

## Compounding and Lexical Affixation in Spokane<sup>1</sup>

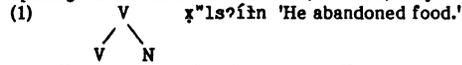
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0. Introduction. Spokane is a Salish language of eastern Washington State which shows both compounding, when two or more roots occur in a word, and affixation of bound morphemes with root-like meanings. The latter, referred to in Salish studies as lexical affixation, typically adds nominal or locative information to a word, as with *-eix* 'house, hide, skin' or *-eš* '(in) middle'.

Following Sapir (1911), these lexical affixes are not incorporated nouns as they are not synchronically related to independent nominals or locatives; compare *qétt* 'hide, skin' with *-eix* 'house, hide, skin'. However, evidence internal to Spokane suggests that productive compounding, particularly of nominal objects and locatives, led to the set of bound morphemes referred to as lexical affixes. This development has been traced by Salishanists, including Egedsal (1981) and Mattina (1987). The purpose of this paper is to bolster the arguments of these authors by detailing the situation in Spokane. Spokane compounding and lexical affixation will first be summarized. Then pieces of the evidence suggesting their historical relationship will be considered.

### 1. Compounding.

1.1. VN Compounds. Informants today can readily generate new compounds, suggesting that it was a productive process when the language was viable. There are two main patterns. One combines a verbal member and a nominal(ized) member to create a verbal predicate. An example using the morphological formalisms of Lieber (1980: 83) may be diagrammed as follows:



The arrow indicates that category features of the compound derive from the left member. The nominal serves as an object or locative argument.

In this pattern the left member typically contains a verbal root and displays no or very little suffix morphology.<sup>2</sup> The right member, which usually takes main stress, is either a nominal formed with *s-* NOMINAL, as above (*ɔ'ɪn* 'eat'), or a nominal not requiring *s-*. In the latter case, *-ɪ-* CONNECTIVE is placed between the two members as in the following example.<sup>3</sup> Determined base/underlying forms are given in parentheses. Intransitive third person singular is not overtly marked.

- (2) *ɔalpɪqɪx'mn* 'He lost a whip.'  
(*ɔal* 'lose' -*p* INCHOATIVE) *qɪx'mn* 'whip' (*qɪx* 'beat' -*m* INSTRUMENT)

The following additional compound examples show nominals formed with and without *-s*. Some of the nominals contain lexical affixes. These are indicated in base forms with a preceding slash(/).

- (3) *ɪltsqélɪx* 'He invited all the people.'  
(*ɪlɪt* 'invite') *sqélɪx* 'person' (*qel* 'body' /-*mɪx* 'person')
- (4) *k'ɪtɔk'ɪnč* 'He made a bow.'  
(*k'uɪ* 'make, do') *ck'ɪnč* 'bow' (*cuk* 'pull' /-*ɪnč* 'weapon')
- (5) *k'ɪsqélɪx* 'He grabbed at a person.'  
(*k'en* 'take') *sqélɪx* 'person' (*qel* 'body' /-*mɪx* 'person')
- (6) *k'ɪstéwɔn* 'He went after groceries.'  
(*k'en* 'try, choose') *stéwɔn* 'groceries' (*tew* 'buy, sell' /-*cɪn* 'mouth, food')

- (7) *plɪnɪámqə?* 'He killed a bear. He beat his wife.'  
(*pul* 'kill, beat') *nɪámqə?* 'bear'
- (8) *ɕapsqélɪx* 'He shot a gun. He shot a man.'  
(*ɕap* 'shoot') *sqélɪx* 'person'
- (9) *ɔepɪqépétce?* 'I wiped the dishes.'  
(*ɔep* 'wipe') *qpétce?* 'dishes' (*qep* 'soft' /-*eɪce?* 'body')
- (10) *x'ɬséwɪk* 'He ate a handful of snow. He chewed an icicle.'  
(*x'ɬ* 'chew') *séwɪk* 'water' (/ -*k* 'water', also: /-*etk*)
- (11) *k'ɪsnɔqyéɪtce?tn* 'He made a rack to dry meat.'  
(*k'uɪ* 'make') *snɔqyéɪtce?tn* 'drying rack' (*ɕqey* 'cook meat on a rack' /-*éɪce?* 'meat body' -*tn* INSTRUMENT)
- (12) *tɪɔx'kmšnústn* 'He finally got some new eyeglasses.'  
(*tɪx* 'get' -*ɔ-* RESULTATIVE) *nšnústn* 'eyeglasses' (*n-* 'in' *šɪn* 'sheet of solid material' /-*us* 'eye, face' -*tn* INSTRUMENT)
- (13) *tɪɔx'snx'úɪ* 'He got cut. He bled.'  
(*tɪx* 'get' -*ɔ-* RESULTATIVE) *snx'úɪ* 'blood' (*n-* 'in' *x'úɪ* 'to bore, twirl through')

VN compounds may take transitive morphology after adding *-m* TRANSITIVE DERIVATIONAL. A few examples exist. Compare (14) and (15). A complete underlying form is given for (15) with a morpheme-by-morpheme translation. Third person transitive object is not overtly marked.

- (14) *nčk'ɪxáqne?* 'It's laid in (one's) pocket.'  
(*n-* 'in' *tuk* 'lie') *xáqne?* 'pocket' (*xáq* '?' /-*ene?* 'surface, ear')<sup>4</sup>
- (15) *nčk'ɪxáqne?mis* 'He put it in his (or someone else's) pocket.'  
//*n-tuk-ɪ-xáq-ene?-m-nt-es*//  
in-lie-CONNECTIVE-? -surface, ear-TRANS DER-TRANS-3SG SUBJ

Other examples have *k'uɪ* 'make, do' as left member, as in (16).

- (16) *k'ɪsq'sé?mis* 'He adopted a boy.' Lit. 'He made someone his boy.'  
//*k'uɪ-s-q'se?-m-nt-es*//  
make, do-NOM-boy-TRANS DER-TRANS-3SG SUBJ

A very few examples in this pattern show compounds with two roots preceding the nominal right member. All these involve the roots *k'en* 'try, choose' or *ɔew(et)* 'sneak up on'. In compounds both mean 'go to, go after'. The constituent following *k'en* or *ɔew(et)* is a VN compound which is nominalized by *s-*.

- (17) *k'ɪspɪtč'úɪɪx* 'He went to go kill a deer, He went deer-killing.'  
*ɔew*  
(*k'en* 'try, choose' *ɔew(et)* 'sneak up on') *plɪtč'úɪɪx* 'kill deer' (*pul* 'kill') *ɕ'úɪɪx* 'deer' (*ɕ?* '?' /-*ulɪx* 'ground, dirt, earth')

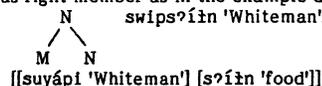
VN compounds often serve as nominals rather than verbals. (1) *x'lsɔ'ɪn* can mean 'a memorial feast, a goodbye-meal.' (7) *plɪnɪámqə?* can mean 'wife beater'. More examples follow. In all but (24) additional derivational morphology is present.

- (18) *snwčsuméštɪn* 'the place where Spirit Power is seen.'  
(*s-* NOM *n-* 'in' *wɪč* 'see') *suméš* 'Spirit Power' (-*tn* INSTR)
- (19) *sk'ɪpɪkɪl* 'cucumber'  
(*s-* NOM *k'uɪ* 'make, do') *pɪkɪl* 'pickle'
- (20) *čk'úɪsɪk'ptn* 'fire poker.'<sup>5</sup>  
(*č-* 'to(ward)' *k'uɪ* 'make, do') *slúk'p* 'fire logs' (*luk* 'stick of wood' /-*ep* 'below') (-*tn* INSTR)
- (21) Compare (8). *ɕapsqélɪx* 'Indian tradition of shooting a gun at midnight on Christmas Eve'  
(*s-* NOM *ɕap* 'shoot') *sqélɪx* 'person'
- (22) Compare (9). *nɔepɪtč'ɪnč* 'guncloth'  
(*n-* 'in' *ɔep* 'wipe') *ɕ'ɪnč* 'gun' (*ɕ?* '?' /-*ɪnč* 'weapon')
- (23) *nɔəɪsqélɪx'tn* 'ogre, giant'  
(*n-* 'in' *ɔ'ɪn* 'eat') *sqélɪx* 'person' (-*tn* INSTR)

- (24) lapsix<sup>2</sup>ép 'hemorrhoids'  
(lap 'emerge (from)') six<sup>2</sup>ép 'hole in the bottom' (iox<sup>2</sup> 'hole' /-ep 'below')

1.2. MN Compounds. The second compound pattern combines a modifier as left member and a nominal as right member as in the example diagrammed below.

- (25)



In this pattern the category features of the compound derive from the right member.<sup>6</sup> The modifier is a nominal, adjectival, or verbal, again typically based on a root with no, or very little suffixation.

Following is a set of examples with determined base forms given in parentheses. As in the previous pattern, if the nominal right member is not formed with s-, -t- CONNECTIVE is present. The reader should be aware that the translations of these compounds often reflect the predicative potential of all Spokane words, including nominals.

- (26) xssʔáććx 'She's good looking. She's good to look at.'  
(xes 'good') sʔáććx 'appearance' (ʔacx 'look' -C<sub>2</sub> REDUPL 'out of control')
- (27) hesčswéy<sup>2</sup>ti 'venereal disease'  
(hec- STATIVE čes 'bad') swéy<sup>2</sup> 'sickness' (weyt 'sick') (-mi NON-PERFECTIVE)
- (28) nx<sup>2</sup>eʔsk<sup>2</sup>ést 'He has, or is known by many names.'  
(n- 'in' x<sup>2</sup>eʔít 'many') sk<sup>2</sup>ést 'name'
- (29) čulpspʔús 'indigestion, heartburn'  
(č- 'to(ward)' wíl 'burn' -p INCHOATIVE) spʔús 'heart'
- (30) snsk<sup>2</sup>sqméltn 'goiter'  
(s-NOM n- 'in' suk<sup>2</sup> 'swell') sqméltn 'throat' (qm 'swallow' /-el '?') (-tn INSTR)
- (31) šíʔtmsqélix 'the first Indians'  
(šíʔit 'first' -m MIDDLE VOICE) sqélix 'person'
- (32) wsišintk<sup>2</sup>mín 'long coffin'  
(wisšn 'long') nt<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>mín 'coffin' (n- 'in' t<sup>2</sup>uk<sup>2</sup> 'lie' -min INSTR)
- (33) k<sup>2</sup>tiscút 'braggart'  
(k<sup>2</sup>tun 'big, large') scút 'behaviour' (cut 'way, manner')
- (34) hesččeʔrspʔúsi 'His heart is aching.'  
(hec-STATIVE č- 'to(ward)' čer 'hurt' -ʔ- RESULTATIVE) spʔús 'heart' (-mi NON-PERFECTIVE)
- (35) tamsk<sup>2</sup>ést 'He is nameless.'  
(tam 'no, not') sk<sup>2</sup>ést 'name'
- (36) stčansčnélx<sup>2</sup> 'antelope hide'  
(stčán 'antelope' sčélx<sup>2</sup> 'hide, skin' (čn '?' /-elx<sup>2</sup> 'hide, skin')
- (37) ʔaplsčáʔk<sup>2</sup>áitq 'apple blossom'  
(ʔapl 'apple') sčáʔk<sup>2</sup>áitq 'blossom' (ček<sup>2</sup> 'shine' -ʔ- RESULTATIVE /-aitq 'fruit, blossom')

1.3. Other Patterns. Beyond the two main patterns, there is a productive set of VN compounds, all formed with the root wiý 'finish' as the left member and a transitive verbal nominalized with s- as the right member. Two examples follow.

- (38) qeʔwiʔsláqntm 'We piled dirt on it. We finished burying it.'  
(qeʔ- 1 PL SUBJ wiý 'finish' laq 'bury' -nt TRANS -em 1 PL SUBJ)
- (39) xe wiʔspíxntx<sup>2</sup> 'You already took it apart. You already finished disassembling it.'  
(xe 'already' wiý 'finish' píx 'bare, uncovered' -nt TRANS -ex<sup>2</sup> 2SG SUBJ)

One example exists with two verbal members connected by -t-.

- (40) ʔaýpix<sup>2</sup>íst 'He hurried so he could leave. He walked fast.'  
(ʔaý 'hurry, go fast' -p INCHOATIVE x<sup>2</sup>íst 'walk')

## 2. Lexical Affixation.

2.1. Scope and Form. Lexical affixes (LA's) are the centrepiece of Spokane derivational morphology. They join with a root to form a complex lexical affix stem with typical nominal or locative reference, as in (41) with /-asqt 'day, sky'. This and following examples include underlying forms with morpheme-by-morpheme translations.

- (41) ʔaslásqt 'two days'  
//ʔesel-asqt// two-day, sky

Often the reference is to body parts, as with /-axn 'arm' or /-qin 'head, top', as in (42) and (43).

- (42) hesččaʔráxni 'His arm is aching.'  
//hec-č-čer-ʔ-axn-mi// STATIVE-to(ward)-ache, hurt-RESULTATIVE-arm-NON-PERFECTIVE
- (43) čʔarqíni 'He has a headache.'  
//čer-ʔ-qin-mi// ache, hurt-RESULTATIVE-head-NON-PERFECTIVE

The scope of a LA may be fairly limited, as with /-axn 'arm', or broad enough to include a whole range of reference, as with /-íceʔ 'skin, hide, blanket, shell', and /-esšn 'knobbed object, rounded object, berry, fruit, rock, forehead'. (44) and (45) show examples with these suffixes.

- (44) čʔemk<sup>2</sup>íceʔn 'I took the feathers off (a chicken).'  
//č-ʔemk<sup>2</sup>-íceʔ-nt-en// to(ward)-peel-skin-TRANS-1 SG SUBJ
- (45) čk<sup>2</sup>ílsšn 'red berry'  
//č-k<sup>2</sup>íl-esšn// to(ward)-red-berry

Another with this kind of scope is /-us 'eye, face, belly, window, fire'. Examples (46) and (47) show this suffix.

- (46) čnʔemtús 'I sat at the fire.'  
//čn-ʔemut-us// 1 SG SUBJ-sit-fire
- (47) ʔépsn 'I wiped his face, eye.'  
//ʔép-us-nt-en// wipe-face, eye-TRANS-1 SG SUBJ

With a root like ʔemut 'sit' in (46) the LA reference is locative. Most LA's have this potential with appropriate roots, such as those indicating body position or movement. However, sometimes additional locative affixation must be present, as in (48) and (49).

- (48) nx<sup>2</sup>sték<sup>2</sup> 'He walked in the water.'  
//n-x<sup>2</sup>íst-etk<sup>2</sup>// in-walk-water
- (49) čí-ʔoix<sup>2</sup>áiq<sup>2</sup> 'He crawled along under a log.'  
//čí-ʔuix<sup>2</sup>-alq<sup>2</sup>// under-go-long cylindrical object

Nearly all LA's are suffixes. There are a few prefixes. Paralleling the structure of compounds, lexical suffixes (LS's) are added directly after a root or a root extended by a small set of grammatical suffixes like -p INCHOATIVE. Additional derivational and inflectional morphology appears outside this complex.<sup>8</sup> Example (50) illustrates the framework with /-cín 'mouth, food, words, language, edge, shore'.

- (50) nʔuk<sup>2</sup>cíntx<sup>2</sup> 'You brought food to him.'  
//n-ʔuk<sup>2</sup>-cín-nt-ex<sup>2</sup>// in-bring-food-TRANS-2 SG SUBJ

Primary stress appears on the LS of the stem, as in (50), or on the root, as in (51) with k"uɪ 'make, do'.

- (51) k"úɪcɛntx" 'You made, produced food for him.'  
//k"uɪ-cɪn-nt-ex"// make, do-food-TRANS-1 SG SUBJ

Stress position depends on the stress class of morphemes in a given Spokane word (see Carlson 1980 for a summary). (50) and (51) show that strong roots like k"uɪ take stress when they occur with LS's; weak roots like ʔuk" will lose stress to a LS. Prefixes, including lexical prefixes (LP's), are never stressed. Unstressed roots and LA's typically lose their underlying vowels unless a laryngeal or a pharyngeal is adjacent (see Carlson 1976).

2.2. VN Stems. There are two types of LA stems. With a verbal root, certain LA stems parallel VN compounds; the LA serves as an object or locative argument, as in (52) with /-aɪq 'blossom, fruit, mark, race, game'. These stems are called VN stems.

- (52) ʔaɪtɔ́ɪq 'He followed in the footsteps of someone.'  
//ʔeɪt-p-aɪq// sneakup on-INCHOATIVE-mark

(53) shows /-aqs 'nose, road, point, end'.

- (53) čnʔamtáqs 'I sat on the road.'  
//čn-ʔemut-aqs// 1SG Subj-sit-road

(54) shows a LP serving as locative.<sup>9</sup>

- (54) mɪɪɪɪɪɪs 'He sprinkled (blood) between her legs.'  
//mɪ-CVC-ɪɪɪ-nt-es// between legs-PL-sprinkle-TRANS-3 SG SUBJ

Also, like their parallel compounds, these VN stems may serve as nominals. Additional derivational morphology is generally present. Some examples follow.

- (55) stqép 'a dam'  
//s-taq-ep// NOM-to place-(at) bottom
- (56) ɕaxíceʔtn 'hide stretcher'  
//ɕax-íceʔ-tn// stretch-hide, skin-INSTR
- (57) nqɪotɪqéytn 'shovel'  
//n-qɪwet-ɪqéy-tn// in-step-shoulder-INSTR
- (58) ʔamʔamtáqs 'Indian saddle'  
//CVC-ʔemut-aqs// PL-sit-nose, point

VN stems regularly take transitive morphology. These show a transitive agent and allow an additional argument. Typically, an intransitive state or situation created by lexical affixation is established for or extended to another entity which is the grammatical object. Compare (59) and (60).

- (59) hecnčɪqéyɪt 'A long piece of wood is placed on someone's shoulders.'  
//hec-n-čɪc-ɪqéyɪt// STATIVE-in-long object lies-shoulder
- (60) q"unčɪqéyɪntx" 'You put a long piece of wood on my shoulder.'  
//q"u-n-čɪc-ɪqéyɪnt-ex"// 1SG OBJ-in-long object lies-shoulder-TRANS-2 SG SUBJ

As shown in this example, the transitive grammatical object often translates as the possessor of the LA. This is also shown in (61) and (62).

- (61) čyeck"énɪt 'I am carrying a/my child (as in pregnancy).'  
//čn-hec-k"en-elt// 1 SG SUBJ-STATIVE-take, carry-child
- (62) k"énɪtn 'I carried his child.'  
//k"en-elt-nt-en// take-child-TRANS-1 SG SUBJ

For other transitives see (44), (47), (50), and (54).

2.3. MN Stems. With a nominal, adjectival, or verbal root, a second type of LA stem parallels MN compounds. Some examples with these MN stems follow.

- (63) čk"lk"ɪlčs 'red hands'  
//č-CVC-k"ɪl-ečst// to(ward)-PL-red-hand
- (64) smeʔméɪceʔ 'female deer, animal'  
//s-mʔem-eɪceʔ// NOM-woman-animal, body
- (65) snʔanɪqéɪx"tn 'summer mat house'  
//s-n-ʔanɪq-eɪx"-tn// NOM-in-summer-hide, skin, house-INSTR
- (66) puʔčsél<sup>10</sup> 'two spouses'  
//puʔ-č-ʔesél// spouse-PERSON CLASSIFIER-two
- (67) pɪxqín 'He's hatless, bareheaded.'  
//pɪx-qín// bare-head, top

While MN compounds inherit the category features of N, and MN stems sometimes parallel this relationship, as in (63-67), there are other cases where they do not. Compare (68) and (69). Both involve the LA /-elɪx" 'people, tribe'.

- (68) ɛx"lélɪx" 'different tribes'  
//ɛx"l-elɪx"// different-tribe, people
- (69) cutélɪx" 'custom by which they are known'  
//cut-elɪx"// way, manner-tribe, people

In (68) the meaning of the derived stem draws its focus from the suffix 'people', while in (69) it draws its focus from the root 'way, custom'. Varying translations of other stems like the one in (70) show focus can be directed either way in a single form.

- (70) ččʔélɪs 'She feels queasy, she has a nasty feeling.'  
//CV-čeʔ-elɪs// DIMINUTIVE-dirty, nasty-feeling<sup>11</sup>

Also unlike parallel compounds, MN stems often blend their components to create a lexicalized item with a meaning unpredictable from the sum of its parts, as in (71) and (72).

- (71) nxmélč 'fireplace, burned tree dried up on the inside'  
//n-xam-elč// in-dry-inside, belly
- (72) sq"áq"ciʔ 'rabbit'  
//s-CV-q"ec-íceʔ// NOM-DIMINUTIVE-warm-skin, hide

VN stems also regularly show lexicalization, as in (73).

- (73) ʔɪllpéneʔ 'He believed it without a doubt.'  
//yɪl-VC-p-eneʔ// poke-OUT-OF-CONTROL-INCHOATIVE-ear

Like VN stems, MN stems may take transitive morphology to allow an additional argument. Compare (74) and (75).

- (74) píxšn 'He's shoeless, he has bare feet.'  
//pɪx-šin// bare, uncovered-foot
- (75) píxšɪsc 'He removed the shoes from a person's feet.'  
//pɪx-šin-st-es// bare, uncovered-foot-TRANS-3 SG SUBJ

### 3. Lexical Affix Development.

3.1. Overview. Evidence suggests that LS's developed from right members of compounds and LP's from left members. Functionally, compounding and lexical affixation, as sketched above, are parallel processes; MN and VN complexes are the usual outcome of both. LA stems are more closely knit than compounds, often showing lexicalization and regular transitivization, but this seems to be a predictable further development. Furthermore, some LA's show a connection to root morphemes. The remaining sections present examples of this relationship.

3.3. Root and Lexical Suffix Relationships. Typical roots in Spokane are CV(C). Nearly all LA's are suffixes and most begin with a vowel. Some of these developed as a result of regular compounding from right members which combined a strong, and thus stressed root, and lexical suffix(es). The strong root-LS complex lost the initial root consonant and the remainder was treated as a suffix unit.<sup>12</sup> Neither s-NOM or -i- CONNECTIVE were incorporated into the suffix. The following pair is related this way.

- (76) čéneʔ 'ear'  
/-eneʔ 'ear, surface'

The root is čen 'ear'. Both forms have /-eʔ, perhaps 'thing', a common, usually unstressed LS with limited lexical significance. It most frequently occurs as the final VC of other LS's. (77) shows another related pair.

- (77) stúlix" 'ground, dirt, earth' (s-NOM)  
/-ulix" 'ground, dirt, earth' (also: /-uleʔx", /-ulmx")<sup>13</sup>

The root is čul, perhaps 'dirt(y)', which occurs elsewhere in stúlcéʔ 'female mule deer' (with /-lčéʔ 'hide, skin'). Both forms have /-ix" 'person' (// -mix"//).

It is proposed, then, that regular compounding of čéneʔ and stúlix" led to /-eneʔ and /-ulix". /-eneʔ has subsequently broadened its meaning to include 'surface'. (78) shows a pair that suggests a similar development.

- (78) sqélix" 'person' (s-NOM)  
/-elix" 'person'

The root is qel 'body, form'. /-ix" is 'person' as above.

Although the exact parallelism of the forms in (76-78) is not present, the pair in (79) suggests a similar development.

- (79) sícm 'blanket' (-m MIDDLE VOICE)  
/lčéʔ 'skin, hide'

The root síč occurs in no other forms. /-eʔ is 'thing'.

A variation of this development pattern is reflected in LS's that developed from weak root-LS complexes. By regular rule, stress appears on a lexical suffix rather than a weak root and the root vowel is typically deleted. Examples of LS's developed from this type of base show that they lost the initial consonant of the root, as above, and incorporated the compounding element -i- CONNECTIVE.<sup>14</sup> (80) shows a pair related this way.

- (80) tčéy 'urinate'  
/-tčéy 'urine'

The root tč does not occur in other forms. /-eý (also, as in (81), /-eýt) is ubiquitous, but has an elusive meaning. (81) shows a suffix that might have developed this way and its related root.

- (81) táqt 'It's wide.' (-t DURATIVE)  
/-tčéy't 'shoulder'

-i- CONNECTIVE and the initial root consonant may have merged.

There are two further cases where it appears that a root has become a LS through loss of an initial consonant. (82) shows a suffix related to the (weak) root wey 'sick'. (83) shows a suffix related to the (strong) root sewt, perhaps 'travel'.

- (82) wéyt 'He's sick.' (-t DURATIVE)  
/-eý 'sickness' (also: /-eý, /-eýt)  
(83) séwtk" 'water' (/ -k" 'water', also: /-etk")  
/-ewt, /-ewl 'conveyance, boat'

Following a different pattern, some lexical suffixes developed from right members containing roots by preposing a vowel before -i- CONNECTIVE or s- NOM. Thus modified, the right member was

treated as a suffix unit. Examples follow, each showing a lexical suffix of this type and a possible related root. Both strong [s] and weak [w] roots are involved in this pattern.<sup>15</sup>

- (84) /-eslk" 'wood luk" [s] 'stick of wood'  
(85) /-asqt 'day, sky' qt [w] 'mark, indicate'  
(86) /-aqt"t, /-asqt"t 'throat, collarbone' q"el [č] <sup>16</sup> 'talk'  
(87) /-esčitʔ perhaps 'throat' čit [č] 'get close'  
(88) /-esčnʔ? čn, čnx" [w] 'hold on to'  
(89) /-asqí 'roaster' qwl [w] 'roast'  
(90) /-esšn 'knobbed object, rounded object, berry, fruit, rock, forehead' sšénš 'stone' (s- NOM)  
(91) /-ek"l 'eggs' k"ul [s] 'make, do'  
(92) /-epi 'buttock' pi [w] 'thick'

In a third pattern, suffixes developed from right members with no root consonant loss or vowel addition. Few examples exist. Two are given below with their possible related roots. The semantic distance, particularly in (94), is great.

- (93) /-cin 'mouth, food, words, language, edge, shore' cn [w] 'hum, speak softly'  
(94) /-tn INSTRUMENT<sup>17</sup> ('thing for') tel [s] 'placed (as for storage or safekeeping)'

3.3. Root and Lexical Prefix Relationships. More difficult to account for are LP's. It is proposed that the small set of LP's developed from the roots in left members of compounds. Three, <sup>18</sup> /epi- 'have', /mñ- 'between the legs' (cf. 54), and /puʔ- 'spouse' (cf. 66), cannot be traced to roots. One, /sm- 'poor little', may be related to ʔem 'unsuccessfully', a preposed modal particle. /nk"i- 'together with, as one' is related to the root nk"uʔ 'one'. (95) gives an example.

- (95) snk"ik"úli 'marriage partner' (k"úli 'born, created')

//s-nk"i-k"uI-VC// NOM-together with-make, do-OUT-OF-CONTROL  
/nk"i- was formed from nk"uʔ with segment loss and incorporation of -i- CONNECTIVE.

Several commonly used roots were on the way to becoming LP's when the language was still viable. k"en 'try, choose', as in (6), has a specialized meaning 'go after' in compounds. Its shape there is k"i because of regular unstressed vowel loss and development of n to i before s-NOM (see Carlson 1976). Also, ʔewet 'sneak up on', as in (17), has become ʔew 'go after' in compounds. tiʔx" 'get' (with -ʔ- RESULTATIVE) occurs almost exclusively in compounds. For examples see (12) and (13).

Finally, sx"- AGENT ('one who') has developed from sux" 'know'. Like -tn INSTRUMENT ('thing for'), as in (94), its meaning and function make it a general derivational affix rather than a lexical affix.

4. Conclusion. Out of around 100 lexical affixes, about two dozen can be connected to roots. Many more could be related if data from other Salish languages were utilized. It is instructive, however, to look just at internal evidence, because it shows stages in the history of lexical affixation. Roots like tix" 'get' are used regularly in compounds, but are not yet bound. Suffixes, like /-esšn 'knobbed object.', show a connection to related root forms (here sšénš 'stone'), but have become formally bound and developed independent meanings. Most lexical affixes show no connection with existing roots, indicating great distance between their use in compounds and their current role as lexical affixes.

The development of lexical affixes in Spokane seems normal and expected. Regular use within compound words made roots in these constructions lose their independence and influenced a change in shape. Once formally separated, meanings of source roots and their related, but now bound forms developed independently. Eventually the distance was so great that the connection was not recoverable. Viewed this way, lexical affixation is just the inevitable end point of the compounding process.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>This paper has benefitted from detailed comments by M. Dale Kinkade. References to Kinkade in footnotes stem from these comments. The author's research with Spokane is supported by the Alex Sherwood-Mary Owhi Moses Language Trust. The alphabet is: ʔ a c č ċ e h i (k) k" k" l ɿ ɿ̃ ʁ m n ñ o p p̃ q q̃ q" r r̃ s š t ʈ u w ʰ x" ʰ̃ ỹ ỹ̃ ʎ ʎ" ʎ̃ ʎ̃̃.

<sup>2</sup>Transitive morphology, obligatory in non-compound paraphrases, is never present.

<sup>3</sup>Example (18) below shows that -ɿ- also does not occur if the nominal begins in a root with s as C<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup>Kinkade has suggested that the root here may be related to Colville ʁq- 'pocket, sack' and possibly Columbian ʁáq- 'weave'.

<sup>5</sup>Stress is exceptionally on the left member.

<sup>6</sup>As Lieber states (1983: 254), these are language particular conventions.

<sup>7</sup>Kinkade notes that certain compounds, like (29) and (23) above, can be interpreted as either VN or MN.

<sup>8</sup>ʁíáʁ"ítús 'button' (//č-laʁ"-e-nt-us// to(ward)-fit together-REPETITIVE (infix)-TRANS-eye, face) is a rare example showing a LA outside inflectional morphology.

<sup>9</sup>The terms VN stem and, below, MN stem, are meant to include LA stems with a lexical prefix like /m̃- 'between the legs' or /puʔ- 'spouse'.

<sup>10</sup>See note 9.

<sup>11</sup>OUT-OF-CONTROL (-VC<sub>2</sub>) reduplication is exceptionally operating on the lexical suffix rather than the root (cf. Carlson and Thompson 1982).

<sup>12</sup>There is no canonical requirement for a suffix to begin with a vowel.

<sup>13</sup>The most common form of the 'ground' suffix is /-uleʔx". Kinkade suggests that all three shapes have developed from Proto-Salish \*-ulm̃x" (and perhaps \*-ulmx").

<sup>14</sup>No examples of this type show incorporation of s-NOM.

<sup>15</sup>Kinkade has correctly pointed out that of examples (84-94) only a few look particularly convincing because the semantics of many of the suffixes and roots show no obvious relationship.

<sup>16</sup>Roots that act variably [s] and [w] are marked [v].

<sup>17</sup>-tn has a more general meaning than most other lexical suffixes.

<sup>18</sup>/m̃-, /puʔ, and perhaps other LP's may have come from (now unattested) patterns like NV and NM.

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