

Changing state in Salishan languages

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The goal of this paper is to deal with the issue of changing state in Salishan languages. We investigate various morphemes indicating beginning, middle, and end of change across Salishan languages. A particular focus is put on Interior Salish **-wilx* and **-ilx*, which raise this important issue.

1 Aspect in Salishan

It is well known that aspect is one of the most basic grammatical categories in Salish languages. Within aspect there is ordinarily a basic dichotomy between perfective and imperfective aspects (however these might be labelled; for example, in Kinkade's initial description of Upper Chehalis (1964:33) they were called completive and continuative, labels that Paul Kroeber sometimes still uses). Perfective aspect is usually unmarked, and Kinkade has suggested elsewhere that imperfective aspect was marked in Proto-Salish either with a C_1V_1 -reduplicative prefix or a glottal stop infix (1995), a pattern that can still be found in Halkomelem and Straits (Suttles 2004; Montler 1986). This glottal stop infix changed its function in Interior Salish to what is usually labelled (probably inaccurately) inchoative. A Third, but derived, primary aspect in Salishan is stative, reconstructible as **ʔac-*. A Second stative is a suffix *-t*, found widely in Interior Salish, and also in Coast Salish. The difference between these two statives is unknown.

(1) Stative affixes	<i>*ʔac-</i>	<i>-t</i>
Interior Salish	Th ¹ <i>ʔes-qit</i> 'be awake'	Ok <i>ʔax^w-t</i> 'dead'
Coast Salish	Sq <i>ʔəs-lilʔx^w</i> 'lying'	Sa <i>čt-ət</i> 'It's thick.'

¹ Abbreviations for language names are as follows: Be=Bella Coola, Ck=Chilliwack Halkomelem, Cm=Columbian, Cr=Coeur d'Alene, Cz=Cowlitz, Cw=Cowichan Halkomelem, Cx=Comox, ESh=Eastern Shuswap, Fl=Flathead, Ka=Kalispel, Kl=Klallam, Lm=Lummi, Li=Lillooet, Lo=Lower Chehalis, Ms=Musqueum Halkomelem, Nk=Nooksack, NLd=Northern Lushootsheed, Och=Oakville Upper Chehalis, Ok=Okanagan, Pt=Pentlatch, Qn=Quinault, Sa=Saanich, Se=Sechelt, Sg=Songish, Sl=Sliammon, SLd=Southern Lushootsheed, So=Sooke, Sp=Spokane, Sq=Squamish, Ss=Satsop Upper Chehalis, TCh=Tenino Upper Chehalis, Th=Thompson, Tw=Twana, WSh=Western Shuswap.

2 It turns out that not only is the indication of state (or stative) important and pervasive in Salishan, but so is the indication of change of state. The issue of changing state in Salishan languages arose trying to deal with the Cowlitz suffix *-ilx* while writing a grammatical sketch of this language for the forthcoming dictionary. Why is it a problem? Consider first the Cowlitz data in (2). (We give both perfective and imperfective forms because there is often phonological variation for roots and affixes in these two aspects.)

(2) Cowlitz

/ʔáx^w-lx- 'stiff, in tight, harden':

ʔit /ʔáx ^w - <u>lx</u>	(<i>perf. intr.</i>)	'it hardened'
s/ʔáx ^w - <u>l̥t</u>	(<i>imperf. intr.</i>)	'it's hardening'
ʔit /ʔáx ^w - <u>ili-x</u>	(<i>perf. trans.</i>)	'he hardened it'

/síq^w- 'turn off a road':

ʔit /síq ^w - <u>lx</u>	(<i>perf. intr.</i>)	'he turned off'
/síq ^w - <u>l̥t-n</u>	(<i>imperf. intr.</i>)	'he's turning off'

/taw-ílx- 'sit down':

ʔit /taw- <u>ílx</u>	(<i>perf. intr.</i>)	'he sat down'
ʔac/taw- <u>élx</u>	(<i>stative</i>)	'he's sitting, he's seated'
/taw- <u>ílls-m</u>	(<i>passive</i>)	'be sat on'

/xáš 'bad':

ʔit /xáš- <u>lx</u>	(<i>perf. intr.</i>)	'it got bad'
s/xáš- <u>l̥t-n</u>	(<i>imperf. intr.</i>)	'it's getting bad'
ʔit /xáš- <u>ili-x</u>	(<i>perf. tr.</i>)	'he ruined it, he harmed it'

(*caus.*)

ʔak-c/xáš- <u>lx</u> ʔu		'it tastes spoiled'
xáci- 'lc FBb		'bad' (<i>prob. /xáš-ílls</i>)

/x^walá?- 'hot, warm':

ʔac /x ^w alá?	(<i>stative</i>)	'it's hot, it's warm'
ʔit /x ^w alá?-n	(<i>perf. tr.</i>)	'he heated it' (regular transitive)
ʔit /x ^w alá?- <u>lx</u>	(<i>perf. intr.</i>)	'it got warm'
s/x ^w alá?- <u>l̥t-n</u>	(<i>imperf. intr.</i>)	'it's getting warm'

There are roughly 20 verbs in Cowlitz that have been found with some variant of this suffix with meanings like those shown in Table 1. Glossing the suffix was not so simple, however. What is immediately obvious is that it is cognate with *-š* / *-ilit* in neighboring and closely related Upper Chehalis.

Table 1 Cowlitz developmental

- /ʔáwat-: 1.² /ʔáwat behind, after. 2. ʔac/ʔawat-lx it's late *dev.*
 /ʔáy- have a good time, have fun. 1. /ʔáy-lx, s/ʔáy-lt-n *dev.*
 /ʔí-, /ʔíy good, nice. 1. /ʔay-lx get well *dev.*
 /léʔq soft, easy to tear. 2. /léʔq-ili-x soften *dev.*
 /ʔók' sharp. 2. /ʔák'-ili-x sharpen *dev.*
 /ʔók'a- sore, hurt. 1. /ʔók', — *intr.* 2. /ʔók'-ili-x sicken *dev.*
 /ʔátóx stiff hide. 2. / ʔátóx-t hide gets hard before working on it *perf.*
intr. 3. / ʔátóx-lx hide gets hard while working on it *dev.*
 /ʔáx^w stiff, firm, hard, tight, strong. 2. / ʔáx^w-lx- stiff, in tight, harden
dev. 2a. /ʔáx^w-lx, s/ʔáx^w-lt-n, /ʔáx^w-ili-x, —.
 /níti- alive 1. / ní-t-t, s/níti-w-n *intr.* 3a./ní-t-lx come back to life *dev.* 3b.
 s/níti-l-i his coming back to life.
 /qíx^w- fat 1. /qíx^w-t, — *intr.* 2. /qíx^w-lx gain weight *dev.*
 /sík'lx- ?? la. /sík'lx=ayu? snake. (Stem includes -lx *dev.*?)
 /síq^w- turn off a road 1. /síq^w-lx, /síq^w-lt-n *dev.*
 /táls-: 1. /táls-ls follow, chase *dev.* la. /táls-ls, s/táls-lt-n *intr.* lb.
 /táls-lt-x, — *caus.*
 /taw-ílax- sit down *dev.* 1. /taw-ilx, —. 2. /taw-ilax-a? sit down! 3.
 /taw-élx squat, sit *dimin.* 4. ʔac/taw-élx be sitting.
 5./taw-ills-m be sat on *pass.* 6. /taw-éll-tan-: 6a./taw-éll-tn'
 chair. 6b. /taw-éll-tan'-ni his chair.
 /tóq- close, shut. 1. /tóq-t, —, /tóq-n, —. 3. ʔac/tóq-lix-k^wu? air-tight *dev.*
 /túk^wa-lix- dream *dev.* 1. /túk^wa-lix or /túk^wa-lx, s/túk^wa-litt-n.
 2. s/túk^w*túk^wa-litt-n. he's dreaming *impf. intr.*
 /xasó^wk^w wild. 2. /xasák^w-lx go wild *dev.*
 /xóm heavy. 2./ xám-lx get heavy *dev.*
 /xóš bad. 1. /xós, —. 4. /xóš-lx- get bad, spoil. 4a. /xáš-lx, s/xóš-lt-n
dev. 4b. /xáš-ili-x, — ruin, harm *caus.* 4c. ʔak-c/xáš-lx ʔu it
 tastes spoiled. 4d. xáci 'lc FBb bad (*prob.* /xóš-ilš).
 /x^walá? hot, warm. 1. /x^walá?, —, /x^walá?-n heat, —. 3. /x^walá?-lx get
 warm. 3a. x^walá?-lx, s/x^walá?-litt-n *dev.* 3b. /x^walá?-ili-x-a? heat
 it!

3 In Upper Chehalis, -š / -ilit are found on six verbs only, given in (3), and

² *Numbers relate to entries of Cowlitz Dictionary (Kinkade forthcoming 2004)

the ending is labelled 'autonomous' in Kinkade's Upper Chehalis dictionary (1991:369, 372). The *x to š change is regular, and Upper Chehalis / is often lost before another consonant (sometimes with compensatory lengthening, although not in these examples).

(3) Upper Chehalis (perfective / imperfective pairs)

lix ^w -š / s-lix ^w -ílit-n	'descend, go down' *
s-š ^h is ^h is-ílit-n	'it's getting winter'
síq ^w -s / síq ^w -ílit-n	'turn off (a road)' *
táš-s / s- táš-ílit-n	'follow, chase' *
taw-ílš / s-taw-ílat-(w)n	'sit, sit down' [note reshaping] *
túk ^w -l'š / s-tuk ^w -ílit-n	'dream'

Kinkade borrowed the term 'autonomous' from Thompson and Thompson 1992, where it is defined as referring "to acts controlled by an agent.... Many terms referring to bodily posture and movement are cast in this form" (Thompson and Thompson 1992:101)

Not all the Upper Chehalis verbs listed in (3) fit this definition: only 'descend', 'turn off', 'follow', and 'sit' do (these are marked with an asterisk in (3)); 'get winter' and 'dream' do not.

4 Is this adoption of the term 'autonomous' appropriate? Are these suffixes in Cowlitz and Upper Chehalis equivalent to and cognate with Interior Salishan *-ilx 'autonomous'? One might assume so, given the identity of form and at least partial overlap in the meanings of usages.

Examples of 'autonomous' in Thompson are given in (4) and in Columbian in (5). (Note that Thompson has changed Proto-Salish */l to y)

(4) Th -əyx 'autonomous'

yŋ ^w -íyx	'he hides, goes into hiding'
kéw-ix kn	'I go away'
ŋ ^w -íyx kn	'I jump'

The suffix is variable in terms of stress, hence its absence on the suffix in some of the words, where it follows strong roots:

(5) Cm -ilx 'autonomous'

łáq-lx	'sit'
kš ^h -ílx	'climb a mountain'
n-q'x ^w -ílx	'wade in water' (n- 'locative')

Columbian includes many words referring to speech or other sound production among verbs with *-ilx*.

(6) Cm *-ilx* 'autonomous'

wwáw-lx	'talk'
waḥwaḥ-ílx	'people making a lot of noise'
cməŋ ^w məŋ ^w -ílx	'moo, bellow (of a cow)'
cməŋ ^w máŋ ^w -lx	'to meow'

5 Jan van Eijk suggested looking at Interior Salish **-wílx*, which is called 'developmental' by Thompson and Thompson for the Thompson River language and by Mattina (1987:226) for Okanagan. The Thompsons define 'developmental' as "increase, intensification, regular development, and unexpected change or continuation of states and actions" (Thompson and Thompson 1992:98). A Thompson example is given in (7) and Columbian examples in (8). This appears to be a strong suffix (i.e. always stressed) throughout at most Interior Salish.

(7) Th *-wíyx* 'developmental'

qəłmin-wíyx	'[person] gets older, [thing] wears out'
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(8) Cm *-wílx* 'developmental'

l-xəst-wílx	'he got well'
tʔaymt-wílx	'it's getting weak'
x ^w i?iy-wílx	'increase in numbers, multiply'

6 The Kalispel and Coeur d'Alene (both also Interior Salish) cognates for these two suffixes have undergone some local changes. The Kalispel equivalent for **-ilx* is *-ilš*, as it should be, and is defined by Vogt as "becoming so-and-so" (Vogt 1940:57); see (9).

(9) Ka k^wtənt-ilš 'he becomes bigger' (from k^wtúnt 'big')

The Kalispel equivalent of **-wílx* is *-wílš* (. Vogt lumps these two suffixes together as variants, and merely says that Kalispel *-wílš* is the "more frequent form"); see (10).

(10) Ka c'alt-wílš 'it gets colder' (from c'ált 'cold')

In Coeur d'Alene we find (11) and (12):

- (11) Cr *-iš* 'be in act of' (Reichard 1938:604)
c'él-*iš* 'he stood up'
- (12) Cr *-ilš* 'grow, become through growth' (Reichard 1938:605-6)
xes-t-*ilš* 'it grew better'

In terms of meaning, Coeur d'Alene verbs with *-iš* match other Interior Salish verbs with *-ilx*, and Coeur d'Alene verbs with *-ilš* match other Interior Salish verbs with *-wilx*.

It seems clear that these two suffixes have been confused to some extent in Kalispel and Coeur d'Alene, but are kept distinct elsewhere in Interior Salish, so some confusion elsewhere in Salishan should not be surprising. It thus appears that the problems with Cowlitz *-ilx* result from the use of a mixture or right and wrong labels.

7 Changing state involves the beginning, middle, and end of change. The beginning of change is properly labelled 'inchoative' or 'inceptive', but the Salishan verbs under discussion do not appear to relate just to the onset of change, so these labels do not appear to be appropriate here (although they have been used).

The end of change in Cowlitz and Upper Chehalis is not specially marked (note, however; the category 'resultative' in Musqueam, in Suttles 2004: 182-190), but is simply indicated by a verb marked as stative (?ac-), as past, or it is unmarked. The translations of the Cowlitz examples show that *-ilx* refers to the *process* of change, not its beginning or end, and thus corresponds semantically to Interior Salish **-wilx* 'developmental', not **-ilx* 'autonomous'.

8 What about elsewhere in coastal Salishan languages? In fact nearly all (except apparently Bella Coola and Twana) have a cognate, but only one for both suffixes, and that one always lacks an initial *w*. One must therefore infer that the two suffixes have collapsed into one all along the coast, including in Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz. It is nowhere common, except in Cowlitz (in fact it appears to be rare), and is most likely to turn up on verbs meaning 'stand up', 'dance', or 'bark'; see table 2.

Table 2 Autonomous in Salishan languages

PS	*-ilix	
I. Bella Coola		
Be		
II. Central Salish		
SI	-iš, -Vš	
Cx		
Pt	-ilš, -illš	†x̄ilš 'stand upright'; híqilš ti ščalifən 'salmon ascend river'
Se	-ilš	q̄ʷəyilš 'dance' JT
Sq	-ilš	†x̄ilš 'stand up'; q̄ʷilš 'dance'
Cw	-iləš	†x̄iləš 'stand up'; q̄ʷəyiləš 'dance'
Ms	-ilx	
Ck	-ilx	†əx̄iləx 'stand up'; q̄ʷəyiləx 'dance'; x̄ʷəx̄iləx 'get up quickly'
Lm		
Sa	-əlaʔ, -ełs	'structured activity' (?) wəšəlaʔ 'it's barking'; ʔəp̄x̄éłs 'it's scattering'
Sg		
So		
Kl	-šýs, -iyəš	waʔwəʔsəýs 'bark (a dog)'; q̄ʷəyiyəš 'dance'
Nk	-iləš	q̄ʷəyiləš 'dance'
NLd	-il (intr.), -i-s (tr.) (?)	
SLd	-ilč, -ilc	†əx̄ilč, †əx̄ilc 'stand up' (MK)
Tw		
III. Tsamosan		
Qn	-ilč, -ləc	túk̄liləc 'dream'
Lo		
Ss	-š	tawé-lš 'sit'
OCh	-flit- / -š	slix̄flitn 'he's descending' / ʔit lix̄š 'he descended'
TCh	-x	tawilx 'sit'; stúk̄lx 'dream'
Cz	-(al)lt- / -(il)ix	stúk̄alltn 'he's dreaming'; lé-ʔqilix 'soften'
IV. Tillamook		
Ti	-il (intr.), -i-s (tr.)	ḡʷə də xeḡli 'I will catch a ride'; steq̄si 'I sit down beside him.'
V. Interior Salish		
Li	-ilx, -ləx 'body'	†q̄ʷilx 'get on a horse'; †uq̄ʷləx 'take a blanket off oneself'
Th	-iyx	ȳʷʷiyx 'he hides, he goes into hiding'; kéwix kn 'I go away'
WSh	-ilx 'body'	†ʷʷilx 'jump'; plk̄ilx 'roll over'; q̄ʷéclx 'warm oneself'
ESh	-ilx	yəp̄ilx 'be climbing'; tēhlx 'be rising to feet'
Ok	-ilx 'development'	nk̄w̄ilx 'he went upstream'; səntkiw̄lxtn 'stairs, ladder'
Sp	-ilš	†q̄q̄ilš 'he lay down'; q̄éclš 'he ran'
Ka	-ilš	np̄ilš 'they go in'; x̄ʷiflš 'he gets up'; wisšilš 'he withdraws'
Fl		
Cr	-ilš, -iš	isčátčatš 'it is ticking'; súx̄ilš 'fish dived'
Cm	-ilx	nq̄x̄ilx 'wade in water'; ww̄w̄ilx 'talk, speak'

9 This leads to another question: Is *-wilx* bimorphemic? If the answer is yes, what would have to be accounted for is the initial *w*, and possibly the glottalization of the *l*. The fact that it is a strong suffix (that is, always stressed in Interior Salish, except in Coeur d'Alene) should also be kept in mind, although we do not know how to bring this into the equation in terms of phonological correspondences. Reflexes of **-ilx*, on the other hand are variable in terms of stress in the Interior (that is, lack stress and a vowel following a strong root, but are stressed following a weak root). The Upper Chehalis imperfective variant *-ilit-* seems to be strong, but with only six verbs to deal with this may not mean much, and its Cowlitz cognate is definitely NOT strong.

10 The only possibly relevant suffix we know of in Salish with a *w* is Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz *-aw-*, which was labelled 'inchoative' in the dictionary of Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:368). It appears to be (have been) productive in that language, and is always strong there. Its Cowlitz cognate is not strong, and was found on only two verbs, given in (13).

- (13) Cz *-aw-* s-ʔáys-u-mit-n 'he's getting sick' / ʔit ʔáys-aw-m 'he got sick'
 ʔáq^w-aw-m 'he got well'

11 Thus Upper Chehalis preferred *-áw-* for 'developmental', but Cowlitz preferred *-ilx* for this concept. Could the *w* of *-áw-* and its strong suffix status correspond to the *w* of **-wilx* and its strong suffix status? We do not know the answer to this question.

12 Another change of state affix with some antiquity in Salish is a prefix *tx^w-*. It is documented for all of Central Salish except Comox-Sliammon and Twana, and for all four Tsamosan languages, and has been labelled 'mutative'. However, this has no bearing on the problem of **-wilx* and **-ilx*, and will not be discussed here.

Yet another important change of state suffix (or suffix pair) is what has been labelled 'inchoative' in Interior Salish. This generally consists of a glottal stop infixing into strong roots and a *-p* suffixed onto weak roots. Examples from Lillooet (van Eijk 1997) are given in (14).

- (14) Interior Salish (Lillooet) 'inchoative'

la-ʔ-k^w 'to get loose, untied'
 ca-ʔ-k 'to cool off'
 ʔ^wəl-p 'to burn'
 qəm-p 'hot'

13 An unexpected morpheme that can indicate both the beginning and the end of change of state occurs in Saanich (Kiyota in this volume). The morpheme is a particle $k^w\dot{\lambda}$ which is labelled 'realized' by Montler (1986) who suggests that its meaning is 'already'. However, Kiyota found that the morpheme is translated as 'start to ~', 'getting ~', or 'already' depending on the verb that it precedes; see (15).

(15) Saanich 'realized'

$k^w\dot{\lambda}$ $\dot{\lambda}\check{c}ik^w\text{əs}$ tə Jack	'Jack is getting tired' ($\dot{\lambda}\check{c}ik^w\text{əs}$ 'be tired')
$k^w\dot{\lambda}$ t' $\acute{e}\check{c}\acute{a}q$ ti?ə Jack	'Jack is getting mad' (t' $\acute{e}\check{c}\acute{a}q$ 'be mad')
$l\acute{a}?\text{ə}$ tə $k^w\dot{\lambda}$ n\acute{a}\check{c}\acute{a}ŋ	'He began to laugh.' (n\acute{a}\check{c}\acute{a}ŋ 'laugh')
?ə\acute{\lambda} ti? $k^w\dot{\lambda}$ x^w\acute{a}ŋ	'He began to cry.' (x^w\acute{a}ŋ 'cry')
$k^w\dot{\lambda}$ t\acute{e}\check{c}\acute{a}l sən	'I am here / already arrived.' (t\acute{e}\check{c}\acute{a}l 'arrive')
$k^w\dot{\lambda}$ l\acute{a}t' $\acute{a}t$ sən t' \acute{a} n\acute{a}sk^w\acute{a}t\acute{a}n	'I filled up my bucket already.' (l\acute{a}t' $\acute{a}t$ 'fill')

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