

Permutations of a Shannan Sentence

Eighth International Conference on Salish Languages

August, 1973

John W. Davis

University of California, Berkeley

Introduction

This paper presents a set of data which seems to indicate that in one Coast Salish language there are two types of oblique complement⁽¹⁾: one whose interpretation is "internal" to the root of the predicate (instrument, location, etc) and one which occurs when the predicate contains a sequence of transitive voice suffix plus middle voice suffix⁽⁴⁾; this latter occurrence of an oblique complement always marks the agent and can be considered to be in a sense anaphoric with the middle voice suffix.

Also included is a footnote on the stylistic choice between two types of transitive construction⁽²⁾.

Morphemes Involved

The sentences following consist of these morphemes:

{səp'-}	/səp'-/ ~ /səp'-/	'to be clubbed, to club'
{-T}	/-t/	control transitive ⁽³⁾
{-(ə)m}		middle voice ⁽⁴⁾
{-(ə)s}		third person pronominal suffix
{-oL}	/-oɬ/ ~ /-o-/	past tense
{-s}		third person possessive suffix
{səy'j ^Y ə}	/səy'j ^Y ə/	'leaf, branch'
{š ^Y ə}		an article ⁽⁵⁾
{ʔə}		oblique complement clitic
{təx ^W ə-}	/təx ^W ə-/	'to know'
{-(n)(ə)W}	/-nəx ^W /	responsibility transitive ⁽⁶⁾
{č ^Y (-ən)}	/č ^Y /	'I'
{k ^W }		an article ⁽⁵⁾
{s}	/- ^ə s/	"nominalizer" ⁽⁷⁾

- 111 sap'-oŋ Joseph ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
1 3 4
- 112 səp'-t-as-oŋ Jim Joseph ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
1 2 3 4
- 113 səp'-t-am-oŋ ?ə Jim Joseph ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
1 2 3 4
- 114 səp'-t-as-oŋ Ralph
1 3
- 115 səp'-t-am-oŋ Ralph
1 3
- 116 səp'-t-am-oŋ ?ə Ralph
1 2
- 121 (heŋ) šʸə saŋjʸə ?əx^w sap'-o-s Joseph
4 1 3
- 122 (heŋ) šʸə saŋjʸə ?əx^w səp'-t-o-s Jim Joseph
4 1 2 3
- 123 (heŋ) šʸə saŋjʸə ?əx^w səp'-t-ət-oŋ ?ə Jim Joseph
4 1 2 3
- 131 (heŋ) Joseph (?ə) sap'-oŋ ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
3 1 4
- 132 (heŋ) Joseph (?ə) səp'-t-as-oŋ Jim ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
3 1 2 4
- 133 (heŋ) Joseph (?ə) səp'-t-am-oŋ ?ə Jim ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
3 1 2 4
- 142 (heŋ) Jim (?ə) səp'-t-oŋ Joseph ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
2 1 3 4
- 143 (heŋ) Jim (?ə) səp'-t-am-oŋ Joseph ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
2 1 3 4
- 212 təx^w-nəx^w čʸ k^{w-ə}s səp'-t-o-s Jim Joseph ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
1 2 3 4
- 213 təx^w-nəx^w čʸ k^{w-ə}s səp'-t-ət-oŋ ?ə Jim Joseph ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
1 2 3 4
- 222 təx^w-nəx^w čʸ k^{w-ə}s saŋjʸə-s ?əx^w səp'-t-o-s ?ə Jim Joseph
4 1 2 3
- 233 təx^w-nəx^w čʸ k^{w-ə}s Joseph-s (?ə) səp'-t-am-oŋ ?ə Jim
3 1 2
?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
4
- 242 təx^w-nəx^w čʸ k^{w-ə}s Jim-s (?ə) səp'-t-oŋ Joseph ?ə šʸə saŋjʸə
2 1 3 4

Morphophonemic Notes

The morphemes {səp̄-}, {-(ə)m}, and {-(ə)s} are pronounced /səp̄-/, /-am-/, and /-as-/ before an immediately following {-oL}. The sequence {-oL} plus {-s} yields /-o-s/ through the intermediate steps of ~~*/-oɪ-s/~~ and ~~*/-ow-s/~~. The sequence {k^w} plus {s} is pronounced with an epenthetic schwa: /k^w-ə-s/ [k^wɪs].

Notes on {-s}

In sentences 123 and 213 the sequence {-T-(ə)m-s} is pronounced /-t-ət/ [-tit] (compare with sentence 113). In these two sentences {-s} does not occur word finally, as it does in sentences 121, 122, and 212. These two sets of sentences illustrate the rule that {-s} moves rightwards as suffixes are added, but only so long as it is still phonemically /-s/. The schwa /ə/ of {-(ə)m} in sentences 123 and 213 is not changed to /a/ before {-oL} because {-s} intervenes at the morphemic level. Sentences 122 and 212 illustrate the rule that {-(ə)s} cannot occur if {-s} occurs later in the word⁽⁸⁾ (compare sentence 112). In sentences 121 through 123, {-s} is required by preceding {ʔəx^w}. In sentences 212 through 242 {-s} is required by preceding {s}.

Word Order

In the sentences given on page 2 the element marked as 1 is the action, 2 is the agent, 3 is the patient, and 4 is the instrument. In sentences 111 through 116 (and 212 and 213) the action is the predicate. In sentences 121 through 123 (and 222) the instrument is the predicate. In sentences 131 through 133 (and 233) the patient is the predicate. In sentences 142 and 143 (and 242) the agent is the predicate; there is no sentence 141 because there is no agent in sentence 111 to raise to predicate status.

Direct and oblique complements can come in any order after the predicate; however, the most usual (least marked) order is agent-patient-instrument as exemplified here.

Sentence 111 can also have word order 1-4-3.

Sentences 112, 212, 113, and 213 can also have word order 1-3-2-4 or 1-4-2-3 or 1-4-3-2 or 1-3-4-2 or 1-2-4-3.

The word order of sentences 114 through 116 and 121 cannot be varied.

Sentences 122, 222, and 123 can also have word order 4-1-3-2.

The word order of sentence 131 cannot be varied.

Sentences 132, 133, and 233 can also have word order 3-1-4-2.

Sentences 142, 242, and 143 can also have word order 2-1-4-3.

Optional Clitics

In sentences 121 through 143 (heɬ) is an optional deictic which adds emphasis and may be deleted.

In sentences 131 through 143 (and 233 and 242), (?ə) can be deleted whether or not (heɬ) is also present, whether or not the sentence is embedded⁽⁹⁾.

Agent versus Patient

The morphological distinction between /səp'-t-as-oɬ/ in sentence 132 and /səp'-t-oɬ/ in sentence 142 is parallel to the same distinction in Squamish⁽¹⁰⁾: the first refers to the patient (one who is clubbed) and the second to the agent (one who clubs).

The syntactic distinction between the presence of {?ə} before "Jim" in sentences 133 and 233 and its absence before "Joseph" in sentence 143, both after the suffix sequence {-T-(ə)m}, is parallel to the same distinction in Snohomish⁽¹¹⁾: the first indicates that the predicate is patient, the second that the predicate is agent (compare sentences 115 and 116 also).

Agent versus Instrument

In sentences 121 through 123 (and 222) the clitic {ʔəx^w} is required in the grammar of older speakers. In middle-aged speakers this clitic is in free variation with /ʔə/ so that it appears homophonous with the optional (ʔə) in sentences 131 through 143 (and 233 and 242); however, unlike these latter instances, neither {ʔəx^w} nor its reduced form /ʔə/ is deletable at any time.

The clitic {ʔəx^w} is most likely cognate with the Snohomish prefix /dəx^w-/ in the following sentence⁽¹²⁾:

<u>ʔəx^w</u>	tiʔəʔ	<u>dəx^w</u>	ʔə	<u>tiʔiɪ</u>	stùbš	<u>tiʔəʔ</u>	<u>sq^w</u>	<u>əbàyʔ</u>
4		1		2		3		

'That is the rock the man used to throw at the dog.'

4	2	1	3
---	---	---	---

Distinguishing the Agent

Since the direct and oblique complements can come in any order after the predicate, the distinction between agent and patient in sentences such as 112, 122, and 222 is determined by the context of the story or conversation in which the sentence occurs.

In sentences 111 and 113 through 115 only one direct complement comes after the predicate: this is interpreted as the patient. Sentences such as 116 are the only way to state the agent without stating the patient⁽¹³⁾.

Also, since the complements can come in any order, the distinction between agent and instrument in sentence 113 (and 213) is determined by semantics: the agent is human, the instrument is inanimate. In the unlikely instance that Jim had used John to club Joseph, then only the inverted sentence order would be intelligible (compare sentence 123):

/(heɪ) John ?əx^w səp̣-t-ət-oɪ ?ə Jim Joseph/
 4 1 2 3
'It is John with which Jim clubbed Joseph'
 4 1 2 1 3

Just as the distinction between patient and agent is not marked grammatically in sentence 112 (and 212) but is in sentences 132 and 142 (and 242), the distinction between agent and instrument is not marked grammatically in sentence 113 (and 213) but is in sentences 123 and 143.

Conclusion

It is the presence of the clitic {?əx^w} before 'clubbed' together with the suffix {-s} after 'clubbed' in sentence 123 which marks a complement whose interpretation is "internal" to the root of the predicate and the absence of these two morphemes in sentence 143 which marks the agent, whose interpretation is not "internal" to the root of the predicate⁽¹⁴⁾.

Appendix

Here are more examples of direct complements whose interpretation depends upon the meaning of the predicate with which they are associated:

- 50 nəp-əš^Y-as-oɬ Jim k^W ʃaʔa ʔə k^W pəč^Yo /nəp-/ 'put inside;
1 2 3 4 be inside'
Jim put the clams into the basket. /-əš^Y/ {-T}
2 1 3 4
- 51 nəp-et k^W ʃaʔa ʔə k^W pəč^Yo /ʃaʔa/ 'clams'
1 3 4 /pəč^Yo/ 'basket'
The clams are inside the basket. /-et/ stative
3 1 4 aspect
- 52 (heɪ) k^W pəč^Yo ʔəx^W nəp-et-s k^W ʃaʔa
4 1 3
It is the basket that the clams are inside of.
4 1 3 1
- 53 (heɪ) k^W ʃaʔa (ʔə) nəp-et ʔə k^W pəč^Yo
3 1 4
It is the clams that are inside the basket.
3 1 4
- 61 yəč^Y k^W pəč^Yo ʔə k^W ʃaʔa The basket is full of clams.
1 3 4 3 1 4
- 62 (heɪ) k^W ʃaʔa ʔəx^W yəč^Y-s k^W pəč^Yo
4 1 3
It is clams the basket is full of.
4 3 1
- 63 (heɪ) k^W pəč^Yo (ʔə) yəč^Y ʔə k^W ʃaʔa
3 1 4
It is the basket that is full of clams.
3 1 4
- 71 neʔ tə č^Yəq ʔə tə səy^Yə The robin is there on the branch.
1 3 4 3 1 4
- 72 (heɪ) tə səy^Yə ʔəx^W neʔ-s tə č^Yəq
4 1 3
It is the branch where the robin is.
4 1 3 1

Footnotes

- (1) Thompson and Thompson (1972:264) distinguish two types of complement in Clallam: oblique complements are preceded by {ʔə} and direct complements are not. Kuipers (1967:136) distinguishes two case forms in Squamish: the Relative case marked with the prefix {t-} and the Absolutive case which is not marked.
- (2) Kuipers (1967:68) uses the term "Passive" to designate any Squamish word which consists of a stem plus the voice suffixes /-t-m/. Thompson and Thompson (1972:280-1) point out that if the term "passive" is used to describe Clallam words ending in {-t-ŋ} "it presents the interesting structural situation that it is a passive without any full corresponding active." Hess (1973:92) includes a discussion of the concept of "passive" in his article on Puget Salish. See also footnote (13) below.
- (3) This implies that the action was done easily, with full control by the agent. See also footnote (6) below. For a discussion of the control suffix in Clallam, see Thompson and Thompson (1972:280).
- (4) Thompson and Thompson (1972:279) call the cognate morpheme in Clallam, {-ŋ}, the "involvement" suffix.
- (5) There are four articles, filling five of six possible slots:

	major importance	minor importance
visible	tə	ɬ
nonvisible	k ^w	ɬ
remote	š ^y ə	-

- (6) Kuipers (1967:69) calls the cognate suffix in Squamish "non-volitional". Of the cognate suffix in Clallam, Thompson and Thompson (1972:281) write "'responsibility: an entity is responsible in at least some measure for a situation or activity, but is not in control'". This latter description fits the connotation here. For example the sentence 'Did you kill the mosquito?' is more likely to be translated with the responsibility suffix rather than with the control suffix. Also, when Mink is preparing to wrestle with Dipper Bird he instructs his grandmother to pour ashes in Dipper's face 'If I (manage to) put him belly-up' /ga š^Yaʔ-ʔač^Y-əx^W-ən/ {ga} 'if', {š^Yaʔ} 'upward', {-ʔač^Y} 'belly', /-əx^W/ responsibility, /-ən/ 'I'.

Those familiar with Northwest Coast mythology will be able to predict that Mink did not succeed.

- (7) The sequence /k^W-ə^s/ is phonetically [k^Wɪs]; this reflex of Proto-Salish */s-/ is not pronounced as a prefix on the following word.
- (8) The reverse is not true; {-(ə)s} can occur after {-s} in the same word:

/ʔaʔ-s/	'he wants it'
{ʔaʔ}	'want, desire'
{-s}	third person possessive
/x ^W a ʔaʔ-s-əs/	'he doesn't want it'
{x ^W a}	'no, not'
{-(ə)s}	required by preceding {x ^W a}

- (9) I have been able to verify this statement of the occurrence of (?ə) with only one informant; however, the texts transcribed so far support this analysis.
- (10) Kuipers (1967:88).
- (11) Hess (1971).
- (12) Quoted from Hess 1971. See also Hess 1970, section 13.
- (13) There appear to be several semantic and contextual parameters determining the stylistic choice between sentences such as 112 on the one hand and 113 on the other hand. Among them are:
- (a) New information in context, where ambiguity must be avoided -- sentences such as 113.
- (b) The agent is viewed as less "agent-like" or powerful than the patient -- sentences such as 113. Included in this: most instances of third person acting on first or second person and the great majority of instances of non-human third person acting on first or second person ('A mosquito bit me.');
- most instances of non-human third person acting on human third person ('A mosquito bit him.');
- less powerful third person acting on more powerful third person ('The children fooled the Basket Ogre.');
- indefinite third person acting on definite third person ('Someone saw him.')
- ('The dog likes to have his head scratched.' - "The dog likes someone-head-scratch-him.").
- (c) The agent is viewed as more "agent-like" or powerful than the patient -- sentences such as 112. Included in this: all instances of first or second person acting as agent; more powerful third person acting on less powerful third person ('The Basket Ogre put the children in his basket.').

(d) Stylistic variation is desired for one reason or another -- state the sentence as in 113 then repeat it as in 112. /qəy'-θe-m ?ə tə ?oɪqəy, qəy'-θe-s tə ?oɪqəy/ 'The snake kills you.' {qəy'-} 'die, kill', {-T} control transitive, {-Se} 'you', {-(ə)m} middle voice, {?oɪqəy} 'snake', {-(ə)s} third person pronominal suffix.

- (14) Not discussed herein is the situation of patient occurring as oblique complement, which occurs when the first (or only) voice suffix on a transitive stem is middle voice:

t'oç'o-t-as-oɪ Jim k^w qegaθ 'Jim shot a deer.'

1 2 3 2 1 3

{t'oç'o-} 'shoot' {qegaθ} 'deer'

t'oç'-am-oɪ Jim ?ə k^w qegaθ 'Jim shot a deer.'

1 2 3 2 1 3

t'oç'-əm-t-as-oɪ Jim Mary ?ə k^w qegaθ

1 2 5 3

'Jim shot Mary a deer.'

2 1 5 3

t'oç'-əm-t-am-oɪ ?ə Jim Mary ?ə k^w qegaθ

1 2 5 3

'Jim shot Mary a deer.'

2 1 5 3

In the data to date, only benefactive has not occurred as an oblique complement.

References Cited

Hess, Thom

- 1970 Prefix Constituents with /x^w/. Paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Salish Languages.
- 1971 Sentence Agnates. One of a series of class handouts for Linguistics 450 at the University of Victoria.
- 1973 Agent in a Coast Salish Language. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol 39, No 2, pp 89-94.

Kuipers, Aert H.

- 1967 The Squamish Language. *Janua Linguarum, Series Practica*, LXXIII. Mouton, The Hague.

Thompson, Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson

- 1972 Clallam: A Preview. *Studies in American Indian Languages*, ed by William F. Shipley and Jesse O. Sawyer. University of California Publications in Linguistics 65.