative causative appears in the *a* sentences and contrasts with one of the other transitivizers in the *b* sentences. In (26) through (28) the semantic contrast is clear. Example (29) needs some explanation.

In (29a) the meaning seems to be 'I freed it by doing something at a particular location.' The word *yəx'ás* is thus usually translated as 'untie' or 'unlatch'. In (28b) there is no particular location. This difference comes out more clearly when a specific object is mentioned as in (30).

- (30) a. *yəx'ás cn cə x'w'éləm* 'I untied (a knot in) the rope'  
 b. *yəx'át cn cə x'w'éləm* 'I let the rope loose'

This transitivizer uses a modified version of the *m*-set objects. Unlike the *m*-set objects used in (19) and (25) there is no /ú/ but in its place is /η/. As in the other applicative paradigms the ergative does not occur; the passive is required when there is a third person agent. In the following paradigm the root is the same as that in (29) and (30).

(31)				
Subj/Obj	1	1pl	2	3
1	-	-	<i>yəx'əηfə cn</i>	<i>yəx'ás cn</i>
1pl	-	-	<i>yəx'əηfə st</i>	<i>yəx'ás st</i>
2	<i>yəx'əηfəs cx'w</i>	<i>yəx'əηfət cx'w</i>	-	<i>yəx'ás cx'w</i>
3	<i>(yəx'áη cn)</i>	<i>(yəx'áη st)</i>	<i>(yəx'áη cx'w)</i>	<i>(yəx'áη)</i>

**4.3.2. Dative.** The dative applicative has the form *-sit*. This form may actually be composed of two morphemes: a *-si* 'dative' and the *-t* 'basic transitivizer'. However, the objects with this form, although using the *s*-set, deviate from those of the simple basic transitivizer. Note the first and second person objects in (32), *-sícəη*, and compare them with the objects in (18), *-c*. The presence of the *-əη* is unexpected if this applicative included the basic transitivizer. Some speakers can, indeed, get forms such as *k'w'násíc cn* in more or less free variation with, but preferring, the 1/2 form given in (32). Other speakers get only the forms shown in (32). As in the causative paradigms, the ergative does not occur at all. Unlike the basic and non-control transitivizers, the presence of a third person agent requires the passive.

The presence of this affix creates a ditransitive stem with a recipient/beneficiary/source direct object and an implied patient. Stems with this applicative include *xə?sít* 'write (something) to someone' and *qəm'sít* 'beg (something) from someone'. In (32) the root is the same as in (18), (19), and (20). Here the stem meaning is 'look at (something) for someone'; the first form in the first column, for example, means 'You look at (something) for me.'

(32)				
Subj/Obj	1	1pl	2	3
1	-	-	<i>k'w'násícəη cn</i>	<i>k'w'násft cn</i>
1pl	-	-	<i>k'w'násícəη st</i>	<i>k'w'násft st</i>
2	<i>k'w'násícəη cx'w</i>	<i>k'w'násítəηt cx'w</i>	-	<i>k'w'násft cx'w</i>
3	<i>(k'w'násftəη cn)</i>	<i>(k'w'násftəη st)</i>	<i>(k'w'násftəη cx'w)</i>	<i>(k'w'násftəη)</i>

**4.3.4. Aggressive.** The form of this morpheme is *-nəs* and does not vary. It occurs only on some roots of motion and location. It has been found, so far, only on the following roots: *nəw* 'be in', *é'əyax* 'enter', *ʔúx* 'go to', *hiyá?* 'go', *ʔənʔá* 'come', *tači* 'arrive here', and *k'anəyut* 'run'.

The presence of this transitivizer indicates that the direct object is approached by an agent with a particular intent. The usual interpretation is that the intent is hostile. This can be seen in the glosses in (33) through (35).

- (33) *é'ix'w'nás cn* 'I barged in on him/her/them'  
 (34) *é'ix'w'násəη cn* 'They barged in on me'  
 (35) *ʔənʔánəsəη cn ʔa? cə sqáxə?* 'The dog came at me'

Out of context speakers gloss the form in (35) as given and feel that it means that the dog is attacking. But this form also appears in a story where the dog is coming to rescue a person. Other examples of this suffix are not interpreted as hostile intent:

- (36) *tčfnəs cn* 'I got here for (to get) him'  
 (37) *tčfnəsəη cn* 'He got here for me (e.g. to take me somewhere)'  
 (38) *k'w'nəyútənəs cn* 'I ran after it'

Only third person objects occur with this applicative and any third person agent requires the passive. In order to specify a first or second person object a fairly rare periphrastic form is used with the first and second person predicative deictics (§5). The basic pattern is shown in (39).

- (39) *ʔənʔánəs cn ʔa? nók'w* 'I came for you'

**4.3.5. Object of emotion.** The basic form of this transitivizer is *-tax*. This morpheme has not been found in many contexts. In general this indicates that the direct object is the object of an emotion expressed in the meaning of the root and felt by the subject. Its form is similar to the causatives (§§4.3.1.1, 4.3.1.2), but it differs from them in three ways.

First, the form of the objects differs. This takes the *m*-set objects but has stressed /á/ rather than the /ú/ of the *-tx* causative. Compare the paradigms (25) and (40).

Second, the resulting meaning is quite different. The object is not a causee in this construction. When added to the root *ʔəy* 'good' the result is not 'cause to be good' but 'enjoy, feel good toward'. When added to *xət* 'hurt' the result means not 'cause to hurt' but 'feel bad for'.

Third, the ergative does occur in this paradigm. As in the basic (18) and noncontrol (19) transitivizer paradigms and unlike all of the other applicatives the ergative *-s* marks the subject in the 3/3 slot in the paradigm. As in all the other transitive paradigms the passive is required in the 3/1 and 3/2 slots.

The following paradigm involves the root *ʔəy* 'good', which becomes *ʔi?* when unstressed. The resulting stem means 'enjoy, feel good toward'. The forms with second person subjects are acceptable only as questions so that the first form in the first column means 'Do you enjoy/feel good toward me.'

(40)

Subj/Obj	1	1pl	2	3
1	-	-	ʔiʔtáŋə cn	ʔiʔtáx <sup>w</sup> cn
1pl	-	-	ʔiʔtáŋə st	ʔiʔtáx <sup>w</sup> st
2	ʔiʔtáŋəs u cx <sup>w</sup>	ʔiʔtáŋt̚ u cx <sup>w</sup>	-	ʔiʔtáx <sup>w</sup> u cx <sup>w</sup>
3	(ʔiʔtáŋ cn)	(ʔiʔtáŋ st)	(ʔiʔtáŋ cx <sup>w</sup> )	ʔiʔtás

**5. Predicative person deictics.** In the previous sections the paradigms given show the affixes of person reference. The paradigm in (41) shows the set of roots having person reference. These forms are actually intransitive predicates meaning, for example, 'it is I'. They can be transitivized using the *-tx<sup>w</sup>* imperative causative so that, for example, *ʔáctx<sup>w</sup>* means 'let me (do it)', but transitivized they cannot take object suffixes.

(41)

	Singular	Plural
1st	ʔác	ʔnʔt̚
2nd	nák <sup>w</sup>	
3rd	nʔt̚	nənfʔiyə

**6. Conclusion.** This paper presents the various person paradigms found in the Klallam language. Details of the morphophonemics, function, and distribution of the constructions require further study.

#### REFERENCE

Thompson, Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson. 1971. Clallam: a preview. In Jesse Sawyer, ed. *Studies in American Indian Languages*. UCPL.

