The Southern Interior Salish Languages and the Problem of Origin of Nominals: Diachronic View

Olga Ikonnikova
Rostov Institute of Improving Teachers' Qualification and Professional Retraining

Abstract: In the paper the author considers that the Interior Salish languages demonstrate the areal grammatical strategies relevant for reconstructing a diachronic process of the formation of nominals. Due to the material of the Interior Salish languages, one can trace that the nominals are former subordinate clauses attached to verbs. Interior Salish languages prove the fact that nominals are of verbal origin that could be characteristic of the ancient language.

Keywords: Southern Interior Salish languages, nominal, verbal root, nominalizer, subordinate clause

1   Introduction

The problem of diachrony of nominals is complicated. To this day, linguists <u>have not</u> been able to establish the relative chronology in the emergence of nominal and verbal categories with some degree of certainty, mainly because of the absence of sufficient diachronic evidence.

To throw light on solving this problem, it is reasonable to study the languages which do not have nominals in the part-of-speech system or where the distinction between verbs and nouns is fuzzy. We consider the Salish languages of the Southern Interior branch to be able to throw light on the pre-grammatical stage of the language since they offer the varieties of linguistic form that are crucial to any general understanding of the phenomenon of language in its diachronic and typological perspective.

The Salishists claim that all roots in Southern Interior Salish languages are intransitive and verb-like (Black 1996; Carlson 1972; A. Mattina 1973:73, N. Mattina 2006; Reichard 1938:527; Speck 1977:30). The proponents of the single-class hypothesis recognize a distinction between predicates and arguments in Salish, but they do not find independent evidence for the distinction between verbs and nouns (Czaykowska-Higgins & Kinkade 1998:35). The prefix *s-* (nominalizer) is singled out to derive nominal forms.

The aim of the research is a synchro-diachronic analysis of texts in Southern Interior Salish languages as far as the expressions of the nominals are concerned. The data presented in this paper come from the following sources: *The Golden Woman: The Colville Narrative of Peter J. Seymour* (A. Mattina 1985), *Kalispel Texts by H. Vogt* (Camp 2007), *Margaret Sherwood's Badger and Skunk. A Spokane Traditional Legend with Commentary* (Egesdal 1991), *12 Upper Nicola Okanagan Texts* (Lindley &Lyon 2013), and *Gladys Reichard's Coeur d'Alene Texts* (Doak & Montler 2006).

2   Areal grammatical strategies of expressing nominals in the Southern Interior Salish languages in diachronic perspective

In the Spokane grammar, Carlson states that adjuncts are added to the predicates by the particle *ł* 'secondary in importance' (1972:53), cf.:

(1) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:[1]
xʷtils **ɬ** *uʔ* *spiləyeʔ*
he.gets.up **secondary** particular coyote
'Coyotegot up'. (Carlson 1972:54)

Speculating on such examples as (1), Carlson (1972) and Black (1996) consider them as a result of reanalysis of biclausal sentences, whose second clauses were nominalized predicates, as monoclausal. Kroeber suggested the possibility of dating back the particle *ɬ* to a clausal subordinator, having surveyed descriptive works on the Southern Interior language Okanagan as well as the Northern Interior languages Lillooet and Thompson that utilize a proclitic, particle, or determiner of the *ɬ*-form to introduce certain types of complement clauses. He argues that the form of sentences which comprise a main clause and a nominalized subordinate clause closely resembles the form of many compounds. Then he confirms the fact that there is a compound marker *ɬ* in Spokane that represents the relic of the clausal subordinator and goes back to Proto-Salish (Black 1996:110).

In Coeur d'Alene and Moses-Columbian, we also observe *ɬ* as a connective in the formation of new words:

(2) Coeur d'Alene:
s-xiɬ-ɬ-yʔiɬn
NOM-abandon-**CONN**-food
'feast' (lit. 'throwing food away') (Coeur d'Alene Language Online Resource Center 2009)

(3) Moses-Columbian:
s-n-xəl-xəqʼ-aɬ-qʷisp-tn
NOM-POSS-AUG-kill-**CONN**-cow-INSTR
'slaughterhouse' (Willet 2003:342)

There is an interesting fact that *ɬ* positioned between the stems is lost in the event that the second member of the compound begins with *s-*, cf. examples (4) and(5):

(4) Coeur d'Alene:
a. *s-xiɬ-s-yʔiɬn*
NOM-give.away-**NOM**-food
'potlatch' (lit. 'giving away food')
(Coeur d'Alene Language Online Resource Center 2009)

---

[1] Abbreviations used in the paper: ACT = actual, ADJ = adjunct, ART = article, AUG = augmentative, CAUS = causative,CISL = cislocative, COMP = complementizer, COND = conditional, CONJ = conjunction, CONN = connective, CONT = continuative, CUST = customary, DEM = demonstrative, DET = determiner, DIR = directional, DUR = durative, EMPF = emphatic, ERG = ergative, EXAG = exaggeration, FUT = future, GEN = genitive, IMP = imperative, INSTR = instrumental, INTR = intransitive, IRR = irrealis, LOC = locative/instrumental, LS = lexical suffix, MDL = middle, MUT = mutative, CONTR = control, NEG = negative, NOM = nominalizer, OBL = oblique, PASS = passive, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROX = proximal, RECP = reciprocal, REL = relational, RFLX = reflexive, RES = resultative, SEQ = sequential/translocative, SG = single, SPEC = specifier, STAT = stative/actual, TR = transitive, UNR = unrealized, C = consonant, V = vowel , 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person.

b. *san-s-pax-cvc-t*
   holy-NOM-wise-AUG-STAT
   'Holy Ghost' (Doak & Montler 2006)

(5) Moses-Columbian:
   *kn   haw'y   **a**   snccw'*
   1SG   make   **CONN**   creek
   'I made a ditch.' (Willet 2003:339)

In synchrony of Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead, the markers of the subordinate clauses are *łuʔ* and *liʔe*, which are also used as definite articles. Carlson (1972) analyzes *liʔe* into several morphemes: *ł* 'secondary', *i (hi)* 'special', *ʔe* 'this / these'. Similarly, he analyzes *łuʔ* into component morphemes: *ł* 'secondary', *uʔ* 'particular'.

(6) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:
   *kʷemt́   **łuʔ**   kʷkʷʔec   **łuʔ**   l   es-xʷyxʷuy-i   u   čn   čšin*
   and.then   **ART**   get.dark   **ART**   LOC   CONT-go.PL-CONT   and   1SG.INTR   follow
   'When the night fell, I joined all the people who were going.' (Camp 2007:19)

In (6), the lexeme *kʷkʷʔec* 'night' (lit. 'get dark') is expressed by a reduplicated verbal root and introduced by the article *łuʔ*.

(7) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:
   *hoy   čn   lemt   **łuʔ**   wič-nt-n   **liʔe**   citxʷ   wis-šn*
   then   1SG.INTR   glad   **ART**   see-TR-1SG.TR   **this**   house   high-foot
   'I was glad when I saw this long house.' (Camp 2007:20)

(8) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:
   *kʷu   sew-nt-m   **łuʔ**   t   hin-ṕx̌ʷṕx̌ʷut*
   1SG.OBJ   ask-TR-PASS   **ART**   OBL   1SG.POSS-parents
   'My parents asked me…' (Camp 2007:24)

In (8), the lexeme *ṕx̌ʷṕx̌ʷut* 'parents' (lit. 'those who are old-old, wise-wise') goes back to the reduplicated verbal root *ṕx̌ʷut* 'old, wise' and is introduced by the article *łuʔ*.

(9) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:
   *hoy   **łuʔ**   c̓̇luxʷ*
   then   **ART**   evening
   'When the evening came…' (Camp 2007:25)

In (9), *c̓̇luxʷ* 'evening' (lit. 'to disappear') goes back to the verbal root and is introduced by the article *łuʔ*.

(10) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:
cu-nt-s   *qeʔ*   *qs-xʷuy*   **luʔ**   *č̓ esyapqin̓i*
say-TR-3TR   1PL.INTR FUT-go   **ART** to powpow
'He said: We'll go to the pow-wow.' (Camp 2007:43)

In (10), the lexeme *esyapqin̓i* 'pow-pow' (lit. 'gather heads') goes back to the verbal root *ya* 'gather', with the continuative prefix *es-,* the transitive suffix *-p*, and the lexical suffix *-qin* 'head' attached to it.

(11) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:
hoy **luʔ** *x̌alip*   *u*   *k̓ʷen̓čstmist*
then **ART** morning   and   get.ready
'The next morning he got ready…'   (Camp 2007:28)

In (11), the lexeme *x̌alip* 'morning' (lit. 'be light') goes back to the stative verb *x̌al* 'be light, clear' with the non-control affix *-p* attached to it.
    It should be noted that the marker *ł* is lost where there is a nominalizer *s-*:

(12) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:
cu-nt-m   *xʷuy-š*   *t*   *qł-sqeʔem-s*
say-TR-PASS go-SG.INTR.IMP   OBL   to.be-milk-POSS
'She said to him: Go and get some milk for him'.   (Camp 2007:88)

In (12), the lexeme *sqeʔem* 'milk' (lit. 'something that is sucked') goes back to the verbal root *qeʔe* 'to suck' with the nominalizer *s-* and the middle suffix *-m* attached to it.

(13) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:
čč̓iʔtmin-nt-m   *t*   *snqcuł*
go.near.to-TR-PASS   OBL   lynx
'The lynx had come quite close to him already.'   (Camp 2007:71)

In (13), the lexeme *snqcuł* 'lynx' (lit. 'which shrinks something') goes back to the verbal root *qc* 'shrink' with the lexical suffix *-uł* 'to the extreme', the nominalizer *s-*, and the transitive prefix *n-* attached to it.
    In Coeur d'Alene, there are articles or demonstratives with the initial *ł* element: *łuʔe* 'that', *łuʔ* 'there far from speaker and second person or not near anyone', and the definite article *le* 'the there'.

(14) Coeur d'Alene:
   a. *hoy* *čic-xʷuy*   **łe**   *qixʷłš*
       then CISL-come   DET   fish
       'When they came the fish'   (Doak & Montler 2006)

   b. *kʷum* **ła**   *ʔałqicenč*   *lut*   *he*   *s-t-čen-mš*
       and   DET   snake   NEG   SPEC   NOM-LOC-hold-INTR
       'Then snake did not take hold.'   (Doak & Montler 2006)

186

c. *kʷum **ła** laʔxʷł **ła** ʔa hn-g-gaw.us ciʔ-ł ʔec-t-gʷexʷ*
    and DET morrow DET OBL LOC-DIM-broken.face CISL-CONN CUST-LOC-PL.hang
    'And then morning on a stump'   (Doak & Montler 2006)

In (14b), the lexeme 'snake' goes back to *q'ec* 'braide, intervine, knit, weave' with the lexical suffix *-enč* 'hollow, belly' attached to it.

There is a marker/complementizer *ł, łaʔ* in Colville-Okanagan. A. Mattina (1973:114) describes it as a 'sequential complement particle'. *Ł* also functions as a clausal subordinator. Examples:

(15) Colville-Okanagan:
    a. *uł c-xʷuy-selx uł **alaʔ** l ťíkʷt uł nťkʷan-(n)t-iselx*
        CONJ CISL-go-3PL.ERG CONJ **DEM** LOC lake CONJ place.in-DIR-3PL.ERG
            iʔ l sťałəm
            DET LOC canoe
        'And they brought him to a lake and placed him in a canoe.'
                                      (Lindley & Lyon 2012:176)

    b. *i̓ kʷḱʷyinaʔ **łaʔ** c-qʷsiʔ-am iʔ sqilxʷ*
        EMPH few **COMP** CUST-child-MDL DET people
        'They had a few children…'   (Lindley & Lyon 2012:187)

    c. *ḱliʔ mi p ac-t-ʔx̌il-x **łaʔ** c-q̇ilt **łaʔ** x̌yałnəx̌ʷ*
        DEM COMP.FUT 2PL.ABS CUST-TR-do.like-INTR **COMP** CUST-sick **COMP** time/moon
        'There's a place over there for you all, when a person has got their time.'
                                      (Lindley & Lyon 2012:186)

    d. *uł ixiʔ kiʔ **iliʔ** n-x̌aʔx̌ʔ-itkʷ ac-xʷylwis*
        CONJ DEM COMP.OBL **DEM** n-monster-water CUST-travel
        'And that's where the monsters travelled.'   (Lindley & Lyon 2012:233)

    e. *ixiʔ iʔ s-captikʷł-c axaʔ **alaʔ** iʔ ťíkʷt*
        DEM DET NOM-legend-3SG.POSS DEM **DEM** DET lake
        'That is the legend of the lake here.'   (Lindley & Lyon 2012:236)

    f. *lkʷilx-əx **atlaʔ** sqilxʷ-ulaʔxʷ axaʔ*
        leave-INTR **DEM** Indian-land DEM
        'Go away from here, this is Indian land here.'   (Lindley & Lyon 2012:240)

However, there are examples where we observe either the nominalizer *s-* or the demonstrative *łuʔ*, which indicates the morphological process of formation of nominals, cf.:

(16) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead
    *šeʔi **łuʔ** i kʷillqs **łuʔ** hin-qł-smʔem*
    that **ART** PART red.shirt **ART** 1SG.POSS-to.be-woman
    'The one with the red shirt is going to be my wife.'   (Camp 2007:29)

In (16), the lexeme *smʔem* 'wife' (lit. 'the one who feeds') means 'woman' and goes back to the verbal root *ʔem* 'feed' with the nominalizer *s-* and middle prefix *m-* attached to it.

(17) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:

kʷemt	*k'ʷul-št-s*	*t*	*qɬ-scʔiɬn-s*	***liʔe***	*sčiccn-s*
and.then	work-TR-3TR	OBL	to.be-food-3POSS	**this**	guest-3POSS

'He prepared some food for his guest.' (Camp 2007:93)

In (17), the nominal 'guest' goes back to the verbal root *čic* 'arrive' with a nominalizer *s-* and the article *ɬiʔe*.

(18) Kalispel-Spokane-Flathead:

liʔe	*s-m'em'iʔ*	*xʷl'*	*xʷixʷyutšn*	*u*	*x̣x̣stey'eʔ*
ADJ	NOM-story	about	badger	and	skunk

'This story is about Badger and Skunk.' (Egesdal 1991:100)

In (18), *sm'em'iʔ* 'story' goes back to the verbal stem *m'em'iʔ* 'talk' with a nominalizer *s-* attached to it.

(19) Okanagan:

liʔe	*kʷ*	*i-s-l'ax̣-t*
ADJ	2SG.SBJ	1SG.POSS-**NOM**-friendly-DUR

'…you my friend.' (Egesdal 1991:106)

In (19), the lexeme *s-l'ax̣* 'friend' goes back to the verbal root 'share' with the nominalizer *s-* attached to it (cf. Okanagan *s-l'ax̣-t* – 'partner' (NOM-share- STAT)). (Mattina 1972:74)

(20) Coeur d'Alene:

a.

hoy	***ɬe***	*s.park.alaqs*	*hn-kʷiʔc-es*
then	**DET**	turtle	LOC-night-COND

'Then Turtle when it was night…' (Doak & Montler 2006)

b.

hoy	*kʷin-t-s*	***ɬe***	*sic-m-s*
then	take-TR-3ERG	**DET**	cover-MDL-3SG

'Then he took it his blanket…' (Doak & Montler 2006)

The lexeme *sparkalaqs* 'turtle' goes back to the verbal root 'turned inside out' with the lexical suffix *-alaqs* 'end' and the nominalizer *s-* attached to it. The lexeme *sic* 'blanket' goes back to the verbal root 'cover'.

(21) Coeur d'Alene:

a.

ʔekʷun	*lut*	***ɬe***	*s-tariʔ-CVC-m*	*pintč*	*t-kʷel-s-gʷuɬ*
she/he said	NEG	**DET**	**NOM-**thunder-AUG-MDL	always	LOC-about-NOM-dust

'She / he said is it not true that Thunder always travels about in dust.'

(Doak & Montler 2006)

b. *čm*   *ʔec-ʔem-ut*   **łe**   **s-***miyem*
dark   CUST-sit-STAT   **DET**   **NOM**-woman
'Just staying home his wife.'   (Doak & Montler 2006)

(22) Colville-Okanagan:
łaʔ   *k-***s**-*k-pəl-əl=ikst*
when   have-**NOM**-grow-CONN=branch
'…when it has boughs…'   (Mattina 1985:6)

Having analyzed the texts, we have come to the conclusion that in the Southern Interior Salish languages, there is a process of morphological formation of nominals by means of reanalyzing syntactic structures of subordinate clauses into lexical ones (with the nominalizer *s-*)according to the model:

(23) **[the subordinate clauses with the subordinate markers → prefixal morphological formation of the nominalized verbal predicates]**

In fact, we observe the process of morphological formation of the former verbal predicates into nominals by means of the prefix *s-*, which indicates that a situation or state is to be viewed as an entity, cf.:

(24) Colville-Okanagan:
a. *ʔaxaʔ*   *yi*   **s-***tkʷ-tkʷəʔut-ən-s-əlx*
DEM   DET   **NOM-**walk-walk-INSTR-his-PL
'Here are their tracks…'   (Mattina 1985:34)

b. *k-terq-iks-əs*   *yi*   **s**-*cəl-cal*
RES-kick-branch-his   DET   **NOM**-stand-stand
'He kicked the trees.'   (Mattina 1985:42)

Due to the material of the Interior Salish languages, we can trace that the nominals are in fact former subordinate clauses attached to the verbs which can be proved by the polyfunctional prefix *s-* functioning as a lexical nominalizer and as an aspectual marker of a neutral aspect, cf.:

(25) Coeur d'Alene:
s-*ʔel-min-t-sut-s*
NOM-move.body-REL-TR-REFL-3SG
'he moved (he did not even move)'('he died')   (Doak & Montler 2006)

In (25) due to the syncretic nature of *s-* as a nominalizer and as a marker of a neutral mode the situation is viewed as stative, one should interpret it as though 'he did not move', i.e. 'died'.

3   Conclusion

We come to the conclusion that the Interior Salish languages demonstrate the areal grammatical strategies relevant for revealing the mechanisms of diachrony of nominals by transforming syntactic structures into lexical ones in the following way: **[subordinate clauses with the subordinate markers → prefixal morphological formation of the nominalized verbal**

predicates]. So, the Interior Salish languages provide the evidence that nominals are of verbal origin that could be characteristic of the ancient language.

References

Black, Deirdre J. 1996. *The Morphological and phonological structures of Spokane lexemes.* M.A. Diss. Victoria: University of Victoria.

Camp, Kelsi. 2007.*An Interlinear analysis of seven Kalispel texts from Hans Vogt*. M.A. Diss. Missoula: University of Montana.

Carlson, Barry F. 1972. A Grammar of Spokan: A Salish language of Eastern Washington. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 4(4). Hawaii: University of Hawaii.

Coeur'd Alene Language Online resource center. Lyon and Green-Wood's root dictionary (http://lasrv01.ipfw.edu/COLRC/dictionary/) (Accessed: 2018-10-11.)

Czaykowska-Higgins, Eva and M. Dale Kinkade. 1998. Salish languages and linguistics. In: Eva Czaykowska-Higgins and M. Dale Kinkade (eds.), *Salish languages and linguistics: Theoretical and descriptive perspectives.* Berlin/New York: Mouton, 1–70.

Doak, Ivy, and Timothy Montler. 2006. *Reichard's Coeur d'Alene texts. Tales with historical elements.* (http://ivydoak.com/Coeurd'Alene/ReichardTexts.htm) (Accessed: 2017-07-20).

Egesdal, Steven. 1991. Margaret Sherwood's Badger and Skunk. A Spokane traditional legend with commentary. *Papers for ICSNL 26*, 97–118.

Willet, Marie. L. 2003. *A Grammatical sketch of Nxa'amxcin (Moses-Columbia Salish).* University of Victoria. (PhD Dissertation).

Lindley, Lottie, and John Lyon. 2012. 12 Upper Nicola Okanagan Texts. In: John Lyon and Joel Dunham (eds.), *Papers for ICSNL 47*. Vancouver: UBCWPL, 22–91.

Lyon, John. 2010. Nominal modification in Upper Nicola Okanagan. In: Joel Dunham and John M. Lyon (eds.), *Papers for ICSNL 45*. Vancouver: UBCWPL, 199–233.

Mattina, Anthony. 1973. Colville grammatical structure. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 5(4). Hawaii: University of Hawaii.

Mattina, Anthony (ed.). 1985. *The Golden Woman. The Colville Narrative of Peter J. Seymour.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Mattina, Nancy. 2006. Determiner phrases in Moses-Columbia Salish. *International Journal of American Linguistics,* 72(1):97–134.

Reichard, Gladys A. 1938. Coeur d'Alene. In: Franz Boas (ed.), *Handbook of American Indian Languages3*.New York: J.J. Augustin, 517–707.

Speck, Brenda. J. 1977. *An Edition of Father Posts's Kalispel grammar*. M.A. Diss. Missoula: University of Montana.