


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 ciolocative (‘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 ciolocative and translocative prefixes as directional, 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 ciolocative prefix is c-, and is homonymous with one variant of the stative aspect prefix 7ac-1c-.

The translocative prefix has two variants, 7al- and 1-. I mention these here because of the morphophonemis involved in the selection of one of these variants; they are the same for 7al-1-, 7ac-1c-, sac-1c: (another aspectual prefix), and na-1-. (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 /CVV/. Thus 7al- occurs with the root na"xI 'go, walk' in 7alna"xI 'he went home', c- appears with it in cna"xI 'come', and both occur together as knda"xI 'he came back', where the extra consonant between the prefix and the root result in vowel deletion in 7al-.

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

In. yap-k"1an-ks-n

1) Abbreviations used are ISOSUBJ = first person singular object; ISO.SUBJ = first person singular subject; 2SO:SUBJ = second person singular object; 3SO:SUBJ = third person possessive; 3SUBJ = third person subject; APPL = applicative; AUT = autonomous; CAUS = causative; CHAR = characteristic reduplication; CD = ciolocative; DIMIN = diminutive; DIR = directional; DISTR = distributive plural; EMPH = emphatic; FUT = future; IMPER = imperative; IMPF = imperfective aspect; INCH = inchoative; INF = instrument; MDL = middle voice; NOM = nominalizer; O.C = out-of-control; POS = positional; RELF = reflexive; REL = relational; RELAT = relativize; SG = singular; ST = stative aspect; TR = transitive; TRLOC = translocative; UNR = unrealized aspect; an equals sign precedes lexical suffices; a bullet (•) indicates reduplication; square brackets in examples indicate inflected material. Suffixes are transitive; intransitive suffixes 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.
Ih. na? c-yap-7In
put cS-drh-eat
'he'll eat on his way (toward me)'

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'
   - k'- 'on the lower side of, on the surface'
   - 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'aq-<q>-ána? k'
   - ros-spill.dry.substance.o.c.-ear 2sg.suru
   'Did it spill on you?' m

   kat-p'aq<n>-n
   - ros-spill.dry.substance-1sg.suru
   'I spilled powder on a flat surface' m

   k'-p'aq<n>-n
   - ros-spill.dry.substance-1sg.suru
   'I threw powder under it (a bush, plant, bed, etc.)' m

   na-p'aq<n>-n
   - ros-spill.dry.substance-1sg.suru
   'I poured it into something' m

   ni?+p'aq<n>-n
   - ros-spill.dry.substance-1sg.suru
   'I spilled it into a bush or weeds' m

   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-fic-c<p>
    - ros-put.down.o.c.-base
    'junk or small things lodged or hung up along the shore' m

4b. k-fiC-n
    - put.down-lso.suru
    'I put it down, I laid it down (sg. object)' m

5a. kat-k'tis-na?-n
    - ros-pile.branches-ear-1sg.suru
    'I covered it with branches' m

5b. kat-k'ok'-qin-n
    - ros-take.off-head-1sg.suru
    'I uncovered it, I took the lid off' m

6a. k-t'6c·c<p
    - ros-maroon-skin,hide
    'a dark sorrel or chestnut sorrel horse' m

6b. k-t'6c-n
    - tie-1sg.suru
    'I tied it' m

7a. k't-luk<n>-n
    - ros-haul-1sg.suru
    'I relayed it, I relieved him (over a distance)' m

7b. ?uk<n>-n
    - haul-1sg.suru
    'I helped him move, I hauled it' m

² All positional prefixes will be labelled ROS regardless of specific form and meaning.
7h. 'f-r-rkW(lt
'far (with roman glottalization of f's)
'a little further away, aside' JM

8a. s-na-pítx-tn
nom-pos-spend.night-inst
'hotel, motel' JM

8b. n-tx"-tx"-a1niw-l-n
ros-attach-side-lso.suru
'i put pieces on both sides' JM

9a. mi7-cír-ut7-n
ros-salt-middle-lso.suru
'i salted it (hay) down' JM

9b. mi7-kí7-4p-qn
ros-divide-base-head
'part one's hair (in the middle)' JM

10a. t-Kíp'ap-ut7
ros-pinch+loc-middle
'trap in the crotch of a tree' JM

10b. t-Kíc-n
ros-lay.pole.down-fire-lso.suru
'put a pole or log on a fire' 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 ('-a') 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-4-, which is one of the semantically most general of these prefixes; it also has a broad range of meanings, and it too occurs in these combinations.

3.1. Co-occurrence of kí7 and n(a). The most common combination is kí7-n(a). The combination is actually a bit more complex, in that the lexical suffix -ap 'base' always occurs following the root preceded by kí7-n(a); all these words refer to doors and gates (although not all words referring to doors and gates are created with this complex 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. kí7-na-maf'i-p-s
ros-pos-smash-base-3sijb
'he broke the door in' JM

12. kí7-na-f'ic-p
ros-pos.put.down-base
'put something over a hole' MG

13. kí7-cúw'-6p-t-m
ros-pos-punch-base-med.
'knock on the door' JM

14. kí7-im-6p-tn
ros-pos-pin-base-inst
'rail across a gate' JM

15. kí7-k'ah-6p-ep
ros-pos-open-base+loc.
'the door opened by itself' MM,EP

16. kí7-k'am-6p
ros-pos-surface-base
'door, doorway' MM,EP

I will hereafter write the na/-n- alternation as n(a).
17. *kt·n·k"·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-take.off-base-1SG.SUBJ
   'I unlocked it, I opened it' JM

18. *kt·n·q"·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-blurry-base-INST
   'screen door' JM

19. *kt·n·saf·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-round-inch-base-INST
   'nut(s)' JM

20. *kt·n·f·p·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-protrude-base-INST
   'lock (on a door), a padlock' JM

21. *kt·n·xam·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-long.objects.stick.out-base-INST
   'rail gate, rails used for a gate' JM

   *c·kt·n·xam·äp*
   ST-POS-POS-long.objects.stick.out-base
   'several rails on a gate' JM

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4 The instrumental suffix *-n* usually appears as *-n* following a zero.

22. *kt·n·xam·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-lay.flat.thing.on-base-INST
   'door' JM

23. *kt·n·yam·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-pin-base-1SG.SUBJ
   'I pinned it shut' MM

24. *cnil·kt·n·akh"·äp·tn*
   he/she POS-POS-open-base-3SG.SUBJ
   'he opened it' (?) EP

25. *kt·n·cā"·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-spill-base-1SG.SUBJ
   'pour some water in (soak up the leather)' JM

   *c̲n·cā"·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-spill-base-1SG.SUBJ
   'spilled it (liquid)' JM,MS

   *kt·n·xam·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-take.off-base-1SG.SUBJ
   'I closed it (a door)' JM

   *xam·n*
   lay.flat.thing.on-1SG.SUBJ
   'I laid it flat on the ground' JM

26. *kt·n·cī"·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-pin-base-1SG.SUBJ
   'I pinned it' MM

27. *kt·n·saf·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-round-inch-base-INST
   'nut(s)' JM

28. *kt·n·f·p·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-protrude-base-INST
   'lock (on a door), a padlock' JM

29. *kt·n·xam·äp·tn*
   POS-POS-long.objects.stick.out-base-INST
   'rail gate, rails used for a gate' JM

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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-occurrence of *n(a)-* and *k-*. The second largest set of co-occuring 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).

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5 The first three forms of this set appear to show some errors by the speakers. The root should be *c̲k̲ah̲"-* in all cases. The third example has the prefixes metathesized as well. The first two examples have *k̲f̲* instead of *k̲-*. *EP* tended to merge these two prefixes into *k̲f̲*-.
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-occurrence of other positional prefixes. Other combinations of positional prefixes are rare. Two of the three types found, shown in (36) through (38), have r- as second member.
37. s-t-s-c'-4lik'-tn
   NOM-POS-pos-chop-long.object
   'axe-mark on a tree' JM

38. s-t-s-c'-4lik
   NOM-POS-chop-long.object
   'a tree cut with an axe' JM

39. ka-n-miy-qi-rnx'
   POS-middle-head-IMPF
   'feast, noon meal' EP,MO

40. s-wafate'-xn'
   NOM-frog-foot (with DIMIN glottalization of w and r)
   'frog' JM,EP,MO

41. s-c-x7-an-m
   NOM-cs-here-?-MOL
   'this way' JM

42. s-k-wax-cn-ax'
   NOM-reside-mouth-people
   'Moses band of the Moses-Columbia' EP,MO

43. s-kat-x'os-at-k'
   NOM-foam-o.c.-water
   'foam' EP

44. s-k-t-k'anp'-cn-skst
   NOM-ring-around-mouth-hand
   'bracelet' JM

45. s-k-t-saq'-qn-6as-xn'
   NOM-split-head-face-foot
   'split hoof' JM

46. s-k-t-want-skps
   NOM-down-dress
   'underwear' JM

47. s-na-16m-tn
   NOM-whiskey-INST
   'saloon' JM

48. s-ni7-c'a'a*+c'a'a*+cp'-lcp
   NOM-distr+spill+o.c.-nose
   'runny nose' JM

49. s-t-q'-al-min
   NOM-roast-INST
   'barbecuing stick' JM

4. Nominalizer. The nominalizing prefix in Moses-Columbian is s-, as it is in nearly all other Salishan languages. 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.

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).

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).

6 When stressed, the lexical suffixes -quin 'head' and -cin 'mouth' optionally combine with -m(ox) 'imperfective' or -m(ij) 'people' as -q'of- and -ci-ox or as -q'in and -cin-ox.

7 Comox-Sliammon is the exception, since it lacks any prefixes at all.
50. niʔ-s-miʔ*miʔ*niʔ*niʔ*niʔ-t
   s-miʔ*niʔ-t
   POS-NOM-SNOW*SNOW*CHAR-STATE
   snowbird, Oregon junco' J M

51. niʔ-s-k'iy*ki'iy-åni
   s-k-up-ic'aʔ
   POS-NOM-hair-hide
   'fur' J M,EP

52. niʔ-s-wap-t
   s-wap-cin
   NOM-hair-mouth
   'beard' J M,EP,JS

53. s-n-s-caw'taʔ-m, s-n-s-caw'taʔ-m
   c*cv/ťăʔ?
   NOM-serviceberry
   'serviceberry' J M,EP,MG,AC

54. n-s-miň*ki'iy-m
   s-miň*ki'iy-m
   POS-NOM-alkali.soil-MDL
   'Soap Lake' MP

55. n-s-p'p'li*ic'aʔ-án
   p'p'li's
   POS-NOM-dump.wet.substance-hide-IMP
   'he dumped it (s.t. liquid or wet)' MM

56. n-s-tap-ic'aʔ
   s-cy-atk"p
   POS-NOM-cover-hide
   fire-lso.suru
   'I put more wood on the fire' JM

57. n-s-s'iy*-stl* án 1 s-p'k'k*i-t-s
   s-s'iy*-stl*án
   POS-NOM-7 distant-people of NOM-fur-3ross
   'mountain goat wool' J M

58. n-s-s'í*in*si*in*in
   s-s'í*in*si*in*in
   POS-NOM-7*CHAR*O.C.
   'Old Goat Mountain' J M

59. n-s-s'ý'at-s-m, n-s-s'ý'at-s-m
   s-s'ý'at-s
   POS-NOM-serviceberry-MDL
   'Ollalie Canyon' J M

Only niʔ- 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 niʔ-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. na-pil-m
   pil-kst
   POS-oversized-MDL
   oversized-hand
   'oversized or lopsided hoof' J M

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 k-. The prefixed sequence k- 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 kaf-. All known occurrences of k- are given in (61) through (69).

61. ka-ʔítx
   ʔítx
   RSL-sleep
   'sleepy, drowsy, get sleepy' J M,EP

62. ka-cy-akit*p
   s-cy-akit*p
   RSL-fire-fire
   'fire' J M

63. s-cal*un
   c*un
   fire-ISO.suru
   'I put more wood on the fire' J M
63. **ks-kam'-qin-m**  
**RSLT-carry.plural.objects-head-MDL**  
'drive, steer' JM

**ks-kam'-qin-tn**  
**RSLT-carry.plural.objects-head-INST**  
'lines, reins' JM

**sx's-ks-kam'-qin-m**  
**NOMEN.AOENTIS-RSLT-carry.plural.objects-head-MDL**  
'driver' JM

64. **ks-faq-lx-m-s-n**  
**RSLT-pos-one.sits-AUT-REL-CAUS-1SG.SUBJ**  
'I'm taking care of them' JM

**ks-man'x**  
**RSLT-tobacco-o.c.**  
'he got sick from smoking' EP

65. **ks-pakwar**  
**RSLT-surface**  
'he was shot/grazed by the bullet' JM

**ks-patkW-n**  
**RSLT-prong-lso.suBJ**  
'I put it on a stick' JM

**ks-pitix'-ax**  
**RSLT-spit-o.c.-IMPF**  
'he's spitting a lot' EP

66. **ks-pitix'-af**  
**RSLT-surface**  
'he was shot/grazed by the bullet' JM

67. **ks-pitix'-n**  
**RSLT-prong-1SG.SUBJ**  
'I put it on a stick' JM

68. **ks-wit-min-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 **CLLOCATIVE** before positional is common; my data base also has several examples of **TRANSLOCATIVE-CLLOCATIVE-POSITIONAL**. Examples (70) through (73) show these orders (including one case of yap- preceding a positional).

70. **e-k-lak'-n**  
**RSLT-pos-tie.up-lso.suBJ**  
'I tied him up' JM

71. **I-na-wönt**  
**TRANSLOC-POS-down**  
'the he in the house' MO (see 47)

72. **I-na-kax-t**  
**TRANSLOC-CIS-POS-walk.on.road-STATE**  
'the he hiked back here' JM

73. **yap-t-xawíd-n-c**  
**DIR-pos-trail-trail-1SG.SUBJ**  
'trail, road' JM,EP,MS,JS

Example (74) shows an exception to this order.

74. **n-7al-xal-p**  
**POS-TRANSLOC-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 **kt-**, then **n(a)-**, then **k-**. **kt**- was not found in combination with any other positional prefix. It may, in fact, be losing separate status; one speaker nearly always used **k't-** where other speakers used **kt-**, 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.

REFERENCES

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

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:

HI (Gerdts, p.c.)

(1) ni? lak "di-3erg k"ojo sjeft
aux break-tr-3erg det stick
’She broke the stick.’

(2) ni? lak "ske-t-3erg i6o sviwiJoa 7o k"ojo sjeft
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 -ke attached in (1), also bears the thematic role of theme in (2), but it is in an oblique phrase. Halkomelem -ke marks that the direct object is a benefactive.

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

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1 I would like to thank Donna Gerdts, Dale Kinkade, and Charles Ulrich for comments on an earlier version of this paper.
2 I use the following abbreviations for language and branch/subgroup names: Be = Bella Coola, Si = Shuswap, Cs = Comox, Sc = Secwépemc, HI = Halkomelem, Sa = Saanich, Cl = Clallam, Lt = Lushootseed, Ti = Tillamook, Ch = Upper Chehalis, Ll = Lillooet, Th = Thompson, Sh = Shuswap, Ok = Okanagan, Sp = Spokane, Ka = Kalispel, Cr = Coeur d’Alene, Cm = Columbia, CS = Central Salish, TS = Tsimshian, NIS = Northern Interior Salish, SIS = Southern Interior Salish.

3 The voiceless uvular fricative is represented as x.

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