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A GRAMMAR OF THE NISGHA LANGUAGE

by

MARIE-LUCIE TARPENT

Licence-ès-Lettres, Paris (Sorbonne) 1963

M.A., Cornell University, 1965

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OF THE PEQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of  
Linguistics

ACCEPTED

- FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

*McAuley*

DATE

*Apr 08, 1989*

DEAN

We accept this dissertation as conforming  
to the required standard

*Thomas M. Hess*

Dr. T.M. Hess

*J. E. Hukari*

Dr. T.E. Hukari

*G.N. O'Grady*

Dr. G.N. O'Grady

*David Mitchell*

Dr. D. Mitchell

*L. Howard*

Dr. L. Howard

*Patricia C. Shaw*

Dr. P.A. Shaw

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UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

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Supervisor: Professor Thomas M. Hess

ABSTRACT

The Nisgha language, a member of the Tsimshianic family, is spoken in the Nass Valley of British Columbia. This grammar, based on recent first-hand research, provides an overview of the structure of the language. The first part covers the phonology, the main features of the morphology, and most of the syntax, including regular and predicate-focused clauses and the focusing system. The second part is a detailed reference guide to word-classes, word-formation and morphophonemic rules.

The theoretical viewpoint is conservative and eclectic, but generally oriented towards functional explanation. Features of this language which are of current theoretical interest include syntactic ergativity, focusing, noun-incorporation, and reduplication.

Examiners:

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Thomas M. Hess*

Dr. T.M.Hess

\_\_\_\_\_  
*John E. Hill*

Dr. T.E.Hukari

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Sean O'Grady*

Dr. G.N.O'Grady

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Ronald Mitchell*

Dr. D.Mitchell

\_\_\_\_\_  
*David Howard*

Dr. L.Howard

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Patricia A. Shaw*

Dr. P.A.Shaw

\_\_\_\_\_

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

### ABBREVIATIONS

A	Absolutive
A-Adt	Adjunct to the Absolutive pronominal argument
A-nominal	Nominal having Absolutive function but not coreferring with a pronominal argument
ADJ	Adjective
Adt	Adjunct
ADV	Adverb or Adverbial phrase
AFF	Affirmative
Agt	Agent
AMB	Ambient predicate
AP	Antipassive
AP.D	Antipassive, Definite
AP.I	Antipassive, Indefinite
ASP	(Progressive) Aspect
ASST	Assertive
ATTR	Attributive
AUG	Augment
AUX	Auxiliary
C	any consonant
$\overset{?}{C}$	any glottalized consonant
COM	Commiserative
CON	Connective
CONTR	Contrastive
COR	Coordinator
CTL	Control
DC	Determinate connective
DEF	Definite Medial
DETR	Detransitive

DIST	Distal
DISTR	Distributive plural
DM	Determinate marker
DM.PL	Plural determinate marker
DOM/DOMIN	Dominative
DUB	Dubitative
E	Ergative
E-Adt	Adjunct to the Ergative pronominal argument
EVID	Evidential (Auxiliary or Postclitic)
FUT	Future
HN	Head noun
I/IO	Indirect Object (not prepositional)
INST	Instrumental
INTS	Intensive
IRR	Irrealis
JUSS	Jussive
IMPS	Impersonal
INDEF	Indefinite
IND	Indirect
K	any Velar
MED	Indefinite Medial
MIN	Minatory
MOD	Modifier
N	Noun or Nominal
NC	Non-determinate connective
NEG	Negative verb
NUM	Numeral
O	Object (of a transitive verb)
Obj	Object (role in clause)
OFS	Older Fluent Speaker
P	Predicate
P <sub>A</sub>	Predicate taking one (Absolutive) argument

P <sub>AI</sub>	Predicate taking one (Absolutive) argument and followed by an Indirect Object
P <sub>ASc</sub>	Predicate taking one (Absolutive) argument and a Specified complement
P <sub>EA</sub>	Predicate taking one Absolutive argument and one Ergative argument
P <sub>EAI</sub>	Predicate taking one Absolutive argument and one Ergative argument and followed by an Indirect Object
P <sub>EASc</sub>	Predicate taking one Absolutive argument, one Ergative argument and a Specified complement
P <sub>ESc</sub>	Predicate taking one Ergative argument and a Specified complement
P <sub>0</sub>	Predicate taking no arguments
PAS	Passive
PAS.I	Indefinite Passive
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PREP	Preposition
PROC	Proclitic
PROG	Progressive
PRON	Pronoun
PROX	Proximal
PTC	Particle
Q	Question--Interrogative
R	any resonant
$\bar{R}$	any glottalized resonant
RECIP	Reciprocal
RED	Reduplication or Reduplicated segment
REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relative
REL.E	Relative-ergative
REP	Reportive
RESTR	Restrictive
S	Subject (of an intransitive verb)/ Any Non-Velar fricative

s.	someone /something
Sc	Specified complement
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
SUB	Subordinator
Subj	Subject (of an intransitive verb)
SUFF	Unnamed suffix
s.w.	somewhere
TR	Transitive
V	(a) any vowel; (b) verb
V:	any long vowel
X	any Velar fricative
YFS	Younger Fluent Speaker

(46.1-2) Boas 1902, p. 46, lines 1 to 2

### SYMBOLS

( )	basic form of morpheme
[ ]	not present in surface phonetic form
[...-word-...]FRAME	frame; the gloss for the frame is given in subscript after the second bracket
( )	(a) in morpheme: segment inserted by rule; (b) in practical orthography: optional segment
)	after reduplicated segment
-	(a) after prefix; (b) before suffix
=	(a) after proclitic; (b) before connective
==	before postclitic
+	between members of a compound
>	... becomes ... through the operation of a single rule
>>	... becomes ... through two or more rules
*	does not occur in isolation
**	reconstructed form

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The present study reflects my own views of the structure of the Nisgha language, and I alone am responsible for any errors.

## INTRODUCTION

0.1. PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL SITUATION OF THE NISGHA PEOPLE. The Nisgha<sup>1</sup> people presently live in four villages on the lower Nass River, an area which they claim to have inhabited 'from time immemorial'. Long isolated by geography from too much contact with encroaching 'civilization', they have managed to escape the worst of the consequences frequently attendant upon such contact, and to maintain themselves as a viable society, with a distinct culture which has been a source of strength in their dealings with the dominant society.

Situated just North of the Skeena, the Nass River flows through a narrow, mountainous valley, meeting the sea roughly at the tip of the Alaska Panhandle. Many legends attribute present features of the valley to the feats of the culture hero, *txé-msim*<sup>2</sup> *Txeemsim*. But *Txeemsim* is not held responsible for a more recent feature of the valley, the Aiyansh lava flow, the result of the eruption of a small volcano in the eighteenth century. In 1775 the Spanish captain Bodega y Quadra, reaching the mouth of the Nass River, about fifty miles away from the volcano, found the area extremely hot, and illuminated at night (Pethick 1976:50). The lava filled the valley of a tributary of the Nass River, disrupting local drainage patterns and creating a lake; the river was pushed to one side of its valley, forming the canyon which gives its name to the smallest village, Canyon City. A few miles up the river, the village of Aiyansh was relocated in the sixties after a disastrous flood. Unlike the other villages, which are right by the water, on the North bank of the Nass River, New Aiyansh is built on a hillside a couple of miles away from the South bank, commanding a magnificent view of the lava beds and the surrounding mountains. Further downstream are Greenville, at the limit of the tide, and Kincolith, at the river mouth. Access to the isolated valley was by sea, and Kincolith was the gateway, until a logging road linked Aiyansh to Terrace in the sixties. Nowadays Kincolith remains the only Nisgha village not accessible by road.



Pre-contact Nisgha culture was oriented almost entirely towards the river, which is home to salmon runs including all species of Pacific salmon, and to a large oolichan run. Both salmon and oolichan were formerly caught and preserved for subsistence, and the enormous oolichan run also provided the Nisgha with their major trading commodity, oolichan 'grease'. This oil rendered from the oolichan was formerly indispensable to the survival of the native peoples of the area, not only because of its high nutritional value, but also because of its role in preserving other foods, especially berries. Nass River grease was prized by other tribes for quality as well as quantity. During oolichan season, about mid-March to early April, the lower river was the site of intense activity as thousands of people, Nisgha and Tsimshian,<sup>3</sup> gathered to harvest and process oolichans. Other groups, including Gitksans, travelled from the Interior on the Grease Trails,<sup>4</sup> loaded with furs, hides and other products to exchange for the valuable oil. Turn-of-the-century accounts (e.g. Collison) tell of thousands of people congregating at Fishery Bay, a flat area in a bend of the river, below Greenville. Photographs of the place from the same period show dozens of canoes beached below an area thick with shacks and bristling with hundreds of vertical oolichan-drying frames several meters high. Even though the site was only occupied for a few weeks each year, a church was built, to take advantage of the concentration of the population.

Modern economic activity includes subsistence fishing (salmon, oolichan, crab), commercial fishing (salmon, halibut, herring), seasonal cannery work in Prince Rupert, some logging in the employ of large companies or in small-scale commercial ventures by the bands themselves, local construction and maintenance, small stores and businesses, band administration, tribal organization, education, and most recently health care. The Nisghas have been successful in taking over from the Department of Indian Affairs many functions in local administration, and the creation of School District No. 92 in 1975, overseeing the elementary and secondary education of about 600 children each year, has given employment to large numbers of Nisgha people at all levels, from janitor to superintendent, including a number of teachers of the

### Nisgha language.

The Nisghas have always been a majority in the valley. The geographical situation and features of the area make it unsuitable for agriculture, and 'white' settlement has been minimal. Some would-be settlers were attracted to the area by misleading advertising shortly before the first world war, and their presence gave rise to some friction as they took over pieces of land, but most of them remained only a few years. Canneries were also built at various sites on the river, but none of them lasted very long. Nowadays a few settlers and loggers are concentrated on a plateau a few miles North of New Aiyansh, where their children go to school with a majority of Nisgha children, and where they shop in the band-owned and operated supermarket. Within each village the largest non-Nisgha group is that constituted by schoolteachers, a small and mobile population, which now includes a steadily growing number of Nisghas. The clergy is also almost entirely Nisgha. Except for the missionaries in earlier times, the few non-Nisgha individuals living permanently in the valley have had very little impact on Nisgha social life, and while adjustment to the new conditions has not been without its share of problems, Nisgha society has been able to maintain its own structures and traditions.

The Nisghas are divided into four 'tribes' or exogamic clans, the Wolf, Raven/Frog, Killerwhale and Eagle, each of which owns a number of chiefly names, or hierarchically ranked titles. The highest titles are also identified with territories within the valley. Although this geographical link is of reduced importance in the modern environment, where tree farm licences do not respect chiefly territories, its economic significance is not: a chief has to be able to look after the welfare of his people. Succession to a chiefly name is matrilineal, from a man to his sister's son; it is orderly but not automatic: high birth is not enough to guarantee a position to an heir who is incompetent, unworthy, or who lives permanently away from his people; a lower-ranking but more capable and deserving individual will be appointed instead. A high-ranking name may also be held in abeyance for years until its rightful

heir has demonstrated his merit and competence; on the other hand, a minor chief can raise his rank somewhat by particularly meritorious activities. These measures ensure that only responsible persons enjoying the respect of the community accede to the highest chiefly positions. Conversely, most responsible positions in administration, church affairs and education are held by high-ranking persons. Although succession and 'rising through the ranks' occur only on the maternal side, there is a complex system of mutual obligations to and from the paternal side as well as between spouses; this means that an individual's duties and privileges extend to clans other than his own, making Nisgha society an extremely cohesive and close-knit one.

The Protestant missions of the last quarter of the nineteenth-century had a deep and lasting effect among the Nisghas. Two Anglican missionaries were responsible for the foundation of the village of Kincolith. Following the example of William Duncan, who had removed his Tsimshian converts from 'heathen influences' by taking them from Fort Simpson to Metlakatla, they escorted a number of converts from Greenville down the river to Kincolith, until then only a seasonal shellfish-gathering site. The new Christian village welcomed converts from other areas, and the missionary Collison was instrumental in taking in the last survivors of a group of Tsetsauts, Athapaskans who had been on the losing side in a series of wars. The village was also a stopping-point for ships, and this is how Boas was able to spend a few weeks there in 1894, studying both the Nisgha and Tsetsaut languages. However, as a non-Christian interested in 'heathen' customs, the doors of the mission remained closed to him, which made his stay in Kincolith rather uncomfortable both materially and socially (Rohner).

The energetic Anglican missionary J.B. McCullagh, who spent almost forty years (1883-1921) in the old village of Aiyansh, left a lasting imprint. Like Duncan in Metlakatla, he sought to equip his flock to survive as an economically self-sufficient Christian community, by teaching them a number of trades as well as how to live in an English-style village. His prolific writings in English,

written mostly for fund-raising purposes and addressed to a British audience, present a lively and colorful if biased picture of Nisgha life at the time. McCullagh is especially important from a linguistic point of view because of his extensive pedagogical work (he taught reading and writing in Nisgha before attempting to teach English), his religious translations and his innovations in spelling; unfortunately none of this work was kept up by his successors.

Today the Anglican church is an important force in the valley and a dependable ally of the Nisghas among the larger society. In the three largest villages,<sup>5</sup> the Anglican clergy is no longer imported from the larger community but drawn from the local people. Most church services are in both Nisgha and English, and some elders are involved in religious translations.

Finally, no survey of modern Nisgha culture is complete without mention of their tenacious and often lonely struggle, dating back to 1873, to validate their claim to aboriginal title to their ancestral lands; the 1973 Supreme Court decision on the Nisgha question is part of modern Canadian history, marking a turning-point in the government's attitude towards the native peoples of Canada. At the time of writing, preliminary negotiations between the Nisghas and the Canadian government have been in progress for several years.<sup>6</sup>

**0.2. LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION OF THE NISGHA LANGUAGE.** The Nisghas are proud of the fact that they have their own language, not spoken by any other people, but they are aware of others that are similar to their own and that they understand or can learn with more or less difficulty. These linguistic relatives of Nisgha (N) are Gitksan (G) on the upper Skeena and Tsimshian proper or Coast Tsimshian (CT) on the lower Skeena and down the Coast. Southern Tsimshian (ST) was formerly spoken further South, at Klemtu. All of these related forms of speech are called by their own speakers *sim<sup>2</sup>álkaɣ* 'real language' (N, G *sim'algax*, CT *sm'algyax*), as opposed to the neighboring languages Tlingit, Tsetsaut (now extinct) and other Athapaskan languages, Haida and Heiltsuk.

Until fairly recently only Nisgha and Coast Tsimshian were known to the linguistic world, through Boas' 1911 grammar, which treated them as dialects of a single 'Tsimshian' language. That they are in fact separate languages was shown by Rigsby & Dunn (1967) after fieldwork in a number of communities and has been confirmed by later research.<sup>7</sup> Although there has been no systematic comparison since Boas, anyone familiar with one of the languages finds the other significantly different. However, rather than being faulted for lumping the two together, Boas should rather be commended for clearly distinguishing them; the terminological question about language and dialect is secondary in the context in which he wrote.

Comments from other observers around the same period give a very confusing picture of the linguistic situation. Thus one encounters comments to the effect that the Nisghas speak Tsimshian, or that the Gitksans speak Nisgha, or Tsimshian (Collison). One needs to consider the sociolinguistic situation in which these observations were made. Around the mid-nineteenth century, the establishment of the Hudson's Bay trading post at Fort Simpson in Tsimshian territory (replacing an earlier, ill-fated attempt close to the site of the future village of Kincolith) gave the Tsimshians, who were already in a geographical situation to be the intermediaries between different groups, added advantage and prestige. In this trading post visited by people speaking languages from at least four different language families, all the *sim<sup>2</sup>álkaɣ sim'algaɣ* languages would strike an outsider as very similar in comparison with Haida or Tlingit, just as in a Mediterranean port, French, Italian and Spanish could be lumped together as a group distinct from Greek or Arabic. On the other hand, any visitors speaking a form of *sim<sup>2</sup>álkaɣ sim'algaɣ* would have an advantage over others who did not, as they could more easily understand, and adapt their own speech to, this more useful and prestigious language.<sup>8</sup> Thus, Nisghas and Gitksans travelling in Tsimshian territory would be influenced by Tsimshian speech, while Gitksans who journeyed to the Nass River overland every spring, in order to be allowed to share in the bounty of the Nass River, would seek to imitate Nisgha speech. Boas' 1902 Nass River Texts are sprinkled with snatches

of speech which are purportedly in Tsimshian: in fact, most of them are in 'mock-Tsimshian'--a few phonological details are changed to give the words a Tsimshian character, while the syntactic details remain Nisgha. Today, many elderly Nisghas have some knowledge of Tsimshian as a result of fishing and cannery work in the Prince Rupert area.

Using the single word 'Tsimshian' in the linguistic and anthropological literature has had some unfortunate consequences: it has caused confusion between 'Tsimshian proper', the language of the people who call themselves Tsimshian, and the family which includes this language; and it has led some scholars to interpret the *-aa* sequence as an adjectival suffix, attached to a putative noun 'Tsimshi' (Hymes ms., Pinnow 1968, 1985)<sup>9</sup>. In fact the word is composed of the two morphemes: *čim* 'in' *ts'im*, and CT *syán*, N *sán* 'Skeena River' *Saa*. Following the general trend which uses different names for single languages and for families, it seems preferable to use the term *Tsimshianic*<sup>10</sup>, coined on the analogy of German: Germanic, to designate the language family of which Nisgha is a member: Tsimshian and Nisgha are both Tsimshianic languages in the same way as German and English are both Germanic languages.

The family is an isolate among the languages of the Northwest Pacific Coast. Although tentative attempts, beginning with Sapir 1921, have been made to link it with the Penutian family in Oregon and California, no satisfactory proof has been adduced.<sup>11</sup>

The language/dialect question does arise in the case of Nisgha and Gitksan, which are very close in lexicon, morphology and especially syntax.<sup>12</sup> Whether the two should be considered separate languages or dialects of the same language depends partly on a definition of language and dialect which should also include the speakers' attitudes. Rigsby 1986 gives an excellent presentation of the case for considering Nisgha and Gitksan separate languages, rather than a single language 'Nass-Gitksan'. Together the two can be designated as Interior

Tsimshianic. The almost extinct Southern Tsimshian, discovered by Dunn (1976), seems very close to Coast Tsimshian. Together they can be referred to as Coastal Tsimshianic.

In general, Nisgha speakers are proud of the way they speak and frown upon features and expressions from 'up the line' (the old overland telegraph line, which crossed Gitksan territory), while some Gitksans appear to consider that the Nisghas speak better than they do.<sup>13</sup> This may be related to the formerly dominant socio-economic situation of the Nisghas as the controllers of the riches of the Nass River.

As has happened with other languages of the area, the Nisgha speech community has shrunk under the influence of English, especially as imposed by the residential school system, and at present there are hardly any monolingual speakers; even persons in their eighties have some knowledge of English, although they are monolingual for practical purposes. Although no systematic survey has been made, it seems that most people presently in their sixties and above are more comfortable in Nisgha than in English and communicate mostly in Nisgha with those of their own age; many can read and write Nisgha using the old missionary alphabet (see below); those in their fifties and forties display varying degrees of bilingualism, depending on their family circumstances (e.g. degree of contact with elderly Nisgha-speaking relatives) and whether they have spent much time away from the valley; they tend to speak English among themselves, but engage in much code-switching.<sup>14</sup> Adults below these ages tend to have a mostly passive knowledge of the language, again with wide individual variations. Finally, the time is long past when an outsider's children were learning Nisgha before English, as happened with the children of the missionary Collison, who preferred to speak Nisgha among themselves; with extremely rare exceptions the younger generations are monolingual in English. Efforts are now being made to reverse this trend by encouraging the public and private use of Nisgha and teaching the language at all levels in the schools.

### 0.3. EXTANT SOURCES ON THE LANGUAGE:

#### 0.3.A. NON-SCHOLARLY SOURCES:

0.3.A.1. EARLY SOURCES. Early Nisgha data, mostly in the form of personal and place-names, haphazardly transcribed, are scattered in a number of documents (e.g. those quoted in Raunet). No attempt was made at spelling standardization until the missionary period.

0.3.A.2. THE LOCAL RELIGIOUS AND PEDAGOGICAL TRADITIONS. The Anglican missionary J.B. McCullagh, who taught school in Aiyansh through the medium of the Nisgha language, started to write it using the Tsimshian spelling then in use at the Fort Simpson mission, and soon introduced improvements of his own. This modified alphabet, which he used for most of his Nisgha writings, is still known to a number of elderly people. McCullagh was a prolific writer and translator. His English writings include numerous snatches of Nisgha conversation, and in his bilingual newspaper, which he called *Hagaga* 'the key' (haqáqá? *Hak'ak'a'a*), he included language and spelling lessons in Nisgha and English. His religious translations are extensive. Unfortunately several important manuscripts, including a Nisgha grammar, were lost through fire or flood. A few pages of his notebooks have survived, with etymological speculations noting apparent resemblances between Nisgha words and Greek or Hebrew roots.

Most of McCullagh's work was printed locally on the Aiyansh mission's printing press. Towards the end of his life he decided on a drastic reform of the alphabet he had been using, devising new symbols for the non-English sounds of Nisgha,<sup>15</sup> ordering special fonts from England and training typesetters to use them. The proud possessors of this new skill apparently guarded it so jealously that no one else had the opportunity to learn even the new alphabet (totally unfamiliar symbols for most of the consonants made self-study very difficult). Only a few fragments of written text remain from this belated attempt.



Although McCullagh's transcriptions in his various alphabets are not always very reliable, his Nisgha writings are nevertheless invaluable sources on the language for a person who can decipher the alphabets and retrieve the words. A more recent (1961) publication in the older McCullagh alphabet is a collection of religious hymns.<sup>16</sup>

After Bruce Rigsby taught a few persons a new alphabet (2.4.), a Nisgha Anglican priest, the Rev. Hubert McMillan used it to produce *Liligidim Amadalk'askw*,<sup>17</sup> a Nisgha version of the Anglican liturgy. Other religious translations are in progress, mostly under the direction of the Canadian Bible Society.

The Rigsby alphabet has also been adopted by School District 92 (Nisgha) for all its Nisgha pedagogical works. Most of these consist of teaching materials which I helped produce. For more general reference, a small word-file was started by Linda Walsh, who spent a year in Aiyansh in 1976-77 and whose position I took over; it was greatly expanded over the following years, incorporating Rev. McMillan's compilation of about 1,000 words from his work with Bruce Rigsby, and examples were added for each word. After checking with a group of elders,<sup>18</sup> this material was later gathered into the *Ha'iiimagoo'isgum-algaxh Nisga'a / Nisgha Phrase Dictionary* (1986), which gives examples for approximately 5000 Nisgha words, in a phrasebook format complemented by Nisgha and English indexes. The sentences cover most of the grammatical constructions in the language. Although this work cannot be guaranteed to be free from errors, it is the most extensive and reliable source of data on the language to date.

### 0.3.B. SCHOLARLY SOURCES:

0.3.B.1. ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES: Boas' *Tsimshian Texts* 1902 is a collection of Nisgha legends gathered in Kincolith in 1894, in Nisgha with both free and interlinear English translation. It is a very valuable source for a person who

knows the language and can restore the text behind the many mistakes of transcription and interpretation; for an outsider, the lack of consistency and the inadequacy of the translation (especially of the interlinear translation) sometimes makes for very puzzling or misleading data.

Barbeau assembled a large number of legends for the National Museum of Canada<sup>19</sup>, with the help of William Beynon, a half-Tsimshian. A large proportion of this material consists of Nisgha stories since Beynon settled in Gitlakdamix (Old Aiyansh) with his second wife, a Nisgha woman. They are recorded in English, but contain numerous personal and local names and some Nisgha lexical items. Large amounts of Nisgha data, especially names, are also contained in Barbeau's study of Totem Poles (1929), mixed in with Gitksan data. More extensive Nisgha and Gitksan texts are given in his ethnomusical study of songs (1951), made from his own wax cylinder recordings now kept in the National Museum of Man. Unfortunately, Barbeau's transcriptions and translations are unreliable, and the use of several different orthographies in the same work can be confusing. Beynon's transcriptions sometimes use Tsimshian equivalents rather than the Nisgha terms (ex. CT *yaak* for N *yúk<sup>w</sup>* 'settlement feast'<sup>20</sup> *yukw*).

On the occasion of the visit of a Nisgha delegation to Ottawa in 1910, Sapir interviewed one of the delegates and wrote data-packed articles on *Nass River Society* (which gives a large number of names), and *Nass River terms of relationship*. His transcriptions and translations are reasonably good (much better than Barbeau's) though not perfect. Manuscript notes in the hand of Wilson Duff, kept in the National Museum of Man, appear to be a re-elicitation of Sapir's list of names.

A more recent source, though unpublished, is McNeary 1974, revised 1976, which gives an overview of Nisgha society and living conditions.<sup>21</sup> McNeary cites a number of Nisgha words and phrases. They are, as he explains, indeed recognizable to a person knowing Nisgha, but the transcriptions are not very

reliable and the translations are often also inaccurate.

0.3.B.2. LINGUISTIC STUDIES. Boas' 1895 report on his 1894 trip has a few pages on the Nisgha language, which are mostly of historical interest. Boas' 1911 Tsimshian is a grammar of both Nisgha and Coast Tsimshian, giving a general overview of these languages, for which it is still the standard reference, as there has not been any other work of comparable scope.<sup>22</sup> Valuable as it is, it is not as reliable as one would wish it to be; it suffers from the conditions under which the data were obtained and from the lack of further checking by the author, who never had any more contact with Nisgha speakers. The parts dealing with Nisgha are based in very large part on the 1902 Nass River texts, obtained in Kincolith in 1894, through the slow dictation method, and they have the same limitations. Boas gives a generally adequate description of the most frequent features of the narrative style, but is less good, if not silent, on the conversational parts, because of lack of comparative data of a similar or contrastive nature. In addition, the work covers only a portion of the grammar. The syntax section in particular is very limited, as Boas covers mostly CT syntax, which has more complex surface features.

Rigsby's 1975 article on 'Nass-Gitksan' syntax is the first discussion of the syntax of these languages since Boas. Although the examples are in Gitksan, the discussion applies also to the Nisgha equivalents.<sup>23</sup>

The writing of this grammar has been preceded by several unpublished articles on various aspects of Nisgha structure and evolution (see bibliography).<sup>24</sup> Three of these have been used as the basis for research on Nisgha by others: Tarpent 1981, 1982 by Belvin 1984, 1985 and Jelinek 1986, and Tarpent 1983b by Thompson 1984.<sup>25</sup> Those studies have not added new material, but mostly attempted to recast Tarpent into different models. The descriptions in this grammar should answer most of the issues raised or implied in these papers.

#### 0.4. THE PRESENT STUDY.

0.4.A. CONDITIONS OF RESEARCH. This study is based almost entirely on recent first-hand research done as part of my employment as language curriculum developer for School District 92 (Nisgha). Most of my contact with Nisgha speakers has been in Aiyansh, where I lived and worked, from May 1977 to July 1980, during the summer of 1982, and again from September 1983 to the present. I was in daily contact with Nisgha speakers, mostly teachers of the Nisgha language,<sup>26</sup> but at some times also Nisgha elders.<sup>27</sup> In some years, part of my duties involved regular travel to the other District schools in Greenville and Kincolith, especially in 1979-80 and 1984-85. In addition to these contacts arising from my employment, I attended numerous public functions such as church services, weddings, funerals, settlement feasts, Nisgha Tribal Conventions, and other occasions, mostly in Aiyansh and Canyon City, and also occasionally in the other villages. Speeches and prayers in Nisgha are a prominent part of most of these functions, the most important of which are also attended by persons who travel from other villages. During the early days of my learning the language I also attended a number of meetings of the Aiyansh ACW (Anglican Church Women), a church organization comprising most of the older women of the village, whose meetings, involving prayers and singing as well as church business and socializing, were held almost entirely in the Nisgha language. Knowing my desire to learn Nisgha, these ladies made a point of addressing me in their language, a custom I have kept up with some of them.<sup>28</sup> In November 1982 I also conducted a two-day Nisgha literacy workshop in Kincolith; the regular participants were observed by a group of elders who on the second day kept up a steady stream of comments and suggestions in Nisgha.

The working conditions of a linguist in this kind of position are quite different from those of a fieldworker with limited time available; they are closer to that of the missionary faced with a new language. I came to the Nisgha language without any preconceptions as to its structure, and I approached it with a practical goal in mind: to teach it to children. To me, this practical goal meant

that I too had to acquire a speaking knowledge of the language, not just a linguist's abstract knowledge. I felt free to go about acquiring the language in whatever way seemed appropriate, rather than according to the rituals prescribed as field methods. The academic goal of describing the language came much later, after I had acquired a fair amount of language and developed basic intuitions about it.

From the beginning I had the advantage of dealing with persons who could write their language; some had been taught by Bruce Rigsby, who devised the practical Nisgha alphabet in official use (2.4.), and others by Linda Walsh. A person who can write, even with some hesitation, and who can check the general accuracy of a transcription, is not likely to let the linguist new to the language get away with confusing such essentials as long and short stressed vowels, or velars and uvulars.

Traditional field methods give the active role to the linguist, and require little involvement on the part of the consultant. In the present case, I tried to give my consultants as active a role as possible. Even though they were bilingual, I tried to avoid asking for translations, which are inevitably influenced by the language of the original, and to rely on other methods of eliciting natural-sounding language. Over the years, the Nisgha language teachers who were my main consultants have been involved in writing picture captions, dialogues and sketches on various subjects, in adapting children's books into Nisgha, and in correcting and updating the Boas stories, not to mention the many opportunities they gave me of hearing and participating in spontaneous conversation. These consultants and a few others also attended my Nisgha Linguistics course given locally in 1983-84, where a number of (to me) doubtful points were clarified.

Transcribing tapes of running speech is a very difficult task for the linguist new to a language: this task was beautifully handled by some of my consultants,<sup>29</sup> and I was able to study a number of tapes of speeches and stories

with a written transcription in hand. I have also had access to translations of religious literature by Rev. Hubert McMillan and Mr. Harold Wright, who are both Nisgha elders.

Boas' 1911 grammar, Rigsby's 1975 article, and grammatical notes on the language from both Rigsby and Walsh, were only of real use to me at a later date, once I had acquired enough of the language to be able to interpret and evaluate other linguists' descriptions in the light of my own internalized knowledge.

**0.4.B. INTENT, SCOPE AND THEORETICAL POSITION.** The present study is intended to present a general and balanced overview of the structure of the Nisgha language in a manner intelligible to all linguists regardless of their theoretical orientation.

The language is one of the least known of the British Columbia languages still spoken, and it must be considered on the endangered list as most of its speakers are now at least middle-aged. The only comprehensive reference at present is Boas 1911, which is incomplete, often misleading and sometimes wrong. There is a pressing need for a more accurate and complete description, not just for filling out Boas' or recasting it into modern terms.

A new grammar then should not need any more justification, but it is especially timely because the language is of a type that is attracting more and more theoretical attention lately, as it has ergative syntax.<sup>30</sup> Ergativity, especially syntactic ergativity, is a problem poorly addressed by the main linguistic theories, mostly because it is not commonly found in the European languages familiar to the majority of linguists, from which the most influential theories have been derived. So-called ergative languages seem to upset many assumptions about the universal applicability of some current models (Transformational Grammar, Relational Grammar)--indeed, recently some (Marantz, Levin) have sought to give the term 'ergative' a new and divergent

meaning, in order to bring it into line with a theory. Such controversies cannot be resolved on the basis of an incomplete and faulty description such as Boas'. At the same time, to concentrate specifically on this particular feature in Nisgha would be inappropriate in the absence of a more comprehensive description of the language which gives it its proper background and perspective. Each phenomenon must be understood in the context of the whole, and aspects of a language which have special theoretical interest need to be replaced within their general context, just as theories must be tested against a background of well-established facts in as many languages as possible.

At the present moment, linguistic theory is in the state of flux characteristic of a transitional period, with multiple theories competing and rapidly evolving. Although some theories are better-known than others, there is no longer an accepted paradigm. No current theory is comprehensive enough for a whole grammar: each focuses on certain points which it considers crucial, to the neglect of others; closely following a particular theoretical framework then leads to overemphasis on certain points and utter silence on others, whether one tries to justify or modify the theory. A grammar of a little-known language which seeks to follow a very specific model then runs grave risks of leaving aside some important aspects of the language which are not considered in the theory, while giving undue prominence to others which may be peripheral or even non-existent in the language. Indeed, some facts considered crucial to the theory may not exist at all in some languages. The languages of the Pacific Northwest in particular are very poorly served by the major existing linguistic theories, which are Eurocentric, and especially influenced by the formal and categorial structure of English. <sup>31</sup>

It seemed best then to adopt a very conservative theoretical viewpoint, using concepts which are now considered basic to the formation of any linguist, and avoiding those which are closely identified with specific contemporary models. Particular attention has been paid to two principles which have been much too neglected by most modern theories, although they are evident in older, more

traditional grammars:

- language is used as a means of communication between human beings. The structure of language is not totally independent, but is intimately linked to the need of expressing certain concepts. Sentences are not uttered in a vacuum, but as part of meaningful discourse. It is crucial to recognize the pragmatic function, as well as the structure, of different types of clauses relative to each other. The various levels of language are not just hierarchically ordered, but interrelated, and are analyzed separately only for convenience.
  
- the present form of a language is the result of centuries of historical development. Its parts have not evolved at the same rate. In some cases, different stages or layers of development may be recognized. Nevertheless speakers must not be presumed to be aware of this development either consciously or unconsciously.

A grammar has been defined as 'a theory of a language' (Chomsky). A grammar is also a book written in order to impart to a reader some knowledge of the organization of a language. Even though the various aspects of a language are interrelated, the presentation cannot be other than linear and sequential, and it must be done with the convenience of the reader in mind. After a general overview of the main features of the language, the first part of this grammar deals with the phonology, then the formal features and categories of the morphology, before a presentation of clausal syntax. The second part is a detailed reference to word-classes, morphemes and morphophonemic rules.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The spellings Nisgha and Nishga are both in use. *Nishga* is the missionary spelling representing the pronunciation [nisgá<sup>ʔ</sup>ʌ]. The *sh* represents a sound intermediate between Eng. [s] and [ʃ], which could just as well be represented by *s* alone, while *g* represents the voiced uvular stop [G], contrasting with the palatal [g<sup>y</sup>] represented by *gi*. The spelling *Nisgha*, apparently the result of an error, seems in better conformity with actual pronunciation since the digraph *gh* is often used to represent a voiced velar or uvular (as in *Maghreb* or *Afghan*). This is the spelling used by School District #92 (Nisgha).

<sup>2</sup> Within the text, Nisgha words or morphemes are given first in a phonemic transcription, then (after a gloss if necessary) in the Nisgha practical orthography devised by Bruce Rigsby and adopted by Nisgha organizations, *in italics*. In a few cases I give a gloss in French as well as in English, where French seems to come closer than English to the meaning of the Nisgha utterance.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the Tsimshian were allowed certain sites in return for payment of a tax (Mr. Bert McKay).

<sup>4</sup> Trails along which the Interior peoples journeyed to obtain oolichan grease from Coastal peoples.

<sup>5</sup> In Canyon City, considered too small and too close to Aiyansh for an Anglican mission of its own, the Salvation Army was able to establish itself. Relations between the two churches are at present most cordial.

<sup>6</sup> For more detailed information about Nisgha history and society, see McNeary 1974, revised 1976, for an anthropological overview of both modern and traditional conditions, Patterson 1982 for religious history, Raunet 1984 for the land claims. A more specialized work, now somewhat dated in its information, is

Sapir's *Nass River Society* which explains the tribal organization and the system of hereditary names. For the missionary period and point of view, Collison 1915, edited and published as Lillard 1981, has a long section on Kincolith, and is less outrageously biased than Moeran 1922, which relies heavily on McCullagh's writings to describe the story of the Aiyansh mission. Long letters written by Boas document the picturesque but uncomfortable conditions of his stay in Kincolith (Rohner 1969).

<sup>7</sup> Most of this research (by Rigsby on Nisgha and Gitksan, Tarpent on Nisgha, Jean Mulder on CT) is still unpublished.

<sup>8</sup> cf. Collison: the Haidas speak Tsimshian, but the Tsimshians do not speak Haida.

<sup>9</sup> In addition, it sometimes causes practical problems for the Nisghas in their negotiations with the government, since they insist on their linguistic and cultural identity while being told that scholars only recognize a single 'Tsimshian' identity.

<sup>10</sup> I coined this term in Tarpent 1983a (before discovering Dunn 1979a's *Tsimshianian*, which I find less euphonious) and have used it ever since. It has also been adopted in Rigsby 1986.

<sup>11</sup> This is probably because of the paucity of adequate information available on the Tsimshianic family. All of these attempts have been made by specialists of the Penutian languages, relying mostly on Boas' grammar for their Tsimshianic data. The picture may change when the question is approached from the Tsimshianic side.

<sup>12</sup> Thus the Anglican missionaries McCullagh among the Nisghas and Price among the Gitksans divided between themselves the work of translating the Gospels, producing texts designed to be used by both groups. In spite of an orthography which minimizes the phonological differences between the two,

their texts are still recognizably Nisgha or Gitksan.

13 This has been my impression from talking with Gitksans who have made remarks to me along the lines of 'Oh, you speak Nisgha, I must make an effort to speak well when I talk to you.'

14 switching back and forth from one language to another during a conversation or even a sentence.

15 Perhaps under the indirect influence of Boas, of whom he had at least heard.

16 Unfortunately this transcription omits most of McCullagh's diacritics and is also full of other spelling errors. It is an aid to memory for persons who already know the hymns, rather than a real source.

17 *lil̓k̓it-m ʔama-tálqaskʷ* lit. Feast of praise. Would now be spelled *liigidim amaadalk'askw*.

18 In the summer of 1982, Mrs. Rosie Robinson, Mrs. Verna Williams and I prepared lists of doubtful points to be submitted to the group of elders, including Rev. Hubert McMillan, Mr. Joshua Grandison, Mr. Basil Wright, Mrs. Mary McMillan, Mrs. Pauline Robinson and Mrs. Lucy Williams, all of Aiyansh. Mrs. Robinson and Mrs. Williams then took turns asking the questions, so that all the sessions could be conducted entirely in Nisgha. Later, Rev. Hubert McMillan, Rev. Charlie Swanson of Greenville, and Mr. Harold Wright of Aiyansh went over the entire first draft. Mr. Harold Wright also made a number of important contributions to the second draft.

19 This material has recently been published by the museum.

20 Most Nisghas object to the use of the term 'potlatch', which brings to mind the Kwakiutl custom involving destruction of property, for what they call a

'settlement feast', a public event where they 'settle over' a deceased person, passing on his title to his heir (and that person's title to the next heir, and so on) and gathering and redistributing large sums of money as well as clothing and household articles, according to precise traditional rules.

<sup>21</sup> McNeary's main consultant was Eli Gosnell, now deceased (1978), who was one of the most respected and knowledgeable of Nisgha elders.

<sup>22</sup> For CT, Dunn 1979 is quite selective in its coverage. For Gitksan, Rigsby has completed an extensive draft of a Gitksan grammar (1986).

<sup>23</sup> During Rigsby's stay in Victoria in 1981, he gave me access to his Nisgha field-notes gathered in Aiyansh in 1968 and 1973, and to his Gitksan field-notes, as well as to a few pages of manuscript notes by Wayne Suttles, obtained from Kincolith speakers in the 1960's. I also thank him for many hours of informal discussion on the Nisgha and Gitksan languages.

<sup>24</sup> See bibliography under Tarpent. Some of the materials and analyses in these papers have been used here, however no part of this grammar is a verbatim copy of any of these papers. As most of them have been circulated and been used in work by others, it may be appropriate to summarize major areas of resemblances and differences between this and my previous work.

- Syntax: The presentation of surface features, including Predicate-downshifting and Focusing of non-predicative elements, and the recognition of the Control suffix -ə- (called Ergative in later papers until Tarpent (T) 1986) essentially agrees with T 1981a; however, the present description also takes into account underlying features not always present on the surface. T 1981a did not recognize the focusing of Indirect Objects; this was included in the amended versions (1982, 1984) but the difference between Specified Complement (referred to as Quoted Object) and Focused Indirect Object was not fully worked out. Following Rigsby 1975, predicate-focused clauses were

called 'independent (order) clauses' and regular clauses 'dependent (order) clauses' until this study. The overall view of the predicate phrase as including pronominal arguments has been influenced by Jelinek 1986.

- The problem of *t*-shaped morphemes: in T 1981a the singular DM *t* was assumed to be a connective, the occurrence of which depended on syntactic conditions; its relationship with the plural *tip* and its underlying presence after the determinate connective =S were first presented in T 1986. The underlying presence of the 3 suffix *-t* on all predicates (except ambient!) in regular clauses, and its loss before the connectives =S and =*t̥* through Deaffrication were not recognized before this study.
- Plural formation, reduplication: this study gives a tighter presentation of the analyses presented in T 1980 and T 1983b but differs from them only in minor details. The more speculative aspects as to the probable history of certain highly irregular or no longer plural forms have been omitted here. An error in T 1983b resulted from the inadvertent replacement of the term 'syllabic' used in T1980 by the term 'resonant', resulting in incorrect rules for some of the partially reduplicated forms (as was made abundantly clear in Thompson 1984); here the correct original term 'syllabic' has been restored.
- Possession: the presentation here follows T 1986, incorporating the underlying presence of the DM *t̥* noted only in a footnote to that paper.
- Postclitics: the presentation here follows the main lines of T 1981c and 1984 and uses some of the same examples; however, the labels and the glosses for the various proclitics sometimes differ. A major difference is in the treatment of ==SiN *-siz*, which in those papers was paired with ==qat̥ *-gat* and wrongly glossed, while ==Si<sup>†</sup> *-sihl* was not included. When Tarpent 1984 was discussed at the XIXth ICSNL, a comment by Eloise Jelinek put me on the track of the meaning of ==Si<sup>†</sup> *-sihl*.

25 Belvin and Thompson suffer from inadequate or poorly recorded data, with many errors of transcription and interpretation. As also in Jelinek, some incorrect or misleading statements can be attributed to lack of a more substantial background and perspective on the language.

26 The following persons are or were involved in teaching the Nisgha language during my stay in the valley: in Aiyansh, in alphabetical order: Mrs. Audrey A. Gosnell, Mrs. Nita Morven, Mrs. Rosie Robinson, Mrs. Verna Williams; other Nisgha language teachers with whom I had fewer contacts were Mrs. Audrey McKay (from Greenville, but a teacher in Aiyansh) and Mrs. Shirley Adams of Aiyansh, Mrs. Rebecca Angus in Greenville, and Mrs. Lydia Barton in Kincolith.

27 At the beginning of my stay in Aiyansh I had a number of sessions with the Rev. Hubert McMillan, who had been Bruce Rigsby's main consultant in 1968 and 1973. I also attended Rev. McMillan's Nisgha literacy classes given in 1977 and 1978. I also spent many productive hours with Mr. Harold Wright, who until his retirement was Cultural Researcher for the Gitlakdamix Band in Aiyansh (*kit-lax-tá:miks* : people-on-pond *Gitlaxt'aamiks*).

28 especially Mrs. Pauline Grandison and Mrs. Frieda Morven of Aiyansh.

29 especially Mrs. Nita Morven, who was employed by the Bilingual/ Bicultural Centre as Literacy worker from 1978 to 1981, and Mrs. Verna Williams.

30 cf. T 1982a and 1987.

31 cf. Haas 1979:5-6 about linguistic work on the Northwest coast:

... we still need additional grammars--whole grammars, not bits and pieces of grammars.... Since our study of these languages has spanned many decades, there have been various grammatical models in vogue during that time. For some languages we may have only a nineteenth century grammar written on a Latin model. (And it sometimes happens that these are better than later attempts). In other cases we may have

only a grammar written on the Boasian model and in still others on the Bloomfieldian structuralist model. But in more recent years there has been an increasing tendency to do just one little piece of the grammar--relative clauses, causatives, SOV constructions, or what have you. All these things are very fine ... But... there has also been increasing tendency to dip into languages all around the world for some particular feature, such as relative clauses or the like. It is here wherein the danger lies, since the investigator may fail to look at anything else in the grammar and may therefore fail to see how it fits in or whether it is even a significant part of the grammar ... such a structure may have a very low ranking in that language. So we need to get back to the methods employed in the best of the Boasian and Sapirian grammars, namely those that stress the holistic approach.

During the theoretical upheavals of the past twenty years, many important new insights were gained but many other old ones were lost...

## P A R T I

### CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW

#### 1.1. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF NISGHA.

1.1.A. PHONOLOGY. Nisgha has a medium-sized phonological inventory. The number of elements and the ratio of vowels to consonants are similar to English.

Compared to other languages of the BC coast, the Nisgha consonantal inventory includes the types of consonants most common in the area--e.g. a uvular series, an important glottalized/non-glottalized contrast--but no exotic developments or overabundance in a particular series. In fact, it has rather fewer consonants than other mainland languages, especially no labialized uvulars.

Numerous clusters are permitted, usually alternating consonants of different types, mostly stops and fricatives. More and larger clusters occur at the end than at the beginning of a word.

Among the vowels, a long and a short series are in contrast. There are no vowel clusters, and words cannot begin with a vowel.

Nisgha words belonging to major classes (e.g. nouns, verbs) carry stress, characterized by greater energy and higher pitch. Within a clause, or in a compound or phrase, primary and secondary stress are differentiated.

The contrastive use of primary and secondary stress may differentiate between some syntactic constructions (e.g. noun-phrase from verb + Subject noun), but cannot serve to indicate different emphasis within the same syntactic construction as in English. This means that Nisgha uses syntactic means for this purpose.



1.1.B. MORPHOSYNTAX. Nisgha is characterized by great economy of means for obligatory structures versus a variety of choices for the non-obligatory ones. The frontier between morphology and syntax is often fuzzy, especially as concerns morphemes preceding the predicate, which are more or less firmly bound to it. Syntactic conditions may also dictate the choice of some morphemes.

As in most languages of the area, the predicate function is not restricted to the verb, but can be fulfilled also by nouns, adjectives, numerals and some pronouns. Thus the major distinction is not between nouns and verbs, but between transitive verbs and other non-transitive predicatives.

What is expressed in many languages by verbal moods and tenses is handled in Nisgha by various kinds and combinations of particles and/or by auxiliary verbs.

The basic constituent order in a clause (at least for major constituents) is VSO, but methods of focusing, topicalizing and clefting permit emphasis to be placed on various elements of the clause and give Nisgha syntax great flexibility. However, a major distinction between regular and predicate-focused clauses has strict consequences both morphologically and syntactically.

In terms of morphological complexity of the word at the lexical level (dictionary listing), Nisgha is comparable to German: both languages have extensive derivational machinery and readily form compounds. Both freely add circumstantial clitics (of location, motion, manner, etc.) to a word or phrase. Both often over-characterize these circumstantial elements, using more than one morpheme to repeat the same idea, or repeating the same morpheme with different constituents.

e.g. Er gang in das Haus hinein  
 ... aus dem Haus heraus

He went into the house  
 ... out of the house

lu:=tá: ċim-wilp  
in-sit in-house

S/he stayed in the house.  
*Luut'aa ts'im wilp.*

qalksə= ʔóʔotkw wil qalksə= nóʔ-[t]= ʔqalaxan  
through=crawl where through=hole-[3]=NC fence

S/he crawled through a hole in the fence.  
*Galksihlo'otkw wil galksino'ohl k'alaxan.*

The compounding ability of Nisgħa is greater than that of German, however; like many other Amerindian languages, Nisgħa also forms many object-incorporating verbs (9.2.).

At the most basic level, one can usually recognize a root CVC but most Nisgħa words are far more complex. There is little inflection, but a rich derivational system. Within a word, morphemes are not just strung together, but obey a constituent hierarchy.

Most morphemes with grammatical meaning follow the stem and are fused to it by morphophonemic rules. Apart from personal and relative inflectional endings, there is a sizable group of suffixes with verbal meanings such as Causative, Completive, Antipassive, and several others, which are not freely combined but are lexically determined. The number and order of suffixes in a given word is fairly restricted.

Of particular interest are suffixes of the shapes /ə/ and /t/, inserted between the stem and the inflectional ending, which have widespread use. Morphophonemic rules which both insert and delete /ə/ and /t/ under certain conditions cause a number of surface irregularities in morphology and syntax and are a particular challenge to the analyst.

Morphemes preceding the stem tend to have lexical meaning, and to be phonologically fairly independent. Among these, the distinction between

independent and bound morphemes is often fuzzy, and there are fewer limitations on their number and order. *Frames* are specific combinations of pre- and post-stem morphemes framing the stem, both for inflection and for derivation.

The plural is morphologically speaking the most developed grammatical category; it is expressed mostly by prefixation or reduplication, sometimes both. Synchronically several morphological classes can be distinguished, with many surface irregularities, hinting at a long history for this category, which can be likened to the past tense in English or German with respect to its syntactic importance as well as its morphological complexity.

Case marking is limited to a set of clitic ergative pronouns occurring before a transitive verb when in a regular clause; this set includes both personal and relative pronouns. The relative pronouns, both ergative and non-ergative, are quite distinct in structure and behavior from the interrogative ones, which are more noun-like. There is no Nisgha equivalent of a WH-category.

Although ergativity receives only scanty morphological marking, it pervades the syntax, and Nisgha fulfills nearly all the criteria for the traditional definition of syntactic ergativity (Tarpent 1982).

1.2. SPEECH VARIATIONS. There appear to be fewer dialectal differences in Nisgha than in Gitksan or Coast Tsimshian. This is probably because the villages have always been in contact through the river, and missionary activity caused some movement of people from one village to another. However, there are some intergenerational differences. The speech of the older generation (60 plus) is quite similar to that of the Boas stories; younger speakers display some simplifications.

1.2.A. DIALECTAL DIFFERENCES: Having heard spontaneous utterances from people from all four Nisgha villages, from listening to live speeches, participating in conversations, and studying tape-recordings of speeches and

stories, my impression is that there are no *major* dialectal differences in the valley, certainly none that affect the syntax. This is not my impression only, but that of speakers themselves.<sup>1</sup> There are some lexical differences that affect only a few items.

PHONOLOGY: Two traits typical of Kincolith speech were noted by Boas (1911):

1. glottalized stops are very lenis. There seems to be a build-up of air pressure, giving an impression of voicing.

ex. ʔá: 'to sit' tʔa : Aiyansh (A), Greenville (G) [ʔá:]; Kincolith (K) [dʔá:]

2. Utterance-final n is unreleased and inaudible (but Boas' generalization to m and l probably results from a failure to hear the difference between glottalized and non-glottalized syllabics).

In addition, some people seem to have an 'up and down', singsong intonation similar to that of the Coast language.

LEXICON: a few items are different and are cherished as symbols of a difference, for instance:

'smokehouse': A, G, Canyon City (C) wilp-sə-hó:n lit. 'fish-processing house' *wilpsihoon*

K wilp-ɣ-hó:n lit. 'fish-eating house' *wilpɣhoon*.

'bear (esp. black)': A, G, K smáx *smax*

C fú *fu* (a Tsetsaut word; [f] is foreign to the Nisgha consonantal inventory, and among the Athapaskan languages, it is typical of Tsetsaut).

1.2.B. INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES: More important are differences between older and younger fluent speakers (cf. Dorian 1981).

Older Fluent Speakers (OFS) are those who grew up in a monolingual home environment and have had little formal schooling in English, although some may be self-taught to a considerable extent. These people are most comfortable and expressive in Nisgha; they have access to the full range of constructions and expressions and to a larger vocabulary including many old words. At the same time, they do not hesitate to make up new words.

Younger Fluent Speakers (YFS) are the children of OFS. They are bilingual, fully able to express themselves in Nisgha on most subjects, but their vocabulary tends to be more restricted; in morphology and syntax they also show some simplification and English influence, for instance the loss of the singular determinate marker *t* (6.2.A.) before an initial proper name, of the use of the single negation *ni:ti: nidii* instead of the pair *ni:-ti:/ni:-ki:-ti: nigii/nigidii* (5.13.A.).

Within the YFS group, there are some differences between *conservative* and *innovative* speakers. Conservative speakers are closer to the speech of OFS, with whom they have had more contact, over more extended periods; although very fluent, they tend to be somewhat self-conscious, and wary of making up new words that the elders might criticize. Innovative speakers, who tend to have had more formal education in English, have a greater tendency to regularize morphologically and to treat (<sup>?</sup>an-) *aa-* nominal predicates as transitive verbs (4.6.A.4.). The speech attempts of *semi-speakers* (Dorian 1977) (persons with mostly passive knowledge, who show considerable breakdown when attempting to speak) are not considered here.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that some younger speakers ascribe to dialectal variation some features of speech which they do not themselves use, rather than to intergenerational variation.

## CHAPTER 2: SURFACE PHONOLOGY

The Nisgha phonological inventory is comparable to that of English in terms of number of vowels and consonants, but the largest number of consonants tend to be articulated towards the back rather than the front of the mouth cavity. This feature is shared with other languages of the area, as is the pervasive contrast between glottalized and non-glottalized consonants. In general the lips tend to be spread or even retracted during articulation, so that the degree of labialization of labio-velars and rounded vowels is slight. There is a definite contrast between long and short vowels under stress. In unstressed position there is a tendency to neutralization, first of length, secondly of vowel quality, especially in rapid speech. However, in most daily situations delivery is usually fairly slow. Stress is characterized by greater energy and higher pitch. It usually falls on the root, or at least the base (augmented root, see 3.1.A.), of the word, but there are a number of exceptions to this statement, so that stress is not absolutely predictable. In connected speech, primary and secondary stress can sometimes differentiate the syntactic use of words.

### 2.1. CONSONANTS:

2.1.A. INVENTORY: Nisgha has a medium-sized consonantal inventory for a Northwest Coast language, with some typical areal features and no unusual ones. Throughout the system, the basic opposition is between glottalized and non-glottalized series, in both stops and resonants; voicing is a redundant feature of non-glottalized consonants, occurring allophonically in pre-vocalic position.

The Velar series includes palato-velar, labiovelar, uvular and glottal, but not labio-uvular or pharyngeal. The glottals tend to pattern with the glottalized resonants, but the other Velars have matching stop and fricative series. They contrast in most environments although there is a statistical tendency for them to be associated with (or alternately, to never be found with) specific vowels.

There are both dental and lateral affricates, but no palato-alveolar affricates. There is no plain lateral affricate corresponding to the glottalized one, a feature shared with the Salish languages (except Comox).

The points of articulation of the fricative series are less numerous than those of the stop series. Nisgha shares with its neighbors the absence of a bilabial fricative, and it has no dental fricative either.

Contact with English has resulted in a small number of borrowings, some of which have Nisgha plurals or derivatives. Previous generations, including speakers now very old, adapted English phonemes to the Nisgha system: voiced and voiceless stops were distributed according to the Nisgha system, labio-dental fricatives were replaced by bilabial stops. Younger fluent speakers, who are bilingual, generally preserve the English consonants. An exception is the English contrast between sibilants (s/ʃ, z/ʒ and similarly tʃ/ʒʃ, tʃ/ʒʃ) which is usually neutralized in speaking either language: the definite lip-rounding characteristic of the English S-series is foreign to Nisgha articulatory habits. In the few cases where English borrowings are quoted, preservation of the English sound quality has been indicated in the phonemic transcription by underlining the letter in question, as in *swéta* 'sweater', *kófi* 'coffee'. However, as these non-Nisgha sounds are marginal to the system, and do not affect morphophonemic rules, they have not been included in the consonant chart.



## NISGHA CONSONANT CHART

	NON - V E L A R S				V E L A R S		
	Labial	Dental	Sibilants	Lateral	Anterior	Labio- Velar	Uvular/ Glottal
<b>STOPS &amp; AFFRICATES</b>							
Glottalized	p̚	t̚	c̚	l̚	k̚	kw̚	q̚
Non-Glott.	p	t	c		k	kw	q
FRICATIVES			s	ʃ	x	xw	ç
<b>RESONANTS</b>							
	S Y L L A B I C S				G L I D E S		
Non-Glott.	m	n		l	y	w	h
Glottalized	m̚	n̚		l̚	y̚	w̚	ʔ

In addition to the relationships shown on the consonant chart:

- The two-dimensional array shows glottalized stops and resonants as being far apart; in fact there are some instances of interchange between /m̥/ and /p̥/. Similarly labials and labio-velars are shown far apart; but there are some instances of interchange between /m̥/ and /w̥/ initially (2.1.B.3.a.1.).
- Glottalized and non-glottalized consonants (for both stops/affricates and resonants) have a close relationship, and glottalization and deglottalization rules occur. Glottalized affricates and the corresponding fricatives also have a close relationship.
- The Velar stops and fricatives have a close relationship, and fricativization of stops and stop-formation from fricatives occur regularly; similarly all the fricatives (except for /s/) and the corresponding non-glottalized resonants have a close relationship evidenced by interchange between them.

## 2.1.B. CONSONANTAL ALLOPHONES.

### 2.1.B.1. STOPS AND AFFRICATES.

(a) Plain stops and affricates: These are lenis and slightly voiced intervocally and initially before vowel.

They are voiceless and fortis utterance-finally. An utterance-final consonant is fully released. In deliberate pronunciation an utterance-final consonant may be aspirated.

After a syllable-initial consonant, the voiced allophone is devoiced but remains lenis.

(b) Glottalized stops and affricates: Glottalized stops are pre-glottalized. A glottalized consonant is distinct from a sequence of a consonant followed by a

glottal stop.

Glottalization is not very strong and is at times barely perceptible. In Kincolith, as observed by Boas, the consonantal articulation is so lenis as to be almost voiced, a characteristic not shared by the other communities.

Contrast between plain and glottalized stops and affricates is most obvious in prevocalic initial and intervocalic position, where the phonetic contrast is between a pre-glottalized voiceless stop and a plain voiced stop. Finally, the contrast is not as audible between a pre-glottalized stop and a voiceless stop with a degree of aspiration. An unglottalized stop is not usually aspirated in preconsonantal position.

#### 2.1.B.1.a. Bilabials:

Of the two bilabial stops /p/ and /p̚/, only /p/ has a wide distribution; /p̚/ is very rare initially and does not seem to occur finally. There are very few true minimal pairs, but /p/ and /p̚/ do occur in similar environments, as in:

*_V	/páʔ/	[báʔ]	'to be spread flat, smoothed (cloth, etc.)'	<i>bahl</i>
	/p̚áʔ/	[p̚áʔ]	'(a name)'	<i>Pahl</i>
	/púʔlaʃ/	[búʔlaʃ]	'a preparation of stemmed crabapples'	<i>buúlaʃ</i>
	/p̚úʔlukʷ/	[p̚úʔlukʷ]	'a pinch (of s.t.)'	<i>p'uulukw</i>
V_V	/hápaʃ/	[hápaʃ]	'lid'	<i>habaʃ</i>
	/tʃap̚aʃ.../	[tʃap̚aʃ]	'(pref.) completely'	<i>tʃap̚aʃ...</i>
	/cí·pilks/	[ɕí·bilks]	'to disappear completely, to burn to the ground'	<i>jiibilks</i>

	/či·pʰi+kʷ/	[čʰi·pʰi+kʷ]	'to tie up for the night'	<i>ts'iip'ihlkw</i>
	/q̄apa·qán/	[q̄Aba·GÁN]	'piece of wood'	<i>k'aba gan</i>
	/q̄ap̄a·lú·/	[q̄A p̄a·lú·]	'gun, rifle'	<i>k'ap'aaluu</i>
VC_V	/pi+pá+/	[bi+p̄á+]	'(pl.)to be spread flat, smoothed'	<i>bihlbaɦ</i>
	/p̄ixp̄áʰiks/	[p̄içp̄áʰiks]	'(pl) to be soaked, drenched'	<i>p'ixp'atl'iks</i>

2.1.B.1.a.1. /p/ is a plain bilabial stop:

It is voiced before vowels: [b]

*_V	/pán/	[bán]	'belly'	<i>ban</i>
	/piłisT/	[biłisT]	'star'	<i>biłis(t)</i>
V_V	/hápaɣ/	[hába ɣ]	'lid'	<i>habaɣ</i>
	/cápin/	[čábɪn]	'you made it'	<i>jabin</i>
	/k̄ipú·/	[gibú·]	'wolf'	<i>gibuu</i>
R_*	/wílpiŷ/	[wílbiʔ]	'my house'	<i>wilbiŷ</i>
	/ʔampóqkʷ/	[ʔA mbóqkʷ]	'poplar'	<i>ambokkw</i>

It is devoiced between a voiceless consonant and a vowel: [p̄]

C_V	/pixpi·łisT/	[biçpi·łisT]	'each and every star'	<i>bixbiłis(t)</i>
	/xpá·w̄/	[çp̄a·w̄]	'jaw'	<i>xbaaw̄</i>

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [p̄ʰ]

V_*	/cáp/	[čáp]	'to make, do <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>jap</i>
	/kíp/	[gíp]	'to eat <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>gip</i>
R_*	/wílþ/	[wílþ]	'house'	<i>wilþ</i>

Before another consonant, it is not aspirated: [p]

*_C	/ptóʔ/	[pɔ́ʔ]	'door'	<i>pdo'o</i>
	/pčá-n/	[pčá-n]	'totem pole'	<i>pts'aan</i>
V_CV	/cápti-t/	[čápqi-t]	'they made it'	<i>japdiit</i>
_C*	/húpɣ/	[húpɣ]	'forehead'	<i>hupɣ</i>

2.1.B.1.a.2. /p̚/ is a preglottalized voiceless bilabial stop:

/p̚/ has a more restricted distribution than other glottalized stops. It does not seem to occur finally and is rare in initial position:

*_V	/p̚áʔiks/	[p̚áʔiks]	'to be soaked, drenched'	<i>p'atl'iks</i>
V_V	/líp̚isT/	[líp̚is]	'to sew'	<i>lip'is(t)</i>
	/kíp̚iskʷ/	[gíp̚iskʷ]	'to eat berries while picking'	<i>gip'iskw</i>
C_V	/p̚ixp̚áʔiks/	[p̚ixp̚áʔiks]	'(pl) to be soaked, drenched'	<i>p'ixp'atl'iks</i>
R_V	/kíl̚p̚il/	[gíl̚p̚il]	'two (objects)'	<i>gilp'il</i>

2.1.B.1.b. Dentals:

The two dental stops /t/ and /t̥/ contrast in most environments:

*_V	/toʔ/	[dóʔ]	'cheek'	<i>do'o</i>
	/t̥oʔ/	[t̥óʔ]	'to pin <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>t'o'o</i>
V_V	/hatax/	[hAtáç]	'steering wheel'	<i>hadaax</i>
	/hataqs/	[hAtáqs]	'to push with a pole'	<i>hat'aaks</i>
VR_V	/tintin/	[dindín]	'bell'	<i>dindin</i>
	/cimtin/	[ʕimtín]	'valley'	<i>ts'imt'in</i>
V_C	/skwátk <sup>w</sup> /	[sgwát <sup>w</sup> k <sup>w</sup> ]	'to joke, to be easy'	<i>sgwatk<sup>w</sup></i>
	/čátk <sup>w</sup> /	[šát <sup>w</sup> k <sup>w</sup> ]	'(sun) to shine'	<i>ts'at'kw</i>
V_*	/hit/	[hít]	'said (s/he)'	<i>hit</i>
	/hit̥/	[hít̥]	'to stick to <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>hit'</i>
	/qá.t/	[qá.t]	'shark'	<i>k'aat</i>
	/qá.t̥/	[qá.t̥]	'cane'	<i>k'aat'</i>

Dentals also contrast with sibilant affricates:

- glottalized /t̥/ contrasts with glottalized /t̥ʔ/:

*_V	/t̥oʔ/	[t̥óʔ]	'to pin <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>t'o'o</i>
	/t̥oʔʔ/	[t̥óʔʔ]	'to separate, pull apart'	<i>ts'o'o</i>
V_V	/ʔá.t̥isk <sup>w</sup> /	[ʔá.t̥isk <sup>w</sup> ]	'to arrive'	<i>aat'isk<sup>w</sup></i>
	/yá.t̥isk <sup>w</sup> /	[yá.t̥isk <sup>w</sup> ]	'animals'	<i>yats'isk<sup>w</sup></i>

V_*	/háʔ/	[háʔ]	'marten'	<i>hat</i>
	/háʕ/	[háʕ]	'to bite s.'	<i>hats</i>

- non-glottalized /t/ contrasts with non-glottalized /c/:

*_V	/táp/	[dáp]	'liver; to measure, judge s.'	<i>dap</i>
	/cáp/	[ɕáp]	'to make s.'	<i>jap</i>
V_V	/háʔiks/	[háʔiks]	'to swim'	<i>hadiks</i>
	/ʔáciks/	[ʔáɕiks]	'to be arrogant'	<i>ajiks</i>
V_*	/hít/	[hít]	'what s/he said'	<i>hit</i>
	/híc/	[híɕ]	'to send s.'	<i>hits</i>

The glottalized dental stop /ʔ/ also contrasts with the glottalized lateral affricate /ʕʔ/:

*_V	/ʔé·q/	[ʔé·q]	'to eat too much, too fast'	<i>t'eeq</i>
	/ʕé·q/	[ʕé·q]	'a smear on the mouth'	<i>t'eeq</i>
V_V	/ʔá·ʔikskʷ/	[ʔá·ʔikskʷ]	'to arrive'	<i>aat'ikskw</i>
	/páʕiks/	[páʕiks]	'to be soaked, drenched'	<i>p'atl'iks</i>

#### 2.1.B.1.b.1. /t/ is a plain dental stop:

It is voiced before vowels: [d]

*_V	/táp/	[dáp]	'liver; to measure, judge s.'	<i>dap</i>
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	/toʔ/	[dóʔʕ]	'cheek'	<i>do'o</i>
V_V	/ʔhátiks/	[hádiks]	'to swim'	<i>hadiks</i>
	/títóʔ/	[didóʔʕ]	'cheeks'	<i>dido'o</i>
R_V	/ʔáita/	[ʔáida]	'alpine fir'	<i>alda</i>
	/ʔantóʔ/	[ʔAndóʔʕ]	'next door'	<i>andoo'o</i>

It is devoiced between a voiceless consonant and a vowel: [ç]

C_V	/kʷstíns/	[kʷsçíns]	'five (non-humans)'	<i>kwsçins</i>
	/xtá/	[çdá]	'mattress'	<i>xçaa</i>
	/ptál/	[pçál]	'ribs; (water) to rise'	<i>pçal</i>

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [t̚]

V_*	/ʔá.t/	[ʔá.t̚]	'fishnet, to fish with a net'	<i>aat</i>
	/kʷsít/	[kʷsít̚]	'autumn'	<i>kwsit</i>
R_*	/sint/	[sint̚]	'summer'	<i>sint</i>
	/çílt/	[çílt̚]	'mitts, gloves'	<i>tsílt</i>
C_*	/ʔáxwt/	[ʔáxwt̚]	'porcupine'	<i>axwt</i>

(for final /t/+ /t/ see Special cases p. 35).

Before a consonant, it is not aspirated: [t]

_C*	/státx/	[sçátç]	'stinging nettles'	<i>sçatç</i>
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R_C*	/támtx/ /txáytkw/	[dámɬç] [tyáʔAytɬkw]	'fern species' 'thunder'	<i>damtɬ</i> <i>tyáytkw</i>
#_C	/txóxkʷ/ /t kún/	[txóxkʷ] [tɡún]	'to eat (pl)' 'this'	<i>txooxkʷ</i> <i>tɡun</i>

V\_CV : here /t/ is part of the syllable it closes; it is unreleased:

/nikʷó.tti.t/	[nɪɡʷó.tɬi.ɬ]	'their father'	<i>nigwootdiit</i>
/hathátiks/	[hathádɪks]	'to swim (pl)'	<i>hathadiks</i>

Special cases:

(1) /t/+ /t/:

a. When two /t/'s are in contact as a result of adding the 3rd person suffix {-t} to a word ending in /t/, both /t/'s are fully released and aspirated:

/nikʷó.t+t/	[nɪɡʷó.t̚t̚]	'h. father'	<i>nigwoott</i>
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When a morpheme {t} (Determinate marker or 3E pronoun) is in contact with a word beginning with a consonant, actual realization depends on that consonant:

b. If the consonant is another /t/, or an affricate (/c/ or /ç/ or /t͡ʃ/), the first /t/ merges with it: the consonantal articulation is held for the length it would normally take to pronounce two /t/'s, but only the second one is released:

/t̚kʷ t Tommy/	[t̚kʷt̚.ɔ̄.mi]	'Little Tommy'	<i>hɪɡʷ t Tommy</i>
/w̥i. t Charlie/	[w̥i.t̚.sá.li]	'Big Charlie'	<i>w̥ii t Charlie</i>

c. If the consonant is /t/, as in the combination /tʔan/ '3E RELE'

(6.1.A.2.), the /t/ is fully released; this articulation is distinct both from glottalized /t̚/ and from the medial sequence /tʔ/; compare:

/tʔ/	/ní+[t] t ʔan càp+t/	[níit ʔAn dzáp̚t]	'S/he is the one that's+[3] 3ERELE make.s+3	who made it'	<i>Nit aa japt.</i>
/tʔ/	/ʔatʔá.ʔikskw/	[ʔatʔá.ʔiksk̚w]	'to come, to arrive (pl.)'		<i>at-aa'ikskw</i>
/t̚/	/sitá./	[sitá.]	'to start (s)'		<i>sit'aa</i>

- Other circumstances cause /t/ to drop before the non-Velar fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ representing the syntactic connectives (6.2.B.); these cases are described in Chapter 10 (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.).

2.1.B.1.b.2. /t̚/ is a preglottalized, voiceless dental stop:

*_V	/t̚imís(t)/	[t̚imís]	'to write'	<i>t'imis(t)</i>
	/t̚á./	[t̚á.]	'to sit'	<i>t'aa</i>
V_V	/t̚itá./	[d̚itá.]	'to be sitting, to be home'	<i>dit'aa</i>
	/t̚ítíy̆/	[t̚ítíʔ̚]	'my ball'	<i>hlit'iy̆</i>
R_V	/t̚ikwántin/	[t̚igwántin]	'to make <u>s.</u> fall'	<i>t'igwant'in</i>
	/t̚ɪ́l̚t̚in/	[t̚ɪ́l̚t̚in]	'to like <u>a food</u> '	<i>xlit'in</i>
C_V	/t̚ixták/	[t̚ix̚ták̚]	'to forget <u>s.(pl.)</u> '	<i>t'ixt'ak</i>
V_*	/t̚ít̚/	[t̚ít̚]	'ball'	<i>hlit'</i>
	/t̚há̚t̚/	[t̚há̚t̚]	'marten'	<i>hat'</i>
R_*	/t̚í̆nt̚/	[t̚í̆nt̚]	'nit'	<i>yint'</i>

_C*	/ʔáʔkw/	[ʔáʔkw]	'(sun) to shine'	<i>ts'at'kw</i>
	/+íʔt/	[+íʔt]	'h. ball'	<i>hlit't</i>

### 2.1.B.1.c. Sibilant affricates:

Like their fricative counterpart /s/, the two sibilant affricates /c/ and /ʕ/ are pronounced with the lips somewhat retracted, causing a degree of palatalization.

The two affricates /c/ and /ʕ/ contrast in most environments:

*_V	/cáp/	[dʒáp]	'to make <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>jap</i>
	/ʕáp/	[ʔáp]	'tribe, village'	<i>ts'ap</i>
	/cí·p/	[dʒí·p]	'to melt away, evaporate'	<i>jiip</i>
	/ʕí·p/	[ʔí·p]	'to close one's eyes; to tie <u>s.t.</u> w. a knot'	<i>ts'iip</i>
V_V	/ʔáciks/	[ʔáciks]	'to be arrogant'	<i>ajiks</i>
	/haʕiks/	[haʕiks]	'(unstressed) fiercely, looking or acting rough'	<i>hats'iks</i>
VR_V	/lámcaʒ/	[lámɕʌ ʒ]	'to come in (pl.)'	<i>lamjaʒ</i>
	/nímʕaʒ/	[nímʔʌ ʒ]	'to inhale <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>nimts'aʒ</i>
V_#	/híc/	[híts]	'to send <u>s.</u> '	<i>hits</i>
	/háʕ/	[háʔ]	'to bite <u>s.</u> '	<i>hats'</i>

They also contrast with their dental counterparts (2.1.B.1.b) as in:

*_V	/cóq/	[ɕóq]	'to stay, camp, live'	<i>jok</i>
	/tóq/	[ɖóq]	'to take <u>s.</u> (pl.)'	<i>doq</i>

	/čák/	[ʦákʷ]	'(fire, light) to be out'	<i>ts'ak</i>
	/ʔák/	[ʔákʷ]	'to forget s.'	<i>t'ak</i>
	/čú-č/	[ʦú-ʦ]	'bird'	<i>ts'uuts'</i>
	/ʔú-č/	[ʔú-ʦ]	'coal'	<i>t'uuts'</i>
V_V	/ʔáciks/	[ácziks]	'to be arrogant'	<i>ajiks</i>
	/hátiiks/	[hádiiks]	'to swim'	<i>hadiks</i>
VR_V	/ʔančóʔ/	[ʔA nʦóʔ]	'(place of a) land slide'	<i>ants'o'o</i>
	/qančóʔ/	[GA nʦóʔ]	'safety pin'	<i>gant'o'o</i>
V_*	/híc/	[híʦ]	'to send s.'	<i>hits</i>
	/hít/	[hít]	'said (s/he)'	<i>hit</i>

The sibilant affricates /c/ and /č/ contrast with the sibilant fricative /s/:

*_V	/čáqʔ/	[ʦáqʔ]	'clam'	<i>ts'ak'</i>
	/sáqʔ/	[sáqʔ]	'to crack, be cracked'	<i>sak'</i>
	/čóʔ/	[ʦóʔ]	'to separate, pull apart'	<i>ts'o'o</i>
	/sóʔ/	[sóʔ]	'(to take) food home from a function'	<i>so'o</i>
	/čí·pkʷ/	[ʦí·pʰkʷ]	'to be tied with a knot'	<i>ts'iipkw</i>
	/sí·pkʷ/	[sí·pʰkʷ]	'to hurt, be sick'	<i>siipkw</i>
VR_V	/lámcaḡ/	[lámčʌ ḡ]	'to come in (pl.)'	<i>lamjaḡ</i>
	/támsaq/	[dámʂA ḡ]	'to remain tight- lipped'	<i>damsak</i>

V_#	/mó·c/	[mó·ʃ̥]	'to be softened, decaying'	<i>moots</i>
	/mó·s/	[mó·s]	'thumb'	<i>moos</i>
	/ʔí·c/	[ʔí·ʃ̥]	'to fry, sear, iron <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>iits</i>
	/ʔí·s/	[ʔí·s]	'urine; to urinate'	<i>iis</i>

2.1.B.1.c.1. /c/ is a plain affricate:

It is voiced before vowels: [ɟ]

#_V	/cám/	[ɟám]	'to boil, cook <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>jam</i>
	/cí·c/	[ɟí·ʃ̥]	'Grandmother (term of address)'	<i>jiits</i>
V_V	/ʔáciks/	[ʔáɟiks]	'to be arrogant'	<i>ajiks</i>
	/qacá·q/	[GA ɟá·q]	'cross'	<i>gajaak</i>
VR_V	/lámcaɣ/	[lámɟA ɣ]	'to come in (pl.)'	<i>lamjaɣ</i>
	/ʔancám/	[ʔA ndɟám]	'cooking pot'	<i>anjam</i>

It is devoiced between a voiceless consonant and a vowel: [ɟ̥]:

VC_V	/cipcáp/	[ɟ̥ipɟáp]	'to make <u>s.t.</u> (pl.)'	<i>jipjap</i>
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It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [ʃ̥]:

V_#	/yác/	[yáʃ̥]	'to hit, chop <u>s.t.</u> , to kill (people)'	<i>yats</i>
	/kó·c/	[kó·ʃ̥]	'yesterday'	<i>k'yoots</i>

Before a consonant, it is not aspirated: [ʃ]:

V_CV	/yácti-t/	[yátsdi-t]	'they hit, chopped it; they killed them'	<i>yatsdiit</i>
_C*	/qó-cx/	[qó-tsx]	'gills and entrails'	<i>k'ootsx</i>
	/wácx/	[wátsx]	'otter'	<i>watsx</i>
	/hayáck <sup>w</sup> /	[hA yátsk <sup>w</sup> ]	'a "copper" (ceremonial shield)'	<i>hayatskw</i>

2.1.B.1.c.2. /č/ is a preglottalized, voiceless affricate:

*_V	/čáq/	[čáq]	'nose'	<i>ts'ak</i>
	/čú-č/	[čú-č]	'bird'	<i>ts'uuts'</i>
V_V	/ničič/	[ničič]	'grandmother'	<i>nits'iits'</i>
	/hináčax/	[hináčax]	'to spank <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>hinats'ax</i>
VR_V	/húmčax/	[húmčax]	'to kiss <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>humts'ax</i>
	/qúlčax/	[qúlčax]	'to carry <u>s.</u> on one's shoulders'	<i>golts'ax</i>
V_C	/čixčik/	[čixčik]	'wagon, wheelbarrow, baby carriage'	<i>ts'ixts'ik</i>
	/čaxčax/	[čaxčax]	'hail'	<i>ts'axts'ax</i>
V_*	/ké-č/	[ké-č]	'(further) downriver, South'	<i>geets'</i>
	/kútáč/	[kútáč]	'coat'	<i>k'udats'</i>
VC_V	/háčtit/	[háčtit]	's/he bit it/h.'	<i>hats'dit</i>
	/ničičt/	[ničičt]	'h. grandmother'	<i>nits'iits't</i>

2.1.B.1.d. Glottalized lateral affricate:

The preglottalized, voiceless lateral affricate /ʎ̥/ does not have a plain counterpart. It is also fairly rare.

The glottalized lateral affricate /ʎ̥/ contrasts with the glottalized dental stop /ʎ̥/:

#_V	/ʎ̥é·q/	[ʎ̥é·q̥]	'a smear on the mouth'	<i>tʎ̥eek</i>
	/ʎ̥éq/	[ʎ̥é·q̥]	'to eat too much, too fast'	<i>tʎ̥eek</i>
V_V	/yáʎ̥ikskʷ/	[yáʎ̥ikskʷ]	'to slip and fall'	<i>yatlʎ̥iskʷ</i>
	/ʎ̥á·ʎ̥ikskʷ/	[ʎ̥á·ʎ̥ikskʷ]	'to arrive'	<i>aatʎ̥iskʷ</i>

with the dental affricate /ʎ̥/:

*_V	/ʎ̥áq̥/	[ʎ̥áq̥]	'lower lip'	<i>tʎ̥ak̥</i>
	/ʎ̥áq̥/	[ʎ̥áq̥]	'clam'	<i>tsʎ̥ak̥</i>
V_V	/yáʎ̥ikskʷ/	[yáʎ̥ikskʷ]	'to slip and fall'	<i>yatlʎ̥iskʷ</i>
	/yáʎ̥iskʷ/	[yáʎ̥iskʷ]	'animals'	<i>yatsʎ̥iskʷ</i>

and with the palato-alveolar glottalized stop /ʎ̥/:

*_V	/ʎ̥ó·ʎ̥/	[ʎ̥ó·ʎ̥]	'mud'	<i>tʎ̥ook</i>
	/ʎ̥ó·c/	[ʎ̥ó·ʎ̥]	'yesterday'	<i>kʎ̥oots</i>
V_*	/ʎ̥áʎ̥/	[ʎ̥áʎ̥]	'(music) record'	<i>tsʎ̥all</i>
	/ʎ̥áʎ̥/	[ʎ̥áʎ̥]	'plate'	<i>tsʎ̥ak</i>

It also contrasts with the nonaffricated lateral /ʎ̥/:

*_V	/ʔáq/	[ʔáq]	'lower lip'	<i>t'ak'</i>
	/ʔáqs/	[ʔáqs]	'nails, claws'	<i>hlaqs</i>
V_V	/sa.ʔé.ʔ/	[sa.ʔé.ʔ]	'to get undressed'	<i>saatl'ee'e</i>
	/ta.ʔé/	[da.ʔé]	'sleet'	<i>daahlee</i>
V_*	/ʔáʔ/	[ʔáʔ]	'(music) record'	<i>ts'atl'</i>
	/cáʔ/	[cáʔ]	'to fail, be defeated; to eat <u>s.t.</u> up'	<i>jabl</i>

Although /ʔ/ is relatively rare, it occurs in a variety of environments comparable to those of other glottalized obstruents:

*_V	/ʔéq/	[ʔéq]	'a smear on <i>t'eeq</i> the mouth'	
	/ʔóqac/	[ʔóqʌʔ]	'rhubarb'	<i>t'ok'ats</i>
	/ʔóʔ/	[ʔóʔ]	'mud'	<i>t'ook'</i>
V_V	/kʷá.ʔax/	[gʷá.ʔʌx]	'snail, slug'	<i>gwaatl'ax</i>
	/haʔ(h)ú.ʔaqʔkʷ/	[haʔʌúʔʌqʔkʷ]	'to boil'	<i>habl(h)utl'akhkw</i>
	/sa.ʔé.ʔ/	[sa.ʔé.ʔ]	'to get undressed'	<i>saatl'ee'e</i>
C_V	/ʔixʔó.ʔt/	[ʔixʔó.ʔt]	'to be muddied (pl)'	<i>t'ixtl'ook't</i>
V_*	/ʔáʔ/	[ʔáʔ]	'(music) record'	<i>ts'atl'</i>
	/kíʔ/	[gíʔ]	'red sockeye'	<i>gitl'</i>

2.1.B.1.e. **Velars**: This group is comprised of the anterior Velars (palato- and dorso-velars), the labio-velars, and the uvulars. Among the anterior Velars, palato- and dorso-velars are largely, but not wholly, in complementary distribution depending on their position in the word and the nature of the surrounding sounds.



2.1.B.1.e.1. Palato-velars and dorso-velars:

In general, phonetic palato-velars occur initially before every vowel except /i/; phonetic dorso-velars occur before /i/ and /u/ and marginally before short /o/. But there are reasons to consider a slightly different phonological distribution, with phonological palato-velars occurring before all vowels and before consonants, phonological dorso-velars occurring only before back rounded vowels.

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Palato-velars occur before every vowel except /i/, as in:

[gʷáǀ]	'to dip for s.t.'	<i>gap</i>
[gʷé·ǀ]	'to lie (down)'	<i>geehl</i>
[gʷǃ·]	'to be moored, parked'	<i>gyoo</i>
[gʷúkwǀkw]	'to wake up'	<i>gyukwskw</i>
[ǀágyu·ǀkw]	'bent file for woodcarving'	<i>hlagyuukw</i>
[kʷáǀ]	'ten (animals, skins)'	<i>k'ap</i>
[kʷá·ǀ]	'to be one-eyed'	<i>k'aaí</i>
[kʷé·ǀkw]	'one (animal, skin)'	<i>k'eekw</i>
[kʷǃ·ǀ]	'one (person)'	<i>k'yool</i>
[kʷu·ǀkw]	'and again' (contracted form of [ǀi·huxw])	<i>k'yuurw</i>

Only phonetic dorso-velars, somewhat fronted, occur before short /i/, as in

[gíᵑ]	'to eat <u>s.</u> '	<i>gip</i>
[kíᵑ]	'one (object)'	<i>k'il</i>

but a degree of palatalization occurs before long /i/ which has a more fronted realization than its short counterpart (2.2.A.1.a.1.): this is especially so with the glottalized consonant:

[gí·kʷ]	'hemlock tree; to buy <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>giikw</i>
[skʷí·kʷ]	'chickadee'	<i>sk'iik'</i>

Only unglottalized dorso-velars occur before the non-velar fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/; unglottalized palato-velars occur before other consonants. Glottalized palato-velars may occur before any consonants. Morphophonemic alternations with the palato-velar fricative /x/ (2.1.B.1.b.1.) and the glottalized palatal resonant /j̥/ (2.1.B.3.b.1.b.) do not make a distinction between palato- and dorso-velars, e.g. with the rule of pre-stress Velar fricativization (10.1.B.1.b.3.a.1.a.), here with reduplicated examples:

[ʔiçʔáks]	'to forget <u>s.t. (pl.)</u> '	<i>t'ixt'ak</i>
[ʔiçʔó·kʷt]	'to be muddied (pl.)'	<i>t'ixt'ook't</i>
[ʔAçʔáks]	'streams'	<i>ax'aks</i>

Dorso-velars and palato-velars also occur in contrast. Dorso-velars occur phonetically before [U], in many cases where [U] is in free variation with [WI], since the sequences /kʷi/ and /k̥ʷi/ (with unstressed vowel) are frequently realized in rapid speech as [GU] or [k̥ʷU] respectively, as in:

/yú·xkʷin/	[yú·xgʷin, yú·xgun]	'Eat'	<i>Yuuxgwin!</i>
/k̥ʷiʔ/	[k̥ʷiʔ, k̥ʷUʔ]	'around, about'	<i>kwiht</i>

But it is not always possible to consider [gU] and [kʷU] as realizations of sequences containing underlying labiovelars, as in:

[kʷUdátʃ] 'coat' (a borrowing) *k'udats'*

where there is no alternation.

In stressed position, [gÚ] and [kʷÚ] do not alternate with [gʷí] and [kʷí], as in

[ʔAgÚ]	'what'	<i>agu</i>
[mi·gúnʔ]	'strawberries'	<i>miigunt</i>
[kʷÚxʷ]	'to split <u>s.t.</u> ' (e.g. a tree with wedges)	<i>k'uxw</i>

Even though many, perhaps even most [gÚ] and [kʷÚ] sequences may be traceable to a labio-velar + vowel sequence through comparative evidence, we cannot assume that this information is part of the speaker's knowledge, or that it will necessarily be true in every instance. Treating it so would give a distorted picture of the Nisgha pattern.

- Even though treating [gÚ] and [kʷÚ] as underlying /kʷi/ and /kʷi/ might work where the [Ú] is short, the problem remains for sequences with long [Ú·], as in:

[gÚ·ʔ]	'Take it!'	<i>Guuhl!</i>
[gU·n]	'right now'	<i>guun</i>
[kʷÚ·ʔ]	'year'	<i>k'uuhl</i>

In rapid speech (especially of OFS), [U·] is often a realization for the sequence /iwi/ or /əwi/, for instance:

/siwilá·ks/ [siwílá·ks, suʷlálá·ks, su·lá·ks] 'to learn s.'  
*siwilaaks*

/mə wila:/ [mɪ wɪla·, mʊʋla·, mʊ·la·] '... how you ... (tr. vb.)'  
*... mi wɪlaa ...*

and one might then be tempted to generalize to stressed [ú·] and interpret, for instance, [k'ú·ɬ] 'year' *k'uuhi* as underlyingly \*/k'iwɪɬ/, with vowel adjustment and preservation of the dorso-velar character of the consonant.

However, just the opposite occurs: in the (always unstressed) proclitic

[giwɪl, gʷUwɪl, gʷU·l] 'even more...' *gyuwil...*

if the initial phoneme was underlyingly a dorso-velar, one would expect dorso-velar realization after vowel-adjustment to the following consonant, which results in a /u/; but the realization is not \*[gUwɪl] but [gʷUwɪl], with a palato-velar.

Similarly, the word

[gʷUwA dán, gʷU·dán] 'horse' *gyuwadan*

(a borrowing) is probably originally from something like [giwadán].

There are also related words where the initial palato-velar or dorso-velar is conditioned entirely by the following vowel, for instance a number of words and morphemes with the common meaning 'one' carried by the initial consonant (7.1.B.2.c.1.), such as:

[k'í·l]	'one (object)'	<i>k'ii'</i>
[k'ya·l]	'one-eyed'	<i>k'aaí'</i>
[k'yé·kw]	'one (animal, skin)'	<i>k'eekw</i>
[k'yó·l]	'one (person)'	<i>k'yool</i>

Finally, when suffixes including vowels (inherent or epenthetic) are added to

words ending in palato-velars, the phonetic realization of the final consonant becomes dorso-velar if the vowel is realized as [ɪ], but not otherwise, for instance:

/lak/	[lakʷ]	'to occur as an amorphous mass'	<i>lak</i>
/lu.=lak+T+t/	[lu.lagit]	'Throw/pour it/them all in!'	<i>Luulagit!</i>
in==occur.as.mass-DEF-3			
/lak+a?/	[lakʷaʔ]	'to spill a mass of things'	<i>lak'a'a</i>
occur.as.mass-DET			

Nisgha has general morphophonemic rules adapting suffix vowels to the preceding consonant (10.1.A.1.a.1.), and causing some final consonants to change before a suffix vowel (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.), but the alternation here is purely phonetic.

Dorso-velars and palato-velars must be differentiated phonologically because they contrast before /u/. Two interpretations are possible:

The phonetic dorso-velars occurring before /i/ and /u/ could be considered as representing phonological dorso-velars, with contrast with the palato-velars occurring only before /u/. There is also one case where dorso-velar "g" occurs before short /o/, in the interjective predicate [góm] *Gom!* 'Go ahead! Do it!' (5.11.); this could be considered a marginal case, and short /o/ and /u/ are largely in complementary distribution. But this strictly phonemic interpretation would not do justice to all the facts and would cause needless complication in the statement of morphophonemic rules.

It seems preferable to consider the dorso-velars as phonological elements with limited distribution, occurring only before the back vowels /u/ and /o/, where they contrast with the more generally occurring palato-velars. All other

instances of anterior velars are attributed to the palato-velar phonological series. In the phonological transcriptions, palato-velars are indicated by plain <k>, contrasting dorso-velars by underdotted <ḵ>.

English borrowings and their derivatives normally keep their dorso-velar sound, e.g.

/k̄é·ks/	[k̄é·ks]	<cakes>	'cake'	<i>keeks</i>
/ká·ḵiskʷ/	[ká·ḵiskʷ]	<can + AP suffix - ʔSkʷ>		<i>kaaḵiskʷ</i>
			'to can, to do some canning'	

Were this trend to continue, there might eventually be full contrast between palato- and dorso-velars.

#### Contrast between Nonglottalized and Glottalized anterior Velars:

Glottalized and nonglottalized anterior Velar stops (whether palato-velars or dorso-velars) contrast with each other:

*_V	/k̄áp/	[k̄áp]	'ten (animals, skins)'	<i>k'ap</i>
	/káp/	[gáp]	'to dip for s.t.'	<i>gap</i>
	/k̄í/	[k̄í]	'one (object)'	<i>k'í</i>
	/kí/	[gí]	'to pick, gather s.t. (berries, clams, etc.)'	<i>gí</i>
	/k̄ú·ʔ/	[k̄ú·ʔ]	'year'	<i>k'uuh!</i>
	/kú·ʔ/	[gú·ʔ]	'Take it!'	<i>Guuh!</i>
V_*	/t̄ák/	[t̄ákʷ]	'plate, dish'	<i>ts'ak'</i>
	/ták/	[tákʷ]	'(fire, light) to be out'	<i>ts'ak'</i>

Palato-velar and dorso-velar stops contrast with labio-velars and uvulars:

## - With labio-velars:

*_V	/k'é.ɬ/	[gʷé.ɬ]	'to lie (down)'	<i>geehl</i>
	/k'w'éʔɬ/	[g'w'éʔɬ]	'sack; scrotum'	<i>gwe'ehl</i>
	/kí.kʷ/	[gí.kʷ]	'hemlock tree; to buy <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>giikw</i>
	/k'wí.kʷ/	[g'wí.kʷ]	'marmot'	<i>gwiikw</i>
	/k'ítá./	[k'ídá.]	'oolichan rake'	<i>k'idaa</i>
	/k'wítá.t/	[k'wídá.t]	'to be alone in a boat or vehicle'	<i>k'w'idaat</i>
*C_	/skát/	[sgʷát]	'to be born'	<i>sgat</i>
	/sk'wátkʷ/	[sg'wátkʷ]	'to joke, to be easy'	<i>sgwatkʷ</i>
V_*	/lák/	[lákʷ]	'to occur as a mass'	<i>lak</i>
	/lákʷ/	[lákʷ]	'firewood'	<i>lakw</i>
	/sk'í.kʷ/	[sk'í.kʷ]	'chickadee'	<i>sk'iik'</i>
	/pí.kʷ/	[bí.kʷ]	'(to tell) lies'	<i>biikw'</i>
_C*	/tákɬ/	[dákɬ]	'tie, ribbon, band (not 'necktie')	<i>dakhɬ</i>
	/hákʷɬ/	[hákʷɬ]	'hook'	<i>hakwhɬ</i>
	/ʔáks/	[ʔáks]	'water, stream; to drink'	<i>aks</i>
	/ʔákʷs/	[ʔákʷs]	'whitewash, lime'	<i>akws</i>

## - With Uvulars:

*_V	/ká+kʷ/	[gʷá+kʷ]	'to pierce, stab, gaff <u>s.t.</u> , to give <u>s.o.</u> an injection'	<i>gahlkw</i>
	/qá+kʷ/	[gá+kʷ]	'to pierce <u>s.t.</u> through'	<i>gahlkw</i>
	/kús(t)/	[gús]	'that'	<i>gus</i>
	/qús/	[gɔs]	'to jump'	<i>gos</i>
	/káp/	[kʷáp]	'ten (animals, skins)'	<i>k'ap</i>
	/qáp/	[qáp]	'piece'	<i>k'ap</i>
*_C	/ská/	[sgʷá]	'herring'	<i>sga</i>
	/sqán/	[sqán]	'fish scales'	<i>sgan</i>
V_*	/čák/	[tʃákʷ]	'(fire, light) to be out'	<i>ts'ak</i>
	/čáq/	[tʃáq]	'nose'	<i>ts'aq</i>
	/čákʔ/	[tʃákʷʔ]	'plate, dish'	<i>ts'ak'</i>
	/čáqʔ/	[tʃáqʔ]	'clam'	<i>ts'aq'</i>
	/né·kʔ/	[né·kʷʔ]	'orphan'	<i>neek'</i>
	/né·qʔ/	[né·qʔ]	'dorsal fin'	<i>neek'</i>
V_C	/ták+/ (not 'necktie')	[dák+]	'tie, ribbon, band	<i>dakh/</i>
	/táq+/ 'hammer'	[dáq+]		<i>dakh/</i>
_C*	/sé·ks/	[sé·ks]	'to splash water on <u>s.</u> '	<i>seeks</i>
	/sé·qs/	[sé·qs]	'spruce tree'	<i>seeks</i>

Palato-velar stops contrast with the palato-velar fricative /X/:

V_*	/lak/	[lakʷ]	'to occur as a mass'	<i>lak</i>
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/láx/	[láç]	'fur, body hair'	<i>lax</i>
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The glottalized palato-velar stop /k̟/ contrasts with the glottalized palatal resonant /j̟/ and with the glottal stop /ʔ/:

*_V	/k̟áns .../	[k̟ʷáns]	'(X)...s property'	<i>k'ans... (X)</i>
	/j̟áns/	[j̟áns]	'leaf, blade of grass'	<i>jáns</i>
	/k̟iʔé.ʔ/	[k̟iʔé.ʔʕ]	'to push off at an angle'	<i>k'ihlee'e</i>
	/ʔiʔé.ʔ/	[ʔiʔé.ʔʕ]	'blood, to bleed'	<i>ihlee'e</i>
V_*	/sáʔ/	[sáʔʷ]	'to stretch'	<i>sak'</i>
	/ʔasáʔ/	[ʔʷAsáʔʷ]	'foot, leg'	<i>asáʔ</i>
	/tíʔ/	[díʔʷ]	'to be embarrassed'	<i>dik'</i>
	/títíʔ/	[dídíʔʷ]	'to look after s.'	<i>didíʔ</i>

### 2.1.B.1.e.1.a. Distribution of palato-velars:

#### 2.1.B.1.e.1.a.1. /k/:

/k/ is a plain palato-velar stop. It is depalatalized before /i/, especially short /i/ = [i], and before non-Velar fricatives.

It is voiced before vowels: [g] before /i/, [gʷ] before other vowels:

*_V	/kát/	[gʷátʷ]	'man; people'	<i>gat</i>
	/kúkʷskʷ/	[gʷúkʷskʷ]	'to wake up'	<i>gyukwskw</i>
V_V	/kiké.ʔ/	[gigʷé.ʔ]	'to be lying (down), to be in bed (sg)'	<i>gigeehl</i>

	/ʔáku.ɣkʷ/	[ʔáɡʷu.ɣkʷ]	'bent file for woodcarving'	<i>hlagyuuxkw</i>
VR_V	/ʔamké.k/	[ʔA mɡʷé.ǰy]	'duck species'	<i>amgeek</i>
	/ʔankát/	[ʔA nɡʷáǰ]	'parent'	<i>angat</i>

It is devoiced between a voiceless consonant and a vowel: [ǰy]:

C_V	/taɣkát/	[dA ɣǰʷáǰ]	'to be strong (sg)'	<i>daxgat</i>
	/ɣská.k/	[ɣsgʷá.ǰy]	'eagle'	<i>xsgaak</i>
	/skí/	[sgí]	'(object) to be (somewhere)'	<i>sgi</i>
	/laɣskí.k/	[lA ɣsgí.ǰy]	'the Eagle clan'	<i>Laxsgiik</i>

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [ǰy]

V_*	/čák/	[čáǰy]	'(fire, light) to be out'	<i>ts'ak</i>
	/čixčik/	[čičǰy]	'wagon, wheelbarrow, baby carriage'	<i>ts'ixts'ik</i>
VC_*	/čú.sk/	[čú.sǰy]	'to be small'	<i>ts'uusk</i>

Before a consonant, it is unaspirated and somewhat depalatalized: [k]: this occurs in forms with inflexional suffixes, as in

V_CV	/čáktit/	[čákd̥i:t̥]	'they put it out [fire, light]'	<i>ts'akdiit</i>
	/čixčiksim̥/	[čičk̥s̥im̥]	'your (pl.) wagon/ wheelbarrow/baby carriage'	<i>ts'ixts'iksim̥</i>

and before a non-Velar fricative (noted by S), especially /s/, in a consonantal cluster:

V_S*	/má·ks/	[má·ks]	'to put a <u>net</u> in the water'	<i>maaks</i>
	/qá·kʔ/	[gá·kʔ]	'mouse'	<i>gaakhl</i>
*_SV	(The S is always /s/)			
	/ksí·kʷ/	[ksí·kʷ]	'salamander, lizard'	<i>ksihlkw</i>
	/ksú·wʔ/	[ksú·wʔ]	'processed hemlock cambium (a food)'	<i>ksuwʔ</i>
*_SRV	/kslaxʷ/	[kslaxʷ]	'to be undermost'	<i>kslarw</i>
*_SCV	/ksqó·q/	[ksqó·q]	'to be first'	<i>ksqook</i>
V(R)_SV	/qamksi·wá·/	[qamksi·wá·]	'white person'	<i>q'amksiiwaa</i>
	/wílpdikʔé·ʔ/	[wílpdikʔé·ʔ]	'jail' (lit. 'house of binding')	<i>wílpdiklee's</i>
V_S*	/há·tikʷ/	[há·tikʷ]	'to swim'	<i>hadiks</i>
	/ʔá·ks/	[ʔá·ks]	'water; to drink'	<i>uks</i>
	/wí·ʔó·ks/	[wí·ʔó·ks]	'to be wide'	<i>wíi'ooks</i>
	/tá·kʔ/	[dá·kʔ]	'tie, ribbon, band' (not 'necktie')	<i>dakhl</i>
VR_S*	/táy·ks/	[dáy·ks]	'"Indian ice-cream"'	<i>dayks</i>
	/cí·pilkʷ/	[dʒí·bilkʷ]	'to burn to the ground'	<i>jiibilks</i>
	/ksím·ks/	[ksím·ks]	'to scrape <u>s.t.</u> (e.g. snow off a road)'	<i>ksimks</i>

VC_S*	/kítks/	[gítks]	'to search'	<i>gítks</i>
V_SC*	/plákskʷ/	[p]ákskʷ]	'to be tired'	<i>plákskʷ</i>
	/sqúkskʷ/	[sqúkskʷ]	'(supplies) to run short'	<i>sk'okskʷ</i>
	/yáʔikskʷ/	[yáʔikskʷ]	'to slip and fall'	<i>yáʔikskʷ</i>

### 2.1.B.1.e.1.a.2. /k̥/

/k̥/ is a preglottalized palato-velar stop. It is somewhat depalatalized before short stressed /i/ but otherwise strongly palatalized.

*_V	/k̥é·kʷ/	[k̥ʷé·kʷ]	'one (animal, skin)'	<i>k'eekw</i>
	/k̥óʔ/	[k̥ʷóʔ]	'backbone of a fish'	<i>k'yo'o</i>
	/k̥itá·/	[k̥ʷitá·]	'oolichan rake'	<i>k'idaa</i>
*C_V	/xk̥áyʔ/	[xk̥ʷáyʔ]	'payment for traditional services rendered'	<i>xk'ayh'</i>
	/sk̥í·k̥/	[sk̥ʷí·k̥ʷ]	'chickadee'	<i>sk'iik'</i>
	/tk̥ə.../	[[t]k̥ʷi... ~ [t]k̥ʷA...]	'dropping down to a lower level (proclitic)'	<i>tk'i.../tk'a...</i>

(Note: the /t/ is prone to loss in this position, 10.2.A.2.b.1.).

V_V	/stik̥é·kʷ/	[sqik̥ʷé·kʷ]	'playmate, little brother or sister'	<i>sdik'eekw</i>
	/nak̥óʔ/	[nA k̥ʷóʔ]	'[the] back'	<i>hak'yo'o</i>
V_*	/tsák̥/	[tsák̥ʷ]	'dish'	<i>ts'ak'</i>
	/k̥ó·k̥/	[k̥ʷó·k̥ʷ]	'mud'	<i>t'ook'</i>

V_C	/čákt/	[ʃáktʃt]	'n. dish'	<i>ts'ak't</i>
	/ʔó·kt/	[ʔó·ktʃt]	'to be muddied'	<i>u'ook't</i>

### 2.1.B.1.e.1.b. Distribution of dorso-velars:

The dorso-velars occur almost exclusively before /u/, whether long or short, stressed or unstressed.

#### 2.1.B.1.e.1.b.1. /k/

/k/ is a plain dorso-velar stop.

It is voiced before vowels: [g]

*_V	/kúxw/	[gúxw]	'to shoot and kill s.'	<i>guxw</i>
	/kómʔ/	[gómʔ]	'Go ahead [= do it]'	<i>Gomʔ</i>
V_V	/ʔakú/	[ʔAgú]	'what; thing'	<i>agu</i>
	/xpekú·+/	[xʔigú·+]	'Catch it!' (in mid-air)'	<i>ʔbiguuh!'</i>
	/mi·kúnt/	[mi·gúntʃ]	'strawberries'	<i>miigunt</i>
VR_V	/ʔankú/	[ʔAngú]	'[one's] concern'	<i>angu</i>

It is devoiced between a voiceless consonant and a vowel: [k]:

*C_V	/tkún/	[tkún]	'this'	<i>tgun</i>
	/+kú·+kʷ/	[+kú·+kʷ]	'(one's own) child; to give birth to a child'	<i>higuuh/kw</i>
V_CV	/ʔanʔakú/	[ʔAnʔAxgú]	's.t. none of one's business'	<i>an'axgu</i>

## 2.1.B.1.e.1.B.2. /k̥/

/k̥/ is a pre-glottalized dorso-velar stop.

*_V	/k̥utáč/	[k̥Udáč]	'coat'	<i>k'udats'</i>
	/k̥ú·t/	[k̥Ú·t]	'year'	<i>k'uuhl</i>
V_V	/k̥i k̥ú·t/	[gik̥Ú·t]	'years ago'	<i>gik'uuhl</i>
*C	/tk̥ú·čilkskʷ/	[[t]k̥Ú·čilkskʷ]	'heavy windstorm'	<i>tk'uuts'ilkskʷ</i>
	/tk̥u.../	[[t]k̥Ú]	'around (in a circle) (proclitic)'	<i>tk'u...</i>

(cf. note p. 61).

2.1.B.1.e.1.c. Summary of palato-velar and dorso-velar distribution:

Palato-velars and dorso-velars contrast only before back vowels; in other positions the contrast is neutralized. In this representation palato-velars have been considered the primary phonological elements, with dorso-velars identified as such only under contrast.

2.1.B.1.e.2. Labio-velar stops:

The labio-velar stops /kʷ/ and /k̥ʷ/ are pronounced with only slight lip-rounding. Finally and before a consonant they sound like a velar followed by a voiceless [ɥ]. They do not occur before long or short /u/.

The two labio-velar stops /kʷ/ and /k̥ʷ/ contrast with each other:

*_V	/kʷinkʷántkʷ/	[gʷingʷántkʷ]	'to touch s.(pl.)'	<i>gwingwantkʷ</i>
	/k̥ʷink̥ʷán/	[k̥ʷink̥ʷán]	'to be palsied, uncoordinated'	<i>kwinkʷan</i>

*C_	/sk <sup>w</sup> iné.ʔ/ /sk <sup>w</sup> inhítkw/	[sg <sup>w</sup> iné.ʔǣ] [sk <sup>w</sup> in.ítk <sup>w</sup> ]	'yellow cedar' 'to stand at the end of a line or row'	<i>sgwinee'e</i> <i>skw'inhitkw</i>
V_#	/múk <sup>w</sup> / /múk <sup>w</sup> ʔ/	[múk <sup>w</sup> ] [múk <sup>w</sup> ʔ]	'to be ripe' 'to be bruised'	<i>mukw</i> <i>mukw'</i>
	/k <sup>w</sup> i.k <sup>w</sup> / /pi.k <sup>w</sup> ʔ/	[g <sup>w</sup> i.k <sup>w</sup> ] [bi.k <sup>w</sup> ʔ]	'marmot' '(to tell) lies'	<i>gwiikw</i> <i>biikw'</i>

Labio-velar stops contrast with palato-velar and dorso-velar stops (p. 55-56), except before /u/ and after short /i/, where labio-velars do not occur.

*_V	/k <sup>w</sup> i.k <sup>w</sup> / /k <sup>w</sup> i.k <sup>w</sup> ʔ/	[g <sup>w</sup> i.k <sup>w</sup> ] [g <sup>w</sup> i.k <sup>w</sup> ʔ]	'marmot' 'to buy <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>gwiikw</i> <i>giikw</i>
*C_	/sk <sup>w</sup> átk <sup>w</sup> / /skát/	[sg <sup>w</sup> átk <sup>w</sup> ] [sg <sup>w</sup> át]	'to joke, to be easy' 'to be born'	<i>sgwatk<sup>w</sup></i> <i>sgat</i>
	/sk <sup>w</sup> iné.ʔ/ /sk <sup>w</sup> iníst/	[sg <sup>w</sup> iné.ʔǣ] [sg <sup>w</sup> iníst]	'yellow cedar' 'pine'	<i>sgwinee'e</i> <i>sginist</i>
V_#	/t <sup>w</sup> ák <sup>w</sup> / /t <sup>w</sup> ák/	[t <sup>w</sup> ák <sup>w</sup> ] [t <sup>w</sup> ákʷ]	'to twist <u>s.t.</u> ' 'to forget <u>s.</u> '	<i>t<sup>w</sup>ákw</i> <i>t<sup>w</sup>ak</i>
V_C	/má.k <sup>w</sup> s/ /má.ks/	[má.k <sup>w</sup> s] [má.ks]	'snow (on the ground)' 'to put a <u>net</u> in the water'	<i>maakws</i> <i>maaks</i>
VC_C	/lílkw <sup>s</sup> / /lílkw <sup>s</sup> ʔ/	[lílkw <sup>s</sup> ] [lílkw <sup>s</sup> ʔ]	'to steal' 'to stand guard, to watch'	<i>lilkws</i> <i>lihkw<sup>s</sup></i>

/ʔánkʷs/	[ʔánkʷs]	'to be cooked, baked, done'	<i>ankʷs</i>
/háŋks/	[háŋks]	'(water) to be shallow'	<i>hankʷs</i>

## Labio-velar stops contrast with uvular stops:

*_V	/kʷántkʷ/	[gʷántkʷ]	'to be close enough to <u>s</u> to touch it'	<i>gwantkʷ</i>
	/qántkʷ/	[Gántkʷ]	'to be straight'	<i>gantkʷ</i>
V_*	/lákw/	[lákw]	'firewood'	<i>lakʷ</i>
	/láq/	[láq]	'(animal) to live in water'	<i>laq</i>
	/ʔú.kʷ/	[ʔú.kʷ]	'homebrew'	<i>ʔukʷ</i>
	/ʔú.q/	[ʔú.q]	'brass, copper'	<i>uq</i>
CV_*	/lu.sa.ná.ɬkʷ/	[lu.sa.ná:ɬkʷ]	'to be amazed at <u>s</u> .'	<i>luusaanaahlkʷ</i>
	/ná.ɬq/	[ná:ɬq]	'breath'	<i>naahlq</i>

## Labio-velar stops contrast with the labio-velar fricative /xʷ/:

V_*	/tʰákʷ/	[tʰákʷ]	'to twist <u>s</u> .'	<i>tʰakʷ</i>
	/tʰaxʷ/	[tʰaxʷ]	'to sweep, brush <u>s</u> .'	<i>tʰaxʷ</i>
	/múkʷ/	[múkʷ]	'ripe'	<i>mukʷ</i>
	/múxʷ/	[múxʷ]	'ear(s)'	<i>muxʷ</i>
	/pí.kʷ/	[bí.kʷ]	'(to tell) lies'	<i>biikʷ</i>
	/cí.xʷ/	[dzi.xʷ]	'porpoise'	<i>jiixʷ</i>



2.1.B.1.e.2.a. /kʷ/ is a plain labio-velar stop:

It is voiced before vowels: [gʷ]

*_V	/kʷiné·xkʷ/	[gʷiné·xkʷ]	'(object) to be cold'	<i>gwineexkw</i>
	/kʷálkʷ/	[gʷálkʷ]	'to be dry'	<i>gwalkw</i>
V_V	/nikʷó·t/	[nigʷó·t]	'father'	<i>nigwoot</i>
	/ńakʷa·wóq/	[ńagʷa·wóq]	'to sleep late'	<i>ńagwaawoq</i>
R_V	/kʷàlkʷa·hó·n/	[gʷálgʷa·hó·n]	'dried fish'	<i>gwalgwa hoon</i>

It is devoiced between a voiceless consonant and a vowel: [gʷ̥]

*C_V	/skʷátkʷ/	[sgʷátkʷ]	'to joke, to be easy'	<i>sgwatkʷ</i>
	/tkʷá/	[tgʷá]	'crystal, glass'	<i>tgwa</i>
*CC_V	/xskʷiné·qs/	[xsgʷiné·qs]	'to feel cold'	<i>xsgwineeks</i>
VC_V	/tʰkú·tʰkʷiy/	[tʰkú·tʰgʷiʔ]	'my child'	<i>hlguuhlkwiy</i>

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [kʰʷ]

V_*	/kí·kʷ/	[gí·kʰʷ]	'to buy <u>s</u> .'	<i>giikw</i>
	/cákʷ/	[tʰákʰʷ]	'to kill <u>s</u> .'	<i>jakw</i>
	/múkʷ/	[múkʰʷ]	'to be ripe'	<i>mukw</i>
R_*	/yánkʷ/	[yánkʰʷ]	'to be mouldy'	<i>yankw</i>
	/háykʷ/	[háykʰʷ]	'odor, spirit'	<i>haykw</i>

C_*	/cápkʷ/	[ɕápkʷ]	'to be made'	<i>japkw</i>
	/ʰóqkʷ/	[ʰóqkʷ]	'to swallow <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>hloq'kw</i>
	/ʔáxkʷ/	[ʔáxkʷ]	'night'	<i>axkw</i>

Before a consonant, it is unaspirated: [kʷ]

\*\_C (the C is always a non-Velar fricative)

	/kʷsít/	[kʷsít]	'autumn'	<i>kwsit</i>
	/kʷstáqs/	[kʷstáqs]	'to abandon <u>s.</u> '	<i>kwsdaks</i>
	/kʷɬi-/	[kʷɬi]	'all over, randomly (proclitic)'	<i>kwhlii..</i>

\_C\* (the C is always a non-Velar fricative)

	/súkʷs/	[súkʷs]	'driftwood'	<i>sukws</i>
	/lílkʷs/	[lílkʷs]	'to steal ( <u>s.</u> )'	<i>lilkws</i>
	/hákwɬ/	[hákwɬ]	'hook'	<i>hakwhl</i>

2.1.B.1.e.2.b. /kʷ/ is a preglottalized voiceless labio-velar stop:

*_V	/kʷáciḱskʷ/	[kʷáɕiḱskʷ]	'to rock, to teeter'	<i>kw'ajikskw</i>
	/kʷó.tkw/	[kʷó.tkʷ]	'to be missing, lost'	<i>kw'ootkw</i>
	/kʷini.skʷ/	[kʷini.skʷ]	'to bend down'	<i>kw'iniiskw</i>
V_V	/caḱʷiskʷ/	[ɕáḱʷiskʷ]	'animal'	<i>jakw'iskw</i>
	/múkʷilkskʷ/	[múkʷilkskʷ]	'(water) to be roiled'	<i>mukw'ilkskw</i>
VR_V	/qílkʷaʔ/	[gélkʷaʔ]	'kerchief'	<i>gelkw'a'a</i>
	/kʷinkʷán/	[kʷinkʷán]	'to be palsied, uncoordinated'	<i>kw'inkw'an</i>

V_s	/sɪpí·kʷs/	[sɪbɪ·kʷs]	'pacifier'	<i>sibiikʷs</i>
V_#	/tʰú·kʷ/	[tʰú·kʷ]	'navel'	<i>tʰukʷ</i>
	/kʰú·kʷ/	[kʰú·kʷ]	'animal's tail'	<i>kʰuukʷ</i>
	/pí·kʷ/	[bɪ·kʷ]	'(to tell) lies'	<i>biikʷ</i>
*s_V	/skʷin.../	[skʷin]	'at the end of a line or row (proclitic)'	<i>skʷin...</i>

### 2.1.B.1.e.3. Uvulars:

The uvular stops /q/ and /q̣/ do not occur before long /i/ or /u/. They contrast with each other:

*_V	/qóʔ/	[góʔʔ]	'to go <u>s.w.</u> to go get <u>s.</u> '	<i>go'o</i>
	/q̣óʔ/	[q̣óʔʔ]	'thimbleberry'	<i>k'o'o</i>
*s_V	/sqán/	[sgá n]	'fish scales'	<i>sgan</i>
	/sq̣án.../	[sq̣á n]	'... bush, support'	<i>sk'an...</i>
V_V	/kʰé·qan/	[kʰé·gá n]	'to drill a hole in <u>s.</u> '	<i>kʰeegan</i>
	/kʰé·q̣an/	[kʰé·q̣á n]	'to chase <u>s.</u> away'	<i>kʰeekʰ'an</i>
	/qaqítʰkʷ/	[gá gétʰkʷ]	'to be difficult, expensive'	<i>gagetkʷ</i>
	/qaq̣ítʰkʷ/	[gá q̣étʰkʷ]	'to howl (e.g. wolf)'	<i>gak'etkʷ</i>
R_V	/yʰimqan/	[yʰimgá n]	'your whiskers, your beard'	<i>yimgan</i>
	/mímq̣an/	[mímq̣á n]	'Smile!'	<i>Mimk'an!</i>
V_C	/ʔampóqkʷ/	[ʔá mbóq̣kʷ]	'poplar'	<i>ambokkʷ</i>

	/ʈóqkʷ/	[ʈóqkʷ]	'to swallow <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>hlok'kw</i>
V_*	/sáq/	[sáq]	'to be sharp, very cold'	<i>sak</i>
	/sáqʔ/	[sáqʔ]	'to crack'	<i>sak'</i>
	/né·q/	[né·q]	'hooves'	<i>neek</i>
	/né·qʔ/	[né·qʔ]	'dorsal fin'	<i>neek'</i>
R_*	/yímq/	[yímq]	'whiskers, beard'	<i>yimk</i>
	/mímqʔ/	[mímqʔ]	'to smile'	<i>mimk'</i>

The uvular stops contrast with the palato-velar, velar and labio-velar stops:

*_V	/qáʈkʷ/	[qáʈkʷ]	'to pierce <u>s.</u> through'	<i>gahlkw</i>
	/káʈkʷ/	[gáʈkʷ]	'to pierce, stab, gaff <u>s.</u> '	<i>gahlkw</i>
	/kʷálkʷ/	[gʷálkʷ]	'to be dry'	<i>gwalkw</i>
	/qús/	[qós]	'to jump'	<i>gos</i>
	/kús(t)/	[gús]	'that'	<i>gus</i>
V_*	/láq/	[láq]	'to live in water'	<i>lak</i>
	/lák/	[lákʷ]	'to occur as a mass'	<i>lak</i>
	/lákʷ/	[lákʷ]	'firewood'	<i>lakw</i>
	/sáqʔ/	[sáqʔ]	'to crack'	<i>sak'</i>
	/sákʔ/	[sákʔ]	'to stretch'	<i>sak'</i>
	/ʔú·q/	[ʔú·q]	'copper, brass'	<i>uuk</i>
	/ʔú·kʷ/	[ʔú·kʷ]	'homebrew'	<i>uukw</i>
R_C*	/silímqs/	[silímqs]	'to raise <u>s. (pl)</u> (children, animals)'	<i>silimks</i>

	/silímks/	[silímks]	'to compose songs'	<i>silímks</i>
V_S#	/táqɬ/	[dáqɬ]	'hammer'	<i>da<del>k</del>hl</i>
	/táɰɬ/	[dáɰɬ]	'tie, ribbon, band'	<i>du<del>k</del>hl</i>
	/hákwɬ/	[hákwɬ]	'hook'	<i>ha<del>k</del>whl</i>
	/táqs/	[dáqs]	'flounder'	<i>da<del>k</del>s</i>
	/ʔáks/	[ʔáks]	'water, stream, to drink'	<i>ak<del>s</del></i>
	/ʔákwɰs/	[ʔákwɰs]	'whitewash, lime'	<i>ak<del>w</del>s</i>
C_#	/nísq/	[nísq]	'upper lip'	<i>ni<del>s</del>k</i>
	/lískw/	[lískw]	'to hang (pl.)'	<i>li<del>s</del>kw</i>

The uvular stops contrast with the uvular fricative /χ/:

V_#	/wóq/	[wóq]	'to sleep'	<i>wok</i>
	/wóqʔ/	[wóqʔ]	'to dig &'	<i>wokʔ</i>
	/wóχ/	[wóχ]	'to bark'	<i>wor</i>

and with the glottal stop /ʔ/:

*_V	/qáɰp/	[qáɰp]	'piece'	<i>k'ap</i>
	/ʔáɰp/	[ʔáɰp]	'bee, wasp'	<i>ap</i>
	/qá.t/	[qá.t]	'shark'	<i>k'aat</i>
	/ʔá.t/	[ʔá.t]	'fishnet; to fish w. a net'	<i>aat</i>
V_V	/paqʔaskw/	[baqʔaskw]	'to feel (with the hands)'	<i>ba<del>k</del>askw</i>
	/paʔaskw/	[baʔaskw]	'wind'	<i>ba'askw</i>

V_*	/wóq̣/	[wóq̣]	'to dig <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>woḳ'</i>
	/wóʔ/	[wóʔʔ]	'to call, invite <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>wó'o</i>
	/néq̣/	[néq̣]	'dorsal fin'	<i>neeḳ'</i>
	/skʷiné.ʔ/	[sgʷIné.ʔʔ]	'yellow cedar'	<i>sgwinee'e</i>

2.1.B.1.e.3.a. /q/ is a plain uvular stop:

It is voiced before vowels: [G]

*_V	/qán/	[GÁn]	'tree, log, wood'	<i>gan</i>
	/qó.t/	[Gó.t̚]	'heart'	<i>goot</i>
	/qúkʷ/	[Gókʷ]	'watertight basket'	<i>gokʷ</i>

V\_V [G] is often fricativized as [ɣ] especially between unstressed vowels:

	/qaqítʰʷ/	[Gayétʰʷ]	'to be difficult, expensive'	<i>gagetky</i>
	/máqat/	[mÁGA t̚ , máʔA t̚]	'Put it away!'	<i>Magat!</i>
R_V	/qanqán/	[GANgÁn]	'trees, logs'	<i>gangan</i>
	/ʔamqó.t/	[ʔAmGó.t̚]	'to remember <u>s.</u> '	<i>amgoo(t)</i>

It is devoiced between a voiceless consonant and a vowel: [G̥] (the C is always a non-Velar fricative)

S_V	/sqínx/	[sgénç]	'little finger'	<i>sgenx</i>
	/sqáns/	[sgáns]	'elbow'	<i>sgans</i>
	/x̣tqáyxʷ/	[x̣tGAYxʷ]	'to sneak up on <u>s.t.</u> (an animal)'	<i>xhlgayxʷ</i>
	/qasqó-/	[GASGó-]	'the size of ...'	<i>gasgoo</i>
	/ksqó-q/	[ksGó-q̣]	'to be first'	<i>ksgooq̣</i>

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [q̟]. Slight spirantization may also occur as a concomitant of the uvular articulation: [q̟ʰ].

V_#	/ʔaːq/	[tʂaːq̟]	'nose'	<i>ts'aḱ</i>
	/ptéːq/	[pɬéːq̟]	'"tribe", clan'	<i>pdeḱ</i>
	/tóq/	[dóq̟]	'to take <u>s.t.</u> (pl.)'	<i>doḱ</i>
R_#	/yímq/	[yímq̟]	'whiskers, beard'	<i>yimḱ</i>
	/qalʔínq/	[qalʔínq̟]	'traditional storage box'	<i>gal'inḱ</i>
	/káq/	[gʷaːq̟]	'outside'	<i>galk</i>
S_#	/q̟íːq/	[q̟éːq̟]	'chest'	<i>k'ehlk</i>
	/qásq/	[qásq̟]	'to be bitter'	<i>gask</i>

Before a consonant, it is not normally aspirated: [q]

V_C	/ʔaːqt/	[tʂaːq]	'h. nose'	<i>ts'aḱ</i>
	/qóːqtiːt/	[qóːqtiːt]	'in front of them'	<i>gookdiit</i>
_C#	/n̟éːqː/	[n̟éːqː]	'killer whale'	<i>n̟eḱhl</i>
	/m̟áqs/	[m̟áqs]	'pants'	<i>m̟aks</i>
	/súːqskʷ/	[súːqskʷ]	'to dive'	<i>suukskw</i>

(but it is aspirated before a Velar stop in

	/ʔampóqkʷ/	[ʔambóq̟kʷ]	'poplar'	<i>ambokkw</i> )
R_C#	/límqs/	[límqs]	'to grow (pl.)'	<i>limks</i>
	/t̟iwínqː/	[t̟iwínq̟ː]	'cape, point'	<i>ts'iwínḱhl</i>

2.1 B.1 e.3 b. /q̥/ is a pre-glottalized voiceless uvular stop: [q̥]

Slight spirantization may also occur as a concomitant of the uvular articulation: [q̥], [q̥ʰ]

*_V	/q̥áq/	[q̥ʰá q̥]	'to be open'	<i>k'ak</i>
	/q̥ó-qst/	[q̥ʰó-qst]	'maple'	<i>k'ookst</i>
V_V	/qaq̥itkʷ/	[GA q̥etkʷ]	'to howl (e.g. wolf)'	<i>gak'etkʷ</i>
	/haq̥úʰ/	[hA q̥óʰ]	'filleting knife'	<i>hak'ohl</i>
VR_V	/támq̥an/	[dámq̥ʰA n]	'to pull on <u>s.t.</u> (e.g. a rope)'	<i>damk'an</i>
	/q̥awq̥á-w/	[q̥ʰA ʷq̥á-ʷ]	'crow'	<i>k'awk'aaw</i>
V_#	/čáq̥/	[tšáq̥]	'clam'	<i>ts'ak'</i>
	/né-q̥/	[né-q̥]	'dorsal fin'	<i>nekhl</i>
	/lú-laq̥/	[lú-la q̥]	'ghost, corpse'	<i>luulak'</i>
R_#	/mímq̥/	[mímq̥]	'to smile'	<i>mimk'</i>
	/ksámq̥/	[ksámq̥]	'blue-black clay'	<i>ksamk'</i>
*_C	The C is /s/ or /t/:			
	/sq̥é-xkʷ/	[sq̥ʰé-xkʷ]	'to be dark (e.g. at night)'	<i>sk'eeɬkʷ</i>
	/tq̥ískʷ/	[tq̥ʰeskʷ]	'to attack, charge <u>s.</u> '	<i>tq̥'eskʷ</i>
	/tq̥al.../	[t̥q̥ʰal]	'flush against ... (proclitic) (cf. note p. 61.)	<i>tq̥'al...</i>
_C*	/ʰóq̥kʷ/	[ʰóq̥ʰkʷ]	'to swallow <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>hlok'kʷ</i>



VC_V	/q̣atq̣atx/	[q̣A tq̣atx]	'to patch s.t. (pl.)'	<i>k'atk'atx</i>
	/q̣apq̣úyp/	[q̣A p̣q̣óyp]	'bunchberry'	<i>k'apk'uyy</i>

### 2.1.B.2. FRICATIVES.

All fricatives are normally voiceless. They can be subdivided into a laminal and a velar group.

#### 2.1.B.2.a. Laminal fricatives: /s/ and /ʃ/

Both /s/ and /ʃ/ are produced with the front part (not the tip) of the tongue blade. The most significant phonetic difference between them is that with /s/ the airstream escapes at the front of the mouth, with /ʃ/ at the sides of the mouth.

Both have a very wide distribution within the word. In addition, they provide the connectives that link the major constituents of most Nisgha sentences (6.2.B.), and can thus be added to almost any Nisgha word regardless of phonological shape.

However, if either /s/ or /ʃ/ is added to a word already ending in the same consonant, the two /s/ 's or /ʃ/'s assimilate; there is no gemination or long consonant as happens with /t/ (2.1.B.1.b.1. Special cases, p. 42-43).

The two non-velar fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ contrast with each other:

*_V	/sa·/	[sa·]	'suddenly'	<i>saa</i>
	/ʃa·/	[ʃa·]	'by now'	<i>hlaa</i>
	/sáxʷ/	[sáxʷ]	'mouth (of a river)'	<i>saxw</i>
	/ʃáxʷ/	[ʃáxʷ]	'underside'	<i>hlaaxw</i>

	/sóʔ/	[sóʔ]	'(to take) food home from a function'	<i>so'o</i>
	/ʔóʔ/	[ʔóʔ]	'to go, walk (pl.)'	<i>hlo'o</i>
*_CV	/skí/	[sgí]	'(object) to lie, be, be put (s.w.)'	<i>sgi</i>
	/ʔkí/	[ʔgí]	'children (offspring)'	<i>higi</i>
	/syó·n/	[s.yó·n]	'glacier'	<i>syoon</i>
	/ʔyó·n/	[ʔ.yó·n]	'elkhide'	<i>hlyoon</i>
*C_C	/xsqalánq/	[xsgá lánq]	'to serve s.t. (a food) last'	<i>xsgalank</i>
	/xʔqáyxʷ/	[xʔgá yxʷ]	'to sneak up on s.'	<i>xhlgayxw</i>
V_V	/misóʔ/	[misóʔ]	'sockeye salmon'	<i>miso'o</i>
	/haʔóʔ/	[ha ʔóʔ]	'sail, cloth'	<i>hahlo'o</i>
V_*	/mó·s/	[mó·s]	'thumb'	<i>moos</i>
	/mó·ʔ/	[mó·ʔ]	'barrel-shaped fish-trap; barrel'	<i>moohl</i>
VC_*	/táqs/	[dáqs]	'flounder'	<i>daks</i>
	/táqʔ/	[dáqʔ]	'hammer'	<i>dakh1</i>
V_C*	/máskʷ/	[máskʷ]	'reddish-brown'	<i>maskw</i>
	/máʔkʷ/	[máʔkʷ]	'to be announced'	<i>mahlkw</i>
R_C*	/...mskʷ/		(suffix, 7.2.C.2.b.4.c.)	<i>...mskw</i>
	/...mʔkʷ/		(suffix, 7.2.C.2.b.4.b.)	<i>...mhlkw</i>

_CC#	/qísxkʷ/	[gésxkʷ]	'to stop talking, shouting, crying, etc.'	<i>gesxkʷ</i>
	/qí+xkʷ/	[gé+xkʷ]	(= Fr. se taire) 'to shout, holler'	<i>geh/xkʷ</i>

## 2.1.B.2.a.1 /s/

/s/ is a voiceless laminal groove fricative. The phonetic quality of /s/ varies according to individuals, with the extent of contact of the tongue blade with the dental/alveolar region. Many naive English speakers feel that the Nisghas confuse English /s/ and /ʃ/. As usual in such a case, the actual pronunciation is different from both since the jaw is closed and the lips somewhat retracted during articulation.

The extremes of the Nisgha range are comparable to those of Japanese /s/ before /u/ and /i/. The latter have been described as a fronted alveolar or even a dental groove spirant (Jinushi 1967:16) and represented by one researcher (Daniels 1958) with the symbol [ʃ]. Here however, the phonetic symbol [s] alone will be used, as there is little palatalization in the speech of most persons.

/s/ probably has the widest range of occurrence of any Nisgha phonological element, as shown for instance in

			/ʔanxsksí-skʷ/ [ʔ <sup>Λ</sup> nxsksí-skʷ]	'payment made as compensation for a crime'	<i>anxsksiiskʷ</i>
*_V	/sí·pkʷ/ /sá/	[sí·pkʷ] [sá]		'to be sick' 'day'	<i>siipkw</i> <i>sə</i>
V_V	/lísims/ /mísá-x/	[lísims] [mísá·ç]		'the Nass River' 'daybreak'	<i>Lisims</i> <i>misax</i>

*C_V	/ksáx <sup>w</sup> /	[ksáx <sup>w</sup> ]	'to go out'	<i>ksarw</i>
	/k <sup>w</sup> sít/	[k <sup>w</sup> sít]	'autumn'	<i>kwsit</i>
	/x <sup>s</sup> ít/	[x <sup>s</sup> ít]	'to vomit'	<i>xsit</i>
V_*	/m <sup>á</sup> s/	[m <sup>á</sup> s]	'to grow'	<i>mas</i>
	/mó-s/	[mó-s]	'thumb'	<i>moos</i>
*_RV	/smáx/	[smáç]	'meat; body, corpse; bear'	<i>smax</i>
	/snáx/	[snáç]	'hawthorn berries'	<i>snaç</i>
	/swán/	[swán]	'to blow on <u>s</u> '	<i>swan</i>
	/sýé-n/	[s.ýé-n]	'bottom (of a boat, container)'	<i>syeen</i>
	/smínc/	[s.míntš]	'to shoot at a blaze scar on a tree'	<i>smints</i>

( /s/ is pronounced separately before a glottalized resonant.)

*_CV	/spíks/	[spíks]	'high-bush cranberry'	<i>sbiks</i>
	/skí.ḷ/	[skí.ḷʷ]	'chickadee'	<i>sk'ik'</i>
	/sga <sup>n</sup> íst/	[sga <sup>n</sup> íst]	'mountain'	<i>sga<sup>n</sup>ist</i>
C_*	/má-k <sup>w</sup> s/	[má-k <sup>w</sup> s]	'snow (on the ground)'	<i>maakws</i>
	/ʔáks/	[ʔáks]	'water, stream, to drink'	<i>aks</i>
	/sílk <sup>w</sup> saçs/	[sílk <sup>w</sup> saçs]	'midday'	<i>silkwsaçs</i>
R_*	/síns/	[síns]	'to be blind'	<i>sins</i>
	/ha <sup>h</sup> áls/	[ha <sup>h</sup> á <sup>h</sup> ʔ <sup>A</sup> ls]	'to work'	<i>hahlals</i>
	/ʔáws/	[ʔá <sup>h</sup> ʷs]	'sand'	<i>aws</i>

V_C*	/čú-sk/ /nísq/ /liskʷ/	[tʃú-skʷ] [nísq̃] [lískʷ]	'to be small' 'upper lip' 'to hang (pl.)'	<i>ts'uusk</i> <i>nisk</i> <i>liskw</i>
V_RV	/lisýé-n/ /misʔáws/	[lis.ýé-n] [mis.ʔáʷs]	'mink' 'red ochre'	<i>lisýeen</i> <i>mis'aws</i>
V_CV	/nisqáʔ/ /hiscóqs/	[nisqáʔʰ] [hiscóqs]	'Nisgha (person), the Nisghas' 'to go camping'	<i>Nisga'a</i> <i>hisjoks</i>
*C_RV	/kslaxʷ/ /xswínq/	[kslaxʷ] [xswínq̃]	'to be undermost' 'herring eggs'	<i>kslarw</i> <i>xswínk</i>
*C_CV	/pstáyʔ/ /kʷstimó-s/ /xsgalánq/	[psdáʔ̃] [kʷsdímó-s] [xsgalánq̃]	'blue grouse' 'nine (non-humans)' 'to serve a food second or last'	<i>psday</i> <i>kwsdimooos</i> <i>xsgalanq</i>
VR_C*	/lipílskʷ/ /likíʔnskʷ/ /wáñimskʷ/	[lipílskʷ] [likíʔnskʷ] [wáñimskʷ]	'to mend (esp. nets)' 'grizzly bear' 'to seat people at a function'	<i>lip'ilskw</i> <i>lik'ínskʷ</i> <i>wañimskw</i>
VC_C*	/máqskʷ/ /kúkʷskʷ/ /ʔákst/	[máqskʷ] [gúkʷskʷ] [ʔákst]	'to stand (pl.)' 'to wake up' 'to be wet'	<i>maqskw</i> <i>gyukwskw</i> <i>akst</i>
V_CC*	/qísxkʷ/	[gésxkʷ]	'to stop talking, crying, laughing, etc.'	<i>gesxkw</i>
VRC_*	/límqs/ /silímks/	[límqs] [silímks]	'to grow (pl.)' 'to compose songs'	<i>limqs</i> <i>silimks</i>

## 2.1.B.2.a.2. /ɬ/

/ɬ/ is a voiceless lateral fricative. Contact is between the body of the tongue and the palate. In the speech of some people, especially when speaking very deliberately, there is despirantization in the middle of phonation, and the effect is that of a sequence /ɬl/.

When asked to demonstrate this sound, many speakers stick their tongue out between their teeth (but friction occurs with the palate, not the teeth). It is not surprising then that early English-speaking observers wrote the sound <th> or <th>.

The lateral fricative /ɬ/ contrasts with the other non-Velar fricative /s/ as described in 2.1.B.2.a.1. It also contrasts with the non-fricative lateral /l/ in most environments:

*_V	/ɬíʔ/	[ɬíʔ]	'ball'	<i>hlit'</i>
	/lít/	[lít]	'wedge'	<i>lit</i>
	/ɬó·ʔ/	[ɬó·ʔ]	'whitefish'	<i>hloots'</i>
	/ló·ʔ/	[ló·ʔ]	'elderberries'	<i>loots'</i>
	/ɬáqs/	[ɬáqs]	'nails, claws'	<i>hlaqs</i>
	/láqs/	[láqs]	'to bathe'	<i>laqs</i>
V_V	/ní·ɬukʷ/	[ní·ɬukʷ]	'morning'	<i>hihlukw</i>
	/mí·lukʷ/	[mí·lukʷ]	'to dance'	<i>miilukw</i>
	/kslá·ɬaqs/	[kslá·ɬaqs]	'to kick <u>s.t.</u> (pl.)'	<i>kslaahlaks</i>
	/lá·laqs/	[lá·laqs]	'to bathe (pl.)'	<i>laalaks</i>
V_*	/ʔáɬ/	[ʔáɬ]	'to adhere'	<i>t'ahl</i>
	/ʔál/	[ʔál]	'to split <u>s.t.</u> (a tree)'	<i>t'al</i>

V_C#	/máʔkʷ/	[máʔkʷ]	'to be announced'	<i>mahlkw</i>
	/máʔkʷ/	[máʔkʷ]	'to throw <u>s.t.</u> into a fire'	<i>malkw</i>
VC_V	/ʔuxʷʔákʷs/	[ʔUxʷʔákʷs]	'to shake oneself (e.g. wet dog)	<i>hluxwhlakws</i>
	/luxʷlúxʷ/	[lUXʷlÚXʷ]	'to refuse to give, etc. <u>s.t. (pl.)</u> '	<i>luxwluxw</i>
	/ʔipʔán/	[ʔipʔán]	'human body'	<i>hliplán</i>
	/lipléʔ/	[lipléʔ]	'priest'	<i>lipleet</i>

It also contrasts with the palatal fricative /X/:

*_C	/ʔpín/	[ʔbín]	'whale'	<i>h/bín</i>
	/xpíʔ/	[çbíʔ]	'ten [objects]'	<i>x/bíʔ</i>
V_#	/móʔ/	[móʔ]	'barrel'	<i>moohʔ</i>
	/móʔx/	[móʔç]	'to act like <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>moor</i>
	/táʔ/	[dáʔ]	'Lady! Ma'am!'	<i>Daahʔ!</i>
	/táʔx/	[dáʔç]	'perimeter'	<i>daax</i>

The lateral fricative /ʔ/ occurs in many environments, like the non-lateral fricative /s/:

*_V	/ʔáp/	[ʔáp]	'to be deep'	<i>hlap</i>
	/ʔóqs/	[ʔóqs]	'sun, month'	<i>hloqs</i>
	/ʔúʔuxʷ/	[ʔÚʔUXʷ]	'to value, treasure <u>s.t.</u> to cherish <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>hluut'uxw</i>
V_V	/miʔá/	[miʔá]	'bile'	<i>mihla</i>
	/híʔukʷ/	[híʔUKʷ]	'morning'	<i>hihʔukw</i>

	/tá·tákw/	[tá·tákw]	'tomorrow'	<i>t'aahlakw</i>
V_*	/mí·t/	[mí·t]	'fire, to burn'	<i>mihl</i>
	/kú·t/	[kú·t]	'year'	<i>k'uuhl</i>
*_R	/táyó·n/	[táyó·n]	'elkhide'	<i>h/yoon</i>

(/t/ is pronounced separately before a glottalized resonant.)

*_C	/t·kí·k <sup>w</sup> /	[t·kí·k <sup>w</sup> ]	'(female's) sister'	<i>h/giikw</i>
*C_V	/k <sup>w</sup> tí·.../	[k <sup>w</sup> tí:]	'(proc.) all over, randomly'	<i>kwhlii..</i>

In this position there is a certain amount of neutralization with the liquid /l/. A despirantization rule in this position (10.1.B.1.b.4.) is part of the morphophonemics and accounts for alternations such as:

	/táx <sup>w</sup> /	'underside'	/ksláx <sup>w</sup> /	'to be undermost' (prefix {ks-})
*C_RV	/x·tá·.../	[x·tá·]	'(proclitic) trying to be inconspicuous'	<i>xh/áa..</i>
*C_CV	/x·tqáyx <sup>w</sup> /	[x·tqáyx <sup>w</sup> ]	'to sneak up on s.'	<i>xhlgayrw</i>
VR_V	/tín·tí·k/	[tín·tí·k]	'squirrel'	<i>ts'inhlík'</i>
	/qún·táq/	[qún·táq]	'to be stunned (by a blow)'	<i>gonhlaq</i>
VC_V	/tí·p·tán/	[tí·p·tán]	'(human) body'	<i>hliplaa</i>
	/tí·x·tá·k/	[tí·x·tá·k]	'to be scratched (pl.)'	<i>hlixhlaak</i>



VR_*	/ʔimʔ/	[ʔimʔ]	'pail'	<i>imhl</i>
VC_*	/hákʷʔ/	[hákʷʔ]	'hook'	<i>hakwʔl</i>
V_C*	/náʔq/	[náʔq]	'breath'	<i>naahlk</i>
	/siʔóʔkʷ/	[siʔóʔkʷ]	'to get firewood'	<i>si'oohlkw</i>
V_CV	/máʔti-t/	[máʔqi-t]	'they told it'	<i>mahlidiit</i>
	/káʔhó-n/	[gʷaʔhó-n]	'to pitch or gaff fish'	<i>gahlhoon</i>
VC_C*	/ʔáqʔkʷ/	[ʔáqʔkʷ]	'to succeed in reaching one's goal; to (finally) make it'	<i>akhlkw</i>
VR_C*	/wóʔomʔkʷ/	[wóʔomʔkʷ]	'cradle (hanging)'	<i>wo'omhlkw</i>
V_CC*	/qíʔxkʷ/	[géʔxkʷ]	'to shout, holler'	<i>gehlgkw</i>
	/líʔks/	[líʔks]	'to stand watch, to guard, babysit'	<i>lihks</i>
V_CCC*	/míʔxkʷs/	[míʔxkʷs]	'moxibustion'	<i>mihlgkws</i>

### 2.1.B.2.t. Velar fricatives

There are three Velar fricatives, corresponding to the anterior velar, labio-velar and uvular series. They do not occur initially prevocally, a position where the corresponding resonants occur instead (2.1.B.3.b.).

The three Velar fricatives contrast with the corresponding stops (2.1.B.1.e.) and with each other (although /X/ and /Xʷ/ occur in fewer positions than /X/):

V_*	/láç/	[láç]	'fur, body hair'	<i>laç</i>
	/laḵ/	[láḵ]	'on, surface of ...'	<i>laḵ</i>
	/táç/	[dáç]	'hill'	<i>daç</i>
	/táçʷ/	[dáçʷ]	'to die, be dead (pl)'	<i>daçw</i>
	/táḵ/	[táḵ]	'lake'	<i>táḵ</i>
	/táḵʷ/	[táḵʷ]	'to brush, sweep <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>táḵw</i>
*_C	(except before other fricatives)			
	/xtá·/	[çdá·]	'mattress'	<i>xdaa</i>
	/xʷtáç/	[xʷdáç]	'to be hungry'	<i>xwdaç</i>
	/ḵtáç/	[ḵdáç]	'to eat with <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>ḵdaç</i>
*_R	(glottalized resonant only)			
	/xṛá/	[x.ṛá]	'understand <u>s.t.</u> (words, language)'	<i>xṛaa</i>
	/xṛúḵʷ/	[ç.ṛúḵʷ]	'Iknouk' (a river)'	<i>Xṛoukw</i>
	/laḵ xʔá·t/	[la ḵç.ʔá·t]	'(an inlet)'	<i>Laḵ Xʔaat</i>
VC_V	/ʔá·pçin/	[ʔá·pçin]	'to be light(weight)'	<i>aapçin</i>
	/tá·pḵan/	[tá·pḵan]	'to nail <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>tʔaapḵan</i>
*C_V	/txáks/	[tyáks]	'net-float'	<i>tyaks</i>
	/tḵa.../	[tḵa·]	'all ... (prefix)'	<i>tḵaa...</i>
R_*	/tʔilx/	[tʔilç]	'oolichan grease'	<i>tʔilx</i>
	/tʔilḵ/	[dʔilḵ]	'tongue'	<i>dʔilḵ</i>
C_*	/mátç/	[mátç]	'mountain goat'	<i>matç</i>
	/qátḵ/	[qátḵ]	'to patch <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>kʔatḵ</i>

The fricatives /x/ and /x<sup>w</sup>/ are to a certain extent in complementary distribution with the resonants /y/ and /w/ (2.1.B.3.b.), for instance:

/x/, never /y/, occurs word finally after stress, and before consonant;

/y/, never /x/, occurs initially before vowel.

In most cases a word-final /x/ alternates with /y/ before a non-consonantal suffix.

The suffix {-ʔx} (7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.) has the complementary shapes /(C)<sup>ʔ</sup>iX/ and /(C)<sup>ʔ</sup>ay/ after non-uvulars and uvulars respectively.

Similarly /x<sup>w</sup>/ occurs initially before a consonant, never initially before a vowel; in most cases, a word-final /x<sup>w</sup>/ alternates with /w/ before a non-consonantal suffix.

/x/, but not /x<sup>w</sup>/, occurs after syllable-initial non-Velar stop. Only in very deliberate pronunciation is it realized as [ç] as is the case elsewhere. Usually it appears as devoiced [x̥], as in:

/pxántk <sup>w</sup> /	[pçántk <sup>w</sup> , pyántk <sup>w</sup> ]	'to appear suddenly'	<i>pyantkw</i>
/txáks/	[tçáks, tyáks]	'net-float'	<i>tyaks</i>
/ʔipxé s/	[ʔipçé-s, ʔipyé-s]	'"lavaberries", stonecrop'	<i>t'ipyees</i>

The case of /x/ here parallels that of /x̥/ (2.1.B.2.b.3.) as in:

/txa.../	[txa, t(h)a]	'all, every ...'	<i>txaa...</i>
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## 2.1.B.2.b.1. /x/

/x/ is a voiceless palato-velar fricative.

/x/ does not occur in initial prevocalic position nor before a word-final consonant. In most cases it is realized as [ç]:

V\_V: only in suffixed forms (otherwise, /y/ occurs, 2.1.B.3.b.1.):

	/lú-xa/	[lú-ça]	'[Is it] alder?'	<i>Luuxa?</i>
	/hó-pixiy̆/	[hó-biçiʔ]	'my spoon'	<i>hoobixiy̆</i>
V_*	/táx/	[dáç]	'hill'	<i>dux</i>
	/hó-pix/	[hó-biç]	'spoon'	<i>hoobix</i>
	/lú-x/	[lú-ç]	'alder'	<i>luux</i>
	/ʔá-tix/	[ʔá-tiç]	'to touch, sense, guess <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>aat'ix</i>
VR_*	/lím-x/	[límç]	'to sing'	<i>limx</i>
	/ʔúl-x/	[ʔúlç]	'salmonberry sprouts (a food)'	<i>ulx</i>
	/hán-x/	[hánç]	'to be thin (not thick)'	<i>hanx</i>
VC_*	/mát-x/	[mátç]	'mountain goat'	<i>matx</i>
VRC_*	/likímt-x/	[ligímtç]	'fleece, wool'	<i>ligimtx</i>
	/támt-x/	[dámç]	'fern species'	<i>damtx</i>
V_RV	/ʔaxʔáks/	[ʔAçʔáks]	'streams'	<i>ax'aks</i>
	/mixmá-x(t)/	[miçmá-ç]	'(boats, vehicles.) to be loaded'	<i>mixmaax(t)</i>

V_CV	/hixk <sup>w</sup> ált/	[hixg <sup>w</sup> á <sup>ʔA</sup> lɛ̃]	'crock'	<i>hixgwalt</i>
	/tixtitáɫq/	[dixdɪdálq̃]	'to talk to s.o. (pl.)'	<i>dixdidalq̃</i>
	/qaxqé·ksk <sup>w</sup> /	[GA ɕgÉ·ksk <sup>w</sup> ]	'to slide on one's rear (pl.)'	<i>gaxgeekskw</i>

\*\_RV /X/ is pronounced separately before a glottalized resonant.

	/xnúk <sup>w</sup> /	[ɕ.núk <sup>w</sup> ]	'Iknouk (river)'	<i>Xnúkw</i>
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*_CV	/xpíl/	[ɕpíl]	'ten (objects)'	<i>xbil</i>
	/xtá·/	[ɕdá·]	'featherbed, mattress'	<i>xdaa</i>

VR_C	/hakimx <sup>ʔ</sup> úntk <sup>w</sup> /	[hagimɕ <sup>ʔ</sup> úntk <sup>w</sup> ]	'hand-towel'	<i>hagimx<sup>ʔ</sup>untkw</i>
	/qanxtáqs/	[GANɕdáqs]	'sternsheet (?)'	<i>ganxdaks</i>

VC\_V in a medial cluster following a stressed vowel: [ɕ]

	/ <sup>ʔ</sup> á·pxin/	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> á·pɕin]	'to be light(weight)'	<i>aapxin</i>
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\*C\_V [ɕ] only in very deliberate pronunciation; usually realized as a devoiced [y̥]:

	/pxántk <sup>w</sup> /	[pyántk <sup>w</sup> ]	'to appear suddenly'	<i>pyantkw</i>
	/txáks/	[tyáks]	'net-float'	<i>tyaks</i>
	/txáy <sup>ʔ</sup> tk <sup>w</sup> /	[tyá <sup>ʔA</sup> ytk <sup>w</sup> ]	'thunder'	<i>tyay<sup>ʔ</sup>tkw</i>

### 2.1.B.2.b.2. /X<sup>w</sup>/

/X<sup>w</sup>/ is a voiceless labiovelar fricative. As the features back and labial are its distinctive characteristics, the exact place of articulation may vary; it is normally pronounced noticeably further back in the mouth than the palato-velar /X/, and after an open vowel it may be as far back as the uvular /X̤/; after

a high vowel it is more fronted, but still quite distinctly further back than /X/.

Like /X/, /X<sup>w</sup>/ does not occur prevocally; unlike /X/, it can be the initial but not the final member of a consonant cluster.

The labio-velar fricative /X<sup>w</sup>/ contrasts with the other Velar fricatives (see above 2.1.B.2.b.) and finally also with the labio-velar resonants /W/ and /W̃/:

V_*	/hú·x <sup>w</sup> /	[hÚ·x <sup>w</sup> ]	'saw-whet owl'	<i>huuxw</i>
	/tú·w̃/	[dÚ·ʔŭ]	'over there'	<i>duuw̃</i>
	/lá·x <sup>w</sup> /	[lá·x <sup>w</sup> ]	'trout'	<i>laaxw</i>
	/tá·w/	[dá·ŭ]	'ice; to be frozen'	<i>daaw</i>
	/sitxé·x <sup>w</sup> /	[sityé·x <sup>w</sup> ]	'to change <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>sityeerw</i>
	/čé·w̃/	[šé·ʔŭ]	'insides, guts'	<i>ts'eew̃</i>

/X<sup>w</sup>/ occurs only in a few positions:

V_*	/sáx <sup>w</sup> /	[sáx <sup>w</sup> ]	'to shake, wave <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>saxw</i>
	/hú·x <sup>w</sup> /	[hÚ·x <sup>w</sup> ]	'saw-whet owl'	<i>huuxw</i>

V\_V: only in suffixed forms:

	/hú·x <sup>w</sup> a/	[hÚ·x <sup>w</sup> A]	'[Is it] a saw-whet owl?'	<i>Huuxwa?</i>
	/ʔú·ʔux <sup>w</sup> iý/	[ʔÚ·ʔUx <sup>w</sup> iʔ]	'I treasure it, I cherish h.'	<i>Hluut'urwiý.</i>
V_CV	/hax <sup>w</sup> ták <sup>w</sup> /	[hA x <sup>w</sup> dáƙ <sup>w</sup> ]	'bow, yew'	<i>haxwdakw</i>
	/lux <sup>w</sup> tí-tix/	[lUx <sup>w</sup> qí-dič]	'to be hungry (pl.)'	<i>luxwdiidix</i>
V_C*	/ʔáx <sup>w</sup> t/	[ʔáx <sup>w</sup> t]	'porcupine'	<i>axwt</i>

	/ʔi.ʔux <sup>w</sup> t/	[ʔi.ʔUx <sup>w</sup> t]	'men, boys'	<i>ii'uxwt</i>
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\*\_C      only before stops:

	/x <sup>w</sup> tákw/	[x <sup>w</sup> qákw]	'to shoot'	<i>xwdakw</i>
	/x <sup>w</sup> táx/	[x <sup>w</sup> qáç]	'to be hungry'	<i>xwdax</i>

### 2.1.B.2.b.3. /x̥/

/x̥/ is a voiceless uvular fricative; it has a wider distribution than /x/ and /x<sup>w</sup>/.

\*\_V    [x̥] can occur phonetically in initial position before a vowel, but in this position it seems to always represent an underlying sequence /x̥h/ (see 2.1.B.3.b.3.a.):

	/x̥háʔ/	[x̥áʔʰ, x.aʔʰ]	'(male) slave'	<i>xha'a</i>
	/x̥háyk <sup>w</sup> /	[x̥áykw, x.aykw]	'to capsize'	<i>xhaykw</i>
	/x̥hóʔoks/	[x̥óʔoks, x.óʔoks]	'(body part) to have a rash'	<i>xho'oks</i>

V_V	/q̥alaxan/	[q̥aláxan]	'fence'	<i>k'alaxan</i>
	/q̥éxan/	[q̥éxan]	'to grind, mash <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>geoxan</i>

VC_V	/t̥ápxan/	[t̥ápxan]	'to nail <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>t'aapxan</i>
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/x̥/ occurs in positions similar to those of the other Velar fricatives, but participates in more clusters.

V_*	/t̥áx/	[t̥áx]	'lake'	<i>t'ax</i>
	/q̥ó·x/	[q̥ó·x]	'to yawn'	<i>k'oox</i>

\*C\_V (only where C is /t/ )

/tʰa.../	[tʰa]	'all ... (proclitic)'	<i>tʰaa...</i>
/tʰux/	[tʰoç]	'halibut'	<i>tʰox</i>
/tʰó·xkʷ/	[tʰó·xkʷ]	'to eat (pl.)'	<i>tʰooxkʷ</i>
/tʰé·msim/	[tʰé·msim]	(name of the culture hero)	<i>Tʰeemsim</i>

In the speech of some persons the initial cluster /tʰ/ is realized as a slightly aspirated [tʰ] or even plain [t], thus for instance:

/tʰa.../	[tʰa, tʰa, ta]	'all...'	<i>tʰaa...</i>
/tʰó·xkʷ/	[tʰó·xkʷ, tʰó·xkʷ, tó·xkʷ]	'to eat (pl.)'	<i>tʰooxkʷ</i>

This seems to be restricted to the position before low and back vowels and may be due to Gitksan influence. In any case, the realization of post-consonantal uvular /x/ as its resonant counterpart /h/ parallels that of palatal /x/ as its resonant counterpart /y/ (p. 84) as in:

/tʰáks/	[tʰáks, tyáks]	'net-float'	<i>tyaks</i>
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\*\_C/\*\_R This is a very common position because of the prefix {x-} 'eating ..., consuming ..., taking one's share of ...' *x...* (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.7.). However, not all words where /x/ is the initial member of a cluster start with this prefix.

\*\_R /xmi:kúnt/ [xmi:gúnt] 'to eat strawberries' *xmiigunt*

/x/ is pronounced separately before a glottalized resonant, including the glottal stop:

/xníá/	[x.níá, xʰ.níá]	'to understand s.t. (words)'	<i>xnía</i>
/xʰaná-x/	[x.ʰaná-ç]	'to eat bread'	<i>xʰanaax</i>



#_C	/x̄táx/ /x̄k̄ú·t̄k̄w/	[x̄d̄áç] [x̄k̄ú·t̄k̄w]	'to eat with <u>s.o.</u> ' '[s.o.'s] age'	<i>x̄dax</i> <i>x̄k'uuhtkw</i>
#_SR	/x̄swĩnq/	[x̄s.wĩnq̄]	'herring eggs; to eat herring eggs'	<i>x̄swĩnk</i>
#_SC	/x̄stá·/ /x̄sk̄u·sí·t̄/ /x̄sk̄w̄iné·qs/ /x̄t̄qá·ȳx̄w/	[x̄sd̄á·] [x̄sḡu·sí·t̄] [x̄sḡw̄iné·qs] [x̄t̄qá·ȳx̄w]	'to win' 'to eat potatoes' 'to feel cold' 'to sneak up on <u>s.</u> '	<i>x̄sdaa</i> <i>x̄sguusiit</i> <i>x̄sgwineeks</i> <i>x̄htgayrw</i>
VR_*	/t̄il̄x̄/ /q̄ín̄x̄/	[d̄il̄x̄ , d̄il̄ <sup>^</sup> x̄] [ḡén̄x̄ , ḡén̄ <sup>^</sup> x̄]	'tongue' 'path, road; (tree) to fall'	<i>dilx</i> <i>genx</i>
VC_*	/hup̄x̄/ /w̄áçx̄/ /w̄it̄x̄/	[h̄op̄x̄.] [w̄áçx̄] [w̄it̄x̄]	'forehead' 'otter' 'food eaten with oolichan grease'	<i>hupx</i> <i>wáçx</i> <i>witx</i>
V_C*	/tx̄ó·x̄k̄w/ /?áx̄k̄w/	[tx̄ó·x̄k̄w] [?áx̄k̄w]	'to eat (pl.)' 'night'	<i>txooxkw</i> <i>axkw</i>
V_RV	/max̄m̄úx̄w/ /nax̄ná·x̄/ /nax̄n̄á/	[m̄ax̄m̄úx̄w] [n̄ax̄ná·x̄] [n̄ax̄n̄á]	'earrings' 'duck' 'to hear <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>maxmuxw</i> <i>naxnaax</i> <i>naxna</i>
V_CV	/pax̄p̄ax̄/ /qax̄qó'/?/	[b̄ax̄p̄ax̄] [ḡax̄qó'/?]	'to run uphill' 'to go get <u>s.</u> (pl.)'	<i>bagbag</i> <i>gaxgo'o</i>
VR_C	/?úmx̄k̄w/	[?úmx̄k̄w]	'to hate <u>s.</u> , not to be able to stand <u>s.</u> '	<i>umxkw</i>

VS_C	/qísxkʷ/	[Gésxkʷ]	'to stop talking, etc. (= Fr. se taire)'	<i>gesɪkw</i>
	/qítxkʷ/	[Gɛtxkʷ]	'to shout, holler'	<i>gehɪkw</i>
VC_V	/tá·pɣan/	[tá·pɣan]	'to nail <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>tʰapɣan</i>
	/kʷáikʷɣan/	[gʷáikʷɣan]	'to dry <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>gwalkwɣan</i>
VR_SRV	/ʔanɣsnikʷó·tkʷ/	[ʔAn(ʰ)ɣsnigʷó·tkʷ]	'adoptive father'	<i>anɣsnigwootkw</i>
VR_SCSV	/ʔanɣsksí·skʷ/	[ʔAn(ʰ)ɣsksí·skʷ]	'payment made as compensation for a crime'	<i>anɣsksiiskw</i>

### 2.1.B.3. RESONANTS:

Resonants can be divided into *syllabics* (/m//n//l/ and their glottalized counterparts) and *glides* (/w//y//h/ and their glottalized counterparts). Although /h/ and /ʔ/ are realized phonetically as a fricative and a stop respectively, they are included in the inventory of phonological resonants because much of their behavior parallels that of the true glides (similarly in Lillooet). The latter are partly in complementary distribution with Velar fricatives (2.1.A.2.b.2.) although some of their behavior is shared with the syllabics.

Non-glottalized syllabic resonants are normally voiced. They are unreleased finally. The non-glottalized glides are rare in final position (where /h/ in particular does not normally appear although it can be postulated for an earlier stage of the language, 10.2.B.1.c.1.c.2.b).

All glottalized resonants are preglottalized and voiceless, and most easily perceived in intervocalic position (within a word or in external sandhi). In final position the glottalized syllabics are unreleased and barely audible. The

glottalized glides end in a whispered vowel.

In preconsonantal position the glottal stricture occurs well in advance of the resonant articulation; the interval is filled with a weak vowel echoing the pre-resonantal vowel. The effect is that of a phonetic sequence glottal stop - vowel - plain resonant, for instance:

/čá/	[čáʔ]	'eyes'	<i>ts'á/</i>
/čáit/	[čáʔ <sup>A</sup> it]	'h. eyes'	<i>ts'áit</i>
/pčáyt/	[pčáʔ]	'to comb <u>s.t.</u> (one's hair)'	<i>pts'ay'</i>
/pčáyt <sup>w</sup> /	[pčáʔ <sup>A</sup> yt <sup>k</sup> w]	'to comb one's hair'	<i>pts'aytk<sup>w</sup></i>
/tá·wʔ/	[dá·ʔ <sup>A</sup> Uʔ]	'to leave'	<i>daawihl</i>
/čáwʔqs/	[čáʔ <sup>A</sup> Uqs]	'shoes'	<i>ts'awaks</i>

Alternately, with glottalized glides (especially after long vowel), a vowel may be inserted between the glottalized glide (which then has its normal intervocalic pronunciation) and the following consonant, e.g. the more deliberate pronunciations:

/tá·wʔ/	[dá·wʔiʔ]	'to leave'	<i>Jaawihl</i>
/čáwʔqs/	[čáwʔ <sup>A</sup> qs]	'shoes'	<i>ts'awaks</i>

depending on the particular resonant, the particular consonantal environment, and the individual speaker's preference.

Glottalized resonants contrast with a sequence Resonant + Glottal stop, as in:

/limʔó·y̆/	[limʔó·ʔi]	'traditional funeral song'	<i>lim'ooy'</i>
/čimʔó·l̆/	[čimʔó·l̆]	'to wrap <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>hlimool'</i>

Both occur in the next examples (which are fully reduplicated forms, § 2.B.1.) :

/ʔalʔálaq/	[ʔAlʔálaq]	'to be aggressive, etc. (pl.)'	<i>al'alak</i>
/ʔanʔúnis/	[ʔAnʔúnis]	'sleeve'	<i>an'unis</i>
/ʔawʔá·wiskʷ/	[ʔAʷá·wiskʷ]	'to be curly'	<i>aw'aawiskw</i>

Conversely, the glottalized resonants also contrast with a sequence Glottal stop + Resonant or high vowel, as in

/móʔn/	[móʔn]	'salt'	<i>mo'on</i>
/ʔí:ʔuxwt/	[ʔí:ʔuxwt]	'men, boys'	<i>ii'uxwt</i>

### 2.1.B.3.a. Syllabics:

The syllabics includes the nasals /m/ and /n/ and the liquid /l/. In reduplicated forms they occur prefixed to themselves or to their glottalized counterparts, without an intervening vowel. In this case the first, unglottalized resonant is pronounced as a continuous long resonant, lasting approximately the same length as a short unstressed syllable; phonation starts once oral closure is achieved, and lasts until the onset of the next consonant, which is clearly audible:

/llaʔ/	[l·láʔ]	'to be large (pl.)'	<i>llaʔ</i>
/nńi·lukʷ/	[n·ńi·lukʷ]	'to be long (pl.)'	<i>nńiilukw</i>

(cf. the fricatives /s/, /t/, /x/ before initial consonant). This happens even if a prefix ending in a vowel occurs in front of the syllabic resonant, e.g.,

/qa+nńi·lukʷ+ə/[ga.n·ńi·lugʷi.../	'the length of ... [several things]'	<i>ganńiilugwi...</i>
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Although only unglottalized nasals and liquids can actually have syllabic

function, this section covers both glottalized and unglottalized varieties because of their similar privileges of occurrence.

### 2.1.B.3.a.1. Bilabial nasals:

The two bilabial nasals /m/ and /m̥/ contrast:

*_V	/mítkw/	[mítkw]	'to be full, plentiful'	<i>mitkw</i>
	/m̥ítkw/	[m̥ítkw]	'to be scattered, in powder form'	<i>m̥itkw</i>
	/máskw/	[máskw]	'to be clay-colored, reddish brown'	<i>maskw</i>
	/m̥áskw/	[m̥áskw]	'to fart'	<i>m̥askw</i>
	/múkʷ/	[múkʷ]	'to be ripe'	<i>mukw</i>
	/m̥úkʷ/	[m̥úkʷ]	'to catch <u>fish</u> '	<i>m̥ukw</i>
V_V	/t̥imís/	[t̥imís]	'to write'	<i>t̥imís</i>
	/timís/	[dimís]	'how much/many'	<i>dimís</i>
	/t̥imó-mis .../	[t̥imó-mis]	'[X] ... helped ... [Y]'	<i>hlimoomis... (X... t...)</i>
	/ʔó-mís/	[ʔó-mís]	'pillowcase'	<i>oomís</i>
	/t̥imó-m/	[t̥imó-m]	'to help <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>hlimoom</i>
	/t̥imó-ł/	[t̥imó-ł]	'to wrap <u>s.</u> '	<i>hlimool̥</i>
V_*	/t̥ám/	[t̥ám]	'to write <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>t̥ám</i>
	/tám̥/	[dám̥]	'to press <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>dám̥</i>
	/ʔá.m/	[ʔá.m]	'to be good'	<i>aam</i>

	/ʔimʔá·mʔ/	[ʔimʔá·mʔ]	'shin'	<i>t'imhlaam</i>
V_C	/ʔámtkʷ/	[ʔámtkʷ]	'to be written'	<i>t'amtkw</i>
	/támʔtkʷ/	[dáʔ <sup>Δ</sup> mtkʷ]	'to be pressed'	<i>damtkw</i>
*S_V	/smáx/	[smáç]	'meat, body, bear'	<i>smax</i>
	/smínc/	[s.míntʂ]	'to shoot at a blaze scar'	<i>smints</i>

The glottalized bilabial nasal /mʔ/ usually contrasts with other glottalized bilabials or labio-velars, as in

/mʔtkʷ/	[mʔtkʷ]	'to be scattered, in powder form'	<i>mitkw</i>
/wʔtkʷ/	[wʔtkʷ]	'to come (from s.w.) to be back'	<i>witkw</i>

but there are a few instances of free or individual variation, e.g.

/mʔiç/ [mʔiç]	or /wʔiç/ [wʔiç]	'to be squeezed (between two surfaces, e.g. fingers in a door)	<i>mits' / wits'</i>
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/mʔiʔiçimks/ [mʔiʔiçimks]	or /wʔiʔiçimks/ [wʔiʔiçimks]	'to choke (on liquid)'	<i>mihlihlimks / wihlihlimks</i>
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/lá·mʔi·/ [lá·mʔi·]	or /lá·pʔi·/ [lá·pʔi·]	'Hurry up and ...!'	<i>laamʔi / laapʔi</i>
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### 2.1.B.3.a.1.a. /m/

/m/ is an unglottalized bilabial nasal, normally voiced.

*_V	/mí·luk <sup>w</sup> /	[mí:luk <sup>w</sup> ]	'to dance'	<i>miilukw</i>
	/mó·ʔ/	[mó·ʔ]	'barrel-shaped fish-trap, barrel'	<i>moohl</i>
V_V	/ʔimó·m/	[ʔimó·m]	'to help <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>hlimoom</i>
	/ʔamúk <sup>ws</sup> /	[ʔA mÚk <sup>ws</sup> ]	'to listen'	<i>amukws</i>
V_*	/cám/	[dzám]	'to boil <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>jam</i>
	/k <sup>w</sup> ó·m/	[g <sup>w</sup> ó·m]	'dust, ashes'	<i>gwoom</i>
*_M	Initially before another /m/ or /m̥/ : syllabic realization :			
	/mmí·k <sup>w</sup> /	[m̥mí·k <sup>w</sup> ]	'to be lit, shining (star, etc)'	<i>mmihkw</i>
	/mmá·l/	[m̥má·l]	'canoes'	<i>mmaal</i>
*C_V (after /s/ or /ʃ/)				
	/smáx/	[smáç]	'meat, body, bear'	<i>smax</i>
	/ʃmiyé·n/	[ʃmiyé·n]	'to smoke'	<i>ʃmiyeen</i>
V_C	/límx/	[límx]	'to sing'	<i>limx</i>
	/ʔím·ʔ/	[ʔím·ʔ]	'pail'	<i>imh</i>
	/qámks/	[GÁmks]	'arrowhead'	<i>gamks</i>
V_CV	/cimcám/	[dzimdzám]	'to boil <u>s.t. (pl.)</u> '	<i>jimjam</i>
	/ʔamqó·kit/	[ʔA mGó·giŋ]	'to be pretty'	<i>amgoogit</i>
VC_V	/mitmít <sup>w</sup> /	[mitmít <sup>w</sup> ]	'to be full, plentiful (pl.)'	<i>mitmitkw</i>
	/maxmúx <sup>w</sup> /	[mAxmÚx <sup>w</sup> ]	'earrings'	<i>maxmuxw</i>
V_CC	/ʔám <sup>t</sup> k <sup>w</sup> /	[ʔám <sup>t</sup> k <sup>w</sup> ]	'to be written'	<i>t'amt<sup>t</sup>kw</i>

/wó<sup>?</sup>om+k<sup>w</sup>/ [wó<sup>?</sup>om+k<sup>w</sup>] 'hanging cradle' *wó'omhkw*

2.1.B.3.a.1.b. /m̥/

/m̥/ is a preglottalized nasal; it is always voiceless.

*_V	/m̥á·l/	[m̥á·l]	'canoe'	<i>m̥aal</i>
	/m̥ó·čiks/	[m̥ó·čiks]	'breast; (baby) to nurse'	<i>m̥oots'iks</i>
	/m̥úk <sup>w</sup> /	[m̥úk <sup>w</sup> ]	'to catch fish'	<i>m̥ukw</i>
V_V	/ʔó·m̥is/	[ʔó·m̥is]	'pillowcase'	<i>oom̥is</i>
	/ham̥ó·q/	[ham̥ó·q]	'cow parsnip'	<i>ham̥ooq</i>
V_*	/tám̥/	[dám̥]	'to press s.t.'	<i>dam̥</i>
	/wánsim̥/	[wánsim̥]	'Sit down! (pl)'	<i>wansim̥</i>

\*R\_V Only after /m/ in reduplicated forms:

/mm̥á·l/ [mm̥á·l] 'canoes' *mmaal*

\*S\_V /sm̥inc/ [s.m̥ínč] 'to shoot at a blaze scar' *sm̥ints*

V\_C(\*) only if the C is (part of) an inflectional suffix:

/čim̥á·m̥t/ [čim̥á·<sup>?</sup>A m̥t] 'h. leg' *čim̥laam̥t*

/kóm̥sim̥/ [gó<sup>?</sup>msim̥] 'Go ahead! (pl)' *Gómsim̥!*

VR\_V /ʔamm̥á·l/ [ʔA mm̥á·l] 'cottonwood' *amm̥aal*  
 /qanm̥ó·čiks/ [qanm̥ó·čiks] 'baby bottle' *qanm̥oots'iks*



VC_V	/mítmítkw/	[mítmítkʷ]	'to be scattered, in powder form (pl.)'	<i>mítmítkw</i>
V_CC	/timtámítkw/	[dimdá <sup>ʔA</sup> mtkʷ]	'to be pressed, squeezed (pl.)'	<i>dimdamítkw</i>

### 2.1.B.3.a.2. Dental nasals:

The two dental nasals /n/ and /n̥/ contrast with each other:

*_V	/naɣ/	[náɣ]	'snowshoes'	<i>naɣ</i>
	/n̥aɣ/	[n̥áɣ]	'bait'	<i>n̥aɣ</i>
	/nó.m̥/	[nó.m̥]	'our mother'	<i>nóom̥</i>
	/n̥ú.m̥/	[n̥ú.m̥]	'us'	<i>n̥uum̥</i>
V_V	/sɣiníst/	[sɣiníst]	'pine'	<i>sɣiníst</i>
	/sɣaɲíst/	[sɣaɲíst]	'mountain'	<i>sɣaɲíst</i>
V_*	/qin/	[qen]	'skunk'	<i>qen</i>
	/qin̥/	[qen̥]	'to chew (s.t.)'	<i>qen̥</i>
V_C	/tá.pɣanskʷ/	[tá.pɣa nskʷ]	'nail'	<i>t'aapɣanskʷ</i>
	/tá.pɣaɲskʷ/	[tá.pɣa ɲskʷ]	'to nail, to do the nailing'	<i>t'aapɣaɲskʷ</i>
	/kintkw/	[gintkʷ]	'to be fed (s.t.), to be given s.t. to eat'	<i>gintkw</i>
	/qin̥tkʷ/	[qen̥tkʷ]	'to be chewed'	<i>qen̥tkʷ</i>

In the speech of Kincolith, the glottalized nasal /n̥/ is sometimes replaced by the glottalized lateral /l̥/ before an unstressed vowel. This occurs especially with the proclitic /n̥i-/ 'down on ...' *n̥i...*, Kincolith /l̥i-/ (Boas' transcriptions, recorded in Kincolith, consistently show <li>; as McCullagh also uses the

spelling <li> for this morpheme, it seems to be a conservative pronunciation).

### 2.1.B.3.a.2.a. /n/

/n/ is a non-glottalized dental nasal, normally voiced.

*_V	/né·q/	[né·q̣]	'hooves'	<i>neek</i>
	/nó·ʔ/	[nó·ʔ̣]	'hole, to have a hole'	<i>no'o</i>
V_V	/ʔanó·q/	[ʔA nó·q̣]	'to like, approve of s.'	<i>anook</i>
	/ná·naʃ/	[ná·naʃ]	'pairs of snowshoes'	<i>naanaʃ</i>
	/tini·/	[dini·]	'Athapaskans (Déné)'	<i>Dinii</i>
V_#	/qán/	[GÁ n]	'tree, log, wood'	<i>gan</i>
	/hó·n/	[hó·n]	'fish, esp. salmon'	<i>hoon</i>
	/si·lín/	[si:lín]	'to chase, go after s.'	<i>siilin</i>
*_C	only before /t/ in two related words:			
	/ntá/	[nda]	'place, which way'	<i>nda</i>
	/nté·ʔ/	[ndé·ʔ̣]	'"Pass the ..."'	<i>Ndee'e ...</i>
*_R	only before another /n/ or /n̥/ in reduplicated forms:			
	/n̥í·lukʷ/	[n̥í·lukʷ]	'to be long (pl)'	<i>n̥iilukw</i>
*_S_	/snáʃ/	[snáʃ]	'hawthorn berries'	<i>snaʃ</i>
V_C*	/sqáns/	[sqáns]	'elbow'	<i>sgans</i>
	/qínʃ/	[gɛn <sup>(A)</sup> ʃ]	'path, road; (tree) to fall'	<i>genʃ</i>
	/sint/	[sint]	'summer'	<i>sint</i>

V_CC*	/ɬíntx/	[ɬíntç]	'to be angry, mad'	<i>hlintx</i>
	/ɬántkʷ/	[ɬántkʷ]	'to sway, move in one spot'	<i>hlantkʷ</i>
V_CV	/ɬinɬíntx/	[ɬinɬíntç]	'to be angry (pl.)'	<i>hlinhlintx</i>
	/sinhó·n/	[sinhó·n]	'to go after fish'	<i>sinhoon</i>
VC_V	/naɣná·ɣ/	[na ɣná·ɣ]	'duck'	<i>naɣnaaɣ</i>

### 2.1.B.3.a.2.b. /ɲ/

/ɲ/ is a preglottalized dental nasal, always voiceless.

*_V	/ɲáɣ/	[ɲáɣ]	'bait'	<i>ɲaɣ</i>
	/ɲúw̃/	[ɲúʔʷ]	'to die, be dead'	<i>ɲúw̃</i>
	/ɲíks/	[ɲíks]	'to claim <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>ɲiks</i>
V_V	/sqaɲíst/	[sga ɲíst]	'mountain'	<i>sgaɲist</i>
	/haɲi·tá·/	[ha ɲi·tá·]	'chair'	<i>haɲiit'aa</i>
	/siɲáʔaskʷ/	[siɲáʔaskʷ]	'to bait one's traps'	<i>siɲa'askʷ</i>
V_*	/qíɲ/	[qéɲ]	'to chew ( <u>s.t.</u> )'	<i>geɲ</i>
*R_V	only after /ɲ/ as a result of reduplication:			
	/ɲɲi·tá·/	[ɲɲi·tá·]	'to be sitting (on s.t.)'	<i>ɲɲiit'aa</i>
*C_V	/ɣɲá·.../	[ɣ.ɲá]	'to understand <u>s.t.</u> (words)'	<i>ɣɲa</i>
	/ɣɬɲá·.../	[ɣɬɲá·]	'(proc.) trying to be inconspicuous'	<i>ɣɬɲaa...</i>
V_C(*)	/qíɲt/	[qéʔɲt]	'Chew it!'	<i>Geɲt!</i>

	/qíntax/	[géʔndaχ]	'to chew food for <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>gə́ndaχ</i>
	/ʔanʔuńs/	[ʔA nʔúʔns]	'sleeve'	<i>an'uńs</i>
VC_V	/naχńá/	[naχńá]	'to hear <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>naχńá</i>
V_CC	/si:lińskʷ/	[si:liʔńskʷ]	'to hunt'	<i>silińskʷ</i>

### 2.1.B.3.a.3. Laterals:

The two laterals /l/ and /ɺ/ contrast in non-initial positions; /ɺ/ does not occur in initial position except in the interjection /ɺé/. However, in Kincolith speech it occurs before unstressed vowels in some forms where other speakers have /ɺ/ (see remark under 2.1.B.3.a.2.).

V_V	/ʔalıskʷ/	[ʔA lískʷ]	'to be weak'	<i>alıskʷ</i>
	/qalıskʷ/	[GA lískʷ]	'to let go'	<i>qalıskʷ</i>
	/mí:ɺukʷ/	[mí:ɺukʷ]	'to dance'	<i>miɺukʷ</i>
	/nńí:ɺukʷ/	[nńí:ɺukʷ]	'to be long (pl.)'	<i>nńiɺukʷ</i>
V_*	/čáɺ/	[tšáɺ]	'to fillet salmon; half-smoked salmon fillets'	<i>ts'ál</i>
	/čáɺ/	[tšáɺ]	'eyes, face'	<i>ts'ál</i>
V_C*	/síɺs .../	[síɺs]	'(X) is drunk'	<i>... síɺs...(X)</i>
	/síɺs/	[síʔíɺs]	'to spin yarn'	<i>síɺs</i>
V_CC	/gíɺskʷ/	[gíɺskʷ]	'to moan'	<i>gíɺskʷ</i>
	/gíʔíɺskʷ/	[gíʔíɺskʷ]	'to pick, gather (berries, clams, etc.)'	<i>gíʔíɺskʷ</i>

## 2.1.B.3.a.3.a. /l/

/l/ is a non-glottalized dental lateral; it is normally voiced, except after an obstruent.

*_V	/lá·n/	[lá·n]	'fish eggs'	<i>laan</i>
	/líkw̥s/	[líkw̥s]	'to steal'	<i>likws</i>
	/lú·ç/	[lú·ʃ]	'(hair, fur) to fall, shed'	<i>luuts</i>
V_V	/milit/	[milit]	'steelhead'	<i>milit</i>
	/qaná·luk̥w̥/	[qaná·luk̥w̥]	'sparks'	<i>qanaalukw</i>
	/wilá·x/	[wilá·ç]	'to know s.'	<i>wilaax</i>
V_*	/pdál/	[pdál]	'ribs; to rise'	<i>pdal</i>
	/ʔúl/	[ʔúl]	'black bear'	<i>ul</i>
	/lipwé·l/	[lipwé·l]	'frying-pan'	<i>lipweel</i>

\*C\_V As there is a tendency to devoicing in this position there may be slight spirantization and confusion with the lateral fricative /ɬ/ (see /ɬ/ 2.1.B.2.a.2.), especially after a Velar fricative.

/pláksk̥w̥/	[p]áksk̥w̥, pɬáksk̥w̥	'to be tired'	<i>plakskw</i>
/x̥líí/	[x̥]líí, xɬlíí	'to be delicious'	<i>xlii</i>
/x̥lip.../	[x̥]lip, xɬlip }	'(proc.) at the tip'	<i>xlip...</i>

Conversely, after a Velar stop the lateral fricative /ɬ/ may be despirantized and realized as /l/: (cf. p. 80):

/k̥w̥ɬi·.../	[k̥w̥ɬi·, kw̥li·]	'(proc) all over ...'	<i>kwhlii...</i>
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\*\_R/\*R\_ only before or after another /l/ in reduplication:

	/lilkʷs/	[lilkʷs]	'to be stealing, to always steal'	<i>lilkʷs</i>
V_C#	/kʷáls/	[gʷáls]	'mussels'	<i>gʷals</i>
	/kʷalkʷ/	[gʷalkʷ]	'to be dry'	<i>gʷalkʷ</i>
	/ʕimilx/	[ʕimilç]	'beaver'	<i>ts'imilx</i>
VR_V	/ʔallískʷ/	[ʔA llískʷ]	'to be weak (pl.)'	<i>alliskʷ</i>
	/saqanlakʷs/	[SA GA nlakʷs]	'woodpile'	<i>saqanlakʷs</i>
V_RV	/ʔalʔálaq/	[ʔA lʔála ç]	'to show anger aggressiveness, determination, (pl.)'	<i>alʔalak</i>
V_CV	/milmál/	[milmál]	'to button <u>s.t. (pl.)</u> '	<i>milmál</i>
VC_V	/liple.t/	[liple.t]	'priest'	<i>lipleet</i>
V_CC#	/ptáltkʷ/	[pçáltkʷ]	'to climb'	<i>pdalkʷ</i>
	/txálpɣ/	[txálpɣ]	'four [non-humans]'	<i>txalpɣ</i>
V_C#	/lát/	[lát]	'worm, snake'	<i>lalt</i>

### 2.1.B.3.a.3.b. ʔ

ʔ is a pre-glottalized dental lateral, always voiceless. It does not occur initially.

V_V	/qate-lip/	[GA de-lip]	'anchor'	<i>gadeelip</i>
	/ʔálaq/	[ʔála ç]	'to show anger, determination, agressiveness'	<i>alak</i>
	/pilist/	[bilist]	'star'	<i>bilist</i>

V_*	/éː/	[éː]	'to forbid <u>s.o.</u> to do sthg'	<i>leeː</i>
	/ɛː/	[ɛː]	'eyes, face'	<i>ts'ɛː</i>
V_C*	/ɕiːt/	[ɕiːʔiːt]	'mittens, gloves'	<i>ts'iːt</i>
	/qóːt/	[qóːʔoːt]	'six (non-humans)'	<i>k'oolt</i>
	/kstuːt/	[ksguːʔuːt]	'tears'	<i>ksduult</i>
V_CV	/liːkit/	[liːʔkit]	'feast, to hold a feast'	<i>liːgit</i>
	/haʔáʔsisimʔ/	[haʔáʔʔAʔsisimʔ]	'''Work!'' (pl.)'	<i>Hahʔáʔsisimʔ</i>
	/qóːtɔːl/	[qóːʔoːdɔːl]	'six (humans)'	<i>k'ooldool</i>
V_CC*	/yòʔokscáʔtkʷ/	[yóʔokscáʔʔAʔtkʷ]	'to wash one's face'	<i>yo'oksts'aikʷ</i>
VC_V	/qalixʔitit/	[gaʔixʔiːqit]	's/he dropped them'	<i>galixʔidit</i>

### 2.1.B.3.b. Glides:

The plain glides /y/ and /w/ have glottalized counterparts /y̟/ and /w̟/.

Glottalized /y̟/ and /w̟/ each have two basic allophones;

- before a vowel, glottalization occurs simultaneously with the resonant articulation, and a single consonantal sound is heard:

/y̟áns/	[y̟áns]	'leaf, blade of grass'	<i>yans</i>
/w̟á/	[w̟á]	'to obtain, find, reach <u>s.</u> '	<i>wá</i>

- finally or before consonant, glottal stricture occurs separately, ahead of the resonant articulation, and two distinct sounds are pronounced and heard. In absolute final position, this separation results in a glottal stop followed by a

high voiceless echo vowel with the same place of articulation as the resonant. [ɥ] for /y̥/, [ʋ] for /w̥/, for instance:

/má:y̥/	[má:ʔɥ]	'berries'	<i>maay̥</i>
/tú:w̥/	[dú:ʔʋ]	'over there'	<i>duuw̥</i>

In preconsonantal position, this realization also occurs if the vowel preceding /y̥/ is /i/, that before /w̥/ is /u/, as in:

/ʔanqakí:y̥ʔ ... /ʔAŋGA gí:ʔɥʔ]	'on this side of ...'	<i>angagiiy̥hl...</i>
/ʔanqatú:w̥ʔ ... / [ʔAŋGA dú:ʔʋʔ]	'on the far side of ...'	<i>angaduuw̥hl...</i>

In general though, the realization corresponds to that of the glottalized syllabics: a vowel is inserted between the glottal stop and the plain resonant. The quality of this vowel mirrors that of the preceding vowel and is not related to the resonant. Alternately, a vowel may be inserted between /y̥/ or /w̥/ and the following consonant, placing the resonant in intervocalic position, where it has its normal single-sound realization. This pronunciation is the more deliberate one, and occurs especially if the preceding vowel is long, and/or if the resonant is followed by a suffix containing /s/.

The two glottalized glides are partly in complementary distribution with the glottal stop /ʔ/. Although the three contrast in most positions, only /y̥/ occurs after long /i:/, only /w̥/ occurs after long /u:/.

#### 2.1.B.3.b.1. Palatal glides:

The palatal glides /y/ and /y̥/ contrast with each other:

*_V	/yím/	[yím]	'to sniff or smell s.t.'	<i>yim</i>
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	/ỵim/	[ỵim]	'porcupine quills'	<i>yim</i>
V_V	/ẉi·yé-n/	[ẉi: yé-n]	'large cloud'	<i>ẉii yeen</i>
	/miỵé-n/	[miỵé-n]	'smoke'	<i>miỵeen</i>

There is no contrast in final position as /y/ does not occur in that position, but in this position /ỵ/ contrasts with the fricative /x/ ( 2.1.B.2.b.1.):

	/láỵ/	[láʔ̣]	'to be large'	<i>laỵ</i>
	/láx/	[láç]	'fur, body hair'	<i>lax</i>
	/limʔ̣ó·ỵ/	[limʔ̣ó·ỵ]	'traditional funeral song'	<i>lim'ooỵ</i>
	/mó·x/	[mó·ç]	'to act like <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>moor</i>

as well as the glottalized palato-velar stop /ḳ/:

	/ʔ̣asáỵ/	[ʔ̣A sáỵʔ̣]	'foot, leg'	<i>asaỵ</i>
	/sáḳ/	[sáḳʔ̣]	'to stretch'	<i>saḳ</i>

and the glottal stop /ʔ̣/:

	/ʔ̣asáỵ/	[ʔ̣A sáỵʔ̣]	'foot, leg'	<i>asaỵ</i>
	/páʔ̣/	[báʔ̣ʔ̣]	'thigh'	<i>ba'a</i>

### 2.1.B.3.b.1.a. /y/

/y/ is a palatal resonant, normally voiced.

*_V	/yíp̣x/	[yíp̣x]	'slime, gravy'	<i>yip̣x</i>
	/yú·xḳw/	[yú·xḳw]	'to eat'	<i>yuuɣkw</i>
	/yáxw/	[yáxw]	'to hide ( <u>s.t.</u> )'	<i>yaxw</i>

V_V	/míyáʈ/	[míyáʈ]	'blueberry sp.'	<i>míyahʈ</i>
	/piyó-skʷ/	[biyó-skʷ]	'mosquito, black fly'	<i>biyooskw</i>
	/ʔantú-yin/	[ʔA ndú-yin]	'garden'	<i>aanduuyin</i>
V_* /y/ does not occur word-finally except after unstressed vowel, in the suffix {-ʔX} which occurs as /(C)ʔay/ after uvulars (7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.):				
	/maxmáqʔay/	[maxmáqʔA y]	'rainbow'	<i>maxmakʔay</i>
V_C(C)*	/ʈáyx/	[ʈáyx]	'sour berries preserved in oolichan grease and water'	<i>hlayx</i>
	/táyks/	[dáyks]	'''Indian ice-cream" (soapberries whipped with snow)'	<i>dayks</i>
	/qapqúyp/	[qʔA pʔóyp]	'bunchberries'	<i>kʔapqʔoyp</i>
	/ʈaʔúyxʷ/	[ʈʔA ʔóyxʷ]	'(place) underground'	<i>tsʔaʔuyxʷ</i>
V_CV	/qúypʔax/	[qóypʔA x]	'light; to be bright'	<i>goypʔax</i>
VR_V	/hinyánʈiks/	[hinyánʈiks]	'to tickle <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>hinyantsʔiks</i>
	/qalyín/	[GA lyín]	'to go into a house secretly, usually for nefarious purposes'	<i>galyin</i>
S_V	/syáx/	[syáç]	'to be scorched'	<i>syax</i>
	/hasyáyks/	[hʔA syáyks]	'swallow'	<i>hasyayks</i>

**Remark:** Devoiced [y] after an initial stop is better classified as a realization of /X/, because it alternates with a pronunciation [ç] and because of Velar fricative patterning (2.1.B.2.b.). After /s/, pronunciation is [y], never [ç], and occurrence is consistent with that of the glide /w/ (2.1.B.3.b.2.a.), not that

of a Velar fricative. Occurrences of [y] after /s/ are therefore considered realizations of the glide /y/.

### 2.1.B.3.b.1.b. /y̥/

/y̥/ is a pre-glottalized palatal resonant, voiceless.

*_V	/y̥imq/	[y̥imq̥]	'whiskers, beard'	<i>yimk</i>
	/y̥uxʷ/	[y̥uxʷ]	'to fish with a line'	<i>yuxw</i>
	/y̥áq/	[y̥áq̥]	'to hang (s.t.)'	<i>yak</i>
V_V	/miy̥é-n/	[miy̥é-n]	'smoke'	<i>miyeen</i>
V_*	/ʔasáy̥/	[ʔ <sup>A</sup> sáy̥]	'foot, leg'	<i>asay̥</i>
	/cí-y̥/	[cí-y̥]	'partitions in a canoe'	<i>jiy̥</i>
	/limʔó-y̥/	[limʔó-y̥]	'traditional lament'	<i>lim'ooy̥</i>
*S_V	/sy̥é-n/	[s.y̥é-n]	'bottom (of a boat or container)'	<i>syeen</i>
	/t-y̥ó-n/	[t-y̥ó-n]	'tanned elk hide'	<i>hlyoon</i>
VR_V	/q̥amy̥é-n/	[q̥ <sup>A</sup> m.y̥é-n]	'toilet paper'	<i>k'amyeen</i>
VC_V	/máxy̥imq(t)/	[máxy̥imq̥(t)]	'bearded, wearing a moustache'	<i>máxyimk(t)</i>
	/lisy̥é-n/	[lis.y̥é-n]	'mink'	<i>lisyeen</i>
V_C(C)*	/kiy̥t/	[gíʔ <sup>i</sup> t̥]	'here'	<i>giyt</i>
	/sáy̥s/	[sáʔ <sup>A</sup> ys]	'pilings'	<i>says</i>
	/skwá-y̥tkʷ/	[sgwá-y̥ʔ <sup>A</sup> yt̥kʷ]	'to rest'	<i>sgwaaytkw</i>
V_CV	/háy̥tax/	[háʔ <sup>i</sup> da x]	'Haida(s)'	<i>Haydag</i>

### 2.1.B.3.b.2. Labiovelar glides:

The labiovelar glides /w/ and /w̥/ do not occur before long or short /u/. They contrast with each other:

*_V	/wá/	[wá]	'name'	<i>wa</i>
	/w̥á/	[w̥á]	'to find, reach <u>s</u> .'	<i>w̥a</i>
V_V	/siwá/	[siwá]	'to name <u>s</u> .'	<i>siwa</i>
	/ksiw̥á/	[ksiw̥á]	'to find out <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>ksiw̥a</i>
	/tá·wa/	[dá·wA]	'Is it ice? Is it frozen?'	<i>Daawa?</i>
	/qaná·w̥a/	[GA ná·w̥A]	'Is it a frog?'	<i>Ganaaw̥a?</i>
V_*	/tá·w/	[dá·U]	'ice, to be frozen'	<i>daaw</i>
	/qaná·w̥/	[GA ná· <sup>?</sup> U̥]	'frog, toad'	<i>ganaaw̥</i>
	/ké·w/	[gʷé·U]	'below the houses, down by the river'	<i>geew</i>
	/ʔé·w̥/	[ʔé· <sup>?</sup> U̥]	'insides, guts'	<i>ts'eew̥</i>

The labiovelar glides do not occur after long or short /i/ in word- or syllable-final position.

#### 2.1.B.3.b.2.a. /w/

/w/ is a non-glottalized labiovelar resonant, voiced.

*_V	/wíl̥p/	[wíl̥p]	'house'	<i>wilp</i>
	/wóq̥/	[wóq̥]	'to sleep'	<i>wok̥</i>
	/wilá·x/	[wilá·ç]	'to know <u>s</u> .'	<i>wilaax</i>
V_V	/huwíl̥p/	[hUwíl̥p]	'houses'	<i>huwilp</i>

	/wó·waq/	[wó·waq̣]	'to sleep (pl.)'	<i>woowaq̣</i>
	/ta·wé/	[dá·wé]	'mountain sheep'	<i>daawe</i>
*S_	/swán/	[swán]	'to blow on <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>swan</i>
VR_V	/wilwálx/	[wilwálx̣]	'to carry <u>s.t.</u> (pl.) on one's back'	<i>wilwálx̣</i>
VC_V	/waḫwóq/	[wa ḫwóq̣]	'bat'	<i>woḫwoq̣</i>

Syllable-finally, it has a vocalic realization:

V_*	/ké·w/	[gʷé·ŭ]	'below the houses, down by the river'	<i>geew</i>
	/tá·w/	[dá·ŭ]	'ice; to be frozen'	<i>daaw</i>
V_C*	/ʔáws/	[ʔá ŭs]	'sand'	<i>aws</i>
V_CV	/qáwsukʷ/	[gá ŭsukʷ]	'to be quiet'	<i>gawsukʷ</i>
	/qáwqá·w/	[qá ŭqá·ŭ]	'crow'	<i>k'awq'aaw</i>

### 2.1.B.3.2.b.2. /w̥/

/w̥/ is a glottalized labiovelar resonant, voiceless.

*_V	/w̥é·n/	[w̥é·n]	'teeth; fisher'	<i>w̥een</i>
	/w̥á·k/	[w̥á·kʷ]	'young (of a large animal), calf, cub'	<i>w̥aak</i>
	/w̥óʔ/	[w̥óʔ̣]	'to call, invite <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>w̥o'o</i>
V_V	/siw̥é·ntkʷs/	[siw̥é·ntkʷs]	'dentures'	<i>siw̥eentkʷs</i>
	/miw̥ácx/	[miw̥átsx]	'to be naughty, crazy'	<i>miw̥atsx</i>

V_#	/xpá·w̃/	[çpá·ʔ̃]	'jaw'	<i>xbaaw̃</i>
	/ñúw̃/	[ñúʔ̃]	'to die, be dead'	<i>ñuw̃</i>
	/t̃é·w̃/	[t̃é·ʔ̃]	'insides, guts'	<i>ts'ew̃</i>
*CS_V	/xsw̃ĩŋq/	[x̃s.w̃ĩŋq̃]	'herring eggs'	<i>xsw̃ĩŋk</i>
VC_V	/hisw̃é·skw̃/	[hisw̃é·sk̃w̃]	'to show off'	<i>hisw̃eeskw̃</i>
	/w̃itw̃á/	[w̃itw̃á]	'to find, reach s. (pl.)'	<i>w̃itw̃a</i>
V_CV	/háw̃t̃in/	[háʔ̃t̃in, háw̃it̃in]	'to put a stop to s.t.'	<i>haw̃t̃in</i>
V_C#	/tá·w̃iʔ̃/	[dá·ʔ̃ <sup>A</sup> U <sub>ʔ̃</sub> , dá·w̃iʔ̃]	'to leave'	<i>daaw̃ihl</i>
	/táw̃iʔ̃/	[dáʔ̃ <sup>A</sup> U <sub>ʔ̃</sub> , dáw̃iʔ̃]	'early (in the morning)'	<i>daaw̃ihl</i>
V_CC#	/t̃áṽʔ̃qs/	[t̃áʔ̃ <sup>A</sup> U <sub>qs</sub> , t̃áw̃ʔ̃ <sup>A</sup> qs]	'shoes'	<i>ts'aw̃aqs</i>

**Remark:** In deliberate pronunciation non-final /w̃/ is almost always followed by a vowel. Because of this, in the following chapters the transcription follows the practical orthography in indicating this vowel: thus /tá·w̃iʔ̃/ 'to leave' instead of /táw̃iʔ̃/

### 2.1.B.3.b.3. Glottals:

The glottals are /h/ and /ʔ̃/. Although they are respectively a stop and a fricative, some of their behavior is shared with the resonants, and in some alternations (e.g. in reduplication) /h/ is to /ʔ̃/ as /m/ is to /m̃/ and /n/ to /ñ/.

The glottals /h/ and /ʔ̃/ contrast prevocally:

*_V	/hi.../	[hi-]	'(pref.) going to ... (a place)'	<i>hii...</i>
	/ʔi.../	[ʔi:]	'and then ...'	<i>ii...</i>
	/háp/	[háʔ]	'to cover, clamp on, jump on <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>hap</i>
	/ʔáp/	[ʔáʔ]	'bee, wasp'	<i>ap</i>
	/há·t/	[há·ʔ]	'guts, intestines'	<i>haat</i>
	/ʔá·t/	[ʔá·ʔ]	'fishnet; to fish [w. a net]'	<i>aat</i>
V_V	/qahá·tti·t/	[GA há·tdi·ʔ]	'their guts'	<i>qahaatdiit</i>
	/qaʔá·tti·t/	[GA ʔá·tdi·ʔ]	'their nets'	<i>qa'aatdiit</i>
	/tihú·t/	[dihú·ʔ]	'to take <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> and run away with them'	<i>dihuut</i>
	/siʔú·t/	[siʔú·ʔ]	'to bake potatoes'	<i>si'uut</i>

V\_\*      There is no contrast in final position, where /h/ does not occur, but /ʔ/ contrasts with a plain vocalic ending:

/yáʔ/	[yáʔʔ]	'spring salmon'	<i>ya'a</i>
/... yá/	[yá]	'... said ...' (used in quotes)	<i>ya</i>
/ná·ʔ/	[ná·ʔʔ]	'Mom'	<i>Naa'a</i>
/ná·/	[ná·]	'Who?'	<i>Naa ...</i>
/sóʔ/	[sóʔʔ]	'(to take) food home from a feast'	<i>so'o</i>
/kʷa·só/	[gʷa·só]	'pig'	<i>gwaaso</i>

The glottal stop /ʔ/ also contrasts with the glottalized uvular stop /qʔ/

(2.1.B.1.e.3.b.).

2.1.B.3.b.3.a. /h/

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative. The amount of articulatory energy expended to pronounce /h/ varies from strong to minimal and even zero, depending on the environment and on the speaker's consciousness of morphophonemic relationships.

\*\_V /h/ is fully audible in this position although it may be weakened in sandhi:

/há:tkʰs/	[há:tkʰs]	'to swim'	<i>hadiks</i>
/hé:qʰal/	[hé:qʰal]	'to insist, to urge'	<i>heeqʰal</i>
/hó:n/	[hó:n]	'fish, esp. salmon'	<i>hoon</i>
/hú:xʷ/	[hú:xʷ]	'sawwhet owl'	<i>huuxw</i>

/h/ is also fully audible intervocally before stressed vowel:

V_V	/ʔahá:/	[ʔA há:]	'what a sight! (interjection used for the beauties of nature)'	<i>ahaa</i>
	/sihó:n/	[sihó:n]	'to catch and process fish'	<i>sihoon</i>

Initially before unstressed vowel, /h/ is weakly pronounced and may drop altogether after a word ending in a consonant.

/hañi:ʔá:/	[hañi:ʔá:]	'chair'	<i>hañiitʔa</i>
/laɣ hañi:ʔá:/	[laɣ A ñi:ʔá:]	'on the chair'	<i>laɣ hañiitʔa</i>



/hahé/      [hA hÉ-]      'to be speaking,  
making a noise'      *hahé*

/Máryt hahè-t/ [MárytA hè-t] "Mary speaking" *Maryhl hahéet.*  
(on the phone)'

/huwíl/      [hUwíl]      'to be (somewhere)' *huwíl*  
/nta wil huwílin/ [ndáwílUwílin] 'Where are you?'  
*Nda wil huwílin?*

V\_\* /h/ does not occur finally or before a consonant in normal speech. In emphatic speech, as in oratory, one frequently hears [sáh] 'day' not [sá]. Older derivatives show evidence of former /h/ in this position, e.g. in the long vowel of /tʰalpxsá.ta/ 'four-day period' *tʰalpxsaada*; newer ones do not, cf. the short vowel of /sátkʷ/ 'day of ...' *sátkʷ*, or /yúkʷsatkʷ/ 'to be caught by nightfall' *yukwsatkʷ*.

C\_C After a stop, /h/ is fully audible: less so after a fricative:

/hathátiks/ [hathádiks]      'to swim (pl.)'      *hathadiks*  
/hapháp/ [hapháp]      'to cover, clamp on, *haphap*  
jump on st.(pl.)'

After a fricative or resonant, /h/ often does not have a glottal onset; it may disappear altogether, or be marked only by a juncture phenomenon: the previous consonant is pronounced as syllable-final in the previous syllable rather than syllable-initial in the syllable beginning with /h/; thus the vowel preceding that consonant is shorter than if it was in an open syllable. There is no hiatus between the consonant, and the vowel following /h/ and the difference between such a sequence and an ordinary consonant-vowel sequence is very slight, and is often not made. Persons who do make the distinction perceive 'a silent /h/'. This occurs most often in words which have a readily observable relationship with others where /h/ is initial, especially

reduplicated or prefixed forms where the plain word is also in use, as in:

/haxhó·x/    [hA ç.ó·ç]    'to wear, use s.t. (pl.)' *haxhoox*  
 (full reduplication on /hó·x/ [hó·ç] 'to use, wear s.t.' *hoox*)

/qannahá·a?/    [GA n.á·ŷA ?A]    'clothespin'    *ganhats'a'a*  
 (prefix on /há·a?/ [há·ŷA ?A] 'to bite' *hats'a'a*)

/qanhíx/    [qA n.íç]    'edible pine-bark'    *k'anhix*  
 (prefix on /híx/ [hiç] 'fat' *hix*)

After initial /x/, the presence of /h/ may similarly be marked by a slight lengthening of the fricative:

/xhó·n/    [x.ó·n]    'to eat fish'    *xhoon*  
 /xháyk<sup>w</sup>/    [x.áyk<sup>w</sup>]    'to capsize'    *xhaykw*

Because of this, an underlying or historical /h/ must be suspected in many words of otherwise unusual phonological or phonetic shape, for instance

[qA+Úmq]    'to swallow s.t.    *k'ahlumk'*  
 at one gulp'    prob. from  
 /qa+húmq/

[hA+Ú<sup>2</sup>Aq+k<sup>w</sup>]    'to boil'    *hahl(h)utl'aghikw*  
 (reduplicated form /ha+<sup>2</sup>hú<sup>2</sup>aq+k<sup>w</sup>/)

even where there is no historical or comparative evidence as there is in

/ʔanú·+/    [ʔA nÚ·+]    'drum'    *anuhl*  
 (prob. from /ʔanhú·+/ cf. C.T.  
*nahool* [nA hó·+])

/hakwílúxʷ/	[hagwílúxʷ]	'rope'	<i>hagwilurw</i>
		(C.T. <i>hagwilhurw</i> )	
/qanáta/	[GA náda]	'Frog-Raven clan'	<u>Ganada</u>
		(Boas <Ganhada>)	

## 2.1.B.3.b.3.b. /ʔ/

The glottal stop /ʔ/ has a wider distribution than /h/. It occurs word-finally, but not after high vowels, where it is in complementary distribution with /y̜/ and /w̜/. /ʔ/ is not very forcefully articulated. The release of /ʔ/ in final or preconsonantal position is accompanied by a weak vowel echoing the vowel preceding /ʔ/. In this transcription the weak vowel is indicated in preconsonantal position, but not in final position.

*_V	/ʔá·t/	[ʔá·t]	'fishnet; to fish with a net'	<i>aat</i>
	/ʔús/	[ʔús]	'dog'	<i>us</i>
	/ʔí·c/	[ʔí·t]	'to fry, iron <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>iits</i>
V_V	/qáʔit/	[qáʔit]	'dog salmon'	<i>k'a'it</i>
	/naʔí·čaʔ/	[naʔí·tʃaʔ]	'an iron'	<i>ha'iits'a'a</i>
	/ʔí·ʔuxʷt/	[ʔí·ʔuxʷt]	'men, boys'	<i>ii'urwt</i>
VR_V	/ʔalʔá·lkaʃ/	[ʔA lʔá·lgaʃA ʃ]	'to speak (pl.)'	<i>al'algaʃ</i>
	/ʔanʔá·nkʷs/	[ʔA nʔá·nkʷs]	'to be cooked, baked, done (pl.)'	<i>an'an'kʷs</i>
VC_V	/ʔasʔús/	[ʔA sʔús]	'dogs'	<i>as'us</i>
	/ʔatʔá·tíkʃkʷ/	[ʔA tʔá·tíkʃkʷ]	'to come, arrive (pl.)'	<i>at-aat'ikʃkʷ</i>
	/laʃʔú/	[la ʃʔú]	'top surface (of s.t.)'	<i>laʃ'u</i>

\*C\_V This occurs after consonantal prefixes. The presence of /ʔ/ causes slight lengthening of the preceding Velar fricative:

/xʔaná·x/	[x.ʔA ná·ç]	'to eat bread'	<i>xʔanaax</i>
/xʔú·t/	[x.ʔÚ·t]	'to eat baked potatoes'	<i>xʔuut</i>
/xsʔiʔé·ʔetkʷs/	[xs.ʔiʔé·ʔetkʷs]	'(hair) to be red'	<i>xsʔihleeʔetkʷs</i>
/laχ xʔá·t/	[laχ ç.ʔá·t]	'Observatory Inlet'	<i>Laχ xʔaat</i>

V\_\* A voiceless copy vowel is added after final post-vocalic /ʔ/.

/ʔé·ʔ/	[ʔé·ʔʕ]	'yes'	<i>ee'e</i>
/ptóʔ/	[pçóʔʕ]	'door'	<i>pdo'o</i>
/ʔáʔ/	[ʔáʔʕ]	'to clap; to pat or slap s.t.'	<i>t'a'a</i>

and also in preresonantal and preconsonantal position:

V_R	/móʔn/	[móʔʔn]	'salt'	<i>mo'on</i>
V_C	/lóʔp/	[lloʔʔp]	'stone, rock'	<i>lo'op</i>
	/káʔʔ/	[gʔáʔʔʕ]	'Look! (lit. see the ...)'	<i>Ga'ah!</i>
V_CC	/yóʔks/	[yóʔʔks]	'to wash s.t.'	<i>yo'oks</i>
	/káʔskʷ/	[gʔáʔʔskʷ]	'to look (around)'	<i>ga'askʷ</i>

**Remark:** Although the preconsonantal echo vowel is predictable, in the following chapters the transcription follows the practical orthography in indicating this vowel: e.g. /yóʔʔoks/ not /yóʔks/ 'to wash s.t.' *yo'oks*, /sákʔaʔanskʷ/ not /sákʔaʔnʔskʷ/ 'to clean up' *sakʔaʔanskʷ*.

V_CC	/yóʔks/	[yóʔks]	'to wash <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>yo'oks</i>
	/káʔskʷ/	[gʷáʔskʷ]	'to look (around)'	<i>ga'askw</i>

**Remark:** Although the preconsonantal echo vowel is predictable, in the following pages the transcription follows the practical orthography in indicating this vowel: e.g. /yóʔoks/ not /yóʔks/ 'to wash s.' *yo'oks*, /sáksaʔanskʷ/ not /sáksaʔnskʷ/ 'to clean up' *saks'a'anskw*.

## 2.2. VOWELS.

Nisgha has both long and short vowels, occurring in both stressed and unstressed syllables. However, not all vowels occur in all environments. Only long and short /a/ occur in all consonantal environments; the other vowels have each at least one consonantal environment where they do not occur.

- Long and short vowels of similar quality contrast with each other, especially under stress:

/i/ contrasts with /i·/:

/ʔís/	[ʔís]	'soapberries'	<i>is</i>
/ʔí·s/	[ʔí·s]	'urine; to urinate'	<i>iis</i>
/číp/	[číp]	'bone'	<i>ts'ip</i>
/čí·p/	[čí·p]	'to close one's eyes; to tie <u>s.t.</u> w. a knot'	<i>ts'iip</i>
/pílist/	[pílist]	'star'	<i>bilist</i>
/pi·list/	[bi·list]	'stars'	<i>biilist</i>

## NISGHA VOWELS

Long:

	Front	Back
High	i·	u·
Mid	e·	o·
Low	a·	

Short:

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low	a	

## /u/ contrasts with /u·/:

/ʔúl/	[ʔÚl]	'black bear'	<i>ul</i>
/ʔú·l/	[ʔÚ·l]	'baby clam'	<i>uul</i>
/lúkʷs .../	[lÚkʷs]	'(X)...s belongings'	<i>lukws... (X)</i>
/lú·kʷs/	[lÚ·kʷs]	'bundle of forty dried fish'	<i>luukws</i>
/kún/	[gún]	'this'	<i>gun</i>
/kú·ń/	[gú·ń]	'now, today'	<i>guuń</i>
/kʷutác/	[kʷudátʃ]	'coat'	<i>kʷudatsʷ</i>
/lu·qác/	[lU·gátʃ]	'(liquid) to be in s.t.'	<i>luugatsʷ</i>

## /a/ contrasts with /a·/

/páʔ/	[báʔ]	'to be spread flat, smooth (e.g. blanket)'	<i>bahl</i>
/pá·ʔ/	[bá·ʔ]	'to cut open <u>s.t.</u> (an animal)'	<i>baahl</i>
/ptál/	[pǰál]	'(water) to rise; ribs'	<i>pdal</i>
/ptá·l/	[pǰá·l]	'to flood'	<i>pdaal</i>
/hátiks/	[hádiks]	'to swim'	<i>hadiks</i>
/há·tiks/	[há·diks]	'raw hemlock cambium'	<i>haadiks</i>
/hanáq/	[hA náq]	'woman'	<i>hanakʷ</i>
/ha·náq/	[ha·náq]	'women'	<i>haanakʷ</i>

/e/ contrasts with /e·/: as /e/ is very rare (2.2.B.3.), there do not seem to be any true minimal pairs:

/čéx/	[tšéx]	'mountain juniper'	<i>ts'ɛx</i>
/čé·q/	[tšé·q]	'to be deaf; pus from the ears'	<i>ts'eeq</i>
/yéʔ/	[yɛʔ]	'Grandfather!'	<i>Ye'e</i>
/yé·/	[yɛ·]	'to go, walk'	<i>yee</i>

/o/ contrasts with /o·/:

/t'óq/	[t'óq]	'to claw at <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>t'ok</i>
/t'ó·q/	[t'ó·q]	'to suck at <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>t'ooq</i>
/yóʔoks/	[yóʔoks]	'to wash <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>yo'oks</i>
/yó·ʔoks/	[yó·ʔoks]	'to wash <u>s.t. (pl.)</u> '	<i>yoo'oks</i>
/ʔatóʔ/	[ʔA d'óʔ]	'Go!'	<i>Ado'o!</i>
/ʔantó·ʔ/	[ʔA nd'ó·ʔ]	'next door'	<i>andoo'o</i>
/kiló/	[giló]	'Don't!'	<i>Gilo!</i>
/ló·/	[l'ó·]	'to be moored, parked (pl.)'	<i>loo</i>

The long vowels contrast between themselves, but not all of them appear in all environments: for instance, within a word or syllable long /i·/ does not occur before or after uvulars, and long /u·/ does not occur before anterior velars or uvulars; neither of these high vowels occurs before a glottal stop.

/i·/ and /e·/



C_	/kí-s/	[gí-s]	'to be or do wrong'	<i>giis</i>
	/ké-č/	[gʷé-č]	'(place) downriver, to the South'	<i>geets'</i>
	/laxskí-k/	[lA xsgí-kʷ]	'the Eagle clan'	<i>Laxsgiik</i>
	/ʔamké-k/	[ʔA mgé-kʷ]	'duck sp.'	<i>amgoek</i>
	/k̃i-laʔ/	[k̃i-la ʔA]	'the palm and wrist'	<i>k'iila'a</i>
	/k̃é-laʔ/	[k̃ʷé-la ʔA]	'blubber'	<i>k'eela'a</i>
	/čí-kw/	[t̃i-kw]	'to leak'	<i>ts'iikw</i>
	/čé-wʔ/	[t̃é-ʔʷ]	'insides, guts'	<i>ts'eewʔ</i>
_C	/cí-xw/	[d̃i-xw]	'porpoise'	<i>jiixw</i>
	/sitxé-xw/	[sityé-xw]	'to change <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>sityeerw</i>
	/li-lip/	[li-lip]	'stone weir'	<i>liilip</i>
	/qaté-lip/	[GA dé-lip]	'anchor'	<i>gadeelip</i>

/e-/ and /a-/ contrast under stress:

C_	/sé-ks/	[sé-ks]	'to splash water on <u>s.</u> '	<i>seeks-(di)</i>
	/sá-k/	[sá-kʷ]	'oolichans'	<i>saak</i>
	/qé-x/	[Gé-x]	'to grind, file <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>geex</i>
	/qá-q/	[Gá-q]	'raven; to point a finger at <u>s.</u> '	<i>gaak</i>
	/kwé-ʔ/	[gʷé-ʔʃ]	'to be poor, pitiful'	<i>gwee'e</i>
	/kwá-s/	[gʷá-s]	'to lend s.t. to <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>gwaas-(di)</i>
_C	/ʔé-q/	[ʔé-q]	'coho'	<i>eek</i>

/ʔá·q/	[ʔá·q̣]	'mouth, lips'	<i>uak</i>
/ké·w/	[gʷé·ʷ]	'below the houses, near the water'	<i>geew</i>
/dá·w/	[dá·ʷ]	'ice; to be frozen'	<i>daaw</i>

**Remark:** There is sometimes free variation between /e-/ and /a-/ in some unstressed morphemes, especially before /y/, as in:

/ʔaqaq/ ~ /ʔa·y/ ~ /ʔe·y/ ~ /ʔe-/ 'precisely, exactly, instead' *ʔay*

/a-/ and /o-/:

C	/qá·q/	[gá·q̣]	'raven; to point a finger at <u>s.</u> '	<i>gaak</i>
	/qó·q/	[gó·q̣]	'(place) [in] front [of ...], (time) before ...'	<i>gook</i>
	/sá·q/	[sá·q̣]	'to stretch <u>s.t.</u> (a pelt)'	<i>saak-(di)</i>
	/só·q̣/	[só·q̣]	'robin'	<i>sook'</i>
	/ná·siḱ/	[ná·siḱʷ]	'raspberries'	<i>naasik'</i>
	/nó·siḱ/	[nó·siḱʷ]	'wolverine'	<i>noosik'</i>
_C	/qá·p/	[gá·p̣]	'to scratch <u>s.t.</u> (lightly)'	<i>gaap</i>
	/qó·p/	[gó·p̣]	'wave'	<i>goop</i>
	/ʔá·ta·.../	[ʔá·da]	'[spider] 's web'	<i>aada...</i>
	/ʔó·ta-/	[ʔó·da]	'diapers'	<i>ooda</i>

/o-/ and /u-/:

C	/só·q̣/	[só·q̣]	'robin'	<i>sook'</i>
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	/sú·qskʷ/	[sú·qskʷ]	'to dive'	<i>suuqskw</i>
	/ló·ks/	[ló·ks]	'to float (pl.)'	<i>looks</i>
	/lú·kʷs/	[lú·kʷs]	'bundle of forty dried fish'	<i>luukws</i>
	/hó·/	[hó·]	'to scream, holler'	<i>hoo</i>
	/hú·/	[hú·]	'to make a loud continuous noise (e.g. siren)'	<i>huu</i>
ɔ	/qó·q/	[qó·q]	'(place) [in] front [of ...], (time) before ...'	<i>qooq</i>
	/ʔú·q/	[ʔú·q]	'copper, brass'	<i>uuk</i>
	/sqó·ʔ/	[sqó·ʔ]	'to be cross-eyed'	<i>sgool</i>
	/kstu·ʔt/	[kstu·ʔt]	'tears'	<i>ksduut</i>
	/ló·laq/	[ló·laq]	'to be rotted (pl.)'	<i>loolak</i>
	/lú·laq/	[lú·laq]	'corpse, ghost'	<i>luulak</i>

### 2.2.A. Long vowels

The long vowels /i·/, /e·/, /a·/, /o·/, /u·/ contrast in most environments, although some have restricted occurrences.

In stressed position in a word, a long vowel is always longer than a short one, and when it bears the major stress of a sentence it can be several times longer.

In unstressed (usually pre-stress) position a long vowel may remain long; as stress is characterized by higher pitch, sometimes in slow speech an unstressed long vowel starts on a fairly low pitch and 'climbs' towards the higher pitch in two steps, so there is no abrupt transition, e.g.

/ni:lu·tá:t/ [ni:lu·tá:t̃] 'S/he isn't in' *Nidii luut'aat*.

On the other hand, a long vowel may also be shorter than in stressed position, especially in rapid speech:

/ni:lu·tá:t/ [ni:lu·tá:t̃] 'S/he isn't in' *Nidii luut'aat*.

but it is not usually as short as a short vowel. While most short vowels in unstressed positions are predictable according to their immediate environment (see below 2.2.B.4), shortened long vowels do not usually lose their distinctive quality (although there are cases where they are replaced by short vowels of predictable quality). In the phonetic transcription used in this section, long stressed vowels are indicated by [V:], long unstressed vowels (where shortened) by [Ṽ].

#### Long vowel shortening:

Long vowels are usually phonetically shorter in unstressed than in stressed environments, e.g.:

/lu·sa·ná:t̃kʷ/ [lu·sa·ná:t̃kʷ] 'to be amazed at s.t.' *luusaanaahikʷ*

and they are then sometimes as short as short vowels, but where the quality of unstressed short vowels is largely predictable from the surrounding consonants, that of long vowels is not (2.2.B.4.).

Many people have unstressed long vowels in deliberate speech, which they shorten without loss of vowel quality in ordinary speech.

There are also cases where YFS regularly have short vowels where OFS have long vowels, especially in a number of modifiers (always unstressed) where a long vowel in OFS speech results from /q/-deletion:

Boas, very formal:	OFS:	YFS:	
/paqayt/	/pa-yt/ ~ /payt/	[bAyt]	'in the middle' <i>ba(a)yt</i>
/ʔaqay/	/ʔa-y/ ~ /ʔay/	[ʔAy]	'precisely, exactly, instead' <i>ʔa(a)y</i>

### 2.2.A.1. The high vowels /i:/ and /u:/:

#### 2.2.A.1.a. /i:/

/i:/ is a long high front vowel [i:], with some speakers [e:]; some older speakers have slight diphthongization) [e:i]. It does not occur adjacent to a uvular within the same syllable (but occasionally, affixation may bring it in contact with a uvular).

#### Under stress:

C_C*	/ci-c/	[ɕi.ʔ]	'Grandmother'	<i>Jiits</i>
	/kʷi-kʷ/	[gʷi.kʷ]	'marmot'	<i>gwiikw</i>
	/ta-ti-sk/	[da-ti-skʷ]	'socks'	<i>daahliisk</i>
C_CV	/mi-lukʷ/	[mi-lukʷ]	'to dance'	<i>miilukw</i>
	/pli-tikskʷ/	[pli-tikskʷ]	'to be tired (pl.)'	<i>pliihlikskw</i>
C_*	/kantə-ti-/	[gʷA ndi-ti-]	'coyote'	<i>gandihlii</i>
	/qatipti-/	[GA dɪpqi-]	'the size of (s.t. pl.)'	<i>gadipdii</i>

#### Before stress:

...V	/ʔi-nú-/	[ʔi-nú:]	'turnip'	<i>iinuu</i>
	/kʷi-lá/	[gʷi-lá]	'blankets'	<i>gwiila</i>
	/si-lín/	[si:lín]	'to chase, pursue, hunt s.'	<i>siilin</i>

/mi·q̄ó·qst/ [mi·q̄ó·qst] 'salmonberries' *miik'ookst*

In the last example, long /i:/ occurs before a uvular because it is part of the prefix {mi:-}.

After stress:

...VC_	/k̄i'łsti-/	[k̄i'łsq̄i·]	'one fingerwidth'	<i>k'ılsdii</i>
	/wi† ʔúsi-/	[wi† ʔúsi·]	'it looks like a dog'	<i>wihł usii</i>
	/wi† piláqi-/	[wi† biláq̄e·(y)]	'it looks like tree moss'	<i>wihł bilagii</i>

In the last example, the suffix {-i:} is attached to the word /piláq/ 'tree moss' *bilak* which ends in a uvular, causing lowering of the long high vowel.

2.2.A.1.b. /u:/

/u:/ is a slightly unrounded and lowered high back vowel [u:], sometimes [o:]; some older speakers have slight diphthongization [o:u].

Under stress:

C_C	/tú·s/	[dú·s]	'cat'	<i>duus</i>
	/ʔú·q/	[ʔú·q]	'copper, brass'	<i>uuk</i>
	/k̄ú·k̄w/	[k̄ú·k̄w]	'tail (of an animal)'	<i>k'uukw'</i>
	/†k̄ú·†k̄w/	[†ḡú·†k̄w]	'(one's) child; to have a child'	<i>hlguuhkw</i>
C_*	/kipú·/	[ḡibú·]	'wolf'	<i>gibuu</i>
	/ʔi·nú·/	[ʔi·nú·]	'turnip'	<i>iinuu</i>

Before stress:

...V	/mu.lá/	[mU.lá]	'sawmill'	<i>muulaa</i>
	/yu.hatá.x/	[yU.hA.dáç]	'to drive'	<i>yuuhadaax</i>
	/çu.čáwáqs/	[ʃU.ʃáwáqs]	'pairs of shoes'	<i>ts'a'waks</i>

### 2.2.A.2. The long low vowel /a·/ :

/a·/ is a low, slightly fronted vowel.

#### Under stress:

C_C	/ʔá.m/	[ʔá.m]	'to be good'	<i>aam</i>
	/má.ý/	[má.ʔ]	'berries'	<i>maay</i>
	/qacá.q/	[GA.dzá.ç]	'cross'	<i>gajaak</i>
C_CV	/tá.la/	[dá.lA]	'money'	<i>daala</i>
C_*	/tá./	[tá.]	'to sit'	<i>t'aa</i>
	/pilá./	[bɪlá.]	'abalone'	<i>bilaa</i>

#### Before stress:

...V	/pa.pá/	[ba.bá]	'Daddy'	<i>Baaba</i>
	/tá.čákʷ/	[tá.čákʷ]	'tomorrow'	<i>t'aahlakw</i>
	/máská.wátax/	[má skʷa.wáda x]	'butterfly'	<i>mask'aawadaɣ</i>
	/txa.ńítkʷs/	[txa.ńítkʷs]	'all of... , every...'	<i>txaańítkʷs</i>

In the speech of older speakers, /á·/ is used to adapt English stressed <er> as well as <ar>, e.g.

/bá.na, vá.na/	[bá.nA , vá.nA]	'Verna'
/má.ta/	[má.tA]	'Martha'

while /a/ adapts unstressed <er>:

/pí·tə/	[pí·tə]	'Peter'
/píya/	[bíya]	'beer'

### 2.2.A.3. The mid vowels /e-/ and /o-/:

#### 2.2.A.3.a. /e-/

/e-/ is a lower mid, front vowel [ɛ:].

#### Under stress:

C_C	/tʃé·tʃiks/	[tʃé·tʃiks]	'dirt, ground'	<i>ts'eets'iks</i>
	/sé·qs/	[sé·qs]	'spruce'	<i>seeks</i>
	/yé·n/	[é·n]	'fog, cloud'	<i>yeen</i>
	/ʔé·q/	[ʔé·q]	'coho'	<i>eek</i>

C_#	/ka·ta·lé·/	[gʷada·lé:]	'spider'	<i>gadaalee</i>
	/yé·/	[yé:]	'to go, walk (sg)'	<i>yee</i>

#### Before stress:

_ ... V	/le·x .../	[lé·x]	'(proc.) at both ends, <i>leex...</i> back and forth' (alternates with /la·x .../ <i>laax...</i> )
	/te·xýúxʷ/	[de·x·ýúxʷ]	'halibut lines' <i>deexýuxw</i>
	/te·xhalímX/	[de·x·A límç]	'guitar, banjo' <i>deexhalimx</i>

#### 2.2.A.3.b. /o-/

/o-/ is a lower mid, slightly rounded back vowel [ɔ:].

#### Under stress:



C_C	/kó·c/	[kʰó·t͡ɕ]	'yesterday'	<i>k'yoots</i>
	/kʷó·m/	[gʷó·m]	'dust, ashes'	<i>gwoom</i>
	/qó·l/	[gó·l]	'loon'	<i>gool</i>
	/hamʰó·q/	[hA mʰó·q]	'shaman's sucking tube; cow parsnip'	<i>hamook</i>

/o·/ is slightly nasalized before unglottalized /n/ in the same syllable: [õ·]  
(this has not been indicated in the rest of the transcriptions)

	/hó·n/	[hõ·n]	'fish, esp. salmon'	<i>hoon</i>
	/qó·ntkʷ/	[gõ·ntkʷ]	'to be braided'	<i>goontkʷ</i>
C_*	/qasqó·/	[GA sGó·]	'the size of (s.)'	<i>gasgoo</i>
	/kó·/	[gʷó·]	'to be parked, moored'	<i>gyoo</i>

Before stress:

... V	/kó·lu·/	[kʰó·lU·]	'alone (unstressed)'	<i>k'yooluu</i>
	/lo·t͡ɕikó·tkʷ/	[lo·t͡ɕigʷó·t͡ɕkʷ]	'axe'	<i>loohligyootkʷ</i>

**2.2.B. Short vowels**

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the low vowel /a/ are found in most stressed environments, the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ in more restricted environments, almost but not quite complementing those of /i/ and /u/.

In unstressed positions, slightly centralized versions of /i/, /u/ and /a/ predominate, largely but not wholly depending on the consonantal surroundings. The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ do not occur unstressed except as echo or transitional vowels.

**2.2.B.1 Contrasts between short vowels:**

The short vowels all contrast under stress:

/tás/	[dás]	'to touch <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>das</i>
/tús/	[dús]	'bone marrow'	<i>dus</i>
/kíp/	[gíp]	'to eat <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>gip</i>
/káp/	[gáɸ]	'to dip <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>gap</i>
/qís/	[gés]	'hair'	<i>ges</i>
/qús/	[gós]	'to jump'	<i>gos</i>
/yáʔ/	[yáʔʰ]	'spring salmon'	<i>ya'a</i>
/yéʔ/	[yéʔʰ]	'Grandfather!'	<i>Ye'e</i>
/náɸ/	[náɸ]	'snowshoes'	<i>naɸ</i>
/nóɸ/	[nóɸ]	'mother'	<i>noɸ</i>

### 2.2.B.2. Contrasts between high and mid vowels.

The short vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ], which are phonetically the short counterparts of the long vowels /e:/ and /o:/, are almost always in complementary distribution with [i] and [u] respectively: [ɛ] and [ɔ] occur before uvulars and the glottal stop, and also often before glottalized resonants; [i] and [u] occur before non-uvulars/glottals. For instance, for [u] and [ɔ]:

/qúl/	[gúl]	'to run (pl.)'	<i>gol</i>
/qús/	[gús]	'to jump'	<i>gos</i>
/qóʔ/	[góʔʰ]	'to go <u>somewhere</u> . to go get <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>go'o</i>
/kún/	[gún]	'this'	<i>gun</i>
/kómʔ/	[gómʔ]	'go ahead!'	<i>Gom!</i>

/tús/	[dús]	'bone marrow'	<i>dus</i>
/tóq/	[dóq]	'to take <u>s.t.</u> (pl.)'	<i>dok</i>
/tóx/	[dóx]	'(objects) to lie, be	<i>dox</i>
/tóʔ/	[dóʔ]	'cheek'	<i>do'o</i>
/tilús/	[dilús]	'gooseberries'	<i>dilus</i>
/lúxʷ/	[lúxʷ]	'to deny <u>s.t.</u> (a request)'	<i>luxw</i>
/lóx/	[lóx]	'reefs'	<i>log</i>
/lóʔp/	[lóʔp]	'rock(s)'	<i>lo'op</i>

In most cases, then, there is complementary distribution between [U] and [ɔ] depending on the following consonant, but contrast between the two does exist in word-final position (even though some of the words may be borrowed ones), and it is maintained before suffixes and clitics:

/simú/	[simú]	'to be true, right'	<i>simu</i>
/simútkʷs/	[simútkʷs]	'to believe, be a believer, a Christian'	<i>simutkws</i>
/qampú/	[GAMBÚ]	'shakes, shingles'	<i>gambu</i>
/qampútkʷt/	[GAMBÚtkʷt]	'his/her shakes, shingles'	<i>gambutkwt</i>
/kʷa.só/	[gʷa.só]	'pig' (<Ch.Jargon, <Fr. <i>cochon</i> )	<i>gwaaso</i>
/kʷa.sótkʷt/	[gʷa.sótkʷt]	'his/her pig'	<i>gwaasotkwt</i>

Because of these contrasts, /u/ and /o/ must be considered phonologically distinct.

The short vowels [ɪ] and [ɛ] are also largely in complementary distribution, but the few areas of contrast warrant a phonological distinction.

In general, preconsonantally [ɛ] is found only before uvulars and the glottal stop, and [ɪ] is found only before other consonants:

/yím/	[yím]	'to smell, sniff <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>yim</i>
/yípx/	[yípx]	'slime, gravy'	<i>yípx</i>
/yéʔ/	[yéʔ]	'Grandfather!'	<i>Ye'e</i>
/číp/	[číp]	'bone'	<i>ts'ip</i>
/čín/	[čín]	'to come in'	<i>ts'in</i>
/čéx/	[čéx]	'mountain juniper'	<i>ts'ex</i>

There is a contrast between [ɪ] and [ɛ] in final position:

/skí/	[sgí]	'(object) to lie, to be (s.w.)'	<i>sgi</i>
/hí/	(hí)	'to say'	<i>hi</i>
/lé/	[lé]	'(interjection)' (see also 2.1.B.3.a.3.b. for initial /l/)	<i>le!</i>
/ta·wé/	[da·wé]	'mountain sheep'	<i>daawe</i>
/naqačé/	[na ga čé]	'fox'	<i>nagats'e</i>

Even though the last two words are Athapaskan borrowings, they must be taken into account in the phonology of present-day Nisgaha.

To summarize: in native words high and mid short vowels are in complementary distribution, but borrowings have introduced contrast in some positions. Therefore the pairs /u/ and /o/, /i/ and /e/, must be considered phonologically distinct in the present state of the language.

### 2.2.B.1. The short high vowels /i/ and /u/:

#### 2.2.B.1.a. /i/

/i/ is a high front vowel, lower and more retracted than its long counterpart /iː/. It does not occur before labiovelars in the same syllable, or before uvulars.

#### Under stress:

/i/ has two allophones under stress:

a. after uvulars: [ɛ̞] generally, [ɪ] for some speakers, especially in Greenville.

C_C	/qín/	[gɛ̞n]	'skunk'	<i>gen</i>
	/qíç/	[qɛ̞ʃ]	'chin'	<i>ç'ets'</i>
	/qíwin/	[gɛ̞wɪn]	'seagull'	<i>gewin</i>

b. otherwise: [ɪ]

C_C	/nipíp/	[nɪbɪp]	'maternal uncle'	<i>nibip</i>
	/tílt/	[tɪ'ɪlɛ]	'to be early'	<i>t'ilt</i>
	/skíníst/	[sgɪníst]	'pine tree'	<i>sginist</i>
C_*	/ʔaskí/	[ʔAsgɪ]	'to be abnormal, funny, ugly'	<i>asgi</i>
	/ʔí/	[ʔɪ]	(interjection)	<i>ɪ!</i>

#### Before stress:

...V	/kipáykw/	[gɪbáykw]	'to fly'	<i>gibaykw</i>
	/pílaq/	[bɪláq]	'tree moss'	<i>bilak</i>

/i/ is lower, more centralized next to nasals, especially labials, or glottals; in this position it may alternate with /a/ [A] in the speech of some speakers:

/milit/	[mɪlít , mA lít]	'steelhead'	<i>milit</i>
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After stress:

V...	/wílpíy̆/	[wílbɪʔ]	'my house'	<i>wilbiy̆</i>
	/hó-pix/	[hó-bɪç]	'spoon'	<i>hoobix</i>
	/hátiks/	[háɪks]	'to swim'	<i>hadiks</i>

/i/ is lower and more centralized before /m̥/: (in some people's speech, [ə] or even [A] occur instead):

/wílpim̥/	[wílbim̥ , wílbA m̥]	'our house'	<i>wilbim̥</i>
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2.2.B.1.b. /u/

/u/ is a high back, slightly retracted and rounded vowel. It occurs frequently before labiovelars, never before uvulars.

Under stress:

/u/ has two major allophones:

a. after a uvular: [ɔ] ([U] for some speakers):

/q̣úç/	[q̣ɔʃ]	'to cut <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>k'ots</i>
/txúç/	[txɔç]	'halibut'	<i>txox</i>

Within a word, after a glottal stop in rapid speech, it can be realized as [o] or even [ɔ], although deliberate pronunciation is [ɔ] or [U]:

/ʔamʔúkit/	[ʔA mʔÚgít , ʔA mʔÓgít , ʔA mʔÓgít]	'clothing'	<i>am'ugit</i>
/ʔaʔúyxw/	[ʔA ʔÚyxw , ʔA ʔÓyxw]	'(place) underground, basement'	<i>ts'a'uyxw</i>
/ʔàntimiʔú/	[ʔA ndIMIʔÚ , ʔA ndIMIʔÓ]	'pillow'	<i>andimih'u</i>

but this more open realization does not occur after another long or short /u/:

/lu.ʔúks/	[lU.ʔÚks]	'to occur (at a certain time), to be time (for s.t.)'	<i>luu'uks</i>
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b. otherwise, (U):

/t kún/	[tgÚn]	'this'	<i>tgun</i>
/ʔúmɣkʷ/	[ʔÚmɣkʷ]	'to be unable to stand s.t.'	<i>umɣkw</i>

/u/ is frequently found before labiovelars:

/múkʷ/	[mÚkʷ]	'to be ripe'	<i>mukw</i>
/lúxʷ/	[lÚxʷ]	'to deny s.t. (a request)'	<i>luxw</i>

c.	/qampú/	[GA mbÚ]	'shingles, shakes'	<i>gambu</i>
	/ʔakú/	[ʔagÚ]	'what?; (some)thing'	<i>agu</i>

Before or after stress: unstressed /u/ occurs exclusively before labiovelars:

_Kʷ	/luxʷtákw/	[lUxʷdákʷ]	'to shoot (pl.)'	<i>luxwdakw</i>
	/hí.ʔukʷ/	[hí.ʔÚkʷ]	'morning'	<i>hiihlukw</i>
	/qaná.ɫukʷ/	[GA ná.ɫÚkʷ]	'sparks'	<i>ganaalukw</i>

/lúkuk<sup>w</sup>sk<sup>w</sup>/ [lúgUk<sup>w</sup>sk<sup>w</sup>] 'to wake up (pl.)' *luguk<sup>w</sup>sk<sup>w</sup>*

### 2.2.B.2. The low vowel /a/:

/a/ is a low, slightly fronted vowel.

#### Under stress:

C\_C a. after uvulars and next to glottalized labials it can be somewhat centralized: [A] (some individuals, especially men, have a more definitely back vowel [ɑ])

/qáp/	[qÁp]	'piece, end'	<i>k'ap</i>
/máqs/	[mÁqs]	'pants'	<i>máqs</i>

b. otherwise it is slightly fronted:

/pán/	[bán]	'belly'	<i>ban</i>
/čák/	[tšákʷ]	'dish'	<i>ts'ak'</i>
/háč/	[háčʷ]	'to bite <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>hats'</i>

C_#	/mičá/	[mičá]	'bite'	<i>mihla</i>
	/wá/	[wá]	'name'	<i>wa</i>

Before or after stress, the vowel is noticeably centralized next to a back consonant, less so otherwise, but not as open as under stress.

Before stress: a. after a uvular or a glottal stop:

/ʔancám/	[ʔA <sup>w</sup> ncám]	'cooking pot'	<i>anjam</i>
/qanháčaʔ/	[qA <sup>w</sup> n.áčʔA]	'clothespin'	<i>ganhats'a'a</i>



b. otherwise:

/haǰóʔ/	[ha ǰóʔ]	'[the] back'	<i>hak'yo'o</i>
/hanáǰ/	[ha náǰ]	'woman'	<i>hanak'</i>

c. an unstressed /a/ may be backed and rounded in the vicinity of a labial and a uvular, especially in rapid speech:

/caqam/	[ɕA GA m , ɕA GAm]	'(proc.) towards shore'	<i>jagam...</i>
/wó-waq/	[wó-wA ǰ , wó-waǰ]	'to sleep (pl.)'	<i>woowak</i>

After stress:

a. next to uvulars: centralized:

/ʔáǰaq/	[ʔáǰǰ]	'to show anger, determination, aggressiveness'	<i>alǰ</i>
/ʔá-qayʔ/	[ʔá-GA ʔ]	'my mouth'	<i>aagay'</i>

b. otherwise: slight centralization:

/qó-ta/	[Gó-dA]	'to be all gone'	<i>gooda</i>
/tá-la/	[dá-lA]	'money'	<i>daala</i>

### 2.2.B.3. The mid vowels /e/ and /o/:

These vowels have more restricted environments than the other short vowels. In particular, they never occur in unstressed position (except as echo vowels).

#### 2.2.B.3.a. /e/

/e/ is a lower mid front vowel [ɛ]. It is relatively rare. In native words it

occurs only before uvulars and glottals, where it is in complementary distribution with /i/ (2.2.B.2.):

C_C	/yéʔ/	[yéʔʕ]	'Grandfather'	<i>Ye'e</i>
	/ʕéx/	[ʕéx]	'mountain juniper'	<i>ts'ex</i>
	/téʔentkʷ/	[déʔentkʷ]	'to lead, guide s.o.'	<i>de'entkʷ</i>
	/haqéʔs/	[hA GÉʔes]	'sharpening tool'	<i>hage'es</i>

but it also occurs in other environments in interjections:

	/lé/	[lé]	(interjection)	<i>Lé!</i>
	/tép/	[dép]	(interjection)	<i>Dep!</i>

It also occurs in a number of borrowings:

C_*	/ta·wé/	[da·wé]	'mountain sheep, domestic goat'	<i>daawe</i>
	/naqáčé/	[nA GA ʕÉ]	'fox'	<i>nagats'e</i>
C_CV	/swéta/	[swéta]	'sweater'	<i>sweta</i>

### 2.2.B.3.b. /ɔ/

/ɔ/ is a lower mid back rounded vowel [ɔ]. Like /e/, it occurs almost exclusively before uvular, glottal and glottalized consonants. However, there are numerous instances of this use.

C_C	/ʔóqs/	[ʔóqs]	'sun, moon, month'	<i>hloqs</i>
	/ptóʔ/	[pɔʔʕ]	'door'	<i>pdo'o</i>
	/nóx/	[nɔx]	'mother'	<i>nox</i>
	/móʔon/	[móʔɔn]	'salt'	<i>mo'on</i>
	/hóxqat/	[hɔxqat]	'to smell good'	<i>hoxk'at</i>

Finally, /o/ occurs mostly in borrowings, such as

/kʷa.só/      [gʷa.só]      'pig'      *gwaaso*

and also in the interjective predicate (5.11.)

/kʷiló/      [kʷiló]      'Don't!'      *Gilo!*

(the colloquial form of /kʷilóʔ/ *Gilo'o!*), which can be used by itself or with a clause).

#### 2.2.B. 4. Remarks on short vowels in unstressed position

In unstressed position, [I], [A], [U], and to a certain extent [ɛ] and [ɔ], all occur. In most cases they are in complementary distribution, depending on the neighboring consonants, and there is some free variation as well as instances of contrast.

Consider for example the partially reduplicated forms (progressive meaning) of words beginning with /h/ or /ʔ/, where the reduplicating consonant is /h/: the vowel there is entirely predictable, as a short copy of the stem vowel:

Plain:	'to ...'	Reduplicated: 'to be ...ing'
/hó·x/	'to use, wear <u>s.t.</u> '	[hAhó:ç] <i>hoox/hahoox</i>
/hú·t/	'to flee (pl)'	[huhú:ʔ] <i>huut/huhuut</i>
/hé·/	'to make a noise, to speak'	[hA hé:, hehé:] <i>hee/habee, hebee</i>
/ʔá·t/	'to fish with a net'	[hAʔá:ʔ] <i>aat/ha'aat</i>
/ʔí·c/	'to fry or iron <u>s.t.</u> '	[hiʔí:ç] <i>iits/hi'iits</i>

The range of unstressed vowel quality is not usually so extensive, however. The

most frequent alternation is [A] next to a back (uvular) consonant, [I] otherwise: for instance, when adding the proclitic (KSƏ-) 'out' (see remark 4 below for the meaning of the symbol Ə here):

[GÚS]	'to jump'	<i>gos</i>	[KSA GÚS]	'to jump out'	<i>ksagos</i>
[baḡ]	'to run'	<i>baḡ</i>	[KSɪbaḡ]	'to run out'	<i>ksibaḡ</i>
[ɬóʔʔ]	'to walk, to go (pl.)'	<i>hlo'o</i>	[KSɪɬóʔʔ]	'to go out (pl.)'	<i>ksihlo'o</i>

Similarly with the prefix (SƏ-) 'to pick, gather ...':

[GABó:q̣]	'cockles'	<i>gabooḡ</i>	[SAGABó:q̣]	'to gather cockles'	<i>sagabooḡ</i>
[má:ʔ]	'berries'	<i>maaỵ</i>	[Sɪmá:ʔ]	'to pick berries'	<i>simaaỵ</i>
[ló:č̣]	'elderberries'	<i>loots'</i>	[Sɪló:č̣]	'to pick elderberries'	<i>siloots'</i>

and the suffix {-ŋ} '2S':

[náq̣]	'dress'	<i>naḡ'</i>	[náq̣An]	'your dress'	<i>naḡ'an</i>
[máqs]	'pants'	<i>maḡs</i>	[máqsɪn]	'your pants'	<i>maḡsɪn</i>
[qáyɬ]	'hat'	<i>gayt</i>	[qáyɬɪn]	'your hat'	<i>gayɬɪn</i>

In the same way, the unstressed vowel occurring next to a labiovelar is normally [U], as in:

[mí:lukʷ]	'to dance'	<i>miilukʷ</i>
[qáʷsukʷ]	'to be quiet'	<i>qawsukʷ</i>
[ʔi:ʔuxʷɛ]	'men, boys'	<i>ii'uxʷɛ</i>
[huxʷ]	'again'	<i>hurʷ</i>
[luxʷtí:tiç]	'to be hungry (pl.)'	<i>luxʷdiidix</i>

It would seem logical then to consider these various vowels as predictable phonetic realizations of a phonological neutral vowel /ə/.

But there are also cases where the quality of an unstressed vowel is not so easily predictable from the phonological environment alone.

1. Compare, for instance, the reduplicated form quoted above (p. 140):

[hiʔi:č]                      'to be frying, ironing s.t.'                      *hi'iits*

where the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is a shorter version of that of the stem [ʔi:č], with the derivative

[hAʔi:čAʔA]                      'an iron'                      *ha'iits'a'a*

the prefix of which always has the phonetic shape [hA] regardless of what follows.

Other examples with phonologically unpredictable vowels are:

[hAnáq]	'woman'	<i>hanak'</i>
[hAbó:í]	'to keep, look after <u>s.</u> '	<i>habool'</i>
[hAkóʔʔ]	'[the] back'	<i>hak'yo'o</i>
[hAx <sup>w</sup> dákw}	'bow (for arrows)'	<i>haxwdakw</i>

versus the predictable vowels in:

[hi+áq]	'to break (e.g. stick, bone)'	<i>hihlaq</i>
[hináçAx]	'to spank <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>hinats'ax</i>
[hUx <sup>w</sup> dá:kín}	'grandchild'	<i>huxwdaak'in</i>

Compare also the reduplicated form



this rule would give [ɪ] as the linking vowel, not [A].

3. A final unstressed [A] which never alternates with [ɪ] is found in a number of words, e.g.:

[gɔ́:dA]	'to be all gone'	<i>gooda</i>
[ʔɔ́:dA]	'covers, diapers'	<i>ooda</i>
[... hɪ́:dA]	'(they, we) said ...'	<i>...hiida</i>

(when quoting words)

including the English borrowings:

[swétA]	'sweater'	<i>sweta</i>
[dá:lA]	'money'	<i>daala</i>
[bíyA]	'beer'	<i>biya</i>

4. If we were to consider instances of [A] as realizations of a phonological element /a/ (eg in [hAʔí:ʔAʔA] 'an iron' *ha'iits'a'a*), and those which alternate with other vowels according to predictable rules as realizations of a phonological element /ə/, there are cases where the decision in favor of one or the other would be arbitrary: for instance, should the [A] of the distributive prefix (qa-) be assigned to /a/ since it never alternates, or to /ə/ since the realization [A] is obligatory after uvulars?

Because of these difficulties then, unstressed [ɪ], [ɛ], [A], [ɔ], [U] are considered here as realizations of /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/ respectively, in the transcription of actual words. Morphemes which have alternants depending on their environment are quoted with the vowel ə, but this is not to be taken as a phonological element, only a convenient notation. The actual words containing these morphemes are transcribed in their normal phonological form, or, especially in discussions of syntax, in the Nisgha practical orthography.

### 2.3. Suprasegmentals:

#### 2.3.A. Stress:

Every major Nisgha word (noun, verb, adjective, independent or interrogative pronoun, adverb) has independent stress on one of its syllables. Stress is characterized by greater articulatory energy and higher pitch. Stress is independent of length, and both long and short vowels can occur either stressed or unstressed, as in the contrasts

/ha·náq̃/	'women'	<i>haanaq̃</i> '
/ná·naq̃/	'dresses'	<i>naanaq̃</i> '
/pi·líst/	'stars'	<i>biilist</i>
/ní·nikskʷ/	'spouses'	<i>niinikskw</i>
/lu·láq̃/	'(fish, etc.) to be in water in s.t.'	<i>luulak̃</i>
/lú·laq̃/	'corpse, ghost'	<i>luulak̃</i> '

Unstressed short vowels are slightly more centralized than stressed ones; unstressed long vowels are often shorter than stressed ones, sometimes as short as short vowels, but do not usually change their quality.

Stress is not predictable phonologically, e.g. also

/lískit/	'to be born (pl.)'	<i>lisgit</i>
/ʔalískit/	'to be abnormal, ugly, funny, etc. (pl.)'	<i>aligsit</i>

but there are nevertheless many morphological regularities since it usually falls on the root or base syllable, so many related words have the same stress pattern. However, there also exist a few stressed suffixes (7.2.C.2.a.2.) and there



are cases of stress on the prefix (10.3.B.2.a.), or on the reduplicated syllable (10.3.B.2.b.). Most vowel-final borrowings are stressed on the final syllable, although English borrowings keep their original stress pattern.

Examples:

Stress on the root:

1. base \*/kʷó.t/; fully reduplicated form (plural) \*/kʷitkʷó.t/

/kʷó.tkʷ/	'to be lost, missing'	<i>kʷootkw</i>
/kʷó.ʔin/	'to lose <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>kʷoot'in</i>
/kʷó.ʔil/	'to lose track of <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>kʷoot'il</i>
/kʷó.ʔilskʷ/	'(person) to be unconscious'	<i>kʷoot'ilskw</i>
/kʷó.ʔim+kʷ/	'to miss menstrual periods because of pregnancy'	<i>kʷoot'imhkw</i>

2. root /tám/: fully reduplicated form (plural) /tímtám/

/tám/	'to write <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>t'am</i>
/támtkʷ/	'to be written'	<i>t'imt'am</i>
/ní.támtkʷ/	'to be written down'	<i>niit'amtkw</i>
/ní.támtkʷit/	'Scripture'	<i>niit'amtgwit</i>

Stress on the suffix:

1. root /tám/
- |                 |  |                    |
|-----------------|--|--------------------|
| /tám/           | 'to write <u>s.t.</u> '                    | <i>t'am</i>        |
| /tímis(t)/      | 'to write, writing, s.t. written'          | <i>t'imis</i>      |
| /qanʔímis(t)/   | 'pencil'                                   | <i>gant'imis</i>   |
| /haʔi.tímis(t)/ | 'pad, desk, etc.<br>(support for writing)' | <i>haʔiit'imis</i> |

2. root /ʔá/	'to split <u>s.t.</u> (a tree)'	<i>t'al</i>
/ʔilískʷ/	'to make shakes'	<i>t'iliskw</i>
/haʔilískʷ/	'froe'	<i>ha't'iliskw</i>
3. root */ká/	'to pierce, stab'	<i>gahl</i>
/kiʔé.ʔ/	'to embroider'	<i>gihlee'e</i>

Stress on the prefix:

1. base /skát/	'to be born'	<i>sgat</i>
/lískit/	'to be born (pl.)'	<i>lisgit</i>
2. stem /kúkʷskʷ/	'to wake up'	<i>gyukwskw</i>
/lúkukʷskʷ /	'to wake up (pl.)'	<i>lugukwskw</i>
3. root /yé.ʔ/	'Grandfather!'	<i>Ye'e</i>
/niyé.ʔ/	'grandfather'	<i>niye'e</i>
/niýs.../	'Grandfather of ...'	<i>Niýs...</i>
	(prefix forming a number of chiefly names)	

Stress on the reduplicating syllable (plural):

root /nóʧ/	'mother'	<i>noʧ</i>
/nó.naʧ/	'mothers'	<i>noonaʧ</i>
	(from */nóʧnoʧ/, 10.3.B.2.b.)	

In words ending in vowels, stress is usually on the last syllable, in both native and borrowed words:

/ʔalá/	'smokehole'	<i>ala</i>
/kʷilá/	'blanket'	<i>gwila</i>
/kipá/	'to wait for <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>giba</i>

/ta·wé/	'mountain sheep, domestic goat' (< Athapaskan)	<i>daawe</i>
/kanti·í·/	'coyote' (< Athapaskan)	<i>gandihiii</i>
/kʷa·só/	'pig' (< Chinook jargon < French <i>cochon</i> )	<i>gwaaso</i>

but there are a few instances of final unstressed vowels:

/ʔó·ta/	'covers, diapers'	<i>ooda</i>
/háta/	'breeze'	<i>hada</i>
/na·qé·ta/	'muskrat'	<i>naaq'eeda</i>

including English borrowings:

/tá·la/	'money' (dollar)	<i>daala</i>
/swé·ta/	'sweater'	<i>sweta</i>
/pi·ya/	'beer'	<i>biya</i>

In compound words (9.), a secondary stress may be heard on the first part of the compound, main stress falling on the second:

/hìtkumskát·kʷ/	'to stand up like a man'	<i>hitgumsgatkʷ</i> (/hìtkʷ/ 'to stand' <i>hitkʷ</i> , /kát/ 'man, person' <i>gat</i> )
/yòʔoksnóʔoʔ·/	'to wash the dishes'	<i>yo'oksnó'ohl</i> (/yòʔoks 'to wash <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>yo'oks</i> , /nóʔoʔ/ 'dishes' <i>no'ohl</i> )
/màska·wátaʔ·/	'butterfly'	<i>maskaawadaʔ</i> (meaning of constituents unknown)

Indeed, some words are identifiable as composed of two major words by this feature, whereas proclitics do not receive stress, as in the following example:

/lu-sa-ná-ʔkʷ/ 'to be amazed at s' *luusaanaabikʷ*  
 ( /lu.../ (proc.) 'in', *luu .../sa.../ (proc.) 'off,'*  
*saa.../ná-ʔ/ cf. /ná-ʔq/ 'breath' naabik*)

### 2.3.B. Intonation (sentence-level):

Nisgha sentences are normally intoned in a medium to high voice register, dropping on utterance-final unstressed vowels. The major words of the sentence keep their inherent stress but receive differential pitch. There is no difference in intonation between statements and questions.

Some examples:

/ʔa-plákskʷiý/	'I am tired'	<i>Hlaa plaksgwiý.</i>
/plákskʷ ní-ý/	'I am <u>tired</u> '	<i>Plakskw níiý.</i>
/ni-ʔ plákskʷina/	'Are you tired?'	<i>Niiht plaksgwina?</i>
/ʔakʷi-ɛɛpínis/	'What are you doing?'	<i>Aguht jijabinis?</i>
/yukʷi-yú-xkʷiý/	'I am eating'	<i>Yukwhl yuuxgwiý.</i>
/yukʷi-siswetatkʷiý/	'I am working on a sweater'	<i>Yukwhl siswetatgwiý.</i>
/tim-huxʷkáʔáy ní-n/	'Good bye' (lit. I will see you again).	<i>Dim huxw ga'áy níin.</i>
/ci-kaxkʷu-ni-tim-huxʷkáʔan/	'When will I see you again?'	<i>Ji gaxgu ni dim huxw ga'an?</i>

- /tá·hák<sup>w</sup>ni tim hux<sup>w</sup>ka<sup>?</sup>an/ 'I will see you tomorrow'  
*Taahlakw ni dim huxw ga'an.*
- /wílá·yin<sup>+</sup> sim<sup>?</sup>á<sup>?</sup>ka<sup>x</sup>a/ 'Do you know Nisgha?'  
*Wilaayinhl sim'alga<sup>x</sup>?*
- /sim wílá·yis Mary<sup>+</sup> sim<sup>?</sup>á<sup>?</sup>ka<sup>x</sup>/ 'Mary knows Nisgha very well'  
*Sim wilaayis Maryhl sim'alga<sup>x</sup>.*
- /sim wílá·yis Mary/ 'Mary knows it very well'  
*Sim wilaayis Mary.*
- /sim wílá·yith<sup>+</sup> sim<sup>?</sup>á<sup>?</sup>ka<sup>x</sup>/ 'She knows Nisgha very well'  
*Sim wilaayithl sim'alga<sup>x</sup>.*

In formal oratory, as in traditional speeches at a settlement feast (as distinct from informative speeches), or in prayers, a special intonation is used. Voice level rises on the first stressed syllable and remains at a fairly high pitch throughout the speech. Such speeches end very abruptly, with a sudden drop in the voice at the end.

Examples:

- /tʰa·ta<sup>x</sup>ka<sup>t</sup>ka<sup>m</sup> sim<sup>?</sup>ó·ki<sup>t</sup> .../ 'All-powerful God ...'  
*Tʰaada<sup>x</sup>gatgum Sim'oo<sup>g</sup>it ...*
- /sim<sup>?</sup>ki<sup>t</sup>ka<sup>t</sup>, si<sup>?</sup>ki<sup>t</sup>im<sup>h</sup>a·na<sup>?</sup>q, kupa<sup>?</sup> wíl<sup>?</sup>ksi<sup>+</sup>ka<sup>w</sup>/ 'Chiefs, chieftainesses, princes and princesses,  
*Sim<sup>?</sup>gigat, sigidimhaana<sup>?</sup>q, k'ubawilksihkw ...*
- /tu<sup>?</sup>á·m<sup>+</sup> qó·ti<sup>?</sup>.../ I am happy ... *luu'aamhl goodiy'...*

/...wil ti- ʔalkaxayʔ lo-simʔ.../ ...to be speaking to you ...  
 ... *wil dii algaɣayʔ loosimʔ* ...

/...ʔaʔ ʔa-ma· sa(h) tkuna.../ ...on this fine day ... *ahl amaa sa tguna* ...

/qapí-ʔ níyʔ/ ... That's all I have to say.' ... *Gabiibl hiyʔ*.

#### 2.4. The Nisgha practical orthography:

A practical alphabet designed by Bruce Rigsby has been in official use in the Nass Valley since 1973. As it represents a broad phonetic transcription and uses convenient symbols and conventions, it is relatively easy to learn and use. Through the efforts of the Bilingual/Bicultural program of School District 92 (Nisgha) it is being taught to all schoolchildren in the district and is slowly spreading to the adult population. It is used in public communications by the Band Councils and the Nisgha Tribal Council. For these reasons it has been used in this study, concurrently with more technical transcriptions.

##### 2.4.A. Consonants:

- voiced and voiceless consonantal allophones are distinguished; this allows easy integration of English loanwords;

- plain *k* and *g* indicate palato-velars before non-back vowels (*i, e, a*), dorso-velars before back vowels (*o, u*); palato-velars occurring before back vowels are indicated by a following *ɣ*, thus /kó-1/ [kʰó-1] 'one [person] *k'yool*;

- uvulars are indicated by underlining, thus [q] *ḡ*, [x] *ɣ*, [ɕ] *ḡ*;

- digraphs are used for labialized consonants, thus [kʷ] *kʷ*, [gʷ] *gʷ*, [xʷ] *xʷ*, as well as for voiceless affricates: [tʃ] *ʈ*; [tʃʰ] *ʈʰ*; the voiced dental affricate [dʒ] is represented by *ʃ*;

- the lateral fricative [ɬ] is represented by *hl*.

- glottalized resonants are indicated by a comma or apostrophe over the symbol, thus [m̥] *m̥*, [y̥] *y̥*;

- glottalized stops and affricates are indicated by a following apostrophe, thus for instance [k̚] *k'*, [k̚w] *k'w*, [t͡ʃ̚] *t͡ʃ'*;

- the glottal stop is not indicated in absolute initial position as it is predictable before a vowel; elsewhere it is indicated by an apostrophe, thus

/ʔá.t/      [ʔá.t̚]      'fishnet, to fish'      *aat*

but /qaʔá.tim̥/      [GA ʔá.dim̥]      'our nets'      *ga'aadim̥*

except where the apostrophe would be confused with a glottalization sign for the preceding consonant; in this case the apostrophe is replaced by a hyphen to indicate a sequence C + ʔ, as in

/ʔatʔá.t̚ikskw/      [ʔAtʔá.t̚ikskw̥]      'to arrive (pl.)'      *at-aat'ikskw*

#### 2.4.B. Vowels:

- stress is not indicated;

- length is indicated by doubling, thus /i:/ *ii*, /a:/ *aa*;

- the predictable echo-vowel after the glottal stop is indicated in all cases, thus:

/yéʔ/      [yéʔʕ]      'Grandfather'      *Ye'e*  
/stóʔoks/      [sqóʔʔoks]      'next to ...'      *sdo'oks*

- the distribution of the symbols *i*, *e*, *o*, *u* reflects a slightly different analysis than is used here; it places *e* and *o* after uvulars and finally, *i* and *u* elsewhere, thus

/qís/	[qés]	'hair'	<i>ges</i>
/qús/	[qos]	'to jump'	<i>gos</i>
/haqéʔs/	[hAqéʔɛs]	'sharpening tool'	<i>hage'es</i>
/qóʔ/	[qóʔʕ]	'to go <u>s.w.</u> to go get <u>s.</u> '	<i>go'o</i>

This distribution requires a pronunciation rule for *e* and *o* after uvulars: they have a closed sound, unless they are followed by another uvular or by the glottal stop. This rule rarely seems to cause inconvenience, however, in what is otherwise a very practical, easy-to-use orthography.



### CHAPTER 3: MORPHOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

The following is a brief overview of Nisgha word-formation, processes and morphological categories. Detailed descriptions are given in Part II.

#### 3.1. THE FORMAL MATERIAL.

##### 3.1.A. FROM THE ROOT UP.

A Nisgha word always consists of a root CV(C), which may be extended into a base by one or more consonantal augments preceding and/or following the root. Almost any non-glottalized consonant may be an augment, including the glottal stop. In the present state of the language augments are not productive and have no recognizable meaning. Only in a few cases do augmented roots have some semantic similarity to unaugmented roots. Some examples are:

root	tóʔ	'cheek'	<i>do'o</i>
+ augment <i>p</i> :	p.tóʔ	'door'	<i>pdo'o</i>
+ augment <i>s</i> :	s.tóʔ	'one side, one half of a pair'	<i>sdo'o</i>
root	ʔim	'porcupine quills'	<i>ʔim</i>
+ augment <i>q</i> :	ʔim.q	'whiskers'	<i>ʔimk</i>

Although many Nisgha words consist only of a shape CVC which can be taken as a root, it is not often possible to break down larger words as far as this basic root shape CV(C). In particular, a root CVK (K = any Velar) often appears preconsonantly under the shape CV:, but in the absence of alternate forms where the Velar does appear it is not possible to recover the original root, nor is this necessary for a basically synchronic description such as this study. However, it is safer to consider most shapes CV:(C) as representing bases rather

than roots.

Conversely, not all CVC shapes can be considered roots. For instance, in *ḵií* 'one' *ḵií* the first consonant /ḵ/ is found in a number of other words denoting unicity (7.1.B.2.c.1.) and the last consonant /i/ can probably be identified as a form of the Completive suffix {-ʔl} (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.). Such observations suggest that roots may be ultimately decomposable into smaller elements. Another suggestive fact is the existence of a number of pairs of roots differing in the length and/or quality of the vowel, and having related meanings, such as:

<i>ptál</i>	'(water) to rise'	<i>pdal</i>
<i>ptá:l</i>	'(water) to flood'	<i>pdaal</i>
<i>pán</i>	'belly'	<i>baa</i>
<i>píntkʷ</i>	'to stick out one's belly'	<i>bíntkʷ</i>

These facts however do not play a grammatical role in present-day Nisgha, although they are undoubtedly important for historical and comparative study.

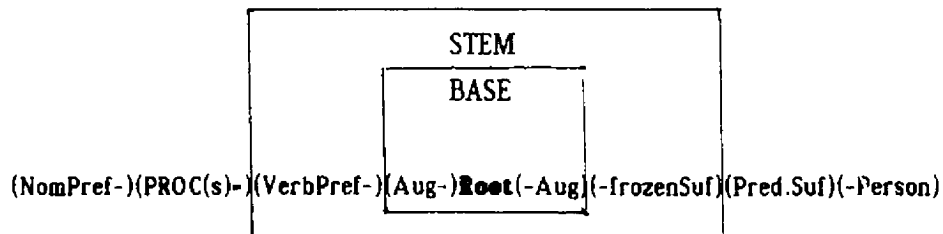
There are also a number of instances of CVCV shapes, e.g. *ḵipá* 'to wait for *s*' *giba*. Sometimes a sequence CVCV can be decomposed into CV- prefix and CV(h) root, but there are also cases which appear to consist of a CVC root with stressed vowel suffix. In general, CVCV shapes are best treated as unanalyzable bases.

Even though the root of a word is not always recoverable, it is usually the part that receives stress. Stressed suffixes are rare, and cases of stress preceding the root occur only in some older, now irregular processes.

To a root or base may be added derivational affixes, especially prefixes, resulting in a stem, to which predicative affixes, mostly suffixes, may be added. The term 'stem' can then refer to different constituents, as a word built by the addition of one affix may become the stem for another word built by the addition of another

affix. There may be words then that consist only of a root, a base or a stem, but most are considerably longer.

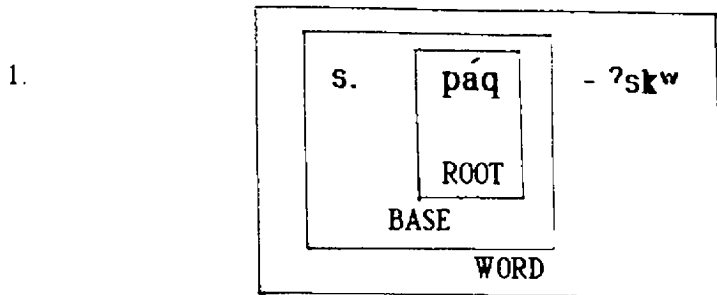
The morphemes surrounding the root or base are not just strung together. Nisgha words have an inner constituent structure with a hierarchy of constituents. The general formula for predicatives (words capable of being clause predicates) is:



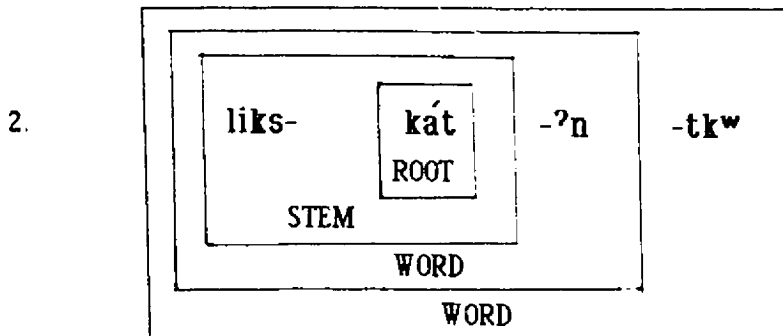
Only the root is indispensable. An augment may occur before the root. Nominal prefixes and the Jussive verbal prefix (**k<sup>w</sup>in-**) *gwia-* (7.1.B.1.a.2.b.) can come before proclitics, which come before the Dominative verbal prefix (**tə-**) *di-/da-* (7.1.B.1.a.2.a.). It is rare to find more than one prefix, but common for a word to have two or even three proclitics.

After the root, there may be an augment, and the root or the base thus formed may be followed by one or two predicative suffixes. (It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a consonant cluster should be considered as one suffix or more).

Most predicative suffixes are intransitive. Those that are transitive may be followed by a Medial suffix, causing the verb to become Passive. The Indefinite Medial suffix causes Passivization of some transitive stems, and makes some intransitive stems transitive. Some verbs which do not have one of the transitivizing suffixes take the Definite Medial suffix **-T** which is not always felt as part of the quotation form of the word, especially by younger speakers (7.2.C.1.a.). Inflectional suffixes (7.2.A.) are added after the predicative suffixes.

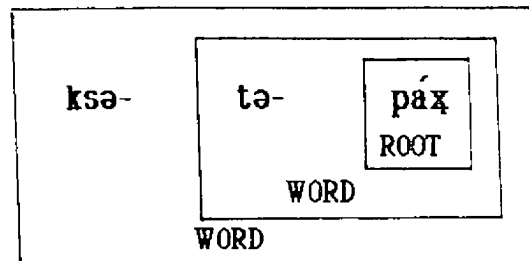
Examples:

- root = base = stem      páq      'to feel, try s'      *baʔ*
- + augment *s* : base = stem      s.páq      'to taste [the taste of] s'      *sbaʔ*
- + AP.I suffix -ʔskw :      spáqaskw      'to taste things,      *sbaʔaskw*  
to have the sense of taste'



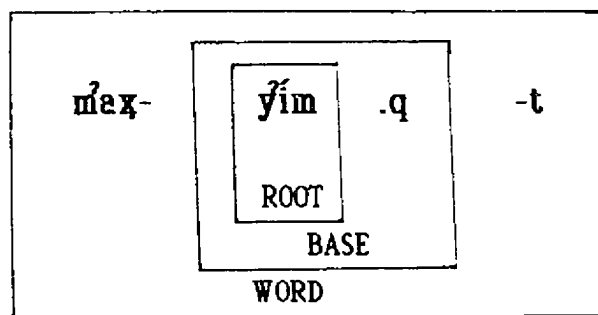
- root      \*kát 'person, people, man' *gat*; (different but  
vaguer meaning in derivation):
- + prefix *lik-s-* - 'different':      likskát      'to be different'      *liksgat*
- + CAUS suffix -ʔn :      likskátin      'to find s different'      *liksgat'in*
- + MED suffix -tkw:      likskátintkw      'to have been found different'  
*liksgat'intkw*

3. A word may also include one or more circumstantial proclitics :



- root = base = stem	páx	'to run'	<i>baḡ</i>
+ DOMIN prefix tə- :	tipáx	'to run, taking s.'	<i>dibaḡ</i>
+ proclitic ksə- 'out'	ksitipáx	'to run out, taking s.'	<i>ksidibaḡ</i>

4. Some prefixes and proclitics are bound with specific suffixes and enclose a word in an affixal frame with a particular meaning:



- root = base = stem	yím	'porcupine quills'	<i>yim</i>
+ augment q = base = stem	yím.q	'whiskers'	<i>yimq</i>
+ frame máx.....T	'to be/have ... to an extraordinary degree'		
	máx-yímq-(t)	'to be bearded'	<i>máx-yimq(t)</i>

Surrounding the word, ergative clitic pronouns, other clitic particles, subordinators, evidential postclitics and syntactic connectives may be bound to it phonologically, but not morphologically.

The morpheme order for the predicate phrase is (the connectives link the predicate phrase to the following word under certain conditions):

CLITICS (variable order)	WORD	POSTCLITIC (CONNECTIVE)
(E-clitic)		
(Modal particles)	<b>Predicate</b> (-Person) (==Evidential) (=S, =†)	
(Subordinator)		
(Restrictive particle)		

as in

nta=yima?	mə tim wil ho:x-T-[t]	= † ʔansú:x <sup>W</sup> t kʌn=sə
which.way==DUB	2E FUT SUB use.s.-DEF-[3]	=NC yarn DM this==PROX
...==EVID	E.PRON PTC SUB ...	...=CON ...      ...==EVID

I wonder how you are going to use this wool here.  
*Ndayima'a mi dim wil hooyihl ansuuxw tgun-sə?*

(a polite way to ask: What are you going to do with ...?)

### 3.1.B. MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES.

Roots, bases and stems are subject to the morphological processes of affixation and reduplication.

For the purpose of contemporary description, most Nisgha morphological

processes can be described as applying either to the word, the stem or base. In only a few instances is it necessary or useful to refer to the root, with processes which appear to represent an older layer of development.

3.1.B.1. Affixation: Both inflection and derivation make use of affixes, singly or in combination. Most prefixes, including the circumstantial 'proclitics', have lexical meaning and do not affect the base phonologically. They can have various shapes, from a single consonant or an open syllable with unspecified vowel, to a more complex syllable phonologically almost indistinguishable from a separate word, for instance:

ɣ-má-y̆ eat-berries	'to eat berries'	<i>ɣmaay̆</i>
ha-kóʔ having-backbone	'back [of a person]'	<i>hak'yo'o</i>
tə-páɣ DOMIN-run	'to run away with s.'	<i>dibaɣ</i>
kit-lax-ʔá:miks people-on-pond	'People of the ponds'	<i>Gitlax'taamiks</i>
si:p-ʔasáy̆ hurt-foot/leg	'to have sore feet or legs'	<i>siip-asay̆</i>

Practically all suffixes have grammatical meaning; most of them consist of one or more consonants, and their addition usually causes some alteration in the shape of the base, especially glottalization or fricativization, for instance:

yú:q-ʔn > yú:q̆an oolichan string-CAUS	'to feed s.o.'	<i>yuuk'an</i>
---	----------------	----------------

yú:q-[t]k <sup>w</sup>	>	yú:xk <sup>w</sup>	'to eat'
...-MED			<i>yuuxkw</i>

Affixation also includes framing by a definable, meaningful combination of a prefix or proclitic with a suffix, as in

ksə-ỹimq-[t]k <sup>w</sup>	'to shave'
remove-whiskers-MED	<i>ksiyimkw</i>
ʔa:ma:-cáp-T	'to fix <u>s.t.</u> '
well-make.s.-DEF	<i>amaajap-di</i>

With both prefixes and suffixes, vowel-insertion rules break up unacceptable clusters, and vowel-specification rules adapt affix vowels to their consonantal surroundings.

3.1.B.2. Reduplication: Full and partial reduplication both prefix a portion of the root, base or stem to itself. In most cases, full reduplication (Cvc-) is used to build plural forms, partial reduplication (C-) for aspectual forms. Full reduplication occurs under three major sub-categories which can be shown to correspond to three historical stages, the oldest one evidencing many irregularities which point to a very long history for the process. Each stage shows an extension of the reduplicative formula, starting with the root in the oldest stage, progressing to the base and the stem in the middle stage, then involving the whole word in the currently productive stage (3.2.B.).

Only the oldest form of full (Cvc-) reduplication, now occurring only with some CVK roots (RED<sub>1</sub>), can come between a root and a preceding augment. Regular full reduplication (RED<sub>2</sub>) occurs before the root or base. Cix- reduplication (RED<sub>3</sub>), the modern, productive form of the fully reduplicative process, occurs mostly word-initially. RED<sub>2</sub> sometimes occurs on forms which already have RED<sub>1</sub>, and RED<sub>3</sub> sometimes occurs on forms which already have RED<sub>1</sub> or RED<sub>2</sub>:



**(RED<sub>3</sub>)(PROC(s)=)(VerbPref-)(RED<sub>2</sub>)(Aug-)(RED<sub>1</sub>)-Root(-Aug)(Suffixes)**

Partial reduplication usually occurs word-initially but sometimes occurs between a proclitic and the following stem, depending on the particular verb and the exact meaning intended (see Proclitics, 7.1.A.).

**(R)(PROC(s)=)(R)(VerbPref-)(R)(Aug-)-Root(-Aug)(Suffixes)**

Earliest period: (type 1, 'archaic'): reduplication affects the root only:

root	sáq̃	'to crack'	sáq̃)saq̃	>> sá·saq̃	'(pl.) to crack'
		<i>saq̃</i>			<i>saasaq̃</i>

root	*póq				
base	ḡ.póq	'crease, pleat'	ḡ.póq)poq	>> ḡ.pó·paḡ	'creases, pleats'
					<i>ḡboobaḡ</i>

Middle period: (type 2, 'regular') reduplication affects the root, base or stem:

root	cáp	'to make <u>s.t.</u> '	cip)cáp	'to make <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> '
		<i>jap</i>		<i>jipjap</i>

base	có-q	'to be ashamed, embarrassed'	caḡ)có-q	'(pl.) to be ashamed, embarrassed'
		<i>jooq</i>		<i>juxjooq</i>

stem	*sqíks			
	sqíksk <sup>w</sup>	'to be injured'	saḡ)sqíksk <sup>w</sup>	'(pl.) to be injured'
		<i>sgekskw</i>		<i>sarsgekskw</i>

stem	<b>ná·+q</b> 'breath; to fast' <i>naahlk</i>	<b>naḫ)ná·+q</b>	'(pl.) to fast' <i>naxnaahlk</i>
	<b>ksə--ná·+ḫk<sup>w</sup></b> 'to breathe out' <i>ksinaahlk<sup>w</sup></i>	<b>ksə--naḫ)ná·+ḫk<sup>w</sup></b>	'(pl.) to breathe out' <i>ksinaxnaahlk<sup>w</sup></i>
stem	<b>wilá·x</b> 'to know s.' <i>wilaax</i>	<b>wil)wilá·x</b>	'to know s.(pl.)' <i>wilwilaax</i>

Modern period: (type 3, 'modern') reduplication affects the entire word:

word	<b>yú·+imq</b> 'to advise, admonish, lecture s.o.' <i>yuuhlimk</i>	<b>hix)yú·+imq</b>	'to advise, admonish, lecture s.o.(pl.)' <i>hixyuuhlimk</i>
word	<b>k)kíí</b> > <b>kíkíí</b> 'to look for s.' <i>gigil</i>	<b>kix)kíkíí</b>	'to look for s.(pl.)' <i>gixgigil</i>
word	<b>sqa= piʔé·?</b> 'curtain' <i>sgabihlee'e</i>	<b>six)sqa= piʔé·?</b>	'curtains' <i>sixsgabihlee'e</i>
word	<b>?am-qó--kít</b> 'to be pretty, beautiful?' <i>amgoogit</i>	<b>hix)?am-qó--kít</b> <b>?ax)?am-qó--kít</b>	'(pl.) to be pretty, beautiful' <i>hix'amgoogit</i>

## 3.1.C. MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES.

Affixes and reduplicated segments are bound to the stem by morphophonemic rules which may also affect the stem itself.

3.1.C.1. In morphemes preceding the stem, whether prefixes or reduplicated segments, a consonant that comes in contact with the word is subject to weakening or simplification: affricates lose their stop onset, glottalized consonants lose their glottalization, and Velar stops are fricativized, Velar fricatives sometimes vocalized. However, the stem itself is unaffected.

hac)hác > hashác PL)bite.s.	'to bite <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>hashats'</i>
ʔil-ǰá:x > ʔilǰá:x one-fathom	'one fathom'	<i>k'ilǰ'aax</i>
coq)cóq >> caʔcócq PL)stay, camp, live	'to live, camp, stay s.w.'	<i>jaʔjok</i>
staʔ= yúk <sup>w</sup> > sta:yúk <sup>w</sup> on.one.side-hold.s.	'to hold <u>s.t.</u> in one hand, under one arm'	<i>sdaʔyukw/sdaayukw</i>

3.1.C.2. With morphemes following the stem, there is much closer phonological integration of the suffix with the stem. For instance, many predicative suffixes begin with a glottal stop, which causes glottalization of the stem-final consonant, as in

*lip-ʔsT > lipʔis(t) sew.s.-AP.D	'to sew'	<i>lip'is(t)</i>
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Other consonantal suffixes often cause fricativization of a stem-final Velar, as in

ksə-ná:ʔq-tk<sup>w</sup> > ksíná:ʔxk<sup>w</sup> 'to breathe out'  
 remove-breath-MED

*ksinaah/xkw*

Suffixes beginning with vowels, whether inherent or inserted by rule, can also cause alterations in some stem-final consonants, as in

ʔan-[hó:x-aʔ] > ʔanhó:yaʔ 'tool, implement, vehicle, object'  
 CAUSE-[use.s.-DETR]

*anhooya'a*

3.1.C.3. At the frontier between morphology and syntax, some of the same rules serve to bind the word to ergative clitic pronouns and evidential postclitics. The presence of these morphemes however does not affect the word grammatically or lexically.

## 3.2. MORPHOSYNTACTIC CATEGORIES.

### 3.2.A. CATEGORIES OF NOMINALS.

The nominal classes include all nouns and most non-suffixed pronouns: demonstratives, indefinites (which can be used interrogatively) and independent personal pronouns (Ñi-pronouns, 5.8.). DETERMINACY is a gender-like category separating nominals into two classes; POSSESSION affects nouns which are put into a relation with other nouns.

3.2.A.1. DETERMINACY. Nominals may be determinate or indeterminate. These gender-like categories cut across the nominal classes.

Determinates include:

- given names of individual persons or animals (not names of mountains, lakes, groups of people, etc.);

- the indefinite/interrogative pronoun (5.6.) ñá: 'someone, who' *naa* and its derivative, the name kíná: 'So-and-So' *K'inaa*;

- the demonstrative pronouns **kún(i)** 'this' *gun(i)* and **kúst(i)** 'that' *gus(di)* (5.7.).

In general, determinate words are preceded by a Determinate Marker (DM)(sg. **t** / pl. **típ dip**, (6.2.A.) unless linked to the preceding word by the connective (6.2.B.) =S, in which case the DM's do not occur overtly because of a phonological consonant-deletion rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.). Non-determinates are linked to the preceding word (where appropriate) by the connective **-t** ...*h/*.

Determinates can occur in apposition to and co-referring with a noun, as in

<b>sá t kùn</b>	'this day'
day DM this	<i>sa tgun</i>
<b>+kú:+kw-ý t sqawó</b>	'my daughter Sgawó' (B. 202)
child-1S DM S.	<i>higuuhlgwiý t Sgawó</i>

A few other nouns (kinship terms starting with the frozen prefix (nə-), (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.2.) and the independent personal pronouns seem to be 'courtesy determinates': they are usually preceded by the determinate rather than the non-determinate connective, but they do not share all the properties of true determinates. In particular, they do not occur in apposition to a noun.

**3.2.A.2. POSSESSION.** Non-determinate nouns can be 'possessed', i.e. placed into a relation with another, dominant or controlling noun. This head noun is the 'possessor', although ownership is only one of the semantic relationships subsumed under the term 'possession'.

**3.2.A.2.a. The possessor:** The possessed noun takes a personal suffix identifying its possessor; if this suffix is the 3 suffix **-t**, its reference can be made explicit by a noun Adjunct after the appropriate connective, as in:

wíl-p-ŷ house-1S	'my house' <i>wilbiŷ</i>
wíl-p-ti:t house-3P	'their house' <i>wilpdit</i>
wíl-p-t house-3	'his/her house' <i>wilpt</i>
wíl-p-[t]= s[t] <b>Peter</b> house-[3]=DC [DM] P.	'Peter's house' <i>wilps Peter</i>

If there are several possessors, the Distributive prefix **qa-** *ga-* is used before the noun. The plural noun stem is used if it is separate from the singular:

<b>qa</b> -huwíl-p-ti:t DISTR-PL)house-3P	'their houses' <i>gahuwilpdit</i>
--	--------------------------------------

but there are cases where either the singular or the plural noun stem can be used, with a difference in meaning:

- $\text{sim sa} = \text{tá}^+ \text{-T-[t]} = \text{+qa-čáw}^? \text{aqs-(ə)sim}^? \quad \text{[All of you] take off your shoes! [each has one pair]}$   
2P.E off=put.s.PL-DEF-{3}=NC DISTR-shoes-2P
- $\text{sim t}^? \text{á}^+ \text{-T-[t]} = \text{+qa-č}^? \text{u:}^? \text{čáw}^? \text{aqs-(ə)sim}^? \quad \text{[All of you] put away all your shoes! [each has more than one pair]}$   
2P.E put.s.PL-DEF-{3}=NC DISTR-PL)shoes-2P

### 3.2.A.2.b. Definite and indefinite possession:

Two categories of 'possession' can be distinguished: definite and indefinite. Definite possession is that of body parts, personal belongings such as clothes and household utensils, canoes, houses, relatives, and other items which form

part of the normal environment of the daily life of a person. Usually these items have an emotional value for their possessor. Indefinite possession, marked by the Indefinite Medial suffix  $-t_k^w/-s$  (7.2.C.1.b.) is that of items considered collectively, and/or to which there is no emotional attachment.

### 3.2.A.2.b.1. Definite possession:

A definite possession can be considered either as belonging to its possessor, or analytically, as an isolated or alienated part or feature, for instance when describing parts of an animal killed for meat. The latter type is indicated by using the restrictive particle  $\text{hli/hla}$  (6.1.B.2.) before the noun. Compare:

- non-alienated possession:

•  $sí:pk^w= \text{hli} \text{t'imqís-y}$   
hurt=NC head-1S

**My head hurts.**

*Siipkwhl t'imqisiy.*

•  $sim \text{?anó:q-ə-[t]}= \text{hli} \text{t'u:s-y} \text{ta:} \text{?a:} \text{nə} \text{qap)qá:p-[t]}= \text{hli} \text{t'imqís-t}$   
really like.s.-CTL-[3]=NC cat when now 1S E PL)scratch.s.-[3]=NC head-3

**My cat likes it when I scratch its/his/her head.**

*Sim anoogahl duusiý daa hlaa na gapgaaphl t'imgest.*

- alienated possession:

•  $kùw's-m+mú:s= \text{hli} \text{wàk-y} \text{?i:-t} \text{kín-m} \text{?a=} \text{hli} \text{t'imqís-t}$   
kill-ATT+moose=NC M's.brother and-3E give.food.to.-1P PREP=NC ... head

**My brother killed a moose and gave us the head.**

*Guwsim-muushl wagiý iit ginim ahl hli t'imgest.*

The particle is used before parts of animals or objects, and items normally associated with them, when considered analytically, in themselves:





- tǫal=kó-[t]=† mǎl-ý tú.ǵ      I have a canoe over there. (106.2)  
against-moored-[3]=NC canoe-1S there    *Tk'algooohl máaliý duuw.*

Parts of the human body do not generally take it, unless the human possessor is already dead:

- nǔw=† kǎt==kǐ: ... nǐ-[t]=† kǐ: hiǎ:†aq-T-[t]=†  
txa:nǐtk<sup>W</sup>s-[t]=† †ə ci)ǎp-t  
dead=ND man==DISTAL ... that's-[3]=NC and break.PL-DEF-[3]=NC  
all-[3]=NC ... PL)bone-3

The man was dead ... and all the bones were broken. (209.12-13)

*Nuwǎhl gat-gi ... hǐhl k'ii hǐhlaahlagahl txañitkwshl hǐli jits'ipt.*

But the analytical attitude indicated by the particle †ə *hli/hla* does apply to what can perhaps be called 'emanations' rather than parts of the human body or personality:

- substances excreted by the body:

- kǐmk-[t]=††ə nǔc̣-n      Wipe your nose!  
wipe.s.-[3]=NC ... snot-2S      *Gimkhl hǐli nuts'in!*
- púx<sup>W</sup>=† †ə †kǐlk<sup>W</sup>-ý      I am sweating.  
blow.around=NC ... sweat-1S      *Buxwǎhl hǐli hǐgilgwiý.*

- other 'undesirables' associated with the body:

- qúl=† †ə ǎisk<sup>W</sup>-t      S/he has lice.  
run.PL=NC ... louse-3      *Golhl hǐli ts'iskwt.*

- abstract or intangible possessions:

- ʔə ʔóçin-ý 'my soul'  
 ... soul-1S *hli oots'iníy*
- ʔə haʔáxk<sup>W</sup>-ý 'my sin'  
 ... sin-1S *hli haʔaxgwiý*
- ʔə qantaxkàt-[t]=ʔqa-niyéʔ-tk<sup>W</sup>-m 'the traditions of our  
 ... strength-[3]=NC DISTR-grandfather-INDEF-1P ancestors'  
*hla gandaxgathl ganiye'etgum*
- ʔamqót-ə-t=ʔ ʔə čáp-t She remembered her tribe/people.  
 remember.s.-CTL-3=NC ... tribe-3 (209.13-14) *Amgoodithl hli ts'apt.*
  - ʔakú=ʔ ʔə ʔanhè:-[t]=ʔ qalčáp What are they talking about in the  
 what?=NC ... meaning-[3]=NC village village? (138.15-139.1)  
*Aguhl hle anheehl galts'ap'*

3.2.A.2.b.2. Indefinite possession: Indefinite possession is indicated by the Indefinite Medial suffix {-tk<sup>W</sup>/-s} (7.2.C.1.b.) It seems that the meaning 'indefinite' in the case of possessed nouns is interpretable as 'collective', hence:

- groups of relatives:

- qa-niyéʔ-tk<sup>W</sup>-m 'our ancestors'  
 DISTR-grandfather-...-1P *ganiye'etgum*
- kix)kimxtít<sup>W</sup>-ý '[all] my brothers and sisters'  
 PL)opp.sex.sib.-...-1S *gixgimxditgwiý*
- nó-nax-[t]k<sup>W</sup>-ý '[all] my "mothers"' (= my mother and  
 mother.PL-...-1S all her sisters) *noonaxgwiý*

- masses, especially of stored items:

hón-**tk<sup>W</sup>**-y̐ 'my fish [caught, processed and stored]'  
fish-...-1S *hoontgwiy̐*

?antiksihón**tk<sup>W</sup>**-y̐ 'my jars of fish'  
jar.of.fish-...-1S *andiksihoontgwiy̐*

winéx-**s**-m̐ 'our food'  
food-...-1P *wineeksim̐*

• †a:húkax-[t]=†qapì-[t]=lhón-**tk<sup>W</sup>**-m̐ We have enough fish now.  
by.now right-{3}=NC amount-{3}=NC fish-...-1P *Hlaa hugaxhl gabiìhl hoontgum̐.*

• ?àq=† má:y̐-**tk<sup>W</sup>**-y̐ I don't have any berries.  
non-existent=NC berries-...-1S *Akhl maaytgwiy̐.*

- animals considered collectively, not as separate individuals:

• hux<sup>W</sup> †kí=† wí: tús-m̐ ?i: qal hílt-[t]=† tús-**[t]k<sup>W</sup>**-m̐  
again have.young=NC [big cat-1P and too many-{3}=NC cat-...-1P  
Our cat had kittens again, and we have too many cats.  
*Huxw hígìhl wii duusim̐, ii gal hílthl duusgum̐.*

In what appear to be more recent formations, the suffix is applied to single items: it seems that the indefinite collective meaning has led to the meaning 'non-intimate possession' since the semantic range of the words in question covers more remote relationships without emotional involvement:

sim?ò:kit-**tk<sup>W</sup>**-[t]=†simkikát 'King of Kings' (< Bible)  
chief-...-{3}=NC chief.PL *Sim'oogitkwhl Simgigat*

†ə sà-**tk<sup>W</sup>**-[t]=†nónax-[t]k<sup>W</sup>-m̐ 'Mothers' Day'  
the day-...-{3}=NC mothers-...-1P (the day of our mothers)  
*hli satkwhl noonargum̐*

lip <u>bíshop</u> -[t]k <sup>W</sup> -m̄ self bishop-...-1P	'our own Bishop' <i>lip Bishopgum</i>
ká:-t <sup>W</sup> -ẏ <u>car</u> -...-1S	'my car' (OFS; YFS: ká-ẏ ) <i>kaagwiý (/kaay)</i>

**3.2.B. VERBAL CATEGORIES:** Most of the verbal categories summarized below are indicated by affixes; the meaning of these affixes is discussed together with their form, in Chapter 7.

**3.2.B.1. VALENCE.** Roots and bases do not seem to have inherent valence. The Medial suffixes (7.2.C.1.) (Definite -T, Indefinite -tk<sup>W</sup> / -S) may transform a P<sub>A</sub> stem into a P<sub>EA</sub>, any stem into a P<sub>A</sub>. Transitive affixes include two prefixes (7.1.B.1.a.2.), Dominative tə- and Jussive k<sup>W</sup>iŋ-, and among the suffixes, Causative -ʔŋ, Completive -ʔl, and other miscellaneous predicative suffixes which are no longer productive (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.). Chief among intransitive suffixes which transform P<sub>EA</sub> stems into P<sub>A</sub>'s are the Antipassive (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.) and Detransitive (7.2.C.2.a.) suffixes.

**3.2.B.2. VOICE.** There is no marker for the Active voice, although the Definite Medial suffix -T may play this role; suffixes mark Passive (originally Indefinite Medial -tk<sup>W</sup> / -S) and Antipassive (-ʔS). Both can be definite or indefinite (marked by the Indefinite Medial suffix added to the Passive or Antipassive suffix). The Antipassive label may not be entirely accurate since the Definite Antipassive suffix can also be used to form nouns from other nouns. Frames ending in one of the Medial suffixes indicate Reflexive (7.3.a.1.a.2.a.1.) and Reciprocal (7.3.A.1.a.1.b.).

**3.2.B.3. MODALITY.** There are suffixes for Causation and Completion, as well as other less definable suffixes (probably Temporary, Recurrent, etc.) (7.2.C.)

**3.2.B.4. CONTROL.** Grammatical control is expressed by the suffix  $-\text{ə}-$  for predicate-focused transitives (7.2.A.3.); there are also two prefixes expressing dominance: Dominative  $\text{tə}-$  (physical control, 7.1.B.1.a.2.a.) and Jussive  $\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{i}\text{n}-$  (mental control, authority, 7.1.B.1.a.2.b.).

**3.2.B.5. ASPECT.**  $\text{P}_\text{As}$  (excepting most nouns) can be inflected for Progressive Aspect, through partial reduplication (of the preceding auxiliary  $\text{yuk}^{\text{W}}$  if not of the predicate itself). (See Reduplication, chapter 8).

**3.2.B.6. TENSE and MOOD** are expressed syntactically by combinations of semi-free morphemes (modal particles, auxiliaries and subordinators), not morphologically.

### **3.2.C. CATEGORIES COMMON TO NOUN AND VERB.**

**3.2.C.1. DEFINITENESS.** In the verb, there are Definite and Indefinite Medial suffixes (7.2.C.1.). Nouns can be marked for Definite or Indefinite possession (3.2.A.2.b.). For both noun and verb, Indefiniteness is marked by the suffix  $-\text{tk}^{\text{W}}/-\text{s}$  (7.2.C.1.b.).

Among compounds, Object-incorporating verbs can occur unmediated (without a suffix, corresponding to a definite meaning, or mediated (with the Attributive suffix  $-\text{m}$ ), corresponding to an indefinite meaning. The use of a transitive verb + noun construction instead of an Object-incorporating verb marks the noun as definite (9.).

**3.2.C.2. NUMBER.** Most verbs and adjectives and some nouns have separate singular and plural forms (Tarpent 1983b), which show great surface diversity. However, this diversity can be greatly reduced by a more thorough analysis.

**3.2.C.2. a.** According to purely superficial criteria it is possible to recognize the following classes:

## 3.2.C.2.a.1. Pure types:

## 3.2.C.2.a.1.a. Class I: full reduplication (statistically the most important):

## 1. root ending in Velar: the formula is

CVK --&gt; CvX)CVK

Examples:	Singular	Plural	
	cóq <i>jok</i>	caX)cóq <i>jaxjok</i>	'to stay, camp, live (s.w.)'
	ťák <i>t'ak</i>	ťix)ťák <i>t'ixt'ak</i>	'to forget <u>s.t.</u> '

## 2. root ending in other consonant:

CVC --&gt; Cvc)CVC

Examples:			
	ťám <i>t'am</i>	ťim)ťám <i>timt'am</i>	'to write <u>sthg</u> '
	?á-ťikskw <i>aat'ikskw</i>	?at)?á-ťikskw <i>at-aat'ikskw</i>	'to come, arrive'

## 3.2.C.2.a.1.b. class II: partial reduplication:

CVC --&gt; C(v))CVC

Examples:			
	pá? <i>ba'a</i>	pi)pá? <i>biba'a</i>	'thigh'

má·l	m)má·l	'canoe'
<i>máal</i>	<i>mmáal</i>	

3.2.C.2.a.1.c. class III: prefixation:

1. with lə- *li/la/lu*: (a small, closed class):

Examples:	ʔáks	lə-ʔáks	'to drink'
	<i>aks</i>	<i>li'aks</i>	
	tə-mó·tk <sup>w</sup>	tə-lə-mó·tk <sup>w</sup>	'to cure, save <u>s.o.</u> '
	<i>dimootkw</i>	<i>dilimootkw</i>	

2. with qa- *ga-*: (a productive class)

Examples:	wóχ	qa-wóχ	'to bark'
	<i>wɔχ</i>	<i>gawɔχ</i>	
	ʔá·t	qa-ʔá·t	'to fish (w. net)'
	<i>aat</i>	<i>ga'aat</i>	

3.2.C.2.a.1.d. class IV: unstressed vowel-lengthening (a very small class):

	CVCV... -->	CV:CV...	
Examples:	hanáq̃	ha:náq̃	'woman'
	<i>hanak'</i>	<i>haanak'</i>	
	piłist	pi:łist	'star'
	<i>bilist</i>	<i>biilist</i>	

3.2.C.2.a.2. Apparently mixed types:

3.2.C.2.a.2.a. class V: partial reduplication with velar infix (a productive class):

	CV... -->	Cix)CV...	
examples:	kítax <i>gidax</i>	kix)kítax <i>gixgidax</i>	'to ask <u>s.o.</u> s.t.'
	?amqó·kit <i>amgoogit</i>	hix)?amqó·kit <i>hix'amgoogit</i>	'to be pretty (us. other than persons)'

3.2.C.2.a.2.b. class VI: partial reduplication with vowel lengthening and stress-shift; roots ending in Velars only (a non-productive class which includes many irregularities):

	CVK -->	CV́: )CvK	
examples:	wóq <i>wok</i>	wó-waq <i>woowak</i>	'to sleep'
	náks <i>naks</i>	ní·niksk <sup>w</sup> <i>niinikskw</i>	'spouse'

3.2.C.2.a.3. To these classes should also be added yet another, that including the suppletive stems, as in:

t'á· <i>t'aa</i>	wán <i>waa</i>	'to sit'
máq <i>mak</i>	t'á† <i>t'ahl</i>	'to put <u>s.t.</u> (away)'



3.2.C.2.b. However, apart from the suppletive stems the apparently diverse methods used to form the plural can be reduced to two, prefixation and reduplication.

The many irregularities (including pleonastic or doubly-marked formations) are explainable in terms of three stages of historical evolution (see also Chapter 8). At each stage, prefixed forms seem to be mostly distributive in meaning, reduplicative forms mostly repetitive: the plural meaning of reduplication then seems to derive from an aspectual meaning. That Aspect is also indicated through a form of reduplication confirms this.

3.2.C.2.b.1. Stage 1 (Archaic): stress occurs on the prefixed syllable:  
(10.3.B.2.a.):

3.2.C.2.b.1.a. Prefixation with  $l\theta-$  :

skát	lískit	'to be born'
<i>sgat</i>	<i>lisgit</i>	

Most plural stems formed with this prefix begin with a Velar, which is deleted intervocalically, hence forms like

qínx	línx	'(tree) to fall'
<i>genx</i>	<i>linx</i>	

Some plural stems of this shape no longer occur by themselves, but have been used as the base for full reduplication in Stage 2. Vocalic alternations such as in

ké:t	lá:t	'to lie (down),
<i>geehl</i>	<i>laahl</i>	to go to bed'

confirm that this is an archaic type (see T 1983b).

3.2.C.2.b.1.b. Full reduplication (RED<sub>1</sub>): in the present state of the language this type is evidenced through the class of plurals of the shape CV:CVK, formed on roots of the shape CVK (class VI above), where the Velar in pre-consonantal position has become vocalized (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.(b)), for instance:

nóχ	*nóχ)noχ > nÓ:nax	'mothers'
<i>noχ</i>	<i>noonax</i>	

kw.s.táq.s	kw.s.*táq)taq.s > kwstá:taqs	
<i>kwsdaks</i>	<i>kwsdaadaks</i>	'to leave s.'

These forms were not affected by the stress-shift which, in the next stage, must have affected plurals formed on roots ending in other consonants.

Vowel-alternations such as in

náks	'spouse, married'	ní:niks-[t]k <sup>w</sup>	'spouses'
<i>naks</i>		spouse.PL.-INDEF	<i>niinikskw</i>

confirm that this is an archaic type.

3.2.C.2.b.2. Stage 2: (Classical): stress is on the root/base/stem, not on the prefixed syllable:

3.2.C.2.b.2.a. Prefixation: prefixation with lə- occurs within a frame lə -T (7.3.A.1.a.1.a.) as in

té:q	lə-té:q-T	'to eat too much
<i>t'eeq</i>	<i>lit'eeq(t)</i>	too fast'

3.2.C.2.b.2.b. Full reduplication (Red 2) (class I above) affects C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> bases and stems, with a widening of the definition of C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> so that larger and larger stems are affected, e.g.

<b>cám</b> <i>jam</i>	<b>ci)m)cám</b> <i>jimjam</i>	'to boil, cook <u>s.t.</u> '
<b>?ám</b> <i>aam</i>	<b>?am)?ám</b> <i>am'aam</i>	'to be good'
<b>sqíksk<sup>W</sup></b> <i>sgekskw</i>	<b>sax)sqíksk<sup>W</sup></b> <i>saxsgekskw</i>	'to be injured'
<b>wilá:x</b> <i>wilaax</i>	<b>wil)wilá:x</b> <i>wilwilaax</i>	'to know <u>s.</u> '
<b>qó:ʔosT</b> <i>goo'os(t)</i>	<b>qas)qó:ʔosT</b> <i>gasgoo'os(t)</i>	'to be/have cooled'

including stems pluralized with **lə-** (in Stage 1) and now monosyllabic, as in

<b>kámk</b> <i>gamk</i>	<b>*lámk &gt; lim)lámk</b> <i>limlamk</i>	'warm, hot'
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3.2.C.2.b.2.c. Partial reduplication is used for the plural of terms designating groups or sets, e.g.

<b>ćák</b> <i>ts'ak'</i>	<b>ci)ćák</b> <i>jits'ak'</i>	'dish'
<b>ʔínkit</b> <i>hlingit</i>	<b>ʔi)ʔínkit</b> <i>hliblingit</i>	'(sg.) Tlingit; (pl.) slaves'

mostly nouns, but also a few adjectives and verbs, including one irregular CV:CvK formation (Stage 1):

*ńí:łuk <sup>W</sup>	n)ńí:łuk <sup>W</sup>	'long (pl.)'
long.PL	<i>náiiłukw</i>	

Partial reduplication on a stem of the shape KVCV results in an intervocalic K which is deleted, causing a long vowel: K)KVCV > KvKVCV > KV:CV, for instance

kińám	*ki)kińám > ki:ńám	'to give s.'
<i>gińam</i>	<i>gińam</i>	

hanáq̣	*ha)hanáq̣ > ha:náq̣	'woman'
<i>hañak'</i>	<i>hañak'</i>	

This formula is reinterpreted as CVCV > CV:CV, a formula which is used with stems other than those with initial Velar, hence the Class IV plurals, e.g.

piłíst	pi:łíst	'star'
<i>biłist</i>	<i>biłist</i>	

(Remark: this word, the only one in this class which does not begin with a Velar, also has a fully and classically reduplicated plural pił)piłíst *biłbiłist*, showing alternate tries at pluralizing a word which does not quite fit canonical forms. That is is originally bimorphemic is shown by its Gitksan counterpart *bil'ust*).

This class includes some prefixed forms such as:

xs-*k <sup>W</sup> inéq-s	lə-xs-*k <sup>W</sup> i:néq-s	'to feel cold'
<i>xsɣwineečs</i>	<i>ləxsɣwiineeks</i>	

3.2.C.2.b.3. Stage 3 (Modern): prefixation and reduplication are productive under new forms.

3.2.C.2.b.3. a. Prefixation uses the Distributive prefix **qa-** (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.), especially with intransitive verbs and adjectives:

wóx <i>wox</i>	qa-wóx <i>gawox</i>	'to bark'
xčáý <i>xts'ay'</i>	qa-xčáý <i>gaxts'ay'</i>	'to be thick'

but also with some nouns which do not have a plural:

liplé:t <i>lipleet</i>	qa-liplé:t <i>galipleet</i>	'priest' (< Ch.J. < Fr.)
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3.2.C.2.b.3.b. Full reduplication (Red 3)(class V) occurs under the shape **Cix-** which is one of the reduplicative allomorphs of the Stage 2 pattern; this shape can be prefixed to any type of word, including those beginning with proclitics:

sqa=piťé:? across=spreading <i>sgabihlee'e</i>	<b>six</b> )sqa=piťé:? PL)... <i>sixsgabihlee'e</i>	'curtain'
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and borrowings such as

púc <i>buts</i>	<b>pix</b> )púc <i>bixbuts</i>	'(pair of) <u>boots</u> '
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and plurals formed by other methods, especially those forms which are no longer recognizable as reduplicated, as in

lu:=yó?oks in=wash.s. <i>luuyo'oks</i>	lu:= <b>hix</b> )yó?oks in=PL)wash.s.PL <i>luuhixyoo'oks</i>	'to wash <u>s.t.</u> out'
--	--	---------------------------

The addition of the **Cix-** syllable on an already plural form emphasizes the meaning of separateness, as in

<b>pi-ńist</b>	'stars'	<b>pix)pi-ńist</b>	'each and every
<i>bińist</i>		<i>bixbińist</i>	star'

Partial reduplication is not a method of plural-formation at this stage.

## CHAPTER 4: SYNTAX OF THE CLAUSE

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION.

#### 4.1.A. The predicate phrase.

A Nisgha sentence may consist of one or more clauses, each of which includes a predicate phrase. The predicate phrase consists obligatorily of a predicate, ambient, nominal or verbal, which may be accompanied by one or two pronominal arguments. The predicate phrase carries a great deal of information, both within the predicate and in the more or less tightly bound morphemes that surround it, encapsulating or anticipating in a general way the relations between all the semantic elements of the clause (4.2.).

In its morphosyntactic structure, the predicate phrase provides a general, abstract schema or structural description of the relations among the predicate and the non-predicative constituents, which may then be amplified and fleshed out by independent elements carrying lexical content, such as nouns and adverbs, which indicate the precise semantic referents of the more abstract morphemes attached to the predicate. Since the predicate phrase is normally the first major constituent of a clause (although usually preceded by minor constituents), it can be said to provide a 'table of contents' for the clause. Under suitable circumstances, when the semantic referents are already known (as in answering yes to a question), this capsule description of the syntactic structure of the clause can do duty for the entire clause.

The predicate stem is usually accompanied by one or two bound pronouns indicating the presence and syntactic nature of the arguments; nominals with semantic content indicating the precise reference of these pronouns may also occur elsewhere in the clause, but are adjuncts to the pronouns rather than arguments themselves. Sorting out which nominal adjuncts correspond to which pronominal arguments is accomplished by strict word order and in one

case by differential stress. There is also one case (in the Predicate-focused clause, 4.4.) where some bound pronouns cannot appear, but a suffix added to the predicate stem ensures that syntactic relations are kept in order. However, the predicate- pronominal structure is not always transparent, because a phonological rule of consonant-deletion (10.2.A.2.b.1.) can, under certain conditions, obliterate some surface representations of pronominal morphemes.

In addition to the pronominal arguments, circumstantial proclitics (7.1.A.) which can be prefixed to the predicate give considerable detail as to the location, direction, manner, etc. of the action described by the predicate; the individual circumstances to which these proclitics apply can be made explicit by nominal or adverbial complements. Combinations of these proclitics with some verbal suffixes (Frames, 7.3.) indicate yet other syntactic relationships between arguments and complements.

Not all nominal elements in a clause corefer with the pronominal arguments. In a number of cases the clause includes an obligatory nominal with specific semantic properties, here referred to as the Specified Complement, placed before the predicate, in addition to the pronominal arguments (4.7.B.). It is not clear what the status of this constituent should be, whether argument or complement, but it is similar to the Second Object found with some English verbs.

The predicate stem itself often carries a great deal of information. Modifications of the predicate stem mark aspect and number. Many predicate stems carry one or more affixes indicating such verbal categories as Causative, Jussive, Medial, Detransitive, and others, which indicate the precise relation of the arguments to the action or state indicated by the predicate, as well as to each other (7.2.C.). Compounding provides a way of integrating a meaning-carrying adjunct within the predicate itself, as when a specific noun is incorporated into the predicate (9.2.A.).

Optional elements such as Future and Irrealis particles (6.1.B.1.), modal and



discourse modifiers (5.15.), and evidential postclitics (6.3.), also occur within the domain of the predicate phrase. Subordinators (5.16) can also be bound phonologically to the predicate phrase although they are not part of it syntactically.

With so much information concentrated in the predicate phrase, there seems to be little role left for the non-predicative elements, beyond providing semantic referents for parts of the predicate phrase. However, any non-predicative adjunct, whether nominal or adverbial, can receive special emphasis through the process of Focusing (4.7.A.), characterized primarily by position in front of the predicate. Focusing of non-predicative meaning-carrying adjuncts is the major counterweight to the rigid structure of the predicate phrase and to the heavy load of information it carries.

But the predicate itself can be given focus by placing it into first position: this entails some morphological adjustments which lighten the predicate structure by omitting one of the pronominal arguments. Predicate-focused clauses (4.4.) are rare in narrative style, since they are used to give factual precisions and explanations, not to move the narrative forward. They are much more frequent in conversational style.

Under certain conditions a predicate phrase can also function as adjunct. Downshifting (4.5.) occurs when a predicate and its argument, for instance a nominalized transitive verb and its Object, are used in a non-predicative function within the clause. Conversely, a possessed noun, the result of downshifting, can itself be raised to the role of clause predicate (4.6.).

The result of all this is an extremely flexible syntax with an incredible variety of surface clause types.

#### 4.1.B. Ergative and Absolutive:

The arguments can have the functions of Subject,<sup>1</sup> Agent<sup>1</sup> and Direct Object. Their treatment defines the character of Nisgha morphology and syntax.

It is now well-documented that languages differ according to how they treat these three functions (e.g. Dixon 1979). Since the intransitive Subject function is in complementary distribution with those of Agent and Direct Object, it is rarely kept totally distinct from them, whether morphologically, syntactically, or both. Instead, it is usually considered to be equivalent to one of these functions. In most European languages, for instance, Agent and Subject functions are marked in the same way, both syntactically and morphologically, and the Object is marked differently:

Eng	<i>He helped</i> Subj(NOM)	<i>He helped Fred</i> Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)
	<i>He helped him</i> Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)	<i>Fred helped him</i> Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)
Fr	<i>Il a aidé</i> he has helped Subj(NOM)	<i>Il a aidé Fred</i> he has helped F. Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)
	<i>Il l'a aidé</i> he him has helped Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)	<i>Fred l'a aidé</i> F. him has helped Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)

In Nisgha, as in a variety of other languages widely scattered around the world (Basque, Caucasian languages, Australian languages, some North American and Polynesian languages, etc.), the Subject function is marked like the Direct Object function, and a special form or other distinctive treatment marks the Agent function:

...wil ʔimó:misk <sup>W</sup> -y̌ SUB help.out-1S Subj(ABS)	... as I helped out (with traditional services). ... <i>wil hlimoomisgwiy̌</i> .
...nə wil ʔimó:m-n 1E SUB ...-2S Agt(ERG) Obj(ABS)	... as/when I helped you. ... <i>ni wil hlimoomin</i> .
...mə wil ʔimó:m-y̌ 2E SUB ...-1S Agt(ERG) Obj(ABS)	... as/when you helped me. ... <i>mi wil hlimoomiy̌</i> .

It is traditional to refer to systems of the Agent = Subject ≠ Object type, like English or French, as Nominative/Accusative systems, and to systems of the Agent ≠ Subject = Object type as Ergative/Absolutive systems: (Ergative refers to the Agent forms; Absolutive to the Subject = Object forms). These terms are used for convenience, whether the language has a full-fledged case system marking all arguments, as in Latin or Russian, or whether morphological case marking is restricted to a subsystem such as the personal pronouns of English or Nisgha, where the differentiation of arguments (or their coreferent adjuncts) is achieved mostly by word order. In these two languages, morphological case marking is marginal, but numerous other features of morphology and especially syntax converge to give to Nisgha a distinctly Ergative<sup>2</sup> character, to English a distinctly Accusative character.

While an adequate description of Nisgha requires reference to the syntactic functions of the various arguments, there are many cases where greater simplicity can be achieved and the nature of the system made clearer by referring to the Ergative/Absolutive argument dichotomy rather than to the three distinct functions of Subject, Agent and Direct Object. In describing the structure of the Nisgha clause, then, the predicate phrase can be represented using the general formula



and/or particles if present), its Absolutive counterpart, a suffix, after the predicate. If the nouns that these pronouns refer to are mentioned in the same clause, they are placed after the predicate, in the same order:

... E ... P-A (E<sub>Adt</sub>) (A<sub>Adt</sub>)

E    P    A	
...wil-t ðimó:m-t	... as/when s/he helped him/her.
COMP-3E help.s.-3	...wilt <i>hlimoomt</i> .

E    P    A    E-Adt    A-Adt	
...wil-t ðimó:m-[t]=s [t] <b>Màry t Lúcy</b>	... as/when Mary helped Lucy.
COMP-3E help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. DM L.	...wilt <i>hlimooms Mary t Lucy</i>

The Specified Complement (Sc) is placed before the E pronoun:

Sc   E   P   A	
<b>Péter t</b> siwátT-t	S/he named him Peter.
P. 3E name.s.-3	<i>Peter t siwadit</i> .

Sc   E   P   A    E-Adt    A-Adt	
<b>Péter t</b> siwátT-[t]=s [t] <b>Màry</b> =† †kú†k <sup>W</sup> -t	
P. 3E name.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M=NC child-3	Mary named her child Peter.
	<i>Peter t siwadis Mary† higuuhkwt</i> .

In an intransitive clause, which does not have an Ergative argument, the order of morphemes is otherwise the same:

P    A	
...wil ðimó:misk <sup>W</sup> -t	... as/when s/he helped out
SUB help.out-3	(with traditional services).
	...wilt <i>hlimoomiskwt</i> .

P	A	A-Adt	
...wil ʔimó:misk <sup>W</sup> -[t]=s [t] <u>Màry</u>			... as/when Mary helped out.
SUB help.out-{3}=DC {DM} M.			... <i>wil hlimoomiskws <b>Màry</b></i> .

In a predicate-focused clause, the predicate occurs in first position, and it does not carry an Absolutive pronoun. The Ergative argument is indicated by a suffix pronoun after a Control suffix (the suffix pronoun does not always occur on the surface, because of the consonant-deletion rule.). Other nominals<sup>3</sup>, if present, are in the same E-A order as in a regular clause:

P	E	
ʔimó:m-ə-t		S/he <u>helped</u> him/her.
help.s.-CTL-3		<i>Hlimoomit.</i>

P	E	E-Adt	A-Nom	
ʔimó:m-ə-[t]=s [t] <u>Màry</u> t <u>Lúcy</u>				Mary <u>helped</u> Lucy.
help.s.-CTL-{3}=DC {DM} M. DM L.				<i>Hlimoomis <b>Màry</b> t <b>Lúcy</b></i> .

P	
ʔimó:misk <sup>W</sup>	S/he <u>helped out</u>
help.out	(with traditional services).
	<i>Hlimoomiskw.</i>

P	A-Nom	
ʔimó:misk <sup>W</sup> t <u>Màry</u>		Mary <u>helped out</u>
help.out DM M.		(with traditional services).
		<i>Hlimoomiskw t <b>Màry</b></i> .

#### 4.1.D. Predicate downshifting:

All predicates that can take an Absolutive argument can be accompanied by this argument (and its nominal Adjunct) while performing non-predicative functions in a main clause. Since such a predicate phrase is now only one of

the main constituents of a clause, rather than a clause in its own right, we can say that both predicate and argument have been *downshifted*. Predicate and argument are still linked, but in a different way. Downshifting (4.5.) may occur through:

- possession of a noun: the possessor is downshifted:

ʔà t-[t]=s [t] Péter                      Peter's net  
net-[3]=DC [DM] P.                      *aats Peter*

mùk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s [t] Péter                      Peter's catch (of fish)  
catch[3]=DC [DM] P.                      *mùkws Peter*

- attribution :

si: mùk<sup>W</sup>s-m hó:n                      fresh-caught fish  
new caught-ATT fish                      *sii mùkwsim hoon*

- relativization of an intransitive verb (= Focusing of its Subject):

(t) Péter=† ʔà:t-(ə)t                      Péter fished (with a net)  
(DM) P.=NC fish.w.net-REL                      *(T) Peterhl aadit.*

ksax t Péter=† mùk<sup>W</sup>-(ə)t                      Only Péter caught (something)  
only DM P.=NC catch-REL                      *Ksax t Peterhl mugwit.*

- nominalization of a transitive verb:

†ə cəp-T-[t]=† ʔà:t                      ... (the) making (of) a net  
the make.s.-DEF-[3]=NC net                      *... hli jabihl aat*

†ə mùk<sup>W</sup>-T-[t]=† hó:n                      ... (the) catching (of) fish  
... catch.s.-DEF-[3]=NC fish                      *... hli mugwihl hoon*

(Remark: the key words in these examples have multiple class membership; most words would only fit into some of these patterns).

- nominalization of an adjective:

ŵi:-[qa-ñàk<sup>W</sup>-ə]-[t]=† ʔát ... the length of the net/how long the net is  
big-[...-long-...]-[3]=NC net ... *ŵii gáñagwihl aat*

## 4.2. MAJOR CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS.

### 4.2.A. THE PREDICATE.

Most predicative words can also take the argument roles, and words capable of being arguments can also be predicates, so it makes sense to classify these words on the basis of their capabilities as predicates, i.e. according to the number and kind of arguments and complements they take. As in English, many words have multiple class membership.

#### 4.2.A.1. Predicates occurring singly: (P<sub>0</sub>):

These are mostly words referring to natural phenomena such as

haywís	(to) rain	<i>haywis</i>
má:tim	(to) snow, winter	<i>maadim</i>

#### 4.2.A.2. Predicates with arguments (A and E) only:

##### 4.2.A.2.a. Predicate with Absolutive argument only: (P<sub>A</sub>):

This category comprises a number of classes:



## 1. intransitive verbs (5.2):

- non-stative:

yúxk <sup>W</sup>	'to eat'	yuu <sup>xk</sup> w
čín	'to come/go in'	ts'in

- stative:

ťá:	'to sit/exist'	t'aa
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## 2. adjectives (5.3):

ńák <sup>W</sup>	'to be long, far'	ńakw
------------------	-------------------	------

## 3. numerals (5.4):

kól	'one (person)'	k'yool
-----	----------------	--------

## 4. nouns (5.5):

wílþ	house	wilþ
nóx	mother	nox

4.2.A.2.b. Predicates with one Ergative and one Absolutive argument (P<sub>EA</sub>):

These comprise the majority of the transitive verbs (5.1.). Some must take the Definite Medial suffix (DEF) {-T} (7.2.C.1.a.). In predicate-focused clauses, all transitive verbs are followed by the Control (CTL) infix -ə-. (7.2.A.3.).

ká?	'to see <u>s.</u> (A)'	ga'a
qúc	'to cut <u>s.t.</u> (A)'	t'ots
tálq	'to talk to <u>s.o.</u> (A)'	dalk
kipá	'to wait for <u>s.o.</u> (A) (that's coming)'	giba

qáq-T 'to open s.t. (A)' *k'ak-di*  
 open-DEF

Transitive verbs including Jussive verbs formed by prefixing (**k<sup>W</sup>in-**)  
 'Jussive' *gwin-* (7.1.B.1.a.2.b.) to another verb:

k<sup>W</sup>in-čín 'to have s.o. (A) come in' JUSS-enter  
 (Fr. faire entrer qqn) *gwin-ts'in*

k<sup>W</sup>in-cáp 'to have s.o. make s.t. (A),  
 JUSS-make.s. to have s.t. (A) made' *gwin-jap*  
 (Fr. faire faire qqch)

#### 4.2.A.3. Predicates with Specified Complement (Sc):

Semantically, the Specified Complement adds precision to a predicate which already has a very restricted semantic domain, whether or not this predicate also takes a Direct Object: most of the cases are verbs of saying, but there are also others. The Specified Complement is normally anteposed to the predicate, but a number of details differentiate it from a Focused constituent (4.7.B.).

##### 4.2.A.3.a. Predicates with Absolutive argument and Specified Complement: (P<sub>ASc</sub>)

wá name	'name of "Sc"'	<i>wə</i>
siwá-tk <sup>W</sup> name.s.-PASS	'(place, etc.) to be named "Sc"'	<i>siwatkw</i>
siwá-tk <sup>Ws</sup> name.s.-PASS.INDEF	'(object, plant, animal, etc.) to be called [by the common name] "Sc"'	<i>siwatkws</i>

**4.2.A.3.b. Predicate with Ergative and Absolutive arguments and Specified Complement: (P<sub>EASc</sub>)**

híks	'to say "Sc" to <u>s.o.</u> (A)'	<i>hiks</i>
kín	'to give <u>s.o.</u> (A) a food (Sc)'	<i>gin</i>
was-T	'to price <u>s.t.</u> (A) at "Sc"; to charge or quote the price "Sc" for <u>s.t.</u> (A)'	<i>was-di</i>

**4.2.A.3.c. Predicate with Ergative argument and Specified Complement: (P<sub>ESc</sub>)**

Only one predicate fits this description:

yá/híta	'(sg/pl) to say "Sc"'	<i>...ya/...hiida</i>
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This predicate is unusual in many respects, including the fact that it has an E argument but no A argument (see also 7.2.A.1.c.).

**4.2.A.4. Predicates with Indirect Object:** Even though the Indirect Object (IO) is not part of the arguments, it is mentioned here because of it often corresponds to an underlying argument (for instance, the Absolutive argument of a transitive verb can also occur as the IO of an Antipassive verb, cf. Tarpent 1982). The Indirect Object is indicated by a prepositional phrase or an Indirect pronoun (§.9).

**4.2.A.4.a. Predicates with Absolutive argument and Indirect Object: (P<sub>AI</sub>):** Only a few of these actually require an Indirect Object:

kʷó:tisT	'to miss (=not see/meet) <u>s.o.</u> (I)'	<i>kʷoot'is(t)</i>
wá:kátkʷ	'to miss (=feel the absence of) <u>s.o.</u> (I)'	<i>wagatkʷ</i>

In many cases the Indirect Object is optional:

mitk<sup>W</sup> 'to be full (of s.t.) (I)' *mitkw*

In particular, Antipassive verbs (derived from transitive verbs, 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.) can take an optional Indirect Object (which is equivalent to the DO of the corresponding transitive verb):

káʔask<sup>W</sup> 'to look around (at s.) (I)' *gaʔaskw*  
(cf. káʔ 'to see.s.' *gaʔa*)

kipéʔesk<sup>W</sup> 'to wait around (for s.) (I)' *gibeʔeskw*  
(cf. *kipá* 'to wait for s.' *giba*)

#### 4.2.A.4.b. Predicates with Ergative and Absolutive arguments and with Indirect Object (P<sub>EAI</sub>):

These are a few transitive verbs which take an Indirect Object in addition to a Direct Object (this use is rare in Boas 1902 but normal nowadays):

- human I:

kińám 'to give s.t. (A) to s.o. (I)' *gińam*  
máʔ-T 'to tell s.o. (I) s.t. (A)' *mahʔ(di)*  
...-DEF

- non-human I:

kítax 'to ask s.o. (A) s.t. (I)' *gidax*  
hóʔx-T 'to use s.t. (A) for s.t. (I)' *hoox(di)*

These include Jussive verbs, formed by framing a transitive verb with the Jussive frame [k<sup>W</sup>in-...-T-] *gwin-...-di*, (7.3.A.2.a.1.) which take an Indirect

Object:

k<sup>w</sup>ín-cáp-T 'to have s.t. (A) made by s.o. (I),  
 [...-make.s.-...]JUSS to have s.o. (I) make s.t. (A)' *gwin-jap-di*

#### 4.2.B. ADJUNCTS AND COMPLEMENTS.

Adjuncts co-refer with the pronominal arguments which are part of the Predicate phrase. The first adjunct noun after the predicate is connected to it by a Connective clitic (6.2.B.). Adjuncts can still accompany the predicate when the latter is downshifted (4.6.). Absolutive Adjuncts (i.e. adjuncts to the Absolutive pronominal argument) can be incorporated into the predicate itself through compounding (9.2.A.)

Complements occur in addition to the predicate phrase and are never a part of it; they are not connected to the predicate or to an Adjunct; they are never incorporated into the predicate phrase.

Both Adjuncts and Complements can be focused (4.7.A.). Both can be simple or complex. Complex adjuncts and complements may be noun-phrases (possessive or attributive), numeral phrases, or conjoined nominals (5.17.). Entire clauses can also function as Adjuncts with certain verbs, and as circumstantial Complements.

4.2.B.1. Adjuncts: Adjuncts are usually nouns (or noun-phrases) or pronouns (except Indirect pronouns). They can be determinate or non-determinate (3.2.C.1.). Some transitive verbs can take a clausal Adjunct, as in

intr.: tə-tá:-(y)ə-t=ʔ sita:ʔí:sk-t	She sat <u>knitting</u> .
DOMIN-sit-CTL-3-NC knit-3	<i>Dit'aayithl sidaahliiskt.</i>

tr.: tɛ-ʔáqɪk<sup>W</sup>-ə-t=ɪ tim-t hɪsaʔan-t S/he was able to finish it.  
 DOMIN-able-CTL-3=NC FUT-3E finish.s.-3 *Di'akhlgwithl dimt hɪsa'an.*

4.2.B.2. Complements: There are three kinds of complements: Specified Complements, circumstantial complements and Indirect Objects.

4.2.B.2.a. Specified complement: The Specified complement of a P<sub>ASC</sub> predicate does not corefer with anything in the predicate phrase and cannot be omitted. It is always quoted in full in the clause; it has a very restricted semantic range (e.g. name, place, instrument), whereas the Adjuncts are usually defined in more general terms (e.g. *s.t.*, *s.o.*); for instance

ʔakú məsiwá-tT-[t]=s[t]kùn==i What {name} do you call this?  
 what 2E name.s.-DEF-{ʔ}=DC [DM] this==Q *Agu mi siwadis guni?*

In regular clauses it occurs in first place before predicate, unless another constituent is focused, in which case it appears after the Adjuncts, preceded by the preposition ʔa ɛ (5.18).<sup>4</sup>

4.2.B.2.b. Circumstantial Complement: A circumstantial complement can indicate place or time.<sup>5</sup>

There may be more than one such complement in the clause. A complement indicating place often refers to a Proclitic (7.1.) in the predicate: the proclitic indicates the type of location or motion described by the predicate, while the complement indicates the exact site of the action.

Circumstantial complements can be nouns (and noun-phrases), adverbs (5.14), or clauses. Those various elements can often be preceded by the preposition ʔa ɛ which is sometimes used as a subordinator (5.18).

A circumstantial complement usually occurs after the argumental Adjuncts, except if it is focused, for instance:

Pred.-foc.: timmíluk<sup>W</sup>-ti: **wilpqalčáp ta:řák<sup>W</sup>**

FUT dance-IMPERS community.hall tomorrow

Tomorrow there is a dance at the hall.

*Dim miilukwdii wilpgalts'ap t'aahlakw.*

Foc.Loc.: **wilpqalčáp** tim wil míluk<sup>W</sup>-ti: (ta:řák<sup>W</sup>)

com.hall FUT SUB dance-IMPERS (tomorrow)

The dance (tomorrow) is at the hall.

*Wilpgalts'ap dim wil miilukwdii (t'aahlakw).*

Foc.Time: **ta:řák<sup>W</sup>** tim wil míluk<sup>W</sup>-ti:

tomorrow FUT SUB dance-IMPERS

The dance is tomorrow.

*T'aahlakw dim wil miilukwdii.*

4.2.B.2.c. Indirect Object: The Indirect Object expresses semantic categories such as Goal, Beneficiary, Instrument, etc., for instance

timkińám-ə-ý?a=s [t] **Máry**

FUT give.s.-CTL-1S PREP-DC [DM] M.

I'll give it to Mary.

*Dim gińamiý as Mary.*

timkińám-ə-ýlò:-n

FUT give.s.-CTL-1S IND-2S

I'll give it to you.

*Dim gińamiý loon.*

Like the circumstantial complements, the Indirect Object, if present, is placed after the Adjuncts unless focused. It can be represented by a prepositional phrase **?a** + nominal, or by the Indirect **lò:-**pronoun (*loo...*) (5.9). Like other constituents, the Indirect Object can be focused (4.7.A.3.a.); however, the **lò:-**pronoun cannot occur in focused position (it is replaced by an independent **ńi-**pronoun, 5.8).

#### 4.3. THE REGULAR CLAUSE: THE PREDICATE PHRASE AND ITS ADJUNCTS.

##### 4.3.A. The basic predicate phrase:

The syntactic unit consisting of the predicate and its pronominal argument(s) is normally not uttered alone (see 4.3.C. below for exceptions). It is usually introduced by other constituents: by a Subordinator (5.16), a Specified Complement (4.7.B.), a Relative-Ergative clitic (6.1.A.2.), or by an Auxiliary (5.12) or Negative (5.13) verb, or by another predicate, verbal or nominal.

These structures where the predicate is preceded by various elements contrast with the predicate-focused clause (4.4.) where those elements cannot appear and the predicate is the first constituent of a main clause.

In both types of structure, the predicate phrase can include a modal particle (6.1.B.) and/or one or more modifiers (5.15), as well as an evidential postclitic (6.3.).

The imperative clause (4.3.D.) can be described as a truncated predicate phrase.

##### 4.3.A. Introductory elements:

##### 4.3.A.1. Non-verbal elements:

##### 4.3.A.1. a. Subordinator: (5.16)

- P <sub>0</sub> :	‡a: má:tim by.now snowfall	It's winter now. <i>Hlaa maadim.</i>
- P <sub>A</sub> :	‡a: náks-t by.now married-3	S/he is married now. <i>Hlaa nakst.</i>



... **wil** ha<sup>h</sup>álsT-t      ... as/where/when s/he worked/works.  
as,... work-3      ... *wil ha<sup>h</sup>áls(i)t*.

... **wila:** hóks-t      ... how it's used.  
how used-3      ... *wilas hookst*.

-P<sub>EA</sub>: (In a P<sub>EA</sub> clause, the subordinator occurs after the 1SE or 2E clitic pronoun, but before other pronouns).

... **ta:-**tnáksk<sup>W</sup>-t      ... when s/he married him/her.  
by.now-3E marry.s.-3      ... *h<sup>h</sup>est nakskwt*.

... **nə wil** kipá-n      ... as/when/where I wait(ed) for you.  
1SE as,... wait.for.s.-2S      ... *ni wil giban*.

... **mə wila:** hóx-T-t      ... how you use(d) it.  
2E how use.s.-DEF-3      ... *mi wilas hooyit*.

#### 4.3.A.1.b. Specified Complement (Sc):

P<sub>ASc</sub>: the connective =**†** is used between the Sc and the predicate:

**Máry**=**†** wà-**ŷ**      My name is Mary.  
M.=NC name-1S      *Maryh<sup>h</sup> way<sup>h</sup>*.

**?a<sup>h</sup>yáns**=**†** siwàtk<sup>W</sup>-t      It is called Aiyansh.  
A.=NC named-3      *A<sup>h</sup>yansh<sup>h</sup> siwatkwt*.

P<sub>EASc</sub>: **Láura** tipsiwà-(t)T-t      We named her Laura.  
L. 1PE name.s.-DEF-3      *Laur<sup>h</sup> dip siwadit*.

**akú** məkín-t      What [food] did you give h.?  
what 2E give.food.to.s.-3      *Agu mi gint?*

P <sub>ESc</sub> : ní: nəyá no 1SE say	I said "No." "Nii," ni ya.
ní: t-yá no 3E-say	S/he said "No." "Nii," diya.
ʔé:ʔ məsim hí:ta yes 2E 2PE say.PL	[All of you] Say "Yes." "Ee'e," mi sim hiida.

4.3.A.1. c. Relative-Ergative pronoun: (in PEA clauses only):

... t an kípá-n 3E RELE wait.for.s.-2S	... [the one] who is/was waiting for you. ... t an giban.
---	--

4.3.A.2. Verbal elements: Both Auxiliary and Negative verbs can introduce the predicate phrase. The connective =† (6.2.B.) is placed between this verb and the predicate if no other morpheme occurs between them.

4.3.A.2.a. Auxiliary verbs: (5.12)

P <sub>0</sub> : yùk <sup>W</sup> =† má:tim PROG-NC snowfall	It's snowing. <i>Yukwhl maadim.</i>
P <sub>A</sub> : yùk <sup>W</sup> =† haʔálsT-t PROG-NC work-3	S/he is working. <i>Yukwhl haʔals(i)t.</i>
†isk <sup>W</sup> =† haʔálsT-ý ʔi: ... PERF-NC work-1S and.then	After I finish(ed) working, ... <i>†iskwhl haʔalsiy' ii ...</i>
P <sub>EA</sub> : yùk <sup>W</sup> nəhó:x-t PROG 1SE use.s.-3	I am using it. <i>Yukw ni hoort.</i>

... **ɬisk<sup>W</sup>** məhó:x-t      ... after you've finished with it...  
 PERF 2E use.s.-3      (after you've finished using it)  
 ... **hlisk<sup>v</sup>** mi hoxt ...

**yúk<sup>W</sup>** tipkipá-n      We are waiting for you.  
 PERF 1PE wait.for.s.-2S      **Yuk<sup>v</sup>** dip giban.

#### 4.3.A.2. b. Negative verbs: (5.13)

P<sub>0</sub>: nì:-ti:má:tim      It did not snow/it is not snowing.  
 not-INTS snowfall      **Nidii maadim.**

P<sub>A</sub>: nì:-ti:haʔalsT-ý      I don't/didn't work.  
 not-INTS work-1S      **Nidii haʔalsiy̆.**

**hawìn-tyòʔokswé:ntk<sup>W</sup>-n==a**      Have you brushed your teeth yet?  
 not.yet=NC brush.o's.teeth-2S==Q      **Hawínhl yo'okswéentgwina?**

**kilò-ɬ tál-sim̃**      Stop fighting!  
 don't=NC fight-2S      **Gilohl dalsim̃!**

P<sub>EA</sub>: nì:-nə-ti:kipá-t      I didn't wait for h.  
 not-1SE-INTS wait.for.s.-3      **Nindii gibat.**

**hawìn məkáʔ-t==a**      Have you seen it/h. yet?  
 not.yet2SE see.s.-3==Q      **Hawín mi ga'ada?**

#### 4.3.A.3. Optional elements within the predicate phrase:

4.3.A.3.a. Modal particles (6.1.B.) and/or Modifiers (5.15.) can occur together with any of the above elements:

- P<sub>0</sub>: ɬa: tim má:tim                    It's going to snow now (soon).  
by.now FUT snowfall                *Hlaa diim maadim.*  
PTCL
- ʔám cə ʔax má:tim                    Hope it doesn't snow!  
good IRR not snowfall                *Aam ji ax maadim!*  
PTCL MOD
- P<sub>A</sub>: yùk<sup>W</sup>=ɬ tim yòʔokswé:nt<sup>W</sup>-ỵ        I am about to brush my teeth.  
PROG=NC FUT brush.o's.teeth        *Yukwhl diim yo'okswéentgwiý.*  
PTCL
- kilò cə tá:l-sim̃                        Don't fight! (Don't start)  
don't IRR fight-2P                      *Gilo ji dalsim!*  
PTCL
- nì:-ti: ɬapnik<sup>W</sup>ó:t-t lò:-t                He is not h. real father.  
not-INTS really father-3 IND-3        *Nidii k'ap nigwoott loot.*  
MOD
- ɬa: qaks náks-t                        S/he finally got married.  
by.now finally married-3                *Hlaa gaks nakst.*  
MOD
- P<sub>EA</sub>: nì: mə tim ti:kipá-t==a:                Won't you wait for h.?  
not 2E FUT INTS wait.for.s.-3--Q      *Nii mi diim dii gibada?*  
PTCL MOD
- ná:-t ʔan ʔax wilá:x-n                Who doesn't know you? (38.7.)  
who-3E REL.E not know.s.-2S        *Naat an ax wilaayin?*  
MOD

**P<sub>EASc</sub>**: Láura tim tip siwá-(t)T-t      We'll name her Laura.  
 L. FUT 1PE name.s.-DEF-3      *Laura dim dip siwadit*  
 PTCL

ntá mē tim wilá:k<sup>W</sup>-T-t      What are you going to do with it/h.?  
 which.way 2E FUT treat.s.-DEF-3      *Nda mi dim wilaagwit?*  
 PTCL

?akú nē tim ki)kín-ti:t      What [food] shall I give them?  
 what 1SE FUT PL)give.food.to.s.-3P      What shall I feed them?  
 Sc      PTCL      *Agu ni dim gigidit?*

**4.3.A.3.b. Evidential postclitics: (6.3.)** Most of the postclitics can occur in the regular type of clause as part of the predicate phrase (some only occur with a predicate-focused clause, 4.4.).

**P<sub>0</sub>**: yùk<sup>W</sup>=† má:tim==a:      Is it snowing?  
 PROG=NC snowfall==Q      *Yukwhl maadima?*

**P<sub>A</sub>**: †a: nák<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† ta: núw̃-t==(ə)ma?  
 by.now long-[3]=NC when dead-3==DUB  
 He must be long since dead (182.8)  
*Hlaa nakhwl daa núwdima's.*

†a náks-t==a?      S/he got married! (believe it or not)  
 by.now married-3==Q      *Hlaa naksa'a!*

**P<sub>EA</sub>**: nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-t==qat      I hear s/he doesn't/didn't know.  
 not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP      *Nidit wilaart-gat.*

**4.3.B. The expanded predicate phrase (including nominal adjuncts):**

The semantic referent of a 3rd person pronoun (E or A) may be made explicit by

a nominal adjunct in the clause. The nominal adjuncts are placed after the predicate, in the same order E-A as the pronouns.

Whatever its function (E- or A-adjunct), the nominal following the predicate is connected to it by the connectives (6.2.B.) =S if determinate, = $\dot{t}$  -*h* if non-determinate (unless the modal particle C $\emptyset$  IRR *ji/ja* intervenes). The sequence is:

... (t) Pred-t =S/= $\dot{t}$  (Nominal) Nominal  
 (E) A =CON (E-Adt) A-Adt

but the contact of the suffix pronoun {-t} with a connective, which consists of a non-Velar fricative, produces a cluster which is subject to the phonological rule of consonant-deletion, and the sequence /t/ + fricative is reduced to the fricative alone. On the surface, then, the Adjunct usually appears to be connected directly to the predicate, and to be in complementary distribution with the A suffix pronoun which occurs overtly when no nominal is present.

However, the 3rd person suffix pronoun {-t} does appear when a postclitic (6.3) intervening between the pronoun and the connective prevents contact between the two phonological elements. As well, in Boas 1902, a collection of tales, there are some cases where {-t} is indeed present on the surface, before connective =S, or with omission of the non-determinate connective = $\dot{t}$  -*h* (persons repeating or dictating a sentence word by word, very slowly, often omit that connective). The overt presence of the suffix pronoun in a sentence which also includes a coreferent noun or nouns shows that the suffix is present in the mind of the speaker.

Another phonological rule further obscures the structures preceding determinate nominals: a regular cluster-simplification rule deletes the singular Determinate marker t (6.2.A.) after the connective =S; the plural DM t $\dot{i}$ p *dip* is not subject to this rule and is never deleted. (Where the connective does not occur, as after the particle C $\emptyset$  IRR *ji/ja*, the DM does occur on the surface).

In addition, the degemination rule merges a connective with a preceding /s/ or /ʃ/.

#### 4.3.B.1. Nominal adjunct to the A argument (A-adjunct):

It should be noted that the stress on the nominal Adjunct to the A argument is different for  $P_A$  and  $P_{EA}$  clauses: the A-adjunct of a  $P_A$  receives secondary stress, the A-adjunct of a  $P_{EA}$  receives primary stress (compare with the stress on the E-adjunct, below 4.3.B.2.).

Examples with non-determinate nominal:

$P_A$ :

- †a:náks-[t]=† †kù:†k<sup>W</sup>-m kàt-ý My son is married now.  
by.now married-[3]=NC child-ATT man-1S *Hlaa naksh! hlguvhlgum gadiy'.*

†a:náks-t==a?† †kù:†k<sup>W</sup>-m kàt-ý  
by.now married-3==ASST=NC child-ATT man-1S

Yes, my son is actually married now!

*Hlaa naksa'ahl hlguvhlgum gadiy'!*

†a:náks-t==qa[t]=† †kù:†k<sup>W</sup>-m kàt-ti:t  
by.now married-3--REP=NC child-ATT man-3P

I hear their son is married now.

*Hlaa nakst-ga(t)hl hlguvhlgum gatdiit.*

†a:náks-t==(ə)ma?† †kù:†k<sup>W</sup>-m kàt-ti:t  
by.now married-3==DUB=NC child-ATT man-3P

Their son is probably married now.

*Hlaa naksdima'ahl hlguvhlgum gatdiit.*

$P_{EA}$ :

- nì:-nə-ti:wilá:x-[t]=† náks-t I don't know his wife/her husband.  
not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3]=NC spouse-3 *Nindii wilaax! nakst.*

nì:-ti:-t wiláx-t==qa[t]=† náks-t

not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP=NC spouse-3

I hear s/he<sub>a</sub> doesn't know his<sub>b</sub> wife/her<sub>b</sub> husband.

*Nidiit wilaaxt-ga(t)hl nakst.*

- yùk<sup>W</sup>-tkipá-[t]=† †kí:k<sup>W</sup>-t She is waiting for her sister.

PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC W's.sister *Yukwt gibahl hlgii<sup>W</sup>wt.*

- ñi[t]=† kí:-t lax)lá:qal-t==ki:=† k<sup>W</sup>ilq̄a: ñíti:t==ki:

that's...=NC and-3EPL)examine.s.-3==DIST=NC all them==DIST

Then he examined them all (144.13).

*Ñihl k'iit laxlaag'alt-gihl gwilk'a ñidiit-gi.*

Examples with determinates:

PA:

- †a: náks-[t]=[s][t] Pèter Peter is married now.

by.now married-[3]=DC [DM] F. *Hlaa naks Peter.*

†a: náks-t==qa[t]=s[t] Pèter I hear Peter is married now.

by.now married-3==REP=DC [DM] F. *Hlaa nakst-gas Peter.*

†a: náks-[t]=[s] tip Pèter qan=s [t] Wèndy

by.now married-[3]=DC DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] W.

Peter and Wendy are married now.

*Hlaa naks dip Peter gans Wendy.*

†a: náks-t==a?=s tip Pèter qan=s [t] Wèndy

by.now married-[3]=DC DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] W..

Peter and Wendy are actually married now!

*Hlaa naksde'as dip Peter gans Wendy!*



P<sub>EA</sub>:

- $n\grave{i}:-n\grave{e}-ti:wil\acute{a}:x-[t]=s[t]$  **wéndy**      I don't/didn't know Wendy.  
not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-{3}=DC [DM] W.      *Nindii wilsaxs Wendy.*

$n\grave{i}:-ti:-t\ wil\acute{a}:x-t==qa[t]=s[t]$  **wéndy**  
not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP-DC [DM] W.

I hear s/he doesn't know Wendy.  
*Nidiit wilaaxt-gas Wendy.*

- $y\grave{u}k^W-tkip\acute{a}-[t]=s[t]$  **Lúcy**      She is waiting for Lucy.  
PROG-3E wait.for.s.-{3}=DC [DM] L.      *Yukwt gibas Lucy.*

$y\grave{u}k^W-tkip\acute{a}-[t]=s\ tip$  **Lúcy**      She is waiting for Lucy 'and them'.  
PROG-3E wait.for.s.-{3}=DC DM.PL L.      *Yukwt gibas dip Lucy.*

Examples from Boas 1902 show overt presence of the 3rd person suffix pronoun as well as the noun which is the A-adjunct:

- with omission of the non-determinate connective =† -h/:

P<sub>A</sub>:

- $\acute{n}i[t]=\dagger\ k\acute{i}.hux^W\ m\acute{i}tk^W-t\ hux^W\ k\acute{i}l-[t]=\dagger\ w\acute{i}lp$   
that's...=NC and again full-3 again one-[t]=NC house

Then one more house was full. (158.6)

*Nihl k'ii huxw mitkwt huxw k'i'ihl w\ilp.*

P<sub>EA</sub>:

- $y\grave{u}k^W\ n\acute{e}\ c\acute{a}k^W-t\ w\acute{i}.lik\acute{i}n\acute{s}k^W$       I just killed the big grizzly (119.5).  
PROG 1S.E kill.s.-3 big grizzly      *Yukw ni jakwt wii lik'i'insk w.*

- ʔá m=ʔ tim ʔitk<sup>W</sup>s-t tim wà-t    He should receive his name (165.1).  
good=NC FUT pronounced-3 FUT name-3 *Aamhl dim itkwst dim wat.*
- ʔakú mə qan cáʔ-t hó:n ʔə cáp-ə-ý  
what 2E therefore eat.up.s-3 fish the make.s.-CTL-1S  
Why did you eat all my fish? (118.3)  
*Agu ma gan jahlt hoon hli jabiy?*

- with determinate connective =S:

P<sub>A</sub>:

- ní[t]=l k̄i:lu:yáltk<sup>W</sup>-t=s [t] çàk    Then Ts'ak went back ... (121.1).  
that's...=NC and turn.back-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak    *Nihl k'ii luuyaltkwts Ts'ak ...*
- ʔa: ʔé:xk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s [t] çàk - sim cé:x-t=s [t] çàk  
by.now finished.eating-[3]=DC [DM] Ts'ak - really satiated-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak  
When Ts'ak had finished eating, when he was really full ... (128.6-7).  
*Hlaa hleexkws Ts'ak, sim ts'eexts Ts'ak ...*

P<sub>EA</sub>:

- ...ʔálkax-[t]=ʔ kò:l-[t]=ʔ kàt ʔa=s [t] çák - t ʔitk<sup>W</sup>-t=s [t] çák  
speak-[3]=NC one-[3]=NC man PREP=DC [DM] Ts'ak - 3E pronounce-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak  
... one man spoke to Ts'ak, he spoke Ts'ak's name (120.5-6)  
... *algaxhl k'yoolhl gat as Ts'ak, t itkwts Ts'ak ...*

#### 4.3.B.2. Nominal adjuncts to both E and A arguments:

The nominals are in the order E-A, like the pronouns. The E-adjunct, which is the one connected to the predicate, bears secondary stress, the A-adjunct primary stress. (In the following examples, the E pronoun and its Adjunct are the ones highlighted).

Examples with determinate nominals:

- $y\grave{u}k^W$ -tkipá-[t]=s [t] **Màry** t **Lúcy**      Mary is waiting for Lucy.  
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. DM L.      *Yukwt gibas Mary t Lucy.*

$y\grave{u}k^W$ -tkipá-[t]=s [t] **Màry** tip **Lúcy**  
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M. DM L.

Mary is waiting for Lucy 'and them'.  
*Yukwt gibas Mary dip Lucy.*

$y\grave{u}k^W$ -tkipá-[t]=s tip **Màry** t **Lúcy**  
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M. DM L.

Mary 'and them' are waiting for Lucy.  
*Yukwt gibas dip Mary t Lucy.*

Examples with determinate E and non-determinate A:

- $y\grave{u}k^W$ -tkipá-[t]=s [t] **Màry**=† †kík<sup>W</sup>-t  
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC W's.sister-3  
 Mary is waiting for her sister.  
*Yukwt gibas Maryh! hlgikwt.*

$y\grave{u}k^W$ -tkipá-[t]=s tip **Màry**=† †kík<sup>W</sup>-t†  
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M.=NC W's.sister-3

Mary 'and them' are waiting for their sister.  
*Yukwt gibas dip Maryh! hlgikwdiit.*

As the connective =† cumulates the functions of connective and non-determinate marker (6.2.B.), it is used both before the non-determinate E-adjunct (where it functions as a connective) and the non-determinate A-adjunct (where it functions as a non-determinate marker):

Examples with non-determinate E and determinate A:

- $yùk^W-tkipá-[t]=\dagger hanàq̣ t Lúcy$  The woman is waiting for Lucy.  
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC woman DM L. *Yukwt gibahl hanak' t Lucy.*

$yùk^W-tkipá-[t]=\dagger hanàq̣ tip Lúcy$   
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC woman DM.PL L.

The woman is waiting for Lucy 'and them'.  
*Yukwt gibahl hanak' dip Lucy.*

Examples with non-determinate E and A:

- $yùk^W-tkipá-[t]=\dagger hanàq̣=\dagger \dagger kík^W-t$   
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC woman DM L.

The woman is waiting for her sister.  
*Yukwt gibahl hanak'hl hlgikwt.*

$yùk^W-tkipá-[t]=\dagger ha-nàq̣=\dagger \dagger kík^W-ti:t$   
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC woman.PL DM L.

The women are waiting for their sister.  
*Yukwt gibahl hanak'hl hlgikwdiit.*

#### 4.3.B.3. Adjunct to the E argument only:

The semantic referent of the E argument can be made explicit either by the 3P pronoun  $\{-ti:t\}$  or by a noun connected to the predicate. Although the 3P suffix cannot be called a 'nominal', it is an Adjunct, in complementary distribution with a noun.

##### 4.3.B.3.a. 3P pronominal Adjunct:

- $nì-ti-t wilá:x-ti:t$  They didn't know (it/h.).  
 not-INTS-3E know.s.-3P *Nidiit wilaaxdiit.*

- $yùk^W-tkipá-ti-t$  They are waiting for it/h.  
PROG-3E wait.for.s.-3P *Yukwt gibadiit.*

#### 4.3.B.3.b. Noun Adjunct:

##### 4.3.B.3.b.1. When the A argument is a 3rd person pronoun:

In terms of morpheme representation, the surface structure of the  $P_{EA}$  clause with a noun E-adjunct is exactly the same as that with A-adjunct only (see above 4.3.B.1.), as the same phonological rules apply to obscure the presence of some morphemes. However, the nominal E-adjunct receives secondary stress, just as it does when an A-adjunct is also present.

Examples with non-determinate E: the connective =† connects the E-adjunct to the verb:

- $nì-ti-t wiláx-[t]=† nàks-ŷ$   
not-INTS-3E know.s.-[3]=NC spouse-1  
 My wife/husband doesn't know it/him/her.  
*Nidiit wilaaxhl naksiŷ.*

- $nì-ti-twiláx-t==qa[t]=† nàks-ŷ$   
not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP=NC spouse-1  
 Apparently my wife/husband doesn't know it/him/her.  
*Nidiit wilaaxt-ga(t)hl naksiŷ.*

- $yùk^W-t kipá-[t]=† †kì:k^W-t$  Her sister is waiting for her.  
PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC W's.sister *Yukwt gibahl hlgiiikwt.*

Examples with determinate E: the determinate connective =S connects the E-Adjunct to the verb:

- $n\grave{i}-ti-t\ w\acute{il}\acute{a}x-[t]s [t]$  **Wèndy**      Wendy doesn't/didn't know it/h.  
not-INTS-3E know.s.-[3]=DC (DM) W.      *Nidiit wilaaxs Wendy.*

$n\grave{i}-ti-t\ w\acute{il}\acute{a}x-t==qa[t]s [t]$  **Wèndy** I hear Wendy doesn't know it/h.  
not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP=DC (DM) W.      *Nidiit wilaaxt-gas Wendy.*

- $y\grave{u}k^W-t\ kip\acute{a}-[t]s [t]$  **Màry**      Mary is waiting for her.  
PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC (DM) M.      *Yukwt gibas Mary.*

$y\grave{u}k^W-t\ kip\acute{a}-[t]s\ tip$  **Màry**      Mary 'and them' are waiting for her.  
PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M.      *Yukwt gibas dip Mary.*

#### 4.3.B.3.b.2. When the A argument is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun:

Unlike the 3rd person suffix pronoun, a 1st or 2nd person suffix pronoun A remains present on the surface as there are no phonological rules capable of deleting it. The nominal E-adjunct occurs after this pronoun and is not linked to it, as shown by the absence of the connective =S (and consequent overt appearance of the DM  $\acute{t}$ ) before a determinate:

- $n\grave{i}-ti-t\ w\acute{il}\acute{a}x-\acute{y}\ \acute{t}$  **Wèndy**      Wendy doesn't know me.  
not-INTS-3 know.s.-1S DM W.      *Nidiit wilaayiy' t Wendy.*
- $y\grave{u}k^W-t\ kip\acute{a}-n\ \acute{t}$  **Màry**      Mary is waiting for you.  
PROG-3E wait.for.s.-2S DM M.      *Yukwt giban t Mary.*

As the connective = $\acute{t}$  cumulates the functions of connective and non-determinate marker (6.2.B.), it is used before the non-determinate E-adjunct as a non-determinate marker:

- $n\grave{i}-ti-t\ w\acute{il}\acute{a}x-\acute{y}=\acute{t}\ n\grave{a}ks-t$       His wife/her husband doesn't know me.  
not-INTS-3 know.s.-1S=NC spouse-3      *Nidiit wilaayiy'hl nakst.*

- yùk<sup>W</sup>-tkipá-n=t t̩kì:k<sup>W</sup>-n      Your sister is waiting for you.  
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-2S=NC W's.sister-2S. *Yukwt gibanhl hlgigwia.*

4.3.B.4. Remarks: Potential ambiguity with only one nominal adjunct:

When only one of the two arguments of a P<sub>EA</sub> has a nominal adjunct, only stress differentiates the E-adjunct (with secondary stress) from the A-adjunct (with primary stress), thus for instance

- yùk<sup>W</sup>-t kipá-[t̩]s [t] M<sup>à</sup>ry      Mary is waiting for h.  
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt gibas Mary.*
- yùk<sup>W</sup>-tkipá-[t̩]=s [t] M<sup>á</sup>ry      S/he is waiting for Mary.  
 PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt gibas Mary.*

There may then be ambiguity in writing, where stress is not indicated, or under artificial conditions of speech. In practice, however, there is little potential for ambiguity, even in reading, first because these sentences occur in context, second because when the two arguments refer to humans it is usually the E argument that is made explicit by the presence of an adjunct, not the A argument; both have adjuncts when there is a possibility of misunderstanding.<sup>6</sup>

4.3.C. The free-standing predicate phrase:

In some circumstances the predicate phrase is not preceded by any of the introductory morphemes described above (4.3.A.1).

A predicate accompanied by its pronominal arguments but which is not preceded by a clause, auxiliary, subordinator or specified complement may also occur before other discourse. This occurs in situations, mostly informal, where the conceptual background is already known to the audience. Such clauses do not present totally new information, but are rather a means of interacting with one's audience by referring to something that is already at least vaguely

known. This seems especially common with P<sub>A</sub>'s, but also occurs with P<sub>EA</sub>'s.

#### 4.3.C.1. Free-standing P<sub>A</sub>:

4.3.C.1.a. Alone, a free-standing P<sub>A</sub> with its argument can initiate discourse:

- ʔísk<sup>W</sup>-m̃  
finished-1P  
Finished! ([Now that] we've finished...  
[what next?]) *Hliskum!*
- ńí-t  
that's-3  
So.. [what's new?]  
(informal greeting between people of  
same age and status) *Ñit!*

or provide a comment:

- pí.k<sup>W</sup>-n  
lie-2S  
Liar! (You're lying)  
*Bikw'in!*
- ńí-t==a:  
that's-3==Q  
Is that so!  
*Ñida!*
- ńí-t==(ə)ma?  
that's-3==DUB  
Probably! That must be it!  
*Ñidima'a!*
- ńí-t==a?  
that's-3==ASST  
That's exactly it!  
*Ñida'a!*
- wíl-t==(ə)ma?  
act-3==DUB  
That may well be!  
*Wildima'a!*
- qaksnúx<sup>W</sup>-ỹ  
at.last hear,news-1S  
At last I hear about it!  
*Qaks muwiy!*



Such incomplete sentences are used in informal situations where the participants feel comfortable with each other.

4.3.C.1.b. Preceding another clause: an incomplete clause can be used to present background material which is already known or incidental to the main point:

- **wítk<sup>W</sup>-ý** qaltimwót tim ?i:sə-ké:ks-ý  
come.from-1S store FUT and make-cake-1S

Once I come back from the store I'll bake a cake.

(Fr. *Une fois revenu(e) du magasin, je vais faire un gâteau*.)

*Wítgwiý galdimwoot' dim ii sikeeksiý.*

The free-standing predicate phrase is often aspectually reduplicated:

- **kí:páx-[t]=s[t]txè:msim - p)páx-t** kí:sqé:ɣk<sup>W</sup>  
and run-{3}=DC {DM} T. - ASP)run-3 and dark

And Txeemsim ran. As he was running, it got dark (27.5).

*K'ii baxs Txeemsim. Bibaxt, k'ii sq'eeɣkw.*

- **p)páx-t** kí:-t ká?-[t]=t smáx  
ASP)run-3 and-3E see.s.-{3}=NC bear

*While (s/he was) running, s/he saw a bear.*

(Fr. *En courant, il/elle a vu un ours*)

*Bibaxt, k'iiit ga'ahl smax.*

This construction contrasts with a predicate-focused clause (4.4.) which presents new information:

**p)páx** kí: ...  
ASP)run and

*S/he was running, and ...*

*Bibax, k'ii ...*



PEA:

- ʔá:m mə tim stíl-ý                      You better come with me.  
good 2E FUT accompany.s.-1S                      *Aam mi dim sdiliy̆.*
  - ʔá:m mə tim sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† ptó?                      You better lock the door.  
good 2E FUT barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door                      *Aam mi dim sɡat'akvhl pdo'o.*
- kilò mə cə simsqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† ptó?                      Don't (pl.) lock the door!  
don't 2E IRR 2E.P barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door  
*Gilo mi ji sim sɡat'akvhl pdo'o!*
- kilò mə cə kúk<sup>W</sup>saʔan-[t]=s[t]pé:pi:                      Don't wake up Baby!  
don't 2E IRR wake.up.s.-[3]=DC [DM] B.                      *Gilo mi ji gyukwsa'ans Boebii.*

The verbs ʔá:m 'good' *aam* and kiló 'don't!' *gilo!* are higher predicates, the Modal particles tim FUT *dim* and Cə IRR *ji/ja* belong to the predicate phrase under consideration.

The imperative clauses corresponding to sentences such as the above are identical to the portions of those sentences which follow a Modal particle.

4.3.D.1. For a PA clause, the one argument, a suffix, is unaffected and remains on the predicate:

tá:-n sit-2S	Sit down!	<i>Taan!</i>
wán-sim̄ sit.PL-2P	Sit down!	<i>Wansim̄!</i>

4.3.D.2. For a PEA clause:

4.3.D.2.a. Complete imperative clause: the A argument, a suffix, also remains on the predicate (followed by a nominal adjunct if appropriate). The E argument, a clitic, is deleted if it precedes the modal particle:

- ?á:m mæ tim stíl-ý  
good 2E FUT accompany.s.-1S

You better come with me.  
*Aam mi dim sdiliý.*
- stíl-ý  
accompany.s.-1S

Come with me!  
*Sdiliý!*
- ?á:m mæ tim sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† ptó?  
good 2E FUT barring=twist.s.-{3}=NC door

You better lock the door.  
*Aam mi dim sga'takwhl pdo'o.*
- kilò mæ cə sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† ptó?  
don't 2E IRR barring=twist.s.-{3}=NC door

Don't lock the door!  
*Gilo mi ji sga'takwhl pdo'o!*
- sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† ptó?  
barring=twist.s.-{3}=NC door

Lock the door!  
*Sga'takwhl pdo'o!*
- kilò mæ cə kúk<sup>W</sup>sa?an-[t]=†t] pé:pi:  
don't 2E IRR wake.up.s.-{3}=DC [DM] B.

Don't wake up Baby!  
*Gilo mi ji gyukwsa'ans Beehii!*
- kúk<sup>W</sup>sa?an-[t]=†t] pé:pi:  
wake.up.s.-{3}=DC [DM] B.

Wake up Baby!  
*Gyukwsa'ans Beehii!*

but it remains if it follows the modal particle:<sup>7</sup>

- ?á:m tim tip stíl-[t]=s[t]Péter  
good FUT 1PE accompany.s.-{3}=DC [DM] P.

We better go with Peter.  
*Aam dim dip sdils Peter.*
- tip stíl-[t]=s[t]Péter  
1PE accompany.s.-{3}=DC [DM] P.

Let's go with Peter!  
*Dip sdils Peter!*

- ʔá:m **tɪm tɪp** sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ      We better lock the door.  
good 2E FUT barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door      *Aam dim dip sgat'akwhl pdo'o.*

**tɪp** sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ      Let's lock the door!  
barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door      *Dip sgat'akwhl pdo'o!*

For the second person plural, the 2E plural morpheme **Sɪm sim**, occurring after the modal particle, reinforces the 2E clitic **MƏ mi/ma** which occurs before the particle: in the imperative, only **Sɪm sim** occurs, thus differentiating the plural from the singular:

- ʔá:m **mə tɪm sim** sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ      You (pl.) better lock the door.  
good 2E FUT 2E.P barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door      *Aam mi dim sim sgat'akwhl pdo'o.*

**kilò mə cə sim** sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ      Don't (pl.) lock the door!  
don't 2E IRR 2E.P barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door      *Gilo mi ji sim sgat'akwhl pdo'o!*

**sim** sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ      [You (pl.)] Lock the door!  
2E.P barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door      *Sim sgat'akwhl pdo'o!*

If two imperative clauses are conjoined, E clitic pronouns are obligatorily present in the second clause, but **tɪm** FUT *dim* is not:

- sqa=tís-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ ʔi: **mə sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-t**      Close the door and lock it.  
barring=push.s.-[3]=NC door and 2E barring=twist.s.-3      *Sgat'ishl pdo'o ii mi sgat'akwt.*

The modal particles cannot occur in an imperative clause, but some modifiers can, as in:



#### 4.4. THE PREDICATE-FOCUSED CLAUSE.<sup>9</sup>

In a predicate-focused clause, the predicate is never preceded by other predicates (including AUX and NEG), by a subordinator or a specified complement. It can however be preceded by modal particles and/or modifiers, and followed by an evidential postclitic, like a predicate in a regular clause.

The meaning emphasis in predicate-focused clauses is on the action or state described by the predicate, rather than on the participant(s). The corresponding English translations bear extra stress on the verb.

Of the two possible arguments E and A, only E becomes part of the predicate, as a pronoun suffix after the Control suffix  $(-\Theta-)$  (7.2.A.3.); a  $P_A$  does not take a suffixed argument. The following schema shows the difference between regular and predicate-focused structures:

Regular: (E) Pred-A (E-Adt) (A-Adt)

P-Foc: Pred  $(-\Theta- E)$  (A-nominal)

Predicate-focused clauses are used most often in conversation, especially in questions and answers. In narrative, they are only used to introduce precisions, not to move the narrative forward.

##### 4.4.A. The basic predicate-focused clause:

Questions and answers with this type of clause can involve the predicate alone if other circumstances are known from the linguistic or situational context (the English equivalents require a Subject or Object pronoun, but no pronoun is necessary in Nisgħa). When a question is asked in this form, the answer usually has the same predicate-focused structure (see below 4.7.A. for other types of questions), using the same or contrasting lexical elements, as in:

P<sub>A</sub>:

- **xʔil**==a: -- **xʔil**==əst [Does it] taste good? - Sure does!  
sweet==Q -- sweet==AFF ***Xʔilə?* - *Xʔilis!***

P<sub>EA</sub>:

- **ʔanó:q-ə-n==a:** - **ʔanó:q-ə-ý** You like it? - I do!  
like.s.-CTL-2S==Q - like.s.-CTL-1S ***Anoogana?* - *Anoogay.***
- **ká?-ə-n==a:** - **ká?-ə-ý** You saw that? - Yes! [I saw it]  
see.s.-CTL-2S==Q - see.s.-CTL-1 ***Ga'ana?* - *Ga'ay.***
- **tim kipá-(y)ə-n==a:** Will you wait for h.?  
FUT wait.for.s.-CTL-2S==Q ***Dim gibayina?***  
  
- **tim kipá-(y)ə-ý** - I will [wait for h.].  
FUT wait.for.s.-CTL-1S - ***Dim gibayiy.***
- **lip cáp-ə-n==a:** - Did you make it yourself?  
self make.s.-CTL-2S==Q - ***Lip jabina?***
- **ní: - kík<sup>W</sup>-ə-ý** - No, I bought it.  
no - buy.s.-CTL-1S - ***Nii, giigwiý.***
- **ntá==(y)əma?mətim wilá:k<sup>W</sup>-I-[t]=†hón-tk<sup>W</sup>-n<sup>10</sup>**  
which.way==DUB 2E FUT treat.s.-DEF-{3}=NC fish-MED-2S  
What are you going to do with your fish, I wonder?  
***Ndayima'a mi dim wilaagwihl hoontgwin?***
- **tim simiyé:n-ə-n==a** [Are you going to] smoke them?  
FUT smoke.s.-CTL-2S==Q ***Dim simiyeenina?***



- ní: - tim sitá:w-ə-ỵ́ - No, [I am going to] freeze them.  
 no - FUT freeze.s.-CTL-1S - *Dim sidawiỵ.*

A reply of this type, question or answer, can also be given to another type of question or comment, or to a situational context:

P<sub>A</sub>:

- tá:wíṭ S/he's gone.  
leave *Daswihl.*
- ñam wóq S/he wants to sleep.  
wanting sleep *Naam-wok.*
- sim qal mímst You are/s/he is crazy!  
really too crazy *Sim gal mimst!*
- sim ḳa: wí:taxkátlò:-n S/he is much older than you.  
really most old IND-2S *Sim k'aa wíit'axgat loon.*

P<sub>EA</sub>:

- ?akù==(y)əma?qanq̣áq-[t]=ṭqanlu.qùyp̣ax  
what CAUSE open-[3]=NC window  
Why is the window open [I wonder]?  
*Aguyima'a gan k'axhl ganluugoyp'ax?*
- q̣áq-T-ə-ỵ́==əst - I opened it! [of course!]  
open-DEF-CTL-1S--AFF - *K'akdiyis!*
- si: swéṭa t kùn==i Is this a new sweater?  
new sweater DM this==Q *Sii sweta tguni?*

- ʔé? - ʔanó:q-ə-n=a      - Yes, you like it?  
 yes - like.s.-CTL-2S=Q      - Ee'e, *anoogana?*

- ʔé? - lip cáp-ə-ý      - Yes, I made it myself.  
 yes - self make.s.-CTL-1S      - Ee'e, *lip jabiy̆*.

#### 4.4.B. The expanded predicate-focused clause: with Nominals:

Since only the E argument is attached to the predicate, the term 'adjunct' can only be properly used of a nominal E-adjunct. However, other nominals can appear in the clause.

##### 4.4.B.1. The E-adjunct:

If the E argument of a P<sub>EA</sub> is the 3rd person suffix pronoun (-t), there can be a nominal adjunct following it, linked with the predicate by a connective. As with the regular clause (4.3.), the resulting phonological combination /t/ + non-Velar fricative is subject to the consonant-deletion rule, and only the connective appears on the surface, unless another morpheme such as a postclitic intervenes (see above p. 207 ff. Instances where the suffix appears on the surface also occur in Boas 1902, cf. above p. 210-211). With a determinate nominal, the singular Determinate marker t̄ also disappears from the surface because of a cluster-simplification rule.

The stress pattern is also the same as in a regular clause, with the E-adjunct bearing secondary stress.

• simʔanó:q-ə-[t]=s [t] nòx-ý      My mother really likes/liked it.  
 really like.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] mother-1S      *Sim anoogas nooy̆*.

timʔanó:q-ə-t==əmaʔs [t] nòx-ý      I wonder if my mother will like it.  
 FUTlike.s.-CTL-[3]==DUB=DC [DM] mother-1S      *Dim anoogadima'as nooy̆*.

- ʔə tim ʔimó:m-ə-[t]=s [t]nipìp-t    His uncle was going to help him.  
REST FUT help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] uncle-3    *Hli dim hlimoomis nibipt.*

ʔə tim ʔimó:m-ə-t==qa[t]=s [t]nipìp-t  
REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3==REP=DC [DM] uncle-3

They say his uncle was going to help him.

*Hli dim hlimoomit-gas nibipt.*

- ʔi tim ʔimó:m-ə-[t]=ʔ wàk-t    His brother was going to help him.  
REST FUT help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC M's.brother-3    *Hli dim hlimoomihl wakt.*

ʔi tim ʔimó:m-ə-t==qa[t]=ʔ wàk-t

REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3==REP=NC M's.brother-3

They say his brother was going to help him.

*Hli dim hlimoomit-gs(t)hl wakt.*

The following example from Boas 1902 shows the preservation of the 3rd person pronoun suffix {-t}:

- kʷiʔ yúk<sup>W</sup>-T-ə-t=s [t]čàk=ʔ ʔku qàm-t-m lóʔop

about hold-DEF-CTL-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak=NC little firestarter-ATTR rock

Ts'ak carried a strike-a-light on him. (Boas)

*Kw'ihl yukwdits Ts'akhl hlgu gamdim lo'op.*

#### 4.4.B.2. A-Nominals:

Unlike the non-focused predicate, the focused predicate does not carry a pronominal affix indicating its A argument. Nevertheless, a nominal corresponding semantically to the A argument can appear in the predicate-focused clause: since it does not have a pronominal argument to refer to, this nominal cannot be called an 'adjunct', and indeed a number of details differentiate it from a true adjunct such as the E-adjunct discussed above (4.4.B.1.), or the E- and A-adjuncts of the regular clause (4.3.B.). This nominal is

reminiscent of the postposed noun or demonstrative pronoun present in colloquial French sentences such as

*Il mange, cet enfant!*            That child sure eats!  
he eats that child

*Il mange, celui-là!*            That one sure eats!  
he eats this-there

*Il m'a mordu, le chien!*        The dog bit me!  
he me has bitten the dog

In order to avoid the term 'adjunct' here, the nominals will be referred to as 'A-nominals', meaning nominals with the function of A in the clause but not coreferent with any other morpheme.

4.4.B.2.a. A-pronoun: If the A-nominal is a pronoun (except a 3rd person singular pronoun, which is not usually expressed overtly),<sup>11</sup> it cannot be attached to the predicate, whether P<sub>A</sub> or P<sub>EA</sub>; instead, it is attached to the base ñĩ- 'that's ...' ñĩ; the resulting forms are labeled here 'independent pronouns' (5.8.). These pronouns are highly marked forms, otherwise used mostly for focusing (4.7.A.). In these clauses, they bear secondary stress (as do A-nouns, below 4.4.B.2.b.).

P<sub>A</sub>:

- ñam wóq ñi:ỵ                    I want to sleep.  
wanting sleep me                *Ñam-wok ñiiỵ.*
- cəkax tá: ñìn                    Sit down (if you like)! You can sit down!  
IRR just.once sit you            *Ji k'ax t'ax ñiin!*

- **sáksk<sup>W</sup> ñìtì:t<sup>12</sup>**  
leave.PL them  
They went away/they're gone.  
*Sáksk<sup>v</sup> ñìdìit.*

<sup>PEA</sup>:

- **tim kítax-ə-ýñì:n**  
IRR ask.s.o.s.t.-CTL-1S you  
I want to ask you a question.  
*Dim gidax<sup>y</sup> ñiin.*
- **timhux<sup>W</sup> ká?-ə-ýñì:n**  
FUT again see.s.-CTL-1S  
Good-bye! (I'll see you again).  
*Dim hux<sup>w</sup> ga'ay<sup>y</sup> ñiin.*
- **ʔə tim ʔimó:m-ə-tñù:m**  
REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3 us  
S/he was going to help us.  
*Hli dim hlimoomit áuum.*
- **ʔimó:m-ti:tñù:m**  
help.s.-3P us  
They helped us.  
*Hlimoomdiit áuum.*
- **cák<sup>W</sup>-T-ə-ý==kiy<sup>y</sup> ñì:n**  
kill.s.-DEF-CTL==MIN you  
I could kill you! (if you are not careful,  
if you don't stay out of the way) (Boas)  
*Jak<sup>v</sup>diy<sup>y</sup>-giy<sup>y</sup> ñiin!*

#### 4.4.B.2.b. A-noun:

The A-noun is never connected to a focused predicate. The determinate connective **-s** is never used for this purpose, so that both singular and plural determinate markers occur on the surface. For non-determinates, however, the non-determinate connective **=ʔ** does occur between a predicate and an A argument, in its role as a non-determinate marker (see 6.2.B.2.a.): there is a phonological connection, but not a syntactic connection. As with a regular clause, the A noun bears secondary stress with a P<sub>A</sub>, primary stress with a P<sub>EA</sub>.

Examples with determinate A:

P<sub>A</sub>:

- **ńam wóq t pè:pi:**  
wanting-sleep DM Baby      *Baby wants to sleep.*  
*ńaam-woq t Bcepii.*
- **kúk<sup>W</sup>sk<sup>W</sup>=kiý t pè:pi:**  
wake.up==MIN DM Baby      *Baby is going to wake up! [if we are not  
careful to prevent it]*  
*Gyukwskw-giý t Bcepii!*
- **sáksk<sup>W</sup> tip George**  
leave.PL DM.PL G.      *George 'and them' are gone/went away.*  
*Sakskw dip George .*
- **simká:wítaxkát t Pèter lò:-n**  
really most old DM P. IND-2S      *Peter is much older than you.*  
*Sim k'aa wíit'axgat t Peter loon.*

P<sub>EA</sub>:

- **çəkítax-ə-n t Máry==(y)əs[t]**  
Ikʀ ask.s.o.-CTL-2S DM M.==AFF      *[You could] ask Mary [of course]!*  
*(Fr. Demande donc à Marie!)*  
*Ji gidaxa t Maryis!*
- **timqali=sintin-[ə]-m tip George**  
FUT upriver=give.ride.to.s.-CTL-1P DM.PL G.  
*We are giving George 'and them' a ride up[river].*  
*Dim k'alisisint'inim dip George.*
- **ʔə tim timóm-ə-t t Péter**  
REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3 DM P.      *He was going to help Peter.*  
*Hli dim hlimoomit t Peter.*

Examples with non-determinate A: (as the connective in this case only has a noun-marking role, it is written separately from the predicate in the morpheme-by-morpheme transcription, like the DM):

P<sub>A</sub>:

- $\acute{n}a:m-w\acute{o}q\ddot{t} \ddot{t}ku-t\acute{k}i\acute{k}^W$  The baby wants to sleep.  
wanting-sleep NC little-child *N\acute{a}am-w\acute{o}qhl hlgutk'ihlkv.*
- $s\acute{a}ksk^W \ddot{t} \acute{k}upa:-t\acute{k}i\acute{k}^W$  The children are gone/went away.  
leave.PL NC little.PL-child *Sakskwhl k'ubatk'ihlkv.*
- $sim\acute{k}a:w\acute{i}t\acute{x}k\acute{a}t\ddot{t} n\acute{a}ks-t lo:-t$  Her husband is much older  
really most old NC spouse-1S IND-1S than her./His wife ... than him.  
*Sim k'aa w\acute{i}t'axgathl nakst loot.*

P<sub>EA</sub>:

- $c\acute{e}kitax-\acute{e}-n\ddot{t} \ddot{t}k\acute{i}:k^W-\acute{y}==\acute{e}st$  [You could] ask my sister (of course)|  
IRR ask.s.o.-CTL-2S NC W's.sister-1S==AFF (Fr. Demande donc à ma sœur!)  
*Ji gidaxanhl hlgigwiyis!*
- $tim\acute{q}ali=sintin-[e]-m\ddot{t} \acute{k}upa:-t\acute{k}i\acute{k}^W$   
FUT upriver=give.ride.to.s.-CTL-1P NC little.PL-child  
We are going to take the children up[river].  
*Dim k'aliisint'inimhl k'ubatk'ihlkv.*

With a 3rd person pronoun E, the suffix  $-t$  comes in contact with the non-determinate connective  $=\ddot{t}$  in its role as a non-determinate marker. Here, contrary to what happens when the nominal is an E-adjunct (4.4.B.1., p. 227) (and with E- and A-adjuncts in the regular clause, 4.4.3.B., p. 206 ff.), there is no /t/ -deletion, and /t/ and /t̄/ remain separate:

- $\acute{t}\acute{e} tim \acute{t}im\acute{o}:m-\acute{e}-t \ddot{t} w\acute{a}k-t$  He was going to help his brother.  
REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3 NC M's.brother-3 *Hli dim hlimoomithl wakt.*

(Compare with deletion with E-adjunct, where the connective truly connects the

noun to the predicate:

- ʔə tim ʔimó:m-ə-[t]=ʔ wàk-t      His brother was going to help him.  
REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3=NC M's.brother-3      *Hli dim hlimoomihl wàkt.*)

The lack of deletion in the first case shows that the noun A is felt to be separate from the predicate, unlike the noun E. This agrees with the behavior of determinate A-nouns, which are not connected to the predicate by the -s connective (4.4.B.2.b.):

- ʔə tim ʔimó:m-ə-t t Péter      He was going to help Peter.  
REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3 DM P.      *Hli dim hlimoomit t Peter.*

#### 4.4.B.3. E-adjunct and A-nominal:

##### 4.4.B.3.1. A-pronoun:

4.4.B.3.a.1. A is a 1st or 2nd person  $\acute{N}\acute{i}$ -pronoun: the E-adjunct, bearing secondary stress, is not connected to the predicate, but is placed after the pronoun, preceded by the appropriate marker (DM or NC)(cf. in regular clause, 4.3.B.3.b..2.):

- ʔimó:m-ə-t nì:ỵ t Màry      Mary helped me.  
help.s.-CTL-3 me DM M.      *Hlimoomit nìiỵ t Mary.*
- ʔimó:m-ə-t nù:m t Màry      Mary helped us.  
help.s.-CTL-3 us DM M.      *Hlimoomit nuum t Mary.*
- ʔimó:m-ə-t nì:ỵ ʔ ʔkì:k<sup>W</sup>-ỵ      My sister helped me.  
help.s.-CTL-3 me NC W's.sister-1S      *Hlimoomit nìiỵhl hlgiiỵỵ.*
- tim ʔimó:m-ə-t nì:n ʔ ʔkì:k<sup>W</sup>-ỵ      My sister will help you.  
FUT help.s.-CTL-3 you NC W's.sister-1S      *Dim hlimoomit nìinhl hlgiiỵỵ.*



If the noun Agent is in the plural, the suffix pronoun on the predicate is still the suffix **-t** which is unspecified for number (7.2.A.1.a.2.a.), never the plural suffix **-ti:t** (7.2.A.1.a.2.b.) which is only used in the absence of an E-nominal:

- $\text{ʔimó:m-ə-t} \text{ ńì.ý } \text{tip } \underline{\text{Màry}}$  Mary 'and them' helped me.  
help.s.-CTL-3 me DM M. *Hlimoomit ńiiý dip Mary.*
- $\text{ʔimó:m-ə-t} \text{ ńì.ý } \text{ʔ } \text{ʔixʔkì:k} \text{W}s\text{-ý}$  My sisters helped me.  
help.s.-CTL-3 me NC W's.sisters-1S *Hlimoomit ńiiýhl hlixhlgiiikwsiy.*

(Compare with plural suffix:

- $\text{ʔimó:m-ti:t} \text{ ńì.ý}$  They helped me.  
help.s.-3P me *Hlimoomdiit ńiiý.*

but never

- $\text{*ʔimó:m-ti:t} \text{ ńì.ý } \text{tip } \underline{\text{Màry}}$  Mary 'and them' helped me.  
help.s.-3P me DM M. *Hlimoomdiit ńiiý dip Mary*{wrong.}

#### 4.4.B.3.a.2. A is a 3rd person pronoun:

The use of the 3rd person plural pronoun  $\text{ńíti:t}$  *ńidiit* (5.8.A.) seems to be fairly recent, in this position as in others (see note 12). It follows noun usage (see below 4.4.B.3.b.) rather than the usage of 1st and 2nd person pronouns (above 4.4.B.3.a.1.):

- $\text{ʔimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]} \text{Màry } \text{ńíti:t}$  Mary helped them.  
help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M. them *Hlimoomis Mary ńidiit.*

Use of the 3rd person singular pronoun  $\text{ńít}$  *ńit* in the same type of structure is only mentioned here because it can occur especially in translations of English sentences, but it is not typical or idiomatic (see note 11).

4.4.B.3.b. A-noun:

The A-noun in a predicate-focused clause which also has an E-adjunct occurs after that noun, preceded by the appropriate marker (DM or NC).

- $\text{ʔimó.m-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry t Péter}$       Mary helped Peter.  
   help-CTL-{3}=DC {DM} M. DM P.            *Hlimoomis Mary t Peter.*
- $\text{ʔimó.m-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry tip Péter}$       Mary helped Peter 'and them'.  
   help-CTL-{3}=DC {DM} M. DM.PL P.        *Hlimoomis Mary dip Peter.*
- $\text{ʔimó.m-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry † kimxtí-t}$       Mary helped her brother.  
   help-CTL-{3}=DC {DM} M. NC opp.sex.sib.-3    *Hlimoomis Maryhl gimxdit.*

## 4.5. PREDICATE DOWNSHIFTING: NON-PREDICATIVE FUNCTION OF A PREDICATE.

A predicate may have non-predicative functions in the sentence and retain a relation to its A, which is suffixed to it and the referent of which can be made explicit by an Adjunct. A downshifted predicate bears secondary stress, while the A adjunct bears primary stress.

4.5.A. Nominal functions of the downshifted predicate:4.5.A.1. Possessive noun-phrase: (see 3.2.A.2. for the varieties of possession).4.5.A.1.a.  $P_A$  (noun) = possessed, A (suffix pronoun) = possessor.

wilp- $\text{y}^{\text{h}}$	'my house'
house-1S	<i>wilbiy<sup>h</sup></i>

wilp-tit	'their house'
house-3P	<i>wilpdit</i>

ʔawáʔ-ṁ proximity-1P	'at our place (Fr. chez nous)' <i>awa'am</i>
náks-t spouse-3	'his wife/her husband' <i>nakst</i>
hón-tk <sup>W</sup> -n fish-MED-2S	'your fish [that you have]' <i>hoontgwin</i>
ʔə ʔóçin-ý REST soul-1S	'my soul' <i>hli oots'iniy</i>

The Adjunct noun to a 3 pronoun is linked to the downshifted P<sub>A</sub> by a connective which causes the immediately preceding 3 suffix -t (and the singular DM t if required) to be deleted (unless a postclitic intervenes), exactly as in a regular PA clause (see p. 206 ff.):

wíl-p-t house-3.	'his/her house' <i>wilpt</i>
wíl-p-[t]=s[t] <u>Sám</u> house-{3}=DC(DM)S.	'Sam's house' <i>wilps Sam</i>
wíl-p-[t]=s tip <u>Sám</u> house-{3}=DC DM.P S.	'Sam "and them"'s house' <i>wilps dip Sam</i>
wíl-p-t==a? <sup>a</sup> =s[t] <u>Sám</u> house-3==ASST=DC(DM)S.	' <u>Sam's house, yes!</u> ' <i>wilpda'as Sam</i>
wíl-p-t==a? <sup>a</sup> house-3==ASST	' <u>his house, yes!</u> ' <i>wilpda'a</i>

wilp-t==ki:sim?ó:kit tkùst 'the house of that chief' (25.2.)  
 house-3==DIST chief DM that (Fr. 'sa maison, à ce chef')  
*wilpt-gi sim 'ogit tgus*

hò:n-tk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s[t]Sám 'Sam's fish [that he has]'  
 fish-MED-[3]=DC[DM] S. *hoontkws Sam*

4.5.A.1.b. For those predicates which can have both nominal and verbal meaning, ambiguity with indeterminate adjuncts is prevented by the stress pattern:

... (wil) †kù:†k<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†hanàq̣ ... (as) the woman had a child.  
 ... (SUB) have.child-[3]=NC woman ... (wil) *higuuhlkwhl hanaḳ'*

†kù:†k<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†hanáq̣ 'the woman's child'  
 child-[3]=NC woman *higuuhlkwhl hanaḳ'*

Usually, of course, the noun-phrase will most often occur in different contexts from the predicate-adjunct sequence, but there are cases where the written form could be ambiguous:

*(wil) higuuhlkwhl hanaḳ' ant japt* (1) (as/when) the woman who  
 made it had a child  
*higuuhlkwhl hanaḳ' ant japt* (2) the child of the woman who made it

4.5.A.1.c. A noun-phrase can be embedded in another, for instance:

qasqò:-[t]=†[wilp-[t]=s[t]Sám] 'the size of Sam's house' or:  
 size-[3]=NC[house-[3]=DC[DM] S.] Sam's house is so big!  
*gasgoohl wilps Sam*

stò?oks-[t]=†[wilp-[t]=s[t]Sám] 'next to Sam's house'  
 [at] side-[3]=NC[house-[3]=DC[DM] S.] *sdo'okshl wilps Sam*

4.5.A.1.d. Modal particles **tɪm** FUT *dim* and **cə** IRR *ji/ja* with possessed predicates:

The modal particles **tɪm** FUT *dim* and **cə** IRR *ji/ja* which can occur in front of any sentence predicate can also occur in front of a downshifted predicate:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>tɪm</b> náks-ý<br>FUT spouse-1S  | 'my future wife/husband'<br><i>dim naksiý</i>  |
| • <b>tɪm</b> kík <sup>W</sup> -ə-ý=† <b>tɪm</b> kútáč-ý<br>FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT coat-1S                           | I am going to buy myself a coat.<br>(lit. ... to buy my future coat)<br><i>Dim giigwiýhl dim k'udats'iy.</i> |
| <b>tɪm</b> kík <sup>W</sup> -ə-ý=† <b>tɪm</b> kútáč-[t]=[s][t]Láura<br>FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT coat-{3}=[DC] [DM] L. | I am going to buy Laura a coat.<br><i>Dim giigwiýhl dim k'udats' Laura.</i>                                  |
| <b>tɪm</b> kík <sup>W</sup> -ə-t=† <b>tɪm</b> kútáč-t<br>... buy.s.-CTL-3S ... coat-3                                 | S/he is going to buy h.self a coat. <sup>13</sup><br><i>Dim giigwithl dim k'udats't.</i>                     |
| • <b>cə</b> kík <sup>W</sup> -ə-n <b>cə</b> kútáč-[t]=[s][t]Láura<br>IRR buy.s.-CTL-2S IRR coat-{3}=[DC] [DM] L.      | [You could/should] buy Laura a coat!<br><i>Ji giigwin ji k'udats' Laura!</i>                                 |

Note that **tɪm** *dim* can only be used in this way with a downshifted predicate, one that has an argument; if the word functions simply as an argument, **tɪm** *dim* cannot be used:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| * <b>tɪm</b> kík <sup>W</sup> -ə-ý=† <b>tɪm</b> kútáč<br>FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT coat | * <i>Dim giigwiýhl dim k'udats'</i> [wrong] |
|--|---|

is ungrammatical, while

timkík <sup>W</sup> -ə-ý=† kútáċ-ý	I am going to buy my coat.
FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC coat-1S	<i>Dim giigwiyhl k'udats'iy̆.</i>

is semantically incongruous, as in English.

#### 4.5.A.2. Numeral phrase:

Numerals have both noun-like and adjective-like properties (5.4). A numeral phrase is similar in form to a possessive noun-phrase. The nominal Adjunct to the suffix pronoun can be a noun or a relativized predicate used nominally. Often a numeral meaning 'one' is used to introduce new information, and has the meaning of an indefinite article; this is especially common in narrative, when a new, unnamed character is introduced or mentioned.

##### 4.5.A.2.a. Without noun adjunct:

- cə kút-ə-n=† kíl-t                      Take one!  
IRR take.s.-CTL-2S=NC one(OBJ)-3      *Ji guudinhl k'ilt!*

Like a possessive noun-phrase, a numeral phrase (without a noun adjunct) can be preceded by the Restrictive particle †ə *hli/hla* (6.1.B.): the meaning is usually contrastive:

k <sup>W</sup> † tá=† kòl-t	One of them sat around.
around sit=NC one (pson)-3	<i>k<sup>W</sup>'ihl t'aahl k'yoolt.</i>

ʔi ǰam k<sup>W</sup>† hítk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† †ə kòl-t ...and the other one just stood there.  
and just around stand-[3]=NC the one (pson)-3

*...ii k'am kw'ihl hitkwhl hli k'yoolt.*

4.5.A.2.b. With noun Adjunct: A numeral meaning 'one' is often used with the

semantic value of a kind of article.

kò:l-[t]=ʔhanáq                    'one/a/the woman'  
 one (pson)-[3]=NC woman        *k'yoolhl haaag'*

kí:l-[t]=ʔsà                            'one day'  
 one (obj)-[3]=NC day                *k'ilhl sa*

típɣà:t-[t]=ʔ(ʔas)ʔús                'two dogs'  
 two(animals)-[3=NC PL]dog        *t'ipɣaathl as'us*

**Remark:** Because a numeral phrase is a downshifted predicate phrase, consisting of a downshifted predicate and its argument, it does not admit of other downshifted predicates, such as descriptive attributives (see below 4.5.B.). Phrases of the common English type

*two nice, large, white, etc. houses*

where a number of adjectives can occur between the numeral and the noun, are foreign to Nisgha. Such phrases may sometimes be found in texts such as translations of religious works, but they do not occur in the spontaneous speech of competent speakers. Attributive predicates occur after numerals only if they are part of a compound (9.1.B.2. ), as in

kí:l-[t]=ʔ(hò:pix-m+qán]                'one wooden spoon'  
 one (obj)-[3]=NC spoon-ATTR+wood    *k'ilhl hoobixim gan*

4.5.A.2.c. With relativized P<sub>A</sub> used nominally:

kò:l-[t]=ʔwí:tís-(ə)t                    'an old person' (lit. 'one who is old')  
 one (pson)-[3]=NC old-REL                *k'yoolhl wíit'isit*

kòl-[t]=†si:lińsk <sup>W</sup> -(ə)t one (pson)-{3}=NC hunt-REL	'a hunter' ('one who hunts') <i>k'yoolhl siilińsgwit</i>
paqatìl-[t]=†qa-ʔá.t-(ə)t two(psons)=NC DISTR-fish.w.net-REL	'two fishermen' <i>bagadilhl ga'aadit</i>

#### 4.5.A.3. Specification:

The predicate refers to a type uniquely specified by its argument. The predicate, preceded by the Restrictive particle †ə *hli/hla* (6.1.B.) is followed by the Definite Medial suffix -T, before the A argument, which can be followed by a noun Adjunct (see 7.2.C.1.a. for the different shapes of the suffix -T and 7.2.C.1.a.1.c. for more examples of these constructions).

Both P<sub>A</sub> (nouns only) and P<sub>EA</sub> predicates can participate in this structure.

#### 4.5.A.3.a. With nominal predicate: generic specification:

##### 4.5.A.3.a.1. In general:

- stem ending in C: {-T-} = /i/

†ə kàt-T-[t]=† lax-há the people-{3}=NC on-air	'the angels' (lit. the people of the sky) <i>hli gadíhl laxha</i>
---	--

†ə yàns-T-[t]=† qóqs(t) ... leaf-... maple	'the maple leaf' <i>hli yànsihl k'ookst</i>
---	--

†ə cè.w-T-[t]=† wílp ... interior-... house	'the inside of the house' <i>hli ts'eewíhl wílp</i>
--	--

- stem ending in V or R: {-T-} adds epenthetic /t/, hence /ti/ -di-:



†ə sà-tT-[t]=†qanútk <sup>W</sup> DEF day-... =NC week	'the days of the week' <i>hli sadihl ganuutkw</i>
†ə wà-tT-[t]=s [t] ʔan-mòq-m+há.t ... name-... =DC [DM] CAUS-suck-ATTR+guts	'the name of Gutsucker' <i>hli wadis Anmoogam-Haat</i>
†ə skàn-tT-[t]=† séqs gum-... =NC spruce	'spruce gum' <i>hli sgandihl seeks</i>

4.5.A.3.a.2. The downshifted nominal predicate can take the Distributive prefix **qa-** *ga.* (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.); the resulting frame [**qa-...-T**] indicates a totality:

†ə [qa-ʔàns-T]-[t]=† qóqs(t) the [DISTR-leaf-DEF]-[3]=NC maple	'the foliage of the maple' <i>hla gayansihl k'ookst</i>
†ə [qa-hu)wà-tT]-[t]=† †ip†án the [DISTR-PL)name-DEF]-[3]=NC body	'the names of [the parts of] the body' <i>hla gahuwadihl hliplian</i>

4.5.A.3.b. With transitive predicate: nominalization:

-stem ending in C:

†ə lìcx-T-[t]=†sim-ʔálkax the read.s.-DEF-[3]=NC real-talk	(the) reading (of) Nisgha <i>hli litsyahli sim'algaʔ</i>
†ə ʔùx-T-[t]=† †ít the throw.s.-DEF-[3]=N ball	(the) throwing (of) a ball <i>hli uyihl hlit'</i>
†ə ñitàtk <sup>W</sup> -T-[t]=†kiwatán the sit.on.s.-DEF-[3]=NC horse	'(the) riding (of) a horse' (see remark) <i>hli ñiit'aatgwihl gyuwadan</i>

- stem ending in V or R:

ʔə tàm-tT-[t]=ʔsim-ʔálkax '(the) writing (of) Nisgha'  
 write.s.-...-CTL=NC real-speak *hli t'amdihl sim'algaʒ*

ʔə yè-tT-[t]=ʔlimx '(the) singing (of) a song'  
 the sing.s.-DEF-{3}=NC song *hli yeedihl limx*

**Remark:** With stems ending in consonants, there can be a possibility of ambiguity between a nominalization, where the transitive predicate takes the suffix  $-T-$ , and a headless 0-relative clause (4.7.A.2.a.1., 6.1.B.2.b.1.), where it takes the CTL suffix  $-\Theta-$  (7.2.A.3.); the overt shape of  $-T-$  in this environment is identical to that of  $-\Theta-$ ; however there is no ambiguity in speaking when the nominal is mentioned, as the stress pattern is opposite: compare:

- nominalization:

ʔə ní:ʔà:tk<sup>W</sup>-T-[t]=ʔkiwatán '(the) riding (of) a horse'<sup>14</sup>  
 the sit.on.s.-DEF-{3}=NC horse *hli níit'aatgwihl gyuwadan*

ʔə ní:ʔà:tk<sup>W</sup>-T-t '(the) riding (of) it'  
 the sit.on.s.-DEF-3 *hli níit'aatgwit*

- headless 0-rel.:

ʔə ní:ʔà:tk<sup>W</sup>-Θ-[t]=ʔkiwatàn 'what the horse sat on'  
 the sit.on.s.-CTL-{3}=NC horse *hli níit'aatgwihl gyuwadan*

ʔə ní:ʔà:tk<sup>W</sup>-Θ-t 'what it sat on'  
 the sit.on.s.-CTL-3 *hli níit'aatgwit*

In most cases however, there is no ambiguity as the suffix sequence and its realization are different for the two constructions:



The plural of the adjective is used if the following noun is plural, just as in a regular clause:

[qa-nhìluk<sup>W</sup>-ə]-[t]=†qan)qán      'the length of the logs,  
[...-long.PL-...]...[3]=NC PL)tree      the height of the trees  
*ganñiilugwihl gagan*

A few such nouns occur only in this framed form, for instance:

[qa-\*sqò-[ə]-[t]=†qán      'the size of the tree'  
...-[3]=NC tree      *gasgoohl gan*

the plural of which is a suppletive form:

[qa-\*tiptí-[ə]-[t]=†qan)qán      'the size of the trees'  
...-[3]=NC tree.PL      *gadipdiihl gagan*

(Note that the lack of epenthetic /t/ after vowel-final stem rules out identifying the suffix with the vocalic realization of the -T- suffix used with nouns, see above 4.5.A.3.a.2.).

These abstract nouns built on adjectives can be used as clause predicates (see below 4.6.C.3.a.), but are most often used with an evaluative adjective or verb, as in:

- †ahúkax-[t]=†[qa-kàm-k-ə]-t      It's hot enough now.  
now right-[t]=NC[...-hot-...]ABST-3      (lit. now its heat is right)  
*Hla\* hugaxhl gagamgit.*
- ?alí:sk<sup>W</sup>=†[qa-nhìluk<sup>W</sup>-ə]-t      They are not quite long enough.  
lacking=NC[...-long.PL-...]...      (lit. their length is not quite right)  
*Aliiskwhl ganñiilugwit.*

- si)sa=yé=† [qa-ńàk<sup>W</sup>-ə]=† sà      The days are getting shorter.  
ASP)off-go=NC[...-long-...]      (lit. the length of the day is decreasing)  
*Sisaayeehl gańagwihl sa.*

Like other predicates, the downshifted adjective may be preceded by modifiers:

- nǎá=† †a: [qa-màlkaqs<sup>W</sup>-ə]-[t]=s[t] pè pi  
which.way now [...-heavy-...]-[3]=DC {DM} B.  
How much does Baby weigh now?  
*Ndahl hlaa gamalgaksgwis Beebii?*

#### 4.5.A.2. Attributive function of downshifted P<sub>A</sub>:

In this function, the downshifted predicate becomes a mere adjunct and qualifier of a noun ("a Noun that is Pred"), which can be predicate or adjunct in a clause. The predicate with this function takes the attributive suffix -III *-im/-am/-um*.

Nominal Pred -III N: (compare with a compound noun, 9.1.B.2.)

†kù†k <sup>W</sup> -m hanáq̃ child-ATTR woman	'daughter'	<i>hlguuhl gum hanak'</i>
nàks-m kát spouse-... man	'married man'	<i>naksim gat</i>
†àms-m kát in-law-... man	'father-in-law, son-in-law'	<i>hlamsim gat</i>
hanàq̃-m smáx woman-... bear	'female bear'	<i>hanak'am smar</i>

## Adjectival Pred -III N

<b>wi-ńàk<sup>W</sup>-mqán</b>	'tall tree, long log/stick'
big-long-ATTR tree/stick	<i>wiinagum gan</i>
<b>xñil-m má'y</b>	'sweet/delicious berries'
sweet-... berries	<i>xliim maay'</i>

## Stative intransitive Pred -III N

<b>tqal=tà:-mengine</b>	'outboard motor'
against-sit-ATTR engine	<i>tk'alt'aam injin</i>
<b>?uk<sup>W</sup>s=çàqas-mqáyt</b>	'baseball cap'
outward-protrude-... hat	<i>ukwsts'ak'asim gayt</i>
<b>tàkil-tk<sup>W</sup>-mhanitá:</b>	'folding chair'
fold.s.-PASS-... chair	<i>t'ak'iltgum hanit'aa</i>

Note that only one such attributive predicate is used with a noun, just as there can only be one main predicate in a clause. The piling up of adjectives characteristic of English (more than other European languages) is foreign to Nisgha (cf. remark about Numerals above p. 240).

However, an attributive predicate may be preceded by one or more modifiers (5.15), e.g.

<b>tku k<sup>W</sup>è?-m tku-tkít<sup>W</sup></b>	'a/the poor child'
little poor-ATTR little-child	<i>hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlkw</i>
<b>ya:y tcamtk<sup>W</sup>-m winé:x</b>	'cooked food'
already cooked-ATTR food	<i>yayt jamtgum wineex</i>



- nóx-t t Màry  
mother-3 DM M.                      Mary is his/her mother.  
*Noxt t Mary.*
- †kù.†k W-mhanàq-ŷ t Làura  
child-ATTR woman-1S DM L.              Laura is my daughter.  
*Hlguuhlgum hanak'ay t Laura.*
- k<sup>W</sup>islís-ḿ † †ku kàt t kun  
nephew/niece-1P=NC little man DM-this              This little boy is our nephew.  
*Gwislisiḿhl hlgu gat tgun.*
- †ə kú-ŷ ḥì:n==a  
the something-1S you.S==Q              Are you related to me?  
*Hliguy ḥiins?*
- wó?otk<sup>W</sup>-ti:t ḥù:m  
guest-3P us                      We were their guests.  
*Wo'otkwdiit ḥuum.*

#### 4.6.A.1.b. Deverbative nouns:

Deverbative nouns formed by prefixation with ?an- *aa-* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.) and sometimes with ḥa- *ha-* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.2.) are used as possessed predicates under most circumstances. They are frequently used to refer to general or habitual propensities or states of mind, in contrast with verbs or adjectives which have more punctual meaning. The English translation usually has a verb.

- ?an-xpičáx<sup>W</sup>-ŷ † ?as)?ùs  
CAUS-afraid-1S NC PL)dog              I am afraid of dogs.  
(lit. dogs are my cause of fear)  
*Anxbits'awiḥl as'us.*

(compare with the corresponding adjective or intransitive verb as predicate:

- xpičáx<sup>W</sup> ḥì:ŷ ?a=† ?as)?ús  
afraid me PREP-NC ...              I am/was afraid of the dogs.  
*Xbits'axw ḥiiy ahl as'us.)*



- hasáq-ŷ=t̄ pòt  
 desire-1S=NC boat  
 I want a boat (lit. a boat is my desire)  
*Hasagaŷhl boat.*
  
- hasáq-t̄=t̄ pòt  
 desire-3 =NC boat  
 He wants a boat.  
*Hasakt̄hl boat.*
  
- ʔan-sí.pĩnsk<sup>W</sup>-ŷ t̄ Mày  
 CAUS-love-1S DM M.  
 Mary is my friend (lit. M. is my cause  
 of loving)  
*Ansiip'insgwiŷ t̄ Mary.*
  
- hux<sup>W</sup>-tiʔan-sí.pĩnsk<sup>W</sup>-n̄ t̄ Mày==a    Is Mary your friend too?  
 again-INTS CAUS-love-2S DM M.==Q        *Huxwdii ansiip'insgwin t̄ Marya.?*
  
- ʔan-halá kax-t̄ n̄:ŷ  
 CAUS-laugh.at.s.-3S me  
 S/he makes fun of me  
 (lit. I am h. cause of laughing at)  
*Anhalaagax̄t̄ n̄:ŷ.*
  
- ʔan-ŵéʔesk<sup>W</sup>-ti:t̄ n̄:úm  
 CAUS-get.things-3P us  
 They always want something from us,  
 they come to us for everything, they  
 are dependent on us (lit. we are their  
 cause of getting)  
*Anŵéeskwdiit̄ n̄:úm.*

**4.6.A.2. The pronominal suffix argument of the nominal predicate has a nominal adjunct, the A-nominal in the clause is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun:**

The possessed noun used as regular predicate ends in the 3rd person suffix -t̄ (never the plural suffix -ti:t̄ -diit̄, even if the possessor is plural); the noun adjunct to the possessor suffix is extraposed to the right of the pronoun, after a determinate marker or the connective =t̄ -hl̄ in its role as non-determinate marker: this structure parallels exactly that of transitive verbs in similar conditions (cf. the behavior of the E-adjunct after first or second pronoun A. 4.4.B.3.a.1.).

4.6.A.2. Non-deverbative nouns:

- ʔkùʔk<sup>W</sup>-t ñíy̆ t **Màry**      I am Mary's daughter/son.  
child-[3]=DC me DM M.      *Hlguuhkw̆t ñiiy̆ t Mary*.  
(cf. Fr. Je suis sa fille/son fils, à Marie)
  
- siʔkùʔk<sup>Ws</sup>-t ñù m̄ **tip Màry**      Mary "and them" adopted us.  
adopted.child-[3]=DC us DM.P M.      (lit. we are Mary...'s adopted children)  
*Sihlguuhkw̆st ñuum̄ dip Mary*.
  
- siʔkùʔk<sup>Ws</sup>-t ñù m̄ ʔankikàtk<sup>W</sup>-t  
adopted.child-[3]=DC us NC parents-3  
His/her parents adopted us. (lit. we are  
h. parents' adopted children)  
*Sihlguuhkw̆st ñuum̄hl angigatk̆t*.

4.6.A.2.b. Deverbative nouns:

- ʔan-xpićáx<sup>W</sup>-t ñíy̆ ʔ ʔku pè:pi:      The baby is afraid of me.  
CAUS-afraid-3 me NC little baby      *Anxbits'axwt ñiiy̆hl hlgu beebii*
  
- ʔan-xpićáx<sup>W</sup>-t ñíy̆ t **Jòhnnny**      Johnny is afraid of me.  
CAUS-afraid-3 me DM J.      *Anxbits'axwt ñiiy̆ t Johnny*.
  
- ʔan-halá kax-t ñíy̆ t **Màry**      Mary makes fun of me.  
CAUS-laugh.at.s.-3 me DM ..M.      *Anhalaagaxt ñiiy̆ t Mary*.
  
- timsa:ʔan-halá kax-t ñìn ʔ kàt      People might make fun of you.  
FUT CAUS-laugh.at.s.-3 you NC people      *Dim saa anhalaagaxt ñiinhl gat*.

(compare with the transitive construction which is definite:

halá:kax-ə̀t ñì.ý † kàt  
 laugh.at.s.-CTL-3 me NC ...  
 People made fun of me.  
*Halaagaxat ñiiýhl gal.*)

- ha-cóq-t ñì.ý tñipìp-ý  
 CAUS-ashamed-3 DM uncle-1S  
 My uncle is ashamed of me.  
*Hajookt ñiiý t nibibiý.*

timha-cóq-t ñi.n †?ankikát<sup>W</sup>-n  
 FUT CAUS-ashamed-3 you NC parent.PL.INDEF-2S  
 Your parents will be ashamed of you,  
 you will bring shame on your parents.  
 (cf. Fr. Tu seras la honte de tes parents)  
*Dim hajookt ñiinhl angigatwin.*

4.6.A.3. The possessor suffix has a noun adjunct; the A-nominal in the clause is a noun or third person plural pronoun: the noun adjunct is connected to the pronoun through a connective (cf. predicate-focused P<sub>EA</sub> clauses, 4.4.B.3.b.):

In these constructions, the main stress, and the semantic emphasis, is on the possessor.

4.6.A.3.a. Non-deverbative nouns:

- nàks-[t]s[t] Máry t Pèter  
 spouse-[3]=[DC] [DM] M. DM P.  
 Peter is Mary's husband.  
*Naks Mary t Peter.*
- hux<sup>W</sup>tà.kintk<sup>W</sup>-[t]s[t] Máry ñiti:t  
 grandchildren-[3]=DC [DM] M. them  
 They are Mary's grandchildren.  
*Huxwdaak'inkwvs Mary ñidiit*

4.6.A.3.b. Deverbative nouns: with deverbative nouns this construction seems to be used most often when the A-noun is human or at least animate.

- ha-còq-[t]=s [t] nixtá:-t t Màry    Mary's aunt is ashamed of her.  
 CAUS-ashamed-[3] [DM] aunt-3 DM M.    (lit. Mary is her aunt's cause of shame).  
*Hajooks nixtáat t Mary.*
- ?an-xpicàx<sup>w</sup>-[t]=s [t] Jóhnnyt Rèbel    Johnny is afraid of Rebel.  
 CAUS-afraid-[3]=DC [DM] J. DM M.    (lit. Rebel is Johnny's cause of fear).  
*Angbits'arws Johnny t Rebel.*
- ?an-xpicàx<sup>w</sup>-[t]=s [t] Jóhnnyt † wí: ?ùs t kùs[t]    Johnny is afraid of that big dog.  
 CAUS-afraid-[3]=DC [DM] J. NC big dog DM that.    (lit. that big dog is J.'s cause of fear).  
*Angbits'arws Johnnyhl wii us t gus.*

Where the A-nominal is not animate, and the emphasis is less on the identity of the possessor, other constructions tend to be used, for instance a Focused construction (see 4.7.A.2.b.2.):

- pó:t=† ti: hasàq-[t]=s [t] Péter    Peter wants a boat.  
 boat=NC INTS desire-[3] DC [DM] P.    *Boothl dii hasaks Peter.*

(compare with:

- hasàq-[t]=s [t] Péter † pò:t    Peter wants the boat.  
 boat=NC desire-[3]=DC [DM] P.    *Hasaks Peterhl boot.*)

Deverbative nouns are sometimes treated as intransitive verbs with the appropriate marker or connective, and the clausal argument is preceded by the preposition ?a & plus appropriate connective: in effect, the deverbative is treated as a P<sub>AI</sub>:

•ʔan-xpičáx<sup>W</sup> t Jòhny ʔa=†liki.ʔaxú

CAUS-afraid-(3)=DC [DM] J. PREP=NC something

Johnny is afraid of something.

*Anxbits'axw t Johnny ahl ligii'agu.*

This seems to be a back-formation from the similarity of the regular clause constructions, especially negative ones (see below 4.6.B.2.).

#### 4.6.A.4. Tendency towards using deverbative nominal predicates as verbs:

Because of the surface resemblance of the deverbative construction with 3 on 1/2 with the corresponding transitive construction, there are cases where deverbative nouns are treated as transitive verbs, especially by YFS who confuse the two. Examples of confusion are

- tim ʔan-halá:kaxə-t n̄n †kàt      People will make fun of you.  
FUT CAUS-laugh.at.s.-CTL-3 you NC people      *Dim anhalaxaxət n̄inhl gat.*

indicating confusion of the nominal predicate construction (no CTL suffix):

tim ʔan-halá:kax-t n̄íy †kàt      People will make fun of you  
laugh.at.s.-CTL-3 me NC ...      (in general).  
*Dim anhalaxaxət n̄inhl gat.*

with the transitive construction (including CTL suffix):

timhalá:kax-ə-t n̄n †kàt      People will make fun of you (now)  
FUT laugh.at.s.-CTL-3 you NC people      *Dim halaxaxət n̄inhlí gat.*

The verbal nature of English constructions of equivalent meaning has probably influenced the transitive use of such words, but it is likely that this process is not entirely due to foreign interference. For instance, the transitive verb *halá:kax halaxax* 'to laugh at sbdy', which begins with the prefix *ha-* *ha-*,

may have been originally a deverbative noun, and the present deverbative  $\text{ʔan-halá:kax}$  *anhalaagax* may well be a secondary formation. Similarly the two deverbatives  $\text{ha-có:q}$  *hajooq* and  $\text{ʔan-há-ú:q}$  *anhajooq*, both meaning '[sthg that causes] shame', coexist at present, but the more complex form is probably a more recent formation.

4.6.B. Regular clause: after subordinator or negative verb.

4.6.B.1. Non-downshifted predicate:

In a regular clause with a non-downshifted predicate, the argument is a suffix on the predicate, to which a nominal adjunct may be linked through a connective (4.3.B.):

- $\text{ni:-ti:wiyítk}^W\text{-[t]=s [t]}$  **Màry**      Mary didn't cry.  
not-INTS cry-[3]=DC [DM] M.      *Nidii wiyitkws Mary.*

$\text{ni:-ti:wiyítk}^W\text{-t}$       She didn't cry.  
not-INTS cry-3      *Nidii wiyitkwt.*

...  $\text{wil wiyítk}^W\text{-t}$       ... as/when she cried  
as/when cry-3      ... *wil wiyitkwt.*

4.6.B.2. downshifted nominal predicate:

When the clause predicate is a downshifted nominal predicate, which already has a suffix, there cannot be another suffix, or a connected nominal; instead, the nominal appears after the preposition  $\text{ʔa}$  *a* (5.18); the sequence  $\text{ʔa} + \text{Noun}$  can be replaced by an indirect pronoun (base  $\text{lo:-}$  *loo-*, 5.9). Compare:

- $\text{kutác-ýt-kùn}$       This is my coat.  
coat-1S DM-this      *K'udats'iy tgun.*

- ni:-ti: kútáč-ý?a=s[t]kùn This is not my coat.  
not-INTS coat-1S PREP=DC [DM] this *Nidii k'udats'iy as gun.*
- ni:-ti: kútáč-ýlo:-t It is not my coat.  
not-INTS coat-1S IND-3 *Nidii k'udats'iy loot.*
- ... wil kútáč-ýlo:-t ... as it is my coat.  
as coat-1S IND-3 ... *wil k'udats'iy loot.*
- hasáq-ý† pò:t I want a boat.  
desire-1S=NC boat *Hasagayhl boot.*
  - ni:-ti: hasáq-ý?a=† pót I don't want a boat.  
not-INTS desire-1S PREP=NC boat *Nidii hasagay ahl boot*
  - ni:-ti: hasáq-ýlò:-t I don't want it.  
not-INTS desire-1S IND-3 *Nidii hasagay loot.*
  - hasàq-[t]=s[t]Péter† pót Peter wants the boat.  
desire-[3]=DC [DM] P. NC boat *Hasaks Peterhl boot.*
  - ni:-ti: hasáq-[t]=s[t]Péter ?a=† pót Peter doesn't want a/the boat.  
not-INTS desire-[3]=DC [DM] P. PREP=NC boat *Nidii hasaks Peter ahl boot.*
  - ni:-ti: hasáq-tlò:-t He doesn't want it.  
not-INTS desire-3 IND-3 *Nidii hasagt loot.*
  - ?an-sí.pínsk<sup>W</sup>-ý t Mâry Mary is my friend.  
CAUS- loving-1S DM M. *Ansiip'insgwiý t Mary.*
  - ... wil ?an-sí.pínsk<sup>W</sup>-ý lò:-t ... as she is my friend.  
as CAUS- loving-1 IND-3 ... *wil ansiip'insgwiý loot.*

ni:-ti: ʔan-sí.ǫins<sup>W</sup>-ý ʔa=s [t] **Máry**  
 not-INTS CAUS- loving-1S PREP=DC [DM] M.

Mary is not my friend.

*Nidii ansiiip'insgwiý as Mary.*

ni:-ti: ʔan-sí.ǫins<sup>W</sup>-ý lò:-t She is not my friend.  
 not-INTS CAUS- loving-1 IND-3

*Nidii ansiiip'insgwiý loot.*

In this respect the surface form of the possessed nominal predicate in a regular clause is identical to that of a P<sub>AI</sub> in a regular clause, as in

- ni:-ti: wá.kát<sup>W</sup>-ý ʔas [t] **Máry** I don't/didn't miss Mary.  
 not-INTS feel.lonesome-1S PREP=DC [DM] M. *Nidii wáagatgwiý as Mary.*

... **wil** wá.kát<sup>W</sup>-ý ʔa=s [t] **Máry** ... as I miss(ed) Mary.  
 as feel.lonesome-1S PREP=DC [DM] M. ... *wil wáagatgwiý as Mary.*

Note also the parallelism between this structure and that of the interrogative clause with relativized possessed predicate (4.7.A.2.b.2.), as in:

- nà:=† k'utác'-(ə)t ʔa=s [t] **kùni** Whose coat is this?  
 who=NC coat-REL PREP=NC [DM] this==Q *Naahl k'udats'it as guni?*

nà:=† k'utác'-(ə)t lò:-t Whose coat is it?  
 who=NC coat-REL IND-3 *Naahl k'udats'it loot?*

Here also, the REL suffix on the downshifted predicate noun prevents the addition of another suffix, and an Indirect Object is used instead.

#### 4.6.C.2. Possessed nominal predicates used as higher predicates:

Abstract nouns can be used as higher predicates. This occurs with some deverbatives, but mostly with evaluatives (the latter built on adjectival stems,





- with P<sub>EA</sub>:

- qañák<sup>Wə</sup>-[t] tipkipá-sim̃      We waited so long for you!  
length-[3] 1PE wait.for.s.-2P      *Qañágṽi dip gibasim̃!*
- qasqó:-[t]t sí:ḥin-n      S/he loves you so much!  
size 3E love.s.-2S      *Gasqoo tsiip'inin!*

#### 4.7. ANTEPOSED CONSTITUENTS: FOCUSED CONSTITUENTS VS. SPECIFIED COMPLEMENT.

Both Specified Complements and Focused constituents occur before the predicate. It is important to distinguish the two. The Specified Complement (where present with appropriate verbs) is normally the first constituent in a regular clause. Any other major constituent of a clause, outside of the predicate phrase, can be focused, in which case the Specified Complement moves to the end of the clause.

##### 4.7.A. FOCUSING.

Nisgha uses focusing in many cases where a language like English would use contrastive stress to emphasize a particular lexical element in the clause. Focusing is characterized by anteposition of the focused element. Other details may vary according to the type of element that is focused. Many focused clauses are answers to questions which themselves have the form of a focused clause, with the interrogative element in the focused position. Question and answer then have the same structure.

Focusing of non-predicative elements in a clause is important not only because it provides a way of putting extra emphasis on a clause constituent, but because that constituent can be the pivot between two clauses, the second of which then is a relative clause: Nisgha relative clauses are focused clauses where the

focused element is also a constituent of a previous clause. That constituent can also be left out, and the result is a headless relative clause.

In the description of most Nisgha syntactic processes, the major distinction is that between the roles of E and A. This is still true in Focusing, but in addition the various functions covered by A are focused by different processes.

#### 4.7.A.1. Focus on E (E-relative clauses):

The focused E-Adjunct is placed in front of the  $P_{EA}$  predicate phrase (which includes the 3E pronoun *t*). The Ergative Relative pronoun *ʔan an* occurs either before or after the 3E pronoun *t*<sup>15</sup> (if next to the predicate, the 3E pronoun *t* is often merged phonetically with the next consonant). The other constituents are unchanged.

Compare the unfocused clause:

- ... (wil) *t kipá-[t]=s[t] Máry*      ... (as) s/he waited for Mary.  
(SUB) 3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.      ... *(wil)t gibas Mary.*

with the E-focused clauses:

- *ná: t ʔan kipá-[t]=s[t] Máry*      Who [was it who] waited for Mary?  
who 3E RELE wait.for.s.-[t]=DC [DM] M.      *Naa t an gibas Mary?*
- ná: ʔan t kipá-t*      Who [was it who] waited for her?  
who RELE-3E wait.for.s.-3      *Naa ant gibat?*
- ná: ʔan t kipá-n*      Who [was it who] for you?  
who RELE-3E wait.for.s.-2S      *Naa ant giban?*
- ńí:ý t ʔan kipá-t*      I [am the one who] waited for her.  
me 3E RELE wait.for.s.-3      *ńíý t an gibat*

ńí:ý tʔankipá-tit I [am the one who] waited for them.  
 me 3E RELE wait.for.s -3P *Ñiý t an gibadiit.*

Péter tʔankipá-[t]=s[t]Máry Peter [is the one who] waited for  
 P. 3E RELE wait.for.s =DC [DM] M. Mary. *Peter t an gibas Mary.*

use as headless E-relative clause:

• ʔa tá.wít-[t] tʔan kipá-[t]=s[t]Máry

by.now leave-[3] 3E REL wait.for.s =DC [DM] M.

The one who waited for Mary has left.

*Hlaa daawihl t an gibas Mary.*

The Progressive Auxiliary **yuk<sup>W</sup>** *yukw* can be placed before the E pronouns:  
 the connective =ʔ -h/ occurs between the E noun and the auxiliary:

unfocused clause:

• yuk<sup>W</sup>-t lík-[t]=s[t]Báby S/he is watching Baby.  
 AUX-3E RELE watch.s.-[3]=DC [DM] B. *Yukwt lihks Beebii.*

Focused E:

ná:=ʔ yuk<sup>W</sup>-t ʔan lík-t Who is watching h. now?  
 who=NC AUX-3E RELE watch.s.-3 *Naahl yukwt an lihkt?*

4.7.A.2. Focus on A: Each of the various functions covered by A (Subject, Object, Attribute, Possessor) is affected in its own way by Focusing.

4.7.A.2.a. Cases based on the Predicate-focused clause: Other constituents can be placed ahead of the focused predicate.

4.7.A.2.a.1. Focus on A (Object) in a P<sub>EA</sub> clause (O-relative clause):

The A Adjunct (Direct Object) is anteposed and linked to the predicate by the connective =<sup>†</sup> -h/. (Compare with predicate-focused clauses, 4.4.B.2.b.).

- ?akú=<sup>†</sup> ki)kíp-ə-n (==əst) <sup>16</sup> (Hey.) what are you eating?  
 what=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-2S=AFF *Aguhl gigibin(is)?*
  
- qálmó:s=<sup>†</sup> ki)kíp-ə-ý (==əst) -I am eating crab(of course!)  
 crab=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-1S==AFF - *K'almooshl gigibiý(is)*
  
- ?akú=<sup>†</sup> ká: xáíltin-ə-n What is your favourite food?  
 what=NC most like.food-CTL-2S (lit. What [food] do you like most?)  
*Aguhl k'aa xliit'inin?*
  
- tíkit=<sup>†</sup> ká: xáíltin-ə-ý - Smoked oolichans.  
 smoked oolichans=NC like.food-CTL-1S (lit. I like smoked oolichans most.) -  
*Digithl k'aa xliit'iníý.*
  
- ná:=<sup>†</sup> kipá-(y)ə-[t]=s [t] Màry Who did Mary wait for?  
 who=NC wait.for.-CTL-{3}=DC[DM]M Who was Mary waiting for?  
*Naahl gibayis Mary?*
  
- Lúcy=<sup>†</sup> kipá-(y)ə-t - She was waiting for Lucy.  
 L.=NC wait.for.-CTL-3 - *Lucyh! gibayit.*
  
- ní:ý=<sup>†</sup> kipá-(y)ə-t - She was waiting for me.  
 me=NC wait.for.-CTL-3 - *Niiýhl gibayit.*
  
- ná:=<sup>†</sup> ná m-náksk<sup>W</sup>-ə-[t]=s [t] Pèter Who does Peter want to marry?  
 who=NC want.to-marry.s.-CTL-{3}=DC[DM]P. *Naahl naam-naksgwis Peter?*



4.7.A.2.a.2. A-Adjunct in P<sub>A</sub> clause: With Nominal predicate in Equivalence statement (Attribute-relative clause):

Whether the nominal predicate is regular or downshifted, the focused constituent is anteposed and linked to the nominal predicate by the connective =† -h/. There is no other change.

Regular nominal predicate:

- lip hí:y=† qìnx  
self me=NC trail  
Luyself am the trail [said the supernatural woman] (128.8-9)  
*Lip híiyhl genx.*

(the unfocused equivalent would be:

- |           |                     |
|-----------|---------------------|
| qìnx hí:y | I am a trail.       |
| trail me  | <i>Genx híiy.</i> ) |

Downshifted nominal predicate:

- t kún=† hañi qòt-y  
DM this=NC thought-1S  
This is what I think  
(lit. my thought is this).  
*Tgunhl hañi:goodiy.*
- ?as)?ús=†?an-xpicàx<sup>W</sup>-y  
PL)dog=NC CAUS-afraid-1S  
I am afraid of dogs.  
*As'ushl anxbits'awiy.*
- ksax hí:n=†?an-?àlqal-t  
only you=NC CAUS-watch-3  
S/he only looked at you.  
*Ksax híinhl an'alk'alt.*

With a nominal predicate, an interrogative pronoun in focused position is usually followed by the noun wá 'name' wæ (see note 16):

- ná:=† wà-n==əs[t]                      [Hey.] what's your name?  
who=NC name-2S==AFF                      *Naahl wanis?*
- ná:=† wà-[t]=† kimxtí-n                      What's your brother/sister's name?  
who=NC name-[3]=NC opp.sex.sib-2S      *Naahl wahl gimxdin?*
- ?akú=† wà-[t]=† ?an-xpicáx<sup>W</sup>-ti.      What is there to be afraid of?  
what=NC name-[3]=NC CAUS-afraid-IMPERS (lit. what is the name of anyone's  
fear?)  
*Aguhl wahl angbits'axwdii?*

#### 4.7.A.2.b. Cases based on the regular clause: Focusing of Subject or Possessor:

This section applies to intransitive or adjectival clause predicates and to nominal predicates in statements of possession. The A adjunct is placed in front of the predicate, which takes the REL suffix  $-(\text{ə})\text{t}$  *-it/at/t* (7.2.A.2.).

##### 4.7.A.2.b.1. Focusing of A of verbal P<sub>A</sub> (Subject): Relativization of intransitive verb:

The Adjunct is anteposed and linked to the predicate with the connective =† *-h/*. (sometimes the connective is missing, especially in Boas 1902). In addition, the predicate gets the REL suffix  $-(\text{ə})\text{t}$  *-it/at/t* (7.2.A.2.) instead of the 3 suffix  $-t$ .

##### 4.7.A.2.b.1.a. Intransitive predicate without auxiliary:

unfocused clause:

- ... (wil) xstà:-[t]=s[t] Peter                      ... (as/when) Peter won.  
(SUB) win-[3]=DC [DM] P.                      ... (wil) *xsdaas Peter*.
- ... (wil) xstà:-t                                      ... (as/when) he won.  
(SUB) win-3    ... (wil) *xsdaat*.



focus on Subject:

- ná:=† xstà-(ə)t                      Who won?  
     who=NC win-REL                      *Naahl xsdaat?*
- Péter=† xstà-(ə)t                      Peter won.  
     P.=NC win-REL                      *Peterhi xsdaat.*
- (tip) ná:=† tim nàks-(ə)t              Who is getting married?  
     (DM.PL) who=NC FUT married-REL    *(Dip) naahl dim naksit?*

tip Péter qan=s [t] Wéndy=† tim nàks-(ə)t

DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] W.=NC FUT married-REL

*Peter and Wendy are getting married.*

*Dip Peter gans Wendyhl dim naksit.*

- †kík<sup>W</sup>-ỵ ʔa=† ʔantó.ʔ wí.halàyt-(ə)t<sup>17</sup>

W's sister-1S PREP=NC next.door great shaman-REL

*My sister (who lives) on the other side [of the mountain]*

*is the great shamaness [not me]. (128 10-11)*

*Hligiwiyahl andoo'o wii halaydit.*

Use as relative clause:

- ntá==qat wilwít<sup>W</sup>k-[t]=† hanàq̣=† tim nàks-(ə)t

which.way==REP where come.from-[t]=NC woman=NC FUT married-REL

*Where did they say the bride comes from?*

*(lit. ... the girl who's getting married ...)*

*Nda-gat wil wítkwhl hanag'hl dim naksit?*

A headless A- relativized predicate (and its attendant particles and modifiers) can be used instead of a noun as Adjunct in a clause:





ná:=† kán-(ə)t lo-t who=NC (s.o.'s) thing-REL IND-3	Whose is it? (local: Whose own is it?) <i>Naahl k'anit loot?</i>
kán-ỵ==əs[t] (s.o.'s) thing-1S==AFF	It's <u>mine</u> ! [you should know that] (local: (It's) my own!) <i>-K'aníyis!</i>

The relativized nominal predicate can itself be the focused A of a relativized intransitive predicate (it acts as a pivot between the two clauses to which it belongs):

- ní.n=† pùk<sup>W</sup>-(ə)t=† ní=tóχ-(ə)t lax-hańiitímísT-ỵ  
you=NC book-REL=NC on=|object|lie, be.PL-REL on-desk-1S  
Are those your books on my desk?  
(lit. are you the one whose books are on my desk?)  
*Niinhl bugwithl níidoχat/ńiidoot lax hańiit'ímisiya?*

This sort of construction does not seem to be possible with non-interrogative clauses. In other words, it is not used in equivalents to, for instance, "I know the person whose books are on the table."

#### 4.7.A.2.b.3. Focus on possessor with *Wíl* 'be/do' *wi/* as a quasi-auxiliary:

Here the emphasis is on the relation between possessor and possessed object: this construction is actually an instance of focus on the A of an intransitive P<sub>A</sub> (4.7.A.2.b.1), which explains the much wider range of elements which can occupy the focused position, as well as the greater semantic range of relations between predicate and focused Adjunct. The possessor can be an interrogative or indefinite pronoun, or a noun; the predicative<sup>18</sup> *Wíl wi/* (which has a very general meaning, here indicated by 'do') takes the REL suffix; the possessed noun appears as Indirect Object after the preposition:

- ná=† wíl-(ə)t ?a=† ?á.t t kùn==i Who owns this net? Who does this  
who=NC do-REL PREP=NC net DM-this-Q net belong to? Who had this net  
made? (etc.)  
*Naahl wilit ahl aat tguni?*

ni-ki: t ná:cə wíl-(ə)t ?a=† ?á.t t kùn==i  
not-INTS DM who IRR net-REL PREP=DC DM this==Q

Does anyone own this net?  
Does this net belong to anyone?  
*Nigitnaa ji wilit ahl aat tguni?*

- ní:n=† wíl-(ə)t lo:t==a Does it belong to you?  
me=NC do-REL IND-3==Q *Niinhl wilit looda?*

The possessor can be the pivot between a main and a relative clause, as in:

- ni:-ti: ní:ỵ cə wíl-(ə)t lo:-t It does not belong to me.  
not-INTS IRR me IRR do-REL IND-3 *Nidii níiỵ ji wilit loot.*

hañi:qót-ýt Sám=† wíl-(ə)t lo:t I thought it belonged to Sam.  
thought-1S DM S.=NC do-REL IND-3 *Hañiigoodiỵ t Samhl wilit loot.*

#### 4.7.A.2.c. Non-predicative function of relativized P<sub>A</sub>:

##### 4.7.A.2.c.a. Used as nominal:

A headless relativized nonstative P<sub>A</sub> (with REL suffix) can be used as a nominal argument in a clause, or as head of a noun-phrase, with the meaning, 'one who is ... ing', 'a ...er'. The habitual meaning can be reinforced by the prefix **k<sup>w</sup>i:x-** *gwix-* (7.1.B.1.b.3.b.):

?á.t-(ə)t 'a/the fisherman' [while fishing]  
fish.with.net-REL *aadit*

siwilá:yínsk <sup>W</sup> -(ə)t teach-REL	a/the teacher [at work] <i>siwilaayinsgwit</i>
k <sup>W</sup> i:x-ɦít-(ə)t habitually-(play).ball-REL	a/the ballplayer [habitually] <i>gwiix-hlit'it</i>
liɦks-m+hañi:txò:xk <sup>W</sup> -(ə)t watch.guard-ATTR+table-REL	a/the waiter/waitress [at work] <i>lihksim-haňiitxoogwit</i>

## Sentence examples:

- ʔakú t(ə)-yá ɦ liɦks-m+hañi:txò:xk<sup>W</sup>-(ə)t  
what 3E-say=NC watch.guard-ATTR+table-REL  
What did the waitress say?  
*Agu diyah! lihksim-haňiitxoogwit?*
- ɦa:tim ʔuk<sup>W</sup>s=hamáqsk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ɦ timqa-ʔà:t-(ə)t  
by.now FUT outward-head.s.w.PL-{3}=NC FUT PL-fishnet-REL  
The [seasonal] fishermen are going to head to sea [it is the fishing season].  
*Hlaa dim ukwshamaqskwhl dim ga'aadit.*

The REL suffix is used on some locational nouns as well, to form words with this function:

ɦimlán-(ə)t stern (of a boat)-REL	'skipper' <i>ɦimlaanit</i>
ɦimcéq-(ə)t bow (of a boat)-REL	'bowman' <i>ɦimts'eegat</i>

A relativized predicate may be accompanied by a circumstantial element:

lu:=wíl-(ə)t ċim pó:t in=be-REL in boat	'the occupants of the boat' (the ones that are in the boat) <i>luuwilit ts'im boat</i>
lu:=hítk <sup>W</sup> -(ə)t qaltimwó:t in=stand-REL store	'a/the storekeeper, store employee' (one who is standing in the store) <i>luuhitgwit galdimwoot'</i>

#### 4.7.A.2.c.2. Attributive function of relativized P<sub>A</sub>:

In this type of construction, the downshifted predicate takes the REL suffix, but there is no preposing of the nominal. The connective =t -h/ is used between predicate and nominal. Only non-determinate nominals can enter in this construction.

The downshifted relativized predicate gives Definite meaning to the nominal, as opposed to the Attributive suffix which indicates Indefinite meaning.

#### 4.7.A.2.c.2.a. With numeral:

A numeral can be included as part of a noun-phrase. Compare the following sentences:

- predicate-focused clause with numeral in A noun-phrase:

- ?al)?álkax=t paqatíl-[t]=t ha.náq      Two women talked.  
talk.PL-[3]=NC two(psons)=NC woman.PL      *Al'algaɣhl bagadilhl haanaɣ'*

- Focus on entire noun-phrase: relativized main predicate:

- paqatíl-[t]=t ha.náq=t ?al)?álkax-(ə)t      There were two women talking.  
two (psons) -[3]=NC woman.PL=NC talk.PL-REL      *Bagadilhl haanaɣ'hl al'algaɣat.*

- Predicate-focused clause, relativized downshifted predicate (numeral) in noun-phrase:

?alʔálkax=ʔpaqatìl-(ə)t=ʔ hanáq̣      The two women talked.  
talk.PL=NC two...-REL=NC woman.PL      *Al'algaʔhl bagadilithl haanak'.*

- Focus on noun-phrase incorporating relativized downshifted predicate; main predicate also relativized:

paqatìl-(ə)t=ʔ hanáq̣=ʔ ?alʔálkax-(ə)t  
two...-REL=NC woman.PL talk.PL-REL  
It was the two women who talked.  
*Bagadilithl haanak'hl al'algaʔat.*

#### 4.7.A.2.c.2.b. With adjective or intransitive:

- Predicate-focused clause: adjective as part of a noun-phrase:

• ?álkax=ʔʔàlaq-m hanáq̣      A brave/angry woman spoke.  
talk=NC determined-ATTR woman      *Algaʔhl alagam hanak'.*

- Relativized downshifted predicate (adjective):

?álkax=ʔ ká:ʔàlaq-(ə)t=ʔ hanáq̣      The very brave/bravest woman spoke.  
talk=NC determined-REL=NC woman      *Algaʔhl k'aa alagathl hanak'.*

- Focus on noun-phrase incorporating relativized downshifted predicate; main predicate also relativized:

ká:ʔàlaq-(ə)t=ʔ hanáq̣=ʔ ?álkax=(ə)t  
talk=NC determined-REL=NC woman  
It was a very brave/ the bravest woman who spoke.  
*K'aa alagathl hanak'hl algaʔat.*



Relativized downshifted adjectival predicates are very common in noun-phrases, as in

ká:ʔà.m-(ə)t=ʔ háyk <sup>W</sup> most good-REL=NC spirit	'the Holy Spirit' <i>K'aa Aamithl Haykw</i>
qalksilàk(ə)t=ʔ nisqáʔ get.through.PL-REL=NC Nisgha	'the Nisgha graduates' (the Nisghas who graduated) <i>galksilagithl Nisga'a</i>
à.m-(ə)t=ʔ qapì:-[t]=ʔ winé:x good-REL=NC amount-[3]=NC food	'the right amount of food' (lit. the amount of food that's good) <i>aamithl gabiihl wineex</i>

4.7.A.3. Focus on Complements: (Indirect Objects and Circumstantial Complements, not Specified Complements): a subordinator must be used between the anteposed focused element and the rest of the clause.

4.7.A.3.a. Focus on the Indirect Object:

An Indirect Object noun introduced by the preposition ʔà a (5.18) when unfocused, by the subordinator **wil wil** (5.16.B.7.) when focused. An Indirect Object pronoun is an Indirect IO:- pronoun (5.9.) when unfocused, an independent ĩĩ-pronoun (5.8) when focused.

4.7.A.3.a.1. PAI: intransitive verb with an Indirect Object:

Unfocused clause:

- ... (wil)ksaxkińámaʔ-[t]=s[t]Pèter a=s [t] Máry

(SUB) give.gift-[3]=DC [DM] P. PREP=DC [DM] M.

... (as/when) Peter gave a gift to Mary.

... (wil) ksaggináma'as Peter as Mary.

...(wil)ksaxkińáma?-[t]=s[t]Pèter lo:-t

(SUB) give.gift-[3]=DC [DM] P. IND-3

... (as/when) Peter gave a gift to her.

... (wil) ksaxgińáma'as Peter loot.

- ... (wil)kipé?esk<sup>W?</sup>-[t]=s[t]Pèter a=s [t] Máry

(SUB) wait [3]=DC [DM] P. PREP=DC [DM] M.

... (as/when) Peter waited for Mary (indefinitely).

... (wil) gibe'eskws Peter as **Mary**.

...(wil)kipé?esk<sup>W?</sup>-[t]=s[t]Pèter lo:-m̃

(SUB) wait [3]=DC [DM] P. IND-1P

... (as/when) Peter waited for us (indefinitely).

... (wil) gibe'eskws Peter loom̃.

Focus on I:

- ná: wil ksaxkińáma?-[t]=s[t]Pèter      Who did Peter give a gift to?  
who SUB give.gift-[3]=DC [DM] P.      **Naa wil ksaxgińáma'as Peter?**

[t] Máry wilksaxkińáma?-[t]=s[t]Pèter      Peter gave a gift to Mary.  
[DM] M. SUB give.gift-[3]=DC [DM] P.      **Mary wil ksaxgińáma'as Peter.**

ńi:y wilksaxkińáma?-[t]=s[t]Pèter      Peter gave a gift to me.  
me SUB give.gift-[3]=DC [DM] P.      **Ñiiy wil ksaxgińáma'as Peter.**

- ná: wil kipé?esk<sup>W?</sup>-[t]=s[t]Pèter      Who did Peter wait for?  
who SUB wait-DC P.      **Naa wil gibe'eskws Peter?**

[t] Máry wilkipé?esk<sup>W?</sup>-[t]=s[t]Pèter      Peter waited for Mary.  
[DM] M. SUB wait [3]=DC [DM] P.      **Mary wil gibe'eskws Peter.**

**ńít wil** kipéʔesk<sup>w</sup>?-[t]=s[t]Pèter  
h. SUB wait {3}=DC {DM} P.

Peter waited for her.  
*ńít wil gibe'eskws Peter.*

4.7.A.3.a.2. PEAI: transitive verb with an Indirect Object: (examples of both predicate-focused and regular clauses):

- kińám-ə-[t]=s[t]Pèter=† čiksnáʔaqsʔa=s [t] **Máry**  
give.s.-CTL-{3}=DC {DM} P.=NC bracelet PREP=DC {DM} M.

Peter gave Mary a/the bracelet.  
*Gińamis Peterhl ts'iksna'aks as Mary.*

kińám-ə-[t]=s[t]Pèter=† čiksnáʔaqs lo:-ý  
give.s.-CTL-{3}=DC {DM} P.=NC bracelet IND-1S.

Peter gave me a/the bracelet.  
*Gińamis Peterhl ts'iksna'aks looy̆.*

... (wil)-t kińám-[t]=s[t]Pèter=† čiksnáʔaqsʔa=s [t] **Máry**  
(SUB)-3E give.s.-{3}=DC {DM} P.=NC bracelet PREP=DC {DM} M.

... (as/when) Peter gave Mary a/the bracelet.  
... (wil)t gińams Peterhl ts'iksna'aks as Mary.

- řálp-ə-t=† řáltú:x ʔa=† hařút-t  
whittle.s.-CTL-3=NC horn.spoon PREP=NC knife-3

She whittled the horn spoon, with her knife (8.9)

*Hlalbithl k'aldoux əh! hak'ohit.*

... (wil)-t řálp-[t]=† řáltú:x ʔa=† hařút-t

(SUB)-3E whittle.s.-{3}=NC horn.spoon PREP=NC knife-3

... (as/when) she whittled the horn spoon, with her knife.

... (wil)t hlalphi k'aldoux əh! hak'ohit.

... (wil)-t řálp-[t]=† řáltú:x lo:-t

(SUB)-3E whittle.s.-{3}=NC horn.spoon INDe-3

... (as/when) she whittled the horn spoon, with it.  
 ...(*wilt*) *hlalphl k'aldoux loot*.

Focus on I:

- **ná: wil-t kińám-[t]=s[t]Pèter=†ćiksná?aqš**  
 who SUB-3E give.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC bracelet

Who did Peter give a/the bracelet to?

*Naa wilt gińams Peterhl ts'iksna'aks?*

[t] **Máry wil-t kińám-[t]=s[t]Pèter=†ćiksná?aqš**  
 [DM] M. SUB-3E give.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC bracelet

*Mary wilt gińams Peterhl ts'iksna'aks.*

Peter gave ?/the bracelet to Mary.

**ńít wil-t kińám-[t]=s[t]Pèter=†ćiksná?aqš**  
 h. SUB-3E give.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC bracelet

*ńit wilt gińams Peterhl ts'iksna'aks.*

That's who Peter gave a/the bracelet to.

- **?akú wil-t †álp-[t]=† hanàq=† qáltú:x**  
 what SUB-3E whittle.s.-[3]=NC woman=NC horn.spoon

What did the woman whittle the horn spoon with?

*Agu wilt hlalphl hanak'hl k'aldoux?*

**haqú†-t wil-t †álp-[t]=† hanàq=† qáltú:x**  
 knife-3 SUB-3E whittle.s.-[3]=NC woman=NC horn.spoon

The woman whittled the horn spoon with her knife.

*Hak'oklt wilt hlalphl hanak'hl k'aldoux.*

**ńí-[t]=† wil-t †álp-[t]=† hanàq=† qáltú:x** <sup>19</sup>

that's-[3]=NC SUB-3E whittle.s.-[3]=NC woman=NC horn.spoon

That's what the woman whittled the horn spoon with.

*Nihl wilit hlalphl hanak'hl k'aldoux.*

The same construction applies to the Indirect Object of a Jussive verb (framed with  $k^W i n-...T$  *gwin...-di*, 7.3.A.2.a.1.), which is the semantic agent:

- **ná:** mə tim wil  $k^W i n-ǰú c-T-[t]=t q í s-n$   
who 2E FUT SUB JUSS-cut.s.-DEF-[3]=NC hair-2S

Who are you getting to cut your hair?

(lit. by whom are you getting your hair cut)

(Fr. Par/chez qui vas-tu te faire couper les cheveux?)

*Nas mi dim wil gwin-k'ojihl gesic?*

**(?)Édith** nə tim wil  $k^W i n-ǰú c-T-[t]$  I am having **Edith** cut it.

E. 1S.E FUT SUB JUSS-cut.s.-DEF-[3] I am having it cut by **Edith**.

(Fr. Je vais les faire couper par/chez Edith.)

*Edith ni dim wil gwin-k'ojit.*

Compare with -the predicate-focused construction:

tim  $k^W i n-ǰú c-T-ə-ý? a=s [t]$  **(?)Édith** I'll have **Edith** cut it.

FUT JUSS-cut.s.-DEF-CTL-1S PREP=DC (DM) E. (Fr. Je vais les faire couper,  
par/chez Edith.)

*Dim gwin-k'otsdiy as Edith.*

#### 4.7.A.3.b. Focus on a circumstantial complement:

A circumstantial complement that is anteposed through focusing requires a subordinator between it and the rest of the clause. Which subordinator is used depends on the semantic content of the complement (see INDEFINITE PRONOUNS, 5.6. and SUBORDINATORS, 5.16., for more examples).

4.7.A.3.b.1. A complement referring to Cause requires the subordinator **qan** 'cause, reason why, therefore' *gan* (5.16.B.1.), which introduces a consequence:

- **?akù qan** †intx-[t]=s[t]pèter Why is/was Peter mad?  
 what reason mad-[3]=DC [DM] P. *Agu gan hlintxs Peter?*

In the answer, the focused constituent giving the reason is often a clause rather than a nominal. In the following example, the focused nominal before **qan gan** is the focused causal complement of the second clause, which is the Object of the preceding predicate:

- **k̂i:-tqamqaytwiláax**-[t]=s[t]txémsim  
 and-3E as.it.is know.s.-[3]=DC [DM] T.

**t loqapu:lá: qan** k̂Wó:tk̂W-[t]=†?àks==ki:  
 DM L. therefore lost-[3]=NC water==DISTAL

Actually, *Txeemsim* knew that it was because of Logabuulaa that the water had disappeared. (18.4-7)  
*K̂iit k̂'amgayt wilaax Txeemsim t Logabuulaa gan kw'ootkŵhl aks-gi.*

4.7.A.3.b.2. A complement referring to place requires the subordinator **Wil wil** which can be translated here as 'where' (5.16.B.7.)

- **ntá wil** cóq-n Where do you live?  
 which.way SUB stay-2S *Nda wil jogan?*
- †a:hux<sup>W</sup> **k̂íl**-[t]=† ŵlp wil mítk̂W-[t]=† k̂Wàlk̂W-a.txùx  
 now again one-[3]=NC house SUB plentiful-[3]=NC dry-LINK halibut

The dried halibut now filled yet another house. (176.1-2)  
 (lit. there was now one more house where dried halibut was plentiful)

*Hlaa huxw k̂'ilhl ŵlp wil mitkŵhl gwalgwa txox.*



## 4.7.B. SPECIFIED COMPLEMENT.

Specified Complements occur with a small number of predicates (P(E)(A)Sc), most of which are verbs of saying. The Specified Complement is normally in first position. The other elements of the sentence are placed in the normal order for their clause type. When these other elements are focused, the Specified Complement is displaced from its initial position and usually appears after the preposition ?a a, leading to confusion between this Complement and an Indirect Object in some cases.

4.7.B.1. The Specified Complement is normally anteposed:4.7.B.1.a. P<sub>ASc</sub>:

4.7.B.1.a.1. Noun: Wá wa 'name':<sup>17</sup> Note that for the question asking the name of a person (or pet animal), the interrogative pronoun is Ná: 'who?' *Naa*, corresponding to the actual name used in the answer.

- [t] ná:=† wá-n (==əst) (Hey) what's your name?  
[DM] who=NC name-2S-(AFF) *Naa! waan(is)?*
  
- [t] ná:=† wà-[t]=s [t] nó:n What's your mother's name?  
[DM] who =NC name-{3}=DC [DM] mother.2S *Naa! was noon?*
  
- [t] ná:=† hu)wà-[t]=† ?ankikátk<sup>W</sup>-n What are your parents' names?  
[DM] who=NC PL)name-{3}=NC parents-2S *Naa! huwah! angigatgwin?*
  
- [t] Máry=† wà-ý (My name is) Mary.  
[DM] M. =NC name-1S *Mary! wáy.*
  
- [t] Lúcy=† wà-t (Her name is) Lucy  
[DM] L.=NC nam-3 *Lucy! wat.*



When asking about a person's name, it is not correct to answer with the name alone. But when asking about an object, only the question includes the word **Wá** 'name' *wz*. The answer is the name of the object.

- **?akú=† wà-[t]=s [t] kùni**      What is this? (lit. what is the name  
what=NC name-[3]=DC[DM] this.Q      of this?)

*Aguhl was guni?*

**†áku:xk<sup>W</sup>**

spoon-carving tool

- [It's] a spoon-carving tool.

- *Hlagyuuxkw.*

4.7.B.1.a.2. Intransitive: This category of predicates consists of the passives of the transitive verb **siwá-t** 'to name s.' *siwa-* (*t*)*di*. The answer has the same structure as the question, i.e. it includes the verb.

4.7.B.1.a.2.a. **siwátk<sup>W</sup>** 'to be called/named (by a specific name)' (e.g. individual rivers, mountains, villages, nations, etc., which have received individual names) *siwatk<sup>w</sup>*:

- **?akú=† siwátk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†qali?àkst kùst==i**  
what=NC named-[3]=NC river DM that==Q

What is that river called?

*Aguhl siwatkwhl k'ali'aks tgsudi?*

**lísims=† siwàtk<sup>W</sup>-t**

*Nass*-NC named-3

- (It's called) the Nass River.

- *Lisimshl siwatkwt.*

4.7.B.1.a.2.b. **siwátk<sup>W</sup>s** 'to be called (by a common word)' (e.g. animals, plants, natural features, etc. which only have generic names) *siwatk<sup>w</sup>s*:

- **?akú=† siwátk<sup>W</sup>s-[t]=†càk<sup>W</sup>isk<sup>W</sup> t kùst==i**  
what=NC called-[3]=NC animal DM that==Q

What is that animal called?

*Aguhl siwatkwshl jakw'iskw tigusdi?*

?áx<sup>W</sup>t=† siwàtk<sup>W</sup>s-t

porcupine=NC called-3

- (It is called) a porcupine

- *Axwthl siwatkwst.*

4.7.B.1.b. PEASc: Only **siwá-tT** 'to name s.' *siwa -(t)di* occurs in the full range of PEASc constructions. A few other verbs use this construction for the most common questions they occur in, but a PEAI structure for most answers.

4.7.B.1.b.1. **siwá-tT** 'to name s.' *siwa -(t)di*:

- [t] ná: mə siwà-tT-[t]=† †kú:†k<sup>W</sup>-n

[DM] who 2E name.s.-DEF-[3]=NC child-2S

What [name] did you name your child?

*Nax mi siwadihl hlguuhlgin?*

Laura nəsiwà-tT-t

L. 1SE name.s.-DEF-3

(I named her) Laura.

*Laura ni siwadit.*

Péter tip siwà-tT-t

P. 1PE name.s.-DEF-3

We named him Peter.

*Peter dip siwadit.*

- Pétert siwà-tT-[t]=s[t] Məry=† †kú:†k<sup>W</sup>-t

P. 3E name.s.-DEF-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC child-3

Mary named her child Peter.

*Peter t siwadis Maryhl hlguuhlkw.*

- ?akù məsiwá-tT-[t]=s[t] kùn ?a=† sim?álkax

what 2E name.s.-DEF-[3]=DC [DM] this PREP=NC N.lang.

What do you call this in Nisgha?

*Agu mi siwadis gun ahl sim'algax?*

## 4.7.B.1.b.2. Other verbs:

4.7.B.1.b.2.a. **híks** : 'to say "..." to s.' (person A); to call s. a "..."

- **?akú**mə híks-[t]=† †kú:†k<sup>W</sup>-n      What did you say to your child?  
what 2E say.s.to.s.-[3]=NC child-2S      *Agu mi hikshl hlguuhlgwin?*
  
- ?akú**mə híks-[t]=† †kí-n      What did you say to your children?  
what 2E say.s.to.s.-[3]=NC children-2S      *Agu mi hikshl hlgín?*
  
- **kiló** - nə híks-t      I said to him/her: "Don't!"  
Don't! - 1SE say.s.to.s-3      *"Gilo!" ni hikst.*
  
- kómh-simh** - nə híks-tit      I said to them: "Go ahead!"  
Go ahead!-2P - 1SE say.s.to.s-3P      *"Gomsim!" ni hiksdiit.*
  
- **?akú**t híks-n t nòn      What did your mother say to you?  
what 3E ....-2S DM mother.2S      *Agu t hiksín t noon?*
  
- 4.7.B.1.b.2.b. **kín** 'to give s.o. a food (to eat then, or later)' *gin*:
  
- **?akú**mə kín-[t]=† †ús-n      What [food] do/did you give your dog?  
what 2E feed.s.to.s.-[3]=NC dog-2S      *Agu mi gínhl usín?*
  
- **?akú**tim-t kín-n t nòn      What [food] will your mother give you?  
what FUT-3E feed.s.to.s.-2S DM mother.2S      *Agu dimt gínín t noon?*
  
- 4.7.B.1.c. **P<sub>ESC</sub>**: ...**yá**/...**hí**:-ta 'to say "..."' (sg/pl) (used to report actual words) ...*ya*/... *hiida*:

This one verb is a morphological and syntactic oddity. It has a Specified Complement, not in addition to other elements of the sentence, but, it seems, instead of an A. Some syntactic peculiarities can be explained as attempts to

parallel a structure containing an A.

The Specified Complement is the only Object of this verb. It is always anteposed. The Ergative argument is the E clitic pronoun.

#### 4.7.B.1.c.1. Morphology:

	Singular		Plural	
1	... <b>nəyá</b>	... <i>ni ya</i>	_ <b>tip hí:-ta</b>	... <i>dip hiida</i>
2	... <b>məyáʔan</b>	... <i>mi yaʔan</i>	... <b>mə sim hí:-ta</b>	... <i>mi sim hiida</i>
3	... <b>t(ə)-yá</b>	... <i>diya</i>	... <b>t(ə)-hí:-ta</b>	... <i>dihida</i>

Note the morphological oddities:

- what appears to be the Causative suffix -ʔn -*an* (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.) on the 2S form only; this is probably related to the imperative meaning (4.7.B.1.c.2.b.);
- 3E clitic prefixed to the verb, with intervening vowel (unique case);
- irregular plural<sup>21</sup> with -*ta-da* plural ending (7.2.A.1.c.).

#### 4.7.B.1.c.2. Syntax:

##### 4.7.B.1.c.2.a. General use:

- **ʔakúnəyá**  
what 1S.E say                      What did I say?  
*Agu ni ya?*
  
- ʔakú tim tip hí:-ta**  
what FUT 1PL.E say.PL-PL        What shall we say?  
*Agu dim dip hiida?*

- ʔakú mə sɪm hí:-ta  
... 2E 2E.PL say.PL-PL  
What did you (pl.) say?  
*Agu mi sɪm híis!*
- way ʔá m - nə yá  
well... good - 1S.E say  
I said: "Very well! All right!"  
*"Way aam", ni yə.*
  - ní - t-(ə)-hí:-ta  
no 3E-(EP)-say-PL  
They said: "No!"  
*"Nii", dihiida.*

4.7.B.1.c.2.b. The second person:

- ʔakú mə yá-ʔn  
what 2E say-CAUS(?)  
What did you say?  
*Agu mi yə'an?*
- "... mə yá-ʔn  
... 2E say-CAUS(?)  
Say: "....."  
*'.....', mi yə'an.*

In the second person singular, the meaning is imperative (probably because of the causative suffix), except after an interrogative pronoun. It is likely that the use of this suffix has been extended to the interrogative construction.

4.7.B.1.c.2.c. The third person: In the third person, an adjunct nominal co-referring with the E pronoun may or may not be present in the clause (note that this noun has secondary stress, as do E-adjuncts generally):

- ʔakù t-(ə)-yá  
what 3E-(EP)-say  
What did she say?  
*Agu diya?*
- ʔakù t-(ə)-yá t nò:n  
what 3E-(EP)-say DM mother.2S  
What did your mother say?  
*Agu diya t noon?*
- ʔakù t-(ə)-yá † kàt  
what 3E-(EP)-say NC man  
What did the man say?  
*Agu diyahl gat?*

- ʔakùt-(ə)-hí-ta tipkùst==i      What did those people say?  
   whət 3E-say-PL DM.PL that==0      *Agu dhiida dip gusdi?*

In all other cases of determinates co-referring with E pronouns, the determinate connective (DC) =S -s (6.2.B.) is used between the verb and the determinate noun, as in:

- yuk<sup>W</sup>-tkipá-[t]=s [t]Pèter t Máry      Peter is waiting for Mary.  
   PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC P. DM M.      *Yukwt gibas Peter t Mary.*

Here there is no connective, and the singular or plural determinate marker is used alone. It would be ungrammatical<sup>22</sup> to say

- \*ʔakút-(ə)-yà=s [t]nón      What did your mother say?  
   ...=DC [DM] mother.2S      \* *Agu diyas noon?* [wrong]

But note that the connective is used only after verbal forms which include the 3 suffix pronoun -t (even if it usually deleted before the connective, see discussion in 4.3.B.). As yá/hí:ta ...*ya/hiida* never takes this suffix, it does not take the connective either.

(For non-determinate nouns, the difference between the two constructions is not apparent, since the non-determinate connective =t̄ -h/ fulfills the functions of both connective (6.2.B.1.) and determinate marker (6.2.B.2.a)).

4.7.B.1.c.2.d. The first person: in both singular and plural, most older speakers add an independent pronoun co-referent with the E pronoun (as also in Boas):

- ʔakúnə yá ñì:ý      What did I say?  
   what 1S.E say me      *Agu ni ya ñiiý?*
- ʔakútim tip hí:-ta ñù:ṁ      What shall we say?  
   what FUT 1PE-say-PL us      *Agu dim dip hiida ñuum?*

- ?akú==(y)əma?nə tim yá ñì:ý I wonder what I am going to say.  
 what==DUB IS.E FUT say me What ever shall I say?  
*Aguyima'a ni dim ya ñiiý?*

This use is probably related to the 3rd person use described above in c. In both cases, the noun or pronoun co-referring with the E pronoun is left unconnected to the verb, a unique case with transitive verbs in regular clauses (for normal transitive constructions see 4.3.B.3.). However, this lack of suffixation to the verb is characteristic of the Absolutive argument in predicate-focused clauses (4.4.B.2.). It seems that speakers feel that a sentence ending in a transitive verb alone is not complete, and they complete the sentence with a word that is grammatically independent although semantically co-referent with the E pronoun.

#### 4.7.B.2. Behavior of the Specified Complement when other constituents are focused.

4.7.B.2.a. Focusing of A in clauses containing a Specified Complement: the Sc is normally anteposed; if another element of the clause is focused, it moves into initial position, taking the place of the Sc; the latter then moves to final position, after the preposition ?a a . Other details of the clause remain as usual.

##### 4.7.B.2.a.1. P<sub>ASc</sub>:

##### 4.7.B.2.a.1.a. Noun: wá 'name' wa

Unfocused clause:

- [t] Máry=ɛ wà-[t]=s[t] nó:ý My mother's name is Mary.  
 [DM] M.=NC name-{3}=DC [DM] mother.IS *Maryhl was nooy.*

Focused A:

(initially)

- [t] nó.ý=† wà-(ə)t ?a=s [t] **Màry**      Mary is my mother's name.  
[DM] mother.1S=NC name-REL PREP=DC [DM] M.      *Noóyhl wat as Mary.*

(in relative clause)

tqalwá-tI-ə-m=†hanáq      We met a woman...  
meet.s.-DEF-CTL-1P=NC woman      *Tk'alwatdimhl hanak'.*

wà-(ə)t ?a=s **Máry**      ...named/by the name of Mary.  
name-REL PREP=DC M.      *... wat as Mary.*

#### 4.7.B.2.a.1.b. Intransitives (Passives of siwá-tI siwa-t/di)

Unfocused clause:

- lísim<sup>s</sup>=† siwàtk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†qali:ʔaks-mnisqáʔ  
Nass.River=NC named-[3]=NC river-ATTR Nisghas  
The Nisghas' river is called the Nass.  
*Lisimshl siwatkwahl k'alii'aksim Nisga'a.*
- ʔáx<sup>W</sup>t=† siwàtk<sup>W</sup>s-[t]=†cák<sup>W</sup>isk<sup>W</sup> t kùn  
porcupine=NC named-[3]=NC animal DM-this  
This animal is called a porcupine.  
*Axwthl siwatkwahl jakw'iskw tgun.*

Focused A:

(initially)

- ʔakú=†siwàtk<sup>W</sup>-(ə)t ?a=† lísim<sup>s</sup>      What is (called) the Nass?  
what=NC named-REL PREP=NC Nass      *Aguhl siwatgwit ahl "Lisims"?*



- $\text{ʔakú=ʔsiwàtk}^{\text{W}}\text{s-(ə)t ʔa=ʔ ʔáx}^{\text{W}}\text{t}^{20}$  What's a 'porcupine'?  
 what-NC named-REL PREP=NC porcupine What's meant by 'a porcupine'?  
*Aguhl siwatkwisit ahl "axwt"?*

(in relative clause)

- $\text{Wá-tit=ʔ ǰali:ʔáks=ʔ}$  They reached a/the river ...  
 reach.s.-3P=NC river-(NC) *Wadiithl k'ali'aks(hl)...*  
  
 $\text{siwátk}^{\text{W}}\text{-(ə)t ʔa=ʔ lísims}$  ...called the Nass.  
 named-REL ..... *...siwatgwit ahl Lisims.*
- $\text{ńi=Wá-tit=ʔ cák}^{\text{W}}\text{isk}^{\text{W}}(=ʔ)$  They came across the/an animal...  
 on-reach.s.-3P=NC animal-(NC) *Niiwadiithl jakw'iskw(hl)...*  
  
 $\text{siwátk}^{\text{W}}\text{s-(ə)t ʔa=ʔ ʔáx}^{\text{W}}\text{t}$  ...called a "porcupine".  
 called-REL .... porcupine *...siwatkwisit ahl axwt.*

#### 4.7.B.2.a.2. PEASc:

4.7.B.2.a.2.a.  $\text{siWá-tT}$  'to name s.' (see above for details) *siwa-(t)di*

Unfocused clause:

- $\text{ʔakú tip siwá-tT-[t]=ʔ cák}^{\text{W}}\text{isk}^{\text{W}}\text{t kùn==i}^{23}$   
 what 1PE name.s.-DEF-[3]=NC animal DM this==Q  
 What [name] do we call this animal?  
*Agu dip siwadihl jakw'iskw tguni?*  
  
 $\text{ʔáx}^{\text{W}}\text{t tip siwá-tT-[t]}$  - We call it a porcupine.  
 porcupine 1PE name.s.-DEF -3 - "*Axwt*" dip siwadit.

Focused A (Object): in relative clause:



- [t]Péter-tʔan kìn-[t]=s[t]nó.ýʔa=† hó:n  
 [DM] P.-3E REL E give.s.food-[3]=DC [DM] mother.1S PREP=NC fish  
 [It was] Peter [who] gave my mother fish.  
*Peter t an gins nooy **ahl hoon**.*
- [t]Péter-tʔan híks-ýʔa=† k<sup>w</sup>i:x-pí:k<sup>w</sup>  
 [DM] P-T-3E REL E say.s.to.s.-1S PREP=NC habitual-lie  
 [It was] Peter [who] called me a liar.  
*Peter t an híksiy **ahl gwiix-biikw**'.*

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

<sup>1</sup> In the literature on ergativity (e.g., Dixon 1979), the trichotomy Subject/Agent/Object replaces the dichotomies Subject/Object and Agent/Patient. The term Agent is used in a grammatical sense, not a thematic one, and refers to what would ordinarily be called the subject of a transitive verb, the term Subject being reserved for the subject of an intransitive verb.

<sup>2</sup> In this study the definition of ergativity is the traditional one found in Kurylowicz, Comrie, Dixon, and many other serious students of Ergative-type languages, not the highly divergent definition more recently put forward by Marantz (1981) and Levin (1983), which seems to be based more on theoretical considerations than on in-depth familiarity with languages of the Ergative type.

<sup>3</sup> As there is no pronominal A argument in this type of clause, a nominal with the A role cannot strictly speaking be called an 'adjunct', so it is referred to simply as an A-nominal for lack of a better term.

<sup>4</sup> Because of this alternation with an  $\text{?a}$  - prepositional phrase, which corresponds to English structure, there is a modern tendency to shift to this use of the Sc except with a few verbs or even a few uses of these verbs.

<sup>5</sup> What in English would be expressed by Manner adverbials is indicated in Nisgaha either by modifiers or proclitics as part of the predicate phrase, or by a higher predicate followed by the subordinator *wila*: 'how' *wilaa* (5.16.B.8.).

<sup>6</sup> For a fuller discussion see Tarpent 1987.

<sup>7</sup> That the deleted pronominal clitics are the ones occurring before, not after, the modal particles suggests that more is involved in the order of these elements than just their phonological shape (6.1.a.1.c.).

<sup>8</sup> Similarly in French, an Object pronoun referring to an inanimate object can be omitted from a transitive imperative if the referent is in the context of situation, as in

*Prenez!*  
take.IMP.2PL

Take it! Take some!

which can only be said when actually handing a person something, as opposed to:

*Prenez-le!*  
...-OBJ.MASC

Take it!

*Prenez-en!*  
...-OBJ.PART

Take some!

which refer to an object that has been already mentioned in the linguistic context.

<sup>9</sup> called 'independent order clause' in previous work by Rigsby, Tarpeit and others.

<sup>10</sup> As *hó:n-tk*<sup>▼</sup> 'one's fish' *hoontkw* is a mass noun here, the verb stem is not plural.

<sup>11</sup> A third person singular form *nit* exists, but is rarely used in normal speech except for focusing; it can however occur especially in translations of English sentences which have an obligatory pronoun; see Tarpeit 87.

<sup>12</sup> The obligatory use of the 3P pronoun, as in this example, seems relatively recent. In the Boas tales the plural stem of the verb is usually sufficient to indicate the number of the Subject, as in

lu:=yil)yáltk<sup>W</sup>  
in=PL)turned

They went back (206.11)

*Luuyilyaltkw* (now *Luuhilyaltkw*).

However, since not all verbs have separate plural stems, the plural pronoun is sometimes necessary to prevent ambiguity.

<sup>13</sup> A downshifted verbal P<sub>A</sub> has the same structure:

- *tim kax qóʔ-ə-ý=† tim xkó:fi:-ý* I'll just get myself some coffee.  
FUT just.now go.get.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT drink.coffee-1S

*Dim k'ax go'óyhl dim xkoofiíy.*

<sup>14</sup> I am grateful to Mrs. Shirley Adams of Aiyansh for first bringing the ambiguity of this phrase to my attention.

<sup>15</sup> Among YFS the order *ʔan t aa t* is more common than *t ʔan t aa*, except after interrogative pronoun. As the 3E pronoun *t* tends to merge

phonologically with a following dental stop or affricate, many YFS use only **?an an**, which is sufficient to indicate the ergative status of the focused element.

16 Some people use **wá** 'name' *wá* after the interrogative **?akú** 'what' *agu* in this type of clause; this seems to be especially common in Greenville. The answer does not include **wá** 'name' *wá*. Example:

<b>?akú=† wá=†ki)kíp-ə-n==əst</b>	What are you eating?
<b>what=NC name=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-2S==AFF</b>	What is it you are eating?
	<i>Aguhl wáhl gigibinis?</i>

17 in this example the predicate is the word **haláyt** 'shaman' *halayt* which is usually a noun; here it is used as an intransitive verb.

18 The predicative **wil wil**, which can be used as a noun or verb, should not be confused with the Subordinator **wil wil** (5.16.B.7.) which is always unstressed and never takes a suffix.

19 Note the difference between the **ni**-pronouns for humans and inanimates; for humans, the 3 suffix **-t** is considered an integral part of the pronoun and is retained even before the connective **=†**; for inanimates, it is not, and appears on the surface only before postclitics, as in

<b>nit==a?† qan wíl-t</b>	<u>That's</u> why [it happened]!
<b>that's...3==ASST=NC therefore be,do-3</b>	<i>Nida'ahl gan wílt!</i>

20 With only these examples of the use of **wá** 'name' *wá* it would be difficult to say with certainty which is the clause predicate: whether it is the noun **wá** *wá*, with focused Specified Complement, or the name or interrogative pronoun in normal predicative position. That **wá** *wá* is indeed the clause predicate is suggested by analogy with the other constructions with Specified Complements described in the following sections, and by its behavior when the A noun in the clause is focused, see below 4.7.B.2.

21 For the derivation of the singular and plural stems from a single historical form, by regular rules, see Tarpent 1983b.

22 But **=s -s** is occasionally used with this construction in Boas 1902, showing confusion with regular transitive verbs.

23 As with other cases of similar constructions, some YFS confuse and amalgamate features of questions about naming, producing such sentences as

- \* **ʔakú** tip siwá-tT-[t]=ʔ ʔa=ʔ ʔáx<sup>W</sup>t    What do we call *arwt*?
- what 1PE name.s.-DEF-[3]=NC PREP=NC porcupine
- \* *Agu dip siwadihlahl 'arwt'?* [wrong]

## PART II

### CHAPTER 5: WORD-CLASSES

Nisgha words can be classified into predicatives (which can take the predicate role in a clause) and non-predicatives. In the following list, predicatives are listed first, starting with P<sub>EA</sub>'s (transitive verbs), followed by P<sub>A</sub>'s: intransitive verbs, adjectives, numerals, nouns, and pronouns, the latter comprising indefinite, demonstrative and independent pronouns. Indirect pronouns are included with the other pronouns although they cannot be clause predicates. Next come the minor predicates: ambients and interjectives, followed by the auxiliary and negative verbs. Among the non-predicatives are listed adverbs, modifiers, subordinators, conjunctions and the preposition ?a a.

#### 5.1. TRANSITIVE VERBS (P<sub>EA</sub>'s).

Transitive verbs take one Ergative and one Absolutive argument; some also take a Specified Complement. They are normally used as clause predicates, but can also be nominalized by downshifting together with their Absolutive argument.

##### 5.1.A. Use as clause predicate:

##### 5.1.A.1. In regular clause:

5.1.A.1.a. The verb is preceded by an E clitic pronoun (and the Relative Ergative pronoun in a relative clause) and followed by an A suffix pronoun; if the latter is the 3 suffix -t, it is obscured by the consonant-deletion rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.(c)) if it is directly followed by a connective (6.2.B.); it occurs on the surface if a postclitic (6.3.) intervenes:

- wil-t náksk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s [t] Pèter t Máry ... as/when Peter married Mary.  
SUB marry.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P. DM M. ... *wilt nakskws Peter t Mary.*



- ná:ʔan-t náksk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s [t] Máry  
 who REL.E-3E marry.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.      Who married Mary?  
*Naa ant nakskws Mary?*
- wil-t cáp-[t]=s [t] Pèter=ʔ má:l      ... as/when Peter built the canoe.  
 SUB-3E make.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC canoe      ... *wilt japs Peterhl maal.*
- wil-t cáp-t==qa[t]=s [t] Pèter=ʔ má:l      ... as/when (they say)  
 SUB-3E make.s.-3==REP=DC [DM] P.=NC canoe      Peter built the canoe.  
 ... *wilt japt-gas Peterhl maal.*
- nə wilcáp-[t]=ʔ má:l      ... as/when I built the canoe.  
 1SE SUB make.s.-[3]=DC canoe      ... *ni wil japhl maal.*
- ná:ʔan-t cáp-[t]=ʔ má:l      Who built the canoe?  
 who REL.E-3E make.s.-[3]=NC canoe      *Naa ant japhl maal?*
- wil-t ʔimóm-ŷ      ... as/when she helped me.  
 SUB-3E help.s.-1S      ... *wilt hlimoomiŷ.*
- ná:ʔan-t ʔimóm-n      Who helped you?  
 who REL.E-3E help.s.-2S      *Naa ant hlimoomin?*

5.1.A.1.b. The Definite Medial (DEF) suffix {-T} is used with some transitive verbs (7.2.C.1.a.):

- it appears under the phonological shape /ə/ i/a between consonants:

- wil-tcák<sup>W</sup>-T-[t]=s [t] ʔàk=ʔ wí:likíńsk<sup>W</sup>  
 SUB-3E kill.s.-DEF-[3]=DC [DM] Ts.=NC big grizzly  
 ... as Ts'ak killed<sup>1</sup> the big grizzly.  
 ... *wilt jagwis Ts'akhl wii lik'ínskw.*

ná:ʔan-tcák<sup>W</sup>-T-[t]=†wílikínsk<sup>W</sup> Who killed the big grizzly?  
 SUB-3E kill.s.DEF-[3]=NC big grizzly *Naa ant jagwihl wii lik'ínskw?*

- wil-tqáq-T-[t]=s[t]Pèter=†ptóʔ ... as/when Peter opened the door.  
 SUB-3E open-DEF-[3]=DC[DM]=NC door ... *wilt k'agás Peterhl pdo'o.*

ná:ʔan-tqáq-T-[t]=†ptóʔ Who opened the door?  
 who REL.E-3E open-DEF-[3]=NC door *Naa ant k'agahl pdo'o?*

- it appears as /tə/ -di between a vowel or resonant and a consonant:

- wil-tyé:-tT-[t]=sPèter=†limʔó.ý  
 sing.s.-DEF-[3]=DC P.=NC funer.sing ...as/when Peter sang a funeral song.  
 ... *wilt yeedis Peterhl lim'ooý.*

wil tipyé:-tT-[t]=†limʔó.ý ... as/when we sang a funeral song.  
 SUB 1P.E sing.s.-DEF-[3]=DC P.=NC funer.sing ... *wil dip yeedihl lim'ooý.*

ná:ʔan-tyé:-tT-[t]=†limʔó.ý Who sang the funeral song?  
 who REL.E-2E sing.s.-DEF-[3]=DC P.=NC funer.sing *Naa ant yeedihl lim'ooý?*

5.1.A.1.c. Transitive verbs can be preceded by auxiliary or negative verbs:

- yuk<sup>W</sup>-tcáp-[t]=s[t]Pèter=†mál Peter is building a/the canoe.  
 PROG-3E make.s.-[3]=DC[DM] P.=NC canoe *Yukwt japs Peterhl maal.*

- ni:-ti:-tñaam-náksk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s[t]Màry t Péter  
 not-INTS-3E wanting-marry.s.-[3]=DC[DM] M. DM P.

Mary does/did not want to marry Peter.

*Nid:it naam-nakskws Mary t Peter.*

5.1.A.2. In predicate-focused clause:

5.1.A.2.a. All transitive verbs take the Control (CTL) suffix  $-\text{ə}-$  *i/a* (7.2.A.3.) before a personal suffix indicating the E argument (the 3 suffix  $-\text{t}$  is lost before a connective, through the consonant-deletion rule, 10.2.A.2.b.1.(c)):

- $\text{cáp-}\text{ə-}[\text{t}]=\text{s}[\text{t}]\text{Pèter}=\text{t} \text{ má:l}$       Peter built a/the canoe.  
make.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC canoe      *Jabís Peterhl máal.*
  
- $\text{cáp-}\text{ə-t}==\text{qa}[\text{t}]=\text{s}[\text{t}]\text{Pèter}=\text{t} \text{ má:l}$       I hear Peter built a/the canoe.  
make.s.-CTL-3==REP=DC [DM] P.=NC canoe      *Jabit-gas Peterhl máal.*
  
- $\text{cáp-}\text{ə-}\dot{\text{y}}=\text{t} \text{ má:l}$       I built a/the canoe.  
make.s.-CTL-1S=NC canoe      *Jabiyhl máal.*
  
- $\text{násk}^{\text{W}}\text{-}\text{ə-}[\text{t}]=\text{s}[\text{t}]\text{Pèter} \text{ t} \text{ Máry}$       Peter married Mary.  
marry.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] P. DM M.      *Naksgwis Peter t Mary.*
  
- $\text{timnák}^{\text{W}}\text{-}\text{ə-n} \text{ t} \text{ Máry}$       You are going to marry Mary.  
FUT marry.s.-CTL-2S DM M.      *Dim naksgwin t Mary.*

5.1.A.2.b. The Control suffix is added after the Definite Medial (DEF) suffix  $\{-\text{T}\}$  (hence  $-\text{tə} -\text{di}$ ) when that suffix is used:

- $\text{cák}^{\text{W}}\text{-T-}\text{ə-}[\text{t}]=\text{s}[\text{t}]\text{cák}=\text{t} \text{ wí:likínsk}^{\text{W}}$       Ts'ak killed the big grizzly.  
kill.s.-DEF-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] Ts.=NC big grizzly      *Jakwdís Ts'akhl wíi lik'ínsk.*
  
- $\text{qáq-T-}\text{ə-}[\text{t}]=\text{s}[\text{t}]\text{Pèter}=\text{t} \text{ ptó?}$       Peter opened the door.  
open-DEF-CTL-[3]=DC [DM]=NC door      *K'akdis Peterhl pdo'o.*
  
- $\text{yé-tT-}\text{ə-}[\text{t}]=\text{s}[\text{t}]\text{Pèter}=\text{t} \text{ lim}^{\text{?}}\text{ó.ý}$       Peter sang a funeral song.  
sing.s.-DEF-CTL-[3]=DC P.=NC funer.song      *Yeetdis Peterhl lim'ooý.*

(see 7.2.C.1.b. for more details of the surface realization and use of the suffix  $\{-\text{T}\}$ ).

5.1.b. Downshifting: nominalization:

Transitive verbs can be nominalized in the frame (7.3.B.1.b.):

**†ə [(P<sub>EA</sub>)-T]-[t]=... Noun**

where the transitive verb is preceded by the Restrictive particle **†ə** *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.) and followed by the Medial suffix **-T-** before the 3rd person suffix and the connective that links it to its A nominal.

- **†ə** *lìcX-T-[t]=†sim-ʔálkax*                      '(the) reading (of) Nisgha'  
the read.s.-DEF-[3]=NC real-talk                      *hli litsrahl sim'algaX*
- **†ə** *tàm-tT-[t]=†sim-ʔálkax*                      '(the) writing (of) Nisgha'  
the write.s.-DEF-[3]=NC real-talk                      *hli t'amdihl sim'algaX*
- **†ə** *yè:-tT-[t]=†límX*                      '(the) singing (of) a song'  
the sing.s.-DEF-[3]=NC song                      *hli yeedihl límX*

**Remark:** See the Remark to 4.5.A.3.b. for the potential ambiguity of some of these constructions.

5.2. INTRANSITIVE VERBS.

5.2.A. Non-statives: (includes Antipassives)

5.2.A.1. Normal role as clause predicate:

5.2.A.1.a. In regular clause: intransitives take a personal suffix as argument:

5.2.A.1.a.1. Following a subordinator:

- wil ʔá:t-t ...as/where/when he fished.  
 SUB fish.w.net-3 ... *wil aatt.*

wil ʔá:t-[t]=s [t] Pèter ...as/where/when Peter fished.  
 SUB ...-I3=DC [DM] P. ... *wil aats Peter.*

wil ʔá:t-n ...as/where/when you fished.  
 SUB ...-2S ... *wil aadin.*

5.2.A.1.a.2. Following an auxiliary or negative verb, or sometimes an evaluative verb or a verb of going:

- AUX: yuk<sup>W</sup>=t haʔáls[T]-t S/he is working.  
 PROG=NC work-3 *Yukwhl hahlalsit.*

NEG: ni:-ti: haʔáls[T]-t S/he did not work/is not working.  
 not-INTS ... *Nidii hahlalsit.*

  - ni:-ti: k<sup>W</sup>it ʔá:t-[t]=s Pèter Peter did/does not fish.  
 not-INTS around see.s.-AP.I-I3=DC [DM] P. *Nidii kw'ihl aats Peter.*
- EVAL: čáx<sup>W</sup>=t haʔáls[T]-t S/he works/worked/is working hard.  
 considerable=NC ... *Ts'arwhl hahlalsit.*

Verb of going:

- tá:wit=[t] ʔá:t-t He's away fishing.  
 leave=NC fish.w.net-3 *Daswihl aatt.*

5.2.A.1.a.3. In the morphosyntactic frame (wit... (liki:) ... [ ]-i:) 'looking like...' *wit... (ligii)/...-ii* (7.3.B.2.b.):

- wí[t]=† líkí k<sup>2</sup>Wí† ʔá:t-t-i:  
...=NC about around fish.w.net-3-SUFF  
It looked like he was fishing.  
*Wíhl lígí kw'íhl aatdií.*

5.2.A.1.b. In predicate-focused clause:

- ʔá:t t Pèter  
fish.w.net DM P.  
Peter fished.  
*Aat t Peter.*
- ʔá:t ñìỹ  
fish.w.net me  
I fished.  
*Aat ñiiỹ.*

5.2.A.2. Non-predicative role:

5.2.A.2.a. Can be A in clause:

5.2.A.2.a.1. With P<sub>A</sub> as predicate:

- haťáxk<sup>W</sup>=† lík<sup>W</sup>s  
bad=NC to steal  
Stealing is a sin.  
*Hat'axkwíh líkws.*

5.2.A.2.a.2. With P<sub>EA</sub> as predicate:

- wílá:x-ə-n=† hátik<sup>s</sup>=a  
know-CTL-2S=NC swim==Q  
Do you know how to swim?  
*Wílaayíníhí hadiksa?*
- tə-lím[x]-ə-t=† ʔá:t-t  
DOM-sing-CTL-3=NC to.fish-3  
He sang while fishing.  
*Dilimíthí aat.*

5.2.A.2.b. Downshifted: can take the Attributive suffix (-m) in a compound (9.2.A.2.c.):

- ṭxò:xk<sup>W</sup>-m hí†uk<sup>W</sup>  
eat.PL-ATT morning  
'breakfast'  
*ṭxoorgum-híhílukw*

5.2.B. Statives: (including Passives): Statives have a slightly more restricted distribution than non-statives (cf. Nouns, 5.5.C): .

5.2.B.1. Normally clause predicate:

5.2.B.1.a. In regular clause: follows a subordinator or negative verb, rarely an auxiliary or evaluative verb.

- wil **ťá**:-t ... as/where/when s/he sat.  
SUB sit-3 ... *wil t'ast*.
  
- wil **ťá**:-[t]=s[t]Pèter ... as/where/when Peter sat.  
SUB sit-[3]=DC [DM] P. ... *wil t'aas Peter*.
  
- ni:-ti: **ťá**:-[t]=s[t]Màry Mary didn't sit.  
not-INT sit-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Nidii t'aas Mary*.
  
- ni:-ti: k<sup>W</sup>i† **ťá**:-[t]cə t Màry Mary isn't/wasn't sitting!  
not-INT around sit-[3] IRR DM M. *Nidii kw'ihl t'aas ji t Mary!*
  
- ni:-hux<sup>W</sup>-ti: ká?-tk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=sPèter Peter was not seen again.  
not-again-INTS see.s.-PAS-[3]=DC [DM] P. *Nihurwdii ga'atkws Peter*.

5.2.B.1.b. In predicate-focused clause:

- **ťá**: ñìỵ I sat/was sitting.  
sit me *T'aas ñiiỵ*.
  
- ťá**: t Màry Mary sat/was sitting.  
... DM ... *T'aas t Mary*.
  
- ťá**:=† hanáq̣ The woman sat/was sitting.  
...=NC woman *T'aahl hanaq̣'*.

5.2.B.2. In non-predicative role: an intransitive verb is not used as the argument of a main predicate; it often has an attributive role to a noun or other downshifted (p. 255 ff.) predicate, with ATTR suffix -m:

tqal=tà:-m éngine against=sit-ATTR ...	'outboard motor' <i>tq'alt'am injin</i>
k'wàciksk <sup>W</sup> -mha-ni=tá: rock-ATTR INST-on=sit	'rocking chair' <i>k'w'ajiksgum haáit'aa</i>

### 5.3. ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives share some of their properties with statives and others with numerals.

#### 5.3.A. Can be clause predicate:

5.3.A.1. In regular clause: Like stative intransitives, adjectives do not normally follow auxiliary verbs; they follow subordinators or negative verbs:

- wil wí:-nák<sup>W</sup>-t  
SUB big-long-3

...as s/he is tall.  
... *wil wíinákwt.*
- wil wí:-nák<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s[t]Màry  
SUB big-long-3=DC [DM] M.

...as Mary is tall.  
... *wil wíinákws Mary.*
- wil wíi:-nák<sup>W</sup>-ỵ  
SUB big-long-1S

... as I am tall.  
... *wil wíinagwiỵ.*
- ní:-ti: wí:-nák<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s[t]Màry  
not-INT big-long-[3]=DC [DM] M.

Mary is not tall.  
*Nidii wíinákws Mary.*



5.3.A.2. In predicate-focused clause:

- $\dot{w}i\text{-}\acute{n}ákw\ \acute{n}i\acute{y}$  I am tall.  
big-long me *Wiiñakw ñiiy.*
- $\dot{w}i\text{-}\acute{n}ákw^W\ t\ M\grave{a}ry$  Mary is tall.  
big-long DM M. *Wiiñakw t Mary.*
- $\dot{w}i\text{-}\acute{n}ákw^W\ =\dagger\ \text{han}\acute{a}\acute{q}$  The woman is tall  
big-long =NC woman *Wiiñakwhl hanak'.*

5.3.A.3. Adjectives can occur in comparative structures with modifier  $\acute{k}a$ :  
'most' *k'aa* and preposition  $\text{?a}\ s$ :

- $\acute{k}a\ \dot{w}i\text{-}\acute{n}ákw^W\ t\ M\grave{a}ry\ \text{?a}=\text{s}\ [t]\ L\acute{u}cy$  Mary is taller than Lucy.  
most big-long DM M. PREP=DC [DM] L. *K'aa wiiñakw t Mary as Lucy.*

5.3.B. In non-predicative function:

5.3.B.1. As Adjuncts: Adjectives are not normally adjuncts, but some can function like abstract nouns as adjuncts to the arguments of evaluative verbs:

- $t\theta)\text{-}[t\acute{q}al=\acute{y}\acute{e}]=\dagger\ \acute{q}ay\acute{m}\acute{a}s\ [t]=\text{[s]}\ [t]\ M\grave{a}ry$   
ASP)increase=NC young-[3]=DC [DM] M.  
Mary is [looking] younger and younger.  
(lit. Mary's youth is increasing)  
*Ditk'alyochl k'aymas Mary.*

5.3.B.2. In downshifted position:

5.3.B.2.a. In downshifted relativized position: (see 4.7.A.2.c.2.)

- ká:wí:-ńák<sup>W</sup>-(ə)t=† ʔítisk<sup>W</sup>-† kí:k<sup>W</sup>-ə-t  
 most big-long-REL=NC necklace=NC buy.s.-CTL-3  
 S/he bought the longest/a very long necklace.  
*K'aa wíińagwithl itiskwhl giigwit.*
- kíńám-[t]=† lo:-ń ʔá:m-(ə)t=† qapì:-[t]=† winéx  
 give.s.-[3]=NC IND-1P good-REL=NC amount-[3]=NC food  
 Give us ... our daily bread<sup>2</sup>  
 (lit. ... the right amount of food)  
*Gińamhl loom̄ ... ńamithl gabiihl wineex.*

5.3.B.2.b. Downshifted as attributive to a noun(-phrase):

wí:-ńák <sup>W</sup> -m hanáq̣	'a tall woman'
big-long-ATTR woman	<i>wíińagum hanaḳ'</i>

5.4. NUMERALS.

There are four categories of numerals: humans, animals, canoes/boats, etc., other objects (see chart p. 308).<sup>3</sup>

Higher numbers are formed by adding tə *di/da* for units and Wil for tens, thus for instance:

xpíl-tə-kíp̄il	'twelve'
ten-...-two	<i>xbil-di-gilp'il</i>
k <sup>W</sup> ilál-wil-káp	'thirty'
three-...-ten	<i>gwilal-wil-k'ap</i>
txálp̄x-wil-káp-tə-qantó:lt	'forty-eight'
four-...-ten-...-eight	<i>txalpx-wil-k'ap-da-gandooit</i>

	ABSTRACT COUNTING, OBJECTS	ANIMALS, SKINS, GARMENTS	PERSONS	CANOES, BOATS, VEHICLES
1	kíl <i>k'il</i>	ké:k <sup>W</sup> <i>k'eekw</i>	kól <i>k'yool</i>	qamé?et <i>k'ame'et</i>
2	kílþil <i>gilp'il</i>	tipxá:t <i>t'ipx̄aat</i>	paqatíl <i>bagadil</i>	qalpé?eltk <sup>Ws</sup> <i>galbe'eltkw</i>
3	k <sup>W</sup> ilál <i>gwilal</i>	k <sup>W</sup> ilán <i>gwilaa</i>	k <sup>W</sup> iló:n <i>gwiloon</i>	k <sup>W</sup> iláltk <sup>Ws</sup> <i>gwiláltkws</i>
4	txálp̄x <i>txalp̄x</i>	txálp̄x	txalp̄xtó:l <i>txalp̄xdool</i>	txálp̄xk <sup>Ws</sup> <i>txalp̄xkws</i>
5	k <sup>W</sup> stíns <i>kwsdins</i>	k <sup>W</sup> stíns	k <sup>W</sup> stínsó:l <i>kwsdinsool</i>	k <sup>W</sup> stínsk <sup>Ws</sup> <i>kwsdinskws</i>
6	qó:lt <i>k'oolt</i>	qó:lt	qó:ltó:l <i>k'ooldool</i>	qó:ltk <sup>Ws</sup> <i>k'ooltkws</i>
7	tipxó:lt <i>t'ipxoolt</i>	tipxó:lt	tipxó:ltó:l <i>t'ipxooldool</i>	tipxó:ltk <sup>Ws</sup> <i>t'ipxooltkws</i>
8	qantó:lt <i>gandoolt</i>	yux <sup>W</sup> tá:lt <i>yuxwdaalt</i>	yux <sup>W</sup> ta:ltó:l <i>yuxwdaaldool</i>	qantó:ltk <sup>Ws</sup> <i>gandooltkws</i>
9	k <sup>W</sup> stimó:s <i>kwsdimooos</i>	k <sup>W</sup> stimó:s	k <sup>W</sup> stimó:só:l <i>kwsdimooosool</i>	k <sup>W</sup> stimó:sk <sup>Ws</sup> <i>kwsdimoooskws</i>
10	xpíl <i>xbil</i>	káp <i>k'ap</i>	xpó:l <i>xbool</i>	kápk <sup>Ws</sup> <i>k'ap</i>

Numerals share some of their syntactic properties with nouns and others with adjectives, as well as having some of their own.

#### 5.4.A. Adjective-like properties:

##### 5.4.A.1. Can be clause predicate:

##### 5.4.A.1.a. In regular clause: after subordinator or negative verb:

- wil qam kó:l-ý ... as I am alone (lit. ...I am only one).  
SUB just one.pson-1S ... *wil k'am k'yooliy.*
- wil paqatíl{t}=t tkì-[t]=s [t] MARY ... as Mary has two children.  
two[persons]-[3]=NC child.PL=DC [DM] M. (lit. ...Mary's children are two)  
... *wil bagadilhl hlgis Mary.*
- ...wil paqatíl-ti:t ... as she has/they are two.  
SUB two[persons]-3P ... *wil bagadildiit.*
- ni:-ti: lu=paqatíl-ti:t They weren't two [in the car/boat/etc].  
not-INTS in=two[persons]-3P *Nidii luubagadildiit.*

##### 5.4.A.1.b. In predicate-focused clause:

- qam kó:l t MARY Mary is/was alone.  
just one[person] DM M. *K'am k'yool t Mary.*
- qam kó:l=t tkù:tk<sup>W</sup>-ý I only have one child.  
just one[person] =NC child-1S (lit. my child is just one)  
*K'am k'yoolhl hlguuhlgwiý.*

##### 5.4.A.2. In non-predicative role:

Numerals cannot be Adjuncts, but they can be in downshifted position.

5.4.A.2.a. In downshifted relativized position:

- paqatìl-(ə)t=† ha.náq̣                      'the two women'  
two[persons]-REL=NC woman.PL              *bagadilithl haanak'*
- ṭipxà:t-(ə)t=† ʔas)ʔús                      'the two dogs'  
two[animals]-REL=NC PL)dog              *t'ipx̣aadithl as'us.*

5.4.A.2.b. With the Attributive suffix -m when followed by a head noun:

- q̣am ḳil-m ʔasáỵ                      Only-One-Leg (a character in a story)  
only one[object]-ATT leg.foot                      *K'am-k'ílím-Asáỵ*

5.4.B. Noun-like properties:

5.4.B.1. A numeral can be downshifted to head of noun-phrase:

- paqatìl-[t]=† †kì-ỵ́                      'my two children'  
two[persons]=NC child.PL-1S                      *bagadilhl hlgíỵ*

(compare with a clause with the numeral as predicate: note the different stress pattern:

wil paqatíl-[t]=† †kì-ỵ́                      ...as I have two children.  
two[persons]-[3]=NC child.PL-1S                      ... *wil bagadilhl hlgíỵ.*)

- ḳó:l-t                      'one [of them]'  
one(person)-3S                      *k'yoolt*
- kú:[t]-[t]=† ḳíl-t                      Take one.  
take.s.-[3]=NCone[thing]-3S                      *Guvhl k'ílt.*

With a numeral meaning 'one', such a phrase is often used with a more indefinite meaning, corresponding to an English article (definite or indefinite according to the context):

$\check{k}\check{o}:l-[t]=\dagger$  hanáq                      'one woman, a/the woman'  
 one(person)-[3]=NC woman                *k'yoolhl hanak'*

5.4.B.2. A numeral with a personal suffix but without a following noun can be preceded by the Restrictive particle  $\dagger\check{\theta}$  *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.):

- $\text{?á.m}=\text{əma?nətimkíp}-[t]=\dagger\check{\theta}$   $\check{k}\check{i}l-t$   
 good-PROB 1E FUT eat.s.-[3]=NC the one(thing)-3S  
 It's probably all right for me to eat one.  
 Maybe I can eat one.  
*Aamima'a ni dim giphl hli k'ilt.*

With humans, the particle seems to be used mostly for contrast:

- $\check{k}w\check{i}\dagger$  hátiks= $\dagger$   $\check{k}\check{o}:l-t$                       One of them swam,  
 about swim=NC one(person)-3                *Kw'ihl hadikshl k'yoolt.*
- $\text{?i:ksax laqam}=\text{tá:}-[t]=\dagger\check{\theta}$   $\check{k}\check{o}:l-t$   
 and only into water=sit-[3]=NC the one(person)-3  
 ... and the other one just sat in the water.  
 ... *ii ksax lagamt'ashl hli k'yoolt.*

5.4.C. Formation of ordinal numbers: all numerals except 'one' can be prefixed with  $\check{c}u$ : - 'the ...eth' *ts'uu-* (7.2.B.1.b.2.b.). The resulting word function as an adjective:

$\check{c}u$ :-paqatíl-(ə)t                      'the second one'  
 other-two(person)-REL                      *ts'uubagadil(i)t*

- ʔa: nì-[t]=ʔ wil ču:-k<sup>W</sup>ilál-[t]=ʔ x-kè:ks-n  
now that's-[3]=NC SUB other-three-[3]=NC eat-cake-2S

That's your third piece of cake!

(you are eating cake for the third time)

*Hlaa ñihl wil ts'uugwilañhl xkeeksin.*

For 'first', Boas 1895 gives ču:-kíl *ts'uuk'il* in the category 'Objects' and ksqó:q *ksgook* in the category 'Persons'. Nowadays the latter seems to be used exclusively, for all categories.

ksqò:q-msá-(tT-[t]=ʔqanú:tk<sup>W</sup>) 'Monday' (lit. first day--of the week)  
first-ATTR day-(DEF-[3]=NC week) *ksgoogam sa(dihl ganuutkw)*

## 5.5. NOUNS.

Nouns can be determinate or non-determinate (3.2.A.1.). Determinate nouns include personal names, which have very restricted syntactic properties, as in most languages. The following does not apply to personal names except as indicated.

A special case is that of the six kinship terms referring to an ascendant generation, most of which have the frozen prefix ΠΘ- *ni-* (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.2.)).

<i>nóx</i>	'mother'	<i>nox</i>	<i>nik<sup>W</sup>ót</i>	'father'	<i>nigwoot</i>
<i>nič'č</i>	'grandmother'	<i>nits'iits'</i>	<i>nijé?</i>	'grandfather'	<i>niye'e</i>
<i>nixtá:</i>	'aunt'	<i>nixdas</i>	<i>nipíp</i>	'(maternal) uncle	<i>nibip</i>

These are almost exclusively found in a possessive context. They sometimes function as determinates and sometimes not. As determinates, they are treated like personal names.

5.5.A. All nouns can be clause predicates: however, they are most commonly used as arguments.

5.5.A.1. Equivalence statements: practically all nouns, including personal names, can be predicates in such statements:

- (t) **Máry** tkùn  
(DM) M. DM-this                      This is Mary.  
*(T) Mary tgun.*
- **ʔá:t** tkùn  
net DM this                              This is a net.  
*Aat tgun.*
- **hanáǝ-t** t̩kù:t̩k<sup>W</sup>-y̩  
woman-NC child-1S                      I have a daughter.  
(lit. my child is a female)  
*Hanaǝ't̩ h̩l̩ h̩guuhl̩gwi̩y̩.*
- **kát-t** m̩à:l==ki.  
person-NC canoe==DIST                      The canoe was a person [a monster].  
*Gathl̩ maal-gi.*                      (106.13)

5.5.A.2. Possessive statements: These do not apply to personal names. The nominal predicate is the possessed noun, the noun or pronoun is the possessor: only semantically suitable nouns enter in such statements:

- **tá:la** ñi:n==a  
money you==Q                              You got some money?  
*Daala ñiina?*
- ñi:=t̩ **tá:la**-n==a  
NEG-NC money-2S==Q                      Do you have any money?  
*Niñl̩ daalana?*
- lip **wilp** ñiti:t  
self house they                              They have their own house.  
*Lip wilp ñidiit.*





5.5.D. A predicate noun can be preceded by a Negative verb (not an Auxiliary or evaluative verb):

5.5.D.1. Most nouns (except personal names):

5.5.D.1.a. Non-possessed noun: negation is like that of other P<sub>A</sub>'s (5.2., 5.3., 5.4.); the modifier **k<sup>2</sup>Wit** 'around, about' *kw'ihl* is often used to emphasize negation (cf. statives, 5.2.B.):

- ni:-ti: **k<sup>2</sup>Wit** hanáq̣-[t]=s [t] Tràcy      Tracy is not a girl!  
not-INTS about woman-[3]=DC {DM} T.      *Nidii kw'ihl hanak's Tracy!*
- kát t Tràcy - ni:-ti: **k<sup>2</sup>Wit** hanáq̣-t      Tracy is a boy, not a girl!  
man DM T. - not-INTS about woman -3S      (lit. ...he is not a girl)  
*Gat t Tracy, nidii kw'ihl hanak't.*
- mál t kus - ni:-ti: **k<sup>2</sup>Wit** pót-t      That is a canoe, not a boat.  
canoe DM that ...      ... boat-3S      (lit. ...it is not a boat)  
*Maal tgus, nidii kw'ihl boot.*

5.5.D.1.b. Possessed noun:

5.5.D.1.b.1. If there is no A-nominal: negation is the same as for a non-possessed noun (5.5.D.1.a.); the possessor is suffixed to the noun:

- ni:-ti: **k<sup>2</sup>Wit** ?ankú-n=əst      It's none of your business!  
not-INTS ... o's.business-2S==AFF      *Nidii kw'ihl angunis!*

5.5.D.1.b.2. With A-nominal: since the possessed nominal predicate already has its argument suffixed to it, the A-nominal appears as an Indirect Object (prepositional phrase or indirect pronoun); the modifier **k<sup>2</sup>Wit** *kw'ihl* is not normally used: compare the following examples: (A-nominal highlighted):

## 5.5.D.1.b.2.a. non-negative:

- hasáq-t=† si: kútáč  
want-3=NC new coat                      S/he wants/needs a new coat.  
(lit. a new coat is h. want)  
*Hasakthl sii k'udats.'*
- ?ansí pínsk<sup>W</sup>-ỵ t Mày  
friend-1S DM M.                              Mary is my friend.  
*Ansiip'insgwiý t Mary.*

## 5.5.D.1.b.2.b. negative:

- ni:-ti: hasáq-t?a=† si: kútáč  
not-INTS want-3 PREP=NC new coat                      S/he doesn't want/need a new coat.  
*Nidii hasakt ahl sii k'udats'.*
- ni:-ti: hasáq-tlo:-t  
not-INTS want-3 IND-3                              S/he doesn't want/need it/one.  
*Nidii hasakt loot.*
- ni:-ti: ?ansí:pínsk<sup>W</sup>-ỵ ?a=s [t] Mày                      Mary is not my friend.  
not-INTS friend-1S PREP-DC [DM] M.                      *Nidii ansiip'insgwiý as Mary.*
- ni:-ti: ?ansí:pínsk<sup>W</sup>-ỵ lo:-t  
not-INTS friend-1S IND-3                              She is not my friend.  
*Nidii ansiip'insgwiý loot.*

5.5.D.2. Personal names:

Personal names cannot take a personal suffix. Therefore, the A-nominal with such a predicate appears as an Indirect Object in a negative context, just like that of a possessed noun (5.5.B.1.b.2.b.): compare:

## 5.5.D.2.a. non-negative:

- |                     |                            |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (t) Mày t kúst==i   | Is that Mary (over there)? |
| (DM) ... DM-that==Q | (T) Mary tgusdi?           |

## 5.5.D.2.b. negative:

ni:-ti: t Máry ʔa=s[t]kùs[t]      That isn't Mary.  
 not-INTS DM M. PREP=DC [DM] that      *Nidii t Mary as gus.*

ni:-ti: t Máry lo:-t      It isn't Mary.  
 not-INTS DM M. IND-3      *Nidii t Mary loot.*

5.5.E. A noun can take the Attributive suffix -m when followed by another noun (the suffixed noun is the head of the group):

hanàq̣-m ʔúl      'a female bear'  
 woman-ATT bear      *hanak'am ul*

hò:pix-mqán      'a wooden spoon'  
 spoon-ATT wood      *hoobixim gan*

5.5.F. A noun can take the REL suffix -(ə)t *it/at/t*:

5.5.F.1. After Focused possessor: (284)

- nà:=ʔ ʔá:t-ət lo:-t      Whose net is it?  
 who-NC net-REL IND-3      *Naahl aadit loot?*
- ní:n:=ʔ ʔá:t-ət lo:-t==a:      Is it your net?  
 you-NC net-REL IND-3==0      *Niinhl aadit looda?*

5.5.F.2. In two morphosyntactic frames (7.3.B.2.a.) with indefinite meaning:

5.5.F.2.a. ʔakù:=ʔ wila:s [...]-(ə)t      'what kind of ...'  
*Aguhl wilas.....-it/at/t?*

- ?akù=† wilas ?á:t-(ə)t lo:-t      What kind of net is it?  
[... net ...] IND-3      *Aguhl wilas **adit** loot?*
- ?akù=† wilas ?á:t-(ə)t=† ti: hó:x-ə-t      What kind of net does he use?  
[... net ...]=NC INTS use.s.-CTL-3      (= what kind of fish is he after?)  
*Aguhl wilas **adithl dii** hooyit?*

5.5.F.2.b. *liki:-lip-wilas[...]- (ə)t* 'any/whatever kind of ...'  
*ligii-lip-wilas .....-it/at/t*

*liki:-lip-wilas?á:t-(ə)t*      Any kind of net, whatever kind  
[... net...]      of net      *ligii-lip-wilas **adit***

5.5.G. A noun can enter into the morphosyntactic frame *Wit ...-i:* 'looking like...' *wit...-ii* (7.3.B.2.b.):

5.5.G.1. Where this expression is the predicate:

- *wi[t]=† kWiskWó:s-i:*      It was blue. (lit. ... like a bluejay)  
[...=NC bluejay ...]      *Wihl **gwisgwoosii**. (139.10)*
- *wi[t]=† ?i†é:ʔ-i=† ?is*      The soapberries look just like blood  
[...=NC blood ...]=NC soapberries      (there are so many, so ripe).  
*Wihl **ihlee'iihl is**.*

5.5.G.2. Where this expression is an Adjunct: (here anteposed by Object Focusing, 4.7.A.2.a.)

- *wi[t]=† smáx-i:=† kàʔ-ə-ý*      I saw what looked like a bear.  
[...=NC bear...]=NC see.s.-CTL-1S      (lit. what I saw looked like a bear)  
*Wihl **smaxiihl ga'ay**.*

## 5.6. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

The three Nisgha 'indefinite pronouns' are really nouns with indefinite meaning and specialized properties. They are used with interrogative as well as declarative meaning. If the latter, their indefinite meaning is usually reinforced by the modifier *likí*: 'about, any' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.) used as a prefix.

### 5.6.A. Unprefixed:

#### 5.6.A.1. Form and meaning:

determinate:	<b>ná:</b>	Someone/Who?	<i>naa</i>
non-determinates:	<b>?akú</b>	Something/What?	<i>agu</i>
	<b>ntá</b>	Somewhere/Somehow/Which way?	<i>nda</i>

#### 5.6.A.1.a. Determinate **ná:** *Naa*:

5.6.A.1.a.1. **ná:** 'who?' *Naa* recurs in the noun **kiná:** 'So-and-So' *K'inaa*, which is determinate and in the modifier **lip-?a-ná:** 'as the only one...' (5.15.B.3.f.) *lip-anaa*. As with determinate nouns, only very old speakers use the singular Determinate marker **t** before **ná:** *naa* in absolute initial position, but the plural Determinate marker **tip dip** is used in the plural, as in:

- **tip ná:=t tim náks-(ə)t**                      Who [what couple] is getting married?  
DM.PL ...=NC FUT married-REL              *Dip naahl dim naksit?*

5.6.A.1.a.2. **ná:** *naa* can be used as a determinate noun to refer to an unidentified person, somewhat like English 'X...', in giving an example:

- **kinám-ə-y?a=s[t]ná:**                      I gave it to X..  
give.s.-CTL-1S PREP=DC [DM] ...              *Ginamiy as Naa.*

However, it is most often used as an interrogative or indefinite pronoun. As an indefinite pronoun, it occurs most often preceded by the modifier *likí*: *ligii*

(5.15.B.42.), with the long vowel shortened, thus the combination **likitná:** 'someone, anyone' *ligitnaa* (5.6.B.2.), where the medial **t** is the singular Determinate marker.

5.6.A.1.b. Non-determinates: ?akú *agu* and ntá *nda*:

5.6.A.1.b.1. **?akú** 'something, what?' *agu* consists of the prefix **?a-** *a-* (7.1.B.1.b.5.a.) and the stem **kú** 'something' *gu*. The latter is used as an abbreviation of **?akú *agu*** in its interrogative meaning, but it also occurs as the nominal element in a number of derivatives such as **?an-kú** '(one's) concern' *angu*, **?an-sə-kú** 'something one doesn't pay attention to' *ansigu*, **?is-kú** 'to smell of something' *isgu*, and the interrogative adverb **kaxkú** 'when?' *gaxgu* (5.14.).

Preceded by the definite/restrictive particle **†ə** *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.), it means 'one's intimate possession (part of one's body, related person)', as in:

- **†ə kú-n=†sqíksk<sup>W</sup>-(ə)t**                      Are you hurt somewhere?  
DEF ...-2S=NC injured-REL                      (lit. your what is injured?)  
*Hli gunhl sgeksgwit?*

5.6.A.1.b.2. **ntá** 'which way?' *nda* is phonologically unusual in that it has the initial sequence /nt/ which otherwise occurs only in the word **nté:?** 'hand me the ...' *ndee'e* which is probably related to it. In combination with the P<sub>A</sub> **wil** 'be/act' *wil*) it means 'to happen to ..., to be the matter with [sthg or sbdy]', as in:

- **ntá=† wil-[t]=s[t]Péter**                      What happened to Peter?  
which.way-[3]=NC act=DC [DM] P.                      *Ndah! wils Peter?*
- **ni-ti: ntá-[t]cətim wil-ət lò:-t**                      Nothing is going to happen to him.  
not-INTS- which.way-[3] IRR FUT C act-REL IND-3                      *Nidii nda ji dim wilit loot.*

5.6.A.1.b.3. **?akú** 'what?' *agu* and **ntá** 'which way?' *nda* are also used as ordinary nouns, as shown by their occurrence with numerals:

**kíl-[t]=ɬ ?akú** 'a thing, something'  
one [thing]-[3]=NC ... *k'íhl agu*

**kíl-[t]=ɬ ntá** 'a place, someplace'  
one [thing]-[3]=N ... *k'íhl nda*

and with adjectives:

**wi:qam-wìl-m ?akú** 'an old worn-out thing'  
big refuse-be-ATTR ... *wii gamwilim agu*

5.6.A.1.b.4. Both **?akú** 'what?' *agu* and **ntá** 'which way?' *nda* can be coupled with subordinators to express precise circumstantial meanings in questions:

- **?akú** 'what?' *agu* when followed by the subordinator **qan gaa** (5.16.B.1.) has the meaning 'why?' (CAUSE) and when followed by the subordinator **wila: wilaa** (5.16.B.8.) it has the meaning 'what ...for?' (GOAL). When followed by the subordinator **wil wil** (5.16.B.7.) it may have different meanings, depending on the semantics of the verb; these meanings include 'when? at what time?' (TIME) and 'what for' (GOAL).

- **ntá** 'which way?' *nda* as a pronoun is ambiguous as to manner or location. In particular, when followed by **wil wil** it has the meaning 'where?' (LOCATION), and when followed by **wila: wilaa** it has the meaning 'how?' (MANNER). It is occasionally followed by **qan gaa**, with the meaning 'why...?' (CAUSE). There does not seem to be a difference between **ntá qan nda gaa** and **?akúqan agu gaa**, except that the latter seems more general among YFS.

- Although **ná:** 'who?' *naa* can also be followed by the subordinators **qan gaa** and **wil wil**, the circumstantial meaning is more variable and depends on the





- **?akù=† sə-wá-tk<sup>W</sup>s-[t]=[s][t]kùni**      What is this called?  
what?=NC make-name-PAS.I.-[3]=[DC][DM] this.Q      *Aguhl siwatkws guni?*
- **nà:=†wá-n==əst**      What's your name?  
who?=NC name-2S==AFF      *Nahl wanis?*
- **akù==(y)əma?†wá-t**      I wonder what it is./What could it be?  
what?==DUB=NC name-2S==AFF      *Aguyima'ahl wat?*

5.6.A.2.a.2.b. as Sc of PEASc:

- **akù məsə-wá-tT-t**      What do you call it/him/her?  
what? 2E make-name-DEF-3      *Agu mi siwadit?*
- **?akù nətim kín-t**      What [food] shall I give h.?  
what? 1S.E.FUT give.food.to.s.-3      *Agu ni dim gint?*
- **ntà mətim wilák<sup>W</sup>-T-t**      What will you do with it/h.?  
which.way? 2E.FUT treat.s.-DEF-3      *Nds mi dim wilaagwit?*

5.6.A.2.a.3. As focused constituent:5.6.A.2.a.3.a. Focused A:- of a P<sub>A</sub>:

- **ná:=†nàks-ət**      Who got married?  
who=NC married-REL      *Nahl naksit?*
- **?akú=† hò:x-s-ət lo:-t**      What is/was used for it? (e.g. to make it)  
what=NC use.s.-PAS-REL IND-3      *Aguhl hooksit loot?*

- of a P<sub>ASc</sub>:

- **ʔakú=† siwà-tk<sup>W</sup>s-ət ʔa=† "..."**      What's a "..."?/ What is called "..."?  
 what=NC name.s.-PAS.I-REL PREP ...      *Aguhl siwatkwsih ahl "..."*

- of a P<sub>EA</sub>:

- **ntà=† qóʔ-ə-n**      Where did you go?  
 which.way?=NC go.to.s.-CTL-2S      *Ndahl go'on?*
- **ʔakù=† qóʔ-ə-n**      What did you go get?  
 what?=NC go.to.s.-CTL-2S      *Aguhl go'on?*

5.6.A.2.a.3.b. Focused circumstantial complement: in combination with a subordinator:

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.1. with subordinator Wil wil:

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.1.a. ná: 'who?' naa is Focused Indirect Object:

- of P<sub>A</sub>: usually Beneficiary: 'to whom?'

- **ná: wiksax-kińám-aʔ-n**      Who did you give presents to?  
 ... only-give.s.-DETR-2S      *Naa wil ksaxgińama'an?*

- of P<sub>EA</sub>: usually Beneficiary: 'to whom?'

- **ná: məwilkińám-t**      Who did you give it to?  
 ... 2E ... give.s.-3      *Naa mi wil gińamt?*  
 (Fr. A qui l'avez-vous donné?)

or Intermediary: 'by whom?' with a Jussive verb (see end of 4.7.A.3.a.2.)



P<sub>A</sub>: ná: qan híntx-n                      Who are you mad at?  
     ... .. angry-2S                              *Naa gan hlintxin?*

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.2.b. ?akú 'what?' agu: 'why?' (precise cause)

P<sub>A</sub>: ?akú qan híntx-n                      Why are you mad?  
     ... .. angry-2S                              *Agu gan hlintxin?*

P<sub>EA</sub>: ?akú mə qan hó:x-t                      Why did you use it?  
     ... 2E ... use.s.-3                              *Agu ma gan hoost?*

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.2.c. ntá 'which way?' nda: 'why? for whatever reason?': using ntá nda in this context seems to imply a vaguer cause than using ?akú agu.

P<sub>A</sub>: ntá: qan híntx-n                      Why are you mad?  
     ... .. angry-2S                              *Nda gan hlintxin?*

P<sub>EA</sub>: ntá mə qan hó:x-t                      Why did you use it?  
     ... 2E ... use.s.-3                              *Nda ma gan hoost?*

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.3. With subordinator wila: wila: Note that a transitive verb after this subordinator usually takes the Definite Medial suffix {-T}, even though it does not usually take it otherwise.

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.3.a. ?akú agu is Focused Goal Complement: 'what for?'

P<sub>A</sub>: ?akú wila: hó:x-s-t                      What is it used for?  
     ... .. use.s.-PASS-3                              *Agu wila hookst?*

P<sub>EA</sub>: ?akú mə wila: hó:x-T-t                      What do/did you use it for?  
     ... 2E ... use.s.-DEF-3                              *Agu mi wila hooyit?*

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.3.b. ntá nda is Focused Manner Complement: 'how?'

<p>P<sub>A</sub>: ntá wila: hóx-s-t ... .. use.s.-PASS-3</p>	<p>How is it used? <i>Nda wila hookst?</i></p>
<p>P<sub>EA</sub>: ntá mə wila: hóx-T-t ... 2E ... use.s.-DEF-3</p>	<p>How do/did you use it? <i>Nda mi wila hooyit?</i></p>

#### 5.6.A.2.b. Negative use:

The three interrogative pronouns can occur after some forms of the negative verb  $\Pi\acute{}$ : 'not to be' *ni(i)* (5.13.A.). With the form  $\Pi\acute{-}\mathbf{k}\acute{i}$ : *nigii* especially, it sometimes seems that the combination results in a negative indefinite pronoun series, the negative counterpart of the indefinite series formed with  $\mathbf{l}\acute{i}\mathbf{k}\acute{i}$ : *ligii* (5.6.B.1.), but differences in use show that verb and indefinite pronoun remain syntactically independent even when phonologically combined (as in  $\Pi\acute{-}\mathbf{k}\acute{i}$ :  $\mathbf{t}$   $\Pi\acute{}$ : 'nobody' *nigitnaa*). In particular, the combination cannot be used in other than initial position.

5.6.A.2.b.1. As argument of the negative verb  $\Pi\acute{}$ : *ni(i)*: (said in response to a question):

Being non-determinate,  $\mathbf{?a}\mathbf{k}\acute{u}$  'what' *agu* and  $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\acute{a}$  'which way' *nda* when used as arguments take a personal suffix after the negative verb; being determinate,  $\mathbf{n}\acute{a}$ : 'who' *naa* does not.

- $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{i}$ :- $\mathbf{t}\mathbf{i}$ : $\mathbf{?a}\mathbf{k}\acute{u}$ - $\mathbf{t}$  /  $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{i}$ :- $\mathbf{k}\mathbf{i}$ : $\mathbf{?a}\mathbf{k}\acute{u}$ - $\mathbf{t}$       Nothing.  
not-INTS what?-3 / not-INTS...      *Nidii agut/Nigii agut.*
- $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{i}$ :- $\mathbf{t}\mathbf{i}$ :  $\mathbf{t}$   $\mathbf{n}\acute{a}$ : /  $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{i}$ :- $\mathbf{k}\mathbf{i}$ :  $\mathbf{t}$   $\mathbf{n}\acute{a}$ :      Nobody.  
not-INTS DM who? / not-INTS...      *Nidii t naa/Nigitnaa.*

5.6.A.2.b.2. As pivotal focused constituent of a following clause: Usually the IRR particle  $\mathbf{C}\mathbf{\Theta}$  *ji/ja* (6.1.B.1.b.1.) is used after the pronoun, instead of a connective, indicating the meaning 'not ... any ...'.

- **ni:-ti:** ʔakú-[t]cə má n-(ə)t  
not-INTS what-[3] IRR left-REL  
There isn't anything left.  
*Nidii agu ji maanit.*
- **ni:-ti:** ʔakú-[t]cə naɣná-(y)ə-ý  
not-INTS what-[3] IRR hear.s.-CTL-1S  
I didn't hear anything.  
*Nidii agu ji naɣnayíy.*
- **ni:-ki:** t ná: cə káʔ-ə-ý  
not-INTS DM who? IRR see.s.-CTL-1S  
I didn't see anybody.  
*Nigitnaa ji ga'ay.*
- **ni:-ki:** t ná: cə tʔantitálq-ý  
not-INTS DM who? IRR 3E REL.E talk.to.s.-1S  
There wasn't anybody to talk to me.  
*Nigitnaa jit an didalgay.*
- **ni:-ti:** ntá-[t]cə wíl-tit  
not-INTS which.way-[3] IRR be-3P  
Nothing happened to them, they didn't have anything (e.g. in an accident)  
*Nidii nda ji wildiit.*
- **ni:-ki:** ntá-[t]cə timqóʔ-ə-t  
not-INTS which.way-[3] IRR FUT go.to.s.-CTL-3  
S/he didn't have anywhere to go.  
*Nigii nda ji dim go'ot.*
- **ni:-ti:** ʔakú-[t]cə qan wíl-t  
not-INTS what-[3] what IRR reason be-3  
There wasn't any reason for it.  
(it was a meaningless act)  
*Nidii agu ja gan wilt.*

Without the IRR particle, the negative meaning is stronger:

- **ni:-ki:** t ná: ʔan-t ʔas)ʔí c-T-[t]=ʔ máqsa cáyn==əst  
... DM who-3EPL)iron.s.-DEF-[3]=NC bluejeans==AFF  
[Come on.] nobody irons bluejeans!  
*Nigitnaa ant as'iijihl máksijaynis!*

### 5.6.B. Prefixed:

5.6.B.1. Three more properly indefinite pronouns result from the prefixation of

the modifier **liki:** 'for instance, about, somewhat' (*ligii* (5.15.B.42.)) to the interrogative pronouns (5.6.A.) **?akú** 'what' *agu*, **ntá** 'which way' *nda* and **ná:** 'who' *nua*. As the latter is determinate, the determinate marker **t** occurs between the two morphemes:

<b>liki:-?akú</b>	something, anything	<i>ligii'agu</i>
<b>liki:-ntá</b>	somewhere, anywhere	<i>ligiinda</i>
<b>liki:-t-ná:</b>	someone, anyone	<i>ligitaa</i>

- **ká?-ə-ý=† liki:-?akú** I see/saw something.  
see.s.-CTL-1S=NC ... *Ga'ayhl ligii'agu.*
- **qús-ə-ý nə tim ká?-[t]=† liki:-?akú** I can't/couldn't see anything.  
can't-CTL-1S 1S.E FUT see.s.-[3]=NC ... *Gosiy ni dim ga'ahl ligii'agu.*
- **qús-ə-ý nə tim ká?-[t]=† liki:-t-ná:** I can't/couldn't see anybody.  
can't-CTL-1S 1S.E FUT see.s.-[3]=NC ... *Gosiy ni dim ga'ahl ligitaa.*
- **tim wá-(y)ə-m̄=† liki:-ntá** We'll find some place.  
FUT find.s.-CTL-1P=NC ... *Dim wayimhl ligiinda.*

5.6.B.2. The indefinite meaning of these pronouns can be emphasized by the modifier **lip**, normally meaning 'self' (5.15.B.3.), which here adds the meaning 'just about ..., any ... whatever'; hence:

<b>liki:-lip-?akú</b>	'just about anything'	<i>ligii-lip-agu</i>
<b>liki:-lip-ntá</b>	'just about anywhere'	<i>ligii-lip-nda</i>
<b>liki:-lip-[t]-ná:</b>	'just about anyone'	<i>ligii-lip-naa</i>

The unstressed sequence /liki:/ may be contracted to /li:/ in this environment (Velar loss, 10.2.A.2.b.2.a.).

- **liki:-lip-?akú=† ti: kíp-ə-[t]=† smàx** Bears eat just about anything.  
...=NC INTS eat.s.-CTL-[3]=NC bear *Ligii-lip-aguhl dii gibihl smax.*



- **liki:-lip-ntá** wil cóq-ti.t  
... SUB camp-3P  
They camped just about anywhere.  
*Ligii-lip-nda wil jokdiit.*
- **liki:-lip-[t]-ná=†** silqawíl-ə-t  
...=NC associate.with.s.-CTL-3  
S/he associates with just anybody.  
(derogatory sense)  
*Ligii-lip-nashl silgawilit.*

## 5.7. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

### 5.7.A. Form and meaning:

The demonstrative pronouns are determinates and are always preceded by a determinate marker, except where the phonological rule of consonant-deletion (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.) deletes the singular DM **t** after /s/. The basic forms are:

<b>kún</b>	'this'	<i>gun</i>
<b>kús[t]</b>	'that'	<i>gus</i>

There are also what appear to be more formal or perhaps just older alternates with suffix **-a**, used only in apposition to a noun:

<b>kúna</b>	'this ...'	<i>guna</i>
<b>kústa</b>	'that ...'	<i>gusda</i>

Forms that are used in questions have the suffix **-i** instead of the usual Interrogative postclitic **=a** (6.3.A.1.a.):

<b>kún==i</b>	'this ...?'	<i>guni</i>
<b>kúst==i</b>	'that ...?'	<i>gusdi</i>

Although the singular DM *t* does not usually occur in absolute initial position in YFS speech, it always occurs before the demonstratives. For this reason some speakers feel that *t* is a part of the word itself, and use it even with the plural DM, thus **tipkún** 'these' *dip tɔɔa*, instead of **tipkún** *dip ɔɔa*. This is a case of hypercorrection.

### 5.7.B. Syntactic use:

5.7.B.1. The demonstrative pronouns may occur by themselves as A-nominals:

- [t]ná: **t kúst**==i                      Who's that?  
   [DM] who DM that==Q                      *Naa tɔɔsdi?*
- ʔakú=ʔ wà-[t]=s [t]kún==i              What is this [called]?  
   what=NC name-[3]=DC [DM] this==Q              *Aguhl was ɔɔni?*
- ... t(ə)-hí:-ta **tipkùs[t]**                      "... " they said (lit. said those).  
   3E-say "... "-PL DM.PL that                      "... " *dihida dip ɔɔs*.

5.7.B.2. They often occur in apposition to a noun:

- nté:ʔ=ʔ cák **t kùs[t]**                      Hand me that plate.  
   hand.me=NC plate DM that                      *Ndee'ehl ts'ak' tɔɔs*.
- nté:ʔ=ʔ ci) cák **tipkùs[t]**                      Hand me those plates.  
   hand.me=NC PL)plate DM.PL that                      *Ndee'ehl jits'ak' dip ɔɔs*.
- wilá:x-ə-n=ʔ hanáq **t kúst**==i              Do you know that woman/girl?  
   know.s.-CTL-2S=NC woman DM that==Q              *Wilaayinhl hanak' tɔɔsdi?*
- ... ʔa=ʔ ʔa:ma: sá **t kùna**                      ... on this fine day ... [stereotyped  
   PREP=NC well day DM this                      formula]                      ... *ahl amaa sa tɔɔna* ...

5.7.B.3. Demonstratives are often in focused position: (4.7.A.)

- **t kún=ɬ** hì-t S/he said (this): "..."  
DM this=NC saying-3 *Tgunhl hit: "..."*
- **tip kús[t]** ?an t ɬimó:m-ý Those are the people who helped me.  
DM.PL that RELE 3E help.s.-1S *Dip gus ant hlimoomiy.*

5.7.B.4. Like nouns, the demonstratives can be preceded by modifiers:

- ?anóq-ə-ý **ɬku** t kún I like this little one.  
like.s.-CTL-1S little DM this *Anoogay higu tgun.*

5.7.B.5. The demonstrative pronouns can be understood in a locative sense if occurring with a verb of appropriate meaning:

- cəskí-(y)ə-n ?a=s **[t kús[t]** [You can] put it over there.  
IRR put.s.-CTL-2S PREP=DC DM this *Ji sgiyin as gus.*
- **t kún** tim wil tá:-n [You will] sit right here.  
DM this FUT where sit-2S *Tgun dim wil t'aan.*

5.7.C. Remark: Note the potential ambiguity of a sequence such as

- ?á:t **tipkùn** These are fishnets/these fishnets/  
net/fish.w.net DM.PL this these people fish(ed) with nets.  
*aat dip gun*

This ambiguity is resolved by the context. In addition, the interpretation of ?á:t *aat* as a verb, and of **tipkús[t]** *dip gus* as referring to persons, would probably be indicated by the use of the modifier **k<sup>2</sup>wiɬ** 'around, about' *kwihl* (5.15.B.44.), which in a non-negative clause is only used before verbs. There is no ambiguity in:



or after a preposition:

- ʔa ma. qó maqask<sup>W</sup> ñi:ý ʔa=s tip ñisiṁ Best wishes to all of you.  
well wish me PREP=DC DM.PL you.PL *Amaa k'oomakaskw ñiiý as dip ñisiṁ.*

5.8.B. Syntactic use: In general, the syntactic properties of independent personal pronouns are similar to those of determinate nouns and other determinate pronouns. An independent personal pronoun can occur as clause predicate or as adjunct, focused or not.

5.8.B.1. As clause predicate:

- ñi:n==a [t]Màry Is that you, Mary?  
you==Q[DM]M. *Ñina, Mary?*
- ñít==a Is that so?/Isn't it?  
it==Q *Ñida?*
- ñi:ý tkùn This is me (e.g., in a picture).  
me DM this *Ñiiý tgun.*

5.8.B.2. As Adjunct: as A of P<sub>A</sub> or P<sub>EA</sub> in predicate-focused clause: (the 3rd sg. pronoun ñít is rarely used in this context, see below 5.8.C.1.)

- ná: ñi:n==əst [And/so] who are you?  
who you==AFF *Naa ñiis?*
- kipéʔesk<sup>W</sup> ñi:ý I waited.  
wait.AP me *Gibeʔeskw ñiiý.*
- kipá-(y)ə-tñiti:t S/he waited for them.  
wait.for.s.-CTL-3 them *Gibayit ñidiit.*



5.8.B.4. After conjunctions and prepositions: the independent personal pronouns can occur suffixed to the conjunction **qan** 'and' *gan* (5.16.B.1.) and the preposition **?a** 'to/for/etc.' *a* (5.18.) with the determinate connective =S ...s.

- **ksax ní:y qan=s ní:n** 'only you and I'  
only me and-DC you *ksax níiy gans níin*
- **ni-[t]=† ní[t]=† †ip†án-ý=† kińám-tk<sup>W</sup>-(ə)t ?a=s ní:siń**  
that's-[3]=NC that's-[3]=NC body-1S=NC give.s.-PAS-REL PREP=NC you.PL  
This is my body [that was] given for you.<sup>4</sup>  
*Nihl níhl hliplaniýhl gińamtgwit as ní:siń.*

5.8.C. Differences in use between 1/2 and 3 pronouns:

Although all independent personal pronouns can theoretically be used in clauses, a distinction must be made between the use of first and second person pronouns on the one hand, and that of third person pronouns.

5.8.C.1. Third person pronouns:

Neither of the 3rd person independent pronouns is used with inanimates, and the 3S pronoun **ńít** *nit* has even more restricted distribution than its plural counterpart. The obligatory use of **ńít:t** *niitit* with persons seems to be a recent development. In Boas, this pronoun is not normally used in a declarative clause, even for humans, as in:

- **hil)yáltk<sup>W</sup> ?a=†lipqalćipćáp-ti:t==ki:**  
PL)return PREP=NC village.PL-3P==DIST  
They went back to their own villages (194.3-4).  
*Hilyalrk<sup>w</sup> ahl lip galts'ipts'apdiit.*

Although a Nisgha speaker, when asked to translate an English sentence, will often use **ńít** as the equivalent of an English 3S pronoun (Subject or Object),





- ní: - qal lim)lámk - No, **they** are too warm.  
 no - too PL)warm.PL - *Nii, gal limlamk.*
- ní: - tim tá†-T-ə-ý - No, I'll put **them** away.  
 no - FUT put.away.s.PL-DEF-CTL-1S - *Nii, dim t'ahldiy.*
- tim ká?-ə-n tip Máry==a: Are you going to see Mary 'and them'?  
 FUT see.s.-CTL-2S DM.PM.==Q *Dim ga'an dip Marya?*
- ní: - sáksk<sup>W</sup> ñiti:t PrinceRúpert - No, **they**'ve gone to Prince Rupert.  
 no - leave.PL ... P.R. - *Nii, sakskw ñidiit Prince Rupert.*
- ?e?- tim čiláyx<sup>W</sup>-ə-ý ñiti:t tayúwín  
 yes - FUT visit.s.-CTL-1S them tonight  
 - Yes, I am going to visit **them** tonight.  
 - *Ee'e, dim ts'ilaywiý ñidiit t'aayuwín.*

### 5.8.C.2. First and second person pronouns:

In a predicate-focused P<sub>A</sub> or P<sub>EA</sub> clause, a first or second person A is obligatorily represented by an independent personal pronoun which immediately follows the verb. If the verb is transitive (P<sub>EA</sub>), and ends in a 3 suffix pronoun indicating the E argument, there may be a coreferring Adjunct noun, placed after the independent pronoun.<sup>5</sup>

The same structure occurs with possessed nominal predicates where a 3 suffix indicating the possessor can have an Adjunct placed after the independent pronoun.

#### 5.8.C.2.a. With predicate-focused transitive verbs:

5.8.C.2.a.1. Examples without Adjunct noun: the independent pronoun follows the suffixed verb.

- timc̣iláy x<sup>W</sup>-ə-ý n̄í:n  
FUT visit.s.-CTL-1S you  
I am going to come and visit you.  
*Dim ts'ilaywiý n̄iin.*
  
- c̣c̣iláy x<sup>W</sup>-ə-n n̄í:ý  
IRR visit.s.-CTL-2S me  
[You could/should] come and visit me!  
*Ji ts'ilaywin n̄iiý!*
  
- c̣c̣iláy x<sup>W</sup>-ə-n n̄ú:m̄  
IRR visit.s.-CTL-2S us  
[You could/should] come and visit us!  
*Ji ts'ilaywin n̄uum̄!*
  
- c̣iláy x<sup>W</sup>-ə-t n̄ú:m̄  
visit.s.-CTL-3 us  
S/he came to visit us.  
*Ts'ilaywit n̄uum̄.*
  
- c̣iláy x<sup>W</sup>-ti-t n̄iti:t  
visit.s.-3P them  
They visited them.  
*Ts'ilayxwdiit n̄idiit.*

5.8.C.2.a.2. Examples with Adjunct nouns: Even if the Adjunct noun or noun-phrase refers to a plurality, the 3 suffix on the verb is -t̄, which is unmarked for number, never the 3P suffix -ti:t ...*diit*.

- c̣iláy x<sup>W</sup>-ə-t n̄ú:m̄ t M̄ary  
visit.s.-CTL-3 us DM M.  
Mary came to visit us.  
*Ts'ilaywit n̄uum̄ t Mary.*
  
- timc̣iláy x<sup>W</sup>-ə-t n̄í:n t P̄èter  
FUT visit.s.-CTL-1S you DM P.  
Peter is going to come and visit you.  
*Dim ts'ilaywit n̄iint Peter.*
  
- timc̣iláy x<sup>W</sup>-ə-t n̄ú:m̄ tip P̄èterqan=s [t] M̄ary  
FUT visit.s.-CTL-3 us DM.PL P. and=DC (DM) M.  
Peter and Mary are coming to visit us.  
*Dim ts'ilaywit n̄uum̄ dip Peter gans Mary.*

5.8.C.2.b. With possessed nominal predicate:

5.8.C.2.b.1. Example without Adjunct noun:

- kimxúí-tñi:y̌  
opp.sex.sibling-3 me  
I am his sister/her brother.  
(Fr. Je suis sa sœur/son frère).  
*Gimxdit ñiiy̌.*
- kimxtít<sup>W</sup>-y̌ ñisiṁ  
brothers.and.sisters-1S you.PL  
Beloved brethren ... (lit. you are my  
brothers and sisters )  
*Gimxditgwiy̌ ñisiṁ.*

#### 5.8.C.2.b.1. Examples with Adjunct noun:

- kimxúí-tñi:y̌ t Pèter  
opp.sex.sibling-3 me DM P.  
I am Peter's sister.  
(Fr. Je suis sa sœur, à Pierre)  
*Gimxdit ñiiy̌ t Peter.*
- siṭkúṭk<sup>Ws</sup>-t ñi:y̌ t Ròse  
adopted.child-3 me DM R.  
Rose adopted me.  
(lit. I am Rose's adopted child)  
*Sihlguuḥkwst ñiiy̌ t Rose*

#### 5.9. INDIRECT PRONOUNS (lO:- pronouns).

The indirect pronouns are listed here even though they, unlike the other non-suffix pronouns, cannot be clause predicates.

##### 5.9.A. Form and meaning:

The Indirect pronouns are all built by adding the definite personal suffix pronouns (7.2.A.1.a.) to the base lO:- *loo...* which has no other use or meaning<sup>6</sup>. There are no morphophonemic alternations. These pronouns do not normally bear stress.

	SG	PL
1	lo:-ẏ <i>looẏ</i>	lo:-m̄ <i>loom̄</i>
2	lo:-n <i>loon</i>	lo:-sim̄ <i>loosim̄</i>
3	lo:-t <i>loot</i>	lo:-ti:t <i>loodiit</i>

5.9.B. Syntactic use: The Indirect pronouns have two major roles: within a clause, they can replace a sequence of the preposition ?a s.. (5.18.) + nominal in all circumstances. In discourse containing at least two clauses, they can also occur in addition to, and co-referring with, a nominal in the second clause, reinforcing a contrast with one in the first clause.

5.9.B.1. Indirect role within the clause:

The Indirect pronouns have the same distribution as a sequence of the preposition ?a s.. followed by a nominal, but they do not bear stress. Nor can they indicate focus on an Indirect Object.

5.9.B.1.a. Basic role: in clause with Indirect Object:

5.9.B.1.a.1. In PEAI clause:

- tim kińám-ə-ẏ=łiki:-?akú?as [t] **Máry**  
FUT give.s.-CTL-1S=NC something PREP=DC|DM| M.

I am going to **give** something to Mary.

*Dim gińamiẏhl ligii'agu as Mary.*

- tim kińám-ə-ẏ=łiki:-?akúlo:-t I am going to **give** something to her.  
FUT give.s.-CTL-1S=NC something ...-3 *Dim gińamiẏhl ligii'agu loot.*

- kín-ý ʔa=ɬ ʔaná:x  
give.food.to-1S PREP=NC bread  
Give me some bread.  
*Giniý ahl anaax.*
  
- kín-ý lo:-t  
give.food.to-1S ...-3  
Give me some.  
*Giniý loot.*
  
- 5.9.B.1.a.2. In PAI clause:
  
- ʔa:kátk<sup>W</sup> ñi:ý ʔa=s [t] Máry  
feel.lonesome me PREP =DC [DM] M.  
I miss Mary/ feel lonesome for Mary.  
*ʔaagatk<sup>w</sup> ñiiý as Mary.*
  
- ʔa:kátk<sup>W</sup> ñi:ý lo:-n  
feel.lonesome me ...-2S  
I miss(ed) you.  
*ʔaagatk<sup>w</sup> ñiiý loon.*
  
- timsə-k<sup>W</sup>ilá ñi:ý ʔa=s [t] Péter  
FUT make-blanket me PREP =DC [DM] P.  
I am going to make a blanket for Peter.  
*Dim sigwila ñiiý as Peter.*
  
- timsə-k<sup>W</sup>ilá ñi:ý lo:-t  
FUT make-blanket me ...-3  
I am going to make him a blanket.  
*Dim sigwila ñiiý loot.*
  
- ña:m-k<sup>W</sup>as-tála lo:-m̃  
wanting-borrow-money ...-1P  
S/he wants to borrow money from us.  
*Ñaam-gwaasdaala loom̃.*

5.9.B.1.a.3. Idiomatic expressions:5.9.B.1.a.3.a. Statement of possession: with verb Skí 'there is ...' sgi:

- ni=ɬ skí-[t]=ɬ halípisT ʔa=s [t] Máry==a:  
not=NC there.is-[3]=NC sewing-machine PREP =DC [DM] M.==Q  
Does Mary have a sewing machine?  
*Niihl sgihl halip'is as Marya?*

ni:=t ski-[t]=t halípisT lo:-n==a:      Do you have a sewing machine?  
 not=NC there.is-[3]=NC sewing-machine ...-2S==Q      *Nihl sgihl halip'is loona?*

(lit. 'there is ... to me, etc.' Cf. the statement of possession in Russian or Latin)

5.9.B.1.a.3.b. Statement of comparison with modifier ḳa: 'most' k'aa:

- ḳa: ẉi-ńák<sup>W</sup> t Pèter ʔa=s [t] Fréd      Peter is taller than Fred.  
 most big-long DM P. PREP=DC [DM] F.      *K'aa ẉińakw t Peter as Fred.*

ḳa: ẉii-ńák<sup>W</sup> lo:-n      He is taller than you.  
 most big-long ...-2S      *K'aa ẉińakw loon.*  
 (lit. most tall, [compared] to ...)

5.9.B.1.b. Derived role:

5.9.B.1.b.1. As Adjunct with nominal predicate in regular clause:

5.9.B.1.b.1.a. After a subordinator:

- wil kutác'-y ʔa=s [t] ḳùs[t]      ... as/because that's my coat.  
 SUB coat-1S PREP=DC [DM] that      ... *wil k'udats'iy as gus.*
- wil kutác'-y lo:-t      ... as/because it's my coat.  
 SUB coat-1S ...-3      ... *wil k'udats'iy loot.*
- wil ʔansi:pinsk<sup>W</sup>-y lo:-n      ... because you are my friend.  
 SUB friend-1S ...-2S      ... *wil ansiip'insgwi'y loon.*

5.9.B.1.b.1.b. After a negative verb:

- ni:-ti: t Lúcy ʔa=s [t] ḳùs[t]      That isn't Lucy.  
 not-INTS DM L. PREP=DC [DM] that      *Nidii t Lucy as gus.*

- ni:-ti: t Lúcy lo:-t                      It isn't Lucy.  
not-INTS DM L. ...-3                      *Nidii t Lucy loot.*
- ni:-ti: kútáč-[t]=s[t]Lúcy ʔa=s [t]kùn    This isn't Lucy's coat.  
not-INTS coat=DC [DM] L. PREP=DC [DM] this    *Nidii k'udats' Lucy as gun.*
- ni:-ti: kútáč-[t]=s[t]Lúcy lo:-t    It isn't Lucy's coat.  
not-INTS coat=DC [DM] L. ...-3                      *Nidii k'udats' Lucy loot.*
- ni:-tiʔansí:pínsk<sup>W</sup>-ý ʔa=s [t]Màry    Mary is not my friend.  
not-INTS friend-1S PREP=DC [DM] M.    *Nidii ansiip'insgwiý as Mary.*
- ni:-tiʔansí:pínsk<sup>W</sup>-ý lo:-t                      She is not my friend.  
not-INTS friend-1S ...-3                      *Nidii ansiip'insgwiý loot.*

#### 5.9.B.1.b.2. As Adjunct with relativized nominal predicate:

- ná:=† kútáč-(ə)t ʔa=s [t]kùn==i    Whose coat is this?  
who=NC coat-REL PREP=DC [DM] this==Q    *Naabl k'udats'it as guni?*
- ná:=† kútáč-(ə)t lo:-t                      Whose coat is it?  
who=NC coat-REL ...-3                      *Naabl k'udats'it loot?*

#### 5.9.B.2. Contrastive role in discourse:

Where two successive clauses or sentences have similar structure but contrasting content, referring to the differing activities, qualities, possessions, etc., of two different persons, an Indirect pronoun with appropriate ending may be used in the second clause immediately following the noun or pronoun (including suffix pronouns) it refers to, to emphasize the contrast between persons. The other contrasting element may be any major constituent.

#### 5.9.B.2.a. Contrasting predicates:

5.9.B.2.a.1. PA:

- wí:-ńák<sup>W</sup> t ničì:č-ý ?i:ʔku-tílpk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s[t]nò:ý lo:-t  
big-long DM grandmother-1S and little-short-[3]=DC [DM] my.mother ...-3  
My grandmother is tall, but my mother is short.  
(Fr. Ma grand-mère est grande, mais ma mère, elle, est petite.)  
*Wiińakw t nits'iits'iy ii hlgudilpkws nooy' loot.*

- timsiwilá:yínsk<sup>W</sup> t MARY cə ʔa: wí:tís-t  
FUT teach.AP DM M. IRR now grown.up-3  
tim ?i: wa:cmá:n-[t]=s[t]Pèter lo:-t  
FUT and policeman-[3]=DC [DM] P. ...-3  
Mary wants to be a teacher when she grows up, but Peter, he wants to be a policeman.  
*Dim siwilaayínsk w t Mary ji hlaa wíit'ist, dim ii watsmaans Peter loot.*

5.9.B.2.a.2. PEA:

- xʔíłtin-[ə]-[t]=s[t]Màry=ʔ hó:n ?i:-t qásqan-[t]=s[t]Lùcy lo:-t  
like.food-[CTL]-[3]=DC [DM] M.-NC fish and-3E dislike.food-[3]=DC [DM] L. ...-3  
Mary loves fish; but Lucy, she hates it.  
(Fr. Marie adore le poisson, mais Lucie, elle, elle déteste ça.)  
*Xlił'ins Maryhl hoon iit gask'ans Lucy loot.*

5.9.B.2.b. Contrasting possessions:

- si: pót=ʔ hasàq-ý -- si: ká=ʔ ti: hasàq-[t]=l náks-ý lo:-t  
new boat =NC desire-1S -- new car=NC CONTR desire-[3]=NC spouse-1S ...-3  
I want a new boat; but my wife, she wants a new car (lit. my desire is ...).  
(Fr. Je voudrais un nouveau bateau, mais ma femme, elle, elle veut une nouvelle voiture).  
*Sii boothl hasagay; sii kaahl dii hasaghl naksiy' loot.*



- ni:-ti:ʔakú-[t]cə xstá:-y̆ -- \$50=ʔ xstà:-[t]=s [t] Lúcy lo:-t  
not-INT s.t.-(3) IRR winning-1S -- ...=NC winning-(3)=DC (DM) L. ...-3  
I didn't win anything; but Lucy, she won \$50.  
(Fr. Je n'ai rien gagné, mais Lucie, elle, elle a gagné 50 dollars).  
*Nidii'agu ja xstaa'y̆: \$50hl xsdaas Lucy loot.*

5.9.B.2.c. Contrasting focused constituents:

- hó.n=ʔ ká: xʔíltin-[ə]-[t]=s [t] Máry  
fish=NC most like.food-(CTL)-(3)=DC (DM) M.  
ʔi:qalmós=ʔ ká: xʔíltin-[ə]-[t]=s [t] Lúcy lo:-t  
and crab=NC most like.food-(CTL)-(3)=DC (DM) L. ...-3  
Mary likes fish best, but Lucy likes crab best.  
(Fr. Marie préfère le poisson, mais Lucie, elle, préfère le crabe.)  
*Hoonhl k'aa xliit'ins Mary ii k'algooshi k'aa xliit'ins Lucy loot.*

- -ʔálkax-mcapán=ʔ ti: hó:x-ə-y̆ -- I speak Japanese.  
talk-ATTR Japanese=NC INTS use.s.-CTL-1S *Algaxam Japaanhl dii hooyiy̆.*

- ʔálkax-m lú:sin=ʔ ti: hó:x-ə-y̆ lo:-y̆ -- I speak Russian myself.  
talk-ATTR Russian=NC INTS use.s.-CTL-1S ...-1S  
*Algaxam Luusinhl dii hooyiy̆ looy̆.*  
(Fr. Je parle japonais. -- Et moi, je parle russe.)

5.9.B.2.d. Contrasting Specified Complements:

- [t] Máry=ʔ wà-[t]=s [t] nó:y̆  
DM M.=NC name-(3)=DC (DM) my.mother  
-ʔi: t Lúcy=ʔ wà-[t]=s [t] ničí:ć-y̆ lo:-t  
and DM L.=NC name-(3)=DC (DM) grandmother ...-3  
My mother's name is Mary, but my grandmother's name is Lucy.  
(Fr. Ma mère s'appelle Marie, mais ma grand-mère, elle, s'appelle Lucie).  
*Maryhl was nooy̆ ii t Lucyhl was nits'iits'iý loot.*

- [t] Kévin t n̄a:m-siwá-tT-[t]=s[t]Màry=† †kú:†k<sup>W</sup>-t  
 [DM] K. 3E wanting-name.s.-DEF-{3}-CTL=DC [DM] M.=NC child-3  
 ?i: t Péter t n̄a:m-siwá-tT-[t]=† nàks-t lo:-t  
 and DM P. 3E wanting-name.s.-DEF-{3}=NC spouse-3 ...-3

Mary wants to name her baby Kevin, but her husband wants to name him Peter.  
 (Mary veut appeler son bébé Kevin, mais son mari, lui, il veut l'appeler Peter.)  
*Kevin t n̄aam-siwadis Maryhl hlguuhtkw ii t Peter t n̄aam-siwadihl nakst loot.*

### 5.10. AMBIENT PREDICATES (P<sub>0</sub>).

These are mostly words referring to the weather and similar natural phenomena such as

hay wís	'(to) rain'	<i>haywis</i>
sínt	'summer'	<i>sint</i>
sqé:xk <sup>W</sup>	'(it's) dark [at night]'	<i>sq'eeqkw</i>
?a:m-a:-laxhá good-MODIF-sky	'(it's) good weather'	<i>amaalaxha</i>
*k <sup>W</sup> iné:q-mks cold-COMPAR	'to be cooler, comparatively cool'	<i>gwineegamks</i>

These words can function as either predicates or non-predicates in a clause:

#### 5.10.A. As predicate:

- **wil hay wís** ... as/when/where it rains.  
SUB rain ... *wil haywis*.
- **yùk<sup>W</sup>=t hay wís** It's raining.  
PROG-NC rain *Yukwhl haywis*.

#### 5.10.B. As non-predicate:

- **çàx<sup>W</sup>=t hay wís** It's raining hard.  
considerable-NC ... *Ts'arwhl haywis*.

Sometimes other P<sub>A</sub>'s can also be used without arguments, as P<sub>0</sub>'s, as in

- **ʔá:tík<sup>W</sup> wil sáq** It started to be very cold.  
arrive SUB sharp *Aat'ikskw wil sák*.
- **kaxkù wil lílkit** When was the feast?  
when?-NC SUB (have.a.)feast *Gaxgu wil lílgit?*
- **qalksə=káʔs<sup>W</sup>-n ʔa=t wil qalksə=nóʔ=əst**  
through=look-2S PREP=NC SUB through=have.a.hole==AFF  
Look through the hole!  
*Galksiga'asgwin ahl wil galksino'os*.

#### 5.11. INTERJECTIVE PREDICATES.

This is a curious class of words. It comprises interjections which are imperative in function and have both a singular and a plural form. In the plural, they take the 2P personal suffix, like P<sub>A</sub>'s, but they take no suffix in the singular. They do not have a 1P form either. It is likely that this class includes words of diverse origins. The addition of the 2P suffix seems to be of recent origin, as it is not used in Boas.

Singular	Plural			
ʔá	ʔá-sim̃	Stop (this noise)!	<i>A!</i>	<i>Asim̃!</i>
ʔóm̃	ʔóm̃-sim̃	Go ahead! Do it!	<i>Goṃ!</i>	<i>Goṃsim̃!</i>
qál	qál-sim̃	Come! Come here!	<i>Gal!</i>	<i>Galsim̃!</i>
tí	tí-sim̃	Come on! Let's go! Let's get going!	<i>Di!</i>	<i>Disim̃!</i>
tít	tít-sim̃	Hurry!	<i>T'ih!</i>	<i>T'ihsim̃!</i>
ʔatóʔ <sup>8</sup>	ʔatóʔ-sim̃	Go!	<i>Ado'o!</i>	<i>Ado'osim̃!</i>

This group includes the negative verb **kiló[ʔ]** 'don't! *gilo /gilo'o* (5.13.C.) which is also used in the singular in front of a dependent clause, to negate an imperative:

<b>kiló[ʔ]</b>	<b>kiló[ʔ]-sim̃</b>	Don't!	<i>Gilo!</i>	<i>Gilosim̃!</i>
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New members are in the process of being added to this class. Some YFS who use the 3S independent personal pronoun **ńít** *ńit* as an informal greeting (4.3.C.1.a.) also use a plural **ńít-sim̃** to greet more than one person. Similarly the transitive imperative form **háw-t** 'stop it! *hawt!* is reinterpreted by many as a single morpheme **háwít** *hawit*, which is then given a plural



5.12.A.1. With P<sub>O</sub>:

- **yùk<sup>W</sup>=† má:tim**  
...=NC snowfall

It is snowing.

*Yukwhl maadim.*

- **yùk<sup>W</sup>==a?=† má:tim**  
...==ASST=NC snowfall

It is snowing! (believe it or not)*Yugwa'ahl maadim!*5.12.A.2. With P<sub>A</sub>:5.12.A.2.a. In declarative clause:

- **yùk<sup>W</sup>=† yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-ý**  
...=NC eat-1S

I am eating.

*Yukwhl yuugwiý.*

- **yùk<sup>W</sup>==qa(t)=† haťálsT-t**  
...==REP=NC work-3

I hear s/he is working.

*Yukw-ga(t)hl habłálsit.*

5.12.A.2.b. In question: the answer cannot consist of the auxiliary alone, but must include the main verb:

- **yùk<sup>W</sup>=† yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-n==a:--\*yúk<sup>W</sup>** Are you eating? - [Yes].  
...=NC eat-2S==Q

*Yukwhl yuugwina? - \*Yukw. [wrong]*

- **yùk<sup>W</sup>=† yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-ý**  
...=NC eat-1S

- Yes [ = I am eating].

-- *Yukwhl yuugwiý.*

5.12.A.2.c. In relative clause: the progressive form **hiyuk<sup>W</sup> hiyukw** is used, and both it and the clause predicate take the REL suffix **-(ə)t -it/at/t (7.2.A.2.):**

- **ná=† hi)yùk<sup>W</sup>-ət=† yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-ət** Who is eating?  
who-NC ASP)...-REL=NC eat-REL

*Naahl hiyugwithl yuugwit?*



subordinators **†a:** 'by now...' *hlaa* (5.16.B.2.) or **ǵay** 'still' (which means 'just now' in this context) *k'ay* (5.16.B.9.).

5.12.B.1. With P<sub>A</sub>:

- **†a: †isk<sup>W</sup>=† ha†álsT-ǵ**  
by.now ...=NC work-1S  
I have finished working.  
*Hlaa hlistwɥl hahláisiǵ.*
  
- †a: †isk<sup>W</sup>=† ha†álsT-n==a: - \*†isk<sup>W</sup>**  
by.now ...=NC work-2S==Q - ...  
Have you finished working? - [Yes].  
*Hlaa hlistwɥl hahláisiǵ?*  
- \**Hlistw.* [wrong]
  
- ǵay †isk<sup>W</sup>=† ha†álsT-ǵ**  
still ...=NC work-1S  
I just finished working.  
*K'ay hlistwɥl hahláisiǵ.*
  
- †a: †isk<sup>W</sup>==əma?† ha†álsT-t**  
by.now ...==DUB=NC work-3  
S/he's probably finished working.  
*Hlaa hlistwɥma'ahl hahláisiǵ.*
  
- **†isk<sup>W</sup>=† ha†álsT-n tim ʔi: yú:ɣk<sup>W</sup>-n**  
...=NC work-2S FUT and eat-2S  
Finish your work ,then you can eat.  
You'll eat after you finish your work.  
*Hlistwɥl hahláisiǵ dim ii yuugwin.*

5.12.B.2. With P<sub>EA</sub>:

- **†a: †isk<sup>W</sup> mə yóʔoks-t==a: -- \*†isk<sup>W</sup>**  
by.now ... 2SE wash.s.-3==Q  
Have you finished washing it? - [Yes].  
*Hlaa hlistw mi yo'oksa?*  
- \**Hlistw* [wrong].



ʔa: ʔisk<sup>W</sup> tyóʔoks-[t]=[s][t]Màry      Mary has finished washing it.  
by.now ... 3E wash.s.-[3]=[DC][DM] M.      Hlaa *hʔiskwt yo'oks Mary.*

5.12.C. ñàk<sup>W</sup> Evidential ákw (not used in questions) (= ñák<sup>W</sup> 'to be long'  
*ákw*)

The unstressed ñàk<sup>W</sup> *ákw* introduces a highly probable statement based on direct evidence. Although the sentence often corresponds to a (rhetorical) question in English, it does not take the Interrogative postclitic ==a: (6.3.A.1.a.) as it is not a question in Nisg̱ha.<sup>9</sup>

5.12.C.1. With P<sub>A</sub>:

- ñàk<sup>W</sup>=ʔ mímst-n      You must be crazy! / Are you crazy?  
...=NC crazy-2S      *Ñàkw̄hl mimsdin!*
- ñàk<sup>W</sup>=ʔ wóq-[t]=s [t]pè:pi:      Baby must be sleeping!  
...=NC sleep-[3]=DC [DM] B.      *Ñàkw̄hl woks Beebii!*
- ñàk<sup>W</sup>=ʔ qal c̄àx<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ʔpáʔansk<sup>W</sup>-t      S/he must have been driving too fast!  
...=NC too considerable-[3]=NC drive-3      *Ñàkw̄hl gal ts'axw̄hl ba'anskwt!*

5.12.C.2. With P<sub>EA</sub>:

- ñàk<sup>W</sup> məqalí-t      You must have dropped it!  
... 2E drop.s.-3      *Ñàkw̄ ma galit!*
- ñàk<sup>W</sup> məx̄sínq-ý      [I see] you don't believe me!  
... 2E disbelieve.s.-1S      *Ñàkw̄ ma x̄singay!*

- **ḥàk<sup>W</sup>** məqúc-[t]=†ʔanʔún-n      You must have cut yourself!  
     ... 2E cut.s.-[3]=NC hand-2S      (lit. ... cut your hand)  
     *Ḥàkw ma k'otshl an 'unia!*
- **ḥàk<sup>W</sup>** -t páxk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†çìsk<sup>W</sup>=† túk<sup>W</sup>-n  
     ... 3E enter.s.-[3]=NC louse=NC navel-2S  
     A louse must have got into your navel!  
     (since you giggle so much)  
     *Ḥàkw t baxkw hl ts'iskw hl t'ukw'in!*

### 5.13. NEGATIVE VERBS.

Negative verbs have a quasi-auxiliary role and share some of their properties with Auxiliary verbs (5.12.). Like auxiliaries, Negative verbs can be followed by a predicate phrase. Unlike auxiliaries, they can be stressed and occur alone in answer to a question.

The negative verbs are:

<b>ní:</b>	'not [to be], No!'	<i>nii</i>
<b>hawín</b>	'not [to be] yet'	<i>hawin</i>
<b>kiló</b>	'Don't!'	<i>gilo</i>
<b>ʔáq</b>	'to be non-existent, impossible'	<i>aq</i>

#### 5.13.A. ní(:) '...not...' *ní(i)*

5.13.A.1. Form and meaning: The most common negative verb is a form of the predicate ní: 'no!; not to be' *nii*. When in its quasi-auxiliary role it occurs under the forms ní(:) *ní(i)*, níki(:) *nígí(i)*, níkiti: *nigidii*, níti: *nidii*. The last two forms derive from the addition of the Intensive modifier tí: *dii* to ní(:) *ní(i)* or níki(:) *nígí(i)*. The latter in turn includes the suffix -kí(:) *-gii* which may perhaps be identified historically with the Distal postclitic

(6.3.B.2.b.). These additional morphemes, which also occur with *hawín* '... not yet' *hawia*, prevent the insertion of the connective =<sup>t</sup> *-hl* in front of the main predicate.

In present day Nisgha both OFS and YFS use *ni(:) ni(i) (nikí- nigí-* before the 3E pronoun *t*) for negative questions; for negative statements OFS tend to distinguish between *nikí: nigii* for plain negation and *nikítí: nigidii* for insistent negation (similarly, in the Boas tales, *nikítí: nigidii* can be translated by 'not at all' while *nikí: nigii* is the ordinary negative). *ni(:) ni(i)* alone can be used before the proclitic/modifier *k'wít kw'ihl* 'about, around'. YFS tend to use *nití: nidii* for all negative statements. Although *tí: dii* is normally pronounced and written together with the negative word, they may be separated by an Ergative clitic pronoun (and the Future particle *tím dim*).

#### 5.13.A.2. Contractions:

When *ni: nii* and its variants combine with clitic pronouns and the FUT particle *tím dim*, contractions occur in informal speech, especially among YFS.

#### 5.13.A.2. With P<sub>A</sub>:

- I am not going to eat.  
 OFS: *ni:-ki: tím tí: yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-y̓*  
       not-INTS FUT INTS eat-1S                   *Nigidim dii yuugwiy̓.*
- YFS: *nimti: yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-y̓*  
       not.FUT eat-1S                               *Nimdii yuugwiy̓.*

#### 5.13.A.2. With P<sub>EA</sub>:

- I did not eat it.  
 OFS: *ni:-ki: nəkíp-t*  
       not-INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3                   *Nigii ni gipt.*

YFS: **ni:-nə-ti:** kíp-t  
not-1S.E-INTS eat.s.-3

*Nidii gipt.*

YFS: **ni:-ti:** nəkíp-t  
not-INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3

*Nidii ni gipt.*

•  
OFS: **ni:-ki:** nə **tim ti:** kíp-t  
not-INTS 1S.E FUT INTS eat.s.-3

I am not going to eat it.

*Nigindim dii gipt.*

YFS: **nimti:** nəkíp-t  
not.FUT 1S.E eat.s.-3

*Nimdii ni gipt.*

•  
OFS: **ni:-ki:** mə **tim** kíp-t==a:  
not-INTS 2E FUT eat.s.-3==Q

Are you going to eat it?

*Nigii mi dim gipda?*

YFS: **ni:** mə **tim** kíp-t==a:  
not 2E FUT eat.s.==Q

*Nii mi dim gipda?*

•  
OFS: **ni:-ki:** mə **tim ti:** kíp-t==a:  
not-INTS 2E FUT INTS eat.s.-3==Q

Aren't you going to eat it?

*Nigii mi dim dii gipda?*

YFS: **nimti:** məkíp-t==a:  
not.FUT 2E FUT eat.s.-t==Q

*Nimdii mi gipda?*

The modifier **hux<sup>W</sup>** 'again' *hurw* can also intervene between **ni(:)** *ni(i)* and **ti:** *dii*

•  
OFS: **ni:-ki:** nə **tim hux<sup>W</sup>** kíp-t  
not-INTS 1S.E FUT again INTS eat.s.-3

I won't eat it any more.

*Nigindim hurw gipt.*

YFS: ni: hux<sup>W</sup> ti: nə tim kíp-t

not again INTS 1S.E FUT eat.s.-3

*Nihuxvdii ni dim gipt.*

YFS: nimux<sup>W</sup> ti: nə kíp-t

[not-FUT-again] INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3

*Nimuxvdii ni gipt.*

### 5.13.A.3. Use in negative statements:

#### 5.13.A.3.a. Negation of nominal predicate

##### 5.13.A.3.a.1. Denying the identity of a nominal:

5.13.A.3.a.1.a. Determinate nominal: as a determinate nominal cannot take a suffix ending, its A-nominal is separated from it by the preposition ?a a (and suitable connective) when the nominal predicate follows a negative verb.

positive:

- [t] Máry t kùn

[DM] M. DM this

This is Mary.

*Mary tgun.*

negative:

- ni:-ti: t Máry ?a=s [t]kùn

not-INTS DM M. PREP=DC [DM] this

This is not Mary.

*Nidii t Mary as gun.*

##### 5.13.A.3.a.1.b. Non-determinate nominal:

5.13.A.3.a.1.b.1. Unaffixed noun: the noun behaves like any P<sub>A</sub> predicate and its argument is suffixed to it; often the modifier k<sup>W</sup>it 'about' *kw'ihl* (5.15.B.44.) is added to emphasize the unreality of the statement being denied; it also shows that the noun is a clause predicate, not a downshifted predicate:





- OFS: **ni:-ki:** yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-ý  
not-INTS eat-1S  
I didn't eat.  
*Nigii yuuxgwiý.*
  
- ni:-ki:-ti:** yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-ý  
not-INTS-INTS eat-1S  
I didn't eat at all.  
*Nigidii yuuxgwiý.*
  
- YFS: **ni:-ti:** yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-ý  
not-INTS eat-1S  
I didn't eat.  
*Nidii yuuxgwiý.*
  
- **ni:-ti:** k<sup>W</sup>it̚ yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-[t]cə t Màry      Mary wasn't eating!  
not-INT around eat-[3] IRR DM M.      *Nidii kw'ihl yuuxkw ji t Mary!*
  
- OFS: **ni:** k<sup>W</sup>it̚ ña:m=náks-ý  
not about wanting=married-1S  
I don't want to get married!  
(What an idea!)  
*Nii kw'ihl ñaam-naksiý!*
  
- YFS: **ni:-ti:** ña:m=náks-ý  
not-INTS wanting=married-1S  
I don't want to get married.  
*Nidii ñaam-naksiý.*
  
- ni:==qa[t]=†** ña:m=náks-t I hear she doesn't/didn't want to get married.  
not==REP=NC wanting=married-3      *Nii-ga(t)hl ñaam-nakst.*
  
- **ni:-ti:** xsk<sup>W</sup>iné:qs-ý  
not-INTS feel.cold-1S  
I am/was not cold.  
*Nidii xsgwinecxiý.*
  
- 5.13.A.3.b.3. With P<sub>EA</sub>:
  
- OFS: **ni:-ki:** nə kíp-t  
not-INTS 1SE eat.s.-3  
I didn't eat it.  
*Nigin gipt.*
  
- ni:** ki: nə ti: kíp-t  
not-INTS 1SE eat.s.-3  
I did not eat it.  
*Nigindii gipt.*



ni: k̄i:-tkíp-t not-INTS 3E eat.s.-3	S/he didn't eat it. <i>Nigít gipt.</i>
ni:-k̄i:-ti:-tkíp-t not-INTS-INTS 3E eat.s.-3	S/he did <u>not</u> eat it. <i>Nigidiit gipt.</i>
YFS: ni:-nə-ti: kíp-t not-1S.E-INTS eat.s.-3	I did not eat it. <i>Nindii gipt.</i>
ni:-ti: nə kíp-t not-INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3	I did not eat it. <i>Nidii ni gipt.</i>
ni:-ti:-tkíp-t not-3E-INTS eat.s.-3	S/he did not eat it. <i>Nidiit gipt.</i>

#### 5.13.A.4. Questions starting with the negative ni(ki): ni(i)(gii).

The Interrogative postclitic ==a: (6.3.A.1.a.) conveys more a request for confirmation than a true question; asking a question simply by adding ==a: to a statement then creates a presumption that the statement is correct and puts on the listener the possible onus of replying on the negative:

- sí:pk<sup>W</sup> ñ̀: n==a:  
sick you==Q                      You were sick? (I presume)  
*Siipkw ñ̀ina?*

It is therefore polite to phrase a question in the negative: this is comparable to adding a tag such as 'by any chance':

#### 5.13.A.4.a. With Pq:

- ni:=t̄ haywís==a:  
not=NCrain==Q                      Did it rain? Is it raining?  
*Niihl haywisa?*

5.13.A.4.b. With P<sub>A</sub>:

- (Nom) • **ni:=† tá:la-n==a:** Do you have any money?  
 ...=NC money-2S==Q *Niihl daalana?*
- (intr.) • **ni:=† sí:pk<sup>W</sup>-n==a:** Are/Were you sick?  
 ...=NC sick-2S==Q *Niihl siipgwina?*
- ni:=† sí:pk<sup>W</sup>-t==a:** Is/Was s/he sick?  
 ...=NCsick-3==Q *Niihl siipkwda?*
- **ni:=† ?á:m-t==a:** Is it all right?  
 ...=NCgood-3==Q *Niihl samda?*

5.13.A.4.c. With P<sub>EA</sub>:

- **ni: məká?-[t]=†?antə-tá:la-ý==a:** Have you (by any chance) seen  
 ... 2E see.s.-[3]=NC container-money-1S==Q my purse/wallet?  
*Nii mi ga'ahl andidaalya?*
- ni:-k̄i:-tká?-t==a:** Did s/he (perhaps) see it?  
 -INTS-3Esee.s.-3==A *Nigil ga'ada?*
- **ni: mətımxtáx-ĩn==a:** Would you (like to) eat with us?  
 ... 2EFUT eat.with.s.o.-1P==Q *Nii mi dim gdayiĩna?*

Nowadays these questions are not considered negative, but simply polite. The Intensive modifier **tĩ:** *dii* (5.15.B.2.a.) is added if a negative question is meant:

- **ni:=† tĩ: sí:pk<sup>W</sup>-n==a:** Aren't/Weren't you sick?  
 ...=NC INTS sick-2S==Q *Niihl o'ĩ siipgwina?*

- *nī: mətī: ká?-[t]=t?antə-tá:la-ý==a* Haven't you seen my purse?  
...2E INTS see.s.-[3]=NC container-money-1S==Q *Nii mi dii ga'ahl andidaalaja?*

#### 5.13.A.5. Negation inside a clause:

*nīki:/nikiti: nigii/nigidii* (OFS) and *nīti: nidii* (YFS) can both be used inside a dependent clause to negate the predicate in that clause:

#### 5.13.A.5.a. With P<sub>0</sub>:

- *wil nī:-tī: haywís* ... as it doesn't/didn't rain.  
as ...-INTS rain ... *wil nidii haywis.*

#### 5.13.A.5.b. With P<sub>A</sub>:

- Nom: • *wil nī:-tī: tá:la-ý* ... as I don't have any money.  
... money-1S ... *wil nidii daalay.*
- intr: • *wil nī:-tī: halálsT-ý* ... as I don't/didn't work.  
... work-1S ... *wil nidii hahlalsiy.*

#### 5.13.A.5.c. With P<sub>EA</sub>:

- *wil nī:-nə-tī: kíp-t* ... as I did not eat it.  
...-1SE-INTS eat.s.-3 ... *wil nindii gipt.*
- wil nī:-tī:-tkíp-t* ... as s/he did not eat it.  
...-INTS-3E eat.s.-3 ... *wil nidiit gipt.*

Here the particular event being talked about is simply negated, in contrast with a sentence using the modifier ?ax *ax* (5.15.A., 5.15.B.15.) which has a connotation of impossibility. This use of *nī:(tī:)* as a modifier seems to be fairly recent.



5.13.B.3. With PEA:

- **hawìn mə káʔ-[t]=† laxmít==a:** Have you seen the lava beds yet?  
... 2E see.s.-[3]=NC lava==Q ***Hawìn mi ga'ahl laxmihla?***
- hawìn mə ti: káʔ-[t]=† laxmít==a:** Have you ever seen the lava beds?  
... 2E INTS see.s.-[3]=NC lava==Q ***Hawìn mi dii ga'ahl laxmihla?***
- hawìn ti:-t káʔ-[t]=† laxmít** S/he has never seen the lava beds.  
... INTS-3E see.s.-[3]=NC lava ***Hawíndiit ga'ahl laxmihl.***

**hawín** with 1st person is often used for the expression of threats:

- **hawìn nəhináčax-n** Wait till I spank you!  
... 1S.E spank.s.-2S (lit. I have not spanked you yet) ***Hawìn ni hinats'axan!***
- **hawínnə pís-[t]=† máx lo:-sim** Wait till I break the light-ball on you!  
... 1S.E tear.s.-[3]=NC light(?) IND-2P (16.5) ***Hawìn ni bishl máx loosim!***

Hence 'not yet' with 1st person is expressed by **hawín-ti: hawíndii:**

- I haven't seen it/them yet.  
OFS: **hawìn nə ti: káʔ-t** ***Hawìn ni dii ga'at.***  
... 1S.E INTS see.s.-3
- YFS: **hawìn-ti:nəkáʔ-t** ***Hawíndii ni ga'at.***  
...-INTS 1S.E ...
- **hawìn-ti:nəsim qal wilá:x-[t]=† simʔálkax**  
... -INTS 1S.E really too know.s.-NC N.lang. I don't know Nisgha too well yet. ***Hawíndii ni sim gal wilaaxhl simʔalgax.***





- ?àq=† tá.la-ý  
...=NC money-1S  
I don't have any money [at all].  
(lit. my money does not exist)  
*Aḫl daalay.*
- ?àq=† wíl-ý  
...=NC act-1S  
There is nothing I can do/I can't  
do anything [about it]/I am in  
trouble/powerless/helpless.  
*Aḫl wiliy.*
- ḡapáq==a?† wíl-n==əst  
absolutely==ASST=NC act-2S==AFF  
You are really in trouble, aren't you!  
(said jokingly)  
*K'ap aga'ahl wilinis!*

5.13.D.2. With verbal predicate, as a subordinating verb: In modern usage, the clause following ?àq *aḫ* usually includes the FUT particle *ṭim dim*. Older usage (as in Boas 1902) does not usually include this particle.

5.13.D.2.a. With headless relative clause:

5.13.D.2.a.1. With headless Subject-relative clause: 'there is no one to ... [intr.]'

- ?àq=† tim lím[x]-(ə)t  
...=NC FUT sing-REL  
There is/was no one who could sing.  
*Aḫl dim limit.*

5.13.D.2.a.2. With headless Object-relative clause: 'to have nothing to ...'

- ?àq=† tim kíp-ə-t  
...=NCFUT eat.s.-CTL-3  
S/he has/had nothing to eat.  
*Aḫl dim gubit.*
- ?àq=† tim qó?-ə-t  
...=NCFUT go.to.s.-CTL-3  
S/he has/had nowhere to go.  
*Aḫl dim go'ot.*



- ʔàq=ʔ tim hóx-ə-ý  
...=NC FUT use.s.-CTL-1S  
I have nothing to wear/  
There is nothing I can use.  
*Akhl dim hooyí.*
- ní[t]=ʔ ki: àq=ʔ yóx-k<sup>W</sup>-ə-[t]=s[t]càk  
that's=NC and ...=NC follow.s.-CTL-[3]=DC[DM]Ts.  
(The trail ended at the foot of a cliff)  
... so Ts'ak could not continue on his way (lit. ... had no route to follow)(126.7.)  
... *níhl k'ii akhl yoxgwis Ts'ak.*

5.13.D.2.a.3. With headless E-relative clause: 'there is no one who can ...[tr.]'

- ʔáq tim-t ʔan wilá.ýin-t lo:-n  
... FUT-3E REL.E let.s.know.s.-3 IND-2S  
There was no one who could have let  
you know.  
*Ak dimt an wilaayint loon.*

5.13.D.2.a.4. With headless clause relativizing the Specified Complement: (this clause has the form of a regular clause):

- ʔáq tip wilák<sup>W</sup>-T-t  
... 1PE treat.s.-DEF-3  
There is nothing we can do to them  
(no way we can kill them) (103.7)  
*Ak dip wilaagwit.*
- ʔáq nə timkin-t  
... 1SE FUT feed.s.s.-DEF-3  
I cannot possibly feed h., I have  
nothing to feed h. *Ak ni dim gint.*

5.13.D.2.b. With regular clauses:

5.13.D.2.b.1. With P<sub>A</sub>: 'to be unable to ... (in general), there is no way to...'

- ʔáq=ʔ tim yé:-ý  
...=NC FUT walk-1S  
I can't walk (e.g. I am crippled);  
*Akhl dim yeey.*

- **ʔáq=ʔ tim wóq-[t]=s[t]nò.ý** My mother can't sleep, has insomnia.  
...=NC FUT sleep-[3]=DC [DM] my.mother *Akhl dim woks nooy.*

5.13.D.2.b.2. With P<sub>EA</sub>:

- **áq tim tip ʔimó:m-tit** There seems to be nothing we can do to  
... FUT 1P.E help.s.-3P help them/ no way we can help them.  
*Ak dim tip hlímoomdiit.*

- **áq t wila:ksə=kú:[t]-[t]=ʔ ʔi:ká ʔa=ʔ čimá:q-t**  
... 3E how out=take.s.-[3]=NC halibut.hook PREP=NC mouth-3  
[No matter how he tried] he just could not take the halibut hook out of his mouth  
(5.15-6). *Ak t wilaa ksiguuhl iiga ahl ts'imaakt.*

5.13.D.2.c. The combination áq wil cə ak wil ji... (with subordinator *Wil wil* and IRR particle *Cə ji/jə*) means 'wish there was a way to ..., if only there was a way to ...'

P<sub>A</sub>:

- **ʔaq wil cə kipáy<sup>W</sup>-ý** If only I could fly!  
... SUB IRR fly-1S *Ak wil ji gibaygwiý!*

P<sub>EA</sub>:

- **ʔaq wil cə nəkík<sup>W</sup>-t** If only I could buy it!  
... SUB IRR 1S.E buy.s.-3 Wish there was a way I could buy it!  
*Ak wil ji ni giikwt!*

5.13.D.3. The negative modifier ʔax 'not' ax:

The modifier **ʔax ax** (5.15.B.15.) is related morphologically to **ʔaq ak** 'not to

exist, to be 'unavailable, impossible' through the preconsonantal Velar-fricativization rule. Like other modifiers, it is used before a predicate.

5.13.D.3.a. Unaffixed:

5.13.D.3.a.1. With P<sub>Q</sub>:

- timsə-máy nù:m̄ ta:ʔák<sup>W</sup> cəta:ʔaxhaywís

FUT make-berries us tomorrow if ... rain

If it does not rain, tomorrow we'll go berry-picking.

*Dim simaaȳ n̄uum̄ t'aahlakw jidaa ax haywis.*

5.13.D.3.a.2. With P<sub>A</sub>:

- ʔakúqanʔax yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-n

what cause ... eat-2S

Why don't/didn't you eat?

*Agu gan ax yuuxgwin?*

5.13.D.3.a.3. With P<sub>EA</sub>:

- ʔakúqan-tʔax kíp-t

what cause-3E ... eat.s.-3

Why can't/didn't s/he eat it?

*Agu gant ax gipt?*

- ntá məqan ʔax kík<sup>W</sup>-t

which.way 2E cause : buy.s.-3

Is there a reason you didn't buy it?

*Nda ma gan ax giikwt?*

- ʔa: sim n̄ák<sup>W</sup> nə ʔax ká?-n

now really long[time] 1SE ... see.s.-2S

I haven't seen you for a long time.

*Hlaa sim n̄akw ni ax ga'an.*

In present-day usage, ʔax ax contrasts with nī:-tī: *nidii* inside a clause, as nī:tī: *nidii* seems to be gaining ground in a quasi-modifier role: ʔax ax implies not just negation of a single event, like nī:-tī: *nidii*, but negation in general, impossibility. Compare:



## 5.14. ADVERBS.

Adverbs cannot serve as clause predicates, only as complements. They can bear stress, be preceded by modifiers of suitable meaning, and be focused. However, they cannot be preceded by subordinators or by the FUT particle *tim dim*. They function only as complements, not as arguments, so they are not often preceded by a connective, except after the preposition *?a a*. Nor can they be components of prefixed or incorporating verbs (7.1.B.2.a., 9.2.A.).

Locational adverbs can be preceded by modifiers (5.15.) of suitable meaning, such as *q̄ayim* 'near ...' *k̄'ayim* and *wa(qa)yt* 'far ...' *wa(a)yt*.

Adverbs of time indicating the future may be preceded by the IRR particle (6.1.B.1.) *Cə ji/jə*. This is also true of the interrogative adverb *kaxkú* 'when?' *gaxgu*.

Some examples are:

- non-focused Complement: the adverb occurs at the end of the clause:

- *kisə=sáksk<sup>W</sup> n̄iti:t ké:č*                      They went away [to a place] down the  
downstream=leave.PL them downriver river.  
*Gisisakskw n̄idiit goots'.*
- *tim náks-ti: tá: ták<sup>W</sup>*                      There is a wedding tomorrow.  
FUT get.married-IMPERS tomorrow      *Dim naksdii t'ashlakw.*
- *tqal=kó:=† m̄al-ý tú: w̄*                      I have a canoe, over there. (106.2)  
against=moored=NC canoe-IS there      *Tk'algyoohl maaliy duu w̄.*
- *kó: ?a=† q̄ayim tú: w̄*                      It is [moored] just over there. (106.5)  
moored PROP=NC near there              *Gyoo ahl k̄'ayim duu w̄.*

- focused: in initial position (see also 4.7.A.3.b.):

- q̄ayimtú:W̄ wil kó:-t  
near there SUB moored-3  
It is moored just over there.  
*ǰ'ayim duuW̄ wil gyoot.*
- kičó:n wil kè:†-[t]=[†] †ku-wílksi†k<sup>W</sup>  
at.back SUB lie-[3]=NC little-prince  
The princess slept at the back of the house. (B. 152.12)  
*Gits'oon wil geehl higu wilksihkw.*
- cə kaxkú=† tim wíl-t  
IRR when?=NC FUT act-3  
When is it going to be?  
*Ji gaxguhl dim wilt?*
- cə kaxkú=(y)əma?=-† tim wíl-t  
IRR when?=-DUB=NC FUT act-3  
I wonder when it is going to be?  
*Ji gaxguyima'ahl dim wilt?*
- ǰa:†ák<sup>W</sup> tim wil náks-ti:  
tomorrow FUT SUB married-IMPS  
The wedding is going to be tomorrow.  
*T'ahlakw dim wil naksdii.*

## 5.15. MODIFIERS.

5.15.A. Modifiers are optional members of the predicate phrase. A few modifiers have concrete meaning, e.g. *wa[qlayt* 'far' *wa[glayt/wayt* (5.15.B.34), *Sí:* 'new(ly)' *sii* (5.15.B.40), *†ku* 'little' *higu* (5.15.B.36), but many have manner or modal meaning, e.g. *ksax* 'only' *ksax* (5.15.B.17), *q̄ap* 'absolutely, must...' *ǰ'ap* (5.15.B.10), etc., or organize discourse, e.g. *ti:* *dii* (5.15.B.2.) which often indicates a contrast with another segment of discourse. These categories tend to overlap, however.

Modifiers must be differentiated from adverbs (5.14) on the one hand, from proclitics (7.1.) on the other:

- An adverb is not a member of the predicate phrase, but has an optional

complement role in the clause. It usually has locative or temporal meaning and can be uttered in isolation. A modifier cannot be uttered in isolation, but always precedes all other pre-predicate morphemes. It is not included within the scope of reduplication (see 7.1. for more details).

Prefixation of modifiers is not usually a productive process, except with the negative modifier **?aX** 'not' *ax* (5.15.B.15.) which is used extensively as a prefix, as in

<b>?aX-qó:t</b>	'irresponsible, foolish'
no-heart/mind	<i>axqoot</i>

Conversely, the proclitic **k<sup>?</sup>Wit** 'around, about' *kw'ihl* (5.15.B.44.) seems to be used as a modifier sometimes: its meaning is so vague and its use so general that it is sometimes difficult to tell the difference: it seems to be used as modifier in clauses beginning with a negative verb (5.13.), for instance:

- ni:-ti: **k<sup>?</sup>Wit** hón-t                      It isn't a fish!  
not-INTS around fish-3                      *Nidii kw'ihl hoont!*
- ni: **k<sup>?</sup>Wit** ná:m=náks-ý                      I don't want to get married!  
not around want.to=married-1S              *Nii kw'ihl náam-naksiy!*

5.15.B. List of modifiers. (This list is not given in any particular order).

5.15.B.1. **tí** 'suddenly, unexpectedly' *di*

Unlike the other modifiers, which can occur in any type of clause, **tí** *di* is always followed by a predicate-focused clause; even when it is preceded by an element which is normally followed by a regular clause, **tí** *di* seems to 'interrupt' the sentence and 'cancel' the regular type.

- *kaxkúti qúç-ə-n=†qís-n*      When did you cut your hair?  
when? ... cut.s.-CTL-2S=NC hair-2S      (I did not expect you to cut it)  
*Gaxgu di k'ojinhl gesin?*

(compare:

*kaxkúməwil qúç-[t]=†qís-n*      When did you cut your hair?  
when? 2E SUB cut.s.-[3]=NC hair-2S      (I know you were going to cut it, I just  
want to know when)  
*Gaxgu mi wil k'otshl gesin?*)

- *yuk<sup>W</sup>=† wil-t ti ...*      All of a sudden, ... [something happened]  
PROG=NC act/do-3 ...      *Yukwhl wil, di...*

5.15.B.2. *ti*: *dii*      can have Intensive or Contrastive meaning.

5.15.B.2.a. Intensive meaning: general rather than specific question or declaration:

- *?akú=† ti: kíp-ə-[t]=†çù.ç*      What does a bird eat?  
what=NC .... eat.s.-CTL-[3]=NC bird      *Aguhl dii gibihl ts'uuts'?*

(without *ti*: *dii*, the sentence would mean 'What did the bird eat?')

- *?akù=† ?álkax=† ti: hó:x-ə-n*      What language do you speak?  
what=NC speak=NC .... use.s.-CTL-2S      *Aguhl algaxhl dii hooyin?*

This modifier is also used as an Intensive suffix with negative verbs (5.13.A.4.c.).

5.15.B.2.b. Contrastive meaning: insistence on a new element within a context similar to a previous utterance: *ti*: *dii* contrasts one utterance with another of similar structure, whether actually present in discourse, or implied by the





- mit)mitk<sup>W</sup>=† çàk̚ ʔa=† ti: simá:y̥-t  
PL)=NC dish PREP=NC ... pick.berries-3

The dishes were full of the berries she [not the other woman] had picked. (207.6)

*Mitmitkwahl ts'ak' ahl dii simaayt.*

### 5.15.B.3. lip ' (doing s.t.) oneself; own (s.t.)' lip

This modifier may be used before a great variety of predicates, including ñi-pronouns, in predicate or argument role. It usually insists on the identity of a person and is often translatable as an English reflexive pronoun in a reinforcing role.

#### 5.15.B.3. a. With Intransitive: referring to Subject:

- ñi[t]=† ki: lip ʔuk<sup>W</sup>s=yé:-[t]=† †ku=wilksitk<sup>W</sup>  
that's=NC and ... to.water=walk-[3]=NC little=prince

Then the prince went down to the shore himself...

*Ñihl k'ii lip ukwsyeehl hlguwilksihkw...* (175.13)

#### 5.15.B.3. b. With Transitive: referring to Agent:

- ñi[t]=† ki:-t lip caqam=qé:q†-t  
that's=NC and-3E ... to.shore=drag.s.-3

... and dragged it [the halibut] up the beach himself. (207.6)

... *ñihl k'ii lip jagamk'eehlt.*

#### 5.15.B.3. c. With Nominal predicate: referring to A noun:

- lip ksim lax-kipú:t Máry Mary is a Wolf herself!  
... woman.of... on-wolf DM.S M. [a member of the Wolf tribe]  
*Lip ksim Laxgibuu t Mary!*

#### 5.15.B.3. d. With Possessive phrase: referring to Possessor: in this case the

modifier is semantically equivalent to English 'own':

- **lip** nàks-[t]=† wí:likíńsk<sup>W</sup> 'the grizzly (woman)'s own husband'  
... spouse-[3]=NC great grizzly (204.11-12) *lip naksht wii lik'íńskw*
- ni-ti:sip) sípk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† wè:n-ý wil ni-ti: **lip** wén-ýlo-t  
not-INTS PL)hurt-[3]=NC teeth-1S SUB not-INTS ... teeth-1S IND-3  
My teeth don't hurt because they are not my own teeth.  
*Nidii sipsiipkwht wéeniý wil nidii lip wéeniý loot.*
- hil)yáltk<sup>W</sup> ?a=† **lip** qal-ćip)ćáp-ti:t==ki:  
PL)return PREP=NC ... site-PL)group-3P==DIST  
They returned to their own villages (194.3-4).  
*Hilyalkw ahl lip galts'ipts'apdiit-gi.*

#### 5.15.B.3.e. With Independent Ħi-pronoun:

In older texts, **lip** *lip* is used before a Ħi-pronoun only when the latter is in focused position:

- **lip** ní.ý=† qínx I myself am the trail. (128.8-9)  
... me=NC trail *Lip níiýht genx.*
- **lip** ní.ý t ?an lu=kúx<sup>W</sup>-t I [am the one who] shot it in! (20.6-7)  
... me 3E RELE in=shoot.s.-3 *Lip níiý t an luugurwt!*
- **lip** ní[t]=† xhá?==ki:t ?an kíp-t It was the slave himself that ate it.  
... him=NC slave==DIST 3E RELE eat.s.-3 (40.8) *Lip níht xhá'a-gi t an gipt.*

Some younger speakers extend the use of this combination as an equivalent to the reflexive English morpheme ...*self*, especially if asked to translate an English sentence containing a reflexive pronoun, as for instance (Belvin 1984):

- Mary saw herself in the mirror.  
*Ga'as Mary lip nít ts'im anksiwillak'altkw.*  
ká?-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry lip nítćim?anksiwillá:qaltk<sup>W</sup>  
see.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M. ... her in mirror

but this is not a normal, spontaneous Nisgha reflexive construction (Reflexive frames, 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1.), any more than

*Mary looked at her own self in the mirror*

is a normal English reflexive construction.<sup>10</sup>

5.15.B.3.f. In the combination lip?aná: '(to be) the only one (to ...)'  
*lip-anaa* (from ná: 'who' *anaa*)

- lip?a-na:hítk<sup>W</sup> nì:y                    I was the only one standing.  
self spontaneous-who stand I        *Lip-anaa hitkw nìiy.*

5.15.B.4. *sa[qlayt* 'together'            *sageyt, saayt, sayt*

*sa[qlayt k'il*                                'the same'  
...- one [object]                        *sa(a)yt k'il*

*sa[qlayt k'il-mqót*                        'unity' (lit. same heart)  
...- one [object] -ATTR heart        *saytk'ilim goot*

- kì:-t sa(qa)ytóq-[t]=s[t]txé:msim=tló?op  
and-3E ... take.s.PL-[3]=DC [DM] T.=NC stone

Then Txeemsim gathered several stones. (54.13)

*K'it sayt doqs Txeemsimhl lo'op.*

5.15.B.5. *masim* 'separately'        *masim*





- kitwíłtk<sup>W</sup> t siwá-T-ti:t==ki: ʔa=† k̄i: ni:-ki: wíl-t ...  
warrior 3E name.s.-DEF-3P==DIST PREP=NC and not-INTS be-3 ...  
... ǰaptxó xk<sup>W</sup>=† w̄i:-híłt-m ćúć  
... eat=NC great-many-ATT bird

They called them [the birds] warriors, but they were nothing of the sort...

*Gitwíłtkw t siwatdiit-gi, ahl k̄'ii nigii wíłt...*

...the multitude of birds were simply feeding.

...*k̄'ap t̄gooxkw̄hl w̄iíhildim ts'uuts'* (115.2-3)

- tim ǰap k̄<sup>W</sup>i† tá: ñi:y ʔawáʔ-n I simply must sit next to you. (45.9-10)  
FUT ... about sit I vicinity-2S *Dim k̄'ap kw'ihl t'aa ñi:y awa'an.*
- ǰap ni:-ki: tim ti: ñúw-ý [Whatever happens]  
... not-INTS FUT INTS die-1S I am not going to die (133.1)  
*K'ap nigii dim dii ñúwiy*

5.15.B.10.b. with noun: 'real, regular'

- ǰaptxá=† ʔantitá:la-n==a Is your purse real leather?  
... leather=NC purse-2S==Q *K'ap t̄xahl andidaalana?*
- ni:-ti: ǰap kát-t He was not a real person [but a  
not-INTS ... man-3 supernatural being].  
*Nidii k̄'ap gatt.*
- ni:-ti: ǰapnik<sup>W</sup>ó:t-ý lo:-t He is not my real father.  
not-INTS ... father-1S IND-3 *Nidii k̄'ap nigwoodiy loot.*

5.15.B.11. ʔals 'already, earlier than expected, before you know it...' als

- †a: ʔalsk<sup>W</sup>ó:yim It's Spring already!  
now ... spring *Hlaa als gwooyim!*

- ʔi.tim.kim-ǎáw.aqs.nì.ý.ʔi:ʔals.qó.ta-[t]=ǎ.tà.la-ý  
COND buy-shoes me and ... all.gone-[3]=NC money-1S  
I was going to buy some shoes, but [I discovered] my money was gone already.

*Hli dim gim-ts'awaks nìiy ii als goodahl daalay.*

- ʔals.yúk<sup>W</sup>.satk<sup>W</sup>.nì.tit [Before they knew it] it was evening  
sud.real. evening-MED them already [and too late to get home].  
*Als yukwsatk<sup>W</sup> nìdiit.*
- ʔals.ǎay.más-[t]=ǎ.ǎ.kù.ǎ.k<sup>W</sup>-ý [I suddenly realized] my child  
... young-[3]=NC child-1S is already a teenager.  
*Als k'aymashl hlguuhlgiwiy.*

5.15.B.12. **k<sup>W</sup>anim/k<sup>W</sup>alim** 'continuing to..., keeping on '  
*gvanim/gwalim*

- yuk<sup>W</sup>=ǎ.k<sup>W</sup>anim.qalá.ǎ.tit They went on playing. (102.9-10)  
PROG=NC ... play-3P  
*Yukwhl gvanim galaak'diit.*
- k<sup>W</sup>anim.sqá.k<sup>W</sup>-ǎ-n.tim.tip.kín-n  
... turn.down.s.-CTL-2S FUT 1P feed.s.-2S  
Whatever food we offer you, you keep refusing.  
*Gvanim sgaagwin dim dip ginin.*

5.15.B.13. **ʔatik<sup>W</sup>il** 'always, all the time' *adigwil*

- ʔatik<sup>W</sup>il.minhiT.nì.tit They argue(d) all the time.  
... argue them  
*Adigwil minhit nìdiit.*

5.15.B.14. **ǎam** *k'am* 'only..., just...' (restrictive meaning)  
(compare with **kSax** *ksax* 5.15.B.17.)

This modifier can have a discourse function as well as modify a predicate.



5.15.B.14.a. In single clause:5.15.B.14.a.1. Modifies numbers or expressions of quantity:

- **q̣am** kól=† †kù:†k<sup>W</sup>-ỵ                    I have only one child.  
... one|person|=NC child-1S                    *K'am k'yoolhl hlguuhlgiwiỵ.*
- **q̣am** †ipú:-[t]=† wàn ?an-t tē-†aq†k<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† hú:t-tit  
... few-[3]=NC deer RELE-3E DOM-manage-[3]=NC escape.PL-3P  
Only a few deer were able to escape (85.1-2).  
*K'am hlibuuhl wan ant di'akhlkwahl huutdiit.*

The restrictive meaning of **q̣am** *k'am* can be reinforced by **†ku** 'little' *hlgu* (5.15.B.36.): this use is frequent in Boas:

- ni:-ki **†ku** **q̣am** kina.†á:-[t]=† kò:l-t  
not-INT little ... remain-[3]=NC one|person]-3  
There wasn't even one person left (95.14).  
*Nigii hlgu k'am ginaat'aahl k'yoolt.*

5.15.B.14.a.1.b. **q̣am** *k'am* can be used in combination with the modifier **likl**: 'about, for instance' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.).

5.15.B.14.b. Use in discourse: **q̣am** *k'am* in a clause can restrict the domain of another clause, said before or after the one in which it appears.

5.15.B.14.b.1. **q̣am** *k'am* in first clause: temporal restriction: 'hardly, barely ..., as soon as...' (Fr. *dès ...*):

- **q̣am** hí:†uk<sup>W</sup> k̄i:lúk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† čáp  
... morning and move.PL-[3]=NC group  
As soon as it was morning, the whole village moved [to a new location] (37.10)  
(Fr. *Dès le matin, ...*)                    *K'am hiihlukw, k'ii lukwchl ts'ap.*

- tim **qam**lə-čé:x-T ñisiṁ tim ki:tá:wíṁ-siṁ  
FUT ...[...satiated-...]PL you.PL FUT and leave-2P

As soon as you have eaten your fill, you will leave. (181.10)

*Dim k'ám lits'eext ñisiṁ, dim k'ii daawihlisiṁ.*

- 5.15.B.14.b.2. **qam** k'am in second clause: qualifying previous utterance:  
'but, only, it's just that...'

- ni:=ṁ ?á:m-[t]=ṁ tim máxk<sup>W</sup>-ỳlò:-siṁ==a  
not=NC good-[3]=NC FUT ride-1S IND-2P==Q

--?á:m - **qam** timlá:n tim wil tá:-n  
good - ... stern FUT where sit-2S

- Can I get a ride with you guys? - OK, but you'll have to ride in the back.  
- *Niihl aamhl dim maxgwiý loosima? - Aam. k'ám t'imlaan dim wil t'aan.*

- wilá:x-ə-n=ṁ hanáq̣t kùst-i

know.s.-CTL-2S=NC female DC that-Q

wilá:x-ə-ỳ - **qam**ni:-nə-ti: wilá:x-[t]=ṁ wá-t  
know.s.-CTL-1S- ... not-1S-INTS know.s.-[3]=NC name-3

- Do you know that girl/woman? - Yes, but I don't know her name.  
*Wilaayihl hanaḳ ṭgusdi? - Wilaayiỵ, k'ám nindii wilaaxhl wat.*

- ni:-ki:-ti:-t tóq-tit=ṁ haq̣alá:x<sup>W</sup>...

not-INTS-INTS-3E take.s.PL-3P=NC club...

**qam** tóq-tit=ṁ cú'c̣ ki:-t **qam** lu=haṁ=tux<sup>W</sup>)táx<sup>W</sup>-tit  
...take.s.PL-3P=NC and-3E ... in=parallel=PL)wring.s.-3P

They did not take the clubs [to kill the birds],...

*Nigidiit doq̣diithl haq̣'a'aaxw...*

... they just picked up the birds and wrung their necks. (115.3-5)

...*k'ám doq̣diithl ts'uuts', k'iiit k'ám luuhahl'uxwt'akwdiit.*

- 5.15.B.15. **?ax̣**

'not, impossibly'

**ax̣** (see also 5.13.D.3.)

The negative modifier **?aX ax** can be used as modifier or prefix.

5.15.B.15.a. Use as modifier:

- ?á:m cə ?axhay wís                      Hope it doesn't rain!  
good IRR ... rain                      *Aam ji ax haywis!*
- ná:t ?an ?axwilá:x-n wí:kát              Who doesn't know you, Giant! (38.7)  
who 3E REL.E ... know-2S great man      *Naa t an ax wilaayin, Wii Gat!*
- k̄i:-t ká?-[t]=† winé:x=† tə ?axkíp-ə-t==ki:  
and-3E see.s.-[3]=NC food the ... eat.s.-CTL-3S==DIST  
... and he saw that food that he had not eaten/been able to eat. (41.3-4)  
*...k'iit ga'ahl wineexhl hli ax gibit-gi.*
- m̄in=†ó?-tI-ə-[t]=s[t]txè:msim=†k Wilá-t  
upward=shove.s.-DEF-CTL-[3]=DC[DM]T.=ND blanket-3  
?a-tyáx<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† wil ?ax xpá:w-t==ki:  
PREP-3E hide.s.-[3]=NC SUB ... jaw-3==DIST  
*Txeemsim lifted his blanket up [to his face] to hide the fact that he did not have a jaw. (52.7-8)      Minh lo'otdis Txeemsimhl gwilat at yarwhl wil ax xbaawt-gi.*

In the following examples, **?aX ax** modifies a focused constituent:

- ñi[t]=†k̄i:sim?apaxpáqask<sup>W</sup>-ti:t ?a=† wil ?axló?opčəksqòq-m  
?áq†k<sup>W</sup>-ət  
that's=NC and very upset.PL-2P PREP=NC SUB ... rock first-ATT succeed-REL  
They are upset because it was not the rock that made it [gave birth] first. (72.7-8)  
*Nihl k'ii sim abaxbak'askwdiit ahl wil ax lo'op ji ksgoogam aghlgwit.*
- ?àq=† tá:la-m̄ qan ?axkípáy<sup>k</sup>Winsk<sup>W</sup>=† tim yóxk<sup>W</sup>-ə-m̄  
non-existent=NC money-1P reason.why ... airplane=NC FUT go.by s.-CTL-1P

We don't have any money, so we can't take the plane  
 (lit. ... [that's] why it is not the plane that we will take).  
*Aghl daalam, gan ax gibaykw'inskwahl dim yoxgum.*

5.15.B.15.b. Use as prefix: creating adjectives.

5.15.B.15.b.1. Before adjective: = 'non-..., un...'

?ax-max)mùk<sup>W</sup>-mmi:qó.qst 'the unripe salmonberries' (50.5)  
 ...-PL)ripe-ATT salmonberries *axmaxmugum miik'ookst*

5.15.B.15.b.2. Before noun: = 'without, ...less' (see also 7.1.B.3.a.1.)

?ax-qót 'irresponsible'  
 ...-heart *axgoot*

ax-?an?uñst 'sleeveless'  
 ...-sleeve *ax'an uñs(t)*

5.15.B.16. **k'a**: 'most, excessively, extremely' *k'aa*

The meaning is often reinforced by the modified SIM 'really' *sim* (5.15.B.26.).

5.15.B.16.a. Used with verb:

- ñi[t]=†ki:páx-[t]=†má:l==ki: ?a=†lax-?áks  
 that's=NC and run-[3]=NC canoe==DIST PREP=NC on-water  
 - sim k'a?alu:-páx-t==ki:  
 really ... visibly-run-3==DIST

Then the canoe flew [lit. ...ran] on the water, at tremendous speed (107.9-10).

*Ñihl k'ii baxhl maal-gi ahl lax aks, sim k'aa aluubaxt-gi.*

- sim k'a:wilá:x-ə-[t]=s[t]niçì:ç-ý==ki:=†?atá.waq  
 really ... know.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] grandmother==DIST=NC story[telling]



- **k̄a:** w̄i=ńák<sup>W</sup> ñi:n lò:-ý  
... great-long you IND-1S      You are taller than me.  
*K'am w̄iĩńakw ñiin looȳ.*
- 5.15.B.17. **ksax̄** 'only... , just...' (as opposed to others) *ksax̄* (compare with **q̄am** *k'am* 5.15.B.14. and **m̄ax̄** *m̄ax̄* 5.15.B.18.)

5.15.B.17.a. Used as modifier: usually occurs before focused constituents.

5.15.B.17.a.1. Before nominal:

- **ksax̄**ćíp  
... bone      There was just the skull (214.12).  
*Ksax̄ ts'ip.*
- **ksax̄**ńi[t]=† hasàq-n=a  
... that's=NC desire-2S=QS      Is that all you want?  
*Ksax̄ ñihl hasagana?*
- **ksax̄**†ə q̄áp-t=† má:n-ət  
... the part/half-3=NC left-REL      There is only half of it left.  
*Ksax̄ hla k'apthl maanit.*

5.15.B.17.a.2. Before verb:

- **ksax̄** kípisk<sup>W</sup>-t=† ti: cáp-ə-t  
... eat.berries.while.picking-3=NC INTS do.s.-CTL-3  
S/he does nothing but eat berries [instead of putting them in the pail].  
*Ksax̄ gip'iskwthl dii jabit.*
- **ksax̄**sə-mà:ý-[t]=† ksim ?alu:-kikát, ñi[t]=† ñi[t]=† kíp-ti:t  
only make-berries-[3]=NC woman plain-people that's=NC that's=NC eat.s-3P  
They only ate the berries picked by the real woman [not those picked by the grizzly woman] (207.11-12)      *Ksax̄ simaaȳhl ksim aluugigat, ñihl ñihl gipdiit.*

5.15.B.17.a.3. Before subordinate clause:

- **ksax** wil licxk<sup>W</sup>-ý nə wil hax)hó:x-t I only wear them for reading.  
... SUB read-1S 1S.E SUB PL)use.s.-3 *Ksax wil litsxgwiý ni wil haxhoxt.*

5.15.B.17.b. Used as prefix: (see 7.1.B.3.a.10.):

**ksax**-kińám 'to give s. [as a present]'  
... - give.s. *ksaxgińam*

**ksax**-k<sup>W</sup>ińé?esk<sup>W</sup> 'to beg'  
... - ask for.s.AP *ksaxgwińe'eskw*

5.15.B.18. **ńax** 'only, exclusively, all ..., nothing but ...' *ńax*  
(cf. **ksax** *ksax* 5.15.B.17.; the meaning of **ńax** *ńax* is extensive whereas that of **ksax** *ksax* is restrictive)

**ńax** *ńax* occurs mostly before nouns, or as a prefix in a frame (7.3.A.1.a.1.c.).

5.15.B.18.a. Before nouns:

- **ńax**?i?ux<sup>W</sup>t=† †kí-ti:t They only have sons (lit. their children are nothing but men/boys).  
... men/boys=NC children-3P *ńax ii'uxwthl hlgidiit.*

5.15.B.18.b. Used as a prefix: it occurs in the frame **ńax**-...-† (very ..., too ..., all over ...' *ńax... (t)*). (See examples in (7.3.A.1.a.1.c)).

5.15.B.19. **k<sup>W</sup>ač** 'thoroughly, carefully, very well' *gwats'*

- cə **k<sup>W</sup>ač** yó?ks-ə-n=†wé:n-n [You should] brush your teeth  
IRR ... wash.s.PL-CTL-2S=NC teeth-2S carefully.  
*Ji gwats' yoo'oksinhl wéenin.*

- tim **k<sup>W</sup>ač** lu:=sáksaʔn-ə-n=ʔimʔ Wash the pail thoroughly.  
FUT ... in-clean.s.-CTL-2S=NC pail      *Dim gwats' luusaksa'aninh/ imh/.*
- **k<sup>W</sup>ač** thank you      Thank you very much!  
...      *Gwats' Thank you!*

In Boas 1902, this modifier occurs under the variant **k<sup>W</sup>ačiks** *gwats'iks*:

- ʔa: **k<sup>W</sup>ačiks**ʔánk<sup>W</sup>s-t      ... now he [Ts'ak] was thoroughly cooked.  
now ... cooked-3      (132.12-13)  
... *hlaa gwats'iks ankwst.*

5.15.B.20. **qayks/qaks** 'finally, at long last, only now/then... (after waiting)' *gayks, gaks* (= ʔals *ats*, 5.15.B.11.)

- ʔa: **qaksk**<sup>W</sup>ó:yim      It's spring at last!  
now ... spring-AFF      *Hlaa gaks gwooyim!*
- ní: nə **qakská**ʔ-t      I have never seen it/h.!(it's a surprise,  
not 1S.E.... see.s.-3      I have not been waiting to see it/h.)  
*Nii na gaks ga'at!*
- tim ʔas)ʔí:c-ʔ-ə-n tim ʔi: mə **qakstá**ʔ-ʔ-t  
FUT PL)iron.s.-DEF-CTL-2S FUT and 2E ... put.s.away-DEF-3  
Iron them, and then you can put them away.  
*Dim as'iitsdin, dim ii ma gaks t'ahlit.*

**qayks/qaks** *gayks, gaks* is sometimes used with a free-standing regular clause (4.3.c.2.).

- 5.15.B.21. **hi:**      'at the beginning, starting' *hii* (= prefix (hi:-)  
*hii*; 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.1.)



5.15.B.21.a. Used as modifier:

- †a: hi: k<sup>W</sup>ó:yim ?i: ...  
now beginning spring ...at the beginning of spring, ....  
...*hlee hii gwooyim ii...*
- ǫay hi: lítux<sup>WT</sup>-tít  
still ... shoot.PL-3P As soon as they started to shoot, ... (20.4)  
(lit. they were still starting to ...)  
*K'ay hii liduxwdiit, ...*

5.15.B.21.b. Used as prefix:

hi:-qóq-t Before that ...  
...-front-3 ... *hiigookt* ...

5.15.B.22. **ǫamqayt** 'actually, as a matter of fact, it so happens...' *k'amgayt*

This modifier introduces a fact known to the speaker (or the participant in the story) and previously unmentioned but now found to be relevant to the matter under discussion.

- **ǫamqayt**ká?-ə-[t]=s[t]txè:msim=†?áks  
... see-CTL-[3]=DC[DM]T.=NC water  
As it happens, Txeemsim had seen a creek. (17.12)  
*K'amgayt ga'as Txeemsimhl aks.*
- ... ní:y t ?anmúk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† ?an-hí-t  
I 3E RELE catch.s.-[3]=NC cause.of.saying-3  
**ǫamqayt**ni:-ki:-ti:múk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† sim?ò:kit t kùn  
... not-INTS-INTS catch-[3]=NC chief DM-this  
I am the one who caught them [the fish he is talking about].  
*Niiy tan mukwhl aahit,*  
... actually this chief did not catch anything at all. (44.8-9).  
... *k'amgayt nigidii mukwhl sim'oogit tgun .*

- **q̣amqayt** q̣amc̣in=tóq-ə-t=† wil ?ax-ti max)múk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† mi q̣ò:qst  
... secretly take.s.PL-CTL-3=NC SUB not-INTS PL)ripe-[3]=NC salmonberries  
Actually, he had secretly taken some totally unripe salmonberries. (49.15-50.1)  
*K'amqayt k'amts'indogathl wil axdii maxmukwhl miik'ookst.*

- ḳi: wil ḳi **q̣amqayt** ni:-ki: wóq-t ?a=† yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-t  
and right.away ... not-INTS sleep-3 PREP=NC eat-3  
And actually he did not sleep at all, he ate [all night] (37.1)  
*K'ii wil k'ii k'amqayt nigii wokt ahl yuuxkwt.*

5.15.B.23. †a: 'by now' *hlaa*

†a: *hlaa* is used both as a modifier and as a subordinator (5.16.B.2.). Examples in this section are of modifier use.

- †a: wilá:x-ə-ý ní:n t ?an his)yác-t *Now* I know that it was you that  
... know-CTL-1S you 3E REL.E PL)kill.s.-3 killed them (B.157.6-7).  
*Hlaa wilaayiy' níin t an hisyatst.*

(compare use as SUB: †a: nə wila:x... 'now that I know ...' *hlaa ni wilaax...*)

- ntá=† †a: wá-(y)ə-n How far have you got to?  
which.way=NC ... reach.s.-CTL-2S How far are you (in your project)?  
*Ndahl hlaa wayin?*

- ntá=† †a: qa-màlkaqsk<sup>W</sup>-ə]-[t]=s[t] *Báby*  
which.way=NC ... [weight]-[3]=DC [DM] B.  
How much does Baby weigh now?  
What's Baby's weight now?  
*Ndahl hlaa gamalgaksgwis Baby?*

Here †a: *hlaa* is used within a clause before the abstract noun **qa-màlkaqsk<sup>W</sup>-ə** 'weight' *gamalgaksgwi* ... which is the A-nominal of the



- $\acute{k}i: \acute{h}a\acute{c}i\acute{s}i\acute{m}lu:y\acute{a}l\acute{t}k^W-[t]=\acute{t} \acute{w}i:qan\acute{a} \acute{w}$   
and ... return-[3]=NC big frog  
... and the huge frog came back again. (147.8.)  
*... k'ii hats'iksim luuyaltkwhl wii ganaaw.*
- $\acute{n}i[t]=\acute{t} \acute{k}i: \acute{h}a\acute{k}s\acute{i}m\acute{h}u\acute{x}^W-tlu:=m\acute{a}qsa?n-[t]=\acute{t} \acute{l}i\acute{t}$   
that's=NC and ... again-3E in -stand.s.PL-[3]=NC wedge  
Then he put the wedges in [the crack] again. (150.6-7)  
*Nihl k'ii hak'sim hurwt luumaqsa'ahl lit.*

5.15.B.26. **SIM** 'real(ly), true/truly, very' *sim*

**SIM sim** can be used before most predicates and also reinforces the meaning of other intensive modifiers such as  $\acute{k}\acute{a}$ : 'most, extremely' *k'aa* (5.15.B.16),  $lu\acute{k}^W\acute{i}l$  *lukw'il* (5.15.B.28.),  $qal\acute{g}al$  (5.15.B.29.) It usually modifies a single predicate, but can also be used in contrasting clauses. It also prefixes some nouns and verbs.

5.15.B.26.a. Used as modifier:

5.15.B.26.a.1. In single clause:

- $sim \acute{?}\acute{a}m\acute{w}i\acute{l}a:-c\acute{a}p-T-[t]=\acute{t} \acute{q}\acute{i}s-n$  Your hair looks very nice.  
... good how-make-DEF-[3]=NC hair-2S *Sim aam wilaa jabihl gesin.*
- $\acute{n}i[t]=\acute{t} \acute{k}i: sim \acute{?}ap\acute{a}q\acute{a}sk^W-ti:t$  Then they were very excited (195.13-14).  
that's=NC and ... excited-3P *Nihl k'ii sim abak'askwdiit.*

5.15.B.26.a.2. Beginning two adjacent clauses: (1) as soon as ... (2) then ...

- $sim \acute{w}\acute{a}-(y)\acute{e}-[t]=\acute{t} \acute{t}ku=t\acute{k}i\acute{t}k^W\acute{w}il\acute{h}i)h\acute{i}tk^W-[t]=\acute{t} \acute{w}i:lik\acute{i}n\acute{s}k^W...$   
... find-CTL-[3]=NC little=child SUB ASP)stand-[3]=NC great grizzly

**sim**ćilim=páx-t ʔa=† wí:ʔamí-t

... into=run-3 PREP=NC great voice-3

As soon as the little girl found the grizzly bear standing there,...

*Sim wáyihl hlgutk'ihkw wil hihitkwhl wii lik'ĩnkw...*

... she ran into the house screaming (B. 204.8-9).

... *sim ts'ilimbagt ahl wii amit.*

5.15.B.26.b. Used as noun prefix: 'real, genuine, best ...'

**sim**-qán

...-tree

'cedar'

*simgan*

**sim**-ki)kát

...-PL)person

'chiefs (noblemen)'

*simgigat*

**sim**-tála

... - money (< dollar)

'silver'

*simdaala*

**sim**-haťóʔ

... - cloth

'cotton cloth'

*simhablo'o*

**sim**-ʔáلكax

...-speak

'the Nisgha language; hence ' to speak  
Nisgha'

*sim'algaʔ*

5.15.B.27. **sim**kit'firmly' (= **sim** + **kit** 'firmly' (proclitic, 7.1.A.1.c.4.) *simgit*

• **sim**kit ʔáلكax

... speak

S/he spoke very firmly.

*Simgit algaʔ.*

• cə **sim**kittám-t-ə-n=†timlánx-ý Hold on tight to my neck! (74.2)

IRR ... hug.s.-DEF-CTL-2S=NC neck-1S

*Ji simgit damdinhl t'imlaníy!*

5.15.B.28. **luk<sup>W</sup>il** 'very' *lukw'il*

This modifier is often reinforced with a preceding **SİM** *sim* (5.15.B.26.).

- **luk<sup>W</sup>il** ʔám  
... good  
Very well! Very good!  
*Luk<sup>v</sup>'il aam!*
- **sim luk<sup>W</sup>il ní:**  
really ... no  
Certainly not!  
*Sim luk<sup>v</sup>'il nii!*

5.15.B.29. **qal** 'too...(much, etc.)' *gal* (≠ the homonymous interjective predicate, 5.11. and prefix, 7.1.B.1.b.5.e.).

- **qal** tál==əst  
... loud==AFF  
Too loud! [and you should know it]  
*Gal daltis!*

When preceded by **SİM** *sim* (5.15.B.26.), the meaning is 'truly, absolutely'.

- **sim qalmímst**  
really ... crazy  
[You are/S/he is] absolutely crazy!  
*Sim gal mimst!*
- **sim qal** lu:sa:ná:†k<sup>W</sup>-ə-[t]=† qalçàp=† wíl-t==ki:  
really ... marvel.at.s.-CTL-[3]=NCvillage=NCact-3==DISTAL  
The people were absolutely amazed at what she did. (205.3)  
*Sim gal luusaanaahlgwihl galts'aphl wilt-gi.*

With a negation, the meaning is 'not too well':

- **ni:n[ə] ti: sim qal wílá:x-t**  
not 1SE INTS ... .. know.s.-2  
I don't know it/h. too well.  
*Nindii sim gal wilaart.*

5.15.B.30. **Sa:** 'suddenly, unexpectedly, without prior warning or notice' *saa*; homophonous with proclitic **Sā:=** *saa*... 'off' (7.1.A.1.b.34.)

- $\dot{k}i:sa:qisxk^W-[t]=s[t]txé:msim$   
and ... stop.crying-[3]=DC [DM] ...  
 $?a=† †a:-t naxhá-[t]=† hì-[t]=† wítis-(ə)t$   
PREP=NC now-3E near.s.-[3]=NC saying-[3]=NC old-REL  
... and Txeemsim suddenly stopped crying when he heard what the old man said  
(22.5-6).      *...k'ii saa gesxkws Txeemsim ahl hlaat naxháhl hihl wíit'isit.*

**Sa:** *saa* is often used in a declarative sentence with **tim** FUT *dim* to express a warning:

- $tim\ sa:sa=†ik^Wántk^W\ nìn$       (Be careful) You might fall off!  
FUT ... off=fall you      *Dim saa saat'igwantkw nìn!*

5.15.B.31. **kax**      'just (...this once, ... for a moment)' *k'ax*  
(= **lam** *lam* 5.15.B.32.)

**kax** *k'ax* signals an aside, a temporary and unimportant interruption of the normal course of events. It is often used with requests, or to announce one's immediate intentions.

- $\dot{k}ax\ ha\acute{w}ín$       Just a minute/second! / Just wait!  
... not.yet      *K'ax ha\acute{w}in!*
- $\dot{k}ax\ ti:\acute{n}i:\acute{y}$       My turn!  
... CONTR me      *K'ax dii \acute{n}i:\acute{y}!*
- $c\acute{e}\ \dot{k}ax\ \acute{t}imó:m-\acute{e}-n\ \acute{n}i:\acute{y}$       Help me a minute, will you.  
IRR ... help.s.-CTL-2S me      Just give me a hand.  
*Ji k'ax hlimoomin \acute{n}i:\acute{y}.*
- $tim\ \dot{k}ax\ sk^W\acute{a}:\acute{y}tk^W\ \acute{n}i:\acute{y}$       I'll just rest for a minute.  
FUT ... rest me      *Dim k'ax sgwaa\acute{y}tkw \acute{n}i:\acute{y}.*

- tim **kax** qóʔ-ə-ý=† tim x-kó.fi-ý I'll just get myself some coffee.  
FUT ... go.get.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT eat-coffee-1S *Dim k'ax go'oyhl dim xkoofiý.*

5.15.B.32. **lam** 'for a short while' *lam* (cf. **kax** *k'ax* 5.15.B.31.;  
**lam** *lam* has a more temporal meaning than **kax** *k'ax* (5.15.B.17.)):

- tim **kax lam** sk<sup>W</sup>á.ýtk<sup>W</sup> ñi.ý I am just going to have a short rest.  
FUT just ... rest me *Dim k'ax lam sgwaaytkw ñiiý*

5.15.B.33. **?anu:** 'in the direction of [a place]' *anuu*

Used before locational adverb or noun(-phrase):

**?anu:** matix-yúwín 'on the left-hand side'  
... left- \*hand? *anuu mat'ixyuwín*

**?anu:** kikénix 'towards the source of the river,  
... [place] upriver towards the North, '  
*anuu gigeenix*

**?anu:** hí.tuk<sup>W</sup> 'toward morning'  
... morning *anuu hihtlukw*

or subordinate clause:

**?anu:** wil ksə-k<sup>W</sup>ántk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† †òqs 'towards the East' (lit. ... where  
... SUB out-?-[3]=NC sun the sun comes out)  
*anuu wil ksigwaantkwhl hloqs*

5.15.B.34. **waqayt, wa:yt, wayt** '(a)way...' *wagayt, waayt, wayt* (the  
three forms given are from old-fashioned formal to modern colloquial) (= **qayim** *k'ayim* 5.15.B.35.).



5.15.B.34.a. Before locational adverb or noun:

**waqayttú:w** 'way over there'  
 ... over there *wa(ga)yt duu:w*

**waytlaxhá** 'way up in the sky'  
 ... sky *wayt laxha*

5.15.B.34.b. Before verb: usually the verb is preceded by a proclitic of location or motion. The modifier can occur in the same clause in front of a locational adverb or noun.

- qal **wayt** tip=ták<sup>W</sup>-ə-n==əst You turned it down way too low!  
 too ... downward=twist.s.-CTL-2S==AFF [the heat, sound, etc.]  
*Gal wayt t'ipt'agwinis!*

- ʔa: **waqayt**ʔuk<sup>Ws</sup>=ʔúlksk<sup>W</sup>-t ʔa=ʔwaqaytkíks  
 now ... outward=drift-3 PREP=NC ... at.shore  
 It [the hollow log] had now drifted away far from the shore (102.12-103.1).  
*Hlaa wagayt ukws'ulkskwt ahl wagayt giiks.*

- ǵay **waqayt**ə)caqam=yúk<sup>W</sup>-ti:t ʔa=ʔkíks  
 still far ASP)to.shore=move-3P PREP=NC at.shore  
 As they were approaching the shore, but were still at a great distance from it ...  
 (160.10-11) *K'ay wagayt jijagamyukwdiit ahl giiks ...*

5.15.B.34.c. In combination with subordinator Wil : = 'until...'

- **waytwil** haʔhuǵáqʔk<sup>W</sup>-t ... until it boiled.  
 ... SUB boil-3 ... *wayt wil hablhutl'aghkwt.*
- **wayttimwil** haʔhuǵáqʔk<sup>W</sup>-t ... until it boils.  
 ... FUT SUB boil-3 ... *wayt dim wil hablhutl'aghkwt.*

5.15.B.35. **q̣ayim** 'close to..., next to..., right near...' *ḳ'ayim*  
(≠ *walq̣layt wa(ga)yt* 5.15.B.34.)

5.15.B.35.a. Before adverb or noun with locational meaning:

**q̣ayim**tú:w 'just over there' (a short distance away)  
... over.there *ḳ'ayim duuw*

- *sim kit wínq=† lù:laq̣ - q̣ayim*çim-çál-t  
really whistle=NC ghost ... in-face-3

A ghost whistled right into his face (27.6-7).

*Sim gitwínkhl luulaq̣; ḳ'ayim ts'im ts'aít.*

5.15.B.35.b. Before adjective or intransitive verb:

**q̣ayim**tílpk<sup>W</sup> 'to be close by'  
... short *ḳ'ayim dilpkw*

- **q̣ayim**tá:=† ?ansè:lip-t ?a=† ?awà?-[t]=† ?amhá:ç  
... sit=NC firepit-3 PREP=NC vicinity-[3]=NC uprooted.tree

His firepit was right next to [the roots of] an uprooted tree (55.4-5).

*ḳ'ayim t'aahl anseelipt ahl awa'ahl amhaats'.*

- **q̣ayim**há:=páx=† ẉi: ?àks ?a=† q̣àp-[t]=† çáp  
... from.woods=run=NC big water PREP=NC end-[3]=NC village

There was a large stream running down from the woods near the end of the village (146.9).

*ḳ'ayim náabaxhl wii aks ahl ḳ'aphl ts'ap.*

5.15.B.35.b. Both uses occur in this example:

- *ñi*[t]=† *ki*-t *hux*<sup>W</sup> *naxhá*-[t]=† *wil q̣ayim*(at) ?á:ti<sup>W</sup>sk<sup>W</sup>-t ?a=†  
**q̣ayim**qalán-t

that's=NC and-3E again hear s.-[3]=NC SUB ... PL)arrive-3 PREP=NC ... behind-3

Then again he hear them approaching right behind him. (93.1-2)

*Nihl k'it huw naxnah1 wil k'ayim at-aat'ikskwt ahl k'ayim galuant.*

5.15.B.36. **ɬku** 'little' *hlgu*

5.15.B.36.a. Used as modifier:

5.15.B.36.a.1. Used as nominal modifier: this is the most frequent use in current speech, as the singular equivalent of pre-nominal **kupa**: *k'uba* (5.15.B.37.):

- **ɬku** *ćúć* 'little bird'  
... bird *hlgu ts'uuts'*
- **ɬku** *hanáq̣* 'little girl'  
... woman *hlgu hanak'*
- **ɬku** *wátuk<sup>W</sup>* 'slave girl'  
... slave woman *hlgu wat'ukw*
- **ɬku** *t sally* 'Little Sally'  
... DM ... *hlgu t Sally*

5.15.B.36.a.2. Used as a predicate modifier: this use is very common in Boas before intransitive verb or adjective:

- *ɬa: ɬku wítis-t - ɬa: ɬkutaxkát-t*  
now... grown-3 - now ... strong-3

By now he [the baby giant] was quite big, quite strong (175.9).

*Hlaa hlgu wít'ist, hlaa hlgu daxgatt.*

5.15.B.36.a.3. Reinforces the restrictive meaning of **qam k'am** (5.15.B.14.).

5.15.B.36.b. Used as singular prefix (7.1.B.3.a.4.)5.15.B.36.b.1. With nouns:

<b>†ku-tkítk<sup>W</sup></b>	'child (young person)'
... - *child	<b>hlgutk'ihkw</b>

(Boas 1902 has a few examples of use of **tkítk<sup>W</sup>** 'child' **tk'ihkw** without the prefix).

<b>†ku-wilksitk<sup>W</sup></b>	'prince(ss)' (young person of noble birth, who has not yet received a title)
... - *prince?	<b>hlguwilksihkw</b>

5.15.B.36.b.2. With verbs or adjectives:<sup>11</sup>

<b>†ku-qísk<sup>W</sup></b>	'narrow [object], skinny'
...-hairlike	<b>hlgugeskw</b>

<b>†ku-†kú:l</b>	'narrow [space]'
...-narrow	<b>hlguhlgui</b>

5.15.B.36.c. Remark: **†ku hlgv** seems to have become a prefix recently: compare this example from Boas:

- **†ku qay ci)ćú:sk-[t]=††ku tkítk<sup>W</sup>** The child was still small. (182.12)  
 ... still ASP)small-[3]=NC little child **Hlgv k'ay jits'uuskhl hlgutk'ihkw.**

where **†ku hlgv** is placed before the subordinator **qay** 'still' **k'ay** (which triggers partial reduplication, 5.16.B.9.b.), with its modern equivalent which includes **†ku hlgv** within the scope of reduplication:

qay **ti**)**tku** -cú:sk-[t]=t tku tkìtk<sup>W</sup>      The child is/was still small.  
still ASP)little-small-[t]=NC little=child *K'ay hlihlguts'uuskhl hlgutk'ihlkw.*

5.15.B.37. **kupa**: 'a little' *k'uba*

5.15.B.37.a. Used as nominal modifier or prefix, as plural of **tku hlgu**  
(5.15.B.36.):

**kupa**: ʔi:ʔux<sup>WT</sup>      'little boys'  
... men      *k'uba ii'uxwt*

**kupa**: -tkìtk<sup>W</sup>      'children'  
...- \*child      *k'ubatk'ihlkw*

5.15.B.37.a. Used as predicate modifier: the use of this modifier seems to give the utterance an informal, affectionate, 'homey' feeling (≠ the slightly derogatory meaning of **Wì** 'big, large' *wii*, 5.15.B.38.).

- **kupa**: wítk<sup>W</sup>==aʔhì:n      [I see it's true] you're back!  
... come.from==ASST you      *K'uba wítgw'a'òiin!*
- **ta**: **kupa**: timháw-ý      Time [for me] to go home!  
now ... FUT go.home-1S      *Hlas k'uba dim hawiy!*
- cə **kupa**: ʔama:káʔ-tT-ə-sim̃      Take good care of her! (191.15-192.1)  
IRR ... look.after.s.-DEF-CTL-2P      *Ji k'uba amaaga'atdisim̃!*

5.15.B.38. **Wì**: 'big, large, greatly' *wii* (≠ **tku hlgu** 5.15.B.36.)  
The plural form (used before a noun, or when prefixed) is **Wì:taʔ wii'tax**.

5.15.B.38.a. Used as modifier: **Wì**: *wii* does not always refer to an objective quality, but often adds a derogatory emphasis (cf. French *gros*). The word 'big' is used with this meaning also in local English.

5.15.B.38.a.1. Before noun:

ŵi:likínsk<sup>W</sup> 'a big grizzly bear'  
 ... grizzly bear *ŵii lik'ínskw*

- ni:-nə-ti:ʔanó:q-[t]=† ŵi:hanáq̣tkùs[t]  
 not-1S.E.-INTS like.s.-[3]=NC ... woman DM that

I don't like that woman ('that big woman').

(Fr. Je n'aime pas cette bonne femme).

*Niidii anookhl ŵii hanak' tɥus.*

In the following sentence, the modifier occurs before an E-relative clause which is the Adjunct to the Subject of the verb:

- k<sup>W</sup>iná:ti:=† kápin-[t]=† ŵi:tʔanlu:=lík-[t]=† čim-ťáx==ki:  
 surprise!=NC emerge-3 - ... 3E RELE in-guard.s.-[3]=NC in-lake==DISTAL  
 Surprise! there emerged the big monster that lived in the lake and was its  
 guardian. (14-15) *Gwinaadihl gabinhl ŵii t an luulihlkhl ts'im t'ax-gi.*

5.15.B.38.b. Used as modifier: Before verb or adjective:

- ńi[t]=† ḳi:-t ŵi: sə-mít-[t]=[†]lák<sup>W</sup>  
 that's=NC and-3E ... make-burn-[3]=NC| firewood

Then he lit a big fire. ( 89.8)

*...Nihl k'it ŵii simihl lakw.*

- ńi[t]=† ḳi: ŵi: ksə-páx-tʔa=† ŵi: ťíntx-t  
 that's=NC and ... out-run-3 PREP=NC ... angry-3

She [the big grizzly woman] rushed out in anger (209.9.)

*Nihl k'ii ŵii ksibaxt ahl ŵii hlintxt.*

- $hux^{W}ti: \acute{W}i:náks$   
also ... married  
And he's married too! [apart from other reasons why you shouldn't associate with him] *Huxwdii  $\acute{w}ii naks!$*

5.15.B.38.b. Used as prefix:

5.15.B.38.b.1. Prefixed to adjectives of suitable meaning: the plural form is often prefixed with  $\acute{W}i:\acute{t}ax \acute{w}iit'ax$ :

- $\acute{W}i:-\acute{t}is$   
... -full  
'big (person, animal),  
grown-up, old (person)'  
 *$\acute{w}iit'is$*   
pl.  $\acute{W}i:\acute{t}ax-\acute{t}is$  *$\acute{t}is$*   *$\acute{w}iit'ax\acute{t}is$*
- $\acute{W}i:-\acute{l}áy$   
...-large  
'big (container, house, etc.)'  
 *$\acute{w}iiláy$*
- $\acute{W}i:-\acute{n}ák^{W}$   
...-long  
'long (object), tall'  
 *$\acute{w}iínák^{W}$*

5.15.B.38.b.2. Before circumstantial subordinator (in a compound):

$\acute{W}i:-wíl-hílt]-kat$   
...-as/where-many-people  
'multitude'  
 *$\acute{w}iíwithilgit$*

5.15.B.39.  $\acute{W}a\acute{t}in$  'former, ancient, old'  *$\acute{w}ahlin$*  ( $\neq$   $Si: sii$  5.15.B.40.)

5.15.B.39.a. Before noun:

$\acute{W}a\acute{t}in \acute{k}i)kát$   
... PL)people  
'the old people' (Indian ancestors)  
 *$\acute{w}ahlingigat$*

**Wáñin** náks-t 'her former husband/his former wife'  
 ... spouse-3 *wahlin nakst*

- **Wáñin** wílp wil ti: cóq-ti:t They live in an old house.  
 ... house SUB INTS live-3P *Wahlin wilp wil dii jokdiit.*

- hačiksimhux<sup>W</sup> húkax-ə-t=† †ə **Wáñin** wí:qasqó:-t  
 again again look.like.s.-CTL-3-NC the former great size-3  
 He [the giant] was back to his former size [after taking the form of a baby]  
 (23.4). *Hats'iksim huxw hugaxathl hli wahlin wii gasgoot.*

5.15.B.39.b. Before circumstantial subordinator:

- **Wáñin** wila:sə-tílx 'the old method of rendering  
 ... how make-grease oolichan grease [title of a brochure]  
*wahlin wilaa sit'ilx*

5.15.B.40. SÍ: 'new(ly), present' *sii* (≠ **Wáñin wahlin** 5.15.B.39.,  
*qam gam* 5.15.B.41.)

5.15.B.40.a. Used as modifier:

5.15.B.40.a.1. Before noun:

si: ki)kát 'the people of today'  
 ... PL)people *siigigat*

si: kútáč-ý 'my new coat'  
 ... coat-1S *sii k'udats'iy'*

including a relativized predicate used as noun:



sī: náks-(ə)t                      'newlyweds'  
 ... married-REL                      *sii naksit*

5.15.B.40.a.2. Before adverb:

sī: kú:n̄                              'right now'  
 ... now                                  *sii guun̄*

5.15.B.40.a.3. Before stative (passive) used attributively: cf. English *fresh, freshly*:

- sī: ʔànk<sup>W</sup>s-mʔaná:x                      'fresh-baked bread'  
 ... cooked-ATT bread                      *sii ankwsim anaax*
- sī: múk<sup>W</sup>-s-m hón                      'fresh-caught fish'  
 ... catch.fish.-PAS-ATT fish                      *sii mukwsim hoon*

5.15.B.40.a. Before predicate: 'once again'

...ʔa=ʔ wil sī: n̄í[t]=ʔ ʔku k<sup>W</sup>è:ʔ-m ʔku-tk̄íʔk<sup>W</sup>  
 PREP=NC SUB ... that's=NC little poor-ATT little-\*child  
 t ʔan sa:=ʔúx-T-[t]=ʔ ʔú:q  
 3E REL.E off=throw.s.-DEF-[3]=NC copper  
 [the chief was upset] ...because once again it was that wretched boy, who had  
 knocked the copper off [the tree, and who had now triumphed again]! (145.2-3)  
 ... *ahl wil sii n̄ihl hlgw gwee'em hlgutk̄ ihlw t an saa'uyihl uuk* ...

5.15.B.40.b. Used as prefix before intransitive verb:

sī:-wíl                                  'to be new'  
 ...-be                                      *siiwil*

5.15.B.41. **qam** 'old, worn, unfit for use' *gam* (≠ S1: *sii* 5.15.B.40.)

5.15.B.41.a. Used as modifier: before noun:

<b>qam</b> kʉtácʰ-ý	'my old [worn] coat'
... coat-1S	<i>gam kudats'iy</i>

5.15.B.41.a. Used as prefix: creates nouns from verbs: 'refuse from ...'  
(7.1.B.3.a.4.)

<b>qam</b> -kíp	'inedible scraps left after a meal'
... - eat.s.	<i>gamgip</i>

<b>qam</b> -x-čáq	'clamshell(s)'
...-eat-clam	<i>gamxts'ag'</i>

<b>qam</b> -wíl	'(sthg) to be old, unusable; refuse'
...-be	<i>gamwil</i>

5.15.B.42. **liki:** '...any..., ...ever, for instance, maybe ..., about...' *ligii*

**liki:** *ligii*, of indefinite meaning, can be used by itself as a modifier, but is often associated with other pre-predicate morphemes.

5.15.B.42.a. Used as modifier:

5.15.B.42.a.1. With predicates:

5.15.B.42.a.1.a. With verb: the modifier can also be repeated before a noun(-phrase).

- ni:-ki: **liki**caqam=tílpk<sup>W</sup>-ti:t ʔa=ʔ **liki**:laxcè:-[t]=ʔ ʔáks  
not-INTS ... to shore=close-3P PREP-NC ... edge-[3]=NC water

They weren't anywhere close to a shore (104.8).

*Nigii ligii jagamdilpkwdiit ahl ligii laxts'eehl aks*

**liki:** *ligii* is often used when the predicate (or auxiliary) is in the phrasal frame **wit** ... -i: ... 'looks like .....[sthg happening] *wit*... -i:...' (7.3.B.2.b.)

- **wit liki:** yùk<sup>W</sup>-i:=† wóq-t                      S/he looks like s/he is sleeping.  
... ... PROG-...=NC sleep-3                      *Wit ligii yugwiihl wóq.*

5.15.B.42.a.1.b. With numeral: 'approximately...'

- †a: **liki:** txálp<sub>x</sub>-[t]=† sà=† wíl-t  
now ... four=NC day-[3]=NC act-3  
S/he has/had been doing it about four days...  
*Hlaa ligii txalpxhl sahl wílt ...*

- †a: **liki:** k<sup>W</sup>ilál-t==(ə)ma?††òqs  
now ... three-3==DUB=NC moon  
I guess it had been about three months ... (170.13)  
*Hlaa ligii gwilaldima'ahl bloks ...*

5.15.B.42.a.1.c. With pronoun:

- **liki:** t ná: tim-t?anlu:=kúx<sup>W</sup>-t  
... DM who FUT-3E RELE in=shoot.s.-3  
    ńít=† tim xstá:-(ə)t - **liki:** t ní.ý - **liki:** t ní:n  
    him=NC FUT win-REL - ... DM me ... DM you  
Whoever hits the target, will win; could be me, could be you (19.2-3).  
*Ligii t naa dimt an luugurwt, níthl dim xsdaat, ligii t ní.ý, ligii t ní:n.*

In many cases, **liki:** *ligii* is so closely associated with an indefinite pronoun that it functions as a prefix (see below 5.15.B.42.b and also 5.6.B.)

5.15.B.42.a.2. With other pre-predicate morphemes:

5.15.B.42.a.2.a. After modifier *Qam k'am* (5.15.B.14).

- ni:-ti:ʔakú-[t]cəqamliki:k<sup>ʔ</sup>Wit hí-t S/he hardly ever says a word.  
no-INTS what-[3] IRR ... about say-3 *Nidii agu ja k'am ligii kw'ihl hit.*

5.15.B.42.a.2.b. After subordinator *Qay k'ay* (5.16.B.9): 'hardly..., barely..., as soon as ...'

- qayliki:qísxk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=t tku-tkìtk<sup>W</sup>  
still ... stop.crying-[3]=NC little-\* child  
kì:-thux<sup>W</sup> k<sup>W</sup>in-qítqan-[t]=t simʔò:kit=t lák<sup>W</sup>  
and-3E again JUSS-poke.s.-[3]=NC chief=NC firewood  
As soon as the child [tied above the fire] stopped crying,...  
*K'ay ligii gesxkwhl hlgutk'ihlkw, ...*  
...the chief would give orders to poke the fire again (91.5-6).  
...*k'it huxw gwin-gehlghanl sim'ogithl lakw.*

5.15.B.42.a.2.c. In an alternative question with subordinator Cə 'whether' *ji/ja* after coordinator ʔO: 'or...' *oo* (5.17.B.): the modifier is used in the second clause, to insist on the fact that the alternative proposed may not be the only one:

- tku kát==a ʔo: cəliki: tku hanáq-t Is it a boy or [perhaps] a girl?  
little man==Q or whether... little woman-3 *Hlgu gada oo ji ligii hlgu hanak't?*

(If the alternative is only between two nouns or pronouns, the modifier may be used alone, cf. 5.15.B.42.a.1.c.).

5.155.B.42.b. Used as prefix:

<b>liki:-wíl</b>	'goods (esp. kitchenware, towels, etc.) distributed at a settlement feast'
... - be	
	<i>ligiivil</i>

It adds extra indefinite meaning to indefinite pronouns (see 5.6.B.):

<b>liki:-ʔakú</b>	'something, whatever'
...-what	
	<i>ligii'agu</i>

### 5.15.B.43. **lu:payt** 'irresponsibly, foolishly' *luubayt*

This modifier is composed of the two proclitics **lu:=** 'in' *luu...* and **paɩqlayt** 'in the middle' *bagayt, baayt, bayt*, but the combination functions as an independent modifier.

- **kilò mæ cə lu:payt tá†-T-[t]=† winé:x** Don't throw away food  
don't! 2E IRR ... put.away.s.-DEF-{3}=NC food [irresponsibly]!  
*Gilo mi ji luubayt t'ahlil wineex!*
- **lu:paytlu:=tǔku=páx=† qót-ý kú:ń** I can't think! (lit. my mind is  
... in=around=run=NC heart-1S now going around in circles)  
*Sim luubayt luutk'ubaxhl goodiy guuá!*
- **sim lu:paytni:-nə-ti:wilá:x-[t]wila:kʷi† hí-n==əst**  
really ... not-1SE-INTS know.s.-{3} how about say-2S==AFF  
[You know,] I have no idea what you are talking about!  
*Sim luubayt nindii wilaax wila kw'ihl hinis!*

### 5.15.B.44. **kʷi†** 'about, around' *kw'ihl*

This morpheme, one of the most common in the language, has a very vague, general meaning; locally it is usually translated by 'around', used much more freely than in Standard English. Some of its uses clearly mark it as a modifier,

others as a proclitic (7.1.A.1.c.1.), but in many cases it is difficult to know what category it is best assigned to.

Its use as a reinforcement to the generality of a negative statement is that of a modifier, as in

- (OFS) ni: kʷiʔ n̄a:m-náks-ý I don't want to get married!  
not ... wanting-married-1S *Nii kʷ'ihl n̄aam-naksiy'*

This use is general in a negative statement about an ordinary (non-determinate, non-possessed, non-deverbative) noun, as in

- ni:-ti: kʷiʔ hó:n-[t]=ʔ n̄è:qʔ The killerwhale is not a fish.  
not-INTS ... fish-[3]=NC killerwhale *Nidii kʷ'ihl hoonhl n̄eekhl.*

5.15.B.45. ?**alu**: 'plainly, visibly, in plain sight, obviously' *aluu...*

5.15.B.45.a. Used as modifier:

?**alu**: páx 'to run/go really fast'  
... run *aluu bax*

- ?**alu**: hi)hítkʷ=ʔ wíl̄p The house stood in plain sight (44.15).  
...=ASP)stand *Aluu hihitkwhl wíl̄p.*

5.15.B.45.b. Used as prefix:

?**alu**:-ki)kát 'Indians', prob. orig. 'unconcealed,  
...-PL)people undisguised people' (as opposed to  
animals or supernatural beings in  
human form)<sup>12</sup> *aluugigat*

**ʔalu: tá:** 'to show, to be visible'  
 ... exist *sluut'aa*

5.15.B.46. **ʔiks** 'formerly, ...used to ...' *iks*

This modifier is used before verbal predicates, unlike **Watin wahlia** (5.15.B.39.) which is used before nouns.

- **t kún wil ʔikshítk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†pçà:n==ki:**  
 DM this where ... stand-[3]=NC totem pole==DIST  
 This is where the totem pole used to be.  
*Tgua wil iks hitkwhl pts'aa-gi.*

5.15.B.47. **ḳi:** 'ahead [of others]' *k'ii* (homophonous with the subordinator **ḳi:** 'and ...' *k'ii*, 5.16.B.5.).

- **ḳi:yú:xk<sup>W</sup>-n** Eat first! [before the others do]  
 ... eat-2S *K'ii yuuxgwin!*
- **ḳi:qúl=†kupa:-ṭḳi†k<sup>W</sup>** The children ran ahead.  
 ... run.PL=NC little.PL-\*child *K'ii gohl k'ubatk'ihkw.*

This modifier is also used after the subordinator **†a:** 'by now...' *hlaa*. The combination **†a: ḳi:** *hlaa k'ii* may be contracted to **†a: ʔi:** *hlaa ii*. Its meaning is 'by then..., ... [had happened] earlier.'

- **†a: ḳi: núw-[t]=†niçí:ç-ti t==ki:**  
 by.now ... dead-[3]=ND grandmother-3P==DISTAL  
 Their grandmother was dead by then/...had died earlier. (162.14)  
*Hlaa k'ii núwhl nits'iits'diit-gi.*

5.15.B.48. **†i** 'would ...' *hli* (homophonous with the most common form of the Restrictive particle **†ə** *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.)

This modifier is used in conditional clauses.

5.15.B.48.a. Before FUT particle *tim dim*, before verb: the combination *ti tim hli dim* presents an event that could happen or could have happened but did not.

5.15.B.48.a.1. In predicate-focused clause: the event was very likely to happen but was prevented: '... was going to...,...would have ...'.

- *ti timhúksk<sup>W</sup> ní.ý*                      I was going to go/attend,  
... FUT attend me                      I would have gone.  
*Hli dim hukskw ní.ý.*
- *ti tim kík<sup>W</sup>-ə-ý*                      I was going to buy it.  
-FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S                      I would have bought it.  
*Hli dim giigwiý.*

5.15.B.48.a.2. In regular clause: after clause beginning with *Cə ti ji hli* (5.15.B.48.b.): depending on the context, can refer to present or past impossibility:

- *cə ti tala-ý* ...                      If I had (had) the money, ...  
IRR ... money-1S                      *ji hli daalay,* ...
- ... *ti tim ?i:nə kík<sup>W</sup>-t*                      ... I would buy it./ have bought it.  
... FUT and 1SE buy.s.-3                      ... *hli dim ii ni giikwt.*
- ... *ti tim hi-México-ý*                      ... I would go/have gone to Mexico.  
... FUT go.to.-M.-1S                      ... *hli dim ii hii-Méxicoý.*

5.15.B.48.b. In combination with the subordinator *Cə ji*: see examples of *Cə ti ji hli* in 5.15.B.48.a. above and also in 5.16.B.4.



5.15.B.49. **čə** 'in spite of ... although... even though ...' *ts'i*...

Like **tī** (5.15.B.1.), this modifier is always followed by a predicate-focused clause. It is often reinforced by the modifier **līkīlī** 'about, any... , for instance' *ligii* (5.15.B.48.).

- **čəqaqít<sup>W</sup>** mə tim wila: wá-tT-t Even though you may find it hard ...  
... difficult 2E FUT how find.s.-DEF-3      *Ts'i gagetkw mi dim wilaa wadit* ...
- **čə līkī**: qásqan-ə-n mə tim ʔi: qap kíp-t  
... about dislike.food-CTL-2S 2E FUT and must eat-3

Even though you may dislike it, you have to eat it.

*Ts'i ligii dim gask'anin mi dim ii k'ap gipt.*

It often occurs before the 3rd person independent pronoun (acting as topicalizer) **ńí[t]**

- **čə ńít! čə ńít!** Even so! Even so! (Even if all the  
... that's it dangers you describe befall us..., [we'll  
make it])(11.5.)      *Ts'i ńít! Ts'i ńít!*

The clause after **ńí[t]** is also a predicate focused clause:

- **čə ńí[t]=t** qásqan-ə-n=t t́áqask<sup>W</sup> ʔi: mə qap kíp-t  
... that's=NC dislike.food-CTL-2S=NC seaweed and 2E must eat.s.-3  
Even though you dislike seaweed, you have to eat it.  
(lit. even though seaweed is what you dislike...)  
*Ts'i ńihl gask'anihl hlak'askw ii mi k'ap gipt.*

5.15.B.50. **k<sup>W</sup>i:X** 'always... good at ... [doing something], liking to ... ,  
keen to ... [do something]' *gwix-* (cf. the meaning of German *gern*)

Nowadays this modifier seems to be used mostly as a prefix (7.1.B.1.b.3.b.), but

examples in Boas show modifier usage:

- má†-[t]=[†]cə n[ə]k<sup>W</sup>i:x kíp-[t]=†?anwín-[t]=s[t]kùst  
 tells.s.-[3]=[NC] IRR 1S.E ... eat.s.-[3]=NC what.s.o.has-[3]=DC [DM] that  
 Tell [him] that I am always very keen to eat what he's got. (40.5-6)  
*Mahl jin gwiix giphl anwins gust.*
- ní==qat ki:-di:-t k<sup>W</sup>i:x kíp-[t]=† sim?ò:kit t kún?anwín-n  
 not==REP INTS-INTS-3E ... eat.s.-[3]=NC chief DM this what.s.o.has-2S  
 I hear that this chief never eats what you've got. (40.6-7)  
*Nii-gat gidit gwiix giphl sim'oogit tgun(hl) anwinin.*

#### 5.15.B.51. Downshifted P<sub>A</sub>s used as modifiers:

Adjectives suffixed with the Attributive suffix -III are often used as predicate modifiers, for instance:

- ní:y=† tim ksqò:q-mláqs-(ə)t I am taking my bath first.  
 me-NC FUT first-ATT bathe-REL *Niiyhl dim ksgoogam laksit.*
- †a: simù-mnaks-tit They are married legally now.  
 now correct-ATT married-3P *Hlaa simum naksdit.*

It seems that the same process is involved with *sità:ma?-m* 'starting to ...' *sit'aama'am*, from *sità:ma?* 'to start' *sit'aama'a*, and with *ña:m* (older *ña?am*) 'wanting to..., feeling the urge/need to...' *ñaam* / *ña'am*, of unknown origin, which are used very frequently:

- hawín=† sità:ma?-myé:-t==a Has s/he started walking yet?  
 not-yet-NC ... walk-3==Q *Hawinhl sit'aama'am-yeeda?*
- qas)qúc-ə-t=† smáx ?i: ní[t] wil-t sità:ma?ankíp-t  
 PL)cut.s.-CTL-3=NC meat and that's SUB 3E ...=eat.s.-3

S/he cut the meat into little pieces and then started to eat it.  
*K'ask'ojithl smax ii ni wil sit'ama'am-gipt.*

- *ńa:mhi:-wilpksi+ó? ńi:ý*                      I need to go to the bathroom.  
     ... go.to.-toilet me                      *ńaam-hii-wilpksihlo'o ńiiý.*
- *ni:=† ńa:mχ-kófi:-n==a*                      Do you want some coffee?  
     not=NC ... eat-coffee-2S==Q                      *Niihl ńaam-χkoofiina?*
- *?akú=† ńa:m kíp-ə-n==əst*                      [Well,] what do you want to eat?  
     what=NC ... eat.s.-CTL-2S==AFF                      *Aguhl ńaam-gibinis?*

## 5.16. SUBORDINATORS.

5.16.A. Subordinators are always followed by a regular clause (4.3.). They generally occur in front of the predicate phrase, although some morphemes, especially Ergative pronouns and the FUT particle *łim dim*, can precede a subordinator, so that the latter is integrated phonologically if not syntactically into the predicate phrase. Several of the subordinators also act as modifiers, and one is homophonous with the Irrealis particle. This makes it sometimes difficult to sort out which role should be attributed to which morpheme, so that the following classification and analysis should still be considered tentative.

Subordinators indicate...

- chronological or logical link:

*ńi:* 'and (then)...' *k'ii* (colloquial *?i:* *ii*)

- factual background (including time and location):

**Wil** 'as, because, that, where, when...' *wil*

- factual consequence: **qan** '[reason] why...' *gan* - manner: **Wila:** 'how' *wilaa*

-time: non-future: **ta:** 'when...'

**ta: †a:** (**tifa:**) 'when, once, after' (in general)

*daa hlaa/dihlaa*

**†i ta:** '[since] the time when;' *hlidaa*

**tis wil** 'at the moment when' *dis wil* + predicate

future: **cə †a:/cə ta: †a:** 'when (in the future)...' *ji hlaa/jidaa hlaa*

**cə ta:** 'if...(sthg happens)' *jidaa*

- aspect: **qay** '... still happening, just happened' *k'ay*

**†a:** 'by now, from now on, when, after...'

**?a** 'while, as...'

- goal: **?a...[tim]** 'in order to/that..' *a... (dim)*

- hypothesis/conditionality:

**Cə** 'whether...' *ji/ja*

**cə †i** 'if...(sthg were/had been true)' *ji hli*

**cə ?an** 'if...(sthg were true)/then ... (sthg else would be true)' *ji an*

- alternative: **?a=† ki:** 'yet..., but instead..., but meanwhile...' *ahl k'ii*

Two expressions function as subordinators in present-day Nisgha but seem to be originally made up of a verbal predicate followed by the IRR particle **Cə**:

**?up cə** 'in case...(something undesirable happens), for fear..., lest...' *upji/upja*

**mo: cə** 'almost [happened]' *mooji/mooja*

5.16.B. List of subordinators: (not in a particular order)5.16.B.1. **qan** 'the reason why' *gan*

5.16.B.1.a. Use as a subordinator: **qan** *gan* (usually translated in local English as 'why', used differently from Standard English) introduces as consequence, not a cause; the cause is stated in what precedes **qan** *gan*: a focused constituent, for instance a question word, or an entire clause.

- ?akú**qan**?axhúksk<sup>W-t</sup>                      Why is s/he not here? Why didn't  
sick = ... not attend-3                      s/he come?  
*Agu gan ax hukskw?*
- sípk<sup>W</sup> - **qan**?axhúksk<sup>W-t</sup>                      S/he is sick, that's why s/he's not here.  
sick = ... not attend-3                      (local: ..., why s/he's...).  
S/he didn't come because s/he is/was sick.  
*Siipkw, gan ax hukskw.*
- ?akù mæ**qan**háks-ý==əst                      Hey, why do you call me names? (118.2)  
what 2E ... insult.s.-1S==AFF                      *Agu ma gan haksíyis?*
- ní[t]=† **qan**tis)tú:čk<sup>W-[t]=† qa)qà.x-[t]=† qíwin  
that's=NC ... PL)black-[3]=NC PL)wing-[3]=NC seagull  
That's why seagulls' wings are black. (35.5)  
*Níhl gan t'ist'uuts'kwíhł gəł'axxhl gewin.*</sup>

If the predicate indicating the consequence is already known, it is not usually repeated following **qan** *gan*; the predicate **Wíl** 'be/do/act' *wil* is used instead:

- ?akù**qan** k<sup>W</sup>i† mímq-n                      Why are you smiling?  
what ... about smile-2S                      *Agu gan kw'ihł mímq'an?*

lu:=ʔá:m=ʔ qò:t-ý qan wil-t - [It's] because I am happy.  
 in=good=NC heart-1S ... be-3 (lit. I am happy, [that's] why it is).  
 - *Luu'aamhl goodiy, gan wilt.*

- Wít:ís=ʔ wil kítk<sup>W</sup>-t==ki: - ʔa-t wil páq-[t]=ʔ wintóʔ qan wíl-t  
 great-NC SUB swell-3==DIST - PREP-3E SUB feel.s.-{3}=NC *windo'o* ... be/do-3  
 He swelled up enormously; that was because he had tasted the *windo'o*  
 [a mind-altering substance which was formerly chewed]. (90.12-13)  
*Wíit'ishl wil gítktvt-gi; at wil bakhl windo'o, gan wilt.*

5.16.B.1.b. This subordinator can also be used as a prefix: see (7.1.B.3.b.1.).

5.16.B.2. ʔa: 'by now..., when..., after...' *hlaa*

This very common subordinator is also sometimes used as a modifier (5.15.23).

5.16.B.2.a. In single clause: 'now, by now, from now on'; often translatable by English present perfect:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| P <sub>Q</sub> : • ʔa: má:tim<br>... snowfall/winter          | It's winter [now].<br><i>Hlaa maadim.</i>                |
| P <sub>A</sub> : • ʔa: pláksk <sup>W</sup> -ý<br>... tired-1S | I am tired [after doing s.t.].<br><i>Hlaa plakskwiý.</i> |
| • ʔa: x <sup>W</sup> táx-ý<br>... hungry-1S                   | I am hungry [now].<br><i>Hlaa xwdayiy</i>                |
| • ʔa: hanáq̣-t<br>... woman-3                                 | She is a woman now.<br><i>Hlaa hanak't.</i>              |
| • ʔa: q̣am kó:l-t<br>... only one[person]-3                   | S/he is all alone now.<br><i>Hlaa k'am k'yoolt.</i>      |

- **†a:** †isk<sup>W</sup>-n==a  
... finished-2S==QU  
Have you finished?  
*Hlae hlisgwina?*
- **†a:** ćáw̄aqs-[t]†<sup>W</sup>-n==a  
... shoes-MED-2S==Q  
Do you have your shoes on (yet)?  
Have you put on your shoes?  
*Hlae ts'áw̄aksgwina?*
- P<sub>EA</sub>: • **†a:** mə†isaʔn-t==a  
... 2E finish.s.-3==Q  
Have you finished it?  
*Hlae mi hliša'anda?*

With the FUT particle, it announces an imminent occurrence:

- **†a:** tim má:tim  
... FUT snowfall  
It is going to snow.  
*Hlae dim maadim.*
- **†a:** tim háw̄-ŷ  
... FUT go.home-1S  
I am going home now.  
*Hlae dim haw̄iȳ.*
- **†a:** tim núw̄-[t]=† †kú:†k<sup>W</sup>-n  
... FUT die-[3]=NC child-2S  
Your child is about to die. (89.1)  
*Hlae dim núw̄hl hlgvuhlgwin.*

5.16.B.2.b. In clause linked to another: 'now that..., when..., after ...'

5.16.B.2.b.1. Singly or with FUT particle:

- ća:kúk<sup>W</sup>sk<sup>W</sup> ñi:ŷ **†a:** nəkáʔ-n  
startled I ... 1E see.s.-2S  
I was startled to see you  
(lit. ...when I saw you)  
*Ts'aagyukwskw ñiiŷ hlae ni ga'an.*
- **†a:** †aqa=yé:-[t]=† nàks-[t]=† há:wc==ki:ki:ʔálkax-[t]=s[t]  
txè:msim  
... downhill=walk-[3]=I spouse-[3]-NC cormorant==DIST and speak-[3]=DC{DM}T.

When the cormorant's wife had come down to the beach, Txeemsim spoke.

(44.3-4) *Hlaa yagayeehl nakshl haawts-gi, k'ii algaxs Txeemsim.*

- lu:=ʔá:m=† qò:t=† hanáq̣      The woman was happy ...  
in=good=NC heart=NC woman      *Luu'aamhl goothl hanaḳ' ...*

†a:-t káʔ-[t]=† hux<sup>W</sup>tá:kin-t      ... when she saw her grandchild.  
...-3E see s.=NC grandchild-3      ... *hlaat ga'ahl huxwdaak'int.*

†a: tim-t káʔ-[t]=† hux<sup>W</sup>tá:kin-t  
... FUT-3E see s.=NC grandchild-3  
... now that she was going to see her grandchild.  
... *hlaa dimt ga'ahl huxwdaak'int.*

5.16.B.2.b.2. Preceded by the IRR particle Cə ji/ja: Cə †a: 'when... (at a definite point in the future)' *jihlaa*.

This combination differs in meaning from the individual meanings of the subordinator Cə 'whether' *ji/ja* and the modifier †a: 'by now' *hlaa* (5.15.B.23). Compare also Cə ta: †a: *jidaahlaa* (5.16.B.3.b.2.).

- tim hat)hátiks nù:m̄ cə †a: s̄int      This summer we'll go swimming.  
FUT PL)swim us IRR ... summer      *Dim hathadiks núum̄ jihlaa sint.*

5.16.B.2.c. For use with modifier k̄i: / ʔi: *k'ii/ii* see 5.15.B.47.

5.16.B.3. ta: 'when ..., whenever ...' *daa*

Nowadays this word is used mostly in combination with other morphemes.

5.16.B.3.a. Not preceded by the IRR particle Cə ji/ja:

5.16.B.3.a.1. ta: *daa* is found by itself with OFS and in Boas (often after the



preposition **ʔa** *a*, 5.18.):

- kilò=ʔ six) sámaq-sim̄==əst ʔa=ʔ **ta:** hisqaʔá:qs-sim̄==əst  
 don't=NC PL)shut.up-2P==AFF PREP=NC ... laugh.PL-2P==AFF  
 Come on, don't keep your mouths shut like that when you laugh! (84.5-6)  
*Gilohl sixsámaksim̄is, ahl ~~daa~~ hisga'auksim̄is!*
  - ni-ki:-t sa=ʔáʔ-T-t ʔa=ʔ **ta:** ki)kéʔ-t  
 not-INTS-3E off-put.s.PL-DEF-3 PREP=NC ... ASP)lie-3  
 She did not remove them when she went to bed. (96.14)  
*Nigit saat'ahlit ahl ~~daa~~ gigeehl.*
- 5.16.B.3.a.2. **ta: ʔa:** 'when ... (in general), once..[something happens] *daa hlaa*  
 this expression is in general use with YFS, often reduced to **tʔa:** *dihlaa*. Here  
**ʔa:** *hlaa* is probably the modifier (5.15.B.23), since the subordinator is **ta:**  
*daa*.
- **ta: ʔa:** sintʔi:sə-má.ý-m̄ In the summer, we pick berries.  
 when now summer and make-berries-1P *Daa hlaa sint ii simaayim̄.*
- 5.16.B.3.a.3. **ʔə ta:** '(at) the exact time when ..., since the time...' *hlidaa*: This  
 expression is a combination of the restrictive particle **ʔə hli/hla** and the  
 subordinator **ta: daa** (5.16.B.3.a.). It does not normally occur initially, but  
 after another clause or focused constituent.
- ʔa: txàlpx-wil-kàp-[t]=ʔ kúʔ **ʔə ta:** skát-ý  
 now four-SUB-ten-[3]=NC year ... .. be.born-1S  
 I was born forty years ago.  
 (lit. It is now forty years since I was born)  
*Hlaa txalpx-wil-k'aphl k'uuhl hlidaa sgadiȳ.*
  - ʔa: txàlpx-wil-kèp-[t]=ʔ kúʔ **ʔə ta:**-tnáksaʔan-ti.tn̄i.ý  
 now four-SUB-ten-[3]=NC year ... ..-3E marry.s.o.off-3P me

They married me off forty years ago.

*Hlaa tʁalɔx-wil-k'aphl k'uuhl hlidaat naksə'andiit ñiiy̆.*

- ni:məʔamqó:[t]-[t]=ʔtə ta: hi:-kitxatín-m̄==a  
not 2E remember.s.=NC ... .. go.to-Greenville-1P==Q

Do you remember the time we went to Greenville?

*Nii mi amgoohl hlidaa hii-Gitxat'inima?*

5.16.B.3.b. Preceded by the IRR particle CƏ ji/ja: The IRR particle can precede **ta: daa** or **ta: ʔa: daa hlaa** in the same way as it can precede complements referring to future time (6.1.B.1.b.2.). With older speakers, **CƏ ta:** 'if (and when) ...' *jidaa* is often preceded by the preposition **ʔa** which introduces most circumstantial complements.

5.16.B.3.b.1. **CƏ ta:** 'if (and when) ...' *jidaa*

This combination introduces a hypothetical condition that may still be realized. A clause beginning with **CƏ ta: jidaa** can occur sentence-initially or finally.

P<sub>0</sub>: • tim ʔát ñiiy̆ ʔa: ʔák<sup>W</sup>  
FUT fish.w.net me tomorrow  
(ʔa) **CƏ ta:** ʔaxpáʔask<sup>W</sup>  
(PREP)... .. not wind

I'll go fishing tomorrow ...  
*Dim aat ñiiy̆ t'aahlakw ...*  
... if there is no wind.  
... (a) *jidaa ax ba'askw.*

• ʔakù=ʔ tim wíl-n  
what-NC FUT do-2S  
(ʔa) **CƏ ta:** páʔask<sup>W</sup>  
(PREP) ... wind

What will you do...  
*Aguhl dim wilin ...*  
... if it's windy?  
... (a) *jidaa ba'askw?*

P<sub>A</sub>: • **CƏ ta:** ta:la-ý̆  
... .. money-1S  
tim ʔi: nəki:k<sup>W</sup>-t  
FUT and 1S.E buy.s.-3

If I have the money, ...  
*Jidaa daalay̆ ...*  
... I will buy it.  
... *dim ii ni giikwt.*



5.16.B.3.b.2. **cə ta: ʔa:** 'when ... (at some point in the future)' *jidaahlaa*

- tim stílím s hì:n **cə ta: ʔa:** náks-ý

FUT attendant you ... .. married-2S

You'll be a bridesmaid when I get married.

*Dim stílím s hì:n jidaahlaa naksiy.*

- **cə ta: ʔa:** káck<sup>W</sup>-n ʔa=ʔ čitqát 13 **cə ki k'wit** yé:-n

... .. land-2S PREP-NC Chilkat IRR and around walk-2S

When you land in Chilkat, walk around (195.8-9).

*Jidaahlaa k'atsgwin ahl Ts'ihlgat, ji k'ii kw'ihl yeen.*

5.16.B.4. **Cə** 'if (by chance)... ,whether ...(or not)' *ji/ja* : this subordinator should not be confused with the homophonous Irrealis particle (6.1.B.1.b.) which often occurs in the same clauses before a nominal, as well as before other subordinators.

5.16.B.4.a. Singly after predicate:

5.16.B.4.a.1. With non-alternative clauses:

- ʔá:m **cə**áx hay wís                      Hope it doesn't rain!  
good ... not rain                      *Aam ji ax haywis!*
- ʔá:m **cə**xstá:-n                      Hope you win!  
good ... win-2S                      *Aam ja xstaa!*
- káxkítax-[t]=s[t]Máry...              Just ask Mary...  
just ask s.o.-[3]=DC [DM] M.              *K'ax gidaxs Mary ...*
- ni:-nə-ti:wilá:x-[t]...                      I don't know...  
not-1S.E-INTS know s.-[3]                      *Nindii wilaax ...*

- P<sub>A</sub>: ... cə ʔa: ʔisk<sup>W</sup>-t 14 ... whether she's finished.  
 ... now finished-3 ... *ji hlaa hliskwt.*
- P<sub>EA</sub>: ... cə-t ʔa:mstíl-m̄ ... whether she wants to go with us.  
 ...-3E wanting accompany.s.-1P ... *jit ʔaam-sdiliím.*
- ... cətim-t stíl-m̄ ... whether she is going to go with us.  
 ... FUT-3E accompany-1P ... *ji dimt sdiliím.*
- kítax-ə-t ʔi:ý=ʔ kát ... People asked me ...  
 ask.s.o.-CTL-2 me=NC people *Gidaxat ʔiiýhl gat ...*
- ... cə qaqtik<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ʔsim-ʔalkax ... whether the Nisgha language was hard.  
 ... difficult-[3]=NC real-talk ... *ja gaketkwhl sim'algaɣ.*
- ... cətim hi:-kitxatín-ý ... whether I was going to Greenville.  
 ... FUT go.to-Greenville-1S ... *ji dim hii-Gitxat'iníý.*
- ... cə nəkáʔ-[t]=ʔkinqúlɣ ... whether I had been to Kincolith.  
 ... 1S.E see.s.-[3]=NC K. ... *ji ni ga'ahl Gingolɣ.*

The Irrealis particle Cə *ji/ja* can be used before the next constituent instead of the connective, if that constituent is also hypothetical (see 6.1.B.1.b.1.).

5.16.B.4.a.2. With alternative clauses: the first clause is preceded by Cə *ji/ja*; the second clause, introduced by the coordinator ʔO: 'or' *oo* (5.17.B.) before Cə *ji/ja*, is followed by the modifier líkí: 'about, maybe, any...' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.) and by the relevant alternative:

5.16.B.4 a.2.a. If the predicate of the first clause is being questioned, the second clause is a complete clause, but without nominal adjuncts:

kítax-ə-t hì:y t Màry  
ask s.o.-CTL-3 me DM M.

Mary asked me...  
*Gidaxat hìiy t Mary ...*

- cə ʔku kát-[t]=ʔ hux<sup>W</sup>tá kìn-ý ... whether my grandchild was a boy...  
... little man-[3]=NC grandchild-1S ... *ji hlgu gathl huxwdaak 'iniy...*

?o: cə líkì: ʔkuhanáq-t  
or ... maybe little woman-3

... or a girl.  
... *oo ji ligii hlgu hanaak't.*

- cə nəcáp-[t]=ʔkútàç-ý ...whether I had made my coat ...  
... 1S.E make-[3]=NC coat-1S ... *ji ni japhl k'udats'iy ...*

?o: cə líkì: nə kík<sup>W</sup>-t  
or ... maybe 1S.E buy.s.-3

... or bought it.  
... *oo ji ligii ni giikwt.*

5.16.B.4.b.2. If the part of the clause which is relevant to the alternative is not the predicate, but another constituent, that constituent is in focused position in the first clause and repeated in its alternative form in the second clause:

kítax-tit hì:y ...  
ask s.o.-3P me

They asked me ...  
*Gidaxdiit hìiy ...*

- cə kítaxatín wil wít<sup>W</sup>-ý ... whether I was coming from Greenville...  
... Greenville SUB come.from-1S ... *ji Gitxat'in wil witgwiý...*

?o: cə líkì: kinqúl<sup>x</sup>  
or ... maybe Kincolith

... or from Kincolith.  
... *oo ji ligii Gingolx.*

Remark: This seems to be a modern development with ?o: cə líkì: *oo ji ligii* taken as a unit meaning 'or.' Older speakers would use only líkì: *ligii* in this case, since the alternative does not contain a clause predicate:

- **cəkitxatín wil wítk<sup>W-ý</sup>** ... whether I was coming from Greenville...  
... Greenville SUB come.from-1S ... *ji Gitxat'in wil wítgwiý...*
- likí: kinqúlx** ... or from Kincolith.  
maybe Kincolith ... *ligii Gingolx.*

5.16.B.4.b. In combination with other morphemes:

5.16.B.4.b.1. **cə ʔi** 'if... [sthg were true]' *ji hli*

The combination of the subordinator **cə ji/ʔa** and the modifier **ʔi** 'if' *hli* (5.15.B.48.) presents a hypothesis that is known not to be true; the hypothetical consequence is stated before or after, with **ʔi tim** ... *hli dim*... (5.15.B.48.a.). With YFS, that hypothesis can refer to the present or the past; with OFS, it tends to refer to the past (see 5.16.B.4.b.2. for the present):

- **cə ʔi tala-ý** ... If I had (had) the money, ...  
... money-1S *Ji hli daalay*, ...  
... ʔi tim ʔi: nə kik<sup>W-t</sup> ... I would buy/have bought it.  
REST FUT and 1S.E buy.s.-3 ... *hli dim ii ni giikwt.*
- **cə ʔi hi:-México-ý** ... If I went/had gone to Mexico ...  
... go.to.-M.-1S *Ji hli hii-Mexicoý* ...
- **cə ʔi ʔaxsi:pk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s[t]Pèter** If Peter had not been sick ...  
... not sick-[3]=DC[DM]P. *Ji hli ax siipkws Peter* ...
- **cə ʔə nə ʔaxkik<sup>W-t</sup>** If I had not bought it ...  
... 1S.E not buy.s.-3 *Ji hli ni ax giikwt* ...
- **ni:-ki: ʔi.tim ti: wil-t ʔa cə ʔi ksqò:q-mʔáqʔk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ʔlòʔop**  
not-INTS CONDITIONAL INTS act-3 PREP ... first-ATT succeed-[3]-NC stone

It wouldn't have happened if the rock had been the first to give birth (72.5-6).

*Nigii hli dim dii wilt a ji hli ksgoogam aghkwahl lo'op.*

5.16.B.4.b.2. **CƏ ʔan** 'if...(sthg were true)' *ji an/ja an* : this combination introduces a hypothesis that is not presently realized and can depend either on a present or past condition (**ʔan an** does not seem to occur alone with this meaning and cannot be identified with the homophonous prefix and clitic); with OFS, that other condition is also introduced by **CƏ ʔan** *ji an/ja an*:

- (OFS) **cə ʔan** tá:la-ý ...                      If I had/had had the money, ...  
     ... .. money-1S                                      *Ji an daalay* ...  
     **cə ʔan** nə kík<sup>W</sup>-t                                      ... I would buy/have bought it.  
     ... .. 1S.E buy.s.-3                                      ... *ji an ni giikwt.*
  
- **cə ʔan** nə wilá:x-t ...                      If I knew/had known [it],...  
     ... .. 1S.E know.s.-3                                      *Ji an ni wilaaxt,*...  
     **cə ʔan** nə máł-T-t lò:-n                                      ... I would tell/have told you.  
     ... .. 1S.E tell.s.-DEF-3 IND-2S                                      ... *ji an ni mahlit loon.*

With YFS there is some confusion between **CƏ ʔan** *ji an* and **CƏ ʔi** *ji hli* and the two tend to be interchangeable for presenting a hypothesis, but there seems to be much individual variation. OFS are the only ones who use **CƏ ʔan** *ji an* in both clauses.

5.16.B.5. **ḳi:** / **ʔi:** 'and [then...]' *ḳii/ii:*

**ḳi:** *ḳii* is older, more formal, **ʔi:** *ii* more modern and colloquial.

This subordinator, which is much more frequent than the English equivalent, does not begin discourse, but links clauses in the chronological (sometimes logical) order of the events described. It also occurs in combination with other morphemes.



5.16.B.5. Single use: **ḳi:** *k'ii* can be preceded by the particles **tim** FUT *dim* or **cə** IRR *ji/ja*.

- P<sub>A</sub>: •ta: ʔa: ṣint ʔi: sə-má.ý-ṃ      We pick berries in the summer.  
 when now summer ... pick-berries-1P      *Daa hlaa ṣint ii simaayiṃ.*
- ʔa: ʔák<sup>W</sup> tim ʔi: sə-má.ý-ṃ      We'll go berry-picking tomorrow.  
 tomorrow FUT ...      *T'aahlakw dim ii simaayiṃ.*
  - ʔa: tim wó:waq-ti:t tim ḳi:ṃin=yé.-n  
 by.now FUT sleep.PL-3P FUT ... upward-go-2S  
 Once they are asleep, go up [to the roof] .(91.2-3)  
*Hlaa dim woowaḳdiit, dim k'ii minyeen.*
  - ǰap lip çàp-[t]=ʔ çimíl x çim áks  
 absolutely self domain-{3}=NC beaver in water  
 ḳi:spaqaýt sqañíst ti:çàp-[t]=ʔ ʔáx<sup>W</sup>t  
 ... among mountain CONTR domain-{3}=NC porcupine  
 The water is truly the beaver's domain, but the porcupine's is the mountains.  
 (74.11-12) *K'ap lip ts'aphl ts'imilx ts'im aks, k'ii sbagayt sqañíst dii ts'aphl arwt.*

P<sub>EA</sub>: (The order of E pronoun and modal particle may vary).

- ʔisk<sup>W</sup> mə yó:ʔoks-t cə ʔi: mək<sup>W</sup> ačlimlím k-t  
 PERF 2E wash.s.PL-3 IRR ... 2E carefully wipe.s.PL-3  
 You should wipe them carefully after you wash them.  
*Hliskw mi yoo'okst ji ii mi gwats' limlimkt.*

In narrative there may be a string of clauses beginning with **ḳi:** *k'ii*, for instance:

- ... ḳi: hačiksimhux<sup>W</sup> yé:-t ...      ... and he wandered again ...  
 ... again again walk-3      ... *k'ii hats'iksim hux yeet* ...

... **k̄i:** čín-t a=† wílph-[t]=† líkíńsk<sup>W</sup> ...    ... he went into a grizzly's house ...  
 ... enter-3 PREP-NC house-[3]-NC grizzly    ... *k'ii ts'int ahl wílpł lík'íńskw*...

... **k̄i:**-tsélix-[t]=† líkíńsk<sup>W</sup>?a=† tim ?i:ká-t  
 ...-3 ask.s.o.to.go.along-[3]-NC grizzly PREP-NC FUT halibut.fishing-3  
 ... and he asked the grizzly to go halibut-fishing with him (56.3-4).  
 ... *k'iiť seelixł lík'íńskw ahl dim iigat*.

In some of the Boas stories, there are sometimes also long passages where almost every clause begins with the phrase **ńi[t]=† k̄i:** '(this happened) and then ...' *ńił k'ii* where **ńiť** 'that's ...' *ńił*... refers to the preceding sentence. The frequency of this phrase in the collection seems to be due to the slow dictation method, clause by clause; some of the storytellers use it much more than others; stories that I have heard, recorded on tape, use it only sparingly if at all.

5.16.B.5.b. ?a=† **k̄i:** 'yet..., but [actually]...' *ahl k'ii*

Here, **k̄i:** *k'ii* is preceded by the preposition ?a *a* which precedes many circumstantial complements. The NC connective =† *ahl* links the preposition to the following clause introduced by **k̄i:** *k'ii*.

This combination does not occur sentence-initially. It may be followed by a full clause or only the relevant constituent (contrasting with that in the main clause, which would normally be focused). In conversation, the clause following often ends in the Assertive postclitic ==a? *...a'a* (6.3.A.2.a.).

Contrast with focused constituent:

with Foc. Subject (A)

- hańi:qót-ŷ t Oscar=† ha)hé:-(ə)t    I thought it was Oscar speaking, ...  
 thought-1S DM O.=NC ASP)say-REL    *Hańi:goodiyť t Oscarł haheet*,...

ʔa=t̚ k̚i: t̚ Húbert==aʔ

... .. DM H. ==ASST

...but it was actually Hubert!

... *shl k'ii t̚ Huberta'a'*

with Foc. Agent (E):

• hañi qó:t-ý t̚ Oscar ʔan cáp-t

thought=1S DM O. 3E REL.E make.s.-3

ʔa=t̚ k̚i: t̚ Dánný==aʔ

... .. DM D.==ASST

I thought Oscar had made it...

*Hañi goodiy̆ t̚ Oscar t̚ an japt̚ ...*

... but it was actually Danny.

... *shl k'ii t̚ Dannya'a.*

**k̚i: k'ii** is also used in the combination **Wil k̚i:** (5.16.B.7.b.) *wil k'ii*. In **t̚a: k̚i:** (5.15.B.47.) the morpheme **k̚i: k'ii** is most probably the homophonous modifier (5.15.B.48.).

5.16.B.6. **ʔa a:** This morpheme is primarily a preposition (5.18.). As such it introduces circumstantial complements and in this role it often precedes other subordinators, especially in OFS speech. But it is also used as a subordinator in its own right, before a clause.

5.16.B.6.a. Without the FUT particle: 'as, while...' The meaning is often quite vague, but the information in the clause introduced by **ʔa a** is related to the one in the first clause.

• *simwiyítk<sup>W</sup>*

real cry

She cried hard ...

*Sim wiyítkw ...*

P<sub>A</sub>: ʔa=t̚ lípílsk<sup>W</sup>-m + ʔá:t-t

...=NC mend-ATTR+net-3

... as she was mending the nets.

... *shl lip'ilsgum-aatt.*

P<sub>EA</sub>: ʔa-t̚ lípil-[t]=t̚ ʔá:t-[t]=t̚ náks-t

...-3E mend.s.-[3]=NC net-[3]=NC spouse-3

... as she mended her husband's net.

... *at lip'ilhl aathl nakst.*

- txa.ñitk<sup>W</sup>s-[t]=† ... †iptán-t wil tǫal=wán-[t]=†?amák<sup>W</sup>  
all-[3]=NC ... body-[3] where against=sit.PL-[3]=NC scab  
?a-tká?-[t]=†?ansipsí.pinsk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† †ku-wilksi†k<sup>W</sup>  
...-3E see.s.-[3]=NC friend.PL-[3]=NC little-\* prince

Her whole ... body was covered with scabs, as the prince's friends could see.

(189.15-190.2)

*Txañitkwshl ... hliplant wil tk'alwanhl amalkw at ga'ahl ansipsiip'inskwhl  
higuwilksihkw.*

5.16.B.6.b. With the FUT particle: ?a a expresses a goal.

- ñi[t]=† kǐ:-t wisin=(his)yác-t==kǐ: ?a=† timse-lít-t==kǐ:  
that's=NC and-3 lengthwise=PL) chop.s.-3==DIST ...=NCFUT make-wedge-3==DIST  
Then he chopped it lengthwise to make wedges (148.4).  
*Ñihl k'it wisin hisyatst-gi ahl dim silitt-gi.*

- †a:lu:=tip=hítk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† wǐ: qàn  
by.now in=downward=stand-[3]=NC big tree  
?a=† tim-t †óǫk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† antk'ullipiksk<sup>W</sup>  
...=NC FUT-3E swallow.s.-[3]=NC whirlpool  
By now the huge log was upended [in the water], about to be swallowed by a  
whirlpool (lit. ... so that a whirlpool was about to swallow it). (104.11-12)  
*Hlaa luut'iphitkwhl wii gan ahl dimt blok'kwahl antk'ulibikskw.*

- ñi[t]=† kǐ: háw-[t]=† sim?ò:kít ?a=† tim-t síkǐ†-cák<sup>W</sup>-T-[t]=s'cák  
that's=NC and stop-[3]=NC chief ...=NCFUT-3E try-kill.s.-DEF-[3]=DC Ts'ak  
Then the chief stopped trying to kill Ts'ak. (135.12)  
*Ñihl k'ii háw'hl sim'ogit ahl dimt sík'ihl-jagwis Ts'ak.*

5.16.B.6.c. In Boas, ?a a can also express a goal, even without the FUT particle  
*tim dim*:

- $\acute{n}i[t]=\dagger k\acute{i}:s\acute{i}k\acute{o}:tk^W-[t]=\dagger \dagger ku-w\acute{i}lks\acute{i}\dagger k^W$

that's=NC and set.off-{3} little-\*prince

$\text{?a-t q\acute{o}?\text{-}[t]=\dagger k\acute{i}\acute{l}\text{-}[t]=\dagger qal\acute{c}\acute{a}p$

...-3E go.to.s.-{3}=NC one-{3}=NC village

Then the prince set off on a trip to another village. (194.8)

*N\acute{i}h\acute{l} k'ii sigyootkw\acute{h}l h\acute{i}guw\acute{i}lks\acute{i}h\acute{l}kw \acute{a}t go'oh\acute{l} k'iih\acute{l} gal\acute{s}'\acute{a}p.*

- $k\acute{i}:ks\acute{e}=\dagger\acute{o}?\text{-}[t]=\dagger \acute{q}aym\acute{a}qs-\acute{e}t \text{?a-tk}\acute{a}?\text{-ti}t=\dagger \text{?anh}\acute{i}\text{-}[t]=s[t]w\acute{i}:-k\acute{a}t$

and out=go.PL-{3}=NC young.PL-REL ...-3E see.s.-3P=NC saying-{3}=DC{DM}

big-man

And the young men went out to see what Giant was talking about (33.7-8).

*K'ii k\acute{s}ih\acute{l}o'oh\acute{l} \acute{k}'aymaksit \acute{a}t ga'adiith\acute{l} \acute{a}nh\acute{i}s W\acute{i}igat.*

5.16.B.7. **Wil** *wil* introduces a statement of fact, without modal connotations. It is used for a variety of circumstantial complements.

Although this subordinator must often be translated by English 'where' or 'when'<sup>15</sup>, it is not a question word. If used in a question, it always follows the question word (other morphemes may intervene).

5.16.B.7.a. Single use:

5.16.B.7.a.1. General meaning with other clause:

- $liksk\acute{a}t \acute{n}\acute{i}n \text{wil } \acute{c}\acute{a}l\text{-}m+\text{tk}^W\acute{a}\text{-tk}^W\text{-}n$  You look different with your  
different you ... eye-ATT=glass-MED-2S glasses on (as/when you have  
glasses on).

*Liksgat \acute{n}\acute{i}n \text{wil } ts'\acute{a}l\acute{i}mtgwatgw\acute{i}n.*

5.16.B.7.a.2. After verb of knowledge or perception:

- $ni:m\acute{e} nax\acute{n}\acute{a}\text{-}[t]=\dagger \text{wil } \acute{n}\acute{a}:t\acute{i}st\acute{i}sa?\text{-ti} \text{?a}=\dagger \text{pt}\acute{o}?\text{==}a:$   
not 2E hear.s.-{3}=NC ... knock-IMPS PREP-NC door==Q

Did you hear a knock at the door?

*Nii mi naɣnaɣl wil naat'ist'isa'adii ahl pdo'a?*

- $\acute{n}i-[t]=\ddot{t}$   $ki:-t$   $ká?-[t]=\ddot{t}$  **willi:páyk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=\ddot{t}**  $qìwin$   
that's-[3]=NC and-3E see.s.-[3]=NC ... fly.PL-[3]=NC seagull  
Then he saw seagulls flying (103.4-5).  
*Nihl k'it ga'ahi wil liibaykwhl gewin.*
- $\acute{t}a:-t$   $páq-[t]=\ddot{t}$  **tim wil**  $ʔalisk<sup>W</sup>-t$  ... when he felt that he was getting  
now-3E feel.s.-[3]=NCFUT ... weak-3 weak ... (100.8).  
... *hlaat bakhl dim wil aliskwt ...*

### 5.16.B.7.a.3. After Focused complement:

#### 5.16.B.7.a.3.a. Time:

- **kaxkúwil wil-t** When was it/ did it happen?  
when? ... be/do-3 *Gaxgu wil wilt?*
- **ṭa:yúwintim wil wílt** It's going to be tonight.  
tonight FUT ... be/do-3 *Taayuwin dim wil wilt.*

When referring to time, **Wil wil** can be preceded by the modifier **ṭa:** 'now' *hlaa* (5.15.B.2.): 'now that...'

$lu:=ʔá:m=\ddot{t}$   $qù:t-\acute{y}$  I am happy ...  
in=good=NC heart-1S *Luu'aamhl goodiy' ...*

- ... **ṭa: wil sínt** ... now that it's summer  
... as summer ... *hlaa wil sint.*
- ... **ṭa: wil ṭísk<sup>W</sup>-ṭ** ... now that I have finished.  
... as finished-1S ... *hlaa wil hlisgwiṭ.*

- ... **ʔa:** tim **wil** ʔisk<sup>W-ʔ</sup>  
... FUT as finished-1S  
... now that I am going to be finished.  
... *hlaa dim wil hliŋwiʔ.*
- ... **ʔa:** nə **wil** káʔ-n  
... 1E as see.s.-2S  
... now that I see you.  
... *hlaa ni wil ga'an.*
- ... **ʔa:** nə tim **wil** káʔ-n  
... 1E FUT as see.s.-2S  
... now that I am going to see you.  
... *hlaa ni dim wil ga'an.*

5.16.B.7.a.3.b. Location:

- ntà **wil** wít<sup>W-n</sup>  
where ... come.from-2S  
Where do you come from?  
*Nda wil wítwin?*
- kitxatín**wil** wít<sup>W-ʔ</sup>  
Greenville ... come.from-1S  
I come from Greenville.  
*Gitxat'in wil wítwiʔ.*
- ntà mə **wil** ti-wít<sup>W-t</sup>  
where 2E ... DOMIN-come.from-3  
Where did you get it from?  
*Nda mi wil diwítwt?*
- laxçè:-[t]=ʔ ʔalá t **wil** ʔi:=tá:-T-ti:t  
edge-[3]-NC smokehole 3E ... on=sit-DEF-3P  
They put him on the edge of the smokehole (87.12).  
*Laxts'eehl ala t wil ʔiit'aatdiit.*

5.16.B.7.a.3.c. Goal/Beneficiary:

- ʔakù **wil** hó:x-s-t  
what ... use.s.-PAS-3  
What is it used for?  
*Agu wil hookst?*
- ʔakù mə **wil** hó:x-t  
what 2E ... use.s.-3  
What did you use it for?  
*Agu mi wil hooxt?*

- nà: wil ksaxkińáma?-n      Who did you give presents to?  
who ... give.present-2S      *Naa wil ksaxgińáma'an?*
- nà: mə wil ksaxkińám-t      Who did you give it to [as a present]?  
who 2 ... give.s.as.present-3      *Naa mi wil ksaxgińám?*

5.16.B.7.a.3.d. Actual Agent of Jussive: (7.2.C.1.a.1.b.4.(b))

- nà: mi wil k<sup>W</sup>in-cáp-T-t      Who did you have it done by?  
who 2 ... JUSS-make.s.-DEF-3      Who did you get to do it?  
*Naa mi wil gwin-jabit?*

5.16.B.7.a.4. Introduces Object clause with Adjective as predicate: the clause including *wil* is a descriptive clause equivalent to an English noun-phrase with an adjective:

- qámqaytqámçin=tóq-ə-t=†wil?ax-ti:mix)múk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†mi:qó:qst  
actually secretly=take.s.PL-CTL ... not-INTS PL)ripe-[3]=NC salmonberries  
Actually he had secretly taken some totally unripe salmonberries. (49.15-50.1)  
*K'amgayt k'amts'indogathl wil axdii mixmukwhl miik'ookst.*
- ksaxwil?ax-qa-yàns-T-[t]=†sqan-má:y=†kà?-ə-ẏ  
only ... not-DISTR-leaf-DEF-[3]=NC bush-berries=NC see.s.-CTL-1S  
I only see/saw some leafless bushes.  
*Ksax wil' axgayansihl sk'anmaayhl ga'ay.*

The Restrictive particle †ə *hli/hla* is used if the noun is not mentioned:

- ksax†ə wil?ax-qa-yàns-T-t=†kà?-ə-ẏ  
only the ... not-DISTR-leaf-DEF-3=NC see.s.-CTL-1S  
I only see/saw (the) leafless ones.  
*Ksax hli wil axgayansithl ga'ay.*



5.16.B.7.a.5. Some other subordinate clauses introduced by **Wil** *wil* are also treated as noun phrases, taking the Restrictive particle **†ə** *hli/hla* and the Distributive prefix **qa-** *ga...*: see **†ə** *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.b.3.).

5.16.B.7.a.5. **Wil** *wil* is sometimes used as prefix: see 7.1.B.3.b.2..

5.16.B.7.b. **Wil** **ḳi:** (older, more formal) / **Wil** **?i:** / **Wi?****i:** (modern, colloquial) '... right away...' *wil k'ii / wil ii / wi'ii*. It is difficult to tell whether the **ḳi:** *k'ii* element is the subordinator (5.16.B.5.) or the modifier meaning 'first, ahead of others' (5.15.B.47).

This combination is never found in a first clause. It often occurs after the subordinator **ḳi:** *k'ii* in narrative style.

- **q̣am ká?-ə-[t]=† kipù: wil ni:-ki: qa-w'é.n-[t]=† wàn==ki:**  
just see.s.-CTL-[3]=NC wolf SUB not-INTS DISTR-teeth-[3]=NC deer==DIST  
**ḳi: wil ḳi:-tháp-tit**  
and ...-3E jump.on.s.-3P

As soon as the wolves saw that the deer did not have any teeth, right away they jumped on them. (84.14-15)

*K'am ga'ahl gibuu wil nigii gaweenhl wan-gi, k'ii wil k'iiit hapdiit.*

5.16.B.8. **Wila:** 'how' *wilaa*

This subordinator introduces manner complements. A transitive verb after **Wila:** *wilaa* often takes the DEF suffix **-T-** (7.2.C.1.a.1.b.4.(a)) even though it does not normally take this suffix otherwise.

5.16.B.8.a. Introducing complement of predicate:

5.16.B.8.a.1. After P<sub>A</sub> (non-nominal): This construction is very frequent after adjectives, corresponding to an adverbial complement in English.



... **wila:** nəhóx-T-t  
... 1E use.s.-DEF-3

... how I use it.  
... **wilas ni hooyit.**

5.16.B.8.a.3. After qani: 'continuing indefinitely, no end in sight, can't seem to stop' *ganii* (this word seems to be a kind of P<sub>A</sub> but it is most often used in combination with **wila:** *wilaa*, so that some speakers treat **qani:wila:** *ganii wilaa* as a single subordinator).

P<sub>A</sub>: • **qani:wila:** wóx-[t]=† wí?ùs-tit Their dog barks continually/has  
... ... bark=NC big dog-3P been barking continually/can't  
seem to stop barking.

*Ganii wilaa woxhl wii usdiit.*

P<sub>EA</sub>: • **qani:wila:** nəhóx-t  
... ... 1SE use.s.-3

I continue to use it/I have been  
using it all this time (and have  
no intention of stopping).

*Ganii wilas ni hoost.*

**qani:-t wila:** ká†k<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† kát==ki: The man continued to spear them...  
... -3E ... spear.s.-[3]=NC man==DIST (105.4)

*Ganii t wilas gahlkwahl gat-gi.*

5.16.B.8.b. In combination with question word: (see Indefinite pronouns,  
5.6.A.2.a.3.b.3.)

5.16.B.8.b.1. **nta wila:** 'how...?' *nda wilaa ...?*

P<sub>A</sub>: • **ntà=† wila:** wíl-n  
which.way=NC how be/do-2S

How are you?<sup>16</sup>  
*Ndahl wilas wilin?*

• **ntà wila:** hóks-t  
... ... used-3

How is it used?  
*Nda wilas hookst?*

P<sub>EA</sub>: • ntà mə **wila**: hó.x-T-t      How do/did you use it?  
 ... 2S.E ... use.s.-DEF-3      *Nde mi **wilaa** hooyit?*

• ntà **wila**:-t cip)cáp-[t]=† wá†in-ki)kát=† qa-hu)wíl-p-ti t  
 ... -3e PL)make.s.-{3}=NC former-PL)person=NC DIST-PL)house-3PL  
 How did the old people (= ancestors) build their houses?  
*Nda **wilaa**t jipjaphl wálingigathl gahuwílpdiit?*

5.16.B.8.c. Part of morphosyntactic frames: see Frames 7.3.B.2.a.

5.16.B.8.d. Used as prefix: see 7.1.B.3.b.4.

5.16.B.9. **q̣ay** 'still happening, just happened' *k'ay*

5.16.B.9.a. With non-reduplicated predicate stem: 'just now, just happened (cf. Fr. *venir de* (+ verb) ).

• **q̣ay** wít<sup>W</sup>-t †a=† kinqúl<sup>x</sup>      S/he just came back from Kincolith.  
 ... be.back-3S PREP=NC Kincolith      ***K'ay** wít<sup>W</sup>wt ahl Gingól<sup>x</sup>.*

• **q̣ay** †isk<sup>W</sup>-m̄      We've just finished.  
 ... finish-1P      ***K'ay** hlist<sup>W</sup>m̄.*

• n̄ak<sup>W</sup>=† **q̣ay** kúk<sup>W</sup>sk<sup>W</sup>-n      I bet you just woke up!  
 EVID=NC ... wake.up-2S      *Nak<sup>W</sup>hl **k'ay** gyuk<sup>W</sup>wsgwin!*

This is also the meaning of **q̣ay k'ay** when used with the auxiliary †isk<sup>W</sup> 'finished' *hlist<sup>W</sup>* (5.12.B.)

• **q̣ay** †isk<sup>W</sup>=† yò?oks+nó?o†-ȳ      I have just about finished the dishes.  
 ... finished=NC wash+dishes-3      ***K'ay** hlist<sup>W</sup>hl yo'oksno'ohliȳ.*

- **q̣ay tisk<sup>W</sup>** nəyóʔoks-t                    I have just about finished washing it.  
... ASP)wash.s.-3                                ***K'ay hlistw ni yo'okst.***

5.16.B.9.b. Usually with partially reduplicated stem: 'still' (continuing action which is expected to end; surprise that it hasn't ended yet) (≠ qani: Wila: *ganii wila*: 5.16.B.8.a.3.)

Partial reduplication may affect the main predicate (if a P<sub>A</sub>), or an auxiliary or other initial predicate:

5.16.B.9.b.1. With main predicate (P<sub>A</sub>):

- **q̣ay ki)ké** †-t                                    S/he is still in bed.  
... ASP)lie-3                                        ***K'ay gigeelit.***
- **q̣ay hu)wóq**-t                                 S/he is still asleep.  
... ASP)sleep-3                                    ***K'ay huwoqt.***
- **q̣ay pi)pé**:pi-t                                 S/he is still a baby.  
... ASP)baby-3                                    ***K'ay bibeehit.***
- **q̣ay ʔi)tku=tkí** †k<sup>W</sup>-t                        S/he is still a child.  
... ASP)little=child-3                            ***K'ay hlihlgutk'ihlkw.***
- **q̣ay ku)k<sup>W</sup>inéqamkski:hux<sup>W</sup>káck<sup>W</sup>-y**  
... ASP)cool and again land-1S  
I come back [from fishing] when it is still cool. (59.1)  
***K'ay gugwineegamks, kii huxw k'atsgwiý.***

but **q̣ay K'ay** is also found without reduplication with this meaning:

- **q̣ay ʔintx-[t]=s[t]Màry** tis-wil-[t]wít<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†nàks-t  
... mad-[3]=DC [DM] M. when-as come.back-[t]=NC spouse-3

Mary was still mad when her husband came home.

*K'ay hlintxs Mary diswil wítkwhl nakst.*

5.16.B.9.b.2. With auxiliary yuk<sup>W</sup> 'progressive' *yukw*: used with intransitive and transitive verbs:

P<sub>A</sub>: • **q̣ay hi**)yùk<sup>W</sup>=† ha†álsT-t      S/he is still working.  
still ASP)AUX=NC work-3      *K'ay hiyukwhl hah talsit.*

P<sub>EA</sub>: • **q̣ay hi**)yùk<sup>W</sup>-tyó?oks-t      S/he is still washing it.  
... ASP)AUX-3 wash.s.-3      *K'ay hiyukwt yo'okst.*

**q̣ay hi**)yùk<sup>W</sup> nøyó?oks-t      I am still washing it.  
... ASP)AUX 1S.E wash.s.-3      *K'ay hiyukw ni yo'okst.*

5.16.B.9.c. Used as prefix: see 7.1.B.3.b.3.

5.16.B.10. **tis wil-** ... 'at the time when ..., at the same time as ...' (simultaneous but unrelated events) *dis wil...*

This expression functions as a subordinator: the meaning and status of **tis dis** (which is sometimes used by itself) are unclear and *wil wil* here is the predicate meaning 'be, do, act', not the subordinator (cf. **qan wil-** *gan wilt...*, 5.16.B.1.). It is usually linked by connective to the following clause, as is normal of predicate complementation, and followed by a 3 suffix pronoun at the end of a clause, but some speakers treat it as a subordinator and simply use **tis wil** *diswil* without connective before a clause.

- **q̣am xpíí**=† qapí:-[t]=† xkú:†k<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s [t] **Máry**  
just ten=NC amount-[t]=NC age-[3]=DC (DM) M.  
**tis wil**-[t]=† táx<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†?ankikátk<sup>W</sup>-t  
... -[3]=NC die.PL-[3]=NC parent.PL-3

Mary was only ten years old when her parents died.  
*K'am xbihl gabihl xk'uuhkws Mary dis wilhl daxwhl angigatkwt.*

- $\dot{q}$ ayhi)y ùk<sup>W</sup>=† wiyít<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s [t] Mày  
 still ASP)PROG=NC cry-[3]=DC |DM|M.  
 tis wil-[t]=† wít<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† nàks-t  
 ... ...-[3]=NC come.back=NC spouse-3

Mary was still crying when her husband came home.  
*K'ay hiyukwhl wiyitkws Mary dis wilhl wít<sup>W</sup>whl nakst.*

5.16.B.11. Predicate + CƏ ji/ja used as subordinator: The two expressions *upji/upja* and *mooji/mooja* are used as subordinators but seem to consist of a predicate (otherwise unused) followed by the subordinator CƏ *ji/ja* (5.16.B.4.).

Compare these two sentences said by the same character before and after facing danger:

- ?ùp cə nùw-ÿ  
 ... .. die-1S  
 Oh no, I am going to die! (74.4)  
 May I live through this!  
*Upji nùwiy!*
- qam mð: cə nùw-ÿ  
 just ... .. die-1S  
 I just barely escaped death! (76.13-14)  
*K'am mooji nùwiy!*

with other instances of predicate complementation, as in

- ?á:m cə múk<sup>W</sup>-ÿ  
 good ... catch-1S  
 Hope I catch something [while fishing]!  
*Sam ji múgwiy!*

5.16.B.11 a. ?up Cə 'anticipating that... just in case.... lest ..., God forbid that... (something bad should happen)' *upji/upja*.

- hó:x-ə-t=ʔqankikó:ks-t                      S/he wore h. lifejacket ...  
wear.s.-CTL-3=NC lifejacket-3                      *Hooyithl gangigyookst* ...
  
- P<sub>A</sub>: ʔup cə xháyk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ʔ pò:t                      ... in case the boat capsized.  
... ... capsize-[3]=NC boat                      ... *upja xhaykwhl boot*.
  
- P<sub>EA</sub>: ʔup cə-txháyk<sup>W</sup>-ʔn-[t]=ʔ wí: qò:p=ʔ pò:t  
... ...-3E capsize-CAUS-[3]=NC big wave=NC boat  
... in case a big wave made the boat capsize.  
... *upjit xhaykw'inhl wii goophl boot*.

5.16.B.11.b. MO: CƏ 'almost (happened but didn't)' *mooji/mooja*

- P<sub>A</sub>: • mò: cə tik<sup>W</sup>ántk<sup>W</sup>-ý                      I almost fell.  
... ... fall-1S                      *Mooji t'igwantgwiý.*
  
- mò: cə xháyk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ʔ pò:t-m̄                      Our boat almost capsized.  
... ... capsize-[3]=NC boat-1P                      *Mooji xhaykwhl boodim̄.*
  
- P<sub>EA</sub>: • mò: cə nəták-[t]=ʔ haqáqáʔ-ý                      I almost forgot my key.  
... ... 1S.E forget.s.-[3]=NC key-1S                      *Mooji ni t'akhl hak'ak'ay.*
  
- mò: cə nə ʔax wilá:x-n                      I almost didn't recognize you.  
... ... capsize-[3]=NC boat-1P                      *Mooji ni ax wilaayin.*

5.17. COORDINATORS

The inclusive coordinator Qǎŋ 'and, including' *gan* is used almost exclusively to coordinate nominals, rarely clauses; the exclusive coordinator ʔO: 'or' *oo* can coordinate both nominals and clauses, in combination with other morphemes.

When a coordinated phrase is focused, only the first element is anteposed; the coordinator and the rest of the phrase are placed after the rest of the predicate



phrase. (This however is changing under the influence of English).

When followed by a nominal, **qan gan** is followed by the appropriate connective (6.2.B.): =S before determinates (including the **ńń**-pronouns, 5.8.), =**†** -*h* before non-determinates; ?O: *oo* is always followed by the modifier **lik**: 'about, maybe' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.); before a clause, the subordinator **CƏ** 'if..., whether...' *ji/ja* (5.16.B.1.) also intervenes; either morpheme precludes the use of a connective.

### 5.17.A. Inclusive **qan** 'and including' *gan*:

Coordination applies almost exclusively to nominal phrases. Linking two clauses or sentences usually requires subordination (with **ki**: *kii*, 5.16.B.5.). Adjectives cannot be coordinated:<sup>17</sup> they are predicates and require separate clauses (5.3.).

5.17.A.1. After plural: the noun after **qan gan** introduces precisions about the exact composition of the group the most significant member of which indicated by a previous plural noun or pronoun (independent or suffixed):

tip <u>Peter</u> <b>qan=s</b> [t] <u>Joe</u> DM.PL P. ...=DC (DM) J.	'Peter and Joe' (a group, headed by Peter, which includes Joe) <i>dip Peter gans Joe</i>
---	---

tipnik <sup>Wòt-ý</sup> <b>qan=s</b> [t] <u>nó.ý</u> DM.PL father-1S ...=DC (DM) mother.1S	'my parents, my father and mother' <i>dip nigwoodiy gans nooy</i>
---	---

<u>ńu.m</u> <b>qan=s</b> nik <sup>Wòt-ý</sup> us ...=DC father-1S	'my father and I' (lit. we, including my father) <i>ńuum gans nigwoodiy</i>
--	--

• **ńi**[t]=**†** **ki**: sim qal lu=?am)?ám-[t]=**†** qa-qót-t<sup>18</sup> **qan=†** **†**ku **ničíč**-t  
that's-[3]=NC and really in-PL)good-[3]=NC DISTR-heart-3 ...=NC little granny-3

Then he and his grandmother were overjoyed. (119.13-14)

*Nihl k'ii sim gal luu'am'aamhl gagoott<sup>18</sup> ganhl hlgu nits'iits't.*

5.17.A.2. with singular noun-phrase: here **QAN gan** means simply 'and':

ksax ní y' <b>qan</b> =s [t] ní:n	'only you and I'
only me ...=DC [DM] you	<i>ksax níy' gans níin</i>

- ci tí:k<sup>W</sup> níá-(y)ə-n=†hax<sup>W</sup>ták<sup>W</sup> **qan**=† hawíl

IRR too ask.for.s.-CTL-2S=NC bow ...=NC arrow

You should ask for a bow and arrows too! (like the others) (142.6-7)

*Ji díi gwiñayinhl harvdakw ganhl hawil!*

In an enumeration, **QAN gan** can be repeated before each item (here the repetition seems to emphasize the superabundance of food):

- mítk<sup>W</sup>=† qalçàp ?a=† hón **qan**=† yá? **qan**=† txúx **qan**=† ?ilx  
**qan**=† cíx<sup>W</sup> **qan**=† típin **qan**=† †pín

full=NC village PREP=NC fish ...=NC spring salmon ...=NC halibut ...=NC seal ...=NC porpoise ...=NC sealion ...=NC whale

The village was full of salmon, and spring salmon, and halibut, and seals, and porpoises, and sealions, and whales. (180.14-181.2)

*Mitkwhl galts'ap ahl hoon ganhl ya'a ganhl txox ganhl ilx ganhl jiixw ganhl t'ibin ganhl hbin.*

However it is more usual to have only one **QAN gan** in enumerations of this type.

5.17.A.3. Focused constituent includes QAN gan:

Only the first element of the coordinated is in focused position; the rest, with **QAN gan**, comes after the predicate phrase. (Under the influence of English, many YFS place the entire coordinated phrase in focused position).

Focused S coordinated with other nominal:

- $hax^W ták^W = \dagger h\grave{o}x-s-(\grave{a})t \text{ qan} = \dagger hawil$

bow=NC use.s.-PASS-REL ...=NC arrow

Bows and arrows were used (lit. a bow was used, and arrows).

*Harwdakwhl hooksit, ganhl hawil.*

Focused Object:

- $ksaxhax^W ták^W = \dagger ti: cáp-\grave{a}-t \text{ qan} = \dagger hawil$

only bow=NC INTS make.s.-CTL-3 ...=NC arrow

He did nothing but make bows and arrows. (169.3-4)

*Ksax harwdakwhl dii jabit, ganhl hawil.*

Focused E:

- $ksax \dagger ku ni\acute{c}\acute{i}\acute{c} t \text{ ?an kíp-t, qan} = \dagger \dagger ku k^W \grave{e} \text{ ?-m } \dagger ku-t \acute{k}\acute{i}\acute{k}^W$

only little grandmother 3E REL E eat.s.-3 ...=NC little poor-ATTR little-\*child

Only the grandmother and the poor boy ate it. (152.10-11)

(lit. it was only the grandmother that ate it, and the poor boy)

*Ksax hlgu nits'iits' t an gipt, ganhl hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlkw.*

5.17.B. Alternative ?O: 'or' oo: This morpheme seems to be a preposition on a par with *gan*, however it is not indispensable in the statement of an alternative.

5.17.B.1. Coordinating noun-phrases: ?O: oo is always followed by the modifier *liki*: 'about, maybe, for instance' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.), preventing the use of a connective. A phrase coordinated with ?O: oo is usually focused; only the first element is anteposed, and ?O: oo and the second element come after the predicate phrase.

- $qán = \dagger h\acute{o}ks-(\grave{a})t \text{ ?O: liki: } \acute{c}\acute{i}p$

wood=NC used-REL ... .. bone

Wood or bone was used.

*Ganhl hooksit, oo ligii ts'ip.*

- qán=† hó:x-ti:t ?O: líkí: ćíp      They used wood or bone.  
wood=NC use.s.-3P ... .. bone      *Ganhl hooxdit, oo ligii ts'ip.*

However, under the influence of English, YFS tend to place the entire coordinated phrase in focused position. As well, because of the frequent association of the subordinator CƏ 'whether' *ji/ja* with ?O: *oo* (5.17.B.2. below), some YFS treat ?O: CƏ líkí: *oo ji ligii* as a single unit which they use in all alternative statements (cf. 5.16.B.4.).

### 5.17.B.2. Coordinating alternative clauses:

The first clause is a complete interrogative clause including the interrogative postclitic ==a (==í after demonstrative) (6.3.A.1.a.), with the relevant word(s) in initial position. This means that words other than the clause predicate are in focused position.

The second clause includes only the alternative portion introduced by ?O: 'or' *oo*: this complete clause is introduced by the subordinator CƏ 'whether' *ji/ja* (5.16.B.4.), and the modifier líkí: 'for instance, perhaps, maybe ...' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.) which leaves open the possibility of other alternatives yet. The following examples are of sentences with alternative clause predicates.

#### 5.17.B.2.a. Alternative PA:

- †ku kát=† †ku pè:pi==(y)a      Is the baby a boy or a girl?  
little man=NC little baby==Q      (lit. is the baby a boy...  
*Hlgu gathl hlgu beebiya...*  
?O: cə líkí: †kuhanáq̣-t      ... or whether it is a girl)  
... .. little woman-3      ... *oo ji ligii hlgu hanak't?*
- tim ?át ñi:n==a      Are you going fishing...  
FUT fish.w.net you==Q      *Dim aat ñiina...*  
?O: cə tim líkí: si:lińsk<sup>W</sup>-n      ... or hunting?  
... .. FUT hunt-2S      ... *oo ji dim ligii siilińsgwin?*

5.17.B.2.b. Alternative PEA:

- ni.məcáp-[t]==†swéta-n==a      Did you make your sweater...

not 2E make.s.-{3}=NC sweater-2S==Q      *Nii mi japhl swetana ...*

ʔo: cə liki: məkík<sup>W</sup>-t      ... or buy it?

... .. 2E buy.s.-3      ... *oo ji ligii mi giikwt?*

5.17.B.2.c. The same morphemes are also used to coordinate alternative indirect questions (see Cə 'whether' *ji/ja* 5.16.B.4.).

## 5.18. PREPOSITION.

There is only one preposition in Nisgha. This preposition, ʔa *a* has a very general meaning. It precedes clausal and sentential complements: it occurs both before nominals and adverbs and before clauses. Except before Indirect Objects, ʔa *a* seems to be used much less by YFS than OFS: probably under the influence of English, locational prefixes (7.1.B.2.b.4.) tend to be perceived as prepositions.

ʔa *a* also occurs as a subordinator (5.16.B.4.), a role which seems derived from its prepositional role.

5.18.A. Used before nominal: in a variety of clausal complement roles:

5.18.A.1. Indirect Object: (see also Indirect pronouns, 5.9. above)

5.18.A.1.a. Basic role:

- ni[t]=†ki: ʔálkax-[t]=†kò:l-[t]=†kàt ʔa=s[t]ćák

that's=NC and speak-{3}=NC one(person)-{3}=NC man ...=DC[DM]Ts'ak

Then a man spoke to Ts'ak. (120.5-6)

*Nihl k'ii algaxhl k'yoolhl gat as Ts'ak.*

- kilòməcə[k<sup>W</sup>in-ká?-tT]-tʔa=ɬwák-n  
 don't 2E IRR show.s.-3 ...=NC M's.brother-2S  
 Don't show it to your brother! (195.8)  
*Gilo mi ji gwin-ga'adit əhl wagin!*
- tim sə-swéta ñì.ý ʔa=s [t] Máry I am going to make a sweater for Mary.  
 FUT make-sweater me ...=DC [DM] M. *Dim sisweta ñiiý əs Mary.*
- tim k<sup>W</sup>a=s+tála ñì.ý ʔa=s [t] Máry  
 FUT borrow+money me ...=DC [DM] M.  
 I am going to borrow money from Mary.  
*Dim gwaasdaala ñiiý əs Mary.*

#### 5.18.A.1.b. Derived role:

- original Specified Complement, appears clause-finally after the preposition when another constituent is focused: (see 4.7.B.2.)

- ná=ɬ wá-(ə)t ʔa=s [t] Péter Who is called Peter?  
 who=NC name-REL ...=DC [DM] P. *Naahl wat əs Peter?*
- ńí[t]=ɬ siwá-tT-ə-m ʔa=ɬ tíkit That's what we call *digit*  
 that's=NC name.s.-DEF-CTL ...=NC smoked.oolichans [smoked oolichans].  
*Ñíhl siwatdim əhl "digit."*

- original transitive Object, appears as Indirect Object of Antipassive:

- simńák<sup>W</sup>=ɬ kipèʔesk<sup>W</sup>-ý ʔa=s [t] Máry ʔi: ni:-ti: ʔá:ti:ksk<sup>W</sup>-t  
 really long=NC wait(AP.I)-1S ...=DC [DM] M. and not-INTS arrive-3  
 I waited around a long time for Mary and she didn't come.  
*Sim ñákwhl gibe'esgwiý əs Mary ii nidii aat'ikskwt.*

#### 5.18.A.2. Circumstantial complements:

- means, instrument:

- $\dot{n}i=yác-\theta-t=\dagger lax-\text{?áks?}a=\dagger \dagger\theta wáq\dagger-t$   
 on=strike.s.-CTL-3=NC on-water ...=NC the beavertail-3  
 He [the beaver] struck the surface of the water with his tail. (75.15-76.1)  
*Niiyajithl lax'aks mhl hli wakhlt.*

- location: the nominal or adverb following  $\text{?}a$  gives the site of the action indicated by the verb; the manner, motion, etc. of this action may be precised by a proclitic:

- $cə kax tá: \dot{n}i:n \text{?}a=\dagger kililx$  (You should) sit somewhere above  
 IRR for.a.while sit you ...-NC on.hill the village (91.1-2)  
*Ji k'ax t'aa niin mhl gililx.*
- $\dot{n}i[t]=\dagger \dot{k}i:-t simi\dagger=[\dagger] lák^W \text{?}a=\dagger \dagger áx^W-t$   
 that's=NC and-3E light.s.=[NC] firewood ...=NC underside-3  
 Then he lit a fire underneath. (89.10)  
*Nihl k'iit simihl lakw mhl hlaxwt.*
- $\dot{n}i[t]=\dagger \dot{k}i:lámcax-t^{19} \text{?}a=\dagger wíl\dot{p}-t$  Then they went into his house. (Boas)  
 that's=NC and enter.PL ...=NC house-3 *Nihl k'ii lamjaxt mhl wilpt.*
- $wítk^W-t \text{?}a=\dagger lax-sqañist \dot{n}i[t]=\dagger \dot{k}i:\dot{n}a=páx-t \text{?}a=\dagger qalčáp$   
 come.from-3 ...=NC on-mountain that's=NC and from.woods=run-3 ...=NC village  
 Once he was back from the mountain, he ran down to the village. (93.13-14)  
*Witkwt mhl lax sqañist, nihl k'ii náabaxt mhl galts'ap.*
- $\dot{n}i=yáq=\dagger \text{?}ùq \text{?}a=\dagger lax-qán$  There is a copper hanging on a tree.  
 on=hang=NC copper ...=NC on-tree (139.1-2)  
*Niiyakhl uuq mhl lax gan.*
- $\dot{k}i:hak^W in=yé:-[t]=\dagger kàt \text{?}a=\dagger \text{?}awá?-t$   
 and towards=walk-[3]=NC man ...=NC proximity-3

... and a man came towards him(138.14-15).

... *k'ii hagwinyeehl gat ahlawa'at.*

- Time:

- $k'i-t \acute{n}a = wílq - T - [t] = t \acute{t} \acute{a} smáx - t \text{ ?}a = t \acute{w}i : sá$   
 and-3E from.woods=transport.s.-DEF-[3]=NC the meat-3 ...=NC big day  
 ... and he spent all day transporting the meat [of the grizzly he had killed] back  
 to the village (119.9)                      ... *k'iiit náawilgabí hli smax ahl wii sa.*
- $\text{?}a \acute{c} \acute{e} \acute{t} \acute{a} \acute{t} \acute{a} k^w$     ... tomorrow [OFS].  
 ... IRR tomorrow    ... *a ji t'aahlakw.*

5.18.B. Used before clauses:

5.18.B.2. As subordinator: see 5.16.B.6.

5.18.B.1. Preceding other subordinators: Since *?a a* usually introduces a circumstantial complement, it can often be found in front of clauses beginning with other subordinators (see examples in 5.16.B.6.).



## NOTES ON CHAPTER 5

<sup>1</sup> The word **çák**▼ 'to kill s.' /*çák* refers to a method other than shooting, involving direct contact between killer and killed, (e.g. stabbing, beating to death, etc. ). In this case, Ts'ak (Boas 1902) killed the grizzly by being snuffed in by him and lighting a fire in its belly.

<sup>2</sup> From the Nisgha translation of the Lord's Prayer, by the Rev. Hubert McMillan and other Nisgha elders.

<sup>3</sup> See Tarpent 1983:a for an attempt at isolating number morphemes and reconstructing the original meanings of some of the number words.

<sup>4</sup> example taken from *Liligidim Amadalk'askw*.

<sup>5</sup> These phenomena have been linked (Jelinek 1986) to an 'argument hierarchy' of 1/2 over 3; however, they are also explainable by the pronominal argument structure of the predicate phrase (4.3.), since pronouns, take precedence over nouns, which are only Adjuncts.

<sup>6</sup> As the Gitksan equivalent is **ʔalo**:- *aloo...*, it is possible that these pronouns are related to the noun **ʔali**- *ali...* 'towards, around...'

<sup>7</sup> See remark below, 5.12.A.4.

<sup>8</sup> Some people also use **ʔat67-n** *Ado'on!* for the singular, showing analogical P<sub>A</sub> patterning.

<sup>9</sup> The auxiliary **ñak**▼ *ñakw* which never bears primary stress should not be confused with its homonym, the adjective **ñak**▼ '(time) to be long' *ñakw*. Compare:

•**ñak**<sup>W</sup>=† *sì:pk*<sup>W</sup>-n  
EVID=NC sick-2S

You must be sick!  
*Ñakwhl siipgwin!*

•**ñak**<sup>W</sup>=† *sì:pk*<sup>W</sup>-n  
long.time=NC sick-2S

You were sick a long time.  
*Ñakwhl siipgwin.*

Only the adjective **ñak**▼ *ñakw* can be used with the Interrogative postclitic  
=•: ...g:

•ñák<sup>W</sup>=† sì:pk<sup>W</sup>-n==a                      Were you sick a long time?  
 long time=NCsick-2S==Q                      *Nákwhl siipgwina?*

10 Belvin also gives **lip qúć-ə-t lip nít** as a translation of English "He cut himself" (1984): this sentence is about as natural as "He himself cut his own self, he cut his own self by himself." A Nisgha speaker would give a more precise description, such as

• qúć-ə-t=†?an?ún-t                      S/he cut his/her hand.  
 cut.s.-CTL-3=NC hand-3                      *Kojithl an 'unt.*

11 In most cases the corresponding plural forms have the characteristically plural reduplicated shape (8.) and do not include a prefixed modifier: e.g. **qas)qisk<sup>▼</sup> gasgeskw** pl. of **iku-qisk<sup>▼</sup> hlgugeskw** 'narrow, skinny.'

12 The missionary McCullagh interpreted this as 'public people' (quoted in Raunet) but it is more likely that it means 'undisguised people'; in one Boas story a man has two wives, a grizzly woman (**ksim likínsk<sup>▼</sup> ksim lik'íáskw**), who has some grizzly and some human attributes, and a real woman (**ksim ?alu:kikát ksim aluugigat**).

13 The transcription of this place-name, found in Boas, is approximate as I was not able to elicit an actual pronunciation.

14 In this example, the subordinator **ka:** *hlaa* is part of the clause that is subordinated with **Cə** *ji/ja*.

15 cf. Fr. **où** [in relative, not interrogative use] has both locative and temporal meaning after a noun: **au moment où** 'at the moment when' / **la fois où** 'the time when' (**quand** 'when' is ungrammatical after a noun) / **à l'endroit où** 'at the place where'.

16 A person asking this question expects a fairly detailed answer. The formalized Nisgha greeting corresponding to English 'How are you?' is **?á:m wila: wif-n==a** 'Are you well?' *Aam wilaa wilina?* (5.16.B.8.a.1.).

17 e.g. *a red and white house*: this type of expression is foreign to Nisgha although it may be found in translations from English. Descriptions are usually more precise in Nisgha: e.g. *an eagle is black with white head and tail*.

- t'účk<sup>W</sup>=t' wilkàt-[t]=t' xskák      An eagle is black  
     black=NC color-[3]=NC eagle              *Tuuts'kwahl wilgathl xsguak*
  
- ?iisa:=má ksk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=t' timqìs-t      and its head is white [set off from the body]  
     and off=white-[3]=NC heat-3              *ii saamaakskwahl t'imgest*
  
- ?iihux<sup>W</sup>ti: wíl-[t]=t' qat'ýè:n-t      and its tail is too.  
     and also be/do-[3]=NC bird.tail-3        *ii burwdii wilhl k'ahlyeent.*

18 Modern usage would be: ... **qa-qó:t-ti:t** ... *gagoodiit* ... , with 3P ending (cf. 7.2.A.1.a.2.).

19 Modern usage would be **lamcaɣ-ti:t** ... *lamjardiit* , with 3P ending (cf. 7.2.A.1.a.2.).

## CHAPTER 6: CLITICS

Clitics are semi-free morphemes, more flexible in their use than affixes: they do not become part of the word morphologically or syntactically but are bound to it phonologically.<sup>1</sup>

### 6.1. Clitics preceding the predicate:

#### 6.1.A. Ergative pronouns:

##### 6.1.A.1. Ergative personal pronouns:

##### 6.1.A.1.a. Shapes:

	SG	PL
1	nə <i>ni/na</i>	tip <i>dip</i>
2	mə <i>mi/ma</i>	məsim <i>mi ... sim</i>
3	t <i>t</i>	t ... (-ti:t) <i>t ... (diit)</i>

##### 6.1.A.1.b. Remarks:

##### 6.1.A.1.b.1. 1E pronouns:

(a) The 1SE pronoun  $\Pi\Theta$  *ni/na* is identical in shape with the frozen prefix present on senior kinship terms (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.2.), but this is most probably a coincidence as the frozen prefix is productive in Coast Tsimshian with the meaning 'alienated possession.'

(b) The 1PE pronoun **tip** *tip* is identical in shape with the plural determinate marker (6.2.A.): there may be a historical relationship, as both designate groups, but this is only conjectural as there is no parallel relationship with other morphemes.

6.1.A.1.b.2. **2E pronouns**: The 2E pronoun is **mə** *mi/ma* for both singular and plural; the morpheme **sim** *sim* occurs only in the plural, after the ergative **mə** *mi/ma* from which it can be separated by FUT and IRR particles, as in.

- ni: **mə** tim **sim**stíl-<sup>ǀ</sup>==a                      Are you (pl.) going to come with me?  
not ...FUT ... accompany.s.-1S==QU              *Nii mi dim sim sdiliya?*
- kilò **mə** cə **sim**yòxk<sup>W</sup>-<sup>ǀ</sup>                      Don't follow me! (to two or more)  
Don't! ...FUT ...follow.s.-1S                      *Gilo mi ji sim yoxgwiy!*

The morpheme **sim** *sim* occurs with the verb in imperative constructions (4.3.D.1.b.), thus differentiating singular from plural Agent:

- **sim**yòxk<sup>W</sup>-<sup>ǀ</sup>                                      Follow me! (to two or more)  
...follow.s.-1S                                      *Sim yoxgwiy!*
- yòxk<sup>W</sup>-<sup>ǀ</sup>    Follow me! (to one)  
follow.s.-1S    *Yoxgwiy!*

This morpheme adds precision to the 2E pronoun and has no other function (it is homophonous with a modifier meaning 'really, very', 5.15.B.26., but it is unlikely that this is more than a coincidence). If it is also a pronoun, it is strange to have two E pronouns in the same clause: however, RELE ?an *an* (6.1.A.2.) is used only in conjunction with 3E **t**, and the 3P pronoun **-ti:t** ...*dii* complements 3E **t** to indicate a plural Agent. There are then other occurrences of two pronouns together, so perhaps **sim** can be considered a pronoun as well (these extra pronouns might be described as 'secondary pronouns').

6.1.A.1.b.3. 3E pronoun: For the 3rd person, the E pronoun is **t**; with a plural Agent, the 3P personal suffix **-ti:t** ...*diit* (7.2.A.1.a.2.b.) is added to the verb only if there is no noun coreferring with the E pronoun: compare:

- ni-ti-tká?-ti:t                      They didn't see it/him/her/them.  
not-INTS-3E see.s.-3P                      *Nidiit ga'adiit*
  
- ni-ti-tká?-ti:t=†hanáq̣                  They didn't see the women.  
not-INTS-3E see.s.-3P=NC women                  *Nidiit ga'adiithl haanak'*
  
- ni-ti-tká?-[t]=†hanàq̣                  The women didn't see it/him/her/them.  
not-INTS-3E see.s.-{3}=NC women                  *Nidiit ga'ahl haanak'*

(note the difference in stress on the noun, depending on whether it is Object or Agent).

6.1.A.1.b.4. Unlike the suffix pronoun series (7.2.A.1.), the ergative clitic pronoun series does not include an Impersonal member. The way to indicate an impersonal (unspecified) Agent is to use either a nominalization (if the sentence structure allows, 4.5.A.3.b.), or a Passive.

6.1.A.1.c. Occurrence of clitic pronouns with other pre-predicate morphemes: All ergative pronouns occur before the predicate, and may be separated from it by other morphemes, such as FUT and IRR particles (6.1.B.1.), modifiers (515.), and subordinators (5.16.).

With FUT **tim** *dim* and IRR **CƏ** *ji/ja*, as with the subordinators pronouns consisting of a resonant + unspecified vowel occur before the particle, those of other shapes occur after the particle (However, some YFS do not make his distinction and always place the E pronoun after the particle).

- ni: mət̩tim ti:qó?-ỵ==a:                  Won't you (sg.) come and get me?  
not 2E FUT INTS go.get.s.-1S==Q                  *Nii mi dim dii go'oýx?*

- ʔakúməqan ʔaxqóʔ-ý      Why didn't you (sg.) come and get me?  
what? 2E why not go.get.s.-1S      *Agu ma gan ax go'óy?*
- ntámətimqan ʔaxqóʔ-ý      Why won't you (sg.) come and get me?  
what? 2E FUT why not go.get.s.-1S      *Nda mi dim gan ax go'óy?*
- ntámətimsimqan ʔaxqóʔ-ý      Why won't you (pl.) come and get me?  
what? 2E FUT 2E.PL shy not go.get.s.-1S      *Nda mi dim sim gan ax go'óy?*
- ʔa yùk<sup>W</sup> nətimqóʔ-n      I am about to come and get you.  
now PROG 1S.E FUT go.get.s.-2S      *Hlaa yukw ni dim go'on.*
- ʔa yùk<sup>W</sup> timtipqóʔ-n      We are about to come and get you.  
now PROG FUT 1P.E go.get.s.-2S      *Hlaa yukw dim dip go'on.*
- ʔa yùk<sup>W</sup> tim-tqóʔ-n t Pèter      Peter is about to come and get you.  
now PROG FUT-3E go.get.s.-2S DM P.      *Hlaa yukw dimt go'on t Peter.*  
PTCL ... tr.vb.
- qús-ə-ý nətimqóʔ-n      I couldn't come and get you.  
can't-CTL-1S 1S.E FUT go.get.s.-2S      *Gosiy' ni dim go'on.*
- ní[t]nəqan ʔaxqóʔ-n      That's why I didn't come and get you.  
that's 1S.E why not go.get.s.-2S      *Ni na gan ax go'on.*
- níft]qannətimqóʔ-n      That's why I will come and get you.  
that's why 1S.E FUT go.get.s.-2S      *Ni gan ni dim go'on.*

#### 6.1.A.2. Ergative relative pronoun ʔan an:

The RELE pronoun ʔan an always occurs together with the 3E pronoun t, whether before or after it. When 3E t is placed after the RELE pronoun, it is often deleted in rapid speech, especially before another /t/ or an affricate.

this does not impede understanding since the presence of ?an an is enough to indicate relativization, so the consciousness of 3E t seems to be on the wane with some YFS.

The REL.E pronoun may occur following its antecedent noun, as in:

- ná ==(y)əmaʔtim-t ?an qó?-y̌ I wonder who [is the one' who] will  
who?==DUB FUT-3E REL.E go.get.s.-1S come and get me!  
*Naayima'a dimt an go'oy!*
- Pétertim-t ?an qó?-n Peter [is the one who] will come and get you.  
P. FUT-3E REL.E go.get.s.-2S *Peter dimt an go'on.*
- ná t ?an qó?-n Who came to get you?  
who? 3E REL.E go.get.s.-2S *Naa t an go'on?*
- pílist t ?an kú:[t]-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬk<sup>W</sup>-n  
star 3E REL.E take.s.-[3]=NC child-2S  
It was a star that took your child (87.12)  
*Bilist t an guuhl hlguuhlgwin.*

Or the antecedent may be unmentioned (Headless Agent-relative clause):

- wilá x-ə-n t ?an kú:[t]-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬk<sup>W</sup>-n==a  
know.s.-CTL-2S 3E REL.E take.s.-[3]=NC child-2S==QU  
You know who took your child? (87.11)  
*Wilaayin t an guuhl hlguuhlgwina?*

(see 6.1.B.2.b.2. for use with the Restrictive particle ɬə hli/hla).

#### 6.1.B. Clitic particles:

##### 6.1.B.1. The Modal particles FUT t̄im dim and IRR Cə ji/jə:



Both of these particles could be described as belonging to a single category of potentiality, **tim dim** indicating strong or definite potentiality of an event that is certain or at least intended to happen (hence the future), **Cə ji/ja** indicating indefinite potentiality, possibility, hypothesis. Both are used frequently in sentences with imperative function: **tim dim** is used to give orders, or very definite directions, **Cə ji/ja** to make friendly or polite suggestions.

The two particles have some syntactic properties in common, but are not in complementary distribution since **tim dim** has a wider range of occurrence. The use of **Cə ji/ja** as a particle should not be confused with its use as a subordinator (5.16.B.6.), although it is sometimes difficult to determine its exact function.

6.1.B.1.a. Properties common to FUT **tim dim** and IRR **Cə ji/ja**:

6.1.B.1.a.1. Can occur in both regular and predicate-focused clauses:

Regular clauses:

- $\text{ʔisk}^W \text{=} \text{ʔ} \text{ tim } \text{xkófi} \text{-n}$                       After you drink your coffee [now], ...  
 PERF=NC FUT have.coffee-2S                      *Hliskwɥl dim xkoofiin...*  
 $\text{tim } \text{ʔi} \text{: m} \text{ə lu} \text{:} \text{=} \text{y} \text{óʔoks} \text{-[t]} \text{=} \text{ʔ} \text{ kóp} \text{-n}$     [I want you to] wash your cup.  
 FUT and 2E in=wash.s.-[3]=NC cup-2S                      ... *dim ii mi luuyo'okshl kobin.*
  
- $\text{ʔisk}^W \text{ cə } \text{xkófi} \text{-n}$                       After you drink your coffee [whenever], ...  
 PERF IRR have.coffee-2S                      *Hliskw ja xkoofiin...*  
 $\text{cə } \text{ʔi} \text{: m} \text{ə lu} \text{:} \text{=} \text{y} \text{óʔoks} \text{-[t]} \text{=} \text{ʔ} \text{ kóp} \text{-n}$     please wash your cup  
 IRR and 2E in=wash.s.-[3]=NC cup-?S                      ... *ji ii mi luuyo'okshl kobin.*

Predicate-focused clause:

- $\text{tim} \text{ tá} \text{:} \text{ } \text{ni} \text{:n } \text{ʔa} \text{:s[t]} \text{ kús[t]}$                       Sit down over there! (lit. you are going  
 FUT sit you PREP=DC (DM that                      to sit down: order) *Dim taa niin as gus.*

- cə tá n̩nʔa=s[t]kús[t] [You could] sit down over there!  
IRR sit you PREP=DC [DM that] (if you like: suggestion)  
*Ji t'aa níin as gus.*
- tim k̩axʔimóm-ə-n̩n̩y̥ [I want you to] help me a minute (order)  
FUT just.now help.s.-CTL-2S me *Dim k'ax hlimoomin níiy̥.*
- cə k̩axʔimóm-ə-n̩n̩y̥ [You could/Please] help me a minute.  
IRR just.now help.s.-CTL-2S me How about giving me a hand.  
(polite request)  
*Ji k'ax hlimoomin níiy̥.*
- cə ti. k<sup>W</sup>ĩná-(y)ə-n=ʔhax<sup>W</sup>ták<sup>W</sup> qan=ʔhawíl [You should] ask for a bow and arrow too [like the others] (142.6-7)  
IRR too ask.for.s.-CTL-2S=NC bow and=NC arrow  
*Ji dii gwiñayihl haxwdakw ganhl hawil.*
- 6.1.B.1.a.2. Used before both main and downshifted predicates: (see predicate downshifting, 4.5.A.1.d.; this section does not apply to determinates): Note that the connective -ʔ ...hl is not used before CƏ ji/ja:
- tim k̩ík<sup>W</sup>-ə-ý=ʔ ... I am going to buy ...  
FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC ... *Dim giigwiýhl ...*
- ... tim haxmiyé-n-ý ... myself a pipe.  
... FUT pipe-1S ... *dim haxmiyeeniý.*
- ... tim haxmiyé-n-[t]=s[t]nik<sup>W</sup>ót-ý ... my father a pipe.  
... FUT pipe-[3]=DC [DM] father-1S ... *dim haxmiyeens nigwoodiý.*
- cə k̩ík<sup>W</sup>-ə-n̩ ... [You could] buy ...  
IRR buy.s.-CTL-2S ... *Ji giigwin ...*

- ... **cə** haxmiyé-n-n ... yourself a pipe!  
 ... IRR pipe-2S ... *ji haxniyeenin!*
- ... **cə** haxmiyé-n-[t]=s[tnik<sup>W</sup>ót-n ... your father a pipe!  
 ... IRR pipe-[3]=DC [DM] father-2S ... *ji haxmiyeens nigwoodin!*
- **tim** lip wá-(y)ə-m=† **tim** háx-m We'll get our own bait (56.5-6).  
 FUT self obtain.s.-CTL-1P=NC FUT bait-1P *Dim lip wayimhl dim náam.*
- cə** lip wá-(y)ə-sim **cə** háx-sim [You could] get our own bait!  
 IRR self obtain.s.-CTL-2P IRR bait-2P *Ji lip wayisim ji háxsim!*

6.1.B.1.a.3. Complementary distribution of the two particles: with many verbs that take a clausal Object, **tim dim** is used in the Object clause:

- **ták**-ə-ý nə **timsqa**=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† p'tó?  
 forget.s.-CTL-1S 1S.E. FUT barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door  
 I forgot to lock the door.  
*T'agiy ni dim sgat'akwhl pdo'o.*
- mó.cə** nə **ták**-[t] nə **timsqa**=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† p'tó?  
 almost 1S.E forget.s.-[3] 1S.E. FUT barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door  
 I almost forgot to lock the door.  
*Mooji ni t'ak ni dim sgat'akwhl pdo'o.*

But **Cə ji/ja** is used after certain verbs, for instance the negative verb **kiló** 'Don't!' *Gilo!* (5.13.C.), as in:

- kilò** mə **cə** **ták**-[t] mə **cə** **sqa**=ták<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† p'tó?  
 Don't 2E IRR forget.s.-[3] 2E. IRR barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door  
 Don't forget to lock the door!  
*Gilo mi ji t'ak mi ji sgat'akwhl pdo'o!*

6.1.B.1.b. Specific properties of CƏ IRR *ji/ja*:

6.1.B.1.b.1. Replaces or 'cancels' a connective: the presence of CƏ *ji/ja* seems to 'cancel' the connective normally used in a sentence without the particle.

6.1.B.1.b.1.a. Before non-determinates: (see also examples in 6.1.B.1.a.2.). In the following examples with negatively focused constituents, the particle emphasizes the unreality of the denied statement:

- ni:-ki: t ná. cətìlimxk<sup>W</sup>-(ə)t      There wasn't anyone who answered.  
not-INTS DM who IRR answer-REL      *Nigitnaa ji dilimxgwit.*

(compare with a sentence without the particle, but with connective:

ni:-ki: t ná =† tìlimxk<sup>W</sup>-(ə)t      Nobody answered.  
not-INTS DM who=NC answer-REL      *Nigitnaash† dilimxgwit.*)

- ni:-ti: hí.ý cəçàl-m+tk<sup>W</sup>á-(ə)t lò:-t      They are not my glasses!  
not-INTS me IRR eye-ATTR+glass-REL IND-3      *Nidii híiy ji ts'alim tawat loot!*
- ni:-ti: hí.n cə?asáy-(ə)t cə hiháqT-ət      It isn't your leg that's broken!  
not-INTS you IRR leg-REL IRR broken-REL      (It isn't you whose leg is broken)  
*Nidii híin ji asáy† ji hihlagat!*
- ni:-ti: k<sup>W</sup>† tá-[-t] cəti: kimxtí-ý  
not-INTS around exist-[3] IRR INTS opp.sex.sibling-1S  
I don't have a brother (W)/sister (M).  
(lit. my ... doesn't exist)  
*Nidii kw'ih† t'aa ji dii gimxdiy.*

In the following sentence, the two particles occur together: CƏ *ji/ja* reinforces the negative verb with is the higher predicate, while tìm *dim* is part of the predicate phrase in the following headless Object-relative clause:

- ni:-ki:ski-t cə tim kíp-ə-[t]=t ʔkù:ʔk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=ʔsimʔókit  
not-INTS there.is-3 IRR FUT eat.s.-CTL-[3]=NC child-[3]=NC chief

There was nothing for the chief's daughter to eat. (146.2.)

*Nigii sgit ji dim gibihl hlguuhlkwahl sim'oogit.*

6.1.B.1.b.1.b. Before determinates: unlike tim FUT *dim*, CƏ IRR *ji/ju* can occur before determinates. Therefore it is followed by the Determinate Marker *t* before a singular determinate word in all cases, including those which would otherwise require the Determinate Connective =S, after which the DM *t* would disappear through consonant-deletion (Connectives 6.2.B., Determinate Markers 6.2.A.).

In predicate-focused clause, *t* normally appears on the surface: compare:

- timčiláyx<sup>W</sup>-ə-n t MARY      [I want you to] go visit Mary.  
IRR visit.s.-CTL-2S IRR DM M.      *Dim ts'ilywin t Mary.*
- cəčiláyx<sup>W</sup>-ə-n cə t MARY      [You could/might] go visit, say, Mary!  
IRR visit.s.-CTL-2S IRR DM M.      *Ji ts'ilywin ji t Mary!*

6.1.B.1.b.2. Occurs before Complements: A few examples:

Focused locative complement:

- cəsilàýs-m xpís cə wil lu:-skí-ý  
IRR enlarged-ATTR box IRR where in=lie-1S  
How about making my grave-box larger! (7.10)  
(lit. suppose it were an enlarged box where I might lie)  
*Ji siláysim xbiis ji wil luungiyi!*

Time adverbials indicating future time: (the particle is optional if the word already has future meaning):

cə kú:ń ... now	'in just a minute, in a moment' <i>ji guuń</i>
cə kaxkú ... ... when?	When [in the future] ...? <i>Ji gaxgu ...</i>
(cə) ʔa ʔák <sup>W</sup> ... tomorrow	'tomorrow' <i>(ji) ʔaahlakw.</i>
cə qató:ʔ-t ... beyond-3	'the day after tomorrow (lit. on the other side of it)' <i>ja gadoo'ot</i>

### 6.1.B.2. The Restrictive particle ʔə hli/hla:

6.1.b.2.a. In noun-phrase: placed before a possessed noun (3.2.A.2.), the particle ʔə hli/hla seems to indicate that this noun is viewed as a part separate from the whole; it also conveys the emotional detachment of the speaker: 'the ... [of /the ...].'<sup>2</sup>

#### 6.1.B.2.a.1. Non-generic possession:

ʔə məs-[t]=ʔ sku sí.t ... peel-[3]=NC potato	'the peel of a potato, potato peelings' <i>hli maashl sguusiit</i>
ʔə məs-t ... peel-3	'the peel' <i>hli maast</i>
ʔə ʔkì-[t]=ʔ smáx ... children-[3]=NC bear	'the young of a bear; bear cubs' <i>hli h'gihl smax</i>
ʔə ʔkí-t ... children-3	'the young, the cubs' <i>hli hlgit</i>

†ə †kílk<sup>W</sup>-y̆                    'my sweat' (lit. the sweat of me)  
 ... sweating-IS                    *hli hlgilgwiy̆*

6.1.B.2.a.2. Generic possession: the noun is suffixed with the Definite Medial suffix (7.2.C.1.b.)

†ə qàn-(t)T-[t]=† qán            'the trunk of a/the tree'  
 ... tree=DEF-[3]=NC tree        *hla gandihl gan*

†ə mèq-T-[t]=† skinísT            'the cones of a/the pine'  
 ... cone=DEF-[3]=NC pine        *hla meegahl sginist*

6.1.B.2.a.3. Nominalization of a P<sub>FA</sub>: see 4.5.A.3.b., 7.2.C.1.a.1.c.

6.1.B.2.b. In relative clauses: (cf. 4.7.A.) In some environments the use of the particle is obligatory, in others it adds restrictive meaning.

6.1.B.2.b.1. Before verb in Object-relative clause: If the relativized noun is not mentioned, it is obligatorily replaced by the particle in the relative clause:

- †a-t hux<sup>W</sup> wá-[t]=† †ə wá-(y)ə-[t]=† wàk-t  
 now-3E again reach.s.-[3]=NC ... reach.s.-CTL-[3]=NC M's brother-3  
 When again he reached the [place that] his brother had reached ... (202.4-5)  
*Hlaat huxw wahl hli wáyihl wakt ...*

Such a clause may be in apposition to the antecedent noun:

- caqam=qó?-ə-t=†áx<sup>W</sup>t - †ə wó?-ə-t==ki:  
 shoreward-go.get.s.-CTL-3=NC porcupine - ...invite.s.-NC-3==DISTAL  
 He [the beaver] brought the porcupine, his guest, [back] to shore (73.9)  
 (... the porcupine, that he had invited ...)  
*Jagamgo'othl axwt, hli wo'ot-gi.*

6.1.B.2.b.2. Before Ergative relative clause: the 3E pronoun *t* occurs after the particle, before the RELE pronoun *ʔan an* (6.1.A.2.). Use of the particle is not obligatory, but adds a restrictive meaning: compare:

- *wilá:x-ə-n t ʔan kú:[t]-[t]=ʔ ʔkú:ʔk<sup>W</sup>-n==a*  
know.s.-CTL-2S 3E RELE take.s.-{3}=NC child-2S==Q

You know who took your child? (87.10)

*Wilaayin t an guuhl higuuhlgwina?*

- *wilá:x-ə-n ʔə t ʔan kú:[t]-[t]=ʔ ʔkú:ʔk<sup>W</sup>-n==a*  
know.s.-CTL-2S 3E ... RELE take.s.-{3}=NC child-2S==Q

You know the one who took your child?

*Wilaayin hlit an guuhl higuuhlgwina:*

6.1.B.2.b.3. Before circumstantial relative clause: the use of the particle is especially common before the subordinator *Wil wil* (5.16.B.7.) in its locative meaning, and before the subordinator *ta: daa*. The combination *ʔə ta: hli daa* functions like a subordinator in its own right (5.16.B.3.a.3.). The combination *ʔə Wil hli wil* used with an adjective as predicate also has a specific meaning.

6.1.B.2.b.3.a. Before the subordinator Wil wil (5.16.B.7.):

6.1.B.2.b.3.a.1. In locational complement: the particle adds restrictive meaning:

- *hux<sup>W</sup> wá-ti:t=ʔ ʔə wil wíl[t]=ʔ wàk-t==ki:*  
again reach.s.-3P=NC ... be/act-{3}=NC M's brother-3==DISTAL

Again they reached the [place] where his brother had been (202.5-6).

*Huxw wadiithl hli wil wilhl wakt-gi.*

6.1.B.2.b.3.a.2. With adjective: the particle is obligatory if there is no noun, and the meaning is "the/a ... one." (5.16.B.7.a.4.)



- ?anóq-ə-ý=† †ə wil k<sup>W</sup>isk<sup>W</sup>ó:sk<sup>W</sup>-t I like the blue one.  
like.s.-CTL-1S=NC ... .. blue-3 *Anoogayhl hli wil gwilwooskw.*
- ksax†ə wil nniiluk<sup>W</sup>-t=† tóx-(ə)t lò:-m̄ We only have the long ones.  
only ... .. long.PL-3=NC be.PL-REL IND-1P *Ksax hli wil nniilukwthl doxat loom̄.*

6.1.B.2.b.3.b. With subordinator ta: daa: the combination †ə ta: *hlidaa* means 'the time when ..., since the time when...'

- †a: xpí[-t]=† kù:† †ə ta: núw̄-t S/he has been dead ten years.  
now ten-{3}=NC year ... .. dead-3 (It is ten years since s/he died).  
*Hlaa xbihl k'uuhl hlidaa núwt.*

†ə ta: lə-ʔó:ý ... since time immemorial...  
... .. PL-?? ... *hlidaa la'ooý* ...

## 6.2. Particles preceding nominals:

### 6.2.A. Determinate markers:

The determinate markers **t** for the singular and **tip dip** for the plural are particles used before all determinates (3.2.A.1.), but under certain phonological conditions singular **t** does not occur on the surface. Where it does occur, it attaches phonologically to the preceding word, except with demonstratives, where it is felt by speakers to be part of the following word.

Both **t** and **tip dip** are used before a singular noun or pronoun referring to a person: **t** marks a single individual, **tip dip** a group of which the person mentioned is the salient representative: his or her family, associates, or whoever he or she happens to be with at the moment referred to. Such a phrase is difficult into Standard English, as it is much more general and vague than phrases such as 'X and h. spouse/family', 'X and his partner', 'X and h. sister,' etc. The very useful Nisgaha phrase *dip X* is translated in local English speech either

by *Them X*, or, especially among young people, by *X and them*, a phrase which also occurs in some nonstandard English dialects.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly the tag *...and them* is used here to translates examples with **tip dip**.

6.2.A.1. Occurrence of both **t** and **tip dip**: in all environments except:

- for all speakers: after connective =5, where surface occurrence is prevented by a phonological rule (see 6.2.A.2.b.);
- for YFS: in initial position before determinates other than demonstratives (6.2.A.2.a.).

- *lím x t Màry*  
sing DM M. *Mary sang.*  
*Limx t Mary.*
  
- lím x tip Màry*  
sing DM.PL M. *Mary 'and them' sang.*  
*Limx dip Mary.*
  
- *lím x tkùs[t]*  
sing DM that *That person sang.*  
*Limx t gus.*
  
- lím x tipkùs[t]*  
sing DM.PL that *Those persons sang.*  
*Limx dip gus.*
  
- *lip wíl p t Màry*  
self house DM M. *Mary has her own house.*  
*Lip wilp t Mary.*
  
- lip wíl p tip Màry*  
self house DM.PL M. *Mary 'and them' have their own house.*  
*Lip wilp dip Mary.*
  
- *ksax t Màrylím[x]-(-)t*  
only DM M. sing-REL *Only Mary sang.*  
*Ksax t Maryhl limit.*

- ksaxtip Márylim[x]-(ə)t      Only Mary 'and them' sang.  
only DM.PL M. sing-REL      *Ksax dip Maryhl limit.*
- ni-ti: t Márycəlim[x]-(ə)t      It wasn't Mary who sang.  
not INTS DM M. IRR sing-REL      *Nidii t Mary ji limit.*
- ni-ti: tip Márycəlim[x]-(ə)t      It wasn't Mary 'and them' who sang.  
not INTS DM.PL M. IRR sing-REL      *Nidii dip Mary ji limit.*
- ni-ti: t Márycəwìlp-(ə)t lò:-t      It isn't Mary's house.  
not INTS DM M. IRR house-REL IND-3      *Nidii t Mary ji wilbit loot.*
- ni-ti: tip Márycəwìlp-(ə)t lò:-t      It isn't Mary 'and them''s house.  
not INTS DM.PL M. IRR house-REL IND-3      *Nidii dip Mary ji wilbit loot.*
- naɣná-(y)ə-nt Máry==a:      You heard Mary?  
hear.s.-CTL-2S DM M.==Q      *Naɣnayin t Marya?*
- naɣná-(y)ə-ntip Máry==a:      You heard Mary 'and them'?  
hear.s.-CTL-2S DM.PL M.==Q      *Naɣnayin dip Marya?*
- ni:-nə-ti: wiláx-[t]cə t Máry=† hu)wìl-(ə)t  
not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3] whether DM M.=NC ASP)be-REL  
I don't know whether it is/was Mary.  
*Nidii wilaax ji t Maryhl huwilit.*
- ni:-nə-ti: wiláx-[t]cə tip Máry=† hu)wìl-(ə)t  
not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3] whether DM.PL M.=NC ASP)be-REL  
I don't know whether it is/was Mary 'and them'.  
*Nidii wilaax ji dip Maryhl huwilit.*
- ná:tim-t?annáksk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† †kú:†k<sup>W</sup>-ý tsqawó  
who FUT-3E REL.E marry.s.-[3]=NC child-1S DM S.

Who is going to marry my daughter Sgawo? (222)  
*Naa dimt an nakskwhl hlguuhlgwiý t Sgawo?*

6.2.A.2. Non-occurrence of in some environments:

6.2.A.2.a. Initially: Pre-consonantal *t* tends to drop in initial position. As a result, the complementary distribution between *and dip* is obscured in this position, where only *dip* occurs on the surface. In absolute initial position before a name<sup>4</sup> or the indefinite pronoun *naa*: 'who?' *naa*, the singular DM is still used by OFS, but not by YFS.

- (t) ná:=† hu)wìl-(ə)t                      Who was it?/ Who did it?  
 (DM) who?=NC ASP)be-REL                      *(T) naahl huwilit?*
  
- tip ná:=† hu)wìl-(ə)t                      Who [what group] was it?/ ... did it?  
 DM.PL who?=NC ASP)be-REL                      *Dip naahl huwilit?*
  
- (t) Máry=† hu)wìl-(ə)t                      It is/was Mary/Mary did it.  
 (DM) M.=NC ASP)be-REL                      *(T) Maryhl huwilit.*
  
- tip Máry=† hu)wìl-(ə)t                      It is/was Mary 'and them' / ... did it.  
 DM.PL M.=NC ASP)be-REL                      *Dip Maryhl huwilit.*
  
- (t) ná:=† wìlp-(ə)t lò:t                      Whose house is it?  
 (DM) who?=NC house-REL IND-3                      *(T) naahl wilbit loot?*
  
- tip ná:=† wìlp-(ə)t lò:t                      Whose [what group's] house is it?  
 DM.PL who?=NC house-REL IND-3                      *Dip naahl wilbit loot?*
  
- (t) Máry=† wìlp-(ə)t lò:t                      It is Mary's house.  
 (DM) M.=NC house-REL IND-3                      *(T) Maryhl wilbit loot.*

**tip** Màry=† wíl-p-(ə)t lò:t      It is Mary 'and them' 's house.  
DM.PL M.=NC house-REL IND-3      *Dip Maryhl wíłbit loot.*

The singular DM is kept before the demonstratives **kún** 'this' *gus* and **kús[t]** 'that' *gus*, and many speakers feel it to be part of the demonstrative:

• (t) kús[t]=† hu)wíl-(ə)t      It is/was that one/That one did it.  
(DM) that=NC ASP)be-REL      *Tgushl huwilit.*

**tip** kús[t]=† hu)wíl-(ə)t      It is/was those people/Those people did it.  
DM.PL that=NC ASP)be-REL      *Dip gushl huwilit.*

6.2.A.2.b. Ater connective =S: When it is preceded by the determinate connective (6.2.B.1.), the singular DM **t** is between two consonants, and therefore subject to a cluster-simplification rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.) which deletes it. That it must be assumed to be present in underlying form is shown by the occurrence of the plural DM under the same conditions.<sup>5</sup>

• ni:-ti: lím-x-[t]=s [t] Màry      Mary didn't sing.  
not-INTS sing-[3]=DC [DM] M.      *Nidii límxs Mary.*

ni:-ti: lím-x-[t]=s **tip** Màry      Mary 'and them' didn't sing.  
not-INTS sing-[3]=DC DM.PL M.      *Nidii límex dip Mary.*

• ni:-ti: lip wíl-p-[t]=s [t] Màry      Mary doesn't have her own house.  
not-INTS self house-[3]=DC [DM] M.      *Nidii lip wílps Mary.*

ni:-ti: lip wíl-p-[t]=s **tip** Màry      Mary 'and them' don't have their  
not-INTS self house-[3]=DC DM.PL M.      own house.  
*Nidii lip wílps dip Mary.*

• ni:mə naxhá-[t]=s [t] Màry==a:      Did you hear Mary?  
not 2E hear.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.==Q      *Nii mi naxháas Marya?*

- ni:mənaɣhá-[t]=s tip Màry==a: Did you hear Mary 'and them'?  
not 2E hear.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M.==QU *Nii mi naɣáas dip Marya?*
- cəkińám-ə-n? a=s [t] Màry Please give it to Mary!  
IRR give.s.-CTL-2S PREP =DC [DM] M. *Ji gińamin as Mary!*
- cəkińám-ə-n? a=s tip Màry Please give it to Mary 'and them'!  
IRR give.s.-CTL-2S PREP =DC DM.PL M. *Ji gińamin as dip Mary!*

This is also shown by its occurrence when the noun is preceded by a modifier (the connective is no longer the DC=S since the word following the predicate is a modifier, which is not a determinate):

- ni:-ti: límX-[t]=t̩ íku t Màry Little Mary didn't sing.  
not-INTS sing-[3]=NC little DM M. *Nidii límXh! h!gu t Mary.*

6.2.A.3. Occurrence of the plural DM tip dip before plural -pronouns: The plural DM *dip* can also be used before the independent plural pronouns 'you.PL' *ńisińń* *ńisiń* and 'they/them' *ńidi:t* *ńidiit* (5.8.C.1.), especially after preposition. This seems particularly common in the speech of YFS and is probably a recent development, an extension of the use of the plural marker before demonstratives (cf. Tarpent 1982b). There seem to be no examples of this use in Boas.

- tim kińám-ə-y? a=s (tip) ńisińń I'll give them to you (pl.).  
FUT give.s.PL-CTL-2S PREP=DC (DM.PL) you.PL *Dim gińamiy as (dip) ńisińń.*

#### 6.2.B. Connectives:

The connectives =S and =t̩ ...h/ are suffixed to certain elements of the sentence and indicate (a) that these elements bear a major relation to each other, and (b) whether the following element is determinate (if the connective is =S) or nondeterminate (if the connective is =t̩ ...h/). The Determinate

Connective (DC) =S has a more limited distribution than the Non-determinate Connective =† ...h/ which combines, in front of non-determinates, the functions that the Determinate Connective =S and the Determinate markers t and tip dip (6.2.A.) have in front of determinates. In addition, =† ...h/ is often used to link a clause to a preceding element, or a focused constituent to the following element. Both connectives seem to be 'cancelled' by some other morphemes, especially the Irrealis particle CƏ ji/ja (6.1.B.1.b.).

**6.2.B.1. Occurrence of both connectives:** the Non-determinate connective =† ...h/ occurs in front of non-determinates, in all environments where the determinate connective =S can occur in front of determinates. It the word that the connective is normally attached to ends in a postclitic (6.3.), the connective comes after the postclitic.

**6.2.B.1.a. Between a predicate (main or downshifted) followed by the 3 suffix -t and an immediately following determinate noun:** (note that the 3 suffix does not usually occur on the surface because of the consonant-deletion rule, 10.2.A.2.b.1.c.).

**6.2.B.1.a.1. In a predicate-focused transitive clause:** before the noun or demonstrative pronoun (preceded by a determinate marker) which is the Adjunct to the 3 suffix which is the E argument:

- †imó.m-ə-[t]=s [t] Màry=† hanáq̣ Mary helped the woman.  
help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC [DM] M.=NC woman *Hlimoomis Maryhl hanaḳ*ʔ.
- †imó.m-ə-[t]=s tip Màry=† hanáq̣ Mary 'and them' helped the woman.  
help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC DM.PL M.=NC woman *Hlimoomis dip Maryhl hanaḳ*ʔ.
- †imó.m-ə-[t]=† hanáq̣ t Màry The woman helped Mary.  
help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman DM M. *Hlimoomihl hanaḳ*ʔ t Mary.

6.2.B.1.a.2. In a regular clause or downshifted construction: between a predicate and an immediately following determinate noun, regardless of the function of that noun:

a. Between possessed noun and possessor Adjunct:

wìlp-[t]=s [t] Màry house-[3]=DC DM M.	'Mary's house' <i>wilps Mary</i>
wìlp-[t]=s tip Màry house-[3]=DC DM.PL M.	'''Mary and them'''s house' <i>wilps dip Mary</i>
wìlp-[t]=s tip kún house-[3]=DC DM.PL this	'these people's house' <i>wilps dip gun</i>
wìlp-[t]=† hanàq̣ house-[3]=NC woman	'the woman's house' <i>wilph† hanaḳ'</i>

b. Between an intransitive verb and an Adjunct noun:

- willímx-[t]=s [t] Màry  
SUB sing-[3]=DC|DM|M. ... as Mary sang.  
... *wil limxs Mary*.
- willímx-[t]=s tip Màry  
SUB sing-[3]=DC DM.PL M. ... as Mary 'and them' sang.  
... *wil limxs dip Mary*.
- willímx-[t]=† hanàq̣  
SUB sing-[3]=DC|DM|M. ... as the woman sang.  
... *wil limxh† hanaḳ'*.
- wil-t †imó:m-[t]=s [t] Màry  
SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=DC|DM|M. ... as Mary helped him/her.  
... *wilt hlimooms Mary*.



- wil-t ʕimó.m-[t]=s tip Màry ... as Mary 'and them' helped him/her.  
SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M. ... *wilt hlimooms dip Mary*.
- wil-t ʕimó.m-[t]=ʔ hanáq̣ ... as the woman helped him/her.  
SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=NC woman ... *wilt hlimoomhl hanaḳ*.
- wil tip ʕimó.m-[t]=s [t] Màry ... as we helped Mary.  
SUB-1PE help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. ... *wil dip hlimooms Mary*.
  - wil tip ʕimó.m-[t]=s tip Màry ... as we helped Mary 'and them'.  
SUB-1PE help.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M. ... *wil dip hlimooms dip Mary*.
  - wil tip ʕimó.m-[t]=ʔ hanáq̣ ... as we helped the woman.  
SUB-1PE help.s.-[3]=NC woman ... *wil dip hlimoomhl hanaḳ*.

6.2.B.1.b. Both connectives also occur after the preposition **?a a** (5.18.) and the coordinator **qan** 'and' *gan* (5.17.A.), which can occur before a noun, demonstrative or independent pronoun:

- ?a=s [t] Màry ... to/for/from Mary.  
PREP=DC [DM] M. ... *as Mary*.
- ?a=s tip Màry ... to/for/from Mary 'and them'.  
PREP=DC DM.PL M. ... *as dip Mary*.
- ?a=ʔ hanáq̣ ... to/for/from the woman.  
PREP=NC woman ... *ahl hanaḳ*.
- ?a=s [t] kún / ?a=s [t] kús [t] 'here/there'  
PREP=DC [DM] this/ PREP=DC [DM] this ... *as gun / as gus*

- ?a=s tip kún / ?a=s[t]kús[t]      ... to/for/from these people  
 PREP=DC DM.PL this      *as dip gun*
- ?a=s [t] ní n / ?a=s (tip) nísim      ... to/for/from you (sg./pl.)  
 PREP=DC [DM] this/ PREP=DC [DM] this      *as níin / as dip nísim*
  - tip Máryqan=s [t] Lúcy      'Mary and Lucy'  
 DM.PL M. and=DC [DM] L.      *dip Mary gans Lucy*
- tip Máryqan=s [t] nóx-t      'Mary and her mother'  
 DM.PL M. and=DC [DM] mother-3      *dip Mary gans noxt*
- tip Máryqan=† náks-t      'Mary and her husband'  
 DM.PL M. and=NC spouse-3      *dip Mary gahl nakst*

6.2.B.2. Further occurrences of the nondeterminate connective suffix =† ...h/:

6.2.B.2.a. Acts as a non-determinate marker: The non-determinate connective =† ...h/ also occurs before non-determinates in the same environments where the determinate markers *t* and *tip dip* occur with determinates (6.2.A.), except initially and after modifiers. In the following section, parallel examples of determinate marker and connective use are given, and the connective is written separately from the preceding word, in order to emphasize this parallelism.

6.2.B.2.a.1. In predicate-focused clause, between the predicate and the A noun:

- ntá *t* Màry      Where is Mary? What is Mary up to?  
 which.way DM M.      *Nda t Mary?*
- ntá † hanàq      Where is the woman?  
 which.way DM M.      *Ndah/ hanak'?*

- límꞥ t Màry  
sing DM M. Mary sang.  
*Límꞥ t Màry.*
  
- límx † hanàq̣  
sing NC woman The woman sang.  
*Límꞥhl hanàq̣'.*
  
- †imóꞥ-m-ə-[t]=† hanàq̣ t Màry  
help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman DM M. The woman helped Mary.  
*Hlimoomihl hanàq̣' t Màry.*
  
- †imóꞥ-m-ə-[t]=† hanàq̣ † kimxtí-t  
help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman NC opp.sib. The woman helped her brother.  
*Hlimoomihl hanàq̣'hl gimxdít.*
  
- †imóꞥ-m-ə-t ní.ý t Màry  
help.s.-CTL-3 me DM M. Mary helped me.  
*Hlimoomit ní.ý t Màry.*
  
- †imóꞥ-m-ə-t ní.ý † hanàq̣  
help.s.-CTL-3 me NC woman The woman helped me.  
*Hlimoomit ní.ý hl hanàq̣'.*

6.2.B.2.a.2. In regular clause: before a noun that does not immediately follow the verb:

- wil-t †imóꞥ-m-[t]=s [t] Màry t Lúcy  
SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. DML. ... as Mary helped Lucy.  
*... wilt hlimooms Màry t Lúcy.*
  
- wil-t †imóꞥ-m-[t]=s [t] Màry † hanàq̣  
SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. NC woman ... as Mary helped the woman.  
*... wilt hlimooms Màry hl hanàq̣'.*
  
- wil-t †imóꞥ-m-ý t Màry  
SUB-3E help.s.-1S DM M. ... as Mary helped me.  
*... wilt hlimoomiy t Màry.*
  
- wil-t †imóꞥ-m-ý † hanàq̣  
SUB-3E help.s.-1S NC woman ... as the woman helped me.  
*... wilt hlimoomiy'hl hanàq̣'.*

6.2.B.2.b. Other privileges of occurrence of =t ...h/:

6.2.B.2.b.1. Between a higher predicate and an intransitive predicate: Higher predicates in this case include auxiliary and negative verbs.

- ʔám=**t** tim lím<sub>x</sub>-[t]=s[t]Màry      Mary should sing.  
good=NC FUT sing-[3]=DC [DM] M.      *Aamh1 dim limxs Mary.*
- yùk<sup>W</sup>=**t** lím<sub>x</sub>-[t]=s[t]Màry      Mary is singing.  
PROG=NC sing-[3]=DC [DM] M.      *Yukwh1 limxs Mary.*
- ni=**t** lím<sub>x</sub>-[t]=s[t]Màry==a.      Did Mary sing?  
not=NC sing-[3]=DC [DM] M.==Q      *Niit1 limxs Marya?*
- kiló=**t** lím<sub>x</sub>-n      Stop singing!  
Don't=NC sing-2S      *Giloh1 limin!*

But the connective does not occur if a modifier (5.15.) or the IRR particle CƏ *ji/ja* (6.1.B.1.b.) intervenes:

- ni:-tì: lím<sub>x</sub>-[t]=s[t]Màry      Mary did not sing.  
not-INTS sing-[3]=DC [DM] M.      *Nidii limxs Mary.*

(here the INTS morpheme is originally the modifier tì: *dii*, see 5.13.A.)

- kiló cə lím<sub>x</sub>-n      Don't sing! (=don't start singing!)  
Don't IRR sing-2S      *Gilo ji limin!*

6.2.B.2.b.2. Between a transitive verb and an intransitive clause which is its A adjunct: The transitive verb may be followed by the Adjunct to its E argument:

- qús-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry=**t** tim lím<sub>x</sub>t      Mary was unable to sing.  
can't.do.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC FUT sing-3      *Gosis Maryh1 dim limxt.*

- $\acute{t}ák-\acute{\alpha}-[t]=s[t]Màry=\dagger$  tim límxt      Mary forgot to sing.  
forget.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC FUT sing-3      *Tagis Maryhl dim límxt.*

But the connective is not use if the IRR particle  $C\acute{\alpha}$  *ji/ja* intervenes:

- ni:-ti:-t  $\acute{t}ák-[t]=s[t]Màry$   $C\acute{\alpha}$  tim límX-t      Mary didn't forget to sing!  
not-INTS-3E forget.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC FUT sing-3      *Nidiit t'aks Mary ji dim límxt.*

6.2.B.2.b.3. Between an anteposed constituent and the rest of the clause: (unless an Ergative pronoun or a subordinator intervenes):

a. Between a Specified Complement and a non-transitive predicate:

- $[t]Màry=\dagger$  wà-t      Her name is Mary.  
[DM] M.=NC name-3      *(T) Maryhl wat.*
- wicix= $\dagger$  siwàtk<sup>W</sup>s-t      It's called a caribou.  
caribou=NC named-3      *Wijixhl siwatk<sup>w</sup>st.*

b. Between Focused Subject and downshifted intransitive verb:

- $[t]Màry=\dagger$  ìim[x]-( $\acute{\alpha}$ )t      It was Mary who sang.  
[DM] M.=NC sing-REL      *(T) Maryhl limit.*

c. Between Focused possessor and possessed noun:

- $[t]Màry=\dagger$  wìlp-( $\acute{\alpha}$ )t lò:-t      It's Mary's house.  
[DM] M.=NC house-REL IND-3      *(T) Maryhl wìlbit loot.*

d. Between Focused Object and transitive predicate:

- $[t]Màry=\dagger$  ìimò:m- $\acute{\alpha}-[t]=s[t]Lùcy$       It was Mary that Lucy helped.  
[DM] M.=NC help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] L.      *(?) Maryhl hlìmoomis Lucy.*

d. Between a predicate and a leadless Object-relative clause:

- ?ám=ʔ cáp-ə-n  
good=NC make.s.-CTL-2S  
What you did is/was good.  
You did well.  
*Aamhɪ jabin.*
- ?áq=ʔ tim cáp-ə-ý  
non-existent=NC FUT make.s.-CTL-1S  
I have nothing to do.  
*Akhɪ dim jabiý.*

e. Between the numeral and the noun in a numeral noun-phrase:

- kò:l=ʔ hanáq  
one[person]=NCwoman  
'one/a /the woman'  
*k'yoolhɪ hanak'*

f. Between a downshifted relativized adjective or numeral and a noun in a noun-phrase:

- paqatɪl-(ə)t=ʔ hanáq  
two[persons]-REL=NCwoman.PL  
'the two women'  
*bagadilithɪ haanak'*
- ka:à.m(ə)t=ʔ háyk<sup>W</sup>  
most good-REL=NC spirit  
'the Holy Spirit'  
*K'aa Aamithɪ Haykw*

### 6.2.B.3. Non-occurrence of the connectives:

a. Before or after an Ergative clitic pronoun: hence not before a P<sub>EA</sub> in regular clause:

- á:m mə tim ʔimó.m-[t]=s [t] Máry  
good 2E FUT help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.  
You should/you better help Mary.  
*Aam mi dim hlimooms Mary.*

b. Before or after the IRR particle Cə *ji/ja* (note that since there is no connective, the singular determinate marker ʔ occurs phonologically; there is

no marker before a non-determinate noun):

- ni:-ti: k<sup>W</sup>iɬ límx-[t] cə t Màry      Mary didn't sing!

not-INTS around sing-[3] IRR DM M.      *Nidii kw'ihl limx ji t Mary!*
- ni:-ti: k<sup>W</sup>iɬ límx-[t] cə hanàq̣      The woman didn't sing!

not-INTS around sing-[3] IRR woman      *Nidii kw'ihl limx ji hanaḳ'!*

(compare without the particle:

- ni:-ti: límx-[t]=s [t] Màry      Mary didn't sing.

not-INTS sing.-[3] =DC [DM] M.      *Nidii limxs Mary.*
- ni:-ti: límx-[t]=ɬ hanàq̣      The woman didn't sing.

not-INTS sing.-[3] =NC woman      *Nidii limxhl hanaḳ'.*
- cə kɪ:k<sup>W</sup>-ə-n cə si: kútáç-n      [You might] buy yourself a new coat!

IRR buy s.-CTL-2S IRR new coat-2S      *Ji giigwin ji sii k'udats'in!*

(compare without the particle:

- tim kɪ:k<sup>W</sup>-ə-n=ɬ tim si: kútáç-n      [ You are going to/I want you to]

IRR buy s.-CTL-2S IRR new coat-2S      buy yourself a new coat.

*Dim giigwinhl dim sii k'udats'in.*

c. After modal particles (6.1.B.1., modifiers (5.15.) and subordinators (5.16.): for instance, the presence of the modifier líkɪ: 'about, may be, for instance' *ligii* explains that there is never a connective after the coordinator ?O: 'or' oo (5.17.B.) as there is after the coordinator qan 'and' *gan* (5.17.A.):

- qán qan=ɬ číp      'wood and bone'

wood and=NC bone      *gan ganhl ts'ip*

qán ?o: líkí: ćíp wood or maybe bone	'wood or bone' <i>gan oo ligii ts'ip</i>
• tip <u>Máry</u> qan=s [t] <u>Lúcy</u> DM.PL M. and=DC (DM) L.	'Mary and Lucy' <i>dip Mary <b>gans</b> Lucy</i>
(t) <u>Máry</u> ?o: líkí: t <u>Lúcy</u> DM.PL M. or maybe DM L.	'Mary or Lucy' <i>(t) Mary, oo ligii t Lucy</i>

### 6.3. POSTCLITICS.

These morphemes are suffixes which can be added to some of the constituents (varying with the actual postclitics) of the predicate phrase and do not affect its structure. However, sometimes their occurrence changes the phonological context and makes apparent the 3 suffix which is otherwise deleted in many contexts (4.3.B.). With postclitics beginning with vowels, the same morphophonemic rules apply as with other vowel-initial suffixes.

Most of the postclitics function as parts of groups and pairs, each of which has a particular pragmatic function. One group of postclitics has to do with the truth value of the information conveyed, another with its verifiability, another with its distance from the speaker, another deals with undesirable information. Within these categories, members of pairs have opposite meanings. Usually, only one postclitic is used in a clause, but occasionally there can be more than one, to express subtle shades of meaning and attitude.

The pragmatic function of the postclitics has to do with the context of the speech event as well as with the actual events it refers to. These are not purely formal grammatical matters, and the description of the meaning of the postclitics would be incomplete if it did not also take into account the relation between speaker and listener: sentences are not uttered in a void, but are addressed to at least one person (even if that person is oneself), and the feelings



and background knowledge of that person must be considered.

These morphemes then are indispensable to the fluent and idiomatic use of Nisgha, enabling the speaker to emphasize his role as conversational partner, narrator or relator, and to make clear to others in what manner his words are to be taken. On the other hand, they can be very difficult for the analyst to elicit and to translate: translation of English sentences into Nisgha often leaves them out altogether, while translation from Nisgha of sentences containing some of the postclitics is often very awkward and inadequate,<sup>7</sup> since the same attitudes are expressed in English by a variety of means ranging from tone of voice to elaborate circumlocutions.

6.3.A. Truth value of the information: Two pairs of postclitics, Interrogative/Affirmative and Dubitative/Assertive, have to do with the truth value of the information. The relation between speaker's and listener's knowledge of this information is shown in the following chart:

Speaker \ Listener	knows	doesn't know
should know	==əs[ɬ] AFFIRMATIVE ... <i>(y)is</i>	==a: INTERROGATIVE ... <i>(y)a</i>
doesn't know	==a? ASSERTIVE ... <i>(y)a'a</i>	==[ə]ma? DUBITATIVE ... <i>(y)ima'a</i>

6.3.A.1. The pair ==a: INTERROGATIVE ...(*y*)a / ==əs[t] AFFIRMATIVE ...(*y*)is:

These postclitics normally occur at the end of the sentence, and may be followed only by a term of address. With this pair, the speaker seeks to establish a shared frame of reference with the listener, who is expected to know the truth about a statement. The INTERROGATIVE postclitic ==a ...(*y*)a indicates the attitude: "I don't know the truth about ..., but I expect you do," while the AFFIRMATIVE postclitic ==əs[t] ...(*y*)is indicates: "This is true, and we should both agree on it." As much as with the truth value of the information conveyed, then, these two postclitics have to do with the interaction between speaker and listener.

6.3.A.1.a. The INTERROGATIVE ==a: ...(*y*)a: (...*ya* after vowel, alternant ...*i* after demonstrative):

A yes/no question ends in the Interrogative postclitic ==a: ...(*y*)a. Such a question may be in the form of a predicate-focused clause:

- [t]ná:t kùn==i                      Who's that? (lit. is that Somebody?)  
 [DM] who DM this==Q                (*T*) *naa tguni?*
- ní:n==a: Màry                      Is that you, Mary?  
 you==QM.                                *Niinə, Mary?*
- sí:pk<sup>W</sup> ñì:n==a:                      You were sick?  
 sick you==Q                              *Siipkw ñiinə?*
- lu:=má:n=† kò:fi==(y)a:            Any coffee left? (lit. ... in [the pot])  
 in=remain=NC coffee==Q              *Luumaanhl koofiya?*
- wá-(y)ə-n=† antitá:la-ý==a:        You found my wallet/purse?  
 find.s.-CTL-2S=NC purse-1S==Q      *Wáyinhl andidaaláyə?*

- $timpax=máq-T-\text{ə}-\acute{y}\acute{n}i\ n==a$ : You want a ride up?  
FUT uphill=put.s.-DEF-CTL-1S you==Q *Dim bagmakdiy ñiin?*
- $?akú=†ki)kíp-\text{ə}-n-\acute{q}almós==a$ : What are you eating? [is it] crab?  
what=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-2S- crab=Q *Aguhl gigibin? k'almoosa?*

But it is more polite to frame a yes/no question negatively (5.13.A.4.):

- $ni=†\acute{s}ipk^W-n==a$ : Were you sick?  
not=NC sick-2S==Q You were not sick, by any chance?  
*Niihl siipgwin?*
- $ni:mə\acute{w}á-(t)=†?antitá:la-\acute{y}==a$ : Did you find my wallet/purse?  
find.s.-CTL-2S=NC purse-1S==Q You haven't found my wallet, by  
any chance?  
*Nii mi wahl andidaalaya?*
- $ni=†?ám-(t)=†timpax=máxk^W-\acute{y}\acute{l}ò:-n==a$ :  
not=NC good-(3) =NC FUT uphill=ride-1S IND-2S==Q  
Can you give me a ride up?  
Can I ride up with you?  
*Niihl aamhl dim bagmaxgwiy loon?*

In either/or questions, the postclitic occurs only at the end of the first clause:

- $†ku\acute{k}át=††ku\acute{p}è:pi:==(y)a$ : Is the baby a boy...  
little man=NC little baby==Q *Hlgu gathl hlgu beebiiya...*  
 $?o:\acute{c}ə\acute{l}iki:†ku\acute{h}anáq-t$  ... or [is it] a girl? (lit. or maybe it is a girl)  
or IRR maybe little woman-3 *... oo ji ligii hlgu hanak't?*

6.3.A.1.b. The AFFIRMATIVE postclitic ==əs[t]... (y)is: (final /t/ is old or very formal; ...*(y)is* after vowel, ...*as* after uvular, ...*s* after glottal stop plus copy vowel):

This postclitic is often used in declarative sentences as well as questions beginning with a question word. It seems to have a pragmatic function similar to that of English *why, so, sure, of course, Come on!* or French *eh bien* (or, more colloquially, *ben*), *donc*, *alors, voyons*, although the normal English equivalent would rather be a different intonation. In declarative sentences it states a fact presumably already known to the listener. In questions, it seems to express the surprise or at least the interest (friendly or otherwise) of the speaker: such questions without the postclitic sound definitely more neutral, colder. In both cases it seems to affirm the existence of a common ground between speaker and listener.

1. In questions:

- ?akú=†ci)cáp-ə-n==əs[t] (Hey/Well/So) what are you doing?  
what=NC ASP)make.s.-CTL-2S==... *Aguhl jijabinis?*  
(Fr. Qu'est-ce que tu fais donc?)
- ?akú=† tim ti: kík<sup>W</sup>-ə-n==əst (So) what do you want to buy?  
what=NC FUT INTS buy.s.-CTL-2S==... (195.15-196.1)  
*Aguhl dim dii giigwinist?*  
(Fr. Alors, qu'est-ce que tu veux acheter?)
- ?akúməqanháks-ý==əs[t] (Hey) why do you call me names? (118.2)  
what 2E why instuls.s.-1S==... *Agu ma gan haksíyis?*  
(Fr. Mais pourquoi donc m'insultes-tu?)

2. In answers and comments: ...*(y)is* is used when the speaker expects that the listener is (or will very shortly be) in a position to know the truth ('Come on, I shouldn't have to tell you this, we both know it), so that the statement is not intended to present new information but to reaffirm known information.

- [t]ná: t kùst==i - [t]Máry==(y)əs[t] Who's that? - Why, it's Mary!  
[DM] who DM that==Q - [DM] M.==... *Naa tigusdi? - Maryis!*

- ʔakú=ʔki)kíp-ə-n==əs[t] (Hey/Well/So) what are you eating?  
 what=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-2S==... *Aguhl gigibinis?*  
 (Fr. Ben, qu'est-ce que tu manges?)
  
- ǵalmós==əs[t] - Why, crab of course! (can't you tell?)  
 crab==... - *K'almostis!*  
 (Fr. Ben, du crabe!)
  
- qaltál==əs[t] (Hey) too loud! (and you should know it)  
 too loud==... *Gal dalis!*
  
- ǵax<sup>W</sup> ñi.n==əs[t] (Well,) you are really something!  
 considerable you==... *Ts'axw ñiinis!*  
 (Fr. Toi alors! tu exagères!)
  
- ʔa: xstá:-n=əst wək-ý ʔi: kát (Well/So) you've won, brother Giant!  
 now win-2S==... M's brother-1S big man (20.13)  
*Hlaa xsdaanist, wagiý ʔii Gat!*  
 (Fr. Tu as donc gagné, ...)

3. Requests: the postclitic is often used to indicate that the listener should have thought of doing the suggested action:

- cə́mál-ə-n=ʔkútáć-n==əs[t] (Come on,) button your coat!  
 IRR button.s.-CTL-2S=NC coat-2S==... *Ji málinh! k'udats'inis!*  
 (Fr. Boutonne donc ton manteau!)
  
- sim simíʔ-[t]=[ʔ]lák<sup>W</sup>==əs[t] (Come on,) {all of you}, light the fire!  
 2E.PL light.s.-[3]=[NC] firewood==... (130.8-9) *Sim simih! lagwist!*  
 (Fr. Allumez donc le feu!)
  
- simcaqam=máq-T-[t]=ʔkè:k<sup>W</sup>-T-[t]=ʔanwín-sim==əs[t]lò:-ý<sup>9</sup>  
 2E.PL shoreward=put.s.-DEF-[3]=NC one[fish]-DEF-[3]=NC what.o's.got==... IND-1S

(Hey), throw one [of your fish] ashore for me! (16.3-4)

*Sim jagammagahl k'eegwihl anwinsiḡist looy!*

(Fr. Jetez-en donc un sur la berge, pour moi!)

- kiló=ḡix)sám̄aq-sim̄==əstʔa=ḡta hisqaʔáqs-sim̄==əst

Don't-NC PL)keep.mouth.shut-2P==... PREP=NC when laugh.PL-2P==...

(Come on,) don't keep your mouths shut when you laugh! (84.5-6)

*Gilohl sixsám̄aksim̄ist, ahl daa hisga'aaksisim̄ist!*

(Fr. Mais ne gardez donc pas la bouche fermée quand vous riez, voyons!)

### 6.3.A.2. The pair ==aʔ ASSERTIVE ... (y)a'a / ==[ə]maʔ DUBITATIVE ... (y)ima'a:

These two postclitics are suffixed to the first contentive word or phrase of the sentence, which may be the predicate, an auxiliary or negative verb, or a covused element such as a question word.

With this pair, the speaker is conveying information of his own, but does not assume any relevant knowledge on the part of the listener: the ASSERTIVE postclitic ==aʔ... (y)a'a indicates the attitude: 'I know for a fact that this is true,' while the DUBITATIVE postclitic ==[ə]maʔ(y)ima'a indicates: "This is probably true, I wonder whether it is really true."<sup>10</sup>

#### 6.3.A.2.a. The ASSERTIVE postclitic ==aʔ ... (y)a'a:

The postclitic ==aʔ... (y)a'a indicates that the speaker can vouch for the truth of the utterance, even against his own or others' expectations. It is used for making startling, unexpected announcements:

- [t]q̄an=nóʔ=~~aʔ~~ḡptòʔ-n      Your door is unlocked!  
ajar=hole==...=NCdoor-2S      (I bet you didn't know)  
*K'anno'a'ahl p̄do'on!*

- ʔa: tük<sup>W</sup>sk<sup>W</sup>-m+lák<sup>W</sup>-m̄==aʔ We're out of firewood!  
now run.out-ATTR+firewood==... *Hlaa dukwsgum-lagum̄'a!*
- ʔáx<sup>W</sup>==aʔ *Totally awesome!* (late 1980's  
considerable==... expression) *Ts'arw̄'a!*
- ʔa: hux<sup>W</sup> nít==aʔ=ʔ hu)wíl-(ə)t So that was him again! [in disguise,  
now again him==...=NC ASP)be-REL but there is no doubt about it] (27.4)  
*Hlaa huxw nida'ahl huwilit!*

This postclitic can be used with any predicate, including auxiliary and negative verbs:

- yùk<sup>W</sup>==aʔ=ʔ má:tim It's snowing! (believe it or not!)  
PROG==...=NC snowing *Yugw̄'ahl maadim!*  
(Fr. Mais il neige!)
- ní==(y)aʔ=ʔ tim ti: n̄úw̄ -n==əs[t] Of course you are not going to die!  
not==...=NCFUT INTS dead-2S==AFF *Niyȳ'ahl dim dii n̄úw̄inis!*  
(Fr. Mais je t'assure que tu ne vas pas mourir!)

In Boas, the Assertive postclitic is sometimes followed by the Affirmative postclitic:

- sim(h)ú-t==aʔ==əst He is telling the truth! (29.13)  
correct-3==...=AFF *Simud̄'ast!*  
(Fr. En effet, il dit bien la vérité!)
- ksə=tə-páx-ə-[t]=s[t]txè:msim=ʔmáx==aʔ==əst  
out=DOMIN-run-CTL=DC(DM)T.=NC light?==...=AFF  
[Believe it or not,] T̄xeemsim has taken off with the light! (23.3)  
*Ksidibaayis T̄xeemsimhl máx'aast!*  
(Fr. Ça alors, T̄xeemsim est parti en emportant la lumière!)

6.3.A.2.b. The DUBITATIVE postclitic ==[ə]maʔ ...*(y)ima'a* : (present-day usually ...*ima'a*/...*ama'a* after consonant, ...*yima'a* after vowel; Boas usually has just ...*ma'a*).

The use of this postclitic in a declarative sentence means that the speaker thinks that what he says could be true on the basis of what he knows or can infer, but does not want to commit himself as he could be proved wrong. Conditions of occurrence parallel that of the Assertive postclitic ==aʔ ...*(y)a'a* (6.3.A.2.a.).

- yùk<sup>W</sup>==əmaʔ† hay wís kinqùlx It's probably raining/I wonder if  
 PROG==...=NC raining Kincolith it's raining ... in Kincolith.  
*Yugwima'ahl haywis Gingolx.*
- ní==*(y)*əmaʔ† tim hay wís It's probably not going to rain.  
 PROG==...=NC FUT raining *Niiyima'ahl dim haywis.*
- kinqùlx==əmaʔwil pák<sup>W</sup>-tít I wonder if they are from Kincolith.  
 Kincolith==...=where come.from-3P *Gingolxima'a wil bakwdit.*
- wilá:x-ə-t==əmaʔ=s [t] ničíč-ý  
 know.s.-CTL-3==... =DC [DM grandmother-1S  
 I wonder if my grandmother knows it/him/her.  
 My grandmother probably knows it/him/her.  
*Wilaayidima'as nits'iits'iy.*
- hílt==əmaʔ† háx-[t]=s tip kùst ?a nə tim kíp-t  
 many==...=NC bait-[3]=DC DM.PL that PREP 1S.E FUT eat.s.-3  
 Those people probably have lots of bait, so I can eat it. (50.14)  
*Hildima'ahl háxs dip gust an(i) dim gipt.*

It is polite to use this postclitic when asking a question, since in doing so the speaker is only talking about himself and does not imply that he requires an



answer: Nisgha people usually use 'I wonder' as the English equivalent of this postclitic in a question.

- ?akú==(y)əmaʔ† tim cáp-ə-ý I am wondering what to do.  
what==...=NCFUT make.s.-CTL-1S *Aguyima 'ahl dim jabiy?*
- ná==(y)əmaʔtip kùst==i I am wondering who those people are.  
who==... DM.PL that==QU Who are those people, I wonder?  
Who can they be?  
*Naayima 'a dip gusdi?*

The addressee may be wondering the same thing, and reply:

- ?akú==(y)əmaʔ I wonder [what you could do].  
what==... *Aguyima 'a.*
- ná==(y)əmaʔ I wonder [who they are].  
what==... *Naayima 'a.*

For the same reason, this postclitic is used in very polite requests:

- ni:† ?á:m-t==əmaʔ† timcaqa=máxk<sup>W</sup>-ý lò:-sim==a  
not-NC good-3==...=NCFUT across=ride-1S IND-2P==QU  
Would it be all right for me to go across with you [in your boat]?  
*Nihl aamdima 'ahl dim jagamaxgwiý loosiŋa?*

6.3.B. Unverifiable information: the pair ==qat -gat / ==kin -gin: These two postclitics indicate that the information cannot be verified. With ==qat ...-gat the speaker states that it comes from others; with ==kin ...-gin, that the evidence used to be available and no longer is.

6.3.B.1. The REPORTIVE postclitic ==qat-gat: (the final /t/ is deleted obligatorily before connective =S, less consistently before connective =†).

This postclitic occurs under the same syntactic conditions as the pair ==a? ...*(y)a'a* / ==[ə]ma? ...*(y)ima'a* (6.3.A.2.).

By using ==qat ...-gat the speaker disclaims responsibility for the truth of the utterance, because he is only reporting information originating with others.

- sípk<sup>W</sup>==qat t Màry  
sick==... DM M.                      I hear Mary is sick.  
*Siipkw-gat t Mary.*
  
- lílkit==qat[ɬ]† kipù:  
feast==... =NC wolf                      It seems the wolves held a feast (83.1).  
*Lilgit-gahl gibuu.*
  
- tim bíngo-ti==qat cə̀ta:yúwín  
FUT bingo-IMPS==... IRR tonight                      I hear there's going to be bingo tonight.  
*Dim bingodii-gat t'aayuwín.*
  
- nákw==qat[ɬ]† sípk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=s[t]Màry  
sick==...=NC sick-[3]=DC[DM] M.                      I hear Mary was sick a long time.  
*Nakw-ga(t)hl siipkws Mary.*
  
- sílk<sup>W</sup>==qat[ɬ]† wila: páʔask<sup>W</sup> kinqùlxkàxk<sup>W</sup>  
awful==...=NC how wind Kincolith last.night                      I hear there was a terrible storm in Kincolith last night.  
*Silkw-ga(t)hl wilaa ba'askw Gingolx gaxkw.*

Using ==qat ...-gat in questions means that the speaker is only asking about a report, not about the truth of an event. The reply may also include the postclitic (cf. with ==[ə]ma? ...*(y)ima'a* above):

- ʔakút(ə)-yá==qat t Màry  
what 3E-say==... DM M.                      What's Mary supposed to have said?  
*Agu diya-gat t Mary?*

Order and instructions emanating from legitimate authority are reported using this postclitic:

- cəkaxkú==qat[ɬ]=† tim qa-txó:ʔ-m̄      When did they say we' get paid?  
IRR when==... =NC FUT PL-paid-1P                      *Ji gaxgu-ga(t)hl dim gatxoo'om̄?*
- qanútk<sup>W</sup> t kùn==qat                      - They said this week.  
week DM this==...                                      *Ganuutkw tgun-gat.*

In the Boas stories, the postclitic is characteristic of the speech of underlings, who only report (or sometimes pretend to report) their masters' words:

- cəlúk<sup>W</sup>==qat n̄isim̄ cəta:†àk<sup>W</sup>  
IRR move==... you.PL IRR tomorrow  
I am supposed to tell you [the whole village] to please move tomorrow (37.9-10).  
*Ji lukw-gat n̄isim̄ ji t'aahlakw.*
- ní==qat-ki:-ti:-tk<sup>W</sup>i x kip-[t]=† simʔò:kit t kùn=† ʔanwín-n  
not==...-INTS-INTS-3E always.like.to eat.s.PL-[3]=NC chief DM this=NC what.o's.got-2S  
I am told this chief is not at all keen to eat that stuff. (40.6-7).  
*Nii-gat-gidiit gwiix giphl sim'oojit tgunhl anwinin.*

6.3.B.2. The postclitic ==k̄in -gin: It is more difficult to give a label to this postclitic, which is also less commonly used, so that information is fragmentary. It seems to indicate that the information used to be available to the speaker and should still be but is not.

- n̄isim̄ tʔan tóq-[t]=† txúx==k̄in==a:  
you.PL 3E REL.E take.s.PL-[3]=NC halibut==...==Q  
Was it you who took the halibut [that were here a moment ago]? (113.8.)  
*N̄isim̄ t an dokhl txox-gina?*

- ʔakù=ʔ wá-t==kín                      Now what was that word? [I forget]  
what=NC name-3==...                      *Aguhl wat-gin?*

This postclitic may be losing ground to ==kí: DISTAL -gi (6.3.C.2.).

### 6.3.C. Physical distance: the pair ==sa PROXIMAL -sa / ==kí: DISTAL -gi:

The two postclitics ==sa -sa and ==kí: -gi refer to the speaker's physical distance (in time or space) to what he is talking about, but physical distance can also imply emotional distance. These postclitics are usually attached to a nominal in the clause, most often the last one. If there is no nominal (e.g. if there is no A-adjunct), they are attached to the predicate. In at least one case the Distal postclitic ==kí: -gi has become part of a noun-phrase:

- |                     |                                   |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| simʔò:kítlaxhá==kí: | 'God' (lit. the chief in the sky) |
| chief sky==...'     | <i>Sim'oogit laxhagi</i>          |

6.3.C.1. The PROXIMAL postclitic ==sa -sa: This postclitic indicates that the topic of conversation is physically close to the speaker, and often emotionally close as well:

- ʔakú=ʔ wà-[t]=s[t]kún==sa    What is this [e.g. that I hold in my hand]?  
what=NC name-{3}=DC [DM] this==...                      *Aguhl was gun-sa?*
- lipcáp-ə-ý==sa                      [Look at this] I made it myself.  
self make.s.-CTL-1S==...                      *Lip jabiy-sa.*
- ʔa: sim kámk-[t]=ʔ laxhá==sa    This weather is really nice and warm.  
now really hot-{3}=NC sky==...                      *Hlaa sim gamkhl laxha-sa.*
- káʔ-[t]=ʔ anhè:-[t]=ʔ qá:q ʔa=ʔ ké:w==sa  
see.s.-{3}=NC saying-{3}=NC raven PREP=NC on.beach==...

Go see what the raven is cawing about on the beach! (151.13-14)

*Ga'ahl anheehl gaak ahl geew-sa!*

- *Wí txúx==sa*

- It's a big halibut! (175.11)

big halibut==...

*Wíi tlox-sa!*

- *ni=† čín-[t]=s [t] ká†=hè:tk<sup>W</sup>-m+qísimq ?a=† čim-wíl p==a:*  
not=NC enter-{3}=DC [DM] sideways=heading-ATTR+labret PREP=NC in-house==Q  
Did Labret-sticking-out-on-one-side come into the house, by any chance?  
(191.12-13) *Niihl ts'ins K'aahheetgum-K'esimk ahl ts'im wilba?*

- *čín==sa - čín==sa*

- Yes, she did, and she is right here!

enter==... - enter==...

(191.14) *Ts'in-sa! Ts'in-sa!*

6.3.C.2. The DISTAL postclitic ==kī: -gi: This postclitic indicates that the topic of conversation is remote from the speaker in place or time or both:

- *kaxkú==kī:* When was it?  
when?==... *Gaxgu-gi?*
- *lipcáp-ə-ý==kī:* I [had] made it myself [but I don't have  
when?==... it any more]  
*Lip jabiy-gi.*
- *wí:sim?ó:kitt nipìp-t==kī:* H. uncle was a great chief [in a story]/  
big chief DM maternal.uncle-3==... H. uncle used to be a great chief [but is  
dead now] /H. uncle [who lives far  
away] is a great chief.  
*Wíi sim'oogit t nibipt-gi.*
- *?ató? - sim ká?-[t]=† †kú:†k<sup>W</sup>-ý==kī:* Go see my son [who is far away  
Gp! - 2E.PL see.s.-{3}=NC child-1S==... and may be dead]! (180.7-8)  
*Ado'o, sim ga'ahl hlguahlgwiý-gi.*



something that has already happened: 'It was nobody's fault, it could not be prevented.'

6.3.D.1.a. The MINATORY postclitic ==**kiŷ**-*giŷ*: The meaning of this postclitic is 'Careful, or ...; I/you/we wouldn't want this to happen, but I won't be responsible if it does.' The postclitic is usually affixed to a focused predicate. Even though the event talked about hasn't happened yet, the future particle (which would suggest that it will definitely happen) is never used.<sup>10</sup>

- **tik<sup>W</sup>ántk<sup>W</sup>==kiŷ** ñ:n                      Careful, or you'll fall!/You're going to fall!  
fall==... you                                      *T'igwantkw-giŷ ñiin!*
  
- **kúk<sup>W</sup>sk<sup>W</sup>==kiŷ** t pè:pi.                      [Ssh!] Baby is going to wake up!  
wake.up==... DM Baby                                      *Gyukwskw-giŷ t Beebii!*
  
- **ñi.hít<sup>W</sup>-ə-ŷ==kiŷ**=t ʔasáy-n              Careful, or I'll step on your foot!  
step.on.s.-CTL-1S==...=NC foot-2S                                      *Niihitgwiŷ-giŷhl asáyin!*
  
- **kiló - kiló - naḡná-(y)ə-t==kiŷ** ʔa=t čim-wilp  
Don't - Don't - hear.s.-CTL-3==... PREP=NC in-house  
Don't [cry]! Don't! They'll hear it in the house! (91.10-11)  
*Gilo! Gilo! Naḡnayit-giŷ ahl ts'im wilp!*
  
- **yác-ə-ŷ==kiŷ** ñ:n                              Careful, or I could strike you!  
strike.s.-CTL-1S==... you                                      [so get out of my way!] (Barbeau)<sup>11</sup>  
*Yajiŷ-giŷ ñiin!*
  
- **ʔató?-yáltk<sup>W</sup>-n - cák<sup>W</sup>-T-ə-ŷ==kiŷ** ñ:n  
Go! - return-2S - kill.s.-DEF-CTL-1S==... you  
Go back, or I'll kill you! [as I am going berserk!] (210.1)  
*Ado'o, yaltgwin, jakwdiy-giŷ ñiin!*

- pí:k<sup>W</sup>-n - xhà? - hux<sup>W</sup> sitóq-ə-n=**kiỵ** ñì.ý  
lie-2S - slave - again deceive.s-CTL-2S==... me

You're lying, you slave! You're not going to fool me! [you might if I was not careful] (210.1)

*Biikw'in, xha'a! Huxw sidoogan-giỵ ñiiỵ!*

6.3.D.1.b. The COMMISERATIVE postclitic ==k<sup>W</sup>a: -g<sup>W</sup>aa: This postclitic indicates that in the speaker's opinion the event could not have been prevented by any amount of effort, so that the victim (who may be the speaker) is worthy of commiseration.

- ?ayawá:=† wíl-n==**k<sup>W</sup>a:**      Alas! There was nothing you could do!  
alas!=NC act-2S==...      *Ayawaahl wílin-g<sup>W</sup>aa!*
- ?ayawá:=† qatà:n-ý==**k<sup>W</sup>a:**      Alas! My poor brother-in-law [who died  
alas!=NC brother.in.law-1S==...      in an 'accident']! (64.2.)  
*Ayawaahl k'ahlaaniỵ-g<sup>W</sup>aa!*
- ñiti:t t ?an wilá:k<sup>W</sup>-T-ý==**k<sup>W</sup>a:**      They did it to me! (it was their fault,  
them 3E REL E treat.s.-DEF-1S==...      I am blameless)  
*Ñidiit an wilaakwdiỵ-g<sup>W</sup>aa!*

6.3.D.2. Lack of personal interest in the information: the pair ==Sín -sín and ==Sít -sít:

This pair contrasts in meaning with the pair ==əS[t] -(y)is/ ==a -(y)a (6.3.A.) but its use does not seem to be as widespread. The two postclitics ==Sín -sín and ==Sít -sít seem to convey the attitude: 'This is a matter that doesn't really concern me, I would rather not deal with this, but it is my duty to do so.' With the postclitic ==Sín -sín, the speaker expressed his own reaction; with the postclitic ==Sít -sít, the speaker takes it upon himself to inform the listener, for the latter's sake.

In older texts, these two postclitics are often followed by a suffix -a -a which it



is not always possible to analyze as the INTERROGATIVE postclitic ==a: -(y)a, but which is reminiscent of the suffix on the more formal alternants of demonstratives (5.7).

6.3.D.2.a. The postclitic ==SIN -sin: This postclitic seems to be used mostly with questions. The attitude it expresses seems to be: 'This is something that I am not interested in, that I would rather not hear about, but it looks like I have to deal with it.' This attitude can be real, or feigned. In most cases the speaker is responding to information received with a question of his own: implied is 'What is it to me? Why should I be concerned?'

- ?akú=ɬ wíl-t==SIN                      So what's s/he done? [something  
what=NCact-3==...                      disgraceful no doubt]  
*Aguhl wílt-sin?*
- ?akú=ɬ hí-t==SIN - ɬa hux<sup>W</sup> ní[t]=ɬ wí: [t] tɬè:msim  
what=NC say-3==... - now again that's=NC big [DM]T.  
So what did he say [this time]? That's big Tɬeemsim [the notorious liar] all over  
again! (23.9-10)                      *Aguhl hí-t-sin? Hlaa huxw níhl wíi t Tɬeemsim!*

The question is often a rhetorical one which relieves the speaker's feelings of annoyance and worry:

- ?akùñə-yáñi:ỵ==SIN                      Oh no, what have I said!  
what 1S.E-say me==...                      *Agu niya níiy-sin?*
- ?akùqantá:wít-t==SIN                      Why did s/he have to go? (e.g. Is s/he  
what why leave-3==...                      up to no good? Why did s/he die? etc.)  
*Agu gan daawíhlt-sin?*

In a well-known story (sqawó *Sgawó*, 222), a marriageable girl is being advertised; one after the other, potential suitors offer themselves, all pronouncing the same formula. Their use of the postclitic conveys a lack of

interest which is feigned rather than real:

- ni=† ní.ý tim-t ?an násk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† †kù †k<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† hé-(ə)t==**sin**==a  
not=NC me FUT-3E REL.E marry.s.-[3]=NC child-[3]=NC say-REL==...==Q

I wouldn't be the one called upon to marry the daughter of the one who speaks, by any chance [not that it matters to me]? (222)

*Niihl ní.ý dimt an náskwhl hlguuhkwahl heet-sina?*

6.3.D.2.b. The postclitic ==Si† -sihl/: This postclitic is used to inform the listener that he is in an embarrassing situation. The meaning is: 'Sorry, excuse me, but ...; this is none of my business, but it is something you should know and I am only mentioning it for your sake,' or, to use Victorian phraseology: 'with all due respect, it is my painful duty to inform you that ...' The few examples where it is found in Boas show it in contrast with ==Siñ -sina. Both postclitics seem to have their alternate forms ending in -a -a.

A trick has been played on an unsuspecting chief while he slept; the trickster wakes him up with:

- simʔó.kit-yùk<sup>W</sup> 12==aʔ=† si.ppán-n==**si†a**  
chief - PROG==ASST=NC bellyache-2S==...

Chief, I am sorry, but you just had a bellyache [and soiled your bed] (25.9)

*Sim'oogit, yugwa'ahl siipbaninsihla!*

The chief's response to this unwelcome bit of information is a question ending in ==Siñ -sina:

- ʔo: - ntá wil wíl-[t]=† ?anhé:-n==**sina** Oh no, how could this happen?  
Oh - which.way SUB be/act-[3]-NC saying-2S==... (25.10-11)

*Oo, nda wil wihl anheen-sina?*

and the trickster's confirming statement again includes ==Si† -sihl/:

- yùk<sup>W</sup> 12==a?=**†** si:ppán-n ?a=**†** hu)wóq-n==**si†a**

PROG==ASST=NC bellyache-2S PREP=NC ASP)sleep-2S==...

I am very sorry, but you did have a bellyache in your sleep [and soiled your bed]

(25.11)

*Yugwa'ahl siipbanin ahl huwogan-sihla!*

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

- <sup>1</sup> Following recent usage among Tsimshianists, the term *proclitic* used by Boas (1911:298) for all pre-predicate morphemes has been retained in this study for a kind of circumstantial prefix with definable characteristics. Those morphemes, not being true clitics, are not described in this section but in 7.1.A. (cf. note 6).
- <sup>2</sup> For more details, see Tarpent 1986.
- <sup>3</sup> Rigsby p.c.
- <sup>4</sup> The use of *t* before proper names has become somewhat redundant since the adoption of Christian names, which have no meaning and are clearly differentiated from ordinary words. The old native names had concrete meanings and it was important to differentiate the naming use from the common use. For instance, McCullagh tells an anecdote (quoted in Moeran and Raunet) about a man named *t'Gak*, probably *t qá:q* 'Raven' *t Gaak*. Other names he mentions do not have the marker.
- <sup>5</sup> With a limited corpus of examples, the non-occurrence of *t* after =s and initially may give the superficial impression that *t* is a connective in complementary distribution with =s (e.g. in the first version of Tarpent 1981a). Consideration of a wider range of examples leaves no doubt that *t* and *tip dip* are Determinate Markers, morphemes of a different kind.
- <sup>6</sup> Boas 1911 used this term for a wider range of morphemes, including the Attributive suffix -*m*. Modern Tsimshianists (e.g. Rigsby, Dunn) use it only for the pre-nominal particles described here.
- <sup>7</sup> cf. explaining the use of Canadian *eh*, or of words such as *Well!* and *So!* in colloquial English, or *Eh bien* (or *ben*) and *donc* in colloquial French.
- <sup>8</sup> Because the postclitic is often used when the speaker refers to concrete evidence that is equally available to the listener (or is assumed to be so), the meaning can be misinterpreted as demonstrative by a superficial observer, cf. the gloss given by Boas (1911:349): 'presence and nearness.'
- <sup>9</sup> In this example from Boas, the postclitic is added to the last stressed word of the sentence. In modern usage it would be more likely to be added to the very last word.
- <sup>10</sup> Compare with the use of the modifier *sa:* *saa* (5.15.B.30.) which also presents

an undesirable potential event, but without suggesting responsibility for preventing it.

<sup>11</sup> Barbeau translates 'I strike thee' which ignores the meaning of the postclitic.

<sup>12</sup> Here the auxiliary **yuk**▼ *yukw* has the Perfective meaning 'just happened' which it sometimes has in Boas, rather than its modern Progressive meaning 'be ...ing' (see 5.12.A., 5.12.A.4.).

## CHAPTER 7: AFFIXES

Affixes can be divided into those preceding the stem (proclitics and prefixes), those following the stem (suffixes), and fixed combinations of the two, here called *frames*.

### 7.1. Affixes preceding the stem:

Two kinds of affixes can precede the stem: prefixes and 'proclitics'. The latter are a kind of lexical prefix rather than a clitic; however, the term *proclitic* used by Boas (1911:398ff.) has been retained here (although Boas' term covers a wider range of morphemes). Prefixes determine the class membership of a word, or are affixed to words having a given class membership, as opposed to proclitics, which have much greater freedom of occurrence. Removing a prefix from a word in context would often result in an ungrammatical utterance as well as in semantic incongruity; in most cases, removing the proclitic alone would only alter the semantics.

Both prefixes and proclitics are affected phonologically by their proximity to the predicate head. The rules which affect reduplicated syllables (Vowel insertion and/or specification, Velar fricativization or vocalization, Affricate simplification and deglottalization) all occur: this is shown positively in some cases where a prefix or proclitic is relatable to a free morpheme, and also negatively since neither prefixes nor proclitics end in Velar stops, in affricates or in glottalized segments.

#### 7.1.A. Proclitics:

A Proclitic is a kind of prefix with circumstantial meaning, which does not affect the grammatical status of the word it is attached to. The latter is usually a verb, and it is not uncommon to have two or even three of these morphemes before a verb, but proclitics also occur before nouns. They are not true clitics, but the term provides a convenient way of distinguishing them from the other

types of prefixes (see Prefixes, 7.1.B.). Like prefixes, proclitics are varied in their phonological structure: none of them ends in an affricate, a glottalized consonant or a Velar stop, which suggests that they obey widespread phonological rules of the language. Like the lexical prefixes, they are sometimes similar to existing lexical items in shape and meaning.

Nisgha proclitics are similar in meaning to English *in, out, up, down, away*, etc., although the semantic range seems to be wider. In English, most of these morphemes are only loosely bonded to the verb, and have a certain freedom of movement, as in

*She put **on** her coat / She put her coat **on**.*

They usually appear after the verb:

*to run **out**, he ran **out***

but they can also be completely separate:

***Out** he ran. (but not: \***On** she put her coat.)*

A few can also be prefixed to the verb, to which they impart a different meaning and grammatical category; in this case the morpheme in question has absolutely no freedom of movement: the following examples have different meanings:

*She **outran** him = She ran him **out**.*

Similarly, in Nisgha there are degrees of bonding of the proclitic with the verb. Since proclitics always occur before the verb, never afterwards, proclitic movement is not an available device as it is in English. Instead, close bonding is achieved by a parasyntactic construction called here framing--using a suffix together with the proclitic (see Frames, 7.3.). Only loosely bonded proclitics are

considered in this section.

Proclitics can be so loosely bonded that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a given morpheme is a proclitic or a modifier (5.15.), but in general the following criteria apply:

- a. A modifier always precedes a proclitic;
- b. A proclitic is usually within the scope of aspectual reduplication (8.1.A.), a modifier never is, as in this example which contains both (reduplication occurs after the subordinator **q̣ay** 'still' *k'ay*, 5.16.B.9.):

- *q̣ay waqay tci)caqam=yú<sup>W</sup>-tit ?a=† kí:ks*  
 still far ASP)to.shore=move-3P PREP=NC place.facing.water  
 SUB MODIF RED)PROC=...

[While] they were approaching the shore, but were still far at sea...(160.10-11).

*K'ay wagayt j̣ijagamyukwdiit ahl giiks ...*

Reduplication of the proclitic is not always obligatory; sometimes the stem is reduplicated instead, usually with a meaning difference: compare: proclitic included:

... wil l)lu:=qác-[t]=† ?à:ks	... in which the water is/was
SUB ASP)in=be[liquid]-[3]=NC water	(e.g. in a pot, glass, etc.).
	... <i>wil llugatshtl aks.</i>

and: proclitic not included:

... wil lu:=q̣a)qác-[t]=† ?à:ks	... in which the water is/was
SUB in=ASP)be[liquid]-[3]=NC water	(e.g. in a lake, hole, etc.).
	... <i>wil luugagatshtl aks.</i>

However, plural reduplication does not usually include the proclitic:





ha-**ñi**:-pàx-ʔn-ʔsk<sup>W</sup>-m+áks 'eavestrough, drainpipe'  
 INSTR-on=run-CAUS-AP.I-ATTR+water *hañiiba'ansgum-aks*

Semantic categories represented by proclitics include location, motion and manner.

7.1.A.1. Location and Motion proclitics: It seems arbitrary to separate location and motion as many proclitics are used for both, especially when in combination. Many of these proclitics occur in pairs.

7.1.A.1.a. Use of location and motion proclitics: The locational complement which normally comes at the end of the clause (after the nominal Adjuncts to the pronominal arguments, 4.2.) gives a definite site for the location or motion indicated by the proclitic, which is part of the predicate.

7.1.A.1.a.1. With P<sub>A</sub>'s:

7.1.A.1.a.1.a. With intransitives:

Some proclitics are often associated with a specific locational prefix in the complement:

**ñi**:=yé: ... **lax**-mít 'to walk on ... the lava'  
 on=walk ... on-burn *ñiiyee ... lax mihl*

**ñi**:=tá: ... **lax**-qán 'to sit on ... a log'  
 on=sit ... on-log *ñiit'aa ... lax gan*

**lu**:=tá: ... **čim**-wílp 'to stay in ... the house'  
 in=sit ... in-house *luut'aa ... ts'im wilp*

others with adverbs with specific meaning:

**?ak<sup>W</sup>i:=tá:** ... **kálq** 'to sit ... outside'  
 outside=sit ... outside **sgvilit'aa ... galk**

**[t]q̄ali=máxkw** ... **kiké:nix** 'to ride ... upriver'  
 up.a.river=ride ... upriver **k'aliimaxkw ... gigeenix**

or with certain nouns with locational meaning:

**[t]k̄utku=páx** ... **tà:x-[t]=t̄hañiitxó:xkw**  
 around=run ... perimeter-[3]=NC table  
 'to run all around ... the table'  
**k'utk'ubax ... daaxhl hañiitxooxkw**

**laqaltip=skí** ... **tàx<sup>W</sup>-[t]=t̄ wílq** 'to be under ... the house'  
 under=lie ... underside-[3]=house **lagaldipsgi ... hlaxvhl wilq**

These proclitics can also be used in the absence of locational complements, in fact this use is very frequent; it is practically unknown for such complements to be used without a proclitic occurring on the verb.

7.1.A.1.a.1.b. In noun-phrases and compounds:

**lu:=sýè:n-[t]-t̄ čim-táx** 'the bottom of the lake'  
 in=bottom-[3]=NC in-lake **luusýeenhl ts'im t'ax**

**lu:=qakàmke-[t]=t̄ čim-wílq** 'the heat in the house'  
 in=heat-[3]=NC in-house **luugagamgihl tsim wilq**

**t̄ku=tà:x-[t]=t̄?antú:yin** '[around] the perimeter of the garden'  
 around=perimeter-[3]=NC garden **tk'udaaxhl anduuyin**

including nominal compounds:

<b>lu:=wíl-m+čim-ʔáks</b>	'water creature (amphibian, sea mammal, etc.)'
in=be-ATTR+in-water	
	<i>luuwilim ts'im aks</i>

The prefixation of a motion proclitic to a noun can give the latter adverbial meaning:

<b>[t]qali=łisims</b>	'[going] up the Nass river'
up.a.river=Nass.river	<i>k'aliłisims</i>
<b>qalksə=ptóʔ</b>	'in the doorway'
through=door	<i>qalksipdo'o</i>
<b>tip=qanéqs</b>	'on/down the steps'
downward=ladder, stairs	<i>t'ipganeeks</i>

#### 7.1.A.1.a.2. With P<sub>EA</sub>'s:

There is usually no locational prefix on the object noun.

<b>čilim=káʔ...=† wíl p</b>	'to look inside ... the house'
into=see.s. ...=NC house	<i>ts'ilimga'a ...hl wilp</i>
<b>lu:=káʔ...=† čál-[t]=† likitná:</b>	'to look into ... s.o.'s eyes'
in=see.s. ...=NC eyes-[3]=NC somebody	<i>luuga'a ...hl ts'alhl ligitnaa</i>
<b>caqa=kilá.ł...=† kát</b>	'to watch ... a man go across'
across=watch.s.in.motion ...=NC man	[the motion here is that of the eyes, which follow that of the Object of the verb] <i>jaqagilaal...hl gat</i>

7.1.A.1.b. List of location and motion proclitics: The following list does not claim to be complete, as there is enormous variation in the frequency of occurrence

of individual proclitics, and a few seem to be obsolete. No attempt has been made to follow a particular order, except that opposite members of pairs are usually given next to each other.

7.1.A.1.b.1. **lu:=** 'in, inside' (usually location, more rarely motion) *luu...*; probably the commonest proclitic.

**lu:=tá:** '(animate) to be in s.t., esp. to be in a house:  
...=sit, stay at home, or in jail' *luut'aa*

**lu:=skí** '(object) to be in s.t.; (person) to be in  
...=lie, motionless hospital' *luusgi*

**lu:=qó.ta** '(container) to be empty; (contents) to be  
...=all gone gone' *luugooda*

**lu:=tá.wít** 'to disappear in s.t.; esp. (sun) to set'  
...=leave, disappear *luudaawíhl*

**lu:=ʔá.caḡ** 'to fit in s.t.'  
...=reach, fit.s. *luu'ajaḡ*

This proclitic is often found in expressions referring to the heart as the seat of thoughts and emotions, as in:

**lu:=ʔá.m=í qò:t-ý** I am happy.  
...=good=NC heart-1S *luu'aamhl goodiy̆.*

It is also often found with other proclitics, e.g.

**lu:=típ=hítk<sup>W</sup>** 'to stand upright in a hole'  
...=downward=stand *luut'iphitkw*

**lu:=k̄iti:=hítk<sup>W</sup>**                      '(mechanism) to stop'  
 ...=stop.motion=stand                      *luugidiihitkw*

**lu:=caqa=t̄k̄u:páx**                      'to run around the house (= be very busy)'  
 ...=from.end.to.end=around=run                      *luujagatk'ubax*

See 7.1.A.1.c.9. for **lu:=pa[qa]yt** *luubayt*.

7.1.A.1.b.2. **ʔak<sup>W</sup>i:=** 'outside, at the side' (location) *agwi...*

(a) concrete meaning:

**ʔak<sup>W</sup>i:=kó:**                      'to be parked/moored outside'  
 ...=moored, parked                      *agwiigyoo*

**ʔak<sup>W</sup>i:=kálq**                      'just outside'  
 ...=outside                      *agwiigalk*

(b) figurative meaning:

**ʔak<sup>W</sup>i:=nipíp**                      'great-uncle (mother's maternal uncle)'  
 ...=maternal.uncle                      *agwiinibip*

7.1.A.1.b.3. **ksə=** 'out of s.t. [usually from the side]' *ksi.../ksa...* ; usually motion  
 (= homophonous prefixes, 7.1.B.2.b.3.d., 7.1.B.2.a.2.a.) (= čilim= 'into'  
*ts'ilim...* 7.1.A.1.b.4.; cf. also **t̄uk<sup>W</sup>s=** 'out of s.t.' *t'ukws...* 7.1.A.1.b.8.):

**ksə=káʔask<sup>W</sup>**                      'to look out (of a window, etc.)'  
 ...=look                      *ksiga'askw*

**ksə=hítk<sup>W</sup>**                      'to stick out'  
 ...=stand                      *ksihitkw*

**ksə=ʔís** 'to push s.t. out'  
...=push.s.

*ksit'is*

**ksə=ǰúc** 'to cut s.t. out'  
...=look

*ksak'ots*

7.1.A.1.b.4. **čilim=** 'into s.t. [house, etc., from the side: ]' *ts'ilim...*; motion (= **ksə=** 'out' *ksi.../ksa...* 7.1.A.1.b.3.) (cf. also **laqam=** 'into s.t.' *lagam...* 7.1.A.1.b.7.):

**čilim=káʔask<sup>W</sup>** 'to look in'  
...=look

*ts'ilimga'askw*

**čilim=ǰóʔ** 'to fetch s.t. inside'  
...=go.to.s.

*ts'ilimgo'o*

**čilim=ʔanó.ǪT** 'to allow s.o. inside'  
...=allow.s.

*ts'ilim'anool'-di*

7.1.A.1.b.5. **qalksə=** 'through s.t. [a hole, tunnel, difficult experience, etc.]' *galksi.../galksa...*; motion:

(a) concrete meaning:

**qalksə=káʔask<sup>W</sup>** 'to look through s.t. [e.g. with binoculars]'  
...=look

*galksiga'askw*

**qalksə=nóʔ** '(object) to have a hole through it'  
...=hole

*galksino'o*

**qalksə=k<sup>W</sup>Ǫák** '(garment, etc.) to be inside out'  
...=messed.up?

*galksikwhlak*

(b) figurative meaning:

**qalksə=ʔálkax** 'to speak through s.t. [a phone, C.B., etc.]  
 ...=talk *galksi'algaɣ*

**qalksə=ʔáqɬk<sup>W</sup>** 'to make it through [an illness, a course of  
 ...=succeed study, etc.]; to graduate'  
*galksi'akhkw*

7.1.A.1.b.6. [t]lqan= 'opening, ajar' (t)k'an...

[t]lqan=nóʔ ' (door, etc.) to be ajar, not locked'  
 ...=hole (t)k'anno'o

[t]lqan=tá:-tk<sup>W</sup> ' (sky) to clear'  
 ...=stay-MED (t)k'aat'aukw

7.1.A.1.b.7. laqam='into s.t. [at the top]' *lagam...* (\* t<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>W</sup>S= 'out of s.t. [from  
 the top] t'ukws..., 7.1.A.1.b.8.). ( cf. also čilim='into' ts'ilim... 7.1.A.1.b.4.)

(a) 'into s.t. , from the top', esp. into a movable object (container, boat);  
 hence also 'into a vehicle':

**laqam=páx** 'to go aboard, get into a car, etc.'  
 ...=run *lagambax*

**laqam=úx** 'to throw s.t. aboard, or into a container'  
 ...=throw.s. *lagam'ux*

(b) 'into the water'

**laqam=tá:** 'to sit in the water'  
 ...=sit *lagamt'aa*



- laqam**=halháitín 'to send s. spinning into the water'  
 ...=make.s.spin *laqamhalhalt'in*
- 7.1.A.1.b.8. **ṭuk<sup>W</sup>s**= 'out of s.t. [from the top], overboard' *t'ukws...* (= **laqam**= 'into s.t. [at the top]' *lagam...*, 7.1.A.1.b.7.). (cf. also **ksə**= 'out of s.t.' *ksi.../ksa...* 7.1.A.1.b.3.):
- ṭuk<sup>W</sup>s**=ṭik<sup>W</sup>ántk<sup>W</sup> 'to fall overboard'  
 ...=fall *t'ukwst'igwantkw*
- ṭuk<sup>W</sup>s**=kú.[t] 'to take s.t. out [of a container, boat, etc.]  
 ...=take.s. *t'ukwsguu(t)*
- ṭuk<sup>W</sup>s**=?úx 'to throw s. overboard'  
 ...=throw.s. *t'ukws'ux*
- 7.1.A.1.b.9. **ṅi**:= 'on s.t. horizontal' *ṅii...*; us. location, also figurative meaning; (= **laqaltip**= 'under s.t.' *lagaldip...* 7.1.A.1.b.10.):
- ṅi**:=tá 'to sit on s.t.'  
 ...=sit *ṅiit'aa*
- ṅi**:=yóxk<sup>W</sup> 'to go over s.t. (both concrete and figurative meanings)' *ṅiiyoxkw*  
 ...=follow.a.route
- ṅi**:=wá 'to come upon s.t.'  
 ...=reach,find.s. *ṅiiva*
- 7.1.A.1.b.10. **laqaltip**= 'under s.t. horizontal [but without contact] *lagaldip...*; location; (= **ṅi**:= 'on s.t. horizontal' *ṅii...* 7.1.A.1.b.9., cf. **luk<sup>W</sup>tə**= *lukwhli...* 7.1.A.11.b.66):

**laqaltip=tá:** 'to sit/be under s.t.'  
 ...=sit *lagaldipt'aa*

7.1.A.1.b.11. **kiltip=** 'under the bottom of s.t. [round]' *gildip...*; us. motion:

**kiltip=ʔúx** 'to upset s.t.'  
 ...=hit, throw s. *gildip-ux*

**kiltip=tálpiksk<sup>W</sup>** 'to hold on to the underside of s.t.' (e.g.  
 ...=crouch person in the water, holding on to a canoe  
 while hiding from its occupants)(Boas)  
*gildipdalbikskw*

**kiltip=yák<sup>W</sup>** 'round-bottomed cauldron'  
 ...=smooth *gildipyahlkw*

7.1.A.1.b.12. **ḿin=** 'upward [vertically]' *ḿin...*; motion: (= **ṭip=** 'downward'  
*t'ip...* 7.1.A.1.b.13.);

**ḿin=yé:** 'to go/walk up, esp. upstairs'  
 ...=go, walk *ḿinyee*

**ḿin=káʔask<sup>W</sup>** 'to look up (to the sky)'  
 ...=look *ḿinga'askw*

**ḿin=ńák<sup>W</sup>** '(tree, building, mountain) to be tall'  
 ...=long *ḿinńakw*

**ḿin=tə-tá:wíł** 'to take s. away into the sky'  
 ...=DOMIN-go.away *ḿindidaawihl*

7.1.A.1.b.13. **ṭip=** 'downward' *t'ip...*; motion; (= **ḿin=** 'upward' *ḿin...*,  
 7.1.A.1.b.12.);

<b>tip=yé:</b> ...=go, walk	'to go/walk down, esp. downstairs'	<i>t'ipyee</i>
<b>tip=tik<sup>W</sup>ántk<sup>W</sup></b> ...=fall	'to fall down'	<i>t'ipt'igwantkw</i>
<b>tip=ki)kíl</b> ...=ASP)one	'(leaves, snowflakes, etc.) to fall down one by one'	<i>t'ipgik'il</i>
<b>tip=qanéqs</b> ...=ladder	'on/down the stairs'	<i>t'ipganeeks</i>

7.1.A.1.b.14. **pax=** 'uphill' (esp. up the riverbank or beach up to the village, or up into the wooded mountains behind the village) *bax...* ; motion; (= **yáqa=** 'downhill' *yaga...*, 7.1.A.1.b.15.);

<b>pax=yé:</b> ...=go, walk	'to go/walk uphill, hike up'	<i>baxyee</i>
<b>pax=máqan</b> ...=give.ride.to.s.	'to give <u>s.o.</u> a ride up'	<i>baxmak'an</i>
<b>pax=yúk<sup>W</sup></b> ...=move	'to move uphill; (esp. water level, river tide) to rise'	<i>baxyukw</i>
<b>wil-pax=hat=hítk<sup>W</sup></b> where-...=along=stand	'slope, rollercoaster'	<i>wilbaxhahlhitkw</i>

7.1.A.1.b.15. **yáqa=** 'downhill' *yaga...* (esp. from the village down the riverbank or beach, or down from the mountains back to the village ); motion; (= **pax=** 'uphill' *bax...* 7.1.A.1.b.14.);

- ýaq̣a=yé:** 'to go/walk downhill'  
...=go, walk *ýagayee*
- ýaq̣a=yúk<sup>W</sup>** 'to move downhill; (esp. water level, river  
...=move tide) to fall, go down *ýagayukw*
- ýaq̣a-lilp̄in** 'to roll s.t. downhill'  
...=roll.s. *ýagalilp'in*
- 7.1.A.1.b.16. [t]q̣ali= 'up a river, upstream' (*t*)k'ali...; motion; (\*k̄isə= 'downstream' *gisi.../gisa...*, 7.1.A.1.b.17.);
- [t]q̣ali=yé:** 'to go/walk upriver; January'  
...=go, walk *k'aliyee*
- ti)tq̣ali=wáx** 'to be paddling up the river'  
...=paddle *dik'aliwaax*
- [t]q̣ali=máxk<sup>W</sup>** 'to ride in a boat up the river'  
...=ride *k'aliimaxkw*
- q̣ali=?áks** 'river'  
...=water *k'ali'aks*
- 7.1.A.1.b.17. k̄isə= 'downstream' *gisi.../gisa...*; motion; (\*[t]q̣ali= 'up a river, upstream' (*t*)k'ali... , 7.1.A.1.b.16.);
- k̄isə=yé:** 'to go/walk down the river'  
...=go, walk *gisiyee*
- k̄isə=?úlksk<sup>W</sup>** 'to drift down the river'  
...=drift *gisi'ulkskw*

**kisə=qal)qúl** '(water, stream) to run down'  
 ...=PL)water|run *gisagalgol*

7.1.A.1.b.18. **caqa=** 'from one end or side to the other', hence 'across/  
 crossing (esp. a river), affording passage' *jaga...*; motion or location; (cf.  
**Sqa=** 'across, barring passage' *sga...*, 7.1.A.1.b.19., **la:X=** 'at both ends'  
*laax...*, 7.1.A.1.b.20.):

**caqa=yé.** 'to go/walk across'  
 ...=go, walk *jagayee*

**caqa=hé:tk<sup>W</sup>** '(person, animal) to head across s.t.;'  
 ...=extend (object) to be [stretched, etc.], to extend,  
 across s.t.' *jagabeetkw*

**caqa=yóxk<sup>W</sup>** 'to cross on s.t., to follow s. across'  
 ...=follow s. *jagayoxkw*

**caqa=qané:qs** 'bridge'  
 ...=ladder *jagaganeeks*

7.1.A.1.b.19. **Sqa=** 'across, in the way, barring passage' *sga...*; motion or  
 location; (= **caqa=** 'across, affording passage' *jaga...*, 7.1.A.1.b.18.):

**sqa=hitk<sup>W</sup>** 'to stand in the way'  
 ...=stand *sgahitkw*

**sqa=pé:q̇** 'to stretch out one's arms to prevent s.  
 ...=stretch out.? from going through' *sgabeek'*

**sqa=yáq̇a?** 'theatre curtain'  
 ...=hanging *sgayak'a'a*

- kilò mæ cə sqa=sáx-[t]=t ptó? cəta: mə sqa=ták<sup>W</sup>-t  
don't 2ERG IRR ...=pull.s.-[3]=NC door if 2ERG ...=twist.s.-3

Don't pull the door shut if you lock it.

*Gilo mi ji sgasaxhl pdo'o jidaa mi sgal'akwt.*

7.1.A.1.b.20. **la:x=le:x** = 'equally at both ends: (a) location: on both sides, in both hands; (b) motion: back and forth' *laax*...; (cf. **caqa** = 'from one end or side to the other, across' *jaga*... , 7.1.A.1.b.18., **sta:x** = 'on one side only' *sdaax*... 7.1.A.1.b.64.):

(a) location:

**la:x=tax)tóq-T** 'to take things in each hand'  
...=PL)take.s.pl.-DEF *laaxdaaxdog-di*

**la:x=?álkax** 'to interpret (= talk on each side)'  
...=talk *laax'algaax*

(b) motion:

**la:x=yé:** 'to go/walk back and forth'  
...=go, walk *laaxyee*

**la:x=k<sup>W</sup>áciksk<sup>W</sup>** 'to rock back and forth'  
...=rocking *laaxkw'ajikskw*

**la:x=wilqá?-m+kát** 'to ferry people back and forth; ferry'  
...=transport-ATTR+man *laaxwik'a'am-gat*

**la:x=caqa=qó?** 'to cross back and forth to get s.'  
...=crossing-go.to.s. *laaxjagago'o*

7.A.1.b.21. **ḳa:ṭ**= 'pulling to one side, lopsided' *k'aahl...*

This proclitic begins with the element /ḳ/ which recurs in most words with the meaning 'one' (7.1.B.2.c.1.). It may be reduced to **ḳi:ṭ**= *k'ihl... or gihl...*

<b>ḳa:ṭ</b> =q̣ísaʔ-tk <sup>W</sup>	'to kneel down'	
...=knee-MED		<i>k'aahlk'esa'atkw,</i> <i>k'ihlk'esa'atkw,</i> <i>gihlk'esa'atkw</i>
<b>ḳa:ṭ</b> =hé:tk <sup>W</sup>	'to extend/pull to one side [more than the other]'	<i>k'aahlheetkw</i>
...=extend, etc.		
<b>ḳa:ṭ</b> =hè:tk <sup>W</sup> -ṃq̣ísimq	'Labret-sticking-out-on-one-side' (heroine of a Boas story)	<i>K'aahlheetgum-K'esimk</i>
...=extend-ATT labret		

7.1.A.1.b.22. **ṇ̃a**:= 'conspicuously against a background' (location or motion)  
*ṇ̃aa... : hence:*

(a) 'in one or more spots'

<b>ṇ̃a</b> =ṭú:ćk <sup>W</sup>	'to have a black spot'	
...=black		<i>ṇ̃aat'uuts'kw</i>
<b>ṇ̃a</b> =ṭis)ṭú:ćk <sup>W</sup>	'to have black spots'	
...=PL)black		<i>ṇ̃aat'ist'uuts'kw</i>
<b>ṇ̃a</b> =q̣ák <sup>W</sup>	'to be bald'	
...=swan?		<i>ṇ̃aagakw</i>

(b) 'emerging from the woods' (= **q̣altix**= 'into the woods (not visible)'  
*k'aldix... 7.1.A.1.b.23.. paḥ*= 'uphill,' hence 'into the woods (above the village)' *baḡ... 7.1.A.1.b.14.)*

**ńa=yé:** 'to go/come back from the woods'  
 ...=walk, go *ńaayee*

**ńa=hítkW** 'to stand at the edge of the woods'  
 ...=stand *ńaahítkW*

7.1.A.1.b.23. **qaltix**= 'deep in the woods, not visible from the village'  
 (motion) *k'aldix...* (seems obsolete now; **paX**= *baX...* 7.1.A.1.b.14. used  
 instead): (= **ńa**:= 'emerging from the woods' *ńaa...* 7.1.A.1.b.22.(b)):

**qaltix=yé:** 'to go into the woods'  
 ...=walk, go *k'aldixyee*

**qaltix=qó:ta** '(group) to have all gone into the woods'  
 ...=all.gone *k'aldixgooda*

7.1.A.1.b.24. **yaws**= 'from a confined or hidden place into the open (e.g.  
 from the bushes into the road, from within a cupboard, behind a curtain,  
 etc.)' (motion) *yaws...* (= **kiçit**= 'into a confined space' *gits'ihl...*  
 7.1.A.1.b.25.):

**yaws=yé:** 'to appear (e.g. out of the bushes)'  
 ...=walk, go *yawsyee*

**yaws=tə-yé:** 'to bring s out into the open'  
 ...=DOM-walk, go *yawsdiyee*

7.1.A.1.b.25. **kiçit**= 'into a confined or hidden place (e.g. into an inner  
 room, a cupboard, backstage, etc.)' (motion) *gits'ihl...* (= **yaws**= 'out of a  
 hidden place into the open' *yaws...* 7.1.A.1.b.24.):

**kiçit=qó:ta** 'to all be holed up [somewhere]' (Boas)  
 ...=all.gone *gits'ihlgooda*



**kīcīt=ksqóq** 'to be the first to go in[to a hole, etc.]'  
 ...=first *gits'ihlksqook*

7.1.A.1.b.26. **ha†=** 'along, parallel to, a line, esp. the shoreline' (location or motion) *hahl...*

**ha†=yé:** 'to walk along s.t., esp. the shore'  
 ...=walk, go *hahlyee*

**ha†=skí** '[inanimate] to be/lie along s.t., along the'  
 ...=be [motionless] shore' *hahlsqi*

7.1.A.1.b.27. **kíla:= / kíla: / hi†a:** 'past [a reference point in space or time]' (location or motion) *gílaa... / k'ílaa... / hi†aa...*

**kíla:=qóta** 'to have all gone past'  
 ...=all.gone *gílaagooda*

**kíla:=tá:wí†** 'to go past and disappear (e.g. past a point, lighthouse, etc.); (time period) to be over'  
 ...=go.away *gílaadaawí†*

7.1.A.1.b.28. **hak<sup>W</sup>in=** 'closer' (motion) *hagwin...* (= **wə†in=** 'further away' *wadín.../widín...* 7.1.A.1.b.29.):

**hak<sup>W</sup>in=yé:** 'to get/come closer'  
 ...=walk, go *hagwinyee*

**hak<sup>W</sup>in=†á:** 'to sit closer [to s.]'  
 ...=sit *hagwint'aa*

7.1.A.1.b.29. **wə†in=** 'further away' (motion) *wadín.../widín...* (= **hak<sup>W</sup>in=** 'closer' *hagwin...* 7.1.A.1.b.28.):

**wətin=yé:** 'to get/go further away'  
 ...=walk, go *wədin yee*

**ha-wətin=káʔask<sup>W</sup>** 'binoculars'  
 INST-...=look *hawədinga'askw*

7.1.A.1.b.30. **caqam=** 'towards the point of reference' (motion) *jagam...* ;  
 hence: (a) (concrete meaning) 'moving from water towards shore' (= **ʔuk<sup>WS</sup>**= *ukws...* 7.1.A.1.b.31.) and (b) (fig.) 'reaching one's end or goal:

**caqam=ɬilpk<sup>W</sup>** 'to be (in the water) close to shore'  
 ...=short, close by *jagamdilpkw*

**caqam=páx** (a) 'to run ashore (e.g. from a boat)'  
 ...=run (b) (period of time) 'to come to an end'  
*jagambar*

**caqam=ʔáqtk<sup>W</sup>** (a) 'to manage to get ashore'  
 ...=succeed, manage (b) 'to reach one's goal, reach the end of a  
 period in life (e.g. to graduate, get married,  
 etc.) *jagam'akhlkw*

7.1.A.1.b.31. **ʔuk<sup>WS</sup>**= 'outward, away from the point of reference', esp.  
 'moving from the shore towards the water' (motion) or 'facing the water'  
 (location) *ukws...*; (= **caqam= jagam...** 7.1.A.1.b.30.):

**ʔuk<sup>WS</sup>=tá:** 'to sit (on the beach, on a rock, etc.) facing  
 ...=sit the water' *ukwst'aa*

**ʔuk<sup>WS</sup>=wíl** 'to get away from the village'  
 ...=be, act *ukwswil*

**uk<sup>W</sup>s=hétk<sup>W</sup>** 'to head out to sea'  
 ...=extend **uk<sup>W</sup>sheetkw**

This proclitic also occurs together with [t]ḳə= (t)ḳi.../(t)ḳ'a... 7.1.A.1.b.32. The meaning of the combination is 'on a high point, on a cliff':

**?uk<sup>W</sup>s=[t]ḳə=ǎ́:** 'to sit on a high point, at the edge of a cliff'  
 ...=...=sit **uk<sup>W</sup>sk'it'aa**

**[?uk<sup>W</sup>s=[t]ḳə=q̀ùs]-m-s-[wán)-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to jump off like a deer'  
 [(...=...=jump]-...-[deer]-MED]act.like (= to act impulsively)  
**uk<sup>W</sup>sk'agosimswantkw**

7.1.A.1.b.32. [t]ḳə= 'dropping down to a lower level' (motion or location)  
 (t)ḳi.../(t)ḳ'a...:

**[t]ḳə=yé:** '[level] to have gone down'  
 ...=waik, go **(t)ḳ'iyee**

**[t]ḳə=tá wít** '[boat, person] to sink'  
 ...=leave, disappear **(t)ḳ'idaawihl**

**[t]ḳə=ǎ́al** 'to button s.t. crooked (one side lower than the other)'  
 ...=extend **(t)ḳ'imál**

Often occurs in combination with ?uk<sup>W</sup>s= uk<sup>W</sup>s... 7.1.A.b.31.

7.1.A.1.b.33. [t]q̣al= (t)ḳ'al... (a) (concrete) 'flat/flush against s.t.' (motion or location, \*sá:= *saa*... 7.1.A.1.b.34.); (b) (fig.) 'increasing' (\*sá:= *saa*... 7.1.A.1.b.34., **ṭim=** *t'im*... 7.1.A.1.b.44.):

(a) concrete meaning: usually location:

[t]qal=ʔó: '(boat) to be moored, tied to s.t.'  
 ...=moored (t)k'algyoo

[t]qal=ʔá-tI 'to meet s.o.'  
 ...=find, reach s.-DEF (t)k'alwa-(t)di

[t]qal=ʔá:wit '(color, clothing) to match'  
 ...=leave, disappear (t)k'aldaawihl

(b) figurative meaning: 'accruing, increasing':

[t]qal=yé: 'to increase'  
 ...=go (t)k'alyee

ti)tqal=yé:/qa)qal=yé: 'to be increasing'  
 ASP)...=go dik'alyee, ga'alyee

[t]qal=ʔuksaʔan 'to add s.t. to s.t.'  
 ...=put.s. (t)k'alhuksa'an

7.1.A.1.b.34. Sa:= 'off, away from s.t.' (motion or location, \* [t]qal=  
 (t)k'al... 7.1.A.1.b.33.) (also = homophonous modifier Sa: saa 5.15.B.30.):

(a) concrete meaning:

sa:=yé: '(person) to go off, away'  
 ...=go/walk saayee

sa:=ʔik<sup>?</sup>Wántk<sup>W</sup> 'to fall off (e.g. off a tree, a bike, etc.)'  
 ...=fall saat'igwantkw

sa:=qúC 'to cut s.t. off'  
 ...=cut.s. saak'ots

(b) figurative meaning: 'decreasing, coming to an end'

sa:=páx '(story, world) to end'  
...=run *saabax*

sa:=yé: 'to decrease'  
...=cut.s. *saayee*

7.1.A.1.b.35. k<sup>W</sup>ilks= 'back' (motion) *gwilks...*

k<sup>W</sup>ilks=yé: 'to walk back'  
...=go/walk *gwilksyee*

k<sup>W</sup>ilks=qó? 'to go get s. back'  
...=go.get.s. *gwilksgo'o*

k<sup>W</sup>ilks=k<sup>W</sup>iná 'to ask for s.t. back'  
...=ask.for.s. *gwilksgwina*

This proclitic is also found in the frame k<sup>W</sup>ilks=...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s 'Reflexive'  
*gwilks...tk<sup>W</sup>/...s* (7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1.a.).

7.1.A.1.b.36. spə= 'horizontally off s.t.' *sbi.../sba...* (= homophonous prefix,  
7.1.B.2.b.4.e.):

spə=qús 'to hop/jump off (a boat at the dock or  
...=jump beach, a car)' *sbagos*

spə=ʔú[t] 'to take s.t. off s.t. else (e.g. a pot off the  
...=take.s. stove)' *sbiguu*

spə=ʔó: '(canoe, boat) to land on the beach'  
...=moored *sbigyoo*

7.1.A.1.b.37. **xlip**= 'at one end, at the tip' *xlip*...

**xlip**= $\acute{t}\acute{u}\acute{c}k^W$   
...=black 'to be black at the tip, to have a black tip,  
to be tipped with black' *xlip't'uits'kw*

**xlip**=qanqínks  
...=chew.on.s. 'to chew on the tip of s.t.'  
*xlipgangerks*

**xlip**=qáp  
...=piece 'endpiece, tip'  
*xlipk'ap*

7.1.A.1.b.38. **xčə**= 'crosswise, perpendicularly, across the grain, across the middle' *xts'i.../x'ts'a...* (= **wisɪn**= *wisin*... 7.1.A.1.b.39.):

**xčə**=qúc  
...=cut.s. 'to cut s.t. across the grain, to make a  
perpendicular cut in s.t.' *x'ts'ak'ots*

**xčə**=yác  
...=strike.s. 'to strike s.t. across the middle'  
*x'ts'iyats*

**xčə**=his)yác  
...=PL)strike.s. 'to chop s.t. across the grain (e.g. a log into  
lengths of wood) *x'ts'ihisyats*

7.1.A.1.b.39. **wisɪn**= 'lengthwise, along the grain' *wisin*... (= **xčə**= *x'ts'i.../x'ts'a...* 7.1.A.1.b.38.):

**wisɪn**=his)yác  
...=PL)strike.s. 'to strike s.t. several times along the grain,  
e.g. while making kindling from wood'  
(148 4) *wisinhisyats*

**wisɪn**=hé:tk<sup>W</sup>  
...=extend/rush '(in a canoe) to rush [at s.o. who is at the  
other end]' (57.2) *wisinhaetkw*

7.1.A.1.b.40. **tʰas**= 'along the whole length of s.t.'; hence also 'throughout a period of time' *tʰas...* (= **xpə**= *xbi.../xba...* 7.1.A.1.b.41.):

**tʰas=yé**: 'to walk the whole length of s.t. (e.g. of a  
...=walk, go fallen log)' *tʰasyee*

**tʰas=ǰák<sup>W</sup>** '(time period) to have run through, to be  
...=long (time) just about over' *tʰasǰák<sup>W</sup>*

**tʰas=má:tim** 'all winter long'  
...=winter *tʰasmaadim*

7.1.A.1.b.41. **xpə**= 'at the halfway point (in distance or time)' *xbi.../xba...* (= **tʰas**= *tʰas...* 7.1.A.1.b.40.):

**xpə=ǰú:[t]** 'to catch s.t. in mid-air'  
...=take.s. *xbiguu*

**xpə=ǰíp** '(bird, etc.) to catch s.t. in mid-air and eat it'  
...=eat.s. *xbigip*

**xpə=ǰák<sup>W</sup>** '(time period) to be half over'  
...=long (time) *xbiǰák<sup>W</sup>*

7.1.A.1.b.42. **sk<sup>W</sup>in**= 'at the end of a line or row' (location) *skw'in...*

**sk<sup>W</sup>in=hít<sup>W</sup>k** 'to stand at the end of a row'  
...=stand *skw'inhitkw*

7.1.A.1.b.43. **kimi:**= 'to the rear' (motion) *gimii...*

- kimi:=yé:**  
...=go/walk  
(older) 'to come/go towards the rear of the building'; (modern) 'to "come forward" [us. towards the rear of the building] when called by the M.C. to speak during a public event'  
*gimiiyee*
- 7.1.A.1.b.44. **ṭim=** 'away from s.t.' *t'im...*, hence (a) concrete) 'away from the wall, towards the middle of the house' (obsolete), and (b) (figurative) 'diminishing' (both meanings = [t]ḡal= (*t*)ḡal... 7.1.A.1.b.33.):
- ṭim=yé:**  
...=stand  
(a) 'to come to the middle of the house (Boas); (b) (supplies, etc.) 'to diminish'  
*t'imyee*
- 7.1.A.1.b.45. **kina:=** 'left behind (location)' (probably from earlier **ka:na:=**) *ginaa.../ganaa...*
- kina:=hítkW**  
...=stand  
'(person) to be late'  
*ginaahitkw*
- kina:=k<sup>W</sup>álk<sup>W</sup>**  
...=dry  
'(boat, etc.) to be left high and dry'  
*ginaagwalkw*
- kina:=titílsT**  
...=live  
'to survive (while others have died)'  
*ginaadidils(t)*
- 7.1.A.1.b.46. **loḡali:=** 'behind, at the end (location or motion)' *lok'alii...*
- loḡali:=hítkW**  
...=stand  
'to stand behind s.'  
*lok'aliihitkw*
- loḡali:=yé:**  
...=walk, go  
'to walk behind s.'  
*lok'aliiyee*



- loqali:=hin)yántk<sup>W</sup> 'to have a chill run down one's spine'  
 ...=tickle *lok'alihinyantkw*
- 7.1.A.1.b.47. [t]q̣a:= 'tottering, losing one's balance' (t)k'aa...
- [t]q̣a:=ʔóʔ 'structure, building) to collapse'  
 ...=shove/collapse *(t)k'aaʔo*
- [t]q̣a:=k<sup>W</sup>áciksk<sup>W</sup> '(person) to sway and collapse'  
 ...=totter, rock *(t)k'aa kw'ajikskw*
- 7.1.A.1.b.48. †im= 'in front, towards s.o., expecting s.o. (Fr. *à la rencontre de...*)' hlim...
- †im=páx-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to run to meet s.o.'  
 ...=run-MED *hlimbaxkw*
- †im=máqsk<sup>W</sup> '(group) to stand waiting for s.o.'  
 ...=stand.PL *hlimmakskw*
- 7.1.A.1.b.49. lu:=spalqalyt= 'in between' *luusbayt...* (< lu:= 'in' *luu...*  
 7.1.A.1.b.1. + prefix spalqalyt 'among' *sba(a)yt...* 7.1.B.2.b.4.f.)
- lu:=spalqalyt#ítk<sup>W</sup> 'to stand between others'  
 ...=...=stand *luusbaythitkw*
- lu:=spalqalyt#anáq̣ 'to be the only male among females'  
 ...=...=woman *luusbaythazak'*
- 7.1.A.1.b.50. [t]ḳu= 'around in a circle (us. motion)' (t)k'u... (cf. x†im=  
 'around s., encircling s.' *xlim...* 7.1.A.1.b.65.)

[t]ḳu=yáltk<sup>W</sup> 'to turn around'  
 ...=turn *tk'uyalkw*

[t]ḳu=páx 'to be round'  
 ...=run *tk'ubax*

[t]ḳu=táx 'perimeter'  
 ...=perimeter *tk'udaax*

7.1.A.1.b.51. [t]ḳutḳu='all around s.t.' (*t)k'utk'u...* (orig. reduplicated form of [t]ḳu= (*t)k'u...* 7.1.A.1.b.50.)

[t]ḳutḳu=páx 'to run all around s.'  
 ...=run *k'utk'ubax*

[t]ḳutḳu=wán '(persons) to sit in a circle, e.g. around a room'  
 ...=sit.PL *k'utk'uwan*

[t]ḳutḳu=naq̣ 'skirt'  
 ...=dress *k'utk'unak'*

7.1.A.1.b.52. *haspa*:= 'concave side up', hence also '(animal, person) reclining on one's back' *hasbaa...* (= *pəlxsim*= *balxsim.../bilxsim...* 7.1.A.1.b.53.)

*haspa*:=kó: '(canoe, boat) to be on land; (person), to recline'  
 ...=moored *hasbaagyoo*

*haspa*:=píntk<sup>W</sup> '(person, animal) to lie on one's back, showing one's belly' *hasbaabintkw*  
 ...=stick.out.belly

*haspa*:=skítin 'to place a concave object (dish, glass, etc.) hollow side up' *hasbaansgit'in*  
 ...=place.s.

7.1.A.1.b.53. **pəlxsim**= 'concave side down', hence also '(animal) with back up, (person) lying face down' *balxsim.../bilxsim...* (= *haspa*:= *hasbaa...* 7.1.A.1.b.52.)

**pəlxsim**=kó: '(canoe, boat) to be upside down (on land)  
...=moored *balxsimgyoo*

**pəlxsim**=skítin 'to place a concave object (dish, glass, etc.)  
...=place.s. upside down' *balxsimsgit'in*

7.1.A.1.b.54. **kínxʔ**= / **kánxʔ** 'upside down (vertically), head down'  
*k'inxh/...*

**kínxʔ**=hétk<sup>W</sup> 'to be head down'  
...=extend *k'inxhheetkw*

7.1.A.1.b.55. **haltim**= 'up from the ground, from a lying position' *haldim...*  
(motion)

**haltim**=tá: 'to sit up'  
...=sit *haldimt'aa*

**haltim**=páx 'to get up from sitting (in order to do s.t.);  
...=run (fig.) to volunteer (to do s.t.)'  
*haldimbax*

**haltim**=kú:t] 'to pick s.o. up from a lying position (e.g. a  
...=take.s. baby), from the ground; (fig.) to help s.o.  
to recover from a disgrace' *haldimguu(t)*

7.1.A.1.b.56. **[t]qayks**= 'close to the ground (location)' *(t)k'ayks...*  
*gayks...*

**[t]q̣ayks#é:†** '(person, animal) to lie on the ground or floor'  
 ...=lie *tk'ayksgeehl*

**[t]q̣ayks#ílpk<sup>W</sup>** '(structure, building) to be low'  
 ...=close/short *tk'ayksdilpkw*

7.1.A.1.b.57. **kiti:**= 'stopping a motion' *gidi*'

**kiti:=hítk<sup>W</sup>** '(person, animal) to stop'  
 ...=stand *gidiihitkw*

**lu=kiti:=hítk<sup>W</sup>** '(engine, watch, etc.) to stop'  
 in=...=stand *luugidiihitkw*

**kiti:=kú[t]** 'to hold s back (e.g. a dog), to stop s from advancing'  
 ...=take.s. *gidiiguu(t)*

7.1.A.1.b.58. **pa[qa]lyt= bagayt..., baayt..., bayt...** (= **hatix= hat'ix...**  
 7.1.A.1.b.59.)

(a) (location): 'in the middle'

**pa[qa]lyt#skí** '(object) to be in the middle'  
 ...=(object) be, lie *baytsgi*

(b) (motion): 'in half crosswise'

**pa[qa]lyt#mátk<sup>W</sup>** '(soft object) to fall apart [into two pieces]'  
 ...=fall apart *baytmátkw*

**pa[qa]lyt#pís** 'to tear s.t. in half'  
 ...=tear.s. *baytbis*

7.1.A.1.b.59. **hatix**= 'in half lengthwise (motion)' *hat'ix...* (= *pa[qa]lyt= bagayt..., baayt..., bayt...* 7.1.A.1.b.58.)

**hatix**=**qú**c 'to cut s.t. [long] (e.g. a fish) in half'  
 ...=cut.s. (55.3.) *hat'ixk'ots*

7.1.A.1.b.60. **kis**= 'changing from one place to another' *gis...*

**kis**=**úk**<sup>W</sup>-s 'to move away [to live s.w. else]'  
 ...=PL.move-MED *gislukws*

**kis**=**kó**tin 'to move a boat to another moorage, a car to another parking place'  
 ...=moor/park.s. *gisgyoot'in*

**kis**=**yé**tin 'to pass s.t. on to s.o.'  
 ...=cause.s.to.go *gisyeet'in*

**kis**=**ú**=**qác**-T 'to pour s.t. [liquid] into another container'  
 ...=in=pour.s.-DEF *gisluugats-di*

7.1.A.1.b.61. **k<sup>W</sup>ti**= 'all over = randomly, in many parts of the same object, messily' *kwhlii...* (often used with plural stem) (cf. **kilqal**=/**kilqal**= *k'ilk'al...*, *gilk'al...* 7.1.A.1.b.62.)

**k<sup>W</sup>ti**=**mán** 'to smear s.t. (a face, etc.) all over (messily)'  
 ...=smear, anoint.s. *kwhliimán*

**k<sup>W</sup>ti**=**há**ks 'to bawl s.o. out'  
 ...=scold.s. *kwhliihaks*

**k<sup>W</sup>ti**=**tix** tákilt<sup>W</sup> '(garment, etc.) to be all wrinkled up'  
 ...=PL)folded *kwhliit'ix'tak'iltkw*

**k<sup>W</sup>ʔi:**= ʔix)ʔá k 'to be all scratched up'  
 ...=PL)scratched *k<sup>W</sup>hliihlixhlaak*

7.1 A.1.b.62. **kilqal**=/kilqal=*k'ilk'al...*, *gilk'al...* 'all over = completely covering an object' (cf. **k<sup>W</sup>ʔi:**= *k<sup>W</sup>hlii...* 7.1.A.1.b.61.)

**kilqal**=mán 'to apply s.t. all over s.t. (e.g. cream or powder on one's face)'  
 ...=smear, anoint.s. *gilk'alman*

**kilqal**=sé ksʔ 'to splash water all over s.'  
 ...=water.s. *gilk'alseeks-di*

**kilqal**=lax '(animal) to be covered with fur'  
 ...=fur *gilk'allax*

**kilqal**=ʔi nú 'to be completely bald'  
 ...=turnip *gilk'al'inuu*

7.1 A.1.b.63. **stax**=/sta:='on one side only, at one end' *sda<sub>x</sub>...*/*sdaa...*  
 (•**la:x**= 'on both sides, at both ends' *laax...* 7.1.A.1.b.20.)

**stax**=yúk<sup>W</sup> 'to hold s.t. in one hand, under one arm'  
 ...=hold.s. *sda<sub>x</sub>yukw*

**stax**=ʔasáy 'to have only one leg [having lost the other one]'  
 ...=leg/foot *sda<sub>x</sub>asáy*

**stax**=kít<sup>W</sup> '(one of a pair of body parts, one side of the body) to be swollen' *sda<sub>x</sub>gitkw*

7.1.A.1.b.64. **SaX**= 'gathering things together' *sax...* (perhaps originally related to the modifier **sa[qa]yt** *sagayt/sayt*, 5.15.B.4.):

sax=dóx 'to gather s.t.pl. together'  
 ...=take.s.pl. *saxdóx*

7.1.A.1.b.65. x̣ṭim= 'going around s.t.' *x̣lim...*

x̣ṭim=tix)ták† 'to tie s.t.pl. into a bundle'  
 ...=PL)bind.s. *x̣limdixdakh†*

x̣ṭim=tám-tT 'to throw one's arms around s.o.'  
 ...=press.s.-DEF *x̣limdam-di*

7.1.A.1.b.66. luk<sup>W</sup>ṭə= 'right under sthg. (and in close contact)' *lukwhli...*  
*/lukwhla...* (= máqṭə= *makhli.../makhla...*, 7.1.A.1.b.67.; cf. loqaltip=  
*logaldip...*, 7.1.A.1.b.10.):

luk<sup>W</sup>ṭə-hít<sup>W</sup> 'to stand right under s.t.'  
 ...-stand *lukwhlihít<sup>W</sup>*

luk<sup>W</sup>ṭə-máqs 'underpants, undershorts'  
 ...-pants *lukwhlimáqs*

luk<sup>W</sup>ṭə-ksláwisk<sup>W</sup> 'undershirt'  
 ...-shirt *lukwhliksláwisk<sup>W</sup>*

7.1.A.1.b.67. máqṭə= 'right over sthg' *makhli.../makhla...* (=   
 luk<sup>W</sup>ṭə= *lukwhli...* 7.1.A.1.b.66.):

máqṭə-qús 'to skip rope'  
 ...-jump *makhlagos*

máqṭə-máq 'to place s.t. over s.t. else (e.g. a leg over a  
 log while walking in the bush)'  
 ...-jump *makhlimáq*





7.1.A.1.c.2. **saq̣ap**=‘without specific goal or purpose’ *saq̣ap*...

**saq̣ap=yé:** ‘to be out for a walk’  
 ...=walk, go *saq̣ap̣yee*

**saq̣ap=íis** ‘to push s.t. while on a walk (e.g. ... a baby carriage)’  
 ...=push.s. *saq̣ap̣tis*

7.1.A.1.c.3. **tax**=/tix=‘firmly, with strength’ *tax*.../*tix*...

**tax=yúk<sup>W</sup>-T/tix=yúk<sup>W</sup>-T** ‘to hold s.t. in both hands’  
 ...=hold.s.-DEF *taxyukw-di, dixyukw-di*

**tax=kát** ‘to be strong’  
 ...=person (?) *taxgat*

7.1.A.1.c.4. **kit**=‘firmly, unyieldingly’ *git*..

**lu:=kit=hít<sup>W</sup>** ‘(movable object) to be stuck’  
 in=...=stand *luugithitw*

7.1.A.1.c.5. **kiwil**=/kuwil=‘even more, even further, beyond normal reach or expectation’ *gyuwil*... (Boas: **kilwil**= *gilwil*...)

**kiwil=yé:** ‘(quality, state) to increase even more’  
 ...=go *gyuwilyee*

**kiwil=tá:wít** ‘to become even less, to decrease further’  
 ...=go.away *gyuwildaawihl*

7.1.A.1.c.6. **qamc̣in**=‘secretly, without attracting attention’ *q̣amtṣin*...

**q̣amčín=čín** 'to come in secretly'  
 ...=enter *k'ams'ints'in*

- **ńi[ʈ]=ʈ ki hux<sup>W</sup> q̣amčín=kéʈ-t**  
 that's-NC and again ...=lie.down-3  
 Then he went back to bed without anyone knowing (153.9).  
*Ñihl k'ii huxw k'ams'ingeehl.*

- **hi)yùk<sup>W</sup>-ʈ qa)q̣amčín=wiyít<sup>W</sup>-t** S/he is crying in secret.  
 ASP)PROG=NC ASP)...=cry-3 *Hiyukwhl ga k'ams'inwiyitkw.*

7.1.A.1.c.7. **q̣altim**= 'for s.o. else, in sympathy with s.o. else' *k'alt'im...*

**q̣altim=ɣàc+lák<sup>W</sup>** 'to chop wood for s.o. else'  
 ...=strike.s.+firewood *k'alt'imyatslakw*

**q̣altim=ɬám<sup>W</sup>sk<sup>W</sup>** '(lit. ) to lift for s.o.'; hence (fig.) 'to feel  
 ...=lift [sorrow, etc.] in sympathy with s.o.'  
*k'alt'imdamskw*

7.1.A.1.c.8. **la:**= 'badly, unpleasantly, boringly, unluckily' *laa...*

**la:=hít<sup>W</sup>** 'to be tired of, fed up with [doing s.t.]'  
 ...=stand *laahitkw*

**la:=laxhá** 'bad weather' (old word)  
 ...=sky/weather *laalaxha*

**la:=sá-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to have bad luck (esp. in hunting)'  
 ...=day-MED *laasatkw*

**la:=ɬá...=ʈ qòt...** 'to be disappointed'  
 ...=sit, stay...=NC heart ... *laat'aa...hl goot...*

7.1.A.1.c.9. **lu:pa(:)yt**= 'idly, inappropriately, foolishly, irresponsibly, without due reflection or proper dignity (Fr. *n'importe comment, à tort et à travers*).

**lu:payt**≠itílsT

...=live

'to lead a disorderly life'

***luubayt****didils(t)*

**lu:payt**≠álkax

...=speak

'to yak away, to say any nonsense that comes into one's head'

***luubayt***-*algax*

**lu:payt**≠á†-T

...=put away s.pl.

'to waste s.t., throw s.t. away

irresponsibly'

***luubayt***'*ah†-di*

#### 7.1.B. Prefixes:

Prefixes can be divided into grammatical and lexical prefixes. Grammatical prefixes determine the grammatical category of the word to which they are affixed. Lexical prefixes comprise a wide variety of morphemes, some of which are related to existing verbs: many have a function similar to that of the head in an unmediated compound noun or verb (9.)

7.1.B.1. Grammatical prefixes: These prefixes determine the grammatical category of the word resulting from their affixation to a stem or another word.

7.1.B.1.a. Prefixes indicating a grammatical category:

7.1.B.1.a.1. Plural prefixes:

7.1.B.1.a.1.a. The frozen plural prefix {lə-}: This prefix occurs in a number of plural intransitive verb forms (3.2.C.2.a.1.c.), either alone or in combination with the suffix {-T} (7.3.A.1.a.1.a.). The oldest forms show stress on the prefix:

skát	'to be born' <i>sgat</i>	lískit	'to be born (pl.)' <i>lisgit</i>
kúk <sup>W</sup> sk <sup>W</sup>	'to wake up' <i>gyukwskw</i>	lúkuk <sup>W</sup> sk <sup>W</sup>	'to wake up (pl.)' <i>lugukwskw</i>

With singular stems beginning with a Velar, that Velar is weakened and deleted in the intervocalic position created by the prefix, hence alternations such as:

qínx	'(tree) to fall' <i>genx</i>	línx	'(trees) to fall' <i>linx</i>
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Several such plurals in *lə- li.../la...* are no longer used by themselves, but have become the bases for fully reduplicated forms (8.2.), as in

kím̩k	'to wipe <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>gimk</i>	*límk̩ > lim̩lím̩k	'to wipe <u>s.t.pl.</u> ' <i>limlimk</i>
?a-s-ká:pax	'to chatter constantly' <i>asgaabax</i>	?a-s-lip)*lá:pax	'to chatter (pl.) 'constantly' <i>asliplaabax</i>

In more recent forms, stress is on the base or stem:

mó:tk <sup>W</sup>	'to be cured, saved, rescued' <i>mootkw</i>	lə-mó:tk <sup>W</sup>	'to be cured, saved, rescued (pl.)' <i>limootkw</i>
*t̥é:-tk <sup>W</sup>	'to walk fast' <i>t̥eetkw</i>	lə-t̥é:-T	'to walk fast (pl.)' <i>lit̥eet</i>
?a-yé:	'to go fast' <i>ayee</i>	?a-lə-yé:-T	'to go fast (pl.)' <i>aliyeet</i>

7.1.B.1.a.1.b. The Distributive plural prefix {qa-}: This prefix is most often used in possessive phrases, before a possessed object, to indicate possession of the same type of object in equal measure by several possessors (3.2.A.2.a.), as in:

qó:t	'heart' <i>goot</i>	qa-qó:t-m̄	'our hearts' <i>ga:goodim̄</i>
?asisáȳ	'feet/legs' <i>asisáȳ</i>	qa-?asisáȳ-tit	'their feet/legs' <i>ga'asisáȳdiit</i>

It is also used productively in the modern period as a plural for intransitives and adjectives, especially those which do not have a plural formed by any other method, as in the following, which all refer to actions and qualities of several individuals:

wóx	'to bark' <i>wox</i>	qa-wóx	'to bark (pl.)' <i>gawox</i>
xćáȳ	'to be thick' <i>xts'aȳ</i>	qa-xćáȳ	'to be thick (pl.)' <i>gaxts'aȳ</i>

That this prefix is becoming a strictly plural prefix is shown by its used with the the following noun, relatively recently borrowed (from the Chinook jargon, ultimately from Fr. *le prêtre*):

liplét	'priest' <i>lipleet</i>	qa-liplét	'priests' <i>galipleet</i>
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7.1.B.1.a.2. Prefixes forming transitive verbs of dominance: The two prefixes {tə-} *di-/da-* and {k<sup>w</sup>in-} *gwin-* can be affixed to any suitable verb to form another, transitive verb. Both have a meaning of 'dominance over the actor': physical dominance for the Dominative prefix {tə-} *di-/da-*, mental dominance for the Jussive {k<sup>w</sup>in-} *gwin-*.

7.1.B.1.a.2.a. The DOMINATIVE prefix (tə-) *di- /da-*: 'to take s. along while ...ing, to ... while ...ing.'

This prefix is usually attached to an intransitive verb, sometimes to a transitive verb. The verb stem is singular for a singular Object, plural for a plural Object. Semantically, the Agent of the new Dominative transitive verb performs the action described by the intransitive verb stem, with total physical dominance over the other participant, which is only passively experiencing this action.

tə-yé: ...-walk	'to take <u>s.</u> for a walk, to ... while walking' <i>diyee</i>
tə-lə-mó:tk <sup>W</sup> ...-PL-saved	'to save, cure, rescue <u>s.o. (pl.)</u> ' <i>dilimootkw</i>
tə-tálq ...-talk.to.s.	'to talk with <u>s.o.</u> (have a conversation)' <i>didalk</i>
tqal=tə-tak† against=...-bind.s.	'to have/keep <u>s.o.</u> tied up, a prisoner' <i>tq'aldidakhl</i>

Verbs formed with this prefix can have either a nominal Object, as in:

- tə-yé:-(y)ə-t=[†] †kú:†k<sup>W</sup>-t S/he took h. child along [while walking]  
...-walk-CTL-3=NC child-3 *Diyeeyithl hlguuhtkw.*
- tə-sú:qsk<sup>W</sup>-ə-[t]=† čimilx=† ?áx<sup>W</sup>t  
...-dive-CTL-[3]=NC beaver=NC porcupine  
The beaver took the porcupine diving.  
*Disuuksgwihl ts'imilxhl axwt.*
- min=tə-tá:wit-ə-[t]=† pilisT=† †ku-tkít<sup>W</sup>  
upwards=...-go.away-CTL-[3]=NC star=NC little-child

The star took the child away, up into the sky.

*Mindidaawihlihl bilisthl hl gutk'ihkw.*

- ksə-tə-páx-ə-[t]=s[t]txè.msím=†máx==a?==ast  
out-...-run-CTL-[3]=DC[DM]T.=NC\*light==ASST==AFF

Txeemsim ran out with the light! (23.3.)

*Ksidibaayis Txeemsimhl máxa'ast!*

or a clausal Object, as in:

- tə-lím[x]-ə-t=†ʔí:ča?-t      S/he sang while ironing.  
...-sing-CTL-3=NCironing-3      *Dilimithl iits'a'at.*

- tim kax tə-tá:-(y)ə-ŷ=†sə-ta:ʔí:sk-ŷ  
FUT just.now ...-sit-CTL-1S=NC make-socks-1S

I'll just sit down with my knitting.

*Dim k'ax dit'aayiyhl sidaahliisgiy.*

- ni-ti-t tə-ʔáqʔk<sup>W</sup>-t tim-t tə-yé:-[t]=†x-skán-t  
not-INT-3E ...-succeed-3 FUT-3E ...-walk-[3]=NC eat-gum-3

He can't walk and chew gum at the same time.

*Nidiit di'akhlkw dimt diyeehl xsgant.*

Most of the time, the predicate head in the Object clause (highlighted in the following examples) is an intransitive verb, as in the examples above, but in some cases it can be either intransitive or transitive, as in:

- intransitive: (note that here the verb stem is the numeral kó:l 'one [person]' k'yool):

- lip tə-kó:l-ə-t=† sákxaʔansk<sup>W</sup>-t  
self ...-one[person]-CTL-3=NC clean.up-3

S/he did all the cleaning h.self.

*Lip dik'yoolithl saksa'anskvt.*

- $t\bar{a}$ -ʔáqʔk<sup>W</sup>-ə-[t]=ʔ éimilx t x̣c̣ə=kíp-[t]=ʔ qán

...-succeed-CTL-[3]=NC beaver 3E crosswise=eat.s.-[3]=NC tree

A beaver can eat through a tree.

*Di'akhlgwihl ts'imilx t x̣ts'igiphl gan.*

7.1.B.1.a.2.b. The JUSSIVE prefix (**k<sup>W</sup>in-**) *gwin-* 'to tell/order s.o. to do s.t. to have s.o. do s.t., to have s.t. done' (Fr. *faire faire*):

Semantically, the Jussive construction implies that the Agent of the transitive verb has the right to expect that the action will be performed.

7.1.B.1.a.2.b.1. With intransitive verb: the result is a transitive verb whose Object would be the Subject of the intransitive verb to which the prefix is attached.

**k<sup>W</sup>in-ćín**

...-come.in

'to tell s.o. to come in, to have s.o. come in'

*gwin-ts'in*

**k<sup>W</sup>in-kińít<sup>W</sup>**

...-get.up

'to tell s.o. to get up'

*gwin-gińít<sup>W</sup>*

- ʔakù məqan ʔax **k<sup>W</sup>in-ćín-[t]=s[t]** Máry

what 2E reason.why not ...-come.in-[3]=DC [DM] M.

Why didn't/don't you tell Mary to come in? ... have Mary come in?

*Agu ma gan ax gwin-ts'ins Mary?*

7.1.B.1.a.2.b.2. With transitive verb: 'to have/order s.t. done': (If the agent actually performing the action is mentioned, the DEF suffix (-T) must be added, resulting in a frame, 7.3.A.2.a.):



- k<sup>W</sup>in-qúç** 'to have s.t. cut'  
 ...-cut.s. *gwin-k'ots*
- **tim k<sup>W</sup>in-qúç-ə-ỵ=† qís-ỵ** I am going to have my hair cut.  
 FUT ...-cut.s.-CTL-1S=NC hair-1S (Fr. Je vais me faire couper les cheveux. )  
*Dim k'ax gwin-k'ojiyhł gesiỵ.*
  - **k<sup>W</sup>in-sə-mít-ə-[t]=† simʔò:kit=† lák<sup>W</sup>**  
 ...-make-burn-CTL-[3]=NC chief=NC firewood  
 The chief ordered the fire lit.  
 (Fr. Le chef fit allumer le feu. )  
*Gwin-simihlihl sim'ogithl lakw.*

7.1.B.1.b. Prefixes creating words of a particular class:

7.1.B.1.b.1. Prefixes forming nouns:

7.1.B.1.b.1.a. Productive noun-forming prefixes: there are only a few of these, but they are highly productive.

7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1. (**?an-**) *an-* : this very widely used prefix has the general meaning: 'specific source or cause of ...' hence the resulting nouns may have concrete or abstract meanings, sometimes both (for use in forming adverbs, see 7.1.B.4.a.).

7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.a. With intransitive verbs: this is the most common use.

(1) concrete meanings:

(a) 'a place for doing ...'

**?an-silíńsk<sup>W</sup>** 'hunting grounds'  
 ...-hunting *ansilíńskw*

ʔan-sə-máʔy                    'berry-picking grounds'  
 ...-pick-berries                    *an simaay'*

ʔan-ʔís                    'toilet'  
 ...-urinate                    *an 'iis*

(b) 'something used for ...' (compare (ha-), instrumental (7.1.B.1.a.2.); (ʔan-) has a more general meaning):

ʔan-wóʔt                    'merchandise for sale'  
 ...-trading                    *an woot'*

ʔan-lípílsk<sup>W</sup>                    'thread'  
 ...-mending                    *an lip'iskw*

ʔan-wánaʔ                    'seed'  
 ...-planting                    *an wana'a*

Some words which have this prefix are otherwise unidentifiable, e.g.

ʔan-tú.yin                    'garden'  
 ...-??                    *an duuyin*

(2) abstract meaning: deverbative: 's.t. or s.o. that causes or induces ..., instance or object of ...':

ʔan-xpəčáx<sup>W</sup>                    's. one is afraid of'  
 ...-afraid                    *an xbits'arw*

ʔan-sípínsk<sup>W</sup>                    'friend, lover'  
 ...-loving                    *an sip'inskw*

**?an-?ax-?áq†** 's.t. one can't afford'  
 ...-not-?can? ***an'ax'akh/***

**?an-[xs-nək<sup>W</sup>ót-[t]k<sup>W</sup>]** 'adoptive father'  
 ...-[...-father-...]resemble ***anxsnigwootkw***

(3) Note that ambiguity may result from these various meanings, as in

**?an-?áks** '(1) drinking-place, waterhole  
 ...-drinking (2) alcohol' ***an'aks***

where the second meaning is obviously more modern than the first, and in

**?an-ha†áls†** '[type of] job; place of work'  
 ...-working ***anhahals***

(4) Of special interest because of their frequency are three very common words:

**?an-hí** 'what s.o. wants/has to say; person  
 ...-saying addressed' ***anhi***

**?an-hé:** 'what s.o. means'  
 ...-speaking ***anhee***

**?an-?wín** 'who/what s.o. has got hold of'  
 ...-?? ***anwin***

The last word in this list is an all-purpose word, almost comparable to Fr. 'truc' or 'machin,' useful when the speaker doesn't know or doesn't bother to use the proper word. The stem **\*Wín win** may be a variant of **Wíl** 'be, do, act' *wil* (Rigsby, p.c.), or it could also be related to **Wáñ** 'to sit/exist (pl.), to set, plant st.'



older instances as well.

(1) older words:

<b>ha-móq</b> ...suck.thru.tube	'[shaman's] sucking-tube, edible stem of cow-parsnip' <i>hamook</i>
<b>ha-wíl</b> ...act (?)	'(Boas 1902) instrument, weapon, (esp. and modern) arrow' <i>hawil</i>
<b>ha-táq</b> ...skim,scoop	'grease scoop/skimmer' <i>hadak</i>
<b>ha-náks</b> ...-[get].married	'present given by boy's parents when asking for girl in marriage' <i>hanaks</i>
<b>ha-tó?</b> ...push, shove	'sail' <i>hahlo'o</i>

(2) more recent words: many of these are formed on detransitive (7.2.C.2.a.) or compound intransitive (9.2.A.2.) verbs:

<b>ha-í'čá?</b> ...ironing	'[an] iron (for ironing clothes)' <i>haiits'a'a</i>
<b>ha-x-smáx</b> ...eat-meat	'fork' <i>haxsmax</i>
<b>ha-yò?oks+w'é.n-tk'</b> ...wash.s.+teeth-REFL	'toothbrush' <i>hayo'okswéentkw</i>
<b>ha-yála?-m+tkimát</b> ...turn-ATTR+egg	'eggbeater' <i>hayala'am-hlgimat</i>

**ha-mín=tàmqans<sup>W</sup>-m+qatélip** 'capstan, anchor winch'  
 ...-upward=pull-ATT+anchor *hamíndamk'ansgum-gadeelip*

This prefix is often found with a verb starting with the proclitic (**ñi:-**) -'on'  
*áii...* (7.1.A.1.b.9.), so much so that the combination (**hañi:-**) *haáii-* has  
 acquired the status of a prefix in its own right, with specialized meanings  
 (7.1.B.2.b.3.c.).

(b) frozen meanings:

(1) concrete meaning: 'having...' (with noun):

**ha-kóʔ** 'back'  
 ...-fish.backbone *hak'yo'o*

**ha-táx** 'steering wheel'  
 ...-perimeter, surround *hadaax*

**ha-náq** 'woman'  
 ...-dress, apron *haaak'*

(2) abstract meaning: 'cause, instance of ...' (similar to one meaning of  
 (**?an-**) *aa-* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.a.):

**ha-cóq** 's.t. one is ashamed of'  
 ...-ashamed *hajook*

**ha-lúx<sup>W</sup>-s>halúk<sup>Ws</sup>** 's.t. one doesn't want to let others have'  
 ...-refuse, deny-MED *halukws*

**ha-sáq** 's.t. one needs or wants'  
 ...-?? (cf. *sáxk<sup>W</sup>* 'to agree?') *hasak*

(3) unknown meanings: the prefix is also recognizable in more opaque words, such as

ha-táq-[t]k<sup>W</sup> > hatáxk<sup>W</sup> 'sinful, evil, sin'  
 ...-??-MED?? *hat'axkw*

7.1.B.1.b.1.b. Non-productive noun-forming prefixes:

7.1.B.1.b.1.b.1. (k<sup>W</sup>ə-) 'Young ...!' *gwi-*

This prefix is only used with two terms of address. It may be related to tku/tk<sup>W</sup>ə 'little' *higu* (5.15.B.36.), or to k<sup>W</sup>é:?' 'poor, miserable (unable to provide for h.self)' *gwee'e*.

k<sup>W</sup>ə-tá† 'Young lady!  
 ...-Lady! *Gwidaah!*

k<sup>W</sup>ə-nát 'Young man!  
 ...-[male] friend! Buddy! Sonny! *Gwinaat!*

It is possible that historically the same prefix may be involved in k<sup>W</sup>ińá 'to ask for s.t.' *gwida*, but k<sup>W</sup>iné:χk<sup>W</sup> '[s.t.] to be cold' *gwineexkw* is probably from a different derivation.

7.1.B.1.b.1.b.2. (nə-) *ni-*

This prefix warrants special mention because of the semantic importance of the words it is attached to. It is found only in five of the six senior kinship terms (referring to an ascendant generation...), but its origin is probably grammatical rather than lexical, as shown by a comparison with Coast Tsimshian where it indicates alienated possession.

For four of these words, the related term of address does not include the prefix:

REFERENCE		ADDRESS	
nə-yé?	'grandfather' <i>niye'e</i>	yé?	<i>Ye'e!</i>
nə-číć	'grandmother' <i>nits'iits'</i>	ćíc	<i>Jiits!</i>
nə-píp	'maternal uncle' <i>nibip</i>	píp	<i>Biip!</i>
nə-xtá.	'aunt (esp. paternal)' <i>nixdaa</i>	ta:tá	<i>Daada!</i>

The fifth term also includes the prefix, although the corresponding term of address is different:

nə-k <sup>w</sup> ót	'father' <i>nigwoot</i>	pa:pá	<i>Baaba!</i>
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The remaining senior kinship term:

nóx	'mother' <i>nox</i>	ná:?	<i>Naa'a!</i>
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also begins with initial /n/, which here is part of the root (as shown by the term of address and by the plural 'mothers' *noonax*, 3.2., Type 1--archaic--reduplication). Perhaps this phonological coincidence helped retain the /n/-initial prefix on the other members of this noun set (for other interesting properties of this set, see 3.2.A.1.).



7.1.B.1.b.1.b.3. (**qa-**) *ga-* This prefix, homophonous with the Distributive prefix (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.), forms a small number of nouns with locational meaning, which are used in phrases headed by other nouns. In several cases, the unprefix base is not used in isolation, although it may be found in other derivatives:

<b>qa-*</b> lá:n	'[at the] rear of ..., past ...'
...-rear, stern	<i>galaan...</i>
<b>qa-</b> ksílk <sup>W</sup>	'[at the] miu-point of ...'
...-middle	<i>gaksihlkw...</i>
<b>qa-*</b> tó:ʔ	'[at] a point beyond ...((??)'
...-*place.beyond??	<i>gadoo'o...</i>
e.g. <b>qalá:n-ŷ</b>	'after me, after I leave'
rear.of.s.-1S	<i>galaaniŷ</i>
<b>qató:ʔ-[t]=i k'ó:c</b>	'the day before yesterday'
place,beyond.s.ʔ?--[3]=NC yesterday	<i>gadoo'ohl k'yoots</i>

7.1.B.1.b.2. Prefixes used with numerals (see 5.4.):

7.1.B.1.b.2.a. Forming nouns from numerals meaning 'one':

7.1.B.1.b.2.a.1. (**mətə-**) 'each, every ...' *mahli- / mihli- / mihla-*

This prefix is attached to numerals meaning 'one', and the meaning of the resulting word is 'each one ..., every one of ...'. These words are used like numerals in noun-phrases (5.4.B.1.).

<b>mətə-</b> k'ó:l	'each/every [person]'
...-one[person]	<i>mahlík'yool...</i>

- məfə-kʷitát** ' [to be] each in h. own canoe/boat/  
...-one[person in a canoe  
/boat/vehicle] vehicle' *mahlíkʷidaat*
- məfə-kʷíł** 'each/every [thing]'  
...-one[thing] *mahlík'íl...*
- **məfə-kʷíł-[t]=† sá ʔi: ...** Every day, ...  
...-one[thing]-[3]=NC day and ... *Mahlík'íłt sa ii ...*
  - **ʔáłkax=† məfə-kòł-[t]=† kát** Every man spoke.  
speak=NC ...-one[person]-[3]=NC man *Algaxhl mahlík'yoolhl gat.*

7.1.B.1.b.2.a.2. (**stə-**) *sdi-/sda-* forms nouns from numerals meaning 'one' in the 'human' and 'animal' categories. These nouns designate companions, and the prefix is probably related to the verb *stíl* 'to accompany s.o.' *sdil*.

- stə-kól** 'companion, playmate [of an older child  
...-one[person] or an adult]' *sdik'yool*
- stə-kékʷ** 'companion, playmate [of a young child  
...-one[animal] or an animal]' *sdik'eekw*

(Note the use of the 'animal' number for a child presumably below the 'age of reason').

7.1.B.1.b.2.b. With other numerals: (**čU:-**) 'the ...th' *ts'uu-* forms ordinals (which are not adjectives):

- čU:-paqatíl** 'second [person]'  
...-two [persons] *ts'uubagadil*

čú:-k<sup>W</sup>ilán 'third [animal]  
 ...-three [animals] *ts'uugwilan*

Boas 1985 also gives a form built on 'one', which seems now obsolete:

čú:-kíl 'first [object]  
 ...-one [object] *ts'uuk'il*

- másk<sup>W</sup>=† wilkàt-[t]=† kè:k<sup>W</sup>-T-[t]=† ?ús  
 brown=NC color-[3]=NC one [animal]-DEF=NC dog  
 ?i:ńa:=†is)ťú:čk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† čú:-†ipxát-et  
 and in.spots=PL)black-[3]=ND ...-two[animals]-REL  
 One dog is brown, and the other one has black spots.  
*Maskwhl wilgathl k'eegwihl us ii ńaat'ist'uuts'kwhl ts'uut'ipxaadit.*

#### 7.1.B.1.b.3. Prefixes forming adjectives:

7.1.B.1.b.3.a. (KS-) '[to be] most ...' *ks-* is generally prefixed to a word with locational meaning:

(1) with adverb: (5.14.):

ks-ké:w '[(to be) at the lowest point in the village'  
 ...-close to water hence fig. 'to be humble' *ksgeew*

ks-kikénix '[(to be) furthest upriver'  
 ...-upriver (loc.) *ksgigeenix*

(2) with noun: (locational meaning):

ks-qalán '[(to be) last'  
 ...-[at] rear *ksgalaan*

<b>ks-táx<sup>W</sup></b> > <b>ksláx<sup>W</sup></b>	'[to be] undermost'	
...-underside		<i>ksláxw</i>
<b>ks-sílk<sup>W</sup></b> > <b>ksílk<sup>W</sup></b>	'[to be] in the middle'	
...-middle		<i>ksílkw</i>

7.1.B.1.b.4. Adverb-forming prefixes:

7.1.B.1.b.4.a. (**?an-**) *aa-* This prefix forms mostly nouns (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.), many of which mean 'place of ...,' but it can also be prefixed to some adverbs of place, resulting in new adverbs. It is not clear at this point what the meaning difference is between plain and prefixed adverbs.

<b>?an-tú:w</b>	'over there, (at a place over there?)'	
...-over.there		<i>anduuw</i>
<b>?an-kálq</b>	'outside, (at a place outside?)'	
...-over.there		<i>anduuw</i>
<b>?an-tó:sta?</b>	'on the opposite side [of a dividing obstacle, whether concrete or abstract])'	
...-on.other.side		<i>andoosda'a</i>
<b>?an-*tó:?</b>	'next door, in the other room/house'	
...-s.beyond?		<i>andoo'o</i>

7.1.B.1.b.4.b. (**kə-**) *gi-/ga-* forms a number of adverbs of place or time, including an interrogative adverb. This prefix is also recognizable in several cases where the rest of the word is not. (Where the stem word begins with a glottal stop, the latter is deleted, by a rule which is no longer productive, 10.2.A.2.b.2.a.(4)).

(1) adverbs of place:

<b>kə-<sup>*</sup>lán</b>	'in the stern'	
...stern/rear		<i>gilaan</i>
<b>kə-<sup>ó</sup>†</b>	'in the confined space behind s.t. (e.g. between door and wall, between village and woods	
...space.behind		<i>gits'oohl</i>
<b>kə-<sup>*</sup>álq</b>	'outside'	
...??		<i>galk</i>

The adverb **kílílX** 'further up the/a hill, on the/a mountain' *gililx* appears superficially to include the same prefix, but the CT cognate *gyilhawli* 'id.' shows that here the prefix is \* (**kil-**) (which could be an alternate form of (**kin-**) *gin-* 7.1.B.2.b.3.c.).

(2) adverbs of time: usually 'last ... [time period]'

<b>kə-má:tim</b>	'last winter'	
...winter		<i>gimaadim</i>
<b>kə-<sup>*</sup>ʔáxk<sup>W</sup></b>	'last night'	
...night		<i>gaxkw</i>
<b>kə-kú†</b>	'many years ago'	
...year		<i>gik'uuhl</i>
<b>kə-txít<sup>W</sup>k</b>	'last year'	
...??		<i>gitxetkw</i>

This series also includes the interrogative (see 5.6.A.1.b.):

<b>kə-ʔáx-kú&gt;kaxkú</b>	'When...?'	
...not-s.t., what		<i>gaxgu</i>

7.1.B.1.5. Prefixes forming multiple categories: The semantic range of these prefixes recalls that of modifiers (5.15.), which can be associated with the major word-classes, and they may well be former modifiers (cf. modifiers used as prefixes, 7.1.B.3.a.).

7.1.B.1.5.a. (**ʔa-**) *a-* (not productive except in frame).

This prefix is often associated with the modifier *lip* 'self' *lip* (5.15.B.3.) which reinforces the meaning, especially in the frame *lip-ʔa...-[t]k<sup>w</sup>/-s* (7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1.b.) *lip-a...(t)kw/...s* which is productive.

(1) from nouns or intransitive verbs, forms intransitive verbs and adjectives: the meaning seems to be generally 'naturally, spontaneously, early, precociously, without outside impulse or help,' but it may be obscured.

<b>ʔa-ýáns</b> ...-leaf	Aiyansh = 'leafing early, early leaves' <i>Aýans</i>
<b>ʔa-*lá:n</b> ...-stern, rear	'slow' (spontaneously in the rear?) <i>alaan</i>
<b>ʔa-ńás</b> ...-grow	'to grow faster than usual, to have a growth spurt, (plant) to grow wild' <i>anás</i>
<b>ʔa-skí</b> ...-lie, be [object]	'abnormal, ugly, comical' <i>asgi</i>

The same prefix seems to be recognizable at the beginning of the transitive verbs **ʔanó:q** 'to like, approve of, s.' *anook* and **ʔanó:l** 'to allow, condone s.' *anooi*, which seem to be derived from a common (intransitive) stem, but the rest of the words is not identifiable.

(2) forms nouns or pronouns:

ʔa-kú 'what?, something, anything'  
 ...-something? *ʔgu*

(The stem *kú gu* recurs in various words, see 5.6.A.1.b.1. and 7.1.B.1.b.4.b.(2)).  
 The same prefix seems to be recognizable at the beginning of nouns such as  
 ʔanísT 'branch' *anís(t)*, ʔaná:X 'flour, bread' *anaax*, ʔaná:S 'skin' *anaas*,  
 but the rest of the words cannot be identified. The word ʔanú† 'drum' *anuhl*  
 is originally probably from ʔan-*\*hú†* *\*aa-huhl*, as shown by the CT cognate  
*nahool*.

(3) forms modifier: (cf. 5.15.B.3.f.)

lip-ʔa-ná: '... as the only one who ...'  
 self-...-someone *lip-anaa*

7.1.B.1.b.5.b. (*liks-*) 'different, not normal or proper' *liks...*

(1) with noun: forms noun:

*liks-ýáns* 'weeds'  
 ...-leaf, blade of grass *liksýans*

*liks-ćáp* 'a village not one's own'  
 ...-organized group, tribe, village *liksts'ap*

(2) with verb:

a. forms noun:

*liks-ťá:* 'island'  
 ...-stay, exist, sit *likst'aa*

b. forms adjective:

**liks-kát** 'different'  
 ...-to be, to fare (?)  
 (here, not 'person') *liksgat*

7.1.B.1.b.5.c. (**mə-**) *mi/ma* (non-productive): Some of the few words containing this prefix suggest that its meaning is 'like, resembling...', but the stem is not always identifiable.

(1) forms adjective:

**mə-hanáq** 'effeminate'  
 ...-woman *mihanak'/mahanak'*

**mə-wácx** 'naughty, crazy'  
 ...-otter *miwatsx*

(2) forms nouns:

**mə-lít** 'steelhead'  
 ...-? (here, not 'wedge') *mlit*

**mə-ʔyé:n** 'smoke'  
 ...-sthg. unpleasant? (cf. CT *yaaŋ* 'excrement')  
*miyeen*

**mə-ʔóqay** 'slime dripping from oolichans'  
 ...-? *mi'ooq'ay*

7.1.B.1.b.5.d. (**sil-**) *sil..*

(1) forms noun from other noun: 'fellow ..., companion of the same kind'



**sil-kát**  
...-man/person 'fellowman, neighbour' (Biblical sense)  
*silgat*

**sil-hanáq**  
...-woman "'fellow woman" (woman companion of another woman)(Boas 1902)'  
*silhanak'*

**sil-lóʔop**  
...-stone 'whetstone' (formerly used to sharpen stone axe, etc.) *sillo'op*

(2) forms transitive verb from intransitive: 'to ... together with s.o.'

**sil-qalá:q**  
...-play 'to play with s.o.'  
*silqalaak'*

sometimes with the Distributive prefix (**qa-**) *ga...*:

**sil-qa-wíl**  
...-play 'to associate, keep company with s.o.,  
to be together with s.o. while doing s.t.'  
*silgawil*

This prefix or combination of prefixes is productive when in a frame, 7.3.A.2.b. 1.(a).

7.1.B.1.b.5.e. (**qal-**) *gal...* original meaning perhaps 'invisibly, without visible goal or result'

(1) forms nouns:

a. 'empty ...'

**qal-ʔínq**  
...-trad.storage.box 'traditional storage box'  
*gal'inq*

lax-**qal**-hu)wílp  
 site.of-...-PL)house  
 'empty house sites' (from which most of  
 the timbers were removed when the  
 village was moved) (147.4)  
*laxgalhuwílp*

b. 's.t. empty of ...: site of ..., empty place normally used for ...'

**qal**-?amí  
 ...-voice  
 'throat'  
*gal'ami*

**qal**-čáp  
 ...-organized group, tribe, etc.  
 'village'  
*galts'ap*

**qal**-číp  
 ...-bone  
 'skinny person'  
*galts'ip*

**qal**-\*tó?  
 ...-s. beyond?  
 'in the wild, in the forest' (= where  
 people live) *galdo'o*

(2) forms verbs: 'without showing anything (?)'

**qal**-wít<sup>W</sup>k  
 ...-be.back  
 'to come back empty-handed from  
 hunting' *galwítkw*

**qal**-\*yín  
 ...-enter?  
 'to go into a house secretly (esp. for  
 nefarious or immoral purposes)'  
*galyin*

7.1.B.2. Lexical prefixes: Although most of these prefixes determine the grammatical category of the resulting word, they have a very precise lexical meaning, unlike the more general prefixes listed in 7.1.B.1. Many of them are probably former compounding elements ("cranberry-type" morphemes). The following list does not claim to be complete.

7.1.B.2.a. Prefixes forming verbs:

7.1.B.2.a.1. Prefixes forming intransitive verbs, mostly from nouns: These prefixes are only used in composition. The meaning of the resulting verb is comparable to that of an unmediated compound (9.2.A., 9.2.A.1.). In a few cases, the prefix is identical to the stem or base of an existing verb, but there are reasons for treating the resulting verb as a prefixed form rather than a compound (see 7.1.B.2.a.1.b.).

7.1.B.2.a.1.a. Prefixes presently unrelated to existing verbs:

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.1. (hi:-) 'to go to ... [a place]' *hii*-...: can be prefixed to any noun with suitable meaning.

hi:-kinqúl <sub>x</sub>	'to go to Kincolith'
...-Kincolith	<i>hii-Gingolx</i>
hi:-qaltimwó <sub>t</sub>	'to go to the store'
...-store	<i>hii-galdimwoot'</i>
hi:-wilpsípk <sup>W</sup>	'to go to the hospital' (e.g. to visit a patient)
...-hospital	<i>hii-wilpsiipkw</i>

This prefix cannot be attached to an adverb, e.g. one cannot say \*hi:-ké:č̣ for 'to go downriver' (\**hii-geets*' is wrong).

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.2. (sə-) *si*.../*sa*... This extremely productive prefix has the general meaning 'to bring [noun] into use.' It applies mostly to two semantic domains: supplies (esp. of food) and artifacts. (for transitive use, see 7.1.B.2.a.2.).

(a) 'to pick/harvest/catch and/or process ...'

sə-hó:n ...-fish (salmon)	'to catch and process salmon' <i>síhoon</i>
sə-sá:k ...-oolichans	'to catch and process oolichans' <i>sisaak</i>
sə-čáq̃ ...-clam	'to dig for clams' <i>sits'ak'</i>
sə-má:ỹ ...-berries	'to pick berries' <i>simaay'</i>
sə-tíl:x ...-oolichan grease	'to render oolichan grease' <i>sit'ilx</i>
sə-kó:fi: ...-coffee	'to make coffee' <i>sikoofii</i>

This prefix can also be used with a transitive suffix, in a frame, 7.3.A.2.a.6.

(b) 'to make [and complete] ... (baskets, garments, etc.):'

sə-ʔá:t ...-fishnet	'to make a fishnet' <i>si'aat</i>
sə-k <sup>W</sup> ilá ...-blanket	'to make a blanket' <i>sigwila</i>
sə-pčá:n ...-totem pole	'to make and erect a totem pole' <i>sípts'aan</i>
sə-ta:fi:sk ...-socks	'to knit' <i>sidaahliisk</i>

sə-swéta	'to make a sweater'
...-sweater	<i>sisweta</i>

These words refer to the total work of making the object, from start to finish. For work in progress, or for more ambitious, lengthier undertakings, such as building a house, a suffix is used, resulting in a frame, 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.3.

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.3. (**sin-**) *siu...* 'to chase ..., to go after ..., to try to catch ...': can be used with the name of any suitable prey.

sin-típin	'to hunt sealions'
...-sealion	<i>sint'ibin</i>

sin-hón	'to go after fish'
...-fish (salmon)	<i>sinhoon</i>

sin-hanáq	'to chase women'
...-woman	<i>sinhanak'</i>

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.4. (**tu:-**) *duu...* 'to get/fetch ... [s.t. ready]' (without the effort implied in (**sə-**) *se.../sə...*, 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.3.): can be affixed to any suitable noun.

tu:-hón	'to get fish' (e.g. buy it from s.o.)
...-fish (salmon)	<i>duuhoon</i>

tu:-lák <sup>W</sup>	'to get firewood' (e.g. cut by s.o. else, from the shed, etc.)
...-firewood	<i>duulakw</i>

tu:-tála	'to get money' (e.g. withdraw it at the bank)
...-money	<i>duudaala</i>

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.5. (**til-**) *til...* 'to be in charge of ... (especially of assigning a team of people their proper roles or shares).' Can be attached to any noun of suitable meaning.

ʔil-sák  
 ...-money  
 'to oversee the oolichan fishery and  
 processing' *t'ilsak*

ʔil-lúlaq̄  
 ...-corpse  
 'to be in charge of funeral  
 arrangements' *t'illuulak̄*

The following example with an intransitive verb as stem seems modern and probably influenced by English:

ʔil-míluk<sup>w</sup>  
 ...-dancing  
 'to be in charge of a dance'  
*t'ilmiiluk<sup>w</sup>*

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6. (**X-**) *x*... An extremely productive suffix in its current meaning, but with older extant meanings as well.

(a) currently productive meaning: 'to eat/drink/consume ...'

X-hón  
 ...-fish (salmon)  
 'to eat fish (salmon)'  
*xhoon*

X-kófi:  
 ...-coffee  
 'to drink coffee'  
*xkoofii*

X-miyén  
 ...-smoke/cigarette  
 'to smoke (tobacco)'  
*xmiyeen*

(b) older meaning: 'to receive/take one's rightful share of ..., to exercise one's rightful claim to ..., to lay claim to ...' (this is probably the original meaning from which (a) derives):

X-k<sup>w</sup>ilá  
 ...-blanket  
 'to receive a blanket (as a witness to a  
 public ceremony)' *xgwila*

<b>x-tála</b> ...-money (< <u>dollar</u> )	'to receive money (as a participant in a public ceremony) <i>xdaala</i>
<b>x-sqańisT</b> ...-fish (salmon)	'to climb mountains, to hunt in the mountains': prob. orig. 'to exercise one's rightful claim to a mountain territory' <i>xsgańist</i>
<b>x-lik-s-náks</b> ...-different-spouse	'to commit adultery' <i>xliksnaks</i>
<b>x-hóʔoks</b> ...-balsam.fir	'[skin] to have a rash, i.e. to require an application of balsam fir resin' <i>xho'oks</i>

Some stems occur only with this prefix, e.g.

<b>x-káy†</b> ...-?	'traditional reward/payment for certain services' <i>xk'ayhl</i>
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7.1.B.2.a.1.a.7. (**yu:-**) *yuu...* 'to wield ..., to manipulate ... skillfully': this prefix is attached to words designating objects the proper use of which requires specific skill.

<b>yu:-hatá:x</b> ...-steering.wheel	'to steer a boat, drive a car' <i>yuuhadaax</i>
<b>yu:-ʔanú†</b> ...-drum	'to play the drum(s)' <i>yuu'anuhl</i>
<b>yu:-halímx</b> ...-musical instr. (not wind)	'to play the piano or organ' <i>yuuhalimx</i>

This prefix is also found with a suffix, in a frame, 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.4.

7.1.B.2.a.1.b. Prefixes related to verbs: These are identical in shape to existing verb stems. Formally, they are like the first component of verbal compounds (9.2.A.).

7.1.B.2.a.1.b.1. Prefixed verbs with the structure of unmediated compounds: (see 9.2.A.1.): A transitive verb found in a compound has the same meaning within the compound as it has in isolation. If not, the shape is treated here as a prefix.

7.1.B.2.a.1.b.1.a. {ʔiS-} *is...* 'to smell of ...': can be added to any noun of suitable meaning.

ʔiS-hón

...-fish (salmon)

'to smell of fish'

*ishoon*

ʔiS-lám

...-alcohol (< rum)

'to smell of alcohol'

*islaam*

lu:=ʔiS-ʔús

in=...-dog

'(house) to smell of dog'

*luu'is'us*

- ni-ti: iS-kú-t  
not-INTS ...-s.t.-3

It doesn't have a smell (lit. it doesn't smell of anything). *Nidii isgut.*

This prefix is identical to the stem of the intransitive verb ʔiSk<sup>W</sup> 'to stink' *is&w*. It is likely that it is a former transitive verb, but it is not presently used as such.

7.1.B.2.a.1.b.1.b. {k<sup>W</sup>a:S-} *gwaas...* 'to borrow ...': can be added to any noun of suitable meaning.



**k<sup>W</sup>a:s-tá lá** 'to borrow money'  
 ...-money (< dollar)

*gwaasdaala*

**k<sup>W</sup>a:s-haxbé:qsk<sup>W</sup>** 'to borrow a saw'  
 ...-saw

*gwaashaxbeekskw*

- **hámk<sup>W</sup>a:s-haxbé:qsk<sup>W</sup> ní y' lòn** I would like to borrow your saw.  
 wanting ...-saw me *Náam-gwaashaxbeekskw ní y' lòn.*

There is a transitive verb **k<sup>W</sup>a:s-T** *gwaas-di* with the meaning 'to give s.o. a loan', where the Direct Object is the beneficiary of the loan, and the thing loaned an optional Prepositional phrase:

- **tim k<sup>W</sup>a:s-T-ə-y' nín ?a=† haxbé:qsk<sup>W</sup>-y'**  
 FUT lend.to.s.-DEF-CTL-1S you PREP=NC saw-1S

I will lend you my saw.

*Dim gwaasdiy' nín ahl haxbeeksgwiy'.*

The original meaning of **k<sup>W</sup>a:s** *gwaas* is probably 'to be indebted for ...', hence with transitivizing suffix 'to cause s.o. to be indebted for ...'.

7.1.B.2.a.1.b.1.c. (**si:p-**) *siip...* 'to have a ...ache'

The number of words formed with this prefix is small, as with the equivalent English compounds. The semantic range is not exactly the same as that of English, but the words affected are all body parts.

**si:p-timqís** 'to have a headache'  
 ...-head

*siipt'imges*

**si:p-wén** 'to have a toothache'  
 ...-teeth

*siipween*



tòq̣aʔ-m<sup>2</sup>áẉaqs                    'to buy [two or more pairs of] shoes'  
 take.s.pl.DETR-ATTR+[pair.of] shoes                    *dok'a'am-ts'awaqs*

tòq̣aʔ-m<sup>2</sup>am<sup>2</sup>úkit                    'to buy clothes'  
 take.s.pl.DETR-ATTR+clothes                    *dok'a'am-am'ugit*

It is likely that the prefix (**kim-**) *gim-*... is indeed a reduced form of the first hal of a mediated compound. It could be related to the transitive verb **kí:k<sup>W</sup>** 'to buy s.t.' *giikw*, with base \* **kí:**, or to the transitive verb **kú:[t]** 'to take/buy s.t.(sg.)' *guu*, the plural of which is **tóq** 'to take/buy s.t.(pl.)' *dok*, the stem of **tòq̣aʔ** *dok'a'a* which is used with a plural noun. This uncertainty and the loss of the distinctive quality of the vowel in the unstressed prefix make it safer to treat **kim** *gim-*... as a prefix in the current state of the language.

7.1.B.2.a.2. Prefixes forming transitive verbs from other parts of speech:

7.1.B.2.a.2.a. (**ksə-**) *ksi.../ksa...*                    'to remove [noun] from s.'

**ksə-más**                    'to peel s.t.'  
 ...-peel/bark                    *ksimaas*

**ksə-ýáns**                    'to weed s.t.'  
 ...-leaf, grass                    *ksiyans*

This prefix also occurs in a frame, 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.2. It is homophonous with the Proclitic (**ksə=**) 'out' *ksi.../ksa...* and may well have the same historical origin, but it cannot be identified with it synchronically. It also differs from the homophonous noun-forming prefix (**ksə-**) 'fresh ...' *ksi.../ksa...*, 7.1.B.2.b.3.d.

7.1.B.2.a.2.b. (**sə-**) *si.../sa...*                    'to make, cause ... [a process]'

This is the same prefix as above ( 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.2.), but here it is used with adjectives and intransitive verbs, so it seems preferable to place this use in a

different category.

(1) with adjective: 'to make s. ... (-er, more) ...'

sə-láy<sup>2</sup> 'to enlarge s.t.'  
 ...-large [in capacity] *silay*

sə-ʔám 'to improve s.t.'  
 ...-good *si'aam/sə'aam*

sə-sáq 'to sharpen s.t.'  
 ...-sharp *sisak*

(2) with intransitive verb: this use is not productive:

sə-más/sə-límqsT 'to raise, grow s. (children, animals,  
 ...-grow/...-grow.PL plants)' *simas/silimqs(t)*

sə-tá: 'to start s.t.'  
 ...-exist, stay, sit *sit'aa*

7.1.B.2.a.2.c. (tu:x-) duux... 'to go all the way to the ... [noun] of s.'

tu:x-hakó? 'to go all the way to the back of s.t.'  
 ...-back *duuxhak'yo'o*

tu:x-qáp 'to go through to the end [of a line] of s.'  
 ...-end, piece, butt *duuxq'ap*

7.1.B.2.b.1.a. Prefixes forming nouns: There are a number of these, with apparently varied origins. Some seem to be 'cranberry-type' morphemes, others can be related to existing forms, yet others have no other associations. The classification below is based on broad categories for convenience.

7.1.B.2.b.1. Nouns designating persons:

7.1.B.2.b.1.a. (**kit-**) *git...* 'people of ...' (reduced form of **kát** 'man, person, people' *gat*): may be prefixed to locational adverbs or nouns, including place-names.

<b>kit-?</b> ayáns ...-Aiyansh	'the people of Aiyansh' <i>Git-Ayans</i>
<b>kit-</b> kikénix ...-upriver [loc.]	'the upriver people (= of Aiyansh)' <i>Gitgigeenix</i>
<b>kit-?</b> antósta? ...-on the opp. side	'the opposition (e.g. the other team, etc.)' <i>git-andoosda'a</i>

This prefix enters into a number of place-names and may designate both the customary occupants of a place and the place itself:

<b>kit-</b> wil/win-ksítk <sup>W</sup> ...-where/LOC-salamander	'[the people of] Canyon City' <i>Gitwinksihkw</i>
--	--

This prefix also enters into a frame, 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.9.

7.1.B.2.b.1.b. (**ksim-**) *ksim...* 'person [esp. woman] originating from ... [a group]' (probably from the former custom of taking foreign women as captives):

(1) 'person from ... [a group]'

<b>ksim-</b> níkin ...-black.person	'black person' <i>ksimnigin</i>
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(2) 'woman from ... [a group]'

<b>ksim-lax-kipú:</b> ...-on-wolf	'woman of the Wolf tribe' <i>ksim Laggibuu</i>
<b>ksim-háytax</b> ...-Haida	'Haida woman' <i>ksim Haydag</i>
<b>ksim-ʔax-qa-qót-ət</b> ...-not-DIST-heart-REL	'loose woman' (lit. 'woman from the Irresponsibles') <i>ksim axgagoodit</i>
<b>ksim-qá:k†</b> ...-mouse	'Mouse Woman (a mythical character)' <i>Ksim Gaakhl</i>

(compare **hanàq̣-m qá:k†** 'female mouse' *hanak'am gaakhl*).

#### 7.1.B.2.b.2. Measures:

Some nouns designating measures are formed by prefixing a numeral to a noun. If the numeral ends in a glottalized consonant, preconsonantal deglottalization applies (10.1.B.1.b.2.b.)

7.1.B.2.b.2.a. Fathoms: measures up to nine fathoms are built on the noun **qá:x** 'armspan' *k'aar* (see 7.1.B.2.c.2. for 'ten fathoms').

<b>kíl-qá:x</b> > <b>kilqá:x</b> one-...	'one fathom' <i>k'ilk'aar</i>
<b>k<sup>w</sup>ilál-qá:x</b> > <b>k<sup>w</sup>ilalqá:x</b> three-...	'three fathoms' <i>g<sup>w</sup>ilalk'aar</i>

When measuring cloth, one fathom is equivalent to two yards.

7.1.B.2.b.2.b. Handspans: built on the noun **sáqans** 'handspan' *sak'aas* (only used in this context). The (originally plural) suffix **(-ti:)** *...dii* (7.2.A.1.b.) may

be added (cf. suffix {-ta} ...*da* in 7.1.B.2.b.2.d.); it is not clear at this point what the difference is between suffixed and unsuffixed forms.

**kíl**-sáqans-(ti) > kíl<sup>h</sup>sáqans(ti)      'one handspan'  
one-...      *k'ílsak'ans(dii)*

**kílpil**-sáqans-(ti)      'two handspans'  
two-...      *gilp'ílsak'ans(dii)*

This set comprises measures from one to three handspans; four handspans correspond to half a fathom, or a yard.

7.1.B.2.b.2.c. Another set of measures is formed on the stem \*ʔÚN 'hand, arm,' *un* (the current word is the originally plural ʔANʔÚN 'hand(s), arm(s)' *an'un*). This stem is also used in the transitive verb ʔÚN-T 'to portion/measure out s.t.' *un(t)-di*.

Boas (1911) gives this set as meaning 'fathoms', and many older men use it in preference to, or interchangeably with, the ...QÁ:X ...*k'aax* set (7.1.B.2.b.2.a.); but women use it to mean 'handfuls' and especially to translate the English measure 'cup,' for instance when measuring flour for breadmaking. Many people appear to be unaware that the other sex uses this set of measure words with a different meaning, for different activities.

**kíl**-ʔún > kílʔún      '(M) one fathom; (W) one cup'  
one-...      *k'il'un*

**k<sup>W</sup>ilál**-ʔún > k<sup>W</sup>ilalʔún      '(M) three fathoms; (W) three cups'  
three-...      *gwilal'un*

7.1.B.2.b.2.d. Periods of days: In this category there seem to be only words for 'four days' and 'ten days.' The stem for these words appears to be an older form of the word SÁ 'day' *sæ*. The long vowel recalls an earlier final /h/ which is

also pronounced in formal speech (see 2.1.B.3.b.3.a.). The frozen plural suffix (-ta) ...*da* recalls the suffix (-ti:) ...*dii* on the 'handspan' set (7.1.B.2.b.2.b) (Both suffixes are discussed in 7.2.A.1.).

<b>txalpɣ*sáh-ta</b>	'four-day period' (important for ritual
four-... -PL	purposes) <i>txalpɣsaada</i>

(see 7.1.B.2.c.2. for 'ten-day period').

7.1.B.2.b.2.e. Travellers: or rather, 'persons in a canoe, boat or vehicle.' For these words, numerals are prefixed to the base **tá:t daat** which is used by itself with the meaning 'crew member' and which occurs also in **kʷitá:t** 'to be in a canoe, boat, etc. by oneself' *kw'idaat* (it is not clear what the derivation of this word is). Only the word for 'to be four in a canoe, etc.' seems to be in use, as *four* was the normal crew of a canoe in the old days.

<b>txalpɣtát</b>	'to be four in a canoe, boat, vehicle'
four-crew	<i>txalpɣdaat</i>

7.1.B.2.b.3. Nouns designating objects with salient characteristics:

7.1.B.2.b.3.a. (**?am-**) *am*... This prefix seems to be derived from the adjective **?á:m** 'good' *am*.

(1) 's.t. [only] good for ...'

a. with noun:

<b>?am-má:l</b>	'cottonwood' (formerly used for small
...-canoe	river canoes) <i>ammaal</i>

<b>?am-haláy:t</b>	'carved ceremonial headdress'
...-shaman, shaman's dance	<i>amhalayt</i>



?am-čáw̄aqs 'old mountain goat' (too tough to eat)  
 ...-shoes *amts'awaks*

(b) with verb:

?am-mí:luk<sup>W</sup> 'mask'  
 ...-dancing *ammiilukw*

?am-\*ʔú-kiit 'clothes'  
 ...-\*cover.s.-\*people *am'ugit*

The noun ?amí 'voice' *ami* is from ?am-hí (hí 'saying' *hi*), recorded in Boas. The transitive verbs ?amqó:[t] 'to remember s.' *amgoo(t)* seems to contain this prefix too. The stem is probably qó:t 'heart' *goot*. The adjective ?amqó:kiit 'pretty, beautiful (us. not persons)' *amgoogit* must have been originally an unmediated compound (9.2.A.1.).

(2) 'old ... [too old to be useful]' (= KSƏ- 'fresh' *ksi.../ksa...*, 7.1.B.2.b.3.d.):

It is difficult to tell whether this is an entirely different although homophonous prefix, or rather the same prefix with an extension of the meaning in a peculiar direction: 'formerly good for ...'. Several words where the prefix has this meaning also occur without the prefix, apparently with the same meaning:

?am-háyxk<sup>W</sup> 'old rotten tree'  
 ...-[wood] rotten *(am)hayxkw*

?am-čé:w̄ 'fish guts'  
 ...-insides, entrails *amts'ew̄*

7.1.B.2.b.3.b. (?antə-) *andi.../anda...*: this prefix forms nouns designating relatively small, portable, closable containers (= (qaltim-) *galdim...*, 7.1.B.2.b.3.f.). The semantic range includes both older and more recent forms.

(1) with noun: (most productive):

ʔantə-hawíl ...-arrow	'quiver'	<i>andahawil</i>
ʔantə-ksə-hó:n ...-fresh-fish	'jar of fish'	<i>andiksihoon</i>
ʔantə-cá:m ...-jam	'jar or can of jam'	<i>andijaam</i>
ʔantə-tála ...-money (< dollar)	'purse, wallet'	<i>andidaala</i>
ʔantə-ʔís/ʔantə-ʔís ...-urine/...-*stink?	'bladder'	<i>anda'is/anda'is</i>

(For the last word, both pronunciations are current).

(b) with intransitive verb: (not productive):

ʔantə-wóʔ ...-trading	'pocket'	<i>andiwoot'</i>
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### 7.1.B.2.b.3.c. (hañi:-) hañii...

This prefix, now often pronounced /ani/, derives from the combination of the instrumental prefix (ha-) *ha...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.) with the locational proclitic (ñi:-) 'down on...' *ñii...* (7.1.A.1.b.9.). This combination, receiving many applications in the modern period, has also acquired specialized meanings, warranting treatment as a single prefix.

(1) Basic meaning, combining those of (ha-) *ha...* 'instrumental' and

(h̃ni:-) 'down on...' *h̃ii...*:

a. with intransitive verb: 's.t. for ...ing on': applies mostly to words designating various pieces of post-contact household equipment, the useful parts of which are horizontal. The intransitive stem may be an intransitive verb, including a compound verb:

hañi:-tá: ...-sit	'chair'	<i>hañiit'aa</i>
hañi:-ʔícaʔ ...-ironing	'ironing board'	<i>hañiit's'a'a</i>
hañi:-yàq+át ...-hang+net	'net-drying rack'	<i>hañiiyák-aat</i>
hañi:-pàʔansk <sup>W</sup> -m+ʔáks ...-run.AP-ATT+water	'eavestrough'	<i>hañiiba'ansgum-aks</i>

b. with noun: 'place for ...': the use of the prefix with a noun is probably modern, derived from its use with a verb:

hañi:-tétx ...-saliva, drool	'baby's bib'	<i>hañiibteetx</i>
hañi:-wén ...-teeth	'gum(s)'	<i>hañiiveen</i>

(2) specialized meanings: these probably derive from translations of English expressions including the preposition 'on':

a. 's.t. written: document, book':

<b>hañi</b> -kítaqask <sup>W</sup> ...-ask.AP	'bill'	<i><b>hañiik'it'ak'askw</b></i>
<b>hañi</b> -maqò:ñisk <sup>W</sup> -m+álkax ...-get.explanation-ATT+word,talk	'dictionary'	<i><b>hañimagoon'isgum-alga</b></i>

(This word was coined in 1985 by the Rev. Hubert McMillan).

b. 'day of ...': The use of the prefix for naming days dates from the missionary period. It probably started with those days characterized by the specific activities prescribed by the missionaries:

<b>hañi</b> -sk <sup>W</sup> á:ytk <sup>W</sup> ...-rest	'Sunday'	<i><b>hañiisgvaaytkw</b></i>
<b>hañi</b> -yéq ...-contribute [money to the church]	'Saturday'	<i><b>hañiiyeek</b></i>

The use of the prefix has been extended to the names of the other days (except Monday), which include a numeral phrase (cf. 5.4.B.1.):

<b>hañi</b> -kíl'pil-[t]=†sà ...-two-{3}=NC day	'Tuesday'	<i><b>Hañiigilp'ilhl sa</b></i>
<b>hañi</b> -k <sup>W</sup> stìns-[t]=†sà ...-five-{3}=NC day	'Friday'	<i><b>Hañiikwdsinshl sa</b></i>

as well as to:

<b>hañi</b> -skát ...-be.born	'birthday'	<i><b>hañiisgat</b></i>
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7.1.B.2.b.3.c. (**ksə-**) *ksi.../ksa...*

There seem to be two separate prefixes here, both identical in shape to the proclitic meaning 'out' (7.1.A.1.b.3.) and the verb-forming prefix meaning 'to remove ...' (7.1.B.2.a.2.a.).

(1) 'fresh ... [noun]' (probably: 'freshly removed' ? cf. the verb-forming prefix):

<b>ksə-smáx</b>	'fresh meat'
...-meat	<i>ksismar</i>

<b>ksə-lúx</b>	'green alderwood'
...-alder	<i>ksiluux</i>

(2) 'water, fluid, juice, sap, etc. of ...': the prefix is included in the names of some streams as well as in words for various fluids. It seems to be a truncated form of **ʔáks-a**: ... 'water of ...' *aksə.../aksi...* (Boas 1911; see also compound nouns, 9.1.B.1.):

<b>ksə-lísims</b>	'Nass River water'
...-Nass River	<i>ksilisims</i>

<b>ksə-móćiks</b>	'mother's milk'
...-breast	<i>ksimoots'iks</i>

<b>ksə-čál</b>	'fluid oozing from the eyes'
...-eye(s)	<i>ksits'aj</i>

7.1.B.2.b.3.e. (**k<sup>W</sup>i:s-**) *gwis* 'large piece of cloth or skin, garment, outfit, for/of/with ...' (probably related to **k<sup>W</sup>ilá** 'blanket' *gwila*). Used quite productively.

(1) with noun:

<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:s-haláy</b> ...-shaman	'Chilkat blanket' <i>gwiishalayt</i>
<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:s-qanmála?</b> ...-button	'button blanket' <i>gwiisganmála'a</i>
<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:s-miksít</b> ...-ermine/weasel	'ermine skin blanket' <i>gwiismiksít</i>
<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:s-múx<sup>W</sup></b> ...-ears (??)	'rug' <i>gwiismuxw</i>
(2) <u>with verb</u> :	
<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:s-lípist</b> ...-sew.AP	'traditional warm blanket or sleeping robe, made of sewn rabbitskins' <i>gwiislip'is</i>
<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:s-hatálsT</b> ...-working	'work clothes' <i>gwiishahlals</i>
<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:s-hátiks</b> ...-swimming	'[woman's] bathing suit' <i>gwiishadiks</i>
(3) <u>with adjective</u> :	
<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:s-ña=likškikát</b> ...-in spots=different.PL	'patchwork quilt' <i>gwiisñaaliksgigai</i>

7.1.B.2.b.3.f. (**qaltim-**) *galdim...*: This prefix forms nouns designating large, open containers (= (**?antə-**) *andi.../anda...*, 7.1.B.2.b.3.b.). Most instances involve relatively new items, and new words are freely made up.

(1) with noun:

<b>qaltim-lák<sup>W</sup></b> ...-firewood	'fireplace'	<i><b>galdimlakw</b></i>
<b>qaltim-čilím</b> ...-packed lunch, snack	'lunchbox'	<i><b>galdimts'ilim</b></i>
<b>qaltim-ʔan-ʔís</b> ...-PLACE-urine	'toilet bowl'	<i><b>galdim'an'iis</b></i>
<b>qaltim-hápax</b> ...-lid	'bowl, etc. used for keeping jar lids in hot water while canning'	<i><b>galdimhabax</b></i>

(2) with intransitive verb: (including compound verbs):

<b>qaltim-láqs</b> ...-bathing	'bathtub'	<i><b>galdimlaks</b></i>
<b>qaltim-wó.č</b> ...-trading	'store'	<i><b>galdimwoot'</b></i>
<b>qaltim-sitá-wisk<sup>W</sup></b> ...-freeze.AP	'freezer'	<i><b>galdimsidaawiskw</b></i>
<b>qaltim-[cam+hón]</b> ...-[boil.s.+fish]	'canning-pot'	<i><b>galdimjamhoon</b></i>
<b>qaltim-[sik<sup>W</sup>àk<sup>W</sup>aʔ-m+ʔamʔúkit]</b> ...-dry.DETR-ATTR+clothes	'clothes dryer'	<i><b>galdimsigwalkw'a'am-am'ugit</b></i>

It is possible that (**qaltim-**) *galdim...* should be treated as a separate noun with

Attributive suffix {-m} ...m (7.2.B.1.), rather than as a prefix. This would make the word a compound rather than a prefixed form. However, no noun \*qalt \*galt occurs in present-day Nisg̃ha, and the distribution is the same as that of a prefix, hence the classification adopted here.

7.1.B.2.b.3.g. (saxs-) saxs... 'boat, ship of/for...'

saxs-ʔát ...-fishnet	'fishing-boat, gillnetter, seiner'	<i>saxs'aat</i>
saxs-qán ...-log, wood	'raft'	<i>saxsgan</i>
saxs-wiltíkitk <sup>w</sup> ...-war	'man-of-war'	<i>saxswildigitkw</i>

The prefix might be related to the verb SÁX 'to pull s.t.' sax.

7.1.B.2.b.3.h. (sqan-) sk'an... 'support bearing ...': this prefix is used only with nouns.

(1) '... bush, tree, plant' (probably original meaning):

sqan-má.ý ...-berries	'berry-bush'	<i>sk'anmaay</i>
sqan-mílksT ...-crabapple(s)	'crabapple-tree'	<i>sk'anmilks(t)</i>
sqan-mi.kúnt ...-strawberries	'strawberry plant'	<i>sk'anmiigunt</i>



**sq̣an-má:wilx** 'horsetail [plant]'  
 ...-file [for wood] *sq̣'anmaawilx*

(2) '... support, shaft, post, pole, etc.' (probably derived meaning):

**sq̣an-ŷúx<sup>W</sup>** 'fishing-rod'  
 ...-[fishing].line *sq̣'anŷuxw*

**sq̣an-ható?** 'mast'  
 ...-sail *sq̣'anhahlo'o*

**sq̣an-lák<sup>Ws</sup>** 'lamp-post'  
 ...-lamp *sq̣'analakws*

#### 7.1.B.2.b.4. Prefixes with locational meaning:

7.1.B.2.b.4.a. (**čim-**) *ts'im...* '[the] inside of ..., in ..., into ...,'

This morpheme can be prefixed to so many nouns, wherever pragmatically possible, that it often seems to be a kind of preposition, corresponding to English 'in', and it seems to be moving towards prepositional use in the speech of some younger speakers (see Remark below). However, in many words it is definitely a prefix, used especially of body cavities, insides of objects, and place-names designating the approaches to a place.

(1) body cavities:

**čim-ʔá:q > čimá:q** '[inside of the] mouth'  
 ...-mouth, lips *ts'imaaq* (from *ts'im'aaq*)  
 (see 10.2.A.2.b.2.b.1.(b)) for loss of the glottal stop)

**čim-múx<sup>W</sup> > čimúx<sup>W</sup>** '[inside of the] ear'  
 ...-mouth, lips *ts'imuxw* (from *ts'immuxw*)



(a) *lu:=kámkčim t kùn* It's warm in here.  
 in=warm ... DC this  
*Luugamk ts'im tgun.*

7.1.B.2.b.4.b. (**kin-**) *Gin...* 'place of ... [unusual feature]' (used only in place-names):

**kin-qúlx** 'Kincolith' (site of a war episode in  
 ...-skull which enemy heads were displayed as a  
 warning to raiders) *Gingolx*

**kin-lú:laq̣** 'Ginlulak' (a Naas tributary in which a  
 ...-corpse quantity of bones were found)  
*Ginlulak'*

7.1.B.2.b.4.c. (**k<sup>W</sup>in-**) *Gwin...* 'place of ... [resource or typical activity]' (used only in place-names; homophonous with the Jussive prefix, 7.1.B.1.a.2.b.):

**k<sup>W</sup>in-hamóq** 'Kwinamuck' (Nass tributary)  
 ...-cow.parsnip  
*Gwinhamook*

**k<sup>W</sup>in-ʔahá:** 'Gwinaha' (a bend in the Nass River  
 ...-Beautiful! near Canyon City, from which one can  
 admire a beautiful view) *Gwin'ahaa*

**k<sup>W</sup>in-wóq** 'Gwinwawq' (a place)  
 ...-sleeping  
*Gwinwok*

7.1.B.2.b.4.d. (**lax-**) *lax...* 'top surface of ..., site of..., on ...':

(1) Like 'in' *ts'im...* (7.1.B.2.b.4.a.), this prefix is susceptible of such wide application that it often seems to be a preposition corresponding to English 'on'. It enters into the formation of a number of nouns with locational meaning and a large number of place-names, referring especially to flat, open spaces,

whether on land or water.

a. body surfaces:

**laḡ**-\*xśné:qs>laḡśné:qs      'top of foot, vamp'  
 ...-foot.arch?      *laḡśné:qs*

**laḡ**-nóʔot      'shoulder(s)'  
 ...-shell, dish (=shoulderblades?)      *laḡno'ohl*

b. other flat surfaces and open places:

**laḡ**-há      'sky, weather, heaven'  
 ...-air      *laḡha*

**laḡ**-\*ʔú      'top, upper surface [of ...]; on [...],  
 ...-covering?      over [...]'      *laḡ'u ...*

**laḡ**-ʔúmʔk<sup>W</sup>      'swamp'  
 ...-sphagnum.moss      *laḡ'umhkw*

**laḡ**-ʔan-si:lińsk<sup>W</sup>      'hunting-ground'  
 ...-place-hunting      *laḡ'ansilińskw*

**laḡ**-qal-čáp      'Greenville, Lakatzap' (a village which  
 ...-empty-group      was unoccupied at various times in the  
 past)      *Laḡgalts'ap*

(2) The sequence /laḡ/ also begins three names of 'tribes' or clans including the names of animals:

**laḡ**kipú:      'Wolf "tribe"'      *Laḡgibuu*  
 (kipú: 'wolf' *gibuu*)

**laxćimílx** 'Beaver clan' *Laxts'imilx*  
(ćimílx 'beaver' *ts'imilx*)

**laxskík** 'Eagle "tribe"' *Laxsgiik*  
(cf. **xskík**, the CT equivalent of N  
**xskák** 'eagle' *xsgaak*)

It is likely that the last form should be analyzed as a former prefixed plural (3.2.C.2.a.1.c., 7.1.B.1.a.1.a.) **lə-xskík** (*la-xsgiik*), which was later reinterpreted as **lax-xskík** 'on the eagle' (*lax-xsgiik*), hence a new pattern 'on-tribal animal' giving rise to the other two names.

7.1.B.2.b.4.e. (**spə-**) *sbi.../sba...* 'den, abode, dwelling-place of ... [non-human]' (homophonous with the proclitic meaning 'off horizontally', 7.1.A.1.b.3.b.):

**spə-smáx** 'bear's den'  
...-bear *sbismax*

**spə-qín** 'skunk's den'  
...-skunk *sbagen*

**spə-naxnóq** 'abode of a supernatural being'  
...-sup.being *sbinaɣnoq*

7.1.B.2.b.4.f. (**spa|qalyt-**) *sbagayt.../sbaayt.../sbayt...* 'among ...'

Like **ćim-** 'in...' *ts'im...* (7.1.B.2.b.4.a.) and **lax-** 'on ...' *lax...* (7.1.B.2.b.4.d.), this prefix is so productive that it almost seems to be a preposition, especially since the resulting prefixed nouns are often used as complements rather than arguments in a clause.

**spa|qalytsqańisT** '[place] among the mountains'  
...-mountain *sbayt sqańisT*

**spa[qa]ytsqé: xk<sup>W</sup>** 'in the darkness'  
 ...-dark[ness] *sbayt sk'eeɣkw*

**spa[qa]y tqan)qán** 'in the| forest'  
 ...-PL)tree *sbayt gangan*

7.1.B.2.b.4.h. (**sqa-**) *sk'a...* 'among ...'

This non-productive prefix is found especially in place-names.

**x-sqa-skinísT > ksqa skinísT** 'Ishkheenickh (a Nass River tributary)'  
 ?-...-pine *Ksk'asginist*

**kit-sqa-hásT > kisqa(h)ásT** 'the Killerwhale "tribe" (lit. people of  
 the fireweeds) *Gisk'ahaast, Gisk'aas*  
 (from *Git-sk'ahaast*)

**sqa-\*ptí** '[in] the midst of ... [a group]'  
 -...-? (prob. related to *ptéq*  
 'exogamic clan, "tribe" *pdeek*) *sk'apdi...*

The following verb, now considered old, is formed by suffixation on the same pattern **sqa**-Noun:

**sqa-kát-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to be among people, to participate in  
 ...-people-MED social activities' *sk'agatkw*

7.1.B.2.b.4.i. (**čim-**) *t'im...* 'place [not geographical] characterized by ...' (= homophonous proclitic, 7.1.A.1.b.44.; unproductive).

(1) body parts: (= (**čim-**) *ts'im...* 7.1.B.2.b.4.a.)

<b>t̃im-qís</b> ...-hair	'head'	<i>t'imges</i>
<b>t̃im-[ha-kóʔ]</b> ...-[having-backbone]	'spine [visible on a person's back]'	<i>t'imhak'yo'o</i>
<b>t̃im-*tám</b> ...-?	'shin'	<i>t'imhlaam</i>
(2) other:		
<b>t̃im-*lá:n-ət</b> ...-stern/rear-REL	'steersman'	<i>t'imlaanit</i>

It is likely that this prefix derives from the attributive form **tám** *t'aam* of the verb **tá:** 'to exist, stay, sit' *t'aə*. It is sometimes preceded by the prefix (**?an-**) *aa...* which often has locative meaning (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.a.(1)), as in:

<b>?an-t̃im-?aníT</b> place-...-branch	'knothole'	<i>ant'im'anis(t)</i>
<b>?an-t̃im-čík'wəʔ</b> place-...-leak.DETR	'place in a canoe where the bailer sits'	<i>ant'imts'iikw'a'a</i>

7.1.B.2.b.4.j. **{X-/k-}** *x.../k...* 'place ... ??'

This prefix is not productive. It is used only in some place-names. The alternant **{k-}** *k...* is used before /s/.

<b>X-ńúk<sup>W</sup></b> ...-trad.halibut.hook (?)	'Iknouk (Nass River tributary)'	<i>Xáukw</i>
<b>X-čim-ʔínq</b> ...-in-storage.box	'Chemainuk (Nass River tributary)'	<i>Xts'im'ink</i>

lax-x-ʔá:t on-...-fish.w.net	'Portland Canal' <i>Lax'aat</i>
kit-x-sán > kitksan people-...-Skeena.river	'Gitksan (people)' <i>Gitksan</i>
k-sq̄a-skinísT ...-among-pine	'Ishkheenickh (Nass River tributary)' <i>Ksk'asginist</i>

7.1.B.2.b.4. Color prefixes: These were probably formerly free forms (modifiers, cf. 5.15), but now occur only bound in a few forms.

7.1.B.2.b.4.a. (**mis-**) *mis*... 'red'; probably a reduced form of \***más** *mas*, the root or base of **másk<sup>W</sup>** 'reddish-brown' *maskw*:

mis-ʔáwsT ...-sand	'red ochre' <i>mis'aws(t)</i>
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7.1.B.2.b.4.b. (**ma:s-**) *maas*... 'white, shining, radiant':

má:s-ʔúl ...-bear	'white bear' <i>maas'ul</i>
má:s-čínʔík ...-bear	'white squirrel' <i>maasts'inhlik'</i>

This prefix probably occurs also in

má:sáx <sup>W</sup>	'grey/white [hair]' <i>maasax<sup>W</sup></i>
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but the rest of the word is not identifiable.



7.1.B.2.b.4.c. Remark: In CT, processes of deglottalization and vowel-reduction in unstressed initial syllable have led to homophony of the equivalent prefixes, thus both the meanings 'red' and 'white' are represented by *mis*

7.1.B.2.c. Numeral prefixes: Frozen prefixes for 'one' and 'ten': (\* numerals used as prefixes, see 7.1.B.2.b.2.)

Two series of words sharing the meanings 'one ...' and 'ten ...' respectively, start with distinctive consonantal shapes which can be considered as frozen prefixes or compounding elements.

7.1.B.2.c.1. (*k̡ə-*) *k̡...* 'one ...'

This prefix is recognizable at the beginning of three of the four numerals for 'one (5.4.) as well as in a number of other words sharing the meaning 'one' or at least singular usage. In most cases the rest of the word is not identifiable, but the few cases where it is lend credence to the prefixing or compounding interpretation.

<i>k̡í</i>	'one [object]'	
...-? (shared with 'ten [objects]')		<i>k̡'í</i>
<i>k̡ó</i>	'one [person]'	
...-? (shared with 'ten [persons]')		<i>k̡'yool</i>
<i>k̡é:kʷ</i>	'one [animal, skin]'	
...-?		<i>k̡'ee:kʷ</i>
<i>k̡ə-kít-tkʷ</i>	'twenty (=one man['s fingers and toes])'	
...-man-MED	(obsolete)	<i>k̡'igitkʷ</i>
<i>k̡ə-*ʔá</i> > <i>k̡á</i>	'one-eyed'	
...-eye		<i>k̡'aa</i>

<b>kéxk<sup>w</sup></b> ...-?	'(one) to flee' <i>k'ee<sup>w</sup>kw</i>
<b>káɬ=</b> ...-?	'pulling to one side (proclitic, 7.1.A.1.b.21)' <i>k'aah/...</i>
<b>kí:</b> ...-?	'ahead of others (modifier, 5.15.B.47.)' <i>k'ii ...</i>

7.1.B.2.c.2. (**xpə-**) *xbi.../xba...* 'ten ...'

This prefix is recognizable at the beginning of two of the four words for 'ten' (5.4.), where the rest of the word, though unanalyzable, is shared with words for 'one':

<b>xpá:</b> ...-? (shared with 'one [object])	'ten [objects]' <i>xbi'</i>
<b>xpól:</b> ...-? (shared with 'one [person])	'ten [persons]' <i>xbool</i>

as well as in two words for measures (cf. 7.1.B.2.b.2.c./d.):

<b>xpə-?ún-ti:</b> ...-hand/arm/fathom-PL?	'ten fathoms' <i>xba'undii</i>
<b>xpə-?sáh-ta</b> ...-day-PL?	'ten-day period' <i>xbisaada</i>

7.1.B.3. Other parts of speech used as prefixes: A few modifiers (5.15.) and subordinators (5.16) can also be used as prefixes, with widely varying rates of productivity. That they are used as prefixes is shown by the impossibility of replacing the modifier or subordinator with another in this context. The

semantics of some of these formations shows that they developed in the post-contact period; others are definitely older.

7.1.B.3.a. Modifiers used as prefixes: They do not define class membership, but are usually lexically restricted. Productivity varies considerably between modifiers. Only a few common ones are mentioned in this section.

7.1.B.3.a.1. (**?ax-**) *ax...* 'no ..., non-..., un...' (cf. 5.15.B.15.); very productive in creating negative adjectives:

<b>?ax-*</b> húkax ...-correct, just	'incorrect, unjust, unrighteous' <i>axhugax</i>
<b>?ax-</b> múx <sup>W</sup> ...-ears	'[s.o.] who does not listen' <i>axmuxw</i>
<b>?ax-</b> ?an?úńsT ...-sleeve	'sleeveless' <i>ax'an'úńs(t)</i>

This prefix also enters into abstract nouns:

?an- <b>?ax-</b> kú CAUSE-...-s.t.	's.t. one does not care about' <i>an'axgu</i>
?an- <b>?ax-</b> *?áq† CAUSE-...-can?	's.t. one cannot afford' <i>an'ax'axhl</i>

The last form seems to be a back-formation from **?áq†k<sup>W</sup>** *axhlkw* 'to [finally] succeed, be able to ...', itself from the negative verb **?áq** *ax* (5.4.D.) and the suffix **-†k<sup>W</sup>** *-h/kw* which indicates temporariness (7.2.C.2.b.2.) (to be temporarily unable = to finally succeed). The verb seems to have been re-analyzed as **?áq†-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** *axhl-kw*, hence a new stem **?áq†** *axhl* used here.



**qam-k<sup>ʷ</sup>ásT** 'broken pieces (of glass, etc.)'  
 ...-shattered  
*qamkw'as(t)*

**qam-xpéqsk<sup>W</sup>** 'sawdust'  
 ...-sawing  
*qamxbeeqskw*

**qam-x-čáq̣** 'clamshells'  
 ...-eat-clams  
*qamx'ts'aq̣'*

**qam-x-ʔaná:x** 'bread crumbs'  
 ...-eat-bread  
*qamx'anaax*

(b) with transitive verb:

**qam-kíp** 'inedible scraps left from a meal'  
 ...-food/eat.s.  
*qamkip*

**qam-tám̃** '[coffee] grounds, [wine, etc.] dregs'  
 ...-press.s.  
*qamdám̃*

**qam-póx** 'inedible parts: seeds, etc. expelled from  
 ...-blow.s.out the mouth while eating berries, etc.'  
*qambox*

(c) with noun:

**qam-čúč** 'soot'  
 ...-charcoal  
*qamts'uuts'*

7.1.B.3.a.5. (**tku-**) *higu...* 'little (sg.) ...' (see 5.15.B.36 about the recent evolution from modifier to prefix):

<b>ɬku-ćúsk</b> ...-little	'to be small, little' <i>ɬguts'uusk</i>
<b>ɬku-tílpk<sup>W</sup></b> ...-close	'to be short' <i>ɬgudilpk<sup>W</sup></i>
<b>ɬku-tkítk<sup>W</sup></b> ...-child	'child (young person)' <i>ɬgutk'ihkw</i>

7.1.B.3.a.6. (**kupa:-**) *k'uba..* 'little (pl.)' (5.15.B.37.)

<b>kupa-tkítk<sup>W</sup></b> ...-child	'children (young persons)' <i>k'ubatk'ihkw</i>
<b>kupa-si)sús</b> ...-little(pl.)	'to be small, little (pl.)' <i>k'ubasisuus</i>

7.1.B.3.a.7. (**k<sup>W</sup>i:x-/kux<sup>W</sup>-**) 'habitually, keenly' *gwiix-/gurw-* (5.15.B.50.)

This modifier is used as a prefix to form adjectives, both from other adjectives and from verbs. (The two alternate forms for the prefix coexist in Aiyansh, but the first form seems to be more prevalent in the downriver villages):

<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:x-ʔaláys</b> ...-reluctant, unwilling	'to be lazy' <i>gwiix-alays</i>
<b>k<sup>W</sup>i:x-ɬít</b> ...-[play] ball	'to be a ballplayer' <i>gwiixhlit'</i>
<b>kux<sup>W</sup>-tóq</b> ...-rise.early	'to be an early riser' <i>guxvhlóok</i>
<b>kux<sup>W</sup>-cáp</b> ...-make.s.	'to be good with one's hands' <i>guxwjap</i>

That these formations are adjectives, not nouns or intransitive verbs, is shown by their use with the modifier  $\dot{k}a$ : 'most' *k'aa* (5.15.B.16.) in sentences such as:

- Péter= $\dot{k}a$ :  $kux^w$ cáp- $\dot{e}tl\dot{o}$ :-tit  
P.=NC most handy-REL IND-3P

Of all of them, Peter is the best at working with his hands.

*Peterh/ k'aa guxwjabit loodiit.*

To form the plural of these words, the Distributive plural prefix ( $qa-$ ) *ga-* (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.) is inserted between the prefix and the main word, as in

- $k^w$ i:x- $qa$ - $\dot{h}it$   $\dot{n}itit$   
...-PL-[play] ball them

They are always playing ball, they are ballplayers. *Gwiix-gahlit'  $\dot{n}idiit$ .*

7.1.B.3.b. Subordinators used as prefixes: The subordinators  $qan$  '[reason] why' *gan* (5.16.B.1.),  $\dot{q}ay$  'still' *k'ay* (5.16.B.9), and  $wil$  'as, because, where, when' *wil* (5.16.B.7.) are also used as prefixes. The most prolific such use is that of  $qan$  '[reason] why' *gan*, which seems to have known considerable productivity during the missionization period. The use of  $wil$  'as, because, where, when' *wil* as a prefix is obviously older.  $\dot{q}ay$  'still' *k'ay* is only used as a prefix in three or four forms. With few exceptions the basic words are intransitive verbs.

7.1.B.3.b.1. ( $qan-$ ) *gan*... 'cause, means of ...' (cf. 5.16.B.1.). The range of meanings of this prefix, both concrete and abstract, is roughly similar to that of ( $\dot{q}an-$ ) *an*... (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.a.), except that ( $qan-$ ) *gan*... never has locational meaning. Most instances deal with post-contact objects and concepts, including a large number of Christian religious and moral concepts.

(a) concrete meaning: 'means of ..., reason why ...'

$qan$ - $\dot{t}im\dot{i}sT$   
...-writing

'pencil'

*gant'imis(t)*

<b>qan-ki)kóks</b> ...-ASP)float	'lifejacket'	<i>gan gigyooks</i>
<b>qan-lu=qúypax</b> ...-in=bright	'window'	<i>gan luugoyp'ax</i>
<b>qan-wálx</b> ...-carry.s.on.back	'packsaddle'	<i>gan walx</i>

(b) abstract meaning: 'cause of ..., reason why ...': the numerous abstract words formed with this prefix designate general concepts, as opposed to the abstract meaning of (**?an-**) *sa...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.a.) which designates specific causes or sources of a feeling or idea.

<b>qan-titílsT</b> ...-live	'life'	<i>gan didils(t)</i>
<b>qan-xpəčáx<sup>W</sup></b> ...-afraid	'fear'	<i>gan xbits'axw</i>
<b>qan-wilá:kíls</b> ...-knowledgeable	'education'	<i>gan wilaak'íls</i>
<b>qan-[k<sup>W</sup>ilks=?ítk<sup>W</sup>-s]</b> ...-[...=blame.s.-...]REFL	'repentance'	<i>gan gwilks'itkws</i>

7.1.B.3.b.2. **wil** *wil...* 'as, because, where, when' (5.16.B.7.): forms new nominals:

<b>wil-ńa=tá†</b> ...-in.spot=be.in.group	'smaller organized group: clan (division within a "tribe"), family, team, etc.'	<i>wilńast'ahl</i>
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<b>wil-pax=ha†=hít<sup>W</sup></b> ...-uphill=parallel=stand	'slope, rollercoaster'
	<i>wilbaghabhitkw</i>
<b>wil-kse=ʔít<sup>W</sup></b> ...-out-come.from	'paternal relative'
	<i>wilksiwítkw</i>
<b>wil-kát</b> ...-be, fare? [here, not 'person']	'[to be a certain] color'
	<i>wilgat</i>
<b>Wilhíłkit</b> prob. from * <b>wil-híłt-kit</b> ...-many-people	'multitude'
	<i>wilhilgit</i>

Such a noun equivalent can be used in a noun-incorporating verb (9.2.):

<b>čàkaʔ-m-wil-mí†</b> put.out.s.DETR-ATTR+...-burn	'to put out fires; firefighting'
	<i>ts'ak'a'am-wil-mihl</i>
<b>łíłkit-m-wil-náks</b> feast-ATTR+...-married	'[to hold a] wedding feast'
	<i>łilgidim-wil-naks</i>

7.1.B.3.b.3. **q̣ay** *k'ay*... 'still...' (5.16.B.9.): the prefixed use seems to be restricted to three forms:

<b>q̣ay-más</b> ...-grow	'teen-aged, young (sg.)'
	<i>k'aymás</i>
<b>q̣ay-łimqsT/q̣ay-*máqs</b> ...-grow	'teen-aged, young (pl.)'
	<i>k'aylimks/k'aymaks</i>

But the word **q̣ayúk<sup>WS</sup>** 'smoke-dried salmon fillets' *k'ayukws* probably belongs here as well as it must be derived from earlier **q̣ay-húk<sup>WS</sup>** *k'ay-hukws* cf. Gitksan *hurws* 'id.'

7.1.B.3.b.4. **wila:** *wilaa* ... 'how' (5.16.B.8.): is used as a prefix to form the intransitive or adjective **wila:-cáp-T** 'to look like' *wilaa jap-di*.

- ntá=† **wila:-cáp-T-[t]=†**laxhà      What is the weather like?  
which.way=NC ...-make.s.-DEF-[3]=NC sky      *Ndahl wilaa jabihl lagha?*
- sim húkax-ə-n=† **wila:-cáp-T-[t]=s[t]**lnox-n  
really be.like.s.-CTL-2S ...-make.s.-DEF-[3]=DC {DM} mother-2S  
You look a lot like your mother.  
*Sim hugaxanhl wilaa jabis noon.*
- ni: nə ti: ?anóq-[t]=† **wila:-cáp-T-ýkù.ń**  
not 1S.E INTS like.s.-[3]=NC ...-make.s.-DEF-1S now  
I don't like the way I look now.  
*Nindii anookhl wilaa japiy guun.*

## 7.2. Suffixes:

Suffixes are divided into Inflectional suffixes (a small, closed class, 7.2.A.), Mediating suffixes (a very small class, 7.2.B.), Predicative suffixes (a fairly large class, with some productive elements, 7.2.C.), and Lexical suffixes (a very small class, 7.2.D.).

### 7.2.A. Inflectional suffixes:

7.2.A.1. Personal suffixes: Definite personal suffixes indicate person and number. For the 1st and 2nd persons, singular and plural are clearly differentiated. For the 3rd person, the single suffix **(-t)** is used not only for the singular, but also for the plural under certain conditions. Another suffix, the indefinite **(-ti:)** *-dii*, has restricted distribution by itself but combines with the 3rd person **(-t)** to form a 3rd person plural suffix **(-ti:t)** *-diit*, also with restricted distribution.

7.2.A.1.a. Definite personal suffixes: The personal suffixes are used in a variety of syntactic roles, but they are not case-markers. They are used:

- with nouns, to indicate the possessor;
- with other  $P_a$ 's (intransitive verbs, adjectives and numerals) in regular clauses, to indicate the A argument (Subject or Attribute; see below 7.2.A.1.a.2.b. for restrictions on the occurrence of the 3P suffix);
- with  $P_{EA}$ 's (transitive verbs) in regular clauses, to indicate the A argument (Object); in predicate-focused clauses, to indicate the E argument (Agent).

The personal suffixes are also used in the formation of the Independent personal pronouns, built on the base  $\dot{n}\dot{i}$ - *ni...* (5.8.), and the Indirect personal pronouns, built on the base  $l\dot{o}$ - *loo...* (5.9.).

7.2.A.1.a.1. Forms and rules:

	SG	PL
1	$-\dot{y}$ $-\dot{y}'$	$-\dot{m}$ $-\dot{m}'$
2	$-\dot{n}$ $-\dot{n}'$	$-\dot{s}\dot{i}\dot{m}$ $-\dot{s}\dot{i}\dot{m}'$
3	$-\dot{t}$ $-\dot{t}'$	$-\dot{t}/-\dot{t}i:\dot{t}$ $-\dot{t}'/-\dot{t}'i:\dot{t}'$

The rule of VOWEL EPENTHESIS (10.1.A.1.a.2.d.2.(a)) inserts a vowel between a consonant-final stem and a suffix beginning in a syllabic resonant. It applies before  $\{-\dot{y}\}$  '1S',  $\{-\dot{n}\}$  '2S' and  $\{-\dot{m}\}$  '1P'. The vowel quality is determined by the VOWEL SPECIFICATION rule (10.1.A.1.a.), hence for instance:

nixtá:-ỵ	>	nixtá.ỵ	'my aunt'	
aunt-1S				<i>nixdaaỵ</i>
ʔá:t-ỵ	>	ʔá:tiỵ	'my net'	
net-1S				<i>aadiỵ</i>
čimá:q-ỵ	>	čimá:qaỵ́	'my mouth'	
mouth-1S				<i>ts'imaagaỵ́</i>

7.2.A.1.a.2. Use of 3rd person suffixes:

7.2.A.1.a.2.a. The 3rd person suffix pronoun -ṭ: The suffix pronoun -ṭ is glossed as '3' rather than '3S' as it is not restricted to singular use (see below 7.2.A.1.a.2.b.). Except in predicate-focused P<sub>A</sub> clauses, it is always present on the predicate, whether or not a noun is also present (4.3.B.). However, it does not always occur as a recognizable phonological element, since its phonological shape causes it to be subject to the morphophonosyntactic CONSONANT-/DELETION rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.) which deletes it before a non-Velar fricative, such as the determinate connective =S ...s or the non-determinate connective =ṭ ...h/ (6.2.B.) under most conditions). But its presence is recoverable from its overt occurrence when not immediately followed by a connective, as when postclitics intervene (6.3.).

7.2.A.1.a.2.a.1. Suffix refers to E in predicate-focused transitive clause, to A (Subject) in regular intransitive clause: In the following examples, the two types of clauses are linked in a single example for convenience, but the structures are independent of each other.

(a) pronoun phonologically present in the absence of a noun (hence, in the absence of a pre-nominal connective):

- without postclitic after the verb:

- ká?-ə-t wil páx-t                      S/he saw it/him/her run.  
see.s.-CTL-3 SUB run-3                      *Ga'at wil baɣt.*
  
- with postclitic after the verb:
  
- ká?-ə-t==qat wil páx-t==a?      I hear s/he saw it/him/her actually run!  
see.s.-CTL-3 SUB run-3                      *Ga'at-gat wil baɣda'a!*
  
- (b) pronoun not phonologically present when immediately followed by a  
(pre-nominal) connective:
  
- ká?-ə-[t]=s [t] Pèter wil páx-[t]=s [t] Màry  
see.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] P. SUB run-[3]=DC [DM] M.  
Peter saw Mary run.  
*Ga'as Peter wil baɣs Màry.*
  
- ká?-ə-[t]=† kàt wil páx-[t]=† hanàǰ  
see.s.-CTL-[3]=NC man SUB run-[3]=NC woman  
The man saw the woman run.  
*Ga'ahl gat wil baɣhl hanak'.*
  
- (c) pronoun phonologically present when a postclitic intervenes between it and  
a pre-nominal connective:
  
- ká?-ə-t==qa[t]=s [t] Pèter wil páx-t==a?=s [t] Màry  
see.s.-CTL-3==REP=DC [DM] P. SUB run-3==ASST=DC [DM] M.  
I hear Peter saw Mary actually run!  
*Ga'at-gas Peter wil baɣda'as Màry!*
  
- ká?-ə-t==qa[t]=† kàt wil páx-t==a?=† hanàǰ  
see.s.-CTL-3-REP=NC man SUB run-3-ASST=NC woman  
I hear the man saw the woman actually run!  
*Ga'at-ga(t)hl gat wil baɣda'ahl hanak'!*

7.2.A.1.a.2.a.2. Suffix refers to A (Object) in regular transitive clause:

Note that the single noun following the Object pronoun may corefer either with the Agent or with the Object; the difference is indicated by the stress pattern (4.3.B.2.).

(a) suffix pronoun not phonologically present on the surface when followed by a connective:

- the following noun has secondary stress and does not corefers with the suffix pronoun (but with the 3ERG clitic pronoun preceding the verb):

- ká?-ə-t wil-t tə-páx-[t]=t tku-tkík<sup>W</sup>  
 see.s.-CTL-3 SUB-3E DOM-run[3]=NC little-\* child  
 S/he saw the child run, carrying it/him/her.  
*Ga'at wil t dibaxh<sup>l</sup> hlgutk'ihkw.*
- ká?-ə-t wil-t tə-páx-[t]=s [t]Chrìs  
 see.s.-CTL-3 SUB-3E DOM-run[3]=DC [DM]C.  
 S/he saw Chris run, carrying it/ him/her.  
*Ga'at wil t dibaxs Chris.*

- the following noun has primary stress and corefers with the suffix pronoun:

- ká?-ə-t wil-t tə-páx-[t]=t tku-tkík<sup>W</sup>  
 see.s.-CTL-3 SUB-3E DOM-run[3]=NC little-\* child  
 S/he saw him/her run, carrying a/the child.  
*Ga'at wil t dibaxh<sup>l</sup> hlgutk'ihkw.*
- ká?-ə-t wil-t tə-páx-[t]=s [t]Chrìs  
 see.s.-CTL-3 SUB-3E DOM-run[3]=DC [DM]C.

S/he saw him/her run, carrying Chris.

*Ga'at wilt dibaxs Chris.*

(b) pronoun phonologically present on the surface when a postclitic occurs after the verb:

- ká?-ə-twil-ttə-páx-t==a?=-t tku-tkít+k<sup>W</sup>

see.s.-CTL-3SUB-3EDOM-run-3==ASST=NC little-\* child

S/he saw it/him/her actually run, carrying a/the child.

*Ga'at wilt dibaxda'ahl hlgutk'ihkw.*

- ká?-ə-twil-ttə-páx-t==a?=s[t]Chris

see.s.-CTL-3SUB-3EDOM-run-3==ASST-DC[DM]C.

S/he saw Chris actually run, carrying him/her.

*Ga'at wilt dibaxda'as Chris.*

7.2.A.1.a.2.b. The 3rd person plural suffix pronoun {-ti:t} -dii: The 3rd person plural suffix {-ti:t} -dii is peculiar both in its formation and its distribution.

- It is not a single suffix, but consists of the Indefinite personal suffix {-ti:} *dii* (7.2.A.1.b.) followed by the 3rd person suffix -t.

- When added to a clause predicate, it is used consistently only to refer to a plural Agent (E argument). When referring to a plural Object or Possessor (A argument), it is used only for humans (or animals and other characters given human characteristics in stories), and cannot corefer with a noun as -t does (7.2.A.1.a.2.b.2.(b)). For other referents, such as ordinary objects and animals, -t is used for both singular and plural. This distinction between humans and non-humans is characteristic of YFS speech, but in Boas and with some very old speakers, -t alone is often used to refer to groups of humans as well. This suggests that the present use of the compound suffix is fairly recent.





(2) referring to Plural human Object: when an Object noun is not present in the clause:

- **wil-t ká?-[t]=t kupa:-tkítkw**  
 SUB-3E see.s.-3P=NC little.PL-\*child  
 ... as/when/where s/he saw the children.  
 ... *wilt ga'ahl k'ubatk'ihlkw*.
- **wil-t ká?-[t]=s tip Chrís**  
 SUB-3E see.s.-3P=DC DM.PL C.  
 ... as/when/where s/he saw Chris "and them".  
 ... *wilt ga'as dip Chris*
- **wil-t ká?-ti:t** ... as/when/where s/he saw them.  
 SUB-3E see.s.-3P ... *wilt ga'adiit*
- **nə wil ká?-ti:t** ... as/when/where I saw them.  
 1S.E SUB see.s.-3P ... *n: wil ga'adiit*

Compare with a non-human Object:

- **wil-t ká?-[t]=t kupa: smáx**  
 SUB-3E see.s.-3P=NC little.PL bear  
 ... as/when/where s/he saw the bear cubs.  
 ... *wilt ga'ahl k'uba smax*.
- **wil-t ká?-t** ... as/when/where s/he saw it/them.  
 SUB-3E see.s.-3 ... *wilt ga'at*

7.2.A.1.a.2.b.2. Use in possessive noun-phrase: (see 3.2.A.2.a.).

The plural suffix is used when referring to two or more human possessors, not normally to non-human ones.

(a) single object, several possessors (human):

- wìlp-[t]=† kát tip kùs[t]      'those people's house'  
house-[3]=NC people DM.PL that      *wilphl gat dip gus*
- wìlp-[t]=s tip Péter      'Peter "and them"'s house'  
house-[3]=DC DM.PL.      *wilps dip Peter*
- wìlp-ti:t      'their house'  
house-3P      *wilpdit*

(b) individually distributed possessions:

- human possessors:

- qa-?asisàý-[t]=† kupa:-tkítkW      'the children's feet'  
DIST-feet-[3]=NC little.PL-\*child      *ga'asisayhl k'atatk'ihkw*
- qa-?asisàý ti:t      'their feet'  
DIST-feet-3P      *ga'asisaydit*

- non-human possessors:

- qa-?asisàý-[t]=† čú:č      'the birds' feet'  
DIST-feet-[3]=NC bird      *ga'asisayhl ts'uuts'*
- qa-?asisàý t      'their feet'  
DIST-feet-3      *ga'asisayt*

7.2.A.1.b. Indefinite personal suffix [-ti:] -dii:

The indefinite personal suffix is used only with P<sub>A</sub>'s, never with P<sub>EA</sub>'s. Unlike the other personal suffixes, it can be used both in regular and predicate-focused

clauses, although the former is more common:

- Reg. •cəkaʔkú=ʔtim míluk<sup>W</sup>-ti:      When is the dance going to be?  
 IRR when?=NC FUT dance-...      *Ji gəʔguhl dim miilukwdii?*
- naxhá-(y)ə-ý willoqali=yé:-ti:qalá:n-ý  
 hear.s.-CTL-1S SUB following=walk-... behind-1S  
 I heard [someone] walking behind me.  
*Naxháiy̆ wil loq'aliyeedii galaaniy̆.*
- ʔakú==y)əmaʔ=ʔhu)wíl-ti:      I wonder what's going on?  
 what==DUB=NC ASP)be/act-...      *Aguyima ahl huwildii?*
- P.-Foc. •timmíluk<sup>W</sup>-ti:tá:yuwín      Tonight there is a dance.  
 FUT dance-... tonight      *Dim miilukwdii t'aayuwín.*

Some occurrences of this suffix with nouns parallel those of the frozen suffix {-ta} -da (7.2.A.1.c.) and hint to a former plural meaning (see also 7.1.B.2.b.2. Numerals used as suffixes).

#### 7.2.A.1.c. The frozen suffix {-ta} -da:

This suffix was probably originally a variant of the impersonal suffix {-ti:} -dii. It occurs only in a few words with mass or plural meaning, where it is felt to be part of the word itself, although some peculiarities of use show its original meaning.

- 7.2.A.1.c.1.      qó:-ta      '(mass, group) to be gone'  
                          \*all.gone      *goods*

This word never takes the 3P suffix {-ti:t} -dii, only the 3 suffix, as in:

- †a: qó:-ta-t̄  
now \*all.gone-...-3  
They're/It's all gone.  
*Hlaa goodat.*
- †a: qó:-ta-t̄==a?=†winè:x-m̄ (Believe it or not) our food is all gone!  
now \*all.gone-...-3==ASST=NC food-1P *Hlaa goodada'ahl wineeyim!*
- †a: yáqa=qó:-ta-[t]=†kàt  
now downhill=\*all.gone-...-[3]=NC people  
The people have all gone down to the waterfront.  
*Hlaa yagagoodahl gat*

The sequence -ta-t̄ -da-t̄ is exactly parallel to the compound structure -ti:-t̄ -di-t̄ of the 3P suffix (7.2.A.1.a.2.b.).

7.2.A.1.c.2.      ... \*hí:-ta      '(pl) to say "..."  
say.PL-...      ... *hiida*

This word, the singular form of which is yá 'to say "..."' *ya*, is a single exception to all Nisgaha verbs, in that it never takes a personal suffix. It is always used with a preceding E clitic, which is phonologically bound to it, and which, in the plural form, corefers with the suffix {-ta} -da:

... nəyá      "'...", I said/say'  
1SE say      ... *niya*

.. t yá > təyá      "'...", s/he said/says'  
3E say      ... *diya*

.. t hí:-ta > təhíta      "'...", they said'  
3E say.PL-...      ... *dihida*

.. mə sim hí:-ta      '[you (pl.)] Say "..."  
2E 2E say.PL-...      ... *mi sim hiida*

Unlike the case in other verbs, the plural suffix is still used here when followed by a coreferring nominal:

.. t hí:-**ta** > təhí:ta-[t]=† kàt      "'...", the people said/say'  
 3E say.PL-...-[3]=NC people      ... *dihíidahl gat*

7.2.A.1.c.3.      há-**ta**      'there is a breeze'  
                          air-...      *hada*

This word is used as an ambient predicate, usually in the expression:

çù:sk-mhá-**ta**      There is a light breeze.  
 little-ATT air-...      *Ts'uusgim hada*.

If the word is analyzed into stem and suffix instead of considered a single ambient predicate, the sentence above shows the suffix used in a predicate-focused clause, paralleling the use of {-tɪ:} *-dii* (but not of other personal suffixes) in such clauses (7.2.A.1.b.).

7.2.A.1.c.4.      \*ʔó:-**ta**      'protective covers, (esp. now) diapers'  
                          \*protect.s.?-...      *ooda*

In the modern meaning ('diapers') of this word, the suffix is fully integrated semantically and the resulting noun can occur with all personal suffixes, including the 3rd plural suffix:

- timsix)sitxé:x<sup>W</sup>-T-ə-n=† †ə qa-ʔó:ta-tit  
 FUT PL)change.s.-DEF-CTL-2S=NCthe DIST-diapers-3P  
 [I want you to] change their diapers!  
*Dim sixsityeexwdinh1 hla ga'oodadiit.*

### 7.2.A.2. The Relative suffix {-ə)t}:

The Relative suffix  $\{-\text{(ə)t}\}$   $-t/-it/-at$  has the shape /t/ after vowel and /ət/  $-it/-at$  after consonant. It can be added to all  $P_A$ 's (see Focusing, 4.7.A.).

(a) With a noun: in a question, it relativizes the possessor.

- $nà=† pót-ət ?a=s[t]kùsti$                       Whose boat is that?  
     who=NC boat-... PREP=DC [DM] that.Q              *Naahl boodit as gusdi?*

(b) With an intransitive verb or adjective: it relativizes the Subject:

- $nà=† ?ax húksw-ət$                       Who isn't here/didn't come?  
     who=NC not be present-...                      *Naahl ax huksgwit?*
- $?akù=† ká:wí:náksw-ət$                       Which is the longest?  
     who=NC most long-...                      *Aguhl k'aa wiihagwit?*
- $k^{W}iná:ti=† wílp luk^{W}†i=hít^{W}-ət †ax^{W}-[t]=† hápisk^{W}$   
     surprise!=NC house under=stand-... underside-[3]=NC grass  
     To his surprise, there was a house standing right underneath the grass.  
     (127.13-14)                      *Gwinaadiihl wílp lukwhihitgwit hlaxwhl hap'iskw.*

(c) Some relativized  $P_A$ 's can be used as nouns:

- $qa-simútk^{W}s-ət$                       'believers', hence 'Christians'  
     DISTR-believe-...                      *gasimutkwsit*
- $†imcéq-ət$                       'bowman [in canoe]'  
     bow-...                      *t'imts'eegat*

### 7.2.A.3. The Control suffix $\{-ə-\}$ :

The suffix  $\{-ə-\}$  ( $-yə-$  after vowel)  $-yi/-i/-ə-$  is not part of the citation form of a transitive verb, but is added to it in predicate-focused clauses (4.4.)

before the personal suffix which indicates the Agent, with the exception of the 3P suffix  $\{-t\}$  *-diit* (7.2.A.3.b.). (Note that the 3 suffix  $\{-t\}$  often does not occur phonologically before a connective, because of the rule of Consonant-deletion, 10.2.A.2.b.1.c.). The suffix  $\{-\emptyset-\}$  seems to indicate that the following personal suffix is the Agent, therefore that the verb is understood as having an Object. For this reason the term Control (CTL) has been chosen here to identify this suffix.

#### 7.2.A.3.a. Conditions of occurrence:

Because of the rules of vowel-insertion before resonant (10.1.A.1.a.2.d.2.(a)) and after /ʔ/ (2.1.B.3.b.3.b.) and Vowel-deletion after resonant (except /ʔ/), the suffix  $\{-\emptyset-\}$  is not always phonologically present on the surface, and it may also be confused with an epenthetic vowel, especially before a personal suffix consisting of a resonant, such as  $\{-\check{y}\}$  '1S',  $\{-n\}$  '2S',  $\{-\check{m}\}$  '1P' (7.2.A.1.a.). It does not occur at all before the 3P suffix  $\{-t\}$  *-diit* (7.2.A.3.b.).

The presence of the CTL suffix before the suffixes  $\{-t\}$  '3' and  $\{-sim\}$  '2P' differentiates a transitive verb from a possessed noun used as clause predicate:

- transitive verb:

ʔanóq- $\emptyset$ -t	S/he likes/liked it.
like.s.-...-3	<i>Anoogat.</i>

ʔanóq- $\emptyset$ -sim==a:	Do/Did you (pl.) like it?
like.s.-...-2P==Q	<i>Anoogasima?</i>

- noun:

hasáq-t	S/he wants it (lit. [it's] h. want).
desire-3	<i>Hasagt.</i>

hasáq-sim==a:  
desire-2P==Q

Do you (pl.) want it ([is it] your want?).  
*Hasáksimá?*

Noun and transitive verb forms are identical before the other personal suffixes which trigger vowel insertion since they consist of resonants:

?anóq-ə-ý > ?anóqay̆  
like.s.-...-3

I like/liked it.

*Anoogay̆.*

hasáq-ý > hasáqay̆  
desire-3

I want it (lit. [it's] my want).

*Hasagay̆.*

and before the 3P suffix, where the CTL suffix does not occur:

?anóq-tit  
like.s.-3P

They like/liked it.

*Anookdiit.*

hasáq-tit  
desire-3P

They want it ([it's] their want)

*Hasakdiit.*

#### 7.2.A.3.a.1. Phonological realization:

7.2.A.3.a.1.a. After vowel: the suffix has the shape /yə/ (-yi-) as the rule of epenthesis generally inserts /y/ between two vowels.

• kipá-yə-t ní.ý  
wait.for.s.-...-3 me

S/he waited for me.

*Gibayit níiý.*

• wá-yə-ý  
find.s.-...-1S

I found it.

*Wayiý.*

7.2.A.3.a.1.b. After most consonants: (see 7.2.A.3.a.1.c. for Velar fricatives): the suffix has the shape /ə/ (-i-/-a-):



- kíp-ə-t=† hó:n  
eat.s. -...-3=NC fish                      S/he ate the fish.  
*Gibithl hoon.*
  
- kíp-ə-t  
eat.s. -...-3                                      S/he ate it.  
*Gibit.*
  
- kíp-ə-ý  
eat.s. -...-1S                                    I ate it.  
*Gibiý*
  
- timkíp-ə-sim̃  
FUT eat.s. -...-2P                            You (pl.) are going to eat it!  
*Dim gibisim̃!*
  
- tóq-ə-t  
take.s.PL-...-3                                S/he took them.  
*Dogat.*
  
- cətóq-ə-sim̃  
IRR take.s.PL-...-2P                        Take them [if you like]!  
*Ji dogasim̃!*

The suffix occurs phonologically after stem-final non-glottalized resonants placed immediately after stress (for other cases see 7.2.A.2.a.2.b.):

- cá:m-ə-t=† hó:n  
boil.s. -...-3=NC fish                      S/he boiled/cooked the fish.  
*Jamithl hoon.*
  
- kín-ə-t ?a=† hó:n  
give[food]to.s. -...-3 PREP=NC fish      S/he gave h. the fish [to eat].  
*Ginít ahl hoon.*

7.2.A.3.a.1.c. Stem-final Velar fricatives: Since the suffix consists of a vowel, its presence causes the stem-final Velar fricatives /X/ and /X<sup>W</sup>/ to become the corresponding glides /y/ and /w/ through the rule of Glide-formation (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.):

- wilá:x-ə-t > wilá:yit  
know.s.-...-3  
S/he knows it/him/her.  
*Wiláayit.*
- hó:x-ə-ỵ > hó:yíỵ  
use.s.-...-1S  
I used/wore it.  
*Hooyíỵ.*
- kúx<sup>W</sup>-ə-t > kúwit  
know.s.-...-3  
S/he shot it/him/her.  
*Guwit.*

The glide corresponding to the third Velar fricative /x̣/, which is /h/, does not occur intervocalically after stress, but under certain conditions, an underlying sequence /Vh/ is realized phonologically as a long vowel /V:/ (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.b.). In modern Nisgha, the stems of most transitive verbs ending in /x̣/ remain unchanged before the suffix, as in

- tə-páx-ə-t  
DOM-run-...-3  
S/he ran, carrying it/him/her.  
*Dibaxat.*

but this lack of change seems to be the result of a modern tendency to keep the verb stem intact with Velar-final stems as with other stems. Even with YFS, a few verbs have a long vowel before adding the personal suffix, suggesting that an original sequence /Vx̣ə/ must have gone through a stage /Vhə/ before deletion of intervocalic /h/ (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.b.).

- timsqa=sáx-ə-n=† ptó? > ... sqasá:n† ...  
FUT barring=pull.s.-...-2S=NC door  
You'll close the door (pull it close).  
*Dim sgasá:nhl pdo'o.*
- qé:x-ə-t > qé:t  
grind.s.-...-3  
S/he sharpened it (e.g. axe-blade).  
*Geet.* (not *Geexat*)

In Boas a few verbs ending in Velars have a long vowel and also insert /y/

before the suffix (cf. 7.2.A.3.a.1.a. and 10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.b.):

- kúx<sup>W</sup>-ə-t > kú:yit                      S/he shot it.  
shoot.s.-...-3                              *Guuyit* (modern: *Guwit*)
  
- ksə=tə-páx-ə-[t]=s[t]txè:msim > ksitipá:yis txè:msim ...  
out=DOM-run-...-[3]=DC(DM)T.  
  
Txè:msim ran out with [it] ... (23.3.)  
*Ksidibəyis Txè:msim* ...  
(modern: *Ksidibəgas Txè:msim* ...)

There are not enough data available at this point to tell whether this was a general rule at an earlier time, or whether it results from a confusion of the two rules of glide-formation and /y/ -insertion.

#### 7.2.A.3.a.2. Surface deletion of the Control suffix:

7.2.A.3.a.2.a. After a glottalized resonant: There are very few instances of this, as most stems ending in such resonants take the Definite Medial suffix (-T) (7.2.C.1.a.) before the CTL suffix.

- pčáy-[ə]-t=†qís-t                      S/he combed h. hair.  
comb.s.-[...] -3=NC hair-3                              *Pts'áytʔl gest.*

7.2.A.3.a.2.b. After a syllabic resonant occurring after an unstressed vowel: (the unstressed vowel is usually the result of the Vowel-insertion rule)

- sé:win-[ə]-t=†lúk<sup>W</sup>-t                      S/he packed h. bags.  
fill.s.-[...] -3=NC belongings-3                              *Seewinθl lukwt.*
  
- kʷó:tin-[ə]-t=†tála-t                      S/he lost h. money.  
lose.s.-[...] -3=NC money-3                              *Kw'oot'inθl daalat.*

7.2.A.3.b. Non-occurrence before the 3P suffix (-ti:t) -diit:

The Control suffix never occurs before the 3P suffix (-ti:t) and the verb always keeps the shape of its citation form, as in:

- kíp-ti:t  
eat.s.-3P  
They ate it.  
*Gipdiit.*
- kʷó:tin-ti:t  
lose.s.-3P  
They lost it.  
*Kw'oot'indiiit.*
- kipá-ti:t  
wait.for.s.-3P  
They waited for him/her.  
*Gibadiit.*
- kúx<sup>W</sup>-ti:t  
shoot.s.-3P  
They shot it.  
*Guxwadiit.*
- qé:x-ti:t  
grind.s.-3P  
They sharpened it.  
*Geexdiit.*

The vowel that occurs in a form like

- ká?-ti:t > ká?ati:t  
see.s.-3P  
They saw it/him/her.  
*Ga'adiit.*

is epenthetic, caused by the release of the glottal stop before a following consonant (2.1.B.3.b.3.b.).

However, since the 3P suffix (-ti:t) is actually composed of two suffixes, the indefinite personal suffix (-ti:) and the 3rd person suffix (-t), it is possible that the non-occurrence of the CTL suffix *before* the plural suffix may be due--at least historically--to its occurrence *between* the two components of the plural suffix, thus -ti:-ə-t (see also Tarpent 1983b):





noun:

?anà-s-a:çimílx  
skin-... beaver

'beaverskin'

*anaasa ts'imilx*

màqs-a:likímtx  
pants-... wool

'[long] woollen underwear'

*màksa/màksi ligímtx*

(b) between an adjective and a verb: this gives the adjective dverbial value: the suffixed adjective is a proclitic or modifier. Most of the morphemes the suffix is attached to are readily identifiable; however, with some proclitics ending in this suffix, the morpheme is not recognizable at present:

?a.m-a:wóq  
good-... sleep

'to sleep well'

*amaa wók*

?a.m-a:hi:łuk<sup>W</sup>  
good-... morning

'Good morning!' (translation from English)

*Amaa hi:łukw!*

ńàk<sup>W</sup>-a:wóq  
long-... sleep

'to sleep for a long time'

*ńagwaa wók*

kina:/kana:wóq  
left.behind-... sleep

'to sleep late'

*ginaa/ganaa wók*

kina:<kana:<\*kan-a:

'... left behind ...' (proclitic) &lt;??'

*ginaa/ganaa*

7.2.B.3. The suffix [-U:] ...uu: This unproductive suffix forms a small number of pre-predicate morphemes, prefixes, proclitics or modifiers (see Proclitics, 7.1.A., and Modifiers, 5.15.). Several of the morphemes it is attached to cannot be identified.

kól-u: ti)á:	'to be home alone'
one[person]-...	<i>k'yooluu dit'aa</i>
ta.t-u: ?át	'to go fishing with one or more persons
fish.w.s.o.-... to.fish	[on a boat], to crew on a fishboat'
	<i>daaduu'aat</i>
k <sup>w</sup> it-u: ?át	'to go fishing alone, by oneself
??-... to.fish	<i>kw'iduu'aat</i>
(k <sup>w</sup> it- perhaps from k <sup>w</sup> ót 'missin <sup>a</sup> , lost' <i>kw'oot-</i> )	
?an-u:kiké:nix	'towards the North, further upriver'
prefix ?an- ??-...	<i>anuu gigeenix</i>

### 7.2.C. Predicative suffixes:

A characteristic of Nisgha is the abundance of predicative suffixes, most of which consist of consonants, singly or in clusters. Several of these consonantal suffixes occur frequently or even exclusively in combination with each other, so that the endings of many words are heavily consonantal. However, careful comparison of the recurring components of similar cluster suffixes shows that the latter must have been originally combinations of suffixes, which have acquired a life of their own as single suffixes, although some meaning can often still be attached to the individual components. In the following presentation, frequent combinations which can be glossed independently are treated as single suffixes, but where possible attention is drawn to further analytical possibilities.

#### 7.2.C.1. The Medial suffixes {-T} and {-[t]k<sup>w</sup>}:

These two suffixes have a variety of functions, especially {-[t]k<sup>w</sup>}. These functions include both P<sub>A</sub> and P<sub>EA</sub> formation: depending on the particular stem it is attached to, {-[t]k<sup>w</sup>} can be glossed superficially as both Passive and



Transitive, among others; {-T} is less versatile, but occurs as Resultative Passive as well as Transitive. Hence the term MEDIAL used for both suffixes. Both can be attached to other predicative suffixes to form compound suffixes. Both enter in the formation of word-frames (7.3.A.).

These various meanings could be considered as independent from each other, even as belonging to separate though homophonous suffixes. But they can be reconciled with each other under the broader, more general meanings of Definite and Indefinite for {-T} and {-[t]k<sup>W</sup>} respectively.

The suffix {-[t]k<sup>W</sup>} was probably originally composed of the two suffixes {-T} and {-k<sup>W</sup>}, since there is evidence for the latter as well (7.2.C.2.b.3.), but in the present state of the language it functions as a single suffix. Conversely, in predicate-focused transitive clauses the combination of {-T} with the Control suffix {-ə-} (used only in that type of clause) may appear superficially to be a single transitivizing suffix {-tə-} ( -di ) but careful analysis shows that the two must be kept separate.

#### 7.2.C.1.a. The Definite Medial (DEF) suffix {-T}:

The suffix {-T} can be attached to a variety of predicates and has different functions. Definite Medial seems to be the best overall gloss for this suffix. However, it is not always easy to identify, as it occurs under different shapes depending on its phonological environment, which itself is linked to syntactic conditions. In fact, unravelling the conditions of its occurrence and the guises under which it occurs is probably the thorniest problem of Nisgha morphological analysis (see chart p. 636).

The suffix occurs with both P<sub>A</sub>'s (intransitives) and P<sub>EA</sub>'s (transitives) when in the predicative role, in both regular and predicate-focused clauses. It also occurs in noun-phrases, including generic possessive phrases and nominalizations of transitive verbs. The presence of the suffix is most easily recognizable in absolute final position (which occurs with P<sub>A</sub>'s) and in

predicate-focused  $P_{EA}$  clauses, where the combination of the suffix  $\{-T\}$  and the Control suffix  $\{-\emptyset\}$  which occurs in those clauses create a syllable  $/t\emptyset/d/$  which may appear at first sight to be a single suffix. With stems ending in vowels or resonants, the suffix is reinforced by an epenthetic  $/t/$  which then acts as the stem-final consonant.

In regular clauses, phonological conditions create an environment in which the suffix is vocalized as  $/\emptyset/$ , after stem-final consonant or epenthetic  $/t/$ . This happens before the personal suffixes starting with consonants (except the 3P suffix  $\{-t\}$ , which consists of an entire syllable before which  $\{-T\}$  is deleted, 7.2.C.1.a.1.a.2.d..

7.2.C.1.a.1.b.1.c.). In particular, The suffix  $\{-T\}$  appears as  $/\emptyset/$  before the 3 suffix  $\{-t\}$ , whether the latter actually appears phonologically on the surface or is deleted before a connective (4.3., 10.2.A.2.b.1.c.). (This means that the rule vocalizing the  $\{-T\}$  suffix is posterior to the one deleting the 3 suffix). This causes surface similarities between forms occurring in the two types of clauses, as the phonological realization of  $\{-T\}$  in regular clause is identical to that of  $\{-\emptyset\}$  in predicate-focused clause. The chart on p. 633 summarizes the behavior of the two suffixes according to stem and clause types.

7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1. Occurrence of the suffix  $\{-T\}$ :

7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.a. With intransitive verb (or stem): The suffix  $\{-T\}$  forms Resultative Passives (participial meaning). The meaning is definite: the action *has* happened.

$k^w\acute{a}s-T$	'to be broken (into pieces), shattered'
shatter-...	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ast</i>
$hi\acute{t}\acute{a}q-T$	'[long object] to be broken'
break-...	<i>hihlakt</i>

## OCCURRENCE OF THE SUFFIXES {-T} AND {-ə} BEFORE CONSONANT

Clause type		Pred-focused (except 3P)		Regular			
				(except 3P)		(3P) (-ti:t)	
P <sub>A</sub> :	/C <sub>-</sub>	<b>-T</b>	<i>-t</i>	<b>-T-</b>	<i>-ə-</i>	<b>-T-</b>	--
	/V, R <sub>-</sub>	<b>-tT</b>	<i>-t</i>	<b>-tT-</b>	<i>-tə-</i>	<b>-tT-</b>	--
P <sub>EA</sub> :	/C <sub>-</sub>	<b>-ə-</b>	<i>-ə-</i>	--	--	--	--
	/V <sub>-</sub>	<b>-ə-</b>	<i>-yə-</i>	--	--	--	--
	/R <sub>-</sub>	<b>-ə-</b>	--	--	--	--	--
	/C <sub>-</sub>	<b>-T-ə-</b>	<i>-tə-</i>	<b>-T-</b>	<i>-ə-</i>	<b>-T-</b>	--
	/V, R <sub>-</sub>	<b>-tT-ə-</b>	<i>-ttə-</i>	<b>-tT-</b>	<i>-tə-</i>	<b>-tT-</b>	<i>-t-</i>

Morphemes are given in bold type, phonological realizations in standard italics. *t* represents the epenthetic consonant, which acts as stem-final consonant to stems ending in a vowel or resonant. {-T} is realized as the consonant /t/ before vowel; it is vocalized as /ə/ between a stem-final consonant (including the epenthetic consonant) and a syllable-final consonant. It is often deleted in absolute final position.

- pís-T  
tear.s.-... 'to be torn'  
*bist*
- má:x-T  
\*load.s.-... '([boat] to be loaded'  
*maaxt*
- †a: kʷás-T-[t]=†tkWà  
now shatter-...-[3]=NC glass Now the glass is broken.  
*Hlaa kw'asihl tgwa.*
  - †a: kʷás-T-t  
now shatter-...-3 Now it is broken.  
*Hlaa kw'asit.*
  - †a: hi†áq-T-[t]=†ʔasàý-t  
now break-...-[3]=NC leg-3 Now h. leg is broken.  
*Hlaa hlihlagahl asayt.*
  - †a: hi†àq-T-t  
now break-...-3 Now it is broken.  
*Hlaa hihlagat.*
  - †a: má:x-T-[t]=†bò:t  
now load.s.-...-[3]=NC boat Now the boat is loaded.  
*Hlaa maayihl boot.*
  - †a: má:x-T-t  
now load-...-3 Now it is loaded.  
*Hlaa maayit.*

7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.b. With noun: it forms adjectives (cf. the English participial ending *-ed/-en* used with nouns as well).

- ʔáks-T  
water-... 'wet'  
*akst*
- čéčiks-T  
dirt-... 'dirty'  
*ts'eets'ikst*

- λók-T  
 mud-... 'muddy'  
*l'ook't*
- ɬa:ʔax)ʔáks-T-[t]=ɬ ta:ɬi sk-ý  
 now PL)water-...-[3]=NC socks-1S  
 Now my socks are wet  
*Hlaa ax'aksihl daahliisgiy.*
  - ɬa:ʔax)ʔáks-T-t  
 now PL)water-...-3  
 Now they are wet.  
*Hlaa ax'aksit.*
- 7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.c. With intransitive frames: The suffix (-T) also occurs as the suffixed component of a number of intransitive frames (7.3.A.1.a.1.), as in:
- nə-ɬimxti-T  
 [...-opp.sex.sib.-...]RECIP.  
 'to be brother and sister'  
*nivakt*
  - min-páq-T  
 [...-try/feel.s.-...]RECIP.  
 'to have a fight'  
*minbakt*
- wilmin-páq-T-[t]=s tip Pèterqan=s [t] Màx  
 SUB [...-try/feel.s.-...]RECIP.ACT-[3]=DC DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] M.  
 ...as/when/where Peter and Max had a fight.  
 ...*wil minbagas dip Peter gans Max.*
- máx-ýimq-T  
 [...-whiskers-...]EXCESS  
 'to be bearded/to have a moustache'  
*máxyimkt*
- wil máx-ýimq-T-[t]=s [t] M àx  
 SUB [...-whiskers-...]EXCESS -[3]=DC [DM] M.  
 ...as/when Max has/had a beard.  
 ...*wil máxyimgas Max*
- máx-móʔon-T  
 [...-salt-...]EXCESS  
 'to be very/too salty'  
*máxmo'ont*





- ná=pís-(T)=† kslà wisk<sup>W</sup>-ỵ  
in.spot-tear-...-NC shirt-IS      My shirt is torn.  
*Naabis(t)hl kslawisgwiý.*
- ?ax)áks-(T)=† ?ta.†i sk-ỵ  
PL)water-...-NC socks-IS      My socks are wet.  
*Ax'aks(t)hl daahliisgiý.*
- límqs-(T)=† macaqalè:  
grow.PL-...-NC flower      Flowers grow.  
*Limqs(t)hl majagalee.*

(c) before the 3P suffix {-tɪt}: the suffix {-T} is deleted after stem-final consonant (cf. 7.2.C.1.a.1.b.(c)):

- wilmin-páq-[-T]-tɪt      ... as/when/where they had a fight.  
SUB[...-try/feel.s.-[...]]-3P      ... *wil minbakdiit.*
- ?ám cə?axlə-téq-[-T]-tɪt      Let's hope they don't make pigs of  
good IRR not [...-eat.much/fast-[...]]<sub>PL</sub>-3P      themselves!  
*Aam ji ax lit'eeqdiit!*

(d) in absolute final position: since most predicates are used in sentences together with other words, or at least with suffixes, some words are rarely heard in absolute final position in their citation form. As there are many cases where the suffix either is deleted, or appears under the shape /t/ which is subject to deletion rules, it is being lost from the citation form of many words, especially when it occurs at the end of a cluster. This is most common with intransitive frames, where the prefix alone is enough to carry the meaning and a post-consonantal /t/ is most likely to be lost. Hence some differences in the speech of YFS and OFS, the latter being more likely to preserve the suffix, or at least some of the alternations which show the underlying presence of the suffix (see for instance 7.3.A.1.a.1., Intransitive frames ending in {-T}).

7.2.C.1.a.1.b. With P<sub>A</sub>'s: The suffix {-T} either forms transitive verbs from





- wil-t háč-T-[t]=† smàx  
SUB-3E \*bite-...-3=NC bear ... as/when/where a bear bit it/him/her.  
... *wilt hats'ihl smax.*
- wil-t háč-T-ý=† smàx  
SUB-3E \*bite-...-1S=NC bear ... as/when/where a bear bit me.  
... *wilt hats'diyhl smax.*
- ksə=wóq-T-ə-t  
[out=sleep]dream-...-CTL-3 S/he dreamed of it/him/her.  
*Ksiwokdit.*
- wil-tksə=wóq-T-t  
SUB-3E[out=sleep]dream-...-3 ... as/when/where s/he dreamed of  
it/him/her.  
... *wilt ksiwogat.*
- wil-tksə=wóq-T-ý  
SUB-3E[out=sleep]dream-...-1S ... as/when/where s/he dreamed of me.  
... *wilt ksiwokdiy.*
- qáq-T-ə-t  
open-...-CTL-3 S/he opened it.  
*K'akdit.*
- yùk<sup>W</sup>-t qáq-T-t  
PROG-3E open-...-3 S/he is opening it.  
*Yukwt k'agat.*
- pá†-T-ə-t  
spread.s.open-...-CTL-3 S/he spread it open [e.g. a sheet].  
*Bahlidit.*
- yùk<sup>W</sup>-t pá†-T-t  
PROG-3E spread.s.open-...-3 S/he is spreading it open.  
*Yukwt bahlit.*
- sáx<sup>W</sup>-T-ə-t=† ?an?ún-t  
flutter-...-CTL-3=NC hand-3 S/he waved h. hand.  
*Saxwdithl an'unt.*
- wil-t sáx<sup>W</sup>-T-[t]=† ?an?ún-t  
SUB-3E flutter-...-3=NC hand-3 ... as/when/where s/he waved h. hand.  
... *wilt sawihl an'unt.*

- táɬ-T-ə-t  
be.put.PL-...-CTL-3                      S/he put/threw them away.  
*Tahɬdit.*
- yúk<sup>W</sup>-T-ə-t  
hold.-...-CTL-3                              S/he held it.  
*Yukwdit.*
- ʔatá:waq-T-ə-t  
story-...-CTL-3                              S/he told the story of it.  
*Adaawaɬdit.*
- sim-ʔáɬkax-T-ə-t  
[really-speak]<sub>speak.Nisgha</sub>-...-CTL-3      S/he translated it into Nisgha.  
*Sim'algaɬdit.*

(b) Examples with stems ending in a vowel or non-glottalized resonant (including /ʔ/): An epenthetic /t/ is added before the suffix. This new consonant acts as the stem-final consonant. With glottalized resonants (excluding /ʔ/), there seems to be some fluctuation between speakers as to whether the epenthetic /t/ is added or not.

- siwá-tT-ə-m̄ ʔa=ɬ tikit                      ... what we call *digit* [smoked oolichans].  
name.s.-...-CTL-1P PREP=NC sm.ool.      ... *siwatditm̄ ahl* "digit."
- tikit tipsiwá-tT-t                              We call it [smoked oolichans] *digit*.  
sm.ool. 1PE name.s.-...-3                      "*Digit*" *dip siwadit.*
- Máry t siwá-tT-ý                              S/he named me Mary.  
M. 1PE name.s.-...-1S                              *Mary t siwaditý.*
- ɬóʔ-tT-ə-t                                      S/he honored her/him/them.  
push.s.-...-CTL-3                              *Hlo'otdit.*
- wil-t ɬóʔ-tT-t                                      ...as/when/where s/he honored h.  
SUB-3E push.s.-...-3                              ... *wilt hlo'odit.*

- wil-t ʔóʔ-tI-m̃  
SUB-3E push.s.-...-1P  
...as/when/where s/he honored us.  
... *wilt hlo'otdim̃*.
- lu:=tám̃-(t)I-ə-t  
in=press.s.-...-CTL-3  
S/he hugged him/her.  
*Luudam̃(t)dit.*
- wil-tlu:=tám̃-(t)I-t  
SUB-3E in=press.s.-...-3  
...as/when/where s/he hugged h.  
... *wilt luudam̃dit.*
- wil-tlu:=tám̃-(t)I-ý  
SUB-3E in=press.s.-...-1S  
...as/when/where s/he hugged h.  
... *wilt luudam̃diỹ.*
- t̃ám-tI-ə-t  
write-...-CTL-3  
S/he wrote it.  
*T'amtdit.*
- wil-t t̃ám-tI-t  
SUB-3E write-...-3  
...as/when/where s/he wrote it.  
... *wilt t'amdit.*
- wán-tI-ə-t  
sit.PL-...-CTL-3  
S/he set/planted them.  
*Wantdit.*
- wil-t wán-tI-t  
SUB-3E sit.PL-...-3  
...as/when/where s/he set/planted them.  
... *wilt wandit.*
- líp̃il-tI-ə-t  
mend.s-...-CTL-3  
S/he mended it.  
*Lip'ildit.*
- wil-t líp̃il-tI-t  
SUB-3E mend.s.-...-3  
...as/when/where s/he mended it.  
... *wilt lip'ildit.*
- yé:-tI-ə-t  
\*sing-...-CTL-3  
S/he sang it.  
*Yeetdit.*



- tám-t[T]-tit  
write-...-3P  
They wrote it.  
*T'amtdiit.*
- wil-t tám-t[T]-tit  
SUB-3E write-...-3P  
...as/when/where they wrote it.  
... *wilt t'amtdiit.*
- lu=simóʔon-t[T]-tit  
in=salt.s.-...-3P  
They put salt in it.  
*Luusimo'ontdiit.*
- wil-tlu=simóʔon-t[T]-tit  
SUB-3E in=salt.s.-...-3P  
...as/when/where they put salt in it.  
... *wilt simo'ontdiit.*
- lípíl-t[T]-tit  
mend.s.-...-3P  
They mended it.  
*Lip'iltidiit.*
- wil-t lípíl-t[T]-tit  
SUB-3E mend.s.-...-3P  
...as/when/where they mended it.  
... *wilt lip'iltidiit.*

(d) **Remark:** The suffix is very productive in this transitivizing role; in particular, it provides a way to adapt English verbs to the Nisgha language, as in:

- tim kúk<sup>W</sup>-T-ə-ý  
FUT cook-...-CTL-1S  
I am going to cook it.  
*Dim kukwdiy.*
- ntá mə tim wila: kúk<sup>W</sup>-T-t  
which.way 2E FUT how cook-...-3  
How are you going to cook it?  
*Nda mi dim wilaa kugwit?*
- tim fón-(t)T-ə-ý nín  
FUT phone-...-CTL-1S you  
I'll phone you.  
*Dim foon(t)diy nín.*
- ʔá m mə tim fón-tT-ý  
good 2E FUT phone-...-1S  
You better phone me.  
*Aam mi dim foondiy.*

7.2.C.1.a.1.b.2. Definite use with transitive verb: some transitive verbs can occur both with and without the suffix, with a meaning difference: the meaning is more definite or specific with the suffix:

- kíp-T-ə-[t]=† kipù=† mú:s      The wolf ate the moose.  
eat.s.-...-CTL-[3]=NC wolf=NC moose      *Gipdihl gibuuhl muus.*
  
- kíp-ə-[t]=† kipù=† mú:s      Wolves eat moose.  
eat.s.-...-[3]=NC wolf=NC moose      *Gibihl gibuuhl muus.*
  
- P.-Foc: ?úx-T-ə-[t]=† †ku-tkì†k<sup>W</sup>=† lò?op      The child threw the rock.  
hit.s.-...-CTL-[3]=NC child=NC rock      *Uxdihl hlgutk'ihlkwhl lo'op.*
  
- ?úx-ə-[t]=† lò?op=† qanluqúypax      The rock hit the window.  
hit.s.-CTL-[3]=NC rock=NC window      *Uyihl lo'ophl ganluugoyp'ax.*
  
- Reg: wil-t ?úx-T-[t]=† †ku-tkì†k<sup>W</sup>=† lò?op  
SUB-3 hit.s.-...-[3]=NC child=NC rock  
...as/when/where the child threw the rock.  
...wilt uyihl hlgutk'ihlkwhl lo'op.
  
- wil-t ?úx-[t]=† lò?op=† qanluqúypax  
SUB-3 hit.s.-[3]=NC rock=NC window  
...as/when/where the rock hit the window.  
...wilt uxhl lo'ophl ganluugoyp'ax.

7.2.C.1.a.1.b.3. Use in transitive frames: The suffix is also used in a number of transitive frames (7.3.A.2.a.), where a transitive verb stem which does not normally take the suffix adds it when preceded by a prefix or proclitic with circumstantial meaning. Again, these elements add more precision to the predicate. Compare:

- P-Foc: cáp-ə-t  
make.s.-CTL-3  
S/he made it.  
*Jabit.*
  
- [ʔa ma:-cáp-T]-ə-t  
[well-make.s.-...]-CTL-3  
S/he fixed it.  
*Amaajapdit.*
  
- Reg: yuk<sup>W</sup>-tcáp-t  
PROG-3 make.s.-3  
S/he is making it.  
*Yukwt japt.*
  
- yuk<sup>W</sup>-t[ʔa ma:-cáp-T]-t  
PROG-3 [well-make.s.-...]-3  
S/he is fixing it.  
*Yukwt amaajabit.*
  
- P-Foc: tim tóq-ə-t  
FUT take.s.PL-CTL-3  
S/he is going to take them [objects].  
*Dim dogat.*
  
- tim[tɣa -tóq-T]-ə-t  
FUT [all-take.s.PL-...]-CTL-3  
S/he is going to take them along.  
*Dim traadokdit.*
  
- Reg: yuk<sup>W</sup> tim-ttóq-t  
PROG-3 take.s.PL-3  
S/he is about to take them [objects].  
*Yukw dimt dokt.*
  
- yuk<sup>W</sup> tim-t[tɣa:-tóq-T]-t  
PROG-3 [all-take.s.PL-...]-3  
S/he is about to take them along..  
*Yukw dimt traadogat.*
  
- P-Foc: Wá-(y)ə-t  
find.s.-CTL-3  
S/he reached/found/obtained it.  
*Wayit.*
  
- [tqal-wátT]-ə-t  
[against-find.s.-...]-CTL-3  
S/he met him/her.  
*Tk'alwatdit.*
  
- Reg: wil-t Wá-t  
SUB-3 find.s.-3  
...as/when/where s/he reached/ found/  
obtained it. ... *wilt wat.*



- wil-t[tqal-wá-tT]-t  
 PROG-3 [against-find.s.-...] -3  
 ... as/when/where s/he met him/her.  
 ... *wilt ka/wádit*.
- P-Foc: ká?-ə-t  
 see.s.-CTL-3  
 S/he saw it/him/her.  
*Ga'at.*
- [?ama:-ká?T]-ə-t  
 [well-see.s.-...] -CTL-3  
 S/he looked after it/him/her.  
*Amaaga'adit.*
- Reg: ?ám mətım[?ama:-ká?-tT-t  
 good 2E FUT [well-see.s.-...] -3  
 (You should) look after it/him/her!  
*(Aam mi dim) amaaga'adit!*
- P-Foc: číp-ə-t  
 tie.s.-CTL-3  
 S/he tied it.  
*Ts'iibit.*
- [tqal-číp-T]-ə-t  
 [against-tie.s.-...] -CTL-3  
 S/he tied it to it.  
*Tk'alts'iipdit.*
- Reg: [tqal-číp-T]-[t]=†  
 [against-tie.s.-...] -[3]=NC  
 Tie it to it! (imperative)  
*Tk'alts'iibih!*
- P-Foc: ták-ə-t  
 forget.s.-CTL-3  
 S/he forgot it.  
*Tagit.*
- [txapax-tákT]-ə-t  
 [altogether-forget.s.-...] -CTL-3  
 S/he completely forgot it.  
*Txap'axt'akdit.*
- P-Foc: hax)hó:x-ə-t=† púc-t  
 PL)use.s.-CTL-3=NC boots-3  
 S/he put on h. boots.  
*Haxhooyithl butst.*
- [niki†=hax)hó:x-T]-ə-t  
 [back.to.back-PL)use.s.-...] -CTL-3  
 S/he put them on the wrong feet.  
*Nigihlhaxhooxdit.*



- P-Foc:  $k^{Win-ǰúć-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry=†} qís-t$  Mary had her hair cut.  
 JUSS-cut.s.-CTL-(3)=DC [DM] M.=NC hair-3 *Gwin-k'ojis Maryhl gest.*

$k^{Win-ǰúć-T-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry=†} qís-t ?a=s [t]Lúcy$   
 JUSS-cut.s.-...-CTL-(3)=DC [DM] M.=NC hair-3 PREP=DC [DM] L.  
 Mary had her hair cut by Lucy/  
 Mary had Lucy cut her hair.  
*Gwin-k'otsdis Maryhl gest as Lucy.*

- Reg:  $ntá wil-t k^{Win-ǰúć-[t]=[s][t]Màry=†} qís-t$   
 which.way SUB-3E JUSS-cut.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC hair-3  
 Where did Mary have her hair cut?  
*Nda wilt gwin-k'ots Maryhl gest?*

$ná: wil-t k^{Win-ǰúć-T-[t]=[s][t]Màry=†} qís-t$   
 JUSS-cut.s.-...-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC hair-3 PREP=DC [DM] L.  
 By whom did Mary have her hair cut?  
 Who did Mary get to cut her hair?  
*Naa wilt gwin-k'ojis Maryhl gest?*

In this case also, the clause which includes the suffix gives more definite information than the one without.

7.2.C.1.a.1.c. Use in noun-phrase: The suffix can also occur in a noun-phrase, after the Restrictive particle  $†ə$  *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.), with the meaning 'the ... (of the ..)', where the first noun is either a possessed noun, or a nominalized transitive verb. The morphosyntactic frame (7.3.B.1.b.) is:

$†ə [...]-T-t (=s/† Noun)$  'the ... of the ...'  
 the [N/P<sub>EA</sub>]-DEF-3 ...(DC/NC N) *hli/hla [...](d)is.../(d)ihl ...*

When framing a noun, this frame results in a noun-phrase expressive of generic possession; with a transitive verb, it results in a nominalization.

7.2.C.1.a.1.c.1. Framing a noun:

With a noun as its first component, this frame differs from a possessive noun-phrase preceded by **†ə** *hli/hla* expressing alienated possession (3.2.A.2.b.1.), in that the first noun takes the suffix **[-T]**. The meaning of this frame is 'the [particular type of] ... of a/the ...'. Compare:

- **wá-(y)ə-ý=††ə yàns-[t]=†qóqst**  
find.s.-CTL- 1S=NC the leaf-[3]=NC maple

I found a maple leaf (the leaf of a maple).  
*Wayiyhl hli yanshl k'ookst.*

- **wítis=††ə yàns-T-[t]=†qóqst**    The leaf of the maple is large/  
big=NC the leaf-...-[3]=NC maple    Maple leaves are large.  
*Wit'ishl hli yansihl k'ookst.*

The forms of the suffix in the nominalizing frame have the same morphophonemic distribution as in other P<sub>A</sub>'s in regular clause (7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.):

(a) After stem-final consonant: surface realization is vocalic:

- **†ə yàns-T-[t]=†qóqst**    'the leaf of the maple, the maple leaf'  
the leaf-...-[3]=NC maple    *hli yansihl k'ookst*
- **†ə yàns-T-t**    'the leaf [of the maple]'  
the leaf-...-3    *hli yansit*
- **†ə xhéq-T-[t]=†sqan-lóč**    'the blossoms of the elderberry bush'  
the blossoms-...-[3]=NC bush-elderberries    *hla xheegahl sk'anloots'*
- **†ə xhéq-T-t**    'the blossoms [of the elderberry bush]'  
the blossoms-...-3    *hla xheegat*

(b) After vowel or resonant: epenthetic /t/ followed by vocalic realization:

- ʔə wà-tI-[t]=s[t]ʔan-mòq-m+há.t      'the name of "Gutsucker"'  
 the name-...-[3]=DC [DM] CAUS-suck-ATTR+guts      *hli wadis Anmooqam-Haat*
  
  - ʔə wà-tI-t      'the name he had ["Gutsucker"]'  
 the name-...-3      *hli wadit*
  
  - ʔə qàn-tI-[t]=ʔqó:qst      'the trunk of the maple tree'  
 the tree-...-[3]=NC maple      *hla gandihl k'ookst*
  
  - ʔə qàn-tI-t      'the trunk [of the tree]'  
 the tree-...-3      *hla gandit*
  
  - ʔə mòʔon-tI-[t]=ʔx-súp-ý      'the salt in my soup [that I am eating]'  
 the salt-...-[3]=NC eat-soup-1S      *hli mo'ondihl xsubiy*
  
  - ʔə mòʔon-tI-t      'the salt in it'  
 the salt-...-3      *hli mo'ondit*
  
  - ʔəʔimlàn[x]-tI-[t]=ʔksláʔisk<sup>W</sup>      'the collar of the shirt'  
 the neck-...-[3]=NC shirt      *hli t'imlandihl kslawiskw*
  
  - ʔəʔimlàn[x]-tI-t      'the collar [of the shirt]'  
 the neck-...-3      *hli t'imlandit*
- (see 10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.(b) for /X/-deletion)
- ʔəqa-qìsaʔ-tI-[t]=ʔmáqs      'the knees of the pants'  
 the DISTR-knee-...-[3]=NC pants      *hla gaʔesa'adihl máqs*
  
  - ʔəqa-qìsaʔ-tI-t      'the knees [of the pants]'  
 the DISTR-knee-...-3      *hla gaʔesa'adit*



- $\text{tə ličx-T-[t]=tə an+ù tük}^W\text{s-m t̄imist}$  'the reading [of] the Bible'  
the read.s.-[3]=NC valuable-ATTR writing *hli lits~~phl~~ Ahluut'ukwsim T̄imis*

(b) vowel-final stem:

- verb without  $\{-T\}$ :

- $\text{wil-t naxhá-[t]=t̄ wil limx-ti}$  ... as/when s/he heard someone singing.  
SUB-3E hear.s.-[3]=NC SUB sing-IMPS ... *wilt naxháh/ wil limxdii*.

- Nominalization:

- $\text{ʔám=t̄ tə naxhá-tT-t}$  It sounded nice.  
good-NC the hear.s.-...-3 (lit. the hearing of it was good)  
*Aamhl hli naxhádit.*

(c) resonant-final stem:

- verb with  $\{-T\}$ :

- $\text{yùk}^W\text{-t̄ ni=t̄ám-tT-[t]=t̄ limx}$  S/he is writing down the song.  
PROG-3E down=write.s.-...-[3]=NC sing *Yukwt̄ níit'amdihl limx.*

- Nominalization:

- $\text{tə ni=t̄ám-tT-[t]=t̄ limx}$  'the writing down [of] a song'  
the down-write.s.-...-[3]=NC sing *hli níit'amdihl limx*

#### 7.2.C.1.b. The Indefinite Medial suffix $\{-[t]k^W\}$ :

This suffix probably consisted originally of a combination  $\{-T-k^W\}$ , but it has acquired an independent life as  $\{-[t]k^W\}$ . Like its Definite counterpart  $\{-T\}$ , Indefinite  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  occurs on a wide variety of stems. Its uses are more

varied than those of  $\{-T\}$ ; in several uses, it alternates with  $\{-S\}$ , which is used after Velars. It is probably that  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  and  $\{-S\}$  were distinct at an earlier period, rather than alternants, but had similar meanings which made it easy for them to merge into a single morpheme, hence the present alternation, which however is no longer productive: only  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  is used for new formations, some of them replacements for older forms in  $\{-S\}$ .

7.2.C.1.b.1. Shapes and morphophonemic conditions of occurrence:

The suffix  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  occurs as  $/tk^W/$  after vowel or resonant, as  $/k^W/$  after consonant. The  $/t/$  here cannot be epenthetic, for two reasons:

(a) There are instances of  $/k^W/$  alone occurring after vowel or resonant, showing that there was an earlier suffix  $\{-k^W\}$  (7.2.C.2.b.3.). In most cases the stem is not recognizable alone:

wilá- $k^W$ (stem cf. Wila: 'how' <i>wilaa</i> )	'to treat/handle/manipulate <u>s.</u> (in a certain way)'	<i>wilaak</i>
ké- $k^W$ (*k- 'one', 7.1.B. 2.c.1.)	'one [animal]'	<i>k'ee</i>
kí- $k^W$ ?-...	'to buy <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>giik</i>
yán- $k^W$ ?-...	'to be mouldy'	<i>yank</i>

(Compare with

hin)*yán- $tk^W$ PL)*tickle?-MED.I	'[body part] to give a tickling sensation'	<i>hinyantk</i>
---------------------------------------	--	-----------------



where the suffix is  $\{-[t]k^W\}$ .

(b) There is a general (though no longer productive) rule of Velar fricativization before adding the suffix (10.1.B.1.b.3.a.1.(b)), contrasting with modern examples which do not fricativize. We can interpret this contrast thus: the older suffix was  $\{-k^W\}$ , so the rule  $K \rightarrow X / C\_$  applied to the stem-final Velar before the suffix, but the modern suffix is  $\{-[t]k^W\}$ : instead of fricativization, /t/-deletion occurs between consonants.

- older examples:

$yúq-k^W > yú:xk^W$  'to eat (< to be provided with a string of  
string of oolichans-... oolichans??)' *yuuxk<sup>W</sup>*

$qan-sáq-k^W > qansá:xk^W$  'skin-stretching frame'  
means-stretch.s.-... *qansaxk<sup>W</sup>*

- modern example (in frame):

$[ksə=yímq-[t]k^W] > ksiyímqk^W$  'to shave'  
[...-whiskers-...]remove.from.self *ksiyimk<sup>W</sup>*

The old and new rules are responsible for doublets such as

Old:  $máq-k^W > máxk^W$  'to ride (in a canoe, boat, car, etc.)'  
put.s.-... *maxk<sup>W</sup>*

Mod:  $máq-[t]k^W > máqk^W$  'to be put away'  
put.s.away-... *maqk<sup>W</sup>*

7.2.C.1.b.2. Uses:

7.2.C.1.b.2.a. Cases where  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  alternates with  $\{-s\}$ :

In general, there is complementary distribution:  $\{-S\}$  after Velars,  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  after non-Velars, but  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  also occurs after Velars as well. In such cases, if the Velar is a non-glottalized stop, fricativization occurs, except in the most recent formations (7.2.C.1.b.1.(b)). This complementary distribution is valid for all meanings of the Indefinite Medial suffix, except for the adjectival meanings (resembling ..., having ...) where  $\{-S\}$  is not used (7.2.C.1.b.2.b.). However, there are also cases where  $\{-S\}$  alone occurs, not  $\{-[t]k^W\}$ , without a definable meaning.

It is likely that there were originally two separate suffixes, with distinct though similar meanings, and with a distribution conditioned by other factors (e.g.  $\{-S\}$  may have been used mostly after suffixes, now augments (3.1.A) which happened to be Velar). Those two suffixes later coalesced in meaning and were then restricted distributionally. Later, the extension of  $\{-k^W\}$  as a result of its association with other suffixes ( $\{-T\}$ ,  $\{-?S\}$ , etc.) encroached on the domain of  $\{-S\}$ , and  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  now occurs after Velars as well.

#### 7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1. Forms $P_A$ 's:

##### 7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.a. $P_A$ 's built on intransitive stems:

(1) Single stems: There are very few instances where a stem occurs intransitively both by itself and also with the suffix (with different meanings), as in:

ptál- $tk^W$	'to climb'	
{water} rising-...		<i>pdaltk<sup>w</sup></i>
kúk <sup>W</sup> S- $[t]k^W$	'to wake up'	
{fish} jumping-...		<i>gyukwsk<sup>w</sup></i>

Many stems with occur with the suffix do not occur by themselves, but are otherwise found with transitive suffixes, especially the productive Causative

suffix  $\{-?n\}$  (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.). This suggests that the stems themselves were originally neutral, as in many pairs such as:

- \*hít-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to stand'  
standing-... *hitk<sup>W</sup>*
  
- hít-?n > hí<sup>2</sup>tin 'to stand s.t. up, to erect s.t.'  
standing-CAUS *hit'in*
  
- \*k<sup>W</sup>ót-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to be missing, lost'  
missing-... *kw'ootk<sup>W</sup>*
  
- \*k<sup>W</sup>ót-?n > k<sup>W</sup>ótin 'to lose s.t.'  
missing-CAUS *kw'oot'in*
  
- \*kéq-[t]k<sup>W</sup> > kéxk<sup>W</sup> 'to flee/escape (sg.)'  
\*isolate<sup>4</sup>?-... *k'eeqk<sup>W</sup>*
  
- kéq-?n > kéqan 'to put s. to flight'  
\*isolated?-CAUS *k'eeq'an*
  
- \*qísq-[t]k<sup>W</sup> > qísxk<sup>W</sup> 'to shut up (sg.)'  
\*silent?-... *gesxk<sup>W</sup>*
  
- qísq-?n > qísqan 'to make s. shut up'  
\*silent?-CAUS *gesq'an*
  
- \*tíl<sup>W</sup>p-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to be close, at a short distance'  
\*close?-... *dilpk<sup>W</sup>*
  
- hak<sup>W</sup>in=\*tíl<sup>W</sup>p-?n > ...=tíl<sup>W</sup>pin 'to bring s.t. closer'  
closer-\*close?-CAUS *hagwindilp'in*

There is no mutual implication about these two suffixes, since there are also examples in  $[-[t]k^W]$  contrasting with transitive verbs in  $[-T]$ , most of which also have neutral stems, for instance:

*ɬán-[t]k <sup>W</sup>	'to move, sway (e.g. tree in the wind)'
*sway-...	<i>hlaŋtk<sup>W</sup></i>
*ɬán-tT-ə-t	S/he made it sway, moved it (e.g. a fan).
*sway-MED.D-CTL-3	<i>Hlaŋtdit.</i>

These examples suggest that the original meaning of the suffix is Medial (self-directed, though not reflexive, action), but not Definite.

(2) Compound stems: To this category belong more modern examples of compound verbs (9.2.A.1.b.) with reflexive meaning, such as:

yòʔoks+čáɬ-[t]k <sup>W</sup>	'to wash one's face'
wash.s.+tface-...	<i>yo'oksts'alk<sup>W</sup></i>

#### 7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.b. P<sub>A</sub>'s built on nouns:

(1) Possessives: This is a productive formation with any suitable noun. The suffixed forms can be used as verbs: 'to have ...' or as nouns: 's.t. one has' (see Non-intimate or Collective possession, 3.2.A.2.b.2.):

ʔús-[t]k <sup>W</sup>	'to have a dog; a dog one has'
dog-...	<i>usk<sup>W</sup></i>
hón-tk <sup>W</sup>	'fish one has, one's [supplies of] fish'
fish-...	<i>hoontk<sup>W</sup></i>
winé:x-s > winé:ks	'food one has, one's [supplies of] food'
food-...	<i>wineeks</i>

It is likely that the word **yú:ḡk<sup>W</sup>** 'to eat' *yuuḡkw*, formed on the stem **yú:q** 'string of oolichans' *yuuq*, was originally a word of this type: 'to have a string of oolichans' (something to eat after the winter shortages).

(2) Intransitives: 'to be caught/surprised by ... [time word]'. This formation is no longer productive. It is equivalent to the more modern frame (**x-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>**)(7.3.A.1.a.2.b.5.).

**yúk<sup>W</sup>sa-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to be caught in the bush by nightfall'  
evening-... *yukwsatk<sup>W</sup>*

**lu=mişá:x-s > lumíśá:ks** '(boy) to be discovered in a girl's house  
in-daybreak-... in the morning after spending the  
night with her' *luumíśaaks*

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c. P<sub>A</sub>'s built on P<sub>FA</sub>'s: Older derivatives express a general Medial or intransitive meaning. More recent words have a more definitely Passive or Reflexive meaning.

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.1. Older meaning: Medial or general intransitive:

**lícx-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to count/read'  
count/read.s.-... *litsxk<sup>W</sup>*

**pčáy-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to comb one's hair'  
comb.s.-... *pts'áyk<sup>W</sup>*

**ʔá:cax-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to be enough [for a purpose]'  
reach.goal-... *aaɟaxk<sup>W</sup>*

**lítk-s** 'to keep watch'  
watch/guard.s.-... *lihłks*

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.2. More modern meaning: Passive or Reflexive: formation of Passives is productive with  $\{-[t]k^w\}$ , not with  $\{-s\}$ .

(a)  $\{-s\}$  after Velar (no longer productive):

sə-kámk s make-hot-...	'to warm oneself'	<i>sigamks</i>
cák <sup>w</sup> -s kill.s.-...	'to be killed'	<i>jakws</i>
hó x-s > hóks use.s.-...	'to be used/worn'	<i>hooks</i>
sitxé:x <sup>w</sup> -s > sitxék <sup>w</sup> s change.s.-...	'to be changed, to change'	<i>sityeekws</i>
wóq̣-s dig.s.-...	'to be buried'	<i>wok's</i>

(b)  $\{-[t]k^w\}$  after non-Velars (and productively even after Velars):

cáp-[t]k <sup>w</sup> make.s.-...	'to be made'	<i>ɟapkw</i>
qác-[t]k <sup>w</sup> [liquid] be-...	'to be spilled/poured'	<i>gatskw</i>
kińám-tk <sup>w</sup> give.s.-...	'to be given'	<i>gińamtkw</i>
lu=tám-tk <sup>w</sup> in=press.s.-...	'to be hugged'	<i>luudamtkw</i>

káʔ-tk<sup>W</sup>

see.s.-...

'to be seen'

*ga'atk*▼

(c) Passives are formed on a great variety of stems, including those with transitivity suffixes (especially Causative and Completive).

- on stems that take {-T} to become transitive: this is a modern development (cf. end of 7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.a. above):

• máq-tk<sup>W</sup>

put.away-...

'to be put away'

*mak*▼

(cf. máq-T-ə-t

put.away-DEF-CTL-3

S/he put it away.

*Makdit*)• tá-m-tk<sup>W</sup>

write-...

'to be written'

*t'amik*▼

(cf. tá-m-tT-ə-t

write-DEF-CTL-3

S/he wrote it.

*T'amdit*)• qác-tk<sup>W</sup>

[liquid] be-...

'to be poured/spilled'

*gatsk*▼

(cf. qác-T-ə-t

[liquid] be-DEF-CTL-3

S/he poured/spilled it.

*Gatsdit*)• lu:=tá:-tk<sup>W</sup>

in=sit-...

'to have been put in [s.t.]'

*luut'aatk*▼

(cf. lu:=tá:-tT-ə-t

in=sit-DEF-CTL-3

S/he put it in.

*Luut'aadit*)

- on stems with transitivity suffixes (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.): the resulting combinations have a Resultative meaning: 'to have been ...'

CAUSATIVE suffix {-ʔn}: (a productive pattern):

- \*hít-ʔn-**tk**<sup>W</sup> >hítintk<sup>W</sup> 'to have been erected'  
standing-CAUS-... *hit'intk*▼
- \*támq-ʔn-**tk**<sup>W</sup> >támqantk<sup>W</sup> 'to have been pulled tight'  
hold.tight-CAUS-... *dámq'antk*▼
- \*láqs-ʔn-**tk**<sup>W</sup> >láqsaʔantk<sup>W</sup> 'to have been bathed'  
bathe-CAUS-... *laqsa'antk*▼
- ks-laxhá-[t]ʔntk<sup>W</sup> >kslaxhátintk<sup>W</sup> 'to have been exalted [religious  
most-sky-CAUS-... sense]' *kslaxhat'intk*▼

COMPLETIVE suffix {-ʔl}:

- \*ták-ʔl-**tk**<sup>W</sup> >tákiltk<sup>W</sup> 'to have been folded, wrinkled'  
\*folding-COMPL-... *t'ak'iltk*▼
- ták<sup>W</sup>-ʔl-**tk**<sup>W</sup> >ták<sup>W</sup>iltk<sup>W</sup> 'to have been wrung'  
twist.s.-COMPL-... *t'akw'iltk*▼
- \*híwá:x-ʔl-**tk**<sup>W</sup> >hlwáyiltk<sup>W</sup> '[food] to have been mixed, stirred'  
\*mixing-COMPL-... *hlwaa'yiltk*▼
- \*húk<sup>W</sup>-ʔl-**tk**<sup>W</sup> >húk<sup>W</sup>iltk<sup>W</sup> '[flat object] to have been rolled up'  
\*rolled?-COMPL-... *hukw'iltk*▼

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.2. Forms PEA's: Most of the examples of this use all end in



consonants, thus there is no unambiguous evidence that they are instances of the suffix  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  rather than  $\{-k^W\}$  (7.2.C.2.b.3.). However, as the latter is attached to less identifiable stems, and does not seem to alternate with  $\{-s\}$  as  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  does, it is likely that the instances in this section are indeed of  $\{-[t]k^W\}$ . The transitive meaning is probably related to the Resultative one: 'to have/get s.t. (done)'.

*líp-[t]k <sup>W</sup> sewn? -...	'to sew <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>lipk<sup>v</sup></i>
náks-[t]k <sup>W</sup> spouse -...	'to marry <u>s.o.</u> '	<i>naksk<sup>v</sup></i>
*ká†-[t]k <sup>W</sup> pierce(d)-...	'to pierce <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>gahlk<sup>v</sup></i>
*x <sup>W</sup> -*stáq-s > k <sup>W</sup> stáqs ?-aside-...	'to abandon <u>s.</u> '	<i>kwsdaks</i>
*háp-[t]k <sup>W</sup> hold down? -...	'to jump on <u>s.t.</u> , to catch <u>s.t.</u> in a trap'	<i>hapk<sup>v</sup></i>
*qámk <sup>W</sup> i:-tk <sup>W</sup> bless(ed)-...	'to bless/baptize <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>k'amgwitk<sup>v</sup></i>
*†óq-[t]k <sup>W</sup> swallow(ed)-...	'to swallow <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>hlok'k<sup>v</sup></i>
qús-[t]k <sup>W</sup> jump-...	'to jump for <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>gusk<sup>v</sup></i>
*tqís-[t]k <sup>W</sup> attack(ed)-...	'to attack <u>s.</u> '	<i>tk'esk<sup>v</sup></i>

\*yóx/\*yóq-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to follow s. (esp. a route), to use a means  
pierce(d)-... of transportation' *yoxkw*

7.2.C.1.b.2.b. Cases where (-[t]k<sup>W</sup>) does not alternate with (-S): forms P<sub>A</sub>'s built on nouns:

(1) older meaning: forms adjectives: 'to be like ...' (cf. modern frame (xs-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>), 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.6.):

ćíp-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to be hard'  
bone-... *ts'ipkw*

qís-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to be narrow, thin [not flat]'  
hair-... *geskw*

lált-tk<sup>W</sup> 'to be slow'  
worm-... *laltkw*

tú.č-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to be black; [black] metal'  
coal-... *t'uts'kw*

miłá-tk<sup>W</sup> 'to be green'  
bile-... *mihlatkw*

ʔit'é?-tk<sup>W</sup> 'to be red'  
blood-... *ihlee'etkw*

(2) productive meaning: '...ed, having ...', esp. with names of clothing and similar belongings (cf. (-T) with nouns, 7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.b., and frame (-yu:-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>), 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.4.).

ʔamʔúkit{t}k<sup>W</sup> 'to have one's clothes on'  
clothes-... *am'ugitkw*

púc- <b>[t]k<sup>W</sup></b> boots-...	'to have one's boots on' <i>butsk<sup>W</sup></i>
pilán- <b>[t]k<sup>W</sup></b> belt-...	'to have one's belt on' <i>bilaantk<sup>W</sup></i>
k <sup>W</sup> ilá- <b>tk<sup>W</sup></b> blanket-...	'to have one's [ceremonial] blanket on' <i>gwilatk<sup>W</sup></i>
qíc- <b>[t]k<sup>W</sup></b> chin, labret-...	'[woman] to have character; (lit. to have a labret on)' <i>k'ets'k<sup>W</sup></i>

### 7.2.C.1.b.3. The Indefinite Passive suffix (-[t]k<sup>W</sup>S):

The Indefinite medial suffix (-[t]k<sup>W</sup>) , which can have Passive meaning (7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.2.), can be followed by its normal alternant (-S) in what appears to be a pleonastic (doubly-marked) formation. The combination has an Indefinite Passive (PAS.I) meaning (cf. French reflexives with Passive meaning). Compare the following pairs:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| • kíp- <b>[t]k<sup>W</sup></b><br>eat.s.-... | 'to [have] be[en] eaten' (Fr. être mangé)<br><i>gipk<sup>W</sup></i>                 |
| kíp- <b>[t]k<sup>W</sup>S</b><br>eat.s.-...  | 'to be eaten [in general], to be edible'<br>(Fr. se manger) <i>gipk<sup>W</sup>S</i> |
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| • cáp- <b>[t]k<sup>W</sup></b><br>make.s.-... | 'to [have] be[en] made' (Fr. être fait)<br><i>japk<sup>W</sup></i>                               |
| cáp- <b>[t]k<sup>W</sup>S</b><br>make.s.-...  | 'to be /get made [somewhere, in a certain way, etc.]' (Fr. se faire)<br><i>japk<sup>W</sup>S</i> |

## Sentence examples:

- haŵin-tikíp-[t]k<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†?anàx The bread hasn't been eaten yet.  
not.yet-INTS eat.s.-PAS-[3]=NC bread (Fr. Le pain n'a pas encore été mangé.)  
*Haŵindii gipk<sup>W</sup>hl anaax.*

ni:-ti:kíp-[t]k<sup>W</sup>s-[t]=†çimà:y Barnacles are not eaten.  
not-INTS eat.s.-PAS.I-[3]=NC bread (Fr. Les balanes ne se mangent pas).  
*Nidii gipk<sup>W</sup>shl ts'imaáy.*

haŵin-ti:húkax-[t]=†timliki:kíp-[t]k<sup>W</sup>s-t  
not.yet-INTS correct-[3]=NC FUT about eat.s.-PAS.I-t  
It is not ready to eat (lit. to be eaten) yet.  
*Haŵindii hugaxhl dim ligii gipk<sup>W</sup>st.*

- ?awà?-[t]=†wil?ama:-cáp-[t]k<sup>W</sup>-[t]=†?anhò:ya?-y  
proximity-[3]=NC where well-make.s.-PAS-[3]=NC vehicle-1S  
... where my car was fixed.  
... *awa'ahl wil amaa<sup>W</sup>apk<sup>W</sup>hl anhooya'a'y.*

- ?awà?-[t]=†wil?ama:-cáp-[t]k<sup>W</sup>s-[t]=†?anhò:ya?  
proximity-[3]=NC where well-make.s.-PAS.I-[3]=NC vehicle  
... at the garage (= where cars are fixed).  
... *awa'ahl wil amaa<sup>W</sup>apk<sup>W</sup>shl anhooya'a.*

7.2.C.2. Other predicative suffixes:

In addition to the Medial suffixes, there are a number of other predicative suffixes, covering a wide range of modalities. Some are productive, others seem quite old. Many occur as clusters, and only the cluster has a recognizable meaning. The classification below is by no means the only one possible.

7.2.C.2.a. Suffixes beginning with vowels: Detransitive suffixes:

A Detransitive concentrates on the act or the potentiality of the act, without any consideration of a particular object (unlike an Antipassive, 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.). Many Detransitives occur mostly in derivatives or mediated Object-incorporating compounds (which have an indefinite meaning, 9.2.A.2.b.). Formally the Detransitives all include a vowel, whether stressed or unstressed.

7.2.C.2.a.1. Unstressed suffixes: The three detransitive suffixes {-aʔ} (very widespread), {-aX} and {-iX} (both non-productive) are attached mostly to transitive stems. The unstressed vowel is inherent in the suffixes, not introduced to break a cluster, and it could perhaps represent the Control suffix {-ə-} (7.2.A.3.). Although it is possible up to a point to assign a separate meaning to the consonantal elements, the combinations function as single suffixes in present-day Nisg̃ha. These three suffixes seem to indicate the potentiality rather than the realization of the action indicated: {-aʔ} seems to have a more active meaning, {-aX} and {-iX} a more stative or passive meaning.

7.2.C.2.a.1.a. {-aʔ} ...aʔ occurs frequently in derivatives with instrumental meaning, and in the verbal component of Object-incorporating compound verbs. Words formed with this suffix alone are sometimes used as nouns rather than verbs.

(1) After stop: the suffix glottalizes a preceding stop or affricate, through the rule of Anticipatory Glottalization, 10.1.A.2.a.1.)

čip-aʔ > čip̣aʔ	'to tie w. knot'	sqa=čip̣aʔ	'necktie'
tie.s.-...	<i>ts'iip'a'a</i>	barring=...	<i>sgats'iip'a'a</i>
		ha-tqal=čip̣aʔ-m+kiwatán	
		INSTR-against-tie-ATTR+horse	
		'bridle and bit' <i>hatk'alts'iip'a'am-gyuwadan</i>	

ʔí:c- <b>a?</b> > ʔí:ča?	'to fry/iron'	ha-ʔí:ča?	'(an) iron'
fry.s.-...	<i>iits'ə's</i>	INSTR-...	<i>ha iits'ə's</i>
lák- <b>a?</b> > láka?	'[fish] to pour out of a net'	ʔan-láka?	'end of oolichan net'
occur.as.mass-...	<i>lak'ə's</i>	place-...	<i>anlak'ə's</i>
silák <sup>W</sup> - <b>a?</b> > silák <sup>W</sup> a?	'to burn things'	silák <sup>W</sup> a?-m+ʔamʔúkit	'to burn old clothes' (traditional custom)
burn.s.-...	<i>silakw'ə's</i>	...-ATTR+clothes	<i>silakw'ə'am-am'ugit</i>

qílk<sup>W</sup>-**a?** > qílk<sup>W</sup>a? 'headscarf, kerchief'  
wind.around.s.-... *gelkwə's*

qáq- <b>a?</b> > qáqa?	'to open things'	ha-qáqa?	'key'
open.s.-...	<i>kak'ə's</i>	INSTR-...	<i>hak'ak'ə's</i>

Consonants which are already glottalized remain so:

hác- <b>a?</b> > háča?	'to bite; a bite'	qan-háča?	'clothespin'
bite-...	<i>hats'ə'c</i>	means-...	<i>ganhats'ə's</i>

(2) After post-vocalic Velar fricative: the rule of Glide-formation (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.a.) occurs when a stem-final Velar fricative is in intervocalic position:

ʔúx- <b>a?</b> > ʔúya?	'to hit [against s.]'	qan-ʔúya?	'boat bumpers'
hit.s.-...	<i>uyə's</i>	place-...	<i>gan'uyə's</i>

kúx <sup>W</sup> - <b>a?</b> > kúwa?	'*to shoot'	kúwa?-m+náʔq	'[whale] to blow'
shoot.s.-...	<i>guwə's</i>	...-ATTR+breath	<i>guwə'am-naahlk</i>

(3) After other consonants: non-Velar fricatives are not affected, neither are resonants:

má:ks-aʔ	'to put s. [a net]	mà:ksaʔ-m+ʔá:t	'to put the net(s)
put.s.in.water-...	in the water'	...-ATTR+net	in the water'
	<i>maaksə'ə</i>		<i>maaksə'am-aat</i>
há:k <sup>W</sup> ɬ-aʔ	'to hook things'	ha-mín=hák <sup>W</sup> ɬaʔ	'L-shaped hook for
hook.s.-...	<i>hakwhlɛ'ə</i>	INSTR-up=...	lifting oolichan net'
			<i>haminhakwhlɛ'ə</i>
ksax-kińáməʔ	'[to give] gift[s]'		
only-give.s.-...	<i>ksaxgińámə'ə</i>		
*yál-aʔ	'*to turn things'	ha-yálaʔ	'auger, drill'
turn.s.-...	<i>yala'ə</i>	INSTR-...	<i>hayala'ə</i>
		ha-yàlaʔ-m+ɬkimát	'eggbeater'
		INSTR-...-ATTR+egg	<i>hayala'am-hlgimat</i>
wán-aʔ	'to plant things'	wànaʔ-m+sku:sít	'to plant potatoes'
set.s.PL-...	<i>wana'ə</i>	...-ATTR+potatoes	<i>wana'am-sguusiit</i>

Already glottalized resonants remain so:

qé:l-aʔ	'to knead'	qaltim-qè:laʔ	'kneading-bowl'
knead.s.-...	<i>geelɛ'ə</i>	container-...	<i>galdimgeelɛ'ə</i>

This suffix occasionally occurs after other, older suffixes, e.g.

sitá:-m-aʔ		'to start, begin' ( {-m} 7.2.C.2.b.4.)
start-TEMP?-...		<i>sit'aama'ə</i>





and also by the Antipassive ( $-ʔsk^W$ ) (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.), as in:

mák-**ax**-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > mák'aqask<sup>W</sup> 'step'  
 fall.individually-...-AP.I *mak'aq'askw*

where the combination /X-ʔ/ gives rise to glottalized /q̣/ (10.A.1.b.2.a.2.), as also in the following example with Causative suffix (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.):

\*pás-**ax**-ʔn > pásaqan 'to divide s.t.'  
 divide(ed)-...-CAUS *basak'an*

7.2.C.2.a.1.c. ( $-iX$ ) ...*iX* This suffix is not productive. The /X/ component seems to indicate uncontrolled action, which may continue indefinitely once started (7.2.C.b.6.c.). This suffix is found before a suffix ( $-S$ ) similar to that in the Antipassive suffixes (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.), but without the /ʔ/ component which seems to indicate deliberate action (7.2.C.2.b.1.). Stop-formation occurs before /S/ (10.1.A.1.b.2.a.1.).

(1) before ( $-S-T$ ): (with Definite Medial suffix ( $-T$ )): forms transitives or intransitives. The action seems to continue until exhaustion of its possibilities:

qác-**iX**-s-T > qáciksT 'to pour water on s.'  
 [(liquid) be-...-MED-DEF *gajiks*

tám-**iX**-s-T > támiksT 'to press/squeeze s. (e.g. s.o.'s hand)'  
 press.s-...-MED-DEF *damiks*

míc-**iX**-s-T > míciksT 'to pinch/squeeze s. (between two things)'  
 pinch.s-...-MED-DEF *mits'iks*

qa)\*qít-**iX**-s-T > qaqítiksT 'to be difficult, dangerous' (old word)  
 ASP)painful?-...-MED-DEF *gagediks*  
 (cf. qaqít<sup>W</sup> 'difficult, expensive')

(2) before  $[-s-[t]k^W]$ : (with Indefinite Medial suffix  $[-[t]k^W]$ ),  
 7.2.C.1.b.): the action continues indefinitely:

\* $k^W\acute{o}t-iX-s-[t]k^W > k^W\acute{o}tiksk^W$  'to feel lost, disoriented'  
 lost-...-MED-INDEF *kw'oodiksk*▼

? $an-t\acute{k}u=*l\acute{i}lpix-s-[t]k^W > ant\acute{k}ul\acute{i}lpiksk^W$  'whirlpool'  
 place-around-roll.round-...-MED-INDEF *antk'ul\acute{i}lbiksk*▼

\* $t\acute{a}lp-iX-s-[t]k^W > t\acute{a}lpiksk^W$  'to shrink, crouch'  
 short?-...-MED-INDEF *dalbiksk*▼  
 (cf.  $t\acute{i}lpk^W$  'to be clos, neare' *dilpkw*)

#### 7.2.C.2.a.2. Stressed suffixes:

These suffixes are not productive. As the suffix is stressed, the stem is unstressed and the stem vowel is reduced. Alternately, the stem vowel is lost, then a neutral epenthetic vowel is inserted (and adjusted to its consonantal environment), except where there has been fusion of the two consonants of the stem, as in  $/\acute{t} + \acute{t} > \acute{t}\acute{t}/$ .

Compared to the other detransitive suffixes, which seem to denote potentiality, the stressed suffixes seem to indicate that the action continues over a period of time.

7.2.C.2.a.2.a.  $[-\acute{e}:?]$  *lee'e*: The use of this suffix is similar to that of  $[-a?]$  (7.2.C.2.a.1.a.): it forms intransitive verbs, sometimes nouns, and is frequently used in object-incorporating compounds. It may or may not be significant that the great majority of the words it is attached to are built on stems ending in anterior consonants.

$p\acute{a}t-\acute{e}:? > pit\acute{e}:?$  'to spread s.flat'  $sqa=pit\acute{e}:?$  'curtain'  
 spread.s.flat-... *bihlee'e* barring=... *sgabihlee'e*

*ká†-é:ʔ > kíté:ʔ	'to embroider'	kítèʔ-m+tá la	'to carve silver'
pierce.s.-...	(orig. with porcupine quills)	...-ATTR+silver	<i>gihlee'em-daala</i>
	<i>gihlee'e</i>		
ǎt†-é:ʔ > ǎé:ʔ	'to remove things'	sa:=ǎé:ʔ	'to undress'
spread.s.flat-...	<i>l'ee'e</i>	off=...	<i>saatl'ee'e</i>
		ǎé:ʔ-m+nóʔo†	'to clear the table'
		...-ATTR+dishes	after a meal'
			<i>l'ee'em-no'ohl</i>
mán-é:ʔ > miné:ʔ	'to apply s.t. to the skin'	ha-miné:ʔ	'skin cream or lotion'
smear.s.-...	<i>minee'e</i>	INSTR-...	<i>haminee'e</i>
*(t)qát-é:ʔ > (t)qaté:ʔ	'to patch'	?an-tqaté:ʔ	's.t. used for a patch'
patch.s.-...	<i>k'adee'e</i>	INSTR-...	<i>antk'adee'e</i>
(cf. (t)qatx 'to patch s.' <i>k'atx</i> )			

It is likely that the same suffix is present also in

la:x=?ayéʔ	'to throw a ball back and forth'
back.&.forth=...	<i>laax'aye'e</i>

built on the stem ?ÚX 'to hit s' *ux* (cf. above ?úyaʔ 'to hit against s.' *uya'a*, 7.2.C.2.a.1.a.), but it is not clear why the vowel should be short in this case (cf. also the short vowel of kípé?esk<sup>W</sup> 'to wait' *gibe'eskw*, Antipassive of kípá 'to wait for s' *gibs*, 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.a.).

**Remark:** It is likely that this suffix was originally composed of two suffixes, older \*\*-éh (now represented by stems ending in stressed á), and the Detransitive {-aʔ}, thus the sequence \*\*-éh-aʔ resulting in the present

suffix after loss of the unstressed vowel and vocalization of the /h/ (Tarpent 1983b).

7.2.C.2.a.2.b. (-ísT)/(-ísk<sup>W</sup>): The suffix, found only in a few words, seems to occur only accompanied by the more ubiquitous Medial suffixes (-T) (7.2.C.1.a.) and (-[t]k<sup>W</sup>) (7.2.C.1.b.), so these combinations are treated here as single suffixes. Their meanings seem close to those of the Antipassive suffixes (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.), which also include an /S/ component.

7.2.C.2.a.2.b.1. (-ísT): as in many other cases, post-consonantal (-T) is being lost from the speech of many YFS and its presence can be inferred from other alternations.

skán-ísT > skinísT  
pitch, gum-...

'pine-tree'

*sginist*

ṭám-ísT > ṭimísT  
write.s.-...

'to write, writing'

*t'imis(t)*

qan-ṭimísT

'pencil'

means-...

*gant'imis(t)*

• yuk<sup>W</sup>=ṭimísT-t  
PROG=NC writing-3

S/he is writing.

*Yukwhl t'imis(i)t.*

7.2.C.2.a.2.b.2. (-ísk<sup>W</sup>):

ṭál-ísk<sup>W</sup> > ṭilísk<sup>W</sup> 'to make shakes'  
split.s.(wood)-... *t'ilisk<sup>W</sup>*

ha-ṭilísk<sup>W</sup> 'froe'

INSTR-...

*hat'ilisk<sup>W</sup>*

wóq-ísk<sup>W</sup> > waqísk<sup>W</sup> 'to dig., esp.  
split.s.(wood)-... to dig a grave'

?an-waqísk<sup>W</sup> 'gravesite'

INSTR-...

*anwak'esk<sup>W</sup>*

*wak'esk<sup>W</sup>*

In the following form:

naxńá-ísk<sup>W</sup> > naxńísk<sup>W</sup> 'to hear' ha-naxńísk<sup>W</sup> 'hearing aid'  
 hear.s.-... *naxńísk▼* INSTR-... *hanaxńísk▼*

the suffix vowel has cancelled the stem-final vowel, by a rule which does not seem to be currently productive.

### 7.2.C.2.b. Consonantal suffixes:

7.2.C.2.b.1. Suffixes beginning with /ʔ/: A number of predicative suffixes consist of a glottal stop followed by another consonant. Although they vary greatly in productivity, all seem to have in common the meaning 'deliberate action.' They include Transitive suffixes which require an Object to be mentioned in the context, Antipassive suffixes which only imply an Object, as well as other suffixes more difficult to categorize. Some of these formations are obviously older than others, and suggest different origins for the present meanings. A few forms suggest that the glottal stop which is a component of most of these suffixes must have been a separate suffix itself in an older period (7.2.C.2.b.1.d.).

Suffixes beginning with /ʔ/ cause glottalization in the preceding segment(s). The following is a summary of Glottalization rules (see 10.2.B.1.b.) for details:

- stems ending in stops and affricates glottalize the post-stress consonant(s) (10.2.B.1.b.1.);
- stems ending in non-Velar fricatives add the epenthetic vowel /a/ before the suffix (10.1.A.1.a.2.a.(2));
- with stems ending in Velar fricatives, the merging of the fricative with the glottal stop usually causes a glottalized resonant (10.2.B.1.b.1.b.2.a);
- stems ending in vowels or resonants add epenthetic /t/ before the suffix (10.2.A.1.b.1.);
- with suffix combinations, glottalization rules function as if only the first

suffix began with /ʔ/.

7.2.C.2.b.1.a. Transitivizing suffixes:

7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1. The Causative suffix {-ʔn}: This suffix is very widespread and productive.

(a) With an intransitive verb: it expresses direct causation, by the will or direct physical control of the Agent over the Object:

lák-ʔn be.in.heap-...	> lák <sup>h</sup> n	to wreck <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>lak'in</i>
xháyk <sup>w</sup> -ʔn capsize-...	> xháyk <sup>w</sup> n	'to capsize <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>xhaykw'in</i>
hiʔáq-ʔn break-...	> hiʔáq <sup>n</sup>	'to break <u>s.t.</u> (stick, bone, etc.)'	<i>hihlaq'an</i>
míč-ʔn pinched-...	> míč <sup>n</sup>	'to pinch, squeeze <u>s.t.</u> (between two things)'	<i>mits'in</i>
k <sup>w</sup> ás-ʔn shatter-...	> k <sup>w</sup> ásaʔan	'to shatter <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>kw'usa'an</i>
kéʔ-ʔn lie-...	> kéʔaʔan	'to lay <u>s.</u> down, put <u>s.</u> to bed'	<i>geehla'an</i>
ksáx <sup>w</sup> -ʔn go.out-...	> ksa <sup>w</sup> n	'to cause <u>s.</u> to go outside (e.g. to put a <u>dog</u> out)'	<i>(ksax<sup>w</sup>) ksa<sup>w</sup>n</i>
páx-ʔn run-...	> páʔan	'to run/drive/play, etc. <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>(bax) ba'an</i>

wíl-ʔn > wíltin 'to cause s. to be, to obey s.o.'s will or  
act-... words' *wílt'in*

ćín-ʔn > ćíntin 'to let s. in'  
enter-... *ts'ínt'in*

háw-ʔn > háwtin 'to put a stop to s.t.'  
stop-... *hawt'in*

lím(x)-ʔn > límin 'to play s.t. (a musical instrument)'  
sing-... *límin*

(for deletion of /X/ here, see 10..2.A.2.b.2.b.2.(b))

The suffix is almost certainly present in the following form ending in /ń/,  
although the root is not fully recoverable:

qíń 'to chew (on) (s.t.)'  
*geń*

(cf. qé:x 'to grind s.t.' *geex*, ha-qé'esT 'grinding tool' *hages*; cf. also  
Completive forms ending in /ĭ/, 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.a.).

(b) With an adjective: the Causative means 'to find s. ..., to experience s. as ...,  
to notice that s. is ...' (in these formations the element of deliberateness or active  
will is missing, but that of conscious mental activity is still present):

likskát-ʔn > likskátin 'to notice a difference in s., to notice  
different-... that s. is different' *liksgat'in*

qásq-ʔn > qásqan 'to hate the taste of s.t. (to find it bitter)'  
bitter-... *gask'an*

xʔíł-ʔn > xʔíłtin 'to like the taste of s.t. (to find it tasty)'  
delicious-... *xłilt'in*

?askí-?n > ?askítin 'to find s.t. strange/funny/ugly'  
 delicious-... (asgi) asgit'in

It is likely that the following forms, where the base is not used in isolation, are also instances of this formation:

\*sí:p-?n > sí:pín 'to love s.o. (to experience pain, not to  
 painful?-... cause it)' siip'in

\*k'wót-?n > k'wótin 'to lose s.o. (to experience it as missing)'  
 missing-... kw'oot'in

(c) With a transitive verb: the Causative has the meaning 'to cause s.o. to [verb] s.t.' (the semantic Object may vary depending on the verb):

hó:x-?n > hó:yin 'to put a garment on s.o.'  
 use/wear.s.-... (hoox) hooyin

wilá:x-?n > wilá:yin 'to let s.o. know s.t.'  
 know.s.-... (wilaax) wilaayin

sə-wilá:x-?n > siwilá:yin 'to teach s.o. s.t., or [less often] s.t. to s.o.'  
 make-know.s.-... (wilaax) siwilaayin

(d) Many of the bases the suffix is attached to also occur followed by the Indefinite Medial suffix  $\{-[t]k^W\}$ , so that there are contrastive word-pairs, but there is no mutual implication between the two suffixes (see also 7.2.C.1.b.). Some examples of pairs are:

\*sí:p-?n > sí:pín 'to love s.o.' \*sí:p-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to be sick/hurt'  
 painful?-... siip'in painful?-MED.I siiptw



\* hít-ʔn > híʔin 'to erect s.t.' \* hít-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to stand up'  
stand-... *hit'in* stand-MED.I *hitk▼*

\* sáks-ʔn > sákʂaʔan 'to clean s.t.' \* sáks-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to be clean'  
clean?-... *saksʂ'an* clean?-MED.I *saksk▼*

lu=yál-ʔn > lu.yáʔin 'to return s.t.' lu=yál-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to return'  
in=turn-... *luuyal'in* in=turn-MED.I *luuyalk▼*

Some Causatives formed on nouns designating clothes seem to be back-formations from words ending in the MED.I suffix and meaning 'to be ...ed, to have one's ... on' (7.2.C.1.b.2.b.(2)):

ʔamʔúkit-ʔn > ʔamʔúkiʔin 'to dress, clothe s.o.'  
clothes-... *(am'ugit) am'uk'it'in*  
(cf. ʔamʔúkit[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to have one's clothes on' *am'ugitk▼*)

ʔutáç-ʔn > ʔutáçʔan 'to put a coat on s.o.'  
coat-... *k'udats'a'an*  
(cf. ʔutáç[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to have one's coat on' *k'udatsk▼*)

(e) In some recent formations, the Causative suffix is often followed by the Indefinite Medial suffix (-[t]k<sup>W</sup>), here with the productive Passive meaning (7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.2.), or by one of the Antipassive suffixes, usually the Indefinite (-ʔsk<sup>W</sup>) (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.), hence new pairs such as:

wíl-ʔn-[t]k<sup>W</sup> > wíʔintk<sup>W</sup> '(will, words, intentions, etc.) to be  
act-...-MED.I obeyed, manifested' *wilt'ink▼*

wíl-ʔn-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > wíʔinsk<sup>W</sup> 'to obey, to be obedient'  
act-...-AP.I *wilt'insk▼*

There are also isolated instances of other suffixes, as in the older form:

\* $\acute{c}i:x^W/\acute{c}i:k^W-?n-x$  >  $\acute{c}i:k^Winx$  '(net) to be tangled up'  
 ?-...-INSTR? *ts'ikw'inx*  
 (see 7.2.C.2.b.4.a. for  $\{-x\}_{-x}$ ).

7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2. The Completive suffix  $\{-?l\}$ : This suffix is less widespread than the Causative suffix  $\{-?n\}$ . Its meaning indicates that the action is carried to its conclusion, somewhat like the English particle *up*.

7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.a. Used alone: Like the Causative suffix, the Completive is often added to stems which only occur with other suffixes, especially the Indefinite Medial  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  (see 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.(d), (e)).

* $lip-?l$	> $lipil$	'to mend <u>s.t.</u> '	
sewn?-...			<i>lip'il</i>
* $k^Wot-?l$	> $k^Wotil$	'to lose track of <u>s.t.</u> '	
missing?-...			<i>kw'oot'il</i>
* $lic-?l$	> $licil$	'to keep count of <u>s.t.</u> '	
count?-...			<i>lits'il</i>
* $tak-?l$	> $takil$	'to fold <u>s.t.</u> up'	
folded/wrinkled?-...			<i>tak'il</i>
* $tak^W-?l$	> $tak^Wil$	'to twist/wring <u>s.t.</u> up'	
twist?-...			<i>takw'il</i>
* $twax-?l$	> $twaxil$	'to mix/stir <u>s.t.</u> up'	
mixed?-...			<i>hwaax'il</i>

Unlike the Causative suffix, which is used exclusively to form verbs, the Completive suffix also occurs in a number of other parts of speech, as in:

<p> <math>\acute{t}\acute{u}\acute{c}\text{-}\text{?l}</math>      &gt; <math>\acute{t}\acute{u}\acute{c}\acute{i}l</math>      'pupil of the eye'  coal-...      <i>t'uuts'il</i> </p>
<p> <math>*k\acute{i}lp\text{-}\text{?l}</math>      &gt; <math>k\acute{i}lp\acute{i}l</math>      'two [objects]'  two-...      <i>gilp'il</i>  (cf. <math>*k\acute{i}lp\text{-}a</math>: 'twice' <i>gilbaa</i>) </p>
<p> <math>*s\acute{e}q\text{-}\text{?l}</math>      &gt; <math>s\acute{e}q\acute{a}l</math>      'rough-textured'  rough?-...      <i>seek'ml</i>  (cf. <math>*s\acute{e}qs</math> 'spruce' <i>seek's</i> ?) </p>
<p> <math>*\acute{k}\acute{u}\text{-}\text{?l}</math>      &gt; <math>\acute{k}\acute{u}l</math>      'narrow'  small-...      <i>hlgul'</i>  (cf. <math>\acute{k}u</math> 'little' <i>hlgu</i>) </p>
<p> <math>*luk^W\text{-}\text{?l}</math>      &gt; <math>luk^W\acute{i}l</math>      'very'  ?-...      <i>lukw'il</i> </p>

This suffix is almost certainly present in a number of forms (not all) ending in / $\acute{l}$ / after a stressed vowel, where the rest of the word is only partly analyzable:

<p> <math>k\acute{i}l</math>      'one [object]'  (cf. <math>k\acute{e}\text{-}</math> 'one' <i>k'i.../k'a...</i>, 7.1.B.2.c.1.)      <i>k'il</i> </p>
<p> <math>xp\acute{i}l</math>      'ten [objects]'  (cf. <math>xp\acute{e}\text{-}</math> 'ten' <i>x\acute{d}i.../x\acute{b}a...</i>, 7.1.B.2.c.2.)      <i>xpil'</i> </p>
<p> <math>k\acute{i}l</math>      'to pick/dig for s.t. [a food]'  (cf. <math>k\acute{u}l[t]\text{-}</math> 'to take <u>s.</u>' <i>guu-di</i>)      <i>gil'</i> </p>

7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.b. Used with other suffixes: Like the Causative suffix ( $-\text{?n}$ ), the Completive suffix ( $-\text{?l}$ ) is often followed by Antipassive or Medial/Passive suffixes. In either case, the use of the Definite variant seems to be older, that of

the Indefinite seems to be more recent.

(1) With Definite suffixes: with Definite suffixes, the Completive suffix seems to form a unit, as there are no corresponding forms without the extra suffix:

- followed by the Definite Antipassive {-ʔsT} (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.): it forms the adjective:

wilá:x-ʔl-ʔsT	>	wilá:kilsT	'to be knowledgeable, educated'
know.s.-...-AP.D		( <i>wilaaɣ</i> )	<i>wilaaɣ'ils(t)</i>

- followed by the Definite Medial suffix {-T} (7.2.C.1.a.): it forms a number of nouns and adjectives (in this case, the /t/ occurring after /l/ is always clearly audible):

ks-ʔáx <sup>W</sup> -ʔl-T	>	kslá:wilt	'to be undermost'
most-underside-...-DEF		( <i>kslaɣw</i> )	<i>ksla:wilt</i>

ýáns-ʔl-T	>	ýánsa?alT	'May (lit. 'fully-leafed)'
leaf-...-DEF			<i>ýansa'alt</i>

sqúks-ʔl-T	>	sqúksa?alT	'to run short [of supplies]'
not.reach.s.-...-DEF			<i>sq'oksa'alt</i>

*táx <sup>W</sup> -ʔl-T	>	tá:wilt	'small fish-hook (for angling)'
?-...-DEF			<i>t'aa:wilt</i>

?a-*yá:x <sup>W</sup> -ʔl-T	>	?ayá:wilt	'to be capable, competent'
spontaneous-?-...-DEF			<i>ayaa:wilt</i>

This suffix combinations probably occurs also in words where the root is not entirely recognizable, for instance

t̃íT 'to be/occur early'  
 ?-... *t̃ít*  
 (cf. t̃íT 'hurry!' *t̃íh/*, 5.11., and t̃é:tk<sup>W</sup> 'to walk fast' *t̃éetkw*)

c̃íT 'mittens, gloves'  
 ?-... *ts'ít*

and the following numbers:

q̃óT 'six (objects or animals)'  
 ?-... *k'oolt*

t̃ípxodT 'seven (objects or animals)'  
 ?-... *t̃ípxoolt*

(2) With Indefinite suffixes: Indefinite Antipassive or Passive/Medial suffixes are often added to existing words ending in the Completive suffix:

- followed by the Indefinite Antipassive (-ʔsk<sup>W</sup>) (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.)

\*k̃<sup>W</sup>ó:t-ʔl-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > k̃<sup>W</sup>ó:tílsk<sup>W</sup> 'to lose consciousness'  
 lost-...-AP.I *(kw'oot'il)* *kw'oot'ilskv*

\*lí:c-ʔl-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > lí:cílsk<sup>W</sup> 'to keep count, do the accounts'  
 count-...-AP.I *(lits'il)* *lits'ilskv*

\*t̃wá:x-ʔl-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > t̃wá:yílsk<sup>W</sup> 'to mix, stir (e.g. while cooking)'  
 mixed?-...-AP.I *(hlwaa'yil)* *hlwaa'yilskv*

- followed by the Indefinite Medial (here Passive) suffix {-[t]k<sup>W</sup>} (7.2.C.1.b.):

\*táḱ-ʔl-tk<sup>W</sup> > táḱiltk<sup>W</sup> 'to be folded up'  
 folded?-...-MED.I (t'ak'il) t'ak'iltk<sup>W</sup>

- There are also instances of other suffixes, as in

tqal=\*qé:p-ʔl-x > tqalqé:pilx 'to rub s.t. with s.t. else'  
 against=?-...-INSTR tk'algeep'ilx  
 (cf. qé:x 'to grind.s.' *geex*)

#### 7.2.C.2.b.1.b. Antipassive suffixes:

The Antipassive (AP) emphasizes the action being performed, leaving its Object indefinite. However, unlike the Detransitive (7.2.C.2.A.), the Antipassive implies that the action does have an Object, which is left unmentioned but may be reintegrated into the sentence after the preposition ʔa a. The time required to perform the action is also left indefinite, and performance may take place at intervals, as needed. Many Antipassives have specialized meaning, and some are used as nouns.

The Antipassive suffix (-ʔS) always occurs followed by a Medial suffix, either the Definite (-T) or the Indefinite (-[t]k<sup>W</sup>); here the two combinations are treated as single suffixes (cf. the stressed Detransitives (-íST) and (-íSk<sup>W</sup>), 7.2.C.2.a.2.b.).

The Definite Antipassive (AP.D) (-ʔST) implies that there is a single Object of the action, and/or that the action is performed in a single period of time. Relatively few verbs include this suffix, and some of them can be used as nouns. The suffix is also added to a number of nouns to form new nouns.

The Indefinite Antipassive (AP.I) {-ʔSk<sup>W</sup>} implies that there is an indefinite number of Objects of the action, and/or that the action may be performed at intervals. Most of the words with this suffix are verbs, often with specialized meaning, a few are nouns. In most cases of verbal usage, the unmentioned

Object of the action may be included in the clause as a prepositional Object (4.2.A.4.a.).

With both Definite and Indefinite suffixes, the use as, or with, both noun and verb recalls the English suffix *-ing* as in *covering, roofing*. Other derivatives may be built on words formed with the Antipassive suffixes. As with the Detransitives (7.2.C.2.a.), Instrumental nouns and Object-incorporating verbs are especially common.

### 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1. The Definite Antipassive suffix [-ʔsT]:

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.a Forms Antipassive verbs from verbal stems: The suffix is frequently added to stems which occur with other verbal suffixes, e.g. Causative or Medial.

(1) Use as single verb:

*kʷó:t-ʔsT	> kʷó:tisT	'to miss something (= not to see it/h.)'	
missing-...		<i>kw'oot'is(t)</i>	
pá:t-ʔsT	> pá:taʔasT	'to butcher game'	
cut.s.open-...		<i>baahla'as(t)</i>	
*líp-ʔsT	> lípisT	'to sew'	ha-lípisT
sewn?-...	<i>lip'is(t)</i>		INSTR-... <i>halip'is(t)</i>
síl-ʔsT	> sílsT	'to spin [yarn]'	ha-sílsT
dizzy-...	<i>síls(t)</i>		'spinning-wheel' <i>hasíls(t)</i>

The recent productivity of this suffix is shown by its use with an English borrowing in:

\*pé:n-ʔsT > pé:ńisT 'to paint'  
paint-... *péeńis(t)*

The stem of the word **ha-ǰéʔesT** 'sharpening tool' *hage'es(t)* is an Antipassive of this type, but the root or base cannot be established with certainty (cf. **ǰé:X** 'to grind, sharpen s.t.' *geex*).

Sentence examples:

yùk<sup>W</sup>=† líp̄isT-t S/he is sewing.  
 now PERF=NC paint-3 *Yukwhl lip'isit*

†a: †isk<sup>W</sup>=† pé:ńisT-t S/he has finished painting.  
 now PERF=NC paint-3 *Hlaa hliskwhl péeńisit*

(2) Some Definite Antipassives can be used as both verb and noun:

kúx<sup>W</sup>-ʔsT > kúw̄sT 'to shoot and kill game; game killed'  
 shoot.s.-... *guw̄s(t)*

\*húk<sup>W</sup>-ʔsT > húk<sup>W</sup>isT 'to snare an animal; a snare'  
 snare.s.?-... *hukw'is(t)*

ʔuk<sup>W</sup>s=ǰáq-ʔsT > ʔuk<sup>W</sup>s=ǰáq̄asT 'to stick out; porch, awning, visor'  
 outward=nose, protrusion-... *ukwsts'ak'ns(t)*

or as noun alone:

lík<sup>W</sup>-ʔsT > lík<sup>W</sup>isT 'shoelaces (lit. lacing)'  
 lace.s.-... *likw'is(t)*

The noun **kím̄isT** 'soft shredded bark, formerly used as kindling, diapers, etc.' *gim̄is(t)* also has the form of an Antipassive ( \*kím-ʔsT , cf. Eng. *kindling*



from *to kindle*). The root \*kím *gim* recalls kámk 'hot' *gamk*, which has the root \*kám *gam* (for root-vowel alternations, see 3.1.A.).

(3) Use as compound verb: Definite Antipassives can participate in mediated Object-incorporating compounds; the Object is a single item (9.2.A.2.a.(1)). Some of these compounds can also be used as nouns.

pè <sup>h</sup> isT-m+wílp paint-ATTR+house	'to paint a house'	<i>pée<sup>h</sup>ísim-wílp</i>
kù <sup>w</sup> sT-m+smáx kill.game-ATTR+bear	'to kill a bear; bear one killed'	<i>gu<sup>w</sup>sim-smax</i>
hù <sup>k</sup> wisT-m+qáx snare-ATTR+rabbit	'to snare a rabbit; rabbit one snared'	<i>huk<sup>w</sup>'isim-gax</i>

- ni:-ti:-tña:=tə-ʔák†k<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† kù<sup>w</sup>sT-m+smáxt  
not-INTS-3E out.of.woods=DOM-able-{3}=NC kill.game-ATTR+bear  
He wasn't able to get the bear he had killed, from the forest to the village.  
*Nidiit náadi'ághíkwhl gu<sup>w</sup>sim-smaxt.*

(4) Use with other suffixes: In a few instances, the Definite Antipassive suffix is associated with a transitivity suffix, especially Causative or Completive (cf the much more common use of the Indefinite Antipassive after those suffixes, 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.).

- after Causative {-ʔn} (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.)

tux <sup>W</sup> )táx <sup>W</sup> -ʔn-ʔsT > tux <sup>W</sup> táw <sup>ins</sup> T PL)dead?-CAUS-...	'to be sluggish, lethargic'
	<i>duxwdawins(t)</i>

- after Completive {-ʔl} (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.):

wilá:x-ʔl-ʔsT > wilá kilsT      'to be knowledgeable, educated'  
lace.s.-...      *wilaak'is(t)*

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.b. Forms nouns from other nouns: The new noun means 'part [of an object] resembling ..., having the function of ...' (lit. 'noun -ing'; this use recalls that of the frozen suffix {-ʔ}, 7.2.C.2.b.1.d.).

ʔanʔún-ʔsT > ʔanʔúnsT      'sleeve'  
hand(s)/arm(s)-...      *an'uńs(t)*

qán-ʔsT > qánsT      '[straight] handle [of an axe, etc.]'  
stick-...      *gańs(t)*

ʔimlán(x)-ʔsT > ʔimlánsT      'collar'  
neck-...      *t'imláns(t)*

(for /X/-deletion see 10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.(b))

- ni-ti-ʔimlánsT-[t]=ʔcàkit-ý      My blouse doesn't have a collar.  
not-INTS collar-[3]=NC blouse (< jacket)-1S      *Nidii t'imlánsihl jagidiý.*

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2. The Indefinite Antipassive suffix {-ʔsk<sup>W</sup>}: This suffix is usually added to transitive stems, whether plain or already suffixed, where it is very productive. Indefinite Antipassives often have a specialized meaning, especially those which are only used as nouns. Object-incorporation is also extremely frequent (9.2.A.2.a.(2)).

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.a. Added to plain stems: most of these stems occur as transitive verbs without other suffixes.

(1) Use as verb: in many cases these verbs can also be used nominally:

kíp-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > kípisk<sup>W</sup>      'to eat berries while picking'  
eat.s.-...      *gip'isk▼*

háç-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> bite.s.-...	>háçisk <sup>W</sup>	'to bite' (as in: 'that dog will bite')	<i>hats'iskv</i>
yú-ʔimq-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> advise/admonish.s.-...	>yú-ʔimqask <sup>W</sup>	'to give advice; to tell s.o. how to behave'	<i>yuuhlimk'askv</i>
ʔa-páq-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> spontaneous-feel.s.-...	>apáqask <sup>W</sup>	'to be excited, anxious, eager [to do s.t.]; (older meaning) to be upset'	<i>abak'askv</i>
tás-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> touch.s.-...	>tásaʔask <sup>W</sup>	'[disease] to be contagious'	<i>dasa'askv</i>
mát-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> tell.s.-...	>máʔaʔask <sup>W</sup>	'to preach, make an announcement, tell on s.o.'	<i>mahl'a'askv</i>
à m-(ə)t=ʔ máʔaʔask <sup>W</sup> good-REL=NC announcement		'the Gospel' (lit. Good News)	<i>Aamithl Mahla'askv</i>
ʔáx <sup>W</sup> -ʔsk <sup>W</sup> sweep.s.-...	>ʔáwisk <sup>W</sup>	'to sweep'	<i>t'awiskv</i>
lúx <sup>W</sup> -ʔsk <sup>W</sup> not.let.others.have..s.-...	>lúwisk <sup>W</sup>	'to be "stingy", possessive, to refuse to share with others'	<i>luwiskv</i>
x-ʔálkax-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> claim-talk-...	>xʔálkáqask <sup>W</sup>	'to govern/reign; reign, kingdom'	<i>x'alk'uk'askv</i>
ʔimó.m-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> help.s.-...	>ʔimó.misk <sup>W</sup>	'to help out [with money and donations as required by traditional obligations]'	<i>hlimoomiskv</i>

si-lín-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> chase.s.-...	>si líńsk <sup>W</sup>	'to hunt'	<i>siilíńskv</i>
swán-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> blow.s.-...	>swáńsk <sup>W</sup>	'[shaman] to blow on s.o. [to cure h.]'	<i>swańskv</i>
sə-tá:w-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> make-freeze-...	>sitá:wisk <sup>W</sup>	'to freeze food'	<i>sidaa'iskv</i>
káʔ-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> see.s.-...	>káʔask <sup>W</sup>	'to look [around, etc.]'	<i>ga'askv</i>
ćóʔ-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> pull.s.apart.-...	>ćóʔosk <sup>W</sup>	'to skin animals'	<i>ts'o'oskv</i>

A few such Antipassives are built on transitive stems consisting of a verb-forming prefix plus a noun, e.g.

sə-ńáx-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> make-bait-...	>sińáʔask <sup>W</sup>	'to bait one's traps'	<i>sińa'askv</i>
ksə-k <sup>W</sup> ó:m-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> remove-ashes-...	>ksik <sup>W</sup> ó:misk <sup>W</sup>	'to take out the ashes [from a stove]'	<i>ksigwoomiskv</i>

and the following ambient predicate is formally an Antipassive, built on an intransitive stem:

páx-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> run-...	>páʔask <sup>W</sup>	'wind; to be windy'	
		tell on s.o.'	<i>ba'askv</i>

The productivity of this suffix is shown by its use with English words, e.g.

can-?sk<sup>W</sup> > ká:ńisk<sup>W</sup> 'to can food, do some canning'  
can.s.-... (*kaańisk▼*)

bottle-?sk<sup>W</sup> > pó:tilsk<sup>W</sup> 'to jar food'  
bottle.s.-... (*bootilsk▼*)

The Nisgha versions of these words are written between brackets, as they are by no means acceptable to all speakers. (See below 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.(3) for non-glottalization of the post-stress consonant).

An older form is the following, corresponding to transitive *kípá* 'to wait for s.' *giba*; the vowel-alternation indicates that there was a different vowel in the original stem, which was most likely *\*\*kipéh* (*\*gibeh*) (cf. remarks on Detransitive {-é:?} above, 7.2.C.2.a.b.1.):

*\*\*kipéh-?sk<sup>W</sup>* > *kipé?esk<sup>W</sup>* 'to wait'  
 wait.for.:s.-... (*gibe'esk▼*)

(2) Use as noun: some Indefinite Antipassives are used only as nouns:

háp-?sk<sup>W</sup> > hápisk<sup>W</sup> 'grass' (lit. '[ground] covering')  
cover.s.-... (*hap'isk▼*)

yác-?sk<sup>W</sup> > yácisk<sup>W</sup> 'animals' (lit. 'killings')  
strike.s./kill.s.PL-... (*yats'isk▼*)

x-málk<sup>W</sup>-?sk<sup>W</sup> > xmálk<sup>W</sup>isk<sup>W</sup> 'deceased person's belongings given  
 receive-burn.s.-... away [ instead of being burnt ]  
*xmalkw'isk▼*

wiláx-?sk<sup>W</sup> > wilá:ȳisk<sup>W</sup> '[a] relative' (lit. 'knowing')  
cover.s.-... (*wilaax*) (*wilaayisk▼*)

(3) Some are used as nouns when by themselves, as verbs in Object-incorporating compounds (see below 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.c.):

sə-miý'é:n-ʔsk <sup>W</sup>	>simiý'é:ńisk <sup>W</sup>	'smoked spring salmon'
make-smoke-...		<i>simiyeeniskw</i>
	simiý'è:ńisk <sup>W</sup> -m+hón	'to smoke fish'
	smoking-ATTR+fish	<i>simiyeen'isgum-hoon</i>

In the following example, the Antipassive is used as a noun:

cák <sup>W</sup> -ʔsk <sup>W</sup>	>cák <sup>W</sup> isk <sup>W</sup>	'animal' (lit. 'killing')
kill.s.-...		<i>jakw'iskw</i>

but it also enters into an Object-incorporating verb as its verbal component; this verb can in turn be used as a noun:

càk <sup>W</sup> isk <sup>W</sup> -m+qáx	'to kill rabbits; rabbit killed (lit. killing-ATTR+rabbit
	'rabbit-killing')
	<i>jakw'isgum-gax</i>

- ni:-ti:-t kíp-[t]=ʔ cāk<sup>W</sup>isk<sup>W</sup>-m+qáx-t  
not-INTS-3E eat.s.-[3]=NC killing-ATTR+rabbit-3  
He did not eat the rabbit he had killed.  
*Nidiit giphl jakw'isgum-gaxt.*

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b. Added to stems ending in transitive suffixes: The AP.I suffix {-ʔsk<sup>W</sup>} is often added to verbs which end in a transitivizing suffix, especially the Causative {-ʔn} and to a lesser extent the Completive {-ʔl}. With these suffix combinations, glottalization occurs only once, with the stem-final consonant; the suffix resonant is not glottalized (10.1.B.2.).

(1) After Causative [-ʔn] (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.): most of the Antipassives formed on Causatives are verbs, a few are also used as nouns. sometimes there seems to be no independent Causative form, and the combination  $(-ʔn-ʔsk^W)$ , which is productive, is added directly to a stem. In the examples below, the two suffixes are indicated separately when this is the case. The combination often has the meaning 'self-actuated, acting independently.'

likskátin-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> different-...	>likskátinsk <sup>W</sup>	'to notice [a difference, that s. is different]'	<i>liksgat'insk<sup>W</sup></i>
kipáyk <sup>W</sup> in-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> fly.s.-...	>kipáyk <sup>W</sup> insk <sup>W</sup>	'airplane'	<i>gibayk<sup>W</sup>'insk<sup>W</sup></i>
xstámq-ʔn-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> noise-...-...	>xstámqansk <sup>W</sup>	'to make noise [deliberately]'	<i>xsdamk'ansk<sup>W</sup></i>
sákxaʔan-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> clean.s.-...	xákxaʔansk <sup>W</sup>	'to clean up'	<i>saksa'ansk<sup>W</sup></i>
qúsaʔan-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> explode.s.-...	xqúsaʔansk <sup>W</sup>	'firecracker'	<i>gosa'ansk<sup>W</sup></i>
kútácaʔan-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> put.coat.on.s.-...	xkútácaʔansk <sup>W</sup>	'to put the coat on the bride [as part of the traditional wedding ceremony]'	<i>k'udats'a'ansk<sup>W</sup></i>
páʔan-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> run.s.-...	>páʔansk <sup>W</sup>	'to drive'	<i>ba'ansk<sup>W</sup></i>
səwíláʔin-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> teach.s.-...	>siwíláʔinsk <sup>W</sup>	'to teach'	<i>siwilaay'insk<sup>W</sup></i>

líṃin-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> play.s.-...	>líṃinsk <sup>W</sup>	'to play music; music' <i>líṃinsk</i> ▼
ʔax-wíltin-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> not-manifest.s.-...	>ʔaxwíltinsk <sup>W</sup>	'to be disobedient' <i>axwilt'insk</i> ▼
ńítin-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> bear.witness.to.s.-...	>ńítinsk <sup>W</sup>	'to bear witness, to confess' <i>nit'insk</i> ▼
*téʔ-ʔn-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> leadʔ-...-...	>téʔetinsk <sup>W</sup>	'to beat time, conduct a band' <i>de'et'insk</i> ▼

The combination is also used in more complex formations, such as:

ha-ńi-xspát-ʔn-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> INSTR-on-like-spread.flat-...-...	>hańi-xspátinsk <sup>W</sup>	'matting of cedar boughs' <i>hańixspat'insk</i> ▼
qan-sə-xpičáʔ-ʔn-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> means-make-afraid-...-...	>qansaxpičáʔinsk <sup>W</sup>	'scarecrow, s.t. intended to frighten' <i>qansaxbits'aʔinsk</i> ▼

(2) After Completive [-ʔ] (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.): there are a number of Antipassive forms built on existing Completive verbs.

lípíl-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> mend.s.-...	>lípílsk <sup>W</sup>	'to mend things (esp. nets)' <i>lip'ilsk</i> ▼
kʷótil-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> lose.track.of.s.-...-...	>kʷótilsk <sup>W</sup>	'to lose consciousness' <i>kwoot'ilsk</i> ▼
líčíl-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> count.s.-...	>líčílsk <sup>W</sup>	'to keep count of things, to calculate' <i>lits'ilsk</i> ▼



†wá:yil-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > †wá:yilsk<sup>W</sup> 'to stir/mix [when cooking, making  
 stir.s.-... bread, etc. *h/waayilskv*

kíl-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > kílsk<sup>W</sup> 'to pick/gather (berries, clams, etc.)'  
 pick.s.-... *gilskv*

(for kíl 'to pick/gather.s.t.' *gil*, see 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.a.)

(3) Non-glottalization of some resonant-final stems: Glottalization occurs only once in suffix clusters such as those where the Indefinite Antipassive (-ʔsk<sup>W</sup>) is added to the Causative (-ʔn) or the Completive (-ʔl) (10.1.B.2.). As the resonant which ends Causatives and Completives is not glottalized in this process, so the Antipassive suffix appears superficially to be only (-sk<sup>W</sup>). This explains the occurrence of some otherwise irregular Antipassive forms where the stem-final resonant is not glottalized:

sə-móʔon-[ʔ]sk<sup>W</sup> > simóʔonsk<sup>W</sup> 'to salt food' (used in compounds)  
 make-salt-... *simoʔonskv*

(note the similarity of the surface shape of the post-stress half of this word with that of, for instance, sáksaʔansk<sup>W</sup> 'to clean up' *saksəʔanskv*, where the AP.I suffix is added to a stem containing the Causative suffix).

yím-[ʔ]sk<sup>W</sup> > yimsk<sup>W</sup> 'to sniff'  
 smell.s.-... *yimskv*

(compare forms with the predicative suffix (-m), 7.2.C.2.b.4.)

7.2.B.2.b.1.b.2.c. Use in Object-incorporating compounds: Indefinite Antipassives are very commonly involved in the formation of mediated Object-incorporating compound verbs designating actions habitually done on an indefinite number of objects. Note that these compounds can also be used as nouns designating the result of the action: the English translation includes a past participle, which gives the impression of a Passive construction, but the

meaning of the Nisgha compound is Active, not Passive.

simòʔonsk <sup>W</sup> -m+hón salting-ATTR+fish	'to salt fish; fish salted' (lit. fish-salting) <i>simo'onsgum-hoon</i>
kílisk <sup>W</sup> -m+ćáq gathering-ATTR+clams	'to dig for clams, [to go] clam-digging; clams dug' <i>gílsgum-ts'ak'</i>
†wà:yisk <sup>W</sup> -m+ʔaná:x salting-ATTR+fish	'to mix dough; dough mixed' <i>h/waayisgum-anaax</i>
sitá:wisk <sup>W</sup> -m+smáx salting-ATTR+fish	'to freeze meat; meat frozen (lit. meat-freezing)' <i>sidaawisgum-smax</i>
ćòʔosk <sup>W</sup> -m+ćimílx pulling apart-ATTR+beaver	'to skin beavers; beaver skinned' (lit. beaver-skinning)' <i>ts'o'osgum-ts'imilx</i>
si:lĩnsk <sup>W</sup> -m+mús hunting-ATTR+ <u>moose</u>	'to hunt moose, [to go] moose-hunting' <i>siilĩngum-muus</i>
lìpĩlisk <sup>W</sup> -m+ʔát mending-ATTR+net	'to mend nets; net-mending' <i>lip'ilsgum-aat</i>
lìcĩlisk <sup>W</sup> -m+tá:la counting-ATTR+money (<dollar)	'to keep track of money, do the accounts' <i>lits'ilsgum-daala</i>

The productivity of this formation is shown by the following recent coinages:

kipàyk <sup>W</sup> insk <sup>W</sup> -m+ʔálkax self.flying-ATTR+talk	'to broadcast, broadcasting' <i>gibaykw'insgum-algax</i>
--	--

(coined for the Northern Native Broadcasting Corporation in Terrace, B.C.)

hañi-maqòñis<sup>W</sup>-m+ʔálkax 'dictionary'

book.of-explaining-ATTR+talk

*hañimagoñisgum-algax*

(coined by Rev. Hubert McMillan of Aiyansh for the Nisgha Phrase Dictionary published by School District 92 (Nisgha)).

7.2.C.2.b.1.c. Suffixes consisting of /ʔ/ + Velar: These suffixes are not procutive (cf. the Detransitives in /ə/ + Velar, 7.2.C.2.a.1.). They often form complex suffixes with other predicative suffies, especially Antipassives (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.), and with what appears to be an augment /C/ (3.1.A.). With Antipassive suffixes, which include a component {-ʔS}, the suffix Velar is not glottalized (cf. 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.(3)), but contact with /S/ causes Stop-formation (10.1.A.1.b.2.a.1.).

7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1. {-ʔX/-ʔksʔ/-ʔks<sup>W</sup>}: The suffix {-ʔX} occurs mostly followed by an Antipassive suffix. In most cases the stems are not identifiable with certainty. The meaning is also undetermined, but seems to be 'incomplete, recurrent, meant to occur whenever the opportunity arises.'

(a) plain suffix {-ʔX}: forms various parts of speech:

ʔát-ʔX	>ʔátix	'to touch, come into contact with s; to
ʔ (here, not 'net')-...		sense <u>s.o.</u> 's feelings, to hit upon <u>a truth</u> '
		<i>aat'ix</i>

ʔan-láyt-ʔX	>ʔanláytix	'sign, landmark, beacon, indicator
cause-sign?-...		(thermostat, etc.)' <i>anlayt'ix</i>

hón-ʔX	>hónix	'calf of the leg'
fish?-...		<i>hooñix</i>

When the suffix {-ʔX} is added to a word ending in a Uvular, the epenthetic vowel is /a/, not /i/ as with other consonants (10.1.A.1.a.1.b.(2)). In addition,

the /X/ is weakened to /y/ (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.3.).

max)máq-ʔX >maxmáqay 'rainbow'

PL)place.s.-...

*maxmak'ay*

mə-ʔóq-ʔX >məʔóqay 'slimy film covering oolichans'

like-??-...

*mi'ooq'ay/ma'ooq'ay*

(b) followed by Antipassive suffixes (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.):

yáʔ-ʔX-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> >yáʔiksk<sup>W</sup> 'to slip and fall'

slime-...-AP.I

(yah!)

*yat'ikskv*

hiʔ)\*yéʔ-ʔX-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> >hiʔyéʔiksk<sup>W</sup> 'to slide against each other [said of

PL)slip?-...-AP.I

bones in a joint]' *hihlyeot'ikskv*

\*páʔ-ʔX-ʔsT >páʔiksT 'to be drenched, soaked [by rain, etc.]'

?-...-AP.D

*p'at'iks(t)*

The following doublets appear to have the same meaning, but the shorter one seems more formal:

\*ʔá:t-ʔX-ʔsT >ʔá:tiksT 'to arrive' (< touch [shore]?)

? (not 'net')-...-AP.D

*aat'iks(t)*

\*ʔá:t-ʔX-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> >ʔá:tiksk<sup>W</sup> 'to arrive' (< touch [shore]?)

? (not 'net')-...-AP.I

*aat'ikskv*

(c) The suffix also occurs following the augment /C/ and followed by {-S} (the post-Velar alternant of the Indefinite Medial suffix, 7.2.C.1.b.), resulting in the complex suffix {-čikS} from {-C-ʔX-S}:

hin)\*yán-čiks 'to tickle s.o.'  
 PL)shiver?-... *hinyants'iks*

\*mó-čiks 'breast; [baby] to nurse'  
 suck?-... *moots'iks*  
 (cf. mǒq 'to suck through a tube' *mook*)

This compound suffix also occurs unglottalized, as in

\*ʔúm-čiks 'to be lonesome for s.o.'  
 uneasy?-... *umjiks*  
 (cf. ʔúmχk<sup>W</sup> 'to be unable to stand s.' *umχkw*)

where the element of deliberateness conveyed by the glottal stop is absent.

7.2.C.2.b.1.c.2. Suffix (-ʔX): The meaning of this suffix seems to be similar to that of (-ʔX) (7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.), with perhaps more of a resultative element. Like (-ʔX), it usually appears in combination with other suffixes.

(a) plain suffix: can be intransitive or transitive:

\*háx<sup>W</sup>-ʔX > háx<sup>W</sup>ax 'to snap shut, to tighten; to fit s.L.'  
 tight?-... tightly' *hakw'ax*

(2) with other suffixes: the result is transitive or intransitive, depending on the following suffix:

čáx<sup>W</sup>-ʔX-s > čáw<sup>W</sup>aqx 'shoes' (lit. 'hardened [soles]??')  
 considerable-...-MED *ts'aw'aks*

\*táx-ʔX-s > táy<sup>W</sup>aqx 'to choke on food or drink'  
 ?-...-MED *t'ay'aks*  
 (cf. téq 'to eat too much, too fast' *t'eeq*)

kíl-ʔX-T one-...-DEF	'to kill <u>s</u> . with one blow; <i>k'ílax-di</i>
ha†)*hú†-ʔX-†k <sup>W</sup> > ha†(h)ú†aq†k <sup>W</sup> PL)rumble?-...-TEMP	'to boil' (orig. prob. 'to make a rumbling noise') <i>hah(h)utl'axhkw</i>

(c) occurs following the augment /C/: the result is the complex suffix {-čax}, which is usually transitive:

*húm-čax joined?-... (cf. ham)húm 'joints' <i>hamhum</i> )	'to kiss <u>s.o.</u> ' <i>humts'ax</i>
qúl-čax roll?-...	'to carry, "pack" <u>s</u> . on one's shoulders' <i>golts'ax</i>
*ním-čax sniff?-...	'to sniff in/inhale <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>nimts'ax</i>

This suffix sometimes also occurs unglottalized, e.g.

*á:-cax ?-...	'to be ... enough to reach <u>s</u> .' (e.g. to be tall enough, to have enough money, etc.) <i>asjax</i>
*lám-cax/*lám-čax PL.enter??-...	'to come in, enter (pl.)' <i>lamjax/lamts'ax</i>

The last word, where the suffix occurs under both forms, is intransitive.

7.2.C.b.1.d. The frozen suffix {-ʔ}: The element /ʔ/ which is a component of so many predicative suffixes also occurs as a (non-productive) suffix in its own

right. Its presence is recognizable in a few frozen forms, by the glottalization of the final consonant in a word which contrasts with another of otherwise identical shape and with related meaning. The meaning of this old suffix, which occurs with nouns, seems to be 'specific case of ...', or 'functioning as ...' (cf. one use of the Definite Antipassive (-ʔSɪ), 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.b.).

sýén-ʔ > sýé:ń in ʔasýé:ń-t 'saucer' (lit. 'the bottom of it' [the  
bottom (of boat, etc.)]-... the ...-3 cup) *hli sýeńt*

čiwím-ʔ > čiwíń in qa-čiwíń-t 'fingers' (lit. 'their [the hands'] tips)  
tip-... DISTR-...-3 *gats'iwíńt*

7.2.C.2.b.2. Suffix [-ʔ)ɬk W]: This compound suffix seems to mean 'temporary, occurring at intervals, not continuously.' The component /ʔ/ occurs rarely, mostly when the suffix follows the predicative [-m] (7.2.C.2.b.4.), so this suffix is not classified with those normally beginning with a glottal stop. The component /ɬ/ sometimes occurs in isolated other cases.

(a) ʔan-támqɬk W 'close friend' (Boas 1902)  
cause-embrace.s.-... *andamkhikw*

ʔáqɬk W 'to be able, to succeed' (lit. 'to be unable  
not/impossible-... temporarily', hence 'to finally succeed')  
(cf. the neg. verb ʔáq *ak*, 5.13.D.) *aghikw*

haɬ)\*húɬ-ʔX-ɬk W > haɬ(h)úɬaqɬk W 'to boil' (prob. orig.  
PL)rumbleʔ-SUFF-... 'to rumble temporarily')  
*hahl(h)utl'aghikw*

sə-\*ʔó:ɬk W 'to gather firewood' (prob. orig. 'to set  
make-protect.s.-... up camp, make a temporary shelter')  
*si'oohek*

(b) In the following form, the suffix is preceded by /ʔ/. This does not seem to be an occurrence of the frozen suffix {-ʔ} (7.2.C.2.b.1.d.), but a calque of other compound suffixes beginning with /ʔ/ and ending in /k<sup>W</sup>/, all of them expressing deliberate action but leaving the object unmentioned:

ʔí:p-ʔ-ʔk<sup>W</sup> > ʔí:pʔk<sup>W</sup> 'to tie up for the night'  
 tie.s.-...-... *ts'ip'ihlk<sup>W</sup>*

(c) This suffix is often found after predicative {-m}, 7.2.C.2.b.4.

### 7.2.C.2.b.3. Suffix {-k<sup>W</sup>}:

This non-productive suffix should not be confused with the very common Indefinite Medial suffix {-[t]k<sup>W</sup>} (7.2.C.1.b.), although it is likely that there is a historical connection between the two. It forms both intransitives and transitives. Often the stems affected do not occur in isolation, but only with other suffixes. Some do not occur otherwise and their meaning is tentative.

#### (a) Forms P<sub>A</sub>'s:

k<sup>h</sup>é-k<sup>W</sup> 'one [animal, skin, garment]'  
 (\* k<sup>h</sup>ə - 'one', 7.1.B.2.c.1.) *k'ee<sup>W</sup>*

síl-k<sup>W</sup> 'middle, waist; to be awful'  
 ?-... *silk<sup>W</sup>*

yán-k<sup>W</sup> 'to be mouldy'  
 ?-... *yank<sup>W</sup>*

mál-k<sup>W</sup>-T 'to throw s.t. into a fire'  
 ?-... *mal<sup>W</sup>-di*

(In the last example, the transitive meaning is given by the Definite Medial





ʔó.ta-mʔk<sup>W</sup> > ʔó.timʔk<sup>W</sup> 'diapers'  
covers/diapers-...

*oodimhikv*

tqal=wíl-mʔk<sup>W</sup>  
against=be/act-...

'attendant, companion, servant (of a noble youth)' hence 'servant of God: angle, disciple, priest'

*tk'alwilimhikv*

\*ʔú-mʔk<sup>W</sup>  
cover.s.-...

'sphagnum moss' [formerly used for diapers, etc.]

*umhikv*

\*ʔít-mʔk<sup>W</sup>  
pronounce, utter-...

'to "call out" a person's new name at a settlement feast'

*idimhikv*

[\*ʔít-m+wá]-mʔk<sup>W</sup>  
pronounce, utter-ATTR+name-...

'to "call out" a person's new name at a settlement feast'

*idimwamhikv*

(here the compound suffix is attached to a mediated compound verb \*ʔít-m+wá \**idim-wa* which does not seem to occur unsuffixed).

In the following examples, the component /ʔ/ which belongs to the second part of the compound suffix flottalizes the stem-final consonant: in effect, glottalization 'skips over' the /m/ component of the combination (cf. with AP.I suffix, 7.2.C.2.b.4.c., and 10.1.B.2.).

wóq-[m-ʔʔk<sup>W</sup>] > wóq-ʔmʔk<sup>W</sup> > wóʔomʔk<sup>W</sup> 'cradle'  
sleep-...

(*wok*) *wó'omhikv*

\*k<sup>ʔ</sup>Wót-[m-ʔʔk<sup>W</sup>] > k<sup>ʔ</sup>Wót-ʔmʔk<sup>W</sup> > k<sup>ʔ</sup>Wót'imʔk<sup>W</sup>  
missing-...

'to miss menstrual periods because of pregnancy'

*kw'oot'imhikv*

The following example does not show whether the /ʔ/ is included or not in the suffix, as the stem-final consonant is already glottalized:

ńúw̃-**mɬk<sup>W</sup>** / ńúw̃-m-ʔɬk<sup>W</sup> 'to be bereaved'  
die-... *ńúw̃imɬk<sup>v</sup>*

7.2.C.2.b.4.c. With Antipassive suffixes: Two alternate processes of glottalization occur with the combination of {-m} with the Indefinite Antipassive suffix {-ʔsk<sup>W</sup>}. In one process, glottalization skips over the /m/ and affects the stem-final consonant, as with {-m-(ʔ)ɬk<sup>W</sup>} (7.2.C.2.b.4.b.). The opposite process, which glottalizes the /m/ component alone, results in a sequence /misk<sup>W</sup>/ which seems to have acquired a specialized meaning.

(1) {-m-ʔsk<sup>W</sup>} > {-ʔmsk<sup>W</sup>}: The meaning seems to be: 'on/for a particular occasion':

wán-m-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > wán-ʔmsk<sup>W</sup> > wánimsk<sup>W</sup> 'to show people to their  
sit/set.s.PL-...-... seats at a public function'  
*wánimsk<sup>v</sup>*

xkáyɬ-m-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > xkáyɬ-ʔmsk<sup>W</sup> > xkáyɬaʔamsk<sup>W</sup>  
repay/reward-...-... 'to repay/repayment to one's paternal  
relatives for traditional services  
rendered (done at settlement feast)'  
*xk'ayhɬaʔamsk<sup>v</sup>*

\*kil-xtá:m-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> > kilxtá:-ʔmsk<sup>W</sup> > kilxtá:ʔamsk<sup>W</sup>  
give-mattress-...-... 'to give a mattress to a widowed brother-  
or sister-in-law [after the funeral]'  
*gilxdaaʔamsk<sup>v</sup>*

(see (2) below for alternate form)

(2)  $\{-m-ʔsk^W\} > \{-misk^W\}$ : Words with this suffix all seem to have to do with clothing and similar objects. This could be an extension of the 'special occasion' meaning, since in most cases these words have to do with the ceremonial use or giving of these objects:

$**k^W iléh-m-ʔsk^W > k^W ilé:-misk^W > k^W ilémisk^W$

blanket-...-...

'to put a blanket around the bride's shoulders' (as part of the traditional wedding ceremony) *gwileemiskv*

( $**k^W iléh > \text{mod. } k^W ilá$  'blanket' *gwila*; cf. *kipá* 'to wait for s.' *giba* from earlier  $**kipéh$ , 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.a.(1))

$*kil-xtá:-m-ʔsk^W > kilxtá:-misk^W$

give-mattress-...-...

'to give a mattress to a widowed brother- or sister-in-law [after the funeral]' *gilxdaamiskv*

(see (1) above for alternate form)

The following verb shows the extension of this suffix to a transitive stem:

$sitxé:x^W-m-ʔsk^W > sitxé:-misk^W > sitxémisk^W$

change.s.-...-...

'to change one's clothes'

*sityeemiskv*

In the following noun, the suffix  $\{-m\}$  is followed by the Definite Antipassive  $\{-ʔsT\}$ , not the Indefinite (compare 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.a.(2) for the use of the AP.D suffix to form nouns):

$*ʔó:-m-ʔsT > ʔó:misT$

protect.s.-...-...

'pillowcase'

*oomis(t)*

7.2.C.2.b.4.d.  $\{-mks\} (\{-m-x-s\})$ : 'relatively, comparatively': This suffix is attached mostly to words designating natural states. Epenthesis inserts a vowel

before /m/, unless the stem has a long vowel, in which case epenthesis occurs between /m/ and the following consonant (10.2.A.1.a.1.):

kámk- <b>mks</b>	> kámkimks	'relatively warm, warmer'
hot-...		<i>gamgimks</i>
*k <sup>W</sup> inéq- <b>mks</b>	> k <sup>W</sup> inéqamks	'relatively cold, colder'
cold-...		<i>gwineegamks</i>
li:=x-čák- <b>mks</b>	> lu:=xčákimks	'there is shade'
in=get.s.-extinguished-...		<i>luuxts'agimks</i>

This suffix can also be followed by another, as in:

*sqé- <b>mks</b> -[t]k <sup>W</sup>	> sqé:miksk <sup>W</sup>	'to be caught outside by darkness'
dark?-...-MED		<i>sg'ecmikskv</i>
(cf. sqé:xk <sup>W</sup> 'dark [at night]' <i>sg'eejkw</i> )		

7.2.C.2.b.4.d. (-mqs) ( (-m-q-s) or (-m-x-s) ): the meaning is undetermined at the moment:

lə-*kińít- <b>mqst</b>	>> li:ńítimqs(t)	'to get up (pl.)'
PL-get.up-...		<i>lińidimks(t)</i>
(pl. of *kińít-[t]k <sup>W</sup> 'to get up' <i>gińitkw</i> )		

The sequences /mq/ and /mX/ also occur with the suffix (-mq/-mX) (7.2.D.1.c.), the meaning of which is so different from those of the suffixes in this section that it probably does not consist of the same morphemic components.

7.2.C.2.b.4.f. (-ms) ( (-m-s) ):

stíl-**ms**            > stílims            'attendant at wedding: bridesmaid,  
 PL-get.up-...            usher'                            *stílims*

7.2.C.2.b.5. Suffixes beginning with /X/: It is often difficult to decide whether the Velar consonant in these suffixes is originally a stop or a fricative, especially with stems that do not occur independently. The analysis of the forms quoted below seems fairly straightforward, but there are many other cases which are more doubtful in the present state of our knowledge (see discussion of {-Xŋ}, 7.2.C.2.b.5.b.).

7.2.C.2.b.5.a. Suffix {-X}: This suffix occurs at the end of a fairly large number of words as well as being a component in several other suffixes. A stem-final /X/ occurring with P<sub>A</sub>'s is better treated as an augment (3.1.A.), but with P<sub>EA</sub>'s it seems to be a true suffix, though unproductive, occurring with bases which recur with other predicative suffixes. Its meaning may have to do with the use of an instrument or accessory to perform the action (Bruce Rigsby, p.c.).

(1) occurring singly:

\*[t]qát-**X**            'to patch s.t.'            (cf. \*[t]qát-é? 'to patch things')  
 applied?-...            *k'atx*                            *k'adee'e*

\*líc-**X**                'to count/read s.t.' (cf. \*líc-?l 'to keep count of s.t.')  
 applied?-...            *k'atx*                            *lits'il*

\*qé:-**X**                'to grind s.t.'            (cf. \*ha-qé?esT 'grinding-tool')  
 applied?-...            *k'atx*                            *hage'es(t)*

(2) following other suffixes:

In the following transitive verb, the suffix follows the Completive suffix {-?l}:

tqal=\*qé:p-ʔl-**X**                      'to rub s.t.' with s.t. else' (e.g. wood with  
against=rub?-CPL-...                      sandpaper)                      *tk'algeep'ilx*

The suffix also occurs after a Causative suffix:

\*čík<sup>W</sup>-ʔn-**X**                      '[net] to be all tangled up'  
?-CAUS-...                                      *ts'ikw'inx*

The word **túk<sup>W</sup>inx** 'to suffocate, to drown' *dukw'hlinx* probably also ends in this combination, but it is not possible to analyze it further at the present time.

(3) followed by the Indefinite Medial suffix **(-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s)** (7.2.C.1.b.), hence P<sub>A</sub>'s:

\*líc-**X**-[t]k<sup>W</sup>                      'to count, read'  
count-...-MED                                      *litsxkw*

qa)\*qé:-**X**-s                      'tracks, footprints'  
PL)grind?-...-MED                                      *gagexs*

7.2.C.2.b.5.b. **Suffix (-Xn)**: This suffix has a Causative meaning, recalling that of **(-ʔn)** (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.) with which it shares the final consonant /n/ (see **(-n)**, 7.2.C.2.b.6.a.), but the Uvular component instead of the Glottal stop indicates the use of an instrument (7.2.C.2.b.5.a.). It forms transitive verbs from intransitives or more commonly from other transitives:

(1) single use:

qá:p-**Xn**                      > qá:p<sup>x</sup>an                      'to scratch s.t. (lightly), to rake s.t. (with  
scratch.s.-...                                      s.t. else)'                      *gaap<sup>x</sup>an*

ṭá:p- <b>xn</b>	> ṭá:p $\chi$ an	'to nail <u>s.t.</u> '	
pound/tap.s.-...			<i>t'aap<math>\chi</math>an</i>
ṭál- <b>xn</b>	> ṭál $\chi$ an	'to split <u>s.t.</u> [a tree]'	
split.s.-...			<i>t'al<math>\chi</math>an</i>
k <sup>W</sup> álk <sup>W</sup> - <b>xn</b>	> k <sup>W</sup> álk <sup>W</sup> $\chi$ an	'to dry <u>s.t.</u> ' (e.g. on a rack)	
dry-...			<i>gwalk<sup>W</sup><math>\chi</math>an</i>

In the following forms, it is not possible to determine the base or root with certainty:

*qé:- <b>xn</b>	> qé: $\chi$ an	'to crush/mash <u>s.t.</u> '	
grind?-...			<i>gee<math>\chi</math>an</i>
(cf. qé: $\chi$ 'to grind.s.' <i>gee<math>\chi</math></i> , haqé?esT 'grinding tool' <i>hage'es(t)</i> )			

sə-*té:- <b>xn</b>	> sité: $\chi$ an	'to make a handle for <u>s.t.</u> '	
make-lead?-...			<i>sidee<math>\chi</math>an</i>
(cf. †ə *té:-tI-[t]=† ... 'the handle(s) of the ...' <i>hli deedihl</i> ...)			

Forms of similar meaning ending in the sequence /qan/, which seems to be a variant of (-**xn**) (cf. /q/x/ alternation after /m/, 7.2.D.1.c.), are more likely to be instances of the suffix (-**n**) attached to a stem ending in /q/ (7.2.C.2.b.6.a.). The occurrence of the two sequences /qan/ and / $\chi$ an/ after vowel prevents considering /q/ as a variant of the morpheme (-**x**), at least synchronically.

(2) Followed by Antipassive suffix: this is especially so with instrumental derivatives. Usually the /ʔ/ component of the AP.I suffix is not included (cf. lack of glottalization in some forms, 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.):

ha-qá:p- <b>xn</b> -ʔsk <sup>W</sup>	> haqá:p $\chi$ ansk <sup>W</sup>	'rake'	
INSTR-scratch.s.-...-AP.I			<i>hagaap<math>\chi</math>ansk<sup>W</sup></i>



ha-\*qè:-**xn**-?sk<sup>W</sup>-m+sku sí:t>haqè:xansk<sup>W</sup>-... 'potato-masher'  
 INSTR-grind?.s.-...-AP.I-ATTR+potatoes *hageexansgum-sguusiit*

A difference can sometimes be made between the two variants (glottalized and unglottalized) of the AP.I suffix:

tá:p-**xn**-(?)sk<sup>W</sup> > tá:p**x**ansk<sup>W</sup> 'nail [for wood]'  
 tap/pound.s.-...-AP.I *t'aapxansk<sup>W</sup>*

tá:p-**xn**-?sk<sup>W</sup> > tá:p**x**añsk<sup>W</sup> 'to nail things; nailing'  
 tap/pound.s.-...-AP.I *t'aapxañsk<sup>W</sup>*

7.2.C.2 b.6. Miscellaneous suffixes consisting of a single consonant: These are rarely used single, but inter as components in more productive suffixes. That they can be identified suggests that most if not all of the present 'augments' following some roots (3.1.A.) were at a time suffixes.

7.2.C.2.b.6.a. (-n): This suffix seems to have a Causative meaning (cf. its role as a component of Causative (-?n) (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.) and Instrumental (-xn) (7.2.C.2.b.5.b.), but it occurs by itself in only a few forms:

- transitives:

\*sé:x<sup>W</sup>-n 'to fill/pack s.t.pl.'  
 ?-... *sewin*

This category includes a series ending in the sequence /qan/, where the /q/ component which is part of the stem recalls the Velar in the Instrumental suffix (-xn) (7.2.C.2.b.5.b.). This suggests that this /q/ may itself be a former suffix, now considered an augment (3.1.A.) (and that (-x) may derived historically from an earlier (-\*q)).

\*ké:q-n > ké:qan 'to drill one hole in s.t.'  
 one?-... *k'eegaa*

\*qít.q-n > qítqan 'to poke s.t. (a fire)'  
 pierce?-... *gehlgaa*  
 (cf. qátk<sup>W</sup> 'to pierce s.t. thru' *gablkw*)

\*qímq-n > qímqan 'to pry s.t. up'  
 pry?-... *gemgan*

The same suffix {-n} also occurs followed by the Instrumental suffix in:

qás)qúc-n-x-T > qásqúcinxT 'ant(s)' (lit. 'all cut up')  
 PL)cut.s.-...-INSTR-DEF *k'ask'ojinx(t)*

- intransitives:

káp-n > kápin '[water mammal, diver] to surface'  
 dip.for.s.-... *gabín*

7.2.C.2.b.6.b. [-l]: This element seems to have Continuative meaning (cf. Completive [-?l], 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.). It does not seem to occur by itself, but forms compound suffixes when followed by [-x] (7.2.C.2.b.6.c.), which can itself be followed by others. The meaning of these compound suffixes seems to have to do with continuing and uncontrollable action (cf. the meaning of suffixes including [-?x], 7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.).

(1) [-lx] ([-l-x]): forms nouns:

\*típ-lx > típilx 'back of the neck'  
 ?-... *dibilx*

\*má:x<sup>W</sup>-l<sup>x</sup> > má:wilx 'horsetail, [formerly used as] file [for sanding]'  
 ?-... *maawilx*

(2) {-lks} ( {-l-x-s} ): forms intransitives:

cí:p-lks > cí:pilks 'to burn down to the ground'  
 disappear-... *jiibilks*

(3) {-lksk<sup>W</sup>} ( {-l-x-s-[t]k<sup>W</sup>} ): forms intransitives:

múk<sup>W</sup>-lksk<sup>W</sup> > múk<sup>W</sup>ilksk<sup>W</sup> '[water] to be roiled, full of sediment'  
 bruised-... *mukw'ilksk<sup>W</sup>*

\*cá:p-lksk<sup>W</sup> > cá:pilksk<sup>W</sup> 'to work one's way toward something, to make little headway in spite of effort, to exert oneself in vain' (e.g. trying to walk through deep water or snow)  
 ?-... *jaabilksk<sup>W</sup>*

7.2.C.2.b.6.c. {-x}: This element occurs as an augment in many stems and as a component of several suffixes which seem to have the common meaning 'uncontrolled action'. See 7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1. for its association with the Glottal stop in some Detransitive suffixes and 7.2.C.2.b.6.b. for its use after {-l}.

#### 7.2.D. Lexical suffixes.

Lexical suffixes, which are a very important element in the morphology of most Northwest languages, are very few in Nisgha. They fall into two categories: true suffixes and pseudo-suffixes. The latter are actually weakened forms of existing words in unstressed position, and the words in which they appear to be suffixes can be identified as older compounds (cf. lexical prefixes, which behave like the verbal components of compounds, 7.2.B.2.).

7.2.D.1. True suffixes:

7.2.D.1.a. The numeral suffix  $\{-[t]o:l\}$   $-(d)ool$ : This stressed suffix forms numerals in the category 'persons'.

It is likely that an original sequence /ó:l/ (of whatever origin) occurring after the now frozen prefixes (kə-) 'one' and (xpə-) 'ten' (7.1.B.2.c.) was understood as a suffix and extended to other number words. The sequence /tó:l/ resulting from the addition of the new suffix to numbers ending in /t/ was again interpreted as a suffix and added to another number word (Tarpent 1983a). Three stages can be recognized.

- stage 1: added to numeral prefixes:

kə-ó:l	'one [person]'	
one-...		<i>k'yool</i>
xpə-ó:l	'ten [persons]'	
ten-...		<i>xbool</i>

- stage 2: added to some number words and extended to most of them:

k <sup>w</sup> stíns-ó:l	'five [persons]'	
five-...		<i>kwsdinsool</i>
qó:lT-ó:l	'six [persons]'	
six-...		<i>k'ooldool</i>
típxó:lT-ó:l	'seven [persons]'	
seven-...		<i>t'ipxooldool</i>
ýux <sup>w</sup> tá:lT-ó:l	'eight [persons]'	
eight-...		<i>ýuxwdaaldool</i>

$k^Wstimó:s-ó:l$  'nine [persons]  
 nine-... *kwsdimooool*

- stage 3: reinterpretation of the sequence /tó:l/ as a suffix:

$txálp_x-tó:l$  'four [persons]  
 four-... *txálp\_xdool*

In the number for 'three [persons]'  $k^Wíló:n$  *gwiloon*, the final /n/ seems to be the result of dissimilation, caused by the preceding /l/.

7.2.D.1.b.  $(-k^W_s)$  ( $(-x^W-s)$ ): mass of ...': this noun-forming suffix should not be confused with the Indefinite Passive suffix (7.2.C.1.b.3.).

$qán-k^W_s$  'pile of sticks, formerly used as a toilet'  
 stick-... *gankws*

\* $má:-k^W_s$  'snow [on the ground]'  
 snow?-... *maakws*  
 (cf.  $má:tim$  'snow [falling], winter' *maadim*)

\* $lú:-k^W_s$  'bundle of 40 dried fish'  
 ?-... *luukws*

It is likely that this suffix should be interpreted as  $(-x^W-s)$ , with stop-formation before /s/(10.1.A.1.b.2.a.1.). Lending credence to this interpretation is the following word:

$qan-sə-mítuk^W_s$  'kindling'  
 means-make-...? *gansimihlukws*

where the vowel intervening between /t/ and /k<sup>W</sup>/ is only explainable if it was originally followed by a fricative: /t<sup>h</sup>k<sup>W</sup>/ is an allowable cluster, but

/tX<sup>W</sup>/ is not, hence the insertion of the vowel before the occurrence of stop-formation: the word can be interpreted as:

qan-[sə-mít]-X<sup>W</sup>-s                      'kindling'  
 means-[make-burn]light.s.~...                      *gansimihlukvs*

There is no identifiable suffix {-X<sup>W</sup>} in present-day Nisgha, but there are a number of words ending in what could be an augment, e.g. láX<sup>W</sup> 'trout' *laaxv*, káX<sup>W</sup> 'to twist/spin s.t. [twine, etc.], by the traditional method' *gaaxv*, sitxéX<sup>W</sup> 'to (ex)change s.t.' *sityeexv*, húX<sup>W</sup> 'saw-whet owl' *huuxv*, and others.

7.2.D.1.c. {-mq/mx}: These two suffixes occur on a number of words, all having to do with using the mouth, either to speak or to eat. The components of this suffix recur in others (7.2.C.2.b.4.a., 7.2.C.2.b.5.a., 7.2.C.2.b.6.a.), but the meanings that can be attributed to them are grammatical, not lexical as in this case.

7.2.D.1.c.1. {-mq}:

(a) with nouns designating people: the suffix forms nouns with the meaning 'language/speech of ...':

čimsán-mq > čimsánimq                      'Tsimshian language'  
 Tsimshian-...                      *Ts'imsanimk*

qamksi:wá:mq > qamksi:wá:maq                      'English language'  
 white.person-...                      *K'amksiiwaamak*

nisqá?-mq > nisqá?amq                      'Nisgha language' [formal term]  
 Nisgha-...                      *Nisga'amk*

(2) older meaning: forms transitive verbs all having to do with vocal

activity: it is added to non-occurring bases, although some elements may be recognizable:

*stú:-mq	>stú:maq	'to sing or play music along with s.'
?-...		<i>sduumak</i>
(cf. Stíl 'to accompany s.o.' <i>sdil</i> , staχ= 'on one side' <i>sdaχ</i> ..)		
*yú†:-mq		'to advise, admonish, lecture s.o.'
?-...		<i>yuuhlimk</i>
*yá:-mq		'to cheat/betray s.o.'
?-...		<i>yaamak</i>
*tú:-mq		'to order s.t. (from a craftsperson, hence also from a catalogue)
?-...		<i>tuumak</i>

The suffix can also be followed by an Indefinite Medial suffix:

*tíl-mq-[t]k <sup>W</sup>	>tílimχk <sup>W</sup>	'to answer'
?-...-MED		<i>dilimχkv</i>

or by an Antipassive suffix:

*yá:-mq-?sk <sup>W</sup>	χyá:maqask <sup>W</sup>	'to cheat/betray people, to be a traitor'
?-...-AP.I		<i>yaamak'askv</i>
*tú:-mq-?sk <sup>W</sup>	χtú:maqask <sup>W</sup>	'to order things, to place an order'
?-...-AP.I		<i>tuumak'askv</i>

7.2.D.1.c.2. Suffix {-mχ}: added to existing verbs, it builds other verbs:

híc- <b>mX</b> send.s.-...	'to tell/order <u>s.o.</u> to do s.t.' (from 'to send word to s.o.?)	<i>hijimX</i>
ʔéq- <b>mX</b> eat.too.fast.-...	'to speak too fast'	<i>t'eegamX</i>

In the following word, the suffix is probably intransitive, since the two alternate forms both use transitivizing suffixes:

*kéq- <b>mX</b> -[t]k <sup>W</sup> / act.on.one?-...MED/.....-DEF	*kéq- <b>mX</b> -T 'to eat a whole <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>k'eegamXkw/k'eegamX-di</i>
--	--	-------------------------------

## 2.2. Pseudo-suffixes:

A number of words end in a full but unstressed syllable identical (at least in its consonantal structure) to an existing word. Some of these also bear a lexical similarity to this word, as in:

ʔantápsa (sá 'day' sa)	'a traditional time-telling device'	<i>andapsa</i>
ʔamʔúkit (kit = kát 'man, people' git/gat)	'clothing'	<i>am'ugit</i>

A few such words can be fully analyzed, for instance:

ʔan-táp-sa CAUS-measure.s.-day	'a traditional time-telling device'	<i>(an-dap-sa) andapsa</i>
ʔam-*ʔúkit good.for-cover.s.-people	'clothing'	<i>(am-'u-git) am'ugit</i>



ʔamqó. <b>kit</b>	'pretty [sight] (< 'memorable' ?)
remember.s.-people	( <i>amgoo-git</i> ) <i>amgoogit</i>
haltáx <sup>W</sup> - <b>kit</b> > haltá:wkit	'sorcerer'
anoint.s.-people	( <i>haldaaxw-git</i> ) <i>haldaawgit</i>

Taking away the prefix, and ignoring the stress on the penultimate syllable, these words are identical in structure to unmediated Object-incorporating compound verbs (9.2.A.1.). The apparent 'suffixes,' then, are actually full words whose phonological structure has been altered by their being unstressed. The words in which they appear are compounds, even though present compounding rules place the stress on the last element (cf. the penultimate stress rule in one category of plurals, evidencing an older stress pattern, 10.3.B.2.).

The same structure must be recognized in other words even where the first part may not be readily identifiable (note that the incorporated word does not have to be a Direct Object as with modern compounds):

a. -**kit** 'people' ...*git* (from *kát* 'man, person, people' *gat*)

ŵi-wil-hílt- <b>kit</b> > ŵi:wilhilkit	'multitude'
great-SUB-many-...	<i>ŵi:wilhilgit</i>

lí- <b>kit</b>	'feast; to give a feast'
?-...	<i>liigit</i>

txú <b>kit</b>	'hostage; to take hostages'
?-...	<i>txogit</i>

(\*txú- cf. txó? 'earnings' *txoo'o*, orig. 'booty?')

ní <b>kit</b>	'spook; to have a spooky experience'
?-...	<i>nigit</i>

- ?íykit 'to be clumsy'  
 ?-... *lilgit*
- tíkit 'smoked oolichans'  
 ?-... *digit*
- tipókit 'shrew'  
 ?-... *diboogit*
- b. -čip ...*ts'ip* (from čáp 'one's| people, tribe, domain' *ts'ap*)
- tæ-\*?ó:-čip > tæ?ó:čip 'fortress'  
 DOM-protect.s.-... *da'vots'ip*
- c. -ks 'water' ...*ks* (from ?áks 'water' *aks*)
- kó:-ks 'to float'  
 [boat]motionless-... *gyooks*
- ptál-ks '[it's] high tide'  
 [water]rise-... *pdalks*
- má:ks 'to place s.t. in water'  
 ?-... *maaks*
- (cf. máq 'to put s.t. *mak-di*)
- d. -sa 'day' ...*sa*
- yúk<sup>W</sup>-sa 'evening'  
 move?-... *yukwsa*

### 7.3. FRAMES:

A frame is defined as a combination of co-occurring elements enclosing an existing word, and used for inflection, derivation or phrase-formation.

Nisgha has two kinds of frames:

- Word-frames (morphological frames): these frames enclose a word, and the result can be said in isolation. In most cases a word-frame consists of a proclitic or prefix co-occurring with a Medial suffix, either Definite  $\{-T\}$  (7.2.C.1.a.) or Indefinite  $\{-[t]k^W/-s\}$  (7.2.C.1.b.).

- Phrasal frames (morphosyntactic frames): these enclose a word when embedded in a clause. Phrasal frames can be divided into nominalizing frames and focusing frames.

7.3.A. Word-frames: Word-frames must be distinguished from fortuitous combinations of prefix/proclitic and suffix. In a word-frame, the combination of prefix and suffix recurs in a number of words. It is usually associated with a particular grammatical category. Even if both prefix and suffix occur separately in other words, the combination of the two in a frame has a definite meaning not reducible to the sum of the meanings of the isolated affixes, either from the lexical or the grammatical points of view.

Surface analogy plays an important role in framing. For instance,  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  is normally replaced by  $\{-s\}$  if the verb ends in a Velar, including  $/k^W/$  (7.2.C.1.b.1.). If most of the forms affected by the frame pattern take  $\{-s\}$  after  $/k^W/$  (hence a final sequence  $/k^W s/$ ), others which would normally end only in  $\{-[t]k^W\}$  take  $\{-s\}$  as well. Conversely, if the stem already ends in  $/k^W/$ , and most of the other forms take  $\{-[t]k^W\}$ , the suffix may not be added.

These properties are displayed in the following contrasting utterances involving the sequence  $/\dot{n}i:hitk^W/$  *áiihitkw*.

a. PROC + Intr: Proclitic  $\acute{n}i$ : 'on' *áii...*, intr. verb  $hítk^W$  'to stand' *hítkw*:

$\acute{n}i=hítk^W \acute{n}i\acute{y} lax ha\acute{n}i\acute{t}á$ :

on=stand me on chair

I stood on a/the chair.

*Níihítkw áiiy lax haáit'aa.*

b. Transitivity frame [ $\acute{n}i:-...-[t]k^W$ ]: 'to ... on s.t.' *áii...(t)kw* (framing an intransitive verb): in this case, since the framed verb  $hítk^W$  'to stand' *hítkw* already ends in the sequence / $tk^W$ /, which is identical to the suffix, this sequence is not repeated:

$\acute{n}i=hítk^W-[tk^W]-\acute{a}-\acute{y}=\acute{t} ha\acute{n}i\acute{t}á$ :

[on=stand-[SUFF]]<sub>to...on.s.</sub>-CTL-1S=NC chair

I stepped on a/the chair.

*Níihítgwíyhl haáit'aa.*

Some of these word-frames are more productive than others, and some have a more definitely grammatical meaning. The presentation below divides the word-frames into  $P_A$ 's and  $P_{EA}$ 's. Within each category, some frames are closer to the inflectional, some to the derivational pole. However, as with most other Nisgha processes of word-formation, it is not always possible to make a clear differentiation between the two processes. The presentation follows the suffixes.

### 7.3.A.1. Frames forming $P_A$ 's:

#### 7.3.A.1.a. Intransitive verbs and adjectives:

7.3.A.1.a.1. Frames ending in the Definite Medial suffix  $\{-T\}$ : In most cases the prefixes used with this suffix are not used for any other purpose. The resulting frames have grammatical meaning: all express a variation on plurality. As with other instances of  $\{-T\}$ , surface occurrence is relatively rare and the suffix seems on its way to extinction (see 7.2.C.1.a.2. for distribution of the consonantal and vocalic allomorphs of this suffix).

7.3.A.1.a.1.a. The Plural frame  $\{l\acute{a}-...-T\}$ : This frame is no longer productive

and applies only to a small number of stems, all verbs or adjectives (3.2.C.2.). Compared to other types of plural formation, this one seems to emphasize identical actions or states by separate individuals, thus to have distributive meaning (cf. the more modern use of the Distributive prefix {qa-} *ga...* for some plurals, 3.2.C.2.a.1.c.).

7.3.a.1.a.1.a.1. Corresponds to singular in [-t]k<sup>W</sup>: It is not clear why the two medial suffixes should be in complementary distribution in this case.

SINGULAR		PLURAL
ptál-tk <sup>W</sup>	'to climb'	lə-ptál-tI
rise-...	<i>pdaltk<sup>v</sup></i>	<i>lipdalt</i>
sk <sup>W</sup> á.ý-tk <sup>W</sup>	'to rest'	lə-sk <sup>W</sup> á.ý-tI
give.up-...	<i>sgwaaytk<sup>v</sup></i>	<i>lisgwaayt</i>
xs-tál-tk <sup>W</sup>	'to respond'	lə-xs-tál-tI
imitate-sound-...	<i>xsdaltk<sup>v</sup></i>	<i>laxsdalt</i>

7.3.A.1.a.1.a.2. Corresponds to unsuffixed singular:

(a) stems prefixed with {ʔa-}: (7.1.B.1.b.5.a.)

ʔa-yé:	'to go fast'	ʔa-lə-yé-tI
spontaneous-go	<i>ayee</i>	<i>aliyeet</i>
ʔa-skí	'to be abnormal, ugly, comical'	ʔa-lə-skí-tI
spontaneous-go	<i>asgi</i>	<i>aliggit</i>



**nə-χsínq-T** 'not to believe each other'  
 ...-PL)disbelieve.s.o.-... *nəχsínqt*  
 - from intransitive stems: 'to ... to each other'

**nə-ʔal)ʔálkax-T** 'to talk to each other'  
 ...-PL)talk-... *nə'al'algaɬt*

- hi)yùk<sup>W</sup>=ʔ kax **nə-ʔal)ʔálkax-T-tit**  
 ASP)PROG=NC for a while [...-PL)talk-...]RECIP-3P  
 While they were talking to each other ... (19.8)  
*Hiyukwhl k'ax nə'al'algaɬdiit ...*

(b) from nouns (singular stem): 'to be ...s': (seems restricted to a few kinship terms)

**nə-wák-T** 'to be brothers'  
 ...-M's brother-... *nɪwakt*

**nə-ʔkík<sup>W</sup>-T** 'to be sisters'  
 ...-W's sister-... *nɪhlgikwt*

7.3.A.1.a.1.b.2. The Reciprocal frame [min-...-T] 'to ... each other [actively?]': forms intransitive verbs from (usually plural) transitive stems:

**min-tóq-T** 'to take each other on [in a fight]'  
 ...-take.s.PL-... *mindokt*

**min-kúx<sup>W</sup>-T** '[group] to shoot each other'  
 ...-shoot.s.-... *minguxwt*

**min-ʔúʔux<sup>W</sup>-T** 'to cherish each other'  
 ...-cherish.s.-... *minhlut'uxwt*

7.3.A.1.b.3. Remark: The two prefixes (**nə-**) and (**min-**) of these frames are sometimes used together, as in

<b>nə-min-wiláax-T</b>	'[members of a group] to know each other'	
...-...-know.s.-...		<i>niminwilaaxt</i>

7.3.A.1.a.1.b.4. The Competitive frame [**min-qa-ká:-...-T**] 'to ... against each other or others, in competition with each other or others' *mingak'aa... (t)*. This frame incorporates the DISTR prefix (**qa-**) *ga...* and the modifier **ká:** 'most' *k'aa* (5.15.B.16.). It can be added to intransitive verbs of suitable meaning.

<b>min-qa-ká-qúl-t</b>	'to race [against] each other, to be in a race'	
...-...-run.PL-...		<i>mingak'asgol(t)</i>

<b>min-qa-ká-hat)hátiks-T</b>	'to race each other swimming, to be in a swimming meet'	
...-...-PL)swim-...		<i>mingak'asathadiks(t)</i>

7.3.A.1.a.1.c. The adjective-forming frame [**máx-...-T**] 'to be all .../nothing but .../altogether .../excessively ...; to have a lot of ...[a characteristic]' *máx... (t)*

The prefix (**máx-**) also occurs as a modifier (5.15.B.18.), which is probably its original usage, since both the phonological structure and the semantic range of this prefix are more in keeping with those of modifiers than of the prefixes described above. This prefix forms adjectives from nouns.

<b>máx-híx-T</b>	'[meat] to be too fat, to have a lot of fat'	
...-fat, blubber-...		<i>máxhix(t)</i>

<b>máx-súk<sup>W</sup>a-tT</b>	'to be too sweet'	
...-sugar-...		<i>máxsugwa(t)</i>



**m̄ax-ýimq-T** 'to have a hairy face, a big moustache  
 ...-whiskers-... or beard' *m̄axyimk(t)*

The suffix tends to be lost with YFS, thus differences such as the following (cf. also 7.2.C.1.a.1.a.2.):

• OFS: wil **m̄ax-ýimq-T-t** ... as he has a big moustache/beard.  
 SUB [...-whiskers-...]-3 .. *wil m̄axyimat.*

YFS: wil **m̄ax-ýimq-t** ... as he has a big moustache/beard.  
 SUB [...-whiskers]-3 .. *wil m̄axyimkt.*

• OFS: wil **m̄ax-móʔon-tT-t** ... as it's too salty  
 . SUB [...-salt-...]-3 .. *wil m̄axmo'ondit.*

YFS: wil **m̄ax-móʔon-t** ... as it's too salty.  
 SUB [...-salt]-3 .. *wil m̄axmo'ont.*

### 7.3.A.1.a.2. P<sub>A</sub> frames ending in the Indefinite Medial suffix [-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s]:

#### 7.3.A.1.a.2.a. Intransitive frames built on verb stems:

##### 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1. Reflexive frames:

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1.a. The Animate Reflexive frame [k<sup>W</sup>ilks-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s]: 'to ... oneself' *gwilks...tk<sup>W</sup>/...s*. The proclitic **k<sup>W</sup>ilks**= 'back' *gwilks...* (7.1.A.1.b.35.) is used with Reflexive meaning in this frame.

**k<sup>W</sup>ilks-timół-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to wrap oneself up'  
 [...-wrap.s-...] *gwilkshtimooltk<sup>W</sup>*

**k<sup>W</sup>ilks-ʔitk<sup>W</sup>-s** 'to blame/accuse oneself, to repent'  
 [...-accuse.s-...] *gwilks'itk<sup>W</sup>s*

**k<sup>W</sup>ilks-haltim=kú-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to "pick oneself up": esp. to redeem  
 [...-wrap.s.-...]' oneself after being disgraced'  
*gvilkshaldinguutk<sup>v</sup>*

**k<sup>W</sup>ilks-tə-tálq-s** 'to talk to oneself'  
 [...-DOMIN-talk.to.s.-...]  
*gvilksdidalks*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1.b. The Inanimate Reflexive frame [**?a-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s**]: 'to ... by/of itself' *a...tk<sup>W</sup>/...s*. The prefix (**?a-**) 'spontaneously' is used with reflexive meaning in this frame. In modern usage the frame is usually preceded by the modifier *lip* 'self' *lip* (5.15.B.3.). (The English equivalent is not always Reflexive, but the French or German equivalent would usually be).

**?a-ǰáq-s** 'to open by itself' (older form)  
 [...-open-...]  
 (Fr. s'ouvrir) *ak'aks*

**lip ?a-ǰáq-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to open by itself' (newer form)  
 self [...-open-...]  
 (Fr. s'ouvrir) *lip-ak'ak<sup>v</sup>*

(note the lack of fricativization of the stem-final Velar, characteristic of newer formations)

**?a-ló:-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** '[school of fish] to start moving' (Boas)  
 [...-motionless.PL-...]  
*alootk<sup>v</sup>*

**lip ?a-qínx-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** '[tree] to fall by itself' (newer form)  
 self [...-tree|falling-...]  
*lip-agenxk<sup>v</sup>*

**lip ?a-qús-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** '[gun] to go off by itself' (newer form)  
 self [...-open-...]  
*lip-agosk<sup>v</sup>*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2. Passives of transitive-forming frames: (see 7.3.A.2.): Many transitive-forming frames have Passive equivalents: the prefix is the same for

both forms, but the suffix differs.

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.a. The Passive/Reflexive Jussive [k<sup>W</sup>in-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s]: 'to make oneself ...ed' (Fr. se faire + infinitive) *gwin...tkw/...s* (see Active counterpart, 7.3.A.2.a.1.):

**k<sup>W</sup>in-naxná-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to make oneself heard' (Fr. se faire  
[...-hear.s.-...] entendre) *gwin-naxnatkw*

**k<sup>W</sup>in-kúk<sup>W</sup>saʔan-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to have oneself waked up, to arrange  
[...-wake.up.s.-...] for a wake-up call' (Fr. se faire  
réveiller) *gwin-gyukwsaʔantkw*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.b. Passives of modal transitives: (see 7.3.A.2.a.3.): these are the Passive counterparts of transitive verbs starting with ʔa:mā: 'well' *amaa...*, tʰa: 'all' *tʰaa...*, and others. Only a couple of examples are given here.

**ʔa:ma-cáp-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to be fixed'  
[well-make.s.-...] *amaajapkw*

**tʰa-sáx<sup>W</sup>-s** 'to shiver all over.' (lit. to be all shaken)  
[all-shake.s.-...] (*saxw*) *tʰaasakws*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c. Other intransitive frames built on verb stems:

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.1. [si:x-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] 'to ... intently, with intense concentration; to focus all one's attention to ...ing' *siix...tkw/...s*. The prefix is also used in a transitive-forming frame, 7.3.A.2.a.4.b.

**si:x-yúxk<sup>W</sup>-s** 'to eat with concentration'  
[...-eat-...] *siixyuuxkws*

**si:x-té:q-s** 'to eat voraciously, to concentrate on eating'  
 [...-eat.much.fast-...] *siix'teeks*

**si:x-[-ʔa]múk<sup>W</sup>s-[-s]** 'to listen intently'  
 [...-listen-...] *siixmukws*

**si:x-káʔask<sup>W</sup>-[[t]k<sup>W</sup>]** 'to look intently'  
 [...-look-...] *siixga'askw*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.2. [txa:-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] 'to (be) all, completely, ...'  
*txaa...tkw/...s*.

This frame can be used as the Passive counterpart of a modal transitive (7.3.A.2.a.4.c.), but it can also be used with other intransitive stems:

**txa:-ki)kó:ks-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to be immersed, covered in liquid'  
 [...-ASP]float-... *txaagigyookskw*

**txa:-kíl-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to be all in one piece' (48.9)  
 [...-one-...] *txaak'itkw*

**txa:-mímq-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** '[face] to be all smiles'  
 [...-smile-...] *txaamimq'kw*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.3. [txapax-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>(-s)] 'to (be) completely, totally ...'  
*txap'ax...tkw/...s* (see also 7.3.A.2.a.4.d.).

**txapax-tá:w-[t]k<sup>W</sup>s** 'to be frozen through'  
 [...-ice, frozen-...] *txap'axdaawtkws*

**txapax-mán-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to be all left [the whole of s.t.]'  
 [...-leftover-...] *txap'axmaantkw*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.4. [tu:la:-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] 'not to ... properly, to ... funny'  
*duulaa...tkw/...s*

The prefix appears to be composed of an element **tu:- duu...** which recurs in [tu:wil-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] *duuwil...tkw/...s* (7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.5.) and of the proclitic **la:= laa...** (7.1.A.1.c.8.) which expresses negative emotion. (The first element **tu:- duu...** seems to be different from the homonymous verb-forming prefix, 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.4).

tu:la:-nútk <sup>W</sup> -s [...adorn.self-...]	'to dress up in a funny costume' <i>duulaanuutkws</i>
tu:la:-páx-[t]k <sup>W</sup> [...run-...]	'(machine, engine) not to run properly' <i>duulaabaxkw</i>
tu:la:-kát-[t]k <sup>W</sup> [...man-...]	'(person) to be abnormal (deformed, retarded, etc. [Boas]) <i>duulaagatkv</i>

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.5. [tu:wil-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] 'to ... aggressively' *duuwil...tkw/...s*.

The first element **tu:- duu...** recurs in [tu:la:-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] *duulaa...tkw/...s* (7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.4.) and the second is probably the subordinator **Wil wil**.

tu:wil-hí-[t]k <sup>W</sup> [...speak-...]	'to jeer, heckle' <i>duulaashitkw</i>
tu:wil-wíl-[t]k <sup>W</sup> [...be/act-...]	'to lunge at s.o.' <i>duulaawiltkw</i>

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.6. [xla:-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>(-s)] 'to ... unlawfully, without being competent or entitled to do so' *xlaa...tkw(s)*

The initial part seems to be composed of the prefix **(X-)** 'to lawfully claim or

receive ...'  $\underline{x}$ ... (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6.) and of the proclitic  $\text{la}:=$  /*aa*... expressing negative emotion (7.1.A.1.c.8., cf.  $[\text{tu}:\text{la}:-\dots-[\text{t}]\text{k}^{\text{W}}(-\text{s})]$  7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.4.).

$\underline{x}\text{la}:=\text{hí}-[\text{t}]\text{k}^{\text{W}}$  'to speak without having the authority  
[...-speak-...] to do so' ***xlaahitkw***

$\underline{x}\text{la}:-\text{wíl}-[\text{t}]\text{k}^{\text{W}}(\text{s})$  'to act without having the authority to  
[...-be/act-...] do so' ***xlaawitkw(s)***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.7.  $[\underline{x}\text{t}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}:-\dots-[\text{t}]\text{k}^{\text{W}}(-\text{s})]$  'to ..., trying to be inconspicuous'  
***xhlnaa...tkw(s)***.

The prefix seems to include the proclitic  $\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}:=$  'in places, conspicuously against a background' /*aa*... (7.1.A.1.b.22.), and the preceding sequence / $\text{Xt}$ / may be derived from  $\text{?áq}=\text{t}$  ... 'there isn't ..., impossible to ..., etc.' *akh/*... (5.13.D.).

$\underline{x}\text{t}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}:=\text{skí}-\text{tk}^{\text{W}}$  'to prostrate oneself  
[...-[object]lie-...] ***xhlnaasgitkw***

$\text{lú}=\underline{x}\text{t}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}:=\text{tá}-\text{tk}^{\text{W}}\text{s}$  'to stay home, shunning company'  
in=[...-sit/stay-...] ***xhlnaat'aatkws***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.8.  $[\text{?a}\text{t}\text{ax}-\dots-[\text{t}]\text{k}^{\text{W}}(-\text{s})]$  'to be unable to ... (from being crippled)' ***ahla\_x...tkw(s)***

The frame indicates that a normal activity cannot be done. The prefixed part is very unusual and cannot be identified with certainty at this point. The initial sequence / $\text{?at}$ /, which also occurs in  $\text{?at}\text{isqó}:\text{t}$  'to wonder about s.' *ahlisgoot*, cannot be identified with certainty, but it could be a negative prefix (cf. the Tsimshian negative prefix ( $\text{wa}\text{t}^-$ ), Dunn 1979). The remainder / $\text{ax}$ / of the prefix probably includes an epenthetic vowel /*a*/ since the sequence / $\text{tX}$ / is not allowable in Nisgha. The / $\text{X}$ / could be the prefix ( $\text{X}^-$ ) meaning 'to lawfully claim or receive ...'  $\underline{x}$ ... (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6.).

**?aɬax-wil-[t]k<sup>W</sup>(s)** 'to be unable to do anything'  
 [...-be/act-...] *ahɬaxwiltkw(s)*

**?aɬax-yé-[t]k<sup>W</sup>(s)** 'to be unable to walk'  
 [...-walk-...] *ahɬaxyeetkw(s)*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.9. [**kit-?an-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>(-s)**] 'to go elsewhere for the temporary purpose of ...ing' *git-an...tkw/...s*.

The initial element of the frame is probably not the prefix (**kit-**) 'people of ...' *git...* (7.1.B.2.b.1.a.), which forms nouns (cf. 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.10.). The homophonous prefix here is followed by the prefix (**?an-**) *an...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.). As the latter has more than one meaning, it is difficult to tell whether a particular one is involved here. This definitely verbal frame is used most often in reference to a group, but can also apply to a single person.

**kit-?an-íít-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to go elsewhere to play ball (e.g. team going to a tournament)'  
 [...-...-[play]ball-...] *git-anhlit'kw*

**kit-?an-hatátsT-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to go elsewhere to find work (esp. to leave the village for summer work in the canneries)' *git-anhahláiskw*

**kit-?an-tá-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to spend the night at s.o. else's house'  
 [...-...-stay-...] *git-an'taakw*

**kit-?an-xśán-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to go elsewhere to participate in stick-gambling' (28.9)  
 [...-...-stick.gambling-...] *git-anxśantkw*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.10. [**kis-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s**] 'to ... to another place' *gis...tkw/...s*.

It is likely that the initial element (**kis-**) *gis...* is composed of (**kit-**) *git...* (cf. 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.9.) and a prefix (**S-**), and that the single /s/ is due to the Deaffrication rule (10.1.B.2.1.a.). However, there is no prefix (**S-**) identifiable in present-day Nisgha (there is an augment /s/, but augments do not have grammatical value, 3.1.A.), so (**kis-**) is here treated as a single morpheme.

**kis-kó:-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to move (in a boat) to another moorage'  
 [...-moored-...]  
*gisgyootkw*

**kis-lúk<sup>W</sup>-s** 'to move (house), go live elsewhere'  
 [...-move.house-...]  
*gislukws*

7.3.A.1.a.2.b. Frames built mostly on nouns stems: Most of these have unsuffixed counterparts with related but different meanings.

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.1. [**his-** ... -[**t**k<sup>W</sup>/-s] 'to do ... for fun, not in earnest' *his...tkw/...s*

The prefix or proclitic **his=** *his...* is rarely used outside of this frame.

- with noun stems:

**his-ʔá:q-s** 'to laugh' (< to open one's mouth in  
 [...-mouth-...]  
 fun?)  
*his'aaks*

**his-má:l-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to go canoeing'  
 [...-canoe-...]  
*hismaalkw*

For the plural, the DISTR prefix (**qa-**) *qa...* is inserted between **his=** and the noun stem:

**his-qa-ʔá:q-s** 'to laugh (pl.)'  
 [...-DISTR-mouth-...]  
*hisga'aaks*



- with intransitive verb stem:

**his-cóq-s** 'to go camping, to have a picnic'  
 [...-camp, stay-...]  
*hisjoks*

**his-k<sup>W</sup>iski-tk<sup>W</sup>-s** 'to rejoice (religious term)'  
 [...-??-MED-...]  
*hisgwisgitkws*

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.2. [**ksə-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>**] 'to remove ... from oneself' *ksi...(t)kw*  
 (For the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.2.a.2.a.). This frame seems to be a recent formation since the addition of the suffix does not cause fricativization of the stem-final Velar, and there is no {-S} alternant.

**ksə-ná:ɬq-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to breathe out'  
 [...-breath-...]  
*(naahlk)* *ksinaahlkw*

**ksə-núć-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to blow one's nose'  
 [...-snot-...]  
*ksinutskw*

**ksə-ýimq-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to shave'  
 [...-whiskers-...]  
*ksiyimkw*

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.2. [**sə-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s**] *si...(t)kw* (For the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.2.a.2.b.).

(a) 'to be in the process of making ... to be working on ...' (similar words without the suffix refer to the complete process and product):

**sə-k<sup>W</sup>ilá-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to work on [making] a blanket'  
 [...-blanket-...]  
*sigwilatkw*

**sə-ʔát-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to work on [making] a net'  
 [...-net-...]  
*siaatkw*

**sə-pčá:n-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to work on (making) a totem-pole'  
 [...-totem.pole-...]  
*sip̄ts'aantk̄v*

(b) 'to make, set up, prepare ...' (no unsuffixed counterpart):

**sə-qínx-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to build a road'  
 [...-road-...-...]  
*sagen̄k̄v*

**sə-sá-tk<sup>W</sup>** 'to perform the traditional four-day  
 [...-day-...]  
 purification ritual' *sisatk̄v*

**sə-lák<sup>W</sup>-s** 'to build a fire'  
 [...-fuel-...]  
*silak̄vs*

**sə-hańi:txó:ɣk<sup>W</sup>-s** 'to set the tables for a feast'  
 [...-blanket-...]  
*sibańiitxoɣk̄vs*

**sə-winé:x-s** > *siwinéks* 'to process and preserve food'  
 [...-blanket-...]  
 (*wineex*) *siwineeks*

**sə-ʔanláytix-s** > *saʔanláytiks* 'to set up a sign or beacon'  
 [...-sign/beacon-...] (*anlayt'ix*) *sə'anlayt'iks*

For some more ambitious undertakings, the suffix is **(-[t]k<sup>W</sup>-s)**, not just **(-[t]k<sup>W</sup>)** or **(-s)**, as in:

**sə-wílp-[t]k<sup>W</sup>-s** 'to build a house'  
 [...-house-...-...]  
*siwilpk̄vs*

**sə-pót-[t]k<sup>W</sup>-s** 'to build a boat'  
 [...-boat-...-...]  
*sibootk̄vs*

7.3.A.1a.2.b.4. **[yu:-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s]** 'to be in charge of ..., to carry/have

a/one's ... [on one's person]' *yuu...(t)kw/...s* (for the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.7.).

This frame is used most often, and productively, with noun stems:

<b>yu:-tá:la-tk<sup>W</sup></b> [...-money-...]	'to have one's money (e.g. in one's pocket)'	<b><i>yuudaalatkw</i></b>
<b>yu:-qápa:lú-tk<sup>W</sup></b> [...-gun-...]	'to have one's gun, to carry a gun'	<b><i>yuuk'ap'aaluutkw</i></b>
<b>yu:-ʔayú:q:s</b> [...-law-...]	'[to be] the police (to be in charge of the law)'	<b><i>yuu'ayuuk:s</i></b>
<b>yu:-tímísT-[t]k<sup>W</sup></b> [...-writing-...]	'to be in charge of the paperwork, to be the secretary'	<b><i>yoot'imiskw</i></b>
<b>yu:-tís)tís-[t]k<sup>W</sup></b> [...-PL]old-...]	'to be in charge of the elders (e.g. escort them on a trip)'	<b><i>yoot'ist'iskw</i></b>

(In the last example, the nominal which corresponds to the stem would be the Relative form *tís)tís-ət*, lit. '[those] who are old' *t'ist'isit*, used nominally, see 7.2.A.2.(c)).

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.5. [**x**-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-S] 'to be caught in/by ..., to be personally affected by ...' *x...(t)kw/...s* (for the prefix *x*... alone, see 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6.; for the suffix alone with a similar meaning, see 7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.b.(2)).

<b>x-yén-tk<sup>W</sup></b> [...-fog-...]	'to be caught in the fog'	<b><i>xyeentkw</i></b>
<b>x-qóp-[t]k<sup>W</sup></b> [...-wave-...]	'to be seasick'	<b><i>xgoopkw</i></b>

**x**-hatàq-m+háy<sup>W</sup>-s 'to be possessed by demons'  
 [...evil-ATTR+spirit-...]  
*xhat'agam-haykws*

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.6. [**x**s- ...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] 'to imitate a ..., to be like a ...' *xs...(t)kw/...s*

**x**s-k<sup>W</sup>í:k<sup>W</sup>-s 'to whistle [like a marmot]'  
 [...marmot-...]  
*xsgwiikws*

ñi=**x**s-yén-tk<sup>W</sup> '(moon) to be hazy'  
 on=[...-fog-...]  
*ñiixsyentk<sup>W</sup>*

A few color words are formed with this frame. (For the suffix alone with this meaning, see 7.2.C.1.b.2.b.(1)).

**x**s-má:ỵ-tk<sup>W</sup> 'to be purple (like berries)'  
 [...berries-...]  
*xsmaytk<sup>W</sup>*

**x**s-[lòq-a+lóʔop]{t}k<sup>W</sup> 'to be dark brown (like rotted stone)'  
 [...rotten-SUFF+stone-...]  
*xslogalo'opk<sup>W</sup>*

7.3.A.1.b.2. Noun-forming frame: [ʔan-**x**s- ...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] 's. in lieu of ...'  
*anxs...(t)kw/...s*

The first element of this frame is the prefix (ʔan-) *an...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1), preceding the frame [**x**s- ...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] 'to be like ..., to imitate ...' *xs...(t)kw/...s* (7.3.A.1.a.2.b.6.). It forms a few nouns from other nouns:

ʔan-**x**s-nik<sup>W</sup>ót-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'adoptive father'  
 place-[...-father-...]LIKE  
*anxsnigwootk<sup>W</sup>*

ʔan-**x**s-nóx-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'adoptive mother'  
 place-[...-mother-...]LIKE  
*anxsnoxk<sup>W</sup>*

or from intransitive verbs:

**ʔan-xʂ-ksísk<sup>W</sup>-[[t]k<sup>W</sup>]** 's.t. given as restitution for a crime'  
 place-[...-restituting-...]LIKE ***anxksisišk<sup>W</sup>***

### 7.3.A.2. PEA's:

#### 7.3.A.2.a. Frames ending in the Definite Medial suffix {-T}: (7.2.C.1.a)

These frames are built on transitive verbs. A number of transitive verbs which do not normally take the suffix add it when preceded by certain prefixes or proclitic. An epenthetic is inserted between the suffix and a stem-final vowel or resonant. Many of these framed transitive verbs have Passive counterparts in **{-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-S}** (see above 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.).

7.3.A.2.a.1. The Definite Jussive frame [k<sup>W</sup>in-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-S] 'to cause s.o. to do s.t., to have s.o. do s.t., to have s.t. done by s.o.' *gwin-...-di* (Fr. faire faire qqch à qqn). (For the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.1.a.1.b.). Transitive verbs prefixed with *gwin-* take the **{-T}** suffix when accompanied by an Indirect object with designates the person actually performing the action.

**k<sup>W</sup>in-cáp-T** 'to have s.o. make s.t., to have s.t. made  
 [...-make.s.-...]' by s.o.' ***gwin-jap-di***

**k<sup>W</sup>in-ǰúc-T** 'to have s.o. cut s.t., to have s.t. cut  
 [...-cut.s.-...]' by s.o.' ***gwin-ǰ'ots-di***

**k<sup>W</sup>in-káʔ-T** 'to show s.t. to s.o.' (Fr. faire voir qqch  
 [...-see.s.-...]' à qqn) ***gwin-ga'a(t)-di***

- kilò mæ cə **k<sup>W</sup>in-káʔ-tT-t** ʔa=ʔ wák-n

don't 2E IRR [...-see.s.-...]-3 PREP=NC M's.brother-2

Don't show it to your brother!

*Gwilo mi ji gwin-ga'adit ahl wagin!*

7.3.A.2.a.2. The Reciprocal frame [nə-...-T] 'to ... s. to/against each other' *nĩt*: this frame, usually intransitive (7.3.A.1.a.1.b.1.), can also be used to form transitive verbs from other transitive verbs.

**nə-lúx<sup>W</sup>-T** 'to fight over [who should have] s.t.; lit.  
[...-not.let.s.o.have.s.-...]  
to deny s.t. to each other' *nĩluxw(t)*

• [nə-lúx<sup>W</sup>-T]-tĩt=† wĩlp They fought over [who should have] the  
[...-not.let.s.o.have.s.-...]-3P=NC house house. *Nĩluxwdiithl wĩlp.*

• tim [nə-tóq-T]-ə-m=† ksán qan=† lĩsĩms  
FUT [...-take.s.PL-...]-CTL-1P=NC Skeena and=NC Nass  
We'll bet each other the Skeena against the Nass (19.3).  
*Dim nĩdoqdimhĩ Ksán ganhĩ Lisĩms.*

7.3.A.2.a.3. The frame [nĩ)ntə-...-T] 'to ... [things] together [into one]' *nĩndĩ/nĩnda...-dĩ*. The current prefix is probably a partially reduplicated form: Boas 1902 has several instances where the prefix is simply (ntə-) *nĩndĩ/nda...* obviously related to the indefinite pronoun *nĩtá* 'which way, where' *nda* (5.6.A.1.b.2.). In general, the verb stem is plural.

**nĩ)ntə-tix)ták†-T** 'to tie things together into a bundle'  
[...-PL)tie.s.-...]  
*nĩndĩdixdakhĩ-dĩ*

**nĩ)ntə-hix)qantó†-T** 'to pin things together'  
[...-PL)tie.s.-...]  
*nĩndĩhixqant'ó'o(t)-dĩ*

• kĩ:-t kú:[t]=† k<sup>W</sup>ĩs-qá:q-t ?a-t nĩtə-čĩp)čĩp-T-t  
and-3E take.s.=ND garment-raven-3 PREP-3E [...-PL)tie.s.-...]-3  
He took his raven blanket [that he had torn apart] in order to tie it together  
again (39.2.).  
*K'it guuhl gwiisgaakt at nĩdĩs'ipts'ĩibit.*

7.3.A.2.a.4. Modal frames: These frames add modal/adverbial meanings to the verb. Many of these transitive frames have Passive counterparts ending in  $(-[t]k^W/-s)$  (7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.).

7.3.A.2.a.4.a.  $[sikít-...-T]$  'to try to ... s.' *sik'ihl/-...-di*.

$sikít-ǔ́c-tT$  'to try to cut s.t.'  
[...-cut.s.-...]  
*sik'ihl-k'ots-di*

7.3.A.2.a.4.b.  $[si:X-...-T]$  'to try intently to ... s., to concentrate on ... s.t.'  
*siix-...-di*:

$si:X-ǔ́a-tT$  'to try to find s.t., to search for s.t.'  
[...-find.s.-...]  
*siix-ǔ́a(t)-di*

$si:X-káʔ-tT$  'to try to see s.t., to watch for s.t.'  
[...-see.s.-...]  
*siix-ga'a(t)-di*

7.3.A.2.a.4.c.  $[txa:-...-T]$  'to ... s.t. completely, to ... all over s.t.' *txaa-...-di*

$txa:-t́ak-T$  'to forget s.t. completely'  
[...-forget.s.-...]  
*txaat'ak-di*

7.3.A.2.a.4.d.  $[txapax-...-T]$  'to ... s. completely, altogether; to ... the whole of s.t.' *txap'ax-...-di*. The prefix is probably compounded of  $(txa:-)$  'altogether' *txaa...* and  $(máx-)$  'nothing but ...' *máx...*, which are found singly in other frames (7.3.A.1.a.1.c.).

$txapax-t́ak-T$  'to forget the whole s.t.'  
[...-forget.s.-...]  
*txap'axt'ak-di*

**tʰaɸaɸtáɸ-T** 'to throw the whole s.t. away'  
 [...-put.away.s.PL-...]  
*tʰaɸ'aɸt'ahl-di*

**tʰaɸaɸkís-T** 'to [try to hit s.t. and] miss it completely'  
 [...-miss.s.-...]  
*tʰaɸ'aɸgiis-di*

7.3.A.2.a.4.e. [ʔa:ma:-...-T] 'to ... s. well, properly' *amaa...-di*: The prefix is a suffixed form of the word ʔá:m 'good' *aam*.

**ʔa:ma:-cáp-T** 'to fix s.t.'  
 [...-make.s.-...]  
*amaɸjap-di*

**ʔa:ma:-káʔ-tT** 'to look after s.'  
 [...-see.s.-...]  
*amaaga'a(t)-di*

**ʔa:ma:-hóx-T** 'to straighten, rearrange s.t. (a piece of clothing)'  
 [...-use/wear.s.-...]  
*amaɸhoox-di*

7.3.A.2.a.5. Transitive frames in (-T) starting with proclitics: Some proclitics cause a transitive verb to add the Definite Medial suffix. Only a few instances are given here.

7.3.A.2.a.5. a. [ńa:-...-T] 'to ... s. in one or more spots' *ńaa...-di* (cf. 7.1.A.1.b.22.)

**ńa=ʔis)ʔís-T** 'to knock at s.t.'  
 [...-PL)hit.s.-...]  
*ńaat'ist'is-di*

7.3.A.2.a.5.b. [tqal-...-T] 'to ... s. to/with s.o. else' *tq'al...-di* (7.1.A.1.b.33.)

**tqal=číp-T** 'to tie s.t. to s.t. else'  
 [...-tie.s.-...]  
*tq'alts'ip-di*



tqal=ʔáks-T 'to drink s.t. with s.t. else'  
[...-drink.s.-...]  
*tk'al'aks-di*

tqal=kíp-T 'to eat s.t. with s.t. else'  
[...-eat.s.-...]  
*tk'alqip-di*

7.3.A.2.a.6. Transitive frames in {-T} starting with lexical verb-forming prefixes: (7.1.B.2.): these verbs are formed on nouns.

7.3.A.2.a.6.a. [sə-...-T] 'to make s.t. into ..., to make ... with s.t., to add ... to s.t. [a food]' *si/sə...di*. This productive frame forms transitive verbs from nouns (cf. also intransitive frame 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.3.). The prefix alone means 'to pick, prepare, make ...' (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.2.).

sə-lák<sup>W</sup>-T 'to burn s.t. (lit. to make s.t. into fuel)'  
[...-fuel-...]  
*silakw-di*

sə-súp-T 'to make s.t. into soup, to make soup with  
[...-soup-...]  
s.t.'  
*sisup-di*

sə-cám-tT 'to make s.t. into jam, to make jam with  
[...-jam-...]  
s.t.'  
*sijaam(t)-di*

lu:=[sə-ʔáks-tT] 'to add water to [a pot of] s.t.'  
in=[...-water-...]  
*luusi'aks-di*

lu:=[sə-móʔon-tT] 'to salt s.t. [a food in a pot], to add salt to  
in=[...-salt-...]  
[a pot of] s.t.'  
*luusimo'on(t)-di*

7.3.A.2.a.6.b. [x-...-T] 'to serve ... [a food] to s.o.' *x...-di*

The currently productive meaning of the prefix *x...* alone is 'to eat/drink/consume ...' (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6.).

**x-tíkit-T** 'to serve s.o. smoked oolichans'  
 [...-smoked.ool.-...]  
*xdigit-di*

**x-kófi:-tI** 'to serve s.o. coffee'  
 [...-coffee-...]  
*xkoofii(t)-di*

- tim [x-kófi:-tI]-ə-ý nì:n-a Shall I give you a cup of coffee?  
 FUT [...-coffee-...]-CTL-1S you-Q  
*Dim xkoofiitdiý ñiina?*

- [x-?amák<sup>W</sup>-ax-tI]-ə-[t]=† wòsa?hux<sup>W</sup>tá:kin-ý  
 [...-scab-?-...]-CTL--[3]=NC [a monster] grandchild-1S  
 The *woosa'a* [a monster] has been feeding my grandchild scabs. (37.7.)  
*X'amalgwaxdihl woosa'a(hl) huxwdaak'iníy.*

7.3.A.2.b. Transitive frames ending in  $[-[t]k^W/--s]$ : (cf. transitive use of this suffix, 7.2.C.2.b.3.).

7.3.A.2.b.1.a. [sil-(qa)-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-s] 'to ... together with s.o. *sil(ga)...tkw/...s*  
 (For the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.1.b.5.d.)). This productive frame is used with intransitive verb stems.

**sil-cóq-S** 'to live in the same house with s.o.'  
 [...-stay-...]  
*siljoks*

**sil-ké†-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to share a bed with s.o.'  
 [...-lie-...]  
*silgeehkw*

**sil-wilkát-[t]k<sup>W</sup>** 'to be the same color as s.'  
 [...-color-...]  
*silwilgatkw*

In some cases the DISTR plural prefix *ga...* is used to differentiate meaning:

<b>sil-tá-tk<sup>W</sup></b> [...sit-...]	'(one person) to sit with <u>s.o.</u> [one]' <i>silt'aatk<sup>v</sup></i>
<b>sil-wán-tk<sup>W</sup></b> [...sit.PL-...]	'(one person) to sit with <u>s.o.</u> [plural]' <i>silwantk<sup>v</sup></i>
<b>sil-qa-tá-tk<sup>W</sup></b> [...-DISTR-sit-...]	'(two, more) to sit with <u>s.o.</u> [one]' <i>silgat'aatk<sup>v</sup></i>
<b>sil-qa-wán-tk<sup>W</sup></b> [...-DISTR-sit.PL-...]	'(two, more) to sit with <u>s.o.</u> [plural]' <i>silgawantk<sup>v</sup></i>

In many cases however the Distributive prefix is part of the productive version of the frame and does not have a distinctive meaning:

<b>sil-qa-hátiks-[t]k<sup>W</sup></b> [...-DISTR-swim-...]	'to go swimming with <u>s.o.</u> [one or more]' <i>silgashadiksk<sup>v</sup></i>
<b>sil-qa-txó:xk<sup>W</sup>-[[t]k<sup>W</sup>]</b> [...-DISTR-eat.PL-...]	'to eat with <u>s.o.</u> [one or more]' <i>silgatxooxk<sup>v</sup></i>

7.3.A.2.b.1.b. [lipilt-...-[t]k<sup>W</sup>] 'to ... in rebellion or hostility against s.' *libilt* ...tk<sup>W</sup>. The prefix does not seem to occur except in this frame, which does not appear to be productive.

<b>lipilt-hí-tk<sup>W</sup></b> [...say-...]	'to speak against <u>s.</u> ' <i>libilthitk<sup>v</sup></i>
<b>lipilt-wíl-tk<sup>W</sup></b> [...be/act-...]	'to rebel against <u>s.</u> ' <i>libiltwiltk<sup>v</sup></i>

7.3.A.2.b.2. Transitive frames ending in (-[t]k<sup>W</sup>/-S) starting with proclitic: These frames are built on intransitive stems. The alternant suffix (-S) is rarely

used in the context of these frames. Instead, if the stem used with the frame already ends in /k<sup>W</sup>/, no suffix is added, so that most of the words in this category tend to end in the same phonological element. Examples are given with the most common proclitics entering in this type of frame. Compared to intransitive verbs with the proclitic but without the suffix, these transitive verbs imply an action which affects the Object, rather than the latter being just the location of the action (see beginning of the section on Frames, 7.3.A.).

7.3.A.2.b.2.a. **lu:**='in' *luu...*

<p><b>lu:=tá:wít-[t]k<sup>W</sup></b>          [...=go.away/disappear-...]</p>	<p>{foreign object} to go into <u>s.t.</u> [a body part], hence: {illness} to affect <u>s.t.</u>'</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><b><i>luudaawíhikw</i></b></p>
--	--

7.3.A.2.b.2.b. **ńi:**='on' *ńii...*

(1) used singly:

<p><b>ńi:=tá:-tk<sup>W</sup></b>          [...=sit-...]</p>	<p>'to sit or ride on <u>s.t.</u>, to straddle <u>s.t.</u>'</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><b><i>ńiit'aatkw</i></b></p>
---	--

<p><b>ńi=(ax)lák-[t]k<sup>W</sup></b>          [...={snow}to.fall-...]</p>	<p>'to fall on <u>s.t.</u> [like snow], to shower <u>s.t.</u>'</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><b><i>ńiilaxlakkw</i></b></p>
--	--

<p><b>ńi:=hítk<sup>W</sup>-[[t]k<sup>W</sup>]</b>          [...=stand-...]</p>	<p>to step on <u>s.t.</u>'</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><b><i>ńiihikw</i></b></p>
--	--

In the following example, the framed word ends in /S/, so that the alternant (-S) is not repeated. This word is itself originally a Passive (of the transitive verb ʔUX 'to throw/flip s.t.' *ux*), ending in the alternant suffix (-S) because of the stem-final Velar.

$\acute{n}i:=?úks-[-s]$  '([object] to fall on s.t., hitting it)  
 [...=hit-...]  
***ñii'uks***

(2) associated with other proclitics: these combinations only seem to occur in the following frames:

(a) [ $\acute{n}i:=\acute{m}in=...-[t]k^W/-s$ ] 'to ... to the top of s.t.' ***ñiimín...tkw/...s***  
 ( $\acute{n}i$ ='on' *ñii...*;  $\acute{m}in$ ='upward' *mín...*):

$\acute{n}i:=\acute{m}in=kipáykw^W-[tk^W]$  'to fly to the top of s.t.'  
 [...=...=fly-...]  
***ñiimíngibaykw***

(b) [ $\acute{n}i:=[t]q'an=...-[t]k^W/-s$ ] 'to ... over [the top of] s.t.'  
***ñii(t)k'an...tkw/...s*** ( $\acute{n}i$ ='on' *ñii...*;  $[t]q'an$ ='level with the top (?)' *(t)k'an...*):

$\acute{n}i:=[t]q'an=kipáykw^W-[tk^W]$  'to fly over s.t.'  
 [...=...=fly-...]  
***ñii(t)k'angibaykw***

$\acute{n}i:=[t]q'an=hítkw^W-[tk^W]$  'to stand over s.t.'  
 [...=...=stand-...]  
***ñii(t)k'anhitkw***

$\acute{n}i:=[t]q'an=yú.xk^W-s$  'to eat while holding s. on one's lap'  
 [...=...=eat-...]  
***ñii(t)k'an yuuxkws***

7.3.B. Morphosyntactic (phrasal) frames: Phrasal frames can be divided into nominalizing frames and focusing frames. Nominalizing frames make an adjective, locational adverb, transitive verb, and even noun, into the head of a possessive noun-phrase: 'the ... [of the ...]'. There are two kinds of focusing frames: those which only focus nouns and those which focus any predicates. In both cases, these frames add special meaning to the focused element.

7.3.B.1. Nominalizing frames: There are two nominalizing frames, one which nominalizes adjectives and locational adverbs, the other which nominalizes

transitive verbs and other nouns.

7.3.B.1.a. The Abstract nominalizing frame [qa-...-ə]ga...i/a...: This frame can be used to nominalize adjectives and locational adverbs. It is not clear whether the prefix can be identified with the Distributive plural prefix (qa-) ga... (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.) (it could mean 'each and every instance of ...') or with the other prefix of the same shape (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.3.), which has a less definable meaning. The suffix {-ə-} should probably not be identified with the Control suffix (7.2.A.3.), but considered as a homophonous morpheme, since it occurs under quite different conditions. No specific gloss seems appropriate at the present time.

7.3.B.1.a.1. Framing Adjectives: With an adjective, this frame is usually translated locally by 'how ... [long, thick, etc.] s. is', but many times the best English translation is by an abstract noun, e.g. 'the length, thickness, etc. of s.' However, the Nisgha framed word is not an abstract noun, like those nouns formed with the prefixes ?an- an... (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.) or qan- gan... (7.1.B.3.b.1.), but a downshifted adjectival predicate (4.5.A.1.c.2.) used in a nominalizing frame: the downshifted adjective is always accompanied by its argument and agrees with it in number. The resulting noun-phrase can be used either predicatively, or as an Adjunct, especially after an evaluative predicate.

qa-sàq-ə-[t]=†laxhá [...-sharp-...]-[3]=NCsky	'how cold the weather is (!). The weather is so cold!; the coldness of the weather, the low temperature' <i>gasagahl laxha (!)</i>
--	---

qa-nñi:luk <sup>W</sup> -ə-[t]=†qan)qán [...-long.PL-...]-[3]=NCPL)tree	'how long the logs are (!). The logs are so long!; the length of the logs' <i>ganñiilugwihl gangan (!)</i>
--	---

- cáx<sup>W</sup>=† qa-sàq-ə-[t]=†laxhá==sa  
considerable=NC[...-sharp-...]-[3]-NCsky==PROX

This weather is so/very cold!

*Ts'axwhl gasagahl laxha-sa!*

- k̄ax páq-[t]=† qa-kàm̄k̄ ə-[t]=† húp̄x-t==sa  
considerable=NC [...-hot-...]-[3]=NC forehead==PROX

Just feel how hot h. forehead is!

*K'ax bakh̄l gagamgih̄l hup̄xt-sa!*

- †a ʔám̄-[t]=† qa-ñàk̄<sup>W</sup>-ə-t ʔi: ... After a while ... (lit. now its length  
now good-[3]=NC [...-long-...]-3 and ... [of time] was right and ...)

*Hlaa aam̄hl ganiagwit̄ ii ...*

A few stems are used only with the frame and do not occur by themselves. They all end in vowels, a fact which causes deletion of the vowel suffix.

qa-\*sqò:-ə-[t]=s [t] M̄ary

'how big Mary is, Mary's size'

[...-\*big?-...]-[3]=DC [DM] M.

*gasgoos Mary*

qa-\*tipti:-ə-[t]=† k̄upa:-t k̄í†k̄<sup>W</sup>

'how big the children are,

[...-\*big.PL?-...]-[3]=NC [DM] M.

the children's sizes'

*gadipdiih̄l k'ubatk'ih̄kw*

qa-\*pì:-ə-[t]=† †k̄í-ý

'how many children I have,

[...-?-...]-[3]=NC offspring-1S

the number of my children'

*gabiihl̄ hlgíý*

qa-\*pì:-ə-[t]=† tá:la-ý

'how much money I have,

[...-?-...]-[3]=NC money-1S

the amount of money I have.

*gabiihl̄ daalaý*

- qa-\*pì:-ə-[t]=† hí-ý

That's all I have to say (lit. 'the amount  
of my saying' - traditional ending to a  
speech)

[...-?-...]-[3]=NC saying-1S

*Gabiihl̄ híý.*

- **qa-\***pì-ə-t==əmaʔ=† tá la-t      That's probably all the money s/he has!  
[...-?-...]-3==PROB=NC money-3  
*Gabiidima'ahl daalat!*
- ntá=† **qa-\***tiptì-ə-[t]=† cá w aqs=† hax)hóx-ə-n  
which way=NC [...-\*big.PL?-...]-{3}=NC shoes=NC PL)use.s.-CTL-2S  
What size shoes do you wear? (lit. what is the size of the shoes you wear)  
*Ndahl gadipdiihl ts'awakshl haxhooyin.*

If the adjective includes a proclitic or modifier, that morpheme precedes the prefix (**qa-**) *ga...*

- kax káʔ-[t]=† wí:- **qa-**hàk<sup>W</sup>-ə-[t]=s[t] Máry  
just see.s.-{3}=NC great-[...-long-...]-{3}=DC [DM] M.  
See how tall Mary is!  
*K'ax ga'ahl wii ganagwis Mary!*
- cáx<sup>W</sup>==aʔ=† lu:=**qa-**ʔó ks-ə-t      My, it's really wide inside!  
considerable==ASST=NC in=[...-wide-...]-3  
*Ts'axwa'ahl luuga'ooksit!*

However, some YFS prefix it to the proclitic:

- cáx<sup>W</sup>==aʔ=† **qa-**lu:=kámk-ə-t==sa      My, it's really hot in here!  
considerable==ASST=NC [...-in=hot-...]-3==ASST  
*Ts'axwa'ahl galuugamgit-sa!*

### 7.3.B.1.a.2. Framing locational Adverb:

(a) plain frame:

- **qa-**kèç-ə-[t]=† ʔaýáns      'downriver from Aiyansh'  
[...-downriver-...]-{3}=NC Aiyansh  
*gagets'ihl Aýans*



**qa-kikè.ni[x]ə-[t]=† laxqalčáp** 'upriver from Greenville'  
 [...-upriver-...]-[3]=NC Aiyansh *gagigeenihi Laxgalts'ap*

(b) The frame itself can be prefixed with (**ʔan-**) *an...*, which has both abstract and locational meanings ((7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.)). The result is a noun with locational meaning, which must be used in a possessive noun-phrase:

**ʔan-qa-tù w̄-[-ə]-[t]=† sqańisT** 'on| the far side of the mountain'  
 [...-over.there-...]-[3]=NC mountain *anqaduúwhi sqańist*

**ʔan-qa-kì ks-ə-[t]=† hu)wílþ** 'on| the river side of the houses'  
 [...-on.water.side-...]-[3]=NC PL)house *anqagiiksihi huwílþ*

7.3.B.1.b. Nominalizing frame [†ə ...-T-[t]=CON Noun]: 'the ... of the ...'  
*hli/hla ... (d)i ...(...)*: this frame nominalizes transitive verbs or nouns. With nouns, the result is a generic rather than simply possessive noun-phrase. More details (especially morphophonemic) and examples are given under the suffix (7.2.C.1.a.1.c.).

7.3.B.1.b.1. With transitive verbs: '[the act of ] ...ing [the] ...'

**†ətqal=lip)lipk<sup>W</sup>-T-[t]=† qanmálaʔ** '[the act of] sewing on buttons'  
 the against=PL)sew.s.-DEF-[3]=NC button *hli tʔ'allipligwihl qanmála'a*

**†ə ní=yè:-tT-[t]=† lax-mít** '[the act of] walking on the lava'  
 the on-walk-DEF-[3]=NC on-fire *hli níiyeedihl laxmihl*

7.3.B.1.b.2. With nouns: 'the [type of ] ... of [the] ...'

**†ə qàn-tT-[t]=† haʔikó:tk<sup>W</sup>** 'the [type of] handle of the/an axe'  
 the stick-DEF-[3]=NC axe *hla gandihl hahligyootkw*

†əsqàns-T-[t]=†ksláwisk<sup>W</sup> 'the [type of] elbow of the/a shirt'  
 the elbow-DEF-[3]=NC shirt *hli sgansihl ksláwiskw*

†əq̄isa?-tT-[t]=†máqs-t 'the [type of] knee of h. pants, h. pant knee'  
 the knee-DEF-[3]=NC pants *hla k'esa'adihl máqs̄t*

7.3.B.2. Focusing frames: Focusing frames emphasize a particular element of the clause, as well as adding a particular meaning (unlike regular focusing, 4.7., which does not add such meaning). There are two kinds of focusing frames: two are a means of focusing a noun, and use the Relative pronoun ((ə)t-) ...it/...at/...t which is normally used in focusing P<sub>A</sub>'s. The third frame uses a morpheme peculiar to itself.

7.3.B.2.a. Noun-focusing frames:

- (1) [ʔakù=† wilas ...-(ə)t] 'What kind of ...?' *Aguhl wilas ...it?*  
 (2) [liki:-lip-wilas ...-(ə)t] 'any/whatever kind/all kinds of ...'  
*ligii-lip-wilas ...it*

ʔakù 'what' *agu* is an Indefinite pronoun. The combination of modifiers *liki:-lip ligii-lip* is used before Indefinite pronouns to reinforce the indefinite meaning (5.6.B.). The following segment *wilas wilas* appears to include a shorter form of the subordinator *wila*: 'how' *wilaa* (5.16.B.9.). It is not clear what the following represents, but it could be a special use of the determinate connective =S. In the frames discussed here, these morphemes precede a noun suffixed with the Relative suffix ((-ə)t) ...it/...at/...t (see other examples under Nouns, 5.5.F.).

These two frames are always used with a noun in focused position.

- [ʔakù=† wilas púc-(ə)t]=† tim ti: tóq-ə-n  
 [...-boots-...] FUT=NC INTS take.s.PL-CTL-2S

What kind of boots are you going to buy?

*Aguhl wilas bujithl dim dii dogan?*

[**liki: lip wilas púc-(ə)t**]=† tóχ-(ə)t lò:-tít

[...-boots-...]=NC PL.lie/be-REL=NC IND-3P

- Whatever kind [of boots] they have .

- *Ligii-lip wilas bujithl doxat loodit.*

• [**?akù=† wilas ?át-(ə)t**]=† tí: hó:χ-ə-t

[...-net-...]=NC INTS use.s.-CTL-3

What kind of fi. . does he fish for? (lit. what kind of net does he use?)

*Aguhl wilas aadithl dii hooyit?*

[**liki: lip wilas ?át-(ə)t**]

- All kinds. /Any kind he finds.

[...-net-...]

(lit. whatever kind of net)

- *Ligii-lip wilas aadit.*

7.3.B.2.b. Comparative frame: [**wít (liki:) ...-í:]** 'seeming/looking/sounding/etc. like ...' *wit (ligii) ...ii*

This frame can be used with most types of predicatives. It frames a focused or at least a clause-initial constituent, including not only clause predicates, but auxiliaries, the latter especially before  $P_{EA}$ 's (which cannot themselves be focused in this frame). Note that a focused predicate (in a predicate-focused clause) embedded in this frame is no longer focused in the grammatical sense of this expression (4.4.), although it is still emphasized.

It is not clear what type of form **wít wit** is. When it is separated from a following  $P_A$  by the no-determinate connective =† ...h/, the final /t/ usually disappears before the connective, because of the consonant-deletion rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.). The modifier **liki:** 'about, maybe, etc.' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.) is not used with nouns.

7.3.B.2.b.1. With nouns: (see also examples in Nouns, 5.5.G.)

(a) Noun as focused predicate (in predicate-focused clause, cf. 4.4.):

- $\text{hux}^W \text{ k}i\bar{l}-[t]=\dagger \text{ l}o\text{?op} - [\text{wi}[t]=\dagger \text{ k}^W \text{ isk}^W \text{ } \acute{o}\text{s-i}$ :  
again one-[3]=NC rock - [...=NC bluejay-...]

There was one more stone, a blue one  
(lit. ..., it was like a Steller's jay)(139.9-10).

*Huxw k'iíhl lo'op - wíhl gwiswoosií.*

- $[\text{wi}[t]=\dagger \text{ mák}^W \text{ s-i}]=\dagger \text{ t}i\text{p}\dagger\text{án-t}$   
[...=NC snow-...]=NC body-3

Her body was as white as snow.  
(lit. ... was like snow) (211.7.)

*Wíhl maakwsííhl hliplant.*

(b) Noun as focused constituent of second clause (pivot between two clauses): in this case, the verb following the noun is relativized, and it too takes the ending  $(-i:)$  *...íí* (cf. the double use of the REL suffix in some cases, 4.7.A.2.b.1.b.):

- $\text{naxná-(y)ə-} \acute{y}=\dagger [\text{wi}[t]=\dagger \text{ li}k\bar{i}: \acute{c}\acute{u}:\acute{c}-i:]=\dagger \text{ lím}[x]-(\text{ə})\text{t-i}$ :  
hear.s.-CTL-1S=NC [...=NC about bird-...]=NC sing-REL-...

I heard what sounded like a bird singing.

*Naxnáyíyhl wíhl lígíí t. juts'ííhl límidíí.*

7.3.B.2.b.2. With intransitive verb: This verb takes a personal suffix. If that suffix is the 3 suffix  $(-t)$ , it appears on the surface before the frame suffix  $(-i:)$  *...íí*.

(a) With main verb: In the following example from Boas 1902, the intensive modifier  $t\bar{i}$ : *dii* is used, not the indefinite  $li\bar{k}\bar{i}$ : *ligíí* which is more common in present-day Nisgha.

- [wì|t]=† ti: wiyítk<sup>W</sup>-t-i:] =† hì-t  
 [...=NC INTS cry-3-...] =NC saying-3  
 ?a-t?ítk<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† ?a:m-a:wák-t==ki:  
 PREP-3 call.s.-[3]=NC good-SUFF M.'s brother-3==DISTAL  
 He sounded as if he were crying as he called his good brother (17.6.-7)  
 (lit. his words sounded like his crying ...)  
*Wihl dii wiyítkwíihl hit at itkwihl amaa wakt-gi.*

(b) With auxiliary verb: in this case, there may or may not be a connective between **Wìt** and the auxiliary (it seems that YFS use the connective more than OFS):

- OFS: [wìt liki: yùk<sup>W</sup>-i:] =† wiyítk<sup>W</sup>-t    It seems/seemed like s/he is/was crying.  
 [... about PROG-...] =NC cry-3  
*Wit ligii yugwíihl wiyítkw.*

YFS: [wì|t]=† liki: yùk<sup>W</sup>-i:] =† wiyítk<sup>W</sup>-t    It seems/seemed like s/he is/was crying.  
 [...=NC about PROG-...] =NC cry-3  
*Wihl ligii yugwíihl wiyítkw.*

- [wì|t]=† liki: yùk<sup>W</sup>-i:] =† wiyítk<sup>W</sup>-ti:    It sounded like [someone was] crying.  
 [...=NC about PROG-...] =NC cry-IMPS  
*Wihl ligii yugwíihl wiyítkwíihl.*

- [wì|t]=† liki: yùk<sup>W</sup>-i:] =† tim wiyítk<sup>W</sup>-ý nē wila: páq-T-t  
 [...=NC about PROG-...] =NC FUT cry-1S 1S.E how feel.s.-DEF-3  
 I feel like I am about to cry.  
 (local: It's like I am going to cry, how I feel.)  
*Wihl ligii yugwíihl dim wiyítgwíy.  
 ni wilas bagat.*

7.3.B.2.b.3. With transitive verb: The frame only seems to be used with the Progressive auxiliary **yuk<sup>W</sup> yukw**. Usually there is no connective after **Wìt**

*wit*

- [wít liki: yùk<sup>W</sup>-i:]=† tim-t kíp-t S/he/it looked like s/he was about  
[...=NC about PROG-...]=NC FUT-3E eat.s.-3 to eat it.

*Wit ligii yugwiihl dimt gipt.*

## CHAPTER 8: REDUPLICATION

Reduplication occurs in Nisgha under two basic forms: partial and full. Partial reduplication is a fairly simple process; full reduplication occurs under a variety of forms bearing evidence of a very long history of morphophonemic and morphological evolution.

**8.1. Partial reduplication (C-):** Partial reduplication involves only the initial consonant. The resulting contact between two consonants is prevented by the insertion of a vowel, unless the consonants are syllabic resonants.

**8.1.A. Aspectual use:** Partial reduplication is used with all suitable verbs to indicate the progressive/ imperfective aspect, as in:

p)páx > ASP)run	pipáx	'to be running'	<i>bibax</i>
t)ťá: > tťá: > ASP)sit	titá:	'to be sitting'	<i>dit'aa</i>
c)cám > ASP)cook.s.	cicám	'to be cooking <u>s.t.</u> '	<i>jijam</i>
y)yé: > hyé: > ASP)go, walk	hiyé:	'to go, walk'	<i>hiyee</i>

as in:

?akú=† ci)cám-ə-n==əst what=NCASP)cook.s.-CTL-2S==AFF	(Hey) what are you cooking? <i>Aguh! jijaminis?</i>
qay ki)ké:†-t still ASP)lie.down-3	S/he is still in bed. <i>K'ay gigeehl.</i>

t)ítá: t Màry==a  
ASP)sit DM M.=0

Is Mary home?  
*Dit'aa t Marya?*

Partial reduplication usually involves the entire word, including prefixes and proclitics, as in:

- †a: t)tqályé:-[t]=†qañàk<sup>W</sup>ə-[t]=† sá The days are getting longer.  
now ASP)increase-[3]=NC length-[3]=NC day *Hlaa ditk'alyeehl gañagwihl sa.*

- qáy ci)caqam=yú<sup>W</sup>-[t]=† m̀à:l  
still ASP)shoreward=move-[3]-NC canoe

While the canoe was still moving towards the shore ...(185:10-11)

*K'ay jijagamyukwhl maal ...*

**8.1.B. Plural use:** Partial reduplication also indicates the plural of a few words, mostly nouns: most of these nouns designate items which occur (or are noticed in the plural) as groups or sets, including pairs, as in:

p)pá? > pipá? 'thighs'  
PL)thigh *biba'a*

t)tó? > titó? 'cheeks'  
PL)cheek *dido'o*

ṭ)ṭáx > tṭáx > tiṭáx 'lakes'  
PL)lake *dit'ax*

č)čák > cčák > cičák 'dishes'  
PL)dish *jits'ak'*

q)qá:x > qṙá:x > qaṙá:x 'feather(s)' (old word)<sup>1</sup>  
PL)wing *gak'aax*



?a-s)śáy > PL.feet	?asisáy	'legs, feet'	<i>asisáy</i>
†)hínkit > PL)Tlingit	†ihínkit	'slaves' (<Tlingit) <sup>2</sup>	<i>híhlingit</i>
?a-n)nás > PL.skins	?annás	'skins, pelts'	<i>annans</i>
W)wá:x > hwá:x > huwá:x PL)paddle		'paddles'	<i>huwax</i>

Partial reduplication then seems to be associated with extensive or extended meaning.

There are no very recent plurals using partial reduplication; however, the form

p)bót > PL)boat	pipót	'boats'	<i>biboot</i>
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shows that the formula was still productive at the time of European contact.

Only exceptionally does partial reduplication occur as an extra plural morpheme on an already plural form; this occurs however in:

ñ)híluk <sup>W</sup> > PL)PL.long	nñíluk <sup>W</sup>	'to be long (pl.)'	<i>nñílukw</i>
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the plural of **ñák<sup>W</sup>** 'to be long (time), far' *ñakw* (original reduplicative type CV:CvK (archaic) with irregularities, see below ).

**8.1.C. Morphophonemic rules associated with partial reduplication:** (These rules apply regardless of the morphological structure of the word, i.e. whether

the initial consonant belongs to the stem or base or to an affix).

**8.1.C.1. Deglottalization: (10.1.B.1.b.2.):**

ć)ćíp > cćíp > cićíp PL)bone		'bones'	<i>jits'ip</i>
ń)ńá:l > PL)canoe	mńá:l	'canoes'	<i>mńaal</i>
ń)ńí:luk <sup>W</sup> > PL)PL.long	nńí:luk <sup>W</sup>	'to be long (pl.)'	<i>nńiilukw</i>
ý)ýáq > yýáq > hýáq > hiýáq ASP)hang		'to be hanging'	<i>hiyak</i>
ŵ)ŵó? > wŵó? > hŵó? > huŵó? ASP/PL)call, invite.s.		'to call, invite s.o.(pl.); to be calling, inviting s.o.'	<i>huwo'o</i>

**8.1.C.2. Vowel Insertion: (10.2.1.a.1.):** except when the consonant is a syllabic resonant (glottalized or not): the following examples show non-insertion; see examples of vowel-insertion in other sections of this chapter.

m)μί+k <sup>W</sup> ASP)burn-MED	mmí+k <sup>W</sup>	'to be shiny'	<i>mmihkw</i>
ń)ńá:l > PL)canoe	mńá:l	'canoes'	<i>mńaal</i>
?a-n)νό:IT PL)let.s.	?annó:IT	'to let s.o. [do s.t.]'	<i>annool-di</i>

ń)ńí[t] > nńí[t] 'that's (precisely) ...'  
 ASP)that's... *nńí...*

l)láý > lláy '(pl.) to be large'  
 PL)large *lláy*

8.1.C.3. Glide-reduction to the default value /h/ (10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.):

y)yé: > hyé: > hiyé: 'to be walking'  
 ASP)walk *hiyee*

ý)ýáq > yýáq > hýáq > hiýáq 'to be hanging'  
 ASP)hang *hiýaq*

w)wílþ > hwílþ > huwílþ 'houses'  
 PL)house *huwílþ*

w)wilá:k<sup>WT</sup> > hwilá:k<sup>WT</sup> > huwilá:k<sup>WT</sup> 'to be doing s.t. to s.' (esp. sthg  
 PL)treat, handle.s. harmful) *huwilaakw-di*

ŵ)ŵó? > w)ŵó? > hŵó? > huŵó? 'to call, invite s.o. (pl.)'  
 ASP/PL)call, invite.s. to be calling, inviting s.o.  
*huŵo'o*

?)í:cT > h)í:cT > hi)í:cT 'to be frying, ironing s.t.'  
 ASP)fry, iron.s. *hi'iits-di*

?)?an-hé: > h)?anhé: > ha)?anhé: 'sayings'  
 PL)cause-saying *ha'anhee*

8.2. Full reduplication: in its basic form, full reduplication affects the CVC root, which is prefixed to itself (usually with accompanying morphophonemic changes in the vowel and stem-final consonant, hence the notation Cvc-). It is

used to form the plural (3.2.C.) of a large number of words, mostly verbs, and their derivatives, as in:

cám cook.s.	<b>cim</b> )cám PL)...	'to cook <u>s.pl.</u> '	<i>jam/jimjam</i>
?an-cám > means- cook.s.	?an- <b>cim</b> )cám PL) cook.s.	'cooking-pots'	<i>anjam/anjimjam</i>

8.2.A. Uses: Full reduplication is associated with repetitive meaning: the plural stem of a transitive verb may be used to indicate either a plurality of Objects, especially separate ones, as in:

q̣úc-ə-t=† q̣is-t                      S/he cut h. hair.  
cut.s.-CTL-3=NC hair-3              *K'ojithl gest.*

q̣as)q̣úc-ə-t=† †áqs-t                  S/he cut h. nails,  
PL)cut.s.-CTL-3=NC nail-3              *K'ask'ojithl hlaqst.*

or repetitive actions performed on a single Object, as in

q̣as)q̣úc-ə-t=† ?aná:x                  S/he sliced the bread.  
PL)cut.s.-CTL-3=NC bread              *K'ask'ojithl anaax.*

qap)qap-ə-t=† ṭimqis-t                  S/he scratched h. head.  
PL)scratch.s.-CTL-3=NC head-3              *Gapgaabithl t'imgest.*

ña=†is)†is-T-ə-t=† q̣í†q-t              S/he beat h. breast  
in.spot=PL)hit.s.-DETR PREP =NC chest-3      (gave several knocks)  
*Naat'ist'isdithl k'ehlkt.*

Similarly, in an intransitive verb with a plural Subject, the singular stem indicates an action performed by the whole group, the plural stem indicates



enough to specify the consonants since the vowel is predictable).

3.2.B.1.a.1. Formula for stage 1: stem = C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> root: (may also have affixes attached, not involved in reduplication)<sup>3</sup>

$$C_1VC_2) C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1\emptyset C_2) C_1VC_2$$

This stage is represented by forms such as:

tám	'to write s.t.'	ṭim)tám	'to write s.t.(pl.)'
	<i>t'am</i>		<i>t'imt'am</i>
qá:p	'to scratch s.t.'	qap)qá:p	'to scratch s.t. (repeatedly)'
	<i>gaap</i>		<i>gapgaap</i>
tálpiksk <sup>w</sup>	'to shrink; to crouch, double over'	til)tálpiksk <sup>w</sup>	'(pl.) to shrink; to crouch, double over'
	<i>dalbikskw</i>		<i>dildalbikskw</i>

including formations on older plurals, such as (forms prefixed with {lə-},  
*li.../la.../lu... 7.1.B.1.a.1.a.*):

kámk	'hot, warm'		
	<i>gamk</i>		
*lə-kámk > *lámk		lim)lámk	'(pl.) to be hot, warm'
PL-...			<i>limlamk</i>
?as-ká:pax	'to chatter all the time'		
??-??	<i>asgaabax</i>		

ʔas-*\*lə-ká:pax* ʔas-*\*lá:pax* ʔas-**lip**)lá:pax '(pl.) to chatter all  
 ...-PL... the time'  
*asliplaabax*

Affixes remain outside of the reduplicative formula, e.g.

ʔám	'to write <u>s.t.</u> '	<b>k<sup>W</sup>ti</b> :=ʔim)ʔám	'to write all over <u>s.t.</u> '
	<i>t'am</i>	all.over=...	<i>kwhlit'im'am</i>
ʔám- <b>tk<sup>W</sup></b>	'to be written'	ʔim)ʔám- <b>tk<sup>W</sup></b>	'(pl.) to be written'
...-PAS	<i>t'amtkw</i>	...-PAS	<i>t'im'amtkw</i>

**8.2.B.1.a.2. Morphophonemic rules affecting the reduplicated syllable:**

**8.2.B.1.a.2.a. Vowel-specification:** according to the new environment, see 10.1.A.1.a.1, 10.1.A.1.a.2.

**8.2.B.1.a.2.b. Rules affecting C<sub>1</sub>:**

Most of the time, the initial consonant is not affected, with one exception. In stems beginning with the sequence /ya/, the initial consonant reduplicates as /h/, which is the default value of glides (10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.); this does not occur when initial /h/ is followed by another vowel:

<b>yátk<sup>W</sup></b>	'to be slippery'	<b>hi</b> ) <b>yátk<sup>W</sup></b>	'(pl.) to be slippery'
in-turn	<i>yahlkw</i>		<i>hihlyahlkw</i>
<b>lu:=yáltk<sup>W</sup></b>	'to return'	<b>lu:=hil</b> ) <b>yáltk<sup>W</sup></b>	'(pl.) to return'
in-turn	<i>luuyaltkw</i>		<i>luuhilyaltkw</i>

but:

yím	'to sniff <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>yim</i>	yim)yím	'to sniff <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> ' <i>yimyim</i>
ksə=ỵénwa?	'to be reluctant to go out esp. into foul weather' <i>ksiyeen wa'a</i>	ksə=ỵin)ỵénwa?	'(pl.) to be reluctant to go out esp. into foul weather' <i>ksiyin'yeen wa'a</i>

8.2.B.1.a.2.c. Rules affecting C<sub>2</sub>. In its new preconsonantal position, C<sub>2</sub> is subject to the rules of Deaffrication, Deglottalization and Velar Fricativization.

8.2.B.1.a.2.c.1. Deaffrication (10.1.B.2.1.a.):

q̣úc	'to cut <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>k'ots</i>	q̣as)q̣úc	'to cut <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> , to slice, cut up <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>k'ask'ots</i>
yác	'to chop <u>s.t.</u> : to kill <u>s.o.(pl.)</u> ' <i>yats</i>	his)yác	'to chop <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> ' <i>hisyats</i>

8.2.B.1.a.2.c.2. Deglottalization (10.1.B.1.b.2.):

ćál	'face, eyes' <i>ts'al</i>	ćil)ćál	'faces, (pairs of) eyes' <i>ts'ilts'al</i>
hít	'to stick' <i>hit</i>	hat)hít	'(pl.) to stick' <i>hathit</i>

8.2.B.1.a.2.c.3. Velar fricativization (10.1.B.1.b.3.):



ʔá:k	'to be scratched' <i>hlaak</i>	ʔiX)ʔá:k	'(pl.) to be scratched; to have many scratches' <i>hlixhlaak</i>
ʔák <sup>W</sup>	'to twist <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>ta<sup>W</sup>k</i>	ʔux <sup>W</sup> )ʔák <sup>W</sup>	'to twist <u>s.t.(pl.)'</u> <i>t'uxwt'ak<sup>W</sup></i>
páq	'to feel <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>baq</i>	pax)páq	'to feel <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> ; to feel around for <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>baqbaq</i>

8.2.B.1.b. Formulas for stems larger than C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>: These represent a later stage of the same regular formula C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>)C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>, with an extension of the definition of the reduplicative C<sub>2</sub>, thus the different types:

8.2.B.1.b.1. Stage 2.a.: stem = base including initial non-Velar fricative augments: this formula is restricted to a small number of stems of the shapes SKVC and ʔKVC: the augment is taken as C<sub>1</sub>, the following K as C<sub>2</sub> (causing fricativization K > X) :

$$C_1əC_2) C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1əC_2) C_1C_2VC_3$$

sqíksk <sup>W</sup>	'to be injured' <i>sgeksk<sup>W</sup></i>	sax)sqíksk <sup>W</sup>	'(pl.)to be injured' <i>saxsgeksk<sup>W</sup></i>
ʔkík <sup>W</sup>	'(W's) sister' <i>hgiik<sup>W</sup></i>	ʔiX)ʔkík <sup>W</sup> -s ...-MED	'(W's) sisters' <i>hlixhgiik<sup>W</sup>s</i>

8.2.B.1.b.2. Stage 2.b.: stems including final augments or suffixes that speakers no longer identify as such: the last consonant of the stem (or what appears to be the stem as the meaning of former suffixes is forgotten) is taken as C<sub>2</sub> of the reduplicative syllable:

$$C_1əC_2) C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1əC_3) C_1VC_2C_3$$

ksə=ná:†q-[t]k<sup>W</sup> > ksə=ná:†xk<sup>W</sup> 'to breathe out'  
 [...-breath-...]remove *ksinaahlxkw*

ksə=nax)ná:†xk<sup>W</sup>  
 [...-PL)breath-...]remove  
 '(pl.) to breathe out'  
*ksinaxnaahlxkw*

†ú†ux<sup>W</sup> 'to value,  
 treasure s.t.;  
 to cherish s.o.'  
*hluut'uxw*

†ux<sup>W</sup>)†ú†ux<sup>W</sup> 'to value, treasure  
s.t.(pl.); to cherish  
s.o.(pl.)'  
*hluxwhluut'uxw*

\*qó:-?sT > qó:ʔosT 'to be cooled' qas)qó:ʔosT '(pl.) to be cooled'  
 ?-AP.D *goo'os(t)* *gasgoo'os(t)*

including reformations on older plurals, such as (archaic reduplication CV:CvK, 8.2.B.3.):

sí:saq '(blades, etc.)  
 to be sharp'  
*siisak*

sax)sí:saq '(blades, etc.)  
 to be all sharp'  
*saxsiisak*

(in this case, the two forms coexist).

8.2.b.1.b.3. Stage 2.c.: bisyllabic stems stressed on the second syllable:

$C_1\bar{e}C_2) C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1\bar{e}C_2) C_1VC_2VC_3$

wilá:x 'to know s.'  
*wilaax*

wil)wilá:x 'to know s.(pl.)'  
*wilwilaax*

piłísT	'star' <i>bilist</i>	pił)piłísT	'stars' <i>bilbilist</i>
		qal)qaléqs	'to be barefoot' <i>galgaleeks</i>
qáyán	'to harpoon s.t.' <i>k'ayaan</i>	qáy)qáyán > qax)qáyán	'to harpoon s.t.(pl.)' <i>k'axk'ayaan</i>

### §.2.B.2. Modern: (Type 3.):

§.2.B.2.a. General: This currently productive method prefixes CíX- to the word, C being the initial consonant, regardless of the rest of the word.

maqón-tT	'to explain s.t.' <i>magoon(t)-di</i>	miX)maqón-tT	'to explain s.t.(pl.)' <i>mixmagoon(t)-di</i>
haťálsT	'to work' <i>hahťáls(t)</i>	hiX)haťálsT	'(pl.) to work' <i>hixhahťáls(t)</i>

This method makes it possible to pluralize any type of stem, including borrowings:

swéta	'sweater' <i>sweta</i>	six)swéta	'sweaters' <i>sixsweta</i>
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As a result, many words have CíX- plurals concurrently with other types of plurals: many times a CíX- syllable is attached to an already plural form:

piłísT	'star' <i>bilist</i>	piX)piłísT	'stars (each and every PL)stars star)' <i>bixbilist</i>
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náx	'(pair of) snowshoes'	náx)naχ > ná:nax	'(pairs of) snowshoes'
	<i>naχ</i>		<i>naanaχ</i>
nóx	'mother'	nóx)noχ-[t]k <sup>W</sup> > nó:naxk <sup>W</sup>	'[one's] mothers (= mother & h. sisters)'
	<i>noχ</i>	...-MED	<i>noonaxk<sup>W</sup></i>
ćó?	'to separate, split off (e.g. skin from body, rock from cliff) <i>ts'ò'</i>	ćó?)ćo? > ćó:ća?	'(pl.) to separate, split off (...) <i>tsoc'ts'a'a</i>

Some vowel changes are associated with this type of reduplication, making it irregular on a synchronic basis. Further irregularities often result from the addition of extra plural morphemes, reduplicative or affixal.

8.2.B.3.b. Comments: That this is an archaic type is evidenced by a number of features:

8.2.B.3.b.1. Involvement of the CVC root only (not augments, let alone affixes, which remain outside the scope of this form of reduplication):

máqs	'(pair of) pants'	máq)máq.s > má máqs	'pairs of pants'
	<i>máqs</i>		<i>máamáqs</i>
ks-ťáq.s > ksláqs	'to kick s.'	ks-ťáq)ťaq.s > kslá:ťaq.s	'to kick s.(pl.)'
most-claws?	<i>ksłáqs</i>		<i>kslaahłáqs</i>

$k^W$ -s.táqs	'to leave,	$k^W$ -s.táq)taqs > $k^W$ stá:taqs	
?-aside?-MED	abandon <u>s</u> .'		'to leave, abandon
	<i>kwsda<sub>ks</sub></i>		<u>s</u> .(pl.)'
			<i>kwsdaada<sub>ks</sub></i>

8.2.B.3.b.2. Stress on the prefixed syllable (also found in other archaic formations, 10.3.B.), with consequent weakening of the following unstressed vowel (see 8.2.B.3.b.3.);

8.2.B.3.b.3. In the stressed vowel, pre-consonantal Velar weakening up to and including vocalization, a rule or series of rules which is archaizing with other forms (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.a.2.):

These two rules are exemplified in

nóx)nox > nóh)nox > nó:nəx > nó:nax-[t] $k^W$	'mothers'
...-MED	<i>noonag(kw)</i>

8.2.B.3.b.4. Numerous irregularities in comparison with other methods, especially:

8.2.B.3.b.4.a. Stressed vowel alternations not found with any other method:

náks	'spouse; to marry'	ní:niksk $^W$	'spouses; (animals) to mate'
	<i>naks</i>		<i>niinikskw</i>

p.táks-[t] $k^W$ >> pláksk $^W$	'to be tired'	p.tí:tiksk $^W$ > plí:tiksk $^W$	'(pl.) to be tired'
	<i>plakskw</i>		<i>plihlikskw</i>

qalksə= $k^W$ .táak	'to be inside out'	qalksə= $k^W$ .tí:tik	'(pl.) to be inside out'
through-?	<i>galksikwhlak</i>		<i>galksikwhliihlik</i>

sáq	'(cold, blade, etc.) to be sharp' <i>sáq</i>	sí:sáq	'(blades, arrows, etc.) to be sharp' <i>siisáq</i>
ńák <sup>Ws</sup>	'to reach, stretch out a hand' <i>ńákws</i>	ńí:ńuk <sup>Ws</sup>	'(pl.) to reach, stretch out a hand' <i>ńiińukws</i>

The vowel alternation /á/ in the singular, /í:/ in the plural, can be accounted for by postulating an earlier stage \*\*/é/ for present /á/ <sup>5</sup> and \*\*/é:/ for present /í:/ <sup>6</sup>

Hence for instance:

**ték > ták	'to be bent' <i>hłak</i>	**ték)tek > tétak > títik	'(pl.) to be bent' <i>hlihtik</i>
**séq > sáq	'to be sharp' <i>sáq</i>	**séq)seq > sé:sáq > sí:sáq	'(pl.) to be sharp' <i>siisáq</i>
**ńék <sup>Ws</sup> > ńák <sup>Ws</sup>	'to reach, stretch out a hand' <i>ńákws</i>	**ńé:k <sup>W</sup> )ńek <sup>Ws</sup> > ńé:ńak <sup>Ws</sup> > ńí:ńuk <sup>Ws</sup>	'(pl.) to reach, etc.' <i>ńiińukws</i>

#### 8.2.B.3.b.4.b. Other rules not found in other parts of the morphology:

(1) final fricativization after unstressed vowel:



ṭóq	'to claw at <u>s.</u> to scratch <u>s.</u> deeply (once) <i>t'ok</i>	ṭóq)ṭoq >> ṭó:ṭaq > ṭó:ṭax	'to claw at <u>s.(pl.)</u> to scratch <u>s.</u> deeply (more than once) <i>t'oot'ax</i>
xpóq	'crease, pleat' <i>xbok</i>	xpóq)poq >> xpó:paq > xpó:paX	'creases, pleats' <i>xboobaX</i>

(see other examples in (2) below)

(2) glottalized  $\bar{K}$  > /ʔ/ CV:\_vK

Because of /ʔ/ resulting from this rule, the unstressed vowel is a short copy of the stem vowel (2.1.B.3.b.3.b.).

ḡáq	'to be open' <i>k'ak</i>	ḡáq)ḡaq >> ḡá:ḡaq >> ḡá:ʔax	'(pl.) to be open' <i>k'aa'ax</i>
ḡóq	'to pull <u>s.t.</u> by the roots' <i>k'ok</i>	ḡóq)ḡoq >> ḡó:ḡaq >> ḡó:ʔox	'to pull <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> by the roots' <i>k'oo'ox</i>

(3) many other irregularities, e.g.<sup>7</sup>

yóʔoks	'to wash <u>s.t.</u> (by applying water to it) <i>yo'oks</i>	yó:ʔoks	'to wash <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> (by applying water to it) <i>yoo'oks</i>
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8.2.B.3.b.5. Many cases of other pluralization morphemes added to forms using this reduplicative type, which is itself never superimposed over another method:



reversal (from first to second syllable) that is the main difference between the two formulas is not detectable (except by inference) in syllables ending in non-Velars (since the present regular formations preserve the stressed root vowel in all cases), thus the difference between, for instance:

qáq)qáq > **qáq**)qáq > qáxqáq ( >> qá:qáq >> **qá:ʔax**)  
 '(pl.) to be open'  
*k'ax'ax*

nóx)nóx > **nóx**)nox ( >> **nó:nax**-[t]k<sup>W</sup>)  
 ...-MED  
 'mothers'  
*noonax(kw)*

which have lost the C<sub>2</sub> of the initial reduplicated syllable, and

qáp)qáp > **qáp**)qap > qap)**qáp**  
 'pieces'  
*k'ap k'ap*

cám)cám > **cám**)cam > cam)**cám** ( > cim)cám ) 'to boil, cook s.t.(pl.)'  
*jimjam*

It may be objected that regular full reduplication also affects some CVK roots, for instance:

cóq 'to camp, stay, live (s.w.)' **cax**)cócq '(pl.) to camp, stay, live (s.w.)'  
*jok jaxjok*

But numerous cases of reformation on the new pattern must have taken place, as in the modern case of new C<sub>1</sub>X- plurals concurrent with older ones, such as:

sú:qsk<sup>W</sup> 'to dive' **sax**)sú:qsk<sup>W</sup>, **six**)sú:qsk<sup>W</sup> '(pl.) to dive'  
*suuqskw saxsuuqskw/ sixsuuqskw*

There are a number of cases of the same root being affected by both types of fully reduplicating formula, depending on what other morphemes are used with this root as in the case of the root **páq** 'to feel s.t.':

- archaic (type 1): (root with augment or non-productive prefix):

s.páq	'to taste (the taste of) <u>s.t.</u> '	s.páq)paq >> spá:paq	'to taste (the taste of) <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> '
	<i>sbak</i>		<i>sbaabak</i>

*?a-páq		?a-páq)paq >> ?a-pá:paq	
spontaneous-feel.s.			'to be excited, upset at <u>s.t.</u> ' (Boas)
			<i>abaabak</i>

- regular (type 2): (reformation on plain root, and use of this plural stem with more recently productive suffix):

páq	'to feel <u>s.t.</u> '	paq)páq > paɣpáq	'to feel <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> ; to feel around for <u>s.t.</u> '
	<i>bak</i>		<i>baɣbak</i>

?a-páq-?sk <sup>W</sup>	?apáqask <sup>W</sup>	'to be excited, upset'
		<i>abak'askw</i>

?a-paq)páq-?sk <sup>W</sup>	>> ?apaɣpáqask <sup>W</sup>	'(pl.) to be excited, upset'
		<i>abaɣbak'askw</i>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

<sup>1</sup> a. In this word, the initial sequence /qa/ resulting from deglottalization could be confused with the DISTR plural prefix (qa-). That a number of words beginning with uvulars have in their plural form (by partial reduplication) the syllable /qa/ may have contributed to the spread of the prefix to the plural (3.2.C.2.a.1.c.(2)).

b. The modern word for 'feather' is **lax-a:+c̣u:č** *laya ts'uuts'*, lit. bird-fur.

<sup>2</sup> Some speakers interpret this word as **lə hinkit** 'the Tlingit' *hli hlingit*, equating the reduplicated syllable with the particle **lə** (6.1.B.2.) which can often be translated as *the*. However, the particle is never used in front of single nouns, but always in possessive noun-phrases.

<sup>3</sup> The symbol → as used in the formulas below indicates the evolution of the reduplicative formula, not the application of a morphophonemic rule.

<sup>4</sup> There is a tendency for the sequence *hi* to become *yi*, so that the reverse tendency which occurs before *x* is checked before *i*).

<sup>5</sup> cf. the alternation **kipá** 'to wait for s.' *giba* / **kipéʔesk** 'to wait' *gibe'eskw*. 10.2.B.1.b.1.c.2.(b)).

<sup>6</sup> For more discussion and examples of these alternations both within and without reduplication, see T 1983b.

<sup>7</sup> For an analysis of this and more irregular forms, see T 1983b.

<sup>8</sup> Note the irregularity of the post-stress /l/ in the plural form; compare with **ńák<sup>v</sup>s** / **ńi:ńuk<sup>v</sup>s** 'to reach, stretch one's hand' *ńakws/ńińukws* above; cf. T 1983b.

## CHAPTER 9: COMPOUNDS

Compounding is an extremely common and productive process in Nisgha (as in English). There are compound nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Compound nouns and verbs may be mediated or unmediated. In unmediated compounds the two components are next to each other, in mediated compounds, they are separated (or linked), by a mediating suffix (7.2.B.). The Attributive suffix -m̩ may be used for all three categories. The suffix -a: ...a is characteristic of nouns. All compounds bear primary stress on the second component and secondary stress on the first.

Compounds should not be confused with phrases, in spite of formal resemblances. In a compound, the head is first; in a phrase, the head is second (the head is defined as that element which can remain by itself in the clause without grammatical or (major) semantic change).

- Examples with nouns:

- compounds: the head is first:

HN-a: +N:	ʔanà:s-a:ʔúl	'bear skin'
	skin-SUFF+bear	<i>anaasa ul</i>
HN-m̩ +N	hò:pix-m+qán	'wooden spoon'
	spoon-ATTR+wood	<i>hoobixim gan</i>
HN+N/V	wìlp+kúk <sup>W</sup>	'kitchen'
	house/room+cook	<i>wilpkukw</i>

- noun-phrases: the head is second:

ADJ-m̩ +N	rùkax-m+kát	'the just man'
	just,correct-ATTR+man	<i>hugaxam gat</i>

INTR-M + N (the intransitive verb is used with adjectival meaning; this is not a verb compound, = 9.2.A.2.). As shown by the semantic content, this is a recent type, often a translation of an English phrase of the type *V-ing N* (where the suffixed verb is attributive), or an analogical formation:

V-M + N	k <sup>W</sup> àciksk <sup>W</sup> -m+hani: tá:	'rocking chair'
	rock, totter-ATTR+chair	<i>kw'ajiksgum hañit'aa</i>
	màta?ask <sup>W</sup> -m+sáwinsk	'newspaper'
	spread.news-ATTR+paper	<i>mahla'asgum sawinsk</i>

- Examples with verbs or adjectives:

- compounds:

V+N	xpè:qs+lák <sup>W</sup>	'to saw wood'
	saw.s.+wood	<i>xbeekslakw</i>
V-M + N	simiyè:ñisk <sup>W</sup> -m+hón	'to smoke fish'
	smoke.food=ATTR+fish	<i>simiyeeñisgum-hoon</i>
ADJ-M + V	?iýkit-m+?álkax	'to make mistakes in speaking'
	awkward, clumsy-ATTR+speak	<i>iýgidim-algax</i>
	?alàysT-m+náks	'to be reluctant to get married'
	reluctant-ATTR+married	<i>alaysim-naks</i>

9.1. NOUNS: In a compound noun, the head noun always comes first. The second component is usually a noun or an intransitive verb.

9.1.A. Unmediated nominal compounds: These are relatively few. It is likely that some of the noun-forming prefixes (7.1.B.2.b.), e.g. SĀAN- 'bush, support' *sĀ'an...* (7.1.B.2.b.3.h.), were originally independent nouns which are now used

exclusively in compounding. Probably the largest number of such compounds occur with the head **Wílþ** 'house' *wilþ*. As their meanings show, most of them are modern in origin. Because of their diversity they provide good examples of unmediated nominal compounding.

### 9.1.A.1. **Wílþ** + N<sub>2</sub> :

- a. 'building, room, or similar structure, used for N<sub>2</sub>'

wílþ+qalçáp	'community hall'
...+village	<i>wilþgults'ap</i>

- b. 'house, etc. made of N<sub>2</sub>'

wílþ+qán	'log cabin'
...+wood	<i>wilþgan</i>

- c. 'house, etc. having N<sub>2</sub>'

wílþ+táç	'terraced house, with inside
...+platform	platforms, formerly used for
	public ceremonies'
	<i>wilþdaak'</i>

### 9.1.A.2. **wílþ** + verb/adj: 'building, etc. used for V-ing'

The largest number of instances is in this group.

wílþ+sə-hón	'smokehouse'
...+prepare-fish	<i>wilþsihoon</i>

### 9.1.B. Mediated nominal compounds:



9.1.B.1. With mediating suffix (-a:) (7.2.B.1.): There is a large number of these compounds, especially with a noun as the second component. The suffix sometimes is reduced to *i* in a consonantal environment consisting of non-back consonants.

9.1.B.1.a. With noun:

(1)  $N_1$  is a part of, or comes from,  $N_2$ :

This category contains by far the greatest number of examples, only a few of which appear to be recent. Among the semantic subcategories represented are:

- part of an animal or plant:

wàq†-a:†çimílx	'beaver tail'
(beaver's) tail-SUFF+beaver	<i>wakhlá ts'imilx</i>

- substance or traces from, object made by, an animal or plant:

qè:qs-a:†kipú:	'wolf tracks'
tracks-SUFF+wolf	<i>geeksa gibuu</i>

- object or phenomenon belonging to or typical of  $N_2$ :

màqs-a:-cáyñ	'bluejeans'
pants-SUFF+Chinese	<i>maksijayñ</i>

- metaphorical extensions of these meanings to other phenomena:

qàyt-a:†çú:ç	'mushroom'
hat-SUFF+bird	<i>gayda ts'uuts'</i>

(2)  $N_1$  made of  $N_2$ :

čàw̃aq̃s-a:+txá	'moccasins'
shoes-SUFF+leather	<i>ts'awáksa txa</i>

(3) N<sub>1</sub> used for N<sub>2</sub>:

làk <sup>W</sup> -a:+wilpsihón	'firewood for the smokehouse'
firewood-SUFF+smokehouse	<i>lagwa wilpsihoon</i>

(4) N<sub>1</sub> resembling N<sub>2</sub>: only a few examples:

màqs-a:+qapóq	'corduroy pants' (ridged like
pants-SUFF+cockles	cockles) <i>máksa gabook</i>

9.1.B.1.b. With verb or adjective: there are only a few examples in this category:

(1) with verb:

màqs-a:+hátiks	'swimming trunks'
pants-SUFF+swim	<i>máksa hadiks</i>

(2) with adjective: in the lone example

w̃èn-a:+k <sup>W</sup> iné:ɣk <sup>W</sup>	'icicles'
teeth-SUFF+cold	<i>w̃eena gwineexkw</i>

the adjective **k<sup>W</sup>iné:ɣk<sup>W</sup>** 'cold' *gwineexkw* seems to be used as a noun (or ambient predicate). The compound may actually be a reformation since the stem \***k<sup>W</sup>iné:q** attested in this word and in **ɣsk<sup>W</sup>iné:qs** 'to feel cold' *ɣsgwineeqs* (both words consistent with formation from a noun) must have been formerly a noun, now no longer in use.

9.1.B.1.c. With complement:

(1) with ambient predicate: N<sub>1</sub> used when AMB:

çàwáqs-a:+sint	'sandals'	
shoes-SUFF+summer		<i>ts'awáksa sint</i>

b. with noun preceded by locational prefix: N<sub>1</sub> used at N<sub>2</sub>:

çáwáqs-a:+çim-wilp	slippers	
shoes-SUFF+in-house		<i>ts'awáksa ts'imwilp</i>

9.1.B.2. Nominal compounds mediated with Attributive suffix {-m} (7.2.B.1.)

This is the most productive compounding pattern, and there is a huge number of such compounds, especially designating modern objects and phenomena. By and large the semantic categories represented are the same as for compounds in {-a:}, but compounding with {-m} is currently productive.

9.1.B.2.a. With noun:

(1) N<sub>1</sub> belonging to, coming from, or typical of N<sub>2</sub>:

mòs-m+?asáy	'big toe'	
thumb-ATTR+foot		<i>moosim asáy</i>

(2) N<sub>1</sub> made or consisting of N<sub>2</sub>:

çàl-m+tk <sup>wá</sup>	'eyeglasses' (lit. eyes of glass)	
eyes-SUFF+glass		<i>ts'alim tgwa</i>

(3) N<sub>1</sub> used for or by N<sub>2</sub>:

?à:t-m+ská	'herring net'	
net-SUFF+herring		<i>aadim sga</i>

(4) N<sub>1</sub> resembling N<sub>2</sub>: many modern examples:

qàyt-m+çú.péq̇	'umbrella'
hat-SUFF+webbed.foot	<i>gaydim ts'uubeek̇</i>

(5) other: influenced by English compounds and noun phrases:

nòx-m+ʔayúq	'mother-in-law' <sup>1</sup>
mother-SUFF+law	<i>noom ayuuk̇</i>

9.1.B.2.b. With verb or adjective:

(1) N characterized by V-ing:

kútàç-m+sák̇	'cardigan, knitted jacket'
coat-SUFF+stretch	<i>k'udats'im sak̇</i>

(2) N used for V-ing:

nàq̇-m+náks	'wedding dress'
dress-SUFF+marry/spouse	<i>naq̇'am naks</i>

9.1.B.2.c. With circumstantial element:

9.1.B.2.c.1. With ambient predicate:

(a) N characteristic of when AMB

làlt-m+haywís	'earthworm'
worm+ATTR+rain	<i>laldim haywis</i>

(b) N used when AMB

kútàč-m+haywís 'raincoat'  
 coat-ATTR+rain *k'udats'im haywis*

9.1.B.2.c.2. with locational adverb or noun:

(a) N characteristic of LOC

kàt-m+qaltó:ʔ 'savage, uncouth person'  
 man-ATTR+in the wilderness *gadim galdoo'o*

(b) N used at LOC

là.k<sup>W</sup>s-m+kálq 'lantern'  
 torch-ATTR+outside *laakwsim galk*

9.1.B.2.c.3. With noun preceded by locational prefix:

(a) N characteristic of LOC

màtx-m+lax-sqańíst 'Dall sheep'  
 mountain.goat+on-mountain *matrim lax sqańíst*

(b) N used at LOC

là.k<sup>W</sup>s-m+čim-wilp 'kerosene lamp'  
 torch-ATTR+in-house *laakwsim ts'im wilp*

9.1.B.2.c.4. with clausal complement: (the verb of the clause is used as a P<sub>0</sub>)

lílkit-m+wil-náks 'wedding feast'  
 feast-ATTR+SUB-marry *liłgidim wil naks*

9.2. VERBAL COMPOUNDS: There are two basic kinds of noun-incorporating verbal compounds:

- the large majority incorporate a noun which is semantically the object of the action indicated by the verb, as in

yàc+lák <sup>W</sup>	'to chop wood'
to.chop.s.+firewood	<i>yatslakw</i>

simiyé:nisk <sup>W</sup> -m+hó:n	'to smoke fish'
[to.smoke-AP]-ATTR+fish	<i>simiyéeniskum-hoon</i>

- a few others have the meaning 'to V like a N', as in

hìtk <sup>W</sup> -m+s-kát-tk <sup>W</sup>	'to stand like a person'
stand-ATTR-AFFIX+man-MED	<i>hitgumgatkw</i>

in which the incorporated noun is the intransitive subject.

9.2.A. Object-incorporating compounds: There is a very large number of such compounds, and they can apparently be built quite freely.<sup>2</sup> They are all intransitive verbs and designate activities which are part of normal life, whether daily, seasonal or ceremonial, activities which apply to kinds of objects rather than to individual, specific objects. Compare with the analytical construction transitive verb + separate object noun:

ex. 1. a. Transitive + Object:

qút-ə-ỵ=t hó:n	I gutted a/the fish.
gut.s.-CTL-1S=NC fish	<i>K'ohliyh hoon.</i>

b. Unmediated Object-incorporation:

q̣ù†+hón ñìý  
gut.s.+fish me

I gutted fish.  
*K'ohlhoon ñiiý.*

ex. 2. a. Transitive + Object:

silák<sup>W</sup>-T-ə-ý=†qam?am?úkit-ý  
burn.s.-DEF-CTL-1S=NC old clothes-1S

I burned my old clothes.  
*Silakwdiýhl gam am'ugidiý.*

b. Object-incorporation mediated with {-M}:

silák<sup>W</sup>a?-m+?am?úkitì:ý  
burn-ATTR+clothes me

I burned some old clothes.  
*Silakw'a'am-am'ugit ñiiý.*

As with nouns, a formal difference exists between unmediated compounds and those mediated with {-M}, matched with a semantic difference in the verbs:

- unmediated compounds consist of a transitive verb followed by its object noun, as in:

yò?oks+nó?o†  
wash.s.+dishes

'to wash the dishes'  
*yo'oksno'ohl*

In general an unmediated compound indicates that the action is performed on a single occasion, and applies to all items available on that occasion: e.g. 'to wash the dishes' means washing all the dishes that need washing on the particular occasion, not a few plates only; it does not mean washing one or two objects at one time, then a few more ten minutes or a few hours later, and so on. The action then is circumscribed both in time and in the number of objects it applies to.

- mediated compounds consist of an intransitive verb (often a Detransitive or Antipassive derivative of a transitive verb), linked to the nominal element by the suffix {-M}, as in:





kàt-múx<sup>W</sup> 'to pierce s.o.'s ears'  
 pierce+ears *gahlmurw*  
 (cf. 'to pierce.s.' = kátk<sup>W</sup>)

(b) Normally, only the singular form of the verb is used in compounding, even if the noun is plural. Compare the use of the plural in the transitive sentence:

tim ki†)kátk<sup>W</sup>-ə-ý=†múx<sup>W</sup>-n I am going to pierce your ears.  
 FUT pierce.s.pl.-CTL-1S=NC ear-2S *Dim gihlgahlgwiýhl muwin.*

(c) This is the general rule, but there are a few cases where a suppletive plural stem is more common for the meaning of the verb, so plural noun and verb stems may be used in these cases:

lu:=lîtiks+k<sup>W</sup>ilá 'to wash (the) blankets'  
 in=wash.s.PL+blankets *luulidiksgwiila*

9.2.A.1.a.. Transitive verb + noun:

yò?oks+hón 'to wash fish (before preserving it)'  
 wash.s.+fish *yo'okshoon*

Many such verbs are used in nominal derivatives, as in:

qàltim-cam+hón 'canning-pot'  
 container-boil.s.+fish *galdimjamhoon*

REMARK 1: Words such as

tòq-a-qís 'to pull [s.o.'s] hair'  
 take.s.pl.-EP+hair *dogages*

lilk <sup>W</sup> s-i-winé:x	'to steal food'
steal.s.-EP+food	<i>lilkwsiwineex</i>

appear superficially to be mediated with {-a:} (like nouns, 9.1.B.1.). But the vowel is probably epenthetic, separating consonants of similar articulation (stops, fricatives) or breaking up a cluster.<sup>5</sup>

**REMARK 2:** Some recent compounds also use intransitive verbs for unmediated compounds. In the following example, the intransitive verb ?álqal *alk'al*, which translates English 'to watch', is used transitively in a calque of an English phrases:

?álqal+ćú:ć	'bird-watching, to watch birds'
watch+bird	<i>alk'alts'uuts'</i>

9.2.A.1.b. Transitive verb with noun and Indefinite Medial suffix -[t]k<sup>W</sup>:  
These designate personal care verbs: the Medial suffix here has Reflexive meaning (7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.2.):

[yò?oks+ǵé:n]-t <sup>W</sup>	'to brush one's teeth'
wash.s.+teeth-MED	<i>yo'oksǵéentkw</i>
[kìmk+ćá:]-t <sup>W</sup>	'to wipe one's face'
wipe.s.+face-MED	<i>gimkts'altkw</i>

Such compounds can also enter into nominal derivatives:

ha-[yò?oks+ǵé:n-t <sup>W</sup> ]	'toothbrush'
INSTR-...	<i>hayo'oksǵéentkw</i>

9.2.A.2. Mediated verbal compounds:

The {-m} mediated compounds do not normally differentiate between singular

and plural, but there are a few cases of differentiation, as will be noted. There are also a few cases of a modifying element used within the incorporated noun. The rules then are more flexible than those for unmediated verbal compounds.

9.2.A.2.a. With Antipassive suffixes: (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.)

(1) The Definite Antipassive suffix  $\{-?ST\}$  (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.) indicates that the action applies to one object (ex. hunting a large animal); the suffix is fairly rare, and there are only a few examples of its use in compounding:

kùw̄sT-m+mús	'to [shoot and] kill (a) moose'
shoot.AP.D-ATTR+moose	<i>guw̄sim-muus</i>

(2) The Indefinite Antipassive suffix  $\{-?Sk^W\}$  (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.) is very common and indicates an indefinite amount or number of objects:

simiyè:ńisk <sup>W</sup> -m+hón	'to smoke fish'
smoke.s.AP-ATTR+fish	<i>simiyéenĩsgum-hoon</i>

9.2.A.2.b. With Detransitive suffix:

(1) With suffix  $\{-a?\}$  (7.2.C.2.a.1.a.): this suffix is extremely common, and there is a very large number of compounds:

- singular verb stem:

ʔi:ča?-m+hón	'to fry fish'
fry.s.DETR-ATTR+fish	<i>iits'a'am-hoon</i>

- plural verb stem: when that stem is more often used for the particular activity (cf. above 9.2.A.1.(c)):

lu:=lìtik-s-a?-m+k<sup>W</sup>ilá 'to wash blankets'  
 in-wash.s.PL-DETR-ATTR+blankets *luulidiksa'am-gwiila*

There are many nominal derivatives of these verbs, e.g.:

?an-lu:=lisa?-m+?am?úkit 'clothes closet'  
 place-in=hang.s.DETR-ATTR+clothes *anluulisa'am-am'ugit*

(2) suffix {-é:?} (7.2.C.2.a.2.a.): as this suffix is fairly rare, there are only a few examples of compounds:

kitè?-m+qán 'to carve wood'  
 pierce.s.DETR-ATTR+wood *gihlee'em-gan*

9.2.A.2.c. Other intransitives: a variety of suffixed or unsuffixed intransitive verbs are also used in compounding:

lìcxk<sup>W</sup>-m+hón 'to count fish (a job in a cannery)'  
 count-ATTR+fish *litsxgum-hoon*

lu:=tax)tò:s-m+hón 'to fill cans with fish (a job in a  
 in-PL)put-ATTR+fish cannery) *luudaxdoosim-hoon*

lìkks-m+hañi:txó:xk<sup>W</sup> 'to be a waitress'  
 watch-ATTR+table *lihksim-hañiitxooxkw*

They can also have nominal derivatives:

?an-[lu:=lò:-m+pi)pót] 'harbour'  
 place-in=moored.PL-ATTR+PL)boat *anluuloom-hiboot*

(the compound verb component of this word is not used by itself).



nñi:luk<sup>W</sup>-a:qís  
long-SUFF+hair

'to have long hair, to be  
long-haired'

*nñiilugwa-ges*

**9.3.B. Complement-incorporation:** in the following example, a noun-phrase with locational meaning is the nominal component:

ʔàlaq-m+[laxçè:-[t]=#ák<sup>W</sup>] 'to be "brave by the fireside"  
determined-ATTR+edge-{3}=NC fire<sup>6</sup> [but afraid to actually face danger]  
*alagam-laxts'eehl lakw*

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

- <sup>1</sup> The older Nisg̃ha equivalent is **fams-m hanáq̃** 'mother-in-law' *hlamsim hanak̃*, which can also mean 'daughter-in-law'. The potential ambiguity probably contributed to the adoption of similar loan-translations from English.
- <sup>2</sup> Although it is very easy to make up such compounds, competent speakers know what compounds already exist and which ones are being made up, cf. Mithun's observations of Mohawk speakers, Mithun 1984: 889.
- <sup>3</sup> cf. Tarpent 1982, quoted in Mithun 1984.
- <sup>4</sup> These details are similar to those of English compounding, as in *dishwasher* (not \**disheswasher*).
- <sup>5</sup> cf. also **hafikó:tk̃** 'axe' *habligyootkw* (carpenter's axe, for squaring timber), probably from **haf-kó:tk̃** 'to be held parallel'--originally applied to paddles, here refers to holding the axe almost parallel to the piece of wood.
- <sup>6</sup> The word **lak̃** *lakw* which usually means 'firewood' often refers to wood that is actually burning, as is the case here.

## CHAPTER 10: MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

Morphophonemic rules add and delete individual phonological segments and merge others together under definite conditions. Concurrently with these rules, certain segments acquire or lose specific features depending on their environment. In this section, rules specifying or despecifying features are presented first, rules adding, deleting and merging segments are presented second.

The morphophonemic rules described here also include *morphophonosyntactic* rules occurring in sandhi or in specific syntactic contexts.

### 10.1. Rules affecting features of phonological segments:

10.1.A. Rules specifying/adding features: (strengthening segments): It seems that the feature 'anterior' is a default feature for both V's and C's, hence /i/, /t/ are the default values for V and C unless the context imposes another specification.

#### 10.1.A.1. Rules affecting one segment:

10.1.A.1.a. Vowels: An epenthetic vowel, an unspecified vowel inherent in a prefix or suffix, or a vowel in a position where it has lost its distinctive quality, adjust to the consonantal environment. Post-consonantal rules take precedence over pre-consonantal rules.

##### 10.1.A.1.a.1. Post-consonantal:

##### 10.1.A.1.a.1.a. After glottal consonant:

10.1.A.1.a.1.a.1. Pre-stress: the vowel is /a/ [A] with prefixes and in full (type 2) reduplication (see below 10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.a. for partial reduplication after /h/). With Cə- prefixes starting with glottals, there is no vowel-alternation as



there is with non-back consonants; the vowel is always /a/ as in the prefixes (ʔa-) 'early, spontaneously' (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.) and (ha-) 'used for ...' (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.2.).

Reduplicative examples (type 2 full reduplication): (in this type of reduplication, only the two consonants need to be replicated, and the vowel is inserted by rule)(8.2.B.1.):

After /ʔ/:

ʔús	'dog'	ʔ s)ʔús > ʔas)ús	'dogs'
	<i>us</i>	PL)...	<i>as'us</i>

After /h/:

húk <sup>W</sup> il	'to roll <u>s.t.</u> up'	h k <sup>W</sup> )húk <sup>W</sup> il >> ha <sup>W</sup> )húk <sup>W</sup> il	'to roll up <u>s.t. (pl.)'</u>
	<i>hukw'il</i>		<i>haxwhukw'il</i>

(This rule does not apply in partial reduplication, see 10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.a).

10.1.A.1.a.1.a.2. post-stress after /ʔ/: the vowel is a (short) copy of that preceding the glottal stop:

(a) before suffix:

tóʔ	'cheek'	tóʔ-ý	>	tóʔoý	'my cheek'
	<i>do'o</i>	...-1S		<i>do'oý</i>	
		tóʔ-n	>	tóʔon	'your cheek'
		...-2S		<i>do'on</i>	

		tóʔ-t > ...-3	tóʔot	'h. cheek' <i>do'ot</i>
kwéʔ	'to be poor, pitiful, wretched' <i>gwe'e</i>	kwé:ʔ-t >	kwéʔet	'...s/he is poor, pitiful, wretched' <i>gwe'e</i>

(b) in type 1 (archaic) full reduplication (8.2.B.3.):

qóq	'to pull s.t.' (e.g. by the roots) <i>ʔ'oʔ</i>	qó:q)qoq >> qó:ʔx > qó:ʔox	'to pull <u>s.t. (pl.)</u> (e.g. by the roots) <i>ʔ'oo'ox</i>
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(c) if the unspecified vowel is part of a suffix:

káʔ	'to see s.' <i>ga'a</i>	káʔ-ə-n > ...-CTL-2S	káʔan	'you see/saw <u>s.</u> <i>ga'an</i>
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(d) This rule also applies in cases where the glottal stop results from the replacement of a /y/ (1.B.1.b.5.a.2.), as in

ʔasáy	'foot, leg' <i>asay</i>	ʔasáy-y > ʔasáyʔ > ʔasáyʔay	'my foot' <i>asa'ay</i>
titíy	'to look after <u>s.</u> <i>didiy</i>	titíy-ə-y > titíyʔ > titíʔy > titíʔiy	'I looked after him/her/it' <i>didiy</i>

(for loss of {-ə-} after post-stress resonant, see 10.2.A.2.a').

(e) Also included here are cases where the vowel to be copied has been added by rule before a suffix beginning with a glottal stop (10.1.A.1.a.2.a.2.), as in:

$\acute{y}\acute{a}ns$	'leaf'	$\acute{y}\acute{a}ns-ʔl-T$	>	$\acute{y}\acute{a}nsaʔt$	>	$\acute{y}\acute{a}nsaʔat$	'May' (lit. fully- leafed)
<i>yans</i>		...-COMPL-DEF					<i>Yansa'alt</i>
$m\acute{a}tT$	'to tell <u>s.t.</u> '	$m\acute{a}t-ʔsk^W$	>	$m\acute{a}taʔsk^W$	>	$m\acute{a}taʔæk^W$	'to announce, preach'
<i>mahl-di</i>		...-AP.I					<i>mahlæ'skw</i>

10.1.A.1.a.1.b. After uvular: /a/ [A]

10.1.A.1.a.1.b.1. pre-stress: this occurs mostly in reduplication, both partial (C-)(8.1.) and full (Type 2, Cvc-)(8.2.B.1.):

$q\acute{o}ʔ$	'to go <u>s.w.</u> to go get <u>s.</u> '	$q)q\acute{o}ʔ$	>	$qaq\acute{o}ʔ$	'to usually go <u>s.w.</u> etc.'
<i>go'o</i>		ASP)...			<i>gago'o</i>
$q\acute{e}:ksk^W$	'to slide on one's rear'	$q)q\acute{e}:ksk^W$	>	$qaq\acute{e}:ksk^W$	'to be sliding on one's rear'
	<i>geekskw</i>	ASP)...			<i>gageekskw</i>
		$q x)q\acute{e}:ksk^W$	>	$qaxq\acute{e}:ksk^W$	'(pl.) to slide on one's rear'
		PL)...			<i>gaxgeekskw</i>
$q\acute{a}:k^W$	'large vein, sinew'	$q x^Wq\acute{a}:k^W$	>	$qax^Wq\acute{a}:k^W$	'large veins, sinews'
	<i>gaakw</i>	PL)...			<i>garwgaakw</i>

With  $\text{C}\text{æ}$ - prefixes starting with uvulars, there is no vowel-alternation as there is with non-back consonants; the vowel is always /a/, as in the Distributive prefix (qa-) (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.)

10.1.A.1.a.1.b.2. Post-stress: this occurs with a variety of suffixes:

$\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{áq}$	'nose, beak'	$\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{áq-}\acute{\text{y}}$	>	$\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{áq}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{y}}$	'my nose'
	<i>ts'ak</i>			...-1S	<i>ts'agaý</i>
		$\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{áq-}\acute{\text{y}}$	>	$\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{áq}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{y}}$	'your nose'
				...-2S	<i>ts'agan</i>

$\text{?uk}^{\text{W}}\text{s}=\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{áq-}\text{?sT}$  >  $\text{?uk}^{\text{W}}\text{s}=\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{áq}\text{s}$  >  $\text{?uk}^{\text{W}}\text{s}=\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{áq}\text{as}$  'outward  
outward=protrusion-AP.D protrusion:  
porch, visor'  
*ukwts'ak'as*

10.1.A.1.a.1.c. After consonants other than uvular and glottal, vowel quality depends on the consonant following, as described in 10.1.A.1.a.2.

10.1.A.1.a.2. Pre-consonantal:

10.1.A.1.a.2.a. Before glottals:

10.1.A.1.a.2.a.1. Pre-stress: with  $\text{C}\text{æ}$ - prefixes, or in partial reduplication (C-): the vowel is more variable than with most other C's as it depends on the quality of the stressed vowel in the following syllable, without being a copy of it. It tends to be /a/ [A] before lower, more back vowels, especially long or short /a/, and /i/ [I] before higher, more fronted vowels, but there is much individual variation.

10.1.A.1.a.2.a.1.a. Before /ʔ/:

## (1) with prefixes:

ʔáks	'to drink' <i>aks</i>	lə-ʔáks > liʔáks / laʔáks PL-...	'to drink (pl.)' <i>li'aks/la'aks</i>
ʔó:misT	'pillowcase' <i>oomis</i>	sə-ʔó:mis > siʔó:mis / saʔó:mis make-...	'to make pillowcases' <i>si'oomis / sa'oomis</i>
ʔis	'soapberries' <i>is</i>	sə-ʔis > siʔis pick-...	'to pick soapberries' <i>si'is</i>

## (2) in partial reduplication:

ʔi:cT	'to fry, iron <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>iits-di</i>	ʔi:cT > h)ʔi:cT > hiʔi:cT ASP)...	'to be frying, ironing <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>hi'iits-di</i>
qal-ʔínq	'traditional storage box' <i>gal'inq</i>	qal-ʔ)ʔínq > qal-h)ʔínq > qal-haʔínq empty-PL)...	'traditional storage boxes' <i>galha'inq</i>

## 10.1.A.1.a.2.a.1.b. Before /h/:

## (a) with prefixes:

hón	'fish' <i>hoon</i>	sə-hón > sihón / sahón get/process-...	'to catch and process fish' <i>sihoon / sahoon</i>
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	*sáks-ʔn > sáksaʔn	>	sáksaʔan	'to clean <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>sáksaʔan</i>
	clean-CAUS			
	*ʔís-ʔn > ʔisaʔn	>	ʔisaʔan	'to hate the smell of <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>isaʔan</i>
	smell.of-CAUS			
ýáns	'leaf' <i>ýans</i>	ýáns-ʔl-T > ýánsaʔt	> ýánsaʔalt	'May' (lit. fully-leafed) <i>ýansaʔalt</i>
		...-CPL-DEF		
mát T	'to tell <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>mahl-di</i>	mát-ʔsk <sup>W</sup> > mátaʔsk <sup>W</sup>	> mátaʔask <sup>W</sup>	'to announce, preach' <i>mahlaʔaskw</i>
		...-AP.I		
(with /ɬ/, glottalization may occur, 10.2.B.1.a.2.a.)				
10.1.A.1.a.2.b. <u>Before uvulars:</u>				
10.1.A.1.a.2.b.1. <u>Pre-stress:</u> with prefixes or partial reduplication::				
qálmós	'crab' <i>k'almoos</i>	sə-qálmós > saqálmós		'to harvest crab' <i>sak'almoos</i>
		pick-...		
xsk <sup>W</sup> inéq-s	'to feel cold' <i>xsgwineeks</i>	lə-xsk <sup>W</sup> inéq-s > laxsk <sup>W</sup> inéqs		'to feel cold (pl.)' <i>laxsgwiineeks</i>
		PL-[...-*cold.PL-...]		
xsíng	'not to believe <u>s.o.</u> ' <i>xsing</i>	nə-xsíng-T > naxsíngt		'not to believe each other' <i>naxsingt</i>
		... [...-...-...]-RECIP		

q́áq	'to open' <i>k'ak</i>	q)q́áq	> qaq́áq	'to be/keep opening' <i>gak'ak</i>
		ASP)...		

**10.1.A.1.a.2.b.2. Post-stress:**

(a) with suffixes: this rule is responsible for the quality of the vowel in the Detransitive suffix {-aX} (7.2.C.2.a.1.b.) .

(b) in type 1 (archaic) reduplication (CV́:Cvk from root CVK, 8.2.B.3.), when the K is a Uvular:

sáq̣	'to crack' <i>sak'</i>	sáq̣)saq̣	>> sá:sq̣	> sá:saq̣	'to crack (pl.)' <i>saasak'</i>
		PL)...			
nóX	'mother' <i>nox</i>	nóX)noX	>> nó:nX	> nó:naX	'mothers' <i>noonax</i>
		PL)...			

**10.1.A.1.a.2.c. Before labio-velar:**

The vowel is /u/ under certain conditions; otherwise the rule is the same as for other consonants (10.1.A.1.a.2.d.).

**10.1.A.1.a.2.c.1. Pre-stress:**

(a) In partial reduplication before the labio-velar resonant /w/:

wíl̥p	'house' <i>wilp</i>	w)wíl̥p	> h)wíl̥p	> huwíl̥p	'houses' <i>huwilp</i>
		PL)...			
wá:x	'paddle, to paddle' <i>waxx</i>	w)wá:x	> h)wá:x	> huwá:x	'paddles; to be paddling' <i>huwaxx</i>
		PL/ASP)...			



**Remark:** some speakers, especially older men, have this rule in prefixes too, e.g.

sə-wilá:x-s >> suwilá:ks > suwlá:ks / su.lá:ks      'to learn s.t.'  
make-know.s.-MED.I

(see (b) below);

(b) With a Cə- prefix, the vowel is /u/ only if the labio-velar is extrasyllabic in the unprefixed word (but see (a) above):

x<sup>W</sup>ták<sup>W</sup> 'to shoot'      lə-x<sup>W</sup>ták<sup>W</sup> > lux<sup>W</sup>ták<sup>W</sup>      'to shoot (pl.)'  
*xwdakw*      PL-...      *luxwdakw*

x<sup>W</sup>táx 'to be hungry'      lə-x<sup>W</sup>títix > lux<sup>W</sup>títix      'to be hungry  
*xwdax*      PL-PL.hungry      (pl.)'  
*luxwdiidix*

(c) In type 2 full reduplication, the vowel is /u/ unless the initial C is a glottal or uvular:

lúx<sup>WT</sup> 'not to let s.o. have s.t.'      l x<sup>W</sup>)lúx<sup>WT</sup> > lux<sup>W</sup>lúx<sup>WT</sup>      'not to let s.o.  
*luxw-di*      PL)...      have s.t. (pl.)'  
*luxwluxw-di*

?ayá:wilt 'to be capable'      ?a-y x<sup>W</sup>)\*yá:x<sup>W</sup>-?l-T >> ?ayux<sup>W</sup>yá:wilt  
*ayawíilt*      spont.-PL)??-CPL-DEF      '(pl.) to be  
capable'  
*ayurwyawíilt*

but the vowel is /a/ after glottal (10.1.A.1.a.1.b.1.):

húk<sup>W</sup>il-T 'to roll s.t. up'      h x<sup>W</sup>)húk<sup>W</sup>il-T >> hax<sup>W</sup>húk<sup>W</sup>il(t) 'to roll up  
*hukw'il(t)-di*      PL)...-DEF      s.t.pl.'      *haxwhukw'il(t)-di*



tə-tá: > titá: 'to sit with s.t.  
DOMIN-... while doing s.t.'  
*dit'aa*

ʷa:-kát-[t]k<sup>W</sup> 'to be lonesome reach.s.?-person-MED for s.o.' *ʷaagatkw*  
 ʷa:-k(t)kát-[t]k<sup>W</sup> > ʷa:-kitkát<sup>W</sup> '...-PL)... (pl.) to be lonesome for s.o.'  
*ʷaagitgatkw*

/c/:

číp 'bone' *ts'ip* č)číp > c)číp > cičíp 'PL)... [all the] bones (of a person or animal)' *jits'ip*

čé:x 'to be satiated' *ts'eex* lə-čé:x-T > ličé:x(t) 'to be satiated (pl.)' *lits'eex(t)*  
 [...[satiated]-...]pL

( /c/ does not occur in the preconsonantal position in full reduplication, because of the rule of Deaffrication, 10.1.B.1.b.1.)

/k/ (and /k̥/)

kíp 'to eat s.t.' *gip* k)kíp > kikíp 'to be eating s.t.' *gigip*  
 ASP)...

ká? 'to see s.' *ga'a* lu.k)ká? > lukiká? 'to stare at s.' *luugiga'a*  
 in-ASP)...

(in full reduplication, /x/ occurs instead of preconsonantal /k/, see Velar fricativization, 10.1.B.1.b.3.a.).

/kʷ/

**kʷ**ó.tkʷ 'to be lost'      **kʷ**)**kʷ**ó.tkʷ >> **kʷ**í**kʷ**ó.tkʷ 'to keep getting lost'  
*kw'ootkw*      ASP)...      *gwíkw'ootkw/ gukw'ootkw*

tə-**kʷ**ó.tkʷ >> t**kʷ**ó.tkʷ 'to get lost/go  
 DOMIN--...      missing with s.t. to take s.t.  
 and get lost' *díkw'ootkw*

(in full reduplication, /X<sup>W</sup>/ occurs instead of preconsontantal /k<sup>W</sup>/, see Velar fricativization, 10.1.B.1.b.3.a.).

/s/

?a-**sá**ỵ 'foot, leg, paw'      ?a-**s**)sáỵ > ?**s**isáỵ 'feet, legs, paws'  
*asáỵ*      ...-PL)...      *(a)sisáỵ*

spíks 'high-bush cranberries'      sə-spíks > sispíks 'to pick high bush-  
*sbíks*      pick-...      *sisbíks* cranberries'

tás 'to touch s.t.'      t s)tás > tístás 'to touch s.t.(pl.)'  
*das*      *disdas*

/t/:

t́ínkit 'Tlingit'      t́)t́ínkit > t́íí nkit 'slaves'  
*Hlíngit*      PL)...      *hlihlingit*

t́ó? '(pl.) to walk'      tə-t́ó? > tít́ó? 'to take s.o.(pl.)  
*hlo'o*      DOMIN--...      along while  
 walking' *díhlo'o*

káɬk <sup>W</sup>	'to pierce, stab, gaff s.'	k ɬ)káɬk <sup>W</sup> > kiɬkáɬk <sup>W</sup>	'to pierce, stab, gaff s.t. (pl.)'
	PL)...		
	<i>gahlkw</i>		<i>gihlgahlkw</i>

(b) with syllabic resonants, there is no vowel in partial reduplication; examples are of prefixation and full reduplication:

/m/:

mótk <sup>W</sup>	'to be saved, rescued, cured'	lə-mótk <sup>W</sup> > limótk <sup>W</sup>	'to be saved, rescued, cured (pl.)'
		PL-...	
	<i>mootkw</i>		<i>limootkw</i>

cám	'to boil, cook <i>jam</i>	c m)cám > cimcám	'to boil, cook <u>s.t. (pl.)</u> <i>jimjam</i>
		PL)...	

tám̃	'to press s.t.'	t m̃)tám̃ > t )tám̃ > timtám̃	'to press <u>s.t. (pl.)</u> '
	<i>dam̃</i>	PL)...	<i>dimdam̃</i>

/n/:

ɬántk <sup>W</sup>	'to sway'	ɬ n)ɬántk <sup>W</sup> > ɬ inɬántk <sup>W</sup>	'(pl.) to sway'
	<i>hlantkw</i>	PL)...	<i>hlinhlantkw</i>

ńáx	'bait'	sə-ńáx > sińáx	'to bait <u>s.t.</u> '
	<i>naɣ</i>	make-...	<i>sińaɣ</i>

/l/:

láy̆	'to be large <i>lay̆</i>	sə-láy̆ > siláy̆(t)	'to enlarge <u>s.t.</u> <i>silay̆-di</i>
		make-...	

tál	'to split <u>s.t.</u> (a tree)' <i>t'al</i>	ṭ ḷtál > PL)...	ṭiltál	'to split <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> (trees)' <i>t'ilt'al</i>
ćál	'face, eyes' <i>ts'al'</i>	ć ḷćál > ć ḷćál > ćilćál PL)...		'faces, [pairs of] eyes' <i>ts'ilt'al'</i>

(c) non-syllabics: for partial reduplication, only /y/ fits into this category.

/y/:

yé:	'to walk' <i>yee</i>	y)yé: > h)yé: > hiyé:	'to be walking' <i>hiyee</i>
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yóxk <sup>W</sup>	'to follow <u>s.</u> (s.o., or a route)	ḷə-yóxk <sup>W</sup> > liyóxk <sup>W</sup> PL)...	'to follow <u>s.</u> (pl.)'
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/w/:

wáx	'paddle, to paddle' <i>wax</i>	tə-wáx > tiwáx DOMIN--...	'to do <u>s.t.</u> while paddling' <i>diwaax</i>
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#### 10.1.A.1.a.2.d.2. Post-stress:

(a) General:

/p/:

wíḷp	'house' <i>wilp</i>	wíḷp-ŷ > wíḷpiŷ ...-IS	'my house' <i>wilbiŷ</i>
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		wíl <b>p</b> -n > wíl <b>pin</b>	'your house' <i>wilbia</i>
		...-2S	
		wíl <b>p</b> -æ(t) > wíl <b>pi</b> æ(t)	'[it's] a house! [of course!]
		...-AFF	
laxlíp	'to roll' <i>laxlíp</i>	laxlíp-ʔæ > laxlíp <b>pn</b> > laxlíp <b>pin</b>	'to make <u>s.t.</u> roll' <i>laxlíp'in</i>
		...-CAUS	
*líp	'*to roll'	ʔan-tǵu=*líp- <b>x</b> -s-k <sup>W</sup> >> ʔantǵulípiksk <sup>W</sup>	'whirlpool' <i>antǵ'ulílbikskw</i>
		place-around-roll-???	
/t/:			
sqát	'side (of s.t.)' <i>sk'aat</i>	sqát- <b>y</b> > sqát <b>iy</b>	'my side (body part)' <i>sk'aadiy</i>
		...-1S	
qát	'cane' <i>k'aat</i>	qát- <b>y</b> > qát <b>iy</b>	'my cane' <i>k'aat'iy</i>
		...-1S	
/c/:			
púc	' <u>boots</u> ' <i>buts</i>	púc-n > púc <b>in</b>	'your boots' <i>bujin</i>
		...-2S	
ǵutác	'coat' <i>k'udats'</i>	ǵutác-n > ǵutác <b>in</b>	'your coat' <i>k'udats'in</i>
		...-2S	

/ʁ/:

<b>čáʁ</b>	'(music) record'	<b>čáʁ-n</b>	>	<b>čáʁin</b>	'your record(s)'
	<i>ts'atl'</i>	...-2S			<i>ts'atl'in</i>

/k/:

<b>ta:ʃisk</b>	'socks'	<b>ta:ʃisk-n</b>	>	<b>ta:ʃiskin</b>	'your socks'
	<i>daahliisk</i>	...-2S			<i>daahliisgin</i>

<b>čák</b>	'dish, plate'	<b>čák-n</b>	>	<b>čákin</b>	'your plate'
	<i>ts'ak'</i>	...-2S			<i>ts'ak'in</i>

/kʷ/:

<b>lúkʷ</b>	'luggage'	<b>lúkʷ-n</b>	>	<b>lúkʷin</b>	'your luggage'
	<i>lukw</i>	...-2S			<i>lugwin</i>

<b>ʔúkʷ</b>	'navel'	<b>ʔúkʷ-n</b>	>	<b>ʔúkʷin</b>	'your navel'
	<i>t'ukw'</i>	...-2S			<i>t'ukw'in</i>

/s/:

<b>qís</b>	'hair'	<b>qís-n</b>	>	<b>qísin</b>	'your hair'
	<i>ges</i>	...-2S			<i>gesin</i>

/ʧ/:

<b>čáʧ</b>	'to lose, fail'	<b>čáʧ-n</b>	>	<b>čáʧin</b>	'... you lost, failed'
	<i>jahl</i>	...-2S			<i>... jahl'in</i>



/x/:

wá:x	'paddle'	wá x-n	>>	wá yin	'your paddle'
	<i>waax</i>	...-2S			<i>waayin</i>

/x<sup>w</sup>/:

múx <sup>w</sup>	'ear(s)'	múx <sup>w</sup> -n	>>	múwin	'your ear(s)'
	<i>murw</i>	...-2S			<i>muwin</i>

/m/:

?an-cám	'cooking-pot'	?an-cám-y <sup>?</sup>	>	?ancámiy <sup>?</sup>	'my cooking-pot'
	<i>anjam</i>	for-cook.s.-1S			<i>anjamiy<sup>?</sup></i>

tím <sup>?</sup> á:m̄	'shin(s)'	tím <sup>?</sup> á:m̄-y <sup>?</sup>	>	tím <sup>?</sup> á:m̄iy <sup>?</sup>	'my shin(s)'
	<i>t'imhlaam̄</i>	place-?-1S			<i>t'imhlaamiy<sup>?</sup></i>

/n/:

?an)?ún	'hand(s), arm(s)'	?an)?ún-y <sup>?</sup>	>	?an?úniy <sup>?</sup>	'my hand(s), arm(s)'
	<i>an'un</i>	* (PL))hand-1S			<i>an'uniy<sup>?</sup></i>

qín̄	'to chew (s.t.)'	qín̄-ə-y <sup>?</sup>	>	qín̄iy <sup>?</sup>	'I chewed it'
	<i>geñ</i>	...-CTL-1S			<i>geñiy<sup>?</sup></i>

q n̄)qín̄-ks	>>	qanqín̄ks	'to chew on s.t.'
PL)chew.s.-SUFF			<i>gangeñks</i>

/ɲ/:

/l/:

tál	'to fight' <i>dal</i>	tál-ŷ ...-1S	>	táliŷ <sup>?</sup>	'... I fought' ... <i>daliŷ</i>
čál	'eyes, face' <i>ts'al</i>	čál-ŷ ...-1S	>	čáliŷ <sup>?</sup>	'my eyes, my face' <i>ts'aliŷ</i>

/y/:( see also /X/)

?asáŷ	'foot, leg' <i>asay</i>	?asáŷ-n <i>asay</i>	>	?asáŷin ...-2S	'your foot, your leg' <i>asayin</i>
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/w/:( see also /X<sup>w</sup>/)

tá:w	'ice, to be frozen' <i>daaw</i>	sə-tá:w-ə-ŷ make-...-CTL-1S	>	sitá:wíŷ	'I froze it' <i>sidaawíŷ</i>
čé:w	'insides, guts' <i>ts'eew</i>	čé:w-ŷ ...-1S	>	čé:wíŷ	'my insides, my guts' <i>(hli) ts'eewíŷ</i>

This rule is also responsible for the quality of the vowel in the Detransitive suffix {-iX} (7.2.C.2.A.1.c).

Remarks on stem-final /y/ and /ŷ/:

- /y/ does not occur stem-finally;

- see 10.1.B.1.b.5.b.2./10.2.B.2.a. about adding the 1S suffix {-ŷ} to a word ending in /ŷ/.



10.1.A.1.b. Consonants: An epenthetic consonant is inserted between two segments in certain cases.

10.1.A.1.b.1. Specification of inserted C: stop or glide.

10.1.A.1.b.1.a. Stop inserted before C:

The consonant /t/ is inserted between a stem-final vowel or resonant and certain suffixes (the Definite Medial {-T}, 7.2.C.1.a., suffixes starting with /ʔ/ 7.2.C.2.b.1.).

(1) after V:

kó·	'to be moored, parked' <i>gyoo</i>	kó·-ʔn > kó·tʔn > kó·ʔin ...-CAUS	'to moor, park <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>gyoot'in</i>
ʔá·	'to sit' <i>t'aa</i>	ʔá·-ʔI > ʔá·tʔI > ʔá·ʔil ...-COMPL	'to place <u>s.t.</u> ' (in Boas; seems obsolete now) <i>t'aa't'i'</i>
		ʔá·-T > ʔá·-tI > ʔá·tt... ...-DEF-...	'to place <u>s.t.</u> ' (modern form) <i>t'aa(t)-di</i>

(2) after resonant:

ʔám	'to write' ((root)) <i>t'am</i>	ʔám-T > ʔám-tI > ʔámtt... ...-DEF-...	'to write <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>t'am(t)-di</i>
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čín	'to go/come in' <i>ts'in</i>	čín-ʔn > číntʔn > čínčín ...-CAUS	'to let <u>s.o.</u> in' <i>ts'inč'in</i>
tál	'to fight' <i>dal</i>	tál-ʔn > táltʔn > táltín ...-CAUS	'to make <u>s.</u> fight' <i>dalt'in</i>
háwʔ	'to stop [doing s.t.]' <i>haw</i>	háwʔ-ʔn > háwʔtʔn > háwʔtín ...-CAUS	'to put a stop to <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>hawt'in</i>

**10.1.A.1.b.1.b. Glide /y/ inserted:**

The glide /y/ is usually inserted between two vowels, especially a stem-final vowel and a suffix-initial vowel:

kʷilá	'blanket' <i>gwila</i>	kʷilá-a: > ...-Q	kʷiláya: ' (is it) a blanket?' <i>Gwilaya?</i>
		kʷilá-əs(t) >> kʷiláyis(t) ...-AFF	'(it's) a blanket (of course)!' <i>Gwilayis!</i>
kipú-	'wolf' <i>gibuu</i>	kipú--a: > ...-Q	kipú-ya: ' (is it) a wolf?' <i>Gibuuya?</i>
kʷińá	'to ask for <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>gwińa</i>	kʷińá-ə-ý >> kʷińáyíý ...-CTL-1S	'I asked for it' <i>gwińayíý</i>

**10.1.A.1.b.1.c. Remark:** if 'anterior' is a default value of C's in general, including glides, then /y/ is the default value of glides; on the other hand, (10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.) shows that /h/ is the default value of glides in other contexts; Bruce Rigsby has suggested (p.c.) that the inserted /y/ might come from

earlier /h/; this suggestion would make sense from this point of view, and also because it seems that all vowel-final stems originally ended in /h/; it might also explain some strange forms found in Boas (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.). The change /h/ > /y/ intervocalically is also found initially, e.g. hiʔó:s > yiʔó:s 'to wash/scrub'; this change could be explained by adaptation to the following /i/.

#### 10.1.A.1.b.2. Velar strengthening:

##### 10.1.A.1.b.2.a. Stop formation from fricative:

A Velar fricative is replaced by the corresponding stop before certain suffixes.

10.1.A.1.b.2.a.1. Before /s/: in suffix {-S} or beginning with /s/ (does not occur in word-initial presyllabic position):

(Remark: this may be a modern rule, counteracting the weakening tendency as in tóx-s >> tó-s 'to put (things)' *doos*, cf. 10.1.B.1.b.3.a.).

x + s > ks

hó:x-s	>	hó:ks	'to be used/worn'
use/wear.s.-MED/PASS			( <i>hoox</i> ) <i>hookks</i>
sə-wilá:x-s	>	siwilá:ks	'to learn s.t.'
make-know-MED			( <i>wilaax</i> ) <i>siwilaaks</i>
lu:=mísa-x-s	>	lu:=mísa:ks	'(boy) to be discovered in the morning in a girl's house after spending the night with her'
in=dawn-MED			( <i>misaax</i> ) <i>luumisaaks</i>
čí-p-l-x-s	>	čí-pilks	'to burn to the ground'
vanish, evaporate?-?-MED			<i>jiibilks</i>

$x^w + s > k^ws$

sitxé: <b>x<sup>w</sup></b> -s > change.s.-MED	sitxé: <b>k<sup>w</sup></b> s	'to be changed' ( <i>sityee<sup>xw</sup></i> ) <i>sityeek<sup>ws</sup></i>
haltá: <b>x<sup>w</sup></b> -s > anoint.s.-MED	haltá: <b>k<sup>w</sup></b> s	'ointment' ( <i>haldaax<sup>w</sup></i> ) <i>halduak<sup>ws</sup></i>
?a-mú <b>x<sup>w</sup></b> -s > spontaneously-hear/ear-MED	?amú <b>k<sup>w</sup></b> s	'to listen' ( <i>mux<sup>w</sup></i> ) <i>amuk<sup>ws</sup></i>

$x + s > qs$

q)qé: <b>x</b> -s >> ASP)crush/grind.s.-MED	qaqé: <b>qs</b>	'footprints, tracks' ( <i>geex</i> ) <i>gageeqs</i>
čáx <sup>w</sup> -? <b>x</b> -s >> considerable-?-MED	čáw <sup>?</sup> aq <sup>s</sup>	'shoes' <i>ts'awaks</i>

In pre-stress position, this rule seems to occur also, cf. the proclitic ?uk<sup>ws</sup>= 'outward' *uk<sup>ws</sup>*.. where /s/ is in the same syllable as the Velar.

**10.1.A.1.b.2.a.2. Before suffix beginning with a glottal stop:**

( = sporadic glottalization rule, 10.2.B.1.a.2.b.2.) :  $X + ? > K^?$

wilá: <b>x</b> -? <sup>?</sup> l-? <sup>?</sup> sT >> wilá: <b>K<sup>?</sup></b> ils(t) know.s.-COMPL-AP.D	'to be knowledgeable, educated' ( <i>wilaax</i> ) <i>wilaak<sup>?</sup>'ils(t)</i>
húka <b>x</b> -? <sup>?</sup> n >> húka <b>q<sup>?</sup></b> an > húka <b>q<sup>?</sup></b> an correct-CAUS	'to correct s.' ( <i>hugax</i> ) <i>huk<sup>?</sup>'ak<sup>?</sup>'an</i>

$\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{álkax}^{\text{?}}\text{sk}^{\text{w}} \gg \text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{álkaq}^{\text{?}}\text{ask}^{\text{w}} > \text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{álk}^{\text{?}}\text{aq}^{\text{?}}\text{ask}^{\text{w}}$  'to reign; kingdom'  
 [(claim-speak)<sub>speak.for.s., reign.on.s.</sub>-AP.I (*x'algaɣ*) *x'alk'ak'askw*]

(for glottalization of the previous consonant, see Anticipatory glottalization, 10.1.A.2.b.)

10.1.A.1.b.2.b. Fricative-formation from glide: (= fricative sonorization, 10.1.B.1.b.3.b.). A glide can be replaced by its corresponding fricative preconsonntally in unstressed syllable:

(1) full reduplication (type 2) (8.2.B.1.):

qáyá·n	'to harpoon <u>s.t.</u> ' (Boas)	q y)qáyá·n > qaxqáyá·n	'to harpoon <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> ' (Boas)
	<i>k'ayaaŋ</i>		<i>k'axk'ayaaŋ</i>
ʔáʔ	'to clap; to slap <u>s.t.</u> (once)	ʔ ʔ)ʔáʔ >> ʔaxʔáʔ	'to slap <u>s.t.</u> (more than once); to pet <u>s.t.</u> (an animal)'
	<i>t'a'a</i>		<i>t'axt'a'a</i>
qóʔ	'to go <u>s.w.</u> ; to go get <u>s.</u> '	q ʔ)qóʔ >> qaxqóʔ	'to go get <u>s.(pl.)</u> '
	<i>go'o</i>		<i>gaxgo'o</i>

(2) The rule /h/ > /x/ explains the following word:

$\text{sílkw}^{\text{w}}\text{-*sáhn-s} > \text{sílkw}^{\text{w}}\text{saxs}$  'midday'  
 middle-day-MED (*sah*) *silkwsaxs*

(Note stress on first element of compound, an old rule, 10.3.B.3; cf. other words ending in the pseudo-suffix -sa 'day' ...sɛ, 7.2.D.2., but without the final -s).



The strengthening of /h/ to /x/ before /s/ parallels that of fricatives for stops in the same position (10.1.A.1.b.2.a.).

10.1.A.2. Rules extending features to other segments: Anticipatory glottalization across an unstressed syllable: The presence of a glottal stop in a suffix causes glottalization of a preceding post-stress consonant. (This rule is not to be confused with glottalization rules which merge a stem-final consonant with a following glottal stop, 10.2.B.1.a.).

10.1.A.2.a.1. A suffix of the shape -V<sup>?</sup> (with unstressed vowel) glottalizes a stem-final stop or affricate: this occurs with the Detransitive suffix (-a<sup>?</sup>) (7.2.C.2.a.1.a.):

C + V<sup>?</sup> > C<sup>ʔ</sup>V<sup>?</sup>

cáp	'to make s.t.'	ksə-cáp-a <sup>?</sup> >	ksicá <sup>ʔ</sup> a <sup>?</sup>	'addition to a house'
	<i>ja<sup>ʔ</sup></i>	out-make.s.-DETR		<i>ksija<sup>ʔ</sup>a'a</i>
ʔí·c-T	'to fry, iron s.t.'	ha-ʔí·c-a <sup>?</sup> >	haʔí·ča <sup>?</sup>	'an iron'
	<i>iits-di</i>	INST-...-DETR		<i>ha'iits'a'a</i>
lák <sup>w</sup>	'fuel'	silák <sup>w</sup> -a <sup>?</sup> >	silák <sup>ʔ</sup> wa <sup>?</sup>	'to burn things'
	<i>lak<sup>w</sup></i>	burn.s.-DETR		<i>silak<sup>w</sup>a'a</i>
qáq	'to be open'	ha-qáq-a <sup>?</sup> >>	haqáq <sup>ʔ</sup> a <sup>?</sup>	'key'
	<i>k'ak</i>	INST-...-DETR		<i>hak'a<sup>ʔ</sup>a'a</i>

but not a fricative or resonant:

*lís-a <sup>?</sup>	lísa <sup>?</sup>	'to hang up the wash'
hang-DETR		<i>lisa'a</i>



ʃs-qalá·n-q > ʃsqalánq 'to serve (a food)  
 resemble?-behind-? second'  
*ʃsgalaŋk*

**Remark:** This rule seems to be involved in the YFS shortening of the vowel in the following word pronounced by OFS with long vowel:

té·ʔentkʷ > tɛʔentkʷ 'to lead, guide s.o.'  
*dee'entkʷ,*  
*de'entkʷ*

**10.1.B.1.a.1.b. In unstressed position:** long vowels tend to be shortened phonetically. Sometimes they are so shortened that they lose their quality (**10.1.B.1.a.2.**) and become predictable according to the environment:

máqs-a-+cá(·)yn > máqsacá(·)yn > máqsicá(·)yn 'bluejeans'  
 pants-SUFF+Chinese *maksijayn*

ta· ɬa· ... > taɬa· ... > tiɬa· ... 'when...,  
 when now whenever...'  
*daa hlaa..., dihlaa*

...

**10.1.B.1.a.2. Unstressed short vowel despecification:** This rule applies both to original short vowels and those deriving from shortening of a long vowel (**10.1.B.1.a.1.b.**).

**10.1.B.1.a.2.a. Type 2 full reduplication (8.2.B.1.):** The vowel in the reduplicated syllable (CVC) does not copy the stem vowel, but is fully predictable according to the consonantal environment (**10.1.A.1.a.**); from a purely synchronic viewpoint the formula for reduplication can just include the two consonants, with insertion of an unspecified vowel; however, from a historical viewpoint it is likely that the whole syllable including the vowel was reduplicated at one time.

cam)cám >> cim)cám      'to boil, cook s.t. (pl).'  
 PL)boil.s.      *jinjam*

**10.1.B.1.a.2.a. Addition of stressed suffix:**

ʔam-íʔ >> ʔimís(t)      'to write'  
 write.s.-DETR      *t'imis(t)*

kaʔ-é.ʔ >> kiʔé.ʔ      'to embroider'  
 pierce.s.-DETR      *gihlee'e*

However, the following form shows loss of the unstressed vowel (10.2.A.2.a.), not just despecification, so it may be better to consider these forms as having undergone vowel deletion.

ʔaʔ-é.ʔ >> ʔiʔé.ʔ > ʔé.ʔ > ʔe.ʔ      'to put things away' (used in comp.)  
 put.s.away-DETR      *t'ee'e*

However, there is no need to invoke vowel-deletion and reinsertion in cases like those in 10.1.B.1.a.1.b. above: despecification has a rightful place there.

**10.1.B.1.b. Consonants:**

Deglottalization, De-affrication and Velar fricativization and sonorization apply in similar environments and can all be considered instances of consonant weakening. Velar fricativization and fricative sonorization can be considered two stages of the same rule.

**10.1.B.1.b.1. De-affrication (loss of consonantal onset)**

After an unstressed syllable, an affricate, whether original, or the result of a sequence, simplifies to the corresponding fricative (it loses its stop onset and keeps only its fricative release). This is most obvious in Type 2 full

reduplication (affecting the C<sub>2</sub> of a reduplicated CVC sequence). For prefixation, there is little direct evidence, since prefixes and proclitics are rarely related to independent words, but none of these morphemes end in an affricate (some modifiers do, however, so the rule does not apply to all pre-predicate morphemes).

10.1.B.1.b.1.a. Sibilants: C, t+s > s

(1) Full reduplication (type 2): (see §.2.B.1. for other details)

h c)híc >> PL)send.s.	hashíc	'to send s. (pl)'	<i>hashits</i>
h ĉ)háĉ >> PL)send.s.	hasháĉ	'to bite s. (pl)'	<i>hashats'</i>
q c)qá-c >> PL?)?	qasqá-c	'dogfish'	<i>gasgaats</i>

(2) Prefixing:

kit-sqan-snáx-(ə)t > people-bush-haw-REL	kiśqansná-t	'People of the Hawthorns' (name of a sub-clan)	<i>Gisk'ansnaat</i>
kit-sqa-há-st > people-among-fireweed	kiśqahá-st	'(lit. People of the Fireweed): the Killerwhale clan'	<i>Gisk'ahaast,</i> <i>Gisk'aast</i>

10.1.B.1.b.1.b. Laterals: ʔ > ɬ

(1) Reduplication:

It is difficult to tell whether the /<sup>ʔ</sup>/ of the stem is indeed the original ending, or whether there is a suffix or augment /<sup>ʔ</sup>/ (3.1.A., 7.2.C.2.b.1.d.) (cf. some glottalized glides reduplicating as fricatives, e.g. /w<sup>ʔ</sup>/ as /x<sup>w</sup>/: the original C is reduplicated, not the one that results from glottalization); in the latter case the consonant to be replicated would not be /<sup>ʔ</sup>/ but /<sup>ʔ</sup>/; the result would be the same. In the first example below, the word is analyzable with a root or base ending in /<sup>ʔ</sup>/ not /<sup>ʔ</sup>/; the others are not so clear-cut (see also note to 10.1.B.1.b.2.b. below).

h<sup>ʔ</sup>)\*hú<sup>ʔ</sup>-<sup>ʔ</sup>x-<sup>ʔ</sup>k<sup>w</sup> > ha<sup>ʔ</sup>)hu<sup>ʔ</sup>aq<sup>ʔ</sup>k<sup>w</sup> 'to boil'  
 PL)rumble?-SUFF-TEMP *hah/hutl'akh/kw*

qá<sup>ʔ</sup>)qá<sup>ʔ</sup> 'to be slightly  
 crooked'  
 (no sg. used)  
*k'ah/k'atl'*

čá<sup>ʔ</sup> '(music) record' *ts'atl'*      či<sup>ʔ</sup>)ča<sup>ʔ</sup> 'to have a rippled  
 surface (?); e.g.  
 (record) to be  
 distorted by heat'  
*ts'ihlts'atl'*

10.1.B.1.b.1.c. The deaffrication rule is also responsible for the disappearance of /t/ in several cases where this phonological element is brought into contact with a non-Velar fricative, causing a phonetic affricate. However, as the number of original elements is reduced in this case, these cases are listed under Consonant-deletion (10.2.A.2.b.2.) rather than under Deaffrication.

10.1.B.1.b.2. Deglottalization: Pre-consonantal deglottalization before stressed syllable: applies to all glottalized segments, whether consonants or resonants.

10.1.B.1.b.2.a. Initial deglottalization:



ʔ)ʔáq > y)ʔáq > hiʔáq  
 ASP)hang 'to be hanging'  
*hiʔak*

ʔ)ʔóʔ > w)ʔóʔ > huʔóʔ  
 ASP/PL)call.s. 'to be calling s.o.:  
 to call, invite  
 s.o.(pl.)' *huʔo'o*

The non-glottalized equivalent of /ʔ/ is /h/:

ʔ)ʔá-t > h)ʔá-t > haʔá-t  
 ASP)fish.w.net 'to be fishing'  
*ha'aat*

**10.1.B.1.b.2.a.2. In pre-stress syllable, especially two syllables before stress:**

The further away a consonant is from the stressed syllable, the more likely it is to undergo weakening.

(a) Full reduplication of a proclitic:

[t]qal)[t]qal=>qil)qal=> kil)qal=> kil)qal=  
 flush.against...)... 'all over,  
 completely  
 covering ...  
*k'ilk'al..., gilg'al*

(c) Cix- reduplication (full reduplication, type 3, 8.2.B.2): this form of reduplication often occurs with stems containing prefixes or proclitics, the initial consonant of which is treated as the one to be reduplicated. If this consonant is a glottalized Velar, the C of the Cix- syllable is *usually* deglottalized.

ʔix)ké-qan > kixké-qan 'to drill holes in st.'  
 PL)drill.a.hole.in.s. *gixk'eegan*



Ḵix)Ḵa·ʔ--ḳisaʔ-tkʷ >> ḴixḴaʔḳisaʔatkʷ      '(pl.) to kneel down'  
 PL)to.one.side=knee-MED      *gixk'ahik'esa'atkʷ*

ḳix)ḳamkʷi·tkʷ > Ḵixḳamkʷi·tkʷ > Ḵixḳamkʷi·tkʷ      'to bless s.o. (pl.)'  
 PL) bless.s.      *gixk'amgwiitkʷ*

(for /k/ instead of /q/ see 10.1.B.1.b.5.a.).

(c) prefixation: initial deglottalization occurs sporadically, e.g. for individuals who do not perceive the derivation of the following measure and its relationship with Ḵilʔ 'one' kʷiʔ:

Ḵilʔ-ḳá·x > Ḵilḳá·x ~ Ḵilḳá·x      'one fathom'  
 one-armspan      *k'ilk'aax, gilḳ'aax*

10.1.B.1.b.2.b. Pre-consonantal deglottalization (in prefixed syllable) (prefixed or reduplicated segment): the rule affects the C<sub>2</sub> of a reduplicated CVC:

Remark: it is likely that in all cases of stems where the C<sub>2</sub> is a glottalized consonant, the glottalized C is not original, but derives from addition of a suffix beginning with a glottal stop, or a glottal stop augment, therefore this rule should be construed only in synchronic terms; whether the C<sub>2</sub> to be reduplicated is interpreted to be the original non-glottalized C or the derived glottalized C has a bearing on which rule is followed--especially with Velar fricatives, see 10.2.B.1.a.2.b.

(1) consonants:

- stops: (non-Velars; see 10.1.B.1.b.3.a. for Velar fricativization in this position): There are very few examples of stem-final glottalized stops: in particular, /ḳʷ/ does not occur finally.

- h **č**híč >> hat)híč 'to stick (pl.)'  
PL)stick *hathit'*

With Velars, the final consonant of the reduplicative syllable is replaced by a fricative; an intermediate stage with non-glottalized stop should be postulated:

(NOTE: if the glottalized consonant always results from an added morpheme in /ʔ/, then this 'intermediate stage' is the normal one).

- t **č**tík > tik)tík > tixtík 'to feel silly, shy  
PL)silly,shy (pl.)' *dixdik'*
- s **č**sé-čal saq)sé-čal > saxsé-čal 'to be rough (to  
PL)rough the touch)(pl.)'  
*saxseeč'al*

(here the ending is the Completive suffix [-ʔ]); base un glossable at present).

- affricates:

- h **č**háč > hac)háč > has)háč 'to bite s. (pl.)'  
PL)stick *hashats'*

(2) resonants:

(b) processes:

- full reduplication (type 2, 3.2.B.1.):

- t **m**čám > tim)čám 'to press s.t. (pl.)'  
PL)press.s. *dimčam'*
- q **m**qín > qan)qín 'to chew s.t. (pl.)'  
PL)chew.s. *ganqen'*



CVC, §2.B.1.), non-glottalized Velar stops are replaced by the corresponding fricatives:

(a) prefix: no prefix, proclitic or modifier ends in a Velar stop, but many end in uvular fricatives, e.g. ksax̣ 'only' *ḳsax̣*, ḳax̣ 'just for a short while' *ḳax̣*; the following shows fricativization when a full word is used as a modifier/prefix:

ʔáq	'to be non-existent, impossible'	ʔáx̣-	'not, non-...'
	<i>aḳ</i>		<i>ax̣</i>

(b) full reduplication: Type 2 (§2.B.1.): CVK stems reduplicate as CvX̣:

k > x:	ʔák 'to forget <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>t'aḳ</i>	ʔ(k)ʔák >> ʔix̣)ʔák PL)...	'to forget <u>s.t.</u> (pl.)' <i>t'ix̣t'aḳ</i>
k <sup>w</sup> > x <sup>w</sup> :	ʔák <sup>w</sup> 'to twist <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>t'aḳw</i>	ʔ(k <sup>w</sup> )ʔák <sup>w</sup> >> ʔux̣w)ʔák <sup>w</sup> PL)...	'to twist <u>s.t.</u> (pl.)': tornado' <i>t'ux̣wt'aḳw</i>
q > x:	páq 'to feel <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>baq̣</i>	p(q)páq >> pax̣páq PL)...	'to feel around for <u>s.t.</u> (e.g. in the dark)' <i>baqx̣baq̣</i>

If the Velar stop is glottalized, deglottalization (regular in this position, 10.1.B.1.b.2.b.) takes place before fricativization (alternately: glottalization derives from addition of a suffix containing a glottal stop, to a plain stem-final stop; reduplication can be said to occur on the unsuffixed stem):

q̣ > q > x:	sé-q̣al 'to be rough'	s(q)sé-q̣al >> sax̣sé-q̣al	'(pl.) to be rough'
or	sé-q-ʔ >> sé-q̣al	s(q)sé-q-ʔ >> sax̣sé-q̣al	

10.1.B.1.b.3.a.1.b. post-stress:

(a) before suffix consisting of a stop: after vowel, resonant or consonant:

yú·q	'string of oolichans'	yú·q-[t]k <sup>w</sup> ...-MED	> yú·xk <sup>w</sup>	'to eat' <i>yuu<sub>x</sub>kw</i>
sá·q- <u>I</u>	'to stretch <u>s.t.</u> (a skin)' <i>saak-di</i>	qan-sá·q-[t]k <sup>w</sup> means-...-MED	> qansá·xk <sup>w</sup>	'stretching-frame' <i>qansaa<sub>x</sub>kw</i>
ná· <u>†</u> q	'breath' <i>naah<sub>l</sub>k</i>	ksə-ná· <u>†</u> q-k <sup>w</sup>	> ksina· <u>†</u> xk <sup>w</sup>	'to breathe out' <i>ksinaah<sub>l</sub>xkw</i>

(b) in compounding, after syllabic resonant (not always applied in more recent compounds):

kím <sub>k</sub>	'to wipe <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>gimk</i>	ha-kím <sub>k</sub> +*?ún-tk <sup>w</sup> INSTR-wipe.s.+hand-REFL	> ha <sub>k</sub> im <sub>x</sub> ?ún-tk <sup>w</sup>	'handtowel' <i>hagim<sub>x</sub>'untkw</i>
------------------	---------------------------------------	--	---	---

(c) type 1 (archaic) full reduplication (C<sup>́</sup>V:Cvk): C<sup>́</sup>VKCVK > C<sup>́</sup>VXCVK > C<sup>́</sup>VhCvk > C<sup>́</sup>V:Cvk (> C<sup>́</sup>V:Cvx) (8.2.B.3.):

(1) the long vowel with root CVK suggests a series of weakenings K &gt; X &gt; h &gt; V. Steps X &gt; V are actually attested in suffixed forms (10.1.B.1.2.c.2./3) after stress.

láq-s	'to bathe' be.in.water-MED	láq)laq-s > lá <sub>x</sub> laqs > láhlaqs > lá:laqs PL)...	'(pl.) to bathe' <i>laalaks</i>
	<i>laks</i>		

(2) sporadically: final K &gt; X:

x.póq 'fold, crease' x.póq)poq > xpóxpq > xpóhpq >> xpó:paʒ  
*xboʔ* PL)... 'creases, folds'  
*xboobaʒ*

ʔóq 'to claw at s.t.' ʔóq)ʔoq > ʔóxʔoq > ʔóhʔoq >> ʔó:ʔaʒ  
*ʔoʔ* PL)... 'to claw at s.t.(pl.)'  
*ʔoot'aʒ*

**10.1.B.1.b.3.a.2. After consonant:** this sporadic rule seems to affect both glottalized and non-glottalized uvular stops, after another stop:

kit-qa-ʕín > kitʒaʕín 'people of Greenville'  
 people-DIST-weir *Gitʒat'in*

ʔip-ǰó-ʔt > ʔipxó-ʔt 'seven'  
 downward-six *ʔipxoolt*

**10.1.B.1.b.3.b. Velar fricative sonorization to corresponding glide:**

**10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1. Intervocally:**

**10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.a. Non-Uvulars:** A word-final palato-velar or labio-velar fricative which immediately follows stress is replaced by a corresponding non-glottalized glide (which is voiced) before a suffix vowel, whether inherent, or epenthetic before a resonant suffix. (A sequence V + /y/ before the fricative is considered vocalic with this rule).

x > y

wilá:x 'to know s.t.' wilá:x-ə-yʔ > wilá:yiyʔ 'I know it/h.'  
*wilaax* ...-CTL-1S *wilaayiyʔ*

wá:x	'paddle' <i>waaɬ</i>	wá:x-ŷ >> wá:yíŷ ...-1S	'my paddle' <i>waayíŷ</i>
hó:x	'to use <u>s.</u> ' <i>hoox</i>	?an-hó-x-a? >?an(h)ó-ya? used.for-use.s.-DETR	'tool, utensil, implement, vehicle, thing' <i>anhooya'a</i>

x<sup>w</sup> > w

ɕiláyx <sup>w</sup>	'to visit <u>s.o.</u> ' <i>ts'ilayxw</i>	ɕiláyx <sup>w</sup> -ə-t > ɕiláywit ...-CTL-3	'S/he visited h.' <i>ts'ilaywit</i>
múx <sup>w</sup>	'ear(s)' <i>muxw</i>	múx <sup>w</sup> -n >> múwin ...-2S	'your ear(s)' <i>muwin</i>
ḵúx <sup>w</sup>	'to shoot <u>s.</u> ' <i>guxw</i>	ḵúx <sup>w</sup> -ə-t >>ḵúwit ...-CTL-3	'S/he shot it/h.' <i>guwit</i>
		ḵúx <sup>w</sup> -a?-m + ná-†q > ḵùwa?am ná-†q ... -DETR-ATT + breath	'(whale) to blow' <i>guwa'am-naahlg</i>

Compare with the retention of the fricative after unstressed vowel, in:

†ú.ʕux <sup>w</sup>	'to value, treasure <u>s.t.</u> to cherish <u>s.o.</u> ' <i>hluut'uxw</i>	†ú.ʕux <sup>w</sup> -ə-t > †ú.ʕuxwit ...-CTL-3	'S/he values,treasures it, s/he cherishes him/her' <i>hluut'uxwit</i>
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hó:pix	'spoon'	hó:pix-ý̆ > hó:pixiý̆	'my spoon'
	<i>hoobix</i>	...-1S	<i>hoobixiý̆</i>

**10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.b. Uvular:** The application of this rule to the uvular fricative /x/ would result in /h/, which has a more restricted distribution than the other resonants; in fact, /x/ is deleted, and an intermediate stage /h/ can be postulated, with a later rule deleting it (see 10.2.A.2.b.2.).

A stage /h/ also accounts for some otherwise irregular forms: a few transitive verbs ending in /x/ seem to delete the fricative instead of adding the Control suffix (-ə-), as in:

qé:x̣	'to grind/sharpen <u>s.t.</u> '	qé:ý̆	'I ground/sharpened it'
	<i>teĕx̣</i>		<i>geeý̆</i>
		qé:t	'S/he ground, ... it'
			<i>geet</i>

instead of \*qé:x̣-ə-ý̆ 'I ground,... it' (*geex̣ay̆*), \*qé:x̣-ə-t 's/he ground,... it' (*geex̣at*). These forms are explainable by an older rule weakening /x/ to /h/, with later deletion:

qé:x̣	'to grind,	qé:x̣-ə-ý̆ > qé:h-ə-ý̆ > qé:həý̆ > qé:əý̆ > qé:ý̆	
	sharpen <u>s.t.</u> '	...-CTL-1S	'I ground/
	<i>geĕx̣</i>		sharpened it' <i>geeý̆</i>
		qé:x̣-ə-t > qé:h-ə-t > qé:hət > qé:ət > qé:t	
		...-CTL-3	's/he ground/
			sharpened it'
			<i>geet</i>

In these forms the unstressed vowel left after the deletion of /h/ has been absorbed into the long stressed vowel.



A stage long vowel + suffix vowel explains other forms in Boas, where the CTL suffix {-ə-} is preceded by /y/ as in vowel-final stems, for instance:

tóx	'to put	tóx-ə-t > tóh-ə-t > tó:-ə-t >> tó:yit	's/he put them ...'
<u>s.t. (pl)</u>	'...-CTL-3		(s.w.)'
<i>dox</i>			<i>dooyit</i>

páx	'to run'	ksə-tə-páx-ə-t > ...páh-ə-t > ...pá:-ə-t > ksitipá:yit	's/he ran out with it'
<i>bag</i>	out-DOMIN-CTL-3		<i>ksidibuayit</i>

where instead of being absorbed into the long vowel as described above, the suffix vowel is separated from the stem by epenthetic /y/, exactly as if the long vowel was originally part of the stem ( 10.2.A.1.b.1.).

There are also archaizing forms which have a long vowel before the REL suffix -(ə)t: the vowel of this suffix normally appears after consonant, never after vowel; with a resonant it is optional after short vowel: here again the long vowel created by the weakening of the Uvular is treated as if it was original, or alternately, the unstressed vowel is absorbed into the long vowel:

tóx	'(pl.) (things)	tóx-[ə]t > tóh(ə)t > tó:(ə)t > tó:t	'...[things] that are...'
	to be (s.w.)	...-REL	<i>doot</i>
<i>dox</i>			

páx	'to run'	páx-[ə]t > páh(ə)t > pá:(ə)t > pá:t	'... that runs/ran...'
<i>bag</i>		...-REL	<i>baat</i>

(these forms alternate with the regularized *tóxat doxat*, *páxat baat*).

#### 10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2. Preconsonantly:

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.a. After stress:

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.a.1. Non-Uvulars:

x > y

syáx	'to be scorched'	ha-syax-ks > hasyayks	'swallow'
	<i>syax</i>	having?-...-?	<i>hasyayks</i>

x > w

haltá·x <sup>w</sup>	'to anoint s.'	haltá·x <sup>w</sup> -kát >> haltáwkit	
	<i>haldaarw</i>	...-people	'sorcerer, male witch (malevolent)' <i>haldawgit</i>

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.a.2. Uvular: There is evidence for a former rule /ɣ/ > /h/ from long vowel vocalization (V + /h/ > V:) in archaic and archaizing forms built on roots ending in /ɣ/:

(a) before suffix: (only in a few common words, since there is a modern tendency to keeping the stem intact) :

tóɣ	'(pl.) (things) to be (s.w.)	tóɣ-s > tóhs > tó:s	'to put t'ings ...'
	<i>doɣ</i>	...-MED	<i>doos</i> (used in composition)

Vocalization of /h/ occurs before V-insertion (10.2.a.1.a.1.) can apply before resonant suffix:

nóɣ	'mother'	nóɣ-n > nóhn > nó:n	'your mother'
<i>noɣ</i>		...-2S	<i>noon</i>

		nóx-ý > nóhý > nó:y	'my mother'
		...-1S	<i>nooy'</i>
náx 'bait'	náx-m̄ > náhm̄ > ná:m̄		'our bait'
<i>nax</i>	...-1P		<i>naam</i> (Boas)
páx 'to run'	páx-n > páhn > pá:n		
	<i>baɣ</i>	...-2S	<i>Baan!</i>

(regularized forms nóxay' 'my mother' *noxay'*, páxan 'Run!' *Baan!* do occur as well).

(b) in type 1 (CV:Cvk) full reduplication: this is an archaic type (8.2.B.3.b.), as evidenced by (a) involvement of root only (not augments, let alone affixes), (b) stress on prefixed syllable (archaic, 10.3.B.), (c) numerous irregularities (C-shifts, reformations with other pluralization methods) and (d) this rule, which is archaizing with other forms, as described above.

nóx 'mother'	nóx)noç > nóhnoç >> nó·naç	'mothers'
<i>nox</i>	PL)...	<i>noonax(kw)</i>

Similarly there is a long vowel in such forms as:

nó? '(to have a) hole'	nó?)no? >> nó·na?	'(to have) holes'
<i>no'o</i>	PL)...	<i>noona'a</i>
qa-páq)-s-[tk <sup>w</sup> 'to struggle'	qa-páq)paq-s-[tk <sup>w</sup> > qapá-paqsk <sup>w</sup>	'to struggle (pl.)'
?-PL)feel.s.-MED?-INDEF		<i>gabaabakskw</i>
	<i>gabakskw</i>	

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.b. Before stress: there are cases of long V: alternating with Vx in proclitics and prefixes:

sta $\chi$ ~ sta-	'on one side'	<i>sda<math>\chi</math>... / sdaa...</i>
la $\chi$ -la $\chi$ -* $\text{?}\acute{u}$ ~ la-la $\chi$ $\text{?}\acute{u}$	'swamp'	
on-on-moss?		<i>la<math>\chi</math>la<math>\chi</math>'u / laala<math>\chi</math>'u</i>

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.3. Finally: When the suffix ( $-\text{?X}$ ) is added to a stem ending in a Uvular, /X/ of the suffix is weakened to /y/ (7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.a.).

10.1.B.1.b.4. Lateral fricative sonorization: Sonorization of the lateral fricative / $\text{?}$ / is phonetically parallel to the sonorization of the Velar fricatives, but occurs under different conditions. In particular, it does not occur intervocally, where the contrast between fricative and resonant laterals is always maintained. Post-consonantal fluctuation between the two does not impair communication as there is no contrast in this position.

The lateral fricative / $\text{?}$ / is sonorized to /l/ between the fricative /s/ and a vowel. This occurs mostly after the prefix ( $\text{KS-}$ ) 'most ...':

ks- $\text{?}\acute{a}\chi^w$ > kslá $\chi^w$	'to be undermost'	
most-underside		<i>ksla<math>\chi</math>^w</i>
ks- $\text{?}\acute{a}\chi^w$ - $\text{?}\text{sk}^w$ >> kslá $\text{?}\text{wisk}^w$	'shirt'	
most-underside-AP.I		<i>kslá<math>\text{?}\text{wisk}^w</math></i>
ks- $\text{?}\acute{a}\text{q}$ -s > ksláqs	'to kick s.'	
most?-?-MED?		<i>ksla<math>\underline{k}</math>s</i>

This rule does not apply intervocally, hence the medial / $\text{?}$ / in the plural:

ks- $\text{?}\acute{a}\text{q}$ ) $\text{?}\acute{a}\text{q}$ -s >> kslá- $\text{?}\acute{a}\text{q}$ s	'to kick s.(pl.)'	
most?-PL)?-?		<i>kslaah<math>\underline{k}</math>s</i>

After other fricatives, the situation is less clear-cut than after /s/, and there is

a certain amount of free variation, e.g.

ɣlip= ~ xɫip= 'at the tip (proc.)'  
*ɣlip...*, also pron. *ɣhlip*

xɫíɫ ~ ɣlíɫ 'to be sweet, delicious'  
*ɣlíɫ...*, also pron. *ɣhliɫ*

Some fluctuation also exists after stops. In general, the fricative tends to stay after /k<sup>w</sup>/ and to be sonorized after /p/, hence the following singular-plural alternations: where /ɫ/ occurs in both post-consonantal and intervocalic positions (the vocalic alternations are independent of this rule):

qalksə-k<sup>w</sup>ɫák / qalksə-k<sup>w</sup>ɫí-ɫik 'to be inside out (sg./pl.)'  
 through-? *galksikwhlak/*  
*galksikwhliihlik*

pláksk<sup>w</sup> / plí-ɫiksk<sup>w</sup> 'to be tired (sg./pl.)'  
*plakskw/pliihlikskw*

/ɫ/ is more likely to be sonorized after /p/ than after /k<sup>w</sup>/, although both pronunciations occur).

No sonorization occurs after /p/ in *ɫipɫán* '(human) body' *hliphlan*, nor fricativization in *liplét* 'priest' *lipteet* (< Chinook < Fr. *le prêtre*), perhaps because the C<sub>1</sub>VCC<sub>1</sub>VC structure of these words recalls full reduplication (type 2), where the C<sub>1</sub> in the stressed syllable does not change.

**10.1.B.1.b.5.** Reduction (of Velars and glides) to default feature: Velars to anterior, glides to glottal.

**10.1.B.1.b.5.a.** Velar-despecification/reduction to anterior Velar: This occurs especially two syllables before stress. Infrequently, it also happens in

pre-stress syllable, as in the alternate forms:

ta~~x~~-yúk<sup>w</sup>-T > ti~~x~~-yúk<sup>w</sup>-T 'to hold s.t.'  
 firmly-hold.s. *da~~y~~yukw-di, dixyukw-di*

Two syllables before stress, in a reduplicative syllable away from stress, a Uvular is replaced by a front Velar; deglottalization may also take place (cf. 10.1.B.1.b.2.a.2.).

(1) Reduplicating proclitic: the proclitic (t)q̄al= 'flush with ...' *tq̄'al...* which occurs in pre-stress position has a fully reduplicated form **ḵilq̄al=** or **ḵilq̄al=** 'all over...' *k'ilk'al...* or *gilk'al...* which shows despecification (and also deglottalization) of the consonant furthest away from word-stress:

(t)q̄al)(t)q̄al= >> **ḵilq̄al=** (> **ḵilq̄al=**) 'all over ...'  
 PL)flush *k'ilk'al.../gilk'al...*

(2) With Cix-reduplication: two syllables before stress:

q̄ix)q̄amk<sup>wí</sup>.tk<sup>w</sup> > **ḵixq̄amk<sup>wí</sup>.tk<sup>w</sup>** > **ḵixq̄amk<sup>wí</sup>.tk<sup>w</sup>** 'to bless s.o. (pl.)'  
 PL) bless.s. *gixk'amgwiitkw*

q̄ix)qaq̄í.tk<sup>w</sup> > **ḵixqaq̄í.tk<sup>w</sup>** '(wolves) to howl'  
 PL) howl *gixgak'etkw*

m̄in=q̄ix)qapúx<sup>w</sup> > **ḵixqapúx<sup>w</sup>** '(waterspout,  
 upwards=PL)spray geysers) to spout  
 up in sprays'  
*mingixgabuxw*

#### 10.1.B.1.b.5.b. Glide-despecification/glide-reduction to glottal segment:

Under certain conditions, palatal and labio-velar glides may lose their specific

quality and be replaced by a glottal segment, /h/ for non-glottalized glides, /ʔ/ for glottalized glides.

10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1. Non-glottalized glides: reduction to /h/:

a. in partial reduplication: the rule applies both to original non-glottalized glides, and to those which result from deglottalization in initial preconsonantal position (10.1.B.2.a.1.)

y)y > h)y

yé· 'to walk, go' <i>yee</i>	<b>y</b> )yé· > <b>h</b> )yé· > hiyé· ASP)...	'to be walking' <i>hiyee</i>
yuk <sup>w</sup> '(PROG aux.)' <i>yukw</i>	<b>y</b> )yuk <sup>w</sup> > <b>h</b> )yuk <sup>w</sup> > hiyú <sup>w</sup> ASP)...	'to be doing ...' <i>hiyukw</i>
yáq 'to hang' <i>yak</i>	ỵ)jáq > <b>y</b> )jáq > <b>h</b> )jáq > hijáq ASP)...	'to be hanging' <i>hiyak</i>

w)w > h)w

wílp 'house' <i>wilp</i>	<b>w</b> )wílp > <b>h</b> )wílp > huwílp PL)...	'houses' <i>huwilp</i>
wán '(pl.) to sit, be located, exist' <i>wan</i>	<b>w</b> )wán > <b>h</b> )wán > huwán ASP)...	'(pl.) to be sitting, located, to exist' <i>huwan</i>
wóʔ 'to call, invite <u>s.o.</u> ' <i>wó'o</i>	ẉ)wóʔ > <b>w</b> )wóʔ > <b>h</b> )wóʔ > huwóʔ ASP/PL)...	(1) to be calling, inviting <u>s.o.</u> (2) to call, invite <u>s.o. (pl.)</u> <i>huwó'o</i>

The rule applies vacuously in the case of word-initial /h/, or /h/ resulting from the deglottalization of /ʔ/.

b. in CV:Cvk reduplication (type 1. 8.2.B.3.): In this archaic type of reduplication, applying only to CVK roots, the original sequence of stressed vowel + Velar is realized as a long vowel. This is probably the result of a sequence (VK >) VX > VGlide > long vowel. Since all combinations result in a long vowel of the same quality as the original vowel (e.g. there are no differences such as might result from different diphthongs, e.g. /ay/ and /aw/), the stage immediately before the long vowel must have /h/ regardless of the original Velar.

náx)naᵾ > náhnaᵾ >> ná-naᵾ    '(pairs of) snowshoes'

PL) snowshoes

*naanaᵾ*

nóx)noᵾ > nóhnoᵾ >> nó-naᵾ    'mothers'

PL) mother

*noonnaᵾ*

**10.1.B.1.b.5.b.2.** The glottalized glide /y̥/: Reduction to /ʔ/ before another /y̥/:

If two /y̥/'s come in contact, the first /y̥/ loses its anterior/palatal character and is replaced by /ʔ/, which is then followed by a copy vowel. (Remark: some younger speakers do not apply this rule and treat /y̥/ as any other anterior consonant).

This occurs only after stress: before stress, as in partial reduplication, the deglottalization rule applies first (10.1.B.1.b.2.a.), and the conditions for this rule no longer exist. The rule applies when a word ending in /y̥/ adds the 1S suffix (-y̥), either directly, as in:

ʔasa'y̥ 'foot, leg'    ʔasa'y̥-y̥ > ʔasa'ʔy̥ > ʔasa'ʔay̥    'my foot'

*asa'y̥*

...-1S

*asa'ay̥*



líy̥ 'garters'   líy̥-y̥ > líʔy̥ > líʔiy̥   'my garters'  
*liy̥*   *li'iy̥*

or with the intervening Control suffix {-ə}, which is deleted after glottalized resonant ( 10.2.A.2.a.):

pčáy̥ 'to comb s.t.'   pčáy̥-ə-y̥ > pčáy̥y̥ > pčáʔy̥ > pčáʔay̥  
*pts'ay̥*   'I combed it'  
*pts'a'ay̥*

titíy̥ 'to look after s.'   titíy̥-ə-y̥ > t'itíy̥y̥ > titíʔy̥ > titíʔiy̥  
*didiy̥*   'I looked after  
 him/her/it'  
*didi'iy̥*

This rule, which despecifies the first of two adjacent glides, seems to be parallel to the rule of glide-despecification/ glide-reduction to /h/ ( 10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.) which occurs especially in partial reduplication (it does not occur with the other glottalized glide /w̥/ as there is no opportunity for two /w̥/'s to be adjacent after stress). However, unlike that rule, it only occurs after stress. Phonetically, it is a consequence of the phonetic realization [ʔ] of /y̥/ before consonant (2.1.B.3.b.), separating the consonantal and vocalic components of the glottalized glide; before consonant the phonetic [ʔ] behaves like a phonological /ʔ/, and causes a copy vowel to occur (2.1.B.3.b.3.b.).

**10.1.B.2. Rules extending over several segments: Dissimilation of glottalized consonants (dissimilatory deglottalization):**

(a) If there is more than one suffix beginning with /ʔ/, only the first suffix causes glottalization; other suffixes lose their /ʔ/.

...+ ʔC+ ʔC > ... ʔCC

kipáykw-ʔn-ʔskʷ fly- CAUS-AP.I	>> kipáykw <sup>h</sup> inskʷ	'airplane' <i>gibaykw'inskʷ</i>
*líp-ʔl-ʔskʷ sew.s.-CPL-AP.I	>> líp <sup>h</sup> ilskʷ	'to mend nets' <i>lip'ilskʷ</i>
*sáks-ʔn-ʔskʷ clean.s.-CAUS-AP.I	>> sák <sup>h</sup> saʔnskʷ > sák <sup>h</sup> saʔanskʷ	'to clean up' <i>saksa'anskʷ</i>
yá+ʔx-ʔskʷ slime-ʔ-AP.I	>> yá <sup>h</sup> xskʷ > yá <sup>h</sup> ikskʷ	'to slip and fall' <i>yatl'ikskʷ</i>

(b) if the stem contains a glottal stop in post-stress position, the glottal stop is lost from the suffix as well:

sə-móʔon-ʔskʷ make-salt-AP.I	>> simóʔonskʷ	'to salt food' <i>simo'onskʷ</i>
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These rules cause the AP.I suffix in particular to appear to be just  $(-Sk^W)$  not  $(-ʔSk^W)$ , hence some new formations in  $(-Sk^W)$  (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.(3)).

## 10.2. Rules affecting the number of elements:

### 10.2.A. Addition and deletion rules:

#### 10.2.A.1. Addition rules: epenthesis (insertion):

##### 10.2.A.1.a. Vowels:

10.2.A.1.a.1. Vowel-insertion conditions: A vowel is inserted after stress, between certain consonants.

##### 10.2.A.1.a.1.a. Between any consonant and a non-stop:

- when adding the personal suffixes ( $-\acute{y}$ ) '1S', ( $-n$ ) '2S', ( $-\acute{m}$ ) '1P', which consist of syllabic resonants; (this rule is also responsible for the vowel of the 2P suffix ( $-\acute{sim}$ )/ $\acute{sim}$ /):

wílþ	'house' <i>wilþ</i>	wílþ- $\acute{y}$ > wílþi $\acute{y}$ ...-1S	'my house' <i>wilþi<math>\acute{y}</math></i>
		wílþ-n > wílþin ...-2S	'your house' <i>wilþin</i>
		wílþ- $\acute{sm}$ > wílþ $\acute{sim}$ ...-2P	'your (pl.) house' <i>wilþ<math>\acute{sim}</math></i>
čáq	'nose' <i>ts'ak</i>	čáq- $\acute{y}$ > čáq $\acute{a}$ $\acute{y}$ ...-1S	'my nose' <i>ts'aga<math>\acute{y}</math></i>
		čáq-n > čáqan ...-2S	'your nose' <i>ts'agan</i>

contrasting with no vowel before a true consonant as in:

wílþ-t > wílþt ...-3	'his/her house' <i>wilþt</i>
čáq-t > čáqt ...-3	'h. nose' <i>ts'akt</i>

This rule also occurs with various suffixes consisting of, or beginning with a syllabic resonant, for instance:

čimsán-mq > Tsimshian-lang.?	čimsánimq <i>Ts'imsanimq</i>	'Tsimshian (lg.)'
---------------------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------

- between a glottalized consonant and a syllabic resonant or a fricative: this occurs when adding a suffix consisting of (or beginning with) a glottal stop, followed by a syllabic resonant or a fricative:

*líp-ʔsɪ sew-AP.D	> líp̚s(t)	> líp̚is(t)	'to sew' <i>lip'is(t)</i>
*líp-ʔl sew-COMPL	> líp̚l	> líp̚il	'to sew' <i>lip'il</i>
*kwó.t-ʔn lose?-CAUS	> kwó.t̚n	> kwó.t̚in	'to lose <u>s.t.</u> ' <i>kw'oot'in</i>
yáʔ-ʔx-ʔskʷ slime-?-AP.I	> yáʔx̚ʔskʷ	> yáʔik̚skʷ	'to slip and fall' <i>yatl'iskʷ</i>

10.2.A.1.a.1.b. Between a resonant following a long vowel and a following stop:

q̚amksi.wá-mq white.person-1g.?	>	q̚amksi.wá-maq	'English (lang.)' <i>k'amksiwaamaq</i>
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(remark: an older rule shortens the long vowel in such cases, 10.1.2.A.1.b.)

sə-miyé.n-ʔskʷ make-smoke-AP.I	>>	simiyé.n̚iskʷ	'to smoke food; smoked spring salmon' <i>simiyeeniskʷ</i>
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(With glottalized non-syllabics, there is more variability in the realization of a cluster).

Compare with non-insertion after short vowel:

čimsán-mq > čimsánimq 'Tsimshian (lg.)'  
Tsimshian-lang.? *Ts'imsanimk*

10.2.A.1.a.1.c. Between non-Velar fricatives:

A vowel (/i/) is inserted between a word-final /s/ and the 2P suffix (-siṁ):

qančimís 'pencil' qa-qančimís-smʔ > qaqaqančimísisimʔ  
*gant'imis(t)* DIST-... 'your (2P) pencils'  
*gagant'imísisim*

However, no vowel is inserted between adjacent /s/'s or /t/'s as a result of the addition of a connective (6.2.B.); instead, the two identical fricatives merge into one (10.2.B.1.c.).

10.2.A.1.a.1.d. Between a non-Velar fricative and a glottal stop: this occurs in suffixation: (the vowel inserted is /a/ because of the following glottal stop; a copy vowel then follows the glottal stop):

máŋ-ʔsk<sup>W</sup> >> máŋaʔask<sup>W</sup> 'to announce, preach, broadcast'  
tell.s.t.-API *mahla'askw*

ýáns-ʔl-T >> ýánsaʔalt 'May' (lit. 'fully-leafed')  
leaf-COMPL-DEF *Yansa'alt*

10.2.A.1.a.2. Non-insertion of a vowel: the rule does not occur between some other combinations of consonants (this does not mean that a vowel is never found between such consonants because of other causes).

10.2.A.1.a.2.a. with a combination of fricative + stop:

ná-tq 'breath'  
*naahik*

čú·sk 'to be small' *ts'uusk*

yú·xk<sup>w</sup> 'to eat' *yuuxk<sup>w</sup>*

(compare *hí·ʔuk<sup>w</sup>* 'morning' *hihlukw*)

**10.2.A.1.a.2. with a combination of non-glottalized stop/affricate + fricative:**

má·ks 'to put s.t. in water (a net, laundry, etc.)' *maaks*

lá·k<sup>w</sup>s 'torch, lamp' *laakws*

piyá·qʔ 'cliff' *biyaqʔhl*

qó·cx 'fish offal: gills and guts' *k'ootsx*

**10.2.A.1.a.2.c. between two stops in word-final position:**

čé·qk<sup>w</sup> 'to be deafening' *is'eeq<sup>w</sup>*

ʔampóqk<sup>w</sup> 'poplar' *ambok<sup>w</sup>*

ksiyimqk<sup>w</sup> 'to shave' *ksiyimq<sup>w</sup>*



**kíłsk<sup>w</sup>** 'to pick, gather things (berries, plants, clams, etc.) *giłsk<sup>w</sup>*

**10.2.A.1.b. Consonants:**

**10.2.A.1.b.1.** A consonant (which is always /t/) is added between a stem-final vowel or resonant and a suffix consisting of a glottal stop and a resonant: the added consonant serves as a support for glottalization (**10.2.B.1.b.1.**):

**10.2.A.1.b.1.a.** after long or short vowel:

kó- <sup>?</sup> n > kó-t- <sup>?</sup> n >> kó- <sup>ʔ</sup> in	'to moor, park <u>s.t.</u> '
moored, parked-CAUS	<i>gyoot'in</i>
yé- <sup>?</sup> n >> yé- <sup>ʔ</sup> in	'to pass <u>s.t.</u> (to another person)
go-CAUS	<i>yeet'in</i>
łá- <sup>?</sup> l >> łá- <sup>ʔ</sup> il	'to place, sit <u>s.</u> ' (Boas; now obsolete?)
sit-COMPL	<i>t'aat'il</i>
sil-qatiptí- <sup>?</sup> n >> silqatiptí- <sup>ʔ</sup> in	'to make <u>s.t.(pl.)</u> the same size as others'
COMIT-Pl.size-CAUS	<i>silgadipdiit'in</i>
ʔaskí- <sup>?</sup> n >> ʔaskí <sup>ʔ</sup> in	'to find <u>s.t.</u> strange, funny, ugly'
abnormal, etc.-CAUS	<i>asgit'in</i>
ks-laxhá- <sup>?</sup> n-tk <sup>w</sup> >> kslaxhá <sup>ʔ</sup> intk <sup>w</sup>	'to be exalted (religious sense)'
most-sky-CAUS-PAS	<i>kslaxhat'intk<sup>w</sup></i>
k <sup>w</sup> ilá- <sup>?</sup> msk <sup>w</sup> >> k <sup>w</sup> ilá <sup>ʔ</sup> imsk <sup>w</sup>	'to put a blanket or coat on the bride's shoulders [as part of the marriage ceremony]'
blanket-TEMP?	<i>gwilat'imsk<sup>w</sup></i>



## 10.2.A.1.b.1.b. after resonant.

tál-ʔn fight-CAUS	>> tálʔin	'to make <u>s.o.</u> fight'	<i>dalt'in</i>
xlíl-ʔn sweet-CAUS	>> xlílʔin	'to like <u>s.t.</u> [a food] (to find it sweet, delicious'	<i>xlilʔin</i>
téʔen-ʔmskw lead-TEMP?	>> téʔentʔimskw	'to lead (prayers, songs) in church'	<i>de'ent'imskw</i>

Remark: There are many examples of this rule, especially with the Causative suffix {-ʔn} (7.2.C.2.b.a.1.); it seems to be fairly recent, as there are other words which add a suffix of this type directly and glottalize the suffix resonant: this seems to be especially common with the Completive suffix {-ʔl} (7.2.C.2.b.a.2.) e.g. ʔkú-ʔl 'to be narrow, small (in capacity) *higuul'* (the stem is related to the modifier ʔkú 'little' *higu* (5.15.B.36.)). The rule adding /t/ especially before the Causative suffix may have been influenced by the presence of a /t/ (non-epenthetic) in the Medial suffix {-[t]kw} (7.2.C.1.b.), as there are many word-pairs with these two suffixes, built on the same stem, as in *hítkw* 'to stand' *hítkw* / *hítin* 'to stand, erect s.t. *hit'in*. (In this example, it is not possible to tell whether the stem ends in a vowel or in /t/).

10.2.A.1.b.2. Non-insertion of a consonant: this rule does not apply between vowel or resonant and stop: in particular, in forms like the following:

ʔámtkw	'to be written'	<i>t'amtqw</i>
hinyántkw	'(body part) to tickle'	<i>hinyantqw</i>

lu·táitk<sup>w</sup> 'to meet s.o.'  
*luudaitkw*

pčáýtk<sup>w</sup> 'to comb one's hair'  
*pts'aytkw*

the /t/ is part of the suffix **{-[t]k<sup>w</sup>}** (7.2.C.1.b.). Compare with:

yánk<sup>w</sup> 'to be moldy'  
*yankw*

máلك<sup>w</sup>-T 'to throw s.t. into a fire'  
*malkw-di*

**10.2.A.1.c. Resonant:** The non-syllabic resonant /y/ is inserted between a stem-final vowel and a suffix beginning with a vowel:

timkipá-**y**-ə-t S/he is going to wait for h.  
 FUT wait.for.s.-...-CTL-3 *Dim gibayit.*

wá-**y**-ə-ý I found it.  
 find.s.-...-CTL-1S *Wáyíy.*

including postclitics:

ni: mə ká?-[t]=ǰ liki: ʔakú==**y**-a: Did you see anything?  
 not 2E see.s.-[3]=NC about something==...-Q *Nii mi ga'ahl ligii aguya?*

**10.2.A.2. Deletion rules/rules removing segments:**

**10.2.A.2.a. Vowel-deletion:** a vowel that is unspecified (e.g. in an added morpheme) or despecified in a particular environment is often deleted.

10.2.A.2.a.1. Loss of the vowel representing the Control infix {-ə-} (7.2.A.3.) after resonant under certain conditions:

NOTE: examples are all given with personal suffixes (7.2.A.1.) beginning with a consonant; with those suffixes consisting of a resonant, the Control infix vowel can be confused with the epenthetic vowel needed between the stem-final consonant and the resonant suffix when there is no vowel infix (10.2.A.1.a.).

The loss of this vowel is explainable by the phonetic rather than phonological conditions of the realization of glottalized resonants before a consonant (2.1.B.3.): either an epenthetic vowel is added after the resonant (thus a sequence RV), or the glottal stop component is pronounced ahead of the resonant component, with intervening copy vowel (thus a sequence ?VR). The latter realization is most often found in rapid speech and after short vowels.

a. after short stressed vowel followed by a glottalized resonant: the sequence of glottalized resonant + infix vowel is interpreted as the slow realization of the glottalized resonant (RV); this realization can then be replaced by the sequence ?VR:

kií-ə-t	*[gííIt]	>	kiít	[gí <sup>?</sup> It]	'S/he picked it/them
pick.s.-CTL-3					[clams, berries, etc.]
					<i>Gik.</i>

pčáy-ə-t	*[pčáyIt]	>	pčáyt	[pčá <sup>?</sup> AIt]	'S/he combed it'
comb.s.-CTL-3					<i>Pts'ayt.</i>

Only a few words are affected by this rule, as most transitive verbs ending in glottalized resonants (including the glottal stop) add the Definite suffix {-T} before the Control infix {-ə}.

b. after unstressed short vowel followed by non-glottalized resonant:  
(sequence CVR)

kʷó:ʔin-ə-t lose.s.-CTL-3	> kʷó:ʔint	'S/he lost it'	<i>Kw'oot'int.</i>
lákin-ə-t wreck.s.-CTL-3	> lákint	'S/he wrecked it'	<i>Lak'int.</i>

This rule is most in evidence after a verb suffixed with the Causative suffix {-ʔn} (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.) which causes glottalization and insertion of an unstressed vowel. Verbs formed with the Completive suffix {-ʔl} (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.) tend to add the Definite suffix {-T} (7.2.C.1.a.) before the Control infix.

Compare with the retention of this vowel after stressed stem vowel:

cám-ə-t boil.s.-CTL-3	> cámit	'S/he boiled <u>it</u> '	<i>Jamit.</i>
kín-ə-t give.so.to.eat-CTL-3	> kinit	'S/he gave <u>it/h.</u> s.t. to eat'	<i>Ginit.</i>
si.lín-ə-t pursue.s.-CTL-3	> si.linit	'S/he pursued, chased, hunted it/h.'	<i>Siilinit.</i>
stíl-ə-t accompany.s.-CTL-3	> stilit	'S/he took <u>h.</u> with h. (for company)'	<i>Sdilit.</i>
cə stíl-ə-simʔ IRR accompany.s.-CTL-2P	> ci stílisimʔ	'[You pl. could] go with h.'	<i>Ji sdilisiimʔ!</i>

10.2.A.2.a.2. Loss of a despecified vowel between initial /ʔ/ and /ʔ/, resulting in the affricate /ʔʔ/; or alternately: loss of a despecified vowel in the environment \*C\_CV (followed by insertion of an unspecified vowel, unless

affrication has occurred):

In the following form, the addition of a stressed suffix to a CVC stem has caused de-stressing, despecification and loss of the stem vowel, followed by merging by affrication of the two consonants thus brought into contact:

ʔáʔ-é.ʔ > ʔaʔé.ʔ > ʔəʔé.ʔ > ʔʔé.ʔ > ʔé.ʔ	'to remove things'
put.s.away-DETR	(not used by itself)
	... tʔee'e...

This obvious case of deletion, not just despecification, suggests that other instances where an unstressed vowel occurs should be interpreted as cases of deletion and later reinsertion, rather than just despecification, e.g. the similar formations:

káʔ-é.ʔ > kaʔé.ʔ > kəʔé.ʔ > kʔé.ʔ > kiʔé.ʔ	'to embroider'
pierce.s.-DETR	<i>gihlee'e</i>

*[t]qát-é.ʔ > qaté.ʔ > qəté.ʔ > qʔé.ʔ > qaté.ʔ	'to patch'
apply.s.?-DETR	(t)k'adee'e

in which there is no possibility of affrication between the two consonants brought into contact, and a vowel must be inserted anew and specified according to the existing consonantal environment (10.2.A.1.a.1.).

A succession of two rules, one reversing the other unless conditions no longer apply, gives a more general description of all these forms, rather than a single rule applying in the restricted environment /\*ʔ\_+V.

It is likely that affrication would also occur between /ʔ/ and the other non-Velar fricative /s/; thus it is possible that some forms beginning with /ʔ/ before stressed vowel are the result of similar affrication, but there is no convincing evidence for this at present.

10.2.A.2.a.3. Loss of unspecified vowel in sequence of unstressed syllables (esp. in rapid speech): the consonant immediately preceding the unspecified vowel is attached phonologically to the previous word, which ends in a vowel; the unspecified vowel is deleted: (these conditions recall those of schwa-deletion in French, e.g. in *je n(e) sais pas*):

a. with clitics:

nì· nə ti· wilá·x-t > ninti· wilá·xt      I don't know (it/h.).  
not I.S.E INTS know.s.-3      *Nindii wilaart.*

kilò mə cə tá·s-t > kilomci tást      Don't touch it!  
don't 2E IRR touch.s.-3      *Gilo m(i) ji dast!*

b. as a result of loss of a glottal element between unstressed syllables, after vowel or syllabic resonant (10.2.A.2.b.2.):

čáwʔaqs-a· haʔóʔ > čàwʔaqs(·)haʔóʔ ~ čàwʔaqsəʔóʔ      'running shoes'  
shoes-SUFF canvas      *ts'awaksə (ha)hlo'o*

mó·s-m ʔasáyʔ > mò·sim ʔasáyʔ ~ mò·sim sáyʔ      'big toe'  
thumb-ATT foot      *moosim (a)sáyʔ*

### 10.2.A.2.b. Consonant-deletion:

10.2.A.2.b.1. Deletion of /t/ before and between consonants: morphosyntactic consequences: ( /t/ is the default value of a C; \* /t/ - insertion, 10.2.A.1.b.1.). /t/ -deletion occurs optionally between a vowel and a consonant, obligatorily in clusters. As several very common morphemes are realized as /t/, the deletion rule has important morphological and syntactic consequences.

#### 10.2.A.2.b.1.a. Initially:

(1) /t/ occurs word-initially before Velar stop, but has a tendency to drop in this position, especially away from stress, as in proclitics, which are never stressed:

tʰə==	'dropping to a lower level (proc.)'	~ kʰə--	'id.'
			<i>k'i.../k'a...</i>
			<i>tk'i.../tk'a...</i>
tʰal==	'flush with... (proc.)'	~ ʰal--	'id.'
	<i>tk'al...</i>		<i>tk'al.../k'al...</i>
tʰu==	'around (proc.)'	tʰu)tʰu== > kʰutʰu==	'round and round (proc.)'
	<i>tk'u...</i>	PL)...	<i>k'u:k'u...</i>

If one of these proclitics is preceded by other morphemes ending in consonants, /t/ always drops, whether after a prefix:

kʰilks-tʰal-ʰám-tkʰ > kʰilksʰalʰámtkʰ	'picture'
[...-flush-write/draw.s/-...] <sub>REFL</sub>	<i>gʰilksʰalʰámtkʰ</i>

or a reduplicated syllable:

tʰal)tʰal-- > ʰalʰal-- >> kʰilʰal-- ~ kilʰal--	'all over...'
PL)flush	completely
	covering ... (proc.)'
	<i>k'ilʰal.../gilʰal...</i>

(2) As the realization of the singular Determinate marker **t** (6.2.A.), which occurs before personal names and a few other words, /t/ also occurs before any consonant. In initial position, only very old speakers maintain the /t/:

(t) kʰiná·ʔan-t cáp-t	<u>So-and-so</u> made it.
DM So-and-so REL E-3 make.s.-3	(T) <i>K'inaa ant japt.</i>

(t) Máry mə tim wil kińám-t [You will] give it to Mary.  
DM M. 2E FUT SUB give.s.-3 (T) *Mary mi dim wil gińám.t*

It is maintained after vowels and other consonants:

ni--ti· t Máry lo--t It isn't Mary [it's someone else].  
not-INTS DM M. IND-3 *Nidii t Mary loot.*

hux<sup>w</sup>ti· t Máry=+ wà-ý My name is Mary too.  
also DM M.=NC name-1S *Huxwdii t Maryhl way.*

ksax t Máry=+ húksk<sup>w</sup>-ət Only Mary came/attended.  
only DM M.=NC attend-REL *Ksax t Maryhl huksgwit.*

except before /s/, as happens before the Determinate connective (=S) (6.2.B.1.):

tim kińám-ə-n ʔa=s [t] Máry [You will] give it to Mary.  
FUT give.s.-CTL-2S PREP=DC [DM] M. *Dim gińámin as Mary.*

ni--ti· t Máry ʔa=s [t] kùst That isn't Mary.  
not-INTS DM M. PREP=DC [DM] that *Nidii t Mary as gus.*

10.2.A.2.b.1.b. Word-finally: /t/ also tends to drop in final post-consonantal position. Since the Definite Medial suffix {-T} (7.2.C.1.a.) is realized as /t/ word-finally, this rule is responsible for the loss of this suffix under certain conditions, among many YFS, especially where the suffix is associated with another, as in:

\*líp-ʔs-T > lípist ~ lípis 'to sew'  
sew-AP-DEF *lip'is(t)*

or to a prefix in a morphological frame (see Frames ending in this suffix,





- 2     $\text{ki}^{\text{h}}\text{ám-}\text{ə-}[\text{t}]=\text{s} [\text{t}] \text{Máry lo-}\text{y}^{\text{h}}$                       Mary gave it to me.  
       give.s.-CTL-{3}=DC{DM} M. IND-1S                      *Giñamis Mary looy.*
- 3     $\text{ki}^{\text{h}}\text{ám-}\text{ə-}[\text{t}]=\text{t} \text{hanáq lo-}\text{y}^{\text{h}}$                       The woman gave it to me.  
       give.s.-CTL-{3}=NC woman IND-1S                      *Giñamihl hanak' looy.*
- 4     $\text{ki}^{\text{h}}\text{ám-}\text{ə-t}==\text{a}^{\text{h}}=\text{s} [\text{t}] \text{Máry lo-}\text{y}^{\text{h}}$                       Mary did give it to me!  
       give.s.-CTL-3==ASST-DC{DM} M. IND-1S                      *Giñamida'as Mary looy!*
- 5     $\text{ki}^{\text{h}}\text{ám-}\text{ə-t}==\text{a}^{\text{h}}=\text{t} \text{hanáq lo-}\text{y}^{\text{h}}$                       The woman did give it to me!  
       give.s.-CTL-3==ASST-NC woman IND-1S                      *Giñamida'ahl hanak' looy!*

Because of this rule, the suffix  $\{-t\}$  does not occur on the surface when followed by a noun, since the intervening connective suffix, consisting of a non-Veiar fricative, causes deletion. It only occurs on the surface when another morpheme intervenes: evidential postclitics such as the Assertive  $\{==a^{\text{h}}\}$  ...-a' (6.3.A.2.a.) are the only ones able to occur in this position.

Similarly the final  $/t/$  of the evidential postclitic  $\{==qat\}$  (6.3.B.1.) is subject to deletion before a connective: it is always deleted before  $\{=s\}$ , optionally so before  $\{-t\}$  (but the 3 suffix  $\{-t\}$  is not deleted before  $\{==qat\}$ ):

- 6     $\text{ki}^{\text{h}}\text{ám-}\text{ə-t}==\text{qat lo-n}$                                       I hear s/he gave it to you.  
       give.s.-CTL-3 IND-2S                                      *Giñamit-gat loon.*
- 7     $\text{ki}^{\text{h}}\text{ám-}\text{ə-t}==\text{qa}[\text{t}]=\text{s} [\text{t}] \text{Máry lo-n}$                       I hear Mary gave it to you.  
       give.s.-CTL-{3}=DC{DM} M. IND-1S                      *Giñamit-gas Mary loon.*
- 8     $\text{ki}^{\text{h}}\text{ám-}\text{ə-t}==\text{qa}(\text{t})=\text{t} \text{hanáq lo-n}$                       I hear the woman gave it to you.  
       give.s.-CTL-{3}=NC woman -1S                      *Giñamit-ga(t)hl hanak' loon.*

**Exception:** When there is only one noun in a predicate-focused transitive sentence such as (2), it may or may not corefer with the 3 suffix pronoun on the

verb. If the noun is determinate, there is no ambiguity as the structures are different: the determinate connective (=S) occurs only between the verb and the coreferring Agent noun, as in (9):

- 9 wilá·x-ə-[t]=s [t] Máry            Mary knows it/him/her.  
 know.s.-CTL-{3}=DC {DM} M.            *Wilaayis Mary.*
- 10 wilá·x-ə-t t Máry            S/he knows Mary.  
 know.s.-CTL-3 DM M.            *Wilaayit t Mary.*

But if the noun is non-determinate, the non-determinate connective (=t) occurs between the verb and any noun, so that there could be ambiguity were the /t/ of the 3 suffix deleted in both cases: this /t/ then is only deleted under the same conditions as where (=S) occurs, before a coreferring Agent noun, not before an Object noun:

- 11 wilá·x-ə-[t]=t hanàq̣            The woman knows it/him/her.  
 know.s.-CTL-{3}=NC woman            *Wilaayihl hanaḳ'.*
- 12 wilá·x-ə-t=t hanáq̣            S/he knows the woman.  
 know.s.-CTL-{3}=NC woman            *Wilaayithl hanaḳ'.*

(Note that if a postclitic intervenes, there is no distinction except stress, since the 3 suffix is phonologically present).

This distinction however is not maintained with the non-predicate-focused clause, where connectives occur regardless of the grammatical status of the following noun and where the 3 suffix is deleted in all cases: the distinction between Agent and Object noun is made solely through stress:

- 13 wil-t wilá·x-[t]=s [t] Máry            ... as Mary knows it/him/her.  
 know.s.-{3}=DC {DM} M.            ... *wilt wilaaxs Mary.*

- 14 wil-t wilá·x-[t]=s [t] Máry ...as s/he knows Mary.  
 know.s.-{3}=DC(DM)M. ... *wilt wilaaxs Mary.*
- 15 wil-t wilá·x-[t]=+ hanàq̣ ... as the woman knows it/him/her.  
 know.s.-{3}=NCwoman ... *wilt wilaaxhl hanaḳ'.*
- 16 wil-t wilá·x-[t]=+ hanáq̣ ...as s/he knows the woman.  
 know.s.-{3}=NCwoman ... *wilt wilaaxhl hanaḳ'.*

10.2.A.2.b.2. Deletion of Velar elements: Weaker Velar elements or those in weak position may be deleted intervocally and after syllabic resonant, under certain conditions. The lack of final /h/ also points to a deletion rule (cf. sporadic Velar fricativization in unstressed final syllable, in CV:CvK plurals).

10.2.A.2.b.2.a. Intervocalic: Non-glottalized Velar stops (/k, k<sup>w</sup>, q/) and 'resonants' (the glottal 'resonant' /h/) may be deleted between unstressed vowels, especially at morpheme boundary (in this position, the Velar stops have a voiced phonetic realization). The two vowels brought together by this deletion merge into a long vowel; however, in rapid speech this vowel does not always stay long.

(1) with unstressed pre-predicate morphemes (clitics, modifiers, subordinators): optionally in rapid speech:

?aḵú mə qan ?aḵ čiláyx<sup>w</sup>-ý > ?aḵú ma(qa)n ?aḵ čiláywiý  
 what 2E reason not visit.s.-1S Why didn't/don't you come and visit me?  
*Agu ma gan aḵ ts'ilaywiý?*  
*Agu man aḵ ...*

liki- lip ?aḵú > li- lip ?aḵú 'anything, whatever'  
 about self what *ligii-lip-agu, lii-lip-agu*

(2) in some plurals formed by prefixation or C- reduplication on stems

beginning with an unstressed syllable: here the rule is not optional; the distinction of short vowel in the singular, long vowel in the plural is maintained, as it is the only difference between the singular and plural stems in this category:

lə-ḱipáykw > <b>lik</b> ipáykw > li:páykw PL-fly	'(pl.) to fly' <i>liibaykw</i>
k)ḱińám >> <b>ḱik</b> ińám > ki-ńám PL)give.s.	'to give <u>s.t.</u> (pl.)' <i>gińam</i>
k <sup>w</sup> )k <sup>w</sup> ilá >> <b>k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup></b> ilá > k <sup>w</sup> i-lá PL)blanket	'blankets' <i>gwiila</i>
tə-q)qalán-T >> ta <b>qaq</b> alánt > taqa-lánTt DOM-PL){place behind-DEF	'(pl.) to be behind, last' <i>dagaalaant</i>
h)hanáq̣ >> <b>hahan</b> áq̣ > ha-náq̣ PL)woman	'women' <i>haanaḳ'</i>

(3) in compounds, both glottals /ʔ/ and /h/ are often deleted at the junction of two unstressed syllables:

čáwʔaqs-a- <b>ha</b> ʔóʔ > čàwʔaqs(·)haʔóʔ ~ čàwʔaqs <b>a</b> ʔóʔ shoes-SUFF canvas	'running shoes' <i>ts'awaksahahlo'o</i>
--	--

(4) These rules also occur with some prefixes, before stressed syllable: this does not seem to be a productive process any more, except with /h/:

old plurals:

lə-qinχ >> línχ '(trees) to fall'  
 PL-(tree) fall *linχ*

other prefixes:

kə-ʔáχkʷ >> káχkʷ 'last night'  
 ADV-night *gaxkw*

kit-sʔa-há-st > kisqáhá-st ~ kisqá-s(t) 'the Killerwhale clan'  
 people-among-fireweed *Gisk'uhuast,*  
*Gisk'aast*

10.2.A.2.b.2.b. After resonant (esp. syllabic):

10.2.A.2.b.2.b.1. Glottals:

(a) in compounds, between unstressed syllables:

\*[sim-kátʔ-m hanáq] >> sɨkitim(h)anáq > sɨkitimnáq 'chieftainess,  
 [real-man]<sub>noble</sub>-ATTR woman lady' *sigidimnaq*

ʔú.čkʷ-m ha-ʔáks >> ʔù.čkumaʔáks ~ ʔù.čkum ʔáks 'canteen > bottle'  
 metal-ATT INST-drink *t'uuts'gum (ha)'aks*

(Note: the resulting contraction is identical to:

ʔú.čkʷ-m ʔáks > ʔù.čkum ʔáks 'black water'  
 black-ATT water *t'uuts'gum aks)*

(b) in prefixed forms:

čim-ʔáq > čimáq 'inside of the mouth'  
 in-mouth *ts'imaak*

q̣ay-<sup>\*</sup>húk<sup>w</sup>s > q̣ayúk<sup>w</sup>s 'smoked salmon fillets'  
 still-? *k'ayukws*  
 (cf. G *hux<sup>w</sup>s* 'smoked salmon fillets')

?an-<sup>\*</sup>húʔ > ?anúʔ 'drum' (CT *nahool*)  
 means-rumble? *anuhl*

(c) in others of similar shape:

qanháta > qanáta 'the Frog-Raven clan'  
 (<Tlingit) (oid) *Ganhada*,  
 (modern) *Ganada*

**10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2. Velar fricatives:** A Velar fricative following a syllabic resonant (/l m n/) in a post-stress cluster is deleted under certain conditions.

**10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.a. Before a vowel,** whether inherent or epenthetic. (Since the labio-velar fricative does not occur in this position, the rule is evidenced only for front velars and uvulars).

čilx 'grease, oil' čilx-a-+sá·k > čila(-)sá·k 'oolichan  
 (esp. oolichan) ...-SUFF+oolichan grease'  
*t'ilx* *t'ila saak*

x-čilx 'to eat' x-čilx-ý > xčiliý '... I ate oolichan  
 eat-oo.grease oolichan ...-1S grease; the ool.  
 grease'  
*xt'ilx* *xt'iliý*

típilx 'back of the neck' típilx-ý > típiliý 'the back of my  
 neck'  
*dibilx* *dibiliý*

$\acute{t}iml\acute{a}n\mathbf{x}$	'neck' <i>t'imlaax</i>	$\acute{t}iml\acute{a}n\mathbf{x}\text{-}\acute{y}$ > $\acute{t}iml\acute{a}ni\acute{y}$	'my neck' ...-1S <i>t'imlaniy</i>
		$\acute{t}iml\acute{a}n\mathbf{x}\text{-}n$ > $\acute{t}iml\acute{a}ni\mathbf{n}$	'your neck' ...-2S <i>t'imlaniin</i>
$l\acute{i}m\mathbf{x}$	'song, to sing'	$l\acute{i}m\mathbf{x}\text{-}\acute{y}$ > $l\acute{i}mi\acute{y}$	'my song, ... I sing/sang' <i>limiy</i>
		$l\acute{i}m\mathbf{x}\text{-}\acute{e}t$ > $l\acute{i}mit$	'... that sang/ sings' ... <i>limit</i>
$t\acute{i}l\mathbf{x}$	'tongue' <i>dilx</i>	$t\acute{i}l\mathbf{x}\text{-}\acute{y}$ > $t\acute{i}li\acute{y}$	'my tongue' <i>diliy</i>
		$qa\text{-}t\acute{i}l\mathbf{x}\text{-}m\acute{?}$ > $qat\acute{i}lim\acute{?}$	'our tongues' DIST-...-1P <i>gadilim</i>

(NOTE:  $t\acute{i}l\mathbf{x}l\acute{a}k^w$  'flame, lit. tongue of fire', may be a reduction of  $*t\acute{i}l\mathbf{x}\text{-}a\text{-}l\acute{a}k^w$ , or a modern formation; see 9.1.B.1. for nouns compounded with (-a:))

$\acute{t}ay\mathbf{x}$	'a preparation of sour berries in oolichan grease and water' <i>hlayx</i>	$\acute{t}ay\mathbf{x}\text{-}a\text{-}m\acute{a}\text{-}\acute{y}$ > $\acute{t}ayam\acute{a}\text{-}\acute{y}$	'a preparation of sour berries in ool. grease and water' <i>hlaya maay</i>
		...-SUFF+berries	

Compare with the lack of deletion after non-resonant:



ʎíntx	'to be angry' <i>hlintx</i>	ʎíntx-n > ʎíntxin '... you were/are angry' <i>hlintxin</i>
húpꝥ	'forehead' <i>hupꝥ</i>	húpꝥ-n > húpꝥan 'your forehead' ...-2S <i>hupꝥan</i>

**10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.b. Before a cluster:**

límx	'sing/song' <i>limx</i>	ha-límꝥ+xpís > halímꝥpís INSTR-song-box 'record-player' <i>halímꝥbiis</i>
ʎímlánx	'neck' <i>t'imlanx</i>	ʎímlánx-T-t >> ʎímlántit 'its collar' neck-DEF-3 <i>t'imlandit</i>

**Remark:** an alternate interpretation is possible: instead of deletion, there could be neutralization and vocalization of Velar fricatives to /h/, which drops. Compare with Velar vocalization between stressed vowel and consonant, occurring in CV:Cvk reduplication (8.2.B.1., type 3, c.).

**10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.c. Between a resonant and a glottal stop:** A Velar fricative (not the result of Velar fricativization) is deleted between a resonant and a glottal stop; if the glottal stop is part of a suffix, deletion occurs prior to the application of the vowel-epenthesis rule ( 10.2.A.1.a.1.):

límx	'sing/song' <i>limx</i>	límx-ʔó:y̥ > limʔó:y̥ 'ancient song-yore?? [funeral?] song' <i>lim'ooý</i>
		límx-ʔn > lím'in 'to play <u>a song</u> , ...-CAUS <u>a record</u> ' <i>lim'in</i>

10.2.B. Merging rules:

10.2.B.1. Degemination:

10.2.B.1.a. Within a word:

(1) between unstressed prefix and stem:

čim-múx<sup>w</sup> > čimúx<sup>w</sup> 'inside of the ear'  
in-ear *ts'imuxw*

?am-mí:luk<sup>w</sup> > ?amí:luk<sup>w</sup> 'mask'  
good.for-dance *amiilukw*

ks-sílk<sup>w</sup> > ksílk<sup>w</sup> 'to be in the middle'  
most-middle *ksilkw*

(2) between the two elements of a compound: in rapid speech:

ksə-má:s+sķu:sí:t > ksímá:sķu:sí:t 'to peel potatoes'  
remove-peel+potato *ksimaas(s)guusiit*

čuc+smáx > čucmáx 'to cut meat'  
cut.s.+ meat *k'otsmax*

(3) Degemination does not occur in forms built by C-reduplication, whether word-initially or medially (8.1.C.2.).

10.2.B.1.b. In sandhi: between a word ending in a non-Velar fricative /s/ or /ʃ/ or an affricate /tʃ/, /tʃ/ or /tʃ/ and a connective consisting of the same fricative or fricative release:

(1) non-determinate connective (=t):

míɬ=ɬ ləkʷ > míɬ ləkʷ      Wood burns.  
burn=NC fuel      *Mihl lakw.*

çiɬ)čáɬ=ɬ čáɬ-y̆ >> çiɬ)čáɬ čáɬiy̆      My records are warped.  
PL)rippled?=NC record-1S      *Ts'ihlts'atl' ts'atl'iy̆.*

Contact between the two fricatives may result from the deletion of a /t/ representing the 3 suffix {-t} (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.2.)

wil míɬ-[t]=ɬ ləkʷ      > wil míɬ ləkʷ      ... as/when wood burns.  
SUB burn-[3]=NC fuel      ... *wil mihl lakw.*

wil çiɬ)čáɬ-[t]=ɬ čáɬ-y̆ > wil çiɬ)čáɬ čáɬiy̆      ... as my records are warped.  
PL)rippled-[3]=NC record-1S      ... *wil ts'ihlts'atl' ts'atl'iy̆.*

(2) determinate connective (=S): this connective occurs only before determinates, which are preceded by the Determinate marker ɬ, which is deleted after /s/ (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.2.):

ɬa· náks-[t]=s [t] Máry > ɬa· náks Máry      Mary is married now.  
spouse-[3]=DC {DM} M.      *Hlaa naks Mary.*

náks-[t]=s [t] Máry      > náks Máry      'Mary's husband'  
spouse-[3]=DC {DM} M.      *naks Mary*

ɬutáɬ-[t]=s [t] Máry      > ɬutáɬ Máry      'Mary's coat'  
coat-[3]=DC {DM} M.      *k'udats' Mary*

#### 10.2.B.1.b. Rules creating glottalized segments:

The glottal absorption rules merge a stem-final consonant (except /s/, which cannot be glottalized) with a /ʔ/ belonging to a suffix. Of lesser importance is the rule merging a glottalized /ʔ/ with a following /ɬ/ (as a result of a

vowel-deletion rule) into a /ʔ̥/.

**10.2.B.1.b.1. Glottal absorption:** (occurs post-stress):

When a base ending in a consonant (except /s/) is followed by a suffix consisting of, or beginning with /ʔ/, the sequence C + /ʔ/ becomes a glottalized consonant. If /ʔ/ in the suffix is followed by a consonant, a vowel is inserted between the new glottalized consonant and the consonant of the suffix (see above 10.2.A.1.a. and 10.1.A.1.a.1.a.2. for vowel rules).

**10.2.B.1.b.1.a. Stop + /ʔ/ > glottalized stop:**

p + ʔ > p̥	* líp-ʔsT	>	líp̥is(t)	'to sew'
	sew.s.-AP.D			<i>lip'is(t)</i>
	kíp-ʔskʷ	>	kíp̥iskʷ	'to eat berries while picking'
	eat.s.-AP.I			<i>gip'iskw</i>

t + ʔ > t̥ (there are very few examples as few stems end in /t/)

	taxkát-ʔn	>	taxkḁ́t̥in	'to strengthen, reinforce s.'
	strong-CAUS			<i>daxgat'in</i>
c + ʔ > c̥	yác-ʔskʷ	>	yḁ́c̥iskʷ	'animals'
	strike.s.pl.-AP.I			<i>yats'iskw</i>
k + ʔ > k̥	lák-ʔn	>	lḁ́k̥in	'to wreck s.'
	be.in.heap-CAUS			<i>lak'in</i>
kʷ + ʔ > k̥ʷ	cákʷ-ʔskʷ	>	cḁk̥ʷiskʷ	'animal'
	kill.s.-AP.I			<i>jakw'iskw</i>

	ɣháykʷ-ʔn > ɣháɣʔin	'to capsize <u>s.</u> '
	capsize-CAUS	<i>ɣhaykw'in</i>
q + ʔ > ɣʔ	páɬq-ʔn > páɬɣʔan	'to grade <u>s.</u> (a road)'
	(road) smooth-CAUS	<i>bahɣ'an</i>

**Remarks:** a. If a stop is already glottalized, no extra glottalization occurs; the /ʔ/ of the suffix merges with the base-final consonant, as in:

	nintə-híɬ-ʔn > nintahíɬin	'to glue <u>things</u> together'
	together-stick-CAUS	<i>nindahit'in</i>
	háɬ-ʔskʷ > háɬiskʷ	'to bite (as in: this dog bites)'
	bite.s.-AP.I	<i>hats'iskw</i>

b. If the final consonant does not immediately follow stress, the previous consonant is also glottalized, 10.1.A.2.c. (Anticipatory glottalization).

#### 10.2.B.1.b.1.b. Fricatives:

The rule of Glottal Absorption is not as absolute with fricatives as with stops. Other rules may apply instead, as will be mentioned. Note that /s/ is the only consonant that cannot be glottalized.

##### 10.2.B.1.b.1.b.1. Lateral fricative + /ʔ/ > glottalized lateral affricate /ɣʔ/:

	yáɬ-ʔx-ʔskʷ > yáɣʔiskʷ	'to slip and fall'
	slime-ʔ-AP.I	<i>yatt'iskw</i>
(for /x/ > /k/, see 10.1.A.1.b.2.a.1., Stop-formation)		
	ha-ńi-ɣs-páɬ-ʔn-ʔskʷ > hańi:ɣspáɣʔinskʷ	'matting of cedar boughs (for sleeping in the open)'
	INSTR-on-like-spread.s.-CAUS-AP.I	<i>hańiixbatl'inskw</i>

**Remark:** This rule seems to apply mostly when there are two suffixes beginning with a glottal stop. If only one such suffix is added, the vowel /a/ is generally inserted between /ʔ/ and /ʔ/, as between /s/ and /ʔ/ (10.2.A.1.a.1.(d)).

**10.2.B.1.b.1.b.2. Velar fricative + /ʔ/:** In general, this combination is replaced by the glottalized glide corresponding to the Velar fricative (cf. 10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1. where intervocalic Velar fricatives are replaced by glides); alternately but sporadically, the combination is replaced by the corresponding glottalized stop.

**10.2.B.1.b.1.b.2.a. General rule:** X + ʔ > R (glide)

x + ʔ > y̟	hó·x-ʔn > hó·y̟in use/wear.s.-CAUS	'to put <u>s.t.</u> (a garment) on sbdy' <i>hooyin</i>
	wilá·x-ʔskʷ > wilá·y̟iskʷ know.s.-AP.I	'a relative' <i>wilaa̟iskʷ</i>
xʷ + ʔ > w̟	ksáxʷ-ʔn > ksáw̟in go.out-CAUS	'to let <u>s.</u> outside' <i>ksawin</i>
	ku̟xʷ-ʔsT > ku̟w̟s shoot.s.-AP.D	'to shoot and kill game' <i>gu̟w̟s</i>
x̣ + ʔ > ʔ	páx̣-ʔn > paʔn run-CAUS	'to run /drive <u>s.t.</u> (a boat, car, engine, etc.)' <i>baʔn</i>
	sə-náx̣-ʔskʷ > sináʔskʷ make-bait-AP.I	'to bait one's traps' <i>sinaʔskʷ</i>

**10.2.B.1.b.1.b.2.b. Sporadic rule:** X + ʔ > K̟ (the fricative is replaced by the corresponding stop).

These cases are probably influenced by other alternations involving the same



10.2.B.1.b.1.c.1. The non-glottal resonants /m n l w/: (/y/ does not occur in base-final position).

Glottalization of the non-glottal resonants occurs mostly with the AP suffixes  $\{-ʔsT\}$  and  $\{-ʔsk^w\}$ . With the Causative suffix  $\{-ʔn\}$  and the Completive suffix  $\{-ʔl\}$ , /t/-insertion (10.2.A.1.b.1.b.) is more common. Before a non-Velar fricative, vowel-insertion occurs only if the stem vowel is long.

$m + ʔ > m̥$	$\text{ʔimó}\cdot\mathbf{m}\text{-}ʔsk^w > \text{ʔimó}\cdot\mathbf{m̥}isk^w$	'to help out with donations at feasts, etc.'	<i>hlimooṁiskw</i>
	$\text{lí}\mathbf{m}[x]\text{-}ʔn > \text{lí}\mathbf{m̥}in$	'to play a record'	<i>limin</i>

(for loss of /x/after resonant, see 10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.).

$n + ʔ > n̥$	$\text{pé}\cdot\mathbf{n}\text{-}ʔsT > \text{pé}\cdot\mathbf{n̥}is$	'to paint'	<i>peṁis(t)</i>
	$\text{sə}\text{-miy̆é}\cdot\mathbf{n}\text{-}ʔsk^w > \text{simiy̆é}\cdot\mathbf{n̥}isk^w$	'to smoke food; smoked spring salmon'	<i>simiyeṁiskw</i>
$l + ʔ > l̥$	$\text{síl}\text{-}ʔsT > \text{síl̥}s$	'to spin (wool)'	<i>síls(t)</i>
$w + ʔ > w̥$	$\text{sə}\text{-tá}\cdot\mathbf{w}\text{-}ʔsk^w > \text{sítá}\cdot\mathbf{w̥}iskw$	'to freeze food'	<i>sidaaw̥iskw</i>

Note: With resonants as with stops, if the base-final consonant is already glottalized, suffix-initial /ʔ/ merges with the consonant:



$\acute{n}úwʔ-m\acute{k}w$  >  $\acute{n}úwim\acute{k}w$  'to be bereaved'  
 dead - TEMP? *núwimhkw*

10.2.B.1.b.1.c.2. Glottals and vowels: A word-final glottal element merges with a following glottal stop. Some vowel-final stems show evidence of having once ended in /h/, others attach a glottalizing suffix directly.

a.  $ʔ + ʔ > ʔ$ :

$\acute{c}óʔ-ʔskw$  >>  $\acute{c}óʔoskw$  'to skin animals'  
 split.off-AP.I *ts'o'oskw*

$káʔ-ʔskw$  >>  $káʔaskw$  'to look'  
 see.s.-AP.I *ga'askw*

b.  $*h + ʔ > ʔ$ : Although /h/ does not occur word-finally in normal speech, its presence at some point can be inferred from some present alternations. Its behavior matches that of /ʔ/.

A number of words presently ending in the short vowel /á/ have suffixed counterparts in which the vowel of the suffixed word is /é/: it is likely that these words originally ended in **\*\* /éh/** (the two asterisks indicate a reconstructed form; see also 8.2. CV:CvK Reduplication for other examples of this alternation):

**\*\*kípeh** >  $kípá$  'to wait for s.' **\*\*kípeh-ʔskw** >  $kípeʔeskw$  'to wait'  
*giba* wait.for.s.AP.I *gibe'eskw*

sə-**\*\*wéh** >  $siwá$ -T 'to name s.' **\*\*siwéh-ʔskw** >  $siwéʔeskw$   
 make-name-DEF *siwa(t)-ti* name.s.-AP.I 'to give names'  
*siwe'eskw*

c. For the following stems presently ending in long vowels, which are probably

more modern, direct attachment of a /ʔ/-initial suffix can be assumed, without an intervening stage /h/. There is no change in either vowel length or quality.

t)ʔá-ʔskʷ	>> tiʔá.ʔaskʷ	'to bounce on one's chair (while sitting)'
ASP)sit-API		<i>dit'aa'askw</i>

tə-yé-ʔskʷ	>> tiyé.ʔeskʷ	'very high tide (bringing debris)'
DOM-go-API		<i>diyee'eskw</i>

### 10.3. Stress rules:

10.3.A. Current rule: stress on the root or base: Stress on the root (or at least on the base) is the rule in the vast majority of cases, including modern coinages.

- All prefixes are unstressed (7.1., 7.2.);
- In reduplication, stress is on the stem, not on the prefixed syllable (8.2.B.1.).
- In a compound, main stress on the second major component (9.).

10.3.B. Exceptions: Exceptions to the current rule are not productive patterns and usually bear signs of being older, such as vocalic alternations.

10.3.B.1. Stressed suffixes: A few non-productive suffixes (7.2.C.2.a.2.) bear stress, hence alternations such as:

ʔám	'to write <u>s.t.</u> '	ʔám-ísT > ʔimís(t)	'to write, writing'
	<i>t'am</i>	...-SUFF	<i>t'imis(t)</i>
káʔ-[t]kʷ	'to pierce <u>s.t.</u> '	kaʔ-é:ʔ > kiʔé:ʔ	'to embroider'
pierce-MED.I	<i>gahlkw</i>		(orig. with porcupine quills) <i>gihlee'e</i>

**10.3.B.2. Penultimate stress:** A number of forms bear stress on the initial or penultimate syllable, regardless of the specific grammatical function of that syllable. Other characteristics of most of these forms show that they are older and that the process is not productive.

**10.3.B.2.a. Stress on the prefix:**

**10.3.B.2.a.1. Prefixed plurals:** (7.1.B.1.a.1.a.) Stress falls on the plural prefix (lə-) in a few forms, rather than on the root, hence presently irregular pairs such as:

skát	'to be born'	lískit	'to be born (pl.)'
	<i>sgat</i>		<i>lisgit</i>
kúk <sup>w</sup> sk <sup>w</sup>	'to wake up'	lúkuk <sup>w</sup> sk <sup>w</sup>	'to wake up (pl.)'
	<i>k(y)ukwskw</i>		<i>lugukwskw</i>
(* máq-s)	'to be placed'	lə-maqs-T >> límq̄s(t)	'to grow (pl.)'
place.s.-MED.I	<i>(maqs)</i>	[...-be.placed-...]pl	<i>limq̄s(t)</i>

(Note the loss of the root vowel in the last example as a result of stress placement on the prefix).

**10.3.B.2.a.2. Other prefixes:**

A prefix used to form many high-ranking names means 'grandfather of ...' and is derived from the word meaning 'grandfather', now stressed normally on the root. The new prefix however shows stress on the original prefix (nə-) (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.2.) and loss of the original root vowel, exactly as in límq̄s(t) 'to grow (pl.)' *limq̄s(t)* above:



yúk<sup>w</sup>+sá > yúk<sup>w</sup>sa 'evening'  
 move?-... *yukwsa*

[sílk<sup>w</sup>+\*sáh]-s > sílk<sup>w</sup>saxs 'midday, to be [in] the  
 [middle-...]-MED middle of the day'  
*silkwsaxs*

- with čip 'tribe, clan, village' ... ts'ip (< čáp):

tə-[\*ʔó:+čáp] > taʔó-čip 'fortress'  
 DOMIN-[protect.s.?+...] *da'oots'ip*

- with ĩip 'rock, stone' ... ĩip (< lóʔop, cf. Tarpent 1983b.):

?an-[tóx+lóʔop] >> ?an-tó-ĩip 'fire where stones were  
 place-[put.s.+...] heated for cooking'  
*andoolip*

qa-[\*téʔ+lóʔop] >> qa-té-ĩip 'anchor' (formerly rock  
 place-[lead.s.?+...] at the end of a rope)  
*gadeelip*

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## VITA

Surname: Tarpent

Given names: Marie-Lucie

Place of birth: Tonnerre, Yonne, France

Date of birth: November 9, 1941

### Educational Institutions attended:

Université de Paris (Sorbonne), France	1958 to 1963
University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt., U.S.A.	1963 to 1964
Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.	1964 to 1965
Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.	1967 to 1970 and 1974 to 1977
University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C.	1980 to 1987

### Degrees awarded:

Licence-ès-Lettres (Anglais)	1963	U. de Paris
M.A. (Linguistics)	1965	Cornell U.

### Honors and awards:

SSHRC Doctoral Fellowships	1981-82 and 1982-83
----------------------------	---------------------

### Publications:

1981. "Them Fred": Factors in the evolution of a Tsimshianism. The working papers of the XVI ICSNL. University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics no.2. Missoula, Montana. 397-402.

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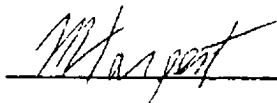


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Author

  
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Marie-Lucie Tarpent

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