

HALKOMELEM DENOMINAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS¹

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Halkomelem has four denominal verb prefixes: *c-* ‘have, get, make, do’, *t-* ‘ingest, partake’, *tx^w-* ‘buy’, *š-* ‘go to’. These prefixes attach to nominal bases to form intransitive verbs. The noun to which the prefix attaches is usually unspecified, generic, or nonindividuated and can be doubled with a freestanding nominal of more specific meaning. Syntactically, this nominal is an oblique object, parallel to patients of antipassive or applicative constructions. Denominal verb constructions are widely used, especially for denoting possession. As in the case of denominal verbs in other languages, they can be formed quite freely, as long as the situation allows for an interpretation. A brief look at the comparative Salish evidence suggests that denominal verb morphology originated as lexical verbs that were then subsequently reduced to bound forms.

[KEYWORDS: Halkomelem, Salish, denominal verbs, noun incorporation]

1. Denominal verbs. Some intransitive verbs in Halkomelem—such as *ctiqiw* ‘have/get a horse’, *cqewθ* ‘have/get potato(es)’, or *ššx^wimelə* ‘go to the store, go shopping’—are composed of a noun base (e.g., *stiqiw* ‘horse’, *sqewθ* ‘potato’, *šx^wimelə* ‘store’) and a verbalizing prefix.² These forms appear in a denominal verb construction, where the derived form serves as an intransitive predicate.³

¹ Halkomelem is a Central Salish language. Data come from fieldwork with speakers of the Island dialect (*həlqəminəm*), which is currently spoken by around 100 people living on southwest Vancouver Island and the neighboring islands. We would like to express our appreciation to the speakers who worked with us on this topic, especially Arnold Guerin, Ruby Peter, and Theresa Thorne. We appreciate editorial assistance from Kaoru Kiyosawa, Todd Peterson, and Charles Ulrich. Thanks to audiences at BLS, CLA, WSCLA, and ICSNL for comments on earlier versions of this paper (Gerds and Hukari 2002a; 2002b; 2003; 2004). Funding for our research comes from a Jacobs Fund Grant and SSHRC Standard Research Grants #410-2001-1335 and #410-96-1247.

² The nominal prefix *s-* disappears after *c-* and *t-* but not after *tx^w-* and *š-*.

³ Data are represented with the symbols regularly used for Northwest languages. Glottalization is marked with an apostrophe over the consonant and labialization with a superscript *w*. The alveolar fricative is represented as *š*, the uvular fricative as *χ*, and the lateral fricative as *l*. The affricates are represented as *t^θ* (dental), *c* (alveolar), *č* (palatal), and *š* (lateral).

Abbreviations used in this paper are: AUX auxiliary, CS causative, DAT dative applicative suffix, DIM diminutive, DT determiner, EMPH emphatic, ERG ergative, FUT future, IMPF imperfective aspect, INSTR instrument, LC limited control, LNK linker, MID middle, NEG negative, NM nominalizer, OBJ object suffix, OBL oblique, PAS passive object suffix, PERF perfect, PRO pronoun, PL plural, POS possessive, Q question particle, REF reflexive, SSUB subordinate subject, STA stative, SUB subject, SUP suppositive, TR transitive, VBL verbalizer.

- (1) *ʔi ʔə yəx^w ʔəw c-tiqiw k^wθəñ səlsilə?*
 AUX Q SUP LNK VBL-horse DT:2POS grandparent(PL)
 ‘Do you suppose your grandparents still have horses?’
- (2) *ni? nem ʔ-šx^wimelə c-qewθ k^wθəñ men.*
 AUX go VBL-store VBL-potato DT:2POS father
 ‘Your father went to the store to get potatoes.’

There are four verbalizing prefixes in Halkomelem.⁴

- (3) *c-* ‘have, get, make, do’
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|---|----------------|
| <i>k^wəmləx^w</i> | ‘root’ | <i>c-k^wəmləx^w</i> | ‘get roots’ |
| <i>s-taləs</i> | ‘spouse’ | <i>c-taləs</i> | ‘get a spouse’ |
| <i>s-q^wq^wəm</i> | ‘axe’ | <i>c-q^wq^wəm</i> | ‘have an ax’ |
| <i>s-čəpx^wəñ</i> | ‘wart’ | <i>c-čəpx^wəñ</i> | ‘have a wart’ |
- (4) *l* ‘ingest, partake’
- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>səplil</i> | ‘bread’ | <i>l-səplil</i> | ‘eat bread’ |
| <i>čəməx̄</i> | ‘pitch, gum’ | <i>l-čəməx̄</i> | ‘chew gum’ |
| <i>ti</i> | ‘tea’ | <i>l-ti</i> | ‘drink tea’ |
| <i>s-pəłəmə</i> | ‘smoke’ | <i>l-pəłəmə</i> | ‘smoke a cigarette, pipe’ |
- (5) *tx^w-* ‘buy’
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|--|------------------|
| <i>leləmə</i> | ‘house’ | <i>tx^w-leləmə</i> | ‘buy a house’ |
| <i>səplil</i> | ‘bread’ | <i>tx^w-səplil</i> | ‘buy bread’ |
| <i>šuk^wə</i> | ‘sugar’ | <i>tx^w-šuk^wə</i> | ‘buy sugar’ |
| <i>s-pəłəmə</i> | ‘smoke (n.)’ | <i>tx^w-s-pəłəmə</i> | ‘buy cigarettes’ |
- (6) *ʔ-* ‘go to’
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>tawən</i> | ‘town’ | <i>ʔ-tawən</i> | ‘go to town’ |
| <i>mətuliye?</i> | ‘Victoria’ | <i>ʔ-mətuliye?</i> | ‘go to Victoria’ |
| <i>pestən</i> | ‘United States’ | <i>ʔ-pestən</i> | ‘go to the States’ |
| <i>pəñeləx̄əł^θ</i> | ‘Penelektut’ | <i>ʔ-pəñeləx̄əł^θ</i> | ‘go to Penelektut’ |

The first of these prefixes, *c-*, is used quite productively, as there is no free-standing verb for ‘have’ in Halkomelem. The other prefixes are heard quite

⁴Our data are from the Island dialect of Halkomelem. Gerdt (1976) was the first to note these four prefixes in Halkomelem in data from the Island dialect. Suttles (2004:269ff.) notes all four of the prefixes we discuss in the Downriver dialect plus some other “verbalizing prefixes” whose status is less clear. Galloway (1993:202) notes one of the four suffixes, *l-*, in the Upriver dialect as part of a broader group of “lexical prefixes.”

commonly, except for *tx^w*- ‘buy’, which seems to have declined in use recently.⁵

The form resulting from the addition of the prefix is clearly a verb. Among other things, we see that denominal verbs can appear in the imperfective aspect typical of verbs, as seen by the forms in the third column of (7) below. Imperfectives are formed by reduplication (most commonly) or by vowel mutation. The basic reduplicative pattern for imperfectives is a stress-bearing CV-prefix (resonants reduplicate as /h/), often with concomitant vowel reduction or deletion of the base vowel and glottalization of resonants after the initial consonant of the base. Compare *ítəm* ‘sing’ with *ítətəm* ‘singing’ and *lak^w* ‘fly’ with *lálak^w* ‘flying’. Notice that prefixes, such as the verbalizer *c-* in (7), do not count as part of the base.

(7) <i>put</i> ‘boat’	<i>c-put</i> ‘make a boat’	<i>c-pupət</i> ‘making a boat’
<i>telə</i> ‘money’	<i>c-telə</i> ‘have/get money’	<i>c-tetələ</i> ‘earning money’
<i>s-wetə</i> ‘sweater’	<i>c-wetə</i> ‘have/get a sweater’	<i>c-wewətə</i> ‘making a sweater’
<i>s-nax^wət</i> ‘canoe’	<i>c-nax^wət</i> ‘have/make a canoe’	<i>c-hənx^wət</i> ‘making a canoe’
<i>łəx^włəx^w</i> ‘oyster’	<i>c-łəx^włəx^w</i> ‘have oysters’	<i>c-łix^włəx^w</i> ‘gathering oysters’
<i>s-ce:ltən</i> ‘salmon’	<i>t-ce:ltən</i> ‘eat salmon’	<i>t-cecələttən</i> ‘eating salmon’
<i>s-məyəθ</i> ‘deer, meat’	<i>t-məyəθ</i> ‘eat venison, meat’	<i>t-həmyəθ</i> ‘eating venison, meat’
<i>šx^wimelə</i> ‘store’	<i>ł-šx^wimelə</i> ‘go to the store, shop’	<i>ł-šx^wi:melə</i> ‘going to the store, shopping’

⁵ Of the three native-speaker linguists we worked with, only one, Arnold Guerin, uses *tx^w*- ‘buy’; one speaker, Theresa Thorne, recognized it but said she did not use it; and Ruby Peter said she did not recognize it. Since we have data from texts and other nonelicited materials from the 1970s and early 1980s where the prefix is used, but we do not know any speakers under the age of 80 who use it currently, we conclude its use is declining. It is now common to find a phrase consisting of the verb *?iləqət* ‘buy’ and an NP to express the notion of ‘buy X’.

The verbalizing prefixes can attach to nouns of all sorts. These include nouns of native origin (8) and borrowed words (9).⁶

(8) Native words

<i>leləm̃</i>	‘house’	<i>c-leləm̃</i>	‘build a house’
<i>ʔik^wəñ</i>	‘peas’	<i>t-ʔik^wəñ</i>	‘eat peas’
<i>sce:ltən</i>	‘salmon’	<i>tx^w-sce:ltən</i>	‘buy salmon’
<i>s[?]aməna[?]</i>	‘Somenos’	<i>ʔ-s[?]aməna[?]</i>	‘go to Somenos’

(9) Borrowed words

<i>put</i>	‘boat’	<i>c-put</i>	‘make a boat’
<i>kapi</i>	‘coffee’	<i>t-kapi</i>	‘drink coffee’
<i>ka:</i>	‘car’	<i>tx^w-ka:</i>	‘buy a car’
<i>haps</i>	‘hops’	<i>ʔ-haps</i>	‘go to the hops field’

The nouns can be plural (10) or diminutive (11).

(10) Plurals

(10a)	<i>snəx^wət</i>	‘canoe’	<i>c-nəx^wət</i>	‘make, have a canoe’
	<i>sənix^wət</i>	‘canoes’	<i>c-ənix^wət</i>	‘make, have canoes’
(10b)	<i>ʔiməθ</i>	‘grandchild’	<i>c-ʔiməθ</i>	‘have a grandchild’
	<i>ʔəniməθ</i>	‘grandchildren’	<i>c-ʔəniməθ</i>	‘have grandchildren’
(10c)	<i>qeq</i>	‘baby’	<i>c-qeq</i>	‘have a baby’
	<i>qəle[?]əq</i>	‘babies’	<i>c-qəle[?]əq</i>	‘have babies’

(11) Diminutives

(11a)	<i>silə</i>	‘grandparent’	<i>c-silə</i>	‘have a grandparent’
	<i>sisələ</i>	‘little grandparent’	<i>c-sisələ</i>	‘have a little grandparent’
(11b)	<i>mənə</i>	‘son/daughter’	<i>c-mənə</i>	‘have a son/daughter’
	<i>minne[?]</i>	‘little son/daughter’	<i>c-minne[?]</i>	‘have a little son/daughter’
(11c)	<i>snəx^wət</i>	‘canoe/car’	<i>c-nəx^wət</i>	‘have a canoe/car’
	<i>snin^xwət</i>	‘little canoe/car’	<i>c-nin^xwət</i>	‘have a little canoe/car’

Also, denominal verbs can be formed on nouns that contain lexical suffixes (12).

⁶ In fact, we see some cases below with code-switching: the base is actually an English compound in (58) and an English noun in (59).

- (12) Nouns with lexical suffixes
- (12a) *s-čq^w-əñə* ‘earring’ (NM-pierce-ear)
c-čq^wəñə ‘have an earring’
- (12b) *pəθ-šə-tən* ‘mat’ (spread-foot-INSTR)
c-pəθšətən ‘have/make mats’
- (12c) *q^wleỵ-šən* ‘shoe’ (log-foot)
tx^w-q^wleỵ-šən ‘buy shoes’
- (12d) *neč-əẉtx^w* ‘neighbor’ (different-house)
χ-nečəẉtx^w ‘go to a neighbor’s’, ‘visit’

Thus, all sorts of nouns can serve as bases for denominal verbs.

Note that verbs generally do not serve as bases for denominal verbs.⁷

- (13) *q^waq^wəq^w* ‘being clubbed’ **c-q^waq^wəq^w* ‘do clubbing’
?əttən ‘eat’ **t-?əttən* ‘eat eating’
q^waq^wəl ‘speaking’ **tx^w-q^waq^wəl* ‘pay for speaking’
ticəm ‘swim’ **χ-ticəm* ‘go swimming’
qič ‘be tied up’, **c-qič* ‘get tied up’, ‘make an
‘get arrested’ arrest’

However, we know of one verb root $\sqrt{k^wən}$ ‘get taken’ that forms a denominal verb *c-k^wən* ‘make a grab’ (ceremonial). Furthermore, some roots designating psychological or cognitive events may occur with *c-*, for example: *c-haq^w* ‘smell, catch a whiff’ (cf. *haq^w-əm* ‘smell’ (v.)) and *c-lem* ‘look, catch a glimpse’ (cf. *lem-ət* ‘look at it’). The categorial status of such roots is unclear, and thus they do not straightforwardly contradict the claim that denominal verb prefixes attach to nouns.

2. The morphology of denominal verbs. The placement of clitics shows that denominal verbs behave like a single word. Sentential clitics—for example, the question particle and the subject clitics—appear in second position in Halkomelem, after the first word.

- (14) ?i ?ə č c-nəx^wət?
AUX Q 2SUB VBL-canoe
‘Do you have a canoe?’

⁷ There is some controversy in the Salish literature on the status of the noun/verb distinction (see Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:35–37). In the case of the host of the verbalizing prefixes, standard syntactic criteria for noun-hood, such as the ability to take a determiner or to be possessed, do not apply. Nevertheless, all bases have nominal meanings, and furthermore inflect as nouns for plurality and diminution. In some cases, the *s-* prefix often present on nouns does not co-occur with verbalizing prefixes. But this is most likely a phonological rather than a morphological issue. Insofar as the verbalizing prefixes are attached only to units with a nominal head, the denominal verb construction provides a text for noun-hood.

That such clitics appear after the denominal verb gives evidence that it constitutes a single word:

- (15) *c-nəx^wət ʔə ǰ ce??*
 VBL-canoe Q 2SUB FUT
 ‘Will you make a canoe?’
- (16) **c-ʔə ǰ ce? (s)nəx^wət?*
 VBL-Q 2SUB FUT canoe
 ‘Will you make a canoe?’

When used in embedded clauses, denominal verbs host subordinate subject suffixes:

- (17) *ʔewe:ǰ t-ti-əx^w?*
 not:Q:2SUB VBL-tea-2SSUB
 ‘Won’t you take tea?’
- (18) *qəl-stəx^w-əs k^w-s ǰ-tawən-s.*
 bad-CS-3ERG DT-NM VBL-town-3SSUB
 ‘He doesn’t want to go to town’.

Furthermore, denominal verbs can serve as bases for the causative suffix:

- (19) *ni? c-i^θele?-stəx^w-əs t^θə ʂəʂiyət-s.*
 AUX VBL-heart-CS-3ERG DT elder.sibling(PL)-3POS
 ‘He made hearts for his older brothers’.
- (20) *nəm c-ǰəltən-stamš!*
 go VBL-pencil-CS:1OBJ
 ‘Go get me a pencil!’
- (21) *ni? tx^w-səplil-stəx^w-əs lə steni? k^wθə meməñə-s.*
 AUX VBL-bread-CS-3ERG DT woman DT child(PL)-3POS
 ‘The woman bought bread for her children’.

As discussed in Gerdts (1988), the ability to take the causative suffix is generally a property of intransitive verbs of the unergative class.⁸

⁸Nouns can also serve as bases for the causative, although with very different semantics, meaning ‘make into N’:

- (i) *x^wi? stani?-st-əm k^wsəs s-ʔi^θəm t^θə swəyqe?-all.*
 now woman-CS-PAS DET:N:3SSUB NM-dress(STA) DT man-young
 ‘They have the boy dressed as a girl’.

Note that a causative suffix added to a denominal verb yields a form with benefactive semantics. Also, the limited control reflexive *-namət* can be attached to a denominal verb, yielding the meaning ‘manage to’, as typical of intransitive verbs of the unergative class (Gerdt 1991 and Gerdt and Hukari 1998; 2000).

- (22) *ʔəwə kʷənəs c-yays-namət.*
not DT:1POS:NM VBL-work-LC.REF

‘I couldn’t manage to find a job’.

- (23) *təs ʔe kʷθə ʃxʷ-yəxʷ-s tʰə s-qʷsejən, yet-ʔəs*
arrive OBL DT NM-open-3POS DT NM-gillnet before-3SSUB
ʃeʔ təw c-telə-namət.
again rather VBL-money-LC.REF

‘When the salmon gillnet season opened, you made a few dollars’.

In sum, the positional evidence shows that the denominal prefix and nominal base form a single word. Furthermore, the derivational evidence shows that they are intransitive, unergative verbs and thus take an agent for the subject.

So far, the denominal verb seems to be straightforwardly produced by prefixing a verbalizer to a noun. However, modified nouns can also form denominal verbs. In this case, the prefix appears on the first word of the phrase, i.e., the adjective.⁹

- (24) *ʔi: ʃ ʔəw c-ʔəq ləmətulqən?*
AUX:Q 2SUB LNK VBL-white wool

‘Do you have any white wool?’

- (25) *ʔi: ʃ ʔəw c-čəjxʷ sce:ltən?*
AUX:Q 2SUB LNK VBL-dry salmon

‘Do you have any dried fish?’

- (26) *ʔi: ʃ ʔəw c-ʃeqt ʃwıləm?*
AUX:Q 2SUB LNK VBL-long rope

‘Do you have a long rope?’

- (27) *ʔi: ʃ ʔəw c-ʃew’s səqiws?*
AUX:Q 2SUB LNK VBL-new pants

‘Do you have a new pair of pants?’

⁹ Most of our examples of phrases serving as bases for denominal verbs involve the prefix *c-*, which is the most common of the prefixes. For an example with *txʷ*, see (21) above.

The prefix does not appear on the head noun of the modified phrase.

- (28) *ʔi ʔə č ʔəw pəq c-swetə?
 AUX Q 2SUB LNK white VBL-sweater
 ‘Do you have a white sweater?’

Phrases with multiple adjectives are possible, with the prefix on the leftmost adjective.

- (29) ʔi ʔə č ʔəw c-pəq swetə?
 AUX Q 2SUB LNK VBL-white sweater
 ‘Do you have a white sweater?’
- (30) ʔi ʔə č ʔəw c-plet pəq swetə?
 AUX Q 2SUB LNK VBL-thick white sweater
 ‘Do you have a thick, white sweater?’
- (31) ʔi ʔə č ʔəw c-xəws plet pəq swetə?
 AUX Q 2SUB LNK VBL-new thick white sweater
 ‘Do you have a new, thick, white sweater?’
- (32) *ʔi ʔə č ʔəw plet c-pəq swetə?
 AUX Q 2SUB LNK thick VBL-white sweater
 ‘Do you have a thick, white sweater?’

Such data show that it might be more appropriate to think of the deverbal forms as left-edge clitics rather than prefixes.

Further evidence for the structure of denominal phrases comes from the limited control reflexive, which, as discussed above, can be suffixed to a denominal verb:

- (33) ni? ʔə č c-wetə-namət?
 AUX Q 2SUB VBL-sweater-LC.REF
 ‘Did you manage to get a sweater?’

This suffix is also possible in examples with modified noun phrases, in which case the suffix appears, like the verbalizing prefix, on the adjective:

- (34) ni? ʔə č c-pəqnamət swetə?
 AUX Q 2SUB VBL-white-LC.REF sweater
 ‘Did you manage to get a white sweater?’

Thus, it seems that the morphological properties of this deverbal construction are somewhat complex, since we have shown earlier that these are

words (i.e., the base for inflectional and derivational affixes), yet they also show properties of phrases.

3. The syntax of denominal verb constructions. Evidence for the surface intransitivity of denominal verb constructions comes from transitive marking and ergative agreement. Transitive clauses such as (35) exhibit both of these phenomena, but denominal verb constructions (36–38) do not:

- (35) *ni?* *?iləqə-t-əs* *k^wθə* *swəyqe?* *k^wθə* *ka:*.
 AUX buy-TR-3ERG DT man DT car

‘The man bought a car’.

- (36) *ni?* *tx^w-ka:* *k^wθə* *swəyqe?*.
 AUX VBL-car DT man

‘The man bought a car’.

- (37) **ni?* *tx^w-ka:-t-əs*.
 AUX VBL-car-TR-3ERG

‘He bought a/the car’.

- (38) **ni?* *tx^w-ka:(-t)* *k^wθə* *ka:*.
 AUX VBL-car-(TR) DT car

‘He bought a/the car’.

Furthermore, as discussed in Gerdts (1988), many Island Halkomelem speakers do not allow proper nouns to be subjects of transitive clauses:

- (39) **ni?* *?iləqə-t-əs* *k^wθə* *John* *k^wθə* *ka:*.
 AUX buy-TR-3ERG DT John DT car

‘John bought a car’.

However, these same speakers allow denominal verb constructions with proper noun subjects:

- (40) *ni?* *tx^w-ka:* *k^wθə* *John*.
 AUX VBL-car DT John

‘John bought a car’.

This provides evidence that the subject is an absolutive and not an ergative NP in the surface syntax. Thus, denominal verb constructions are surface intransitives; the thematic object of the transitive event serves as the head of the denominal verb.

Nevertheless, denominal verbs can take a doubled “cognate” object in the oblique case.

- (41) *c-sisə́lə* *t^θəwⁿnił* *íəíə̀m* *ʔə* *θə*
 VBL-grandparent(DIM) DT:LNK:3PRO wren OBL DT
sisə́lə-s.
 grandparent(DIM)-3POS
 ‘Wren had a grandmother’.

- (42) *ʔəwe:č* *t-qaʔqaʔ* *ʔə* *k^w* *qaʔʔ*¹⁰
 NEG:Q:2SUB VBL-beverage OBL DT water
 ‘Won’t you drink some water?’

True doubling is not possible, as this would be semantically vacuous. Rather, the oblique NP gives some more precise detail about the N serving as the verb base. For example, in (41), the determiner in the oblique NP specifies that the grandparent in question is female, and the modifier in (42) stipulates that the beverage is water (as the denominal verb does not necessarily implicate water). Thus, we frequently see that the base noun and the freestanding NP are in a hyponomous relation. For example, the base noun ‘store’ in (43) is doubled with the precise name of the store.

- (43) *neṁ* *cən* *ł-šš^wimelə* *ʔə-ł* *Wal-Mart.*
 go 1SUB VBL-store OBL-DT Wal-Mart
 ‘I’m going shopping at Wal-Mart’ (literally, ‘I’m going to the store to Wal-Mart’).

In some cases, the relationship between the noun base and the oblique NP is one of semantic overlap, similar to a classificatory function. For example, in (44) the base noun *ʔəθ-aʔq^w* is formed with compounding lexical suffixation and literally means ‘baked head’, where ‘head’ refers to round items (see Gerdts, Hinkson, and Hukari 2002 and Gerdts and Hinkson 2004). This could refer to potatoes, apples, popovers, etc. The oblique NP in (44) specifies the baked thing as potatoes.

- (44) *neṁ* *cən* *t-ʔəθ-aʔq^w* *ʔə* *k^wθə* *sqewθ.*
 go 1SUB VBL-bake-head OBL DT potato
 ‘I’m going to have baked potatoes’.

¹⁰ This base noun *s-qaʔqaʔ* ‘drink (n.), beverage’ comes from the verb *qaʔqaʔ* ‘drink (v.)’, which probably comes from the noun *qaʔ* ‘water’.

We see the opposite effect in (45), where the base noun of the denominal verb specifies ‘cup’ and the oblique NP contains a noun formed with compounding lexical suffixation meaning a big container of some type.

- (45) *neṁ c-ləpat-staṁš ?ə kʷ θe:qən!*
 go VBL-cup-CS:1OBJ OBL DT big:container
 ‘Go get me a big cup!’

The generalization is that the form containing the lexical suffix (either the base of the denominal verb or the doubled NP) will have classificatory semantics.

Other types of modification are possible as well. In (46) the oblique phrase is an emphatic possessive based on the noun *swe?* ‘one’s own’.¹¹

- (46) *?i c-telə ?ə kʷθə swe?-s.*
 AUX VBL-money OBL DT own-3POS
 ‘She has her own money’.

Note that possessed nominals do not directly form denominal verbs.

- (47) **?i c-telə-s*
 AUX VBL-money-POS
 ‘She has his/her money’.

In (48) and (49) the NP in the oblique phrase is a determiner-headed relative clause.

- (48) *θəʔət-šən-əṁ c-pe:łxəṁ ?ə kʷθə šni?-s*
 fix-foot-MID(IMPF) VBL-field(IMPF) OBL DT place-3POS
ce? kʷθə sənixʷət ?ə kʷθə sʰešən-s ce
 FUT DT canoe(PL)OBL DT potlatch-3POS FUT

‘They are clearing the field (literally, preparing the base to make the field) where the cars will be parked for the potlatch’.

¹¹ It is also possible to form a denominal verb on both *swe?* and the noun it modifies:

- (i) *nił tʰə stənteni? c-we? c-yays kʷ-s neṁ-s ?əlxe:m*
 3-PRO DT woman(PL) VBL-own VBL-work DT-NM go-3POS collect
?ə tʰə spe:nxʷ.
 OBL DT camas

‘It’s the ladies who have the job of collecting camas’.

- (49) *ʔi: ʃ wəʔ c-ʔ^θəʃi^θəʃ ʔə k^wθə ʔi ʃəʔə-stəx^w-əx^w*
 AUX:Q 2SUB PST VBL-nettle OBL DT AUX say-CS-2SSUB
ʔəʃs-c-ʃ^wi^ləm?
 2POS-VBL-rope

‘Did you get the stinging nettles that you said you were going to make rope with?’

There are several types of oblique-marked NPs in Halkomelem, including true obliques and also oblique-marked themes of antipassive and applicative constructions (“oblique objects”). Extraction facts, however, differentiate them (Gerds 1988 and Gerds and Hukari [forthcoming]).

- (50) Extraction in Halkomelem (wh-questions, relative clauses, clefts, pseudo-clefts)
- (50a) No special morphology
 • ergatives (ergative agreement is deleted), absolutes
- (50b) Nominalization with *s-*
 • oblique objects (patients of antipassives, patients of applicatives)
- (50c) Nominalization with *ʃ(x^w)-*
 • obliques (location, direction, instrumental, manner, stimulus)

As noted in (51b), patients of antipassives (cf. 52a) and patients in applicatives (cf. 52b) extract via nominalization with the prefix *s-*.

- (51a) *ni? q^ws-eʔəm tə steni? ʔə k^wθə ʃeləm sce:ltən.*
 AUX soak-mid DT woman OBL DT salt salmon
 ‘The woman soaked the salted salmon’.

- (51b) *stem k^wə ni? s-q^ws-eʔəm-s tə steni??*
 what DT AUX NM-soak-MID-3POS DT woman
 ‘What did the woman put in the water/soak?’

- (52a) *ni? ʔam-əs-t-əs k^wθə swiwləs ʔə k^wθə puk^w.*
 AUX give-DAT-TR-3ERG DT young.man OBL DT book
 ‘He gave the boy a book’.

- (52b) *nił k^wθə puk^w ni? s-ʔam-əs-t-s k^wθə swiwləs.*
 3PRO DT book AUX NM-give-DAT-TR-3POS DT boy
 ‘It’s the book that he gave the boy’.

Similarly, the oblique NP serving as the doubled object in the denominal verb construction in (53a) is questioned as in (53b), with an *s-* prefix on the embedded verb.

- (53a) *ni?* *cən* *c-qew* *ʔə* *t^θ* *ʔalənčəs.*
 AUX 1SUB VBL-payment OBL DT orange(PL)
 ‘I got paid in oranges’.

- (53b) *stem* *k^wə* *ni?* *ʔən-s-c-qew?*
 what DT AUX 2POS-NM-VBL-payment
 ‘What was your payment?’

An additional example of the extraction of the double NP is given in (54); the presence of the *s-* nominalizing prefix clearly shows that it is an “oblique object” that is being questioned:

- (54) *stem* *k^wə* *ni?* *ʔən-s-c-šuk^wə?*
 what DT AUX 2POS-NM-VBL-sugar
 ‘What did you use for sugar?’

In sum, the nominal base of the denominal verb can “double” with an oblique NP, which proves to be an oblique object syntactically. Semantically, there is often some overlap—but not complete identity—between the base of the denominal verb and the oblique NP.

4. The semantics of denominal verbs. As seen in the translations of the above examples, the nominal base of the denominal verb is often unspecified, generic, or nonindividuated. Nevertheless, the nominal can be referred to anaphorically:

- (55) *nəm* *t-pay* *ʔi?* *t^θən* *sqeʔəq.* *ni?* *sčəčə?* *ʔə*
 go VBL-pie and DT:2POS younger sibling AUX on OBL
t^θ *lətem.*
 DT table.

‘You and your younger brother, go have some pie. It’s on the table’.

- (56) *ʔeʔət* *x^wi?* *c-meməqe?* *t^θ* *sχəliqət.* *nəw-əš-əs* *čə*
 here now VBL-snow(IMPF) DT child(PL) in-TR-3ERG hearsay
ʔə *k^wθə* *s-θiməʔ-elə.*
 OBL DT NM-ice-container

‘The children are making snowballs and putting them into the freezer’.

So the denominal verb can in fact refer to something specific. Probably the most accurate description of the semantics of denominal verbs in Halkomelem is that it matches their use in English, formulated as the following principle by Clark and Clark (1979:797):

(57) Principle of Specificity

The kind of situation that an innovation denotes is intended to be as specific as the circumstances warrant.

A further issue that arises concerning the semantics of denominal verbs is whether or not they are lexicalized. Discussing denominal verbs in Bella Coola, Mithun (1997:367) claims: "Like the suffixes, the prefixes represent elements of meaning that are frequently combined with others to create lexical items, names for recognizable, recurring activities. . . . Speakers have created names for the concepts they have discussed the most." It is true that there are some frequently used expressions such as *c-telə* 'have money', *l-páʔəm* 'have a smoke/cigarette', and *ʔ-tawən* 'go to town'. However, in many examples, denominal verbs are used in rare or even unique situations, and certainly in situations that are not part of traditional culture. For example, in (56) above, making snowballs and freezing them is not a usual activity. Also, buying a power saw was not an everyday occurrence:

- (58) *nə-s-niʔ* *xʷiʔ* *txʷ-power saw*, *nə-s-niʔ*
 IPOS-NM-AUX:LNK now VBL-power.saw IPOS-NM-AUX:LNK
 xʷiʔ *c-qʷteʔ*.
 now VBL-log

' . . . and I went out and bought a power saw and I went out logging'.

In fact, both of these examples contain the particle *xʷiʔ* 'now, next', which denotes that something has suddenly happened, possibly contrary to speaker's expectation (Gerdt and Hukari [forthcoming]). Other examples of activities that are not recurring activities or part of the cultural heritage include getting a pension, which happens once in a lifetime, or marketing flowers.

- (59) *sis* *ʔəʔ* *c-penʂən-steləm*, *nə-s-niʔ* *hay*
 and LNK VBL-pension-CS:1PAS IPOS-NM-AUX:LNK finish
 kʷə-nə-s-yəʔəs.
 DT-1POS-NM-work(IMPF)

' . . . and I got my pension and I quit working'.

- (60) *niʔ* *yəxʷ* *ʔa:* *xʷəni* *c-peqəm* *kʷθə* *peqəm-ewtxʷ?*
 AUX SUP EMPH still VBL-flower DT flower-house
 'I wonder if the flower shop still has some flowers'.

TABLE 1
THE SALISHAN FAMILY

Bella Coola
Central Salish
Comox/Sliammon, Halkomelem, Klallam, Lushootseed, Nooksack, Pentlatch, Sechelt, Squamish, Straits Salish, Twana
Interior Salish
Northern Interior Salish
Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson
Southern Interior Salish
Coeur d'Alene, Columbian, Kalispel/Flathead/Spokane, Okanagan/Colville
Tsamosan
Lower Chehalis, Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz, Quinault
Tillamook

Flowers, since they were not eaten, had little significance in native culture as seen by the fact that there is one generic word meaning 'bloomer' covering all non-bush wildflowers. So, while lexicalization may indeed be an important factor in the use of lexical suffixes, it seems irrelevant in the case of denominal verbs. Again, the most accurate generalization of when denominal verbs are allowed in Halkomelem is when it matches their use in English, as posited by Clark and Clark (1979:787):

(61) The Innovative Denominal Verb Convention

The speaker means to denote the kind of situation that s/he has good reason to believe that on this occasion the listener can readily compute uniquely on the basis of their mutual knowledge in such a way that the parent noun denotes a role in the situation. . . .

Although further research may reveal some of the factors determining the choice of a denominal verb construction over a phrasal construction with a verb and an NP, we can conclude at this point that denominal verb constructions are used for a variety of situations in Halkomelem including when the base nominal is specific or nonspecific, unique or common, novel or culturally salient. The use of denominal verb is the type of polysynthetic construction that is considered the mark of a fluent speaker of the language.

5. The historical origin of denominal verb prefixes. Halkomelem belongs to the Salishan language family—a large and diverse family that extends over southern British Columbia, Washington, northern Idaho, western Montana, and northwestern Oregon. Kinkade (1992:360) groups the 23 Salishan languages into five branches (see table 1).

A review of information available on verbalizing prefixes shows that they have been attested for languages in at least three branches of the Salish family. Halkomelem is in the Central Salish branch, which consists of a diverse chain of languages. Montler (1986:40–41; 1991:60; 2003:117; personal communication) notes three denominal verb prefixes for the Straits dialect of Saanich, the language closest to the Island dialect of Halkomelem. These are *č-* ‘have’ (but not ‘get, make, do’), as in *č-télə* ‘have money’; *t-* ‘partake’, as in *t-páłəŋ* ‘smoke cigarette’; and *tx^w-* ‘buy’, as in *tx^w-s?itən* ‘buy food’. No form seems to exist for ‘go to’. Montler (2004; p.c.) notes three prefixes for Klallam: *č-* ‘have’ (but not ‘get, make, do’), as in *č-tálə* ‘have money’; *łá?* ‘go to’, as in *łá?-mitúliyə* ‘go to Victoria’; and *čša?* ‘go from’, as in *čša?táwn_cn* ‘I went from town’. Bates, Hess, and Hilbert (1994:25) give one prefix for Lushootseed: *?ab-s-* ‘have (more or less permanently)’, as in *?ab-s-talə* ‘have money’. Kuipers (1967:117, 385) notes two prefixes for Squamish: *ti-* ‘to make build, produce’, as in *ti-lam* ‘build a house’, and *təl-* ‘partake of, eat, chew, smoke’, as in *təl-smic* ‘eat meat’; though perhaps there is a remnant form of the prefix *?əs-* meaning something like ‘have’, seen in the form *?əs-mən* ‘give birth’ from the noun *mən* ‘offspring’.

A prefix meaning ‘have, possess’ is attested in both branches of Interior Salish. In Northern Interior, it appears as *?əs-* ‘to have, to own’ in Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:50), as in *?əs-citx^w* ‘to have a house’, and as *pəl-* (*pə-* before *s*) in Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:71), as in *pəl-citx^w* ‘having a house, owner of a/the house’ and *pə-sk^wuye* ‘having a child; parent’. In Southern Interior, it appears as *?ept-* ‘to have’ in Spokane (Carlson 1990:80 and Carlson and Flett 1989:199), as in *?ept-ck^w* ‘to have a bow’, and as *kl-* ‘have’ (*k-* before *s-*) in Colville/Okanagan (Mattina 1987a:30), as in *kən k-sičəm* ‘I have a blanket’.

The outlier language Bella Coola seems to have the richest system of verbalizing prefixes. Saunders and Davis (1989:294–95) note five:¹²

(62)	<i>xł-</i>	‘have’	<i>xł-wač</i>	‘have dog’
	<i>tam-</i>	‘make’	<i>tam-swata</i>	‘make sweater’
	<i>?is-</i>	‘eat’	<i>?is-?at</i>	‘eat herring roe’
	<i>tx^w-</i>	‘go (in)to’	<i>tx^w-stuwa</i>	‘go to the store’
	<i>?as-</i>	‘located at, wear’	<i>?as-qayt</i>	‘wear a hat’

In sum, several Salish languages have denominal verb constructions. Languages seem to have from one to five verbalizing prefixes. The most

¹² Saunders and Davis (1989) treat the first three as unproblematical prefixes. The latter two prefixes, however, also occur in words that would otherwise be “rootless,” leading them to argue that these prefixes lie halfway in the cline between root and prefix. They show one case, *?as-tx^w-c* ‘I am inside’, where the two prefixes stack. Stacking of denominal prefixes is otherwise unattested in Salish languages. They also discuss a sixth prefix, *kił-* ‘lack’, but point out that this is problematical because it attaches to both stative roots (nouns) and action roots (verbs); so we exclude it from our discussion.

widespread is one meaning ‘have, possess’. Kroeber (1999:12), noting its occurrence in several languages (Lushootseed, Northern Straits, Okanagan, Kalispel, and Shuswap), suggests reconstructing Proto-Salish **ʔapɫ-* for this prefix.¹³ It thus appears likely that at least some denominal verb constructions go back to Proto-Salish. Given the time depth of Proto-Salish (Swadesh 1950 says 6,000 years and Kroeber 1999 says at least 3,000 years), it is reasonable to expect that other verbalizing prefixes could be lost and/or innovated in some branches/languages. Further studies of denominal constructions in individual languages may clarify the historical picture.

As for the origin of the verbalizing prefixes, the comparative evidence suggests that they are grammaticalized from verb roots. For example, Kuipers (2002:106–7) reconstructs Proto-Salish **taw* ‘to buy, sell’ and **tix^w* ‘to obtain, add to a store’ that may be the historical source of the verbalizing prefix **tix^w-*. Also, Proto-Salish **ʔiɫ(t)n* ‘to eat’ (Kuipers 2002:16) may be the source of a verbalizing prefix **ɫ-*. Additional evidence comes from the fact that some Salish languages have “compound” forms of verbs, which appear in combination with nominal roots. Three are given for Spokane (Carlson 1990:80 and Carlson and Flett 1989:199).

- (63) *k^wen* ‘to try, choose’ > *k^wi-* ‘to go after’ in compounds
ʔewət ‘to sneak up on’ > *ʔew-* ‘to go after’
tix^w ‘to get’ occurs almost exclusively in compounds

Notably, the last form may be related to the verbalizing prefix for ‘buy’.

Such evidence has led Carlson (1990), Mattina (1987*b*), and Mithun (1997) to conclude that compounding may be a source for “lexical prefixes” in Salish languages.¹⁴ Lexical prefix is a cover term used to refer to both verbalizing prefixes and prefixes with directional, spatial, or nominal meaning. Mithun (1997:369) claims: “The precursors of the Salishan lexical prefixes and suffixes first bonded phonologically to their hosts in compounds, at a time when they still retained their status as roots. At this point, they lost specific referentiality and case roles. Abstraction and extension of meaning occurred afterward over a considerable period of time.” We agree with this viewpoint with respect to the historical development of lexical suffixes (see Gerdts and Hinkson 1996, Hinkson 1999, and Kinkade 1998). Also, this view may capture the development of prefixes with directional, spatial, or nominal meaning. However, intriguing evidence from the Central Salish language Lushootseed suggests that verbalizing prefixes might have had a slightly different historical path.

¹³ Kroeber (1999) says that the *ɫ* is likely to be a connecting morpheme that is lost before *s-* “Nominalizer” in the Interior languages. An alternative analysis would be that there is a process of cluster simplification at work at the prefix/root boundary in some languages.

¹⁴ See also the evidence from Bella Coola discussed by Saunders and Davis (1989).

TABLE 2
SALISH VERBALIZING PREFIXES
(REPRESENTED BY -) AND COMPOUNDING VERBS (REPRESENTED BY +)

	'have'	'make'	'partake'	'buy'	'go to'	'go from'	'located/ wear'
Bella Coola	<i>xł-</i>	<i>tam-</i>	<i>?is-</i>		<i>tx^w-</i>		<i>?as-</i>
Halkomelem	<i>c-</i>	<i>c-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>tx^w-</i>			
Straits (Saanich)	<i>č-</i>		<i>t-</i>	<i>tx^w-</i>			
Klallam	<i>č-</i>				<i>ła[?]-</i>	<i>čša[?]-</i>	
Lushootseed	<i>?abs-</i>	<i>čəł/šəł+</i>		<i>təx^w+</i>	<i>ła+</i>		
Squamish	<i>(?əs-)</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>təł-</i>				
Lillooet	<i>?əs-</i>						
Shuswap	<i>pəł-</i>						
Spokane	<i>?epł-</i>			<i>tix^w+</i>	'get, obtain'		
Okanagan	<i>kl-</i>						

The Lushootseed data show an intermediate stage between full verbs and compounding. Hess (1995:119–20) says that three Lushootseed verbs “incorporate”: *čəł/šəł*¹⁵ ‘make’, *təx^w* ‘buy’, *ła* ‘go to some place’. These verbs are obviously cognate to the verbalizing prefixes in Halkomelem and other Salish languages (see table 2).

Hess (1995:119–20) notes a set of interesting properties of constructions that can be formed with these Lushootseed verbs. First, no determiner appears on the NP object (otherwise determiners are always required on NPs). Second, the verbs lack transitive morphology (required of all surface transitive verbs). Third, second-position clitics (such as first- and second-person subject clitics) can appear between the verb and noun, as in the (a) examples, or can follow both, as in the (b) examples:

(64a) *?u-šəł čəd íəbíləd.*
PERF-make 1SUB rope
‘I made rope’.

(64b) *?u-šəł-íəbíləd čəd.*
PERF-make-rope 1SUB
‘I made rope’.

¹⁵ There are two forms due to dialect differences within Lushootseed.

- (65a) *ʔu-təx^w čəd səpləl.*
 PERF-buy 1SUB bread
 ‘I bought bread’.
- (65b) *ʔu-təx^w-səpləl čəd.*
 PERF-buy-bread 1SUB
 ‘I bought bread’.
- (66a) *ʔu-ʕa čət tawd.*
 PERF-go.to 1PL.SUB town
 ‘We went to town’.
- (66b) *ʔu-ʕa tawd čət.*
 PERF-go.to town 1PL.SUB
 ‘We went to town’.

The placement of the clitics in the (b) examples is what we expect if the verb and noun form a single word, for example, if the verb is prefixal. The constructions in (a) are noteworthy though, because clitic placement shows that the noun and verb are separate words, and yet the noun lacks a determiner and the verb lacks transitive inflection.

We speculate that what is involved in the (a) examples is noun stripping, as defined by Miner (1986:243): “. . . nominals (. . . most frequently direct objects) are rendered indefinite—modifiers, determiners, number affixes, etc. are ‘stripped’ away—and enter into closely-knit units with the verbs, but stop short of actually being incorporated.” Noun stripping seems to arise with verb–noun combinations that are culturally salient and frequently encountered. Noun-stripping constructions would provide a natural stage in the development from a full-fledged NP structure complete with a determiner (i.e., a DP) to a denominal verb construction, where any noun—not just culturally salient ones—can be involved. Furthermore, the nouns can be inflected for number and diminution and modified by adjectives. We schematize this grammaticalization cline as follows:

- (67) V DP > V NP > prefix + NP
 transitive verb phrase noun stripping denominal V construction

Thus, it may be the case that the syntactic and semantic neutralization of the object noun phrase comes first and the phonological reduction of the verb follows. Once a verb is reduced to a prefix, other full verbs sometimes emerge to take its place in the lexicon.

6. Conclusion. Halkomelem denominal verb constructions are formed with four different verbalizing prefixes: *c-* ‘have, get, make, do’, *t-* ‘ingest,

partake', tx^w - 'buy', λ' - 'go to'. The meanings of the Halkomelem prefixes are ones usually expressed by verbalizing affixes in other languages of the world (Harley 2001 and Johns 2002; 2003). Some of the other Salish languages also have verbalizing prefixes—from one to five of them. Since languages in at least three of the five branches have denominal verb constructions, it is probably safe to say that they existed in Proto-Salish. One prefix, $*?ap\bar{t}$ - 'have, possess', has been reconstructed for Proto-Salish, but other suffixes seemed to have grammaticalized from verbs in particular languages or branches. Comparative evidence suggests that noun stripping was the precursor of the denominal verb construction. First, the nominal was stripped of its determiner, then the verb root was phonologically reduced to a prefix.

Denominal verb constructions are surface intransitive, as is obvious from the lack of ergative agreement and transitive morphology. Denominal verb constructions are not possible on possessed nouns, whether or not the possessor is stranded. Modified NPs can participate in the denominal verb construction, but in this case the modifier is not stranded. Instead, the verbalizing prefix appears at the left edge of the whole NP, before the modifier. The noun to which the prefix attaches is usually unspecified, generic, or nonindividuated and can be doubled with a freestanding nominal of more specific meaning. Syntactically, this nominal is an oblique object, parallel to patients of antipassive or applicative constructions, as shown by case-marking and extraction facts.

A final observation: we do not consider denominal verb constructions to be noun incorporation structures. Following the standard definition (Sapir 1911 and Mithun 1984; 1986), noun incorporation is a process of compounding a verb root and a noun root. Salish denominal verb constructions fail this definition in two ways. First, from the synchronic viewpoint, the element carrying the verbal semantics is a prefix, not a verb root. Furthermore, there are very few verbalizing prefixes (from one to five in Salish languages), while a wide variety of verbs standardly participate in noun incorporation. Second, the nominals involved are larger than a root. They can be inflected for number and diminution, they can be compounds, and they can even be modified by adjectives. They nevertheless are not DPs, as they cannot be preceded by determiners or possessed. Furthermore, the verbalizing prefixes freely occur with any NP, just so long as the situation allows for an interpretation. It is usually the case cross-linguistically that noun incorporation is limited to a small set of noun roots (around 100) of very basic meaning. Thus, the construction under discussion differs significantly from what is standardly viewed as noun incorporation (Gerdt 1998). In fact, another Salish phenomenon—lexical suffixation, which involves the suffixation of what was historically a noun root to a verb root—is a much closer parallel to noun incorporation than denominal verb constructions are. For a discussion of this construction and its parallels to noun incorporation, see Gerdt (2003; 2004) and Gerdt and Hinkson (1996).

Research on all aspects of the denominal verbs in Salish languages is still preliminary. However, we hope that this catalog of the Halkomelem facts from a morphological, syntactic, and semantic perspective contributes to our knowledge of denominal verb constructions in languages of the world.

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