Halkomelem denominal verbs[1]

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Halkomelem has four denominal verb prefixes: *c*- 'have, get, make, do', *ł*-'ingest, partake', *tx*ʷ- 'buy', *ƛ̓*- 'go to'. These prefixes attach to nominal bases to form intransitive verbs. The noun to which the prefix attaches is usually unspecified, generic, or non-individuated and can be doubled with a free-standing nominal of more specific meaning. Syntactically, this nominal is an oblique object, parallel to patients of antipassive or applicative constructions. Denominal verb constructions are widely used, especially for denoting possession. As in the case of denominal verbs in other languages, they can be formed quite freely, as long as the situation allows for an interpretation.

1   Denominal verbs

Some intransitive verbs in Halkomelem are composed of a noun base, such as *stiqiw* 'horse', *šx*ʷ*imel* 'store', or *sqewθ* 'potato', together with a verbalizing prefix.[2] These forms appear in a denominal verb construction, where the derived form serves as an intransitive verb.[3]

[2] The nominal prefix *s*- disappears after *c*- and *ł*- but not after *tx*ʷ- and *ƛ̓*-. Thus we conclude that a phonological rule of cluster simplification is at work in the former cases rather than a morphological restriction that requires the base to be a root.

[3] Abbreviations used in this paper are: AUX: auxiliary, CONT: continuative (imperfective), CS: causative, DAT: dative applicative suffix, DIM: diminutive, DT: determiner, EMPH: emphatic, ERG: ergative, FUT: future, LC: limited control, LNK: linker, NM: nominalizer, OBJ: object suffix, OBL: oblique, PAS: passive object suffix, PRO: pronoun, PL: plural, POS: possessive, Q= question particle, REF: reflexive, SSUB: subordinate subject, STA: stative, SUB subject, SUP: suppositive, TR: transitive, VBL: verbalizer.

(1) ʔi   ʔə   yəxʷ   ʔəẃ   c-tiqiw   kʷθəń   səɫsiɫə?
    AUX   Q   SUP   LNK   VBL-horse   DT:2POS   grandparent(PL)
    'Do you suppose your grandparents still have horses?'

(2) niʔ   neḿ   ƛ̓-šxʷimelə   c-qewθ   kʷθəń   men.
    AUX   go   VBL-store   VBL-potato DT:2POS   father
    'Your father went to the store to get potatoes.'

There are four verbalizing prefixes in Halkomelem.[4]

(3) c-   'have, get, make, do'
     kʷəmləxʷ   'root'   c-kʷəmləxʷ   'get roots'
     s-taɫəs   'spouse'   c-taɫəs   'get a spouse'
     s-q̓ʷq̓ʷəm   'axe'   c-q̓ʷqʷəm   'have an axe'
     telə   'money'   c-tetəɫə   'earning money'
     s-wetə   'sweater'   c-weẃətə   'making a sweater'
     put   'boat'   c-pupət   'making a boat'
     s-nəxʷəɫ   'canoe'   c-həńxʷəɫ   'making a canoe'

(4) ɫ-   'ingest, partake'
     səplil   'bread'   ɫ-səplil   'eat bread'
     ƛ̓ikʷəń   'peas'   ɫ-ƛ̓ikʷəń   'eat peas'
     s-ce:ɫtən   'salmon'   ɫ-cecəɫəɫtəń   'eating salmon'
     s-məyəθ   'deer, meat' ɫ-həḿyəθ   'eating venison'

(5) txʷ-   'buy'
     leləḿ   'house'   txʷ-leləḿ   'buy a house'
     səplil   'bread'   txʷ-səplil   'buy bread'
     šukʷə   'sugar'   txʷ-šukʷə   'buy sugar'
     s-p̓aƛ̓əḿ   'smoke (n.)' txʷ-sp̓aƛ̓əḿ   'buy cigarettes'

(6) ƛ̓-   'go to'
     tawən   'town'   ƛ̓-tawən   'go to town'
     neċəwtxʷ   'neighbor'   ƛ̓-neċəwtxʷ   'go to a neighbor's',
                                                'visit'
     haps   'hops'   ƛ̓-haps   'go to the hops field'
     mətuliye   'Victoria'   ƛ̓-mətuliyeʔ   'go to Victoria'
     sʔamənaʔ   'Somenos'   ƛ̓-sʔamənaʔ   'go to Somenos'
     šx̌ʷimelə   'store'   ƛ̓-šx̌ʷi:meɫə   'going to the store',
                                                'going shopping'

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[4] Other Salish languages have denominal verb prefixes, as discussed in Gerdts and Hukari
(2002). See also Kroeber (1999:12) on suffixes meaning 'have' in various languages.

The first of these prefixes *c-* is used quite productively, as there is no free-standing verb for 'have' in Halkomelem. The other prefixes are heard quite commonly, except for *tx ʷ-* 'buy', which seems to have declined in use recently.

The verbalizing prefixes can attach to nouns of all sorts. These include nouns of native origin (7) and borrowed words (8)[5]:

(7) Native words:
    leləm̓   'house'   c-leləm̓   'build a house'
    sp̓aƛ̓əm̓   'smoke'   ɬ-p̓aƛ̓əm̓ 'smoke a cigarette, pipe'

(8) Borrowed words:
    put   'boat'   c-put   'make a boat'
    kapi   'coffee'   ɬ-kapi   'drink coffee'

The nouns can be plural (9) or diminutive (10), and they can contain lexical suffixes (11):

(9) Plurals:
    a. snəxʷəɬ   'canoe'   c-nəxʷəɬ   'make, have a canoe'
       sənixʷəɬ   'canoes'   c-ənixʷəɬ   'make, have canoes'

    b. ʔiməθ   'grandchild'   c-ʔiməθ   'have a grandchild'
       ʔəm̓iməθ 'grandchildren' c-ʔəm̓iməθ 'have grandchildren'

    c. qeq   'baby'   c-qeq   'have a baby'
       qəleʔəq   'babies'   c-qəleʔəq   'have babies'

(10) Diminutives:
    siɫə   'grandparent'   c-siɫə   'have a grandparent'
    sisəɫə   'little grandparent'   c-sisəɫə 'have a little grandparent'
    məṅə   'son/daughter'   c-məṅə   'have a son/daughter'
    mim̓neʔ 'little son/daughter'   c-mim̓neʔ 'have a little son/daughter'
    snəxʷəɬ 'canoe/car'   c-nəxʷəɬ   'have a canoe/car'
    sniṅxʷəɬ 'little canoe/car'   c-niṅxʷəɬ 'have a little canoe/car'

(11) Nouns with lexical suffixes:
    s-čq̓ʷ-əṅə   'earring'   c-čq̓ʷəṅə   'have an earring'
    (NM-pierce-ear)
    pəθ-šə-tən   'mat'   c-pəθšətən   'have/make mats'
    (spread-foot-instr)
    qʷɬey̓-šən   'shoe'   txʷ-qʷɬey̓šən 'buy shoes'
    (log-foot)

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[5] In fact we see some cases below with code-switching: the base is actually an English noun phrase in (69) and an English noun in (70).

Thus, all sorts of nouns can serve as bases for denominal verbs. Note that verbs generally do not serve as bases for denominal verbs.

(12) qiq̓   'be tied up'   *c-qiq̓   ('get tied up',
                                                       'make an arrest')
      q̓ʷaq̓ʷəqʷ   'being clubbed'   *c-q̓ʷaq̓ʷəqʷ ('do clubbing')

However, we know of one verb root √kʷən 'get taken' that forms a denominal verb c-kʷən 'make a grab' (big house term). Furthermore, some roots designating psychological or cognitive events may occur with c-, for example: c-haqʷ 'smell, catch a whiff' (cf. haqʷ-əm 'smell') and c-lem 'look, catch a glimpse' (cf. lem-ət 'look at it'). The categorial status of such roots is unclear, and thus they do not straightforwardly contradict the claim that denominal verb prefixes attach to nouns.

In fact, modified nouns can form denominal verbs. In this case the prefix appears on the first word of the phrase, i.e. the adjective.[6]

(13) ʔi: č   ʔəẁ   c-p̓əq̓   ləmətuĺqən?
      AUX:Q   2SUB   LNK   VBL-white   wool
      'Do you have any white wool?'

(14) ʔi: č   ʔəẁ   c-čəy̓xʷ   sce:ɬtən?
      AUX:Q   2SUB   LNK   VBL-dry   salmon
      'Do you have any dried fish?'

(15) ʔi: č   ʔəẁ   c-ƛ̓eqt   x̌ʷiĺəm?
      AUX:Q   2SUB   LNK   VBL-long   rope
      'Do you have a long rope?'

(16) ʔi: č   ʔəẁ   c-x̌ew's   səqiws?
      AUX:Q   2SUB   LNK   VBL-new   pants
      'Do you have a new pair of pants?'

The prefix does not appear on the noun.

(17) *ʔi   ʔə   č   ʔəẁ   p̓əq̓   c-swetə?
      AUX   Q   2SUB   LNK   white   VBL-sweater
      'Do you have a white sweater?'

Phrases with multiple adjectives are possible, with the prefix on the leftmost adjective.

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[6] Most of our examples of phrases serving as bases for denominal verbs involve the prefix c-, which is the most common of the prefixes. For an example with txʷ-. see (59) below.

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(18) ʔi   ʔə   č   ʔəẃ   c-p̓əq̓   swetə?
      AUX   Q   2SUB   LNK   VBL-white sweater
      'Do you have a white sweater?'

(19) ʔi   ʔə   č   ʔəẃ   c-pɬet   p̓əq̓   swetə?
      AUX   Q   2SUB   LNK   VBL-thick white sweater
      'Do you have a thick, white sweater?'

(20) ʔi   ʔə   č   ʔəẃ   c-x̌ews   pɬet   p̓əq̓   swetə?
      AUX   Q   2SUB   LNK   VBL-new   thick   white   sweater
      'Do you have a new, thick, white sweater?'

(21) *ʔi   ʔə   č   ʔəẃ   pɬet   c-p̓əq̓   swetə?
      AUX   Q   2SUB   LNK   thick   VBL-white sweater
      'Do you have a thick, white sweater?'

Such data show that it might be more appropriate to think of the deverbal forms
as left-edge clitics rather than prefixes.
        The form resulting from the addition of the prefix is clearly a verb.
Among other things, we see that denominal verbs can appear in the continuative
(imperfective) aspect typical of verbs, as seen by the forms in the third column
of the following example.

(22) a. put   c-put   c-pupət
          'boat'   'make a boat'   'making a boat'

      b. telə   c-telə   c-tetə́lə
          'money'   'have/get money' 'earning money'

      c. s-wetə   c-wetə   c-weẃətə
          'sweater'   'have/get a sweater' 'making a sweater'

      d. s-nəx̌ʷəɬ   c-nəx̌ʷəɬ   c-hə́n̓x̌ʷəɬ
          'canoe'   'have/make a canoe' 'making a canoe'

Further evidence for the verbal status of the denominal verb is given in the
following section.

2   The syntax of denominal verbs

        The placement of clitics shows that denominal verbs behave like a
single word. Sentential clitics, for example the question particle and the subject
clitics, appear in second position in Halkomelem, after the first word.

(23) ʔi   ʔə   č   c-nəx̌ʷəɬ?
      AUX   Q   2SUB   VBL-canoe
      'Do you have a canoe?'

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That such clitics appear after the denominal verb gives evidence that it constitutes a single word:

(24) c-nəxʷəɬ   ʔə   č   ce??
      VBL-canoe   Q   2SUB   FUT
      'Will you make a canoe?'

(25) *c-ʔə   č   ce?   (s)nəxʷəɬ?
      VBL-Q   2SUB   FUT   canoe
      'Will you make a canoe?'

When used in embedded clauses, denominal verbs host subordinate subject suffixes:

(26) ʔewe:č   ɬ-ti-əxʷ?
      not:Q:2SUB   VBL-tea-2SSUB
      'Won't you take tea?'

(27) qəl-stəxʷ-əs   kʷ-s   ƛ-tawən-s.
      bad-CS-3ERG   DT-NM   VBL-town-3SSUB
      'He doesn't want to go to town.'

Furthermore, denominal verbs can serve as bases for the causative suffix:

(28) niʔ   c-t̓θeleʔ-stəxʷ-əs   tθə   šəšiyəɬ-s.
      AUX   VBL-heart-CS-3ERG   DT   elder.sibling(PL)-3POS
      'He made hearts for his older brothers.'

(29) nem̓   c-x̌əɬtən-stam̓š!
      go   VBL-pencil-CS:1OBJ
      'Go get me a pencil!'

(30) niʔ   txʷ-səplil-stəxʷ-əs   ɬə   sɬeniʔ   kʷθə   mem̓ənə-s.
      AUX   VBL-bread-CS-3ERG   DT   woman   DT   child(PL)-3POS
      'The woman bought bread for her children.'

As discussed in Gerdts (1988) the ability to take the causative suffix is generally a property of intransitive verbs of the unergative class.[7] Note that the causative suffix when added to a denominal verb yields a form with benefactive semantics. Also, the limited control reflexive -namət can be attached to a

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[7] Nouns can also serve as bases for the causative, although with very different semantics, meaning 'make into N':

(i) xʷiʔ   sɬaniʔ-st-əm   kʷsəs   s-ʔiʔtθəm̓   tθə   swəy̓qeʔ-aɬ.
     now   woman-CS-PAS   DET:N:3SSUB   NM-dress(STA)   DT   man-young
     'They have the boy dressed as a girl.'

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denominal verb yielding the meaning 'manage to', as typical of intransitive verbs of the unergative class (Gerdts 1991, Gerdts and Hukari 1998, 2000):

(31) ʔəwə   k̓ʷənəs   c-yays-namət.
      not   DT:1POS:NM   VBL-work-LC.REF
      'I couldn't manage to find a job.'

(32) təs   ʔə   kʷθə   šxʷ-yəx̌ʷ-s   t̓θə   s-qʷsey̓ən,
      arrive OBL DT   NM-open-3POS   DT   NM-gillnet

      yeɬ-ʔəs   ƛ̓eʔ   təw̓   c-telə-namət.
      before-3SSUB   again rather VBL-money-LC.REF

      'When the salmon gillnet season opened, you made a few dollars.'

This construction also works with noun phrases, as seen in example (34), in which case the suffix appears, like the verbalizing prefix, on the adjective.

(33) niʔ   ʔə   č   c-wetə-namət?
      AUX   Q   2SUB VBL-sweater-LC.REF
      'Did you manage to get a sweater?'

(34) niʔ   ʔə   č   c-p̓əq̓-namət   swetə?
      AUX   Q   2SUB VBL-white-LC.REF sweater
      'Did you manage to get a white sweater?'

Halkomelem in general allows verb serialization (or verb chains) and it is also possible to have more than one denominal verb in a row, as in (2) above or the following example:

(35) niɬ   t̓θə   sɬənɬeniʔ   c-weʔ   c-yays   kʷ-s
      3-PRO DT   woman(PL)   VBL-own   VBL-work   DT-NM

      nem̓-s   ʔəlx̌e:m   ʔə   t̓θə   spe:nxʷ.
      go-3POS   collect   OBL   DT   camas

      'It's the ladies who have the job of collecting camas.'

In sum, the positional evidence shows that denominal verbs are intransitive. Furthermore, the derivational evidence shows that they are unergative verbs and thus take an agent for the subject.

3   The syntax of denominal verb constructions

Evidence for the surface intransitivity of denominal verb constructions comes from transitive marking and ergative agreement. Transitive clauses such as (36) exhibit both of these phenomena, but denominal verb constructions (37) do not:

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(36) niʔ   ʔiləqə-t-əs   kʷθə   swəẏqeʔ   kʷθə   kaː.
     AUX   buy-TR-3ERG   DT   man   DT   car
     'The man bought a car.'

(37) niʔ   txʷ-kaː   kʷθə   swəẏqeʔ.
     AUX   VBL-car   DT   man
     'The man bought a car.'

(38) *niʔ   txʷ-kaː-t-əs.
     AUX   VBL-car-TR-3ERG
     'He bought a/the car.'

(39) *niʔ   txʷ-kaː(-t)   kʷθə   kaː.
     AUX   VBL-car(-TR)   DT   car
     'He bought a/the car.'

Furthermore, as discussed in Gerdts (1988), many Island Halkomelem speakers do not allow proper nouns to be subjects of transitive clauses (40), but proper nouns are allowed as subjects of denominal verb constructions (41), providing evidence that these are absolutives and not ergatives in the surface syntax.

(40) *niʔ   ʔiləqə-t-əs   kʷθə   John   kʷθə   kaː.
     AUX   buy-TR-3ERG   DT   John   DT   car
     'John bought a car.'

(41) niʔ   txʷ-kaː   kʷθə   John.
     AUX   VBL-car   DT   John
     'John bought a car.'

Thus the denominal verb constructions are intransitive; the thematic object of the transitive serves as the head of the denominal verb. Nevertheless, denominal verbs can take a doubled "cognate" object in the oblique case.

(42) c-sisəĺə   tᶿəẃniɬ   iəiəṁ   ʔə   θə
     VBL-grandparent(DIM)   DT:LNK:3PRO   wren   OBL   DT

     sisəĺə-s.
     grandparent(DIM)-3POS

     'Wren had a grandmother.'

(43) neṁ   ɬ-pay   ʔə   kʷθə   sq̓ʷiːĺməxʷ   pay   niʔ
     go   VBL-pie   OBL   DT   blackberry   pie   AUX

     sċəċeʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   lətem.
     on   OBL   DT   table

     'Go and have the blackberry pie that's on the table.'

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(44) nem̓   cən   x̣̌-šx̌ʷimelə   ʔə-x̣̌   *Wal-Mart.*
     go   1SUB   VBL-store   OBL-DT   Wal-Mart
     'I'm going shopping at Wal-Mart.'
     (literally: 'I'm going to the store to Wal-Mart.')

True doubling is not possible, as this would be semantically vacuous. Rather, the oblique NP gives some more precise detail about the N serving as the verb base. For example, in (42), the determiner in the oblique NP specifies that the grandparent in question is female, the modifier in (43) stipulates that it is a blackberry pie, and the NP in (44) gives the name of the store.

In some cases, the relationship between the noun base and the oblique NP is one of semantic overlap, similar to a classificatory function. For example, in (45) the base noun *ʔaθ-aʔqʷ* is formed with compounding lexical suffixation and literally means 'baked head', where 'head' refers to round items (see Gerdts et. al 2002). This could refer to potatoes, apples, popovers, etc. The oblique NP in (45) specifies the baked thing as potatoes.

(45) nem̓   cən   ɬ-ʔaθ-aʔqʷ   ʔə   kʷθə   sqewθ.
     go   1SUB   VBL-bake-head   OBL   DT   potato
     'I'm going to have baked potatoes.'

We see the opposite effect in (46), where the base noun of the denominal verb specifies 'cup' and the oblique NP contains a noun formed with compounding lexical suffixation meaning a big container of some type.

(46) nem̓   c-ləpat-stam̓š   ʔə   k̓ʷ   θe:qən!
     go   VBL-cup-CS:1OBJ   OBL   DT   big:container
     'Go get me a big cup!'

The generalization is that the form containing the lexical suffix (either the base of the denominal verb or the doubled NP) will have classificatory semantics.

Other types of modification are possible as well. In (47) the oblique phrase is an emphatic possessive.

(47) ʔi   c-telə   ʔə   kʷθə   sweʔ-s.
     AUX   VBL-money   OBL   DT   own-3POS
     'She has her own money.'

Note that possessed nominals do not directly form denominal verbs.

(48) *ʔi   c-telə-s.
     AUX   VBL-money-POS
     'She has his/her money.'

In (49) and (50) the NP in the oblique phrase is a determiner-headed relative clause.

(49) θəy̓əɬ-šən-əm̓   c-pe:ɬx̌ən̓   ʔə   kʷθə   šniʔ-s   ceʔ
fix-foot-MID   VBL-field   OBL   DT   place-3POS   FUT

kʷθə   sənixʷəɬ   ʔə   kʷθə   sx̌ešən-s   ceʔ.
DT   canoe(PL)   OBL   DT   potlatch-3POS   FUT

'They are clearing the field where the cars will be parked for the potlatch.'

(50) ʔi: č   wəɬ   c-ƛ̓əx̌ƛ̓əx̌   ʔə   kʷθə   ʔi
AUX:Q   2SUB   PST   VBL-nettle   OBL   DT   AUX

x̌əiə-stəxʷ-əxʷ   ʔəns-c-x̌ʷiiəm
say-CS-2SSUB   2POS-VBL-rope

'Did you get the stinging nettles that you said you were going to make rope with?'

There are several types of oblique-marked NPs in Halkomelem, including true obliques and also oblique-marked themes of antipassive and applicative constructions ("oblique objects"). Extraction facts, however, differentiate them.

(51)   Extraction in Halkomelem (wh-questions, relative clauses, clefts, pseudo-clefts)
    a. No special morphology
        • ergatives (ergative agreement is deleted), absolutives
    b. Nominalization with *s-*
        • oblique objects (patients of antipassives, patients of
            applicatives)
    c. Nominalization with *š(x ʷ)-*
        • obliques (location, direction, instrumental, manner, stimulus)

As noted in (51b), patients of antipassives (cf. 52) and patients in applicatives (cf. 53) extract via nominalization with the prefix *s-*.

(52) a.   niʔ   qʷs-eʔəm   ɬə   sɬeniʔ   ʔə   kʷθə
    AUX   soak-MID   DT   woman   OBL   DT

    x̌eləm̓   sce:ɬtən.
    salt   salmon

    'The woman soaked the salted salmon.'

b.   stem   k̓ʷə   niʔ   s-qʷs-eʔəm-s   ɬə   sɬeniʔʔ
    what   DT   AUX   NM-soak-MID-3POS   DT   woman
    'What did the woman put in the water/soak?'

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(53) a. ni⁷ ⁷am-əs-t-əs   kʷθə swiẃləs
        AUX give-DAT-TR-3ERG DT   young.man

        ⁷ə   kʷθə   pukʷ.
        OBL DT   book

    'He gave the boy a book.'

 b. niɬ   kʷθə pukʷ ni⁷ s-⁷am-əs-t-s
    3PRO DT   book AUX NM-give-DAT-TR-3POS

    kʷθə swiẃləs.
    DT   boy

    'It's the book that he gave the boy.'

Similarly, the oblique NP serving as the cognate object in the denominal verb construction in (54a) is questioned as in (54b), with an *s-* prefix on the embedded verb.

(54) a. ni⁷ cən   c-q̓ew   ⁷ə   t̓θə ⁷alənčəs.
        AUX 1SUB VBL-payment   OBL DT   orange(PL)
        'I got paid in oranges.'

 b. stem   k̓ʷə ni⁷ ⁷ən̓-s-c-qew?
    what   DT   AUX 2POS-NM-VBL-payment
    'What was your payment?'

The following shows another example of the extraction of the cognate object:

(55) stem   k̓ʷə ni⁷ ⁷ən̓-s-c-šukʷə?
     what   DT   AUX 2POS-NM-VBL-sugar
     'What did you use for sugar?'

In sum, the nominal base of the denominal verb can "double" with an oblique NP, which tests to be an oblique object syntactically. Semantically, there is often some overlap, but not complete identity, between the base of the denominal verb and the oblique NP.

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4　　The semantics of denominal verbs[8]

As seen in the translations of the above examples, the nominal base of the denominal verb is often unspecified, generic, or non-individuated. Nevertheless, the nominal can be referred to anaphorically:

(56) neṁ   ł-pay   ʔiʔ   tᶿən   sqeʔəq.   niʔ
      go   VBL-pie   and   DT:2POS   y. sibling AUX

      sċəċeʔ   ʔə   tᶿə   lətem.
      on   OBL   DT   table.

'You and your younger brother, go have some pie. It's on the table.'

(57) ʔeʔət   xʷiʔ   c-meṁəqeʔ   tᶿə   sx̣əliqəł.   nəẃ-əš-əs
      here   now   VBL-snow(CONT)   DT   children.   use-TR-3ERG

      ċə   ʔə   kʷθə   s-θiməʔ-elə.
      hearsay   OBL   DT   NM-ice-container

'The children are making snowballs and putting them into the freezer.'

So, the denominal verb can in fact refer to something specific. Probably the most accurate description of the semantics of denominal verbs in Halkomelem is that it matches their use in English, formulated as the following principle by Clark and Clark (1979:797):

(58) Principle of Specificity:
      The kind of situation that an innovation denotes is intended to be as specific as the circumstances warrant.

A further issue that arises concerning the semantics of denominal verbs is whether or not they are lexicalized. Discussing denominal verbs in Bella Coola, Mithun (1997:367) claims: "Like the suffixes, the prefixes represent elements of meaning that are frequently combined with others to create lexical

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[8] We will not present a formal treatment of the semantics at this time. We simply note that Johns (2003) is doing interesting work on the semantics of denominal verb constructions (noun incorporation in her terms) in Inuktitut. She points out similarities in the semantics of the Halkomelem and Inuktitut constructions, suggesting that in both instances these have the semantics of light verbs. She follows a line of research proposed by Harley (2001) and bases her analysis on an HPSG approach by Koenig and Davis (2001), in which they divide up the semantics of verbs into two parts—a modal part, which can be modified by semantic operators such as deontic or epistemic modality, negation and so on, and a situational core, in effect the verb's core argument structure. Under Johns' approach, verbalizing affixes are light verbs whose semantics forms the modal part and the noun provides the situational core.

items, names for recognizable, recurring activities.... Speakers have created names for the concepts they have discussed the most." It is true that there are some frequently used expressions such as *c-teɬə* 'have money', *ɬ-p̓aƛ̓əm* 'have a smoke/cigarette', and *ƛ̓-tawən* 'go to town'. However, in many examples, denominal verbs are used in rare or even unique situations, and certainly in situations that are not part of traditional culture. For example in (57) above, making snowballs and freezing them is not a usual activity. Also, buying a power saw was not an everyday occurrence:

(59) nə-s-niẇ   xʷiʔ   txʷ-*power saw,*
      1POS-NM-AUX:LNK   now   VBL-power.saw

       nə-s-niẇ   xʷiʔ   c-qʷɬey̓.
       1POS-NM-AUX:LNK   now   VBL-log

      '...and I went out and bought a power saw and I went out logging.'

In fact, both of these examples contain the particle *xʷiʔ* 'now, next', which denotes that something has suddenly happened, possibly contrary to speaker's expectation (Gerdts and Hukari to appear). Other examples of activities that are not recurring activities or part of the cultural heritage include getting a pension, which happens once in a lifetime, or marketing flowers.

(60) sis   ʔəẇ   c-*penšən*-steləm,   nə-s-niẇ   hay
      and   LNK   VBL-pension-CS:1PAS   1POS-NM-AUX:LNK   finish

       k̓ʷə-nə-s-yay̓əs.
       DT-1POS-NM-work(CONT)

      '...and I got my pension and I quit working.'

(61) niʔ   yəxʷ   ʔa: xʷən̓   c-p̓eq̓əm   kʷθə   p̓eq̓əm-eẇtxʷ?
      AUX   SUP   EMPH   still   VBL-flower DT   flower-house
      'I wonder if the flower shop still has some flowers.'

Flowers, since they were not eaten, had little signficance in native culture as seen by the fact that there is one generic word meaning 'bloomer' covering all non-bush wildflowers. So, while lexicalization may indeed be an important factor in the use of lexical suffixes, it seems irrelevant in the case of denominal verbs. Again, the most accurate generalization of when denominal verbs are allowed in Halkomelem is that it matches their use in English, as posited by Clark and Clark (1979:787):

(62) The Innovative Denominal Verb Convention:
      The speaker means to denote the kind of situation that he/she has good reason to believe that on this occasion the listener can readily compute uniquely on the basis of their mutual knowledge in such a way that the parent noun denotes a role in the situation...

Although further research may reveal some of the factors determining the choice of a denominal verb construction over a phrasal construction with a verb and an NP, we can conclude at this point that denominal verb constructions are used for a variety of situations in Halkomelem including when the base nominal is specific or non-specific, unique or common, novel or culturally salient. The use of denominal verbs, which we note is on the decline, is the type of polysynthetic construction that is considered the mark of a fluent speaker of the language.

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