

On the Position of the Nominalizer in Squamish¹

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I. Introduction: Nominalization in Squamish

Squamish has a grammatical morpheme *s-* which turns a root or a stem into a nominal stem. The resulting stem is nominal in that it can appear with an 'identificatory clitic' (=article) or a demonstrative, and possessive affixes².

- (1)
- a) \underline{s} -p'úλ'am 'smoke' (< p'úλ'am 'smoke: INTR') (A:80)
- b) k^w i=?n- \underline{s} -λ'iq (A:133)
a=1SG-NOM-arrive
'that I arrive, my arriving' (< λ'iq 'arrive')

Nominalization in Squamish is pervasive. It can take a variety of forms as input: not only roots, as in (1), but also derived (intransitivized or transitivized) stems and predicative stems.

- (2)
- a) *Derived stems* (A:80)
 \underline{s} -pəh-lm? 'wind' (< pəh-lm?: -lm? INTRANSITIVIZER 'to blow (wind)')
 \underline{s} -čəš-n 'messenger' (< čəš-n: -n TRANSITIVIZER 'send; TR')
- b) *Predicative stems* (A:135)
ʔn- \underline{s} -na=mn=huyá? : -na, =mn PREDICATIVE CLITICS³
1SG-NOM-PRED=PRED=leave
'then I left'

Formally, the nominalization of lexical stems (roots and derived stems) and that of predicative stems cannot be distinguished: it turns a base into a grammatical noun by attaching the nominalizer *s-*. However, the stems resulting from these two types of nominalization show different semantic and functional characteristics. This can be illustrated by the following examples.

- (3) (A: 324)
- a) na=wllq^wtcaswit q=stám-as k^w i=na=wa⁴=n-s-c'ic'áp'
PRED=ask-me-they IRREAL=what-it a=PRED=PRED=1SG-NOM-work
'(lit.) they asked me what it was, that which was being my work.'
'They asked me what kind of work I was doing.'

cf. na=wa=n- \underline{s} -c'ic'áp': 'that which was being my work (job)'

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Marianne Mithun and Dr. M. Dale Kinkade for their comments on the earlier version of this paper. All the data on Squamish came from Kuipers 1967, 1969. The source of the data is indicated by the section number in Kuipers' volumes. The two books are distinguished with the alphabet preceding the section number: *A* refers to Kuipers (1967) and *B* refers to Kuipers (1969).

² Nominalized transitive verb stems take the verbal subject markers in addition to the possessives. Thus, in nominalized transitive stems the subject is doubly marked.

³ The predicative clitic *na-* has the function of positing the fact by pinpointing it in space and time (A: 225).

mn- cannot be given a good English counterpart. (A:237)

⁴ *wa-*: ITERATIVE, CONTINUATIVE (A: 221, 228)

- b) č-n=wa=?əsnát k^w i=n-s-na=wa=c'ic'áp'
PRED-1SG=PRED=nocturnal a=1SG-NOM=PRED=PRED=work
'(lit.) I am nocturnal in the matter of my being at work.'
'I work at night.'

cf. n- \underline{s} -na=wa=c'ic'áp': 'my being at work, working'

The final words in these examples contain the same set of morphemes, but the meanings are different. In (3a), where the nominalizer *s-* has scope only over the root *c'ic'ap'*, the nominalized form refers to the concrete object-like concept, i.e., 'work, job'. On the other hand, in (3b), where the predicative clitics *na-* and *wa-* are inside the scope of the nominalizer, the nominalized complex refers to the action of working as a whole. Apparently the way stems are nominalized carries important semantic information, and the relative location of the nominalizer seems to be one of the relevant variants. In this paper, I will examine the semantic and pragmatic properties associated with alternative positions of the nominalizer relative to the predicative clitics, and explore a functional explanation for the association.

I distinguish two nominalization types: INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION and EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION. In INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION (see 3a), the nominalizer is attached to lexical roots or stems, while in EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION (see 3b), it is attached to predicates which contain predicative clitics as well as lexical stems.

II. Data

1. Semantics

The semantic patterns observed in (3a) and (3b) can be seen in other forms in the Kuipers material: INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION implies concrete object-like concepts, while EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION implies facts.

INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION

Forms in (4) are used to refer to the objects rather than expressing the fact or event of borrowing or stealing (B: 324-327).

- (4) (B: 324-327)
- a) \underline{s} -k^wúλn
NOM-borrow
'borrowed object'
- b) ʔn- \underline{s} -qán?
1SG-NOM-steal
'what I stole'

The same can be said for (5) and (6): the nominals in (5) and (6) refer to the 'victim of my killing' and the 'fish caught (my catch)', respectively, rather than the fact of my killing or of my catching the fish.

- (5) na=n- \underline{s} -k^wáyucmíx^w (A: 325)
PRED=1SG-NOM-murder
'I killed him; he is my victim.'
- (6) qəχ ta=n- \underline{s} -q^wúy.nəx^w (A: 326; B:324-327)
many the=1SG=NOM-have.caught.(fish)
'I have caught a lot; My catch is plenty.'

In (7) (see below), the speaker is focusing on the physical damage left by the event of getting hit, rather than the event itself.

- (7) na=?ánča kʷi=na=?ə-s-c'áh (A: 325)
 PRED=be.at.which a=PRED-2SG-NOM-hit
 'Where (on what part of the body) did you get hit?'

The nominal in (8) refers to a manner of an action and not to the events of 'your telling me'.

- (8) č-n=táqʷan tímʷá kʷi=na=?ə-s-? (sʷnʷ-t-c-axʷ (B: 324-327)
 PRED-1SG=drink be.like a=PRED-2SG-NOM-teach-TRANSITIVIZER-1SG-2SG
 'I drank as you had shown me to.'

EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION

Unlike INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION, nominalized stems which have undergone EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION refer to the event or state as a whole.

- (10) háʔλ kʷi=n-s-na=táʔlʷ-nəxʷ-an tí (A: 278)
 good a=1SG-NOM-PRED=learn-TRANS-1SG this
 'lit. (It is) good my having found this out.'
 'I'm glad to have found this out.'
- (11) na=cút-wit kʷi=n-s-na=sáyʔiʔn (A: 278)
 PRED=say-3PL a=1SG-NOM-PRED=be.audible
 'They said that they heard me (lit. my being audible).'
- (12) č-n=kʷáč.nəx kʷi=s-i-s⁵=mi=kákaw (A: 278)
 PRED-1SG=see-TRANS a=NOM-PRED-3SG=come=descend
 'I saw him coming down'
- (13) n=əw=mn=tímʷá kʷi=s-i-s=yʷlqʷ kʷa=Pita (A: 278)
 PRED=INTERR=PRED=be.like a=NOM-PRED-3SG=be.arrested the=Peter
 'Is it true that Peter was arrested?'
- (14) na=λʔiʔ kʷi=s-i-s=wa=yáʔlʷ (A: 279)
 PRED=stop a=NOM-PRED-3SG=PRED=write
 'lit. it stopped, his being busy writing'
 'He stopped writing.'
- (15) na=txʷnčəʔámʷ kʷi=s-hínʷ-s kʷi=s-na=wa=náʔ (A: 282)
 PRED=be.how.much a=NOM-be.a.long.time-3SG a=NOM-PRED=PRED=be.there
 'lit. how (much) was it as regards its being long, his being there (=absent)'
 'How long was he gone?'

Although examples of EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION do occur, they are limited in number and in the type of predicative clitics which the nominal complex can contain. The limitation on predicative clitics can be accounted for by the nature of nominalization as a process for changing more verb-like concepts into noun-like ones. In Kuipers' examples externally nominalized complexes contain predicative clitics which concretize events, such as the factual na-, or stativize events, such as the continuative wa-. This skewing would be predicted from the fact

⁵ s-i-s = s-na-s

that nouns prototypically denote entities or states which have stable continuity over time (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1984): both na- and wa- are compatible with the features of 'noun-ness'.

Summary of semantics

As we have seen above, INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION is associated with more concrete 'object-like' concepts, while EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION is associated with more factual concepts. This semantic difference reflects the scope difference between INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION and EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION. In INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION, the only element contained within the scope of the nominalizer is a basic lexical stem. This explains why INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION tends to express specific concepts, like objects or entities. On the other hand, EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION contains a lexical stem and predicative clitics, i.e., reference to events or states, and thus the nominalized words refer to facts as wholes, not simply the participants or objects.

2. Syntactic Function

INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION and EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION also differ in the syntactic functions they serve. The syntactic function of stems derived through INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION is intra-clausal. By contrast, nominal stems built by EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION can serve inter-clausal functions. In (16), nominalized stems express the background context, i.e., time, reason, etc., for the main part of the sentences. This function of EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION seems to be comparable to that of English subordination.

- (16)
 a) (A: text IV-30a)
 kʷi=s-i-s=kʷ6=xʷákʷi-wit
 a=NOM-PRED-3SG=PRED=get.drink-3PL
 na=cút-wit kʷi=s-i-s=šic'áncut ʔiʔxʷ
 PRED=think-3PL a=NOM-PRED-3SG=circle.around all
 'When they got drunk they thought that everything was spinning around.'
- b) (A: text V-9)
 háʔλ kʷi=(?ə-)s-namʷ=č'áwat-c-axʷ kʷi=s-náʔ-xʷ7-s wa-kʷás
 good a=2SG-NOM-go=help-1SG-2SG a=NOM-be.there-PRED-3SG PRED-be.warm
 n!λ kʷi=s-wi8-s=ʔáʔxʷa kʷi=s-náʔ-xʷ-s
 itis a=NOM-PRED-3SG=light a=NOM-be.there-PRED-3SG
 'It would be good if you came and helped while it [bear] is still warm, because it is easy to carry when it is still warm.'
- c) (A: 279)
 na=wa=t'áyaq' kʷi=n-s-na=wa=n!čim
 PRED=PRED=get.angry a=1SG-NOM-PRED=PRED=talk
 'lit. they get angry with regard to my talking'
 'They get angry because I talk.'

⁶ kʷ: 'now, then, already' (A: 221, 227)

⁷ xʷ-: 'still, yet (as previously)' (A: 221, 241)

⁸ wi = wa

EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION is also used in building up the narrative line.

- (17) (A: text V: 5)
 čət=mn=λáʔn, čət=mn=námʔ=č'ímí,
 PRED=1PL=PRED=approach PRED=PRED=go=approach
 ʔn-s-na=mn=kʷúm, ʔn-s-na=mn=námʔ=λ'íčít-an.
 1SG-NOM-PRED=PRED=go.ashore 1SG-NOM-PRED=PRED=go=stalk-1SG
 'We approached and went up close, then I went ashore and sneaked up on it.'

The difference illustrated here reflects the difference in functional domain. Nominalization is a concept formation process which helps in packaging fragmentary information into a unitary concept. Although this basic function is the same across the different types of nominalization, the domain of the function is different between INTERNAL and EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION. INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION is a 'thing'-level process, used to form and organize 'thing'-level concepts. The way 'thing'-level concepts are organized is important only within one event or state, and it does not have any relevance to concept organization in other events or states. On the other hand, EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION manipulates 'fact'-level concepts, and has relevance in how facts, which are expressed in the form of clauses, are organized.

3. Lexicalization

The difference between the two nominalization types can also be observed in a difference in susceptibility to lexicalization. In INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION, we can find many examples of lexicalization.

- (18) (A: 80)
 s-yáC-m 'news' (< yáC-m 'to tell')
 s-níčím 'speech, word, language' (< níčím 'speak; INTR')
 s-t'lq'ímʔ 'breast' (< t'lq'ímʔ 'nurse, take the breast')
 s-čáš-n 'messenger' (< čáš-n 'send; TR')
 s-taq'w 'water' (< taq'w 'to drink')
 s-naʔ 'name' (< naʔ 'to call')
 s-λ'íʔ 'desire, thing wanted' (< λ'íʔ 'be dear')

There are also examples of more advanced lexicalization, where the nominalized stems have acquired totally independent status in the lexicon through loss of their unmarked counterpart: smítC 'meat', sλíq'w 'flesh', sč'əlq'w's 'slingshot', sqalχ 'stick for digging clams', stawʔxʷλ 'child', swíʔqa 'man' (all examples are from A: 80), etc.

In EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION, on the contrary, lexicalization is totally absent. This difference in susceptibility to lexicalization reflects the difference in closeness between the nominalizer and the root. In INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION, where the nominalizer is close to the stem in terms of physical location and of 'relevance'⁹, there is better chance for the nominalized stem to have a specialized meaning and to acquire independent lexical status. However, in EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION, the relation between the nominalizer and the root is indirect. The two elements are separated by other elements and the semantic effect of the nominalizer on the root is minimal. Thus, there is less motivation in EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION for lexicalization involving the nominalizer and the root. As for lexicalization which involves the whole nominalized stem, it is also very unlikely. Unlike INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION which expresses more object-like concepts, EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION designates event-like concepts, which are less likely to recur in language use and therefore less

⁹ 'Relevance' in the sense defined by Bybee (1985): 'A meaning element is relevant to another meaning element if the semantic content of the first directly affects or modifies the semantic content of the second.' (p.13; emphasis original)

nameworthy. Thus, it is not unnatural at all that we find no examples of lexicalization of the whole stem of EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION.

III. Conclusion

Nominalization is a device for information packaging or unitary-concept formation. Our cognitive ability to form a unitary concept out of a collection of fragmentary information plays a very important role in our understanding of what is happening in the world. By packaging bits and pieces of information into a unitary concept, we can think about it, characterize it, deal with it or put it in some relation to other such concepts as if the collection of information is a single entity. Thus, the function of nominalization is to put a portion of the reality into a cognitively manipulable form.

In Squamish, nominalization is accomplished formally by attaching the nominalizer s- to a stem to be nominalized. As far as the form of nominalization is concerned, little distinction is made between the nominalization of lexical stems (INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION) and that of predicative stems (EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION). But these two show consistent differences in their semantics, syntactic functions and lexicalization. As we saw above, these differences are reflections of the difference in scope, the nature of the concept expressed, the semantic effect of the nominalizer on the nominalized stem (= 'relevance'), and the physical distance between the nominalizer and the root. Interestingly, the differences observed between INTERNAL and EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION resemble those between nominalization through derivation (19a) and syntactic nominal clause formation (19b) in English. In this sense INTERNAL NOMINALIZATION is a prototypical morphological process and EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION is a more syntactic and less morphological process.

- (19)
 a) government < govern
 b) that I am writing a paper < I am writing a paper

The differences observed between INTERNAL and EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATION in Squamish are consistent and well-motivated. The limitation in number of EXTERNAL NOMINALIZATIONS suggests that the internal/external distinction in nominalization may not be fully productive synchronically in the sense that the speaker may not take advantage of the alternatives. Nonetheless, this systematic differentiation should be considered as a part of the grammar of Squamish; it is (or was) one of internal functional forces shaping the appearance of the grammar.

The regular difference associated with the relative position of the nominalizer in the nominalized complex has important implications for the study of the morphological structure of human languages in general. Very interestingly, our observations about the alternative ordering of the nominalizer find comparison in what Bybee (1985) says about the order of elements in verbal morphology. According to Bybee, the order of elements correlates with the degree of semantic effect of the element on the base (RELEVANCE PRINCIPLE) and with the degree of semantic generality of the element: the more semantic effect it has on the base and the more specific (less general) meaning it has, the closer the element is put in relation to the base. Although Bybee's principles are intended for the synchronic static order of elements in the morphological complex, they fit the facts about alternative ordering, either through diachrony or in synchronic grammar, of the morpheme in the complex. The relative position of an element is not free from 'functional pressure', and this pressure shapes the way the morphological complex is built up through time and at the moment of speaking.

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