42124

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* __LESLIE, ADRIAN ROY__

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* __A GRAMMAR OF THE COWICHAN__
__DIALECT OF HALKOMELEM__
__SALISH.__

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* __UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA__

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/
GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE __Ph.D.__

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* __1979 MAY__

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* __PROFESSOR THOMAS E. HUKARI.__

DATED/*DATE* __2nd March 1979__ SIGNED/*SIGNÉ* __Adrian Leslie.__

PERMANENT ADDRESS/*RÉSIDENCE FIXE* __4510 EVA AVENUE__
__VICTORIA, B.C.,__
__V8N 3J9.__

NL-91 (3-74)

NOTICE

AVIS

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

A GRAMMAR OF THE COWICHAN DIALECT OF HALKOMELEM SALISH

by

ADRIAN ROY LESLIE

B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1969

M.A., University of Victoria, 1972

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department

of

Linguistics

ACCEPTED
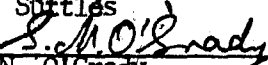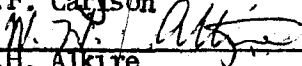FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEAN

DATE...... JUL 1·9 1979

We accept this dissertation as conforming
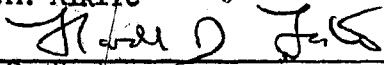to the required standard

T.E. Hukari

W. Suttles

G.N. O'Grady

B.F. Carlson

W.H. Alkire

H.D. Foster

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

January 1979

Supervisor: Professor T. Hukari

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a first structuralist grammar of Cowichan, which is spoken by native Indians in the southeastern part of Vancouver Island, and is based mainly on personal fieldwork with three speakers between May, 1975 and November, 1976. Cowichan is a dialect of Halkomelem, which is a Central Coast Salish language.

Although the noun/verb dichotomy is traditionally accepted for most of the world's languages, the predicator constitutes the basis for the description of Cowichan. The morphology section of the grammar provides support for this approach to the extent that the postulated predicators, whether they have apparent verbal interpretation or nominal (equational) meaning like /snas/ '(be) fat/grease', take common reduplicative and affixal morphemes. The syntax section also supports the predicator hypothesis in that a predicator may function as the head of a clause with adjuncts and particles.

The focus of the grammatical description is on the morphology and syntax of Cowichan since the phonology has already been exhaustively analyzed. The dichotomy between morphology and syntax is motivated here by the word structure of the language, which is characterized by extensive affixation. The morphology is divided into three main parts: inflection, derivation and deictic morphology. The syntax section has four major parts: main clause structure, adjuncts

and attribution to them, subordinate clauses and compound clauses.

Despite the formal justification for the division of the grammar into two sections, morphology and syntax, the two overlap. In the case of the deictics the morphological subclasses also constitute syntactic divisions. The overlap applies to certain inflectional suffixes, some of which mark what is referred to herein as transitivity, while others indicate person. These markers have morphological import insofar as three sets of forms--the person marker suffixes, which have patient interpretation like the English pronouns 'us' and 'them'--are only attached to predicators with a transitive suffix.

The transitivity suffixes and person marking paradigms enter into the syntactic analysis. They affect the syntactic structure of a clause insofar as the distribution as well as the interpretation of adjuncts depends upon the types of transitivity suffixes and person markers that appear. The person markers, moreover, that occur exclusively in subordinate clauses constitute one means by which the relationship between subordinate clauses and main ones is signalled. In attributive subordinate clauses, which translate as English relative constructions, the marker is attached to the predicate. In complementary subordinate clauses, the marker is affixed to the first element of the clause. This element may or may not be the predicate.

_____   _____
T.E. Hukari   B.F. Carlson

_____   _____
W. Suttles   W.H. Alkire

_____   _____
G.N. O'Grady   H.D. Foster

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SYMBOL CONVENTIONS

/ /	underlying form
___	phonemic form--the underlining, which may be either partial or total, is omitted in the citation of examples
[ ]	phonetic form
(2) yəq^w (T1: 139)	example (2) in the dissertation, item T1:139--text 1 sentence 139--in my field notes
AJ	Abel Joe
EM	Elwood Modeste
EW	Ellen White
SJ	Stan James
C	consonant
V	vowel
X	portion of a stem that does not enter into a given analysis
-	morpheme boundary
(TEH)	data elicited by Dr. Thomas E. Hukari
(Kava)	data elicited by Tiiu Kava
(Jones)	data elicited by Michael Jones
( )	(a) in a paradigm they indicate a marginal form (b) in glosses e.g. k^{w}ənəm 'take (it)' the parentheses signify that the Cowichan word is morphologically intransitive but transitive in interpretation (c) in a Cowichan word they indicate an underlying form
Capitalization	e.g. 'Actual' is used to avoid confusion between technical linguistic usage and non-technical usage
singular plural -s	if the morpheme is placed between columns, it means that the dichotomy does not apply to it. Thus /-s/ refers to either singular or plural entities

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. Orientation

In accordance with a traditional distinction made in linguistics the grammatical analysis of Cowichan presented herein is divided into two main sections: Morphology and Syntax. This arrangement is motivated by the word structure of the language, which is characterized by extensive affixation. Suffixation and, to a lesser extent, prefixation, occurs, as well as reduplication, infixation and stem mutation.

Although the noun/verb dichotomy is traditionally accepted for most of the world's languages, I view the predicate as being fundamental to Cowichan grammar with respect to both morphological and syntactic analysis, and the noun as representing a syntactic subclass of predicator.[1] The predicator is a morphological unit to the extent that words with apparent verbal interpretation and elements that translate as nouns take common affixes and reduplicative morphemes. It is also a syntactic unit in that it may occur as the head element of a clause containing an adjunct such as t^{θ}ə nəšx^w?áq̓^{w}a? 'my brother', or an enclitic, like cən 'I'. The head element may be a form such as x̌^{w}čénəm 'run' in the sentences x̌^{w}čénəm cən 'I (am about to) run' and x̌^{w}čénəm t^{θ}ə nəšx^w?áq̓^{w}a? 'My brother (is about to) run' or it may be an element such as swə́y̓qe? '(be) a man' in the sentences swə́y̓qe? cən 'I am a man' and swə́y̓qe? t^{θ}ə nəšx^w?áq̓^{w}a? 'My brother is a man',

Despite the formal justification for the organization of the grammar into two sections, morphology and syntax, certain pronominal syntactic elements, the subject enclitics, have been introduced into the morphology section as a convenient means of describing the semantic status of predicators, which may be uninflected or inflected with a transitivity suffix. The distribution of the suffix-like enclitics is only partially revealed in the morphology section, the main purpose being to use them as a means of defining the semantic relationship of pronominal subject. When it is stated, for example, that a predicate like /yəqʷ/ 'burned' has a patient referent, what is meant is that a subject enclitic like /cən/ 'I' in yəqʷ cən 'I am (going to be) burned' has patient interpretation.

0.2. Classification of Cowichan within the Salish Language Family

The Salish languages themselves are spoken in Washington and southern British Columbia from the coast inland to the Rocky Mountains and extend into Idaho, Montana and Oregon. There are two major groups: Coast Salish and Interior Salish. The first group is spoken to the west of the Cascades and the second, to the east of these mountains.

The most recent linguistic classification of the Salish languages is Thompson's (1973:986). In his scheme the dichotomy between Coast and Interior Salish is recognized. Coast Salish is viewed as consisting of two separate enclaves (Tillamook and Bella Coola), the Olympic Branch (upper Chehalis, Cowlitz, Quinault and lower Chehalis) in

southwestern Washington and a spread of languages which comprise the Central Coast Salishan branch as follows:[2]

Central Coast Salishan

A. Comox, B. Sechelt, C. Pentlatch (extinct), D. Halkomelem: Cowichan, Nanaimo, Chemainus on Vancouver Island and on the mainland: Musqueam, Kwantlen, Katzie, Sumas, Chehalis, Chilliwack and Tait, E. Squamish, F. Nooksack, G. Straits: Clallam; Songish, Sooke, Saanich, Semiahmoo, Lummi, H. Puget Sound: Skagit, Snohomish, Duwamish, I. Twana.

The Interior Branch in Thompson's scheme may be summarily presented as follows:

Interior Salish

A. Northern Branch: Lillooet, Shuswap and Thompson
B. Eastern Branch: Okanagan-Colville, Kalispel and Coeur d'Alene
C. Southern Branch: Columbian

This classification incorporates the findings of Elmendorf and Suttles (1960:3) on the Halkomelem (/həlqəminəm█ dialects. In their view these dialects, which are considered to be mutually intelligible by native speakers, are spoken in the lower Fraser valley on the mainland and include Cowichan on southeastern Vancouver Island from Mill Bay north to Nanoose Bay and on some of the adjacent Gulf of Georgia islands.

0.3. Proposals Concerning Wider Affiliations

Tentative evidence has been offered for relating the Salish language family with other families. Most recently Larry Morgan at the

University of British Columbia in his M.A. thesis has attempted to establish a relationship between Salishan languages and Kutenai. Earlier Sapir (1915:1) hypothesized that the Chimakuan, Wakashan and Salish families were derived from a proto-language, Mosan, which he further related to Kutenai and Algonquian. The term 'Mosan' (based on the numeral for 'four') was originally proposed by Frachtenberg (1920:205) on the ground that the languages of these three groups had cognate forms for the numeral 'four'.

Swadesh supported the Mosan theory partly on the basis of structural similarities and partly on the basis of "300 sets of phonologically consistent presumable cognates, assembled while following procedures calculated to hold loan similarities down to a negligible percentage" (1953:42). The structural similarities (sixteen listed) were of the following type: extensive use of suffixes, minor role of prefixes, extensive use of stem reduplication, stem vowel changes, glottal stop insertion as a grammatical device, and the use of lexical suffixes.

Kuipers (1967:403) offers justifiable criticism to the effect that the sixteen structural similarities contain several items that are
that the sixteen structural similarities contain several items that are as
alternating within Mosan do not alternate within any member language. In the way of support for his view concerning the invalidity of the evidence offered for the Mosan hypothesis Kuipers offers parallels and comparisons between Indo-European and Salish on the ground that one might just as well claim a link between these two families.

0.4. Cowichan Language Area

Originally, according to Barnett (1955:21) Cowichan speakers were located on Cowichan Bay and on the Cowichan River as far up as Duncan in a cluster of villages, which were situated at the bay head and around the rim of the Cowichan River. They are, in his notation, as follows: saməne, hwəlq!selə, LeməLt, kəmieq!ən, xenəpsəm, q!mitcən, q!əlpaləs and tsuheləm. The names which Barnett cites may be respectively designated in modern linguistic transcription as follows:

Cowichan Villages

s?áménə 'Somenos', x̌ʷəlq̓ʷsèlə 'Koksilah', ƛəmƛəmələč 'Clemclemutz Reserve', q̓ʷəmiyíqən 'Comiaken', x̌ínəpsəm 'Green Point, Kenupsum, Tzouhalem Mountain', kʷáməcən 'Quamichan', ƛəlpáləs 'Cowichan Bay' (ƛəp 'deep', -l- 'plural', -áləs 'eye, -ish' c.f. 'deepish') and čəẃx̌íləm 'Tzouhalem'.

The representation of the last form as the name of a village conflicts with personal fieldwork in which čəẃx̌íləm is elicited as the name of a warrior.

The Cowichan speech area is separated from that of the Nootka on the west coast of Vancouver Island by the insular mountains and from the other Halkomelem dialects spoken on the mainland by the Strait of Georgia. Hodge (1913:115) reported on the presence earlier of "Cowichan" people in the Fraser River valley as far east as Spuzzum. To the north and south Cowichan speakers have mingled with the members of other Salish Indian communities. They have done so sporadically in the Saanich speech area (south of Mill Bay), where Kava (1969) apparently found

speakers who knew Cowichan, Saanich and English. Personal fieldwork with a putative speaker of Nanaimo reveals that this dialect differs from Cowichan only in certain vocabulary items. For example, Nanaimo has the word /x̣ə́če/ in addition to /sment/ for 'rock' and /skʷiš/ instead of /sne/ for 'name'.

0.5. Speaker Population

The most recent source of information on speaker population is Chafe (1962). His figures on Amerindian languages were compiled by questioning individuals--not necessarily linguists--in contact with or belonging to a given language group via a questionnaire mailed to 500 people, half of whom responded. The number of speakers of a language was designated in terms of one of five general categories as follows: (a) 1-10 people, (b) 11-100, (c) 101-1000, (d) 1001-10,000 and (e) over 10,000. In order to assess the viability of a language, the ages of the speakers were indicated according to whether (a) a number were children, (b) most or all were over 20, or (c) most or all were over 50.

Chafe evaluated the questionnaires according to the nature and length of a respondent's contact with a given group giving greater weight, for example, to the opinion of a linguist working with it for three years than of an archaeologist working with it for three days. The following figures are given by him for Halkomelem (1962:165): "Halkomelem. 1 to 2 thousand. All ages. British Columbia. (Chehalis approx. 150, Chemainus approx. 300, Chilliwack approx. 150, Cowichan

approx. 500, Katzie approx. 50, Kwantlen approx. 15, Musqueam approx. 100, Nanaimo approx. 150, Sumas approx. 60, Tait approx. 250)." The results of personal inquiry suggest that most of the native Indian speakers in the Duncan and Nanaimo areas are over fifty, although one consultant, Abel Joe, who is over sixty years old, indicated that some younger Indians (over twenty years old) could converse to a degree in Cowichan, but could not deliver a speech in the dialect.

0.6. Data Source, Consultants

The data in this dissertation, which were collected in the summer of 1970 and from May, 1975 to January, 1977, are derived from personal fieldnotes and other materials--Kava (1967-69) and, most recently, Hukari (1974-76). My most recent consultants are Abel Joe (Duncan), who provided most of the texts, Elwood Modeste (Duncan) and Stan James (Nanaimo). In 1970 my consultants were Ellen White (Nanaimo) and Russell Jones (Nanaimo).

All three of the 1975-77 consultants--Abel Joe, Elwood Modeste and Stan James--spoke Cowichan as their first language, having learned English later at school. Their parents and wives also spoke Cowichan. The three speakers, however, had different backgrounds. Abel Joe was born at Canoe Pass by the Fraser River near Ladner, where his father worked, but has lived in the Duncan area since he was three years old. The other two speakers were born on Vancouver Island. Elwood Modeste was born in the Duncan area. His father was also from Duncan, but his mother and grandmother on his mother's side came respectively from

Nanaimo and Sechelt. The third consultant, Stan James, who also speaks Saanich, was born in Nanaimo. His father was also born in Nanaimo, while his mother came from the Songhees Reserve in Esquimalt.

0.7. Previous Scholarship

Early works on Cowichan, in which a non-standard transcription is used, consist of word lists by Tolmie and Dawson (1875) and Donckele (1882) and of a short list of reduplicated forms by Haeberlin (1918). More recent works, in which the standard linguistic transcription is used, include an article by Elmendorf and Suttles (1960) and theses by Kava (1969) and Jones (1976). The work by Elmendorf and Suttles offers a distinctive feature matrix for Cowichan articles albeit as a by-product of comparative research. The two theses, which have a descriptive orientation, have mainly to do with the phonology of Cowichan, although Jones (1976) provides morphological detail as a prelude to his morphophonemic analysis.

The most comprehensive contributions to the morphology and syntax of Cowichan are the articles written by Hukari (1976a, 1976b, 1977a, 1977b and 1978). These articles along with other Coast Salish grammars, namely, Snohomish (Hess 1967), Clallam (Thompson 1968), Sooke (Efrat 1969) and Squamish (Kuipers 1967), have provided a starting point for an analysis of Cowichan morphology and syntax. More recently, a grammar has been written on Chilliwack Halkomelem (Galloway 1977).

0.8. Phonology

Since treatises have already been written about the phonology of Cowichan (Kava 1969, Jones 1976 and Hukari 1977b), this work offers only a brief treatment. Recent evidence (Jones 1976 and Hukari 1977b) provides the basis for setting up the following system of contrastive segments for Cowichan:

Contrastive Segments in Cowichan

CONSONANTS[3]

Stops:	p	t^θ	t	c	č	k	k^w	q	q^w
	p̓	$t̓^\theta$	t̓	c̓	č̓	ƛ̓	$k̓^w$	q̓	$q̓^w$
Fricatives:		θ	s	š ɬ		x^w	x̌	$x̌^w$	
Sonorants:	m		n	y l	w	`	h		
	m̓		n̓	y̓ l̓	w̓		?		

VOWELS[4]

	i	u
	e	ə
		a

In this system glottalized resonants as opposed to glottalized stops are posited not on phonetic, but on morphophonemic grounds. In plural reduplication Jones (1976:7) has found that forms which are otherwise apparently irregular are not in fact irregular if analyzed as having glottalized resonants. One manifestation of plural inflection is CəC- reduplication e.g. <u>sment</u> 'rock' ~ <u>smənmént</u> 'rocks' and <u>céləš</u> 'hand' ~ <u>cəlcéləš</u> 'hands'. The form which means 'grandparent' follows this pattern when inflected for plurality only if it is analyzed as

having an underlying glottalized resonant <u>l̓</u> as opposed to a sequence
of <u>ʔl</u>:

    *síʔlə 'grandparent'   *səlʔsíʔlə 'grandparents'

    síl̓ə 'grandparent'   səl̓síl̓ə 'grandparents'

       The phonetic realization of glottalized resonants is predictable.
They appear preglottalized when they occur intervocalically after a
primary stressed vowel, and post-glottalized elsewhere (Jones 1976:85):

Glottalized Resonants	Realization	Gloss
šq̓il̓élə (6125c)	[šq̓ilʔélə]	'place for preserved fish'
sq̓íl̓əʔ (6125a)	[sq̓íʔləʔ]	'preserved fish'
št̓ᶿam̓əw̓íc (3859)	[št̓ᶿamʔəwʔíc]	'salmon backbone'
št̓ᶿəm̓xʷnəc (4344)	[št̓ᶿəmʔxʷnəc]	'hip'
st̓ᶿám̓aqʷ (4345)	[st̓ᶿáʔmaqʷ]	'skull'

       Jones' system differs from Kava's not only in postulating
glottalized resonants but also in grouping <u>h</u> and <u>ʔ</u> with the resonants.
Chomsky and Halle (1968:302) provide a precedent for such a grouping on
phonetic grounds, namely, articulatory configurations within the oral
cavity. The analysis of Actual aspect (1.1.3.1.) provides
morphophonemic grounds to the effect that forms which appear to contain
separate allomorphs of the Actual morpheme do in fact in their underlying
forms constitute examples of the productive reduplicative allomorph.
For example, stems with an initial resonant, <u>m</u>, <u>n</u>, <u>y</u>, <u>l</u> or <u>w</u>, that
apparently take a <u>hə-</u> allomorph of the Actual morpheme represent
regular Cə- reduplication except that the initial resonant is reduced
to <u>h</u>. Thus the Actual form <u>hən̓qʷ</u> 'falling asleep' of <u>nəqʷ</u> 'fall asleep'

is analyzed as having the underlying shape /ṅəṅqʷ/, which represents Cə- reduplication with resonant glottalization.

/FOOTNOTES: INTRODUCTION

[1]There is a motivation for establishing a morphological distinction between nouns and verbs in Cowichan. A noun may be defined as an element which takes a possessive affix like /nə-/ 'my'. In this way a noun such as /léləm/ 'house', which may occur in the construction nəléləm 'my house', is differentiated from verbs like /x̌ʷčénəm/ 'run' and /kʷə́nət/ 'take it', which cannot take /nə-/ without a nominalizing prefix. On the other hand /léləm/ and /x̌ʷčénəm/ as uninflected predicators may also be grouped together in contrast with /kʷə́nət/, which has /-t/ 'transitive'.

[2]This classification represents a development of an earlier scheme devised by Swadesh (1950:163).

[3]The phonemes $\underline{t}^{\theta}$ and $\underline{k}$ are marginal. $\underline{t}^{\theta}$ appears only in deictics (1.3.) while $\underline{k}$ is limited to loanwords like /kəpú/ 'coat' and to kə (/kʷθə/) in Mr. Stan James' speech.

[4]The phoneme sequences ii, ee, uu and aa, which may occur in Cowichan, are realized phonetically as [iː], [eː], [uː] and [aː] respectively.

1. MORPHOLOGY

The analysis of Cowichan word structure is presented in three parts. Inflection is treated in 1.1., derivation in 1.2., and in 1.3. deictic morphology is examined. The distinction between derivational affixes and inflectional ones is a standard one. In Cowichan as in other languages the inflectional affixes encompass the derivational ones--if any--and the stem in a word and in some cases exhibit suppletion. The deictic affixes are limited in their distribution to deictic elements and occur with neither derivational nor inflectional morphemes, which appear in non-deictic words. The syntactic affixes, which represent a fourth type of bound form, are conditioned by the syntactic structure of the clause they mark and are accordingly discussed in the syntax section. These syntactic affixes may inflect any element except an enclitic or a deictic.

Four types of elements are recognized in the morphology of Cowichan: bases, themes, stems and affixes. The last of these needs no further definition. A base is defined as the ultimate constituent of a morphological construction to which derivational and inflectional affixes are added. A theme is an element, simple or complex, which may occur as a free form. The term, stem, is used to refer to a base or a base-plus affix combination.

1.1. Inflectional Affixes

There are three types of inflectional affixes in Cowichan:

the transitive suffixes (1.1.1.), the non-enclitic person marker endings (1.1.2.) and the aspectual morphemes (1.1.3.). The aspectual forms differ from the other two types of affixes in that they precede the stem to which they are bound, whether as prefixal reduplicative morphemes (1.1.3.1. to 1.1.3.5.) or as prefixes (1.1.3.6.). The transitivity and person marking morphemes, which are both suffixal in nature, belong to two different distribution classes. A transitivity suffix is attached directly to a stem, whereas a person marker ending may only inflect a theme containing a transitivity suffix of the transitive (1.1.1.2.) category.

1.1.1. Transitivity Suffixes

In Cowichan transitivity is determined by two types of elements: transitive suffixes and intransitive suffixes. This dichotomy is morphologically significant in that there are two person categories, subject and goal. Intransitive predicates--elements that are either uninflected or inflected with an intransitive suffix--take subject markers only whereas transitive predicates permit both types of markers. The goal markers are inflectional suffixes (1.1.2.) and are presented in the morphology section. The subject markers on the other hand are enclitics appearing in second position in a clause and will accordingly be analyzed in detail along with phrasal adjuncts in the syntax section (2.1.1.1.).

1.1.1.1. Intransitive Suffixes

There are five intransitive suffixes: /-m/ 'intransitive',
/-éls/ 'activity', /-təl⟨ 'reciprocal', /-Өət⟨ 'reflexive' and /-námət/
'attainment', the last of which may consist historically of two
underlying morphemes, /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible' (1.1.1.2. Transitive
Suffixes) and /-mət/ 'reflexive'. These suffixes are morphologically
unified insofar as they do not take person-marking inflectional endings.
They are also semantically unified insofar as a predicate inflected with
one has a single referent, a subject, which may be either a control or
noncontrol entity. By contrast, as will be observed later (1.1.1.2.),
a transitive predicate has two referents--a control subject and a
noncontrol object (c.f. Thompson, 1971: 280).

On the basis of coreference relations uninflected predicates
and elements with /-m/ 'intransitive' form a single grouping. The
semantic interpretation of predicates with /-m/ 'intransitive' does not
consistently differ from that of predicates that are uninflected. Some
uninflected elements and /-m/ inflected predicates take patient subjects
(examples 1-2) whereas others take agent subjects (examples 3-4).

   (1) híləm cən (519). 'I fell down'

   (2) yəqʷ cən (64) 'I was burned'

In sentence (1), which exemplifies an /-m/ inflected predicate and in
sentence (2), which illustrates an uninflected form, the referent of the
predicate indicated by the subject enclitic /cən/ 'I' is patient. In
sentence (3), which illustrates an /-m/ inflected form, and in

sentence (4), which exemplifies an uninflected predicate, the referent
of the predicate indicated by /cən/ 'I' is agent.

(3) kʷɔnəm cən (2636) 'I am taking it'

(4) ʔəɬtən cən (79) 'I am eating it'.

A possible means of semantically differentiating /-m/
'intransitive' predicates from uninflected ones would be to consider
lexical items that may occur either uninflected or /-m/ inflected. In
lexical items like examples (5)-(6) a semantic distinction is evident.

(5a) ɬəwtᶿeʔəm (6015b) 'undress oneself'

(5b) ɬəwitᶿe (6015a) 'undressed'

(6a) q̓pásəm (4208) 'assemble'

(6b) q̓pas (5626) 'gathered together'

The /-m/ predicates (5a, 6a) and the uninflected forms (5b, 6b) differ
in that the former, but not the latter, denote an action performed at an
entity's volition on him/herself.

The same type of semantic distinction found in examples (5)-(6)
above, however, does not occur in all other lexical items. In (7)-(8)
the referent of both the inflected and the uninflected forms is
interpreted in the role of patient.

(7a) yéq̓əm (TEH) 'fall off'

(7b) yeq̓ (5806a) 'fall down, topple'

(8a) yák̓ʷəm (5564) 'break down'

(8b) yak̓ʷ (5832b) 'broken'

In still other lexical items the semantic distinction between the two
types of elements is elusive:

(9a) q̓əwətəm (T5:50) 'tap' (for example, a drum)

(9b) q̓əwət (5815d) 'a drum'

(10a) ʔítətəm (6001a) 'sleepy'

(10b) ʔítət (6256b) 'sleep'

When asked to elaborate upon the meanings of (9a) and (10a) as compared with (9b) and (10b) respectively, native speakers of Cowichan did not recognize any correlation between them. Their response suggests that although (9a) and (9b) and (10a) and (10b) contain shared morphemes, they constitute four different lexical items, a view that is consistent with Aronoff's (1976:21) word-based approach to morphology.

The intransitive suffix /-els/ 'activity' is built on to many bases that may also be inflected with /-t/ 'transitive' (1.1.1.2.) and is highly productive. In Kava's data (1969) it even inflects one English loanword pínt 'paint' to form the element pintéls 'paint it', in which the stem vowel i is retained. Semantically, /-els/ may denote an activity performed by an entity in order to fulfill a given purpose:

(11a) ɬq̓éls (6117b) 'donate it, put money down'

(11b) ɬéq̓ət (6190a) 'put it down'

(12a) péx̌ʷəls (4867) 'spouting' (Actual)

(12b) pəx̌ʷ (4866) 'spout, blow'

The referent of a predicate thus inflected with /-els/ is interpreted as the controller behind the activity. For example, the enclitic /cən/ 'I' has the semantic status of an agent in a sentence of the type niʔ cən ɬq̓els ʔə kʷə tələ (6190b) 'I put some money down'.

/-éls/ 'activity' has two variants, which indicate aspect. This topic will be discussed at length in section 1.1.3. Predicate Aspect.

At this juncture it would be appropriate to state that one variant -əls denotes Actual aspect and corresponds semantically to English '-ing' forms like 'singing', whereas the other variant -éls is used when such aspect is not involved. When éls appears, the stem vowel, if tense, is reduced to ə as in the following:

Actual	Non-actual
(13) θáýqʷəls 'digging' (5805)	θəyəqʷéls 'dig'
(14) ɫəmt̓əls 'picking berries' (5854)	ɫəmt̓éls 'pick berries'
(15) čekʷx̌əls 'frying it' (5822)	čəkʷx̌éls 'fry it'

The intransitive morpheme /-təl/ 'reciprocal' indicates that two entities are interacting with each other by performing the same activity--in some contexts--on each other. As the following examples show, /-təl/ may inflect either a theme (16-17) or a stem that is inflectible with /-t/ 'transitive' (18):[1]

(16a) q̓á?təl (4527) 'meet each other'
(16b) q̓a? (5641a) 'together'

(17a) ƛ̓íčətəl (5404a) 'creep up on each other'
(17b) ƛ̓ič (TEH) 'creep, be short'

(18a) θq̓ʷástəl (3640) 'meet each other'
(18b) θq̓ʷast (5628) 'meet him'

The intransitive suffix /-θət/ 'reflexive' expresses an action performed by an entity on him/her/itself. In addition to this basic meaning /-θət/ has certain lexically governed connotations. When this morpheme is suffixed to predicators like /məq̓/, /yəx̌ʷ/ and /?ənəxʷ/ in examples (19)-(21), they express a deliberate action performed by an animate being:

(19a) mə́q̓əθət (4863) 'fill oneself with food'

(19b) mə́q̓ (1523) 'full, satiated'

(20a) yə́x̌ʷəθət (4218) 'untie oneself'

(20b) yəx̌ʷ (5635b) 'untied'

(21a) ʔə́nəx̌ʷθət (5159) 'stop oneself (on purpose)'

(21b) ʔə́nəx̌ʷ (4212) 'stop'

When /-θət/ 'reflexive' is attached to other lexical items an inchoative action performed by either an animate (22-23) or an inanimate (24-25) subject is expressed:

(22a) x̌ʷəx̌ʷnítəmθət (5637) 'try to be a White man'

(22b) x̌ʷnítəm (2995) 'White man'

(23a) násθət (6151a) 'gain weight'

(23b) nas (5751b) 'be fat'.

(24a) ɬə́cθət (2254) 'become dark'

(24b) ɬec (2844) 'dark'

(25a) t̓θ̓q̓ʷə́mθət (5919b) 'turn rotten'

(25b) t̓θ̓áq̓ʷəm (5792) 'rot'

In two lexical items (26-27), which are uniquely inflectible with /-θət/ 'reflexive', this suffix may be regarded diachronically as having become frozen on to an erstwhile base:

(26) ʔá̓ʔənθət (4673) 'groan'

(27) x̌ə́ɬšənθət (4735d) 'rain hard'

The two morpemes /-təl/ 'reciprocal' and /-θət/ 'reflexive' on the basis of a phonological rule may be viewed as constituting a subclass of intransitive suffixes. This rule is that if a lexical item contains e in the last syllable it is realized as a before /-təl/ and /-θət/ in some lexical items:

(28a) ləmləmá?təl (5249c) 'kicking each other'

(28b) ləmét (5249a) 'kick it'

(29a) yəwánϴət (1242) 'move out in front'

(29b) yəwén (4158) 'ahead, in the lead'

The intransitive suffix /-námət/ 'attainment', which is translatable by such phrases as 'get a chance to' and 'finally succeed' is characteristically attached only to uninflected themes (examples 30-33). This suffix, thus attached, has a uniform semantic interpretation.

(30a) ɬəwnámət (T1:194) 'escape' (manage to run away)

(30b) ɬew (T1:186) 'run away'

(31a) nəqʷnámət (4640) 'fall asleep'

(31b) nəqʷ (6256e) 'asleep'

(32a) yəqʷnámət (5441) 'finally get a fire going'

(32b) yəqʷ (3602) 'burned'

(33a) qʷəlnámət (5221) 'finally speak up'

(33b) qʷal (5613a) 'speak'

In two forms that may be analyzed as being frozen (34-35), by contrast, the above-stated interpretation of /-námət/ is not apparent:

(34) təqnámət (5008) 'hear from other people'

(35) ϴinámət (T5:78) 'rally, recover' (for example, after falling)

Although in the above analysis -námət is presented as a single morpheme, it is amenable to an alternative analysis into two morphemes: /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible' (1.1.1.2.) and /-mət/ 'reflexive', a putative frozen morpheme. There is a semantic motivation for it. The affix /-námət/ 'attainment' has the semantic signification of both /-nəxʷ/

'responsible' and /-θət/ 'reflexive' insofar as it denotes an activity
not completely under the speaker's control that is performed on himself
(example 31 above). However, no formal evidence has been found in
support of this hypothesis.

1.1.1.2. Transitive Suffixes

There are four transitive suffixes in Cowichan, namely, /-t/
'transitive', /-stəxʷ/ 'causative', /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible' and /-nəs/
'directional' and two transitive constitutes, /-łc-t/ 'benefactitive,
transitive' and /-meʔ-t/ 'affective, transitive'. Since the status of
the last three forms as transitive affixal constructions is
problematical and demonstrable only in terms of their distribution
before person-marking suffixes, they are discussed in section 1.1.2.
Person Marker Inflection.

The transitive suffix /-t/ 'transitive'[2] has two allomorphs:
-t and -š, a nonproductive suppletive form. The distribution of these
variants is partly morphologically conditioned and partly lexically
determined. It is morphologically conditioned to the extent that some
Cowichan speakers reject -š in favour of -t when the predicate is
inflected for object. Otherwise the occurrence of these forms depends
upon the individual lexical item. Most /-t/ inflected items take just
one variant. However, two items (36-37) exhibit both variants:

    (36a) híqəš (5439) 'put it under' (for example, a table)
    (36b) híqət (5886a) 'put it under'

(37a) ʔíwəš̲ (4328) 'point at it' (/ʔíwəsš/)

(37b) ʔiwəst̲ (6014a) 'point at it'

For both variants /-t/ 'transitive' exhibits no special morphological properties in its occurrence with stems. The stems may be themes (examples 38-40) or bound forms (41-43):

(38a) ʔét̓ᶿət̲ (939) 'wipe it'

(38b) ʔet̓ᶿ (5660b) 'wiped'

(39a) ḥák�axⁿəš̲ (5424b) 'use it'

(39b) ḥakax (5678d) 'used'

(40a) ḥék̓axət̲ (2229) 'remember it'

(40b) ḥek̓ax (4818) 'remember (it)'

(41a) né ʔət̲ (5663) 'name it'

(41b) sne (4580) 'a name' (/s-/ 'absolute')

(42a) p̓éx̌ət̲ (455) 'touch it'

(42b) p̓əx̌nəx (5105) 'feel it'

(43a) me ʔš̲ (1972) 'take it off'

(43b) meñx (6466c) 'manage to take it off' (/mé ʔ-nəx/)

The presence of /-t/ has not only morphological implications, but is also significant syntactically (2.1.1. Predication and Person Marking) and semantically. Whereas the subject of an uninflected theme may be either a patient (examples 38b-39b) or an agent (40b), the subject of a /-t/ inflected predicator is always an agent or experiencer (38a-40a).

Some stems in Cowichan are inflectible not only with a transitive suffix like /-t/ 'transitive' but also with an intransitive suffix. One such suffix is /-m/ 'intransitive' discussed in section 1.1.1.1. Intransitive Suffixes. A lexical item inflected with /-m/ does not have special semantic status, the subject referent being

either a patient (examples 44a-45a) or an agent (46a-47a):

(44a) yák^wəm (5832a) 'break (down)' (for example, a car)

(44b) yák^wət (5045) 'break it'

(44c) yak^w (5832b) 'broken'

(45a) híləm (3585) 'fall off'

(45b) hilt (5111a) 'throw it off'

(46a) q̓^wə́ləm (6031a) 'cook (it)'

(46b) q̓^wə́lət (6031d) 'cook it'

(46c) q̓^wə́l (6031c) 'cooked'

(47a) k^wə́nəm (4765) 'take, have (it)'

(47b) k^wə́nət (4166) 'take, have it'

Certain lexical items are inflectible with both /-t/ 'transitive' and one of the intransitive suffixes, /-təl/ 'reciprocal' or /-θət/ 'reflexive' (examples 48-50). A lexical item of this type that is inflected with /-θət/ or /-təl/ takes a subject that is in the role of both agent and patient (48-49):

(48a) łíčəθət (5147b) 'cut oneself (on purpose)'

(48b) łíčət (2362) 'cut it'

(48c) łíč (5147a) 'be cut'

(49a) čičəwátəl (5213c) 'helping each other'[3]

(49b) čéwət (5213a) 'help him'

The transitive suffix /-stəx^w/ 'causative' has a wider privilege of occurrence than /-t/ 'transitive' since it may be suffixed to a theme containing an intransitive suffix (1.1.1.1.) as in (50)-(53) unlike /-t/ albeit with marginal acceptablity:

(50a) k^wíntəlstəx^w (5591) 'fight against it' (e.g. a current)

(50b) k^wíntəl (5568a) 'fight'

(51a) θə́yəmstəxʷ (5229) 'have someone make it'

(51b) θə́yəm (T1:120) 'make (it)'

(52a) čə̀kʷx̌els-stəxʷ (5822) 'make someone fry it'

(52b) čə̀kʷx̌els (5822a) 'fry (it)'

(53a) lə́x̌ʷəθətsltəxʷ (5236b) 'cover someone with a blanket'

(53b) lə́x̌ʷəθət (4788a) 'cover oneself'

The underlined morphemes in (50)-(53) are respectively the intransitive suffixes, /-təl/ 'reciprocal', /-m/ 'intransitive', /-els/ 'activity' and /-θət/ 'reflexive'.

The meaning of /-stəxʷ/ 'causative' varies with the lexical item. In some lexical items the causation consists of telling or persuading a patient entity to perform a given action (54-57):

(54a) ʔíməšstəxʷ (5761a) 'take him for a walk, make him walk'

(54b) ʔíməš (4142a) 'walk'

(55a) ʔə́šəlstəxʷ (5444c) 'have him paddle'

(55b) ʔə́šəl (5544) 'to paddle'

(56a) tə̀wθinəmstəxʷ (5944b) 'give the money to someone to buy groceries, buy groceries for somebody'

(56b) təwθínəm (5944a) 'buy groceries'

(57a) nə́ča ʔstəxʷ (5985a) 'tell someone to move or take just one'

(57b) nə́ča ʔ (147) 'one'

In other lexical items (58-60) /-stəxʷ/ 'causative' simply expresses the controller relationship which /-t/ 'transitive' denotes. In examples (58) and (60) the meaning of the lexical item is not a compositional function of its component morphemes. qʷálstəxʷ does not mean 'cause him to speak' and hiwáləmstəxʷ does not mean 'cause him to play'. /-stəxʷ/ in these cases denotes a third person patient entity.

(58a) ʔéwəstəx^w (5668b) 'bring it'

(58b) ʔéwə (4124:1) 'come'

(59a) q^wálstəx^w (5590b) 'speak to him'

(59b) q^wal (5613a) 'speak'

(60a) hiwáłəmstəx^w (4257) 'tease someone'

(60b) hiwáłəm (4821) 'to play'

Although /-stəx^w/ 'causative' occurs most productively with
uninflected themes, a few lexical items inflected with /-stəx^w/ exist
in which the stem is a bound form:

(61a) cə́stəx^w (5030) 'do what/something to someone'

(61b) x^wcel (THH) 'go where' (/x^w-/ 'locative')

(62) ƛ̓əx^wlá?əstəx^w (3635b) 'do not care whether'

On the basis of the aforementioned data it might be concluded
that lexical items that are inflectible with /-t/ 'transitive' may not
be inflected with /-stəx^w/ 'causative' and vice versa. There are two
putative counterexamples to this observation:

(63a) mélostəx^w (6003b) 'obtain a bait'

(63b) mélə (6003c) 'a bait'

(63c) mélət (6003c) 'put a bait on a hook'

(64a) ƛ̓píləstəx^w (6331b) 'sink it'

(64b) ƛ̓pil (6338b) 'go underwater'

(64c) ƛ̓pilš (6331a) 'sink it'

The generalization concerning /-stəx^w/ and /-t/, however, may be
maintained if examples (63) and (64) are viewed as consisting of two
lexical items each although sharing a common morpheme in accordance with
Aronoff's (1976) word-based theory. Examples (63a-b) and (64a-b) would
each represent a single lexical item /mélə/ or /ƛ̓pil/ that is

inflectible with /-stəxʷ/. Examples (63c) and (64c) would in both cases represent another lexical item, one that is obligatorily inflected with /-t/ 'transitive'.

The morpheme /-stəxʷ/ 'causative' is realized in more than one alternant. Two of its allomorphs, -stəxʷ and -st- are morphologically conditioned. -stəxʷ appears word finally (example 66b) and before a syntactic suffix such as /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' (65a), which is discussed in the syntax section. The medial allomorph -st- appears before the person-marking inflectional suffixes (1.1.2.) as in examples (65b), (66a), (67a) and (68a):

(65a) hənə́mətstəxʷəs (T1:82) 'he brought it home'
(65b) hənə́mətstəm (5139) 'it is brought home'
(65c) hənə́mət (4643) 'he is back home'

(66a) háystéləm (4085) 'I am fired'
(66b) háystəxʷ (1136) 'fire him'
(66c) hay (2155) 'give up, quit'

(67a) qʷálstéwət (4698) 'he is spoken to'
(67b) qʷálstəxʷ (1059) 'speak to him'
(67c) qʷál (5613a) 'speak'

(68a) calá?ɫstáṁšəs (4720b) 'he lends it to me'
(68b) calá?ɫ (4720c) 'lend'

In addition to the above-mentioned allomorphs /-stəxʷ/ has a phonologically conditioned one, -stéxʷ. This allomorph appears in free variation with -stəxʷ after CəC bases. In the following two examples the -stéxʷ variant is cited:

(69a) ɫəx̌ʷstéxʷ (KAVA) 'strengthen it'
(69b) ɫəx̌ʷ (5826c) 'hard'

(70a) x̌əɫstéx̌ʷ (T5:55) 'pity him'

(70b) x̌əɫ (6033b) 'hurt'

If the base has the phonological shape CVC, the vowel (V) being tense, the vowel is reduced to ə before /-stəx̌ʷ/:

(71a) ləmstəx̌ʷ (4729) 'show it'

(71b) lémət (688) 'see it'

The transitive suffix /-nəx̌ʷ/ 'responsible' resembles /-stəx̌ʷ/ 'causative' in phonological shape and in terms of allomorphy, but differs from it in meaning. /-nəx̌ʷ/ 'responsible' designates an entity that is responsible for an action, but does not have complete control over it. In some lexical items inflected with /-nəx̌ʷ/ it is implied that the action is difficult to execute, for example, in həlínx̌ʷ 'save someone's life' versus həlít 'rescue him' and həlí 'alive'. In most lexical items, however, for example, in ʔét̓θənəx̌ʷ 'wipe it (accidentally)' versus ʔét̓θət 'wipe it', /-nəx̌ʷ/ simply expresses an unintentional or accidental outcome.

The distribution of /-nəx̌ʷ/ 'responsible' overlaps with that of /-t/ 'transitive' and /-stəx̌ʷ/ 'causative'. Some lexical items are inflectible with /-nəx̌ʷ/ 'responsible' and /-t/ 'transitive':

(72a) yə́k̓ʷnəx̌ʷ (5097) 'break it' (accidentally)

(72b) yák̓ʷət (5045) 'break it'

(72c) yák̓ʷəm (5832a) 'break down'

(72d) yák̓ʷ (5832b) 'broken'

(73a) ʔə́mnəx̌ʷ (3840) 'tread on it' (accidentally)

(73b) ʔímət (2674) 'step on it'

Other lexical items are inflectible with /-nəx̌ʷ/ and /-stəx̌ʷ/ but not with /-t/ (except for example 76):

(74a) qə́lnəxʷ (THI) 'become mad at him'

(74b) qə́lstəxʷ (112) 'hate him'

(74c) qəl (5833) 'bad'

(75a) ʔə́nəxʷnəxʷ (5110a) 'stop it' (accidentally)

(75b) ʔə́nəxʷstəxʷ (5924a) 'stop it' (on purpose)

(75c) ʔə́nəxʷ (4212) 'stop'

(76a) lə́mnəxʷ (23) 'see it'

(76b) lə́mstəxʷ (4729) 'show it'

(76c) lə́mət (688) 'look at it'

Although /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible' occurs most productively in
lexical items that are also inflectible with /-t/ 'transitive' or
/-stəxʷ/ 'causative', there are a few words containing bound stems that
are apparently uniquely inflectible with /-nəxʷ/ as follows:

(77) xʷiʔínxʷ (5183) 'bring it in'

(78) ƛ́əpX̌nəxʷ (6296) 'blink'

(79) cə́pnəxʷ (4353) 'close eyes tight'

(80) pə́tnəxʷ (5995a) 'recognize him'

Like the transitive suffix /-stəxʷ/ 'causative', /-nəxʷ/
'responsible' exhibits both phonologically conditioned and
morphologically conditioned allomorphy. One variant, the medial form
-n-, is morphologically conditioned. It appears before person marking
inflectional suffixes (1.1.2.) such as /-m/ 'third general passive':

(81a) ʔə́wk̓ʷnəm (5122) 'it is consumed'

(81b) ʔə́wk̓ʷ (5708) 'consumed'

Otherwise, if /-nəxʷ/ appears word finally or before a syntactic
suffix such as /-əs/ 'third transitive agent', which is discussed in
the syntax section, it is realized as -nəxʷ:

(82a) ʔíx̌nəx̌ʷəs (5715a) 'he scratched it'

(82b) ʔix̌ (5522) 'scratched'

/-nəx̌ʷ/ 'responsible' has one phonologically conditioned allomorph -néx̌ʷ, which appears in free variation with -nəx̌ʷ after CəC bases. In the following examples the -néx̌ʷ variant is cited:

(83a) səq̓néx̌ʷ (5135) 'split it'

(83b) səq̓ (4989) 'split'

(84a) k̓ʷəɬnéx̌ʷ (6185) 'spill it'

(84b) k̓ʷəɬ (4523) 'spill over'

(85a) təsnéx̌ʷ (5263) 'get close to it'

(85b) təs (1217) 'near'

If the base of a lexical item has the phonological shape CVC(C), the vowel being tense, the vowel may be reduced to ə before /-ŋəx̌ʷ/:

(86a) sə́lq̓nəx̌ʷ (5112) 'brandish'

(86b) selq̓t (4064) 'brandish'

(87a) p̓ə́x̌nəx̌ʷ (5105) 'feel it'

(87b) p̓ə́x̌ət (455) 'feel it'

(88a) ʔə́k̓ʷnəx̌ʷ (3631) 'lose it'

(88b) ʔík̓ʷət (4171) 'throw it away'

1.1.2. Person Marker Inflection

Transitive predicates are not only marked by transitive endings like /-t/ 'transitive', /-stəx̌ʷ/ 'causative' and /-nəx̌ʷ/ 'responsible', but are further inflectible with two types of person markers called goal suffixes and passive suffixes. Although, as will

be seen later in the syntax section (2.1.1. Predication and Person Marking), the two types of forms are distinct in their syntactic interaction with other elements in a clause, they exhibit common semantic and morphological properties. They both have patient interpretation and, if the predicate is inflected with /-t/ 'transitive', they are both introduced by the -θ- allomorph of /-t/ in the non-third person singular.

1.1.2.1. Goal Suffixes

The goal suffixes occur as follows:

Goal Suffixes

	singular	plural
1st	-áɨš 'me'	-áɨx^w 'us'
2nd	-ámə 'you'	-álə 'you'

Only first and second person pronominal goal forms are marked overtly. Further segmentation is possible into the following morphemes: -am- 'goal singular' and -al- 'goal plural' and three morphemes which denote person, namely, -š 'me', -x^w 'us' and -ə 'you'. However, this increase in the number of morphemes recognized does not lead to any significant linguistic generalization about Cowichan goal suffixes.

The distribution of the goal forms after the three most productive transitive suffixes, /-t/ 'transitive', /-nəx^w/ 'responsible' and /-stəx^w/ 'causative', may be illustrated by means of the stem /ɨəm/ 'see', which happens to be inflectible with all three transitive morphemes as shown by the forms, ɨémət 'look at it', ɨəmnəx^w 'see it'

and ləmstəxʷ 'show it'.

/-t/ 'transitive'

ləməθamš 'look at me'   ləmətalxʷ 'look at us'
ləməθamə 'look at you(sg)'   ləmətalə 'look at you(pl)'
ləmət 'look at her, him, it, them'

/-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'

ləmnamš 'see me'   ləmnalxʷ 'see us'
ləmnamə 'see you(sg)'   ləmnalə 'see you(pl)'
ləmnəxʷ 'see him, her, it, them'

/-stəxʷ/ 'causative'

ləmstamš 'show me'   ləmstalxʷ 'show us'
ləmstamə 'show you(sg)'   ləmstalə 'show you(pl)'
ləmstəxʷ 'show it, her, him, them'

What appears to be on the surface the θ allomorph of /-t/ 'transitive' may in fact be analyzed into two morphemes. Following Hukari's (1976b:17) approach θ may be construed as /-t/ 'transitive' and /-s/, which may represent an old first person singular object which has lost its status. This view is supported by the fact that -θ may occur as a word final suffix with patient interpretation:

(89a) həliθ (T5:73) 'save me!'
(89b) həlit (4146) 'save him!'
(89c) həli (4605) 'alive'

-θ may also appear optionally as a second person form, when the subject is first person:

(90a) čewəθ cən (TEH) 'I'll help you'
(90b) čewət (5213a) 'help him'

Apparently this second person interpretation applies only if the subject enclitic (/cən/ 'I' in 90a) follows the inflected predicate.

As well as inflecting predicators containing /-t/ 'transitive', /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible' and /-stəxʷ/ 'causative', the goal suffixes may also inflect lexical items containing one of the constitutes, /-ɫc-t/ 'benefactive, transitive' and /-mé?-t/ 'affective, transitive'. These constitutes have a distinctive distribution. /-mé?t/, which has two allomorphs -mé?t and -mət in free variation, may be suffixed either to stems that are inflectible with /-stəxʷ/ 'causative' (91-92) or to an otherwise uninflectible base (93):

(91a) sí?si?mé?t (4761) 'afraid of it'
(91b) sí?si?stəxʷ (6022c) 'frighten him'
(91c) sí?si? (5074) 'afraid'

(92a) qʷə́lmət (5824b) 'bawl him out'
(92b) qʷə́lstəxʷ (5590b) 'speak to him'
(92c) qʷal (5613a) 'speak'

(93a) q̓ə́lmé?t (5971c) 'believe it'
(93b) q̓el (5816a) 'believe, be sure'

/-ɫc-t/ may be attached to stems that are inflectible with /-t/ 'transitive':

(94a) θə́ýəɫct (5981b) 'fix it for him'
(94b) θə́ýt (4121:6) 'fix it'

(95a) x̌ə́ləɫcət (6148b) 'write it for somebody'
(95b) x̌ə́lət (5178) 'write it'

Putatively in examples (91)-(95) above /-ɫc-t/ and /-mé?-t/ are analyzable as single morphemes. The goal suffix environment, however, provides counterevidence against this hypothesis. Whereas /-ɫc-t/ and /-mé?-t/ are realized as -ɫc-t and -mé?-t word finally, they are realized as -ɫc-θ- and -mé?-θ- before the goal suffixes:

(96a) x̌ʷiɫásməθáṁš (6066c) 'watch over me'

(96b) x̌ʷiɫás (6066a) 'watch for something'

(97a) q̓əlməθámə cən (5908b) 'I believe you'

(97b) q̓əlmé?t (5971c) 'believe him'

(98a) čək̓ʷx̌əɫcθáṁš (6407b) 'fry it for me'

(98b) sčək̓ʷx̌ (6407a) 'fried'

This type of allomorphy is the same as that exhibited by /-t/ 'transitive' (1.1.1.2.).

On the basis of allomorphy the constitutes may be analyzed into three morphemes, namely, /-t/ 'transitive', /-mé?-/ 'affective, sentient', which has an unstressed variant -mə-, and /-ɫc-/ 'benefactive', the latter two affixes modifying the former one. Meanings may be ascribed to /-ɫc-/ 'benefactive' and /-mé?-/ 'affective, sentient'. /-mé?-/ denotes transitivity which relates to the goal entity through the speaker's feelings or perceptions but which does not physically affect the goal entity. /-ɫc-/ indicates that a given action is performed on behalf of someone and alters the semantic configuration of a sentence. Characteristically, a goal suffix like /-aṁš/ 'me' is a patient, but in example (99) containing /-ɫc-/ it has benefactive interpretation, whereas the patient role is assumed by the adjunct introduced by /?ə/ 'oblique' (elements 7-9).

(99) ni? lək̓ʷəɫcθáṁšəs ?ə tθə sčešt (6019b)

    1 2 3 45 6 7 8 9

    'He broke the stick for me'

1 nonproximal	4 /-t/ 'transitive'	7 oblique
2 'break'	5 'me'	8 article
3 benefactive	6 third agent	9 'stick'

1.1.2.2. Passive Suffixes

The passive markers express the same semantic relationship--that of patient--as the goal person markers regardless of the interpretation of the base. There are two sets of passive suffixes--the general passive and the subordinate passive. As will be seen in the syntax section, the two paradigms are syntactically distinct, since a suffix of the first set may occur in both a main clause and a subordinate one, while an element of the latter paradigm appears only in subordinate clauses.

The general and subordinate passive suffixes are formally and semantically alike insofar as they enter into a semantic structure of the type 'we are being chased'. Although some uninflected themes may have this type of interpretation, they are still semantically distinct from elements with passive endings. An element thus inflected such as yə̀qʷθéləm 'I am burned (by someone)' usually implies human agency unlike the uninflected form /yəqʷ/ 'burned (by it)'.[4]

The passive paradigms, in both of which the first and second plural forms are homophonous with each other, are as follows:

General Passive

	singular		plural
1st	-éləm 'I'		-áləm 'we'
2nd	-am[5] 'you'		-áləm 'you'
3rd		-m 'she, he, it, they'	

Subordinate Passive

	singular		plural
1st	-élt 'I'		-ált 'we'
2nd	-ámət 'you'		-ált 'you'
3rd		-éwət 'he, she, it, they'	

As in the case of the goal suffixes (1.1.2.1.) the distribution of the passive forms after /-t/ 'transitive', /-nəx^w/ 'responsible' and /-stəx^w/ 'causative' may be illustrated by means of the base /lém-/ 'see'. As before /s/ appears in the singular forms and combines with /-t/ to form θ (Hukari 1976b:17).

/-t/ 'transitive'

lèməθéləm 'I am seen'   lèmətáləm 'we are seen'
lèməθám 'you(sg) are seen'   lèmətáləm 'you(pl) are seen'
lémətəm 'he, she, it, they are seen'

lèməθélt 'I am seen'   lèmətált 'we are seen'
lèməθámət 'you(sg) are seen'   lèmətált 'you(pl) are seen'
lèmətéwət 'she, it, he, they are seen'

/-nəx^w/ 'responsible'

lə̀mnéləm 'I am seen'   lə̀mnáləm 'we are seen'
lə̀mnám 'you(sg) are seen'   lə̀mnáləm 'you(pl) are seen'
lə́mnəm 'she, he, it, they are seen'

lə̀mnélt 'I am seen'   lə̀mnált 'we are seen'
lə̀mnámət 'you(sg) are seen'   lə̀mnált 'you(pl) are seen'
lə̀mnéwət 'he, she, it, they are seen'

/-stəx^w/ 'causative'

lə̀mstéləm 'I am shown'   lə̀mstáləm 'we are shown'
lə̀mstám 'you(sg) are shown'   lə̀mstáləm 'you(pl) are shown'
lə̀mstəm 'it, he, she, they are shown'

ləmstélt 'I am shown'   ləmstált 'we are shown'
ləmstámət 'you(sg) are shown'   ləmstáləm 'you(pl) aré shown'
                    ləmstéwət 'he, she, it, they are shown'

The passive suffixes, as well as inflecting predicators with

/-t/ 'transitive', /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible' and /-stəxʷ/ 'causative', may

also be suffixed to two lexical items, /neṁ/ 'go' and /ʔéwə/ 'come',

inflected with the non-productive suffix /-nəs/ 'directional', which

denotes an intentional movement by the speaker. The morphological

status of this morpheme is not immediately apparent in its word-final

distribution:

(100a) ʔéwənəs (5894) 'come toward'
(100b) ʔéwə (285) 'come'

(101a) néṁnəs (6096d) 'go toward'
(101b) neṁ (67) 'go'

Before a person marking suffix the morphological status of /-nəs/

'directional' is more clearly revealed. In such an environment /-nəs/

exhibits what Bloomfield (1933:265) calls class cleavage. This

morpheme may either occur directly before a person marking suffix or it

may be followed by an intervening /-t/. (-Ө- allomorph). In the former

case it corresponds formally to a transitive suffix. This distribution

of /-nəs/ is illustrated in example (102), in which this form directly

precedes a passive suffix /-éləm/ 'I':[6]

(102) ʔéwənəséləm (6096a) 'they came over to me'

Where /-nəs/ is followed by /-t/ 'transitive' as in example (103), in

which a goal suffix /-áṁš/ 'me' and a passive ending /-ám/ 'you(sg)' is

shown, its distribution corresponds to that of the morphemes /-méʔ-/

'affective, sentient' and /-ɬc-/ 'benefactive':

(103a) ʔčwənəsθáᵐš (6096b) 'come after me'

(103b) nə́ᵐnəsθáᵐš (6096c) 'someone is coming after you'

It was indicated above that there are two types of passive markers: general markers and subordinate ones. An alternative approach is also possible in which the passive endings are analyzed into a single set of person markers as follows:

Passive

	singular	plural
1st	-él- 'I'	-ál- 'we'
2nd	-ám- 'you'	-ál- 'you'

In this appraoch elements of the above paradigm would form constitutes like /-éləm/ 'I' (general passive) and /-élt/ 'I' (subordinate passive) modifying the suffixes /-m/ 'general passive' and /-t/ 'subordinate passive'. An apparent counterexample to this type of analysis, the form -ám 'you(sg)' (general passive), might be explained as deriving from an underlying form /-áməm/ with loss on the surface of intervocalic m, which is preserved in the subordinate passive.

Whether or not the above-indicated analysis is adopted, /-čwət/ 'third subordinate passive' is morphologically idiosyncratic. It has both a non-actual variant (1.1.3.1.) -čwət and an Actual variant -čwət corresponding in interpretation to the underlined elements in a semantic structure of the type 'I am standing'.

Two possible analyses for /-čwət/ 'subordinate passive' may be provided. Putatively, /-čwət/ is not a third person form but a

subordinate passive marker which is realized as -t in non-third person constitutes and as -éwət in the third person. Alternatively, /-éwɔt/ may be analyzed into two morphemes, namely, /-éw-/, a passive connective that occurs only in third person forms, and /-t/. It is possible that this latter form is in fact identical to the non-productive morpheme /-t/ 'stative', which appears in lexical items inflected with the prefix /s-/ 'static' (1.1.3.6.) and the resultative morpheme CV?- as follows:

(104a) swíwəlt (THI) 'appeared' ([swí?wəlt])
(104b) wil (6209a) 'appear'

(105a) skʷé?kʷəlt (5988a) 'hidden'
(105b) skʷé?kʷəl (5988b) 'in hiding'
(105c) kʷel (4460) 'hide'

In the above analysis it was assumed that a passive suffix is an I.C. partner to a theme inflected with a transitive suffix and that a morphological construction is terminated by a passive suffix. There is, however, a bound form /-stənáмɔt/ 'pretend' with two allomorphs -stənáмɔt and -stənmət in free variation, which may follow a passive suffix as in example (106), where /-stənáмɔt/ follows the first person general passive suffix /-élɔm/ 'I'.

(106) t^θiqʷəsθélɔmstənáмɔt (5898c)
    1   2 34 5
    'He pretended to hit me in the face'
    1 'punch'   4 'I' (general passive)
    2 'face'   5 'pretend'
    3 /-t/ 'transitive'

/-stənáмɔt/ 'pretend' is not limited in its distribution to

occurring after a passive suffix but follows and modifies any predicate whether uninflected (examples 107-108) or inflected (example 109 containing /s-/ 'static' and the resultative morpheme and examples 110 and 111):

(107a) sməyəθstənáⁿət (5954) 'pretend to be a deer'
(107b) sməyəθ (3564) 'deer'

(108a) ʔitətstənáⁿət (6001b) 'pretend to be asleep'
(108b) ʔitət (6001a) 'asleep'

(109a) sq̓áq̓istənáⁿət (4568) 'pretend to be dead'
(109b) sq̓áq̓i (4138) 'dead'

(110a) pásətstənáⁿət (5448) 'pretend to hit him'
(110b) pásət (709) 'hit him'
(110c) pas (5705) 'hit (by a thrown object)'

(111a) meʔšstənáⁿət (6004a) 'pretend to take it off'
(111b) meʔš (6004b) 'take it off'

On the basis of phonemic shape /-stənáⁿət/ 'pretend' might be analyzed into two morphemes, /-stəxʷ/ 'causative' and /-náⁿət/ 'attainment' (1.1.1.1. Intransitive Suffixes). However, although these two morphemes may occur historically, the synchronic distribution of the putatively identified suffix /-stəxʷ/ in examples (110)-(111) after another transitive suffix /-t/ 'transitive' would be idiosyncratic.

In addition to occurring productively with inflected or with uninflected lexical items, /-stənáⁿət/ 'pretend' (-sténmət variant) apparently appears in two lexical items with a reflexive interpretation (examples 112-13), in which the meaning 'pretend' is not evident.

(112a) q̓əlstə́nmət (5997) 'refuse, don't want to'

(112b) q̓əl (5833) 'bad'

(113a) x̌ə́łstə́nmət (5500b) 'feel sorry for oneself'

(113b) x̌əł (2653) 'hurt, sore'

It is also possible that (112a) and (113a) are different lexical items from (112b) and (113b) and that -stə́nmət represents a different morpheme from /-stənáṁət/ 'pretend'.

1.1.3. Predicator Aspect

In addition to being inflected with the transitivity and person-marking endings, which are suffixal, Cowichan predicators may be inflected with the aspectual morphemes, which, with the exception of -e- 'stative', are essentially prefixal in nature. These morphemes may be divided into two main categories: reduplicative forms and prefixes. The prefixes are morphologically simple to the extent that they are each realized in only one alternant. They will be analyzed later in 1.1.3.6. Aspectual Prefixes. The morphemes that are called reduplicative, by contrast, are in general morphologically complex. They each have more than one alternant, at least one of which is reduplicative in nature. There are two basic types of prefixal reduplication in Cowichan. One is of the CV- type; the other is of the CVC- type.[7]

Six reduplicative morphemes have been identified in Cowichan. They are as follows: Actual, plural, diminutive, resultative, Potential and Augmentative. The Actual morpheme is realized in two types of allomorphs, one type involving prefixal reduplication, the other involving stem vowel alternation. The plural morpheme is expressed by

reduplication in some lexical items and by an -í- infix in other items.
The diminutive and resultative morphemes are expressed by reduplication,
but are also realized in an i or e allomorph. The purely
reduplicative Potential and Augmentative morphemes, since they are
apparently not very productive, are included in section 1.1.3.1. Actual
Aspect, in which their morphological shape is compared to that of the
Actual morpheme. The discussion of the exceptional morpheme -ę-
'stative' follows that of the Actual morpheme, which it resembles in
semantic interpretation and in respect to one variant.

1.1.3.1. Actual

Actual aspect may be appropriately given Thompson and
Thompson's definition (1971:273), which they apply to Clallam: "...a
situation or activity viewed as in progress at a particular time or as
incomplete; the simplest translation device is to use the English -ing
form wherever possible." Since the Actual aspect has already been
extensively analyzed (Jones 1976 and Hukari 1978), the aim of this
section is essentially to provide a summary reformulation of it.

Actual (imperfective) aspect may be signalled by CV-
reduplication, stress shift, vowel tensing and resyllabification, the
formal expression of it being partly phonologically conditioned by
the shape of the stem and partly lexically governed. Uninflected bases
with the surface shape CǝC, as exemplified by sǝq̓ (5606b) 'be split'
apparently undergo CV- reduplication, in which stress falls on the stem,
while the reduplicative element has unstressed ǝ:

(114a) sʊsə́q̓ (5606a) 'splitting' (Actual)

(114b) səq̓ (5606b) 'split'

(115a) ƛ̓ətə́q̓ʷ (TEH) 'breaking' (Actual)

(115b) tə́q̓ʷ (6327) 'break'

However, the identification of bases thus inflected is problematical, since the reduplicative allomorph of the Actual morpheme presented here has the same canonical shape as the Potential morpheme (examples 116-17) and the resultative morpheme (1.1.3.5. <u>Resultative</u>)--in fact (114a) above is homophonous with (116a) below.

<div align="center">

<u>Potential</u>
</div>

(116a) sʊsə́q̓ (6511b) 'easy to tear' (Potential)

(116b) sʊq̓ (5606b) 'torn'

(117a) ƛ̓ʊƛ̓ə́q̓ʷ (6508c) 'liable to break' (Potential)

(117b) ƛ̓áq̓ʷət (6508d) 'breaking it' (Actual)

(117c) ƛ̓q̓ʷət (6508e) 'break it'

When the CəC base is inflected with a transitivity suffix, it appears in the shape CCV. The realization of the vowel (V) is lexically governed. Some bases, which may be called type 1 bases, occur with a lax vowel <u>ə</u> after the second consonant as in the following:[8]

<div align="center">

<u>Type 1 Bases</u>
</div>

(118a) p̓əɬ (2069) 'sober'

(118b) p̓ɬə́θət (4000) 'sober up'

(119a) θx̌ət (6243a) 'push it'

(119b) θəx̌ (5573) 'pushed'

(120) ɬq̓ʷət (6468b) 'wet it'

Other bases, which may be labelled type 2 forms, take a tense vowel (<u>e</u> or <u>a</u> depending upon the individual lexical item) as in the following:

Type 2 Bases

(121a) sq̓et (589) 'split it'

(121b) sə́q̓s (5606b) 'split'

(122) t̓ᶿx̌ʷat (5737b) 'wash it'

The CCV base when inflected with the Actual morpheme does not reduplicate, but resyllabifies, that is, the CCV shape becomes CVC, the vowel being stressed. The quality of the vowel (Jones 1976) is predictable. a occurs if the second consonant is rounded:

Type 1

(123) ɬaqʷt (6468c) 'wetting it'   ɬqʷət (6468b) 'wet it'

(124) ƛ̓aq̓ʷt (6480a) 'wrapping it'   ƛ̓q̓ʷət (5987b) 'wrap it'

Type 2

(125) t̓akʷt (6582a) 'caulking it'   t̓kʷat (6582b) 'caulk it'

(126) t̓ᶿax̌ʷt (5597) 'washing it'   t̓ᶿx̌ʷat (5737b) 'wash it'

(127) t̓aq̓ʷt (6248a) 'severing it'   t̓q̓ʷat (6248b) 'sever it'

e appears elsewhere as the following examples show:

Type 1

(128) t̓ᶿeq̓əm (6240a) 'dripping'   t̓ᶿq̓əm (6240b) 'drip'

(129) θext (6243b) 'pushing it'   θx̌ət (6243a) 'push it'

(130) q̓ent (6238a) 'gathering it'   q̓pət (5634c) 'gather it'

(131) c̓eƛ̓əm (5583b) 'jumping'   c̓ƛ̓əm (5583a) 'jump'

Type 2

(132) k̓ʷeɬt (6111b) 'pouring it out'   k̓ʷɬət (6111a) 'pour it out'

(133) seq̓t (2038) 'splitting it'   sq̓et (589) 'split it'

Although the type 2 forms (examples 125-27 and 132-33 above) seem to

exhibit metathesis, the Actual vowel still follows the aforementioned distribution pattern, which holds even in type 1 forms, where the vowel of the non-actual stem is ə.

The type 1 and 2 lexical-items exhibit an Augmentative reduplicative morpheme consisting of CV?C- reduplication and í after the base. This morpheme indicates that an entity is performing an action thoroughly or intensively:

Augmentative

(134a) x̌eʔx̌cít (6483) 'scrutinizing' (Augmentative)

(134b) x̌ect (6483) 'figuring it out'

(134c) x̌cət (6483) 'figure it out'

(135) x̌eʔx̌ʷiíltəl (5999b) 'competing really hard to outdo someone'

CVCC bases like type 1 CCV bases show an alternation between ə in the aspectually unmarked form and either e or a in the Actual. The tense vowel is not predictable. In some cases the vowel is a, when the third consonant is a rounded back velar (examples 136-37), and e elsewhere (138-41):

CVCC Bases

Actual	Non-actual
(136) θayq̇ʷt (TH)	θəyq̇ʷt (5423) 'dig it' [9]
(137) čatq̇ʷt (6196a) [10]	čətq̇ʷt (6196b) 'pulverize it'
(138) qʷeyx̌t (5167)	qʷəyx̌t (2729) 'move it'
(139) čeyxʷt (815)	čəyxʷt (637) 'dry it'
(140) yénəm (6152b)	yénəm (6152a) 'laugh'
(141) téyəl (6251b)	téyəl (6251a) 'go upriver'

However, as example (142) shows, other forms do not conform to this rule:[11]

(142) s̓éẃq̓ʷət (6215b)   sə́wq̓ʷət (6215a) 'look for it'

CVC bases exhibit CV- reduplication in the Actual. Generally the reduplicative element is stressed and the stem vowel is reduced:

CVC Bases

(143) ƚíƚəčət (5179)   ƚíčət (2362) 'cut it'

(144) kʷíkʷəntəl (5568c)   kʷíntəl (5568a) 'fight'

(145) ƚíƚəmət (5798b)   ƚímət (5798a) 'lick it'

(146) yéyəq̓ (5806b)   yéq̓ (5806a) 'topple down'

(147) wéwənš (5724b)   wenš (5724a) 'throw it'

Bases with an initial syllable containing a tense vowel and ?, the initial consonant not being a voiced sonorant, maintain stress on the base. The reduplicative element has unstressed ə:[12]

Non-sonorant, Tense Vowel, Glottal Stop

(148) səsé?t (5730c)   se?t (5738a) 'lift it'

(149) k̓ʷək̓ʷí? (5749c)   k̓ʷí? (5749a) 'climb'

(150) čəčé?t (6253b)   če?t (6253a) 'place it upon'

(151) t̓ət̓é?t (Jones)   t̓e?t (6254b) 'try it'

(152) t̓θət̓θé?t (Jones)   t̓θe?t (6255a) 'chew it'

Where the CVC base contains a sonorant (whether it is voiced or voiceless ? or h), there is further morphological complexity. A reduplicated voiced sonorant is devoiced to h[13] and stress falls on the reduplicative syllable when the base in addition to the sonorant

contains either a tense vowel followed by ? (examples 153-55) or ə followed by a consonant (examples 156-60):

Voiced Sonorant, Tense Vowel, Glottal Stop

(153) héləš (6467b)   le?š (3949) 'store it'

(154) hémeš (6466b)   me?š (1972) 'take it off'

(155) hénəm̓ (974)   nem̓ (4595) 'go'[14]

Voiced Sonorant, Shwa, Consonant

(156) hénqəm̓ (6236e)   néqəm (3577a) 'dive'

(157) hénq̓ʷ (6256f)   neq̓ʷ (6256e) 'fall asleep'

(158) hələ̓čt (184)   ləčə̓t (6113c) 'fill it in'

(159) hey̓q̓ʷ (3671)   yəq̓ʷ (6205) 'burn'

(160) həw̓q̓ʷ (4573)   wəq̓ʷ (4808) 'go downriver'

CəCX bases in which the first consonant is ? or h show CV-reduplication, the stem h being reduced to ?, and an alternation between ə in the aspectually unmarked form and a tense vowel (i or a) in the Actual. These types of bases are illustrated in (161)-(65) as follows:

CəCX Bases

(161) ?á?mət (6187b)   ?émət (6187a) 'sit (up)'

(162) ?á?n̓nəxʷ (6188b)   ?énnəxʷ (6188a) 'stop'

(163) ?í?šəl (4394)   ?éšəl (5544a) 'to paddle'

(164) ?í?ɬtən (3522)   ?éɬtən (5459) 'eat'

(165) hi?wáləm (5689b)   həwáləm (4821) 'play'

Except for i in the Actual forms of some bases containing an obstruent as a second consonant (examples 163-64) the tense vowel is not predictable.

Not all lexical items follow the above-stated rules of allomorphy. The Actual forms exhibited in examples (166)-(68) are formed irregularly--if in fact they are Actual forms:

(166) x̌ʷáňčənəm̓ (322)   x̌ʷčénəm (166) 'run'

(167) hé?kʷəĺəš (5982b)   kʷéləš (5982a) 'shoot'

(168) ši?išk̓ʷám (3533)   šk̓ʷam (5823a) 'swim'

1.1.3.2. Stative

/-é-/ 'stative' occurs with a limited number of lexical items. It appears after the base but before a transitivity suffix such as /-t/ 'transitive' (1.1.1.2.) or /-m/ 'intransitive' (1.1.1.1.). The stative morpheme is mostly realized in -é- (examples 169-70), although in one lexical item it is realized in resonant glottalization (example 171):

(169a) kʷéňem̓ (5549) 'holding'
(169b) kʷénəm (4765) 'take'

(170a) čəm̓ét (5968c) 'be (in the state of) carrying it'
(170b) čə́mət (5968b) 'carry it on one's back'

(171a) łx̌íləš (6202b) 'standing' (result of łx̌íləš)
(171b) łəłəx̌íləš (Kava) 'standing up' (Actual)
(171c) łx̌íləš (6202a) 'stand up'

Like /s-/ 'static' (1.1.3.6. Aspectual Prefixes) /-é-/ 'stative' indicates that a state of affairs has arisen, but unlike /s-/ it suggests that an entity is directly involved in an action, but not acted upon.

1.1.3.3. Plural

· The plural morpheme expresses marked plurality, either many participants or an act carried out repeatedly, and is formed by CəC-reduplication, Cə- reduplication or -í- infixation.[15] The latter variant is very productive, a fact which is indicated by the plural forms of English loanwords such as the ones illustrated in examples (172)-(73):

(172a) mélačəs (TEH) 'matches'

(172b) mečəs (TEH) 'match'

(173a) púləs (TEH) 'cats'

(173b) pus (1035) 'cat'

The -í- allomorph of the plural morpheme occurs most productively in the first syllable (consonant cluster and vowel) of a base. In some lexical items (174-75) it follows the initial consonant of a base, while in others it follows the first vowel of it (176-78):

After a Consonant

(174a) stalém (3592) 'belongings'

(174b) stem (69) 'thing, what'

(175a) scəlq̓ʷəħə (6127) 'earrings'

(175b) scq̓ʷəħə (6127) 'earring'

After a Vowel

(176a) q̓eləmi (T1:235) 'girls'

(176b) q̓émi (2463) 'girl, teenager'

(177a) šxʷʔáləq̓ʷaʔ (4794) 'siblings'

(177b) šxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ (101) 'sibling'

(178a) yáləkʷəm (6154b) 'break into pieces'[16]

(178b) yákʷəm (5832a) 'break down'

There are no restrictions on the phonological shape of stems which undergo CəC- reduplication. Stress falls on the stem vowel, if the stem has a vowel as its second segment (examples 179-81) and not a consonant (examples 182-83).

(179a) ʔəmʔíməθ (2350.5) 'grandchildren'

(179b) ʔíməθ (2350) 'grandchild'

(180a) sɬənɬéni (6028d) 'women'

(180b) sɬéni (4821b) 'woman'

(181a) təltíləm (TEH) 'they sing'

(181b) tíləm (6141a) 'sing'

When a stem is inflected with both the plural morpheme and a transitivity suffix, the plural form does not reflect CəC-reduplication of the CCV stem as the following forms show:

(182a) pəqʷpə́qʷ(ə)t (TEH) 'break them'

(182b) pqʷat (6220b) 'break it'

(183a) q̓əpq̓ə́pət (TEH) 'gather them'

(183b) q̓pət (5634c) 'gather it'

Both examples show CəC- reduplication of the type which might be expected if the input to the rule were the uninflected CəC stem. In Hukari's (1978:177) approach the input is still the CCV stem (examples 182b and 183b) given rules specifying that resyllabification with loss of the stem vowel to CəC takes place.

A small group of bases with the shape C(ə)C appears to undergo Cə- reduplication with i replacing ə in the second syllable:

(184a) θəθíq̓ət (T6:84) 'trees'

(184b) θq̓et (591) 'tree'

(185a) kʷəkʷímləxʷ (TEI) 'roots'

(185b) kʷə́mləxʷ (700) 'root'

These bases also show the sonorant-to-ẖ alternation (see 1.1.3.1.
Actual Aspect) if the initial sequence RəR (where R is a voiced
sonorant) would otherwise result, although one exception (example 188)
has been identified:

(186a) ẖəyínəs (6155b) 'teeth'

(186b) yə́nəs (6155a) 'tooth'

(187a) ẖəníqəm (TEI) 'they dive'

(187b) nə́qəm (3577a) 'dive!

(188a) snə́nə (T6:84) 'names'

(188b) sne (6011b) 'name'

Other forms, if they are to be related, suggest that the pattern
is Cə- with vowel change in the stem. Two plurals show e instead of i
as the vowel the postvelar consonant being the conditioning factor:

(189a) qəqéləm (TEI) 'eyes'

(189b) qə́ləm̓ (5833b) 'eye'

(190a) sx̌əx̌éhə (5949) 'legs'

(190b) sx̌ə́hə (805) 'leg'

Further, one stem shows Cə- reduplication despite the fact that the
first syllable of the singular has a tense vowel, although another stem
with a tense vowel (example 192) takes stress on the reduplicative
syllable:

(191a) stətíwəñ (4847) 'nieces/nephews'

(191b) stíwən (2353) 'niece/nephew'

(192a) θíθə (4491) 'big' (plural)

(192b) θi (60) 'big'

In addition, two long-vowel forms have Cə- plurals (Hukari 1978:180):

(193a) stətúup (THI) 'stoves'

(193b) stuup (THI) 'stove'

(194a) spəpáaɬ (THI) 'ravens'

(194b) spaaɬ (2596) 'raven'

The plural morpheme may combine with the Actual aspect, in which case the Actual stem generally functions as the base for pluralization (Hukari 1978:187). Where the non-actual stem has the shape CCV or CVCC, the Actual and non-actual forms alike are pluralized by means of CVC- reduplication:

CCV Stems

(195a) θəxθə́x̌ət (THI) 'push it' (plural)

(195b) θx̌ət (6243a) 'push it'

(195c) θəx̌θex̌t (THI) 'pushing it' (plural, Actual)

(195d) θex̌t (6243b) 'pushing it'

(195e) θəx̌ (5573b) 'pushed'

(196a) pəqʷpə́qʷət (THI) 'break them' (plural)

(196b) pqʷat (6220b) 'break it'

(196c) pəqʷpáqʷt (THI) 'breaking them' (plural, Actual)

(196d) paqʷt (6220c) 'breaking it'

(196e) pəqʷ (5176) 'broken'

CVCC Stems

(197a) ɬəýɬəýx̌t (THI) 'eat' (plural)

(197b) ɬəýx̌t (45) 'eat'

(197c) ɬəýɬeýx̌t (THI) 'eating them' (plural, Actual)

(197d) ɬeýx̌t (THI) 'eating it'

(198a) ɬəpɬə́ptᶿt (THI) 'suck them into the mouth' (plural)

(198b) ɬəptᶿt (THI) 'suck it into the mouth'

(198c) ɬəpɬéptᶿt (THI) 'sucking them into the mouth' (plural, Actual)

(198d) ɬeptᶿt (THI) 'sucking it into the mouth'

In the case of the Actual forms (195d, 196d, 197d and 198d) and of the non-actual CVCC forms (197b and 198b) CVC- reduplication operates directly on the stem, whereas with the non-actual CCV forms (195b and 196b) the input for reduplication is the CoC stem (examples 195e and 196e).

The Actual forms of stems which undergo CV- reduplication in the Actual cannot be pluralized except where the consonant (C) is a resonant,[17] in which case the initial consonant is reduced to h and reduplication is not apparent (Hukari 1978:187):

(199a) maqməqət (THI) 'swallow' (plural)
(199b) məqət (4355) 'swallow'
(199c) həmhəmqət (THI) 'swallowing' (plural, Actual)
(199d) həmqət (THI) 'swallowing'

(200a) ləkʷləkʷət (6005e) 'breaking them' (plural)
(200b) ləkʷət (6041a) 'break it'
(200c) həlòlkʷət (THI) 'breaking them' (plural, Actual)
(200d) hólkʷət (6041c) 'breaking it'

As in the case of the CCV and CVCC stems the Actual (199d and 200d) like the non-actual forms (199b and 200b) are pluralized by CVC- reduplication. Although CVC- reduplication is not immediately apparent, the Actual plural combinations (199c and 200c) are analyzable in this way if one views həmhəmqət 'swallowing' (plural) and həlòlkʷət 'breaking them' as the h elided surface forms of /həmhəmqət/ and /həlhólkʷət/ respectively.

1.1.3.4. Diminutive

The diminutive morpheme denotes smallness, endearment, or

deprecation and is signalled solely by reduplication. The two basic
diminutive reduplicative patterns are CV?- and Ci?-,[18] the
distribution of the two being phonologically predictable. Ci?- occurs
if the base has either the shape CC (example 201) or Cə (example 202)
and CV?- occurs elsewhere as in (203) and (204), in which ? elides
before a following consonant and resonant:

Ci?-

(201a) skʷî?kʷθe? (6109d) 'little island'

(201b) skʷθe? (6063) 'island'

(202a) sníñxʷəɫ (3880) 'little canoe' (/sní?nxʷəɫ/)

(202b) snôxʷəɫ (2829) 'canoe, vehicle'

CV?-

(203a) šʕə?šɫ (5382b) 'trail'

(203b) šeɫ (3512) 'road, door'

(204a) sɫʕɫni (6028c) 'little girl'

(204b) sɫʕni (2464) 'woman'

The productivity of the diminutive morpheme is shown by the
fact that two lexical items that take it (examples 205-206) are
loanwords, the first derived from the French word vache perhaps and the
second from the French form cochon 'pig'.

(205a) múɫəsməs (6121b) 'calf' (/mú?məsməs/)

(205b) músməs (4221) 'cow'

(206a) kʷî?kʷəšu (2931) 'small pig'

(206b) kʷəšú (1109) 'pig'

The diminutive morpheme may combine with other aspectual
categories. Significantly, predicators denoting actions or processes

do not seem to occur as simple diminutives. Such predicators may be
inflected with just the diminutive and Actual morphemes (examples
207-208) or with the plural morpheme in addition (examples 209-210).
The selection of the plural allomorph in this case is determined by
the morphological context--the fact that the stem is diminutive--not by
the properties of the base.

(207a) čìʔčəčéʔt (THI) 'putting it on' (diminutive, Actual)
(207b) čəčéʔt (6253b) 'putting it on' (Actual)
(207c) čéʔt (6253a) 'put it on'

(208a) hìʔhółčt (THI) 'filling it' (diminutive, Actual)
(208b) həłčt (184) 'filling it' (Actual)
(208c) ləčót (6113c) 'fill it'

(209a) qʷʲʲlcqʷást (6237) 'dunking them' (diminutive, Actual, plural)
(209b) qʷast (6237c) 'dunking him' (Actual)
(209c) qʷsət (6237b) 'dunk him'

(210a) ƛ̓əleƛ̓ept (6238) 'gathering them' (diminutive, Actual, pl.)
(210b) ƛ̓ept (6238a) 'gathering it' (Actual)
(210c) ƛ̓pət (5634c) 'gather it up'

These examples show the order in which the aspectual categories are
expressed. The diminutive Actual stem (examples 207a and 208a) is
formed from the Actual stem (examples 207b and 208b) and takes the -ḷ-
plural infix (examples 209a and 210a) just like a simple diminutive.

Stems which undergo CV- reduplication in the Actual (with a
tense vowel) are subject to further morphological complexity
(Hukari 1978:196). First, the diminutive category is signalled not
only by diminutive reduplication but also by an infix ʔ, which precedes
the base (example 211c). In addition, diminutive reduplication may

occur not just once, as in example (211c), but may occur twice, as in
(211b), with an optional plural infix (example 211a). The realization
of the additional reduplicative element as Ciʔ- is conditioned by the
initial Cə shape of the stem just as in simple diminutives.

(211a) ɬəliʔɬəɬaʔɬəkʷ (THI) 'flying' (double dimin., Actual, pl.)

(211b) ɬiʔɬəɬaʔɬəkʷ (THI) 'flying' (double diminutive, Actual)

(211c) ɬəɬaʔɬəkʷ (THI) 'flying' (diminutive, Actual)

(211d) ɬáɬəkʷ (4292) 'flying'

(211e) ɬakʷ (4060) 'fly'

(211d) ɬáɬəkʷ (4292) 'flying'

(211e) ɬakʷ (4060) 'fly'　　　to English as nouns may occur

either as simple diminutives or as plural diminutives. The plural
diminutive in such predicators is formed either by the -l̲- infix
(examples 212d and 213d) just as in predicators denoting actions or
processes or, more rarely, by Cə- reduplication (Hukari 1978:192).

(212a) sqʷəlqʷəléš (THI) 'birds' (plural)

(212b) sqʷəléš (419) 'bird'

(212c) sqʷíqʷləš (6134b) 'little bird' (diminutive)

(212d) sqʷəl̲íqʷləš (6134c) 'little birds' (diminutive, plural)

(212e) sqʷəqʷéləš (THI) 'little birds' (diminutive, plural)

(213a) sqʷəmqʷəméy̓ (5948c) 'dogs' (plural)

(213b) sqʷəméy̓ (178) 'dog'

(213c) sqʷíqʷmiʔ (THI) 'puppy' (diminutive)

(213d) sqʷəl̲íqʷmiʔ (5948a) 'puppies (diminutive, plural)

(213e) sqʷəqʷémiʔ (THI) 'puppies' (diminutive, plural)

1.1.3.5. Resultative

The resultative morpheme expresses a state of affairs that
results from the action of the predicator and frequently occurs with

/s-/ 'static' (1.1.3.6. Aspectual Prefixes). Like the Actual morpheme
it is formed by CV- reduplication and by stem modification--or, to use
Hukari's (1978:184) phrase, non-segmental morphology--and also
undergoes resonant glottalization in non-initial position. Depending
upon the individual lexical item, the reduplicative segment may be
either stressed (214-15) or unstressed (216-17):

Stressed Reduplication

(214a) ƛíƛəč (4802b) 'cut' (resultative)

(214b) ƛič (5147a) 'cut'

(214c) ƛíƛəčət (6269b) 'cutting it up' (Actual)

(215a) spʼə́pʼətʼ (5836a) 'sewn' (resultative)

(215b) pʼə́tʼət (5836b) 'sew it'

(215c) pʼə́pʼətʼət (5836c) 'sewing it on' (Actual)

Unstressed Reduplication

(216a) q̓q̓pas (4208) 'gathered together' (resultative)

(216b) q̓pas (4208) 'gathered together'

(217a) ƛ̓əƛ̓íč (THI) 'short' (resultative)

(217b) ƛ̓íčət (5917b) 'creep up on him'

(217c) ƛ̓íƛ̓əčət (THI) 'creeping up on him' (Actual).

Although the resultative morpheme resembles the Actual one in shape, it
is different in its distribution. The Actual morpheme may be built on
to lexical items inflected with /-t/ 'transitive', while the
resultative occurs with intransitive stems that have patient
interpretation.

The resultative morpheme differs not only distributionally
from the Actual morpheme, but also in the case of CəC stems in
phonological shape. If the stem has the shape CəC and does not contain

a suffix, the resultative like the diminutive (1.1.3.4.) is formed by reduplication and by infixation of a tense vowel, which replaces the stem ə. Depending upon the lexical item the vowel is either i (218-20) or e (221-22):

(218a) pəpíqʷ (4520) 'broken' (resultative)
(218b) pə́qʷ (5176) 'broken (brittle object)'

(219a) stəɬíń (6049) 'woven'
(219b) ɬə́ńət (5212) 'weave it'

(220a) səńíẃ (5884b) 'inside'
(220b) nə́wəš (5183) 'put it inside'

(221a) spəléy̓ (5187) 'stuck on'
(221b) p̓ə́ləytəl (5019) 'glue together'

(222a) sənqém̓ (T1:239) 'underwater (after diving)'
(222b) nə́qəm (3577a) 'dive'

In (220) and (222) above, the inflected words correspond respectively to the underlying forms /s-nəńíẃ/ and /snənqém̓/, which through the devoicing of the initial resonant n become s-həńíẃ and s-hənqém̓. The surface forms of examples (220) and (222) are realized through the deletion of h after s.

If the resultative morpheme inflects a lexical item containing a suffix which receives primary stress, the í or é stem vowel does not appear (examples 223-24). Example (224) illustrates the contrast between a lexical item (224a) which takes a stressed suffix /-náp/ 'ground, floor' (resultative) and an item (224b) which takes an unstressed suffix /-nəp/ 'ground, soil' and retains the stem vowel í:

(223a) səlk̓ʷəléx̌ən (793) 'broken arm'
(223b) lək̓ʷ (5564b) 'broken'

(224a) səlqʷənúp (6131a) 'even ground' (resultative)

(224b) səliqʷə́nəp (5386) 'even ground' (resultative)

(224c) ləq̓ (THI) 'even'

Although in most lexical items CV- reduplication is involved, in two items (225-26) the resultative morpheme is not marked by reduplication but by the tense vowel alone (in these examples a):

(225a) stiyám (T5:84) 'attached, worn' (resultative)

(225b) tʼətʼəyəm (THI) 'sticking' (Actual)

(225c) tʼəyəm (T2:21) 'attach, wear'

(226a) sc̓atq̓ʷ (6509b) 'mashed' (resultative)

(226b) c̓atq̓ʷt (6509a) 'mashing it' (Actual)

(226c) c̓ətq̓ʷt (6196b) 'mash it'

The resultative morpheme combines with the plural and diminutive categories functioning as the base for them (Hukari 1978:187). The resultative diminutives, like the Actual diminutive forms (1.1.3.1.), show double reduplication:

(227a) sc̓i?c̓əc̓ə? (THI) ᵒⁿ (resultative, diminutive)

(227b) sc̓əc̓ə? (THI) 'on' (resultative)

(227c) c̓ə?t (6253a) 'put it on'

(228a) sƛ̓i?ƛ̓epx̌ (THI) 'sprinkled' (resultative, diminutive)

(228b) sƛ̓epx̌ (5893) 'sprinkled' (resultative)

(228c) ƛ̓əpx̌t (6303) 'sprinkle it'

Such forms may be pluralized, in which case the plural allomorph is the infix -l- as in sc̓əli?c̓əc̓ə? (THI) 'on' (diminutive, plural).

Resultative plurals without diminutive aspect may be realized in the -l- infix, in CVC- reduplication or in stress shift. The infix occurs in resultative constructions based on CCV bases (Hukari 1978:188):

(229a) spəɬəpíqʷ (TEH) 'broken' (resultative, plural)

(229b) spəpíqʷ (TEH) 'broken' (resultative).

(229c) pqʷat (6220b) 'break it'

(230a) (s)səɬəsíɫ (TEH) 'torn' (resultative, plural)

(230b) (s)səsíɫ (6511a) 'torn' (resultative)

(230c) sɫet (589) 'tear it'

The resultative plural of CəC stems is realized in CVC-reduplication if the initial consonant (C) is a resonant, in which case as with the Actual plural it is reduced to h (Hukari 1978:187):

(231a) s-(h)əḿḿíɫ (TEH) 'full' (resultative, plural)

(231b) s-(h)əḿíɫ (TEH) 'full' (resultative)[19]

(231c) məɫməɫət (TEH) 'swallow' (plural)

(231d) məɫət (4355) 'swallow'

(232a) s-(h)əɬɬíkʷ (TEH) 'broken' (resultative, plural)

(232b) s-(h)əɬíkʷ (TEH) 'broken' (resultative)

(232c) ləkʷləkʷət (6005e) 'break them' (plural)

(232d) ləkʷát (6041a) 'break it'

The analysis of resultative plural combinations (231a and 232a) as CVC-reduplicated forms is rendered plausible if s-(h)əḿḿíɫ 'full' and s-(h)əɬɬíkʷ 'broken' are viewed as the h and ə elided surface forms of /shəḿhəḿíɫ/ and /shəɬhəɬíkʷ/ respectively.

Where a nonresonant is the initial consonant of a stem which undergoes CV- reduplication in the resultative, the plural resultative forms are only reduplicated once as the following two examples illustrate:

(233a) sɫéɫɫəɫ (6117e) 'laid out' (resultative, plural)

(233b) sɫéɫəɫ (6117d) 'laid out' (resultative)

(233c) ɬéq̓ət (6190a) 'lay it down'

(234a) syák̓ʷyək̓ʷ (TEH) 'broken' (resultative, plural)
(234b) syáy̓ək̓ʷ (TEH) 'broken' (resultative)
(234c) yák̓ʷət (6495a) 'break it'

1.1.3.6. Aspectual Prefixes

There are three productive aspectual prefixes in Cowichan:
/yə-/ 'serial', /xʷə-/ 'developmental' and /s-/ 'static'. These
morphemes may appear either individually or in one of the following
combinations: yə-xʷə-, yə-s- or xʷə-s-.

(a) /yə-/ 'serial'

/yə-/ 'serial' indicates that a given activity involves motion
through space or time or else that one or several entities extend
through space or time. The semantic context of movement through space
is illustrated in (235), while in (236)-(37) the use of /yə-/ implies
that a series of objects extend in a line through space:

(235a) yə?íməš (5550) 'taking a walk'
(235b) ?íməš (4142a) 'walk'

(236a) yə?áləx̌ət (T1:99) 'gather them up'
(236b) ?áləx̌ət (4599) '(go and) get it'

(237a) yəx̌a?áθən (6271g) 'four (left)'
(237b) x̌a?áθən (847) 'four'

The temporal meaning of /yə-/, that of movement through time, is
illustrated as follows:

(238a) yək̓ʷək̓ʷəlás (4414) 'starting of summer, springtime'
(238b) k̓ʷéləs (4757) 'warm (weather)'

(239a) yəq̓ʷəq̓ʷám (4352) 'falling out (hair, feathers)'

(239b) q̓ʷam (3916) 'fall out (hair, feathers)

(240a) yəswə́y̓qe (4443) 'bachelor' (remain a man)

(240b) swə́y̓qe (3515) 'man'

The marking of a lexical item with /yə-/ does not preclude further aspectual marking. As illustrated in (241), /yə-/ may occur with the stative morpheme /-é-/:

(241a) yək̓ʷəńém̓ (3911) 'taking it'

(241b) k̓ʷə́nəm (4765) 'take'

More productively, /yə-/ appears with the Actual morpheme in any of its allomorphs (examples 242-44):

(242a) yəc̓íc̓əsəm̓ (3747) 'growing up'

(242b) c̓íc̓əsəm̓ (6207b) 'growing'

(242c) c̓ísəm (6207a) 'grow'

(243a) yəhíl̓əm̓ (4688) 'is falling'

(243b) híl̓əm̓ (TEH) 'falling'

(243c) híləm (519) 'fall (in)'

(244a) yəhə́n̓w̓əš (5539a) 'putting it inside'

(244b) nə́w̓əš (5884a) 'put it inside'

(b) /xʷə-/ 'developmental'

/xʷə-/ 'developmental' indicates that one state of affairs supersedes another through a given action and is translatable by terms like 'become' and 'turn into'. This morpheme may appear with /yə-/ 'serial', which it follows as shown in example (245), or it may be the sole aspectual marker of a predicator (246-47):

(245a) (yə)xʷəmə?əlqsə́nəm (5540) 'start cleaning one's nose'

(245b) mə?əlqsə́nəm (5540) 'clean one's nose'

(246a) x̌ʷəsk̓ʷə́yəθ (70) 'become a slave'

(246b) sk̓ʷə́yəθ (3986) 'slave'

(247a) x̌ʷəná́s (3603) 'become fat'

(247b) has (5751b) 'fat'

Furthermore, it may inflect a base expressing Actual (248-49) or
diminutive (250) aspect as follows:

(248a) x̌ʷəcéƛ̓əm̓ (5583b) 'start jumping' (Actual)

(248b) c̓ƛ̓əm (5583a) 'jump'

(249a) x̌ʷəx̌ʷáňčənəm̓ (TEH) 'start running' (Actual)

(249b) x̌ʷčénəm (166) 'run'

(250a) x̌ʷəmə́m̓stím̓əxʷ (TEH) 'formed into a little person' (diminutive)

(250b) məstíməxʷ (586) 'person'

(c) /s-/ 'static'

/s-/ 'static' indicates that the activity denoted by the
predicator is not transitory, but represents a permanent condition.
This prefix may occur either with uninflected themes (251-52) or with
stems which cannot stand as themes but which are alternatively
inflectible with a transitivity suffix (examples 253-55).

(251a) sqə́nəxʷ (5565a) 'glutton'

(251b) qə́nəxʷ (5565c) 'overeat'

(252a) s?ə́y̓q (5491) 'wrong'

(252b) ?ə́y̓q (2120) 'make a mistake'

(253a) s?ák̓ʷəs (6299) 'hanging' (e.g. on a wall)

(253b) ?ák̓ʷəşt (2003) 'hang it up'

(254a) sməl̓ýi (TEH) 'married'

(254b) məlýitəl (1249) 'marry'

(255a) sƛ̓əxʷ (5399) 'beaten'

(255b) ƛ̓x̌ʷət (6231a) 'beat him'

/s-/ may also inflect a limited number of lexical items (256-57) that
contain a transitivity suffix (1.1.1.):

(256a) sk̓ʷíɬəm (6279c) 'tired of it' (person, noise)

(256b) k̓ʷíɬəm (6279a) 'disturbed'

(256c) k̓ʷəɬ (3863) 'upset'

(257a) sɬópx̌nəxʷ (6296) 'blinking'

(257b) ɬópx̌nəxʷ (6296) 'blink'

In addition to being marked by /s-/ 'static', a lexical item
may be preceded by /yə-/ 'serial' (258-59) and/or /xʷə-/ 'developmental'
(260-62) in this order:

/yə-/ and /s-/

(258a) yəsq̓əq̓íp (5998c) 'grouped together'

(258b) sq̓əq̓íp (5634b) 'grouped together'

(258c) q̓pət (5634c) 'group them together'

(259a) yəsčəčé (5405b) 'he is on top' (sleeping on a log)

(259b) sčəčé (THI) 'on top of it'

(259c) čéʔət (6253a) 'put it on top'

/xʷə-/ and /s-/

(260a) xʷəsʔiʔík̓ʷ (5368b) 'dead, passed on'

(260b) ʔik̓ʷ (3621) 'lost'

(261a) xʷəsk̓ʷéyšən (4751a) 'become lame'

(261b) sk̓ʷey (4558) 'not permitting'

(261c) k̓ʷəyət (4223) 'prevent him'[20]

As well as co-occurring with another aspectual affix, /s-/ may appear
along with the resultative morpheme in the same lexical item as /-stəxʷ/
'causative' (1:1.1.2. <u>Transitive Suffixes</u>) inflecting bases that are
transitivized by /-t/ 'transitive':

(262a) st̓ətiństəm (5324c) 'they are lined up'

(262b) st̓ətiń (5958c) 'lined up'

(262c) łáhət (5324a) 'line them up'

(263a) st$^\theta$it$^\theta$əstəx^w (5311b) 'nail it up' (/st$^\theta$it$^\theta$əsstəx^w/)

(263b) st$^\theta$it$^\theta$əs (5840) 'nailed up'

(263c) t$^\theta$isət (5311a) 'nail it'

1.2. Derivational Affixes

There are two types of derivational affixes in Cowichan:
lexical affixes, which form stems that can be inflected with transitivity
suffixes (1.1.1.), and non-inflectives, which form stems that cannot be
so inflected. The latter include six prefixes and fifteen suffixes
while the former with the exception of one prefix are suffixes. The
numeral system (1.2.2½3.) is presented as a subsection of lexical
suffixes on the ground that with one non-productive exception, /-ał/
'canoe, buggy', all derivational affixes which numerals may take are
lexical suffixes.

1.2.1. Non-inflective Forms

The non-inflectives are presented here in two sections, one on
prefixes and one on suffixes. There is no other apparent basis for
classifying these morphemes, some of which occur nonproductively with
a limited number of lexical items. Although sometimes the stems of
the lexical items are themes, they are more frequently bound forms.

1.2.1.1. Non-inflective Prefixes

The non-inflective prefixes are /s-/ 'absolute', /x̌ʷ-/ 'instrumental', /c-/ 'acquisitional', /c-/ 'colour classifier', /təm-/ 'season, time' and /tən-/ 'direction, wind'.

(a) /s-/ 'absolute'

/s-/ 'absolute' is attached to the stem of a predicator-- usually one denoting an action or process--to form a lexical item which, like an English noun, denotes the name of an object. The stem may be either a theme (264-65) or a bound base of a /-t/ 'transitive' inflected form (266-67).

Themes

(264a) s?ítᶿəm (4561) 'clothing'

(264b) ?ítᶿəm (1268) 'got dressed'

(265a) scécɫtən (4419) 'salmon'

(265b) cécɫtən (3803) 'to fish'

Bound Stems

(266a) sne (4580) 'a name'

(266b) né?ət (5663) 'name someone'

(267a) sɫap (6412a) 'soup'

(267b) ɫápət (6412b) 'drink soup'

(268a) s?ax̌ʷo (4425) 'butter clam'

(268b) ?ax̌ʷomən (4597) 'clam shell'

/s-/ 'absolute' functions not only as a derivational prefix as in the above examples, but also as a syntactic one (2.3.2. /s-/ 'absolute' Clauses). The latter distribution of /s-/ is apparent in the expression nespús 'my being a cat' in the following example:

(269) ʔi cə p̓eʔ x^wix̌ə́tə k̓^wə nəspús (6330)

    1 2 3 4   -5 6 78

    'I am pretending (saying) that I am a cat'

1 proximal   5 article

2 /cən/ 'I'   6 'my'

3 certain   7 absolute

4 'say'   8 'cat'

That the morpheme /s-/ here is distinct from the /s-/ prefix in examples (264)-(68) is shown by the fact that there is no word */spus/ 'cat' in which /s-/ would constitute a derivational prefix, although there is a lexical item /pus/ 'cat'.

(b) /š̌x^w-/ 'instrumental'

/š̌x^w-/ 'instrumental' like /s-/ 'absolute' occurs both as a syntactic prefix in one type of subordinate clause (2.3.2.) and as a derivational one. This morpheme has two allomorphs, š̌x^w- before a vowel and a glottal stop and š̌- before consonants, and two meanings depending upon the individual stem to which it is attached. In some lexical items (270-72) it denotes the location of an entity and with others it expresses instrumentality, the means by which an action is performed (273).

(270a) š̌leθíłə (6112b) 'cupboard'

(270b) láʔθən (6112a) 'plate, dish'

(271a) š̌síłə (TH) 'grandparent-in-law'

(271b) síłə (4386) 'grandparent'

(272a) š̌x^wʔítət (6106b) 'bed'

(272b) ʔítət (6001b) 'sleep'

(273a) š̌k^weyx̌əcəm (6103a) 'tools, equipment'

(273b) k^weyx̌əcəm (3872) 'weave (baskets)'

(274) ƛə́lməɬ (6308c) 'Quamichan Stream'

(c) /c-/ 'acquisitional'

/c-/ 'acquisitional', which is semantically equivalent to the English words 'obtain' and 'have', indicates that an individual is in possession of an object. /c-/ may be attached to a form denoting the name of an object to form an action-process predicator (examples 275-76) or it may be built on to a bound base that may take /-t/ 'transitive' (example 277).

(275a) ctéla (6184b) 'obtain money'
(275b) téla (4432) 'money'

(276a) cpə́ya (6242b) 'have beer'
(276b) pə́ya (3714) 'beer'

(277a) ck̓ʷən (6000b) 'obtain it'
(277b) k̓ʷə́nət (4166) 'take it'

(d) /c-/ 'colour classifier'

/c-/ 'colour classifier' appears in a limited number of lexical items expressing the names of colours:

(278a) ck̓ʷim (856) 'red'
(278b) k̓ʷik̓ʷəməl (5472) 'reddish'

(279a) cx̌ʷik̓ʷ (5475b) 'grey'
(279b) x̌ʷik̓ʷək̓ʷol (5475d) 'greyish'

(e) /təm-/ 'season, time'

/təm-/ 'season, time' occurs in three lexical items that indicate a given period in the year:

(280a) təmk̓ʷélas (6318a) 'summer time'
(280b) k̓ʷélas (4077) 'warm (weather)'

(281a) tomx̌ɔyⱡ (6318b) 'winter time'

(281b) x̌ɔyⱡ (5534a) 'cold'

(282a) tomk̓ʷálɔxʷ (5534b) 'autumn'

(282b) k̓ʷálɔxʷ (5534a) 'dog salmon'

(f) /tɔn-/ 'direction, wind'

/tɔn-/ 'direction, wind' appears in four lexical items which express the concept of direction (283-86). The last three have to do specifically with the direction of the wind.

(283a) tɔnʔɔ́ncɔ (6047) 'from where (did you come)'

(283b) ʔɔ́ncɔ (101) 'where, somewhere'

(284a) tɔncɔ́wcɔw (4081) 'wind from the water/sea'

(284b) cɔ́wcɔw (3732) 'go out into the water'

(285) tɔncáləqʷ (4080) 'wind from the woods, west-wind'

(286) tɔnwáq̓ (6320) 'south wind'

1.2.1.2. Non-inflective Suffixes

There are fifteen non-inflective suffixes: /-álⱡ/ 'animal offspring', /-ɔⱡp/ 'tree, bush', /-mɔxʷ/ 'people', /-tɔn/ 'instrument', /-mɔn/ 'resultant', /-áʔθ/ 'edge', /-aⱡ/ 'canoe, buggy', /-wɔⱡ/ 'canoe', /-ɔp/ 'fire', /-ɔy̓/ 'bark, wood', /-qɔp/ 'pervasive through the air', /-wɔn/ 'mind, mental activity', /-šɔn/ 'liquid' and /-ləqʷ/ 'waves'.

(a) /-álⱡ/ 'animal offspring'

/-álⱡ/ 'animal offspring' occurs most productively with stems of a certain lexical set, that of animal names, and denotes the young of a species.

(287a) kʷəšúʔálɬ (2931) 'piglet'

(287b) \kʷəšú (6109a) 'pig'

(288a) mùsməsálɬ (6034) 'calf'

(288b) músməs (6121a) 'cow'

(289) x̌əy̌álɬ (2511) 'the young of an animal'

(b) /-əɬp/ 'tree, bush'

The suffix /-əɬp/ 'tree, bush' occurs in lexical items
expressing the names of trees and bushes:

(290a) sčáʔɬəɬp (4018) 'maple tree'

(290b) sčáʔɬə (5869a) 'leaf'

(291) px̌ʷəɬp (3998) 'oak tree'

In many of these items the meaning of the whole word is a compositional
function of its morphemes. In some lexical items the stem denotes the
product of a tree--its wood or its fruit:

(292a) x̌péy̌əɬp (2532) 'cedar tree'

(292b) x̌péy̌ (5038b) 'cedar'

(293a) líləɬp (1335) 'salmonberry bush'

(293b) lílə (286) 'salmonberry'

In other items the stem denotes an alleged characteristic of the tree:

(294a) čəq̓ʷəɬp (4025) 'spruce tree'

(294b) čəq̓ʷ (4026a) 'pricked'

(295a) lə́ləčəɬp (4305) 'tall wild grape'

(295b) lə́ləč (373) 'yellow'

(c) /-məx̌ʷ/ 'people'

/-məx̌ʷ/ 'people', which occurs mostly with bound stems
(296-99) marks lexical items which denote the names of groups or tribes
of people:

(296) x^wə́lməx^w (1809) 'Indian'

(297) snanéyməx^w (4174) 'Nanaimo'

(298) məstíməx^w (3964) 'person, people'

(299a) nécəwməx^w (Kava) 'different tribe, foreigner'
(299b) nec̆ (Kava) 'different'

(d) /-tən/ 'instrument'

      /-tən/ 'instrument' indicates that the lexical item which it
is contained in is viewed as an instrument. This morpheme occurs most
frequently in lexical items (300-301) that have stems which are
inflectible with /-t/ 'transitive' (1.1.1.2.). In these items the
meaning of the whole word is a compositional function of the individual
morphemes. In examples (300)-(301) s̆ə́ptən 'knife' is a cutting
instrument and lə́x̆^wtən 'blanket' is a covering instrument.[21]

(300a) lə́x̆^wtən (4788) 'blanket'
(300b) lə́x̆^wət (6024a) 'cover it'
(300c) ləx̆^w (5726b) 'covered'

(301a) s̆ə́ptən (163) 'knife'
(301b) s̆ípət (6487) 'cut it'

In one case the semantic reading of instrumentality is not apparent
from the gloss 'track', although putatively a track is a means of
identifying a foot:

(302a) sx̆ə́hətən (3982) 'a track'
(302b) sx̆ə́hə (2626) 'foot, leg'

      /-tən/ 'instrument' is not limited to occurring with bases.
It also appears in many lexical items that take /s̆x^w-/ 'instrument'
(examples 303-304) and occurs productively with lexical suffixes

(example 305), which will be discussed in section 1.2.2.

(303) šmátəstən (5961a) 'hand spear'

(304a) šyóqʷtən (98) 'flint'
(304b) yəqʷ (64) 'burned'

(305a) čeʔčətən (5961a) 'doorstep' (-šə(n) 'foot')
(305b) čeʔt (6253a) 'put it on top'

(e) /-mín/ 'resultant'

The instrumental morpheme /-mín/ 'resultant' has two lexically conditioned allomorphs: a stressed one, -mín and an unstressed one, -mən, which appears after stressed stems. /-mín/ indicates that a given entity is the residue or product resulting from an activity of another entity. The meanings of some lexical items containing /-mín/ are amenable to a compositional analysis. In the following forms the stem denotes the activity, while /-mín/ denotes the result:

(306a) yə́qmən (4850) 'shavings, sawdust' (residue of grinding)
(306b) yə́qət (4848) 'file it down, grind it'

(307a) λ̓əmín (5500) 'hard feelings' (product of being hurt)
(307b) λ̓ə (2898) 'hurt'

However, this assignment of semantic readings to individual morphemes is not feasible for all words containing /-mín/. In the following examples the stem does not express an activity:

(308a) kʷáx̌ʷmən (4882) 'hoof'
(308b) kʷáx̌ʷ (3912) 'thump'

(309a) ʔáx̌ʷəmən (4597) 'clam shell'
(309b) sʔáx̌ʷə (4422) 'butter clam'

*(310) kʷəcmín (L1:72) 'stick with rattles'

(f) /-qən/ 'fur, wool'

/-qən/ 'fur, wool', which may be suffixed to themes but not to

bound stems, differs from the other non-inflectives in that it has as
its I.C. partner a connector (1.2.2.2.) /-əl-/, which is characteristic
of certain lexical suffixes:

(311a) sqʷəmeýálqən (5547) 'dog's hair'

(311b) sqʷəmeý (3481a) 'dog'

(312a) ʔəx̌əlqən (4694) 'buckskin'

(312b) ʔix̌ (5522) 'scraped'

(313a) ʔəýəlqən (4694) 'good pelt'

(313b) ʔəý (4559) 'good'

(g) /-á7ə/ 'edge'

/-á7ə/ 'edge' has been found to be attached to two free forms,
/qəl/ 'bad' and /ʔəý/ 'good' (examples 314-15) and to be present in two
other lexical items (316-17) which contain /x̌ʷ-/ 'instrumental'. In
(317) the underlying form of the stem may be /niʔ/ 'nonproximal'
(1.3.2.3. Class III Locatives), but in (316) the morphemic status of
it is not apparent.

(314a) qəláʔə (617) 'dull (blade)'

(314b) qəl (5833) 'bad'

(315a) ʔəýáʔə (226) 'sharp'

(315b) ʔəý (4559) 'good'

(316) x̌ʷqaʔə (TEH) 'across (river, road)'

(317) x̌nəʔáʔə (3588) 'across (lake, bay)'

The remaining non-inflective suffixes, which are nonproductive,
may be listed as follows:

/-cəp/ 'fire'

(318) x̌əlcəp (825) 'match, firedrill'

(319a) yéqʷəlcəp (901) 'make a fire' (-əl- connector)

(319b) yəqʷ (3602) 'burn'

/-ał/ 'canoe'

(320) sišáł (3784d) 'canoe of a certain type'

(321a) yakʷá?ał (6495b) 'canoe broke up'

(321b) yakʷ (5832b) 'break'

/-wəł/ 'canoe'

(322a) θə́ywəł (5517) 'make a canoe'

(322b) θəýt (725) 'make it'

(323a) tiýəwəł (813) 'canoe racing'

(323b) təý (529) 'canoe racing'

/-eý/ 'bark, wood'

(324) c̓seý (4007) 'fir'

(325) x̌peý (355) 'red ochre'

(326a) pqʷay (TEH) 'rotten wood, punk'

(326b) pəqʷ (TEH) 'mold'

/-qəp/ 'pervasive through the air'

(327a) qə́ləqəp (6493) 'bad smell (in the air)'

(327b) qəl (4405) 'bad'

(328a) ?əýáləqəp (6493) 'fragrance, pleasant smell'

(328b) ?əý (4559) 'good'

(329) xʷéləqəp (5474) 'hear a sound in the distance'

(330) təw̓təw̓áləqəp (5849) 'an echo'

/-wən/ 'mind, mental activity'

(331a) qə́ləwən (2460) 'mean, bad-tempered'

(331b) qəl (4405) 'bad'

(332a) šqʷáləwən (4798) 'mind'

(332b) qʷal (5613a) 'speak'

(333a) xʷθtíwən (T1:56) 'think' (/xʷ-∠'locative')

(333b) θət (1208) 'say'

/-ləqʷ/ 'motion of a fluid, waves'

(334a) θiθé?ləqʷ (6039) 'big waves'

(334b) θi (60) 'big'

(335) háy̓eləqʷ (4429) 'high, rolling waters'

(336) təncá?ləqʷ (4080) 'west wind, wind from the woods'

/-šən/ 'liquid'[22]

(337) k̓ʷk̓ʷəλšən (5887a) 'rainbow'

(338) scé?šən (2441) 'rapids'

(339) x̌ə́λšənθət (4735a) 'rain hard'

1.2.2. Lexical Suffixes

The lexical suffixes are like the non-inflectives (1.2.1.) in that they are built on to bound or free stems to form uninflected themes. Unlike the non-inflectives they may in addition form stems that may be inflected with one or more of the transitivity suffixes, /-m/ 'intransitive', /-təl/ 'reciprocal', /-t/ 'transitive' and /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'. Examples (340)-(44) illustrate the /-nəxʷ/ and /-təl/ inflections, which appear less frequently in the corpus than /-m/ or /-t/. The lexical suffixes, /-nəp/ 'ground, soil', /-cəs/ 'hand', /-á?qʷ/ 'head' (-i?qʷ and -a?qʷ variants) and /-ás/ 'face' are underlined:

/-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'

(340a) λšə́nəpnəxʷ (6280b) 'finally have it ploughed'

(340b) λšet (4562) 'plough it'

(341a) λ́eyq̓əcəsnəxʷ (6315) 'accidentally catch his hand'

(341b) λ́eyq̓aq̓ (3900) 'caught, jammed'

(342a) kʷλi?q̓ʷnəxʷ (6393b) 'pour it on his head accidentally'

(342b) kʷλet (6111a) 'pour it'

/-təl/ 'reciprocal'

(343a) x̌ix̌əq̓a?q̓ʷtəl (6446) 'xcratching each other on the head'

(343b) x̌iq̓ət (THI) 'scratch it'

(344a) λiλq̓ʷastəl (6244) 'slapping each other's faces'

(344b) λ́aq̓ʷət (708) 'slap him'

Some of the transitivity suffixes have special interpretations when they inflect stems containing lexical suffixes. /-m/ 'intransitive', when it inflects stems with body part suffixes, has the reflexive meaning of /-θət/ 'reflexive' in denoting an action performed by an entity on himself or herself. /-t/ 'transitive' expresses an action performed by an entity on someone else. Thus the form ?əx̌ayθinəm, which contains the suffixes /-m/ 'intransitive' and /θin/ 'mouth', means 'shave oneself', while ?əx̌ayθət, which takes /-t/ 'transitive' and /-θin/ 'mouth' (-θə- allomorph) means 'shave him'.

Although most of the lexical affixes are suffixes, one prefix, /xʷ-/ 'locative', may be included among these affixes on the basis of inflection. Like the non-inflective prefixes (1.2.1.1.) /xʷ-/ may occur in uninflected stems:

Uninflected Stems

(345a) x̌ʷ?ewə (5894a) 'come towards someone'

(345b) ?ewə (514) 'come'

(346a) xʷθtíwən (T1:119) 'think about it' (/-wən/ 'mind')

(346b) θət (2440) 'say, promise'

(347a) xʷcéⱡəməⱡp (1692) 'Goldstream' (/-əⱡp/ 'tree, bush')

(347b) céⱡom (4815) 'jumping'

(347c) cⱡom (5583a) 'jump'

Unlike the non-inflective prefixes /xʷ-/ may be built on to either a base that is inflected with /-m/ 'intransitive' (examples 348-51) or a stem containing a lexical suffix (/-noc/ 'tail, bottom', for example), in which case the inflectional suffix may be either /-m/ 'intransitive' (example 352) or /-t/ 'transitive' (example 353).

With Uninflected Bases

(348a) xʷkʷsécəm (6308b) 'Quamichan Lake'

(348b) ƙʷsəc (4827) 'trout'

(349a) xʷkʷáləxʷəm (5838a) 'Qualicum'

(349b) ƙʷáləxʷ (5534a) 'dog salmon'

(350a) xʷtómⱡəm (4704) 'Genoa Bay'

(350b) tómⱡ (T4:12) 'red ochre'

(351a) xʷθqétəm (6312c) 'bushy (place)'

(351b) θqət (4632) 'tree'

With Lexical Suffix Stems

(352a) xʷcéʔnəcəm (4835) 'sit on a chair'

(352b) céʔt (6253a) 'put it on top'

(353a) xʷkʷənəlnəct (4004) 'grab it by the tail'

(353b) kʷónət (4166) 'take, have it'

1.2.2.1. Transitivity Subclasses

The lexical suffixes on the basis of their inflection with the

transitivity suffixes may be divided into three classes, A, B and C.
Stems containing class A suffixes may be inflected only with /-m/
'intransitive' while those with class B suffixes may take /-t/
'transitive', /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible' or /-təl/ 'reciprocal'. Stems with
class C suffixes may take any of the four transitivity suffixes.

(a) Class A Suffixes

There are four class A suffixes as follows: /-ʔéwtxʷ/ 'house,
building', /-álwət/ 'clothing', /-íl/ 'move, become' and /-cən/
'wrist, ankle joint, narrow area'. The first two suffixes have
unstressed variants, -ʔəwtxʷ and -əlwət, before /-m/ 'intransitive'
and stressed ones, -ʔéwtxʷ and -álwət elsewhere:

(354a) θəyəwtxʷəm (5624) 'build a house'
(354b) θəýt (2235) 'make it'
(355a) tθóxʷəlwətəm (5486) 'wash clothes'
(355b) tθxʷat (5597a) 'wash it'
(356a) qəpcənəm (5656) 'tie up one's shoes'
(356b) qəpət (5634d) 'tie it up'
(357a) nəwíləm (6346a) 'come, go inside'
(357b) nówəš (5183) 'put it in'

The word-final distribution of the class A suffixes is
illustrated in examples (358)-(63):

(358a) čəkənʔéwtxʷ (2328) 'chicken coop'
(358b) čəkən (4316) 'chicken'
(359a) yəqʷéwtxʷ (3669b) 'a house burns'
(359b) yəqʷ (3602) 'burn'

(360a) ʔítɔtálwɔt (812) 'pajamas'

(360b) ʔítɔt (3692) 'sleep'

(361a) t'aθm̓ɔcən (4500) 'bracelet'

(361b) st'θam̓ (78) 'bone'

(362a) ƛ̓pil (6338b) 'go down, below'

(362b) ƛ̓ɔp (6338a) 'deep'

(363a) ʔɔ́ƛqɔl (3530) 'go out'

(363b) sʔɔ́ƛq (3659) 'outside' (/s-/ 'static' and resultative)

In examples (362)-(63) /-il/ 'move, become' shows both stressed and unstressed allomorphs in word final position depending upon the individual lexical item. By contrast, when it is inflected with /-m/ 'intransitive' (example 357), it is always realized as -íl.

(b) Class B Suffixes

There are thirteen class B suffixes, which are inflectible with /-t/ 'transitive'. They are as follows: /-as/ 'round objects, money (originally silver dollars)', /-élə/ 'container, people (in counting)', /-nəp/ 'ground, floor', /-als/ 'round, spherical', /-wil/ 'inside of a round object', /-wéʔc/ 'lower back', /-wéʔƚ/ 'side of the back', /-íwən/ 'rear end', /-ɔq/ 'penis', /-ƚnɔƚ/ 'front of the neck, throat', /-cɔs/ 'hand, lower arm', /-énwəs/ 'heart' and /-ínɔs/ 'chest'. The transitivity environment of these suffixes may be observed in examples (364)-(76), which illustrate them in the order of citation above:

(364a) k̓ʷšast (5643) 'count money'

(364b) k̓ʷšet (5837a) 'count them'

(365a) k̓ʷšelət (5489b) 'count people'

(365b) k̓ʷšet (5837a) 'count them'

(366a) čálowánopt (5645b) 'turn over soil'

(366b) čálowánop (5435) 'turn earth'

(366c) čálówt (5645a) 'turn it over'

(367a) q̓puyálst (5648) 'tie a ribbon around it'

(367b) q̓puyáls (5409) 'tie a ribbon'

(367c) q̓pot (5634c) 'put them together'

(368) tx̌ʷolwílt (1258) 'punch him in the stomach'

(369a) x̌ʷƛ̓áq̓ʷwíctum (3073) 'grabbed by the neck' (/-m/ 'passive')

(369b) ƛ̓áq̓ʷot (THI) 'wrap it up, put it away'

(370a) q̓ʷq̓ʷwé?ƚt (THI) 'club someone on the side of the back'

(370b) q̓ʷaq̓ʷ (5705) 'clubbed'

(371a) x̌ʷƛ̓q̓ʷíwot (2018) 'slap him on the behind'

(371b) ƛ̓áq̓ʷot (708) 'slap him'

(372a) q̓isé?qt (THI) 'tie it on the penis'

(372b) q̓isé?q (T1:1) 'tied up penis'

(372c) q̓ísot (THI) 'tie it'

(373a) tìƛ̓ʷínént (6368) 'strangle him'

(373b) toƛ̓ʷ (Kava) 'cut into him' (e.g. a rope)

(374a) kʷonécost (5528b) 'holding someone by the hand'

(374b) kʷónot (4166) 'take it'

(375a) x̌ʷx̌pénwost (THI) 'claw out the heart'

(375b) x̌ípot (Kava) 'scratch'

(376a) c̓oƛ̓ʷínostom (4063) 'stabbed in the chest' (/-m/ 'passive')

(376b) c̓oƛ̓ʷ (4026a) 'pricked'

The word-final environment of the class b suffixes may be observed in examples (377)-(89). With the exception of /-als/ 'round, spherical', /-iwon/ 'rear end' and /-inəƚ/ 'front of the neck, throat' the suffixes have a single allomorph. /-iwon/ has two variants: -iw-

before t and -ɫwən elsewhere. /-ʔnaɬ/ is realized as ɬnɛn before /-t/ 'transitive' and as ɬnaɬ elsewhere. /-als/ exhibits stress variation, being stressed in some lexical items (379) and unstressed in others (example 380).

(377a) šləmélə (3688) 'jar, bottle, glass'

(377b) ləm (2420) 'liquor'

(378a) θəlánəptən (564) 'rug'

(378b) θəlánəpt (5030a) 'level up the ground'

(379a) kʷsiʔáls (5481) 'bake (a potato)'

(379b) kʷəs (6366b) 'hot'

(380a) stʼθámals (1709) 'bony'

(380b) stʼθám (2480) 'bone'

(381) špəθwíltən (4541) 'lining on a house'

(382a) ləkʷáwíc (6353) 'broken back'

(382b) ləkʷ (6005) 'broken off'

(383) sʔohalwéʔɬ (4204) 'side' (e.g. of a house)

(384a) stʼθəmɫwən (6135) 'tailbone'

(384b) stʼθám (2480) 'bone'

(385a) ɬʼiseʔq (T1:1) 'tied up penis'

(385b) ɬʼisət (THI) 'tie it'

(386a) θíɬməɬ (THI) 'big necked'

(386b) θi (60) 'big'

(387a) ᴋpəycəs (4832) 'cedar branches'

(387b) ᴋpəy (2048) 'cedar'

(388a) ʔəyənwəs (5454) 'brave'

(388b) ʔəy (4550) 'good'

(389a) stʼθəmínəs (5144) 'Kulleet Bay' (chestbone-shaped)

(389b) stʼθám (1400) 'bone'

Among the class B morphemes /-wil-/ 'inside of a round object' is exceptional in not occurring word finally (example 381).

(c) <u>Class C Suffixes</u>

The class C suffixes, as mentioned earlier, are forms which are inflectible with /-t/ 'transitive' and /-m/ 'intransitive'. There are twelve such morphemes as follows: /-áləs/ 'eye, deep container', /-ps/ 'back of the neck', /-ohé/ 'ear', /-á?qʷ/ 'head', /-ás/ 'face', /-qsán/ 'nose, point', /-ȯin/ 'mouth, language, round shape', /-šén/ 'foot, part below the knee', /-qín/ 'container, inside throat, voice', /-íws/ 'side of the body', /-nəc/ 'bottom, tail' and /-íƛᵂc/ 'clothes'.

The lexical suffix /-íƛᵂc/ 'clothes' has two allomorphs: -íƛᵂc- before the transitivity suffixes, /-t/ 'transitive' and /-m/ 'intransitive' (examples 390-91), and -íƛᵂc elsewhere (examples 392-93):

(390) ʔuƛᵂíƛᵂcəm (6015b) 'undress oneself'

(391a) tᵂqᵂíƛᵂc?ət (6260a) 'cutting into pieces'

(391b) təqᵂ (Kava) 'cut into' (e.g. rope)

(392) ʔuƛᵂíƛᵂc (6015) 'undressed'

(393a) pʔíƛᵂc (TIH) 'thick clothes'

(393b) pʔət (6373) 'thick'

The suffix /-íws/ 'side of the body' has one allomorph -íws in all transitivity environments:

(394) xᵂayíwsəm (L1:13) 'shape up, do better, improve'

(395a) ƛᵂqᵂíwst (TIH) 'club them'

(395b) ƛᵂaqᵂ (5705) 'clubbed'

(396) yaləmíws (3922) 'right side (of one's body)'

The class C suffix /-áləs/ 'eye, deep container' has an idiosyncratic semantic interpretation. In most contexts (397-98) it refers to the body part 'eye', but with one lexical set, that of colour names, it signifies approximation (example 399).[23]

(397a) ƛtʷəláləs (2203) 'eyeglasses'

(397b) ƛélə (4432) 'money, (silver) dollar'

(398) qʷθáləs (4000) 'long wooden plates'

(399a) ckʷímaləs (5473) 'reddish'

(399b) ckʷím (4289) 'red'

As a class C form /-áləs/ 'eye' forms part of a stem which is inflected with either /-m/ 'intransitive' (example 400) or /-t/ 'transitive' (401):

(400a) yəẃáləsəm (6351) 'rub one's eyes'

(400b) yə́ẃət (715) 'rub it'

(401a) yəmẃáləst (5046a) 'rub it in someone's eyes'

(401b) yəmẃ (5046b) 'rubbed in'

The lexical suffix /-ps/ 'back of the neck' has two allomorphs, -ps and -psén. The former appears in predicators that take /-m/ 'intransitive' (402-403) and the latter, with /-t/ 'transitive' inflected stems (404):

(402) tə́psəm (4336) 'back of the neck'

(403a) təmɬəpsəm (4382a) 'big black woodpecker'

(403b) təmɬ (772) 'ochre'

(404a) kʷə́nəpséntəm (3997) 'is grabbed by the neck'

(404b) kʷə́nət (4166) 'take, have it'

The class C suffix /-əneʔ/ 'ear' has two allomorphs -əneʔ

and -ohe. The following examples (405-408) show that they are not conditioned by the transitivity of the predicate but by the individual lexical item:

(405) ƛ̓əq̓ʷone? (1643) 'deaf'

(406a) xʷq̓ʷéhən (6355c) 'pierce one's ear'

(406b) xʷq̓ʷéhe (6355b) 'pierced ear'

(407a) ƛ̓q̓ʷhət̓ən (5182) 'slapped on the ear'

(407b) ƛ̓áq̓ʷət (708) 'slap him'

(408a) ƛ̓əlqtéhe (9021) 'mule' (-ł- 'plural')

(408b) ƛ̓eqt (802) 'long, tall'

The six remaining class C morphemes each have two types of allomorphs. They have stressed variants as follows: -á?q̓ʷ 'head', -ás 'face', -qsén 'nose, point', -íln 'mouth, language', -šén 'foot, part below the knee' and -qén 'container, voice'. They also have unstressed variants as follows, in which the suffix vowel is reduced to ə: -əq̓ʷ, -əs, -qsən, -ələn, -šən and -qən. The stressed variants occur with /-m/ 'intransitive' and, where the lexical suffix does not have a final n, with /-t/ 'transitive' (examples 409-411).

(409a) ƛ̓íƛá?q̓ʷt (5788a) 'scratch his head'

(409b) ƛ̓íƛá?q̓ʷəm (5788b) 'scratch one's own head'

(409c) ƛ̓íƛ̓ət (5788b) 'scratch it'

(410a) k̓ʷƛ̓í?q̓ʷət (6393a) 'pour water on his head' (/k̓ʷƛ̓ə?á?q̓ʷt/)

(410b) k̓ʷƛ̓í?q̓ʷəm (5787a) 'pour water on one's own head'

(410c) k̓ʷƛ̓et (5609a) 'pour it'

(410d) k̓ʷƛ̓ (4523) 'spill'

(411a) θχast (5775c) 'push it out from the shore'

(411b) θχasəm (5775b) 'push oneself from the shore'

(411c) θχ̣ət (5692) 'push it'

(411d) θ̣ɬx̌ (5573) 'pushed'

Where the lexical suffix terminates in n, the stressed variants still occur with /-m/ 'intransitive', but the unstressed ones appear with n deletion before t (examples 412-16):

(412a) xʷət'əlqst (5271) 'wipe its nose'

(412b) xʷət'əlqsənəm (5772) 'wipe one's own nose'

(413a) ʔəx̌ayθətəm (5734) 'he is shaved' (/-m/ 'passive')

(413b) ʔəx̌ayθinəm (1911) 'shave oneself'

(414a) qʷɬiy̌šənəm (2689) 'put on one's shoes'

(414b) qʷɬey̌šət (5604c) 'put a shoe on him'

(414c) qʷɬəy̌šən (5604a) 'shoe'

(414d) qʷɬey̌ (5587) 'log, timber'

(415a) qpéqət (5608c) 'cover it (with a lid)'

(415b) qpéqətən (5608b) 'a cover'

(416a) x̌əlx̌qinəm (3868) 'give a war cry'

(416b) x̌il-x̌ (5605) 'war'

Putatively a form like θəlpx̌θéləm 'I have a cramp in the leg' is a counterexample to the statement about n deletion. However, it is also possible to take the view that n deletion applies before the rule concerning the -θ- allomorph of /-t/ 'transitive' (1.1.1.2.).

As well as occurring with /-t/ 'transitive' and /-m/ 'intransitive' the class C suffixes, like the class A and B ones, may enter into uninflected stems (417-25), in which case the unstressed variants occur.

(417) sʔəθəqʷ (4421) 'fish head—open fire roast'

(418) léyqsən (4888) 'Valdes Island'.

(419a) snə́x̌x̌ən (4340) 'toe'

(419b) snə́x̌ces (5790) 'finger, thumb'

(420a) qíləs (THI) 'sad'

(420b) qəl (4405) 'bad, mean'

(421a) x̌ʷíx̌ʷə?ás (5041) 'making faces'

(421b) x̌ʷəx̌ʷə?é (6357) 'copycat'

(421c) x̌ʷəx̌ʷə?ét (3756) 'copy it'

(422a) ?əý́á?əqən (5430) 'high-pitched voice'

(422b) ?əý́á?ə (4025) 'sharp' (/?əý/ 'good', /á?ə/ 'edge')

(423a) spáalqən (4134) 'raven carving'

(423b) spaal (5843) 'raven'

(424a) sqíqətəqʷ (4958) 'bandaged head'

(424b) sqíqət (5742b) 'wrapped up around oneself'

(425a) ?áyəmšən (520) 'slow walker'

(425b) ?áyəm (152) 'slow, late'

1.2.2.2. Connectors

While some lexical suffixes, such as /-á?qʷ/ 'head', are
simply attached to a base, others enter into a more complex morphological
construction consisting of the suffix and a preceding accretive element,
which modifies it. This type of element is termed a connector.[24] The
following elements are connectors: /-álə̇w-/ 'part of the arm or leg',
/-á?e/ 'mouth', /-á-/ and /-əl-/ (no gloss).

The suffix /-álə̇w-/ 'part of the arm or leg' particularizes
the meanings of two lexical suffixes, namely, /-šən/ 'foot, part below
the knee' and /-ees/ 'hand, part below the elbow'. In contrast to
these forms the accretive constructions /-álə̇wšən/ 'toe' and /-álə̇wees/

'finger' designate a part of the foot and the hand respectively:

(426a) saṁk̓álowços (5785c) 'thumb'

(426b) saṁk̓álowšən (4341) 'big toe'

(426c) saṁk̓é (95) 'eldest'

(427a) səʔasəqʷtálowços (5785a) 'little finger'

(427b) səʔasəqʷtálowšən (5785b) 'little toe'

(428a) ƛxʷálowços (1156) 'fingernail'

(428b) ƛxʷálowšən (1497) 'toenail'

(429) qiʔálowšən (6371a) 'big toes'

The connector /-á-/ and the connector /-áʔe-/, which has two allomorphs -áʔe- and -áy- in free variation, characterize the lexical suffix /-θin/ 'mouth'. /-áʔe-/ occurs with /-θin/ in uninflected (430-31) and in inflected (example 432) stems. /-á-/ appears in just uninflected stems (433-34). Where the stem is uninflected the distribution of /-áʔe-/ and /-á-/ is apparently lexically determined.

/-áʔe-/ 'mouth'

(430) scƛáʔeθən (5784) 'upper lip'

(431a) θəx̌áʔeθən (3952) 'big mouth'

(431b) θəx̌ (5573) 'pushed'

(432a) ʔəx̌ayəθəm (5734) 'he is shaved' (/-m/ 'passive')

(432b) ʔəx̌aθəm (1911) 'shave oneself'

(432c) ʔix̌ (5532) 'scratched'

/-á-/ 'mouth'

(433) θáθən (142) 'mouth'

(434a) xʷkʷəmloxʷáθən (5990) 'Coffin Point' (/xʷ-/ 'locative')

(434b) kʷəmloxʷ (3552) 'root'

The connector /-aʔ/ has a wider distribution than /-áᵂá-/,

/-áʔe-/ and /-á-/. It appears with the lexical suffixes, /-x̌ən/ 'edge, border', /-məx̌ʷ/ 'breast, milk', /-nəc/ 'bottom, tail' and /-nís/ 'tooth', and in addition with the non-inflectives, /-qən/ 'wool, fur' and /-cəp/ 'fire' (1.2.1,2.), and tends to render the meaning of its I.C. partner more specific.

/-x̌ən/ by itself has the general meaning 'border, edge' (435-36), but with /-al-/ and a second connector /-é-/ (437-40) it denotes a body part, the arm, which may be viewed as a specific kind of edge:

/-x̌ən/ 'border, edge'

(435) spə́ɬx̌ən (4581) 'open field, meadow, prairie'

(436a) ʎémәx̌әtәn (5650a) 'someone looking out, keeping watch'
(436b) lémәt (5306b) 'look at it'

/-әléx̌ən/ 'arm'

(437a) θq̓әléx̌әθélәm (3847) 'I am poked in the elbow'
(437b) θәq̓ (5195) 'poked'

(438a) stᶿam̓әléx̌әn (5649a) 'upper arm'
(438b) stᶿam̓ (1406) 'bone'

(439a) q̓ayәléx̌әn (4051) 'paralyzed arm'
(439b) q̓ay. (4777) 'die'

(440a) sɬә́lp̓әléx̌ən (5652a) 'bat' (creature)
(440b) ɬә́lp̓θәt (5652b) 'make the sound of a flying bat'

The suffix /-nәc/ 'tail, bottom' by itself designates the lower (versus the upper) end óf an individual object viewed in terms of height (441-42) and may refer to a body part below the waist (443).

/-nəc/ 'tail, bottom'

(441) ləmnəct (6376b) 'fold them (e.g. ends of one's trousers)'

(442a) pⁱɫtnəc (6373b) 'bark in the stump heavier down below than
higher up'

(442b) pɫet (6373a) 'thick'

(443) št'ʔθ'əmxʷnəc (4344) 'hip'

When, however, /-nəc/ is modified by /-al-/ the designation is more
specific. /-əlnəc/ denotes a part of a lower end, the tail (444).

/-əlnəc/ 'tail'

(444a) kʷayx̌əlnəcəm (3865) 'wag its tail'

(444b) kʷeyx̌ət (3764) 'stir, agitate it'

The suffixes /-məxʷ/ 'breast, milk' and /-nis/ 'tooth' are
idiosyncratic. /-məxʷ/ (examples 445-47) apparently does not occur
without its connector, a fact which suggests that -əlməxʷ might be
analyzable as a single morpheme.

/-əlməxʷ/ 'breast, milk'

(445a) snəsəlməxʷ (5210) 'butter' (milk fat)

(445b) snas (1407) 'grease' (/s-/ 'absolute')

(445c) nas (5751b) 'be fat'

(446a) θiθəlməxʷ (TEH) 'big breasts'

(446b) θiθə (TEH) 'big' (plural)

(446c) θi (2704) 'big, large'

(447a) pt'ʔθ'əlməxʷ (2686) 'milk it'

(447b) pit'ʔθ'ət (511) 'wring it out'

In the case of /-nis/ (448-49) the connector does not affect the meaning
of the lexical item in which it occurs except insofar as /-nis/ might
refer to a set of teeth and /-əlnəs/ to a specific tooth.

/-nís/ 'tooth'

(448) t̓ᶿəx̌nísəm (5300) 'bare one's teeth'

(449a) x̌ə઺álnəs (5698c) 'have toothache'

(449b) x̌ə઺ (2653) 'ache, sore'

The distribution of the connectors is not entirely limited to the lexical suffixes. The non-inflective suffix /-tən/ 'instrument' (1.2.1.) is characterized by three connectors, /-né?-/, /-nís-/ and /-θə-/ (examples 450-55), the distribution of which is conditioned by the individual lexical item:

(450a) ?ìməšné?tən (5114) 'guest, visitor'

(450b) ?íməš (4142a) 'walk'

(451a) q̓pəné?tən (2233) 'ribbon'

(451b) q̓épət (5634d) 'tie it'

(452a) čəq̓ʷnístən (6385b) 'brooch, safety pin'

(452b) čəq̓ʷ (4026) 'pricked'

(453) ઺əqnístən (6385a) 'button'[25]

(454) šxʷ?éθətən (6383b) 'cloud'

(455) šq̓pálθətən (4987) 'knee-cap'

1.2.2.3. Numerals

The numerals in Cowichan enter into derivational paradigms that are formed productively from numeral morphemes and from certain lexical suffixes. These numerals do not have special morphological status. In formal terms numerals that take lexical suffixes are like any other predicators that take such suffixes. However, since these

lexical items have traditionally been of linguistic interest as a single semantic system, they are presented here in one section.

The numeral themes enter into three paradigms, which may be termed unit, iteration and decade. The unit numerals constitute the base paradigm from which the other two are formed. The unit numerals are as follows:

Unit Numerals

nəča? (147) 'one'   t̓x̌əm (3006) 'six'

yəsɛ́lə (3806) 'two'   t̓ɵ́a?kʷəs (3007) 'seven'

ɫix̌ʷ (3694) 'three'   té?cəs (3008) 'eight'

x̌a?áɵən (3004) 'four'   tuuxʷ (5739A) 'nine'

ɫq́ecəs (3005) 'five'   ?ápən (4737) 'ten'

                                    ck̓ʷəš (3020) 'twenty'

In this set there are no elements to designate the numbers eleven to nineteen. Instead, the numerals one to nine are applied in a phrase of the type <u>?ápən</u> <u>?i?</u> <u>kʷ</u> <u>ɫix̌ʷ</u> 'ten and three'.[26]

The iteration paradigm is formed productively from the unit set by the suffixation of /-éɫ/ 'numeral iteration', which corresponds translationally to the English word 'times' in the expression 'four times'.

Iteration Numerals

nəčíxʷ (150) 'once'   t̓x̌əmɛ́ɫ (661) 'six times'

ɵəmé (151) 'twice'   t̓ɵ́a?kʷəsɛ́ɫ (662) 'seven times'

ɫx̌ʷéɫ (152) 'three times'   tè?csɛ́ɫ (3606a) 'eight times'

x̌əɵənéɫ (153) 'four times'   tuuxʷéɫ (3606b) 'nine times'

ɫq́əcsɛ́ɫ (154) 'five times'   ?ápənɛ́ɫ (665) 'ten times'

                                    ck̓ʷəšɛ́ɫ (3606e) 'twenty times'

In the above paradigm there are two irregular forms, namely, /nəčíxʷ/ 'once' and /θəmé/ 'twice', in which /-eɬ/ 'numeral iteration' does not appear.

The decade numerals, with the exception of x̌əθənše 'forty', are formed from the unit set by the addition, in this sequence, of the numeral suffixes /-eɬ/ 'numeral iteration' and /-še/ 'decade numeral', /-eɬ/ being realized as -əɬ- before /-še/. In this system the first vowel of each form is realized on the surface as ə, unless it is followed by ʔ or is long.

Decade Numerals

ɬə́xʷəɬše (3021) 'thirty (times)'	tx̌ə́məɬše (3024) 'sixty (times)'
x̌ə́θənše (3022) 'forty (times)'	tʔθ́k̓ʷsəɬše (3025) 'seventy (times)'
ɬq̓ə́csəɬše (3023) 'fifty (times)'	té?csəɬše (3026) 'eighty (times)'
	túuxʷəɬše (3027) 'ninety (times)'

Semantically, these decade numerals may be regarded both as a continuation of the unit paradigm and as an extension of the iteration paradigm to the extent that a numeral such as ɬə́xʷəɬše may mean either 'thirty' or 'thirty times'.

For numbers beyond ninety-nine there are two numeral themes, néčawəc 'one hundred' and θéməc 'two hundred', and one English loan word táwsən 'thousand'. The first of these may be preceded by a unit numeral as in tuuxʷ néčawəc 'nine hundred' to express the numbers between three hundred and nine hundred. To indicate the numbers in between an expression of the type θéməc ʔiʔ kʷ ɬə́xʷəɬše ʔiʔ kʷ ɬq̓écəs 'two hundred and thirty-five' (two hundred and thirty and five) is used, in which the members of the different numeral paradigms are linked by ʔiʔ and

k̲ʷ 'the'.

The unit, iteration and decade forms may be extended by means of lexical suffixes. The suffixes which have been identified thus far in the numeral sets are as follows: /-élə/ 'people, container', /-ás/ 'round things, (silver) dollars', /-ʔéwtxʷ/ 'building, house' (-ʔə̣́wtxʷ allomorph) and /-qén/ 'container' (-qə̱n allomorph). Of these, the lexical suffixes that occur most productively are /-ás/ and /-qén/, which are attached to both unit and decade numerals. In the first set the numeral suffix /-še/ is realized as -š̱a before /-ás/.

/-ás/ 'round things, (silver) dollars'

(a) Unit Numerals

nə́c̓əs (4193) 'one dollar'	tx̌ə́məs (4198) 'six dollars'
yəsáləs (4194) 'two dollars'	t̓ᶿá?kʷsəs (4199) 'seven dollars'
ɫíxʷəs (4195) 'three dollars'	tá?csəs (4200) 'eight dollars'
x̌əθínəs (4196) 'four dollars'	túuxʷəs (4201) 'nine dollars'
ɫq̓ácsəs (4197) 'five dollars'	ʔəpánəs (4202) 'ten dollars'
	ckʷš̌ás (4271) 'twenty dollars'

(b) Decade Numerals

ɫəx̌ʷəɫš̌á?as (4272) 'thirty dollars'	tx̌əməɫš̌á?as (4275) 'sixty dollars'
x̌əθənš̌á?as (4273) 'forty dollars'	t̓ᶿək̓ʷsəɫš̌á?as (4276) 'seventy " '
ɫq̓əcsəɫš̌á?as (4274) 'fifty dollars'	tè?csəɫš̌á?as (4277) 'eighty " '
	túuxʷəɫš̌á?as (4278) 'ninety " '

In the /-qén/ 'container' paradigm /-qén/ is preceded by ə after a consonant and i̲. The occurrence of /-qén/ triggers the vowel change e̲→i̲ in the decade numerals.

/-qén/ 'container'

(a) Unit Numerals

nə́c̓aqən 'one container' t̆x̌áməqən 'six containers'

yəsélə́qən 'two containers' t̓ᶿá?k̓ʷsəqən 'seven " '

ƛ́íx̌ʷəqən 'three " ' té?csəqən 'eight " '

x̌ə́θíṅəqən 'four " ' túux̌ʷəqən 'nine " '

ƛ́q̓écsəqən 'five " ' ?əpénəqən 'ten " '

        ck̓ʷəšíqən 'twenty " '

(b) Decade Numerals

ƛ̓əx̌ʷəⱡší?əqən 'thirty " ' t̆x̌áməⱡší?əqən 'sixty " '

x̌ə́θənší?əqən 'forty " ' t̓ᶿə́k̓ʷsəⱡší?əqən 'seventy " '

ƛ́q̓əcsəⱡší?əqən 'fifty " ' té?csəⱡší?əqən 'eighty " '

        túux̌ʷəⱡší?əqən 'ninety " '

The lexical suffixes /-élə/ 'people, container' and /-?éw̓tx̌ʷ/ 'building' are limited to unit numerals, /-?éw̓tx̌ʷ/ being attached only to the first five numerals:

/-élə/ 'people'

náṅəc̓a? (148) 'one person' t̆x̌ámələ 'six people'

yéysalə (323) 'two people' t̓ᶿə́k̓ʷsélə 'seven people'

ƛ(i)x̌ʷélə 'three people' té?cselə 'eight people'

x̌ə́θíṅə 'four people'   túux̌ʷélə 'nine people'

ƛ́q̓əcsélə (5723) 'five people' ?əpənélə 'ten people'

        ck̓ʷšélə 'twenty people'

/-?éw̓tx̌ʷ/ 'building'

néc̓əw̓tx̌ʷ 'one building' x̌ə́θíṅəw̓tx̌ʷ 'four buildings'

θə́ṅtx̌ʷ 'two buildings' ƛ́q̓écsəw̓tx̌ʷ 'five buildings'

ƛ́íx̌ʷəw̓tx̌ʷ 'three buildings'

Although non-inflective morphemes (1.2.1.) were found not to

occur productively with numeral themes, two partial paradigms were

elicited in which /s-/ 'absolute' and /-ał/ 'canoe, vehicle' were present.

The /-ał/ paradigm consists of just two elements: néčəxʷəł 'one canoe,

buggy' (formed from nəčíx 'once') and θ́aməxʷəł 'two canoes, buggies'

(formed from θəmé 'twice'). /s-/ 'absolute' along with /-s/ 'third

possessive' and /-net/ 'night' appears in a partial and irregular numeral

paradigm, which denotes the days of the week.

Days of the Week

    sx̌əx̌əłnét (188) 'Sunday' (day of suffering--/x̌əł/ 'hurt')
    silàwəłnét (189) 'Monday'
    sθ́əmənt (6259) 'Tuesday' (second night)
    słix̌ʷs (191) 'Wednesday' (the third of it)
    sx̌a?áθəns (192) 'Thursday' (the fourth of it)
    słq́ecəs-s (193) 'Friday' (the fifth of it)
    táq́ʷtəm (6327a) 'Saturday' (it is being cut)

Of the above elements the four underlined ones as in Clallam (Thompson

1971:270) contain numerals, the first belonging to the iteration

paradigm and the others to the unit paradigm. No gloss has been

discovered for the putative morpheme *siláwəł-. In the case of táq́ʷtəm

'Saturday' the component morphemes appear to be táq́ʷ 'cut' (Actual),

/-t/ 'transitive' and /-m/ 'general passive'.

1.3. Deictic System

        The deictics in Cowichan are composite forms made up from a

small stock of morphemes that do not inflect the non-deictic elements,

which may take various derivational and aspectual morphemes. There are

two classes of deictics: determiners (1.3.1.) and locatives (1.3.2.).
The latter are morphologically distinct from the former in being
characterized by morphemes which are represented by the phoneme
sequences ni and ʔi and which indicate the proximity in space of an
entity to a speaker.

1.3.1. Determiners

The determiners are represented by the morphemes contained
in the following table, in which the terminology is derived from two
sources (Hukari 1977a:33 and Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:10).

	Unmarked	Marked
Basic	tθ-	θ-
Absent	kʷθ-	ł-
Hypothetical	kʷ	

The determiners may be subdivided into two classes of elements:
the articles, of which there is one paradigm, and the demonstratives,
of which there are three paradigms. The demonstratives and articles
have in common the affixes shown in the above table, but are
morphologically distinct to the extent that the former, which will be
discussed in 1.3.1.1., but not the latter, are marked by certain
word-final morphemes, which will be analyzed in 1.3.1.2. Demonstratives.[27]

1.3.1.1. Articles

As indicated in the table in 1.3.1. the meaning of a

determiner may be expressed in terms of a dichotomy between unmarked and marked determiners and a trichotomy between basic, absent and hypothetical elements. In the case of the articles the dichotomy between marked and unmarked corresponds respectively to a gender distinction between feminine and masculine where the referents are human.

Articles

	unmarked	marked
basic	t^θə	θə
absent	$k^w(\theta)$ə	łə
hypothetical	k^wə´	(k^wsə)

The gender distinction may be observed in phrases which contain a kinship term like /šx^{w}ʔáq̓^{w}aʔ/ 'sibling' along with a preceding determiner. Whereas phrases like t^θə nəšx^{w}ʔáq̓^{w}aʔ 'my brother' and k^{w}θə nəšx^{w}ʔáq̓^{w}aʔ 'my brother (not present before the speaker)' both denote male (unmarked) referents, θə nəšx^{w}ʔáq̓^{w}aʔ 'my sister' and łə nəšx^{w}ʔáq̓^{w}aʔ 'my sister (not present)' denote female (marked) referents.

The unmarked/marked distinction is not solely one of gender. In examples (456)-(59) it is not apparent that the articles denote male or female referents:

(456) melq cən ʔə t^θə yásəq^w (5384b) 'I forgot the hat'

(457) niʔ p̓ əẃ nəsweʔ θə léləm (277) 'That house is mine'

(458) x^{w}éləqəp k^{w}θə q̓əwət (5474) 'The drum is sounding in the distance'

(459) nił łə p̓əq̓ nəq^{w}łéyšən niʔ ʔik^w (5728) 'It is my white shoes that are lost'

Rather, the distinction is one of focus. In (457) and (459) the marked articles /θə/ and /ɬə/ describe an entity to which the speaker is directing attention. In (456) and (458), where there is no question of focus, the unmarked articles /tθə/ and /kʷθə/ occur.[28]

As well as being interpreted as a marked or unmarked element, an article may be characterized as being basic, absent or hypothetical in accordance with the degree of accessibility the speaker has to an entity. The basic articles /tθə/ and /θə/ contrast with the absent ones /kʷθə/ and /ɬə/. In examples (456)-(57) above, in which the basic articles occur, the entity (šeɬ 'road/door' in (456) and leləm 'house' in (457)) is visible to the speaker. In examples (458)-(59) containing the absent articles the discourse situation in each case implies that the speaker cannot see the object he is talking about.

The article /kʷ/ 'hypothetical' differs from the basic and absent articles. Whereas the other four deictics denote a material entity, /kʷ/ designates one that does not exist--such as a deceased person--or whose existence is in question. This semantic interpretation may be observed in examples (460)-(62). In (460)-(61) it is implied that the entities 'John' and 'canoe' do not yet exist, but will exist.

(460) niʔ néʔətəs tθə nəšx̌əwéli tθə qeq ʔə kʷ Jan (5663)[29]
     'My parents are calling the baby John'

(461) θə́ywəɬ cən ʔə kʷ snəx̌ʷəɬ (5517) 'I am making a canoe'

In (462) /kʷ/ enters into a temporal phrase expressing a future event, that is, one that has yet to materialize.

(462) nem̓ cən hew̓ə ʔə kʷ ʔápən skʷeyl (4737) 'I am going away for ten days'

The remaining article /kʷsə/ 'marked, hypothetical' occurs when the hypothetical entity is money:

(463) ʔaməstəs kʷθə nəmén kʷθə nəšxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ ʔə k̲ʷs̲ə̲ t̲é̲l̲ə̲ (3686)
'My father is giving my brother some money'

1.3.1.2. Demonstratives

The demonstratives may be categorized into three types according to the word-final morpheme. These classes of elements are termed attentional, personal and focal demonstratives. The attentional forms are characterized by the word-final morpheme /-eẏ/ 'attention-directed' (realized as i̲ after /k̓ʷ/ 'hypothetical'), which indicates that an entity is under the immediate observation of the speaker. With the exception of the deictic /tᶿéliʔ/ 'unmarked, basic, plural' ("those ones") the attentional paradigm follows from that of the articles.

Attentional Demonstratives

	unmarked	marked
basic	tᶿeẏ	θeẏ
absent	kʷ(θ)eẏ	ɬeẏ
hypothetical	k̓ʷi	

/tᶿeẏ/ and /kʷθeẏ/, like the articles /tᶿə/ 'basic, unmarked' and /kʷθə/ 'absent, unmarked', denote masculine entities in expressions of the type t̲ᶿe̲ẏ̲ swə́ẏqeʔ 'that man' and k̲ʷθ̲e̲ẏ̲ q̓íseʔq 'that (man) q̓íseʔq', and entities that have no gender in phrases like t̲ᶿe̲ẏ̲ léləm 'that house' and k̲ʷ(̲θ̲)̲e̲ẏ̲ smə́yəθ 'that deer'. Moreover, /θeẏ/ and /ɬeẏ/ reflect the meanings of the articles /θə/ 'basic, marked' and /ɬə/

'absent, marked' respectively. They may denote feminine entities in expressions like Өey̓ šx^wʔáq̓^wa? 'that sister' and ɬey̓ šx^wʔáq̓^wa? 'that sister (whom the speaker cannot see)' or an entity which the speaker is focusing attention on in phrases of the type ɬey̓ šk^wé?x̌əcəm 'the equipment (which he lent me is useless)'.

A second set of demonstratives, the personal deictics, contains the determiner morphemes /t^θ-/ 'basic, unmarked', /θ-/ 'basic, marked', /k^wθ-/ 'absent, unmarked' and /ɬ-/ 'absent, marked', which are present in the articles and attentional demonstratives. However, it differs from them in morphological structure insofar as it exhibits both singular and plural forms.

Personal Demonstratives

(a) singular

	unmarked	marked
basic	t^θəw̓níɬ	θəw̓níɬ
absent	k^wθəw̓níɬ	(ɬəw̓níɬ)

(b) plural

basic		t^θəw̓né?əlɬ
absent	k^wθəw̓né?əlɬ	(ɬəw̓né?əlɬ)

An explanation for the singular/plural dichotomy may be provided if the personal demonstratives are viewed as morphemic constructions containing the proclitic /?əw̓/ 'contemporaneous' (2.1.3.2.) and the emphatic /niɬ/ 'referent' (2.2.1.3. Interrogatives and Emphatics). The plural demonstrative forms would follow from the fact that there is an emphatic né?əlɬ 'referent, plural', which contains the -l- variant of the plural morpheme (1.1.3.3.).

The semantic interpretation of both the plural and singular personal demonstratives is idiosyncratic insofar as these elements denote only anthropomorphic entities unlike the articles and /niɬ/ 'referent'. The anthropomorphic interpretation of the personal deictics is illustrated in examples (464)-(67). In (464)-(65) /tᶿəwníɬ/ denotes masculine entities, while /θəwníɬ/ and /ɬəwníɬ/ in (466) and (467) respectively denote feminine ones:

(464) wəɬ xʷθtíwən tᶿəwníɬ (Tb:119) 'Then he thought'

(465) tᶿəwníɬ sɬíʎqəɬ (T1:39) 'that child (male one)'

(466) θəwníɬ ten-s (T1:28) 'that mother of his'

(467) ɬəwníɬ sɬéni (5807a) 'that woman'

The third set of demonstratives, the focal deictics, have a common word-final phonological shape -əná or -əɳá.

Focal Demonstratives

	unmarked	marked
basic	təɳá	θəná
hypothetical	kʷəná	

Some of the semantic distinctions apparent in the article paradigm are also represented in the focal paradigm. In some contexts /təɳá/ (example 468) denotes a masculine referent whereas /θəná/ (example 469) designates a feminine one:

(468) təɳá Jow (5554) 'Joe'

(469) θəná ten (T1:189) 'this mother'[30]

Like /tᶿə/ 'basic, unmarked' and /θə/ 'basic, marked', /təɳá/ and /θəná/ do not always reflect a gender dichotomy. In example (471) containing

/θəná/ in contrast to (470) containing /təná/ the entity is semantically

marked (as being familiar):

(470) x̣̌im̓ ʔəy̓ təná (T2:52) 'This is very good'

(471) ʔəw̓ nəswéʔ θəna léləm (276) 'This house is mine'

/k̇ʷəná/ 'hypothetical' corresponds to the article /k̇ʷ/ insofar as it

denotes an entity that does not yet exist. This semantic reading may

be observed in example (472), in which it is understood that the

weapon is not yet made.

(472) k̇ʷəná həy̓tən 'this weapon'
(Context: 'let me make a weapon to kill the Stoneheads with')

The focal demonstratives differ from the articles and the

other demonstratives in two respects. First, there are no <u>absent</u> forms

of the type */k̇ʷθəná/ 'absent, unmarked' or */ɬəná/ 'absent, marked'.

In addition, the <u>basic</u> unmarked element /təná/ 'this' is introduced not

by t^{θ} but by <u>t</u>, which, as will be observed in section 1.3.2. <u>Locatives</u>,

may be analyzed as an allomorph of /t^{θ}/ 'basic, unmarked'.

1.3.2. <u>Locatives</u>

In addition to being indicated by the determiners, the

position in space and gender (more specifically, <u>markedness</u>) of the

speaker may be expressed in Cowichan by means of the locative deictics,

which may be divided into three classes as follows:

		Nonproximal	Proximal
Class I	unmarked	ná?ət	?é?ət
	márked	ná?əθ	?é?əθ

		Nonproximal	Proximal
Class II	unmarked		təʔí
	marked	təní	θəʔí
Class III		niʔ	ʔi

As in the determiner system, there is a semantic distinction between marked and unmarked deictics. The marked forms are characterized by the morpheme /θ/, while the unmarked elements contain the morpheme /t/, which may be analyzed as a locative allomorph of the determiner morpheme /tθ/ 'basic, unmarked'. In the class I forms /θ/ and /t/ occur word-finally, whereas in the class II forms they appear word-initially.

Although the locatives resemble the determiners in regard to the markedness distinction, they differ from them in the expression of the spatial orientation of the speaker. Whereas the determiners indicate the presence or absence of an entity, the locatives denote the relative proximity of an entity to the speaker. On formal and semantic grounds the locatives may be divided into two classes of elements: nonproximal forms, which may often be translated by the English term 'there', and proximal elements, which are often equivalent in meaning to the term 'here'. The nonproximal elements are overtly marked by the n initial morphemes, /náʔ-/ 'non-proximal, class I', /-ni/ 'nonproximal', class II' and /niʔ/ 'nonproximal, class III'. The proximal locatives are signalled by morphemes containing i or e: /ʔéʔ-/ 'proximal, class I', /-ʔi/ 'proximal, class II' and the homophonous free form /ʔi/ 'proximal, class III'.

1.3.2.1. Class I Locatives

Of the two types of class I locatives, nonproximal and proximal, the former type expresses an entity distant from the speaker, while the latter denotes a referent regarded as being near. Nonproximal locatives do not occur with first or second person morphemes like /cən/ 'I' and /č/ 'you(sg)' (2.1.3.1. Enclitics). The semantic interpretation of the four class I elements, /ná?ət/ 'nonproximal, unmarked, class I', /?é?ət/ 'proximal, unmarked, class I', /ná?əθ/ 'nonproximal, marked, class I' and /?é?əθ/ 'proximal, marked, class I' reflects that of its constituent morphemes, /θ/ 'marked' and /t/ 'unmarked'. /ná?əθ/ and /?é?əθ/ designate feminine (example 476) and familiar (examples 474 and 477) entities in contrast to /ná?ət/ (475) and /?é?ət/ (473).

(473) ?é?ət cən θeýəẃtxʷəm ?ə təńə́ léləm (6233b)
　　　　-1　　2　3　　　　4　5　　6

　　　'I am building this house here'

　　　1 proximal, emphatic　　　　　　4 oblique
　　　2 'I'　　　　　　　　　　　　　5 'this'
　　　3 'build' (Actual)　　　　　　6 'house'

(474) ?é?əθ θə nəléləm (6420) 'Here is my house'
　　　　1　　2 3 4

　　　1 proximal, emphatic, marked　3 'my'
　　　2 article (marked)　　　　　　4 'house'

(475) ná?ət q̓ əẃ wəɬ təs (T7:58) 'It has now reached there'
　　　　1　　2 3 4　5

　　　1 nonproximal, emphatic　　　4 'already, now'
　　　2 emphatic　　　　　　　　　5 'arrive'
　　　3 contemporaneous

(476) ná?əθ q̓ əẃ wəɬ təs (6433b) 'She has now got there'

    1   2 3 4 - 5

    1 nonproximal, emphatic, marked   4 'already, now'

    2 emphatic   5 'arrive'

    3 contemporaneous

(477) ná?əθ θə nəléləm (6421) 'My house is over there'

    1   2 3 4

    1 nonproximal, emphatic, marked   3 'my'

    2 article (marked)   4 'house'

1.3.2.2. Class II Locatives

The class II locatives consist of two types of elements, the nonproximal form /təní/ 'class II, nonproximal' and the proximal forms /tə?í/ 'class II, proximal, unmarked' and /θə?í/ 'class II, proximal, marked', which signify that the speaker is actually touching the entity being referred to. The proximal elements differ in two ways from /təní/. First, they exhibit the type of morphological marking that exists in the article system (1.3.1.1.) to the effect that they contain the morphemes /t-/ 'unmarked' and /θ-/ 'marked'. For example, /θə?í/ (478b) like the article /θə/ 'basic, marked' may denote a feminine entity whereas /tə?í/ (478a) like the unmarked article /tᶿə/ denotes non-feminine entities:

(478a) niɬ ce? tə?í kʷənətən (6470c) 'I will take this one'

    1 · 2 3   4   5 6

    1 referent   4 'take'

    2 future   5 transitive

    3 proximal   6 'I' (dependent)

(478b) niɬ ce? θə?í kʷənətən (6470b) 'I will take her/this one'

    1 . 2 3   4   5 6

    1 referent   4 'take'
    2 future   5 transitive
    3 proximal, marked   6 'I' (dependent)

The second way in which the proximal forms /tə?í/ and /θə?í/ differ from /təní/ lies in the fact that they may be attached to /nií/ 'referent' (2.2.1.3. Interrogatives and Emphatics) to form an element like tə?ínəł 'this one', in which the unstressed ́ becomes ə:

    (479) ?əwə sʌi?ct tə?ínəł (3795) 'We don't want this one'
          1   2 3 4 5
       1 'not'   4 proximal, unmarked
       2 'desire'   5 /nií/ 'referent'
       3 'our' and /-ət/ 'we' (dependent) (sic!)

1.3.2.3. Class III Locatives

The class III locatives /ni?/ 'nonproximal', né?lə (ni? and -í- 'plural') 'nonproximal, plural' and /?i/ 'proximal' are morphologically distinct from the class I and II forms in that they do not contain either of the morphemes /t/ 'unmarked' or /θ/ 'marked'. The proximal locative /?i/ indicates that a given entity is near to the speaker (example 480), whereas the more productively occurring element /ni?/ has a more neutral interpretation (example 481):

    (480) yaθ ?əẃ ?i tθə nəmə́nə (5694) 'My son is always here'
          1   2   3 4 5 6
       1 'always'   4 article
       2 contemporaneous   5 'my'
       3 proximal   6 'offspring'

    (481) ni? səq́ tθə nəq́úm (5704) 'My ear is ripped'
          1   2   3   4 5

1 nonproximal
2 'ripped'
3 árticle

4 'my'
5 'ear'

FOOTNOTES: MORPHOLOGY

[1] One lexical item k^wíntəl 'fight' is exceptional in that apparently the base is uniquely inflectible with /-təl/ 'reciprocal'. This item might be regarded synchronically as one morpheme and diachronically as two: the erstwhile base /k^wín-/ and /-təl/ 'reciprocal'.

[2] Putatively, the intransitive suffixes (1.1.1.1.) /-θət/ 'reflexive' and /-təl/ 'reciprocal' are further analyzable into morphemes like /-əl/ 'reciprocal', /-ət/ 'reflexive' and /-t/ 'transitive' (realized as -θ- before /-ət/ 'reflexive'). However, the fact that /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' follows /-t/ 'transitive' but not /-θət/ 'reflexive' and /-təl/ 'reciprocal' substantiates the view that /-təl/ and /-θət/ constitute just one morpheme.

[3] This vowel alternation is discussed in 1.1.1.1. Intransitive Suffixes in connection with the suffixes /-təl/ 'reciprocal' and /-θət/ 'reflexive'.

[4] A few exceptional passivized forms such as q̓éx̌ətəm (TEH) 'he falls backwards' and x̌píləstəm (L1:31) 'he sinks' involve no human agency.

[5] In Kava's analysis (1969) -əm is [a·m] phonetically, the vowel length being conditioned by a following resonant. Dr. Suttles suggests that the vowel length here is phonemic and that it is conditioned by the reduction of an underlying form /-áməm/.

[6]The fact that /-nəs/ may be followed by /-əs/ 'third transitive agent'
(2.1.1.1.), which only follows transitive suffixes, also supports this
view.

    náḿnəsəs 'he went towards him'

[7]The reduplicative morphemes, which are regarded here as being
inflectional, are distributionally distinct from the aspectual prefixes.
The former, but not the latter, may be preceded by derivational prefixes.
This apparent contradiction to the standard notion of inflection and
derivation is resolvable if the reduplicative morphemes are regarded not
as constituting prefixes but as representing processes.

[8]In an alternative analysis (Hukari 1978:164) it may be stated that the
CCV base, when uninflected, loses the final vowel and appears with a
medial shwa. In this approach the shape of the uninflected base is
considered to be derived from that of the inflected CCV base.

[9]Voiced sonorants are glottalized in the Actual excepting prefixes,
stem-initial position and before a stressed vowel. Although
glottalization is morphologically triggered, it does not seem to
interact critically with the basic formation processes (c.f. Hukari
1978:206).

[10]Some of the CVCC stems co-occur with the intransitive /-m/ suffix, in
which case the tense vowel appears in both the Actual and non-actual
forms (Hukari 1978:172):

čátəq̉ʷəm 'fall apart (from cooking)'
čátq̉ʷəm̉ 'falling apart'

[11]In Hukari's (1978:171) data certain variation has been noted:

xʷ-θəyq̉ʷt 'dig it'
xʷ-θéy̓q̉ʷt ~ xʷ-θáy̓q̉ʷt 'digging it'

[12]Hukari (1978:167) finds that this rule also applies to bases containing a long vowel in the initial syllable:

t̓ʔθət̓ʔθuum 'picking berries'
t̓ʔθuum 'pick berries'

[13]An alternative hypothesis is that the prefixed resonant elides with the subsequent insertion of h as a juncture phenomenon. Given such a hypothesis, the postulated relationship between h and resonants does not necessarily hold. Hukari (1977b) argues in some detail against this approach and in favour of the voiceless sonorant hypothesis.

[14]In Jones' (1976:51) analysis the underlying form of nem̉ 'go' is /neʔm/, which in fact contains an initial voiced sonorant followed by a tense vowel and glottal stop.

[15]Two lexical items are irregular in that they involve infixal vowel reduplication, which is phonetically realized as vowel lengthening:

síiʔem (474) 'sirs'
síʔem (1439) 'sir, rich'

siiyéy̓e (178) 'friends'
syéy̓e (3487) 'friend'

[16]Pluralization of predicates may apparently focus on the event (happening repeatedly) or a participant (i.e. several subjects or objects). I give stylized translations here, using a plural subject for intransitive predicates and a plural object for transitives, as these appear to be the preferred translations.

[17]There are some exceptions. Some stems show in the plural a stress difference signalling the Actual (Hukari 1978:177):

    təltíləm (TEH) 'they sing' (plural)
    łíləm (6141a) 'sing'
    łíltələm (TEH) 'they are singing' (plural, Actual)
    łítələm (4323) 'singing'

[18]I am grateful to Dr. Hukari for drawing to my attention to ? in the diminutive morpheme. However, there are exceptions:

    kʷákʷsəṅ (TEH) 'little star'
    kʷásəṅ 'star'

[19]The parentheses around h signify that it is not realized phonetically. s(h)əṁíq 'full', for example, represents [səṁíq].

[20]So far, no examples have arisen in which all three aspectual prefixes occur simultaneously.

[21]The vowel alternation is morphologically conditioned, the tense vowel of the stem becoming lax when /-tən/ 'instrument' is attached:

    ʔə́x̌ʷtən (TEH) 'broom'   pə́tᶿtən (4335) 'sewing needle'
    ʔíx̌ʷ (6498d) 'sweep it'   pə́tᶿət (5836b) 'sew it'

[22]The stems of examples (337)-(39) have not been found to occur separately.

[23]In Dr. Hukari's data /-áləs/ enters into a lexical set of numerals having to do with knitting and sewing to form lexical items of the following type:

k̆ʷšáləst (TEH) 'count stitches'
k̆ʷšet (5837a) 'count them'

łxʷáləs (TEH) 'three stitches'
łixʷ (3964) 'three'

[24]The term <u>connector</u> is used by Pidgeon (1971) in his analysis of lexical suffixes in Saanich to denote the morphemes which occur between the base and lexical suffix. According to Pidgeon (1971:19) the connectors "particularize and direct the reference to the lexical suffix or extend the meaning of the suffix."

[25]The bases of (453)-(55) have not been found to occur in any other context than the one shown here.

[26]<u>kʷ</u> is a variant of the article /kʷθə/ 'absent, unmarked' (1.3.1.1. <u>Articles</u>). Dr. Hukari has found that in actually counting objects speakers use expressions like <u>ʔápən ʔiʔ tθə néča?</u> 'eleven' containing another article /tθə/.

[27]The demonstratives are also syntactically distinct from the articles to the effect that the former, but not the latter, may function not only as determiners, but also as adjuncts with a semantic interpretation

of the type "that one' or 'this one'.

[28]The marked articles according to Dr. Hukari's experience may also refer to diminutive entities.

[29]Dr. Suttles finds in Musqueam that $\underline{k}^w$ has the semantic signification of quotation marks in English. Thus /k^w John/ would mean "John" in the Musqueam equivalent of example (460).

2. SYNTAX

In conformity with a commonly applied typology (Greenberg 1963: 61), Cowichan might be classified as a VSO language, where V stands for verb and S and O for subject and object nouns. Although such a characterization may serve as a basis for comparison with other languages of the world, it does not accurately reflect the grammatical structure of Cowichan. The hypothesis proposed by Kinkade (1976:17) for Inland Olympic Salish that the predicate rather than a noun/verb dichotomy is fundamental is relevant not only to the morphology of Cowichan (as observed in section 0.1.) but is also to some extent applicable to its syntax. In accordance with this approach Cowichan is observed to maintain a bipartite structure consisting of a predicate, which may by itself constitute a complete utterance, and adjuncts (the putative S and O nouns), which optionally modify it. The predicate occurs initially and is followed by an adjunct. Thus, in the sentence, swə́yqe? t^θə nə́šxʷ?áq̓ʷa? 'my brother is a man', swə́yqe? '(be) a man' is a predicate. It is, moreover, a nominal predicate (noun)[1] since in another sentence it might function like šxʷ?áq̓ʷa? 'sibling' in an adjunct.

Although adjuncts may appear to play a fundamental role in Cowichan on the basis of the above discussion, distributional criteria suggest that they are in fact peripheral elements. Their distribution and semantic interpretation in all clause types is determined by sets of person markers, elements which correspond semantically but not functionally to English pronouns like 'I', 'me', 'you' and 'it'.[2] These person markers play a dual role. They determine the internal structure of a given

clause and they signal its privileges of occurrence with other clauses.
Within the clause the interaction between person markers and adjuncts
reflects a dichotomy between third and non-third person forms. A
predicate with a third person marker affixed to it may optionally occur
with a generally coreferential adjunct, while a non-third marker and
such an adjunct may not co-occur.

The different clause types are generally both morphologically
and syntactically defined. Independent clauses are formally marked as
being distinct from subordinate ones by main clause person markers
(subject enclitics). Subordinate clauses are subdivided on the basis of
morphological marking into dependent clauses, which are signalled by
dependent person markers (2.3.1.), and nominalized clauses, which are
marked by a possessive affix and a prefix--either /s-/ 'absolute' (2.3.2.)
or /šx^w-/ 'instrumental' (2.3.3.). The distribution of the clause
markers (the dependent person markers and the prefixes) partially reflects
a distinction between attributive clauses, which modify an adjunct head
in a semantic structure of the type 'the man whom I saw', and
complementary clauses, which modify the main clause as a whole. In
complementary clauses the markers are affixed to the first element,
whereas in attributive clauses of the morphologically marked kind they are
affixed to the predicate. The unmarked attributive clause type is not
included under subordinate clauses but is presented separately as a
frame of reference for analyzing the internal structure of the attributive
clause (2.2.1.).

2.1. The Constituents of a Cowichan Clause .

The constituents of a Cowichan clause comprise both adjuncts and person markers, which correspond distributionally to the transitivity of the predicate, and other elements which do not, namely, predicate attributes (2.1.2.) and particles (2.1.3.) (except for the subject enclitics). The constituent structure of a main clause containing these elements corresponds to that of a subordinate clause containing them. However, for ease of explanation the analysis is presented in terms of the main clause. Subordinate clauses (2.3.) are discussed in general according to their interaction with main clauses. Compound constructions (2.4.), which contain an /ʔiʔ/ 'and' constituent and which may appear either as main clauses or as subordinate clauses, are analyzed according to their relationship to corresponding simple main and subordinate clauses.

2.1.1. Predication and Person Marking ·

Although person markers and adjuncts are distributionally distinct they are placed under one heading because of their interaction based on the transitivity of the predicate. There are two types of adjuncts: oblique ones, which are introduced by the catchall preposition /ʔə/ 'oblique', and direct ones, which are not. The two types of adjuncts are semantically as well as formally distinct, since oblique adjuncts in contradistinction to direct ones represent semantic relationships which cannot be conveyed in a given syntactic context by person markers. The

distribution of oblique adjuncts is not limited to any given sentence type. They may occur in sentences containing /-əs/ 'third agent' or one of the subject enclitics, which do not mark third person. They may also occur with passivized predicates.

2.1.1.1. Direct Relations

In non-passive constructions, person marker and adjunct interaction correlates with the transitivity of the predicate. A clause containing a transitive predicate (an element marked by one of the suffixes, /-t/ 'transitive', /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible' or /-stəxʷ/ 'causative') differs in morphological and syntactic properties and in coreference relations from one containing an intransitive predicate. The intransitive predicate construction constitutes the more elemental clause type, since it takes only a single referent--either one of the subject enclitics, which appears in second position in a clause, or an adjunct.

Subject Enclitics

	singular	plural
1st	cən 'I' (cən ~ cə)	ct 'we'
2nd	č 'you'	ceep 'you'

The syntactic status of intransitive predicates provides support for the hypothesis presented at the beginning of the syntax section that the predicate is a fundamental of Cowichan grammar. Examples (1)-(4) and (5)-(8) may be considered, of which the first group represents a predicate - subject enclitic construction and the second, a predicate - adjunct construction.

(1) swə́y̓qeʔ cən (82) 'I am a man'

(2) yəq̓ʷ cən (6194b) 'I am burned'

(3) λ̓əqtímətʔθ cən (74) 'I am tall'[3]

(4) x̌ʷčénəm cən (60) 'I ran'

Semantically, example (1) represents an identity statement involving the
entity 'I' and the element /swə́y̓qeʔ/ 'man', while in example (2) the
relationship is one of control, /cən/ 'I' being the patient of the form
/yəq̓ʷ/ 'is burned'. In example (3) /λ̓əqtímətʔθ/ corresponds semantically
to an English adjective[1] and in example (4) /x̌ʷčénəm/ 'run' corresponds
to an English verb. However, the substitution frame, ___cən, provides
support for the hypothesis that syntactically these forms constitute
members of a single form-class, that of the predicator.

The predicative function of the first elements in (1)-(4) is
maintained in examples (5)-(8), where the expression attributive to the
predicate is an adjunct. This phrase in contradistinction to the predicate
is formally marked by a deictic (/tθə/ 'the' in the following examples):

(5) swə́y̓qeʔ tθə nəšxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ (3524b) 'My brother is a man'
    1   2 3 4

   1 'man'   3 'my'
   2 article   4 'sibling'

(6) yəq̓ʷ tθə nəsnə́xʷəɬ (3763) 'My canoe is on fire'
    1   2   3 4

   1 'burn'   3 'my'
   2 article   4 'canoe'

(7) λ̓əqtímətʔθ tθə swə́y̓qeʔ (61) 'The man is tall'
    1   2 3

   1 'tall'   3 'man'
   2 article

(8) x̌čénəm t⁰ə swə́y̓qeʔ (75) 'The man ran'

    1   2 3

    1 'run'   3 'man'

    2 article

The semantic relationships holding between examples (1)-(4) also hold
between the corresponding set of sentences, examples (5)-(8).
Terminologically, adjuncts which enter into such semantic correlations
in a given type of construction may be referred to as subject adjuncts.[4]

On the basis of semantic structure one might expect predicates
with third person referents to be able to occur without adjuncts as in
the following examples:

(9) *swə́y̓qeʔ 'He is a man'

(10) *yəqʷ 'It is on fire'

(11) *ƛ̓əqtímət⁰ 'He is tall'

(12) *x̌čénəm 'He ran'

However, sentences (9)-(11) are not well-formed and sentence (12), which
can occur, is interpreted not as a statement, but as an imperative
construction with the meaning 'Run!'. Apparently, unless the lexical
content of the predicate permits an imperative interpretation, overt
marking of the referent of a predicate is required. Where the referent
is a first or second person entity, the subject enclitics are used.

In addition to occurring with a subject enclitic or a direct
adjunct, a predicate may enter into construction with either a class I
locative (1.3.2.1.) such as /náʔət/ 'nonproximal, unmarked' or /ʔéʔət/
'proximal, marked', which appear only in main clauses, or a class III
locative (1.3.2.3.) like /niʔ/ 'nonproximal' or /ʔi/ 'proximal', which
appear in main and subordinate clauses. This type of construction may

be observed in examples (13) and (14), in which each underlined locative modifies the predicate that follows it:

(13) ná?ət ?əw̓ səṅíw̓ (5884c) 'It is inside there'

    1   2 3

    1 nonproximal, emphatic   3 'inside'

    2 contemporaneous

(14) ni? yəqʷ (5759) 'It burns'[5]

These sentences are grammatical even though no subject enclitic or adjunct is present.

Some of the distributional and semantic properties of an intransitive predicate construction also hold for transitive predicates. Examples (1)-(4) above, which illustrate intransitive predicates, are paralleled by transitive predicate constructions in which an enclitic may likewise follow the head element:

(15) yə́qʷət cən (6206) 'I burned it'

Examples (1)-(4) and (15) are semantically parallel in being statements. There is even a partial correspondence between intransitive and transitive predicate constructions in respect to third person referents. However, whereas only a limited number of uninflected predicators, such as /x̌čénəm/ 'Run!' (example 12), may occur alone with imperative interpretation, transitive predicators do so characteristically:

(16) ɬəy̓x̌t (45a) 'Eat!'

(17) ?áɬstəxʷ (5140) 'Load it up!'

(18) həlínxʷ (5104) 'Save him!'

Semantically, the addressee, an entity sometimes overtly expressed by the subject enclitic /č/ 'you(sg)', is the agent, while a third person entity is the patient referent.

The correspondence between intransitive and transitive predicate constructions extends syntactically, but not semantically, to the distribution of adjuncts. Examples (19)-(20) of transitive predicates with adjuncts are parallel to examples (5)-(8) insofar as in each case there is a predicative centre (the first element) and an adjunct introduced by a determiner:

(19) ʔáməst tᶿə swə́ýqeʔ (6232) 'Give it to the man'
    1   2 3   4

    1 'give'   3 article
    2 transitive   4 'man'

(20) yə́θəst tᶿə nəsiiyéýe (6200b) 'Tell my friends'
    1   2 3 4 5

    1 'tell'   4 'my'
    2 transitive   5 'friends'
    3 article

Semantically, however, the two types of constructions are distinct. Only examples (19)-(20) have imperative interpretation. Moreover, whereas the interpretation of adjuncts in construction with intransitive predicates varies according to the lexical content of the predicate, the interpretation of single adjuncts attributive to transitive predicates (as in examples 19 and 20) is always object and may be correlated with elements of the syntactic representation, namely, the transitive suffixes.

The transitive predicate is inflectionally distinct from the intransitive one in being able to occur with any of three sets of person markers i.e. the subject enclitics, the goal suffixes, /-əs/ 'third agent'

and the passive suffixes (2.1.1.2. Oblique Relations) of which the
first and second two interact.

Goal Suffixes

	singular	plural
1st	-(S)áṁš 'me'	-áɫxʷ 'us'
2nd	-(S)ámə 'you'	-álə 'you'

Distributionally, the subject enclitics and goal suffixes, both of
which lack third person morphemes, are distinct. The subject enclitics
occur in second position in a clause and may follow either an auxiliary
element such as the type III locative (1.3.2.3.) in example (21) or the
predicate (elements 1-3 in example 22). The goal forms on the other
hand are always suffixed to a transitive predicate (example 22).

(21) ni? cə ləmnámə (4082) 'I see you'
    1 2 3 45

1 nonproximal   4 /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'
2 /cən/ 'I'   5 'you(sg)'
3 'see'

(22) yənyənθámə cə p̓e? (108) 'I am laughing at you'
    1   23 4 5

1 'laughing' (Actual)   4 /cən/ 'I'
2 /-t/ 'transitive'   5 certain
3 'you(sg)'

The transitive predicate inflected with a goal suffix corresponds
syntactically to an uninflected predicate like /x̌čénəm/ 'run'
(illustrated in example 12 earlier), since both forms may either occur
alone with imperative interpretation (examples 23-24) or appear with
subject enclitics.

122

(23) ʔaməsθáṁš (76) 'Give it to me!'

   1   23

   1 'give'   3 'me'

   2 /-t/ 'transitive'

(24) yəθəstáḷxʷ (6200) 'Tell us!'

   1   23

   1 'tell'   3 'us'

   2 transitive

Semantically, sentences (23) and (24) correspond to sentences (16)-(18) and (19)-(20), since they all have patient referents.

A transitive predication differs from an intransitive one not only in morphological marking and in coreference relations but also in terms of syntactic structure. In a clause containing a transitive predicate not marked by the third person suffix /-əs/ 'third agent' still only one adjunct is permitted. However, the clause may also take a subject enclitic as in the following examples:

(25) niʔ č ʔálə cəstəxʷ tθə sqʷəméy̓ (5706) 'What did you do to the dog?'

   1 2 3   4   5   6

   1 nonproximal   4 'do to'

   2 'you(sg)'   5 article

   3 curious   6 'dog'

(26) niʔ cən čéwət tθey̓ swəy̓qeʔ (5685)   'I helped that man'

   1   2   3   4   5

   1 nonproximal   4 'that'

   2 'I'   5 'man'

   3 'help'

In constructions like (25)-(26), which contain an adjunct and a subject enclitic, the interpretation of the adjunct in the role of patient is

based on its non-coreferentiality with the enclitic. Such an adjunct, which is semantically analogous to a goal suffix, is defined as a goal adjunct. In (25) and (26) the interpretation of the adjuncts t^Θeỷ swəỷqe? 'that man' and t^Θə sqʷəméỷ 'the dog' in the role of goal is based on their non-coreferentiality with the respective subject enclitics /cən/ 'I' and /č/ 'you', which fulfill the subject role.

On the basis of semantic interpretation one might expect a sentence of the following type to be possible:

(27) *yənyənθańš t^Θə swəỷqe? 'The man laughed at us'
    1   23 4 5

  1 'laugh'   4 article
  2 /-t/ 'transitive'   5 'man'
  3 'me'

In such a sentence t^Θə swəỷqe? 'the man' would fulfill the subject role of a subject enclitic, a semantic function analogous to that of the adjuncts in examples (5)-(8) vis-à-vis examples (1)-(4). However, this type of construction is not well-formed.

In order to express a direct adjunct as an agent the transitive predicate must be inflected with /-əs/ 'third agent', which follows any occurring first person goal suffix (example 28):

(28) ni? ?əẃ statəlstáĺxʷəs (165) 'He knows us'
    1 2 3   4 5 6

  1 nonproximal   4 /-stəxʷ/ 'causative'
  2 contemporaneous   5 'us'
  3 'know'   6 third agent

Where an adjunct occurs with a predicate inflected with both /-əs/ and

a goal suffix, its interpretation is based on its non-coreferentiality
with the goal form:

(29) ni? čewəθamšəs t$^\theta$eẏ swəẏqe? (5690) 'That man is helping me.'
    1   2   34 5 6   7

    1 nonproximal   5 third agent

    2 'help'   6 'that'

    3 /-t/ 'transitive'   7 'man'

    4 'me'

In example (29) /-amš/ 'me' fulfills the role of goal. The adjunct t$^\theta$eẏ
swəẏqe? 'that man' is interpreted as an agent and is anaphorically
related to /-əs/ 'third agent'.

When a goal suffix is not present, two third person referents
are expressed and the principle of non-coreferentiality does not apply.
In examples (30) and (31) in which the predicates are not marked with
goal suffixes, there are two understood third person referents, one
signalled by /-əs/ in the role of agent (31) or experiencer (30) and one
in the role of patient.

(30) ni? nəm lemətəs (688) 'He went and looked at it'
      1   2   3 4 5

    1 nonproximal   4 transitive

    2 'go'   5 third agent

    3 'look'

(31) ni? ?aməstəs (104) 'He gave it'
     1   2   34

    1 nonproximal   3 transitive

    2 'give'   4 third agent

If a single adjunct occurs it is generally interpreted as a patient and
non-coreferential with /-əs/ as in the following examples:

(32) niʔ kʷícətəs tᶿə sməyəθ (5669a) 'He butchered the deer'
   1 2   3 4 5   6

   1 nonproximal   4 third agent
   2 'butcher'   5 article
   3 transitive   6 'deer'

(33) sélqtəs tᶿə sčešt (4064) 'He is brandishing a stick'
   1   23 4   5

   1 'brandish'   4 article
   2 transitive   5 'stick'
   3 third agent

In rare instances in texts, however, the adjunct has agent interpretation if the deictic /tᶿəwnił/ 'that (one)' (1.3.1.2. Demonstratives) appears as in example (34), elements 3-4:

(34) kʷənəxʷəs tᶿəwnił swíwləs (TEH) 'That young man got him'
   1   2 3   4

   1 'take, get'   3 'that (one)'
   2 third agent   4 'young man'

     During the elicitation of individual sentences and in some texts a marginal clause type was identified in which two direct adjuncts appeared in attribution to the predicate. In this type of construction the predominant reading is the one in which the first adjunct is anaphorically related to /-əs/ 'third agent' and correspondingly interpreted as an agent or an experiencer (example 35), although there is also a more marked reading in which the second adjunct is thus construed (example 36), usually where there is no possibility for ambiguity.

(35) cəkʷəlétəs θə pus θə sq̓ʷələ́š (6034)
   1   234 5 6   7 8
   'The cat is chasing the bird'

1 'chase'	5 article (marked)
2 stative	6 'cat'
3 transitive	7 article (marked)
4 third agent	8 'bird'

(36) ƚeýx̌təs t^Θə scéeƚtən t^Θə sqʷəméÿct (4637a)

    1   23 4   5   6   7   8

    'Our dog eats salmon'

1 'eat'	5 'salmon'
2 transitive	6 article
3 third agent	7 'dog'
4 article	8 'our'

These facts suggest that person markers in Cowichan form a system syntactically independent of adjuncts and that the role of an adjunct (subject or goal) is a function of semantic interpretation rather than of syntactic function. From the viewpoint of syntax, therefore, there is no basis for dividing the direct adjunct into syntactic subcategories.

2.1.1.2. Oblique Adjuncts

As well as containing direct adjuncts a Cowichan clause may be marked by prepositional phrases referred to as oblique adjuncts, which usually modify a proposition[6] and consist of two elements, an oblique catchall preposition and a following adjunct in exocentric relationship to it. The preposition exhibits two variants: ʔə before adjuncts introduced by deictics (1.3.) and ʔəx̌ elsewhere. The oblique adjuncts are semantically distinct from the direct ones. In addition to expressing the roles of agent and patient, which may be represented by direct adjuncts, the oblique phrases may depict various other semantic relationships.

The semantic distinctions found to be expressed by oblique adjuncts are as follows: possession, location, temporal duration, patient, agent, instrument and comparison. These distinctions are partially reflected in the syntactic representation. An oblique adjunct which denotes an entity viewed as a possessor is syntactically distinctive in that it modifies a direct adjunct rather than a predicate. In example (37) the direct adjunct (elements 2-3) is modified by the possessor oblique adjunct (elements 4-5):[7]

(37) x̌aʔáθən tᶿə sčešt ʔəƛ̓ Jow (4651) 'Joe has four sticks'.

    1   2   3   4   5   (The sticks of Joe are four)

1 'four'   4 oblique

2 article   5 'Joe'

3 'stick'

A locative oblique adjunct is distributionally distinctive in that it may occur in two syntactic environments. It may appear in attribution to a predicate centre or to a class II (1.3.2.2.) or class III (1.3.2.3.) locative. The former type of distribution is illustrated in example (38):

(38) nə́wəš ʔə tᶿə θímat (5190) 'Put it in the refrigerator'

    1   2 3   4

1 ' put inside'   3 article

2 oblique   4 'refrigerator'

In (38) the locative oblique adjunct (elements 2-4) modifies the predicate centre nə́wəš 'put it inside'.

The locative type of distribution may be observed in sentences (39) to (41), of which the first represents a class III locative (1.3.2.3.), while the other two exemplify a class II (1.3.2.2.) locative:

(39) ni? yáayəs <u>ni? ?əƛ</u> <u>Point Grey</u> (3498)

     1   2   3   4   5

'He is working <u>at Point Grey</u>'

1 nonproximal   4 /?ə/ 'oblique'

2 'work'   5 'Point Grey'

3 nonproximal (predicate)

(40) hay kʷə?eƚ təná qə́wicən <u>tə?í ?ə təná skʷθey</u> (L1:93)

     1   2   3   4   5   6 7   8

'It has reached as far as Cowichan <u>here on this island</u>'

1 'finish, end up'   5 proximal, unmarked

2 factual   6 oblique

3 'this'   7 'this'

4 'Cowichan'   8 'island'

(41) ni? sni? w̓ səsə́ləθəts ?aƚ tᶿey̓ <u>təní ?ə kʷθey̓ nə́ča? məstíməxʷ</u>

     1   23   4 5   6 7 8   9   10 11   12   13

'That is how it happened <u>through that one·family</u>' (L1:88)

1 nonproximal   8 'that'

2 absolute   9 'here'

3 nonproximal   10 oblique

4, 7 'only, just'   11 'that'

5 'happen' (Actual)   12 'one'

6 third possessive   13 'people, family'

In each example the underlined locative predicator and the following /?ə/ 'oblique' phrase, which modifies it, form a locative construction. This construction in turn modifies the rest of each sentence, which may potentially form an independent clause.[8]

Although oblique adjuncts in the roles of possessor and of location have special syntactic status, oblique phrases belonging to other semantic categories do not, but function alike as subordinate I.C. partners to a proposition. In sentence (42) this analysis applies to a

temporal oblique phrase (elements 4-7), which modifies a proposition
(elements 1-3):

(42) niʔ ct ʔítət ʔə kʷθə yəsélə skʷeyl (3692)
     1 2 3   4 5   6   7

'We slept for two days'

1 nonproximal	5 article
2 'we'	6 'two'
3 'sleep'	7 'day'
4 oblique	

In examples (43) and (44) the semantic role of patient is denoted by
the oblique adjuncts (elements 5-7 in example 43 and 6-8 in 44), but
the syntactic relationship is the same as in example (42).

(43) ʔiwáwə ʔəɬtən cə ceʔ ʔə tθə scéeɬtɔn (5344a)
     1   2   3 4   5 6   7

'Maybe I will eat the salmon'

1 'maybe, perhaps'	7 oblique
2 'eat'	6 article
3 /cən/ 'I'	7 'salmon'
4 future	

(44) niʔ cən ʔaməst tθə sqʷəméy ʔə kʷθə smóyəθ
     1   2   3   4   5   6 7   8

'I gave the dog some (deer) meat'

1 nonproximal	5 'dog'
2 'I'	6 oblique
3 'give'	7 article
4 article	8 'deer (meat)'

The occurrence of an oblique adjunct with agent or patient
interpretation in a given construction as opposed to that of a direct
one with such an interpretation is not arbitrary. As indicated in
section 2.1.1.1. Direct Relations a direct adjunct fulfills the

semantic role of a person marker set. For example, the direct adjunct θə sténi 'the woman' may appear with patient interpretation in a given clause if the clause predicate as an alternative is inflectible with a goal suffix like /-ámš/ 'me'. An oblique adjunct, on the other hand, appears instead of a direct one if such a person marker alternative is not possible. In sentence (43), for example, ʔə́ɬtən 'eat', which expresses a patient referent, does not appear with the direct patient adjunct tθə scéeɬtən 'the salmon' but with the oblique one, ʔə tθə scéeɬtən '(of) the salmon', since ʔə́ɬtən 'eat' as an intransitive predicate does not take a patient suffix like /-ámš/ 'me'. Again in (44) the expression of a patient entity by means of an oblique adjunct ʔə kʷθə smə́yəθ '(with) the deer meat' is not anomalous since the goal role is fulfilled by a direct adjunct tθə sqʷəméy 'the dog'. This adjunct denotes a recipient patient referent just like the analogously interpreted goal suffix /-ámš/ 'me' in ʔáməsθámš 'give it to me'.

The syntactico-semantic interplay between oblique and direct adjuncts is maintained in constructions containing predicates inflected with passive person markers. There are two sets of passive markers, one of which (the general passive) enters into both main and subordinate clauses, the other of which (the subordinate passive) enters only into subordinate clauses.

General Passive

	singular	plural
1st	-éləm 'I'	-áləm 'we'
2nd	-ám 'you'	-áləm 'you'
3rd	-m 'she, he, it, they'	

Subordinate Passive

	singular		plural
1st	-élt 'I'		-ált 'we'
2nd	-ámət 'you'		-ált 'you'

These forms have patient interpretation. A passive construction like yəqʷθéləm 'I am burned' thus resembles semantically an intransitive predicate construction like yəqʷ cən 'I am burned' except that in the former unlike in the latter there is an implied agent.[9]

A Cowichan passive construction has syntactic and semantic significance insofar as it permits not two sets of person markers, the subject enclitics and the goal suffixes, but only one, the passive markers.[10] Correspondingly, such a construction never contains two direct adjuncts even on a marginal basis. A single direct adjunct may appear if the passive marker, with which it is coreferential, is third person. A construction of this type is illustrated in example (45), in which the direct adjunct tθə šeł 'the road' is coreferential with the third general passive form /-m/:

(45) n əw xʷəłqétstəm tθə šeł (3513) 'The road is being widened'

    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1 /ni?/ 'nonproximal'	5 /-stəxʷ/ 'causative'	
2 contemporaneous	6 third general passive	
3 developmental	7 article	
4 'wide'	8 'road, door'	

The adjunct (elements 7-8) is not obligatory. In fact, elements 1-6 may constitute an independent sentence meaning 'it is being widened'. If the passive marker is a non-third person morpheme like /-éləm/ 'I'

in the sentence yə̀q^wθélə̄m (6194c) 'I am burned (by someone)', a

coreferential adjunct is semantically excluded, since the only role

(patient) which it might assume is already fulfilled by the passive

form.

The difference in semantic structure between a passive and a

nonpassive clause is reflected in the interpretation of oblique adjuncts.

Since a passive construction permits only one direct adjunct, which has

patient interpretation, an oblique adjunct in such a construction

expresses the role of agent in addition to other semantic roles. The

distribution of an agent oblique phrase may be observed in examples

(46)-(48). Apparently it has no special syntactic status vis-à-vis

other oblique adjuncts. It may appear alone as in example (46),

elements 6-8:

> (46) ʔi cə̀k^wəlétə̄m ʔə t^θə spéʔeθ (3489)
>   1 2   345 6 7   8
>   'He is being chased by a bear'

1 proximal	5 third general passive
2 'chase' (Actual)	6 oblique
3 stative	7 article
4 transitive	8 'bear'

Alternatively an agent oblique adjunct may occur along with

other adjuncts. In example (47) the agent phrase (elements 11-14) is

in apposition to a preceding direct adjunct (elements 6-7) and to an

oblique adjunct (elements 8-10):

> (47) niʔ k^wɫóstə̄m t^θə piš ʔə t^θə milk ʔə ɫə nəstálə̄s (3587)
>   1   2 3 45 6   7   8 9 10   11 12 13 14

'My wife splashed the cat with milk'

(The cat was splashed with milk by my wife)

1 nonproximal	8 oblique
2 'splash'	9 article
3 'face'	10 'milk'
4 transitive	11 oblique
5 third general passive	12 article (marked)
6 article	13 'my'
7 'cat'	14 'spouse'

In example (48) the agent phrase is followed by the direct adjunct
(elements 7-8) and the oblique adjunct (elements 9-11):

(48) niʔ ʔáɫstəm ʔəⱡ Jan t$^\theta$ə sáx̌^{w}əl ʔə t$^\theta$ə snə́x̌^{w}əⱡ (4633)

    1   2 3 4 5 6 7   8   9 10 11

'The hay is loaded on to the vehicle by John'

1 nonproximal	7 article
2 'load'	8 'hay, grass'
3 /-stəx^w/ 'causative'	9 oblique
4 third general passive	10 article
5 oblique	11 'vehicle, canoe'
6 'John'	

These examples suggest that although direct and oblique adjuncts differ
in internal structure they share a common distribution pattern.

2.1.2. Predicate Attributes

A predicate attribute is a non-locative element which may occur
in attribution to a predicate or to an expression within a proposition.
Such an attribute differs from a direct adjunct in that its
distribution is not conditioned by the presence of person markers or by
the transitivity of the predicate. There are two types of predicate
attributes: direct attributes and adverbs.

.2.1.2.1. Direct Attributes

A direct attribute is a form which may either precede or follow the element it modifies. This type of distribution is apparent in examples (49) and (50) in which the I.C. partner of the attribute is a predicate /ɬíčət/ 'cut it'. /qəɬét/ precedes the predicate in example (49), but follows it in (50):

(49) qəɬét ɬíčət (3514a) 'Cut it again'

(50) ɬíčət qəɬét (3514b) 'Cut it again'

The same type of distribution pattern may be observed where the I.C. partner of the attribute is a locative like /ni?/ 'nonproximal' or a directional form, /mi/ 'come' or /nem/ 'go'. In examples (51) and (52) /qəɬét/ modifies the directional form /nem/ 'go'. Just as in (49) and (50) /qəɬét/ either precedes (example 52) or follows (example 51) its I.C. partner:

(51) nem cən qəɬét wəq̓ʷíləm (5382a)   'I went further downriver'
     1   2   3.   4
     1 'go'   3 'again'
     2 'I'   4 'go downriver'

(52) ni? ct ?əw qəɬét nem cakʷ (5411a)   'We went further'
     1   2 3   4   5   6
     1 nonproximal   4 'again'
     2 'we'   5 'go'
     3 contemporaneous   6 'go far'

Again, in examples (53) and (54) the distribution pattern remains unchanged where the I.C. partner of the attribute /qəɬét/ 'again' is the locative /ni?/ 'nonproximal'. In (53) /qəɬét/ precedes /ni?/, but in (54) it follows /ni?/:

(53) ʔəw̓ qəl̓ét ct <u>ni?</u> nem̓ x^wck^wíl̓əm (5411d)

    1   2   3 4   5 6

    'We went much further on'

    1 contemporaneous   4 nonproximal

    2 'again'   5 'go'

    3 'we'   6 'go further'

(54) <u>ni?</u> cə qəl̓ét θəy̓ənəpt t^θə təməx^w (5993b) 'I dug the soil again'

    1   2 3   4   5 6

    1 nonproximal   4 'dig'

    2 /cən/ 'I'   5 article

    3 'again'   6 'soil, earth'

Alternative analyses of the above sentences (examples 51-54) are possible. One might view /qəl̓ét/ 'again' as being a subordinate I.C. partner to the predicate immediately following it in examples (51) and (54) and as being in attribution to a proposition in examples (52) and (53) (elements 5-6 and 4-6 respectively). Moreover, example (53) may be analyzed as an adjunct head - attributive clause construction (2.2.1. <u>Attributive Clauses</u>) with the semantic structure, 'we again who went further on'. However, the first approach is the only one that provides a single consistent explanation of the data.

In the above discussion it was indicated that a direct attribute functions attributively. There is also evidence for the view that this type of form constitutes a subclass of predicator. In examples (55) and (56) the distribution of /yəstítəm/ 'hard' is consistent with the hypothesis that it is functioning as a predicate attribute in that it precedes the predicate in (55) but follows it in (56):

(55) ʔi cən yəstítəm x̌ʷáňčənəm̓ (6230)
    1 2   3 4   5
   'I am running hard'
  ·1 proximal   4 'hard'
   2 'I'   5 'running' (Actual)
   3 serial

(56) ʔi cən yəx̌ʷáňčənəm̓ yəstítəm (6230)
   . 1 2   3 5   3 4

However, yəstítəm 'hard' is also inflected with /yə-/ 'serial', an
aspectual prefix (1.1.3.6.) which characterizes predicators, suggesting
that /yəstítəm/ itself is in fact a predicator albeit with direct
attribute function in these two examples.

  As /qəĺet/ 'again' differs from /stítəm/ 'hard' in not being
inflectible with /yə-/ 'serial', the view that /qəĺet/ is a type of
predicator must rest upon syntactic evidence alone. Such evidence is·
found in examples (57)-(59) in which /qəĺet/ maintains the syntactic
functions of a predicate. In examples (57) and (58) /qəĺet/ is the
head of the sentence with particles (elements 2-3 in (57) and elements
2-3 in (58)) modifying it.

   (57) qəĺet č p̓eʔ (5421) 'Do it again'
     1   2 3
    1 'again'   3 certain
    2 'you(sg)'

   (58) niʔ ƛ̓ə wəɬ qəĺet (1596) 'It happened again'
     ·1 2 3   4
    1 nonproximal   3 'already'
    2 'again'   4 'again'

In the following example /qəĺet/ 'again' has adjectival function:

(59) m̓i ʔéxʷəθ ʔə k̓ʷ qəl̓ét milk (3132) 'Give me some more milk'
    1 2   3 4 5 6   7

1 'come'	5 article
2 'give'	6 'again'
3 'me'	7 'milk'
4 oblique	

2.1.2.2. Adverbs[12]

An adverb is an element which modifies a following predicative expression or proposition containing a proclitic (2.1.3.2.)--usually /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous'. Six adverbs have been identified as follows: /ƛ̓eʔ/ 'also, too', /yaθ/ 'always, often', /ƛ̓im/ 'very much so', /nan/ 'very much so', /taʔxʷ/ 'soon' and /mək̓ʷ/ 'all, every, both'. Except for /mək̓ʷ/ the adverbs do not assume predicative function.

The distribution of the adverbs as predicate modifiers may be seen in sentences (60)-(65), which exemplify each of the above-mentioned elements. In (60) the functioning of /ƛ̓eʔ/ 'also, too' as an adverb is shown by the fact that it precedes the predicate /ʔəɬtən/ 'eat', which is introduced by /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous':

(60) ƛ̓eʔ ʔe č ceʔ w̓ ʔəɬtən (3656) 'Are you going to eat too?'
     1   2 3 4   5 6

1 'also, too'	4 future
2 interrogative	5 contemporaneous
3 'you(sg)'	6 'eat'

The presence of the enclitics (elements 2-4) after /ƛ̓eʔ/ 'also, too' is consistent with the hypothesis that an adverb is a non-particle. Such a view is also applicable to /taʔxʷ/ 'soon, just' in (61),

which is modified by the enclitic /ct/ 'we':

(61) <u>ta?x^w</u> ct ?əw̓ čx^wə́nəm ?ə̇ƛ̓ nə́wə (5318b)

    1   2 3 4   5 6

    'We were just talking about you'

    1 'soon, just'   4 'talk about'

    2 'we'   5 oblique

    3 contemporaneous   6 'you(sg)'

In example (62) the sentence structure is different from that of (61) inasmuch as it contains a transitive predicate followed by two adjuncts. However, the distribution of /yaθ/ 'always' as an adverb is no different from that of /ƛe?/ and /ta?x^w/ above.

(62) ?əw̓ yaθ· ?əw̓ ƛ̓éy̓x̌təs t^θə smə́yəθ t^θey̓ sq^wəmé y̓ (5309)

    1   2   3   4   5   6 7   8   9

    'That dog is always eating the meat'

    1 contemporaneous   6 article

    2 'always'   7 '(deer) meat'

    3 contemporaneous   8 'that'

    4 'eat'   9 'dog'

    5 third agent

It is conceivable that adverbs might exhibit special distributional properties in sentences with imperative interpretation. However, the adverbs /ƛ̓im/ 'very much so' and /mək̓^w/ 'all, every' in the imperative sentences, (63)-(64), follow the same pattern as in non-imperative sentences in their occurrence with /?əw̓/ 'contemporaneous' before a predicate.

(63) <u>mək̓^w</u> č ?əw̓ ƛ̓èšətálx^w (3562) 'Invite us all over'

    1   2 3 4   5

    1 'all'   4 'invite'

    2 'you(sg)'   5 'us'

    3 contemporaneous

(64) x̌ih č ʔəw̓ yə́qʷət (678) 'Burn it once and for all'
    1   2 3 4

    1 'very much so'   3 contemporaneous

    2 'you(sg)'   4 'burn it'

Where the predicative centre of a clause contains more than one element the constituent structure of the clause is problematical. In example (65) /nan/ 'very much so' may be analyzed as an I.C. partner to /ʔəw̓ x̌əqtiimət̓θ/ or tp /ʔəw̓ x̌əqtiimət̓θ sw̓ə́y̓qeʔ/:

(65) nan ʔəw̓ x̌əqtiimət̓θ sw̓ə́y̓qeʔ kə nəJan (4619)
    1 2   3   4   5 6 7

    'My John is a tall man'

    1 'very much so   5 article

    2 contemporaneous   6 'my'

    3 'tall'   7 'John'

    4 'man'

Neither analysis is idiosyncratic. In the former case /nan/ appears as an expansion of an adjectival expression, which modifies the nominal predicator /sw̓ə́y̓qeʔ/, and in the latter, as an expansion of a predicative expression.

A predicate may be modified by a sequence of adverbs as examples (66)-(69) illustrate. The distribution of the adverbs does not suggest any basis for subcategorizing them. In (66) /mək̓ʷ/ 'all' precedes /yaθ/ 'always', but vice versa in (67). In (68) /yaθ/ precedes /nan/ 'very much so', but vice versa in (69).

(66) ʔəw̓ čewətálə cən sʔəw̓ mək̓ʷ ceʔ w̓ yaθ ʔəw̓ síʔeḿ (4636b)
    1 2   3   4   56   7   8 9 10 11 12
    'I will help you(pl) so that you will all always be rich'

1 contemporaneous	7 'all'
2 'help'	8 future
3 'you(pl)'	9 contemporaneous
4 'I'	10 'always'.
5 /ʔən-/ 'your', /s-/ 'absolute'	11 contemporaneous
6 contemporaneous	12 'rich'

(67) ʔəẃ čewətálə cən ʔə sʔəẃ yaθ ceʔ w̓ mək̓ʷ ʔəẃ sîʔem̓

'I will help you(pl) so that you will always be rich'

(68) yaθ ʔəẃ nan ʔəẃ pəq̓ʷəm šeł (5398c)

    1   2   3   4   5   6

'It is always a very dusty road'

1 'always'	4 contemporaneous
2 contemporaneous	5 'dusty'
3 'very much so'	6 'road, door'

(69) nan ʔəẃ yaθ ʔəẃ pəq̓ʷəm šeł (5398b)

'It is always a very dusty road'

Examples (68)-(69) correspond syntactically to example (65) in that the adverbs may be assigned as I.C. partners either to /pəq̓ʷəm/ 'dusty' or to the predicative expression /pəq̓ʷəm šeł/ 'dusty road' with equal plausibility.

The indeterminacy of constituent structure found in sentences containing a nominal predicative expression (examples 68-69) may also be observed in sentences containing an adverb and a direct attribute. In example (70) /mək̓ʷ/ 'all' may be an I.C. partner to either /qəłét/ 'again' or to /qəłét yəθəst/ 'tell him again':

(70) ʔəẃ mək̓ʷ ct ceʔ w̓ qəłét yəθəst (5203)

    1   2   3 4 5 6   7

'We are all going to tell him again'

1 contemporaneous   5 contemporaneous
2 'all'   6 'again'
3 'we'   7 'tell him'
4 future

In example (71) /ƛim/ 'very much so' may modify either the direct attribute stítəm 'hard' or stítəm θə́yəqʷət 'dig hard':

(71) ƛim cən ʔəẃ stítəm θə́yəqʷət tθə́ ƛə́məxʷ (5423)
    1 2 3 4   5   6 7
    'I am really digging up the soil'

1 'very much so'   5 'dig'
2 'I'   6 article
3 contemporaneous   7 'soil'
4 'hard'

The first analysis is motivated by the fact that ƛim cən ʔəẃ stítəm 'I am hard at it' may occur independently; although it is not further substantiated distributionally by a construction of the type *θə́yəqʷət cən ƛim ʔəẃ stítəm, in which the adverb would be dependent on the direct attribute even when it follows the predicate.

In the discussion so far sentences were considered in which an adverb modifies a predicate. An adverb may also be attributive to a proposition. This type of dependency is apparent in example (73) where /ƛim/ precedes /niʔ/ as opposed to (72) in which /ƛim/ follows /niʔ/ and modifies the predicate /θiʔít/:

(72) niʔ pəʔ ƛim ʔəẃ θiʔít (345) 'It is really true'
    1 2 3 4 5

1 nonproximal   4 contemporaneous
2 certain   5 'true'
3 'very much so'

(73) x̌im n əw ɬənp̓təs (4222) 'He really gobbled it down'
   1   2 3 4   5

1 'very much so'
2 /ni?/ 'nonproximal'
3 contemporaneous

4 'gobble it down'
5 third agent

The adverb - proposition construction is maintained in examples
(74) and (75). Although in (74) the adverb and the subject enclitic
/cən/ 'I' appears to form an adjunct head, example (75), in which the
enclitic follows the initial element /ni?/ and not /mək̓ʷ/, shows
more clearly that /mək̓ʷ/ is functioning normally as an adverb.

(74) mək̓ʷ cən ni? ?əw x̌ʷəy̓t (3589) 'I woke them all up'
   1   2 3 4 5

1 'all'
2 'I'
3 nonproximal

4 contemporaneous
5 'wake them up'

(75) ni? cə mək̓ʷ n əw ɬəy̓x̌t kə sməyəθ (5791a)
   1 2 3   4 5 6   7 8
'I ate all the deer meat'

1 nonproximal
2 /cən/ 'I'
3 'all'
4 /ni?/ 'nonproximal'

5 contemporaneous
6 'eat'
7 article
8 'deer meat'

The view that an adverb is attributive to a following proposition
is further substantiated in syntactic environments in which the
proposition is an attributive clause (2.2.1.2.) as in example (76).
In (76) the attributive clause n əw wəɬ ɬciw̓s 'who is already tired'
has as its head I.C. partner /niɬ/ 'referent', which precedes it and
is translated as 'he' in the discourse situation. /x̌im/ accordingly

is not analyzed as an adjunct head.

> (76) nił x̌im n ʔw wəł łciẃs (5337c) 'He is already very tired'
>   1   2   3 4 5   6   (He who is already very tired)
>
>   1 referent   4 contemporaneous
>   2 'very much so'   5 'already'
>   3 /niʔ/ 'nonproximal'   6 'tired'

This distributional privilege of the adverb provides support for the hypothesis that an adverb is more closely bound to a proposition than an adjunct is.

1.3. Particles

Predicates and elements attributive to them often co-occur with particles. These forms are single morpheme elements which are not modified by any other type of free form. They are of two types: enclitics, which follow a head element, and proclitics, which precede it. These two classes of forms exhibit further differences from each other. Enclitics follow the first non-particle[13] in a clause (most productively in a main one) and thereby formally mark one of its boundaries. The proclitics, which include on the basis of distribution the discontinous morpheme /ʔəẃ...ʔaḷ/ 'only', are not restricted in this way. In addition, unlike the enclitics, which are uninflectible, the proclitics are inflectible with /s-/ 'absolute' (2.3.2.) and the possessive prefixes /nə-/ 'my' and /ʔən̓-/ 'your(sg)' in a subordinate clause.

The particles express three types of semantic relationships. They indicate modality (the attitude of a speaker towards a situation

in interpersonal communication). They also denote the temporal viewpoint of the speaker, although no distributional basis has been found for defining a system of tenses. The particles in addition indicate person since they include the subject enclitics, which have already been discussed in section 2.1.1. Predication and Person Marking. Although these person markers are idiosyncratic in that they affect the distribution of adjuncts unlike the other particles, from a formal standpoint they constitute a subclass of enclitics.

2.1.3.1. Enclitics

Enclitics occur in second position in a clause, the first element being any form that is not a particle or determiner (1.3.1.). This distribution of the enclitics is independent of the syntactic relationship between the first element and some other form. A predicative expression like λ̓əqtímət⁷ᶿ swə́y̓qe? '(be) a tall man', which is substitutable for a predicate such as λ̓əqtímət⁷ᶿ '(be) tall', might be expected to appear with enclitics following it in a sentence of the type, *λ̓əqtímət⁷ᶿ swə́y̓qe? cə b̓e? 'I am a tall man'. However, as example (77) illustrates, the enclitics follow λ̓əqtímət⁷ᶿ, which is the first element of the clause:

(77) λ̓əqtímət⁷ᶿ cə b̓e? swə́y̓qe? (83) 'I am a tall man'
    1   2 3 4

    1 'tall'   3 certain
    2 /cən/ 'I'   4 'man'

That the status of λ̓əqtímət⁷ᶿ as a first element is the conditioning factor behind the occurrence of the enclitics /cən/ 'I' and /b̓e?/ 'certain' is shown in example (78) where the adverb /λ̓im/ 'very much so' and not the predicative expression λ̓əqtímət⁷ᶿ swə́y̓qe? introduces the

main clause. The enclitics again follow the first non-particle.

(78) ƛ́im cə p̓e? ?əw̓ ƛəqtîmət^θ swə́ý́qe? (84)
    1 2 3 4 .4   5

'I am a very tall man'

1 'very much so'	4 contemporaneous
2 /cən/	5 'tall'
3 certain	6 'man'

      As may be observed on the basis of examples (77) and (78) above, a Cowichan clause permits more than one enclitic. The enclitics apparently do not enter into an I.C. hierarchy, but form order classes. Any three enclitics may occur in a Cowichan clause in the sequence shown in the following schemata:

(a) /?eɫ/ 'past complete', /yəx^w/ 'surprise', subject enclitic, /ce?/ 'future', /p̓e?/ 'certain', /?álə/ 'speaker wonders', /k^wə?eɫ/ 'factual'.

(b) /?e/ 'interrogative', /yəx^w/ 'surprise', /čə/ 'confirmative', /q̓ə/ 'emphatic', /p̓e?/ 'certain', /θəɫ/ 'really'.

Subject Enclitics

	.singular	plural
1st	cən 'I'	ct 'we'
2nd	č 'you'	ceep 'you'

The distribution of the enclitics is also affected by semantic co-occurrence restrictions. For example, /p̓e?/ 'certain' does not appear with /?e/ 'interrogative' or /yəx^w/ 'surprise' and /?eɫ/ 'past' does not co-occur with /ce?/ 'future'.

In order to facilitate the description it would be appropriate to present each enclitic in turn according to its order class sequence. The enclitic which most immediately follows the first non-particle of a clause is /ʔet/ 'past complete'. This form denotes an event viewed as being completed in the past and when applied to people or animals it indicates that they are dead. The distribution of /ʔet/ may be observed in examples (79) and (80). In (79) /ʔet/, which is realized as ʔət in fast speech, appears to inflect the predicate q̓aʔetəm 'is killed'.

(79) q̓áʔetəm ʔət t$^\theta$ə nəmánə (5356) 'My son is killed'
      1   2 3 4   5 6

1 'kill'   4 article
2 third general passive   5 'my'
3 past complete   6 'offspring'

In example (80), however, where the predicate is no longer the first element, /ʔet/, which precedes the subject enclitic /cən/ 'I' in accordance with the order class schemata, is still in second position as an I.C. partner to /niʔ/.

(80) niʔ ʔət cə nem̓ t̓əq̓ʷ (4265a) 'I went home'
      1   2 3 4   5

1 nonproximal   4 'go'
2 past complete   5 'go home'
3 /cən/ 'I'

The distribution of /ʔet/ 'past complete' is idiosyncratic. In example (81) this morpheme does not follow the first non-particle of the main clause, /nit/ 'referent', and in (82) it does not follow the first element, /niʔ/ 'nonproximal', of the attributive clause

(elements 3-8) 'who killed my father'.

(81) niɬ p̓eʔ kʷθə sʔáɬ-ʔəɬ pus, θey̓ (5364)
   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

'It used to be our cat'

1 referent   5 past complete
2 certain   6 'cat'
3 article   7 'that (one)' (marked)
4 'ours'

(82) niɬ p̓eʔ niʔ q̓áʔet kʷθə nəmén-ʔəɬ kʷθey̓ məstíməxʷ (T1:162)
   1   2   3   4   5   6 7   8   9   10

'Those people are the ones who killed my (late) father'

1 referent   6 'my'
2 certain   7 'father'
3 nonproximal   8 past complete
4 'kill'   9 'that'
5 article   10 'people'

In each example /ʔeɬ/ 'past complete' follows the first non-determiner in a direct adjunct construction--kʷθə sʔaɬʔəɬ pus 'our dead cat' in (81) and kʷθə nəmén ʔəɬ in (82). Apparently, /ʔeɬ/ has special status as a suffix in direct adjuncts.

/ʔe/ 'interrogative', which has two allomorphs ʔe and ʔə in free variation, corresponds in distribution to /ʔeɬ/ 'past complete' insofar as both forms precede any occurring subject enclitic. This distribution is illustrated in examples (83) and (84) of which (84) exemplifies a fully expanded construction consisting of three enclitics, /ʔe/ 'interrogative', /č/ 'you(sg)' and /ceʔ/ 'future':

(83) niʔ ʔe č ləmnəxʷ (15) 'Did you see him?'
     1   2 3 4

    1 nonproximal   3 'you(sg)'

    2 interrogative   4 'see him'

(84) niʔ ʔe č ceʔ ƛešəθamš (5733) 'Will you invite me over?'

    1   2 3 4 5 67

    1 nonproximal   5 'invite'

    2 interrogative   6 /-t/ 'transitive'

    3 'you(sg)'   7 'me'

    4 future

Unlike a language like English or French Cowichan shows no special distribution pattern for interrogation. /ʔe/ is like any other enclitic except the subject enclitics in not being restricted as to clause type and structure. The one special restriction applying to /ʔe/ is semantic. /ʔe/, which denotes yes-or-no questions, does not generally appear with predicates like /stem/ 'what' and /nəcim/ 'why'[14] which express interrogation of a different type.

/yəxʷ/ 'dubitative' follows /ʔe/ 'interrogative' and /ʔeɬ/ 'past complete' if either of these enclitics co-occurs with /yəxʷ/. The semantic interpretation of this form may be observed in example (85), which contains three enclitics, /yəxʷ/, /č/ 'you(sg)' and /ʔalə/ 'curious', and in example (86):

    (85) niʔ yəxʷ č ʔalə yəcakʷələθət (5488b)

        1   2   3 4   5 6

    'I wonder where you(sg) are going'

    1 nonproximal   4 curious

    2 dubitative   5 serial

    3 'you(sg)'   6 'go far'

    (86) niʔ yəxʷ tᶿiqʷəstəm ʔə kʷθə nəsyeye (5360)

        1   2   3   4 56 7 8   9 10

    'He must have been punched in the face by my friend'

1 nonproximal	6 third general passive
2 dubitative	7 oblique
3 'punch'	8 article
4 'face'	9 'my'
5 transitive	10 'friend'

As (85) and (86) illustrate, /yəxʷ/ indicates that the speaker is in doubt about or surprised by some aspect of the statement that he or she is making. In some discourse situations (example 85) this dubitative interpretation corresponds to the English expression 'I wonder' indicating curiosity, while in others such as (86) an inference is being made, in which case /yəxʷ/ translates as 'must be'.

The enclitic /yəxʷ/ 'dubitative' may be followed by /ceʔ/ 'future' as example (87) shows. In this sentence the temporal viewpoint is that of the agent and not that of the speaker.

(87) niʔ yəxʷ ceʔ ƛ̓eλ̓əw̓ həṅəmət (T2:7) 'He was to hurry home'
    1   2   3   4   5

1 nonproximal	4 'hurry'
2 dubitative	5 'be home'
3 future	

In addition, like the enclitics mentioned above /ceʔ/ enters into a three-enclitic pattern as illustrated by elements 2-4 in the following example:

(88) niʔ ʔə č ceʔ k̓ʷíʔqənstàx̌š (5572) 'Will you take me climbing?'
    1   2 3 4   5   6 7

1 nonproximal	5 'climb'
2 /ʔə/ 'interrogative'	6 /-stəxʷ/ 'causative'
3 'you(sg)'	7 'me'
4 future	

In its distribution--after /yəxʷ/ in (87) and after a subject enclitic in (88)--/ce?/ 'future' differs from /?eɬ/ 'past', which precedes these forms. It is therefore apparent that although /ce?/ and /?eɬ/ constitute a semantic category, that of temporal enclitics, they do not form a syntactic class.

/čə/ 'confirmative', which is idiosyncratic because it has been found only with third person referents in texts, like /ce?/ 'future' follows /yəxʷ/ 'dubitative' as example (89) illustrates:

(89) ni? yəxʷ čə ni? ?ə tᶿə sləkʷə́ɬnəɬ tᶿə ni? šni?s (Ll:25)
    1 2   3 4 5 6 7   8 9 10
    'It must have been right on the edge of the cliff
    where he was'

1 nonproximal	6 article
2 dubitative	7 'bluff, cliff'
3 confirmative	8 article
4 nonproximal	9 nonproximal
5 oblique	10 'his location'

Where /čə/ occurs, it is implied that the speaker believes a statement to be true, but contrary to expectations. This meaning, which is sometimes conveyed in English by terms like really, actually or even, may be observed in example (89) above and in (90) below, where it is expected in the discourse situation that the entity would surface after diving.

(90) ?əwə čə ni?s wəɬ p̓əq̓ʷ tᶿəẃnίɬ (T3:34)
    1   2 3 45 6   7
    'Only he never surfaced (after diving in)'

1 'not'	4 /-əs/ 'third dependent'
2 confirmative	5 'already'
3 nonproximal	6 'float, surface' 7 'that (one)'

The enclitic /q̓ə/ 'emphatic' differs from /čə/ 'confirmative' in that /q̓ə/ may appear either with a subject enclitic (example 91, element 2) or without it (example 92). In the former example /q̓ə/ precedes the enclitic.

(91) ni? cə q̓ə wəɬ ?áməst (5706) 'But I already gave it to him'
    1 2 3 4 5

    1 nonproximal   4 'already, now'
    2 /cən/ 'I'   5 'give it'
    3 emphatic

(92) ná?ət q̓ ?əw̓ wəɬ təs (T7:58) 'It (rope) has now reached'
    1   2 3 4   5

    1 nonproximal emphatic   4 'already, now'
    2 emphatic   5 'reach, arrive'
    3 contemporaneous

In its semantic capacity /q̓ə/ expresses a change in circumstances that is viewed by the speaker as being significant.

The enclitic /p̓e?/ 'certain' follows /ce?/ 'future' and /čə/ 'confirmative' as in the following examples:

(93) ?əwə č ce? p̓e? x̌ɬásəx^w (4224) 'You are not going to eat!'
    1   2 3 4 5 6

    1 'not'   4 certain
    2 'you(sg)'   5 'eat'
    3 future   6 'you' (dependent)

(94) ?i č p̓e? x^wi? ?əw̓ hay̓q^w (L1:40) 'There was even a fire'
    1 2 3 4   5 6

    1 proximal   4 'next, then'
    2 confirmative   5 contemporaneous
    3 certain   6 'fire'

/p̓e?/ indicates that the speaker is certain about the statement (example

94) or command (example 93) he or she is making.

/θəɬ/ 'really, truly' may either follow /čə/ 'confirmative' (example 95) or may occur directly after the first non-particle of a sentence (example 96):

(95) ʔi čə θəɬ q̓ʷələtəs t^θə sʔəɬtəns (T5:50)
     1 2 3   4   5 6 7   8
     'She was really cooking her food' (while beating a drum)
     1 proximal   5 third transitive agent
     2 confirmative   6 article
     3 'really, truly'   7 'food'
     4 'cook it'   8 third possessive

(96) ʔi θəɬ wəɬ wəq̓ʷáñəs t^θə səmsáθət (T6:37)
     1 2   3   4   5   6
     'The sun had already appeared'
     1 proximal   4 'appear (over the mountain)'
     2 'really, truly'   5 article
     3 'already, now'   6 'sun'

/θəɬ/ emphasizes the speaker's view that a given statement is true and corresponds translationally to English expressions like 'in fact' and 'actually'. This semantic interpretation is reflected in example (95) and in (96) in which the emphasis is on the sun's actual appearance after being just below the mountain and on the point of appearing.

The enclitic /ʔálə/ 'curious' follows /p̓eʔ/ 'certain' as exemplified in example (97):

(97) ʔi ceʔ p̓ ʔálə stámət (67) 'What is going to happen?'
     1 2   3 4.   5
     1 proximal   4 curious
     2 future   5 'happen'
     3 certain

/ʔálə/ expresses curiosity on the part of the speaker to obtain an
answer and thereby has an interrogative force like /ʔe/ 'interrogative'.
However, unlike /ʔe/ it designates questions other than yes-or-no
ones (examples 98-99):

    (98) stem <u>ʔálə</u> (T2:47) 'What is it?'

       1   2

      1 'what'   2 curious

    (99) niʔ ʔéɬ yəxʷ <u>ʔálə</u> wəɬ k̓ʷin silánəm (1087)

       1 2 3   4   5 6   7

      'How many years ago was it?'

      1 nonproximal   5 'already, now'

      2 past complete   6 'how many'

      3 dubitative   7 'year'

      4 curious

    /ʔálə/ 'curious' is followed by /kʷəʔéɬ/ 'factual' as indicated
in the following example:

    (100) nəcím ʔálə <u>kʷəʔéɬ</u> ʔə šniʔ x̌ʷayt kʷθə nəməstíməxʷ (T:60)

       1   2   3   4 56   7   8   9 10

      'Why did you kill my people?'

      1 'why'   6 nonproximal

      2 curious   7 'kill'

      3 factual   8 article

      4 /ʔən-/ 'your(sg)'   9 'my'

      5 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' 10 'people'

/kʷəʔéɬ/ expresses the view of the speaker that the statement he or she
is making is a well-known and/or definite fact. This enclitic occurs
frequently in texts with /niɬ/ 'referent', which has the meaning 'that
is how' in such a semantic context (example 101).

(101) niɬ k̫ʷəʔéɬ ʔəw̓ štes ʔaɬ (T2:80) 'That is the way they are'
　　　1　2　　　3　　45 6 3

　　1 referent　　　　　　　　　　4 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'
　　2 factual　　　　　　　　　　5 /ste/ 'be like'
　　3 'just, only'　　　　　　　6 third possessive

(102) niʔ k̫ʷəʔéɬ haystáləm (3857) 'So, you(pl) were fired'
　　　1　2　　　.3　4 5

　　1 nonproximal　　　　　　　4 /-stəxʷ/ 'causative'
　　2 factual　　　　　　　　　5 'we' (general passive)
　　3 'fire someone'

Translationally /k̫ʷəʔéɬ/ corresponds to English expressions like 'of course', 'you know', 'then', 'therefore' and 'accordingly'.

Although most enclitics enter into the order class system described at the beginning of this section, there is one enclitic /ɬeʔ/ 'exhortatory' which does not occur with any other enclitic. The semantic interpretation of this form, which often translates as 'let's', varies according to the discourse situation. In example (103) /ɬeʔ/ implies permission whereas in (104)-(105) it has an imperative force:

(103) nem̓ ɬə (T7:171) 'Go ahead' (permission being granted)
　　　1　2

　　1 'go'　　　　　　　　　　　2 exhortatory

(104) ʔi ɬeʔ ʔəmət (2131) 'Let's sit down'
　　　1　2　3

　　1 proximal　　　　　　　　3 'sit down'
　　2 exhortatory

(105) ʔəw̓ həlistám̓š ɬə ʔaɬ (5401) 'Just let me live!'
　　　1 .2　　3 4　5 1

　　1 'just, only'　　　　　　4 'me'
　　2 'live'　　　　　　　　　5 exhortatory
　　3 /-stəxʷ/ 'causative'

2.1.3.2. Proclitics

As stated earlier (2.1.3.), proclitics are particles which may be inflected with /s-/ 'absolute' (2.3.2.) and the possessive prefixes /nə-/ 'my' and /ʔən-/ 'your(sg)' and which precede the element they modify. Seven proclitics have been identified. They are as follows: /xʷiʔ/ 'next, then', /λeʔ/ 'again, any more', /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous', /təw̓/ 'sort of', /wəɬ/ 'already, now', /xʷən̓/ 'still, yet' and the discontinuous morpheme /ʔəw̓...ʔaɬ/ 'only' of which all forms except /təw̓/ express temporal relationships.

In order to facilitate the description it would be appropriate to analyze each proclitic in turn according to its position relative to other proclitics before a head element. The proclitic which most immediately precedes such an element is /xʷən̓/ 'still, yet'. This element, which is often preceded by /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous' in constructions not marked by /s-/ 'absolute' (2.3.2.), denotes an activity which has not been completed (example 106).

(106) niʔ ct peʔ ʔəw̓ x̲ʷə̲n̲̓ ʔəmhəš (183) 'We still go hunting'
     1 2 3 4 5   6

  1 nonproximal   4 contemporaneous
  2 'we'   5 'still, yet'
  3 certain   6 'hunt'

In example (106) it is implied that the speaker has hunted in the past and has not given up hunting. As expected on the basis of semantic interpretation, /xʷən̓/ does not co-occur with the enclitic /ʔeɬ/ 'past complete', which unlike /xʷən̓/ denotes an activity that has been completed.

/x^{w}əṅ/ 'still, yet' is preceded by /wəł/ 'already, now' where the two proclitics co-occur:

(107) ni? <u>wəł</u> x^{w}oṅ nəswé? (3816) 'It is still mine now'
       1 2 3   4 5

    1 nonproximal   4 'my'
    2 'already, now' (begin)   5 'own'
    3. 'still'

/wəł/ indicates that the discourse situation is being viewed by the speaker instantaneously, that is, that an event is considered to occur at a given point of time rather than over a duration. This meaning is conveyed in English translations by words like 'now', 'then' and 'just' as indicated in examples (108)-(109):

(108) ni? <u>wəł</u> wil t^{θ}ə səmšáθət (T6:34) 'Then the sun appeared'
       1 2 3 4   5

    1 nonproximal   4 article
    2 'already, now' (begin)   5 'sun'
    3 'appear'

(109) <u>wəł</u> nem ct həyé? (5301) 'We are just going away'
      1 2 3 4

    1 'already, now' (begin)   3 'we'
    2 'go'   4 'go away'

/wəł/ 'already, now' may be preceded by /təẃ/ 'sort of' as indicated in example (110) where /təẃ/ and /wəł/ are attributive to the adverb /λim/ 'very much so':

(110) <u>təẃ wəł</u> λim x^{w}əṁeeṅaṁəš t^{θ}ə stáləs (T6:41)
      1 2 3   4 5   6 7
    'The husband was getting kind of weak'

1 'sort of'	5 'weak'
2 'already, now'	6 article
3 'very much so'	7 'spouse'
4 developmental	

/təw̓/ indicates that the speaker considers his or her statement to be
an approximation. In some discourse situations this form denotes
vagueness or uncertainty on the part of the speaker. /təw̓ ʔə́ncə/
(3538), for example, means 'whereabouts' whereas /ʔə́ncə/ by itself
means 'where'. The concept of uncertainty is assumed by /təw̓/ in example
(111a), which contrasts semantically with (111b) where /ʔəw̓/
'contemporaneous' is present:

(111a) təw̓ qʷónəs (1567) 'It looks like a whale'
    1 2,
   1 'sort of'   2 'whale'

(111b) ʔəw̓ qʷónəs (1568) 'It is a whale'
    1 2
   1 contemporaneous   2 'whale'

In other discourse situations /təw̓/ has a lenitive interpretation:

(112) ƛ̓im təw̓ ƛ̓əƛ̓ə́q̓ʷ (3676) 'It kind of sticks'
    1 2 3
   1 'very much so'   3 'stick' (Actual)
   2 'sort of'

In example (112) the presence of /təw̓/ indicates that the sticking is
regarded as being minimal.

/təw̓/ 'sort of' may be preceded by /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous' as
in example (113), in which the predicate /ʔəy̓/ 'good' is modified by
three proclitics, /ʔəw̓/, /təw̓/ and /xʷən̓/:

(113) ·ni?ʷ təʷ xʷəṅ ?əẏ tᶿɔ·ṅ lélə́ṁ (4559)

    1   2 3   4   5   6 7 8

'Your·house is still in kind of good shape'

1 nonproximal	5 'good'
2 contemporaneous	6·article
3 'sort of'	7 'your(sg)'
4 'still'	8 'house'

/?ɔ̀ʷ/ indicates that there is an immediate point of reference in
connection with which a speaker makes a statement. This statement may
be in response to a question posed by the addressee in a given situation
or may be a confirmation of a fact in question. In dependent
subordinate clauses (2.3.1.), in which /?ɔ̀ʷ/ is usually employed, the
point of reference is presented in the form of a condition in a semantic
structure of the type 'if I leave'.

The identification of the meaning of /?ɔ̀ʷ/ 'contemporaneous'
in main clauses was facilitated by the conscious awareness of it by
two native speakers of Cowichan, Mr. Stan James (SJ) and Mr. Elwood
Modeste (EM), in examples (114)-(16). In (114), when SJ was asked the
meaning of the sentence when it contained /?ɔ̀ʷ/, he indicated that it
meant 'I will' in response to a question like 'who is going to cut it?'.
This question apparently provides a point of reference in response to
which the statement (114) is made.

(114) (?ɔ̀ʷ) qəlét cən ce? łičət (5235) 'I will cut it again'

    1   2   3   4 5

1 contemporaneous	4 future
2 'again'	5 'cut it'
3 'I'	

In example (115) SJ indicated that /?ɔ̀ʷ/ would be appropriate if

another person asked for five people. In such a case the statement containing /ʔəw̓/ would confirm the presence of five people, if only some of the people could be seen.

(115) (ʔəw̓) ɬqəcelə ct (5796b) 'There are five of us'
    1 2 3 4

  1 contemporaneous   3 'people'
  2 'five'   4 'we'

In this example the statement introduced by /ʔəw̓/ is interpreted as a confirmation and is contemporaneous with the addressee's interest in the situation. Concerning example (116) EM explained that if /ʔəw̓/ were present it would imply that it was in doubt whether or not Joe had been seen and example (116) would constitute a confirmation.

(116) niɬ kə Jow niʔ ləmnəx̌ʷəs ʔə k̓ʷəhá celéqəɬ (5719b)
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
  'It was Joe he saw yesterday'

  1 referent   6 third transitive agent
  2 article   7 oblique
  3 'Joe'   8 'this'
  4 nonproximal   9 'yesterday'
  5 'see'

The proclitic /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous' is preceded by /x̌ʷiʔ/ 'next, then'. This morpheme expresses a sequence of activities as suggested by the following /ʔiʔ/ 'and' construction:

(117) ʔəwə cə ceʔ x̌ɬasən ʔiʔ x̌ʷiʔ ʔəw̓ ɫełəƛ̓ən ʔalə ƛ̓əm̓qən (4225a)
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
  'I am not going to eat and then lie down all day'

  1 'not'   7 'then, next'
  2 /con/ 'I'   8 contemporaneous
  3 future   9 'lie down'

4 'eat'   10 'I' (dependent)

5 'I' (dependent)   11 curious

6 'and'   12 'all day'

Another morpheme which may precede /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous' is /ƛ̓eʔ/ 'again, any more'. As examples (118)-(119) suggest, /ƛ̓eʔ/ expresses the repetition of an activity.

(118) nem̓ cə ƛ̓ə wəɬ xʷəʔáləm̓ (5513) 'I am going back again'
     1 2 3 4 5

1 'go'   4 'already, now'

2 /cən/ 'I'   5 'go back'

3 'again'

(119) sk̓ʷey k̓ʷ nəsƛ̓eʔ háʔk̓ʷəš (cannot use it any more'
     1   2 3 45 6

1 'not permitting'   4 absolute

2 article   5 'again, any more'

3 'my'   6 'use it'

In addition to all the above-mentioned elements the proclitic set includes a discontinuous morpheme /ʔəw̓...ʔaɬ/ 'only, merely', which expresses the speaker's view that the activity described represents a limitation. This morpheme has an idiosyncratic property; when /ʔəw̓... ʔaɬ/ 'only, merely' modifies certain predicates such as /niɬ/ 'referent' (2.2.1.3. Interrogatives and Emphatics), they may function adjectivally, which they cannot do independently:

(120) niʔ cə nem̓əstəxʷ ʔəw̓ niɬ ʔaɬ stíləm (5406a)
     1 2 3 4   5 6 5 7
     'I sang (brought out) the same song'

1 nonproximal   5 'only'

2 /cən/ 'I'   6 referent

    3 'go'   7 'song'

    4 causative

In (120) ?ə́w niɬ ?aĺ 'same' modifies stíləm 'song', a syntactic function which /niɬ/ alone does not have.

    The adjectival distribution of /?ə́w...?aĺ/ 'only' is not limited to /niɬ/ 'referent', but extends to other predicates such as /pqʷay/ 'rotten' in example (121):

    (121) ƛim ?ə́w wəɬ pqʷay ?aĺ syaɬ (5247) 'It was very rotten wood'
         1   2   3   4   2   5

    1 'very much so'   4 'rotten'

    2 'only'   5 'wood'

    3 'already, now'

It is significant in this example that ?aĺ follows pqʷay and not syaɬ, because it suggests that ?ə́w...?aĺ and wəɬ 'already, now' are attributive not to a whole noun phrase pqʷay syaɬ but just to the adjectival predicate. This distributional property of /?ə́w...?aĺ/ provides a motivation for a similar analysis of other proclitics. For example, in (122) /?ə́w/ 'contemporaneous' may be construed as an I.C. partner to /qax̌/ 'a lot':

    (122) ƛim ?əɬ ?ə́w qax̌ smə́yəθ (125) 'There used to be lots of deer'
          1   2   3   4 5

    1 'very much so'   4 'a lot'

    2 past complete   5 'deer'

    3 contemporaneous

    As an alternative to viewing /?ə́w...?aĺ/ 'only' as a single morpheme, this form may be analyzed into two forms: /?ə́w/ 'contemporaneous' and /?aĺ/ 'only', an enclitic. As evidence for this approach one might cite the fact that ?ə́w with or without ?aĺ enters

into the following order class schema: /ƛ̓eʔ/, /ʔəw̓/, /xʷəṅ/, /wəɬ/.
Examples (123)-(24) illustrate this schema. ʔəw̓ follows /ƛ̓eʔ/ 'again'
in (123) and precedes /xʷəṅ/ 'still, yet' in (124):

(123) niʔ ƛ̓ə w̓ ste ʔaⱡ (T4:28) 'It is just the same'
     1   2 3 4   3

     1 nonproximal   3 'only, just'
     2 'again'   4 'be like so'

(124) ʔəw̓ xʷəṅ sčənéč č ʔaⱡ (4837) 'Just stay seated'
     1   2   3   4 1

     1 'only, just'   3 'be seated'
     2 'still, yet'   4 'you(sg)'

The morphemic status of ʔaⱡ as an enclitic appears to be
supported by the fact that it enters into the order class system of
the enclitics. As examples (125)-(26) show, ʔaⱡ follows subject
enclitics and /ce?/ 'future', but precedes /p̓eʔ/ 'certain':

(125) ʔəw̓ ʔi č ʔaⱡ p̓eʔ ʔə k̓ʷ ɬixʷ skʷeyl (4851a)
     1   2 3 1 4   5 6 7   8
     'You may stay for three days'
     1 'only, just'   5 oblique
     2 proximal   6 article
     3 'you(sg)'   7 'three'
     4 certain   8 'day'

(126) ʔəw̓ txʷʔi č ce? ʔaⱡ ʔə təṅá (3450)
     1   2 3 4 5   1   6 7
     'So, you can stay right here!'
     1 'only, just'   5 future
     2 developmental   6 oblique
     3 'here' (proximal)   7 'this'
     4 'you(sg)'   6-7 'here'

Despite the above-mentioned evidence the view adopted here is that /ʔəw̓...ʔal̓/ 'only' constitutes a single morpheme. There are two motivations for this hypothesis. First, ʔəw̓ and ʔal̓ more frequently than not co-occur with each other, although in imperative sentences and in adjectival constructions ʔal̓ by itself appears in free variation with ʔəw̓...ʔal̓. Secondly, there is counterevidence against the hypothesis that ʔal̓ is an enclitic. Although ʔal̓ appears to function as an enclitic when the predicate is the first non-particle of a clause, its distribution is distinct from that of the enclitics when the predicate is not the first element as in the following example:

(127) ʔi ʔe č ʔəw̓ hay ʔal̓ (1094) 'Are you alone?'
     1 2 3 4   5   4

     1 proximal   3 'you(sg)'
     2 interrogative   4 'only, just'
                                      5 'alone'

In (127) the enclitics /ʔe/ 'interrogative' and the subject marker /č/ 'you(sg)' follow the first non-particle /ʔi/ 'proximal'. However, ʔal̓ remains attracted to the predicate /hay/ 'alone'.

2.2. Adjuncts and Attribution to them

As well as being expanded by means of elements attributive to a predicate, a Cowichan sentence may also be expanded through forms embedded to an adjunct. There are two ways in which an adjunct may be thus modified. An adjunct construction may contain an element like /ƛ̓əqtímatθ/ 'tall', which may precede, but not follow the adjunct, and which is accordingly said to have adjectival function (2.2.2. Structure

of the Noun Phrase). The construction may also contain an attributive
clause, which usually follows the adjunct head, but which may precede
it.[15] This type of clause corresponds semantically but not
syntactically to English relative clauses such as the underlined
expressions in 'Joe talked to the man whom John saw' and 'Joe talked
to the man who saw John'. Unlike in English, an adjunct construction
containing an attributive clause may either be embedded to a predicate
or function as an independent sentence with a semantic structure of
the type '(It was) the man who saw John'.

2.2.1. Attributive Clauses

A Cowichan attributive clause differs from an English type of
relative clause in internal structure. Cowichan does not have special
markers corresponding to the relative pronouns, 'who' and 'whom', in
order to express the understood relationship between an attributive
clause and its head. Instead, the different types of semantic
relationships are marked by means of different clause subordination
devices except for one attributive clause type in which there is no
special marking. If the predicate of the attributive clause takes
/s-/ 'absolute' (2.3.2.), one type of semantic relationship is
signalled and if it is inflected with /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' (2.3.3.)
or with dependent clause person markers (2.3.1.) other types of
relationships are signalled. These devices are not restricted to
attributive clauses, but also characterize the non-attributive
(complementary) subordinate clauses.

Since attributive clauses may be analyzed both as constituents of adjunct expressions and as subordinate clauses, a dichotomy is maintained between the marked and the unmarked types of clauses in the grammatical presentation. ·Attributive clauses that are morphologically marked as subordinate clauses are analyzed in section 2.3. Subordinate Clauses. The unmarked clauses are presented here as the means for analyzing the internal structure of an adjunct construction.

2.2.1.2. Attributive Clauses with Adjunct Heads

The syntactic structure and the semantic interpretation of an attributive clause not marked for subordination are determined by whether the predicate of it is intransitive or transitive and, if transitive, by whether or not the predicate is further inflected with /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' or the general (but not the subordinate) passive person markers. If the attributive clause predicate is intransitive, then the clause is homophonous with an independent sentence, since independent clause intransitive constructions do not take /-əs/ 'third transitive agent'.

The intransitive predicate construction may be observed in sentences (128)-(29). Example (128) consists of a proposition (elements 1-3) and an adjunct phrase (4-9). Within the phrase the adjunct head (element 5) is the anaphoric subject of the attributive clause (elements 6-8):

(128) niʔ ʔəẃ mək̓ʷ k̓ʷθə ƚq̓əcélə niʔ wəƚ hə́ye (595)
     1 2 3   4   5   6. 7 8

'All five of them left'
(The five who left were all)

1 nonproximal	5 'five people'
2 contemporaneous	6 nonproximal
3 'all'	7 'already, now'
4 article	8 'leave'

Since this clause contains an intransitive predicate /həyé/ 'leave', it has no special marker and could in fact stand as an independent sentence ni? wəɬ həyé 'they left'. Example (129) is a compound clause (a type of construction which will be discussed in section 2.4.) consisting of an adjunct phrase conjoined to a main clause to form a semantic structure of the type 'the house which is over there and it is still mine now'.

(129) tᶿə ni? ni? ?ə təni léləm ?i? ni? wəɬ xʷəṅ nəswé?
      1 2   3   4 5   6   7 8   9 10. 1112
      'The house over there is still mine now'

1 article	7 'and'
2 nonproximal	8 nonproximal
3 'be there' (nonproximal)	9 'already, now'
4 oblique	10 'still'
5 'this'	11 'my'
6 'house'	12 'own'

As in example (128) the adjunct phrase (elements 1-6) consists of an adjunct head (element 6) and an attributive clause (2-5). The phrase in (129), however, is distinct in internal structure from the one in example (128), elements 6-8. In (129) the attributive clause precedes the adjunct head, whereas in (128) above it follows the head. This distribution of the attributive clause suggests that it is functioning as an I.C. partner to the adjunct head by itself (ɬqəcélə 'five people' in (128) and léləm 'house' in (129)) and not to the adjunct head and the

preceding determiner (k^wθə in (128) and t^θə in (129)), an element which is clearly separated from the head in (129).

Where the predicate of an attributive clause is transitive, it may be inflected with the same person markers that may be present in a main clause, namely, the goal suffixes (1.1.2.1. and 2.1.1.1.), the passive markers (1.1.2.2. and 2.1.1.2.) and /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' (2.1.1.1.). However, the attributive clause construction differs from the main clause in coreference relations between person markers and direct adjuncts.

In one type of transitive predicate clause the predicate is marked by the absence of /-əs/ 'third agent', when the adjunct head is interpreted as the subject of the clause:

(130) ?əw̓ hay t^θə s?aɬ sq^wəmeỷ ?əw̓ ɬeỷx̌t t^θə stiqíw (sɬiq^w)
    1   2   3   4   5   6   7 8 9   10   11
    'Only our dog eats horse meat' (3634)
    (Our dog who eats horse meat is alone)

1 contemporaneous	7 'eat it'
2 'only, alone'	8 transitive
3 article	9 article
4 'our'	10 'horse'
5 'dog'	11 'meat'
6 contemporaneous	

In example (130) there is a main clause predicative expression ?əw̓ hay 'be alone' and an adjunct (elements 3-10), which contains an attributive clause (6-11). This clause, from which /-əs/ is absent, might also function as an independent sentence albeit with the distinct imperative interpretation 'Eat the horse meat!'. Although in each

case the goal referents are the same, the subject referents are different. In the main clause version the referent is a second person entity, whereas in the attributive clause it is a third person one, the adjunct head (elements 4-5).

The attributive clause predicate may be characterized by /-əsʷ/ 'third transitive agent'. Where this morpheme is present the adjunct head is interpreted as the goal of the attributive clause as in the following example:

(131) ʔi ʔəɬ məkʷ ʔəw niʔ ʔə́wkʷtəs tθə sqʷəméy kə músməs (4221)
   1 2 3   4 5 6 78 9 10   11 12
   'The dog had eaten all the meat'

   (The meat is everything which the dog had eaten)
   1 proximal   7 transitive
   2 past complete   8 third agent
   3 'all, every'   9 article
   4 contemporaneous   10 'dog'
   5 nonproximal   11 article
   6 'consume'   12 'cow (meat)'

In example (131) the attributive clause (elements 4-10) modifies the adjunct head /məkʷ/ '(be) all' and enters into a predicative expression (elements 1-10). The main clause adjunct kə músməs 'the meat' is in turn attributive to the expression. Like the unmarked construction described above, the attributive clause (4-10) containing /-əs/ 'third agent' may also function as an independent sentence with the meaning 'he ate the dog'. Although the main clause version is still a statement, there is a change in the controller relationship. As indicated earlier (2.1.1.1.) the single adjunct in a main clause

generally has patient interpretation. In the attributive clause, however, the adjunct (elements 9-10) is coreferential with /-əs/ and correspondingly appears in the role of agent; the adjunct head (element 3) modified by the attributive clause is construed as a patient.

If the adjunct head is interpreted as a patient, the predicate of the attributive clause may be marked by a general passive suffix, which is coreferential with the adjunct head. Example (132) illustrates this type of attributive clause:

(132) niɬ təʔánca sɬiʎqəɬ niʔ qíqʷətəm ʔə tᶿ ə sqʷəméy̓ (3623)
 1   2   3   4   5 6 7 8·9   10

'Which child was (it who was) bitten by the dog?'

1 referent
2 'which'
3 'child'
4 nonproximal
5 'bite'

6 transitive
7 third general passive
8 oblique
9 article
10 'dog'

This sentence contains a predicate (element 1) and an adjunct expression (2-10). Within this expression the adjunct head (2-3) is modified by the attributive clause (4-10) and is coreferential with /-m/ 'third general passive', which has patient interpretation. Unlike the unmarked and /-əs/ 'third agent' attributive clause types the passive construction may constitute an independent sentence without any change in interpretation. In (132) niʔ qíqʷətəm ʔə tᶿ ə sqʷəméy̓ by itself would mean 'It was bitten by the dog'.

In addition to modifying a predicate, an adjunct expression containing an attributive clause may function as an independent

construction, which may be termed an emphatic sentence. This type of sentence reflects a semantic dichotomy between a presupposition (the information shared by the speaker and the listener) and a focus (the information assumed by the speaker not to be shared by the listener).[16] The adjunct head, which specifies who or what performed a given action, corresponds to the focus; and the attributive clause, which expresses what the action is, corresponds to the presupposition.

From a syntactic point of view the emphatic construction is not idiosyncratic in its internal structure. As in other attributive clause constructions, the semantic relationship between the adjunct head and the attributive clause is determined by the inflectional status of the clause predicate. Where the predicate is intransitive the clause is a potentially independent sentence as illustrated in (133):

(133) t^θɔ šxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔs (ʔi) k̓ʷamk̓ʷom (4255c) 'His brother is strong'
    1 2   3 ·4   5

1 article		4 proximal
2 'sibling'		5 'strong'
3 third possessive		

The emphatic sentence in this example corresponds in semantic and syntactic structure to the non-emphatic sentence illustrated earlier in example (128). In (133) the adjunct head (elements 2-3) is the anaphoric subject of the attributive clause (4-5). As in (128) the attributive clause in example (133) may function as an independent sentence ʔi k̓ʷamk̓ʷom 'he is strong'.

In an emphatic construction containing a transitive predicate

the same morphological marking and coreference relations occur as in a non-emphatic adjunct expression. In the emphatic sentence represented by example (134) as in (130) above the absence of /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' marks the predicate (elements 4-5) when the adjunct head (element 2) is interpreted in the role of agent.

(134) təmᵂəye niʔ ʔéxᵂeʔt θə nəmóhə ʔə tᶿə sʔáxᵂa (3493)
　　　1　　　　　3　4　　5 6　7 8　　9　10　11
　　　'This friend gave my daughter some clams'
　　　1 'this'　　　　　　　　　7 'my'
　　　2 'friend'　　　　　　　　8 'offspring'
　　　3 nonproximal　　　　　　9 oblique
　　　4 'give'　　　　　　　　　10 article
　　　5 transitive　　　　　　　11 'clams'
　　　6 article (marked)

Where /-əs/ 'third agent' occurs the coreference relationships are altered in the emphatic construction as in the non-emphatic one. The emphatic sentence (135) corresponds in internal structure to the adjunct expression in the non-emphatic sentence in example (131) above.

(135) məkᵂ stem niʔ téʔtəs tᶿə síʔəm (T11126)
　　　1　　2　　3　4 56　7　8
　　　'The man tried everything'
　　　(Everything which the man tried)
　　　1 'all, every'　　　　　　5 transitive
　　　2 'thing, what'　　　　　6 third transitive agent
　　　3 nonproximal　　　　　　7 article
　　　4 'try'　　　　　　　　　8 'sir, rich (person)'

In contrast to what happens in (134) the adjunct head (elements 1-2) in (135) is construed as a patient and the adjunct (elements 7-8)

within the attributive clause (3-8) as an agent.

The syntactic and semantic parallelism between emphatic and non-emphatic constructions remains when the attributive clause contains a passive person marker. In example (136) as in the non-emphatic sentence (132) the adjunct head (element 2) is modified by the attributive clause (3-9) and is coreferential with /-m/ 'third general passive'.

(136) t̓ə.sqʷəm�éy ni? ʔáməstəm ʔə kʷ smóyəʔ (3652a)
        1   2   3   4   56 7 8 9
      'The dog (which) was given the deer meat'

1 article	6 third general passive
2 'dog'	7 oblique
3 nonproximal	8 article
4 'give'	9 'deer (meat)'
5 transitive	

The attributive clause in this example as in (132) is potentially an independent sentence with the meaning 'He was given the (deer) meat'.

One might expect the adjunct head of an emphatic sentence to interact with the clause enclitics (2.1.3.1.) since it occurs in sentence initial position. The enclitics, however, do not occur productively with adjunct heads. There are four examples in the corpus. One (example 137) contains an emphatic /nə́wə/ 'you(sg)' (2.2.1.3. Interrogatives and Emphatics) with the same meaning as its I.C. partner /č/ 'you(sg)' and three examples contain adjunct heads that denote quantity, namely, /qx̌élə/ 'many people', /kʷínə/ 'how many people' and /ʔəpénə/ 'ten people', as illustrated in (138), (139) and (140) respectively.

(137) nuwə č kʷɔʔet ʔəw ʔi (T2:102) 'You will be here!'
    1 2 3.   4 5

1 'you(sg)'   4 contemporaneous
2 'you(sg)' (enclitic)   5 'here'
3 factual

(138) qẋelə cĕ?ni? ?ɔłtən (5459) 'Many of us are eating'
    1 2 3 4 5

1 /qax̌/ 'many'   4 nonproximal
2 people, container   5 'eat'
3 'we'

(139) kʷłhə ceep ni? x̌łas (5458) 'How many of you (who) have eaten?'
    1 2 3 4

1 'how many people'   3 nonproximal
2 'you(pl)'   4 'eat'

(140) ni? ?əpénə et ni? xʷqɔ́tʔoyəqt ɬoy̌ spé?eθ (5340b)
    1 2   3 4 5 6   7 8 9
'The ten of us (who) surrounded the bear'

1 nonproximal   6 'surround'
2 'ten people'   7 transitive
3 'we' ('our'?)   8 'that' (marked)
4 nonproximal   9 'bear'
5 locative

2.2.1.2. Headless Attributive Clauses

In the previous section it was stated that attributive clauses in I.C. partnership to adjunct heads are similar in internal structure whether they occur in an emphatic or non-emphatic adjunct phrase. Attributive clauses may also appear without adjunct heads. Where the attributive clause is headless the internal structure of an emphatic construction differs from that of a non-emphatic one.

When a headless attributive clause forms an emphatic sentence there are two initial occurrences of /ni?/ 'nonproximal' rather than one or none when the clause has a head. In the morphological marking of the predicate this type of construction is like any other type of attributive clause. The predicate may be either uninflected (141) or inflected with a general passive person marker (example 142, element 6):

(141) ni? ni? ƛam (T5:23) 'There were enough'
  1 2 3
  1, 2 nonproximal   3 'enough'

(142) ni? ni? təw θɔ́ynəm (5077b) 'He sort of fixed it'
  1 2 3 4 56
  1, 2 nonproximal   5 /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'
  3 'sort of'   6 third general passive
  4 'fix, make'

In these two examples the subordinate clause status of the predications within these sentences is not immediately apparent. In fact, it would appear to follow from normal sentence structure that they are functioning as main clauses. But in an attributive clause containing a transitive predicate that is not further inflected (example 143) the subordinative status of the double /ni?/ 'nonproximal' construction is clear.

(143) ni? ni? ?əxʷe?t ?ə tᶿo s?áxʷa (3495)
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
  '(There was) someone (who) gave him clams'
  1, 2 nonproximal   5 oblique
  3 'give'   6 article
  4 transitive   7 'clams'

In (143) the absence of /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' characterizes the sentence as a subject-type attributive clause. The syntactic

analysis of the double /ni?/ expression is further supported by the interpretation of it. The clause functions semantically as a presupposition to a focus that is not overtly expressed and is equivalent to the literal translation 'There is someone who gives him clams'.

A non-emphatic headless attributive clause which modifies a predicate differs from the emphatic type in that it is introduced by a determiner (1.3.1.) and is accordingly analyzable as an adjunct that contains an attributive clause as its head. The determiner reflects the usual semantic distinctions of the Cowichan article system indicating that it is not functioning idiosyncratically. For example, /tə/ 'article, unmarked' may denote a masculine referent and /θə/ 'article, marked', a feminine one. The absence of an adjunct head not only does not affect the determiners, but also has no effect on the internal structure of the attributive clause or on coreference relations. From an anaphoric standpoint it is no longer an overt adjunct head but the referent of the attributive clause that is understood to play a particular role within the clause.

The distribution of non-emphatic headless attributive clauses follows that of noun adjuncts (2.1.1. Predication and Person Marking). This parallelism between the two types of constructions is apparent in examples (144)-(45). In each of these two examples there is an initial noun adjunct (elements 3-6 in (144) and 4-6 in (145)) followed by a headless attributive clause (elements 7-9 in (144) and 7-11 in (145)). In (145) the headless clause contains a locative construction (elements 9-12):

(144) niʔ lə́mnəxʷəs kə nəšxʔáq̓ʷaʔ· kə niʔ héʔkʷələš (3560)

    1 2 3   4 5 6 7   8 9 10

'My brother saw the one who was shooting'

1 nonproximal	6 'my'
2 'see'	7 'sibling'
3 responsible	8 article
4 third agent	9 nonproximal
5 article	10 'shooting' (Actual)

(145) niʔ lə́mnəxʷəs θə nətén kʷθə niʔ ʔə t̓ə támən (5490)

    1 2 ·3 4 5 6 7. 8   9 10 11 12

'My mother saw something on the wall'

1 nonproximal	7 'mother'
2 'see'	8 article
3 responsible	9 nonproximal
4 third agent	10 oblique
5 article (marked)	11 article
6 'my'	12 'wall'

Nonetheless, sentences (144)-(45) contain a transitive main clause predicate inflected with /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' and two expressions introduced by an article. It is, therefore, possible to view them as representing the marginal type of main clause described in section 2.1.1, in which two direct adjuncts appear. Such a view is supported by the semantic interpretation of the noun adjunct, which in these cases is experiencer, and by the interpretation of the headless attributive clause, which is patient.

    A headless attributive clause may act like an oblique adjunct (2.1:1.2.) as well as like a direct one. In (146) the oblique adjunct function is maintained by the headless attributive clause t̓ə cy ʔíʔməš 'those who are walking', which is introduced by /ʔə/ 'oblique'.

(146) (ni?) łełoq̓ʷšán ʔə tᶿéy̓ ʔíʔməš (6119d)

    1   2   3 4 5   6

    'He is tripping those who are walking'

  1 nonproximal   4 oblique

  2 'trip' (Actual)   5 'that, those'

  3 'foot, leg'   6 'walking' (Actual)

Like a nominal predicator an attributive clause may function as an adjunct head to another attributive clause in an emphatic construction. Such a construction is maintained in example (147), which reflects the semantic structure 'Those on the mainland alone who use it':

(147) tᶿə ni? ʔə tᶿə́ šnáʔəθ txʷay ʔi háʔkʷəš w̓θey̓ (L1:94)

    1 2 3 4 5   6 7 8 9   10 11

    'Only those on the mainland use it'

  1 article   7 /hay/ 'only, alone'

  2 nonproximal   8 proximal

  3 oblique   9 'use it'

  4 article   10 /-t/ 'transitive'

  5 'mainland, across'   11 'that'

  6 'become'

In (147) the first clause (elements 2-5) constitutes the adjunct head to the second one (8-11), which is modified by txʷay 'only, alone', and is substitutable for a single nominal predicator like /məstíməxʷ/ 'person'.

Headless attributive clauses may occur with nominal predicate phrases, in which case the main clause predicate is a referent of the attributive clause predicate. This type of construction may be observed in examples (148a)-(149a):

(148a) (niʔ) nóča? léləm̓ ɫə niʔ yəq̓ʷ (5667)

      1   2.   3   4. 5   6

     'One house burned down'

     (That which burned down is one house)

1 nonproximal		4 article (marked)	
2 'one'		5 nonproximal	
3 'house'		6 'burn down'	

(149a) niʔ ɫixʷ síton ɫə niʔ θóytəs ɫə nəšxʷʔáq̓ʷa? (5211)

     1   2   3   ,4 5   6 78 9 10 11

     'There were three baskets which my sister wove'

1 nonproximal		7 transitive	
2 'three'		8 third transitive agent	
3 'basket'		9 article (marked)	
4 article (marked)		10 'my'	
5 nonproximal		11 'sibling'	
6 'make'			

These sentences are semantically significant in the manner in which they correspond to non-emphatic main clauses as illustrated by examples (148b)-(149b). The predicate phrase of the emphatic sentence (elements 1-3 in both (148a) and (149a)) corresponds to the adjunct of its non-emphatic counterpart (elements 3-5 in (148b) and 8-10 in (149b)).

(148b) niʔ yəq̓ʷ kʷə nóča? léləm̓ (6436a) 'One house burned down'

     1   2   3   4   5

1 nonproximal		4 'one'	
2 'burn'		5 'house'	
3 article			

(149b) niʔ θóytəs ɫə nəšxʷʔáq̓ʷa? ɫə ɫixʷ síton (6437c)

     1   2 34 5 6 7   8 9   10.

     'My sister wove three baskets'

1 nonproximal		6 'my'	
2 'make'		7 'sibling'	
3 transitive		8 article (marked)	

4 third transitive agent   9 'three'

5 article (marked)   10 'basket'

The emphatic pattern, however, requires no special syntactic explanation in Cowichan. From the point of view of distribution the headless attributive clause acting as an adjunct to a nominal predicate is no different from an adjunct like t^θə swə́yqe? 'the man' with such a function. Moreover, the internal structure of such a clause does not differ from that of other headless attributive clauses.

Headless attributive clauses have special semantic significance where they occur in apposition to each other as direct adjuncts modifying a predicate. The type of coreference relations which occur between an adjunct head and an attributive clause may also occur between two or more headless clauses or between such clauses and a nominal adjunct (examples 150-51). In example (150) the two adjuncts in apposition are a nominal adjunct (elements 4-5) and the headless attributive clause (6-10) that follows it:

(150) ni? təẃ ?ə́ncə kə šə́ptən, kə sćəće ?ə t^θə lətém (3538)

   1   2 .3   4 .5   6 7   8 9   10 .

    'Where is the knife, the one which is on the table?'

1 nonproximal   6 article

2 'sort of'   7 'is on top of'

3 'where'   8 oblique

2-3 'whereabouts'   9 article

4 article   10 'table'

5 'knife'

From the point of view of semantic interpretation the first adjunct is the subject of the attributive clause predicate sćəće 'is on top of'. In example (151) the appositional adjuncts are both headless attributive

clauses. The patient referent of the first one (elements 2-7) is also the subject referent of the second one (elements 8-9).

(151) p̓əƛ̓ kə ni? ·syéx̌qtəs kə sə́ṅiw̓ (5407a)
   ·1   2 3   45   67 8 9
   'It is painted white on the inside'
   (It is white--what he painted--the inside)

1 'white'	6 transitive
2 article	7 third transitive agent
3 nonproximal	8 article
4 static (?)	9 'inside'
5 'paint it'	

However, despite the anaphoric significance of these appositional constructions they are like any other headless attributive clauses in internal structure and in the morphological marking of person.

2.2.1.3. Interrogatives and Emphatics

The emphatic attributive clause is a type of construction in which certain predicators called interrogatives and emphatics predominantly occur. The interrogatives are /(ł)wet/ 'who, someone', in which ł is unaccounted for, /stem/ 'what, something' and /?əncə/ 'where, somewhere'. Contrary to what the term "interrogative" might suggest these elements are only interrogative in meaning when they occur as adjunct heads or predicate heads. Where they function attributively in direct or oblique adjuncts or appear in construction with /mək̓ʷ/ 'all, every, both' the interrogatives have an indefinite meaning. The emphatics, on the other hand, resemble English pronouns insofar as they have pronominal meaning and partially correspond to nominal predicators in their distribution. These forms are as follows:

Pronominal Emphatics

	singular	plural
1st	ʔénθə 'I'	ɬíməɬ 'we'
2nd	nə́wə 'you'	ɬwələp 'you'
3rd	niɬ 'referent'	néʔəlɬ 'referent, plural'

The distribution of the interrogatives and emphatics partially reflects that of the nominal predicators and headless attributive clauses. In emphatic sentences an emphatic or an interrogative may act as an adjunct head to an attributive clause just as an element like /məstîməxʷ/ 'person' can--albeit without an introductory determiner. This type of distribution is illustrated in examples (152)-(54). In (152) the attributive clause (elements 3-6) contains an intransitive predicate and is homophonous with an independent sentence:

(152) ʔénθə ceʔ ƛim ʔəw̓ xʷəsíʔem (4786)

    1   2   3   4 5 6

    'I (am the one who) will really be the boss'

1 'I'	4 contemporaneous
2 future	5 developmental
3 'very much so'	6 'boss'

In the other two examples, however, the attributive clause (elements 3-5 in example (153) and 4-8 in (154)) is morphologically marked as such. Moreover, the respective adjunct head constructions niɬ ceʔ and ʔəw̓ m̓ək̓ʷ wet, as expected, are anaphorically related as subjects to the clause predicates ƛ̓áʔk̓ʷəš and lə́mnəxʷ.

   (153) niɬ ceʔ (niʔ) ƛ̓áʔk̓ʷəš (L1:81) 'He is the one to use it'

       1   2   3   4   5

1 referent	4 'use it'
2 future	5 /-t/ 'transitive'
3 nonproximal	

(154) ʔəẃ məkʷ <u>wet</u> (niʔ) lə́mnəxʷ kə nəšxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ niʔ ẃ ʔə́ystəxʷ kəẃniɬ

     1 2 3   4   5 6 7 8 9   10 11 1213 14

'Everyone who saw my brother (who) liked him' (5418)

1 contemporaneous	8 'my'
2 'every, all'	9 'sibling'
3 'someone'	10 nonproximal
4 nonproximal	11 contemporaneous
5 'see'	12 'like'
6 responsible	13 causative
7 article	14 'that (one)'

The syntactic and semantic parallelism between nominal predicators and interrogatives and emphatics is maintained in headless attributive clause constructions like sentences (155) and (156). In these examples <u>wet</u> 'who' is a predicate to which the rest of each sentence is an adjunct as shown by the introductory article <u>kə</u>. The inflection of the attributive clause predicate <u>lə́mnəxʷ</u> 'see' is not idiosyncratic. In (155) this predicate is not inflected and correspondingly its referent <u>wet</u> is interpreted as an experiencer.

(155) <u>wet</u> kə niʔ ƛ̓ əẃ lə́mnəxʷ tᶿə swə́y̓qeʔ (3647)

     1 2 3   4 5 6 7   8 9

'Who else saw that man?'

1 'who'	6 'see'
2 article	7 responsible
3 nonproximal	8 article
4 'also, too'	9 'man'
5 contemporaneous	

In example (156) in which the predicate is inflected with /-os/ 'third transitive agent' wet is in the characteristic role of patient:

(156) wet kə ni? ƛ ʔəw ləmməxʷos t⁰ə swóyqe? (5252)

    1 2 3   4 5 6 7   8 9   10

    'Whom else did that man see?'

    1 'who(m)'   6 'see'
    2 article   7 responsible
    3 nonproximal   8 third transitive agent
    4 'also, too'   9 article
    5 contemporaneous   10 'man'

Although the interrogatives and emphatics pattern like nouns in emphatic sentences, the interrogatives occur less productively than nouns in adjuncts to predicates and the emphatics do not function in this way at all. Furthermore, whereas non-interrogative adjuncts may be introduced by any determiner, the interrogatives are only modified by the article /kʷə/ 'hypothetical' or by the proclitic (2.1.3.2.) /ʔəw...ʔal/ 'only'. The adjunct function of the interrogatives is illustrated in (157)-(61) by the elements /wet/ 'who', /stem/ 'what' and /ʔəncə/ 'where'. In (157) and (158) the interrogatives are functioning as oblique adjuncts (elements 5-7 and 7-9 respectively) with /kʷ/ 'hypothetical':

(157) ʔəwə č qʷilqʷələxʷ ʔə kə wet (5290) 'Don't tell anybody!'

    1   2 3   4   5 6 7

    1 'not'   5 oblique
    2 'you(sg)'   6 article
    3 'tell, speak' (Actual)   7 'someone, who'
    4 'you(sg)' (dependent)

(158) ʔəwə tə kʷ sšəncəs ʔə kʷ stem (L1:12)

    1   2 3 45   6 7 8 9

'He didn't catch anything'

1 'not'

2 negative attributivizer

3 article

4 absolute

5 'catch (fish, game)'

6 third possessive

7 oblique

8 article

9 'thing, what'

In examples (159)-(61) the interrogatives appear with /ʔəw̓...ʔaɬ/ 'just, only' and in (159)-(60) they are acting as direct adjuncts:

(159) niʔ ʔə ləmməx̌ʷəs tᶿey̓ swəy̓qeʔ ʔəw̓ <u>wet</u> ʔaɬ (5253)

    1 2 3 4   5 6   7   8 9 . 8

'Did that man see anyone?'

1 nonproximal

2 interrogative

3 'see'

4 responsible

5 third agent

6 'that'

7 'man'

8 'just, only'

9 'someone, who'

(160) ʔəwə č kʷk̓ʷəntəx̌ʷ ʔəw̓ <u>stem</u> ʔaɬ (3532) 'Don't take anything!'

    1 . 2 3   45 6   7   6

1 'not'

2 'you(sg)'

3 'take' (Actual)

4 transitive

5 'you(sg)' (dependent)

6 'just, only'

7 'thing, what'

(161) niʔ ʔe č ləmməx̌ʷ ʔə k̓ əw̓ ʔə́ncə ʔaɬ (6265)

    1 2 3 4 5   6 7 8 9   8

'Did you see it somewhere (else)?'

1 nonproximal

2 interrogative

3 'you(sg)'

4 'see'

5 responsible

6 oblique

7 article

8 'just, only'

9 'somewhere, where'

The distributional distinction between nouns and interrogatives and emphatics is maintained in their syntactic function as predicates.

The non-third person emphatics form sentences that either consist of a
single predicate phrase (examples 162-63) or take an interrogative
form as a direct adjunct (examples 164-65):

(162) ʔəw̓ ʔénθə (6311) 'It is me'
    1 2

    1 contemporaneous   2 'I', 'me'

(163) ƛ̓ə wəɬ nə́wə (3721) 'It is you again'
    1 2 3

    1 'again'   3 'you(sg)'
    2 'already, now'

(164) nəw ʔálə ɬwet (6291) 'Who are you?'
    1 2   3

    1 /nə́wə/ 'you(sg)'   3 'who'
    2 curious

(165) niɬ ɬwet (3641) 'Who (was it)?'
    1 2

    1 referent   2 'who'

The interrogatives and the third person emphatic /niɬ/ 'referent'
unlike the non-third emphatics characteristically take adjuncts without
any limitation as to type (examples 166-69):

(166) niɬ ʔə k̓ʷθə nəswé? (5216b) 'Is that mine?'
    1 2 3   4 5

    1 referent   4 'my'
    2 interrogative   5 'own'
    3 article

(167) stem k̓ʷə́ʔeɬ (k̓ʷθey̓) (3842) 'What is that?'
    1 2   3

    1 'what'   3 'that (one)'
    2 factual

(168) ɬwet k̓ʷ ʔənsné (3033) 'What is your name?'
    1   2 3 4

1 'who'   3 'your(sg)'

2 article   4 'name'

(169) niʔ ʔə́ncə kə šə́ptən niʔ sčəčé ʔə tᶿə lətém (3537)

    1   2   3 4   5   6   7 8   9

   'Where is the knife that was on the table?'

   1 nonproximal   6 'on top of'

   2 'where'   7 oblique

   3 article   8 article

   4 'knife'   9 'table'

   5 nonproximal

The three interrogatives /ʔə́ncə/ 'where, somewhere', /(ł)wet/ 'who, someone' and /stem/ 'what, something', are distributionally distinct from each other. /ʔə́ncə/ has special status in that unlike /stem/ or /(ł)wet/, which appears with a pronominal emphatic (example 164) to denote a non-third person entity, /ʔə́ncə/ (example 170) may take a subject enclitic (2.1.1.1.) but not an emphatic. Thus, while example (170), in which /č/ 'you(sg)' is present, is grammatical, a sentence like */niʔ ʔálə ʔə́ncə nə́wə/ 'where are you?' would not be.

   (170) niʔ č ʔálə ʔə́ncə (6292) 'Where are you?'

        1   2 3   4

        1 nonproximal   3 curious

        2 'you(sg)'   4 'where'

/stem/ 'what, something' is distinctive in that it may be modified by /mə́kʷ/ 'all, every, both' to form a construction mə́kʷ stem 'all kinds of' which functions as an adjectival to a following noun--sʔəɫtən 'food' in example (171):

   (171) ʔiʔ mə́kʷ stem sʔəɫtən ʔəw kʷənétəs tᶿə sʔəléləxʷs (L1:6)

        1 2   3   4   5 6   789 10 11   12

'Their parents received all kinds of food'

1 'and'	7 stative
2 'all'	8 transitive
3 'thing, what'	9 third transitive agent
4 'food'	10 article
5 contemporaneous	11 'old, parent' (pl.)
6 'take, receive'	12 third possessive

/ɬwet/ 'who, someone' and /ʔə́ncə/ 'where, somewhere' correspond morphologically insofar as they are both inflectible with the prefix /tə-/ 'adjectival'[17] to form elements which function not only predicatively but also adjectivally (examples 172-73). Example (172) shows that tə?ə́ncə 'which' may either function as a nominal predicate-- ?əsX̌í? 'which is your desire', an attributive clause, being its I.C. partner--or as an adjectival modifying a noun (sítən 'basket').

(172) niɬ tə?ə́ncə (sítən) ?əsX̌í? (6281b)
  1   2 3   4   5 6
  'Which (basket) do you want?'

1 referent	4 'basket'
2 adjectival	5 /?ə́n-/ 'your(sg)'
3 'where, somewhere'	6 'desire, like'
2-3 'which'	

In (173) /təwét/ 'whose' is acting adjectivally in attribution to /X̌ɵəm/ 'box':

(173) təwét X̌ɵəm ɬey̓ (6339) 'Whose box is that?'
  1 2   3   4

1 adjectival	3 'box'
2 'who, someone'	4 'that' (marked)

2.2.2. The Structure of the Noun Phrase

Besides being modified by an attributive clause, a nominal predicator may also have as a subordinate I.C. partner an adjectival element which precedes it. There are two types of adjectival - noun constructions, which are termed here noun phrases. In one type, the single-possessive phrase, only the noun is inflected with a possessive person marker. In the other type, the double-possessive phrase, both the noun and the adjectival are thus inflected and form a construction in which the adjectival is interpreted as the focus.
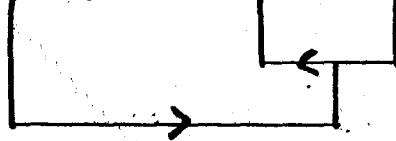
2.2.2.1. The Single-Possessive Phrase

In the single-possessive construction the constituent structure of a noun phrase reflects one of the following schemata:

Adjectival expression, Possessive Prefix, Noun

Adjectival expression, Noun, Possessive suffix

The noun phrase thus presented may occur either as the predicative centre of a clause or after a determiner (1.3.1.) in an adjunct. Thus, a phrase like ƛ̓əqtímət⁰ swə́yqe? functions as a predicative expression and has the meaning 'be a tall man' whereas the phrase t⁰ə ƛ̓əqtímət⁰ swə́yqe? functions as an adjunct and has the meaning 'the tall man'. The former, but not the latter, type of construction may take

enclitics (2.1.3.1.).

Possessive Affixes

	singular	plural
1st	nə- 'my'	-ct 'our'
2nd	ʔəń- 'your'	ʔəń-...ələp 'your'
3rd		-s 'hers, his, its, their'[18]

In constructions containing possessive forms a dichotomy is maintained between third and non-third person markers. Non-third person markers are simply affixed to nouns to form constructions of the following type: nə-sqʷəméy 'my dog' and sqʷəméy-ct 'our dog'. On the other hand /-s/ 'third possessive' may either enter into a morphological construction of the type sqʷəméy-s 'his dog' or be coreferential with a following adjunct as in sqʷəméy-s tᶿə swəyqeʔ 'the man's dog'.

In a noun phrase containing an adjectival expression, the expression consists minimally of a single element. Examples (174)-(75) illustrate this type of construction.[19] In example (174) the noun phrase, which is included in an adjunct (elements 3-6), contains a single adjectival pəq̓ 'white', a possessive nə- 'my' and a noun qʷłeýšən 'shoe'.

(174) niʔ ʔikʷ kə pəq̓ nəqʷłeýšən (3632b) 'My white shoes are lost'
      1   2   3   4   5 6

1 nonproximal	4 'white'
2 'lost'	5 'my'
3 article	6 'shoe'

In example (175), which is a compound sentence (section 2.4) with the semantic structure 'My older brother and his friend who are in town',

the noun phrase contains a single adjectival sə́n̓x̌e 'eldest', a possessive nə- 'my' and a noun šx^w?áq̓^wa? 'sibling' and, as in (174), is included in an adjunct (elements 1-4).

(175) k^wθə sə́n̓x̌e nəšx^w?áq̓^wa? ?i? t^θə syéyes ni? ?ə́ƛ tawn (101)
    1   2   3 4   5 6 7   8 9 10 11

'My older brother and his friend are in town'

1 article	7 'friend'
2 'eldest'	8 third possessive
3 'my'	9 nonproximal
4 'sibling'	10 oblique
5 'and'	11 'town'
6 article	

A noun phrase may be expanded to include two adjectival elements both of them following any determiner that might modify the phrase and preceding the noun just as a single adjectival does. This type of adjectival construction may be observed in examples (176), elements 4-7, and in (177).

(176) ni? cən ləmnəx^w t^θə θi c̓q̓ix̌ sq^waméy (5234)
     1 2 3   4 5 6   7

'I saw a big black dog'

1 nonproximal	5 'big'
2 'I'	6 'black'
3 'see'	7 'dog'
4 article	

(177a) ƛim cən ?əw̓ ?əýstəx^w t^θə x̌ew̓s ?əyá?θ nəšə́ptən (5387a)
      1 2 3 4   5 6 7   8 9

'I like my new sharp knife'

1 'very much so'	6 'new'
2 'I'	7 'sharp'
3 contemporaneous	8 'my'

    4 'like'   9 'knife'
    5 article

(177b) ƛ̓im cən ʔəw̓ ʔəy̓stəxʷ tᶿə ʔəya̓ʔθ xew̓s nəš̓əptən (5387a)
        1 2 3   4   5 7   6   8 9

In (177) the fact that xew̓s and ʔəya̓ʔθ are interchangeable without any
apparent alteration in meaning suggests that there are no special
adjectival distribution classes and that the two forms are in apposition
to each other.

An adjectival expression within a noun phrase may be expanded
to include an adverb (2.1.2.2.) or the idiosyncratic predicators /hay/
'only' and /hay/ 'very', which are homophonous with each other. The
pattern for an adverb may be observed in example (178):

    (178) kə ƛ̓im ʔəw̓ θi smə̓yəθ (5380c) 'A very big deer'
          1 2   3   4 5
          1 article   4 'big'
          2 'very much so'   5 'deer'
          3 contemporaneous

As indicated earlier (2.1.2.2. Adverbs) the constituent structure of
an expression containing an adverb followed by an adjectival and a noun
is problematical. In example (178) the adverb ƛ̓im may be analyzed as
the subordinate I.C. partner of either ʔəw̓ θi or ʔəw̓ θi smə̓yəθ. If
the former approach is adopted whereby ƛ̓im ʔəw̓ θi is viewed as an
adjectival expression, example (178) follows the canonical pattern for
a noun phrase.

The adjectival pattern for /hay/ 'only' and /hay/ 'very' may
be observed in example (179) and in examples (180)-(81) respectively.

In (179) <u>hay</u> 'only' is attributive to ʔəẏ 'good' and·is part of an adjectival expression (elements 1-4) which modifies the noun šk^wíʔšətəns 'his ladder':

(179) ʔəẃ <u>hay</u> ʔəɬ ʔəẏ šk^wíʔšətəns kə nəsíʔeṁ (4670)
     1   2   3   4   5   6 7 8 9
     'It was my boss' only good ladder'·

1 contemporaneous	6 third possessive
2 'only'	7 article
3 past complete	8 'my'
4 'good'	9 'boss'
5 'ladder'	

In (180) <u>hay</u> 'very' is the subordinate element in the predicative expression <u>hay</u> ʔal ʔəẏ 'very good' modified by x̣iṁ and in apposition to sʔəliq̇ə́nəp 'smooth, even':

(180) x̣iṁ <u>hay</u> ʔal ʔəẏ səliq̇ə́nəp tə́ña šeɬ (5386a)
     1   2   3   4   56 7 8   9   10
     'This road is really even'

1 'very much so'	6 resultative
2 'very'	7 'smooth'
3 'just, merely'	8 'ground, floor'
4 'good'	9 'this'
5 static	10 'road, door'

In (181) <u>hay</u> 'very' is a part of the adjectival expression <u>hay</u> ʔal x̣əqtimət̓ᶿ 'very tall', which functions adjectivally.

(181) ɬx^wélə t̓ᶿə <u>hay</u> ʔal x̣əqtimət̓ᶿ šx^wʔáq̇^waʔs (3490)
     1 2   3   4 . 5 6   7   8
     'He has three very tall siblings'

1 'three'	5 'just, merely'
2 'people'	6 'tall'
3 article	7 'sibling'
4 'very'	8 third possessive

On the basis of these examples it may be inferred that there is no special class of adjectivals of the type found in English, but rather a subcategory of predicators which may assume either an adjectival or a predicative function.

In the discussion of the noun phrase so far, the exemplification of the adjectival function has been in terms of uninflected elements such as /pəq̓/ 'white'. Predicators with inflectional affixes may also function adjectivally as the following examples illustrate:

(182) ni? ləmnəxʷəs kʷθə nəsyéy̓e kʷθə yəpəpék̓ʷ scéeɫtən (3774)
　　　　1　2　　　3　4　　5 6　　　7　　8 9　　　　10

'My friend saw a floating salmon!'

1 nonproximal	6 'friend'
2 'see it'	7 article
3 third agent	8 serial
4 article	9 'floating'
5 'my'	10 'salmon'

(183) tθə q̓éyqtəm spáʔəm (3891) 'chewing tobacco'
　　　　1　2　　34　5

1 article	4 third general passive
2 'chew'	5 'tobacco'
3 transitive	

Putatively the underlined forms in (182)-(83) might be analyzed as attributive clauses--in this instance preceding the adjunct head in each example. However, no sentences have been elicited in which yəpəpék̓ʷ 'floating' or q̓éyqtəm 'is chewed' follow the adjunct head.

There is a distributional distinction between inflected and uninflected forms in construction with a noun. When a noun is modified by both an uninflected form and an inflected one (θi 'big' and

yəhə́w?q̓ʷətəm̓ 'floating downstream' respectively in (184)), the
uninflected element still functions adjectivally, but the inflected one
appears in an attributive clause (elements 7-12) after the noun:

(184) ni? cə ləmməxʷ kə θi q̓ʷłey̓ ?i yəhə́w?q̓ʷətəm̓ (4684a)

       1   2 3   4 5 6   7 8 9   10 11

    'I saw a large floating log'

    1 nonproximal   7 proximal
    2 /cən/ 'I'   8 serial
    3 'see'   9 'floating downstream' (Actual)
    4 article   10 transitive
    5 'large'   11 third general passive
    6 'log'

Uninflected predicators like /?ik̓ʷ/ 'lost', which is potentially
inflectible with /-t/ 'transitive', follow the same distribution as
the inflected predicators:

(185) nił łə p̓əq̓ nəq̓ʷłey̓šən ni? ?ik̓ʷ (5728)

      1   2 3   4 5   6   7

    'My white shoes are lost'

    1 referent   5 'shoe'
    2 article (marked)   6 nonproximal
    3 'white'   7 'lost'
    4 'my'

The view that /p̓əq̓/ 'white' and /?ik̓ʷ/ 'lost' pattern differently is
substantiated by the fact that they are not interchangeable to form the
following sentence:

    *nił łə ?ik̓ʷ nəq̓ʷłey̓šən ni? p̓əq̓ 'My lost shoes are white'

    The adjectival function is not limited to predicators like
/θi/ 'big' and /p̓əq̓/ 'white', but extends to nouns--albeit non-
productively. There are two semantic contexts in which a noun modifies

a noun. In one context the second noun denotes an animal and the first
noun expresses its sex as in the following examples:

(186) swə́ýqeʔ músməs (2006) 'bull' (male bovine)

(187) słéni músməs (2007) 'cow' (female bovine)

In the other semantic context the second noun denotes meat, while the
first one specifies the type of meat:

(188) t^θə stiqíw smə́yəθ (5357b) 'horse meat'
     1   2   3

    1 article   3 'meat (of a deer)'
    2 'horse'

That the initially occurring noun in the foregoing examples,
(186)-(88), is in fact functioning adjectivally and not in apposition
to the following noun is borne out by /-s/ 'third possessive'
constructions such as in the following:

(189) θə słéni šx^wʔáq̓^waʔs (T3:82) 'his sister' (his female sibling)
     1 2   3   4

    1 article (marked)   3 'sibling'
    2 'woman'   4 third possessive

The noun phrase in (189) containing two nouns corresponds to the simpler
one (elements 1-2) in example (190) insofar as both the noun phrase in
(189) and the one in (190) are marked by a single occurrence of /-s/
'third possessive':

(190) swə́ltəns t^θə qətqətcála (4554) 'spider's web'
     1   2 3 4

    1 'web, net'   3 article
    2 third possessive   4 'spider'

The reason for this distributional correspondence between (189) and (190)
is not apparent if in (189) słéni 'woman' and šx^wʔáq̓^waʔ 'sibling' are
viewed as being in apposition to each other. On the basis of the

apposition hypothesis one might expect a construction like *θə słénis šxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔs, which contains two occurrences of /-s/, to be well-formed. However, if /słéni/ 'woman' is viewed as having adjectival function comparable to that of /ƛ̓əqtîmət̓θ/ 'tall' in a construction like θə ƛ̓əqtîmət̓θ šxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔs 'his tall sister', then the single occurrence of /-s/ 'third possessive' in (189) is not idiosyncratic.

The adjectival function may also be assumed by the interrogative predicator /stem/ 'some(thing), what' as follows:

(191) t̓θə <u>stem</u> sméyəθ (T5:8) 'some deer'
      1   2   3

     1 article   3 'deer'
     2 'what, something'

It is not immediately obvious in (191) that /stem/ is functioning adjectivally. As indicated in 2.2.1. <u>Attributive Clauses</u>, /stem/ is like a noun in that it may enter into an adjunct. However, the analysis of /stem/ in (191) as an adjectival is borne out by the fact that this form does not appear as a modifying adjunct except when it is introduced by /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous' or /ʔəw̓....ʔal̓/ 'just, merely' (2.1.3.2. <u>Proclitics</u>).

/stem/ 'what, something' in its adjectival occurrence is different from a nominal predicator. In example (192) /stem/ is the head of an adjunct (elements 8-11) and is reminiscent of a noun in a noun phrase.

(192) hay č̓léləmət kə nəléləm̓ ʔiʔ t̓θə w̓ mək̓ʷ <u>stem</u> (4252)
      1   2 3   4   5 6   7   8   9 10   11
     'Look at my house and everything'

1 'very'	7 'and'
2 'you(sg)'	8 article
3 'look at it'	9 contemporaneous
4 article	10 'every, all'
5 'my'	11 '(some)thing'
6 'house'	

However, unlike a noun phrase ʔəw̓ mək̓ʷ stem may also function adjectivally as in the following example:

(193) x̌əmqʷθám ʔə t̓ə w̓ mək̓ʷ stem sƛ̓əƛ̓eləqən (3875)
      1   23 4 5 6 7   8   9
        'You are swarmed over by all kinds of insects'

1 'swarm over'	6 contemporaneous
2 /-t/ 'transitive'	7 'all, every'
3 'you(sg)' (general passive)	8 'something, what'
4 oblique	9 'insect'
5 article	

2.2.2.2. Double-Possessive Phrase

In the second type of noun phrase construction, the double-possessive phrase, two possessive person markers agreeing in number and person appear, one being affixed to the adjectival and the other, to the noun. In this type of construction semantic focus is placed on the adjectival. The double-possessive pattern is illustrated in example (194), elements 4-7, in which the possessive form nə- 'my' is prefixed to both the adjectival p̓ep̓q̓ 'white' and the noun qʷƚéyšən 'shoe':

(194) ni? x̌ʷə?ík̓ʷ nəp̓ep̓q̓ nəqʷƚéyšən (3632) 'My white shoes are lost'
      1   2   3   4 5   6 7

1 nonproximal	4 kə (article), /nə-/ 'my'
2 developmental	5 'white' (plural) 7 'shoe'
3 'lost'	6 'my'

Semantically, this construction differs from one like pépq̓ neq̓ʷɬéysən 'my white shoes' in that emphasis is laid in the case of nəpépq̓ on the whiteness of the shoes.

The dual occurrence of the same possessive form in a double-possessive construction provides a morphological motivation for considering the adjectival to be in apposition to the noun as a co-adjunct. However, this analysis is not supported by the syntactic structure of Cowichan. Although a noun with a possessive form affixed to it may function as the head of a direct adjunct (example 195, elements 3-4), such an analysis does not hold for an adjectival (example 196, elements 3-5).

(195) ʔəy̓ tᶿ əń sməyəθ (62) 'Your meat is good'

      1   2   3   4

      1 'good'   3 'your(sg)'
      2 article   4 'meat (of deer)'

(196) *xʷəʔíkʷ tᶿə nəpépq̓ (6206b) 'My white ones are lost'

      1 2   3   4 5

      1 developmental   4 'my'
      2 'lost'   5 'white' (plural)
      3 article

There is one idiosyncratic morpheme, /sweʔ/ 'own', in Cowichan that may function either as an adjectival in a double-possessive phrase or as a nominal predicator. In example (197) the inflection of sweʔ with nə- 'my' and its being preceded by a determiner kʷθə 'the' is consistent with the view that it is acting as a noun within an adjunct.

(197) niɬ ʔə kʷθə nəsweʔ (5216) 'Is that mine?'

      1   2 3   4 5

1 referent   4 'my'

2 interrogative   5 'own'

3 article

The distributional correspondence between /swe?/ 'own' and a noun is further maintained in example (198) in which /swe?/ occurs in a goal adjunct (elements 3-6)--albeit without an introductory determiner:

(198) ṁi nə́wəš ?əw̓ mək̓ʷ ?ə́nswé? (3592b) 'Bring in all your belongings'
      1 2   3   4   5 6

1 'come'   4 'all'

2 'bring in'   5 'your'

3 contemporaneous   6 'own'

The fact that /swe?/ 'own' may act as a predicate supports the view that it is distributionally analogous to a noun. In (199) the appearance of /swe?/ with the possessive nə- 'my' and without an introductory determiner is compatible with the explanation that it is functioning as a nominal predicate.

(199) ni? p̓ əw̓ nəswé? θə léləṁ (277) 'The house is mine'
      1   2 3   4 5   6 7

1 nonproximal   5 'own'

2 certain   6 article (marked)

3 contemporaneous   7 'house'

4 'my'

Again in example (200) /swe?/ like any nominal predicator is inflectible with /-s/ 'third possessive', which is coreferential with the following adjunct (elements 3-5). The predicative phrase (elements 1-5) composed of /swe?/ and the adjunct is modified in turn by a direct adjunct (elements 6-7).

(200) swe?s kə nəmén tθə léləṁ (3579) 'The house is my father's'
      1   2 3   4 5   6   7

1 'own'   5 'father'

2 third possessive   6 article

3 article   7 'house'

4 'my'

There is evidence to the effect that /swe?/ 'own' may function as an adjectival. In examples (201)-(203) /swe?/ is distributionally analogous to the adjectival form p̓ep̓q̓ 'white' in example (194) above in that the same person marker (nə- 'my' in examples (194), (201) and (203) and -s 'third possessive' in example (202)) appears twice, once affixed to the adjectival and once to the noun.

(201) kʷʼənət tᶿə <u>nə</u>swé? <u>nə</u>snəxʷəɬ (2629) 'Take my canoe'
        1   2 3 4   5 6

    1 'take it'   4 'own'

    2 article   5 'my'

    3 'my'   6 'canoe'

(202) niɬ təʔəncə swe?<u>s</u> snəxʷəɬ<u>s</u> kʷθə ńšxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ (6325)
      1 2 3   4   5 6   7 8   9 10

    'Which one is your brother's boat?'

    1 referent   6 'canoe'

    2 adjectival   7 third possessive

    3 'where'   8 article

    4 'own'   9 'your(sg)'

    5 third possessive   10 'sibling'

(203) <u>nə</u>swé? <u>nə</u>sqʷəméy̓ təńá (3543) 'That is my dog'
      1 2   3 4   5

    1 'my'   4 'dog'

    2 'own'   5 'this'

    3 'my'

The adjectival status of /swe?/ is maintained whether the noun phrase

which it occurs in enters into an adjunct (elements 3-6 in (201) and 2-7 in (202)) or acts as a predicative expression (example 203).

On the basis of the foregoing analysis one might expect /swe?/ 'own' to be inflectible with /-ct/ 'our'. However, there is no occurrence in the corpus of *swe?ct 'ours'. Instead, the suppletive morpheme /s?aɬ/ 'ours' is used to denote first person plural referents. Distributionally, /s?aɬ/ has the status of an adjectival predicator. Example (204) illustrates its function as predicate, the phrase tᵊñа tᵊmǝxʷ 'this property' being its adjunct:

(204) s?aɬ tᵊñа tᵊmǝxʷ (50) 'It is our property'
    1   2   3

    1 'ours'   3 'land, property'
    2 'this'

In (205) the occurrence of /s?aɬ/ before the noun sqʷᵊméy 'dog' in the adjunct tᶿǝ s?aɬ sqʷᵊméy 'our dog' is consistent with the hypothesis that it is functioning adjectivally.

(205) tᶿǝ s?aɬ sqʷᵊméy ni? ɬǝyx̌tǝs tᶿǝ stiqíw smᵊyǝθ (5357)
    1   2   3   4   5 67 8   9   10
    'Our dog eats horse meat'
    (Our dog and it eats horse meat)

    1 article   6 transitive
    2 'ours'   7 third agent
    3 'dog'   8 article
    4 nonproximal   9 'horse'
    5 'eat'   10 'meat (of deer)'

2.3. Subordinate Clauses

In the previous section (2.2.) on adjuncts and attribution to them one type of subordinate clause was presented which does not exhibit special subordinate clause morphology, but which nonetheless cannot appear as an independent sentence. In regard to morphological marking there are three types of subordinate clauses: dependent clauses (2.3.1.), /s-/ 'absolute' constructions (2.3.2.) and /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' clauses (2.3.3.). A dependent clause is a construction which is characterized by a suffix of the dependent set.

Dependent Suffixes

	singular		plural
1st	-ən 'I'		-ət 'we'
2nd	-əxʷ 'you'		-ələp 'you'
3rd			-əs 'he, she, it, they'[20]

A nominalization[21] is a clause that is marked by one of two prefixes-- either /s-/ 'absolute' or /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'. Constructions so marked also take affixes of the possessive set, which as mentioned earlier (2.2.2. The Structure of the Noun Phrase) also characterize noun phrases. These person markers are attached to whichever element of the subordinate clause is marked by /s-/ or /šxʷ-/.

Possessive Affixes [22]

	singular		plural
1st	nə- 'my'		-ct 'our'
2nd	ʔən- 'your'		ʔən...ələp 'your'
3rd			-s 'his, her, its, their'

As an alternative, all three types of clauses may contain subordinate passive suffixes, which are always attached to predicates.

Subordinate Passive Suffixes

	singular	plural
1st	-élt 'I'	-ált 'we'
2nd	-ámǝt 'you'	-ált 'you'
3rd		-éwǝt 'she, he, it, they'

The morphologically marked subordinate clauses may be morpho-syntactically classified into two types of clauses--attributive ones and what will be called complementary clauses--according to the distribution of /-ǝs/ 'third transitive agent' (2.1.1.1.) and the general passive suffixes (2.1.1.2.) and according to that of the clause marker morphemes. These morphemes are the dependent suffixes in dependent clauses and in nominalizations they are /s-/ 'absolute' or /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'. In a complementary construction a clause marker is affixed to the first element of the clause, which may or may not be a predicate. In an attributive clause, however, the marker is affixed to the predicate, which may or may not be the first element. Furthermore, in attributive clauses there is a distributional distinction not applying to complementary constructions between /-ǝs/ and the general passive suffixes and the subordinate passive morphemes. /-ǝs/ and the general passive forms occur only in non-nominalized attributive clauses, whereas the subordinate passive suffixes appear only in the nominalized clauses (table 1).

Person Marker Characterization of Clause Types

	Any Predicate	Transitive Predicate		
			SUBORDINATE	
			Attributive	Complementary
MAIN	subject enclitics	general passive or /-əs/ 'third agent'	✕ (crossed)	✕ (crossed)
SUBORDINATE: no special marking		goal suffixes	/-əs/ 'third agent' or general passive	/-əs/ 'third agent' or general passive (clause also takes third dependent or third possessive) OR sub. pass.
Dependent	dependent suffixes		subordinate passive	
Nominalized	possessive affixes			

General Passive

	singular	plural
1st	-éləm 'I'	-áləm 'we'
2nd	-ám 'you'	-áləm 'you'
		-m 'he, she, it, they'

2.3.1. Dependent Clauses

As indicated above (2.3.), dependent clauses are either attributive or complementary, both types being marked by dependent person markers, which correspond semantically and in the internal structure of a clause to the subject enclitics (2.1.1.1.).

Dependent Person Markers

	singular	plural
1st	-ən 'I'	-ət 'we'
2nd	-əx^w 'you'	-ələp 'you'
		-əs 'he, she, it, they'

In this paradigm the first person forms reflect a true singular/plural distinction. The second person ones, however, reflect a dichotomy between negative and non-negative complementary clauses. In non-negative constructions the singular/plural distinction is maintained. In negative clauses /-əx^w/ 'you(sg)' denotes singular and plural referents.[23]

2.3.1.1. Attribution to the Main Clause

A non-negative complementary clause is a construction that is

dependent on the main clause as a whole and that is characteristically introduced by ʔəw̓, which may on the basis of meaning be analyzed as being a separate morpheme from the proclitic /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous (2.1.3.2.) and as being cognate with /wə/ 'hypothetical' in Musqueam. A non-negative clause containing ʔəw̓ is in many cases translatable by an English 'if' clause. This interpretation holds in example (206), which contains a complementary clause (elements 8-12) marked by the dependent suffix /-əxʷ/ 'you(sg).'.

(206) wəɬ θáyθət kə nəsném̓ t̓ak̓ʷ, ʔəw̓ ní ʔəxʷ ʔəw̓ θay (4626)
      1   2 ·   3 4 56 7   8   9 10 11 12
      'I am ready to go home, if you are ready'

1 'now, already'	5 absolute	9 nonproximal
2 'ready' ··	6 'go'	10 'you(sg)' (dep.)
3 article	7 'go home'	11 contemporaneous
4 'my'	8 contemporaneous(?)	12 'ready'

In (206) the view that the dependent clause (elements 8-12) modifies the main one as a whole (1-7) is supported by the fact that it cannot function as a direct adjunct to the main clause predicate θáyθət 'ready'. This syntactic role is played by the /s-/ 'absolute' clause (elements 3-7), which enters into a semantic structure of the type 'My going home is ready'. In example (207) the I.C. relationship between the main clause (7-9), which has imperative interpretation, and the subordinate one is more clear.

(207) ʔəw̓ m̓i·s ce ʔ wəɬ técəl, ʔiw̓awə qʷəlqʷəlstəxʷ (5495)
      1   2 3 4 5   6   7   8   9
      'When he arrives, perhaps you will talk to him'

1 contemporaneous(?)	6 'arrive'
2 'come'	7 'perhaps'
3 third dependent	8 'talk to' (plural)

4 future 9 causative

5 'already, now'

In (207), a marked sentence type in which the subordinate clause appears first, the intervening element ʔiẃawə 'perhaps' separates the main clause predicate qʷəlqʷəlstəxʷ 'talk to him' from the subordinate clause and renders implausible the hypothesis that they are I.C. partners.

Putative sentences do exist, in which the complementary dependent clause is apparently embedded to the main clause predicate. In (208) the subordinate clause (elements 6-10) marked by /-əs/ 'third dependent' (element 8) may be semantically interpreted as the goal referent of the predicate státəlstəxʷ 'know it' since no other expression fulfills the goal role.

(208) niʔ ʔe č ʔəẃ státəlstəxʷ ʔəẃ təẃétəs téña x̌θəm (5447b)
     1 2 3 4 5   6   7   8 9   10

'Do you know whose box this is?'

1 nonproximal	6 contemporaneous
2 interrogative	7 'whose'
3 'you(sg)'	8 third dependent
4 contemporaneous	9 'this'
5 'know'	10 'box'

This analysis, however, is not the only one possible. As in examples (206)-(207) the main clause may occur independently--in this case with the interpretation 'Did you know it?'. Moreover, the dependent clause is not idiosyncratic in its distribution or internal structure. In fact, sentence (208) follows the same pattern as (206)-(207).

Where the predicate of the dependent clause is transitive and inflected with /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' or a passive suffix,

there is special morphological marking. The clause may contain a
subordinate passive suffix--for example, /-éwət/ 'third subordinate
passive' as in the following example:

(209) síiʔsi kə nəsyéye ʔəẃ ɬəy̌x̌téwət kə sq̇ʷəléšs ʔə kə nəpíš
   1 2 3 4 5 6 78 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
   'My friend is afraid in case his bird is eaten by my cat'

  1 'afraid'   9 article
  2 article   10 'bird'
  3 'my'   11 third possessive
  4 'friend'   12 oblique
  5 contemporaneous   13 article
  6 'eat'   14 'my'
  7 transitive   15 'cat'
  8 third subordinate passive

As may be observed in (209) the dependent clause (elements 5-15)
containing a subordinate passive suffix is reminiscent of a main clause
having a predicate inflected with a general passive suffix insofar as
it permits only one direct adjunct (9-11).

  If the dependent clause contains /-əs/ 'third transitive agent'
or a general passive ending, forms which may also appear in a main
clause, the morpheme /-əs/ 'third dependent' is suffixed to the first
element of the clause. This type of marking may be observed in examples
(210) and (211), which contain /-éləm/ 'I' (general passive) and /-əs/
'third transitive agent' respectively:

(210) níɬ ʔəẃ níʔes ləmméləm (6319) 'It is in case I am seen'
   1 2 3 4 5 67

  1 referent   5 'see'
  2 contemporaneous   6 /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'
  3 nonproximal   7 'I' (general passive)
  4 nonproximal

(211) k̓ʷésətəs, níʔes cə́stxʷəs (Ṭ5:36)

    1 2 3 4 5 6   7

    'She heated it up--don't know how she did it'

    (She heated it up however she did it)

    1 'heat it up'   5 third dependent

    2 transitive   6 'do it'

    3 third transitive agent   7 third transitive agent

    4 nonproximal

Although the dependent clause construction in example (210) containing a transitive predicate reflects the syntactic structure of the dependent clauses in examples (206)-(208), which contain intransitive predicates, it differs from them in coreference relations. In (210) the dependent suffix /-əs/ 'third dependent' does not denote the referent of the clause predicate.

From the above two examples, (210)-(211), it appears that clauses containing /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' and those with a general passive ending are distributionally analogous. However, where the dependent clause predicate immediately follows /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous' and contains /-əs/ 'third transitive agent', the clause patterns idiosyncratically. One might expect on the basis of examples (210)-(211) a clause of the following type to be possible, in which /-əs/ 'third agent' precedes /-əs/ 'third dependent':

*(212a) cset ʔəw̓ q̓áʔetəsəs tᶿə sməyəθ (5820)

    1 2 3 4 5 6 7

    'Tell him to kill the deer'

However, only /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' may appear as follows:

(212b) cset ʔəw̓ q̓áʔetəs tᶿə sməyəθ (5820)

    1 2 3 45 6 7

    'Tell him to kill the deer'

1 'tell'	5 third transitive agent
2 contemporaneous	6 article
3 'kill'	7 'deer'
4 transitive	

2.3.1.2. Negation

The complementary sentence pattern, in which a dependent person marker follows the first non-particle of a dependent clause, is maintained in one type of negative construction. In a negative sentence /ʔəwəɬ/ 'not' forms the predicative centre of the main clause and the statement being negated is represented syntactically as a dependent clause. If the main clause contains person markers, one of them is coreferential with the dependent person marker in the subordinate clause. This is the case in example (213), in which /áms/ 'me', the main clause marker, is coreferential with the dependent marker /-en/ 'I' (dependent).

(213) ʔəwəstáms ʔəmnəxʷən (5850c) 'Don't let me step on it!'
     1   2 3   4 5 6

1 'not'	4 'step on it'
2 /-stəxʷ/ 'causative'	5 responsible
3 'me'	6 'I' (dependent)

The distribution of negative constructions parallels that of non-negative clauses. Example (214a) shows a negative construction (elements 1-7) functioning as an independent sentence with imperative interpretation:

(214a) ʔə́wə č̣ xʷt̓ᶿíq̓ʷəstəx̱ʷ (3527) 'Don't punch him in the face'
　　　1　　2 3 4　　5 67

1 'not'　　　　　　　　　　　5 'face'

2 'you(sg)'　　　　　　　　 6 transitive

3 location　　　　　　　　　7 'you(sg)' (dependent)

4 'punch'

Semantically, (214a) may be correlated with (214b), which also has

imperative interpretation:

(214b) xʷt̓ᶿíq̓ʷəst č̣ (3527) 'Punch him in the face'
　　　　3 4　　5 6 2

In example (215a) a negative construction (elements 4-12)

functions as a subject attributive clause:

(215a) niɬ tən̓á swə́yqeʔ ʔə́wə níʔəs ʔəw̓ x̌ɬast kə sqʷəmeys (3576a)
　　　　1　　2　　3　　　 4　5 6 7　8　9 10 11　　12

'It was this man who didn't feed his dog'

1 referent　　　　　　　　7 contemporaneous

2 'this'　　　　　　　　　 8 'eat it'

3 'man'　　　　　　　　　　9 transitive

4 'not'　　　　　　　　　 10 article

5 nonproximal　　　　　　 11 'dog'

6 third dependent　　　　 12 third possessive

Example (215a) reflects the normal negative pattern. As in (213)-(14)

the clause following ʔə́wə (elements 5-12) is marked by a dependent

person marker, in this case, /-əs/ 'third dependent', which is suffixed

to the first element /niʔ/ 'nonproximal'. Also in (215a) the

subordinate clause reflects the usual pattern for a subject attributive

construction (2.2.1. Attributive Clauses) in that the transitive

predicate x̌ɬast 'eat it' is characterized by the absence of /-əs/

'third transitive agent'. The negative attributive clause (elements

4-12) in (215a) is thereby syntactically parallel to the attributive

clause in a non-negative construction like (215b), elements 4-10:

(215b) niɫ tə́na swə́yqeʔ niʔ ʔəw̓ x̌ɫast kə sq̌ʷəmey̓s (3576b)
　　　　1　2　3　　　4　5　6　78　9　　　10

'This is the man who fed his dog'

1 referent　　　　　　　　　6 'feed it'
2 'this'　　　　　　　　　　7 transitive
3 'man'　　　　　　　　　　8 article
4 nonproximal　　　　　　　9 'dog'
5 contemporaneous　　　　　10 third possessive

If the negative dependent clause contains /-əs/ 'third transitive

agent' or a general passive suffix, the morpheme /-əs/ 'third dependent'

is suffixed to the first element. This type of marking may be observed
in examples (216)-(18), which thereby correspond to examples (210)-(12).

(216) ʔəwə niʔəs ʔaməstəs t̓ə sq̌ʷəmey̓ ʔə t̓ə st̓θam̓ (5276)
　　　　1　2　3　4　　56　7　　8　　　　9　10　11

'He didn't give the dog a bone'

1 'not'　　　　　　　　　　7 article
2 nonproximal　　　　　　　8 'dog'
3 third dependent　　　　　9 oblique
4 'give'　　　　　　　　　　10 article
5 transitive　　　　　　　　11 'bone'
6 third agent

(217) ʔəwə státəlstəx̌ʷəs (6394) 'He doesn't know'
　　　　1　2　　3　4

1 'not'　　　　　　　　　　3 causative
2 'know'　　　　　　　　　　4 third agent

(218) ʔə́wə niʔəs x̌əy̓əθéləm (6295a) 'I wasn't beaten up'
　　　1　2　3　4　56

1 'not'	4 'beat up'
2 nonproximal	5 /-t/ 'transitive'
3 third dependent	6 'I' (general passive)

Sentence (217) above, in which there is no surface realization of /-əs/ 'third dependent' is not anomalous, but patterns like the non-negative sentence, example (212), in the previous section; /-əs/ 'third dependent' does not appear when a predicate inflected with /-əs/ 'third agent' is the first non-particle of a subordinate clause.

The formal correspondence between negative and non-negative dependent clauses is not limited to /-əs/ 'third dependent', but extends to the subordinate passive suffixes. Example (219), insofar as it contains the subordinate passive form /-ámət/ 'you(sg)' resembles formally the non-negative sentence, example (209), in section 2.3.1.1.

(219) ʔə́wəs t̓ˀiq̓ʷəsnámət (3658b) 'Don't get punched in the face'

    1 2 3   4 56

1 'not'	4 'face'
2 exhortative	5 /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'
3 'punch'	6 'you(sg)' Subordinate pass.

This parallelism and the one mentioned above between negative and non-negative constructions substantiates the view that the negative construction consists of a main clause with /ʔə́wə/ 'not' as the predicate and of a dependent clause.

Negative sentences along with sentences containing /ʔə́wə teʔ/ 'not any' (2.3.3.2. on /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' clauses) or a pronominal emphatic (2.2.1.3.) like /ʔénθə/ 'I' are distinctive in that they may be marked by /-s/ 'exhortative', which provides a given sentence with

imperative interpretation.   Examples (220)-(22) illustrate the
occurrence of /-s/:

(220) ʔə́wəs̲ ném̓əs ʔəmnəxʷəs (5850a) 'Don't let him step on it'
     1   2 3 4 5 6   7

    1 'not'   5 'step on it'
    2 exhortative   6 responsible
    3 'go'   7 third agent
    4 third dependent

(221) ʔə́wə teʔs̲ wet qʷáqʷəl (4665) 'Don't speak, anybody'
     1   2 3 4   5

    1 'not'   4 'someone, who'
    2 adjectival   5 'speak'
    3 exhortative

(222) ʔə́w̓ ʔénⱺəs̲ ɬeʔ θəy̓t̲ (248) 'Let me do it'
     1   2   3 4   5

    1 contemporaneous   3 hortatory
    2 'I'   4 'do it'
    3 exhortative

Apart from the appearance of /-s/ 'exhortative' these sentences pattern
normally--example (220) as a negative sentence and examples (221)-(22)
as attributive clause constructions (2.2.1.).

2.3.1.3.   Attributive Clauses: Goal Reference

    In an attributive clause a dependent marker is suffixed to the
predicate regardless of the predicate's position in the clause (except
in the dialect of the northern speakers of Cowichan).   This morpheme
affects the semantic structure of the clause inasmuch as the dependent
person marker is interpreted in the role of subject whereby the adjunct

head is construed non-coreferentially as a goal form. This type of semantic structure is illustrated in the following example:

(223) niʔ cə ləmnəxʷ kə swəy̓qeʔ niʔ ʔáməstən ʔə kə ʔápən néc̓awəc télə

    1 2 3   4 5   6 7   89 10 11 12   13   14

'I saw the man to whom I gave a thousand dollars'

1 nonproximal	8 transitive
2 /cən/ 'I'	9 'I' (dependent)
3 'see'	10 oblique
4 article	11 article
5 'man'	12 'ten'
6 nonproximal	13 'hundred'
7 'give'	14 'dollar, money'

In example (223) the adjunct head (element 5) represents the goal referent of the attributive clause (6-14) the subject of which is designated by /-én/ 'I' (dependent). This goal type of attributive clause does not exhibit a special distribution pattern, but reflects that of the unmarked type of attributive clause (2.2.1.) in its capacity as a constituent of an adjunct expression (4-14) modifying a main clause predicate (element 3).

The distributional correspondence between dependent and unmarked attributive clauses is not limited to non-emphatic adjunct expressions, of which example (223) is representative. A dependent clause may modify an adjunct head to form an emphatic sentence as follows:

(224) tᶿə sqʷəmáy̓ niʔ ʔáməstən ʔə kə sməyəθ (3652b)

    1   2   3 4   56 7 8 9

'It is the dog that I gave the meat to'

1 article	6 'I' (dependent)
2 'dog'	7 oblique
3 nonproximal	8 article

4 'give'   9 'deer'
5 transitive

The semantic structure remains the same as in example (223). As before, the adjunct head (element 2) is interpreted as the goal referent of the attributive clause.

A dependent clause may be a headless attributive construction in which, as in unmarked clauses, the article conveys its usual semantic distinctions (1.3. Deictic System). This type of construction is illustrated in example (225):

(225) θi čq̓ix̌ sqʷəméy̓ kə ni? ləmnəxʷən (5234b)
      1 2   3   4 5 6 7 8
      'What I see is a big black dog'
      1 'big'   5 nonproximal
      2 'black'   6 'see'
      3 'dog'   7 responsible
      4 article   8 'I' (dependent)

Syntactically, the headless attributive clause in this example (elements 4-8) is an adjunct to a nominal predicative phrase (1-3). Anaphorically, the nominal phrase is the goal referent of the attributive clause.

2.3.2. /s-/ 'absolute' Nominalizations

As an alternative to being morphologically marked by dependent person markers a subordinate clause may take /s-/ 'absolute' or /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'. This type of subordinate construction, which is termed here a nominalized clause or nominalization, partially reflects the

distribution of a noun phrase. Both types of constructions may function as adjuncts. Moreover, a nominalization like a noun phrase is marked by a possessive person marker, which is affixed to the element inflected with /s-/ 'absolute' or /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'. The possessive forms (2.2.2. The Structure of the Noun Phrase), which in a nominalization correspond semantically to the main clause subject enclitics (2.1.1.1.), are as follows:

<center>Possessive Person Markers</center>

	singular	plural
1st	nə- 'my'	-ct 'our'
2nd	ʔən- 'your'	ʔən-...-ələp 'your'

<center>-s 'her, his, its, their'</center>

In this paradigm, for first and second person, there are two singular prefixes, one plural suffix and one discontinuous plural morpheme. In the third person the singular/plural distinction is neutralized. In the second person there is allomorphic variation in material elicited since 1975; the morph ʔən- (in the singular and the plural) is realized as ʔə or zero before s or š and as ʔən elsewhere.

The second person affixes /ʔən-/ 'your(sg)' and /ʔən-...ələp/ 'your(pl)' are distributionally distinct from /nə-/ 'my' and /-ct/ 'our', which reflect a true singular/plural dichotomy. /ʔən-...ələp/ is a marked morpheme denoting plurality whereas /ʔən-/ may denote plural as well as singular referents if plurality is denoted by another coreferential person marker in the sentence. This is the case in example (226), in which /ʔən-/ 'your' is coreferential with /-álə/

'you(pl)' and has the meaning 'you(pl)':

(226) ʔəw̓ čewətálə cən ʔəsʔəw̓ yaθ ceʔ w̓ mək̓ʷ ʔəw̓ síʔeṁ (4636c)

    1 2   3   4   5 67 8   9 10 11   12 13

'I will help you(pl) so that you will all always be rich'

1 contemporaneous	8 'always'
2 'help'	9 future
3 'you(pl)'	10 contemporaneous
4 'I'	11 'all'
5 /ʔən-/ 'your(sg)'	12 contemporaneous
6 absolute	13 'rich'
7 contemporaneous	

Syntactically, example (226) is representative of the canonical structure of an /s-/ 'absolute' complementary clause. The possessive prefix /ʔən-/ 'your' and /s-/ 'absolute' are prefixed not to the predicate síʔem '(be) rich' but to the first element, namely, the proclitic /ʔəw̓/ 'contemporaneous' (2.1.3.2.).

Within the corpus there are a few sentences which appear to deviate from the canonical structure of an /s-/ 'absolute' complementary construction. These sentences are illustrated in examples (227)-(228):

(227) niʔ yəxʷ leləmətáləm k̓ʷəct ɫeỷx̌t tθə sméyəθ (6401b)

    1 2   3   4 5   6 7 8   9   10

'We were being watched while we were eating the deer'

1 nonproximal	6 article
2 surprise	7 'our'
3 'watch' (Actual)	8 'eat'
4 transitive	9 article
5 'we' (general passive)	10 'deer'

(228) niʔ cə ləmnálə k̓ʷ sə́ləp yəx̌ʷáṅčənəṁ (3733)

    1 2 3 45   6 78   .9 10

'I saw you(pl) running'.

1 nonproximal	6 article
2 /cən/ 'I'	7 absolute
3 'see'	8 'your(pl)'
4 /-nəx^w/ 'responsible'	9 serial
5 'you(pl)'	10 'running' (Actual)

In (227) -ct 'our' is apparently suffixed to an article and in (228) -э́ləp 'your(pl)' appears to be bound to a prefix /s-/ 'absolute' to form idiosyncratic constructions. These constructions, however, are not idiosyncratic if k̓^{w}əct and k̓^{w}sə́ləp are analyzed morphophonemically as /k̓^{w} sni?ct/ and /k̓^{w} ?ə̀nsni?ə́ləp/ respectively. Such an analysis would be compatible with the interpretation of each of the /s-/ clauses, which both denote action in progress just like /s-/ constructions in which /ni?/ 'nonproximal' appears overtly as in the following example:

(229) ni? ?e č léləməθ k̓^{w}ə nəsní? ƚeyx̌t t^{θ}ə smə́yəθ (6401a)

    1 .2 3 4   5 6 7 89 10   11 12

    'Did you watch me eating the deer?'

1 nonproximal	7 'my'
2 interrogative	8 absolute
3 'you(sg)'	9 nonproximal
4 'watch, see'	10 'eating' (Actual)
5 'me'	11 article
6 article	12 'deer'

2.3.2.1. Attribution to the Main Clause

/s-/ 'absolute' complementary clauses enter into one of two types of constructions. They are either embedded as direct or oblique adjuncts to predicates or more loosely bound as I.C. partners to potentially independent clauses. Semantically, this distinction corresponds to that between the English sentences, 'I know when they

left' and 'I knew the people, <u>when</u> <u>they</u> <u>left</u>'. In its capacity as an I.C. partner to a whole main clause an /s-/ clause is syntactically parallel to a dependent construction albeit different in grammatical meaning. Whereas dependent clauses denote hypothetical action --as conveyed frequently in translation by the term 'if'--/s-/ inflected ones designate action that has been or is about to be accomplished.

On the basis of formal marking two kinds of complementary /s-/ 'absolute' constructions have been identified that modify the main clause as a whole. In one type the article /k^w/ 'hypothetical' is present in the subordinate clause; in the other it is absent. Where /k^w/ is present, the /s-/ clause corresponds semantically to an English construction introduced by an expression like 'while', 'when', 'in order to' or 'because'. Sentences (230)-(31) exemplify the /k^w/ construction. More specifically, example (230) illustrates the most productive type of sentence in which the main clause (elements 1-5) precedes the /s-/ clause (6-11):

(230) ?i cən ?aat k^{w}əs dáktə k^{w}ə slémeθamšs (4287)

    1 2 3   4   5   6 78   910 11

    'I called a doctor to look me over'

1 proximal	7 absolute
2 'I'	8 'look over'
3 'call him'	9 /-t/ 'transitive'
4 article	10 'me'
5 'doctor'	11 third possessive
6 article	

Example (231) illustrates a less productive type of sentence in which the main clause (6-11) follows the subordinate clause (1-5):

(231) k̓ʷə nəsxʷəṅ sx̌ix̌qəɬ, niʔ ʔəɬ č čečəwəθámš (6395)

      1 2 34   5   6 7 8 9   1011

'When I was still a child you used to help me'

1 article	7 past complete
2 'my'	8 'you(sg)'
3 absolute	9 'help' (Actual)
4 'still, yet'	10 /-t/ 'transitive'
5 'child'	11 'me'
6 nonproximal	

That the /s-/ clauses in these examples are not direct adjuncts is demonstrated by the fact that the semantic roles of subject and goal are already fulfilled by other elements--by <u>cən</u> 'I' and <u>kʷθə dáktə</u> in (230) and by <u>č</u> 'you(sg)' and -<u>ámš</u> 'me' in (231).

There are two types of complementary /s-/ 'absolute' clauses that are not introduced by the article /kʷ/: In one type, the /s-/ clause has as its I.C. partner the predicate /yeɬ/ 'at this instant', which does not occur independently or with a noun adjunct or headless attributive clause. The following two examples illustrate the /yeɬ/ construction:

(232) ʔiʔ <u>yeɬ</u> ceʔ ṅsqáyθámš (T1:179) 'And then you can kill me'

      1   2   3   456 78

1 'and'	5 absolute
2 'at this instant'	6 'kill'
3 future	7 /-t/ 'transitive'
4 'your(sg)'	8 'me'

(233) ʔəẃ <u>yeɬ</u> nəsniʔ ʔík̓ʷət (4822) 'I just threw it away'

      1 ·2   3 45   6

1 contemporaneous	4 absolute
2 'at this instant'	5 nonproximal
3 'my'	6 'throw it away'

Semantically, /yeł/ 'at this instant' designates a specific point in time at which an action is performed and may correspond to the English term 'until' in an expression like 'You cannot see him <u>until</u> tommorrow'.

In the other type of construction that is not marked by the article /k‍ʷ/ the semantic relationship between the main clause and the /s-/ 'absolute' construction is one of sequence. This relationship is illustrated in example (234) in which the main clause (elements 1-7) and the subordinate clause (8-12), which apparently reflect the semantic structure 'I locked the house, my leaving', designate two consecutive events that are denoted in English by the conjunction 'and':

 (234) ni? cən x‍ʷ‍ləklît t‍ᶿ‍ə léləm̓, nəsn əw̓ h‍əye? (5774)
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 910 11 12
   'I locked up the house and left'

1 nonproximal	7 'house'	
2 'I'	8 'my'	
3 location	9 absolute	
4 'lock it'	10 /ni?/ 'nonproximal'	
5 transitive	11 contemporaneous	
6 article	12 'leave'	

2.3.2.2. <u>Adjunct Function</u>

Although in some syntactic contexts as stated in section 2.3.2.1. an /s-/ 'absolute' clause is clearly an I.C. partner to a potentially independent clause, in others the sentence is incomplete without the /s-/ clause. In the latter type of syntactic context its distribution is consistent with the view that it is acting as an adjunct. Like a

noun an /s-/ construction functioning in this way may appear either
with /ʔə/ 'oblique' (2.1.1.2.) in an oblique adjunct or without it in
a direct adjunct. Moreover, in such syntactic environments the /s-/
clause has the semantic status of a noun in an adjunct insofar as it
may occur in the role of subject or goal.

There are two syntactic contexts in which an /s-/ 'absolute'
clause characteristically appears in the semantic role of subject:
after noun predicates and after /ʔəwə/ 'not'. Examples (235a)-(36a)
illustrate the former type of context. In (235a) the occurrence of the
/s-/ clause (2-6) after the nominal predicate /scéeɫtən/ '(be) salmon'
is consistent with the hypothesis that it is acting as a subject
adjunct:

(235a) scéeɫtən kʷ sʔəɫtənct ceʔ (5344) 'We will eat salmon'
　　　 1　　　 2 34　 5 6

　　　 1 'salmon'　　　　　　　　4 'eat'
　　　 2 article　　　　　　　　5 'our'
　　　 3 absolute　　　　　　　 6 future

Semantically, /scéeɫtən/ constitutes the patient referent of the
subordinate clause predicate (element 4) and thereby has the same
anaphoric status as the oblique adjunct (elements 3-5) in example 235b):

(235b) ʔəɫtən ct ʔə tᶿə scéeɫtən (5344a) 'We eat salmon'
　　　 1　　 2 3 4　 5

　　　 1 'eat'　　　　　　　　 4 article
　　　 2 'we'　　　　　　　　　5 'salmon'
　　　 3 oblique

In example (236a) the /s-/ 'absolute' clause (elements 4-8)
again acts as the subject of a predicate phrase (2-3):

(236a) niʔ ɬixʷ skʷeyl kʷə nəsʔíʔ ʔítət (3705b)
    1   2 3   4   5 67 8
    'I have been sleeping for three days'

  1 nonproximal   5 'my'
  2 'three'   6 absolute
  3 'day'   7 proximal
  4 article   8 'sleep'

However, example (236a) differs from (235a) in terms of semantic

reference. In (236a) the predicative phrase as a temporal expression

does not represent a patient entity, but has the same anaphoric status

as the oblique adjunct (4-7) in example (236b):

(236b) ʔi cən ʔítət ʔə kʷθə ɬixʷ skʷeyl (3692)
    1 2 3   4 5   6   7
    'I have been sleeping for three days'

  1 proximal   5 article
  2 'I'   6 'three'
  3 'sleep'   7 'day'
  4 oblique

Where an /s-/ 'absolute' clause acts as the subject referent of

the predicator /ʔəwə/ 'not' there are no special coreference relations.

Instead, the negative construction containing an /s-/ clause is

semantically significant in the manner in which it compares to a

dependent clause negative construction. The two differ insofar as a

dependent clause with /ʔəwə/ 'not' denotes a transitory event--as

conveyed by the semantic structure 'I didn't lose it'--whereas an /s-/

clause, as illustrated in example (237), designates a habitual state

of affairs.

(237) ʔə́wə k̓ʷə nəsʔə́k̓ʷnəxʷ (6264b) 'I never lose it'
　　 1　　2　　3 45　　6

1 'not'　　　　　　　　　4 absolute
2 article　　　　　　　5 'lose it'
3 'my'　　　　　　　　 6 responsible

The occurrence of an /s-/ 'absolute' clause as a subject adjunct
is not limited to /ʔə́wə/ 'not' and nominal predicate constructions.
This wider privilege of occurrence is illustrated in example (238), in
which the /s-/ clause (4-11) is the subject of Өay '(be) ready':

(238) niʔ wəł Өay kə snems təq̓ʷ Өə nəstáləs (6288)
　　　 1　 2　 3　 4 56 7 8　 9 1011
'My wife is ready to go home'
(My wife's going home is ready)

1 nonproximal　　　　　　7 third possessive
2 'now, already'　　　　 8 'go home'
3 'ready'　　　　　　　　9 article (marked)
4 article　　　　　　　 10 'my'
5 absolute　　　　　　　11 'spouse'
6 'go'

In this sentence -s 'third possessive' (element 7) is coreferential
with a following adjunct (9-11) and thereby has the same semantic status
that it has in noun phrases (2.2.2.).

The hypothesis that an /s-/ 'absolute' clause may function as
an adjunct is further supported by the existence of /ʔə/ 'oblique'
constructions containing /s-/ clauses. This type of construction is
illustrated in the following example:

(239) ste č ʔə k̓ʷə nəsyəӨəsӨámə (T3:85)
　　　1　 2 3 4　 5 67　 89

'Do what I tell you'

(Be like according to my telling you)

1 'be like'	6 absolute
2 'you(sg)'	7 'tell'
3 oblique	8 /-t/ 'transitive'
4 article	9 'you(sg)'
5 'my'	

The occurrence of the /s-/ clause in an oblique adjunct rather than a direct one in (239) does not call for a special explanation. As /ste/ 'be like' is an intransitive predicator, only a construction in the semantic role of subject may occur as a direct adjunct. Since the subject role is already fulfilled by /č/ 'you(sg)', a direct adjunct cannot occur. Accordingly, the occurrence of the /s-/ clause with /ʔə/ 'oblique' is consistent with the view that it is syntactically analogous to a noun adjunct of the type described in section 2.1.1.2.

Oblique Relations.

In addition to being construed as a direct adjunct in the role of subject or as an oblique adjunct, an /s-/ 'absolute' clause might be viewed as a patient or goal adjunct in some syntactic environments. This type of analysis is feasible in examples (240)-(41). In (240) the subject role is fulfilled by /č/ 'you(sg)' and it is possible to analyze the /s-/ clause (5-11) as a goal adjunct:

(240) niʔ č ʔəw statəlstəxʷ kʷə nəsniʔ ʔəw statəlstəxʷ (67)

  1   2 3   4   5   6 78   9   10

'You know that I know it'

1 nonproximal	6 'my'
2 'you(sg)'	7 absolute

3 contemporaneous	8 nonproximal
4 'know'	9 contemporaneous
5 article	10 'know'

In (241) the /s-/ construction (6-11), which has patient interpretation, may be viewed as a direct adjunct to the passive predicate (1-3):

(241) təté?təm ?əȝ Jow ḱʷs-se?ts tᶿə lətém (3619a)

     1   23 4   5   6 7 8   9 10 11

'Joe tried to lift the table'

(Lifting the table was being tried by Joe)

1 'trying' (Actual)	7 absolute
2 transitive	8 'lift'
3 third general passive	9 third possessive
4 oblique	10 article
6 article	11 'table'

Since the main clause in each example (elements 1-4 in (240) and 1-5 in (241)) may occur as an independent sentence without the /s-/ clause, the evidence in favour of analyzing them as adjuncts is not compelling. However, such an analysis would be in accord with the aforementioned distributional parallelism found to occur between /s-/ clauses and nouns in oblique adjuncts and in direct adjuncts interpreted in the role of subject.

2.3.2.3. Double Person Marking

If the predicate of an /s-/ construction is transitive, the clause undergoes special morphological marking just like a dependent construction (2.3.1.). As before, a dichotomy may be made between forms which occur only in subordinate clauses--the subordinate passive

suffixes, which mark both nominalized and dependent clauses--and those which occur in both main and subordinate clauses, namely, /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' and the general passive person markers.

General Passive

	singular		plural
1st	-éləm 'I'		-áləm 'we'
2nd	-ám 'you'		-áləm 'you'
3rd		-m 'she, he, it, they'	

Subordinate Passive

	singular		plural
1st	-élt 'I'		-ált 'we'
2nd	-ámət 'you'		-ált 'you'
3rd		-éwət 'he, she, it, they'	

When a subordinate passive suffix occurs, the /s-/ 'absolute' clause is not further marked for person and is thereby parallel in constituent structure to a main clause passive construction. The distribution of the subordinate passive suffixes is illustrated in the following two examples:

(242) ni? ct t̓əl̓q̓əs ?ə kʷθə ckʷim pátən k̓ʷ sləmmált (6388)
     1 2 3   4 ·5   6   · 7   8   910 11 12
     'We waved the red rag in order that we may be seen'

1 nonproximal	7 'rag'
2 'we'	8 article
3 'wave'	9 absolute
4 oblique	10 'see'
5 article	11 /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'
6 'red'	12 'we' (subordinate passive)

(243) nəsƛíʔ kʷ slə́ləmədéɬt ʔə kʷθə nəsnə́xʷəɬ ʔə ḱ əẃ wet ʔaɬ
    1 2   3 45   67 8 9   10 11   12 1314 15 16
    'I want someone to look after my canoe' (5515)
    (My desire is to be looked after in respect to my canoe
      by someone)

.1 'my'	9 article
2 'desire'	10 'my'
3 article	11 'canoe'
4 absolute	12 oblique
5 'look after'	13 article
6 /-t/ 'transitive'	14, 16 'just, merely'
7 'I' (subordinate passive)	15 'someone, who'
8 oblique	

In (242) and (243) the syntactic structure of the /s-/ clause (elements 8-12 and 3-16 respectively) corresponds to that of a main clause passive construction (2.1.1.2.). In each case the patient referent is denoted by a passive person marker and in (243) an agent referent is represented by an oblique adjunct (12-16).

If the /s-/ 'absolute' construction contains /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' or a general passive ending, the first element of the clause is inflected with /-s/ 'third possessive'. This type of marking may be observed in example (244), element 13, and in (245), element 6:

(244) niʔ cən ƛə́lqəs ʔə tθə ckʷim pátən kʷ sləmnéləms (4289)
    1   2   3   4 5 6   7   8 910 1112 13
    'I waved a red rag so that I would be seen'

1 nonproximal	8 article
2 'I'	9 absolute
3 'wave'	10 'see'
4 oblique	11 /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'

5 article	12 'I' (general passive)
6 'red'	13 third possessive
7 'rag'	

(245) sx̌i?s k sqəlet̠s x ʷəň ćex ʷtəs t θ ə s?ax̌ ʷa?s, t θ ə k̇ ʷłeys

    1 2 3 45 6 7   8 910 11 12   13 14 15   16

'He wanted to obtain more nicks--butter clams' (T6:19)

1 'desire'	9 transitive
2 third possessive	10 third transitive agent
3 article	11 article
4 absolute	12 'nicks'
5 'again'	13 third possessive
6 third possessive	14 article
7 'still, yet'	15 'butter clams'
8 'obtain'	16 third possessive

In (244) the first element of the /s-/ clause is a predicate and in (245) it is the direct attribute qəlét 'again' (2.1.2.1.), both of which are inflected with /-s/ 'third possessive'. Although an /s-/ clause containing a transitive predicate reflects the syntactic structure of intransitive constructions insofar as it is marked with a possessive morpheme, it differs from them in coreference relations. In (244) the possessive suffix /-s/ 'third possessive' does not denote the referent of the transitive predicate sləmméləms 'so that I may be seen', which belongs to the nominalized clause.

On the basis of examples (244)-(45) above it might be deduced that /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' and general passive constructions are distributionally analogous. The parallelism, however, is not complete. Where the predicate of the /s-/ 'absolute' clause is the first element and contains /-əs/ 'third agent' the morphological

marking is anomalous. The expected morpheme, /-s/ 'third possessive', does not follow /-əs/ 'third agent' as may be observed in the following example:

(246) lélǝmǝtǝs tᶿǝ sqʷǝméy̓ θǝ pus k̓ʷ sɫéy̓x̌tǝs θǝ k̓ʷé?k̓ʷǝtǝn

    1   2 3 4   5 6 7 89 1011 12 13

    'The dog is watching the cat eating the little mouse'

1 'watching' (Actual)	8 absolute
2 third transitive agent	9 'eat'
3 article	10 transitive
4 'dog'	11 third transitive agent
5 article (marked)	12 article (marked)
6 'cat'	13 'little mouse'
7 article	

Although in most syntactic contexts /-s/ 'third possessive' marks an /s-/ 'absolute' clause once, there are two instances in which it marks the clause twice. If the construction contains two initial predicates in apposition, both are marked with /-s/. This type of appositional construction is exemplified by sentence (247), in which the predicates in question are the intransitive forms nə́wǝ 'you(sg)' and si?ǝn 'Lord, sir'.

(247) ?ǝy̓ k̓ʷ snə́wǝs, si?ə́ms tᶿǝ s?aɫ šqʷálǝwǝn (4122:2)

    1 .2 34 5 6   7 8 9   10

    'Let our thoughts be of you, Lord' (Church text)

    (It is good that our thoughts be of you, Lord)

1 'good'	6 'Lord, sir'
2 article	7 third possessive
3 absolute	8 article
4 'you(sg)'	9 'our'
5 third possessive	10 'thought'

The other instance in which /-s/ 'third possessive' occurs twice is when the initfal element of the /s-/ 'absolute' clause is /ʔə́wə/ 'not' followed by /teʔ/ 'adjectival' as in the following example:

(248) skʷey kʷ sʔəɬtən k sʔəwəs teʔs ʔəñlətém (5518)
     1   2 34   5 67   8 9 10 11 12.
     'You cannot eat without your table'
     (Eating when you have no table is not feasible)

1 'not feasible'	7 'not'
2 article	8 third possessive
3 absolute	9 adjectival
4 'eat'	10 third possessive
5 article	11 'your(sg)'
6 absolute	12 'table'

This status of /ʔə́wə teʔ/ as a double-marked phrase is not limited to /s-/ clauses, but applies also to dependent clauses (3.3.1.), for example, to sentence (249):

(249) ...ʔəẃ ʔə́wəs teʔes téləs (TEH) '...in case he had no money'
          1   2   34 5 6   7

1 contemporaneous	5 third dependent
2 'not'	6 'money'
3 third dependent	7 third possessive
4 adjectival	

There is no apparent reason for the double-marking of /ʔə́wə teʔ/ 'not any' except on the basis of its being a crystallized form.

2.3.2.4. Attributive Clause Pattern[25]

An /s-/ 'absolute' attributive clause differs from the hitherto described complementary construction in internal structure. The

constituent structure of an attributive /s-/ construction may be
observed in example (250a), in which an attributive clause (6-11) is
embedded in an adjunct phrase (4-11) that is the subject of the
predicate θi.

> (250a) nan ʔəw̓ θi kʷθə sqʷəmey̓ niʔ ʔəns̓ʔaməsθaм̓š (955)
>   1   2   3 4   5   6   7 89   10 11
>   'The dog which you gave me is too big'
>   1 'very, too'   7 'your(sg)'
>   2 contemporaneous   8 absolute
>   3 'big'   9 'give'
>   4 article   10 /-t/ 'transitive'
>   5 'dog'   11 'me'
>   6. nonproximal

In (250a) /s-/ 'absolute' and the possessive form are not prefixed to
/niʔ/ 'nonproximal', the first element of the clause, but rather to the
predicate ʔaмəsθaм̓š 'give me it'. Example (250a) also has semantic
significance in that the anaphoric relationship between the adjunct head
(element 5) and the attributive clause (6-11) corresponds to that between
an oblique adjunct (elements 6-8 in example 250b) and the rest of the
sentence in a non-nominalized predication:

> (250b) niʔ č ʔaмəsθaм̓š ʔə kʷθə sqʷəmey̓ (4804)
>   1   2 3   45   6 -7   8
>   'You gave me the dog'
>   1 nonproximal   5 'me'
>   2 'you(sg)'   6 oblique
>   3 'give'   7 article
>   4 /-t/ 'transitive'   8 'dog'

The phrase ʔə kʷθə sqʷəmey̓ in (250b) corresponds semantically to kʷθə
sqʷəmey̓ in (250a), since both phrases are in the role of patient.

The internal structure of an attributive /s-/ 'absolute' construction is maintained in headless attributive clauses. This is apparent in example (251a). Although (251a) differs from (250a) to the extent that it consists of a nominal predicate (element 1) modified by a headless attributive clause (2-9), it resembles (250a) in morphological marking. As in (250a) /s-/ 'absolute' and the possessive form (element 4) are prefixed to the predicate (element 6) and not to the first element ni? 'nonproximal'.

(251a) scéeɫtən kə ni? nəsx̌ɫás ?ə təňa nétəɫ (5794a)
      1   2 3 4 56   7 8   9

'Salmon is what I ate this morning'

1 'salmon'		6 'eat'
2 article		7 oblique
3 nonproximal		8 'this'
4 'my'		9 'morning'
5 absolute		

Furthermore, the attributive clause construction (example 250a) and the headless construction (251a) are characterized by the same semantic structure. Like (250a) example (251a) may be semantically correlated with a non-nominalized main clause containing an oblique adjunct:

(251b) x̌ɫas cən ?ə t⁰ə scéeɫtən ?ə təňa nétəɫ (5794b)
      1   2 3 4 5   6 7   8

'I ate salmon this morning'

1 'eat'		5 'salmon'
2 'I'		6 oblique
3 oblique		7 'this'
4 article		8 'morning'

In (251a) scéeɫtən is anaphorically related to kə ni? nəsx̌ɫás 'that which I ate' in the same way that ?ə t⁰ə scéeɫtən is related to

x̌łas cən 'I ate' in (251b); both expressions are in the role of patient.

Although an attributive clause marked by /s-/ 'absolute'
resembles other attributive clause types insofar as it may appear with
or without an adjunct head, there is one syntactic environment in which
it occurs uniquely. An /s-/ construction that is morphologically
marked as an attributive clause may act as a predicative phrase--either
with a modifying adjunct (252a) or without it (253a).

    (252a) nəsmélq kə nəyásəqʷ (5384) 'I forgot my hat'
          1 23   4 5 6
          1 'my'   4 article
          2 absolute   5 'my'
          3 'forget'   6 'hat'

    (253a) ʔəw̓ nəshéʔk̓ʷ (6214) 'I keep remembering'
          1   2 34
          1 contemporaneous   3 absolute
          2 'my'   4 'remembering' (Actual)

Semantically, sentences like (252a) and (253a) resemble the aforementioned
types of attributive /s-/ clauses. As in the earlier examples the direct
adjunct (elements 4-6 in 252a above) of an /s-/ clause corresponds in
interpretation to an oblique adjunct in a non-nominalized clause
(elements 3-5 in 252b), while the possessive form (/nə-/ 'my' in both
252a and 253a) corresponds to a subject enclitic (/cən/ 'I' in both
252b and 253b) in a non-nominalized clause.

    (252b) melq cən ʔə tᶿə yásəqʷ (5384) 'I forgot my hat'
          1   2   3 4   5
          1 'forget'   4 article
          2 'I'   5 'hat'
          3 oblique

(253b) heʔk̓ʷ cən (6214) 'I remember'
         1   2
    1 'remembering' (Actual)   2 'I'

An attributive clause is morphologically distinct from a complementary one not only when it contains an intransitive predicate, but also when it has a transitive one marked for third person or for passivity. In an attributive /s-/ 'absolute' clause the predicate is inflected with /s-/ 'third possessive' (as in 254) or with a subordinate passive suffix (as in 255), but not with /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' or with a general passive suffix.

(254) cəxʷlé ʔiʔ mək̓ʷ ʔəncə niʔ sⱡiⱡešətálxʷs (4838)
         1   2 3   4   ,5 67   8 9   10
    'He usually invites us everywhere'

    1 'usually, sometimes'   6 absolute
    2 'and'   7 'invite' (Actual)
    3 'every, all'   8 transitive
    4 'where, somewhere'   9 'us'
    5 nonproximal   10 third possessive

(255) niⱡ ʔi sə̀ỳθəstált təńá (6071a)
        1 2 34   56   7
    'This is what we were being told about'

    1 referent   5 transitive
    2 proximal   6 'we' (subordinate pass.)
    3 absolute   7 'this'
    4 'tell'

2.3.3. /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'

/šxʷ-/ 'instrumental', which has two allomorphs (šxʷ- before

vowels and š before consonants) functions like /s-/ 'absolute' to the extent that an element inflected with /šx^w-/ is also inflected with a possessive person marker. Moreover, a /šx^w-/ clause, whether complementary or attributive, follows the pattern for /s-/ clauses in respect to marking with the passive person markers and with /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' (2.3.2.3. <u>Double Person Marking</u> and 2.3.2.4. <u>Attributive Clause Pattern</u>).

The distribution of /šx^w-/ 'instrumental' does not totally match that of /s-/ 'absolute'. In complementary clauses /šx^w-/ unlike /s-/ is not prefixed to a proclitic (2.1.3.2.), but has been found to inflect the initial element /ni?/ 'nonproximal' exclusively except for one example in the corpus in which the first element is /yaθ/ 'always' (2.1.2.2. <u>Adverbs</u>). These types of clauses, moreover, are not introduced by the article /k^w/, which characterizes some /s-/ complementary constructions.

2.3.3.1. Complementary Clauses

Where a /šx^w-/ 'instrumental' construction functions as a complementary clause, it denotes causality and appears in one of two characteristic syntactic contexts: after /nəcim/ 'why' or after /nił/ 'referent' with the interpretation 'that is why (it is so)'. The syntactic status of a /šx^w-/ complementary clause may be explained by either of two hypotheses. According to one hypothesis it is functioning as an adjunct to the main clause-predicate and according to the other it is in attribution to the main clause as a whole.

The adjunct hypothesis appears to be plausible when the predicate of the main clause, which the /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' construction modifies, does not contain a noun adjunct. This is the case in examples (256) and (257), in which the main clauses are respectively nəcim̓ ʔáɬə 'it is why' and niɬ 'that is why (it is so)'. In (256) it is possible to analyze nəcim̓ 'it is why' as the predicate centre and the /šxʷ-/ clause (3-9) as its subject referent in a semantic structure of the type 'Your killing my people is why?'.

    (256) nəcim̓ ʔáɬə ʔəšniʔ x̣ʷayt k̓ʷθə nəməstiməx̣ʷ (T1:160)
           1   2   3 45   6   7   8 9
       'Why did you kill my people?'

1 'why'	6 'kill'
2 curious	7 article
3 /ʔən̓-/ 'your(sg)'	8 'my'
4 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'	9 'people'
5 nonproximal	

Again, in example (257) niɬ is the predicate centre and the /šxʷ-/ clause (2-6) is putatively its subject referent in a semantic structure of the type 'His always farting is it (the reason)':

    (257) niɬ šyaθs ʔəw̓ téq̓əɬs (T7:150) 'It was because he was always
        1   23 4 5 6 7   farting'

1 referent	5 contemporaneous
2 /šxʷ/ 'instrumental'	6 'fart'
3 'always'	7 activity (Actual)
4 third possessive	

The adjunct hypothesis is not the only possible approach to sentences like (256) and (257). The /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' constructions may be construed as modifying the main clauses, but without being

adjunct expressions. This type of analysis is supported by sentences
which contain a predicate, a noun adjunct and a /šx^w-/ clause
(examples 258-60). In (258) and (259) the distribution of the main
clause constituents (elements 1-4 and 1-6 respectively) reflects the
normal sentence pattern of Cowichan. In (258) niɬ 'referent' is the
predicate and the adjunct, t$^\theta$ə ck^{w}im pátən 'the red rag', is its
subject referent.

    (258) niɬ t$^\theta$ə ck^{w}im pátən šis wəɬ ləmnéləm (4282b)

          1 2 3.   4   567 8   9 1Q 11

        'It was by the red rag that I was seen'

1 referent	7 third possessive
2 article	8 'already, now'
3 'red'	9 'see'
4 'rag'	10 /-nəx^w/ 'responsible'
5 /šx^w-/ 'instrumental'	11 'I' (general passive)
6 /ni?/ 'nonproximal'	

In (259) k^{w}əña sxəlíqəɬ 'the children' modifies the proposition ni?
yəx^w ?álə nəcíñ 'it is why'.

    (259) ?a, ni? yəx^w ?álə nəcíñ k^{w}əña sxəlíqəɬ šis xeeñ (T5:13)

            1 2   3   4 . 5   6   789 1Q

      'Oh, I wonder why the children are crying'

1 nonproximal	6 'children'
2 surprise	7 /šx^w-/ 'instrumental'
3 curious	8 /ni?/ 'nonproximal'
4 'why'	9 third possessive
5 'this'	10 'cry'

Putatively the /šx^w-/ 'instrumental' clause in each of the
above examples (elements 5-11 in 258 and 7-10 in 259) are in
apposition to the noun adjuncts. However, there is counterevidence

against this hypothesis. Although this view appears plausible in examples (258)-(59), in (260) the noun adjunct (2-3) is separated from the complementary /šxʷ-/ construction (8-12) by an /s-/ 'absolute' clause, which modifies the main clause (1-3):[26]

(260) niɫ kʷəna snet k sx̌əx̌eyct šəs kʷənətáləm (T5:98)
     1 2   3   4 56   7 8910 11 1213

    'It is because we are crybabies that she took us last night'.

1 referent	8 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'
2 'this'	9 /ni?/ 'nonproximal'
3 'night'	10 third possessive
4 article	11 'take'
5 absolute	12 transitive
6 'crying' (Actual)	13 'we' (general passive)
7 'our'	

It follows, then, that a complementary /šxʷ-/ clause (elements 8-13 in 260) does not constitute a direct adjunct but modifies the potentially independent construction (1-7 in 260), which precedes it.

2.3.3.2. Attributive Clauses

Besides denoting causality as a complementary clause a /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' construction may also appear as an attributive clause with instrumental or (trans)locative interpretation. This type of construction is different in internal structure from the aforementioned complementary type of clause. The constituent structure of an attributive /šxʷ-/ clause may be observed in examples (261)-(62), in which the attributive clause (elements 4-7 in 261 and 7-11 in 262) is embedded in an adjunct phrase (2-7 in 261 and 5-11 in 262) that modifies a predicative expression--niɫ in (261) and 1-4 in (262).

(261) nił t$^\theta$ə sc̓ešt ni? nəšx̌ʷ?íwəs (6277)

    1 2 3   4   5 6 7

'It was a stick which I pointed with'

1 referent   5 'my'

2 article   6 instrumental

3 'stick'   7 'point to'

4 nonproximal

(262) ni? yəq̓ətəm kə θqet neṁ ?əł nəšk̓ʷək̓ʷí? (5348)

    1   . 2 3 4 5 6   7   8   9 10 11

'The tree I used to climb has been felled'

1 nonproximal   7 'go'

2 'fell, topple'   8 past

3 transitive   9 'my'

4 third general passive   10 /šx̌ʷ-/ 'instrumental'

5 article   11 'climb'

6 'tree'

In (261) and (262) /šx̌ʷ-/ 'instrumental' and the possessive form /nə-/ 'my' are not prefixed to the first element of the attributive clause (ni? 'nonproximal' in (261) and neṁ 'go' in (262)), but rather to the predicate (?íwəs 'point at' in (261) and k̓ʷək̓ʷi? 'is felled' in (262).

The attributive type of /šx̌ʷ-/ clause has special semantic status in that the anaphoric relationship between the adjunct head and the attributive clause corresponds to that between an oblique adjunct and the rest of the clause in a non-nominalized[21] sentence such as example (263) or (264). The adjunct head (element 3) in example (261) corresponds in its instrument interpretation to the oblique adjunct (3-5) in the following example:

(263) ?íwəs cən ?ə t$^\theta$ə sc̓ešt (6277) 'I pointed with a stick'

      1   2 .3 4 5

1 'point'	4 article
2 'I'	5 'stick'
3 oblique	

Similarly, the adjunct head (element 6) in example (262) is interpreted in the same way as the oblique adjunct (4-6) in example (264).

(264) k̓ʷək̓ʷíʔ cən ʔəɬ ʔə kə θqet (5348) 'I used to climb a tree'
    1   2 3 4 5 6

1 'climb' (Actual)	4 oblique
2 'I'	5 article
3 past complete	6 'tree'

The internal structure of an attributive construction is maintained in headless /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' clauses. In (265a) a headless clause (2-10) functions syntactically as an adjunct to the nominal predicate scešt '(be) a stick':

(265a) scešt t̓ə niʔ špásəts ʔəsɬəlíqəɬ t̓ə šxʷəlmástən (3582)
    1   2 3 45   6 7 8   9   10
    'A stick is what your children hit the window with'

1 'stick'	6 third possessive
2 article	7 /ʔən-/ 'your(sg)'
3 nonproximal	8 'children'
4 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'	9 article
5 'hit'	10 'window'

In this sentence as in the attributive clauses represented by examples (261)-(62) /šxʷ-/ and /-s/ 'third possessive' are affixed to the predicate--pásət 'hit him'--and not to the first element--niʔ 'nonproximal'. Moreover, as an attributive clause construction example (265a) may be semantically correlated with a non-nominalized main clause, such as the one in example (265b) containing an oblique adjunct.

(265b) niʔ pásətəs ʔəńsx̌əlíqəł t⁰ə šx̌ʷəlmáʂtən ʔə t⁰ə sc̓ešt
     1 2 3 4 5 6   7 8   9 10 11
   'Your children hit the window with the stick' (4406)

1 nonproximal	7 article
2 'hit'	8 'window'
3 transitive	9 oblique
4 third transitive agent	10 article
5 'your(sg)'	11 'stick'
6 'children'	

sc̓ešt in (265a) is anaphorically related to the headless attributive clause in the same way that ʔə t⁰ə sc̓ešt 'with a stick' is related to the rest of the sentence in (265b), both expressions being in the role of instrument.

In emphatic constructions, in which the adjunct head and attributive clause form an independent construction, the /šx̌ʷ-/ 'instrumental' clause may have the same semantic structure as an /s-/ 'absolute' construction that is attributive to a locative predicator. Example (266) of a /šx̌ʷ-/ clause may be compared with (267a), an example of an /s-/ clause. In example (266) the same relationship (locative) exists between the attributive /šx̌ʷ-/ clause (elements 3-6) and the adjunct head (1-2) as exists in (267a) between the /s-/ 'absolute' complementary clause (5-10) and the locative predicative phrase (1-4).

(266) mək̓ʷ ʔə́ncə niʔ šneḿct, kə ct sewq̓ʷt (4624)
     1   2   3   45 6   7 10 11
   'We looked everywhere for him'

1 'every, all'	7 article
2 'where, somewhere'	8 /s-/ 'absolute'
3 nonproximal	9 /niʔ/ 'nonproximal'

4 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'   10 'our'

5 'go'   11 'look for'

6 'our'

(267a) ʔi ʔə téña cécəw̓ k̓ʷ shiʔw̓áləmct ʔəɫ (5689b)

        1 2 3   4   5 67   8 9

'It is on this beach that we used to play'

1 proximal   6 absolute

2 oblique   7 'play' (Actual)

3 'this'   8 'our'

4 'beach'   9 past complete

5 article

From a syntactic viewpoint the /s-/ 'absolute' construction is
distinct from the /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' construction in that the former
contains a locative predicator like /ʔi/ 'proximal' or /scícəm/ 'near'
modified by an oblique adjunct (elements 2-4 in 267a above). A
locative phrase unlike a noun phrase has the same internal structure
whether it is a predicate centre itself (elements 1-4 in 267a) or in
subordinate immediate constituency with another element acting as a
predicate (elements 6-9 in 267b).

(267b) niʔ ct yaθ ʔəw̓ hiʔw̓áləm ʔi ʔə téña cécəw̓ (1086)

        1 2 3   4 5   6 7 8   9

'We always play on this beach'

1 nonproximal   6 proximal

2 'we'   7 oblique

3 'always'   8 'this'

4 contemporaneous   9 'beach'

5 'play' (Actual)

Although a /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' attributive clause resembles
other attributive clause types insofar as it may appear with or

without an adjunct head, like an /s-/ 'absolute' clause it may occur
in one syntactic environment in which non-nominalized attributive
clauses do not appear. A /šxʷ-/ construction morphologically marked
as an attributive clause may function predicatively as in the following
example (elements 1-4):

(268) ʔi nəšqʷílqʷəlíwən kʷθeẏ swə́ẏqeʔ (5729a)
    1 2 34   5   6
    'I have been thinking about that man'
    1 proximal   4 'think about'
    2 'my'   5 'that'
    3 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'   6 'man'

As well as occurring in construction with an adjunct a /šxʷ-/
'instrumental' construction that is morphologically marked as an
attributive clause may, in addition, modify an apparently idiosyncratic
expression /ʔə́wə teʔ/ 'not any'. This occurrence of the /šxʷ-/ clause
is illustrated in examples (269) and (270). That the /šxʷ-/ clauses
(elements 3-6 in both 269 and 270) are of the attributive type is
clear. In both (269) and (270) /šxʷ-/ is prefixed to the predicate,
although in (269) another form, ni? 'nonproximal', is the first element
of the subordinate clause.

(269) ʔə́wə teʔ niʔ šstátəlstəxʷs (6394a)
      1   2   3 45   6
    'He didn't know about it'
    1 'not'   4 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'
    2 adjectival   5 'know'
    3 nonproximal   6 third possessive

(270) ʔə́wə teʔ šstátəlstéwət (5157) 'Nobody knows him'
      1   2   34   5 6

1 'not'	4 'know'
2 adjectival	5 /-stəxʷ/ 'causative'
3 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'	6 third subordinate passive

The person markers of the /šxʷ-/ clause in each example, moreover, are characteristic of an attributive construction. As examples (269) and (270) might suggest, the subordinate clause predicate is inflectible with /-s/ 'third possessive' or a subordinate passive ending, but not with /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' or a general passive suffix.

Conceivably /ʔə́wə teʔ/ 'not any', despite its semantic interpretation, might be analyzed as an adjunct head, in which case its occurrence with a /šxʷ-/ clause would not be idiosyncratic. However, its distribution in non-nominalized constructions provides no motivation for such a hypothesis. In (271), in which the occurrence of /ʔe/ 'interrogative' shows that /ʔə́wə teʔ/ consists of two free forms, /ʔə́wə teʔ/ is in adjectival attribution to the interrogative predicator /wet/ 'someone, who' (2.2.1.3.), ʔə́wə ʔe teʔ wet 'nobody' being an adjunct head to ʔi '(who is) here'.

(271) ʔə́wə ʔe teʔ wet ʔi (1215a) 'Is there nobody (who is) here?'
    1   2 3 4 5

1 'not'	4 'someone, who'
2 interrogative	5 proximal
3 adjectival	

2.4. Compound Clauses

Up to this point sentence types have been discussed in which one clause is dependent upon another. In Cowichan as in a language like

English there is also the compound clause, in which two or more clauses of the same type (main or subordinate) are characteristically conjoined by the morpheme /ʔiʔ/ 'additive'.[27] This form is semantically equivalent to the English words 'and', 'but', 'or' and 'then' (after an 'if' clause), but syntactically distinct from them. In English the constituents coordinated by 'and' have to be of the same type, for example, two nouns or noun phrases in expressions of the type, 'three sheep and three cows' or 'three sheep and cows'. In Cowichan, expressions are not conjoined by /ʔiʔ/ on this basis. A compound clause consists of either an adjunct (2.4.3.) or an additive emphatic (2.4.2.) and a clause or of two clauses (2.4.1.). As will be observed later, a compound clause is syntactically parallel to a simple one in that main or subordinate compound clauses are morphologically marked on the same basis as main or subordinate simple ones.

As an introductory element to a clause /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' differs from other forms such as /niʔ/ 'nonproximal' and /ʔi/ 'proximal' in that it does not occur with enclitics (2.1.3.1.). One other form, /ʔiwawə/ 'perhaps, probably' apparently functions in this way:

(272) ʔiwawə ɬəməxʷ ceʔ ʔəw kʷéyələs (956)
     1   2   3 4 5   6
    'Perhaps it will rain tommorrow'

1 'perhaps'	3 future	5 'tommorrow'
2 'rain'	4 contemporaneous	6 third dependent

Possibly this latter anomaly may be resolved if the ʔiwawə expression is viewed as a compound sentence in which ʔiwawə is conjoined to the rest of the construction.

2.4.1. Clause Conjoining

In a compound predication two types of clauses may be conjoined: main ones and dependent ones (2.3.1.). Where two main clauses are conjoined there is a temporal or causal anaphoric relationship between them. Such a relationship may be explicitly expressed by a predicative expression with a temporal meaning such as /nétəɬ/ 'morning', /caléqəɬ/ 'yesterday' or /skʷeyl/ 'day'. This type of expression may be observed in example (273a), elements 1-5, as follows:

(273a) ʔəw̓ yaθ p̓eʔ məkʷ nétəɬ ʔiʔ nem̓ taxʷ ʔə tθə stálə̓w̓ (T4:3)
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 10 11
     'Always every morning (and) he went down to the river'

1 contemporaneous	7 'go'
2 'always'	8 'go down'
3 certain	9 oblique
4 'every, all'	10 article
5 'morning'	11 'river'
6 additive	

In (273a) the phrase, məkʷ nétəɬ 'every morning', typifies the semantic role of a temporal predicative expression in an /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' construction. This phrase in its temporal meaning resembles an oblique adjunct like ʔə kʷθə nétəɬ 'in the morning' in (273b), although unlike the latter it receives focus.

(273b) niʔ č ʔálə x̌čeθət kʷə sniʔ həyéʔ ʔə kʷθə nétəɬ (3707)
     1   2 3 ·4   5   678 9   10 11   12
     'Where do you go, when you leave in the morning?'

1 nonproximal	7 /s-/ 'absolute'
2 'you(sg)'	8 /niʔ/ 'nonproximal'
3 curious	9 'leave'

4 'go off'   10 oblique

5 article   11 article

6 /ʔən-/ 'your(sg)'   12 'morning'

The temporal-conditional semantic relationship between two conjoined main clauses is not limited to constructions in which a temporal predicator is present. In some compound constructions the first clause denotes an activity that is not completed, while the second one denotes another activity that interrupts it. This is the case in the following example:

(274) xʷəʔé cən hənʔəmətən ʔiʔ xʷiyák̓ʷəm kə nəkáa (4235a)
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   10 1112
    'My car broke down before I got home'
    (I wasn't home and my car broke down)

    1 developmental   7 additive
    2 /ʔəwə/ 'not'   8 developmental
    3 'I'   9 'break (down)'
    4 'return'   10 article
    5 'be home'   11 'my'
    6 'I' (dependent)   12 'car'

In other compound constructions the interrelationship between the first and second clause is conditional. This relationship is expressed in (275), in which the first clause (elements 1-3) denotes the condition and the second (4-11), the consequence:

(275) mi č xʷəʔáləm ʔiʔ ƛeʔ cən ceʔ wəɬ ləmstámə (259)
    1 2 3   4 5 6 7 8 9 1011
    'You come back and I will then show you again'
    1 'come'   7 future
    2 'you(sg)'   8 'then, already'
    3 'come back'   9 'show'

4	additive	10	/-stəxʷ/ 'causative'
5	'again'	11	'you(sg)'
6	'I'		

The relationship of conditionality may be more explicitly expressed by means of a complex formula /ha...ʔiʔ/ 'if...then', in which /ha/ 'if' introduces the first clause and /ʔiʔ/ 'then', the second:

(276) ha č nəm həye? ʔiʔ nəm cən ƛ̓ əẃ həye? (679)
        1 2 3   4   5   6   7   8 9 10
        'If you(sg) go away, I will go away too'

1	'if'	6	'go'
2	'you(sg)'	7	'I'
3	'go'	8	'also, too'
4	'go away'	9	contemporaneous
5	additive	10	'go away'

Although semantically there is a special relationship between two main clauses in a compound predication, the syntactic structure of each clause follows from that of an independently occurring main clause. In example (274) mentioned earlier the first clause (1-5) maintains the pattern that is characteristic of negative constructions (2.3.1.2.) and in (273a) above the occurrence of the adverb /yaθ/ 'always' (2.1.2.2.) before the predicative expression (elements 4-6) follows from normal sentence structure.

The internal structure of a compound predication is maintained when it is embedded as a complementary dependent clause. As such the predication is morphologically marked in the same manner as a simple subordinate clause. This marking is apparent in example (277a) as follows:

(277a) ʔəwə cə ceʔ x̌ɫásən ʔiʔ xʷiʔ ʔəw̓ ɫeɫəq̓ən ʔálə x̌əmqən

    1   2 3 4   5 6 7   8 9   10 11 12

'I am not going to eat and then lie down all day' (4225a)

1 'not'	7 'then, next'
2 /cən/ 'I'	8 contemporaneous
3 future	9 'lie down'
4 'eat'	10 'I' (dependent)
5 'I' (dependent)	11 curious
6 additive	12 'all day'

In (277a) the internal structure of the compound clause (elements 4-12)
follows from that of the sentence in (277b) insofar as the subordinate
clause morpheme -ən 'I' corresponds to the main clause one cən 'I'
just as it does in simple sentences.

(277b) x̌ɫas cən ʔiʔ xʷiʔ ʔəw̓ ɫeɫəq̓ cən ʔálə x̌əmqən (4225b)

    1   2   3 4   5 6   7 8   9

'I am going to eat and lie down all day'

1 'eat'	6 'lie down'
2 'I'	7 'I'
3 additive	8 curious
4 'then, next'	9 'all day'
5 contemporaneous	

2.4.2. Additive Emphatics

In addition to containing two or more potentially independent
sentences, both of which may be marked by subject enclitics (2.1.3.1.),
a compound predication may consist of two major constituents only one
of which contains a subject enclitic. The predicative centre of the
initial construction is an additive emphatic, one of a group of
predicators with a special syntactic property: either the emphatic,

which occurs initially, or the /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' constituent or both
cannot function as an independent sentence. The emphatics are as
follows: /x̌ʷáləq/ 'almost (non-control)', /cəlél/ 'almost', /x̌ʷəm/
'can, able to', /scék̓ʷəl/ 'how, somehow', /cəx̌ʷlé/ 'sometimes',
/təmtém/ 'sometime, when' and /nəc̓éx̌ʷ/ 'once'.

2.4.2.1. Class 1 Additive Emphatics

The additive emphatics may be divided into two classes on the
basis of the distribution of the enclitics (2.1.3.1.). In a compound
clause containing a class 1 emphatic all the enclitics that occur are
attracted to the emphatic. In a clause containing a class 2 emphatic
the subject enclitic (2.1.1.1.) follows the first element after /ʔiʔ/
'additive' of the /ʔiʔ/ constituent. /x̌ʷáləq/ 'almost (non-control)',
/cəlél/ 'almost', /x̌ʷəm/ 'can, able to' and /scék̓ʷəl/ 'how, somehow'
are class I emphatics. /x̌ʷáləq/, the first of these elements, differs
from /cəlél/ in that it denotes an action performed without the
speaker's full control whereas /cəlél/ is semantically neutral.

Where a class 1 emphatic occurs, the /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' constituent
of the compound sentence has some of the formal properties of an
independent clause. This is the case in sentences (278)-(281), which
illustrate the distribution of the four class I emphatics. In
(278)-(79), for example, the predicate is followed by a direct adjunct
in the usual manner (2.1.1. Predication and Person Marking).

   (278) x̌im cən ʔəw cəlél ʔiʔ ɬəx̌ʷnəx̌ʷ t̓ə nəsyéye (1316)
      1 2 3 4   5 6 7 8 9 10
     'I nearly spat upon my friend'

1 'very much so'	6 'spit'
2 'I'	7 responsible
3 contemporaneous	8 article
4 'almost'	9 'my'
5 additive	10 'friend'

(279) scék^{w}əl yəx^w c ʔálə ʔiʔ k^{w}ənəx^w t$^\theta$ə yə́x^{w}ələʔ (T1:86)

    1   2 _ 3 4 5 6   7 8

    'How am I going to catch that eagle?'

1 'how, somehow'	5 additive
2 surprise	6 'take'
3 /cən/ 'I'	7 article
4 curious	8 'eagle'

(280) x̌^{w}áləq cən ʔiʔ niʔ híləm (6085) 'I almost fell over'

    1   2 3 4 5

1 'almost (non-control)'	4 nonproximal
2 'I'	5 'fall over'
3 additive	

(281) x̌^{w}əm cən ʔiʔ ʔəw̓ čewətálə (T7:40) 'I can help you'

    1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 'can, able to'	5 'help'
2 'I'	6 transitive
3 additive	7 'you(pl)'
4 contemporaneous	

However, since all the enclitics are attracted to the additive emphatic, the /ʔiʔ/ constituent is not a potentially independent clause. A compound clause containing an additive emphatic, therefore, is of a different syntactic type from one containing two main clauses.

Two of the class 1 additive emphatics, /x̌^{w}əm/ 'can, able to' and /scék^{w}əl/ 'how, somehow' as predicators are not limited in their

distribution to compound predications, but may be modified by

complementary /s-/ 'absolute' clauses (examples 282-83) as follows:

(282) x̌ʷəm kʷə nəsʔəw̌ čəwətálə (T7:43) 'I could help you'

    1   ; 2   3 45   6 7 8

    1 'can, able to'   5 contemporaneous
    2 article   6 'help'
    3 'my'   7 transitive
    4 absolute   8 'you(pl)'

(283) scék̓ʷəl k̓ʷ sʔaməsθamš (5505) 'How much will you give me?'

    1   2 345   67

    1 'how, somehow'   5 'give'
    2 article   6 /-t/ 'transitive'
    3 /ʔəň-/ 'your(sg)'   7 'me'
    4 absolute

/scék̓ʷəl/ 'how, somehow' is in two respects idiosyncratic. As

a predicate it may, unlike the other emphatics, be modified by a noun

adjunct. This distribution of /scék̓ʷəl/ is illustrated in example

(284) in which the direct adjunct (elements 2-4) is interpreted as a

subject:

(284) scék̓ʷəl k̓ʷθə ʔəňtélə (973) 'How much money do you have?'

    1   2   3 4

    1 'how much'   3 'your(sg)'
    2 article   4 'money'

/scék̓ʷəl/ 'how, somehow' is also idiosyncratic in that in a negative

construction it is marked for third person. Example (285) differs

from the syntactically expected expression *ʔə́wə cən scék̓ʷələn ʔiʔ

m̓i ƛ̓eʔ təq̓ʷ.

(285) ʔə́wə scék̓ʷələs ʔiʔ m̓i cə ƛ̓eʔ tə́q̓ʷ (5501b)

    1   2   3 4 5 6 7   8

'I am never going to come back home'

   1 'not'   5 'come'

   2 'somehow, how'   6 /cən/ 'I'

   3 third dependent   7 'again'

   4 additive   8 'go home'

In this type of construction the conjoined constituents, elements 1-3 and 5-8, are potentially independent sentences.

2.4.2.2. Class 2 Additive Emphatics

The class 2 additive emphatics may be divided into two subtypes on the basis of the distribution of the enclitics: /təmtém/ 'when, sometime', which occurs with any enclitic except a subject one,[28] and /cəxʷlé/ 'sometimes' and /nəcéxʷ/ 'once', which are not modified by any enclitics. This distribution of elements is illustrated in examples (286)-(88). In each of the three examples the subject enclitics (/cən/ 'I' in 286-87 and /č/ 'you(sg)' in 288) occur in the /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' construction.

(286) cəxʷlé ʔiʔ yəʔítət cən (5162) 'Sometimes I take a nap'
     1   2 3 4   5

   1 'sometimes'   4 'sleep'

   2 additive   5 'I'

   3 serial

(287) nəcéxʷ ʔiʔ niʔ cən qáʔqaʔ ʔə tᶿə pə́yə (5521a)
     1   2 3 4 5   6 7 8
   'Once in a while I drink beer'

   1 'once'   5 'drink'

   2 additive   6 oblique

   3 nonproximal   7 article

   4 'I'   8 'beer'

(288) təmtém <u>ce?</u> (?i?) x̌e? č̣ wəɬ làmnàm̓š (6088b)

    1   2   3   4   5 6 7 89

'Some day you will see me again'

1 'sometime, when'   6 'already, then'

2 future   7 'see'

3 additive   8 /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'

4 'again'   9 'me'

5 'you(sg)'

In example (288) the presence of the enclitic /ce?/ 'future' after /təmtém/ 'when, sometime' gives substance to the view that this emphatic is syntactically distinct from /cəxʷlé/ 'sometimes' and /nəc̓éxʷ/ 'once'.

Like the class 1 emphatics, /scékʷəl/ 'how, somehow' and /x̌ʷəm/ 'can, able to' (2.4.2.1.), the class 2 emphatics, /təmtém/ 'when, sometime' and /nəc̓éxʷ/ 'once', may be modified by a complementary /s-/ 'absolute' clause as in the following:

(289) ni? ce? təmtém skʷeyl k̓ʷə shəyé? (6075d)

    1 2 3   4   5 678

'What day are you leaving?'

1 nonproximal   5 article

2 future   6 /?ən̓-/ 'your(sg)'

3 'sometime, when' 7 absolute

4 'day'   8 'leave'

(290) nəc̓éxʷ k̓ʷə s?ə́k̓ʷnəxʷəs k̓ʷθə nəšxʷ?áq̓ʷa? ?ə ɬə bowt (6090)

   1   2 34 5   6 7   8 9   10 11 12

'Once my brother lost the boat'

1 'once'   7 article

2 article   8 'my'

3 absolute   9 'sibling'

4 'lose'   10 oblique

5 responsible   11 article (marked)

6 third transitive agent 12 'boat'

A compound construction containing an additive emphatic may act as a subordinate clause. When it has this syntactic function it is like any other type of compound construction in that it is morphologically marked in the same way as a simple clause. In a compound complementary /s-/ clause /s-/ 'absolute' and a possessive person marker mark the first element of it and in a dependent compound clause a dependent person marker appears.

The morphological marking of subordinate compound clauses containing additive emphatics may be observed in examples (291)-(92). In (291a) /s-/ 'absolute' and the possessive marker /-s/ 'third possessive' do not inflect the first element of the /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' clause, but only the first element of the compound construction as a whole, namely, /cəxʷléʔ/ 'sometimes'. This fact may be verified by comparing example (291a), elements 6-19, with example 291b, elements 8-19:

(291a) niʔ č ʔəw státəlstəxʷ kʷə scəxʷlés ʔiʔ ʔəwə nəsƛ̓iʔəs
    1   2 3 4   5   6 78   9 10 11   1213 14

kʷə nəsnem xʷčəθət (3805a)
15 161718 19

'You know that sometimes I don't want to go out'

1 nonproximal	8 'sometimes'	15 article
2 'you(sg)'	9 third possessive	16 'my'
3 contemporaneous	10 additive	17 absolute
4 'know'	11 'not'	18 'go'
5 causative	12 'my'	19 'go out'
6 article	13 'desire'	
7 absolute	14 third dependent	

(291b) cəxʷlé ʔi? ʔə́wə nəsx̌iʔəs k̓ʷə nəsném xʷč̓ə́θət (3805b)

      8   10 11   1213 14 15 161718 19

      'Sometimes I don't want to go out'

This morphological marking is consistent with the view that the

compound predication corresponds distributionally to a simple clause

in its embedding to a main clause.

    In example (292a) the dependent compound predication (6-12) is

formally analogous to a simple dependent predication. The dependent

person marker (element 8) in inflecting only x̌ʷəm 'can, able to' and

not the first element of the /ʔi?/ 'additive' clause, m̓i 'come', as

well is not idiosyncratic in its occurrence.

(292a) m̓i cən c əw̓ ʔéwə ʔəw̓ x̌ʷəmən ʔi? m̓i w̓ técəl (3288)

      1 2   3 4 5   6   7   8 9   10 11 12

     'I will come if I can (get there)'

1 'come'	7 'can, able to'	
2 'I'	8 'I' (dependent)	
3 /ce?/ 'future'	9 additive	
4 contemporaneous	10 'come'	
5 'come'	11 contemporaneous	
6 contemporaneous	12 'arrive, get there'	

The single appearance of -ən 'I' (dependent) in the first clause (6-8)

of the compound predication follows from that of its main clause

counterpart cən 'I' in (292b), just as it would in the case of a simple

clause.

(292b) x̌ʷəm cən ʔi? m̓i w̓ técəl (3288) 'I can come'

      1   2 3   4 56

1 'can, able to'	4 'come'
2 'I'	5 contemporaneous
3 additive	6 'arrive'

2.4.3. Conjoining of Adjuncts and Clauses

There are two types of constructions in Cowichan in which a direct adjunct and a potentially independent sentence are conjoined: the preposing and the postposing. In the preposing type an adjunct is conjoined to an /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' construction that contains a main clause. In the postposing type an adjunct is introduced by /ʔiʔ/ and follows either an entire main clause or a single part of it--either a predicator or one of the directional forms, /nem/ 'go' or /mi/ 'come', which may modify a predicator. In the preposing type of construction the adjunct is coreferential with another form whereas in the postposing type the adjunct is semantically coequal to another element.

2.4.3.1. Preposed Adjunct

In a preposed adjunct construction there is a coreference relationship between the adjunct and the following /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' clause. Accordingly, the adjunct is interpreted as the subject of the /ʔiʔ/ clause predicate when it is intransitive, but as being in the role of agent or experiencer and coreferential with /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' when the predicate is transitive. The latter type of coreference relationship is illustrated in examples (293)-(94). In (293) the adjunct (elements 2-4) is anaphorically related to the predicate (7-9) of a main clause (6-11).

(293) (niʔ) łə puṣct ʔiʔ (niʔ) łeýx̌təs tˢə sməyəθ (6307)
     1   2 3 4 5   6   7 89 10 11
     'Our cat--she eats deer meat'

<div style="columns">

1 nonproximal

2 article (marked)

3 'cat'

4 'our'

5 additive

6 nonproximal

7 'eat'

8 transitive

9 third transitive agent

10 article

11 'deer (meat)'

</div>

In (294) the coreference relationship between the adjunct (elements 1-2) and the morpheme /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' exists even though the predicate (11-13) to which it is attached belongs to a subordinate clause (10-13).

(294) t$^\theta$ə s?éləx^w ?í? λəẃ niɬ ?aĺ ɬə stíləm ni? némostx^{w}əs

    1 2   3 4 5 6 7 8 9   10 11 12 13

    'The old man sang the same song again' (5363)

    (The old man and it was the same song which he brought out'

1 article

2 'old'

3 additive

4 'again'

5, 7 'just, merely'

6 referent

8 article (marked)

9 'song'

10 nonproximal

11 'go'

12 causative

13 third transitive agent

In each of the above two examples the agent/experiencer interpretation of the preposed adjunct is predictable from the semantic structure of the /?i?/ construction, in which the adjunct head (element 11 in (293) and elements 4-9 in (294)) has patient interpretation.

The preposed adjunct construction has syntactic as well as semantic import to the extent that whatever phrase may act as a preposed adjunct may also enter into construction with the main clause contained within the /?i?/ 'additive' expression. This type of distribution may be observed in examples (295a) and (295b) in each of which the adjunct,

t^Θə sməyəθ 'the deer', has patient interpretation.

   (295a) t^Θə sməyəθ ?i? ?əwə nəsλ̓í?əs (5675c)

        1 2   3 4   5 6   7

       'I don't like deer meat'

      1 article   5 'my'

      2 'deer'   6 'desire'

      3 additive   7 third dependent

      4 'not'

   (295b) ?əwə nəsλ̓í?əs t^Θə sməyəθ (5675b) 'I don't like deer meat'

         4   5 6   7   1 2

Syntactically, the occurrence of t^Θə sməyəθ 'the deer' as a preposed adjunct is not arbitrary, but may be connected with the fact that the predicate nəsλ̓i? 'I like' may take a direct adjunct. In a generative approach one might state that the simple clause adjunct (example 295b) is moved to sentence initial position to form a compound construction (example 295a).

2.4.3.2. Postposed Adjunct[29]

    In a postposed adjunct construction the adjunct, which is introduced by /?i?/ 'additive', may be semantically coequal to either another adjunct or to a person marker, which may be either plural or--less acceptably-- singular without apparently affecting the semantic structure. Thus, semantic collocations are possible as follows, the latter two being identical in meaning: t^Θə swə́yqe? ?i? θə stέni 'the man and the woman', ceep ?i? k ənsyéye 'you and your friend' and č ?i? k ənsyéye 'you and your friend'.

Conceivably the semantically coordinated expressions of a postposed adjunct construction might be analyzed like the English phrases 'the man and the woman' and 'you and your friend' as constituents formed by phrasal coordination. This hypothesis appears to be plausible in sentences like (296)-(97), in which the putatively coordinated expressions are juxtaposed. In (296) the sentence consists of an attributive clause (9-11) and an adjunct head construction (1-8), which contains two apparently coordinated adjuncts (1-4) and (6-8).

(296) kʷθə sə́n̓x̌e nəšxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ, ʔiʔ tθə syéyes, niʔ ʔəx̌ tawn (101)
      1   2   3 4   5 6 7   8 9   10 11
   'My older brother and his friend are in town'

1 article	6 article
2 'eldest'	7 'friend'
3 'my'	8 third possessive
4 'sibling'	9 nonproximal
5 additive	10 oblique 11 'town'

In (297) the putative adjunct expression (3-9), in which two adjuncts appear to be conjoined, may be construed as the subject of the predicate, təyəl 'go upriver'.

(297) niʔ təyəl kʷθə nəšəyəɬ (ʔiʔ kʷθə syéyes) ʔə tθə stáləw̓
      1   2   3   4 5   6   7   8   9 10 11 12
   'My older brother (and his friend) went upriver' (5331)

1 nonproximal	7 article
2 'go upriver'	8 'friend'
3 article	9 third possessive
4 'my'	10 oblique
5 'older sibling'	11 article
6 additive	12 'river'

These analyses of (296) and (297) constitute one approach.

The constructions exemplified in examples (296)-(97) above may be given an alternative explanation, which will be termed the paratactic hypothesis, to that of phrasal coordination. The /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' adjunct (elements 5-8 in (296) and 6-9 in (297)) may be analyzed as an I.C. partner to the rest of the sentence. Although this type of analysis is not motivated by the semantic structure of the English translation, it is consistent with the facts of Cowichan syntax. The hypothesis that the /ʔiʔ/ adjunct in (296) and (297) is a dependent constituent is supported by the fact that the rest of the clause may occur as an independent sentence without it.

The argument in favour of the paratactic hypothesis and against the hypothesis of phrasal coordination becomes more compelling when applied to a clause in which it is an adjunct and a person marker that are semantic coequals. This type of clause is illustrated by example (298), in which the coequal person marker and adjunct are respectively ceep 'you(pl)' and k ənsyéye 'your friend':

(298) nem ʔə ceep ʔiʔ k ənsyéye łəmčt kə stᶿuum (5262)
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7   8   9 10
    'Are you and your friend going to pick berries?'

1 'go'	6 'your(sg)'
2 /ʔe/ 'interrogative'	7 'friend'
3 'you(pl)'	8 'pick (berries)'
4 additive	9 article
5 article	10 'berry'

Although the person marker and the adjunct might appear to be phrasally coordinated to form the constituent, ceep ʔiʔ k ənsyéye 'you and your friend', on the basis of juxtaposition, this type of analysis is

anomalous, since without the /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' adjunct (4-7) <u>ceep</u> 'you(pl)' as an enclitic would otherwise be an I.C. partner to the preceding head element, <u>nem</u> 'go'.

If the paratactic hypothesis is applied, according to which the /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' adjunct modifies the rest of the sentence, there is no longer an anomaly in example (298) above. If the rest of the sentence <u>nem ʔə ceep...ɬəmčt kə stᶿuum</u> 'Are you going to pick berries?', which may occur independently, is analyzed as a head constituent in (298), the occurrence of <u>ceep</u> 'you(pl)' along with <u>ʔə</u> 'interrogative' after the first element follows from the general distribution of enclitics in clauses of all types (2.1.3.1.). The paratactic hypothesis is still plausible in the alternative type of compound construction in which a singular person marker /č/ 'you(sg)' appears--albeit less acceptably--instead of /ceep/ 'you(pl)'. In this case the head constituent would be <u>nem ʔə č...ɬəmčt kə stᶿuum</u> 'Are you going to pick berries?', which may occur independently.

In clauses in which an adverb (2.1.2.2.) is present, the hypothesis of phrasal conjunction becomes even less plausible than in examples (296)-(98) above. In a sentence like (299) below, in which the predicate <u>kʷeykʷi</u> 'hungry' is modified by the adverb, <u>ƛim</u> 'very much so', the subject enclitic (element 2a or 2b) is no longer juxtaposed to the predicate. In accordance with the normal pattern of a Cowichan sentence the enclitic is attracted to the first element of the clause, <u>ƛim</u>, whereas the /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' adjunct follows the predicate.

(299) λ̓iṁ cən/ct ʔəw̓ k̓ʷéyk̓ʷi ʔiʔ tᶿə nəmén (5231)

    1   2a 2b 3 4   5 6   7 8

    'My father and I are very hungry'

1 'very much so'	5 additive
2a 'I'	6 article
2b 'we'	7 'my'
3 contemporaneous	8 'father'
4 'hungry'	

Just as in examples (296)-(98) the internal structure of (299) is consistent with the view that the /ʔiʔ/ adjunct is a subordinate I.C. partner to the rest of the sentence, which as before may occur independently.

    An adjunct may be the semantic coequal of a goal suffix. As in the case of the subject enclitics the internal structure of the clause does not reflect a special pattern based on phrasal coordination. Syntactically, a sentence like (300), which contains a goal person marker, resembles (298)-(99) insofar as the /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' adjunct may be analyzed as being subordinate to the rest of the sentence, which potentially forms an independent clause.

(300) niʔ ʔe č ləmnáṁš/ləmnáɫxʷ ʔiʔ ɫə nəšxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ (5342)

    1 2 3 4 56a 4 56b. 7   8 9 10

    'Did you see me and my sister?'

1 nonproximal	6a 'me'
2 interrogative	6b 'us'
3 'you(sg)'	7 additive
4 'see'	8 article (marked)
5 /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'	9 'my'
	10 'sibling'

In this type of sentence, in which both a subject enclitic and a goal suffix appear, one might anticipate ambiguity in coreference relations depending upon whether the /ʔiʔ/ adjunct is coequal to the enclitic or to the suffix. Thus, sentence (300) is putatively amenable to the interpretation 'Did you and my sister see me?'. However, the latter type of interpretation is only minimally acceptable to Cowichan speakers, who prefer one of the type 'Did you see me and my sister?', in which the person marker is anaphorically related to the possessive form attached to the head of the coequal adjunct.

An /ʔiʔ/ 'additive' adjunct may be semantically coequal not only to a subject enclitic or to a goal suffix, but also to a passive suffix. This type of semantic collocation is apparent in example (301), in which, as in the case of the aforementioned /ʔiʔ/ adjuncts, the /ʔiʔ/ construction is attributive to the rest of the sentence, which may occur independently.

(301) niʔ ləmnáləm, ʔiʔ kʷθə n̓šxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ, kʷ sniʔ q̓ʷim

     1   2 34   5   6   78   9 101112 13

     'You and your brother were seen disembarking'

1 nonproximal	8 'sibling'
2 'see'	9 article
3 /-nəxʷ/ 'responsible'	10 /ʔən-/ 'your'
4 'you(pl)'	11 absolute
5 additive	12 nonproximal
6 article	13 'disembark (from a vehicle)'
7 'your'	

In (301) the view that the /ʔiʔ/ adjunct is an I.C. partner to the rest of the sentence is further substantiated by the fact that the complementary /s-/ 'absolute' clause (elements 9-13) is marked not with

/-s/ 'third possessive', but with /ʔən-/ 'your(sg)', which would in fact still appear, if the /ʔiʔ/ adjunct were not present.

The semantic relationship of coequality applies not just to the subject enclitics, goal suffixes and passive person markers, but also to the possessive morphemes. This is apparent in example (302), in which the coequal person marker and adjunct are respectively ʔən- 'your(sg)' and ʔiʔ tᶿə n̓mén 'and your father's'.

(302) niʔ yəxʷ ʔálə scékʷəl kʷə niʔ šləqéɬs tón̓a ʔən̓táməxʷ,
      1   2   3   4   5 6 78   9 10   11 12

      ʔiʔ tᶿə n̓mén (5502)
      13 14 15 16

      'How much is the cost of this land of yours and your father's?'

1 nonproximal	9 third possessive
2 surprise	10 'this'
3 curious	11 'your(sg)'
4 'how much'	12 'land'
5 article	13 additive
6 nonproximal	14 article
7 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental'	15 'your(sg)'
8 'buy'	16 'father'
5-8 'the cost'	

The syntactic structure of (302) follows the previously indicated pattern for postposed adjunct constructions. As before, the person marker (element 11) is included in the potentially independent main clause (elements 1-12), which the /ʔiʔ/ adjunct (elements 13-16) modifies.

The greatest divergence between syntactic and semantic structure occurs when the coequal referents are both third person. In this case,

if the predicate is intransitive, the /ʔiʔ/ adjunct appears without an overt person marker as its coequal referent as shown in the following example:

(303) wəɬ nem həye? ʔiʔ Jáni (5296)
    1 2 3   4 5
    'He is going away with Johnny'
    (He and Johnny are going away)
    'now, already'   4 additive
    'go'   5 'Johnny'
    'go away'

The absence of a person marker does not affect the plausibility of the paratactic hypothesis. As in previous constructions, the postposed adjunct (elements 4-5) is analyzable as a subordinate I.C. partner to the potentially independent clause wəɬ nem həye? 'he is going away', in which the absence of an overt third person marker after həye? follows from the internal structure of a simple main clause containing an intransitive predicate.

FOOTNOTES: SYNTAX

[1]The view maintained here is that on the basis of distribution predicators may be analyzed into subclasses of which nouns constitute one, adjectivals (2.2.2.1.) like /θi/ 'big' and interrogatives (2.2.1.3.) such as /stem/ 'what, something' constituting further subclasses.

[2]The hypothesis that person markers and adjuncts are syntactically independent of each other, albeit semantically interdependent, is presented by Hukari (1976a:305) in an article on the Skagit dialect of Lushootseed. Much of his discussion of Lushootseed adjuncts and person markers also reflects the syntactic structure of Cowichan.

[3]In many fast speech elicitations λəqtimət$^{\theta}$ 'tall' was perceived as ending in $[t^{\theta}]$. If this predicator were analyzed as containing $\underline{t^{\theta}}$ it would be idiosyncratic inasmuch as this phoneme is otherwise restricted to the deictic system (1.3.). It is probable, then, that $\underline{t^{\theta}}$, which appears in deliberate speech, represents the appropriate phonemic representation, the loss of glottalization being conditioned by word final position.

[4]The labels <u>subject</u> and <u>goal</u> were formulated by Hukari (1977a:50) to show semantic equivalences between person markers and adjuncts which have the same interpretation in the same syntactic context, both being, for example, agents in one environment and patients in another.

[5]The class I and III locatives may also act as predicates as the following examples show:

ná?ət t^θə nəléləm (6421) 'My house is over there'
1   2   3 4

1 nonproximal, emphatic   3 'my'
2 article   4 'house'

ni? ?əw ni? kə sməyəθ (3564) 'The deer are there'
1   2   3   4 5

1 nonproximal   4 article
2 contemporaneous   5 'deer'
3 nonproximal

In each sentence the underlined locative follows the normal pattern for a predicate in being modified by a following adjunct (elements 2-4 in the first example and 4-5 in the second).

[6]The term proposition was first adopted by Hukari (1976a:306 and 1977:63) to describe the basic constituent of a Puget sentence to which an adjunct may be attributive. A Cowichan proposition may contain just a predicate or a predicate and an adverb (2.1.2.2.) and/or locative (1.3.2.).

[7]So far, no sentences of the following type, which would suggest that the oblique phrase modifies the predicate, have been elicited:

*xa?áθən ?əλ Joe 'Joe has four'
*xa?áθən ?əλ Joe t^θə sćešt 'Joe has four sticks'

[8]As well as appearing in construction with an /?ə/ 'oblique' phrase, the class III locatives /tə?í/ 'proximal, unmarked' and /təní/

'nonproximal' may also occur within an /ʔə/ phrase to form the
expressions ʔə təʔí 'right here' and ʔə təní 'here' as the following
examples illustrate:

    ʔi ct ʔi ʔə təʔí (1457) 'We are right here'

    1 2 3 4 5

1 proximal	4 oblique
2 'we'	5 proximal, unmarked
3 proximal (predicate)	

    mi ʔəwə ʔə təní (285) 'Come here!'

    1 2   3 4

1 'come'	3 oblique
2 'come'	4 'here'

[9] The lexical item wə́q̇ʷətəm 'is carried downstream', which is inflected
with /-m/ 'third general passive', is an exception to this statement.
No implied agent is apparent -at least not human agent.

[10] Cowichan differs thereby from a Straits Salish language like Saanich.
In Saanich there is no passive person marker set. A predicator
inflected with /ŋ/ 'passive', which is cognate with /-m/ 'third general
passive', takes subject enclitics like sən 'I' as in the following
example (elicited by Dr. Hess in a course (1970) on fieldwork techniques):

    t̓sətəŋ sən 'I was hit by someone'

    1 2 3 4

1 'hit'	3 passive
2 transitive	4 'I'

[11] In the examples shown here it appears that an oblique adjunct with
agent interpretation may either precede or follow a direct adjunct

whereas a non-agent phrase always follows the direct adjunct. This
hypothesis remains to be further substantiated.

[12]The term _adverb_ is adopted by Hukari (1976a:307) and is synonymous
with the earlier word _auxiliary_ used in Salish research.

[13]The expressions 'first element' and 'first non-particle' in this
dissertation designate the first form in a clause which may be inflected
with a syntactic affix. Determiners, which are not thus inflectible,
do not constitute first elements even when they appear clause initially.
This notion of the 'first element is pertinent to the description of
the morphological marking of clauses.

[14]Dr. Hukari has found in fieldwork that one Cowichan speaker, Mrs.
Ellen White, uses /ʔe/ 'interrogative' in /nəcín/ 'why' questions.

[15]Dr. Hukari drew my attention to the syntactic relationship between
attributive clauses and adjectivals in personal communication in the
summer of 1977.

[16]The definitions of the terms _focus_ and _presupposition_ presented here
are based on those of Jackendoff (1972:16), who maintains that they
designate semantic and not syntactic relationships within a sentence.

[17]The morpheme /tə-/ may alternatively be identified as the same form as
/tə-/ 'basic, unmarked', which is present in the deictics (1.3.) /təna/
'this' and /təʔí/ 'this, here'.

[18]In the speech of Dr. Hukari's speakers a -ə variant of /-s/ 'third possessive' occurs after s. Thus /stáləs-s/ 'his/her spouse' is realized as stáləsə although stáləss is apparent in slow speech.

[19]In accordance with Kinkade's view (1977:10) one might alternatively construe kʷθə sénxe nəšxʷʔáqʷaʔ 'my older brother' as 'the one who is my older brother' and the whole sentence as 'the ones who are my older brother and his friend who are in town' to reflect the view that an adjunct constitutes a headless attributive clause. In consequence, the headless attributive clause would then constitute the only type of attributive clause construction in Cowichan.

[20]In most environments the surface realization of /-əs/ 'third dependent' corresponds to that of /-əs/ 'third transitive agent'. The fact that ní?əs is realized phonetically as [ni:s], [ní?es] or [ní?əs] is putatively a basis for representing the underlying form as /-es/ or /-s/ 'third dependent'. However, since /-əs/ 'third transitive agent' appears only after transitive suffixes (1.1.1.2.), which are limited in number, a phonological explanation is plausible. The phoneme sequence -əs is realized as [-s], [-es] or [-əs] after the morpheme /ni?/ 'nonproximal'.

[21]Contrary to what the expressions 'nominalization' and 'nominalized clause' might imply, the Cowichan clause type being designated is not completely equivalent in distribution to a noun predicator insofar as it may modify a main clause without acting either as an adjunct or as a

predicate. However, unlike a dependent clause, such a construction, which is morphologically marked like a noun with possessive person markers, does have adjunct function as one of its distributional properties.

[22]Translation glosses such as 'my' used here are intended to reflect the semantic structure of Cowichan. They do not signify that the syntactic structure of the Cowichan construction necessarily corresponds to that of an English noun phrase containing a possessive.

[23]Apparently, when plurality is once established in the sentence the singular form is thereafter semantically neutral and the /-ələp/ suffix does not reappear.

[24]This type of correlation between oblique phrases and head elements modified by nominalizations was made earlier by Hess (1973).

[25]A detailed analysis of how the morphological marking of each type of attributive clause reflects its semantic relationship to its adjunct head is presented by Hukari (1977a). Whereas the organization of this dissertation places the emphasis on the relationship between attributive and non-attributive /s-/ 'absolute' and /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental' clauses, in Hukari's work /s-/ and /šxʷ-/ attributive clauses are correlated with other types of attributive clauses.

[26]Within the construction preceding the /šxʷ-/ clause, the /s-/ 'absolute' clause (elements 4-7) follows the general distribution of

such clauses if analyzed as having the semantic interpretation 'when we were crying' and as being attributive to the main clause niɫ k̓ʷə́na snet 'it was this night' rather than as being in apposition to k̓ʷə́na snet. 'This night was the one when we were crying that we were taken' would be the semantic interpretation for (260) which would accord with this analysis.

[27]An alternative gloss which may be applied is 'comitative' (Hukari 1976a:313).

[28]Dr. Hukari finds in his data that sk̓ʷeyl 'day' and lexical items denoting days of the week optionally take enclitics (at least /ceʔ/ 'future').

[29]This type of construction is not unique to Cowichan, but appears in Lushootseed (Hess 1967 and Hukari 1976a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. <u>Salish Languages</u>

Efrat, Barbara S.
    1969   <u>A grammar of Non-particles in Sooke, a Dialect of Straits</u>
        <u>Coast Salish</u>. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of
        Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Galloway, Brent D.
    1977   A Grammar of Chilliwack Halkomelem. Ph.D. Dissertation,
        University of California, Berkeley.

Haeberlin, Hermann K.
    1918   "Types of Reduplication in the Salish Dialects."
        IJAL 1: 154-74.

Haeberlin, Hermann K.
    1974   "Distribution of the Salish Substantival [Lexical] Suffixes."
        <u>Anthropological Linguistics</u> 16.6: 219-350.

Hess, Thomas M.
    1966   "Snohomish Chameleon Morphology."
        IJAL 32: 350-56.

Hess, Thomas M.
    1967   <u>Snohomish Grammatical Structure</u>. Unpublished Ph.D.
        Dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.

Hess, Thomas M.
    1973   "Agent in a Coast Salish Language." IJAL 39: 89-94.

Hukari, Thomas E.
    1976a   "Person in a Coast Salish Language." IJAL 42: 305-18.

Hukari, Thomas E.
    1976b   "Transitivity in Halkomelem." Working Papers for the
        International Conference on Salishan Languages, 69-119,
        University of Washington.

Hukari, Thomas E.
    1977a   "A Comparison of Attributive Clause Constructions in Two
        Coast Salish Languages." <u>Glossa</u> 11.1: 48-73.

Hukari, Thomas E.
    1977b   "Resonant Devoicing in Cowichan." <u>Canadian Journal of</u>
        <u>Linguistics</u> 22.1: 47-61.

Hukari, Thomas E.
    1978   "Nonsegmental Morphology." Paper presented at the XIII
             International Conference on Salishan Languages, 157-209,
             University of Victoria, Victoria.

Jones, Michael K.
    1976   Morphophonemic Properties of Cowichan Actual Aspect.
             Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Victoria, Victoria.

Kava, Tiiu.
    1969   A Phonology of Cowichan. Unpublished M.A. Thesis,
             University of Victoria, Victoria.

Kinkade, M. Dale.
    1975   "The Lexical Domain of Anatomy in Columbian Salish." Peder
             de Ridder Press Publications on Salish Languages 1.

Kinkade, M. Dale.
    1976   "The Copula and Negatives in Inland Olympic Salish."
             IJAL 42: 17-23.

Kinkade, M. Dale.
    1977.   "Evidence against the Universality of 'Noun' and 'Verb':
             Salish." Unpublished paper presented at the University of
             British Columbia.

Kuipers, Aert H.
    1969   "The Squamish Language: Grammar, Texts, Dictionary."
             Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 73.1, Mouton and Co.,
             The Hague.

Pidgeon, Michael.
    1971   Lexical Suffixes in Saanich, a Dialect of Straits Coast
             Salish. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Victoria,
             Victoria.

Thompson, Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson.
    1971   "Clallam: A Preview." Studies in American Indian Languages
             251-94, Jesse Sawyer (ed.).

2. Linguistic Affiliations of Cowichan

Barnett, Homer G.
    1955   The Coast Salish of British Columbia. University of Oregon
             Press, Eugene.

Boas, Franz.
    1889   "Notes on the Snanaimuq." American Anthropologist 2: 321-28.

Boas, Franz.
    1947   Kwakiutl Grammar, with a Glossary of the Suffixes.
          Helene Boas Yampolsky and Zellig S. Harris (eds.).
          Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 37:
          201-377.

Chafe, Wallace L.
    1962   "Estimates Regarding the Present Speakers of North American
          Indian Languages." IJAL 28: 162-71.

Donckele, Gustave.
    1882   Vocabulaire de la langue sauvage Cowichan. (recueilli par
          le père Donckele le 18 octobre, 1882). Archives British
          Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria.

Elmendorf, William W. and Wayne Suttles.
    1960   "Pattern and Change in Halkomelem Salish Dialects."
          Anthropological Linguistics 2.7: 1-32.

Frachtenberg, Leo J.
    1920   "Abnormal Types of Speech in Quileute." IJAL 1: 295-99.

Hill-Tout, Charles.
    1907   The Native Races of the British Empire - British North
          America I. The Far West - The Home of the Salish and Dene.
          Archibald Constable and Company, London.

Hodge, F.W.
    1913   Handbook of Indians of Canada. Ottawa.

Sapir, Edward.
    1915   Noun Reduplication in Comox. Canada Department of Mines,
          Geological Survey, Memoir 63. Government Printing Bureau,
          Ottawa.

Sapir, Edward.
    1951   "Central and North American Languages." Selected Writings
          of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality,
          169-78. David G. Mandelbaum (ed.). University of
          California Press, Berkeley.

Swadesh, Morris.
    1950   "Salish Internal Relationships." IJAL 16: 157-67.

Swadesh, Morris.
    1952   "Salish Phonologic Geography." Language 28: 232-48.

Swadesh, Morris.
    1953   "Mosan I: A Problem of Remote Common Origin." IJAL 19:
          26-44.

Thompson, Laurence C.
    1973   "The Northwest." Current Trends in Linguistics 10.2:
            980-1045. Thomas Sebeok (ed.). Mouton and Co., The Hague.

Tolmie, W. F. and G. M. Dawson.
    1875   Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tribes of British
            Columbia. Victoria.

Voegelin, C. F. and F. M. Voegelin.
    1964   "Languages of the World: North America." Anthropological
            Linguistics 6.6: 1-149.

3.   Grammar Writing Stylistics: Sample Material

Foster, Mary L.
    1969   The Tarascan Language. University of California Press,
            Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Harris, Barbara P. and Geoffrey N. O'Grady.
    1976   "An Analysis of the Progressive Morpheme in Umpila Verbs:
            A Revision of a Former Attempt." Languages of Cape York.
            Peter Sutton (ed.) 165-212. Australian Institute of
            Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Langacker, Ronald W.
    1975   "Relative Clauses in Classical Nahuatl." IJAL 41: 46-68.

Langdon, Margaret.
    1970   A Grammar of Diegueño. University of California Press,
            Berkeley, Los Angeles and London.

O'Grady, Geoffrey N.
    1963   Nyangumata Grammar. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of
            Indiana, Bloomington.

O'Grady, Geoffrey N., C. F. Voegelin and F. M. Voegelin.
    1966   "Languages of the World: Indo-Pacific fascicle six."
            Anthropological Linguistics 8.2: 1-197.

Teeter, Karl V.
    1964   The Wiyot Language. University of California, Los Angeles.

4.   Linguistic Methodology

Aronoff, Mark.
    1976   Word Formation in Generative Grammar. Linguistic Inquiry
            monograph 1, MIT Press, Cambridge.

Bloomfield, Leonard.
    1933   <u>Language</u>. Holt, Rinehart, New York.

Chafe, Wallace L.
    1970   <u>Meaning and the Structure of Language</u>. University of Chicago
           Press, Chicago and London.

Chomsky, Noam and Morris Halle.
    1968   <u>The Sound Pattern of English</u>. New York, Harper and Row.

Greenberg, Joseph H.
    1963   <u>Universals of Language</u>. MIT Press, Cambridge.

Harris, Zellig S.
    1951   <u>Methods in Structural Linguistics</u>. The University of Chicago
           Press, Chicago.

Hockett, Charles F.
    1958   <u>A Course in Modern Linguistics</u>. The Macmillan Company,
           New York.

Jackendoff, Ray S.
    1972   <u>Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar</u>. MIT Press,
           Cambridge.

Samarin, William J.
    1967   <u>Field Linguistics, a Guide to Linguistic Field Work</u>.
           Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., New York.

SAMPLE TEXT

1) ƙʷəná wəɬ hiθ ʔəɬ yəstátəlstxʷəs tᶿə məstíməxʷ tᶿə x̌eɬs.
   1   2   3   4   5 67   8 9 10 11   12 13

2) síiʔsimətəs tᶿəw̓néʔəlɬ tᶿə x̌eɬs--tᶿəw̓néʔəlɬ məstíməxʷ tᶿə x̌eɬs
   14   15 16 17   18 19   20   21   22 23

niʔ ʔéyəqtəs tᶿə w̓ məkʷ stem. 3) xʷəsméent. 4) xʷəsməyəθ.
24 25 2627 28 29 30   31   32 33   34 35

5) məkʷ stem niʔ šnéməstəxʷs ʔəyéqθəs.
   36   37   38 3940 41   42 43 4445

Translation

1) A long time ago the people knew about the Transformer. 2) They were afraid of the Transformer--those people were afraid of the Transformer, who changed everything. 3) It became a rock. 4) Or it became a deer. 5) Into whatever he (wanted to) transform it he changed it.

Morpheme Analysis

1) 1 'this', 2 'then', 3 'long time', 4 past complete, 5 serial, 6 static, 7 'know' (resultative), 8 causative, 9 third transitive. agent, 10 article, 11 'people', 12 article, 13 'Transformer'.

2) 14 'afraid of', 15 affective transitive, 16 third transitive agent, 17 'those (ones)', 18 article, 19 'Transformer', 20 'those', 21 'people', 22 article, 23 'Transformer', 24 nonproximal, 25 'change into', 26 transitive, 27 third transitive agent, 28 article, 29 contemporaneous, 30 'every', 31 'thing, what'.

3) 32 developmental, 33 '(be) a rock'.

4) 34 developmental, 35 '(be) a deer'.

5) 36 'every', 37 'thing, what', 38 nonproximal, 39 /šxʷ-/ 'instrumental',

40 'go', 41 causative, 42 third possessive, 43 'change it into',
44 /-t/ 'transitive', 45 third transitive agent.

The first two sentences contain main clauses (elements 5-13
and 14-31) each of which consists of a transitive predicate followed by
two direct adjuncts. In sentence 2) there is anacoluthon; apparently
Abel Joe first decided upon one set of adjuncts (elements 17-19) and
then decided that instead another set (elements 20-31) would be
appropriate.

The text also contains attributive clauses (elements 24-31 in
sentence 2) and 38-42 in sentence 5)). In sentence 2) the attributive
clause modifies an adjunct head x̌eĺs 'Transformer' to form a direct
adjunct. Sentence 5) is an emphatic construction in which the adjunct
head expression (36-42) modified by an attributive clause (43-45) itself
consists of an adjunct head (elements 36-37) and an attributive clause
(38-42).

INDEX

VITA

Surname: LESLIE   Given Names: ADRIAN ROY

Place of Birth: STOCKPORT, BRITAIN   Date of Birth: AUGUST 5, 1947

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WISCONSIN	1965 to 1969
UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA	1969 to 1972
UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA	1973 to 1978
	to

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A.	1969	University of Wisconsin
M.A.	1972	University of Victoria

Honors and Awards:

Canada Council Grant, 1970 (summer)

University of Victoria scholarship, 1970/71

University of Victoria Assistantship, 1970/71, 1971/72 and 1973/74

Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship, 1974/75 and 1975/76

Publications:

Title of Thesis/Dissertation

A GRAMMAR OF THE COWICHAN DIALECT OF HALKOMELEM SALISH

Author _____
          Signature

Adrian R. Leslie _____
        Name

2ⁿᵈ March 1979 _____
      Date