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KYUQUOT GRAMMAR

by



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B.A., University of Victoria, 1974

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department

of

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, Kiyuquot Nootka morphology and syntax are examined once previous linguistic research and phonology are summarized. Phonological and morphophonological rules are ordered. Phonotactics include syllable number, phoneme distribution, and cluster constraints.

Kiyuquot is VSO and accusative. The clause head (predicate), consisting of any stem or NP, can govern a subject (and object), take clause-level inflection, and be preceded by subject or object NP (i.e. *adjunct*). NP's include an article, deictic, modifier stem(s), head, or phrasal modifier (e.g. relative clause), generally in that order. *Obliques*, which cannot precede their predicate, include NP's and adverbial or complement clauses and are ordered. Complements are classified by subject coreferentiality and lexical cues.

Kiyuquot marked sentence types are: passive, topical, content question, quantifier-headed, or cleft. Passives are base-generated and are not due to person relations or switch-reference. Topicals have a predicate whose complement would be matrix in an unmarked paraphrase. Content question and quantifier stems are sentence-initial. Clefts, including adjunct-predicate, object-subject, and oblique-adjunct, indicate a new, surprising, or 'heavy' NP in any clause except content questions.

Each semantic class has referential/relative stems anaphoric to NP's or predicates but predicative and inflected for relative mood if in a relative clause (RC). A NP focused in a topical, content question, quantifier-headed or RC construction is case-marked. RC's can be headless and independent. Anaphora of predicates and NP's involves, as well, deictics, articles, and ellipsis (rightward or leftward). New or contrastive information is signalled by position (in roots, matrix clauses, and clefted NP's) and morpheme (in objects).

Complex structures with multiple modifiers or subordinate clauses are avoided and redundancy is favoured, resulting in coordinate clauses,

including $V_1 S V_1 O$, $XY:XY$, and $XY YX$ types. Coordinate clauses are non-cued or are cued by predicate or mood, and can differ in voice, mood, and subject.

The fourth chapter concerns morphology, including uninflected forms (e.g. interjections), emphatic morphemes, and stems. Inflectional affixes indicate plurality, tense, voice, possession (e.g. of subject), mood (over 15 such suffixes), and person. Predicative and NP inflection are contrasted. Aspectual affixes distinguish perfective, iterative, inceptive, continuative, and durative aspect, all except the durative yielding verbal stems. Perfective and gradulative affixes can modify any aspectual affix. Aspects have varying distributions which effect their functions. There are also aspectual stems, e.g. habitual, prospective, and telic.

Word formation is polysynthetic. It is complicated by different stem-forming strategies and restrictions on root and stem forms associated with particular affixes. The 400 noninflectional affixes are each either governing (i.e. responsible for a stem's semantic class) or restrictive. Governing ones are predicative (i.e. dominating an object and/or complement) or classificatory. Choice of the NP or S constituent which serves as the base of the suffix is strictly determined. Constituents can be multiply embedded in stems. Derivation of stems is also implicit. Restrictive affixes (RA's), which are nonderivational and ordered by semantic class and figure-ground relations, are largely locative but can also indicate movement, manner, time, or number. If transitive, their object is external to the stem of the RA. A predicative NP affixed by a RA is coreferential to its subject.

Suffix compounds, stem-extendors, and cranberry affixes are discussed. Word structure constraints emphasize avoidance of multiply-reduplicated stems. Semantic classes are equated with morphological classes due to aspectual function, order and hierarchy of NP constituents, suitability of stems as one-word NP's, and ability of bases to dominate an attached suffix.

Summaries indicate the problems for future research and the typological characteristics of Kiyuqot Nootka as a VSO language of the Northwest Coast area. An appendix lists the lexical affixes.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	adjectival	[L+S]	lengthening of first vowel, shortening of second vowel	S	sentence
ABS	absolutive			SIM	simultaneous ('meanwhile')
Ag	agent	Mod	modifier	SPOR	sporadic iterative
AgO	agent oblique	MOM	momentaneous	SUB	subordinate
E	variable nondel- eting consonant	MOMCAUS	momentaneous causative	T	temporal class
CAUS	causative	MUST	'must (have)'	TEM	temporal tense
Co	complement	Mx	matrix clause	V	verbal
COMB	combining -q-	N	nominal	()	optionally delet- ing phoneme
COND	conditional	NOM	nominalizing affix []		1. phonetic form 2. instructional marker in under- lying form
CONT	continuative	NP	nominal phrase	/ /	underlying form
DEF	definite	O	object	:	coordinate clause boundary
DIM	diminutive	PASS	passive	#	reduplicative mor- peme boundary
DUB	dubitative	PAST	past	xx.-	consonant-final morpheme not under- going glottaliza- tion
DUR	durative	PL	plural		
EVID	evidential	POSB	possibility	-xx	suffix not under- going elision or /?/ deletion
FUT	future	POSS	possessive	-c xx	lenition-inducing suffix
GRAD	graduative	PROB	probability	-'xx	glottalization- inducing suffix
GS	governing suffix	PURP	purposive	V*	long vowel
I	first person	Qr	quantifier	/V:/	invariably long vowel
II	second person	QUE	interrogative	*	ungrammatical
III	third person	QUE*	interrogative plus -a:	?	marginal form
INC	inceptive	QUOT	quotative		
IND	indicative	QUOTEMPH	quotative emphatic		
INDF	indefinite	Qy	quantity		
INF	inferential	[R]	reduplication of root, cf. Table 27		
INFL	inflectional affixes	RA	restrictive affix		
IRR	irrealis	RC	relative clause		
IRREL	irrealis relative	REL	relative		
IT	iterative	REP	repetitive		
L	locative				
[L]	lengthening of root vowel				

1. INTRODUCTION

This work is a grammar of the Kyuquot Nootka language. The introduction discusses in turn the Nootkan language, its dialect variation and setting; the Wakashan language family and relevant research; and theoretical influences.

The research for this work was financially supported by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council doctoral fellowship (1978-1981) and by fieldwork grants from the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Fund (1979-1981), the University of Victoria (1979-1980), and the British Columbia Provincial Museum (1978). My fieldwork, analysis, and writing have benefited from the interest, advice, and support of many people, including my dissertation committee, Drs. B.F. Carlson, T.M. Hess, and G.N. O'Grady; other readers, including Drs. M.D. Kinkade and R.D. Levine; other linguists, particularly Drs. H.J. Warkentyne and B.S. Efrat, who helped me secure fieldwork funds; fellow students and the departmental secretaries; native consultants (named below); and my family, husband, and other friends, particularly B. Hloóhoff and R. von Fuchs, whose home made my fieldwork in Courtenay possible. In addition, my work has been inspired by a number of people, including Dr. Edward Sapir, whose love of the exotic did not obscure his sense of universality and systematicity, and Sr. Eleanor Marie (Edith Lineham), whose appreciation of language as a transmitter of vision and culture gave her Latin students a desire to investigate and understand the linguistic systems of different times and peoples.

1.1. The Language Setting

The traditional geographical setting of Kyuquot speakers is from Granite Island (*maqcu·p*) along the Kashutl and Tahsish Inlets and south to the Rugged Point flats (*qap'u's*). This area, encompassing the whole Kyuquot Sound region of western Vancouver Island, is dotted with twenty-six small Indian Reserves but has inhabitants in only two locations, Aktis Island (*Sagti's*, IR 1) and the coast of Vancouver Island between Clanninnick and Mackay Coves (*hupsitas*, IR 6). Both these areas are included in the village of Kyuquot, a community with a winter population

of approximately a hundred and fifty people, mostly Indian.

The environment in which the people live is dominated by forest and ocean. The terrain is rugged and mountainous, while the coast is steep, frequently beachless, indented by numerous fjords and flanked by a ribbon of banks and small islands. The climate is mild in temperature but subject to frequent heavy rains and severe winter winds. The forest cover is dense with conifers, particularly red cedar, Douglas fir, and western hemlock. Salal, skunk cabbage, and salmonberry bushes cover the steep slopes rising from the sea and stream. The cedar and berry bushes have been the main land resources of the Kyuquot people, the berries as food and the cedar as a material used for shelter, vehicles, clothing, art work, and tools such as fish hooks, twine, and baskets.

It is to the ocean, however, that the houses face. The ocean is the chief source of food. There are halibut and shellfish, but especially salmon, including spring, sockeye, coho, humpback (pink), and chum (dog). The sea has been the route for travel and communication. Visitors and goods traditionally arrived and left by water. In addition, the sea has been a source of personal power and mystery, traditionally through the quest of the whale, but still experienced during fishing, seaweed gathering, camping, and boating trips.

The West Coast culture is noted for drama, humor, three-dimensional art (especially in the wood medium), and the social importance of the acquiring and giving away of property (both material and mental), e.g. canoes, totem poles, songs, names, and ritual privileges. West Coast people value good public speaking, singing, and story-telling. Their oral literature is characterized by ribald humor, pathos, literary figures such as word play and metaphor, and rhetorical acumen.

The Kyuquot (*qa'y'uk'w'itq*) dialect of the Nootka language is still spoken by all Kyuquot people over the age of forty, in at least certain situations such as feasts or fishing trips. Kyuquot can be heard over the radio systems used on commercial fishing boats in the area. Evidently, even some young people (in their twenties) speak Kyuquot as well.

The chief consultants for this dissertation are Christina Cox and Sophie Jules. Secondary consultants include Larry Short (deceased),

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David Jules (deceased), Joe Jules, Moses Cox, and George Louie (an Ahousaht speaker who helped translate texts). The consultants range in age from about forty to seventy-five years old. Mrs. Jules, the oldest, was the source of most of the texts studied. She was raised largely by her grandmother and belongs to the leading family of Kyuquot with respect to hereditary leadership. The data, consisting of about 120 hours of recorded material (yielding approximately 30,000 lines of transcription), were collected between the spring of 1978 and the autumn of 1980.

Kyuquot speakers recognize the similarity of their language to that of Port Alberni (*e'esa'ʔth* or Tsheshaht) speakers and to all the dialects and languages traditionally spoken between Cape Cook and Neah Bay. On the other hand, they recognize the distinctiveness of their speech even from that of their traditional neighbours, the Nuchatlak and Chickliset bands. Kyuquot speakers do not recognize a linguistic relation between Kyuquot and any Kwakiutlan languages, e.g. Quatsino Kwak'wala. However, they do sense a strong traditional socio-cultural link with the people of the Ninkish and Alert Bay areas.

Kyuquot is one of the northernmost Nootka dialects, separated linguistically from Quatsino Kwak'wala only by the Chickliset dialect. Because the Chickliset people amalgamated both geographically and socially with the Kyuquots, the Kyuquot dialect is now the one whose speakers inhabit the area directly adjacent to that inhabited by the Kwakiutlan speakers on western Vancouver Island. It should be noted that the Kyuquot community includes people born in other villages and, hence, speakers of different dialects or with different dialect substrates such as Amai, Nuchatlak, Ahousaht, etc. From Cape Cook to Barkley Sound are distributed the following bands: Kyuquot-Chickliset, Queen's Cove, Nuchatlak, Nootka (Moachat), Hesquiat, Ahousaht, Opitsat (Clayoquot), Toquaht, Ucluelet, Tsheshaht (Port Alberni), Opetchesah, and Ohiaht. (cf. Kenyon 1980:11 for a correlation of band and community names).

Each of these bands includes speakers of one or more dialects. It is not clear whether each village constitutes a dialect or not. However, dialects clearly exist. These dialects vary phonetically, e.g. in stress

placement or speed of delivery; phonologically, e.g. degree of vowel loss; and lexically and grammatically, e.g. shape of the mood and tense suffixes. The genetic subgrouping relations of these dialects are not known at present.

These dialects together constitute the Nootka proper language. The other languages in the Nootkan division are Nitinaht (possibly divided into two dialects, Nitinaht and Pacheenaht) and Makah (possibly also divided into two dialects, Makah and Ozette); spoken south-east of Barclay Sound and at Cape Flattery, respectively. These three languages may be genetically equidistant branches of the parent language, proto-Nootkan. Alternatively, Nootka proper may have split off from the Nitinaht-Makah group first. Makah and Nitinaht are assumed to have genetically separated from one another about 1000 years ago, as Makah speakers moved south into the Olympic Peninsula. Nootkan, also termed Southern Wakashan, and Kwakiutlan, or Northern Wakashan, constitute the Wakashan family, the name being standardized by Powell (1891:128-30). The Wakashan family is the most extensive linguistic class to which Kyu-quot can be assigned membership on the basis of currently accepted linguistic research:

1.2. The Research Setting

1.2.1. Wakashan

The genetic relationship between Kwakiutlan and Nootkan languages was advanced by Franz Boas as early as 1890, based largely on information from Heiltsuk and Kwak'waka in the former division, and Barclay Sound and Nootka Sound Nootka in the latter. Boas concentrated most of his Wakashan work on certain northern languages (cf. Boas 1900 through 1947). However, in addition, he (1900a:655) noted certain phonological, lexical, and morphological similarities between Kwakiutlan and Nootkan, emphasizing the sharing of morphophonemic processes such as hardening and softening (i.e. glottalization and lenition). Thompson (1970:51) observes that it was Sapir who most clearly verified Boas' theory. Sapir (1911 and 1951) cited sound correspondences and grammatical similarities within Wakashan, and in 1938, as Thompson (1970:52) notes,

recapitulated a great deal of Wakashan linguistic history in his discussion of glottalized continuants in these and some other languages.

Swadesh (1963:26, 41) assumed a time-depth in Wakashan of 2900 years since the Kwakiutlan-Nootkan split. This split is informally posited to have occurred near Quatsino Sound, just north of Kyuquot, because that is the present boundary between Kwakiutlan and Nootkan.

The reconstruction of proto-Wakashan has been delayed by several factors. First, linguists have been fascinated by the possibility of genetic relationship between Wakashan and other languages or families, such as Quileute and Salishan (cf. Andrade 1953, Frachtenberg 1920, Sapir 1929, and Swadesh 1949 and 1953), Algonkian (cf. Haas 1960, Sapir 1929), Tsimshian (cf. Boas 1929), and Eskimo-Aleut (cf. Swadesh 1962). Second, Boas' and Sapir's position as central researchers in proto-Wakashan may have led other linguists to believe that all important and/or interesting work in this field had been accomplished. Third, and most probable, detailed work in proto-Wakashan cannot begin until the subdivisions, Kwakiutlan and Nootkan, have been reconstructed. This work has not been undertaken until very recently (cf. Haas 1969a, Jacobsen 1979, and Lincoln & Rath 1980).

1.2.2. Nootkan

The comparative reconstruction of the Nootkan subdivision has been undertaken by one researcher specializing in Nitinaht, Mary Haas (1969a, 1972), and one specializing in Makah, William Jacobsen Jr. (1968, 1969b). Haas' focused on reconstructing morpheme shapes and the pronominal suffix series, while Jacobsen studied the origins of pharyngeals and the reflexes of glottalized resonants. Jacobsen is also largely responsible for the synchronic work done on Makah (cf. Jacobsen 1969a, 1971, 1973, 1978). Prior to 1970, Haas was the chief researcher on Nitinaht. Since then, Terry Klokeid has investigated Nitinaht phonology and syntax, using transformational-generative and relational grammar as models. Barry Carlson and John Thomas (1979) are now engaged in research on Nitinaht as well.

The Nootkan subdivision has been represented in the literature most strongly by the subgroup Nootka proper, the bulk of work on Makah

and Nitinaht having been done after 1960 and therefore just beginning to appear in print. There are, in addition, early accounts and word-lists of Nootka proper, such as those of Jewitt (1815), Knipe (1868), Sproat (1868), Tolmie & Dawson (1884), Moziño (1913), Strange (1928), and Koppert (1930). It is not clear to which dialects these accounts refer.

1.2.3. Nootka

By far the most studied Nootka dialect has been Tseshah̄t. Sapir, aided by a native Nootka speaker A. Thomas, published texts and anthropologically-oriented discussions of this dialect, which came to be known as 'Nootka'. Swadesh, Sapir's pupil, then used Sapir's material to do morphological analysis of the language. There are also unpublished materials on this dialect by both Sapir and Swadesh. In addition, Swadesh made his own field trips, including one to Kyuquot, Port Alberni, and Port Renfrew in 1967. The data obtained from this last one are not yet analysed. The chief source for Nootka has been Sapir and Swadesh's (1939) work Nootka Texts, which consists of a collection of transcribed, translated, and annotated texts, a grammatical sketch, and a Nootka-English glossary. This was accompanied in the same year by their book Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography. Recently, the problem of variable vowel length in Tseshah̄t has been reanalysed (cf. Klokeid 1975b).

By native speaker accounting, there are aside from Tseshah̄t between 13 and 19 Nootka dialects in use between Barclay Sound and Cape Cook. These posited dialects may be divided into those represented in the literature, those under investigation but not in the literature, and those not under investigation. Those dialects apparently not under investigation and lacking description are Uchucklesit, Toquat, Ucluelet, Kilsmat, Moachat, Muchalat, Nuchatlet, Ehetisat, and Chickliset (ordered from Barclay Sound northwest towards Cape Cook). Those in the literature, aside from Tseshah̄t, are Clayoquot (cf. Paik 1968) and Ahousah̄t (cf. for example Moon & Wester 1975). Those dialects for which materials (largely word-lists or ethnobotanical data) have been collected but which are not yet in print are Ohiaht, Hōpach̄isat, Hesquiaht, and Kyuquot. For Kyuquot, this prior linguistic research consists of a Kyuquot-English word-list of approximately 1800 words, collected by Morris Swadesh and Terry Klokeid

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at Aktis Island in May of 1967.

1.3. Theoretical Setting

1.3.1. Introduction

The linguistic study of a given language is interesting to the extent that observations made are comparable to those of other languages and are empirically testable. This necessitates that linguistic data, e.g. from the Kyuquot language, be identified; analysed, and presented within a widely understood linguistic paradigm or set of paradigms.

The hierarchical nature of language, e.g. the existence of surface and underlying representations in the levels of phonology, morphology, and syntax, and the universality of certain linguistic characteristics are here posited to be the products of survival-oriented evolution and physiological constraints (cf. Simon 1962).

However, although discrete hierarchical levels and subclasses are posited, it is acknowledged that language is a human behavior and therefore probabilistic as well as rule-governed, with linguistic components (i.e. levels or classes) being necessarily characterized by 'fuzzy sets' (Bailey 1973). Because language is a social and creative activity, the data on which this grammar is based consist not only of elicited utterances but also of stories, conversations, and environmentally-stimulated responses (e.g. to pictures) not elicited as translations of English sentences. It is acknowledged that a grammar should ideally account for any language user's abilities to produce and comprehend novel and meaningful utterances, spoken in a range of lects (cf. Hooper 1976) and based on a network of idiolectal, language-specific, and universal structures and rules. These latter entities are subject to probabilistic weightings which are a function of the physiological, linguistic, cognitive, and social contexts in which a particular utterance is produced and comprehended.

It is recognized that a simple rule is not necessarily natural (and vice versa), that a derivation does not constitute an explanation, and that simplicity, economy, and naturalness are not obvious symptoms of

psychological reality. Finally, it is recognized that although language is a system, it is also characterized by tendencies of usage and other types of nongenerative creativity (cf. W. Haas 1978:308).

Language is viewed here as an interaction of intention and convention (cf. for example Tyler 1978:14 and Halliday 1977:193). An utterance's intention includes the proposition(s) (or content) to be communicated, the illocutionary mode (e.g. question, statement, or command), and the choice of conventions. Conventions impinging upon the intention include worldview, linguistic context (e.g. presupposition), discourse stylistics (e.g. medium, lect variance, and literary figures), and linguistic principles (of phonology and grammar) including strategies for indicating equivalence, anaphora, paraphrase, metaphor, and subordination relations. Conventions can be explicit or cryptotypic (cf. Whorf 1945).

All of the principles of language use interact, e.g. lexical choice and sound symbolism (cf. Jakobson & Waugh 1979:177-233); proposition and linguistic convention (e.g. presence of modal markers); and text context and sentence design (cf. Rosenberg 1977 for these and other examples of such interaction). Each sentence is understood as an interaction of form, relations, functions, and linguistic context; with certain components being foregrounded in certain sentences. It is also assumed that the content of an utterance is transmitted as much by the differentiation of signs as by the sum of signs (cf. Merleau-Ponty 1973: 31). Such an interactionist nonlinear model of language does not preclude the presence of hierarchically-organized components, e.g. in stress assignment, phonological features, and sentence and word structure. Finally, it is assumed that conventions do not constitute an arbitrary system and that the

lack of isomorphism, in the mathematical sense, between lexicon and nature, does not justify the absurd assumption of total subjectivity or randomness. (Friedrich 1975:219)

Ideally, a description of a language should describe either the user's full repertoire of language skills or those aspects of his repertoire which are language-specific and not predictable from cognitive, linguistic, discourse, or physiological universals. This particular

grammar falls far short of either goal due to the lack of a comprehensive body of linguistic and language use universals; the researcher's limitations with respect to time, knowledge of the language, and cultural-linguistic bias; and the limited data available, especially concerning free conversation and lect variance.

Hence, the grammar has been written with a modest goal in mind: It is to provide a description of Kyuquot syntactic and morphological principles and their interaction, with short excursions into semantics, discourse, lexicon, and phonology, where they elucidate the description. This goal has been adopted in full knowledge that it somewhat underrepresents the richness of a Kyuquot speaker's competence and oversimplifies the nature of his powers of communication.

1.3.2. Syntax

Because both the native speaker and the linguist learn the structure of a language only by testing their linguistic hypotheses with new utterances, this work follows the transformational-generative model in beginning with a syntactic description and then working towards the phonological level. This approach necessarily emphasizes the production aspect of language.

The syntax or sentence-formation component of this grammar is non-transformational. The existence of a transformational syntactic component is controversial now (cf. Newmeyer 1980, ch.8), and proposed alternatives have included a semantic component which includes the transformations (cf. McCawley 1968, 1979) or an unordered but hierarchically-organized base structure with concatenation and ordering rules replacing transformations (cf. W. Boas 1975, Sanders 1972, Brame 1979). An alternative position, held by the lexicalist-interpretivist school (cf. Chomsky 1977, Fiengo & Lasnik 1976), assumes semantic interpretation is based on surface forms, requiring surface traces of all syntactic operations and surface structure constraints. This so limits the informative content of the transformations that they become virtually unnecessary (cf. Brame 1978). This situation has caused a shift of interest of syntax back to phrase structure (cf. Jackendoff 1977:xi). The arguments for base-generated syntax and for the increased use of surface-level constraints

On syntactic structure are particularly compelling for a language like Nootka with a loose word order and a complex morphology. It is possible that such arguments also support more syntactic variability among languages, at all linguistic levels (a view recently reaffirmed by Bach 1977:144).

Although sentence word order has been a key area of research in syntax recently, there has been a resurfacing of interest in the operational definition of parts of speech as part of a universal theory of the lexicon. First, Ross' (1973) work on syntactic rules has necessitated the recognition of the fuzziness of the constituent classes involved in such rules (at least for English), alerting one to the danger of oversimplifying the structural descriptions of syntactic rules in Kyuúqot, a language with rather ambiguous word classes.

Second, the desire to account for cross-categorical syntactic (including base structure) rules, reflected in the integration of X-bar notation into syntactic description (cf. Jackendoff 1977) and the examination of phrase structure constituency has necessitated a return to the investigation of constituent identification, one of the oldest and yet still difficult problems confronting linguistics.

Even within the confines of one single language it is hard to find an analysis in terms of word classes which satisfies all. Many of our difficulties arise from the fact that not enough data are available from widely different languages, and those which are available are often hard to compare because of differences in theoretical background, descriptive style, and terminology. (Reichling et al. 1967:i-ii)

Nootka has been used as an 'obvious' example of a language without a noun-verb distinction (cf. Hockett 1957:224) since Sapir and Swadesh's (1939a) Nootka Texts first appeared. However, although the extreme degree of constituent multipurposeness of lexical entries in Nootka does suggest that it has only one lexical category, as argued by Kinkade (1977) for Salishan and by Bach (1968) for a posited universal base to be shared by all languages, there are morphological reasons for distinguishing lexical classes in Nootka (cf. section 4.11.1).

1.3.3. Morphology

In this dissertation, it is assumed (following Linell 1977:87) that

in addition to syntactic and semantic components and a lexicon, there is a morphological component which accounts for the form of the morphological means of expression. The motivation for a morphological component lies in the fact that morphology is one means of expressing semantic distinctions. It has its own kinds of structural properties which must be accounted for.

The reemergence of morphology as a distinct entity mediating between syntax and phonology is the result of constraints against derivational morphology in syntax (cf. Chomsky 1970, 1973) and abstractness in phonology (cf. Kiparsky 1968), among other things. The morphological component includes lexical insertion and word formation rules and the lexicon. It is assumed here that derivation is both root-based and stem-based, in that words may be built upon either stems (cf. Aronoff 1976) or nonstem bases, and that inflected words do not have to be stored as entries (in opposition to Vennemann 1974).

It is assumed that the morpheme is defined only by a combination of morphological and phonological information (cf. Robinson 1978) and that word formation has access to both the lexicon and phonology (cf. Carroll & Tanenhaus 1975). It is also assumed that the word formation process is as functionally important, linguistically complex, cognitively creative, and theoretically interesting as the sentence formation process in any language, and perhaps especially in a language like Nootka.

An additional problem of Nootka morphological description is the translation of morphemes and stems. Haas (1972:88) has observed that

Nootka-Nitinat roots are highly abstract in meaning while the usual English renditions tend to be overly specific and hence reasonably adequate in one context, quite inadequate in the next. Consequently, it is difficult to arrive at the basic meaning of a stem or root on the basis of the usual translations.

She gives as an example the root *t'a-* 'object(s) on line, line with object(s) attached at end, in middle, or inside', which is found in stems with meanings as varied as 'throw out line with anchor or bait', 'a line tied in a knot', 'having an overloaded vehicle (the canoe as 'line')', or 'being pregnant (the mother as 'line')'. For the sake of economy and reading ease in English, morphemes are typically glossed in this grammar by short concrete translations which constitute only part of the range

of meaning of a morpheme.

1.3.4. Phonology

Phonological description is included here only to introduce word structure constraints and morphophonological processes. The pronunciation of Kyuquot words will be described within the following model. Phonological rules, which are language-specific, natural, and possibly controllable by the speaker, are distinguished on the one hand from phonetic processes, which are neuro-physiological (cf. Roca 1976) but probably not neurally encoded (cf. Kent & Minifie 1977), and on the other hand from morphophonological rules, which are language specific and refer to unnatural phonological or morphological environments and boundary markers (due to 'unnatural' events like rule truncation, inversion, morphologization, and paradigm regularization). It is recognized that the formal identification of these rule-types is ambiguous (cf. Hellberg 1978).

Systematic phonological alternations (as opposed to suppletive ones) are linked by one systematic underlying representation, whose shape can include features or segments from several different surface representations (cf. Kenstowicz & Kisseberth 1977:51) and can undergo a series of extrinsically-ordered processes. Rules are not expressed here in distinctive features, although their usefulness in expressing certain significant generalizations is unquestioned (cf. Rose 1976 for a distinctive feature treatment of Nootka phonological and morphophonological rules). Following Schane (1973:97), it is recognized that

derived representations are amazingly similar to taxonomic phonemic representations, precisely because the phonological rules found in the literature map abstract underlying segments specified with binary features into less abstract surface segments also specified with binary features, segments which contrast on the surface.

Thus, there appears to be room for both taxonomic and systematic phonology in a given grammar. In this grammar, it is the taxonomic phoneme which is used for surface Kyuquot forms. Underlying or systematic phonological forms are enclosed in slash brackets.

2. PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

This section discusses the phonological rules and constraints necessary for an understanding of the surface phonological structure of Kyuquot words and their posited underlying forms. This thesis does not, however, give a detailed phonology or morphophonology of Kyuquot. The intricacies of these parts of Kyuquot grammar await further research.

Following the phonological overview is a brief discussion of those aspects of morphology necessary for a description of syntax. The symbols and abbreviations used in the examples are presented in a list found subsequent to the lists of tables and figures in the introduction to this thesis.

2.1. The Phonemes

Nootka shares many of the phonological features of other languages in the Northwest Coast cultural-linguistic area: glottalized stops (ejectives), alveolar and alveopalatal, uvular, labiovelar, and lateral consonants, and the absence of voiced fricatives or r-type phonemes. In addition, Nootka has the central areal traits of pharyngeal and glottalized continuant phonemes. Kyuquot Nootka's consonant phoneme inventory is as follows.

TABLE 1: CONSONANT INVENTORY

	Lab	Alv	Alv	Alv- pal	Lat	Vel	Lab- vel	Uvu	Lab- uvu	Phar	Lab- phar	Glott
Stop	p	t	c	č	ʔ	k	k ^w	q	q ^w			
Ejective	p'	t'	c'	č'	ʔ'	k'	k ^w '			ʕ		
Fricative		s		š	ʃ	x	x ^w	(x)		h	h ^w	
Resonant	m	n		y			w					h
Glottal Resonant	m'	n'		y'			w'					ʔ

The bracketed consonant x is extremely rare. It is found in only one root, *ʔut-* 'knife' (probably a borrowing from Northern Wakashan), and one suffix, *-x* 'pejoratively'. There are no instances of $-x^w$ or the uvular ejectives. Historically, the pharyngeals arose from the mergers

of *q̄ and *q̄^w to ʔ, and of *ɕ and *ɕ^w to h̄ (cf. Jacobsen 1969b). The labialized pharyngeal fricative h̄^w is posited as a systematic phoneme (or morphophoneme) in order to account for certain surface alternations (cf. Rose 1976). It occurs phonetically due to the regular labialization of back consonants following u.

Phonemically, there are six vowels, i a u i^{*} a^{*} u^{*}, plus two marginal phonemes, ɔ^{*} and e^{*}. These latter ones are marginal because they occur only in certain address mode words (cf. section 4.2.2). Morphophonemically, nine vowels are posited: /i a u i^{*} a^{*} u^{*} i: a: u:/ . There appears to be no phonetic difference between long (*) and obligatorily long (:) vowels. The linguistic difference is that long vowels are short in certain contexts, whereas obligatorily long vowels are long in all surface forms (except in a word-final context). The rules influencing surface vowel length are included in the section on phonological rules (2.2).

Consonant Characteristics. In Kyuquot, and in Nootka in general, the unvoiced stops and affricates are lenis. There is optional voicing of intervocalic p and t. Labialized consonants are characterized by velarization as much as by rounding. Lips are much less rounded for consonants such as k^w than they are for the glide w or the vowel u. Ejectives are characterized by a glottal closure following the consonantal closure. However, full glottal closure does not always occur. In such cases, the 'glottalization' is cued by associated laryngealization of adjacent syllables. Glottalized resonants are characterized by a glottal closure prior to the consonantal closure and/or by associated laryngealization in adjacent syllables.

Places of articulation are: labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, velar, uvular, pharyngeal, and glottal. Nonlabialized velar consonants are optionally produced with a y offglide preceding a. There is some drift of pharyngeal consonants, in that h̄ is sometimes pronounced [x]. Because ɕ is so marginal as a phoneme in Kyuquot, such a drift does not result in homonymy. Otherwise, the place of articulation for consonants is relatively stable.

The Nootka pharyngeals are not characterized by associated

labialization or nasalization. The h is like a fricative in being composed of aperiodic noise, but is like a resonant in having large formant transitions which are perceived as offglides and onglides in adjacent vowels. The ʕ consists of a pharyngealized glottal closure which, like the h , is accompanied by a raised larynx and a retracted tongue root. ʕ is like a resonant in having no burst (i.e. a stop release). However, associated laryngealization, perceived as a series of 'cracks', gives the impression of a series of stop bursts. Impressionistically, the Nootka ʕ sounds much more stop-like and crisp than the Salish sound written with the same symbol.

In Kyuquot, the rest or unmarked position for the tongue can be one in which the tongue is low and enclosed by the teeth, with the surface of the tongue sloping from blade to tip, or one in which the tongue is enclosed by the teeth with the tip raised and resting on the alveolar ridge; these positions being common variants in English as well. For some Kyuquot speakers, the rest position can also be one in which the tongue is bunched forward, so that the sides of the blade extend out slightly between the teeth in the area of the cuspids. The tip remains within the teeth in a curled-back position behind the lower incisors. This latter position can be retained during pronunciation of virtually all consonants with the following exceptions: the tongue is narrowed to fit within the lower teeth for laterals and to a lesser degree for labialized consonants; the tongue blade is rendered trough-like in its frontmost portion for alveopalatal and back consonants; and the tongue blade (but not the tip) retracts during ejectives and glottalized resonants. Even for those speakers who do not extend the front of the tongue in this way, alveolar consonants are often produced with the blade rather than the tip.

Vowel Characteristics. Allophonic variants for Kyuquot vowels are given in the table below. In the table, the consonant symbol represents that set of consonants (stop, ejective, fricative, resonant and glottalized resonant) having the same place of articulation and degree of rounding. The allophonic variant in a given column represents the allophone occurring when adjacent to one of the set of consonants

represented by the consonant symbol.

TABLE 2: ALLOPHONIC VARIANTS OF KYUQUOT VOWELS

Phoneme	Basic	č	k	k ^w	q	q ^w	ʃ	ʔ
/i/	ɪ	i	i	i ^ʔ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ ^v	ɪ ^ʔ
/u/	ʊ	ʊ ^ʔ	ʊ ^ʔ	ʊ ^ʔ	ɔ ^ʔ	ɔ ^ʔ	ɔ ^ʔ	ʊ ^ʔ
/a/	a ~ a	ɛ ^ʔ	ɛ ^ʔ	ʌ ^ʔ	a	ʌ ^ʔ	a ^ʔ	a

In C_C environments, a non-basic allophone has dominance over a basic one; a back consonant's allophone has dominance over a high consonant's vowel allophone; a low consonant's (i.e. uvular's or pharyngeal's) vowel allophone has dominance over that of a non-low consonant; and a pharyngeal consonant's vowel allophone over that of a non-pharyngeal consonant. The interaction of rounding and dominance is not understood at present. In general, vowels are retracted when adjacent to labialized or pharyngealized consonants and are laryngealized adjacent to ejectives, glottalized resonants, ʃ and ʔ. Laryngealization optionally occurs with vowels adjacent to uvulars as well. Laryngealized vowels sound creaky, muffled, or hollow, and are also characterized by a dip in pitch.

2.2. Morphophonological and Phonological Rules

Kyuquot has several morphophonological processes. These processes operate, for the most part, prior to the application of phonological rules in an extrinsically ordered scheme and are regressive (in that a later element influences an earlier element in a word). The Kyuquot extrinsic order of morphophonological and phonological rules appears to follow the order posited for Port Alberni Nootka (cf. Rose 1976 for an ordering of many of the rules).

Consonant Deletion. In Kyuquot, there are certain suffixes whose initial consonant (one of /č č' k^w n q w y/) deletes following a consonant. There are other suffixes, having as initial phoneme either one of the above phonemes or any other consonant phoneme (except /t t' x x^w/, which do not occur suffix-initially), in which no such deletion occurs. Consonants which undergo deletion are enclosed in brackets, as in -(q)čs

'at a vehicle' or $-(n)a:nk$ 'bringing..'; nondeleting consonants are not bracketed, as in $-q\check{c}i\cdot k$ 'going along' or $-na\cdot k^w$ 'having..'.
 " "

Backing. Certain suffix-initial alveopalatal consonants have k (or k^w if the underlying consonant is ejective) as their surface form when following a high back vowel. This alternation occurs for all deleting alveopalatal consonants and for two nondeleting consonants, the \check{c} in $-\check{c}i\cdot p$ [L] '..stored up' and the c in $-\check{c}ap$ [R] 'sore in.. (body part)'. These consonants contrast with nondeleting nonchanging suffix-initial alveopalatal consonants such as the \check{c} in $-\check{c}i\cdot\check{t}$ 'for.. days'. The underlining of the suffix-initial consonant indicates the alternation of \check{c} and k .

Other Alternations. When following a low or front vowel, a deleting \check{c} has as surface form c preceding s , k preceding \check{c} or \check{s} , \check{s} preceding t , and \check{c} elsewhere. In a strict phonemic account, this phenomenon is not an alternation but a set of constraints on suffix shape. Suffixes with variable \check{c} consonants are of the following shapes.

TABLE 3: VARIABLE \check{c} CONSONANTS

Underlying	$\begin{Bmatrix} a \\ i \end{Bmatrix}$ —	u	C
$-(\check{c})V..$	$-\check{c}V..$	$-kV..$	$-V..$
$-(\check{c})tV..$	$-\check{c}tV..$	$-ktV..$	$-tV..$
$-(\check{c})sV..$	$-c(s)V..$	$-ksV..$	$-sV..$
$-(\check{c})\begin{Bmatrix} \check{c} \\ \check{s} \end{Bmatrix}V..$	$-k\begin{Bmatrix} \check{c} \\ \check{s} \end{Bmatrix}V..$	$-k\begin{Bmatrix} \check{c} \\ \check{s} \end{Bmatrix}V..$	$-\begin{Bmatrix} \check{c} \\ \check{s} \end{Bmatrix}V..$
$-(\check{c})tV..$	$-\check{s}tV..$	$-ktV..$	$-tV..$
$-\check{c}V..$	$-\check{c}V..$	$-kV..$	$-\check{c}V..$
$-\check{c}'V..$	$-\check{c}'V..$	$-k'V..$	$-\check{c}'V..$

It is assumed that labialization of the k in the above sequence is the result of the regular labialization rule discussed below. In this thesis, the underlying forms of such suffixes have as their variable initial consonant the consonant which would occur following the vowels i or a ; i.e. $-(\check{c})tV..$, $-(c)sV..$, $-(k)\check{c}V..$, $-(k)\check{s}V..$, $-(\check{s})tV..$, $-\check{c}V..$, and $-\check{c}'V..$ respectively.

In the momentaneous aspect suffix $-\check{s}i(\check{c})$, the underlined initial

element surfaces as k^w following a high back vowel, \check{c} following other vowels (or nasals), and \check{s} following consonants. For this morpheme, the \check{s} is retained in the underlying form, following the pattern established for Port Alberni Nootka, because it distinguishes those morphemes in which \check{c} is deleted following a consonant from those in which the variable consonant surfaces as \check{s} following a consonant.

Final-consonant Deletion. There are certain morpheme-final \check{z} consonants which are absent if preceding a suffix which normally induces lenition or glottalization of a preceding consonant. Such a \check{z} is found in $-a \cdot n\check{u}(\check{z})$ 'along leg, long, narrow object or place'.

- (1) $h\check{i}t\check{a} \cdot n^{\check{z}} u^{\check{z}} i\check{h}t$ He's at the end of the peninsula
 $/h\check{i}t\check{a} \cdot n^{\check{z}} u(\check{z}) - i\check{h}t\check{a}/$ there-at long thing-at nose

In eight of the eleven suffixes with final deleting \check{z} , the deletion is optional. There is also regular deletion of final \check{x} in aspectual morphemes preceding inflectional suffixes which induce glottalization. This phenomenon is signalled in underlying forms by bracketing, as in $-\check{s}\check{i}(\check{x})$, the momentaneous aspect morpheme.

Elsewhere Rule. Following the consonant alternation rules and prior to the lenition and glottalization rules, there is an elsewhere rule whereby variable consonants which have not already been assigned a surface form receive one.

Lenition. A very small set of suffixes, $-c\check{i}\check{z}$ 'in house; enclosure', $-c\check{i}s$ 'at beach', and $-c\check{i} \cdot \check{c}\check{i}(\check{x})$ INCEPTIVE, induce preceding nonback fricatives to surface as the nonback glide y and induce back labialized fricatives to surface as the back (labialized) glide w .

Glottalization. In Kyuquot, there are noninflectional suffixes which cause glottalization of a preceding stop, affricate, or resonant, and change a preceding fricative to the glide with equivalent feature values for the front-back and round-unround parameters. In other words, any stop, affricate or resonant surfaces as its ejective counterpart (except that q and q^w surface as \check{s} , a change which can be treated systematically as one of $[-\text{glottal}] \rightarrow [+ \text{glottal}]$, quite parallel to that of other stops; cf. Rose 1976); nonback fricatives surface as $y^{\check{z}}$; and back round fricatives surface as $w^{\check{z}}$. The alternation of h and $w^{\check{z}}$

in stems such as $?i\cdot h$ 'big' and $?i\cdot w\cdot a\cdot ?$ 'a big one on the rocks' supports the inclusion of the morphophoneme (or systematic phoneme) h^w in the consonant inventory. Suffixes causing the above changes in preceding consonants are identified by the diacritic ' , as in $-a\cdot ?a$ 'at the rocks'.

Inflectional suffixes which are glottalization-inducing cause only the consonant-to-ejective change and leave fricatives unaffected. Such suffixes are also identified by ' , as in $-at$ PASSIVE. Inflectional suffixes have the same boundary marker as noninflectional ones but are distinguished in this thesis by having capitalized glosses. The only noninflectional affixes thus glossed are the aspectual and causative morphemes.

Because glottalization of consonants also occurs when a word-final consonant precedes a word beginning with ? , as in $[wik\cdot aya]$ *wik ?aya* 'not many', one might claim that inflectional suffixes are not suffixes, but are words or clitics beginning with ? . However, glottalization over word boundaries has no effect on the uvular stops; nor does an initial glottal stop cause an aspect-final λ to delete. It seems clear that phonetic glottalization should be distinguished from morphophonemic glottalization and likely that inflectional suffixes are suffixes rather than more independent morphemes.

? Epenthesis. When lenition- or glottalization-inducing suffixes follow a vowel-final morpheme, a glottal stop intervenes, as in $\lambda\cdot a\cdot ?as$ 'outside' and $\lambda\cdot a\cdot ?is$, based on the root $\lambda\cdot a\cdot$ 'outside' and the affixes $-as$ 'outside, at ground' and $-is$ 'at beach'. The epenthesis rule is treated here as part of a set of ordered rules. Hence, later-ordered rules delete ? when it occurs in third or later syllables and elide the adjacent vowels remaining.

Vowel Lengthening. A root vowel can be lengthened due to the presence of either a vowel-lengthening suffix such as $-k\cdot w\cdot ap$ [L] 'liking' or of the gradative morpheme [L] (cf. section 4.4.9) or of certain reduplicative morphemes. Such lengthening is not phonologically conditioned.

Vowel Shortening. Vowel shortening is induced by one suffix in

Kyuquot, the nonreduplicative sporadic aspect allomorph $-i:ʔ$ [L+S] SPOR. Words bearing this suffix must have a long vowel in the initial syllable and a short vowel in the second syllable in the surface form.

- (2) $ʔu \cdot nak\check{s}i \cdot ʔ$ He got it every now and then
 $/ʔu \cdot na \cdot k^w \cdot \check{s}i(\lambda) \cdot i:ʔ$ [L+S] / it-have..-MOM-SPOR

Reduplication. Reduplication, the copying and adjoining of the copied portion to a word, is varied and common in Nootka. Reduplication can be morphemic or indexed morphophonemically. Induced (parasynthetic) reduplication is of the following types: CV#CV, CV#CV \cdot , CV \cdot #CV, CV \cdot #CV \cdot , CV-c#CV \cdot , and CV \cdot -c#CV, abbreviated in underlying forms as [R], [R+L], [RL], [RL+L], [Rc+L], and [RcL] respectively. The crosshatch (#) in the above reduplicative sequences indicates the root's leftward boundary. The length mark in the above sequences indicates which vowels are lengthened by the reduplication-inducing suffixes. If a vowel is already long, due to being either a long root vowel or a reduplicative copy of a long vowel, it remains long. It is not extra long.

Morphemic reduplication is of two types: CV# distributive reduplication and CV $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \lambda \\ C(C) \end{matrix} \right\}$ # iterative reduplication (the latter abbreviated as CVC#). The braced elements in the latter type of reduplication are in complementary distribution: λ is inserted when the copied root is vowel-final. In the distributive type, the morpheme-initial consonant and a short version of the syllable-initial vowel immediately adjacent to the reduplicative morpheme are prefixed to the copied morpheme, as in $ʔi?i \cdot h$ 'big ones (here and there)'. The reduplicative morpheme always has a short vowel, even if root-vowel lengthening morphemes are present.

By ordering induced reduplication after vowel lengthening, long reduplicative vowels are always due to copying of a long root vowel, whether that long root vowel is derived by vowel-lengthening suffixes or not. CV# reduplication is ordered before CVC# reduplication because in those words where these reduplicative morphemes are both present, the distributive reduplicative morpheme is more peripheral.

- (3) $mimi \cdot tamitac$ He was turning around here and there
 $/CV\#CVC\#m\check{i}tac^w \cdot [L] \cdot (y)a/$ distrib-IT-turn-GRAD-REP

Because the distributive morpheme always copies a short version of the following vowel, the prior application of vowel-lengthening rules is irrelevant. Hence, distributive reduplication can be described as a rule sensitive simply to the following syllable and not necessarily to the root syllable.

Although words can include several noninflectional affixes, the inclusion of more than one reduplicative morpheme is rare, and is possible only for the distributive and iterative reduplicative morphemes. The reduplicative morphemes and the strategies for avoiding multiply-reduplicated roots are discussed in section 4.10.

Vowel Reduction. A syllable-final vowel is reduced to [ə] when it is the final phoneme in a CVCV- root or when it is preceded by a syllable-initial nasal which is not in a reduplicative or root syllable.

Thinning. The [ə] derived by vowel reduction appears to cause thinning of *a* to *i* when that vowel precedes a nasal-[ə] sequence. This rule is optional. There is also thinning of *i* to [ə] (phonemically *a*) in CV# reduplicative syllables.

- (4) *saʔiʔəkʷkʷ* He resembled a dog
 ʔiʔəkʷkʷ [R] dog-resembling.

VV Elision. The elision of vowels adjacent in the underlying form does not follow the same pattern as the elision of vowels rendered adjacent by ? deletion. This suggests that elision of vowels adjacent in the underlying form should precede the ? deletion rule. When two vowels are adjacent in the underlying form and one of them is a root vowel, the resulting elided vowel has the length of the longest underlying vowel and the quality of the root vowel. If neither adjacent vowel is a root vowel, then the vowel quality of the elided vowel is *u* if either underlying vowel is *u*, *i* if either underlying vowel is *i*, but neither is *u*, and otherwise *a* (i.e. if both are *a*). The symbols *a*, *i*, and *u* are used here to refer to underlying vowels of these qualities, irrespective of the underlying length. If the vowel resulting from elision immediately follows the initial root consonant and no underlying vowel in the VV sequence is invariably (i.e. obligatorily) long, then the

resulting vowel must be long, even if both underlying vowels are short, as in *hi·hi·ty'ik* 'afraid of snakes'; based on the morphemes *hi-* 'snake' and *-ityik* [RL] 'afraid of..'.
 ? Deletion. There are a number of environments in which ? deletes.

This process must occur at least following reduplication, due to the deletion of ? in words such as *matma's* (/CV-t#ma-'as/ distrib-PL-dwell-at outside) 'tribes', where the ? is in a third (or later) syllable due to presence of a reduplicative syllable. There is no deletion of ? between the first and second syllables of a word, as in *ma'as* 'tribe'.

In general, ? deletes between vowels in third and later syllables. There are, however, certain third or later syllable environments in which ? deletion does not occur. First, a ? adjacent to an obligatorily long vowel is not deleted.

- (5) ?u?u?i·h He tried to get it
 /?u-'i:h^w[R]/ it-try to get..

Second, when ? is part of the definite suffix *-?i·* or is derived from one of the imperative morphemes beginning with /' / by ? epenthesis, ? is not deleted. In addition, a limited number of suffixes begin with a ? (either underlying or derived from /' / by ? epenthesis) which never deletes. These suffixes are identified by a dot placed between the boundary-marking hyphen and the phonemes, as in *-.aqsp* 'mythical female..' or *-.?at* 'aware of..'. Compare *?aya?at* 'aware of many (ones)' with *?a·ya·'tsimh* 'liking many (of them)' which includes the suffix *-'atsimh* [L] 'liking..'.
 ? deletion is a rightward moving rule. In a sequence of ..V?V?V, where each ? has the potential to delete, only the leftmost one does.

- (6) ?u?a·? There's something on the rocks
 /?u-'a·?a/ it-at rocks

No ..V?V?V?V sequences have been encountered.

There are also cases where ? deletion is optional. One such case is where a V?VC sequence is followed by a vowel which will delete by a later rule, as in *k'ixsi?at t ~ kixsa·?at t* 'it was broken' where the *a* of the final morpheme *-at* PASS is deleted. A second is where ? follows

a fricative, as in $?u\text{.}\text{ʔ}at \sim ?u\text{.}\text{ʔ}at$ 'aware of something'.

V?V Elision. ? deletion yields adjacent vowel sequences which must undergo vowel elision. The vowel resulting from such elision is long and has the quality of the rightmost underlying vowel.

- (7) $?i\text{.}\text{h}wa\text{.}\text{s}$ Something big went outside
 $/\text{?i}:\text{h}^w\text{-wi}\text{.}\text{-}\text{as}/$ big-extend out-outside

There is a phonetic trace of the deleted ?, in that the derived vowel sounds long due to a dip in its pitch and a light laryngealization of the syllable in which it occurs. These features are indicated in the surface forms by a ? placed after the derived vowel, as in $ki\text{.}\text{x}\text{ʂ}a\text{.}\text{ʔ}\text{ʔ}t$ 'it was broken'. These phonetic features are also characteristic of vowels which precede ejectives or the phonetically glottal consonants in surface forms.

Vowel Elision Over Glides. If the vowel resulting from vowel elision over glides were the same as that from elision over ?, a rule changing certain intervocalic glides to ? could be inserted prior to the ? deletion rule, rendering resulting elision regular. However, vowel elision over glides is irregular. It occurs only for vowel sequences deriving from certain morpheme sequences, such as $-mat\text{.}\text{ʔ}is \rightarrow -ma\text{.}\text{y}\text{-}is \rightarrow -mi\text{.}\text{s}$ 'moving around at the beach'.

Delabialization. Underlying rounded consonants $k^w\text{ }k^w\text{ }q^w\text{ }x^w\text{ }h^w$ are nonround preceding u , a nonglottal consonant, a glottal consonant beginning an inflectional suffix, or a word boundary. Consider the following words.

- (8) $t\text{.}iqu\text{.}\text{ʔ}$ There's a seating place
 $/t\text{.}iq^w\text{-u}\text{.}\text{ʔ}/$ sit...place
- (9) $mit\text{ʂ}\text{ʂ}i\text{.}\text{x}$ He turned
 $/mit\text{ʂ}^w\text{-}\text{ʂ}i(\text{ʔ})/$ turn-MOM
- (10) $?una\text{.}k\text{ʔ}a\text{.}q\text{ʔ}$ He'll have it
 $/\text{?u}\text{-}na\text{.}k^w\text{-}\text{ʔ}a\text{:}q\text{ʔ}/$ it-having...-FUT
- (11) $?una\text{.}k$ He has it
 $/\text{?u}\text{-}na\text{.}k^w/$ it-having..

Rounding is not blocked by the presence of the morphophonemes /^h/ or /^c/.

- (12) *t'iq^wis* He's sitting at the beach
 /*t'iq^w-^cis*/ sit-at beach

Nor is rounding blocked by a subsequent consonant whose adjacency is due to vowel deletion of an underlying intervening vowel.

- (13) *?u^w·^w·nak^wp* He has it too much (more than he should)
 /*?u-n^w·k^w-^wpa* [RL+L]/ it-having..-too

Labialization. In Kyuquot, labialization is optional for a consonant with a rounded counterpart when such a consonant is preceded and/or followed by a round vowel. Consider the following sentences.

- (14) *hayuq^(w)im^h* There's ten round things
 /*hayu-qim^h*/ ten..round objects

- (15) *yacuk^(w)* He's walking
 /*yac-uk*/ step-DUR

- (16) *?ink^(w)u^h·^h* There's a fireplace
 /*?ink^w-u^h·^h*/ fire..place

- (17) *tu^w·k^(w)u^w·k^(w)* There's a sealion
 /*tu^w·ku^w·k*/ sealion

By ordering delabialization before labialization, the free variation need be expressed only once, as part of labialization. The free variants (or exceptions) which are seemingly a part of the delabialization rule can all be accounted for by this ordering. The one case in which the labialization rule is obligatory is when a *u* which causes labialization of an adjacent segment is absent from surface structure by a vowel deletion rule (cf. (18) below).

Vowel Deletion. Vowel deletion is posited to follow labialization because labialized consonants which precede a consonant do not delabialize if the adjacency is due to vowel deletion.

- (18) *?u^w·^wuk^w·^wuk^w* He resembled him
 /*?u-k^w·uk* [R]/ it-resembling..

- (19) *hisi·kʷsint* He travelled along the beach
 /*his-i·kʷ-fis-int*/ there-go along..-at beach-PAST

Vowel deletion also occurs for final short vowels, as in (20).

- (20) *ʔu·štəʃ* Work!
 /*ʔu·š-təʃ [L]-i*/ some-work on..-IMPV

Vowel deletion within words is not fully understood. It appears that the rightmost vowel is deleted if it is in a third or later syllable, is not obligatorily long, and is not already flanked by any consonant clusters.

- (21) *hayučʰ* It went on for ten days,
 /*hayu-či·ʃ*/ ten-for..days

The blocking of vowel deletion does not prevent the violation of underlying phonotactic constraints. For example, there are no morpheme-final glottal consonants and no CʷC or CʰC sequences in underlying forms, yet vowel deletion, labialization, glottalization etc. all yield forms which have such structures (cf. (18) and (20) above).

If a vowel is blocked from deleting, then the rightmost vowel which is capable of deleting will do so.

- (22) *qə·cəʰ ištəqnu·ʔ* It was (done) for three reasons
 /*qəcəʰ a-(š) təq-anu: (ʔ) [L]*/ three-..things-for..reasons.

The vowel deleted must be in a third or later syllable. Alternate syllables are then counted from the syllable of the deleted vowel and not of the vowel blocked from deleting, e.g. from /qə/ rather than from /nu:ʔ/ in the above underlying form. There appears to be optional deletion of the vowel which is two syllables leftward of a deleted vowel, if the leftmost vowel is not in an inflectional suffix and is in a third or later syllable of the word (in its underlying form).

- (23) *ʔi·ʔi·h(i)ʔəp* He's making the biggest one
 /*ʔi:hʷ-(č)i·ʔ-əpə [RL+L]*/ big-make..-very-

If a final vowel is deleted, this does not block deletion of the last interconsonantal vowel as long as the latter vowel is noninflectional. Such vowel deletion in adjacent syllables generally occurs only when

fricatives are available to break up stop sequences.

- (24) $\chi u^{\cdot} \chi^{\cdot} u^{\cdot} s^{\cdot} i n k^{\cdot} s^{\cdot} \chi h e^{\cdot}$ He was drying his hands at the fire
 / $\chi^{\cdot} u^{\cdot} s^{\cdot} - i n^{\cdot} u k$ [RL] $\chi^{\cdot} s^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} (\chi^{\cdot}) - h e^{\cdot} i^{\cdot}$ / dry-at hand-MOM-dry at fire
 [ʔ^h tʰ u^h s^h r n k^h s^h t h^h ʔ t s]

Nonobligatorily long vowels in inflectional suffixes also delete. Again, deletion begins at a rightmost vowel and precedes leftward, usually to alternate vowels in VC $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} V \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$ environments. Consider the following.

- (25) $\chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} \chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} \chi^{\cdot} e^{\cdot} p^{\cdot} s$ Cut it for me!
 / $\chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} - \chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} (\chi^{\cdot}) - \chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} p^{\cdot} - i^{\cdot} - s$ / cut-MOM-for-IMPV-I
- (26) $\chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} \chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} a k^{\cdot} a^{\cdot} p^{\cdot} t i n t$ It ended up all cut
 / $\chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} - (\chi^{\cdot} a) k^{\cdot} a^{\cdot} - a p^{\cdot} - a t - i n t$ / cut-completely-CAUS-PASS-PAST
- (27) $\chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} \chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} \chi^{\cdot} e^{\cdot} p^{\cdot} a t k^{\cdot} i n t i^{\cdot} s$ Mine was cut up for me
 / $\chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} - \chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} (\chi^{\cdot}) - \chi^{\cdot} i^{\cdot} p^{\cdot} - a t - u k - i n t - (y) i^{\cdot} - s$ /
 cut-MOM-for-PASS-POSS-PAST-INDF-I

There are instances where the above rules are inadequate. In some words, syllable-adjacent but not syllable-final vowels delete.

- (28) $p u^{\cdot} p u^{\cdot} m (a) \chi n^{\cdot} u k$ His palm is itchy
 / $p u^{\cdot} m a \chi - i n^{\cdot} u k$ [RL] / itchy-at hand

In other words, a second-syllable vowel is deleted.

- (29) $m i^{\cdot} \chi t k^{\cdot} w p^{\cdot}$ He likes old people
 / $m i^{\cdot} \chi t - k^{\cdot} w a p$ [L] / old-liking..

ə Epenthesis. There are several environments for ə epenthesis (i epenthesis if adjacent to a velar consonant) with varying degrees of optionality. One of the most obligatory is CVC CV, where ə inserts interconsonantly and intersyllabically if the preceding consonant is a stop or affricate and the following consonant is a stop (including ʔ and ʔ) or a nasal.

- (30) $\chi u^{\cdot} \chi^{\cdot} n a^{\cdot} k^{\cdot}$ [tʰ u^h ʃ^h n a^h k^h] He has a wife
 / $\chi u^{\cdot} \chi^{\cdot} - n a^{\cdot} k^{\cdot}$ / woman-having..

A second obligatory environment for ə epenthesis is between a nasal and

a back stop or affricate, as in *pinkšix* [pɪn^{ks}ɪtʃ] 'wake up'. The epenthetic vowel is not included in the syllable count which determines whether or not an underlying long vowel is long in a surface form. In example (30), the vowel *a* would not be long in the surface form if it were in the third syllable.

Vowel Shortening. Word-final long vowels (whether obligatorily or variably long) are shortened.

- (31) *mata* It was flying
/mat-(y)ɑː/ fly-CONT
- (32) *ʔawaʔi* He approached
/ʔawa-ʔiː/ near-get to be at..

Vowel shortening must apply after vowel deletion because shortened final vowels do not delete.

Vowel length is neutralized prior to a non-syllable-initial nasal. In such a context, the phonemic distinction normally indicated by length is indicated by vowel quality, with 'long' vowels being tense and 'short' vowels being relatively lax and more centralized.

Vocalization. A word-final /iy/ sequence obligatorily surfaces as *i* and a word-final /ay/ sequence optionally surfaces as *i*.

- (33) *ʔuʔsi* It was at some point in time
/ʔuʔs-(y)iya/ some-at..time
- (34) *ʔuʔssuqstək* { *i* } He was slowly becoming angry
/ʔuʔssu:qst-u(ʔ)-aya [L]/ angry-MOM-slowly

This derived *i* is not subject to word-final shortening or loss. If the rule were written $\begin{Bmatrix} a \\ i \end{Bmatrix}y \rightarrow i: / _ \#$, then the rule could follow vowel shortening and precede the vowel length assignment rule.

Vowel Length Assignment. Obligatorily long vowels surface as long vowels (except word-finally unless derived by vocalization). Long vowels are long in first or second syllables; otherwise, they surface as short vowels. Compare, for example, the surface forms of the morpheme *-na^k* 'having..' in examples (11) and (13).

Fricative Merging. When two identical fricatives are adjacent (only possible over a morpheme boundary), the phonetic realization is one long fricative, as in *ihhtin* [ʔiɦtɪn] 'made of (something) red'. Merging occurs even if the first fricative is phonemically part of an affricate.

- (35) *ʔiɦtɪs* [ʔeɦtɪs] He was asking for a dog
 /ʔiɦtɪ-(k)ɦ [L]/ dog-ask for..

Nonfricative geminates are individually articulated, whether stops as in *miɦttaq* 'because of his old age' or affricates as in *ʔiɦsaɦtɪ* 'begin to cry again'.

Opening. In certain environments, most commonly (C)C_C, a back stop is phonetically realized as its fricative counterpart. That is, /k kʷ kʷ q qʷ/ surface as *x*, *x*, *xʷ*, *xʷ*, *ɣ* and *ɣʷ* respectively. Consider the following example, where /kʷ/ is realized as *xʷ*.

- (36) *wiɦkkʷkʷ* [wiɦkxʷkʷ] It resembles nothing
 /wiɦ-kʷuk [R]/ not-resembling..

Such opening occasionally occurs, optionally, in other environments such as preceding a consonant cluster or even intervocalically. Opening also commonly occurs when /ɦ(ʔ)/ precedes a consonant.

- (37) *ɦiɦsaɦt* [hiɦsɦt] She was hit
 /ɦiɦ-ɦi(ɦ)-ʔɦt/ hit-MOM-TEM-PASS

Breaking. The vowel *u* (or [ə]) is optionally realized as [Iʷ] when found in a n_k(ʷ)C environment such as *nunuɦks* 'I sing'.

Nasalization. Although anticipatory nasalization of vowels is uncommon in Kyuquot, it does occasionally occur in a __nC environment and can be accompanied by nasal deletion.

- (38) *ɦuɦkʷaɦnɦiɦp* He gave gifts to the doctor
 /ɦuɦkʷaɦnaɦnɦiɦp/ doctor-give gift to..

This occurs only in rapid or casual speech.

ʔ to h Change. Word-initial ʔ occasionally has the surface phonetic form of [h], as in *ʔaya* [heɦyeɦ] 'many'.

h to *y* Change. Intervocalic *h* (which occurs only due to reduplication) is occasionally pronounced [y]. This particular phenomenon is especially associated with the locative root *hiʔ* 'there'.

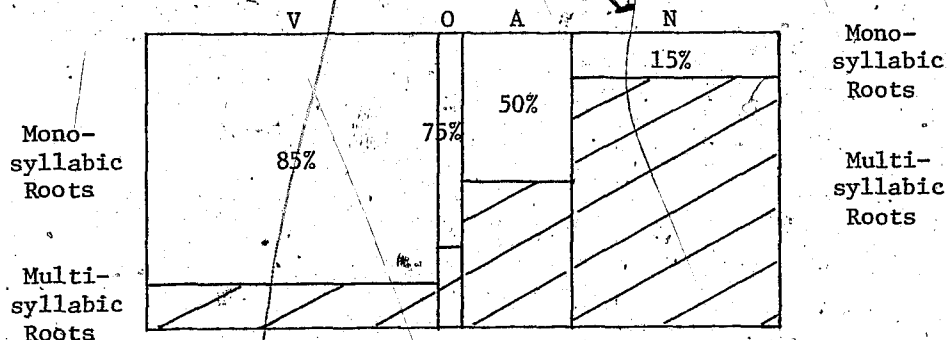
The above survey of phonological and morphophonological rules should enable the reader to understand (and possibly work out) the derivation of surface forms from the posited underlying forms which are presented in the examples found throughout this thesis.

2.3. Morpheme Structure Constraints

The shape of a Kyuquot morpheme is constrained at least by the following principles. A root begins with one consonant followed by one vowel. The most common shape of a root is CVC₀₋₃. Neither CVC₀₋₃ roots nor multisyllabic roots are distributed evenly among Kyuquot semantic classes. These semantic classes, which will be discussed and referred to many times in this thesis, are: verbal (V), nominal (N), adjectival (A), locative, quantifier, quantity, and temporal. The latter four are here amalgamated into one class, O ('other'), because together they constitute only three percent of all roots.

The following table shows the rough percentages of mono- and multisyllabic roots found within the classes V, N, A, and O, each class represented by a column. Multisyllabic roots are virtually always disyllabic, although 16 trisyllabic roots are attested. The width of each column in the table indicates the proportion of roots in that class to the total number of roots in Nootka.

FIGURE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF MONO- AND MULTISYLLABIC ROOTS



The very small proportion of monosyllabic nominal roots, coupled with the dominance of the lexicon by verbal monosyllabic roots, suggests that, in many cases, nominals have been derived historically from verbal roots. Of the monosyllabic roots, the majority (two-thirds) are CVC, a quarter are CVCC, and the remainder are virtually all CV. Only four roots have been found to end in a triple consonant sequence.

All consonants occur root-initially, except for h^w . One consonant, h , occurs only initially or as a copied consonant in a reduplicative morpheme. Ejectives and other glottal consonants such as h , $ʔ$, and $ʕ$ do not occur morpheme-finally. Resonants are rare in that position. There is no morpheme ending in y and only one ending in u , namely *haw* 'eat'. The most common shape of suffixes is $-C_{0-2}VC_{0-2}$. There are also morphemes consisting of only one or two consonants, e.g. $-(q)h$ 'in the meantime', or consisting of more than one syllable, e.g. $-k^w ay' i \cdot h$ 'try to get..'

Roots and suffixes (and reduplicative copy morphemes) can have final clusters. Neither consonant in a morpheme-final cluster can be an ejective or a glide. In addition, the initial consonant must be nonlabialized and the final consonant must be nonresonant (and nonlabialized in suffixes). The phonological structure of the morpheme-final clusters can be summarized as follows. The consonants must have different places of articulation, where 'place' is understood as one of the following: labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, velar, and uvular-pharyngeal. With respect to these places, a labial consonant can precede one of any other place; an alveolar or alveopalatal can precede one of any other place except labial; and a back consonant can precede a nonback nonlabial consonant of the same height, where alveopalatal and velar consonants are considered high and alveolar and uvular-pharyngeal consonants are not. In this five-place system, laterals are alveolar and labiovelars and labiouvulars are velar and uvular-pharyngeal respectively.

Exceptions to this system of cluster formation are:

1. certain *cs* and *st* clusters, the acceptability of which might arise from the existence of c [ts] as a phoneme;
2. the qh sequence; and

3. the *nʔ* cluster. The absence of other alveolar clusters, whether or not they include affricates (*c* or *ʔ*), fricatives (*s* or *ʃ*), or stops, suggests that *c*, *ʔ*, and *ʃ* should be treated as alveolar consonants.

2.4. Morphological Overview

Grammatical rules are expressed in terms of syntactic constituents (e.g. noun phrase) and grammatical word categories (e.g. noun). These terms are defined on the basis of shared morphological features, such as an inflectional pattern characteristic of all and only the words of a certain category, and on the basis of syntactic features, such as the recurrence of a certain syntactic constituent in the structural descriptions of several syntactic rules or constraints formulated for a language. In the following sections, inflectional differences are used to distinguish full words from two types of particles.

2.4.1. Noninflecting Particles

Nootka has words that is, sound sequences which occur as units in isolation, at least in citation forms. Some words have potential for inflection. Some do not. Noninflecting words, termed *particles*, are of the following types: interjections, deictics, conjunctions, and onomatopoeic, aspectual, and modal particles.

Interjections tend to occur sentence-initially. They are treated in section 3.6.4 as part of discourse features. Deictics (including the article *ha*) are discussed in relation to noun phrase shape, simple obliques, and anaphora (cf. sections 3.2, 3.3, and 3.6.2 respectively). A very few conjunctions are noninflecting. They are discussed, along with other conjunctions, in the section on appositive sentences (3.4.6). Onomatopoeic particles are not inflected, although they can be affixed by derivational suffixes such as *-ʔin [R]* 'making sound of..' to yield a potentially inflectable stem. There is one aspectual particle, *ʔinʔ* 'habitually', discussed in relation to other aspectual morphemes (cf. section 4.4.8), and one modal particle, *hač* 'perhaps' (cf. section 4.1.3).

2.4.2 Inflecting Particles

There are two types of particles which are marginally inflected.

That is, their inflectional characteristics are idiosyncratic. The first type are the imperative particles (cf. section 4.3), which make use of the regular first or second person imperative affixes but are obligatorily imperative. They never inflect for other moods or for third person. Imperative particles are predicates.

The second type of inflecting particle is the grammatical one *?in* 'that, since, but', found clause-initially and inflected for certain persons (first and second singular and second plural), the inferential mood, and a future tense. This particle is the cognate of Port Alberni Nootka *?ana*. The Port Alberni grammatical particle *?ata-* 'but' has no Kyuquot equivalent. The third Port Alberni grammatical particle, *hač'* 'perhaps', occurs in Kyuquot but is not inflected.

2.4.3. Stems

The vast majority of Kyuquot words are inflecting. Of these, certain ones, such as *yaq^w-* 'who, which', are obligatorily inflected. Any nonparticle which can be inflected is termed a *stem*. This usage contrasts with that of Sapir and Swadesh (1939:235) where this term designates a word-initial nonreduplicative morpheme such as *tux-* 'jump', *ʔih^w-* 'red', *tič* 'alive', *čapx^w-* 'man, male', or *nism'a* 'land' (the hyphen indicating that the item must be affixed by at least one other suffix to serve as an independent word). Such items are termed *roots* in this work.

Some roots have an identical stem form, as in the case of *nism'a* 'land' or *tič* 'alive'. Other roots differ from their corresponding stem forms, in that either

1. the stem form is a phonologically similar form, but one not deriveable from the root by affixation, e.g. *čakup* from the root *čapx^w-* 'man, male'; or
2. the root's stem form consists of the root plus some affix, most commonly an aspectual affix; e.g. *ʔihuk* 'red' from the root *ʔih^w-* and *tuxšik* 'jump' from the root *tux-* include the aspectual allomorphs *-uk* DUR and *-šik* MOM respectively. Nominal stem-forming affixes whose gloss would be '..thing' are often assigned the abbreviatory gloss NOM, as in *sa's-in* hummingbird-NOM.

Two additional terms are needed for a discussion of Nootka word-

internal syntax. First, an entity to which noninflectional affixes can attach is termed a *base*. A base can be

1. a root, as in *t'iq^wa's* 'sitting on it', from /t'iq^w-a's/ 'sit-on';
2. a stem, as in *ti'čma* 'heart', from /ti'č-ma/ 'alive-NOM'; or
3. a nonstem sequence of morphemes, as in *muqmač' uq* 'swishing water about in the mouth', from /muq-mač-č' uq/ 'liquid foaming-move about-in mouth'. Second, the form composed of a base plus -q- COMB, which certain roots and morpheme sequences have when followed by certain non-inflectional suffixes, is termed the *combining form*. Examples are *nism'a-q-* 'land', *ti'č-ma-q-* 'heart', and *sa's-in-q-* 'hummingbird'.

(39) *nism'aqnak* He has land
 /nism'a-q-na·k^w/ land-COMB-having..

Stems can be inflected for mood, tense, person, and number. Stems are thus distinguished from particles, which do not inflect, and from inflecting particles, which inflect only for one or two moods and a limited number of persons.

2.4.4. Survey of Word Structure

The Kyuquot word consists of a root which can be affixed by preceding reduplicative morphemes, by infixes (to mark plural), by non-inflectional affixes (including lexical and aspectual affixes), and by inflectional suffixes. Lexical affixes are of two types, governing and restrictive. Governing affixes, which can attach to a base which is a constituent of the object or sentential complement of that affix, are identified by the presence of dots in their glosses, e.g. *-na·k^w* 'having...'. Restrictive affixes can not have as object or complement the base to which they attach and have no dots in their glosses, e.g. *-n'a·q* 'at the top of a height'. There are about 400 basic lexical affixes and many idiomatic lexical suffix compounds as well.

In Kyuquot, each word and each morpheme has an aspect, either explicit or implicit. Bases, whether or not they have an implicit aspect, can be affixed by one or more aspect morphemes. The aspect morphemes include the momentaneous *-š'i(λ)*, inceptive *-č'i·č'i(λ)*, continuative *-(y)a·*, durative *-ak^w* (~ *-uk*), sporadic iterative *-š*

(~ -^si:ɛ [L+S]), iterative CVC#, repetitive -(y)a, and graduative [L].

All aspect morphemes can occur with the graduative, and the inceptive, durative, and iterative morphemes can occur with the momentaneous.

Inflectional suffixes, which follow all noninflectional suffixes in the word, include morphemes indicating mood, tense, person, plural, possession, voice, diminutive, definite, and recurrence.

3. SYNTAX

The description of Kyuquot sentence structure is organized as follows. Simple clauses are discussed first, examining in turn ambient, one-place, and multi-place predicates, followed by the structures and roles of noun phrases, qualifiers, simple adjuncts, and obliques. The description of simple clauses ends with a subcategorization of clauses by the predicate's semantic class.

The characteristic constructions of complex sentences are introduced: complements, sentential obliques (with attention to noun phrase introducing obliques), embedded referential and relative clauses, and coordinate (and appositive) clauses. Appositive clauses are subclassified into temporally- or causally-related clauses, subordinate clauses, and nonmarked clauses. The strategies used to maintain simple one-adjunct clauses are also discussed here.

Marked sentence constructions include passive clauses, cleft constructions, contrastive (topical) predicates, and obligatory predicates (i.e. question, negative, and quantifier predicates).

Syntactic features of discourse are then presented: sentential types, ellipsis, anaphora (including pronominalization, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, and deixis), favorite sentential styles (such as mirror sentences, VS:VO sentences, and redundancies), and the role of interjectional particles. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of Kyuquot syntax for syntactic typology and a summary of areas requiring further research.

3.1. Simple Clauses and their Predicate Types

3.1.1. The Simple Clause

The Kyuquot clause has as its nucleus a predicate. A matrix predicate is inflected for the person and number of the subject. In addition, the predicate is affixed by all inflectional suffixes whose domain of reference is the whole clause rather than the entity to which they are attached. If no person affix is present, a matrix predicate is normally understood to have a third person (singular or plural) subject. There are predicates in Kyuquot which are inflected only for third

person and have no subject referent. Such predicates are termed *ambient*.

There are two types of ambient predicates: environmental and deictic. Environmental predicates indicate the occurrence of a certain meteorological or temporal state or process.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>k^owisa^oʃs</i> | It must be snowing |
| <i>/k^owis.- (y)a^o-a^oʃs/</i> | show-CONT-EVID |
| (2) <i>?athsa^o?akqu^oč</i> | It would get dark, night after night |
| <i>/?ath-š<i>(k)</i>-^oak-qu:-č/</i> | night-MOM-TEM-COND-INF |
| (3) <i>.ku^oʔabada</i> | It was morning again |
| <i>/ku^oʔab-^oak-ka^o/</i> | morning-TEM-again |

Deictic predicates indicate the presence of some entity (a concrete nominal) in a particular place and time.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| (4) <i>?i^ohtu^opm^oinh^oč</i> | There were a bunch of whales |
| <i>/?i^oh^o-(š)tu^op-m^oinh^o-(y)i:-č/</i> | big-..being-PL-INDF-INF |
| (5) <i>t^oan^oa^osint^oiš</i> | There was a child (in a story) |
| <i>/t^oan^oa^o?is-int-?i^oš/</i> | child-DIM-PAST-IND. |
| (6) <i>qu^oiš^oinm^oit</i> | There's Raven! |
| <i>/qu^oiš^o-in-m^oi^ot/</i> | raven-NOM-mythical male.. |

Simple ambient predicates can be, but are not necessarily, inflected for tense, mood, and mode. Noninflected ambient predicates tend to denote unique referents such as Raven (in (6) above). However, no ambient predicate, and in fact no predicate, can be affixed by the definite morpheme *-?i^o*. Hence, a form such as *čakup^o?i* 'the man' cannot have an ambient reading (such as *'there's the man') and can be interpreted clausally only as an elliptical fragment and not as a predicate. Deictic ambient predicates are semantically distinct from equational predicates in which an entity is asserted to be a certain type of entity. In general, ambient predicates belong to the verbal, temporal, or nominal classes.

Most Kyuquot predicates are associated with a subject, i.e. a clausal constituent coreferential to the pronominal affix found in the

predicate. A clause's subject, if represented by an independent word, is termed an *adjunct*. This term also designates an object constituent of a transitive clause. Certain predicates are associated with only a subject adjunct. Such intransitive predicates can be actions whose subjects have control over the events expressed as predicates.

(7) *ki·h̄s̄a·ʔk̄ qu·ʔas·ʔi* The man paddled away
 /ki·h̄-*š̄i*(k̄)-ʔak̄ qu·ʔas-ʔi·/ paddle-MOM-TEM adult-DEF

(8) *t̄'ick̄s̄a·ʔk̄ ma·ʔasi* The people roared
 /t̄'ick̄-*š̄i*(k̄)-ʔak̄ ma-ʔas-ʔi·/ thunder-MOM-TEM dwell-outside-DEF

They can be passive actions or states in which the semantic patient has no control over the event.

(9) *qah̄sa·p̄ak̄ t̄ mawič̄ʔi* The deer was killed
 /qah̄-sa·p̄-ak̄-at̄ mawič̄-ʔi·/ die-MOMCAUS-TEM-PASS deer-DEF

They can be processes in which the subject is semantically a patient or experiencer and has no control over the event.

(10) *t̄'ip̄'it̄š̄k̄int̄ Joe* Joe fell down
 /t̄'ip̄-it̄-*š̄i*(k̄)-int̄ .. / fall-at edge-MOM-PAST

Finally, intransitive predicates can be states. In Kyuquot, nominal, adjectival, and deictic locative states can be intransitive predicates in simple clauses consisting of predicate and adjunct. Examples of such sentences are given below.

(11) *napni·th̄ Bill* Is Bill a priest?
 /napni·t̄-*h̄a*· .. / priest-QUE

(12) *wik̄htinck̄'a·s̄ Mary* Mary must have been crazy
 /wik̄-htin-ck̄'a·-a·s̄ .. / nothing-made of..-MUST-EVID

(13) *ʔah̄ʔa·ki·č̄ m̄uksȳ'a* A rock was there
 /ʔah̄ʔa·-ak̄-(y)·i·-č̄ m̄uk-sȳ'a / there-TEM-INDF-INF pound-NOM

Temporal, quantifier, and quantity predicates are typically ambient but are intransitive when they govern an (explicit or elliptical) embedded clause. Nondeictic locative predicates are typically transitive.

- Kyuquot has predicates associated with two adjuncts, a subject

and an object. In unmarked clauses, subject precedes object. Such transitive predicates are often morphologically derived, due to the presence of either a causative morpheme as in (14) and (15) or a transitive lexical affix as in (16).

- (14) *k'ixsa·pnaḥ Linda ha·ma* Did Linda break the hammer?
 /k'ix-sa·p-na-ḥa· / break-MOMCAUS-PAST-QUE
- (15) *ti·č'apqu Bill ṡini·ḥi* If only Bill could save the dog!
 /ti·č'-ap-qu: .. ṡini·ḥ-ṡi· / alive-CAUS-COND .. dog-DEF
- (16) *ṡu·ṡi·ḥ mamaṡn'·i ḥi·n'·i* The whites were after whales
 /ṡu·ṡi·ḥ [R] ma-maṡ-n'·i .. / it-chase.. dwell-move about-at coast ...

There are also underived transitive predicates as well. Consider the following examples.

- (17) *ḥawa·ḥḥ Bill t'as'is* Is Bill near Tahsis?
 /ḥawa-ḥḥ-ḥa· .. t'as'i-ḥis / near-TEM-QUE .. trail-at beach
- (18) *ḥiṡintiṡ ḥu·ema? si·čit* The woman was good to me
 /ḥiṡ-int-ṡi·ṡ ḥu·ema-ṡi· si-(č)it [L] /
 good-PAST-IND woman-DEF I-do to..
- (19) *casṡa·ṡnaqu·č ṡini·ḥḥqs mawič* My dog used to chase deer
 /cas-ṡi(ḥ)-ḥ-na-qu:-č ṡini·ḥ-uk-qa·-s .. /
 chase-MOM-TEM-PAST-COND-INF dog-POSS-SUB-I

As the above examples show, there are roots such as *cas-* 'chase' or *ḥawa-* 'near' as well as stems which are transitive. Transitive predicates can be verbal, locative, or adjectival. In fact, virtually all locative predicates are transitive.

Although transitive predicates with two surface adjuncts are not prohibited, they are rare in Kyuquot. Transitive clauses normally have only one surface adjunct, due to pronominalization and ellipsis of either the subject or object. Because there is no case marking, one cannot tell in the examples below whether the adjunct is subject or object. Only the subject reading is given.

- (20) *pinksa·pnaḥ ṡumṡi* Did Mom wake him up?
 /pink-sa·p-na-ḥa· .. / awaken-MOMCAUS-PAST-QUE mother

Strategies for avoiding two-adjunct clauses are discussed in section 3.5.3.1.

Although Kyuquot has a rich inflectional system, a clause, whether ambient, intransitive, or transitive, can be fully grammatical without inflection of the predicate. Such non-inflection in matrix predicates indicates either that the clause is unmarked with respect to mood and tense (i.e. is past or present) and has a third person subject, or that the clause has undergone inflection ellipsis due to its discourse context. A noninflected predicate is identified as a predicate by its position and by structural features associated with certain sentence types, e.g. a sentence with a contrastive object. Examples of non-inflected predicates have already been presented (cf. (1) through (9) and (16) above).

Before continuing with a discussion of predicate structure, it is necessary to consider the nature of the nominal phrase, a constituent normally associated with adjuncts in Kyuquot.

3.1.2. The Nominal Phrase

Any constituent of a clause, whether predicate, adjunct, or oblique, which consists of a pronoun, nominal plus modifier(s), or modifier(s) (of an elliptical nominal head) is termed a *nominal phrase* (NP). NP's can be inflected for plurality, tense, mood, and mode. In addition, non-pronominal NP's can be inflected for plurality and possession. In NP's, the inflection refers to the nominal upon which the NP is based. Other constituents (for example, verbal, locative, or adjectival predicates) can be inflected for plurality and possession, but not for definiteness. In such constituents, the referent asserted to be plural or possessor by the inflectional affix(es) is outside of (i.e. not dominated by) the constituent thus inflected. Contrast the following predicates.

- | | | |
|------|--|-------------------------------------|
| (21) | <i>ʔini·ʔm' inh</i>
/ʔini·ʔ-m' inh/ | There's a bunch of dogs
dog-PL |
| (22) | <i>ʔihʔim' inh</i>
/ʔih-ʔi(ʔ)-m' inh/ | A bunch of them cried
cry-MOM-PL |

In (21), the plurality is a property of the constituent (NP) in which the plural morpheme is located. However, in (22), the plurality is a property of an elliptical constituent independent of the constituent in which the plural morpheme is located. As (21) demonstrates, a NP can be a predicate. However, in this section, it is the structure of nonpredicative NP's which is focused upon. The simplest NP is one in which only a nonderived nominal such as *ʕini·ʔm·inʔ* 'dogs' is present. NP's are rendered more complex by the inclusion of modifiers. Modifiers of a nominal include the article, deictics proper, quantifiers, quantities, adjectivals, other nominals, and in addition, referential, relative, and appositive clauses.

3.1.2.1. The Article

The article *ha* 'the, that' is the only nominal modifier which is never inflected. This morpheme indicates that a nominal is semantically definite. One must specify that the definiteness is semantic because *ha* need not be present in a definite NP. Consider the following sentences.

(23) *m'aw'a·ʔki·č ha t'an'a's?i* The child took it home
/m'aw'a-ʔax-(y)i:-č .. t'an'a-ʔis-ʔi·/
 take along-TEM-INDF-INF .. child-DIM-DEF

(24) *ʔuk'i·ʔapin ha t'an'a's* We'll ask the child to make it
/ʔu-(č)i·ʔ.-ʔap-in .. ./ it-make-CAUS-IP

(25) *pinkša·ʔk t'an'a's?i* The child woke up
/pink-š(i)(k)-ʔax .. ./ awaken-MOM-TEM

(26) *ʕihša·ʔki·č t'an'a's* The child cried
/ʕih-š(i)(k)-ʔax-(y)i:-č .. ./ cry-MOM-TEM-INDF-INF

These sentences all occurred in discourse contexts where there was only one possible referent for *t'an'a's* 'child', either because the discourse referents included only one child or because only one child was focused on as a possible sentential participant at the time the sentence was uttered. Both these situations differ from one wherein two or more referents are focused on as participants, and one term such as *t'an'a's* could refer to both. This is the contrastive situation,

identified in Kyuquot by special sentence structures such as cleft or topical constructions. None of the above sentences have a contrastive adjunct. For example, (23) cannot have contrastive readings such as 'THAT child took it home' or 'the CHILD took it home'. The article *ha* has a referent-designating function but neither a referent-contrasting nor a referent-distinguishing function.

The article is initial in the NP whose nominal it modifies. It precedes the nominal and any modifier.

(27) *ha* *kuʔi* *ʔu·ema* the beautiful woman
 /.. *kuʔ-ʔi* .. / .. beautiful-DEF

(28) *ha* *yaqsu·pmaʔqnaq mwiči* the deer he wanted to kill
 /.. *yaqʷ-su:-p-maʔaq-na-q mwič-ʔi* /
 .. which-die-CAUS-want to..-PAST-REL deer-DEF

It also occurs with and precedes deictic modifiers as well, but such cooccurrence is found only in NP's with an anaphoric deictic head.

(29) *ha* *ʔahku* this one

3.1.2.2. Deictics

Deictics, like articles, are distinguished from other nonrelative constituents of a NP because they are never affixed by the NP-level inflectional morphology. Nor are they affixed by derivational morphemes. Deictics are not, however, particles because they do serve as predicates and, as predicates, can be affixed by the clause-level inflectional morphemes (as in (13)). Because of structural and functional similarities, deictics are classed with the article, the third person stem *ʔuh*, and the deictic-like locative stems. Together, these entities constitute the set of Kyuquot determiners. Kyuquot determiners signal the spatial relation between an entity and the speaker referring to the entity and/or the listener(s) attending to the speaker, the degree of distance between an entity and conversation participants, and the presence or absence of contrastive emphasis of the entity.

The following table summarizes the set of determiners in Kyuquot, omitting the article.

TABLE 4: KYUQUOT DETERMINERS

Type of Relation	Deictic Nom/Loc	Deictic Pro Loc/Conv	Pro	Locative Stem
unmarked	?ah	?ah	?uh	hiɬ
near speaker	?ahku	?ahku		
away from speaker	?ah?a ha'y'a(h) ha'?a(h)	?ah?a	?uh?a	ha:ɬ ya:ɬ
near listener not speaker	?ahn'i	?ahn'i		
very far	hu'(?a(h))			hu:(ɬ)
contrastive	hiy'a(h)	hiɬ		hiɬ

The deictics in the leftmost column are used either as non-anaphoric modifiers (e.g. 'this' or 'that') within a NP or as adverbial-type oblique locative constituents (e.g. 'here' or 'there'). The parenthetical elements in the above table are optional, although it appears that *h* is more common as part of a NP modifier than a locative oblique. Examples of these locative deictics are found in the following phrases: ?ah?a maht'i = 'that house over there', hu' e'uʃuk t'asi 'that new trail way over there (at least five feet away)', ka?ak ?ahn'i puk 'give (me) that book (near listener)!'.

The morphological structure of the locative deictics is unique in Kyuquot because there is a stem, ?ah 'that', which appears to occur as a compounded element in other deictic words such as hu?ah, and possibly ha'y'ah, ha?ah and hiy'ah as well, if one posits that ?ah has two compounding allomorphs -?ah and -'ah. Due to the very small number of elements in the deictic class, and especially due to the nonproductivity of -?ah or -'ah (or -ku or -n'i for that matter) as word-formation elements, the deictics are not analyzed here as being composed of two normal morphemes.

The deictics in the second column of Table 4 are, for the most part, a subset of the locative deictics. However, those in the second column have a different function. They are pronominal or anaphoric deictics, designating a location or an entity in an elliptical NP. In other words, the pronominal deictics stand as heads of NP's and can be

glossed as 'this (that) one, place'. In addition, pronominal deictics are used to refer to designated participants in discourse, i.e. 'this (that) one that has been the conversational topic'. In such usage, the entity referred to is not being spatially-located but only conversationally integrated. A pronominal deictic can be modified by the article (cf. example (29)), by one deictic, or by other NP modifiers. Examples of sentences containing pronominal deictics are given below.

- (30) *qu·ʔi·ʂ hiy·ah ʔahku·* THIS one is a slave
 /qu·ʔi·ʂ . . . / slave-IND THIS this
- (31) *wabša·ʔakka· ʔahʔa·* That guy went home again
 /wab-ʂi(ʔ)-ʔak-ka· .. / go home-MOM-TEM-again that
- (32) *pusša·ʔixintiʂ hiʔ* HE got tired
 /pus-ʂi(ʔ)-ʔak-int-ʔi·ʂ .. / tired-MOM-TEM-PAST-IND HE

The deictic-like stem *ʔuh* is included as a determiner because it can either modify a nominal or anaphoric head within a NP or serve as a modifiable anaphoric head itself.

- (33) *qʔahṭa·ʔx qi· ha ʔuh qaṣmit* But ALDER (burns) for a long time
 /qʔahṭa-ʔak . . . ʔu-ḥ qaṣ-mit/ but-TEM long the it-ABS alder-NOM
- (34) *ʔa·qinaphč ʔalmʔi ʔuh* What's that one doing (near you)?
 /ʔaqi-n. [L]-ʔap-ḥa·-č .. ʔu-ḥ/ what?-do..-CAUS-QUE-INF that it-ABS

The locative stems are morphologically normal, being capable of affixation by noninflectional suffixes. Locative stems are not deictics (in the Kyuquot sense).

3.1.2.3. NP Inflection

The nondeictic modifiers of a NP have a structure largely equivalent to that of a third person absolutive predicate with the modified nominal as subject. The main difference is that nonrelative nominal-modifying elements can be affixed by *-ʔi·* DEF, the definite marker. This affix attaches to predicative elements only if they are embedded in NP's. For example, *ʔacšixʔi ʔakup* can mean only 'the man out fishing' and not *'the man went fishing'.

There is a second difference between the structure of clause-level predicative constituents and ones embedded in NP's. In the first type, clause-level inflection is always located in the predicate and not in adjuncts. Consider the following sentence.

- (35) *hissidmaʔqintiʂ cakup* A man wanted to hit it
 /his-ʂi(ʔ)-maʔaqʔ-int-ʔi-ʂ .. / hit-MOM-want to...-PAST-IND

It would be ungrammatical to say **hissidmaʔqʔ cakupintiʂ*. This restriction does not apply in Kyuquot NP's, where NP-level inflectional morphemes attach to either the modifier (equivalent to the clause-level predicate) or the nominal head, although the more common structure is MOD-INFL NOM (i.e. modifier-inflection nominal).

- (36) *tupkakmʔ inhisi mamahʔ* a bunch of little black houses
 /tupk-akʔ-mʔ inh-ʔis-ʔi CV#mahʔ i/
 black-DUR-PL-DIM-DEF distrib-house

Examples of grammatical NP's with the structure NOM-INFL MOD follow.

- (37) *ʔapici kaʔu* the other canoe
 /ʔapic-ʔi kaʔu/ canoe-DEF other
- (38) *ha qawintʔi ʔaya* the many berries (since destroyed)
 /.. qawi-int-ʔi ʔaya/ the berry-PAST-DEF many
- (39) *ʔakupʔi ʔut* the handsome man
 /ʔakup-ʔi ʔut/ male-DEF good

Such NP structures are not restricted to some unique sentential frame. They are a stylistic variant found in unelicited monologue and dialogue. If such phrases are presented out of context, native speakers judge them to be anomalous and offer, in their place, ones in which the modifier, affixed by the NP-level inflectional morphemes, precedes the nominal.

If the inflectional affixes were always part of the first non-deictic word of the NP, as in the above examples, this would be evidence that those affixes constituted a block of clitics with an obligatory constituent position. However, inflection is not obligatorily linked to the first nondeictic stem. Consider the following sets of NP's. The

first set consists of NP's of the shape MOD NOM-INFL, such as *ka²u* *čapici* 'the other canoe' or *kuč čakup²i* 'the handsome man' (or (40) below).

- (40) *ʔaya č² aškakm² inh²* many fast ones
 / .. *č² ašk-ak^m-m² inh²/* many fast-DUR-PL

The second set consists of NP's with the shape NOM MOD-INFL.

- (41) *ha²ʔa šini² tana² kač* their huge dog
 /.. .. *tani-ʔak-ʔa²č/* that dog really-POSS-PL
- (42) *ʔinksy² a ʔayaqu* (possibly) a lot of wood
 /*ʔink^m-sy² a ʔaya-qu:/* fire-NOM many-COND
- (43) *qu²ʔas ta² ičm² inh²i* the sick people
 /.. *ta-^cič-m² inh²-ʔi²/* adult drift - in house-PL DEF

There is clearly no prohibition against NP's in which inflection is linked to a noninitial stem. In fact, given that deictics are stems which can inflect as (matrix) predicates but not as nonpredicative NP modifiers, there are NP's in which the NP-level inflection must not occur following the first stem.

In addition, there are instances of inflectional morphology being distributed over the constituents of a NP:

- (44) *tupkaki maht² im² inh²* the black houses
 /*tupk-ak^m-ʔi² maht² i-m² inh²/* black-DUR-DEF house-PL

Clearly, such a construction cannot be accounted for by a clitic placement rule plus a constituent movement rule.

These marked NP structures are all relatively uncommon but are not ungrammatical. They are volunteered by native speakers. Presented in context, no speaker finds them deviant. However, due to their rarity, the preference for MOD-INFL NOM order, and incorporation phenomena (cf. section 4.7.1), the MOD NOM order is assumed to be basic or unmarked and inflectional affixes are assumed to normally follow the first nondeictic stem of the NP.

3.1.2.4 Qualifiers

The examination of NP modifiers begins with a discussion of qualifiers, words which qualify other words. Each semantic class is associated with possible qualifiers. Within the NP, two qualifiers occur. The first, *?i·h* 'really', qualifies an adjectival or locative modifier.

(45) *ha ?i·h?i kuβ bu·ema* the really beautiful woman

(46) *?i·h saya nism'a* a really distant land

The second, *tani* 'really, such, very', qualifies an adjectival, locative, or quantity modifier, a nominal (as in (41)), or a pronominal. It usually follows the constituent so qualified.

(47) *kuβ tani cakup* a really handsome man

(48) *?u·wi·k ?aya tani waβit* He found a whole bunch of frogs
/?u·a·wi(·k) [L] / it-find.. many really frog

Tani also serves as the head in an elliptical NP, as in *ha tani*, 'the big/terrible/fine/famous one'. Like other modifiers, qualifiers can optionally take the NP-level inflectional affixes. For example, contrast example (41) with the following.

(49) *?ini·k·qs tani* my old (wonderful) dog
/?ini·k·uk·qa·-s .. / dog-POSS-SUB-I

When a qualified modifier occurs following the NP head, the qualifier must also follow the head.

(50) *?una·k ?ini·k ?i·h tani* He has a really big dog
/?u·na·k / it-having.. dog big really

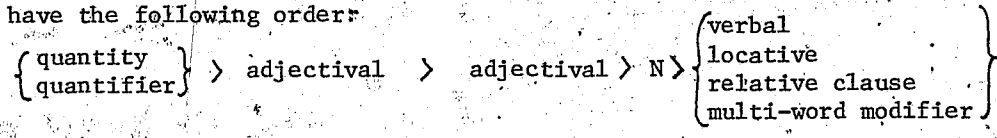
Because *tani* always follows the constituent it qualifies and yet can be affixed by the NP-level inflection, NP-level inflection cannot be assumed to obligatorily follow the first stem of the NP. There are occasionally phrases in which *?i·h* follows its qualified element, such as *cakup kuβ ?i·h* 'a really handsome man'.

In summary, within the nonpredicative NP, qualifiers occur with adjectival, quantity, or locative modifiers, or the nominal or pronominal

head itself: ?i·h precedes or occasionally follows the modifier it qualifies; tani follows the constituent (modifier or head) which it qualifies. There is qualification of neither quantifier nor verbal constituents, or of relative or referential clause predicates, within a NP.

3.1.2.5 Modifiers

NP modifiers are of the following semantic types: verbal, nominal, adjectival, locative, quantifier, and quantity. All one-word modifiers can either precede or follow the NP head, regardless of semantic class. If a NP contains two modifiers, they will generally have the following order:



In multiply-modified NP's, the inflection is found in either the left-most nondeictic word (as in (51) below) or the NP head.

- (51) ka'u·? k'ihimb' e'apic the other red canoe
- /ka'u·?i· k'ihw-(q)imb' .. / other-DEF red-at bulky thing canoe

Quantity and quantifier modifiers can not coexist within one NP in surface structure. If both notions are to be expressed in a clause, one of the modifiers will be a topical predicate or part of one (cf. section 3.3.2.2). Quantity and quantifier modifiers precede other modifiers, as in (51) and (52).

- (52) mu'niti n'ic'is e'itat four little boards
- /mu'-nit-?i· n'ic-?is .. / four-PAST-DEF little-DIM board

Even if a quantity modifier is a phrase composed of conjoined constituents (i.e. a number higher than ten but not simply a multiple of twenty) such as hayu ?uh'is su'e'a 'fifteen (ten and five)', it can precede the NP head and an adjectival modifier as well.

When a NP contains two adjectival modifiers, the head generally follows both unless one is phrasal. In that case, the phrasal one follows.

- (53) k'ihimb' e'apic kama k'a·q a red canoe full of fat
- /k'ihw-(q)imb' / red-at bulky object canoe full fat

Occasionally, a pair of nonphrasal adjectival modifiers will flank a nominal, as in *c'a'xuk č'apic k'ihimč* 'a fast red canoe'. However, this construction is much rarer than the MOD MOD NOM construction. When two adjectival modifiers follow the nominal, a situation which can occur only when these are the sentence-final constituents, the latter adjectival is interpreted as an appositive clause by the native speaker.

Regardless of whether the modifiers precede or flank the nominal, the ordering of adjectival modifiers must conform to the following plan.

TABLE 5: ORDER OF ADJECTIVAL MODIFIERS

Value	Size	Speed/Shape	Age/Colour
odd	big	fast	old
nice	little	slow	new
bad	heavy	patched	red
⋮	tall	fat	black
⋮	⋮	round	⋮

Examples of these orders are *kut ?i'h k'ahaqs* 'nice big box', *?i'h c'a'xuk wi'na* 'big fast war-canoe', *?i'hp'it k'ac qu'as* 'big fat man'; *c'a'xuk mahak č'apic* 'fast old canoe', *k'ishin k'ihimč t'asi* 'odd-shpaed red door', and *c'a'xuk tupkak pinw'at* 'fast black family-canoe.

The speed/shape and age/colour categories cannot be further subcategorized because no NP's have been attested in which speed and shape, or age and colour, modifiers cooccur. When English modifier sequences of these types are presented, the native speaker structures his Kyuquot version as a topicalized modifier plus a relative clause. For example, the English sentence 'I found an old red canoe' is translated as:

- (54) *mahakiš ya'qa'wamaqs k'ihimč č'apic*
 /mah-ak^w-?i'š yaq^w-a-wi(k) [L]-na-qa'-s... ../
 collapsed-DUR-IND which-find..-PAST-REL-I, red canoe

A more literal English version of (54) would be 'The red canoe which I found is old'. NP's including two adjectival modifiers are very rare in Kyuquot.

Locative modifiers can consist of a locative deictic, a clause with locative stem as predicate, or a referential or relative locative

clause. All but the deictics are usually affixed by one or more restrictive locative locative suffixes. Locative stems include those given in Table 5, plus roots such as *saya-* 'far (from)' or *kawa-* 'close (to)' and stems whose rightmost suffix is a governing locative suffix. One-word locative modifiers can precede the NP head if there is no other non-deictic modifier.

- (55) *ha ha^oyi^t qu^oas* that man over there (in the house)
 /.. *ha^ot⁻ci^t ..*/ the there-in house adult
- (56) *hu^oa saya ma^oas* that distant tribe
 /.. .. *ma^oas*/ over there far dwell-outside

All locative modifiers, including deictic locatives, can follow the NP head.

- (57) *ma^oas hu^oa* the band over there
- (58) *ču q^oi^oakⁱ ?uh^o ?ah^oa* I wonder what that is
 /.. *q^oi^o-^oak⁻(y)i^o*/ well! what-TEM-INDF it there
- (59) *ču^oema hi^os hitinq^os* a woman at the beach
 /.. *hi^o-^ois ..*/ woman there-at beach beach

Like locative modifiers, one-word verbal modifiers can precede or follow the NP head.

- (60) *ha ci^oka^o ?č^oa^oak* the flowing water
 /.. *ci^ok⁻(y)a^o-^oi^o č^oa^o-ak^o/* the flow-CONT-DEF water-DUR
- (61) *?ah^o ču^oema qah^oas* that woman dead (on the ground)
 /.. .. *qah^o-^oas*/ that woman dead-on ground
- (62) *pi^ošuk^oint k^oac^ois* their barbecued fish (already eaten)
 /*pi^os-uk⁻int k^oac⁻as*/ fish-POSS-PAST pinch-outside

Phrasal verbal modifiers, or one-word verbal modifiers occurring with some other modifier, follow the NP head.

- (63) *ha mi^otuk^o?i^o ču^oema č^oi^ota* the old woman digging clams
 /.. *mi^ot-uk⁻?i^o .. č^oi^o-t⁻(y)a^o/* the old-DUR-DEF woman clamdig-CONT

Nominally-bound referential and relative clauses are either headless, as

in (64), or follow the head, as in (65).

- (64) *ha* [*ya·qhw'atnaq Bill xuta·y*] the knife which Bill used
 /.. *yaq'-hw'at [L]-na-q xut-a·y/* the which-use..-PAST-REL knife-NOM
- (65) *ha xuta·y* [*ya·qhw'atnaq Bill*] the knife which Bill used

There are NP's composed of two nominals, where one appears to be a modifier of the other. There are, first of all, NP's without an internal possessive relation. In the majority of cases, the nominals are coreferential and one can be identified as the NP head. The other is termed an *epithetic nominal*. Like other one-word modifiers, one-word epithetic nominals can precede or follow the NP head. Epithetic nominals (underlined in the following examples) identify the NP head's geographical, ecological or societal (e.g. age, sex, species, etc.) niche.

Examples include *t'asi's a'ak* 'the Tahsis river', *ha·kum'i ki·cuq'-?aqsp* 'the Kwakiutl princess', *ʃahu·saqsp ha·kwa·xi* 'the Ahousat girl', *n'i·ksuk ha ʃanis'i* 'Blue Heron, that crane', *na·ni ʃu·cma* 'a female grizzlybear', *m'a'ahsy'iqs Mary* '(her) sister Mary', and *Mary mistuk'i ti·ča* 'Mary, the old teacher'.

There are other epithetic types as well. Some, such as *haw'it hasa·me* 'king crab' and *kaka·n hu·qum* 'toy mask', appear to be loan translations because there are affixes to signal notions such as 'big' (*-(q)aq* 'really (big)') and 'toy' (*-k'in [R]*). Occasionally, a sentence with two adjacent nominals is appropriate for both the NP NP and the epithetic NP readings.

- (66) *°qahsa·p čakup mawič* A guy killed a deer/ He killed a buck
 /*qah-sa·p* / die-MOMCAUS male deer

There are also NP's composed of two nominals where one nominal is not coreferential with the NP head. Usually, these nominals are in a possessive relation (cf. section 4.3.5), signalled by the suffix *-uk* POSS which is attached to the stem indicating the possessee.

- (67) *čim'ičk' t'an'a·s* a baby's bed (i.e. a crib)
 /*čim.-č it-uk t'an'a-?is/* comfortable-in house-POSS child-DIM
- (68) *ha ʃini·k m'uč'ičp'at'k'* the dog's clothes
 /.. .. *m'uč'ič-p'at'a-uk/* the dog dressed-NOM-POSS

There are also occasionally NP's composed of two nominals which are in neither a possessive nor an epithetic relation.

- (69) *t'ayu·simm·inh č'apic* canoe anchors
 /t'a-yu·-sim-m'inh .. / sphere on line-..-ed-NOM-PL canoe

They may also be the result of borrowing from English.

3.1.2.6. Transitive NP's

As we have seen, a NP head can be modified by an embedded clause. The NP head can be subject, object, or agent oblique of such a clause. Normally, the NP head is intransitive itself; hence, no object of the NP head occurs in the NP. However, there are nominals which are transitive. For example, there are derivational affixes such as *-y'ik'* 'thing used for..', *-sa·ca* 'vessel for..', and *-mis* 'thing, business concerning..', which can be affixed to a transitive base, resulting in a nominal transitive stem. Consider the following:

- (70) *ħ'aphy'ik ma·ck'in* a fly swatter
 /ħ'aph-y'ik' ma·ck'-in/ slap-thing 'used for.. fly-NOM
- (71) *?uč'ikinti su·p hamu·t* a bone used for soup
 /?u-č'ik-int-?i: .. :/ it-thing used for..-PAST-DEF soup bone

In (70), the NP head is *ħ'aphy'ik* 'slapping thing' and *ma·ck'in* is its object; in (71), the NP head is *hamu·t* 'bone', which is modified by a referential nominal clause whose head is *?uč'ikinti* 'the thing it's used for' and whose object is *su·p*. It would appear that either the NP head can itself dominate a clause or the NP can be composed of two nominals in a compound relationship with one being related as object to the other. This latter analysis is adopted here because the structural possibilities of such object compounds are severely limited and because other compound NP structures exist in the language.

3.1.2.7. Coordinate NP's

This final section on NP structure describes nominal phrases in which two or more noncoreferential NP heads occur. The most common structure for two or more noncoreferential heads is one in which the coordinate NP's are listed sequentially without a conjunction.

- (72) *ʔanaˀk ʔuʔuʔu muˀsmus* They have chickens and cows
 /ʔu-naˀkˀw/ it-having.. chicken cow
- (73) *kˀama ʔamiˀq hupisˀi yˀaˀis* It's full of horseclams, cockles,
 /kˀam-(y)aˀ ... hup-cisˀiˀi/ and butterclams
 full-CONT horseclam round-at beach-DEF butterclam

Unmarked coordinate NP's are characterized by the membership of coordinate NP's in a clearly defined class such as animals, shellfish, berries, inhabitants of places, or landmarks (e.g. 'river, land, hill'). In a coordinate NP, modification of the first nominal can indicate modification of all the coordinate nominals, as in (74).

- (74) *kuʔ ɛˀaˀak tani nismˀa* nice river and land
 /... ɛˀa-akˀw/ nice flow-DUR really land

The most common marked structure found in coordinate NP's consists of NP's separated by the particle *ʔuhˀiʔis* 'and'.

- (75) *muʔsaˀ qˀisaˀk ʔuhisˀ qˀissaˀakˀw* She put away her tobacco and pipe
 /muʔ-si(ʔ) qˀisˀ-(y)aˀ-ʔak ... qˀisˀ-saˀca-uk/
 put away-MOM smoke-CONT-POSS and smoke-container-POSS
- (76) *ɛˀayˀix naˀni ʔuhisˀ ɛˀima* A grizzly and a brown bear picked berries
 berry-pick grizzly and brown bear

Normally, coordinate NP's of three or more constituents are unmarked for coordination. Occasionally, *ʔuhˀiʔis* is present between either pair of a set of three constituents.

- (77) *yˀaˀis ʔuhˀiʔis ʔuˀɛˀim tˀucˀup* butterclams, blue mussels, and sea urchins
 /... ʔuˀɛˀim tˀucˀup/
 butterclam and mussel-NOM sea urchin-NOM

There is a second type of NP coordination. The particle *waˀ(y)* is inserted between constituents when only one of them is appropriate ('or') or where one is surprisingly associated with the other(s) ('even, and also'). The first meaning is illustrated by a sentence such as *ɛˀayˀix Mary way Linda* 'Either Mary or Linda picked berries'. The second meaning is illustrated by the following example.

- (78) *ʔuʔuqsitʔ kʔaʔq cʔisqmis wa kʔaʔqmis*
 /CV#ʔu-qs-^ciʔ .. cʔisq-mis .. kʔaʔq-mis/

distrib-it-in vessel-in house fat meat-NOM and fat-NOM

There was fat, meat, and even oil in containers in the house

Marked coordinate NP structures, and in fact coordinate NP's in general, are avoided (cf. section 3.5.3).

3.1.3. Qualifiers

We return now to the nature of the predicate. The predicate can be a phrase consisting of a predicative head plus a qualifier. All predicative qualifiers precede clausal adjuncts. Some precede the predicate, some follow; others occur in either position. Most can be affixed by clause-level inflectional suffixes. Qualifiers are underlined in the following examples.

- (79) *hawiʔaxiʔ-č hiʔkʔat mahtʔi* The house is almost finished
 /hawi-ʔax-(y)i:-č / finish-TEM-INDF-INF almost house
- (80) *hiʔkʔat hitahtiʔ-č* It almost separated into two parts
 /.. hita-ht-(y)i:-č / almost there(MOM)-apart-INDF-INF
- (81) *čamahtaʔknaħč huʔxʔsʔat Bill* Did Bill really rest?
 /čaħa-hta-ʔax-na-ħa-č / right-do to..-TEM-PAST-QUE-INF rest
- (82) *tuxʔixiʔ čamaht Bill* Bill really jumped
 /tux-š-(k)-ʔiʔsʔ / jump-MOM-IND really Bill

Qualifiers are therefore distinct from both adjuncts and obliques and also from higher predicates. In contrast to qualifiers, higher predicates do not occur between the predicate and adjunct of the lower or subordinate clause.

Of stems serving as qualifier, some serve as predicates, adjuncts, and obliques in other contexts. Others serve in only some of these roles. The following table indicates predicative glosses of qualifiers, along with their distribution, meaning and structural behavior (INFL meaning 'bears clause-level inflectional affixes'). The semantic classes of predicates which a given qualifier can modify are abbreviated as V, N, A, Qr, Qy, L, and T (cf. p. x).

TABLE 6: QUALIFIERS

Qualifier	Gloss	Precedes Pred.		Follows Pred.		Predicates Qualified	Predicate Gloss.
		+INFL	-INFL	+INFL	-INFL		
<i>tani</i>	really such, very	+		+		VANLTQy	
<i>?i·h</i>	really	+				VALT	big
<i>?inhi</i>	only	+				VALQy	but
<i>yu·q^wa</i>	also	+				VALNQy	also
<i>?i·qhi</i>	still	+	+	+	+	VANQyT	still
<i>?a·ni</i>	truly	+				VAN	true
<i>čamaht</i>	really	+				VN	well-made
<i>q^wa·</i>	thus					VA	like that
<i>hi·k^wač</i>	almost	+				V	at edge of surface
<i>kuw·ič</i>	barely					V	just manage
<i>ča·kš·ič</i>	please					V	beg
<i>?u·pind</i>	most	+				A	get to be first

As the chart shows, qualifiers tend to occur with verbal predicates. Examples of qualified verbals include (79) to (82) and (83) also.

- (83) *ha?ukša?k kuw·ič Mary* Mary barely ate
 /ha?uk-šš(š)-č ač ... / eat(DUR)-MOM-TEM barely Mary

Qualifiers are also generally common for adjectival predicates.

- (84) *čimq^wha·č q^wa· t³atn³a·si* Are the kids happy like that?
 /čim.-č aqk-qa·-?a·č .. t³an³a-t-?is-?i·
 comfortable-inside-QUE-PL thus child-PL-DIM-DEF

Predicates of other semantic classes are less commonly qualified. However, whereas nominals in adjuncts are qualified only by *tani*, nominals serving as predicates can be qualified by at least *tani*, *yu·q^wa*, *?a·ni*, *?i·qhi*, and *čamaht*.

- (85) *?a·na^hč napni·t Bill* Is Bill truly a priest?
 /?a·ni-qa·-č ... / truly-QUE-INF priest Bill

- (86) *?i·qhi ku·k^wa·našš John* John is evidently still a doctor
 /.. ku·k^wa·na-a·šš ... / still doctor-EVID John

Locative, quantity, and temporal predicates are qualified only by *tani* ʔi·h, ʔinhi, yu·qʷa, or ʔi·qhi.

- (87) ʔi·hakiš saya ʔini·ki The dog is really far away
 /ʔi:hʷ-a·ʔi·š .. ʔini·k-ʔi·/ really-TEM-IND far dog-DEF
- (88) qi·ʔak *tani* It really took a long time
 /qi·-ʔak .. / long time-TEM really

There are no instances of qualified quantifiers nor are there any instances of doubly-qualified constituents.

3.1.4. NP Predicates

Predicates normally consist of one word (optionally associated with a qualifier). However, there are predicates consisting of a nominal plus modifiers. These are termed *NP predicates*. Consider the following sentences.

- (89) kuʔi·š Bill Bill is good
 /kuʔ-ʔi·š .. / good-IND Bill
- (90) kuʔi·š haw'it Bill Bill is a good chief
 /kuʔ-ʔi·š / good-IND chief Bill

The second, example (90), asserts that 'Bill is a good chief', not that *(a) chief Bill is good'. It is assumed in such cases that the whole NP is predicative.

This, then, allows sentences such as (91) and (92) to consist of ambient phrasal predicates.

- (91) ʔi·ha·š ʔims There's a big bear!
 /ʔi:hʷ-a·š .. / big-EVID brown-bear
- (92) kuʔa·š n'a·s It's a hot day
 /kuʔ-a·š .. / hot-EVID day

In addition to NP predicates with adjectival modifiers, there are NP predicates with other types of modifiers; namely, quantity or quantifier.

- (93) ʔayinh kʷisʔath Were there many strangers?
 /ʔaya-na-ha kʷis.-ʔath/ many-PAST-QUE different-inhabitant..

- (94) *ka?u?ka ti?ca* There's another teacher
 /ka?u?-ka? .. / other-again teacher

There are also NP predicates with elliptical nominal heads (as in (95)) and with coordinate nominals (as in (96)).

- (95) *?aya?š? kũm? inh* There's many nice ones
 /?aya-a?š? kũm?-m? inh/ many-EVID nice-PL
- (96) *mamatiš? mapi?s* There are birds and bats
 /CV#mat-?i?š? map-i?s/ distrib-fly-IND bat-NOM

However, NP phrasal predicates must consist of an adjectival modifier plus a nominal to be nonambient as in (97).

- (97) *?u?šhtiniš? qu?as* He's a smart man
 /?u?š-htin-?i?š? .. / some-made of.--IND adult

Such a sentence has, of course, an ambient reading as well: 'There's a smart man!'

Predicative NP's differ from other types in the following ways.

1. The word order appears to be fixed with respect to modifier and nominal as follows: deictic $\begin{Bmatrix} Qy \\ Qr \end{Bmatrix}$ A N. This order is retained even if the modifier is old information and the nominal is focused.

- (98) *?i?h?i?š? tu?ema* It's a big WOMAN (not a man)
 /?i:h?-?i?š? .. / big-IND woman

2. Any clause-level inflection must attach to the first word of the NP predicate unless it affixes to a noninitial qualifier (e.g. *tani*) or a constituent following a noninflected qualifier (e.g. *?i?qi*) instead.

3. The entity affixed by clause-level inflection cannot also be affixed by *-?i?* DEF. This parallels the general constraint against *-?i?* in the predicate. However, *-?i?* does attach to a nominal in a phrasal NP predicate where that nominal is not inflected for the clause-level morphemes.

- (99) *ka?u?ka šakupi* There's the other man!
 /ka?u?-ka? šakup-?i? / other-again male-DEF

This suggests that inflectional morphemes are attached to the NP predi-

cate at either the predicate level or at the NP level. If a NP predicate consists of only one word, it cannot be affixed by *-?i**.

One-word predicative NP's consist of a nominal or pronominal, and can be coreferential to first, second, or third person.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------------------------|
| (100) | <i>hawi'ti's Bill</i>
<i>/haw'it-?i's .. /</i> | Bill is a chief
chief-IND Bill |
| (101) | <i>sw'a*qk Rosy</i>
<i>/sw'a*q-k .. /</i> | Are you Rosy?
you(s)-II(QUE) Rosy |

3.1.5. Summary

This section has proposed that the Kyuquot clause is composed of predicate, adjuncts, and obliques. The predicate consists of either a single stem, a stem plus qualifier, or a NP. A predicate can be accompanied by adjuncts, which stand in subject or object relation to the predicate. Adjuncts sometimes precede the predicate, but normally follow the predicate and its qualifier and precede the obliques.

Adjuncts are typically NP's. NP's are constituents which consist of a nominal or a modifier of an elliptical nominal and may optionally include other modifiers such as an article, deictics, or embedded clauses. The constituent order within a nonpredicative NP is relatively fixed, whereas that within a predicative NP is absolutely fixed.

3.2. Obliques

3.2.1. Introduction

An *oblique* is a constituent which cannot precede the predicate with which it associates. Nor does it normally precede the adjuncts with which it associates. Obliques introduce a constituent (either NP or S) subordinate to and not coordinate with the matrix clause. Consider first obliques dominating NP. NP obliques can be in a variety of semantic case relations to the predicate: agent, patient, experiencer, recipient, benefactee, etc.

These semantic relations are defined here as follows. A *patient* undergoes a process, or is in a state, as in 'Bill fell' or 'Bill is old' or 'Bill is chief'. An *agent* performs an action and controls the occur-

rence of a process or state, as in 'Bill felled a tree' or 'Bill walked home'. An agent can also control an action and its participating agent; as in 'Bill made Harry walk home'. An *experiencer* experiences rather than controls a state or process (which can also involve a patient), as in 'Bill wants a drink'. A *recipient* comes into possession as the result of an agent's action, as in 'Mary gave it to Bill'. Finally, a *benefactee* is effected beneficially or adversely by a state, action, or process. An event or state can occur for, at the request or order of, in honour of, or to the detriment of a benefactee. Also, one participant in an event or state can be taking the place of a benefactee. For example, in 'Mary sang for Bill', the agent could be acting at the request of, in place of, or for the benefit of the benefactee.

Oblique agents occur in passive clauses, where the semantic benefactee, patient, or recipient is the grammatical subject and is coreferential to the pronominal suffix attached to the predicate or its qualifier. In such a clause, the semantic agent is oblique.

(102) *qahsa·p·aḥ·t mawič Bill* The deer was killed by Bill
 /qah-sa·p·aḥ·at/ die-MOMCAUS-TEM-PASS deer Bill

(103) *?uya·?tinti·s ?um?i* It was given to me by Mom
 /?u-ayi-ḥ-at-int-(y)i:-s ../ it-give..-PASS-PAST-INDF-I mother

Oblique patients can occur where some nonpatient NP is treated as the grammatical object. There are a number of Kyuquot stems which are associated with a semantic patient and a semantic benefactee or recipient, such as *?uyi* 'give' and *ku·w·iḥ* 'steal (from)'.
 (104) *?uyintiš Bill puk (?u·kʷḥ) nani* Bill gave a book to Granny
 /?u-ayi-int-?i·š .. ?u-(č)iḥ [L]../
 it-give..-PAST-IND Bill book it-do to.. grandmother

(105) *ku·w·iḥ Joe puk ?u·kʷḥ ti·čā* Joe stole a book from the teacher
 /.. .. ?u-(č)iḥ [L]../ steal Joe book-it-do to.. teacher

In addition, there is a benefactive suffix, *-či·p·for*, which, if affixed to a verbal predicative base, allows the resulting stem to govern a semantic benefactive. If a verbal predi is transitive,

-čip allows the predicate to govern both patient and a benefactee.

- (106) č'ičiħēp Joe pi•š ?u•kʷč Mary Joe cut up the fish for Mary
 /č'i-š(i)ħ-čip/ cut-MOM-for Joe fish for Mary

In such cases as (104) to (106), only one nominal can be grammatical object in the active sentence. The remaining semantic relation is grammatically an oblique. In the above sentences, it is the patient which is object and the nonpatient which is the oblique.

There are also sentences in which the patient follows a focused benefactee or recipient.

- (107) ?uyintiš Bill (?u•kʷč) nani puk Bill gave a book to GRANNY
 (108) ku•w'it Joe ?u•kʷč ti•ča puk Joe stole a book from the TEACHER

It is proposed that in such sentences, the patient is oblique and the focused participant (typically part of an ?u•kʷč NP clause) is adjunct. An ?u•kʷč NP clause also occurs as object adjunct in sentences with a contrastive patient, as in (109).

- (109) ku•w'it Bill ?u•kʷč puk Bill stole THAT book

(Focusing is discussed in section 3.5.2)

To sum up, ?u•kʷč NP clauses can be either adjuncts as in (107) to (108) or obliques as in (104) to (106). The fact that the ?u•kʷč NP clauses cannot precede the predicate (whereas some sentential NP's such as relative clauses can) suggests that contrastive ?u•kʷč NP clauses are dominated by S whereas relative clauses are dominated by NP. It further suggests that only NP adjuncts can precede the predicate. As a result of the above analysis, a passive subject (whether patient, recipient, or benefactee) is always coreferential to an active (object) adjunct. For example, the following examples contain passive subjects which are coreferential to the patient and recipient adjuncts in sentences (104) and (107) respectively.

- (109) ?uya•?tintiš puk (?u•kʷč) nani The book was given to Granny
 /?u-ayi-at-int-?i•š/ it-give..-PASS-PAST-IND book to
 (110) ?uya•?tintiš nani puk Granny was given the book

Further, one can then claim that the passive subject is coreferential to only one NP in a given clause, either the patient, benefactee, or recipient.

It has been posited that, when the semantic recipient or benefactee is the adjunct object, the semantic patient must be oblique. This seems to be verified because active sentences with focused nonpatient (i.e. benefactee or recipient) adjuncts cannot have their patients, even one-word patients, preceding the predicate. This is to be expected if such patients are grammatically oblique.

(111) *puk ʔuyintiš Bill ʔu·kʷɛ nani

This analysis also offers a way to explain why a clause such as that in (112) has as its passive counterpart (113) but not (114):

(112) nišsa·p ʔu·kʷɛ čixčín ʔu·kʷɛ čučma He made Chihchin visit Chuchma
/niš-sa·p ʔ./ visit-MOMCAUS to

(113) nišsa·p·t čixčín ʔu·kʷɛ čučma Chihchin was made to visit
Chuchma

(114) nišsa·p·t čučma ʔu·kʷɛ čixčín *Chuchma was made to be visited
by Chihchin

Instead, (114) must mean 'Chuchma was made to visit Chihchin', which is clearly not a paraphrase of (112). Although both Chihchin and Chuchma are patients in (112), only Chihchin can be a passive subject in a paraphrase. This is explainable if, in (112), ʔu·kʷɛ čixčín is an (object) adjunct, whereas ʔu·kʷɛ čučma is an oblique. Then the passive paraphrase's subject will have to be coreferential to ʔu·kʷɛ čixčín because it, and not ʔu·kʷɛ čučma, is an adjunct.

Oblique patients also occur when the main predicate is composed of two (or possibly three) transitive morphemes or is a causativized transitive (cf. also section 4.7.1 and 4.7.2).

(115) hišimšap Mary katʔu ti·pini Mary moved the cat around the
/hiš-maš-as.-'ap . . . ti·pin-ʔi·/ table
there-move about-on-CAUS Mary cat table-DEF

(116) casp'aq Bill šini·k ča·čičšti Bill chased the dog all over
/cas-p'aq . . . ča-ačičšt-ʔi·/ the island
chase-on top Bill dog flow-on sea-DEF

The oblique constituent (even if semantically patient) cannot precede the predicate. Sentences such as (115) and (116) are a result of elicitation. They seem to represent, however, a logical extension of the Kyuquot system of relating NP's to a predicate.

There are also oblique NP's which have a locative or temporal relation to the matrix predicate.

- (117) *ka'asii t'asi* /*ka'-as-(y)i: ..*/ He was outside at the door
outside-outside-INDF door
- (118) *?acsa'ka ka'u'nti n'a's* /*?ac-ši(k)-ak ka'u'-int-?i: ..*/ He went fishing the other day
go out-MOM-TEM other-PAST-DEF day

Aside from the above types of NP obliques, most obliques are clausal. One of the common types is the adverbial. Typically, adverbial obliques have locative or temporal predicates and a deleted (absent) subject coreferential to the matrix subject. Locative predicates consists of deictic, referential, or nonreferential stems.

- (119) *qu'asnañ hiš* /*qu'as-na-ña: ...*/ Were there people there?
adult-PAST-QUE there
- (120) *nawa'ys ka'as* /*nawa's-čis ka'-as*/ He was lounging out at the beach
lounge-at beach outside-outside

Locative predicates are typically transitive and can govern an object, even when the locative phrase is an oblique constituent.

- (121) *wa'ič hišas čim'iš* /*.. hiš-as čim.-čič-š*/ He slept on the bed
sleep there-on right-in house-DEF

Temporal obliques are virtually always composed of a temporal predicate which can denote a time of day or year, e.g. *ku'atš* 'morning' or *ka'up'i'čh* 'summer', a time in reference to the speaker's or his discourse's present, e.g. *ča'ni* 'soon', *ka'u'k'atš* 'the other day', or *k'isq'i'čh* 'last year', or a duration of time, e.g. *takšik* 'always' or *?i'qhi* 'still'. There are also a few temporal phrasal oblique constructions in which the predicate is the temporal referential *?uya* 'at that time' as in *?uya ?am'i* 'yesterday (at that time)' or in which the predicate is a quantity, e.g. either *qum'a* 'every, that many' as in *qum'a*

n'a'ssi:k 'every morning' or a numeral as in *ɕ'awa:k. hup'at* 'for one month'.

Locative and temporal obliques can cooccur.

- (122) *wi'na'qk . ɕa'ni his* He'll be invading HERE soon
 /*wi'na'-?a:qk ...*/ invade-FUT soon here(contrastive)

Sentences with locative and temporal obliques have paraphrases in which the main predicate is the same as that of the oblique constituent in the above sentences. In fact, temporal (and manner adverbial) notions are usually expressed as matrix predicates rather than as obliques (cf. section 3.3.2.1).

3.2.2. NP-Relating Obliques

A second function of Kyuquot obliques is to introduce additional nominal constituents into the clause. While certain such oblique clauses resemble case-marked NP's, it appears that such obliques are in fact clauses and are part of a larger set of NP-relating clauses which cannot be identified simply as case-related NP's.

NP-relating clauses (NRC's) are signalled by the nominal referential root *?u-* 'it, he, she' which occurs initially in the predicate stem. The subject of the oblique predicate is normally coreferential to that of the matrix predicate, although no subject marking (by word or pronominal suffix) occurs in NRC's. Consider first the NP-relating clauses most parallel to case-marked NP's. The following sentences each contain an oblique NRC (underlined).

- (123) *?uyi'nti's puk ?u'k^{we} Mary* I gave a book to Mary
 /*?u-ayi-int-(y)i:-s ...*/ it-give...-PAST-INDF-I
- (124) *ɕ' iɕi:k'a'qk ?u'hw' at ɕuta'y* He'll cut it with a knife
 /*ɕ' i-ɕi(ɕ)-?a:qk ?u-hw' at [L]..*/ cut-MOM-FUT it-use.. knife
- (125) *mnu'k^winti's ?u'chin Mary* I sang for Mary
 /*CV#nu-ak^w-int-(y)i:-s ?u-chin [L]..*
 distrib-sing-DUR-PAST-INDF-I it-do for.. Mary
- (126) *?uk^wi'znak ?u'atp Mary* Did you make it (to be) for Mary?
 /*?u-(ɕ)i'ɕ-na-k ?u-a'atip ...*/ it-make...-PAST-II(QUE) it-destine for..

- (127) *č'ičiχəpintin ?u·k'ɛ Mary* We cut it for Mary
 /č' i-š i(χ)-č i·p-int-in ... / cut-MOM-for-PAST-IP
- (128) *yacša·?χ ?u·k'ɛnk Mary* He went out with Mary
 /yac-š i(χ)-'əχ ?u-(č)ink'[L].. / step-MOM-TEM it-with..
- (129) *qahsa·p' tint ?uh?at Mary* He was killed by Mary
 /qah-sa·p-'at-int ?u-h-(q)h-'at .. /
 die-MOMCAUS-PASS-PAST it-ABS-SIM-PASS

The first evidence for a non-case analysis, i.e. is one in which the NP-relating words are identified as lower predicates, is that the NP-relating words behave like normal predicates. They serve as matrix predicates with clause-level inflection, including subject pronominal suffixes, and the full range of moods and modes.

- (130) *?u·hw' əbnah* Did he use it?
 /?u-hw' əb [L]-na-ha' / it-use...-PAST-QUE
- (131) *?u·χini* Do it for him!
 /?u-χin [L]-'i' / it-do for...-IMPV
- (132) *?u·k'ɛcimmatkint Bill* He must have referred to Bill
 /?u-(č)it [L]-cim-matak-int .. / it-refer to...-MUST-POSB-PAST
- (133) *?uh?atinti·su* It was him (who) did it to you all
 /?u-h-(q)h-'at-int-(y)i:-su:/ it-ABS-SIM-PASS-PAST-INDF-IIP

NP-relating suffixes can occur in predicates in association with two pronominal suffixes as in (134) and can occur with a root-sited pronominal object as in (135).

- (134) *?u·χin?ənti·s'ət* I did it for them
 /?u-χin [L]-'əχ-int-(y)i:-s-?a'ɛ/ it-do for...-TEM-PAST-INDF-I-PL
- (135) *suta?atpmatk'a·qχi·ə* Maybe I'll do it for you
 /sut-a'atip-matak-'a:qχ-(y)i:-s/ you-destine for...-POSB-FUT-INDF-I

NP-relating suffixes, serving in matrix predicates can govern a range of possible adjuncts: subject (patient, agent, or benefactee) or object (patient or benefactee).

- (136) *?u·hw' əbnah Bill suta·y* Did Bill use a knife?
 /?u-hw' əb [L]-na-ha' ... / it-use...-PAST-QUE Bill knife

- (137) ?u^oatip^ot It was done for Dad
/ʔu-a^oatip-^oat/ It-destine for..-PASS father
- (138) ?u^ok^{wi}ʔatinti^os Roger I was referred to by Roger
/ʔu-(ʔ)iʔ [L]-^oat-int-(y)i:-s.../ it-do to..-PASS-PAST-INDF-I

They can also be associated with contrastive adjuncts as in (139) or with obliques, including the adverbial and NP-relating types.

- (139) ?u^ochin^oahint ?u^ok^{wi} Bill He would have done it for BILL
/ʔu-chin[L]-^oah-int/ it-do for..-IRR-PAST
- (140) ?u^ohw^oati ?u^ochin ?um^oi Use it for Mon!
/ʔu-hw^oat[L]-^oi ?u-chin[L].../ it-use..-IMPV it-do for.. mother
- (141) ?u^ok^{wi}inkqu^os kah n^oa^os^oi If only I were with her today!
/ʔu-(ʔ)ink[L]-qu:-s ... n^oa^os-^oi/ it-with..-COND-I now day-DEF

NPR's occur as oblique predicates in sentences with topical agent predicates.

- (142) ?u^oh^oint ʔakupi ?u^ochin Joe It was THAT man who did it to Joe
/ʔu-h-int ʔakup-^oi ?u-chin[L]/ it-ABS-PAST man-DEF it-do for..
- (143) siy^oa^oqinti^os su^otiʔ It was ME that did it to you
/siy^oa^oq-int-(y)i:-s sut-(ʔ)iʔ[L]/ I-PAST-INDF-I you-do to..

Finally, NPR's can also occur within bases that are affixed by other noninflectional suffixes.

- (144) ?u^ochin^oapinti^os I had her do it for him
/ʔu-chin[L]-^oap-int-(y)i:-s/ it-do for..-CAUS-PAST-INDF-I

The second argument for a non-case analysis is that NP-relating constituents can be associated with neither semantic case nor surface case. One morpheme, -ʔi^op, can associate with different semantic cases, i.e. recipient (123), benefactee (127), or patient (139), even in the same surface clause (as in (145)) or when preceded by the same lexical item used in different contexts (as in (146)).

- (145) qaci^op ?u^ok^{wi} John ?u^ok^{wi} Bill He made John give it to Bill
/qaci-^oap/ give-CAUS to John to Bill
- (146) kah^oi^os ?u^ok^{wi} Bill {It/He} is good {for/to} Bill

Recall that the NP which is object of a NP-relating predicate can be subject of the passivized version of that predicate, as in (137) and (138), and that phrases composed of $\text{?u}^{\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{t}}$ NP can be either object or oblique constituents. Hence, NPR's cannot be associated with a grammatical category such as oblique or adjunct or a surface case category such as object and, therefore, do not neatly identify either deep semantic or surface grammatical relations (cf. also section 3.5.2 for a discussion of other functions of $\text{?u}^{\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{t}}$).

In addition, NP-relating predicates are not obligatory. Objects occur without $\text{?u}^{\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{t}}$ as in (106) and oblique agents occur without $\text{?u}^{\text{h}}\text{?at}$ as in (102) and (103). Nor must NP-relating predicates always occur in the company of a NP object. Consider the following.

- (147) $\text{?i}^{\text{?i}}\text{?ikint} \text{?u}^{\text{h}}\text{?at} \text{?i}^{\text{?i}}\text{?ikint}$ He cut it with it.
 / $\text{?i}^{\text{?i}}\text{-?i}^{\text{?i}}(\text{?i})\text{-int} \text{?u}^{\text{h}}\text{?at} \text{[L]}/$ cut-MOM-PAST it-use..

In discourse and unelicited material, associated nominals are typically introduced in coordinate or independent clauses, with only ten percent of all sentences using a NP-relating predicate. Of this ten percent, $\text{?u}^{\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{t}}$ accounts for ninety percent (i.e. nine percent of all the sentences in the corpus), with the NP thus identified usually in a contrastive object patient relation.

NPR suffixes, then, are like other governing lexical suffixes. They are used to build bases to which other affixes can be added to derive new bases, as in (144) or (148) and (149) below.

- (148) $\text{?u}^{\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{t}}\text{inkmasiqh}$ He wants to be with him
 / $\text{?u}^{\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{t}}(\text{?i})\text{ink}^{\text{w}} \text{[L]}\text{-masaqh}/$ it-with..-want to..
- (149) $\text{?u}^{\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{t}}\text{i}^{\text{?i}}\text{?ik}$ He started to refer to it
 / $\text{?u}^{\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{t}}(\text{?i})\text{i}^{\text{?i}} \text{[L]}\text{-?i}^{\text{?i}}(\text{?i})/$ it-do to..-MOM

Secondly, NPR's behave like governing suffixes in that, in relative clauses bound to their object, the relative root must be affixed by a governing morpheme of either NPR or non-NPR type (cf. section 4.7.1).

Thirdly, NPR's are used in referential predicates to associate a NP with the matrix predicate. This structure, illustrated above in (123) to (129), seems parallel to that found in sentences such as (150).

- (150) ?imč'a·p. ?uksnašž ?ini·k He played with the dog
 /.. ?u-(c)šnašž .. / play it-handle.. dog

In such a sentence, the oblique is a clause whose subject is coreferential to the matrix predicate's subject. Such clauses are dependent on the matrix clause. Although the syntactic shape of such clausal obliques (including the NPR's obliques) is parallel to that of matrix clauses (except that subject is not marked in the former), it is problematic to treat them as matrix or coordinate sentences. The meaning of (150) is greater than the sum of the parts. That is, the meaning is somewhat idiosyncratic. In some respects, such sentences suggest that many oblique predicates play a role quite parallel to prepositions in English.

The situation in Kyuquot is complicated by the presence of a large number of lexical suffixes which can combine with referential or locative roots to produce an indeterminate number of preposition-like (and case-marking-like) words. Consider the following sentences.

- (151) *matša·?k mamat histaqšh suč'isi ?uci·čh maht'i*
 /mat-š*h*(k)-'ak .. his-taq-š*h*(k) suč'is-'i· ?u-c-'i:-š*h*(k) .. /
 fly-MOM-TEM bird there-go from..-MOM tree-DEF it-at-go to..-MOM
 'The bird flew from the tree to the house

- (152) *mamu·k ?u·taq ?ihət* She worked on the mat
 /mamu-ak' ?u-taq [L] .. / work-DUR it-work on.. mat

Such oblique clauses appear to have a causal or resultative relation to the higher predicate. Such a relation will be considered characteristic of unmarked complement obliques (cf. section 3.2.5.1). This, then, leaves NPR's of the narrow kind, the ones illustrated in sentences (123) to (129), as a set of noncomplement obliques. It is not clear whether these NPR's should be subsumed under adverbial obliques. Further research is needed to determine whether syntactic similarities or dissimilarities predominate.

It is certain, however, that no clear distinction can be drawn between some narrow set of NPR's and some broader set. Between the NPR suffixes illustrated in sentences (123) to (129), whose glosses seem very abstract and case-like, and one such as -(c)šnašž 'handle..', which

seems quite predicative, there is a gradual transition of semantic range and grammatical function. Many other suffixes which could be attached to *?u-* 'it' can serve as oblique predicates whose object could be assigned a case-type semantic relation with the matrix predicate. These will be pointed out below in the survey of semantic relations (section 3.2.3).

In summary, NPR predicates are composed of a nominal referential root and a subset of governing or lexical suffixes (i.e. the suffixes which can attach to their objects). Such NP-relating obliques and the NP obliques discussed earlier can cooccur within the same sentence. The ordering of these oblique constituents is governed in unmarked clauses by three principles. Syntactically, adjuncts precede obliques. Grammatically, subject precedes object. Semantically, the ordering of obliques appears to follow the following sequence:

agent > patient > recipient > benefactee > { location
time
instrument }

The last three are parenthesized as a set because location and time obliques cooccur in either sequence and because no instrumental oblique has been found to occur with a location or time oblique.

3.2.3. Surface Expression of Semantic Relations

This section summarizes how semantic relations between NP's and predicates are expressed in the Nootka sentence. The agent can be the simple subject of a transitive active predicate or can be an oblique, which in passives is either simple (non-clausal) or is identified by the oblique predicate *?uh?dt*. Intransitive or transitive active predicates can also be associated with an oblique indirect agent.

(153) *qahšik ?u·ktaq Bill* He died on account of Bill
/qah-š-i(ʔ) ?u-(š)taq [L].. / die-MOM it-on account of..

Typically *-(š)taq [L]* is associated with intransitive predicates whereas *-šast* '(be) done by..' is associated with transitive predicates. However, *-šast* tends to occur within a matrix predicate. The agent it identifies is coreferential to the agent of a sentence nearby in discourse or pre-supposed although not uttered.

Instrumentals surface as the adjunct of the predicate 'use' which can serve as a matrix predicate as in (130), or as an oblique constituent of a transitive matrix predicate as in (124). If, however, the matrix predicate is intransitive, and optionally if the matrix is passive, the instrumental NP is object of the oblique predicate 'on account of'.

(154) *k' iksik ?u'ktaq ha'ma* It broke because of the hammer
 /*k' iks-si(k) ?u-(s)taq [L] .. /* break-MOM it-on account of.. hammer

(155) *k' iksa'p' t* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ?u'kw'at \\ ?u'ktaq \end{array} \right\}$ *ha'ma* It was broken by means of a hammer

Generally, instrumentals may not serve as active subjects or passive agent obliques. However, NP's denoting a moving entity, even if inanimate, can serve as instrumental agents, e.g. the wind or a moving boat (which crashed into a float, thereby destroying it).

(156) *muš'itp yu'i* The wind closed it
 /*muš-?atu-'ap yu-?i /* close-down-CAUS blow-NOM

Recipients are normally surface objects of *?u'kw'at* in an oblique clause or in an object adjunct clause. This latter structure is held to be a paraphrase of the passive version, wherein a recipient can be subject. Recipients can also be surface object of predicates other than *?u'kw'at*, such as *?u'yi* 'give (to)', *?uwiqs* 'invite', and *?usah'i'p* 'give gifts to'.

Benefactees, those effected by an event but not patients nor necessarily recipients, can serve as the surface object of *?u'kw'at* in an oblique or object adjunct clause when the matrix predicate is marked by *-ci'p* 'for', as the subject of passive predicates marked by *-ci'p*, and as surface objects of the predicates *?u'chin* 'do for, for the benefit of', *?u'atp* 'destine (it) to be at, for' (used when the benefactee receives a concrete item), *?u'inmš* 'in place of', *?u'ic'im'ak* 'do in honour of', and *?u'ktaq* 'do on account of'. Such predicates can be matrix or oblique. If oblique, the benefactive relation can be embedded within a clause whose predicate either gives no signal of such a relation or indicates it by the *-ci'p* affix as in (157).

- (157) *č' ič' i k' ep ?u' ?atp Mary* He cut it up for Mary
/č' i-č' i (k) -č' i' p ?u- a' atip .. / cut-MOM-for it-destine for..

Patients are represented as transitive object adjuncts or as obliques. As obliques, they are either NP obliques, if a benefactee or recipient has the matrix sentence's object role, or sentential obliques, if the patient is object of an oblique predicate such as *?uhta* 'do to'. A patient can be subject of an intransitive or passive transitive predicate. Contrastive patients can be identified by framing the patient within a clause with *?u' k' w' t* 'do to, refer to' as predicate.

Note that aside from agents only NP's whose semantic roles can be framed within *?u' k' w' t* clauses serve as passive subjects: patient, recipient, and benefactee. Only *?u' k' w' t* clauses (or relative clauses) seem able to occur in the object position. However, this does not mean *?u' k' w' t* can be called an object marker.

Comitative NP's occur as objects of active predicates such as *?u' k' w' ink* 'do, be with' or of predicates affixed by *-u' [R]* 'do.. with others'.

3.2.4. Comparative Structures

Comparative structures are considered here because the 'standard' of comparison can be a NP within an oblique clause. Although comparative constructions are not syntactically distinctive in Kyuquot, they are included for purposes of typological comparison (cf. Lehmann 1980). Where two nominals are compared with respect to an adjectival, locative, or quantity, the nonstandard is subject and the standard is framed in an oblique clause with *?u' k' w' t* as the oblique predicate.

- (158) *kuč' ?i' š John ?u' k' w' t Mary* John is nicer than Mary

- (159) *?ayi' pi' s ?u' k' w' t q' w' i' y' i' pi' s k' w' i' s q' i' č' h*
/?aya-i-p-(y)i:-s .. q' w' i- i' y' ip-(y)i:-s k' w' i' s.-q' i' č' h/
 many-get..-INDF-I .. which-get..-INDF-I different-in..year
 I got a lot more than I got last year

There is no passivization of such sentences. Hence, the *?u' k' w' t* - type object of comparison cannot serve in the subject role, although

?u[•]k^wt[•]-marked benefactees and recipients can.

- (160) *ʔatʔatiš Mary ʔuhʔat John* Mary was (treated) nicely by John
 *Mary was who John was nicer than
 /ʔat-ʔat-ʔi-š / nice-PASS-IND Mary by John

There is no unique morphological mark for comparative or superlative. However, the predicate can be affixed by *-tʔi:na* 'slightly' or *-apa* ([RL+L]) 'too, very' (cf. section 4.8.2) or can be qualified by *ʔi-h* 'very, really' or *ʔu[•]pa* 'too'.

Where two nominals are identified as equivalent with respect to something, the following structures occur. Quantity equivalents surface in referential or relative sequences such as that in (161).

- (161) *ʔunahpʔ itʔk ʔunahpʔ itk^witq ʔumʔi* She's as tall as her mother is
 /ʔuna-h-pʔ it-ʔak ʔuna-h-pʔ it-uk-ʔi-tq .. /
 as much-..quantity-at edge-TEM as much-..quantity-at edge-POSS-REL

Adjectival, nominal, or verbal equivalents can surface with *miʔhi* 'same' as predicate, the nonstandard nominal as subject and the standard as a constituent within an oblique introduced by *q^wa[•]* 'as, whether, thus, like', *ʔu[•]k^wt[•]*, or *ʔu[•]k^wt[•] q^wa[•]*.

- (162) *miʔhi ʔu[•]k^wt[•] (q^wa[•]ʔi-tq) plane* It's the same as a plane is
 /miʔ-hi .. q^wa[•]-ʔi-tq .. / same-DUR .. as-REL

- (163) *miʔhi q^wa[•]ʔi-tq pie ʔu[•]k^wi-ʔakqu*
 /miʔ-hi q^wa[•]-ʔi-tq .. ʔu-(č)i-ʔak-qu: /
 same-DUR as-REL .. it-make-..TEM-COND

It's the same (way of doing) as for making a pie

Similarity is also asserted by framing the standard within an independent *q^wa[•]* clause.

- (164) *ʔatʔi-š ha[•]k^wa[•]ʔi* The girl is pretty
q^wa[•] hup[•]ʔqu She is like the sun can be
 /.. hup-ʔat-ʔqu: / as round-on flat surface-COND

3.2.5. Complement Obliques

Constituents identified as complements are syntactically similar to comparative obliques (but unlike adverbial or NP-relating ones) in that they cannot also serve as topical matrix predicates. Complement obliques cannot be adjuncts because the constructions in which they occur, such as (165), have no passive paraphrase in which the complement is subject and no cleft version in which the matrix predicate is preceded by the complement. Cleft and passive variants of constructions in which a matrix predicate governs an object (adjunct), such as (166), do exist.

(165) *ka'pap minu*k* He likes to sing

(166) *ka'pap Bill* He likes Bill

The first type of complement to be considered is one whose subject is obligatorily coreferential to the matrix clause subject and whose predicate is not marked by mood or particle. This is the coreferential unmarked complement construction. It is associated with sentential modifiers, focus predicates, or simple matrix predicates.

Sentential modifiers can be locative, temporal, or verbal matrix predicates.

(167) *takšixi's č'iya pi's* I always cut up the fish
 /tak-š*i*(*κ*)-(y)*i*:s č'*i*-(y)a .. / each-MOM-INDF-I cut-CONT fish

(168) *?akp'itiš John wabšix* John went home twice
 /?ak-p'*i*t-?i's .. wab-š*i*(*κ*)/ two-. times-IND .. go home-MOM

Locative predicates include all the predicates occurring as locative oblique predicates. Temporal predicates include, in addition to the oblique temporals such as *?i'qha* 'still', *ka* 'now', and *?uya* 'at that time', other temporals such as *?umac'q* 'every now and then' and *?u'si* 'sometimes'. Derived predicates which are not temporal in terms of semantic class but contribute a temporal notion to a sentence include *?u'ka'u'si* 'sometimes' and *qi'čix* 'take, do for a long time'. Sentential modifiers (SM) serve as predicates in clauses having a paraphrase in which the modifier predicate is an oblique of a matrix clause, i.e.

[SM Su Obl [Pred₂ Obj..]] = [Pred₂ Su Obj Obl [SM]]. The coreferential

subject, if a pronominal suffix, is associated obligatorily with the matrix predicate; however, adjunct subjects occur in either the matrix or the complement clause.

Focus predicates include elements such as quantifiers (including negative elements), topical NP's, and question and relative predicates. Clauses consisting of focus predicates and complement oblique 'lower clauses' do not have a paraphrase in which the topical element is an oblique sited within a matrix clause. Focus predicates are discussed further in the section on marked sentences (3.3.2 and 3.3.3).

Simple matrix predicates are unlike sentential modifiers in that there is no oblique paraphrase and unlike focus predicates in that the simple matrix predicate cannot be more closely associated semantically with some constituent inside its oblique sister (and hence, in some analyses, raised out of the ultimately lower clause).

3.2.5.1. Unmarked Complements

Simple matrix predicates associated with coreferential unmarked complements can be adjectival or verbal, intransitive or transitive. The sets of predicates of these types are given below.

1. Intransitive verbal: *?ana-sit* 'have nothing to do but', *?ayaq-šik* 'exert all energy to, have difficulty in', *?uqitip* 'think of', *šimšik* 'do with pleasure', *haxa-š* 'finish', *hiyux-šik* 'do accidentally', *kuw-it* 'manage', *ku-š* 'do slowly', *nasik* 'try but fail to', *n'amak-šik* 'try', *mu-šim-šik* 'do carelessly', *paks-šik* 'do suddenly', *yu-kyu-šik* 'hurry to', *yušuk-š* 'hurry to', *šac-š* 'persist in'.

(169) *nasikints* [*?acšik*] I tried to go out (to sea)
/nas-ik-int-s ?ac-šik/ try-MOM-PAST-I go out-MOM

Intransitive verbal predicates also include the passive version of causativized states, e.g. *šapa-k'ap't* 'allowed to', *wiwip-k'ap't* 'not allowed to, supposed to'.

2. Intransitive adjectival: *?u?umh* 'can, able to', *?umalqik* 'want to', *šimqik* 'happy to', *kuš* 'good (of one) to', *kapuk* 'agree to', *hi-k'at* 'almost', *pusa-k* 'tired of', *ta-qak* 'willing to', *wic-ik* 'not know how to', *wimalqik* 'not want to', *wiwip-k* 'not want to', *šac-ik* 'expert at',

and *ʔapa·k* 'willing to'.

(170) *wimaʔəʔin* [*hupa·ʔt*] We don't want to be helped
 /*wi-maʔaʔk-in hupi·-ʔat*/ not-want to..-Ip help-PASS

3. Transitive verbal: *ʔu·taq* 'work on, at', *ʔuyaʔinh* 'put off', *hišsi·k* 'finish', *kuhtik* 'know (how to)', *ka·pap* 'like to', *ʔaci·k* 'let go, stop, give up', *wikwinčə* 'forget to'.

(171) *kuhtikk* [*ʔuk·i·č ʔiʔət*] Do you know how to make mats?
 /*kuhtik-k ʔu-(č)i·č ..*/ know how-II(QUE) it-make.. mat

4. Transitive adjectival: *tuhuk-ə* 'afraid to'.

Finally, there are several structurally-transitive nominal predicates which when affixed by the possessive *-uk* govern a coreferential unmarked complement: *k·a·simisk·w* 'easy to', *hiw·atmisk·w* 'hard to', *wi·qmisk·w* 'impossible to', *ʔu·qmisk·w* 'interesting to'. The subject is the one (the semantic experiencer) who finds the event easy, difficult, etc.

(172) *k·a·simisk·w Bill* [*ʔu·k·ink*] It's easy for Bill to meet her.
 /*k·a·si-mis-uk .. ʔu-(č)ink·w [L]*/ easy-NOM-POSS .. it-with..

In addition to the above types of predicates associated with coreferential unmarked complements, there is a more generalized type of predicate. Namely, any verbal predicate involving a movement or other event other which the subject (agent) has some control can be associated with a complement which identifies the purpose or result of the event expressed in the matrix predicate.

(173) *c·axšič* [*ʔun·a·h pi·š*] He speared for fish.
 /*c·ax-šič(ə) ʔu-n·a·h ..*/ spear-MOM. it-see.. fish

There are also matrix predicates with unmarked complements whose subjects are not necessarily coreferential. These are subcategorized as follows (with 'matrix' abbreviated as Mx and 'complement' as Co):

1. matrix object equals complement subject (MxPa=CoSu): *ʔuc·inh* 'ask X to', *ʔuksa·p* 'coax X to', *c·ac·iəš* 'persuade X to', *naʔa·* 'hear X ..-ing', and *ʔaci·čə* 'see X' ..-ing';

2. coreferential or non-coreferential (MxPa=CoSu if subjects not coreferential); *pusa^ak* 'tired of (X) ...-ing', *wa^a* 'say, tell X to';
3. coreferential or non-coreferential (MxPa≠CoSu): *?u^ac ?im'aqst* 'be responsible that X', *?uqhtip* 'think of, think X (is..)'. When MxPa≠CoSu, the complement subject is present in the complement and there is no coreferential matrix NP.

(174) *?uqhtipat* [*hinin^a:q^aka* Bill] They think Bill will come again
 /*?uqhtip-?a^a ? hin-in-?a:qk-ka* .. think-PL there (MOM)-come-FUT-again

3.2.5.2. Marked Complements

Many complements are marked. One type is marked by having as predicate *q^aa* in the sense of 'whether'. Following matrix predicates *?a^atu* 'ask, wonder', *hayimh* 'don't know', *t^aat'apat* 'think about', negative forms such as *wikt^a im hasist* 'never hear', *wik huhtik* 'don't know', and question predicates such as *huhtik-h* 'does he know?', *?u^as-ma^ap-h* 'does he notice?', the complement is headed by the predicate *q^aa* and inflected in the indefinite relative mood and affixed by the pronominal morpheme appropriate for the complement subject. The complement subject (other than third person) must be indicated by affix in this case. It is assumed here that *q^aa* itself governs an oblique sentential complement.

(175) *huhtikk* [*q^aa^ayi n^aaei^a ?^a si^a ?it*] Do you know whether he saw me?
 /*huhtik-k q^aa^a (y) i: n^aae-^ai^a ?i(ka) si-(?i)it* [L]/
 know-II(QUE) whether-INDF see-INC I-do.to..

Some complements begin with the inflecting particle *?in*. Matrix predicates associated with *?in*-marked complements include the following:

1. coreferential subjects (MxSu=CoSu): *?inha^a* 'but, nevertheless', *?unu^a* 'because', *hawi^a ?^a* 'finish', *kuw^a it* 'might as well', *sa^a is* 'persist';

2. noncoreferential subjects:

a. ambient matrix predicate: *c^a ishi* 'bad', *?iha^a-* 'strange', *ku^a* 'good', *hi^ain-* 'too bad';

b. MxPa=CoSu: *?uwaqs* 'invite X to', *k^a ita^ah* 'criticize X for';

c. MxPa=CoSu: *n'aci'čk* 'see', *?u?i'čk* 'hear';

3. coreferential or noncoreferential subjects (MxPa=CoSu if subjects not coreferential): *?i'qhučk* 'tell (someone)', *?u'atp* 'do in order to', *?uqhtip* 'think', *?u'si-* 'sometimes', *?uwa ~ wa'* 'say', *čimqč* 'happy', *hayimh* 'not know', *huhtik* 'know', *him-čik* 'show someone that', *k'usu'qč* 'fear', *k'wamih* 'resent', *mick'a-* 'surprised', *na'a-* 'hear', *pih-sič* 'figure out', *tuhuk* 'fear', *wik'ač* 'not notice', and *ča'q'a'q* 'scream'.

(176) *k'usu'qčintin* [*?ink n'amaš'q'a'qč su'*]

/k'usu'qč-int-in ?in-k n'amat-si(x)-'a:qč .. /

fear-PAST-IP that-II try-MOM-FUT hold

We were afraid that you would try to hold it

(177) *wa'č'nač* [*?in napri't*] Did he say he was a priest?

/wa'-č' ač-na-ča' /

say-TEM-PAST-QUE that priest

Two moods may mark an oblique complement. The less common is the subordinate mood *-qa'* which is associated with certain clauses which are irrealis in some way. Either the clausal content of the complement is counterfactual at the time of utterance, as in *?uqhtip* 'thought that.. (but was mistaken)', or is unknown or unexpected (by the speaker) at the time of utterance, as in *mick'a* 'surprised that.. (but it was a fact)', or *hayimh* 'didn't know that.. (but do now)', or is not necessarily under the control of the associated subject, as in *čapa'k* 'agreed to..' (when the complement predicate is passive).

(178) *?uqhtip su'ha'q* He thought it was a salmon

/.. su'ha'-qa' / think spring salmon-DUB

(179) *čapa'k t'an'a'si hat'i'sap'tq* The child agreed to be washed

/.. t'an'a'-čis-č'i' hat'i's-č'ap-č'at-qa' /

agree child-DIM-DEF bathe-CAUS-PASS-SUB

*The more common mood used to signal complements is *-qu:* 'when, if, would' (COND). In general, it occurs when the complement is in some sense irrealis. There are some matrix predicates which obligatorily associate with a *-qu:*-marked complement:

1. ambient matrix predicate: *?u'ssič* 'dangerous';

2. MxSu=CoSu: *?a'amač'* 'can't decide whether to';

3. MxPa=CoSu: *?u?inh* 'wait for X to', *?umahs* 'wish X would', *habi?z* 'invite X to', *nawah* 'wait for X to', *taqi?k* 'believe X did..', *?itak* 'disbelieve X did..';

4. MxSu or MxO=CoSu: *wiwiksim* 'don't want (X) to'.

(180) *habi?nah su?tib ?ac?i?qu?k* Did he invite you to go fishing?
 /*habi?z-na-ha? sut-(?i)ib [L] ?ac-?i(?)-qu:-k/*
 invite-PAST-QUE you-do to.. go out-MOM-COND-II

However, there are a number of predicates which may take unmarked or *?in*-marked realis complements but *-qu:*-marked irrealis ones. An irrealis event is one without factuality; it may be possible or impossible, due to negation, request, command, or emotional response present in the matrix clause. Matrix predicates associated with *-qu:*-marked irrealis complements include: *?u?atp* 'destine to be for someone that', *?a?a?tu* 'ask X to', *?u?inh* 'order X to', *?uksa?p* 'coax X to', *?uk?up* 'want', *t?aq?k* 'agree', *wa?* 'tell X to', *wikt?im* 'never', *wima?qk* 'not want', *wiwik?p* 'not want'.

(181) *?wipik?p Ben napni?tu Bill* Ben didn't want Bill to be a priest
 /*?wipik-? ap .. napni?t-qu: ../* not want-CAUS, Ben priest-COND Bill

In such predicates, the *-qu:* is optional if associated with a nonpast matrix predicate.

In addition, predicates normally associated with a nonirrealis complement may require a *-qu:*-marked complement when the matrix predicate is inflected for future, as in *hasi?ka?qk* 'will find out (if)', or irrealis, as in *wik?ahint* 'would not have', or if the predicate dominating the complement is itself dominated by a negative predicate, as in *wikt?im habi?z* 'never invited X to', *wikt?im n?aca* 'not see X ..-ing', or *wik.huhtik* 'not know (if)'. One exception is *wik hupi* 'not help X to', where the following complement is not *-qu:*-marked (unless *wik* is inflected for irrealis). This is probably because the event expressed in the complement, being performed by X, would still be realis.

Finally, there is a set of predicates which, if not inflected for possession, must govern a passive complement: *hix?atmis* 'hard to', *k?a?sims* 'easy to', *?u?sp?ab* 'interesting to', *wikmis* 'impossible to',

hayu·t 'confusing to', *ʔuʔumhɛk* '(adjective) enough to'. Subjects are obligatorily coreferential.

(182) *hayu·tiš t'aši hisi·k't* This trail is difficult to follow
/hayu·t-ʔi·š .. his-i·k'-at/ confusing-IND trail there-go along.-
 PASS

3.2.5.3. Conclusion

The phenomenon of subject-raising is here understood in a nonprocess manner. Where a matrix predicate is transitive and no other object occurs, the subject of the complement may occur as the matrix object. This is possibly due to analogy. Firstly, there are predicates with either an object adjunct or a complement, where the object in the first type and the complement in the second type can be identical, as in *know Bill_i* and *know [come Bill_i]*. The adjunct predicate cleft construction (cf. section 3.3.4), in which a predicate can be preceded by either its subject or object, makes possible the following paraphrase of the above complement: *know [Bill_i come]*. Secondly, there are predicates whose matrix object is obligatorily coreferential to a deleted (absent) complement subject, as in *coax Bill_i [come_i]*. Given that case relations are typically not signalled in Kyuquot, the *know [Bill_i come]* type could have been reinterpreted as the *coax* type, resulting in *know Bill_i [come_i]*. Such a structure yields a system in which matrix transitive predicates more regularly govern a surface object.

Generally, where $MxSu=CoSu$ and a subject NP is present, it is found in the matrix clause. In some sentences with a coreferential subject which is multi-word (i.e. 'heavy'), the subject adjunct appears in the complement (i.e. sentence-finally).

(183) *hiʔaʔaʔ maʔas t'atn'a's ʔuhiš ʔumʔi·qs*
/hiʔ-aʔ-aʔ as t'an'a-t-ʔis .. ʔumʔi-ʔi·qsa
 there-TEM-PL dwell-outside child-PL-DIM and mother-...kids
 There dwell the kids and (their) mother

It must be emphasized that all complement clauses are structurally independent clauses. The absence of pronominal affixes (due to coreference to either matrix subject or object) in complements is equally permissible in independent clauses whose subject is coreferential to that of

a previous independent matrix clause. The subordinate and conditional moods occur in matrix clauses as well. Complements are often identified by native speakers as independent sentences, although granted a discourse-subordinate status (cf. section 3.5.4).

3.3. Marked sentences

Before discussing other complex sentences, such as ones containing relative clauses, it is useful to describe certain marked clausal types found in both simple and complex sentences. The marked sentence types considered here include passive, topical, interrogative, negative, and cleft constructions.

3.3.1. Passive

The typical clause with transitive predicate, $Pred-Su_i (Su_i) / (O_j)$, where the subject is agent and the object is patient, benefactee, or recipient (Pa, Be, or Rec), has a passive paraphrase in which the subject is Pa, Be, or Rec and the semantic agent serves as an oblique NP: $Pred-at-Su_j (Su_j) Obl [(?uh?at) (Obl Ag_i)]$. The passive's function is to focus on and render as subject a non-agentive participant in a clause containing two or more NP participants. Examples are given below.

- (184) *qahsa*p Bill mawič* Bill killed a deer
 /qah-sa*p ... / die-MOMCAUS Bill deer
- (185) *qahsa*p't mawič (?uh?at) Bill* The deer was killed by Bill
 /qah-sa*p-at :: ?u-h-(q)h-at /
 die-MOMCAUS-PASS deer it-ABS-SIM-PASS
- (186) *hapta*nt Bill su*tič* Bill hid on you
 /hapt-(y)a*-int ... sut-(č)it[L] / hide-CONT-PAST .. you-do to...
- (187) *hapta*?tinti*k Bill* You were hid on/from by Bill
 /hapt-(y)a*-at-int-(y)i:-k ... / hide-CONT-PASS-PAST-INDE-II

In clauses with both a Pa and either a Rec or Be, either of the non-agent participants can be passive subject.

- (188) *?uyint Bill pi*š ?u*k*č Linda* Bill gave the fish to Linda
 /?u-ay-int / it-give..-PAST fish to Linda

(189) *ʔuyaʔtint piʔs ʔuʔkʔ Linda* The fish was given to Linda

(190) *ʔuyaʔtint Linda piʔs* Linda was given the fish

Certain clauses may associate with a benefactee marked as object of a subordinate *ʔuʔkʔ* 'predicate'. These clauses have head predicates such as *ʔuʔaʔp* 'buy (for)', *kuʔwʔitʔ* 'steal (from)', or a predicate marked by *-čiʔp* 'for', as in *čʔičikəp* 'cut for'. When the predicate is not affixed by *-čiʔp*, either the patient or the benefactee can be the passive subject.

(191) *ʔuʔaʔp aʔatnaqu ʔaʔpins siʔčitʔ* Apples were bought for me
/ʔuʔaʔp aʔat-na-qu: .. si-(č)itʔ [L]/
 it-buy-TEM-PASS-PAST-COND apple I-do to..

(192) *ʔuʔaʔp aʔatnaquʔs ʔaʔpins* I used to get apples bought for me
 When the predicate is affixed by *-čiʔp*, the benefactee is generally the passive subject.

(193) *čʔičikəpʔaʔqʔtiʔs Linda* It's for me Linda will cut it up
/čʔi-či(ʔ)-čiʔp-ʔaʔqʔat-(y)i:-s .. /
 cut-MOM-for-FUT-PASS-INDF-I Linda

The expression of the passive oblique agent is in one of three ways
 1. in a sentential oblique as in (185), with *ʔuhʔat* as predicate, an oblique agent, a subject coreferential to the higher predicate's subject;
 2. an unmarked NP oblique as in (193), if the NP has a nominal head (particularly a proper nominal) or a head of the shape adjectival-*ʔiʔ*; or
 3. an agentive NP predicate (if quantity, pronominal, or quantifier) affixed by *-(q)hʔat*, as in (194) below:

(194) *casšaʔtm inʔ kʔukʔuhʔis ʔuʔšhʔat* The hairseals were chased by
/cas-ši(ʔ)-ʔat-m inʔ .. ʔuʔš-(q)hʔat/ someone
 chase-MOM-PASS-PL hairseal some-SIM-PASS

In the above sentence, the quantifier *ʔuʔš-* 'some' could be replaced by a quantity, as in *sučʔaqhʔat* 'by five', or a pronominal, as in *siyʔaʔqhʔat* 'by me'.

The word *ʔuhʔat* is posited to have two underlying *ʔ*'s. First, there are sentences such as (195) in which the two phonemes are separated

by a morpheme.

- (195) *ʔuhc'a·khtint John* It seemed to be done to John by him
 /ʔu-h-c'a·k-(q)h-ʔat-int .. / it-ABS-seem to..-SIM-PASS-PAST

Secondly, if only the $-(q)h$ morpheme, and not the absolutive $-h$, occurred after $ʔu-$, one would expect $*-ʔuhʔat$. But if only the absolutive $-h$, and not the $-(q)h$, were present, then $ʔuhʔat$ would be distinguished from vowel-final oblique agents whose stem is a quantifier, quantity, or pronominal which does include a $-(q)h$ morpheme. The presence of $-(q)h$ in all passive oblique agent stems is preserved by assuming that $-(q)h$ attaches to $ʔuh$ 'it, he, she'. Considering that $-(q)h$ attaches to first and second person pronominal bases, that $ʔuh$ functions as a kind of third person pronominal in Kyuquot, and that the fusion of identical adjacent fricatives is general in Kyuquot, this analysis seems convincing.

3.3.1.1. Lexicalist Source of the Passive

The passive in Kyuquot is posited to be base-generated. First, passive clauses do not always have active paraphrases. In (196) below, $m'ixyu:-$ 'rained on' is an intransitive stem. It can be used as an adjectival with common concrete nominals, as in 'the rained-on shirt'. It cannot, however, serve as a transitive active predicate with the patient as object.

- (196) *m'ixyu·ʔatint Bill* Bill got rained on
 /m'ix-yu-ʔat-int .. / rain-..-ed-PASS-PAST

- (197) **m'ixyu·nt Bill*

The meteorological ambient roots, as a class, may well exhibit this type of structure.

There is also a set of predicates with passive roots on subjects which have no active paraphrase. Consider the following.

- (198) *q'a·ʔati·k vim'aqst mamu·kqu·k* How would it suit you to work?
 /q'a-ʔat-(y)i:-k .. mamu-uk-qu:-k/
 how-PASS-INDF-II willpower work-DUR-COND-II

- (199) *c'isʔi·qhʔati·s xi·a·u* I dislike to give parties
 /c'is-hi-ʔat-(q)h-ʔat-(y)i:-s .. / bad-DUR-SIM-PASS-INDF-I potlatch

- (200) *ʔu·qmishʔatinti·s puk* The book pleased me
 /ʔu·q-mis-(q)h-ʔat-int-(y)i:-s .. / good-NOM-SIM-PASS-PAST-INDF-I

It is not clear why $-(q)h$ should be attached to the above stative predicates. They might be interpreted as NP obliques with Rec subjects; paraphrasing (200), for example, as 'I'm the one to whom the book is a pleasing thing'. The underlined NP (and ones like it, such as 'bad' or 'boring!') would then be transitive predicates in Kyuquot. Whether or not this is feasible, non-passive paraphrases of (198) to (200) are ungrammatical.

- (201) **ʔu·qmish(h) si·ciʔ*
 /ʔu·q-mis-(q)h si-(c)iʔ [L]/ good-NOM-SIM I-do to..

They contrast with a sentence like (202) which does have an active paraphrase, namely sentence (202a).

- (202) *ʔuʔatinti·s Bill* I was treated well by Bill
 /ʔuʔ-ʔat-int-(y)i:-s .. / good-PASS-PAST-INDF-I

- (202a) *ʔuʔint Bill si·ciʔ* Bill was good to me

The second reason for assuming a base-generated passive is that there are active transitive clauses with no passive counterpart. Recall that clauses including an object of comparison (identified as a sentential oblique) of the shape *ʔu·kʷʔ NP* have no passive paraphrase, whereas clauses with a Rec, Be, or Pa constituent of the shape *ʔu·kʷʔ NP* do have a passive paraphrase.

Third, there are agent obliques in clauses with nonpassive predicates. Oblique agent clausal obliques occur within intransitive nonpassive clauses.

- (203) *qahʔix mawiʔ ʔuʔat Bill* The deer died on account of Bill
 /qah-ʔix / die-MOM deer by Bill

There is no way (203) can be derived from an active sentence by a passivization rule. It is already active and bears no $-ʔat$ morpheme in the predicate. Recalling that *ʔuʔat* can serve as a matrix predicate, as in (195), it is assumed that one type of oblique complement (with coreferential subject) which associates with intransitive predicates is a passive

oblique agent predicate (associated itself with an oblique agent NP). This complement is associated with intransitive predicates only if the Pa, Be, or Rec subject can be the object of a causativized variant of the predicate. For example, *qahšix* 'die' has a patient subject equivalent to the patient object of *qahsa·p* 'kill' and can be associated with an oblique agent complement. As bases including causative affixes are also unique lexical entries, this subject/object patient equivalence can be expressed only through semantic interpretation of the surface structure, even if one attempted to express other subject/object patient relations by a syntactic rule deriving passive clauses from their active paraphrases.

Agent obliques also occur as matrix NP predicates with patient subjects as in (204) or as topical NP predicates associated with a sentential oblique complement which can be passive as in (205) or active as in (206) or (207).

(204) *k'uk' uhw' ish'at* It was done to him by the hairseal
 /*k'uk' uhw' is-(q)h-'at/* hairseal-SIM-PASS

(205) *k'uk' uhw' ish'atint qahsa·p't* It was by a hairseal that he was
 killed
 /*k'uk' uhw' is-(q)h-'at-int qah-sa·p-'at/*
 hairseal-SIM-PASS-PAST die-MOMCAUS-PASS

(206) *k'uk' uhw' ish'atint qahsa·p ?u·k'w' John*
 It was by a hairseal that John was killed

(207) *siy'a·qh'atint ?uksa·p čap'asp* I coaxed her to set the table
 /*siy'a·q-(q)h-'at-int* . . . / I-SIM-PASS-PAST coax set table

Such sentences as (206) and (207) are not deriveable from an active paraphrase because the part which would be the matrix predicate in a movement analysis (the above complement) is already active. The complement in these sentences appears to act like a sentential constituent whose voice is not an obligatory function of either a higher predicate or of the grammatical role (subject or oblique) assigned to the associated agent. Topical NP agent (oblique) predicates appear to govern either an active complement (MxOb1A=CoSu, MxSu=Co0) or a passive complement

(MxOb1A=CoOb1A, MxSu=CoSu).

The fourth reason for assuming that the passive is base-generated is that there are ?u.k^w NP constituents serving as patients to passive predicates. Consider (208) below.

(208) qahsa.p'tint ?u.k^w mawič THAT deer got killed

Such structures occur only for third person (i.e. unmarked) pronominal subjects. So far, the subject has been defined as a constituent coreferential to the pronominal affix found in the predicate associated with that subject. While it is true that *mawič* in (208) is coreferential to the person indicated by the predicative pronominal affix (i.e. third person, because no affix is present), at the same time *mawič* appears to be object of the nonpassive predicate ?u.k^w 'do to' whose subject must equal the oblique or indirect agent of *qahsa.p't* 'be killed'. To call ?u.k^w *mawič* a sentential object of *qahsa.p't* seems unacceptable, because such predicates would then be subjectless (i.e. ambient) and would have a patient object. Yet clearly there is a near-paraphrase relation between (208) and (209) below.

(209) qahsa.p'tint mawič The deer got killed

Yet both predicates are passive.

If ?u.k^w *mawič* is assumed to be object (or oblique) in (208) and the agent is obligatorily noncoreferential to the patient (preventing a reflexive interpretation), then there is no way to explain in terms of the syntax how the same predicates could have a subject or an object which is coreferential to the other. It therefore seems preferable to claim that ?u.k^w *mawič* in (208) is a (passive) subject and that contrastive patients, whether active or passive, can be expressed as sentential constituents with ?u.k^w as predicate and a subject coreferential to the matrix agent (whether passive agent oblique or active subject). Such a grammatically contradictory system may be in part explainable in terms of an analogical extension of the function of ?u.k^w as an indicator of all contrastive patients, rather than only active objects. Such an extension is encouraged by the existence of passive sentences with a Rec or Be subject and a contrastive patient signalled by ?u.k^w NP.

- (210) *ʔuʔaʔtiʔs ʔuʔkʷa sukʷa* I was given SUGAR
/ʔu-ay-i-ʔat-(y)i:-s .../ it-give...PASS-INDF-I .. sugar

The final support for a base-generated passive is that the semantic interpretation of a passive clause is not necessarily the sum of the active version's meaning plus some unique meaning associated with the passive morpheme. Consider the following sentence pair.

- (211) *eʔapiʔsmaʔqʰiʔs* I want to be on the lap
/eʔap-iʔs-maʔaqʰ-(y)i:-s/ hold on lap-? - want to..-INDF-I

- (212) *eʔapiʔsmaʔqʰtiʔs* I want to be held on the lap

There are a number of instances where affixation of a transitive base by *-ʔat* introduces the notion of an indirect agent and thereby lessens the control of the subject (experiencer in this case) over the event (cf. Thompson 1976 for a discussion of control in the neighbouring but not related Salishan languages). Such passives might be deemed a middle voice, but such a voice would be highly unproductive in Nootka. Note that in (211) and (212) the subjects are coreferential. It is always 'I' who does the 'wanting'. A strict passive interpretation, in contrast, would assign to (212) the meaning 'I was wanted to be on the lap', which is not the appropriate interpretation. Contrast this interpretation with the one in (213).

- (213) *ʔuchʷindʷaʔaqʰtiʔk* She wants to marry you
/ʔu-ohi-ʔat-maʔaqʰ-ʔat-(y)i:-k/ it-married..-MOM-want to..-PASS-INDF-II

Evidently the semantic interpretation of a passivized stem (e.g. the degree of the subject's control) depends in part on lexical information specific to that stem.

For the above five reasons, it is posited that the passive is base-generated in Kyuquot rather than syntactically-derived.

3.3.1.2. Distribution of Semantic Roles by Person

The next question concerns which persons occur as subjects, object, and agent oblique. In Kyuquot, both active and passive predicates can associate with first, second, and third person (I, II, and III) subjects. III subjects occur with I or II objects.

(214) *hupi·čkat nu·hit* They started to help us
 /hupi·-ci·či(κ)-?a·ž nuh-(č)it [L]/ help-INC-PL we-do to..

(215) *hišša·?k Bill si·čit* Bill hit me
 /hiš-šiči(κ)-?ak.. si-(č)it [L]/ hit-MOM-TEM Bill I-do to..

This holds whether III is indicated by an affix (i.e. -?a·ž when plural) or by NP or by nothing. Interestingly, (215) was offered as a response to 'I got hit by BILL', showing that focus can be marked by subject choice. III subjects with I or II objects cooccur in embedded clauses as well.

(216) *huhtikk q·a·yi n·aci·čk si·čit* Do you know if he saw me?
 /huhtik-k q·a·-(y)i:/ know-IF(QUE) if-INDF see

(217) *mick·a·yi·s ?in wa·?ak su·tit* I'm surprised he spoke to you
 /mick·-(y)a·-(y)i:-s... wa·-?ak sut-(č)it [L]/
 surprised-CONT-INDF-I that say-TEM you-do to..

III agents and III nonagents can cooccur in both active and passive sentences, e.g. *qahsa·p·?at* 'he killed them, they killed him' and *qahsa·p·t·?at* 'they got killed by him, he got killed by them'. Similarly, I and II can cooccur as agent or patient in active and passive sentences.

(218) *hupi·ča·tin suw·a·qhat* We got helped by you
 /hupi·-šiči(κ)-?at-in suw·a·q-(q)h-?at help-MOM-PASS-IP you-SIM-PASS

(219) *hiššiči·k si·čit* You hit me
 /hiš-šiči(κ)-(y)i:-k/ hit-MOM-INDF-II

Finally, I or II agents and III nonagents can cooccur in either passive or active sentences.

(220) *hišša·?k Bill* Did you hit Bill?
 /hiš-šiči(κ)-?ak-ka-k/ hit-MOM-TEM-PASS-II(QUE)

(221) *hupa·?t nu· nuw·a·qh·at* HE got helped by us
 /hupi·-?at nu·h nuw·a·q-(q)h-?at/ help-PASS it-SIM we-SIM-PASS

(222) *siy·a·qh·atint hupa·?t* It was me he got helped by
 /siy·a·q-(q)h-?at-int hupi·-?at/ I-SIM-PASS-PAST help-PASS

In general, one concludes that the choice of voice is not constrained by the person relation of the patient or agent. Of course, the choice of III subject with I or II object or agent oblique is not as common as that of I or II subject and III object or agent oblique. I and II subjects are generally more salient (focused) than III ones. However, given appropriate contexts, there are grammatical clauses with III subjects and I or II nonsubjects. Hence, there is no obligatory hierarchy of persons with respect to subject choice.

3.3.1.3. Passive Assimilation

A second characteristic of the Nootka passive is the influence of the sentence environment on the voice of a particular clause, at least for complex sentences involving an embedded clause. Three types of embedded clauses are considered here: adverbial obliques, relative clauses, and complements.

Adverbial obliques are clauses whose subjects are coreferential to those of their matrix or dominating predicates. Adverbial obliques are active regardless of the higher predicate's voice.

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (223) | <i>č'atp'ičsip't ha'č</i> | He was shoved off there |
| | <i>/č'at-p'ič-sq-p-at . . /</i> | shove-at edge-MOMCAUS-PASS there |
| (224) | <i>hič'ap'at't ča'ni</i> | He was put there for a while |
| | <i>/hič'-ap'-at . . /</i> | here-CAUS-TEM-PASS short time |

Nominally-bound relative clauses, in contrast, can be either active or passive, whether embedded in an active or a passive matrix clause. Relative clauses and their matrix clauses can have distinct voices and noncoreferential subjects. A matrix subject, object, or agent oblique can be coreferential to an embedded relative clause's subject, object, or agent oblique.

With respect to complements, one finds that the occurrence of passive clauses (whether matrix or subordinate) is normally independent of the other clause's voice. This is at least true for those matrix predicates associating with a complement which is optionally subject-coreferential. Consider the following.

- (225) *ʔawaʔk_i ʔinč č_iqak_{i/j}* He_i said he_{i/j} beat someone up
 /ʔu-wa-ʔ ak ʔin-č č_iq-ak_{i/j}/ it-say...-TEM that-INF beat-DUR
- (226) *ʔawaʔk_i ʔinč č_iqak_{i/j} t_{i/j}* He_i said that he_{i/j} was beaten up
- (227) *ʔawaʔk_i t_i ʔinč č_iqak_{i/j}* He_i was told he_{i/j} beat someone up
- (228) *ʔawaʔk_i t_i ʔinč č_iqak_{i/j} t_{i/j}* He_i was told he_{i/j} was beaten up

The subscripts are used to indicate whether subjects are coreferential (i...i) or not (i...j). Clearly, coreferentiality or the lack of it is not being signalled by the presence of -ʔat. The following sentence pair gives added confirmation of this.

- (229) *ʔuqʔipint Bill_i ʔun^ʔa^ʔh_{i/j}* Bill_i thought he_{i/j} had looked
- (230) *ʔuqʔipint Bill_i ʔun^ʔa^ʔhat_{i/j}* Bill_i thought he_{i/j} was sought
 /ʔuqʔip-int .. ʔu-n^ʔa^ʔ-ʔat-qa^ʔ/ think-PAST .. it-seek...-PASS-SUB

Consider now cases where coreferentiality is obligatory. If a particular complement subject is obligatorily coreferential to the matrix subject, then the opposing voice paraphrase of a particular complement is ungrammatical.

- (231) *n^ʔamaʔskinti_i s_i ʔu^ʔa^ʔk_i Joe* I tried to invite Joe
 *ʔu^ʔa^ʔt Joe
- (232) *n^ʔamaʔskinti_i s_i ʔu^ʔa^ʔt_i* I tried to be invited
 *ʔu^ʔa^ʔk si^ʔčit

Similarly, where the complement subject must be coreferential to the matrix patient, opposite-voice paraphrases of the complement are ungrammatical for that reading.

- (233) *ʔuksa^ʔpnaḥ Bill_i hat^ʔisapqu_i Sara* Did he coax Bill to bathe Sara?
 /ʔuksa^ʔp-na-ha^ʔ .. hat^ʔis-ʔap-qu: ../
 coax-PAST-QUE Bill bathe-CAUS-COND Sara
 *hat^ʔisap^ʔtqu_j Sara
- (234) *ʔuksa^ʔp^ʔtnaḥ Bill_i hat^ʔisapqu_i Sara* Was Bill coaxed to bathe Sara?
 *hat^ʔisap^ʔtqu_j Sara

In (236), if *naw^oi* is to be the subject of *?u^o?atip^ot*, then the coreferential subject of *?uk^{wi}i^o* and *hith* (the one that is doing it and being there) cannot be equivalent to the subject of *?u^o?atip^ot* as well. Hence, the higher predicates are affixed by *-^oat*. This at least allows the agent oblique of *?u^o?atip^ot* and *?uk^{wi}i^obat* and the patient-oblique of *hith?at* to be coreferential. In general, transitive matrix predicates whose active complements are obligatorily subject-coreferential are obligatorily passive when the complement is passive. This is true even for multiply-embedded clauses.

Topical temporal predicates optionally passivize when dominating passive complements.

- (240) *qi^oqi^oti^os ka^opap^ot* It took a long time for him to like
 /CV#-qi^o-^oat-(y)i^o:-s ka^opap^o-^oat/ ^{me}
 distrib-long time-PASS-INDF-I like-PASS
- (241) *?athi^otinti^o qahsa^op^ot* He got killed at night
 /?ath-(y)i^o-^oat-int-?i^os .. / night-..time-PASS-PAST-IND killed
- (242) *?uyi^ont k^oihsa^op^ot* That's when it got broken
 /?u-(y)i^o-int k^oihsa^op^o-^oat/ it-..time-PAST break-MOMCAUS-PASS

The last sentence above has as a paraphrase *?uya^o?tint k^oihsa^op^ot*. In contrast, oblique temporal predicates are never passive.

The passive is also present in intransitive higher negative predicates, such as *wik* 'not', *wi^oy^oa* 'never', and *wikyu* 'have not', whose subjects are coreferential to the associated complement subject.

- (243) *wi^oy^oayi^os ha^o?uk^oap^o* I never fed him
 /wi^oy^oa-(y)i^o:-s ha^o?uk^o-^oap/ never-INDF-I eat-CAUS

If the lower subject is a passive Pa or Rec, then the higher predicate is also passive.

- (244) *wi^oy^oa?iti^os ha^o?uk^oap^ot* I never got fed
- (245) *wikyu^o?ax^ot suk^owa^o?t* He hasn't been picked up yet
 /wik-yu^o-^oax^o-^oat su-~~xi~~(x)-^oat/ not-...ed-TEM-PASS pick-MOM-PASS
- (246) *wik^otint ha^o?u^oqh^oat* It wasn't done by someone else
 /wik^o-^oat-int ha^o?u^o-(q)h^o-^oat/ not-PASS-PAST other-SIM-PASS

In these cases, as in others, complements with intransitive patient (nonpassive) subjects are not associated with passive matrix predicates.

In contrast to negative predicates, conjunctive predicates generally remain active.

(247) ?uhtasi·ca? suk^{wi}?a^t?atka Then they got picked up again
 /?uhtas-(y)i:-č-?a·t su-?a^t?at-?a·t-ka·/
 then-INDF-INF-PL /pick-MOM-TEM-PASS-PL-again

(248) ?unwi·k ?in qahsa·p^t tk t^tatn^a·sk^{wi}int^t
 /?u-mwi·(k) .. qah-sa·p-^tat-uk t^tan^a-t-?is-uk-int/
 it-because of.. that die-MOMCAUS-PASS-POSS child-PL-DIM-POSS-PAST
 It was because her kids had been killed

However, passive conjunctive predicates do occur.

(249) ?inħa·?k^t tints ?i·qħuk^wt But he told ME
 /?in-ħi·-^tat-int-s ?i·qħ-uk-^tat/
 only-DUR-TEM-PASS-PAST-I tell-DUR-PASS

(250) q^wahsa·?k^t ti·č ħupa·?t Nevertheless, he was helped
 /q^wahsa-^tat-(y)i:-č ħupi·-^tat/
 although-TEM-PASS-INDF-INF help-PASS

The distribution of passivizing conjunctive predicates is not known at present. It may be possible, however, to associate the passive assimilation strategy with a particular subset of the conjunctive predicates in the lexicon.

Occasionally, qualifiers, like conjunctive predicates, can assimilate to the passive. The passivization is not, however, limited to particular qualifiers and appears to be an optional syntactic variant.

(251) ?i·ħ(at)ab ka·pap^t They were really liked
 /?i·ħ^w-^tat-?a·t ka·pap-^tat/ really-PASS-PL like-PASS

A NP topical predicate governing a sentential nonrelative

complement oblique must also govern a subject coreferential to that of its complement. When the subject (necessarily third person) and content of a matrix NP predicate are coreferential to the complement subject, the matrix predicate is not affixed by *-³at*.

- (252) *mawičičiš qahsa³p³t* It's a DEER that was killed
 /*mawič-³i³š qah-sa³p³-³at/* deer-IND die-MOMCAUS-PASS

When the subject of the NP predicate is coreferential to the complement subject but the content of the NP is coreferential to the complement agent oblique, then the matrix predicate is affixed by the sequence *-(q)h³-³at* SIM-PASS as in (253), and (254).

- (253) *mixtuk³h³atinti³s hišša³t* It was an OLD man I was clubbed by
 /*mixt-uk-(q)h³-³at-int-(y)i³-s hiš-š*(κ)*-³at/*
 old-DUR-SIM-PASS-PAST-INDF-I hit-MOM-PASS

- (254) *suw³a³qh³atnah ta³qša³t* Was it squeezed by YOU
 /*suw³a³q-(q)h³-³at-na-ha³ ta³q-š*(κ)*-³at/*
 you-SIM-PASS-PAST-QUE squeeze-MOM-PASS

Finally, consider intransitive verbal and adjectival predicates. There are cases where a matrix intransitive predicate is not passive even though dominating a passive complement.

- (255) *?u³umhimatk κ³iča³t* She might get hit (by arrow, bullet)
 /*?u³-mhi [R]-matak κ³i-š*(κ)*-³at/* it-can..-POSB hit-MOM-PASS

But there are very similar cases where the matrix predicate is passive.

- (256) *kuw³ičak³ti³č³ ?u³a³t Bill* Bill managed to get invited
 /*kuw³ič³-³ak³-³at-(y)i³-č³ ?u³-³i(κ) [L]-³at/*
 manage-TEM-PASS-INDF-INF it-invite..-PASS

This difference may be due to idiosyncracies of lexical entries or it may involve some semantic distinctions between types of clauses. This distinction could be proved only by a thorough analysis of voice and its relation to complement-containing clauses.

In conclusion, the Nootka passive has been observed to occur in both transitive clauses (to emphasize and render as subject a nonagent) and certain intransitive clauses which dominate a passive clause. In the latter case, occurrence of the passive may have to be specified for individual lexical items or for lexical items identified by features such as locative, negative, etc. The passive, in Nootka, is in part grammatically induced (i.e. by a dominated passive clause), although for the most part it is a function of certain discourse strategies.

3.3.2. Topical Clauses

Topical clauses are clauses in which the predicate or a base within a predicate is a focused element. A topical clause has a non-focused paraphrase in which the predicate or focused (NP) base of the topical clause serves as either an adjunct or an oblique constituent. A topical predicate subject is coreferential to the subject of its complement predicate. Topical clauses can be adverbial, NP, or NP-relating. In addition, there are complex predicates consisting of an object base affixed by a predicate-like governing morpheme.

3.3.2.1. Adverbial Topical Predicates

Adverbial topical clauses have temporal or locative stems as predicates. These predicates function as sentential adverbs which govern sentential obliques.

(257) *?u:ya·qki·s ?am·i·ki k·i·cu* It's TOMORROW I'll give a party
 /*?u-(y)i·-?a:qk-(y)i:-s ?am·i·ik·?i·* ./
 it-.time-FUT-INDF-I tomorrow-prospective-DEF potlatch

(258) *hi·?apqac· k·ahk·ac·k ha· k·?ac·itinti*
 /*hi?b-apa [L]-qa·e· k·ah-(?a)k·a-?i(k) . . k·?ac·it-int-?i·* ./
 there-up in air-DUB break-completely-MOM the Kwatsit-PAST-DEF
 Perhaps it was UP IN THE AIR that the Kwatsit box broke up
 completely

The nontopical paraphrases of (257) and (258) would be the following

sentences.

(259) *k'i·cu·qki·s ?uya ?am'i·ki* I'll give a party tomorrow

(260) *k'ak'w'ačkqac' ... hi·?ap* It broke up in the air

In contrast, matrix quantity, adjectival, or verbal predicates have no nontopical paraphrase and are hence not considered topical, although they can have a sentential adverbial function.

(261) *nupp' itnak hu·?hu·?z* Did you dance once?
/nup-p' it-na-k .../ one..times-PAST-II(QUE) dance

(262) *mu·šhmu·šhaki·su ya·xya·x* You swept up carelessly
/CVC#mušh-[L]-(y)a-? ak-(y)i·-su: CVC#yax-[L]-(y)a/
 IT-messy-GRAD-REP-TEM-INDF-IIp IT-sweep-GRAD-REP

Such adverbial predicates can occur without an oblique as well:

?uya·qki·s 'I'll do it then', *hi·?apqac'* 'Perhaps it's up there',
nupp' itnak 'Did you do it once?', and *mu·šhmu·šhaki·su* 'You did a messy job'.

3.3.2.2. NP Topical Predicates

The NP topical clause consists of a NP predicate coreferential to its subject or to the agent oblique of its complement. Matrix and oblique subjects are coreferential. The active NP topical clause always has a paraphrase in which the NP is subject adjunct of a predicate equivalent to the topical NP clause's oblique predicate. Two examples of active nominal NP topical clauses are given here.

(263) *čakupintiš ?u·hw'atčep xutq·y* A MAN used the knife for her
/čakup-int-?i·š ?u-hw'at [L]-čip .../
 male-PAST-IND it-use...-for knife

(264) *ha·k'a·kintiš m'ac'a·?t ?u?at ?ini·ki* A GIRL was bitten by the
/ha·k'a·k-int-?i·š m'a-šū(κ)-?at ?u-h-(q)h-?at ?ini·k-?i/ dog
 girl-PAST-IND bite-MOM-PASS it-ABS-SIM-PASS dog-DEF

NP topical predicates can have subjects coreferential to the subjects of passive or active, transitive or intransitive, oblique clauses. They can be composed of nominal heads or of any semantic type of head which represents a NP, e.g. a pronominal in (265) or a quantity in (266).

(265) *sutwa·qkwa·c hi·šink* YOU'RE supposed to kiss first
 /sut-wi·-ʔa:qk-wa·-a·c hiš·(š)ink·[L]/
 you-first-FUT-QUOT-II(IND) both-with..

(266) *c'awa·ksiš ʔiqhi hiš* I ALONE am still there
 /c'awa-ak·-s-iš ʔiq-hi·.../ one-DUR-I-IND same-DUR. there

When a quantifier serves as a NP predicate, it must be affixed by $-(q)h$ SIM.

(267) *kaʔu·qhi·nt ka·wi·čk* The OTHER one came to visit
 /kaʔu·-(q)h-int ka·wā·-i·č·i(κ)/ other-SIM-PAST near-INC

(268) *ʔu·šim·inhak·h k·wāč·šik* Are just SOME hitting the target?
 /ʔu·š-(q)h-m·inh·-a·k-ha· k·wāč·š·i(κ)/
 some-SIM-PL-TEM-QUE hit target-MOM

For some speakers, quantities and nominals must also be affixed by $-(q)h$ when serving as subject-coreferential topical predicates. This seems to be favored by conservative, possibly less fluent, speakers and may be analogically derived from the pattern of the NP agent oblique coreferential predicates. An example of such a marked nominal predicate is given below.

(269) *tu·emaqhi·nt t·ip·ičš·k* It was a WOMAN that fell down
 /tu·ema-(q)h-int t·i-p·ič·š·i(κ)/ woman-SIM-PAST sink-at edge-MOM

Topical NP predicates can be phrasal, in which case the head appears to be exclusively nominal as in the following sentences (whose NP predicates are underlined).

(270) *ʔi·hp·itaš· tu·ema tu·nu* A TALL woman won
 /ʔi·h·-p·it-a·š·.../ big-at edge-EVID woman win

- (271) *ʔu·šhinti·č̣ ə·awa·k qu·ʔas ʔu·wax ʔaya tari wafit*
 /ʔu·š-(q)h̄-int-(y)i:-č̣ ə·awa-ak̄w .. ʔu-a·wi(ʔ) [L].. .. ʔ:/
 some-SIM-PAST-INDF-INF one-DUR adult it-find. many really frog
 There was a CERTAIN man who found a lot of frogs
- (272) *ʔayintwaʔṣ̌ sinimixsic wabyu* . A LOT of blueberries were at home
 /ʔaya-int-wa·-a·ʔṣ̌ .. wab-yu·/ (this year), I hear.
 many-PAST-QUOT-EVID blueberry go home-..-ed

Examples of the agent oblique NP predicates are given below.

Observe that subjects are still coreferential and that the NP must be affixed by *-(q)h̄*.

- (273) *siy·a·qha·q̄t̄ ti·k hupa·ʔt* I'M whom you were helped by
 /siy·a·q-(q)h̄-ʔa:q̄t̄-at-(y)i:-k hupi·-ʔ-at/
 I-SIM-FUT-PASS-INDF-II help-PASS.
- (274) *hišuk̄h̄ʔat n̄·aca·ʔt ʔin kuš̄* ALL noticed that she's pretty
 /hiš-uk-(q)h̄-ʔat n̄·aca-ʔat / all-DUR-SIM-PASS see-PASS that
- (275) *ʔayaqhaʔt̄ tniṣ̌ kuš̄ʔahs̄ʔap̄·t̄* We were sent them by MANY people
 /ʔaya-(q)h̄-ʔat-n-iṣ̌ kuš̄-ʔahs̄-ʔap̄-ʔ-at/
 many-SIM-TEM-PASS-1p-IND send as gift-in vessel-CAUS-PASS
- (276) *hišsa·eqhatč̣aʔṣ̌ ʔac̄·ik̄·t qaʔu·c ʔuk̄·i·ʔat*
 /hiš-sa·ca-(q)h̄-ʔat-č̣-a·ʔṣ̌ ʔac̄·ik̄-ʔat .. ʔu-(č̣)·i·ʔ-at/
 all-places-SIM-PASS-INF-EVID expert-PASS basket it-make-..-PASS
 Those baskets were known how to be made by people everywhere

Oblique agent NP predicates can be nominal, pronominal, quantifier, quantity, adjectival, or locative with respect to semantic class. However, proper nominals cannot be topical predicates. This holds whether the name is traditional, e.g. *čixč̣in* (human male name) or *qaʔuk̄* (placename), or is an English loan, e.g. *pinč̣amin* 'Benjamin' or *mitu·ni* 'Victoria'.

Some speakers tend to reject NP topical predicates and prefer all focused NP's to be introduced as adjuncts to a NP-relating predicate.

3.3.2.3. NP-relating Predicates

NP-relating predicates can focus the subject (active or passive), object, or agent oblique. Active (III) subjects are topically focused by serving as adjuncts to the predicate *?uh* 'he, she, it' which governs a sentential oblique (bracketed in the following examples).

- (277) *?uh?i·š tu·cma [xat]* It's the WOMAN that's good
 /*?u-h-?i·š ...*/ it-ABS-IND woman good
- (278) *?uh?i·š BILL [ti·ca]* It's BILL that's the teacher
- (279) *?uhint ha·ma [k'ixsa·p winta]* It's a HAMMER that broke the window
 /*?u-h-int .. k'ix-sa·p ..*/ it-ABS-PAST hammer break-MOMCAUS

The stem *?uh* is a deictic-like durative III pronominal which, like other nonverbal stems, can have a copulative meaning component and, like all stems, can serve as a predicate. *?uh* governs a focused subject NP adjunct which is not part of the predicate. The syntax of predicative NP's is constrained for order. There are no instances of NP's in which *?uh* precedes the article *ha·* nor of predicative NP's in which the nominal precedes *?uh*. Yet both situations occur in topical clauses.

- (280) *?uhca·š ha·maht'i m'u?i·k* THAT house must have burned
 /*?u-h-ca·š .. m'u-?i·k*/ it-ABS-INF-EVID ... burn-outside (MOM)
- (281) *John ?uh?a·qk haw·it* It's JOHN that will be chief
 /*.. ?u-h-?a·qk ..*/ John it-ABS-FUT chief

It is assumed, therefore, that the NP's *ha·maht'i* and *John* are sister constituents to the *?uh* predicate and not part of the predicate itself.

The stem *?uh* is not a copula. It cannot serve as an active predicate with first or second person subjects but must mean '(is) him, her, etc.'. Furthermore, *?uh* serves as a deictic or pronominal modifier within the NP, even a proper one as in (282).

- (282) *ku·w'itintiš ?uh pinčamin* That BENJAMIN stole it
 /*ku·w'it-int-?i·š ...*/ steal-PAST-IND

It can serve as an elliptical head NP serving as an adjunct, a predicate, or a topical NP predicate.

- (283) *hu²aci²čə² ?u^h* HE went back
 /hu²a-c-²?i:-š*(k)* .. / back-at-go to...-MOM
- (284) *hu^htik² a²na^hsu² ?in² ?u^h* Did you all know it was HER?
 /hu^htik²-²a²-na^h-su²: / know-TEM-PAST-QUE-IIP that
- (285) *?u^h?a²q^hint² hu^hpi* THEY were going to help
 /?u^h-h-²a²:q^h-int² .. / it-ABS-FUT-PAST help

Observe the contrast in meaning between the following sentences.

- (286) *hu^htik² a² ?in² tu²ema* He knew it was a WOMAN
- (287) *hu^htik² a² ?in² ?u^h tu²ema* He knew it was THAT woman

It would seem that *?u^h* has as its major meaning 'it, he, she'. The copulative component of its meaning is a general component of most nonverbal stems in Kyquot and does not constitute something unique about *?u^h*.

It should be emphasized that *?u^h* need not be associated with a subject or an agent.

- (288) *hini²p ha²k²a²ki² ?u^h (mawič)* The girl got THAT (deer)
 /hin²-i:p / there(MOM)-obtain.. girl .. deer

Topical objects occur as objects of a predicate composed of *?u-* 'it' plus *-(č)it² [L]* 'do to...!', or a quantifier, quantity, or pronominal base plus *-(č)it² [L]*, or alternatively as objects of a complement clause serving as an oblique to such an object-focusing predicate. Examples of the *?u²k² NP* include (289) and (290) and ones of the *NP-(č)it² [L]* type include (291) and (292).

- (289) *?u²k²int²s Mary kimksa²p* It was MARY I woke up
 /?u²-(č)it² [L]-int²-(y)i:-s .. kimk-sa²p/
 it-do to...-PAST-INDF-I Mary waken-MOMCAUS
- (290) *?u²k²int²š č²apic hišsi²k John* THAT'S the canoe John finished
 /?u²-(č)it² [L]-int²-?i²š .. hiš-si:k² .. /
 it-do to...-PAST-END canoe all-finish.. John
- (291) *su²ti²a²q^hi²s hu^hpi* YOU'RE the one I'm going to help
 /sut²-(č)it² [L]-?a²:q^h-(y)i:-s .. / you-do to...-FUT-INDF-I help

- (292) *qa'cc'ic'vints wik ta'qak* There were THREE I didn't believe
 /qacc'-a-(č)it [L]-int-s .. / three-do to...-PAST-I not believe

An object nominal or other NP cannot be focused by serving as an adjunct to *?uh*, unless the clause in which the focused NP would be object is a relative clause.

- (293) **?uh?i'š tu'ema hami'pi's*

- (294) **tu'emičvi's hami'p*

- (295) *tu'ema'š ya'q'atqs hami'p* It's a WOMAN I know
 /tu'ema-?i'š yaq'-(č)it [L]-qa'-s .. / woman-IND which-do to...-REL-I

The focused object can occur in either the matrix clause as in (289) and (290) or in the complement as in (296) and (297).

- (296) *?u'k'atnak nah'i Bill ha puk'wi* Is THAT the book you gave to Bill?
 /?u-(č)it [L]-na-k puk-?i' /

it-do to...-PAST-II(QUE) give Bill the book-DEF

- (297) *?u'k'atintis Bill hawa suč'isi* THAT'S the tree Bill was near
 /... .. . suč'is-?i' / tree-DEF

In addition, the subject (being coreferential in both clauses) can occur in either clause. There is a cleft construction in Nootka but it does not account for objects two or more clauses to the left of the expected position, as in (298).

- (298) *?inč'at'š ti'ča [takšix [wipaxmis Mike]]*

/?in-(č)it [L]-a'š wipax-mis .. /

only-do to...-EVID teacher always weary-NOM Mike

Mike evidently always bugs only the TEACHER

At the same time, there is no other case of a constituent occurring to the right of its expected position in some marked clause. To complicate the analysis, only some speakers employ this object-focusing strategy and those who do have mixed intuitions concerning the appropriate position of the subject and object NP's in such sentences.

Topical nonagent subjects in passive clauses can be focused by the following construction: *NP-(č)it [L]-at.. (Su) [Pred-at...]*. In

such a construction the NP is restricted to being either *ʔu-* or a pronominal.

(299) *ʔu·kʰatintiš tʰanʰa·si hitaqsipʰt* THAT child was put in a canoe
 /ʔu-(ʔ)itʰ [L]-ʰ at-int-ʔi·š tʰanʰa-ʔis-ʔi· hita-qs-ip-ʰ at
 it-do to...-PASS-PAST-IND child-DIM-DEF there(MOM)-vessel-CAUS-PASS

(300) *si·šitʰa·qkʰ ti·s hisša·ʔt* I'M the one that's going to get hit
 /si-(ʔ)itʰ [L]-ʰ a:qkʰ-(y)i:-s his-š(i)(ʰ)-ʰ at/
 I-do to...-FUT-INDF-I hit-MOM-PASS

Nonagent passive subjects are more commonly focused by occurring as a topical NP predicate or *ʔuh* predicate plus NP subject associated with a passive complement. Given that the morphological distinction of agent subject from nonagent (passive) subject is still obligatory within the relative clause (cf. section 3.4.2.3), it appears that a change is underway at present in Kyuquot. This change is a strengthening of the notion of subject by the discarding of strategies for distinguishing nonagents from agents when in the subject role. However, further research is required to support the direction claimed for this putative change.

Finally, there are oblique agent topical predicates, wherein the oblique agent (OAg) is focused by the matrix predicate *ʔuhʔat*. The OAg NP can occur either in the matrix clause or the complement.

(301) *ʔuhʔatnašs Bill [hawa·ʔt]* Was it BILL I was called by?
 /ʔu-h-(q)h-ʰ at-na-ʰa·s .. hawa-ʰ at/
 it-ABS-SIM-PASS-PAST-QUE-I .. call-PASS
ʔuhʔatnašs [hawa·ʔt Bill] Was it BILL I was called by?

This optionality of position for the agent oblique holds even when the agent NP is complex, e.g. a conjunction of two NP's such as *Bill ʔuhʔiš John* 'Bill and John'. One constraint on the position of the agent oblique reflects the general Nootka strategy of avoiding sequences of NP's. Where the complement includes a nonsubject patient, the agent oblique occurs in the matrix clause. Generally but not obligatorily, subject and oblique agent occur in different clauses of the oblique agent topical sentence.

Consider now focused objects which are objects not of the oblique predicate but only of the object focusing matrix predicate. Both predicates are necessarily active. The matrix predicates consist of a governing suffix affixed to *?u-*. The predicate can be associated with a focused object and an oblique complement.

- (302) *?u-?atpint ?um?i qa?u-c?* It was for MOM he made the basket
 /*?u-a?atip-int .. qa?u-c-(?/i-?/* it-destine for..-PAST .. basket-
 make..
- (303) *?uhta-nt Twilight makabe?i-np* It was the Twilight he tied up
 /*?u-hta-int .. ma?-abc-a-i:nup/* it-do to..-PAST .. bind-at vertical
 surface-CAUS
- (304) *?u-hw?inknahsu ?ahku qahsa?p* Is THIS what you killed it with?
 /*?u-hw?ink [L]-na-ha?-su: .. qah-sa?p/*
 it-use..-PAST-QUE-IP this die-MOMCAUS

There is a second type of topical-like structure, in which a NP (usually a pronominal) is affixed by a NP-relating suffix and the resulting stem serves as matrix predicate.

- (305) *qu-tlw?abintin qahsa?p* We used a KNIFE to kill it
 /*qu-tlw?ab [L]-int-in qah-sa?p/* knife-use..-PAST-IP die-MOMSAUS
- (306) *nu-hchinqu-k mamu-k* Would you work for US?
 /*nuh-?chin [L]-qu:-k mamu-uk/* we-do for..-COND-II work-DUR

Both these types of topical-like objects are included here because speakers identify them as emphasizing the object NP. These sentences are not truly topical because subjects in the two clauses are not necessarily coreferential. Consider the following sentence.

- (307) *?u-?atpints ?um?i ?u-taqqu maht?i* I want it to be for MOM that
 he works on the house
 /*?u-a?atip-int-s .. ?u-taq [L]-qu: .../*
 it-destine for..-PAST-I mother it-work on..-COND house

Such a sentence could of course also mean 'I want it to be for MOM that I work on the house' but it does not have to. Such a sentence suggests that these topical-like predicates are generated as matrix predicates and are not the result of movement. It is never the case that a NP-relating oblique predicate has a subject not coreferential to the subject

of its matrix predicate.

(308) *ʔu·taqqu maht³i ʔu·ʔatpints ʔumʔi

There is a second sentence-type which suggests that topical-like object-focusing predicates are base-generated. In this type, an object-focusing base is affixed by a governing suffix, resulting in a stem which could not have served as an oblique constituent for the other predicate in the sentence. For example, sentence (309) cannot be derived from sentence (310).

(309) si·chirmaʔqak ʔink^wi·ʔ Am I whom you wanted to build the
/si·chin [L]-maʔaqk-na-k ʔink^w-(ʕ)i·ʔ/ fire for?
I-do for..-want to..-PAST-II(QUE) fire-make..

(310) *ʔink^wi·ʔ<nak> si·chirmaʔqak<nak>

The latter is ungrammatical regardless of the position of *-na-k*.

There is an additional argument for not deriving topical predicates by movement out of either an adjunct or oblique position. Many topical predicates have no (surface) complement.

(311) ʔu·k^watnah Bill way Joe Was it Bill or Joe he meant?
/ʔu-(ʕ)iʔ [L]-ʔat-na-ha... .. / it-do to..-PASS-PAST-QUE .. or ..

There is no 'lower' clause out of which the above clause could have been moved.

Topical clauses can serve as subordinate clauses.

(312) wikʔi·ʕ ʔuh³ na ʕakupi ʔwʔ It's not THAT guy that's nice
/wik-ʔi·ʕ ʔu-h .. ʕakup-ʔi·ʕ... / not-IND it-ABS... man-DEF nice

(313) wa·nitiʕ Bill ʔink su·tiʔa·qk³ti·k hupa·ʔt
/wa·nit-ʔi·ʕ .. ʔin-k sut-(ʕ)iʔ [L]-ʔa:qk-ʔat-(y)i:-k hupi·-ʔat
say-PAST-IND .. that-II you-do to..-FUT-PASS-INDE-II help-PASS
Bill said that YOU'RE going to get helped

(314) ʔi·qhu³k³ ʔab ʔin ʔuh³ʔatʔab Joe
/ʔi·qh-uk-ʔat-ʔa·ʔ .. ʔu-h-(q)h-ʔat-ʔa·ʔ ... /
tell-DUR-TEM-PL that it-ABS-SIM-PASS-PL
They were told it was done to them by JOE

In summary, topical clauses in Nootka focus on a NP and identify it as subject, object, (passive) nonagent subject, or agent oblique. Subjects are focused by occurring as NP predicates, or as subjects of an *?uh* predicate; objects as objects of *?u.kwʔ* predicates; nonagent passive subjects as subjects of *?u.kwʔ...at* predicates; and agent obliques as obliques of *?uh?at* predicates. In all cases, the focused NP can also be found within the complement clause associated with the focusing predicate. Topical-like predicates (composed of NP-relating bases) also identify focused NP's, although topical-like clauses do not necessarily have a nontopical paraphrase.

3.3.3. Quantifiers and Questions

In the last section, the NP-relating clauses were identified as similar to topical clauses but lacking a nontopical paraphrase. Question and quantifier stems (the latter including negatives) also form such quasi-topical clause predicates.

3.3.3.1. Quantifiers

The Kyuquot quantifiers, distinguished as a class morphologically (cf. section 4.7.1), include *ka?u-* 'other', *wik* 'no, not', *kwis-* 'different', *?u.ʃ-* 'some', *hiʃ-* 'all', *?ukwa-* 'self', *takwa-* 'each', and *?ana/i/u* 'only'. Quantifiers are like pronominals in that they can not serve as adjuncts to *?u.kwʔ* and *?uh* or as an oblique to *?uh?at* but must be morphological components of such predicates.

(315) *?u.ʃhi.ʃ hi.i.kk.i.k* SOMEONE knocked
/?u.ʃ-(q)h-?i.ʃ CVC-ʔ ik-[L]-(y)a/ some-SIM-IND IT-knock-GRAD-REP

(316) *hiʃukʔhat nʔaci.ʔaʔt* He was seen by EVERYONE
/hiʃ-uk-(q)h-ʔ at nʔaci-ʔ i.ʔi(ʔ)ʔ-ʔ at/ all-DUR-SIM-PASS see-INC-PASS

Quantifiers and pronominals are also distinguished from stems of other semantic classes by requiring affixation of *-(ʔ)iʃ [L]* when serving as object and of *-(q)h-ʔ at* when serving as agent oblique.

(317) *wik nʔaci.ʔx ?u.ʃiʔ* We didn't see anyone there
/i. nʔaci-ʔ i.ʔi(ʔ)ʔ ?u.ʃ-(ʔ)iʃ [L]/ not see-INC some-do to..

- (318) *t'i·cinksa?tin ?u·šh?at* We got knocked down by someone
/t'i-(c)ink[L]-š(ɣ)-at-in .. / throw-with. -MOM-PASS-IP some-SIM-PASS

The result of this affixation is that quantifiers (and pronominals) are, in a sense, marked for case relations because topical subjects, objects, and agent obliques (and their nontopical counterparts) are distinctive. For example, contrast *?u·šh* (subject), *?u·šib* (object), and *?u·šh?at* (agent oblique) in sentences (315), (317), and (318) respectively.

Quantifiers have a special status as nominal modifiers. Unlike adjectival modifiers, quantifiers can serve as topical predicates in sentences where the nominals they ostensibly modify are in the complement clause.

- (319) *hišuk' aš n' aci' aš qutq' a's ?ink* ALL the people saw the fire
/hiš-uk-' aš .. qu' as-t- .. / all-DUR-TEM see people-PL fire

- (320) *hi·šibi·šaka·pap šini·kuk* I like ALL his dogs
/hiš-(c)ib [L]-(y)i:-s .. šini·k-uk/ all-do to..-INDF-I like dog-POSS

- (321) *hišuk' hat hi·šinksa?t ha·k'w'a·ki haw' i·h*
/hiš-uk-(q)h- at hiš-(c)ink [L]-š(ɣ)-at ha·k'w'a·k-?i haw' i·h [L]
 all-DUR-SIM-PASS all-with. -MOM-PASS girl-DEF boy-PL

The girl was kissed by EVERY boy

To a far greater degree than other nominal modifiers, the quantifiers tend to serve as matrix predicates. This is, however, not obligatory. Apart from the above 'quantifier-float' characteristic, the syntactic structure of quantifier-focused clauses does not differ from that of other NP-focused clauses.

One set of quantifiers requires further discussion, i.e. the negative stems based on the root *wi-* ~ *wik* 'no, not'. In Kyuquot, negative clauses parallel topical clauses. They normally have a sentential complement whose subject is coreferential to the topical predicate's subject. In general, the element negated is the predicate subordinate to the negative predicate.

- (322) *wik' i·š ta' iš* She's not sick
/wik-?i·š ta- iš/ not-IND drift-in house

- (323) *wikyu'yi's. ka'u'k^wt* I have not made another one
 /wik-yu'-(y)i:-š ka'u'-(š)i'ž/ not...-ed-INDF-I other-make..

Predicates of any semantic class can be negated. Examples given here have adjectival, verbal, quantity, and quantifier predicates as the negated complements.

- (324) *wikints c'awa'k či'c* I wasn't the only one to go out
 /wik-int-s c'awa-ak^w .../ not-PAST-I one-DUR go out fishing
- (325) *wikint hišuk mnu'k* Not everyone sang
 /wik-int hiš-uk .../ not-PAST all-DUR sing

NP's can also be negated as in (326).

- (326) *wik'i'š Mary ti'ča* Mary is not a teacher
 /wik-i'š / not-IND Mary teacher

One must distinguish in such a sentence between the NP subject of a negative predicate (*Mary* in the above) and the negated NP predicate.

Like other predicates governing complements with coreferential subjects, the adjunct subject of a negative predicate can be found in either the matrix or the complement clause, although more commonly in the complement. Whether this position is due to stylistics, semantics, or syntax awaits further research.

The above sentences suggest that negation is usually expressed by *wik*. Other negative stems include *wiki'č* 'begin to (be) not', *wi'y'a* 'never', *wimašaq* 'want to not', and *wik'i't* 'no one, absent'. The latter stem can serve only as a subject or agent oblique. The sense of 'no one' as an object, as in 'He saw no one', is expressed only by a negation of the predicate governing the NP coreferential to 'no one'.

- (327) *wašus wik'i't* Nobody came (on invitation)
 /... wik-i't/ come by invitation not-NOM

- (328) *wik'ahč hupi hi'šibqu* He may have helped nobody
 /wik-ah-č ... hiš-(š)iž [L]-qu:/ not-IRR-INF help all-do to...-COND

Sentence (328) can also be translated as 'He may not have helped anybody', as well as 'He may not have helped everybody'.

Negation can take place within complements as well.

- (329) *ʔuʔshint wik hiniʔʂn* SOME people didn't come
 /ʔuʔs-(q)h-int . hin-it-ʂi(ʂ)/ some-SIM-PAST not there(MOM)-come-MOM
- (330) *ʔuqʔʔip ʔins wikʔa qʔ hupɪ* He thinks that I won't help
 /.. ʔin-s wik-ʔa:qʔ .. / think that-I not-FUT help
- (331) *eʔawa kinti s wik ʔi c* I was the ONLY one to not go out
 /eʔawa-akʔ-int-(y)i:-s / one-DUR-PAST-INDF-I not go out

It even occurs as the complement predicate of a negative predicate.

- (332) *wimʔaʔqʔnt wik ʔi hʂik* He couldn't help starting to cry.
 /wi-maʔaʔqʔ-nt .. ʔih-[L]-ʂi(ʂ)/not-want to..-PAST not cry-GRAD-MOM

In fact, a double negative such as in (332) or (333) below is the correct way in Nootka to express obligation or duty.

- (333) *wimʔaʔqʔhs wik nnu k* Do I HAVE to sing?
 /wi-maʔaʔqʔ-ha-s / not-want to..-QUE-I not sing

Like quantifiers, negatives tend to be sentence-initial. In addition, what is negated tends to occupy a topical role, dominating a sentential complement. Unlike English, Nootka does not allow a negative predicate to dominate a predicate governing a sentential complement if the negation really governs only the lower complement as in *I don't think he'll come*. This must be expressed in Nootka as *I think he won't come*. In cases of double negation, however, the cognitive predicate can be negated as in (334).

- (334) *wikʔs ʔuqʔʔip ʔin wikʔa qʔ* I don't think he won't (come)
 /wik-(y)i:-s wik-ʔa:qʔ/ not-INDF-I think that not-FUT

In summary, Kyuquot negation requires a topical construction in which a negative predicate immediately dominates the predicate it negates or forms a complex stem in which both the negation and the predicate negated are expressed. There is no way to especially focus on negation in the Kyuquot sentence; its position is fixed. In other words, there is no device enabling one to distinguish between sentences such as *He isn't old* and *He is NOT old*.

3.3.3.2. Content Questions

Content questions, the equivalent of English *wh*- questions, are also topical-like in Kyuquot. In contrast, yes-no questions in Kyuquot are not topical-like but rather are syntactically parallel to unmarked statements and are signalled only by the predicate's question mood affix. There is only one exception. Occasionally, a yes-no question is expressed by appending *wik* 'not' to a predicate expressing doubt.

- (335) **hitinqsmatk wik* Perhaps he's at the beach, eh?
/hita-n' a'q-'is-matak .. / there(MOM)-at height-beach-POSB not

This does not appear to be ellipsis of a complement identical to the matrix clause but dominated by a negative predicate, e.g. **hitinqsmatk wik hitinqsmatk*. Recall that *wik* is a predicate and is inflected for the clause-level mood, mode, pronominal, and other inflectional suffixes. Ellipsis should eliminate only the lower predicate but not the inflectional suffixes such as *-matak*, resulting in **hitinqsmatk wikmatk*. Although it is arguable that the negative clause's inflectional affixes are absent because they are identical to those of the other clause, it seems preferable to consider *wik* to be acting here as a type of uninflected particle.

In contrast to yes-no questions, content questions are syntactically marked by having a sentence-initial question stem. The content question 'proform' associated with each semantic class is considered below, beginning with the verbal-bound proforms. The verbal-bound proforms are *?aqis-* and *?a'qin'ap-*, which appear to derive from the question root *?aqi-* 'what?' plus the cranberry affixes *-s* 'do' and *-n [L]* 'do'. The stem *?a'qin'ap* 'do what?' can be used when the action is either transitive or intransitive. However, the subject must be an agent. Hence, the answer to questions of the type found in (336) and (337) must be of the type 'jarring fish', 'killed a deer', or 'sang' but not of the type 'fell down', 'got tickled', or 'became a chief'.

- (336) *?a'qin'apha hiʔ* What's she doing there?
/?aqi-n [L] -' ap-ha'-a: .. / what?-do-CAUS-QUE there
- (337) *?a'qin'apnak* What did you do?
/?aqi- n [L] -' ap-na-k/ what?-do-CAUS-PAST-II(QUE)

The other verbal-bound stem, *?aqis* 'what/how happened?, how?', can be used when the subject (of the response) will be nonagent or agent. If the subject will be agent, the question normally requests amplification of some other assertion.

- (338) *?aqisnah* What happened to it?
/?aqi-s-na-ha/ How did it happen?
 what?-do-PAST-QUE
- (339) *?aqis?a qahsa wab'sik* How would I get home?
/?aqi-s-?a: qah-ha-s-a: .. / what?-do-FUT-QUE*-I go home
- (340) *?aqisnah qahsa p't* How was he killed?
/?aqi-s-na-ha qah-sa p'-at/ what?-do-PAST-QUE die-MOMCAUS-PASS

The locative-bound proform is *wa's(t)-* 'where?' (the *t* deleting preceding a consonant). Its stem form (preceding inflectional suffixes) is *wa'sa* as in *wa'sah* 'Where is it?'. It is, however, more commonly found as a base within a locative or verbal stem.

- (341) *wa'sti p'aha hi* Where does he get it there?
/wa's(t)-i: p'-ah-ha-a: .. / where?-obtain.-TEM-QUE* there
- (342) *wa's'i nhsu si'ak* To where did you all move?
/wa's(t)-. ?i:-na-ha-su: si'ak-[L]-uk/ where?-go to.-PAST-QUE-IIp
 move-GRAD-DUR

The temporal-bound proform is *wa'sq'iyi* 'when?'. It appears to be a compound of *wa's(t)-* 'where?' plus *q'wi-(y)i* 'at which time?'. .

- (343) *wa'sq'awa'ak ?i hp'i tsak* When are you going to grow up!
/wa'sq'iyi-? ak-k ?i: h'w-p' it-[L]-si(ak)/
 when?-TEM-II(QUE) big-at edge-EMPH-MOM

The ambiguous morphological structure of *wa'sq'iyi* (i.e. whether it is a root or a multi-morphemic stem) may account for the variation in vowel elision strategies. The quality of a vowel resulting from elision of adjacent vowels depends on whether the first vowel is a root vowel or a suffix vowel (cf. section 2.2). The final *i* in *wa'sq'iyi* or *wa'sq'wi* (the latter form resulting from elision over a glide) is variably identified as root or nonroot. This matter requires more research. No instances of temporal-bound question roots embedded in a complex stem have

yet been found.

The quantifier-bound proform, *wa·yaq-* 'which?', is used to request specification, as in *wa·yaqh* 'Which one is it?' of (344).

- (344) *wa·yaqmahska sinik* Which dog do you want?
/wa·yaq-mahsa-k-a: .. / which?-want.-II(QUE*) dog

Answers to *wa·yaq* questions often make use of the specifying quantifiers such as 'all', 'none', 'only', and 'this'.

Quantity and adjectival-bound content questions such as 'what like?', 'how long?', 'how many?', 'how many times?', and 'how much?' are framed in indefinite relative clause structures (cf. section 3.4.2.5).

Finally, there are the nominal- or NP-bound question proforms *?āca-* 'who?' and *?aqi-* 'what?'. These are suffixed by *-a·q* in their stem forms. Like topical NP-relating predicates, NP-bound proforms indicate the NP's grammatical relation in the complement or question predicate itself.

Here follow examples of *?āca-* question forms illustrating the range of possible grammatical relations.

- (345) *?āca·qk* Who are you?
/?āca-a·q-k / who?-NOM-II(QUE)
- (346) *?a·čičnak ka·pap* Whom did you like?
/?āca-(č)ič [L]-na-k .. / who?-do to..-PAST-II(QUE) like
- (347) *?āca·stnaḥsa hawa·?t* Whom was I called by?
/?āca-a·q-³at-na-ḥa·s-a: hawa·?at /
 who?-NOM-PASS-PAST-QUE*-I call-PASS

In the above examples, (345) is subject-bound, (346) is object-bound (identified by the governing suffix in the predicate), and (347) is agent oblique-bound (identified by *-³at* PASS in both the question and the complement predicates).

The question root *?āca-* also commonly serves as a base within a multi-morphemic predicate, e.g. one composed of that root plus a governing verbal or adjectival suffix, and is hence object-bound.

- (348) *?āčisu·pnaḥsu* Whom did you all kill?
/?āči-su:p-na-ḥa·-su: / who?-kill..-PAST-QUE-IIp

The other NP-bound proform is *ʔaqi-* 'what?'. It is used for animate nonhuman or inanimate NP's and can be subject-bound or object-bound.

- (349) *ʔaqa qha piš* What kind of a fish is it?
 /ʔaq-a-q-ha-a: .. / what?-NOM-QUE* fish
- (350) *ʔa qəw' aʔa qəka ʔuk'i* What are you going to use (to make it)?
 /ʔaqi-hw' aʔ [L]-ʔa: qə-k-a: ʔu-(ʔ)i-ʔi /
 what?-use...-FUT-II(QUE)* it-make..

3.3.4. Cleft Clauses

In the last section, topical clauses were examined. In such clauses, the focused element is the predicate, which takes the clause-level inflectional suffixes. A second marked construction commonly used for focusing is the cleft construction. In cleft constructions, one focused constituent is in a marked position but is not a topical predicate and is not affixed by the clause-level inflection. The following cleft structures are discussed: adjunct-predicate, adjunct-adjunct, and oblique-adjunct.

3.3.4.1. Adjunct-predicate Cleft

In Kyuquot, the clause normally consists of a predicate plus one or more adjuncts. It is a general property of all predicates that they can be preceded by one adjunct NP. Matrix predicates, whether intransitive or transitive, active or passive, can be preceded by a subject or object NP.

- (351) *waʔit ei qei qəkiš* The frog started to talk
 /.. CVG-eiq-[L]-š(i)(k)-ʔi-š / frog IT-talk-GRAD-MOM-IND
- (352) *kəpisi m' aʔa qəw' int ʔuʔuʔu* The raccoon had a chicken in his mouth
 /.. m'a-ʔa qəw' int .. / raccoon bite-at mouth-PAST chicken
- (353) *ʔuk naʔa ʔtint* They heard him
 /ʔu-h naʔa-ʔat-int / it-NOM near-PASS-PAST
- (354) *əw' it ʔuʔuʔu i hma qəka ʔəʔ* They must want to go after coho
 /.. ʔu-ʔi:h [R]-ma qəka-a-ʔəʔ-ʔa-ʔ / coho it-pursue...want to...EVID-PL

In each of the above sentences, the clause-initial NP is emphasized in

some way. The frog (not some other creature) is starting to croak; a raccoon (new information) comes into the yard and bites a chicken (previous focus of the story); they hear him (a previous participant in a story here being reintroduced as a participant); they want to get coho (new information given in response to a content question). Such a focused NP need not be animate.

- (355) *hamu ti ha?uksa?int* That bone got eaten
 /hamu-t-?i ha?uk-~~xi~~(~~h~~)-at-int/ bone-DEE eat(DUR)-MOM-PASS-PAST

While it is true that there is no overt marking of subject or object and hence a sentence such as (352) can be interpreted as either subject- or object-focused, the conversational situation appears to be sufficient to determine the grammatical relation of the focused NP. Conversational participants keep track of what is new and old information up to the point of any given sentence and of what information the story-teller has already revealed (e.g. that her father had killed a raccoon and therefore the chicken could not have killed it) as well as what probabilities can be expected within a given context (e.g. a real story).

The semantic class of the predicate has no influence on whether or not an adjunct-predicate cleft can occur. Such cleft constructions can be found in sentences with verbal predicates (as in the above examples) or locative, temporal, quantifier, nominal, adjectival, or quantity ones.

- (356) *?athi ?uyinti s qahsa p* It was LAST NIGHT I killed it
 /.. ?u-(y) i-~~int~~-(y) i:-s qah-sa p/ .. night it-time of.. PAST-INDF-I die-MOMCAUS

- (357) *Bill wi y a a ?S naqew* Bill is never drunk, it seems
 /.. wi y a a a ?S naq-~~ew~~ / Bill never-EVID drink-..-ed

- (358) *Mary ku k wa na ?S* Mary is a doctor
 /.. ku k wa na a a ?S/ Mary doctor-EVID

As sentence (356) demonstrates, a cleft NP can occur in a topical clause. The topical clause can be adverbial, NP, or NP-relating.

- (359) *qa?uk hi?a qxi s ?ukwi z* I'll make it at KAOUK
 /.. hi?a qxi-(y) i:-s ?u-(~~z~~) i z/ .. there FUT-INDF-I it-make..

(360) *ha' quta'ya ?uhinti's ?uh'siλ* THAT was the knife that rusted
 /.. *qut-a'y-?i' ?u-h-int-?i's ?uh-?i(λ)*
 the knife-NOM-DEF it-ABS-PAST-IND rust-MOM

(361) *?im?i ?u'chintintin. ?'i'ciλep* It was for MOM we cut it up
 /.. *?u-chin [L]-int-in ?'i-?i(λ)-?i-p/*
 mother it-do^o for..-PAST-IP cut-MOM-for

There is one type of topical-like clause which will not admit a cleft. This is the content question clause. A content question predicate must be sentence-initial, even if some adjunct NP is new or focused information.

(362) **Mary ?a'qa'wknaha*
 /s. *?aqi-a'wi(λ) [L]-na-ha'-a:/* Mary what?-find..-PAST-QUE*

NP cleft structures are not restricted to matrix clauses. They can apply to NP's which are adjuncts within relative or *?u'kw'z* clauses within matrix adjuncts.

(363) *n' i'c' ikint' ?im?i yaq'w'i'naq* It's a needle that she gave to MOM
 /n' i'c' ik'w-int' .. *yaq'w-(y)i'-na-q/* sew-NOM-PAST mother which-give..-
 PAST-REL

(364) *?i'ca' ?ka'λ hu'n'i ?u'kw'z* They pulled that whale.
 /?i-?i(λ)-?a'λ .. *?u-(?i) i'z [L]/* pull-MOM-TEM-PL whale it-do to..

NP cleft structures also occur in adverbial, NP-relating, and complement oblique clauses

(365) *na'wah'ic'ints ?am'i ?uya* I started to wait yesterday
 /na'wah'-?i' ?i(λ)-int'-s .. *?u-(y)i'ya/* wait-ING-PAST-I .. it..time

(366) *k' iλsa'p'ca's ha'ma ?u'hw' a'λ* He must have broken it with a hammer
 /k' iλ-sa-p-?a' s' .. *?u-hw' a'λ [L]/* break-MOMCAUS-INF-EVID .. it-use..

(367) *saw'a'qinti'k si'ci'λ ku'w' i'λep* YOU stole it from me
 /saw'a'q-int-(y)i:-k si-(?i) i'z [L] ku'w' i'z-?i-p/
 you-PAST-INDF-II I-do to.. steal-for(=from)

In the above examples, the NP in the cleft position has the shape of a nominal. However, an adjunct-predicate cleft NP can also consist of a modifier plus a nominal head, or an elliptical head modified by a quantity or quantifier stem.

- (368) *t'i'asi qu'as n'acayi's* I see the guy sitting on the ground
 /t'iq^w-as-?i' .. n'aca-(y)i:-s/ see-ground-DEF .. see-INDF-I
- (369) *hi'suk wi'kšhi'čxint* Everyone was healed
 /hi's-uk wik-šahi [L] -'i'č(i)(x)-int/ all-DUR not-..wrong-INC-PAST

A cleft NP can even be a relative clause or a conjunction of NP's (underlined in the following sentences).

- (370) *ya'q^wšqs hami'p 'uyinti's'puk* I gave a book to the one I met
 /yaq^w-(č)ič [L]-qa-s .. 'u-(y)i'-int-(y)i:-s ../
 which-do to...-REL-I meet it-give...-PAST-INDF-I book
- (371) *na'ni'qs 'uhi's čimsaqš čay'ixi'č* Grizzly and Bear were berry-
 /na'ni-aqs .. čims-aqs čay'ix-(y)i:-č/ picking
 grizzly-mythical female.. and bear-mythical female.. berrypick-
 INDF-INF

It would appear, then, that neither the type nor the complexity of a NP adjunct affects its suitability as an adjunct-predicate cleft NP.

The function of an adjunct-predicate cleft is not fully clear at this time. However, one purpose is to indicate the speaker's surprise at the participation of a certain entity (expressed as the cleft NP).

- (372) *ha'k^wa'ki qahsa'pintiš* A GIRL killed it (instead of a boy)
 /ha'k^wa'k-?i' qah-sa'p-int-?i'š/ girl-DEF die-MOMCAUS-PAST-IND

The adjunct-predicate cleft also occurs in clauses where a new NP participant is being introduced or reintroduced into the discourse. Occasionally, it appears that such a cleft is simply a stylistic variant without a focusing function. Stylistic variation awaits research which could show its role in determining sentence structure.

3.3.4.2. Adjunct-adjunct Cleft

In contrast to that of the adjunct-predicate cleft, the function of the adjunct-adjunct cleft construction (i.e. object-subject order) is more clearly understood. In unmarked Kyuquot clauses with two adjuncts, the subject precedes the object. However, when the object conveys new and salient information, the object adjunct can precede the subject.

- (373) *ʔukʷi·ʔiʃ qaʷu·c Mary* Mary is making a BASKET
/ʔu-(ʃ)iʃ [L]-ʔi·ʃ/ it-make...-IND basket Mary
- (374) *kʷuma·ʃ ʔu·kʷʷ məhtʰ i ʔumʔi* Mom's pointing at the HOUSE
/kʷum-(y)a·ʔi·ʃ ʔu-(ʃ)iʃ [L]..../ point-CONT-IND it-do to.. house
- (375) *hiʃimʷ u·p ma·cʷin ʔu·cma* The lady collected HOUSEFLIES
/hiʃ-(q)imʷ u·p/ all-around-CAUS fly woman

Such an adjunct-adjunct cleft also occurs in nonmatrix clauses as well.

- (376) *pihʃa·ʔki·ʃ ʔin ʔu·cmaʔk ʔapisiʃ məhtʰ i* I figured the house be-
/pih-ʃi(ʔ)-ʔaʔ-(y)i:-s .. ʔu-i·c-mataʔ/ longed to a raccoon
 imagine-MOM-TEM-INDF-I that it-belong to...-POSB raccoon house

Given a thorough examination of the expression of new and old information, it might be preferable to express ordering in double adjunct clauses on the basis of new and old information rather than grammatical relations (i.e. subject precedes object). This is another area requiring more research.

Object clefts also result when the subject is 'heavy', i.e. syntactically complex.

- (377) *ʃiʃimʷ cʷʷit Joe ʔuʃis Linda* Did Joe and Linda cut the coho?
/ʃiʃi(ʔ)-na-ʔa·/ cut-MOM-PAST-QUE coho Joe and Linda

Such a cleft, resulting here from a conjoined subject NP, is not obligatory. Conjoined NP subjects can precede the object, although evidently no conjunction can be present in such sentences.

- (378) *ʃiʃimʷ Joe-Linda cʷʷit* Did Joe and Linda cut the coho?

Double adjunct clauses are avoided in Nootka (cf. clause simplification, section 3.5.3). No examples of unelicited double adjunct clauses with an adjunct-adjunct cleft structure have been observed. However, all speakers volunteered them as possibilities when asked to translate English sentences containing heavy subject NP's or heavily-stressed object NP's.

3.3.4.3. Oblique-adjunct Cleft

An oblique constituent, in contrast to the adjunct, does not precede its predicate. Such hypothetical statements as the following

(where the initial underlined stem or phrase is an oblique constituent) are ungrammatical.

- (379) *?u·chín ?um?i č' ičikintiš
 /?u·chín [L] .. č' i-š*(κ)*-int-?i·š/ it-do for.. mom cut-MOM-PAST-IND
- (380) *hintšik ?u·ema·š
 /hin-it-š*(κ)* ?u·ema-?i·š/ there(MOM)-come-MOM woman-IND
- (381) *numu·k n' amabšikinti·s
 /.. n' amab-š*(κ)*-int-(y)i:-s/ sing try-MOM-PAST-INDF-I

The only exception is that oblique agents can precede ?uh?at predicates as in (382).

- (382) ?u·ema ?uh?atinti·s kawa·?t I was visited by the WOMAN
 /.. ?u-h-(q)h-³at-int-(y)i:-s kawa-³at/
 woman it-ABS-SIM-PASS-PAST-INDF-I near-PASS

An oblique agent can precede no other predicate.

- (383) *?u·ema kawa·?tinti·s

This counterexample to a general 'no oblique-predicate cleft' rule may be due in part to the adjunct-predicate cleft which occurs in topical clauses such as the one in (384).

- (384) ?u·ema ?uhintiš hintšik It's the WOMAN that came
 /.. ?u-h-int-?i·š hin-it-š*(κ)*/ woman it-ABS-PAST-IND there(MOM)-
 come-MOM

In such a construction, the sentence-initial NP is coreferential to the pronominal-like predicative stem ?uh. Similarly, the sentence-initial NP in a sentence such as (382) is also coreferential to the predicate's stem. Perhaps it is due to this coreferentiality of the agent oblique and the predicative stem in an agent oblique topical clause that a nonadjunct is allowed to precede a predicate in the Nootka sentence.

Although obliques virtually never precede predicates in Nootka, an oblique constituent can precede an adjunct. This oblique-adjunct construction must first be distinguished from certain similar ones. When a matrix predicate and its oblique have a coreferential subject, that subject (if expressed as an adjunct) can occur in either the matrix or the oblique

clause.

(385) ?uhint Joe ?uk^wi^h č^hapie It was JOE who made the canoe
 /?u-h-int .. ?u-(č)i^h .. / it-ABS-PAST Joe it-make. canoe

(386) ?uhint ?uk^wi^h Joe č^hapie It was JOE who made the canoe.

An adjunct-adjunct cleft can still occur in the lower clause of a sentence such as (386).

(387) ?uhint ?uk^wi^h Joe č^hapie It was JOE who made the CANOE

Such lower-clause siting of coreferential subjects occurs for topical matrix predicates as in (386), (387), or (388).

(388) ?uh^hatintiš kawa^h?t Joe Joe got visited by HER
 /?u-h-(q)h^h-at-int-?i^hš kawa^h-at .. /
 it-ABS-SIM-PASS-PAST-IND near-PASS Joe

It also occurs for unmarked matrix predicates when the oblique clause is emphasized (underlined in the following examples).

(389) q^wah^hta^hki^hč^h t^hawit^h hi^h qu^h?as tani Nevertheless the guy was LAYING
 /q^wah^hta^h-ak-(y)i^h:-č^h t^haw-^hi^h / THERE
 nevertheless-TEM-INDF-INF lie-in house there adult really

(390) wik^hi^htint ča^hni ma^h?as There was no village YET
 /wik^h-i^h-t-int .. ma^h-as / not-NOM-PAST yet dwell-outside

(391) qahsa^h?t ?uh^h?at John marič^h The deer got kill by JOHN
 /qah^h-sa^h-p^h-at-int / die-MOMCAUS-PASS-PAST

The above underlining does not indicate that the oblique constituents are phonetically stressed but only that they are semantically emphasized (due to the peripheral position of the subject NP).

Although Kyuquot has strategies for emphasizing both a subject and an object, as in example (387), an emphatic oblique agent and subject cannot both occur in one sentence. Note the unacceptability of the following.

(392) *?u^hk^wbatint^h kimksa^h?t ?uh^h?at Joe Mary
 /?u-(č)i^h [L]-at-int kimk-sa^h-p^h-at /
 it-do to..-PASS-PAST waken-MOMCAUS-PASS

Sentence (392) includes both a subject-focusing strategy (the *?u:k'it'at* passive patient subject topical construction) and the oblique-focusing strategy of oblique-adjunct cleft.

The above method of emphasizing oblique constituents seems to be compatible only with matrix predicates not associated with an object adjunct. This does not imply that the matrix predicate is intransitive but only that no matrix object adjunct is found to occur in sentences where a focused oblique predicate precedes a subject adjunct coreferential to both the matrix and oblique clause subject. It is unclear whether this subject adjunct should be considered part of the oblique clause or part of a cleft construction in which an oblique constituent can precede a matrix adjunct.

Sometimes, however, a cleft construction must be posited. There are cases where an adjunct is grammatically (and semantically) related only to the higher clause but is separated from that clause by an oblique constituent. This is the oblique-adjunct cleft. There are three subtypes: the subject, the object, and the object-subject. In the subject type, the stranded subject is the subject only of the higher clause.

(393) *?u:ktaqint qah'sik ?ini'ni John* It was on account of JOHN that the
dog died
?u-(s)'taq [L]-int qah-?i(?) ?ini'k-?i' :./
it-due to...-PAST die-MOM dog-DEF John

In sentence (393), the NP *John* has no grammatical role to play in the lower clause which has an intransitive predicate.

The object type of oblique-adjunct cleft is like the subject type because the stranded NP has no grammatical relation to the predicate which separates it from the clause in which it does express a grammatical relation. In the following examples, the oblique constituent is enclosed in square brackets.

(394) *hisim'intin [mamu'k] maxu'k* We worked in a JAIL
his-mab-int-in mamu-uk max-u'k
there(MOM)-move about-PAST-1p work-DUR bind-1.place

(395) *?u'hw'atint [qahsa'p] ?uta'y* He used a KNIFE to kill it
?u'hw'at [L]-int qah-sa'p ?ut-a'y/ it-use...-PAST die-MOMCAUS knife-NOM

This type of cleft construction occurs most commonly in sentences whose matrix predicate is locative. Ironically, in these true oblique-adjunct cleft sentences, it is the object adjunct and not the oblique constituent (which might be posited to be fronted) which appears to be the emphasized constituent. Of course, a stranded or sentence-final position draws attention.

In the object-subject type of oblique-adjunct cleft, the stranded matrix object is coreferential to the complement subject. Again, the oblique constituent is bracketed in the examples.

(396) *hæbi·bæi·s Bill [hæma·s]·?u·kʷæ Mary Bill asked MARY to dance in*
/hæbi·t-·æ·?i·s .. hæb-mæb-·as .. ./ front of the house
 invite-TEM-IND Bill dance-move about-outside to Mary

(397) *?uksa·p·k Bill [e·umabim·t ?u·kʷæ kar·?i] Joe ?u·kʷæ*
/?u·ksa·p-·æ .. e·u-mæb-(q)im·t .. kar-?i .. ./
 it-coax-TEM Bill wash-move about-at bulky object to car-DEF Joe to
 Bill left JOE to wash the car

Although there are emphatic patients of the form *?u·kʷæ NP* even when the patient is subject, the oblique complement subjects in sentences such as (396) and (397) are not patients. They would, however, be patients (or perhaps recipients) in the matrix predicates. In such sentences, as in the object type of oblique-adjunct cleft, it is this object stranded to the right of (or inside of) the complement oblique which is the emphasized element.

When a stranded object is located within a complement which is itself associated with an object, the stranded object (as an oblique) can be positioned to the left of the oblique predicate's proper object as in (397) above. In addition, by what appears to be a double application of an oblique-adjunct cleft rule, the stranded object can precede the oblique predicate's proper object.

(398) *?u·?atp·k qah·sa·p Bill katuknaqin Did you kill our cat for BILL?*
/?u·a·atip-k qah-sa·p .. katv-uk-na-q-in/
 it-destine for.-II(QUE) die-MOMCAUS Bill cat-POSS-PAST-REL-1p

Sentence (398) has a paraphrase in which *Bill* is sentence-final and hence

evidences only one application of the oblique-adjunct cleft. Although uncommon, oblique-adjunct clefts do occur in unelicited material as well as in response to elicited sentences.

In summary, the cleft constructions in Nootka include the following: an emphasized, surprising, or new adjunct can precede its predicate; a new object can precede a subject adjunct; a relatively uncomplex object or oblique can precede a relatively complex or long subject or object respectively; and an emphasized subject or object adjunct can follow an oblique constituent in which that (matrix) adjunct has no grammatical role. One of the most significant characteristics of cleft constructions is that they demonstrate that stems affixed by clause-level inflectional morphemes need not be clause-initial.

3.4. Other Complex Sentences

In the last section, a survey of the types of marked sentences found in Kyuquot was presented. This discussion of marked sentence types was in turn preceded by the section on oblique constituents. In Kyuquot, the oblique constituent consists of either NP or sentence. The sentential obliques, consisting of either an adverbial, NP-relating, or complement clause, characterize one type of complex sentence. In this section, the other types of complex sentences, the relative clause-bearing sentence and the sentence composed of coordinate clauses, are discussed.

3.4.1. Referential Clauses

Because most relative clauses in Kyuquot can be looked upon as embedded and subordinated referential clauses, the discussion of relative clauses begins by examining the referential clause. A referential base reflects by shape its coreferentiality to a linguistic entity within a certain semantic class. Referentials are anaphoric to a prior or anticipated referent. The referential (and relative) bases are given below. Where the same base cannot be used as both a referential and relative base, the relative version is enclosed in brackets. In their role as referential predicates, these bases can be affixed by any nonsubordinate mood suffix, can occur in matrix or embedded clauses, and can be affixed by lexical suffixes.

TABLE 7. REFERENTIAL (AND RELATIVE) BASES

Verbal	<i>q^wis</i>	happen thus	Nominal	<i>?u-</i>	it	(<i>yaq^w-</i> which)
	<i>q^wa-?ap</i>	do that				(<i>q^wi-</i> what)
	<i>q^wis-?ap</i>	do that	Quantity	<i>qu^w-m³a</i>	that many	
Adjectival	<i>q^wa</i>	like thus		<i>?una</i>	that much	
Temporal	<i>?u-yi</i> (<i>q^wi-yi</i>)	then	Locative	<i>hi^t</i>	there	
	<i>?unic</i>	that often		<i>hi^s-</i>	there	
	<i>qu^wm³a-p³t</i>	that many times		<i>hi^s(t)-</i>	from there	

Verbal referentials include the basic *q^wis* 'do (it), happen', and two causativized bases. The basic form can be anaphoric to intransitive or transitive predicates. In the latter case, an object may or may not occur as an adjunct of *q^wis*.

(399) *q^wisaxint. m³ixsa³ak* Then it happened. It started to rain
 /*q^wis-³ax-int. m³ix-³si(ak)-³ax/* happen-TEM-PAST rain-MOM-TEM

(400) *huhtik ?ih³ q^wis* He knows that I did it (killed it)
 /.. ?in-s ../
 know that-I do that

(401) *q^wis³axqu³s ha³ tu³uk^w?i* That's what I usually did to the
 /*q^wis-³ax-qu³-s .. tu³uk-³i³/* do-TEM-COND-I the board-DEF board

The derived *q^wis³ap* should mean 'cause to do, happen'. However, it serves only as the causativized version of the intransitive *q^wis* and is hence synonymous with the transitive *q^wis*.

(402) *q^wis³ap q^wa³?i³tq hu³n³i* They did it (made it) like a whale
 /*q^wis-³ap q^wa-³?i³tq ../
 happen-CAUS thus-REL whale*

The derived *q^wa .. ?ap* means 'cause (it) to be thus' and hence emphasizes the completed or resultant aspect of an event.

(403) *q^wa³?apis³i³ẽ ha³* That's what the little one was doing
 /*q^wa-³ap-³?is=(y)i³-³ẽ ../
 thus-CAUS-DIM-INDF-INF that*

Verbal referentials can be passivized.

(404) *q^wis³ax³tqu ?ah³?a* If something like that happened to
 /*q^wis-³ax-³at-qu: ../
 happen-TEM-PASS-COND that him*

Finally, the simple verbal referential *q^wis* can be used as an

oblique deictic when a verbal stem's meaning is demonstrated by the speaker's gesture.

(405) *ʔuʔsiŋ ha qʷis* He grabbed him like this.

The adjectival referential *qʷa* can mean '(V) thus', '(A) like that', 'such a (N)', etc. It can serve as a matrix predicate as in (406) where *qʷa* anticipates the description to follow (i.e. 'there was no food') or as in (407) where the *qʷa* clause follows the description (i.e. 'they were stood up on their ends').

(406) *qʷa nāti-č ʔint ʔaʔa huʔak* It was like that long ago
/qʷa-nit-(y)i:-č... .. / thus-PAST-INDF-INF habitually that

(407) *qʷa ʔak hūmi sinti* The cedar sticks were like that
/qʷa-ʔak hūmi-s-int-ʔi- / thus-TEM cedar-PAST-DEF

The adjectival referential also serves as an adverbial oblique predicate.

(408) *qi ʔakint qʷa* For a long time, it was like that
/qi-ʔak-int .. / long time-TEM-PAST. thus

The temporal referentials are *ʔuyi* 'at that time', *ʔunic* 'for that long a time', and *qu m ap t* 'for that many times'.

(409) *ʔyā ʔakintin wāsa ʔk* We'll have gone home at that time
/ʔu-(y)i-ʔa: ʔk-int-in wā-ʔi(ʔ)-ʔak /
 it-time-FUT-PAST-IP go home-MOM-TEM

(410) *ʔunicintiš waʔič* That's how long he slept
/ʔunic-int-ʔi-š .. / how much-PAST-IND sleep

(411) *qu m ap i ʔ p Bill tu xtu x* He made Bill jump that many times
/qʷi-m a-p it-ʔ ap ; CVC-tux-[L]-(y)a /
 what-quantity-times-CAUS Bill IT-jump-GRAD-REP

Like *qʷa*, temporal referentials occur as matrix predicates or as oblique predicates.

The nominal referential is *ʔu* 'it, he, she, that'. This base must be affixed by a noninflectional morpheme and hence be part of a multi-morphemic stem. It can refer to a whole NP which may or may not be present

in the clause.

(412) *ʔunaʔp* (Bill) She paid attention to him (Bill)

It can also refer to a sentential complement whose head can also occur in the same morphological environment as *ʔu-*.

(413) *ʔumaʔq̄n kuʔw̄ iʔ puk* He wants to steal a book
/ʔu-maʔq̄n .../ it-want to... steal book

(414) *kuʔw̄ iʔmaʔq̄n puk* He wants to steal a book

ʔu- serves as an anaphoric or copied root in stems of every semantic and grammatical class. It can be affixed by derivational morphemes as in (412) and (413) or by nonderivational morphemes as in (415).

(415) *ʔc̄itka ʔuc̄uʔm̄ inh̄* The (milk) inside flowed out
/ʔc̄itk-(y)aʔ ʔu-c̄uʔ-m̄ inh̄/ flow-CONT it-inside-PL

Like all referential bases, it can refer backwards or forwards in discourse.

While in some cases *ʔu-* does appear redundant (because the referent is also present in the clause) or mechanically predictable (because otherwise certain suffixes could not occur in the sentence), it is claimed here that *ʔu-* does have an anaphoric function and that the constituent it refers to can always be assigned a grammatical relation (e.g. object, complement, subject) with respect to the stem in which it occurs (cf. section 4.7.1).

The quantity referentials, *quʔm̄ a* 'that number (of)' and *ʔuna* 'that long, amount, much', serve as topical predicates as in (416), as predicative bases affixed by governing (derivational) morphemes as in (417), and as NP modifiers as in (418).

(416) *ʔunaʔʂ ʔuyaq̄mis* That's how long the story was
/ʔuna-aʔʂ ʔuyaq̄-mis/ that long-EVID tell-NOM

(417) *quʔm̄ iʔpintaʔ huʔak* They were getting that many before
/qʔi-m̄ a-i:p-int-ʔaʔ .../ what-..many-obtain-..PAST-PL ago

(418) *ʔac̄ʂiʔ quʔm̄ a quʔas* Every man went out fishing
/ʔac̄-ʂi(ʔ) qʔi-m̄ a .../ go out-MOM what-..may adult

The locative referentials are *hiʔ* 'there', *hiʔ-* 'there', and

his(t)- 'from there'. The latter two forms precede derivational suffixes.

(419) *hist'aknak ?ah?a p'u?i* Is that where you (got) the halibut?
 /*his(t)*-²*ak-na-k* .. ./. thence-TEM-PAST-II(QUE) that halibut

(420) *t'apatšxinti's hisn'a?h ?ah?a* I thought of looking for that there
 /*t'apat-š(i)(x)-int-(y)i:-s his,-n'a?h* .. ./.
 think-MOM-PAST-INDF-I there-seek.. that

The form *hiš* is the most common. It is nonablative and does not precede derivational suffixes. Rather it occurs either as a stem or affixed by nonderivational (but noninflectional) suffixes.

(421) *hišhakat t'a?at'a?y* They fished for tommycod THERE
 /*hiš-(q)h-ak-?a?š CVC#t'a-[L]-(y)a/*
 there-SIM-TEM-PL IT-fish,with bait-GRAD-REP

(422) *k'ašakab hiša?yš* They stored theirs in the rafters
 /*k'aš-(y)a-?ak-?a?š hiš-a's-š*/
 store-CONT-POSS-PL there-on-in enclosure

When an event occurs while participants are at a particular place, *hiš* is affixed by *-(q)h* SIM ('meanwhile') as in (421) above. The *h* in the surface form cannot be an absolutive or nominalizing affix. Contrast the following two sentences.

(423) *hišhnaš* Did he do it there?
 /*hiš-(q)h-na-ša*/ there-SIM-PAST-QUE

(424) *hišnaš* Was he there?

Evidently, when an event is going on simultaneously with the occurrence of the participant at a particular location, then the *-(q)h* suffix is employed. When only the occurrence of a participant at a particular location is being expressed, then *hiš* occurs without *-(q)h*. The distinction between (423) and (424) does not appear to be one of a nominal versus a locative predicate. The existence of the place is not being questioned in example (423). Rather the distinction appears to be one of presence versus absence of a contemporaneous event or state.

3.4.2. Relative Clauses

A Kyuquot relative (i.e. restrictive relative) clause is identified by the shape of the predicate's root or base which determines the semantic class of the head of the bound constituent. In most cases, these bases parallel the referential bases, except that bound NP's are signalled by *yaq^w-* or *q^wi-* and bound temporals by *q^wiyi*. The relative clause is also identified by the obligatory presence of either *-(y)i* INDF or *-?i•tq* REL affixed to the clause's predicate.

3.4.2.1. Nonnominal-bound Relative Clauses

Verbal relative clauses are headed by *q^wis*, which occurs in active form with either an agent or patient subject, or by *q^wa•?ap* or *q^wis?ap*, which occur in active form only with an agent subject. Verbal relatives serve as anaphoric complements to predicates such as *hoyimh* 'don't know', *huhrik* 'know', *ʔaʔash* 'plan', *ciq-* 'say', and even the referential predicate *q^wa•?ap* 'do thus':

(425) *?u•t•i•?ʔ q^wisnaq Joe* He imitated what Joe did
/?u•t•i•?i•ʔiba [L] q^wis-na-q ,./ it-pretend to.. do what-PAST-REL

(426) *q^wa•?ap?a•qʔ q^wa•?apqs* He will do what I did
/q^wa•-?ap-?a•qʔ q^wa•-?ap-qa•-s/ like what-CAUS-FUT like what-CAUS-REL-I

There is some evidence that verbal relative clauses in Kyuquot should be treated as NP's. First, verbal relatives can be introduced by an *?u•k^wʔ* predicate.

(427) *?i•qhuk^w?a•qʔi•s ?u•k^wʔ q^wisnaq* I'll tell what he did
/?i•qh-uk-?a•qʔ-(y)i:-s ?u-(ʔ)it [L] q^wis-na-q/
 tell-DUR-FUT-INDF-I it-do to.. do what-PAST-REL

Second, verbal relative clauses can precede what appears to be the matrix predicate.

(428) *[q^wa•?ap?itq qu?as] e•i•kabʔʔ* He imitated what the man did
/q^wa•-?ap-?i•tq .. e•i•kab-ʔi(x)/ like what-CAUS-REL .. copy-MOM

In all cases where such a cleft construction is found, the matrix predicate is always transitive and the verbal relative clause appears to serve

as the matrix object.

Adjectival relatives are headed by *qʷa* 'like what'. Such clauses serve as oblique complements with a manner adverbial function.

(429) *wikʷi-tʰ tʰimʷ aqsta-nk qʷa-ʔi-tq Bill* No one's as smart as Bill
/wikʷi-t-(q)ʰ .. qʷa-ʔi-tq .. / not-NOM-SIM smart like what-REL

(430) *qu-ʔasat yu-qʷa qʷa-qin qu-ʔas* They're also people, as we are
/qu-ʔas-ʔa-ʔ .. qʷa-q-in .. / adult-PL also like what-REL-IP

In some constructions, they appear to serve as NP objects.

(431) *hayimhuyi-s qʷa-matkʷa-ʔki* I don't know what it might be like
/hayimhuyi-(y)i-s qʷa-matakʷa-ʔa-ʔki-(y)i-s /
not know-INDF-I like what-POSB-FUT-INDF

Such a role is supported by the occurrence of adjectival relative clauses as constituents dominated by *ʔu-kʷʷ* as in (432).

(432) *miʔhi-ki-ʔ ʔu-kʷʷ qʷa-ʔi-tq ku-ma* It was like what gold is like
/miʔhi-ki-ʔak-(y)i-ʔ ʔu-(ʔ)i-ʔ [L] qʷa-ʔi-tq .. /
similar-DUR-POSS-INDF-INF it-do to, like what-REL gold

The presence of a higher *ʔu-kʷʷ* predicate does not, however, prove that the dominated constituent is a NP. Consider the following sentence.

(433) *qʷisʷakintaʔ ʔu-kʷʷ susu-wʷi-h* How did they do at getting springs?
/qʷisʷak-int-ʔa-ʔ .. swʷh-ʔi-h [R] /
do what-TEM-PAST-PL .. spring(salmon)-try to get..

The word *susu-wʷi-h* 'getting springs' cannot serve as a NP. It cannot be preceded by an article; it cannot be modified by an adjectival; and it cannot be the head of a nominal-bound relative clause. Hence it is assumed that the presence of *ʔu-kʷʷ* does not necessarily identify its governed constituent as a NP. This means that the identification of the syntactic role of the relative clause in a sentence such as (431) is not really established yet.

The temporal relative bases are *qʷiyi* 'when', *ʔunio* 'for as long', and *qu-mʷap-t* 'for as many times'. They typically serve as the predicative stems of oblique complements.

- (434) *suč' i-q' ič' adh q'iyi* Was it five years ago when (they
 /suč' i-q' ič' adh-*ha* q' i-(y) i-(y) i:/ did it)?
 five--years-TEM-QUE which--time-INDF
- (435) *huhtiki's [ʔunicnaq taʔit n' uw' t]* I knew how long Dad was sick
 /huhtik-(y) i:-s ʔunic-na-q/
 know-INDF-I how much-PAST-REL sick father

Quantity relative stems are *qu'm'a* 'as many' and *ʔuna-* 'as much'. They serve as predicative stems in oblique complement clauses with a quantity adverbial function.

- (436) *ʔi qhi qu'm'a tq* There were still as many (as before)
 /ʔi q-[L]-hi q' i-m' a-ʔi tq/ same-GRAD-DUR which--quantity-REL
- (437) *qu'm'a qs [ʔunahk'witqat č' apic]* There were as many (birds) in the
 /q' i-m' a-qs ʔuna-h-uk-ʔi tq-ʔa t/ canoe as it could hold
 which--quantity-in vessel as much-size-POSS-REL-PL canoe

They also serve as quantity modifiers or anaphoric heads within a NP as in (438) and (439) respectively (the NP's being underlined in the examples).

- (438) *hiyisime' ič' intč qu'm'a nti qu'as hit*
 /CV#hiš-ime-*a-ti č'i*(κ)-int-č q' i-m' a-int-ʔi/
 distrib-all-serve--INC-PAST-INF which--quantity-PAST-DEF adult
 He started to feed as many people as were there

- (439) *watšix qu'm' ayi* However many there were went home
 /watš-š(κ) q' i-m' a-(y) i:/ go home-MOM which--quantity-INDF

Locative relative clauses have as roots *hit* 'where', *his-* 'where', and *his(t)-* 'whence'. The meanings and functions of these forms in relative clauses are parallel to those of referential clauses. Locative relatives serve as adverbial or complement obliques.

- (440) *wi'ksahi's hitqa's* I'm fine where I am
 /wik-šahi [L]-(y) i:-s hit-qa'-s/ not--wrong-INDF-I where-REL-I
- (441) *naʔa nti's histat'k' itq* I heard a sound coming from there
 /naʔa-int-(y) i:-s his(t)-(y) a tuk-ʔi tq/ hear-PAST-INDF-I whence-
 make sound of--REL

- (442) *hi·smatk hu·ʔa [hiʔhnaqs ʔu·taqna]*
 /hiʔ-^cis-matak .. hiʔ-(q)h-na-qa·-s ʔu-taq [L]-ka·/
 there-at beach-POSB there there-SIM-PAST-REL-I it-work on..-again
 It must be there (at the beach) where I was using it before

At present, it is not clear whether the relative clause oblique in (442) is a sister to *hu·ʔa* and hence a direct oblique of the matrix predicate or is an oblique to the predicate *hu·ʔa* (itself an oblique to the matrix predicate).

Locative relative clauses can serve as modifiers within NP's or even as anaphoric NP's. The NP's below are underlined.

- (443) *kuʔi·š tani ha·nism'a histaqškin* The land that we're from is
 /kuʔ-ʔi·š his(t)-taq-š(i)(k)-(y)i-n/ really nice
 nice-IND really the land whence-come from..-MOM-INDF-IP
- (444) *hi·k ihk'ist [hiy'a·naq hapta]* Hey! He paddled out from where he
 /.. k ih-k'ist hiʔ-ʔa·ʔa-na-qa· hapt-(y)a·/ was hiding
 hey! paddle-go out of hole-TEM there-on rocks-PAST-REL hide-CONT

The locative relative clauses in sentences (441) and (443) are locative-bound. Yet the predicative stems of these relative clauses are verbal rather than locative, due to the presence of the verbal derivational suffixes *-(y)a·tuk* 'make sound of..' and *-taq-* 'come from..'. Swadesh (1933:103-4) observed this conflict and commented:

The relation of the suffix to the stem [root] is the same as in the case of other themes [stems] of the same semantic class with the same suffixes, but the primary reference in the relative constructions is to the stem [root] rather than to the word [stem] as a whole.

Consider a sentence such as (443). In a sentence like this, the relative clause does not have a predicate whose semantic class is equivalent to that of the bound referent. Rather, it has a root (*his(t)-* 'whence') whose semantic class is the same as that of the bound referent.

This conflict in structure is due to two rules in Nootka. One is that a relative constituent must be the predicate of its own clause. The second is that a relative root governed by a suffix (including *-(š)iʔ [L]*) must be affixed by that suffix in the relative predicate. As a conse-

quence, the semantic class of a bound element's relative base will not necessarily be equivalent to the semantic class of the predicative stem in which that relative base occurs. Although other semantic classes of relative bases can be derived by derivational suffixes (e.g. quantity relative roots can be affixed by verbal or adjectival derivational morphemes to yield verbal or adjectival bases), it is mainly locative and nominal relatives which are involved. With respect to locatives, it appears sufficient to note that adverbial obliques can consist of clauses which function semantically as locative obliques although having verbal or adjectival predicates. Hence coreferentiality or identity operates between the bound constituent and the relative root or some base, but not necessarily the whole relative stem, of the relative predicate.

3.4.2.2. Nominal-bound Relative Clauses

The (restrictive) nominal relative clause (RC) is one in which a NP is the bound referent. In Nootka, a relative clause, whether bound to a nominal or not, can serve as either a matrix or a subordinate clause. If the RC occurs as a matrix clause, then the nominal-bound root refers back to (or occasionally anticipates) some nominal occurring in another sentence in the discourse environment. Occasionally, the nominal-bound RC refers to an object, being, or place salient to the discourse (e.g. in the speaker's environment and pointed to) but not expressly referred to by name.

There are two relative roots, *yaq^w-* 'which' and *q^wi-* 'what', which indicate that the bound referent is a NP. Their functions are considered in relation to those of the relative mood affixes *-(y)i:* INDF and *-?i:ta* REL.

The root *yaq^w-* specifies a particularized referent, i.e. 'a/the one which/who'. While it is commonly associated with human or animate referents, it does occur with inanimate referents if they specify an individual singled out from its class. Such a particularized referent can be definite or indefinite. RC's bound to a particular definite referent are illustrated below.

(445) *ha[?]ukš^h ya[?]qapatq ?i[?]h* He ate the one which was the biggest
/ha[?]uk-šⁱ(^h). yaq^w-api [L]-?i:ta/ eat(DUR)-MOM which-too-REL big

- (446) *wa·saḥ mawič-i yaqsu·pnaqin* Where's the deer which we killed?
(of a set killed by many people)

/wa·sa·ḥa· mawič-?i· yaq^w-su:p-na-q-in/

where?-QUE deer-DEF which-kill...-PAST-REL-IP

- (447) *?u²a·p²a·q²i·s yaḥa·pitk* I'll buy the very one you bought

/?u²-a·p²-?a:q²-(y)i:-s· yaq^w-²a·p²-?i·tk/

it-buy...-FUT-INDF-I which-buy...-II(REL)

In only (446) does the bound NP actually appear as a sentential constituent. The NP can be elliptical and still definite and particularized. The relative clause can serve as an independent sentence.

- (448) *yaqk² up² itq* That's the one which/who he likes

/yaq^w-k² up²-?i·tq/

which-like...-REL

Other examples of sentences including relative clauses bound to a particularized definite referent (and hence signalled in Kyuquot by *yaq^w-...-?i·tq*) include: *The one which he's making will be nice (of ones made by different people)*, *That's what/who I fear, I know which (of a set of two) he's using*, *The one he's seeking is over there*, *I'll buy the thing which you'll (definitely) make*. In all cases, the identity of the referent, both as a class member and as an individual, is known to the speaker and the matrix subject.

When the bound referent is particularized but indefinite, the RC predicate has the form *yaq^w-...-(y)i?*. Consider the following.

- (449) *hayimḥi·y-i·s yaqsu·pi* I don't know which (?) he killed

/hayimḥi-(y)i:-s yaq^w-su:p-(y)i:/ not know-INDF-I which-kill...-INDF

- (450) *?u²a·p²a·q²i·s yaḥa·pi* I'll buy whichever (?) one he bought

/?u²-a·p²-?a:q²-(y)i:-s yaq^w-²a·p²-(y)i:/
(know he bought one but not which)

it-buy...-FUT-INDF-I which-buy...-INDF

In the indefinite forms, the independent relative clause has the function of a question.

- (451) *yaqk² upi* I wonder which/who (?) he likes

/yaq^w-k² up-(y)i:/

which-like...-INDF

It is usually glossed as 'I wonder..' and has some of the force of a

rhetorical question in English because it is stated more to express a lack of knowledge or a state of curiosity or doubt than to elicit a response from the listener. However, in Nootka, a listener is making an acceptable conversational response if he or she answers a $-(y)i$ question.

Other examples of sentences including RC's bound to a particular indefinite referent (signalled by $yaq^w-...-(y)i$) are: *Whichever of the canoes he makes will be nice, Wear whichever is cleaner (of a set of garments), I wonder who (of the set of humans) he is?, I don't know which (of the knives) he used, I wonder who/which he's seeking, I'll buy whichever one you make, Whoever killed it ran away.* In all cases, the speaker knows there is a unique referent but cannot identify it more narrowly than by its class membership, e.g., the set of canoes made by a group, the clothes owned by a person, the set of humans, etc.

In contrast to yaq^w- , q^wi- is used when the bound referent is non-particularized. It is used to refer to class membership, not an individual. It is normally restricted to nonhuman referents, except in the oblique type of reference as in *I know what died: a human being*, and is obligatory for geographical referents. Examples of sentences with RC's bound to nonparticularized definite referents are given below.

(452) $huh^wiki^s q^wisu^pnaqs$ I know what I killed (an elk, not a deer or moose)
 $/huh^wik-(y)i^s q^wi-su^p-na-qa^s/$
 know-INDF-I what-kill.-PAST-REL-I

(453) $?u^a p^a q^ws q^wi^a pitq$ I'll buy the same type as he bought
 $?u^a p^a q^ws q^wi^a p^a pitq$ if-buy.-FUT-I what-buy.-REL

Other sentences whose relative clauses are bound to a nonparticularized definite referent (signalled by $q^wi-...?i^a$) include: *What he's making (the type of thing) will be nice, He arrived at the place which he was going to, He told all the stories he knew, He took all the meat he could carry, I know what he's eating, I'll also buy one like what you're going to make.* In such sentences, an individual is not contrasted with others of its class (except in the case of geographical entities). Either a class or a class member is denoted, and in the latter case it is similarity rather than difference which is emphasized.

Finally, $q^{wi} \dots (y)i:$ identifies a RC bound to a nonparticularized indefinite referent.

(454) *hayimhiyo's q^{wi}su:pinti's* I don't know what (type of animal)
I killed
/hayimhi-(y)i:-s q^{wi}-su:p-int-(y)i:ns/
not know-INDF-I what-kill.-PAST-INDF-I.

(455) *?u'a:p'a:q^{wi}s q^{wi}a'p'i* I'll buy one like whatever he bought
/u'a:p-a:q^{wi}-s q^{wi}-a'p-(y)i:ns/ it-buy.-FUT-I what-buy.-INDF

Parallel to the functions exhibited in sentences (448) and (451) are those found in the $-?i'tq$ and $-(y)i:$ versions of the independent q^{wi} -marked relative clauses. Consider the following sentences.

(456) *q^{wi}k'upitq* That's what he wanted
/q^{wi}-k'up-?i'tq/ what-want.-REL

(457) *q^{wi}k'upi* I wonder what he wanted
/q^{wi}-k'up-(y)i:/ what-want.-INDF

Here, it is not the individual but rather the class identity which is being asserted to be either known or in question.

Other examples of sentences having RC's with $q^{wi} \dots (y)i:$ predicates include: *Give me something I could hit it with!*, *Whatever he makes (be it box, table, canoe, etc.) will be nice*, *They're smart too wherever they are*, *I don't know what he made*, *I'm going to find something which you could eat*, *I'm going to return whatever is inside this sack*.

When the relative yaq^{w-} and q^{wi} roots are used in their stem forms, they may serve as pronominals, e.g. $q^{wi}qu'si$ 'whatever', $q^{wi}i'tq$ 'something', yaq^{w-si} 'anyone, whoever', and $yaq^{w-i'tq}$ 'someone'.

(458) *?u-n'a'h-inti's yaq^wsi* I was looking for anyone
/u-n'a'h-int-(y)i:-s yaq^w-u:s-(y)i:/
it-seek.-PAST-INDF-I which-IRREL-INDF

3.4.2.3. NP Role Identification

The Nootka relative clause bound to a NP (abbreviated here as 'RC') always has yaq^{w-} or q^{wi} (symbolized here as 'YAQ') as the root of its highest predicate. The structure of the RC predicate is not influenced

by the matrix grammatical relation of the NP coreferential to the NP bound by the RC. For example, a RC predicate with subordinate subject is structurally homogeneous, whether that subordinate subject is coreferential to a matrix subject (agent or patient), object, or agent oblique. In contrast, the structure of the RC predicate is influenced by the grammatical relation of the bound referent within the subordinate (i.e. relative) clause.

There is one exception to the above set of observations. There are certain RC's in which the predicate governing the NP is a restrictive locative suffix and the relative base appears to have an object-bound referent.

(459) *hi^waba itqat* ... what they were up against
/hi^w-abc'a-?i-tq-?a-?/ where-up against-REL-PL

The root affixed by a restrictive suffix is normally interpreted as its subject if nominal, even in relative clauses.

(460) *yaq^waba itqat* ... the ones who were up against it

Hence, *yaq^w-* and *q^wi-* cannot be used to identify an object of a restrictive locative suffix. In addition, objects which indicate sources, i.e. 'the thing from.', must be relativized with the locative relative root *hi^s(t)* 'whence'. Otherwise, NP's are relativized as follows.

The NP relations possible within a Nootka sentence are agent (or intransitive patient) as active subject, agent as passive oblique, patient, benefactee, or recipient as passive subject or active object, with patient as object adjunct or object of *u^kwa* if contrastive and object of comparison, benefactee, or recipient as object of *u^kwa* or of some appropriate derivational suffix, e.g. *-chih* [L] 'do for...' or *-ayi* 'give to...'. When a NP is object of a predicate, there is a paraphrase

in which that NP is passive subject and the predicate is affixed by *-at*. There are two features of the language, in particular, which make it possible to identify the surface grammatical relation of the bound referent to the RC predicate. First, when a base is affixed by a derivational suffix (signalled in glosses by the presence of dots), that base is in an object (or complement) relation to the suffix. Second, when a predi-

cate is affixed by *-at*, its subject is identified as nonagentive.

Using these principles, the identification of the grammatical role of the RC's bound referent is as follows.

When affixed by neither a derivational (governing) suffix nor *-at*, YAQ is bound to the RC (active) subject as (445), (461), and (462).

(461) *č'i-č'isik [qu-č'asi yaqnaq ku-w' ič č'apic]* The man who stole the canoe
/č'i-č'isik(č) qu-č'as-č'i yaq-na-qa ... / ran away
 escape-MOM adult-DEF which-PAST-REL steal canoe

(462) *hupa-č'it č'uh-č'at [yaqnaq hupi si-č'it]* (He was helped by the one
/hupi-č'at ... yaq-na-qa ... si-(č)it [L]/ who helped me
 help-PASS by which-PAST-REL help I-do to..

When affixed by a governing suffix but not by *-at*, YAQ is bound to the RC object.

(463) *k' iksičmatk [q-w' h-w' atahi-s]* Whatever (I use might break
/k' iks-č'i(č) -matak q-w' h-w' at [L] -č' at-(y) i:-s/
 break-MOM-POSB what-use...-IRR-INDF-I

(464) *hami-pints [č'akup ya q-w' mak qahsa-p]* I knew the man you killed
/hami-p-int-s ... yaq-(č)it [L]-na-k qah-sa-p/
 know-PAST-I male which-do to...-PAST-II(REL) die-MOMCAUS

Note that *-(č)it [L]* is in complementary distribution with the other governing suffixes. That is, when YAQ is object-bound, it will be affixed by *-(č)it [L]* or some other governing suffix but not by both. The governing suffix can be of any semantic class. For example, whereas the ones in (463) and (464) are verbal, the following ones are adjectival and nominal respectively.

(465) *yaq-č'astnaq č'akup* That's the man whom it was done by
/yaq-w'-č'ast-na-qa ... / which-done by...-PAST-REL male

(466) *kuč' yu-q-wa [q-w' i-č'athi]* They're nice too, whoever they are
/... q-w' i-č'ath-(y) i: / nice too what-people of...-INDF

When affixed by a governing suffix and by *-at*, YAQ is bound to the RC's passive nonagentive subject.

(467) *ʔukʷ upk [qʷiyá·tháqs]* Do you like what I was given?
 /ʔu-kʷ up-k qʷi-(y)i-ʔat-na-qaʷ-s/
 it-like...-II(QUE) what-give...-PASS-PAST-REL-I

(468) *ya·qʷiʔatinti ʕ̣̈́ iʕ̣̈́iʔepʷat* I wonder whom it was cut up for?
 /yaqʷ-(ʕ̣̈́)iʔ [L]-ʔat-int-(y)i: ʕ̣̈́ i-ʕ̣̈́i(ʔ)-ʕ̣̈́i·pʷat/
 which-do to...-PASS-PAST-INDF cut-MOM-for-PASS

Occasionally a passive subject is bound to a YAQ predicate lacking *-ʔat*.

(469) *ʔu·ama yaqi·hissá·ʔt* a woman who got hit
 /.. yaqʷ-(y)i: ḥ̈́s-ʕ̣̈́i(ʔ)-ʔat/ woman which-INDF hit-MOM-PASS

However, this is so rare that it is probably a speech error, or less likely, an incipient innovation.

Finally, when affixed by *-ʔat* but not by a governing suffix, YAQ is bound to the RC's passive agent oblique.

(470) *ʔawi·ʕ̣̈́ʔ [ha·ʕ̣̈́akupi yaʔatnaq̣̈́ ḥ̈́pa·ʔt]* He visited the guy who
 /ʔawa·ʕ̣̈́i·ʕ̣̈́i(ʔ) .. ʕ̣̈́akup-ʔi· yaqʷ-ʔat-na-qaʷ-s ḥ̈́pi·ʔat/
 near-INC the male-DEF which-PASS-PAST-REL-I help-PASS

(471) *yaʔati·ʔuʔʔat* I wonder whom she was treated well by
 /yaqʷ-ʔat-(y)i: ʔuʔʔat/ which-PASS-INDF nice (to)-PASS

In Nootka, any semantic case can be assigned a subject, object, or oblique role within a clause. In RC's, the NP will have either a subject, object, or agent oblique relation to the RC predicate. In other words, a NP with any semantic relation can be bound to a relative proform (YAQ). The above examples illustrate how agents, patients, benefactees, and recipients are relativized. Instruments, objects of comparison, and possessors are relativized as follows:

Instruments are always relativized within a YAQ-*ʔwʷat [L]* 'which used..' as bound object (or bound passive subject).

(472) *ya·q̣̈́wʷatnaq̣̈́ ʔuta·y ʕ̣̈́iʕ̣̈́a·ʔt ki·kʷi*
 /yaqʷ-ʔwʷat [L]-ʔat-na-qaʷ .. ʕ̣̈́i-ʕ̣̈́i(ʔ)-ʔat ki·kʷi·ʔi/
 which-use...-PASS-PAST-REL knife cut-MOM-PASS cake-DEF

It was THAT knife that the cake was cut with

Objects of comparison are relativized as objects bound to a YAQ-

-(č)ič [L] 'do to which' predicate, which governs the predicate of comparison as an oblique.

- (473) ʔu·cma ya·qʷičitq ʔi·h the woman whom he was bigger than
/.. yaqʷ-(č)ič [L]-ʔi·tq ../ woman which-do to..-REL big

Possessors can also be relativized in Kyuquot. They are bound objects of a YAQ-i·c 'belonging to whom' predicate.

- (474) huhtiki·s [yaqʷi·citq pikčasm inhi ha·kʷa·k]
/huhtik-(y)i·s yaqʷ-i·c-ʔi·tq pikčas-m inhi-ʔi· .. /
know-INDF-I which-belonging to..-REL picture-PL-DEF girl
I know the girl whose pictures those are

It is also possible to relativize a possessed NP in order to designate its possessor.

- (475) pikčasm inhi yaqʷukʷi ha·kʷa·k the pictures which are the girl's
/pikčas-m inhi-ʔi· yaqʷ-uk-(y)i· ha·kʷa·k-ʔi· /
picture-PL-DEF which-POSS-INDF girl-DEF

However, there is no way to introduce a relative clause which would modify a possessed NP which has an explicit NP possessor.

- (476) *pukuk ʔu·cma ya·qʷičnaqs ku·w ič the woman's book which I stole
/puk-uk .. yaqʷ-(č)ič [L]-na-qa·-s ../
book-POSS woman which-do to..-PAST-REL-I steal

This can be contrasted with (477) or even (474) where the possessor is introduced through a clausal construction and where it is the possessor, rather than the possessed, which is modified by a relative clause.

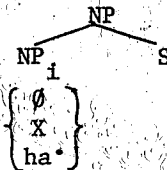
- (477) pukuk ʔu·cma yaqʷkʷupqs the book of the woman whom I like
/puk-uk .. yaqʷ-kʷup-qa·-s / book-POSS woman which-like..-REL-I

There are cases where both the possessor and possessed are relativized, but in such cases the possessor must be linked to the possessed NP by a relative clause rather than the possessive suffix -uk.

- (478) ʔu·cma yaqʷi·citq [puk ya·qʷičnaqs ku·w ič] the woman whose book I
/.. yaqʷ-i·c-ʔi·tq puk yaqʷ-(č)ič [L]-na-qa·-s ../ stole
woman which-belonging to-REL book which-do to..-PAST-REL-I steal

3.4.2.4. RC Structure

The structure of RC's can be generalized as follows. A NP can dominate a (RC) sentence or a NP plus a (RC) sentence.



The sister NP_i (coreferential to the dominating NP and to the relative clause proform) is in surface form either a nominal-headed NP (X) or the article *ha*. Alternatively the RC is headless with no NP_i being present (abbreviated above as '∅'). Examples of these three types of RC's are found in sentences (478), (479), and (467).

- (479) *huhtiki's* [*ha ya qhw' atatnaq (yuta'y)*] I know which knife was used
/huhtik-(y)i:-s .. yaq'-hw' at [L]-' at-na-qa' .. /
 know-INDF-I the which-use...PASS-PAST-REL knife

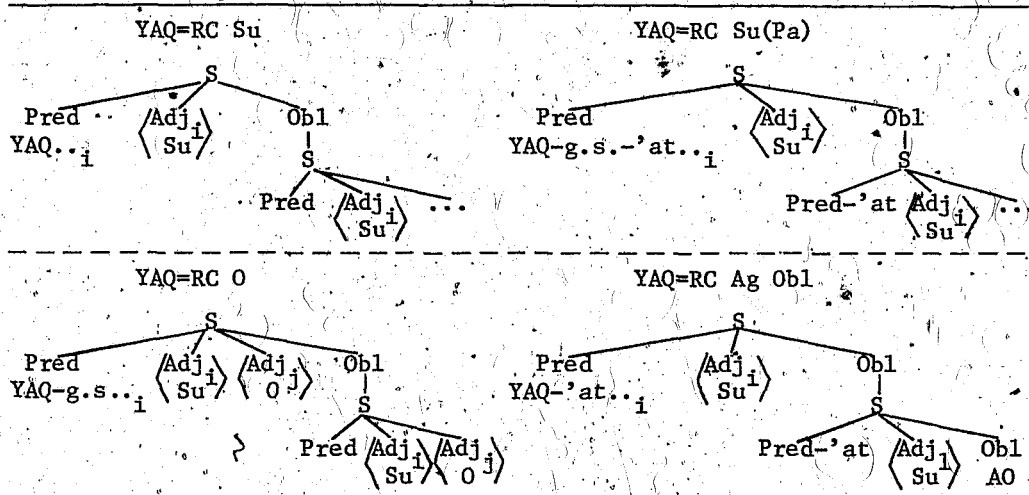
The RC sentence mirrors the structure of other sentences with topical predicates. In topical clauses, the subject can accompany the topical predicate or the 'lower' oblique predicate. Similarly, the adjuncts of YAQ sentences can serve as sisters to the YAQ predicate or to the 'lower' oblique predicate. In RC's, the NP can occur within the RC in a position normal for the NP's grammatical role as long as the RC clause does not have the same NP (X above) as a sister. If the latter situation occurs, the sentence is ungrammatical as in (480).

- (480) **huhtiki's* [*tu'ema yaqk' upitk tu'ema*]
/huhtik-(y)i:-s .. yaq'-k' up-?i'tk .. / know-INDF-I .. which-like-
 II(REL) ..

Below are given schemata of the structure of the sentential part of NP's having relative clauses. The angled brackets indicate that a given constituent occurs in either of the positions indicated. The abbreviation 'g.s.' indicates a governing (derivational) suffix. In all cases, the subject of the RC has a choice of positions and is always coreferential to the subject of the lower clause. In cases where YAQ is bound to the RC object, the object has a choice of positions if the governing suffix in

the YAQ predicate is $-(\mathcal{C})\dot{u}[L]$. In such a case, the object of the YAQ predicate is coreferential to the object of the lower clause.

FIGURE 2: RC STRUCTURES

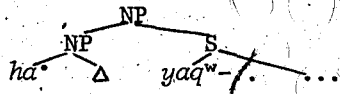


The basic relative clause structures for RC's bound to a NP are the following: $NP[S[YAQ...]]$, $NP[S[YAQ... NP_i...]]$, $NP[S[YAQ... Ob1[...NP_i]]]$, $NP[NP[ha^* NP_i] S[YAQ...]]$, and $NP[NP[ha^*] S[YAQ... NP_i...]]$. The second and fifth structural types cannot be used for agent oblique-bound RC's, because an agent oblique NP_i cannot serve as an adjunct to a predicate.

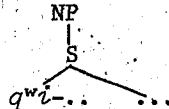
It does not appear satisfactory to attribute the sister NP_i (as in the fourth structure) to a cleft in which an adjunct precedes its predicate, despite the fact that there is a constraint preventing the cooccurrence of both a sister NP_i and a RC-internal NP_i . First, NP_i 's which are oblique agents to a RC predicate can precede that RC predicate as in example (470). In matrix nonrelative clauses, only adjuncts (i.e. subjects or objects) can precede their predicates, unless the predicate is $?uh^?at$, in which case the agent oblique can precede the predicate as well. Second, ha^* (the article) can precede the RC predicate even if there is a coreferential NP inside the RC as in (479). While it is true that the NP_i in the RC never contains ha^* itself, there is no other instance of a putative article-cleft construction in the language.

It is possible that the NP_i sister is due to copying, with obliga-

tory nonrepetition of the NP₁ elsewhere, i.e. in the RC. This still leaves *ha**, which cannot be a copy because *ha** never occurs within the RC in a NP coreferential to YAQ. It is suggested, therefore, that *ha** is an optional article modifier within a sister NP dominating a delta.



Note that in the above illustrative structure, the relative predicate is given as *yaq'-*. This is because the other relative predicate, *q'wi-* 'what', never occurs with a bound NP referent present, either inside or outside the RC. Its structure is therefore simply NP[S[*q'wi-*...]] or



This difference in structure follows from the role of *q'wi-* as a relative proform for a nonparticularized referent. If the referent is particularized by specification of its class membership or by a definite article, then restriction within the class must be expressed by *yaq'-*.

There are RC's involving one or more embedded clauses which have a coreferential NP₁ sited in a higher clause, not only one clause higher as in (464) but several clauses higher as in (481) and (482). In other words, the NP₁ coreferential to *yaq'-* is in the *yaq'-* clause and is one or more clauses removed from (higher than) the clause whose predicate would govern the NP₁ in a nonrelative and nontopical paraphrase.

- (481) *e'awa'kiš [ta'kinsi ya'q'w'nak [wikt'im [e'iyi'čə _]]]*
 /e'awa-ak'-?i'š ta'kins-?i' yaq'- (č)it [L]-na-k wikt-im e'is-č'i'č'i(κ)/
 one-DUR-IND stocking-DEF which-do to...-PAST-II(REL) not...times
 There's one stocking you didn't mend string-INC

- (482) *hini'č'ant [čakup ya'q'w'nak [?uwa [?in ?u'a'pmašəqə _ maht'i]]]*
 /hin-č'i'č'i(κ)-int .. yaq'- (č)it [L]-na-k ?u-wa' .. ?u-'a'p-mašəqə ../
 there(MOM)-INC-PAST man which-do to...-PAST-II(REL) it-say... that
 it-buy...want to... house
 The man whom you said wanted to buy the house came here

Such a situation occurs only for subordinate objects, i.e. objects of the

relative predicate and of the lower predicate. In the examples, *ta'kinsi* is the object of the relative predicate and of *e'iyi'ck*, while *čakup* is the object of the relative predicate and of *'uwa.*' Although examples of RC's in which the NP₁ is even more deeply embedded seem theoretically possible, native speakers seem to find such clauses awkward and prefer to employ several less complex sentences to express the desired content.

There is strong evidence that nominal-bound relative clauses together with their sister NP₁'s (if present) are dominated by NP. This complex NP (if grammatically a matrix subject or object), can be found in a cleft position preceding the matrix predicate, like other NP's.

(483) [k' ahaqsɪ ya'q'ɛnaqs ku'w' iɛ] k' iksa'p't The box I stole got broken
/k' ahaqs-?i' yaq'-(ɛ) iɛ [L]-na-qa'-s .. k' iksa-p'-at/
box-DEF which-do to..PAST-REL-I steal break-MOMCAUS-PASS

(484) [ya'q'ɛnaqs k' ahaqsɪ ku'w' iɛ] k' iksa'p't The box I stole got broken

(485) [ya'q'ɛnaqs ku'w' iɛ] k' iksa'p't The one I stole got broken

(486) [ha' ya'q'ɛnaqs k' ahaqsɪ ku'w' iɛ] k' iksa'p't
The box I stole got broken.

In contrast, RC's whose predicate is bound to a nonnominal referent cannot precede the matrix predicate. This supports the claims that only adjuncts (dominating NP) can precede the predicate and that nominal-bound RC's are NP's.

Such an adjunct-predicate cleft can occur with relative clause adjuncts, regardless of the type of relative clause (as in examples (483) to (486)), regardless of whether the relative clause is subject or object of the matrix predicate, and regardless of whether the bound NP is subject, object, or agent oblique of the relative predicate. In addition, either an adjunct-predicate cleft or an object-subject (i.e. adjunct-adjunct) cleft must take place when both relativized subject and a matrix object are present in a clause.

(487) ku'w' iɛiɛ ɛ'apɪq [qu'as yaqnaq haptɔ] The man who was hiding had
/ku'w' iɛ-?i'ɛ .. yaq'-na-qa' hapt-(y)a' / stolen a canoe
steal-IND canoe adult which-PAST-REL hide-CONT

(488) [qu[?]as yaqnaq hapta] ku^w i[?]iš č[?]apic DITTO

(489) *ku^w i[?]iš [qu[?]as yaqnaq hapta] č[?]apic

This cleft of the RC prevents ambiguity concerning where it ends and where the next NP (if there is one) begins and lessens the possibility of center-embedding. The participation of a RC in an adjunct-adjunct cleft as in (487) is additional evidence that RC's are syntactically treated as adjuncts.

3.4.2.5. Summary

This final section summarizes certain characteristics of relative clauses which identify them as sentences. First, relative clauses (including nominal-bound ones) can serve as independent matrix sentences. When the relative clause is affixed by the relative mood *-?i.tq*, the sentence has a deictic function.

(490) q^wisak[?]itq kah That's what happened at that point
/q^wis-[?]ak-?i.tq/ happen-TEM-REL now

(491) q^wa[?]naq [ya[?]qhw[?]abnaqs] That was like what I used
/q^wa[?]-na-qa[?] yaq^w-hw[?]ab [I]-na-qa[?]-s/
thus-PAST-REL which-use...-PAST-REL-I

(492) ?unah[?]itq ?ah k[?]abk[?]a[?]tqs (It was about the size of my finger
/?unah-?i.tq .. k[?]abk[?]a[?]-at-qa[?]-s/
as much-size-REL that finger-PASS(=POSS)-POSS-I

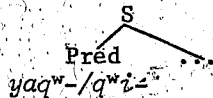
When the relative clause predicate is affixed by the indefinite relative mood *-(y)i:*, the sentence has a question function. Such a sentence is commonly but not necessarily introduced by the particle *č[?]u* 'well!, say!'.

(493) č[?]u q^wis[?]ap[?]i qu[?]asi ?ini[?]xi I wonder what the man did to the dog
/.. q^wis-[?]ap-(y)i: qu[?]as-?i[?] ?ini[?]-k-?i[?]/
well! happen-CAUS-INDF adult-DEF dog-DEF

(494) q^wa[?]?a[?]q^wi č[?]u[?]ema I wonder what the woman will be like
/q^wa[?]-?a:q^w-(y)i: ../
thus-FUT-INDF woman

- (495) *qu·m' aq' ičhaki ?una·k* I wonder how many years they had it
 /q' i-m' a-aq' i·čh-³ ač-(y)i: ?u-na·k'/
 which-..quantity-..years-TEM-INDF it-having..
- (496) *č'u· yaqi· qu·?asi ku·w' ič* I wonder which man stole it
 /.. yaq'- (y)i: qu·?as-?i'.. / well! which-INDF adult-DEF steal
- (497) *č'u· ?unich' upw' ič ač'i·k* I wonder how long you're going to
 /.. ?unich-m' u·p-w' ič' as-³ ač-(y)i: -k/ be away for
 well! how long-absent for..-about to..-TEM-INDF-II

There is one difference between matrix relative clauses and sententially-subordinate ones. Nominal-bound matrix relative clauses never have a sister NP. This, of course, makes sense if matrix RC's are of the shape



That is, the matrix RC sentence is not dominated NP and hence cannot be associated with a NP sister.

A second sentential characteristic of relative clauses is that they themselves can dominate clauses, e.g. relative clauses as in (498) and (499) or oblique clauses as in (500).

- (498) *ta' kšik [piha_o [q' a·?ap' itq ha· Obi [q' ič' ač' ič' itq]]]*
 /tak-[L]-š(i)(k) pič-(y)a· q' a·-³ ap-?i·tq .. q' i-c-?i:-š(i)(k)-?i·tq/
 each-GRAD-MOM notice-CONT thus-CAUS-REL the which-at-go to..-MOM-REL
 He always noticed what he_j was doing at the places he went to
- (499) *[yaq' i·c-?i·tq č'im' aqst' i_{Su} [q' a·?ap' itq ač']]*
 /yaq'-i·c-?i·tq č'im' aqst-?i· q' a·-³ ap-?i·tq-?a·č' /
 which-belonging to..-REL smart-DEF thus-CAUS-REL-PL
 He's the smart one that the ones who are doing that (whaling) belong to. He's the leader of the whalers
- (500) *?i· qhuk' ?a· qh' i·s [q' is' ?a· qh' qs Obi [hini·k]]]*
 /?i· qh-uk-?a: qh-(y)i:-s q' is-?a: qh-qa'-s hin.-³ i·(k) /
 tell-DUR-FUT-INDF-I do what-FUT-REL-I there(MOM)-outside(MOM)
 I'm going to tell (you) what I'll do in order to get outside

A third sentential feature of relative clauses is that appropriate constituents can occur in cleft positions. We have already seen sentences in which the bound NP of a relative clause precedes the relative predicate (cf. (482) and (487) for example). However, in addition, nonbound NP's can precede the relative clause predicate, whether in nonnominal-bound relative clauses such as (501) or in nominal-bound relative clauses such as (502) and (503).

(501) *q^wa[?]yi[?]č [qu[?]as q^wa[?]i[?]tq]* I wonder if they (dogs) are like
 /q^wa[?]-(y)i[?]:-č .. q^wa[?]-i[?]tq/ people are
 thus-INDF-INF adult thus-REL

(502) *huhtikin [qu[?]asi q^wi[?]yi[?]tq tu[?]ema]*
 /huhtik-(y)i[?]-n qu[?]as-?i[?] q^wi[?]-(y)i[?]-?i[?]tq ../
 know-INDF-IP adult-DEF which-give...-REL
 We know what the man gave to the woman

(503) *huhtiki[?]s [tu[?]ema ya[?]q^wi[?]tq huht qu[?]as]*
 /huhtik-(y)i[?]:-s .. yaq^w-(č) i[?] [L]-?i[?]tq .. ./
 know-INDF-1 woman which-do to...-REL good (to) adult
 1. I know the woman whom the man is good to
 2. I know the man whom the woman is good to

Clearly, in sentences (502) and (503), the NP preceding the relative predicate cannot be a sister NP₁ because it is not bound to the relative proform. It could be there only if the relative clause is assumed to have the syntactic shape of a cleft construction.

In sentence (503), the RC-initial NP can be interpreted as either the subject or object of the relative clause. The first reading is the standard one, in which the bound NP occurs preceding the predicate either as a NP₁ sister or due to an adjunct-predicate cleft. The second reading, which is equally acceptable, is also accounted for as an adjunct-predicate cleft construction, but in this case it is a cleft construction in which the nonbound relative clause adjunct (in this case the relative clause subject) precedes the relative predicate. Clefting of the nonbound adjunct in a nominal-bound RC can occur whether the nonbound adjunct is subject or object of the relative clause.

The above clefting characteristics of relative clauses leads to the fourth characteristic of RC's. Although the grammatical relation of a RC's bound referent is defined by the RC predicate's structure, the grammatical relation of a particular NP constituent within a RC is not uniquely identified as having a certain grammatical relation to the predicate. Just as with other types of clauses, there is no morphological signalling of case within relative clauses. In addition, due to word order variation, there is no necessarily present syntactic cue for grammatical relations. For example, it is not always clear whether a certain NP is coreferential to a nominal-bound relative predicate as in (503). Consider the following sentences and their readings.

(504) *hiššik* [*yaqk' upitq bu'ema*]
 /*his-šik*(κ) *yaq^w-k' up-?i-tq* .. / hit-MOM which-like..-REL woman

1. He hit the one the woman likes
2. He hit the woman whom he_{i/j} likes

(505) *hiššik* [*bu'ema yaqk' upitq*] DITTO (both readings)

(506) *hayimhiyi's* [*ya'atitq hišša' ?t bu'ema*]
 /*hayimhi-(y)i:-s yaq^w-'at-?i-tq his-šik*(κ)-'at .. /
 not know-INDF-I which-PASS-REL hit-MOM-PASS woman

1. I don't know the one whom the woman was hit by
2. I don't know the woman whom he was hit by

(507) *hayimhiyi's* [*bu'ema ya'atitq hišša' ?t*] DITTO (both readings)

In (504) and (505), regardless of the position of *bu'ema*, that NP can be interpreted as either the nonbound relative clause subject or the bound relative clause object (identified as object by the governing suffix in the relative predicate). In (506) and (507), regardless of the position of *bu'ema*, that NP can be interpreted as either the nonbound patient subject of the relative clause or the bound relative clause agent oblique (identified as agent oblique by the presence of *-'at* and the absence of a governing suffix in the relative predicate).

Generally, such ambiguity of a NP's grammatical role in a relative clause concerns whether the NP is coreferential to the nominal-bound relative clause proform (*yaq^w-* or *q^wi-*) or is subject of the relative

clause. Such ambiguity occurs when both NP's are third person. If either NP were first or second person, the pronominal affix attached to the relative predicate would indicate which NP were subject. In cases where there is ambiguity, it appears that disambiguation depends on linguistic context and the speakers' and listeners' knowledge of their world. For example, it is known that animate NP's generally have control (i.e. are active subjects or passive agent obliques) of inanimate NP's.

3.4.3. Coordinate Clauses

The following section concerns coordinate clauses. Complex clauses composed of two or more clauses of which at least two are not embedded in any other clause in the sentence are termed 'coordinate' clauses. This type of clause, which is very common in Kyuquot, is identified in one of the following ways. One of a pair of clauses is introduced by a particle, a conjunction, or both a particle and a conjunction. The predicate of one of a pair of clauses is affixed by a mood morpheme designating that clause as subordinate. Third, one of a pair of clauses includes a referential base, or a quoting predicate, or a temporal constituent referring to the content of the other clause. There are also coordinate constructions in which neither clause is marked as coordinate. In such cases, all clauses share some semantic or discourse-based characteristics lending cohesion to what otherwise might be interpreted as a set of independent sentences. Such characteristics include a shared coreferential subject, object, or other NP or an identical predicate or clause structure. The above sequence of coordinate clause types is ordered roughly by the degree of identification expressed through various linguistic cues. This sequence is followed in the following presentation.

3.4.3.1. Particle-cued Coordinate Clauses

Particle-cued coordinate clauses include ones beginning with *?uh?is* 'and', *wa'y* 'or', and *?in* 'that'. When a coordinate clause is headed by a particle, its predicate (affixed by the clause-level inflectional morphemes) follows that particle and precedes all adjuncts. Adjunct-predicate clefts do not occur in such a context. Evidently, only one non-

predicative constituent can precede the predicate.

The *ʔuhʔiʃ* particle is used mostly to conjoin NP's. It is also occasionally used to conjoin clauses (separated in the examples by a colon).

- (508) *ʔapeʔaqimʔupʔkiʔs : ʔuhʔiʃ nʔiʔkʔimʔup*
/ʔape-ʔa-(q)imʔ-ʔuʔp-ʔak-(y)iʔ-s .. nʔiʔk-(q)imʔ-ʔuʔp/
 vanish- ? -round-CAUS-TEM-INDF-I and turn inside out-round-CAUS
 I turned it inside out and then back the other way

The second particle *waʔy* is much more common. It has as alternate forms *wiʔy*, *wiʔ*, and *waʔ* and has a wide range of meaning as illustrated in the following sentences.

- (509) *ʔacuknaʔ : way kamatqnaʔ* Did he walk or run?
/ʔac-uk-na-ʔaʔ .. kamatq-na-ʔaʔ/ step-DUR-PAST-QUE .. run-PAST-QUE
- (510) *ʔathʃaʔʔquʔc : wiʔy nʔaʔsʃaʔʔquʔc* It got to be night, then day..
/ʔath-ʃiʔ(ʔ)-ʔak-quʔ-c .. nʔaʔs-ʃiʔ(ʔ)-ʔak-quʔ-c/
 night-MOM-TEM-COND-INF .. day-MOM-TEM-COND-INF
- (511) *suʔpsiʔkʔʔqʔin : wiʔmaʔsyaʔc* We had them in soup and even
/suʔp-siʔkʔ-ʔak-quʔ-n .. maʔs.-ʔaq-ʔiʔc/ grilled
 soup-make...-TEM-COND-IP .. grill...-ed-eat..

In general, *waʔy* is used to separate clauses which are in some sense opposed to one another; for example, as alternates in (509), as alternating events in (510), or as events graded along some continuum in which the marked clause is the more unexpected or surprising as in (511).

Both *waʔy* and *ʔuhʔiʃ* can serve to introduce matrix clauses as in the following example.

- (512) *wayka ʔiʔhatipʔʔquʔska* After a pause I would again thrust down
/way-kaʔ ʔiʔʔatu-ipʔ-ʔak-quʔ-s-kaʔ/ my board
 or-again thin object-down-CAUS-TEM-COND-I-again

The inflecting particle *ʔin* is also used to identify a coordinate clause. It inflects for certain persons (I, II, IIp), moods (INF), and tenses (FUT). We have already observed *ʔin* in a complementizer role. In addition, it can serve as a meaning-bearing subordinating element

in a clause which is adjoined to a second clause whose predicate is not normally associated with a complement. In such a context, the function of *?in* is contrastive or causal. The contrastive function is relatively rare but suggests that *?in* may be etymologically related to *?ana-* 'only' (and the Port Alberni Nootka *?ana-* 'but' which has no other cognate in Kyuquot).

- (513) *ka?u?matk : ?in qi?t?inamatk ?uh* It may have been another, but she
/ka?u?-matak .. qi?-t?i:na-matak ?u-h/ must have lived long ago
 other-POSB .. long time-slightly-POSB it-ABS

There are at least three readings of *?in* when serving a causal function. In the first, it marks the clause which is the known or inferred cause of or reason for some other event expressed in adjacent clause.

- (514) *e?usyit hu? : ?in kahinti?e* It's still dug up there, because it
/e?us-yit kah-int-(y)i:-e/ happened recently
 dug-traces of.. there .. now-PAST-INDF-INF

- (515) *wik?im ha?uk?p kah : ?in ta?i? Don't feed her now because she's sick*
/wik?-i?-m ha?uk?-?ap/ not-IMPV-FUT eat(DUR)-CAUS now .. sick

In the second reading, *?in* marks a clause which is the purpose for which the event expressed in an adjacent clause is performed. In such a future-oriented clause, the future morpheme associated only with *?in* (i.e. *-ki?*) can, but does not necessarily, occur.

- (516) *ka?mit?i?htints : ?in?i?s qahsa?p?t* I was chased to be killed
/kamitq?-?i:h [L]-?at-int-s ?in-ki?-s qah-sa?p?-?at/
 run-try to get..-PASS-PAST-I that-FUT-I die-MOMCAUS-PASS

- (517) *hiy?ah?i?e : ?in?i? wi?na* They (came) there to invade/ result-
/hiy?ah-(y)i:-e ?in-?i? .. / ing in their invading
 there-INDF-INF that-see (< *?in n?i?i* that see!) invade

The last sentence is glossed twice to show the relationship between the second and third readings of *?in*. Whereas the second or purpose reading looks forward to the outcome of an event, the third reading looks backward on the outcome or result of an event. In this latter reading, *?in* marks a clause, which is typically independent, as the result of a

known or inferred cause. In such cases, ?in is never inflected for future tense.

- (518) nu?aqšx She drank (the potion)
 /nu?a-qš-š(i)(x)/ comply-in vessel-MOM
 ?inš(i) ?i-wičx ha qu?asi Hence a person (in her womb) grew
 /?in-š(i) ?i:h^w-i-č(i)(x) .. qu?as-?i/ so-see! big-INC the adult-DEF

- (519) ?uya.qki.č wi.k?abkš(i)?ax t He wasn't being noticed then
 /?u-(y)i-?a:qk-(y)i:-č wík-?abuk [L]-š(i)(x)-ax-at/
 it..time-FUT-INDF-INF not-notice..-MOM-TEM-PASS
 ?inš(i) ki.hšix tana?x ha... So he paddled off far away
 /?in-š(i) kih-[L]-š(i)(x) tani-ax ha-[L]/
 so-see! paddle-GRAD-MOM really-TEM there-EMPH

The perceived relation between sentences in such pairs is strong. Native speakers are often hard pressed to decide if ?in or ?inš(i) should end the first sentence or begin the second, although confident that the sentences are independent.

Clauses headed by ?in when it has a cause or purpose reading can also be independent.

- (520) ?ins ?uchinmāšqki.s su.tiš I want to marry you (proposal)
 /?in-š ?u-čhi-nu(x)-mašaqk-(y)i:-s sut-(č)iš [L] /
 since-I it-married to..-MOM-want to..-INDF-I you-do to..
- (521) ?inš(i) n'aca ?acyum inš(i) It was so they could see the fisher-
 /?in-xi n'ac-(y)a. ?ac-yu-m inš-?i/ men (that they had lamps)
 so-FUT see-CONT go out...-ed-PL-DEF

In the following excerpt from a text, a reason clause is closely followed by a result clause, both of which are introduced by ?in.

- (522) wi.kšaha.qki.cu.š You'll be fine
 /wík-šahi [L]-?a:qk-icu:š/ not..wrong-FUT-IIp(IND)
 ?inš(i) ?aya ha?um ?ahku For there's lots of food here
 /?in-š(i) / for-see! much food here
 hi.s ha.y'waxqu It's here when the tide goes out
 /hiš-čis ha.y' i-u(x)-ax-qu/ here-beach recede-at rock-TEM-COND

?inši k'ama y'a'is — Then it's full of butterclams
 /?in-ši k'am-(y)a' .. / so-see! full-CONT butterclam

The last sentence in (522) is a result with respect to the third, but a reason with respect to the first.

In Nootka, a result or cause clause marked by *?in* can follow the clause or sentence with which it is associated (as in the above examples) or it can precede as in (523).

(523) *?in k'awi'čk : čimqstu*pi'k si'čič* By visiting, you make me happy
 /?in-k k'awá- i'čič(κ) čim.-'aqst-u'p-(y)i:-k si-(č)ič [L] /
 since-II near-INC right-inside-CAUS-INDF-II I-do to..

3.4.3.2. Conjunction-cued Coordinate Clauses

There are two conjunctive predicates which accompany *?in* in clauses which have characteristic paraphrases. These predicates are *šac'i's* 'persist, despite' and *?uwi'k* 'because, on account of'. In the case of *šac'i's*, the paraphrases are illustrated by the following set of forms.

(524) *šihša'k : šac'i's ?in wi'k'čk* She cried; yet no one noticed
 /ših-ši(κ)-'ak .. : wik-'ččuk [L] / cry-MOM-TEM not-notice..

(525) *šac'i's šihša'k : ?in wi'k'čk* Despite crying, no one noticed

Clauses beginning with *šac'i's* are frequently independent as in (526).

(526) *m'a'km'a'yak'i'č* He kept gnawing
 /CVC#m'a-[L]-(y)a-'ak-(y)i:-č / IT-bite-GRAD-REP-TEM-INDF-INF
šac'i's ?in wik'čč Yet there was nothing on it
 /.. .. wik-'čč / despite that not-on surface

Whether independent or not, both *šac'i's* and *?uwi'k* are either variable or in transition with respect to their syntactic role. At times they behave like normal inflected predicates.

(527) *hultiki's ?in m'ik'a* I know it's raining
 /hultik-(y)i:-s .. m'ik-(y)a' / know-INDF-I that rain-CONT
šac'i's sa'qks ya'čič But I'll go out anyways
 /šac'i's-'a:qk-s yac-[L]-šič(κ) / yet-FUT-I step-GRAD-MOM

At other times, they behave like particles associated with an inflected predicate,

- (528) *wi·nap^hatintin* We stayed home
 /*wi·nap-^hat-int-in*/ stay-in house-TEM-PAST-IP
ʕac^hi·s ?in habi·batintin Bob ?as^hin^hqu·n
 /... .. *h^hat-int-in* .. *?ac-^hi(κ)-qu·-n*/
 despite that invite-PASS-PAST-IP Bob go out-MOM-COND-IP
 Even though Bob asked us to go out fishing with him

In the case of *?urwi·κ*, the presence of *?in* is critical. If *?in* is present, the *?in*-marked clause is the reason or cause of a result. The *?urwi·κ* predicate can introduce the result as in (529) or it may occur with *?in* in the reason clause as in (530).

- (529) *?urwi·κ ʕu^hʕi^hκ : ?in m^hi^hκ^h·nt* The reason it rusted is that it
 /*?u-urwi·(κ) ʕu^h-^hi(κ) .. m^hi^hκ^h·(y)κ^h-int*/ rained
 it-because of... rust-MOM that rain-CONT-PAST

- (530) *ʕu^hʕi^hκ : ?urwi·κ ?in m^hi^hκ^h·nt* It rusted because it rained

Both *?urwi·κ* and *ʕac^hi·s* predicates can occur in matrix clauses whether or not *?in* is present and whether or not a subordinate or coordinate clause is present.

Consider now the regular conjunctive predicates. Syntactically, they are like any complement-taking predicates requiring coreferential subjects, except that they are perhaps more likely to be interpreted as a coordinate clause within a compound sentence. This is, however, not necessary. Clauses with conjunctive head predicates can serve as independent matrix clauses with or without an associated coordinate clause-mate. The predicates here considered conjunctive include *q^hah^hta-* 'but, nevertheless', *?inhi-* 'but, only', *?ah^ha-* 'and then', and *?uhtas* 'and then'. Like other predicates, they can serve as matrix predicates as in (531) and (532) or as predicates of coordinate clauses as in (533) and (534). They do not however appear to serve as the predicate of the first of a set of coordinate clauses, unless the conjunction in fact has all the subsequent coordinate clauses within its scope.

- (531) *hayimhiyi·s q^wi·hw^o aba·q^hi·k* I don't know what you'll do with it
 /*hayimhi-(y)i:-s q^wi-hw^o a^b [L]-?a:q^h-(y)i:-k/*
 not know-INDF-I what-use..-FUT-INDF-II
?in^ha·?k im ?u^oa·?k^w But just be careful
 /*in^hi-^o a^k-^o i·-m ?u-?a·?buk/* but-TEM-IMPV-FUT it-take care of..
- (532) *?uhtasayin wa^bšⁱšⁱk* Then we went home
 /*?uhtasa-(y)i:-n wa^b-šⁱ(k)/* then-INDF-IP go home-MOM
- (533) *k^oupa·t tani : q^oahta·k ha^ouk* It was hot (fish) yet he ate it
 ·/k^oup-(y)a·-^oa^b .. q^oahta-^o a^k .. / hot-CONT-on really yet-TEM eat
- (534) *m^o ašsa·?k : ?ah^oa·k m^o i^hša·?k* It got cold and started to rain
 /*m^o aš-šⁱ(k)-^o a^k?ah^oa·-^o a^k m^o i^h-šⁱ(k)-^o a^k/*
 cold-MOM-TEM and-TEM rain-MOM-TEM

The predicate *?ah^oa·-* may be the same morpheme as the deictic meaning 'there'. Used as a conjunctive predicate, it conjoins two simultaneous or noncausally-linked events. In contrast, *?uhtas* is typically used to link temporally-sequential events.

Few reasons exist for distinguishing conjunctive predicates from other predicates. At present, three present themselves: the variability concerning the position of clause-level inflection (on the conjunctive predicate or the predicate it precedes), the tendency to occur within a conjoined clause, and finally the tendency to phonological degrading. Within a relatively formal but not forced speech style such as storytelling, conjunctive predicates as a class tend to be pronounced in truncated forms: *wa·y* as *wi·*, *wi*, *wa*; *?u^h?iš* as *?u^hiš*, *hiš*, *?iš*; *?unwi·k* as *?i·š*; *q^oahta·k* as *q^oa·(h)š*, *taš*; *?ah^oa·k* as *ha·k*; *?uhtas* as *?uhs*; *?in n^oišⁱ* as *?inšⁱ(·)*; and finally any of *?unu·k ?in*, *q^oahta·k ?in*, *?ah^oa·k ?in*, or *?in^ha·k ?in* as *kin*. Such massive phonological contraction is not otherwise characteristic of such a speech style.

3.4.3.3. Other Cued Coordinate Clauses

There are coordinate clauses where one clause is semantically subordinate and is identified as such by its mood. Moods bearing such a function include *-qu*: COND, *-qa·* SUB (subordinate), and *-^oah* PURP (purp-

osive). The subordinate clause can be sentence-initial as in (535) or sentence-final as in (536) and (537).

- (535) *ʔathšaʔkqu : wiʔnaʔin* When night falls, we'll invade
 /ʔath-ʒi(ʔ)-ʔak-qu: wiʔnaʔiʔ-n/ night-MOM-TEM-COND invade-IMPV-IP
- (536) *nʔaciʔčək siʔčičiʔ : hisimyiʔsq* He saw me when I was working at the
 /nʔaca-ciʔčiči(ʔ) si-(č)ič [L] his.-maʔ-čis-qaʔ-s/ beach
 see-INC I-do to.. there-move about-at beach-SUB-I
- (537) *huʔacčičiʔin : hininʔaʔn* Let's go back to look for it
 /huʔa-ca-ʒi(ʔ)-ʔiʔ-n hin.-inʔ-ʔaʔ-n/ back-to-MOM-IMPV-IP there(MOM)-
 seek..-PURP-IP

Any of these mood-marked clauses can be sententially independent as well. Therefore, they are classed as coordinate rather than true subordinate clauses when adjoining another clause in a compound sentence.

There are also sentences in which coordinate clauses may be said to be marked by having a nonsubordinate clause which is headed by a referential or quoting predicate. In the referential type, the 'subordinate' clause has a predicate bound to the referential predicate of the non-subordinate clause.

- (538) *qʔaʔapintaʔ : huʔthuʔ* That's what they were doing: dancing
 /qʔaʔ-ʔap-int-ʔaʔ .. / thus-CAUS-PAST-PL dance

In the quoting type, the 'subordinate' clause is a direct quote, signalled as such by a predicate of saying, generally *waʔ* - 'say'.

- (539) *mamuʔkʔaʔqʔin hiʔ : waʔʔaxiʔs* "Let's work here", I said
 /mamuʔ-uk-ʔaʔqʔ-in .. waʔ-ʔax-(y)iʔ-s/ work-DUR-FUT-IP .. say-TEM-
 INDF-I

As in other cases, the quoting and the quoted clause can be conjoined in either order, although the *waʔ*- clause tends to be sentence-final. In addition, the two clauses may occur as independent but sequential sentences. Quoting clauses may also occur between quoted clauses as in English.

- (540) *huʔacčičiʔkqu : waʔʔax haʔ ;* "When we go back", said the man,
 /huʔa-ca-ʒi(ʔ)-ʔak-qu:-n waʔ-ʔax .. / back-at-MOM-TEM-COND-IP say-TEM
 ʔuyaʔkin haʔm iʔ "we'll go see (at that time)"
 ʔu-(y)iʔ-ʔax-in .. / it..time-TEM-IP watch

There is another way in which *wa*- is like a referential or relative predicate. Like them, and unlike other predicates, *wa*- can be affixed by the indefinite mood *-(y)i:* to form a content question.

- (541) *ču wa·yi·k nu·hiš* What did you say to us?
 /...*wa*-(y)i:-k nuh-(č)iš [L]/ well! say-INDF-II Ip-do to..

There is a final sentence type of marked coordinate clause, the temporal sequence type. Kyuquot has a set of morphemes used to sequence events. When a clause is thus marked, it is likely that that clause will be conjoined to a second clause expressing an event asserted to be in a particular temporal relation to the event asserted in the temporally-marked clause. There are three relations: before, after, and simultaneous. A before clause is introduced by *wikyu* 'have not' as in (542) and an after clause by *hawa*·ʔk 'finish' as in (543).

- (542) *č'i?akwa?pa·qk : wikyu·qu ku·čič* She'll cut it before she
 /č'i-(?a)kwa-?ap-?a:qk wik-yu-qu: .. / cleans it
 cut-completely-CAUS-FUT not...-ed-COND

- (543) *hawa·kqs ha?uk : naqša·ʔki·s* After I ate, I had a drink
 /hawi-?ak-qa·-s .. naq-š(i)k-?ak-(y)i:-s/
 finish-TEM-SUB-I eat(DUR) drink-MOM-TEM-INDF-I

A simultaneous time clause is introduced by *miš*- 'same as' or a predicate which includes either *-(q)h* 'meanwhile' or *-p'ičh* 'while'.

- (544) *č'iya : mišha·ʔk ku·čič* She cut it as she cleaned it
 /č'i-(y)a miš-hi·-?ak / cut-CONT same-DUR-TEM clean(fish)
- (545) *ci·qp'ičh : ha?uk* She talked while eating
 /ciq-[L]-p'ičh .. / speak-GRAD-while eat(DUR)

The temporal affix is attached to the predicate of the clause which is the 'ground' during which the event expressed in the other clause takes place. Contrast the temporal relations in the following two sentences.

- (546) *ci·qci·q : wa?ičh* He was talking in his sleep
 /CVC#ciq-[L]-(y)a wa?ič-(q)h/ IT-talk-GRAD-REP sleep-meanwhile
- (547) *wabyu·qh : wa?ič* While he was at home, he slept
 /wab-yu·-(q)h .. / go home...-ed-meanwhile

Other temporal relations, such as those of duration or a particular time-point, are expressed by temporal predicates. Duration which includes the present time is expressed by a temporal predicate affixed by -³ak TEM 'at the time'.

- (548) *qi·qʔi·čhšaʔk tʔi·cnašʔ* He's been playing ball a long time
/qʔi·-qʔi·čh-šʔi(ʔ)-³ak tʔi·-(c)šnašʔ/ long-..years-MOM-TEM throw-handle..

When an event occurred or will occur a certain length of time from the present, it is expressed as a clause governed by either a negative or a *qʔiya-* 'when' clause, the former emphasizing the nonoccurrence of the event in the interim and the latter emphasizing its ultimate occurrence.

- (549) *nʔ upqʔi·čhpaʔk wik hini·čk* He came a year ago. He hasn't
/nʔ up-qʔi·čh-³ak .. hin.-.ʔi:-šʔi(ʔ)/ come for a year
 one-..year-TEM not there(MOM)-go to..-MOM
- (550) *nʔ upqʔi·čha·qk wik hini·čk* He will come in a year (from now)
- (551) *nʔ upqʔi·čhaʔk qʔiya·tq hini·čk* He came a year ago. He hasn't come
 for a year. It's a year since
 he came.

When an event occurred or will occur for a certain duration or series of time-points in the past or future (but not in the present), it is normally expressed in a sentence with either a matrix or an oblique temporal predicate. The matrix predicate optionally takes any or all of the tense affixes.

- (552) *qi·ʔakint tʔi·cnašʔ* He played ball for a long time
/qi·-³ak-int tʔi·-(c)šnašʔ/ long-TEM-PAST throw-handle..
- (553) *qi·ʔa·qk·k hu·čhu·č* You'll be dancing a long time
/qi·-ʔa:qk-(y)i:-k .. / long-FUT-INDF-II dance

When the sentence describes a past event, it often includes a negative clause indicating that the event no longer occurs.

- (554) *takšixints nʔ ačʔat pi·pa : wiki·čaʔks* I used to always read the
/tak-šʔi(ʔ)-int-s nʔ ač-ʔat .. wik-^ci·čʔi(ʔ)-³ak-s/ paper
 each-MOM-PAST-I see-on surface paper not-INC-TEM-I

In summary, the above types of coordinate clauses are identified

as such in one of the following ways: a conjunctive particle or predicate, a subordinate mood, or a referring, quoting, or temporal predicate.

3.4.3.4. Noncued Coordinate Clauses

The vast majority of coordinate clauses are not cued as such. However, most coordinate clauses do share the same tense, mood, and voice (i.e. unmarked and active). They also commonly share a coreferential subject and are linked by some semantic relation. For example, the second clause can indicate an event subsequent in time to the first and often a result of the first. It can constitute a cause, explanation, or expansion of the first clause. Finally, it could repeat the assertion of the first clause in order to express emphasis, duration in time, or extension in space.

Coordinate clauses, however, need not agree in tense or mood.

Consider the following example.

(555) *ʔihak : k.ɪksa.pʰ tkʷindaʔs* She's crying; hers must have got
ʔih-akʷ kʷ iksa.pʰ at-uk-ɪnt-ɔ-ʔs/ broken
 cry-DUR break-MOMCAUS-PASS-POSS-PAST-INF-EVID

Now, need they agree in voice. The difference in voice is not necessarily a device to maintain subject coreferentiality in coordinate clauses. Both voice and subject referents can differ in a pair of such clauses as in (556).

(556) *hɪnɪ.ɔ.ɔx : ʔukʷi.ɬwʷ ɔtət pi.ʔs*
hɪn.-i.ɔ.ɔx ʔu-(ɔ) i.ɬ-wʷ itʰ as-ʔ at-ʔa.ɬ . ./
 there(MOM)-carry along.-TEM it-make.-about to.-PASS-PL

They took her; fish was going to be dried (by them)

In addition, the subject of one coordinate clause can be coreferential to the object of the other, even in a sentence where the passivization of one clause would have rendered the subjects coreferential. Finally, there are sentences in which there is no point of NP coreferentiality.

(557) *kimksi.ɔay : yʷ imqimʷ ukiʔs* Wake up! Something terrible has
kim-ksi(ɪ)-i.ɔ-ay yʷ im.-(q)imʷ-u(ɪ)-ʔi.ʔs/ happened!
 awake-MOM-IMPV-PL-VOC unsatisfactory-around-MOM-IND

(558) *ʔaŋa hiŋin : ʔaŋaʔa hiŋuk-ən hiŋi-ɛ* Two came; the rest stayed
 / . hiŋ-in , hiŋ-uk-ən hiŋi-ɛ/ home
 two there(MOM)-come then all-DUR-TEM peaceable-at house

There is little syntactic motivation for identifying such clauses as conjoined rather than independent other than the minimizing of the inter-clause pause for the conjoined clauses. This is, however, not a reliable sign of coordination. Words, even if separated by clause or sentence boundaries, can fuse as a result of consonant deletion and vowel elision. Clauses are identified as coordinate if they involve much redundancy or refer to temporally sequential or causally-related events. On the other hand, clauses which are climactic, especially ones marked by *ʔi* (cf. section 4.2.1), are usually independent or at least sentence-initial.

3.5. Discourse

The preceding sections have surveyed the rules of Kyuquot sentence structure, rules largely stateable in relation to sentences as independent entities. There are, however, sentences, such as those including passive or conjunction-headed constructions, whose grammaticality is partly a function of the discourse context. In this section are examined a number of other phenomena which are influenced by discourse context. These include anaphora, focusing strategies, and favorite sentence types.

3.5.1 Anaphora

In anaphora, a constituent is omitted or replaced by another form when coreferential or identical (in form and/or sense) to some constituent prior to it or anticipated in the clause, sentence, or discourse context. The constituent's head can belong to any semantic class and any syntactic constituent-type.

3.5.1.1. Non-NP Anaphora

A non-NP constituent can be referred to or anticipated (i.e. symbolized as X...A or A...X respectively, where A is *anaphor* and X is *antecedent*) by a referential or relative constituent across clause or

sentence boundaries. By the shape of the referring root, the semantic class of the antecedent (or its head) can be identified (cf. sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2). The verbal, adjectival, and quantity anaphors denote either the particular instance (as in (559)) or an equivalent instance (as in (560)) of the event.

(559) *q^wisʔaʔ : m^ʔixsaʔʔ* Then it happened: it started to
 /q^wis-ʔ aʔ m^ʔix-ʔi(ʔ)-ʔ aʔ/ happen-TEM rain-MOM-TEM rain

(560) *kamitqšaʔʔ Mary : q^wisʔaʔʔa Jo* Mary started to run; Jo did too
 /kamitq^wʔi(ʔ)-ʔ aʔ .. q^wis-ʔ aʔ-ʔaʔ .. / run-MOM-TEM .. happen-TEM-again

Similarly, *q^wa* 'thus' can indicate comparisons as in *Jo is like her mother* or identity as in *That's how the teacher is*. Temporal and locative bases indicate the particular case as in *the time when she ran away* or *That's where it rained* (unless affixed by *-(y)i: ENDF*). All relative anaphors affixed by *-(y)i: ENDF* indicate an unparticularized (but potentially particular) case as in *whatever she did, whenever it rains, or however many times he told the story*.

A language's permanent registry (cf. Hinds 1978) includes those anaphors whose referents are permanently and uniquely specified for all speakers. In Kyuquot, such anaphors can be universal, e.g. those of first and second person pronominals (referring to speaker and listener respectively), language-specific, e.g. deictics such as *ʔalm^ʔi* 'there, near the listener', or culture-specific. For example, a verbal anaphor can refer to a unique behavior such as playing tricks if associated with a particular NP participant such as Raven in (561).

(561) *q^wisʔaʔʔa qu^ʔiʔim^ʔt* Raven was at it again (up to his
old tricks)

Also, an anaphor can have a culturally-preferred antecedent if none is specified in the discourse. For example, a quantity of temporal repetitions is understood as referring to four times in culturally-important (e.g. sacred or powerful) contexts.

(562) *qu^ʔm^ʔap^ʔt ʔ aph^ʔaʔiʔt^ʔp tup^ʔabi* That many times he slammed the
water (with the magic hair)
/q^wi-m^ʔ a-p^ʔ it ʔ aph^ʔ-aʔiʔt^ʔ-ʔ ap tup^ʔ aʔ-ʔi^ʔ/
which-..quantity-..times slam-on water-CAUS sea-DEL

Anaphora can consist of ellipsis, i.e. the absence of the constituent. Ellipsis can be rightward (..X..Ø..), i.e. with a rightward constituent absent, or leftward (..Ø..X..), i.e. with a leftward one absent. Leftward ellipsis (of predicates here) serves to build suspense and increase a constituent's definiteness and specificity.

- (563) *ʔuhʔatnaqu·č* _____ It was done by them (sailors)
/ʔu-ʔ-(q)ʔ-ʔ at-na-qu-č/ it-ABS-SIM-PASS-PAST-COND-INF
ʔahʔa·k hiyi·xʔati There was a mad one
/ʔahʔa·-ʔ ak hiyi·xʔat-ʔi·/ there-TEM mad-DEF
ʔu·šsu·qk ʔin qʔa·ʔapʔ akʔ t He was mad that she was treated thus
/.. .. qʔa·-ʔ ap-ʔ ak-ʔ at/ mad that thus-CAUS-TEM-PASS
piša·p ʔu·kʔ tʔ anʔ a·si They were bouncing the baby around
/pis·-(y)a·-ʔ ap .. tʔ anʔ a-ʔis-ʔi·/ move-CONT-CAUS .. child-DIM-DEF

Rightward ellipsis commonly occurs when a predicate is old information as in questions based on previous assertions or responses to question or repetitions of assertions.

- (564) *huhʔtikšaʔk qaʔu·čt;* She learned how to make baskets
/huhʔtik-š(i)k-ʔ ak qaʔu·c-(č)i·č/ know-MOM-TEM basket-make..
ʔu·šnaʔka huhʔtikš; _____ Did anyone else hear how?
/ʔu·š-na-ʔa·-ka huhʔtik-š(i)k/ some-PAST-QUE+again know-MOM
haʔa, ʔu·šhinti·čka _____ Yes, some did
/.. ʔu·š-(q)ʔ-int-(y)i·-č-ka·/ yes some-SIM-PAST-INDF-INF-again

An elliptical (predicate) anaphor can have an antecedent far removed in discourse; for example, ten sentences away:

There are also zero anaphors which have no literal antecedent but have a referent recoverable from permanently registered information or from information provided by the discourse. Consider the following.

- (565) *ču·kaʔu·ʔa·qkška _____* Well, I'll (tell) another (story)
/.. kaʔu·-ʔa·qk-s-ka·/ well! another-FUT-I-again
- (566) *kaʔu·kiska nʔi·nʔ ičpʔ aʔs _____* Little Sparrow could do it again
/kaʔu·-ʔ ak-ʔis-ka· ../ other-TEM-DIM-again Sparrow

- (567) *c'awa·kin inhintitabš pi's*. They each ate one fish
 /c'awa-ak^w-m inh-int-it-ak-š .. / one-DUR-PL-PAST-IND-PL-IND

Sentence (565) occurred between stories. Sentence (566) occurred story-finally. The listener is assumed to understand the plot-line, Sparrow's revengeful attack on Elk. The last sentence occurred mid-conversation. Eating fish is the only possible interpretation, given that the participants have just been presented with fish at a feast.

Within a sentence, non-NP ellipsis is generally rightward.

- (568) *kamitqša?k Mary : ?uh?iš Jo* Mary ran, and so did Jo
 /kamitq^w-š(i(k)-³ ak... .. / run-MOM-TEM Mary and Jo
 * *Mary : ?uh?iš kamitqša?k Jo*

Other examples of rightward ellipsis of predicates across coordinate clauses follow.

- (569) *?uy³i³p. John caw³it : Bill hisit*, John caught coho, and Bill sockeye
 /?u-y³i³p / it-obtain .. coho .. sockeye

- (570) *hayimhiyi³s yaqi³ hinin : ?uhqu Mary : ?uhqu Sara* /
 /hayimhi-(y)i:-s yaq^w-(y)i: hin. -in ?u-h³qu: .. ?u-h³-qu: .. /
 not know-INDF-I which-INDF there(MOM)-come IT-ABS-COND .. it-ABS-COND ..
 I don't know who came; maybe it was Mary or Sara

Leftward ellipsis occurs only if the antecedent is also present in prior discourse.

- (571) *na³a³nti³s mistuk k³i³x^wa* I heard an old person laughing
 /na³a³-int-(y)i:-s mist-uk k³i³x^w-(y)a³ /
 hear-PAST-INDF-I old-DUR laugh-CONT
wik mistuk : *t³an³a³s k³i³x^wa* It wasn't an old person; it
 /.. mist-uk t³an³a³-is k³i³x^w-(y)a³ / was a child laughing
 not old-DUR child-DIM laugh-CONT

The second sentence of (571) would be ungrammatical in isolation.

Ellipsis of predicates whose inflectional affixes are not identical is generally ungrammatical. However, the presence of *yu³q^wa* 'also' or *-ka³* 'again' in the second clause or sentence renders such ellipsis

acceptable.

(572) *?wabya·qki·s : ?ah?a·k ___ Mary* I went home and Mary did too
 /wabya-yu·-?a:qk-(y)i:-s/ go home-...-ed-FUT-INDF-I, then ..

(573) *walya·qki·s : yu·qwa·k ___ Mary* I went home and Mary did too

3.5.1.2. Nonelliptical NP Anaphora

NP anaphora parallels in some ways that of non-NP's. There are, however, also anaphoric suffixes, for first and second person subject and for third person plural (in any grammatical relation). In isolation, first and second person affixes must not be omitted (at least in matrix predicates). However in discourse, they can be omitted if coreferential to the previous matrix subject.

(574) *?u·šn³ ašints* I looked for things
 /?u·š-n³ a·h-int-s/
 some-seeK...-PAST-I
?ink³ ap ___ ?inkuk³qs I kept my fire burning
 /?ink³-³ ap ?ink³-uk-qa³-s/
 fire-CAUS fire-POSS-SUB-I

(575) *hišakin yu·qwa* We were also there
 /hiš-³ ak-in ../
 there-TEM-IP also
?u·y³ ašik³ ab We looked after them (there)
 /?u·š-³ qbuk-?a·š/
 some-take care of...-PL

First person subject affixes can also be absent if subject of a response to a second person subject question.

(576) *?u·šnak ?u·ša·w³ saštup* Did you ever find any animals?
 /?u·š-na-k ?u·š-a·wi(š)[L] sa-(š) t³up/ some-PAST-II(QUE) some-find..
 crawl-..being
k³uk³ ušw³ is ?u·wišint ___ I found a seal
 /.. ?u·a·wi(š)[L]-int/
 seal it-find...-PAST

In subordinate clauses with coreferential subjects, appropriate first and second person affixes are obligatory for relative clauses and complements marked as such by particle or mood. Ellipsis occurs for subjects of unmarked complements coreferential to the matrix subject.

In coordinate clauses, inflectional affixes (including pronominal

ones) can occur in any or all of the clauses. Again, rightward ellipsis is the general case.

(577) *wāšsa·ʔqu·n : ʔayasi·k ʔi·h* We went home, having finished a
 /wāš-š(i)(ʔ)-ʔak-qu:-n ʔaya-si:k../ lot
 go home-MOM-TEM-COND-IP many-finish.. really

(578) *ʕami·q ʕi·i·ta·yi·su : nisip* You can dig up horseclams and
 /.. ʕi·i·t-(y)ā·-(y)i:-su: ../ boil them
 horseclam clamdig-CONT-INDF-IP boil

In discourse, leftward ellipsis must have a previous antecedent as well.

(579) *hišʔa·qʔniš maʔas : waʔak* "We'll all live together", he said
 /hišʔa:qʔn-iš .. waʔ-ʔak/ all-FUT-IP-IND live say-TEM
 /hišuk, qaccʔa : hišukʔa·qʔniš "There'll be three of us"

It is also common to have all inflectional morphemes present.

(580) *wāšsa·ʔniš : wāšsa·p·tʔniš* We're home; someone brought us,
 /wāš-š(i)(ʔ)-ʔak-n-iš wāš-sa·p-ʔat-n-iš/ home!
 go home-MOM-TEM-IP-IND go home-MOMCAUS-PASS-IP-IND

First and second person subjects are expressed by independent stems as well: *siyʔa·q* 'I', *suwʔa·q* 'you (s)', *mwʔa·q* 'we', and *su·wʔa·q* 'you (p)'. These serve predominately as topical predicates and can be adjuncts only in contrastive clauses.

(581) *siyʔa·qinti·s ku·ʕiʔ* I'M the one that cleaned it
 /siyʔa·q-int-(y)i:-s ../ I-PAST-INDF-I clean (fish)

(582) *ʔinħa·xi·s ku·ʕiʔ siyʔa·q* But I (not him) cleaned it!
 /ʔinħi-ʔak-(y)i:-s/ but-TEM-INDF-I clean (fish) I

First and second persons also have object forms (pronominal-(*ʕ*)iʔ[L]) and agent oblique forms (pronominal-(*q*)ħ-ʔat) which can serve as adjuncts or obliques and as topical predicates (cf. sections 3.2.2, 3.3.2.2 - 3).

The most fully specified third person NP's are those which are pragmatically unique. These include place names, e.g. *qaʔuk* or *mitu·ni*, band names, e.g. *qa·yʔuk·wih* or *miča·bath*, the sea *ʕʔak*, and the Creator (Supreme Being) *ħa·bap ħa·w iʔi*, but not the sun (as in many

languages). In Kyuquot, the sun and moon have the same name: *hup'at* 'round thing on fabric-like surface'. The band or place names can also refer to an individual, i.e. a temporarily registered location or inhabitant.

(583) *wi'na yu'tu'zath*
 /.. *yu'tu'z-.'ath/*

The Uclulet(s) attacked
 attack Uclulet-inhabitant(s) of..

Hypocoristic-kin terms (i.e. ones unaffixed by *-?i'qsu* '...kin') are uniquely specified if applicable to only one of the speaker's living relatives. For example, if only one grandparent is living, then all the children and grandchildren can use the term *nani* 'granny, grandpa' uniquely to refer to that one.

Because it is inherited, a proper personal name is not permanently registered. It must be validated, i.e. ceremonially invested with the referring function, each time it is applied to or taken on by (depending on the age and family position of) a different individual. It can refer to only one living individual at a time. Hence, unlike a common NP such as *si'cpax* 'cougar', a proper name is not subject to a rapid turnover of referents and cannot refer (generically) to a set of entities. The privilege of bearing a unique name is reserved for humans, their pets, the places and landmarks of interest to humans, and their personal enduring creations, such as songs, stories, games, and large and/or ceremonial objects, e.g. masks, copper plates, canoes, and even food vessels. One area of uncertainty concerns language-using mythical beings such as Bear Woman or Deer, who have names of the form animal-mythical male (female)..., suggesting that there is only one male and female for each mythical species, e.g. one Bear and one Bear Woman. Yet stories often involve groups such as the Frog children or the Wolf pack, suggesting that these beings are not uniquely specified. Nevertheless, this is not an entirely satisfactory conclusion. It is hard to imagine more than one Raven (the trickster hero).

* Most individual entities have no unique name but are designated by a class name such as *mawič* 'deer', *t'at'u's* 'star', or *himw'ic* 'story' which is made to specify an individual by the presence of *-?i* DEF and/or the article *ha* as in (*ha*.) *mawiči* 'a (that) certain deer'.

However, there may be coreferential NP's, either subsequent or prior to the one in which referentiality is established, which have no such marking.

- (584) *?ucači·č macwa* Go to Matswa (a certain house)
 /?u-ca-š(i)(k)-i·-[L]-č .. / it-go to..-MOM-IMPV-EMPH-PL ..
hini·kač maht·i They went into the house
 /hin.-. ?i:- a k-?a·š .. / there(MOM)-go to..-TEM-PL house

Even in the first sentences of stories, the initial NP introducing each character can be formally definite or particular but semantically non-specific, e.g. the prince in (585) or the stepmother and the boy in (586).

- (585) *?uhtasi·č žučna·kšx ha· ha·w·išk* The prince took a wife
 /?uhtas-(y) išk·č žuč-na·k·š(i)(k) .. ha·w·išk-?i· /
 then-INDF-INF woman-having..-MOM the youth-DEF
- (586) *p· žy·č hā· ?asi·qsa* That stepmother was really bad
 /p· išk·i·č(i)(k) .. ?asq-?i·qsa-?i· / bad-INC the stepmother..kin-
 DEF
?ana·k·p šanti sisp·a ha·w·išk She gave the boy only the
 /?ana-na·k·w· ap .. ha·w·išk-?i· / name Scabies
 only-having..-CAUS name Scabies youth-DEF

NP's used to denote individuals are either kinship, gender, or community position (e.g. species or title but not occupation) terms or nominalized behaviors or attributes such as *miatuk·?i* 'the old one' or *č ay·ixinti* 'the ones who picked berries'. NP's are also commonly expressed by a quantifier, quantity, or relative clause, e.g. *ka?u·-* 'other', *č awā·k* '(the) one', or *yaqchinkitq* 'the one he married'. Repetition of NP's is avoided except in sentences which are climactic, i.e. especially salient to the plot of a particular discourse.

In summary, NP anaphors are distributed as follows. Uniquely specified names occur in an introduction, after a suspense-building anaphoric introduction, and at sub-plot climaxes. At such climaxes and in contexts where a referent is explicitly reintroduced, one typically uses an epithetic NP, a formally indefinite NP, or a pronominal deictic such as *?aḥku·* 'this, that (one)'. In contrastive contexts, the

deictic ?uh 'he, she, it, that' can serve as an anaphoric adjunct or more commonly a topical NP predicate. Consider the following set of sentences from a story concerning Mink and his identification as the father of a girl's new infant.

- (587) *č'a'stime ?uchin* Mink married her
 /.. ?u-čhi-nu(κ)/ .. it-married to..-MOM
- ?un'a'h ha' tup' ab hiš* He was looking for (food) in the sea
 /?u-n'a'h / it-seeK.. the sea there
- ?i t'apsča' ?κ hu'* Well! He dove there!
 /.. t'aps-š*i*(κ)-' aš .. / CLIMAX dive-MOM-TEM over there
- ha'ukša' ?κ ?uh* Only HE ate (not his wife or baby)
 /ha'uk-š*i*(κ)-' aš ?u-h/ eat(DUR)-MOM-TEM it-ABS
- wikt'im hay' ahp* He never brought anything
 /wik-t'im hay' aš-' ap/ not-..times there-CAUS

The first is the climactic sentence of the sub-plot concerning the seeking of the father and the forced marriage. The rest are from the sub-plot concerned with testing the father as a food-provider. Within this latter sub-plot (encompassing 30 sentences), Mink is generally unspecified, except for one instance each of *ha'* and *?uh* (given above) and one of *n'uw' i'qs* 'father'.

3.5.1.3. NP Ellipsis

Ellipsis, i.e. zero anaphora, is more commonly rightward than leftward across sentence boundaries. Consider the following sentence containing three zero anaphors, the heroine ('she'), the clams, and the children, all previously introduced.

- (588) *?ayi'p hu' : hin' ?κ : ha'uk' wp* She got a lot of clams, went in,
 /?aya-i:p .. hin' -i' ?i(κ) ha'uk-' ap/ and fed her kids
 many-obtain.. over there there(MOM)-go in house eat(DUR)-CAUS

Rightward ellipsis can occur even when noncoreferential NP's are introduced and then denoted anaphorically. No linguistic device or form signals the change in reference relations. Consider the following

sequence of sentences. Square brackets indicate the sentence numbers within the story.

- (589) *n' ikk' waqsa'k ka'u'k' wath_i* The Clayoquots_i were up in arms
 [93] */n' ikk' waq-si(k)-' a'k .. /* fight-MOM-TEM
- [111] *hini' p'sa'ka't_i qa'y' uk' wth_j* They_i reached Kyuquot_j
/hin.-i:p-si(k)-' a'k-?a't .. / there(MOM)-obtain..-MOM-TEM-PL
- [115] *?aniyi'c' sahu'sath_k wiwip'k* Only the Ahousats didn't want to go
/?ani-(y)i:-c' .. / only-INDF-INF .. not want
- [121] *?ana'k_k : ?ani_k wik* They were the only ones
/?ani-' a'k / only-TEM only not
- [122] *?uhtas w' aca'k_i w' aca'k_i* Then they_i all attacked (by sea)
/.. w'a-si(k)-' a'k .. / then ambush-MOM-TEM
- [123] *t'icksa'k ma'asinti_{i/j}* The people_{i/j} roared
/t'ick-si(k)-' a'k ma'as-int-?i' / thunder-MOM-TEM tribe-PAST-DEF
- [124] *pu'qk' a'k_j hu' : hita'qk'k* They_j ran together into the forest
/pu-' aqk-' a'k .. hita-' aqk-' a'k / run(PL)-inside-TEM .. there(MOM)-inside-TEM

The sentences between [93] and [114] have subjects coreferential to the Clayoquots and those between [115] and [121] have ones coreferential to the Ahousats.

Leftward ellipsis, which is less common intersententially, is used to build suspense as in the following introduction to a story.

- (590) *?iqsa'k : ku'at'at'ka* They did the same thing every morn-
/?iq-si(k)-' a'k ku'at-' a'k-ka' / same-MOM-TEM morning-TEM-again ing.
- ?aya qu'as* There were lots of people (at it)
/.. .. / many adult.
- wa'ki'km'it'at' si'epasm'it ha'ukst'at* There were wolverines and
 cougars taking turns
/wa'ki'k-m'i-t-?a't si'epas-m'i't ha'u-(c)st'at /
 wolverine-mythical male..-PL cougar-mythical male.. back-recip.

Within one sentence, ellipsis is virtually obligatory when there is more than one coreferential third person subject, although an

anaphoric deictic, pronominal, or article is also permitted. A uniquely specified proper name cannot cooccur with a coreferential epithetic NP. However, repetition of the proper name or of the plural (third person) affix is acceptable (the former being restricted to elicited sentences).

- (591) *ʔikšaʔʔ Bill ʔuʔkʔʔ Joe : ʔahʔaʔʔ Bill ʔuʔkʔʔ Roger*
 /ʔ ik-ʒi(ʔ)-ʔʔ .. ʔu-(ʒ)iʔ [L] .. ʔahʔaʔʔ-ʔʔ /
 punch-MOM-TEM Bill it-do to.. Joe then-TEM Bill .. Roger
 Bill punched Joe and then he punched Roger
- (592) *quʔasiʔcaʔ : wikiʔcaʔ ʔiniʔ* They're people, not dogs
 /quʔas-(y)i:-ʒ-ʔaʔʔ wik-(y)i:-ʒ-ʔaʔʔ .. /
 adult-INDF-INF-PL not-INDF-INF-PL dog

Within a sentence, NP ellipsis can also occur across clause boundaries. In coordinate clauses, leftward and rightward ellipsis can be found in unmarked and marked clauses and in initial and final clauses. The following example has a paraphrase in which the two coordinate clauses are in the reverse order. The angled brackets indicate that the NP is acceptable in either position.

- (593) *ʔawiʔcaʔ <quʔasi> nuʔhiʔ : qʔiyaʔtq ʔinin <quʔasi>*
 /ʔawaʔ-iʔi(ʔ) quʔas-ʔi nuʔ-(ʒ)iʔ [L] qʔi-(y)aʔ-iʔtq ʔin.-in .. /
 near-INC adult-DEF we-do to.. which..time-REL there(MOM)-come
 The man visited us when he came

In a similar pattern, the plural affix *-ʔaʔʔ* can appear in only one of a set of coordinate clauses.

- (594) *matʔiʔcaʔ : tʔaqʔiʔcaʔcaʔ* They flew straight down there
 /mat-ʒi(ʔ) tʔaq-pʔiʔcaʔ-ʔaʔʔ / fly-MOM straight-at edge-TEM-PL
- (595) *ʔinkʔiʔcaʔ : puʔʔiʔcaʔ* They made fire and blew on it
 /ʔinkʔ-(ʒ)iʔ-ʔaʔʔ puʔ-ʒi(ʔ) / fire-make..-PL blow-MOM

When a clause includes a NP which is coreferential to one in an embedded clause, anaphora is obligatory in at least one clause. This holds whether the embedded clause is oblique, complement, or relative.

- (596) *namʔaʔʔcaʔ <Bill> [tʔiʔnaʔʔcaʔ <Bill>]* Bill tried to play ball
 /namʔaʔ-ʒi(ʔ) .. tʔi-(c)naʔʔcaʔ .. / try-MOM Bill throw-handle.. ..

In relative clause structures, anaphora can be leftward or rightward but the matrix NP normally precedes its coreferential RC NP, as in A [...X...] or X [...A...].

(597) *hi·šink ha_i [yaq^k upitq qu·ʔas_i]* She kissed the man she likes
 /hiš-(č)ink^w [L].. yaq^w-k^u up-ʔi·tq ../ all-with.. which-like..-REL

(598) *hi·šink qu·ʔas_i [yaq^k upitq]* She kissed the man she likes

Only in cleft constructions can the RC NP precede its matrix antecedent, yielding the structures [...A...] X or [...X...] A.

(599) [*yaq^k upitq*] *ʔuh^ʔi·š ti·ča_i* The one she likes is a teacher
 /.. ʔu-h-(q)h-ʔi·š ../ .. it-ABS-SIM-IND teacher

(600) [*yaq^k upitq qu·ʔas_i]* *hi·šink ha_i* The one whom the man likes
 kissed him

Recall that NP adjuncts containing RC's must either precede the predicate or follow the object if both subject and object adjuncts cooccur in a clause. Across clause boundaries, leftward and rightward anaphora occur regardless of whether the antecedent or anaphor is in a cleft NP and regardless of whether either is in a RC.

The absence of case-marking and the presence of ellipsis results in potential ambiguity of reference, especially in monologue where subject referent changes without signal. Such ambiguity is minimized by making use of pragmatic and contextual information. For example, in (589), the subject of [121] must be the Ahouses on the basis of [115]. The subject of [124] is identified as the Kyuquots on the basis of later sentences (in which Kyuquots are entreated to regroup in a house and are shot at from the beach). The subject of [123] is identified as the Clayquots on the basis of the lexico-cultural fact that only attackers would 'roar'.

Ambiguity is also minimized due to the dominance of certain alternate interpretations in ambiguous contexts. Consider the following.

(601) *Mary^ʔ uk^ʔ up Biłł : wik John*

1. Mary, not John, likes Bill
2. Bill likes Mary, not John
3. Bill, not John, likes Mary

There is a hierarchy of interpretations, from most likely (1) to least

likely (3). Such moderately contrastive sentences as (601), in which alternate interpretations are weighted and in which NP's are more likely to have one role than another, are preferred to less marked sentences whose ambiguity cannot be resolved because the alternate interpretations are not weighted.

- (602) *?uk' up Mary Bill : wik John* Mary likes Bill, not John
Mary, not John, likes Bill

The unacceptability of (602), at least in isolation, due to the 'gap' arising from either subject or object NP ellipsis, suggests that a condition reminiscent of Hankamer's (1973) No-Ambiguity Condition operates in Kyuquot. Ellipsis is prohibited or at least avoided if some other type of potential ellipsis could yield the same surface structure.

In many cases, a particular sentence shape places a potentially ambiguous NP in a disambiguating context. For example, when an ambiguous NP (e.g. the oblique agent *?uh*) is located next to a definite NP (e.g. *Jim*), it is more likely to be interpreted as the definite NP than some other NP. Compare sentences (603) and (604).

- (603) *bu'ama'k Jim ?uh'atint hisša'ʔt* 1. Jim's_i wife was hit by him_j
2. him_j
/bu'ama-ʔak .. ?u-h-(q)h-'at-int his-ši(λ)-'at/
woman-POSS Jim it-ABS-SIM-PASS-PAST hit-MOM-PASS

- (604) *?uh'atint hisša'ʔt bu'ama'k Jim* 1. Jim's_i wife was hit by him_j
2. him_i

The extent to which sentence position is employed to disambiguate anaphors is not known.

Ellipsis occurs for NP objects as well as subjects. It may be leftward or rightward, across clause or sentence boundaries. Examples include sentences (578), (605), and (606).

- (605) *č'ičikinti:s caw'iti* I cut the coho
/č'i-ši(λ)-int-(y)i:-s caw'it-ʔi/ dut-MOM-PAST-INDF-I coho-DEF
wik ku'čit But (I) didn't clean (it)

- (606) *suk'iki's : hitaqspi's ha' nisak'ʔi* I took that sack and put
/su-ši(λ)-(y)i:-s hita-qs-'ap-(y)i:-s/ it in (our) canoe
take-MOM-INDF-I there(MOM)-in vessel-CAUS-INDF-I the ..

Leftward ellipsis across a clause boundary often occurs in contexts where the NP also has an antecedent in prior discourse, in the case of (606) about ten sentences earlier. Such prior identification is, however, unnecessary. In the following sentence, the NP has no previous antecedent.

- (607) *takšik qahsa·p ___ : ?u·wa·?kqu qu·?as* Whomever they met, they
always murdered
/tak-šik(κ) qah-sa·p ?u-a·wi(κ) [L]-qu: .. /
each-MOM die-MOMCAUS it-find.-COND adult

The NP in (607) and the paraphrase in which clauses are reversed can, undergo ellipsis in either clause, regardless of clause order. Nevertheless, there are coordinate clauses in which none of the coreferential object NP's undergo ellipsis.

- (608) *pintšik mahṭ·i : κ ihim·up .. mahṭ·i* He painted a house red
/pint-šik(κ) .. κ ih·-(q)imṭ·up .. / paint-MOM .. red-around-
MOMCAUS

3.5.1.4. Reflexives and Reciprocals

A clause can include two coreferential NP's with different grammatical roles, e.g. subject and object or oblique. In such a context, the object NP is represented by a reflexive anaphor, either *?u·k·ačč* or *?u·?uk·wḥ*.

- (609) *m·ačč Mike ?u·k·ačč* Mike bit himself
/m·a-šik(κ) .. ?uk·a-(č)ič [L] / bite-MOM Mike self-do to..

A sentence with an elliptical object cannot be interpreted as reflexive.

- (610) *yaqnaq qu·?asi qahsa·p ___* That's the man_i who killed him_j
/yaq·na-qa· qu·?as·?i· qah-sa·p / (*himself)
which-PAST-REL adult-DEF die-MOMCAUS

The root *?uk·a-* is thus like a quantifier (but not a pronominal) because it optionally is affixed by *-(č)ič [L]* and can be coreferential to any person.

- (611) *·y·ime·u·qkk ?u·k·ačč* Don't you like yourself?
/·y·im·-c·u·-· aqk-k ?uk·a-(č)ič [L] /
unsatisfactory-inside vessel-inside-II(QUE) self-do to..

This root also serves as object of governing suffixes in oblique clauses with subjects coreferential to the object.

- (612) *ʔuʔa·p ʔumʔi ʂu·wis ʔu·kʷachin* Mom bought shoes for herself
 /ʔu·a·p ʔukʷa-*chin* [L]/ it-buy mother .. self-do for..

It also occurs in adjunct-adjunct clefts as in (613) and in topical predicates as in (614) and (615).

- (613) *ʂi·ama·sək ʔuʔukʷh ʔapisim.* The raccoon was dragging himself
 /ʂi·c-maʔ-ʔas-ʔ aʔ CV#ʔukʷa-h .. / across (the yard)
 pull-at-move about-on ground-TEM distrib-self-ABS
- (614) *ʔuʔukʷhi hupi* Help yourself!
 /CV#ʔukʷa-h-ʔi .. / distrib-self-ABS-IMPV help
- (615) *ʔu·kʷaʂi hupi* Help yourself!

It appears that *ʔukʷa*-forms do not always serve as object anaphors. First, if they did, they would be the only topical predicates not containing a governing suffix which are in an object relation to the oblique predicate (cf. (615) above). Second, topical predicates exist in which *ʔukʷa*- modifies the subject as an emphatic constituent.

- (616) *ʔuʔukʷhintʂ ʔukʷi·ʂ* I made it myself!
 /CV#ʔukʷa-h-int-s ʔu-(ʂ)i·ʂ/ distrib-self-ABS-PAST-I it-make..
- (617) *ʔuʔukʷhh ʔintʂ ʔu·taq* Does she generally work on it,
 /CV#ʔukʷa-h-ha .. ʔu-taq [L]/ by herself?
 distrib-self-ABS-QUE habitually, it-work on..

In this usage, it behaves like the quantifier and quantity stems, which typically serve as topical predicates to emphasize the particular participants of an event.

- (618) *ʂʷa·nti·s ʔukʷi·ʂ* I ALONE made it
 /ʂʷa-int-(y)i:-s ʔu-(ʂ)i·ʂ/ one-PAST-INDE-I it-make

Such topicalized specificational structures have no nontopical paraphrase in which predicative stem serves as an object and is coreferential to the subject.

- (619) **ʔukʷi·ʂinti·s* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ʔuʔukʷh \\ ʂʷa·k \end{array} \right\}$ (I made it myself)

It might be posited that $\text{?u?uk}^w\text{h}$ is, in fact a nonobject-bound emphatic element. This suggests that in (614), (616), and (617), $\text{?u?uk}^w\text{h}$ is coreferential to the subject and that in (613) $\text{?u?uk}^w\text{h}$ kapisim is an epithetic NP. Such an analysis could explain the absence of (reflexive) adjunct-predicate clefts: Assuming that the reflexive stem and the coreferential nominal are parts of an epithetic NP, neither constituent of the NP can be moved out of it into the pre-predicate position. Such an explanation would be stronger if there were grammatical adjunct-predicate clefts in which the adjunct included a reflexive stem. But so far, none have been found. The case for epithetic reflexive NP's is therefore weak and requires further investigation.

Occasionally, $\text{?uk}^w\text{a-}$ is not coreferential to the subject of the clause in which it occurs.

- (620) $\text{?una}^w\text{kma}^w\text{q}^w\text{h}_i$ [$\text{?uk}^w\text{a-}i^w\text{c}_j$] She wants to have kids of her own
 / $\text{?u-na}^w\text{k}^w\text{-ma}^w\text{q}^w\text{h}$ $\text{?uk}^w\text{a-}i^w\text{c}$ / it-have...-want to... self-belong to..

The above bracketed constituent is an implicitly nominalized clause whose subject must be the kids. Such words are rare. It seems most economical to mark them as lexemes with exceptional referential characteristics.

Kyquot has no true reciprocal pronominal. However, when two agent or experiencer subjects serve as each other's patients, the reciprocity can be expressed by the affix $-(c)st^w\text{ab}$ [(*ReL*)].

- (621) $\text{?i}^w\text{ct}^w\text{abm}^w\text{inh}^w\text{ab}$ They cut each other
 / $\text{?i}^w\text{-}(c)st^w\text{ab-m}^w\text{inh-?a}^w\text{?}$ / cut-recip-PL-PL

The reflexive stem $\text{?u?uk}^w\text{h}$ can occur in reciprocally-marked clauses as well, although neither agent nor experiencer is responsible for his own experience as patient. Nevertheless, it is true that the (agent or experiencer) subjects are coreferential to patients.

- (622) $\text{?i}^w\text{ct}^w\text{ab}^w\text{sk}^w\text{ab}$ $\text{?u?uk}^w\text{h}$ They started to cut each other
 / $\text{?i}^w\text{-}(c)st^w\text{ab-}^w\text{xi}^w(\text{h})\text{-?a}^w\text{?}$ CV# $\text{?uk}^w\text{a-}^w\text{h}$ /
 cut-recip-MOM-PL, distrib-self-ABS

However, because reflexive clauses contain no object NP's, $\text{?u?uk}^w\text{h}$ must

here also refer to a subject NP.

3.5.2. Focus - New, Surprising, Contrastive, or Definite

Kyuquot has numerous strategies for focusing on the salience of certain clausal constituents. In the present section, these strategies are summarized. A focused element, which is formally identified by syntactic structure or morpho-lexical collocation, can bear new information, be emphatic, surprising, or contrastive, definite and/or particular, or be viewed from a certain perspective such as that of the speaker, listener, or key discourse participant. Sentences often contain more than one focused NP, e.g. a definite NP and a new NP or a subject and a topic. Consider the following sentence.

(623) *siy' a' qhatinti' k kut' ahsap' t* You were sent the package by ME
 /*siy' a' q-(q)h-²at-int-(y)i:-k kut.-²ahs-²ap-²at/*

I-SIM-PASS-PAST-INDF-II send thing as gift-in vessel-CAUS-PASS

This sentence focuses on the second person (listener) by rendering him grammatical subject. At the same time, it focuses on the agent oblique by means of a topical construction. Strategies for focusing upon different constituents are presented below, illustrated by Kyuquot paraphrases of the sentence *A/The man killed a/the deer*.

In an unmarked clause, with VSOX structure, the predicate and oblique express new (N) information and the adjuncts old (O) information more commonly than new.

(624) *qahsa' pinbi's cakup maric* A/The man killed a/the deer
 /*qah-sa'p-int-²i's* . . . / die-MOMCAUS-PAST-IND male deer

Old information is likely to undergo anaphora, ellipsis, or demotion to suffix status. Compare the following responses and their questions.

(625) *ya' ya' h' ht* (What's wrong with his foot?)
 /*ya' -uk-(q)hta [R]* / It's sore
 sore-DUR-at foot

(626) *ki'skin-²p* (Where's he sore?) In his foot.
 /*ki'skin-²ap/* foot-sore in..

Similarly, content questions can contain old information expressed as a

suffix.

- (627) ?ača·qnaḥ qawi·c Who ate the salmonberries?
 /?ača·q-na·ḥa· qawi·i·c/ who-PAST-QUE salmonberry-eat..

The 400 lexical suffixes do not denote all possible predicates and argument-like suffixes are limited to locative suffixes, emphasizing body parts and natural landmarks. For example, whereas the predicate *kill* can be represented as a suffix, as in (628), a sentence appropriate as a response to *What did he kill?*, there is no suffix for *deer* which could be used in a response to *What did he do to the deer?*.

- (628) *muksu·pintiš* He killed a deer
 /muk·su·p-int-?i·š/ deer-kill...-PAST-IND

Instead, the answer to the latter question would identify the NP *deer* as old by ellipsis or by the anaphoric root ?u-.

- (629) ?usu·pintiš He killed it

New information is partly identified by syntactic position. In general, a new adjunct is more leftward than an old one. For example, new objects are found in adjunct-predicate and adjunct-adjunct cleft structures:

- (630) *mawič qahsa·pintiš čakup* The guy killed a deer

- (631) *qahsa·pintiš mawič čakup* The guy killed a deer!!

An object in a pre-subject position as in (631) is surprising or contrary to expectation as well as new. For example, in (631), the killing of a deer or the killing of a deer is surprising, perhaps because the agent was out setting traps or fishing.

An adjunct-predicate cleft can identify a subject as new as in (632) or surprising as well as new as in (633).

- (632) *čakup qahsa·pintiš mawič* A man killed a/the deer

- (633) *ḥa·k'a·x qahsa·pintiš mawič* A GIRL (not a boy) killed a/the deer

In addition, adjuncts preceding predicates need not be new but may simply be present in a stylistically variant construction. Similarly,

the oblique adjunct *left* does not have one clear function. Either the oblique or the displaced and more peripheral adjunct can be identified as new in such a construction.

Given that a predicate or a sentence-initial constituent generally bears new information, a constituent normally serving as adjunct or oblique can be focused by serving as a higher topical predicate. A topical adverbial is generally emphatic, surprising, or contrastive as well as new (whereas an oblique adverbial is only new).

(634) *?atʰi ntiš qahsa p mawič* It was at NIGHT he killed a deer

A topical NP predicate is always new and emphatic. If noncontrastive, it serves as an ambient predicate as in (635). If contrastive, it is *-(q)h*-marked if interclass contrastive as in (636) and *?uh*-marked if either intraclass contrastive as in (637) or proper as in (638).

(635) *čakup aš qahsa p mawič* There's a man killing a deer!
/čakup-a š qah-sa p .. / male-EVID die-MOMCAUS deer

(636) *čakupʰintiš qahsa p mawič* It was a MAN that killed the deer

(637) *?uhintiš čakupi qahsa p mawič* It was THAT man/ the MAN (of a defined set) that killed the deer

(638) *?uhintiš čixčix qahsa p mawič* It was CHIXCHIX that killed the deer

Topical clauses also focus object, subject patient, or agent oblique NP's by including a NP-relating predicate in the matrix clause.

(639) *?u kʷiʰintiš mawič(i) qahsa p* It was a DEER/ THAT deer that he
/ʔu-(č) iʰ [L]-int-ʔi š / killed
 it-do to..-PAST-IND deer kill

(640) *?u kʷiʰatintiš mawič(i) qahsa p t* It was a DEER/ THAT deer that
 was killed

(641) *?uhʰatintiš čakup qahsa p t* It was THAT man/ a MAN whom it
 was killed by

Such topical clauses introduce a NP which is new, emphatic, and interclass contrastive in that an entity is singled out from a set of non-defined or non-equivalent entities. The NP can additionally be intraclass contrastive as in (637), or (639) through (641) where an entity

is singled out from members of its own class, e.g. *THAT man* or *THAT deer*.

The contrastive function of *ʔu* for subjects and *ʔu-kwɛ* for objects or certain obliques is found not only in topical sentences. Nontopical contrastive NP's can also be marked thus.

(642) *qaḥsa·pintiš ʔu čakupi mawič* THAT man killed a deer

(643) *qaḥsa·pintiš čakup ʔu-kwɛ mawič* A man killed THAT deer/ a DEER

There is no formal mark identifying nontopical predicates as emphatic, contrastive, or new. They are identical in form to unfocused ones, regardless of whether or not the associated adjuncts are focused.

(644) *qaḥsa·pintiš čakup mawič* A man killed/ KILLED the deer

There is one constraint on interpretation of focused predicates. One can apply a contrastive function only to a base (such as *muk-* 'deer') which serves as a stem or has a stem form and which counts as the most embedded constituent (e.g. NP object) which can be independent of the stem in a paraphrase whose predicate has *ʔu-* as an anaphoric base..

(644) *muksu·pintiš* He killed a DEER
*He KILLED a deer/ DEER

(645) *ʔusu·pintiš mawič* He killed a deer

One can also focus NP's which are definite and/or particular. If old, such a NP is marked by neither *ha·* 'the, that' nor *-ʔi·* DEF (cf. example (638)). If new, such a NP can be, but is not obligatorily, marked. In contrast, generic NP's are never marked for they are neither particular nor definite.

(646) *qaḥsa·pintiš (*ha·) mawič (*i)* He killed deer

Generic NP's can, however, be emphatic and interclass contrastive.

(647) *muksu·pintiš čakupi* The man killed DEER

Particularization is obligatorily marked when a NP is identified by a restricting, i.e. relative, clause.

(648) *čakup yaqi· qaḥsa·p mawič* the man who killed the deer

In contrast, a clause which does not identify a NP by restriction is not marked. For example, in (649), the identity of *čakup* is neither

dependent on nor defined by the oblique clause.

(649) *n'aci'čkinti's čakup qaḥsa p mawič* I saw a man killing a deer
/n'aca-^ci'č'i(χ)-int-(y)i:-s/ see-INC-PAST-INDF-I

In summary, Kyuquot employs a number of strategies to focus constituents. Semantic demotion to anaphor, suffix, or total absence indicates that the demoted constituent bears old information. Sentence position and/or clause-level inflection can indicate that an adjunct or predicate is new, emphatic, surprising or contrastive. Association of a NP with the article, definite affix, or RC anaphor *yaq^v*- indicates that the NP is definite and/or particular; whereas association with *?u^h* or *?u^{kwb}* can indicate that the NP is contrastive.

3.5.3. Participant Perspective

There are also strategies for emphasizing participant perspective, i.e. for introducing or highlighting various NP's as discourse participants. A new participant can be introduced or reintroduced as a subject, object, or oblique (agent or other relation). Motivation for the choice of introducing strategy is not discussed here.

A participant can be reintroduced as an active subject without any formal indication that the subject has changed.

(650) *hi'sak_i ha'yis kwatya't* Kwatyat_i was there on the beach
/hi^c-^cis-^cak ha^c-^cis .. ./ there-at beach-TEM there-at beach
χ'upwⁱ inis_i He was warming his backside
/χ'up-wⁱ in-^cis/ hot-at middle-at beach
k'āč askⁱ i'č_j They_j were barbecuing (fish)
/k'āč as-uk-(y)i:-č/ stickroast-POSS-INDF-INF

Where one participant has control over a second, the latter is (re)introduced as object, this introduction being treated as a focusing strategy similar to contrastive emphasis. In both cases, the NP is marked as focused by *?u^{kwb}*. This pattern of marking discourse-salient objects is found throughout the 65 stories (comprising about 6000 sentences) analysed. In one story of over 300 sentences, 57 of them had nonpronominal object adjuncts of which 17 contained the focused

?u^k type of object. The focusing functions of ?u^k include disambiguating objects which could otherwise be interpreted as subjects as in (651) and other direct quote sentences, contrasting the object to some alternate referent as in (652), and shifting participant perspective.

(651) ha^w : wa[?]ak ?u^k na[?]i^qski "Well", he said to his aunt
 /... wa[?]ak ?u-(č)it [L] na[?]a-[?]i^qsa-uk-[?]i^q/
 well! say-TEM it-do to.. aunt/uncle-...kin-DEF

(652) suk^wik ?u^k ?i^h tari k^aq He took out the BIGGEST strip
 /su-š*i*(k) ?u-(č)it [L]... .. / of blubber
 take-MOM it-do to.. big really fat

The most common function, however, is to (re)introduce a discourse-salient participant. In the table below are listed the ?u^k-marked NP's and their role in the above-mentioned story (the list being restricted to NP's identified as discourse-salient rather than ambiguous or contrastive).

TABLE 8 : SALIENT ?u^k NP'S IN A SELECTED STORY

Sentence Number	NP: English Translation	Type of Entry	Discourse Function
4	aunt/uncle	intro	provide lumber
16	float	intro	transport to house site
192	crow	intro	delivers success sign
216	aunt	reintro	receives sign
221	uncle (husband)	reintro	receives sign
230	blubber	reintro	sign of success
273	stepmother	reintro	revenge victim
286	fat crumbs	intro	symbol of poverty, abuse
294	hair	reintro	instrument of revenge
295	sea	reintro	instrument of revenge

In brief, the story's plot involves a hero, mistreated by a cruel and stingy stepmother, who is aided by an aunt and uncle to get ahead by building a house. He demonstrates success by sending his aunt and uncle a magic crow with a blubber token showing that he has captured a whale and by humiliating his stepmother by returning to her the fat crumbs she fed him and by causing her death in a storm started by slamming a

magic hair on the sea. In each case, ?u^k identifies a NP (object) as a key or discourse-salient participant central to the plot; for example, in the above story, as instruments of success (aunt, uncle, float), communication (crow, blubber, fat crumbs), revenge (hair, sea), or object of revenge (stepmother). In focus contexts, only the first occurrence of the salient NP is marked by ?u^k. For example, once 'stepmother' is reintroduced in sentence (273), subsequent instances of it, although still discourse-salient, are not marked. NP's less central to the plot or coreferential to focused NP's but found in contexts less central to the plot are not marked either, except for purposes of disambiguation or contrast.

Hence, the focusing function of ?u^k can be variously interpreted as emphasis as in *Oh, no! He dropped the ball!*, contrast as in *He dropped the BALL (not the mallet)*, or discourse salience as in *He (finally) dropped the ball (thereby signalling that the thieves should jump out...)*. In the latter case, the (object) NP is identified as central to the plot, i.e. instrumental to the unfolding of events.

The function of the Nootka passive is varied. It is used, firstly, to introduce a new participant as agent oblique (e.g. 'someone' in example (653))

- (653) ?ah²a²xi²nti²c² ?u²ama² There was a woman_i
 ?ah²a²-²ca²int²(y)²i²c²... there²TEM-PAST-INS-INT-_k
 ?una²ki²e²t²atn²a²s² She had kids_j
 ?u²na²k²-(y)²i²c²t²at²a²t²is/ it-have..-IND-INT child-PL-DIM
 ?u²shax²tal²?u²atuk²wt² They_{i+j} were taken care of by
 ?u²s-(q)²h²at²-²at²?a²? ?u²atuk²[L]²-²at/ someone_k
 some-SIM-TEM-PASS-PL it-care for..-PASS
 ?a²k²aqniksa²?k² He_k had become poor (too) ...
 /?a²k²aqnik-si²(k)²-²at/ poor-MOM-TEM

Such a strategy allows one character to be salient (as subject) while a second salient participant is introduced as agent oblique and subsequently serves as subject. This is possible even in the first sentence of a discourse as in (654).

(654) *kuw'ibatinti'č ha'k'a'k* A girl was kidnapped
/kuw'ib-³at-int-(y)i:-č.../ steal-PASS-PAST-INDF-INF girl

On the other hand, nonpassive sentences involving agent changes are common.

(655) *ʔuʔip ʔahku' : či'č'a'ʔk* He_i got it and they_j pulled it in
/ʔu-i-p... či'-š(i)k-³at/ it-obtain.. this pull-MOM-TEM

Such nonmarked shifting is possible even when a subject is coreferential to the object of a second clause.

(656) *huhtik ʔin naʔu'kmašqk* He_i knows he_j wants to come with
/huhtik... naʔu-uk-mašaqk/ know... accompany-DUR-want.. him_i

(657) *ʔa' qāhšik* Well, he_i died (SADLY)

ʔumuk ʔin si'tfi't Because he_j lied (to him_i)
/ʔu-mwi'k... CVC#šit-[L]-(y)a/ it-because of.. that IT-disbelieve-GRAD-REP

These sentences show that the Kyuquot passive is not an obligatory signal of agent or subject change.

The passive can, however, be used to introduce or temporarily focus a different subject, e.g. the lady in (659) or the victims in (658). In such cases, the previous subject remains as a discourse-salient NP likely to resurface as a subject.

(658) *yayaackinti'č ʔahʔa'* He_i was trampling on it there
/CV#yack-int-(y)i:-č.../ distrib-step-PAST-INDF-INF there

hiq'a'apčip't Theirs_j were wrecked (by him_i)
/hiq-(ʔa)k'a-³ap-čip-³at/ all-destroyed-CAUS-for-PASS

wik'at'qu naha'ʔt When he_i wasn't given anything
/wik-³at-³at-qu: nahi-³at/ not-TEM-PASS-COND give-PASS

(659) *ʔahʔa'haʔinti's siy'a'q :* If I were the one (in love),
/ʔahʔa'č'ah-³at-int-(y)i:-s.../ then-IRR-TEM-PAST-INDF-I I

ʔucač'a'ʔt : si:č'iatqu's ka'pap't She'd be visited (by me), if
 I were liked by her

/ʔu-č'š(i)k-³at si-(č)ib.[L]-³at-qu:-s ka'pap-³at/
 it-go to...-MOM-PASS I-do.to...-PASS-COND-I like-PASS

Subject perspective shifts, in (659) from 'I' to 'she' and back to 'I'. This sentence shows that passives are due to neither agent change nor a person hierarchy for subjects. In the first two clauses, the agent remains constant while the voice changes. In the second clause, the third person subject and first person agent oblique would violate a hierarchy in which first and second person have priority over third person as subjects. Rather the passive is used stylistically to identify both the lady and the speaker as salient.

The third and most common function of the passive is to maintain a discourse salient NP as subject regardless of its semantic role, e.g. as benefactee, agent, patient, or experiencer. Consider the following sentences from one story.

- (660) *tami:saki'č hisimyi'..s* He₁ was drifting along the beach
 /ta-mab-'is-'ak-(y)i:-č his-mab-'is-[L]/
 drift-move about-beach-TEM-INDF-INF there-move about-beach-EMPH
- hinuštap'ki'č ha' t'ar'a'si* The child₁ was taken out of the
 /hin.-w'ibta-'ap-'ak-(y)i:-č... t'ar'a-'is-?i./ canoe
 there(MOM)-out of vessel-CAUS-TEM-INDF-INF the child-DIM-DEF
- hini?itip't* He₁ was made to come into the house
 /hin.-a'atip-'at/ there(MOM)-destine to be at..-PASS
- qi'ak'i'č hit* He₁ was there a long time
 /qi-'ak-(y)i:-č.../ long time-TEM-INDF-INF there
- ?uji'ati'č mu* He₁ was given four of them (shells)
 /u-yi-'at-(y)i:-č.../ it-give..-PASS-INDF-INF four
- suk'ix: ?ah'a'x ya'čsa'x* He₁ picked them up and went out
 /su-š(i)x' ?ah'a-'ak yac-[L]-š(i)x-'ak/
 pick-MOM then-TEM step-GRAD-MOM-TEM

Throughout, the subject is coreferential to one participant. Other participants are introduced as objects or agent obliques.

Such focusing can result in the passivization of all predicates associated with noncoreferential agent NP's, as in a quoted interchange such as (661).

- (661) a. "...", wa·?ax_i "..." he_i said
 b. "...", wa·?ax² t_i "..." was said by her_j to him_i
 c. "...", wa·?ax_i "..." he_i said

This situation occurs only when the patient, benefactee, or recipient subject of the passive clause is discourse-salient and is coreferential to the (agent) subject of the nonpassive clauses. Passivization in this context is not obligatory (cf. for example (657) in which the second clause is not passivized).

In summary, a passive clause can indicate that a nonagent participant is temporarily focused as a key participant or that the key participant subject is being temporarily acted upon or affected, or has come under the control of some oblique agent which, thus introduced, becomes a subsequent key participant.

3.5.4. Stylistics

Within a language, syntactic rules define a set of potential sentence structures as grammatical (cf. sections 3.1 to 3.4). Alternate sentence structures do not, however, occur randomly but are a function of the communicative salience of constituents, e.g. newness of information, definiteness, particularity, contrastiveness, and role in the discourse (cf. sections 3.5.1 to 3.5.3). In addition, a sentence's shape is based on stylistic principles which render discourse fluent, powerful, pleasing, or emotion-arousing.

3.5.4.1. Clause Simplicity

In Kyuquot, one such principle is clause simplicity. A simple clause contains only one adjunct, one modifier per NP, and no embedded clauses. Although Kyuquot syntactic rules allow for clauses with multiple adjuncts, modifiers, and embeddings, such complex clauses are rare.

For example, of 6523 nonelicited sentences (5741 from monologue and 782 from conversation), a total of 80 contained both a subject and object adjunct: 40 VSO, 20 VOS, 17 SVO, and 3 OVS (the non-VSO types being due to cleft constructions). Hence, although there are rules for

adjunct position and for the interpretation of particular positions (e.g. as new or surprising information), multiple adjuncts are the exception rather than the rule.

There are certain characteristic clause sequences which are byproducts of the one-adjunct clause preference. First, it appears that when the subject of an oblique clause is coreferential to the matrix subject and either the matrix or oblique clause includes an object, the subject is generally found in the clause which contains no other adjunct, i.e. as VS [VO] or VO [VS]. Second, there are sequences in which one clause includes a subject NP while the second one (either coordinate or independent) has a coreferential elliptical subject and includes an object NP, i.e. VS (:) VO. In this type, the second predicate adds little or no semantic information and seems to serve only to provide a clause for the second NP.

- (662) *ʔuʔna·kʂaʔk k ihma·mʔt* Wookpecker took a wife
 /ʔuʔ-na·kʂ-ʔi(k)-ʔaʔk .. / woman-have..-MOM-TEM
ʔuchinʔki·ʔ na·ni·qs He married Grizzly Woman
 /ʔu-chi-ma(ʔ)-(y)i:ʔ-ʔ .. / it-married to..-MOM-INDF-INF
- (663) *mamu·kʂ aʔ ha·ʔu·ema hiʔ* His wife worked there
 /mamu-uk-ʔ aʔ / work-DUR-TEM the woman there
ʔihʔʔ ʔukʔi·ʔ She made mats
 /.. ʔu-(ʔ)i·ʔ / mat it-make..
- (664) *ʔawatinmʔt mata·ski·ʔ :* Eagle landed;
 /ʔ. mat-aʔs-k-(y)i:ʔ- / Eagle fly-on-MOM-INDF-INF
ʔuʔuʔas hu·suʔʔisi he got way up in the tree
 /ʔu-ʔi:ʔ as .. suʔʔis-ʔi / it-go to..-outside there tree-DEF

The subject can also be introduced within a topical predicate whose oblique predicate is equivalent to that of the following clause.

- (665) *ʔuha·ʔʂ / kʔaʔin haʔuk :* There were crows eating;
 /ʔu-h-(q)h-a·ʔʂ .. . / it-ABS-SIM-EVID crow eat(DUR)
ʔʔamʔa ʔuʔi·ʔ eating the salalberries
 /.. ʔu-ʔi·ʔ / salalberry it-eat..

In sequences such as those found in (662) through (665), the second predicate seems redundant. Each clause or sentence pair seems to have as paraphrase a simple sentence consisting of subject and object NP's plus one predicate, either the one in the pair bearing more nonredundant information, e.g. the first in (664) and the second in (662), or a different predicate which is semantically related to both, e.g. *?u'taq* 'work on (to fix, create)' for (663). Yet this simple clause alternative (in fact complex because of the presence of two adjuncts) is rare.

In fact, even lexically redundant predicates recur, with one governing a subject NP and one an object, i.e. V_1S (: V_1O), across either clause or sentences boundaries.

- (666) *ya'csa'pi'č' n'w'i* Dad made them walk;
 /*yac-[L]-sa'p-(y)i:-č' ..*/ step-GRAD-MOMCAUS-INDF-INF
yacsa'p ?u'k'w' t'an'a'si he made the children walk (home)
- (667) *hini ?u'ama* The woman gave them out;
 /*hin.-ayi ..*/ there(MOM)-give.. woman
hini bihāt she gave out mats
- (668) *qahsa'pma'qki'č' ča'p'athi* The Japanese wanted to kill him;
 /*qah-sa'p-ma'qk-(y)i:-č' ..*/ die-MOMCAUS-want to..-INDF-INF
qahsa'pma'qk' ?u'k'w' cayna'thi they wanted to kill the Chinese man
- (669) *č'u' ?uma'psa'k qa'y'uk'w'th* The Kyuquots paid attention;
 /*.. ?u-ma'p-š'i(κ)-'ak ..*/ well! it-notice..-MOM-TEM
?uma'š'š' ?u'k'w' hiti'ski they paid attention to the ones
 /*?u-ma'p-š'i(κ) .. hita'š'is-κ-?i*/ who arrived
 it-notice-MOM .. there(MOM)-at beach-MOM-DEF

In addition, identical predicates can be associated with first object and then subject NP's or with subject and oblique NP's.

- (670) *?u'ty'a'pi'č' nuk* They presented (him) with a song;
 /*?u-i'ty'a'p-(y)i:-č' ..*/ it-bring..as gift-INDF-INF song
?u'ty'a'p ki'ki'eq'wa the Kwakiutl's presented it

- (671) *qahsa p'at t. Bill* Bill was killed
qahsa p't ?uh?at ya q'witq ka pap He was killed by the one he
 liked
 /qah-sa p'-at ?u-h-(q)h-?at yaq'-(?i)it [L]-?i-tq.../ die-MOMCAUS-PASS it-ABS-SIM-PASS which-do to.-REL like

About an equal number of double adjunct and VS (:) VO sequences have been observed, the latter even as responses to an elicited double adjunct clause. One concludes that, although Kyuquot has two-place predicates, the transitivity is seldom overtly expressed by the presence of two NP's. One NP more commonly undergoes anaphora or ellipsis in each clause.

The second evidence for the tendency toward clause simplicity is the rarity of multiply-modified NP's. When two modifiers of one NP are present in a sentence, the usual syntactic structures are an adjectival predicate plus a relative clause as in (672) or a predicate with quantifier or quantity base plus a singly modified NP as in (673) and (674).

- (672) *mahak's yaqa w'naqs k' ihim' ?' apic* I found an old red canoe
 The red canoe I found was
 /mah-ak'w' ?i's yaq'w'-a'wi(k)-na-qa'-s k' ih'w-(q)im' .. / old
 old-DUR-INDF which-find..-PAST-REL-I red-around canoe
- (673) *?ayi pi' ?at ?i'h, su'ma* They got lots of big tommycod
 /?aya-i:p-(y)i:-?a' / many-obtain..-INDF-INF-PL big
- (674) *ka'u:waki'ska c'a'xuk ?' apic* I found another fast canoe
 /ka'u'-a'wi(k)-(y)i:-s-ka' c'a'x-uk .. /
 other-find..-INDF-I-again fast-DUR canoe

A predicate with an adjectival base cannot govern an object modified by anything, although a single modifier of an object can occur as base in certain predicates as in (676).

- (675) **c'a'xuk'awki's mahak' ?' apic*
 (676) *c'a'xuk'awki's ?' apic* I found a fast canoe

When a NP object is modified by both a quantifier and a quantity, either can serve as a predicative base.

There is a third strategy for avoiding doubly-modified nominals. The two modifiers can occur in coordinate or independent clauses as in the following sentence pair.

- (677) *hini·ci·č hi·shi·sač·k* He was carrying an ax
 /hin.-i:c-(y)i:-č CVC#his-[L]-(y)a-č ak^w/
 there(MOM)-carry..-INDF-INF IT-hit-GRAD-REP-instrument for..
kuč tani hi·shi·sač·k č ušak It was nice and new
 /... .. č uš-ak^w/ nice really ax new-DUR

Use of two clauses allows one modifier to serve as a predicate, thereby simplifying the NP structure.

In keeping with such strategies is the dearth of NP's with more than two modifiers. Although there are clauses in which the predicates include a quantifier or quantity modifier and the NP's include two modifiers as in (678), a triply-modified NP is acceptable only if the modifiers are from different semantic classes and one of them (which is post-nominal) can be syntactically interpreted as a separate clause as in (679).

- (678) *ʔak·aqawki·s k·ihimč č apic k·ama k·ahāqs*
 /ʔak-č aq-a·wi(k)-(y)i:-s... .. k·am-(y)a.../
 two..vessels-find..-INDF-I red canoe full-CONT box
 I found two red canoes full of boxes
- (679) *n·aei·čxints mu·niti kuč ha·kwa·k (:) hit hitinqs*
 /n·ae-č i·či(k)-int-s mu·nit-ʔi· hita-n·aq-č is/
 see-INC-PAST-I four-PAST-DEF nice girl there there(MOM)-at
 I saw four pretty girls at the beach slope-at beach

There appears to be a limit of complexity within the NP. Beyond that limit, adjoining modifying material is interpreted as belonging to a separate clause. Similarly, if one asks for translations of English sentences including a triply-modified NP, the Kyuquot version virtually never contains such a NP.

Added evidence for a principle of clause simplicity (besides one-adjunct clauses and one-modifier NP's) is the preference for independent or coordinate clauses as opposed to subordinate ones. For example,

clauses which could be assigned coordinate or even subordinate status are commonly interpreted as independent. In the following examples, the second sentences could have been interpreted as subordinate adverbial, complement, or NP-relating obliques respectively, but were not.

- (680) *ta·kšikiš iḥak* She was always crying
 /tak-[L]-š*i*(*κ*)-ʔ*i*·š iḥ-ak^w/ each-GRAD-MOM-IND cry·DUR
hiṭn' i·s ʔahʔa· She was down at the beach
 /hiṭ-n' i- iš .. / there-at slope of beach-at beach
- (681) *ḥaḥu·pi·čaṭ* He advised them
 /ḥaḥu·p-(y)i:-č-ʔa·ṭ/ advise-INDF-INF-PL
q^wa·ʔa·qḥitqaṭ That's what they should do
 /q^wa·-ʔa:qḥ-ʔi·tq-ʔa·ṭ/ thus-FUT-REL-PL
- (682) *ku·kinčəʔκ pi·š* He cooked the fish
 /ku·kin-š*i*(*κ*)-ʔaḥ .. / cooking-MOM-TEM fish
*ʔu·ʔatp ha·κ*i*·ʔiṭi* He did it for the guests
 /ʔu-aʔatip .. κ*i*- iṭ-ʔi· / it-destine for.. the feast-in house-DEF
- Adjacent sentences can be structurally identical to coordinate clauses of even the subordinate or conjunction-marked types.
- (683) *ṭiḥaṭ hini·ci·k* You're bringing your mat
 /.. hin.-i:ə-(y)i:-k/ mat, there(MOM)-bring..-INDF-II
ʔin qi·m' u·pʔa·qḥin Because we'll be gone a long time
 /.. qi·-m' u·p-ʔa:qḥ-in/ that long time-absent for..-FUT-IP
- (684) *ʔuksnašṭintat ʔahku* They demonstrated this (*tupa·t*)
 /ʔu-(a)šnašṭ-int-ʔa·ṭ .. / it-handle..-PAST-PL this
q^wi·yi·yi ɲa·κma·y They did it while dancing
 /q^wi-(y)i·-(y)i: CVC#ma-[L]-(y)a/
 which..time-INDF IT-dwell-GRAD-REP

There are even clauses identified as independent which are identical to clauses embedded within a NP.

- (685) *kakišmi č ahu sath* The Ahousat stood up
 /kakiš-k-(y)i:-č ../ stand-MOM-INDF-INF
yaq^wacitq ha č apici kuž He's the one who has the nice canoe
 /yaq^w-ac-?i-tq .. č apic-?i .. / which-belong to...-REL ..canoe-DEF
- (686) *k i č k i y* They were shooting
 /CVC#k i-[L]-(y)a/ IT-shoot-GRAD-REP
?u k^w maht i? It was aimed at the house
 /?u-(č)it [L] maht i-?i./ it-do to.. house-DEF

The second form of evidence for the avoidance of embedded clauses is that they are often absent in sentences offered in response to elicited ones which include such constructions, particularly relative clauses. Instead, a sequence of either coordinate or independent sentences is created. For example, presented with *I heard some news which was about Bill*, the response was sentence (687).

- (687) *na?anti s ?u š ?uyaqhmis* I heard some news
 /na?a-int-(y)i:-s .. ?uyaqh-mis/ hear-PAST-INDF-I .. tell-NOM
?u c inaqak t Bill Bill was being gossiped about
 /?u-c inaqak [L]-at ../ it-gossip about...-PASS

Similarly, presented with *a present for the guy who saved me*, the response was not (688) but rather (689), in which no relative clause is present.

- (688) *?nahi min ?uč ik čakupi [yaqi ti č ahsims si č iž]*
- (689) *?uč ik čakupi nahi min* (It was) a present for that guy
 /?u-č ak^w čakup-?i nahi -min/ it-instrument for.. male-DEF give-NOM
ti č ahsims si č iž He saved me
 /ti-č ahs-imsa [L] si-(č)it [L]/ alive-in vessel-bring back.. I-do to..

The third evidence for avoiding complex sentences is that adjacent predicates can be associated ^{with} an adjunct (or oblique) and an oblique (underlined in the examples) which could be grammatical in the preceding clause as well. The initial clause can include a subject or object as in (690) or a complement oblique as in (691).

- (690) *c'usšik' natmis* They dug up the earth
 /c'us-šik' (k) .. / dig-MOM earth
c'usšik' [hu'ak] They dug it up long ago
- (691) *?iqhi' ?u?u?i'h :* He was still trying to get it;
 /?iq-hi' ?u-'i:h [R]/ same-DUR it-try to get..
?iqhi' [hu'yis] still at the beach there

Such redundant clause sequences can occur in the reverse order as well.

- (692) *?i?i'wicak [k'ay'iw tani] :* They₁ grew really fast;
 /CV#?i:h'-e-i'šik' (k) / distrib-big-INC fast really
?i?i'wicak šini'kam' inh those dogs₁ grew really a lot
 /.. šini'k-m' inh/ grow dog-PL

The siting of the oblique in its own clause may also be a strategy to focus the oblique. It is however primarily a stylistic device to avoid complex clauses.

3.5:4.2. Redundancy

The above discussion has indirectly revealed a second stylistic principle: redundancy. Redundancy is present when similar or identical predicates are used in order to locate an adjunct or oblique in its own clause. Redundancy also indicates emphasis. One type of emphatic redundant clause sequence is the mirror-symmetric type, in which the second clause consists of the first clause's constituents but in the reverse order, i.e. XY YX. The two clauses involved are always interpreted as independent.

- (693) *?uk'wi'š š'apic* He made a canoe!
š'apic ?uk'wi'š DITTO
 /.. ?u-(š)i'š/ canoe it-make..
- (694) *hita'qk' s. ?ucaš'i'in* Let's go into the forest!
?ucaš'i'in hita'qk' s DITTO
 /?u-ca-šik' (k) -'i-n hita-'aqk-'as/
 it-go to-MOM-IMPV-1p there(MOM)-inside-at ground

Mirror symmetries commonly involve an adjunct-predicate cleft in

one clause and hence a true constituent reversal as in (693) and (694). They can also involve a predicate associated with a qualifier which can precede or follow or can involve a nonpredicated NP as in (695).

- (695) *k'apatis ?unahis* a little basket
?unahis k'apatis DITTO
/?una-h-?is k'apat-?is/ only-quantity-DIM basket-DIM

In contrast, there are mirror symmetries in which a constituent which is a NP or adverbial oblique in one sentence is a topical predicate in the other as in (696).

- (696) *wi·kšahat hišuk* They were all safe!
hišuk^{at} wi·kšah DITTO
/hiš-uk-?a-? wik-šahi [L]/ all-DUR-PL not-...wrong

In such cases, the identical words do not belong to identical constituents. Of course, in sentences with no clause-level inflection, a NP preceding a verbal, adjectival, etc., could be interpreted as either an adjunct in an adjunct-predicate cleft structure or a topical NP predicate. Kyuquot speakers typically interpret such sentences as adjunct-predicate clefts.

The structure of mirror symmetries is limited. Only two constituents are involved in the reversal and in all cases except for ones involving interjections or qualifiers each of the two reversing constituents is composed of only one word.

Whereas mirror symmetries are identified as independent clauses, unmarked redundant clauses are identified as coordinate. Mirror symmetries involve only one recurrence (which is not clausally-inflected), whereas unmarked redundant clauses involve as many as four repetitions even if the repeated clause includes a complement. In unmarked redundant clauses, inflectional affixes are repeated as well. The bracketed numbers below indicate the number of repetitions each clause undergoes.

- (697) *wik³ i ?uma³ p (2x)* Don't pay attention!
/wik³ i ?u-ma³ p/ not-IMPV it-notice..

Although constituent order of the simple clause is clear, the interplay between adjunct order and predicate structure (e.g. patient-bound versus other types) needs investigation. In complex sentences, the position of subject adjuncts in matrix or complement clauses may well be rule-governed. Within the NP, the distribution and function of the article and the deictics (especially when indexing conversational participants rather than spatially-located entities) are not as yet understood. Qualifiers deserve more attention concerning their range of distribution and their lexical origin for they belong to different semantic classes and have different syntactic privileges. NP predicates also pose several problems. One is the distinguishing of ambient NP predicates such as *There's the big guy* from NP-modifier predicates with NP adjuncts such as *The guy is big*. It is not clear whether only context distinguishes such assertions.

The source of *?u^{kw}* in patient subject NP's may have been due to innovation. Alternatively, *-at* may have acquired a passive-marking function. The choice between NP-relating obliques with similar meanings (especially those introducing benefactive NP's) may be partly a function of a particular matrix predicate. In addition, there may be a distinction between predicates plus oblique predicates and compound lexemes, the latter having a meaning greater than the sum of those of its constituents. Such compounds could be composed of a predicate plus a second (oblique) predicate. This requires increased understanding of the semantic value and range of meaning possible for individual Kyuquot words. Complementation requires investigation concerning semantic correlates of complement-taking predicates. The tough-type (associated with the possessive *-uk* and passive complements) is particularly novel and has poorly understood privileges of occurrence. It is possible that *-uk* has a nominalizing function in this context.

Marked sentences pose problems as well. For example, the passive structure's very identification as passive must be defended, especially because of the existence of passive intransitive clauses. That one passive clause triggers another is evident, but neither the distribution nor the the motivation (e.g. as either lexeme peculiarity or semantic interpretation constraint) of this phenomenon is adequately documented.

especially in the case of passives triggered in verbal and conjunctive predicates with passive complements. Topical predicates are particularly prone to interspeaker variability, which may represent dialect variation or innovation. One type of such variability concerns whether or not contrastive passive subjects can be distinguished from active subjects by the presence of *ʔu·kʷz*. If the variant in which *ʔu·kʷz* cannot serve this function is an innovation, then this is evidence for a strengthening of the grammatical role of subject at the expense of the identification of semantic roles.

While the topical nature of quantifier and question predicates is clear, their logical properties (e.g. scope) need more investigation. Cleft constructions are puzzling in terms of frequency of occurrence. Some types are rare, whereas the objects often precede oblique predicates, particularly temporal ones, in what are adjunct-predicate clefts. In addition, research is needed concerning the function of adjunct-predicate and oblique-adjunct clefts. The motivation of cleft constructions may well be an interaction of semantic, lexical, and even metrical factors.

The grammatical role of relative clauses (RC's) can be difficult to assign. They can be sentential, coordinate, oblique, or embedded within an adjunct. Most semantic classes associate with one content question and one relative base. However, nominals have two question and two relative bases, ones which do not share equivalent semantic ranges of meaning. The difference between the ranges of *ʔača*- 'who' and *ʔaqi*- 'what', and those of *yaqʷ*- 'which' and *qʷi*- 'what', based on humanness and particularity respectively, may have arisen through some as yet unknown change. Accessibility constraints on NP-bound RC's require more research, especially concerning the relativizing of possessor or possessed NP's. Finally, it would be interesting to investigate the functional role of and the syntactic constraints on independent RC's. For example, are such clauses more subordinate in some way to discourse than non-RC independent clauses?

Coordinate clauses are problematic in their very identity. How does a speaker decide if adjacent clauses are coordinate or independent? And when the complementizer *ʔin* intervenes, where does one assign a

clause or sentence boundary? The precise functions and ranges of denotation for conjunctions and conjunctional predicates have so far been elusive. The syntax of split direct quotes suggests questions as well. For example, at what constituent boundaries may the intruding quoting phrase occur? Also, how syntactically complex can the quoting phrase be?

Anaphora is widespread in Kyuquot. It is not clear to what extent it is a grammatically predictable phenomenon and to what extent it is a function of discourse and cultural knowledge. Both leftward and rightward anaphora occur but the choice is not motivated at present, except for the rule that leftward predicate ellipsis occurs only when the antecedent precedes as well. The distinguishing of one verbal anaphor from another and one locative anaphor from another (with respect to meaning and privilege of occurrence) is still tentative. It is also not clear that the referent range of an anaphor exactly matches the range of a certain semantic class. For example, ?u- 'he, she, it, that' can represent either a NP or a clause (syntactic categories). In addition, q'a- 'thus' does not appear to serve as anaphor for all and only adjectival bases. It also occurs as a poorly understood emphatic element in both questions and assertions. Finally, the choice of one anaphora, as opposed to another in a particular context and the interaction of ?u- and the expression of definiteness and indefiniteness especially await further research.

Of focusing strategies, perhaps the most opaque are ones used for new and old information, especially those making selective use of lexical suffixes. The motivation for the choice of a participant's grammatical role requires a more discourse-oriented framework and the analysis of more conversational material.

In general, stylistics of discourse is, as yet, unexamined. Most observations made here have concerned tendencies such as the avoidance of complex clauses and the favouring of repetition as a sign of emphasis. There are possibly strict constraints on the number of modifiers; the degree of embedding, and the number of repeated redundant constituents. In the past, there may have been stricter constraints, such as one prohibiting multiple adjunct clauses. This, like the other problems

presented above, awaits subsequent research and analysis.

3.6.2. Typological Considerations

This second summary concerns Kyuquot Nootka and its position with respect to typological theory. Like all languages, Kyuquot has deictics, first and second personal pronouns, proper names, and grammatical elements (e.g. *?in* 'that' and *wa'y* 'or'). Each of these element-types has characteristic privileges of occurrence. Deictics follow the article and precede modifiers in a NP; proper names, at least personal ones, cannot serve as heads in relative clauses; pronouns are affixed by *-(č)ič [L]* when serving as object NP's; and grammatical particles must be accompanied by at least one nongrammatical word (i.e. an inflectable stem) in order to be interpreted as a sentence. Such characteristics support the claim that Nootka has syntactically-defined form classes.

The main clausal constituent is a predicate which is clause-initial in unmarked clauses and clausally-inflected. The predicate is followed by a subject and/or object NP with subject preceding object in the unmarked case. Kyuquot is therefore a predicate-subject-object or VSO language. Lehmann (1978) and Greenberg (1963) have posited the following universals for VSO languages. They have SV0 as an alternate order, clause-initial content question words, and sentence-initial verbal (i.e. predicative) modifiers, e.g. negation, adverb, or inflected auxiliary. In addition, governing elements precede governed ones, e.g. predicate precedes complement; variables precede standards, e.g. comparatives precede standards and smaller quantity terms precede larger ones (e.g. units before tens before hundreds); and nominals precede modifiers such as RC's, adjectives, and genitives.

Nootka indeed has clause-initial question words (as a sentence's highest predicate) and has SVO as an alternate order. However, VOS is about as common as an alternate order although with a different function. Verbal modifiers do not necessarily precede the verb (predicate). Although negative elements occur as higher predicates and hence precede the predicates within their scope, adverbial elements can serve as preceding (higher) predicates or as following oblique predicates. Inflectional affixes occur as a block after the predicate of the clause

with which they are associated. Hence, one must claim either that the inflected auxiliary follows the verb or that there is no auxiliary (the latter alternative being chosen in this analysis). Finally, some predicative qualifiers can or must follow the predicate. Thus, in Kyuquot, verbal modifiers do not appear to preferentially precede the verb.

The sequential relations of governed and governing elements are parallel. Verb (predicate) precedes object; predicate precedes complement oblique; and the Kyuquot analog of prepositions (i.e. grammatically oblique predicates) precede their objects. However, the sequential relations of variables and standards is heterogeneous. Although a comparative precedes its standard (grammatically an object in Kyuquot), a numerical conjunction is obligatorily organized with the smaller magnitude numbers following the larger ones (the standard), i.e. 20x 'and' 10 'and' y. Whereas a genitive virtually always follows its head; e.g. *tu·ema·k Bill* 'Bill's wife', relative clauses are as likely to precede or 'surround' their head as to follow it, and other modifiers more commonly precede their head.

Certain implications are based on other features of a language.

1. If adjectives precede the nominal, then demonstratives (e.g. articles and deictics) and quantity stems precede the nominal in the order demonstrative quantity adjective nominal.
2. If some adverbs (qualifiers) can follow an adjective, then the nominal precedes its adjective and the verb (predicate) precedes its object.
3. If a common nominal (e.g. title) precedes a proper nominal, then the nominal precedes its genitive.
4. If a relative clause precedes its antecedent nominal, then adpositions follow their object OR adjectives precede their head nominal.

The Kyuquot NP is consistent with the first and the second option of the fourth implicational universals. However, the other two universals are either partly invalid or irrelevant for Kyuquot. Nominals do not usually precede adjectivals, and common and proper nominals can cooccur in either order.

Kyuquot seems to be relatively homogeneous with respect to typology. It is typically VSO in having predicates (including subordinate ones) precede their objects or standards. The absence of an auxiliary is not surprising. Auxiliary and/or modal constituents are more characteristic of SVO languages. The main difference then between Kyuquot and what is predicted for a VSO language is that modifiers tend to precede their nominal heads. This particular phenomenon was observed and discussed by Greenberg (1963:100). He noted that the ordering of modifier and nominal head can be influenced both by other head-nonhead sequences in a language (e.g. in Kyuquot, heads (predicates) precede nonheads (adjuncts)) and by the treatment of modifiers as predicates. In Kyuquot, an adjectival or deictic (modifier) can serve as predicate and hence precede the subject NP it governs and modifies. As a result, adjectival non-NP predicates serve as an ambivalent model for the sequential organization of NP constituents. Kyuquot models the NP structure upon the semantic relations of the clause (i.e. adjectival precedes nominal) rather than the logical or grammatical relations (i.e. head precedes nonhead). This is added evidence that the language distinguishes form classes such as adjectival or nominal as well as syntactically-defined constituents such as predicate, adjunct, and oblique. Form classes are discussed in the following section on morphology.

In sum, Kyuquot is relatively consistent as a VSO language without a copula whose NP structure is modelled on the semantic values rather than the grammatical roles of constituents in simple clauses. It is typologically the same as many Phillipine Austronesian languages. More satisfyingly, it is typologically the same as other Wakashan languages and the geographically adjacent and possibly genetically-related families, Chemakuan and Salishan.

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

We turn now to the formation of the Kyuquot Nootka word. The study begins with a discussion of noninflected words and focuses on interjections. Certain phonological processes which contribute a relatively stable meaning component to the word in which they occur are considered in the section on noninflected words because these processes also take place in words which cannot otherwise be affixed. These processes include emphatic length and vowel mutation, as well as vocative processes.

The rest of the section on morphology concerns inflectable stems and their formation. Inflection is first considered, beginning with the position and function of modal, tense, mood, and pronominal suffixes. Other inflectional affixes are then discussed: the passive, possessive, diminutive, iterative, and plural. Finally, nonpredicative inflection is discussed.

Aspect, which is derivational in Kyuquot and plays a pivotal role in word-formation and grammar in general, is considered in its own section. Aspectual affixes are a link between inflectional and lexical affixes. Lexical marking of aspect (i.e. by stem) is also noted in this section.

Lexical affixes are the most numerous of Nootka affixes. Derivational or *governing* are considered first. They are subclassified by their deriving function, e.g. nominalization, verbalization, etc. Nonderivational noninflectional affixes, termed *restrictive* affixes, are treated subsequently. Restrictive affixes are predominately verbal and locative. A few other affix-types, such as cranberry affixes and stem extenders, complete the discussion.

There is a brief survey of word structure constraints, followed by a summary of Kyuquot morphology (with attention to morpheme and stem classes), implications for typology, and problems requiring further research.

4.2. Noninflecting Words

4.2.1. Particles

In Nootka, there is a set of words which do not inflect. Some of these have already been examined: the article *ka*, the conjunction *ʔuhʔiʂ* 'and'. One, *ʔinʔ* 'habitually', will be discussed with respect to aspect (cf. section 4.4.8). Onomatopoeic words and interjections remain.

Onomatopoeic words are noninflected as a rule and are perhaps best considered as grammatically appositive to a clause. In myths, the most common onomatopoeic words are those denoting the vocal and motion sounds made by the animal-like characters. Such sounds include *ʔhay* *ʔhay ʔhay* (Wolf's call) and *taʂk taʂk taʂk* (sound of Eagle's flight). In personal narratives and conversations, onomatopoeic sounds have more varied sources: the sounds of people, e.g. cheering *haʔh*, crying *ʔa...*, sneezing *ʔack ʔack*; the sounds of entities colliding, e.g. metal cups and spoons on a table *tin tin tin* or an axe chopping a piece of wood *qah qah qah...*; and the sounds of nature. As in English, onomatopoeia is found much more often in narrative monologue than in conversational dialogue.

These onomatopoeic forms commonly occur sentence-initially, but also occur sentence-finally or independently. They usually consist of a series of recurrences (generally three as in the above examples but up to five in the corpus), where vowel length lessens, quality neutralizes (i.e. approaches [əv]), and volume decreases throughout the duration of the recurrences. Consider the following sentence.

- (1) *ka... ka ka ka ka matwaʂk* Flap flap! He flew out of the cage
 /ka .. mat-wiʂ-as-k/ FLAP fly-first-on-MOM

Interjections are of two types: speaker-oriented and listener-oriented. Speaker-oriented interjections occur sentence-initially. They reflect the speaker's (or quoted person's) emotional state as the sentence is being uttered or at the time of utterance by the quoted person himself. They can indicate an emotional response to some other person's previous utterance. Such interjections function as invitations

to the listener to share the same emotional state or attitude as the speaker who uses them but they are not a request for a verbal or other behavior response from the listener.

The bulk of speaker-oriented interjections are of the phonetic form $\left[\begin{matrix} \{ ? \} \\ \{ h \} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} (\sim) \\ v(\cdot) \\ (\underline{\underline{wv}}) \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \{ ? \} \\ \{ h \} \end{matrix} \right]$, i.e. a vowel, possibly long, laryngealized, and/or nasalized, surrounded by glottal glides. There are emotional states correlating with certain phone sequences.

TABLE 9: SPEAKER-ORIENTED INTERJECTIONS

awe	[ha·ʔ]	sadness	[ʔe·]
excitement	[ʔih] [ʔaʔ]	anger	[ʔe·] [ʔin]
surprise	[ha(·)] [hi] [ʔv·]	fear	[ʔe·] (breathy)
surprise/pleasure	[ʔi·] [ʔa·(h)]	displeasure	[ʔə·] [ʔa] [ʔi·]
pleasure (taste)	[ʔe·]	fear/dislike	[ʔə·h] [ʔa·]
sympathy	[ʔə·] (breathy)	fear/excitement/pleasure	[hə·]
pleasure/success	[ʔa·] [ʔa·] [ʔi·] [ʔə·] [hə·]		

There are also a few speaker-oriented interjections not having this phonetic structure. Transcribed phonemically, these include *ʔi·ha* or *haməa* (surprise), *əu·* (admiration), *ʔaxa·* (fear), *ʔaka·y* (jealousy, pain, resentment), *kʷan·ima* (amazement).

Listener-oriented interjections function to organize discourse or to signal desired responses from listeners. Interjections signalling the speaker's response (as a previous listener) to the previous speaker's contribution may reflect:

1. agreement: *hə(·)ʔa*, *ha·*, *hm*, *nhm*, *hawa(·) əu·*;
2. encouragement: *ʔaəu·*, *əu·*; or
3. understanding: *ʔa·*, *m*, *hu·*, *ʔa·ʔa*, *ʔa·h*.

Interjections signalling the speaker's desire for a listener to share in some mental response include the following (the desired response being given in brackets): *ʔi·* (approval), *wa* (agreement), *nʷisi(·)* (understanding), *hi·* or *ha·wa* (amazement), *əu·wə* or *ha·wa* (admiration), *hay*, *na·(h)*, *wa·y* or *he·* (attention). Most of these interjections

are sentence-initial; however, *wa* (related to *wa* 'say') is sentence-final and *n'isi* (*) is clause-final or occurs right after the complement *?in* 'that, since, but'. In addition, there are certain interjections which are functionally imperative. They require the listener to act in some way. Examples of these are *n'u'wa* 'listen!', *n'iaa* 'look!' (related to *n'ač-* 'see'), and *ča* 'move out of the way!'.

Interjections which organize discourse do so in one of three ways. They signal the beginning, internal boundaries, or ending of a discourse, specifically a monologue. The first sentence of a narrative or even an extended explanation or description typically begins with the interjection *ču* 'well!'. Final sentences in such monologues are not thus marked. However, stories are typically closed by one of the following words: *hišuk'x* 'that's all!', *hawa'x* 'it's finished', or *ha'micx* (interjection signalling end of myth).

Finally, events which are supposed to be surprising to the listener and critical as subplot climaxes within a story or discourse are often identified by the sentence-initial interjections *?i* or *?i*. For example, in a personal story in which a drunk woman's misadventure is described, the climax sentence is the following:

- (2) *?i ti'atx hu'za* She fell overboard!
/. ti'-?atu-'ax ./ CLIMAX sink in water-down-TEM there

Clauses marked by *?i* or *?i* to indicate a climax sentence generally have a verbal predicate and are exclamatory.

The following excerpt from a conversation carried on while examining a picture book illustrates the use of interjections.

- (3) *he' ?ah'a'x ?ahku xub'i* Well! There's a nice one! (a vase)
/. ?ah'a-'ax.. xub-?i/ ATTENTION there-TEM this nice-DEF
?o... ?a'ni's Yeah, it's very nice
/. ?a'ni-?i's/ PLEASURE really-IND
ha'wa bicitim My, what a mat!
/. bic-ib-im/ ADMIRATION lay out-in house-NOM
nlm AGREEMENT

There are also particles which are neither onomatopoeic, nor emotion-expressing, nor discourse-organizing. One is *ʔaqistik*, also occurring in the truncated forms *qistik*, *(ʔa)qistix*, and *(ʔa)qistix*. This is a filler used to denote a stem which is temporarily forgotten or to fill a pause during which the forgotten word is retrieved. Although it typically replaces a nominal or NP as in (4), it also replaces verbal or adjectival predicates.

- (4) *qʷa·qʷa·ʔi·kitq ʔaqistik nuča·ʔath yʷaʔis* It's like um Neuchatl
/qʷa·-·ʔ:kʷ [R]-ʔi·tq .. nuča·ʔ-·ʔath .. / clams
 like-given to..-REL um Neuchatl..place butterclam

4.2.2. Emphatic Morphemes

As mentioned above, the only morphemes which can associate with particles as well as with inflected words are the emphatic morphemes. The first such morpheme is emphatic vowel mutation. Such vowel mutation is not predictable at present, although it appears to occur only for certain words. Examples of such mutated vowels are found in the following words.

- (5) *sɔ·cʷup tani* a REALLY (BIG) king salmon
/sa·cʷup-[Vchange].. / king salmon-EMPH really
- (6) *pešak* BAD
/piš-[Vchange]-uk/ bad-EMPH-DUR

In general, both back and front vowels centralize as an indication of emphasis. Such lowering of *i* and *u* is normally characteristic of those vowels in the environment of low and back consonants but not in the environment of front or high back consonants. If it is possible that this centralizing process may account for the occurrence of midvowels in interjections, as in [*ʔō·*], [*ʔē·*], and [*hē·*]. Forms similar to these, but having the vowels *i(·)* and *u(·)* are interjections themselves and might have been the sources of the interjections with central or mid vowels.

The second emphatic sign is vowel length. In Kyuquot, vowel length can be phonemic. For example, *a* and *a·* contrast in the pair

nani 'granny' and *na^ani* 'grizzly bear'. Vowel length can also be morphemic in Kyuquot, in that it can denote a morpheme, the gradative aspect. Contrast the pair *?athšix* 'it became night' and *?a^athšix* 'it slowly became night'. Length can also be a sign of general emphasis, as in English *re^aally bi^ag!* or *she tri^aed to stop!*. Emphatic vowel length occurs for virtually all interjections. In fact, although interjections marked as having a long vowel may be pronounced so that the vowel is no longer than a phonemically long vowel in the language, it is more common to find that the vowel is emphatically long, i.e. longer than a phonemically long vowel. A second class of words typically lengthened for emphasis is the deictic class, e.g. *hu^a* 'WAY over there' or *hu^ayis* 'WAY over on the beach'. Emphatic vowel lengthening can occur within stems of any semantic class.

The site of emphatic vowel lengthening varies. In single-syllable words, there is only one possible site, as in *?i^ah maht^a* 'a BIG house' or *hit^aax qi^a* 'he was there a LONG time!'. In multisyllabic words, the first syllable of the word may be emphatically lengthened.

- (7) *hi^ata^acuht* They're coming out of the forest!
 /hi^ata-(a)suhta-[L]/ there(MOM)-come out of woods-EMPH.

Alternatively, the last syllable of a word can be lengthened. This long syllable can be either a stem syllable or an inflectional affix.

- (8) *qu^a?as tani ...* What a guy!
 /^aqu^atani-[L]/ adult really-EMPH
- (9) *wašša^a?kni^a...* We're HOME!
 /waššā-š(ā)-^aak-n-iš-[L]/ go home-MOM-TEM-IP-IND-EMPH
- (10) *nu^atka^a... ciqa^a...* She was REALLY circling and singing
 /nu^atk-(y)a^a-[L] ciq-(y)a^a-[L]/ circle-CONT-EMPH speak-CONT-EMPH
- (11) *?athi^a...* It was a LONG night
 /?ath-(y)i^a-[L]/ night...time-EMPH

In addition, emphatic vowel lengthening occasionally occurs in both an initial vowel and a final vowel in the same word.

One distinctive characteristic of lengthening vowels for emphasis is that it applies to underlying vowels in some cases. For example, a final vowel which would otherwise be absent in a word's surface form can be present if emphatically lengthened, as in (14) which contrasts with the unemphatic forms in (15).

- (12) $c^{\circ} a^{\circ} i^{\circ} c^{\circ} u^{\circ} \dots$ It all flowed out!
 $/c^{\circ} a^{\circ} : ?i^{\circ} : c^{\circ} u^{\circ} - [L]/$ flow-go to..-in container-EMPH
- (13) $c^{\circ} a^{\circ} i^{\circ} e^{\circ}$ It all flowed out

In general, the most common site for emphatic lengthening is the final vowel of a noninflected stem. Emphatic vowel lengthening is also a common characteristic of English words or phrases used in Kyuquot language contexts such as story-telling. Examples include *they go... that way!* or *lo...ts a wa⁹it (frogs)*.

The third emphatic sign is vocative vowel length and mutation. This phenomenon, although mostly associated with inflectable stems, marginally applies to interjections as well. Vocative morphemes include the phonological processes and one affix which together identify a word or sentence as being in a long-distance and/or high volume address mode.

The rules of vocativization are as follows:

1. The final vowel of all nominals, stems affixed by $-?i^{\circ}$ DEF and matrix predicates are optionally lengthened (to either phonemically or emphatically long) in sentences which are called out because the speaker is giving a command or the listeners are far away. Addressed NP's (either nominals or stems affixed by $-?i^{\circ}$) and imperative verbal forms (the latter only in long-distance contexts) are obligatorily lengthened.
2. A final vowel lengthened by the above rule and occurring in a nominal stem referring to the addressee is lowered, optionally to $[a^{\circ}]$ for the vowel $/i^{\circ}/$ and obligatorily to $[o^{\circ}]$ for the vowel $/u^{\circ}/$.
3. Subsequently, the following breaking rule applies: $i^{\circ} \rightarrow a^{\circ}y / _ \#$. This last rule is obligatory where i° is part of a definite affix ($-?i^{\circ}$) affixed to a nonnominal stem coreferential to the addressee or to any stem coreferential to a nonaddressee. Otherwise the rule is optional.

The following chart summarizes the results of the above rules by

giving the surface form of word-final vowels for different classes of words present in address mode sentences.

TABLE 10: VOCATIVE VARIANTS OF FINAL VOWELS

	a(·)	i(·)#	i(·)C	u(·)#	u(·)C
addressee N	a:	i: ~ a:y	i: ~ a:	ɔ:	ɔ:
addressee {V, A, L} -?i·		a:y			
nonaddressee X-?i·		a:y			
imperative V		i: ~ a:y	i:		
nonaddressee N	(a:)	(i:)	(i:)	(u:)	(u:)
other predicates					

As the table indicates, addressee nominals always have a long final vowel.

- (14) *qu?išim' i...t ~ qu?išim'a...t* Raven!
 /qu?iš-in-m' i·t-[L, V change]/ raven-NOM-mythical male..-VOC
- (15) *nani... ~ nani·y* (Do it) Grandpa!
 /nani-[L, V change]/ grandparent-VOC
- (16) *tu·kə·k* O sea lion!
 /tu·ku·k-[L, V change]/ sea lion-VOC

Definitized stems end in ..a:y rather than the expected ..i: when in a vocative clause.

- (17) *wi·ninta·y* You warriors!
 /wi·na-int-?i·-[L, V change]/ attack-PAST-DEF-VOC
- (18) *wikhtina·y qu·?as* You crazy man!
 /wik-htin-?i·-[L, V change]/ nothing-made of..-DEF-VOC adult
- (19) *hi·simsa·y* You providers!
 /his-ims [L]-?i·-[L, V change]/ there-bring home..-DEF-VOC

Imperative stems ending in the -?i· IMPV morpheme optionally undergo breaking when serving as a constituent of an address mode utterance.

- (20) *sisiqš'i?i... ~ sisiqš'i'a...y* Stretch your legs!
 /CV#siq-š'i(λ)-?i·-[L, V change]/ distrib-extend-MOM-IMPV-VOC

The table also indicates that not only addressees and imperative predicates are marked in address mode clauses. Definitized NP's not coreferential to the addressee also undergo the breaking rule.

- (21) *č' i' asa qkwac hu n' a y* You're supposed to cut up the whale!
 /č' i' as-?a:qk-wa-a·c hu n' i-?i·-[L, V change]/
 cut-about to..-FUT-QUOT-II(IND) whale-DEF-VOC
- (22) *ka' ?a t' an' a' isa y* Hand over the child!
 /.. t' an' a-?is-?i·-[L, V change]/ hand over child-DIM-DEF-VOC

In addition, nonimperative predicates are optionally marked as occurring in vocative clauses by the presence of a final extra-long vowel.

- (23) *haw' i' ba...ŋs* There's the chief!
 /haw' i' b-a·ŋs-[L]/ chief-EVID-VOC
- (24) *hu n' i' i' k' a' qkcu wa...ŋs* You're all going to get some whale!
 /hu n' i-q-?i (k)[L]-?a:qk-c-u:w-a·ŋs-[L]/
 whale-COMB-go to take..-FUT-INF-Iip-EVID-VOC

Imperative particles ending in the future morpheme *-k* and certain interjections are rendered vocative by the affixing of *-a:y* to the end of the word.

- (25) *hawa' y* Hey!
 /hawa-a:y/ SURPRISE-VOC
- (26) *čuk' a' ?kka' y* Come on home!
 /čuk' a-?k-k-a:y/ come on!-TEM-FUT(come)-VOC

The vocative marking discussed above is obligatory only when the speaker is calling out in a loud voice, especially to listeners at some distance, e.g. from a canoe in the sea to people on the beach, from a woman in a village to her husband coming out of the woods, from someone outside a house to someone inside it, etc. In nonobligatory contexts (i.e. where the vocative is appropriate but optional, e.g. a forceful command), often only one of the potentially marked words is in fact marked; for example, the predicate, the addressee NP, or some other NP.

4.3. Inflection

This next section concerns the normal predicative inflection of all stems. Inflectional affixes are distinguished from other affixes by the following characteristics (cf. also section 4.6). First, they never precede noninflectional affixes. Second, an inflectional mood, tense, or mode morpheme affixed to a predicate has within its scope a whole clause. Other inflectional affixes, such as *-m'inh* PL, *-?is* DIM, *-?at* PASS, *-uk* POSS, and *-ka* 'again', can be attached to a predicate when the affix is actually appropriate (semantically) to a nonpredicative clausal constituent such as an adjunct (i.e. a subject or object NP).

When inflectional suffixes cooccur, it is in a fixed order: PL - DIM - MODE - TENSE - PASS - POSS - MOOD - PRO - MOOD - TENSE - IT (IT standing for 'again, iterative'). MODE, TENSE, and MOOD designate sets of morphemes which are not necessarily in complementary distribution. In contrast, the members of the PRO (pronominal) set cannot cooccur within one stem.

4.3.1. Mode

Modes are distinguished from moods in Kyuquot by the following characteristics.

1. Modes can occur with each other and with moods, whereas most moods cannot cooccur.
2. Modes precede tense morphemes, whereas moods follow them.
3. Modes have no influence on the choice of the pronominal suffix series. This choice is a function of a stem's mood.
4. Modes focus on the speaker's viewpoint: *-cim* 'I prefer..', *-akva* 'I figure/deduce..', *-matak* 'I think..', and *-?ah* 'I pretend/assume..'. In contrast, moods focus on the assertion itself: its factuality (as real, subordinate, conditional, or unreal) and its source (observation, hearsay, deduction, or quotation).

There are five modes, four of which occur in predicates inflected for a variety of moods and one which occurs only in predicates inflected for the relative indefinite mood *-(y)i:*. The first four modes are ordered as follows: *-cim* POSB is leftmost, *-?ah* is rightmost, *-matak*

PROB and *-ak^wa* MUST cooccur in either order. The final mode, *-wu:s* IRREL, does not occur with the others.

By far the most common mode is *-matak* PROB, which can mean 'possibly, probably, maybe, perhaps, I think...'. It can be present in a word inflected for any tense or not inflected for tense at all.

- (27) *sa^wsinmatk* I think it's probably a hummingbird
- (28) *qi^wmatak^wλ* It's probably been quite a while
 /qi^w-matak-^wak/ long time-PROB-TEM
- (29) *λ^wi^wciλmatk^wa^wqλ* I'm pretty sure she'll shoot
 /λ^wi^w-^wxi(λ)-matak-^wa:qλ/ shoot-MOM-PROB-FUT
- (30) *huqsa^wp^wmatkinti^wk* I think you dumped it
 /huq-sa^wp-matak-int-(y)i:-k/ spill-MOMCAUS-PROB-PAST-INDF-II

The *-matak-^wa:qλ* sequence can also mean 'might intend to'; the *-matak-int* sequence can also mean 'might have'.

The second most common mode is *-ak^wa* MUST, meaning 'must have, must, probably'. It signifies that an assertion has been deduced on the basis of evidence rather than experience of the event itself. Like *-matak*, it occurs with any tense or in the absence of a tense morpheme.

- (31) *huqsa^wpek^w* He must have dumped it (the stuff was
 /huq-sa^wp-ck^wa^w/ no longer around)
 spill-MOMCAUS-MUST
- (32) *ha^wukek^wλ* She's probably eaten it by now
 /ha^wuk-ck^wa^w-^wak/ (she's had enough time)
 eat(DUR)-MUST-TEM
- (33) *huqsa^wpek^wa^w?qλ* She must be going to spill
- (34) *huqsa^wpek^wint* She must have already dumped it

The source of evidence indicated by *-ak^wa* can be verbal (when an event or fact is reported) or physical (when a certain object is absent, present, or somehow effected, e.g. made wet).

The other modes are less common. Whereas *-matak* qualifies an assertion by identifying it as an opinion of the speaker and *-ak^wa*

qualifies an assertion by lowering its empirical claim to factuality (because it is based on deduction rather than observation or experience), *-cim* POSB and *-ah* IRR render an assertion irrealis. The *-cim* morpheme lends a sense of urgency, duty, or emphasis to an assertion, and can be translated as 'would certainly, should, ought, might'. It is not present in a stem inflected for future tense.

- (35) *haʔukcimyi·s* I would CERTAINLY eat (if..)
 /haʔuk-cim-(y)i:-s/ eat(DUR)-POSB-INDF-I'
- (36) *yuaʔa·cimʔaxi·s* I'd REALLY like to (but can't)
 /yuaʔa·-cim-ʔaxi-(y)i:-s/ also-POSB-TEM-INDF-I
- (37) *wikeiminti·k qʔaʔap* You shouldn't have been doing it
 /wik-cim-int-(y)i:-k qʔa-ʔap/ not-POSB-PAST-INDF-II thus-CAUS
- (38) *ʔāā·qcimmaha qʔis* Who might have done it?
 /ʔāā·q-cim-na-qa-a: .. / who?-POSB-PAST-QUE* do

The fourth mode, *-ah* IRR, is the irrealis mode, meaning 'would (have)'. It gives no sense of urgency, duty, etc. but rather indicates that the assertion thus marked is an alternative to what is true, concerning an event or state, in either past, present, or future.

- (39) *mʔ iʔsiʔahč* It might rain (according to him)
 /mʔ iʔ-si(ʔ)-ʔah-č/ rain-MOM-IRR-INF
- (40) *ʔukʔi·čcipʔahaʔs* You could make me one!
 /ʔu-(č)i·čci-p-ʔah-ʔaxi-i:-s/ it-make..-for-IRR-TEM-IMPV-I
- (41) *huqsa·pʔahi·k* You might be dumping it right now
 /huq-sa·p-ʔah-(y)i:-k/ spill-MOMCAUS-IRR-INDF-II'
- (42) *huqsa·pʔaha·qʔ* He might be going to dump it later
- (43) *huqsa·pʔahint* He might have dumped it earlier

A mode semantically dominates any mode occurring to its left. Thus, *-ckʔa·-matak* 'possibly, appears' has the notion of probability dominant, whereas the evidential notion is subordinate. In the reverse morpheme sequence, *-matak-ckʔa·* 'must have (possibly)', it is the notion of evidentiality, contributed by *-ckʔa·*, which is dominant.

(44) *taʔiʔtʔiʔiʔiʔackʷamatk* I think he's pretending to be sick
(based on how he looks)

/taʔiʔ-tʔiʔiʔa[L]-ckʷaʰ-matak/ sick-pretend to...MUST-PROB

(45) *taʔiʔtʔiʔiʔiʔamatakʷ* He's evidently pretending to be sick

The morpheme *-matak* may also modify *-cim* POSB. In such a case, what is asserted to be possible includes the urgency, duty, or other emphatic irrealis information transmitted by *-cim*.

(46) *kʰwaciʔcimatk* I think it could break

/kʰw-a-ʔi(ʰ)-cim-matak/ break-MOM-POSB-PROB

Similarly, *-ckʷaʰ* MUST can modify *-cim*. In that case, the evidentiality has precedence; i.e. the speaker is qualifying his assertion of duty or strong possibility by indicating that his assertion is based on evidence and deduction rather than on observed, reported, or generally known fact.

(47) *kʰwaciʔcimekʷ* It is evident that it could break

Finally, the irrealis mode, *-ʰah*, can qualify all the other modes previously discussed, thereby rendering the qualified assertion irrealis.

(48) *huqsaʰpcimʰahint* He could have spilled it (but didn't)

(49) *huqsaʰpckʷahint* She was evidently going to spill it
(but didn't)

(50) *huqsaʰpmatʰahint* She might have spilled it, I think

The mode *-wu:s* IRREL occurs only in relative clause predicates inflected for the indefinite relative mood *-(y)i:*.

(51) *yaqwuʰsati qahsaʰpʰt* I wonder whom he might have been
killed by (if he is killed)

/yaqʷ-wu:s-ʰat-(y)i: qah-saʰp-ʰat/

who-IRREL-PASS-INDF die-MOMCAUS-PASS

As a mode, *-wu:s* has no influence on the choice of past tense allomorph. The morpheme *-wu:s* IRREL has arisen due to a reanalysis of the irrealis mood **-wu:si:* (found, for example, in Port Alberni Nootka). This reanalysis is incomplete in either a diachronic or morphological sense because there are structures in which *-wu:s* occurs following a tense morpheme

and behaves like a mood, being responsible for the choice of past tense morpheme. As an irrealis mood, *-wu:si:* occurs with the past tense allomorph *-na*, whereas a realis mood such as *-(y)i:* INDF occurs with the allomorph *-int*. In other structures, *-wu:s* precedes the tense morpheme and behaves like a mode. Compare (52) and (53).

- (52) *yaqnaʷu·si* I wonder who it might have been
/yaqʷ-na-wu:si:/ who-PAST-IRREL
- (53) *yaqʷu·satinti* I wonder/whom it might have been
/yaqʷ-wu:s-ʷat-int-(y)i:/ who-IRREL-PASS-PAST-INDF done by

In (52) the irrealis mood associates with *-na*; in (53) the indefinite (but not irrealis) mood associates with *-int*.

4.3.2. Tense

In Kyuquot, tense morphemes follow the mode morphemes and can be ordered as follows: FUTURE TEMPORAL PAST (cf. examples (68) and (69) for support). Tense is commonly unspecified in Kyuquot. In such unmarked predicates, the assertion can be true for past or present, whether perfective or not.

- (54) *mʷ iʰs iʰ* It rained (previously)/ It rains
/mʷ iʰ-ʰi(ʰ)/ rain-MOM
- (55) *mʷ iʰa* It was/is raining
/mʷ iʰ-(y)a/ rain-CONT
- (56) *mʷ iʰi·ʰ* It was/is starting to rain
/mʷ iʰ-ʰi·ʰi(ʰ)/ rain-INC

Future assertions which are hortative ('let's...!') or imperative are commonly unmarked for future, and even nonhortative nonimperative assertions can be unmarked for future, although this latter case is less common.

- (57) *waʰsiʰin* Let's go home (tomorrow)!
/waʰ-ʰi(ʰ)-ʰi-n/ go home-MOM-IMPV-IP
- (58) *ʰi·qʰi ʰaya* There will still be a lot
/ʰi-qʰi·- [L] .. / same-DUR-GRAD many

There is no simple future tense in Kyuquot; that is, an inflectional affix indicating that an event will occur subsequent to the utterance-defined present. Instead, there is a morpheme $-ʔa:qʰ$ FUT which unites the sense of future tense with that of intention, at least in contexts where there is the possibility of control or intention by a participant. This participant need be neither speaker nor subject.

- (59) *qaḥsa·pʔa·qʰ tniš* We will all be killed!
 /qaḥ-sd·p-ʔa:qʰ-ʔat-n-iš/ die-MOMCAUS*FUT-PASS-1p-IND

The time of the event marked by $-ʔa:qʰ$ can be prior or subsequent to the utterance-defined present (i.e. the present defined as the time of the utterance). When $-ʔa:qʰ$ occurs with $-int$ PAST, the event can occur either in the future but prior to some subsequent event (as in (60)) or in the past but subsequent to some other related event (as in (61)).

- (60) *ḥininqu Bill : ʔusi·kʔa·qʰintin* When Bill comes, we'll have made it
 /ḥin.-in-qu: .. ʔu-si·k-ʔa:qʰ-int-in/
 there(MOM)-come-COND .. it-finish.-FUT-PAST-1p

- (61) *ʔuci·čkʔa·qʰkint tʔašis* He was intending to go to Tahsis
 /ʔu-c-ʔi:-š(ʰ)-ʔa:qʰ-ʔak-int ../
 it-at-go to.-MOM-FUT-TEM-PAST Tahsis

The future occurrence of an event can be identified by $-ʔa:qʰ$ if the predication is based on knowledge of intent. For example, in a transitive predicate, the agent is known to have the intent and power to cause the event to occur.

- (62) *kʔ iḥsa·pʔa·qʰ* He will/intends to break it
 /kʔ iḥ-sa·p-ʔa:qʰ/ break-MOMCAUS-FUT

The use of $-ʔa:qʰ$ is appropriate even if the predicate is passive as in (59). Intransitive predicates can also be marked by $-ʔa:qʰ$ if an agent, whether specified or not, can be held as responsible for the event.

- (63) *kʔ iḥšika·qʰ* It will break!
 /kʔ iḥ-š(ʰ)-ʔa:qʰ/ break-MOM-FUT

For example, sentence (63) would be appropriate if someone is holding

an object over the edge of a table by one finger.

To contrast the control and noncontrol situations, consider the appropriate contexts for the following sentences.

(64) *qaḥṣiḥʔa·qḥmatk* I think he will die
 /*qaḥ-ṣi(ḥ)-ʔa:qḥ-matak/* die-MOM-FUT-PROB

(65) *qaḥṣiḥw'ic' matk* I think he's about to die
 /*qaḥ-ṣi(ḥ)-w'it'as-matak/* die-MOM-about to..-PROB

In the *-ʔa:qḥ* version, some agent has control over the person's dying. It could be an executioner, an evil shaman, or a charging animal. In the *-w'it'as* version, there is not necessarily an agent. The person may have been slowly dying of a chronic disease and now nearing the end.

In contexts where no controlling participant can be posited, *-ʔa:qḥ* occurs as a future marker.

(66) *m'ixi·čḥʔa·qḥ* It's going to rain
 /*m'ix-či·či(ḥ)-ʔa:qḥ/* rain-INC-FUT

Consultants acknowledge that, in the past, certain ritual actions might have triggered such normally uncontrolled events.

By far the most commonly occurring tense morphemes are *-ʔaḥ* and *-int* (~*na*). In this work, *-ʔaḥ* has been identified as TEM ('temporal'). It cannot be defined as denoting the present tense because it can occur with the future or the past tense.

(67) *t'in'isinpʔa·qḥ' aḥ' ti·su* You're all going to be made to throw
 them down on the beach then
 /*t'i-n'is-inip-ʔa:qḥ-ʔaḥ-ʔat-(y)i:-su:/*
 throw-at beach slope-MOMCAUS-FUT-TEM-PASS-INDF-IIp

(68) *haʔuk'ḥint* She ate at that point/ She has eaten
 She has been eating and still is

The function of *-ʔaḥ* is to indicate that the event asserted occurs at a specified time or during a specified time duration. It can also indicate that an event occurring prior to some utterance has an effect still experienced at the time that utterance is produced. This latter function is somewhat similar to that of a perfect tense or aspect.

Contrast the meanings of the following two sentences.

(76) *hawi·č̣inti·s ʔuci·č̣k : q̣iya·tq phone*

/hawi·t·č̣i(κ)-int-(y)i:-s ʔu-c-ʔi:-č̣i(κ) q̣i-(y)a-ʔi·tq :./
 finish-INC-PAST-INDF-I it-at-go to..-MOM which-.time-REL phone
 I had already been there (and back) when he phoned

Typically, in contexts where two events are both past but one is also past with respect to the other, the more recent one is unmarked for tense.

The stylistics of tense usage is beyond the scope of this work. However, it can be noted that time as a point in relation to the time when an utterance is produced is also indicated by noninflectional suffixes (cf. for example sections 4.4.5 and 4.4.6).

4.3.3. Mood and Pronominal Suffixes

The tense affixes precede the mood affixes. Each mood morpheme associates with one set of pronominal suffixes (except the inferential (INF) and quotative (QUOT) which must associate with some other mood morpheme responsible for the choice of pronominal suffix). The mood and pronominal affixes are positioned as follows.

TABLE 11: POSITION OF MOOD AND PRONOMINAL AFFIXES

CLASS	MOOD		MOOD
Subordinate	Relative Possessive Subordinate Relative Indef.		
Irrealis	Dubitative Purposive Interrogative Conditional	(INF)	
Indefinite	Indefinite		
Realis	Absolutive	(INF) (QUOT).	(Evidential)
		«QUOT»	Indicative «QUOT»
Imperative	Imperative		

P R O N O U N
S U F F I X

The above chart indicates that most mood morphemes precede the pronominal affix and that most moods are in complementary distribution.

The majority of mood affixes occur with one set of pronominal affixes, the *absolute* series. The absolute series can occur without a mood affix present. In this case, the predicate thus marked is in the absolute (i.e. unmarked) mood. Those mood affixes occurring with the absolute series are: relative indefinite $-(y)i:$ INDF, dubitative $-qa^{\cdot}c'$ DUB, interrogative $-ha^{\cdot}$ QUE, conditional $-qu:$ COND, subordinate $-qa^{\cdot}$ SUB, and the evidential $-a^{\cdot}ʃ$ EVID. These mood and pronominal series are given below. The pronominal forms are straightforward: I, II, and III refer to first, second, and third person respectively; Ip is not specified as inclusive or exclusive; plural forms refer only to plural referents. The morpheme $-?a^{\cdot}ʃ$ PL is included in the paradigms although it is not treated here as a pronominal suffix.

In the following paradigms, where a morpheme sequence has an alternate underlying form which is abstract but which would yield the same output by the operation of regular phonological rules and which regularizes the paradigm, this alternate form is added in slash brackets. Recall that long vowels are long in first or second syllables only and that obligatorily long vowels unprotected by a consonant are short in third and later syllables.

	ABSOLUTE	INDEFINITE	SUBORDINATE	DUBITATIVE
I	-s	$-(y)i:-s$	$-qa^{\cdot}-s$	$-qa^{\cdot}-c / qa^{\cdot}c'-s/$
II	-k	$-(y)i:-k$	$-qa^{\cdot}-k$	$-qa^{\cdot}c'-k$
III	∅	$-(y)i:$	$-qa^{\cdot}$	$-qa^{\cdot}c'$
Ip	-in	$-(y)i-n / -(y)i:-in/$	$-q-in / -qa^{\cdot}-in/$	$-qa^{\cdot}c'-in$
IIp	-su:	$-(y)i:-su:$	$-qa^{\cdot}-su:$	$-qa^{\cdot}-cu: / -qa^{\cdot}c'-su:/$
IIIp	$-?a^{\cdot}ʃ$	$-?a^{\cdot}ʃ$	$-qa^{\cdot}?ʃ / -qa^{\cdot}-?a^{\cdot}ʃ/$	$-qa^{\cdot}c'?ʃ / -qa^{\cdot}c'-?a^{\cdot}ʃ/$
	EVIDENTIAL	INTERROGATIVE	CONDITIONAL	
I	$-s-a^{\cdot}ʃ$	$-ha^{\cdot}-s$	$-qu:-s$	
II		$-ha^{\cdot}-k -k$	$-qu:-k$	
III	$-a^{\cdot}ʃ$	$-ha^{\cdot}$	$-qu:$	
Ip	$-in-a^{\cdot}ʃ / -in-a^{\cdot}ʃ/$	$-h-in / -ha^{\cdot}-in/$	$-qu-n / -qu:-in/$	
IIp		$-ha^{\cdot}-su:$	$-qu:-su:$	
IIIp	$-a^{\cdot}ʃaʃ / -a^{\cdot}ʃ-?a^{\cdot}ʃ/$	$-ha^{\cdot}?ʃ / -ha^{\cdot}-?a^{\cdot}ʃ/$	$-qu:-?aʃ / -qu:-?a^{\cdot}ʃ/$	

The other moods are each associated with a unique pronominal series, although the morphemes for any person are phonologically similar. The other pronominal series will be presented as the associated mood is discussed. The vertical ordering of moods in Table 11 represents a rough categorization of the moods by their morphological characteristics (e.g. position with respect to the pronominal series, privilege of occurrence with qualifying moods) and function.

4.3.3.1. Subordinating Moods

The subordinating moods or mood compounds are considered first. There are five: relative, subordinate, possessive, indefinite relative, and irrealis indefinite relative. This last mood, or mood compound (-wu:s-(y)i:) is posited for cases where -wu:s, the relative irrealis morpheme, follows mode and tense suffixes. The relative mood paradigm is similar to the subordinate, but begins with -?i·t- in second and third person. The following paradigms are given in both synchronic and abstract (diachronic) underlying forms.

	RELATIVE	DIACHRONIC SOURCE
I	-qa·-s	-qa·-s
II	-?i·t-k	-?i·t-qa·-k
III	-?i·t-q	-?i·t-qa·
I _p	-q-in	-qa·-in
II _p	-?i·t-q-su:	-?i·t-qa·-su:
III _p	-?i·t-q-aʔ	-?i·t-qa·-?a·ʔ

Vowel elision, shortening, and loss account for all differences between the relative forms and their posited sources, except for the absence of *q* in the second person singular. In a sequence of two or three stops, the second to last surfaces as a fricative if it is a back consonant. Evidently, this fricative has been lost in this paradigm. The derivation of second person singular would involve the following stages: -?i·t-qa·k → -?i·t-qa-k → -?i·t-q-k → -?i·t-χ-k → -?i·t-k (by vowel length assignment, vowel loss (in third or later syllable), fricativization, and consonant deletion).

The possessive mood is similar to both subordinate and relative

moods. It is, however, reserved for nominals and is discussed as part of NP inflection.

Subordinating moods are found affixed to the head predicate of relative clauses and mood-marked discourse-subordinate coordinate clauses or sentences. Within relative clauses, either the definite relative $-?i\cdot tq$ or the indefinite (relative) $-(y)i:$ must be present. The indefinite relative occurs if the subject or the content of the relative predicate is not uniquely and positively identified to the matrix subject, the speaker, or the listener.

- (77) *hayimh q^wisi* They don't know what happened (but the
 /.. q^wis-(y)i:/ speaker and/or listener might)
 not know happen-INDF
- (78) *q^wa[?]a[?]q^hi tu[?]ema* I wonder what the woman will be like
 /q^wa[?]-[?]a:q^h-(y)i: ../ thus-FUT-INDF woman
- (79) *?u^h?i[?]s ha qu[?]asi yaqinti t'ip'its^h* That's the guy that fell
 /?u^h-^h-?i[?]s .. qu[?]as-[?]i[?] yaq^w-int-(y)i: t'ip'it-si(^h)
 it-ABS-IND the adult-DEF which-PAST-INDF sink-edge-MOM

In example (79), the speaker assumes that the listener is not aware of the identity of the bound referent of the relative clause (at least until the sentence is uttered). When the identity of a relative clause's bound referent is unknown only to the listener(s), it is grammatical to use either $-?i\cdot tq$ or $-(y)i:$.

If the content of a relative clause is irrealis and has an indefinite element (referent or content), the morpheme $-wu:s$ is present.

- (80) *q^wiswu[?]si* I wonder what might happen
 /q^wis-wu:s-(y)i:/ happen-IRREL-INDF
- (81) *yaqwu[?]si hapt[?]sik* Who might hide?
 /yaq^w-wu:s-(y)i: hapt-sik/ which-IRREL-INDF hide-MOM
- (82) *hayimhiyi[?]s q^wa[?]wu[?]si* I don't know what it might be like
 /hayimhi-(y)i:-s q^wa[?]-wu:s-(y)i:/ not know-INDF-I thus-IRREL-INDF

This morpheme, $-wu:s$, is found only in relative clauses and only with the mood $-(y)i:$.

Although a relative clause with a nondefinite antecedent must have its head predicate affixed by $-(y)i:$, an irrealis relative clause need not be affixed by $-wu:s$. Irrealis relative clauses are also marked by $-ah$ IRR, the irrealis mode. Consider the following sentences.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (83) | $q^wi?i \cdot cnu \cdot si$ | I wonder what he might be eating |
| | $/q^wi-?i \cdot c-wu:s-(y)i:/$ | what-eat...-IRREL-INDF |
| (84) | $q^wi?i \cdot c^?ah$ | I wonder what he might be eating |
| | $/q^wi-?i \cdot c-?ah-(y)i:/$ | what-eat...-IRR-INDF |

These two irrealis morphemes, $-wu:s$ and $-?ah$, do not cooccur. There is at least one difference in their functions. Both $-wu:s$ and $-?ah$ occur with past morphemes but only $-?ah$ occurs with the future morpheme $-?a:q^h$. This might be because $-wu:s$ itself conveys a notion of futurity. However, other modal or temporal notions are redundantly specified by cooccurring morphemes, e.g. the evidential in $-ak^wa \cdot a^?s$ MUST-EVID.

When the antecedent of a relative clause is uniquely and positively identified to at least one of the matrix subject or the speaker, the definite relative mood is used, affixed to the relative predicate. In addition, when the knowledge of the identity is to be emphasized (for the matrix or relative subject), the relative definite mood can be used even if that identity is not known to the speaker. In the past tense, i.e. when affixed by $-na$, the relative and subordinate moods are neutralized in that the subordinate mood is used in place of the relative mood as well as in contexts calling for the subordinate mood. Contrast the following relative clauses, differing semantically only in tense: $yaq-?i \cdot tq \text{ } napni \cdot t$ 'the one who is a priest' and $yaq-na-q \text{ } napni \cdot t$ 'the one who was a priest'.

Relative clauses can stand as formally independent sentences. An $-?i \cdot tq$ -marked clause can be a conversationally-deictic assertion, such as *that's what he did* or *that's whom he did it to*. A $-(y)i:$ -marked clause can be a rhetorical content question. Only predicates identified by relative bases can be affixed by definite relative affixes; only predicates consisting of relative bases and affixed by $-(y)i:$ or consisting of interrogative bases and affixed by $-ha$ can be interpreted as content questions.

The subordinate mood *-qa** and the indefinite (relative) mood *-(y)i:*, but not the relative mood *-?i·tq*, are also found in nonrelative clauses. The subordinate mood is limited in its distribution. In one set of 1300 sentences from fifteen texts (including myths, conversations, and personal narratives), there were no instances of subordinate *-qa** other than those marking a complement as irrealis, either because it was untrue (as in (85)) or because it was the reverse of the state or event which one wished were true.

- (85) *?uqhtip su·ha·q* He thought it was a salmon
 /.. *su·ha·-qa**/ think salmon-SUB

There are instances of *-qa** as a matrix predicate mood in clauses which are discourse subordinate.

- (86) *?uhtin q'icip* It's made of cedarbark
 /?'u·htin-qa* .. / it-made of..-SUB cedarbark

In contrast, *-(y)i:* is very common. The discussion of its use is found in section 4.3.3.5.

4.3.3.2. Irrealis Moods

The next set of moods are the irrealis moods: purposive, interrogative, conditional, and dubitative. These moods (except for the last one) are optionally qualified by the inferential mood *-?i* and cannot be qualified by the quotative mood *-wa**.

The purposive mood identifies an aim or purpose and has a unique pronominal suffix paradigm.

	PURPOSIVE	DIACHRONIC SOURCE
I	- 'a:(h)s	- 'a:-(h)-s
II	- 'a:-c	- 'a:-t -a'c
III	- 'a:-t	- 'a:-t
I _p	- 'a:-n	- 'a: -in
II _p	- 'a:-cu:	- 'a:-t -su:
III _p	- 'a:-t-at	- 'a:-t -?a't

This paradigm consists basically of a morpheme (sequence) *- 'a:-t* preceding the absolutive series. Exceptions are the second person, indicated

by an indicative rather than an absolutive pronominal affix, and the first person's absence of *-t* and presence of *-h*. The optional omission of *-h* appears to be a Kyuquot innovation which serves to regularize the paradigm. Port Alberni Nootka, for example, has *h* in the first person singular only but it is obligatory there (cf. Sapir and Swadesh 1939:242).

Examples of the purposive mood are given below.

- (87) *?uk^{wi}.c'a(h)s* That's so I can have my own
 /*?uk^wa-i.c-'a:h-s/* self-belonging to..-PURP-I
- (88) *č'ičikəp'a.t si čit* It's so he can cut it for me
 /*č'it-š(i)(x)-čip-'a:t si-(č)it [L]/* cut-MOM-for-PURP I-do to..
- (89) *watš'i'a'n* Let's go home!
 /*wat-š(i)(x)-'a:-n/* go home-MOM-PURP-IP

The purposive most commonly occurs as a hortative in first person plural subject predicates as in (89).

The interrogative morpheme *-ha'* obligatorily marks all interrogative matrix predicates other than indefinite relative rhetorical content questions. Questions are not identified by inversion or intonation. The question mood occurs with any tense or mode and also with a cranberry morpheme *-a:* which follows *-ha'-s*, *-ha'-k*, or *-ha'*. This cranberry affix is not associated with yes-no questions as in Makah (cf. Jacobsen 1973:15) and is not limited to stems in which the pronominal affix is coreferential to the question stem. The distribution of *-a:* is not understood.

- (90) *?ač'a.qha qahsa'p* Who killed it?
 /*?ač'a-q-ha'-a: qah-sa'p/* who?-QUE* die-MOMCAUS
- (91) *?ač'isu.ph* Whom did he kill?
 /*?ač'i-swirip-ha'/'* who?-kill..-QUE

The conditional mood morpheme *-qu:* is irrealis in its conditional sense ('if, when, whenever') because a conditional state either has not occurred yet or, if it has occurred, cannot be situated at a particular point in time. Like other clauses inflected for a subordinating mood, a *-qu:*-marked clause need not be structurally subordinate but can serve as an independent clause, meaning 'if only, as if, seems, should, etc.'.

- (92) *wikqu· wa'ic̣ čamaht* He couldn't seem to sleep properly
 /wik-qu: ... / not-COND sleep properly
- (93) *ʔi' k'uhšikqu·č* It was as if he'd put his hand over
 /.. k'uhš-i(k)-qu:-č/ CLIMAX slap-MOM-COND-INF it
- (94) *kutqu·su* If only you were all nice!
 /kut-qu:-su:/ nice-COND-IIp

Subordinate clauses marked by *-qu:* are conditional: 'when(ever)..', 'if..', or 'until..'. B

- (95) *wi·y'a ha'uk'k: ʔa'atukqu·s* She doesn't answer when I ask her
 /.. ha'uk-š-i(k) ʔa'atuk-qu:-s/ never back-MOM ask-TEM-COND-I

The conditional has a second function. This latter function, seemingly aligned to the gloss 'whenever', is the identification of an event as habitual.

- (96) *histaqša'kqu nimqi·š* They would periodically come from
 /his.-taq-š-i(k)-'ak-qu: .../ Nimkish there-come from..-MOM-TEM-COND

The habitual reading of *-qu:* is apparently restricted to verbal predicates.

The conditional and interrogative moods can be qualified by the inferential mood as follows.

	CONDITIONAL INFERENTIAL	INTERROGATIVE INFERENTIAL
I	-qu:-č /-qu:-č-s/	-ha·-č /-ha·-č-s/
II	-qu:-č-k	-ha·-č-k
III	-qu:-č	-ha·-č
Ip	-qu:-č-in	-ha·-č-in
IIp	-qu:-cu /-qu:-č-su:/	-ha·-ču: /-ha·-č-su:/
IIIp	-qu:-č-aš /-qu:-č-ʔa·š/	-ha·-č-aš /-ha·-č-ʔa·š/

The presence of *č* in the underlying forms of these mood-pronominal suffix sequences requires the positing of an assimilation rule: $\check{c} \rightarrow c / _s$. Regular fricative merging accounts in part for the change of *cs* to *c*.

The presence of the inferential in a predicate indicates that the assertion or question expressed is, or has presuppositions, based on

secondary information such as hearsay or opinion.

- (97) *suk^wa[?]ʔkqu[?]č k[?]aqmⁱs* He would periodically dip up oil
 (so the story goes)
 /su-či(k)-[?] aʔ-qu: -č k[?]aq-mⁱs/ take-MOM-TEM-COND-INF[?] fat-NOM
- (98) *ʔaya[?]ʔkqu[?]čač* There could be a lot of them here
 /ʔaya-[?] aʔ-qu: -č-ʔa[?]č/ many-TEM-COND-INF-PL
- (99) *ʔaqiⁿ aʔh^e* What am I supposed to be seeking?
 /ʔaqi-n[?] a[?]h-[?]ha[?]-c/ what?-seek...-QUE-I(INF)
- (100) *k[?]u[?]ha[?]čk* Are you considered nice?
 /k[?]u[?]-[?]ha[?]-č-k/ nice-QUE-INF-II

It is tempting to claim that the dubitative mood *-qa[?]č[?]* 'perhaps' is a morpheme compound composed of the subordinate *-qa[?]* plus the inferential *-č[?]* (and a hardening cranberry suffix *-[?]a*). This may well be the diachronic source. It is, however, not well-motivated as a synchronic source. There is no evidence that the meaning of *-qa[?]č[?]* is the sum of the meanings and functions of the subordinate plus the inferential morphemes: *-qa[?]č[?]* is not a subordinating mood and does not occur in formally subordinate predicates.

The dubitative mood concentrates on the possibility of an event or state.

- (101) *k[?]u[?]pa[?]sqač[?]* It must be hot. Perhaps it's hot.
 /k[?]u[?]p-(y)a[?]-(s)as-qa[?]č[?]/ hot-CONT-really-DUB
- (102) *hič[?]ʔaʔqacu ha[?]ʔuk* Maybe you'll be where you're to eat
 /hič[?]-(q)h[?]-[?]aʔ-qa[?]-cu: .. / there-SIM-TEM-DUB-IIp eat(DUR)

The mood *-qa[?]č[?]* DUB is in some respects similar to the mode *-matak* PROB 'probably, possibly'. For example, they can both occur freely with any tense or mode. There is, however, at least one difference between them. When a predicate includes *-matak*, it asserts that a certain event is a possibility and also that the speaker tends to agree with such an assertion. In contrast, the presence of *-qa[?]č[?]* does not necessarily imply that the speaker believes in the possibility of the event and can give a clause the quality of an ironical question.

- (103) *han'ahsimqač'at* Do you think they really have to be
 /han'ah-sim-qač'at/ naked (I doubt it)
 naked-need...-DUB-PL

4.3.3.3. Evidential Mood

The evidential mood indicates that

1. the content or truth of an assertion has been discovered by the speaker as in (104) and (105);
2. there is direct evidence (e.g. a picture or observation) to corroborate an assertion as in (106) and (107); or
3. the listener is being informed and invited to agree that the assertion is noncontroversial and should be evident to him as in (105) and (107).

- (104) *a'imt'u'sš*
 /a'imt'u'-a'sš/

Oh, there's a squirrel!
 squirrel-EVID

- (105) *kušsa'sš*
 /kuš-s-a'sš/

Oh, so now I'm nice, eh! or I AM nice!
 nice-I-EVID

- (106) *mamu'k'a'sšat*
 /mamu-uk-a'sš-at/

I see they sure are working hard!
 work-DUR-EVID-PL

- (107) *pay'inkina'sš*
 /pink-vy'-in-a'sš/

We are evidently/obviously still awake!
 awake-PL-IP-EVID

The evidential mood has no second person forms unless the inferential affix is also present. The first person evidential is generally used in ironic or controversial contexts.

The inferential and quotative moods can occur independently or can cooccur as *-č-wa* (in the latter case, only in the third person).

- (108) *?una'kčwa.šanti ?u'stis* Oysters were supposed to have a name
 /?u-na'kč-wa... .. / it-have...-INF-QUOT name oysters

Evidently, the independent occurrence of inferential and/or quotative moods is found only for the third person singular. Hence, the quotative and inferential mood morphemes are considered dependent or qualifying moods which always accompany another mood affix. In the cases of apparent independent occurrence, it is posited that the inferential and quotative affixes are in the company of the absolutive mood (Ø).

In addition, the inferential or quotative can occur with the evidential mood. Like the combinations of the quotative or the inferential with the absolutive mood, the combinations of the quotative (or quotative and inferential) with the evidential are found only in the third person singular as *-wa^{*}-ŋš* and *-č-wa^{*}-ŋš* respectively.

(109) *wabšihwaŋš* Evidently, they said he went home
 /wab-š*i*(*ŋ*)-wa^{*}-a^{*}ŋš/ go home-MOM-QUOT-EVID

(110) *wabšihčwaŋš* Evidently, they must have said he went home
 /wab-š*i*(*ŋ*)-č-wa^{*}-a^{*}ŋš/ go home-MOM-INF-QUOT-EVID

In contrast; the inferential evidential mood compound is common. Its paradigm is given below.

	INFERENCEAL EVIDENTIAL	DIACHRONIC SOURCE
I	-(c)-s-a [*] ŋš	-č-s [*] -a [*] ŋš
II	-č-k-a [*] ŋš	-č-k -a [*] ŋš
III	-č-a [*] ŋš	-č -a [*] ŋš
I _p	-č-in-aŋš	-č-in -a [*] ŋš
II _p	-c-u [*] w-aŋš	-č-su:-a [*] ŋš
III _p	-č-a [*] t-aŋš	-č-a [*] t- [?] a [*] ŋš

This paradigm is largely composed of the inferential *-č*, absolutive pronominal, and evidential *-a^{*}ŋš*. The surface form of *čs* is *c* by regular rule although the occurrence of *c* in surface forms only following a vowel in first person singular is anomalous. Also special is absence of vowel elision and resulting presence of a glide between underlyingly adjacent vowels in the second person plural form.

The third person plural is the most idiosyncratic. It appears to be a product of an analogy on certain quotative indicative suffixes, namely the forms used for third person singular and plural: *-wa^{*}-š* and *-wa^{*}-t-aŋš*. A second reason for the form of the III_p inferential evidential may be that it enables one to distinguish between a III_p subject and a III subject with III_p object or oblique, the latter being indicated by *-č-a^{*}ŋš-aŋš* as in (111).

- (111) *qaḥsa·pintčeaʃsət* He evidently must have killed them
 /qaḥ-sa·p-int-č-a·ʃs-ʔa·t/ die-MOMCAUS-PAST-INF-EVID-PL

A parallel distinction is found in indicative forms, where the mood affix also typically follows the pronominal affix but precedes the plural affix.

The inferential evidential is used to indicate that an assertion is a discovery that

1. concerns the listener as in (112);
2. contradicts a previously held opinion as in (113); or
3. depends on indirect information such as hearsay or deduction as in (114).

- (112) *ʔuci·čəkʔa·qkəkəʃs ʔakčiči·təm'up* You're evidently going for two days
 /ʔu-c-.ʔi:-šiči(ʔ)-ʔa:qk-č-k-a·ʃs- ʔak-čiči·t-m'up/
 it-at-so to..-MOM-FUT-INF-II-EVID two-..days-absent for..

- (113) *ʔakə·kčəʃs ʔanti* It must have two names, I guess
 /ʔakə-ʔak-č-a·ʃs ../
 two-POSS-INF-EVID name

- (114) *haʔuk'wəntsaʃs* I must have evidently eaten it
 (crumbs on my face and teeth)
 /haʔuk-ʔak-int-(c)-s-a·ʃs/
 eat-TEM-PAST-INF-I-EVID

4.3.3.4. Indicative Mood

The unique indicative mood paradigm is given below.

	INDICATIVE	DIACHRONIC SOURCE
I	-s-i·ʃs	-s-ʔi·ʃs
II	-a·c	-a·c(-ʔi·ʃs)
III	-ʔi·ʃs	-ʔi·ʃs
I _p	-n-iš	-n-ʔi·ʃs
II _p	-icu:-š	-icu:-ʔi·ʃs
III _p	-it-at-š	-it-ʔa·t-ʔi·ʃs

Regular rules of vowel length assignment and vowel loss account for most discrepancies between surface forms and the underlying or diachronic source. However, the loss of ʔ after *n* in the first person plural and after *t* in the third person plural is idiosyncratic. Evidently, the northern Nootkan indicative (i.e. the one employed in Kyuquot Nootka and

other dialects north of Barkley Sound) is an innovation based on the pronominal series used for the inflected particle *ʔata-* 'but', a particle no longer used in Kyuquot. Compare the Kyuquot indicative series presented above with the Port Alberni (a southern dialect) indicative and *ʔata-* pronominal series presented below.

	P.A. INDICATIVE	P.A. <i>ʔata-</i>
I	-(m)aʔh	-siš
II	-(m)eʔic	-ʔick
III	-ma ~ -a	-ʔiš
Ip	-(m)in	-niš
IIp	-(m)eʔicu:	?
IIIp	?	?

The Port Alberni indicative has no counterpart in Kyuquot, although the indicative second person Kyuquot forms may have been modeled partly on the Port Alberni second person indicative forms. The *-it* in the Kyuquot IIIp may be a remnant of the *ʔata-* particle. As with the inferential evidential, the divergence in third person singular and plural forms enables one to distinguish third person subject *-ʔiš-ət* (with third person plural object or oblique) from third person plural subject *-it-ət-š*.

The indicative mood is used for statements of fact validated by experience, observation, general cultural knowledge, or wise authority.

- (115) *wiksiš ʔuwa* I didn't say that
 /wik-s-iš ʔu-wa/ not-I-IND it-say..
- (116) *qahšimatakʔiš* I think he must be dead (pulling
 animal's intestines out of cave)
 /qah-š(i)(ʔ)-matak-ʔ-ət-ʔiš/ die-MOM-PROB-TEM-IND
- (117) *wiškšahaqkičuš* You're all going to be well
 /wik-šahi [L] -ʔa:qk-icu:-š/ not-wrong with..-FUT-IIp-IND

The indicative mood can occur with any tense. The indicative is not, however, an unmarked mood. It is found in only about five percent of matrix sentences (based on a sample of some 6000 sentences taken from conversational and narrative texts). In contrast, the indefinite and

sequence of narrative third person subject predicates.

- (119) *watšixniš* We've come home!
 /wat-š*i*(x)-n-i-š/ go home-MOM-IP-IND
- (120) *qaḥsa·p' tintiš* She was MURDERED!
 /qaḥ-sa·p-'at-int-ʔi-š/ die-MOMCAUS-PASS-PAST-IND
- (121) *kuḥa·c* You're nice
 /kuḥ-a·c/ nice-II(IND)
- (122) *čatšix čakupkwi* She shook her husband
 /čat-š*i*(x) čakup-uk-ʔi·/ shove-MOM male-POSS-DEF
- ʔuyaqḥmisiš* There's news!
 /ʔuyaqḥ-mis-ʔi-š/ tell-NOM-IND

4.3.3.5. Absolutive and Indefinite Moods

In contrast to the indicative mood, all of whose persons are employed, the second person of the absolutive mood virtually never occurs. This may be in part due to the similarity of second person absolutives *-k* II and *-su*: IIp to second person interrogatives *-ḥa·-k* (~ *-k* in third or later syllables) II and *-ḥa·-su*: (*-ḥ-su*: in third or later syllables) IIp. The second person indefinite is the usual choice when a second person subject occurs in a realis predicate, including ones which are predictions, polite requests, or commands.

- (123) *watšsa·ʔxi·k* You will please go home now
 /wat-š*i*(x)-ʔax-(y)i:-k/ go home-MOM-TEM-INDF-II

The relative likelihood of occurrence cannot be stated for the absolutive and indefinite moods by person. This is because two persons, third person plural and first person plural, are neutralized with respect to these moods, either in the post-consonantal environment, as is the case for first person plural, or in all environments, as is the case for third person plural. It is assumed that these persons behave like their singular counterparts, i.e. with the first person in the indefinite mood and the third person in the absolutive mood. In summary, given a realis assertion which is declarative but has no reason to be marked indicative, it will most likely be indefinite if the subject is first or second person

and absolutive if the subject is third person.

There appear to be some additional reasons, besides the person of the subject, for the presence of an indefinite-marked predicate. First, the indefinite mood can indicate that a nonagent is ambiguously specified (i.e. indefinite). Consider the following sentence pairs in which an indefinite predicate is contrasted with an absolutive one. Note that the predicate can be transitive or intransitive and that the nonagent can be elliptical, anaphoric, or specifically identified as to class, e.g. the class of deer in example (128).

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (124) | <i>?una·kinti·s</i>
/ʔu-na·k ^v -int-(y)i:-s/
<i>?una·kints</i> | I had one
it-have...-PAST-INDF-I
I had it |
| (125) | <i>?u·taqi·s</i>
/ʔu-taq [L]-(y)i:-s/
<i>?u·taqs</i> | I'm fixing things, something
it-work on...-INDF-I
I'm fixing it |
| (126) | <i>nahinti·s Bill</i>
/nahi-int-(y)i:-s ../
<i>?nahints·Bill</i> | I gave something to Bill
give-PAST-INDF-I
I gave Bill away |
| (127) | <i>kaʔu·matki</i>
/kaʔu-matak-(y)i:/
<i>kaʔu·matk</i> | it could be another person
other-PROB-INDF
Perhaps it was the other |
| (128) | <i>qahsa·pinti·s mawič</i>
/qah-sa·p-int-(y)i:-s ../
<i>qahsa·pints mawič</i> | I killed a deer
die-MOMCAUS-PAST-INDF-I deer
I killed a/the deer hanging around |

Second, the indefinite mood can be used if the affixed predicate is NOT the new information. Instead, some other constituent, such as the subject or oblique is the new information.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (129) | <i>qaʔu·cvi yu·q^va</i>
/qaʔu·c-(p)i·č-(y)i: ../
<i>qaʔu·cvi yu·q^va</i> | SHE'S making a basket too
basket-make...-INDF also
She's making a basket too |
|-------|--|--|

Third, the indefinite mood can indicate that the assertion is true for a period of time which is unspecified but significant. This period

can be a relatively long time as opposed to a short time as in (130) or a habitual event as opposed to a unique event as in (131).

- (130) *haptantl's* I was hiding a while, most of the time
 /hapt-(y)a^{*}-int-(y)i:-s/ hide-CONT-PAST-INDF-I
haptants I was hiding a little while, at one time
- (131) *wabšiki's* I go home periodically
 /wab-š(i)(k)-(y)i:-s/ go home-MOM-INDF-I
wabšiks I came home (once)

Finally, the indefinite mood can identify a predicate as referring to a situation ongoing at the time of utterance rather than a situation unspecified for tense.

- (132) *k'ic'u.yi's* I'm giving a potlatch now
 /k'ic'u-(y)i:-s/ potlatch-INDF-I
k'ic'u's I gave/will give a potlatch
- (133) *hisič'ki's* I'm starting/ I've started to bleed now
 /his-ič'i(k)-(y)i:-s/ bleed-INC-INDF-I
hisič'ks I started to bleed

The absolute, indefinite, and indicative moods differ in their privileges of occurrence with qualifying mood affixes. The absolute, at least in third person, can be qualified by either or both of the inferential and quotative moods. In contrast, the indefinite can be qualified by the inferential but not the quotative mood. In fact, the indefinite inferential is the usual way to express an inferential assertion. The inferential paradigm is given below.

	INDEFINITE INFERENTIAL	DIACHRONIC SOURCE
I	-(y)i:-c	-(y)i:-č-s
II	-(y)i:-č-k	-(y)i:-č-k
III	-(y)i:-č	-(y)i:-č
I _p	-(y)i:-č-in	-(y)i:-č-in
II _p	-(y)i:-cu:	-(y)i:-č-su:
III _p	-(y)i:-č-ač	-(y)i:-č-?ač

As is the general case in these paradigms, the underlying or historic sequence *os* surfaces as *a*.

The inferential indefinite mood compound is used when the content of an assertion is assumed to be true by the speaker, or has indirectly come to his attention, or is a generally held assumption.

(134) *kuʔi·cu* He said/ It's understood that you're nice
 /kuʔ-(y)i:-cu:/ nice-INDF-IIp(INF)

(135) *huqsa·pi·čk qaqaʔi·ihisinti* According to reports, you capsized
 the little berry-pickers
 /huq-sa·p-(y)i:-čk qaʔi·i·h[R]-?is-int-?i·/
 spill-MOMCAUS-INDF-INF-II salmonberry-try to get..-DIM-PAST-DEF

Hence, this mood is common in narratives to characterize assertions which, in contrast to some previous sentence, are general cultural assumptions concerning the world and the content of mental culture (e.g. stories and religious dogma).

(136) *huya·č mamataʔsi* The little bird was dancing
 /.. CV#mat-(y)a·-?is-?i·/ dance distrib-fly-CONT-DIM-DEF
huya·č·č hiʔa·eqin It was dancing in the bow of the boat,
 so the story goes
 /huya·č-(y)i:-č hiʔ-a·c-qin/dance-INDF-INF there-at bow-at head

4.3.3.6. Quotative Moods

The indicative mood contrasts with the indefinite in that it can occur with the quotative mood.

	QUOTATIVE	INDICATIVE	DIACHRONIC SOURCE
I	-wa·-s-š		-wa· -s -?i·š
II	-wa·-c		-wa· -c
III	-wa·-š		-wa· -?i·š
Ip	-wa·-n-is		-wa· -n -?i·š
IIp	-wa·-cu:-š		-wa· -cu:- -?i·š
IIIp	-wa·-t-at-š		-wa·-it-?a·t-?i·š

The quotative indicative mood is principally used to indicate that an event or state was reported by some party other than the speaker, or

listener.) Hence, the assertion is an announcement of fact (namely, that something has been reported). Reported facts, whose predicates are marked by *-wa**, are generally expressed in the indicative mood, obligatorily so if the subject is coreferential to the speaker or listener.

- (137) *wat̃s̃i kwass̃* I'm said to have gone home
 /wat̃-s̃i(κ)-wa*-s-i-s̃/ go home-MOM-QUOT-I-IND
- (138) *pu.kʷa? a.qkwat̃s̃* They're going to play poker (according
 /pu.kʷa-?a:qk-wa*-t-at̃-s̃/ poker-FUT-QUOT-IND-PL-IND
 to rumour or a caption on a photo)
- (139) *ʕi?akʷa?p? a.qkwac hu.ñi* You are instructed to cut up the whale
 /ʕi-(?a)kʷa-?ap-?a:qk-wa*-c . ./
 cut-completely-CAUS-FUT-QUOT-II(IND) whale

The quotative indicative can occur with any tense but not with a mode. There is no Kyuquot counterpart to the Port Alberni quotative mood *-we?in*, with its own unique pronominal series.

There is another quotative type of construction in Kyuquot. In an argument or interchange where one wished to stress one's assertion of an utterance, the morpheme (compound) *-wa:(q)s* is attached to an indicative predicate. Evidently, the *q* is found optionally in predicates with singular subjects (but never in ones with plural subjects). This morpheme typically indicates that the assertion thus marked contradicts one made previously.

- (140) *kuḃna.kniḃwa*s* We have a NICE one (not an ugly one)!
 /kuḃ-na.kʷ-n-i-s̃-wa:s/ nice-have..-Ip-IND-QUOTEMPH

Although the attached morpheme appears to be a cliticized form of the predicate *wa-qa*-s* 'I said..', (say-SUB-I), such a predicate cannot take a complement inflected for the indicative mood:

- (141) **wa.qa*s kuḃna.kiḃ*

Nor can a complement precede its matrix predicate. Hence, *-wa:(q)s* is treated as a mood-qualifying clitic whose diachronic source was probably the predicate *wa-qa*-s* which could have served as a discourse-subordinate coordinate clause: **kuḃna.kiḃ : wa.qa*s* 'He's got a NICE

one; that's what I say'. The *-wa:(q)s* clitic is in complementary distribution with all the other quoting morphemes: *-wa** 'say..' and *-wa** QUOT. In addition, the privileges of occurrence of these quoting morphemes differ: *-wa** 'say..' occurs with any mood; *-wa** QUOT with the indicative mood and, in the third person only, with the evidential, absolutive, and inferential moods; and *-wa:(q)s*. QUOTEMPH only with the indicative mood.

4.3.3.7. Imperative Mood

The remaining mood, the imperative, is unique. Its morpheme for IIp, *-č*, is unlike that of other moods and its future morphemes, *-im* FUT and *-k* COME, are unique as well. In addition, it is severely constrained in its privilege of occurrence with persons and modes. It can be found only in predicates with Ip or II(p) subjects and either the mode *-cim* MUST or no mode at all. The organization of mood and postmood affixes in imperative forms is as follows.

TABLE 12: IMPERATIVE MORPHEMES

Mood	Subject	Object	Tense	Object
<i>-i*</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle -in \text{ Ip} \rangle \\ -č \text{ IIp} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -is \text{ Is} \\ \langle -in \text{ Ip} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -im \text{ FUT} \\ -k \text{ COME} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>-ʔaʔ PL</i>

TABLE 13: IMPERATIVE-PRONOMINAL SEQUENCES

Subject	Object	Is	Ip	IIIs/Other	IIIp
II		<i>-i*s</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-i*</i>	<i>-aʔ</i>
IIp		<i>-i*čis</i>	<i>-i*čin</i>	<i>-i*č</i>	<i>-i*čaʔ</i>
Ip		NA	NA	<i>-in</i>	<i>-inaʔ</i>

Objects coreferential to imperative subjects are not indicated by pronominal affixes but rather by reflexive words. The deletion of word-final short vowels in third or later syllables, the (optional) deletion of word-final *ʔ*, and the processes triggered by glottalization-inducing inflectional suffixes (such as *-i** IMPV) make singular subject imperative forms particularly opaque (cf. section 2.2 for phonological rules).

(142) *ʔuʔstaʔ*
/ʔuʔ-taq [L]-i/*

Work on something!
 some-work on..-IMPV

- (143) *waʔiʕu* Go to sleep!
 /*waʔiʕ-u(ʔ)-ʔ i·*/ sleep-MOM-IMPV
- (144) *ci·qai·qaʔpʔ aʔ* Make them talk!
 /*CVC#ciq-[L]-ʔ a·-ʔ ap-ʔ a·ʔ*/ IT-speak-GRAD-CONT-CAUS-PL(IMPV)

Imperative words can be homonymous with nonimperative words. In such cases, second person singular subject, first person object imperative is parallel to first person subject absolutive and second person plural imperative is parallel to third person indefinite inferential. Examples of the imperative forms are given below.

- (145) *hapta·s* Hide from me!
 /*hapt-(y)a·-ʔ i·-s*/ hide-CONT-IMPV-I
- (146) *wi·naʔin* Let's invade!
 /*wina-[L]-ʔ i-n*/ invade-EMPH-IMPV-IP
- (147) *hupi·ʕaʔ* Help them, all of you!
 /*hupi·-ʔ i·-ʕ-aʔ*/ help-IMPV-IIP-PL

To these mood-pronominal sequences can be optionally added one of two tense morphemes, *-k* COME 'come and' (immediate future) or *-im* FUT (true future). Examples of the cooccurrence of mood-pronominal sequences and imperative future suffixes are given below.

- (148) *ʔukʷi·ʕiipʔ iʕisim* You'll all make it for me!
 /*ʔu-(ʕ)i·ʕ-ʕi·p-ʔ i·-ʕ-is-im*/ it-make...-for-IMPV-IIP-I-FUT
- (149) *ʔuʔwa·ʔaʔ ink* Let's come and say something nice!
 /*ʔuʔ-wa·-ʔ aʔ-ʔ i-n-k*/ nice-say...-TEM-IMPV-IP-COME

There is also an imperative suffix *-ʕ* GO which means 'go and'. This suffix is restricted to predicates lacking imperative pronominal or tense suffixes as in (150)..

- (150) *ʔunʔ a·hʕ* Go and look for it!
 /*ʔu-nʔ a·h-ʕ*/ it-seek...-GO

In addition, there are at least two imperative particles in Kyuquot, *ʕukʷa·* 'come!' and *kaʔa·* 'hand it over!'. They are obligatorily imperative and can be inflected only by *-ʔaʔ* TEM, *-ʕ* IIP, *-k* COME,

-ka' 'again' and object pronominal suffixes in the case of ka'ʔa.

- (151) ka'ʔa.ʔa' i'čiskʰa Come and hand it over to me again!
 /ka'ʔa.-ʔ aʰ-i.-č-is-k-ka' / hand over-TEM-IMPV-IIP-I-COME-again

4.3.3.8. Mood Synopsis

Mood	Example	Gloss
Relative	yaqʔi.tq kʰb	That's the one who is nice
Indefinite Relative	yaqi. kʰb	I wonder which is nice
Irrealis Relative	yaqwu.si kʰb	I wonder which might be nice
Subordinate	kʰbqa	I thought he was nice (but he's not)
Dubitative	kʰbqa.č	Perhaps he's nice
Purposive	kʰbʔa.t	It's so he'll be nice
Interrogative	kʰbʰa	Is he nice?
Interrogative INF	kʰbʰa.č	Is he supposed to be nice?
Conditional	kʰbqu.	If only he were nice
Conditional INF	kʰbqu.č	He supposedly used to be nice I wish he were nice
Indefinite	kʰbi.	He's nice
Indefinite INF	kʰbi.č	He's supposedly nice, I understand
Evidential	kʰba.ʔš	He's evidently nice, I see
Evidential INF	kʰba.č.ʔš	I see he's nice, after all
Evidential QUOT	kʰbwa.ʔš	He's evidently said to be nice
Evidential INF QUOT	kʰbčwa.ʔš	He's evidently said to be nice, supposedly
Absolutive	kʰb	He's nice
Absolutive INF	kʰbč	He's supposedly nice
Absolutive QUOT	kʰbwa	He's nice, so I'm told
Absolutive INF QUOT	kʰbčwa	He's said to supposedly be nice
Indicative	kʰbʔi.š	He's nice!
Indicative QUOT	kʰbwa.š	He's said to be nice!
Indicative QUOTEMPH	kʰbʔi.šwa.qs	He's NICE, I'm telling you!
Imperative	kʰbšiʔi	Be nice!

Note that relative stems are necessary if one uses a relative mood and

that the imperative stem must be verbal.

4.3.4. Passive

The above discussion has concerned mode, tense, mood, and pronominal suffixes. Interspersed among these are the following: $-^3at$ PASS, $-uk$ POSS / $-^?is$ DIM, $-^3a^*$ 'again', and finally $-m^3inh$ PL, this last suffix providing a point of introduction to a discussion of nonpredicative inflection.

The passive affix follows $-^3ak$ TEM and precedes $-uk$ POSS.

- (152) *qahsa·pčp'atk^wint* His was killed for him
 /qah-sa·p-čⁱ·p-³at-uk-int/ die-MOMCAUS-for-PASS-POSS-PAST
- (153) *qahsa·p'ak³t* He was killed at that time
 /qah-sa·p-³ak-³at/ die-MOMCAUS-TEM-PASS

It has three main functions. One is to signal that the subject is patient, benefactee, or recipient rather than agent or that it is patient rather than experiencer. That is, a NP which could be object of a predicate not marked by $-^3at$ PASS can be subject of its $-^3at$ -marked counterpart. The second function of $-^3at$ is to indicate that the affixed nominal is an oblique agent. In such a context, $-^3at$ must follow $-(q)h$ SIM.

- (154) *mwičh³atiš* It was done by the deer
 /mwič-(q)h-³at-³i·š/ deer-SIM-PASS-IND

The third function of $-^3at$ is to indicate inalienable possession (of body parts only). Because a body part cannot be an agent, the two functions of $-^3at$ when affixed to a nominal are in complementary distribution. As an indicator of body part possession, $-^3at$ can always be replaced by $-uk$ POSS. For example, 'his foot' can be expressed as either *niškin³at* or *niškin^w*.

4.3.5. Possessive

The normal genitive in Kyuquot is expressed by $-uk$ (\sim - $^?ak^w$) POSS, each stem being associated with one of the possessive allomorphs. In Kyuquot, it is the possessée, or modifier of a possessee nominal, which is affixed by $-uk$.

- (155) *sa'sin sit'a'ʔk* a hummingbird's tail
 /.. *sit'a-ʔak/* hummingbird tail-POSS

The possessor is indicated pronominally by the following paradigms.

	POSSESSIVE	DIACHRONIC SOURCE	PAST POSSESSIVE	SOURCE
I	-uk-q-s	-uk -qa'-s	-uk-na-q-s	-uk-na-qa'-s
II	-uk-ʔit-k	-uk-ʔi't-qa'-k	-uk-na-k	-uk-na-(qa'-)k
III	-uk	-uk	-uk ^w -int	-uk-int
Ip	-uk-q-in	-uk -qa'-in	-uk-na-q-in	-uk-na-qa'-in
IIP	-uk-ʔit-q-su:	-uk-ʔi't-qa'-su:	-uk-na-q-su:	-uk-na-qa'-su:
IIIp	-uk-ʔaʔ	-uk -ʔa'ʔ	-uk ^w -int-ʔaʔ	-uk-int-ʔa'ʔ

The possessive is clearly composed of a mixture of paradigmatic elements: the relative *-ʔi't-* in second person, the subordinate *-qa'* in first and second person, and the absolutive *in* at least third person. In the past tense version, used when the possessee is deceased, lost, or destroyed, this divergence of moods results in a divergence of past tense markers. In first and second person, the presence of a subordinate or relative mood requires the *-na* allomorph of the past marker; in third person, the absence of a mood marker (i.e. the absolutive mood) requires the *-int* allomorph. These possessive-mood-pronominal sequences are found only in a nonpredicative stem, one which is either a nominal, a NP modifier, or an implicitly-derived nominal, as the three following examples illustrate.

- (156) *Sini'kk^wqs.* my dog
 /*Sini'k-uk-q-s/* dog-POSS-SUB-I
- (157) *kuʔuk^wqs (Sini'k)* my good one (dog)
 /*kuʔ-uk-q-s .. /* good-POSS-SUB-I dog
- (158) *hapta'ʔkqs* what I hid, my hidden thing
 /*hapt-(y)a'-ʔak-q-s/* hide-CONT-POSS-SUB-I

The possessive *-uk* denotes a number of relations such as legally- or socially-recognized ownership as in (156), physical adjacency or association as in (155) or (159), and social relationships as in (160).

- (159) *quʔas tʔayʔaskʷ* a trail for humans
 /.. tʔas-ʔas-uk/ adult trail-outside-POSS
- (160) *ʔumʔiʔqəkitk* your mother
 /ʔumʔi-ʔiʔqsa-uk-ʔiʔt-k/ mother-..kin-POSS-REL-II

The possessive is not obligatorily marked in Kyuquot, especially when the possession signifies ownership or kin relationship.

- (161) *ʔintšix ʔuʔkʷt ʔəhəqs haʔ čakupi* He painted the guy's box
 /ʔint-šix(ʔ) čakup-ʔiʔ/ paint-MOM to box the male-DEF
- (162) *haʔ ʔumʔiʔqsa ʔawʔitʔi* the chief's mother
 /.. ʔumʔi-ʔiʔqsa-ʔiʔ ʔawʔitʔi-ʔiʔ/ the mother-..kin-DEF chief-DEF

Only a few of these unmarked possessive NP's are attested. If presented out of discourse context, they are 'corrected' to an *-uk*-marked structure. If presented in the discourse context, they are accepted as grammatical.

Within the predicate, *-uk* signals that either a third person subject or a nonsubject patient is possessed. The following chart indicates the privileges of occurrence of *-uk* in predicates. The person of the possessor is identified by row, and the role of the pronominal affix by column. The first and second columns are for predicates with third person subjects (active and passive respectively) and pronominal affixes coreferential to possessors. The third, fourth, and fifth columns are for predicates with first, second, or third person subjects, pronominal affixes coreferential to the subjects, and possessed objects.

TABLE 14: THE ROLE OF *-uk* IN PREDICATES

Possessor	Pronominal = Possessor		Pronominal = Subject		
	III	III PASS	I	II	III
I	V-uk-I	V-ʔat-uk-I	V(-uk)-I	V-II	V-III
II	V-uk-II	V-ʔat-uk-II	V-I	V-II	V-III
III	V(-uk)-III	V-ʔat-uk-III	V(-uk)-III	V-II	V-III

Optional presence of *-uk* in predicates is indicated above by (-uk). Marking of possession in a possessee adjunct is optional if the predicate is marked for possession and the pronominal affix in the predicate is

coreferential to the possessor rather than the subject.

The information presented in the above chart can be summarized as follows. First, the possessor of a third person subject (active or passive) is indicated within a predicate by the discontinuous sequence *-uk...* pronominal affix. Tense and mood morphemes can intervene and the shape of the pronominal suffix is a function of the occurring mood (which is not a possessive mood). The examples below are ordered by possessor person.

- (163) *haptaʔks pu* My gun is hidden
 /hapt-(y)aʔ-ʔak-s .. / hide-CONT-POSS-I gun
- (164) *kuʔwʔ ibatkʔwintin ʔiniʔk(kʔqin)* Our dog got stolen
 /kuʔwʔ iʔ-ʔ at-uk-int-in ʔiniʔk-uk-q-in/
 steal-PASS-POSS-PAST-IP dog-POSS-SUB-IP
- (165) *yʔaʔqukʔac ʔiqʔinim* Your skirt is long
 /yʔaʔq-uk-aʔc .. / long-POSS-II(IND) skirt
- (166) *haʔukʔ wʔatkintiʔsu* Yours got eaten
 /haʔuk-ʔ at-uk-int-(y)i:-su:/ eat(DUR)-PASS-POSS-PAST-INDF-IIP
- (167) *taʔiʔkʔ Lucy tʔanʔaʔs* Lucy's child is sick
 /ta- iʔ-uk .. tʔanʔa-ʔis/ drift-in house-POSS .. child-DIM
- (168) *ʔuʔtaʔakʔ atkʔ ʔinhi* His alone was prepared
 /ʔu-taʔ[L]-ʔ ak-ʔ at-uk ʔin-hi / it-work on..-TEM-PASS-POSS only-DUR

The possessor-marked predicate need not be a matrix predicate.

- (169) *hamiʔpintiʔs [yaʔatkʔitq qahsaʔpʔt]* I knew whom he was killed
 by
 /hamiʔp-int-(y)i:-s yaqʔ-ʔ at-uk-ʔiʔtq qah-saʔp-ʔat/
 know-PAST-INDF-I which-PASS-POSS-REL die-MOMCAUS-PASS

The possessor-marked predicate construction is the most common structure used to indicate possession in Kyuquot.

- (170) *muʔʔaks ʔaʔuʔcmʔinh* I have four baskets
 /muʔ-ʔ ak-s ʔaʔuʔc-mʔinh/ four-POSS-I basket-PL

In passive clauses, possession marking also indicates that the possessor is a benefactee (in either a positive or negative sense) as in

(164), (166), (168), and (171).

- (171) *ʔuk^wi^ʔat^{k^w}int* Bill *ʔuquma* Bill's mask was made (for him)
 /ʔu-(ʕ)i^ʔ-ʔat-uk-int .. *ʔuq-um-ʔi^ʔ*/
 it-make...-PASS-POSS-PAST Bill hollow vessel-NOM-DEF

In predicates whose object is possessed, possession is marked in the predicate only if the subject is first person and the possessor is not second person. If the possessed NP cooccurs as object adjunct, its possessive inflection must be present regardless of whether the predicate is marked by *-uk* or not.

- (172) *ʔissik^(k^w)inti^s ʔini^ʔak^w* I hit his dog
 /his-ʔi^(k)-uk-int-(y)i:-s ʔini^ʔak-uk/
 hit-MOM-POSS-PAST-INDF-I dog-POSS

Recall that inalienable possession can be signalled by *-ʔat* PASS. When a possessed body part is (third person) subject, *-ʔat* plus a pronominal affix identifying the possessor's person and number can be affixed to that subject's predicate even if the predicate is intransitive.

- (173) *tux^wa^ʔti^s ti^ʔema* My heart is fluttering, erratic
 /tux-(y)a^ʔ-ʔat-(y)i:-s ti^ʔema^ʔ hop-CONT-PASS-INDF-I alive-NOM
- (174) *t^ʔi^ʔat^ʔt* His (limbs) fell down
 /t^ʔi^ʔ-ʔatu^ʔat/ sink-down-PASS
- (175) *qa^hak^ʔak^ʔtiš qa^ʔy^ʔipt* His leg was paralyzed
 /qa^h-ak^w-ʔak^ʔ-ʔat-ʔi^ʔš .. / die-DUR-TEM-PASS-IND

In summary, a predicate generally indicates possession when the subject is first person or the possessee is third person. A possessor pronominal affixed to a predicate with third person subject behaves like a formal subject in that the possessor pronominal is found in subject position and can have a coreferential pronominal adjunct which is in subject, not possessor, form.

- (176) *y^ʔap^ʔicuk^wi^s siy^ʔa^ʔq* Mine is blue!
 /y^ʔap^ʔic-uk-uk-(y)i:-s .. / blue-DUR-POSS-INDF-I I

The possessor form of a first person pronominal would be *siy^ʔa^s* 'mine'.

4.3.6. *-ʔis* and *-ʔa* and *-ʔi*

Inflectional morphology in Kyūquot includes a diminutive *-ʔis* (~ *-ʔic-*) DIM, a nonderivational iterative *-ʔa* 'again', and a definite *-ʔi* DEF ('the, a certain'). The diminutive is occasionally present in predicates. It is found there when associated with one of a set of adjectives expressing the lesser of two polar quantities or qualities (e.g. 'little' as opposed to 'big'): *ʔana-* 'only', *ʔaʔna-* 'near', *ʔanah-* 'little', *ʔanah-pʔt-* 'short (person)', *ʔit-* 'soft, malleable', *kum a-* 'little, few', *nʔi-c-* 'short', *puʔk-* 'thin'. Because some adjectivals, such as *yʔuʔk-* 'narrow', denote the lesser of a polar opposition but do not have to be associated with *-ʔis*, the obligatory association of *-ʔis* with the above adjectivals is considered to be indicated as part of their lexical specification, e.g. *nʔi-c-...ʔis* 'short'.

The diminutive also occurs in predicates whose stem is a diminutively-marked nominal as in (177) or whose subject is small in size and/or stature as in (178) and (179).

(177) *tʔanʔaʔsintiʂ nuʔtkʂiʔ* It was a CHILD that circled it
 /tʔanʔaʔis-int-ʔiʂ nuʔtk-ʂiʔ/ child-DIM-PAST-IND circle-MOM

(178) *tʔiqʔitʂis* A midget was sitting in the house
 /tʔiqʔ-ʔitʂ-ʔis/ sit-in house-DIM

(179) *ciʔciʔqaʔicʔʔ* The small one started to talk
 /CVC#ciq-[L]-(y)aʔic-ʔaʔ/ IT-speak-GRAD-REP-DIM-TEM

It appears that the diminutive morpheme is becoming restricted to non-predicative constituents, except when a predicate is an adjectival stem obligatorily associated with *-ʔis* or is a nominal coreferential to the diminutive referent. In nonpredicative NP's, *-ʔis* indicates that the referent is small, endearing, and/or young. The diminutive normally follows *-mʔ inh* PL and precedes the modal affixes.

(180) *ʔiniʔmʔ inhismatki* the little ones appearing to be dogs
 /ʔiniʔmʔ inh-ʔis-matak-ʔiʔ/ dog-PL-DIM-PROB-DEF

The iterative morpheme *-ʔa* follows all other inflectional morphemes. It can be interpreted to mean 'again, either, as well, in addi-

tion, etc.'. The addition indicated can be the recurrence or the introduction of an event or a participant.

- (181) *wikmatkka su·tiē ka·pap* I think he doesn't like you either
 /wik-matak-ka· sut-(ē)it̄ [L].. / not-PROB-also you-do to.. like
- (182) *q^wi·i·c[?]a·q̄hi·kka* I wonder what else you'll eat
 /q^wi-[?]i·c-[?]a:q̄h-(y)it̄:-k-ka· / what-eat..-FUT-INDF-II-also
- (183) *?uk^wi·i·ma·q̄hi·ska* I want to make one also/again
 /?u-(ē)it̄-ma·q̄h-(y)it̄:-s-ka· / it-make..-want to..-INDF-I-again
- (184) *Supa·k : wik[?]i·t̄ka . qu[?]as* It was calm; besides there were no people
 /sup-a·k[?] wik[?]-i·t̄-ka[?] .. / calm-DUR not-absent-again adult

Within the NP, -ka[?] denotes 'other, rest of' (185).

- (185) *ti·ē[?] ahs̄p tu·ema·ska* He saved another little woman
 /ti·ē[?]-ahs̄.-[?]ap tu·ema-[?]is-ka[?] / alive-in vessel-CAUS woman-DIM-again

The definite morpheme -[?]i[?] can be affixed only to a constituent of a NP and it is questionable whether this includes a constituent of a predicative NP which is not clausally-inflected.

- (186) *?k̄iba·s̄ē ēakupi* ? There's the handsome man.

In such a sentence, the non-NP predicate reading, 'the man is evidently handsome', is chosen as appropriate. The definite is, hence, an affix restricted to nonpredicative constituents.

4.3.7. Plural

The suffix -m[?]inh PL denotes plurality, specifically a collective and potentially partitive plurality. This suffix precedes all other inflectional affixes including modes and the diminutive as in (180). When attached to intransitive or passive predicates, it indicates that the subject is plural and often that this plurality is new information.

- (187) *tuhukem[?] inh* A bunch of them are afraid
 /tuh-uk-m[?]inh / There's a bunch of scared ones
 afraid-DUR-PL

- (188) *kaħaħm' inh* There's a bunch doing it now
 /*kaħ-³ aħ-m' inh*/ now-TEM-PL
- (189) *qaħsa'p' tm' inh* A bunch of them were killed
 /*qaħ-sa'p-³ at-m' inh*/ die-MOMCAUS-PASS-PL

The identity of the 'bunch' is, in such sentences, not yet specified. In addition, *-m' inh* is not necessarily anaphoric to a subject. Consider an ambient predicate such as *si'w' a'qm' inh* 'There you(p) are!' which has no pronominal affix. In its partitive role, *-m' inh* can be accompanied by first or second person plural pronominal suffixes.

- (190) *?āca'qm' inh aħhsu ka'pap* Who among you likes him?
 /*?āca'q-m' inh-³ aħ-ħa'-su: ..*/ who?-PL-TEM-QUE-IIP like

It cannot, however, render a singular pronominal, i.e. *-s* 'I' or *-k* 'you', plural.

There is a second plural affix, *-?a'z* PL, which indicates a plurality of third person participants whose identity is old information. Contrast the following nominal predicates: *e'imt'u'm' inh* 'There's a bunch of squirrels!' and *e'imt'u'?a'z* 'They are squirrels (used in answer to 'What are they?')'. When *-m' inh* and *-?a'z* cooccur in an intransitive predicate, the predicate cannot be ambient (due to the presence of *-?a'z* which must refer to a NP with a grammatical relation to the predicate) and the antecedent of *-?a'z* is a member or subset of a definite class (due to the presence of *-m' inh*), as in *e'imt'u'm' inh aħ* 'THOSE are squirrels' or (191).

- (191) *?acsiħm' inh intitātš* Those (men) went out fishing
 /*?ac-š(i)ħ-m' inh-int-it-?a'z-š*/ go out-MOM-PL-PAST-IND-PL-IND

These interpretations of *-m' inh* and *-?a'z* hold whether or not a subject NP is present and whether or not the NP is affixed by a plural morpheme.

Passive predicates are associated with an agent oblique as well as a subject. The affix *-?a'z* is not required to be coreferential to the subject of a predicate and can be coreferential to object or oblique NP's instead. In passive predicates, the presence of *-?a'z* indicates either that the subject is plural (if no first or second person suffix cooccurs) or that the oblique agent is plural.

(192) *hupa'at*

/hupi'-at-?a'z/

They were helped
He was helped by them
help-PASS-PL

First or second person affixes must be subject (except in imperative clauses). Hence, if one of them occurs with -?a'z in a passive predicate, -?a'z must refer to the oblique agent.

(193) *hupa'tinti'sat*

/hupi'-at-int-(y)i:-s-?a'z/

I got helped by them
help-PASS-PAST-INDF-I-PL

The above interpretation of plural morphemes holds regardless of whether or not a subject or agent is also present in a clause. Interpretations contradicted by an adjunct-sited plural morpheme are, of course, disallowed. So, for example, if the predicate in (192) were accompanied by the subject NP *zakup* 'man', the sentence could mean either 'The men were helped' or 'The man was helped by them' (plural not being obligatorily marked in Kyuquot). However, if the same predicate were accompanied by *zakupm'inh* 'men', then the sentence would have to be interpreted as 'The men were helped'. Plurality is fully optional for both predicates and NP's in Kyuquot.

Consider now transitive predicates, which can have a plural subject and/or a plural object. The chart below summarizes the possible interpretations of predicate plural morphemes as indicating plural subject, object, or subject and object when the predicate is associated with

1. no adjuncts;
2. a subject adjunct, marked plural (Sm') or not (S);
3. an object adjunct, marked plural (Om') or not (O); or
4. both a subject and object adjunct, with either marked plural (Sm' + O, S + Om'), both marked plural (Sm' + Om'), or neither marked plural (S + O). The chart indicates for which of the above cases, barring contradictions arising from an interpretation of nonplural for a NP which is marked plural, a predicate can be interpreted as having a plural subject only (cf. Column 1), a plural object only (cf. Column 2), or both a plural subject and a plural object (cf. Column 3).

TABLE 15: INTERPRETATION OF PREDICATE PLURAL MORPHEMES

Predicative Marking	Subject Plural	Object Plural	Subject and Object Plural
-ʔaʔ	all cases	all cases except (Sʔ) O(mʔ)	all cases except Smʔ + O
-mʔinh	all cases	all cases except S + O	all cases except S(mʔ) + O
-mʔinh..ʔaʔ	all cases	no case	all cases except Smʔ + O

As the chart's left-most column (i.e. the Subject Plural column) indicates, any predicate plural marking, -ʔaʔ, -mʔinh, or -mʔinh..ʔaʔ, coupled with either or both of the NP's can always be interpreted as indicating plural subject only, unless contradicted by a plural-marked object.

- (194) *qahsa·p(mʔinh)..(ʔaʔ) (čakup(mʔinh)) (muwič)* . They (the men) killed it (the deer)
/qah·sa·p·mʔinh·ʔaʔ čakup·mʔinh .. /
 die-MOMCAUS-PL-PL male-PL deer

The parentheses indicate that the enclosed elements can be present or absent without affecting the possibility that the sentence be interpreted as indicated above. In particular, observe that -mʔinh can be attached to both the predicate and the subject and, therefore, cannot have arisen in the predicate due to movement.

The interpretation of a plural-marked predicate as indicating a plural object only is less commonly possible. A predicate affixed by -ʔaʔ (but not -mʔinh or a pronominal affix) can be interpreted thus only if no NP or only a nonpluralized NP subject is present.

- (195) *qahsa·pʔaʔ (čakup)* . He (the man) killed them

A predicate affixed by -mʔinh (but not -ʔaʔ) can be interpreted thus in any noncontradicting case except that of cooccurrence of both nonpluralized subject and object NP's.

- (196) *qahsa·pmʔinh čakup muwič* . The men killed a deer
 *The man killed the deer(p)

A predicate affixed by both -mʔinh and -ʔaʔ can never be interpreted as

having only a plural object regardless of what adjuncts (pluralized or not) are also present. That is, a predicate affixed by both $-m' inh$ and $-?a'z$ is always interpreted as having at least a plural subject. On the other hand, if $-?a'z$ follows a pronominal affix, it must be interpreted as nonsubject, i.e. as either object or oblique.

- (197) *casša: ?kin'at* We chased them
 /cas-š*i*(k)-³ak-in-³a'z/ chase-MOM-IP-PL

Finally, consider the cases in which both the subject and object are interpreted as plural (cf. Column 3 in the chart). This interpretation is impossible if, although the predicate is marked plural by $-m' inh$ and/or $-?a'z$, both NP's are present and only the subject is marked plural, i.e. $Sm' + O$. Evidently, in such contexts precedence is given to plural subject only. Also, when a predicate is affixed by $-m' inh$ alone and subject and object NP's (neither marked plural) cooccur, plurality is assigned only to the subject.

- (198) *qašsa'pm' inh cakup(m' inh) manič* The men killed a deer
 *The man killed a/some deer
- (199) *qašsa'p(m' inh)'at cakupm' inh manič* The men killed a deer
 *The man killed a/some deer

In the vast majority of cases, a predicate can be interpreted as having both a plural subject and a plural object, even if the object serves as the base for the predicate as in (200).

- (200) *šašikn' ah* He/they sought a cave/caves
 /šašik-n' a'h/ cave-SEEK..

The above analysis obscures an important difference in the interpretation of $-?a'z$ and $-m' inh$. This is the priority of interpretations. Evidently, in nonbiasing transitive contexts, $-?a'z$ has priority as a subject marker (where no pronominal cooccurs) and $-m' inh$ has priority as an object marker. Priority is rated in the following glosses from most likely (1) to least likely (2) or (3).

- (201) *šič' a'pm' inh*
1. He was lifting a bunch of things
 2. A bunch of them lifted it
 3. A bunch lifted a bunch of things

(202) *ʔi·č̣'apʔač̣*

1. They're lifting it
2. He's lifting them
3. They're lifting a bunch of them

For predicates such as *č̣'ay'ix* 'pick berries' and *simt-* 'roast fish' which specify an implicit object but do not associate with an object NP, the dichotomy of *-m'inh* (plural object) and *-ʔa·č̣* (plural subject) is stronger.

(203) *simta·m'inh*

1. He was roasting a bunch of fish
2. A bunch were roasting (a) fish

(204) *simta·ʔč̣*

- They were roasting (a) fish
*He was roasting a bunch of fish

This may be because *-ʔa·č̣* must be coreferential to a NP adjunct (subject, object, or oblique) and there is no object associated with such intransitive predicates.

A similar distinction of interpretation of *-m'inh* and *-ʔa·č̣* occurs for predicates which are intransitive but which can be associated with either an agent (marked plural by *-ʔa·č̣*) or patient (marked plural by *-m'inh*).

(205) *si·ka·m'inh*

- A bunch (of boats) are sailing
*He is sailing a bunch of boats

(206) *si·ka·ʔč̣*

1. A bunch of people are sailing
2. A bunch are sailing a bunch of boats

Finally, given intransitive predicates which can be transitivized by affixation of a causative morpheme, *-ʔa·č̣* is primarily associated with the agent subject (of the transitive predicate) and *-m'inh* with the patient subject (of the intransitive predicate).

(207) *k'ixsa·pʔač̣*

/k'ix-sa·p-ʔa·č̣/

- They broke it
break-MOMCAUS-PL

(208) *k'ixsi·m'inh*

/k'ix-si(x)-m'inh/

- A bunch of them broke
break-MOM-PL

That is, given an intransitive predicate which can be transitivized, the subject's semantic role (as agent or patient) can be identified by the choice of plural marker.

We turn now to the use of *-m'inh* in NP's. The plural *-m'inh* can not be present in a word pluralized by *-h* [L] or *-i:h* [L] or *-t-l-i:h* [L], all noninflectional plural markers.

(209) *ča·kupm'inh*

It can, however, occur with these plural markers in the same NP if the two plural morphemes are found in different words.

(210) *?i·hm'inh* *ča·kuph* a bunch of big men.
 /*?i:h^w-m'inh-?i·* *čakup -h* [L] / Big-PL-DEF male-PL

Within NP's, *-m'inh* can serve as the only plural marker or as one of a set of plural markers found either in different words as in (210) or in the same word as in (211) below, where the distributive morpheme serves as a plural marker.

(211) *?i?i·hm'inh* *čakup* a bunch of men all over the place
 /CV#*?i:h^w-m'inh..* / distrib-big-PL male

As mentioned earlier, *-m'inh* signifies plurality, specifically collective or partitive plurality. It can denote a group or a bunch of potentially countable entities, e.g. *p'atqukm'inh* 'a big pile of goods' or *?um?i·qscam'inh* 'a group of mothers'. It can also denote a large amount (mass) of a noncountable entity, e.g. *sup'icimism'inh* 'a lot of sand' or *buha·m'inh* 'a lot of flowing (water)'. Finally, it can denote either a quantity or a plurality of an entity which can either be counted or not, e.g. *č'ip'u·qsm'inh* 'a bunch of copper (as an element); a bunch of coppers (as ceremonial carved shield-like objects)'. In all the above cases, *-m'inh* designates a large quantity which is a subset of the referent entity, be it men, big books, mothers, sand, or copper. This partitive interpretation has two correlates. First, *-m'inh* is never found in generic NP's. Second, *-m'inh* can denote a subset of a definite class, as in *čakupm'inh* 'a bunch of the men (a subset of those men), that bunch of men (a subset of all men)' or *?axam'inh* 'two of them, two of each (e.g. of cups, plates, etc.)'.

To a certain extent, *-m'inh* appears to have a nominalizing function. Adjectivals can serve as nominal-less NP's only if *-m'inh* (or *-?i·* DEF)

is present, as in *ʔaqaʔqkmʔ inh* 'bunch of green ones' or *ʔuʔmʔ inh* 'a bunch of nice ones'. This appears to be due to an analogical extension based on the common occurrence of modifiers affixed by *-mʔ inh* in nominal-headed NP's such as *ʔuʔmʔ inh puʔ* 'a bunch of nice guns' and the occasional occurrence of uninflected adjectivals as one-word NP's.

- (212) *watʔsiʔ ʔiʔh* A big one went home
/watʔ-siʔ(ʔ) .. / go home-MOM big

The nominalizing function of *-mʔ inh* is restricted to adjectivals. Uninflected quantity or quantifier stems are free to serve as one-word NP's. Temporal stems never serve as NP's and locative or verbal stems must be affixed by *-ʔiʔ* in order to serve as NP's. While it is true that *-mʔ inh* does emphasize the participants of a predicate (as a bunch) as in (213), a verbal or locative stem affixed by *-mʔ inh* is ungrammatical in nonpredicative contexts (unless affixed as well by *-ʔiʔ* DEF or embedded within a relative clause as in (215) and (216) respectively).

- (213) *ʔacʔsiʔmʔ inh* A bunch (of them) went out fishing
 There's a bunch who went out
 SOME of them went out fishing
/ʔacʔ-siʔ(ʔ)-mʔ inh/ go out-MOM-PL
- (214) *ʔuqʔsaʔʔ ʔacʔsiʔmʔ inh* They capsized and went out fishing
/ʔuqʔ-siʔ(ʔ)-ʔakʔ ʔacʔ-siʔ(ʔ)-mʔ inh/ (NOT The ones who went out capsized)
 spill-MOM-TEM go out-MOM-PL
- (215) *ʔuqʔsaʔʔ ʔacʔsiʔmʔ inhi* The bunch out fishing capsized
- (216) *ʔuqʔsaʔʔ yaqiʔ ʔacʔsiʔ* Whoever was out fishing capsized

4.3.8. Nonpredicative Inflection

In the above sections, there have been indications that nonpredicative inflection was different from predicative inflection. This distinction is not a function of semantic class (or part of speech) but rather of grammatical category, i.e. of predicate versus adjunct or oblique. Recall that even nonmatrix oblique predicates are inflected differently from matrix ones. Mode, tense, mood, and pronominal affixes are prohibited in one type of complement oblique and in NP-relating obliques. In oblique predicates where such inflection is acceptable, the

mood must be indefinite, conditional, subordinate, or absolutive.

Inflection is most severely restricted in the NP adjunct or oblique. If the NP is or includes a relative clause, the relative predicate is affixed by a relative mood which can be accompanied by any mode, tense, or pronominal affixes. If a NP is or includes a possessed element, the possessed element or its modifier can be affixed by the possessive *-uk*, the possessive mood affixes, and appropriate pronominal affixes.

- (217) *maht' a' ?qhk' qs* my house-to-be
/maht' i-?a:qk-uk-q-s/ house-FUT-POSS-SUB-I :

NP-level inflection can attach to the nominal head or to any nonnominal modifiers. Hence, inflection appropriate to a possessee cannot be attached to a possessor nominal cooccurring in the same NP.

- (218) *t' an' a' ?s ?ini' km' inhk'* a kid's dogs (*kids' dog(s))
/t' an' a-?is ?ini' k-m' inh-uk/ child-DIM dog-PL-POSS

Apart from where the NP contains a relative clause or a possessee nominal, a non predicative NP includes no pronominal affix.

Two other moods (besides one associated with relative clauses or possessee NP's) are found affixed to NP constituents. These are the inferential *-c* and the conditional *-qu*. The inferential mood is optionally present when the existence of the referent or the veracity of some attribute within a NP is based on indirect, second-hand knowledge or is controversial either because the listener is not likely to agree with the speaker's assertion or because the speaker doubts the existence or veracity of some element of his own assertion.

- (219) *wikints ?awa' ?k k' ihukc boat* I never found a supposedly red boat
/wik-int-s ?u-a' wi(k) [L] -c k' ih-uk-c ./
 not-PAST-I, it-find...-TEM red-DUR-INF ..

- (220) *wikhtina' s' qu' is' inm' tintc* That old Raven was obviously crazy
/wik-htin-a' s' qu' is'-in-m' i-t-int-c/
 not-made of...-EVID raven-NOM-mythical male...-PAST-INF

The conditional mood is present when the NP referent or its modifier is irrealis because the NP is indefinite, nonparticularized and non-

generic, or hypothetical, or object of a negated predicate.

- (221) *ʔukʷiʔi qaʔuʰcisqu* Make a little basket!
 /ʔu-(ʕ)iʔi-ʔi qaʔuʰc-ʔis-qu:/ it-make...-IMPV basket-DIM-COND
- (222) *ʔunʰaʰiʰs kʷtquʰ ʔuʰcma* I'm looking for a good woman
 /ʔu-nʰaʰi-(y)iʰ-s kʷt-qu: .. / it-see...-INDF-I good-COND woman
- (223) *wikyuʰʔaʰs ʔuʰwiʰ piʰʂmanqu* I haven't found a fisherman
 /wik-yuʰ-ʔaʰ-s ʔu-aʰwiʰ(k)[L]piʰʂman-qu:/
 not...-ed-TEM-I it-find... fisherman-COND

Inflection of mood within the NP cannot be considered as an entity independent of a particular constituent. The irrealis *-qu:* COND, for example, can be affixed only to an irrealis constituent and not to any constituent of an irrealis NP. In example (224), only the modifier is irrealis if the speaker has seen crows of other colours.

- (224) *wikyuʰʔaʰs nʰaciʰʕ kʰisukqu kʰaʰʔin* I've never seen a white
 /wik-yuʰ-ʔaʰ-s nʰac-iʰʕi(k) kʰis-uk-qu: .. / crow
 not...-ed-TEM-I see-INC white-DUR-COND crow

In such a context, it would be ungrammatical to have *-qu:* affixed to *kʰaʰʔin* 'crow' instead. Individual constituent inflection of mood also results in NP's multiply inflected for mood.

- (225) *ʔuhʰapʰ ʕuʂukqu kʷtquʰ biʰaʰ* Let there be the newest, finest mats!
 /ʔu-hʰapʰ ʕuʂ-uk-qu: kʷt-qu: .. / it-ABS-CAUS new-DUR-COND nice-COND

Similarly, a NP can be multiply inflected for the diminutive or the iterative.

- (226) *kʷtʰisʰ boatʰis* a nice little boat
 /kʷtʰ-ʰisʰ boatʰ-isʰ/ nice-DIM boat-DIM

The tenses found in nonclausal NP's are future *-ʔa:qʰ* and past *-int*. The past affix can be attached to a nominal without the presence of *-ʔiʰ* DEF. This is possible, however, only when the nominal is uniquely identified.

- (227) *ʔmukʷinintʕ* Maquinna (now deceased)
 /ʔmukʷina-int-ʕ/ Maquinna-PAST-INF

- (228) *ʔuta·yʔkint* her (Granny's) old knife (now lost)
 ~/*ʔuta·y-ʔak-int/* knife-POSS-PAST

The possessive paradigm (at least in the third person) can occur with -ʔi· DEF.

- (229) *ʔuʔmu·pisk^wi* his little sister
 /*ʔuʔmu·p-ʔis-uk-ʔi·/* male's sister-DIM-POSS-DEF

When -ʔa:qk FUT is affixed to a nominal and when either -ʔa:qk or -int is affixed to a nonnominal, the stem must also be affixed by -ʔi· DEF if it is to be interpreted as a nonpredicative NP or NP constituent.

Tense is more commonly indicated in Kyuquot NP's than in English NP's although tense is never obligatorily specified in NP's. The past morpheme occurs in NP's when the referent is lost as in (228), deceased as in (227), or destroyed as in (230).

- (230) *ʔiʔci·pscinti* the (smashed-up) vase
 /*ʔiʔci·p-sa·ca-int-ʔi·/* flower-..container-PAST-DEF

Evidently, in Kyuquot, the use of -int in NP's coreferential to deceased individuals is becoming optional. The future morpheme is present in NP's when the future occurrence of an entity or of a certain state of that entity is factual and subject to someone's volition or control as in (217). When the future occurrence of a NP referent or its state is factual but is not controlled, the futurity is normally indicated by the inceptive aspect as in (231) or by a prospective noninflectional affix.

- (231) *ʔunʔi·qsiʔki* the mother-to-be
 /*ʔunʔi-ʔi·qsa-ʔi·ʔi(ʔ)-ʔi·/* mother-..kin-INC-DEF

The only mode found in nonpredicative nonclausal NP's is -matak.

- (232) *qahsa·pmatʔa·qki* the one who might kill him
 /*qah-sa·p-matak-ʔa:qk-ʔi·/* die-MOMCAUS-PROB-FUT-DEF

Irrealis NP's or NP constituents are identified by -qu: COND but not by -ʔah IRR. Evidential NP's or NP constituents are identified by -ʔ INF but not by -ck^wa· MUST. A counterpart of -cim POSB which would be found in NP's is not known.

There is one inflectional morpheme which is found only in non-

predicative NP's. This is the particularizing marker $-?i\cdot$ DEF which follows $-int$ PAST as in (230) and precedes $-ka\cdot$ 'again' as in (233).

- (233) *hišša·?aku·s ha ka?u·?i?ka* I would hit the other one
 /hiš-š*ʔ*(k)-³ak-qu:-s .. ka?u·-?i·-ka·/
 hit-MOM-TEM-COND-I the other-DEF-again

Contrast the meanings of the stem *čakup* when affixed and not affixed by $-?i\cdot$: *čakup* 'a man, males (generic), the man (old information), some men (indefinite)' and *čakupi* 'a/the certain man'. A definite and particular referent can be indicated as such by the presence of both an article or deictic and the $-?i\cdot$ suffix as in *ha čakupi* 'the/that man'.

The presence of $-?i\cdot$ depends on the semantic class of NP constituents. Pronominal or proper name stems are not affixed by $-?i\cdot$. One cannot say **nuw'a·qi* (we-DEF) or **cišini* (Chihchin-DEF). Nor can one-word quantity class NP's be affixed by $-?i\cdot$ unless some suffix follows the quantity base.. This suffix could be a restrictive noninflectional one as in (235) or a mode (or tense) suffix as in (236).

- (234) *mu·kmatki·s mu·(*?i·)* I think I found the four
 /?u-na-~~ka~~-matak-(y)i:-s .. / it-have..-PROB-INDF-I four
- (235) *hišint ?akisʔ* The two on the beach were there
 /hiš-int ?ak-?is-?i·/ there-PAST two-at/beach-DEF
- (236) *mu·matki* the possibly four
 /mu·-matak-?i·/ four-PROB-DEF

NP's are capable of being, but are not obligatorily, specified for particularity of referent by $-?i\cdot$ if the NP is composed solely of a nominal, quantifier, or adjectival.

- (237) *waššik ka?u·(?)* Another went home
 /waš-š*ʔ*(k) ka?u·-?i·/ go home-MOM other-DEF
- (238) *wa·?ak ?u·kʷʔ ?i·č'a·?s* He called to the one going up
 /wa·-³ak ?u-(š)it [L] ?i·č'a-³as/ call-TEM it-do to.. go up-about to.

NP's are also capable of being specified for particularity of referent if an adjectival, quantity, or quantifier modifier accompanies a nominal

or an adjectival.

- (239) *ʔaya kʷm̄ inh* many nice things
 /.. *kʷm̄-m̄ inh/* many nice-PL

NP's are obligatorily specified by *-ʔi* if a tense morpheme is present (unless an otherwise particularized nominal is present) as in (230), if a nominal head has an object as in (240), or if a multi-morphemic or phrasal modifier is present as in (241).

- (240) *qaʔu·c ʔuʃ ikʔi* the thing used for baskets
 /... *ʔu-ʃ ikʷ-ʔi/* basket it-.instrument-DEF

- (241) *ha wikci·ʃiməhsay (quʔas)* the guy who wanted to not go a
 /.. *wik-c-ʔi:-ʃi(ʷ)-məhsa-ʔi../* certain way
 the not-at-go to..-MOM-want to..-DEF adult

Even bimorphemic modifiers require the presence of *-ʔi* if the affix in the stem is derivational but not aspectual. Finally, the NP is obligatorily specified for particularity if it includes a temporal, locative, or verbal stem not following the nominal head.

- (242) *ta·kški huhu·nʔi·h* the ones always out whaling
 /*tak-[L]-ʃi(ʷ)-ʔi· huhu·nʔi·h [R]/* each-GRAD-MOM-DEF whale-pursue..
- (243) *tʔisasi quʔas* a/the person sitting outside
 /*tʔiʷ-as-ʔi../* sit-outside-DEF adult

When a locative or verbal stem follows a nominal head, it cannot be affixed by any NP-level inflectional affixes and it is interpreted as an oblique modifier. In such NP's, *-ʔi* need not be present.

- (244) *nʔaci·ʃk ʃu·oma ʃita* he saw a woman clam-digging
 /*nʔac-ʃi·ʃi(ʷ) .. ʃit-(y)a·/* see-INC woman clam-dig-CONT
- (245) ... *quʔas hi·s hitinqs* ... a (certain) man at the beach
 /... .. *hit-ʃis hita-nʔaq-ʃis/* .. there-at beach there(MOM)-slope-at beach

Nominals which are implicitly derived from stems which are morphologically verbal, e.g. *hu·ʃhu·ʃ* (from 'dancing repeatedly'), need not be formally particularized by *-ʔi*.

In summary, words of certain semantic classes (i.e. temporal, verbal, and locative) can very rarely if ever serve as heads of NP's without affixation by $-?i\cdot$. Adjectivals rarely occur as NP heads without the presence of $-?i\cdot$ and/or $-m\cdot inh$. In a sense, these affixes could be said to 'nominalize' a constituent. However, nonnominals such as adjectivals, quantities, or quantifiers can serve as NP heads without the presence of either of these affixes. Hence the NP constituent cannot be equated with a nominal.

Secondly, $-?i\cdot$ attaches to one word of a clause serving as either a NP or a modifier within a NP.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (246) | $?u?u?i\cdot hi$ $\xi im s$
/ʔu- ³ i:h [R]-ʔi ³ .. / | the one going out after bears
it-pursue...-DEF brown bear |
| (247) | $muk su\cdot pi$ $\xi ak up$
/muk-suwip-ʔi ³ .. / | the guy who killed a deer
deer-kill...-DEF male |

If $-?i\cdot$ nominalizes only the $muk su\cdot p$ stem in (247), then NP's with verbal or adjectival modifiers must evidently be epithetic phrases consisting of appositive nominals. But this is contradicted by cases such as (243) which can also be expressed as $t\cdot i\cdot s as$ $qu\cdot ?asi$ with no change in meaning or privilege of occurrence. A nominalization analysis is also contradicted by (246). In that phrase, $-?i\cdot$ must have within its scope a clause (predicate plus object). Therefore, $-?i\cdot$ cannot be considered truly derivational, if by that is meant 'capable of changing a word's part of speech'.

4.3.9. Summary

Two other topics conclude this examination of Kyuquot inflection: inflection ellipsis and the morphological status of inflectional affixes. Recall that pronominal affixes can be absent if the prior (or less commonly, subsequent) discourse context can render the elliptical NP's antecedent recoverable (cf. section 3.5.1). In fact, pronominal ellipsis is a part of inflection ellipsis which typically involves mode, tense, mood, and pronominal affixes. Although these inflectional affixes can recur in coordinate clauses as in (248), they do not have to (as is exemplified in (249) and (250)).

- (248) *ʔuci·caʔkaʔ* : *ʔ ihʂa·ʔkaʔ* They went off and paddled away
 /ʔu-c-.ʔi:-ʂi(ʔ)-ʔ aʔ-ʔa·ʔ ʔ ih-ʂi(ʔ)-ʔ aʔ-ʔa·ʔ/
 it-at-go to..-MOM-TEM-PL paddle-MOM-TEM-PL
- (249) *wabʂa·ʔkae* : *ya·cukʂʔ* You'll go home; you'll walk!
 /wab-ʂi(ʔ)-ʔ aʔ-a·e yac-[L]-uk-ʂi(ʔ)/
 go home-MOM-TEM-II(IND) step-GRAD-DUR-MOM
- (250) *matʂiʔ* : *ti·e·aʔi·eʔa* He flew off; he'd come to life again
 /mat-ʂi(ʔ) ti·e·aʔ-(y)i:-e·ka·/ fly-MOM alive-TEM-INDF-INF-again

This inflection ellipsis is independent of other types of ellipsis. For example, NP and inflection ellipsis can occur in coordinate clause-mates.

- (251) *matʔi·ʔi·e* ; *hu·* ; *hini·ʔ* eʔ *ikna·mʔt*
 /mat-ʔi·(ʔ)-(y)i:-e .. hin-..ʔi·(ʔ) eʔ ikna·mʔi·t/
 fly-outside(MOM)-INDF-INF there there(MOM)-outside(MOM) sparrow-
 mythical male..
 Sparrow flew out; he flew right out of there

Inflection ellipsis also occurs in one-clause sentences. The mode, tense, mood, and person are either understood as equivalent to a previously specified (or anticipated) mode, tense, mood, and person as in (252) or are understood as inflectionally unmarked, i.e. realis, nonfuture, absolutive, and third person (singular) subject.

- (252) *ʔ ihʂa·ʔkin* We paddled on
 /ʔ ih-ʂi(ʔ)-ʔ aʔ-in/ paddle-MOM-TEM-IP
- kʔi·saqʂʔ* We went to the other side
 /kʔis-(w)aqsa [L]-ʔ/ different-stream bank-MOM

The second topic concerning inflection is the morphological status of inflectional morphemes. It is asserted here that inflectional morphemes are affixes generated as part of a word rather than as clitics forming a unique syntactic constituent type. Although inflection does tend to occur after the first word in the constituent it modifies, inflectional affixes do not have an obligatory constituent position. An adjunct can precede the clausally-inflected predicate. A qualifier can precede clausally-inflected predicates and clausally-inflected qualifiers

can follow predicates. NP inflection can affix to a nominal or modifier which follows a modifier or nominal (i.e. Mod N-INFL or N Mod-INFL) and NP-level inflection can be distributed over more than one constituent of the NP as in (253) and can even be repeated within the same NP.

- (253) *ʔaxisi hu·n' im' inh̄ tani* the two whales on the beach
 /ʔax-^cis-ʔi hu·n' i-m' inh̄ .. / two-at beach-DEF whale-PL really

A second reason why inflectional affixes are assumed to be affixes is that at least some of them depend, for their interpretation, on the particular stem they are affixed to. The past morpheme *-int* can be interpreted as 'deceased' when attached to nonpredicative animate nominals. The passive *-at* can be interpreted as 'possessor of' when affixed to a body part nominal or to a limited set of intransitive verbal predicates. The plural *-m' inh̄*, normally translated as 'a bunch of', can be interpreted as 'each' when affixed to quantity stems (in addition to having its regular collective interpretation); for example, 'two each (of each type of object)' as well as 'two (of them)'. Finally, the diminutive *-ʔis*, although normally interpreted as 'small, endearing, young', obligatorily accompanies certain adjectival stems such as 'narrow', 'only' etc. whose object of attribution can be neither small, endearing, nor young.

On the basis of such evidence, it appears that inflectional affixes are generated with the stems that they will accompany in surface structure, stems which do not have one obligatory surface constituent position.

4.4. Aspect

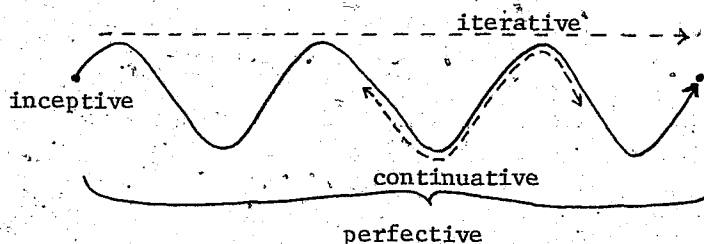
4.4.1. Introduction

Kyquot has noninflectional morphemes of three types: aspectual, governing (i.e. derivational but nonaspectual), and restrictive (i.e. non-derivational). In this section, aspectual morphology and aspect in general are discussed. As Comrie (1976:3) points out, a language's aspect system consists of morphemes which provide different viewpoints of a situation's internal temporal constituency. It is important to make a terminological distinction between aspectual categories ('aspects') and the specific aspectual morphemes of a given language. An aspect, such as

'inceptive', can be indicated by more than one aspectual morpheme. In this work, terms for aspects are written out in full, e.g. 'inceptive', and terms for aspectual morphemes are capitalized and abbreviated, e.g. 'INC'.

Aspects commonly referred to lexically or morphologically in a language include the perfective, in which a situation is portrayed as a blob, having no internal phases or structure as in *He ran*, *He tied it up*, or *He coughed*; and the imperfective, in which a situation is portrayed as having internal phases and structure. An imperfective situation can be further specified as inceptive if the initiatory phase of a situation is focused upon as in *He started to run* or *She turned red*; iterative if the situation is composed of a series of recurring events as in *She laughed and laughed*; habitual if the situation occurs over an extended period of time (could be simultaneously iterative, continuative, or durative as well) as in *He used to run every day*; or continuous if the situation continues through time, in either a static (durative) sense as in *It's red* or a dynamic sense, which can be either progressive as in *She is getting (more and more) patient* or nonprogressive as in *He's running*. The following diagram illustrated different aspectual viewpoints.

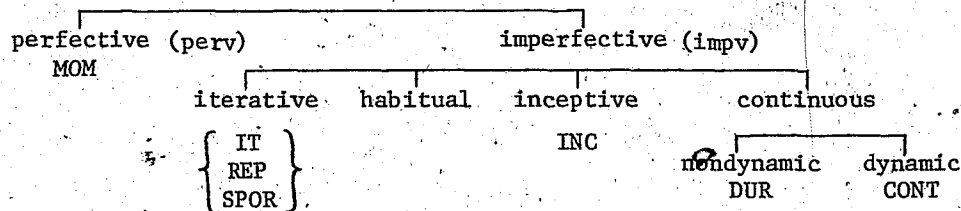
FIGURE 3: ASPECTUAL VIEWPOINTS



In Kyuquot, the primary aspectual morphemes are $-\text{ʒi}(\lambda)$ MOM (momentaneous), $-\text{ʔi}(\lambda)$ INC (inceptive), $\text{CVC}\#$ IT (iterative), $-\text{ʒ}$ ($\sim -\text{ʔi}:\text{ʒ}$ [L + S]) SPOR (sporadic iterative), $-(y)a$ CONT (continuative), $-(y)a$ REP (repetitive iterative), $-\text{ak}^w$ DUR (durative), and [L] GRAD (gradulative). There are other affixes and stems contributing aspectual information to

constituents of the Kyuquot clause. These are discussed once the primary aspectual morphemes are presented. In the following figure, these primary morphemes are written below the aspect they can denote.

FIGURE 4: PRIMARY KYUQUOT ASPECT MORPHEMES



Aspect is central to Kyuquot word formation. Every root, base, and stem has an aspect. The base's aspectual value, which is equivalent to that of its right-most derivational morpheme, is explicit if that morpheme is aspectual and implicit if it is nonaspectual. There are only two implicit aspects for roots and governing suffixes: imperfective for nonverbal ones and nondurative for verbal ones. For example, the stem $?una^k\dot{s}\dot{n}$ has an explicit momentaneous (perfective) aspect and its base, $?una^k$ 'having it', has an implicit imperfective aspect.

(254) $?una^k\dot{s}\dot{n}$ He got it
 $?u-na^k-\dot{s}\dot{i}(\lambda)$ it-have..-MOM

The aspectual morphemes are not found in all types of bases and the same aspectual value cannot be assigned to an aspect morpheme in all contexts. There are classes of roots and stems associated with certain aspect morphemes and certain aspect values for those morphemes. In the following table, these classes constitute the highest row. Capital letters refer to semantic classes. The T and Q refer here to temporal and quantity roots. V_4 and V_5 are classes of roots or bases affixed by aspectual morphemes, V_4 by $-ak^w$ DUR, $-\dot{s}\dot{i}(\lambda)$ ($\sim -'i:\dot{s}$ [$L + S$]) SPOR, $-^c i:\dot{s}\dot{i}(\lambda)$ INC, or $-\dot{s}\dot{i}(\lambda)$ MOM; V_5 by $-(y)a^*$ CONT. A_4 is composed of stems consisting of an adjectival root plus $-ak^w$ DUR. The class designated as 'OTHER' includes all stems except those derived by aspectual morphemes; all combinations of roots plus restrictive suffixes (except $V-uk$); and all nominal, quantifier, and locative roots. The rows indicate the aspectual value of the non-

occurrence of a given aspectual morpheme (indicated by one of its allo-morphs) for a particular class. Not all members of a class are found to associate with all the aspectual morphemes. However, those occurring will have the aspectual value indicated below.

TABLE 16: KYUQUOT ASPECTUAL VALUES BY CLASS

Morpheme	V ₁	V ₂	V ₃	A ₁	A ₂	A ₃	T	Qy	OTHER	A ₄ V ₄	V ₅
-ak ^w	dur result	-	-	dur state	-	dur state	-	-	-	-	-
-(y)a [*]	cont prog	→	-	inc prog	cont	-	-	-	-	-	-
CVC#	iter	→	→	impv inc it	→	→	iter	→	inc iter	iter	-
-ci ^{ci} (λ)	inc	→	→	impv inc	→	→	inc	→	→	-	-
-ši(λ)	perv	→	→	perv inc	→	→	perv	inc	→	perv inc	-
[L]	grad	→	→	-	-	-	grad	-	grad	→	-

V₁, V₂, and V₃ refer to classes of verbal roots. V₁ roots occur with -ak^w DUR and with -(y)a^{*} CONT (not simultaneously); V₃ roots with neither -ak^w nor -(y)a^{*}; and V₂ roots with -(y)a^{*} but not -ak^w.

(255) *matuk* He was in flight
/mat-uk/ fly-DUR

mata He was flying
/mat-(y)a^{*}/ fly-CONT

(256) *susa* He was swimming
/sus-(y)a^{*}/ swim-CONT
*susuk

(257) *n^o amab^o* He tried
*n^o amab^ok, *n^o amaba

Verbal roots, most of which are V₂, have a momentaneous (perfective) aspectual value when affixed by -ši(λ) MOM.

In contrast, adjectival roots combine with -ši(λ) to form stems having an inceptive aspect. A₁ roots occur with -ak^w DUR and -(y)a^{*} CONT; A₂ roots with -(y)a^{*} but not -ak^w; and A₃ roots with or not with -ak^w.

but never with $-(y)a$.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|------------------|
| (258) | $\lambda^i ihuk$ | It's red |
| | $/\lambda^i ih^w-uk/$ | red-DUR |
| | $\lambda^i iha$ | It's getting red |
| | $/\lambda^i ih^w-(y)a^*/$ | red-CONT |
| (259) | $m^i a^ba$ | It's cold |
| | $/m^i a^b-(y)a^*/$ | cold-CONT |
| | $*m^i a^buk$ | |
| (260) | $\lambda^i ut$ | It's nice |
| | $*\lambda^i utuk, * \lambda^i uta$ | |

Each aspectual morpheme is introduced below. The morpheme's privileges of occurrence and aspectual values and other morphemes with similar aspectual values are presented.

4.4.2. Momentaneous

The momentaneous morpheme $-\xi i(\lambda)$ has the greatest range of occurrence of any aspectual morpheme. When affixed to verbal or temporal roots, it denotes a perfective (momentaneous) aspect as in $qah^s i\lambda$ 'He died', $his^s i\lambda$ 'He hit it', $huh^t i\lambda$ 'He knew it', and $qi^c i\lambda$ 'It went on for a long time'. The action is portrayed as a blob, an entity without internal phase-structure. Such perfective-marked stems can occur with any tense morpheme.

When affixed to bases other than verbal or temporal class roots, $-\xi i(\lambda)$ denotes an inceptive aspect as in $\lambda^i ih^s i\lambda$ 'It reddened', $m^i a^b i\lambda$ 'It grew cold', or $si^c i\lambda$ 'It went rotten'. If both $-\xi i(\lambda)$ and $-^c i^c i(\lambda)$ can attach (not simultaneously) to a base, then $-\xi i(\lambda)$ indicates the perfective inceptive aspect and $-^c i^c i(\lambda)$ the imperfective inceptive aspect as in $y^i im^h i\lambda$ 'He became ashamed' and $y^i im^h i^c \lambda$ 'He was becoming ashamed'. If only one of these morphemes can attach to a base, then the resulting stem has a general inceptive meaning as in $t^i a^b k^s i\lambda$ 'It softened (A₁)' or $\lambda^i uqi^c \lambda$ 'He developed broad (shoulders) (A₃)'. The use of a perfective morpheme to indicate inception is not uncommon in languages and is especially common for stative verbs. In Nootka, the momen-

taneous morpheme indicates inception for all roots which are neither verbal nor temporal and for verbal roots and bases already specified for perfectivity by a momentaneous, iterative, or verbal derivational affix.

A small number of verbal and adjectival roots have some other perfective allomorph for the momentaneous morpheme: *-inu(ʔ)* as in *kʰamaʔnʔ* 'It filled up', *-ʔu(ʔ)* as in *wiʔnapʔuʔ* 'He stayed', *-i(ʔ)* as in *nasʔ* 'He tried', and *-ʔi(ʔ)* as in *kuʔwʔiʔ* /*kuʔwʔiʔ-ʔi(ʔ)*/ 'He stole it'.

Verbal (V_4) and adjectival (A_4) bases can be further affixed by *-ʔi(ʔ)* to indicate inception when they result from the affixation of aspectual morphemes. Such bases include:

1. a root affixed by *-ʔi(ʔ)* MOM as in *kʰwʔissʔiʔʔ* 'It's just starting to snow now', *matʔiʔʔ* 'He just flew off', *ʔiʔʔiʔʔ* 'It's just starting to go rotten', and *ʔakupʔiʔʔ* 'He's on the verge of marrying';
2. a root plus *-ʔiʔi(ʔ)* INC as in *matʔiʔʔ* 'He just learned to (began to) fly', and *yʔimʔiʔʔ* 'He was becoming more and more ashamed';
3. a root plus iterative morphemes (cf. section 4.4.7) as in *naqnaqʔʔ* 'He's started to drink every now and then', and *tuʔpktuʔpkʔ* 'It was becoming blacker and blacker (time after time); or
4. a root plus *-akʔ* DUR as in *maʔakʔ* 'It started to become worn out', *ʔiʔukʔ* 'The object turned red', and *qaʔakʔ* 'It (the battery) went dead'. The presence of *-ʔi(ʔ)* after a root plus *-akʔ* emphasizes the inception of a resultant state, i.e. 'began to be a ..-ed thing'. In contrast, affixation of *-ʔi(ʔ)* to a root emphasizes the process of inception itself as in *maʔʔiʔ* 'It became old', *ʔiʔʔiʔ* 'It became red', and *qaʔʔiʔ* 'He died'.

In addition, there are roots and bases which can be affixed by *-ʔi(ʔ)* or by *-ʔiʔi(ʔ)* but not by both. This class includes some adjectival roots, all the quantity, quantifier, nominal, and locative roots, roots followed by restrictive suffixes, and bases not formed by affixation of an aspectual morpheme. The presence of either *-ʔi(ʔ)* or *-ʔiʔi(ʔ)* in these contexts indicates the perfective inceptive (or inceptive):

ʔuʔiʔʔ (A) 'He developed broad shoulders', *ʔayaʔʔ* (Qy) 'There came to be a lot', *ʔaʔyʔkʔ* (Qr) 'There came to be another one', *wikiʔʔ* (Qr)

'He no longer..', $\check{c}'apic\check{s}\check{\lambda}$ (N) 'It turned out to be a canoe', $qu\check{t}i\check{c}\check{\lambda}$ (N) 'He became a slave', and $\text{?}ah\text{?}a\check{c}\check{\lambda}$ (L) 'He got to be there'. The perfective/inceptive morpheme associated with a given root or base is not fully predictable by semantic class or phonological shape although certain principles do exist. For nominal roots, those ending in a vowel, \check{t} , or s are affixed by $-i\check{c}i(\check{\lambda})$; those ending in other consonants are affixed by $-si(\check{\lambda})$. No such principle has been found for other semantic classes.

For multi-morphemic bases, the choice of a perfective/inceptive morpheme is more varied and depends in part on the last phoneme of the base's final morpheme. Most consonant-final morphemes have $-si(\check{\lambda})$ as their perfective/inceptive suffix and most vowel-final morphemes have $-inu(\check{\lambda})$.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (261) | $\text{?}uk\text{?}up\check{s}\check{\lambda}$
/ $\text{?}i\text{-}k\text{?}up\text{-}si(\check{\lambda})$ / | He started to like it
it-like..-MOM |
| (262) | $\text{?}ip\text{?}i\check{c}\check{s}\check{\lambda}$
/ $\text{?}i\text{-}p\text{?}i\check{c}\text{-}si(\check{\lambda})$ / | He took a fall overboard
sink-at edge-MOM |
| (263) | $m\text{?}at\check{a}t\check{c}\text{?}in\check{\lambda}$
/ $m\text{?}at\text{-}at\check{c}\text{?}a\text{-}inu(\check{\lambda})$ / | He tied it up
tie-at upright surface-MOM |
| (264) | $\text{?}u\text{?}chi\text{?}n\check{\lambda}$
/ $\text{?}u\text{-}chi\text{ [L]}\text{-}inu(\check{\lambda})$ / | He got married
it-married to..-MOM |

There are two major exceptions to the above principles of morpheme choice. Virtually all s-final suffixes have $-\check{\lambda}$ as their perfective/inceptive morpheme.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (265) | $hiy\text{?}ah\check{s}\check{\lambda}$
/ $hi\check{t}\text{-?}ah\check{s}\text{-}\check{\lambda}$ / | He got into the canoe
there-in vessel-MOM |
|-------|---|--|

Virtually all suffixes ending in $u(\check{\lambda})\check{t}$ or $C\check{t}$ (where C denotes 'consonant') have $-\text{?}uwi(\check{\lambda})$ as their perfective/inceptive morpheme.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (266) | $qu\check{s}iny\text{?}u\check{\lambda}$
/ $qu\check{s}\text{-}(w)in\check{t}\text{ [L]}\text{-?}uwi(\check{\lambda})$ / | Her neck stiffened up
stiff-at neck-MOM |
|-------|---|--|

There are about another fifty suffixes (less than fifteen percent of all suffixes) whose associated perfective/inceptive morpheme is not

predictable on the basis of the above principles. First, a few suffixes have idiosyncratic momentaneous forms which replace the suffix rather than follow it (as in all other cases): -^oi·(λ) 'at the rocks (MOM), outside (MOM)' for both -^oa·ʔa 'at the rocks' and -^oas 'outside, on the ground' and -^cipi(λ) 'inside the house, enclosure (MOM)' for -^ciʔ 'in the house enclosure'. The other unpredictable perfective/inceptive morphemes are:

1. -^ši(λ) (rather than the expected -inu(λ) -^owi(λ), or -λ for -c 'at', -caqa [L] 'preparing..', -^oaʔsimʔi [L] 'liking..', -^oʔi: 'go to..', -^oihta 'at nose, point', -mʔi [R] 'able to..', -p^ou·qə 'smelling like..', -(q)hʂi· 'one who..', -u·ʔ 'place', and -y^oi·ha 'suffering from..';
2. -^ci·ʔi(λ) (rather than the expected -inu(λ) or -^ši(λ)) for -(ʔa)k^wa 'completely (destroyed)', -ʔa·ta 'lacking..', -hʂa· 'wanting to eat..', -hta 'go downstream, seaward', -inwa 'for..reason', -^oi·qsa '..kin', -ma '..thing', -mahsa 'want to..', -mi·h 'sore in..', and -šahi '..wrong';
3. -λ (rather than the expected -^ši(λ) or -inu(λ)) for -(c)siʔ [L] 'at water-level', -(c)suk [L] 'at septum, nose', -c^ou· 'at container', -(c)it 'at body, side of canoe', -(c^o)i·ʔ 'covered in..', -^oi·k^w [R] 'given to..', -^oi·n [L] '..suspension', -(k^w)a·ʂt 'dried..', -(q)hta [R] 'at foot', -qu· 'at point', -si·k^w 'finish..', -t^oi·na 'slightly', and -w^oin 'at middle';
4. -^oi(λ) (rather than the expected -^ši(λ)) for -a·wi(ʔ) [L] 'expect..', -a·p^oi(ʔ) 'at the back', and -in^ouk [R] 'at hand'; and
5. -sλ (where the previous suffix's final λ is deleted) for -(c)su·qλ 'at guts' and -maʔaqλ 'want to..'

The aspectual value of momentaneous or inceptive morphemes following a suffix is as follows. It denotes perfective inceptive aspect if the preceding suffix is governing (i.e. derivational) but not temporal as in (267), (268), and (269)..

(267) ʔumʔi·qsiʔk

/ʔumʔi-ʔi·qsa-c^oi·ʔi(λ)/

She became a mother.

mother..kin-INC

(268) ʔuʔuk^o ukʂk

/ʔu-k^o uk [R]-^ši(λ)/

He came to resemble him

it-resemble..-MOM

- (269) ?uk^{wi}·tš^h He started to make it
 /?u-(č)i·tš-šⁱ(h)/ it-make..-MOM

If the governing affix is temporal, an affixed perfective/inceptive morpheme indicates the perfective aspect.

- (270) ?ak^p·itš^h He did it twice
 /?ak-p^h·it-šⁱ(h)/ two-for..times-MOM

If the preceding affix is restrictive (i.e. nonderivational), the perfective/inceptive morpheme generally denotes the perfective aspect.

- (271) hitacwin^h He went through
 /hita-(c)wi^h·-inu(h)/ there(MOM)-through-MOM

- (272) tuami·s^h He hopped on the beach
 /tuac-mač^h-^cis-h/ hop-move about-at beach-MOM

Other ways in which suffixes influence aspect interpretation are discussed with respect to suffix types in the section following the presentation of the aspect system (cf. particularly section 4.8.1).

4.4.3. Continuative

The continuative morpheme $-(y)a^*$, which is restricted to verbal and adjectival roots, indicates that a dynamic situation (i.e. a process or event) is enduring through time. V_1 and V_2 verbal roots affixed by $-(y)a^*$ CONT have a continuous, dynamic but nonprogressive aspectual value as in *mata* 'He's flying', *yaca* 'He's walking', or (273).

- (273) casa^hntin We were chasing him.
 /cas-(y)a^h·-int-in/ chase-CONT-PAST-IP

The long version of a^* in $-(y)a^*$ is found in surface forms only in second syllable when protected by a following phoneme. The y surfaces only following a vowel as in *p^haya* 'potlatching'. V_3 verbal roots are typically multi-syllabic and stative, and can indicate continuativity without $-(y)a^*$.

- (274) ?a^hk^h·ubinti^h·s I borrowed/ was borrowing it
 /?a^hk^h·ub-int-(y)i^h·-s/ borrow-PAST-INDF-I

A₁ and A₂ roots occur with $-(y)a^*$ CONT. Attached to A₁ roots, $-(y)a^*$ indicates a progressive and inceptive aspectual value as in $\lambda^* i\dot{h}a$ 'reddening', $t^* \dot{a}bka$ 'softening', or $?u\dot{c}qa$ 'becoming foggy'. At least one root, $qah-$ 'die', is difficult to classify because of its influence on aspectual interpretation. It can be affixed by $-ak^w$ DUR and is therefore V₁ or A₁. Its durative form $qahak^w$ 'dead' is resultant, classing $qah-$ as V₁. However, its continuative form $qaha$ 'dying' implies change resulting in a final state and is, hence, progressive, classing $qah-$ as A₁. The classification and interpretation of roots and aspects in Nootka requires further investigation.

A₂ roots affixed by $-(y)a^*$ indicate a continuative but not necessarily progressive aspect as in $\lambda^* upa$ 'It's hot' or $m^* \dot{a}ba$ 'It's cold'. It cannot be claimed that Kyuquot speakers assume temperature to always be in flux. For example, on a cold day which is less cold than a previous one, a speaker could still say $m^* \dot{a}ba$ 'It's cold' (but not 'It's getting cold/colder').

Other adjectival roots (i.e. A₃ roots such as $\lambda^* uq$ 'broad' or $\lambda^* \dot{u}b$ 'nice') and all other nonverbal roots and bases cannot be affixed by $-(y)a^*$ CONT and must express the aspectual values of $-(y)a^*$ as follows. The continuative aspect is part of the implicit aspect of any nonverbal element. The progressive inceptive aspectual value is indicated for most elements by whatever morpheme indicates imperfective inceptive (or inceptive, if the distinction of perfective and imperfective is not made for that element). For most elements, this morpheme will be $-^c i \cdot \dot{c}i(\lambda)$ INC, or $-\dot{s}i(\lambda)$ MOM if $-^c i \cdot \dot{c}i(\lambda)$ cannot attach to that element.

Excessive continuity is expressed by the affix $-y^* i \cdot \dot{h}a$ 'excessively'. This morpheme attaches only to roots as in $ciqy^* i \cdot \dot{h}$ 'talking too much, ALL the time', $m^* i\dot{k}y^* i \cdot \dot{h}$ 'raining again and again without letup', $h\dot{a}^* w^* i\dot{t}y^* i \cdot \dot{h}$ 'ALWAYS being the (elected) chief', or (275).

(275) $\dot{s}i\dot{h}y^* i \cdot \dot{h}i\dot{n}i\dot{t}i\dot{s}$ He was REALLY crying on and on
 $/\dot{s}i\dot{h}-y^* i \cdot \dot{h}a-int-?i \cdot \dot{s}/$ cry-excessively-PAST-IND

Continuity of an event can also be indicated by a predicate which dominates the one expressing the event itself. The higher predicates, $n^* up^* inq$ 'continually', $tak\dot{s}i\dot{\lambda}$ 'always', and $sa\dot{c}^* i-$ 'unceasingly',

can dominate a predicate which is aspectually continuative, durative, momentaneous, iterative, etc;

(276) *n'up'inq k'wisa* It was continually snowing
 /*n'up-p'inq k'wis.-(y)a*/ one..time around snow-CONT

(277) *takšix ha'ukwix* He always answered
 /*tak-šix(κ) ha'u-šix(κ)*/ each-MOM back-MOM.

4.4.4. Durative

The durative morpheme, *-ak^w* (~ *-uk*) DUR, indicates a stative aspect. The distribution of the allomorphs is largely unpredictable except for the following principles. Each root can occur with only one of the two allomorphs. CV- roots are affixed by *-ak^w* as in *m'u'ak* 'burning' and roots ending in a labialized consonant or a sequence of *u* plus one consonant (i.e. ..C^w- or ..uC-) tend to occur with *-uk* as in *κ'ihuk* 'red' /*κ'ih^w-uk*/ or *qušuk* 'stiff'. The presence of the durative morpheme is restricted to A₁ and V₁ roots. When it is difficult to determine if a root is V₁ or A₁, the decision is based on the aspectual value of the stem composed of the root plus *-šix(κ)* MOM. If it is inceptive as in *κ'ihšix* 'It reddened', then the root is A₁; if it is perfective as in *matšix* 'He flew' or *yacšix* 'He stepped', then the root is V₁.

Nonperfective stems based on A₁ roots always denote an enduring state whose inception is inseparable from the inception of the entity which is asserted to be in that state as in *κ'ihuk* 'red (blood, rock, etc.)', *p'išak* 'bad', or *t'abkak* 'soft'. In contrast, morpheme sequences composed of V₁ roots plus *-ak^w* DUR are resultant and denote a state resulting from a process as in *matuk* 'in flight', *qahak* 'dead', *ihuk* 'in tears (from crying)', *p'a'ak* 'potlatching', and *uščak* 'foggy'. No other class of roots and no multi-morphemic base can be affixed by *-ak^w* DUR. In summary, all nonperfective roots and bases (except A₁ roots) are implicitly imperfective, with *-ak^w* DUR used to designate an A₁ state and a V₁ resultant state.

4.4.5. Completive

In Kyuquot, the perfective morpheme *-šix(κ)* MOM can also denote

completion if attached to a root whose unmarked or durative form (X or X-ak) indicates a state and/or whose continuative form (X-(y)a*) indicates progression towards a point of completion.

If the root is verbal, affixation by -(y)a* can indicate continuation of an event and/or progression toward a completion point. Contrast the following two sets of V₅ stems:

1. *susa* 'swimming', *κ'ixwa* 'laughing', *casa* 'chasing';
2. *qaha* 'dying', *waba* 'going home', *nu'tka* 'making a revolution'.

Roots of the first type, termed 'atelic', refer to events which are not directed to some completion point. If affixed by a perfective morpheme, they can denote a complete event as in *susšix* 'He swam', *κ'ixšix* 'He laughed', or *casšix* 'He chased it'. This is so even if the activity is cut short, e.g. by a storm, a thump on the back, or the escape of the hunter's prey. In contrast, roots of the second type, termed 'telic', refer to events which include a completion point. The affixation of -(y)a* to telic roots denotes progression toward that point and the affixation of -š(i)κ expresses completion. If the event is terminated before completion (or perhaps climax), the perfective aspect morpheme cannot be used: *qahšix* 'He died' (but NOT 'He was dying but didn't die'), *wabšix* 'He went home' (but NOT 'He was on the way home but didn't make it'), or *nu'tkšix* 'He made a revolution' (but NOT 'He made part of a revolution'). The inceptive morpheme can be used for initiated events, whether completed or not.

There are three suffixes which express completion of an event, -ak^w DUR, -yu* '...ed', and -(ʔa)k^wa 'destroyed (completely)'. The first two express completion as a state. The durative -ak^w has already been discussed. It expresses a resultant state when affixed to a V₁ root. The second suffix, a derivational morpheme, is the more productive affix, although by no means fully productive. Adjectival, verbal, or quantifier roots or bases derived by nonaspectual morphemes can be affixed by -yu* to indicate a state resulting from the completion of a process or action (similar to that indicated by the past participle in English) and not necessarily controlled by an agent, e.g. *m'ixyu* 'rained-on', *watyu* 'at home', *κ'ixyu* 'punched', *huqyu* 'spilled', *tupkyu* 'blackened',

λ^2 $u\check{p}\check{c}u$ 'heated up', n^2 $i\check{k}\check{c}u$ 'pecked at', and $na\check{q}\check{c}u$ 'drunk' (the latter seemingly a loan translation). In third or later syllables, $-yu$ has the allomorph. $-ya$ as in (278).

- (278) $\text{?}u^2\check{s}p^2\check{a}b\check{y}a$ He's amazed
 / $\text{?}u^2\check{s}-p^2\check{a}b-yu^2$ / some-looking on at...-ed

For A_1 roots, a formal distinction is generally made between states which have a known inception-point, ($X-yu$), and ones which have either had no inception apart from that of the entity in that state or have been in a steady state for a long time or during the period of recognition by, salience for, or value to the speaker ($X-ak^w$). Contrast, for example, λ^2 $i\check{h}y\check{u}$ 'reddened', used to refer to a rusted or bloody knife, an autumn leaf, or a berry-stained container, with λ^2 $i\check{h}uk$ '(inherently) red', used to refer to blood, fire, or a berry (even if not red when immature).

The affixation of $-yu$ to wik 'not' yields a stem used to denote aspectually perfect events, i.e. events occurring in the past but with an effect upon a subsequent time period.

- (279) $wiky\check{u}^2y\check{i}^2s$ $hi\check{s}si^2k$ I haven't finished (making) it yet
 / $wik-yu^2-(y)i^2-s$ $hi\check{s}-si^2k^w$ / not...ed-INDF-I all-finish..

There is no parallel in nonnegative sentences.

The third suffix expressing completion of an event is $-(?a)k^w\check{a}$. It occurs with certain verbal and adjectival roots and denotes an event having an end-point which must be reached. If the end-point is not reached, the use of $-(?a)k^w\check{a}$ is inappropriate. Contrast the following two stems.

- (280) α^2 $u\check{a}k^w\check{a}$ He chopped at it (with a knife)
 / α^2 $u\check{a}-\check{z}i(\lambda)$ / stab-MOM

- (281) α^2 $u\check{a}k^w\check{a}^2p$ He chopped it all up
 / α^2 $u\check{a}-(?a)k^w\check{a}^2ap$ / stab-completely-CAUS

In a sense, $-(?a)k^w\check{a}$ renders an event telic.

This suffix (whose bracketed portion occurs only postvocally), which cannot be stem-final, must be further affixed by $-^c i^2\check{z}i(\lambda)$ INC to indicate perfective intransitive, or $-^2ap$ CAUS to indicate perfective

transitive, or *-iɕya* (possibly from *-^ci·ɕi(ɣ)-yu* historically).
 '-ed' to indicate a resultant state as in *ʃaʔak^wiɕya* 'all scratched
 up, all damaged'. One of the peculiarities of *-(ʔa)k^wa* is that
 sequences of a root plus that morpheme must be explicitly marked for
 transitivity even when the root is inherently transitive and would not
 require being affixed by a causative morpheme if *-(ʔa)k^wa* were not
 present. For example, the root *his-* 'hit' is implicitly transitive as
 in *hisɿɿ* 'He chopped it, chopped at it'. The completive or telic
 form is *his^wɿp* 'He chopped it up (completely), the nontransitivized
 **his^wiɿ* /*his-(ʔa)k^wa-^ci·ɕi(ɣ)*/ being ungrammatical. A root which is
 inherently intransitive, such as *m^wu-* 'burn', can be affixed by
-(ʔa)k^wa plus either *-^ci·ɕi(ɣ)* INC or *-^sap* CAUS to produce the stems
m^wuʔak^wiɿ 'It burned up, completely, down to the ground' and *m^wuʔak^waʔp*
 'He burned it completely'.

The fact that *-(ʔa)k^wa* means 'destroyed' as well as 'completely'
 is not illogical. Once an entity has fully undergone a destructive
 process, the process is clearly completed because the entity no longer
 exists or is too modified to undergo the process. In fact, *-(ʔa)k^wa*
 tends to occur with destructive verbal roots such as *ɕi-* 'rub', *ɕ^si-*
 'cut', *his-* 'hit', *m^wu-* 'burn', *ʃiɕ-* 'rot', *ʃaɕ-* 'break (rope)',
ɿ^sik- 'purge', *tɕɕ-* 'chew', *nuɕ-* 'spill', *k^wa-* 'break', *ʃa-*
 'damaged', *ɕ^wu-* 'stab', and *n^sik-* 'pack, scrape, scratch'. The
 morpheme *-(ʔa)k^wa* also attaches to nominal roots, or to quantity,
 adjectival, or quantifier roots modifying a nominal.

(282) *ʃiɕk^wiɿ* > A dog was destroyed
 /*ʃiɕk^w-(ʔa)k^wa-^ci·ɕi(ɣ)*/ dog-destroyed-INC

(283) *m^wuʔak^waʔp* He destroyed four (of them)
 /*m^wu-(ʔa)k^wa-^sap*/ four-destroyed-CAUS

The destructive sense is more obvious in such stems.

Other cases of *-(ʔa)k^wa* seem figurative because the event
 expressed is only metaphorically telic (i.e. completive), e.g. *kuɕk^waʔp*
 'tickle too much, to death' or the following stem.

(284) *y^sim^wʔak^wiɿaʔɿ* . They had all been in mourning
 /*y^sim^w-(ʔa)k^wa-^ci·ɕi(ɣ)-^sak*/ unsatisfactory-destroyed-INC-TEM

Several stems indicate completion and can dominate a predicate having any aspect except the inceptive. Examples are *hawi-* 'finish', *hi'sit* 'do all', and *hi'ssi·k* 'finish up'.

- (285) *hi'sitint hisa* He was hitting them all
 /hiš-(č)it̃ [L]-int his-(y)a·/ all-do to..-PAST hit-CONT
- (286) *hi'ssi·k hiskʷa·ʔp* He chopped up one piece after another. He finished chopping them
 /hiš-si:kʷ his-(ʔa)kʷa-ʔap/ all-finish.. hit-completely-CAUS

4.4.6. Inceptive

The inceptive morpheme *-ci·č̃i(λ)* INC always indicates an inceptive aspect in one of the three following capacities. First, *-ci·č̃i(λ)* can indicate both inceptive and perfective aspect for roots or bases which can not be affixed by any momentaneous morpheme (cf. section 4.4.2). Second, *-ci·č̃i(λ)*, when affixed to V₁ or V₂ roots, indicates an inceptive aspect wherein the inception of an event is treated as an event itself. This contrasts with the function of *-š̃i(λ)* MOM which indicates a perfective aspect for verbal roots and treats the whole event (including inception) as a phaseless entity. Contrast the following pairs: *ciš̃iλ* 'He raised his eyebrows', *cič̃i·č̃λ* 'He started to raise his eyebrows'; *maš̃iλ* 'He flew', *mač̃i·č̃λ* 'He started to (learned to) fly'; *ʰi·kš̃iλ* 'He punched him', *ʰi·ki·č̃λ* 'He began to punch him'. Third, *-ci·č̃i(λ)*, when affixed to adjectival roots, indicates the imperfective inceptive. That is, it indicates that the state resulting from the inceptive event no longer holds or that the inception is ongoing and progressive. This contrasts with the function of *-š̃i(λ)* MOM which indicates the perfective inceptive for adjectival roots. Contrast the following pairs: *ʰi·š̃iλ* 'It went red', *ʰi·wi·č̃λ* 'It was reddening'; *ʃi·č̃iλ* 'It went rotten', *ʃi·ci·č̃λ* 'It is/was going rotten'; *m'abiš̃iλ* 'It became cold', *m'abi·č̃λ* 'It has been/was/is getting cold'.

There are several ways of emphasizing the period immediately prior to the occurrence of an event. The aspectual view of an event is termed 'prospective' and is expressed in Nootka by at least three affixes, *-w'it as* 'about to..', *-ʔit̃ [R]* 'about to..', and *-ʔiλ* 'on the verge,

prospectively'. The first affix is common and attaches to a base formally specified for aspect.

- (287) *qa'ħš'itw'ic'* He's about to die.
 /qah-[L]-š'i(ħ)-w'it'as/ die-GRAD-MOM-about to..

The second affix, *-?ith [R]*, is less common and seems to be restricted to following verbal roots.

- (288) *ħuħuq'w'itħš'a'ħ* It started to tip over
 /ħuq-?ith [R]-š'i(ħ)-'aħ/ spill-about to..-MOM-TEM

- (289) *?a'ac'itħš'aħ* He just started to go out fishing
 /?a-?ith [R]-š'i(ħ)-'aħ/ go out-about to..-MOM-TEM

This morpheme seems related to *-?a'ħi ([R])* 'lying in wait for..'

The third prospective morpheme, *-'iħ*, does not seem to be derivational. It can occur with nominal or temporal bases as an indicator of future tense as in the following stems.

- (290) *?aħi'ħi* tonight
 /?aħ-(y)i-'iħ-'i'/ night-..time-prospectively-DEF

- (291) *?u'č'ik'ikħ'* his future pool
 /?u-č'ikħ-'iħ-uk/ it-..instrument-prospectively-POSS

- (292) *wik'ikħ'k m'uk'a'ħ* You won't be on the verge of getting
 burned (if you..)
 /wik-'iħ-(y)i:-k m'u-š'i(ħ)-'aħ/ not-prosp.-INDF-II burn-MOM-TEM

It also accompanies [L] GRAD in verbal stems (cf. section 4.4.9).

In addition, there is an adjectival predicate, *ħi'k'at'* 'almost', which can denote prospective aspect for a predicate within its scope.

- (293) *ħi'k'at'int'in ħiħš'aħ* We were about to cry
 /ħi'k'at-int-in ħiħ-š'i(ħ)/ almost-PAST-1p cry-MOM

There is no affix to indicate retrospective aspect, which is the aspect in a mirror-image relation to the prospective. However, the stem *ħah* 'now, at the time, presently' can serve such a function.

- (294) *ħahint'i's qa'u'č'* I've just made a basket
 /ħah-int-(y)i:-s qa'u-č-(č)i'č'/ now-PAST-INDF-I basket-make..

4.4.7. Iterative

The iterative aspect is one of the aspects most commonly indicated in Kyuquot by a morpheme. The shape of the morpheme is varied. The principle type of iterative aspectual value denotes sporadic occurrence of an event, not characterized necessarily by agentive control or evenly-spaced temporal intervals between occurrences. Such sporadic recurrence is typically glossed as 'every now and then', 'once in a while', or 'time and again' and will be indicated in examples here by the abbreviation *e.n.t.* Virtually all bases can be affixed by some morpheme indicating such an aspectual value. The other iterative aspectual value, repetitive iterative, is characterized by evenly-spaced temporal intervals between occurrences or numerous occurrences and by agentive control of the event by some participant. Repetitive aspect is less commonly indicated by affix and can be indicated by the principle (normally sporadic) iterative morpheme when a base cannot be affixed by a uniquely repetitive morpheme. Repetitive aspect is discussed in the section on graduative aspect (section 4.4.9).

The principle iterative allomorphs are distributed as follows. One-syllable V_1 , V_2 , A_1 , A_2 , and T roots which can be affixed by $-\xi i(\lambda)$ MOM and are not otherwise reduplicated (i.e. due to presence of derivational suffix inducing reduplication) are affixed by a CV $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} C(\textcircled{C}) \\ \lambda \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \#$ reduplicative morpheme (abbreviated as *CVC#*) plus the suffix $-\xi$ SPOR. The λ in the reduplicative affix precedes a reduplicated CV- root; $-\xi$ occurs as $-\xi$ following $a(\cdot)$ or $i(\cdot)$, and as $-k$ following $u(\cdot)$. The length of the root vowel is copied in the reduplicative vowel. Verbal and temporal roots thus modified have a perfective iterative aspect as in $p'ap'ac$ 'He gave gifts away e.n.t.', $xwakwak$ 'It expanded e.n.t.', $\lambda su'k$ 'She grabbed it e.n.t.', $qi' \lambda qi' \xi$ 'It took a long time (to do it) e.n.t.'. Adjectival roots thus modified are inceptive iterative as in $y'imhy'imhs$ 'He became embarrassed e.n.t.' and $m'abm'ab$ 'It became cold e.n.t.'.

All other roots and bases have iterative aspect identified by one of a set of nonreduplicative allomorphs. Only one iterative allomorph can accompany any base except in the case of $qu'as$ 'adult' (discussed

below). In general, the nonreduplicative iterative morpheme can be posited to be $-i:ʔ [L + S]$ SPOR. This morpheme attaches to the affix indicating perfective aspect (i.e. either a momentaneous or inceptive morpheme) for a given base. Being a glottalization-inducing suffix, $-i:ʔ [L + S]$ causes the deletion of the final λ of the preceding aspectual morpheme. Regular λ deletion and vowel elision take place, resulting in the iterative forms given below. The symbol $[L + S]$ indicates that the first and second vowels of a stem are respectively lengthened and shortened.

TABLE 17: PERFECTIVE AND ITERATIVE FORMS

	Perfective Form	Iterative Form
MOM	$-\ddot{s}i(\lambda)$	$-\ddot{s}i:t [L + S]$
	$-i(\lambda)$	$-i:t [L + S]$
	$-uwi(\lambda)$	$-uwi:t [L + S]$
	$-inu(\lambda)$	$-inu:t [L + S]$
	$-i(\lambda)$	$-i:t [L + S]$
INC	$-ci\ddot{c}i(\lambda)$	$-ci\ddot{c}i:t [L + S]$

Bases attached by the different iterative forms are given below. First, there are bases composed of a root plus

1. $-ci\ddot{c}i(\lambda)$: $ku\ddot{y}i\ddot{c}i\ddot{c}i\ddot{c}$ 'It becomes nice e.n.t.', $ma\ddot{h}t\ddot{i}c\ddot{i}\ddot{c}$ 'A house was built (came into existence) over and over', $ka\ddot{w}i\ddot{c}i\ddot{c}$ 'He drew near e.n.t.';

2. $-\ddot{s}i(\lambda)$: $hu\ddot{h}tik\ddot{s}i\ddot{c}$ 'He learned about it e.n.t.', $ki\ddot{h}aq\ddot{s}i\ddot{c}$ 'He became skinny e.n.t.', $ti\ddot{p}in\ddot{c}i\ddot{c}$ 'It became alternately a table and something else (e.g. a cupboard)', $ʔa\ddot{y}a\ddot{c}i\ddot{c}$ 'There would be a bunch of them e.n.t.';

3. some other momentaneous allomorph: $wi\ddot{n}ap\ddot{u}\ddot{c}$ 'He stayed e.n.t.', $ku\ddot{w}i\ddot{c}$ 'He stole e.n.t.'; or

4. both $-ci\ddot{c}i(\lambda)$ and $-\ddot{s}i(\lambda)$: $qu\ddot{a}ss\ddot{i}\ddot{c}$ 'He's in and out of his senses' and $qu\ddot{a}si\ddot{c}i\ddot{c}$ 'He's coming in and out of his senses'. In this case (unique in Kyuquət), $-ci\ddot{c}i(\lambda)-i:ʔ [L + S]$ indicates an inceptive iterative and $-\ddot{s}i(\lambda)-i:ʔ [L + S]$ a (simple) iterative.

Secondly, there are bases composed of a root plus at least one suffix preceding

1. -i·či(κ): ?u·mahsīčī·č /ʔu-mahsa/ (it-want) 'He wanted it e.n.t.',
?u·mʔiqsīčī·č /ʔumʔi-ʔi·qsa/ (mother-..kin) 'She became pregnant e.n.t.';
2. -šī(κ): ?a·yipšī·č /ʔaya-ʔi:p/ (many-obtain..) 'He started to get a lot of them e.n.t.', ?u·kwīššī·č /ʔu-(č)i·č/ (it-make..) 'He started to make it e.n.t.';
3. some other momentaneous allomorph: ?u·ščinu·č /ʔu·š-čhi/ (some-married to..), 'He married some e.n.t.', hi·nw' iʔtinu·č /hin-w' iʔta/ (there(MOM)-go out of vessel) 'He got in and out of the canoe',
κ' i·hiny' wwi·č /κ' ih -(w)ʔnw/ (red-at neck) 'His neck reddened e.n.t.'

In the cases where a suffix is replaced by a perfective (momentaneous) morpheme, the iterative is produced (as predicted) by affixation of -ʔi·č [L + S] to the perfective form.

- (295) hi·skmipi·č He stays with his in-laws e.n.t.
/hišk-mab-čipi(κ)-ʔi·č [L + S]/ stay with in-law-move about-in house(MOM)-SPOR.

Besides CVC# IT and -š (~ -ʔi·č [L + S]) SPOR, other affixes which can indicate iterativity include -(ʔa)kʷa- 'completely (destroyed)', -y' i·ha 'excessively', and -(kʷ)a:w 'back and forth' as in p'atqʷa·wʔ 'He went back and forth with burdens' or ?a·k' iʔba·w 'He borrowed it e.n.t.'. In addition, the distributive morpheme, CV#, occasionally indicates an iterative aspect as in ʔiʔiʔhak 'He was crying e.n.t.', kakimtqʷʔ 'He ran e.n.t.', and ku·ku·čš 'He stole e.n.t.' based on the roots ʔih-kamatq- and ku·w' iʔ- respectively. The presence of -š SPOR without CVC# reduplication as in ku·ku·čš is extremely rare. None of these affixes are productive, at least in the iterative sense.

There is, however, a multi-word construction which is productive and commonly indicates iterative aspect. This is 'word-word' reduplication, in which a full stem is repeated (indicated in the following examples by a superscript 2). Inflection typically occurs in the left-most stem. Stems involved in word-word reduplication can have implicit aspect or can be marked for any aspect except -č i·č i(κ) INC.

- (296) $\text{ʔu}^{\cdot}\text{ʂtaq } \text{ʔu}^{\cdot}\text{ʂtaq}$
 /ʔuʂ-taq [L]/² He kept working and working on it
 some-work on..
- (297) $\text{ciqy}^{\cdot}\text{i}^{\cdot}\text{h} / \text{ciqy}^{\cdot}\text{i}^{\cdot}\text{h}$
 /ciq-y^hi^ha/² She was talking all the time
 talk-excessively
- (298) $\text{m}^{\cdot}\text{i}^{\cdot}\text{x}a \text{ m}^{\cdot}\text{i}^{\cdot}\text{x}a$
 /m^hi^hx-(y)a/² It rained repeatedly
 rain-CONT
- (299) $\text{ʕihak } \text{ʕihak}$
 /ʕih-ak^w/² She cried and cried
 cry-DUR

Iterativity of a dominated predicate can be indicated by the stems $\text{ʔu}^{\cdot}\text{ʂi}$, $\text{ʔu}^{\cdot}\text{x}^{\cdot}\text{ʔu}^{\cdot}\text{ʂi}$, and $\text{ʔum}^{\cdot}\text{acq}$.

- (300) $\text{ʔu}^{\cdot}\text{ʂi} \text{ ʕi}^{\cdot}\text{t}^{\cdot}\text{ʕi}^{\cdot}\text{t}$ He lied every now and then
 /ʔu^hʂ-(y)i^h CVCHʕit-[L]-(y)a/ some...time IT-disbelieve-GRAD-REP
- (301) $\text{ʔum}^{\cdot}\text{acq}^{\cdot}\text{a}^{\cdot}\text{ʕ} \text{ ʔu}^{\cdot}\text{ʂma}^{\cdot}\text{c}^{\cdot}$ They gossiped every now and then
 /ʔum^hacq-ʔa^hʕ ʔu^hʂ-ma^hc^h[L]/ occasionally-PL some-gossip about..

4.4.8. Habitual

Although the basic aspectual system of Nootka includes no habitual affix, habituality is distinguished morphologically from continuativity or iterativity. There is an adjectival derivational suffix, $-\text{ʔi}^{\cdot}\text{k}^{\cdot}\text{w}$ [R] ($\sim -\text{ʔi}^{\cdot}\text{k}^{\cdot}\text{w}$ [L]) 'given to, prone to...'. A habitual behavior is often expressed attributively as in $\text{nanaʕi}^{\cdot}\text{k}$ 'He was given to drinking, He used to drink regularly' and $\text{x}^{\cdot}\text{i}^{\cdot}\text{w}^{\cdot}\text{i}^{\cdot}\text{k}$ 'He's given to laughing, He's always laughing', based on the roots naq- 'drink' and $\text{x}^{\cdot}\text{i}^{\cdot}\text{x}^{\cdot}\text{w}$ - 'laugh'.

There is also a particle, $\text{ʔin}^{\cdot}\text{ʕ}$ 'habitually', which always follows the predicate. It can accompany predicates of any semantic class with any aspectual value except the inceptive.

- (302) $\text{haw}^{\cdot}\text{i}^{\cdot}\text{ʕint} \text{ ʔin}^{\cdot}\text{ʕ}$ He was always chief
 /haw^hi^hʕ-int .. / chief-PAST
- (303) $\text{hisa}^{\cdot}\text{nti}^{\cdot}\text{s} \text{ ʔin}^{\cdot}\text{ʕ}$ I used to be chopping it
 I've chopped wood before
 /his-(y)a^h-int-(y)i^h-s .. / chop-CONT-PAST-INDE-F

- (304) *tupkakiš ?int̃ k̃t̃ak̃qu* It's typically black when it's good
 (/tupk-ak^w-?i^s .. k̃t̃ak̃-³ak-qu:/ black-DUR-IND .. good-TEM-COND
- (305) *ta³k̃si³ ?int̃ čimq̃k̃* He's generally always happy
 (/tak-[L]-š̃i(̃) .. čim-³aq̃k̃/ each-GRAD-MOM .. satisfactory-inside

The habituality expressed by *?int̃* must be a feature of the predicate as a complete stem. That is, *?int̃* cannot refer to the habituality of an event expressed as an embedded root or base. Consider the following.

- (306) *̃k̃ i³x̃š̃i³ma³q̃k̃ ?int̃* She was always wanting to laugh
 (/̃k̃ i³x̃^w-š̃i(̃)-ma³aq̃k̃ .. / laugh-MOM-want to..

In such a sentence, *?int̃* cannot refer to the habituality of the embedded base. That is, the sentence cannot mean 'She wanted to be habitually laughing'.

4.4.9. Gradulative

The gradulative morpheme [L], whose presence in a stem is indicated by a long vowel in the root (and the CVC# reduplicative morpheme, if present), is found only in stems which are verbal. Such stems can be composed of a verbal root as in *tapuš*, - '(whale) spouts', a base plus a verbal derivational suffix as in *his-k̃^wa³-?p* 'chop up (completely)' or a root plus one or more derivational aspectual affixes. In addition, GRAD occurs with verbal roots affixed by *-ak^w* DUR. If *-ak^w* is considered to be a nonderivational imperfective aspectual marker, then bases composed of a verbal root plus it remain verbal. The morphological function of *-ak^w* requires further research. More complex stems, e.g. ones with embedded bases, cannot be modified by [L]. Perhaps this is because one could not determine which base the gradulative aspect modified in such a context.

The gradulative aspect morpheme points to or magnifies the gradualness, progression, and continuity (i.e. the imperfectivity) of the phases of an event even if it occurs in a stem marked for perfective (momentaneous) aspect as in the following sentences.

- (307) *hu³q̃ša³?k̃* It slowly/ gradually spilled out
 (/huq-[L]-š̃i(̃)-³ak̃/ spill-GRAD-MOM-TEM

- (308) *mi·təša·ʔk* He took time to turn/ slowly turned
He started to make a turn
/mitə^w-[L]-š(i)(k)-ʔak/ turn-GRAD-MOM-TEM

The aspectual value of gradualness is paramount when [L] GRAD accompanies bases which are implicitly verbal as in *ta·puš* 'The whale was gradually spouting' or *hi·sk^w·u·ʔp* 'He gradually chopped it all up'.

When a stem is aspectually inceptive (inception being indicated by *-c·i·š(i)(k)* INC or by *-š(i)(k)* MOM, the latter morpheme being chosen if the base is either a nonverbal nontemporal root or a root affixed by *-ak^w* DUR or *CVC# IT*), the presence of [L] GRAD indicates that the inception is extended, gradual, or progressive. Examples include *k^w·u·qi·čk* 'He's slowly getting broader', *na·qi·čk* 'He's just starting to drink', *k^w·u·psik* 'It's gradually getting hot', *-k^w·i·ššik* 'It's slowly getting whiter and whiter', *mi·xtšik* 'He's finally getting old', and the stems presented in (309) through (312).

- (309) *ya·c^w·ca·kinti·s* I was thinking of/ taking my time
to start going out
/yac-[L]-c·i·š(i)(k)-ak-int-(y)i:-s/ step-GRAD-INC-TEM-PAST-INDF-I
- (310) *k^w·i·sukšk* The object was slowly turning white
/k^w·is.-[L]-uk-š(i)(k)/ white-GRAD-DUR-MOM
- (311) *ya·cukšk* He's just starting to walk better
/yac-[L]-uk-š(i)(k)/ step-GRAD-DUR-MOM
- (312) *wa·twa·tšk* He's starting to go home repeatedly
/CVC#wat-[L]-š(i)(k)/ IT-go home-GRAD-MOM

When inception is indicated in a stem by *-š(i)(k)* affixed to a base composed of a root, plus *-š(i)(k)*, the presence of [L] GRAD indicates that the inception is prospective or retrospective.

- (313) *qa·hšikšk* He's slowly dying (but near the end)
/qah-[L]-š(i)(k)-š(i)(k)/ die-GRAD-MOM-MOM
- (314) *k^w·i·ššikšaʔk* It's just started/ starting to snow
/k^w·is.-[L]-š(i)(k)-š(i)(k)-ʔak/ snow-GRAD-MOM-MOM-TEM

Other examples include *ti·pinčikšaʔk* 'It's almost a completed table',

ci·qʷiʷkʷk 'He's just learning to talk', *tu·pkʷiʷkʷk* 'It's just starting to get dark/black', and *ʕi·hʷiʷkʷaʷk* 'He just started to cry'. The graduative morpheme does not occur with the sequence *-ci·ʕi(ʷ)-ʕi(ʷ)* INC MOM, which has an incipient inceptive meaning 'just starting to'. The meaning of *-ci·ʕi(ʷ) [L] INC GRAD* is 'slowly starting to, thinking of'. Perhaps the ungrammaticality of *GRAD INC MOM is due to the presence of other morpheme sequences indicating the same aspectual value as it would indicate.

When a stem is identified as iterative by *CVC#...-ʕ IT SPOR*, the presence of [L] GRAD indicates that the iterativity is more intense, frequent, or progressive as in *na·qna·qʷ* 'He's getting to be drinking more and more often', *mi·tami·taʷ* 'He circled every now and then (but he kept at it)', *ʕu·ʕqʷu·ʕqʷ* 'It was getting foggier (by patchy ill-defined stages)', and *tu·pktu·pkʷ* 'It was gradually but sporadically becoming dark', based on the roots *naq-*, *mitx-*, *ʕuʕq-*, and *tupk-*. Perhaps the lack of occurrence of *CVC#...-ʕ-ʕi(ʷ) IT SPOR MOM* with [L] GRAD is due to the similarity of meaning such a form would share with one in which *CVC#...-ʕ* occurs with [L], namely a progressive increase in frequency of occurrence of an event.

When a stem's iterativity is indicated by *CVC#...-(y)a IT REP*, the presence of [L] (which in this case is obligatory) indicates that the iterativity is regular, controlled, and progressive or habitual. The resulting morpheme sequence denotes the cyclical repetition of events and accompanies only verbal and adjectival roots, indicating perfective and inceptive repetitive aspect respectively. Examples include *ʕu·ʕqʷu·ʕqʷ* 'It's getting foggy again and again', *ʷi·hʷi·h* 'It repeatedly reddens', *mi·tami·ta* 'He turned repeatedly', and (315) and (316) below.

(315) *tʷa·ʕktʷa·ʕkatʷ inh*

A bunch are softening up here and there

/CVC#tʷ aʕk-[L]-(y)a-mʷ inh/

IT-soft-GRAD-REP-PL

(316) *pʷa·ʕpʷa·yamʷ inh*

A bunch kept handing out gifts (at a potlatch)

/CVC#pʷ a-(y)a-mʷ inh/

IT-potlatch-GRAD-REP-PL

The repetitive morpheme sequence commonly, but not necessarily,

implies that an event is under agentive control. In fact, when intransitive verbal roots (associated with patient subjects) are affixed by the repetitive morpheme sequence, the resulting stem is transitive and is associated with an agent subject. Contrast, for example, *k'ixsih* 'It broke' (not 'He broke it') with *k'i'ak'i'ak* 'He broke them all up, one after another, repeatedly'. Other examples of transitive repetitive stems include *ka'ax'a'c* 'He folded them up one after another', *qa'hqa'h* 'He killed them one by one', and *hu'qhu'q* 'He kept spilling it over and over again'; based on the intransitive roots *ka'ac-*, *qah-*, and *huq-*.

The repetitive morpheme complex is peculiar in other ways. Some stems composed of a root plus the repetitive morpheme complex must be understood as lexical entries independent of the root. For example, contrast the following: *ʔit-* 'disbelieve', *ʔi'tʔi't-* 'lie (tell falsehoods)' or *ka'ihw-* 'red', *ka'ih'ih'ih* 'lightning occurs' (the regular repetitive meaning, 'becoming red repeatedly', being part of the predictable aspectual variants of *ka'ihw-*). There are also repetitive forms which have no root form, or have only a marginally-productive root form, e.g. *ʔi'ʂʔi'ʂ* 'chew gum', the root of which occurs only in *ʔi'ʂ-k'wa-ʔp* 'chewing gum up' and *ʔi'ʂci'p* 'gum'.

In addition, repetitive forms are commonly interpreted as having a plural participant. That is, the recurrence of an event can be due to the performance of a noniterated event by or on more than one participant, the subject (agent) if the root is inherently either transitive or intransitive, the object (patient) only if the root is inherently intransitive.

(317) *hu'thu't* He kept splashing and splashing
A bunch kept splashing
/CVC#hut-[L]-(y)a/ IT-splash-GRAD-REP

(318) *ka'qta'q* He kept throwing the mushy thing
over and over
He threw more than one/once
They each threw a mushy thing
/CVC#taqw-[L]-(y)a/ IT-throw mushy thing-GRAD-REP

The nature of the repetitive morpheme *-(y)a* needs further discussion. It is at least diachronically related to *-(y)a* CONT. Both these morphemes denote continuativity. Neither of them can be affixed by *-si(ka)*

MOM or by any other aspect morpheme. The shortness of the a in -(y)a REP could result from its position in third or later syllables due to the presence of a reduplicative syllable as well as a root. However, there are roots which can be affixed by -(y)a REP but not by -(y)a CONT, e.g. k'ac- 'folded' and k'u- 'slap'. Hence, -(y)a REP is kept as a synchronically distinct morpheme here.

There are two affixes which are present in stems with lengthened root vowels and which indicates either slowness (-aya [L]) or immanence and prospectiveness (-i:k([L])). These are termed the 'slow gradative' and 'slow prospective' morpheme complexes. The slow gradative morpheme complex, which has an idiolectal variant, -i:[L], always follows a MOM or INC morpheme as in mi'xtsiskay 'He's slowly growing old', wa'itskay 'It's gradually turning into a frog', or k'u'qiscakay 'He's slowly developing broad (shoulders)'.

The prospective gradative morpheme complex can affix to any verbal stem composed of a base plus momentaneous, inceptive, or repetitive morphemes.

(319) k'i'hsiskak'ik' It's just on the verge of turning red. It's slowly turning red
/k'ih'-[L]-si(k)-si(k)-i:k/ red-GRAD-MOM-MOM-prospective

(320) ci'qei'qsk'ik'at They're just on the verge of talking. They're slowly starting to talk.
/CVC#ciq-[L]-si(k)-i:k-?a't/ IT-speak-GRAD-MOM-prospective-PL

There are also two forms indicating that an event expressed as a predicate within their scope occurs slowly: ?u'sit or ku'z-

(321) ?u'sit ha'sitsitki It slowly got interesting.
/.. hasitsa-ci'ci(n)-aya [L]/ .. interesting-GRAD-INC-slowly

(322) ku'ziskis' tuskis' He jumped slowly/easily.
/ku'z-si(k)-?i's' tusk-si(k)/ slowly-MOM-IND jump-MOM

Predicates dominated by ?u'sit or ku'z- can be marked for momentaneous, continuative, inceptive, or repetitive aspect and can be optionally modified by -aya [L] 'slowly' or [L] GRAD.

nor completed. So, for example, *k^wissix* 'It snowed' expresses an event which could have lasted for hours or days but is portrayed as atemporal. In a prospective form, e.g. *k^wissixwⁱc* 'It's about to snow', the snowfall is still an atemporal complete event, but one which is not completed because it has not yet occurred. Perfective forms cannot generally be dominated by a predicate expressing temporal duration.

(323) **n^up^{ci}·^hh^{int} his^six*
 /n^up^{ci}·^hhⁱ(^h)-int his.-^hhⁱ(^h)/ one-..days-MOM-PAST hit-MOM

(324) **c^a·^hh^a·^aw^{int} his^six*
 /CVC#^caw-[L]-(y)a-int .. / IT-one-GRAD-REP-PAST

However, if a duration can be viewed as a phaseless whole, then perfective forms can accompany higher temporal predicates of duration as well.

(325) *qi·^{ca}·^hh^{int} his^six* He chopped it for a long time
 /qi·^hhⁱ(^h)-^ah^hs.-^hhⁱ(^h)/ long time-MOM-TEM chop-MOM

(326) *ku·^hh^{int} his^six* He chopped it for the morning
 /.. ^hh^u-(y)i·-int his.-^hhⁱ(^h)/ morning it-..time-PAST hit-MOM

Most temporal predicates (whether punctual or durational) can dominate imperfective predicates (whether continuative, inceptive, or iterative) and predicates telicized by the presence of *-(^ha)k^wa-* 'completely'.

(327) **n^up^{ci}·^hh^{int} his^kw^a·^hh^{int}* It took all day to chop it up
 /n^up^{ci}·^hhⁱ(^h)-int his.-(^ha)k^wa-^ah^{int}/
 one-..days-MOM-PAST hit-completely-CAUS

(328) *c^a·^hh^a·^aw his^h·^hh^{int}·^s* He was chopping continually, one
 /CVC#^caw-[L]-(y)a CVC#his.-[L]-(y)a/ after another
 IT-one-GRAD-REP IT-hit-GRAD-REP

Predicates unspecified for tense in Kyuquot are implicitly non-future. Because present tense is associated with ongoing events, the perfective aspect is typically associated with the past tense in contexts not specified for tense.

The imperfective aspect portrays an event as a set of phases,

either spaced (iterative) or continuous (habitual, continuative, or durative), which are directional, in that there is usually a beginning, a continuation, and a termination to the event. Events specified as imperfective but not specified for tense are more commonly interpreted as being in the present (rather than the past) tense.

- (329) *k'wisa*
1. It's snowing
 2. It was snowing
- (330) *k'wisi·č̣k*
1. It's starting to snow
 2. It has begun to snow now
 3. It began to snow
- (331) *k'wisk'wiṣš*
1. It's (been) snowing on and off
 2. It was snowing on and off

Presence of a tense morpheme can block a tense implied by aspect. A perfective form affixed by *-ʔa:qk* FUT is in future tense. An imperfective form affixed by *-int* PAST is in past tense.

- (332) *mitašikʔa·qk* He will turn
 /mitaš-ṣ̌i(ʔ)-ʔa:qk/ turn-MOM-FUT
- (333) *k'wisi·č̣kint* It started/ was starting to snow
 /k'wis.-č̣i·č̣i(ʔ)-int/ snow-INC-PAST

The Kyuquot aspect system is idiosyncratic. No aspectual morpheme is fully productive. However, perfectivity (indicated by a MOM or INC suffix) and iterativity (indicated by a SPOR, IT SPOR, or IT GRAD REP affix or affix sequence) are expressed for virtually all bases. All primary aspect morphemes except *-ṣ̌i(ʔ)* MOM, *-i:č̣ [L+S]* SPOR, and *[L]* GRAD attach only to roots, and *[L]* GRAD attaches only to roots or bases containing not more than one governing suffix. The combinations of primary aspect morphemes are for the most part uncommon or even rare. The following chart roughly indicates the percentage of Kyuquot roots which are affixed by a given primary aspectual morpheme or morpheme sequence. The abbreviations for percentages are '0' 0%, 'R' 1%-14%, 'U' 15%-35%, 'C' 36%-75%, and 'VC' 75+'. Basic aspectual morphemes or morpheme sequences are arrayed vertically, with cooccurring basic aspectual morphemes arrayed

horizontally.

TABLE 19: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF PRIMARY ASPECT MORPHEMES

Aspect		∅	Cooccurring with:		
			[L]	-š <i>i</i> (<i>λ</i>)	[L]-š <i>i</i> (<i>λ</i>)
-š <i>i</i> (<i>λ</i>)	MOM	VC	C	U	C
CVC#...-š (<i>~</i> - <i>i</i> · <i>z</i> [L+S])	IT SPOR	VC	R	U	-
- <i>i</i> ·š <i>i</i> (<i>λ</i>)	INC	G	R	R	-
CVC#...-(<i>y</i>) <i>a</i>	IT REP	NA	VC	NA	U
- <i>ak</i> ^w	DUR	U	R	R	R
-(<i>y</i>) <i>a</i> [*]	CONT	C	-	-	-

The lack of productivity or freedom of distribution of aspect morphemes raises the problem of grammaticality. It is not clear whether the instances of unverified combinations of root or base plus aspect morphemes are ungrammatical or semantically anomalous. Consider the set of A₁ adjectival roots. There is no principled way to predict, for example, which roots can be affixed by the repetitive morpheme sequence and which cannot. To a large extent, however, the unacceptability of forms such as *š*i*·š*i*·š*i*·š*i* (? 'make rotten repeatedly') and **ma*·*h**ma*·*h* (? 'wear out repeatedly') is due to judgments of semantic incongruity or meaninglessness. Further reflections on events and their phase characteristics may yield judgments of grammaticality for certain stems which have so far been judged as ungrammatical by consultants.

An aspect synopsis for the root *sus*- 'swim' is presented below.

TABLE 20: ASPECT SYNOPSIS OF PRIMARY ASPECT MORPHEMES

Aspect	Form	Gloss
MOM	<i>susš<i>i</i>λ</i>	He went swimming. He swam
MOM MOM	<i>susš<i>i</i>λš<i>i</i>λ</i>	He was just going to swim
GRAD MOM	<i>su</i> · <i>sš<i>i</i>λ</i>	He was just going to start swimming He was thinking about going swimming
GRAD MOM MOM	<i>su</i> · <i>sš<i>i</i>λš<i>i</i>λ</i>	He was on the verge of going swimming
CONT	<i>susa</i>	He's swimming
DUR		
INC	<i>susi</i> · <i>č</i> λ	He's learning to/ has started to swim

INC MOM	-	
GRAD INC	-	
IT	<i>sussusš</i>	He swims every now and then
IT MOM	<i>sussusšš</i>	He started to go swimming every now and then
GRAD IT	<i>su'ssušš</i>	He's swimming more and more
IT GRAD REP	<i>su'ssu's</i>	He goes swimming again and again, repeatedly
IT GRAD MOM	<i>su'ssu'sš</i>	He started to go swimming regularly, repeatedly

4.5. Roots and Stem Forms

The discussion of Kyuquot morphology has concentrated on two systems - inflectional and aspectual. The remaining part of this chapter concerns stem formation and the morphological properties of the elements which constitute stems. Affixes which are neither inflectional nor primarily aspectual are termed lexical affixes. Kyuquot is polysynthetic. There are only about 1500 roots and, at the same time, over 400 lexical affixes, virtually all suffixes except for plural infixes and reduplicative morphemes. Roots, lexical and aspectual affixes combine to form complex stems.

All morphemes are subcategorized by semantic class. The relative proportions of roots belonging to each class are: verbal (47%), nominal (33%), adjectival (17%), and other, i.e. quantifier, quantity, locative, and temporal combined (3%).

Only a small proportion (15%) of roots can be accompanied by either inflectional or lexical affixes. These are termed stem-form roots. Stem-form roots are typically bisyllabic, although there are monosyllabic ones in all semantic classes: *q^wis* 'do what' (V), *šims* 'brown bear' (N), *tič* 'alive' (A), *wik* 'no, not' (Qr), *mu(y)* 'four' (Qy), *hiš* 'there' (L), and *qi* 'for a long time' (T). At least some bisyllabic stem-form roots may historically derive from morpheme sequences which became bound. This hypothesis requires more investigation of proto-Nootkan.

When a root cannot serve as both a stem (i.e. a form used either as a complete word or as a base for inflectional suffixes) and as a base within multimorphemic stems, it will be associated with one of

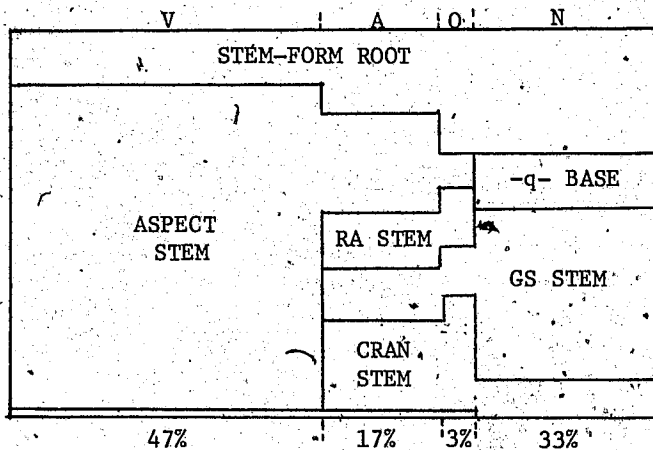
the following types of root-stem form patterns.

TABLE 21: BASE AND STEM FORMS

	Base Form	Stem Form	Stem Form Name
1.	root	root-aspectual affix	aspect stem
2.	root	root-governing suffix	GS stem
3.	root	root-restrictive affix	RA stem
4.	root	{ root-absolute affix root-cranberry affix }	cranberry stem
5.	root		
6.	root	cranberry stem	
7.	root-q-	{ root root-governing suffix }	-q-base stem
8.	root-GS-q-		

The following table illustrates the distribution of form types (including stem-form roots) for each of the three primary semantic classes, V, A, and N, and the composite class O (i.e. Qy, Qr, L, and N). The four classes are represented as vertical columns (bounded at the top and bottom by broken lines). The width of a column indicates the proportion of roots in the class to the total number of roots in Nootka (indicated below the column as a percentage). For each root set, V, A, N, and O, the percentage of roots associated with a certain root-stem form pattern (e.g. aspect stem, GS stem, etc.) is represented as a proportion of the vertical column indicating that root set.

FIGURE 5: ROOT CLASSES AND ROOT-STEM PATTERNS



Half of all roots have a stem-form composed of the root plus an aspectual affix; either $-ak^w$ DUR or $-(y)a^*$ CONT if the root is A, Qy, Qr, or T and $-š(i)(\kappa)$ MOM if the root is V (and inherently nondurative). Examples of roots with aspectual stem-forms are: $m^{\prime}ab-$ $m^{\prime}aba$ 'cold', $tupk-$ $tupkak$ 'black', $hiš-$ $hišuk$ 'all', $e^{\prime}awa-$ $e^{\prime}awa^{\prime}k$ 'one', $nay^{\prime}i-$ $nay^{\prime}i^{\prime}k$ 'at once', and $hapt-$ $haptš(i)\kappa$ 'hide'.

Another quarter of all roots have a stem-form composed of the root plus a nonaspectual suffix, most commonly a GS such as $-yu^*$ '...ed' for adjectival roots, e.g. $has-$ $hasyu$ 'loud, bright' ($*hasak$), or $-mit$ '...plant' for nominal roots, e.g. $qaq-$ $qaqmit$ 'alder'. Some roots have stem-forms composed of roots plus restrictive affixes (RA's). RA's are noninflectional and nonderivational, and do not influence the semantic class of the stem in which they occur. RA's can be attached to roots which have a stem-form which does not include that restrictive affix. For example, the root $t^{\prime}iq^w-$ 'sit' can be accompanied by a RA such as $-a^{\prime}s$ 'on surface' (i.e. $t^{\prime}iq^w a^{\prime}s$ 'sitting on it'), but the stem-form of $t^{\prime}iq^w-$ is $t^{\prime}iqš(i)\kappa$, which is an aspectual stem-form. This indicates that the RA does not necessarily have a stem-forming function, but can contribute an appositive component of meaning to a base. Some RA's (locative ones at least) can additionally have a stem-forming function for certain adjectival and locative roots. Half the locative roots, including $^{\prime}ap-$ 'right at' and $\kappa^{\prime}a-$ 'outside', must be affixed by some locative RA to serve as stems. A given root is not, however, associated with a particular affix. Hence, there is no unique stem-form for such roots, although one stem-form seems closest in meaning to each root, e.g. $^{\prime}app^{\prime}i$ 'right at the center, middle' for $^{\prime}ap-$ 'right at'. In contrast, each adjectival root whose stem-form is a RA is associated with a specific stem-forming RA, e.g. hik^w- $hik^w a^{\prime}$ 'almost' ('almost-at flat surface') and $puš a^{\prime}$ $puš a^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ 'tired' ('tired-down').

Some stem-forms are composed of a root plus an affix which serves only to produce stem-forms. Such an affix, which bears no meaning and does not predetermine the semantic class of a stem, is termed a cranberry affix if it accompanies only one root and an absolutive one if it occurs in more than one stem. Cranberry affixes, which are uncommon, include $-as$ in $sah-as$ 'gather cedar bark', $-i^{\prime}q^{\prime}$ in $hut-i^{\prime}q^{\prime}$ 'jealous', $-it$ in

c'aw-³it (from /*c'ux -³it*/) 'coho', and *-u³k* in *tuk-u³k* 'sea lion'.

In addition, a small number of nominal roots have a cranberry stem-form; i.e. a stem-form which cannot be derived from the root by affixation. All the roots associated with cranberry stem-forms are listed below: *čaxw- čakup* 'man'; *čuč- ču³ama* 'woman'; *muk- mawič* 'deer'; *qu³ac- qu³as* 'adult, person'; *qawaš- qawi³* 'salmonberry'; *šičč- šini³x* 'dog'; *m³aš- m³a³ya(-q-)* 'salmonberry shoots'.

Absolutive affixes, which can attach to roots of different semantic classes, include *-i*, *-a*, or *-u*, e.g. *šinx-i* 'ready' or *šax-a* 'two'; first or second syllable vowel lengthening, e.g. *quš- qu³š* 'slave', or a combination of suffix and vowel lengthening. The use of absolutive stems appears to be much less common in Kyuquot than in Port Alberni Nootka. Most roots with lengthened vowels in their stem-forms in Port Alberni Nootka have cognates in Kyuquot in which both the root and stem-form have a long vowel.

The choice of stem-form associated with a root is unpredictable on the basis of phonological or morphological principles. However, root or combining forms can be predicted from stem forms, except in two cases:

1. nominal cranberry stems, which are not composed of an affix plus the root, as in *šini³x šičč-* 'dog'; and
2. vowel- or nasal-final nominal stems, which have a peculiar combining-form when followed by certain lexical suffixes. This type of base consists of the stem (or a phonological variant of the stem) plus *-q-*. This *-q-* is reminiscent of Malkiel's (1978:144) 'interfix', a segment inserted between root and affix.

Stems associated with combining forms account for about a third of all nominal stems which are either monomorphemic or composed of a root plus a nasal- or vowel-final GS (e.g. *-in*, *-naš*, *-im*, *-um*, *-min*). Although the occurrence of *-q-* is morphophonologically predictable, the phonological shape of a stem or root preceding *-q-* is not fully predictable. This irregularity may have arisen due to the freezing of particular combining forms in shapes deriving from certain ordered phonological rules (nasal to homorganic stop, vowel change, and consonant deletion) which operate only in the pre-*-q-* environment. The following table sets out the combining forms attested for certain stem types.

TABLE 22: STEM ALTERNATIONS PRECEDING -q-

Stem Form	No Change	Nasal to Stop	Vowel Change	Consonant Deletion
{ ..C-in (...-min)	..C-in-q-	..C-it-q-	..C-at-q-	-
..C-im	..C-im-q-	..C-ip-q-	-	-
..C-im-c	..C-im-c-q-	-	-	/ ..C- $\begin{Bmatrix} a \\ i \\ u \end{Bmatrix}$ -q-

*The majority of nasal-final Kyuquot stems are unchanged preceding -q- and are hence represented by the second column in Table 22. Examples include: *?awat-in-q-* *?awat-in* 'eagle', *hum-im-q-* *hum-im* 'cockle', and *ɔ'ast-im-c-q-* *ɔ'ast-im-c* 'mink'. The irregular combining forms given in Table 23 are attested for a small proportion of nasal-final stems. Examples of each of the irregular stem-forms are: *qu'iš-it-q-* *qu'iš-in* 'raven', *ma'ck^w-at-q-* *ma'ck^w-in* 'housefly', *ci'k-ip-q-* *ci'k-im-in* 'iron', *ɣ'u'n-ip-q-* *ɣ'u'n-im* 'elk', *hasa-q-* *hasa-m-c* 'crab', and *ɔ'a'ya-q-* *ɔ'a'y-im-c* 'certain seaweed'.

Most vowel-final nominal stems are unchanged preceding -q-, e.g. *?ama(-q-)* 'loon', *na'ni(-q-)* 'grizzly bear', and *ɔ'imt'u(-q-)* 'squirrel'. However, if the stem ends in a short *i*, this vowel is often replaced by *a* when preceding -q-, as in *hu'n'a-q-* *hu'n'i* 'whale' or *maht'a-q-* *maht'i* 'house'.

The morphology of base-affix linking is complex and idiosyncratic. Some affixes attach only to roots or -q-forms, e.g. *-sa'ca* 'container'. Some affixes attach only to stem-forms, e.g. *-ma'ag^w* 'want to (be)...'. However, the majority of affixes are idiosyncratic. A certain suffix will attach to the root forms of some roots, the stem form of others, and to either the root or stem forms of still others. The choice of base form is predictable by neither phonology nor the semantic class of the base or affix. Moreover, the distribution of roots occurring in root form, stem form, or either root or stem form (i.e. as free variants) differs from affix to affix.

Consider the forms employed for the four bases following: (1) *ɕap^w-* *ɕakup* 'man', (2) *ɕuɕ-* *ɕu'ema* 'woman', (3) *muk-* *mawiɕ* 'deer', and (4) *quɕ-* *qu'ɕ* 'slave'. Each base has a root and a stem form. In the following table, base form possibilities are represented as columns.

The location of the numbers representing the above bases indicates the base form a given base has when associated with a particular suffix.

TABLE 23: DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED BASE FORMS

Suffix	Gloss	Base as Root	Base as Root* or Stem	Base as Stem	Unacceptable as Base
-(c)snafz	handle..	1,2,3			*4
- ^o i:h	try to get..	2	3		*1,*4
-k ^w ay ^o i:h	chase..	1,2		3,4	
-e ^o a*s	bet..	1,2,3		4	
-(č)i ^o z	make..	4	1 ^o ,2,3		
-n ^o a ^o h	wait for..	1	2,3	4	
-ma ^o aqk	want to..			1,2,3,4	

The unpredictable variation illustrated for the four bases above is representative of that for the approximately 315 nominal roots with variable base forms and stems with *-q-* combining forms, regardless of whether the stem form includes a governing, restrictive, absolute, or cranberry affix or is a cranberry form itself. This high level of variability suggests that many complex words are not generated by morphological rules but are part of the speaker's lexicon and are learned as words, and that this aspect of morphology exhibits characteristics of a moribund state, in which processes of both generalization and idiosyncratization are accelerated. In Kyuquot, generalization is illustrated by *-q-* formation and idiosyncratization by base form choice.

It is not clear whether economy favors stem or root as the basic dictionary form. In this work, the stem form is used to refer to the word, e.g. *tupkak* 'black', *ččkup* 'man', and *sa^osin* 'hummingbird'. When referring to a base used for further noninflectional suffixation, the *-q-* combining form is used (if there is one), e.g. *sa^osin-q-*, the base in *sa^osin-q-nak* 'have a hummingbird'. Otherwise, the root form is used, e.g. *čapx^w-*, the base in *čapx^w-na^ok* 'have a man', or *tupk-*, the base in *tupk-na^ok* 'have a black (one)'.

4.6. Noninflectional Affixes - Introduction.

A grammar is assumed to include a set of morphemes and a dictionary containing entries capable of serving as stems. Such entries should

morpheme sequences which they have never encountered before. It is not at all clear on what basis they assign grammaticality to innovations. The types of word formation rules discussed here are those which pertain to the mechanics of morpheme assembly. Other features of word formation, such as meaning extension and morpheme coining, are not discussed.

Noninflectional affixes comprise the majority of Kyuquot affixes. In linguistic theory, noninflectional affixes have been termed derivational and distinguished from inflectional affixes by four criteria:

1. the peripheral position of inflectional affixes;
2. sandhi rules operating at derivational but not inflectional affix boundaries;
3. the relatively nonidiosyncratic contribution to word meaning and privileges of occurrence of inflectional affixes; and
4. the power of derivational affixes to influence the grammatical or semantic class of a stem.

By these characteristics, Kyuquot inflectional suffixes are a distinct set. They precede only other inflectional suffixes and are hence found right-most in a word. Inflection associated with a NP adjunct can occur either in the NP or the associated predicate. The morphophonemic process of glottalization of preceding consonants is less powerful when triggered by an inflectional affix in that fricatives are not affected. Nor do any inflectional suffixes influence the stem shape by reduplicating the initial portion of the word or lengthening the root and/or reduplicative vowel, as do noninflectional suffixes. In addition, although the semantic contribution of inflectional morphemes is not always regular, their collocational properties are. Virtually any stem can be affixed by any inflectional morpheme.

Noninflectional affixes in Kyuquot have reverse properties. They can precede other noninflectional affixes.

(337) *tupkna·kmaʃqʔ*
 /*tupk-na·k^w-maʃaqʔ*/

He wants to have a black one
 black-having..-want to..

They are more closely bound to a constituent and have more morphophonemic influence on the base. The glottalizing noninflectional suffixes trigger both stop to ejective and fricative to homorganic ejective glide changes.

Some noninflectional suffixes are associated with obligatory root reduplication, root and/or reduplicative vowel lengthening, or both processes. Noninflectional affixes are idiosyncratic with respect to collocational possibilities and semantic interpretation. Some iteratively occur in one stem, usually as a result of the inclusion of the first instance of the repeated morpheme within a lexical entry, as in the following case.

- (338) *t'at'apw'inw'in* a spider (or bug) in the middle
- /CV#t'ap-w'in-w'in/* distrib-girded about-in middle (2)

There is one traditional characteristic of derivational affixes which Kyuquot noninflectional affixes do not all possess. This is the potential to determine the semantic class of a resulting stem. Noninflectional affixes are therefore divided into two types: governing suffixes (GS's), which when attached to a base yield a new base whose semantic class equals that of the GS; and restrictive affixes (RA's), which do not determine semantic class. For the purpose of class-type identification, GS's include dots as part of their glosses, e.g. 'eat..'. The dots represent the content of the base to which the GS is attached.

In order to illustrate the different results obtained by adding a GS or a RA to a base, three roots, *čapxw-* 'man' (N), *čuč-* 'woman' (N), and *k'ix-* 'break' (V), are each accompanied by a GS and then by a RA. The semantic class of each morpheme is indicated below the underlying form, and the semantic class equivalent to that of the resulting stem is underlined.

- (339) *čapxčə.s* He's beside the man
- /čapxw-(k)čə.s/* man-beside..
- N L
- čapxw.a.s* There's a man, on it
- /čapxw-a.s/* man-on surface
- N L

- (340) *čuči.č* He drew a woman
- /čuč-(č)i.č/* woman-make..
- N V
- čučsuht* There's a woman, coming out of the
- /čuč-(c)suhta/* woman-come out of woods woods
- N V

(341)	<i>k' iŋy</i>	It's broken
	<i>/k' iŋ-yu' /</i>	break-..-ed
	V A	
	<i>k' ik' iŋw' is</i>	It broke accidentally
	<i>/k' iŋ-w' is [R] /</i>	break-accidentally
	V A	

The semantic class of any sequence of morphemes is the same as that of its right-most GS (including aspectual GS's) or of its root, if there are no GS's. Restrictive affixes (including nonderivational aspectual ones) have an appositive rather than a class-assigning function.

There are over 400 noninflectional (lexical) affixes, which are subcategorized as follows.

TABLE 24: NUMBERS OF AFFIXES

	L	V	A	N	Qy	T	Aspect	ABS	TOTAL
Governing	10	77	75	50	5	5	5	-	227
Restrictive	117	22	13	-	6	6	3	12	179

Of the above 406 affixes, two consist only of infixes, two consist only of reduplicating morphemes, and one only of vowel lengthening. The rest include a suffix. Many suffixes, however, trigger obligatory root syllable reduplication and/or lengthening of the root and/or reduplicative vowel. Such parasynthetic morphophonological processes are not characteristic of any phonological or lexical subclass of affixes, although the absence of reduplication-triggering nominal affixes may be significant.

The behavior of the morpho-semantic classes of lexical affixes is discussed in the following section on word formation. A full list of lexical affixes, subcategorized by morphological class (i.e. governing or restrictive), semantic class of affix, and type of base to which the morpheme can attach, is provided in an appendix (p.356).

4.7. Governing Suffixes and Derivation

4.7.1. Predicative Governing Suffixes

4.7.1.1. Choice of Base

Governing suffixes are of two main types, predicative and classi-

fig. The former are primarily verbal or adjectival while the latter are mostly nominal. The position and scope of predicative verbal GS's are treated first. The scope of a GS is the morphological material in the same word or sentence which the suffix governs in a predicate-object or predicate-complement relationship.

When a predicative GS governs a NP object, the suffix attaches to (incorporates) the NP constituent which would be left-most in the order Qr > Qy > A > N.

- (342) *č'apicə* He made a canoe
 /*č'apic-(č)i·č*/ canoe-make..
- (343) *kuč'i·č č'apic* He made a nice canoe
- (344) *mu·kwi·č kuč č'apic* He made four nice canoes

Alternatively, the suffix can attach to a referential copy of the NP.

- (345) *ʔukwi·č (kuč) č'apic* He made a (nice) canoe
 /*ʔu-(č)i·č*/ it-make nice canoe

An incorporated nominal must be nonparticular as in (346). If, however, the incorporated entity is a referential copy or a modifier of a NP whose head is present as an independent stem, then the NP can be particular.

- (346) *č'apicə* He made a (*the) canoe
- (347) *ʔukwi·č č'apici* He made the canoe
 /*ʔu-(č)i·č č'apic-ʔi·*/ it-make.. canoe-DEF

The incorporated element can also be an implicit nominal, i.e. a modifier representing a NP which has no surface nominal head as in (348) and (349), or it can be a derived nominal as in (350) and (351).

- (348) *kuč'i·č* He made a nice one
- (349) *mu·kwi·č kuč* He made four nice ones
- (350) *ʔ ihmaqsnaʔa·č* He was teasing a woodpecker
 /*ʔ ih^w-ma-q-(c)ʔnaʔa·č*/ red-NOM-COMB-tease..
- (351) *ʔač'ə aqsi·ky* He made two of them (watches)
 /*ʔač'-c' aq-sʔ·kw*/ two-..vessel-finish..

However, the incorporated element cannot recur as an independent stem, as in **č'apicə č'apic*, **kuʔi-ʔ kuʔ č'apic*, or **mu-kʔi-ʔ mu- č'apic*. Nor can a nominal serve as base, when its modifiers are left as independent stems, as in **č'apicə kuʔ*, **č'apicə kaʔu*, or **č'apicə mu*. Nor can a modifier serve as a base when a dominant modifier (i.e. one more leftward in the constituent hierarchy given on the previous page) or qualifier is left as an independent stem. If, however, the qualifier is one which must follow the predicate (e.g. *tani* 'really'), then it does not serve as a base for a GS, even if that qualifier modifies the NP governed by the suffix. Compare the following two sentences.

- (352) *?i-ʔi-ʔ kuʔ č'apic* He made a really nice canoe
 (353) *kuʔi-ʔ tani č'apic* He made a really nice canoe

In passive versions of predicates composed of base plus GS, the right-most GS is passivized. If it governs a NP, then that NP serves as the subject of the predicative stem. Contrast the status of the NP's in the following pairs of sentences.

- (354) *si-činint* He did it for me
 /*si-čin [L]-int/* I-do for...-PAST
si-činʔatinti-s It was done for me
 /*si-čin [L]-ʔ at-int-(y)i:-s/* I-do for...-PASS-PAST-INDF-I
- (355) *ʔiʔč'snaʔt* He teased the dog
 /*ʔiʔč-(c)snaʔt/* dog-tease..
ʔiʔč'snaʔtat The dog was teased
 /*ʔiʔč-(c)snaʔt-ʔ at/* dog-tease...-PASS

If other GS's intervene, the grammatical status of an embedded NP is not changed by passivization.

GS's can also govern a sentential complement, which can be verbal, nominal, locative, etc., depending on the particular suffix.

- (356) *casšimmaʔqʔ* He wants to chase it
 /*cas-š(i)ʔi-maʔqʔ/* chase-MOM-want to.:
- (357) *čimqʔmaʔqʔ* He wants to be happy
 /*čim.-ʔ aqʔ-maʔqʔ/* comfortable-inside-want to..

**ʔi·ni·ktʔi·ʔiʔ mʔaʔik*. That is, if a suffix governs a complement composed of a transitive predicate plus an object NP, it is the predicate and not the object which serves as base for the suffix.

An incorporated complement (like a NP) can itself be a complex morpheme sequence including a base and a GS.

- (363) *ʔapənʔ a·hʔmaʔqk* He wanted to seek a man
/ʔapənʔ-nʔ a·hʔ-maʔqk/ man-seek..-want to..

The base can also be a referential copy of an independent NP object.

- (364) *ʔunʔ a·hʔmaʔqk. ʔakupi* He wanted to seek the man

There are no attested grammatical stems in which are found more than two suffixes governing sentential complements. When more than two such GS's are in a governing relationship, they must be distributed over more than one stem.

- (365) *ʔumaʔqk ʔu·nʔ a·hʔtʔi·ʔiʔ* He wanted to pretend to look for it
/ʔu-maʔqk ʔu-nʔ a·hʔ-tʔi:ʔiʔa [L]/ it-want to.. it-seek..-pretend.

- (366) **ʔu·nʔ a·hʔtʔi·ʔiʔmaʔqk*

The causative *-ʔap* is a predicative verbal suffix which governs a sentential complement with a predicate of any semantic class and any aspect. Some examples are given below.

- (367) *ʔuhʔapʔ* Let/ Make it be him!
/ʔu-hʔ-ʔap-ʔi/ it-ABS-CAUS-IMPV

- (368) *həʔukʔ ʔapi·s* I made him eat. I fed him
/həʔukʔ-ʔap-(y)i:-s/ eat(DUR)-CAUS-INDF-I

- (369) *naqnaqʔəpintin* We made him drink now and again
/CVC#naq-ʔə-ʔap-int-in/ IT-drink-SPOR-CAUS-PAST-IP

When the stem form (serving as base) ends in a momentaneous aspect allomorph, the sequence of momentaneous and causative morphemes is replaced by a syncretic momentaneous-causative (MOMCAUS) morpheme. This syncretic morpheme has several allomorphs, generally predictable from the momentaneous allomorph associated with the base to which the syncretic MOMCAUS morpheme attaches. For example, if the momentaneous allomorph of

a base is $-š(i)(\lambda)$, then its MOMCAUS allomorph is $-sa^*p$, as in *qaḥšia* 'He died', *qaḥsa^*p* 'He killed it', or *tupkšia* 'It blackened', *tupksa^*p* 'He made it black'. The following table gives the MOMCAUS allomorphs which are associated with the different momentaneous allomorphs.

TABLE 25: MOMENTANEOUS-CAUSATIVE SYNCRETIC ALLOMORPHS

Momentaneous	MOMCAUS	Momentaneous	MOMCAUS
∅	- ³ ap	-nu(λ)	-nup
-či(λ)	- ³ ap, -iy ³ ip	-š(i)(λ)	-sa^*p
-i·či(λ)	-iy ³ ip	-u(λ)	- ³ ap, -iy ³ ip,
-inu(λ)	-in ³ ip, -i:np		-up
- λ	-p	- ³ uwi(λ)	- ³ uwip, - ³ u:p

The disjunctive sets of allomorphs for $-či(\lambda)$ and $-u\lambda$ are in complementary distribution for different bases. That is, each $-či(\lambda)$ or $-u\lambda$ base can associate with only one of the possible MOMCAUS allomorphs. The disjunctive sets of allomorphs for $-inu(\lambda)$ and $-³uwi(\lambda)$ are in complementary distribution for different phonological contexts resulting from vowel deletions. The phonological contexts cannot be specified with certainty at this time but they appear to be the following. The disyllabic allomorphs occur when the vowel of the following syllable is deleted; otherwise, the monosyllabic allomorphs occur.

(370) *ʔaxisti·np* He made two get into the canoe
 /ʔax-ista-i:np/ two-..sea passengers-MOMCAUS

(371) *ʔaxistin³ip³t* Two were made to get in the canoe
 /ʔax-ista-in³ip³at/ two-..sea passengers-MOMCAUS-PASS

Other examples of stems in which syncretic MOMCAUS allomorphs are found are given below.

(372) *hitaqsp č³apici* He made him get in the canoe
 /hita-qs-p č³apic-ʔi³/ there(MOM)-in vessel-MOMCAUS canoe-DEF

(373) *wi·nap³u³p* He made her stay
 /wi³nap³u³p/ stay-MOMCAUS

In the above cases, verbal suffixes govern object NP's or comple-

ment clauses. Adjectival GS's, and a very few nominal and locative GS's, have this predicative role as well. NP-governing suffixes include *na^h* 'having..' (A), *-mi:k* 'getter of..' (N), and *-(k)ča's* 'beside..' (L). Complement-governing suffixes include *-i:k^w* [R(L)] 'given to..' (A) and *-(q)h^si* 'one who..' (N). There are no locative suffixes which govern a sentential complement.

The constraints on what can serve as a base which is a constituent in a governed NP or clause (S) are identical for all GS's, regardless of the semantic class of the suffix. Hence those for adjectival, nominal, or locative suffixes are equivalent to those for verbal ones. The following examples illustrate the ordering of governed constituents.

(374) *?una·k ?i·h ɛ'apic* He has a big canoe
/?u-na·k^w / it-having... big canoe

(375) *?i·hna·k ɛ'apic* He has a big canoe

(376) *ɛ'apicnak* He has a canoe

In general, modifiers have precedence over heads as bases, and predicates have precedence over objects.

(377) *?ayami·k hu·n^si* He's a getter of many whales
/?aya-mi:k .. / many-getter of.. whale

(378) *qahsa·p^w ic^s muwič* He's about to kill a deer
/qah-sa·p-w^s it^s ds .. / die-MOMCAUS-about to.. deer

(379) *h^saphy^s ik ma·ck^win* It's a fly swatter
/h^saph-y^s ak^w ma·ck^w-in/ slap-thing for.. housefly-NOM

The base can itself include a base plus one or more GS's, and can be explicitly or implicitly nominal.

(380) *?ink^wi·čy^s ikmi·k* He's one who gets kindling
/?ink^w-(č).i·č-y^s ak^w-mi:k/ fire-make...-thing for...-getter of..

(381) *?u·šhy^s imishuč* He has friends as visitors
/?u·š-(q)hy^s u·-mis-hu·č/ some-related to...-..thing-having..

(382) *h^sis?ič^sašt* It was done by the one dressed in
/h^sis-?ič^s-ašt/ white-dressed in...-done by.. white

In order to clarify how each GS builds on the previous base, the last three examples are presented below with embedded bases bracketed and assigned a semantic class.

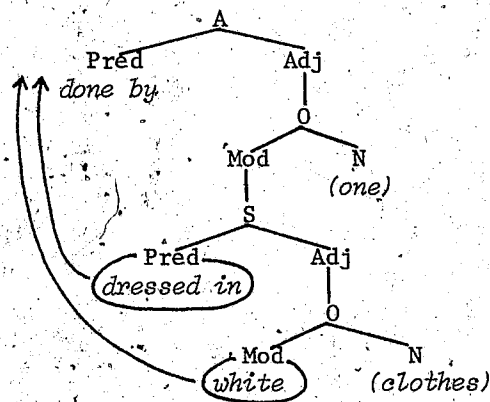
(383) [[[[?ink^w]_Ni^š]_vy^{ik}]_Nmi k]_N

(384) [[[[[?u^š]_{Qr}]_Nhyⁱ]_Amis]_Nhut]_A

(385) [[[[[^šis]_A]_N?ič]_A]_Nšast]_A

When only a bracket intervenes between two semantic class markers, e.g. ..._A]_N..., this indicates that the derived (i.e. outer) semantic class membership is the result of implicit derivation (cf. section 4.7.4).

The ordering of the GS's is from the most deeply-embedded or 'lowest' predicate or modifier on the left to the least embedded or 'highest' on the right. For example, sentence (382)/(385) can be represented as follows.



Suffixes do not all govern the same semantic types of sentential complement predicates. In the following list of the types of predicates possible, the bracketed letters indicate the semantic class of the suffix and of a stem composed of a base plus that suffix. Suffixes can govern predicates which are:

1. verbal: -c'a^q 'involved in...-ing' (V), -'i:k^w [R(L)] 'given to..' (A), -ma^šk^w 'one expert at...-ing' (N), etc.;
2. adjectival: -sah 'because of being..' (A), etc.;
3. verbal or adjectival: -y'ak^w 'thing used for..' (N), -sinh [L] 'try to'.

(be).. ' (V), *-yu* 'resulting from being..-ed (A), etc.;

4. verbal, adjectival, or nominal: *-t'i:ʔiʔa*[L] 'pretend to (be).. ' (V);

5. verbal, nominal, or locative: *-wʔitʔas* 'about to (be).. ' (A); or

6. all classes: *-ʔap* 'cause to (be).. ' CAUS (V).

Further examples of suffixes governing predicates are given below.

(386) *huʔhupimaʔqʔiʔk* He's always wanting to help people
 /*hupiʔ-maʔaqʔ-ʔi:kʷ* [RL]/ help-want to..-given to..

(387) *pikʔasʔyʔik* It's a movie camera
 /*pikʔas-(ʔ)iʔʔ-yʔakʷ*/ picture-make..-thing for..

(388) *ʔaʔpʔaxʔaptʔiʔʔiʔ* She's impersonating a man
 /*ʔapʔ-ʔaxʔ-ʔiʔiʔa* [L]/ man-do like a..-pretend to..

Some suffixes govern either a NP object or a sentential complement of the following types:

1. verbal: *-ʔiʔ* 'costume for..' (N), *-yʔit* 'giving evidence of..' (A), *-wa* 'say.., say to (do).. ' (V), etc.;

2. adjectival: *-ʔin* [R] 'make sound like/of..' (V), etc.;

3. verbal or adjectival: *-mis* 'business of (being).. ' (N), *-aʔak* 'seems to (be).., like/dressed in..' (A), *-aʔyuk* 'cry due to (being).., in order to..' (V), etc.;

4. locative: *-ʔi:* 'get to be at..' (V);

5. verbal or locative: *-ahin* 'take back, deprive of.., prevent from..' (V);

6. verbal, adjectival, or nominal; *-simʔ* [L] 'train to (be).., to obtain .. ' (V), etc.

Examples of such suffixes include those found in the following sentences.

(389) *ʔuʔthwʔʔwanitiʔ* He said to use a knife
 /*ʔut-hwʔʔ-waʔ-nit-ʔiʔʔ*/ knife-use..-say to..-PAST-IND

(390) *hiʔhinʔasʔʔaykʷ* He was crying due to his sore wrist
 /*hin-ʔas* [RL]-*ʔʔp* [R]-*aʔyuk*/ there (MOM)-at wrist-sore inʔ..-cry
 due to..

(391) *mʔiʔʔiʔwʔicʔʔakiʔ* It appears that it's
 /*mʔiʔ-ʔiʔ(ʔ)-wʔitʔas-cʔʔak-ʔiʔʔ*/ about to rain

rain-MOM-about to..-seems to be..-IND

4.7.1.2. Scope

So far, the scope relations of bases and GS's have been straightforward. A GS typically attaches to a constituent of either the NP object or the sentential complement which the suffix governs. There are two features of scope which are more complex. First, there is the problem of conjoined constituents. A GS can govern a conjoined set of NP's or clauses. In such cases, both constituents are affixed by the GS or neither is.

(392) *bo·ti·ʔ ʔuɦiʂ ʔ apicʔ* He made a boat and a canoe
 /bo·t-(ʔ)i·ʔ .. ʔ apic-(ʔ)i·ʔ/ boat-make.. and canoe-make..

ʔuk·i·ʔ bo·t ʔuɦiʂ ʔ apic He made a boat and a canoe

(393) *naqʂiɦmaʔqɦs ʔuɦiʂ waʔiʔmaʔqɦs* I want to drink and sleep
 /naq-ʂi(ɦ)-maʔaqɦ-s .. waʔiʔ-maʔaqɦ-s/
 drink-MOM-want to..-I and sleep-want to..-I

ʔumaʔqɦs naqʂiɦ ʔuɦiʂ waʔiʔ I want to drink and sleep

It is, however, ungrammatical to attach the suffix to one of a set of conjoined constituents: **naqʂiɦmaʔqɦs ʔuɦiʂ waʔiʔ* .

Quantity conjuncts are the only exception to this symmetry principle. They can be asymmetrically affixed by a GS.

(394) *ɦayucʔ ʔuɦiʂ ʔaɦci·ʔ, waʔyju* He was at home for twelve days
 /ɦayu-ʔi·ʔ .. ʔaɦ-ʔi·ʔ waʔ-yju/
 ten-for..days and two-for..days go home-..-ed

(395) *ɦayucʔ ʔuɦiʂ ʔaɦa waʔyju* He was at home for twelve days

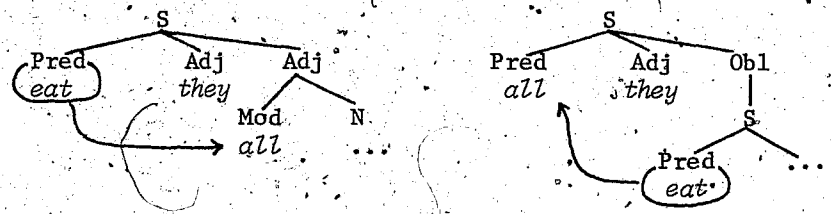
(396) *ɦayu ʔuɦiʂ ʔaɦci·ʔ waʔyju* He was at home for twelve days

Hence, except for quantity conjuncts, the formation of words by the adding of GS's is structure-preserving. In the case of the quantity conjuncts, asymmetric affixation does result in nonstandard syntactic constituents. A transitive predicate can govern a surface NP consisting of *ʔuɦiʂ* NP. Possibly, during word formation, both conjuncts are affixed by the GS, but then optional deletion of one GS can take place, prior to the operation of the morphophonological rules (including vowel

attached to GS's be interpreted as subject modifiers or higher predicates.

(401) ?a·ya·wi·int He found many. *Many of them found it
/ʔaya-a·wi(ʔ) [L]·int/ many-find...-PAST

This unique characteristic of quantifiers in Nootka is reminiscent of the tendency of a quantifier in many languages to govern the constituents of the clause in which it occurs, and to occur in a topicalizing position or construction. In Nootka, although a quantifier can serve as a modifier within a nonpredicative NP, it more commonly serves as either a predicative NP or as a base within the predicate interpreted as a higher predicate. Consider the two interpretations of (398), which can be diagrammed as follows.



The left-hand interpretation is typical. A GS, e.g. -'i·c 'eat..', can attach to the constituent it governs, the object modifier in this case. The right-hand interpretation is possible only for quantifier bases: the GS can attach to the constituent which governs it.

4.7.2. Transitivity and Control

Before beginning the discussion of nongoverning lexical affixes, a brief discussion of the causative and other transitivizing morphemes will be presented. The causative morpheme generally adds one participant, a controller, to the event expressed by the base to which -'ap CAUS is attached. If the base is intransitive, then -'ap, its allomorphs, or a syncretic MOMCAUS allomorph, transitivizes that base. In such cases, the noncausativized intransitive subject is equivalent to the causativized transitive object.

(402) pinkšič He woke up
/pink-šič(ʔ)/ awaken-MOM



- pinksa·p* She woke him up
- /pink-sa·p/* awaken-MOMCAUS
- (403) *huqšit* It spilled
- huqsa·p* He spilled it. He made it spill
- (404) *ʔ ihhta* They were paddling apart
- /ʔ ih-hta/* paddle-apart
- ʔ ihhta·p* He made them paddle away from each other

If the base is itself transitive and hence already associated with an agent, then the causative affix introduces an additional agent who controls the one associated with the embedded transitive base. The noncausativized transitive (agentive) subject is thus equivalent to the causativized object counterpart.

- (405) *casšit* He chased it
- cassa·p* She made him chase it.
- (406) *ʔuna·kš ʔ atmš* He got some dirt
- /ʔu-na·kš-šit(ʔ) ʔ at-mš/* it-having..-MOM dirt-NOM
- ʔunā·kšp ʔ atmš* They got him some dirt

A causativized stem can be secondarily causativized, but only when the left-most affix has a transitivizing function as in (407).

- (407) *huqsa·p'p* He made him tip it over
- /huq-sa·p-ʔap/* spill-MOMCAUS-CAUS

Hence, *-ʔap* cannot attach to a stem composed of a transitive root or stem plus a causative morpheme as in **cassa·p'p* or **huqsa·p'p'p*.

An intransitive stem can sometimes be transitivized by *-ʔap* when the controller and (reflexive) patient are identical. Contrast *hat' i·s* 'He bathed' and *hat' i·sap ʔuʔukʷh* 'He Bathed himself'. This emphasizes the subject's control of the event, and can also imply that the subject is willing himself to oppose his own desire, as in *wi·nap'p ʔuʔukʷh* 'He made himself stay'. The causative morpheme can also indicate control by permission rather than force.

- (408) *naqsa·pinti·s* I let him drink
 /*naq-sa·p-int-(y)i:-s/* drink-MOMCAUS-PAST-INDF-I
- (409) *siy' a·'ap's k' iksa·p* I let ME break it!
 /*siy' a·q-'ap-'i·-s k' iksa·p/* I-CAUS-IMPV-I Break-MOMCAUS

There is a second idiosyncrasy concerning *-'ap* and its function of expressing indirect control or permission. It can be used with stems of desire to indicate that the subject (the desirer) is not coreferential to the complement subject but might subsequently influence the event expressed as a complement, due to his desire for the event to occur and his intention to involve someone else as a participant in the event.

- (410) *ʔapa·k waʔʔiʔ* He was/willing to go home
ʔapa·k' p waʔʔiʔ He was willing to let him go home
 /*ʔapa·k-' ap waʔʔ-i(k)/* willing-CAUS go home-MOM
- (411) *hupi·maʔqʔi·s* I wanted to help
hupi·maʔqʔ pi·s I wanted him to help
 /*hupi·-maʔqʔ-' ap-(y)i:-s/* help-want to..-CAUS-INDF-I

This construction does not simply denote 'causing someone to want to...'. Nor does it arise due to the 'migration' of *-'ap* to a high predicate. Consider the following sentence set.

- (412) *qahʔiʔmaʔqʔi·s* I wanted to die
qahʔsa·pmaʔqʔi·s I wanted to kill it/ make it die
 /*qahʔ-sa·p-maʔqʔ-(y)i:-s/* die-MOMCAUS-want to..-INDF-I
- qahʔiʔmaʔqʔ pi·s* I wished he would die
qahʔsa·pmaʔqʔ pi·s I wished he would kill it
 /*qahʔ-sa·p-maʔqʔ-' ap-(y)i:-s/* die-MOMCAUS-want to..-CAUS-INDF-I

A causative morpheme can precede a 'wanting' morpheme and behave normally, as in the word meaning *I wanted to kill it*. It is only following the 'wanting' morpheme that *-'ap* serves to render subjects of predicates of desire noncoreferential to their complement subjects. Other predicates whose subjects are coreferential to complement subjects, e.g. *ʔamaʔʔiʔ*

'try', cannot be made to have noncoreferential complement subjects by presence of the causative.

Although many roots or stems are intransitive and are transitivized by *-ap* CAUS, many others, whether verbal, adjectival, locative, etc., are inherently transitive, e.g. *cas-* 'chase', *kuʔ* 'good to', and *kawa-* 'near to'. Their transitivity is evidenced by the presence of noncausativized passive versions, e.g. *kuʔat* 'He was treated well' or *kawaʔat* 'It was being approached'. In addition, forms can undergo implicit transitivization of either idiosyncratic or repetitive types. Both types involve an intransitive predicate interpreted transitively without presence of a causative morpheme. The idiosyncratic type is uncommon, and may represent error or an incipient change in the language.

- (413) *k'ika·niš ʔapic* We're breaking up the canoe
 /k'ik-(y)a·n-iš .. / break(intr)-CONT-1p-IND

In contrast, repetitive transitivization is common. In fact, virtually all repetitive intransitive stems can be interpreted as transitive ones with plural objects. This suggests that cyclic, i.e. non-random and symmetric iterativity implies a participant with some control over the event.

- (414) *hu·qhu·q* He was spilling them all
 /CVC#huq-[L]-(y)a/ IT-spill-GRAD-REP

Such stems can, however, also be interpreted as intransitive, e.g. 'It spilled repeatedly/ again and again' for (414). When an intransitive stem has a controlling agent as subject, then transitivization is impossible.

- (415) *tu·xtu·x* He hopped repeatedly
 *He made him hop repeatedly
 *He made a bunch of them hop
 /CVC#tuw-[L]-(y)a/ IT-hop-GRAD-REP

Control is also indicated by stems such as *ʔuksa·p* 'coax' or *ʔuc'inh* 'force', the oblique phrase *qʷa ʔuh* 'on purpose', the momentaneous aspect *-š(i)k* (by implying that an event is completed and hence more controlled than a noncompleted event), and the telic suffix *-(ʔa)kʷa*

(by requiring that the event must be carried out to a completion-point beyond which continuation of the event is impossible). Perhaps because of this greater degree of control, a telecized transitive predicate, even if inherently transitive, must be explicitly marked as such by *-³ap*.

A lack of control can be indicated by passive voice, irrealis mood, and the lexical affix *-w³is [R]* 'accidentally', the latter attaching only to certain verbal roots.

- (416) *k³ik³ik³is* It broke accidentally
 ʔk³ik³-w³is [R]/ break-accidentally
- (417) *wawak³is* He threw it away accidentally
 /wak³-w³is [R]/ throw away-accidentally

4.7.3. Classifier Governing Suffixes

The second type of GS is the classifier type. Classifier GS's are like predicative ones because they determine the semantic class of a resulting stem. Hence they do not serve as objects to a transitive base or as subjects to an intransitive base.

- (418) **h³uqhta³k* spill-..soft vessels
 /h³uq-hta³k^w/
- (419) **ci³tp³i³ɛ* saw-..long cylindrical objects
 /ci³t-p³i³ɛ^w/

They are unlike predicative GS's in that they neither govern NP objects nor sentential complements nor have any multi-word constituent within their scope. In other words, the scope of a classifier GS is always restricted to its base.

Classifier GS's include content and counter classifiers. The former, all nominal GS's, designate an entity as part of a class:

1. human or mythical beings:

- a. NP base: *-³aqsp* 'female inhabitant of..', *-m³i³t* 'mythical male..';
- b. verbal base: *-ma³k^w* 'one who is expert at..-ing';
- c. adjectival base: *-nik* 'one who is..';

2. nonhuman animate entities:

- a. NP base (all stem form classifiers): *-ma³e* '..animal, sea plant',

- ³i³w '..berry';
- b. verbal base: -(š)tu³p 'animal which.. (characteristic motion)';
3. inanimate entities:
- a. NP base: -sy³ik '..thing', -sa³htak^w '..class';
- b. verbal base: -ck^wi³ 'remains of..-ing';
- c. NP or verbal base: -[?]in 'costume for..' -u³z 'place for..';
- d. NP, verbal or adjectival base: -p³at³a '(man-made) thing'.

The above list indicates all the subtypes, but not the members, of the content classes.

When a nominal content classifier governs a verbal or adjectival base, that base typically indicates the source or function of the resulting nominal.

- (420) ma³ku³z jail
/ma³-u³z/ bind-plate for..

When it governs a nominal base, then that base designates a particular subtype of a class.

- (421) qa³y³uk³aqsp a Kyuquot woman
/qa³y³uk³-³aqsp/ Kyuquot-female inhabitant of..
- (422) pat³i³w a rosehip
/pat³-³i³w/ rosehip-..berry
- (423) čims³i³t Bear (mythical character)
/čims³-m³i³t/ brown bear-mythical male..

The use of particular affixes is not fully predictable, e.g. the choice of -i³ta or -(q)h³si³ for an agentive nominal, -³im, -na, or -ma for an animal, -č³ak^w (-y³ak^w) or -hta for a man-made tool, and -stu³p, -³a³cy³a, -sy³i, or -mis for a non-man-made object. Many nominal GS's are only fairly productive. Stems ending in -m³i³t 'mythical male..', -a³qs 'mythical female..', -[?]i³qsa '..kin', -sy³i '..thing', and -sy³w '..thing' seem to constitute closed classes, as do all the stem form classifiers (class 2a above).

The stem form classifiers are distinct from other content classifiers because a given base can be affixed by only one stem form classifier, resulting in the stem form of that base. For example, the root

sa's- 'hummingbird' has as stem form *sa's-in* 'hummingbird-..animal'. No other stem form classifier can affix to *sa's-*. There is one exception to this constraint. Some berry terms, whose stem forms end in *-i'w* '..berry' or some cranberry affix, can also be affixed by *-(e)smit* '..berry plant', e.g. *katkint-aph* 'strawberry' and *katkintsmit* 'strawberry plant'.

Analogous to content classifiers are a limited number of quantity and temporal GS's, e.g. *-m'a [L]* '..quantity' and *-(y)iya* 'time of..'.
 The second major type of classifier GS is the counter type, which affixes to a quantity base. Counter classifiers render a stem nominal, locative, temporal, or quantity, as in the following examples.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|---|
| (424) | <i>?axist</i>
/ʔax-ista/ | two passengers (in a sea vessel).
two-..sea passengers |
| (425) | <i>?axsa'c</i>
/ʔax-sa'ca/ | in two places
two-in..places |
| (426) | <i>mu'ci'z</i>
/mu'-ci'z/ | for four days
four-for..days |
| (427) | <i>suč'i'q</i>
/suč'i-i'q/ | one hundred
five-..score |

4.7.4. Other Features of Derivation

Some affixes cannot be classed as either predicative or classifier, but have bases which modify the content of the attached affix. Such affixes can be verbal, e.g. *-ay'imč* 'pray for.. weather', adjectival, e.g. *-mu't* 'formerly..', locative, e.g. *-cuq* 'in the.. hand', etc. They have within their scope only their base and not a multi-stem constituent.

The morphemes identified above as temporal counter classifiers have a secondary function. They can serve as temporal or nominal GS's which are modified by their base. This base can be adjectival or temporal, or it can be a constituent of a sentential complement.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|--|
| (428) | <i>kučp'čb</i>
/kuč-p'čb/ | (in) a nice season
nice-(in).. season |
|-------|------------------------------|--|

- (429) *wikq'i·čh ta'it̃* (in) a year of no sickness
 /*wik-q'i·čh ta-čit̃*/ not-..year drift-in house

The morphological and syntactic structure of such stems has not yet been investigated.

There are also certain affixes which govern either a sentential complement or a temporal oblique constituent, e.g. *-m'u·p* 'absent for..'

- (430) *qi·či·čm·up* He was absent for many days
 /*qi·-či·č-m'u·p*/ long time-for..days-absent for..

Temporal bases are rare in Kyuquot and are usually followed by a temporal or verbal GS.

- (431) *?u·š-i·ma·qak wačšik* He wanted to go home sometimes
 /*?u·š-(y)iya-ma·qak wač-š-i(š)*/ some-..time-want to.. go home-MOM

In a sentence such as (431), the temporal base is understood as the topical predicate of the embedded clause.

The incorporation of locative bases is also rare, except with a few locative and verbal GS's. However, the root *hist-* 'there' serves as a base for GS's which normally govern a NP object base.

- (432) *histn'a·h* He looked for it there
 /*hist-n'a·h*/ there-look..
- (433) *hist'aqsp* She's a woman from there
 /*hist-'aqsp*/ there-female inhabitant of..
- (434) *hi·sthw'at* He was using it there
 /*hist-hw'at [L]*/ there-use..

It is not clear whether *hist-* is a nominal root, an implicitly-derived nominal, or a locative root with unique privileges of occurrence. In any event, *hist-* differs from other locative roots such as *hit̃* 'there', *?ap-* 'right at', and *?ust-* 'down', which cannot be affixed by morphemes governing NP objects. In addition, *hist-* serves as a base for verbal restrictive affixes.

In addition to derivation by a GS, there is also implicit derivation. In this type of derivation, a stem is assigned a semantic class other than the one to which it belongs morphologically. Implicit derivation

in Nootka has been described by Swadesh (1933:43) as follows:

a theme [or stem, S.R.] functions as though it were equivalent to some particular derivation of that theme.

In one type of implicit derivation, a stem of the form X-GS is truncated to X when serving as a base for further suffixation. For example, nominals derived by a GS can be either optionally or obligatorily truncated prior to the GS *-na·kʷ*.

- (435) *yaxyʷak* broom
/yaxʷ-yʷakʷ/ sweep-thing for.
yaxna·k He has a broom
/yaxʷ-na·kʷ/ sweep-having..
- (436) *ʔuyaqhmis* a story
/ʔu-yaqh-mis/ it-tell...:thing
ʔuyaqh(mis)nak He has news
/ʔu-yaqh-mis-na·kʷ/ it-tell...:thing-having..

Another type of implicit derivation involves certain predictable semantic class extensions. First, a nominal root plus a locative RA is interpreted as an adjectival meaning 'having N at L' (the bahuvrihi or *-na·kʷ* type).

- (437) *haʔumqs* He has food in his canoe
/haʔum-qs/ food-in vessel

Similarly, an adjectival root plus a locative RA is interpreted as an adjectival meaning 'having an A one at L' or 'having A L' (where L is a body part location).

- (438) *ʔu·ʔukʷas* He has wide wrists
/ʔukʷ-as [RL]/ broad-at wrist

Second, a transitive verbal root plus a locative or verbal RA can be rendered in English as a past participial adjectival (a resultant state), 'V-ed at L' or 'V-ed as V₂-ing', where V₂ indicates the verbal affix.

- (439) *mʷaʔiht* He was bitten on the nose
/mʷaʔih-ta/ bite-at nose

- (440) *či·n' w̄t* It was pulled along a long object
 /*či·-a·n' w̄t*/ pull along long object
- (441) *či·w' īt* He was pulled out of the canoe
 /*či·-w' īt*/ pull-go out of vessel

A third type of implicit derivation involves the implicit nominalization of nominal modifiers (i.e. quantifiers, quantities, adjectivals) preceding certain affixes.

- (442) *kūbna·k* He has a nice one
 /*kūb-na·k^w*/ nice-having..
- (443) *čim' īt* bed
 /*čim·-īt*/ comfortable-in house

Finally, there are idiosyncratic derivations in which verbal, locative, or adjectival stems are implicitly derived as nominal ones. Such stems are often lexemes which belong only to the derived semantic class.

- (444) *man̄abn' i* a white (Caucasian) person
 /*ma·-māb-n' i*/ dwell-move about-at slope to sea
- (445) *kū īk' īk' w̄k^w* flour
 /*kū īk' īk' [R]*/ white (powder)-resembling..

The latter stem illustrates both regular implicit nominalization, in the derivation of *kū īk-* 'white' to mean 'white thing', and idiosyncratic implicit nominalization, in the derivation of the whole stem as a nominal.

There are cases where a stem can belong to both the basic and the idiosyncratically-derived semantic class. Many of these are locative stems derived as nominals.

- (446) *hi·hinas* (at the) wrist
 /*hin·-as [RL]*/ there(MOM)-at wrist

However, one cannot predict which stems will undergo idiosyncratic implicit derivation and which will not.

4.8. Restrictive Affixes

Restrictive affixes have an appositive relation to their base and do not influence the semantic class of the stem in which they occur.

4.8.1. Locative and Verbal Restrictive Affixes

Locative RA's account for three-quarters of all RA's and accompany bases of all semantic classes. They indicate location of an entity or an (implied) event occurring at or for a specific time, as in *čimn'aq* 'a brown bear up there', *χ'ilm'aq* 'a red (thing) up there', *mi'n'aq* 'four (of them) up there', *časn'aq* 'chasing (around) up there', and *qi'n'aq* '(doing it) up there for a long time'. In addition, when bound to a locative base, LRA's can indicate a more specified location, e.g. *hičn'aq* 'up there' rather than simply *hič* 'there'.

4.8.1.1. Locative Affixes

The grammatical counterpart of a LRA is an adverbial locative oblique if it modifies a predicate and a locative modifier if it modifies a NP. Few LRA's have a root equivalent. There are no roots for abstract locations such as 'in', 'on', 'beside', etc. and few for ones in nature or on the body. Instead, a locative stem equivalent to a LRA is composed of the LRA plus one of a very small set of referential or generic locative roots such as *ʔap-* 'right at', *ʔust-* 'downward, at an enclosure', and *hič* 'there'.

A LRA does not assign semantic class to a stem. However, it does assign aspect. The aspect assigned is imperfective (continuative) if the root governs no object and optionally involves a nonsubject patient.

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|---|
| (452) | <i>č'iski'č</i>
/č'isk-i'č/ | He's scraping along the rim
scrape-along rim of container |
| (453) | <i>mitxw'aq</i>
/mitxw-p'aq/ | He's turning at his knees
turn-at knee |
| (454) | <i>tuq'it</i>
/tuq-p'it/ | It's melting at the handle
melt-at handle |
| (455) | <i>čačahs</i>
/čaq-ačs/ | He's throwing wet things in a canoe
throw wet things-in vessel |

If the root is transitive, then an associated LRA assigns a perfective resultant aspect and passive voice to the stem. The relation of such forms to ones which are formally passive is still under investigation.

- (456) *ta'qw'in* He's (been) squeezed at the waist
 /ta'q-w'in/ squeeze-at middle
- (457) *č'i'a'c'ɬ* He got cut on the sole of his foot
 /č'i-a'c'ɬ/ cut-on sole, palm
- (458) *n'acis* He was seen at the beach
 /n'ac-fis/ see-at beach

In many of these stems, the LRA's seem interpretable as nominal patients. Although this may be semantically valid, it is grammatically more consistent for them to be locative adverbials. First, there are no nominal RA's otherwise found in Nootka. Second, a momentaneous (perfective) stem cannot end in a LRA but must be accompanied by the momentaneous allomorph (underlined below) of that affix, whether the root is inherently momentaneous or not. The following stems all have momentaneous roots.

- (459) *sacp'inɬ* He crawled on top
 /sa-(c)p'i-nu(ɬ)/ crawl-on top-MOM
- (460) *qahitɬ* He became paralyzed
 /qah-(č)t-u(ɬ)/ die-at body-MOM

Finally, compare the aspect of the following form with that of (452), in which the momentaneous morpheme is absent.

- (461) *č'iski'c'ɬ* He scraped at the rim
 /č'isk-i'c'-ɬ/ scrape-at rim of container-MOM

If a nominal is affixed by the momentaneous morpheme, the stem is interpreted as inceptive. But when a LRA is thus affixed, the resulting stem is momentaneous (perfective), not inceptive.

Unlike nominals, LRA's typically govern an object, which must be a sentential constituent independent of the stem in which the affix is found. Such transitivity is possible whether or not the base which the LRA accompanies is transitive. In the following examples, the transitive LRA governing the object is underlined.

- (462) *su'h^hsn'it̚* ?u'k^wɬ p'u'ʔim'inhi There's a sockeye between the
 /su'h-hsn'it̚ ?u-(č)it̚ [L] p'u'ʔi-m'in^h-ʔi./ halibuts

spring salmon-between it-do to.. halibut-PL-DEF

- (463) *mata'sk bihabi* He alighted on the mat
 /mat-a's-k biháb-?i./ fly-on-MOM mat-DEF
- (464) *casp'aq ti'pin* He was chasing it on the table
 /cas-p'aq .../ chase-on top table

LRA's can govern objects even if the affix is itself part of a base to which other suffixes are attached.

- (465) *mata'skmasqk biháb* He wanted to alight on the mat
 /mat-a's-k-masqk .../ fly-on-MOM-want to.. mat

Contrast the relation of *ʕini·k* 'dog' to the locative morpheme in the following sentences.

- (466) *hiʔa·húʔ ʕini·k* He was in front of the dog
 /hiʔ-a·húʔ .../ there-at front dog
- (467) *ʕini·k húb* There's a dog in front (of him).

Only the NP independent of the LRA can be its object. There is, of course, potential ambiguity. A NP associated with a stem in which a LRA occurs could be in a subject or object relation to the stem. For example, in (466), *ʕini·k* could also be interpreted as subject of the clause 'The dog was in front of him'. The interpretation can often be disambiguated on the basis of linguistic context, semantic constraints, and knowledge of the world.

- (468) *ʔi·w'ahs suč'is* There's a big tree in the canoe
 /ʔi:h'-ahs .../ big-in vessel tree
- (469) *mixta's' ti'pin* There's an old person on the table.
 /mixt-a's .../ old-on table

In (468), a tree cannot be interpreted as a vessel; hence, 'There's a big tree-vessel' is not an acceptable reading for that sentence. In (469), *mixt-* refers only to animate beings; hence, it cannot modify the object *ti'pin* and 'old table' cannot be the subject.

LRA's have a special relationship to quantifier bases. A quantifier can, of course, modify a subject NP associated with a LRA or serve

- (476) *ʔu^h wəci^h ʔ*
 /ʔu^h wəci^h -^ci^h/ He's in a hot place in the building
 hot-in..-in house
- (477) *ʔu^h ʔn^h a^h ʔsəim*
 /ʔu^h ʔn^h a^h ʔsəim/ He (with the others) was looking for
 someone
 some-see...-with others

If, however, the location specified by the LRA is the site of occurrence for the event or state serving as the base for the GS, then the LRA attaches to the embedded base, prior to the GS.

- (478) *qahity^h ih*
 /qah^h-(^c)it-y^h i^h/ He was suffering from paralysis
 die-at body-suffer from..
- (479) *ʔapw^h ini*
 /ʔap-w^h in^h-(y)iya/ It took place in the meantime
 right at-in middle-time when..
- (480) *hu^h pəbin^h uk^h w^h*
 /hup-əb-in^h uk^h w^h [L]/ He was looking on at the sun
 round-at flat surface-look on at..

There are a few cases where the position of the LRA seems unmotivated. Consider the following.

- (481) *ti^h ʔ^h ahsims*
 /ti^h ʔ^h ahs-ims [L]/ He saved him (at sea)
 alive-in vessel-bring home..
- (482) *qaca^h scut*
 /qac-a^h s-cu^h t/ It's at the right side
 right-on-at..side

It is not clear whether these are isolated anomalous instances, peculiar lexical entries, or evidence for as yet unrecognized principles of word formation and semantic interpretation. There are, so far, no examples of a LRA preceding a quantity GS, nor of a quantity or temporal GS preceding a LRA.

Half of the LRA's refer primarily to a body part location, e.g. -qi^h 'at head', -ʔakki^h 'at rump', -^cuq^h 'at head', and -(q)hta [R] 'at foot'. Many of these have secondary semantic extensions in other location domains such as nature and man-made objects. For example, -qi^h can also mean 'at promontory', and -ʔakki^h 'behind, at rear'. The primary location referent of a LRA is the one which comes most commonly or easily to the speaker's mind without linguistic or environmental cues.

Body part LRA's are unique among the Kyuqot affixes because only for them does the obligatory (parasynthetic) reduplication associated with some affixes have a semantic correlation. When a body part has a mate, the LRA expressing that part must be associated with reduplication: [Rc+L] for 'at the eye', [R+L] for 'at the hand' or 'at the leg', [RL] for 'at the wrist', and [R] elsewhere. When a body part has no mate, the associated LRA does not trigger reduplication. The sides of the body, e.g. of the head or hip, and the soles of the feet are not treated as having mates; their associated LRA's do not trigger reduplication. For body part LRA's, obligatory reduplication bears a distributive meaning. This is supported by pairs such as -p'aq 'at the top (of hill)' and -p'aq [R] 'at the knee, hill', in which a variant without reference to a paired body part does not trigger reduplication. This correlation of parasynthetic and distributive reduplicative functions is restricted to the body part LRA's. Otherwise, neither obligatory reduplication nor vowel lengthening can be assigned semantic content.

The rest of the LRA's have as their primary domain of reference nature, e.g. -'a'ʔa 'on rocks' or -(w)aqsa [L] 'at edge of stream, bank'; man-made objects, e.g. -c'u' 'in container' or -yin 'at bow'; or abstract geometric configurations, e.g. -'apu(t) 'underneath' or -a's 'on'. In addition, certain LRA's refer to an abstract locative relation or an extension in space, e.g. -a'qt 'extending across', -s'im 'with others', or -(c)swi' 'extending through'. These can also have secondary extensions in other locative domains.

4.8.1.2. Verbal Affixes

In addition to LRA's, there is a small set of verbal RA's. The semantic interpretation of stems with VRA's is parallel to that of ones with LRA's. VRA's can attach to bases of any semantic class. If a predicative stem is composed of a nominal base and a VRA, the base is interpreted as a predicative NP coreferential to its subject and dominating a verbal predicate.

(483) tuhtu'psuht

/tuht-(š)tu'p-(c)suhta/

There's a scary monster coming out of
the woods

afraid-..thing-come out of woods

- (484) *ʔiʔsuːŋ* There's a dog that's dying
 /*ʔiʔs-uːŋ*/ dog-die(MOM)

If the base is quantifier, quantity, or adjectival, it is interpreted as a modifier of the NP or (if no nominal is present) as an implicit NP.

- (485) *kuʔsiʔ* There was a good thing happening
 /*kuʔ-siʔ*/ good-happen
- (486) *kʰamaːctisʔis* A few were going up inlet
 /*kʰam-(y)aː-(e)stiːs-ŋ-ʔis*/ few-CONT-go up inlet-MOM-DIM
- (487) *ʔanaʔsuht tuːama* There was only a woman coming out of the
 /*ʔana-(e)suhta ..ʔ* only-come out of woods woman woods

As a general rule, a quantity modifying an inanimate nominal in such a construction must be specified by a governing nominal counter classifier.

- (488) *ʔaŋcʰaʔsuht ʔapic* There are two canoes coming out of the
 /*ʔaŋ-cʰaʔ-(e)suhta ..ʔ* two-..vessels-come out of woods woods

If a form composed of a NP-denoting base and a VRA is transitivized by *-ʔap* CAUS, then the NP is coreferential to the object of the derived stem.

- (489) *ʔayawahsʔ* There were many getting out
 ʔayawahsʔap He took many out
 /*ʔaya-wahsʔ.-ʔap*/ many-go out-CAUS

If a predicate is composed of a verbal base plus a VRA, the base typically indicates the manner in which the VRA event occurred. The base is interpreted as an event simultaneous with the event indicated by the suffix.

- (490) *sawahsʔ* He was crawling out
 /*sa-wahsʔ*/ crawl-come out
- (491) *kuːʔkuːʔcuht* He was coming out of the woods slowly
 /*CVC#kuːʔ-[L]-(y)a-(e)suhta*/
 IT-slowly (do)-GRAD-REP-come out of woods

Such a construction is semantically similar to one in which cotemporan-

eous events are signalled as such by the affix $-(q)h$ 'meanwhile'.

The behavior of VRA's parallels that of LRA's. VRA's seem to attach to the base they modify. However, because few complex stems including VRA's have been encountered, no generalization with respect to their siting can be made at this point. Like LRA's, VRA's can govern independent objects.

(492) *tuxw'ibt č'apici* He hopped out of the canoe
 /*tux-w'ibta č'apic-?i'.* hop-go out of vessel canoe-DEF

(493) *tuxw'ibtamaʔqn č'apici* He wanted to hop out of the canoe

VRA's also have the same relationship to quantifier roots as LRA's. The quantifier can serve as modifier of a NP or as a higher adverbial predicate.

(494) *wikʔaʔat* There was no one going down there
 He wasn't going down
 /*wik-ʔaʔat/* no(t)-go down

4.8.1.3. Aspectual Derivation

Both VRA's and LRA's can attach to locative bases. It is in this context that the verbal nature of the VRA's is grammatically supported. Locative bases are aspectually imperfective. If affixed by a VRA, the resulting stem is continuative.

(495) *hiʔkʔist* He was coming out of a hole
 /*hiʔ-kʔist/* there-come out of hole

(496) *hiʔstiʔs* He was going up inlet
 /*hiʔ-(c)stiʔs/* there-go up inlet

In contrast, if a locative root is affixed by a LRA, the resulting stem is durative.

(497) *hiʔqu* He's at the point
 /*hiʔ-quʔ/* there-at point

(498) *hiʔspʔi* He's at the top
 /*hiʔ-(c)spʔiʔ/* there-at top

The durative stem can be rendered inceptive by the addition to the LRA of

its momentaneous aspect allomorph, e.g. *hiʔspʔinʔ* 'He got to the top, began to be on the top'. The continuative stem, composed of locative base plus VRA, cannot be inceptivized and cannot be affixed by the momentaneous morpheme, e.g. **hiʔstiʔsk*.

The other locative roots, which are aspectually durative, include *ʔust-* and *ʔap-* (*~ʔam-*). The former generally denotes either a downward direction or a location adjacent to an enclosure, as in *ʔustʔaʔ* 'down at the rocks', *ʔustʔahs* '(down) inside a vessel', and *ʔustsʔim* 'in the doorway'. The latter generally denotes a precise spot and has *ʔap-* as the preconsonantal allomorph. Locative stems of the form *ʔap-LRA* are prone to implicit derivation as nominals denoting locations.

(499) *ʔamʔakʔ* (at) the rear end
/ʔam-ʔakʔi/ right at-behind

(500) *ʔapqi* (at) the mountain top
/ʔap-qiʔ/ right at-at top

There is another root *hin-* (*~hita-*) 'do, occur, go there (MOM)'. It is aspectually perfective and, hence, semantically verbal. If affixed by a LRA, the stem is continuous.

(501) *hitacʔp* He was going to the top
/hita-(c)spʔiʔ/ there(MOM)-at top

(502) *hitaqu* He's going around the point
/hita-quʔ/ there(MOM)-at point

If affixed by a VRA, the stem is momentaneous (perfective), suggesting that the VRA is perfective itself.

(503) *hitacuht* He came out
/hita-(c)suhta/ there(MOM)-come out

(504) *hitaʔat* He went down there
/hita-ʔaʔat/ there(MOM)-go down

The perfectivity of VRA's is supported by their association with *-i:* (*~ay*) [L] 'slowly', which otherwise affixes only to momentaneous bases.

(505) *huʔpʔati* There was the sun slowly setting
/huʔ-ʔata-i: [L]/ round-go down-slowly

The imperfective (continuative) stems composed of *hin-* (*hita-*) plus a LRA can be perfectivized by the momentaneous allomorph of the LRA.

- (506) *hitac'pinʔ* He got/went to the top
 /*hita-(c)sp'i-nu(ʔ)*/ there(MOM)-at top-MOM
- (507) *hiti'sʔ* He went to the beach
 /*hita-^cis-ʔ*/ there(MOM)-at beach-MOM

In contrast, a stem composed of *hin-* (*hita-*) plus a VRA cannot be thus perfectivized, no doubt because the stem is already perfective as in (503) and (504).

The *hin-* and *hita-* allomorphs are in complementary distribution. An affix associates with only one of the two forms. Generally, *hin-* precedes a vowel and *hita-* a consonant or a suffix triggering glottalization or lenition (suggesting that at least historically the latter suffixes were consonant-initial). Contrast the above *hita-* form stems with the following.

- (508) *hinin* He came there
 /*hin.-in*/ there(MOM)-come

There are, however, exceptions in which *hin.-* is present rather than the expected *hita-*, e.g. (446).

There are certain LRA's and VRA's which can attach only to *hit* and not to *hin-* (*hita-*), i.e. *-^chita* 'at the point', *-(c)sa't* [E] 'at the forehead', and *-(c)sti's* 'go up inlet'. A few others can attach only to *hin-* (*hita-*) and not to *hit*, i.e. *-i'c* 'at the rim of a container', *-wisč* 'go up the bank', and *-w'ibta* 'go out of a vessel'. As a result, the aspectual possibilities of such morphemes are limited.

4.8.2. Adjectival Restrictive Affixes

The remaining restrictive affixes consist of small sets of adjectival, quantity, and temporal affixes. Most adjectival RA's behave like manner adverbials and attach to nominal, verbal, and adjectival bases. ARA's include *-čk'in* 'slightly', *-(c)st'at* ([R+L]) 'reciprocally', *-(q)aq* 'very', *-(q)hč* 'excessively', *-(s)as* 'really', *-t'i:na* 'slightly', and *-w'is* [R] 'accidentally'.

- (509) *qu^o?ass* 'an Indian
 /*qu^o?as-(s)as/* person-really

They affix to the base which they modify as in (510), where the reciprocity is a characteristic of the root 'kick' and not of the derived base 'kicking thing'.

- (510) *yackst^oit^oy^o ik* football
 /*yack-(c)st^oat^o-y^oak^w/* kick-each other-thing for..

The position of ARA's in stems is also influenced by cooccurrence restrictions based on morpho-semantic class. For example, *-(c)st^oat^o* 'reciprocally' attaches only to verbal bases and, hence, cannot follow *-y^oak^w* in (510). Similarly, *-(q)h^ot^o* 'excessively' can attach to only adjectival or quantity bases. Hence, the base to which *-(q)h^ot^o* attaches in the following example can be predicted morphologically, without having to determine which base *-(q)h^ot^o* most clearly modifies.

- (511) *n^o ik^oou^oqh^ot^o* It's excessively scratched
 /*n^o ik^o-ou^o-(q)h^ot^o/* scratch...ed-excessively

The ARA *-apa* ([RL+L]) 'too, very' also serves as a manner adverbial and affixes to the base it modifies (cf. example (513)).

- (512) *mi^omi^otxš^oikap* He turned too much
 /*mitx^w-š^oi(κ)-apa [RL+L]/* turn-MOM-too
- (513) *?a^o?a^oypank* He has too much
 /*?aya-apa [RL+L]-na^ok^w/* much-too-having..

In addition, it behaves like an inflectional affix by attaching to a predicate dominating the one it modifies. Consider the following.

- (514) *nuh^oapiyin^o šac^o ik* We're the best at it
 /*nuh^o-apa-(y)i:-n ..* we-very-INDF-1p expert at
- (515) *sutpa^oe^o ?i^oh^o* You're the biggest
 /*sut-apa-a^oe ..* you-very-II(IND) big

This type of structure always involves a topical NP predicate, with *-apa* modifying the embedded verbal or adjectival predicate.

There are two affixes, *-k^wa^o(y)t^o* 'absent, lacking' (the use of *y*

being optional) and $-(?a)k^{\text{v}}a$ 'completely (destroyed)', which serve as either manner adverbial affixes to verbal bases, (like other ARA's) or predicative affixes attached to NP phrases which are coreferential to the subject and dominate the ARA (like LRA's and VRA's).

- (516) $\check{t}u\check{c}k^{\text{v}}a \cdot y\check{t}$ There's a woman absent
 / $\check{t}u\check{c}-k^{\text{v}}a \cdot y\check{t}$ / woman-absent
- (517) $mu \cdot ?ak^{\text{v}}i\check{c}\check{h}$ There were four that were destroyed
 / $mu \cdot -(?a)k^{\text{v}}a - i \cdot \check{c}i(\check{h})$ / four-destroyed-INC

In these cases as well, the ARA is bound to the base it modifies.

Finally, there are two ARA's indicating a benefactive relation. They are transitive but, like LRA's, their object cannot be the base to which they attach. The first, $-(y)i \cdot t$ 'for', is unproductive and affixes only to a few transitive verbal roots.

- (518) $\check{c} \cdot i y i \cdot t$ He cut it for her
 / $\check{c} \cdot i - (y) i \cdot t$ / cut-for

The other, $-\check{c}i \cdot p$ 'for', is productive for both intransitive and transitive bases. The presence of $-\check{c}i \cdot p$ in a predicate raises its valence by one place, a benefactee NP. This participant is affected beneficially or adversely by the event expressed in the predicate. In addition, this event may occur at the request of the benefactee or may involve a participant who serves in place of the benefactee.

- (519) $nahi \cdot \check{c}i p i n t s \text{ puk}$ I gave the book for him (in place of him
 • or for him to receive)
 / $nahi \cdot -\check{c}i \cdot p - i n t - s \dots$ / give-for-PAST-I book
- (520) $ku \cdot w \cdot i\check{t}\check{c}i \cdot s \text{ su} \cdot t i\check{t} \text{ ta} \cdot n a$ I stole money from you/ for you
 / $ku \cdot w \cdot i\check{t} - \check{c}i \cdot p - (y) i : - s \text{ sut} - (\check{c}) i\check{t} [L] \dots$ /
 steal-for-INDF-I you-do to.. money
- (521) $his\check{s}i \cdot k i p \cdot s$ Hit it for me!
 / $his - \check{s}i(\check{h}) - \check{c}i \cdot p - i \cdot - s$ / hit-MOM-for-IMPV-I

In active predicates, the benefactee NP serves as an object or as an oblique if a patient object is already present. In passive predicates with $-\check{c}i \cdot p$, the benefactee serves as subject.

- (522) *hissikəip' atints* . . . It was hit for me
 /*his-ši(κ)-čip'-at-int-s/* hit-MOM-for-PASS-PAST-I
- (523) *ʔun'a'ħəip' atint ʔini'κ* The dog was sought ^{for} something.
 He looked for something for the dog.
 /*ʔu-n'a'ħ-čip'-at-int ../* it-seek...-for-PASS-PAST dog

The benefactee suffix can also indicate that the possessor of the patient is affected by the event, as in sentence (520), which can also mean 'I stole your money'. Also note the following sentences.

- (524) *hissikəpinti's κiskin* . . . I hit her on the foot
 /*his-ši(κ)-čip-int-(y)i:-s ../* hit-MOM-for-PAST-INDF-I foot
- (525) *hissikəpinti's ʔini'κ* . . . I hit her dog

This interpretation of the benefactee is possible only when the possessor does not equal the subject, unless the benefactee-possessor is treated as a reflexive.

- (526) *ʔu'a'pəp šuwis ʔu'κ'achin* . . . She bought shoes for herself
 /*ʔu-'a-p-čip .. ʔuk'a-čin [L]/* it-buy..-for shoe self-do for..
- (527) **ʔu'a'pəp šuwis* . . . (She bought her own shoes)

In addition, by indicating that another party (the benefactee) is affected, *-čip* can distinguish two third person participants. Contrast the following sentences, differentiated structurally only by the presence or absence of *-čip*.

- (528) *hi'nubəpintiš čakupκ'* . . . She_i waited for her_{i(j)} (less likely) man
 /*hih-a-wiʔ [L]-čip-int-ʔi's čakup-uk/*
 there(MOM)-wait for...-for-PAST-IND man-POSS
- (529) *hi'nubintiš čakupκ'* . . . She_i waited for her_j man

In active sentences, the presence of both *-čip* 'for' and *-uk* POSS indicates that the benefactee is possessed.

- (530) *ʔun'a'ħəipκ'intin ʔini'κ* . . . We're seeking something for his dog
 /*ʔu-n'a'ħ-čip-uk-int-in ../* it-seek...-for-POSS-PAST-IP dog
- (531) *ʔun'a'ħəpintin ʔini'κ* . . . We're seeking a dog for him/ something for the dog

In passive ones, the cooccurrence of *-čip* and *-uk* signals that the pronominal affix is coreferential to either the benefactee (who is the possessor of the patient) or the possessor of the benefactee. Both interpretations are given for the following example.

- (532) *ʔun³ a³ hčip³ atk^wi³ s³ ʔini³ x(k^wqs)* My dog was sought for me
 My dog was sought something
/ʔu-n³ a³ h-čip³ at-uk-(y)i:-s ʔini³ x-uk-qa³-s/ for
 it-seek...-for-PASS-POSS-INDF-I dog-POSS-REL-I

In both readings the benefactee is subject. In the first reading, the pronoun is coreferential to the subject. In the second, it refers to the possessor of the (third person) subject. The interpretation of pronominal affixes as possessors, when accompanied by *-uk* POSS, was discussed earlier in relation to the *-uk* morpheme (cf. section 4.3.5).

The benefactee associated with a predicate can also be expressed within an embedded or higher clause by other suffixes. These include *-a³atip* 'destined for..', *-čhin* [L] 'do for..', *-y³ak^w* 'thing for..', and *-inmaš* 'in place of..'. In such constructions, the presence of *-čip* in the predicate is optional.

- (533) *č³ ičik(čp)intin ʔu³ atp* Mary We cut it for Mary
/č³ i-čik(čp)-int-in ʔu³ a³atip ../
 cut-MOM-for-PAST-IP it-destine for.. Mary

4.8.3. Quantity Restrictive Affixes

Quantity RA's are all plural markers. Unlike *-m³inh* PL, they can precede other noninflectional suffixes. The QRA class is small and morphophonologically distinctive. It includes a reduplicative affix, CV# distributive, and two infixes, *-t-* PL and *-Vy-* [L] PL, in addition to the suffixes *-i³h* [L] PL, *-³aq* 'severally', and *-yu³* 'severally'.

The last two morphemes identify small complementary sets of verbal roots and bases as having a plural subject.

- (534) *m³ta³ a³ aq* A bunch were turning around
/m³ta³-(y)a³-³ aq/ turn-CONT-severally
- (535) *ki³ w³ aq* A bunch were laughing
/ki³ i³ w³-³ aq/ laugh-severally

- (536) $\lambda^2 a^2 \text{byu}$ A bunch were mourning
 / $\lambda^2 a^2 \text{-yu}^2$ / mourn-severally

Similarly, $-i^2 h$ ([L]) PL, $-t-$ PL, and $-t-..-i^2 h$ PL are each limited to small complementary sets of common human nominal roots or cranberry stem forms; e.g. $\text{ča}^2 \text{kup}^2 h$ 'men', $\text{bu}^2 \text{cmi}^2 h$ 'women', $\text{qutq}^2 \text{ra}^2 s$ 'people', and $\text{ha}^2 \text{tkmi}^2 h$ 'princesses', which are based on the singular forms čakup , $\text{bu}^2 \text{cma}$, $\text{qu}^2 \text{as}$, and $\text{ha}^2 \text{kum}$ respectively.

Distributive (CV#) reduplication has two main meanings, plurality and spatial distribution, which can, but need not, coexist in a given stem. It denotes plurality for entities which are clearly distributed within some domain of nature, e.g. a forest, beach, or sea, or some other domain such as kinship.

- (537) $\text{susu}^2 \text{č}^2 \text{is}$ a bunch of trees
 /CV# $\text{suč}^2 \text{is}$ / distrib-tree
- (538) $\text{?u}^2 \text{um}^2 \text{iqs}$ mothers
 /CV# $\text{?um}^2 \text{i}^2 \text{?i}^2 \text{qsa}$ / distrib-mother-..kin

It also attaches to quantity or adjectival roots to denote plurality of entities modified spatially, e.g. as 'hollow', 'crosswise', 'thick', 'little', 'inside', etc.

- (539) $\lambda^2 \text{i}^2 \lambda^2 \text{iha}^2$ There's red (ones) all over the rocks
 /CV# $\lambda^2 \text{i}^2 \text{h}^2 \text{-}^2 \text{a}^2 \text{?q}$ / distrib-red-on rocks
- (540) $\text{?a}^2 \text{in}^2 \text{his}$ There are some little ones
 /CV# $\text{?ana}^2 \text{-h}^2 \text{-?is}$ / distrib-only-quantity-DIM
- (541) $\text{?a}^2 \text{aya}^2 \text{q}^2 \text{h}$ There are a bunch inside
 /CV# $\text{?aya}^2 \text{-}^2 \text{aq}^2 \text{h}$ / distrib-many-inside

Distributive reduplication may be historically linked to the parasynthetic reduplication associated with LRA's referring to paired body parts.

- (542) $\text{sasa}^2 \text{č}^2 \text{im}^2 \text{b}$ His ears are pointed
 / $\text{sáč}^2 \text{-}^2 \text{im}^2 \text{b}$ [R]/ sharp-at ear

CV# reduplication found in verbal predicates can mean either that the event is spatially distributed as in (543) or that it involves a

plurality of patient participants normally distributed in space.

- (543) *qi'cih n'an amab* She took a long time trying (to hang a picture) here and there.
 /qi'-si(h) CV#n' amab/ long time-MOM distrib-try
- (544) *wawabtuq'at* A bunch were barking
 /CV#wawabtuq'-a't/ distrib-bark-PL
- (545) *?u?uxp'itsep* He's making a bunch of them fall over
 /CV#?ux-p'it-sa'p/ distrib-fall-at edge-MOMCAUS
- (546) *hiyissha't* A bunch of them were hit
 /CV#his-si(h)-'at/ distrib-hit-MOM-PASS

However, distributive reduplication in verbal stems, as in nominal ones, need not indicate actual spatial distribution.

- (547) *?a'asp'u'h* A bunch of them were paid
 /CV#?asp-'u:(h)/ distrib-be paid-MOM
- (548) *c'i'c'ish* There's a bunch of bad ones
 /CV#c'ish-'hi'/ distrib-bad-DUR

The function or source of the long reduplicative vowel in (548) and other forms is not known. As some bases can be affixed by either CV# or CV*#, perhaps the lengthening of the vowel is a unique morpheme, e.g. one of emphatic length.

CV# and -t- can combine to form a plural marker which is restricted to colours, adjectivals commonly attributed to humans, and some human nominals.

- (549) *h'itk'ihkw* There are some red ones
 /CV#t-h'ih^w-uk/ distrib-PL-red-DUR
- (550) *hathan'h* There are some naked ones
 /CV#t-han'ah/ distrib-PL-naked
- (551) *hathak'kw* There are some girls
 /CV#t-ha'kwa'k/ distrib-PL-girl

A given human nominal is pluralized by either -i'h ([L]), -t...i'h, or CV#t-. For some speakers, CV#t- is much more productive and is used for

nonhuman nominals as well, as in *šutsuč's* 'trees' and *šit'ink* 'dogs', based on the singular forms *suč'is* and *šini'k* respectively. All the plural markers so far mentioned are in free variation with *-m'inh* PL.

The last QRA to be discussed is the infix *-Vy'-[L]*, which is inserted after the initial consonant of a verbal or adjectival stem to indicate plurality of its subject or NP head. The infix vowel is generally a copy of the root vowel. If the root vowel is inherently long, then the copied vowel is long; if short, the copied vowel is short. The copied vowel can reduce to [ə], phonemically *a*. Certain lexical entries tend to occur with the reduced form; others with the unreduced form. It is not known why this is so.

(552) *may' i'atk'*
/mi'at-Vy' [L]-uk/

There's a bunch of old ones
old-PL-DUR

(553) *šay' i'ct*
/šic-Vy' [L]-i't/

There's a bunch of pregnant women
pregnant-PL-at body

(554) *tuy' u'q'ič'k*
/tuq-Vy' [L]-i'č'i(k)/

A bunch started to fall
fall-PL-INC

However, *-Vy'-[L]* usually accompanies predicates composed of a verbal root and the IT GRAD REP morpheme complex. In such stems, *-Vy'-[L]* indicates that the subject is plural not as a mass but as a set of discrete participants.

(555) *šiy' i'kšiy*
/CVC#Vy' [L]-šj-[L]-(y)a/

They're each/ all poling (boats)
IT-PL-pole-GRAD-REP

(556) *k'ay' a'šk' aš*
/CVC#Vy' [L]-k' aš-[L]-(y)a/
IT-PL-put away-GRAD-REP

They're each/ all putting their
things away

The short surface root vowel is due to regular vowel shortening of non-obligatorily long vowels in third or later syllables.

The IT GRAD REP complex indicates iteration of an event either in time or by different participants. When this complex occurs with *-Vy'-[L]*, it is the latter interpretation which dominates. The event is understood as continuative (but not necessarily repetitive) and involving a set of

discrete participants. Contrast the following sentences.

- (557) *tu^hstu^hx* He jumped over and over
 Several were jumping
 /CVC#tusc-[L]-(y)q/ IT^h jump-GRAD-REP
- (558) *tuy^hu^hxtux* They were each/ all jumping

The formation of stems including IT GRAD REP and *-Vy^h-[L]* is occasionally complicated by the mutation of the reduplicative vowel: *u* → *a* and *a* → *i*.

- (559) *tuy^ha^hxtuy* They were handling small things
- (560) *c^hay^hi^hxc^hax* They were each/ all spearing it

4.8.4. Temporal Restrictive Affixes

Six temporal RA's have been identified: *-aya* [L] 'slowly', *-^hix* 'prospectively', *-(k^w)a:w* 'at intervals', *-pa:c^h* 'immediately', *-wi^h* 'at first', and *-(q)h* 'meanwhile' (SIM). The first three morphemes have been mentioned in relation to aspect (cf. sections 4.4.9, 4.4.7, and 4.4.6 respectively). The fourth attaches only to verbal bases and is unproductive.

- (561) *kamitqpa^hc^h* He ran off immediately
 /kamitq^w-pa:c^h/ run-immediately

The fifth is also unproductive but attaches to predicates of any semantic class. It may be a semantic extension of the VRA *-wi^h* '(point) comes out (first)'. .

The last morpheme in the above list, *-(q)h* 'meanwhile', is highly productive. It attaches to verbal, adjectival, and locative bases to indicate that a certain event or state is simultaneous with a second event or state.

- (562) *wabyu^hqh wa^hič* He was sleeping while at home
 /wab^h-yu^h-(q)h.../ go home... ed-SIM sleep
- (563) *hičn^hi^hshint č^hapic^h* He made the canoe while at the beach
 /hič^h-n^hi^h-is-(q)h-int č^hapic-(č^h)i^h/
 there-at beach slope-at beach-SIM-PAST canoe-make..

Temporal and manner adverbials, which are structurally higher predicates, are frequently identified by $-(q)h$ as simultaneous with the embedded predicate.

- (564) *haptakhaʔ xʔiːxʷa* She secretly laughed
 /hapt-akʷ-(q)h-ʔ xʔiːxʷ-(y)aː/ hide-DUR-SIM-TEM laugh-CONT

Such $-(q)h$ -marked predicates cannot be linked by *ʔuʔiʂ* 'and' to the predicate expressing the state or event with which they are simultaneous. Hence these associated predicates are not coordinate but are in a matrix-subordinate relationship. The $-(q)h$ -affixed predicate represents the ground during which another event or state takes place. In addition, $-(q)h$ -affixed predicates can occur without an embedded predicate.

- (565) *kʔiːcaːqʔ* He had his eyes closed meanwhile
 /kʔiːcaː-(y)aː-(q)h/ close eyes-CONT-SIM

However, in such a sentence, the presence of $-(q)h$ implies that some other event or state is simultaneous with the one expressed.

The $-(q)h$ suffix, which is found only in predicates, has a number of semantic extensions seemingly derived from that of simultaneity. First, it can express simultaneity of the event or state expressed and the present moment, i.e. 'still, ongoing'.

- (566) *waʔiʂʔniʂ* We're still sleeping
 /waʔiʂ-(q)h-n-iʂ/ sleep-SIM-IP-IND

Second, it can mean 'in contrast' in predicates which are counter to one's expectations or opposed to some other state or event.

- (567) *miʂtukʷhaxiʂ ʔacyu* He's old to go fishing
 /miʂt-uk-(q)h-ʔ xʔiːʂ ʔac-yuː/ old-DUR-SIM-TEM-IND go out...-ed

- (568) *miʂtukʷhiʂ kuːkʷaːn* He's old for a doctor

- (569) *ʔuːemaqʔiʂ kuːkʷaːn* The doctor is a WOMAN (!)

- (570) *ʔuːemaqʔiʂ hiʂsiːk ʂːapic* It's a WOMAN who (nevertheless) made the canoe
 /ʔuːema-(q)h-ʔiːʂ hiʂ-siːkʷ .. / woman-SIM-IND all-finish.. canoe

It appears that the $-(q)h$ in topical predicates is this same

morpheme, but with a less contrastive and more topicalizing function.

(571) *ʔayaqhaʃʃ tʰiʃas* MANY were sitting down
 /ʔaya-(q)h-aʃʃ tʰiqʷ-as/ many-SIM-EVID sit-outside

(572) *kaʔu·qhint ʃini·k mʰačik* The OTHER dog was biting
 /kaʔu·-(q)h-int k mʰa-čik(ʔ)/ other-SIM-PAST dog bite-MOM

For some speakers, $-(q)h$ is found in all topical NP predicates (regardless of the semantic class of the constituents), e.g. (570) and (571). For all speakers, $-(q)h$ must be present in all NP predicates in which a quantifier is inflected as in (572). The special status of quantifiers reflects their function in establishing and delineating one set in relation to another, e.g. *all* versus *none* or *some* versus *other*.

Temporal and quantity RA's are rarely found preceding GS's. However, they do occur as example (573) demonstrates.

(573) *su·twi·wikʔa·qkʰ tac* YOU'LL be found first
 /sut-wi·-a-wi(ʔ) [L]-ʔa:qkʰ-at-a·c/ you-first-find..-FUT-PASS-II(IND)

Such RA's are found most commonly in stems composed of roots or roots plus other RA's, or at least stem-finally as in (574) and (575).

(574) *tʰutʰ učʰ i·haq* A bunch were seeking sea urchins
 /tʰučʰ-i·h[ʔ]-ʰ aqa/ sea urchin-seek..-severally

(575) *či·pʰ itspi:* He made him pull it down slowly
 /či·-pʰ it-sa·p-aya [L]/ pull-at edge-MOMCAUS-slowly

4.8.5. Restrictive Affix Order

Two or more RA's adjacent in one base must conform to the following order: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{QRA} \\ \text{LRA} \end{array} \right\} > \text{VRA} > \text{LRA} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARA} \\ \text{TRA} \end{array} \right\}$. Once a GS is added to a base, any RA can again be added (given that any subsequent sequence of RA's follows the above order). Examples below illustrate the sequence constraints.

(576) *kaʔi·wʰ aqaqčiki·č* A bunch were laughing as they went
 /kaʔi·xʷ-ʰ aqa-qčik-(y)i:-č/ laugh-severally-go along along
 INDF-INF

- (577) *č' i · tapi qč' km' inh* A bunch were moving sideways as they
went along
/č' it- api [L]- qč' ik- m' inh/ bank-in air-go along-PL
- (578) *hup^w ist' a* There's the sun rising on the rocks
/hup- k^w ist- ' a · ? a/ round-go out of hole-at rocks
- (579) *qi · qi · ? itap* He was in the house too long
/qi · -č' it- api [RL+L]/ for long time-in house-too
- (580) *sa · yič' pi · ? ayiš hu* He's still too far away
/sayi-č' pi · ? aya [L]- ? i · š ../
far-at-extending across-slowly-IND over there

The order of RA's is first of all a function of their semantic classes. The only complication arises with respect to the LRA's, which can either precede or follow VRA's. Some VRA's, such as *-qč' ik* 'go along', require that any adjacent LRA must precede; others, like *-k^w ist* 'go out of hole', require that they follow. In addition, two VRA's, *-mač-* 'move about' and *-wi-* '(point) goes out (first)', must be followed by a RA, either locative, adjectival, or verbal.

- (581) *n' i · kmač' i · c' ač' k* guitar
/n' ik- mač' i · c' a [L]- č' ak^w/ scratch-move about-at bowstring-thing for..
- (582) **n' ikmač'*
- (583) *hišwa · s* EVERYONE'S going outside
/hiš- wi · - ' as/ all-go out-outside
- (584) **hišwi*

The principles of VRA ordering are not yet fully determined. Clearly, however, the VRA, and not the LRA, determines which will precede the other.

It is still necessary to describe the principles governing the order of a sequence of RA's belonging to the same semantic class (either verbal, adjectival, or locative). A pair of adjacent TRA's or QRA's is considered either redundant or anomalous. The cooccurrence of VRA's is rare and typically involves *-mač-* 'move about'. A sequence of ARA's is more common than one of VRA's, but is idiosyncratic and cannot be

productively generated. The only principle evident is that *-t'i:na* 'slightly' and *-apa* [RL+L] 'too' tend to follow (and qualify) any other adjacent ARA.

- (585) *k'ihek' int' i'n* It was slightly reddish
/k'ihek'-ck' in-t'i:na/ red-slightly-slightly

In contrast, a sequence of two or even three LRA's is common and accounts for most instances of adjacent RA's of the same semantic class and morphological (i.e. restrictive or governing) type. In a sequence of two LRA's, the peripheral or right-most affix indicates the general location or ground; the one to its left indicates the specific sublocation. The peripheral suffix commonly denotes a body part or a general location in the world, e.g. 'outside' *-³as*, 'in the house, enclosure' *-^ciʔ*, or 'at the beach' *-^cis*.

- (586) *y' ay' aq³ qn' uk* Her fingernails are long
/y' aq-p' aq-n' uk [R]/ long-at top-at hand
- (587) *hi' ʔapiʔ* It's up in the air in the house
/hiʔ-api [L] -^ciʔ/ there-in air-in house

The ground can be expressed by other types of location sites as well.

- (588) *hiʔcin' ahs* It's in the bow of the boat
/hiʔ-ca-yin-³ ahs/ there-in direction of...in bow-in vessel
- (589) *ʔa' phta' pinp* He separated them (up in the air)
/ʔap-hta-api [L] -nup/ right at-apart-in air-MOMCAUS

The same figure-ground principle also governs sequences of three LRA's. Each LRA serves as the ground for the one to its left.

- (590) *k'wisitquʔa* It's at the other side of the point on
/k'wis.-(ʔ)it-qu-³a'ʔa/ the rocks
 other-at side-at point-at rocks
- (591) *hiʔtqapaʔs* It's at the back of the neighbouring
/hiʔ-tqa-pa-³as/ place outside
 there-at back-extending across-outside

There are in addition a very small number of LRA sequences which are not

subject to the figure-ground principle. At least some of these, such as (592) below, appear to be suffix compounds and hence prone to nonstandard processes of word formation and interpretation.

(592) *hiʔinkʷaqʔ* It's in the corner
 /hiʔ-(w)inkʷ-ʔaqʔ/ there-in corner-inside

Further research may reveal whether such sequences are lexical idiosyncrasies or the remnants of older systems of affix organization. No instances of more than three adjacent LRA's are judged acceptable, although a stem can include more than three LRA's (or other suffixes) if they are not all associated with the same root or GS.

4.9. Other Morphemes and Morpheme Compounds

Three types of word constituents remain to be discussed: morpheme compounds, stem extenders, and cranberry morphemes. Although Nootka does not have compounds composed of roots, it does have many suffix compounds, i.e. semantic units whose content is not fully predictable as the sum of the meanings of their morphemes. The identification of a particular suffix sequence as a compound is difficult, partly because Nootka lexical affixes have ranges of reference which are far from being fully established. Nevertheless, elements such as the following appear to be compounds: *-ʔaqʔ-as* 'in forest' ('inside-outside'), *-aʔs-ʔiʔ* 'in sky' ('on-in enclosure'), *-as-wʔis* 'under water' ('at-come to surface'), and *-iʔc-as* 'carrying..along' ('possess..-at').

Suffix compounds are to be distinguished from suffix sequences which, due to regular morphophonemic and phonological processes, have forms which are nontransparent and appear fused, e.g. *-miʔ* /*-maʔ-ʔiʔ*/ 'move about-in an enclosure' or *-(ʃ)taqimʔ* /*-(ʃ)taq-(q)imʔ*/ 'bunches' ('..class-round'). Such sequences are not compounds because their semantic interpretation can be based on the sum of the contents of the constituent morphemes.

The second type of morpheme is the stem extender, which is equivalent to Malkiel's (1978:142) 'sub-morphemic augments'. Mary Haas (1972:83) has pointed out that the Nootka lexicon has families of roots. Each family consists of a CV form which is augmented by certain conson-

ants to form CVC and CVCC roots with related meanings. This system is unproductive but appears to be the remnant of a system operating more productively in an earlier time. Stem extenders are typically back non-ejective stops or fricatives: k , k^w , x , x^w , q , q^w , ʃ and h . Sets of related roots in Kyuquot equivalent to those reported by Haas include the following: *hu-* 'lump', *hum-* 'whole, complete', *humk-* 'bulging'; *ba-* 'drop', *baq-* 'throw soft things'; *qa-* 'puncture', *qat-* 'break (stick)', *qatq^w-* 'amputate'; and *ʕi-* 'cut', *ʕik-* 'cut'.

The third type of morpheme is the cranberry affix. Those used as stem-forming suffixes for nominal roots have already been discussed (cf. section 4.5). There are, in addition, a number of other affixes which can be isolated by the presence of the rest of the word in other stems. For example, the suffix *-s* 'do..' can be extracted from the form *q^wis* because of the independent existence of *q^wi-* 'which'. Some of these cranberry suffixes include: *-c* '..quantity' in *ʔunic* 'that much', *-(c)s-* 'attached', *-i·t* 'present (?)' in *wik·i·t* 'no one present', *-pu* 'more (?)' in *nʔuppu* 'six' and *ʔaxpu* 'seven', *-s* 'do..' in *q^wis* 'do which' and *ʔaqis-* 'do what?', *-st* 'from, down' in *ʔust-* 'downwards', at enclosure' and *hist-* 'from there', and *-sih* 'begin to..' in *huktikših* 'learn, begin to know'.

There is a marginal system of suppletive plural subject forms for verbal roots. Such suppletive forms include *huʔuk* 'fly in a bunch', *hux-* 'fall in a bunch', and *huʔiç* 'sleep in a bunch', which can be contrasted to *mat-* 'fly', *tʔi-* 'fall', and *waʔiç* 'sleep'. This is also an unproductive system. It is possible that the suppletive plural *hu-* is related to the root *hu-* 'lump'. In addition, there are other roots associated with subject or objects which are plural, e.g. *tu-* 'handle many small objects', *ʕu-* 'fish travel as a school', and *ša·xt-* 'many small objects make racket, hit confusedly'.

4.10. Word Structure Constraints

In Kyuquot, morphological principles of possible morpheme shape are virtually all violated (except those against vowel sequences and root-initial consonant clusters) in the surface forms of words, due to the operation of phonological and morphophonological processes.

Geminate consonant clusters can exist across morpheme boundaries.

- (593) $?i \cdot hhsa$ He wanted to eat a big one
 $/?i:h^w-hsa^w/$ big-want to eat..
- (594) $?appi \cdot \dot{z}$ It's right in the middle
 $/?ap-pi:\dot{z}/$ right at-at middle, extending across

Consonant clusters including ejectives or an initial labialized consonant and word-final (or syllable-final) glottal, ejective, and resonant consonants can arise due to glottalization, vowel elision, and vowel loss.

- (595) $?u?uk^w k^w$ He resembled him
 $/?u-k^w uk [R]/$ it-resembling..
- (596) $?bu \cdot cma?$ the woman
 $/?bu \cdot cma-?i \cdot /$ woman-DEF
- (597) $?u \cdot \dot{s}ta\delta$ Work on something!
 $/?u \cdot \dot{s}-taq [L]-\dot{z} i \cdot /$ some-work on..-IMPV
- (598) $m^w u \cdot \dot{m}^w u \cdot y$ He burned them over and over again
 $/CVC\#m^w u-[L]-(y)a/$ IT-burn-GRAD-REP

One final principle of surface word structure is more fully discussed here. This is the constraint against reduplicative morphemes.

Nootka can have reduplicative morphemes from several sources:

1. the iterative $CVC\#$ (actually $CV\left\{\begin{smallmatrix} \lambda \\ C(C) \end{smallmatrix}\right\} \#$), which is used to indicate iterative or repetitive aspect and is obligatorily accompanied by either $-\dot{z}$ SPOR or $-[L]-\dot{z}-(y)a$ GRAD REP;
2. the distributive $CV\#$ affix; and
3. the parasynthetic reduplicative affixoids which are obligatorily associated with certain lexical affixes. These latter reduplicative forms associate only with VGS's, AGS's, LRA's, and ARA's. In some suffixes, the reduplicative portion associated with them is optional or can alternate with some other reduplicative type. Examples include $-\dot{z} i:k^w [R] \sim [RL] \sim \emptyset$ 'given to..', $-in^w uk^w h [R] \sim [R+L]$ 'look on at..', and $-u: [L] \sim [RL]$ 'do with..'. The parasynthetic reduplicative types are listed below in Table 27.

TABLE 26. PARASYNTHETIC REDUPLICATIVE PATTERNS

Type	Form Shape	Number	Example	Gloss	Class
[R]	CV#	6	-k'uk [R]	'resembling..'	AGS
[R+L]	CV#CV'..	6	-a'n'w' [R+L]	'at the leg'	LRA
[RL]	CV' #	5	-'as [RL]	'at the wrist'	LRA
[RL+L]	CV' #CV'..	2	-apa [RL+L]	'too, very'	ARA
[Rc+L]	CVc#CV'..	1	-(c)sw' [Rc+L]	'at the eye'	LRA
[RcL]	CV'c#	1	-(c)st'at [RcL]	'reciprocally'	ARA

There is only one pair of reduplicative morphemes which can be present at once in a surface stem, the CV# distributive and the CVC# iterative.

(599) *mimi'taxmitax

They were turning repeatedly here and there

/CV#CVC#mitax-[L]-(y)a/

distrib-IT-turn-GRAD-REP

Such stems are uncommon and are typically considered odd or redundant. In addition, CV# and CVC# can cooccur only if accompanied by -[L]-(y)a and hence not by -s SPOR as in *mimitaxmitaxs.

CV# cannot accompany a parasynthetic reduplicative affix.

(600) ?u' ?u'hw' abap

He used it too much

/?u-hw' at [L]-apa [RL+L]/

it-use..-too

(601) ?u' ?u'hw' at

He used it here and there

/CV# ?u-hw' at [L]/

distrib-it-use..

(602) *?u' ?u' ?u'hw' abap

Nor can CVC# accompany a parasynthetic reduplicative affix. If a stem including such an affix is iterative, the iteration is expressed not by reduplication but by a suffix, e.g. -'i:z [L+S]' SPOR or -y' i'z 'excessively', or an independent stem such as ?umac'k 'occasionally'.

(603) ?u' ?uty' ik'si'z

He started to fear it every now and then

/?u-ity' ik [RL]-si(x) -'i:z [L+S]/

it-fear..-MOM-SPOR

*?u' ?u' ?uty' ik's, *?u' ?u' ?uty' ik's

This particular precedence relation is really due to the restriction of

iterative reduplication to bases which are monosyllabic up to the associated iterative or repetitive suffix, -š SPOR or -(y)a REP. If a base is rendered multisyllabic by a parasynthetic reduplicative affix, iterative reduplication cannot apply.

More than one suffix obligatorily triggering reduplication can be present in a stem. However, the only reduplicative affix present in the surface form is the one which is higher (i.e. more leftward) in the following hierarchy (regardless of the order of the suffixal portions of the affixes): [RL+L] > {[R+L], [Rc+L], [RL]} > [RcL]. If a stem includes two parasynthetic affixes with the same reduplication pattern, the pattern occurs only once. No stems judged grammatical include suffixes associated with the [R+L] and [Rc+L], [Rc+L] and [RL], or [R+L] and [RL] patterns of reduplication. Also, [R]-triggering suffixes have been found to accompany only [RL+L] ones.

There are stems whose affixes are only optionally associated with a reduplicative sequence, e.g. -i:ŋ [R] ~ [L] ~ [R+L] 'out to get..' or -(c)st'at [RLc] ~ ∅ 'reciprocally'. When such an affix accompanies another reduplication-triggering morpheme, the nonreduplicative variant is selected.

(604) ka'mit'i'ist'z They were running after each other
/kamitq'-'i:ŋ [L]-(c)st'at/ run-out to get..-reciprocally

Further analysis may reveal grammatical stems in which a CV-triggering suffix coexists with another reduplication-triggering suffix.

Examples of the cooccurrence possibilities for parasynthetic affixes are given below. The dominant reduplication pattern in each example is underlined.

(605) k'u'k'u'k'an'zap His legs are really big
/k'uk-'a'n'ul [R+L]-apa [RL+L]/ broad-at leg-really

(606) pu'apu'mat'sut'ap He has really itchy eyes
/pumat'-(c)sut' [Rc+L]-apa [RL+L]/ itchy-at eye-very

(607) m'a'm'a'z'astap He has really cold wrists
/m'at'-'as [RL]-apa [RL+L]/ cold-at wrist-really

- (608) *m' a' m' a' by' mbap* He's really cold in the shoulders
 /m' a' -yimb [R]-apa [RL+L]/ cold-at shoulder-really
- (609) *kuku' axan' bst' aḅ* They were tickling each other's
 /kucx-a'n' wḅ [R+L]-(c)st' aḅ [RcL]/ legs
 tickle-along leg-reciprocally
- (610) *hichi' sḅst' aḅ* They were hitting each other in
 /his-(c)sḅ [Rc+L]-(c)st' aḅ [RcL]/ the eye
 hit-at eye-reciprocally
- (611) *mi' m' tw' isst' aḅ* They were twisting each other's
 /mitx'-as [RL]-(c)st' aḅ [RcL]/ wrists
 turn-at wrist-reciprocally

Words generated to test the effect of different parasynthetic affixes in the same stem are generally considered contrived. Potential stems bearing conflicting reduplicative sequences may, in fact, be generally blocked from usage.

Vowel lengthening affixes can also coexist in a stem in a fashion somewhat parallel to that of reduplicative affixes. The operation of vowel lengthening applies once only to a certain target vowel. For example, in the following stem, the root *sut-* does not undergo vowel lengthening twice because it is accompanied by two vowel-lengthening morphemes.

- (612) *sut' hḅ' aḅma'sk'* He's an expert at using a knife
 /sut-hḅ' aḅ [L]-ma'sk' [L]/ knife-use..-expert at..

Similarly, an inherently long root vowel is not further lengthened if accompanied by a vowel lengthening suffix. Contrast the following stems.

- (613) *nu' tk'siḅ* He went around it.
 /nu' tk-~~si~~(s)/ circle-MOM
- (614) *nu' tk'siḅ* He gradually went around it
 /nu' tk-[L]-~~si~~(s)/ circle-GRAD-MOM

The short-long vowel distinction correlated with nongraduated and graduated aspect is hence neutralized for verbal stems with inherently long root vowels.

4.11. Summary

4.11.1. Morphological Summary

Kyuoquot morphology is complex. All words inflect except for certain conjunctions, interjections, onomatopoeic words, and the article. One set of morphemes, the vowel quality or quantity changing morphemes, attach to both words and particles.

Kyuoquot inflectional suffixes indicate likelihood (e.g. probable, conditional, irrealis), source of evidence (e.g. quotation, hearsay, inference), tense, voice, possession, iterativity, diminutivity, and person and number of subject and third person plural object. Matrix predicates inflect more freely than subordinate predicates or adjunct NP's. The latter ones inflect for certain moods and tenses, but generally only in association with the definite *-?i*. Predicative inflectional affixes can be absent if identical to those of preceding matrix predicates. Finally, inflectional morphemes do not appear to have a unique clause position and, although sometimes dependent for meaning on the stem to which they are attached, they are not bound to particular stem-sites as are lexical affixes.

The primary Kyuoquot aspectual affixes are mostly derivational and indicate the following aspects: perfective (momentaneous), inceptive, continuative, iterative (sporadic or repetitive), durative (stative), and gradative (slowly). Habituality is indicated by a post-predicative clitic. Secondary aspectual affixes and stems also denote the telic, perfect, prospective, and retrospective aspects. Roots and stems vary as to which aspectual affixes they can take. Only the perfective or perfective inceptive (i.e. momentaneous) and the sporadic iterative are common.

Kyuoquot has relatively few roots and many nonderivational (lexical) affixes. Most roots are semantically verbal, adjectival, or nominal. A very few are locative, quantifier, quantity, or temporal. Most roots are augmented by a governing, restrictive, absolute (recurring but nonmeaningful), or cranberry (nonrecurring) suffix to serve as a stem. Verbal roots are typically augmented by an aspectual GS and nominal ones by a nonaspectual GS. Nasal-final or vowel-final nominal bases are

affixed by *-q-* to form a combining form, used preceding certain lexical suffixes. The choice of stem-forming suffix is not, for the most part, predictable.

A stem includes a root plus, optionally, suffixes, infixes, and reduplicative morphemes. Affixes are classed as governing or restrictive on the basis of their influence on the semantic class of their base and their grammatical relation to it. (Governing suffixes are largely verbal, adjectival, and nominal, the latter including classifiers, counter classifiers, and true nominalizers. There are also a few governing locative, temporal, and quantity suffixes. GS's can govern a NP object or a sentential complement. In the general case, the suffix attaches to the dominant constituent of the NP (where quantifier > quantity > adjectival > nominal) or sentence (where predicate > object/ complement) which it governs. Alternatively it attaches to the referential *?u-* 'he, she, it' which serves as a proform of the governed constituent. Such constituent 'incorporation' is largely structure-preserving, although the governing of conjoined constituents may not be. Certain GS's are classic derivational morphemes, producing stems, determining their semantic class, and unable to govern multistem constituents.

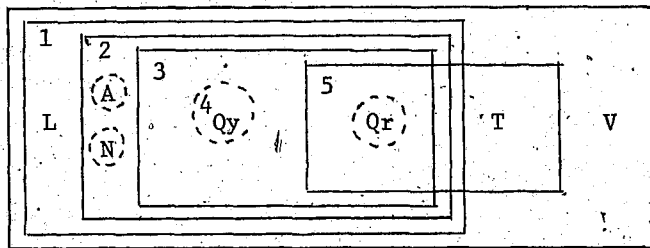
Every stem has a semantic class equivalent to that of the stem's rightmost GS or of the root if the stem contains no GS's. The semantic classes, abbreviated as V, T, L, Qr, Qy, A, and N, have grammatical correlates.

1. When bases of the classes N, A, Qy, Qr, or L are affixed by *-šl(λ)* MOM, the stem resulting is aspectually perfective inceptive; when bases of the classes T and V are thus affixed, the stem is perfective.
2. Bases of the classes N, A, Qy, and Qr can serve as one-stem NP's without affixation by *-?i* DEF; bases of other classes cannot.
3. Two Qy or two Qr bases cannot be adjacent in a NP; two bases of any other semantic class can.
4. A suffix governing Qy conjuncts can attach to either or both of them; one governing conjuncts of any other class must attach to both.
5. Qr or T bases can dominate a following GS; bases of other classes must be governed by a following GS.
6. The hierarchy of NP constituents (Qr > Qy > A > N) determining which

will serve as inflected stem in a NP predicate and as base to a GS, distinguishes Qr, Qy, A, and N from one another.

In the following diagram, each boundary encloses the semantic classes of bases which share one of the above characteristics (identified by its number). Characteristic 6 uniquely defines each of four classes, which are bounded by broken lines.

FIGURE 7: WORD CLASSES BY GRAMMATICAL FEATURES



The restrictive affixes are largely locative, indicating locations at a body part, man-made object, or abstract geometric configuration, or in nature, with secondary meaning extensions into the other domains. There are also restrictive verbal affixes, denoting mostly spatial movements, and a few restrictive adjectival, temporal, and quantity affixes, denoting manner (or benefactive involvement), time, and plurality. Restrictive affixes do not change the semantic class of a stem. If a LRA or VRA attaches to a predicative NP or a constituent of a NP, the grammatical relation of the base to the affix is analogous to that of a topical predicate to its embedded predicate, with the NP coreferential to the subject of the clause. Other RA's behave like manner adverbials. LRA's and VRA's assign aspect (durative and continuous respectively) to a stem. A LRA must be affixed by a momentaneous morpheme if the stem is to be perfective, even if the root is inherently perfective. Most LRA's (and some ARA's) are transitive and govern a syntactically independent object.

Restrictive affixes are strictly ordered within a base by semantic class: $\left\{ \begin{matrix} Qy \\ L \end{matrix} \right\} > V > L > \left\{ \begin{matrix} T \\ A \end{matrix} \right\}$. No more than three RA's of different semantic classes can be adjacent, while only two RA's (three if locative) of the same semantic class can be adjacent. The ordering of LRA's and

VRA's appears to depend on the choice of the VRA. Similarly, the ordering of VRA's or ARA's depends on the identity of particular affixes. In contrast, the ordering of LRA's reflects a figure-ground relationship in which a left-hand affix represents the specified site within a more general location (the 'ground'), represented by the right-hand suffix.

In addition to inherent and morphemic reduplication and vowel lengthening, Nootka has parasynthetic vowel lengthening and six types of reduplication obligatorily associated with certain suffixes. Generally, when parasynthetic processes operate on a stem, the same type of morphemic process cannot. Although more than one affix with parasynthetic reduplication can be present in an underlying stem, only one reduplicative sequence is present in the surface form. The choice of sequence is based on a hierarchy of reduplicative patterns.

4.11.2. Typology

Nootka morphological structure, and the principles underlying that structure, is not unique. It is compatible with Greenberg's (1963:112) morphological universals. In addition, Sherzer (1976:56-83), in his work on the areal features of North American Indian languages, makes observations concerning certain areal features of morphology which can be compared to those of Nootka.

Nootka is typical of Northwest languages (i.e. those of the Northwest Coast culture area: the coast of British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon). It is polysynthetic and employs suffixes to indicate location, tense, aspect, and mood. The evidential mood is particularly characteristic of the Northwest area. Word-initial reduplication of verbal stems indicates plurality of participants, distribution, repetition, and iteration. There are form-shape classifiers, constituting in Nootka part of a counter affix system. Alienable and inalienable possession are distinguished (by affix) as are singular and plural (by distinct root forms for pronominals and by affix for nominals).

Nootka is typical of central Northwest languages (i.e. the Lower Chinook, Coast Salish, Chemakuan, and Wakashan groups) in having nominal reduplication for diminutive (cf. *-kwin* [R] 'little..') and plural (for distributed or kin-denoting entities) and suffixes for possessor

or subject pronominals. Nootka is unlike the central subarea in having neither gender nor visibility distinctions, nor diminutive reduplication in verbal stems.

Finally, Nootka possesses many features characteristic of its family, Wakashan. It is predominately a suffixing language and uses many nonderivational lexical affixes, most of which are locative. It has many derivational affixes, a large portion of which can govern a NP or sentential complement. It has a complex inflectional system which includes a number of morphemes with quasi-derivational characteristics (e.g. the definite and passive morphemes). The morphophonology is typical of Wakashan languages and includes processes of glottalization, lenition, reduplication, and vowel lengthening, in part triggered by suffixes. Nootka, and Southern Wakashan in general, differ from Northern Wakashan in expressing aspectual, but neither inclusive-exclusive nor visible-invisible, distinctions morphologically.

4.11.3. Further Research

In this final section are set out some of the problems of Nootka morphology which would profit from further investigation. Inflection is discussed first. Diachronic work is necessary to establish the sources of the variable position and function of *-wu:s* IRREL and the phonological idiosyncracies of mood-person paradigms. The semantic interpretation and function of cooccurring modes and moods is not well understood. Similarly, the interaction of tense with aspect and mood merits further research, as do the functions of the declarative moods (ABS, IND, and INDF) and the distribution of aspectual and inflectional morphemes among constituents of different semantic and grammatical classes. Finally, one needs to investigate the functional overlap of inflectional and derivation suffixes.

The aspect system of Nootka also requires a deeper study into the influence of semantic anomaly and lexical idiosyncrasy on cooccurrence restrictions and into the semantic and functional overlap of aspectual categories. Investigation of the diachronic history of the aspect morphemes would help account for the perfective allomorphs in particular. For example, the perfective form for vowel-final suffixes, *-inu(x)* MOM, is possibly a trace of a time when some affixes were nasal-final. The

analysis of an aspectual system such as that found in Nootka can contribute to further clarification of aspectual categories.

The Nootka noninflectional morphemes each belong to a semantic class but some, such as those denoting temporal quantities and perceptual events, are hard to assign to a class. It is also necessary to investigate correlations between semantically and grammatically defined classes in Nootka. A number of problems accompany any effort to formulate a Nootka lexicon. It is difficult to tell whether a morpheme or morpheme sequence constitutes a lexeme, a lexeme with metaphorical extensions, or a set of homonyms. Finally, the nature of stem formation, e.g. the choice of base form associated with a particular suffix, suggests that many stems must be in the lexicon as entries. Diachronic research on stem-forming suffixes might help account for the association of certain affixes and affix-types with certain roots and certain root-types. The productivity of word formation rules presents certain problems as well, e.g. the range of affix types associated with implicit derivation and the range of stem types resulting from it; the limits on number of affixes or of affix types within a stem or a base; and the sources and degrees of interspeaker variation, as in the choice of nominal plural forms. It is not clear if such variation is free or correlates with age, dialect, etc.

The choice between a morphological and a syntactic expression in Nootka is influenced by many factors. Those requiring further investigation include the avoidance of syntactically complex constituents governed by GS's and the gradual historical change in favor of syntactically more complex multi-word expressions at the expense of morphologically complex stems (or at least the innovation of such stems).

There are also problems of morphophonology. It is necessary to more intensively investigate the diachronic sources of reduplication and vowel lengthening suffixes and the surface outcomes of stems in which such morphemes cooccur. The diachronic sources of obligatorily long vowels also warrant research. At least half of the obligatorily long affix vowels can be derived from truncated sequences of glides and vowels.

Finally, the phonotactics and phonology suggest other interesting

problems, e.g. morpheme-medial consonant cluster constraints; the status of mid-vowels in the vowel inventory; and the influence on phonotactics of the deviant speech habits of story characters, e.g. Mink's *-x-* infix, Pitchwoman's *-hV-* infix, Elk's nasality, and Deer's replacement of *s* by *ʃ* and of *ʒ* by *ʁ*. It would also be valuable to follow the history of the violation of phonotactic constraints resulting from the incorporation of English loans. For example, the homorganic cluster constraint against morpheme-final clusters of consonants with the same place of articulation was violated much earlier in Nootka than was the constraint against root-initial clusters.

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APPENDIX : GOVERNING AND RESTRICTIVE AFFIXES

In the following list, the semantic classes of predicates are given for sentential complements serving as bases for governing affixes. The abbreviation *O* indicates object.

1. Governing Verbal Affixes

1.1. NP Object Base

- ^o ap [L]	buy..	-hta ^o	do to..	-k ^o ay ⁱ h [L]	try to get..
-a ^o ta	sell..	-h ^o ab [L]	use..	-h [R(L+L)]	dream of..
-a ^o wi (h) [L]	find..	-h ^o wink [L]	use..	-ma ^o c [L]	gossip re..
-awiqš	invite..	- ^o ?i:	go to..	-ma:p	pay attention to..
-a ^o yi	give..	- ^o i ^o c	eat..	-ma ^o s (h-ms) [L]	bring .. home
-cah [R+L]	depend on..	-i ^o as	carry..along	-(n)a:nk	bring..
-ca ^o q [L]	prepare..food	- ^o ih	go to..place	-na ^o h (h- ^o inh)	seek..
-caqa	busy fixing..	- ^o i:h [(R)+(L)]	try to get, catch..	-(q)ap ^o	impersonate..
-cama	go to..place	-i ^o š [R]	sleep with..	-sah ^o ?i:p	give gift to..
-chin [L]	do for..	- ^o i (h) [L]	invite..	-sč [RL]	defend..
-ci ^o h	use..as fuel	-ime ^o [R+L]	entertain..	-si:k ^o	finish..
-(c)sma	defend..	-(^o)inš	serve..food	-sy ^o i ^o p	go to..place with gift
-(c)sna ^o (a:) ^o [L]	tease, handle..	-inuk ^o (h) [L]	watch..	-šahp	act like..animal
-c ^o a ^o s	bet..	-i:p (h-i ^o yip)	get, obtain..	-(š)ti ^o s	copy..
-c ^o im ^o ak [L]	do in honour of..	- ^o ?i:p	give..	-taq [L]	work on..
-c ^o inaq- [L]	talk about..	-i ^o tja ^o p	bring..as gift	-taq- [L]	come from..
-c ^o us	talk about ..person	-itjik [RL]	fear..	-(y)ini:p	leave..behind
-(č)iš [L]	refer to..	-iyaqh	tell..story	-yi ^o q	go by..vehicle
-(č)i ^o š	make..	-(k)š [L]	ask for..	-(y)u: ^o ab	perceive..
				-ji ^o	send disease into..

1.2. Sentential Base

- ^o ap	cause to (be).. A,L,NP,Oy,V	-ma ^o saqh	want to (be).. A,L,NP,V
- ^o as	so in order to..V	-p ^o išh	do while.. V-ing
- ^o ay ^o imč [L]	pray for ..A weather	-sinh [L]	try to (be).. A,V
-ca ^o q	involved in ..V-ing	-t ^o i: ^o i ^o ba [L]	pretend to (be)..A,L,NP,V
-i ^o k ^o	go along..V-ing	-y ^o i ^o ha	die, suffer from (being).. A,V
-ins	move by ..V-ing		

1.3. NP Object or Sentential Base

- <i>ahin</i>	deprive of..0, prevent from (being)..V,A	- <i>simč</i> [L]	train to get..0, (be)..A,V
- <i>a'yuk</i>	cry for..0, due to..A,L,V	- <i>t'u:ž</i> [L]	potlatch for..0, for a ..A reason
- <i>c'i'nh</i>	order..0, someone to..V	- <i>u:</i> [(R)L]	do..A,V with others, do with ..0
- <i>in</i> (~- <i>in</i>) [R]	make sound of..0, sound..A	- <i>wa</i>	say..0, to someone to..V

2. Governing Adjectival Affixes

2.1. NP Object Base

- <i>a'a(x)</i> [L]	destined for..	- <i>hwak</i>	dressed in..	- <i>i'č</i> [L]	having.. as spouse
- <i>ʔač</i>	aware of..	- <i>i'c</i>	owned by..	- <i>p'u'qs</i>	smelling of..
- <i>atsimhi</i> [L]	liking..	- <i>ičas</i> [L]	having.. as bedcover	-(<i>q</i>) <i>hju</i>	related to..
- <i>a:žuk</i> [R]	care for..	- <i>kum</i> [RL+L]	for sake of..	-(<i>q</i>) <i>imb</i>	round-shaped..
- <i>a's</i>	belonging to..	-(<i>kʷ</i>) <i>a'št</i>	dried..	- <i>sim</i> [R]	needing..
- <i>a'ta</i>	lacking..	- <i>kʷin</i> [R]	little..	- <i>sy'u'č</i> [L]	..exposed
- <i>a'wič</i> [L]	expecting..	- <i>k'uk</i> [R]	resembling..	- <i>šahi</i>	having..wrong
- <i>chi</i>	married to..	- <i>mač</i> [L]	born at..place	-(<i>š</i>) <i>taqyu</i>	powered by..
- <i>ckwi</i>	remaining..	- <i>mhi</i> [R]	fit for..	-(<i>š</i>) <i>tis</i> [L]	in reference to, guided by..
- <i>c'ib</i>	dangerous, tabooed..	- <i>mi'h</i>	sore in.. body part	- <i>ʔuč</i>	having.. as vehicle
- <i>čip</i> [L]	..resource stored up	- <i>na'kʷ</i>	having..	-(<i>w</i>) <i>inkʷ</i> [L]	mixed with..
-(<i>č</i>) <i>ba</i>	named..	- <i>naq</i>	liking..food	-(<i>w</i>) <i>inq</i> [L]	baited with..
- <i>č'ap</i> [R]	sore in.. body part	- <i>naqa</i> [L]	baited with..	- <i>y'ih</i>	on account of..
-(<i>č</i>) <i>i'č</i>	clothed in..	- <i>nit</i>	stocked with ..resource	- <i>y'uk</i>	wrapped in.. fabric
- <i>hsa</i>	want to eat..	- <i>n'a'h</i>	seeking..	- <i>šašt</i>	done by..human agent
- <i>htin</i>	made of..	- <i>p'a</i> [L]	disliking..		
- <i>hu'ž</i>	having.. as visitor	- <i>p'ač</i>	tasting of... amazed at..		

2.2. Sentential Base

- <i>i:kʷ</i> [(R)L]	given to..V-ing	- <i>p'it</i>	..A in size
- <i>mahsa</i>	wanting to..V	- <i>sač</i>	because of being ..A
- <i>ma'aaq</i>	want to (be)..A,L,NP,V	- <i>w'it'as</i>	about to (be) ..L,V
- <i>mi't</i>	formerly..A	- <i>yu</i> (~- <i>ču</i>)	..A,V-ed
- <i>m'u'p</i>	away for..V-ing,T	- <i>y'a</i>	troubled by ..V-ing
- <i>n'ah</i> [L]	ready to..V		

2.3. NP Object or Sentential Base

-anu: (ʔ) (~-inxi (ʔ)) [L] because of ..O; due to ..V-ing	-(s)taqa [(RL)] for the sake of ..O, for ..A reason, order to ..V
-a'qak (~-cy'a'k) like, dressed in ..O, seems to be A, V	-ʔu'kt obtained from ..O, by ..V-ing
-(c)inkw [L] with ..O, working with ..O, about to (be) ..L, V	-(w)inq baited with ..O, to ..V
-i'th (~-ʔa'th) [R] waiting for ..O, about to (be) ..L, V	-w'at related to ..O, by ..V-ing
-k'w'ap [L] like ..O, like to ..V	-(y)u:ʔaʔ perceiving ..O, someone V-ing
-p'u (ʔ) paid in ..O (currency), paid for ..V-ing	-y'it giving evidence of ..O, V-ing

3. Governing Nominal Affixes

3.1. NP Base

-ʔaqa ..animal hide	-ma'c (~-ime / third or later syllable) ..animal, sea plant
-a'qs mythical female ..animal	-makt ..plant
-a'qsp female inhabitant of ..	-mi:k [L] human getter of .. resource
-ʔa'th (~-ʔath) male inhabitant of ..	-min ..sea animal, rattle
-(c)smi't ..(berry) plant	-mit (~-pt / V_) ..plant
-i'm ..animal	-m'i't mythical male ..animal
-in ..thing	-na ..animal, natural object
-ʔi'qsa ..kin	-sa'htakw ..kind, class
-i'w ..berry	-saq ..animal skin
-ma (~-um/ C'; -im/ third or later syllable) ..animal, body-part, man-made thing	-sim ..thing
	-sy'ik / -sy'up ..thing
	-(s)taq- ..bunch

3.2. Sentential Base

-ʔaqʔ human who ..V	-nik person who is a ..A type
-akwi remains of ..V-ing	-(q)hsi human who ..V
-hta instrument for ..V-ing	-stu'p thing resulting from ..V-ing
-i'ta human who ..V	-(s)tu'p animal which ..V (typically)
-ma'kw human expert at ..V-ing	-y'ikw (~-ʔ'ikw) instrument for (being) ..A, V-ing

3.3. Quantity Base

-c'aq ..vessels	-p'i'z ..long bulky objects	-saq ..skins
-hta'kw ..soft vessels	-p'it ..handspans	-sath ..tribes
-ista ..passengers in sea vessel	-qimb ..round objects	-y'iz ..fathoms

3.4. NP or Sentential Base

- ³ a ³ cy ³ a / -(c)sy ³ i	..thing, thing associated with (being) ..A,V-ing		natural object, business of (being) ..A,V-ing
- ³ i ³ n [L]	..means of suspension, thing hung for ..V-ing	-p ³ at ³ a	..man-made thing, thing associated with (being) ..A,V-ing
- ³ ?in	costume for ..O,V-ing	-saca (~-ic)	..receptacle, receptacle for ..V-ing
-mis	..plant, body substance	-u ³ l ^w	place for ..O,V-ing

4. Governing Locative Affixes

-ca	toward ..L,NP	-čh	..L deep	-sā ³ ca (~-ic)	in ..Qy places
-(c)sk ^w	..NP far apart	-či [RE]	attached to ..NP	-(w)ak ^w inč [L]	with the head at ..NP
-cuq	in ..L hand	-(k)ča ³ s	beside ..NP	-(y)u ³ s	..L,Qy at home
-eu:t	on ..L side				

5. Governing Temporal Affixes

-či ³ t	for ..Qy days	-p ³ at	in, for ..Qy seasons	-(y)iya	time of ..NP
- ³ ?i ³ čh	in, for ..Qy seasons	-q ³ i ³ čh	for ..Qy years		

6. Governing Quantity Affixes

-i ³ q	..Qy score	-p ³ inq	..Qy times around	-p ³ it	for ..Qy times
-m ³ a [L]	..NP quantity			-t ³ im [L]	..Qy at a time

7. Restrictive Locative Affixes

7.1. Body Part (Head)

-cit ³ im	at side of head	-(č)uws	at head as headgear	-qi ³	at head, end, promontory
-c ³ a ³ qi	at head	-i:k	at head	-qin	at head, bow of vessel
-c ³ a ³ s	at crown of head	-inqc	at back of head, upper nape		

7.2. Body Part (Face)

-aksu ³	at lips, rim, mouth, opening of cave	-c ³ ičč	at front of face	- ³ ihta	at nose, point
- ³ dqsu ³	at mouth	-(c)suk	at nose, septum	- ³ imč [R]	at ear
-(c)s ³ a ³ t ³	at forehead, cliff face	-(c)su ³ [R+L]	at eye	-p ³ a ³ ?	at forehead
-(c)sitk ^w	at cheek	-c ³ uq	in mouth, closed container	-p ³ uq ³ [R]	at cheek
				-(q)u ³ č	at face, along wall

7.3. Body Part (Torso)

-a'esa (~-(c)si*) at lap	-cit-akxi at hip	-ku'z [R] at loins
-?a'č at crotch, bay	-(c)sw'inz [RL] at armpit	-mi'kx at bottom, rump
-'akxi at rump, rear	-(c)su'qk at guts, emotions	-pi' at middle (along spine), back
-'a'p'iz at back	-i'z voice, at throat	-p'i' at upper back
-ashut at chest, front	-inqa at belly, interior of land	-(w)inz at neck, collar-bone
-cit	-i't at body	-yimz [R] at shoulder, blade, upper arm

7.4. Body Part (Limbs)

-'a'c'z at palm, sole	-(c)sput between legs	-in'uk [R(+L)] at hand
-a'n'uz [R+L] at leg, along long thin object	-(c)st'w- [R] at thigh, branch	-p'aq [R] at knee, hill
-'aš [RL] at wrist	-(č)ink [R] at calf	-(q)hta [R] at foot

7.5. Nature

-'a'ʔa on rocks, edge	-(c)sti's up inlet	-(q)hsa [L] along bank
-āčist at, on water	-c'a'tu far out at sea	-qu' at point
-'aqk-'s in forest.	-c'ita far out at sea	-(w)āč at water margin
-'as outside, on ground	-c'is at beach, sea	-(w)aqsa [L] at edge of stream, bank
-asu's under water	-n'a'q at top of height	-(y)u'k all over land (in view)
-(c)sit at water level	-n'i just offshore, down slope to sea	

7.6. Man-made Objects

-a'c(in) at bow of boat	-c'u' in container	-p'iz at handle
-'ahs (~-qs/ V) at, in vessel	-h [R+L] at sleeve	-p'it at edge of wall, house
-a'sc' on roof	-i'c' [L] at top, rim of container	-(q)čs at vehicle
-(c)sam'aqk at wall	-č'iz in house	-(q)hsa' at bundle
-(c)su'z [R] at wall	-(k'')iqs at lid	-yin in bow of vessel

7.7. Spatial Extension or Relation

-a'qt extending across	-hta apart	-šcim with others
-as attached	-i'č on, covering	-u'č extending out in view
-(c)st'wq behind, out of view	-pi'z extending across (in mid-line)	-(w)i'c [L] extending along edge
-(c)swi' extending out, through		

7.8. Abstract Geometric Configurations

-a ^h u ^t	in front	-a ^s	on	- ^o i ^o λ ^o [L]	below
- ^o a ^t	at flat surface	- ^o ata	at opening	-kumq ^o ti	behind
-a ^o e ^o a	at upright plane	-ci ^o t	at edge	-misa	at top
-apa [L]	above, in sky	-(c)s ^o im	at opening	-pin	at edge
- ^o apu ^t	underneath	-(c)sk ^o a ^o p ^t	at hole, chimney	-p ^o i ^o e	at upright base
- ^o aq ^o	inside	-hin [R]	at end	-(q)im ^t	at curved thing
- ^o aq ^s t	within	-hsn ^o a ^o k	in middle	-(s)ta	at back, behind
		-hsn ^o u ^t	in between	-(w)a ^o a [L]	at edge

8. Restrictive Verbal Affixes

- ^o ata	sink, go down	-ma ^t	move about	-suwi(λ) (~-su:(λ))	die, get destroyed
-citq	burp	-n ^o i	come home; arrive	-u ^o k	go along
-(c)suhta	come out of woods	-pa	go over, past	-wahst	go out
-hc ^o i ^o	hold over fire to dry	-pan ^o	go along, randomly	-wi ^o	(point) goes out first
-ht	go downstream	-p ^o aq	going by	-w ^o ibta	come out of vessel
-i ^o λ ^o (λ)	come into the house	-q ^o ci ^o k	go along	-w ^o is	come up to surface of water
-in	come	-sit	happen	-w ^o is ^o	move further up bank, slope
-k ^o ist	come out of hole				

9. Restrictive Adjectival Affixes

-(^o a)k ^o a-	completely, destroyed	- ^o ci ^o p	for	-(q)ht	excessively
-apa [RL+L]	too, very	-h	pejoratively	-(s)as	really
-ck ^o in	slightly	-k ^o a ^o (y) ^t	absent, lacking	-t ^o i:na	slightly
-(c)st ^o at [(RcL)]	re- ciprocally	-(q)aq	very	-w ^o is [R]	accidentally
				-(y)i ^o t	for

10. Restrictive Quantity Affixes

- ^o aq ^o	severally	-i ^o h [L]	PL	-Vy ^o - [L]	PL
CV#	distributive	-t ^o [(R)]	PL	-yu ^o	severally

11. Restrictive Temporal Affixes

-aya [L]	slowly	-pa:c ^o	immediately	-(q)h	meanwhile, in contrast
- ^o iλ	prospectively	-p ^o i ^o ch	while	-wi ^o	at first
-(k ^o)a:w	at intervals				

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