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POSITIONAL PREFIXES AND VARIANT PREFIX ORDER IN MOSES-COLUMBIAN SALISH

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1. Background. Moses-Columbian Salish has several categories of prefixes, including at least the following: aspectual, directional, positional, a nominalizer, three used for counting, and a couple of miscellaneous ones. First and second person singular possessive morphemes have usually been treated as prefixes by Salishanists, but there is good evidence in Moses-Columbian (as well as elsewhere in Salish) that these are proclitics rather than prefixes. I will be concerned here only with the positional and nominalizing prefixes (and marginally with directional prefixes).

What I am calling positionals are usually labelled locative in Salish, and with good reason. However, Moses-Columbian has what I call cislocative ('this way') and translocative ('that way') prefixes, and using these two traditional labels impels me to avoid locative as the label for a set of seven prefixes that indicate position in relation to something. I will class the cislocative and translocative prefixes as directionals, following Reichard (1938:597) and Mattina (1973:67), although the contents of Mattina's categories differ significantly from mine. The categories POSITIONAL and DIRECTIONAL differ markedly in how they are used. Positionals are purely derivational, and are used for creating new stems. Directionals are more nearly inflectional.

The cislocative prefix is *c-*, and is homonymous with one variant of the stative aspect prefix *ʔac-/c-*. The translocative prefix has two variants, *ʔal-* and *l-*. I mention these here because of the morphophonemics involved in the selection of one of these variants; they are the same for *ʔal-/l-*, *ʔac-/c-*, *sac-/sc-* (another aspectual prefix), and *na-/n-* (one of the positional prefixes discussed below). In all these pairs, the form with a vowel occurs only when the prefix immediately precedes the root, and the stressed vowel of the word follows the first root consonant — that is preceding √CVX. Thus *ʔal-* occurs with the root *náχ"t* 'go, walk' in *ʔalnáχ"t* 'he went home', *c-* appears with it in *cnáχ"t* 'come', and both occur together as *lcnáχ"t* 'he came back', where the extra consonant between the prefix and the root result in vowel deletion in *ʔal-*. To complete the picture, Moses-Columbian has a third directional prefix, *yap-* 'on the way', illustrated in (1) along with contrasting forms without it.[1]

1a.	**yap-k"án-ks-n**	**k"án-n**
	DIR-take-hand-1SG.SUBJ	take-1SG.SUBJ
	'I grabbed him by the hand/arm (as he was going by)' JM	'I grabbed it, I held it, I took it' JM,MM,EP

[1] Abbreviations used are 1SG.OBJ = first person singular object; 1SG.SUBJ = first person singular subject; 2SG.SUBJ = second person singular subject; 3POSS = third person possessive; 3SUBJ = third person subject; APPL = applicative; AUT = autonomous; CAUS = causative; CHAR = characteristic reduplication; CIS = cislocative; DIMIN = diminutive; DIR = directional; DISTR = distributive plural; EMPH = emphatic; FUT = future; IMPER = imperative; IMPF = imperfective aspect; INCH = inchoative; INST = instrument; MDL = middle voice; NOM = nominalizer; O.C.= out-of-control; POS = positional; REFL = reflexive; REL = relational; RSLT = resultative; SG = singular; ST = stative aspect; TR = transitive; TRLOC = translocative; UNR = unrealized aspect; an equals sign precedes lexical suffixes; a bullet (•) indicates reduplication; square brackets in examples indicate infixed material. Suffixed subjects are transitive; intransitive subjects are clitics. Third person intransitive subject and third person object are zero; plurality of third person is indicated by an additional particle which does not occur in these data. Speakers are identified by their initials only.

1b. na? c-**yap**-ʔiɬn — kn ʔiɬn
FUT CIS-DIR-eat — 1SG.SUBJ eat
'he'll eat on his way (toward me)' — 'I ate' MM

Example (1b) has the cislocative prefix preceding *yap-*. Additional examples of directionals can be seen in examples (41) and (70) through (74) below.

2. Positional Prefixes. Both the positional prefixes and the nominalizer *s-* occur very frequently in Moses-Columbian, are very productive, and are among the most important word-building devices for creating new vocabulary. The set of Moses-Columbian positional prefixes is listed in (2).

2. k- 'on or against something vertical'
kat- 'on a flat surface, over'
kɬ- 'on the lower side of, on the surface'
k'ɬ- 'away from, to or at a distance'
na-/n- 'into, onto'
ni?- 'among'
t- 'attached to, cover'

All these are productive and it is possible to use them to make up forms to which speakers seem to have no trouble assigning meanings. A set of examples so created is in (3).[2]

3. **k**-p'əq^{w}•q^{w}-ána? k^{w}
POS-spill.dry.substance•O.C.-ear 2SG.SUBJ
'Did it spill on you?' MM

kat-p'áq^{w}-n
POS-spill.dry.substance-1SG.SUBJ
'I spilled powder on a flat surface' MM

kɬ-p'áq^{w}-n
POS-spill.dry.substance-1SG.SUBJ
'I threw powder under it (a bush, plant, bed, etc.)' MM

na-p'áq^{w}-n
POS-spill.dry.substance-1SG.SUBJ
'I poured it into something' MM

ni?-p'áq^{w}-n
POS-spill.dry.substance-1SG.SUBJ
'I spilled it into a bush or weeds' MM

[2] All positional prefixes will be labelled POS regardless of specific form and meaning.

Of these prefixes, *t-* has the most imprecise meaning, followed by *k-* — that is, the positional meanings of these two prefixes as given in (2) is often less obvious than for the others of the set. *n(a)-* is the most common, and has extended its meaning to 'water' (as something that an object is often put in). Two examples of the use of each prefix are given in (4) through (10), with contrasting examples without the prefix. In each pair of examples, the first uses a strong root (one with an inherently stressed vowel), and the second uses a weak root (one with no vowel or with an unstressed schwa; when there is no suffix to bear stress, these appear with a stressed schwa; 7b is exceptional).

4a. **k**-t'úc•c-p — t'úc•c
POS-put.down•O.C.-base — put.down•O.C.
'junk or small things lodged or hung up along the shore' JM — 'fall down, fall over' JM,EP

t'úc-n
put.down-1SG.SUBJ
'I put it down, I laid it down (sg. object)' JM,EP

4b. **k**-tq-íkn-tn — téq-n
POS-touch-back-INST — touch-1SG.SUBJ
'trigger, brake' JM — 'I touched it' JM

5a. **kat**-k'ís-na?-n — k'ís-n
POS-pile.branches-ear-1SG.SUBJ — pile.branches-1SG.SUBJ
'I covered it with branches' JM — 'I piled up limb-wood or brush' JM

5b. **kat**-k^{w}ə'-qín-n — k^{w}ə́k'-p
POS-take.off-head-1SG.SUBJ — take.off-INCH
'I uncovered it, I took the lid off' JM — 'something comes off (like a nut from a bolt)' JM

6a. **kɬ**-k^{w}íy-ɾx — k^{w}íy
POS-maroon-skin,hide — 'maroon, a color darker than purple' JM
'a dark sorrel or chestnut sorrel horse' JM,MG

6b. **kɬ**-ḥc-ánk-tn — ḥác-n
POS-tie-belly-INST — tie-1SG.SUBJ
'latigo' JM — 'I tied it' JM

7a. k'ɬ-ʔúk^{w}-n — ʔúk^{w}-n
POS-haul-1SG.SUBJ — haul-1SG.SUBJ
'I relayed it, I relieved him (over a distance)' JM — 'I helped him move, I hauled it' JM

7b. **k'ɬ-ʃ•ʃkʷút**
POS-DIMIN•far (with DIMIN glottalization of *l*'s)
'a little further away, aside' JM,EP

lkʷút
'far, long way' JM,EP,MS,JS

8a. **s-na-púlx-tn**
NOM-POS-spend.night-INST
'hotel, motel' JM

kn púlx
1SG.SUBJ spend.night
'I spent the night' JM

8b. **n-txʷ•txʷ=aɬníwt-n**
POS-DISTR•attach=side-1SG.SUBJ
'I put pieces on both sides' JM

táxʷ-n
attach-1SG.SUBJ
'I added a piece to it' JM

9a. **ni?-c'ár=u?s-n**
POS-salt=middle-1SG.SUBJ
'I salted it (hay) down' JM

c'ár-n
salt-1SG.SUBJ
'I salted it' JM

c'ár-t
salt-STATE
'salt' JM,EP,JS,MG

9b. **ni?-kɬ=áp=qn**
POS-divide=base=head
'part one's hair (in the middle)' JM

kɬɬ-n
divide-1SG.SUBJ
'I parted it, I divided it' JM

10a. **t-k'íp'•əp'=u?s**
POS-pinch•O.C.=middle
'trap in the crotch of a tree' JM

k'íp'-n
pinch-1SG.SUBJ
'I clamped it, I pinched it' JM

10b. **t-k'c'=ús-n**
POS-lay.pole.down=fire-1SG.SUBJ
'I put a pole or log on a fire' JM

k'ác'-n
lay.pole.down-1SG.SUBJ
'I laid down a pole' JM

In passing, I should note that this large number of positional prefixes is found in Salish only in some other Southern Interior languages, and that one of the important prefixes of this class found elsewhere in Salish (**x-*) does not occur in Columbian.

3. Co-occurrence of positional prefixes. Given the meanings of these prefixes, co-occurrence among them might not be expected. In fact, however, certain ones do occur together, and two combinations seem to be relatively common. Both involve *na-/n-*, which is one of the semantically most general of these prefixes; *t-* also has a broad range of meanings, and it too occurs in these combinations.

3.1. Co-ocurrence of *kɬ-* and *n(a)-*.[3] The most common combination is *kɬ-n(a)-*. The combination is actually a bit more complex, in that the lexical suffix *-ap* 'base' always occurs following the root preceded by *kɬ-n(a)-*; all these words refer to doors and gates (although not all words referring to doors and gates are created with this comples of affixes). Known stems of this type are listed in (11) through (24), along with other derivations of the stem and related words lacking one or both of the prefixes.

11. **kɬ-na-máɬʷ-p-s**
POS-POS-smash-base-3SUBJ
'he broke the door in' JM

máɬʷ-n
smash-1SG.SUBJ
'I broke it, I smashed it' JM

12. **kɬ-na-t'úc-p**
POS-POS-put.down-base
'put something over a hole' MG

na-t'úc-n
POS-put.down-1SG.SUBJ
'I put it inside something' JM,EP

t'úc-n
put.down-1SG.SUBJ
'I put it down' JM,EP

13. **kɬ-n-cuw'-áp-m**
POS-POS-punch-base-MDL
'knock on the door' JM

cúw'-n
punch-1SG.SUBJ
'I hit it with my fist, I punched it' JM

14. **kɬ-n-im-áp-tn**
POS-POS-pin-base-INST
'rail across a gate' JM

n-im-áp
POS-pin-base
'rail across a gate' JM

kɬ-n-im-áp-n
POS-POS-pin-base-1SG.SUBJ
'I barred the door (from the inside)' JM

yə́m-n
pin-1SG.SUBJ
'I pinned it' MM,EP

15. **kɬ-n-k'ah-áp•əp**
POS-POS-open-base•O.C.
'the door opened by itself' JM,EP

k'ah-ús-n
open-face-1SG.SUBJ
'I lifted the cover off his face' MM

t'íl' c-kɬ-n-k'h-áp
EMPH ST-POS-POS-open=base
'it's open' MM

16. **kɬ-n-k'əm-áp**
POS-POS-surface-base
'door, doorway' JM,EP,MG

s-k'əm-cn-áɬxʷ
NOM-surface-mouth-house
'doorway' JM

[3] I will hereafter write the *na-/n-* alternation as *n(a)-*.

		s-k'əm=cín NOM-surface=mouth 'mouth, lips' JM,EP,JC,JS
17.	**kɬ-n-kʷʔ=áp-n** POS-POS-take.off=base-1SG.SUBJ 'I unlocked it, I opened it' JM	kʷʔ-p take.off-INCH 'something comes off (like a nut from a bolt)' JM
	kɬ-n-kʷʔ-p=áp POS-POS-take.off-INCH=base 'the latch opened by itself' JM	
18.	**kɬ-n-qʷs=áp-tn** POS-POS-blurry=base-INST 'screendoor' JM	n-qʷs=ús-n POS-blurry=base-INST[4] 'window-screen, mosquito bar' JM
		qʷés 'blur, blurry, dim; cheesecloth' JM
19.	**kɬ-n-səl'-p=áp-tn** POS-POS-round-INCH=base-INST 'nut(s)' JM	sél 'round, a circle' JM,EP,MG,JS
20.	**kɬ-n-t'p=áp-tn** POS-POS-protrude=base-INST 'lock (on a door), a padlock' JM	t'áp-n protrude-1SG.SUBJ 'I laid a round rock on the ground' JM
	kɬ-n-t'p=áp-n POS-POS-protrude=base-1SG.SUBJ 'I padlocked it' JM,EP	
21.	**kɬ-n-xəm=áp-tn** POS-POS-long.objects.stick.out=base-INST 'rail gate, rails used for a gate' JM	xém-n long.objects.stick.out-1SG.SUBJ 'I stuck poles in the ground' JM
	c-kɬ-n-xəm=áp ST-POS-POS-long.objects.stick.out=base 'several rails on a gate' JM	

[4] The instrumental suffix *-tn* usually appears as *-n* following an *s*.

22.	**kɬ-n-xən'-áp-tn** POS-POS-lay.flat.thing.on=base-INST 'door' JM	**kɬ-xən'=áp-n** POS-lay.flat.thing.on=base-1SG.SUBJ 'I closed it (a door)' JM
	kɬ-n-xən'=áp-n POS-POS-lay.flat.thing.on=base-1SG.OBJ 'I closed the door, I closed the box (from the side)' JM	xén'-n lay.flat.thing.on-1SG.SUBJ 'I laid it flat on the ground' JM
23.	**kɬ-n-yəm=áp-n** POS-POS-pin=base-1SG.SUBJ 'I pinned it shut' MM	yém-n pin-1SG.SUBJ 'I pinned it' MM
24.	cníl **k'ɬ-n-ahkʷ=áp-s** he,she POS-POS-open=base-3SUBJ 'he opened it' (??) EP[5]	**kɬ-k'ahkʷ=áp** POS-open=base 'the door opened accidentally by itself' EP
	k'ɬ-n'-akʷ=áp-n POS-POS-open=base-1SG.SUBJ 'I opened a door, I lifted a flap' (??) EP	kat-k'ahkʷ=qín-n POS-open=head-1SG.SUBJ 'I raised the cover' JM
	kɬ-n-k'əm=áp s-n-k'ɬ-ahakʷ=áp•əp. POS-POS-surface=base IMPF-POS-POS-open=base-O.C. 'The door is opening.' (??) JM	

One additional example of the co-ocurrence of *kɬ-* and *n(a)-* was found, shown in (25).

25.	**kɬ-n-c'xʷ=áp-n ta? t sáwɬkʷ** POS-POS-spill=base-TR? IMPER ? water 'pour some water in (soak up the leather)' JM	c'éxʷ-n spill-1SG.SUBJ 'I emptied it, I spilled it (liquid)' JM,MS

This even has the same lexical suffix seen in (11) through (24), but there is no suggestion of doors or gates here. This shows that this prefix combination can be used more widely than might be presumed from the majority of examples.

3.2. Co-ocurrence of *n(a)-* and *k-*. The second largest set of co-occurring positional prefixes is those with *n(a)-* and *k-*. Some of these occur without *n(a)-*, with no apparent difference in meaning. These are given in (26) through (35).

[5] The first three forms of this set appear to show some errors by the speakers. The root should be *√k'ahkʷ-* in all cases. The third example has the prefixes metathesized as well. The first two examples have *k'ɬ-* instead of *kɬ-*; EP tended to merge these two prefixes into *k'ɬ-*.

26. **n-k-cək•k=álq^{w}**
POS-POS-hit•O.C.=long.object
'bump into a tree' JM

k-ck=əlq^{w}-mín-ct
POS-hit=long.object-REL-REFL
'bump into a tree' JM

k-cək•k-mín-n
POS-hit•O.C.-REL-1SG.SUBJ
'I bumped into someone' JM

cək-n
hit-1SG.SUBJ
'I hit it (by throwing)' JM,EP,MS,JC,JS

27. **n-k-c'ay'h=áw'a?s=xn**
POS-POS-?=middle=foot
'ladder' JM

k-c'ay'ah=áw's=xn
POS-?=middle=foot
'ladder' EP

28. **s-n-k-ɬc'=álq^{w}-tn**
NOM-POS-POS-hit,whip=long.object-INST
'telephone office, telephone booth' JM

k-ɬc'=álq^{w}-x-t-n
POS-hit,whip=long.object-APPL-TR-1SG.SUBJ
'I telephoned him' JM

ɬəc'-n
hit,whip-1SG.SUBJ
'I hit it (with a stick)' JM,MS

29. **s-n-k-ɬəq^{w}-mín-tn**
NOM-POS-POS-store-INST-INST
'clothesline' JM

k-ɬəq^{w}-mín-tn
POS-store-INST-INST
'clothesline' JM

ɬəq^{w}-n
store-1SG.SUBJ
'I stored it, I put it away, I cached it' JM,EP

30. **s-n-k-ɬx^{w}-p=áw's-tn**
NOM-POS-POS-hang.up-INCH=middle-INST
'clothesline' EP

n-k-ɬx^{w}-p=áw's-n
POS-POS-hang.up-INCH=middle-1SG.SUBJ
'I hung it on a rack' JM

s-n-k-ɬəx^{w}-p-mín
NOM-POS-POS-hang.up-INCH-INST
'a rack' JM

ɬx^{w}-p=áya?
hang.up-INCH=head
'clothes, shirt, dress' JM,EP,JS,JC

31. **n-k-n'áɬ-əm**
POS-POS-?-MDL
'valley near Alta lake' JM

32. **n-k-pa?xən=álus-n**
POS-POS-step=plural.objects-INST
'stirrup' JM

(s-)n-k-pa?xən=áw's-n
(NOM-)POS-POS-step=middle-INST
'stirrups, buggy step' JM,MG

pa?xán-m
step-MDL
'to step' JM,MS

33. **s-n-k-təq-mín-tn**
NOM-POS-POS-touch-INST-INST
'ink-pad' JM

s-k-téq-m
NOM-POS-touch-MDL
'put thumb-print on' JM

téq-n
touch-1SG.SUBJ
'I touched it' JM

34. **s-n-k-wə-lx=áw's-n**
NOM-POS-POS-talk-AUT=middle-INST
'telephone office, telephone booth' JM

k-wə-lx=áw's
POS-talk-AUT=middle
'telephone' JM

w•wáw-lx
DIMIN•talk-AUT
'speak, talk' JM,MM,EP,JS

35. **s-n-k-yəx=qín-tn**
NOM-POS-POS-?=head-INST
'name of a ridge north of Chelan at the ice cave' JM

I see no commonality of meaning that can be deduced for this combination. Several of these words refer to something elongated, although that aspect of their meaning is often included in the root or lexical suffix of the word.

3.3. Co-ocurrence of other positional prefixes. Other combinations of positional prefixes are rare. Two of the three types found, shown in (36) through (38), have *t-* as second member.

36. **s-n-t-k'íw-lx-tn**
NOM-POS-POS-climb-AUT-INST
'stairway, ladder' JM,EP

t-k'íw-lx
POS-climb-AUT
'climb, go upstairs' JM

37. s-n-t-χc'=álq^{w}-tn
NOM-POS-POS-chop=long.object-INST
'axe-mark on a tree' JM

s-t-χc'=álq^{w}
NOM-POS-chop=long.object
'a tree cut with an axe' JM

χəc'-n
chop-1SG.SUBJ
'I chopped it' EP

38. k-t-yáɬ'
POS-POS-gather
'group gathers, altogether' JM,JC

k-t-yaɬ'-m-íɬx
POS-POS-gather-MDL-?
'altogether' JM

yáɬ'
'altogether' JM

The third pair (shown in 39) combines *kat-* and *n(a)-*. (The final *t* of *kat-* is regularly lost before coronal consonants.)

39. ka-n-miy=qí-mx[6]
POS-POS-middle=head-IMPF
'feast, noon meal' JM,EP

miy=qín
middle=head
'dinner, noon meal' JM,EP,MG

4. Nominalizer. The nominalizing prefix in Moses-Columbian is *s-*, as it is in nearly all other Salishan languages.[7] It is usually the first morpheme of a word (following first and second person singular possessive proclitics, of course). It seldom co-occurs with a directional prefix (which it then precedes; but see the second form in 41), although it is commonly found before positional prefixes. A few examples are given in (40) through (49), and additional examples can be found elsewhere in this paper.

40. s-w'aɾ'ák'=xn'
NOM-frog=foot (with DIMIN glottalization of *w* and *r*)
'small frog' JM

wárk
'frog' JM,EP,MG

41. s-c-x?-án-m
NOM-CIS-here-?-MDL
'this way' JM

[6] When stressed, the lexical suffixes *=qín* 'head' and *=cin* 'mouth' optionally combine with *-m(i)x* 'imperfective' or *=m(i)x* 'people' as *=qí-mx* and *=cí-mx* or as *=qín-ax^{w}* and *=cín-ax^{w}*.

[7] Comox-Sliammon is the exception, since it lacks any prefixes at all.

l-s-c-x?-ít
TRLOC-NOM-CIS-here-?
'the first time' JM

?íxa?
'here!, this' JM,MM,MG,JC

42. s-k-wáx=cn=əx^{w}
NOM-POS-reside=mouth=people
'Moses band of the Moses-Columbia' EP,MG

?ac-wáx
ST-reside
'live somewhere, reside' JM,EP

43. s-kat-χ^{w}ús•əs=k^{w}
NOM-POS-foam•O.C.=water
'foam' JM,EP

χ^{w}əs•χ^{w}ús-t
DISTR•foam-STATE
'foamy' EP

44. s-kɬ-k'ənp'=cn=ákst
NOM-POS-ring.around=mouth=hand
'bracelet' JM

k'án'p'=áw's-n
ring.around=middle-INST
'corset' JM

45. s-kɬ-səq'=qn=ús=xn'
NOM-POS-split=head=face=foot
'split hoof' JM

?ac-séq'
ST-split
'split' JM

46. s-k'ɬ-wənt=álqs
NOM-POS-down=dress
'underwear' JM

wánt
'down, low, below' JM,EP,MS,MG

47. s-na-ɬám-tn
NOM-POS-whiskey-INST
'saloon' JM

ɬám
'whiskey' JM,EP

48. s-ni?-c'əx^{w}•c'éx^{w}•əx^{w}=lqs
NOM-POS-DISTR•spill•O.C.=nose
'runny nose' JM

c'éx^{w}-n
spill-1SG.SUBJ
'I poured water' JM,EP

49. s-t-q^{w}əl-mín
NOM-POS-roast-INST
'barbecuing stick' JM

q^{w}él-n
roast-1SG.SUBJ
'I roasted it' JM

4.1. Variant order of nominalizer and positionals. In the normal order of things, one would expect the nominalizing *s-* to precede these positional prefixes, and it ordinarily does, as seen in various examples above. However a number of exceptions appear in the data I have collected on the language over the years; these are listed in (50) through (59).

50. **ni?-s-m'•m'ák^{w}•m'ak^{w}-t** — **s-mák^{w}-t**
POS-NOM-DIMIN•SNOW•CHAR-STATE — NOM-SNOW-STATE
(with DIMIN glottalization of *m*'s) — 'snow (on the ground)' JM,MS,MG,JS
'snowbird, Oregon junco' JM

51. **ni?-s-k^{w}iy'•k^{w}iy'=á?st**
POS-NOM-DISTR•scattered.rocks=stone
'scab rock, morain' JM

52. **ni?-s-wə́p-t** — **s-k-up=íc'a?**
POS-NOM-hair-STATE — NOM-POS-hair=hide
'brush, underbrush' JM — 'fur' JM,EP

s-wəp=cín
NOM-hair=mouth
'beard' JM,EP,JS

53. **s-n-s-cəw'á[?]xa-tn** — **c•cw'áxa?**
NOM-POS-NOM-creek[INCH]-INST — DIMIN•creek
'ditch' JM — 'creek' JM,JS

54. **n-s-múx^{w}iy'-m** — **s-múx^{w}iy'-m'**
POS-NOM-alkali.soil-MDL — NOM-alkali.soil-MDL
'Soap Lake' EP — 'Soap Lake' MP

(n-)s-məx^{w}iy'=úl'əx^{w} — **s-məx^{w}iy'=úl'əx^{w}**
(POS-)NOM-alkali.soil=ground — NOM-alkali.soil=ground
'Soap Lake' JM,MG,JS — 'clay' JM

55. **n-ʂ-p'ạt'=íc'a?-əx^{w}** — **p'ạ́t'-s**
POS-NOM-dump.wet.substance=hide-IMPF — dump.wet.substance-3SUBJ
'quilting' JM — 'he dumped it (s.t. liquid or wet)' MM

56. **n-s-təp=íc'a?**
POS-NOM-cover=hide
'mouth of Omak Creek' JM

57. **n-s-x^{w}iy=áwt=əx^{w} l s-p'úk^{w}t-s** — **s-x^{w}iy=áwt=əx^{w}**
POS-NOM-?=distant=people of NOM-fur-3POSS — NOM-?=distant=people
'mountain goat wool' JM — 'mountain goat' JM,EP,MG,IA,AC,JS

58. **n-s-x^{w}ún•x^{w}un•n**
POS-NOM-?•CHAR•O.C.
'Old Goat Mountain' JM

59. **n-s-y'áy'a?-m, n-s-yáya?-m** — **s-yáya?**
POS-NOM-serviceberry-MDL — NOM-serviceberry
'Olallie Canyon' JM — 'serviceberry' JM,EP,MG,AC

Only *ni?-* and *n(a)-* have been found before the nominalizer. In some cases, such as 'snowbird' and 'mountain goat', the *s-* is likely felt as being an integral part of the stem, and it is the stem to which the positional prefix is added. In the case of place names, the positional prefix (*n(a)-* in these cases) is translated as 'place of', and is fairly clearly an element secondary to that to which it is added. Some speakers leave it off the name of Soap Lake. The *s* labelled NOM in 'quilting' may actually be *s-* 'imperfective', in which case an entire imperfective form is treated as a noun and given a positional prefix. These explanations do not account for 'ditch' with *s-n(a)-* in (53), or 'underbrush' in (52) and 'morain' in (51) with *ni?-s-* (the last of which also occurs as the name of two different places), however, and 'ditch' has the oddity of a second *s-* before the *n-s-*. These must all be secondary formations, although the process for creating some of them is not yet clear.

These kinds of forms occur elsewhere in Southern Interior Salish; the name *Nespelem* is an instance in Okanagan. Curiously, the Moses-Columbian equivalent (which I have from only one speaker, and she a resident of Nespelem) lacks the *s-*, as in (60).

60. **nə-píl-m** — **píl=kst**
POS-oversized-MDL — oversized=hand
'Nespelem (knoll there)' IA — 'oversized or lopsided hoof' JM

The words with POSITIONAL preceding NOMINALIZER are exceptions, then, to the general rule that NOMINALIZER precedes POSITIONAL. There are, unsurprisingly, many instances of *s-* preceding *n(a)-*.

5. Problem of *ks-*. The prefixed sequence *ks-* at first also resembles these sequences of POSITIONAL-NOMINALIZER, although the number of examples makes this questionable. One possibility to be considered is that this is the UNREALIZED morpheme that has cognates in Okanagan, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene. However, UNREALIZED in Columbian always has a vowel; I consider its base form in Moses-Columbian to be *kaɬ-*. All known occurrences of *ks-* are given in (61) through (69).

61. **ks-ʔítx** — **ʔítx**
RSLT-sleep — 'sleep' JM,EP,MG,JS
'sleepy, drowsy, get sleepy' JM,EP

62. **ks-cy-átk^{w}p** — **s-cy-átk^{w}p**
RSLT-fire=fire — NOM-fire=fire
'fire' JM — 'fire, campfire' JM,MM,MG,JS

cíy-n
fire-1SG.SUBJ
'I put more wood on the fire' JM

63. **ks-kəm'=qín-m** — **kám'-n**
RSLT-carry.plural.objects=head-MDL — carry.plural.objects-1SG.SUBJ
'drive, steer' JM — 'I carried them, I took them (in my arms)' JM

ks-kəm=qín-tn
RSLT-carry.plural.objects=head-INST
'lines, reins' JM

sx^{w}s-ks-kəm'=qín-m
NOMEN.AGENTIS-RSLT-carry.plural.objects=head-MDL
'driver' JM

64. **ks-k-ɬáq-lx-m-s-n** — **ɬáq-lx**
RSLT-POS-one.sits-AUT-REL-CAUS-1SG.SUBJ — one.sits-AUT
'I'm taking care of them' JM — 'sit down (sg.), get up' JM,MM,EP,MS,JS,JC

65. **ks-mán'•n'x^{w}** — **s-mán'x^{w}**
RSLT-tobacco•O.C. — NOM-tobacco
'he got sick from smoking' EP — 'tobacco, cigarette' JM,EP,JS,JC

ka-s-mán'x^{w}-əx^{w}
UNR-IMPF-tobacco-IMPF
'he's going to smoke' TG

mán'x^{w}-n
tobacco-1SG.SUBJ
'I'm smoking it' JM

66. **ks-pók^{w}əl'** — **pók^{w}•k^{w}əl'**
RSLT-surface — surface•O.C.
'he was shot/grazed by the bullet' JM — 'come to the top, surface, stay on top' JM

67. **ks-pátk^{w}-n** — **pátk^{w}-n**
RSLT-prong-1SG.SUBJ — prong-1SG.SUBJ
'I put it on a stick' JM — 'I stuck it' JM

68. **ks-pt•tíɣ^{w}-əx^{w}** — **s-ptíɣ^{w}**
RSLT-spit•O.C.-IMPF — NOM-spit
'he's spitting a lot' EP — 'spit' (n.) JM

ptíɣ^{w}-n
spit-1SG.SUBJ
'I spit on it' MM

69. **ks-wit-mín-ct**
RSLT-?-REL-REFL
'he made a great effort' JM

A resultive meaning is evident in most of the attested words, so it is probably best to consider this a unit morpheme meaning 'resultive'.

6. Conclusions. The positional prefixes of Moses-Columbian Salish form a discrete class, distinct from the three directional prefixes. Directional prefixes precede positional prefixes. TRANSLOCATIVE before POSITIONAL is quite rare, although CISLOCATIVE before POSITIONAL is common; my data base also has several examples of TRANSLOCATIVE-CISLOCATIVE-POSITIONAL.Examples (70) through (73) show these orders (including one case of *yap-* preceding a POSITIONAL).

70. **c-k-lák'-n** — **lák'-n**
CIS-POS-tie.up-1SG.SUBJ — tie.up-1SG.SUBJ
'I reeled it in' JM — 'I tied him up' JM

71. **l-na-wánt**
TRLOC-POS-down
'he's in the house' MG (see 47)

72. **l-c-na-kéx-t** — **na-kéx•kəx-t**
TRLOC-CIS-POS-walk.on.road-STATE — POS-walk.on.road•DISTR-STATE
'he hiked back here' JM — 'they walk on the road' JM

73. **yap-t-xəwál-n-c** — **xəwál**
DIR-POS-trail-TR-1SG.OBJ — 'trail, road' JM,EP,MS,JS
'stop by and have a few words with someone' JM

Example (74) shows an exception to this order.

74. **n-ʔal-χél-p**
POS-TRLOC-daybreak-INCH
'tomorrow' JM

The positional prefixes themselves can also co-occur to a limited extent. If existing data are indicative, the order of those which have been found to co-occur would be *kat-* or *kɬ-*, then *n(a)-*, then *k-*, then *t-*. *k'ɬ-* was not found in combination with any other positional prefix. It may, in fact, be losing separate status; one speaker nearly always used *k'ɬ-* where other speakers used *kɬ-*, and I have recorded instances of other speakers mixing up the two prefixes.

A few instances are found where two of the positional prefixes may precede the nominalizer prefix. These appear to be secondary, with the positional prefix being added to an existing stem, which just

happens to have the nominalizing prefix. Thus what appears to be varying order of prefixes is actually only a matter of secondary development of stems.

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Classification of Applicatives in Salishan Languages

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This is an ongoing project of the comparative study on applicatives in Salishan languages. In this paper, I cite data from eighteen languages, organized from the viewpoint of verb type and the thematic role of the grammatical object. Based on this classification, I propose two basic types of applicatives, redirective and relational, and show their distribution in Salishan languages.

1. Introduction[1]

The verb in Salishan languages consists of a stem as a base and a variety of affixes and clitics. Among those elements that are suffixed to the verb stem, the applicatives mark the verb for the thematic role of its direct object. Applicatives increase the verb's semantic valence and can increase the syntactic valence as well. When they attach to transitive verbs, they form semantically ditransitive constructions. The following examples are from Halkomelem:

Hl (Gerdts, p.c.)[2]

(1) *ni?* *ləkʷ-át-əs* *kʷθə* *sc̓ešt.*
aux break-tr-3erg det stick
'She broke the stick.'

(2) *ni?* *ləkʷ-ɬc-t-əs* *tθə* *swiẇləs* *?ə* *kʷθə* *sc̓ešt*
aux break-BEN-tr-3erg det boy obl det stick
'She broke the stick for the boy.'

Sentence (1) is a transitive sentence, having two arguments. The third person subject is represented as an ergative suffix after a transitive suffix. The direct object 'stick' appears without any oblique marker, and has theme for its thematic role. Sentence (2) is also a transitive sentence, having two arguments and an oblique object; however, the direct object 'boy' has a thematic role other than theme, and, in this case, benefactive. The noun phrase 'stick', which is the grammatical object of the verb 'break' without the applicative *-ɬc* attached in (1), also bears the thematic role of theme in (2), but it is in an oblique phrase. Halkomelem *-ɬc* marks that the direct object is a benefactive.

The following examples show that the applicatives increase the syntactic valence when the applicative *-nəs* attaches to an intransitive verb:

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I use the following abbreviations for language and branch/subgroup names: Be = Bella Coola, Sl = Sliammon, Cx = Comox, Se = Sechelt, Sq = Squamish, Hl = Halkomelem, Sa = Saanich, Cl = Clallam, Ld = Lushootseed, Ti = Tillamook, Ch = Upper Chehalis, Li = Lillooet, Th = Thompson, Sh = Shuswap, Ok = Okanagan, Sp = Spokane, Ka = Kalispel, Cr = Coeur d'Alene, Cm = Columbian, CS = Central Salish, TS = Tsamosan, NIS = Northern Interior Salish, SIS = Southern Interior Salish.

The voiceless uvular fricative is represented as x̌.

[2] aux = auxiliary, tr = transitive, 3 = 3rd person, erg = ergative, det = determiner, BEN = benefactive, obl = oblique