

An initial look at Twana applicatives

Kaoru Kiyosawa
Simon Fraser University

Nile Thompson
North Seattle Community College

We examine five suffixes found in the Twana language of western Washington State in an effort to identify which, if any, are applicatives. After viewing examples of each, we conclude that two of the morphemes meet the tests of being applicatives. Finally, we look at how the five morphemes might relate to applicatives throughout the Salishan language family.

1 Introduction

To date there have been few syntactic studies of the Twana language. One of the unresearched area is that of applicatives (see Kinkade Ms. B). It is the intent of this paper to provide a preliminary analysis of the morphological and syntactic properties of Twana applicatives and then to view them in the larger context of the Salishan language family (see Kiyosawa 1999).

1.1 Twana language

Twana is a nearly extinct Coast Salishan language traditionally spoken in the area surrounding Hood Canal in western Washington State. Because its last native speakers died in the late 1970s, some of the important morphological work that remains must consider evidence from neighboring Salishan languages, namely Klallam to the north, Puget Sound Salish to the east and Upper Chehalis to the west.

1.2 Salishan applicatives

The verb in Salishan languages consists of a root as a base and a variety of affixes and clitics. Among those elements that are suffixed to the verb stem, the applicatives mark the verb for the thematic role of its direct object. Applicatives increase the verb's semantic valence and can increase the syntactic valence as well. When they attach to intransitive verbs, they form transitive constructions. Accordingly, when they attach to transitive verbs, they form semantically ditransitive constructions.

According to the applicative classification in Kiyosawa (1999), all applicatives fall into two categories: redirective and relational. In a redirective construction, the applied object (that is, the direct object in the applicative construction) is redirected to a non-theme nominal. The redirectives typically involve benefactive, malefactive, dative, and possessive applied objects. In a relational construction, the action of the verb is done in relation to an entity, which serves as the applied object. The valency increases as a result. The applied object is typically a goal or direction of motion, goal of psychological event, source, indirect cause of a psychological event (stimulus or causal), indirect object of a speech act, or location.

2 Possible Twana applicatives

Five suffixes were identified through partial review of Twana language data from several sources.¹ A discussion of these suffixes will be presented in alphabetic order: *-ac*, *-dux*^w, *-s*, *-š* and *-š*i**. In each section, we will attempt to provide contrasting examples of sentences with and without the suffix.²

¹ The following chart provides the primary language source for each researcher whose material we utilized.

<u>Researcher</u>	<u>Twana language speaker</u>
Drachman	Louisa Jones (Charley) Pulsifer
Elmendorf	Henry Allen
Kinkade	Irene Dan (Teo) Baptist
Thompson	Louisa Jones (Charley) Pulsifer

2.1 -ac

The suffix *-ac* occurs only with intransitive verbs. Sentence (1a) is an intransitive sentence. Sentence (1b) is a transitive sentence. In (1c) the transitive marker is not attached but there the applicative *-ac* appears.

- (1) a. *as-%la vláb'-čəd* 'I'm watching.' (Thompson 1979:132)
 b. *as-vláb'-ad-b* 'He is being looked at by someone.' (Elmendorf 1960:496)
 c. *as-%la vl?áb-ac-id-čəd* 'I'm looking after you. / I'm taking care of you.'
 (Thompson 1979:132)

In examples (2-4), *-ac* occurs with motion verbs and the thematic role of the applied object is motion goal.

- (2) a. *ʒas-vəsúf-čəd* 'I'll go.' (Thompson 1979:242)
 b. *bi-vəsúf-ac-čəd tid bád* 'I'm going after my father.' (Thompson 1979:242)
- (3) a. *bi-vusíl-čəd* 'I'm diving.' (Thompson 1979:319)
 b. *t-vusíl-ac-čəd* 'I dove after it.' (Thompson Ms.)
- (4) a. *as-výəqil* 'He's bending over. / He's stooping down.'
 (Thompson 1979:374)
 b. *bi-výəqil-ac-čəd ə ti əpələs* 'I'm bending down to get the apples.' (Thompson Ms.)

In examples (5-7), it occurs with psychological verbs and the thematic role of the applied object is psychological source (stimulus / causal).

- (5) a. *bi-vilál* 'He's crying.' (Thompson 1979:242)
 b. *ʒas-vilál-ac-bəš-č* 'You will weep for me' (Thompson 1979:342)
- (6) a. *as-včíp'-al-čəd* 'I'm afraid.'
 (Thompson 1979:168)
 b. *as-včíp'-al-ac-bəš* 'He's afraid of me.' (Kinkade Ms. A:13)
- (7) a. *as-vššá-čəd* 'I'm mad.'
 (Thompson 1979:342)
 b. *as-vššá-ac-čəd* 'I'm mad at him.' (Kinkade Ms. A:115)

2.2 -dux^w

There are several *-dux^w* suffixes in the Twana language. The one found in (8-9) has some characteristics of being an applicative.

All data cited from Thompson (1979) ultimately comes from Thompson (Ms.).

The morphemic representations shown in the examples for verbs are our own. We have retained word stress markings as it may prove to be relevant. In a few cases we have corrected the sentence translation. For example, the gloss for (1b) *as-vláb'-ad-b* was changed from the original 'being looked at by a vision-acquired spirit' (Elmendorf 1960:496) to 'He is being looked at by someone.'

² Drachman (1969:255, 267, 269) analyzes the Twana subject/object person markers as:

	pronominal	goal of action
1st singular suffix	-čəd	-bəš
1st plural suffix	-f	-bəf
2nd singular suffix	-č	-i(d)
2nd plural suffix	-čp	
3rd singular suffix	-Ø	
3rd plural suffix	-wəf--?əf--w(ə)f	-w(ə)f

- (8) a. *qələb* 'It's no good / bad' (Thompson 1979:193)
 b. *as-ʋqəl-dux^w-čəd* 'I don't want it. / I don't like it.' (Thompson 1979:193)
 'I don't like him.' (Kinkade Ms. A:34)
 c. *as-ʋqəl-dux^w-čəd ti sʔad* 'I don't like that food.' (Kinkade Ms. A:64)

This usage of *-dux^w* is very similar to the applicative use of causative suffix³. *-dux^w* does not only increase the syntactic valency of the stem, but also takes psychological goal for its direct object.

- (9) a. *ʋáy ti báyac* 'The meat is good.' (Thompson 1979:90)
 b. *t-ʔ-dux^w-čəd áy* 'I'm very good.' (Kinkade Ms. A:4)

Sentence (9b) is a transitive sentence. It may literally mean something like, 'That I did it good is good'. This same suffix may be found in conjunction with the benefactive, *-š* (see 2.4).

2.3 -s

The morpheme *-s* attaches to transitive verbs, as in (10-12).

- (10) a. *ʋbəq+ús-ad tid čálaš* 'Kiss my hand!' (Thompson 1979:20)
 b. *šas-ʋbəq+ús-ad-s-id-čəd* 'I'll kiss you.' (Thompson 1979:20)

The root in (10) is cognate with Puget Sound Salish *-bəq'* 'put in mouth, hold in mouth' (see Bates, Hess and Hilbert 1994:38). When the suffix *-s* is added to the transitivized stem, the meaning becomes something like 'hold mouth to the face', i.e. 'kiss'.

- (11) a. *bi-ʋk^wəh-íd-b-id-čəd* 'I'm praising you.' (Thompson 1979:75)
 b. *bi-ʋk^wəh-íd-s-id-čəd* (same) (Thompson 1979:75)
- (12) a. *ʋáy ti báyac* 'The meat is good.' (Thompson 1979:90)
 b. *ʋay-ád-s-d-čəd* 'I like it.' (Thompson 1979:90)
- (13) *ʋááš-s-d-čəd tə sʔbat* 'I like that man.' (Kinkade Ms. A:63)

-s is not followed by the transitive marker *-d* in (11b), but the transitive marker is present in (12b) and (13). It is hard to tell if *-s* is taking the direct object or not, since the stems which *-s* is attached are already transitive.

-s also occurs with intransitive verbs, as in (14).

- (14) a. *as-ʋíšč* 'It's on.' (Thompson 1979:275)
 b. *as-ʋíšč-s-d-čəd ti íáʔəd* 'I'm wearing an apron.' (Thompson Ms.)

The suffix *-s* can occur with an intransitive verb of transfer, as in (15).

- (15) a. *šas-ʋšáyub-čəd* 'I'm going to sell.' (Thompson 1979:355)
 b. *bi-ʋšáyub-s-d-čəd* 'I'm selling it.' (Thompson 1979:355)

³ Halkomelem (Gerdtz 1988: 28.32):

<i>ʔəyʔ</i>	'good'	<i>ʔəy-stəx^w</i>	'like him/her/it'
<i>qəl</i>	'bad'	<i>qəl-stəx^w</i>	'hate him/her/it'

At present we do not conclude that *-s* is an applicative because it may turn out to be the same suffix as the causative *-s* found in (16-19).

- (16) a. *t-vit-ad-s-čəd ti sk^widəb* 'I fed the chickens.' (Kinkade Ms. A:52)
 b. *v^wil-ad-s-d-čəd ə tə sapləl* 'I fed him bread.' (Kinkade Ms. A:52)
- (17) *v^wəli?-s-d-bəš-č* 'You made me well.' (Thompson 1979:68)
- (18) a. *bi-vāla-il-b-čəd* 'I'm getting sick.' (Thompson 1979:68)
 b. *bi-vāla-s-d-b-č ə ti scčəalt* 'You are being made sick by your power.' (Elmendorf 1960:496)
- (19) *as-včiq^w-s-d-b* 'They made a hole.' (Kinkade Ms. A)

2.4 -š

Drachman (1969:263) identifies *-š* as the benefactive in Twana, having the meaning 'for the sake of'. From the examples he provides (20b and 22a), as well as others collected by other researchers, the benefactive *-š* appears to follow a *-dux^w* which is most likely the same suffix as in 2.2.

- (20) a. *bi-včāf-d-b-id-čəd* 'I am giving you something.' (Thompson 1979:35)
 b. *včāf-dux^w-š-d-bəš* 'Give it to me!' (Drachman 1969:265)
 c. *včāf-dux^w-š-d-b-čəd ə ti yəpačilas* 'I was given six dollars.' (Thompson 1979:12)
 d. *t-včāf-dux^w-š-d-bəš ə tə s^wiyó? ti táktəd* 'That doctor gave me medicine.' (Kinkade Ms. A:35)
 e. *las-vhid-ab əf včāf-dux^w-š-d cid káyə* 'He will go and give it to my grandmother.' (Thompson 1979:35)

The syntactic function of *-š* is not clear in (20). When there are two objects to choose from in a sentence, the applied object is usually non-theme. Since the non-theme object is already present in sentence (20a), we don't see any syntactic motivation of attaching *-š*; otherwise, it is semantically motivated to express that the direct object specifically has the thematic role of benefactive.

Look at two more examples of *-š* following *-dux^w*.

- (21) a. *bi-vulaxč-čəd* 'I'm gathering something. / I'm saving something.' (Thompson 1979:130)
 b. *bi-vulaxč-dux^w-š-č* 'He is keeping it for me.' (Kinkade Ms. A:118)
- (22) a. *vhi?əx^w-dux^w-š-d-bəš* 'Bring it to me.' (Drachman 1969:265)
 b. *t-vhi'yāx^w-dux^w-š-d-bəš* 'He brought it to me.' (Kinkade Ms. A:72)

All the verbs in examples (20-22) are verbs of transfer. At this point, there is not enough data to determine whether *-š* as an applicative, since *-dux^w* possibly functions like an applicative as seen in 2.2.

2.5 -ši

The suffix *-ši* occurs only with transfer verbs (23-24):

- (23) a. *bi-vləq-ād-čəd* 'I'm buying it.' (Thompson 1979:150)
 b. *vləq-ši-d-čəd ə ti dux^wiq^wəbəd* 'I bought him a toy' (Kinkade Ms. A:48)

Sentence (23a) is a transitive sentence. The first person subject is *-čəd* and the third person object *-ə*. Presumably, the direct object has theme for its thematic role. Sentence (23b) is also a transitive sentence, having two arguments and an oblique object. Notice that the oblique phrase is 'a toy', which would have been the direct object in a sentence without an applicative. As a result, the direct object of the verb with the applicative *-ši* (the applied object) is the third person 'him', which is expressed as *-ə*, and has a thematic role other than theme; in this case, goal and/or benefactive.

- | | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------|---------------------|
| (24) a. | <i>ʋk^wəd-əd-dux^w</i> | 'Get it!' | (Thompson 1979:115) |
| b. | <i>ʋk^wəd-ši-d-bəš</i> | 'Bring it to me!' | (Kinkade Ms. A:73) |
| c. | <i>ʋk^wəd-ši-d-čəd ə tə wəqəb</i> | 'I took his box.' | (Kinkade Ms. A:73) |

There are two different uses of applicative *-ši* in sentences (24b) and (24c). Sentence (24a) is a transitive sentence, as are (24b) and (24c). The direct object is the first person *-bəš* in sentence (24b), and the third person *-ə* in (24c). Notice the use of applicative *-ši* in (24b) is the same as in (23b); that is, the applied object bears goal as a thematic role; however, it is not the case in (24c). The noun phrase 'box' appears as an oblique phrase in (24c) without a possessive marker that is indicated in the translation.

3 Conclusions

Of the five suffixes in the Twana language we have examined, two are clearly applicatives, namely *-ac* and *-ši*. However, we have doubts about *-dux^w*, *-s* and *-š*.

Twana *-ši* can be reconstructed as **-xi*, and *-ac* as **-nəs*. These have been added to the chart presented in Kinkade (1998):

Puget Sound Salish	<i>-ši/-yi</i>	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>-c/-s</i>	<i>*-nəs</i>
Twana	<i>-ši</i>	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>-ac</i>	<i>*-nəs</i>
Klallam	<i>-ši</i>	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>-nəs</i>	<i>*-nəs</i>
Upper Chehalis	<i>-ši</i>	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>-tas/-ts</i>	<i>*-nəs</i>

The Twana applicative *-ac* (**-nəs*) is found occurring with intransitive verbs; motion and psychological verbs. It is consistent among closely related languages that **-nəs* is not followed by the transitive marker **-nt*:

- | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Klallam | | | | |
| (25) | <i>č'ix^wnəs cn</i> | 'I barged in on him/her/them.' | (Montler 1996:262.33) | |
| Puget Sound Salish | | | | |
| (26) | <i>tu ŋúx^wcəx^w</i> | 'He went after them.' | (Bates, Hess and Hilbert 1994:23) | |
| Upper Chehalis | | | | |
| (27) | <i>sqíwtsmaln</i> | 'He/She is calling/inviting me.' | (Kinkade 1991:373) | |

We do not categorize *-dux^w* as an applicative morpheme because it is the applicative usage of non-control suffix **-nwá-n* (Kinkade 1998), as we do not categorize *-s* as an applicative because it might be the applicative usage of causative suffix **-stw* (Kinkade 1998).

One must consider that Twana *-s* may be a variant of *-ac*, as it is in Puget Sound Salish. However, in Puget Sound Salish, *-s* occurs only when the verb stem ends with *-il*. In Twana, though, there does not seem to be a way of predicting the two based on the phonology or morphology (see 3b). In fact, while *-ac* attaches only to transitive verbs, *-s* can be on either a transitive or intransitive verb. While we do not have morphological evidence to distinguish *-s* applicative, if any, from *-s* causative it may be, as Drachman

(1969:256) suggests, that more than one *-s* suffix exist in Twana. Further evidence is needed before we conclude that one of them is an applicative though.

We have presented *-š* as being different from *-ši*. It is hard to see what the syntactic function of *-š* is since *-š* always appears with *-dux*^w which has the applicative usage we just saw in 2.2. It is possible that the loss of the vowel in *-ši* is caused by *-dux*^w or something else in the sentence; however, there is not enough evidence to prove that *-š* functions exactly like *-ši*.

It is still possible that there are other applicatives in the Twana language that are yet to be discovered. Perhaps an examination of text will find Twana cognates to **-mi* and **-ni*.

	Redirective			Relational		
	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-VmV</i>		<i>*-mi</i>	<i>*-ni</i>	<i>*-nəs</i>
Proto-Salish						
Puget Sound Salish	<i>-ši/-yi</i>			<i>-bi</i>	<i>-di</i>	<i>-c/-s</i>
Twana	<i>-ši</i>			<i>-bi???</i>	<i>-di???</i>	<i>-ac</i>
Klallam	<i>-ši</i>			<i>-ŋə</i>		<i>-nəs</i>
Upper Chehalis	<i>-ši</i>	<i>-tmi</i>	<i>-tux^w/-tx^w</i>	<i>-misl/-mn</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-tas/-ts</i>

References

- Bates, Dawn, Thom Hess and Vi Hilbert. 1994. *Lushootseed Dictionary*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Drachman, Gaberell. 1969. Twana phonology. *Working Papers in Linguistics* No. 5, Ohio State University.
- Elmendorf, William W. 1960. The structure of Twana culture. Monographic Supplement No. 2, *Research Studies*, Washington State University.
- Gerds, Donna B. 1988. *Object and absolutive in Halkomelem Salish*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Kinkade, M. Dale. 1991. *Upper Chehalis Dictionary*. UMOPL 7.
- _____. Ms. A Unpublished Twana field notes (June 1972).
- _____. Ms. B Comparative Salish Seminar, Course notes, UBC (Fall 1998).
- Kiyosawa, Kaoru. 1999. Classification of applicatives in Salishan languages. ICSNL 34:112-152, Kamloops, B.C.
- Montler, Timothy R. 1996. Some Klallam paradigms. ICSNL 31:257-263, Vancouver, B.C.
- Thompson, Nile. 1979. *A Preliminary Dictionary of the Twana Language*. Shelton, WA: Skokomish Indian Tribe.
- _____. Ms. Unpublished Twana field notes (1975-79).