Contents

1 The Linker

1.1 Data

In this section I give my collected data on the linker -$(q)\d{h}$. I present how the construction is used and draw some conclusions about how it behaves. However I try to keep this section fairly theory-neutral, saving the specifics of an HPSG analysis for §1.3.

The morpheme -$(q)\d{h}$ is the last possible suffix on a word. It is typically pronounced as the sequence $q\d{h}$ following a vowel or nasal, and otherwise as $\d{h}$. The Central Ahousaht elder *tupaat* Julia Lucas almost always pronounces the linker as the full $q\d{h}$ regardless of the phonological environment, with the exception of certain light verbs. I do not know if this reflects a sub-dialect of Ahousaht, or if this pronunciation is unique to her, but I transcribe her speech faithfully.

The suffix is translated as 'meanwhile' in Sapir & Swadesh (1939), and was first dubbed the "linker" by Adam Werle (*p.c.*), on the understanding that it "links" two pred-

icates together. In this section I will first look at the attachment properties of the linker (§1.1.1), followed by its syntactic properties (§1.1.2–1.1.7).

1.1.1 Attachment properties

The linker shows considerable flexibility in the stems it attaches to, attaching to nouns (1), adjectives (2), verbs (3), and adverbs (4), but not complementizers (5, 6).

(1) ƛuucmaqḥitqačaʔaał taakšiƛ ṗiišmita.

    ƛuucma-(q)ḥ=(m)it=qača=ʔaał taakšiƛ ṗiišmit-aˑ
    woman-LINK=PST=INFR=HABIT always gossip-DR

    'There was a woman who kept gossiping.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(2) ṫikʷaamitwaʔiš čims ḥaaʔakqḥ.
    ṫikʷ-aˑ=mit=waˑʔiš čims ḥaaʔak-(q)ḥ
    dig-DR=PST=HRSY.3 bear strong-LINK

    'The bear was digging and strong.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(3) ciqinkȧƛna ƛiḥaaqḥ.
    ciq-(č)ink=!aƛ=naˑ   ƛiḥ-aˑ-(q)ḥ
    speak-with=NOW=NEUT.1PL drive-DR-LINK

    'We talked while driving.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

Context for (4): My friend is going bald. I'm also going bald but I don't look in the mirror much and haven't noticed.[1]

(4) ẏuuqʷaaqḥs ʕasqii ʔaanaḥi wik hinʔałšiƛ.
    ẏuuqʷaa-(q)ḥ=s   ʕasqii ʔaanaḥi wik hinʔał-šiƛ
    also-LINK=STRG.1SG bald only   NEG realize-MO

    'I'm also bald but I don't know it.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(5) ʔuušcukʔisit ʔani ʔunaḥʔisitqa.
    ʔuušcuk=ʔis=(m)it ʔani   ʔunaḥ=ʔis=(m)it=qaˑ
    hard=DIMIN=PST   COMP small=DIMIN=PST=SUB

    'It's a little hard (to do) because it's small.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

---

[1]This scenario was constructed to mirror an example present in Sapir & Swadesh (1939).

(6)   *ʔuušcukʔisit ʔaniqḥ ʔunaḥʔisitqa.

ʔuušcuk=ʔis=(m)it   ʔani-(q)ḥ   ʔunaḥ=ʔis=(m)it=qaˑ
hard=DIMIN=PST   COMP-LINK small=DIMIN=PST=SUB

Intended: 'It's a little hard (to do) because it's small.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

From only this data, the linker appears to distinguish morphologically between content and function categories. Another way of expressing this content/function division is by appealing to what can serve as a syntactic predicate in Nuuchahnulth. Nouns, adjectives, and verbs may all be predicative, and while adverbs are not syntactic predicates themselves, they along with their verb create a main predicate. (I return to this point in §1.1.6.) Complementizers, on the other hand, are only connective material and cannot be the main predicate of a clause, nor can they be part of the predicative phrase.

1.1.2   Clause Heading

A predicate with a linker attached may not head a matrix or dependent clause. I first give some evidence on the flexibility of the relative ordering of linked predicates, and then examine when they are and are not allowed in matrix and dependent clauses.

In a sentence with two predicates, one with the linker and one without, the ordering does not typically make a difference.[2] It is possible for either predicate in an utterance to host the linker, as in (7, 8).

(7)   hitaasḥitaḥ ciiqciiqa.

hitaas-(q)ḥ=(m)it=(m)aˑḥ   ciq-LR2L.a
be.outside-LINK=PST=REAL.1SG speak-RP

'I was speaking outside.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(8)   ciiqciiqaqḥitaḥ hitaas.

ciq-LR2L.a-(q)ḥ=(m)it=(m)aˑḥ hitaas
speak-RP-LINK=PST=REAL.1SG   be.outside

'I was speaking outside.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

Just as either predicate may take the linker, the linked predicate may occur either on the first (9) or second (10) predicate in the utterance.

---

[2]There are some cases where altering the ordering affects grammaticality judgments. I believe this has to do with a preference for the linked predicate to come first and, between two predicates, for certain semantic classes to host the linker over others. I address these in §1.1.8.

(9) ƛaaʔaasḥintniš ciiqciiqa.

ƛaaʔaas-(q)ḥ=int=niš   ciq-LR2L.a
be.outside-LINK=PST=STRG.1PL speak-RP

'We were speaking outside.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

(10) ciiqciiqamitniš ƛaaʔaasḥ.

ciq-LR2L.a=mit=ni·š   ƛaaʔaas-(q)ḥ
speak-RP=PST=STRG.1PL be.outside-LINK

'We were speaking outside.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

Although there is flexibility as to which predicate is linked and what their relative ordering is, clauses may not be headed by a single predicate with a linker. This can be seen for main clauses in (11, 12) below.

(11) qiiʔiłs ƛupkaaqḥ.

qii-°ił=s   ƛupk-a·-(q)ḥ
long.time-indoors=STRG.1SG awake-DR-LINK

'I lay awake inside for a long time.' (**N**, *yuułnaak* Simon Lucas)

(12) *ƛupkaaqḥs qii.

ƛupk-a·-(q)ḥ=s   qii
awake-DR-LINK=STRG.1SG long.time

Intended: 'I lay awake for a long time.' (**N**, *yuułnaak* Simon Lucas)

(12) has undergone two changes relative to (11): (i) the words have been rearranged, and (ii) the ending -°ił, a predicative location (Davidson, *forthcoming*; TODO get the full paper from Matt) has been taken off the adverb *qii*. The former change should not affect the grammaticality of the sentence, as demonstrated in (9, 10). But the latter change creates an utterance with a linked verb followed by the syntactically non-predicative adverb *qii* (12), in contrast to the two verbs present in (11). (12) is ungrammatical because the linked verb *ƛupkaaqḥ* has no main predicate to attach to, since the adverb *qii* cannot be a syntactic predicate.

Like main clauses, a dependent clause may not be headed by a single linked predicate, as shown in (13, 14).

4

(13)   ʔuuʕaqstuƛaḥ ʔanik hiɬ ʔaḥkuu.

ʔuuʕaqstuƛ=(m)a·ḥ   ʔani=k   hiɬ   ʔaḥkuu
be.happy.MO=REAL.1SG   COMP=2SG   be.at   D1

'I'm happy you're here.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(14)   *ʔuuʕaqstuƛaḥ ʔanik hiɬḥ ʔaḥkuu.

ʔuuʕaqstuƛ=(m)a·ḥ   ʔani=k   hiɬ-(q)ḥ   ʔaḥkuu
be.happy.MO=REAL.1SG   COMP=2SG   be.at-LINK   D1

Intended: 'I'm happy you're here.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

Although the word *hiɬ* 'be at' frequently takes the linker in texts, it is ungrammatical in (14), where it is the sole predicate of the dependent clause. I was able to replicate a similar example with a Checkleseht speaker from the other end of the dialect continuum (15, 16).

(15)   ńaacsiiččλintiis ʔin hiɬ čimsʔii maḥṫeeʔakʔitk.

ńaacs-°iičλ=int=(y)iis   ʔin   hiɬ   čims=ʔi·   maḥṫii=ʔak=ʔi·tk
see-IN=PST=WEAK.1SG   COMP   be.at   bear=ART   house=POSS=DEFN.2SG

'I saw there was a bear at your house.' (**Q**, Sophie Billy)

(16)   *ńaacsiiččλintiis ʔin hiɬḥ čimsʔii maḥṫeeʔakʔitk.

ńaacs-°iičλ=int=(y)iis   ʔin   hiɬ-(q)ḥ   čims=ʔi·   maḥṫii=ʔak=ʔi·tk
see-IN=PST=WEAK.1SG   COMP   be.at-LINK   bear=ART   house=POSS=DEFN.2SG

Intended: 'I saw there was a bear at your house.' (**Q**, Sophie Billy)

From these examples, I conclude that clauses must be headed by a non-linked syntactic predicate, to which linked predicates may attach.

1.1.3   Sharing second position suffixes and clitics

Nuuchahnulth has a series of clausal second-position clitics, which include tense and subject-mood portmanteaus. The later predicate in a linker construction shares the same subject, mood, and tense as the predicate on which these clitics appear.

(17)   hiɬḥʔum maḥṫiiʔakqs wiinapuλ.

hiɬ-(q)ḥ=!um   maḥṫi·=ʔak=qs   wiinapuλ
be.at-LINK=CMMD.FUT.2SG   house=POSS=DEF.1SG   stop.MO

'Stop at my house.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

5

The command portmanteau =*!um* in (17) scopes over both predicates. My consultant did not accept this utterance as possibly meaning that someone else was stopping. If these clitics belong to the clause as a whole, which there is good independent reason to believe (Rose 1981:35–36, Woo 2007:42–50), the linker coordinates predicates below the clause.

In addition to the clausal second-positions, there are some suffixes which I claim appear in a predicative second position (TODO: cite published ICSNL paper, maybe make the argument here too? This is something that keeps coming up...). These include modals and, importantly, the linker itself. The modals in this predicative second position seem to be shared across linked predicates, in a similar fashion to the clitics.

Context for (18): I am taking a friend home and we are leaving a gathering.

(18) waałšiƛẇiťasniš ƛiḥaaqḥ.

   wał-šiƛ-LS-ẇiťas=niˑš   ƛiḥ-aˑ-qḥ
   go.home-MO-GRAD-going.to=STRG.1PL drive-DR-LINK

   'We're going to drive home.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

Both verbs in (18) share the semantics of the modal suffix -*ẇiťas*, because both the driving and the going home are intentional, not-yet-occurred events. I confirmed the sharing of the subject portmanteau =*niˑš* by asking if it were possible to say (18) to mean that we were going to walk home but someone else was driving elsewhere. My consultant said no: (18) must mean that it is we who are going to go home and we who are doing it driving in a car.

(19) and (20) provide a situation where the obligatory subject sharing creates an odd interpretation. I was asking about different activities depending on the weather. The felicitous expression is in (19). My rephrase in (20) was met with an immediate laugh.

(19) ṅačaałaḥʔaała ṁiƛaaʔaƛquu.

   ṅačaał=(m)aˑḥ=ʔaała   ṁiƛ-aˑ=!aƛ=quu
   read=REAL.1PL=HABIT   rain-DR=NOW=PSSB.3

   'I read whenever it rains.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(20) #ṅačaałaḥʔaała ṁiƛaaqḥ.

   ṅačaał=(m)aˑḥ=ʔaała   ṁiƛ-aˑ-(q)ḥ
   read=REAL.1PL=HABIT   rain-LINK

   # 'I read and I am raining.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

Both predicates in a linker construction share the semantics of the second-position clitics, which importantly means they share a subject. They also share at least modal suffixes from what I term the second-position predicate position (TODO: Should I introduce this concept/the second positions in the introduction?).

1.1.4 Linkers on non-verbs

The examples so far have focused on linkers attached to verbs. This is perhaps the easiest example for English speakers of two syntactic predicates being linked and sharing inflectional properties. However, as detailed in §1.1.1, it is possible for the linker to attach to a wide variety of non-verbs. The properties of the linker are identical on non-verbs, but it is worthwhile to look at how this works.

Perhaps the most common type of non-verbal predicate that receives the linker is quantifiers. The presence or absence of the linker on the quantifier significantly changes the possible interpretations for the sentence. With a bare (non-linked) quantifier, the quantifier may be interpreted as a syntactic object (21) and may not come before the verb (22). When a linker is attached, the quantifier must be interpreted as the subject and may either come before (23) or after the verb (24).

Context for (21–24): My family and I are looking for a Christmas present for my sister.

(21)   ʔuuwaʔaƛ ʔuuš.
       ʔu-L.waƛ=!aƛ   ʔuuš
       x-find=NOW   some
       'He/she found something.' (*? Someone found it) (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(22)   *ʔuuš ʔuuwaʔaƛ.
       ʔuuš   ʔu-L.waƛ=!aƛ
       some   x-find=NOW
       Intended: 'He/she found something.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(23)   ʔuuwaʔaƛ ʔuušqḥ.
       ʔu-L.waƛ=!aƛ   ʔuuš-qḥ
       x-find=NOW   some-LINK
       'Someone found it.' (*He/she found something) (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(24) ʔuušqḥ̣ʔaƛ ʔuuwaƛ.

     ʔuuš-qḥ̣=!aƛ   ʔu-L.waƛ

     some-LINK=NOW x-find

     'Someone found it.' (*He/she found something) (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

In (23, 24), the two predicates being linked are *some* and *find*. Because quantifiers are possible predicates in Nuuchahnulth, the same analysis applied to two linked verbs can apply here: These are two predicates that share a subject. That is, there is a (null) third-person subject that is shared between the predicates *some* and *find*: "There exists an x such that *some*(x) and *find*(x,y)." This subject sharing makes the objective reading impossible in (23, 24).

Julia rejected an interpretation of (21) where non-linked *ʔuuš* 'some' was interpreted as the subject. However, in another context she produced (25), where a non-linked *ʔuuš* 'some' is in fact given a subjective interpretation.

(25) ʔuušʔiišʔaał wiċik, ʔuuš ʕaċik, ʔuuš ʔuṁaaqƛ ʔuuẏip.

     ʔuuš=ʔiˑš=ʔaał   wiċik,   ʔuuš ʕaċik,   ʔuuš ʔuṁaaqƛ ʔu-iˑẏip

     some=STRG.3=HABIT not.talented, some talented, some able.to   x-get

     'Some are not talented, some are talented, some are able to get (the challenge).'

     (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

In (25), the first two verbs are intransitive, so there is no other syntactic interpretation for *ʔuuš* 'some' other than the subjective one. The final verb is transitive, but the parallelism with the first two clauses primes the listener to interpret *ʔuuš* as subjective. The fact that Julia did not add a linker in (25) shows that a subjective interpretation is possible for non-linked quantifiers. However, when there is an ambiguity, as in (21), the absence of the linker is a clue that the speaker had an objective interpretation in mind because the presence of a linker would force an unambiguous subjective reading.

This observation about quantifiers holds true for other adjectives and also nouns, as seen in (26–28). The initial sentence puts two clauses together with a complementizer (26), but can be rephrased without a complementizer by using the linker (27, 28).

Context for (26–28): I arrived on the beach in a canoe. I left my canoe and went into town. While I'm inside, my canoe is carried out on the tide and capsizes. One person left behind on the beach sees it. (26) was suggested by my consultant, and we worked to rephrase it as (27) and (28).

(26) ċawaakitwaʔiš ʔin n̓aacsa niiʔatu čapac.

ċawaak=it=wa·ʔiš ʔin   n̓aacsa niiʔatu čapac
one=PST=HRSY.3   COMP see.DR sink   canoe

'I hear that he or she saw the canoe sink.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(27) ċawaakḥitwaʔiš n̓aacsa niiʔatu čapac.

ċawaak-(q)ḥ=it=wa·ʔiš n̓aacsa.DR niiʔatu čapac
one-LINK=PST=HRSY.3   see.DR   sink   canoe

'I hear that one (person) saw the canoe sink.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(28) quuʔasqḥitwaʔiš n̓aacsa niiʔatu čapacʔi.

quuʔas-(q)ḥ=it=wa·ʔiš   n̓aacsa niiʔatu čapac=ʔi·
person-LINK=PST=HRSY.3 see   sink   canoe=ART

'I hear that a person saw the canoe sink.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

My consultant was adamant that (26) and (27) meant exactly the same thing. If this is true, then the linker is not adding any deep semantic content.[3] It is important that the complementizer is present in (26), creating an overt subordinate clause, while in the rephrase with the linker (27), there is no complementizer. This supports the data from §1.1.2 suggesting that the linker itself forms a subordinate (and not a matrix) clause. (28) simply shows, again, that nouns are valid hosts for the linker, just as much as adjectives.

Using the same setup as (26–28), I elicited sentences from another speaker. This consultant initially proposed the sentence in (29). I proposed (30) by removing the linker, which he rejected, and then (31), which he accepted.

(29) n̓aacsiičiƛweʔin ċawaakḥ niiʔatu čapac.

n̓aacs-°i·čiƛ=we·ʔin ċawaak-(q)ḥ niiʔatu čapac
see-IN=HRSY.3   one-LINK   sink   canoe

'I hear that one (person) saw the canoe sink.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

---

[3]My analysis ends up putting in a predication AND. While this may not be totally meaningless, it is extremely semantically bleached.

(30)　*ṅaacsiičiƛweʔin ċawaak niiʔatu č̓apac.

ṅaacs-ºiˑčiƛ=weˑʔin　ċawaak　niiʔatu　č̓apac
see-IN=HRSY.3　　　　　one　　sink　　canoe
　Intended: 'I hear that one sees the canoe sink.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(31)　ṅaacsiičiƛweʔin ċawaakḥ quuʔas niiʔatu č̓apac.

ṅaacs-ºiˑčiƛ=weˑʔin　ċawaak-(q)ḥ　quuʔas　niiʔatu　č̓apac
see-IN=HRSY.3　　　　　one-LINK　　person　sink　　canoe
　'I hear that one person sees the canoe sink.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

Bob's response to removing the linker in (30) was to say, "It's not complete. One what? What did one see?" Following the basic structure of the Nuuchahnulth clause (TODO: ref to introduction), the participants of the syntactic predicate *ṅaacsiičiƛ* 'see' should be *ċawaak* 'one' and *niiʔatu č̓apac* 'sink canoe'. But *ċawaak*, as an adjective, cannot be a full NP participant without an article (Wojdak 2001). So it is stranded and the utterance (30) is nonsensical. The presence of the linker in my consultant's initial proposed sentence (29) forces 'one' to be coreferenced with the subject of 'see', as already shown for the quantifiers in (21–24). The other participant of the seeing act (what is seen) is the dependent clause 'sink canoe'.

Example (31) shows that the linked clause not headed by a verb can include more than one word. Here *ċawaak* 'one' is predicating the noun *quuʔas* 'person'. The dependent clause interrupts the matrix predicate *ṅaacsiičiƛ* 'see' and its clausal object *niiʔatu č̓apac* 'the canoe sink.' A rough bracketing of (31) is given in (32).

(32)　[ṅaacs-ºiˑčiƛ=weˑʔin　[ċawaak-(q)ḥ　quuʔas]linked_clause　[niiʔatu č̓apac]participant_of_see]
　　　see-IN=HRSY.3　　　　　one-LINK　　person　　　　sink　　canoe

1.1.5　Ordering of linked phrases and particpants

A linked predicate may be separated from its direct object by the predicate it is linked to. In (33) the verb *hiƚ* 'be at' and its object 'my house' are contiguous, but in if (34) they are separated by the second predicate *mamuuk* 'work'.

(33)　hiƚḥitin maḥṭiiʔakqas mamuuk.
　　　hiƚ-(q)ḥ=(m)it=(m)in　　maḥṭii=ʔak=qas　　　　mamuuk
　　　be.at-LINK=PST=REAL.1PL　house=POSS=DEFN.1SG　work
　　　'We worked at my house.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

10

(34) hiłḥitin mamuuk maḥtiiʔakqas.

      hił-(q)ḥ=(m)it=(m)in   mamuuk maḥtii=ʔak=qas
      be.at-LINK=PST=REAL.1PL work   house=POSS=DEFN.1SG

      'We worked at my house.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

Not only is (34) grammatical but this is sometimes the structure speakers prefer. In the above examples, the linked predicate is the one separated from its direct object, but it can also be the non-linked predicate that is separated from its object, as already seen in (29, 31).

For one of my consultants, Northern dialect speaker Fidelia Haiyupis, this kind of object separation was acceptable when the linked predicate was separated from its object (35) but not when it the non-linked predicate was separated from its object (36, 37). I can only note that this may be a feature of Northern dialects, but it is unclear from the small amount of data that I have.

(35) hiłḥsiiš ʔukʷiił čupčupšumł maḥtiiʔakʔik.

      hił-(q)ḥ=si·š   ʔu-(č)iił čupčupšumł maḥtii=ʔak=ʔik
      be.at-LINK=STRG.1SG x-make sweater   house=POSS=DEFN.2SG

      'I am making a sweater at your house.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

(36) ʔuuctiiḥs Queens Cove ƛiḥaaqḥ.

      ʔuuctiiḥ=s   Queens Cove ƛiḥ-a·-(q)ḥ
      go.to.DR=STRG.1SG Queens Cove drive-DR-LINK

      'I am driving to Queens Cove.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

(37) *ʔuuctiiḥs ƛiḥaaqḥ Queens Cove.

      ʔuuctiiḥ=s   ƛiḥ-a·-(q)ḥ   Queens Cove
      go.to.DR=STRG.1SG drive-DR-LINK Queens Cove

      Intended: 'I am driving to Queens Cove.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

For most speakers, however, it is possible in linker constructions to interrupt a verb and its direct object with the a secondary (linked or non-linked) predicate.

1.1.6   The linker and the predicate complex

Like many particles in Nuuchahnulth, the linker appears to attach to the first word in some clause. This has already been seen in (4), repeated as (38) below.

(38) ẏuuqʷaaq̓ḥs ʕasqii ʔaanaḥi wik hinʔałšiƛ.

ẏuuqʷaa-q̓ḥ=s   ʕasqii ʔaanaḥi wik hinʔał-šiƛ
also-LINK=STRG.1SG bald   only   NEG realize-MO
'I'm also bald but I don't know it.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

The two predicates being tied together in (38) sentence are "also bald" and "only not know (it)." The linker appears on the preposed adverb *ẏuuqʷaa* of the first predicate. Examples like this are difficult to gather directly, but a few examples occur in the Nootka Texts. In (39) the linker also attaches to the preceding adverb of its linked predicate 'still at war', and links that to the still later predicate 'grab their guns.'

(39) ʔeʔimqḥʔaƛquuweʔin hitaḥtačiƛ sukʷiʔaƛ puuʔakʔiʔał.

ʔeʔim-(q)ḥ=!aƛ=quu=weˑʔin   hitaḥta-čiƛ   su-kʷiƛ=!aƛ   puu=ʔak=ʔiˑ=ʔał
first-LINK=NOW=PSSB.3=HRSY.3 go.out.to.sea-MO hold-MO=NOW gun=POSS=ART=PL
'As soon as they left the land, they would take their guns.' (**B**, Sapir & Swadesh 1955:395)

In (40), the linker again attaches to an adverb *ʔiiqḥii* 'still', and links the entire predicate 'the tribes still at war' to the earlier predicate *qʷis* 'do thus.'

(40) qiiḥsṅaakc̓kin ʔaḥ qʷiyiič [[qʷis] [ʔiiqḥiiqḥ hitačink maatmaasʔi]] qaḥsaap̓aƛqu-
uweʔin čamuʔałʔaƛquu yuułuʔiłʔatḥ⁴huuʕiiʔatḥuʔałʔaƛquu.

qiiḥsṅaak-c̓kin   ʔaḥ   qʷiyii=č   [[qʷis]   [ʔiiqḥii-**(q)ḥ** hitačink
long.time-DIMIN DDYN when=HRSY do.thus still-link   war

   maatmaas=ʔiˑ]] qaḥ-saˑp=!aƛ=quu=weˑʔin   čam-uʔał=!aƛ=quu
   tribe.PL=ART   kill-MO.CAUS=NOW=PSSB.3=HRSY.3 vessel-see=NOW=PSSB.3

   yuułuʔiłʔatḥ   huuʕiiʔatḥ-uʔał=!aƛ=quu.
   Ucluelet   Huuayaht-see=PSSB.3=HRSY.3

'For a little longer after this happened, while the tribes were still at war, the Ucluelets would kill Huu-ay-ahts when they saw their canoes.' (**B**, Sapir & Swadesh 1955:392)

These examples, as well the case of modal suffix scoping (TODO: publish data from Morphosyntactic Misfits presentation somewhere? Repeat here? Make a separate section?) have led me to believe there is a phrasal unit between the clause (where the second position clitics scope) and the main predicate. I have dubbed this the "predicate

---

⁴Corrected from *yuułuʔiłʔatqḥ*.

phrase." This phrase consists maximally of the predicate word and preceding adverbs. The predicate linker will attach to the first word in the predicate phrase, whether that is the predicate word itself or a preceding adverb.

1.1.7   Dangling linkers

There are a small number of cases where the linker does not appear to be linking its predicate to anything. I believe that the interpretation of these cases shows that there is an elided phrase. The most common is in a formulaic farewell (41).

(41)   ʔuʔaałukḥʔiʔał.
       ʔu-!aałuk-(q)ḥ=!iˑ=ʔał
       x-look.after-LINK=CMMD.2SG=HABIT
       'Take care!' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

The meaning of (41) is "Farewell, look after yourself in whatever you're doing." But "whatever you're doing" is dropped from the sentence. I think that the linker is a left-over from the elided phrase. These kinds of "dangling" linkers are uncommon, and in my experience speakers won't accept them out of the blue unless it is a formulaic expression.

1.1.8   Semantic and ordering preferences

Despite the relative flexibility of which predicate in a construction gets the linker (§1.1.2), there are some cases where speakers strongly prefer the linker to go on one versus the other predicate.

In a sentence expressing action at a location, speakers I worked with preferred to put the linker on the location word, and not on the action word. Sometimes speakers rejected other orderings. (42–44) are a particularly strong case.

(42)   ƛaaʔaasḥiis ciiqmałap.
       ƛaaʔaas-(q)ḥ=(y)iis   ciiqmałap
       outide-LINK=WEAK.1SG   speak.publicly
       'I'm speaking outside.' (**Q**, Sophie Billy)

(43)   ciiqmałapiis hiłẖ ƛaaʔaas.

ciiqmałap=(y)iis   hił-(q)ẖ   ƛaaʔaas
speak.publicly=WEAK.1SG   be.at-LINK   outside

'I'm speaking outside.' (**Q**, Sophie Billy)

(44)   *ciiqmałapẖiis ƛaaʔaas.

ciiqmałap-(q)ẖ=(y)iis   hił-(q)ẖ   ƛaaʔaas
speak.publicly-LINK=WEAK.1SG   be.at-LINK   outside

Intended: 'I'm speaking outside.' (**Q**, Sophie Billy)

I was unable to get Sophie to use a linker in such cases on any word other than the location word, and in the (small) corpus of speech I have from her, there are no instances of it. Sophie uses the linker construction much less than all other language consultants I worked with, and rejected many constructions that other speakers used. She is the youngest known fluent speaker, and her speech represents a very innovative Checkleseht dialect. In my experience, the linker was most productive for her on quantifiers and location words, and rarely occurred elsewhere.

With other consultants who did have a more productive use of the linker, they would sometimes reject reorderings or sample sentences that occurred within a set. The following series is from Bob Mundy, a Ucluelet elder, who preferred linked predicates to be the first predicate in the sentence. (45) and (46) are repeated from (8) and (7) respectively.

(45)   ciiqciiqaqẖitaẖ hitaas.

ciq-LR2L.a-(q)ẖ=(m)it=(m)aˑẖ   hitaas
speak-RP-LINK=PST=REAL.1SG   be.outside

'I'm speaking outside.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(46)   hitaasẖitaẖ ciiqciiqa.

hitaas-(q)ẖ=(m)it=(m)aˑẖ   ciq-LR2L.a
be.outside-LINK=PST=REAL.1SG   speak-RP

'I'm speaking outside.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(47)   *hitaasitaẖ ciiqciiqaqẖ.

hitaas=(m)it=(m)aˑẖ   ciq-LR2L.a-(q)ẖ
be.outside=PST=REAL.1SG   speak-RP-LINK

Intended: 'I'm speaking outside.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

14

While Bob was adamant about his ungrammatical judgment, I think the context of rephrasing is important, as this transforms the grammaticality question into something like a ranked choice task. I do not think (47) is truly ungrammatical, as Bob would still generate this kind of ordering in fluent speech. Despite his judgment about here, in another context Bob unprompted produced sentences with the second-predicate linked, as in (29) and (90).

Both the rephrasing data from Bob and the restricted use of the linker by Sophie suggests some general preferences: all else being equal, a location word should not be the one linked (TODO: I could generate statistics on this easily across speakers, I am sure it is a strong preference), and the first word should be the one with the linker (TODO: ditto).

1.1.9 Data Summary

The data presented so far leads to the following conclusions:

1. The linker may attach to any content word of Nuuchahnulth. This includes nouns, adjectives (including quantifiers), verbs, and adverbs, and excludes complementizers.[5] (§1.1.1)

2. The phrase that includes the linked predicate may not be a matrix clause heading a sentence, which must be headed by a non-linked predicate. Nor may a dependent clause consist of only a linked predicate. (§1.1.2)

3. The linked predicate shares its second-position inflectional information (including subject) with the matrix predicate. (§1.1.3)

4. The linker does not add semantic content to the linked predicate. (§1.1.3)

5. The properties of the linker do not alter depending on whether it attaches to a verb or other part of speech. (§1.1.4)

6. It is possible for a predicate in a linker construction to be separated from its direct object by the other predicate. (§1.1.5)

7. The linker attaches to the first word in its predicate complex, including an adverb if the adverb precedes the predicate. (§1.1.6)

---

[5]There is more to say about a possible class of adpositions. This is addressed in §1.2.3.

8. In certain pragmatically restricted environments, the linker can be used without attaching to a matrix clause. The interpretation is always of an elided predicate. (§1.1.7)

9. There seems to be a preference for linked predicates to occur first and on location words (§1.1.8).

1.2 Application of the linker to categoricity questions

There are some words in Nuuchahnulth whose part of speech properties are not entirely clear. Woo (2007) examines Nuuchahnulth's large (but closed) set of adpositive-like words, and ends up categorizing them as special types of verbs (some of them little-*v*, from a Minimalist perspective). There are other words whose status is somewhat unclear, such as *ʔuunuuƛ/ʔunw̓iiƛ* 'because of an event', *ʔuusaḥi* 'because of a thing', and *ʔuyi* 'at a time'. Some of these words accept the linker and others do not. Recall that the linker typically occurs freely on content words such as verbs (1.1.1), so if these words are verbs, or at least normal verbs, the linker should be able to attach.

Briefly, I show here that *ʔuunuuƛ/ʔunw̓iiƛ* 'because of an event' do accept the linker, while *ʔuusaḥi* 'because of a thing' may not (1.2.1). Similarly, *ʔuyi* 'at the time' only accepts the linker marginally (1.2.2). Most of the adpositive-like verbs can also accept the linker (1.2.3), but not the special non-subject marking[6] adpositives *ʔuuk̓ʷiɫ* and *ʔuḥta*. This aligns with Woo's findings.

The marginal cases of *ʔuusaḥi* and *ʔuyi* suggest words moving from a simple verb to another category, either a restricted verb type or an incipient category of prepositions. On the other hand, evidence from the linker suggests that *ʔuuk̓ʷiɫ* and *ʔuḥta* are members of a special syntactic category, either a very small class of prepositions or little-*v*, depending on one's syntactic framework.

1.2.1 'Because' words

There are three words in Nuuchahnulth that roughly translate to English 'because': *ʔuusaḥi* (all dialects), *ʔuunuuƛ*[7] (Barkley and Central, recognized but rare in Northern and Kyuquot-Checleseht) and *ʔunw̓iiƛ* (Northern and Kyuquot-Checleseht only).

---

[6]The marking properties of these words and are somewhat more complex than this simple story. TODO: flesh it out? It's just non-ARG1.

[7]Elder *tupaat* Julia Lucas, who is an Ahousaht speaker, consistently pronounces this word as *ʔunʔuuƛ*. I do not know whether this is a feature of her particular idiolect or a sub-Ahousaht dialect feature of which she is the only known (to me) speaker. I transcribe the word as she pronounces it.

To lay some terminological groundwork, I will be using the technical terms *protasis* and *apodosis*. The *protasis* is the part of the sentence describing the condition, and the *apodosis* is the part of the sentence describing the consequence or result. I will call the words relating these propositions *becausitives*.

ʔuunuuƛ and ʔunẃiiƛ appear to be dialectal variants with the same in meaning and use patterns. Both these words take two full clauses and relate them (48, 50, 51). But these becausatives cannot relate a noun phrase to a clause (49, 52).

Context for (48, 49): A baby was crying last night. I didn't sleep well, and am explaining it to someone.

(48) ʔuunuuƛitaḥ wik ƛuɬ weʔič ʕiḥakita naẏaqak.

  ʔuunuuƛ=(m)it=(m)a·ḥ wik ƛuɬ weʔič ʕiḥak=(m)it=ma· naẏaqak
  because=PST=REAL.1SG NEG good sleep cry=PST=REAL.3 baby

  'I didn't sleep well because of the baby.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(49) *wikitaḥ ƛuɬ weʔič ʔuunuuƛ naẏaqakʔisʔi.

  wik=(m)it=(m)a·ḥ   ƛuɬ weʔič ʔuunuuƛ naẏaqak=ʔis=ʔi·
  because=PST=REAL.1SG NEG good sleep   cry=PST=REAL.3

  Intended: 'I didn't sleep well because of the baby.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

Context for (50, 51): Two teams are playing tug of war. Our team is strongest and we won.

(50) hiteʔitapin ʔuunuuƛ našukqin.

  hiteʔitap=(m)in ʔuunuuƛ našuk=qin
  win=REAL.1PL   because strong=DEFN.1PL

  'We won because we are strong.' (**B**, Marjorie Touchie)

(51) tunuumitniš ʔunẃiiƛ ḥaaʔakin.

  tunuumit=ni·š ʔunẃiiƛ ḥaaʔak=(y)in
  win=STRG.1PL because strong=WEAK.1PL

  'We won because we are strong.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

TODO: (50, 51) are sort of classic serial verb constructions. The becausatives here are in a serial verb construction with their apodosis. Given that this requires the SVC to understand, maybe this section should be moved after the SVC section?

Context for (52): A bunch of kids are racing. A fast boy wins the race.

(52)   *hitaʔapweʔin kaatkimqsuptaaɬ ɬaṅeʔisʔi ʔuunuuƛ našuk.
       hitaʔap=weˑʔin kaatkimqsuptaaɬ ɬaṅa=ʔis=ʔiˑ   ʔuunuuƛ našuk
       win=HRSY.3   race   child=DIMIN=ART because strong
       Intended: 'The kid won the race because he is strong.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

It is possible for the protasis to be introduced by the complementizer (53–55).

(53)   ʔunẃiiƛiis mačiiɬ ʔin ṁiƛaa.
       ʔunẃiiƛ=(y)iis   mačiiɬ   ʔin   ṁiƛ-aˑ
       because=WEAK.1SG inside.DR COMP rain-DR
       'I'm inside because it is raining.' (**Q**, Sophie Billy)

(54)   ʔuunuuƛs hiniiʔiƛ ʔin ṁiƛaa.
       ʔuunuuƛ=s   hiniiʔiƛ   ʔin   ṁiƛ-aˑ
       because=STRG.1SG inside.MO COMP rain-DR
       'I came inside because it is raining.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

(55)   ʔunʔuuƛḥitqačaʔaɬ hitaʔap ʔin ʕuẏinak.
       ʔunʔuuƛ-(q)ḥ=(m)it=qača=ʔaɬ hitaʔap ʔin   ʕuẏi-naˑk
       because-LINK=PST=INFR=PL   win   COMP medicine-have
       'They won because they had medicine.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

The apodosis, however, may not be introduced by complementizer (56).

(56)   #* ʔunʔuuƛḥitqačaʔaɬ ʕuẏinak ʔin hitaʔap.
       ʔunʔuuƛḥitqačaʔaɬ   ʕuẏinak   ʔin   hitaʔap
       because-LINK=PST=INFR=PL medicine-have COMP win
       Intended: 'They won because they had medicine.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

Recall that the clausal clitics attach to the first word in a clause, and that both predicates in a linker construction share the subject (1.1.2). (57) thus gives good evidence that the becausitive is linking with the apodosis and not the protasis, since the protasis ('it is raining') has a different subject.

18

(57) hiniiʔiƛs ʔunẃiiƛḥ ṁiƛšiƛ.

hiniiʔiƛ=s   ʔunẃiiƛ-(q)ḥ   ṁiƛ-šiƛ
inside.MO=REAL.1SG   because-LINK   rain-MO
'I am inside because it started raining.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

There was some difference between speakers about the grammaticality of non-initial becausitives. One of my Ucluelet consultants, Marjorie Touchie produced non-initial becausitives without the linker (50), and Fidelia Haiyupis, an Ehattesaht woman, produced such an example once (51). However, on other occasions Fidelia rejected such examples without the linker (58, 59), as did Julia Lucas, an Ahousaht speaker (60, 61). My guess would be that the obligatorily-linked version is the older pattern, and this reflects a change in progress that is at different points of progression for different speakers and different dialects.

(58) hitaʔapintniš ʔunẃiiƛḥ ʕuuẏaałintin.

hitaʔap=int=niš   ʔunẃiiƛ-(q)ḥ   ʕuuẏaał=int=(y)in
inside.MO=REAL.1SG   because-LINK   take.medicine=PST=WEAK.1PL
'We won because we had medicine.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

(59) *hitaʔapintniš ʔunẃiiƛ ʕuuẏaałintin.

hitaʔap=int=niš   ʔunẃiiƛ   ʕuuẏaał=int=(y)in
inside.MO=REAL.1SG   because   take.medicine=PST=WEAK.1PL
Intended: 'We won because we had medicine.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

(60) wikits ƛuł waʔič ʔunʔuuƛḥ wawaałwiqa ʕiniiƛ.

wik=(m)it=s   ƛuł   waʔič   ʔunʔuuƛ-(q)ḥ   wawaałwiqa   ʕiniiƛ
NEG=PST=REAL.1SG   good   sleep   because-LINK   bark   dog
'I didn't sleep well because the dog was barking.' (**C**, Julia Lucas)

(61) *wikits ƛuł waʔič ʔunʔuuƛ wawaałwiqa ʕiniiƛ.

wik=(m)it=s   ƛuł   waʔič   ʔunʔuuƛ   wawaałwiqa   ʕiniiƛ
NEG=PST=REAL.1SG   good   sleep   bark   dog
Intended: 'I didn't sleep well because the dog was barking.' (**C**, Julia Lucas)

I asked one consultant, Bob Mundy, directly about the difference between *ʔuunuuƛ* and *ʔuunuuƛḥ*. He translated *ʔuunuuƛ* as 'because' and *ʔuunuuƛḥ* as 'that's why.' This is a fairly succinct way of translating the presence of a subordinating linker.

The evidence so far suggests that the words ʔuunuuλ and ʔunẃiiλ behave like verbs. They have two complement clauses, a protasis and an apodosis. For some speakers, the only way that the becausative can appear without a linker is if it is in predicate position: that is, the first word in the sentence. The apodosis shares its subject with the becausitive, and when the predicate linker appears on the becausative it must link it with with the apodosis. In keeping with this specialness of the apodosis argument, the protasis (but not the apodosis) can be introduced with a complementizer.

Where ʔuunuuλ and ʔunẃiiλ behave as verbs with two complement clauses, ʔuusaḥi requires its complements to be a noun representing the protasis and a clause representing the apodosis. Examples (62, 63) below are a rephrasing of (48, 49), demonstrating that, opposite from ʔuunuuλ/ʔunẃiiλ, ʔuusaḥi must take a noun phrase protasis and not a clause.

(62) ʔuusaḥimta naẏaqakʔi wikitaḥ λuł weʔič.
      ʔuusaḥi=imt=(m)aˑ   naẏaqak=ʔiˑ wik=(m)it=(m)aˑḥ λuł weʔič
      because.of=PST=REAL.3 baby=ART   NEG=PST=REAL.1SG good sleep
      'I didn't sleep well because of the baby.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(63) *ʔuusaḥimta ʕiḥak naẏaqakʔi wikitaḥ λuł weʔič.
      ʔuusaḥi=imt=(m)aˑ   ʕiḥak naẏaqak=ʔiˑ wik=(m)it=(m)aˑḥ λuł weʔič
      because.of=PST=REAL.3 cry.DR baby   NEG=PST=REAL.1SG good sleep
      Intended: 'I didn't sleep well because of the baby.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

The noun phrase protasis must also occur immediately following ʔuusaḥi, as shown in (64, 65).

(64) ʔuusaḥi ʕuẏi hitaʔap.
      ʔuusaḥi ʕuẏi   hitaʔap
      because.of medicine win
      'They won because of the medicine.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(65) *ʔuusaḥi hitaʔap ʕuẏi.
      ʔuusaḥi   hitaʔap ʕuẏi
      because.of win   medicine
      Intended: 'They won because of the medicine.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

ʔuusaḥi can take a clausal apodosis if the apodosis is preceded by the complementizer (66, 67).

(66)   ʔuusaḥi hitaʔap ʔin ʕuẏinak.

   ʔuusaḥi   hitaʔap ʔin   ʕuẏi-na·k
   because.of win   COMP   medicine-have

   'They won because they had medicine.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(67)   ʔuusaḥis wik ƛuɫ waʔič ʔin wawaaɫwiqa ʕiniiƛ.

   ʔuusaḥi=s   wik ƛuɫ waʔič ʔin   wawaaɫwiqa ʕiniiƛ
   because.of=STRG.1SG   NEG good sleep COMP bark   dog

   'I didn't sleep well because of the dog.' (*C*, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

I was unable to determine if *ʔuusaḥi* can take the linker. This investigation came late during my field work, and I only checked with Bob Mundy. I attempted to add a linker to the sentence in (62), and he was unsure about the grammaticality of the sentence, calling it "iffy."

(68)   ?? ʔuusaḥiqḥita naẏaqakʔi wikitaḥ ƛuɫ weʔič.

   ʔuusaḥi-(q)ḥ=(m)it=(m)a·   naẏaqak=ʔi·   wik=(m)it=(m)a·ḥ   ƛuɫ   weʔič
   because.of-LINK=PST=REAL.3 baby=ART   NEG=PST=REAL.1SG   good sleep

   Intended: 'I didn't sleep well because of the baby.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

Like *ʔuunuuƛ/ʔunẇiiƛ*, *ʔuusaḥi* behaves in many ways like other verbs. It has two complements, one of which must be a noun phrase protasis (unlike *ʔuunuuƛ/ʔunẇiiƛ*, which must have clausal protases). Like *ʔuunuuƛ/ʔunẇiiƛ*, *ʔuusaḥi* shares its subject with its apodosis complement. It may be open to linker attachment, but this is unclear. The word does not occur in the Nootka Texts (Sapir & Swadesh 1939, 1955), so appeals to published historical Nuuchahnulth cannot resolve the matter. If *ʔuusaḥi* cannot accept the linker, it is one of very few verbs (if any) with this property, and is perhaps in the midst of a change in progress, from verb-like to preposition or conjunction-like.

1.2.2   *ʔuyi*

Of the possibly-verbal, possibly-adpositional words in Nuuchahnulth, *ʔuyi* and *ʔuukʷiɫ* are perhaps the most ambiguous cases (Adam Werle, *p.c.*). The meaning of *ʔuyi* is 'at (a time)' and it typically cooccurs with another predicative word in a sentence. In this

case, the clausal clitics scope over both predicates (69–73). The temporal complement of *ʔuyi* can be a nominal either occurring after (69) or before (70) *ʔuyi* itself, it can be expressed in a clause with a dependent mood such as the possible mood (71) or the definite mood (72), or it can be dropped from the clause entirely (73).

(69) ʔuyiẁiⁱt́siis saantii ʔucičƛ ciquwⱡi.

ʔuyi-ẁiⁱt́s=(y)iis   saantii ʔu-ci-čiƛ   ciq-uwⱡ=ʔiˑ
at.a.time-going.to=WEAK.1SG Sunday X-go.to-MO pray-building=ART

'I'm going to church on Sunday.' (**Q**, Sophie Billy)

(70) waaⱡakin yuuⱡuʔiⱡʔatḥ kuʔaⱡ ʔuyi.

wałaak-LS=(m)in   yuuⱡuʔiⱡʔatḥ kuʔaⱡ   ʔuyi
walk-GR=REAL.1PL Ucluelet   morning at.a.time

'We're going to Ucluelet in the morning.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(71) ʔuyimaḥʔaała ṅaṅaṅič kuʔiičiʔaƛquu.

ʔuyi=maˑḥ=ʔaała   ṅaṅaṅič kuʔaⱡ-ºiˑčiƛ=!aƛ=quu
at.a.time=REAL.1SG=HABIT read   morning-IN=NOW=PSSB.3

'I read in the mornings.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(72) ʔuyimtaḥ ʕimtnaakšiƛ čakupšiʔeⱡqas.

ʔuyi=imt=(m)aˑḥ   ʕimt-naˑk-šiƛ   čakup-šiƛ=!aƛ=qaˑs
at.a.time=PST=REAL.1SG name-have-MO man-MO=NOW=DEFN.1SG

'I was a full man when I got my name.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(73) ʔuyiʔum kitḥšiƛ siičiⱡ.

ʔuyi=!um   kitḥ-šiƛ si-L.(č)iⱡ
at.a.time=CMMD.FUT.1PL ring-MO 1SG-do.to

'Call me then.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

ʔuyi has a tendency to double in fluent speech: as the first predicate of a two-utterance, then later following its object (74, 75). This could be described grammatically as the first *ʔuyi* occurring with a dropped argument and the second with its object. Note that the sentence in (75) is grammatical without the doubling (76).

(74) ʔuyimtinʔaała wałaak May ʔuyiʔeƛ.

ʔuyi=imt=(m)in=ʔaała wałaak May ʔuyi= łaƛ
at.a.time=PST=REAL.1PL=HABIT go May at.a.time=NOW

'We would go (there) in May.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

(75) ʔuyisʔaał yaacuk kuʔał ʔuyi.

ʔuyi=s=ʔaał yaacuk kuʔał ʔuyi
at.a.time=STRG.1SG=HABIT walk morning at.a.time

'I walk in the morning.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(76) ʔuyisʔaał yaacuk kuʔał.

ʔuyi=s=ʔaał yaacuk kuʔał
at.a.time=STRG.1SG=HABIT walk morning

'I walk in the morning.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

The features of *ʔuyi* so far are in line with other verbs. The clitic-sharing across predicates and the structure of (76) in particular is identical to other serial verb constructions (see TODO serial verb section). However, the doubling in (74, 75) is unique. One point of differentiation is that *ʔuyi* only marginally accepts the linker. After attempting to elicit and construct examples of linked *ʔuyiqḥ*, Barkley speakers Bob Mundy and Marjorie Touchie said that *ʔuyiqḥ* was not a word. They rejected a construction that added a linker to an expression for 'tomorrow' (77), as did Central speaker Julia Lucas when I presented her with the same construction (78). Marjorie Touchie immediately corrected (77) by telling me that the way to say this would be with *ʔuyi ʔaṁii*.

(77) *ʔuyiqḥʔaƛaḥ ʔaṁii mamuuk hił makuuł.

ʔuyi-(q)ḥ=łaƛ=(m)aˑḥ ʔaṁii mamuuk hił makuuł
at.a.time-LINK=NOW=REAL.1SG one.day.away work at.a.location store

Intended: 'I will go to work at the store tomorrow.' (**B**, Bob Mundy & Marjorie Touchie)

(78) *ʔuyiqḥʔaƛs ʔaṁii mamuuk hił makuwił.

ʔuyi-(q)ḥ=łaƛ=s ʔaṁii mamuuk hił makuuł
at.a.time-LINK=NOW=STRG.1SG one.day.away work at.a.location store

Intended: 'I will go to work at the store tomorrow.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

Unlike Bob and Marjorie, Julia did believe that *ʔuyiqḥ* was a possible word and offered up this sentence as an example case:

(79) ʔuyiqḥẇiƚass ʔaƛp̓it tinʕaƛ huʔacačiƛ.

ʔuyi-(q)ḥ-ẇiƚas=s   ʔaƛ-p̓it   tin-ʕaƛ   huʔa-ca-čiƛ

at.a.time-LINK-going.to=STRG.1SG   two-times   bell-sound.of   back-go-MO

'I will come back at two o'clock.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

I am unable to explain why (80) is grammatical and (78) is not. In all of the Nootka Texts, there is only one example of linked *ʔuyiqḥ*, out of approximately 746 instances of *ʔuyi*.

(80) minkšiʔaƛquu činaaqḥčik nunuuk ʔuʔuyiqḥ ʔuʔuuštaqyuqʷałšẏakukʔi.

mink-šiƛ=!aƛ=quu   čin-a·-(q)ḥčik   nunuuk R-ʔuyi-(q)ḥ

around-MO-NOW=PSSB.3   pull.hair-DR-along.the.way   sing.DR   PL-at.the.time.of-LINK

     R-ʔuuštaqyu-qałš-ẏak=uk=ʔi·

     PL-doctor-take.action.on-for.the.purpose.of=POSS=ART

'As they make the circuit, dragging them along by the hair, they sing his doctoring songs.' (Sapir & Swadesh 1939:105)

The marginality of linkers on *ʔuyi* – and its capacity for grammatical doubling – suggests that there is something special about this word, although it behaves in most other ways like a verb entering into a serial verb construction. Like *ʔuusaḥi* (§1.2.1), *ʔuyi* may be a change-in-progress, from a verb to something preposition-like.

1.2.3   Adpositive-like words

In her dissertation, Woo (2007) examines the syntax of what she terms "prepositional predicates" and, ultimately, agrees with previous researchers that these words are verbs. The words she considers are: (1) *ʔuuḥẇał* 'using', (2) *ʔuuʔink* 'using', (3) *ʔuuchin* benefactive, (4) *ʔuʔatup* benefactive/recipient, (5) *ʔuukčamałčiqḥ* 'do together with someone', (6) *ʔukʷink* 'go with', (7) *ʔuukʷił* 'do to', (8) *ʔuḥta* 'do to', and (9) *ʔuḥ* subject marker.

Woo separates out the last three of the list from the rest. The first six of these prepositional predicates introduce an extra argument into the clause, and using the Minimal Framework, Woo categorizes them as full verbs (V) which, when working in concert with a main verb, coordinate at the level of *v*P. This is supported in part by the first set of words can occur as the sole predicate of a sentence.

24

However, the latter three words (*ʔuukʷił*, *ʔuḥta*, and *ʔuḥ*) optionally mark arguments already inherent in the main verb. They require a main predicate to form a grammatical sentence (or may only be used alone in special circumstances, like question-answering). These Woo categorizes as flavors of *v*.

Although I approach my analysis from within a different framework, I agree with Woo's broad categorization. I checked speaker's intuitions about attaching the linker *-(q)ḥ* to these adpositive-like words and the judgments I received support Woo's bifurcation into two categories, and importantly that the first category are in fact verbs. Not all speakers recognize or use all of these adpositive-like words, so I was only able to test a subset. There is also a morphophonological problem testing *ʔuḥ* (which would be a **ʔʔuḥḥ* with the linker). However, I have collected data on (1) *ʔuuḥwał*, (3) *ʔuucḥin*, (4) *ʔuʔatup*, (not in Woo's list) *ʔuupaał*, (7) *ʔuukʷił*, and (8) *ʔuḥta*. In short, the words Woo's calls verbs mostly accept the linker, while all of her "little-*v*" words do not.

1.2.3.1 *ʔuuḥẇał* The adpositive verb *ʔuuḥẇał* 'using' can accept the linker in a sentence without any change of meaning.

(81) wikcukʷapʔic λiisλiisa ʔuuḥẇał λiiscuuẏak.
       wikcuk=!ap=ʔic   λis-LR2L.a ʔuuḥẇał   λiiscuuẏak
       easy=CAUS=STRG.2SG write-RP   using   computer
       'It's easy for you to write using a computer.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

(82) wikcukʷapʔic λiisλiisa ʔuuḥẇałḥ λiiscuuẏak.
       wikcuk=!ap=ʔic   λis-LR2L.a ʔuuḥẇał-(q)ḥ λiiscuuẏak
       easy=CAUS=STRG.2SG write-RP   using-LINK   computer
       'It's easy for you to write using a computer.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

1.2.3.2 *ʔuucḥin* The adpositive verb *ʔuucḥin* 'for, on the behalf of' can also accept the linker, although my consultant was less sure about it. She said that I could "get away with" (84) but thought it was unnecessary.

(83) ʔuucḥins mamuuk ʔuušḥẏumsukqs.
       ʔuucḥin=s   mamuuk ʔuuš-ḥẏums=uk=qs
       BENEF=STRG.1SG work   some-related.or.friend=POSS=DEFN.1SG
       'I'm working for my friend.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

(84) ʔuucḥinqḥʔaƛs mamuuk ʔuušḥyumsukqs.

ʔuucḥin-(q)ḥ=!aƛ=s   mamuuk ʔuuš-ḥyums=uk=qs
BENEF-LINK=NOW=STRG.1SG   work   some-related.or.friend=POSS=DEFN.1SG

'I'm working for my friend.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

1.2.3.3 *ʔuʔatup*   There is speaker disagreement on whether the adpositive verb *ʔuʔatup* 'on the behalf of, for the benefit of' freely accepts the linker. My consultant *tupaat* Julia Lucas, a Central speaker, accepted it (85, 86) but my Barkley Sound consultants Bob Mundy and Marjorie Touchie did not (87, 88). This may be another case of a change in progress, where for my Barkley consultants, *ʔuʔatup* is coming to more closely resemble *ʔuukʷił* grammatically (§1.2.3.5), something approaching a true adposition.

(85) ʔak̓uułis suẁa ḥiẏaḥi c̓apac ʔuʔatup ḥaakʷaaƛukʔitk.

ʔak̓uułi=s   suẁa ḥiẏaḥi c̓apac ʔuʔatup ḥaakʷaaƛ=uk=ʔitk.
loan=STRG.1SG   2SG   D3   canoe BENEF   daughter=POSS=DEFN.2SG

'I'm loaning you that canoe for your daughter.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(86) ʔak̓uułis suẁa ḥiẏaḥi c̓apac ʔuʔatupḥ ḥaakʷaaƛukʔitk.

ʔak̓uułi=s   suẁa ḥiẏaḥi c̓apac ʔuʔatup-(q)ḥ ḥaakʷaaƛ=uk=ʔitk.
loan=STRG.1SG   2SG   D3   canoe BENEF-LINK   daughter=POSS=DEFN.2SG

'I'm loaning you that canoe for your daughter.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(87) huyaałaḥ ʔuʔatup t̓aatńeʔis.
huyaał=(m)a·ḥ   ʔuʔatup t̓aatńa=ʔis.
dance=REAL.1SG   BENEF   child.PL=DIM

'I dance for the children.' (**B**, Bob Mundy, Marjorie Touchie)

(88) *huyaałaḥ ʔuʔatupḥ t̓aatńeʔis.
huyaał=(m)a·ḥ   ʔuʔatup-(q)ḥ t̓aatńa=ʔis
dance=REAL.1SG   BENEF-LINK   child.PL=DIM

Intended: 'I dance for the children.' (**B**, Bob Mundy, Marjorie Touchie)

1.2.3.4 *ʔuupaał* Though this does not appear in Woo (2007), it is another adpositive-like verb that appears to have the same meaning as *ʔukʷink* 'with'. My consultants familiar with the word used it both with and without the linker.

(89)   ʔuupaałẁiƛasaḥ yaqsčiʕinukqas ḱanisẁiƛas.
     ʔuupaał-ẁiƛas=(m)aˑḥ   yaqsčiʕin=uk=qaˑs   ḱanis-ẁiƛas
     with-going.to=REAL.1SG friend=POSS=DEFN.1SG camp-going.to
     'I'm going to go camping with my friends.' (**B**, Marjorie Touchie)

(90)   ƛiiḥpanačẁiƛasaḥ ʔuupaałḥ yaqsčaʕinqas.
     ƛiḥ-L.panač-ẁiƛas=(m)aˑḥ   ʔuupaał-(q)ḥ yaqsčaʕin=qaˑs
     drive-drift.around-going.to=REAL.1SG with-LINK   friend=DEFN.1SG
     'I'm going to go driving around with my friends.' (**B**, Bob Mundy)

1.2.3.5 *ʔuukʷił* Unlike the fully predicative verbs above, *ʔuukʷił* 'do to' does not accept the linker.

(91)   hałiiłintʔiš ʔiiḥatisʔatḥ ʔuukʷił ćišaaʔatḥ čiicsƛałẁiƛas.
     hałiił=int=ʔiˑš   ʔiiḥatisʔatḥ ʔu-L.(č)ił ćišaaʔatḥ čiicsƛał-ẁiƛas
     ask=PST=STRG.3 Ehattisaht   DO.TO   Tseshaht do.tug.of.war-going.to
     'The Ehattesahts invited the Tseshahts to play tug of war.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

(92)   *hałiiłintʔiš ʔiiḥatisʔatḥ ʔuukʷiłḥ ćišaaʔatḥ čiicsƛałẁiƛas.
     hałiił=int=ʔiˑš   ʔiiḥatisʔatḥ ʔu-L.(č)ił-(q)ḥ ćišaaʔatḥ čiicsƛał-ẁiƛas
     ask=PST=STRG.3 Ehattisaht   DO.TO-LINK   Tseshaht do.tug.of.war-going.to
     Intended: 'The Ehattesahts invited the Tseshahts to play tug of war.' (**N**, Fidelia Haiyupis)

1.2.3.6 *ʔuḥta* Like the more common object marker *ʔuukʷił*, *ʔuḥta* 'do to' also does not accept the linker.

Context for (93, 94), discussing family relations.

(93) ʔuḥta Jane ʔuʔukʷił Alexandra ẏuukʷiiqsu.

   ʔuḥta   Jane   ʔuʔukʷił Alexandra   ẏuukʷiiqsu
   DO.TO   Jane   call   Alexanda   younger.sibling
   'Only Jane can call Alexandra youngest.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

(94) *ʔuḥtaqḥ Jane ʔuʔukʷił Alexandra ẏuukʷiiqsu.

   ʔuḥta-(q)ḥ   Jane   ʔuʔukʷił Alexandra   ẏuukʷiiqsu
   DO.TO-LINK   Jane   call   Alexanda   younger.sibling
   Intended: 'Only Jane can call Alexandra youngest.' (**C**, *tupaat* Julia Lucas)

1.2.4 Summary of the linker and class-ambiguous words

I believe that this data about the attachment of the predicate linker can help shed light on the categoricity of these words. *ʔuunuuλ* and *ʔunẇiiλ* 'because' behave like verbs, and I believe they should be treated as such. *ʔuyi* appears verbal but more marginally so, and is possibly in the process of transitioning to a preposition. The adpositive-like words that can accept the linker seem to be clearly verbal, which agrees with Woo (2007)'s categorization. However the argument-marking words *ʔuukʷił* and *ʔuḥta* behave differently, as befitting non-predicative words belonging to a different category.

1.3 HPSG Analysis and Implementation

References

Rose, S. (1981). *Kyuquot Grammar*. PhD thesis, University of Victoria.

Sapir, E. & Swadesh, M. (1939). *Nootka Texts: Tales and ethnological narratives, with grammatical notes and lexical materials*. Linguistic society of America, University of Pennsylvania.

Sapir, E. & Swadesh, M. (1955). *Native accounts of Nootka ethnography*. Indiana University, Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics.

Wojdak, R. (2001). An argument for category neutrality? In K. Megerdoomian & L. A. Bar-el (Eds.), *Proceedings of the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, volume 20 (pp. 621–634).

Woo, F. (2007). *Prepositional Predicates in Nuuchahnulth*. PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz.