

Salish Lexical Affixation: A Typological Perspective

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Abstract: Lexical affixation is one of the characteristic features of the Salish language family. Salish lexical suffixes do not correspond to the substantive forms, which shows the relevance of the problem of the diachrony of these affixes. In the present article, Salish lexical affixation is viewed from the diachronic perspective. Typologically, the authors single out three semantic types of lexical affixation. There are languages with nominal lexical affixes, such as Salish, Chimakuan, Tsimshianic, Totonac, and Panoan languages, as well as the isolates of Purépecha, Mapudungun, and Tiwi. There are languages with bound verbal predicates and light verbs, such as Eskimo, Chukchi, Koryak, and Iroquoian languages. There are languages both with substantive and verbal lexical affixation, such as the Wakashan languages and Alutor. The specific features of the lexical affixation in different language types are considered and analyzed.

Keywords: Salish languages, lexical suffix, lexical affix, native languages of North America, native languages of Central America, native languages of South America, Eskimo languages, Chuckhi-Kamtchatkan languages, areal typology

1 Introduction

Lexical affixation is one of the characteristic features of the Salish language family. The lexical suffixes¹ (LSs) of the Salish languages are defined as a closed class of bound morphemes expressing substantive meanings. At the same time, LSs in most cases do not correspond to the substantive (free) forms, which shows the relevance of the problem of the diachrony of these suffixes being unsolved among the Salishanists. There is also a small set of lexical prefixes, which are few in number in comparison with the LSs.

There are different explanations for the origin of the LSs. According to the traditional Salishanists' version, LSs were once nouns that were frequently used within compounds, and the grammaticalization of substantive roots in compounds brought forth root-like LSs (Mithun 1997:369–370; 2010; Carlson 1990; Kinkade 1998; Gerdtts 1999). Wiltschko (2009:216) considers that the source of the LSs is the incorporated noun. The proponents of the above-mentioned hypothesis point out that, across all the Salish languages, there are some LSs that are related to free-standing nouns. Bischoff (2007:106) contemplates on the possible diachronic path that the LSs would have been a category of morphemes not derived from nominal incorporation, but that exploited nominal incorporation to acquire new phonological material. Newman (1968:27) argues that “the LS are not derived from noun roots, nor is their historical source to be sought in any class of root morphemes”; instead, they are a coherent set of non-nuclear morphemes.

In the present paper, we view Salish LSs from the typological perspective. The specific features of the lexical affixation of different language types are considered and analyzed. The Salish examples are drawn and analyzed from the following sources on the Salish languages: Lillooet (van Eijk 1997, 2013), Northern Straits (Saanich) (Montler 1986), Halkomelem (Galloway 1977, 1993; Suttles 2004), Coeur d'Alene (Gladys 1934), Bella Coola (Nater 1984), Squamish (Kuipers 1967), Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994), Spokane (Carlson 1972), Northern Straits (Samish) (Galloway 1990), Shuswap (Kuipers 1974), Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996).

¹ Abbreviations used in the paper: 1 – first person, 2 – second person, 3 – third person, ABS – absolutive case, AOR – aorist, ASS – assertive, ATTRIB – attributive form, CON.M – concomitative, CONN – connective, E – epenthetic sound, EMPH – emphasis, HAB – habitual, INF – infinitive, INTR – intransitive, INCL – inclusive form, IND – indicative, LOC – locative, LS – lexical suffix, NMLZ – nominalizer, NPAST – non-past tense, P – predicate, PL – plural form, PREP – preposition, PRES – present tense, PRF – perfective, PST – past tense, REFL – reflexive, S – singular, ST – stative, SUBJ – subject, QTV – quotative, TH – thematic marker, TR – transitive, = – lexical affix.

Typologically, languages with different semantic types of lexical affixation exist. A-priori, an assumption may be the following: there are languages with nominal lexical affixes (LAs) (e.g., Salish languages), there are languages with verbal LAs, and there are some languages where both types of lexical affixation exist.

2 Salish lexical suffixes

Salish LSs (bound forms) and corresponding nominals (free forms) are different in many examples. Across all the Salish languages, there are several LSs that are considered to be related to free-standing nominals. Sometimes, the free-standing forms differ from the LSs in the presence of an added consonant (*m-*, *s-*, *t-*, *y-*). Few linguists have paid attention to this fact and the diachronic source of these consonants. Kinkade (1998) raises the ‘Consonant + LS’ problem and presents the lists of the LSs and the corresponding nominal forms in his paper on the origin of the Salish LSs. Some linguists have pointed out that there is a special formative *m-* occurring in a number of words referring to parts of the body in Squamish and Halkomelem (Kuipers 1967; Suttles 2004):

(1) Squamish:

- a. *smɔus* ‘head (human, animal, fish)’ cf. *s-* (NMLZ), formative *m-*, and *=us* ‘face’ (LS)
- b. *məlq* ‘larynx’ possibly from *məl* ‘round, spherical’ and *=q* ‘head’ (LS)
- c. *məqsn* ‘nose’ formative *m-* and *=qs* ‘nose’ (LS)

(2) Halkomelem:

- a. *má:qel* ‘hair’ lit. ‘comes out of the head’; from *me* (root), *=qəl* (LS)
- b. *sqwemels* ‘forehead’ lit. ‘part the hair comes out of’; *s-* (NMLZ), *qwem* ‘come out of by the roots’, *=mels* ‘part, portion’ (LS)

We consider that the consonants might have been former verbal markers (namely, NMLZ *s-*) and locatives (LOC) because in Salish languages, the LSs are locative in nature. As far as the majority of LSs are somatic, they locate the action on a body part or are being done with or to a body part:

(3) Northern Straits (Samish):

- a. *=əl(=ən)* ‘on the back (spine)’
- b. *=inəs* ‘in the chest’

Moreover, the locatives may co-occur with LSs. In Lillooet, for instance, the locative prefix *n-* may co-occur with LSs:

(4) Lillooet:

- a. *n..=anwas* ‘heart, inside, mind’
- b. *n-ql=anwas-min*
LOC-bad=heart, inside, mind-TR
‘to dislike somebody / something’

So, we consider that such corresponding free forms of nominals might have been the result of the lexicalization of nominalizing, locative, or verbal elements, and LSs:

- (5) Squamish:
- a. $=us$ ‘head’ — $sm\partial us$ ‘head’ lexicalization $s-$ (NMLZ) + m (LOC) + $=us$ ‘face’ (LS), i.e., the somatic lexeme = lexicalization of NMLZ + LOC + LS
- b. $s-t-ai-\check{c}$ ‘back (of body)’ probably not a root but a combination of the $s-$ (NMLZ), formative $t-$, the connective $-ai-$, and the LS, i.e., the somatic lexeme = lexicalization of NMLZ + LOC + CONN + LS
- c. $m\partial qsn$ (lexeme) ‘nose’ / lexicalization $m-$ (LOC) + $-\partial-$ (CONN) + LS + $-n$ (TR)
- (6) Halkomelem:
- a. $=m\partial x / =am\partial x$ ‘country, person’ — lexicalization $s-$ (NMLZ) + t (LOC) + $stam\partial x$ ‘warrior’ $=am\partial x$ ‘country, person’ (LS)
- b. $=m\partial x^w / =em\partial x^w$ ‘place, people’ — lexicalization of $t-$ (LOC) + $t\partial m\partial x^w$ ‘earth, land, soil’ $=em\partial x^w$ ‘earth, land, soil’ (LS)
- (7) Coeur d’Alene:
- $=ina$ ($=ana$) ‘ear’ (LS) — lexicalization of $t-$ (LOC) + $=ina$ ‘ear’ (LS)
 $tina$ ‘ear’ (root)
- (8) Bella Coola:
- $=us$ ‘face’ (LS) — $musa$ ‘face’ lexicalization of $m-$ (LOC) + $=usa$ ‘face’ (LS)
- (9) Lillooet:
- $=upa7$ ‘tail’ — $suspa7$ ‘tail’ lexicalization of $s-$ (NMLZ) + $=upa7$ ‘tail’ (LS) + consonant reduplication

Moreover, in some cases, LSs and somatisms have verbal origin:

- (10) Squamish:
- a. $s-x\partial n\partial$ ‘foot, leg’ from $x\partial n-x\partial n$ ‘read or tell one’s family tree’. This is nowadays often done with the aid of matches; in the old days one may have been drawing lines in soil or sand, which could be compared to three-branched footprints of birds), so that there is a connection with $s-x\partial n\partial$ ‘foot, leg’ (with the $s-$ NMLZ); In Halkomelem, we have a similar case: $sxele$ ‘leg, foot’; from $s-$ (NMLZ), xel ‘move, move around in circles’, $=e$ ‘living thing’ (LS)
- b. $k'\partial l\partial$ ‘stomach’ from $k'ai\partial$ ‘be hungry’
- c. $s-qal-uan$ ‘mind, heart (spiritual), opinion’ from $ql-qal-uan$ ‘think, plan’ (cf. qal ‘think, mind, speak’)
- d. $s-x\partial m-xm$ ‘kidney’ lit. means ‘weighing down’; from $s-$ (NMLZ) and the reduplication of the root $x\partial m$ ‘heavy’

- (11) Spokane:
 =*cin* ‘mouth, food, words, language’ cf. *cn* ‘hum, speak softly’
- (12) Shuswap:
s-qm-eltn ‘throat’ *s-* (NMLZ), *qm* ‘to swallow’, =*eltn* ‘throat’ (LS)
- (13) Lushootseed:
 a. *sisəd-qs* ‘nose’ *sisəd* ‘blow one’s nose’, =*qs* ‘nose’ (LS)
 b. *s-qəbu7* ‘breast, milk’ from *qəbu7* ‘nurse’
- (14) Thompson:
 a. *sq’meytn* ‘throat’ from *qəm* ‘to swallow’
 b. *p’s* ‘nose’ related to *p’əs* ‘bend-stick’
 c. *s-q7em* ‘breast’ cf. *q’em* ‘suck breast’
 b. *təle7* ‘tongue’ cf. *təl* ‘stick out’
- (15) Halkomelem:
 a. *sqemo* ‘breast, nipple, milk’ from *qemó* ‘suckle, suck milk from a breast’
 b. = *qeyl (qel)* ‘in the head, on top’ from *qit* ‘encircle, to circle around completely’
 c. *sqwemels* ‘forehead’ lit. ‘part the hair comes out of’; *s-* (NMLZ), *qwem* ‘come out of by the roots’, =*mels* ‘part, portion’ (LS)
 d. *oqwelets* ‘back of the body, the whole back’ cf. Northern Straits (Songish) ‘to be behind’
 e. *momet’es* ‘index finger, pointing finger’ cf. *momet’es* ‘pointing’
 f. *q’eyq’ey* ‘guts, intestines’ *q’ey* ‘tied, knotted, wound round’ (root reduplication)
- (16) Squamish, Lillooet:
cucin ‘mouth’ *c-* ‘mouth, lip, edge, opening’ (cf. *cu* ‘say, tell’) and formative *-cin* only in the word *cucin*
- (17) Lillooet:
s-k^wakst ‘hand, arm’ *s-* (NMLZ), *k^wam / k^wan* ‘to take’, =*akst* ‘arm’ (LS)
- (18) Bella Coola:
 =*akst (=kst)* ‘hand, arm’ — the root might be related to *k^wa-m / k^wa-n* ‘to take + INTR / TR
s-k^wakst ‘hand, arm’ with either
 =*akst (=kst)*

The above-mentioned examples prove the priority of LSs, not stems, and contradict the traditional versions of the diachrony of the Salish LSs. Thus, we can state that in spite of the fact that the Salish LAs refer to substantive meanings, the diachrony of LSs is worth discussing.

3 Languages with lexical affixation

Lexical affixation can be found in some other Native North American languages, especially in languages of the Pacific Northwest. Among them, the Wakashan languages are relevant due to the fact that they have both substantive and verbal LAs. Unlike in Salish languages, lexical prefixation is not present in Wakashan, as Muro (2008:6) postulates. He also states that verbal affixes are a peculiarity of the Wakashan family and that their frequency in Salish languages is quite rare (Muro 2008:7).

Some examples of Nuu-Chah-Nulth LAs are listed below:

- (19) *ʔi'h^w=(š)tu'p*
big=thing
'whale' (Davidson 2002:194)
- (20) *mat='aʔa-ma'-ʔata.*
cold=on.rocks-IND-HAB
'It is always cold on the rocks.' (Davidson 2002:202)
- (21) *iʔat=(č)i:t-šiš- 'aš-ša:*
arrow=make-PRF-TEMP-again
'They again start making arrows.' (Davidson 2002:188)
- (22) *maʔt'aʔamitʔiš* *čakup.*
maʔt'a='aap-mit-ʔiš *čakup*
house=buy-PST-3S.SUBJ.IND man
'A man bought a house.' (Muro 2008:17)

Lexical affixation can be found in Tsimshianic languages as well. Let us consider some examples from Nishga'a (or Nisgha) languages. Nishga'a LSs are not as abundant as in Salish and Wakashan languages. Here are some examples of Nishga'a non-derived LSs:

- (23) *qamksi:wá:=mq*
white.person=language/speech
'English language' (Tarpent 1987:719)
- (24) *qán=k^ws*
stick=mass.of.smth
'pile of sticks' (Tarpent 1987:718)
- (25) *k^wstíns=ó:l*
five=person
'five persons' (Tarpent 1987:717)

This affix from the example (25) can be added both to numeral prefixes *kə-* 'one' and *xpə-* 'ten' and to some numeral words.

We can infer that Tsimshianic non-derived LSs have particular meanings, unlike verbal affixes in Wakashan languages, or locatives, classifiers, etc. both in Salish and in Wakashan languages. Thus, we can conclude that Nishga'a LSs are of substantive nature only.

The nearly extinct Chimakuan languages belong to a type of languages with lexical affixation. Typologically, LAs in Quileute (as an example) have some similarity with those in Salish languages: Quileute lexical affixes can also be classified as locatives, referentials, numerals, somatic, non-somatic, etc. Here are a number of examples of Quileute affixes:

(26) *paqe='tal*
 work=place.where.something.is.done
 'workshop' (Andrade 1933–1938:195)

(27) *t'sixile=qusa'*
 high=side.of.a.canoe
 'high side of canoe' (Andrade 1933–1938:195)

We can assume that most of Quileute lexical suffixes are of substantive nature as well. Therefore, its typology is close to the Salish system of lexical affixation.

Affixal verbs can be found in some other Native North American languages, and the Iroquoian languages are not an exception in this respect. Here is an example from Cherokee showing an affixal verbal predicate in it:

(28) *àma* *gà=nèhénéé-'a.*
 water 3SG=give-PRES
 'She is giving him water.' (Mithun 1999:112)

Affixal verbal predicates known as 'classificatory verbs' are widespread in Cherokee and used for distinguishing types of action and handling with different entities. Some parallels can be observed in other Iroquoian languages: for example, Oneida and Mohawk also have affixal verbal predicates with a classifying function.

The system that is similar to Salish, Tsimshianic, and Chimakuan languages can be observed in some languages of Native Central America, for instance Tarascoan (or Purépecha), an isolate of western Mexico. Purépecha has a range of LSs that constitute a similar class of locatives as in Salish languages. The examples below show some subtypes of locative LSs in Purépecha:

(29) *waxa=ru-x-ti.*
 sat=street-AOR-ASS.3S
 'He sat in the street.' (Chamoreau 2017:683)

(30) *waxa=k'ara-x-ti.*
 sat=inside.the.house-AOR-ASS.3S
 'He sat inside the house.' (Chamoreau 2017:683)

Chamoreau (Chamoreau 2017: 683–684) categorizes all LSs of Purépecha into two subgroups: such suffixes that denote spatial locations or places and suffixes that refer to particular spatial areas: most of them are derived from body-part terms, as in the case of Salish somatisms that have a tendency to metaphorization.

Totonac languages of Central America show a range of lexical affixation that seems to be very similar to the Salish and Chimakuan languages of the Pacific Northwest. Many of Totonac LAs include somatisms, locatives, referentials, etc. that can be used metaphorically. Unlike Salish LAs, Totonac affixes are easily related to corresponding free noun stems. Most Totonac LAs (bound morphemes) are simplified or abbreviated forms of the free stems. Here is an example from the Upper Necaxa language:

(31) a. *ʔe:n* 'back' (free stem)
 b. *ʔe:-* 'back' (bound stem) (Beck 2004:12)

Diachronically, the affix with the meaning 'back' is obviously derived from the free form of the noun stem by elision of final consonant *-n-*.

Totonac LAs (particularly, Upper Necaxa affixes) are mostly prefixes, as shown in the following examples:

(32) *lanʔs mat lakpa:=lás-li~.*
 ideophone QTV cheek=slap-PRF
 ‘Whack! He hit him on the cheek.’ (Beck 2004:70)

(33) *wamá: tiłmáx laka=wí:t místu.*
 this blanket face=sit cat
 ‘The cat is sitting on the blanket.’ (Beck 2004:72)

(34) *tʃi/kú ʔe:=yá:t tʃik.*
 man back=stand house
 ‘The man is on the roof of the house.’ (Beck 2004:72)

As we can observe from the examples above, lexical prefixes in Upper Necaxa, like in other Totonac languages, have metaphoric expressions derived from the primary somatic meaning.

Languages with lexical affixation are located in South America as well, for instance, the Panoan languages. Fleck (2006:59) argues that most members of the family have about 30 monosyllabic morphemes that refer to different body-part terms. Panoan LAs are mostly prefixes, as can be seen in an example from Matses below. The latter have 27 prefixes that constitute body-part terms, i.e., somatisms (Fleck 2006:63–67):

(35) *ma=nën-e-bi.*
 head=hurt-NPAST-1S
 ‘I have a headache.’ (Fleck 2006:79)

(36) *debi-Ø mē=pan-ad-e-k.*
 Davy-ABS hand=wash-REFL-NPAST-IND
 ‘Davy is washing his hands.’ (Fleck 2006:80)

Lexical prefixes in Matses can also easily become metaphors with spatial, locative, etc. meanings. The further extension of meaning is similar to Salish, Wakashan, Totonac, and other languages in this case.

Mapudungun, an isolate language of Chile and Argentina, displays a system of lexical affixation that is mostly of the prefixing type. Lexical prefixes of Mapudungun are strongly somatisms (Fortescue et al. 2017:12) that can be combined with nouns, verbs, and other word classes except for proper names. The examples below represent prefixal somatisms with noun stems:

(37) *nge=trewa*
 eye=dog
 ‘dog’s eye’ (Baker & Fasola 2009:598)

(38) *longko=kachilla*
 head=wheat
 ‘ear of wheat’ (Baker & Fasola 2009:598)

Unlike the languages discussed above, the lexical affixation of Mapudungun has its own restricted complex domain of verbal or/and nominal-verbal structure unlike the Native North America languages.

There are a number of languages with lexical affixation in Australia, for example Tiwi, an isolate of the Melville and Buthurst islands. Tiwi has a set of bound nominal morphemes with semantics

similar to free noun stems. The general number of LAs in Tiwi is 100 to 150 (Lee 1987:160). They can also be incorporated into the complex form of the verbal predicate. Here are two examples of sentences with the meaning ‘water’: the free noun form with this meaning is given in the first sentence and the bound form is in the second sentence:

(39) *Kaghi kukuni awungarra nga-nti-ri-ki-yamuk-urughi.*
 PREP water here 1PL.INCL-P-CONN-eve-together-put
 ‘Here, at the water, we’ll make camp.’ (Lee 1987:396)

(40) *ta-ma-jingi=mang-ini!*
 EMPH-CON.M-in.something=water-hold
 ‘Hold the water in a container!’ (Lee 1987:166)

It is worth mentioning that lexical affixation is represented in other polysynthetic languages of Northern Australia, mainly of the Arnhemland linguistic area. Particularly, the Dalabon language has a bunch of LAs with adverbial semantics (Mithun 2017:52) that correspond typologically to similar structures of Native North American languages.

The so-called affixal ‘light verbs’, also known as verbal predicates or affixal verbs, are a characteristic feature of a number of Eskimo languages. Their semantics has become more generalized in the process of derivation from the primary lexical meaning. For example, this group includes the verbs denoting ‘get’, ‘make’, ‘do’, ‘look’, etc. Another group of the verbal predicates are verbs of actions, verbs of possession, and verbs of existence. The examples below from the Eastern Greenlandic language demonstrate the verbs of motion in the structure of the complex verbal predicate:

(41) *siki=kkiiq-pu-q.*
 ice=go.through-IND-3S
 ‘He is going through the ice.’ (Tersis 2009:59)

Not only motion verbs function as verbal affixal predicates but also the verbs denoting actions typical of the traditional culture of Eskimo-Aleut people, for example hunting:

(42) *anniq-niaq-tiq*
 bearded.seal-hunt-ATTRIB
 ‘one who is hunting the bearded seal’ (Tersis 2009:59)

The above-mentioned verbal affix *-niaq-* has a more generalized meaning, as shown in the following example:

(43) *suutti-i-niaq-pu-q.*
 first-be-try-IND-3S
 ‘He is trying to be first.’ (Tersis 2009:60)

These examples represent the lexical affix *-niaq-* in the more abstract meaning ‘to try’.

Light verbs or affixal verbal predicates are also typical for some of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan languages, and the Chukchi language in particular. Let’s consider the following example from Chukchi:

(44) *qaa=yete-γʔ-e.*
 reindeer=search-TH-2/3SG.S
 ‘He searched lost reindeer.’ (Vinyar et al. 2017:7)

The typical meanings of the Chukchi verbal LAs are the following (Vinyar et al. 2017:4): ‘search’, ‘drag out’, ‘catch’, ‘hunt’, ‘cut’, ‘make’, ‘get’, ‘do’, ‘prepare’, etc. Thus, not only generalized meanings are observed but also the terms of particular actions. Volodin and Skorik (1997:32) describe Chukchi verbal affixes as a special class of ‘predicatives’ with five subclasses.

The meaning of basic affixal predicates in the Chukchi constructions can be changed. Compare the sentences below:

(45) *ye-tekisy=u-tine-t.*
PF-raw.meat=eat-PF.3SG
‘They eat raw meat’ (Vinyar et al. 2017:5)

(46) *n-taʔak=o-qen.*
ST-tobacco=eat-ST.3SG
‘He smokes cigarettes.’, lit. ‘He eats tobacco.’ (Vinyar et al. 2017:6)

This semantic shift to narrower meanings is characteristic of Chukchi LSs.

The next point of consideration is the Alutor language. As Nagayama (2010:276) states, there is a number of affixes in Alutor with substantive and verbal meaning. Most typical lexical meanings for Alutor verbal affixes are ‘eat’, ‘drink’, ‘make’, ‘want to’, ‘come (about season or period)’ (Nagayama 2010:278). Most typical nominal meanings of LAs are the following ones: ‘tool for smth.’, ‘place for smth.’, ‘container’, ‘mass of smth.’, ‘object to do smth.’, ‘meat of smth.’, ‘piece of smth.’, etc. (Nagayama 2010:277). The examples of these affixes are given below:

(47) a. *keŋ*
bear
‘bear’
b. *keŋ-ə=tsul*
bear-E=meat.of.smth.
‘bear meat’ (Nagayama 2010:277)

(48) a. *em-ə-k*
draw.water-E-INF
‘to draw water’
b. *em-ə=nə*
draw.water-E=place.for.smth
‘a place for water drawing, well’ (Nagayama 2010:277)

(49) a. *saj*
tea
‘tea’
b. *saj=u-k*
tea=to.drink/to.eat-INF
‘to drink tea’ (Nagayama 2010:278)

(50) a. *anu*
spring
‘spring’
b. *anu=ruŋ-ə-k*
spring=to.come-E-INF
‘to come (about spring)’ (Nagayama 2010:278)

Moreover, in Alutor, we find a quite rare example of a lexical circumfix, as shown below (affix *ta-...-ŋ*):

(51) a. *la*
go
‘go’
b. *ta=la=ŋ-ki*
to.want.to=go=to.want.to-INF
‘to want to go’ (Nagayama 2010:278)

We can observe verbal LAs in Koryak. As Kurebito (2017:846) points out, there are some affixal predicates with a variety of meanings. There are the following meanings: ‘make’, ‘eat’, ‘drink’, ‘look for’, ‘hunt’, ‘catch’, ‘go to’, ‘come off’, ‘cut by’ etc. Also, we find a circumfix *ta-...-ŋ/te-...-ŋ* with the meaning ‘make’, as in Alutor (Kurebito 2017:846).

Here are some examples of the verbal affixes in Koryak:

- (52) (*yəmmo*) *t-ə-kmeŋ-ə=ŋta-k-∅*.
 1SG.ABS 1SG.S-E-child-E=go.for-1SG.S-PRF
 ‘I went for a child.’ (Kurebito 2017:847)
- (53) (*yəmmo*) *t-acʕ=o-k-∅*.
 1SG.ABS 1SG.S-boiled.fish=eat-1SG.S-PRF
 ‘I ate a boiled fish.’ (Kurebito 2017:847)
- (54) *korpa-kawkaw-kante=ŋŋ-yʕat-∅*.
 grain-bread-candy=get-3PL.S-PRF
 ‘They got grain, bread, and candy.’ (Kurebito 2017:848)

Thus, the lexical affixal predicates in Koryak are similar to those in Chukchi and Alutor. Some lexemes correlate to each other both in form and in meaning.

4 Conclusion

The languages with lexical affixation can be subdivided into the following types:

- i. Languages with predominantly substantive lexical affixation. LAs in this type of language correspond semantically to the non-predicative word classes — free nouns, adjectives, numerals, etc. The examples of this language type are Salish, Chimakuan, Tsimshianic, Totonac, Panoan languages as well as isolates of Purépecha, Mapudungun, and Tiwi. The Salish language group is a typical example of this language type.
- ii. Languages with predominantly verbal lexical affixation. These are the languages with bound verbal predicates and light verbs with ‘bleached’ lexical semantics that obtains general meaning. Eskimo, Chukchi, Koryak, and Iroquoian languages are representatives of this type.
- iii. Languages with both substantive and verbal lexical affixation. Here we can find both substantive and verbal LAs, i.e., verbal predicates, light verbs, etc. Also, the verbal affixes denote different actions. The typical member of this group is the Wakashan language family. Alutor is likely to be included in this type.

Most languages with lexical affixation are located in North, Central, and South America. Native North American languages display a highly elaborated lexical affix system. That is, the lexical affixation can be considered as a specific feature of Native American languages. Also, lexical affixation often correlates to the polysynthesis of various types: it can be found in polysynthetic languages of Northern Australia (Tiwi as an example) and in the Chukchi-Kamchatkan languages along with Eskimo languages of the subarctic area.

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