TRANSITIVE INFLECTION IN (MOSES) COLUMBIAN SALISH

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In this paper[1] I will present a sketch of transitive inflection in Columbian Salish. As used here, 'transitive inflection' will include a number of grammatical categories, such as transitive, transitivizer, control, indirective, causative, object pronoun, and subject pronoun. Control will only be touched on, and left for fuller treatment elsewhere. Transitive inflection in Columbian is entirely suffixal, and is the most elaborated part of Columbian inflection. Most of the suffixes involved will be familiar to anyone who has followed the growing literature on Interior Salish; cognates for all the suffixes involved in Columbian transitive inflection occur elsewhere, although no attempt at comparison will be made here.[2] However, Columbian seems to elaborate the overall system by allowing combinations apparently excluded in other Interior Salishan languages. I will first present the subject and object suffixes; second the transitive, control, and causative suffixes; third -min- 'relational'; fourth -nún- 'success'; and fifth the indirective suffixes. Then I will indicate some of the ordering and cooccurrence possibilities in Columbian.

Pronominal suffixes on transitive constructions can be split into object and subject sequences with relative ease, although various morphophonemic processes produce some irregularities in the overall system. These processes have to do with primary stress location, some apparent analogical formations with 1 sg. subjects, and some irregularities when 1 pl. is combined with certain other personal endings.

The basic subject suffixes are the following. These may be compared with the intransitive subject clitics, which consist basically of k- plus the transitive subject suffixes except in the third person. Independent pronominal forms also occur, but they are fully predicative, and are of no relevance here.

	transitive	intransitive	independent
1 sg.	-n, -nn	kn	ʔincá
2 sg.	-xʷ	kʷ	ʔinwí
3 sg.	-s	∅	cníl, cní
1 pl.	-t	kt	nmníml
2 pl.	-p	kp	lplápst
3 pl.	-s	lx	cncníl

The -nn variant of the 1 sg. suffix occurs when the stressed vowel of the word immediately precedes this suffix; this can occur only when -cí- '2 sg. object' or -stú- 'causative' (with a zero 3 sg. object)

occurs.[3] Ambiguous in this respect are 1 sg. subject after -mín- 'relational' or -nún- 'success' plus 3 sg. object; if these two suffixes are, alternatively, analyzed as -mí- and -nú- (which seems perfectly possible in Columbian, although at least -min- with n seems historically correct; morphophonemic rules produce the correct output no matter which variants are considered basic), then -nn occurs as after -cí- or -stú-. I will here assume -mín- and -nún- as basic, and the -nn variant of 1 sg. -n as being analogical to these forms when followed by -n '1 sg. subject'. (For further discussion of -min- and -nún-, see below.) Third person plural forms are not always distinguished from 3 sg. forms, and will largely be ignored in this paper; note, however, that 1x occurring with a transitive construction will refer to the object, not the subject. Subject suffixes in Columbian, unlike all other Interior Salishan languages, never occur stressed or in a variant with a vowel.

There are two sets of object suffixes in Columbian, although they are distinct only in 1 sg. and 2 sg. Set one occurs after -n- 'control', set two after -stu- 'causative'. Imperfective aspect forms have generalized the use of 'causative' so that all transitive non-perfective forms include -stu- (although not all causatives are non-perfective). Hence other transitivizing suffixes occur with both sets of suffixes, although -xi- calls for the causative set and -tuɬ- 'indirect' calls for the non-causative set.

	non-causative	causative
1 sg.	-sá(1)-/-s(1)-	-m-
2 sg.	-sí-/-s-	-m-
3	∅	∅
obv.	-wá-/-u-	-wá-/-u-
1 pl.	-ál-/-l-	-ál-/-l-
2 pl.	-úlm-/-lm-	-úlm-/-lm-

All the non-causative endings must be preceded by -t- 'transitive'; this fuses with the singular endings, so that they appear as -cá(1)-/ -c(1)- and -cí-/-c-. The 1 of 1 sg. non-causative forms occurs only before 2 pl. subjects. The causative 1 sg. -m- usually (but optionally) appears as u following a consonant and preceding 2 sg. subject -xʷ;[4] it is occasionally deleted entirely by some speakers between causative -stú- (stressed) and 2 pl. subject -p. Full transitive paradigms follow, showing stressed and unstressed variants of both non-causative and causative object suffixes.[5]

subj.-obj.	non-causative object stressed	non-causative object unstressed
1sg-3	kƛ'ə́m'n	ʔác'x̣n
2sg-3	kƛ'ə́m'ntxʷ	ʔác'x̣ntxʷ
3-3	kƛ'ə́m's	ʔác'x̣s

1pl-3	kƛ'ə́m'ntm	ʔác'x̣ntm
2pl-3	kƛ'ə́m'ntp	ʔác'x̣ntp
3-obv	kƛ'əm'ntwás	ʔác'x̣ntus
1sg-2sg	kƛ'əm'ncínn	ʔác'x̣ncn
3-2sg	kƛ'əm'ncís	ʔác'x̣nc
1pl-2sg	kƛ'əm'ncít	ʔác'x̣nct
2sg-1sg	kƛ'əm'ncáx̣ʷ	ʔác'x̣ncx̣ʷ
3-1sg	kƛ'əm'ncás	ʔác'x̣nc
2pl-1sg	kƛ'əm'ncálp	ʔác'x̣nclp
1sg-2pl	kƛ'əm'ntúlmn	ʔác'x̣ntlmn
3-2pl	kƛ'əm'ntúlms	ʔác'x̣ntlms
1pl-2pl	kƛ'əm'ntúlmt	ʔác'x̣ntlmt
2sg-1pl	kƛ'əm'ntált	ʔác'x̣ntlt
3-1pl	kƛ'əm'ntáls	ʔác'x̣ntls
2pl-1pl	kƛ'əm'ntálp	ʔác'x̣ntlp
	'go past'	'look at'

subj.-obj.	causative object stressed	causative object unstressed
1sg-3	cəkstúnn	c̣haḥím'a'ʔsn
2sg-3	cəkstúx̣ʷ	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstx̣ʷ
3-3	cəkstús	c̣haḥím'a'ʔsc
1pl-3	cəkstúm	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstm
2pl-3	cəkstúp	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstp
3-obv	cəkstwás	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstus
1sg-2sg	cəkstúmn	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstmn
3-2sg	cəkstúms	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstms
1pl-2sg	cəkstúmt	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstmt
2sg-1sg	cəkstúmx̣ʷ	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstux̣ʷ
3-1sg	cəkstúms	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstms
2pl-1sg	cəkstú(m)p	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstmp
1sg-2pl	cəkstúlmn	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstlmn
3-2pl	cəkstúlms	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstlms
1pl-2pl	cəkstúlmt	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstlmt
2sg-1pl	cəkstált	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstlt
3-1pl	cəkstáls	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstls
2pl-1pl	cəkstálp	c̣haḥím'a'ʔstlp
	'hit'	'dislike'

Irregularities to be noted are the following: (1) the loss of -t- 'transitive' in all 1sg-3 forms and non-causative 3-3 forms; (2) the loss of -n- 'control' in 1sg-3 non-causative forms (note the difference between this and the addition of an n in a form like cəkstúnn or kƛ'əm'ncínn; n is regularly lost before s, ɫ, or x̣, as in kƛ'ə́m's, with this regular loss ordered after the irregular loss of -t-); (3) the merger of t and s to c in 3-3 unstressed causative (this can also be analyzed as loss of t and a suffixed s becoming c after another s, which is a general rule); (4) merger of -cs to -c in 3-2sg and 3-1sg

unstressed non-causative forms; (5) occurrence of -m̲ for the expected -t̲ in all 1pl-3 forms; (6) occurrence of -t̲ for the expected -x̲ʷ in all 2sg-1pl forms; (7) stress on the object, rather than on -s̲t̲u̲- in stressed causatives with obviative objects or 1pl objects (the same may be true for 2pl objects, but since both -s̲t̲u̲- and -u̲l̲m̲- have u̲ there is no way to tell); (8) the usual shift of m̲ to u̲ in 2sg-1sg unstressed causative forms and its occasional loss between -s̲t̲ú- and 2pl -p̲.

Object suffixes also occur after what Thompson and Thompson (1981) call 'control roots', roots which do not require -n̲- 'control'. These roots are probably fewer in number in Columbian than in Thompson, but they do occur; some which would be expected through similar meanings or cognacy with Thompson occur in Columbian preferably with an indirective suffix before the transitive and object suffixes (e.g. wík-ɬ- 'see'). As with non-control roots, control roots may be stressed or unstressed, so the same variation between stressed and unstressed object forms occurs. Imperfective aspect forms again require causative endings. The following are sample paradigms.

subj.-obj.	non-causative object stressed	non-causative object unstressed	causative object stressed
1sg-3	ʔə́mtn	kaɬn	cʔəmstúnn
2sg-3	ʔə́mtxʷ	kaɬtxʷ	cʔəmstúxʷ
3-3	ʔə́mc	kaɬc	cʔəmstús
1pl-3	ʔə́mtm	kaɬtm	cʔəmstúm
2pl-3	ʔə́mtp	kaɬtp	cʔəmstúp
3-obv	ʔəmtwás	kaɬtus	cʔəmstwás
1sg-2sg	ʔəmcínn	kaɬcn	cʔəmstúmn
3-2sg	ʔəmcís	kaɬc	cʔəmstúms
1pl-2sg	ʔəmcít	kaɬct	cʔəmstúmt
2sg-1sg	ʔəmcáxʷ	kaɬcxʷ	cʔəmstúmxʷ
3-1sg	ʔəmcás	kaɬc	cʔəmstúms
2pl-1sg	ʔəmcálp	kaɬclp	cʔəmstú(m)p
1sg-2pl	ʔəmtúlmn	kaɬtlmn	cʔəmstúlmn
3-2pl	ʔəmtúlms	kaɬtlms	cʔəmstúlms
1pl-2pl	ʔəmtúlmt	kaɬtlmt	cʔəmstúlmt
2sg-1pl	ʔəmtált	kaɬtlt	cʔəmstált
3-1pl	ʔəmtáls	kaɬtls	cʔəmstáls
2pl-1pl	ʔəmtálp	kaɬtlp	cʔəmstálp
	'feed'	'give'	'feeding'

The suffixes that usually immediately precede object suffixes are -t̲- 'transitive' and -s̲t̲u̲- 'causative'; -n̲- 'control' usually precedes -t̲- 'transitive' and may also occur underlyingly before -s̲t̲u̲- 'causative', but would never appear on the surface because of the automatic loss of n̲ before s̲. All three appear in the paradigms above, and morphophonemic changes involving them were discussed there. -t̲- 'transitive' is mutually exclusive with -s̲t̲u̲- 'causative'--i.e. they cannot

co-occur. As noted earlier, -stu- and the causative objects must be
used in all transitive non-perfective aspect constructions, as in Col-
ville-Okanagan, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene. In Columbian, non-perfec-
tive forms have a prefix s-,ʔac-/c-, or sac-/sc- (ʔac- and sac- occur
only when the stem to which they are prefixed begins with a single con-
sonant followed by a stressed vowel), as in cp'əq'ʷstús 'he's spilling
it', cmistúnn 'I know it', cwwáwlxsn 'I'm talking to him', ʔack'íˤʷsc
lx 'he's praying for them', scq'ʷúsn 'I'm reading it' (from cq'ʷun-
'call, name, read'), sc'əkstús 'he's counting them right now'. But
many forms with -stu- 'causative' occur without these prefixes, and
are clearly perfective aspect, as in ƛ'əxpstúnn 'I raised him', púlxsn
'I put him to bed, I tucked him in', ʔúcqaʔsn 'I took it out'. A
specific contrast of the two aspectual usages where the causative force
is clear occurs in the following forms based on cíˤʷlx 'bathe':
ʔaccíˤʷlxsc 'she's bathing him', t'íl' cíˤʷlxsc 'she already bathed
him'.

   The causative suffix may also be used to transitivize a stem
already containing various intransitive suffixes. Only a few examples
will be given here. (1) After -m 'middle': lək'mstúnn 'I forced him',
wənmstúnn 'I lowered it'. (2) After -p 'inchoative': təxʷpstúnn 'I
stopped him from doing it, I fired him', ƛ'əxpstúnn 'I raised him'.
(3) After -ilx 'autonomous': t'áxlxsn 'I took/got them (fish) up the
river bank', cwwáwlxsn 'I'm talking to him'.

   -min- 'relational' may be considered to be a transitivizer. As
in Thompson (and other Salishan languages), 'relational' 'refers to
objects toward whom/which the subject is moving or in relation to whom/
which the action is accomplished' (Thompson and Thompson 1981). It
occurs with and without stress, and with both causative and non-causa-
tive endings. The four paradigms follow.

subj.-obj.	-min-t-	-mn-t-
1sg-3	yərmínn	cqána ʔmn
2sg-3	yərmíntxʷ	cqána ʔmntxʷ
3-3	yərmís	cqána ʔms
1pl-3	yərmíntm	cqána ʔmntm
2pl-3	yərmíntp	cqána ʔmntp
3-obv	yərmíntus	cqána ʔmntus
1sg-2sg	yərmíncn	cqána ʔmncn
3-2sg	yərmínc	cqána ʔmnc
1pl-2sg	yərmínct	cqána ʔmnct
2sg-1sg	yərmíncxʷ	cqána ʔmncxʷ
3-1sg	yərmínc	cqána ʔmnc
2pl-1sg	yərmínclp	cqána ʔmnclp
1sg-2pl	yərmíntlmn	cqána ʔmntlmn
3-2pl	yərmíntlms	cqána ʔmntlms
1pl-2pl	yərmíntlmt	cqána ʔmntlmt

2sg-1pl	yərmíntlt	cqána?mntlt
3-1pl	yərmíntls	cqána?mntls
2pl-1pl	yərmíntlp	cqána?mntlp
	'push'	'hear'

subj.-obj.	-min-stu-	-mn-st-
1sg-3	yərmísn	?acwákʷcnmsn
2sg-3	yərmístxʷ	?acwákʷcnmstxʷ
3-3	yərmísc	?acwákʷcnmsc
1pl-3	yərmístm	?acwákʷcnmstm
2pl-3	yərmístp	?acwákʷcnmstp
3-obv	yərmístus	?acwákʷcnmstus
1sg-2sg	yərmístmn	?acwákʷcnmstmn
3-2sg	yərmístms	?acwákʷcnmstms
1pl-2sg	yərmístmt	?acwákʷcnmstmt
2sg-1sg	yərmístuxʷ	?acwákʷcnmstuxʷ/stmxʷ
3-1sg	yərmístms	?acwákʷcnmstms
2pl-1sg	yərmístmp	?acwákʷcnmstmp
1sg-2pl	yərmístlmn	?acwákʷcnmstlmn
3-2pl	yərmístlms	?acwákʷcnmstlms
1pl-2pl	yərmístlmt	?acwákʷcnmstlmt
2sg-1pl	yərmístlt	?acwákʷcnmstlt
3-1pl	yərmístls	?acwákʷcnmstls
2pl-1pl	yərmístlp	?acwákʷcnmstlp
	'pushing'	'talking about'

-min- frequently occurs to form secondary derivatives, as from the following reflexive and indefinite intransitive forms. In this function, only the weak form of the suffix occurs: kⱡà?qncútmnc 'he's leaning against me', kⱡilncútmn 'I'm jealous of him', kaslàhlahscútmn 'I'm going to play a trick on him', kyaˤ'mncútmntm 'we all jumped on him', xəltxíxmn 'I asked other people for it', kʷanxíxmn 'I took it away from them; pickpocket', kʷəⱡnxáxmn 'I loaned someone else's property to him'.

-nwáⱡn (intransitive)/-nún- (transitive) 'success' is a strong suffix, i.e. always has primary stress. It usually means 'successful completion of an action' (often after much effort) or 'finally manage to do something' (sometimes accidentally). The intransitive form occurs very infrequently in my data. A few examples are kn xəλ'pnwáⱡn 'I'm finished filling them', kn scmipnwáⱡnəxʷ 'I'm learning about it' (-əxʷ 'imperfective intransitive'), and wəlq'ʷnwáⱡn 'he accidentally swallowed it'. The transitive form, on the other hand, is quite common. It is followed by -t- 'transitive' in perfective aspect and -stu- 'causative' in imperfective aspect; since -nún- is always stressed, it must be followed by the unstressed (vowelless) variants of object suffixes. Paradigms with -nún- follow the pattern of -min-t- and -min-stu- given above.[6]

subj.-obj.	-nún-t-	-nún-stu-
1sg-3	xəsnúnn	cxəsnúsn
2sg-3	xəsnúntxʷ	cxəsnústxʷ
3-3	xəsnús	cxəsnúsc
1pl-3	xəsnúntm	cxəsnústm
2pl-3	xəsnúntp	cxəsnústp
3-obv	xəsnúntus	cxəsnústus
1sg-2sg	xəsnúncn	cxəsnústmn
3-2sg	xəsnúnc	cxəsnústms
1pl-2sg	xəsnúnct	cxəsnústmt
2sg-1sg	xəsnúncxʷ	cxəsnústuxʷ
3-1sg	xəsnúnc	cxəsnústms
2pl-1sg	xəsnúnclp	cxəsnústmp
1sg-2pl	xəsnúntlmn	cxəsnústlmn
3-2pl	xəsnúntlms	cxəsnústlms
1pl-2pl	xəsnúntlmt	cxəsnústlmt
2sg-1pl	xəsnúntlt	cxəsnústlt
3-1pl	xəsnúntls	cxəsnústls
2pl-1pl	xəsnúntlp	cxəsnústlp
	'lose'	'losing'

Other examples of -nún- are: k'ʷaʔk'ʷaʔn'únc 'he bit me all up', k'ʷuʔnús 'he used it up', mipnúnn 'I found it out', cmipnúsn 'I know already', lipnúnn 'I hit the target', łaxqʼʷnúnn 'I got away from him', ktəqqnaʔnúnn 'I accidentally put my hand on it and (managed to) smear it', ck'ʷaʔnústms 'he's always scolding/getting after me'.

I have dealt with Columbian indirectives elsewhere (Kinkade 1980; I am now inclined to consider the base form of the first of these to be -xit- rather than -xi- because of the difficulty in accounting for the t otherwise), identifying them and attempting to indicate their syntactic functions. However, I did not treat their role in word composition. None cooccur with -n- 'control'.

-xit- is followed by object suffixes from the causative paradigm. Since -xit- is a variable-stress suffix, it can occur with or without a vowel, depending on the strength of the preceding stem. Since all forms with -xit- take causative object suffixes, the only difference between perfective and imperfective forms is the presence of a prefix on the latter: cq'iy'xítn 'I'm writing to him', ʔackáłxtxʷ 'you're giving it to him', etc. Perfective paradigms showing stressed and unstressed variants of -xit- follow.

subj.-obj.	weak root-xit-	strong root-xit-
1sg-3	q'iy'xítn	káłxtn
2sg-3	q'iy'xítxʷ	káłxtxʷ
3-3	q'iy'xíc	káłxc

1pl-3	q'iy'xítm	káɬxtm
2pl-3	q'iy'xítp	káɬxtp
3-obv	q̓'iy'xítus	káɬxtus
1sg-2sg	q'iy'xítmn	káɬxtmn
3-2sg	q'iy'xítms	káɬxtms
1pl-2sg	q'iy'xítmt	káɬxtmt
2sg-1sg	q'iy'xítuxʷ	káɬxtuxʷ
3-1sg	q'iy'xítms	káɬxtms
2pl-1sg	q'iy'xítmp	káɬxtmp
1sg-2pl	q'iy'xítlmn	káɬxtlmn
3-2pl	q̓'iy'xítlms	káɬxtlms
1pl-2pl	q'iy'xítlmt	káɬxtlmt
2sg-1pl	q'iy'xítlt	káɬxtlt
3-1pl	q'iy'xítls	káɬxtls
2pl-1pl	q'iy'xítlp	káɬxtlp
	'write to'	'give to'

Other examples with -xit- are c'əkxítms 'he counted for me', c'xʷmxítms 'he promised me', k'iˤʷxítn 'I said a prayer for him', ləmxítn 'I stole it for him', táwxc 'he bought it for him', k'ɬʔáyxtn 'I returned it for him', xalíxtn 'I asked him for it'.

    -ɬ- is usually followed by -t- 'transitive' and non-causative object forms in both perfective and imperfective aspects. 1sg-3 forms may end in either -ɬ-n or -ɬ-tn. Perfective paradigms of -ɬ- following weak and strong roots follow; sample imperfectives would be ʔacləmɬtxʷ 'you are stealing it from him', cləmɬcínn 'I am stealing it from you', ʔackʷáɬcn 'I am holding it for you'.

subj.-obj.	weak root-ɬ-	strong root-ɬ-
1sg-3	ləmɬ(t)n	kʷáɬn
2sg-3	ləmɬtxʷ	kʷáɬtxʷ
3-3	ləmɬc	kʷáɬc
1pl-3	ləmɬtm	kʷáɬtm
2pl-3	ləmɬtp	kʷáɬtp
3-obv	ləmɬtwás	kʷáɬtus
1sg-2sg	ləmɬcínn	kʷáɬcn
3-2sg	ləmɬcís	kʷáɬc
1pl-2sg	ləmɬcít	kʷáɬct
2sg-1sg	ləmɬcáxʷ	kʷáɬcxʷ
3-1sg	ləmɬcás	kʷáɬc
2pl-1sg	ləmɬcálp	kʷáɬclp
1sg-2pl	ləmɬtúlmn	kʷáɬtlmn
3-2pl	ləmɬtúlms	kʷáɬtlms
1pl-2pl	ləmɬtúlmt	kʷáɬtlmt
2sg-1pl	ləmɬtált	kʷáɬtlt
3-1pl	ləmɬtáls	kʷáɬtls
2pl-1pl	ləmɬtálp	kʷáɬtlp
	'steal from'	'take away from'

But in some instances -ł- is followed by causative object suffixes.[7]
It may be significant that the two examples of this that I know of are
both control roots in other Interior Salishan languages (they cannot
occur without an indirective suffix in Columbian).

subj.-obj.	perfective	imperfective
1sg-3	wíkłn	ʔacwíkłn
2sg-3	wíkłtxʷ	ʔacwíkłtxʷ
3-3	wíkłc	ʔacwíkłc
1pl-3	wíkłtm	ʔacwíkłtm
2pl-3	wíkłtp	ʔacwíkłtp
3-obv	wíkłtus	ʔacwíkłtus
1sg-2sg	wíkłtmn	ʔacwíkłtmn
3-2sg	wíkłtms	ʔacwíkłtms
1pl-2sg	wíkłtmt	ʔacwíkłtmt
2sg-1sg	wíkłtuxʷ	ʔacwíkłtuxʷ
3-1sg	wíkłtms	ʔacwíkłtms
2pl-1sg	wíkłtmp	ʔacwíkłtmp
1sg-2pl	wíkłtlmn	ʔacwíkłtlmn
3-2pl	wíkłtlms	ʔacwíkłtlms
1pl-2pl	wíkłtlmt	ʔacwíkłtlmt
2sg-1pl	wíkłtlt	ʔacwíkłtlt
3-1pl	wíkłtls	ʔacwíkłtls
2pl-1pl	wíkłtlp	ʔacwíkłtlp
	'see'	'seeing'

Other examples of -ł- are pálłc 'she braided my (hair)', ʔác'xłcn 'I
see what you have', maʕ'ʷłcxʷ 'you broke my X', ʔaníłtxʷ 'you took it
for them', haw'iłtált 'you made us...', cíkłtlt 'you dug up our...',
k'íʕʷłn 'I prayed and blessed it for him', máyaʔłc and miyápłc both
meaning 'he diagnosed her...', xalíłcxʷ 'you asked me for it'.

-túł- is always stressed and is followed by -t- 'transitive' and
non-causative object forms.

subj.-obj.	perfective	imperfective
1sg-3	wakʷtúłn	cwakʷtúłn
2sg-3	wakʷtúłtxʷ	cwakʷtúłtxʷ
3-3	wakʷtúłc	cwakʷtúłc
1pl-3	wakʷtúłtm	cwakʷtúłtm
2pl-3	wakʷtúłtp	cwakʷtúłtp
3-obv	wakʷtúłtus	cwakʷtúłtus
1sg-2sg	wakʷtúłcn	cwakʷtúłcn
3-2sg	wakʷtúłc	cwakʷtúłc
1pl-2sg	wakʷtúłct	cwakʷtúłct
2sg-1sg	wakʷtúłcxʷ	cwakʷtúłcxʷ
3-1sg	wakʷtúłc	cwakʷtúłc

2pl-1sg	wakʷtúⱡclp	cwakʷtúⱡclp
1sg-2pl	wakʷtúⱡtlmn	cwakʷtúⱡtlmn
3-2pl	wakʷtúⱡtlms	cwakʷtúⱡtlms
1pl-2pl	wakʷtúⱡtlmt	cwakʷtúⱡtlmt
2sg-1pl	wakʷtúⱡtlt	cwakʷtúⱡtlt
3-1pl	wakʷtúⱡtls	cwakʷtúⱡtls
2pl-1pl	wakʷtúⱡtlp	cwakʷtúⱡtlp
	'hide it from'	'hiding it from'

Other examples of -túⱡ- are stám' ay' sawtúⱡc 'What did he ask you?', tər'qtúⱡtxʷ 'you kicked it towards them', kʷⱡntúⱡn 'I loaned it to him', snk'ʷλ'álqʷptúⱡn 'I took it out of his mouth'. -túⱡ- also seems to occur occasionally added to transitive middle forms: cəkmtúⱡn 'I threw it to the next person (to catch)', tumistmtúⱡc 'he sold it to me'. I do not yet fully understand the construction of these forms.

A wide variety of cooccurrences of -min-, -nún-, indirectives, and causative is possible in Columbian—more than reported for other Interior Salishan languages. Since for some of these cooccurrences I have only one or two examples, I will for the most part simply list the forms that occur. Specific combinations are usually difficult to elicit because of the subtle semantics involved and because context is crucial to an acceptable combination. Combinations with causatives are given in the paradigms above, and need not be repeated here.

-min-nún-: yərmnúnn 'I accidentally pushed it for him', cqàna?mnúnn 'I happened to (over)hear it'.

-min-xi-: cəkmxítn 'I threw it for someone else', k'ʷu?ⱡmíxtn 'I used up something belonging to someone else'. The two stress patterns appear contradictory.

-min-ⱡ-: ckmíⱡn 'I threw it', náltmⱡn 'I forgot someone's whatever I had'.

-min-túⱡ-: cəkmntúⱡn 'I angrily threw it back at him'.

-nún-ⱡ-: mipnúⱡn 'I caught on to it (his secret, something unknown)', k'ʷu?ⱡnúⱡtxʷ 'you used up his X for him', xəsnúⱡn 'I knew he lost it, I know about his loss', təmxʷnúⱡn 'I wore out his...', cəkknúⱡn 'I accidentally hit it', ma?núⱡn 'I didn't want it (noise) and wanted to be undisturbed'. This is a relatively common combination. Note also -min-nún-ⱡ- in cəkmnúⱡtn 'I accidentally threw it at him'.

-xi-túⱡ-: k'ⱡ?àyxtúⱡn 'I brought something to change back, I returned (the gloves)(to the store)'.

-stu-ⱡ-: cmistúⱡn 'I know about it (a secret)', k'ʷən'stúⱡn 'I showed it to him'. Or this might be -stu-túⱡ-, with -stu- reduced to -s-.

-ɬ-tú-: cmiɬtúnn 'I know what he's got, I know about it', chaw'iɬtúnn 'I'm making it for him', cəkɬtúnn 'I'm throwing at it'. The identification of the second element is unclear. It is probably 'causative', but the constructions are problematic.

-cá-ɬ-: xəscáɬc wa? ?ink'ʷk'ʷúsm 'he lost my watch'. The identification of the first element is unclear.

Combinations that were specifically rejected were *-nún-xi-, *-nún-túɬ-, *-xi-ɬ-, and *-ɬ-xi-. Other possible combinations may or may not be possible, and some of these rejected forms may in fact prove to be possible in the right context or with specific roots.

The suffixes described above occur before reflexive and reciprocal suffixes, although these turn the stems into intransitive forms.

The reflexive suffix is -cút/-ct. Historically this derives from pre-Columbian *-t-sút, but the t and s have fully merged, as can be seen in causative forms, where the causative suffix is reduced to -s- and its t reassigned to -cút. Reflexives occur (1) after -n- 'control': p'əq'ʷncút 'he spilled it on himself', kayak'ncút 'he set fire to himself', wákʷnct 'he hid', kn xʷúynct 'I sighed', kn sacq'ʷúcnctəxʷ 'I'm fattening myself up'; (2) after 'causative', here reduced to -s-: paxpaxscút 'he's acting smart', scwəlxscútəxʷ 'he's talking to himself', l'ahl'ahscút 'he's teasing'; (3) after -min- 'relational' (both -mín-ct and -mn-cút occur—as well as weak -mn-ct—one of which must involve secondary derivation): wakʷmínct 'perjure self, hide something inside self', ckmínct 'shy at', qənnaqsmínct 'an unmarried person', xəsmncút 'dress up, put on one's best', xəc'mncút 'curdle', txʷmncút 'relax', wákʷmnct 'hiding (self)', súlmnct 'numb', sút'mnct 'stretch oneself', líxmnct 'pl. lie down'; (4) after -min- plus -stu- 'causative': ?ac'xm'scút 'show off', xatmscút 'he's raising up', kn c'a?xmscút 'I'm ashamed of myself'; (5) after -xi- 'indirective': scmay'xcútəxʷ 'he's talking to himself'.

There are two reciprocal suffixes, -wáp and -wáxʷ (both always stressed).[8] I do not know the difference between them, and have only four examples of -wáp, all four followed by lx '3d pl.'; two are preceded by -n- 'control' and -t- 'transitive', the other two apparently by neither: tər'qnantwáp lx 'they kicked each other', ckəlpsntwáp lx 'they hit each other (with rocks)', cuwcuwnawáp lx 'they hit each other with their fists', ckcknawáp lx 'they hit each other (by throwing rocks)'. -wáxʷ occurs (1) after -n- 'control'and -t- 'transitive': ckcknantwáxʷ 'they ran into one another', q'iyq'iynantwáxʷ 'they called each other dirty names', sər'ày'a?qntwáxʷ 'they're pulling each other's hair'; (2) after -t- 'transitive' alone: kɬc'əmc'əmtwáxʷ 'they're kissing'; (3) after -n- or -na-: k'ɬ?am?amnawáxʷ 'they're waiting for each other', txʷtnwáxʷ 'they're splitting up, they're separating', scu?cu?n'aw'áxʷu?xʷ 'they're boxing'; (4) after -stu- 'causative': yəlmstwáxʷ 'they're

running off together', wəlxstwáx^w 'they're arguing', scx^way'ʕstwáx^wəx^w lx 'they're getting after each other'; (5) after -min- 'relational': nq'at'm'n'w'áx^w 'log chain'; (6) after -xi- 'indirective': may'xtw'áx^w 'they're telling each other stories'. Types 1 and 3 are the most frequent usages.

As can readily be seen, transitive inflection in Columbian is quite complex. But even given the variety of combinations of suffixes cited here, it seems unlikely that all the possibilities have been discovered yet. A number of logically possible combinations are not attested, although some have been suggested to informants and rejected. Further study is underway, but the general nature of Columbian transitivity is clear, and should make further comparative work possible.

NOTES

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2. Relevant references may be found in Mattina (to appear); they will not be repeated here, since they are not immediately relevant to this paper. At least two additional references, not cited by Mattina, are relevant for comparative purposes, however: Gibson (1973) and van Eijk (1981). The latter includes information on Lillooet not available elsewhere. Among Interior Salishan languages, data are least available on Lillooet and Columbian. A forthcoming dissertation on Lillooet by Jan van Eijk will fill one of these gaps; the present paper is a start on the other.

3. Forms are cited in a phonemic transcription. Stress is unpredictable, and is assigned largely by the interplay of strong, variable, or weak underlying morphemes. Weak morphemes usually have no underlying vowel, so stress is irrelevant to the underlying form (used when citing a morpheme independently). Strong morphemes are cited with stress. Variable morphemes are cited without stress, and if primary word-stress does not fall on such a morpheme, the vowel will ordinarily be deleted.

4. The u before -x^w is from an intermediate stage ə; this ə from underlying m actually appears in the surface form of one of the variants of at least two other suffixes: -míx/-mx/-əx^w 'non-perfective', and -míx/-mx/-əx^w 'people'. Comparative evidence shows that the ə of -ul'əx^w 'land, earth' also derives from m.

5. The order of suffix combinations follows Thompson and Thompson (1981), except that I add 3-obv after 2pl-3. Columbian, unlike most Salishan languages, has an obviative object suffix -wa-/-u-, the same in both object sets; it occurs in exactly the same types of constructions as other object suffixes. When the vowel is deleted from -wa-, the remaining w automatically becomes u between consonants. Some of the forms cited in the paradigms are extrapolated, rather than attested.

6. Imperfective forms with -nún- can be ambiguous, and hence tricky to elicit or verify. The sequence -nú-s- can be derived either from -nún-stu- ('success-causative') or -nún-us ('success-face/eye/fire'; here -us would lose its vowel to a strong suffix, and the final n of -nún- would be deleted before s). Thus yərmnúnn means 'I accidentally pushed it for him'. The imperfective would be cyərmnúsn. But forms very similar to this also occur, and are often what a native speaker first thinks of when presented with this imperfective form: yərmnúsn 'I pushed his face' and nyərmnúsn 'I pushed him into the fire'.

7. Because these forms unexpectedly have -t- 'transitive' it may be best to consider the underlying form of this suffix as -ɬt-, with (optional) loss of the t before -n 'I'.

8. The similarity of these to the obviative is intriguing (although the obviative suffix has variable stress and the reciprocals are always strong). The obviative object can only be followed by a third person subject: -was. If the final consonants of -wáx^w and -wáp could be recognized as second person subjects (singular and plural, respectively), the beginnings of a paradigm can be seen (missing are forms with first person subjects). If this comparison of the obviative and the reciprocals has any merit, then the element -wa- may have meant something like 'other person'. Support for this hypothesis comes from Upper Chehalis, one of the few other Salishan languages with an obviative suffix. There the obviative is -twal-/-twali and the reciprocal is -twal-/-tuš (and in Upper Chehalis -š is the suffixed form of 2 sg. subject).

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