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Abbreviations

\checkmark = verbal radical	INCH = inchoative
o = bound form	INCRP = incorporative
= = clitic boundary	INSTR = instrumental
- = affix boundary	INT = interrogative
• = lexical suffix boundary	INTJ = interjection
$\overline{\quad}$ = phraseologized string	INTNS = intensivity
SMALL CAPS = semantic role	IRR = irrealis
\otimes, \circledcirc = semantic actants	MAP = middle applicative
1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person	MD = middle
ACT = activity	MTHD = method
ADD = additive	NEG = negative
ADNM = adjunctive nominalizer	NEGP = negative proclitic
ALTV = allative applicative	NL = Northern Lushootseed
ASSC = associative	NM = nominalizer
ATTN = attenuative	NSPEC = non-specific
AUTO = autonomous	OBJ = object
CNN = connective	PASS = passive
CNTNR = container	PFV = perfective
CNTRFG = centrifugal	PL = plural
CNTRPT = centripetal	PO = possessive
COLL = collective	PR = preposition
COORD = coordinative	PRDCT = product
CONT = continuous	PRLV = prolativite
COP = copula	PROC = proclititive
CSMD = causative middle	PROG = progressive
CSTR = constructive	PROP = propriative
CTD = contained	PROX = proximal
DAT = dative applicative	PRPV = purposive
DC = diminished control	PRTV = partitive
DIM.EFF = diminished effectiveness	PTCL = particle
DIST = distal	Pu = Puyallup
DMA = demonstrative adverbial	QTV = quotative
DUB = dubitative	RCP = reciprocal
DSD = desiderative	REFL = reflexive
DSTR = distributive	REM = remote/hypothetical
ECS = external causative	RLNL = relational
EXC = exclusivity	SBJ = subjunctive
FEM = feminine	SBRD = subordinate
FOC = focus	SCONJ = sentential conjunction
HAB = habitual	SEAS = seasonal
HMN = human	SG = singular
ICS = internal causative	Sk = Skagit
IMPF = imperfective	SL = Southern Lushootseed
IMPL = implement	Sn = Snohomish
	SPEC = specific

SS = secondary suffix
STAT = stative
Su = Suquamish
SUB = subject
TOBJ = topical object

TR = transitivizer
UNQ = unique
USk = Upper Skagit

A note on transcriptions and glosses

The orthography used for the presentation of data in this grammar follows in most respects the orthography developed by Thom Hess, which is used in the majority of published materials on Lushootseed and by the Lushootseed communities in their language programmes. This orthography is based on a fairly standard Americanist version of the International Phonetic Alphabet in which /ʃ/ is represented as /š/, /tʃ/ as /č/, /χ/ as /x/, /dʒ/ as /j/, /dz/ as /dž/, /ts/ as /c/, and /tɬ/ as /č/. Phonemically long vowels are written as double letters (i.e., /a.../ = /aa/), and the diacritic <·> is used after vowels to indicate lengthening for rhetorical purposes. In some early versions of the orthography (e.g., Hess 1967a; Hess & Hilbert 1976), <l> is used for the voiceless lateral affricate rather than <č>, and <j> is used rather than <dž> for the voiced alveolar affricate. The transcriptions used here will follow the current practices, and examples taken from these earlier sources are amended to reflect the more modern orthography. The same practice has been followed for sources written before the advent of the standardized orthography such as Tweddell (1950); data drawn from these works are presented according to the standardized spellings used in the *Lushootseed Dictionary* (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994).

Orthographic representations of Lushootseed words represent a standardized phonemic spelling system reflecting pronunciation in careful speech rather than close phonetic transcriptions of particular utterances; this spelling system ignores certain prosodically-driven phonological alternations that would obscure the underlying morphological structure of words and would lead to a variety of spellings of like items in different phonological contexts. Standard Lushootseed orthography has also adopted two conventions which depart from the practice of phonemic spelling. The first of these concerns the representation of feminine determiners (Section 2.4) and demonstrative adverbials (2.5.4), which are pronounced with an initial voiceless alveolar affricate (IPA /ts/) and written as <ts> rather than as <c> (the usual way of

writing IPA /ts/ in Lushootseed). This practice, which is maintained in this grammar, reflects the etymological presence of a morpheme *-s- used to mark feminine gender and underlines the regularity of alternations such as *ti* ‘specific non-feminine’ ~ *tsi* ‘specific feminine’, *kʷi* ‘remote non-feminine’ ~ *kʷsi* ‘remote feminine’. The second convention concerns the representation of CV radicals such as *vʔa(h)* ‘be there’ and *vlu(h)* ‘hear’, which are usually spelled in pedagogical and popular materials with a final <h> (with or without parentheses). The final <h> was introduced both to reflect the fact that the majority of Lushootseed verbal radicals are CVC in shape, and also to make the etymology of stems formed on such radicals more apparent to learners. However, because the use of this convention carries the risk of introducing into the academic literature a potential inaccuracy in the phonemic representation of Lushootseed words, the conventional <h> is not used in the examples presented in this grammar and, for the sake of consistency, is removed from examples taken from published sources in which the convention is followed.

The presentation of analyzed examples also differs from the practices followed in several pedagogically-oriented publications such as the *Lushootseed Readers* (Hess 1995, 1998, 2006). In these latter sources, several conventions are used to make the texts more accessible for students who are following a written transcription while listening to a recording or who are learning to parse Lushootseed words for the first time. Parentheses are used to “fill in” material that is elided in predictable phonological contexts (e.g., /cutəb/ is given as “/cut(t)əb/” to alert the reader to the loss of the suffix -t due to degemination). In this grammar, such material is not included in text or in the first line of interlinearized examples, although it is reflected in the second (parsed) line of interlinearized data (i.e., *cutəb* appears on line 1 of the interlinearization and *cut-t-əb* on line 2). Pedagogical sources often use angle brackets (<>) to enclose misspeakings, false starts, and stumbling on the part of speakers; this material is simply omitted

from the examples used here. Finally, materials prepared by Hess frequently appear with added material enclosed in square brackets ([]) that was not part of the utterance as it was originally recorded on tape. In most cases, these represent corrections made (by or in conjunction with a native speaker) during transcription. When such editorial amendments clearly reflect the repair of “performance” errors, they are included in the examples used here without mention; in a few cases, the editorial amendments appear to be stylistic and to “correct” structures seen repeatedly elsewhere throughout the corpus: in such instances the amendments are not included. In no case is an amended example used for any purpose other than the illustration of a grammatical pattern that is well (although perhaps less transparently) attested in other parts of the corpus, and such examples are never used if they are the sole exemplar of a pattern or provide the key datum in argumentation. All examples drawn from published sources are given with full citation by page and line number, and readers interested in the scope and types of corrections made by transcribers (or “errors” made by speakers) are urged to consult these sources, many of which include audio recordings.

In a similar spirit, the full English glosses of example sentences follow the translations given in published sources where this is appropriate and is not contraindicated by the necessities of clear presentation. However, in numerous cases it was felt that the translation provided in the source, while perhaps the most idiomatic or contextually appropriate gloss, was not the most illuminating translation for the purposes of elucidating the underlying structure of the sentence or for highlighting the morphosyntactic features under discussion. In a few cases, where the Lushootseed construction strays too far beyond the bounds of idiomatic English, literal glosses are provided in parallel to glosses in grammatical English. In other cases, the original gloss is simply substituted for a gloss more suitable to the purposes of the discussion. As a full gloss is an essentially heuristic device rather than an actual datum for the purposes of the

morphosyntactic analysis of data — the focus of the present work — it is hoped that the reader will forgive this departure from normal citation practices. Those researchers who are interested in the issues surrounding English-to-Lushootseed translation or who wish to explore the many subtle semantic and cultural insights that can be gleaned by speakers' choices of words or phrasing are again urged to consult the original, contextualized sources.

Foreword

In the middle of the Nineteenth Century, George Gibbs, M.D., compiled a dictionary entitled *Niskwalli – English, English – Niskwalli*. This is the earliest record of any kind available on *Dxʷləšucid* (and it still merits careful study today).

Then, in the first half of the Twentieth Century several employees of the Smithsonian Institution, various academics and a handful of interested lay people continued to document a variety of lexical and grammatical facets of the language.

From June 1963 until August 1966 with funds made available to Prof. Laurence C. Thompson by the National Science Foundation, I began my study of *Dxʷləšucid*. Prof Thompson was my guide and mentor from then until 1983, when he suffered a major stroke.

More recently I have benefited from discussions with a variety of fellow Salishanists, in particular Dr. Dawn Bates of Arizona State University and Dr. David Beck of the University of Alberta.

Through all these years, my biggest contribution to *Dxʷləšucid* has been pedagogical. I prepared a number of grammars for teaching the descendants of the *Dxʷləšucid* elders to read, write and to speak the language (at least to some extent). Dr. Beck, however, with his supreme mastery of a variety of linguistic theories here presents a grammar intended for linguists. It is for academics, theoreticians, and graduate students majoring in linguistics. And it is a grammar I would never have been able to write.

— Thom Hess Victoria,
14 August 2007

Author's Preface

Writing a theoretically-informed descriptive grammar of a language is one of the most profound challenges that a linguist can undertake. From the theoretical point of view, it is the litmus test for the tools and premises that we bring to the task, and if either of these are unsuited to the job, the language will break them, or the linguist will misrepresent the language. From the practical point of view, the collection and untangling of the data, the careful recording and probing of consultants, and the hours and years of wrestling with transcriptions, interpretations, translations, and testable hypotheses represents a major investment of time, energy, career, and life. So, from my perspective, when Thom Hess asked me to work on this grammar, it seemed to me that I was being given the opportunity to take on a challenging and rewarding technical task, while receiving essentially for free the fruits of his four decades of documentary work on the language. This is an immense privilege, although it is also safe to say that without Thom's teaching, advice, and guidance, this grammar could never have been written (in spite of the maddening modesty of his Foreword to this volume). In fact, in many ways Thom *has* written much of this grammar. Drawing a line between what I know or "discovered" about Lushootseed and what Thom, as a second-language speaker of Lushootseed and accomplished scholar, knows and taught me and others is an impossible task that defies the conventions of scholarly citation. I have done my best not to step too far over those bounds. If his name is not on the title page, it is simply a reflection of the generosity and humility that has been the hallmark of his academic career.

Writing a grammar that one hasn't collected the primary data for, and one for which there are no accessible native speakers to act as consultants, presents its own special challenges. Fortunately, Lushootseed is one of the few disappearing languages of the Americas that has been well and thoroughly documented through audio recordings, many (if not most) of which have

been carefully transcribed and put into a standardized orthography, largely through the efforts of Thom Hess and Vi Taqʷšəblu Hilbert. The resulting corpus is a sizeable one for an indigenous language that had existed exclusively in spoken form, apart from the sporadic efforts of missionaries and linguists, until the last half of the 20th Century. The data for this grammar are drawn primarily from a subset of this substantial documentary record, a corpus of 5,394 lines (23,656 words) of the texts created by Hess and Hilbert — most recorded by Hess himself and others recorded in the 1950s by Leon Metcalf (see Appendix 4) — analyzed and interlinearized for the purposes of writing this grammar. Although small by the standards of corpora available for languages like English (which run into the millions of words), this corpus provides a sufficiently rich basis on which to make generalizations about what structures exist in the language and how speakers use them — at least in the genre of traditional narrative, from which all of the texts are drawn. The speakers all belong to a particular generation, the last generation of Lushootseed-dominant native speakers, and as such represents a certain phase in the language's development. It is my feeling, confirmed by Thom Hess and others, that the speech of this generation is a fair representation of Lushootseed as it was once spoken, although there are a few constructions missing from their speech that are mentioned in the grammatical literature or attested in the speech of the few elders of the previous generation who have been recorded.

The disadvantage of working with a corpus, as opposed to living speakers, is, of course, that the corpus illustrates very well what people can do with the language, but does not reflect very accurately what people can not do. The absence of a structure or a pattern from the corpus does not necessarily demonstrate its unacceptability, and there are many places in the grammar where questions have been left unanswered for lack of negative evidence. Nevertheless, in a corpus of this size it is reasonable to expect that the major syntactic structures, lexical and morphological patterns, and grammatical processes of the language will be fairly well represented, and the

absence of certain patterns from the most common context in the language can be taken as evidence of, if not unacceptability, then strong dispreference. It is certainly possible that many of the uncertainties created by gaps in the data will be resolved as the analyzed corpus grows, and as historical-comparative evidence from the larger Salishan family is added; nevertheless, the answers to many questions will likely never be found. Any grammar that can be written of a language lost — even one as thoroughly and ably documented as Lushootseed — can be but a pale echo of what it was when it was the living language of a thriving speech community.

1 Word, clitic, and affix

Parts of speech (pred vs non-pred)

Clitics, bound clitics, and affixes

words: stressable, may head PhonP

S2 particles: unstressed, may go left or right depending on context

S2 clitics: always S2; always prosodically dependent; not restricted to hosts of a particular lexical class; always en-

bound clitics: always either pro- or en-; always prosodically dependent and unstressed; not restricted to hosts of a particular lexical class; may be iterated over an entire phrase

affixes: bound to stems of particular classes in fixed order; mark derivational meanings and inflectional or quasi-inflectional categories of words

2 Words and word-formation

2.1 Verbs and verbal derivation

Probably one of the most notable features of Lushootseed (and other Salishan languages) is the rich verbal morphology, particularly in the realm of derivation. The majority of Lushootseed verb stems is built up out of fairly easily-analyzable elements based on monovalent radicals, generally of the phonological shape CVC. A few of these are given in Table 1:

$\sqrt{?a}$ ‘be there, exist’ ¹	\sqrt{lil} ‘far’ ²
$^{\circ}\sqrt{?əl}$ ‘be eaten’	$\sqrt{p'il}$ ‘be flat’
$*bis$ ‘be selected’	$^{\circ}\sqrt{qəd}$ ‘fornicate’
$^{\circ}\sqrt{c'əl}$ ‘be defeated’	$\sqrt{q'əls}$ ‘cook with steam’
$^{\circ}\sqrt{c'əs}$ ‘be pecked’	$\sqrt{q'wəl}$ ‘be cooked, be ripe’
$^{\circ}\sqrt{gəq}$ ‘shining’	$\sqrt{q'wəl?}$ ‘be together with \otimes ’
$^{\circ}\sqrt{gʷəč'}$ ‘be sought’	$\sqrt{šab}$ ‘be dry’
$\sqrt{gʷəd}$ ‘down’	$\sqrt{šid^?}$ ‘launch sneak attack’
$^{\circ}\sqrt{k'ʷalč'}$ ‘be bent backwards’	$\sqrt{t'agʷl}$ ‘be on top’
$^{\circ}\sqrt{kʷa?}$ ‘be released’	$^{\circ}\sqrt{xəd}$ ‘be pressed’
$^{\circ}\sqrt{ləč'}$ ‘be located’	$^{\circ}\sqrt{xʷəb}$ ‘be thrown’
$^{\circ}\sqrt{ləc'}$ ‘have come down on’	$*xʷakʷl$ ‘be tired’
$\sqrt{ləkʷ}$ ‘be eaten’	$^{\circ}\sqrt{yəc}$ ‘report’

Table 1: Regular CVC(C) radicals

A number of these radicals ($\sqrt{ }$) are attested in independent form, appearing in sentences inflected for aspect, person, and number, but without further derivational morphology. Others are bound radicals ($^{\circ}$) which are unattested in independent form but are productively used in the formation of verb stems (e.g., $^{\circ}\sqrt{c'əl}$ ‘be defeated’ — $c'əlalikʷ$ ‘win out over someone’, $c'əld$ ‘defeat someone’, $c'əldxʷ$ ‘manage to defeat someone’).³ A third group of radicals illustrated in Table 1

¹ Note that this radical is often written with an orthographic final /h/ in texts and pedagogical grammars, both to make it clear that it is a radical and to distinguish it from other [?a] sequences which are parts of other morphemes. However, the /h/ is never actually pronounced and so it will not be included in cited forms used in this grammar, including those taken from published texts in which the orthographic /h/ is used.

² This radical is more properly grouped with the class of locative adverbs, though it is included here because, in terms of its phonological and derivational properties, it patterns consistently with verbal radicals.

³ Note that it is possible that some of the forms marked as bound radicals here may in fact be potentially free elements; radicals are marked as bound in this grammar if they are not attested as independent forms in the corpus used for the present study or exemplified as independent forms in the *Lushootseed Dictionary* (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994). Because of the pragmatically-odd meanings of some of the bare radicals, particularly the patient-oriented radicals (see discussion below), it may be the case that the independent use of some of these forms is possible but textually infrequent (cf. Gerds 2006, who reports a great deal of success in the deliberate elicitation of previously-unattested bare radicals in Halkomelem Salish).

are those marked *, which represent radicals that are both unattested as free forms and which do not appear to be productively used as bases for derivation. This category includes forms that appear only as a part of another productive derivational base (e.g., **xʷakʷw* ‘be tired’, which appears as part of a fossilized inchoative form *vxʷakʷwil* ‘get tired’, itself a productive base for forms such as *xʷakʷwilbid* ‘become disaffected with someone’, and *xʷakʷwis* ‘get tired of someone’), and forms which appear in a single stem with an easily-analyzed affix whose meaning is consistent with the meaning or syntax of the derivational morpheme (e.g., **bis* ‘be selected’, the historical base of *bisəd* ‘select something’). In addition to radicals with the canonical CVC(C) shape, there are a large number of CVCVC (e.g., *vcəba?* ‘be loaded down with something’, *vħəli?* ‘be alive’, *vphayəq* ‘carve canoe’, *vwilliqʷw* ‘make an enquiry’) and a few CVCV radicals (*vħali* ‘be forgetful’, *včubə* ‘go inland’, *vsla* ‘be in the middle’); more complex radicals are also attested (*vʔigʷəla* ‘climb tree’, *vħad?iħw* ‘be inside a house’, *vħħawil* ‘run a distance’, *vħħi?xʷi?* ‘hunt for something, forage for something’). Many of this last group appear to be fossilizations of diachronically analyzable strings formed through affixation or reduplication.

A few radicals surface in independent form and in predictable prosodic contexts as CəC, but do not have the schwa in the presence of potentially stress-bearing derivational affixes:

<i>vħq</i> ‘be high’ ⁴	<i>ħəqəd</i> ‘move ⊗ up high’
	<i>ħəqlaxħadab</i> ‘raise arms’
	<i>ħəql</i> ‘rise up’
<i>vħts</i> ‘be punched’	<i>təsəd</i> ‘punch ⊗’
	<i>ħsalikʷw</i> ‘hammer ⊗, pound ⊗’
<i>vħt'q</i> ‘be patched (with stickum)’	<i>t'ħaqəd</i> ‘patch ⊗’
	<i>tħaq'abid</i> ‘put stickum on ⊗’
<i>vħħi</i> ‘be bitten’	<i>ħəħ'əd</i> ‘bite ⊗’
	<i>ħħ'aliķʷw</i> ‘bite into ⊗’
<i>vħħi</i> ‘be wrapped, be tied’	<i>ħəqəd</i> ‘wrap ⊗’

Table 2: Regular CC radicals

⁴ This radical is more properly grouped with the class of locative adverbs, though it is included here because, in terms of its phonological and derivational properties, it patterns consistently with verbal radicals.

The first of these radicals, *všq* ‘high’, surfaces as [šəq] when stress is required on the stem (as in *šə'qəd* ‘move something up high’) and when it is required to break up lengthy consonant clusters, but as [šq] when suffixation provides a full non-schwa vowel to carry stress. A similar pattern is observed with the other forms in the table. There is some variation among speakers as to the treatment of the schwa in these radicals, and in some cases the predicted presence/absence of schwa is not found in all of the forms derived therefrom.

Regular CVC(C) radicals show no base-allomorphy when undergoing derivation; however, there is a large group of CVC radicals which undergo a process of final harmonic vowel-epenthesis in the presence of either the internal causative suffix *-t* (Section 2.1.2.1) or the causative middle suffix *-b* (2.1.1.3). Some of these radicals, along with their *-t* or *-b* forms, are given in Table 3:

<i>v?il</i> ‘sing’	<i>?ilid</i> ‘sing ⊗’
<i>v?ixʷ</i> ‘be thrown; have thrown to’	<i>?ixʷid</i> ‘throw ⊗ away’
<i>v'bap</i> ‘be busy’	<i>bapad</i> ‘pester ⊗’
<i>v'č'axʷ</i> ‘be hit with a stick’	<i>č'axʷad</i> ‘club ⊗’
<i>v'caq'</i> ‘be speared, be impaled’	<i>caq'ad</i> ‘spear ⊗’
<i>v'cil</i> ‘be dished up’	<i>cild</i> ‘dish ⊗ out’
<i>v'dzakʷ</i> ‘be shaky, be shaking’	<i>d'zakʷad</i> ‘rock ⊗’
<i>v'da?</i> ‘be named’	<i>da?ad</i> ‘name ⊗’
<i>v'dzič</i> ‘be broken down, be fallen apart’	<i>d'zičid</i> ‘break ⊗ down, take ⊗ apart’
<i>v'gʷi</i> ‘make an invitation’ ⁵	<i>gʷiid</i> ‘invite ⊗, call to ⊗’
<i>v'huy</i> ‘be done, be made, be finished’	<i>huyud</i> ‘make ⊗’
<i>v'kʷil</i> ‘peek’	<i>kʷilid</i> ‘peek at ⊗’
<i>v'λ'iq</i> ‘emerge’	<i>λ'iqid</i> ‘take ⊗ out from within’
<i>v'laq'</i> ‘be fallen, be lying down’	<i>laq'ad</i> ‘put ⊗ down’
<i>v'hič'</i> ‘get cut with knife’	<i>hič'id</i> ‘slice ⊗’
<i>v'pus</i> ‘be hit by ⊗ (missile)’	<i>pusud</i> ‘throw at ⊗’
<i>v'q'axʷ</i> ‘be frozen’	<i>q'axʷad</i> ‘freeze ⊗’
<i>v'q'il</i> ‘be aboard’ ⁶	<i>q'ilid</i> ‘put ⊗ on board’
<i>v'q'ib</i> ‘be disembarked, be unloaded’	<i>q'wibid</i> ‘unload ⊗ from conveyance’
<i>v'q'at</i> ‘be lying; snow falls’	<i>q'watad</i> ‘lay ⊗ out’
<i>v'q'ib</i> ‘be ready’	<i>q'wataš</i> ‘lay ⊗ out’ ⁷
<i>v'sub</i> ‘disappear’	<i>q'wibid</i> ‘prepare ⊗’
<i>v'sul</i> ‘be in, be under’	<i>šubud</i> ‘make ⊗ disappear; massacre ⊗’
	<i>šulud</i> ‘pass underneath ⊗’

⁵ Like the radical *v?u*, the radical *v'gʷi* and its derivatives are often written with an orthographic /h/ which is not pronounced and which is not included in the cited form in this grammar.

⁶ This radical also refers to the return of anadromous fish.

⁷ The two transitive forms of this radical are based on different allomorphs of the internal causative suffix, [-t] and [-š]. See Section 2.1.2.1 for further discussion.

<i>ᵑvtuχʷ</i> ‘be stretched’	<i>tuxʷud</i> ‘stretch ⊗’
<i>ᵑt'uc</i> ‘be shot, fired on’	<i>t'uc'ud</i> ‘shoot ⊗ (target)’
<i>ᵑχal</i> ‘be written’	<i>χalad</i> ‘write ⊗’
<i>ᵑχʷaqʷw</i> ‘be worried, be preoccupied’	<i>χʷaqʷad</i> ‘be concerned about ⊗’
<i>ᵑyiq'</i> ‘be worked into tight place’	<i>yiq'ib</i> ‘make ⊗ (baskets)’

Table 3: Radicals showing harmonic epenthesis

Radicals belonging to this class epenthize a harmonic copy of the stem vowel before the derivational suffix. Although membership in this class of epenthesizing stems is not predictable, all of them are CVC and none of them has the form CəC. Many CəC radicals also undergo final epenthesis, as shown in Table 4:

<i>ᵑbač</i> ‘be lying, be fallen from standing’	<i>bačad</i> ‘set ⊗ down’
<i>ᵑdəčkʷ</i> ‘travel, wander’	<i>dəčkaš</i> ‘set ⊗ down’
<i>ᵑgʷəč</i> ‘be untied’	<i>gʷəčad</i> ‘lead ⊗ astray, mislead ⊗’
<i>ᵑkʷəd</i> ‘be held, be taken’	<i>kʷədad</i> ‘take ⊗’
<i>ᵑləxʷ</i> ‘be stabbed, be cut’	<i>ləxʷud</i> ‘stab ⊗’

Table 4: CəC radicals showing epenthesis

These radicals epenthize either /a/ or /u/, depending on their final consonant. A similar pattern is seen in a small group of CC radicals:

<i>ᵑpkʷ</i> ‘be broken off’	<i>pqʷud</i> ‘break off ⊗’
<i>ᵑp' t'</i> ‘be stored’	<i>p't'ad</i> ‘store ⊗, tidy ⊗’
<i>ᵑqʷc</i> ‘slide, slip’	<i>qʷəcad</i> ‘slide ⊗’
<i>ᵑq' p</i> ‘form a lump; cramp up (muscle)’	<i>q'pud</i> ‘gather up’
<i>ᵑq' p'</i> ‘be compensated’	<i>q'p'ud</i> ‘pay ⊗’
<i>*ᵑq' x</i> ‘be insulted’	<i>q'χad</i> ‘insult ⊗’
<i>ᵑtq</i> ‘be closed’	<i>tqad</i> ‘close ⊗, block ⊗ off’
<i>ᵑtχʷ</i> ‘be pulled’	<i>tχʷud</i> ‘pull on ⊗’
<i>ᵑxʷt'</i> ‘be fallen, be descended’	<i>xʷt'ad</i> ‘take ⊗ down’

Table 5: CC radicals showing epenthesis

As shown by the examples in Table 4 and Table 5, these radicals take an epenthetic /u/ if they end in a bilabial or labialized consonant, and /a/ otherwise. The use of /a/ as an epenthetic vowel with CəC and CC radicals is also seen in certain reduplicative environments (specifically, with a sub-type of Type I reduplication, Section 5.1). Once again, final-vowel epenthesis with radicals of this class takes place only in the presence of the internal causative and the causative middle suffixes.

A few radicals show a voicing alternation in the final obstruent of the stem:

$\sqrt{c'a?k^w}$ ‘be washed’	$c'ag^wad$ ‘wash \otimes ’
$\sqrt{\check{c}a?k^w}$ ‘seaward’	$\check{c}ag^wad$ ‘take \otimes out to sea’
	$\check{c}ag^wil$ ‘get out to sea’
	$\check{c}a?k^wdx^w$ ‘manage to get \otimes to sea’
\sqrt{cac} ‘be hidden’	$\check{c}ad^il$ ‘become hidden, hide self’
	$\check{c}actx^w$ ‘hide \otimes ’
$\sqrt{d\partial k^w}$ ‘be inside’	$d\partial g^wad$ ‘put \otimes inside’
${}^o\sqrt{dik^w}$ ‘be advised’	dig^wid ‘advise \otimes ’
	dik^wdx^w ‘instruct \otimes ’
$\sqrt{hik^w}$ ‘big’ ⁸	hig^wad ‘uphold \otimes , support \otimes ’
${}^o\sqrt{\lambda'ak^w}$ ‘be stitched’	$\lambda'ag^wab$ ‘make \otimes (mat)’
	$\lambda'ak^wtd$ ‘cattail needle’
$\sqrt{tak^w}$ ‘be bought’	tag^s ‘buy \otimes ’
$\sqrt{tač}$ ‘roll off, tumble down’	$taʃəd$ ‘roll \otimes ’
${}^o\sqrt{t'uk^w}$ ‘be measured’	$t'ug^wud$ ‘figure \otimes out’
	$t'uk^wtd$ ‘tape measure’
$\sqrt{x'ac}$ ‘be sharp’	$dx^wx^wadəb$ ‘be tart, be strong (coffee)’

Table 6: Radicals showing final voicing alternations

With these radicals, the final consonant is voiceless when in ultimate final position or when followed by a derivational affix other than the inchoative *-il* (Section 2.1.1.2), the internal causative *-t*, or the middle *-b*. Note that some members of this class also undergo final-epenthesis (e.g., $\sqrt{c'a?k^w}$ ‘be washed’ > $c'ag^wad$ ‘wash something’, $\sqrt{d\partial k^w}$ ‘be inside’ > $d\partial g^wad$ ‘put something inside’).⁹ Two of these radicals, $\sqrt{c'a?k^w}$ ‘be washed’ and $\sqrt{\check{c}a?k^w}$ ‘seaward’, also lose the glottal stop following the vowel; the same pattern is observed of the adverb $\sqrt{ha?k^w}$ ‘for a long time’, which has the form $hag^wəx^w$ ‘finally, at last’, a lexicalized combination of the radical with the temporal enclitic $=əx^w$ ‘now’ (Section *.*).

With only a few exceptions (see Table 9 below), Lushootseed radicals are monovalent and intransitive, and require valency-increasing morphology (Section 2.1.1.7) to form verb stems with a valency of greater than one. One consequence of this that has attracted a good deal of attention in the literature (e.g., Hess 1995; Beck 1996, 2000b) is that Lushootseed has almost no underived transitive verbs. What are transitive verbs in most languages are formed by derivation

⁸ This radical is more properly grouped with the class of adverbs, though it is included here because, in terms of its derivational properties, it patterns consistently with verbal radicals.

⁹ The schwas in some of the derived forms in Table 6 (e.g., $\check{c}ag^wad$ ‘take something out to sea’, $\lambda'ag^wab$ ‘make something (mat)’, $taʃəd$ ‘roll something’) belong to allomorphs of the internal causative or middle suffixes. See Sections 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.2.4 below.

from a very large set of monovalent radicals which Hess (1995) describes as being “patient-oriented” in the sense that their syntactic subject expresses the semantic PATIENT or ENDPOINT of a semantically-transitive event rather than the AGENT. Consider the example in (1):

- (1) a. ?u^{lič} čəd
 ?u-^{lič} čəd
 PFV-be.cut.with.knife 1SG.SUB
 ‘I got cut with a knife’

- b. ?u^{lič}’id čəd tə sq^wiq^wali
 ?u-^{lič}-i-d čəd tə sq^wiq^wali
 PFV-be.cut.with.knife-ICS 1SG.SUB NSPEC hay
 ‘I started to cut hay (with a blade)’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 146)

In (1a), the verbal radical *vič* ‘be cut with a knife’ —in spite of expressing an event high on Hopper & Thompson’s (1980) scale of semantic transitivity — can take only a single syntactic argument, a subject expressing the PATIENT of the event. In order to express an AGENT, it is necessary to apply a valency-increasing suffix such as the internal causative *-t*, shown in (1b). Thus, a patient-oriented radical in itself is focused on the final state achieved or the change undergone by a PATIENT or ENDPOINT of an event, rather than on the cause of that state or the involvement of an AGENT. A number of patient-oriented radicals are given in Table 5:

%?ad ^w q ‘be met’	%g ^w lal ‘be hurt’	%siux ^w t ‘be recognized’
%?ay ^w ‘be traded’	%g ^w ox ‘be untied’	%tak ^w ‘be bought’
%?ət ^w ‘be eaten’	%hay ‘be known’	%vtəq ‘be slapped’
%?uq ^w ‘be unplugged’	%hiq ‘be pushed’	%vts ‘be punched’
%bił ^w ‘be smashed, be crumbled’	%k’aw ‘be chewed’	%tudəq ‘be enslaved’
%caq ^w ‘be speared, be impaled’	%k’aw ‘be bumped’	%tul ‘be interpreted’
%cil ‘be dished up’	%kvax ^w ‘be helped’	%v ^w tup ‘be pounded’
%c’al ^w ‘be washed’	%kv ^w a? ‘be released’	%v ^w tuč ^w ‘be stretched’
%c’əl ^w ‘be defeated’	%kv ^w əd ‘be held, be taken’	%v ^w tč ^w ‘be pulled’
%c’as ^w ‘be pecked’	%lač ^w ‘be eaten’	%v ^w q ‘be patched (with stickum)’
%c’ə ^w a? ‘be dug up’	%vləx ^w ‘be stabbed, be cut’	%v ^w uc ‘be shot, fired on’
%c’ax ^w ‘be hit with a stick’		%v ^w tuk ^w ‘be measured’
%c’əd ^w ‘be stalked’	%vlal ‘be removed from fire’	%v ^w xac ‘be hoisted’
%da ^w ? ‘be named’	%lič ^w ‘be cut with knife’	%v ^w xab ‘be thrown’
%c’iř ^w ‘be fried’	%v ^w lađ ‘be tied’	%v ^w xas ‘be thrown’
%c’uq ^w ‘be sucked on’	%v ^w luq ^w ‘be peeled’	%v ^w čal ‘be written’
%čac ‘be hidden’	%v ^w lak ^w ‘be stitched’	%v ^w čəd ‘be pressed’
%čal ‘be overtaken’	%v ^w l’ip ‘be compressed’	%v ^w čib ‘be grabbed, clawed’
%dik ^w ‘be advised’	%v ^w p’ic ‘be wrung out’	%v ^w čq ‘be wrapped, be tied’
%dub ^w ‘be kicked’	%v ^w puł ‘be blown on’	%v ^w čad ^w ‘be injured’

$\sqrt{gəlk}$ 'be wound, be tangled'	\sqrt{qiq} 'be confined'
$^{\circ}\sqrt{g^wəč}$ 'be sought'	$\sqrt{q^wəl}$ 'be marked, be painted' \sqrt{yiq} 'be worked into tight place'

Table 7: Patient-oriented radicals

With only one or two exceptions, patient-oriented radicals of this semantic type form their transitive counterparts with the internal causative *-t* (Section 2.1.2.1); many of them also take the diminished control suffix *-dx^w* (2.1.2.3) and the causative of activity *-alik^w* (2.1.2.4). The same is true of a number of unaccusative radicals whose sole actant is non-agentive, but not entirely or necessarily patient-like. These include radicals corresponding to what are labile verbs in English (e.g., \sqrt{hud} 'burn', $\sqrt{k^wət}$ 'pour out, spill out', $\sqrt{q'ax^w}$ 'freeze, be frozen'), verbs of location ($\sqrt{bəlx^w}$ 'be beyond', $\sqrt{c'it}$ 'nearby', $\sqrt{dək^w}$ 'be inside'), and some states ($^{\circ}\sqrt{ju?}$ 'be glad', $\sqrt{qət}$ 'be awake', $\sqrt{x^wag^w}$ 'be worried, be preoccupied') and processes ($\sqrt{lač}$ 'go out (fire)', $\sqrt{x'iq}$ 'emerge').

A slightly smaller group of radicals falls into the category of AGENT-oriented verbs whose subjects express semantic AGENTS or agent-like event-participants:

$\sqrt{?əλ}'$ 'come'	$^{\circ}\sqrt{g^wuh}$ 'bark (dog)'	$\sqrt{q^w i?ad}$ 'yell'
$\sqrt{?ibəð}$ 'travel, walk'	\sqrt{kiis} 'stand up'	$\sqrt{q^w u?q^wa}$ 'have a drink'
$\sqrt{?ig^wəla}$ 'climb tree'	$\sqrt{k'atač}$ 'climb'	$\sqrt{saq^w}$ 'fly'
$\sqrt{?il}'$ 'sing'	$^{\circ}\sqrt{k^wək}'$ 'miss'	$\sqrt{šub}$ 'disappear'
$\sqrt{?uč^w}$ 'go'	$\sqrt{k^w it}'$ 'go down to shore'	$^{\circ}\sqrt{tatab}$ 'speak'
\sqrt{cut} 'speak'	\sqrt{lab} 'appear'	\sqrt{tay} 'go raiding'
$^{\circ}\sqrt{c'əb}$ 'clear land'	\sqrt{lax} 'recall, remember'	$\sqrt{tač}$ 'roll off, tumble down'
$^{\circ}\sqrt{c'ic'}$ 'wink'	$\sqrt{la?$ 'arrive at a specific place'	$^{\circ}\sqrt{iwič}$ 'practice religion'
$\sqrt{c'əlp}$ 'turn'	\sqrt{laq} 'listen' (Sk)	$\sqrt{tuk^w}$ 'go home'
$\sqrt{dəl}$ 'turn around, turn over'	$\sqrt{p'ayəq}$ 'carve canoe'	$\sqrt{wiliq^w}$ 'make an enquiry'
$\sqrt{g^wah}$ 'accompany, go along'	$\sqrt{p'əq'}$ 'drift'	$^{\circ}\sqrt{yəhub}$ 'tell legend'
$\sqrt{g^wax^w}$ 'take a stroll'	$^{\circ}\sqrt{qəd}$ 'fornicate'	$\sqrt{yəy'du?}$ 'swing in a swing'
$\sqrt{g^wi}$ 'make an invitation'	$\sqrt{q'əlb}$ 'camp out'	

Table 8: Agent-oriented radicals

The majority of these verbs are verbs of motion (e.g., $\sqrt{?əλ}'$ 'come', $\sqrt{k^watač}$ 'climb', $\sqrt{yəy'du?}$ 'swing in a swing') or activity ($^{\circ}\sqrt{c'əb}$ 'clear land', $\sqrt{p'ayəq}$ 'carve canoe', \sqrt{tay} 'go raiding', $^{\circ}\sqrt{yəhub}$ 'tell legend'). Verbs of the latter type tend to express culturally-important activities and cannot take an object without further derivation. Like the patient-oriented radicals, agent-oriented radicals take a wide range of valency-increasing affixes to form transitive and bivalent

intransitive verbs, although as a set they are less consistent in their derivational possibilities. A number of these form transitive stems with the internal causative (e.g., *√?il* ‘sing’ > *?ilid* ‘sing something’, *√d̥al* ‘turn around, turn over’ > *d̥alqəd* ‘turn something around’, *√wiliqʷ* ‘make an enquiry’ > *wiliqʷid* ‘ask someone’); however, more of them form transitive verbs with the external causative *-txʷ* (Section 2.1.2.2). This is especially true of the verbs of translational motion (e.g., *√?əλ* ‘come’ > *?əλ'txʷ* ‘bring something’, *√učʷ* ‘go’ > *?učʷtxʷ* ‘take something’, *√t'ukʷ* ‘go home’ > *t'ukʷtxʷ* ‘take something home’), though a number of radicals from other semantic classes also appear with this suffix (*√kiis* ‘stand up’ > *kiistxʷ* ‘stand something up’, *√lač* ‘recall, remember’ > *lačtxʷ* ‘remind someone’, *⁊yəhub* ‘tell legend’ > *yəhubtxʷ* ‘recite legend to someone’). On the whole, this class of verbs —to the extent that it is a coherent class— is less consistent in terms of its derivational possibilities than the patient-oriented radicals.

It should also be noted that the division into patient-oriented and agent-oriented (or unaccusative and unergative) radicals is by no means exhaustive, nor does it allow for hard-and-fast predictions about which derivational affixes a particular radical will combine with. There are, for instance, verbs of state (e.g., *√hiit* ‘be happy’, *√xəc* ‘be afraid’, *√t'əba?* ‘have fallen in water’) that do not pattern with the patient-oriented radicals in taking the internal causative. Indeed, stative verbs expressing property concepts such as *√luλ* ‘be old’ and *√qʷiqʷ* ‘be strong’ do not have transitive forms at all, while other property concept terms (e.g., *haʔɬ* ‘good’, *hikʷ* ‘big’) combine quite happily with the internal causative. Thus, while there are generalizations to be made about a large number of Lushootseed radicals in terms of their combinatorial possibilities, there is a very large class of unpredictable radicals with idiosyncratic derivational patterns.

In addition to monovalent patient- and agent-oriented radicals, there are some inherently bivalent verbal radicals, although these are few in number. The thirteen bivalent radicals found in the textual corpus used for this grammar are given in Table 9:

$\sqrt{?alad^z}$ ‘care for \otimes ’	\sqrt{qada} ‘steal \otimes ’
$\sqrt{?ula\check{x}}$ ‘gather \otimes , forage for \otimes ’	$\sqrt{q}^w u?$ ‘be together with \otimes ’
$\sqrt{čeba?}$ ‘be loaded down with \otimes ’	\sqrt{pus} ‘be hit by \otimes (missile)’
$\sqrt{k^wuk^w}$ ‘cut’	$\sqrt{\check{s}\check{a}\check{l}}$ ‘make \otimes ’
$\sqrt{k^wic^w}$ ‘butcher \otimes ’	$\sqrt{tax^w}$ ‘buy \otimes ’
$\sqrt{t\check{a}g^w\check{t}}$ ‘leave \otimes ’	$\sqrt{x^w?x^w?}$ ‘hunt for \otimes , forage for \otimes ’
$\sqrt{\lambda}^w al$ ‘put \otimes on’	

Table 9: Bivalent radicals

All of these are bivalent intransitives with the exception of $\sqrt{t\check{a}g^w\check{t}}$ ‘leave something’, which is a true transitive verb in that it takes a direct object and can be passivized, as shown in (2):

- (2) a. $?u\check{t}eg^w\check{e}\check{t} \check{č}\check{a}\check{t} ti kikəwič$
 $?u-\check{t}eg^w\check{e}\check{t} \quad \check{č}\check{a}\check{t} \quad ti \quad kikəwič$
PFV–leave.behind 1PL.SUB SPEC ATTN–hunchback
‘we left Little Hunchback behind’
- [LA Basket Ogress, line 121]
- b. $hay \check{t}eg^w\check{a}b, \check{x}^wul' ?osq' il ?al ti?\check{a} q'il' bid$
hay $\check{t}eg^w\check{a}-b$ \check{x}^wul' $?os-q'il$ $?al$ $ti?\check{a}$ $q'il' bid$
SCONJ leave.behind–PASS only STAT–aboard PR PROX canoe
‘and then [his corpse] was left, [it] was just aboard his canoe’
- (Hess 1998: 92, lines 37–38)

Two of the radicals in the list, $\sqrt{\check{s}\check{a}\check{l}}$ ‘make something’ and $\sqrt{tax^w}$ ‘buy something’, belong to the class of verbs that take nominal predicate complements; they are bivalent because they subcategorize for two arguments (a subject and a complement), but are intransitive in that the complement is not a full NP or a true direct object (Section 8.2.5). The remainder of the radicals in Table 9 subcategorize for oblique objects introduced by the preposition $?a$:

- (3) a. $qada \check{č}\check{a}x^w ?u ?a tə sduuk^w$
qada $\check{č}\check{a}x^w$ $?u$ $?a$ $tə$ $sduuk^w$
steal 2SG.SUB INT PR NSPEC knife
‘did you steal the knife?’
- (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 172)

- b. ləsčəba? ?ə tə hud
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|----|-------|------|
| ləs- | čəba? | ?ə | tə | hud |
| CONT-laden | PR | | NSPEC | wood |
| ‘she’s shoulder-packing the wood’ | | | | |

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 61)

With the exception of $\sqrt{?aladz}$ ‘care for something’ and $\sqrt{k^wuk^w}cut$ ‘cook something’ (the latter a borrowing based on English *cook*), these bivalent radicals are more or less productive bases for derivation, although as a set they do not show any predictable combinatory patterns, other than that none appears with the causative of activity (Section 2.1.2.4), which normally serves to derive a bivalent intransitive stem from a patient-oriented radical. The only valency-increasing affixes that appear with two of these radicals, \sqrt{qada} ‘steal something’ and $\sqrt{x^wi?x^wi?}$ ‘hunt for something, forage for something’, are secondary suffixes (2.1.3); on the other hand, $\sqrt{?uləx}$ ‘gather something, forage for something’, $\sqrt{čəba?}$ ‘be loaded down with something’, $\sqrt{\lambda}al$ ‘put something on’, $\sqrt{q^wu?}$ ‘be together with something’, and \sqrt{pus} ‘be hit by something (missile)’ each take the internal causative (2.1.2.1 and at least one other valency-increaser. The nominal-complement taking radicals, $\sqrt{šət}$ ‘make something’ and $\sqrt{təx^w}$ ‘buy something’, both combine with the external causative $-tx^w$ (2.1.2.2), and $\sqrt{šət}$ ‘make something’ takes the diminished control causative $-dx^w$ (2.1.2.3) as well.

Because of the reliance of the Lushootseed lexicon on monovalent radicals, and because so many of those radicals have stative or state-like meanings, the language has developed a prolific system of derivational affixation. In total, there are fourteen derivational suffixes and one derivational prefix that are used productively to derive new lexemes from verbal radicals. These affixes fall roughly into two sets — valency-neutral affixes and valency-increasing affixes. The valency-neutral affixes — $dx^w(s)$ - ‘contained’, $-il$ ‘inchoative’, $-b$ ‘middle’, $-ag^wil$ ‘autonomous action’, $-iluł$ ‘purposive’, and $-áb$ ‘method’ — effect a variety of changes in the Actionsart or semantic structure of the event expressed by the radical without affecting the number of event-participants (semantic actants) or syntactic arguments. Valency-increasers, on the other hand,

add semantic and actants and increase the syntactic valency of their bases. In total there are ten of these: *-t* ‘internal causative’, *-tx^w* ‘external causative’, *-dx^w* ‘diminished control causative’, *-b* ‘causative middle’, *-alik^w* ‘causative of activity’, *-c/-s* ‘allative applicative’, plus the secondary suffixes (*-yi-* ‘dative applicative’, *-bi-* ‘middle applicative’, and the fossilized stem formatives *-di-/i-*) which are always combined with another valency-increaser. Related to the category of valency-increasing affixes is the incorporative suffix *-əɬ*, which adds a predicate complement to the valency of its base rather than an NP object. Each of these affixes will be discussed in turn in the sections below, beginning with the valency-neutral affixes (Section 2.1.1) and the valency-increasing (2.1.1.7) and secondary suffixes (2.1.3), followed by a discussion of the incorporative (2.1.4) and an additional affix, the propriative, used to derive verbs from nominal bases (2.1.5).

A single radical can take one or more of both types of affix. A rough indication of the combinatorial potential and relative ordering of these morphemes is given in Figure 1.

-1 <i>dx^{w(s)}- ‘CTD’</i>	0 <i>√R_(V)</i>	1 <i>-il ‘INCH’</i>	2 <i>-b ‘MD’</i> <i>-ag^{wil} ‘AUTO’</i> <i>-alik^w ‘ACT’</i> <i>-ilut ‘PRPV’</i> <i>-əɬ ‘INCRP’</i> <i>-āb ‘MTHD’</i>	3 <i>-tx^w ‘ECS’</i> <i>-dx^w ‘DC’</i>	4 <i>-yi- ‘DAT’</i> <i>-bi- ‘MAP’</i> <i>-di-/i- ‘SS’</i>	5 <i>-t ‘ICS’</i> <i>-c/-s ‘ALTV’</i> <i>-b ‘CSMD’</i>
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Figure 1: Affixal template of the Lushootseed verb stem

The numbered columns indicate relative position of each affix with respect to the radical (R) and the other affixes; these are meant only to indicate linear precedence and don’t necessarily correlate with a particular semantic type of affix, although the valency-neutral affixes are closer to the stem, in Positions 1 and 2. Affixes that occur in the same column are not attested co-occurring in the same stem. Although the template in Figure 1 assigns a specific position to each of the derivational affixes, there is no evidence to date for some of the positions assigned to individual affixes. For instance, there are no forms that show the allative applicative combining with one of the secondary suffixes (Position 4), meaning that it could also have been placed in

Position 3.¹⁰ There are also a few forms such as *cilyialikʷ* ‘dish something out for someone’ and *λ'iq'ači?yibtxʷ* ‘make someone’s hands sticky’ where the affixes show a different order, probably indicating a cyclical diachronic process where morphologically-complex stems become lexicalized enough to be reanalyzed or treated as unanalyzed bases for subsequent derivation.

Not unsurprisingly, the least precise part of the template is that part nearest to the radical — Positions 1 and 2. The suffixes *-ilut* ‘purposive’ and *-ət* ‘incorporative’, for instance, are not attested following other derivational affixes, and so have been placed in either Position 1 or Position 2. The suffix *-áb* ‘method’ is found following at least one stem, *dəqil* ‘crawl’, which, at least historically, contains the inchoative suffix *-il*; however, it may be that this is a fossilized form as far as the morphology is concerned, and that *-áb* appears in Position 1 and is in fact synchronically incompatible with other derivational suffixes. Likewise, forms that contain a number of the possible combinations of Position 1 and 2 suffixes — as well as some of the potential combinations of these with Position 3 affixes — are rare or unattested. Nevertheless, the relative positions of the affixes shown in Figure 1 hold for the vast majority of wordforms, and are probably an accurate depiction of the productive derivational processes of the synchronic grammar.

2.1.1 Valency-neutral verbal affixes

The valency-neutral affixes are derivational affixes that attach to a verbal radical to derive a new lexeme but which leaves its semantic and syntactic valency unchanged. In total there are five of these, one prefix — *dxʷ(s)-* ‘contained’ — and five suffixes — *-il* ‘inchoative’, *-b* ‘middle’, *-agʷil* ‘autonomous action’, *-ilut* ‘purposive’, and *-áb* ‘method’.

¹⁰ There is also only one form, *tupyib* ‘pound something to prepare as food’, which places the causative middle after the secondary suffix *-yi-*; however, this is the only attested form so far that combines a secondary suffix and *-b*, which otherwise seem not to co-occur.

2.1.1.1 Contained $dx^w(s)$ -

The prefix $dx^w(s)$ - ‘contained [CTD]’ is one of the most frequent derivational prefixes in the Lushootseed lexicon and is found as part of a great many verb stems. Its basic meaning is to indicate that something is contained while undergoing the process expressed by its base:

- (4) a. ?uhəd čəd

?u-həd čəd
pfv-warm 1sg.sub
'I got warmed up (after being outside)'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 107)

- b. putəx^w dx^wshəd tı?ə? č'ič'ič'λ'a? səshudčupyids

put=əx^w dx^ws-həd tı?ə? č'i-č'i-č'λ'a? s=?əs-hud•čup-yi-d=s
PTCL=now CTD=warm PROX ATTN-ATTN-stone NM=burn•fire-DAT-ICS=3PO
'the stones she had put in the fire for them were very hot now'

[DM Basket Ogress, line 67]

- c. ɬudx^wshədiləx^w tı?ə? č'λ'a?

ɬu=dx^ws-həd-il=əx^w tı?ə? č'λ'a?
IRR=CTD=warm-INCH=now PROX stone
'the stones will warm up in there (the fire)'

[LA Basket Ogress, line 66]

In forms such as $dx^wshəd$ in (4b), the containment is fairly literal (in a fire pit); in other cases the containment is more figurative, often psychological (e.g., $dx^wč'λ'aq'wacut$ ‘be troubled’, $dx^wsq'wacdx^w$ ‘doubt someone’) or having to do with some inherent feature of an object ($dx^wč'λ'ačəb$ ‘be tart, be strong (coffee)’ from $\sqrt{č'λ'ač}$ ‘be sharp’). Many verbs expressing actions associated with water are formed with $dx^w(s)$ - as well — e.g., $dx^wbəčəb$ ‘sink, drown’, $dx^wčəcəb$ ‘be red (water)’, $dx^wqələbil$ ‘be turbid (water)’, $dx^wšələb$ ‘look at something through water’.

In addition to being one of the more frequent derivational prefixes, $dx^w(s)$ - is one of the most difficult to analyze, primarily because it has three separate allomorphs — [dx^ws-], [dx^w-], and [x^w-] — which appear to be to a certain extent in free variation with one another: the form of the affix chosen for use with a particular base varies both among dialects and amongst individual speakers of the same dialect. The waters are muddied further by the fact that each of these

allomorphs is homophonous with another affix that must be treated, at least synchronically, as a separate morpheme — specifically, [*dx^ws-*] is homophonous with *dx^ws-* ‘proclivitive’ (Section 2.2.1), [*dx^w-*] is homophonous with the directional particle *dx^w* (2.7.2), and [*x^w-*] is homophonous with *x^w-* ‘container’ (2.2.5); *dx^w(s)-* is also part of the expression of the desiderative, discussed below in Section 8.5 (see Hess 1971 for a thorough comparison of these affixes). Historically, at least some attestations of *dx^w(s)-* are probably analyzable as *dx^w-* plus the *s*=nominalizer, and much of the modern-day variation between [*dx^ws-*] and [*dx^w-*] may be the result of the neutralization of what were diachronically different structures: as the two collapsed into a single morpheme, dialects and speakers began to reanalyze what were once **dx^w-s-* forms (these being, perhaps in some cases, clause-level nominalizations) as [*dx^w-*], or vice versa. The same diachronic processes may also account for the origins of some or all of the homophonous affixes, although all of these possibilities await a careful etymological analysis and reconstruction.

dx^w(s)- interacts morphophonemically with the stative aspectual prefix *?əs-*:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (5) a. ?udx ^w yaλ' | b. ?əx ^w yaλ' |
| ?u-dx ^w -yaλ' | ?əs-dx ^w -yaλ' |
| PFV-CTD-dipped.out | STAT-CTD-dipped.out |
| ‘it got filled with water’ | ‘it is filled with water’ |
- (Hess 1998: 26)

The resultant form is found with all three allomorphs of *dx^w(s)-*, as well as in the stative forms of desiderative expressions (Section 8.5).

A number of stems formed with *dx^w(s)-* are given in Table 10:

<i>dx^wbəčəb</i> ‘sink, drown’	(√ <i>bəč</i> ‘be lying, be fallen from standing’)
<i>cəb</i> ‘be ad’ ‘sink ⊗’	(√ <i>bəč</i> ‘be lying, be fallen from standing’)
<i>dx^wčəcab</i> ‘be red (water)’	(√ <i>čəc</i> ‘red’; cf. <i>xičəc</i> ‘red’)
<i>dx^wdigʷid</i> ‘advise ⊗’	(^o √ <i>dikʷ</i> ‘be advised’; cf. <i>dikʷdx^w</i> ‘instruct ⊗’)
<i>dx^wp'əq'</i> ‘be filled with drifting things’	(√ <i>p'əq'</i> ‘drift’)
<i>dx^wpədəb</i> ‘have dust-covered water inside’	(√ <i>pəd</i> ‘be dirty, be buried’)
<i>dx^wqədəd</i> ‘cuckhold ⊗’	(^o √ <i>qdəd</i> ‘fornicate’; cf. <i>qədəb</i> ‘have illicit sex with ⊗’)
<i>dx^wqəlbil</i> ‘be turbid (water)’	(√ <i>qəlb</i> ‘(to)rain’)
<i>dx^wshəd</i> ‘be hot in container; be hot (weather)’	(√ <i>həd</i> ‘be hot’)
<i>dx^wshədil</i> ‘heat up in container; get hot (weather)’	(from √ <i>həd</i> ‘be hot’ + <i>-il</i> ‘inchoative’)
<i>dx^wšab</i> ‘dry out (container or body of water)’	(√ <i>šab</i> ‘be dry’)
<i>dx^wšələb</i> ‘look at ⊗ through water’	(√ <i>šut</i> ‘appear, be visible’)

<i>dxʷt'iqʷəb</i> ‘be murky (water)’	(<i>ʷv̥t'iqʷ</i> ‘be smoky/murky’; cf. <i>t'iqʷalikʷ</i> ‘smoke ⊗ (meat)’)
<i>dxʷt'iqʷil</i> ‘get murky (water)’	(from <i>ʷv̥t'iqʷ</i> ‘be smoky/murky’ + <i>-il</i> ‘inchoative’)
<i>dxʷxʷaqʷaq</i> ‘be troubled’	(<i>v̥xʷaqʷ</i> ‘be worried, be preoccupied’)
<i>dxʷxʷədʒəb</i> ‘be tart, be strong (coffee)’	(<i>v̥xʷəc</i> ‘be sharp’ + <i>-b</i> ‘middle’)
<i>dxʷyaλ</i> ‘be filled with water’	(<i>yaλ'əb</i> ‘carry water’ based on <i>ʷyāλ</i> ‘be dipped out’)
<i>xʷtučʷtučʷalikʷ</i> ‘(spider) stretches ⊗ (web)’	(<i>ʷv̥tučʷ</i> ‘be stretched’; cf. <i>tučʷud</i> ‘stretch ⊗’)
<i>xʷtučʷud</i> ‘(spider) stretches ⊗ (web)’	(<i>tučʷud</i> ‘stretch ⊗’)

Table 10: Stems formed with *dxʷ(s)-*

To this list could also be added less transparent verbal forms such as *dxʷət'əb* ‘be clear’, *dxʷbilcəb* ‘fall on rump’, *dxʷəhad* ‘talk over’, *dxʷsačəbiləxʷ* ‘beginning to get bitter’ (based on *sax* ‘scrape’), *dxʷt'acəbiləxʷ* ‘beginning to get bitter’, *dxʷkʷədibət* ‘make off with someone else’s wife or girlfriend’ (based on *v̥kʷəd* ‘be held, be taken’), *dxʷk'ic'id* ‘eviscerate something’, *dxʷsaqtxʷ* ‘make motions as if to hit someone’, and *dxʷsəlpaləwəpəd* ‘use a fire-making drill’ (based on *v̥səlp* ‘spin’). *dxʷ(s)-* also appears in one or two nominal expressions — for example, *dxʷsacəb* ‘rapids’, *dxʷšula?kʷčup* ‘drill for making fire’ (based on *v̥šul* ‘be pushed in’ + *-čup* ‘fire’) — none of which is completely analyzable. In addition, it is found in a pair of verbal stems with an idiomatic meaning — *dxʷsqʷəl* ‘be hot (weather)’ and *dxʷsqʷəlil* ‘get hot (weather)’ (from *v̥qʷəl* ‘be cooked, be ripe’) (cf. *dxʷshəd* ‘be hot in container; be hot (weather)’ and *dxʷshədil* ‘heat up in container; get hot (weather)’ in Table 10). There are also two forms — *dxʷsqʷacdxʷ* ‘doubt someone’ and *dxʷshaydxʷ* ‘know something’ — that appear in the texts with *dxʷ(s)-* but are also well-attested without the prefix (as *qʷacdxʷ* ‘doubt someone’ and *haydxʷ* ‘know something’, respectively). There is no obvious distinction in meaning between the plain and prefixed forms, although both verbs obviously have a certain inherent (psychological) internality, making the prefix superfluous and allowing for the co-existence of two competing synonymous or near-synonymous forms. Hess (1971) reports that in many cases forms of the same stem with and without *dxʷ(s)-* are deemed to be synonymous by speakers.

One feature of *dxʷ(s)-* that has attracted the attention of researchers is the ways in which it interacts with lexical suffixes (Section 2.1.6). Forms which combine *dxʷ(s)-* and a lexical suffix

fall into three categories. The first of these are transparent constructions in which both affixes have their usual meanings, such as those in (6):

- (6) a. *dxʷc'agʷəli?əd*
dxʷ-c'agʷ-əli?-əd
 CTD-washed•ear-ICS
 ‘she washed his ears out’
- b. *dxʷc'ibwild tə ɬa?x*
dxʷ-c'ib-wil-d *tə* *ɬa?x*
 CTD-lick•canoe-ICS NSPEC small.bowl
 ‘lick the pan’

In (6a), the lexical suffix *-əli?* ‘ear; side of head’ (a reduced form of *-aladi?*) has its usual function, specifying the active zone of the action on the PATIENT’s body, while *dxʷ(s)-* (here, [*dxʷ-*]) expresses the fact that the washing took place (or at least included) the inside of the PATIENT’s ears. Similarly, *dxʷ(s)-* in (6b) indicates that the AGENT is to lick the inside of the pan, which is further specified by the suffix *-wil* ‘canoe; narrow passage’ (a reduced form of *-gʷit* whose final consonant has been voiced by the following suffix). Similar expressions are found throughout the corpus. This category of transparent *dxʷ(s)-* + lexical suffix constructions might also include (or at least be the source of) one or two nominal expressions such as *dxʷ?ilalədi?* ‘cheek’ (lit. ‘inside the edge (*?il*) of the side of the head’) and *dxʷba?wit* ‘wide canoe’ (based on *ba?* ‘be wide’). As noted in Hess (1971), two lexical suffixes — *-aci?* ‘hand’ and *-šəd* ‘lower leg’ — never appear in conjunction with *dxʷ(s)-*, possibly because these bodyparts are already highly specific, or because — as body extremities — they are peripheral rather than central to the body and so are not compatible the notion of internality or containment.

The next category of *dxʷ(s)-* + lexical suffix constructions is the set of conventionalized combinations which have a specialized meaning:

<i>dxʷ- -qid</i> ‘voice’	<i>-qid</i> ‘head’
<i>dxʷ- -qs</i> ‘nose’	<i>-qs</i> ‘point’
<i>dxʷ- -ucid</i> ‘language’	<i>-ucid</i> ‘mouth’
<i>dxʷ- -us</i> ‘face’ or ‘hair’	<i>-us</i> ‘top, upper’

Table 11: Conventionalized lexical suffix combinations with *dxʷ(s)-*

While the diachronic path for each of these combinations is fairly clear (the voice is contained within the head, the nose is in the centre of the face, etc.), synchronically these pairs of affixes have the function of ordinary lexical suffixes. All of the attestations of the prefix in this combination in the present corpus are of the [dx^w-] allomorph.

Finally, there are half a dozen lexical suffixes which are unattested without dx^w(s)-:

- dx^w- -ap/-ah ‘bottom, rump’
- dx^w- -apsəb ‘neck, nape’
- dx^w- -igʷəd ‘inside, interior’
- dx^w- -wič ‘back’
- dx^w- -yačad ‘hinged door’
- dx^w- -yuqʷ ‘throat’

Table 12: Lexical suffixes requiring dx^w(s)-

In these forms, dx^w(s)- seems to be entirely bleached of its meaning and is simply part of the lexical affix. All of the attestations of the prefix in this combination in the present corpus are also of the [dx^w-] allomorph.

2.1.1.2 Inchoative -il

One of the most frequent derivational affixes found on verbs is -il ‘inchoative [INCH]’ which, when affixed to a monovalent radical expressing a state X, creates a monovalent stem expressing the meaning ‘come into state X’.¹¹

- (7) a. wəli? x'usəsa?li? ?al ti?it x'uq'il'bids sxʷi?xʷi?s əlgʷə?
wəli? x'u-s-?əs-sa?li? ?al ti?it x'u-q'il'bid-s s=xʷi?xʷi?=s əlgʷə?
visible HAB-STAT-two PR DIST HAB-canoe-3PO NM=hunt=3PO PL
‘the usual two hunting in their canoe [will] be visible’

(Hess 2006: 49, line 187)

¹¹ More accurately, this affix could be characterized as a *transmutative*, which Mel'čuk (1993-2000: vol. 2, 349) defines as a morpheme expressing the meaning ‘to begin to be [X]’. This is as opposed to his definition of the inchoative, ‘to begin [X]’. In this sense, a transmutative is a particular case of an inchoative which in most languages would apply to an adjective (state) whereas the typical inchoative applies to a verb (process). Given that Lushootseed does not distinguish between these two word classes — and that there is no contrasting affix to -il that correspond to the more typical “verbal” inchoative — the more general (and generally recognized) term has been chosen here in line with most other work on Lushootseed (with the exception of Beck 1996) and other Salishan languages.

- b. ?uwəli?iləx^w stab hik^w əw'ə xpay'ac ti?ə? ləsax^wəbtəx^w əlg^wə?
 ?u-wəli?-il=əx^w stab hik^w əw'ə xpay'ac ti?ə? lə=sax^wəb-tx^w əlg^wə?
 PFV-visible-INCH-now what big PTCL cedar PROX PROG=run-ECS PL
 'that which was the big cedar tree that ran off with them appeared'
 (Hess 2006: 53, line 268)

A representative sample of verbs from synchronically analyzable bases is given in Table 13:

?acig ^w ədil 'be inside of'	(from ?/əc 'centre' + -ig ^w əd 'body')
?a?il 'come to be in a place'	(√?a 'be there')
?alil 'come to the point where'	(√?al 'on, at')
?i?abil 'become wealthy'	(?/i?ab 'be wealthy'; cf. s?i?ab 'noble person')
?udəg ^w ičil 'get into middle of house'	(from ?/udəg ^w 'centre' + -ič 'covering') ¹²
bək ^w il 'get used up, be done exhaustively'	(√bək ^w 'all, completely') ¹²
bič il 'get crushed'	(?/bič 'be smashed, be crumbled'; cf. bič id 'smash ⊗')
buusil 'become four'	(√buus 'four')
čadil 'become hidden, hide self'	(√čac 'be hidden'; cf. čacx ^w 'hide ⊗')
čag ^w il 'get out to sea'	(√ča?k ^w 'seaward')
čcil 'turn red'	(?/čc 'be red'; cf. xičac 'red')
č'itil 'draw near'	(√č'it 'nearby')
dilil 'go off a-ways'	(√di? 'on the other side')
duk ^w il 'become strange, become supernatural'	(√duk ^w 'be abnormal')
gəqil 'become dazzling; clear up [weather]'	(?/gəq 'shining'; cf. gəqəb '[sun] shines')
ha?il 'become good'	(√ha?l 'good') ¹³
hadil 'warm up'	(√had 'be warm')
həli?il 'become well, heal'	(√hali? 'be alive')
hig ^w il 'become noble'	(√hik ^w 'big') ¹⁴
hiqil 'get pushed up'	(?/hiq 'be pushed'; cf. hiqid 'push ⊗')
huyil 'become'	(√huy 'be done, be made, be finished')
jūil 'have a good time, be happy'	(?/jū? 'be glad'; cf. ju?id 'entertain ⊗')
k ^w illil 'peer'	(√k ^w il 'peek')
laqil 'become last'	(√laq 'be last')
ləli?il 'become different'	(√ləli? 'be different')
lačil 'get light, get bright'	(√lač 'be light, be bright')
luč il 'grow old, grow up'	(√luč 'be old')
talil 'get out of fire'	(?/tal 'be removed from fire'; cf. talš 'remove ⊗ from fire')
tačil 'get dark'	(√tač 'be dark')
λ'ubil 'get better'	(√λ'ub 'good, well') ¹⁵
qahil 'become a lot'	(√qah 'be a lot')
q ^w atil 'become laid out'	(√q ^w at 'be lying; snow falls')
q ^w əq ^w il 'turn white'	(?/q ^w əq ^w 'be white'; cf. xiq ^w əq ^w 'white')
q ^w iq ^w il 'become strong'	(√q ^w iq ^w 'be strong')
q ^w əlil 'get hot'	(√q ^w əl 'be cooked, be ripe')
sa?il 'get in trouble'	(√sa? 'be bad')
šqil 'rise up'	(√šq 'be high')

¹² This radical is grouped more properly with the adverbs, though it is included here because in terms of its derivational properties it patterns with verbal radicals.

¹³ This radical is grouped more properly with the adverbs, though it is included here because in terms of its derivational properties it patterns with verbal radicals.

¹⁴ See fn. 8 above.

¹⁵ This radical is grouped more properly with the adverbs, though it is included here because in terms of its derivational properties it patterns with verbal radicals.

<i>šuk'w'il</i> ‘turn grey’	(<i>√šuk'w</i> ‘powder’)
<i>tudəqil</i> ‘become enslaved’	(^o <i>√tudəq</i> ‘be enslaved’; cf. <i>studəq</i> ‘slave’)
<i>t'ag'wil</i> ‘get on top’	(<i>√t'ag'w</i> ‘be on top’)
<i>wəli?il</i> ‘become visible’	(<i>√wəli?</i> ‘be visible, be apparent’)
<i>xʷi?il</i> ‘become non-existent’	(<i>√xʷi?</i> ‘no, not’) ¹⁶

Table 13: Stems formed with *-il*

In addition to these verbs, there are a great many stems that appear to be formed from the combination of the inchoative and a verbal radical which is never attested without *-il*. These include a number of verbs of motion (e.g., *xʷit'il* ‘fall, descend’, *gʷəcil* ‘wade’, *ṭalil* ‘go ashore’), posture (*gʷədil* ‘sit down’, *tudzil* ‘bend forward’, *tədzil* ‘lie in bed’), and mental or physical states (*ħicil* ‘get angry’, *xʷak'wil* ‘be tired’), as well as a considerable number of miscellaneous stems (*hiwil* ‘go ahead’, *ħ'uil* ‘become thin’). While forms such as these are synchronically unanalyzable, they are almost certainly derived diachronically from inchoative forms.

Stems formed with the inchoative are frequently used as bases for further derivation through the addition of valency-increasing affixes (Section 2.1.1.6). Combinations of *-il* and the internal causative *-t* include *šuk'wild* ‘grey something’ (from *šuk'wil* ‘turn grey’ based on *√šuk'w* ‘powder’) and *?a?ild* ‘put somewhere’ (from *?a?il* ‘come to be in a place’ based on *√?a* ‘be in a place’). The stem *qʷəliltxʷ* ‘warm something up’ (*√qʷəl* ‘be cooked, be ripe’, via *qʷəlil* ‘get hot’) is based on the external causative, *-txʷ*, as is *qəliltxʷ* ‘stop, warn’ (from *√qəl* ‘be stopped’), although there is no intermediary form, **qəlil*. The diminished control causative, *-dxʷ*, combines with the inchoative in forms such as *dukʷildxʷ* ‘distrust someone’ (from *dukʷil* ‘become strange’ based on *√dukʷ* ‘be a-normal’), *bəkʷildxʷ* ‘managed to finish something’ (from *bəkʷil* ‘be finished off’ based on *√bəkʷ* ‘all, completely’), and *qʷiq'ʷildxʷ* ‘strengthen something’ (from *qʷiq'ʷil* ‘become strong’ based on *√qʷiq'ʷ* ‘strong’). In addition, there are a variety of forms

¹⁶ This radical is grouped more properly with the adverbs, though it is included here because in terms of its derivational properties it patterns with verbal radicals.

such as *p'a?xʷəbilitxʷ* ‘disfavour someone’ which appear to contain both the inchoative and one of the valency-increasers (in this case, *-txʷ*), but which are not synchronically analyzable.

Stems formed with *-il* also appear to serve as bases for the middle *-b* (Section 2.1.1.3), as in *t'asbil* ‘pay for something’ (from *ʷt'as*), *?ukʷukʷilb* ‘get involved in play’ (*√?ukʷukʷ* ‘play’), and *qadaʔilb* ‘be stealing something, go around stealing something’ (*√qada?* ‘steal something’). All of these stems have activity reading typical of middle forms in Lushootseed and other languages, and in none of these cases is there an intermediate inchoative form (i.e., **t'asəb*, **?ukʷukʷil*, or **qadaʔil*).

With two fairly common radicals, *√pus* ‘be hit with something (missile), have something thrown at one’ and *√t'uc* ‘be shot, be shot at’, the inchoative has a rather idiosyncratic effect on the government pattern of its base, as in (8):

- (8) a. ?upus čəd ?o ti *baseball*
 ?u-pus čəd ?o ti baseball
 PFV-be.thrown.at 1SG.SUB PR SPEC baseball
 ‘I got hit by a baseball’
- b. ?upusil čəd ?o ti ?əsbulužʷilc
 ?u-pus-il čəd ?o ti ?əs-bulužʷ-ilc
 PFV-be.thrown.at-INCH 1SG.SUB PR SPEC STAT-be.round-round.thing
 ‘I threw the ball’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 164)

The first example shows the bivalent intransitive radical *√pus* ‘be hit with something (missile)’, which takes as its subject the expression of the GOAL and as its oblique object the expression of the INSTRUMENT. When *-il* is added to this radical, the resulting stems takes as its subject an AGENT (which is not expressible in clauses formed on the bare radical). The GOAL is not expressible with this stem, and the INSTRUMENT continues to be realized as an oblique object. A similar pattern is seen with *√t'uc* ‘be shot, be shot at’:

- (9) a. ?ut'uc' čəd
 ?u-t'uc' čəd
 PFV–get.shot 1SG.SUB
 'I got shot'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 241)

- b. ?ut'uc' il čəd ?ə ti?ił t'isəd¹⁷
 ?u-t'uc' –il čəd ?ə ti?ił t'isəd
 PFV–get.shot–INCH 1SG.SUB PR DIST arrow
 'I shot an arrow'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 131, ex. 21)

Unlike *√pus*, *√t'uc'* seems to be monovalent, or at any rate unattested with an oblique object expressing an INSTRUMENT. However, the inchoative form of the radical shows the same government pattern as the inchoative of *√pus*, and shows the same replacement of a subject expressing a GOAL with the bare radical by a subject expressing an AGENT in the inchoative. Both of these forms can then be transitivized with the diminished control suffix *-dxʷ*:

- (10) a. ?upusildxʷ čəd ti ?əsbulužʷilc
 ?u-pus–il–dxʷ čəd ti ?əs–bulužʷ•ilc
 PFV–be.thrown.at–INCH–DC 1SG.SUB NSPEC STAT–be.round•round.thing
 'I threw a ball'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 164)

- b. ?ut'uc' il dxʷ čəd ti?ił t'isəd
 ?u-t'uc' –il–dxʷ čəd ti?ił t'isəd
 PFV–get.shot–INCH–DC 1SG.SUB DIST arrow
 'I shot an arrow'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 130, ex. 16)

This pattern is not found with any other stems — or with any other affixes — in the language.

In addition to its role as a verb-formative, *-il* is also a part of a number of interesting morphosyntactic constructions. One of these involves the combination of the inchoative with numerals and the classifier *-ał*, used for counting time, to form expressions such as *tixʷałil* ‘be/happen three times’, *buusalil* ‘be/happen four times’. The inchoative also combines with the

¹⁷ Note that a variant of this sentence, *?ut'uc' il čəd ti?ił t'isəd*, in which the INSTRUMENT is expressed as a direct object, appears in the *Lushootseed Dictionary* (p. 242). This form, attested only from a single consultant, is now considered suspect by Hess as it was elicited under duress via translation/elicitation. This government pattern of the stem has not turned up in spontaneous utterances, in examples provided by other speakers, or in texts.

negative incorporative predicate *xʷət* ‘not have something’ to form the predicate *xʷət̪il* ‘run out of something’:

- (11) a. ?əsxʷət̪ talə čət̪
 ?əs-xʷət̪ talə čət̪
 STAT-not.have money 1PL.SUB
 ‘we don’t have money’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 252)

- b. ?uxʷət̪iləxʷ əlgʷə? s?ət̪ed
 ?u-xʷət̪-il=əxʷ əlgʷə? s?ət̪ed
 PFV-not.have-INCH=now PL food
 ‘they ran out of food’

[AW Basket Ogress, line 17]

These predicate-complement structures are discussed further in Section 8.2.5.

2.1.1.3 Middle -b

The valency-neutral middle marker *-b* ‘middle [MD]’ is used to form verb stems denoting activities, processes, and other event-types identified by Kemmer (1993) as belonging to the semantic domain of the middle in a wide range of languages. In its most productive use, the valency-neutral middle is added to a verbal radical to form a monovalent intransitive stem as in (12), where the middle marker has been added to the stative radical *vluλ* ‘be old’ (12a) to create a process verb *luλ'ab* ‘age, grow old’ (12b):

- (12) a. λ'αl' čəd bəluλ' xʷəl'ab ?ə dəgʷi?
 λ'αl' čəd bə=luλ' xʷul'ab ?ə dəgʷi?
 also 1SG.SUB ADD=old just.like PR you
 ‘I’m as old as you’

- b. λ'αl' čəxʷ t̪ubəluλ'ab xʷul'ab ?ə ?əca
 λ'αl' čəxʷ t̪u=bə=luλ'-ab xʷul'ab ?ə ?əca
 also 1SG.SUB IRR=ADD=old-MD just.like PR you
 ‘you too are going to get old like me’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 139)

As in this example, the middle suffix is most regularly found associated with verbal radicals. A number of middle forms of this type are given in Table 14:

?a?əb ‘be in a certain place’ (*v?ə* ‘be there’)

<i>baqʷu?b</i> ‘snow’	(<i>/baqʷu?</i> ‘be snow-covered’)
<i>ckʷab</i> ‘be taut’	(<i>/cikʷ</i> ‘be straight, be tautened’)
<i>čagʷəb</i> ‘be at sea’	(<i>/čaʔkʷ</i> ‘seaward’)
<i>dxʷbəčəb</i> ‘sink’	(<i>/bəč</i> ‘be lying, be fallen from standing’)
<i>dəλ̥əb</i> ‘get confused’	(<i>/dəλ̥əb</i> ‘be confused’)
<i>gəqəb</i> ‘[sun] shines’	(<i>"/gəq</i> ‘shining’; cf. <i>gəqil</i> ‘clear up [weather]’)
<i>ha?ləb</i> ‘be nice [weather]’	(<i>/ha?l̥</i> ‘good’) ¹⁸
<i>had?iwb</i> ‘go inside’	(<i>/had?iwb</i> ‘be inside a house’)
<i>kʷalč'əb</i> ‘bend self backwards’	(<i>"/kʷalč'</i> ‘be bent backwards’; cf. <i>kʷalč'ad</i> ‘bend \otimes backwards’)
<i>luλ̥əb</i> ‘age’	(<i>/luλ̥</i> ‘be old’)
<i>p'iləb</i> ‘go flat’	(<i>/p'il</i> ‘be flat’)
<i>p'q'ad̥əb</i> ‘be rotting [log]’	(<i>/p'q'ac</i> ‘rotten log’)
<i>qʷcab</i> ‘slip’	(<i>/qʷc</i> ‘slide, slip’)
<i>šabəb</i> ‘dry out’	(<i>/šab</i> ‘be dry’)
<i>yaλ̥əb</i> ‘carry water’	(<i>"/yaλ̥</i> ‘be dry’; cf. <i>yaλ̥ad</i> ‘scoop up \otimes (water)’)
<i>yəcəb</i> ‘report on \otimes ’	(<i>"/yəc</i> ‘report on \otimes ; cf. <i>yəcəd</i> ‘report \otimes ’)

Table 14: Monovalent intransitive stems formed with -b

These verb stems express events of a range of semantic types including states (*ckʷab* ‘be taut’, *čagʷəb* ‘be at sea’), processes (*luλ̥əb* ‘age’, *p'iləb* ‘go flat’), activities (*yaλ̥əb* ‘carry water’), non-translational motion (*dxʷbəčəb* ‘sink’, *kʷalč'əb* ‘bend self backwards’), and meteorological expressions (*baqʷu?b* ‘snow’, *gəqəb* ‘[sun] shines’, *ha?ləb* ‘be nice [weather]’). In addition to the analyzable forms shown in Table 14, there is a very large number of monovalent verbs that end in *-b* whose radicals are otherwise unattested (or are attested only in forms with *-b*). These include expressions of properties (e.g., *qʷagʷəb* ‘be sweet’, *čapəb* ‘be sour’, *λ̥atəb* ‘be salty’, *sad̥əb* ‘be tall’), body actions and non-translational motion (*čədəb* ‘shiver’, *saxʷəb* ‘jump, sprint’), and certain meteorological expressions (*qəlb* ‘rain’, *pahəd* ‘be hazy’).

In several forms in Table 14, the middle marker derives verbs that denote an actor being in or coming into the state denoted by the radical. This use seems to overlap with the inchoative *-il* (Section 2.1.1.2), although there are a few pairs of stems formed from the same radical such as *ha?ləb* ‘be nice [weather]’ vs. *ha?lil* ‘turn nice [weather]’ and *luλ̥əb* ‘age’ vs. *luλ̥il* ‘grow up’. Judging from the contrast between these pairs, the *-b* forms seem to refer more to the state and the fact that the actor is in that state, whereas the *-il* forms are more telic and focus on the

¹⁸ See fn. 13 above.

achievement of the state denoted by the radical. However, there are relatively few such pairs and most stative radicals that have inchoative or inchoative-like forms take either one or the other of the two affixes; how predictable the selection of affix is from the semantics of the radical is a topic for future investigation.

As revealed by the set of forms in Table 14, the valency-neutral middle *-b* has two regular allomorphs, [-*b*] and [-ə*b*], the former following vowels and approximants, and the latter following obstruents. Even in the small sample shown here there are a few idiosyncratic forms. The first of these is ?*a?*ə*b* ‘be in a certain place’ from √?*a* ‘be there’; however, some speakers use the form √?*a?* ‘be there’ instead of √?*a*, indicating that ?*a?*ə*b* was probably a regular form for all speakers in the not-too-distant past. Two of the stems in Table 14 — *ckʷab* ‘be taut’ (from √*cikʷ* ‘be straight, be tautened’) and *qʷcab* ‘slip’ (from √*qʷc* ‘slide, slip’) — have an /*a*/ following the radical. This element is identified by Hess (1967a: 34) and Hess & Hilbert (1976: II, 152) as a stem formative, although its semantic contribution to the derived form remains obscure (see Section 2.1.6 below for further discussion).

A second class of middle forms involves the combination of the middle marker, a radical, and a lexical suffix (Section 2.1.6). Those forms in which the lexical suffix has a literal meaning have parallel transitive expressions with an overt NP argument:

- (13) a. ?uc'agʷad ti?ił čaləs
 ?u-c'agʷ-a-d ti?ił čaləs-s
 PFV-wash-ICS DIST hand-3PO
 ‘s/he washed her/his hands’

(Hess 1998: 16, ex. c)

- b. ?uc'agʷači?b
 ?u-c'agʷ-ači?-b
 PFV-wash-hand-MD
 ‘s/he washed her/his hands’

(Hess 1998: 16, ex. b)

The bodypart expressed by the lexical suffix in such forms belongs to the AGENT/subject of the sentence. Verbs derived in this way are monovalent and intransitive. While most such forms are quite transparent, denoting an action taken by the AGENT/subject of the sentence involving a part of its own body, a number of verbs of this type (e.g., *tiʔlida(hə)b* ‘troll’ from *vlid* ‘be tied’ + *-ah* ‘bottom’, *xʷəbaladiʔəb* ‘toss head side to side’ from *ʷxʷəb* ‘be thrown’ + *-adi?* ‘ear’) have figurative meanings. Middles formed with lexical suffixes constitute a very large class of verb stems; a sample of these is given in Table 15:

<i>?abac̥iʔəb</i> ‘extend hands’	(<i>ʷvʔab</i> ‘be extended’ + <i>-aci?</i> ‘hand’)
<i>?abšədəb</i> ‘extend legs’	(<i>ʷvʔab</i> ‘be extended’ + <i>-šəd</i> ‘leg’)
<i>c'agʷačiʔəb</i> ‘wash hands’	(<i>vč'ačkʷ</i> ‘be washed’ + <i>-aci?</i> ‘hand’)
<i>dxʷqʷalusəb</i> ‘paint face’	(<i>ʷqʷal</i> ‘be marked, be painted’ + <i>-us</i> ‘face’)
<i>dakʷaab</i> ‘wag tail’	(<i>ʷdakʷ</i> ‘be shaky’ + <i>-ah</i> ‘bottom’)
<i>hədaciʔəb</i> ‘warm up hands’	(<i>vhad</i> ‘be warm’ + <i>-aci?</i> ‘hand’)
<i>tiʔlida(hə)b</i> ‘troll’	(<i>vlid</i> ‘be tied’ + <i>-ah</i> ‘bottom’)
<i>λ'ac'ahob</i> ‘cinch up belt’	(<i>ʷλ'ac</i> ‘be cinched up’ + <i>-ah</i> ‘bottom’)
<i>λ'iq'aciʔbtixʷ</i> ‘give sticky hands’	(<i>ʷλ'iq</i> ‘be sticky’ + <i>-aci?</i> ‘hand’)
<i>šəqlaxədəb</i> ‘raise arms’	(<i>všq</i> ‘be high’ + <i>-l-axəd</i> ‘arm’)
<i>təq'aliadiʔəb</i> ‘slap sides of head’	(<i>ʷtəq</i> ‘be slapped’ + <i>-al-adi?</i> ‘ear’)
<i>χəqšadəb</i> ‘wrap legs’	(<i>ʷχq</i> ‘be wrapped, be tied’ + <i>-šad</i> ‘leg’)
<i>xʷəbaladiʔəb</i> ‘toss head side to side’	(<i>ʷxʷəb</i> ‘be thrown’ + <i>-al-adi?</i> ‘ear’)

Table 15: Middle forms with lexical suffixes

As the lexical suffixes are uniformly consonant-final, these forms require the [-əb] allomorph of *-b*; however, in allegro speech forms such as *c'agʷačiʔəb* ‘wash hands’ and *xʷəbaladiʔəb* ‘toss head side to side’ have slightly reduced forms — *c'agʷačib* (or *c'agʷači?*) and *xʷəbaladib* (or *xʷəbaladi?*), respectively. These forms, rather than the full forms, frequently appear in texts, reflecting the storyteller’s actual pronunciation.

In addition to combining with verbal radicals, *-b* is also found associated with a few nominal stems, given in Table 16:

<i>bəda?</i> əb ‘have ⊗ (child)’	(<i>vbəda?</i> ‘offspring’)
<i>bəlalwəb</i> ‘tag along’	(<i>vbəlalwə?</i> ‘navel’)
<i>bəšč'adəb</i> ‘have lice’	(<i>vbšč'ad</i> ‘louse’)
<i>d'ulču?</i> əb ‘get bigger (waves)’	(<i>vd'ulču?</i> ‘wave (water)’)
<i>kəpuu</i> ‘wear coat’	(<i>vkəpu</i> ‘coat’)
<i>p'q'adzəb</i> ‘be rotting [log]’	(<i>vp'q'ac</i> ‘rotten log’)
<i>?uqʷ'a?</i> əb ‘get younger sibling’	(<i>vuqʷ'a?</i> ‘younger sibling’)

Table 16: Middle forms based on nouns

The semantic effect of the middle suffix in these forms is rather idiosyncratic, ranging from a semantic shift fairly typical of middles — ‘N’ > ‘have/use N’ (e.g., *vbšč’ad* ‘louse’ > *bəšč’adəb* ‘have lice’, *vkəpu* ‘coat’ > *kəpuub* ‘wear coat’, *vsuq’ʷa?* ‘younger sibling’ > *?uq’ʷa?əb* ‘get younger sibling’) — to entirely idiomatic shifts (*vbəlalwə?* ‘navel’ > *bəlalwəb* ‘tag along’). In one case, *bəda?əb* ‘have something (child)’, the application of the middle seems to have created a bivalent intransitive verb, a syntactic effect more commonly associated with the causative middle *-b* (Section 2.1.2.4) (although in other respects this form is by no means a causative).

It should be noted here that the causative middle, *-b*, is treated in this grammar as a separate morpheme from the valency-neutral middle suffix, based both on the distinct morphophonemics of the two affixes, and their very different semantic and syntactic effects on their bases. As noted above, the valency-neutral middle attaches directly to stems that take a harmonic vowel in the presence of the internal causative *-t* (Section 2.1.2.1), while the causative middle triggers the epenthesis of the harmonic vowel. Whereas the valency-neutral middle in most cases has no effect on the valency of its base, the causative middle adds an AGENT, realized as a syntactic subject, creating a bivalent intransitive stem that takes the former subject of the radical as an oblique object. The causative middle also adds an element of the AGENT acting in its own interest which is lacking in the semantics of stems formed with the valency-neutral middle, although — as shown by Kemmer (1993) — the notion of an AGENT acting on itself or in its own interests is also a cross-linguistically typical part of middle semantics. The two suffixes are, of course, almost certainly cognates, as witnessed by the same range of uses and behaviours shown by the cognate suffixes (*-m* in most cases) in other Salishan languages. The fact that the middle has split into what are essentially two different morphemes from an analytical point of view is not surprising, given the erratic behaviour that has been documented for middle-markers in a wide range of languages, including familiar cases such as the Spanish *se* or the Russian *-s’ja* (Kemmer

1993). Nevertheless, in spite of their common diachronic origins, it is easier descriptively to treat the two *-b* suffixes in Lushootseed as separate morphemes.

The same is true of the passive suffix (Section 6.2), which in Lushootseed (and again, in many other Salishan languages) is homophonous with the valency-neutral middle-marker and the causative middle. That the valency-neutral middle and passive suffixes are separate morphemes is shown by their very different positions in the verbal complex and by their potential for co-occurrence, as in (14):

- (14) tuyəcəbtub čəd ?ə ti?iɬ tudyəl'�əlab
tu=yəc-əb-txʷ-b čəd ?ə ti?iɬ tu=d-yəl'-�əlab
PAST=report-MD-ECS-PASS 1SG.SUB PR DIST PAST=1SG.PO-DSTR-parent
'it was told to me by my parents'

(Hess 1995: 140, line 3)

The distinction between the causative middle and the passive is, perhaps, less obvious as both appear at the end of the verbal complex and are (outside of a few lexicalized forms) never followed by other derivational affixes; however, the semantic and syntactic effects of the two affixes are quite distinct. The causative middle has a clearly derivational function, deriving bivalent intransitive stems from monovalent radicals, whereas the passive appears to be purely inflectional and serves only to “shuffle” the diathesis of a verb, promoting a direct object to subject and demoting a subject to an agentive complement. The parallels between passives and middles are well-known, as are their functional overlaps in languages like Spanish, and so the possible diachronic origin of the Lushootseed passive marker from a middle is not particularly exotic. A potential semantic motivation for this diachronic path is discussed in Beck (1996).

2.1.1.4 Autonomous action *-agʷil*

The suffix *-agʷil* ‘autonomous action [AUTO]’ attaches to intransitive radicals describing states to form intransitive verbs describing actions deliberately undertaken by the syntactic subject leading to the subject being in that state.

- (15) a. ?ubəč čəd
 ?u–bəč čəd
 PFV–lying 1SG.SUB
 ‘I fell down (from a standing position)’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 35)

- b. gʷəl t̪ubəbačagʷil
 gʷəl t̪u=bə=bəč-agʷil
 SCONJ IRR=ADD=lying–AUTO
 ‘he would go and lie down again’

(Hess 1998: 95, line 124)

This affix has two forms, the full form [-agʷil] and a reduced form [-awil] associated with Type II attenuative reduplication (Section 5.2) — e.g., *qʷcagʷil* ‘slide’ vs. *qʷiqʷcawil* ‘go sledding or skating’.

A sample of -agʷil forms is given in Table 17:

<i>bəčagʷil</i> ‘lie down’	(<i>vbač</i> ‘be lying, be fallen from standing’)
<i>dxʷbəčəbagʷil</i> ‘go under water’	(<i>dxʷbaččab</i> ‘sink’ from <i>vbač</i> ‘be lying, be fallen from standing’)
<i>gʷəxagʷil</i> ‘untie oneself’	(<i>gʷəx</i> ‘be untied’)
<i>λ'iqagʷil</i> ‘come out of’	(<i>λ'iq</i> ‘emerge’)
<i>λ'uqʷagʷil</i> ‘cram self into small space’	(% <i>λ'uqʷ</i> ‘be crammed in’; cf. <i>λ'uqʷud</i> ‘plug ⊗ in’)
<i>q'ilagʷil</i> ‘climb aboard’	(<i>q'il</i> ‘be aboard’)
<i>šulagʷil</i> ‘enter cramped space’	(<i>šul</i> ‘be in, be under’) ¹⁹
<i>t'əbaʔagʷil</i> ‘jump overboard’	(<i>t'əba?</i> ‘have fallen in water’)
<i>xʷəbagʷil</i> ‘throw oneself’	(% <i>xʷəb</i> ‘be thrown’; cf. <i>xʷəbed</i> ‘toss ⊗’)
<i>xʷt'agʷil</i> ‘climb down’	(% <i>xʷt'</i> ‘be fallen, be descended’; cf. <i>xʷt'ad</i> ‘take ⊗ down’)
<i>ħqagʷil</i> ‘tie oneself down’	(% <i>ħq</i> ‘be wrapped, be tied’; cf. <i>ħəqad</i> ‘wrap ⊗’)

Table 17: Stems formed with -agʷil

The majority of these forms are verbs of non-translational motion formed from radicals describing positions or physical configurations, the suffix adding the notion of the actor deliberately taking up the position or configuration. This is particularly obvious in those examples based on radicals such as *vbač* ‘be lying, be fallen from standing’ and *v't'əba?* ‘fall in water’ which on their own lack any notion of agency:

¹⁹ This stem is also attested with the diminished control suffix, -*dxʷ* (Section 2.1.2.3), as *šulagʷil dxʷ* ‘manage to get into a cramped space’.

- (16) a. ?ubəč čəd
 ?u–bəč čəd
 PFV-fallen 1SG.SUB
 'I fell down'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 35)

- b. gʷəl t̥ubəbačagʷil
 gʷəl t̥u=bə=bəč-agʷil
 then IRR=ADD=fallen-AUTO
 'then he would lie down again'

(Hess 1998: 95, line 124)

- c. tucuuc čəd gʷəxʷi?əs gʷəsukʷit's dxʷ?al tə stuləkʷ, gʷəl gʷət'əbt'əba?
 tu=cut-c čəd gʷə=xʷi?=əs gʷə=s=?u-kʷit'=s
 PAST=say-ALTV 1SG.SUB SBJ=NEG=3SBJ SBJ=NM=PFV-go.down.to.water=3PO

dxʷ?al tə stuləkʷ gʷəl gʷə=t'əb-t'əba?
 CNTRPT-at NSPEC river then SBJ=DSTR-fall.in.water
 'I told him not to go down the river, he might fall in'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 236)

- d. gʷəl xʷul' čəd gʷət'əba?agʷil čəda gʷə?učʷ, gʷə?usil, gʷət'ičib
 gʷəl xʷul' čəd gʷə=t'əba?-agʷil čəda gʷə=?učʷ
 then only 1SG.SUB SBJ=fall.in.water-AUTO 1SG.COORD SBJ=go
 gʷə=?usil gʷə=t'ičib
 SBJ=dive SBJ=swim
 'then I would just jump in the water, I'd go and dive and swim [away]'

[ML, Mink and Tutyika, line 32]

In each of these pairs of sentences, the first illustrates the use of the bare radical, which describes an inadvertent, non-agentive action.²⁰ The second sentence of each pair shows the same radical with *-agʷil*, denoting a deliberate, autonomous action on the part of the subject.

Although with most stems *-agʷil* does not effect any substantial change in the semantic role assigned to the subject of the verb, in a few stems the suffix does in fact change the PATIENT role assigned by the bare radical to that of an AGENT. In Table 17, there are three of these, a pair of polar opposites, *gʷəxagʷil* 'untie oneself' and *xqagʷil* 'tie oneself down', and the verb *xʷəbagʷil* 'throw oneself'. Verbs like *gʷəxagʷil* 'untie oneself' and *xqagʷil* 'tie oneself down'

²⁰ In its stative aspectual form, *bəč* can have the meaning 'be lying down' and, with animate subjects, is ambiguous as to whether the subject lay down deliberately or fell.

are based on radicals with a single argument that assign a patient-like semantic role; when used with *-ag^wil*, however, the semantic role assigned to the single argument of the verb is that of AGENT, as in (17):

- (17) g^wəl ḥubə᷑qag^wil ?al ti?iɬ skəki?
 g^wəl ḥu=bə-᷑q-ag^wil ?al ti?iɬ skəki?
 SCONJ IRR=ADD-wrap-AUTO at DIST cradleboard
 'and again he will tie himself into the cradleboard'

(Hess 2006: 41, line 468)

Here the subject (Coyote disguised as a baby) deliberately ties himself into a cradleboard, an action usually performed by a parent for (ideally) a passive child. The subject of the verb here is, of course, also the PATIENT of the action, making this a semantically reflexive type of expression.

We see the same pattern in the form *x^wəbag^wil* ‘throw oneself’ (from ^wvx^w*b* ‘be thrown’) which describes an actor deliberately doing something that is normally done by an external agent:

- (18) tiləbəx^w ?ux^wəbag^wiləx^w dx^w?al tə q^wu? ti?iɬ cədiɬ sup’qs
 tiləb=əx^w ?u-x^wəb-ag^wil-əx^w dx^w-?al tə q^wu? ti?iɬ cədiɬ sup’qs
 suddenly=now PFV-thrown-AUTO-now CNTRPT-at NSPEC water DIST it hair.seal
 ‘suddenly the hair seal threw itself into the water’

(Hess 2006: 50, line 213)

As in the previous example, the presence of the autonomous suffix here indicates that the subject — in this case, the hair seal — deliberately does something (launches itself into the air) which might normally be done by an external AGENT. In spite of the shift in semantic role accomplished by *-ag^wil* in such forms, the consistent effect of the affix across all of the stems it forms is to heighten the agentivity of the actor.

2.1.1.5 Purposive *-iluɬ*

The suffix *-iluɬ* ‘purposive [PRPV]’ is a relatively infrequent affix which combines with a stem expressing an action X which is potentially an activity and creates a verb meaning ‘go for the purpose of doing X’:

- (19) a. hay gʷəl ḥuxʷi?xʷi? ?o kʷi stab
 hay gʷəl ḥu=xʷi?xʷi? ?o kʷi stab
 SCONJ then IRR=forage PR REM what
 'and then he would forage for something'

(Hess 2006: 21, line 233)

- b. bəxʷi?xʷi?iluɬ əlgʷə?
 bə=xʷi?xʷi?-iluɬ əlgʷə?
 ADD=forage—PRPV PL
 'again they went to gather food'

(Hess 2006: 39, line 418)

-*iluɬ* forms are also bases for subsequent derivation:

- (20) a. ?učʷcəb ?o ti?iɬ stubš tsı?iɬ słađay? dxʷ?al kʷi gʷəs?əđiluɬs əlgʷə?
 ?učʷc-b ?o ti?iɬ stubš tsı?iɬ słađay? dxʷ?al kʷi
 go—ALTV—PASS PR DIST man DIST woman CNTRPT—at REM
 gʷəs=?əđd-iluɬ=s əlgʷə?
 SBJ=NM=feed.on—PRPV=3PO PL
 'the man went after the woman to take her to lunch'

- b. c'kʷaqid ?u?əđiluɬbitubuɬ
 c'kʷaqid ?u-?əđd-iluɬ-bi-t-ubuɬ
 always PFV—eat—PRPV—MAP—ICS—1PL.OBJ
 'he always comes and eats off of us'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 11)

The analyzable -*iluɬ* forms attested in texts and listed in the entry for -*iluɬ* in the *Lushootseed Dictionary*, as well as a few others, are given in Table 18:

?əđiluɬ 'go out to eat'	(from ?əđəd 'dine on \otimes)
c'əbəbiluɬ 'go berry-picking'	(from c'əbəb 'pick \otimes [berry]' based on $\sqrt{c'əb}$ 'clear land')
dəubalikʷiluɬ 'go to a dance'	(from dəubalikʷ 'dance' based on $\sqrt{dəub}$ 'be kicked')
gʷəđiluɬ 'go there to sit down'	(from gʷəđil 'sit down' based on $\sqrt{gʷəd}$ 'down')
qʷu?qʷa'iluɬ 'go for a drink'	($\sqrt{qʷu}?$ qʷa? 'have a drink')
q'əbiluɬ 'go camping'	($\sqrt{q'əb}$ 'camp out')
t'iwitiluɬ 'go to church'	($\sqrt{t'iwi}$ 'practice religion'; cf. st'iwiɬ 'religion')
təpililuɬ 'go salmon-fishing'	(from təpil 'spear salmon' based on \sqrt{tp} 'be stabbed')
xʷiʔxʷiʔiluɬ 'go hunting/foraging'	($\sqrt{xʷi}?$ xʷiʔ? 'hunt for \otimes , forage for \otimes)
yəy'duʔiluɬ 'go for a swing'	($\sqrt{yəy}?$ duʔ? 'swing in a swing')

Table 18: Stems formed with -*iluɬ*

In addition to these, the dictionary gives an unanalyzable form šəhabiluɬ 'go to remove salmon from trap'. Although most of the bases for -*iluɬ* in Table 18 are monovalent and give rise to monovalent verbs, there are two bivalent intransitive bases — c'əbəb 'pick something [berry]'

and $\sqrt{x^w i?x^w i?$ ‘hunt for something, forage for something’. None of the contextualized attestations of the *-iluł* forms derived from these bases have objects; however, it is not clear if this is an accident of the contexts in which the verbs are used, or if it is because *-iluł* derivations are necessarily monovalent intransitive stems.

2.1.1.6 Method *-áb*

The suffix *-ab* ‘method [MTHD]’ is a rather infrequent affix attached to nominal and verbal roots to create verb stems that express the means or method of achieving something:

- (21) a. čələsab tə sə?ibəšs
 čələs-ab tə s=lə=?ibəš=s
 hand-MTHD NSPEC NM=PROG=walk=3PO
 ‘he is walking on his hands’

- b. dəq̥ilab ti dsułəgʷəł
 dəq̥il-ab ti d=s=?u-łəgʷəł
 crawl-MTHD SPEC 1SG.PO=NM=PFV=leave
 ‘I left it by crawling’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 154)

- c. səyusab čəd ?ə tə dsəskiis
 səyus-ab čəd ?ə tə d=s=?əs-kiis
 head-MTHD 1SG.SUB PR NSPEC 1SG.PO=NM=STAT-stand
 ‘I am standing on my head’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 154, fn. 4)

As seen in the form *čələsáb* (from $\sqrt{čaləs}$ ‘hand’) in (21a), the method suffix in most cases attracts stress and causes the reduction of vowels in the root to schwa. This process is blocked in forms such as *dəq̥ilab* in (21b) that contain (or were formed historically with) the inchoative *-il* (Section 2.1.1.2). The process also does not apply in many lexically-specified stems such as *səyusab*, seen in (21c). As seen in these examples, when affixed to a noun meaning ‘N’, *-áb* creates a verb meaning ‘do X using N’ (21a); when affixed to a verb meaning ‘V’, it creates a verb meaning ‘V by means of X’ (21b). In either case, the derived form is a bivalent intransitive

verb and the expression of ‘X’ is realized as its oblique object, introduced by the preposition *?ə* (21c).

2.1.1.7 Desiderative *-ab*

The morphological desiderative is formed with the suffix *-ab* ‘desiderative [DSD]’, which is used in conjunction with the prefix *dx^w(s)-* (Section 2.1.1.1); together, these affixes take a verb stem meaning ‘X’, as in (22a), and form a desiderative stem meaning ‘want to X’, (22b).²¹

- (22) a. ?u si?i?ab tu᷑^w čələp ḫuhəli?dx^wəx^w k^wi dbədbəda?
 ?u si?-i?ab tu᷑^w čələp ḫu=həli?-dx^w=əx^w k^wi d-bəd-bəda?
 INTJ PL-noble PTCL 2PL.SUB IRR=alive-DC=now REM 1SG.PO=DSTR-offspring
 ‘oh, sirs, you will save my children [from starvation]!’

(Hess 1998: 80, line 70)

- b. yə᷑i čəd huy ?əx^wəli?dubutəb
 yə᷑i čəd huy ?əs-dx^w-həli?-dx^w-but-əb
 because 1SG.SUB SCONJ STAT-CTD-alive-DC-REFL-DSD
 ‘because I want to cure myself [from a sickness]’

(Hess 1998: 58, line 50)

(22a) shows the verb *həli?dx^w* ‘cure someone, save someone’, while (22b) shows the same verb in its desiderative form, *dx^whəli?dx^w* ‘want to cure someone, want to save someone’. The verb in (22b) is also in the reflexive, illustrating the position of the desiderative affix at the end of the suffix string. This is also seen in (23):

- (23) ?udx^wslək^wdx^wyitəbab d^{zəł} tsi ḫənimulica? ?ə k^wi słu?uməs, təluməs²²
 ?u-dx^ws-lək^w-dx^w-yi-t-əb-ab d^{zəł} tsi ḫənimulica?
 PFV-CTD-eaten-DC-DAT-ICS-PASS-DSD PTCL SPEC:FEM ḫənimulica?
 ?ə k^wi słu?b-s t'əlu?b-s
 PR REM chum-3PO dried.king.salmon-3PO
 ‘they want to eat ḫənimulica?’s chum and dried king salmon’

(Hess 1998: 57, line 40)

²¹ The prefical forms *dx^w-* and *dx^ws-* seem for the most part to be in free variation, although according to Hess (1998) there are a few texts in which one or the other of the two forms was deemed unacceptable with a particular root in a particular context. More research is needed to account for these discrepancies.

²² These last two words are Raven’s rendering of *słu?bs* ‘his/her chum’ and *t'əlu?bs* ‘his/her dried king salmon’. ḫənimulica? is the name sometimes given to Crow in traditional stories.

Here, *-ab* follows the passive marker, *-b*, occupying ultimate final position. Note, however, that the prefix *dx^w(s)-* continues to occupy its normal position directly adjacent to the stem, inside the aspectual prefixes.

The desiderative affix has two phonological allomorphs, [-ab] and [-əb]. The former appears bearing stress in stems that have only schwa, while the latter appears in unstressed position following stems that contain non-schwa vowels:

- (24) a. ?əx^ws?ələdáb čəd
 ?əs-dx^ws-?ələd-ab čəd
 STAT-CTD-eat-DSD 1SG.SUB
 'I want/need to eat'
- b. ?əx^ws?itutəb čəd
 ?əs-dx^ws-?itut-b čəd
 STAT-CTD-NM-sleep-DSD 1SG.SUB
 'I want/need to sleep'
- (Hess 1995: 47)

As shown by the glosses of these examples, desiderative stems can have either the reading ‘want to X’ or ‘need to X’, context providing the necessary disambiguation.

One particularly frequent use of the desiderative suffix is in the lexicalized expression *dx^wcutəb* ‘think something (lit. ‘want to say something’):

- (25) ?əx^wcutəb čəd ?ə kʷi dəsəsχət
 ?əs-dx^w-cut-b čəd ?ə kʷi d=s=?əs-χət
 STAT-CTD-speak-DSD 1SG.SUB PR REM 1SG.PO=NM=STAT-sick
 'I think that I am sick'
- (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 48)

This is the only expression in which the addition of the desiderative seems to have any effect on the valency of its base, changing the monovalent intransitive radical */cut* ‘speak’ to a bivalent intransitive *dx^wcutəb* ‘think something’; it is also possible that, etymologically, the stem was formed on the transitivizer *cut-t*, formed with the internal causative, this affix being “absorbed” into the stem by degemination. The fact that this is synchronically a fossilized form is highlighted by the existence of a derived form *dx^wcutəbid* ‘realize something’ in which the

derivational affixal complex *-bi-d* (Section 2.1.3.2) follows the desiderative suffix, demonstrating that it has become a part of the verb stem. Note that the fusion of the stative aspectual prefix and the prefixal portion of the desiderative marker is the same morphophonemic process undergone by *dx^w(s)-* in all other environments (see Section 2.1.1.1 above).

2.1.1.8 Partitive *?it-*

The prefix *?it-* ‘partitive [PRTV]’ is affixed primary (but not exclusively) to verbal bases to convey the notion that only some of a possible number of event-participants or semantic actants are involved in the event expressed by the clause in which it occurs. In the prefix string, the partitive appears preceding any aspectual prefixes and following proclitics such as the habitual *λ'u=* and the nominalizer *s=* in the following example:

- (26) dił šəbab ?o ti?ə? q^wiq^wistay'bix^w λ'us?iħuħiliħs ha?k^w ti?i?it
 dił šəbab ?o ti?ə? q^wiq^w-q^wistay'bix^w λ'u=s=?it-?u-ħiliħs
 FOC enemy PR PROX DSTR=dwarf HAB=NM=PRTV=PFV=battle=3PO
 ha?k^w ti?i?it
 long.time DIST:PL
 ‘it was they who were the enemies of the dwarves on some of whom they had long been
 making war’

(Hess 2006: 65, line 556)

When the prefix occurs with intransitive verbs, it expresses the fact that the subject of the verb expresses only a subset of a group of potential ACTORS:

- (27) a. x^wul' čəx^w ?it?əħed
 x^wul' čəx^w ?it-?əħed
 only 2SG.SUB PRTV-eat
 ‘you just [go ahead and] eat [without me/us]’
- b. ?əca k^wi īu?iħsula
 ?əca k^wi īu=?it-sula
 I REM IRR=PRTV-be.toward.centre
 ‘the one who will be towards the centre is me’

(Hess 1998: 35)

With transitive verbs, *?il-* expresses the fact that the action affects only a subset of possible

UNDERGOERS:

- (28) a. *ᜒwul' ?ilčoba?*_d
 _{xʷul'} _{?il-}_{čoba?}_{-d}
 only PRTV-laden-ICS
 ‘he carried just some of it on his back’

(Hess 1998: 35)

- b. *ᜒwul' ?ildzakʷadi?*_d_{t?}_ə_s *suqʷsuqʷas*, *ti?*_ə_s *?alalš*
 _{xʷul'} _{?il-}_{dzakʷadi?}_{-d} _{t?}_ə_s _{suqʷsuqʷas-s} _{ti?}_ə_s _{?alalš-s}
 only PRTV-invite-ICS PROX DSTR-younger.brother PROX PL-cross.sex.sibling-3PO
 ‘he invited just his younger brothers, his siblings’

[DM Basket Ogress, line 4]

The partitive has the same meaning when affixed directly to nominal roots when these are sentence predicates:

- (29) a. *ᜒwul'əxʷ ?ilp'uy'*, *?iltulqʷ*, *?ilbəsqʷ*
 _{xʷul' =əxʷ} _{?il-}_{p'uy'} _{?il-}_{tulqʷ} _{?il-}_{bəsqʷ}
 only=now PRTV-flounder PRTV-mussel PRTV-crab
 ‘it was only some flounder, some mussels, some crab’

(Hess 1998: 35)

- b. *?uqʷu?qʷadid kʷi s?əxʷa?*_ə_s *kʷi s?iləgʷəbs*
 _{?u-qʷu?qʷa-di-d} _{kʷi} _{s?əxʷa?} _ə _{kʷi} _{s=?il-}_{ləgʷəb=s}
 PFV-drink-SS-ICS REM urine PR REM NM=PRTV-youth=3PO
 ‘he has drunk the urine of the one who is his fellow-youth’

(Hess 1998: 68, line 97)

- c. *ᜒwul' xʷəlušəd ti?*_ə_s *dsu?abyitəb?*_ə_s *ti?*_ə_s *ds?ilwiw' su*
 _{xʷul'} _{xʷəlušəd} _{ti?}_ə_s _{d=s=?u-?}_{ab-yi-t-əb} _?_ə _{ti?}_ə_s
 only fish.tail PROX 1SG.PO=NM=PFV-extend-DAT-ICS-PASS PR PROX

_{d=s=?il-wiw' su}

_{1SG.PO=NM=PRTV-children}

‘what I am given by the other children is just fish tail’

(lit. ‘what I am given by these who are my fellow-children is just fish-tail’)

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 33]

The sentence in (29a) consists of a series of clauses with nominal predicates and zero subjects.

The effect of the partitive in (27a) is, as in the expressions in (26), to show that the subject corresponds to only a sub-part of the group of potential ACTORS/subjects — of the flounder, only

a part of it, of the mussels, only a portion, etc. In the next two examples, *?it-* appears on a noun serving as the predicate of an embedded clause. The agentive complement (the AGENT) of the passivized verb *?abyitəb* ‘be given something’ in (29c) is *ti?ə? ds?itwiw'su* ‘those who are my fellow-children’, a nominalization of *d?itwiw'su Ø* ‘they [are] my fellow children’. In (29c), the partitive thus singles out only a sub-group of the children — specifically, those that are not ‘I’.

Another common usage of the partitive is in modificative constructions such as those in (30):

- (30) huy, $\lambda' uq^w u ?cutəx^w$ $ti?ə?$ $?i\lambda lu\lambda' lu\lambda'$ $wi\lambda' su$, $?i\lambda q^w iq^w q^w iq^w$ $wi\lambda' su$
 huy $\lambda' u = q^w u - t - sut = \lambda x^w$ $ti?ə?$ $?i\lambda - lu\lambda' - lu\lambda'$ $wi\lambda' su$:
 SCONJ HAB=gather-ICS-REFL=now PROX PRTV-DSTR-old children
 $?i\lambda - q^w iq^w - q^w iq^w$ $wi\lambda' su$
 PRTV-DSTR-strong children
 ‘so then the older children, the stronger children got together’
 [AJ Basket Ogress, line 93]

This example shows two monovalent intransitive radicals that express property concepts acting as (pre-posed) relative clauses, the partitive prefix in these cases indicating the sub-division of each group to whom the property pertains — *?i\lambda lu\lambda' lu\lambda'* *wi\lambda' su* ‘the older children’ (or, more precisely, ‘the children that are older than the others’), and *?i\lambda q^w iq^w q^w iq^w* *wi\lambda' su* ‘the stronger children’ (‘the children that are stronger than the others’). Because of the subdivision that the partitive makes within the class of things referred to by the head noun, expressions such as these entail an implicit comparison for the property expressed by the modifying predicate. This implication of *?it-* manifests itself in the appearance of the partitive in comparative constructions:

- (31) $?i\lambda x^w a? x^w a? ti?ə?$ $dsdəx^w i\lambda dx^w ?al adsg^w a?$
 $?i\lambda - x^w a? x^w a?$ $ti?ə?$ $d - sdəx^w i\lambda$ $dx^w - ?al$ $ad - sg^w a?$
 PRTV-light.weight PROX 1SG.PO-hunting.canoe CNTRPT-at 2SG.PO-one’s.own
 ‘my hunting canoe is lighter than yours’
 (Hess 1998: 36)

Comparatives are discussed in more detail in Section 8.8 below.

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Comment: nominalization is required here because it is a predicate nominal???

Another related use of the partitive involves its affixation to gradable predicates to express a comparatively higher degree, as in (32):

- (32) xʷul' ?iɬdukʷtub
xʷul' ?iɬ-dukʷ-txʷ-b
only PRTV-anormal-ECS-PASS
'the just got madder at them'

(Hess 1998: 83, line 156)

The same use of the partitive is found even more commonly in locative expressions to indicate location farther along in a particular direction or motion part way to a destination:

- (33) a. ?a kʷi λ'ubəs?iɬ'aq'ts, liɬ?al ti?iɬ ?iɬ'aq't
?a kʷi λ'u=bəs=?iɬ-t'aq't=s liɬ?al ti?iɬ ?iɬ-t'aq't
be.there REM HAB=ADD=NM=PRTV-landward=3PO PR DIST PRTV-landward
'there he would be again on the landward [side], towards the landward [side]'

(Hess 1998: 65, line 16)

- b. xʷul'əxʷ ?iɬ?uxʷ tsi?ə? di?ə? skʷuys dxʷ?al ti?ə? ha?ɬ šəgʷɬ
xʷul'=əxʷ ?iɬ-?uxʷ tsi?ə? di?ə? skʷuy-s dxʷ?-al ti?ə? ha?ɬ šəgʷɬ
only=now PRTV-go DIST:FEM here mother-3PO CNTRPT-at PROX good path
'his mother just went up the good path'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 39]

This use of the partitive is largely restricted to verbal radicals, although there is one such expression in the corpus based on a noun, *?ilaq* 'stern of canoe':

- (34) gʷəl xʷul'əxʷ ləλ'čabcut ti?ə? cədiɬ ?iɬ?ilaq
gʷəl xʷul'=əxʷ lə=λ'čab-t-sut ti?ə? cədiɬ ?iɬ-?ilaq
SCONJ only=now PROG=double.over-ICS-REFL PROX he PRTV-stern
'and this one in the stern'

(Hess 2006: 52, line 234)

At this point it is not clear if this is a lexicalized expression, a more general use of the partitive with particular types of partonymic expressions (or specifically, with vocabulary for parts of a canoe), or if it represents a productive, if infrequent, use of *?iɬ-* with locative nouns.

?iɬ- is also frequently used with nouns referring to kinship or age-groups of humans and, in at least one case, types of animal from the time of legends:

- (35) a. *gʷəł tsiʔə? ʔiłt'isu? gʷəł ɬ'uləqdxʷ tsiʔił luɬ'*
gʷəł tsiʔə? ʔiłt'isu? gʷəł ɬ'u=ləq-dxʷ tsiʔił luɬ'
 SCONJ PROX:FEM PRTV—younger.relative SCONJ HAB=hear-DC DIST:FEM old
 'as for the younger of the relatives, she overheard the old woman'
 [DS Star Child, line 122]

b. *dił tugʷəł tiʔił ʔiłsqigʷac ʔi tiʔə? cədił bəščəb tiʔə? tuqəłiltub*
dił tu=gʷəł tiʔił ʔił-sqigʷac ʔi tiʔə? cədił bəščəb
 FOC PAST=belong.to DIST PRTV=deer and PROX he mink
tiʔə? tu=qəł-il-txʷ-b
 PROX PAST=bad-INCH-ECS-PASS
 'they belonged to Deer and Mink who had been warned to stop'
 [ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 230]

The effect of *?it-* in such expressions is to subdivide a group of humans (or, in the case of 35b, animals) according to the meaning of the nominal base. Thus, in (35a), the partitive expresses that of the (two blood-related) women present, the one who overhead the old woman was the younger. Likewise, the partitive expression *?itsqigʷac* in (35b) singles out, from amongst the animals in the story, the one who is a deer.²³ Such forms can be used nominally, as in (35), or as parts of nominalized clausal expressions, as in (29b) and (c) above.

Three particularly common partitive expressions are *?itd^wix^w* ‘first; better, best’, *?itlaq* ‘later, last’, and *?ilk^wəlq* ‘others’. The first of these three is based on an adverb, *dix^w* ‘first’ and, when combined with the partitive, has two senses— a literal ‘first of all’ and a more figurative ‘better, best’:

- (36) a. gʷəl dəgʷi kʷi tukʷədatəb dźixʷ
 gʷəl dəgʷi kʷi tukʷəda-t-əb dźixʷ
 then you REM IRR=taken-ICS-PASS first
 'well then the one that will be taken first is you'

b. tiɬəb kikəwič ti?iɬ ?iɬdźixʷ
 tiɬəb ki-kəwič ti?iɬ ?iɬ-dźixʷ^w
 immediately ATTN-hunchback DIST PRTV-first
 'right then Little Hunchback was the first [taken]'

[LA Basket Ogress, line 26]

[LA Basket Ogress, line 101]

²³ Or, more precisely, the one who became a deer. This line is from a story involving *duk'wibal*, the Changer, who created animals from the first people depending on what they were found doing at the time he passed by.

- c. *?iłdixʷ čəxʷ ?əslaxdxʷ*
?ił-dixʷ čəxʷ ?əs-lax-dxʷ
 PRTV-first 2SG.SUB STAT-remember-DC
 ‘you remember better’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 91)

As shown by (36c) in particular, the base’s part of speech is unaffected by the addition of the partitive prefix: *?iłdixʷ*, like *?iłdixʷ*, is an adverb.

The polar opposite expression, *?iłlaq* ‘later, last’, on the other hand, appears to be based on a verbal radical, *vlaq* ‘be last, be behind’:

- (37) a. *huy ?aləxʷ ti?ił laqəxʷ*
huy ?al=əxʷ ti?ił laq=əxʷ
 SCONJ PR=now DIST last=now
 ‘then [they came] to the last one [obstacle]’

(Hess 2006: 36, line 357)

- b. *diłəxʷ yuwał ?iłlaq*
diłəxʷ yuwał ?ił-laq
 FOC=now ultimate PRTV-last
 ‘she was the very last one’

(Hess 1998: 73, line 209)

- c. *čusu?əłed čəxʷ ?ə kʷi ?iłlaq ?aciłtalbixʷ*
ču=s=?u-?əłed čəxʷ ?ə kʷi ?ił-laq ?aciłtalbixʷ
 IRR=NM=PFV-eat 2SG.SUB PR REM PRTV-last person
 ‘you are what later people will eat’

(Hess 1998: 75, line 251)

(37a) shows *vlaq* on its own as the head of a referential expression (that is, a headless relative clause).²⁴ In (37b) it acts as a sentence predicate, while in (37c) it appears as a modifier, part of an idiomatic expression, *?iłlaq ?aciłtalbixʷ* ‘the last people’, referring to the modern people of today’s world (as opposed to the people of the time of legends). Once again, affixation with *?ił-* appears to have no effect on the part of speech of its base.

The last of these three expressions, *?ilkʷəłq* ‘others’, is a little harder to pin down as it is unattested on its own in contextualized form in the present corpus:

²⁴ This is, of course, also a possible position for an adverb, raising the possibility that *vlaq* does belong to the same part of speech as *dixʷ*. However, unlike *dixʷ*, *vlaq* is not attested in pre-verbal position, and it is found combined with verbal derivational morphemes (e.g., *laqil* ‘be late’) that are not generally associated with adverbs.

- (38) a. *kʷəlq*
kʷəlq
others
‘other things’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 125)

- b. *tubəy'dubəxʷ t̪i?ə? cədił ?itkʷəlq*
tu=bə=?əy'dxʷ-b=əxʷ t̪i?ə? cədił ?ił-kʷəlq
PAST=ADD=find-PASS=now PROX he PRTV-other
‘he found some others’

(Hess 1998: 75, line 257)

It is difficult to surmise from examples such as (38a) what part of speech the radical *kʷəlq* belongs to. Judging from the distribution of the partitive form, *?itkʷəlq*, it is possible that it is either verbal or nominal; however, given that all of the textual attestations of *?itkʷəlq* are in referential expressions such as that in (38b) (and the absence of attestations of *?itkʷəlq* as a sentence predicate), it may be that *?itkʷəlq* — and, by extension, *kʷəlq* — is best treated as a noun. It should also be noted that *kʷəlq* has a plural, *kʷaałq* ‘others [people]’, formed by -V₁V₁-plural reduplication.

2.1.2 Valency-increasing verbal affixes

Because the bulk of Lushootseed radicals are monovalent and intransitive, the language requires a rather extensive inventory of derivational means to form verb stems expressing events with multiple participants or semantic actants. In total there are six affixes that are used exclusively to increase the valency of an intransitive stem, as well as a four secondary suffixes that are used in conjunction with one of these affixes. The primary distinction that can be drawn among the valency-increasers is that between *causatives* and *applicatives*. A causative affix is one that adds a new event-participant (semantic actant) which is expressed as a syntactic subject. In most languages, the semantic role of this actant is that of CAUSER; however, Lushootseed does not distinguish the role of CAUSER from that of AGENT, and so many (if not most) of the subjects added by Lushootseed causatives express AGENTS. Applicatives, on the other hand, add a new

semantic actant which is expressed by an object and which is assigned a variety of semantic roles. As in most languages, the semantic roles assigned to applicative objects in Lushootseed are rather diverse, but in most cases Lushootseed applicatives do not assign the role of PATIENT.

Within the causatives, it is possible to distinguish affixes according to the *government patterns* of the stems they create — that is, according to the different grammatical relations assigned to their syntactic arguments. This leads to a distinction between *transitive causatives*, causatives that create transitive stems that take a direct object, and *intransitive causatives*, causatives that create bivalent intransitive verb stems that take an oblique object. Applicatives can in principle be sub-categorized according to this criterion as well, although all applicative affixes in Lushootseed fall into the category of *transitive applicatives* in that they subcategorize for direct objects. Both types of affix can then be further subdivided according to additional semantic criteria. Lushootseed has, for example, three transitive causative affixes, *-t* ‘internal causative’, *-tx^w* ‘external causative’, and *-dx^w* ‘diminished control causative’, all of which have the same syntactic effect on the stem but which express events with different semantic characteristics. A list of valency-increasing affixes categorized according to the taxonomy proposed here is given in Table 19:

affix	name	affix-type	type of stem
<i>-t</i>	‘internal causative’	transitive causative	transitive
<i>-tx^w</i>	‘external causative’	transitive causative	transitive
<i>-dx^w</i>	‘diminished control causative’	transitive causative	transitive
<i>-b</i>	‘causative middle’	intransitive causative	bivalent intransitive
<i>-alik^w</i>	‘causative of activity’	intransitive causative	bivalent intransitive
<i>-c/-s</i>	‘allative applicative’	transitive applicative	transitive
<i>-yi-</i>	‘dative applicative’	transitive applicative	trivalent transitive
<i>-bi-</i>	‘middle applicative’	transitive applicative	transitive
<i>-di-</i>	‘secondary suffix’	transitive applicative	transitive
<i>-i-</i>	‘secondary suffix’	transitive applicative	transitive

Table 19: Valency-increasing affixes

Of the affixes listed here, the first eight are well-attested as analyzable parts of a substantial number of lexemes; the last two secondary suffixes are less productive, although they form part

of a few high-frequency lexical items. Each of these affixes will be discussed in turn in the following sections.

2.1.2.1 Internal causative *-t*

By far the most prevalent of the valency-increasing verbal affixes is *-t* ‘internal causative [ICS]’. This suffix is not only the most frequent in terms of the number of stems of which it forms a part, but it is also the most complex in terms of its allomorphy and morphophonemics and the most varied in terms of its syntactic effects on the stem to which it attaches. Its primary and most prevalent use is as a transitive causative suffix which changes a patient-oriented monovalent stem expressing a state into a transitive stem by adding a semantic AGENT, realized as a syntactic subject:

- (39) a. ?ut'uc' čəd
 ?u-t'uc' čəd
 PFV–shot 1SG.SUB
 ‘I got shot’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)

- b. ?ut'uc'ucid ?u
 ?u-t'uc'u-t-sid ?u
 PFV–shot–ICS–2SG.OBJ INT
 ‘did s/he shoot (at) you?’

(Hess 1995: 43, ex. 11a)

- c. ?ut'uc'utəb čəd
 ?u-t'uc'u-t-əb čəd
 PFV–shot–ICS–PASS 1SG.SUB
 ‘I was shot (at)’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)

As shown in these examples, a monovalent patient-oriented radical such as *t'uc'* ‘be shot; be the target of a missile’ takes the internal causative suffix to form a transitive verb, *t'uc'ud* ‘shoot someone; shoot at someone’ (or, more literally, ‘cause to be shot; cause to be the target of a missile’). While the vast majority of stems formed with *-t* have translation equivalents in most languages which are ordinary transitive verbs, the syntactic effects of this suffix are clearly

causative, as are its semantic effects — keeping in mind the basically stative nature of Lushootseed radicals: the radical itself expresses a state while the derived transitive stems expresses an action preformed by an AGENT resulting in a PATIENT coming into that state.²⁵ This added AGENT, like the CAUSER in typologically more ordinary causatives, is realized as the syntactic subject while the subject of the radical becomes the direct object of the transitive stem, marked by the *s*-series of object markers (Section 8.1.2), as in (39b). As shown by (39c), the object of an internal causative stem is an ordinary direct object and is amenable to syntactic operations such as passivization. When the derived stem takes an overt NP argument, this argument is obligatorily interpreted as direct object:

- (40) ?ukʷəɬəd ti qʷu?
 ?u-kʷəɬ-d ti qʷu?
 PFV-poured-ICS SPEC water
 's/he poured the water'

(Hess 1995: 18, ex. 1a)

This is an interpretative property of all transitive verbs and will be discussed in more detail in Section 8.2.2 below.

The internal causative suffix *-t* has four allomorphs — [-*t*], [-*d*], [-ə*d*], and [-ə̥*s*]. Of these, [-*t*], [-*d*], [-ə*d*] are phonologically conditioned: [-*t*] is the elsewhere form, while [-*d*] is restricted to word-final position (that is, last position suffix-string not including bound enclitics) following vowels and approximants (41).²⁶

- (41) qʷu?qʷad 'drink something' < √qʷu?qʷa 'have a drink'
 lild 'give food to' < √lil 'make a gift of food'
 qʷəɬd 'cook something' < √qʷəɬ 'be cooked, be ripe'

²⁵ For further discussion, see Beck (1996). The distinction between the internal causative *-t* and the external causative *-txʷ* will be taken up again in the next section (2.1.2.2).

²⁶ Note that there are very few vowel-final radicals in Lushootseed and of these few three are exceptional. Two of them, √lu 'be heard' and √gʷi 'make an invitation', undergo vowel-lengthening when the internal causative is added to give the forms luud 'hear something' and gʷiid 'call someone'. The remaining radical, √ʔa 'be there' has the transitive form ?aʔəd 'put something in a place', formed by inserting a glottal stop into the coda of the radical and applying the [-əd] allomorph of the internal causative. As noted in Section 2.1.1.3, for some speakers the radical is √ʔa? 'be there' instead of √ʔa, so ?aʔəd diachronically may have been a regular form.

šuk'ʷild 'grey someone'	< šuk'ʷil 'turn grey' ²⁷
?aʔild 'put away'	< ?aʔil 'get caught'
xʷit'ild 'lower something'	< xʷit'il 'climb down'
həd?iw'd 'bring inside'	< √həd?iw' 'be inside a house'

[-əd] is also restricted to word-final position and appears following obstruents, as in (42):²⁸

(42) čəbaʔəd 'backpack something'	< √čəba? 'be loaded down with something'
λ'iq'alusəd 'stick eyes shut'	< √λ'iq' 'be stuck, be sticky' + -alus 'eye'
pədičəd 'dirty something'	< √pəd 'be dirty, be buried' + -ič 'covering'
qiq'əd 'confine someone'	< √qiq' 'be confined'
šəqəd 'move up high'	< √šq 'be high'
qʷšabəd 'fog something up'	< √qʷšab 'be foggy'
həli?əd 'cure someone'	< √həli? 'be alive'
xʷəcəd 'remove something'	< √xʷəc 'be removed'
bəłxʷəd 'pass someone'	< √bəłxʷ 'be beyond'

The [-əd] allomorph is replaced by [-t] (rather than [-ət]) in non-final position, as shown by the examples in (43):

- (43) a. ?abcut
 ?ab-t-sut
 extend-ICS-REFL
 'it extends itself'
 (cf. ?abəd 'extend something')
 (Hess 2006: 50, line 216)
- b. ?abaqcid
 ?abaq-t-sid
 return-ICS-2SG.OBJ
 's/he returns you'
 (cf. ?abaqəd 'return something')
 (Hess 2006: 29, line 170)
- c. xəctəb
 xəc-t-əb
 removed-ICS-PASS
 'it was removed'
 (cf. xʷəcəd 'remove something')
 (Hess 2006: 79, line 896)
- d. λ'iq'λ'iq'alusəb
 λ'iq'-λ'iq'-alus-t-əb
 DSTR-sticky-eye-ICS-PASS
 'their eyes were stuck shut'
 (cf. λ'iq'alusəd 'stick someone's eyes shut')
 [DM Basket Ogress, line 13]

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: what about after the fake h in ?ahed?

²⁷ However, šuk'ʷiləd 'grey someone' is also attested.

²⁸ An exception to this generalization is kʷaʔd 'let go of', which is only infrequently attested as kʷaʔəd; note also the verb *cut* 'speak to someone' from the radical √*cut* 'speak', which does not have the expected form **cutəd*.

As seen in (43d), the allomorphy of the *-t* form of the internal causative is the same both when it is affixed directly to a radical and when it follows another type of affix such as a lexical suffix.

It should be noted here that the schwa associated with the [-əd] allomorph of internal causative differs from the epenthetic vowels associated with the internal causative forms of certain types of radicals discussed at the beginning of Section 2. Unlike the schwa in [-əd], true epenthetic vowels are maintained in the presence of subsequent affixes, as shown by the passive forms in (44):

- (44) a. ?ukʷədad ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-kʷəda-d ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-held-ICS SPEC dog
 's/he grabbed the dog'
 b. ?ukʷədatəb ?ə tsi č'ac'as ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-kʷəda-t-b ?ə tsi č'ac'as ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-held-ICS-PASS PR SPEC:FEM child SPEC dog
 'the dog was grabbed by the girl'

(Hess 1995: 22, ex. 5b – c)

- c. xʷəbəd
 xʷəb-əd
 thrown-ICS
 'he tossed it'

(Hess 2006: 55, line 327)

- d. xʷəbtəb dxʷ?al ti ḫʷəlč
 xʷəb-t-b dxʷ-?al ti ḫʷəlč
 thrown-ICS-PASS CNTRPT-at SPEC sea
 '[she] was thrown into the sea'

(Hess 1998: 75, line 252)

The stem in (44a), *kʷədad* ‘take something’ is formed from the radical *√kʷəd* ‘be taken’, a CəC radical that takes an epenthetic /a/ vowel in its internal causative form; this epenthetic /a/ persists even in the passive, *kʷədatəb* ‘be taken’ (44b). The epenthetic schwa found with *xʷəbəd* ‘toss something’ (based on *√xʷəb* ‘be thrown’), on the other hand, disappears in the passive *xʷəbtəb* ‘be thrown’. The most straightforward treatment of this phenomenon is to consider the schwa in *xʷəbəd* to be part of a word-final allomorph of the internal causative marker, and to contrast it

with the epenthetic vowel found with the internal causative forms of radicals like $\sqrt{k^wəd}$. The latter can thus be considered a part of a morphologically-conditioned allomorph [$k^wəda$] of the radical itself associated with the internal causative (and causative middle) morpheme.

The third allomorph of the internal causative, the suppletive form [-š], is restricted to a handful of stems which either require [-š] or have two attested forms, one with [-š] and the other with [-t]. Those stems that are only attested with [-š] are given in Table 20:

$?išłš$ ‘paddle \otimes [canoe]’	($\sqrt{?išł}$ ‘paddle canoe’)
$talš$ ‘remove \otimes from fire’	(\sqrt{tal} ‘be removed from fire’; cf. $tal\text{dx}^w$ ‘manage to get \otimes out of fire’)
$λ' alš$ ‘wear \otimes ’	($\sqrt{λ' al}$ ‘put \otimes on’)
$sux^w təš$ ‘recognize \otimes ’	($\sqrt{sux^w t}$ ‘know identity’; cf. $sux^w t il$ ‘recognize’)
$tag^w š$ ‘buy \otimes ’	($\sqrt{tag^w t}$ ‘be bought’)
$təbaš$ ‘crave \otimes ’	(* $\sqrt{təb}$ ‘have a craving’)

Table 20: Stems requiring the -š allomorph of the internal causative

Four of the six stems in this set depart from the basic internal-causative pattern illustrated in (39), whereby an intransitive radical is causativized by adding a semantic AGENT expressed as a syntactic subject. The verb $?išłš$ ‘paddle something [canoe]’ follows the applicative pattern shown by the set of stems given in Table 20, while the verbs $λ' alš$ ‘wear something’, $sux^w təš$ ‘recognize someone’, and $təbaš$ ‘crave something’ are merely transitivized forms of bivalent intransitive radicals. The stems in Table 20 also show idiosyncratic behaviour in their passive forms (Section 6.2). $sux^w təš$ ‘recognize someone’ forms its passive with [-t] instead of [-š], while the passive of $talš$ ‘remove something from fire’ is attested as both $talšəb$ and $talətb$. Two of these stems, $λ' alš$ ‘wear something’ and $tag^w š$ ‘buy something’, have idiosyncratic passive forms in -ib ($λ' alib$ ‘be worn’ and $tag^w ib$ ‘be bought’, respectively). $?išłš$ ‘paddle something [canoe]’ has no passive formed on the internal causative, speakers opting instead for a passive form based on the external causative -tx^w, $?išłtub$ ‘be paddled’. The verb $təbaš$ ‘crave something’ has no attested passive form in the present corpus. Two of the stems in Table 20 — $talš$ ‘remove something from fire’ and $təbaš$ ‘crave something’ — have no independently attested radicals and

so would have to be treated synchronically as inherently transitive stems. They are included here for the sake of completeness.

Another slightly larger set of stems has both [-š] and [-t] forms, choice between the two depending to some extent on dialect (the [-š] form is more frequent in the Skagit dialect than in Snohomish) and on the individual speaker. These stems are given in Table 21:

?abš ‘extend ⊗, give ⊗’	?abəd ‘extend ⊗, give ⊗’
?abš ‘give ⊗’	?abad ‘give ⊗’
bəčaš ‘set ⊗ down’	bəčad ‘set ⊗ down’
c’agʷš ‘wash ⊗’	c’agʷad ‘wash ⊗’
dəgʷaš ‘put ⊗ inside’	dəgʷad ‘put ⊗ inside’
χ’agʷš ‘stitch ⊗ (mat)’	χ’agʷad ‘stitch ⊗ (mat)’
təq’as ‘put ⊗ down’	təq’ad ‘put ⊗ down’
p’t’as store ⊗, tidy ⊗’	p’t’ad ‘store ⊗, tidy ⊗’
qʷataš ‘lay ⊗ out’	qʷatad ‘lay ⊗ out’
t’agʷtaš ‘put ⊗ on top’	t’agʷtad ‘put ⊗ on top’
χalš ‘write ⊗’	χalad ‘write ⊗’

Table 21: Internal causative stems with -š and -t forms

Like [-t], the [-š] allomorph requires an epenthetic schwa following certain obstruents — specifically, voiceless stops in word-final position (e.g., *t’agʷtaš* ‘put something on top’ from *t’agʷt* ‘be on top’);²⁹ this contrasts somewhat with the morphophonemic behaviour of [-t], which requires epenthesis after all obstruents in word final position, as in (42) above (cf. *c’agʷš* ‘wash something’ vs. *c’agʷad* ‘wash something’, both based on *√c’akʷ* ‘be washed’). The passives of these verbs are all based on the [-t] form of the stem.

In addition to its morphophonemic interactions with stems and radicals, the internal causative shows a certain amount of variability in terms of its syntactic effects on the valency and government pattern of its base. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the internal causative follows the pattern illustrated in (39) — that of a causative morpheme that adds a semantic AGENT/syntactic subject, augmenting the valency of the verb by one. The forms given in Table

²⁹ This is also seen in *suxʷtaš* ‘recognize someone’ in Table 20.

22 are a representative sample of internal causative stems based on radicals attested as free forms:

?a?əd 'put \otimes there'	($\sqrt{?a}$ 'be there')
?i\xw{id 'throw \otimes away'	($\sqrt{?i\xw{}}$ 'be thrown; have thrown to')
bapad 'pester \otimes '	(\sqrt{bap} 'be busy')
bačad 'set \otimes down'	($\sqrt{bač}$ 'be lying, be fallen from standing')
caq'ad 'spear \otimes '	(\sqrt{caq} 'be speared')
ciliđ 'dish \otimes out'	(\sqrt{cil} 'be dished up')
c'agʷad 'wash \otimes '	($\sqrt{c'ag}$ 'be washed')
čalad 'chase \otimes '	($\sqrt{čal}$ 'be overtaken')
č'axʷad 'hit \otimes with a stick'	($\sqrt{č'ax}$ 'be hit with a stick')
da?ad 'name \otimes '	($\sqrt{da?}$ 'be named')
dəgʷad 'put \otimes inside'	($\sqrt{dəg}$ 'be inside')
dəkʷad 'rock \otimes '	($\sqrt{dək}$ 'be shaky, be shaking')
dəaλ'əd 'confuse \otimes '	($\sqrt{dəaλ}$ 'be confused')
dəlqəd 'turn \otimes around'	($\sqrt{dəlq}$ 'turn around, turn over')
d̥ixid 'break \otimes down, take \otimes apart'	($\sqrt{d̥ix}$ 'be broken down, be fallen apart')
gʷəxəd 'untie \otimes '	($\sqrt{gʷəx}$ 'be untied')
huyud 'make \otimes '	(\sqrt{huy} 'be done, be made, be finished')
kʷədad 'take \otimes '	($\sqrt{kʷəd}$ 'be held, be taken')
ləkʷəd 'eat \otimes '	($\sqrt{lək}$ 'be eaten')
lild 'move away'	(\sqrt{lil} 'be far')
tag'ad 'put \otimes down'	(\sqrt{tag} 'be fallen, be lying down')
tič'id 'slice \otimes '	($\sqrt{tič}$ 'get cut with knife')
tidid 'tie \otimes '	(\sqrt{tid} 'be tied')
λ'iqid 'take \otimes out from within'	($\sqrt{λ'iq}$ 'emerge')
pədičəd 'dirty \otimes '	(from $\sqrt{pəd}$ 'be dirty, be buried' + -ič 'covering')
pusud 'throw at \otimes '	(\sqrt{pus} 'be hit by \otimes (missile)')
qiq'əd 'confine \otimes '	(\sqrt{qiq} 'be confined')
qʷatad 'lay \otimes out'	($\sqrt{qʷat}$ 'be lying; snow falls')
qʷibid 'prepare \otimes '	($\sqrt{qʷib}$ 'be ready')
qʷšabəd 'fog \otimes up'	($\sqrt{qʷšab}$ 'be foggy')
q'axʷad 'freeze \otimes '	($\sqrt{q'ax}$ 'be frozen')
q'ilid 'put \otimes on board'	($\sqrt{q'il}$ 'be aboard')
qʷəld 'cook \otimes '	($\sqrt{qʷəl}$ 'be cooked, be ripe')
qʷu?əd 'unload \otimes from conveyance'	($\sqrt{qʷu?ib}$ 'be disembarked, be unloaded')
qʷu?əd 'gather \otimes '	($\sqrt{qʷu?}$ 'be together with \otimes)
šaqəd 'move \otimes up high'	($\sqrt{šq}$ 'be high')
šubud 'make \otimes disappear; massacre \otimes '	($\sqrt{šub}$ 'disappear')
šukʷild 'grey \otimes '	($\sqrt{šuk}ʷil$ 'turn grey' from $\sqrt{šuk}ʷw$ 'powder')
šulud 'pass underneath \otimes '	($\sqrt{šul}$ 'be in, be under')
tžjd 'roll \otimes '	($\sqrt{tžač}$ 'roll off, tumble down')
t'agʷtəd 'put \otimes on top'	($\sqrt{t'agʷt}$ 'be on top')
t'uc'ud 'shoot \otimes (target)'	($\sqrt{t'uc}$ 'be shot, fired on')
čalad 'write \otimes '	($\sqrt{čal}$ 'be written')
xʷəxʷa?xʷa?əd 'make \otimes lighter'	($\sqrt{xʷəxʷa?xʷa?}$ 'be lightweight')

Table 22: Internal causative stems formed from free radicals

In addition to transparent forms such as these, there are a number of more or less idiomatic expressions that seem to follow the internal causative pattern such as *dək'wud* ‘lead astray, mislead’ (from *vək'w* ‘travel, wander’), *xa?xə?əd* ‘forbid someone’ (*vxa?xə?* ‘be powerful, be taboo’), *duk'wud* ‘change something; bewitch someone’ (*vduk'* ‘be a-normal (e.g., supernatural)'), *λ'əld* ‘keep something still’ (*vλ'əl* ‘be silent’), and *q'pud* ‘gather up’ (*vq'əp* ‘form a lump; cramp up (muscle)’). There is also at least one internal causative form in the texts which is only attested in the reflexive — *dəg'wə?cut* ‘smarten up, be clever’, based on *vəg'wə?* ‘be good at, have talent for’. This form also seems to have a rather idiomatic — though not entirely opaque — meaning.

There is also a very large set of internal causative stems based on bound radicals, a number of which are given in Table 23:

?abəd ‘extend ⊗, give ⊗’	(<i>v?ab</i> ‘be extended’; cf. <i>?abači?b</i> ‘extend hand’)
?ay'wa'səd ‘exchange ⊗’	(from <i>v?ay</i> ‘be traded’ + -wa?is ‘pair’)
bəq'əd ‘swallow ⊗’	(<i>vbaq'</i> ‘have in mouth’; cf. <i>bəq'dx'</i> ‘taste ⊗’))
biλ'id ‘smash ⊗’	(<i>vbiλ'</i> ‘be smashed, be crumbled’; cf. <i>biλ'il</i> ‘crumble’)
c'əld ‘defeat ⊗’	(<i>vc'əl</i> ‘be defeated’; cf. <i>c'əldx'</i> ‘manage to defeat ⊗’)
c'uq'wud ‘suck on ⊗’	(<i>vc'uq'</i> ‘be sucked on’; cf. <i>c'uq'ači?b</i> ‘suck on hand’)
č'a?əd ‘dig for ⊗ (roots)’	(<i>vč'a?</i> ‘be dug up’; cf. <i>č'a?əb</i> ‘dig for ⊗ (roots)’)
č'əd?əd ‘sneak up on ⊗’	(<i>vč'əd?</i> ‘be stalked’; cf. <i>č'əd?alik'</i> ‘stalk prey’)
dig'wid ‘advise ⊗’	(<i>vdič'</i> ‘take advice’; cf. <i>xwdič'</i> ‘advice’)
g'wəč'əd ‘look for ⊗’	(<i>vg'wəč'</i> ‘be sought’; cf. <i>g'wəč'əb</i> ‘seek ⊗ for self’)
g'wələd ‘punish ⊗, kill ⊗’	(<i>vg'wəlal</i> ‘be hurt’; cf. <i>g'wəlalalik'</i> ‘kill ⊗, slaughter ⊗’)
k'wəd ‘let go of ⊗’	(<i>vk'wəd</i> ‘be released’; cf. <i>k'wəd?dx'</i> ‘manage to release ⊗’)
k'wax'wad ‘help ⊗’	(<i>vk'wax'</i> ‘be helped’; cf. <i>k'wax'wdx'</i> ‘manage to help ⊗’)
k'wəlč'əd ‘bend ⊗ backwards’	(<i>vk'wəlč'</i> ‘be bent backwards’; cf. <i>k'wəlč'əb</i> ‘bend self backwards’)
la?əd ‘locate ⊗’	(<i>vləd</i> ‘be located’; cf. <i>la?yid</i> ‘locate ⊗ for ⊙’)
tug'wud ‘peel ⊗’	(<i>vтуg'</i> ‘be peeled’; cf. <i>tuq'wac</i> ‘be bald (lit. ‘peeled head’)’)
λ'ag'wəd ‘stitch ⊗ (mat)’	(<i>vλ'ak'</i> ‘be stitched’; cf. <i>λ'ag'wəb</i> ‘make mats’)
λ'ip'id ‘squeeze ⊗’	(<i>vλ'ip'</i> ‘be compressed’; cf. <i>dx'λ'ip'alik'</i> ‘player in hand game’)
p'ic'id ‘wring ⊗ out’	(<i>vp'ic'</i> ‘be wrung out’; cf. <i>p'ic'əlbix'</i> ‘milk (cow)’)
p't'ad ‘store ⊗, tidy ⊗’	(<i>vp't'</i> ‘be stored’; cf. <i>p't'əlik'</i> ‘save ⊗’)
q'p'ud ‘pay ⊗’	(<i>vq'p'</i> ‘be compensated’; cf. <i>q'p'əlik'wx'</i> ‘pay for a crime’)
ta?əd ‘take ⊗ over there’	(<i>vta?</i> ‘be in place’; cf. <i>?osta?tx'</i> ‘have ⊗ in place’)
tqad ‘close ⊗, block ⊗ off’	(<i>vqt'</i> ‘be closed’; cf. <i>tqadx'</i> ‘block ⊗’s path’)
t'x'wud ‘pull on ⊗’	(<i>vt'x'w</i> ‘be pulled’; cf. <i>t'x'wəq'wil</i> ‘pull canoe’)
t'ug'wud ‘figure ⊗ out’	(<i>vt'ug'</i> ‘be measured’; cf. <i>t'uk'wəd</i> ‘a tape measure’)
xʷacəd ‘carry ⊗’	(<i>vxʷac</i> ‘be hoisted’; cf. <i>xʷa?xʷəb</i> ‘rock-lifting’)
xʷəbəd ‘toss ⊗’	(<i>vxʷəb</i> ‘be thrown’; cf. <i>xʷəbag'wil</i> ‘throw oneself’)
xʷit'ild ‘lower ⊗’	(<i>vxʷit'</i> ‘be fallen, be descended’; cf. <i>xʷit'ag'wil</i> ‘climb down’)
χədəd ‘push ⊗’	(<i>vχəd</i> ‘be pressed’; cf. <i>χədači?b</i> ‘push hands away’)
χəqəd ‘wrap ⊗’	(<i>vχəq</i> ‘be wrapped, be tied’; cf. <i>χqag'wil</i> ‘tie oneself down’)

xibib ‘grab ⊗ by throat’ (^o✓*xiib* ‘be grabbed, clawed’; cf. *xibibw* ‘have one’s things in hand’)
xiwadzad ‘punish ⊗, annihilate ⊗’ (^o✓*xwadzad* ‘be injured’; cf. *xiwadzalikw* ‘slaughter ⊗’)

Table 23: Internal causative stems formed from bound radicals

Although not attested as independent, patient-oriented forms such as that shown in (39a), each of these radicals is attested as part of other stems and interacts with other valency-increasing morphemes in a manner consistent with a monovalent patient-oriented radical.

In addition to synchronically analyzable stems containing the internal causative, there are also a large number of transitive verbs that appear to contain either *-t* or *-š* but which are not based on clearly-attested radicals found in other verb forms. Several of these are given in Table 24:

<i>bak'wad</i> ‘move ⊗ quickly’	(*✓ <i>bak'w</i> ‘move quickly’)
<i>batad</i> ‘cure ⊗ with shamanism’	(*✓ <i>bat</i> ‘be cured by shamanism’)
<i>biq'id</i> ‘press ⊗’	(*✓ <i>biq'</i> ‘be pressed down’)
<i>bisəd</i> ‘select ⊗’	(*✓ <i>bis</i> ‘be selected’)
<i>čəd̪zq'wad</i> ‘rub ⊗ together’	(*✓ <i>čəd̪zq'w</i> ‘be rubbed together’)
<i>čətx'wad</i> ‘gobble ⊗ up’	(*✓ <i>čətx'w</i> ‘be gobbled up’)
<i>d̪ilid</i> ‘despise ⊗’	(*✓ <i>d̪illi</i> ‘be despised’)
<i>gəq'əd</i> ‘open something’	(*✓ <i>gəq'</i> ‘be opened’)
<i>hilid</i> ‘command ⊗’	(*✓ <i>hil</i> ‘obey’)
<i>łalš</i> ‘remove ⊗ from fire’	(*✓ <i>łalš</i> ‘removed from fire’)
<i>λ'aq'wad</i> ‘lie in wait for ⊗’	(*✓ <i>λ'aq'w</i> ‘be ambushed’)
<i>pačad</i> ‘lay ⊗ out’	(*✓ <i>pač</i> ‘be laid out’)
<i>paq'ad</i> ‘distribute ⊗’	(*✓ <i>paq'</i> ‘be scattered, distributed’)
<i>qʷaład</i> ‘drive ⊗ (animal); drive ⊗ off’	(*✓ <i>qʷał</i> ‘be driven off’)
<i>q'xəd</i> ‘insult ⊗’	(*✓ <i>q'x</i> ‘be insulted’)
<i>saxəd</i> ‘scrape ⊗’	(*✓ <i>sax</i> ‘be scraped’)
<i>sət'əd</i> ‘lift ⊗’	(*✓ <i>sət</i> ‘be raised’)
<i>təbaš</i> ‘crave ⊗’	(*✓ <i>təb</i> ‘have a craving’)
<i>xʷalusəd</i> ‘wave ⊗’	(*✓ <i>xʷalus</i> ‘be waved’)
<i>xiuł'ud</i> ‘chew ⊗ up’	(*✓ <i>xiuł</i> ‘be chewed up’)

Table 24: Inherently transitive stems containing the internal causative

Aside from analogy with the forms in Table 22 and Table 23, the diachronic presence of the internal causative can also be inferred from the allomorphy shown by the stem-final /d/:

- (45) a. huy qʷaładəxʷ sixʷ ti?ɔ? wiw'su ḥulilcutə
 huy qʷaład=əxʷ sixʷ ti?ɔ? wiw'su ḥu=lil-t-sut=ɔs
 SCONJ drive.off=now PTCL PROX chlidren IRR=far-ICS-REFL=3SBJ
 ‘so he drove the children off so they would get away’

(Hess 1998: 94, line 94)

- b. *gʷəl* ?*uq̥ałatubuł*
gʷəl ?*u-qʷała-t-ubuł*
 SCONJ PFV–drive.off–ICS–1PL.OBJ
 ‘but he drove us off’

(Hess 1998: 93, line 77)

- c. *kʷa?* *ħʷul'əxʷ əlgʷə?* *ləcubiq'íd dxʷ?al ti?ə?* *hud*
kʷa? *ħʷul' =əxʷ əlgʷə?* *ləcu-biq'i-d* *dxʷ-?al* *ti?ə?* *hud*
 PTCL only=now PL PROG.STAT–press–ICS CNTRPT–at PROX fire
 ‘it seems they just pressed [her] down into the fire’

[MS Basket Ogress, line 67]

- d. *gʷəl biq'iṭəbəxʷ ?ə ti?ə?* *wiwi'su dxʷ?al sħʷul'səxʷ ?uħ'iq' ti č'əħ'č'ħ'a?*
gʷəl biq'i-t-əb=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? *wiwi'su dxʷ-?al s=ħʷul'=s=əxʷ*
 then press–ICS–PASS=now PR PROX children CNTRPT–at NM=only=3PO=now
?u-ħ'iq' ti č'əħ'č'ħ'a?
 PFV–emerging SPEC DSTR–stone
 ‘then [she] was pressed down by the children so that only the stones were sticking out’

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 109]

As shown by these examples, the final consonant in transitive stems like *qʷaład* ‘drive someone off’ and *biq'id* ‘press down on something’ shows the same ultimate-final voicing alternation pattern seen in internal causative forms as those in (43). Unlike bound radicals such as those in Table 23, however, putative radicals such as **√qʷat* ‘be driven off’ and **√biq'* ‘be pressed down’ are not found as part of other verb forms independent of the internal causative and so are treated separately from these for the purposes of classification.

Although the majority of stems containing *-t* conform to the internal causative pattern described above, there is a not-insignificant number of stems in which *-t* acts as some kind of valency-increaser other than a causative. In the largest set of such forms, the effect of *-t* on the radical is that of an applicative. The stems found to date that follow this pattern are given in

Table 25:

? <i>ilid</i> ‘sing ⊗’	(<i>√il</i> ‘sing’)
? <i>ulud</i> ‘sing to ⊗’	(<i>√ul</i> ‘sing’; cf. ? <i>uliłł</i> ‘sing lullaby’)
<i>bəłħʷəd</i> ‘pass ⊗’	(<i>√bəłħʷ</i> ‘be beyond’)
<i>cut</i> ‘speak to ⊗’	(<i>√cut</i> ‘speak’)
<i>dəaqad</i> ‘mourn ⊗’	(<i>√dəaq</i> ‘be in mourning’; cf. <i>dəaqəbid</i> ‘mourn for ⊗’)
<i>gʷiid</i> ‘invite ⊗, call to ⊗’	(<i>√gʷi</i> ‘make an invitation’)
<i>gʷuhud</i> ‘bark at ⊗’	(<i>√gʷuh</i> ‘bark (dog)’; cf. <i>gʷuhəb</i> ‘bark’)

<i>kʷʷalad</i> ‘examine ⊗’	(‘ <i>kʷʷat</i> ‘look closely, peer’; cf. <i>kʷʷəkʷʷaləb</i> ‘be near-sighted’)
<i>kʷʷilid</i> ‘peek at ⊗’	(‘ <i>kʷʷil</i> ‘peek’)
<i>luud</i> ‘hear ⊗’	(‘ <i>lu</i> ‘hear’)
<i>tild</i> ‘give food to ⊗’	(‘ <i>til</i> ‘make a gift of food’)
<i>q'əlsad</i> ‘steam ⊗’	(‘ <i>q'əls</i> ‘cook with steam’)
<i>śidəd</i> ‘attack ⊗ by stealth’	(‘ <i>śidz</i> ‘launch sneak attack’)
<i>wiliqʷid</i> ‘ask of ⊗’	(‘ <i>wiliq</i> ‘make an enquiry’)
<i>xiidid</i> ‘growl at ⊗’	(‘ <i>xid</i> ‘be growling’; cf. <i>xidib</i> ‘growl’)
<i>ẍʷaqʷad</i> ‘be concerned about ⊗’	(‘ <i>ẍʷaq</i> ‘be worried, be preoccupied’)

Table 25: Applicative uses of -t

These verbs are based on monovalent intransitive radicals with agentive, rather than patientive, subjects, and the affixation of -t adds a direct object rather than a subject:

- (46) a. ?iləxʷ ti?ə? qaw'qs
 ?il=əxʷ ti?ə? qaw'qs
 sing=now PROX raven
 ‘now Raven sings’

(Hess 1998: 57, line 38)

- b. ḥ'ubəxʷ ?u?ilitəb ?ə tsı?ił ḥənimulic'a? kʷi sqəlalituts
 ḥ'ub=əxʷ ?u=?ili-t-əb ?ə tsı?ił ḥənimulic'a?
 okay=now PFV-sing-ICS-PASS PR DIST:FEM name.of.Crow
 kʷi sqəlalitut-s
 REM spirit.power-3PO
 ‘ḥənimulic'a? ought to sing to her spirit power’

(Hess 1998: 61, line 25)

The semantic role of the object varies according to the meaning of the base: verbs of speaking (*cut* ‘speak to someone’, *wiliqʷid* ‘ask someone’) or speech-like actions (*?ulud* ‘sing to someone’, *gʷuhud* ‘bark at something’) add a HEARER, while other verbs add roles such as MOTIVE (*ẍʷaqʷad* ‘be concerned about something’, *dəaqad* ‘mourn someone’), BENEFACTIVE/MALEFACTIVE (*tild* ‘give food to someone’, *śidəd* ‘attack someone by stealth’), or PERCEPT (*kʷʷilid* ‘peer out at something from behind barrier’). In addition to the forms listed in Table 25, there are a number of other verbs which appear to follow this pattern but which are based on radicals that are not otherwise attested or easily analyzed in other forms. These include *p'aʔəd* ‘try something’ (from **√p'a?* ‘be attempted’) and *səgʷqəd* ‘whisper to’ (**√səgʷq* ‘whisper’). There is also an attested radical, *√taš* ‘spin with leg spindle’, which has an idiomatic form, *tašad*

‘stroke something’, in which what appears to be the internal causative suffix follows the applicative pattern.

The *-t* suffix also appears in a number of forms in which it acts simply as a transitivizer, converting a bivalent intransitive base into a monotransitive verb. Verbs that follow this pattern include *?aladz̥i?ləd* ‘babysit someone’ (from *?aladz̥i?t* ‘babysit someone’ [= *°v?aladz̥* ‘care for someone’ + *-i?t* ‘child’]), *čəba?əd* ‘backpack something’ (from *včəba?* ‘be loaded down with something’), *λ’als̥* ‘wear something’ (*vλ’al* ‘put something on’), *tabəd* ‘do something’ (*vtab* ‘deal with’), *?išl̥š* ‘paddle something [canoe]’ (*v?išl̥* ‘paddle canoe’), *k’wic’id* ‘butcher something’ (*vk’wic’* ‘butcher something’), and *?uləxəd* ‘gather something’ (*v?uləx* ‘forage for’). This set of forms may also include *xaλ’əd* ‘favour someone’ (*°vxaλ’* ‘be desirous of’) and *təbaš̥* ‘crave something’ (**vtab* ‘have a craving’), although the bare radicals are not attested in the present corpus, making it hard to ascertain their inherent valency. Another possible candidate for a transitivizing use of the internal causative would be *suxʷtəš̥* ‘recognize someone’, though the lack of tokens of this form makes it difficult to be sure what the underlying semantics of the radical would be.

The internal causative suffix also appears to be part of certain more complex transitive stems whose synchronic analysis is uncertain. These include *c’əłqiwsəd* ‘cut something up’ and *xʷakʷabičəd* ‘get someone dirty’. A few intransitive verbs appear to contain *-t* as well, based on the shape of their apparent radicals or on voicing alternations in word-final position. These include a small set of verbs for making noise (*tukʷud* ‘thump’, *k’wžʷiqid* ‘make noise’, and *sžʷid* ‘make swishing sound’), the verbs *λ’čabəd* ‘double self over’ and *gʷəλ’əlad* ‘stop’, and the bivalent intransitive verb *?əłəd* ‘feed on’. Unlike the others in this group, this last form has an attested bound radical, *°v?əł* ‘be eating’ found in other forms such as *?əłtxʷ* ‘feed someone’ and

s?ətəd ‘food’; however, verb *?ətəd* itself is intransitive, and so it is not possible to analyze this form synchronically as containing the internal causative morpheme.³⁰

2.1.2.2 External causative *-tx^w*

The next most frequent valency-increasing affix in Lushootseed is *-tx^w* ‘external causative [ECS]’. Like *-t*, this affix is a transitive suffix that is added (with a few exceptions) to monovalent radicals to form a transitive stem expressing an event in which an AGENT causes a PATIENT or THEME to come into the state expressed by the radical; however, the AGENT in *-tx^w* forms is construed as being somehow less directly involved in or affected by the event than it is in stems formed with the internal causative. As with any causative, the new argument is realized as the syntactic subject and the erstwhile subject of the base is realized as a direct object:

- (47) a. ?u?uč^w čəd

?u-?uč^w čəd

PFV-go 1SG.SUB

‘I went’

(Hess 1995: 6, ex. 1)

- b. ?u?uč^wtubš ti č'ač'as

?u-?uč^w-tx^w-bš ti č'ač'as

PFV-go-ECS-1SG.OBJ SPEC child

‘the boy took me’

(based on Hess 1995: 42)

- c. ?u?uč^wtub čəd ?ə ti č'ač'as

?u-?uč^w-tx^w-b čəd ?ə ti č'ač'as

PFV-go-ECS-PASS 1SG.SUB PR SPEC child

‘I was taken by the boy’

(Hess 1995: 33)

As shown in (47a) and (b), when *-tx^w* is added to a monovalent radical, it forms a transitive verb in which the AGENT is the subject and the PATIENT or THEME is the direct object, much like the stems formed with the internal causative, although the object of *-tx^w* forms is marked by the *b-*

³⁰ According to Bates, Hess, and Hilbert (1994), the form *gʷəɬ'əlad* ‘stop’ is derived diachronically from the radical *ɬ'əl* ‘be silent’, and the verb *ɬ'čabəd* ‘double self over’ may be related to *čaba* ‘add to’; however, the words themselves are non-compositional enough to warrant treatment here as synchronically unanalyzable forms.

series, rather than the *s*-series, of object-markers (Section 8.1.2). The object of external causative verbs is a true direct object and undergoes the usual direct-object centred syntactic processes such as passivization (47c); note that in the passive, *-tx^w* becomes [-*tu-*], as it does in the presence of the object-markers. The affix shows no other type of morphophonemic interactions with its base or with other affixes. When the derived stem takes an overt NP argument, this argument is interpreted as direct object:

- (48) ?u?uč^wtx^w ti č'ač'as
 ?u-?uč^w-tx^w ti č'ač'as
 PFV-poured-ECS SPEC water
 's/he took the boy'

(Hess 1995: 22, ex. 3b)

This property of transitive verbs is discussed in more detail in Section 8.2.2 below. The affixation of the external causative suffix does not trigger any alternations in its base, although it does show some morphophonemic interaction with some following affixes, most notably the passive suffix (Section 6.2) and the object- (8.1.2) and reflexive-markers (8.1.3), all of which cause the final /x^w/ of the external causative suffix to become /u/. When followed by the reciprocal marker (8.1.4), the external causative is realized simply as /t/.

The forms in (47) are based on a radical expressing motion, ?uč^w 'go'. A wide range of such radicals combine with *-tx^w* to form verbs of taking and bringing such as those given in Table 26:

?əλ 'tx ^w 'bring ⊗'	(√?əλ 'come')
?ibəštx ^w 'take ⊗ for a walk' ³¹	(√?ibəš 'travel, walk')
?uč ^w tx ^w 'take ⊗'	(√?uč ^w 'go')
čubətx ^w 'take ⊗ ashore' ³²	(√čubə 'go inland')
gʷahtx ^w 'take ⊗ along'	(√gʷa 'accompany, go along')
gʷač ^w tx ^w 'take ⊗ for a walk'	(√gʷač ^w 'take a stroll')
kʷatačtx ^w 'carry ⊗ up a hill' ³³	(√kʷatač 'climb')
kʷit' tx ^w 'take ⊗ down to shore'	(√kʷit' 'go down to shore')
ta?tx ^w 'bring ⊗ to a place'	(√ta? 'arrive at a specific place')
łalitx ^w 'bring ⊗ ashore'	(√łalil 'go ashore')

³¹ This form also means 'make ⊗ travel'; with this reading, the stem belongs with the forms in Table 27 below.

³² This form is also attested in the speech of older speakers as čubəstx^w, the -*stx^w* version of the suffix being perhaps an archaic form which is still attested in some other languages of the family.

³³ This is the gloss of the word as it is used in Skagit. In Snohomish, this verb also applies to climbing trees and ladders, while the Skagit use √igʷəl for these latter two activities.

<i>tčiltxʷ</i> ‘arrive with ⊗’	(<i>vtčil</i> ‘arrive’)
<i>q'iltxʷ</i> ‘take ⊗ by canoe’	(<i>vq'il</i> ‘be aboard’)
<i>sagʷtxʷ</i> ‘fly off with ⊗; fly ⊗ (airplane)’	(<i>vsagʷ</i> ‘fly’)
<i>saxʷabtxʷ</i> ‘run off with ⊗, kidnap ⊗’	(<i>vxaxʷab</i> ‘jump, sprint’)
<i>šadzaltxʷ</i> ‘take ⊗ outside’	(<i>všadzal</i> ‘go outside’)
<i>təlawiltxʷ</i> ‘run off with ⊗’	(<i>vtəlawil</i> ‘run’)
<i>tuliltxʷ</i> ‘take ⊗ across river’	(<i>vtulil</i> ‘cross river’)
<i>t'ukʷtxʷ</i> ‘take ⊗ home’	(<i>vt'ukʷ</i> ‘go home’)

Table 26: Verbs of taking and bringing formed with *-txʷ*

In such forms, the radical expresses the type of motion undergone by the THEME while the suffix adds an AGENT responsible for causing that motion. Unlike the English translation equivalents of many of these stems, there is no inherent telicity or notion of transfer expressed by these verbs themselves, although these notions may be implied by context. As with all *-txʷ* forms, the stems in Table 26 are transitive; if a recipient is involved, it may be expressed as an oblique object introduced by the preposition *dxʷ?al* ‘towards’, as in (49a):

- (49) a. ?učʷtuboxʷ ti?it s?uladxʷ dxʷ?al ti?it sčətxʷəd
 ?učʷ-txʷ-b=əxʷ ti?it s?uladxʷ dxʷ?al ti?it sčətxʷəd
 go-ECS-PASS=now DIST salmon CNTRPT-at DIST black.bear
 ‘the salmon was taken to Black Bear’
- (Hess 1995: 154, line 67)

- b. ləłčil čəd, capa?, dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 lə=łčil čəd capa? dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 PRG-arrive 1SG.SUB grandfather CNTRPT-at you
 ‘I am coming, Grandfather, to you’
- (Hess 2006: 28, line 157)

As shown in (49b), the preposition is the same as that used to express the goal of motion in the non-causativized forms.

In addition to verbs of taking and bringing, *-txʷ* is used to form a wide variety of transitive verbs from intransitive stems:

?alalustxʷ ‘do to ⊗’	(<i>v?alalus</i> ‘happen’)
?atxʷ ‘put ⊗ there’	(<i>v?a</i> ‘be there’)
?ətxʷ ‘feed ⊗’	(<i>v?əd</i> ‘be eaten’; cf. <i>?əžəd</i> ‘feed on ⊗’)
?ista?txʷ ‘do the same to ⊗’	(<i>v?ista?</i> ‘be the same’)
?up'txʷ ‘seat ⊗ on another’s lap; seat person on ⊗’s lap’	(<i>v?up'</i> ‘be seated on lap’)
čəba?txʷ ‘pack ⊗ on one’s back’	(<i>včəba?</i> ‘be loaded down with ⊗’)
dukʷtxʷ ‘get angry with ⊗’	(<i>vdukʷ</i> ‘be abnormal’)
gʷədiltxʷ ‘sit ⊗ down’	(from <i>gʷədil</i> ‘sit down’ based on <i>v?gʷəd</i> ‘down’)

<i>həli?txʷ</i> ‘cure ⊗’	(<i>✓həli?</i> ‘be alive’)
<i>hiwiltxʷ</i> ‘go ahead with ⊗’	(<i>✓hiwil</i> ‘proceed’)
<i>huygʷastxʷ</i> ‘marry ⊗’	(from <i>✓huy</i> ‘be made’ + <i>-gʷas</i> ‘pair’)
<i>kiistxʷ</i> ‘stand ⊗ up’	(<i>✓kiis</i> ‘stand up’)
<i>lačtxʷ</i> ‘remind ⊗’	(<i>✓lač</i> ‘recall, remember’)
<i>tidtxʷ</i> ‘tie to ⊗’	(<i>✓tid</i> ‘be tied’)
<i>λ'ačʷtxʷ</i> ‘bring up ⊗, raise ⊗’	(<i>✓λ'ač</i> ‘grow’)
<i>λ'iq ači?btxʷ</i> ‘make ⊗’s hands sticky	(from <i>✓λ'iq</i> ‘be sticky’ + <i>-ači?</i> ‘hand’)
<i>q'iltxʷ</i> ‘put load into ⊗’	(<i>✓q'il</i> ‘be aboard’)
<i>sa?txʷ</i> ‘dislike ⊗, hate ⊗’	(<i>✓sa?</i> ‘be bad’)
<i>saqʷtxʷ</i> ‘fly off with ⊗’	(<i>✓saqʷ</i> ‘fly’)
<i>šəłt'əbilədtxʷ</i> ‘make rope of ⊗’	(from <i>✓šəłt'</i> ‘make ⊗’ + <i>✓t'əbiləd</i> ‘rope’)
<i>šutxʷ</i> ‘show to ⊗’	(<i>✓šut</i> ‘appear, be visible’)
<i>təd̥iltxʷ</i> ‘put ⊗ to bed’	(<i>✓təd̥il</i> ‘go to bed, lie in bed’)
<i>təłtxʷ</i> ‘make ⊗ true, speak truth’	(<i>✓təł</i> ‘be true’)
<i>t'ičibtxʷ</i> ‘make ⊗ wade’	(<i>✓t'ičib</i> ‘wade’)
<i>t'uc'iltxʷ</i> ‘fire ⊗’	(<i>✓t'uc'il</i> ‘fire weapon’ from <i>✓t'uc'</i> ‘be shot’)
<i>xa?xa?txʷ</i> ‘forbid ⊗’	(<i>✓xa?xa?</i> ‘powerful, taboo’)
<i>xietytxʷ</i> ‘make war on ⊗’	(<i>✓xiety</i> ‘be at war’)

Table 27: Causative stems formed with *-txʷ*

As with verbs of taking and bringing, the stems here are formed on intransitive bases, and adding *-txʷ* forms a transitive stem following the pattern illustrated in (47) above, with the new argument taking the syntactic role of subject. The bulk of radicals in Table 27 fall roughly into two groups — agent-oriented radicals with AGENT- or ACTOR-like subjects (corresponding to what Gerdts 2006 classifies as “unergative” predicates in Halkomelem) which give rise to cross-linguistically ordinary causative stems (*✓kiis* ‘stand up’ > *kiistxʷ* ‘stand something up’, *✓t'ičib* ‘wade’ > *t'ičibtxʷ* ‘make someone wade’), and radicals expressing subjective characterizations or psychological states which give rise to causative stems with figurative rather than literal meanings (*✓dukʷ* ‘be a-normal’ > *dukʷtxʷ* ‘get angry with someone’ [lit. ‘make someone a-normal (in one’s mind)’], *✓sa?* ‘be bad’ > *sa?txʷ* ‘dislike something, hate something’ [lit. ‘make something bad (in one’s mind)’], *✓xa?xa?* ‘powerful, taboo’ > *xa?xa?txʷ* ‘forbid something’ [lit. ‘make something taboo’]).³⁴ There are also a few patient-oriented radicals in this set as well — *✓həli?* ‘be alive’ > *həli?txʷ* ‘cure something’, *✓tid* ‘be tied’ > *tidtxʷ* ‘tie to something’ —

³⁴ Also included in this group would be *hikʷtxʷ* ‘respect something’ [lit. ‘make someone big (in one’s mind)’, derived from the adverb *✓hikʷ* ‘big’].

although none of these is particularly high on the scale of semantic transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980).

As noted by Hess & Bates (1998), there are a few stems where the direct object may express some other semantic role than that expressed by the subject of the radical:

- (50) a. q'iltx^w ti adsλ'əlay?
 q'il-tx^w ti ad-sλ'əlay?
 be.aboard-ECS SPEC 2SG.PO-shovelnose.canoe
 'load your shovelnose canoe!'

(Hess & Bates 1998: 230, ex. 24)

- b. ?u?up'tx^w tsi sɬadəy?
 ?u-?up'-tx^w tsi sɬadəy?
 PFV-be.on.lap-ECS SPEC:FEM woman
 's/he put [her] on the woman's lap'

(Hess & Bates 1998: 231, ex. 25)

In (50a), the verb *q'iltx^w* is built on the radical *√q'il* 'be aboard conveyance', whose subject is the person or thing which is aboard the conveyance (most often a canoe); the direct object of the transitive form *q'iltx^w*, however, is the conveyance rather than the load or the rider. Similarly, *?up'tx^w*, derived from *√?up'* 'be on a person's lap', can appear in clauses in which the person whose lap is being sat upon is the direct object, as in (50b), although a more ordinary government pattern is also found with this verb in which the direct object is the person being made to sit, as shown in the example in (58b) below.

In most of the examples in Table 27, the bases are monovalent radicals; however, in one or two cases the causative is added to a bivalent intransitive base. The effect on the valency and government pattern of the verb in these cases depends on the stem. For example, one of these verbs, *saq'wtx^w* 'fly off with something; fly something [airplane]', has two possible interpretations, one following the causative pattern of other motion verbs shown in Table 26, the other following a more general causative pattern. With other verbs such as *čaba?tx^w* 'pack

something on one's back' (from *✓čəba?* 'be loaded down with something') and *t'uc'iltxʷ* 'fire something' (from *t'uc'il* 'fire weapon'), the effect is to transitivize the verb:

- (51) a. ləsčəba? ?ə tə hud
 ləs-čəba? ?ə tə hud
 CONT-be.packing PR NSPEC wood
 'she's loaded down with wood'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 61)

- b. gʷəl ?abil'əxʷ ūčəba?txʷ əlgʷə? ti?ə? dsxʷi?xʷi?
 gʷəl ?abil'=əxʷ tū-čəba?-txʷ əlgʷə? ti?ə? d-sxʷi?xʷi?
 then perhaps=now IRR-be.packing-ECS PL PROX 1SG.PO-game
 'well then perhaps they can backpack my game'

[MW Star Child, line 76]

Here, rather than adding an argument, the external causative promotes an oblique object to direct object. The semantic notion of causation is still inherent in the meaning of the *-txʷ* form itself (*čəba?txʷ* 'backpack something') ≈ 'cause oneself to be loaded down with something').

In a few other cases, *-txʷ* not only transitivizes a bivalent intransitive base but also "shuffles" the basic diathesis of the verb:

- (52) a. hay, qədbaxʷ ?ə ti?ə? sdukʷ sc̥'ətxʷ
 hay qəd-b=axʷ ?ə ti?ə? sdukʷ sc̥'ətxʷ
 SCONJ fornicate-MD=now PR PROX low.life kingfisher
 'so, she [Helldiver] has adulterous sex with that low-life Kingfisher'

(Hess 2006: 21, line 243)

- b. gʷəl huy qədəbtaxʷ ts'i?ə? čəgʷas ?ə ti?ə? sbəqʷa?, ts'i?ə? xʷu?xʷəy?
 gʷəl huy qəd-b-txʷ=axʷ ts'i?ə? čəgʷas ?ə
 then SCONJ fornicate-MD-ECS-now PROX:FEM wife PR
 ti?ə? sbəqʷa? ts'i?ə? xʷu?xʷəy?
 PROX heron PROX:FEM helldiver
 'and so then he [Kingfisher] seduces the wife of Heron, Helldiver'

(Hess 2006: 12, line 45)

(52a) shows the middle form *qədəb* 'have illicit sex with someone, commit adultery with someone' which takes as its subject the expression of the adulterer (that is, the married person who cheats on their spouse) and as an oblique object the expression of the person with whom they cheat. In the causative form, *qədəbtaxʷ* 'seduce into adultery', the adulterer's sexual partner

— the seducer — is the subject and the adulterer is a direct object. Thus, the verb is transitivized but the subject of the intransitive stem becomes the direct object of the transitive verb and the oblique object of the intransitive stem becomes the subject. Rather than being a regular or predictable syntactic operation, however, in this case the source of the change in government pattern is the nature of the event: the proximate cause of adulterous behaviour is (attraction to) the sexual partner, so it follows that in the causative form of this particular verb this event-participant would be expressed as the causer/subject, resulting in an idiosyncratic, lexicalized government pattern. Similar effects of the particular meanings of certain radicals are found with a few other *-tx^w* forms.

In addition to verbs such as *qədəbtəx^w* ‘seduce into adultery’, whose semantic import seems clearly to be causative but whose syntactic effects are somewhat idiosyncratic, there is another group of stems that contain *-tx^w* but do not seem to be causative in either the semantic or syntactic sense of the word. One small group of high-frequency verbs that fit this description are verbs of speech in which *-tx^w* functions as an applicative rather than a causative (Hess & Bates 2004), adding a new argument realized as object rather than subject:

<i>gʷʷaagatx^w</i> ‘speak to \otimes ’	(<i>gʷʷaagad</i> ‘speak’)
<i>qʷʷiadtəx^w</i> ‘call \otimes out’	(<i>qʷʷiada</i> ‘holler, yell’)
<i>tatabtx^w</i> ‘talk to \otimes ’	(<i>%tatab</i> ‘speak’; cf. <i>tatabəd</i> ‘confer about \otimes ’)
<i>t'ilibtx^w</i> ‘sing to \otimes ’	(<i>t'ilib</i> ‘sing’)
<i>χayəbtəx^w</i> ‘smile at \otimes ’	(<i>χayəb</i> ‘laugh’)
<i>yəcəbtəx^w</i> ‘tell \otimes to \textcircled{Y} ’	(<i>yəcəb</i> ‘report on \otimes ’ from <i>%yəc</i> ‘report’)
<i>yəhubtx^w</i> ‘recite legend for \otimes ’	(<i>%yəhub</i> ‘tell legend’; cf. <i>syəhub</i> ‘myth, legend’)

Table 28: Applicative uses of *-tx^w*

With most of these verbs, the effect of *-tx^w* seems to be to increase the valency of the stem by adding a direct object with the semantic role of HEARER or PERCEIVER:

- (53) a. huy, yəcəbax^w ?ə ti?ił bibščəb ?i ti?ił su?suqʷʷa?̄s, tətyika
 huy yəcəb=ax^w ?ə ti?ił bi-bščəb ?i ti?ił su?suqʷʷa?̄-s
 SCONJ report=now PR DIST ATTN=mink and DIST younger.cousin-3PO

tətyika

Tutyika

'he told of Little Mink and his younger cousin, Tutyika'

(Hess 1995: 141, line 42)

- b. yəcəbtxʷaxʷ ti?ə? stubš ?ə ti sda? ?ə tsi?ə?
yəcəb-txʷ=axʷ ti?ə? stubš ?ə ti sda? ?ə tsi?ə?
report-ECS=now PROX man PR SPEC name PR PROX:FEM
'he told the man her name'

[HM Star Child, line 116]

As shown in (53a), the verb *yəcəb* 'report on something' is a bivalent intransitive stem which takes as its subject the speaker and expresses the topic of speech as an oblique object. As shown by (53b), the *-txʷ* form of the verb is transitive and continues to express the topic of speech as an oblique object.³⁵

In addition to being affixed to a wide range of verbal radicals, the external causative is also found attached to a variety of other types of bases such as personal pronouns, the negative adverb *xʷi?*, and interrogative words. In the case of personal pronouns, the effect of adding *-txʷ* to a pronoun meaning 'X' is to create a verb meaning 'make/let it be X', as in (54):

³⁵ It should be noted that for at least one of these stems, *t'ilibtxʷ*, there are two possible readings — 'make someone sing; turn something (radio) on' and 'sing to someone':

- (i) a. ?ut'ilibtxʷ čəd ti?ił tidtid
?u-t'ilib-txʷ čəd ti?ił tidtid
PFV-sing-ECS 1SG.SUB DISTRadio
'I turned on the radio'

(Hess & Bates 1998: 226, ex. 10)

- b. tuləcut'ilibtubš
tu=ləcu-t'ilib-txʷ-bš
PAST=CONT-sing-ECS-1SG.OBJ
's/he was singing to me'

(Hess & Bates 1998: 232, ex. 30)

Similar ambiguities have not been reported for the other forms in Table 28.

- (54) a. ?əca kʷi ɬu?abyid
 ?əca kʷi ɬu=?ab-yi-d
 I REM IRR=extend-DAT-ICS
 'the one who will give it to him [is] me'

- b. ?əcatxʷ kʷi ?u?abyid
 ?əca-txʷ kʷi ?u=?ab-yi-d
 I-ECS REM PFV=extend-DAT-ICS
 'let the one who gives it to him be me!'

(based on Hess 1967a: 15)

Similarly, adding the external causative to the negative adverb creates a form with the literal meaning 'cause something not to be/not to happen':

- (55) xʷi?txʷ ləsaxʷəbtub
 xʷi?-txʷ lə=saxʷəb-txʷ-b
 NEG-ECS NEGP=run-ECS-PASS
 'do not let anyone kidnap him!'

(Hess 1967a: 15)

Note that syntax of the derived verb is the same as the syntax of the negative adverb, discussed in Section 8.5 below.

The external causative is also associated with the interrogative word ?əxid 'what happened?', forming another question word ?əxidtxʷ 'do what to?':

- (56) a. ɬu?əxidəxʷ kʷi huy
 ɬu=?əxid=əxʷ kʷi huy
 IRR=what.happened=now REM be.done
 'what can be done?'

(Hess 1998: 100, line 255)

- b. ?əs?əxidtxʷ čəxʷ sixʷ tsi adbəda?
 ?əs=?əxid-txʷ čəxʷ sixʷ tsi ad-bəda?
 STAT=what.happened-ECS 2SG.SUB PTCL SPEC:FEM 2SG.PO-offspring
 'what have you done to your daughter?'

(Hess 1998: 99, line 230)

The question word ?əxid is used, as in (56a), to ask about events and actions, formulating questions glossed variously as 'what happened?' or 'what was done?'. Its causative form, ?əxidtxʷ, retains its interrogative sense but is syntactically a transitive verb, whose gloss might be paraphrased as 'cause what to happen to?'. Both in semantic and syntactic terms, this use of

-txʷ is perfectly regular and, given that interrogative words in Lushootseed are verbs, its combination with *?əxid* is unsurprising.

Another specialized use of *-txʷ* is its combination with the bound radical *⁊v̥xaλ* ‘be desirous of’ to form complex desiderative expressions, as in (57):

- (57) *xaλ' tub ?ə ti?ə? sqʷəbqʷəbay? kʷi gʷəsxaλ'utəbs*
xaλ'-txʷ-b ?ə ti?ə? sqʷəb-qʷəbay? kʷi gʷəs=s=xaλ'u-t-b=s
 desire-ECS-PASS PR PROX DSTR-dog REM SBJ=NM=chew.up-ICS-PASS=3PO
 ‘his being chewed up was desired by the dogs’

(Hess 1998: 46, ex. 1)

In such expressions, the form *xaλ'txʷ* ‘want that’ is used as a transitive verb whose subject is the “wanter” and the direct object is the object of desire. In (57) the verb has been passivized and the subject is a sentential nominal (Section 7.4.2.1) expressing a desired event. Further discussion of desiderative expressions can be found in Sections 0 (on morphological desideratives) and 8.5.

The final aspect of the external causative to be discussed here concerns its overlap with the internal causative, *-t*. As noted earlier, the basic semantic distinction between these two causatives is the relative involvement of the AGENT in the event, state, or process expressed by the radical (Beck 1996). With the internal causative, the AGENT is considered to be a more integrated participant in the event either by dint of direct physical contact with the PATIENT or greater affectedness of the AGENT (or, occasionally, the PATIENT) by the event itself. Many external causative forms, like causatives in many other languages, imply that the change-of-state or process undergone by the PATIENT was caused by a separate (often unspecified) action or event initiated by the AGENT rather than being the result of direct action of the AGENT on the PATIENT itself. As a result, the bulk of radicals select either the internal or the external causative, depending on the nature of the state or process they express;³⁶ however, there are a number of

³⁶ Note that, because transitive stems are derived from intransitive radicals, there is no potential for the formation of causatives of transitive stems. Except for secondary suffixes (Section 2.1.3), Lushootseed disallows combinations of valency-increasing suffixes, thereby excluding the possibility of adding a causative suffix to a transitive stem (which would itself have to have been derived using a causative or applicative suffix).

radicals that have both an internal and an external causative form. Some of these are given in

Table 29:

?atxʷ ‘cause ⊗ to be somewhere’	?aʔəd ‘put ⊗’
?up'txʷ ‘seat ⊗ on another’s lap’	?up'ud ‘seat ⊗ on one’s lap’
ča?kʷtxʷ ‘take ⊗ out to sea’	čagʷəd ‘take ⊗ out to sea’
čaltxʷ ‘catch ⊗’	čalad ‘chase ⊗’
čəba?txʷ ‘backpack ⊗’	čəba?əd ‘backpack ⊗’
da?txʷ ‘name ⊗ (spirit power)’	da?ad ‘name ⊗’
dukʷtxʷ ‘make ⊗ angry/disgusted’	dukʷud ‘change ⊗, transform ⊗’
kʷiltxʷ ‘cause ⊗ to peer out’	kʷilid ‘peek at ⊗’
hədiw'txʷ ‘bring ⊗ inside’	hədiw'd ‘put ⊗ inside’
tidtxʷ ‘tie to ⊗’	tidid ‘tie ⊗ up’
λ'iq'ači?btxʷ ‘make ⊗’s hands sticky’	λ'iq'id ‘stick ⊗ on’
λ'ubtxʷ ‘get ⊗ fixed’	λ'ubad ‘agree to ⊗’
qiq'txʷ ‘confine ⊗’	qiq'əd ‘confine ⊗’
q'iltxʷ ‘take ⊗ by canoe’	q'ilid ‘load ⊗ aboard’
wiliq'ʷtxʷ ‘ask ⊗ on another’s behalf’	wiliq'ʷid ‘ask ⊗’
sulatxʷ ‘bring ⊗ to centre of room’	sulad ‘put ⊗ in centre of room’
xa?xa?txʷ ‘forbid ⊗ (act)’	xa?xa?əd ‘deny permission ⊗’

Table 29: Radicals with both -txʷ and -t forms

In some cases, the glosses of the verb stems make the difference in meaning between the two types of causative clear, as in the case of ?up'ud ‘seat someone on one’s own lap’ vs. ?up'txʷ ‘seat someone on another’s lap’, given in context in (58):

- (58) a. ?up'ud tsı dsuqʷwa?
 ?up'u-d tsı d-suqʷwa?
 seated.on.lap-ICS SPEC;FEM 1SG.PO-younger.cousin
 ‘he seats my younger cousin on his lap’
- b. ?up'txʷ tsı dsuqʷwa?
 ?up'-txʷ tsı d-suqʷwa?
 seated.on.lap-ECS SPEC;FEM 1SG.PO-younger.cousin
 ‘he seats my younger cousin on another person’s lap’

(Hess 1993: 120n)

Other cases, like *hədiw'd* ‘put inside’ vs. *hədiw'txʷ* ‘bring inside’ or *sulad* ‘put in centre of room’ vs. *sulatxʷ* ‘bring to centre of room’ are less clear and, judging by their glosses, the forms seem to be nearly synonymous — or at least to overlap greatly in their potential to be used to describe particular events. There are also a few forms (e.g., *da?ad* ‘name’ vs. *da?txʷ* ‘name spirit power’, *čalad* ‘chase’ vs. *čaltxʷ* ‘catch someone’) where the difference seems to be lexicalized,

at least to the extent that the distinctions seen in the attested uses of these words do not obviously conform to the more regular semantic nuances expressed by other contrasting uses of these two suffixes.

Another set of radicals also combines with both causatives, but the resulting stems show restrictions on potential aspectual inflections. With these radicals the external causative forms are largely restricted to the stative aspect and are ungrammatical with the perfective, while the internal causative forms are ungrammatical in the stative aspect. Both the external and the internal causative forms of these radicals are given in Table 30:

<i>?əsbəčtxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes laid down’	<i>bəčad</i> ‘set \otimes down’
<i>?əscaq'txʷ</i> ‘have \otimes impaled’	<i>caq'ad</i> ‘spear \otimes ’
<i>?əsciltxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes dished up’	<i>ciliđ</i> ‘support \otimes , dish \otimes up’
<i>?əscqʷułtxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes hung on post’	—; (<i>vçqʷuł</i> ‘post’)
<i>?əsd'aq'txʷ</i> ‘have sex with \otimes ’	<i>d'aq'ad</i> ‘fell \otimes ’
<i>?əshudtxʷ</i> ‘keep \otimes (fire) burning’	<i>hudud</i> ‘burn \otimes ’
<i>?əshuytxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes prepared’	<i>huyud</i> ‘make \otimes , complete \otimes ’
<i>?əsjiq'txʷ</i> ‘have \otimes immersed’	<i>jiq'id</i> ‘immerse \otimes ’
<i>?əskaki?txʷ</i> ‘have \otimes in cradleboard’	—; (<i>vkəki?</i> ‘cradleboard’)
<i>?əstic'txʷ</i> ‘have \otimes cut into pieces’	<i>tič'id</i> ‘cut \otimes with knife’
<i>?əsλ'altxʷ</i> ‘be wearing \otimes ’	<i>λ'alš</i> ‘put \otimes on’
<i>?əsqʷatxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes laid out’	<i>qʷatad</i> ‘lay \otimes down’
<i>?əsqʷibtxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes ready’	<i>qʷibid</i> ‘prepare \otimes ’
<i>?əsta?txʷ</i> ‘have \otimes in place’	<i>taʔad</i> ‘put \otimes in position’
<i>?əst'agʷtxʷ</i> ‘rest on top of \otimes ’	<i>t'agʷtəd</i> ‘put \otimes on top’
<i>?əsxʷəctxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes taken off/away’	<i>xʷəcəd</i> ‘take \otimes (clothing) off’
<i>?əsx̥kʷtxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes overturned’	<i>škʷəd</i> ‘turn \otimes over’
<i>?əsx̥qyalustxʷ</i> ‘have ends of \otimes wrapped’	<i>šxqəd</i> ‘wind string or cloth around \otimes ’
<i>?əsx̥qaličtxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes packed up’	<i>šxqəd</i> ‘wind string or cloth around \otimes ’

Table 30: External causative forms requiring the stative aspect

In most cases, the basic meaning of the verb stems in the two columns in Table 30 are the same, the exceptions being the idiomatic expression *?əsd'aq'txʷ* ‘have sex with’ (from ${}^o\sqrt{d'aq'}$ ‘toppled, fallen’) and two forms based on nouns (*?əskaki?txʷ* ‘have in cradleboard’ from $\sqrt{vkəki?}$ ‘cradleboard’ and *?əscqʷułtxʷ* ‘have hung on post’ from $\sqrt{vçqʷuł}$ ‘post’). In the remainder of cases the semantic distinction between the forms is purely aspectual, the combination of the stative aspect and the external causative giving the reading of ‘have X in the state of’ as opposed to the internal causative which has the usual meaning ‘cause X to be in the state of’. Of the two

forms, the internal causative form seems to be the more widely distributed and, aside from the constraint against appearing in the perfective aspect, seems to be amenable to most other aspectual inflections, including the imperfective (59a) and the progressive (59b):

- (59) a. bəčatəbaxʷ ti?i₄ kʷat'aq dəxʷ?ibəš ?ə ti?i₄ bibščəb ?i ti?i₄ su?suqʷas
 \emptyset -bəča-t-əb-axʷ ti?i₄ kʷat'aq dəxʷ=?ibəš ?ə ti?i₄ bi-bščəb
 IMPF-be.lying-ICS-PASS-now DIST mat ADNM=travel PR DIST ATTN-mink
 ?i ti?i₄ su?-suqʷa-s
 and DIST ATTN-younger.cousin-3PO
 'a cat-tail mat is laid down for Little Mink and his younger cousin to walk on'
 (Hess 1995: 142, line 44)

- b. gʷəl ləbəčatəb ?al ti?i₄ qʷu?
 gʷəl lə=bəča-t-əb ?al ti?i₄ qʷu?
 then PROG=be.lying-ICS-PASS at DIST water
 'then it was being set down in the water'
 (Hess 2006: 50, line 204)

It should be noted, however, that although all the forms in the left column of Table 30 are given in the *Lushootseed Dictionary* in their citation form with the stative prefix, and the majority of them are not attested in the present corpus in other aspects, two of them do appear in texts in aspects other than the stative. These are *huytxʷ* ‘have something prepared’, which appears in the imperfective aspect (60a), and *χqaličtxʷ* ‘have something packed up’, which is used in the continuous aspect (60b):

- (60) a. bəhuytxʷ
 $bə=\emptyset$ -huy-txʷ
 ADD=IMPF-be.done-ECS
 ‘he prepared it some more’
 (Hess 2006: 47, line 137)

- b. t̥uhuyud čə₄ čla ləsχqaličtxʷ čxʷa t̥ut'ukʷtxʷ
 t̥u=huyu-d čə₄ čla ləs-χq-alič-txʷ čxʷa
 IRR=be.done-ICS 1PL.SUB 1PL.COORD CONT-wrapped-bundle-ECS 2SG.COORD
 t̥u=t'ukʷ-txʷ
 IRR=go.home-ECS
 ‘we will prepare it, we are bundling it up and you will take it home’
 (Hess 1998: 80, line 68)

Thus, it may be that these and other *-tx^w* forms that seem to be restricted to the stative aspect may in fact potentially appear in other (non-perfective) aspects as well, and their overwhelming preference for the stative aspect may simply reflect pragmatic factors governing their usage rather than formal aspects of their semantics.

2.1.2.3 Diminished control causative $-dx^w$

Another frequent valency-increasing suffix is *-dx^w* ‘diminished control [DC]’. This causative transitive affix is added to intransitive stems and, like *-t* and *-tx^w*, adds an AGENT/subject to the expression. However, in *-dx^w* forms the AGENT is in less than complete control of the situation.³⁷

Consider the forms in (61), based on the radical *vbač* ‘be lying down, be fallen from standing’:

In (61a), the bare radical is shown with its basic meaning, ‘be lying down’. The addition of the diminished control suffix creates a verb meaning ‘knock something over’ — that is, ‘accidentally cause something to be lying down’. Thus, the diminished control suffix adds an AGENT to the

³⁷ stems with ICS and DC: 16/22; with ECS and DC: 4/22; with both: 2/22. Show the agent in ICS and DC more alike.

expression. This AGENT is expressed as a syntactic subject and the PATIENT (the THEME of the radical) is expressed as a direct object. When the PATIENT is first- or second-person, the verb takes *b*-form object markers (Section 8.1.2), as shown in (61b). The new object is treated syntactically like any direct object, and is subject to object-centred syntactic processes such as passivization (61c). In the passive and in the presence of the object-markers, *-dx^w* becomes [-du-]. When the derived stem takes an overt NP argument, this argument is interpreted as direct object:

- (62) ?uk'ʷə́l̥dxʷ ti qʷu?
 ?u-k'ʷə́l̥-dxʷ ti qʷu?
 PFV-poured-DC SPEC water
 's/he spilled the water'

(Hess 1995: 18, ex. 1b)

This property of transitive verbs is discussed in more detail in Section 8.2.2 below.

Like the external causative *-tx^w*, *-dx^w* shows some morphophonemic interaction with certain affixes that follow it, most notable the passive suffix (Section 6.2) and the object- (8.1.2) and reciprocal-markers (8.1.3), all of which cause the final /x^w/ of the diminished control suffix to become /u/. When followed by the reciprocal marker (8.1.4), the diminished control suffix is realized simply as /d/. Unlike *-tx^w*, however, *-dx^w* triggers schwa epenthesis when it follows a voiceless consonant and is word-final, as in the examples in (63):

- (63) laxədxʷ ‘remember’ < ^o/lax ‘remember’
 t'uc'ədxʷ ‘manage to shoot’ < ^o/t'uc’ ‘be shot’

(Hess 1967a: 12)

This schwa, however, is not recognized in Lushootseed orthography and is not included in any of the published texts, nor will it be included in the examples presented in the remainder of this grammar.

Table 31 gives a number of examples of stems formed with the diminished control morpheme, along with the gloss provided for them in the source:

?adəqdxʷ ‘happen to meet up with ⊗’ (^o?adəq ‘be met’; cf. ?adəqbid ‘meet ⊗’)

?a?il ^w	‘manage to put \otimes there’	(?a?il ‘get there’ from $\sqrt{?a}$ ‘be there’)
?uq ^w dx ^w	‘be left open to \otimes , be vulnerable to \otimes ’	($\sqrt{?uq}^w$ ‘be unplugged’; cf. $?uq^wud$ ‘unplug \otimes ’)
bək ^w dx ^w	‘manage to get all of \otimes ’	($\sqrt{bək}^w$ ‘all, completely’) ³⁸
caq ^w adx ^w	‘lead \otimes ’	(caq ^w ‘step’ from \sqrt{caq} ‘be speared’ + -ṣad ‘leg’)
c'əldx ^w	‘manage to defeat \otimes ’	($\sqrt{c'əl}$ ‘be defeated’; cf. c'əld ‘defeat \otimes ’)
čal ^w dx ^w	‘catch up to \otimes ’	($\sqrt{čal}$ ‘be overtaken’)
č'ax ^w dx ^w	‘manage to hit \otimes with a stick’	($\sqrt{č'ax}^w$ ‘be hit with a stick’)
dik ^w dx ^w	‘instruct \otimes ’	(\sqrt{dik}^w ‘be advised’; cf. dx ^w dig ^w id ‘advise \otimes ’)
duk ^w idx ^w	‘be dissatisfied with \otimes ’	(duk ^w il ‘become strange’ from \sqrt{duk}^w ‘be abnormal’) ³⁹
həli ^w dx ^w	‘save the life of \otimes ’	($\sqrt{həli}^w$ ‘be alive’)
huydx ^w	‘manage to do \otimes ’	(\sqrt{huy} ‘be done, be made, be finished’)
k'awdx ^w	‘collide with \otimes ’	($\sqrt{k'aw}$ ‘be bumped’; cf. k'awqid ‘bump head’)
k ^w a?dx ^w	‘manage to let go of \otimes ’	($\sqrt{kwa?}$ ‘be released’; k ^w a ^w d ‘release \otimes ’)
k ^w ax ^w dx ^w	‘manage to help \otimes ’	(\sqrt{kwax}^w ‘be helped’; cf. k ^w ax ^w ad ‘help \otimes ’)
k ^w ədx ^w	‘manage to take \otimes ’	($\sqrt{kwəd}$ ‘be held, be taken’)
k ^w əłdx ^w	‘spill \otimes ’	($\sqrt{kwəł}$ ‘pour out, spill out’)
labdx ^w	‘see \otimes ’	(\sqrt{lab} ‘appear’)
laždx ^w	‘remember \otimes ’	($\sqrt{laž}$ ‘recall, remember’)
lək ^w dx ^w	‘manage to eat \otimes ’	($\sqrt{lək}^w$ ‘be eaten’)
ləx ^w dx ^w	‘manage to stab \otimes ’	($\sqrt{ləx}^w$ ‘be stabbed, be cut’; cf. ləx ^w ud ‘stab \otimes ’)
lildx ^w	‘draw away from \otimes ’	(\sqrt{lil} ‘far’)
λ'ubildx ^w	‘manage to improve \otimes ’	($\sqrt{λ'ub}$ ‘improve’ from $\sqrt{λ'ub}$ ‘good, well’)
pusdx ^w	‘manage to hit \otimes with missile’	(\sqrt{pus} ‘be hit by \otimes (missile)’)
p'alidx ^w	‘revive \otimes ’	($\sqrt{p'alil}$ ‘regain consciousness’)
qəłdx ^w	‘accidentally awaken \otimes ’	($\sqrt{qəł}$ ‘be awake’)
šudx ^w	‘catch sight of \otimes ’	($\sqrt{šut}$ ‘appear, be visible’)
təqdx ^w	‘block \otimes ’s path’	($\sqrt{təq}$ ‘closed’; cf. tqad ‘close \otimes , block \otimes off’)
χəłdx ^w	‘injure \otimes ’	($\sqrt{χəł}$ ‘be sick’)
χ ^w al'dx ^w	‘get the better of \otimes ’	($\sqrt{χwal'}$ ‘be unable, fail, lose’)

Table 31: Stems formed with **-dx^w**

As can be seen in the glosses of many of these examples, the diminished control expressed by **-dx^w** generally has one of two sources — either the action is performed accidentally (*qəłdx^w* ‘accidentally awaken’, *k^wəłdx^w* ‘spill’), or the action is performed with some difficulty (*c'əldx^w* ‘manage to defeat’, *č'ax^wdx^w* ‘manage to club, manage to get a lick in’). Which of the two types of reading a verb will have depends loosely on the basic meaning of the radical. Thus, radicals expressing non-desirable states or conditions unlikely to be desired by an actor ($^{o}k'aw$ ‘be bumped’, $\sqrt{k'}əł$ ‘pour out, spill out’) tend to have accidental readings, while radicals that express more desirable states or the endpoints of willful action on the part of an AGENT ($^{o}k^wax^w$

³⁸ See fn. 12 above.

³⁹ This form is a bit odd as its meaning seems more closely related to the sense of \sqrt{duk}^w ‘be worthless’; however, *duk^wil* is only attested with the meaning ‘become strange, become supernatural’ and not with the meaning ‘become worthless’.

‘be helped’, *λ’ubildxʷ* ‘manage to improve’) tend to have the achieved-with-difficulty reading. Similarly, radicals expressing undesirable states that might be resisted by a potential undergoer (*√c’al* ‘be defeated’, *√ləlxʷ* ‘be stabbed, be cut’) generally take *-dxʷ* with a reading of difficulty in achievement. Some verbs of perception (*labdxʷ* ‘see’) and mental states (*lałdxʷ* ‘remember’, *p’alildxʷ* ‘bring around’) also take (or are only used with) *-dxʷ*, reflecting the lack of direct conscious control we have over perceptual stimuli and mental processes.⁴⁰ However, with most stems the source of the diminished control is ultimately context-dependent. Compare, for example, the glosses of the sentences in (64):

- (64) a. ?uč’axʷdxʷ
 ?u-č’axʷ-dxʷ
 PFV–clubbed–DC
 ‘he finally got a “lick” in [with his switch]’
- b. ?uč’axʷdubuł
 ?u-č’axʷ-dxʷ-buł
 PFV–clubbed–DC–1PL.OBJ
 ‘he accidentally hit us with a stick’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 69)

Although the verb stems in the two sentences are the same, the glosses (based on the context of utterance) are entirely different with respect to the locus of the diminished control. In the first case, the AGENT is not in control due to the resistance of the PATIENT not wanting to be switched, in the second case the diminished control comes from the inadvertent nature of the act. This type of context-dependent localization of diminished control is extended even further in the sentence in (65):

- (65) gʷəhaw’ə? xʷul’ ?ułęgʷəldxʷ tsi?ə? čęgʷas
 gʷə=haw’ə? xʷul’ ?u-łęgʷł-dxʷ tsi?ə? čęgʷas-s
 SBJ=PTCL only PFV-leave.behind-DC DIST:FEM wife-3PO
 ‘it would seem he only just left his wife behind’

(Hess 2006: 12, line 42)

⁴⁰ Cf. *hudxʷ* ‘happen to hear ⊗, hear about ⊗’ (from *√lu* ‘hear’). In this form the diminished control suffix functions as an applicative.

This sentence comes from a story in which Heron leaves his wife behind in their house (with no great difficulty) to go fishing (deliberately) for a particular food that his wife, Little Diver, has requested. The diminished control in this instance arises from the fact the Heron has no choice but to leave his wife (who is feigning illness) behind — and that, when he does so, his wife's lover comes to visit her, making Heron's diminished control of the situation the central point of this section of the narrative. Thus, *-dx^w* seems to be singularly unselective about the locus of diminished control, requiring only that the AGENT not be in full control of some salient aspect of the event under consideration.

There are a small number of radicals that form reflexive stems with *-dx^w*:

<i>həd?iw'dubut</i> 'manage to get inside'	(<i>v/həd?iw'</i> 'be inside a house')
<i>ṭalildubut</i> 'manage to get ashore'	(<i>v/ṭalil</i> 'go ashore')
<i>šəd'aldubut</i> 'manage to get outside'	(<i>v/šəd'al</i> 'go outside')
<i>šulagʷildubut</i> 'manage to get in small space'	(<i>šulagʷil</i> 'go in/under' from <i>v/šul</i> 'be in, be under')
<i>təłəłdubut</i> 'manage to arrive safely'	(<i>v/təłəłt</i> 'arrive safely')

Table 32: Reflexive stems formed with *-dx^w*

For one of these stems, *ṭalildx^w* 'beach something', the non-reflexive transitive diminished control form is the only form attested; the only transitive forms attested for the other radicals in this set are those formed with *-tx^w* 'external causative' (e.g., *ṭaliltx^w* 'bring ashore'). This may stem from the fact that most of the AGENTS associated with *-dx^w* forms are more akin to the AGENTS associated with the internal causative, *-t*, and are treated as internal to rather than external to the event being expressed by the stem, allowing for the use of the reflexive suffix, which is otherwise only found with the internal causative form of verbs.

In addition to stems formed on identifiable roots, the diminished control suffix also appears to be a part of a number of synchronically unanalyzable stems or stems based on putative radicals which are not clearly attested as part of other forms. These include two high-frequency verbs, *haydx^w* 'know' and *?ɔy'dx^w* 'find', as well as a few others such as *qʷacdx^w* 'doubt'. In

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these cases, the “presence” of the diminished control morpheme is seen in the transitivity of the verb stem and by the fact that these verbs all take *b*-series objects:

- (66) a. ?u?ey'dubuł čəxʷ ?al ti?ɔ? ?əλ'ažad
 ?u-?ey'dxʷ-buł čəxʷ ?al ti?ɔ? ?əλ'•ažad
 PFV-find-1PL.OBJ 2SG.SUB at PROX come-side
 ‘you found us on this side’

(Hess 2006: 72, line 709)

- b. ?uhaydubš ti stubš
 ?u-haydxʷ-bš ti stubš
 PFV-know-1SG.OBJ SPEC man
 ‘the man found out who I was’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 107)

This is fairly good evidence that diachronically these stems are formed from an intransitive radical combined with the diminished control suffix; if the stem itself were transitive, the *s*-series would be expected.

Finally, there are a few stems formed with *-dxʷ* from bivalent bases. When the base is bivalent and intransitive, as in *λ'aldxʷ* ‘manage to get something on’ (from *√λ'al* ‘put something on’), the diminished control suffix acts as an applicative, promoting the oblique object of the base to direct object, as well as adding the notion of diminished control. In the case of the transitive radical *√λəgʷl* ‘leave something’, the base for *λəgʷəldxʷ* ‘manage to leave something behind’, *-dxʷ* has no effect on the valency of the base, merely serving to mark diminished control. Hess (1990) also notes two more stems formed with *-dxʷ* where this suffix does not function as a causative. The first of these is *pusil* ‘throw something’, in which the diminished control suffix functions merely as a syntactic transitivizer, promoting an oblique object of a bivalent intransitive stem to direct object without affecting the semantic valency of the stem, as shown in (67):

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- (67) a. ?upusil ?_ø ti?_ø? č'λ'a?
 ?u-pus-il ?_ø ti?_ø? č'λ'a?
 PFV-thrown-INCH PR PROX rock
 's/he threw the rock'
- (Hess 1990: 174, ex. 5)
- b. ?upusidx^w ti?_ø? č'λ'a?
 ?u-pus-il-dx^w ?_ø ti?_ø? č'λ'a?
 PFV-thrown-INCH-DC PR PROX rock
 's/he threw the rock'
- (Hess 1990: 174, ex. 6)

Here, the stem without *-dx^w* — based on the radical *√pus* ‘be hit by something (missile)’ plus an idiosyncratic use of the inchoative *-il* (Section 2.1.1.2) — is bivalent, taking the expression of the missile as an oblique object (67a). When *-dx^w* is added, the valency of the stem is unaltered but the derived verb is transitive, expressing the missile as a direct object (67b). A similar pattern is seen with the radical *√q'il* ‘be aboard’, as shown in (68):

- (68) a. ?uq'il dx^w?al ti?_ø? sdəx^wi^l
 ?u-q'il dx^w-?al ti?_ø? sdəx^wi^l
 PFV-be.aboard CNTRPT-at PROX canoe
 'it is aboard the hunting canoe'
- (Hess 1990: 174, ex. 7)
- b. ?uq'ildx^w ti?_ø? sdəx^wi^l
 ?u-q'il-dx^w ti?_ø? sdəx^wi^l
 PFV-be.aboard-DC PROX canoe
 's/he loaded the hunting canoe'
- (Hess 1990: 174, ex. 8)

In this case, the oblique locative object subcategorized for by the bare radical becomes a direct object of the *-dx^w* form. Note, however, that in addition to transitivizing the stem, in this form the affix also changes the semantic valency of the stem: rather than subcategorizing for a THEME (the object aboard the canoe) and a LOCATION (the canoe), as does the bare radical *√q'il*, *q'ildx^w* subcategorizes for an AGENT and a LOCATION, making this use of *-dx^w* quite distinct from its normal use as a diminished control causative.

It should also be noted that the forms in (67b) and (68b) seem to lack the notion of diminished control found in other *-dx^w* forms, at least based on the glosses. It seems possible that

the uncertainty of hitting one's target when throwing something might account for the use of the diminished control affix with *pusildx^w*, although the full-control form *pusud* 'throw at something' exists as well. The use of the suffix in *q'ildx^w* seems even more mysterious. As Hess (1990) points out, it may be that the glosses are inadequate or in some way deceptive — or it may simply be that these are phraseologized uses of the diminished control suffix that have gone down their own particular path of diachronic development. Until further attestations of these stems are uncovered, these questions will have to be left unanswered.

2.1.2.4 Causative middle -*b*

The suffix -*b* 'causative middle [CSMD]' is an intransitive causative suffix added to a monovalent base to create a bivalent intransitive verb stem, increasing the valency of the radical by adding an agentive syntactic subject, while the erstwhile PATIENT of the radical is realized as an oblique object:

- (69) a. *dił ləsq'ʷəlas gʷəbədiłəs*
dił ləs-qʷəl=as gʷə=bə=dil=əs
 FOC PROG,STAT-cooked=3SBJ SBJ=ADD=FOC=3SBJ
 'it's this that would be cooked if it were that sort of thing'
- (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 195)
- b. *huy q'ʷəlb=axʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? bu?qʷ*
huy q'ʷəl-b=axʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? bu?qʷ
 SCONJ cooked-CSMD=now PL PR PROX duck
 'well then they cook themselves these ducks'
- (Hess 2006: 65, line 547)

In addition to acting as a causative and adding an AGENT to the diathesis of the verb, the causative middle generally adds an element of self-interest on the part of the AGENT and focuses the expression on the AGENT's involvement in the action expressed by the verb rather than its effect on the PATIENT. Compare the causative middle form in (69b) with the transitive (internal causative) form in (70):

- (70) bəlčiltxʷyitəb ?ə ti?ə? ?alalš ?ə ti?ə? s?əłəd λ'ushuys kʷi λ'usqʷəłds əlgʷə?
 bə=łčil-txʷ-yi-t-əb ?ə ti?ə? ?al-alš ?ə ti?ə? s?əłəd
 ADD=arrive-ECS-DAT-PASS PR PROX PL-cross.sex.sibling PR PROX food
 λ'u=s=huy=s kʷi λ'u=s=qʷəł-d=s əlgʷə?
 HAB=NM=be.done=3PO REM HAB=NM=cooked-ICS=3PO PL
 'the brothers brought food to her again when they finished cooking it'
 (Hess 2006: 45, line 72)

In this example, the focus is clearly on the fact that the food is cooked, and the AGENTS, the brothers, do the cooking on behalf of someone else rather than in their own specific interests.

In other forms, the semantic contribution of the causative middle is less that of self-interest and more one of placing emphasis on the AGENT's activity, backgrounding its effect on a specific PATIENT. This gives us verbal pairs based on the same radical such as *č'aʔəb* 'dig for something (roots)' vs. *č'aʔəd* 'dig something up', where the middle form describes a specific kind of digging and construes it as an activity while the internal causative describes an event and is more focused on the specific effects (the disinterment) of an action on a particular PATIENT. Several of these causative middle forms have lexicalized to the point of explicitly naming culturally salient activities (e.g., *tič'ib* 'cut something (cattails for mats)', *yiq'ib* 'make something (baskets)'). Both aspects of the middle's semantics — the self-interest and the activity reading — are quite in line with the cross-linguistic behaviour of what are called middle-markers in a wide range of languages, and fit nicely with Kemmer's (1993) hypothesis that the middle is in general a marker of reduced semantic transitivity.

Table 33 shows a number of forms where the middle marker is added to a monovalent radical to form a bivalent intransitive stem:

<i>č'aʔəb</i> 'dig for \otimes (roots)'	($\circ/\check{č}'a?$ 'be dug up'; cf. <i>č'aʔəd</i> 'dig \otimes up')
<i>gʷəč'əb</i> 'seek \otimes for self'	($\circ/gʷəč'$ 'be sought'; cf. <i>gʷəč'əd</i> 'look for \otimes ')
<i>kʷadab</i> 'take \otimes for self'	($\check{k}ʷəd$ 'be held, be taken')
<i>tič'ib</i> 'cut \otimes (cattails) for mats'	($\check{t}ič'$ 'get cut with knife')
<i>λ'agʷəb</i> 'make \otimes (mat)'	($\circ/\check{λ}'akʷ$ 'be stitched'; cf. <i>λ'agʷəd</i> 'stitch \otimes (mat)')
<i>qədəb</i> 'have illicit sex with \otimes '	($\circ/qəd$ 'fornicate'; cf. <i>dxʷqəd</i> 'cuckhold \otimes ')
<i>q'ilb</i> 'put \otimes on board one's canoe' ⁴¹	($\check{q}'il$ 'be aboard')
<i>qʷəlb</i> 'cook \otimes for oneself'	($\check{q}ʷəł$ 'be cooked, be ripe')

⁴¹ This form is also attested as *q'iləb* when the middle suffix is in word-final position.

yiq'ib ‘make \otimes (baskets)’

(\sqrt{yiq} ‘be worked into tight place’)

Table 33: Bivalent intransitive stems formed with -b

As can be seen in the forms in Table 33, the causative middle suffix has two allomorphs, [-b] and [-əb], and interacts morphophonemically with its stem in the same way that the internal causative suffix does (Section 2.1.2.1). For many radicals, the distribution of the two allomorphs is conditioned by the preceding segment: the [-b] allomorph appears following vowels and approximants (e.g., $\sqrt{q}^wəl$ ‘be cooked, be ripe’ > $q^wəlb$ ‘cook something’), and the [-əb] allomorph appears following obstruents ($\sqrt{č}a?$ ‘be dug up’ > $č'a?əb$ ‘dig for something (roots)’). For another set of radicals, those requiring an epenthetic harmonic vowel with the internal causative, the causative middle also triggers final epenthesis ($\sqrt{tič}$ ‘get cut with knife’ > *tič'ib* ‘cut cattails for mats’, *tič'id* ‘cut something with a knife’; \sqrt{yiq} ‘be worked into tight place’ > *yiq'ib* ‘make something (baskets)’, *yiq'id* ‘weave something (basket)’).⁴² Similarly, those radicals that epenthize a lexically-specified vowel with the internal causative add the same vowel before the causative middle ($\sqrt{k}wəd$ ‘be held, be taken’ > *kwədab* ‘take something for self’, *kwədad* ‘take something’). This morphophonemic interaction with its base distinguishes the causative middle from the homophonous valency-neutral middle and constitutes another argument in favour of their formal treatment as separate morphemes.

2.1.2.5 Causative of activity *-alik^w*

The suffix *-alik^w* ‘causative of activity [ACT]’ — or, as it has been traditionally glossed, ‘creative activity’ (Hess 1976; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994; Bates & Hess 2003) — is an intransitive causative suffix which, when added to a monovalent base, creates a bivalent intransitive verb by adding an AGENT expressed as syntactic subject. The resultant verbs express

⁴² A possible exception to this is $\sqrt{šab}$ ‘be dry’ which has the middle form *šabəb* ‘dry something’; however, there are no attestations of this stem that clearly illustrate its valency, so it is possible that the stem is monovalent, meaning something like ‘dry food’. Otherwise, it may simply be an exceptional form.

an event in which the AGENT is engaged in an activity affecting a PATIENT or involving a THEME.

As an intransitive causative, however, the causative of activity creates stems that express the PATIENT/THEME as an oblique, rather than a direct, object, as in (71):

- (71) a. ?uč'ačw čəd
 ?u-č'ačw čəd
 PFV-clubbed 1SG.SUB
 'I got hit [by a branch in the thicket]'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 69)

- b. Ḵ'ubəxw čəl ?uč'axʷalikʷ ?ə ti?ə? bu?qʷ
 Ḵ'ub=əxʷ čəl ?u-č'axʷ-alikʷ ?ə ti?ə? bu?qʷ
 well-now 1PL.SUB PFV-clubbed-ACT PR PROX duck
 'we had better use [our paddles] as clubs against these ducks'

(Hess 2006: 76, line 810)

Here, the radical *č'axʷ* ‘be hit with a stick’ in its bare form assigns the semantic role of PATIENT to its single argument, which is expressed as the semantic subject (71a). When *-alikʷ* is added to the radical, the subject of the derived form is an AGENT and the PATIENT is expressed as an oblique object, as in (71b). As shown in (72), an overt, non-oblique NP is interpreted as the subject rather than the object of an *-alikʷ* form:

- (72) c'əlalikʷ tsi?ił Ḵ'ał'ac'apəd
 c'əl-alikʷ tsi?ił Ḵ'ał'ac'apəd
 defeated-ACT DIST:FEM ant
 ‘Ant wins’

(Hess 1995: 145, line 58)

This is an interpretive property of intransitive verbs or what have traditionally been referred to as “agent-oriented stems” (e.g., Hess 1995).

In addition to changing the valency of its base, *-alikʷ* adds the notion of a repeated or temporally extended action (Bates & Hess 2003), frequently creating verbs for culturally important or routine activities. A number of such forms are given in Table 34:

?abalikʷ ‘give ⊗ away as in a potlatch’	(^o √?ab ‘be extended’; cf. ?abəd ‘extend ⊗, give ⊗’)
?ilalikʷ ‘interpret ⊗’	(√?il ‘sing’)
bəčalikʷ ‘bet ⊗, place a wager with ⊗’	(√bəč ‘be lying, be fallen from standing’)
cag'alinkʷ ‘spear ⊗, impale ⊗’	(√cag ‘be speared, be impaled’)
cilalikʷ ‘dish ⊗ (food)’	(√cil ‘be supported, be dished up’)

<i>cilyialikʷ</i> ‘dish up \otimes (food) for \otimes ’	($\sqrt{c}il$ ‘be supported, be dished up’)
<i>c'əlalikʷ</i> ‘defeat \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{c}'əl$ ‘be defeated’; cf. <i>c'əld</i> ‘defeat \otimes ’)
<i>c'išalikʷ</i> ‘fry \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{c}'iš$ ‘be fried’; cf. <i>c'išid</i> ‘fry \otimes ’)
<i>c'salikʷ</i> ‘peck at \otimes ; nail \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{c}'as$ ‘be pecked’; cf. <i>c'asad</i> ‘peck \otimes ; nail \otimes ’)
<i>č'a?alikʷ</i> ‘dig for \otimes (edible roots)’	($^o\sqrt{č}'a?$ ‘be dug up’; cf. <i>č'a?əd</i> ‘dig \otimes up’)
<i>č'axʷalikʷ</i> ‘hit \otimes with stick’	($\sqrt{č}'ax^w$ ‘be hit with a stick’)
<i>č'ədžalikʷ</i> ‘stalk \otimes (prey)’	($^o\sqrt{č}'ədž$ ‘be stalked’; cf. <i>č'ədžəd</i> ‘sneak up on \otimes ’)
<i>d'ubalikʷ</i> ‘dance’	($^o\sqrt{d}'ub$ ‘be kicked’; cf. <i>d'ubud</i> ‘kick \otimes ’)
<i>galk''alikʷ</i> ‘knit \otimes ’	(\sqrt{galk}' ‘be wound, be tangled’)
<i>gʷəč'ålíkʷ</i> ‘habitually seek \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{gʷəč}'ač$ ‘be sought’; cf. <i>gʷəč'əd</i> ‘look for \otimes ’)
<i>gʷəłalalikʷ</i> ‘kill \otimes , slaughter \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{gʷəłal}$ ‘be hurt’; cf. <i>gʷəłal</i> ‘kill \otimes , punish \otimes ’)
<i>gʷiłalikʷ</i> ‘ask for \otimes ; seek compensation for \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{gʷił}$ ‘make an invitation’)
<i>huyalikʷ</i> ‘make \otimes , create \otimes ’	(\sqrt{huy} ‘be done, be made, be finished’)
<i>kʷədači?alikʷ</i> ‘shake hands with \otimes ’	(from <i>√kʷəd</i> ‘be held, be taken’ + <i>-ači?</i> ‘hand’)
<i>kʷədalikʷ</i> ‘take \otimes over and over’	($\sqrt{kʷəd}$ ‘be held, be taken’)
<i>k'awalikʷ</i> ‘chew \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{k}'aw$ ‘be chewed’; cf. <i>k'awad</i> ‘chew \otimes ’)
<i>kʷəłalikʷ</i> ‘serve \otimes (liquid)’	($^o\sqrt{k}'əłt$ ‘pouring out, spill out’)
<i>tač'ålíkʷ</i> ‘fight fire’	($\sqrt{tač}'ač$ ‘go out (fire)’)
<i>č'atəbalikʷ</i> ‘salt \otimes ’	($\sqrt{č}'atəb$ ‘be salty’)
<i>p'atlikʷ</i> ‘save \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{p}'at$ ‘be stored’; cf. <i>p'tad</i> ‘store \otimes ’)
<i>q'italikʷ</i> ‘hang \otimes (fish) up to dry’	($^o\sqrt{q}'it$ ‘be hung’; cf. <i>q'itid</i> ‘hang \otimes ’)
<i>subalikʷ</i> ‘smell \otimes ⁴³	($^o\sqrt{s}ub$ ‘have odour’; cf. <i>subud</i> ‘smell \otimes ’)
<i>šabalikʷ</i> ‘dry \otimes (food)’	($\sqrt{šab}$ ‘be dry’)
<i>tagʷałikʷ</i> ‘buy \otimes ’	(\sqrt{tag} ‘be bought’)
<i>tsalikʷ</i> ‘hammer \otimes , pound \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{ts}$ ‘be punched’ cf. <i>taśad</i> ‘punch \otimes ’)
<i>tulalikʷ</i> ‘read \otimes ; interpret \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{tuł}$ ‘be interpreted’; cf. <i>tulud</i> ‘interpret \otimes ’)
<i>tuč'ålíkʷ</i> ‘stretch \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{tuč}'ač$ ‘be stretched’)
<i>t'qalikʷ</i> ‘make bread; plaster’	($\sqrt{t'q}$ ‘be thick’)
<i>čč'ålíkʷ</i> ‘bite into \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{čč}'ač$ ‘be bitten’; cf. <i>čč'əd</i> ‘bite \otimes ’)
<i>xʷšalikʷ</i> ‘sow \otimes ; give goods at potlatch’	($^o\sqrt{xʷš}$ ‘be thrown’; cf. <i>xʷəšəd</i> ‘throw \otimes ; give away \otimes ’)
<i>čč'ålíkʷ</i> ‘count \otimes ’	($\sqrt{čč}'ač$ ‘think, feel, use one’s mind’)
<i>čč'adžalikʷ</i> ‘slaughter \otimes ’	($^o\sqrt{čč}'adž$ ‘be injured’; cf. <i>čč'adžad</i> ‘punish \otimes , annihilate \otimes ’)

Table 34: Stems formed with *-alikʷ*

In the bulk of these forms the additional semantic component of ‘activity’ or ‘creative activity’ is fairly obvious from the glosses, as in *^o√xʷəš* ‘be thrown, be distributed’ vs. *xʷšalikʷ* ‘sow; potlatch’ or *√tač'* ‘go out (fire)’ vs. *tač'ålíkʷ* ‘fight fire’. In these forms, in addition to causativizing the radical by adding an AGENT/subject, *-alikʷ* converts an expression of a state resulting from a telic, possibly punctual, action into an expression of a non-telic activity involving multiple instances of that action (as in the throwing of multiple seeds in sowing or the multiple acts of distribution of goods in a potlatch), or which involve extended activity or a suite of actions eventually leading to the resultant state (as in the various steps involved in fighting a

⁴³ This form is also recorded in the *Lushootseed Dictionary* as *šu?balikʷ* (Bates et al. 1994: 28).

fire, all of which lead up to the fire’s extinction). The same type of distinction can be seen in more idiosyncratic pairs such as *vbəč* ‘be lying’ vs. *bəčalikʷ* ‘bet, place a wager with’ or *vɣəlk’* ‘be wound, be tangled’ vs. *gəlk’alikʷ* ‘knit’, where a fairly generic stative expression has become lexicalized as an expression of a very specific activity involving (literally or metaphorically) placing some PATIENT or THEME in that state. In a few cases, the lexicalized meaning is so specific with respect to a potential object that the form is, at least in its attested uses, essentially monovalent (e.g., *tac’alikʷ* ‘fight fire’, *t’qalikʷ* ‘make bread; plaster’, *dʒubalikʷ* ‘dance’). Given that the nature of the THEME of such verbs is inherently specified by the meaning of the stem, the absence of an overtly expressed object with such forms is consistent with the focus of the causative of activity on the ACTOR’s role in the event.

There are a few cases where the glosses of the *-alikʷ* form and the radical (or the transitive or middle form of the same radical) appear to be largely synonymous, but the distinction is made apparent by commentary from speakers or investigators on the glosses — as for, instance, with *gʷəlalalikʷ* ‘kill, slaughter’ and *χʷadəlalikʷ* ‘slaughter’ to both of which Bates, Hess & Hilbert (1994) add the comment “for a *pigʷəd* (spirit power ceremony)”, or with *kʷətalikʷ* ‘serve liquid’ to the gloss of which Bates & Hess (2003) add “repeatedly (as to all the guests)”. Similarly, to the gloss of *kʷədalikʷ* ‘take over and over’ Bates & Hess (2003) add “(as in fishing)”, the parenthesis indicating a frequent context for usage rather than a part of the semantics of the verb (see, for instance, the use of *kʷədalikʷ* in Martha Lamont’s Changer story (Hess 1998: 75, line 261) where the context makes it clear that the verb there has nothing to do with catching fish). Presumably, for the handful of apparently synonymous verbal pairs for which such commentary is lacking, further investigation would reveal similar distinctions.

The close link between the sense of ‘activity’ inherent in *-alikʷ* and its frequent lexicalization in expressions of culturally important activities is also seen in the presence of the affix in a

number of nominal forms expressing professions or entities defined by their behaviour, as for example in the forms in (73):

- (73) a. $\ddot{\lambda}'uq^w$ atalik^w
 $\ddot{\lambda}'u-q^w$ at-alik^w
HAB-laid.out-ACT
‘farmer’
- b. duk^wəlik^w
duk^w-əlik^w
anormal-ACT
‘malevolent power that makes you do things the wrong way’
- c. dx^ws̥ayqsalik^w
dx^w-s-s̥-ay-qs-alik^w
CTD-NP-scraped-CNN-nose-ACT
‘barber’

Although these expressions are highly lexicalized, the relationship between the meaning of the radical and the meaning of the expression as a whole is consistent with the syntax and the semantics of the causative of activity seen in other forms such as those in Table 34.

2.1.2.6 Allative applicative -c/-s

Of the Lushootseed morphemes that fit the definition of applicative, -c/-s ‘allative applicative [ALTV]’ is the most straightforward, the others being secondary suffixes that require the presence of some other morpheme in order to form a transitive stem (Section 2.1.3). When attached to a verbal base, the allative applicative adds a new argument, most frequently a GOAL, which is realized as the direct object of the derived verb:

- (74) a. huy ?əλ'ax^w ti?ə? čx^wəlu?
huy ?əλ'=ax^w ti?ə? čx^wəlu?
SCONJ come=now PROX whale
‘and then Whale comes’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 106]

- b. gʷəl ḥu?əλ'cбуł əlgʷə? čla ḥu?a
 gʷəl ḥu=?əλ'-c-buł əlgʷə? čla ḥu=?a
 then IRR=come-ALTV-1PL.OBJ PL 1PL.COORD IRR=be.there
 ‘then they will come for us and we will be there’

(Hess 2006: 72, line 712)

- c. ḥu?əλ'cəb čəł
 ḥu=?əλ'-c-əb čəł
 IRR=come-ALTV-PASS 1PL.SUB
 ‘we will be come after’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 14]

As in (74b), the applicative object is a direct object marked by the *b*-series object suffixes (Section 8.1.2) and subject to syntactic operations such as passivization (74c). When the derived stem takes an overt NP argument, this argument is interpreted as the direct object:

- (75) ?u?əλ'c ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-?əλ'-c ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV=come-ALTV SPEC dog
 ‘s/he came for the dog’

(Hess 1995: 15, ex. 10c)

Thus, allative applicative stems are ordinary transitive verbs and have all the characteristics of transitive verbs outlined in Section 8.2.2 below.

The allative applicative morpheme has two allomorphs. The [-c] allomorph is used with a small, idiosyncratic group of stems:

?əλ'c ‘come after ⊗’	(√?əλ’ ‘come’)
?əλ'cbid ‘come after ⊗’	(√?əλ’ ‘come’)
?igʷəlaac ‘climb after ⊗’	(√?igʷəla ‘climb tree’) (Sk)
?učʷc ‘go to ⊗’	(√učʷ ‘go’)
baliic ‘forget about ⊗’	(√bali ‘be forgetful’)
cuuc ‘speak to ⊗’	(√cut ‘speak’)
čubaac ‘go inland after ⊗’	(√čubə ‘go inland’)
day'ay'c ‘run out of ⊗’	(√day’ ‘only’)
həd?iw'c ‘go inside after ⊗’	(√həd?iw’ ‘be inside a house’)
kʷəλ'c ‘miss ⊗ (target)’	(‘/kʷəλ’ ‘miss’; cf. kʷəλ'gʷasbid ‘miss meeting’)
lačc ‘think of ⊗’	(√lač ‘recall, remember’)
ləqc ‘listen to ⊗’	(√ləq ‘listen’) (Sk)
luuc ‘listen to ⊗’	(√lu ‘hear’; cf. luhəladi? ‘hear ⊗’)
qʷiʔac ‘call out to ⊗’	(√qʷiʔad ‘yell’)
qʷəlilc ‘warm stones to cook ⊗’	(from √qʷəl ‘be cooked, be ripe’ + -ilc ‘round object’)
šuuc ‘look at ⊗’	(√šut ‘appear, be visible’)
tayc ‘come after ⊗ in raid’	(√tay ‘go raiding’)

Table 35: Stems formed with -c

When attached to V-final stems, the [-c] allomorph triggers lengthening of the final vowel (e.g., *bali* ‘be forgetful’ > *baliic* ‘forget about something’, *?igʷəɬa* ‘climb tree’ > *?igʷəɬaac* ‘climb after something’). If the final vowel is /ə/, it becomes /aa/ (*čubə* ‘go inland’ > *čubaac* ‘go inland after something’). For an idiosyncratic set of C-final stems, the allative applicative causes vowel-lengthening as well as syncope of the final consonant (*šut* ‘see’ > *šuuc* ‘look at’, *qʷi?ad* ‘yell’ > *qʷi?aac* ‘call out to’).

The second allomorph, [-s], is found associated with a relatively larger group of stems, all of which end in /il/:

<i>?usis</i> ‘dive after ⊗’	(<i>√?usil</i> ‘dive’)
<i>c'ip'əlis</i> ‘ignore ⊗’	(<i>√c'ip'lil</i> ‘shut eyes’)
<i>č'itīs</i> ‘approach ⊗’	(from <i>č'itil</i> ‘draw near’ based on <i>√č'it</i> ‘nearby’)
<i>gʷəcīs</i> ‘wade after ⊗’	(<i>√gʷəcīl</i> ‘wade’)
<i>gʷədīs</i> ‘sit down next to ⊗’	(from <i>gʷədil</i> ‘sit down’ based on <i>√gʷəd</i> ‘down’)
<i>həli?is</i> ‘live on ⊗’	(<i>həli?il</i> ‘heal’ from <i>√həli?</i> ‘be alive’)
<i>hiwīs</i> ‘approach ⊗, go after ⊗’	(<i>√hiwil</i> ‘proceed’)
<i>lis</i> ‘go over to ⊗’	(<i>√lil</i> ‘far’)
<i>tālis</i> ‘go ashore after ⊗’	(<i>√tālil</i> ‘go ashore’)
<i>tčīs</i> ‘arrive at ⊗’	(<i>√tčīl</i> ‘arrive’)
<i>qadīs</i> ‘come up behind ⊗’	(<i>qadil</i> ‘get behind’ from <i>√qad</i> ‘behind’)
<i>q'ilagʷīs</i> ‘catch a ride with ⊗’	(<i>q'ilagʷil</i> ‘get aboard’ from <i>√q'il</i> ‘be aboard’)
<i>qʷcagʷīs</i> ‘slide down after ⊗’	(<i>qʷcagʷil</i> ‘slide down’ from <i>√qʷc</i> ‘slide, slip’)
<i>tədīs</i> ‘go to bed with ⊗’	(<i>√tədīl</i> ‘go to bed, lie in bed’)
<i>təlawīs</i> ‘run after ⊗’	(<i>√təlawil</i> ‘run’)
<i>tudīs</i> ‘bend over to get ⊗’	(<i>√tudīl</i> ‘bend forward’)
<i>xʷakʷīs</i> ‘get tired of ⊗’	(<i>√xʷakʷil</i> ‘be tired’)
<i>xʷt'agʷīs</i> ‘climb down after ⊗’	(<i>√xʷt'agʷil</i> ‘climb down’ from <i>√xʷit</i> ‘lowered’)
<i>ħaλ'is</i> ‘defend from ⊗’	(<i>√ħaλ'il</i> ‘argue’)
<i>ħubīs</i> ‘be quiet about ⊗’	(<i>√ħubil</i> ‘be quiet’)

Table 36: Stems formed with -s

In a few of these cases, the final sequence /il/ of the base is synchronically analyzable as either the inchoative suffix *-il* or the autonomous action suffix *-agʷil* (which may itself be historically analyzable as containing the inchoative suffix).⁴⁴ In the bulk of cases, however, the radical without *-il* seems to be unattested in any environment, although generally the meaning of these

⁴⁴ In addition to the forms found in Table 36, there is a form *saxʷəbis* ‘run after something’, which appears to be based on the unattested stem **saxʷəbil* (from *√saxʷəb* ‘jump, run), and *qadīs* ‘approach something from behind’, which seems to be based on **qadil* (*√qad* ‘back up’).

stems is compatible with an etymological analysis that posits a historical root-plus-inchoative combination. Thus, diachronically, the distribution of the *-s* allomorph of the allative applicative may have been due to morphological conditioning by the presence of the inchoative suffix *-il*, although synchronically this seems to have been reduced to a phonological condition on the allomorphy of the allative applicative suffix. The distribution of *-il* ‘inchoative’ is discussed in Section 2.1.1.2.

2.1.3 Secondary suffixes

Secondary suffixes are affixes that combine with another suffix, usually *-t* ‘internal causative’,⁴⁵ to form a morphological complex which increases the valency of the verb stem by adding a direct object that expresses some semantic role other than PATIENT. In total, Hess & Bates (2004) list four secondary suffixes — *-yi-*, *-bi-*, *-di-*, and *-i-*. Of these, only *-yi-* and *-bi-* appear to be productive and can be associated with unique and fairly consistent meanings; the other two are relatively infrequent and appear to be confined to a few fossilized forms and to have meanings that overlap with those of the more productive secondary suffixes. The discussion of these affixes here begins with *-yi-* (Section 2.1.3.1) and *-bi-* (2.1.3.2), after which the two remaining suffixes are discussed in Section 2.1.3.3.

⁴⁵ In fact, there is only one form in the textual corpus that contains a secondary suffix followed by a valency-increasing morpheme other than the internal causative:

- (i) gʷəl lələkʷ-əd ti?it̪ ləcūcilyaliakʷ s?ələd
 gʷəl lə=ləkʷ-əd ti?it̪ ləcū-cil-yi-alikʷ s?ələd
 then PRG-eat-ICS DIST PROG.STAT-dish.out-DAT-ACT food
 'and as he was going along, he was eating the food that was being dished up'

(Hess 1998: 63, line 76)

The *Lushootseed Dictionary* also contains the forms *tupyib* ‘pound something to prepare as food’ and *λ'ål'yib* ‘add to something’. All of these involve the dative applicative, *-yi-d*. Hess (1967a: 43) gives the form *λ'aldxʷid* ‘manage to get something on’, which appears to contain both the diminished control suffix *-dxʷ* and the secondary suffix complex *-i-d*. It is not clear to what extent these verbs are fossilized forms or if they represent active derivational possibilities in the synchronic language.

2.1.3.1 Dative applicative *-yi-*

The secondary suffix *-yi-* ‘dative applicative [DAT]’ combines with the internal causative suffix *-d* to create trivalent transitive verbs which express an AGENT as subject and a RECIPIENT or BENEFICIARY as direct object. When the morphological complex *-yi-d* is added to a monovalent intransitive base, the effect is an increase in valency of two, as in (76):

- (76) a. ?ukʷəd ti ?iɬkʷəlq
 ?u-kʷəd ti ?iɬ-kʷəlq
 PFV-taken SPEC PRTV-other.things
 ‘some (not all) was taken’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 123)
- b. ?ukʷədyic ?o ti ḥa?x
 ?u-kʷəd-yi-t-s ?o ti ḥa?x
 PFV-taken-DAT-ICS-1SG.OBJ PR SPEC platter
 ‘s/he took the platter from me’
 (Hess 1995: 42)
- c. ?ukʷədyitəb čəd ?o tsi č'ač'as ?o ti kʷat'aq
 ?u-kʷəd-yi-t-əb čəd ?o tsi č'ač'as ?o ti kʷat'aq
 PFV-taken-DAT-ICS-PASS 1SG.SUB PR SPEC:FEM child PR SPEC mat
 ‘I had the mat taken from me by the girl’
 (Hess 1995: 36, ex. 13c)

(76a) shows the monovalent radical *kʷəd* ‘be held, be taken’ which takes a THEME as its subject. When *-yi-d* is added to the radical, the verb becomes trivalent, as in (76b). The new semantic roles added to the radical are AGENT — the role normally added by the internal causative — and BENEFICIARY (or perhaps in this case MALEFICIARY). Of these two new semantic actants, the AGENT is expressed as the subject and the THEME is expressed as an oblique. The direct object is the BENEFICIARY, which is marked using the *s*-series of object-markers associated with the internal causative (Section 8.1.2). The direct object of verbs formed with *-yi-d* is a syntactically ordinary direct object and is amenable to syntactic operations such as passivization (76c). An overt, non-oblique NP appearing with a *-yi-d* form is interpreted as the direct object:

- (77) ?uləkʷyid ti luλ' ?ə ti s?uladxʷ
 ?u-ləkʷ-yi-d ti luλ' ?ə ti s?uladxʷ
 PFV-eaten-DAT-ICS SPEC old PR SPEC salmon
 's/he ate the old man's salmon'

(Hess 1995: 36, ex. 14b)

Thus, despite being trivalent, dative applicatives form ordinary transitive clauses (Section 8.2.2).

A number of dative applicative stems formed on monovalent radicals are given in Table 37:

?abyid 'give \otimes to \otimes '	(\sqrt{ab} 'be extended'; cf. $\sqrt{abəd}$ 'extend \otimes ')
?ayid 'put \otimes there for \otimes '	(\sqrt{a} 'be there')
?ilyid 'sing \otimes for \otimes '	(\sqrt{i} 'sing')
?uχʷyid 'go in place of \otimes '	($\sqrt{uχʷ}$ 'go')
biqʷyid 'permit \otimes to \otimes '	($\sqrt{biqʷ}$ 'be loose'; cf. $\sqrt{biqʷid}$ 'loosen \otimes ; permit \otimes ')
cilyid 'serve \otimes to \otimes '	(\sqrt{cil} 'be dished up')
hudčupiyid 'put \otimes into the fire for \otimes '	(from \sqrt{hud} 'burn' + $-čup$ 'fire')
hudiyid 'make a fire for \otimes '	(\sqrt{hud} 'burn')
huyid 'make \otimes for \otimes '	(\sqrt{huy} 'be done, be made, be finished')
kʷədyid 'take \otimes from \otimes '	($\sqrt{kʷəd}$ 'be held, be taken')
ləc'yid 'step on \otimes affecting \otimes '	($\sqrt{ləc'}$ 'have come down on'; cf. $\sqrt{ləc'ad}$ 'step on \otimes ')
ləkʷyid 'eat \otimes away from \otimes '	($\sqrt{ləkʷ}$ 'be eaten')
tagʷidyid 'set out a mat for \otimes '	(from $\sqrt{stagʷid}$ 'sleeping mat')
tčilyid 'arrive with \otimes for \otimes '	($\sqrt{tčil}$ 'arrive')
tilyid 'give \otimes (food) to \otimes '	(\sqrt{til} 'make a gift of food')
pqʷyid 'break off a bit of \otimes for \otimes '	($\sqrt{pkʷ}$ 'be broken off leaving a larger piece behind')
sulayid 'set \otimes before \otimes '	(\sqrt{sula} 'be in the middle of a room') ⁴⁶
χədyid 'set \otimes aside for \otimes '	($\sqrt{χəd}$ 'be pressed'; cf. $\sqrt{χədəd}$ 'push \otimes ')
χqičyid 'bind \otimes into a pack for \otimes '	(from $\sqrt{χq}$ 'be wrapped, be tied' + $-ič$ 'bundle')

Table 37: Stems formed with -yi-d on monovalent bases

A few of these forms have lexicalized meanings that are metaphorical or idiomatic (e.g., \sqrt{sula} 'be in the middle' > $\sqrt{sulayid}$ 'set before', $\sqrt{χəd}$ 'be pressed' > $\sqrt{χədyid}$ 'set aside for', $\sqrt{biqʷ}$ 'be loose' > $\sqrt{biqʷyid}$ 'grant to, permit'). Most notable in this regard is \sqrt{abyid} 'give to' (from \sqrt{ab} 'be extended'), which is the most textually frequent of the -yi-d forms. There are also three forms in the table which seem to be only bivalent rather than trivalent — $\sqrt{uχʷyid}$ 'go in place of', $\sqrt{hudiyid}$ 'make a fire for', and $\sqrt{tagʷidyid}$ 'set out a mat for'. Of these, $\sqrt{hudiyid}$ 'make a fire for' and $\sqrt{tagʷidyid}$ 'set out a mat for' both have conventionalized THEMES ('wood' and 'mat', respectively) which are inherent in the semantics of the stem itself and simply may not bear expression as an NP argument. Whether the overt use of an oblique THEME argument with these

⁴⁶ This radical can also mean 'be at the front of a theatre or auditorium'.

forms is possible or whether the absence of such forms in the corpus is merely the improbability of an appropriate discourse context for such an argument must remain an open question for now. The third bivalent stem, *?uχʷyid* ‘go in place of’ is based on a monovalent agent-oriented radical and the absence of a third syntactic argument is no doubt a consequence of the absence of a plausible semantic role that such an argument might express. It should be noted in all three cases, however, that the semantic role which is added by *-yi-d* is BENEFICIARY; this is consistent with its behaviour in the other verb forms.

In addition to appearing with monovalent intransitive radicals, *-yi-d* is also found associated with a few bivalent intransitive radicals in verbs such as such as *?uləχyid* ‘gather something for someone’ (*√?uləχ* ‘gather something, forage for something’), *?ay'dxʷyid* ‘find something for someone’ (*√?ay'dxʷ* ‘find something’), *haydxʷyid* ‘find out about something for someone’ (*√haydxʷ* ‘know something’), and *hiqʷəbyid* ‘covet something of someone’s’ (*√hiqʷəb* ‘covet something’). In these cases, although the net gain in valency is only one, the government pattern of the resulting verb is the same as when *-yi-d* is added to a monovalent intransitive radical:

- (78) a. *?u?uləχ ti luχ' ?o ti bəsqʷ*
?u-?uləχ ti luχ' ?o ti bəsqʷ
 PFV-forage SPEC old PR SPEC crab
 ‘the old man foraged for crab’

(Hess 1995: 28, ex. 15b)

- b. *λ' al' čəd gʷəbə?uləχyid ti?o? c'iχc'ix? o kʷi s?uladxʷ*
λ' al' čəd gʷəbə=?uləχ-yi-d ti?o? c'iχc'ix? o kʷi s?uladxʷ
 also 1SG.SUB SBJ=ADD=gather-DAT-ICS PROX fish.hawk PR REM salmon
 ‘I too can get salmon for Fish Hawk’

(Hess 1995: 153, line 54)

In forms like these, the internal causative portion of the *-yi-d* complex does not causativize the verb, but instead seems merely to indicate that the verb is transitive.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ It should be noted, however, that the same pattern holds for *?uləχ* when it is combined with the internal causative suffix alone:

A similar pattern is found when *-yi-d* is added to transitive stems formed with one of the valency-increasing causative morphemes:

- (79) a. x^wuyub
x^wuyub
be.sold
'make a sale'

(Hess & Bates 2004: 178, ex. 14)

- b. ?ux^wuyubtubš čəx^w
?u-x^wuyub-tx^w-bš čəx^w
PFV-be.sold-ECS-1SG.OBJ 2SG.SUB
'you sold me'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 255)

- c. ?ux^wuyubtx^wyid čəd tsı d?ibac
?u-x^wuyub-tx^w-yi-d čəd tsı d-?ibac
PFV-be.sold-ECS-DAT-ICS 1SG.SUB SPEC:FEM 1SG.PO-grandchild
'I sold it for my granddaughter'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 255)

Here, the PATIENT semantic role associated with a valency-increasing affix like the external causative in (79b) is no longer the direct object of the verb formed with *-yi-d* (79c), which expresses the BENEFICIARY in this role. When overt, the PATIENT is expressed as an oblique object, as in (80):

- (i) ḵ'u?u᷊w čəd čəda ḵ'u?uləxəd ti?ə? č'itulbix^w ?al ti?ə? di?ə? sbadil
 ᷊u=?u᷊w čəd čəda ḵ'u=?uləx-əd ti?ə? č'itulbix^w
 HAB=go 1SG.SUB 1SG.COORD HAB=gather-ICS PROX grass

 ?al ti?ə? di?ə? sbadil
 PR PROX DEM mountain
 'I go and I gather this grass on the mountain'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 21)

The effect of the internal causative on this particular stem is that of a simple transitivizer rather than a valency-increasing causative morpheme. None of the other bivalent intransitive stems listed above combines with *-t* on its own.

- (80) ?osčal kʷi gʷədəxʷləkʷdxʷyids tsi?ə? ?alšs ?ə ti?ə? s?əłəds
 ?os-čal kʷi gʷə=dəxʷ=ləkʷ-dxʷ-yi-d=s tsi?ə?
 STAT-HOW REM SBJ=ADNM=eaten-ICS-DC-DAT-ICS=3PO PROX:FEM
- ?alš-s ?ə ti?ə? s?əłəd-s
 cross.sex.sibling-3PO PR PROX food-3PO
 ‘how could he eat his sister’s food away from her?’

(Hess 1998: 56, line 6)

Here, the oblique object of the verb *ləkʷdxʷyid* ‘eat something away from someone, manage to get someone’s food and eat it’, *ti?ə? s?əłəds* ‘her food’, corresponds to the PATIENT/direct object of the plain transitive form *ləkʷdxʷ* ‘mange to eat something’. Once again, the internal causative portion of the *-yi-d* complex seems not to function so much as a valency-increasing affix as it does as a marker of the transitivity of the clause

As these examples show, while the basic syntactic effect of *-yi-d* is to increase the valency of a verb stem, it may not increase it beyond the upper limit of three syntactic arguments. If the verb stem is monovalent intransitive, its valency is increased by two, as in (76); if the form is bivalent intransitive, its valency is increased by one and the stem is transitivized, as in (78); if the stem is already transitive, the valency is increased by one and the government pattern is altered so that what was expressed as the direct object of the transitive form becomes an oblique object of the *-yi-d* form, as in (80). Although the effect on the stems is different, the government pattern of the resulting verb is always the same — a trivalent transitive verb with a RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY expressed as direct object and a PATIENT/THEME expressed as an oblique.

A number of bivalent stems that take *-yi-d* are given in Table 38:

?alad̥i?lyid ‘babysit \otimes for \circlearrowright ’	(from $\sqrt{?alad̥}$ ‘care for \otimes ’ + <i>-iɬ</i> ‘child’)
?sy'dxʷyid ‘find \otimes for \circlearrowright ’	($\sqrt{?sy'}$ <i>dxʷ</i> ‘find \otimes ’)
?ulə́yid ‘gather \otimes for \circlearrowright ’	($\sqrt{?ulə́}$ ‘gather \otimes , forage for \otimes ’)
cildxʷyid ‘serve \otimes to \circlearrowright ’	(\sqrt{cild} ‘be dished up’ + <i>-dxʷ</i> ‘diminished control’)
haydxʷyid ‘find out about \otimes for \circlearrowright ’	(\sqrt{hay} ‘be known’; cf. <i>haydxʷ</i> ‘know \otimes ’)
hiqʷəbyid ‘covet \otimes from \circlearrowright ’	($\sqrt{hiq}^wəb$ ‘covet \otimes , lust after \otimes ’)
huydxʷyid ‘set up \otimes for \circlearrowright ’	(\sqrt{huy} ‘be done’ + <i>-dxʷ</i> ‘diminished control’)
kʷədabyid ‘make \otimes captive’	($\sqrt{kʷad}$ ‘be held, be taken’ + <i>-b</i> ‘causative middle’)
kʷukʷutiyid ‘cook \otimes for \circlearrowright ’	($\sqrt{kʷukʷut}$ ‘cook \otimes ’)
ləkʷdxʷyid ‘manage to eat \otimes away from \circlearrowright ’	($\sqrt{lək}^w$ ‘be eaten’ + <i>-dxʷ</i> ‘diminished control’)
t̥əl̥txʷyid ‘bring \otimes for \circlearrowright ’	($\sqrt{t̥əl̥t}$ ‘arrive’ + <i>-txʷ</i> ‘external causative’)
t̥əgʷlyid ‘leave \otimes for \circlearrowright ’	($\sqrt{t̥əg}^wɬ$ ‘leave \otimes ’)

<i>pusilyid</i> ‘throw \otimes for \circlearrowleft ’	(\sqrt{pus} ‘be hit by \otimes (missile)’ + $-il$ ‘inchoative’)
<i>qadadyid</i> ‘steal \otimes for \circlearrowleft ’	(\sqrt{qada} ‘steal \otimes ’ + $-t$ ‘internal causative’)
<i>q^wu^wq^wadyid</i> ‘drink \otimes (drink) of \circlearrowleft ’	($\sqrt{q^w u^w q^w a}$ ‘have a drink’ + $-t$ ‘internal causative’)
<i>tax^wtx^wyid</i> ‘buy \otimes for \circlearrowleft ’	($\sqrt{tax^w}$ ‘buy \otimes ’ + $-tx^w$ ‘external causative’)
<i>x^wuyubtxyid^w</i> ‘sell \otimes for \circlearrowleft ’	($^o\sqrt{x^w u y u b}$ ‘be sold’ + $-tx^w$ ‘external causative’)

Table 38: Stems formed with *-yi-d* on bivalent bases

The forms in this table are built on both bivalent intransitive and bivalent transitive bases. The bulk of the transitive bases contain one of the causative valency-increasing affixes ($-tx^w$ ‘external causative’, $-dx^w$ ‘diminished control’, or $-b$ ‘causative middle’), although there are two inherently transitive forms — $\sqrt{\lambda}ay'dx^w$ ‘find something’ and $\sqrt{\lambda}ag^w\lambda$ ‘leave something’. The first of these is clearly diachronically derived from a $-dx^w$ form, while the third, $\sqrt{\lambda}ag^w\lambda$, is one of the few inherently transitive radicals with no identifiable derivational history. In addition, there is *pusil* ‘throw something’ which is formed from the radical \sqrt{pus} ‘be hit by something (missile)’ and an idiosyncratic implement use of the inchoative suffix $-il$ (Section 2.1.1.2). The remainder of the *-yi-d* forms in Table 38 are based on bivalent intransitive radicals. It is also worth noting that the forms *qadadyid* ‘steal something for someone’ and *q^wu^wq^wadyid* ‘drink something of someone’s’ appear to be based on unattested internal causative stems **qadad* ‘steal something’ and **q^wu^wq^wad* ‘drink something’; in the case of *qadadyid*, there is an attested bivalent intransitive form \sqrt{qada} ‘steal something’.

2.1.3.2 Middle applicative *-bi-*

The secondary suffix *-bi-* ‘middle applicative [MAP]’ combines with the internal causative suffix *-t* to form transitive stems whose direct object expresses semantic actants in a variety of roles other than PATIENT. The range of semantic roles, and to a certain extent the syntactic effect of *-bi-d* on its stem, is much more variable than it is for *-yi-d*, and the over-arching semantic linkage amongst the different uses of this morphological complex seems to be a rather abstract notion of reduced semantic transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980), a notion identified by Kemmer (1993) as being the common thread linking middle forms across a wide range of

languages. The parallel is strengthened by the overlap in semantic domain with the valency-neutral middle *-b* (Section 2.1.1.3) in Lushootseed and the cognate *-m* and *-mi* suffixes in other Salishan languages, elements which also cluster in their meanings around the prototypical meanings of the middle.

The feature of *-bi-d* that distinguishes it most clearly from the ordinary middle suffix is its syntactic effects on the stem to which it is attached. Because middles are generally associated with reduced semantic transitivity, their most common syntactic effect cross-linguistically is to detransitivize—or intransitivize—a stem; *-bi-d*, however, most often has the opposite effect on syntactic transitivity and increases the valency of a stem by adding a direct object:

- (81) a. ?u?up' čəd

?u—?	up'	čəd
PFV—be.seated.on.lap		1SG.SUB
'I sat on a lap'		

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 22)

- b. ?əs?up'bid čəd ti?i⁴⁸

?əs—?	up'	čəd	ti?i
STAT—be.seated.on.lap	—MAP—ICS	1SG.SUB	DIST
'I'm sitting on his lap'			

(based on Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 22)

When the object is first- or second person, it is expressed by the *s*-series of object-markers:

- (82) ḥ'ub čəxʷ ?ušəbic čxʷa bałac

ḥ'ub	čəxʷ	?ušəb	bi—t—s	čxʷa	bała—t—s
well	2SG.SUB	pity—MAP—ICS	1SG.OBJ	2SG.COORD	cure—ICS—1SG.OBJ
'you should take pity on me and perform a shaman cure for me'					

(Hess 1998: 57, line 32)

Like all direct objects, the argument added to the verb stem by *-bi-d* can be promoted by passivization to become a subject:

⁴⁸ The verb form is given in the source as *?əsp'up'bid*, although the sub-entry heading is the expected form *?up'bid*, as is the verb form in the subsequent example. The form *?up'bid* is also found in Hess & Bates (2004: 180, ex. 23).

Non-oblique NP arguments with *-bi-d* stems are interpreted as direct objects:

Thus, like all applicative objects, the object of stems formed with *-bi-d* is a morphosyntactically ordinary direct object.

The most consistent pattern found with *-bi-d* derivations is one where a monovalent intransitive base is transitivized by the addition of a second semantic actant, in Table 39:

?ədilutbidi	'go to eat off of \otimes '	(from ?ədilut 'go out to eat')
?up'bid	'sit on \otimes 's lap'	(?vup' 'be seated on a lap')
gʷahbid	'accompany \otimes '	(gvah 'accompany, go along')
lagbid	'be behind \otimes '	(vlag 'be last')
laxbibid	'remember \otimes 's story'	(vlax 'recall, remember')
law'tbid	'be new for \otimes '	(vlawt 'be new')
saxʷabid	'run after \otimes or up to \otimes '	(vaxʷab 'jump, sprint')
slubid	'be in the middle of a room relative to \otimes '	(vsula 'be in the middle of a room')
šulbid	'expect \otimes , keep an eye out for \otimes 's arrival'	(všut 'appear, be visible')
tølčbid	'miss \otimes (throwing)'	(vtølč 'be wide of mark')
t'q'abid	'put stickum on \otimes '	(vt'q' 'be patched (with sticky substance)')
xʷakʷilibid	'become disaffected with \otimes '	(vxʷakʷil 'be tired')
χəebid	'intend \otimes '	(vxəč 'think, feel, use one's mind')
χʷal'bid	'be unable to manage \otimes ',	(vxʷal' 'be unable, fail, lose')
wačebid	'watch \otimes '	(vwač 'keep watch')
yayusbid	'work on \otimes '	(vyayus 'do work')
yəyəhubid	'tell \otimes a traditional story'	(from yəyəhub 'tell a traditional story')

Table 39: Applicative uses of *-bi-d*

As noted earlier, the specific semantic roles played by the new actants vary quite a bit from verb to verb. In several cases, the new role seems to be locative (e.g., *?up'bid* 'sit on someone's lap',

sulabid ‘be in the middle of a room relative to something’) or directional (*saxʷəbid* ‘run after something or up to something’, *wačbid* ‘watch something’), whereas in others *-bi-d* seems simply to be adding whatever kind of additional role might plausibly be associated with a particular type of event. An interesting contrast is found between the forms *laxdxʷ* ‘remember something’ and *laxbíd* ‘remember someone’s story, remember the whole situation regarding someone’, where the difference seems to be one of thinking specifically about a person versus recalling not so much that person directly as a set of events surrounding the individual. The common thread running through all of these forms is that the *-bi-d* object is not directly affected by the action in the way that PATIENT would be — in other words, the interaction between the AGENT and the UNDERGOER/ENDPOINT of the event is less semantically transitive than the typical interaction between an AGENT and a PATIENT, where the PATIENT undergoes some internal change of state.

To a certain extent the less-direct interaction between AGENT and ENDPOINT found with the middle applicative parallels in some ways the less-direct interaction between the AGENT and the GOAL in allative applicative constructions. Two of the radicals in Table 39 have both a *-bi-d* and a *-c* form. One of these is *√šut* ‘appear, be visible’ [which is the base for *šutbíd* ‘keep an eye out for someone’s arrival’ and *suuc* ‘look at something’. The contrast in the semantic roles of the objects in these two forms is fairly clear: in the allative applicative form the EXPERIENCER’s gaze is directed towards an object which is present and which can serve as a specific locus on which his/her attention is focused (i.e., a metaphorical GOAL for one’s attention), while in the middle applicative form the potential PERCEPT is not present and the EXPERIENCER is not (yet) interacting with it. So the distinction here is both one of difference in semantic role (GOAL vs. non-GOAL) and in semantic transitivity, the *-bi-d* form being much lower on that particular scale. The second stem, *xʷakʷilbíd* ‘become disaffected with something, tire of something due to one’s own lack

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: note the odd effect on the valency, given the unaccusative radical

of enthusiasm or energy', contrasts with *xʷakʷis* 'become fed up with something tiresome', formed from the radical *vxʷakʷil* 'be tired' and the allative applicative. The distinction here seems to be a distinction in the locus of the impetus of the event: in the *-bi-d* form the source of the feeling of disaffection is internal, whereas in the allative form the impetus comes from the nature of the STIMULUS. While this is not easily characterized in terms of a distinction in semantic transitivity, it is consistent with the characterization of *-bi-d* as a middle, given that middles cross-linguistically are associated with the interests of the AGENT/EXPERIENCER/subject and are frequently used to express events in which the impetus for an event is internal to the ACTOR.

Reduced semantic transitivity in the form of the lack of direct-affectedness of the object by the subject in *-bi-d* constructions is seen quite clearly in a rather large group of stems in which the semantic role of the applicative object is that of MOTIVE:

?ukʷukʷbid 'make fun of ⊗'	(v?ukʷukʷ 'play, have fun')
?ušəbid 'feel pity for ⊗'	(^v?ušəb 'feel pity')
c'adəax̥bid 'be bothered by ⊗, be fed up with ⊗'	(^v'c'adəax̥ 'feel annoyance'; cf. c'adəaxt̥ʷ 'bother ⊗')
c'ip'lilbid 'shut eyes to avoid seeing ⊗'	(v'c'ip'lil 'shut eyes')
dxʷcutəbid 'catch on to ⊗'	(dxʷcutəb 'think something' from v'cut 'speak')
dəaxʷbid 'be confused by ⊗, forget ⊗'	(v'dəaλ 'be confused')
dəaqəbid 'mourn for ⊗'	(^v'dəaq 'be in mourning'; cf. dəaqad 'mourn ⊗')
hiit̥bid 'be happy about ⊗'	(v'hiit̥ 'be happy')
juʔilbid 'be happy for ⊗'	(from v'ju? 'be glad' + -il 'inchoative')
pitsbid 'pay attention to ⊗'	(v'pitəb 'pay attention, be aware')
q'albid 'be fooled by ⊗'	(^v'q'al 'be fooled, be convinced'; cf. q'alad 'fool ⊗')
ħayəbid 'laugh at ⊗'	(v'ħayəb 'laugh')
ħəcbid 'fear ⊗'	(v'ħəc 'be afraid')
ħiħibid 'be ashamed of ⊗'	(v'ħiħi? 'be ashamed')
ħʷaqʷʷbid 'be concerned about ⊗'	(v'ħʷaqʷʷ 'be worried, be preoccupied')
yabukʷʷbid 'fight over ⊗'	(v'yabukʷʷ '(to) fight')

Table 40: Applicative stems formed with *-bi-d* expressing motive

The majority of the verbs in Table 40 are based on radicals expressing mental states or emotions, the applicative object being the STIMULUS or MOTIVE for the experience. Two of the verbs — *c'ip'lilbid* 'shut eyes to avoid seeing something' and *yabukʷʷbid* 'fight over something' — are based on radicals expressing more concrete actions; in both cases, the applicative objects are

clearly MOTIVES for the event. In no case is the actant expressed by the object of any of these verbs necessarily affected by the actions performed or the emotions experienced by the ACTOR.⁴⁹

A third set of *-bi-d* stems is formed in combination with lexical suffixes. Several of these are given in Table 41:

<i>c'ic'ayikʷalusbid</i> ‘wink at ⊗’	(from ‘ <i>vic'ic'ayikʷ</i> ‘wink’ + <i>-alus</i> ‘eye’)
<i>dəlqʷusbid</i> ‘look over shoulder at ⊗’	(from <i>vðal</i> ‘present other side’ + <i>-us</i> ‘face’)
<i>dəlałaxədreibid</i> ‘visit ⊗’	(from <i>vðəl</i> ‘present other side’ + <i>-aład</i> ‘side’)
<i>dəłulčbibid</i> ‘turn towards ⊗’	(from <i>vðəł</i> ‘present other side’ + <i>-ulč</i> ‘belly’)
<i>ləqaladi?bid</i> ‘overhear ⊗’, ⁵⁰ (Sk)	(from <i>vłəq</i> ‘listen’ + <i>-al-adi?</i> ‘ear’)
<i>ta?ači?bid</i> ‘touch ⊗ with hand’	(from <i>vła?</i> ‘arrive at a specific place’ + <i>-ači?</i> ‘hand’)
<i>tədəy?lucidbibid</i> ‘address ⊗ as woman’ ⁵¹	(from <i>vładəy?</i> ‘woman’ + <i>-l-ucid</i> ‘mouth’)
<i>tubšlucidbibid</i> ‘address ⊗ as man’	(from <i>vłubš</i> ‘man’ + <i>-l-ucid</i> ‘mouth’)
<i>xʷəbaličbibid</i> ‘toss ⊗ (pack) onto own back’	(from <i>vxʷəb</i> ‘toss’ + <i>-alič</i> ‘bundle’)
<i>χʷil'alcibid</i> ‘lose ⊗’	(from <i>vχʷil'</i> ‘be lost’ + <i>-alc</i> ‘object’)
<i>yəlači?bid</i> ‘use both hands on ⊗’	(from <i>v'yəł</i> ‘pair’ + <i>-ači?</i> ‘hand’)

Table 41: Stems formed with *-bi-d* and lexical suffixes

As with the verbs in the earlier sets, the stems here take a non-PATIENT object — one which is not directly affected by the action of the AGENT by undergoing an internal change of state — and the specific roles played by the objects are rather diverse. These range from PERCEPT (*la?ači?bid* ‘touch something with hand’, *ləqaladi?bid* ‘overhear something’) to DIRECTION/GOAL (*c'ic'ayikʷalusbid* ‘wink at something’, *dəlałaxədreibid* ‘visit someone’), HEARER (*tədəy?lucidbibid* ‘address someone as woman’), or various types of THEME (*la?ači?bid* ‘touch something with hand’, *xʷəbaličbibid* ‘toss something (pack) onto own back’, *χʷil'alcibid* ‘lose something’). Hess & Bates (2004) point out that in these constructions the lexical suffix expresses a bodypart playing an instrument-like role in the event. Verbs expressing action directed towards or involving parts of an AGENT’s body are commonly middle forms across languages (Kemmer 1993), and the

⁴⁹ Note that, due to a typographical error, the *Lushootseed Dictionary* glosses the stem *c'ip'lis* ‘shut eyes to avoid getting something in them’, formed with the allative applicative, as having a second reading synonymous with *c'ip'lilibid* ‘shut eyes to avoid seeing something’. In fact, *c'ip'lis* means only ‘shut eyes to avoid getting something in them’.

⁵⁰ Also *ləqəladi?bid*.

⁵¹ Also *sładəy?lucidbibid*.

lowered affectedness of the object (and, hence, the reduced semantic transitivity of the event) is typical of middle semantics.

There is at least one verb form in which *-bi-d*, like *-yi-d*, seems to increase the valency of its base by two rather than by one — *saxʷəbid* ‘run away with something of someone’s’ (see the homophonous form *saxʷəbid* ‘run after something or up to something’ in Table 39):

- (85) *diłəxʷ sxaab ?ə tsı?ə? sladəy? ?usaxʷəbitəb ?ə ti?ə? tubəda?̥s*
dił=əxʷ s=xaab ?ə tsı?ə? sladəy? ?u=saxʷəb-bi-t-əb
FOC=now NM=cry PR PROX:FEM woman PFV-run-MAP-PASS

?ə ti?ə? tu=bəda?̥s
 PR PAST=offspring-3po

‘it is thus that the woman whose child was run away with is crying’

[HM Star Child, line 59]

Here, the verb form in question is in the passive, contained inside a subject-centred relative clause modifying *sladəy?* ‘woman’. The subject of the passive is the MALEFICIARY, corresponding to the direct object of the active form, while the THEME, *ti?ə? tubəda?̥s* ‘her child’ (lit. ‘her former/ex-child’) is realized as an oblique object, following the regular pattern for derivations with *-yi-d*. Indeed, given the semantic role assigned to the object, we might have expected the form to be **saxʷəbyid*; however, this form is unattested.

Also like *-yi-d*, *-bi-d* combines with a small number of bivalent bases whose valency remains unchanged:

<i>hiqʷəbid</i> ‘lust after ⊗’	(<i>hiqʷəb</i> ‘lust after ⊗’)
<i>kʷədabid</i> ‘take ⊗ captive’	(<i>kʷədab</i> ‘capture ⊗’ from <i>√kʷəd</i> ‘be taken’)
<i>qadabid</i> ‘steal ⊗’	(<i>qada?</i> ‘steal ⊗’)
<i>qʷu?bid</i> ‘be together with ⊗’	(<i>qʷu?</i> ‘be together with ⊗’)

Table 42: Valency-neutral uses of *-bi-d*

In these cases (*hiqʷəbid* ‘lust after someone’, *kʷədabid* ‘take someone captive’, *qadabid* ‘steal something’, *qʷu?bid* ‘be together with someone’), *-bi-d* combines with a bivalent intransitive stem to create a transitive verb, and so acts merely as a syntactic transitivizer. The glosses given for the *-bi-d* forms and their bases are significantly different in only two cases — *kʷədabid* ‘take

someone captive' and *təgʷəlbid* 'leave someone behind, leave someone's presence'. In the remainder of the examples, the two forms seem to be nearly synonymous; however, in most of these, the *-bi-d* stems take objects that are human — that is 'someone' rather than 'something'. The bulk of these verbs express actions (e.g., 'lust after someone', 'be together with someone') that most naturally have human endpoints, and even those that do not seem to require a human object for semantic reasons, such as *qadabid* 'steal something', have these exclusively in their textual attestations:

- (86) huy, yəcəbax^w ?ə ti?ə? sqadabitəbs ?ə tsı?ə? sxʷəyuqʷ^w ti?iɬ wiw'su
 huy yəc-əb=ax^w ?ə ti?ə? s=qada-bi-t-əb=s ?ə tsı?ə?
 SCONJ reported-MD=now PR NM=steal-SS-ICS-PASS=3PO PR PROX

sxʷəyuqʷ^w ti?iɬ wiw'su
 Basket.Ogress DIST children

'he told about the stealing of the children by the Basket Ogress'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 54]

In this sentence, the human NP *ti?iɬ wiw'su* 'those children' is the subject of the passive form of the verb, thereby corresponding to the direct object of the active form. Although the number of textual attestations of all of the *-bi-d* forms in Table 42 is limited, they all seem to involve human objects and the semantic roles played by the objects of these forms is consistent with other uses of *-bi-d*: they are not canonically PATIENT-like in that the semantic ENDPOINTS of the events do not undergo any internal change of state. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the bivalent bases for these *-bi-d* forms have the same glosses, and in at least some cases their objects can also be human:

- (87) a. xʷi? kʷ ads?əλ'cbuɬ
 xʷi? kʷi ad=s=?əλ'-c-buɬ
 NEG REM 2SG.PO=NM=come-ALTV-1PL.OBJ
 'don't come to us'

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: don't forget about this in the discussion of the deictics

(Hess 2006: 32, line 263)

b. ... tsíʔə? bəda?s səshiqʷəbs	
tsíʔə?	bəda?-s
PROX:FEM	offspring-3PO
'... his daughter after whom he lusted'	NM=STAT-lust.for=3PO

(Hess 1998: 95, line 131)

Thus, it seems that teasing out whatever semantic distinctions there are between the pairs of verb forms in Table 42 will depend on uncovering further textual attestations; nevertheless, the middle applicative forms themselves — transitive verbs with a non-PATIENT object — are entirely typical of *-bi-d* derivations.

In a few other stems, *-bi-d* seems to act as a causative, adding an AGENT/subject to a monovalent radical rather than adding an object:

?adzqbid 'meet ⊗'	(*?adzq 'be met'; cf. ?adzqdxʷ 'happen to meet ⊗')
čəgʷasbid 'take ⊗ as wife'	(včəgʷas 'wife')
kʷədbid 'steal from ⊗'	(vkʷəd 'be held, be taken')
p'ayəqbid 'hew ⊗, carve ⊗'	(vp'ayəq 'carve canoe')
qəlbibid 'discard ⊗'	(qəlbid 'garbage' from vqəl 'bad' + -bid 'instrument')
suxʷtəbid 'recognize ⊗'	(*suxʷtəs 'be recognized'; cf. suxʷtəš 'recognize ⊗')
yəcbid 'tell about ⊗'	(*yəc 'be reported'; cf. yəcad 'report ⊗')

Table 43: Causativizing uses of *-bi-d*

Although the syntactic effect of *-bi-d* on its base in these forms resembles the effects of a causative morpheme such as *-t*, *-txʷ*, or *-dxʷ*, the true causatives create verbs that express events in which an AGENT acts upon a PATIENT or some other semantic actant in a PATIENT-like semantic role. With the exception of *p'ayəqbid* 'hew something, carve something',⁵² the objects of the *-bi-d* forms in Table 43 are non-PATIENTS and do not undergo an internal change of state as a result of the AGENT's actions: instead, the change experienced by the object of such verbs seems to reside more generally in its relationship to the AGENT (*čəgʷasbid* 'take someone as wife', *suxʷtəbid* 'recognize someone', *qəlbibid* 'discard something' [lit. 'cause something to be refuse to one']) or as a point of reference — literal (*?adzqbid* 'meet someone') or figurative

⁵² The exceptional nature of *p'ayəqbid* 'hew something, carve something' may stem from the involvement of one's spirit power in the carving of a canoe, *-bi-* indicating a reduced semantic transitivity that comes either from the idea that the AGENT is acting indirectly through an intermediary, or that the primary interaction is between the carver and the spirit-power, and the product of the interaction is construed as less directly involved than a prototypical PATIENT.

(*kʷədbid* ‘steal from someone’) — for the AGENT’s action. The reduced semantic transitivity of such forms is clear. The fact that *-bi-d* adds an AGENT/subject in these forms rather than a non-PATIENT object, as it does more regularly, may have to do with the nature of the radicals, which are (with the exception of *čəgʷasbid* ‘take someone as wife’ and *qəlbibid* ‘discard something’, which are based on nouns) “patient-oriented” in the sense that they express states that are the outcome of events involving the interaction of two or more participants, and express the ENDPOINT of the event as their syntactic subject. However, given the relative scarcity of such forms, it seems likely that this is only a diachronic or a post-hoc explanation, and the forms in Table 43 will have to be treated as lexicalized uses of what is otherwise an applicative morpheme.

The secondary suffix sequence *-bi-d* also appears in at least four forms following another valency-increasing affix — specifically, the allative applicative. These forms are given in Table 44:

<i>lčisbid</i> ‘visit \otimes and inconvenience them’	(from <i>lčis</i> ‘arrive at \otimes ’ based on <i>vlčil</i> ‘arrive’)
<i>šuucbid</i> ‘keep an eye out for \otimes ’	(from <i>šuuc</i> ‘look at \otimes ’ based on <i>všuł</i> ‘appear, be visible’)
<i>tədžisbid</i> ‘go to bed with \otimes for sex’	(from <i>tədžis</i> ‘go to bed with \otimes ’ based on <i>vtədžil</i> ‘go to bed’)
<i>xʷakʷisbid</i> ‘tire of \otimes (person)’	(from <i>xʷakʷis</i> ‘get tired of \otimes ’ based on <i>vxʷakʷil</i> ‘be tired’)

Table 44: Stems formed with *-bi-d* and the allative applicative

In these stems, the affixation of the middle applicative has no effect on the syntactic valency of its base, nor does it have any great effect on the semantic role of the applicative object. Its major effect is to modify the event expressed by the allative stems in more subtle ways. In one of these cases, *xʷakʷisbid* ‘tire of someone’, *-bi-d* seems to indicate that the applicative object is animate or human (cf. some of the valency-neutral forms in Table 42 above). This may also be the case for *šuucbid* ‘keep an eye out for someone’, although there are no contextualized examples currently available in the textual corpus or in published sources. The remaining two verbs, *lčisbid* ‘visit someone and inconvenience them’ and *tədžisbid* ‘go to bed with someone for sex’ also necessarily have human objects, but differ in other — rather idiosyncratic ways — from

their allative forms. Clearly, judged by the unusual syntactic and semantic effects of *-bi-d* in these forms, the stems in Table 44 are lexicalized forms and, although they are not entirely out of step with more transparent middle applicatives, they can not be treated as synchronically compositional forms.

Not unexpectedly, there are a number of stems that appear to contain *-bi-d* but are not synchronically transparent or analyzable. Two of these are *q'itbid* ‘store something (food)’ (apparently based on an otherwise unattested radical * $\sqrt{q'it}$ ‘be stored’), *pəkʷibid* ‘snatch something’ (based on * $\sqrt{pək}ʷib$ ‘snatch something’), and *yičəbid* ‘observe something’ (based on * $\sqrt{yičəb}$ ‘observe’). Among the idiomatic forms are *qʷic'bid* ‘be unable to do something’ (from $\sqrt{qʷic'}$ ‘be indifferent, be lazy about’), *qʷu?bid* ‘mouth waters for something’ (from the nominal radical $\sqrt{qʷu?}$ ‘water’), and *xiʷil'alcbid* ‘lose something’ ($\sqrt{xiʷil}'$ ‘be lost’ + *-alc* ‘object’).

2.1.3.3 Other secondary suffixes *-di-d*, *-i-*

In addition to *-yi-d* and *-bi-d*, there are two more secondary suffix complexes that act as applicatives. One of these, *-di-d*, appears as part of four stems, given in Table 45:

<i>dxʷqədid</i> ‘have sex with \otimes (spouse) of \otimes ’	(from <i>dxʷ-</i> ‘contained’ + $^o\sqrt{qəd}$ ‘fornicate’)
<i>punishdid</i> ‘punish \otimes ’	(from Eng. <i>punish</i>)
<i>qadadid</i> ‘steal \otimes from \otimes ’	($\sqrt{qada?}$ ‘steal \otimes ’)
<i>qʷu?qʷadid</i> ‘drink \otimes ’	($\sqrt{qʷu?qʷa}$ ‘have a drink’)

Table 45: Stems formed with *-di-d*

Even in this small set of verbs, there is a great deal of variation in the effects of *-di-d* on the valency and government pattern of the base to which it is attached. In two of the cases, *qadadid* ‘steal something from someone’ and *qʷu?qʷadid* ‘drink something’, the secondary suffix complex has a clearly applicative effect, adding a direct object to the clause. As noted by Hess & Bates (2004), however, the objects of *-di-d* forms do not consistently express a particular semantic role. The object of *qʷu?qʷadid* ‘drink something’ is clearly a PATIENT, at least to the extent that a liquid undergoes an internal change of state when it is drunk (otherwise, it is a

THEME), whereas the direct object of *qadadid* ‘steal something from someone’ is a MALEFICIARY. Hess & Bates (2004) point out that the latter form co-exists with a *-yi-d* stem based on the same radical:

- (88) a. ?uqadaditəb čəd ?ɔ ti dsduukʷ
 ?u-qada-di-t-əb čəd ?ɔ ti d-sduukʷ^w
 PFV-steal-SS-ICS-PASS 1SG.SUB PR SPEC 1SG.PO-knife
 ‘I had my knife stolen’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 172)
- b. ?uqadadyitəb ti luχ’
 ?u-qada-d-yi-t-əb ti luχ’
 PFV-steal-ICS-DAT-PASS SPEC old
 ‘the old man was stolen from’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 173)

The same verb form in (88b) also appears in examples glossed ‘steal for someone’, whereas the *-di-d* form in (88a) has only the gloss ‘steal from someone’, leading to the conclusion that *-yi-d* is more closely associated with the BENEFICIARY/MALEFICIARY semantic role whereas *-di-d* may be (like *-bi-d*) more an indicator of a less-specific non-PATIENT role which is interpreted as MALEFICIARY because of the nature of the event (an implicit third semantic role in a theft being a victim). However, it should be noted that the form *qadadyid* appears to be based on an unattested stem **qadad*, and so has a more complicated derivational history than most *-yi-d* forms. Thus, the co-existence of *qadadid* and *qadadyid* may have more to do with historical developments in the language than with a consistent semantic contrast between the two secondary suffixes.

The remaining two forms are even less helpful in sorting out the meaning and syntactic behaviour of *-di-d*. In the case of *punishdid* ‘punish someone’, the precise effects of *-di-d* on its base are hard to pinpoint because the “radical” *punish* is an English borrowing that would not normally be used on its own in the language and so is of indeterminate valency (for Lushootseed speakers). The verb *dxʷqədidi* ‘have sex with someone’s spouse’ is trivalent rather than

monovalent, as shown in (89a), and is based on a radical that otherwise only appears with the middle suffix *-b*, as in (89b):

- (89) a. dił̥ əw̥'ə higʷəxʷ ?udxʷqədidiəxʷ ti?ə? s?ušəbabdxʷ sbəqʷ'a? Ɂə tsı?ə? čəgʷas
 xʷu?xʷəy?
 dił̥ əw̥'ə higʷ=əxʷ ?u-dxʷ-qəd-di-d=əxʷ ti?ə? s?ušəbabdxʷ
 FOC PTCL big=now PFV-CTD-fornicate-SS-ICS=now PROX unfortunate
 sbəqʷ'a? Ɂə tsı?ə? čəgʷas-sxʷu?xʷəy?
 heron PR PROX:FEM wife-3PO helldiver
 'indeed, he is the one who really cuckolded poor Heron with his wife, Helldiver'
 (Hess 2006: 14, line 77)

- b. ?uqədəbəw'ə? e? ti?ə? cədiit sč'ətəx ti?ə? tushuy ?ə tsı?ə? xʷu?xʷəy?
 ?u-qəd-əb əw'ə? ?ə ti?ə? cədiit sč'ətəx ti?ə? tu=s=huy
 PFV-fornicate-MD PTCL PR PROX he kingfisher PROX PAST=NM=be.done
 ?ə tsı?ə? xʷu?xʷəy?
 PR PROX:FEM helldiver
 'what Helldiver did [was] have sex with Kingfisher'

Once again, attributing a specific effect of *-di-d* on its base in this form is rather difficult as the radical otherwise is attested only as part of a middle form — possibly a causative middle, given that the verb *qədəb* is bivalent (see Section 2.1.1.3 below). This might lead us to surmise that the radical itself is more amenable to a patient-oriented gloss rather than the agent-oriented gloss ‘fornicate’. This would make *-di-d* more like *-yi-d* both semantically and syntactically, as it both causativizes the radical — adding an AGENT — and acts as an applicative, adding a MALEFICIARY. Nevertheless, with only four forms containing *-di-d*, little more can be said of it than that it is a historical relic, probably a remnant of an older secondary suffix used in the formation of some kind of applicative, and whose effects on a particular base are today essentially idiosyncratic.

Hess & Bates (2004) also point to a fourth secondary suffix complex, *-i-d*, which is most robustly associated with lexical suffixes. A number of such forms is given in Table 46:

?abucidid ‘bring \otimes lunch’
 č’alpači?id ‘twist \otimes ’s wrist’
 (from \wedge ?ab ‘be extended’ + -ucid ‘mouth’)
 (from \sqrt č’alp ‘sprain, turn’ + ači? ‘hand’)

<i>dxʷcaq' ačadid</i>	'spear \otimes in the side'	(from $\sqrt{caq'}$ 'be speared' + <i>-ačad</i> 'side')
<i>dxʷpuhigʷədidi</i>	'blow on \otimes '	(from \sqrt{pu} 'be blown on' + <i>-igʷəd</i> 'body') ⁵³
<i>dxʷ?eq' yačadid</i>	'open \otimes (door)'	(from $\sqrt{?eq'}$ 'be open' + <i>-y-ačad</i> 'side')
<i>kʷačadadid</i>	'take \otimes by the arm'	(from $\sqrt{kʷačad}$ 'be held, be taken' + <i>-ačad</i> 'arm')
<i>ləčšadid</i>	'light \otimes 's way'	(from $\sqrt{ləčš}$ 'be light, be bright' + <i>-čšad</i> 'lower leg')
<i>λ' alšadid</i>	'put \otimes 's shoes on him'	(from $\sqrt{λ' al}$ 'put \otimes on' + <i>-šad</i> 'lower leg')
<i>tič' šadid</i>	'amputate \otimes 's leg'	(from $\sqrt{tič'}$ 'get cut with knife' + <i>-šad</i> 'lower leg')
<i>tq' aʔħadəlid</i>	'slap \otimes in mouth'	(from $\sqrt{tq'}$ 'slap' + <i>-aʔħadət</i> 'mouthpart')
<i>ħəqšadid</i>	'bind legs of \otimes '	(from $\sqrt{ħəq}$ 'be wrapped, be tied' + <i>-ħad</i> 'lower leg')

Table 46: Stems formed with a lexical suffix and *-i-d*

With these verbs, however, the effect of *-i-d* is not applicative but is instead causative, adding an AGENT/subject to its base rather than adding an object. Consider the examples in (90):

- (90) a. ?ucaq' čəd ?ə ti?ə? sħədi?ac
?u-caq' čəd ?ə ti?ə? sħədi?ac
 PFV-be.speared 1SG.SUB PR PROX devil's.club
 'I got speared by the Devil's Club'
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 43)
- b. caq'atəbəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? caadił ti?ił? ?ucutəb ?ə tudi? luλ' sxʷi?xʷi?ș əlgʷə?
caq'a-t-əb=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? caadił ti?ił? ?u-cut-t-əb ?ə
 speared-ICS-PASS=now PR PROX they DIST PFV-speak-ICS-PASS PR
 tudi? luλ' sxʷi?xʷi?ș əlgʷə?
 DIST.DMA old game-3PO PL
 'what was said by yonder old man to be their game was speared by them'
 (Hess 2006: 51, line 224)
- c. dxʷcaq' ačadid ti?ił č'ətč
dxʷ-caq'-ačad-i-d ti?ił č'ətč
 CTD-speared-side-SS-ICS DIST kingfisher
 'he speared Kingfisher in the side'
 (Hess & Bates 2004: 20, ex. 71)

(90a) shows the radical, $\sqrt{caq'}$ 'be speared, be impaled', which takes as its syntactic subject the expression of the PATIENT semantic role and which does not express an AGENT.⁵⁴ In (90b), the internal causative formed from the same radical, *caq'ad* 'spear something', is shown in its passive form; here, its subject is the expression of the PATIENT and the AGENT is expressed as an

⁵³ Cf. the internal causative form of this radical, *puʔud* 'blow on something, blow something out', which nicely illustrates the contrast in semantic transitivity of the *-d* and *-i-d* forms.

⁵⁴ The PP ?ə ti?ə? sħədi?ac 'by the Devil's Club' expresses an inanimate (or at any rate, botanical) INSTRUMENT rather than an AGENT.

oblique object (see Section 6.2 below). The expression of the AGENT in this sentence is allowed for by the presence of the internal causative suffix *-t*, which creates a transitive verb from an intransitive radical (Section 2.1.2.1). Similarly, the form in (90c) is transitive and takes as its subject the AGENT rather than the PATIENT which is the subject of the radical in (90a). Thus, the effect on the valency and government pattern of the radical of adding *-i-d* is the same as that of adding the transitive causative suffix *-t*.

This raises the issue of what contribution, if any, the secondary suffix *-i-* makes to the meaning of the stem. One possibility is that *-i-* is not a meaningful element at all and that the sequence [id] may simply be an allomorph of the internal causative associated with a lexical suffix (or a particular subset of lexical suffixes). This seems unlikely given that, as we saw in Section 2.1.6, there are abundant internal causative stems containing lexical suffixes such as *c'agʷačiʔid* ‘wash someone’s hands’ (cf. *č'əlpac̥iʔid* ‘twist someone’s wrist’ in Table 46) that do not contain *-i-*. Another possibility is that the *-i-* is associated with the possessor-raising seen in sentences like (90c) whereby it is the bodypart that is affected by the action, but the possessor of the bodypart is expressed as the direct object. This, however, still begs the question of why *-i-* is not present in all transitive stems containing lexical suffixes that express affected bodyparts.

Another reason for not dismissing *-i-* as a morpheme entirely, at least from a diachronic perspective, is that it turns up in a few other places as a stem-formative associated with *-t*. One particularly suggestive pair of verbs is *haʔlid* ‘make good for someone, make someone comfortable’ vs. *halʔad* ‘tend to someone’, both derived from the adverbial radical *√haʔt* ‘good’. However, these are the only such contrastive pairs found in the corpus to date, making any analysis of *-i-* as anything more than a vestige of an earlier form that was most likely associated in some way with valency-altering constructions little more than speculation.

2.1.4 Incorporative -ət

The semantic effects of the suffix *-ət* ‘incorporative [INCRP]’ on the valency of its base are essentially that of a causative in that it adds a semantic AGENT to a patient-oriented stem; however, this affix differs from the other causatives discussed above in that its effect on the syntactic valency of the stem is not to add an object (direct or oblique). Instead, *-ət* increases the valency of its stem by adding a nominal predicate complement,⁵⁵ as in (91):

- (91) a. ?əstak^w=əx^w
 ?əs-tak^w=əx^w
 STAT-bought=now
 ‘it’s bought’

b. ?utag^w-əɬ čəd pu?təd
 ?u-tag^w-əɬ čəd pu?təd
 PFV-buy-INCRP 1SG.SUB shirt
 ‘I bought a/some shirt’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216)

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 138)

Nominal predicate complements like *pu?tað* ‘shirt’ in (91) differ from NP arguments of a verb in that they are not introduced by a determiner and are not referential, but instead have a generic reference, expressing a type of thing rather than identifying a particular individual or object. The nominal predicate complement can be made a direct object by adding internal causative suffix *-t* to the stem:

⁵⁵ For the syntactic properties of nominal predicate complements, and how these differ from full NP arguments, see Section 8.2.5)

In these construction, *-t* acts purely as a syntactic transitivizer rather than as a causative.⁵⁶

Although there are few spontaneous examples of *-ət* in the analyzed corpus used in this grammar, it is nevertheless highly productive in the sense of having wide applicability and can be combined with any radical that can take the internal causative suffix, *-t*.⁵⁷

The usual ordering of the nominal predicate complement is immediately post-verbal; however, it is variably ordered with respect to matrix subject-markers:

- (93) a. ?učalət pišpiš ti sqʷəbay?
?u-čal-ət pišpiš ti sqʷəbay?
PFV-chased-INCRP cat SPEC dog
'the dog chased a/some cat'

(Hess 1995: 120)

- b. ?učalət čəd pišpiš
?u-čal-ət čəd pišpiš
PFV-chased-INCRP 1SG.SUB cat
'I chased some/a cat'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 137)

- c. ?učalət pišpiš čəd
?u-čal-ət pišpiš čəd
PFV-chased-INCRP cat 1SG.SUB
'I chased some/a cat'

[based on (93b)]

When in immediate post-verbal position, the integration of the predicate complement to the verb stem is such that these complements are often considered incorporated elements on a structural

⁵⁶ The form *λ'ip'ałəd* 'clutch something' in (92) co-exists with a plain transitive form, *λ'ip'id* 'clutch something'. It is not known what semantic difference (if any) there is between the two forms.

⁵⁷ There is also one radical in the *Lushootseed Dictionary*, the adverb *vcukʷ* 'very', that takes *-txʷ* rather than *-t* and also has an *-ət* form, *cugʷat* 'be the last ⓧ':

- (i) diłəxʷ tucugʷałəxʷ
dił=əxʷ tū=cugʷ-ał=əxʷ^w
FOC=now IRR=very-INCRP=now
'that will be the last one'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 47)

However, this appears to be a fairly fossilized form, both because it is based on a radical with is (synchronously) an adverb and because of the idiosyncratic stress pattern [*cu'gʷat*], which has prevented the reduction of the vowel in the incorporate suffix to schwa.

par with incorporated nouns, and strings such as *?učalət̪pišpiš* ‘chase cat(s)’ are often written as single words. Nevertheless, bound enclitics such as *=ax^w* also readily intervene between the verb and its complement:

- (94) cutəx^w ti tul’?al ti?iɬ di?ucid da?əɬəx^w *Vancouver*
 cut=əx^w ti tul’?al ti?iɬ di?•ucid da?•əɬ=əx^w *Vancouver*
 speak=now SPEC CNTRFG-at DIST other.side•mouth named=INCRP=now Vancouver
 ‘those from that [place] across the water that is now called Vancouver spoke now’
 (Hess 1995: 120)

Nominal predicate complements of stems formed with *-at̪* thus do not seem to be fully incorporated nouns, although they have many of the syntactic and semantic properties of incorporated nouns in many languages. The degree of integration of the predicate complement in such structures, however, is particularly interesting from a diachronic point of view, as it suggests a possible developmental path for lexical suffixes (Section 2.1.6), which may have evolved from the grammaticalization of nouns that were once highly-frequent members of a more generalized verb + nominal predicate complement type construction.

The incorporate suffix is also found combined with the interrogative word *stab* ‘what?’ (see Section 8.4.2) to form the interrogative word, *stabat̪* ‘what kind?’:

- (95) a. *stabat̪ titčulbix^w*
 stab-aɬ titčulbix^w
 what-INCRP small.animal
 ‘what kind of little animal is that?’
- b. *stabat̪ əw’ə qʷlay?* ti?iɬ ?əsλ’ax^w ?al ti?iɬ
 stab-aɬ əw’ə qʷlay? ti?iɬ ?əs-λ’ax^w ?al ti?iɬ
 what-INCRP PTCL stick DIST STAT-grow at DIST
 ‘what kind of wood is that growing over there?’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216)

As with all incorporate stems, *stabat̪* takes as a predicate complement a bare noun. This noun serves to narrow the scope of the question to a particular type of object defined by the nominal predicate complement. Note that the [-aɬ] allomorph of the suffix in this form is idiosyncratic: the expected form [*stabət̪*] is reported as a variant pronunciation in the *Lushootseed Dictionary*

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216), but [stabət] this is not the phonetic form of the sub-entry heading nor is it the pronunciation given in the transcribed examples. Hess (p.c.) reports [stabat] to be the standard pronunciation of this word; whether this reflects the etymological history of the affix (which also surfaces in this form in čədat ‘which?’ — see Section 2.6.2) will have to await further comparative work with cognate morphemes in other languages.

2.1.5 Propriative *bəs-*

The prefix *bəs-* ‘propriative [PROP]’ is added to nominal bases expressing ‘N’ to create verb stems meaning ‘have X as one’s N’, as in (96):

- (96) a. yəxí huy ḫubəsčəgʷasəxʷ ti?ə? sɬukʷalb ?ə tsi?ə? ?učəba?əd ti?ə? tatačulbixʷ^w
 yəxí huy ḥu=bəs-čəgʷas=əxʷ ti?ə? sɬukʷalb ?ə tsi?ə?
 because SCONJ IRR=PROP-wife=now PROX moon PR PROX:FEM
 ?u-čəba?-d ti?ə? tatačulbixʷ^w
 PFV-laden-ICS PROX game.animal
 ‘because Moon will have as his wife she who brought this game’

[DS Star Child, line 305]

- b. huy čəxʷ ?əbsλ'ålabač
 huy čəxʷ ?əs-bəs-s-λ'ål•abac
 SCONJ 2SG.SUB STAT-PROP-NP-put.on•body
 ‘since you have [them as] clothes’

(Hess 2006: 35, line 325)

- c. ?əbsp'a?kʷ čəd
 ?əs-bəs-p'a?kʷ čəd
 STAT-PROP-pipe 1SG.SUB
 ‘I have [it as] a pipe’

(Hess 1998: 30)

The range of nouns which are found with the propriative prefix is restricted to those expressing kinship, social relations, or things that can be literally owned (as opposed to true possessives, which can be formed on any noun). Propriative verbs thus express only true ownership and kinship rather than expressing the vaguer notion of “possession” associated with possessive affixes.

Although the bases are nominal, the derived forms are clearly verbal: they can be marked for aspect (in most cases, stative aspect) and, when the possessor is first- or second person, subject-markers are used:

- (97) a. gʷəl ḥu?əbsxʷi?xʷi? čəd ?ə kʷi hikʷ tatačulbixʷ
 gʷəl ḥu=?əs-bəs-sxʷi?xʷi? čəd ?ə kʷi hikʷ tatačulbixʷ
 then IRR=STAT-PROP-game 1SG.SUB PR REM big game.animal
 ‘and I will have as my game a very large animal’

[MW Star Child, line 74]

- b. gʷəl ?əbsqʷəbqʷəbay? əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? bəsali?
 gʷəl ?əs-bəs-sqʷəb-qʷəbay? əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? bə=sali?
 then STAT-PROP-DSTR-dog PL PR PROX ADD=two
 ‘and they have two (animals) as dogs’

(Hess 1998: 77, line 23)

- c. ?əbsčəgʷas ti?ə? bəda? ?ə ti?ə? sbiaw ?ə tə səsa?li?
 ?əs-bəs-čəgʷas ti?ə? bəda? ?ə ti?ə? sbiaw ?ə tə səsa?li?
 STAT-PROP-wife PROX offspring PR PROX coyote PR NSPEC two:HMN
 ‘Coyote’s son had two wives’ (lit. ‘the son of Coyote has as wives two [people]’)

(Hess 2006: 22)

As shown in (97), propriative stems are bivalent intransitive, the nominal base expressing a generic type of object (or kin) that defines the relationship and the oblique object further specifying the possessed. Unlike most oblique objects (Section 8.1.6), however, the object of a propriative stem is variable in terms of its ordering relative to a subject NP:

- (98) a. ?əbsčəgʷas ti?iɬ təkʷtəkʷəlus ?ə tsı?iɬ waq’waq’
 ?əs-bəs-čəgʷas ti?iɬ təkʷtəkʷəlus ?ə tsı?iɬ waq’waq’
 STAT-PROP-wife DIST owl PR DIST:FEM frog
 ‘Owl has as his wife Frog’
- a. ?əbsčəgʷas ?ə tsı?iɬ waq’waq’ ti?iɬ təkʷtəkʷəlus
 ?əs-bəs-čəgʷas ?ə tsı?iɬ waq’waq’ ti?iɬ təkʷtəkʷəlus
 STAT-PROP-wife PR DIST:FEM frog DIST owl
 ‘Owl has as his wife Frog’

(Hess 1998: 31)

In this respect, the possessed resembles an agentive complement (Section 8.1.7); however, unlike an agentive complement (and unlike oblique objects), the possessed can never be relativized or used as the predicate in a cleft-construction. Thus, in technical terms, the object of a propriative

stem would have to be treated as having a construction-specific grammatical relation to its syntactic governor.

The propriative prefix *bəs-* interacts morphophonemically with the stative aspectual prefix *?as-*, resulting in the fused form [?*əbs-*]. In some cases, the combination *?as-* + *bəs-* can fuse with a preceding tense/mood proclitic. Thus, the past tense proclitic *tu=* combines with *?as-* + *bəs-* to give the form [*tabs-*], while the unrealis proclitic *tu=* combines with these to give [*tabs-*]. However, the alternate forms of both of these sequences of affixes in which the proclitic does not assimilate — [*tu?əbs*] and [*tū?əbs*], respectively — are also found in texts; in the present corpus the more highly fused variants are found in the speech of Martha Lamont, a Snohomish speaker, while the more transparent forms are found in the speech of Skagit narrators (Harry Moses and Mary Willup). The number of tokens are small, however, and it is possible that the degree of reduction is dependent on register, style, or rate of speech rather than dialect.

Propriative verb stems can take further derivational affixation:

- (99) a. *ɬubscəgʷasbidi tsiʔə? bəda?*
ɬu=bəs-čəgʷas-bi-d tsiʔə? bəda?-s
 IRR=PROP-wife-MAP-ICS PROX:FEM offspring-3PO
 ‘he would marry his daughter’
- (Hess 1998: 91, line 6)
- b. *gʷəl tubəhuyil čəd č'ač'as dəxʷəbsda?tubšs ?ə kʷi sp'ip'ic'ikʷ*
gʷəl tu=bə=huy-il čəd č'ač'as
 then PAST=ADD=be.done-INCH 1SG.SUB child
- dəxʷ=?əs-bəs-da?-txʷ-bš=s ?ə kʷi sp'ip'ic'ikʷ*
 ADNM=STAT-PROP=named-ECS-1SG.OBJ=3PO PR REM sp'ip'ic'ikʷ
 ‘and then I was turned into a child so I was named *Sp'ip'ic'ikʷ*’
- [HM Star Child, line 123]
- c. *χaɬ'txʷəxʷ kʷi gʷəsəbsč'istxʷils*
χaɬ'-txʷ=əxʷ kʷi gʷə=s=?əs-bəs-sč'istxʷ-il=s
 desire-ECS=now REM SBJ=NM=STAT-PROP-husband-INCH=3PO
 ‘she wanted to become someone having a husband’
- (Hess 1998: 31)

(99a) illustrates the verb *bəsčəgʷasbid* ‘marry someone’, formed from the stem *bəsčəgʷas* ‘have someone as a wife’ plus the middle applicative *-bi-d*. The verb *bəsda?txʷ* ‘be named something’ in (99b) is formed by adding the external causative suffix *-txʷ* to the stem *bəsda?* ‘have something as a name’, while *bəsc'istxʷil* ‘become married to someone’ is formed with the inchoative suffix added to the stem *bəsc'istxʷ* ‘have someone as a husband’ in (99c).⁵⁸ The propriative prefix is also found in two kinship terms formed with the prefix *cit-* ‘half-sibling’ — *citbəsbad* ‘half-sibling with same father’ and *citbəskʷuy* ‘half-sibling with same mother’, based on the possessive verbs stems *bəsbad* ‘have a father’ (from *√bad* ‘father’) and *bəskʷuy* ‘have a mother’ (*√skʷuy* ‘mother’), respectively.

2.1.6 Other verb-stem formatives

-a- ‘stem formative’

The stem-formative element *-a-* is identified by Hess (1967a: 34) and Hess & Hilbert (1976: II, 152) as appearing in a number of verb stems with rather uncertain effects on the meanings of its base. It appears in a few verb forms in tandem with the valency-neutral middle suffix *-b* — e.g., *ckʷab* ‘be taut’ (from *√cikʷ* ‘be straight, be tautened’) and *qʷcab* ‘slip’ (from *√qʷc* ‘slide, slip’)⁵⁹ — and Hess (1967a) suggests that it may also be a component of the suffix *-áb* ‘method’ (Section 2.1.1.6), used to derive verbs from nouns. Two motion verbs, *?əλ'* ‘come’ and *?uχʷ* ‘go’, also have forms in /a/ — *?əλ'* ‘come to a specific place’ and *?uχʷ* ‘go to a specific place’, and both Hess (1967a: 34) and Hess & Hilbert (1976: II, 152) suggest that the stem-formative /a/ is a conditioning factor for the syncope of the instrumental suffix *-təd* in words like *λ'əgʷi?čad*

⁵⁸ The impersonal-object reading of the example itself is allowed for by the fact that the possessum is an optional argument of the verb which may be left unspecified to be recovered from context or interpreted as a generic thing/person (depending on the meaning of the verb stem).

⁵⁹ These might also include *tχab* ‘be stiff (as a result of an encounter with a spirit)’, possible from *√tχ* ‘be spread out’, although the derivational relationship between these forms is uncertain.

‘spear for bottom-fishing’ (from *λ'agʷiʔč* ‘spear something (bottom fish)’) and *yiq'ibad* ‘awl for basket-making’ (from *yiq'ib* ‘make something (baskets)’). Whether or not all of these /a/ vowels constitute a morpheme or morphemes, however, is quite uncertain — from a synchronic perspective all of these examples of /a/ seem to be unanalyzable parts of fossilized stems. The extent to which these stems can be teased apart to reveal a historical *-a- affix (or affixes) seems like a promising topic for future investigation.

gʷə- ‘dubitative’

There are a few verb stems that contain the prefix *gʷə-* ‘dubitatively [DUB]’, which adds an element of doubt or uncertainty to the meaning of its base — e.g., *gʷəhaydxʷ* ‘sort of know something’ (from *haydxʷ* ‘know something’). In these cases, the prefix is most likely a lexicalization of the subjunctive proclitic (Section 3.1.4) as a part of the verb stem. Less clearly related to these stems are verbs such as *gʷəbakʷtxʷ* ‘catch a glimpse of something’ (probably from *vbakʷ* ‘move rapidly’), *gʷəbiλ'ad* ‘make something disintegrate’ (from *⁰vbιλ'* ‘be smashed, be crumbled’), *gʷəcutad* ‘make noise’ (based on *vcut* ‘speak’), *gʷədᶻakʷtxʷ* ‘be emotionally moved’ (probably from *dᶻakʷ* ‘be shaky’), *gʷəλ'əlad* ‘stop, be still; behave’ and *gʷəλ'əltxʷ* ‘stop someone’, *gʷəqʷibad* ‘get ready’ (based on *vqʷib* ‘be fixed’), *gʷəšəbad* ‘make something disappear’ (based on *všub* ‘be overdue, be missing’), and *gʷət'qʷad* ‘faint, pass out’ (probably from *vt'qʷ* ‘be broken (flexible object)’). These verbs are only partially analyzable and the semantic contribution of the dubitative prefix (if indeed it appears in these forms) is far from apparent. Note that the several of these forms also appear to contain the stem-formative, *-a-*.

2.2 Nouns and nominal derivation

In comparison with verbs, nouns in Lushootseed do not have a particularly complicated morphological structure, nor are there a great many fully productive derivational affixes used to

derive nouns from words of other lexical classes. However, as noted in Hess (1967a), many nominal bases are phonologically more complex than the majority of verbal radicals and show signs of once having been composed of morphological elements no longer at play in the modern language. Indeed, a close look at the nominal lexicon gives the impression that at one stage of the language's history most nouns had complex morphological structure, and even in the modern language a substantial portion of nouns can be analyzed as deverbal, having been formed with the nominalizing prefix *s-* (Section 2.2.1). Similarly, an examination of the syntax reveals a preponderance of syntactic strategies for creating referential expressions (the syntactic equivalents of NPs) from verbal and other predicative phrases (see Section 7), hinting at an earlier stage of the language with a much more verbally-oriented lexicon with few or no basic nouns, perhaps more akin to what is still seen in the Iroquoian family today. The sections that follow describe the synchronically-analyzable noun-deriving affixes in Lushootseed, beginning with the most productive morphemes and ending with a brief enumeration of some fossilized elements which are nevertheless still analyzable from an etymological point of view.

2.2.1 Nominalizing prefix *s-*

The prefix *s-* ‘nominalizing prefix [NP]’ (not to be confused with the nominalizing proclitic, *s=*, see below) is the most common and prolific of the derivational affixes in Lushootseed. Its primary function is to create lexical nouns from verbal bases, as in the forms in Table 47:

<i>sc'ap</i> ‘swamp’	(<i>/c'ap</i> ‘be stagnant’)
<i>sdukʷ</i> ‘worthless person; supernatural thing’	(<i>/dukʷ</i> ‘be worthless; be abnormal’)
<i>sgʷaadgʷad</i> ‘tape recorder’	(<i>/gʷaadgʷad</i> ‘converse’)
<i>səli?</i> ‘soul’	(<i>/ħəli?</i> ‘be alive’)
<i>sləxil</i> ‘day’	(<i>/ləx</i> ‘be light, be bright’; cf. <i>lxil</i> ‘become light’)
<i>sɬ iqabac</i> ‘small pox’	(from <i>/ɬ iq</i> ‘emerge’ + <i>-abac</i> ‘body’)
<i>spukʷəb</i> ‘hill’	(<i>/pukʷəb</i> ‘be piled up’)
<i>sp'qʷucut</i> ‘spawning steelhead’	(from <i>/p'qʷ</i> ‘drift’)
<i>sqəlalitut</i> ‘spirit power’	(from <i>qəlalitut</i> ‘dream’)
<i>sq'əčqs</i> ‘coho salmon’	(from <i>/q'əč</i> ‘be crooked’ + <i>-qs</i> ‘nose’)
<i>sq'čic</i> ‘bow (archery)’	(from <i>/q'əč</i> ‘be crooked’ + <i>-ič</i> ‘spine’)
<i>sqʷicqs</i> ‘point (land)’	(from <i>/qʷic</i> ‘go downstream’ + <i>-qs</i> ‘nose’)
<i>sqʷšab</i> ‘fog’	(<i>/qʷšab</i> ‘be foggy’)

<i>sqʷic</i> ‘widow, widower’	(^o <i>qʷic</i> ‘be a widow(er)’; cf. <i>qʷic’il</i> ‘be widowed’)
<i>stibib</i> ‘strong person’	(<i>tib</i> ‘make great physical effort’)
<i>studəq</i> ‘slave’	(^o <i>tudəq</i> ‘be a slave’; cf. <i>tudəgil</i> ‘be enslaved’)
<i>st’qʷalšəd</i> ‘tumpline’	(from <i>vt’qʷ</i> ‘be snapped in two’ + <i>-šəd</i> ‘lower leg’)
<i>sxa?xa?</i> ‘in-law’	(<i>xə?xa?</i> ‘be taboo’)
<i>sxət</i> ‘sickness’	(<i>xət</i> ‘be sick’)
<i>sxʷəs</i> ‘fat, grease’	(^o <i>xʷəs</i> ‘be fat’; cf. <i>xʷsil</i> ‘get fat’)

Table 47: Nouns formed with *s-* from monovalent bases

The forms in this table fall roughly into two groups. The first are nouns such as *sdukʷ* ‘worthless person; supernatural thing’ (from *vd़ukʷ* ‘be worthless; be a-normal’) or *studəq* ‘slave’ (^o*tudəq* ‘be a slave’) that express the ACTOR/subject of the verb it is derived from. The second group consists of nouns that express a resultant state of the process expressed by the verb — e.g., *sxət* ‘sickness’ (from *xət* ‘be sick’) or *sqəlalitut* ‘spirit power’ (from *qəlalitut* ‘dream’). In both cases the meanings of many of the nouns are lexicalized such that they express a particular ACTOR/subject or resultant state out of the potential range of things that a completely productive nominalization might express — i.e., *sq’əčqs* (from *q’əč* ‘be crooked’ + *-qs* ‘nose’) means ‘Coho salmon’, not anything with a crooked nose, and *sgʷaadgʷad* (from *gʷaadgʷad* ‘converse’) means ‘tape recorder’, not any thing or person that can speak. There are also cases where the relationship between the meaning of the noun and the meaning of its base seems to be a matter of loose semantic association than regular semantic derivation (for example, *səli?* ‘soul’ from *vħəli?* ‘be alive’, *sxʷəs* ‘fat, grease’ from ^o*vxʷəs* ‘be fat’). The relationship between the meaning of the noun and the meaning of its verbal bases may also be rather oblique (e.g., *st’qʷalšəd* ‘tumpline’ from *vt’qʷ* ‘be snapped in two’ + *-šəd* ‘lower leg’, a reference to the way tumplines were traditionally made) or completely opaque (*sqʷicqs* ‘point (land)’ from *qʷic* ‘go downstream’ + *-qs* ‘nose’).

There are also a great many nouns formed from bivalent intransitive bases. In these cases, the derived noun expresses the semantic ENDPOINT/oblique object of its base:

<i>s?uladxʷ</i> ‘anadromous fish’	(^o <i>v?uladxʷ</i> ‘catch \otimes [anadromous fish]’)
<i>s?axʷu?</i> ‘clam’	(<i>v?axʷu?</i> ‘catch \otimes [clams]’)
<i>s?əłəd</i> ‘food’	(<i>v?əłəd</i> ‘feed on \otimes ’)

<i>s?uləxʷ</i> ‘things collected from nature’	(<i>√?uləxʷ</i> ‘collect \otimes from nature’)
<i>sčəba?</i> ‘backpack’	(<i>√čəba?</i> ‘be loaded down with \otimes ’)
<i>sda?</i> ‘name’	(<i>^də?</i> ‘be named \otimes '; <i>da?ad</i> ‘name \otimes ’)
<i>sgʷadadgʷad</i> ‘story’	(<i>√gʷadadgʷad</i> ‘speak \otimes ’)
<i>stɬub</i> ‘soup’	(<i>^tɬub</i> ‘eat \otimes with spoon'; cf. <i>tubtxʷ</i> ‘spoon feed \otimes ') ⁶⁰
<i>st'iłib</i> ‘song’	(<i>√t'iłib</i> ‘sing \otimes ’)
<i>sxʷiʔxʷiʔ</i> ‘food gathered by hunting or foraging’	(<i>√xʷiʔxʷiʔ</i> ‘hunt for \otimes , forage for \otimes ’)

Table 48: Nouns formed with *s-* from bivalent intransitive bases

In most of these examples, the meaning of the derived noun is predictable and completely transparent; however, there are a few examples — like *stɬub* ‘soup’ (from *^tɬub* ‘eat something with a spoon’) — where the noun seems to have lexicalized to a more specific meaning. Note that there are no examples of this type of nominal derivation based on transitive verbs: transitive verbs are nominalized on the clausal-level and require expression of a subject (see Section 7.4.2 below).

Nouns formed with *s-* can themselves be used as bases for deriving other words. In these cases, the *s*-prefix is usually lost, as in the following examples:

- (100) a. ?al kʷi tuha?kʷ gʷəl xʷi? gʷətušləx̌il
 ?al kʷi tu=ha?kʷ gʷəl xʷi? gʷə=tu=(s-ləx̌-il)
 PR REM PAST=long.time then NEG SBJ=PAST=(NP-light-INCH)
 ‘in the distant past there was no daylight’
- (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 13, line 1)
- b. ləx̌iličəxʷ čəł
 'ləx̌-il'•ič=əxʷ čəł
 'light-INCH'•covering=now 1PL.SUB
 ‘daylight is covering us’
- (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 30, line 146–147)

The first example shows the noun *sləx̌il* ‘day, daylight’, derived from the inchoative form of the verbal radical *√laχ̌il* ‘be light, be bright’. In (100b), this noun appears as the base for a verb derived through the affixation of the lexical suffix, *-ič* ‘covering’; the fact that the noun, rather than the verbal radical, is the base for this form is shown by the relative ordering of the affixes — lexical suffixes are attached directly to the stem, followed by other derivational affixes,

⁶⁰ The valency and government patterns of these forms are uncertain.

including the inchoative (cf., the form *cəbagʷitil* [*cəb* ‘two’ + *-agʷit* ‘canoe’ + *-il* ‘inchoative’] ‘become two canoes’).

A few nouns formed with *s-* seem to be based on nominal stems:

<i>s?acus</i> ‘face’	(from <i>ʷac</i> ‘centre’ + <i>-us</i> ‘face’)
<i>sčətšad</i> ‘fish tail’	(from <i>čət</i> ‘point’ + <i>-šad</i> ‘lower leg’)
<i>slagʷidac</i> ‘bed sheet’	(<i>lagʷid</i> ‘sleeping mat’)
<i>sčəbid</i> ‘Douglas fir bark’	(<i>čəbid</i> ‘Douglas fir’)
<i>s?ilačad</i> ‘side of something’	(from <i>ilačad</i> ‘side’ based on <i>?il</i> ‘be leaning on’ + <i>-ačad</i> ‘side’)
<i>s?ilgʷit</i> ‘shoreline’	(from <i>ilgʷit</i> ‘shoreline’ based on <i>?il</i> ‘be leaning on’ + <i>-gʷit</i> ‘canoe’)
<i>sdəabid</i> ‘vegetables’	(<i>dəabid</i> ‘vegetables’)
<i>st'əluʔb</i> ‘dried king salmon’	(<i>təluʔb</i> ‘dried king salmon’ from <i>vt'al</i> ‘be split open’)

Table 49: Nouns formed with *s-* from nominal bases

Several of these forms, such as *sdəabid* ‘vegetables’ (from *dəabid* ‘vegetables’) and *st'əluʔb* ‘dried king salmon’ (from *təluʔb* ‘dried king salmon’), are homosemous with their bases, possibly representing forms in which the prefix is being eroded by diachronic processes. In other cases, the nominalization seems to represent a narrowing of scope — *slagʷidac* ‘bed sheet’ (from *lagʷid* ‘sleeping mat’), *sčəbid* ‘Douglas fir bark’ (from *čəbid* ‘Douglas fir’) — from the meaning of the base. Two of the forms in Table 49 — *s?acus* ‘face’ and *sčətšad* ‘fish tail’ — are formed by the combination of a lexical suffix (Section 2.1.6) with a bound radical expressing a partonymic notion, and two more — *s?ilačad* ‘side of something’ and *s?ilgʷit* ‘shoreline’ — are based on the verbal radical *?il* ‘be leaning on’ plus a lexical suffix. A number of less transparent nouns, such as *sc'ic'ab* ‘wing’ (cf. *ic'ic'al* ‘quill feather’), also seem to have nominal bases (or historically to share bases with other nouns).

Finally, there are very many nouns in Lushootseed that begin with /s/ but are synchronically unanalyzable. A few of these are given in Table 50:

<i>s?axʷa?</i> ‘male urine’	<i>sq čic</i> ‘bow (archery)’
<i>?ic'ab</i> ‘blanket’	<i>sq adčax</i> ‘intestines’
<i>sbadil</i> ‘mountain’	<i>sq adču</i> ‘human hair’
<i>sbəqʷa?</i> ‘heron’	<i>sqa</i> ‘older sibling or cousin’
<i>sbiaw</i> ‘coyote’	<i>sqigʷac</i> ‘deer’
<i>sbit'</i> ‘soup’	<i>sqʷali?</i> ‘hay’
<i>sc'ali?</i> ‘heart’	<i>sqʷabay?</i> ‘dog’
<i>sčətš</i> ‘kingfisher’	<i>sqʷil'ob</i> ‘spear for bottom fishing’
<i>sč'istx</i> ‘husband’	<i>st'ət'iqʷi?</i> ‘drake bufflehead’

<i>scapa?</i> ‘grandfather’	<i>st'u?q</i> 'w ‘small feathers’
<i>sčətxʷəd</i> ‘black bear’	<i>stigʷəd</i> ‘cedar withes’
<i>sčutč</i> ‘halibut’	<i>stiqayu?</i> ‘wolf’
<i>sdəxʷil</i> ‘hunting canoe’	<i>stiqw</i> ‘horse’
<i>sgʷaʔtəd</i> ‘funeral goods’	<i>stubš</i> ‘man’
<i>sgʷəlub</i> ‘pheasant’	<i>stuləkʷ</i> ‘river’
<i>skʷup</i> ‘sucker fish’	<i>stuligʷəd</i> ‘blood’
<i>skʷxʷic</i> ‘silver salmon’	<i>swatixʷtəd</i> ‘land, region, world’
<i>stładəy?</i> ‘female human’	<i>swuqʷadi?</i> ‘loon’
<i>stukʷalb</i> ‘moon’ ⁶¹	<i>sxaʔhus</i> ‘big river sawbill’
<i>stluʔb</i> ‘dog salmon’	<i>sxədəb</i> ‘dried camas root’
<i>spatčad</i> ‘tidal flats’	<i>sx̌ay</i> ‘us’ ‘head’
<i>spaʔc</i> ‘black bear’	<i>sx̌ədi?</i> ‘bullhead’
<i>spču?</i> ‘watertight basket’	<i>syaʔya?</i> ‘friend’
<i>sq'aʔəd</i> ‘moccasin’	<i>syəhub</i> ‘traditional story’

Table 50: Unanalyzable nouns with *s-*

Although none of the initial /s/’s in these words can be analyzed as a synchronically productive application of the nominalizing prefix, their diachronic origins are revealed by the absence of /s/ when the noun is used as a base for the derivation of other forms — as, for example, in *skʷxʷic* ‘silver salmon’ > *pədkʷxʷic* ‘September’ (lit. ‘time of silver salmon’), *sbəqʷa?* ‘heron’ > *bəqʷaʔqs* ‘bayonet’ (lit. ‘heron nose’), or *sbiaw* ‘coyote’ > *biawcut* ‘act cannily’. The words *stładəy?* ‘woman’ and *stubš* ‘man’ lose /s/ in the formations *tładəyʔlucidbid* ‘address as a female’ and *tubšlucidbid* ‘address as a male’, and the kinship terms *skʷuy* ‘mother’ and *scapa?* ‘grandfather’ both lose their initial /s/ to form vocatives. This may also be related to the phenomenon found in Lushootseed texts whereby proper names are often prefixed with *s-* when not used as vocatives. This gives us expressions such as (101):

⁶¹ The apparent radical of this form is attested in at least one example in the texts:

- (i) ?əslukʷalb t̥iʔił suqʷa?̥
 ?əs-łukʷalb t̥iʔił suqʷa?̥-s
 STAT-be.moon DIST younger.brother-3PO
 ‘his younger brother was the moon’

[DS Star Child, line 235]

Although this verbal radical is not attested elsewhere, a further hint of a verbal origin for the word *stukʷalb* ‘moon’ is its similarity to *tukʷat* ‘sun’. Further etymological and comparative work will likely shed some light on the origins and historical relationships of these words.

- (101) ləkʷatač dxʷ?a, ti?iɬ sɬ'iɬ'iq'šəd
 lə=kʷatač dxʷ-?a ti?iɬ s-ɬ'iɬ'iq'šəd
 PROG=climb CNTRPT-be.there DIST NP=sapsucker
 ‘Sapsucker was climbing there’
- (Hess 2006: 24, line 47)

However, it is also the case that names formed with *s-* occasionally appear without the prefix in non-vocative usages as well, so if there is a relationship between the two processes, it is a historical one that has given rise to a certain amount of free variation in the modern language. The initial /s/ in all nouns like those in Table 50 is ignored in reduplication (Section 2.8), which may be a vestige of a time when these words were analyzable *s*-nominalizations.

The final issue that merits discussion here is the relationship between the nominalizing prefix *s-* and the nominalizing proclitic *s=* (see also Section 7.4.2). While these are almost certainly cognate elements historically and have traditionally been treated as the same element in Lushootseed as well as in other Salishan languages, careful consideration of their behaviour and distribution shows clearly that they are formally distinct morphemes. The nominalizing prefix operates at the level of the word, creating new lexemes and, in most cases, effecting a change in lexical class; the nominalizing clitic operates at the level of the phrase, creating referential expressions from full clauses that are the syntactic equivalent of NPs. The *s-* prefix attaches directly to the radical and is closer to its base than other derivational prefixes; the proclitic *s=* is bound not to a word of a particular class but appears attached to the first element in the phrase it is associated with and, like other proclitics, may be iterated on a subsequent element in that phrase. The nominalizing prefix is restricted to intransitive bases, while the proclitic can be applied to a predicative phrase headed by a predicate of any valency. As a word-level derivational morpheme, *s-* has no effect on the syntax of its base other than its basic lexical class-changing function of creating a noun; the *s=* proclitic, on the other hand, applies to predicate phrases headed by a fully inflected sentence predicate (usually a verb) and requires that its phrase contain some expression of its syntactic subject in the form of a possessive subject

clitic or a possessor NP. Thus, while the parallels between *s-* and *s=* are undeniable, their syntactic behaviour is too disparate to allow them to be treated as precisely the same element.⁶²

2.2.2 Proclivitive *dxʷs-*

The prefix *dxʷs-* ‘proclivitive [PROC]’ is added to verbal bases to form words denoting one whose profession or proclivity is to perform a particular action:

<i>dxʷs?ələd</i> ‘one who eats a lot’	(<i>v?ələd</i> ‘eat ⊗’)
<i>dxʷscutut</i> ‘one who talks a lot’	(<i>vcut</i> ‘speak’)
<i>dxʷčəba?</i> ‘porter’	(<i>včəba?</i> ‘be loaded down with ⊗’)
<i>dxʷsbədč</i> ‘liar’	(<i>v'bədč</i> ‘lie’; cf. <i>bədčəb</i> ‘tell lies’)
<i>dxʷskʷatač</i> ‘mountain climber’	(<i>vkʷatač</i> ‘climb’)
<i>dxʷsp'ayəq</i> ‘canoe maker’	(<i>v'p'ayəq</i> ‘carve canoe’)
<i>dxʷsqada?</i> ‘thief’	(<i>vqada?</i> ‘steal ⊗’)
<i>dxʷsqʷtalps</i> ‘drover’	(from <i>vqʷat</i> ‘drive ⊗ [animal]’ + <i>-alps</i> ‘animal’)

Table 51: Nouns formed with *dxʷs-*

To this list could also be added the synchronically unanalyzable form *dxʷs?ubədi?* ‘forest hunter’ which is based on a root which is unattested except in the synonymous form *s?ubədi?* ‘forest hunter’.

Although they are ordinary nouns in other respects, nouns formed with *dxʷs-* do not normally take possessive affixes. Instead, when a possessive might be required, proclivitive nouns combine with the instrumental prefix *səxʷ-* (Section 2.2.3) to form special possessive constructions like that in (102):

- (102) *dił acəxʷdxʷsp'ayəq*
dił ad-səxʷ-dxʷs-p'ayəq
 FOC 2SG.PO-INST-PROC-carve.canoe
 ‘he is your canoe-maker’

(Hess 1971: 52)

⁶² Although it may seem undesirable to posit two homophonous and (superficially) homosemous elements as separate morphemes, it is by no means without parallel in other languages, even in familiar languages from the Indo-European family. Igor Mel'čuk (personal communication) notes that this is the case in Russian, where many prepositions have homophonous prefixal counterparts that add meanings to verbal bases that are not unrelated to the meanings of the independent prepositions. One might make the same argument for some prepositions in English, which have homophonous counterparts in phrasal verbs that are syntactically very unlike prepositions, but which often express meanings that are semantically-related to the meanings of the corresponding preposition.

The *səx^w-* prefix otherwise attaches only to verbal bases.

As noted in Hess (1995: 25 – 28), the proclivitive is almost certainly related diachronically to the prefix *dx^{w(s)}-* ‘contained’ (Section 2.1.1.1), which expresses the general notion of internality or containment. It probably also contained the nominalizing prefix *s-* (Section 2.2.1) added to a verbal radical to create a nominal of activity, the potential or origin of the forms in Table 51 being expressions with a literal meaning of ‘one whose has internalized an activity’. Also like *dx^{w(s)}-* ‘contained’, *dx^ws-* ‘proclivitive’ is occasionally attested as [*dx^w-*] or [*x^w-*], although there are no such attestations in the present corpus.

2.2.3 Instrumental *səx^w-*

The prefix *səx^w-* ‘instrumental [INSTR]’ is added to verbal bases to create nouns expressing an instrument that is habitually used to perform the action or activity expressed by its stem. This affix interacts morphophonemically with the first- and second-person singular possessive prefixes:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (103) a. <i>cəx^wp'ac'</i>
d– <i>səx^w–p'ac'</i>
1SG.PO–INSTR–sew
‘my sewing machine’ | b. <i>acəx^wp'ac'</i>
ad– <i>səx^w–p'ac'</i>
2SG.PO–INSTR–sew
‘your sewing machine’ |
|--|--|
- (Hess 1971: 50)

This reduction results in homophony with forms bearing the adjunct nominalizing proclitic *dəx^w=* (Section 7.4.2.2) with first-person singular possessive subjects (compare 103a and *cəx^wp'ac* ‘why I sew’).

The prefix *səx^w-* appears to be quite productive and appears in a large number of forms. A selection of these are given in Table 52:

<i>səx^w?ax^wu?b</i> ‘clam gun’	(? <i>ax^wu?b</i> ‘dig for clams’)
<i>səx^w?ig^wət</i> ‘ladder, stairway’	(? <i>ig^wət</i> ‘climb’) (Sk)
<i>səx^w?iχ^wicut</i> ‘broom’	(? <i>iχ^wicut</i> ‘throw oneself’)
<i>səx^w?ul?ul</i> ‘means for water travel’	(? <i>ul?ul</i> ‘travel by water’)
<i>səx^wc'əg^wulč</i> ‘dishwasher’	(from <i>v'ak^w</i> ‘wash ⊗’ + <i>-ulč</i> ‘container’)
<i>səx^wc'iχalik^w</i> ‘frying pan’	(<i>c'iχalik^w</i> ‘fry ⊗’)

<i>səxʷgʷədil</i> ‘chair’	(from <i>gʷədil</i> ‘sit down’ based on <i>gʷəd</i> ‘down’)
<i>səxʷkʷatač</i> ‘ladder; upwards trail’	(<i>kʷatač</i> ‘climb’)
<i>səxʷlaq</i> ‘spinning wheel’	(<i>laq</i> ‘spin wool’) (Sk)
<i>səxʷlič</i> ‘saw’	(<i>lič</i> ‘be cut’)
<i>səxʷλ'akʷ</i> ‘thing used to make mats’	(<i>λ'akʷ</i> ‘be stitched’; cf. <i>λ'agʷəd</i> ‘stitch ⊗ (mat)’)
<i>səxʷp'ac'</i> ‘sewing machine’	(<i>p'ac'</i> ‘sew ⊗’)
<i>səxʷšut</i> ‘spyglass’	(<i>šut</i> ‘appear, be visible’)
<i>səxʷs̥xaysəb</i> ‘electric razor’	(from <i>s̥xə</i> ‘scrape’ + <i>-ayqs</i> ‘chin’ + <i>-b</i> ‘middle’)
<i>səxʷuč'əgʷulč</i> ‘thing used to wash dishes’	(from <i>uč'əkʷ</i> ‘wash ⊗’ + <i>-ulč</i> ‘container’)
<i>səxʷulaq</i> ‘thing used to spin wool’	(<i>laq</i> ‘spin wool’) (Sk)
<i>səxʷup'ac'</i> ‘thing used to sew’	(<i>p'ac'</i> ‘sew ⊗’)
<i>səxʷuyayus</i> ‘tool’	(<i>uyayus</i> ‘work’)
<i>səxʷxal</i> ‘writing implement’	(<i>xal</i> ‘write’)
<i>səxʷxič'q'alps</i> ‘race horse’	(from <i>xič'q'</i> ‘be competitive’ + <i>-alps</i> ‘animal’)

Table 52: Nouns formed with *səxʷ-*

To this list might also be added *səxʷs̥uləč* ‘foraging territory’ (from *uč'ə* ‘forage for something’), although the presence of the nominalizing prefix *s-* and the form’s unusual semantics (referring to a place rather than an instrument) argues for a more complex etymological history. There is also a kinship term, *səxʷsqatəd* ‘older siblings, older cousins’ (from *sqa* ‘older sibling, older cousin’), which appears to contain both *səxʷ-* and the implement suffix *-təd*, although the meaning of neither of these affixes is apparent in the meaning of the form.

While many of the forms in Table 52 have become lexicalized to express specific items used in certain activities (e.g., *səxʷgʷədil* ‘chair’, *səxʷp'ac'* ‘sewing machine’), several of these forms have a more general sense and are applicable to any instrument used in an activity (*səxʷup'ac'* ‘thing used to sew’, *səxʷλ'akʷ* ‘thing used to make mats’). This is in contrast to the implement suffix *-təd* (Section 2.2.9), which creates nouns referring to “specific, well-defined items of traditional shape and established usage” (Hess 1971: 47). The distinction between the two affixes can be seen in a handful of forms that take either or both of *səxʷ-* and *-təd*:

(104)	<i>səxʷp'ac'təd</i> ‘thing used to sew’	<i>p'ac'təd</i> ‘sewing needle’	<i>səxʷp'ac'</i> ‘sewing machine’
	<i>səxʷlaqtəd</i> ‘thing used to spin yarn’	<i>laqtəd</i> ‘leg spindle’	<i>səxʷlaq</i> ‘spinning wheel’

<i>səxʷλ'akʷtəd</i>	<i>λ'akʷtəd</i>	<i>səxʷλ'akʷ</i>
‘mat-making needle’	‘cattail needle’ ⁶³	‘things used for making mats’
<i>səxʷčəba?təd</i>	<i>čəba?təd</i>	—
‘thing used for carrying on back’	‘tumpline’	—

As shown in the first triplet in (104), adding the instrumental prefix to a noun formed with *-təd* has the effect of making the expression less specific: rather than expressing a particular item (*p'ac'təd* ‘sewing needle’) used in an activity (*√p'ac* ‘sew’), the derived noun (*səxʷp'ac'təd* ‘thing used to sew’) designates any item used in that activity. The remainder of the examples illustrate the same point: in each case the noun bearing the instrument prefix and *-təd* is less specific than the noun bearing only *-təd*. In three of the four cases, there are also contrasting forms that contain only *səxʷ-*. While one of these, *səxʷλ'akʷ* ‘things used for making mats’, has the usual open-ended meaning associated with *səxʷ-*, two of these — *səxʷp'ac* ‘sewing machine’ and *səxʷlaq* ‘spinning wheel’ (as well as a number of the other forms in Table 52) — designate modern devices or machines used to perform an activity rather than the traditional implement designated by the nouns formed with *-təd*. The fact that so many of words of this type are of recent origin suggests that they are descriptive expressions that became lexicalized as the names of new or novel items originally identified by their function. It should also be noted that both *səxʷp'ac* ‘sewing machine’ and *səxʷlaq* ‘spinning wheel’ contrast with more open-ended forms (*səxʷup'ac* ‘thing used to sew’ and *səxʷutəq* ‘thing used to spin wool’, respectively) which appear to be based on verb stems inflection for the perfective aspect (?u-). In addition, there is a form *səxʷuλ'akʷtəd* ‘thing used to make mats’ (cf. *səxʷλ'akʷtəd* ‘mat-making needle’) which also appears to contain the perfective marker, and another form, *səxʷəsqʷu?il* ‘device for keeping what has been collected, book-binder’, which seems to be based on a stem bearing the

⁶³ A cattail needle was a specific type of implement, about four feet long and made from ironwood, used only for making cattail mats.

stative aspect (?*əs-*).⁶⁴ If these are indeed based on stems inflected for aspect, this seems to suggest that *səxʷ-* may have been applicable not just to verb stems but also to full clauses, much like the morphemes *s=* and *dəxʷ=* discussed in Section 7.4.2 below. However, it is difficult to speculate on the basis of fewer than half a dozen forms, and the question will have to be left open for future research.

səxʷ- is also found on stems formed with the proclivitive, *dxʷs-* (Section 2.2.1), as in (105):

- (105) dił acəxʷdxʷsp'ayəq
 dił ad-səxʷ-dxʷs-p'ayəq
 FOC 2SG.PO-INST-PROC-carve.canoe
 'he is your canoe-maker'

(Hess 1971: 52)

As noted above, nouns formed with the proclivitive do not normally take possessive affixes. This use of the instrumental is also unusual in that otherwise this prefix is restricted to verbal bases.

2.2.4 Proxy *sixʷ-*

The prefix *sixʷ-* ‘proxy’ is attached to verb stems to form nouns designating a person who serves in a particular capacity on behalf of or at the behest of someone else. Like *səxʷ-*, it undergoes morphophonemic reduction when preceded by the first- and second-person singular possessive prefixes:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (106) a. cixʷup'ayəq
d-sixʷ-?u-p'ayəq
1SG.PO-PROXY-PFV-carve.canoe
'my canoe-maker' | b. acixʷup'ayəq
ad-sixʷ-?u-p'ayəq
2SG.PO-PROXY-PFV-carve.canoe
'your canoe-maker' |
|--|--|
- (Hess 1971: 50)

This is a low-frequency prefix and is attested in only five forms: *cixʷup'ayəq* ‘one’s canoe-maker’ (from *√p'ayəq* ‘carve canoe’), *cixʷstudəq* ‘one’s slave’ (from *√studəq* ‘slave’), *cixʷc'əgʷulč* ‘one’s dish-washer’ (from *√c'akʷ* ‘wash something’ + *-ulč* ‘container’),

⁶⁴ The stem itself, *qʷuʔil*, is unattested, although it is probably based on *qʷu?* ‘be gathered’ plus the inchoative suffix *-il*.

cixʷudxʷc'əgʷulč ‘one’s dish-washer’ (from *dxʷs-* ‘proclivitive’ + *√c'akʷ* ‘wash something’ + *-ulč* ‘container’), and *sixʷsyaya?* ‘in-laws’ (from *s√yaya?* ‘relative, friend’). Two of these — *cixʷup'ayəq* and *cixʷudxʷc'əgʷulč* — appear to contain the perfective prefix *?u-*, and so may be based on the nominalization of clauses rather than verb stems; however, with only four attested forms, any conclusions that might be drawn from this are little more than speculation.

2.2.5 Container *xʷ-*

The prefix *xʷ-* ‘container [CNTNR]’ is added to both nominal and verbal roots, usually in conjunction with some other affix, to create nouns expressing various types of containers. This affix is notable for its morphophonemic interaction with the first- and second-person possessive markers, as shown in (107):

- | | |
|---|---|
| (107) a. <i>cxʷtaləhali</i>
d-xʷ-talə•hali
1SG.PO—CNTNR—money•place
'my purse' | b. <i>acxʷtaləhali</i>
ad-xʷ-talə•hali
2SG.PO—CNTNR—money•place
'your purse' |
|---|---|
- (Hess 1971: 53)

As noted by Hess (1971), this interaction probably indicates that historically *xʷ-* has its origins in the sequence **s-xʷ-*, the /s/ being lost by assimilation to the following fricative. The prefix *xʷ-* is also occasionally dropped by speakers, as in the following example:

- (108) *dəgʷdəgʷašəxʷ ?al ti?ə? ?uhuyud əlgʷə? sdəgʷigʷsalis*
dəgʷ=dəgʷa-š=əxʷ ?al ti?ə? ?u-huyu-d əlgʷə?
DSTR-inside-ICS=now at PROX PFV-be.done-ICS PL
- s=dəgʷ•igʷs•ali=s*
NM=inside•things•place=3PO
'they put them in their pockets as they made them'

[DS Star Child, line 337]

The expected form for ‘pocket’ in (108) is *xʷdəgʷigʷsali*; however, form on tape is *dəgʷigʷsali?*. As noted in Hess (1971; 1995), such elision is not infrequent, and so far efforts to unravel its conditioning have failed.

A number of transparent examples that illustrates this prefix's most regular meaning, 'container', are given in Table 53:

<i>xʷc'agʷacid</i> 'wash basin'	(<i>√c'akʷ</i> 'wash \otimes ' + <i>-aci?</i> 'hand' + <i>-təd</i> 'implement')
<i>xʷciqəbad</i> 'ramrod'	(from <i>xʷ-</i> 'container' + <i>√ciq</i> 'be impaled' + <i>-b</i> 'middle')
<i>xʷdədisali</i> 'gums'	(<i>√dədis</i> 'tooth' + <i>-ali</i> 'place')
<i>xʷdəgʷigʷsali</i> 'pocket'	(<i>√dəkʷ</i> 'be inside' + <i>-igʷs</i> 'things' + <i>-ali</i> 'place')
<i>xʷgʷədgʷatəd</i> 'voice; language'	(<i>√gʷad</i> 'talk' + <i>-təd</i> 'implement')
<i>xʷλ'aləp</i> 'pot'	(<i>√λ'al</i> 'fit within' + <i>-ap</i> 'bottom')
<i>xʷlabali</i> 'bottle'	(<i>√lab</i> 'rum' + <i>-ali</i> 'place')
<i>xʷlikələhali</i> 'lock'	(<i>√likəl</i> 'key' + <i>-ali</i> 'place')
<i>xʷqʷu?əd</i> 'bucket'	(<i>√qʷu?</i> 'water' + <i>-təd</i> 'implement')
<i>xʷs̥ʷa?əd</i> 'bladder'	(<i>√s̥ʷa?</i> 'male urine' + <i>-təd</i> 'implement')
<i>xʷt'agʷtəp</i> 'chair'	(<i>√t'agʷt</i> 'be on top' + <i>-ap</i> 'bottom')
<i>xʷtaləhali</i> 'purse'	(<i>√talə</i> 'money' + <i>-ali</i> 'place')

Table 53: Nouns formed with *xʷ-*

All of the examples in Table 53 contain either the instrument suffix *-təd* (Section 2.2.6) or the lexical suffix *-ali*. To this list we could add a number of less transparent forms containing *xʷ-* such as *xʷ?axʷa?əd* 'clam basket' (possibly from *√s?axʷu?* 'butter clam' + *-təd* 'implement'), *xʷqə?ltəd* 'diaper', *xʷši?šləbəd* 'window, mirror' (based on *√šuł* 'appear, be visible'), *xʷč'up'c* 'tail', *xʷč'itq̥s* 'deepwater oyster shell', and *xʷwiyus* 'mask', as well as a few lexicalized expressions like *xʷcqʷut* 'day; sun at zenith' (from *√cqʷut* 'post'), *xʷqʷqʷus* 'cliff' (from *√qʷqʷ* 'white' + *-us* 'face'), *xʷtəbc'qs* 'mucus' (from *√təbc* 'mucus' + *-qs* 'nose'), *xʷsqatəd* 'older siblings, older cousins' (from *√sqa* 'older sibling, parent's older sibling' + *-təd* 'implement'), and *xʷšəbus* 'partly dried fish' (from *√šab* 'be dry' + *-us* 'face').

The prefix *xʷ-* is also found in a number of bodypart terms, including *xʷtabəp* 'rump' (contains *-ap* 'bottom'), *xʷčličəp* 'sacrum' (contains *-ič* 'covering' and *-ap* 'bottom'), *xʷ?iləxəd* 'side of body' (from *√?il* 'edge' + *-axad* 'side'), *xʷ?əcušəd* 'sole of foot' (from *√?acus* 'face' + *-šəd* 'lower leg'), and *xʷ?əcusači?* 'palm of hand' (from *√?acus* 'face' + *-aci?* 'hand'). Most of these contain a lexical suffix which usually requires *dxʷ(s)-* in other stems (see Section 2.1.1.1 above). As Hess (1995: 25 – 28) notes, *xʷ-* is almost certainly related diachronically to this prefix, which expresses the general notion of internality or containment.

2.2.6 Seasonal *pəd*-

The prefix *pəd*- ‘seasonal [SEAS]’ is added to verbal and nominal bases to form nouns referring to a season or time of year associated with a particular seasonal activity or event or with a particular food item that becomes available at that time of year.

<i>pədč'ačab</i> ‘May’ (lit. ‘time of digging camas bulbs’)	(<i>č'ačab</i> ‘dig for roots’))
<i>pədgʷədbixʷ</i> ‘July’ (lit. ‘time of blackberries’)	(<i>gʷədbixʷ</i> ‘blackberry’)
<i>pədhədəb</i> ‘Summer’	(<i>hədəb</i> ‘be summer’ from <i>vhəd</i> ‘be hot’)
<i>pədkʷxʷic</i> ‘September’ (lit. ‘time of silver salmon’)	(<i>skʷxʷic</i> ‘silver salmon’)
<i>pədλ'xʷay?</i> ‘November’ (lit. ‘time of dog salmon’)	(<i>λ'xʷay?</i> ‘dog salmon’)
<i>pədstagʷad</i> ‘June’ (lit. ‘time of salmonberries’)	(<i>stagʷad</i> ‘salmonberry’)
<i>pədri'aqa</i> ‘August’ (lit. ‘time of salalberries’)	(<i>t'aqa</i> ‘time of salalberry’)
<i>pəd'i'as</i> ‘Winter’	(<i>'vt'i'as</i> ‘be cold (weather)’; cf. <i>t'əsəb</i> ‘be cold (weather)’)
<i>pədxʷič'ib</i> ‘October’ (lit. ‘time of elk/deer mating cry’)	(<i>xʷič'ib</i> ‘mating cry of elk/deer’)
<i>pədxʷit'xʷit'il</i> ‘October’ (lit. ‘time of falling’)	(<i>xʷit'xʷit'il</i> ‘large items falling’)
<i>pədšwiaac</i> ‘April’ (lit. ‘time of [robin] whistling’)	(<i>čwiaac</i> ‘whistle at \otimes ’)

Table 54: Nouns formed with *pəd*-

In addition to these, there are two words for ‘Spring’ which are not synchronically analyzable — *pədšiabac* and *pədλ'qʷulil* (possibly based on *vλ'qʷ* ‘emerge’). *pəd*- is also found prefixed to the noun *tab* ‘thing’ to form the question word *pədtab* ‘when?’.

2.2.7 Colour *xi-*

The prefix *xi-* ‘colour’ is used to form nouns expressing basic colour terms from radicals for colours:

<i>xiččč</i> ‘black’	(<i>vβčč</i> ‘be black’) (NL)
<i>xiččč</i> ‘red’	(<i>včč</i> ‘be red’)
<i>xiččč</i> ‘red’ (Su) ⁶⁵	(<i>včč</i> ‘be red’)
<i>xiččč</i> ‘black’	(<i>včč</i> ‘be black’)
<i>xiččč</i> ‘dark blue, dark green’	(<i>včč</i> ‘be deep blue or dark green’)
<i>xiččč</i> ‘yellow, light green, pale’	(<i>včč</i> ‘yellow, light green, or pale’)
<i>xiččč</i> ‘white’	(<i>včč</i> ‘be white’)

Table 55: Basic colour terms formed with *xi-*

As can be seen from the forms in Table 55, the colour prefix has two phonologically-conditioned allomorphs, [*xi-*] and [*ččč-*], the latter occurring with stems beginning in the rounded uvular stops, /qʷ/ and /q'ʷ/. In addition to the five basic colour terms ‘black’, ‘white’, ‘red’,

⁶⁵ This form is *ččč* in Puyallup.

‘yellow/light green’, and ‘dark blue/dark green’, Lushootseed also has two additional colour terms formed with *xi-* — *xišukʷ* ‘grey’ (from *všukʷ* ‘powder’) and *xił'əc'* ‘green’ (from *vł'əc'* ‘bile’). Unlike the other colours, these two are formed from nouns.⁶⁶ Because the bases for the forms in Table 55 are all bound radicals, it is difficult to assign them to a lexical class, although they follow the derivational patterns of verbs and most likely belonged historically to that class.

2.2.8 Kinship prefixes *?ixʷ-*, *cixʷ-*, and *cił-*

There are three prefixes added to nominal bases to create words expressing various types of kinship. These are *?ixʷ-* ‘spouse’, *cixʷ-* ‘in-law’, and *cił-* ‘half-sibling’.

The first of these prefixes, *?ixʷ-* ‘spouse’, appears to be the most productive and occurs with nominal bases of a variety of types including: age and kinship terms — *?ixʷč'ac'as* ‘young spouse’ (from *č'ac'as* ‘child’), *?ixʷčəgʷas* ‘one who acts as wife’ [= ‘common-law spouse’?] (from *čəgʷas* ‘wife’); professions — *?ixʷdxʷsp'ayəq* ‘spouse of a canoe-maker’ (from *dxʷsp'ayəq* ‘canoe-maker’), *?ixʷdxʷsčəba?* ‘spouse of a porter’ (from *dxʷsčəba?* ‘porter’); and numerical expressions — *?ixʷsəsa?li* ‘two spouses’ [= ‘pair of spouses’?] (from *səsa?li* ‘two people’).⁶⁷

The next prefix, *cixʷ-* ‘in-law’, is added only to kinship terms and is used to form words expressing relationships by marriage in the same way that the English term *in-law* is used — e.g., *cixʷ?ibac* ‘grandchild’s spouse’ (from *?ibac* ‘grandchild’), *cixʷsyaya?* ‘in-law’ (from *yaya?* ‘relative, friend’).

⁶⁶ The more regular way of deriving colour terms from nominal radicals is to use the lexical suffix *-alus* ‘eye’. See the discussion in Section *.*.

⁶⁷ There is some uncertainty with respect to the part of speech of words formed with *?ixʷ-* and, hence, to their glosses. Some forms are glossed in the original sources as nouns while others are glossed as verbs, and the contexts in which they appear are ambiguous as to lexical class. As Hess (1971) notes, there are no unambiguous attestations of *?ixʷ-* forms with possessive affixes, although this is attributed to an accidental gap in the corpus. *?ixʷ-* forms are treated here as (and re-glossed as) nouns, though the possibility remains that they are, in fact, verbs. The question awaits the discovery of further contextualized attestations.

Finally, the prefix *cil-* ‘half-sibling’ occurs in only two forms — *cilbəsbad* ‘half-sibling with same father’ and *cilbəsk’wuy* ‘half-sibling with same mother’. Both of these are based on possessive verbs stems — *bəsbad* ‘have a father’ and *bəsk’wuy* ‘have a mother’ — formed with the propriative prefix *bəs-* (Section 2.1.5) from *bad* ‘father’ and *sk’wuy* ‘mother’, respectively.

2.2.9 Implement -təd

The suffix *-təd* ‘implement [IMPL]’ appears on a few stems, both nominal and verbal, to create words expressing the instrument typically used in an action or associated with an object, creating names for “items of traditional shape and established usage” (Hess 1971: 47). In a number of these forms, *-təd* is reduced to *[əd]*, while in others it appears as *[ad]*.⁶⁸ These reductions are somewhat idiosyncratic and lexicalized, and some forms (e.g., *tik’wəd* ‘gaff’, also *tik’wətəd*) vary from speaker to speaker. A number of transparent *-təd* forms are given in Table 56:

<i>c’aličtəd</i> ‘umbrella’	(<i>√c’al</i> ‘be blocked from view’ + <i>-ič</i> ‘covering’)
<i>cəq’disbad</i> ‘fork’	(from <i>√cəq</i> ‘be stuck into’ + <i>-dis</i> ‘tooth, tine’ + <i>-b</i> ‘middle’)
<i>c’astəd</i> ‘nail’	(<i>√c’as</i> ‘be nailed’; cf. <i>c’əsəd</i> ‘nail \otimes ’)
<i>čəba?təd</i> ‘tumpline’ (USk)	(<i>√čəba?</i> ‘be loaded down with \otimes ’)
<i>dəak’wəd</i> ‘rocking chair’	(<i>√dəak</i> ‘be shaky, be shaking’)
<i>liq’təd</i> ‘red paint’	(<i>√liq</i> ‘be painted red’; cf. <i>liq’id</i> ‘paint \otimes red’)
<i>łaqtəd</i> ‘leg spindle’	(<i>√łaq</i> ‘spin wool’)
<i>tik’wəd</i> ‘gaff’	(<i>√tik’w</i> ‘(to)fish’)
<i>λ’ak’wəd</i> ‘needle for cattail mats’	(<i>√λ’ak</i> ‘be stitched’; cf. <i>λ’ag’wəd</i> ‘stitch \otimes (mat)’)
<i>λ’əg’i?čəd</i> ‘spear for bottom fish’	(<i>√λ’ag’i?č</i> ‘spear bottom fish’)
<i>p’ac’təd</i> ‘sewing needle’	(<i>√p’ac</i> ‘sew’)
<i>s̥usəbad</i> ‘straight razor’	(from <i>√sač</i> ‘scrape’ + <i>-us</i> ‘face’ + <i>-b</i> ‘middle’)
<i>šictəd</i> ‘file’	(<i>√šic</i> ‘rub against \otimes ’)
<i>t’uk’wəd</i> ‘ruler; tape measure’	(<i>√t’uk</i> ‘be measured’; cf. <i>t’ug’ud</i> ‘measure \otimes ’)
<i>xʷc’ag’wəčid</i> ‘bladder’	(from <i>xʷ-</i> ‘container’ + <i>√c’ak</i> ‘wash \otimes ’ + <i>-ači?</i> ‘hand’)
<i>xʷc’igəbad</i> ‘ramrod’	(from <i>xʷ-</i> ‘container’ + <i>√ciq</i> ‘be impaled’ + <i>-b</i> ‘middle’)
<i>xʷiʔxʷiʔəd</i> ‘hunting gear’	(<i>√xʷiʔxʷiʔ</i> ‘hunt for \otimes , forage for \otimes ’)
<i>xʷg’wədg’atəd</i> ‘voice; language’	(from <i>xʷ-</i> ‘container’ + <i>√g’ad</i> ‘talk’)
<i>xʷq’u?əd</i> ‘bucket’	(from <i>xʷ-</i> ‘container’ + <i>√q’u?</i> ‘water’)
<i>xʷs̥əwəʔəd</i> ‘bladder’	(from <i>xʷ-</i> ‘container’ + <i>√s̥əwə?</i> ‘male urine’)
<i>ħaltəd</i> ‘writing implement’	(<i>√ħal</i> ‘be written’)
<i>yiq’ibad</i> ‘awl for basket-making’	(from <i>yiq’ib</i> ‘make cedar-root baskets’)

⁶⁸ There are some indications that the /a/ in the latter of the two allomorphs may have its origin in a separate derivational affix /a/, as suggested in Hess (1967a: 34) and Hess & Hilbert (1976: vol. 2, 152–53). See Section 2.1.6 for further discussion.

Table 56: Nouns formed with *-təd*

In addition to these, there are less transparent words such as *pu?təd* ‘shirt’ (possibly from *√pu?* ‘be blown’), *λ'a?təd* ‘salmon weir’, *k'ʷlibəd* ‘container made from thinly woven cedar slats’ (possibly from *k'ʷət* ‘pour out, spill out’), *šqači(?ə)d* ‘native-style hammer’ (possibly from *šaq* ‘be high’ + *-ači?* ‘hand’), and *čəc'disbad* ‘toothpick’. Four of the forms in Table 56 also have *xʷ-* ‘container’ (Section 2.2.6), as does the form *xʷ?al?altəd* ‘homeland’ (based on the noun *?al?al* ‘house’); unlike the others, this last form seems to have lost any sense of ‘implement’ from its meaning. The same is true of two kinship terms that appear to contain *-təd*: *saxʷsqatəd* ‘older siblings, older cousins’ (from *√sqa* ‘older sibling, older cousin’) and *χəltəd* ‘man’s brother-in-law’. The suffix *-təd* is textually infrequent and seems to be confined to a few highly lexicalized forms. For further discussion of this issue in the context of the instrumental prefix *saxʷ-*, see Section 2.2.3.

2.2.10 Relational *-bid*

The suffix *-bid* ‘relational [RLNL]’ is affixed most frequently to verbs and lexical adverbs to form expressions of relative spatial relation, as in (109):

- (109) a. ?əskiisəxʷ ti hədli dhiwilbid
 ?əs-kiis=əxʷ ti hədli d-hiwi-l-bid
 STAT-stand=now SPEC Henry 1SG.PO-go.ahead-RLNL
 ‘Henry is standing in front (lit. ‘ahead’) of me’
 (Hess 1998: 43, ex. 1)

- b. gʷəl ləgʷədiltub č'itbid ?ə tsi?ə? sɬadəy?
 gʷəl lə=gʷədil-txʷ-b č'it-bid ?ə tsi?ə? sɬadəy?
 SCONJ PROG=sit-ECS-PASS near-RLNL PR PROX:FEM woman
 ‘and they sat him near this woman’
 (Hess 1998: 98, line 199)

In these expressions, *-bid* is used to create adverbials expressing the relative location of the subject of the main predicate and the entity expressed as possessor of the *-bid* word. Syntactically, these words pattern as adverbial adjuncts (*.*), not taking determiner and most

frequently appearing on the right edge of the clause. Also like adverbial adjuncts, they show the potential for variable ordering, as can be seen by comparing the example in (109a) with that in (110):

- (110) ?əskiisəxʷ dhiwilbid ti hədli
 ?əs-kiis=əxʷ d-hiwi-l-bid ti hədli
 STAT-stand=now 1SG.PO-go.ahead-RLNL SPEC Henry
 'Henry is standing in front of me'

(Hess 1998: 43, ex. 4)

However, they also resemble relational nouns, both in that they have inherent possessors and that they can appear in PPs and take determiners, as in (111):

- (111) a. ?əshuyucutəxʷ ḥət ti *catcher* ?al ti?iɬ ləqbid ?ə ti?ə? wiw'su
 ?əs-huyu-t-sut=əxʷ ḥət ti *catcher* ?al ti?iɬ ləq-bid
 STAT-made-ICS-REFL=now seemingly catcher at DIST behind-RLNL

?ə ti?ə? wiw'su
 PR PROX children

'he made himself sort of like a catcher there behind the children'
 (lit. 'he made himself sort of like a catcher at the children's rear side')

(Hess 1998: 98, line 293)

- b. ?al ti?iɬ ča?kʷbids əlgʷə? tusgʷəɬ'əlad ?ə ti?iɬ
 ?al ti?iɬ ča?kʷ-bid-s əlgʷə? tu=s=gʷəɬ'əla-d ?ə ti?iɬ
 at DIST seaward-RLNL-3PO PL PAST=NM=stopped-ICS PR DIST
 'to the waterside of them he stops it (his arm)'
 (lit. 'that one's stopping it is to their waterside')

(Hess 2006: 55, line 311)

Words formed with *-bid* thus resemble *dəxʷ*=nominals (Section 7.4.2.2) in that they have characteristics of both nouns and adverbials.

While expressions formed with *-bid* generally refer to relative spatial location, there are a few examples in which *-bid* is extended metaphorically to express relative temporal location as well, as in (112):

- (112) *xał'txʷ čəł kʷi gʷadst'ilib, gʷadsdᶻubalikʷ dᶻixʷbid* ?ə kʷi ładsqʷəltubuł
 desire-ECS 1PL.SUB REM SBJ=2SG.PO=NOM=sing SBJ=2SG.PO=NOM=dance
dᶻix-bid ?ə kʷi łu=ad=s=qʷəl-t-ubuł
 first-RNLL PR REM IRR=2SG.PO=NOM=cooked-ICS-1PL.OBJ
 ‘we want you to sing and dance before you cook us’

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 84]

Hess (1998) also suggests that the metaphor of relative spatio-temporal location can also be extended to relative location on a sliding scale of quality, as in (113):

- (113) *ti?ə? ɬə?utx̌s gʷəl hikʷbid* ?ə ti?ə? *sdəxʷił*
 PROX Chinook.canoe SCONJ big-RLNL PR PROX hunting.canoe
 ‘as for the Chinook canoe, it is bigger than the hunting canoe’

(Hess 1998: 44, ex. 6)

As noted above in the discussion of comparative (Section 8.8), however, it is not clear if such expressions with *-bid* are a productive method of comparative-formation, or if *hikʷbid* is a one-off lexicalized form, this being the only stem found to date in this type of construction.

2.2.11 Other derivational affixes

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Comment: -alc 'product' prdct

In addition to the affixes listed above, there are a few noun-forming affixes that appear as fossils in a limited number of words. These are given here for the sake of completeness, although they do not appear to play any role in the synchronic grammar.

-bid ‘thing used for’

This suffix is found in four words with clearly identifiable bases: *q'il'bid* ‘canoe’ (from *√q'il* ‘be aboard’),⁶⁹ *c'albid* ‘shadow’ (from *√c'al* ‘be blocked from view’), *qəlbid* ‘waste, refuse’ (from *√qəł* ‘be bad’), and *xačbid* ‘intentions’ (from *√xač* ‘mind’). In addition, there are *čsadbid* ‘animal track’ (possibly from *√čəs* ‘be sent on an errand’), *dxʷšadbid* ‘imprint (on the ground)’ (possibly related to the lexical suffix *-šad* ‘lower leg’), *xačbid* ‘food taken on a journey’ (possibly from *√xač* ‘cover something’), and *xačil'bid* ‘cuckold’ (possibly from *√xačil'* ‘be lost, be

⁶⁹ The glottalization of the /l/ in the form *q'il'bid* ‘canoe’ is an idiosyncratic effect of the *-bid* suffix.

turned around'), as well as the completely opaque forms *c'əx̥bid* 'yew wood', *čəbid* 'Douglas fir', and *q'əx̥bid* 'hog fennel'.

hu- ‘vocative of endearment’

This prefix appears in two words, only one of which has an independently-attested base: *huskʷuy* ‘dear little girl’ (from *√skʷuy* ‘mother’) and *huba?* ‘dear little boy’.

-at ‘feminine diminutive’

This affix appears only in one common noun, *skʷuyał* (from *√skʷuy* ‘mother’), a term of endearment used for older women. However, it is also a common element in many female names, a few of which have more or less clear derivational history (e.g., *cisxʷisał* formed from *√xʷis* ‘be brushed off’, a reference to a motion used by the person in her power dance).

2.3 Prepositions

Like many Salishan languages, Lushootseed has a limited number of words that can be characterized as prepositions — that is, non-verbal elements that subcategorize for an NP complement and which head adverbial and oblique argument phrases. In total there are five; these are given in Table 57:

?o	‘of, by’
?al	‘at, on’
dxʷ?al	‘to, towards, into’
li?al	‘via, through’
tul?al	‘from, out of’

Table 57: Prepositions

These fall into two fairly obvious sets — the general preposition *?o*, a semantically bleached element with primarily grammatical uses (glossed here as ‘of, by’ more for convenience and because of some functional overlap with the English *of* and *by* than as a reflection of its meaning), and the lexically robust preposition *?al* and the words derived from this word using the directional particles (Section 2.7.2). Prepositions of either type can take as a complement a pronoun (114a), a bare noun (b), or a more complex noun phrase (c):

- (114) a. ləłčil čəd, capa?, dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 lə=łčil čəd capa? dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 PRG-arrive 1SG.SUB grandfather CNTRPT-at you
 'I am coming, Grandfather, to you'

(Hess 2006: 28, line 157)

- b. ?užʷtubəxʷ ti?ił s?uladxʷ dxʷ?al ti?ił sčətxʷəd
 ?užʷ-txʷ-b=əxʷ ti?ił s?uladxʷ dxʷ?al ti?ił sčətxʷəd
 go-ECS-PASS=now DIST salmon CNTRPT-at DIST black.bear
 'the salmon was taken to Black Bear'

(Hess 1995: 154, line 67)

- c. xʷul'əxʷ ?ił?užʷ tsi?ə? di?ə? skʷuys dxʷ?al ti?ə? ha?ił šəgʷi
 xʷul'=əxʷ ?ił=əxʷ tsi?ə? di?ə? skʷuy-s dxʷ?al ti?ə? ha?ił šəgʷi
 only-now PRTV-go PROX:FEM here mother-3PO CNTRPT-at PROX good path
 'but his mother went on the good path anyway'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 39]

However, the complement of a preposition can also be headed by a member of any other predicative class of words, including verbs and adverbs:

- (115) a. ?u?ukʷukʷ ?ə to tib, gʷəl ləłaxił
 ?u=?ukʷukʷ ?ə to tib gʷəl lə=łaxił
 PFV-play PR SPEC be.strong SCONJ PROG=night
 's/he played hard and evening came'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 50)

- b. dəgʷi ładsugʷadgʷad dxʷ?al kʷi Łuckʷaqid
 dəgʷi Łu=ad=s=?u-gʷadgʷad dxʷ?al kʷi Łu=ckʷaqid
 you IRR=2SG.PO=NM=PFV=speak CNTRPT-at REM IRR=always
 'the one who will be speaking all the time will be you'

(Hess 2006: 8, line 139)

The complement of a preposition can also be, and very frequently is, a complex expression — either a headless relative clause or a nominalization (Section 7.3), as in (116):

- (116) a. huy, ?abyidəxʷ ?ə ti?ił xʷul' p'ał'ał' stab
 huy ?ab-yi-dəxʷ ?ə ti?ił xʷul' p'ał'ał' stab
 SCONJ extend-DAT-ICS=now PR DIST only worthless what
 'and then he gave him just what was worthless'

(Hess 1995: 147, line 17)

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Comment: the RC example is incorrect. In fact, you need to reconsider the issue of verbal complements of prepositions. Do a concordance of dxw?al

- b. ḫʷuƛ'udəxʷ əlgʷə? dxʷ?al kʷi gʷəsdᶻaq's
 xʷuƛ'u-d=əxʷ əlgʷə? dxʷ-?al kʷi gʷə=s=dᶻaq'=s
 chewed-ICS=now PL CNTRPT-at REM SBJ=NM=fallen=3PO
 'they chewed on it so it would fall'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 110]

- c. ləʔiʔilil ?al ti?ə? dəxʷ?as
 lə=?iʔilil ?al ti?ə? dəxʷ=?a=s
 PROG=making.noises at PROX ADNM=be.there=3PO
 'they were making noises where they were'

(Hess 2006: 76, line 808)

While the five prepositions are similar in terms of the types of complements they take, there are some differences in the distributions and functions of the phrases they head. Phrases headed by all five prepositions frequently serve as adverbial adjuncts to clauses (Section 8.2.7), and, with the exception of *?ə*, prepositions can also head predicate-phrases. On the other hand, *?ə* (and not the others) is used to introduce oblique objects (8.1.6) and agentive complements (8.1.7). *?ə* also differs from the others in not having much in the way of lexical meaning and functioning primarily as a grammatical element. The meanings and uses of each of the five prepositions will be discussed in more detail in the sections below.

2.3.1 Locative-temporal prepositions

The remaining four prepositions consist of the locative-temporal word *?al* and three others formed by compounding this element with one of the directional particles — *dxʷ*, *lit*, and *tul'* (Section 2.7.2). Like the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) system described by Nater (1984), the Lushootseed system of prepositions is based on the notions of location and directed movement relative to a deictic centre, as illustrated in Figure 2:

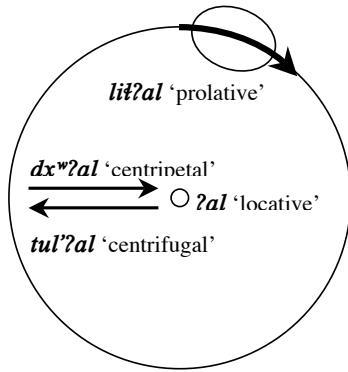


Figure 2: Lushootseed spatial prepositions

As indicated in this diagram, the basis of the system is the radical *v?al* which expresses location at a point in space or time expressed by its complement:

- (117) a. biλ'itəbəxʷ ?al ti?iɬ čλ'a?
 biλ'i-t-əb=əxʷ ?al ti?iɬ čλ'a?
 smashed-ICS-PASS=now at DIST rock
 ‘it was smashed on a rock’
- (Hess 2006: 39, line 429)

- b. huy bəgʷaχʷə? olgʷə? ?aləxʷ kʷi cədiɬ tushaydxʷsəxʷ olgʷə?
 huy bə=gʷaχʷə? olgʷə? ?al=əxʷ kʷi cədiɬ tu=s=hay-dxʷ=s=əxʷ
 SCONJ ADD=walk PL at=now REM he PAST=NM=know-DC=3PO=now
 olgʷə?
 PL
 ‘then they walked on when they had it figured out’

(Hess 1998: 41, line 484)

The other prepositions build on this basic, static locative notion using directional particles. Thus, the preposition *dxʷ?al* ‘toward’ combines the notions of location and centripetal motion, giving a basic spatial meaning of motion towards a deictic centre or a temporal meaning expressing the limit or termination of an event:

- (118) a. gʷəl ?uχʷtubəxʷ dxʷ?al ti?iɬ ?al?als
 gʷəl ?uχʷ-txʷ-b=əxʷ dxʷ-?al ti?iɬ ?al?al-s
 SCONJ go-ECS-PASS=now CNTRPT-at DIST house-3PO
 ‘and so he_i is taken [back] to his_i house’

(Hess 1995: 153, line 63)

- b. *dir̥ tushuy ?ə ti?ił təkʷtəkʷəlus dxʷ?al tušac's*
dił tu=s=huy ?ə ti?ił təkʷtəkʷəlus dxʷ?al tu=s=šac'=s
 FOC PAST=NM=be.done PR DIST owl CNTRPT=at PAST=NM=end=3PO
 'that is what Owl was doing to the end'

(Hess 2006: 10, line 177)

The preposition *tul'ʔal*, on the other hand, combines the locative base with the centrifugal directional particle, and has the basic spatial meaning of motion away from a deictic centre and a basic temporal to indicate the beginning of the period of time during which an event transpires:

- (119) a. *sət'cut tul'ʔal ti?ə? xʷ?axʷa?ad*
sət'-t-sut tul'ʔ-al ti?ə? xʷ?axʷa?ad
 lifted-ICS-REFL CNTRFG-at PROX clam.basket
 'he lifts himself out of the clam basket'

[MS Basket Ogress, line 40]

- b. *tul'ʔal kʷi tushuy ?ə ti?ə? swatixʷəd s?as ?əsɬaɬil*
tul'ʔ-al kʷi tu=s=huy ?ə ti?ə? swatixʷəd s=?a=s
 CNTRFG-at REM PAST=NM=be.done PR PROX land NM=be.there=3PO
?əs-ɬaɬil
 STAT-live
 'from the making of this word she has been living there'

(Bierwert 1996: 185, line 60)

The fourth member of the system, *liłʔal*, consists of the locative base and the prolative directional particle, *lił*, and expresses location distributed throughout an area or motion within or through a region:

- (120) *ti?ə? liłʔal ti?ə? swatixʷtəd ɬ'udəxʷusaxʷəbs*
ti?ə? lił-ʔal ti?ə? swatixʷtəd ɬ'u=dəxʷ=?u-saxʷəb=s
 PROX PRLV-at PROX land HAB=ADNM=PFV-jump=3PO
 'here on the ground is where he runs'

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 26)

Unlike the other prepositions, *liłʔal* seems to have no temporal uses, nor does it have the range of extended uses seen with the other spatial prepositions. The full set of meanings and contexts for all four spatial prepositions will be dealt with individually in the sections below.

As illustrated in the preceding examples, Lushootseed spatial prepositions are used primarily to introduce adjunct adverbial phrases (8.2.7). In addition to this function, however, prepositions

can also act as clausal predicates, in which case they are most naturally glossed as locative verbs — *?al* ‘be at some place’, *dxʷ?al* ‘move towards some place’, *tulʷ?al* ‘move away from some place, be from some place’, and *litʷ?al* ‘move through some area’). As shown by the examples in (121), the resulting expressions tend to be rather convoluted from an English point of view and are difficult to gloss naturally without obscuring the underlying syntactic structures:

- (121) a. tuχʷ tulʷ?al tə ?a tucəxʷ?ah cəxʷəsɬəllil

tuχʷ tulʷ?al tə ?a tu=d=dəxʷ=?ah d=dəxʷ=?əsɬəllil
 only CNTRPT-at NSPEC be PAST=1SG.PO=ADNM=be 1SG.PO=ADNM=STAT-live
 ‘but over there is where I am from, [the place] where I live’
 (lit. ‘it is just from the place I was, where I live’)

(Hess 1998: 79, line 46)

- b. gʷəl, ?al ti?ə? dbəda? ti?ə? ti adɬ'əwc'laχad, ti?ə? ti adɬidšəd, ti?ə? ti adstab, ti?ə?
 adbitbita?s

gʷəl ?al ti?ə? d-bəda? ti?ə? ti ad-ɬ'əwc'laχad ti?ə? ti
 SCONJ at PROX 1SG.PO-child PROX SPEC 2SG.PO-arm.decorations PROX SPEC

ad-ɬidšəd ti?ə? ti ad-stab ti?ə? ad-bit-bitə?s
 2SG.PO-leg.tie PROX SPEC 2SG.PO-what PROX 2SG.PO-DSTR-breechcloth

‘so, here, my son, are your armbands, your leg-ties, your things, your breechcloths’
 (lit. ‘so your armbands, leg-ties, etc., are at [you] my son’)

(Hess 2006: 35, line 322)

When used as locative predicates, prepositions take on some of the morphosyntactic properties of verbs, such as the ability to be marked for aspect:

- (122) a. si lədxʷ?al ti?ə? dəxʷ?a(h) ?ə sp'ic'ikʷ ...

si lə=dxʷ?-al ti?ə? dəxʷ=?ah ?ə sp'ic'ikʷ
 right.there PROG=CNTRPT-at PROX ADNM=be.there PR Diaper.Child
 ‘it was heading towards the place where Diaper Child was’

[DS Star Child, line 192]

- b. dił kʷəł kʷədi? tubšədəd lədxʷ?al tsi?ə? bəda? ?ə ti?ə? tusbiaw ?u?atəbəd

dił kʷəł kʷədi? tubšədəd lə=dxʷ?al tsi?ə? bəda? ?ə ti?ə?
 FOC QTV REM.DMA Sahaptin PROG=CNTRPT-at PROX:FEM child PR PROX

tu=sbiaw ?u=?atəbəd
 PAST=coyote PFV-die

‘it is that Sahaptin who is coming for the daughter of Coyote who has died’

(Hess 1998: 97, line 181)

In both of these examples, the preposition *dxʷ?al* bears the progressive aspect prefix *lə-*. No other aspect is found associated with a preposition in the corpus, which may be an indication that the ability of prepositions used as locative predicates to take aspect-markers is more limited than that of true verbs. Note also that the context for the predicative use of *dxʷ?al* in (122b) is that of a subject-centred relative clause, the predicative expression *lədxʷ?al tsi?ə? bəda? ?ə ti?ə? tusbiaw* ‘[he] is coming for Coyote’s daughter’ modifying the noun, *tubšədəd* ‘Sahaptin’.

Prepositions used as locative predicates are attested other types of subordinate clauses as well, as shown in (123):

- (123) a. tu᷊xʷəxʷ stab gʷəl ?aləs tadi? siq'gʷas ?ə tə šəgʷɬ
 tu᷊xʷ=əxʷ stab gʷəl ?al=əs tadi? s-siq'•gʷas ?ə tə šəgʷɬ
 just=now what SCONJ PR=3SBJ DIST.DMA NP=spread•pair PR NSPEC path
 ‘they are just in that place were there is a fork in the road’

[AW Basket Ogress, line 99]

- b. ?əshaydxʷ čəd ti dəxʷtul?aləp
 ?əs-hay-dxʷ čəd ti dəxʷ=tul?al=łəp
 STAT-know-DC 1SG.SUB SPEC ADNM=PR=2PL.PO
 ‘I know where you folks are from’

(Hess 2006: 68, line 628)

- c. ḫu᷊xʷisid əlgʷə? bəkʷʷ čad ?al ti?iɬ ҳaɬ' čad ?əsɬəqʷdup dəxʷ?al ti?iɬ ?ul?al sa?dup
 ḫu᷊xʷisid əlgʷə? bəkʷʷ čad ?al ti?iɬ ҳaɬ' čad ?əs-ɬəqʷ•dup
 IRR=make.noise PL all where at DIST brush where STAT=wet•land
 dəxʷ=?al=s ti?iɬ ?ul?al sa?•dup
 ADNM=at=3PO DIST bullrush bad•land
 ‘they will make noise everywhere, in the brush, where the land is wet, in places where there are bulrushes, bad land’

(Hess 2006: 10, line 186)

- (123a) the clause headed by the preposition *?al* is a subjunctive subordinate clause (Section 9.3) and the preposition hosts the subjunctive subject clitic *=əs*. In the next two examples, the clause headed by the prepositions is nominalized with the adjunct nominalizer *dəxʷ=* (Section 7.4.2.2), creating abstract expressions of place. Not surprisingly, there are no attested instances of

prepositional predicates nominalized with *s*=, which is more frequently found in nominalizations of the arguments of verbs or the nominalization of events than locations.

In context prepositional predicates can appear without an overt complement:

- (124) a. dxʷ?aləxʷ ḥ'ubəxʷ [xʷul'əxʷ] ?uhuyil təkʷtəkʷəlus
 dxʷ-?al=əxʷ ḥ'ub=əxʷ xʷul'=əxʷ ?u-huy-il təkʷtəkʷəlus
 CNTRPT-at=now okay=now only=now PFV-be.done-INCH owl
 ‘it is for this reason, he had just better become an owl’

(Hess 2006: 8, line 154)

- b. gʷəl tul'?al kʷi dźixʷ ?aciłtalbixʷ tuhuy ?al ti?ə? swatixʷtəd ...
 gʷəl tul'-?al kʷi dźixʷ ?aciłtalbixʷ tu=huy ?al ti?ə? swatixʷtəd
 SCONJ CNTRFG-at REM first person PAST=be.done at PROX country
 ‘and the people who made this country came from [there] ...’

[DS Star Child, line 2]

In expressions like these, the referent of the complement of the prepositional predicate (the reasons for Owl’s transformation into a bird in 124a and the place that the first people came from in 124b) are known from the surrounding discourse and their antecedents can be inferred from context, allowing for the elision of any overt NP complement of the preposition. This phenomenon is not attested with prepositions in their non-predicative uses.

As shown in the examples in (114) and (115), the complements of prepositions can be simple and complex noun phrases, as well as non-verbal and clausal elements used as referential expressions. As with most such expressions, prepositional complements are introduced by a determiner. However, spatial prepositions in both their predicative and non-predicative uses are attested occasionally with complements that lack an introductory determiner — and, in fact, there are a number of environments in which this lack of a determiner seems to be fairly common. One of these is with personal pronouns and proper names:

- (125) a. gʷəl xʷi? ḥuləxəb dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 gʷəl xʷi? ḥu=lə=ḥəb dxʷ-?al dəgʷi
 INTJ not IRR=NEGP=be.heavy CNTRPT-at you
 ‘and it will not be heavy for you’

(Hess 1998: 81, line 92)

- b. ditəxʷ dəxʷt'ukʷəxʷ ?o ti?i?ə? stawixʷa? dxʷ?al xʷiwu?c
 dit=əxʷ dəxʷ=t'ukʷ=əxʷ ?o ti?-i?ə? stawixʷa? dxʷ-?al xʷiwu?c
 FOC=now ADNM=go.home=now PR EXC-PROX children CNTRPT-at Xwiwuts
 'that is how the children got home to Xwiwuts'

[MS Basket Ogress, line 69]

- b. t'ul'ʔahəxʷ gʷəl t'ukʷəxʷ dxʷ?al ?əcəladi?
 t'ul'-?a=həxʷ gʷəl t'ukʷ=əxʷ dxʷ-?al ?əcəladi?
 CNTRFG-be.there=now SCONJ go.home=now CNTRPT-at Utsallady
 'from there he went home to Utsallady'

[MS Basket Ogress, line 45]

The determiner is also quite frequently omitted with the noun *?al?al* 'house' in contexts where this noun refers to someone's home:

- (126) a. tčil'dxʷ dxʷ?al ?al?als ti?ə? wiw'su
 tčil-dxʷ dxʷ-?al ?al?al-s ti?ə? wiw'su
 arrive-DC CNTRPT-at house-3PO PROX children
 'she managed to get the children to her house'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 59]

- b. ?əs̥əɬ ?al ?al?al⁷⁰
 ?əs-ɬəɬ ?al ?al?al
 stat-sick at house
 'she was sick at home'

(Hess 2006: 12, line 41)

- c. ?al ?al?al ti?ə? bəda?s ...
 ?al ?al?al ti?ə? bəda?-s
 at house PROX child-3PO
 'his son was at home'

(Hess 2006: 24, line 43)

- d. xʷul' čəxʷ ɬ[u]ɬa? dxʷ?al ?al?al čxʷa ɬuχiχiliχtxʷ kʷi stawixʷə?i
 xʷul' čəxʷ ɬu=ɬa? dxʷ-?al ?al?al čxʷa ɬu=χi-χiliχ-txʷ
 only 2SG.SUB IRR=arrive CNTRPT-at house 2SG.COORD IRR=ATTN-fight-ECS
 kʷi stawixʷə?i
 REM children
 'when you get home, you will compete with the children'

[MW Star Child, line 95]

⁷⁰ As this example is presented in Hess (2006), it has an editorial amendment adding the specific determiner *ti*; however, given the number of instances of the expression without the determiner in the corpus, it seems likely that the utterance as it is recorded on tape is also correct.

This is reminiscent of similar phenomenon in languages like Spanish, which omits the definite article in such expressions (*voy a casa* ‘I’m going home’). Another idiomatic expression which is attested with a bare NP complement is *?al ḫəč* (lit. ‘at mind’), which is used to attribute emotional states:

- (127) taa? ha?‡ ?al ḫəč ?ɔ ti?ɔ? caadi‡
 taa? ha?‡ ?al ḥəč ?ɔ ti?ɔ? caadi‡
 really good at mind PR PROX they
 ‘they are favorably impressed [by his reply]’

(Hess 1998: 80, line 64)

However, *?al ḫəč* is also attested with a determiner in the NP complement in another context:

- (128) ḫʷul' ?ɔsxicil ?al kʷi ḫəčs
 ᠁ʷul' ?ɔs-xicil ?al kʷi ᠁əč-s
 only STAT-angry at REM mind-3PO
 ‘she was simply angry in her mind’

(Hess 2006: 31, line 236)

It could be that the presence of the possessive affix *-s* on the noun makes the complement necessary referential (a particular person’s mind), or it could be that the idiom in (127) is actually *ha?‡ ?al ḫəč* ‘be impressed’, and the sentence in (128) is more compositional.

As alluded in the discussion of the sentence in (128), another factor that seems to govern the presence (and absence) of determiners in the complements of prepositions is the referentiality of the expression — specifically, whether or not the PP serves to localize an event at a particular place which is being singled out and localized for the hearer. In these cases, the complement is introduced by determiner; otherwise, if the complement refers to a general region, direction, or a non-specific entity, the determiner is omitted. For example, the PPs in the following examples do not locate an event at a particular point or specified region in space, but instead localize it in a more general direction relative the location of the event expressed by the matrix clause:

- (129) a. gʷəl ?iχʷitəb dxʷčaʔkʷ dxʷ?al qʷu?
 gʷəl ?iχʷi-t-əb dxʷ-čaʔkʷ dxʷ-?al qʷu?
 SCONJ throw.away-ICS-PASS CNTRPT-seaward CNTRPT-at water
 ‘and he threw him down to the water’

(Hess 1998: 69, line 125)

- b. ḥəł ti dᶻəł tul'?al stuləkʷ kʷi dəxʷqʷicəxʷ əlgʷə?
 ḥəł ti dᶻəł tul'-?al stuləkʷ kʷi dəxʷ=qʷic=s=əxʷ əlgʷə?
 seemingly PTCL CNTRFG-at river REM ADNM=downstream=3PO=now PL
 ‘it seems she came out of the river downstream from them’

[ML Basket Ogress, line 205]

- c. ?uqʷiʔad ?al didiʔucid ?aciłtalbixʷ
 ?u-qʷiʔad ?al di-diʔ•ucid ?aciłtalbixʷ
 PFV-call.out at ATTN-opposite.side•mouth person
 ‘a person on the other side of the river is calling’

(Hess 1998: 96, line 151)

Similarly, the determiner can be omitted when a generalized or approximate location is being expressed:

- (130) ləhiqil dxʷ?al šqalicuts ?al ti?ə? di?ə? hikʷ xʷ?ačʷaʔads ?əsčəba?tob ?ə tsi?ə? di?ə?
 lə=hiq-il dxʷ-?al s=šq-ali-t-sut=s ?al ti?ə?
 PROG=pushed-INCH CNTRPT-at NM=be.high-container-ICS-REFL=3PO at PROX
 di?ə? hikʷ xʷ?ačʷaʔad-s ?əsčəba?-t-əb ?ə tsi?ə? di?ə?
 here big clam.basket-3PO STAT-laden-ICS-PASS PR PROX:FEM he
 ‘he worked his way up to the top of the big clam basket she was carrying’

[DM Basket Ogress, line 21]

The same pattern is seen with temporal expressions: when a PP expresses a specific point in time, the determiner is required, and when it expresses a more general notion of time of day or the quantification of a period of time the determiner is ommissible. Thus, temporal expressions such as *?al słač* ‘at night’ and in *?al səlačil* ‘in the evening’ are often attested as bare nominal complements of prepositions used both as adjuncts (131a) and clausal predicates (131b).⁷¹

⁷¹ Such expressions do not always lack determiners. Compare the sentences in (131) with (i):

- (i) gʷəl dił ti?ə? di?ə? Łukʷał tə lə?ibəš ?al tə Łax
 gʷəl dił ti?ə? di?ə? Łukʷał tə lə?ibəš ?al tə Łax
 SCONJ FOC PROX he sun NSPEC PROG=travel PR NSPEC night
 ‘and the sun travels at night’

[MW Star Child, line 144]

- (131) a. ?u: λ'a:l' bəxʷəlušəd ti?ə? bəs?abyitəbs ?al bəsəłaxil bəs?u?əłəd ?ə ti?ə? wiw'su
 ?u λ'a'l' bə=xʷəlušəd ti?ə? bə=s=?ab-yi-t-əb=s ?al
 INTJ also ADD=fish.tail PROX ADD=NM=extend-DAT-ICS-PASS=3PO at
 bə=səłaxil bə=s=?u-?əłəd ?ə ti?ə? wiw'su
 ADD=evening ADD=NM=PFV-eat PR PROX children
 'oh, again what he was given to eat by the children in the evening [was] fish tail'
 [AJ Basket Ogress, line 29]

- b. ?aləxʷ sɬač kʷi tus?əλ's ti?ə? shuysəxʷ sɬukʷalb
 ?al=?əxʷ sɬač kʷi tu=s=?əλ's ti?ə? s=huy=s=?əxʷ sɬukʷalb
 at=now night REM PAST=NM=come=3PO PROX NM=be.done=3PO=now moon
 'the coming of he who became the moon [was] at night'
 [HM Star Child, line 192]

Similarly, expressions of duration of this type may also lack determiners:

- (132) λ'u?učʷ p'ip'ic'ikʷ ?al [də]č'axʷdat
 λ'u=?učʷ p'ip'ic'ikʷ ?al dəč'axʷdat
 HAB=go p'ip'ic'ikʷ at one-INCRP•day
 'Sp'ip'ic'ikʷ would go for one day'
 [HM Star Child, line 134]

The same observation can be made about more complex temporal expressions: when used non-referentially, these, too lack determiners. Compare (133a), which refers to a specific period of time, to the non-referential temporal expressions in (133b):

- (133) a. bəkʷ sləxil ?al kʷi sluλ'ils
 bəkʷ sləxil ?al kʷi s=luλ'-il=s
 all day at REM NM=elder-INCH=3PO
 'it was everyday as he grew [that he went hunting]'
 [HM Star Child, line 79]

- b. bə?učʷ sləxiləs ti?ə? sp'ip'ic'ikʷ ?al sbuuṣałdalicut
 bə=?učʷ sləxil=əs ti?ə? sp'ip'ic'ikʷ ?al s=buusałdalicut=s
 ADD=go day=3SBJ PROX Sp'ip'ic'ikʷ at NM=make.four.days=3PO
 'when it's daylight, Sp'ip'ic'ikʷ goes again which is the fourth day for him'
 [HM Star Child, line 146]

The complements of PPs are also quite consistently lacking in the temporal adjuncts to negative clauses (Section 8.5), as in the following examples:

The difference between these expression might be compared to the difference between English expressions such as *at night* versus *in the night*, although (as consideration of the English examples reveals) the precise nuances of the distinction are difficult to glean from texts.

- (134) a. x^wi?əx^w g^wəbəs̥x^wubils dx^w?aləx^w sbiła?iləx^w ?ə ti?ə? tək^wtək^wəlus
 x^wi?=əx^w g^wə=bə=s=x^wubil=s dx^w-?al=əx^w s=biła?il=əx^w
 NEG=now SBJ=ADD=NM=be.quiet=3PO CNTRPT-at=now NM=be.fed.up=now
- ?ə ti?ə? tək^wtək^wəlus
 PR PROX owl
 'she [would] not keep quiet until [finally] Owl got fed up'
- (Hess 2006: 4, line 44)
- b. x^wi?əx^w g^wəs̥x^wubils dx^w?al tucutəbsəx^w ?ə ti?ə? cədił duk^wibəł
 x^wi?=əx^w g^wə=s=x^wubil=s dx^w-?al tu=s=cut-t-əb=s=əx^w
 NEG=now SBJ=NM=bc.quiet=3PO CNTRPT-at PAST=NM=say-ICS-PASS=3PO=now
- ?ə ti?ə? cədił duk^wibəł
 PR PROX he Changer
 'she did not shut up until Changer spoke'
- (Hess 2006: 7, line 103)
- c. ?al su?əħəds ?ə ti?ił s?uladx^ws g^wəl x^wi? k^wi g^wəsbək^wdx^ws
 ?al s=?u-?əħəd=s ?ə ti?ił s?uladx^w-s g^wəl x^wi? k^wi
 at NM=PFV-eat=3PO PR DIST salmon-3PO SCONJ NEG REM
- g^wə=s=bək^w-dx^w=s
 SBJ=NM=all-DC=3PO
- 'as he was eating the salmon he could not finish it all'
- (Hess 1998: 152, line 23)

The treatment of a temporal adjunct to an event which is considered unrealized at reference time as non-referential seems logical; however, it should be noted that the events expressed in (134a) and (b) (though not in 134c) are in fact realized *after* the time of reference (in fact, they are expressed as the terminal temporal boundaries of the events expressed in the matrix clause).

Abstract uses of PPs also surface with complements that lack determiners. Here, too, the conditioning factor seems to be one of referentiality versus non-referentiality. For instance, complements of prepositions used to introduce expressions of general purpose or motive are often found without determiners:

- (135) a. *xʷədᶻkʷcut* *ti?ə?* *skikəwič* *dxʷ?al* *s?alils* *ti?ə?* *?iłšəq*
xʷədᶻkʷ-t-sut *ti?ə?* *s-ki-kəwič* *dxʷ-?al* *s=?al-il=s*
 squirm-ICS-REFL PROX NP-ATTN-hunchback CNTRPT-at NM=at-INCH=3PO
ti?ə? *?ił-šəq*
 PROX PRTV-be.high
 ‘Little Hunchback lifted himself up and out so that he would be even higher’
 [AJ Basket Ogress, line 53]

- b. *hay, gʷəlaltəbəxʷ tsi?ə?* *sxʷəyuuqʷ* *dxʷ?al* *s?atəbəds*
 hay *gʷəlal-t-əb-əxʷ* *tsi?ə?* Basket.Ogress *dxʷ-?al* *s=?atəbəd=s*
 SCONJ kill-ICS-PASS-now PROX:FEM Basket.Ogress CNTRPT-at NM=die=3PO
 ‘then they beat the Basket Ogress so that she died’

[ML Basket Ogress, line 122]

- c. *hay gʷəł, λ'älilcəxʷ, λ'älilcəxʷ ?ə tə č'λ'a?* *dxʷ?al* *sxʷuyilcəbsəxʷ ?ə ti?ə?* *č'λ'a?*
 hay *gʷəł* *λ'älilc-əxʷ* *λ'älilc-əxʷ* *?ə tə č'λ'a?* *dxʷ?al*
 SCONJ SCONJ cover•sphere=now cover•sphere=now PR NSPEC stone PR
s=xʷuy•ilc-əb=s=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? č'λ'a?
 NM=steam.cook•sphere=MD=3PO=now PR PROX stone
 ‘and then she covered [the fire] with stones so [they'd] be steam-cooked by the stones’

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 60]

- d. *hi:gʷəxʷ stuləkʷəxʷ ti?ił shuyitəbs əlgʷə?* *dxʷ?aləxʷ gʷəsp'əqʷs əlgʷə?*
 hi:gʷəxʷ stuləkʷ=əxʷ ti?ił s=huy-yi-t-əb=s əlgʷə?
 big=now river=now DIST NM=be.done-DAT-ICS-PASS=3PO PL
dxʷ-?al=əxʷ gʷə=s=p'əqʷ=s əlgʷə?
 CNTRPT-at=now SBJ=NM=float=3PO PL
 ‘a really big river was now made for them to float [across]’

(Hess 2006: 36, line 358)

It seems, in these cases, that the absence of the determiner is linked to the notion of an abstract desired state of affairs or outcome, rather than the realization of a specific goal. This can be contrasted with an example like (136), where the purpose of the action expressed by the main clause is a very definite state of affairs:

- (136) *hay huyutəbəxʷ dxʷ?al kʷi gʷəsəsčəba?S*
 hay *huyu-t-əb=əxʷ* *dxʷ-?al* *kʷi* *gʷə=s=?əs-čəba?=s*
 SCONJ be.done-ICS-PASS=NOW CNTRPT-at REM SBJ=NM=STAT-laden=3PO
 ‘so, it was fixed up so that it could be backpacked’

(Hess 1998: 80, line 82)

The conditions for the item being prepared (in this case, an elk carcass) becoming portable in (136) are fairly specific, whereas some of the situations in (135) are vaguer, and the conditions under which they are fulfilled corresponding to a larger range of possible worlds. Of course, how general or specific the desired outcome of an event is seen to be is a matter of construal on the part of the speaker, and the use and non-use of determiners in the complements of prepositional phrases in such constructions is by no means predictable in every case. In all likelihood, it depends also on issues of style and usage that will require further research to unravel.

Locative prepositions are also found in a few contexts playing a role similar to that of subordinating conjunctions in English. In these uses, the preposition introduces an adverbial adjunct clause (Section *.*.) in the form of a finite (non-nominalized) clause:

- (137) a. ?al bəλ'uлаč gʷəl bə?učʷcəb ?ə bibščəb
 ?al bə=λ'u=lač gʷəl bə=?učʷ-c-əb ?ə bi-bəščəb
 at ADD=HAB=dark SCONJ ADD=go-ALTV-PASS PR ATTN-mink
 'when it would again be night, Little Mink would again go after it'
 (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 24)
- b. gʷəl ləkʷwiličb əlgʷə? ?al gʷəluutəb
 gʷəl lə=kʷwili-t-əb əlgʷə? ?al gʷə=lu-t-əb
 SCONJ PROG=peek-ICS-PASS PL at SBJ=hear-ICS-PASS
 'and they were peered at as they were listened to'
 (Hess 2006: 6, line 86)

Although these constructions resemble the determiner-less structures in (135), the subordinated clauses here lack the nominalizing clitic *s=*. The difference between the nominalized and the non-nominalized adjunct will be taken up in detail in Section *.*.

2.3.1.1 Locative *?al* ‘at, on’

When used as a preposition in its own right, *?al* indicates location at a point in space or time, without reference to a origin or movement. Its most straightforward use is spatial, indicating static location:

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Comment: hypothesis: the finite subordinate clauses reflect actual conditions that “contain” the event in the matrix clause, the nominalized are punctual, future, or hypothetical results.

- (138) a. gʷəl (h)uy b[ə?]ey'dxʷəxʷ ti?ə? qa ti?ił s?uladxʷ ?al ti?ił cədił dəč'u? stuləkʷ
 gʷəl huy bə=?ey'dxʷ=əxʷ ti?ə? qa ti?ił s?uladxʷ ?al ti?ił cədił
 SCONJ SCONJ ADD=find=now PROX many DIST salmon at DIST he

dəč'u? stuləkʷ
 one river

'and then he found a lot of salmon in this one river'

(Hess 1998: 66, line 23)

- b. qʷəlbaxʷ ti?ə? cədił bəščəb ?al ti?ə? ḥəł ti ḥudəxʷq'əlbs
 qʷəl-b=axʷ ti?ə? cədił bəščəb ?al ti?ə? ḥəł ti
 ready.to.eat-MD=now PROX he mink at PROX seemingly

ḥu=dəxʷ=q'əlb=s
 IRR=ADNM=camp=3PO

'Mink roasted [it] at where he would sort of camp'

(Hess 1998: 66, line 27)

- c. ləsdəkʷ ?al ti?ə? čxʷəlu?
 ləs-dəkʷ ?al ti?ə? čxʷəlu?
 PROG.STAT-inside at PROX whale
 'he is inside Whale (as Whale moves along)'

[ML Mink and Tutyika II, line 70]

In each of these examples, the preposition introduces a complement specifying a point in space for the event expressed by the clause. Similarly, *?al* can be used to express location relative to a person. In these it is amenable to the English gloss *with*:

- (139) a. tastədžil ?al tsi?ił čəgʷas
 tu=?as-tədžil ?al tsi?ił čəgʷas-s
 PAST=stat-be.in.bed at DET:FEM wife-3PO
 'he_i was in bed with his_j wife'

(Hess 2006: 14, line 89)

- b. ?a čəł ?al ti?ił qʷi[qʷ]qʷistay'bixʷ
 ?a čəł ?al ti?ił qʷi-qʷ-qʷistay'bixʷ
 exist 1PL.SUB at DIST ATTN-ATTN-dwarves
 'there we were with the dwarves'

(Hess 2006: 75, line 784)

In several instances, this seems to have been extended to introducing an adjunct phrase expressing a beneficiary or interested party (a function more commonly associated with *dxʷ?al*):

(140) a. hay, tukʷukʷcutəxʷ ?al ti?ił sya?ya?s, sčətxʷəd

hay tu=kʷukʷcut=əxʷ ?al ti?ił sya?ya?-s sčətxʷəd
SCONJ PAST=cook=now at DIST relative-3PO bear
'next he cooked it for his relative, Black Bear'

(Hess 1995: 151, line 16)

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Comment: English influence? see note in reader

b. gʷəł ša?ša?adad ?al kʷi ?əsqəp tsı?ił cədił sxa?hus

gʷəł ša?ša?adad ?al kʷi ?əs-qəp tsı?ił cədił sxa?hus
SCONJ leave.it.to at REM STAT=foolish DIST:FEM he sawbill
'but leave it to someone as silly as Sawbill'

(Hess 2006: 32, line 249)

c. [yə]xi huy ?ac?aciłtalbixʷ ?al caadił, ti?ə? caadił ?ə qʷi[qʷ]qʷistay'bixʷ

yəxi huy ?ac?aciłtalbixʷ ?al caadił ti?ə? caadił ?ə qʷi-qʷi-qʷistay'bixʷ
because SCONJ DSTR-person at they PROX they PR ATTN-ATTN-dwarves
'because they were people to them, [to] these who were dwarves'

(Hess 2006: 78, line 864)

The locative preposition is also occasionally found introducing the mention of an affected event-participant in a semantic role (apparently) akin to that of PATIENT or UNDERGOER:

(141) haw' tɁu?əxid ?ə til'xi ti ?al ti?ə? ?u?usil

haw' tɁu=?əxid ?ə til'xi ti ?al ti?ə? ?u?usil
INTJ IRR=what.happen PR later.on SPEC at PROX PFV-dive
'oh, what is it that will happen presently to the one who dove?'

(Hess, 2006: 55, line 321)

It seems likely that the use of *?al* in this context is related to the fact that the event — and, hence, the semantic role of the diver — is unknown, and so the event is described as taking place at the diver's location rather than specifying how exactly the diver is affected by or participates in the event.

?al is also used to specify points or targets for an action:

(142) a. ti'ləb kʷi s?as kʷi λ'ułikʷ ?al ti?ə? spču?s

ti'ləb kʷi s=?a=s kʷi λ'u=łikʷ ?al ti?ə? spču?-s
suddenly REM NM=be.there=3PO PROX HAB=hooked at PROX basket-3PO
'there were abrupt tugs on her basket [as it got snagged]'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 49]

- b. gʷəl lələč', čəxʷə ḥəqəd ?al dəgʷi ?ə kʷi ḥ'əqʷ
 gʷəl lə=łəč' čəxʷə ḥəq-əd ?al dəgʷi ?ə kʷi ḥ'əqʷ
 SCONJ ATTN-fill 2SG.COORD wrap-ICS at you PR REM watertight
 'fill it up a bit and you wrap it to yourself tightly'

[JS Basket Ogress, line 48]

In one case in the corpus, *?al* serves to introduce an object cognate with a lexical suffix, although this is a role taken much more frequently by *?ə*:

- (143) tiləb ?ucaq'apsəbtəb ?al ti?ił scqapsəbs
 tiləb ?u-caq'•apsəb-t-əb ?al ti?ił scqapsəb-s
 suddenly PFV-speared•throat-ICS-PASS at DIST neck-3PO
 'right away she was speared in the throat'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 106]

?al can also indicate that an action took place at a specific point within (as opposed to distributed over) a wider area expressed by its complement:

- (144) a. ?u?ɔy' ?ɔy'dxʷ čəd tə s?ubədi? əlgʷə? ?al kʷədi? t'aq't čəda ?ułiltəb
 ?u-?ɔy'-?ɔy'dxʷ čəd tə s?ubədi? əlgʷə? ?al kʷədi? t'aq't
 PFV-DSTR-find 1SG.SUB NSPEC hunter PL at REM.DMA inland

čəda ?u-łil-t-əb
 1SG.COORD PFV-give-ICS-PASS

'I met some hunters up in the mountains and they gave it to me.'

(Hess 1998: 82, line 127)

- b. gʷəl huy ?əłədaxʷ əlgʷə? ?al tudi? čəgʷalatxʷ
 gʷəl huy ?əłəd=axʷ əlgʷə? ?al tudi? čəgʷalatxʷ
 SCONJ SCONJ eat=now PL atDIST.DMA outside.house
 'and then they ate over there outdoors'

(Hess 1998: 83, 140)

In at least one instance in the corpus, *?al* is used in an even looser sense, indicating location relative to (but not located at or within) the region expressed by its complement:

- (145) gʷəl tušudxʷ ti?ił s?uladxʷ ?al ti?ił sq'ažʷ
 gʷəl tu-šuł-dxʷ ti?ił s?uladxʷ ?al ti?ił sq'ažʷ
 SCONJ PAST=see-DC DIST salmon at DIST ice
 'and he saw a salmon through the ice'

(Hess 1995: 151, line 12)

Occasionally, *?al* surfaces in expressions of movement over an area, in which case it has an inferred sense of distributed location:

- (146) xʷu?ələ? ?a kʷi sə?ibəš ?al ti?ə? lit?ilgʷil ?ə tə xʷəlc
 xʷu?ələ? ?a kʷi sə?ibəš ?al ti?ə? lit?ilgʷil ?ə tə xʷəlc
 maybe be.there REM NM=PROG=travel at PROX PRLV=shore PR NSPEC sea
 'I guess he was there traveling along the shore of the sea'

(Hess 1998: 65, line 15)

However, it is much more common to find *lit?al* used in such expressions.

Another frequent use of *?al* is to express the terminal point of a verb of motion:

- (147) a. kʷwit'əxʷ dxʷča?kʷ ?al ti?ə? stuləkʷ
 kʷwit' =əxʷ dxʷča?kʷ ?al ti?ə? stuləkʷ
 go.shoreward=now seaward at PROX river
 'he went down to the river'

(Hess 1995: 153, line 55)

- b. saxʷəbid ?al ti?ə? sq'ačʷ
 saxʷəb-bi-d ?al ti?ə? sq'ačʷ
 jump-SS-ICS at PROX ice
 'he jumped after it [out on] to the ice'

(Hess 1995: 153, line 58)

The preposition here overlaps somewhat with *dxʷ?al*, although *?al* typically appears in expressions where the emphasis of the speaker is less on the motion of the actor than on the resultant location.

The notion of location at a point in space is naturally extended to temporal expressions of actions taking place at a point in time:

- (148) a. xʷul'ul'əxʷ p'q'ac ?al kʷi tusčilsəxʷ
 xʷul' -ul' =əxʷ p'q'ac ?al kʷi tu=s=tčil=s=əxʷ
 EXC-only=now rotten.wood at REM PAST=NM=arrive=3PO=now
 'it was nothing but a rotten log when he arrived'

(Hess 1998: 88, line 269)

- b. gʷəl ləqa?kʷ ?al ti?ił λ'ub dəxʷqa?kʷs
 gʷəl lə=qa?kʷ ?al ti?ił λ'ub dəxʷ=qə?kʷ=s
 SCONJ PROG=rest at DIST well ADNM=rest=3PO
 'and he rests when it is good for him to rest [i.e., when he needs to]'

(Hess 1998: 82, line 114)

- c. huy, ?u^wtubəx^w k^wi tust'əlu?b ?al ti?i^ł ?əscil'cil
 huy ?u^w-tx^w-b=əx^w k^wi tu=st'əlu?b ?al ti?i^ł ?əs-cil'-cil
 SCONJ go-ECS-PASS=now REM PAST=dried.salmon at DIST STAT-DSTR=dished
 'then he took the dried king salmon as it was dished up'

(Hess 1998: 62, line 49)

- d. x^wu?əla? čələp ḫasləqax^w ?al k^wi ḫudx^wlaqəx^w ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 x^wu?əla? čələp ḫu=?as-ləq=ax^w ?al k^wi ḫu=dx^wlaq=əx^w
 maybe 2PL.SUB IRR=STAT-listen=now at REM IRR=have.children=now
 ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 PR PROX here
 'perhaps you folks will listen when the parents speak'

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Comment: weird construction

[DM Basket Ogress, line 85]

These temporal expressions can refer to specific points in time (148a), repeated instances (b) and (c), or future events (d). Although the temporal reference point for such expressions is most naturally a verbal expression referring to an event, it is also possible for *?al* to introduce expressions whose temporal reference point is a noun:

- (149) x^wi? k^wi stab ḫusx^wiyuk^w ?al k^wi ḫulaq ḫu?aciħtalbix^w ḫulək'^wəd ti?i^ł ?aciħtalbix^w
 x^wi? k^wi stab ḫu=sx^wiyuk^w ?al k^wi ḫu=laq ḫu=?aciħtalbix^w
 NEG REM what IRR=Basket.Ogress at REM IRR=last IRR=person
 ḫu=lək'^w-əd ti?i^ł ?aciħtalbix^w
 IRR=eaten-ICS DIST people
 'there will be no Basket Oresses in the time of the last people who will eat the people'

[JS Basket Ogress, line 71]

In this sentence, the time being referred to is the time of the *laq ?aciħtalbix^w* 'last people', a time at the very end of the era of myths before the world was prepared for human occupation by *Duk^wibət*, the Changer, the last (or, more accurately, penultimate) people being those alive at the time of the transformation. The temporal reading of the PP *?al k^wi ḫulaq ḫu?aciħtalbix^w* (lit. 'at the future last people') is inferred from both the tense-marking and the pragmatics of the legend, whose action is temporally removed from the 'last people'.

Frequently, *?al* is also used to express an on-going event that is taking place while the event expressed by the matrix clause occurs (cf. the expressions in 144 above):

- (150) a. *λ'asluutəb?* *?ə ti?ə?* *su?ululuł?* *?ə ti?ə?* *bək'ʷ gʷat?* *al kʷi səlaħil*
λ'u=?as-luh-t-əb *?ə* *ti?ə?* *s=?u?-ul-ulul* *?ə* *ti?ə?*
HAB=STAT-heard-ICS-PASS PR PROX NM=PFV-DIM.EFF-go.by.water PR PROX

bək'ʷ gʷat? al kʷi s=lə=laħ-il=s
all who at REM NM=PROG=dark-INCH=3PO
‘they are heard by everyone paddling about in the evening’

(Hess 2006: 13, line 59a)

b. *gʷəl?* *?əsaydubəxʷ?* *?ə ts'i?ə?* *bəda?s?* *al ti?ił?* *λ'uṣəsgʷədils?* *al kʷi [xʷ]cqʷuł*
gʷəl? *?əs-hay-dxʷ-b=əxʷ?* *?ə* *ts'i?ə?* *bəda?-s?* *al* *ti?ił?*
SCONJ STAT-known-DC-PASS=now PR PROX:FEM child-3PO at DIST

λ'u=s=?əs-gʷədil=s *?al kʷi xʷ-cqʷuł*
HAB=NM=STAT-sit=3PO at REM CTD-day
‘and he was recognized by his daughter while he sat around in broad daylight’

(Hess 1998: 99, line 217)

c. *bək'ʷ sləħil?* *al kʷi sluλ'ıls*
bək'ʷ s-ləħ-il *?al kʷi* *s=luλ'-il=s*
all NM=light-INCH at REM NM=elder-INCH=3PO
‘everyday as he grew’

[HM Star Child, line 79]

However, this type of expression more commonly uses $dx^w?al$.

In addition to its spatial and temporal uses, *?al* is found in some more abstract contexts. One of these is in apparent expressions of motive:

- (152) a. ha'� gʷəl x̥iχihəxʷ? al ti?i₄
 hay gʷəl x̥iχih=əxʷ ?al ti?i₄
 SCONJ SCONJ embarrassed=now at DIST
 ‘and so he [became] embarrassed about that’

- b. hiiłəxʷ əlgʷə? ?al kʷədi? dəxʷ?a(h)s
 hiił=əxʷ əlgʷə? ?al kʷədi? dəxʷ=?ah=s
 happy=now PL at REM.DMA ADNM=be.there=3PO
 'they_i were happy for their_j being there'

(Hess 2006: 63, line 517)

Generally, it is not clear in such expressions whether the notion of 'motive' is actually expressed by the preposition or if it is a pragmatic implicature of, for example, a temporal reading — as, for example, in 152a, which might literally mean 'they were embarrassed then/at that point in time', or 152b, which might literally mean 'they were happy while they were there/at their being there', the notion of 'cause' or 'motive' being implied by the context. These ambiguities in the data underscore the difficulty of working on issues of semantics based largely on translation.

Other apparently abstract uses of *?al* include the occasional expression of manner,

- (153) a. huy dəgʷatəbəxʷ ti?ə? s?uləx̌ ?al stab kʷi səshuytubs ti?ił s?uləx̌
 huy dəgʷa-t-əb=əxʷ ti?ə? s?uləx̌ ?al stab kʷi
 SCONJ inside-ICS-PASS=now PROX dentalia at what REM
 s=?əs-huy-txʷ-b=s ti?ił s?uləx̌
 NM=STAT-be.done-ECS-PASS=3PO DIST dentalia
 'then these dentalia were put in [Whale] however those dentalia were done up'
 (Hess 2006: 67, line 606)

purpose,

- (154) tu?a? dᶻəł ti λ'əlay? gʷəł tułxʷ xʷi? u?xʷ gʷəsəsaxʷəbabacs ?al kʷi sxʷə?a?xʷə?ils
 tu=?a? dᶻəł ti λ'əlay? gʷəł tułxʷ xʷi? u?xʷ
 PAST=be.there PTCL SPEC SCONJ just NEG PTCL
 gʷə=s=lə=saxʷəb=abac=s ?al kʷi s=xʷə?a?xʷə?-il=s
 SBJ=NM=PROG=jump=body=3PO at REM NM=swift-INCH=3PO
 'there must have been some shovel-nosed canoes but they could not yet jump over them
 [in their practice] to become swift'
 (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 14)

and topic of speech:

- (155) hay gʷəl, tucutəxʷ ti?ə? qaw'qs ?al ti?ə? sɬaq'əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? tatačulbixʷ
 hay gʷəl tu=cut=əxʷ ti?ə? qaw'qs ?al ti?ə? s=ɬaq'=əxʷ^w
 SCONJ SCONJ PAST=speak=now PROX raven at PROX NM=fallen=now
 ?ə ti?ə? tatačulbixʷ
 PR PROX big.game.animal
 'then Raven spoke about the laying-out of the game animal'

[DS Star Child, line 297]

With verbs of speaking, what is said is more commonly introduced with *?ə*, though the use of *?al* in (155) may reflect that what is being reported is the topic of speech rather than the actual contents of an utterance. Similarly, *?al* can be used to relate a particular individual to the topic of a speaker's utterance:

- (156) ?əsqil'il kʷił ... ?al ti?ə? čxʷəlu?
 ?əs-qil'il kʷił ?al ti?ə? čxʷəlu?
 STAT-lose.child QTV at PROX whale
 'they say that a child of Whale's has died' (i.e. 'he lost a child they say about Whale')
 [ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 115]

In functions like these, *?al* seems to take on a largely grammaticalized usage, that of establishing an oblique relationship between an NP and the rest of the sentence. In this respect, *?al* resembles the general preposition *?ə*, although the syntactic relation marked by the former tends to be less grammaticalized and more oblique than the syntactic relation marked by the latter, which is more often than not part of the government pattern of the verb.

Finally, in addition to being the morphological base for the other prepositions, *?al* is also the base for a verb, *?alil* 'come to some place, come to some time', formed quite transparently from the combination of the preposition and the inchoative suffix *-il*:

- (157) a. ?alil ti?ə? xaləɬ'iqadis
 ?al-il ti?ə? xaləɬ'iqadis
 at-INCX PROX clearing
 'he came to a clearing'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 5)

- b. gʷəl ?alil ti?ił bəsudzəlulč ?ə tsi?ə? di?ə? lədžubalikʷ^w
 gʷəl ?al-il ti?ił bə=s=?u-džəl•ulč ?ə tsi?ə? di?ə?
 SCONJ at-INCH DIST ADD=NM=PFV=turn•belly PR PROX:FEM here
 lə=džubalikʷ^w
 PROG=dance
 'then [the moment came that] she who was dancing turned her back [on them] again'
 [DM Basket Ogress, line 64]

- c. huy ?aliləxʷ ti?ə? ḥa?xalus
 huy ?al-il=əxʷ ti?ə? ḥa?xalus
 SCONJ at-INCH=now PROX raccoon
 'then they came to [i.e., turned their attention to] the raccoons'
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 5)

In addition to the expected spatial and temporal uses shown in (157a) and (b), *?alil* has a more figurative use, illustrated in (157c). It should be noted that only the temporal use in (157b) is well-attested in the present analyzed corpus; the examples in (157a) and (c) are from a single Skagit speaker of an older generation, which may mean these are archaic uses of the word. None of the other prepositions are attested with *-il* or as the base for any other derivational affix.

2.3.1.2 Centripetal *dxʷ?al* ‘to, towards, into’

The preposition *dxʷ?al* is formed from the combination of *?al* with the centripetal directional particle *dxʷ* (Section 2.7.2). Its basic meaning is to indicate motion or force directed towards a point in space expressed by its complement. One of the most frequent uses of *dxʷ?al* is to express the goal of a verb of motion:

- (158) a. gʷəl ?učʷtubəxʷ dxʷ?al ti?ił ?al?als
 gʷəl ?učʷ-txʷ-b=əxʷ dxʷ-?al ti?ił ?al?als
 SCONJ go-ECS-PASS=now CNTRPT-at DIST house-3PO
 'and so he_i took him_j to his_j house'
 (Hess 1995: 153, line 63)
- b. ?učʷtubəxʷ ti?ił s?uladxʷ dxʷ?al ti?ił sčətxʷəd
 ?učʷ-txʷ-b=əxʷ ti?ił s?uladxʷ dxʷ-?al ti?ił sčətxʷəd
 go-ECS-PASS=now DIST salmon CNTRPT-at DIST bear
 'he took the salmon to Black Bear'
 (Hess 1995: 154, line 67)

As in (158a), the goal of motion can be a physical location or a person towards whom the action is directed. The motion leading up to the location can be completed, as in (159),

- (159) *ƛ'u?əλ' ti?iħo kiki?alus stawixʷaʔi tubibλ'aʔi dxʷ?al ti?ə? swədəbš*
ƛ'u=?əλ' ti?iħo kiki?alus stawixʷaʔi tu=bibλ'aʔi dxʷ?-al ti?ə?
 HAB=come DIST Kikiallus children PAST=have.picnic CNTRPT-at PROX

swədəbš
 Swinomish

'the Kikiallus children would come and have a picnic at Swinomish'

[MS Basket Ogress, line 1]

- b. *tiləb ?udxʷcaq'ax̌aditəb dxʷ?al ti?iħ xʷ?ilaħads*
tiləb ?u-dxʷ-caq'•ax̌ad-di-t-əb dxʷ?-al ti?iħ xʷ?-ilaħad-s
 suddenly PFV-CTD-spear•side-SS-ICS-PASS CNTRPT-at DIST CNTNR-side-3PO
 'right then he was speared in the side'

(Hess 2006: 15, line 96)

or incomplete, as in (160), where *dxʷ?al* indicates motion towards or in the direction of a particular location:

- (160) a. *?uħʷəxʷ dxʷ?al kʷədi? dəxʷɬaʔs əlgʷə?*
?uħʷ=əxʷ dxʷ?-al kʷədi? dəxʷ-ɬaʔ-s əlgʷə?
 go=now CNTRPT-at REM.DMA ADNM=arrive=3PO PL
 'they went towards their destination'

[LA Basket Ogress, line 109]

- b. *ħʷul' īuč'itil dxʷ?al ti?ə? di?ə? hud īudzubalikʷəs*
ħʷul' īu=č'it-il dxʷ?-al ti?ə? di?ə? hud īu=dzub-alikʷ=əs
 only IRR=near-INCH CNTRPT-at PROX here fire IRR=kick-ACT=3SBJ
 'she will draw near the fire when she dances'

[DM Basket Ogress, line 59]

In some cases, *dxʷ?al* is used where there is not actual motion involved, but rather force is directed towards the deictic centre:

- (161) *gʷəl ckʷaqidəxʷ əlgʷə? ?əsbiq'id dxʷ?al ti?ə? hud*
gʷəl ckʷaqid=əxʷ əlgʷə? ?əs-biq'i-d dxʷ?-al ti?ə? hud
 SCONJ always=now PL STAT-pressed-ICS CNTRPT-at PROX fire
 'then they kept pressing her down into the fire'

[MS Basket Ogress, line 61]

The motion implicit in the meaning of *dxʷʔal* can also be somewhat more metaphorical, as in the case of *dxʷʔal* introducing the hearers with verbs of speaking:

- (162) a. *gʷəl yəcəbaxʷ dxʷ?*al ti?iɬ ?iišəd^s
*gʷəl yəc-əb=axʷ dxʷ?*al ti?iɬ ?iišəd-s
 SCONJ tell-MD=now CNTRPT-at DIST relative-3PO
 'and he told his family'

(Hess 2006: 72, line 716)

- b. təbəwihəx^w sg^wəg^wadads dx^w?al ti?ə? bi?^wbəda?s
 təbəwih=əx^w s=g^wəg^wadad=s dx^w?-al ti?ə? bi?^w-bəda?-s
 energetically=now NM=talk=3PO CNTRPT-at PROX ATTN-child-3PO
 'she really went at it shushing her little baby'

(Hess 2006: 4, line 37)

This pattern is generally only found with intransitive verbs of speech; transitive verbs of speech generally take the hearer as a direct object.

Because the central meaning of *dxʷʔal* is that of motion towards a deictic centre, it covers a broad range of situation types that are treated differently, and which require different prepositions, in languages like English. Lushootseed, for instance, does not explicitly distinguish motion leading up to a point from motion leading to contact with the upper surface of an object or area (English *onto*), both cases being covered by *dxʷʔal*:

- (163) a. xʷit'ílxʷ dxʷ?al tudi? cədił sqʷas(tə)dulic'a?
 xʷit'íl=əxʷ dxʷ?-al tudi? cədił sqʷastədulic'a?
 fall=now CNTRPT-at DIST.DMA he blanket
 'he dropped her way [down] on to that dog-and-goat-hair-blanke

(Hess 2006: 20, line 201)

- b. ?u^tu^{x̥d̥t̥baxʷ}?es ?e^{ti?e?} ?i^{lli}lu^{λ'luλ'} wiw^{'su} ti^{l̥eb} dxʷ^w?al^{ti?e?} ?osxʷuyilcəb
 č'əλ'č'λ'a?
 ?u tu=č̥d=t-əb=axʷ=es ?e^{ti?e?} ?i^{lli}-lu^{λ'-luλ'} wiw^{'su}
 INTJ PAST=pushed-ICS-PASS=now=3SUB PR PROX PRTV-DSTR-old children
 til̥eb dxʷ-w?al ti?e? ?os-xʷuyilcəb č'əλ'-č'λ'a?
 suddenly CNTRPT-at PROX STAT=steam.cook-round.object-MD DSTR-stone
 'oh she was pushed by the children onto the stones for steam cooking'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 100]

Nor does the language distinguish motion or force directed towards the interior of an object or terminating in containment (English *into*):

Not infrequently, examples parallel to those in (164) are found with *?al* rather than *dxʷ?al*:

- (165) a. *᜔wul' Ɂ̥esq'il ?al ti?ə? q'il'bid*
 only STAT-be.aboard at PROX canoe
 ‘it was just on board in a canoe’

(Hess 1998: 92, line 38)

b. *gʷəl lədəgʷəš ?al tə syalts*
 gʷəl lə=dəgʷ=əš ?al tə syalt-s
 SCONJ PROG=inside-ICS at NSPEC basket-3PO
 ‘then she was putting them into her basket’

[JS Basket Ogress, line 51]

As noted earlier, the contrast between sentences that use *?al* and those that use *dxʷ?al* is likely to be one of emphasis, the former emphasizing the final position of the object being localized and the latter the process by which the object arrives.

As with $?al$, $dx^w?al$ extends itself into the temporal realm. Its basic use is to express the limit or termination of an event:

- (166) a. ləsaxʷəbabac ?ə ti?ə? qʷɬa?y dxʷ?al ti?iɬ s̥tčis ti?ə? ?a?yəds qaw'qs⁷²
 lə=saxʷəbabac ?ə ti?ə? qʷɬa?y dxʷ?al ti?iɬ s̥=tčil=s ti?ə?
 PROG=jump•body PR PROX log CNTRPT-at DIST NM=arrive=3PO PROX
 ?a?yəd-s qaw'qs
 friend-3PO raven
 'he is jumping over the logs until he arrives at his friend, Raven'
 (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 25–26)

b. dxʷčad kʷi sugʷadxʷs əlgʷə? dxʷ?al ti?iɬ tusq'əlbs əlgʷə?
 dxʷ-čad kʷi s=?u-gʷadxʷ=s əlgʷə? dxʷ?al ti?iɬ
 CNTRPT=where REM NM=PFV-walk=3PO PL CNTRPT-at DIST
 tu=s=o'əlb=s əlgʷə?

In several cases, the preposition indicates that a state of affairs is extant at the time expressed by its complement, without necessarily indicating that the state of affairs comes to an end at that point in time:

- (167) x^wi?_sx^w g^wəs̚xaabs dx^w?al s̚lčil ?o tsi?ə? bəda?s
 x^wi?_s=x^w g^wə=s̚xaab=s dx^w?-al s̚=lčil ?o tsi?ə? bəda?-s
 NEG=now SBJ=NM=cry=3PO CNTRPT-at NM=arrive PR PROX:FEM offspring=3PO
 'he isn't crying when her [the old woman's] daughter arrives' [HM Star Child, line 48]

These uses seem fairly consistent with the basic meaning of the preposition, motion (in this case, metaphorical motion through time) towards a particular spatial, or temporal, location. A little less transparently, *dxw?al* is also used in the odd expression of duration, such as that in (168):

- (168) xʷi?əxʷ kʷi stabəxʷ gʷəλ-ašudxʷ əlgʷə? dxʷ?əl kʷədi? tukʷidəłdat
 NEG=now REM what=now SBJ=HAB=PFV-see-DC PL CNTRPT-at REM.DMA
 tu=kʷid•əł•dat
 PAST=how.many•times•day
 'they could not see things for many days'
 (Hess 2006: 53, line 20)

⁷² The word *qaw'qs* is given in the original source as *kaw'qs*; Hess (p.c.) now considers this an error.

It may be in these cases the translation is a little misleading, a more accurate gloss being ‘they could not see anything until many days had passed’, bringing it into line with the examples in (166); further research is needed on the issue.

Of all the spatial prepositions, *dxʷ?al* seems to have the widest variety of metaphorical or non-basic uses, though most of these seem to be fairly logical extensions from its basic, literal meaning. One such notion is that of goal, in particular the goal of a search, which bears an obvious semantic similarity to the notion of motion towards a location:

- (169) a. *gʷic'gʷic'əxʷ dxʷ?al kʷi ɬudəxʷ?uχʷs, dxʷčadəxʷ kʷi ɬuspaq'acuts ti?ə? ?aciłtalbixʷ*
gʷic'gʷic'əxʷ dxʷ?al kʷi ɬu=dəxʷ=?uχʷ=s dxʷčad=əxʷ kʷi
 DSTR=search=now CNTRPT=at REM IRR=NM=go=3PO CTRPT=where=now REM

ɬu=s=paq'a-t-sut=s ti?ə? ?aciłtalbixʷ

IRR=NM=distribute-ICS-REFL=3PO PROX person

‘they looked for where they could go, where the people could [re]settle’

(Hess 1998: 102, line 286)

- b. *bədił kʷi ləbəsčəgʷas dxʷ?al ts'i?acəc bəda? ɬə ti?ił si?ab ?u?atəbəd*
bə=dił kʷi lə=bəs-čəgʷas dxʷ?al ts'i?acəc bəda? ɬə ti?ił
 ADD=IDN REM PRG=have-wife CNTRPT=at UNQ:DEM:FEM child PR DIST

si?ab ?u-?atəbəd
 noble PFV-die

‘he is the one seeking as a wife this daughter of the nobleman who has died’

(Hess 1998: 98, line 189)

By the same token, the purposes for which actions are performed can be construed as metaphorical goals, leading to uses of *dxʷ?al* in expressions such as those in (170):

- (170) a. *hay huyutəbəxʷ dxʷ?al kʷi gʷəsəsčəba?s*
hay huyu-t-əb=əxʷ dxʷ?al kʷi gʷəs=s=?əs-čəba?=s
 SCONJ be.done-ICS-PASS=now CNTRPT=at REM SBJ=NM=STAT-laden=3PO
 ‘so, it was fixed up so that it could be backpacked’

(Hess 1998: 80, line 82)

- b. ti?i^ł tudəx^whuyutəbsəx^w dx^w?al k^{wi} g^{wədəx}duk^wutəbsəx^w
 ti?i^ł tu=dəx^w=huyu-t-əb=s=əx^w dx^w-?al k^{wi}
 DIST PAST=ADNM=be.done-ICS-PASS-3PO=now CNTRPT-at REM
 g^{wə}=dəx^w=duk^wu-t-əb=s=əx^w
 SBJ=ADNM=bewitch-ICS-PASS=3PO=now
 ‘that is why they did to him [as they did] in order to put a spell on him’
 (Hess 1998: 101, line 264)

The same logic may apply to examples like that in (171) as well, in which *dx^w?al* introduces a command:

- (171) ?uhilitəb tə stawix^wa?i^ł dx^w?al k^{wi} s?uč^ws dx^w?al k^{wi} ?ilg^{wi}ł ?o k^{wi} č^wəlč
 ?u-hili-t-əb tə stawix^wa?i^ł dx^w-?al k^{wi} s=?uč^w=s dx^w-?al
 PFV-order-ICS-PASS NSPEC children CNTRPT-at REM NM=go=3PO CNTRPT-at
 k^{wi} ?ilg^{wi}ł ?o k^{wi} č^wəlč
 REM shoreline PRREM sea
 ‘the children were told to go down to the shores of the sea’
 [LA Basket Ogress, line 1]

However, this is the only such example in the present corpus, and jussives are more frequently realized with other constructions (see Section *.*).

In addition to these uses, *dx^w?al* appears in a few other contexts that seem somewhat less transparently related to its basic meaning. One of these is in constructions that can be glossed with the English prepositions *for* or *with respect to*:

- (172) a. g^{wəl} x^{wi}? t^łuləč^wb dx^w?al dəg^{wi}
 g^{wəl} x^{wi}? t^łu=lə=č^wb dx^w-?al dəg^{wi}
 SCONJ NEG IRR=NEGP=heavy CNTRPT-at you
 ‘and it will not be heavy for you’
 (Hess 1998: 81, line 92)
- b. ... tsı sx^{wəyuuq}?w, sč' alqəb dx^w?al k^{wi} wiw'su
 tsı sx^{wəyuuq}?w sč' alqəb dx^w-?al k^{wi} wiw'su
 SPEC:FEM Basket.Ogress monster CNTRPT-at REM children
 ‘... Basket Ogress, monster to the children’
 [ML Basket Ogress, line 109]

- c. X'äl b(ə)as?ista? dxʷ-al ti?ə? təbł ?i ti?it dəxʷudxʷliqʷusəbs ...
 X'äl bə=?as?-ista? dxʷ-al ti?ə? təbł ?i ti?it
 also ADD=STAT=same CNTRPT=at DIST ochre CONJ DIST

dəxʷ=?u-dxʷ-liqʷ•us-əb=s
 ADNM=PFV-CTD-paint•face-MD=3PO
 'it is also the same regarding the ochre and that used for painting one's face ...'
 (Hess 1998: 92, line 32)

dx^w?al is also found in some cases relating the topic of a speech act (cf. the examples with *?al* in 155 above):

- (173) a. ?əscuuçəxʷ čəł ti?it čxʷəlu? dxʷ?al gʷəlapu
 ?əs-cut•uc=əxʷ čəł ti?it čxʷəlu? dxʷ?al gʷəlapu
 STAT-say•mouth=now 1PL.SUB DIST whale CNTRPT-at you.guys
 'we have told Whale about you folks'
 (Hess 2006: 67, line 600)

(Hess 2006: 67, line 600)

- b. ... čla t̪učiltxʷəxʷ dxʷ?al kʷi tushuyutəb čəɬ s?ušəbabdxʷ ...
čla tu=t̪icil-txʷ=əxʷ dxʷ=?al kʷi tu=s=huyu-t-əb
1PL.COORD IRR=arrive-ECS=now CNTRPT-at REM PAST=NM=be.done-ICS-PASS
čəɬ s?ušəbabdxʷ
1PL.PO unfortunate.one
‘... and we will arrive with [the story] about how we were made unfortunates ...’
(Hess 2006: 74, line 759)

(Hess 2006: 74, line 759)

Similarly, *dxw?al* appears in a few contexts where it seems to relate a motive for an event, action, or state of mind:

(Hess 2006: 13, line 64)

- b. lədxʷs̥xʷal'dxʷ[əb] dxʷ?al ti?ə? tusqadaditəbs ti?ə? tus?uladxʷs
 lə=dxʷs̥-xʷal'-dxʷ-əb dxʷ?-al ti?ə? tu=s=qada-di-t-əb=s
 PRG-CTD-fail-DC-DSD CNTRPT-at PROX PAST=NM=steal-SS-ICS-PASS=3PO
 ti?ə? tu=s?uladxʷ-s
 PROX PAST=salmon-3PO
 'he was wanting to get the best of him because he had stolen his salmon'
 (Hess 1998: 69, line 1)

(Hess 1998: 69, line 118)

- c. *tugʷəlaltəb dxʷ?al tudəxʷukʷaxʷdubuts*
tu=gʷəlal-t-əb dxʷ-?al tu=dəxʷ=?u-kʷaxʷ-dxʷ-but=s
 PAST=punish-ICS-PASS CNTRPT-at PAST=ADNM=PFV-manage-DC-REFL=3PO
 ‘she had been beaten up because she had helped herself’
 (Hess 2006: 21, line 223)

These uses of the preposition are the most difficult to relate to *dxʷ?al*’s basic meaning.

A final use of *dxʷ?al* is in the expression of comparisons:

- (175) *?iɬqʷiqʷw čəd dxʷ?al dəgʷi*
?iɬ-qʷiqʷw čəd dxʷ-?al dəgʷi
 PRTV-strong 1SG.SUB CNTRPT-at you
 ‘I am stronger than you’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 5)

Comparative constructions will be discussed further in Section 8.8.

2.3.1.3 Centrifugal *tul'?**al* ‘from, out of’

The preposition *tul'?**al* is formed from the combination of *?al* with the centrifugal directional particle *tul'* (Section 2.7.2). Its basic meaning is to indicate motion or force directed away from a point in space expressed by its complement. This meaning is most explicit in expressions that specify motion away from a point of origin:

- (176) *taxʷčəłəb s?əłəd ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? stawixʷa?!* *tasčəba?**əd tul'?**al tudi?* *ča?kʷ*
tu=?as-dxʷ-čəł-əb s?əłəd ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? stawixʷa?! *tasčəba?**əd tul'?**al tudi?* *ča?kʷ*
 PAST=STAT-CTD-make-DSD food PR PROX here children
*tu=?as-čəba?-əd tul'?**al tudi?* *ča?kʷ*
 PAST=STAT-laden-ICS CNTRFG-at DIST.DMA waterward
 ‘she wanted to make food of the children she’d carried up from over there by the water’
 [DM Basket Ogress, line 73]

*tul'?**al* is also used to express motion coming out of an enclosed or containing space,

- (177) a. *λ'iqagʷiləxʷ ti?ił sčətxʷəd tul'?**al ti?ił ?al?als*
*λ'iq-agʷil=əxʷ ti?ił sčətxʷəd tul'?**al ti?ił ?al?al-s*
 emerge-AUTO=now DIST bear CNTRFG-at DET house-3PO
 ‘Black Bear comes out of his house’
 (Hess 1995: 143, line 6)

- b. ḫəł ti dəł tul'ʔal stuləkʷ kʷi dəxʷqʷicəxʷ əlgʷə?
 ḫəł ti dəł tul'ʔal stuləkʷ kʷi dəxʷ=qʷic=s=əxʷ əlgʷə?
 seem PTCL CNTRFG-at RIVER REM ADNM=downstream=3PO=now PL
 'it seems she came out of the river downstream from them'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 205]

and, by extension, to introduce the point of origin with verbs expressing extraction:

- (178) a. gʷəł lild tul'ʔal ti?ə? skəki? ti?ə? di?ə? č'ač'as
 gʷəł lil-d tul'ʔal ti?ə? skəki? ti?ə? di?ə? č'ač'as
 SCONJ be.far-ICS CNTRFG-at PROX cradleboard PROX here child
 'they remove the boy from the cradle board'

[HM Star Child, line 39]

- b. huy, ḫəcədaxʷ əlgʷə? tul'ʔal ti?ə? cədił qʷiqʷqʷistay'bixʷ
 huy ḫəc-əd=axʷ əlgʷə? tul'ʔal ti?ə? cədił qʷi-qʷ-qʷistay'bixʷ^w
 SCONJ extract-ICS=now PL CNTRFG-at PROX he ATTN-ATTN-dwarves
 'then they pulled them [the quills] out of these dwarves'

(Hess 2006: 63, line 502)

- c. gʷəł ?uxʷəcəd tul'ʔal tsi?ił dəxʷəscaq'tubs
 gʷəł ?u-xʷəc-əd tul'ʔal tsi?ił dəxʷ=?əs-caq'-txʷ-b=s
 SCONJ PFV-remove-ICS CNTRFG-at DIST:FEM ADNM=STAT-impaled-ECS-PASS=3PO
 'he took her off from where she had been impaled'

(Hess 2006: 20, line 200)

tul'ʔal is also used in a static sense to express point of origin:

- (179) tul'ʔal čəd džidžəlal'ič
 tul'ʔal čəd džidžəlal'ič
 CNTRFG-at 1SG.SUB Seattle
 'I'm from Seattle'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 6)

And, by extension, it is used to express how things are made or from what they are derived:

- (180) a. ḫʷul'əxʷ ?ukʷəd(d)xʷ ti?ə? di?ə? bəčəłs bəda? tul'ʔal ti?ə? tuscəcikʷ ?up'ic'i'd
 ḫʷul'əxʷ ?u-kʷəd-dxʷ ti?ə? di?ə? bə-s=čəł=s bəda?
 only-now PFV-take-DC PROX here ADD=NM=make=3PO child
 tul'ʔal ti?ə? tu=scəcikʷ ?u-p'ic'i-d
 CNTRFG-at PROX PAST=diaper PFV-wrung-ICS
 'she took this child made from the wrung out diaper'

[HM Star Child 69, line 69]

- b. ?abyitəb ?ə kʷədi? stab suc'uqʷ[u]təbs tul'ʔal ti?ə? cədił stab s?uladxʷ
 ?ab-yi-t-əb ?ə kʷədi? stab s=?u-c'uqʷu-t-əb=s
 extend-DAT-ICS-PASS Pr REM.DMA what NM=PFV-sucked-ICS-PASS=3PO
- tul'ʔ-al ti?ə? cədił stab s?uladxʷ
 CNTRFG-at PROX he what salmon
 'he was given something from a salmon to suck on'

(Hess 2006: 40, line 459)

All of these uses are quite clearly related to the basic centrifugal meaning of the preposition.

In its temporal use, *tul'ʔal* is used to indicate the beginning of an event or initiation of a state or process:

- (181) a. tul'ʔal kʷi tushuy ?ə ti?ə? swatixʷəd s?as ?əsɬatlil
 tul'ʔ-al kʷi tu=s=huy ?ə ti?ə? swatixʷəd s=?a=s
 CNTRFG-at REM PAST=NM=be.done PR PROX land NM=be.there=3PO
- ?əs-ɬatlil
 STAT-live
 'from the making of this world she has been living there'

(Bierwert 1996: 185, line 60)

- b. dił suhurys əlgʷə? tul'ʔal kʷi tus?atəbəd ?ə ti?ił sqas əlgʷə?
 dił s=?u-huy=s əlgʷə? tul'ʔ-al kʷi tu=s=?atəbəd ?ə ti?ił
 FOC NM=PFV=be.done=3PO PL CNTRFG-at REM PAST=NM=die PR DIST
- sqa-s əlgʷə?
 older.sibling-3PO PL
 'that is what they have done since their older brother died'

(Bierwert 1996: 201, line 267)

Once again, the notion of 'since' is quite transparently related to the spatial notion of motion away from.

The idea of centrifugal motion can also be seen lying behind some of the more abstract uses of *tul'ʔal*, such as those in (182):

- (182) a. ɬ'iw'əxʷ tul'ʔal tsı?ə? cədił
 ɬ'iw'=əxʷ tul'ʔ-al tsı?ə? cədił
 escape=now CNTRFG-at PROX:FEM he
 'he escapes from her'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 49]

- b. tu^x huy ?əsčal k^wi g^wədəx^wk^wədx^ws tul?[?]al ti?[?]ə? bəda?^s
 tu^x huy ?əs-čal k^wi g^wə=dəx^w=k^wəd-dx^w=s tul?[?]al ti?[?]ə? bəda?^{-s}
 just SCONJ STAT=how REM SBJ=ADNM=take-DC=3PO CNTRFG=at PROX child-3PO
 ‘but how could he [Coyote] manage to get her [his son’s wife] from his son?’
 (Hess 2006: 23, line 17)

The use of the preposition in (182a) follows quite naturally from the notion of fleeing or escaping as motion away from a particular place or person, while in (182b) *tul?*[?]*al* is used to express the metaphorical movement of the son’s wife away from her husband into Coyote’s possession.

In another case, *tul?*[?]*al* surfaces in an expression of motive:

- (183) diłəx^w dəx^wəsaydəg^widəx^w ?ə ti?[?]ə? ?aciłtabix^w stab k^wi sda?^s ?ə ti?[?]ə? like ti?[?]ə? dx^wləbi?[,]
 stab k^wi sda?^s tudi? sbadbadil tul?[?]al k^wi sd^wix^w tushuyutid ?ə sp’ic’ik^w ?i s̥luk^walb
 dił=əx^w dəx^w=?əs-hay•dəg^w-i-d=əx^w ?ə ti?[?]ə? ?aciłtabix^w stab
 FOC=now ADNM=STAT-know•inside-SS-ICS=now PR PROX people what
 k^wi s=da?^{=s} ?ə ti?[?]ə? like ti?[?]ə? dx^wləbi? stab k^wi
 REM NM=name=3PO PR PROX like PROX Lummi what REM
 s=da?^{=s} tudi? sbad=badil tul?[?]al k^wi s=d^wix^w
 NM=name=3PODIST.DMA DSTR=mountain CNTRFG=at REM NM=first
 tu=s=huyu-t-id ?ə sp’ic’ik^w ?i s̥luk^walb
 PAST=NM=be.done-ICD-PASS:SBRD PR Diaper.Child and moon
 ‘that is how they knew the names of the people like the Lummi and all the names of the mountains there because of what Diaper Child and Moon did’

[DS Star Child, line 371]

(183) describes a situation in which the people’s state of knowledge (about the names of the Lummi and the mountains) is said to originate from the actions of Diaper Child and Moon, treating a cause as a metaphorical point of origin.

tul?[?]*al* also surfaces in some expressions of comparison:

- (184) ?iħha?[?] ti?[?]ił spču? tul?[?]al ti?[?]ə? spču?
 ?iħ-ha?[?] ti?[?]ił spču? tul?[?]al ti?[?]ə? spču?
 PRTV-good DIST basket CNTRFG=at PROX basket
 ‘that cedar-root basket is better than this cedar-root basket’
 (Hess 1998: 37)

Comparative constructions are discussed further in Section 8.8.

2.3.1.4 Prolative *lit?al* ‘via, through’

The preposition *lit?al* is formed from the combination of *?al* with the prolative directional particle *lit* (Section 2.7.2). Of the four spatial prepositions, *lit?al* is the least frequent and alone has no attested temporal uses. Its basic meaning is to indicate motion along a path or location throughout the region designated by its complement, as illustrated by the examples in (185):

- (185) a. ... lə?ibəš lit?aləxʷ ti?ə? tə ?a λ'usəs?uχʷə
 lə=?ibəš lit?al=əxʷ ti?ə? tə ?a λ'u=s=?os=?uχʷ=s
 PROG=travel PRLV-at=now PROX NSPEC be.there HAB=NM=STAT-go=3PO
 ‘... he is traveling by the route he usually goes [along]’

(Hess 2006: 66, line 580)

- b. ?a(h) kʷi λ'ubəs?iit'aq'ts, lit?al ti?i? t?it'aq't
 ?ah kʷi λ'u=bə=s=?i?-t'aq't=s lit?-al ti?i? t?it'-t'aq't
 exist REM HAB=ADD=NM=PRTV-landward=3PO PRLV-at DIST PRTV-landward
 ‘there he would be again up the bank, [moving] along the bank’

(Hess 1998: 65, line 16)

- c. džubdžubalikʷəxʷ əlgʷə? ?al ti?ə? di?ə?, lit?al ti?ə? di?ə? hud
 džub-džub-alikʷ=əxʷ əlgʷə? ?al ti?ə? di?ə? lit?al ti?ə? di?ə? hud
 DSTR=dance-ACT=now PL at PROX here PR PROX he fire
 ‘they danced in that place around the fire’

[AW Basket Ogress, line 48]

The adjunct adverbial phrase in each of these examples expresses an area within which the event expressed by the verb takes place. Rather than expressing an exact location as *?al* does, *lit?al* gives the sense of the action being distributed over or throughout a region of space. This meaning naturally extends itself to situations that can be glossed with the English preposition *through*:

- (186) xʷul' λ'ulə?uχʷ lit?al ti?ə? [s]əslu? ti?ə? λ'u[s]pusutəbs
 xʷul' λ'u=lə=?uχʷ lit?-al ti?ə? səslu? ti?ə? λ'u=s=pusu-t-əb=s
 only HAB=PROG=go PRLV-at PROX hole PROX HAB=NM=thrown-ICS-PASS=3PO
 ‘what was being thrown [at him] would just go through the hole [in his paddle]’

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 71]

In these cases, the action described by the verb does not take place at a static location specified by the complement of the preposition (the hole in paddle), but rather occurs in the region around

that location. Note that the motion of the object in (186) excludes the use of both the centripetal *dxʷ?al* and the centrifugal *tul?al*, as it includes movement both towards and away from the deictic centre.

The basic notion of motion through a region also surfaces in expressions of conveyance, frequently glossed as *by* or *by means of*:

- (187) a. ləq'il čəd lił?al ti lilud
 lə=q'il čəd lił-?al ti lilud
 PROG=aboard 1SG.SUB PRLV-at SPEC train
 'I'm coming by train'

- b. ləs'tagʷt čəd lił?al tə stiqiw
 ləs-t'agʷt čəd lił-?al tə stiqiw
 PROG.STAT-be.on.top 1SG.SUB PRLV-at NSPEC horse
 'I'm riding a horse'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 6)

In examples like these, the main predicate of the sentence is static (*q'il* 'be aboard' and *t'agʷt* 'be on top') but the clause itself derives a dynamic reading of motion from the adverbial adjunct headed by *lił?al*, which indicates the event is located throughout a region rather than at a static point. The fact that the complement of *lił?al* is not spatially extended (a train or horse) implies that it must be moving and, therefore, that it can be interpreted as some sort of conveyance for the actor that is on board or on top of it.

2.3.2 General preposition ?ə

Unlike the other prepositions, the general preposition ?ə seems not to have much in the way of lexical meaning but instead functions — like the English *of* — primarily as a grammatical marker indicating a range of oblique syntactic relations. One of the most frequent uses of ?ə is to mark NP possessors (Section 7.2), and possessor-subjects of nominalized verbs (7.4.2 and 8.1.1), as in (188):

- (188) a. huy, k'awdxʷəxʷ ti?iɬ sc'ali? ɬə ti?iɬ čxʷəlu?
 huy k'aw-dxʷ=əxʷ ti?iɬ sc'ali? ɬə ti?iɬ čxʷəlu?
 SCONJ touch-DC=now PROX heart PR DIST whale
 ‘and then he bumped into the whale’s heart’

(Hess 1995: 140, line 16)

b. diɬ day' ɬ'u=cut ɬə ti?iɬ sčətxʷəd
 diɬ day' ɬ'u=s=cut ɬə ti?iɬ sčətxʷəd
 FOC only HAB=NM=say PR DIST bear
 ‘that was Black Bear’s habitual saying’

(Hess 1995: 145, line 47)

It is also frequently found introducing agentive complements (8.1.7),

and oblique arguments (Section 8.1.6):

- (190) a. ?uxʷi?xʷi? haw'ə ?ə ti?ił sčutxʷ
 ?u-xʷi?xʷi? haw'ə ?ə PR ti?ił sčutxʷ
 PFV-forage PTCL PR DIST halibut
 'he fished for halibut'

(Hess 2006: 56, line 332)

b. gʷəč'əb ?ə kʷi ?aciłtabixʷ
 gʷəč'əb ?ə kʷi ?aciłtabixʷ
 search-MD PR REM people
 'they were looking for people'

[DS Star Child, line 140]

c. ḥʷul'ab ?ə ?əca
 ḥʷul'ab ?ə ?əca
 be.like Pr I
 'he is just like me'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 273)

In (190), the oblique objects introduced by the preposition are part of the normal government pattern of the verb. In other cases, ∂ is used to introduce arguments, such as instruments, which are not normally part of the verb's government pattern:

- (191) a. ḫut'ilibəxʷ čələp ?ə kʷi ḫu[s]əcuucləp
 ᬁu=t'ilib=əxʷ čələp ?ə kʷi ᬁu=s=lə=cut-c=ləp
 IRR=sing=now 2PL.SUB PR REM IRR=NM=PROG=say-ALTV=2PL.PO
 ‘you will sing with [the words] you will say to him’

(Hess 1998: 99, line 228)

- b. huy č'axʷadəxʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?iɬ əxʷubt
 huy č'axʷa-d=əxʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?iɬ əxʷubt
 SCONJ club-ICS=now PL PR DIST paddle
 ‘then he clubbed them with that paddle’

(Hess 2006: 62, line 486)

Such uses are not restricted to instruments, but seem to include the introduction of any kind of argument that is potentially associated with or implied by the verb:

- (192) a. gʷəl tu?ay'wa?scutəxʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? suqʷa?š
 gʷəl tu=?ay'wa?s-t-sut=əxʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? suqʷa?š
 SCONJ PAST=change-pair-ICS=REFL=now PL PR PROX younger.brother-3PO
 ‘and he changed places with his younger brother’

[HM Star Child, line 168]

- b. gʷəl t(u)asdžidzih?əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? bəda?šəxʷ, sɬukʷalb
 gʷəl tu=?as-džidzih?=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? bəda?š=s=əxʷ sɬukʷalb
 SCONJ PAST=STAT-pregnant=now PR PROX offspring-3PO=now moon
 ‘and she was pregnant with her son, the moon’

[DS Star Child, line 69]

- c. diłəxʷ ḥ'udsut'ilib ?ə ti?ə? ḥ'udsusħ'ap
 dił=əxʷ ħ'u=d=s=?u-t'ilib ?ə ti?ə? ħ'u=d=s=?u-ħ'ap
 FOC=now HAB=1SG.PO=NM=PFV-sing PR PROX HAB=1SG.PO=NM=PFV-scorch-bottom
 that is my song about my bottom-scorching’

[DS Star Child, line 204]

- d. huy čələp ?uhəli?dubuɬ ?ə ti?ə? shuy čəɬ
 huy čələp ?u-həli?-dxʷ-buɬ ?ə ti?ə? s=huy čəɬ
 SCONJ 2PL.SUB PFV-alive-DC-1PL.OBJ PR PROX NM=be.done 1PL.PO
 ‘for you are the ones who healed us from what was done to us’

(Hess 2006: 66, line 595)

The same is true of the oblique possessor-argument associated with lexical suffixes (Section 4.1), which are most regularly introduced by ?ə:

- (193) a. putəxʷ ləqʷup'qʷup'ači? ?ə ti?ə? sčətxʷəd
 put-əxʷ lə=qʷup'-qʷup'•ači? ?ə ti?ə? sčətxʷəd
 really-now PROG=DSTR-shriveled-hand Pr PROX bear
 ‘Black Bear’s hands really shriveled up [from the heat]’

(Hess 1995: 154, line 81)

- b. ləsaxʷəbabac ?ə ti?ə? qʷla?y dxʷ?al ti?ił stčis ti?ə? ?a?yəds qaw'qs⁷³
 lə=saxʷəb•abac ?ə ti?ə? qʷla?y dxʷ?al ti?ił s=čil-s=s
 PROG=jump•body PR PROX log toward-Pr DIST NM=arrive-ALTV=3PO
 ti?ə? ?a?yəd-s qaw'qs
 PROX companion-3PO raven
 ‘he is jumping over the logs until he arrives at his friend, Raven’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 25–26)

- c. ḥ'utu(u)?učʷəxʷ ḥ'utušλ'ap ?ə kʷi sčəbid
 ḥ'u=tu=?u=?učʷ=əxʷ ḥ'u=tu=šλ'•ap ?ə kʷi sčəbid
 HAB=PAST=PFV-go=now HAB=PAST=scorch•bottom PR REM fir.bark
 ‘she would go and she would scorch fir bark’

[DS Star Child, line 173]

Thus, ?ə seems to be used as the marker of a variety of oblique argument relations.

In addition to introducing oblique arguments, ?ə is used with certain types of adjunct adverbial phrases (8.2.7), although in these roles it shows considerable overlap with the spatial prepositions, especially ?al. Thus, ?ə is found not infrequently in expressions of location where we might have expected ?al or dxʷ?al:

- (194) a. bələsq'iltubəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? cədił q'il'bids əlgʷə?
 bə=ləs-q'il-txʷ-b=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? cədił q'il'bid-s əlgʷə?
 ADD=PROG.STAT=board-ECS-PASS=now PR PROX he canoe-3PO PL
 ‘they got [things] loaded again into their canoe’

(Hess 2006: 70, line 681)

- b. ti?ə? sp'ic'ikʷ gʷəl ḥ'ačʷ xʷul'ab ?ə ti?ə? ḥ'usušəqcut ?ə ti?ə? sčukʷał
 ti?ə? sp'ic'ikʷ gʷəl ḥ'ačʷ xʷul'ab ?ə ti?ə?
 PROX Diaper.Child SCONJ grow in.the.same.way PR PROX
 ḥ'u=s=?u-šəq-t-sut ?ə ti?ə? s-čukʷał
 HAB=NM=PFV-be.high-ICS-REFL PR PROX NP-sun
 ‘Diaper Child, he grows up and it seems that he lifts himself up to the Sun’

[DS Star Child, line 161]

⁷³ The word *qaw'qs* is given in the original source as *kaw'qs*; Hess (p.c.) now considers this an error.

- c. gʷəl tuχʷəxʷ əlgʷə? əxʷə? əlgʷə? əxʷə? əlgʷə? əxʷə? əlgʷə?
 gʷəl tu=?uχʷ=əxʷ əlgʷə? əxʷə? əlgʷə? əxʷə? əlgʷə?
 SCONJ PAST=go=now PL only=now PFV-release-ICS-PASS PR PROX
 q'il'bid-s əlgʷə?
 canoe-3PO PL
 'and, therefore, he simply let go of them in [i.e., along with] their canoe'
 (Hess 2006: 70, line 663)

It is also found in expression of path or distributed location where *?al* or *lit?al* are also found:

- (195) a. hiqab čəd ?u?ibəš ?ə tə lil
 hiqab čəd ?u?ibəš ?ə tə lil
 excessively PR PFV-walk PR SPEC far
 'I walked too far'
 (Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 51)

- b. gʷəl dxʷtəyiləxʷ ?ə ti?iɬ stuləkʷ
 gʷəl dxʷ-təyil=əxʷ ?ə ti?iɬ stuləkʷ
 SCONJ CTD-go.upriver=now PR DIST river
 'and he travels up the river'
 (Hess 1995: 153, line 49)

- c. ḥ'ub čəɬ ḥugʷaɬʷ ?ə kʷi ḥudəxʷgʷaɬʷ čəɬ
 ḥ'ub čəɬ ḥu=gʷaɬʷ ?ə kʷi ḥu=dəxʷ=gʷaɬʷ čəɬ
 okay 1PL.SUB IRR=wander PR REM IRR=ADNM=wander 1PL.PO
 'we shall walk where we shall walk'
 (Hess 1998: 101, line 266)

Temporal uses of *?ə* are also attested, as, for example, in certain expressions of duration or temporal setting:

- (196) a. ḥuhuyil sq'axʷ dxʷ?al gʷəsxʷi?s gʷə(s)s̥əd, aldubuts ?ə kʷi ha?kʷ
 ḥu=huy-il s-q'axʷ dxʷ=?al gʷə=s=xʷi?=s
 IRR=be.done-INCH NP-frozen CNTRPT-at SBJ=NM=NEG=3PO
 gʷə=s=s̥əd?al-dxʷ-but=s ?ə kʷi ha?kʷ
 SBJ=NM=go.outdoors-DC-REFL=3PO PR REM long.time
 'it will become ice so that he cannot get himself out of the house for a long time'
 (Hess 1998: 101, line 269)

- b. gʷəl dəgʷi kʷi ḥu?ibəš ?ə kʷi ḥax
 gʷəl dəgʷi kʷi ḥu=?ibəš ?ə kʷi ḥax
 SCONJ you REM IRR=travel PR REM dark
 'and you will be the one who will travel at night [i.e. while it is dark]'

[MW Star Child, line 107]

- c. ḥ'ub dəgʷi kʷi t̪ulə?ibəš ?o kʷi dxʷcqʷuł
 ḥ'ub dəgʷi kʷi t̪u=lə=?ibəš ?o kʷi dxʷcqʷuł
 well you REM IRR=PROG=travel PR REM daytime
 ‘you should be the one to travel during the day’

[MW Star Child, line 115]

?ə is also found introducing phrases describing events that are in progress at the time the event expressed by the main clauses occurs:

- (197) a. ḫʷul' ləcu?i?lədəb ?o ti?ə? sqʷəlałəd ?o ti?ił ḥ'usqʷəls
 ᬁʷul' ləcu-?i-?ləd-əb ?o ti?ə? sqʷəlałəd ?o ti?ił ḥ'u=s=qʷəl=s
 only CONT-ATTN-eat-PASS PR PROX berry PR PROX HAB=NM=ripe=3PO
 ‘he was [simply] eating berries [directly off the bush] as they ripened’

(Hess 1995: 143, line 20)

- b. ?əšułəxʷ əlgʷə? ?o ti?ił sɬčisəbəxʷ⁷⁴
 ?əs-šuł=əxʷ əlgʷə? ?o ti?ił s=ɬčil-s-əb=s=əxʷ
 STAT-see=now PL PR DIST NM=arrive-ALTV-PASS=3PO=now
 ‘they_i are watching as they_j are come after’

(Hess 2006: 61, line 466)

It is also found with adverbial adjunct phrases expressing a point in time when an event occurs:

- (198) a. hay, dił dəxʷhuyuds ?ušəbabdxʷ tsı?ə? ?alš ?o ti?ə? su?əładəps
 hay dił dəxʷ=huju-d=s ?ušəbabdxʷ tsı?ə? ?alš
 SCONJ FOC ADNM=be.done-ICS=3PO poor.dear PROX:FEM cross.sex.sibling

?o ti?ə? s=?u-?əładəp=s
 PR PROX NM=PFV-give.feast=3PO

‘so, that is how he made his sister poor when she [tried to] give a feast’

(Hess 1998: 63, line 66)

- b. gʷəł huy ?užaab ?o kʷi ?əscuuć
 gʷəł huy ?u-žaab ?o kʷi ?əs-cuu-c
 SCONJ SCONJ PFV-cry PR REM STAT-say-ALTV
 ‘and then he cried when they told him’

[JS Basket Ogress, line 21]

⁷⁴ This third-person possessive marker is missing from the last word this example, but would be expected in more measured speech.

- c. ?uxwcəbəxw ?o sp'ic'ikw ti?ił sqas ?o ti?ił sxwi?i s kwi gwat ləšəqəd
 ?uxw-c-əb=əxw ?o sp'ic'ikw ti?ił sqas-s ?o ti?ił
 go-ALTV-PASS=now PR Diaper.Child DIST older.brother-3PO Pr DIST
 s=xwi?=s kwi gwat lə=šəq-əd
 NM=NEG=3PO REM who PROG=be.high-ICS
 'Diaper Child went to his older brother when there was no one to put him up high'
 [DS Star Child, line 268]

There is also at least one example in the corpus of *?ə* introducing an expression of temporal sequence in a context where it seems to overlap with the temporal uses of *?al*:

- (199) a. tiləbəxw kwi scuts ?o kwi hagw-agw=əxw
 tiləb=əxw kwi s=cut=s ?o kwi hagw-agw=əxw
 immediately=now REM NM=say=3PO PR REM DIM.EFF-long.time=now
 'after a long time he said'

[JS Basket Ogress, line 42]

- b. hay ?əłəd ti?ił sčətxwəd ?al su?əłəds ti?ił s?uladxw
 hay ?əłəd ti?ił sčətxwəd ?al s=?u-?əłəd=s ti?ił s?uladxw
 SCONJ eat DIST bear at NM=PFV-eat=3PO DIST salmon
 'so Black Bear ate after he had eaten the salmon'

(Hess 1995: 152, lines 22 – 23)

As with the overlap in spatial domain, it is unclear from the context of the attested sentences and their translations what, if any, semantic contrast there is between the two prepositions in these situations. *?ə* appears to be the less specific of the two. The literal meaning of *?al* has an obvious semantic relationship to its uses in these circumstances, whereas *?ə* has a more generic flavour, perhaps only signaling the adjunct role of the adverbial PP and leaving the exactly semantic link between the two elements to be inferred by the hearer from context.

Just as *?ə* is found infringing on the spatial and temporal uses of the other prepositions, it is also found overlapping with their more abstract uses, such as expressions of manner:

- (200) a. λ'ubəxw čələp ?əšuuic ti?ił ?ac?aciłtalbixw ?o kwi ha?
 λ'ub=əxw čələp ?əs-šuu-c ti?ił ?ac-?aciłtalbixw ?o kwi ha?
 okay=now 2PL.SUB STAT-see-ALTV PROX DSTR-person PR REM good
 'you folks should look after those people well'

(Hess 2006: 65, line 563)

- b. gʷəl lələč', čəxʷə څəqəd ?al dəgʷi ?ə kʷi څ'əq'ʷ
 gʷəl lə=łəč' čəxʷə څəq-əd ?al dəgʷi ?ə kʷi څ'əq'ʷ
 SCONJ ATTN=fill 2SG.COORD wrap-ICS PR you PR REM watertight
 'fill it up a bit and you wrap it to yourself so that it is watertight'

[JS Basket Ogress, line 48]

- c. xʷi? kʷ adsa?li? !?ə kʷi gʷəł stubš
 xʷi? kʷi ad=s=ha?l•i? !?ə kʷi gʷəł stubš
 NEG REM 2SG.PO=NM=stop.crying•child PR REM ASSC man
 'you will not comfort the child as a man (i.e., in the manner appropriate to males)'

[DS Star Child, line 96]

- d. ... čəda ḥutxʷud ti?ə? څʷiləb ?ə kʷi buusal čxʷa ḥukʷa?əd
 čəda ḥu=txʷu-d ti?ə? څʷiləb ?ə kʷi buus•ał
 1SG.COORD IRR=pull-ICS PROX rope PR REM four-times
 čxʷa ḥu=kʷa?-əd
 2SG.COORD IRR=released-ICS
 'and I will pull in the rope four times and you will release it'

[DS Star Child, line 54]

It is also found introducing expressions of motive (as opposed to expressions of purpose, which are more typically introduced by *dxʷ?al*),

- (201) a. hay bədukʷtubəxʷ ?ə ti?i?ił ?ə ti?ə? suhuys
 hay bə=dukʷ-tu-b=əxʷ ?ə ti?i?ił ?ə ti?ə? s=?u-huy=s
 INTJ ADD=anger-ECS-PASS=now PR PL-DIST PR PROX NM=PFV-be.done=3PO
 'so they got mad at him for what he had done'

(Hess 1998: 89, line 298)

- b. kʷədad ti?ə? qʷu? [ti?ił] dəxʷuc'agʷači?bs ?ə ti?ə? sbałs
 kʷəda=d ti?ə? qʷu? ti?ił dəxʷ=qʷu-c'agʷ-ači?-b=s
 take-ICS PROX water DIST ADNM=PFV-wash-hand-MD=3PO
 ?ə ti?ə? s=bał=s
 PR PROX NM=cure=3PO
 'he took [some] water to wash his hands for the curing-ceremony'

(Hess 1998: 57, line 36)

and cause:

- (202) a. tiləb lə?atəbəd ti?ə? qʷiqliqʷistay'bixʷ ?ə ti?ił sc'uqʷəb ?ə ti?ił st'u?qʷ ?ə ti?ił bu?qʷ
 tiləb lə=?atəbəd ti?ə? qʷiqliqʷistay'bixʷ ?ə ti?ił sc'uqʷəb
 suddenly PROG=die PROX ATTN=ATTN=dwarves PR DIST quill
 ?ə ti?ił st'u?qʷ ?ə ti?ił bu?qʷ
 PR DIST feather PR DIST waterfowl
 'right away the dwarves died from the quills of those feathers of those Duck People'
 (Hess 2006: 62, line 476)

- b. gʷəl hikʷ ?uhiił əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? shəli?dubs əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ił sxʷəctəbs
 gʷəl hikʷ ?u-hiił əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? s=shəli?-dxʷ-b=s əlgʷə?
 SCONJ big PFV=happy PL PR PROX NM=alive-DC-PASS=3PO PL
 ?ə ti?ił s=xʷəc-t-əb=s
 PR DIST NM=extract-ICS-PASS=3PO
 'and they were very glad for having been saved by the removal [of the quills]'
 (Hess 2006: 65, line 560)

In this last function, *?ə* serves a role that closely parallels its use introducing agentive complements, which are in a very direct sense often the causes of events expressed by passivized verbs.

Although phrases headed by *?ə* are nearly identical (and often interchangeable) with phrases headed by other prepositions, the preposition itself does not share the other syntactic properties of prepositions discussed above, such as the ability to host clitics, nor can a prepositional phrase headed by *?ə* itself serve as the head of a predication. One property that it does share with the other prepositions is the ability to take an NP complement that lacks a determiner, but these cases are limited to a few very specific circumstances, such as complements that are personal pronouns or proper names:

- (203) a. ?užʷc čəxʷ kʷi č'λ'a? žʷulab ?ə dəgʷi kʷi sžəbs čxʷa ?əλ'txʷ
 ?užʷ-c čəxʷ kʷi č'λ'a? žʷulab ?ə dəgʷi kʷi s=žəb=s
 go-ALTV 2SG.SUB REM stone thusly PR you REM NM=heavy=3PO
 čxʷa ?əλ'-txʷ
 2SG.COORD go-ECS
 'go get a stone that is like you in weight and bring it'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 79]

- b. tuyəyəhubid tsi tuskʷuy ?ə *Martin*
 tu=yəyəhub-bi-d tsi tu=skʷuy ?ə Martin
 PAST=tell.story-MAP-ICS SPEC:FEM PAST=mother PR Martin
 ‘it was told to him_i by Martin_i’s late mother’
 [DS Star Child, line 8]

It should be noted that sentences of all these types are also attested with determiners in the same environments. The same is true of ?ə-phrases whose complements are place names or the names of personified characters in myths such as Sun and Moon, which can also optionally lack a determiner:

- (204) a. ... dəxʷ?ahəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? town ?ə *La Conner*
 dəxʷ=?a=həxʷ ?ə ti?ə? town ?ə La Conner
 ADNM=be.there=now PR PROX town PR La Conner
 ‘... why there is a town of La Conner’
 [MS Basket Ogress, line 80]

- b. skʷuy ?ə sɬukʷalb tsi?ə? cisxʷixʷt’il
 skʷuy ?ə sɬukʷalb tsi?ə? cisxʷixʷt’il
 mother PR moon PROX:FEM Cisxwixwt’il
 ‘Cisxwixwt’il was the mother of Moon’
 [DS Star Child, line 4]

Unlike the spatial prepositions, however, ?ə does not take complements of other types without determiners.

2.4 Determiners

Like many Salishan languages, Lushootseed has a complex determiner system which plays an essential role in the grammar. Determiners are the obligatory initial element in almost every referential expression, and presence or absence of a determiner is frequently the only way to identify whether the syntactic role of a particular element in a clause is that of predicate or argument (for further discussion, see Section *.*). Determiners also play an essential role in reference-tracking and the marking of communicative structure in discourse (Section 11). This section will concentrate on the meanings and general syntax of determiners, leaving more

detailed discussion of their specific functions to the relevant sections in other parts of the grammar.

The full set of Lushootseed determiners is given in Table 58:

	specific			non-specific	
	demonstrative		non-demon		
	prox	dist	rem	specific	unique
masc	<i>ti?</i> ə? (NL)	<i>ti?</i> i ^l (NL) ⁷⁵	<i>kʷi</i>	<i>ti</i> (NL)	<i>ti?</i> acəc
	<i>ti</i> (SL)	<i>ti?</i> i ^l (SL)		šə (SL)	<i>tsə</i>
fem	<i>tsi?</i> ə? (NL)	<i>tsi?</i> i ^l (NL)	<i>kʷsi</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>tsi?</i> acəc
	<i>tsi</i> (SL)	<i>tsi?</i> i ^l (SL)		sə (SL)	<i>tsə</i>
pl	<i>ti?</i> i?ə?	<i>ti?</i> i?i ^l	—	—	—

Table 58: Lushootseed determiners

The system is notable for the number of semantic distinctions it makes. The highest level of these seems to be between what will be called here *specific* vs. *non-specific*. In Lushootseed, this distinction is drawn between those determiners that single out a specific entity from amongst the set of entities designated by the referring expression, and those that do not. The latter set has only two members, the non-feminine and feminine non-specific determiners, *tsə* and *tsi*. Within the former set, a further distinction is drawn between the demonstrative determiners, which in addition to singling out a specific entity also locate it in space or time, and the non-demonstratives, which do not specify a location. The demonstrative determiners specify three degrees of spatial deixis — proximal, distal, and remote — and the non-demonstratives distinguish between a simple specific determiner, *ti*, and another form which encodes an additional category, uniqueness. In addition to the plethora of deictic categories, this set of determiners also encodes distinctions of natural (i.e., biological) gender and, to a lesser extent, number.

As their name implies, the primary syntactic function of determiners is to introduce referential expressions such as NPs and the complements of prepositions, as in (205):

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: note the etymological relationship between *ti?*acec and *?acec*

⁷⁵ This form is quite often reduced to [ti*i*^l] in rapid or causal speech and is often rendered as [ti*i*?*i*^lə] in Skagit.

- (205) a. gʷəl ḫaliləxʷ ti stubš
 gʷəl ḫalil=əxʷ ti stubš
 SCONJ come.ashore=now SPEC man
 ‘then the man comes ashore’
- [JS Basket Ogress, line 72]
- b. ?osłatlil kʷsi bšč’ad ?al tə hikʷ ?al?al
 ?os-ḥatlil kʷsi bšč’ad ?al tə hikʷ ?al?al
 STAT-live REM:FEM louse at NSPEC big house
 ‘Louse lives in a big house’⁷⁶
- [EK Lady Louse, line 1]
- c. ḫus?əłəds ti?i?ə? stawixʷa?‡
 ጀu=s?əłəd-s ti?-i?ə? stawixʷa?‡
 IRR=food-3PO PL-PROX children
 ‘the children will be her food’
- [MS Basket Ogress, line 28]

Normally, referential expressions in Lushootseed, require a determiner (or a demonstrative adverbial — Section 2.5.1). The presence or absence of a determiner introducing a phrase is often the only way in which to determine whether its syntactic role is that of an actant or that of a predicate. For example, the sentence in (205c) contains two nouns — *s?əłəd* ‘food’ and *stawixʷa?‡* ‘children’; the fact that *stawixʷa?‡* is introduced by a determiner identifies it as the subject, while the absence of a determiner identifies *s?əłəd* as the predicate.⁷⁷ These constructions will be discussed in more detail in Section 8.3.1.

Unlike English articles, Lushootseed determiners are also used with proper names and personal pronouns when these are subjects or objects of a verb:

- (206) a. ḫu?ibəš tsı?i‡ ḫxʷubx
 ጀu?ibəš tsı?i‡ ḫxʷubx
 IRR=travel DIST:FEM Lxʷubx
 ‘Lxʷubx will just travel’
- [ML Basket Ogress, line 180]

⁷⁶ Louse in this case is used as a female proper name in a traditional story.

⁷⁷ The presence of the tense-marker, *ጀu=*, is not a good indicator of predicate-hood, as this clitic can appear on both predicative and non-predicative elements. See Section *.* for discussion.

- b. ləcukʷaxʷad čəł ti dəgʷi
 ləcukʷaxʷad čəł ti dəgʷi
 CONT-help-ICS 1PL.SUB SPEC you
 we are helping you'

[MS Basket Ogress, line 65]

With proper names, the use of the determiners seems to be obligatory; with the personal pronouns, they are almost always used to introduce subjects and objects, although there are one or two exceptions in the corpus. Neither proper names nor personal pronouns require a determiner when used vocatively or as appositives:

- (207) a. ḥučubə čəd, qəlqʷəlwič
 ḥu=čubə čəd qʷəlqʷəlwič
 IRR=go.inland 1SG.SUB Qʷəlqʷəlwič
 'I will go inland, Qʷəlqʷəlwič'

(Hess 1998 84, line 174)

- b. gʷəl cickʷəxʷ ?əsta:gʷəxʷəxʷ tsi?ə? cədił ?ay'əds, Łxʷubx
 gʷəl cickʷ=əxʷ ?əs-ta:gʷəxʷ=əxʷ tsi?ə? cədił ?ay'əd=s Łxʷubx
 SCONJ very=now STAT-hungry=NOW PROX:FEM she companion=3PO Łxʷubx
 'and her companion, Łxʷubx, was very hungry'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 148]

- c. ?əbil' čəxʷ ḥu?itut čla ḥugʷəlalcid, dəgʷi
 ?əbil' čəxʷ ḥu=?itut čla ḥu=gʷəlal-t-sid dəgʷi
 if 2SG.SUB IRR=sleep 2SG.COORD IRR=punished-ICS-2SG.OBJ you
 'you, if you fall asleep we will punish you!'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 64]

Appositive nouns almost invariably lack determiners, as discussed in Section *.* below.

Determiners not only introduce simple noun phrases, they also introduce headless relative clauses (Section 7.4.1) and nominalized clauses (7.4.2):

- (208) a. ?u', ?a ti?ə? ?uqʷi?aacəbš
 ?u ?a ti?ə? ?u-qʷi?aad-c-bš
 INTJ be.there PROX PFV-call.out-ALTV-1SG.OBJ
 'so, there is one who called me'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 35]

- b. dił ti?ə? səxʷəlušəd ti?ə? s?abyitəbs ti?ə? kikəwič
 dił ti?ə? səxʷəlušəd ti?ə? s=?ab-yi-t-əb=s
 FOC PROX fish.tail PROX NM=extend-DAT-ICS-PASS=3PO

ti?ə?	ki-kəwič
PROX	ATTN–hunchback
'what was given to Little Hunchback was the fish-tail'	
[AJ Basket Ogress, line 29]	

Most of the determiners can also be used as independent third-person pronouns:

- (209) a. kʷədatəb ti?iſ

kʷəda–t–b	ti?iſ
taken–ICS–PASS	DIST
'that one was taken'	

(Hess 2006: 59, line 428)

- b. t̥uhudyid čət ti?acəc

t̥u=hud–yi–d	čət	ti?acəc
PAST=burn–DAT–ICS	1PL.SUB	UNQ
'we will make a fire for these very ones'		

(Hess 2006: 64, line 535)

- c. xət ti λ'asčil ti?ə? ?al ti

xət ti	λ'u=?as–čil	ti?ə? ?al	ti
seemingly HAB=STAT–bleed PROX at SPEC			

'it is just as if this one is bleeding in this [place]'

(Hess 2006: 15, line 105)

The only two determiners not attested in this use are the remote demonstrative, *kʷi/kʷsi*, and the non-specifics *ta/tsə*. The failure of the latter to function as pronouns is not surprising, as they are used to identify a general type of entity rather than a specific individual, and so are not a good candidate for use as an anaphor. The absence of the former in a pronominal role may be related to its association with hypothetical and backgrounded elements in discourse. It should also be noted that the use of the specific determiner *ti* as a pronoun is relatively infrequent, although it is attested enough in the corpus that it has to be considered a regular grammatical construction.

When used as pronouns, the determiners are amenable to modification by relative clauses, either embedded copular constructions such as those shown in (210a) or relative clauses with verbal predicates themselves headed by determiners, as in (210b):⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The use of determiners to introduce relative clauses is discussed in Section 7.4.1.

- (210) a. gʷəl, ?al ti?ə? dbəda? ti?ə? ti adλ'əwc'lažad, ti?ə? ti adlidšəd, ti?ə? ti adstab, ti?ə?
 adbitbita?s
 gʷəl ?al ti?ə? d-bəda? ti?ə? ti ad-λ'əwc'lažad ti?ə? ti
 SCONJ at PROX 1SG.PO-child PROX SPEC 2SG.PO-arm.decorations PROX SPEC
 ad-lidšəd ti?ə? ti ad-stab ti?ə? ad-bit-bitə?s
 2SG.PO-leg.tie PROX SPEC 2SG.PO-what PROX 2SG.PO-DSTR-breechcloth
 'so, here, my son, are your armbands, your leg-ties, your things, your breechcloths'
 (lit. 'so this [which is] the-your; armband, this [which is] the-your; leg-tie, this [which is] the-your; thing, this [which is] the-your; breechcloth, are at my son;')
 (Hess 2006: 35, line 322)

- b. gʷəl gʷəgʷiidičəxʷ čələp ti ?al ti?iň ti luλ' lə=?ibəš liň?alčəxʷ ti?ə? tə ?a λ'usəs?učʷs
 gʷəl gʷəgʷi-di=čəxʷ čələp ti ?al ti?iň ti luλ' lə=?ibəš
 SCONJ SBJ=invite-ICS=now 2PL.SUB SPEC at PROX SPEC old STAT-travel
 liň?-al=čəxʷ ti?ə? tə ?a λ'u=s=?əs=?učʷ=s
 PRLV-at=now PROX NSPEC be.there HAB=NM=STAT-go=3PO
 'and you guys could invite him; when that one [who is] the old fellow; who travels goes by [this place] here where he is usually going'
 (Hess 2006: 66, line 580)

Although such constructions seem somewhat convoluted from an English perspective, they are considered good Lushootseed style.

In addition to introducing the arguments of nouns and the complements of prepositions, determiners are found introducing adjunct adverbial clauses such as those in (211):

- (211) a. gʷəl kʷədub ti?iň xi?dubəs ?ə ts'i?iň
 gʷəl kʷəd-dxʷ-b ti?iň xi?dubəs ?ə ts'i?iň
 SCONJ taken-DC-PASS DIST caught.red.handed-DC-PASS=3SBJ PR DIST:FEM
 'they would be grabbed if they were caught in the act by her'
 [DM Basket Ogress, line 63]
- b. džəlulčbičidəxʷ ti?ə? hikʷ hud ti?ə? dəxʷužu?ils
 džəlulč-bi-d=čəxʷ ti?ə? hikʷ hud ti?ə? dəxʷ=?u-ju?il=s
 turn-belly-MAP-ICS=now PROX big fire PROX ADNM=PFV-rejoice=3PO
 'she turned her belly to the big fire because she was happy'
 [ML Basket Ogress, line 78]

In sentences like these, the import of the determiners is that they introduce clauses describing specific (rather than general types of) events; the determiner also serves as a marker of subordination, indicating that the adverbial clause is a modifier of the preceding predicate rather

than a coordinate element. This type of expression will be discussed in more detail in Section 9.5.

The largest set of determiners is the specific determiners. All of the members of this set serve to single out specific entities of the type defined by the expression they introduce. In doing so, the determiner establishes a referent for that expression which can be identified by the hearer. Within the set of specific determiners, the demonstrative determiners are distinguished from the non-demonstratives in that the former identify their referent by locating or grounding them in physical or discourse space, assigning them one of three degrees of distance from the speaker. The demonstrative determiners are *ti?ə?* ‘PROXIMAL’, *ti?it* ‘DISTAL’, and *k^wi* ‘REMOTE’, illustrated in (212) in their literal, spatial uses:

- (212) a. *ɬugʷəx̌aliǰed čət ti?ə? dsheli?dub ?ə ti s?ub?ubədi?*
 $\ddot{\text{h}}\text{u}=g^w\text{əx}^w\text{-ali}j\text{-ed}$ čət ti?ə? $d=\text{s=heli?}-\text{dx}^w-\text{b}$ $?ə$
 IRR=untie•bundle-ICS 1PL.SUB PROX 1SG.PO=NM=alive-DC-PASS PR
 ti s?ub-?ubədi?
 SPEC DSTR-hunter
 ‘we will unpack this that I was given by some hunters’ (Hess 1998: 82, line 126)

b. *ɬ̌ul'əxʷ čəd ɬu?aha? ti?iť ɬ'udsq'əlb lil'lil*
 $\ddot{\text{x}}^w\text{ul}'\text{əx}^w$ čəd ɬu=?aha? ti?iť $\text{ɬ}'\text{u=d=s=q'əlb}$ $\text{lil}'-\text{lil}$
 only=now 1SG.SUB IRR=right.there DIST IRR=1SG.PO=NM=make.camp DSTR-be.far
 ‘I would just be right there in that place I was camping a little way off’ (Hess 2006: 34, line 292)

c. *ɬulə?uɬʷ čəd dxʷ?al kʷi si?ab ?absləx̌il*
 $\ddot{\text{h}}\text{u=lə=?uɬ}^w$ čəd $\text{dx}^w?\text{al}$ k^wi si?ab $?as-bəs-ləx̌il$
 IRR=PROG=go 1SG.SUB PR REM noble STAT-PROP-daylight
 ‘I will go to the nobleman who has the daylight (i.e., the sun)’ (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 19)

The proximal determiner, *ti?ə?*, is used as in (212a) to refer to something in the immediate vicinity of the speaker, while the distal determiner, *ti?it*, is used to refer to something at a distance from the speaker (212b). In its spatial use, the remote determiner, *k^wi*, indicates that something is at a greater distance from the speaker, usually out of sight (212c). The spatial uses

of the demonstrative determiners are rather imprecise in terms of absolute distance from the speaker, and these words — particularly *ti?ə?* and *ti?it* — can be used interchangeably in certain circumstances, depending on context and the intention of the speaker.

In addition to being used to locate objects in physical space, the demonstrative determiners are also occasionally used in a metaphorical sense to indicate distance in time, although temporal expressions seem only to maintain a consistent two-way distinction between present-time, immediate events (or those events that are certain to occur soon), and events in the future. In the first case, the proximal and distal determiners, *ti?ə?* and *ti?it*, are used, as in (213):

- (213) a. *ti?ə? dəč'u? syəyəhub q'iq'xʷu? ti?ə? ?u?ilič čəd ?al ti?ə? səłaxil*
 PROX one legend short PROX PFV-sing-ECS 1SG.SUB

?al ti?ə? səłaxil
 at PROX evening
 ‘what I told you this evening [is] this one short story’

[HM Star Child, line 194]

- b. *huy ləx-iłəxʷ ?al ti?it łup*
 huy light-il=əxʷ ?al ti?it łup
 SCONJ light-INCH=now at DIST dawn
 ‘then, it became light at dawn’

(Hess 1998: 101, line 274)

- c. *ti?it ?al?als λ'udəxʷ?učs ?al ti?it pədt'əs*
 ti?it ?al?al-s λ'u=dəxʷ=?uč=s ?al ti?it pədt'əs
 DIST house-3PO IRR=ADNM=go=3PO at DIST winter
 ‘his house where he would go in the winter’

(Hess 1995: 143, line 7)

The use of the proximal determiner to refer to the present-time, immediate experience of the speaker in (213a) is fairly transparent; however, in narrative, the distal determiner is far more frequently used to refer to present-time events, as shown in (213b), perhaps because these events are present-time relative to the event under discussion rather than the speech act.

Although past-time events can be introduced in stories with the distal determiner, they are also found with the proximal determiner and, even more frequently, the remote determiner, *kʷi*:

- (214) a. ḫʷul'ul'əxʷ p'q'ac ?al kʷi tusłčilsəxʷ
 xʷul'-ul'=əxʷ p'q'ac ?al kʷi tu=s=łčil-s=əxʷ
 INTNS-only=now rotten.wood at REM PAST=NM=arrive-ALTV=now
 ‘it was nothing but a rotten log when he arrived’

(Hess 1998: 88, line 269)

- b. ti?ə? swatixʷtəd gʷəl tasbəsəd ?al kʷi tuha?kʷ
 ti?ə? swatixʷtəd gʷəl tu=?as-bəsəd ?al kʷi tu=ha?kʷ
 PROX country SCONJ PAST=STAT-dark at REM PAST=long.time
 ‘the land was dark in the distant past’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977)

Determiner choice seems to be fairly free in temporal expressions of past-time events, at least in narrative, and is probably driven largely by issues of reference-tracking, topicality, backgrounding/foregrounding, and the relative salience of the events in their discourse context.

More consistently, the remote determiner *kʷi* is found with expressions of future events, particularly those whose realization is uncertain or whose precise time of realization is unknown:

- (215) a. day' čələp ᴹu?abaqtəb ?al kʷi pədtab ?al kʷi gʷəgʷiid čəł ti čxʷəlu?
 day' čələp ᴹu=?abaq-t-əb ?al kʷi pədtab ?al kʷi
 only 2PL.SUB IRR=return-ICS-PASS at REM when at REM
 gʷə=s=gʷii-d čəł ti čxʷəlu?
 SBJ=NM=invite-ICS 1PL.SUB SPEC whale
 ‘indeed, you folks will be returned when we invite Whale’

(Hess 2006: 78, line 878)

- b. ḫʷul'əxʷ čəxʷ ᴹu?ah kʷi ᴹadsucucut ?al kʷi ᴹuč'itəxʷ ᴹu?aciłtalbixʷ
 xʷul'=əxʷ čəxʷ ᴹu=?ah kʷi ᴹu=ad=s=?u-cut-cut ?al kʷi
 only=now 2SG.SUB IRR=be.there REM IRR=2SG.PO=NM=PFV-DSTR=say at REM
 ᴹu=č'it=əxʷ ᴹu=?aciłtalbixʷ
 IRR=be.near=now IRR=person
 ‘you will just be there talking away when the people are nearby’

(Hess 2006: 7, line 117)

- c. ᴹas?acił čəd dxʷ?al kʷi ᴹads?əł'txʷ
 ᴹu=?as-?acił čəd dxʷ=?al kʷi ᴹu=ad=s=?əł'-txʷ
 IRR=STAT-wait 1SG.SUB CNTRPT-at REM IRR=2SG.PO=NM=come-ECS
 ‘I will be waiting for you to bring it’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 19)

The use of the remote determiner for expressions of the future is also clearly related to another very frequent use of *k^wi* — the introduction of abstract, hypothetical, or unreal entities into discourse, as in (216):

- (216) a. ḥ'ubəx^w čəd ḥup'ayəqəx^w ?ə k^wi sup'qs
 λ'ub=əx^w čəd ḥu=p'ayəq=əx^w ?ə k^wi sup'qs
 okay=now 1SG.SUB IRR=carve.canoe=now PR REM hair.seal
 'I had better carve a hair seal'

(Hess 2006: 46, line 106)

- b. g^wəl ḥu?əbsx^wi?x^wi? čəd ?ə k^wi hik^w tatačulbix^w
 g^wəl ḥu=?əs-bəs-sx^wi?x^wi? čəd ?ə k^wi hik^w tatačulbix^w
 SCONJ IRR=STAT-PROP-game 1SG.SUB PR REM big big.game.animal
 'and I will have as my game a very large animal'

[MW Star Child, line 74]

In (216a), the remote determiner is used to introduce the expression of an entity, the carving of a hair seal, that does not yet exist but which is the intention of the speaker to create. In (216b), *k^wi* is used to refer to an animal that has not yet been found, and which may possibly not exist.

Along the same lines, *k^wi* is also found in desiderative expressions:

- (217) a. ḥaλ'tx^w k^wi sčəlus
 ḥaλ'-tx^w k^wi sčəlus
 desire-ECS REM fish.tips
 'he wanted fish tips'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 26]

- b. ḥaλ'tx^w əlg^wə? k^wi səsq?^wu?ləpəx^w
 ḥaλ'-tx^w əlg^wə? k^wi s=?əs-q?^wu?=ləp=əx^w
 desire-ECS PL REM NM=STAT-gather=2PL.PO=now
 'they want you folks to gather'

(Hess 2006: 73, line 737)

The remote determiner is also used in negative expressions (Section 8.5) to introduce items whose existence is negated (218a), or hypothetical entities involved in negated events (218b):

- (218) a. x^wi? k^wi g^wəbiac k^wi g^wəstab
 x^wi? k^wi g^wə=biac k^wi g^wə=stab
 NEG REM SBJ=meat REM SBJ=what
 'there is no meat or anything'

(Hess 1998: 88, line 274)

- b. xʷi? gʷad̥sq'puc ?ə kʷi gʷəstab
 xʷi? gʷə=ad=s=q'pu-t-s ?ə kʷi gʷə=stab
 NEG SBJ=2SG.PO=NOM=pay-ICS-1SG.OBJ PR REM SBJ=what
 'don't pay me anything'

(Hess 2006: 30, line 191)

A similar pattern is seen in information questions (8.4.2) in which the Given portion of the question is not particular entity (as it might be in a request for identification — i.e., ‘what is that?’) or is not certain to exist:

- (219) a. stab kʷi gʷəshuy čəɬ
 stab kʷi gʷə=s=huy čəɬ
 what REM SBJ=NOM=de.done 1PL.SUB
 'what can we do?'

(Hess 2006: 18, line 156)

- b. čadəxʷ kʷi sbəqʷa?
 čad=əxʷ kʷi sbəqʷa?
 where=now REM heron
 where was Heron?

(Hess 2006: 19, line 177)

- c. stab kʷi gʷəcəxʷtəɬəɬ dxʷgʷəd dxʷ?al ti tucəxʷtul'?a
 stab kʷi gʷə=d=dəxʷ=təɬəɬ dxʷgʷəd dxʷ?al ti
 what REM SBJ=1SG.PO=ADNM=arrive.safely downward CNTRPT-at SPEC
 tu=d=dəxʷ=tul'-?a
 PAST=1SG.PO=ADNM=CNTRFG-be.there
 'what way can I get down safely to where I am from?'

(Hess 2006: 28, line 144)

The use of the remote determiner in desiderative, negative, and interrogative clauses is clearly linked to the use of the cognate forms in other Salishan languages to express ‘non-assertion of existence’ (Matthewson 1996), although in Lushootseed *kʷi* is also used in contexts where it refers to entities that are known and asserted to exist (as in 212c above).

In addition to being used to localize and individuate entities in physical space, the demonstrative determiners are also used to ground entities in discourse by linking particular event-participants to “virtual” locations whose metaphorical proximity to the speaker is

proportional to their topicality and discourse salience. Consider, for example, the following stretch of narrative:

- (220) a. kʷədalcəxʷ ti?ə? kikəwič
 kʷədalc=əxʷ ti?ə? ki-kəwič
 take•arm=now PROX ATTN=hunchback
 ‘Little Hunchback grabs a limb’

- b. sət'cut tul'?al ti?ə? xʷ?ažʷa?ad
 sət'-t-sut tul'?-al ti?ə? xʷ?ažʷa?ad
 lifted-ICS-REFL CNTRFG-at PROX basket
 ‘he lifts himself out of the clam basket’

- c. ?a' gʷəl, ?užʷ
 ?a gʷəl ?užʷ
 INTJ SCONJ go
 ‘and then she goes on’

- d. žʷul'əxʷ ?u?užʷ tsi?iɬ ?ažʷadus
 žʷul'əxʷ ?u-?užʷ tsi?iɬ ?ažʷadus
 only=now PFV-go DIST Basket.Ogress
 ‘Basket Ogress just went on’

- e. huy, təlawiləxʷ
 huy təlawil=əxʷ
 SCONJ run=now
 ‘and then he runs’

- f. bəlkʷaxʷ ti?ə? kikəwič dxʷ?al ti?iɬ q'il'bids
 bəlkʷaxʷ ti?ə? ki-kəwič dxʷ?-al ti?iɬ q'il'bids
 return=now PROX ATTN=hunchback CNTRPT-at DIST canoe
 ‘Little Hunchback returned to his canoe’

[MS Basket Ogress, lines 39 – 44]

This stretch of discourse begins at a point in the narrative where the main character, *kikəwič* ‘Little Hunchback’, and his plight, being carried off by the Basket Ogress in her big clam basket, are topical, and the narrator signals this topicality through the use of the proximal determiner in (220a) and (b). The next two lines see a slight shift in narrative focus as the narrator describes the actions of Basket Ogress (who continues on her way, unaware that Little Hunchback has escaped her basket); however, the use of the distal determiner here maintains a certain narrative distance from the Basket Ogress, who has not become the central figure of this discourse

episode. The central figure remains Little Hunchback, who appears again with the proximal determiner in the last line, (220f). In a similar vein, the remote determiner can also be used in this manner (most frequently to introduce backgrounded information), and a skilled narrator can and does make heavy use of these three determiners, as well as the specific non-demonstrative determiner *ti*, to control discourse and encode nuances of communicative structure. For this reason, it is often difficult to make hard and fast predictions about the use of the demonstrative determiners or account for their particular uses in specific sentences drawn from texts; the patterns presented above are the most prevalent and generalizable patterns, but the finer details of the system are in need of further investigation.

Unlike the demonstrative determiners, the non-demonstrative determiners do not localize entities in physical or discourse space, although, as specific determiners, they do single out individuals from the type or set named by the expression they introduce. There are two members of this group, the “plain” specific determiner, *ti/tsi*, and the unique determiner, *ti?acəc/tsi?acəc*. The former is the more straightforward of the two, serving only to assert that the referent of an NP or referring expression is a specific individual whose identity is Given or known from discourse, as in (221):

- (221) a. t̪ild čəł ti dəgʷi ti?ił dəxʷuwiliqʷid čəł
 t̪il-d čəł ti dəgʷi ti?ił dəxʷ=?u-wiliqʷi-d čəł
 give.food-ICS 1PL.PO SPEC you DIST ADNM=PFV-ask-ICS 1SG.PO
 ‘we are giving you food, which is why we questioned you’

(Hess 1998: 80, line 69)

- b. gʷəł ?užʷ, ?ibəš ti sgʷəlub
 gʷəł ?užʷ ?ibəš ti sgʷəlub
 SCONJ go travel SPEC pheasant
 ‘and then he goes, Pheasant travels’

(Hess 1998: 81, line 100)

The example in (221a) shows the use of the specific determiner with the second-person pronoun *dəgʷi* ‘you’, which is inherently both Given and individualized.⁷⁹ In (221b), the definite determiner introduces an NP that re-asserts the identity of the current discourse topic. In neither instance is localization in physical or discourse space necessary for the identification of the referent.

The second non-demonstrative determiner, *ti?acəc/tsi?acəc*, encodes specificity and an additional semantic feature that, for lack of a better term, we will call uniqueness. Like *ti/tsi*, the specific determiner asserts that the referent of an NP or referring expression is an individual of a particular type whose identity is Given or known from discourse. **Additionally, the unique determiner emphasizes that the referent of the expression it introduces is that individual and no other** (cf. English expressions such as *the very (one)* or *the one and only*). Although the unique determiner is not well-attested in texts, those environments where it does surface fall roughly into two categories. The first of these are circumstances where it is used to introduce expressions referring to previously-identified individuals that are central to the narrative and are known or Given, but which are not topical at that particular moment in discourse:

- (222) a. day'əxʷ ha?t ti?ə? səsqʷəlb ?ə ti?acəc bəščəb
 day'=exʷ ha?t ti?ə? s=?əs-qʷəl-b ?ə ti?acəc bəščəb
 only=now good PROX NM=STAT-cooked-MD PR UNQ mink
 ‘what this Mink is roasting sure looks good’

(Hess 1998: 66, line 42)

- b. dił ti?acəc λ'ucutəb stiqtiqayu? ti?ə? ?ubəčalq
 dił ti?acəc λ'u=cut-t-əb stiq-tiqayu? ti?ə? ?u-bəč•alq
 FOC UNQ HAB=say-ICS-PASS DSTR=wolf PROX PFV-fallen•game
 ‘those who brought down the game [are] these very ones that are called wolves’

(Hess 1998: 73, line 202)

⁷⁹ As discussed in Section 2.7.1, personal pronouns do not always require determiners; however, when they do appear with determiners, second-person pronouns always take the specific determiner. First-person pronouns are not attested with determiners in the current corpus.

(222a) comes from a context in which Changer, one of the protagonists of the story, has come upon a salmon being roasted by Mink, who up until the beginning of the current episode had been the main protagonist. By using the unique determiner, the narrator is underlining the fact that this is the same Mink, the topic of the previous part of the story. In (222b), the unique determiner serves to emphasize that it is indeed the wolves, and nothing else, that are responsible for that kill, a fact that comes into play in the subsequent narrative.

In a similar vein to the example in (222b), the unique determiner is also quite frequently used to introduce new discourse topics, as in the following stretch of narrative:

- (223) a. hay gʷəl ?učʷəxʷ ti?ił cədił dukʷibəł
 hay gʷəl ?učʷəxʷ ti?ił cədił Changer
 SCONJ SCONJ go=now DIST he Changer
 'and so Changer goes'
- b. ?i'', bə?əy'dxʷ tsi?acəc k'a?k'a? ?i ti?ə? ?alš
 ?i bə=?əy'dxʷ tsi?acəc k'a?k'a? ?i ti?ə? ?alš-s
 INTJ ADD=find UNQ crow and PROX cross-sex.sibling-3PO
 'indeed, he finds Crow and her brother'
- c. gʷəhaw'ə ?uqʷic'il tsi?ə? cədił k'a?k'a?
 gʷəhaw'ə ?u-qʷic'il tsi?ə? cədił k'a?k'a?
 seemingly PFV-be.widowed PROX:FEM she crow
 'it seems that Crow had become a widow'

(Hess 1998: 70, line 131 - 133)

The first two lines of (223) are the last part of a stretch of discourse in which Changer is the topic. In (223b), a new character, Crow, is introduced, and Crow becomes the topic of the subsequent episode that begins at line (223c). The use of the unique determiner here both highlights the introduction of a central but non-topical character and serves to link that character to a personality well-known to the audience (Crow being a familiar figure from this and other traditional stories) and whose (well-known) characteristics are to become central to the unfolding narrative. In at least one case, this strategy is used at the very beginning of a story:

- (224) ?osɬatlil ti?it ?aciɬtalbixʷ dəxʷ?a ?ə ti?acəc sbiaw
 ?os-ɬatlil ti?it ?aciɬtalbixʷ dəxʷ=?a ?ə ti?acəc sbiaw
 STAT-live DIST person ADNM=be.there PR UNQ coyote
 ‘people were living where Coyote was’
 (Hess 1998: 91, line 1)

Although there can have been no previous mention of Coyote, he would have been a familiar figure to a Lushootseed audience, who would have known all about Coyote and those personality traits that identify him and drive the events in the story that is about to be told.

Opposed to the set of specific determiners are the two non-specific determiners, the non-feminine *tə* and the feminine *tsə*. These are used to indicate that the following expression does not refer to a particular individual, but instead refers to a type of individual, event, or circumstance. Consider the examples in (225):

- (225) a. huy gʷəl ju?iləxʷ tə ?aciɬtalbixʷ
 huy gʷəl ju?-il=?əxʷ tə ?aciɬtalbixʷ
 SCONJ SCONJ enjoy-INCH=now NSPEC person
 ‘and then the people had a good time’
 (Hess 1995: 142, line 49)

- b. ɬ'əɬ'iq'səd tə ɬ'u?uɬxʷ
 ɬ'əɬ'iq'səd tə ɬ'u=?uɬxʷ
 sapsucker NSPEC HAB=go
 ‘the one to go would be Sapsucker’
 (Hess 2006: 18, line 164)

- c. ?u?əy'?əy'dxʷ čəd tə s?ubədi? əlgʷə? ?al kʷədi? t'aq't čəda ?uɬiltəb
 ?u-?əy'-?əy'dxʷ čəd tə s?ubədi? əlgʷə? ?al kʷədi? t'aq't
 PFV-DSTR-find-ICS-DC 1SG.SUB NSPEC hunter PL PR REM.DMA inland
 čəda ?u-ɬil-t-əb
 1SG.COORD PFV-give.food-ICS-PASS
 ‘I met some hunters up in the mountains and they gave it to me’
 (Hess 1998: 82, line 147)

The non-specific expression in (225a), *tə ?aciɬtalbixʷ* ‘the people’, does not refer to a specific group of individuals so much as to an undefined set of people (in this story, those in the vicinity of a beached whale). Similarly, the headless relative clause (Section 7.4.1) in (225b) identifies a type of person (‘someone who will go’). In (225c), the speaker refers to a type of person,

hunters, rather than to a specific individuals whose identity is known to the addressee. Note that, as shown by this example, the notion of non-specificity is relative to the proposition or the utterance, rather than being absolute or absolutely dependent on the knowledge of the speaker: in (225c), the speaker actually met the hunters and can identify them as individual members belonging to the set of those who hunt. However, the addressee can not and the speaker's choice of determiner reflects accommodation to the common ground of shared knowledge (cf. Montler 2007).

In much the same vein, the non-specific determiner can be used to introduce expressions that explicitly identify types of things, rather than referring to individuals:

- (226) tuλ'iq' ?ə ts'i?ə? čəgʷas tə dəxʷešuucləp tə s̥hay'us ?ə ?aciłtalbixʷ ?al tudi? s̥lukʷalb
 tu=λ'iq' ?ə ts'i?ə? čəgʷas-s tə dəxʷ=?əs-šuu-c=ləp
 PAST=be.stuck PR PROX:FEM wife-3PO NSPEC ADNM=STAT-see=ALTV=2PL.PO
 tə s̥hay'us ?ə ?aciłtalbixʷ ?al tudi? s̥lukʷalb
 NSPEC head PR person DIST.DMA moon
 '[Moon] stuck to his wife, which is why you guys see a person's head in the moon'⁸⁰
 [HM Star Child, line 189]

The non-specific NP here, *tə s̥hay'us ?ə ?aciłtalbixʷ* 'the head of a person', refers to the figurative image that Lushootseed culture projects onto the face of the full moon and as such is not a reference to a particular human head, but rather a description of the type of shape that one can see.

The non-specific determiner is also used for general locations, times, and non-unique or repetitive events:

- (227) a. ts'i?ə? waq'waq' λ'u?al tə sc'p'alič
 ts'i?ə? waq'waq' λ'u=?al tə sc'p'alič
 PROX:FEM frog HAB=at NSPEC swamp
 'Frog would be in the swamp'
 (Hess 2006: 3, line 3)

⁸⁰ In terms of the story being told, this sentence is misspoken — what actually happened was that Moon's wife, Frog, stuck to his face, which is why the Lushootseed see the figure of a frog on the moon. Grammatically, however, the sentence is fine.

- b. qədəbtubəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? xʷi? ləha?ɻ c'ətx? ɻal tə sxʷi? ?ə ti?iɻ cədiɻ
 qədəb-txʷ-b=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? xʷi? lə=ha?ɻ c'ətx? ɻal tə
 fornicate-ECS-PASS=now PR PROX NEG NEGP=good kingfisher at NSPEC
- s=xʷi? ?ə ti?iɻ cədiɻ
 NM=NEG PR DIST he
 'this no-good Kingfisher had sex with her while he [her husband] wasn't home'
 (Hess 2006: 12, line 45)
- c. ūhu dəxʷdiɻəxʷ ti?ə? slukʷalb tə lə?ibəš ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? ...
 ūu dəxʷ-diɻ=əxʷ ti?ə? slukʷalb tə lə?ibəš ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 see INT ADNM=FOC=now PROX moon NSPEC PROG=travel PR PROX here
 'so do you see? that is why [it is] the moon that is traveling by here'
 [MW Star Child, line 117]

The first sentence here is a statement about where frogs are generally found — “in the swamp” — and identifies a particular type of setting rather than a particular swamp. In (227b), a general temporal setting expresses the time of a repeated or habitual action. The non-specific phrase in (227c), a relative clause modifying *slukʷalb* ‘moon’, describes its head in terms of a repeated event which happens every night that the moon is visible, rather than being a unique event that can be localized at a fixed point in time.

In a somewhat more abstract use, the non-specific determiners turn up in adverbial expressions of result or cause when these are general circumstances rather than specific events:

- (228) a. gʷəl huyic ?ə tə cəxʷxʷil'
 gʷəl huy-yi-d-s ?ə tə d=dəxʷ=xʷil'
 SCONJ be done-DAT-ICS-1SG.OBJ PR NSPEC 1SG.PO=ADNM=be.lost
 'he did this to me, causing me to be lost'
 (Hess 2006: 28, line 140)
- b. ?aciłtalbixʷaladxʷ tə dəxʷtəšaləp⁸¹
 ?aciłtalbixʷaladxʷ tə dəxʷ=təša=ləp
 human NSPEC ADNM=be.misfortune=2PL.PO
 'the [reason for] your misfortune [is] humans'
 (Hess 2006: 76, line 820)

⁸¹ As noted in Hess (2006: 62, fn. 155), the expected form of the last word in this example is *dəxʷtəšlap*. The variant pronunciation may be because this line is chanted on the tape, or because this is the specialized, accented speech of birds.

In each of these cases, the non-specific expressions — all clauses nominalized with the adjunctive nominalizer *dəxʷ=* (Section 7.4.2.2) — name a type of circumstance or state of affairs that is either the result of the event expressed in the main clause (228a), or is caused by that event (228b). Neither non-specific NP identifies a particular event.

In addition to these fairly straightforward uses, the non-specific determiners are also found in other contexts which are related to, but perhaps not entirely predictable from, their basic meaning of designating a type rather than a specific individual. One of these is their frequent appearance in possessive constructions like those in (229):

- (229) a. stabəxʷ ti?ə? ?əsqʷeqʷwil su?ələd ?ə tə bədbəda? ?ə ti?i sgʷəlub
 stab=əxʷ ti?ə? ?əs-qʷeqʷwil s=?u-?ələd ?ə tə bəd-bəda?
 what=now PROX STAT-whitish NM=PFV-eat PR NSPEC DSTR-offspring

?ə ti?i sgʷəlub
 PR DIST pheasant
 ‘what is this whitish food of Pheasant’s children?’

(Hess 1998: 83, line 144)

- b. hary, huy tə spigʷəd ?ə tsı ḫənimulica?
 hay huy tə spigʷəd ?ə tsı ḫənimulica?
 SCONJ be done NSPEC power.ceremony PR NSPEC:FEM ḫənimulica?
 ‘then ḫənimulica?’s spirit-power ceremony is done [i.e., finished]’

(Hess 1998: 59, line 78)

At first glance, these examples seem to be inconsistent with notion of *tə* as a non-specific marker, since possessed entities such as those in (229) are highly specific and individuated. However, as noted by Langacker (1987), one of the functions of possessive constructions themselves is to identify individual entities by locating them with respect to another entity, their possessor. In each of the examples in (229), the possessed is uniquely identified by its association with a particular individual that is salient to discourse. In (229a), for instance, the speaker (Raven) is curious about the sudden good fortune of his neighbour, Pheasant, and sends his own children to investigate what it is Pheasant has given his children to eat. Thus, the children are uniquely identified by their association with Pheasant and the NP *tə bədbəda? ?ə*

ti?it sgʷəlub ‘the children of Pheasant’ is grounded by the possessive phrase rather than by its determiner. The same is true of the subject NP of (229b), *tə spigʷəd ?ə tsi ḫənimulica?* ‘Xənimulica?’s spirit-power ceremony’, where the particular ceremony being referred to is identified with reference to the main character of the story, Xənimulica? (a traditional name given to Crow), rather than being grounded at a particular place or time through the use of one of the specific determiners. In cases like these it seems that the non-specific determiner is chosen not because the nominal it introduces is non-individuated or non-grounded, but rather because it is grounded by something other than the determiner itself — specifically, by its possessor.

Of course, not all possessive expressions are necessarily grounded by their possessor. In certain cases, for instance, the possessed is either more readily central to the discourse or better known to the addressee, as in the example in (230):

- (230) gʷəl ?uχʷ dxʷsəsa?li? dxʷsxʷi?xʷi?xʷi? ?alalš ?ə tsí?ə? sɬadəy?, čəgʷas ?ə tə luχ' dxʷsp'ayəq
 gʷəl ?uχʷ dxʷ-sə-sa?li? dxʷs-xʷi?-xʷi?xʷi? ?al-alš ?ə tsí?ə?
 SCONJ go CTD-PL-two PROC-DSTR-hunt PL-cross.sex.sibling PR PROX:FEM
 sɬadəy? čəgʷas ?ə tə luχ' dxʷs-p'ayəq
 woman wife PRNSPEC old PROC-carve.canoe
 ‘and they go, two hunters, brothers of the woman, wife of the old canoe-maker,’
 (Hess 2006: 50, line 206)

In the case of (230), the old canoe-maker is not non-specific in the sense of being non-individuated. Quite the contrary, the old canoe-maker is a central figure in the story who has set the trap into which the hunters are about to fall. However, in the context of this sentence, which is about the hunters who are identified as the brothers of the woman, the fact that the woman is the old man’s wife is offered as background information contained in an appositive phrase, rather than as information intended to identify the woman and ground her in discourse.

Likewise, in (231), the possessor is not a particularly “localizable” entity and is introduced by the non-specific determiner, in spite of its inherently specific (unique) nature:

- (231) ... čxʷa ḥu?učw dxʷ?al kʷi ḥusbočačad ?ə tə swatixʷtəd ...
 čxʷa ḥu=?učw dxʷ?-al kʷi ḥu=sbočačad ?ə tə swatixʷtəd
 2SG.COORD IRR=go CNTRPT-at REM IRR=edge PR NSPEC land
 ‘... and you will go to the edge of the world ...’

(Hess 2006: 51, line 220)

Here, the non-specific possessor, *tə swatixʷtəd* ‘the world’ (lit. ‘the land’), does not serve to locate the event in any meaningful way, ‘the world’ being a rather broad region, whereas ‘the edge’ is a more practical reference point for the event (and so is localized in remote physical space by *kʷi*). Once again, it seems that the non-specific determiner is chosen for an embedded NP when the nominal it introduces does not ground the matrix NP in which they are contained.

The non-specific determiners also turn up in a few contexts where their import is not entirely clear. The most frequent of these is in headless relative clauses that identify their referents in terms of undesirable or negative characteristics, as in these examples:

- (232) a. ləluč' iləxʷ tə s?ušəbabdxʷ stutədəq
 lə=luč'-il=əxʷ tə s?ušəbabdxʷ stu-tədəq
 PROG=old-INCH=now NSPEC poor.guy ATTN-slave
 ‘the poor little slave is growing up’

[HM Star Child, line 144]

- b. bəkʷəkʷ čət ḥučədəd čla ḥuhudabacəd tsə xʷi? ləha?¶
 bəkʷ-əkʷ čət ḥu=čəd-əd čla ḥu=hud•abac-əd tsə
 INTNS-all 1PL.SUB IRR=push-ICS 1PL.COORD IRR=fire•body-ICS NSPEC:FEM
 xʷi? lə=ha?¶
 NEG NEGP=good
 ‘every one of us will push her [into the fire] and burn up the body of the no-good [one]’

[DM Basket Ogress, line 60]

In both sentences, the referent of the relative clause is known to both speaker and addressee and is, in fact, highly topical in the context (perhaps making it possible to allude to the entity more indirectly without properly grounding it in the first place). The use of the non-specific determiner is not obligatory in these circumstances, as shown by the example in (233):

- (233) ?u^w ti?ə? x^wi? ləha?^w
 ?u^w ti?ə? x^wi? lə=ha?^w
 INTJ PROX NEG NEGP=good
 ‘oh, the no-good [one]!’

(Hess 1998: 71, line 157)

This suggests that the choice of determiner may have some stylistic effect. The fact that it is associated with negative characteristics could also suggest that it is a (im)politeness strategy, although this correlation may also be the result of a gap in the corpus. Pending the discovery of further examples, the issue will have to be left for future investigation.

As well as being inflected for a wide variety of deictic categories, determiners are inflected for a natural gender, and two of them show quasi-inflectional marking for number as well. The basic gender distinction is between non-feminine/unmarked and feminine. Historically, this may have been implemented by means of an infix *-s- occurring immediately after the first consonant of the determiner (*ti* ‘SPECIFIC’ vs. *tsi* ‘SPECIFIC FEMININE’, *kʷi* ‘REMOTE’ vs. *kʷsi* ‘REMOTE FEMININE’), a hypothesis that is reflected in Lushootseed orthography, which writes <*ts*> rather than <*c*> for the feminine determiners. The feminine forms of determiners are used obligatorily when introducing expressions referring to biologically female humans and female personified animals in traditional stories:

- (234) a. tədəxʷdčiltxʷ dxʷ?al kʷsi adčəgʷas ?i kʷi adbədbəda?
 t̥u=ad=dəxʷ=dčil-txʷ dxʷ?al kʷsi ad-čəgʷas ?i kʷi
 IRR=2SG.PO=ADNM=arrive-ECS PR REM:FEM 2SG.PO-wife and REM
 ad-bəd-bəda?
 2SG.PO-DSTR-child
 ‘so that you can bring it to your wife and children’

(Hess 1998: 86, line 237)

- b. ḥ'ub čəxʷ ?ubiqʷyitəb ?ə tsi?acəc tubəda?̥s
 ḥ'ub čəxʷ ?u-biqʷ-yi-t-əb ?ə tsi?acəc tu=bəda?̥s
 okay 2SG.SUB PFV-loosen-DAT-ICS-PASS PR UNQ:FEM PAST=child-3PO
 ‘you should be permitted his former daughter’

(Hess 1998: 98, line 204)

While gender is obligatorily indicated for expressions with singular human referents, the gender distinction is neutralized in the plural: the non-feminine form of the determiner is used for all plural referents, even when one or all of them are female:

- (235) a. hay čxʷa ḱukʷədxʷ ti?iɬ čaagʷəs
 hay čxʷa ḱu=kʷəd-dxʷ ti?iɬ čaagʷəs-s
 SCONJ 2SG.COORD IRR=taken-DC DIST wife:PL-3PO
 'and then you can take his wives'

(Hess 2006: 23, line 34)

- b. ləqduþəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? sɬəɬadəy? legʷaχʷ
 ləq-dxʷ-b=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? sɬə-ɬadəy? le-gʷaχʷ
 hear-DC-PASS=now PR PROX PL-woman PROG=walk
 'she was heard by the women who were walking about'

[MW Star Child, line 21]

This pattern holds even in contexts where the plurality of the referent is not marked grammatically (as it is in the examples in 235), but is to be inferred solely from context. As shown in (236), gender is also marked on the determiners when these are used with pronouns, including the second-person singular pronoun, *dəgʷi*.⁸²

- (236) xʷi? gʷəsuɬalduxʷ čəɬ tsi dəgʷi
 xʷi? gʷəs=s=?u-ɬal-dxʷ čəɬ tsi dəgʷi
 NEG SBJ=NM=PFV-remove.from.fire-DC 1PL.SUB SPEC:FEM you
 'we can't get you out of the fire'

[LA Basket Ogress, line 87]

However, with pronouns gender-marking seems to be optional, and second-person pronouns with non-feminine determiners and female antecedents are found in texts:

- (237) tuχʷ čəɬ ləcuhiilbið ti dəgʷi ?ə ti adsuχʷuyilcəb
 tuχʷ čəɬ ləcu-hiił-bi-d ti dəgʷi ?ə ti
 just 1PL.SUB CONT-happy-MAP-ICS SPEC you PR SPEC
 ad=s=?u-χʷuy-ilc-əb
 2SG.PO=NM=PFV-steam.cook-round.object-MD
 'we are just happy for you as you are steam-cooking'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 83]

⁸² There are no attestations of the first-person singular pronoun, *?əca*, with a determiner in the corpus, so it is impossible to say whether or not a feminine determiner would be used by a female speaker in this case as well.

This sentence is drawn from a text where the speakers are addressing a female character, Basket Ogress, who is consistently referred to in the third-person with the feminine forms of the determiners, both by the narrator and by the characters speaking in (237).

With words that refer to humans, gender-marking on the determiner is often the only way to make distinctions of sex that are encoded lexically in other languages:

- (238) a. i. gʷat əw'ə ts'i?ił č'ač'as ?al tudi?

gʷat əw'ə ts'i?ił č'ač'as ?al tudi?
who PTCL DIST:FEM child at DIST.DMA
'who is that girl over there?'

- ii. dił dbəda? ts'i?ił

dił d-bəda? ts'i?ił
FOC 1SG.PO-offspring DIST:FEM
'she is my daughter' [lit. 'that_{FEM} is my offspring']

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 10, ex. 4)

- b. i. gʷat əw'ə ti?ił č'ač'as ?al tudi?

gʷat əw'ə ti?ił č'ač'as ?al tudi?
who PTCL DIST child at DIST.DMA
'who is that boy/child over there?'

- ii. dił dbəda? ti?ił

dił d-bəda? ti?ił
FOC 1SG.PO-offspring DIST
'that is my son' [lit. 'that_{MASC} is my offspring']

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 10, ex. 3)

Lushootseed does not have any specific words corresponding to the English words *boy* and *girl* or *son* and *daughter* — instead, it makes use of two gender-neutral terms, č'ač'as 'child' and bəda? 'offspring'. In order to refer specifically to a female child, the feminine form of the determiner is required, as in (238a). When referring to a male, the non-feminine form is used, as in (238b) — note, however, that the same form would be used if the gender of the referent were unknown by the speaker. As shown by the responses to the questions in (238), gender inflection applies to the pronominal uses of the determiners as well.

The feminine forms of the deictics are also used to refer to small things, often with a connotation of cuteness or affection (cf. the use of diminutives in this way in Spanish and other Romance languages):

- (239) a. tiləb ləkʷəd[ad] tsı?ə? qʷiqliay?ulč
 tiləb lə=kʷəda-d tsı?ə? qʷi-qʷliay?•ulč
 suddenly PROG=take-ICS PROX:FEM ATTN=wooden.dish•dish
 ‘right away they took this little wooden dish’

(Hess 2006: 38, line 407)

- b. gʷəl ?al tudi? ?al kʷsi *little creek* t'aq'tylus ?ə ti?ə? ?al *Clear Lake*
 gʷəl ?al tudi? ?al kʷsi little creek t'aq'ty·alus ?ə
 SCONJ at DIST.DMA at REM:FEM little creek landward·CNN·eye PR
 ti?ə? ?al Clear Lake
 PROX at Clear Lake
 ‘and it is there at the little creek at the upper end of Clear Lake there’

[DS Star Child, line 66]

This use of the feminine forms of determiners depends entirely on the intent of the speaker: small objects can be referred to with the plain determiners, just as large objects (such as hunting canoes) can be referred to with the feminine determiners. The use of the feminine determiners to express diminutivity is independent of the use of attenuative Type II reduplication (Section 5.2), although the two show considerable overlap in meaning.

In addition to being inflected for gender when used to introduce NPs, determiners are also inflected for gender when they introduce headless relative clauses (Section 7.4.1), as in (240):

- (240) a. xʷi? gʷəbəsɬəkʷtəbs ?ə tsí?ə? cədít? ʔəsχəɬ
 xʷi? gʷəbə=s=lékʷ-t-əb=s ?ə tsí?ə? cədít? ʔəs-χəɬ
 NEG SBJ=ADD=NM=eat-ICS-PASS=3PO PR PROX:FEM he STAT-sick
 'this sick one would not eat them'

(Hess 2006: 14, line 71)

- b. ʂəq ts'i?it səscaq'abactubs
 ʂəq ts'i?it s=?əs-caq'•abac-txʷ-b=s
 be.high DIST:FEM NM=STAT=spear•body=ECS-PASS=3PO
 ‘she who is impaled is up there’

(Hess 2006: 18, line 154)

- c. tuqi?qəl'adi? kʷsi tuhəli?
 tu=qı?-qəl'adi? kʷsi tu=həli?
 PAST=ATTN-Qəl'adi? REM:FEM PAST=be.alive
 'the one who was alive was Qəl'adi?'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 216]

In these examples, the relative clause is subject-centred — that is, it refers to the subject of the embedded clause — which in all of these cases is a female, thereby requiring the feminine form of the determiner. The same phenomenon is observed with diminutive expressions:

- (241) ḫʷul'əxʷ tukʷikʷəd kʷsi tuləskʷəd əlgʷə? ?ə ti?iɬ ha?ɬ s?uləx ...
 ḫʷul'=?əxʷ tu=kʷi-kʷəd kʷsi tu=ləs-kʷəd əlgʷə? ?ə
 only=now PAST=ATTN-how.many REM:FEM PAST=PROG.STAT-taken PL PR
 ti?iɬ ha?ɬ s?uləx
 DIST good dentalia
 'only a small amount remained to them of those many good dentalia'

(Hess 2006: 70, line 669)

In this example, the feminine determiner *kʷsi* is used to emphasize the small amount of the dentalia (a valuable trade item) left to the characters in a story after an unfortunate accident. Similarly, the feminine determiner is also used with diminutives in constructions with nominalized clauses, such as that in (242):

- (242) diɬ tsı?ə? λ'ustab tsı?ə? dəxʷə?atəbəds əlgʷə?
 diɬ tsı?ə? λ'u=stab tsı?ə? dəxʷ=lə=?atəbəd=s əlgʷə?
 FOC PROX:FEM HAB=stab PROX:FEM ADNM=PROG=die=3PO PL
 'it is this that is the reason that they are dying'

(Hess 2006: 63, line 522)

This sentence contains a nominalization, *dəxʷə?atəbəds əlgʷə?* 'the reason they are dying', introduced by the feminine determiner *tsı?ə?*, used here because the cause of death in this case is tiny feathers that have been flung at the victims (dwarves) by attacking ducks. However, feminine forms of the determiners are also found introducing nominalized clauses where the reference of the expression is not the female participant, as in the examples in (243):

- (243) gʷəl ?uxʷəcəd tul'ʔal tsi?it dəxʷəscaq'tubs
 gʷəl ?u-xʷəc-əd tul'-ʔal tsi?it dəxʷ=ʔos-caq'-txʷ-b=s
 SCONJ PFV=remove-ICS CNTRFG-at DIST:FEM ADNM=STAT-impaled-ECS-PASS=3PO
 ‘he took her off from where she had been impaled’

(Hess 2006: 20, line 200)

In (243), the adjunct nominalization (Section 7.4.2.2) *dəxʷəscaq'tubs* ‘where s/he had been impaled’ is introduced by the feminine determiner *tsi?it*, despite the fact that the nominalization expresses a location rather than the identity female entity. A similar pattern of “oblique” gender-marking is also found in negative expressions (Section 8.6):

- (244) a. diič'u? kʷsi xʷi? gʷəs?əλ's
 diič'u? kʷsi xʷi? gʷəs=s=?əλ'=s
 one.person REM:FEM NEG SBJ=NM=come=3PO
 ‘that [female] one has not come’

[DS Star Child, line 272]

- b. bəxʷi? kʷsi gʷəbəstab gʷəbə?ah
 bə=xʷi? kʷsi gʷə=bə=stab gʷə=bə=?ah
 ADD=NEG REM:FEM SBJ=ADD=what SBJ=ADD=exist
 ‘again there was nothing that had been there’

(Hess 2006: 38, line 411)

The embedded clause in (244a), *kʷsi xʷi? gʷəs?əλ's* ‘her not coming’, is a sentential nominal (Section 7.4.2.1) whose reference is an entire event, rather than a headless relative clause whose reference is an event-participant. Nevertheless, the fact that the subject of the embedded clause is female triggers the use of the feminine form of the determiner (much as it triggers the feminine possessive form *her* in the English gloss). In (244b), the embedded clause is also a sentential nominal, *kʷsi gʷəbəstab gʷəbə?ah* ‘there being (something) there again’, which is negated by the clausal predicate, *xʷi?*. The source of the feminine gender is the fact that “there” is a small, pretty dish that has consistently been referred to as feminine in the preceding discourse. Thus, it seems that the presence of a female/diminutive entity in an event is enough to cause its expression to be marked as feminine.

Two of the demonstrative determiners — the proximal and the distal — have optional plural forms:

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Comment: this is an incorrect description of these sentences. the subject NP is a subject centred RC based in the impersonal negative construction ‘(it) is not her coming’

- (245) a. q^wu?təbəx^w ti?i?i? si?i?ab
 q^wu?-t-əb=əx^w ti?-i?i? si?-i?ab
 gather-ICS-PASS=now PL-DIST PL-noble
 ‘the high-ranking people were gathered’

(Hess 1995: 144, line 30)

- b. day' ti?i? wiw'su ti?i? sə?ətəds ti?i?ə? tusλ'alqəb, sx^wəyuq^w ?i ts?i?ə? cədił?ay'əds
 day' ti?i? wiw'su ti?i? s=lə=?ətəd=s ti?-i?ə? tu=sλ'alqəb
 only DIST children DIST NM=PROG=feed.on=3PO PL-PROX PAST=monster

?i tsi?ə? cədił?ay'əd-s
 and PROX:FEW he companion-3PO

‘what the monsters, Basket Ogress and her companion, were feeding on [were] just the children’

[ML Basket Ogress, line 194]

- c. t^wus?ətəds ti?i?ə? stawix^wa?!
- t^wu=s?ətəd-s ti?-i?ə? stawix^wa?!
- IRR=food-3PO PL-PROX children
- ‘the children will be her food’

[MS Basket Ogress, line 28]

In (245a), the plural form of the distal determiner is shown introducing a noun that has been marked for plurality itself by a Type III plural reduplication (Section 5.3.4). As shown in (245b), however, the fact that an NP is plural does not require that the noun itself be marked for plurality, nor does the inherent plurality of a noun — like *wiw'su* ‘children’ — require the use of a plural determiner (although a plural determiner can be used with such nouns, as in 245c). This optionality of plural-marking indicates that, rather than being strictly inflectional, plural-marking of determiners is quasi-inflectional (Mel'čuk 1993-2000, 2006). Note also that there are no feminine plural forms of the determiners and, as seen in (245b), when a collective of females is referred to, gender is neutralized.

2.5 Adverbs and other predicate-modifiers

2.5.1 Lexical adverbs and adverbial particles

Another small lexical class is the class of adverbs. These are words whose primary syntactic function is as the modifier of the head of a predicate phrase, and they can be subdivided into two

types — lexical adverbs and adverbial particles. Lexical adverbs are potentially predicative words and may appear in a variety of other syntactic roles, whereas adverbial particles function exclusively as predicate modifiers. Adverbs are also distinguishable from adverbial particles in that many of the former take (primarily verbal) derivational affixes and undergo reduplication, whereas adverbial particles are more or less inert morphologically-speaking. In their role as predicate-modifiers, however, both types of word show the same set of syntactic behaviours and form a fairly obvious lexical class.

A list of lexical adverbs is given in Table 59:

<i>bək'w</i> ‘all, completely’	<i>hik'w</i> ‘big, very’
<i>cətul'</i> ‘previously’	<i>hiqab</i> ‘too much’
<i>cuk'w</i> ‘only’ (Sk)	<i>λ'al'</i> ‘also’
<i>day'</i> ‘only, especially’ (Sn., SL)	<i>λ'ub</i> ‘well’
<i>dit</i> ‘just that one; FOCALIZER’	<i>tuχ'w</i> ‘just, merely’
<i>gʷəhaw'ə</i> ‘apparently’	<i>xʷtub</i> ‘in fact’
<i>ha?k'w</i> ‘long time’	<i>xʷi?</i> ‘no, not’
<i>ha?l</i> ‘good’	<i>xʷu?la?</i> ‘maybe’
<i>həla?b/la?b</i> ‘really, a lot; truly’	<i>yəhaw'/yaw'</i> ‘only if; not until’

Table 59: Lexical adverbs

As noted above, most of the words in Table 59 take at least some of the derivational affixes particular to verbs.

<i>√bək'w</i> ‘all, completely’	<i>bək'wdxw</i> ‘manage to get all of ⊗’
	<i>bək'wil</i> ‘get used up, be done exhaustively’
	<i>bək'wıldxw</i> ‘consume of all of ⊗’
<i>√cuk'w</i> ‘only’	<i>cuk'wxw</i> ‘just allow ⊗’
	<i>cug'at</i> ‘be the last ⊗’
<i>√dił</i> ‘just that one; FOCALIZER’	<i>?asdiłg'as</i> ‘be the same way’
<i>√gʷəhaw'ə</i> ‘apparently’	<i>gʷəhaw'ad</i> ‘blurt out ⊗’
<i>√ha?l</i> ‘good’	<i>ha?łəb</i> ‘be nice [weather]’
	<i>ha?lid</i> ‘make ⊗ good’
	<i>ha?til</i> ‘become good’
<i>√hik'w</i> ‘big’	<i>hik'wxw</i> ‘respect ⊗’
	<i>hig'əd</i> ‘uphold ⊗, support ⊗’
	<i>hig'wil</i> ‘become noble’
	<i>hig'wild</i> ‘make ⊗ bigger’
<i>√hiqab</i> ‘too much’	<i>hiqabil</i> ‘become too much’
<i>√λ'al'</i> ‘also’	<i>λ'alyib</i> ‘add ⊗’
<i>√λ'ub</i> ‘good, well’	<i>λ'ubad</i> ‘agree to ⊗’
	<i>λ'ubil</i> ‘get better’
	<i>λ'ubildxw</i> ‘manage to improve ⊗’
	<i>λ'ubtxw</i> ‘have ⊗ fixed’

$\sqrt{x^w i^?}$ 'no, not'	$x^w \partial t$ 'run out of \otimes '
	$x^w i^? \partial d$ 'refuse \otimes '
	$x^w i^? il$ 'become non-existent'
	$x^w i^? tx^w$ 'refuse to allow \otimes '
$\sqrt{y \partial haw}$ 'only if; not until'	$y \partial haw' tx^w$ 'go a head with \otimes '

Table 60: Verbs derived from lexical adverbs

The adverbs that do not seem to be attested as parts of derived forms are: *cə̄lul* 'previously', *day* 'only, especially', *ha?k^w* 'long time', *həla?b/la?b* 'really, a lot', *tu᷑^w* 'unexpectedly', *xʷlub* 'in fact', and *xʷu?ələ?* 'maybe'. In spite of not all having the derivational possibilities of verbs, all of the words in Table 59 can potentially function (where semantically appropriate) in either of the principal syntactic roles of lexical adverbs — predicate-modifier and clausal predicate.

When used as predicate-modifiers, lexical adverbs generally appear pre-verbally, as the first element in the clause, as in (246):

- (246) a. ha?k^w ḥ'uyabuk^w
 ha?k^w ḥ'u=yabuk^w
 long.time HAB=fight
 'they had been fighting for a long time'

(Hess 2006: 75, line 786)

- b. ?u^r, tu᷑^w čə̄l ?əsq'ʷu?
 ?u tu᷑^w čə̄l ?əs-q'ʷu?
 INTJ just 1PL.SUB STAT-gathered
 'oh, we have just gathered here'

(Hess 1995: 147, line 7)

- c. xʷu?ələ? ḥ'ub čəd bəqadadid ?ə ti?ił səsq'ʷəlbs čəda gʷə=?əłəd
 xʷu?ələ? ḥ'ub čəd bə=qada-di-d ?ə ti?ił s=?əs-q'ʷəl-b=s
 maybe well 1SG.SUB ADD-steal-SS-ICS PR DIST NM=STAT-cooked-MD=3PO

 čəda gʷə=?əłəd
 1SG.COORD SBJ=feed.on
 'I guess I ought to steal what he is roasting and eat it'

(Hess 1998: 67, line 45)

As shown in (246b) and (c), lexical adverbs attract matrix subject-markers and other sentence-second particles (Sections 8.1.1 and 2.5.2, respectively). It is also possible to have more than a single adverb in a clause (246c), their relative order — and their relative order with respect to sentence-second particles — being determined by emphasis and stylistic considerations.

Although by far the most common position for lexical adverbs is pre-verbal, there are at least a few instances where an adverb follows the verb:

- (247) tubałatəbəx^w x^wu?ələ? ?ə ti?ə? ?aciłtalbix^w
 tu=bala-t-əb=əx^w x^wu?ələ? ?ə ti?ə? ?aciłtalbix^w
 PAST=shaman.cure-ICS-PASS=now maybe PR PROX person
 ‘perhaps the people treated her by shaman-curing’
 (Hess 2006: 21, line 225)

This variation is probably stylistic, but the issue deserves further investigation.

Lexical adverbs can also function as the heads of predicate phrases:

- (248) a. hik^w ti?ə? ?al?als
 hik^w ti?ə? ?al?al-s
 big PROX house-3PO
 ‘his house was really big’
 [MS Basket Ogress, line 26]
- b. Ł'uhə?k^w k^wi Ł'usg^wəšbads
 Ł'u=ha?k^w k^wi Ł'u=s=g^wəšbad=s
 HAB=long.time REM REM=NM=disappear=3PO
 ‘for a long time he would disappear’ (lit. ‘his disappearance would be a long time’)
 (Hess 2006: 56, line 350)

However, even when used in this role, adverbs are not inflected for aspect, and in this respect they pattern with non-verbal predicates (see Section 8.3 below).⁸³

Adverbs used as predicate heads can also be modified by other adverbs or predicate particles (Section 2.5.3), as in (249):

⁸³ There is one exception to this generalization in the corpus used for this grammar:

- (i) ?əsŁ'ub Łuhəli?
 ?əs-Ł'ub Łu=həli?
 STAT-well IRR=alive
 ‘let it be alive!’
 (Hess 2006: 48, line 159)

This sentence is also unusual in that imperative/exhortative expressions are generally not marked for aspect any more than adverbs are. It may be that this is an idiomatic expression or lexicalization of Ł'ub with the stative prefix, or that Ł'ub when used in this sense has taken on some of the inflectional properties of a verb.

- (249) a. day'əxʷ ha?ɬ ti?ə? səsqʷəlb ?ə ti?acəc bəščəb
 day'=əxʷ ha?ɬ ti?ə? s=?əs-qʷəl-b ?ə ti?acəc bəščəb
 only=now good PROX NM=STAT-cooked-MD PR UNQ mink
 ‘what this Mink is roasting [is] really good’

(Hess 1998: 66, line 42)

- b. diɬiɬ əw'ə ti?ə? sa? luɬ'
 diɬ-iɬ əw'ə ti?ə? sa? luɬ'
 INTNS-just.that.one PTCL PROX bad old
 ‘that very bad old man is the one’

(Hess 2006: 31, line 233)

In (249a), the modifying adverb *day'* precedes the adverb *ha?ɬ* acting as the clausal predicate, while in (249b) the predicate particle *əw'ə* follows the (reduplicated) adverbial sentence predicate *diɬiɬ*.

Meaning permitting, adverbs can also modify nouns, as in (250):

- (250) a. ?əsɬat̪hil kʷsi bšč'ad ?al tə hikʷ ?al?al
 ?əs-ɬat̪hil kʷsi bšč'ad ?al tə hikʷ ?al?al
 STAT-live REM:FEM louse at NSPEC big house
 ‘Louse lives in a big house’

[EK Lady Louse, line 1]

- b. tuɬʷ huy hikʷhikʷ ha?ɬ s?uləx̥ stabigʷs ...
 tuɬʷ huy hikʷ-hikʷ ha?ɬ s=?uləx̥ stabigʷs
 just SCONJ DSTR-big good NM=gathered possession
 ‘there were lots of good possessions to be gathered’

(Hess 2006: 60, line 437)

In this way, adverbs parallel verbs (see Sections 7.3 and 7.3). However, unlike verbs acting as modifiers (as, for example, the *s*=nominal *s?uləx̥* ‘gathering’ in 250b), adverbs used in this way tend not to follow the modified element, whereas verbs can either precede or follow their modicum. Not unexpectedly, verbs used as modifiers can in turn be modified by adverbs:

- (251) huy qa, hikʷ qa biac ti?iɬ kʷagʷičəd
 huy qa hikʷ qa biac ti?iɬ kʷagʷičəd
 SCONJ much big much meat DIST elk
 ‘well, it was a lot, this elk was really a lot of meat’

(Hess 1998: 84, line 183)

In this example, the adverb *hikʷ* ‘big’ modifies the verbal radical *qa* ‘be a lot’, which itself modifies the noun *biac* ‘meat’. Just as verbs can not be used to modify other verbs, verbs can not serve as modifiers of modifiers in constructions like that in (251).

The second sub-type of adverb is the adverbial particle. Adverbial particles differ from lexical adverbs in two main respects. The first is that they can not function as the head of a predicate phrase. The second is that they are morphosyntactically “inert” in the sense that they are not inflected at the lexical or the phrasal level and do not undergo any kind of derivation. On both counts, these words fit comfortably into the traditional category of particle. A list of adverbial particles is given in Table 61:

<i>cickʷ</i> ‘very’ (NL)	<i>lil</i> ‘much, much more’
<i>cay</i> ‘very’ (SL)	<i>put</i> ‘very much, greatly’
<i>ckʷaqid</i> ‘always’	<i>tilb</i> ‘immediately’
<i>daʔxʷ/daw</i> ‘just now’	<i>χəł ti</i> ‘as though, like’
<i>dəxʷ</i> ‘??’	<i>χʷul</i> ‘just, only’
<i>gʷaʔxʷ</i> ‘eventually, soon’	

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Comment: syntax of XElh ti might be worth a mention

Table 61: Adverbial particles

While most of these particles are frequent in the current analyzed textual corpus, the particle *dəxʷ* is attested only in a single narrative from a Duwamish story-teller; its meaning is unknown. The item *lil* in the table is a lexicalized use of the verb *lil* ‘be far’ which appears to be particular to comparative constructions (Section 8.8), where it takes on a meaning as an intensifier of the quality being compared:

- (252) *lil čəxʷ ?iłqʷiqʷ tul?*al ?əca
 lil čəxʷ ?ił-qʷiqʷ tul?-al ?əca
 more 2SG.SUB PRTV-strong CNTRFG-at I
 ‘you are a lot stronger than I’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 137)

While the metaphor is clear, this use of *lil* is hardly transparent, and so merits treatment as a separate lexical item belonging to a separate part of speech.

huy gʷəl λ'uflop ḥəł tihəxʷ

huy gʷəl λ'u=flop ḥəł ti=həxʷ^w
SCONJ SCONJ HAB=flop seemingly=now

‘And then it would sort of flop.’

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In terms of their distribution, adverbial particles appear exclusively as modifiers of the heads of predicate phrases, as in (253):

- (253) a. tiləb ?uhaydxʷ ?uləkʷtəb ti?ił ?al?alš ?ə tsi sxʷiyukʷ^w
tiləb ?u-haydxʷ ?u-ləkʷ-t-əb ti?ił ?al?-alš-s
immediately PFV-know PFV-eaten-ICS-PASS DIST DSTR-cross.sex.sibling-3PO
- ?ə tsi sxʷiyukʷ^w
PR SPEC:FEM ogress
‘right away he realized that his siblings were being eaten by the Basket Ogress’
[JS Basket Ogress, line 19]
- b. put ?əslu?lu? ti?ə? ḥʷubt
put ?əs-lu?-lu? ti?ə? ḥʷubt
greatly STAT-DSTR-have.holes PROX paddle
‘the paddle was really full of holes’
[AJ Basket Ogress, line 69]

Like lexical adverbs, adverbial particles are pre-verbal and attract sentence-second particles (Section 2.5.2), including the matrix subject-markers (Section 8.1.1), as in (254):

- (254) a. cickʷ čəd ?əxʷ?učʷəb
cickʷ čəd ?əs-dxʷ-?učʷ-əb
very 1SG.SUB STAT-CTD-go-DSD
‘I very much want to go’
(Hess 1995: 90, ex. 21)
- b. ckʷaqid sixʷ ḥʷul' ?u?əłəd ti?ə? qaw'qs
ckʷaqid sixʷ ḥʷul' ?u?-əłəd ti?ə? qaw'qs
always PTCL only PFV-feed.on PROX raven
‘Raven is always just eating’
(Hess 1995: 90, ex. 24)

As seen in the second example, sequences of adverbial particles can occur, in which case all appear before the verb and their relative ordering is determined by emphasis and stylistic considerations. Adverbial particles can also co-occur with lexical adverbs, as in (255):

- (255) a. cickʷ həla?b ?əsqad ti?iɬ stiqiw
 cickʷ həla?b ?əs-qad ti?iɬ stiqiw
 very really STAT-fast DIST horse
 ‘that horse is really very fast’

(Hess 1995: 90, ex. 15)

- b. ƛ'ubəxʷ čəxʷ ḥʷul'əxʷ ɬubəščəb
 ƛ'ub=əxʷ čəxʷ ḥʷul'=əxʷ ɬu=bəščəb
 well=now 2SG.SUB only=now IRR=mink
 ‘it is better that you just become a mink’

(Hess 1998: 69, line 122)

In these cases, the relative ordering of the lexical adverb and the adverbial particle is free, depending once again on style and emphasis. Adverbial particles can also be used to modify lexical adverbs when these function as predicate heads:

- (256) put hikʷ ti?ə? k'tu?–s
 put hikʷ ti?ə? k'tu?–s
 really big PROX belly–3PO
 ‘his belly was really big’

[MW Star Child, line 49]

The adverbial particle in such sentences is clause-initial, preceding the adverbial predicate.

2.5.2 Locative adverbs

In addition to the lexical adverbs discussed in Section 2.5.1, Lushootseed has a small, separate class of locative adverbs. Several of these are given in Table 62.⁸⁴

?a ‘there’	gʷəd ‘down’
?aɬəd ‘downstream’	lil ‘far’
?ilgʷiɬ ‘ashore, at the shoreline’	q'ixʷ ‘upstream’
čaɬkʷ ‘seaward’	šq ‘high, up in the air’
čad ‘where?’	t'aq't ‘inland, landward’
č'ił ‘nearby’	

Table 62: Locative adverbs

Of these words, ?a ‘there’ is a specialized use of the verb ?a ‘be there’. The words in Table 62 include terms for marine and riverine orientation (the Salishan equivalent of North-South

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Comment: what about di? ‘other side’?

⁸⁴ Because the identification of words of this class depends crucially on their attestation in a particular syntactic environment (post-predicate position — see below), it is not possible to be certain that this list is exhaustive, or whether there are other words that also belong to this class but are simply not attested in post-predicate position in the present corpus.

cardinal directions in European languages), terms for ‘nearby’/‘far’ and ‘up’/‘down’, and the locative interrogative word *čad* ‘where?’ (Section 2.6.4). The primary characteristic of words of this class that distinguishes them from other parts of speech and from other adverbs is their ability to function as post-predicate (rather than pre-predicate) modifiers of verbs, as in (257):

- (257) a. *λ'upəd^wat^uł əlg^wə?* ča?k^w, ti?ił ?alalš
λ'u=pəd^wat^uł əlg^wə? ča?k^w ti?ił ?al-alš-s
 HAB=duck.hunt PL seaward DIST DSTR=cross.sex.sibling-3PO
 ‘they would be out duck-hunting on the sea, her brothers’
 (Hess, 2006: 17, line 131)
- b. *g^wəl ləčadzil t'aq'təx^w*
g^wəl lə=čadz-il t'aq't=əx^w
 SCONJ PROG=be.hidden-INCH landward=now
 ‘and they are hiding up inland’
 (Hess, 2006: 54, line 288)
- c. *saq^w dx^wšəq ti?ił c'iħc'iħ*
saq^w dx^w-šəq ti?ił c'iħc'iħ
 fly CNTRPT-high DIST fish.hawk
 ‘Fish Hawk flies up high’
 (Hess, 1995: 151, line 11)
- d. *?u?uħ^wtx^w čəd dx^wlil*
?u-uħ^w-tx^w čəd dx^w-lil
 PFV-go-ECS 1SG.SUB CNTRPT-far
 ‘I took it a ways off’
 (Bates, 1994: 138)

Occasionally, clauses may contain more than one locative adverb:

- (258) *?əsħaħħil lil ča?k^w ?al ti?ə?* hik^w ħ^wəlč
?əs-ħaħħil lil ča?k^w ?al ti?ə? hik^w ħ^wəlč
 STAT-live far seaward PR PROX big sea
 ‘she dwelled way out in the great sea’
 (Bierwert 1996: 183, line 44)

Although locative adverbs follow the verb that they modify, their ordering with respect to other elements in the clause is flexible. Compare the position of the adverb relative to the subject NP in (257c) and (259a), and the position of the adverb relative to the plural marker *əlg^wə?* in (257a) and (259b):

- (259) a. tulə?ibəš ti?it bəščəb lił?ilgʷit
 tu=lə=?ibəš ti?it bəščəb lił=?ilgʷit
 PAST=PROG=travel DIST mink PRLTV=ashore
 ‘Mink was traveling along the shore’

(Hess 1995: 82)

- b. tu?učʷtub dxʷšəq əlgʷə?
 tu=?učʷ-txʷ-b dxʷ-šəq əlgʷə?
 PAST=go-ECS-PASS CNTRPT-high PL
 ‘they were taken up’

[DS Star Child, line 20]

In addition, one of the locative adverbs is attested in some examples in sentence-initial position:

- (260) a. lil čəxʷ ?iłqʷiqʷw tul'ʔal ?əca
 lil čəxʷ ?ił-qʷiqʷw tul'ʔal ?əca
 far 2SG.SUB PRTV-strong CNTRFG-at I
 ‘you are stronger than I’

- b. lil čəxʷ ?iłsadzəp tul'ʔal ?əca
 lil čəxʷ ?ił-s-hadzəp tul'ʔal ?əca
 far 2SG.SUB PRTV-NP-long•bottom CNTRFG-at I
 ‘you are taller than I’

(Bates, 1994: 137)

Both of these sentences, however, are comparative constructions and the adverb *lil* does not have its literal meaning of ‘far’ (i.e., ‘greater distance’), but instead has a more metaphorical, intensifying meaning (‘greater in quality X’). Outside of this type of fixed expression, *lil* patterns with the other locative adverbs.

Like lexical adverbs, locative adverbs are also potential clausal predicates:

- (261) a. ča?kʷ kʷi šuł'
 ča?kʷ kʷi šuł'
 seaward REM ebb.tide
 ‘the tide is out’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 122]

- b. dxʷ?ałčad kʷədi? s?učʷs
 dxʷ-?ałčad kʷədi? s=?učʷ=s
 CNTRPT-downstream REM.DMA NM=go=3PO
 ‘he moves downstream’ (lit. ‘his going yonder [is] towards downstream’)

(Hess 2006: 36, line 364)

- c. tul'q'ix^w ti?i^ł sa?sa?
 tul'-q'ix^w ti?i^ł sa?-sa?
 CNTRFG-upstream DIST DSTR-bad
 'it is bad upstream' (lit. 'that which [are] bad [are] from upstream')
 [ML Basket Ogress, line 208]

Locative adverbs are also found in predicate position in subordinate clauses:

- (262) a. t̄us?əłəd čəx^w ?ə kʷi č'itəx^w ?aciłtalbix^w
 t̄u=s?əłəd čəx^w ?ə kʷi č'it=əx^w ?aciłtalbix^w
 IRR=food 2SG.SUB PR REM nearby=now people
 'you will be food for the people who are nearby'
 [ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 246]

- b. ?a kʷi s?iłča?kʷs
 ?a kʷi s=?ił-ča?kʷ=s
 be.there REM NM=PRTV-seaward=3PO
 'and there he was down by the water'
 (Hess 1998: 65, line 17)

- c. ?əxidəx^w tə xʷi? ləha?ɬ? ?udxʷluqʷwucutigʷəd kʷi dəxʷč'its kʷi bəsucucuts
 ?əxid=əx^w tə xʷi? lə-ha?ɬ? ?u-dxʷ-luqʷwucut•igʷəd kʷi
 what.happen=now NSPEC NEG NEGP=good PFV-CTD-make.sound•body REM
 dəxʷ=č'it=s kʷi bə=s=?u-cut-cut=s
 ADNM=nearby=3PO REM ADD=NM=PFV-DSTR-say=3PO
 'why is that no-good one making noises in his body [as] he draws near speaking over
 and over?'
 [ML Mink and Tutyika II, line 32]

- d. šušłbitəbəx^w ti?i^ł t̄u=?alxadəs
 šu-šł-bi-t-əb=əx^w ti?i^ł t̄u=?alxad=əs
 ATTN-see-MAP-ICS-PASS=now DIST IRR=downstream=3SBJ
 'he is watched for as he comes downstream'
 [MW Star Child, line 80]

As shown in these examples, locative adverbs can be the predicates of relative clauses (262a), of both types of nominalized clauses (262b) and (c), and of subordinate subjunctive clauses (262d).

Another property that locative adverbs share with lexical adverbs is the potential to take verbal derivational affixes; however, several of the locative adverbs seem to do so much more prolifically, having a derivational potential much more akin to that of verbal radicals:

<i>✓ča?kʷ</i> ‘seaward’	<i>čagʷəb</i> ‘be at sea’ <i>čagʷəd</i> ‘take \otimes out to sea’ <i>čagʷil</i> ‘get out to sea’ <i>ča?kʷdxʷ</i> ‘manage to get \otimes to sea’ <i>ča?kʷtxʷ</i> ‘take \otimes out to sea’ <i>dxʷča?kʷtxʷ</i> ‘take \otimes seaward’ <i>č'itcut</i> ‘come close, approach’ <i>č'itil</i> ‘draw near’ <i>č'itis</i> ‘approach \otimes ’
<i>✓č'it</i> ‘nearby’	<i>č'itl</i> ‘move away’ <i>lild</i> ‘draw away from \otimes ’ <i>lis</i> ‘go over to \otimes ’
<i>✓lil</i> ‘far’	<i>šaqad</i> ‘move \otimes up high’ <i>šaqlašadəb</i> ‘raise arms’ <i>šqil</i> ‘rise up’
<i>✓šq</i> ‘high’	<i>gʷədil</i> ‘sit down’ <i>gʷədiltxʷ</i> ‘sit \otimes down’ <i>gʷəditul</i> ‘go there to sit down’ <i>gʷədis</i> ‘sit down next to \otimes ’
<i>✓t'aq't</i> ‘inland, landward’	<i>dxʷt'aq'tcut</i> ‘take oneself to higher ground’ <i>dxʷt'aq'txʷ</i> ‘take \otimes ashore’

Table 63: Verb stems derived from locative adverbs

Also like verbs, locative adverbs can take aspectual inflection when used as predicates:

- (263) a. *gʷəl ?uča?kʷ tsi sxʷiyukʷw*

gʷəl *?u-ča?kʷ* *tsi* *sxʷiyukʷw*
SCONJ PFV-seaward SPEC:FEM Basket.Ogress
'and the Basket Ogress came down to shore [from inland]'

[JS Basket Ogress, line 31]

- b. *lədxʷq'ixʷ čəd*

lə=dxʷ-q'ixʷ *čəd*
PROG=CNTRPT-upstream 1SG.SUB
'I'm going upstream'

(Bates, 1994: 187)

The most frequent aspect-marker found with locative adverbial predicates is the progressive, although — as shown in (263a) — others are possible.

Another characteristic of the locative adverbs that sets them apart from verbs and from other adverbs is their appearance as the bare complements of PPs such as those in (264):

- (264) a. *?up'ayəq ?al kʷədi? t'aq't*

?u-p'ayəq *?al* *kʷədi?* *t'aq't*
PFV-carve.canoe at REM.DMA inland
'he was carving a canoe up on shore'

[ML Mink and Tutyika II, line 62]

- b. tuwtob k^wəł ?ə tul?əłxad k^wi tudsq^a
 tu=liq^w-t-əb k^wəł ?ə tul'-əłxad k^wi
 PAST=hooked-ICS-PASS PTCL PR CNTRFG-downstream REM
 tu=d-sqa
 PAST=1SG.PO-older.sibling
 'my older brother was kidnapped [and taken] downstream'

[DS Star Child, line 210]

- c. ɬ'ubəx^w čəx^w ɬ'ul'əx^w ɬubəščəb, ɬup'ał'ał', ɬusduk^w ɬu=?al tudi? ča?k^w
 ɬ'ub=əx^w čəx^w ɬ'ul'=əx^w ɬu=bəščəb ɬu=p'ał'ał' ɬu=sduk^w
 well=now 2SG.SUB just=now IRR=mink IRR=worthless IRR=riff.raff
 ɬu=?al tudi? ča?k^w
 IRR=PR DIST.DMA seaward
 'you should be just a mink, a no-account, riff-raff down there by the water'

(Hess 1998: 69, line 122)

This sort of distribution is unusual in that, like verbs, other types of adverbs in this position are either nominalized or have readings as headless subject-centred relative clauses. A reading as a headless relative clause is precisely what is found when locative adverbs head embedded clauses acting as arguments. Compare (264c) and the sentence in (265):

- (265) ?əx^wčəg^wasəb k^wəł ti?ə? ?uča?k^w
 ?əs-dx^w-čəg^was-əb k^wəł ti?ə? ?u-ča?k^w
 STAT-CTD-wife-DSD PTCL PROX PFV-seaward
 'this one who came down to the coast, it seems, wants a wife'

(Hess 1998: 97, line 180)

Thus, it seems that the retention of the adverbial reading for locative adverbs used as complements is particular to PPs and does not apply to the argument position of verbs.

When used as the complements of prepositions, verbs and adverbs also require either a determiner or are introduced by a demonstrative adverbial. Locative adverbs in PPs are more often than not introduced by a demonstrative adverbial as well (cf. 264a and c), but can also appear on their own (264b). Only one of the locative adverbials, *?ilg^wit* 'ashore', is occasionally attested with an adverbial reading as the complement of a preposition introduced by a determiner:

- (266) qaha l̥eu?ukʷukʷ ?al ti?ə? ?ilgʷit̥ ?ə ti?ə? stuləkʷ
 qa-ha l̥eu-?ukʷukʷ ?al ti?ə? ?ilgʷit̥ ?ə ti?ə? stuləkʷ
 INTNS-many CONT-play at PROX ashore PR PROX river
 ‘many were playing by the shore of the river’

[DM Basket Ogress, line 10]

In these cases, however, the interpretation of *?ilgʷit̥* is actually that of a noun, ‘shore’, rather than a locative adverb and examples like (266) probably represent the elision of the nominalizing prefix *s-* from the form *s?ilgʷit̥* ‘shore’, making the phrase *ti?ə? ?ilgʷit̥ ?ə ti?ə? stuləkʷ* ‘the shore of the river’ an ordinary NP.

Although the locative adverbs are essentially static in meaning, designating a region in which their modicand is located, they are very frequently found compounded with the directional particles (Section 2.7.2), *dxʷ* ‘centripetal’, *tul'* ‘centrifugal’, and *lił* ‘prolative’ to form more dynamic expressions:

- (267) a. t̥ikʷit̥ob dxʷ?alx̥ad
 t̥ikʷi-t̥-ob dxʷ-?alx̥ad
 hooked-ICS-PASS CNTRPT-downstream
 ‘he was taken by force downstream’

[DS Star Child, line 133]

- b. tułikʷt̥ob ?ə kʷi tul' ?alx̥ad s̥łəładəy?
 tu=t̥ikʷ-w-t̥-ob ?ə kʷi tul' -?alx̥ad s̥łəładəy?
 PAST=hooked-ICS-PASS PR REM CNTRFG-downstream PL-woman
 ‘he was taken by force by some women from downstream’

[DS Star Child, line 203]

- c. gʷəł ḥ'ubəliłča?kʷ kʷi sə?ibəš lił?ilgʷit̥
 gʷəł ḥ'u=bə=lił-ča?kʷ kʷi s=łə=?ibəš=s lił?-ilgʷit̥
 SCONJ HAB=ADD=PRLTV-seaward REM PRLTV-ashore
 NM=PROG=travel=3PO
 ‘and he would be down by the sea again traveling along the shore’

(Hess 1998: 67, line 55)

The effect of combining the directional particle and the locative adverb is one of creating an adverbial expression of atelic motion in a particular direction or (in the case of the prolate) through a region. Several of these compound locative adverbs can be grouped into near-synonymous pairs which in turn correspond to certain verbs of motion:

dxʷča?kʷ ‘towards seaward’ *tul'yaq't* ‘from inland’ *kʷit̥* ‘go down to the sea’

<i>dxʷt'aq't</i> 'towards inland'	<i>tul'čaʔkʷ</i> 'from seaward'	<i>čubə</i> 'go inland'
<i>dxʷ?atɬad</i> 'towards downstream'	<i>tul'q'ix</i> 'from upstream'	<i>qʷic</i> 'go downstream'
<i>dxʷq'ix</i> 'towards upstream'	<i>tul'?atɬad</i> 'from downstream'	<i>tayil</i> 'go upstream'

Table 64: Compound locative adverbs and related motion verbs

Within these triads, the verbs are typically more specific than the adverbs in that they imply either a point of origin and/or a specific type of travel. For the two sets of marine terms, the verbs *kʷit* 'go down to the sea' and *čubə* 'go inland' contrast with the adverbs in that, in addition to direction of motion, they specify either an endpoint or a point of origin as well as the notion of traveling on land, whereas the adverbs are more general. Consider the diagram in Figure 3:

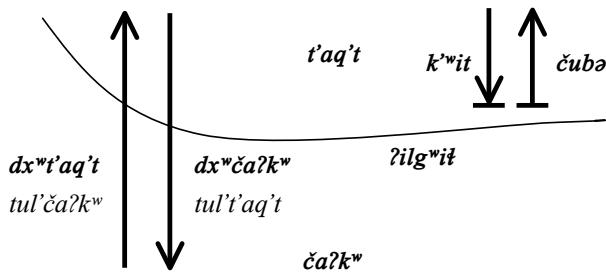


Figure 3: Expressions for marine orientation

As shown here, the verb *kʷit* expresses motion beginning at some indefinite point inland and terminating at the shoreline, whereas the adverbs *dxʷčaʔkʷ* and *tul't'aq't* apply to any movement in a direction from away from inland towards the sea or out to sea, irrespective of where that movement begins or ends. Similarly, *čubə* expresses atelic motion beginning at the shoreline, while the adverbs *dxʷt'aq't* and *tul'čaʔkʷ* are applicable to any movement away from the sea directed towards land or farther inland. The static terms *t'aq't* and *čaʔkʷ* express the two cardinal directions 'inland' and 'seaward', respectively, and *?ilgʷit* is used as a locative expression indicating location on or near the seashore.

In the case of the two sets of riverine terms, the situation is slightly different. In these cases, the verbs are also more specific than the adverbs; however, with the riverine terms, the verbs do

not specify a point of origin, but only that the travel took place on the river. The adverbs, on the other hand, specify only the direction of travel, which could have taken place on the river or along the shore. This is illustrated in Figure 4:

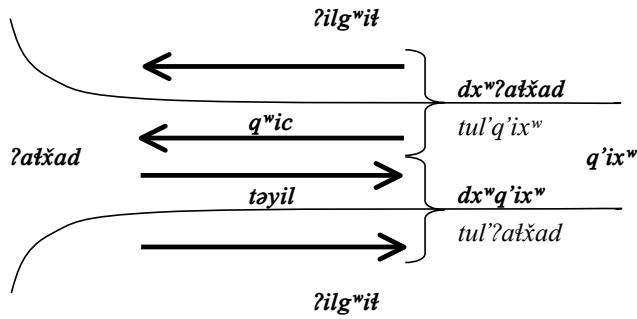


Figure 4: Expressions for riverine orientation

It should be noted that the term *?ilgʷit* ‘shore’ is equally applicable to the sea shore and to the river bank (see, for example, the sentence in 266 above).

2.5.3 Predicate particles

Like many other Northwest Coast languages, Lushootseed has a number of elements that appear obligatorily in sentence-second position. While some of these (like the subjunctive subject markers — Section 8.1.1), are bound enclitics that become phonologically dependent on the first word of the clause in which they appear, others are phonologically more independent elements which occur as the second word in a clause.⁸⁵ These particles include matrix-clause subject markers (see Table 79 in Section 8.1.1 below) and a small class of predicate particles:

- ?u ‘interrogative’
- dəɬ ‘seemingly’
- əwə ‘so!?’ (mirative)
- kʷaʔ ‘probably’
- kʷəɬ ‘it is said’ (quotative)
- sixʷ ‘again, as usual’ (exasperation)

⁸⁵ In strictly phonological terms, these particles are also clitics in the sense of being unstressed, phonologically dependent elements; however, unlike enclitics, sentence-second particles can attach themselves either to the preceding or to the following word, depending on prosodic context and other factors. See Beck (1999) for further discussion.

Table 65: Predicate particles

As sentence-second elements, predicate particles follow the sentence predicate when this is the first element in a clause; if the predicate is modified by an adverb or some other element or elements, the predicate particle generally appears immediately following the first of these modifying elements:

- (268) a. ?əsχəɬ d̥əɬ tsi?ə? k'ɑ?k'ɑ?
 ?əs-χəɬ d̥əɬ tsi?ə? k'ɑ?k'ɑ?
 STAT-sick PTCL PROX:FEM crow
 ‘Crow must be sick’

(Hess 1995: 88, ex. 3)

- b. yaw' d̥əɬ bəlɪtč'it kʷi sədxʷluqʷucutigʷəds čxʷəlu?
 yaw' d̥əɬ bə=li=tč'it kʷi s=lə=dxʷluqʷucutigʷəd=s čxʷəlu?
 until PTCL ADD=PRLV-be.near REM NM=PROG=sound.in.body=3PO whale
 ‘as he drew ever closer Whale must have been making sounds in his body’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 24]

In both of the sentences in (268), the predicate particle *d̥əɬ* ‘seemingly’ appears in sentence-second position, in (268a) following the verbal sentence predicate and in (268b) following a sentence-initial adverb, *yaw'* ‘until’. When there is more than one adverb in a sentence, the most frequent pattern is for the predicate particles to follow the first adverb:

- (269) a. day'əxʷ d̥əɬ higʷəxʷ ?ukʷəɬkʷłatəb ti tudqʷu?
 day'=əxʷ d̥əɬ higʷ=əxʷ ?u=kʷəɬ-kʷła-t-əb ti tu=d-qʷu?
 only=now PTCL big=now PFV-DSTR-spilled-ICS-PASS SPEC PAST=1SG.PO-water
 ‘indeed, he must have spilled all my water’

(Hess 1995: 90, ex. 23)

- b. ḥ'ub čəɬ ?u ḥ'ul' ḥut'ukʷ^w
 ḥ'ub čəɬ ?u ḥ'ul' ḥu=t'ukʷ^w
 well 1PL.SUB INT only IRR=go.home
 ‘should we just go home?’

(Hess 1995: 90, ex. 22)

Although the order in (269) is the most common, it is also possible for the predicate particle to be placed following a non-initial adverb, as are the particles *əw'ə* ‘so!’ in (270a) and *six^w* ‘again, as usual’ in (270b):⁸⁶

- (270) a. cick^w k^w-əł x^wu?əłə? həla?b əw'ə ?əs-ħəł tsi?ə? k'a?k'a?
 cick^w k^w-əł x^wu?əłə? həla?b əw'ə ?əs-ħəł tsi?ə? k'a?k'a?
 again QTV supposedly extremely PTCL STAT-sick PROX:FEM crow
 ‘so I guess they say that Crow is really very sick’

(Hess 1995: 91, ex. 25)

- b. cick^w x^wu?əłə? six^w həla?b ?əstag^w=əx^w ti?ə? qaw'qs
 cick^w x^wu?əłə? six^w həla?b ?əstag^w=əx^w ti?ə? qaw'qs
 again maybe PTCL extremely STAT-hungry=now PROX raven
 ‘I guess Raven is really very hungry again’

(Hess 1995: 91, ex. 26)

In general terms, the placement of the particles in sentences like those in (270) seems to be related to the meaning of the sentence, in particular the semantic scope of the predicate particle: specifically, when the particle is primarily a modifier of the sentence predicate, it occurs in sentence-second position, and when it is a modifier of a particular adverb it follows that element. The distinctions between different placements of predicate particles, however, are extremely subtle and difficult to unravel based on English translations, even when using contextualized examples from texts, and so any broader generalizations that might be made on the issue would be largely speculative.

It is also possible for more than one predicate particle to appear in sequence in the same clause:

- (271) a. ?əs-ħəł u?x^w čəx^w ?u
 ?əs-ħəł u?x^w čəx^w ?u
 STAT-sick PTCL 2SG.SUB INT
 ‘are you still sick?’

⁸⁶ See also the sentence in (246) above, where the matrix subject-marker follows the second, rather than the first, adverb in the sentence (*contra* the usual case, in which the subject-marker follows the first adverb, sticking to strict sentence-second position). On the whole, however, the matrix subject-markers and the interrogative particle are much more strictly sentence-second than the other predicate particles and show significantly less variation of the type illustrated in (269).

- b. ?əshəli?tub u?x^w d^wč^w
 ?əs-həli?-tx^w-b u?x^w d^wč^w
 STAT-alive-ECS-PASS PTCL PTCL 2SG.SUB
 'you must still be kept alive'

(Hess 1995: 88, ex. 7–8)

- c. g^wč^w yaw' č^wk^wč^w? upig^wč^w č^wa t^whəli?
 g^wč^w yaw' č^wk^wč^w? u-pig^wč^w č^wa t^whəli?
 SCONJ if.only 2SG.SUB PTCL PFV-sing.power.song 2SG.COORD IRR=alive
 'and they say only if you put on a spirit-power ceremony will you recover'

(Hess 1998: 58, line 47)

- d. ?əsč^w k^wč^w əw'č^w d^wč^w? u six^w tsi k'a?k'a?
 ?əs-č^w k^wč^w əw'č^w d^wč^w? u six^w tsi k'a?k'a?
 STAT-sick PTCL PTCL INT PTCL SPEC:FEM crow
 'so does it seem that Crow is sick as usual as they say?'

(Hess 1995: 88, ex. 10)

In terms of the relative ordering of predicate particles, there is a great deal of permissible variation, although matrix-subject markers always precede the interrogative *?u* when these co-occur, and the particle *u?x^w* 'still' always precedes either or both of these, as in (271a). Both the matrix subject-markers and the interrogative particle are variably ordered with respect to the other predicate particles (cf. 271a versus b and c). Otherwise, the quotative particle *k'wč^w* tends to be the first in any sequence of particles and *six^w* 'again, as usual' tends to be last (271d); however, these are only tendencies and the relative ordering of the particles can be manipulated for emphatic and stylistic effect — as, for example, in (272), where *six^w* is the first particle in the string:

- (272) ?əsč^w six^w d^wč^w əw'č^w tsi?č^w? k'a?k'a?
 ?əs-č^w six^w d^wč^w əw'č^w tsi?č^w? k'a?k'a?
 STAT-sick PTCL PTCL PROX:FEM crow
 'it seems that Crow must be sick, *again*'

(Hess 1995: 88, ex. 9)

The rhetorical effect of this sentence, which drips sarcasm, is largely achieved by placing *six^w* immediately after the verb, ahead of all the other particles. As with the placement of predicate particles relative to adverbs, the nuances expressed by the different orderings of predicate particles are unlikely to be easily accessible through English glosses of sentences. Further insight

into the issue, if at all possible, will have to await more detailed stylistic and rhetorical analysis of texts and other forms of recorded discourse.

2.5.4 Demonstrative adverbials

Demonstrative adverbials form a class of words that have some of the properties of both demonstrative determiners (2.4) and lexical adverbs (Section 2.5.1). The complete set of these elements listed in the *Lushootseed Dictionary* is given in Table 66:

	PROX	DIST	REM	PROX:UNQ	DIST:UNQ
MASC	<i>di?a?</i>	<i>tudi?</i>	<i>kʷədi?</i>	<i>ti?a?*</i>	<i>ta?a</i>
	<i>diša? (SL)</i>	<i>tadi?</i>			
FEM	—	<i>tsudi?</i>	—	<i>tsi?a?*</i>	<i>tsa?a*</i>
				*unattested in the present corpus	

Table 66: Demonstrative adverbials

As can be seen in Table 66, demonstrative adverbials coincide with the specific determiners (Table 58) in terms of the semantic distinctions they express. Like the determiners, they encode three purely spatial categories — proximal, distal, and remote — and (in three cases) they make distinctions in natural gender between non-feminine/unmarked and feminine when used in lieu of determiners to introduce referential expressions (see 275 below) or as independent pronominals (278).⁸⁷ They also seem to mark the category of uniqueness encoded by the determiner *ti?acəc*, although unlike the determiners, the demonstrative adverbials combine this category with two degrees of spatial deixis. Unfortunately, of the four unique forms, only one — the distal unique *ta?a* — is attested in the present corpus: neither its feminine form nor either of the contrasting proximal forms, *ti?a?* and *tsi?a?*, has been found in any of the analyzed texts, although examples containing *ti?a?* are found in Hess & Hilbert (1976) (see example 678 in Section 8.8 below). Of the remaining forms in Table 66, the distal feminine *tsadi?* is unattested, *tsudi?* is attested once,

⁸⁷ Presumably, the feminine gender also applies in diminutive and affective contexts, as it does with deictic determiners, although there are no attestations of this usage in the corpus.

the proximal *di?**a*? and the distal *tadi?* have only four attestations each, and *ta?**a* has six attestations.⁸⁸ Only the remote *kʷədi?* and the distal form *tudi?* are at all frequent in the corpus. This makes it somewhat difficult to draw robust generalizations about the meanings and uses of the demonstrative adverbials, and suggests that the class of demonstrative adverbials is disintegrating as some of its members drop out of use and others acquire functions more typical of other lexical classes.

The basic, most consistent role of the demonstrative adverbials is that of lexical adverb, as shown in (273):

⁸⁸ All six of these are transcribed in the original sources as *ta*, a particle meaning (roughly) ‘just this one’; however, the environments in which they appear are not those expected for a predicate particle and on closer listening the form on tape is heard to be [ta?ə] in the five of six cases where the recording is available in accessible format. The sixth form, given in (277c), is judged also to be *ta?ə* based on meaning and syntactic environment

In each of the examples here, a demonstrative adverbial appears as a modifier of a verbal predicate, specifying a spatial location for an action or a state relative to the speaker or speech act. In (273a), the demonstrative adverb *tsudi?* precedes the verb, as expected for an adverb (Section 2.5.1); however, in the bulk of their attestations, demonstrative adverbials follow the predicate they modify, as is more typical of locative adverbs (2.5.2). All of the demonstrative adverbials, with the exceptions of *ta?a* and *tadi?*, are found in this role in the texts in the current corpus; however, the most frequent demonstrative adverb overall, *kʷədi?*, is only clearly attested in this role in one sentence, given in (273d).

Demonstrative adverbials are also potentially clausal predicates:

- (274) a. tudi?a?əxʷ kʷi qa ?aciłtalbixʷ

tu=di?a?=əxʷ kʷi qa ?aciłtalbixʷ^w
 IRR=PROX.DMA=now REM many person
 'there will be a lot of people here'

(Hess 2006: 18, line 172)

- b. huy čələp ?uhəli?dubułəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? sdi?a?ləp

huy čələp ?u-həli?-dxʷ-buł=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? s=di?a?=ləp
 SCONJ 2PL.SUB PFV-alive-DC-1PL.OBJ=now PR PROX NM=PROX.DMA=2PL.PO
 'so you folks gave us life by your being here'

(Hess 2006: 78, line 884)

- c. tadi?əxʷ ti bəsu?ułʷs

tadi?=əxʷ ti bə=s=?u-?ułʷ=s
 DIST.DMA=now SPEC ADD=NM=PFV-go=3PO
 'it has gone far now'

(Hess 2006: 26, line 99)

All of the attested forms from Table 66 are found in this role with the exception of *kʷədi?* and *ta?a*. The paucity of attestations of the latter make this gap in the data unremarkable,⁸⁹ although

⁸⁹ The fact that *ta?a*, the only attested unique demonstrative adverbial, does not appear in the role of either adverb or predicate may be an indication that these four words belong to a separate lexical class, perhaps representing a subset of the deictic determiners. However, as noted above, only one of the four appears in the corpus at all and that one is poorly attested, so the absence of attestations of these in particular syntactic roles may only be an accidental gap in the data. These words are grouped with the demonstrative adverbials based on morphological considerations and Thom Hess's intuitions about their behaviour drawn from elicitation, but may need to be amended in the light of future data.

the absence of the former in a predicative role, given its relative frequency, is a little surprising and may be related to its infrequent use as an adverb.

The second environment in which demonstrative adverbials is found is that of determiner. When filling this role, the adverbial takes the place of an ordinary determiner (Section 2.4) and directly introduces an NP or other type of referential expression. This type of construction is by far the most common in PPs:

- (275) a. ɬalisəbš, ti dsbalucid, čəxʷə tuliltubš dxʷ?al tudi? wiw'su?
 ɬalil-s-əbš ti d-sbalucid čəxʷə
 go.ashore-ALTV-1SG.OBJ SPEC 1SG.PO-in.law 2SG.COORD

tulil-txʷ-bš dxʷ?al tudi? wiw'su?
 cross.river-ECS-1SG.OBJCNTRPT-at DIST.DMA children
 'take me ashore, my in-law, and take me across the river to those children'
 [JS Basket Ogress, line 33]

- b. huy bə?uχʷ ti?it ḥ'uciqʷ əlgʷə? ?ə kʷədi? stab
 huy bə=?uχʷ ti?it ḥ'u=ciqʷ əlgʷə? ?ə kʷədi? stab
 SCONJ ADD=go PROX HAB=dig.roots PL PR REM.DMA what
 'then they again went to root-dig for those things'

(Hess 2006: 38, line 405)

- c. xʷi? gʷəsutəɬəls dxʷ?al ta?a ?aciɬtalbixʷ⁹⁰
 xʷi? gʷə=s=?u-ɬəɬəls dxʷ?al ta?a ?aciɬtalbixʷ
 NEG SBJ=NM=PFV-arrive.safely=3PO CNTRPT-at DIST.DMA:UNQ person
 'it could not arrive safely to those very people [for whom it was intended]'

(Hess 1998: 63, line 81)

Whereas *kʷədi?* is poorly attested in the adverb-like roles of demonstrative adverbials, its most frequent attestation is in constructions such as those shown in (275), where it shows considerable overlap with the remote demonstrative determiner *kʷi*. Also well-attested in this role is *tudi?*, and all but two of the six attestations of *ta?a* function as determiners introducing the complements of

⁹⁰ This sentence appears in the source as *xʷi? gʷəsutəɬəls ?ə ti?it s?ələd dxʷ?al ta ?aciɬtalbixʷ*. The PP *?ə ti?it s?ələd* 'of the food' was added post-recording by the narrator's husband while the story was being transcribed and is an aid to making the sentence clearer. The change from *ta* to *ta?a* reflects a correction to the transcription (see footnote 88 above).

PPs. Less frequently, some of the demonstrative adverbials serve as determiners for ordinary NP arguments of verbs, as in (276):

b. tudi? gʷəd, dič dəxʷtul'ʔa čəɬ tudi? gʷəd swatixʷtəd
 tudi? gʷəd dič dəxʷ=tul'ʔa čəɬ tudi?
 DIST.DMA downward FOC ADNM=CNTRFG-be.there 1PL.SUB DIST.DMA
 gʷəd swatixʷtəd
 downward land
 'way down, that is where we are from, that world way down [there]'

Only *kʷədi?* and *tudi?* are attested in this environment, although the others are so infrequent that this may not be a significant gap in the data. *kʷədi?*, *tudi?* and *ta?a* are also found introducing headless relative clauses:

- (277) a. hik^w q'il'bid tudi? lə?=əλ'
 hik^w q'il'bid tudi? lə?=əλ'
 big canoe DIST.DMA PRG—come
 'what is coming over there [is a] big canoe'

(Hess 2006: 54, line 297)

b. qʷi?ad kʷədi? di?ucid
 qʷi?ad kʷədi? di?•ucid
 call.out REM.DMA opposite.side•river
 'the one across the river called out'

(Hess 1998: 96, line 148)

⁹¹ The pronunciation of *s?ub?ubadi?* ‘hunters’ in this line reflects Raven’s speech.

- c. bəščəb ta?a tulə?ibəš⁹²
 bəščəb ta?a tu=lə=?ibəš
 mink DIST.DMA:UNQ PAST=PROG=travel
 ‘that very one traveling was Mink’

(Hess 1998: 65, line 2)

tudi? and *ta?a* are found in the corpus used as pronominal complements to prepositions, and *ti?a?* turns up in this role in decontextualized examples in Hess & Hilbert (1976):

- (278) a. ?aha? kʷi ads?a ?al tudi?
 ?aha? kʷi ad=s=?a ?al tudi?
 right.there REM 2SG.PO=NM=be.there at DIST.DMA
 ‘there is your place over there’

(Hess 2006: 34, line 313)

- b. gʷəl ?užʷtub ti?ə? bəda?s ?ə tudi?
 gʷəl ?užʷ-txʷ-b ti?ə? bəda?-s ?ə tudi?
 SCONJ go-ECS-PASS PROX child-3PO PR DIST.DMA
 ‘so his son is taken way [up]’

(Hess 2006: 26, line 98)

- c. džubud dəxʷ?a ?ə ta?a⁹³
 džubud dəxʷ=?a ?ə ta?a
 kick-ICS ADNM=be.there PR DIST.DMA:UNQ
 ‘she kicked it where it was right there’

[DS Star Child, line 82]

- d. ?iłčəb ti?ə? wəq'əb ?al ti?a? dxʷ?al ti?ił wəq'əb ?al tudi?
 ?iłčəb ti?ə? wəq'əb ?al ti?a? dxʷ?al ti?ił wəq'əb
 PRTV-heavy PROX box at PROX:UNQ.DMA CNTRPT-at DIST box
 ?al tudi?
 at DIST.DMA
 ‘this chest right here is heavier than that chest over there’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 118)

Thus, for *tudi?* there is almost complete overlap in the distribution with the determiners, while *kʷədi?* is most frequently attested acting as a determiner in PPs and NPs, and *ta?a* is found serving as a pronominal and as a determiner in PPs and introducing a headless relative clause. Of

⁹² The second word in this example is transcribed as [ta] in the cited source, although [ta?a] is in fact (barely) audible on the tape (see footnote 88 above).

⁹³ The original transcription of the last word in this line is [ta]; however, the particle *ta* ‘just this one’ would not be grammatical in this context, whereas the demonstrative adverbial *ta?a* would be (see footnote 88 above). The recording is not currently available in accessible format and so can not be checked at this time.

course, *ta?a* is very poorly-attested in the current corpus, as are several of the other demonstrative adverbial forms, and the absence of examples in one or the other of the syntactic roles attested for the other demonstrative adverbials may simply be an accidental gap in the data. More robust generalizations about their behaviour will have to await the discovery of further attestations in as yet unanalyzed texts.

2.6 Interrogative/indefinite words

Lushootseed has a set of words, drawn from a variety of lexical classes, that are used both as indefinite anaphoric expressions ('someone', 'something', 'somewhere', etc.) and as interrogative words in information questions (Section 8.4.2). In addition to having the syntactic distribution of whichever lexical class they belong to, these interrogative words also take on some of the morphosyntactic properties of verbs when used as the syntactic predicates of information questions (Section 8.4.2). In total, there are 17 of these, given in Table 67:⁹⁴

?əxid 'what happened?; something happens;'	<i>dxʷčad</i> 'to where?; to somewhere'
?əxítxʷ 'do what to ⊗?; do something to ⊗'	<i>gʷat</i> 'who?; someone'
?əxíxtxʷyid 'do what with ⊗ of ⊗'s?; do something with ⊗ of ⊗'s'	<i>kʷid</i> 'how much/many?; some amount'
?idigʷat 'say what?; say something'	<i>lítčad</i> 'which way?; some way'
?idigʷaac 'say what to ⊗?; say something to ⊗'	<i>pádtab</i> 'when?; sometime'
čad 'where?; somewhere'	<i>stab</i> 'what?; something'
čal 'how? why?; somehow'	<i>stabat</i> 'what kind of ⊗?; some kind of ⊗'
čaył 'go for what reason?; some reason for going'	<i>tul'čad</i> 'from where?; from somewhere'
čədat 'which ⊗?; some ⊗'	

Table 67: Interrogative/indefinite words

Five of the forms in this table (*gʷat* 'who?', *stab* 'what?', *stabat* 'what kind of?', *čədat* 'which?', *pádtab* 'when?') belong to the class of nouns, six are adverbs (*čad* 'where?', *čal* 'how? why?', *dxʷčad* 'to where?', *kʷid* 'how much, how many?', *lítčad* 'which way?', *tul'čad* 'from where?'), and the remaining six (?əxid 'what happened?', ?əxítxʷ 'do what to someone?', ?əxíxtxʷyid 'do what with something of someone'?', ?idigʷat 'say what?', ?idigʷaac 'say what to someone?') are verbs.

⁹⁴ The forms in Table 67 are given with both their indefinite and interrogative glosses. As a matter of convenience, the words will be glossed only as interrogatives for the remainder of the discussion.

Several of the forms in Table 67 are derivationally related to one of the other forms in the table: *pədtab* ‘when?’ is formed by adding *pəd-* ‘seasonal’ (Section 2.2.6) to *vtab* ‘do’ (the latter also being the base of *stab* ‘what?’) while *stabat* ‘what kind?’ is derived from *stab* with the incorporative suffix *-ał* (2.1.4). The question words *dxʷčad* ‘to where?’, *litčad* ‘which way?’, and *tul'čad* ‘from where?’ are all derived directly by the combination of *čad* ‘where?’ with one of the directional particles (2.7.2). Two of the words in Table 67, *?əxid* ‘what happened?’ and *?idigʷat* ‘say what?’, take one or more of the valency-increasing affixes: *?idigʷat* ‘say what?’ is found with the allative applicative *-c* (2.1.2.6) in the form *?idigʷaac* ‘say what to someone?'; *?əxid* ‘what happened?’ takes the external causative suffix *-txʷ* (Section 2.1.2.2) to form *?əxitxʷ* ‘do what to something?’. This form in turn takes the dative applicative *-yi-* (2.1.3.1), forming *?əxiłtxʷyid* ‘do what with something of someone’s?’. The specific uses of each of these question words will be examined in turn, beginning with Section 2.6.1 below, following a discussion of the properties common to all of the interrogative words.

In their most frequent use, interrogative words serve as the syntactic predicates of questions that request information from the addressee about some person, thing, or event referred to by their subject phrase:

- (279) a. *gʷat ti?ił stubš*

gʷat ti?ił stubš
who DIST man
'who is that man?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 97)

- b. *gʷat kʷi ?u?əłtxʷ čəłep*

gʷat kʷi ?u-?əł-txʷ čəłep
who REM PFV-eaten-ECS 2PL.SUB
'who did you guys help?'

(Hess 1995: 100)

- c. *dxʷčad ti?ə? ?uqadadid*
dxʷ-čad ti?ə? ?u-qada-di-d
 CNTRPT=where PROX PFV=stolen-SS-ICS
 ‘where had those who had stolen from him gone?’

(Hess 2006: 57, line 379)

- d. *bəčayləxʷ čələp kʷi su?učʷləp*
bə=čayl=əxʷ čələp kʷi s=?u-?učʷ=ləp
 ADD=go.for.what=now 2PL.SUB REM NM=PFV-go=2PL.PO
 ‘why did you guys (bother to) go?’

(Hess 1998: 93, line 80)

The subject-phrases of interrogatives can be NPs (279a), headless relative clauses (279b) and (c), or nominalizations (279d), depending on the syntactic relation of the questioned entity to the head of the subject phrase. The syntax of information questions will be taken up in detail in Section 8.4.2 below.

When used as clausal predicates, interrogative words that are not already verbs take on verbal morphological and syntactic characteristics, including the potential to take aspectual prefixes:

- (280) a. *?əstab kʷi gʷədsq'p'ucid*
?əs-stab kʷi gʷə=d=s=q'p'u-t-sid
 STAT=what REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=pay-ICS-2SG.OBJ
 ‘what should I pay you?’

(Hess 2006: 30, line 190)

- b. *ləcu?idigʷat čəxʷ*
ləcu-?idigʷat čəxʷ
 CONT-say.what 2SG.SUB
 ‘what are you saying?’

[MW Star Child, line 54]

- c. *?u?əxid əw'ə ?ə ti?ə? dəxʷcucuts*
?u-?əxid əw'ə ?ə ti?ə? dəxʷ=cut-cut=s
 PFV=what.happen PTCL PR PROX ADNM=DSTR=say=3PO
 ‘how did she come to talk like that?’

(Hess 2006: 5, line 64)

Although any interrogative word used in this way may take aspectual prefixes, it is far more common to find these affixes with those words that involve actions, motions, and states — specifically, the interrogative adjectives *čal* ‘how?’, *dxʷčad* ‘to where?’, *litčad* ‘which way?’,

and *tul'čad* ‘from where?’, as well as the interrogative verbs *čayt* ‘go for what reason?’ *?əxid* ‘what happened?’ and *?idigʷat* ‘say what?’ and their derivatives.⁹⁵ With the exception of *čal* ‘how?’, which seems to be in the process of fusing with the stative prefix *?as-* (Section 2.6.5), only the interrogative verbs appear to take aspectual inflections in their non-predicative uses.

In addition to serving as the syntactic predicates of information questions, interrogatives are often used as indefinite anaphors with glosses like ‘something’ or ‘anywhere’, as shown in (281):

- (281) a. gʷəl ?uluudəxʷ ti?iɬ stab

gʷəl ?u–lu–d=əxʷ ti?iɬ stab
SCONJ PFV–hear–ICS=now DIST what
'then he heard something'

(Hess 1995: 148, line 24)

- b. gʷəl xʷi?əxʷ kʷi stabəxʷ gʷəšudub ?ə kʷi gʷəčad

gʷəl xʷi?=əxʷ kʷi stab=əxʷ gʷə=šuɬ–dxʷ–b ?ə kʷi gʷə=čad
SCONJ NEG=now REM what=now SBJ=see–DC–PASS PR REM SBJ=where
'and nothing could be seen anywhere'

(Hess 2006: 27, line 118)

When used as indefinites, interrogative words behave syntactically as ordinary members of their basic lexical class — that is, interrogative nouns behave as nouns, interrogative adverbs as adverbs, and interrogative verbs as ordinary verbs. Because all three of these classes are potential syntactic predicates, this makes it possible for interrogative words to appear in predicate position in a clause with indefinite rather than interrogative meanings, giving rise to syntactically parallel constructions with non-equivalent meanings:

- (282) a. čad kʷi s?ibəš

čad kʷi s=?ibəš=s
where REM NM=travel=3PO
'he traveled everywhere'

(Hess 1998: 82, line 113)

⁹⁵ Or, more accurately, it is more common to find these words inflected for aspects other than the imperfective, which is a morphological zero and so would, by default, be the aspectual inflection of any interrogative word lacking an overt aspectual prefix.

- b. čad kʷi s?ibəš
čad kʷi s=?ibəš=s
where REM NM=travel=3PO
‘where did he travel?’

In such indefinite uses, non-verbal interrogatives seem not to appear with aspectual inflection, and all such expressions are distinguished from the analogous question through the use of intonation (Hess, p.c.), although the exact nature of the intonational distinction (which is not equivalent to the English-type sentence-final rise) is not fully understood at this point in time.

In their uses as indefinite anaphors, interrogatives frequently combine with the adverb *bəkʷw* ‘all’ to create expressions equivalent to English *everyone*, *everywhere*, etc.:

- (283) a. lə?učʷcəxʷ kʷi bəkʷw gʷat ?al ti?ə? ?əsɬətlil
lə=?učʷ-c=cəxʷ kʷi bəkʷw gʷat ?al ti?ə? ?əs-ɬətlil
PROG=go-ALTV=now REM all who at PROX STAT-live
‘[Changer] was going after everyone who lived there [in the world]’
[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 171]

- b. huy, qʷu?təbəxʷ ti?i? ʔaciłtalbixʷ tul?al bəkʷw čad
huy qʷu?təbəxʷ ti?i? ʔaciłtalbixʷ tul?-al bəkʷw čad
SCONJ gathered-ICS-PASS=now DIST person CNTRFG-at all where
‘then the people were gathered from everywhere’

(Hess 1995: 142, line 47)

Similarly, in negative expressions interrogatives used as indefinites act like negative pronouns such as *nothing* or *no one*:

- (284) a. gʷəl xʷi? kʷi stab su?əħəds
gʷəl xʷi? kʷi stab s=?u-?əħəd=s
SCONJ NEG REM what NM=PFV-feed.on=3PO
‘and they had nothing to eat’
(Hess 2006: 45, line 98)

- b. gʷəl xʷi? gʷat ?əs?aladẓi?lyid
gʷəl xʷi? gʷat ?əs-?aladẓ-i?l-yi-d
SCONJ NEG who STAT-care.for-child-DAT-ICS
‘but there was no one to babysit for her’
[MW Star Child, line 3]

Although interrogative words in such contexts are translated into English by negative lexical items, their negative reading comes from context rather than from their actual semantics. The syntax of negation is discussed in detail in Section 8.5 below.

Another use of interrogative words is that of introducing certain types of complement clause:

- (285) a. la?₂ədəx^w čad ti?i₁ s?₂a ?₃ti?i₁ ləcu^λ?əladi?

la?₂-əd=əx^w čad ti?i₁ s?₂a ?₃ti?i₁ ləcu^λ?əladi?

locate-1CS=now where PROX NM=be.there PR DIST CONT-make.noise

'he located where the sound was coming from'

[MW Star Child line 44]

b. g^wəl x^wi? k^wi g^wədəshaydx^w stab ts?i?ə? čög^was ?ə ti?i?ə? sg^wəlub

g^wəl x^wi? k^wi g^wə=d=s=?əs-hay-dx^w stab ts?i?ə? čög^was

SCONJ NEG REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=STAT-know-DC what PROX:FEM wife

?₃ ti?i?ə? sg^wəlub

PR PROX pheasant

'but I do not know what the wife of Pheasant was'

In such contexts, the interrogative word introduces an embedded clause and serves as the complement of a matrix verb, such as *laʔəd* ‘localize where’ in (285a) and *haydxʷ* ‘know that’ in (285b), that can subcategorize for a sentential complement. For modern speakers, these clauses take the form of an ordinary question. In more conservative style, however, interrogatives used in these constructions act more like complementizers and take the subjunctive subject clitics:

- (286) a. t'abad gʷəčadəs kʷi ɬusɬaħlil čəł
 t'abad gʷəčad=əs kʷi ɬu=s=laħlil čəł
 guess SBJ=where=3SBJ REM IRR=NM=live 1PL.PO
 ‘guess where we are going to live!’

(Hess 1995: ex. 1b)

b. xʷi? kʷi gʷədṣəsaydxʷ gʷəstabəs kʷi ləgʷəčəd
 xʷi? kʷi gʷəd=s=?əs-hay-dxʷ gʷəstab=əs kʷi lə=gʷəč-əd
 NEG REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=STAT-know-DC SBJ=what=3SBJ REM PROG=search-ICS
 ‘I don’t know what he is looking for’

(Hess 1995: ex. 2b)

Sentences like these with embedded interrogative complementizers are discussed in more detail in Section 9.4 below.

2.6.1 *gʷat* ‘who?’

Of the interrogative words, the most straightforward (from an English perspective, at any rate) is the noun *gʷat* ‘who?; someone’, which is used in questions to ask for the identity of humans and personified animals:

- (287) a. *gʷat čəxʷ*
gʷat čəxʷ
 who 2SG.SUB
 ‘who are you?’
- b. *gʷat tsí?ił sɬadəy?*
gʷat tsí?ił sɬadəy?
 who DIST:FEM woman
 ‘who is that woman?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 97)

- c. *gʷatəxʷ kʷi tɬuds?iɬugʷadagʷad*
gʷat=əxʷ kʷi tɬu=d=s=?iɬ-?u-gʷad-ad-gʷad
 who=now REM IRR=1SG.PO=NOM=PRTV-DSTR-DIM.EFF-converse
 ‘who will I converse with now?’

[DS Star Child, line 73]

As shown in (287), the subject phrase can be a subject-clitic, an NP, or a complex nominal expression such as a headless relative clause.

When used in indefinite anaphoric expressions, *gʷat* is given the reading of ‘someone’:

- (288) a. *tɬwiliqʷwicid čəd dəbət čəxʷ gʷat*
tɬu=wiliqʷw-i-t-sid čəd dəbət čəxʷ gʷat
 IRR=query-ICS-2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB belong.to.bloodline 2SG.SUB who
 ‘I will ask you [if] you are a descendant of someone’
- b. *gʷəl kʷi gʷat sɬadəy' tɬučəba?əd*
gʷəl kʷi gʷat sɬadəy' tɬučəba?-əd
 SCONJ REM who woman IRR=laden-ICS
 ‘some woman, she will bring it’

[HM Star Child, line 114]

[DS Star Child, line 256]

(288a) shows *gʷat* acting as the predicate complement of the verb *dəbət* ‘belong to a bloodline’, which is itself the complement of *wiliqʷwicid* ‘query someone’. In (288b), *gʷat* is in a topicalized subject phrase (Section *.*.) and is modified by *sɬadəy'* ‘woman’ to give the reading ‘some

woman' — or, more literally, 'someone [who is a] woman'. In negative expressions, 'someone' becomes 'no one':

- (289) a. *xʷi?əxʷ kʷi gʷat gʷə?uχ*
xʷi?=əxʷ kʷi gʷat gʷə=?uχ
 NEG=now REM who SBJ=go
 'there was not anyone to go'

[DS Star Child, line 301]

- b. *xʷi? kʷi gʷat gʷəhəli?*
xʷi? kʷi gʷat gʷə=həli?
 NEG REM who SBJ=alive
 'no one could survive' (lit. 'those who might live [are] not')

(Hess 2006: 79, line 889)

gʷat is often found modified by the adverb *bəkʷ* 'all' in expressions glossed as 'everyone':

- (290) a. *lə?uχʷcəxʷ kʷi bəkʷ gʷat ?al ti?ə? ?əsɬəħlil*
lə=?uχʷ=c=əxʷ kʷi bəkʷ gʷat ?al ti?ə? ?əs-ɬəħlil
 PROG=go-ALTV=now REM all who at PROX STAT-live
 '[Changer] was going after everyone who lived there [in the world]'
 [ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 171]

- b. *ɬ'asluutəb ?ə ti?ə? su?ululuɬ ?ə ti?ə? bəkʷ gʷat ?al kʷi səłaxiɬ*
ɬ'u=?as-lu-t-əb ?ə ti?ə? s=?u?-ul-uluɬ ?ə ti?ə?
 HAB=STAT-heard-ICS-PASS PR PROX NM=PFV-DIM.EFF-go.by.water PR PROX

bəkʷ gʷat ?al kʷi s=lə=ɬax-il=s
 all who at REM NM=PROG=dark-INCH=3PO
 'they are heard by everyone paddling about in the evening'

(Hess 2006: 13, line 59a)

- c. *huy gʷəl, xʷi?əxʷ gʷəsu?itut ?ə ti?ə? bəkʷ gʷat ?al ti səsɬəħlis*
huy gʷəl xʷi?=əxʷ gʷə=s=?u?-itut ?ə ti?ə? bəkʷ gʷat ?al

ti s=?əs-ɬəħlis=s
 NSPEC NM=STAT-live=3PO
 'and then no one could fall asleep while they lived there'

(Hess 2006: 3, line 14)

As shown in (290c), *bəkʷ gʷat* is also glossed as 'no one' in negative expressions.

2.6.2 *stab* ‘what?’, *stabat* ‘what kind of?’, and *čədał* ‘which?’

The interrogative word *stab* ‘something; what?’ is derived from a combination of the verbal radical *vtab* ‘do’ plus the nominalizing prefix *s-* (Section 2.2.1). It is used in questions to ask the addressee to identify or name an object or non-human:

- (291) a. stab ti?ił

stab ti?ił
what DIST
‘what is that?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216)

- b. stab əw'ə dzəł ti?ił ?əswəli? šəq

stab əw'ə dzəł ti?ił ?əs-wəli? šəq
what PTCL PTCL DIST STAT-visible be.high
‘what is that up in the air?’

[DS Star Child, line 395]

- c. ?əstab kʷi gʷədsq'p'ucid

?əs-stab kʷi gʷə=d=s=q'p'u-t-sid
STAT-what REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=pay-ICS-2SG.OBJ
‘what should I pay you?’

(Hess 2006: 30, line 190)

When used as an indefinite anaphor, it can mean ‘something’, as in the examples in (292):

- (292) a. gʷəł ?uluudəxʷ ti?ił stab

gʷəł ?u-luu-d=əxʷ ti?ił stab
SCONJ PFV-hear-ICS=NOW DIST what
‘he heard something’

(Hess 1995: 148, line 24)

- b. xʷul' čəxʷ ?uhuyud ?əs?ista? stab kʷi adsdzəł'ad

xʷul' čəxʷ ?u-huyu-d ?əs-?ista? stab kʷi
only 2SG.SUB PFV-be.done-ICS STAT-be.like what REM

ad=s=dzəł'a-d

2SG.PO=NM=confused-ICS

‘you just make it like something that confuses him’

(Hess 2006: 23, line 32)

In negative expressions, *stab* is glossed as ‘nothing’:

- (293) a. x^wi? k^wi stab g^wətusu?əłəds
 x^wi? k^wi stab g^wə=tu=s=?u-?əłəd=s
 NEG REM what SBJ=PAST=NOM=PFV-feed.on=3PO
 'there was nothing they could eat'

(Hess 2006: 44, line 51)

- b. x^wi? k^wi g^wəstab g^wəsəsč'xid^z ?al ti?ił dəx^w?as
 x^wi? k^wi g^wə=stab g^wə=s=?əs-č'xid^z ?al ti?ił dəx^w=?a=s
 NEG REM SBJ=what SBJ=NM=STAT=crowded at DIST ADNM=be.there=3PO
 'there was nothing that was crowded in there'

(Hess 2006: 67, line 619)

When combined with the adverb *bək^w* 'all', *stab* forms an expression meaning 'everything':

- (294) a. t^wus?ay'g^wasəx^w ti bək^w stab
 t^wu=s=?ay'•g^was=əx^w ti bək^w stab
 IRR=NOM=changed•pair=now SPEC all what
 'everything will be changed now'

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 213]

- b. tu᷑^w ḥ'astu᷑^wtu᷑^w dəx^wlid ?ə ti?ił bək^w stab, č'ic'qs, ti?ə? stab, ti?ə? ḥ'əx^wayu?, ti?ə?
 bək^w huyud titčulbix^w
 tu᷑^w ḥ'u=?as-tu᷑^w-tu᷑^w dəx^w=lid ?ə ti?ił bək^w stab č'ic'qs
 just IRR=STAT-DSTR-stretch ADNM=tied PR DIST all what mosquito
 ti?ə? stab ti?ə? ḥ'əx^wayu? ti?ə? bək^w huyu-d titčulbix^w
 PROX what PROX fly PROX all be.done-ICS small.animal
 'it[s web] would be stretched out so that everything is tied up, mosquitoes, things, flies,
 all things that are made as small animals'

(Hess 2006: 30, line 208)

The phrase *bək^w stab* can in turn be modified by a following noun (actually, a relativized copular clause with a nominal predicate) that makes the expression more specific:

- (295) a. q^watq^watatabəx^w ti?ə? bək^w stab biac
 q^wat-q^wata-t-əb=əx^w ti?ə? bək^w stab biac
 DSTR-laid.out-ICS-PASS=now PROX all what meat
 'all the meat [lit. 'all that was meat'] was laid out'

(Hess 1998: 72, line 187)

- b. ḥ'ub čəł x^wu?əłə? ?uq^wu?əd k^wi bək^w stab titčul'bix^w
 ḥ'ub čəł x^wu?əłə? ?uq^wu?-əd k^wi bək^w stab titčul'bix^w
 well 1PL.SUB maybe PFV-gathered-ICS REM all what small.animal
 'we should, I guess, gather all kinds of [lit. 'all that are'] small animals'

(Hess 2006: 18, line 159)

The effect of the following modifier in these examples is to narrow the scope of *bək'w stab* from ‘every thing’ to ‘every thing that is an X’. This construction bears an obvious functional relationship to the use of lexical suffixes illustrated in (302) below, and to the combination of *stab* with the incorporate suffix *-at* shown in (303).

Occasionally, *stab* turns up in texts where one might have expected *gʷat* ‘who?’, as in the following examples:

- (296) a. gʷəl huy, gʷadagʷadəxʷ əlgʷə? gʷəstabəs kʷi ɬuč'əlalikʷ^w
 gʷəl huy gʷadagʷad=əxʷ əlgʷə? gʷə=stab=əs kʷi ɬu=c'əl-alikʷ^w
 SCONJ SCONJ discuss=now PL SBJ=what=3SBJ REM IRR=win=ACT
 ‘and then they discussed who would win’

(Hess 1995: 144, line 31)

b. diħəxʷ tudəxʷəsqʷu?bitidəxʷ ɿ ti?ə? bəkʷ stab: ti?ə? qawʷqs, ti?ə? k'a?k'a? ...
 diħ=əxʷ tu=dəxʷ=?əs-qʷu?-bi-t-id=əxʷ ɿ ti?ə? bəkʷ
 FOC=now PAST=ADNM=STAT-gathered-MAP-ICS-PASS.SBRD PR PROX all

stab ti?ə? qawʷqs ti?ə? k'a?k'a?
 what PROX raven PROX crow

‘that is why everyone is gathered together: Raven, Crow ...’

However, in these cases (see also 285b above), both anaphoric expressions rather than questions, the antecedents of *stab* are personified animals in traditional stories, which might explain the storyteller's use of the word, although *gʷat* can also be used in these contexts. There do seem to be a handful of cases where the antecedents of *stab* are unequivocally human — although these, too have alternative explanations:

- (297) a. stab čəx^w stab čəx^w ?ukʷixʷid ...
 stab čəx^w stab čəx^w ?u-kʷixʷid
 what 2SG.SUB what 2SG.SUB PFV-pound
 'what are you, what are you who pounds?' (Hymes 1985: 141, line 27)

- b. di^l tsi?^ə? adkia? ?i tsi?^ə? adstab tsi?^ə? ?ucueut
 di^l tsi?^ə? ad-kia? ?i tsi?^ə? ad-stab tsi?^ə?
 FOC PROX:FEM 2SG.PO=grandmother and PROX:FEM 2SG.PO=what PROX:FEM
 ?u-cut-cut
 PFV=DSTR=say
 ‘that is your grandmother and your what’s-it-called who are speaking’
 (Hess 2006: 69, line 645)
- c. stab ti?^l adsesk^wədi?^l
 stab ti?^l ad=s=?əs-k^wəd•i?^l
 what DIST 2SG.PO=NM=STAT-held•child
 ‘what is that child you are holding?’
 [DS Star Child, line 120]

In (297a), the import of *stab* may be a request for a name rather than an identity. The felicitous answer to the question — directed to an old man working with an adze — would be a name or a profession. In (297b), *stab* is used as a placeholder for a forgotten lexical item, so the anaphor may indeed be an inanimate entity (the word *sk’wuy* ‘mother’) rather than the actual speaker (the addressee’s mother).⁹⁶ Similarly, the aim of the question in (297c) is to find out the gender of the child rather than its identity (cf. the English *what is it, a boy or a girl?*). Thus, while there may seem to be some blurring between the uses of *g^wat* and *stab* for animates, there are few clear-cut cases where *stab* is used for humans.

In addition to being glossed as ‘something’, *stab* in its non-interrogative uses often has the sense of ‘thing’ or ‘unspecified object’:

- (298) a. huy, ?abyidəx^w ?ə ti?^l x^wu^l’ pał’əł’ stab
 huy ?abyidəx^w ?ə PR DIST only pał’əł’ stab
 SCONJ extend-DAT-ICS=now what
 ‘then he gave him just worthless things’
 (Hess 1995: 147, line 17)
- b. Ł’al’ ?əsŁ’altub ti ?al ti?^l adstab
 Ł’al’ ?əs-Ł’al-tx^w-b ti ?al ti?^l ad-stab
 also STAT-covered-ECS-PASS SPEC at DIST 2SG.PO=what
 ‘also, he is covered in [i.e., wearing] your things’
 (Hess 2006: 34, line 296)

⁹⁶ In fact, *stab* or even *stabəx^w* can be used as a “placeholder” while a speaker gropes for words.

This reading is found both when *stab* is used as a syntactic argument, as in (298), and when it is used as a clausal predicate:

- (299) a. ha?‡ stab
 ha?‡ stab
 good what
 '[it is a] good thing'

(Hess 2006: 38, line 396)

- b. stab xʷu?ələ? ti?i‡ t'əbiłəds
 stab xʷu?ələ? ti?i‡ t'əbiłəd-s
 what maybe DIST rope-3PO
 'that thing is, I guess, his rope' (lit. 'his rope [is] maybe [that] thing')

(Hess 2006: 29, line 178)

These uses of *stab* to mean 'thing' seem to be quite different from the indefinite uses illustrated in (292), given that *stab* in all the expressions in (298) and (299) seems to refer to a definite entity. This discrepancy might, however, be an artefact of translation stemming from the differences between the way English and Lushootseed conceptualize the notion of indefiniteness.

(See the discussion of indefiniteness in determiners in Section 2.4 above.)

When modified by a relative clause, *stab* performs a function parallel to the English relative pronouns *what* or *that which*:

- (300) a. di‡ tsı?ə? λ'ustab tsı?ə? dəxʷə?atəbəds əlgʷə?
 di‡ tsı?ə? λ'u=stab ti?ə? dəxʷ=1ə=?atəbəd=s əlgʷə?
 FOC PROX:FEM HAB=what PROX ADNM=PROG=die=3PO PL
 'what is causing them to die [is] this'

(Hess 2006: 63, line 522)

- b. ?abyitəb ?ə kʷədi? stab suc'uqʷutəbs tul'?al ti?ə? cədi‡ stab s?uladxʷ
 ?ab-yi-t-əb ?ə kʷədi? stab s=?u-c'uqʷu-t-əb=s tul'?al
 extend-DAT-ICS PR REM.DMA what NM=PFV-sucked-ICS-PASS=3PO CNTRFG-at
 ti?ə? cədi‡ stab s?uladxʷ
 PROX he what salmon
 'he was given what was [to be] sucked on by him from that which [was] a salmon'

(Hess 2006: 40, line 459)

Occasionally, *stab* is also found in such constructions acting as the main predicate of a clause:

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Comment: this needs to be revised given the shift from def to spec for this semantic category

- (301) a. *dił stab gʷuhuyud*
dił stab gʷə=ʔu-huyu-d
 FOC what SBJ=PFV-be.done-ICS
 '[that is] what he made'

(Hess 2006: 42, line 13)

- b. *diłəxʷ stab adsc'qib*
dił=əxʷ stab ad=s=c'qib
 FOC=now what 2SG.SUB=NM=get.a.share
 '[that is] what your share is'

(Hess 1998: 74, line 215)

The only two attestations of structures like this in the corpus make use of the focus particle, *dił* (Section 11.2).

The interrogative *stab* ‘what?’ shows some potential to combine with lexical suffixes. The resulting forms are interrogative words in which the suffixes act as classifiers, indicating the type of item being asked about. In all, there are three attested forms of this type; however, it seems possible that these are productive formations and *stab* can potentially combine with a much wider range of lexical suffixes than are found in the present corpus. The forms that are attested — *stabə?kʷəbixʷ* ‘what group of people?’, *stabac* ‘what kind of tree?’, and *stabidup* ‘what kind?’ — are illustrated in (302):⁹⁷

- (302) a. *stabə?kʷəbixʷ čəxʷ*
stab•a?kʷə•bixʷ čəxʷ
 what•group•cluster 2SG.SUB
 ‘what sort of person are you?’⁹⁸
- b. *stabac ti?ił sƛ'aχʷdup*
stab•ac ti?ił s-ƛ'aχʷ•dup
 what•tree DIST NP-grow•COLL
 ‘what kind of tree is that plant?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216)

⁹⁷ Included in this group might also be *stabigʷs* ‘possessions’, a lexicalized combination of *stab* and *-igʷs*, a lexical suffix meaning ‘things, possessions’.

⁹⁸ “A rather rude way of asking what group or tribe one belongs to” (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216).

- c. ?ux^w ti?it stabidup, *bird*
 ?ux^w ti?it stab•idup bird
 go DIST what•COLL bird
 ‘another kind, a bird, goes’

(Hess 2006: 19, line 186)

In each of these cases, the lexical suffix narrows the scope of the question to a particular kind of entity that is being asked about.

In addition to combining with lexical suffixes, *stab* takes the incorporative suffix *-a^t* (Section 2.1.4), forming a new interrogative word, *stabat* ‘what kind of something?’:

- (303) a. *stabat titčulbix^w*
 stab-a^t titčulbix^w
 what-INCRP small.animal
 ‘what kind of little animal is that?’
- b. *stabat əw'ə qʷay?* ti?it ?əsλ'ax^w ?al ti?it
 stab-a^t əw'ə qʷay? ti?it ?əs-λ'ax^w ?al ti?it
 what-INCRP PTCL stick DIST STAT-grow at DIST
 ‘what kind of wood is that growing over there?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216)

As with all incorporative stems, *stabat* takes as a predicate complement a bare noun that serves the same function as the lexical suffixes do in the examples in (302) — namely, to narrow the scope of the question to a particular type of object.

A similar pattern is seen with the interrogative *čədat* ‘which?’, which can also take a nominal predicate complement, as in (304):

- (304) *čədat sq'əlated kʷi ?iłxaλ'tł čəx^w*
 čədat sq'əlated kʷi ?iłxaλ'tł čəx^w
 which berry REM PRTV-desire-ECS 2SG.SUB
 ‘which berry do you like best?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 59)

As in the examples in (303), the predicate complement in this sentence, *sq'əlated* ‘berry’, narrows the scope of the question by naming a type or set of objects from which the addressee must select an individual entity. With *čədat*, however, the presence of a nominal complement appears to be optional:

- (305) čədał ᐃw'ə kʷi hikʷ sq'əlałədəc
 which PTCL REM big berry•tree
 ‘which is the biggest berry bush?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 59)

In (305), the speaker is simply requesting that the addressee point out a particular entity, the set from which it is to be drawn being specified in the subject phrase, which in this case makes it clear that the speaker is asking the addressee to single out a particular berry bush. Whether the same possibility exists for *stabat* or not remains an open question — there are currently no attestations of *stabat* used without a nominal predicate complement. The syntactic parallels between *stabat* and *čədał* make it seem likely that, etymologically speaking, *čədał* also contains the incorporative suffix *-at* — however, in the case of *čədał*, there is no clear base for this formation. Lacking further comparative evidence, this interrogative will have to be treated as unanalyzable.⁹⁹

2.6.3 *pədtab* ‘when?’

Another word that may be derivationally related to *stab* is *pədtab* ‘when?’, formed with the prefix *pəd-* ‘seasonal’ (Section 2.2.6). This interrogative is rather infrequent in texts, but follows the same pattern as other interrogative words, acting as the predicate of a clause requesting specific information from the addressee — in this case, a particular point in time described by the clausal subject:

- (306) a. pədtab kʷi ḥudšudubicid
 pədtab kʷi ḥu=d=s=šuł-dxʷ-bicid
 when REM IRR=1SG.PO=NM=see-DC-2SG.OBJ
 ‘when will I see you again?’

⁹⁹ The *Lushootseed Dictionary* suggests that *čədał* is derived from *čad* ‘where?’ and includes it as a sub-entry of the latter. This seems possible, although the semantic shift from ‘where?’ to ‘which one (of something)?’ is idiosyncratic enough that this etymology, if correct, is a deep historical artefact rather than a regular creation of synchronic grammatical processes.

- b. pəðtab kʷi adəxʷəxʷcutəb gʷəsɬčils¹⁰⁰
 pəðtab kʷi ad=dəxʷ=?əs-dxʷ-cut-əb gʷə=s=lčil=s
 when REM 2SG.PO=ADNM=STAT-CTD-say-DSD SBJ=NM=arrive=3PO
 'when do you think he will arrive?'
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216)

Etymologically, *pəðtab* (usually reduced to [pəðab]) may be derived from *vtab* 'do' rather than directly from *stab*, although *pəd-* 'seasonal' is otherwise only attested as a nominal prefix.

2.6.4 *čad* 'where?', *dxʷčad* 'to where?', *tul'čad* 'from where?', and *liłčad* 'which way?'

The interrogative word *čad* 'somewhere; where?' is used to request information about the location of an entity or event:

- (307) a. tučadəxʷ čəxʷ
 tu=čad=əxʷ čəxʷ
 PAST=where=now 2SG.SUB
 'where have you been?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 59)

- b. čadəxʷ kʷi sbəqʷa?
 čadəxʷ kʷi sbəqʷa?
 where=now REM heron
 'where is Heron now?'

(Hess 2006: 19, line 177)

- c. huy gʷəl čad kʷi s?oy'dubs ?ə ti?ə? cədił
 huy gʷəl čad kʷi s=?oy'dxʷ-b=s ?ə ti?ə? cədił
 SCONJ SCONJ where REM NM=find-PASS=3PO PR PROX he
 'so then, where were they found by this one?'

(Hess 1998: 74, line 224)

(307) shows questions formed on the bare radical, *čad*, which is static and purely locative, asking for the specific location of the referent of its subject. Like the locative-temporal preposition *?al* (Section 2.3.1), *čad* is also frequently compounded with one of the directional particles (2.7.2) to form more complex, dynamic stems that combine its basic locative meaning with the notion of motion, direction, or point of origin:

¹⁰⁰ The last word in this example is transcribed as *gʷəsɬčils* in the original source.

- (308)a. lədxʷčad čəxʷ
 lə=dxʷ-čad čəxʷ
 PROG=CNTRPT=where 2SG.SUB
 ‘where are you going to?’
- b. tul’čad čəxʷ
 tul’-čad čəxʷ
 CNTRFG=where 2SG.SUB
 ‘where are you coming from?’/‘where are you from?’
- c. ḥ’uliččad čəxʷ
 ḥ’u=lič-čad čəxʷ
 HAB=PRLV=where 2SG.SUB
 ‘which way did you travel?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 59)

In (308a), the combination of *čad* with the centripetal particle *dxʷ* questions the GOAL or the point towards which the referent of the subject phrase is moving, the notion of motion being implicit in the meaning of the directional particle. The sentence in (308b) illustrates much the same point for the combination of *čad* and the centrifugal *tul'*, although in this case the motion implicit in the directional particle could be interpreted as figurative, as the question is potentially a question about where one is from in the sense of birthplace or former residence.¹⁰¹ The final example in (308c) shows the proative particle used with *čad*; the result in this case is a somewhat less transparent (though by no means idiosyncratic) interrogative word requesting information about the subject’s path.

¹⁰¹ It is not clear if the same figurative interpretation is open to questions formed with the centripetal particle, although there is one use of *dxʷčad* as an indefinite anaphor that seems to fit the bill:

- (i) gʷič'gʷič'čəxʷ dxʷ?al kʷi ḥudəxʷ?učʷs, dxʷčadəxʷ kʷi ḥuspaq'acuts ti?o? ?aciḥtalbixʷ
 gʷič'gʷič'čəxʷ dxʷ?al kʷi ḥu=dəxʷ=?učʷ=s dxʷ-čad=čəxʷ kʷi
 search=now PR REM IRR=ADNM=go=3PO CNTRPT=where=now REM
 ḥu=s=paq'a-t-sut=s ti?o? ?aciḥtalbixʷ
 IRR=NM=distribute-ICS-REFL=3PO PROX person
 ‘they looked for where they could go, where the people could resettle’

(Hess 1998: 102, line 286)

The lack of questions where centripetal motion is figurative rather than literal may simply be the paucity of plausible contexts for that type of expression.

As shown in the previous examples, when *čad* and the other locative interrogatives have person-markers as subjects, they request information about the location of a particular entity. The same is true of locative interrogatives that take NPs, headless relative clauses, or oblique-centred nominalizations (Section 7.3) as subjects:

- (309) a. čad kʷi ḫʷubt

čad kʷi ḫʷubt
where REM paddle
'where is the paddle?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 59)

- b. dxʷčad ti?ə? ?uqadadid

dxʷ-čad ti?ə? ?u-qada-di-d
CNTRPT-where PROX PFV-stolen-ss-ICS
'where had those who had stolen from him gone?'

(Hess 2006: 57, line 379)

When the subject of the question is a sentential nominalization (Section 7.4.2.1), however, the expression requests the location of a particular event or (in the case of a motion event) its path, point of origin, or endpoint:

- (310) a. čad kʷi ḫusgʷəλ'əlad ?ə ti?ə? čaləs

čad kʷi ḫu=s=gʷəλ'əlad ?ə ti?ə? čaləs-s
where REM IRR=NM=stop PR PROX hand-3PO
'where will his arm stop?'

(Hess 2006: 58, line 384)

- b. tul'čad kʷi adskʷədxʷs ti?iɬ ads?əɬəd

tul'-čad kʷi ad=s=kʷəd-dxʷ ti?iɬ ad-s?əɬəd
CNTRFG-where REM 2SG.PO=NM=taken-DC DIST 2SG.PO=food
'from where did you manage to get your food?'

(Hess 1998: 83, line 162)

- c. liɬčad kʷi ḫadsu?uχʷ

liɬ-čad kʷi ḫu=ad=s=?u-?uχʷ
PRLV-where REM IRR=2SG.PO=NM=PFV-go
'which way are you going to go?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 59)

- d. tul'čad kʷi adsu?ibəš sgʷəlub
 tul'-čad kʷi ad=s=?u-?ibəš sgʷəlub
 CNTRFG=where REM 2SG.PO=NFM=PFV-go pheasant
 'where are you traveling from, Pheasant?'
 (Hess 1998: 79, line 43)

Thus, in (310a) and (b), the speaker requests information about the location of an event, while in (310c) the requested information is about path of motion, and (310d) questions point of origin.

Unlike the other interrogatives seen up until now, *čad* 'where' and its derivatives are basically adverbs rather than nouns, and when used non-specifically they appear in the syntactic position typical of locative adverbs, as shown in the examples in (311):

- (311) a. ?əbil' ḫučʷil' čad
 ?əbil' ḫu=čʷil' čad
 if IRR=lost where
 'if he gets lost somewhere'
 (Hess 2006: 23, line 31)
- b. gʷəl ?uxtubəxʷ ?ə kʷi stab dxʷčadəxʷ
 gʷəl ?uč-txʷ-b=əxʷ ?ə kʷi stab dxʷ-čad=əxʷ
 SCONJ go-ECS-PASS=now PR REM what CNTRPT=where=now
 'and he is taken by something somewhere'
 (Hess 2006: 27, line 121)
- c. ?əshaydxʷ dxʷčad
 ?əs-hay-dxʷ dxʷ-čad
 STAT-know-DC CNTRPT=where
 'he knows which way to go towards'
 (Hess 2006: 66, line 584)

In these expressions, the interrogative word appears following the main predicate of the clause, in the position normally occupied by a locative adverb (2.5.2) or an adjunct (Section 8.2.7).

When used in this way, these words most frequently function as non-specific expressions. However, there are examples where a word based on *čad* is sentence predicate and has a non-specific rather than an interrogative reading:

- (312) a. čad kʷi s?ibəš
čad kʷi s=?ibəš=s
where REM NM=travel=3PO
‘he traveled everywhere’

(Hess 1998: 82, line 113)

- b. dxʷčadəxʷ ?al ti?ə? dəxʷgʷaxʷs
dxʷ-čad=əxʷ ?al ti?ə? dəxʷ=gʷaxʷ=s
CNTRPT-where=now at PROX ADNM=walk=3PO
‘they walked all over’ (lit. ‘[they] went everywhere in their walking’)

(Hess 2006: 35, line 341)

This use of the locative interrogative words follows from their adverbial use shown in (311): lexical and locative adverbs in Lushootseed are potentially clausal predicates (Sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2), and so the sentences in (312) can be analyzed as clauses predicated on the (non-interrogative) adverbial use of these words. The interrogative and non-interrogative uses of locative interrogatives as clausal predicates is distinguished by intonation (Hess, p.c.).

Like the other interrogative words, the locative interrogatives combine with the adverb *bək'ʷ* ‘all’, in this case forming an expression meaning ‘everywhere’:

- (313) a. lə?ibəš bək'ʷ dxʷčad
lə=?ibəš bək'ʷ dxʷ-čad
PROG=travel all CNTRFG=where
‘he is traveling everywhere’

(Hess 1998: 65, line 14)

- b. bək'ʷ čad tədəxʷutəl'awil ?al ta?a qʷu, qəl'qəladi?
bək'ʷ čad tədəxʷutəl'awil ?al ta?a qʷu, qəl'qəladi?
all where IRR=2SG.PO=ADNM-PFV-run at DIST:UNQ.DMA water DSTR-snag
‘you will be running everywhere by the water there, [in] the driftwood snags’

(Hess 1998: 74, line 239)

In both of these examples, the expressions *bək'ʷ čad* ‘everywhere’ and *bək'ʷ dxʷčad* ‘to everywhere’ are used as indefinite adverbs.

The interrogative *čad* also combines with *-il* ‘inchoative’ to form the verb *čadil* ‘go off somewhere’:

- (314) *χʷul' ləčadil gʷəl lələkʷəd*
 \ddot{x}^wul' $lə=čad-il$ $g^wəl$ $lə=lək^w-əd$
 only PROG=where-INCH SCONJ PROG=eaten-ICS
 'he was just going off somewhere and he was eating it'

(Hess 1998: 59, line 72)

Here, in spite of being the clausal predicate, *čadil* has a non-specific rather than an interrogative reading, suggesting that this form, derived from an interrogative, may no longer itself be an interrogative word. Unfortunately, there is only one attestation in the corpus, so it is unknown whether or not the interrogative reading (i.e., ‘go off where?’) is open to this form as well.

2.6.5 *čal* ‘how?’

The interrogative word *čal*, glossed roughly as ‘how?’, is used to ask after the state or condition of the entity referred to by its subject. When the subject is an NP, a headless relative clause, or an oblique-centred nominalization, the question is interpreted as a request for information about the current condition, status, or nature (as opposed to identity) of the subject:

- (315) a. *λ̄asčaləxʷ čəxʷ*
 λ ’u=?as-čal=əxʷ čəxʷ
 HAB=STAT-how=now 2SG.SUB
 ‘how have you been?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 60)

- b. ?əsčal əw'č ti?iť adsut'ilib
 ?əs-čal əw'č ti?iť ad=s=?u-t'ilib
 STAT-how PTCL DIST 2SG.PO=NM=PFV=sing
 'how is your song?'

[DS Star Child, line 198]

In sentences like these, a more accurate English gloss of *čal* might be ‘like what?’, although ‘how?’ corresponds to the interrogative word used in most English translations of Lushootseed sentences with *čal*. Note that, as in these examples, *čal* is almost invariably inflected for stative aspect — indeed, it may be the case that the form *?əsčal* has become fossilized and has replaced *čal* for many speakers.

Even more commonly than it takes NPs and complex nominal expressions such as those in (315) as subjects, *čal* is found with a sentential nominalization (Section 7.4.2.1) as its subject in a very regular construction used to request information about the manner in which something is to be done or the means by which something is to be achieved:

- (316) a. *łasčaləxʷ kʷi łushuyud čəł*
 ^{4u=?}_{as-}^{čal=}_{əxʷ} *kʷi* ^{4u=s=}_{huyu-d} *čəł*
 IRR=STAT-how=now REM IRR=NM=be.done-ICS 1PL.PO
 ‘how are we going to deal with it?’

(Hess 1998: 101, line 263)

- b. *gʷəł tučʷ ?əščal kʷi gʷadsuhuyuc*
 ^{gʷəł} *tučʷ* ^{?əs-}_{čal} *kʷi* ^{gʷə=ad=s=?u-}_{huyu-t-s}
 SCONJ just STAT-how REM SBJ=2SG.SUB=NM=PFV-be.done-ICS-1SG.OBJ
 ‘but just how could you do it for me?’

(Hess 2006: 30, line 193)

The subject of these interrogative clauses is a nominalization based on the verbal radical *✓huy* ‘be done’. Although this is a very specific type of construction, it accounts for a large proportion of the attested uses of *čal* in the current corpus.

Additionally, *čal* is found in questions that ask about the manner in which a goal is to be achieved. These questions take subject phrases formed with the adjunct nominalizer *dəxʷ=* (Section 7.4.2.2), such as those in (317):

- (317) a. *?əščal kʷi gʷədəxʷkʷədxʷs ts'i?ił bəda?s*
 ^{?əs-}_{čal} *kʷi* ^{gʷə=dəxʷ=kʷəd-dxʷ=s} *ts'i?ił* *bəda?—s*
 STAT-how REM SBJ=ADNM=taken-DC=3PO DIST:FEM offspring-3PO
 ‘how would he manage to get his daughter?’

(Hess 1998: 95, line 133)

- b. *?əščal kʷi gʷədəxʷləkʷ-dxʷyids ts'i?ə? ?alš ?ə ti?ə? s?əłəds*
 ^{?əs-}_{čal} *kʷi* ^{gʷə=dəxʷ=ləkʷ-dxʷ-yi-d=s} *ts'i?ə?*
 STAT-how REM SBJ=ADNM=eaten-DC=DAT-ICS=3PO PROX:FEM
 ^{?alš—s} ^{?ə ti?ə?} ^{s?əłəd—s}
 cross.sex.sibling-3PO PR PROX food-3PO
 ‘how could he eat his sister’s food away from her?’

(Hess 1998: 56, line 6)

- c. ?osčaləx^w k^wi g^wədəx^wk^wədx^w čəł
?os-čal=əx^w k^wi g^wə=dəx^w=k^wəd-dx^w čəł
STAT-how=now REM SBJ=ADNM=taken-DC 1PL.PO
‘how can we manage to obtain daylight?’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 13)

The use of *dəx^w*=nominals — which are frequent in the expression of instrumental adverbial adjuncts (Section *.*.) — in sentences like these may be related to the implicit causal relation between the desired outcome stated in the subject-phrase and the course of action being questioned by the predicate. This is in contrast with the constructions in (316), which ask the addressee to specify a course of action in response to a set of current conditions, the outcome of which is unspecified.

When used as an indefinite anaphor, *čal* gives a reading of ‘however, in some way’:

- (318) xəł ti ?uba?scut ?osčal k^wədi? səshuys
xəł ti ?u-ba?s-t-sut ?os-čal k^wədi? s=?os-huy=s
seemingly PFV=stationary-ICS=REFL STAT-how REM.DMA NM=STAT-be.done=3PO
‘he seemed to be stationary, however he did that’

(Hess 2006: 55, line 316)

The indefinite use of *čal* is occasionally found in predicative uses of the word:

- (319) a. ?osčaləx^w k^wi tushuyutubs
?os-čal=əx^w k^wi tu=s=huyu-tx^w-b=s
STAT-how=now REM PAST=NM=be.done-ECS-PASS=now
‘or whatever it was he had done to her’ (lit. ‘what he did to her [was] in some way’)
(Hess 2006: 21, line 224)
- b. λ'asčal di?a?əx^w k^wa?
λ'u=?as-čal di?a?=əx^w k^wa?
HAB=STAT-how here=now PTCL
‘they have been around here, though’

(Hess 2006: 44, line 63)

Neither of these uses of *čal* is particularly common in the present corpus, although they are predicted by analogy with the other interrogative words, which would lead us to expect that *čal* is basically an indefinite adverb that, like *čad*, can appear in predicate position in interrogative and non-interrogative expressions, the two types of sentence being distinguished by intonation.

čal is found with the nominalizing prefix *s-*, forming the lexical item *sčal* ‘way, manner’:

- (320) xʷi?əxʷ gʷəstabəxʷ gʷəs?idigʷatəxʷ, gʷəstab, gʷəsčal
 xʷi?=əxʷ gʷə=stab=əxʷ gʷə=s-?idigʷat=əxʷ gʷə=stab gʷə=s-čal
 NEG=now SBJ=what=now SBJ=NP=say.what=now SBJ=what SBJ=NP-how
 ‘nothing was said, nothing in any way’
- (Hess 1998: 101, line 282)

With the exception of the lexicalized expression *sk'wid* ‘time, hour’ given in (326) below, the analogous forms for the other adverbial interrogatives are not attested in the present corpus.

2.6.6 *k'wid* ‘how many? how much?’

The interrogative word *k'wid* ‘some amount; how many, how much?’ requests information about the number or quantity of items specified by the subject phrase:

- (321) a. k'wid kʷi ads?uladxʷ
 k'wid kʷi ad-s?uladxʷ
 how.many REM 2SG.PO=salmon
 ‘how many salmon do you have?’
- (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 131)
- b. k'wid kʷədi? səs?ahači?s
 k'wid kʷədi? s=?əs-?a•hači?=s
 how.many REM.DMA NM=STAT-be.there•hand=3PO
 ‘how many did they put their hands to [i.e., heal] there?’
- (Hess 2006: 63, line 506)

- c. ḥ'ucutəb, k'wid sq'a?šəd
 ḥ'u=cut-t-əb k'wid sq'a?šəd
 HAB=say-ICS-PASS how.many moccasin
 ‘he was asked, “how many moccasins?”’

[DS Star Child, line 350]

As with the other interrogatives, the subject phrase of questions based on *k'wid* can be an ordinary NP (321a) or a complex nominal expression (321b). As shown in (321c), *k'wid* can also take a nominal predicate complement, narrowing the scope of the inquiry by specifying what type of entity the addressee is being asked to quantify. The formulation given in (321a) is the most common way of asking ‘how much (of something) do you have?’.

Like *stab* ‘what?’, *k'wid* is regularly found associated with lexical suffixes. In these constructions, the lexical suffixes act as classifiers, indicating the type of item being asked about:

- (322) a. kʷidilc kʷi adtalə
 kʷid•ilc kʷi ad-talə
 how.many•round.object REM 2SG.PO=dollar
 ‘how much money do you have?’

- b. kʷidalq čəxʷ
 kʷid•alq čəxʷ
 how.many•game 2SG.SUB
 ‘how much game do you have?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 131)

While *stab* is attested with only a few lexical suffixes, *kʷid* combines with a much wider (perhaps unrestricted) range: in the present corpus, there are attestations of *kʷidalps* ‘how many (economically important) animals?’, *kʷida?ltxʷ* ‘how many houses?’, *kʷidalq* ‘how much game?’, *kʷidgʷit* ‘how many canoes?’, and *kʷidilc* ‘how much money?’.¹⁰²

Unlike *stab*, *kʷid* does not combine on its own with the incorporative suffix *-at*, but does participate in compounds combining *-at* and some other element, either a lexical suffix or an independent noun:

- (323) a. xʷiʔəxʷ kʷi stabəxʷ gʷəλ’(u)a(s)šudxʷ əlgʷə? dxʷ?al kʷədi? tukʷidəłdat
 xʷiʔ=əxʷ kʷi stab=əxʷ gʷə=λ’u=?as-šuł-dxʷ əlgʷə? dxʷ=?al
 NEG=now REM what=now SBJ=HAB=STAT=see=DC PL CNTRPT=at

- kʷədi? tu=kʷid-əł•dat
 REM.DMA PAST=how.many-INCRP•days
 ‘they could not see things for many days’

(Hess 2006: 53, line 263)

- b. kʷidəłtał
 kʷid-əł-tał
 how.many-INCRP-fathom
 ‘how many fathoms [is it]?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 131)

- c. kʷidəładxʷəxʷ ti?ił stubš
 kʷid-əł•adxʷ=əxʷ ti?ił stubš
 how.many-INCRP•year=now DIST man
 ‘how old is that man?’ (lit. ‘how many years is that man?’)

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 131)

¹⁰² The *Lushootseed Dictionary* also contains the form *kʷidwač* ‘what time?’, based on the English *watch*.

- d. huy gʷəl ḫʷul'əxʷ ḫəł ti ḫʷul' kʷidəłsləkʷ ti?ił sləkʷtəbs
 huy gʷəl ḫʷul' =əxʷ ḫəł ti ḫʷul' kʷid-əł-s-ləkʷ ti?ił
 SCONJ SCONJ only=now seemingly only how.many=INCRP-NP=eaten DIST
 s=ləkʷ=t-əb=s
 NM=eaten-ICS-PASS=3PO
 ‘and then it was just as though in just a few gulps Raven ate it [all]’
 (Hess 1998: 84, line 167)

In (323a), *kʷid* combines with *-at* and the lexical suffix *-dat* ‘day’ to form an expression ‘how many days?’, used in this example as an indefinite anaphor. In (323b), it combines with the noun *tał* ‘fathom’ (more precisely, a measure from fingertip to fingertip with one’s arms outstretched), and in (323c) it forms a compound with the lexical nominalization *sləkʷ*, which presumably means ‘swallow’ or ‘gulp’ (cf. *ləkʷəd* ‘eat something, put something in mouth’), although it has no other attestations in the corpus or the dictionary. It is not clear to what extent these compounds are lexicalized constructions or if they are in fact productive uses of *kʷid* to form novel compound interrogative forms. Note also that the use of the incorporative suffix *-at* with a lexical suffix like *-dat* in (323a) or *-adxʷ* in (323c) is not attested in other constructions, and is suggestive of a diachronic path for lexical suffixes from independent nouns (the usual type of predicate complement selected by *-at*) to bound suffix.

Like many words associated with numeration and counting, *kʷid* has a special form used to ask about the number of people:

- (324) ?əbsbibədbəda? ?ə kʷi tukʷidid¹⁰³
 ?əs-bəs-bi-bəd-bəda? ?ə kʷi tu=kʷidid
 STAT-PROP-ATTN-DSTR-child PR REM PAST=how.many:HMN
 ‘she had how many little children?’
 (Hess 2006: 43, line 36)

This form of the interrogative, *kʷidid*, is created by Type III plural reduplication (Section 5.3.4).

It is only used when asking about third-persons:

¹⁰³ Note that this construction also appears to be an example of an *in situ* question, a construction otherwise unattested in the present corpus. The fact that it is indeed an interrogative rather than an indefinite expression is marked by intonation (Hess, p.c.)

- (325) k'wid čoləp
 k'wid čoləp
 how.many 2PL.SUB
 'how many of you?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 131)

When enquiring about the number of second persons, the singular form of the interrogative, *k'wid*, is used, as shown in (325).

Unlike most of the other interrogative words, *k'wid* has some idiomatic uses that are not entirely expected from its English gloss. One of these has to do with asking about the time, which can be done with the expression *?aləxʷ sk'wid*, as in the following examples:

- (326) a. ?aləxʷ sk'wids
 ?al=əxʷ s=k'wid
 PR=now NM=how.many
 'what time is it?'
 b. ?əsaydxʷ čəxʷ ?u ?aləxʷ sk'wids kʷi s?učʷs
 ?əs-hay-dxʷ čəxʷ ?u ?al=əxʷ s-k'wid-s kʷi s=?učʷ=s
 STAT-know-DC 2SG.SUB INT PR=now NP-how.many-3PO REM NM=go=3PO
 'do you know what time he went?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 130)

sk'wid is derived from the combination of *k'wid* with the nominalizing prefix *s-*. Compositionally this form would be expected to mean something like 'amount' or 'quantity', but appears to have been lexicalized to mean 'time'. This form is only attested as part of the fixed expression *?aləxʷ sk'wid* which, as shown in (326), has both interrogative and indefinite readings.

The interrogative *k'wid* also appears in the expression *čəxʷul' k'wid* 'not many, only a few' (lit. 'only how many?, only many'):

- (327) gʷəl ti?ə? sp'ic'ikʷ gʷəl čəxʷul' k'wid sləxil gʷəl luλ'əxʷ stubš
 gʷəl ti?ə? sp'ic'ikʷ gʷəl čəxʷul' k'wid sləxil gʷəl luλ'əxʷ stubš
 SCONJ PROX Diaper.Child SCONJ only how.much day SCONJ old=now man
 'as for Diaper Child, it was not many days [before] he grew into a man'

[DS Star Child, line 172]

This seems to be the opposite to the expectation created by the literal English gloss, according to which the interpretation is more likely to be 'many' rather than 'only a few'.

2.6.7 *čayt* ‘go for what reason?’ and *?idigʷat* ‘say what?’

The interrogative verbs, *čayt* ‘go for what reason?’ and *?idigʷat* ‘say what?’, request information about a particular type of event whose nature is specified in the meaning of the interrogative itself. The first of these, *čayt* ‘go for what?’, asks for the motive behind someone’s going somewhere:

- (328) a. čayt čəxʷ

čayt čəxʷ^w
go.for.what 2SG.SUB
‘why do you want to go?’

- b. ləčaytəxʷ kʷi s?uχʷs ?al ti?iɬ ?uqʷu?qʷu?
lə=čayt=əxʷ kʷi s=?uχʷ=s ?al ti?iɬ ?uqʷu?qʷu?
PROG=go.for.what=now REM NM=go=3PO at DIST gathering
‘why should she want to go to that gathering?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 61)

The subject phrase of a question based on *čayt* can be an NP, a pronoun, or a subject-clitic (as in 328a) or it can be a sentential nominalization, as in (328b). In the latter case, the notion of ‘going’ is stated overtly in the subject phrase; in the former, it is expressed only as part of the meaning of the interrogative word itself. In the current corpus, *čayt* is infrequent and appears only in interrogative contexts.

The second of these two verbs, *?idigʷat* ‘say what?’, requests information about the contents of a speech or communicative act:

- (329) a. ?u?idigʷat čəxʷ

?u-?idigʷat čəxʷ^w
PFV-say.what 2SG.SUB
‘what did you say?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 15)

- b. ?u', ləcu?idigʷat čələp, wiw'su
?u ləcu-?idigʷat čələp wiw'su
INTJ CONT-say.what 2SG.SUB children
‘oh, what are you saying, children?’

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 95]

- c. ?os?idig^wat ti syəcəb ?al ti?ił s̥xal
 ?os-?idig^wat ti s-yəcəb ?al ti?ił s̥xal
 STAT-say.what SPEC NP-report at DIST NP-write
 ‘what is reported in this document?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 16)

As with *čay*, *?idig^wat* includes the event-type (usually, ‘say’) in its own meaning, and does not require that it be expressed overtly by the subject-phrase, although this is an option, as in (329c).

When used in non-interrogative contexts, *?idig^wat* acts as an indefinite anaphoric expression meaning ‘say something’:

- (330) a. xʷi? gʷəλ'usu?idig^wat ?o tsi?o? waq'waq'
 xʷi? gʷəλ'u=s=u-?idig^wat ?o tsi?o? waq'waq'
 NEG SBJ=HAB=NM=PFV=say.what PR PROX.FEM frog
 ‘Frog would not say anything (intelligible)’

(Hess 2006: 3, line 17)

- b. x̥əł tihəxʷ xʷu?ələ? gʷələli?luud əlgʷə? kʷi gʷəsu?idig^wat ?o ti?o? qʷiqʷqʷistay'bixʷ
 x̥əł ti=həxʷ xʷu?ələ? gʷə=li=li?-luu-d əlgʷə? kʷi
 seemingly=now maybe SBJ=PROG=ATTN-hear-ICS PL REM
 gʷə=s=?u-?idig^wat ?o ti?o? qʷi-qʷ-qʷistay'bixʷ
 SBJ=NM=PFV=say.what PR PROX ATTN-ATTN-dwarf
 ‘it seems maybe they were understanding a bit of whatever these little dwarves said’

(Hess 2006: 64, line 533)

Most of the attested uses of this type are in negative expressions like that in (330a), which is the usual way of expressing ‘not say anything’.

As a verb, *?idig^wat* takes the nominalizing prefix *s-* to form a word *s?idig^wat* ‘something said, statement’:

- (331) xʷi?əxʷ gʷəstabəxʷ gʷəs?idig^watəxʷ, gʷəstab, gʷəščal
 xʷi?=əxʷ gʷə=stab=əxʷ gʷə=s-?idig^wat=əxʷ gʷə=stab gʷə=s-čal
 NEG=now SBJ=what=now SBJ=NP-say.what=now SBJ=what SBJ=NP-how
 ‘nothing was said, nothing in any way’

(Hess 1998: 101, line 282)

The analogous form for *čay*, *sčay* ‘some reason for going’, is predicted to exist, but is not attested in the present corpus.

As noted above, *?idigʷat* combines with the allative applicative *-c* to form *?idigʷaac* ‘say what to someone?’:

- (332) xʷi? kʷi t̪ads?idigʷaac tsí?i t̪adskʷuy t̪ukʷədatəbəs ti?i t̪adbəda?
 xʷi? kʷi t̪u=ad=s=?idigʷat-c tsí?i t̪ad-skʷuy
 NEG REM IRR=2SG.PO=NOM=say.what-ALTV DIST:FEM 2SG.PO=mother
 t̪u=kʷəda-t-əb=əs ti?i t̪ad-bəda?
 IRR=taken-ICS-PASS=3SBJ DIST 2SG.PO-offspring
 ‘do not say anything to your mother when she takes your son’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 16)

Unfortunately, this word is not attested in questions, but instead appears in the available data only in indefinite anaphoric uses such as that shown here in (332). It seems likely, based on analogy with other interrogative words that take valency-increasing affixes, that both interrogative and anaphoric uses are open to this word, although resolution of this question will depend on uncovering further examples.

2.6.8 *?əxid* ‘what happened?’

In questions, the interrogative verb *?əxid* ‘what happened?’ is used to inquire in a general way about an action or event, the exact nature of the information being requested depending on the form of the question itself. In questions with simple NP subjects, the information requested is a specification of an event in which the entity identified by the subject phrase was a participant:

- (333) a. ?u?əxid əw'ə čəxʷ
 ?u-?əxid əw'ə čəxʷ
 PFV=what.happen PTCL 2SG.SUB
 ‘what are you up to?’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 13)
- b. gʷə?əxidəxʷ čələp gʷətčisəbaləp ?ə kʷsi ?axʷadus
 gʷə=?əxid=əxʷ čələp gʷə=tčil-s-əb=aləp ?ə kʷsi
 SBJ=what.happen=now 2PL.SUB SBJ=arrive-ALTV-PASS=2PL.SBJ PR REM:FEM
 ?axʷadus
 Basket.Ogress
 ‘what will you guys do if you are come upon by the Basket Ogress?’
 [DM Basket Ogress, line 6]

In these examples, *?əxid* is used to ask about an event as identified by its AGENT. In these contexts, the best approximation of its meaning is ‘do what?’, where the scope of the interrogative encompasses an entire event which is identified for the addressee by the identity of one of its participants (in 333, the AGENT or ACTOR). It is also possible to ask about an event identified by its PATIENTS or UNDERGOERS, as in (334):

- (334) a. ?u?əxid kʷi kikəwič
 ?u-?əxid kʷi ki-kəwič
 PFV-what.happen REM ATTN-hunchback
 ‘what happened to Little Hunchback?’
- [DM Basket Ogress, line 79]
- b. ?əxid ti?ə? bəda?s əlgʷə? kʷədi? tudəxʷ?atəbəds
 ?əxid ti?ə? bəda?-s əlgʷə? kʷədi? tu=dəxʷ=?atəbəd=s
 what.happen PROX child-3PO PL REM.DMA PAST=ADNM=die=3PO
 ‘what happened to their son that he died?’
- [ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 44]
- c. ?u?əxid čələp, ?u?əxid
 ?u-?əxid čələp ?u-?əxid
 PFV-what.happen 2SG.SUB PFV-2SG.SUB
 ‘what happened to you guys? what happened?’
- [DM Basket Ogress, line 77]

In sentences like these, the most straightforward English gloss would be ‘what happened to?’; however, syntactically, the questions in (333) and (334) are identical and the apparent differences between them is an artefact of translation. A more literal rendition of questions of this type would be something like ‘what was it that happened involving X?’, X’s role as AGENT or PATIENT being irrelevant to the syntax of the question. Indeed, *?əxid* is often used to ask about events in which the referent of the subject phrase may not have had a direct role at all, as in the examples in (335), where the interrogative might best be glossed as ‘what is the matter with?’ and asks about the general circumstances surrounding or affecting someone:

(335) a. ?u^w?e^{xid} čeləp

?u^w ?u-?e^{xid} čeləp
INTJ PFV-what.happen 2PL.SUB
oh, what's the matter with you guys?"

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 82]

b. ?e^s?e^{xid} əw'ə ts'i?ə? adčəg^was dəx^wul's ?ubak^wacut ti?ə? qədx^ws

?e^s-?e^{xid} əw'ə ts'i?ə? ad-čəg^was dəx^w=x^wul'=s
STAT-what.happen PTCL PROX:FEM 2PO-wife ADNM=only=3PO

?u-bak^wa-t-sut ti?ə? qədx^w-s

PFV-move.quickly-ICS-REFL PROX mouth-3PO

'what is the matter with your wife that her mouth is just a-goin'?

(Hess 2006: 4, line 22)

c. ?e^s?e^{xid}əx^w k^wi ?aciłtalbix^w g^was?itutəs

?e^s-?e^{xid}=əx^w k^wi ?aciłtalbix^w g^wə=?as-?itut=e^s
STAT-what.happen=now REM people SBJ=STAT-sleep=3SBJ
'why are the people asleep?'
(lit. 'what is the matter with the people that they are asleep?')

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 30)

As in (333), the subject of the interrogative word in these constructions is the affected participant, but — unlike (333) — the appropriate answer to the questions in (335) may or may not require that participant to be the subject of the sentence.

When the subject phrase of the question is a sentential nominalization referring to an event (Section 7.3), ?e^{xid} is interpreted as asking in a general way for further information about that event with glosses like 'why?', 'how far?', or 'how long?':

(336) a. bə?e^{xid}əx^w k^wi adəx^wux^wəcəd k^wi adsł'abac

bə?e^{xid}=əx^w k^wi ad=dəx^w=?u-x^wəc-əd k^wi
ADD=what.happen=now REM 2SG.PO=ADNM=PFV-remove-ICS REM

ad=s=ł'ab•abac

2SG.PO=NM=cover•body

'why are you taking your clothes off again?'

(Hess 2006: 35, line 323)

b. ?e^s?e^{xid} k^wi s?ibəš dx^w?ałxadulg^wədx^w

?e^s-?e^{xid} k^wi s=?ibəš=s dx^w-?ałxadulg^wədx^w
STAT-what.happen REM NM=travel=3PO CNTRFG-downstream
how far did he travel downstream?'

[MW Star Child, line 37]

c. ḫʷul'əxʷ ?əs?əxid ti?ił s?a ?ə cədił tučəgʷas dxʷ?al t'aq't
 xʷul' =əxʷ ?əs-?əxid ti?ił s=?a ?ə cədił tučəgʷas-s
 only=now STAT-what.happen DIST NM=exist PR he PAST=wife-3PO

dxʷ-?al t'aq't
 CNTRPT-at inland
 ‘just how long was his wife there up from shore?’

(Hess 2006: 16, line 126)

d. ?əs?əxid kʷi gʷadscutəbš dxʷ?al kʷi gʷəcəxʷhuyucid ?əs?ista?
 ?əs-?əxid kʷi gʷə=d=s-cut-t-əbš dxʷ?al kʷi
 STAT-what.happen REM SBJ=2SG.PO=NM=say-ICS-1SG.OBJ CNTRPT-at REM

gʷə=d=dəxʷ=huyu-t-sid ?əs-?ista?
 SBJ=1SG.PO=ADNM=be.done-ICS-2SG.OBJ STAT-be.like
 ‘what are you saying to me that I should treat you that way?’

(Hess 2006: 29, line 165)

If the event in the subject phrase is vague or expressed by a generic verb like *huy* ‘be done’, *?əxid* can also be interpreted (more along the lines of 333 and 334) as a request for information about the nature of the event itself:

(337) ?əs?əxid, ?u dsuqʷsuqʷa?, kʷi gʷədshuy ?al ti
 ?əs-?əxid ?u d-suqʷ-suqʷa? kʷi gʷə=d=s=huy
 STAT-what.happen INT 1SG.PO-DSTR-younger.sibling REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=be.done
 ?al ti
 at SPEC
 ‘what, my little brothers, can I do about this?’

(Hess 2006: 23, line 25)

Thus, the exact relationship between the subject phrase and the information being requested seems to be inferred from context rather than being specified exactly by the interrogative as it is in the English translations.

In at least one example in the corpus, *?əxid* appears to take a predicate complement:

(338) ?əs?əxid gʷəscutəbs
 ?əs-?əxid gʷə=s-cut-t-əb=s
 STAT- what.happen SBJ=NM=say-ICS-PASS=3PO
 ‘what would it be called?’

(Hess 2006: 7, line 113)

Here, the nominalized passive *scutəbs* ‘his/her saying to it’ is part of the predicate phrase headed by *?əxid* and serves to narrow the scope of the question by specifying that the request is for information about an event of speaking (or, in this case, of naming something). The contrast between this type of construction and those shown in (336) and (337) in which the event is specified in the subject phrase probably resides in the fact that in the latter cases the event being referred to is an actual, single (and topical) event known both to the speaker and the addressee, whereas in (338) the event specified by the predicate complement is a generic or habitual action.

Comparative questions soliciting the difference between two things are also based on *?əxid*:

- (339) ?əs?əxid kʷi sləli? ?ə ti?i₧ ha?ac dxʷ?al s̥əp'ab
 ?əs-?əxid kʷi s=łəli? ?ə ti?i₧ ha?ac dxʷ-?al s̥əp'ab
 STAT=what.happen REM NM=differ PR DIST horse.clam CNTRPT-at cockle
 ‘how does a horse clam differ from a cockle?’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 74)

Comparative constructions are discussed in more detail in Section 8.8.

When used as an indefinite anaphor, *?əxid* means something along the lines of ‘what happens’ or ‘that which takes place’, as in (340):

- (340) a. gʷəl di₧ s?=a kʷi t̥us?əxid ?ə ti?i₧ adbəda?
 gʷəl di₧ s=?a kʷi t̥u=s=?əxid ?ə ti?i₧ ad-bəda?
 SCONJ FOC NM=be.there REM IRR=NM=what.happen PR PROX 2SG.PO-offspring
 ‘and your son will be born there’
 (lit. ‘and it is your son’s being there that will be what happens’)

[DS Star Child, line 108]

- b. xʷi? gʷəλ'usuyəcəbs ?əs?əxid ti?ə? šəgʷɬ ti?i₧ə dəxʷa?i₧s
 xʷi? gʷəλ'u=s=?u-yəcəb=s ?əs-?əxid ti?ə? šəgʷɬ ti?i₧ə
 NEG SBJ=HAB=NM=PFV-report=3PO STAT=what.happen PROX path DIST
 dəxʷ=ha?i₧=s
 ADNM=good=3PO
 ‘it is not said what happens on the road where it is good’

[AW Basket Ogress, line 8]

- c. stab kʷi gʷəλ'us?əxid čət
 stab kʷi gʷəλ'us?əxid čət
 what REM SBJ=HAB=NOM=what.happen 1SG.PO
 'what could we do?' (lit. 'what we could do [is] what?')
 (Hess 2006: 45, line 93)

Note that in (340c) the subject phrase is based on a clause, *?əxid čət*, which could be translated variously as 'what did we do?' (like the analogous clauses in 333), 'what happened to us?' (as in 334), or even (as in 335) 'what is the matter with us?'. As an indefinite anaphor, this phrase in isolation would be glossed something along the lines of 'that which happened involving us', the specific semantic role played by 'us' being left to context to clarify.

When modified by the adverb *bəkʷʷ* 'all', *?əxid* forms part of an expression meaning 'in every way':

- (341) a. bəkʷʷ ?əs?əxid ha?ɬ šuɬ ...
 bəkʷʷ ?əs?əxid ha?ɬ šuɬ
 all STAT=what.happen good see
 'he is good-looking in every way'
 (Bierwert 1996: 127, line 206)

- b. bəkʷʷ ?əs?əxid səshuys ti?ə? wəq'əb
 bəkʷʷ ?əs?əxid s=?əs-huy=s ti?ə? wəq'əb
 all STAT=what.happen NM=STAT=be.done=3PO PROX box
 'this box was being done to [i.e., battered about] in everyway'¹⁰⁴
 (Bierwert 1996: 183, line 41)

In both of these examples, the expression *bəkʷʷ ?əs?əxid* 'in every way' takes a predicate complement that specifies the event whose circumstances are being referred to. In (341a), this complement is a bare verb phrase *ha?ɬ šuɬ* 'be good-looking' which shares its subject with the main predicate. In (341b), the complement is a sentential nominalization referring to an event or set of circumstances pertaining to the subject of the clause as a whole (the box).

¹⁰⁴ This line is glossed in the source as 'this box was doing everything'; however, the context is that the box has been tossed into the water and is being thrown about by the waves, not that the box was actively doing anything. The re-glossing provided here compensates for the decontextualization of the sentence, and mirrors the structure of the Lushootseed sentence at the expense of fluid English.

This indefinite anaphoric use of *?əxid* is particularly frequent in negative expressions like those in (342):

In (342a), *?əxid* appears as part of a complex subject-phrase, a relative clause headed by *stab* ‘what?’, itself used as an indefinite anaphor. The existence or reality of the entire subject phrase (‘that which I could do’) is negated by the clausal predicate, the negative adverb *x^wi?*. In (342b), *?əxid* itself is the clausal predicate and is negated by *x^wi?*, which in this case acts as a *bona fide* adverb. (For the distinction between the two types of negative clause, see Section 8.5 below). Note that in this case *?əxid* has lost its interrogative sense despite being in predicate position.

In a few other contexts, *?əxid* is used as a clausal predicate with an indefinite rather than an interrogative meaning. One of these, a narrator's aside at a point in the story where he is unable to remember the particular song sung by a character, is given in (343):

- (343) ?u, ləcu?əxid
 ?u ləcu–?əxid
 INTJ CONT–what.happen
 ‘or whatever it was’

More commonly, *?axid* used as an indefinite predicate has a temporal sense, as shown in (344):

- (344) a. ?i^r, x^wu?ələ? ?əs?əxid ti?i^h səsək̥əls
 ?i^r x^wu?ələ? ?əs?əxid ti?i^h s=?əs-χək̥=s
 INTJ maybe STAT=what.happen DIST NM=STAT=sick=3PO
 'indeed, [Coyote] was sick for quite some time, I guess'
 (lit. 'maybe his sickness [was] happening') (Hess 1998: 91, line 26)

- b. xʷu?ələ? ?əs?əxid cəlac sləxil
 xʷu?ələ? ?əs-?əxid cəlac sləxil
 maybe STAT-what.happen four day
 'maybe [it lasted] four days'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 14)

These examples parallel the temporal use of *?əxid* shown in (336c). Although the predicative indefinite uses of *?əxid* are textually infrequent, it seems likely, given the range of possible meanings shown by this word in other contexts, that *?əxid* has an equally wide range of potential meanings when used as a clausal predicate.

As noted above, *?əxid* takes the external causative suffix *-txʷ* (Section 2.1.2.2) to form *?əxitxʷ* 'do what to something?', and this form in turn takes the dative applicative *-yi-d* (2.1.3.1), forming *?əxi̥txʷyid* 'do what with something of someone's':

- (345) a. t̪ələs?əxitxʷ kʷədi? kʷagʷičəd
 t̪u=ləs-?əxid-txʷ kʷədi? kʷagʷičəd
 IRR=PROG.STAT-what.happen-ECS REM.DMA elk
 'what is he going to do to that elk?'

- b. bələcu?əxi̥txʷyidəxʷ čəxʷ ti adč'abiqʷ
 bə=ləcu-?əxi̥-txʷ-yi-d=əxʷ čəxʷ ti ad-č'abiqʷ
 ADD=CONT-what.happen-ECS-DAT-ICS=now 2SG.SUB SPEC 2SG.PO-
 great.grandchild
 'what are you doing with [that tallow hoop] of your great-grandson's?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 14)

The breakdown of the second of these two forms, *?əxi̥txʷyid*, is not entirely clear, as it appears to contain a Type II attenuative reduplication (*?əxitxʷyid* > *?əxi̥itxʷyid*) followed by syncope (*?əxi̥itxʷyid* > *?əxi̥txʷyid*). However, as there is only one attestation of the form in the corpus, it is unknown whether the reduplication in the stem is a productive reduplication specific to this example, or if this is the fixed form of the stem (perhaps a fossilization of an earlier reduplicated form).

?əxid is also found combined with another verbal derivational affix, *-il* 'inchoative', in the form *?əxidil* 'happen, come to pass':

- (346) *λ'u?* =*əxidil* *gʷəl* *ləkʷit'* *ti?ə?* *s?ušəbabdxʷ sbəqʷwa?*
λ'u? =*əxidil* *gʷəl* *ləkʷit'* *ti?ə?* *s?ušəbabdxʷ sbəqʷwa?*
HAB=what.happen-INCH SCONJ PROG=go.waterward PROX poor.guy heron
‘it happened every now and then that poor Heron was going down to shore’
(Hess 2006: 21, lines 229 – 30)

As with the combination of *-il* and *čad*, this form seems to lack an interrogative sense, although its use may be loosely indefinite in the sense that a general type of event is being referred to (or, more accurately, a set of events repeated over an undefined span of time) instead of a specific event grounded in a specific time. It may be the case, then, that *?əxidil* has lost the interrogative meaning of its root; however, the sentence in (346) is the only attestation in the corpus and so it is impossible to tell whether there is also an interrogative use open to this form.¹⁰⁵

2.7 Other word classes

2.7.1 Personal and possessive pronouns

Although Lushootseed has a variety of anaphoric devices for referring to and tracking event-participants and arguments in discourse, the bulk of these seem best treated as parts of the word-level or phrase-level inflectional systems (see the discussion of object-markers in Section 8.1.2 and subject-markers in 8.1.1 below), or as elements from the deictic system (2.4). There is, however, a set of anaphoric elements that have the syntactic distribution of nouns and thus lend themselves to classification as true pronouns. These are given in Table 68:

	SG	PL
1	?əca	dibət
2	dəgʷi	gʷəlapu
3	cədił	caadił

¹⁰⁵ There is also one attestation of another derived form based on *?əxid*, *?əxidəb*:

- (i) bək'w̃ ?əs?əxidəb
 bək'w̃ ?əs?əxidəb
 all STAT-what.happen
 ‘it was all different ways’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 14)

However, no other information is available on this use, nor is it apparent from this example what, if any, difference there is between *?əxid* and *?əxidəb*. The example is merely provided here in the interests of full disclosure.

Table 68: Personal pronouns

Like nouns, these elements appear variously as the arguments of verbs (347a) and nominalized clauses (b), as the complements of pronouns (c), and as the heads of predicative expressions (d):

- (347) a. ?i; ḥukʷic'yid čət ti dəgʷi
 ?i ḥu=kʷic'-yi-d čət ti dəgʷi
 INTJ IRR=butcher-DAT-ICS 1PL.SUB SPEC you
 'indeed, we will butcher it for you'
 (Hess 1998: 241)
- b. hikʷ kʷagʷičəd ti?ił səst̤ild čət ti dəgʷi
 hikʷ kʷagʷičəd ti?ił s=?əs-čil-d čət ti dəgʷi
 big elk DIST NM=STAT=give.food-ICS 1PL.PO SPEC you
 'our gift of food to you [is] a big elk'
 (Hess 1998: 81, line 110)
- c. gʷəl xʷi? ḥuləxəb dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 gʷəl xʷi? ḥu=lə=čəb dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 INTJ not IRR=NEGP=be.heavy for you
 'and it will not be heavy for you'
 (Hess 1998: 81, line 92)
- d. dəgʷi kʷəda? kʷi gʷəλ'ub gʷəshuyəxʷ ḥukʷał
 dəgʷi kʷəda? kʷi gʷə=λ'ub gʷə=s=huy=əxʷ ḥukʷał
 you maybe REM SBJ=well SBJ=NM=be.done=now sun
 'maybe the one who is best to be the sun [is] you'
 [HM Star Child, line 172]

Like nouns, pronouns are typically introduced by determiners when heading referential expressions (Section 7.1) as in (347a) and (b), although this is not always the case, as in (347c).

When the antecedent of the pronoun is female and the determiner is used, the determiner takes its feminine form:

- (348) λ'ubəxʷ ḥwul'əxʷ ḥadq'ədzał ts'i?ił dəgʷi, p'uay'
 λ'ub=əxʷ ḥwul'=əxʷ ḥu=ad-q'ədzał ts'i?ił dəgʷi p'uay'
 good=now just=now IRR=2SG.PO=entrails DIST:FEM you flounder
 'it's better that they will just become your entrails, Flounder'

[ML Mink and Tatyka, line 18]

This example also shows a pronoun in another nominal syntactic role, that of possessor of an NP.

The use of a determiner with a first- or second-person pronoun is extremely unusual from a typological point of view.

Although the first- and second-person pronouns can function as objects of a predicate as in (347a), they are rarely the subject of a predication, this role being filled by the various subject-markers (see Section 8.1 for some discussion). However, there are a few examples in the texts of a pronoun being used as a subject:

- (349) a. ləcułalšəbəxʷ dəgʷi, tsi sɬ'älqəb

ləcu-łal-šəbəxʷ^{PROG-STAT-removal}
you-are-being-taken-away-out-of-the-fire-Qress

dəgʷi tsi sɬ'älqəb
you SPEC-STEM minister

[LA Basket Ogress, line 8]

- b. hiwil! ?uxʷ dəgʷi!

hiwil ?uxʷ dəgʷi
go.on go you
'go on! you go!'

[HM Star Child, line 170]

- c. dəgʷi ?uyəcəbtubš

dəgʷi ?u-yəc-əb-txʷ-bš
you PFV-inform-MD-CS-1SG.OBJ
'you informed me'

(Hess 1967a: 54)

The infrequency of such uses of the pronouns is probably due largely to the requirements of referent-tracking, which in general requires subjects to be topical and, as such, they are infrequently realized as overt lexical elements in a clause (Section 11.2.2). While the use of subject pronouns in imperatives might seem more probable, the example in (349) is the only attestation of this in the corpus found to date.

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM
Comment: note the word order in c!

In addition to appearing in the roles illustrated in (347), the third-person pronoun also appears in a textually frequent appositive construction, as in (350):

- (350) ḫə́l tukʷədādəxʷ ti?ə? cədił biac
 xə́l tu=kʷəda-d=əxʷ ti?ə? cədił biac
 apparently PAST=grab-ICS=now PROX it meat
 ‘it seems that he couldn’t get a hold of it, that meat’

(Hess 1998: 85, line 213)

The third-person pronoun is also unusual in that, unlike most other third-person anaphora, it has a plural form, formed by a Type 6 replication of the first vowel in the stem. The use of the plural form, however, is not obligatory with plural referents, as illustrated by the following pair of lines from the story ?əstallil ti?ił ?i sgʷəlub ?i ti?ił ḫə́lxəłtəds ‘Pheasant and his brothers-in-law lived there’ told by Martha Lamont (Hess 1998):

- (351) a. ḥ'uxʷi?xʷi? ti?ił caadił ḫə́lxəłtəds
 ḥ'uxʷi?xʷi? ti?ił caadił xə́l-xəłtəd-s
 HAB=hunt DIST they DSTR-brother.in.law-3PO
 ‘his [Pheasant’s] brothers-in-law would go hunting’

- b. ḥ'uxʷi?xʷi? ti?ił caadił ḫə́lxəłtəds
 i? i? i? i?
 INTJ HAB=arrive PROX he/she
 ‘and they would arrive’

(Hess 1998: 263, lines 16-17)

In the first of these two lines, the brothers-in-law of Pheasant are designated as plural both by the Type 1 reduplication of the nominal root ḫə́ltəd ‘brother in law’ and by the choice of the plural form of the pronoun, *caadił*. In the subsequent line, however, the same plural referent is expressed by the singular form of the pronoun, *cədił*. The optionality of number-marking, even for human referents, is typical of the Lushootseed treatment of nominal number.

In addition to the personal pronouns listed in Table 68, Lushootseed also has a possessive pronoun, *sgʷa?* ‘one’s own’, which is inflected using the possessive affixes (Section 7.2) to give the following paradigm:

	SG	PL
1	<i>dsgʷa?</i>	<i>sgʷa?čəł</i>
2	<i>adsgʷa?</i>	<i>sgʷa?łəp</i>
3		<i>sgʷa?s</i>

Table 69: Possessive pronouns

Like the other personal pronouns, possessive pronouns can be the subjects (352a), objects (352b), or complements (352c) of syntactic predicates:

- (352) a. gʷəl diłəxʷ? u?uxʷtub? ʔa ti?ə? baščəb? i? ti?ə? qawʷqs ti?i? sgʷwa?as əlgʷə?

gʷəl dił=əxʷ? u?-uxʷ-txʷ-b? ʔa ti?ə? baščəb? i? ti?ə? qawʷq-

SCONJ FOC=now PFV-go-ECS-PASS PR PROX mink and PROX raven

ti?i^t sg^wa?^s əl^wə?
 DIST one's.own-3PO PL
 'and theirs (i.e., their share) was taken by Mink and Raven'

'and theirs (i.e., their share) was taken by Mink and Raven'

(Hess 1998: 73, line 199)

- b. *luləskʷədād čəxʷ ti dił dsgʷa?* ds?abyicid
 lu=ləs-kʷədā-d čəxʷ ti dił d-sgʷa?
 IRR=PROG,STAT-taken-ICS 2SG.SUB SPEC FOC 1SG.PO-one's.own

d=s=?ab-yi-t-sid
1SG.PO=N.M=extend-DAT-1CS-2SG.QBL

TSG.PO-NM-EXTEND-DAT-ICS-2SG.OBJ
‘you will be taking this very one of mine which I give to you’

(Hess 2006: 73, line 733)

- c. xʷi? lədsgʷa?
 xʷi? lə=d-sgʷa?
 NEG NEGP=1SG.PO-one's.own
 'they are not mine'

(Hess 1998: 85, line 200)

However, like the personal pronouns, the possessive pronouns are textually far more frequent as syntactic predicates:

- (353) a. xw?ələ? sgwa?ləp ti?ił sələd, tatač
bix^w
 xw?ələ? sgwa?ləp ti?ił sələd tatač
bix^w
 maybe one's.own-2PL.PO DIST food big.game.animal
 'maybe that food, big game animal, is yours'

(Hess 1998: 80 line 62)

- b. adsg^wa? ?u ti?i‡
 ad-sg^wa? ?u ti?i‡
 2SG.PO-one's.own INT DIST
 'is that yours??'

(Hess 1998: 85 line 204)

c. adsg^wa? adshuyalc ti?ə? cəx^whuyəx^w ?əs?ista?
ad-sg^wa? ad=s=huy-alc ti?ə? d=dəx^w=huy=əx^w
2SG.PO=one's.own 2SG.PO=NM=made-PRDCT PROX 1SG.PO=ADNM=made=now

?əs-?ista?
STAT-be.like

'it is your doing, that I have been made to be like this'

[ML Mink and Tutyika II, line 91]

As seen in (353c), the possessive pronouns can potentially take bare nominal complements, indicating the type of possessed item the pronoun refers back to:

(354) a. bəsg^wa?sx^w bəsx^wi?x^wi?s k^wədi? sucuteuts
bə=sg^wa?-s=əx^w bə=sx^wi?x^wi?-s k^wədi? s=?u-cut-cut=s
ADD=one's.own-3PO=now ADD=game=3PO REM.DMA NM=PFV-DSTR-say=3PO
'it was his own game, he was saying'

(Hess 1998: 87, line 242)

b. x^wi? lədsg^wa? dsq^wəbay?
x^wi? lə=d-sg^wa? d=sq^wəbay?
NEG NEGP=1SG.PO-one's.own 1SG.PO-dog
'they are not my dogs'

(Hess 1998: 79, line 33)

c. diłəx^w təusg^wa?s təusəsyayus ?ə ti?ə? tək^wtək^wəlus
dił=əx^w təu=sg^wa?-s təu=s=?əs-yayus ?ə ti?ə? tək^wtək^wəlus
FOC=now IRR=ones.own=3PO IRR=NM=STAT-work PR PROX owl
'it will be Owl's very own work'

(Hess 2006: 9, line 162)

Like the possessive pronoun itself, the complement is inflected for the person and number of its possessor. The complement can be a concrete noun like *sx^wi?x^wi?* 'game' as in (354a) or *sq^wəbay?* 'dog' in (354b), or it can be an *s*-nominal representing a more abstract concept, as in (354c). Like other type of bare-nominal complements, these nouns appear without determiners and rigidly follow the head of the NP.

2.7.2 Quantifiers

2.7.3 Numerals

Lushootseed has three series of words used for counting. The first of these are the general, plain-series numerals used for counting non-humans:

1	<i>dəč'u?</i>	90	<i>χʷəlači?</i>
2	<i>sali?</i>	100	<i>dəč'u? sbək'ʷači?</i>
3	<i>tixʷ</i>	101	<i>dəč'u? sbək'ʷači? i kʷi dəč'u?</i>
4	<i>buuš</i>	102	<i>dəč'u? sbək'ʷači? i kʷi sali?</i>
5	<i>cəlac</i>	110	<i>dəč'u? sbək'ʷači? i kʷi ɣulub (NL)</i>
6	<i>yəla?c (NL), dəlači? (SL)</i>	111	<i>dəč'u? sbək'ʷači? i kʷi ɣulub i kʷi dəč'u? (NL)</i>
7	<i>c'ukʷs</i>	120	<i>dəč'u? sbək'ʷači? i kʷi sali? ači?</i>
8	<i>təqači?</i>	200	<i>sali? sbək'ʷači?</i>
9	<i>χʷəł</i>	300	<i>tixʷ sbək'ʷači?</i>
10	<i>ɣulub (NL), padac (SL)</i>	400	<i>buuš sbək'ʷači?</i>
11	<i>ɣulub i kʷi dəč'u? (NL)¹⁰⁶</i>	500	<i>cəlac sbək'ʷači?</i>
12	<i>ɣulub i kʷi sali? (NL)</i>	600	<i>yəla?c sbək'ʷači? (NL), dəlači? sbək'ʷači? (SL)</i>
20	<i>sali?ači?</i>	700	<i>c'ukʷs sbək'ʷači?</i>
21	<i>sali?ači? i kʷi dəč'u?</i>	800	<i>təqači? sbək'ʷači?</i>
22	<i>sali?ači? i kʷi sali?</i>	900	<i>χəł sbək'ʷači?</i>
30	<i>stixʷači?</i>	1000	<i>ɣulub sbək'ʷači? (NL), padac sbək'ʷači? (SL)</i>
40	<i>sbuušači?</i>	1001	<i>ɣulub sbək'ʷači? i kʷi dəč'u? (NL)</i>
50	<i>scəlacači?</i>	1100	<i>ɣulub i kʷi dəč'u? sbək'ʷači? (NL)¹⁰⁷</i>
60	<i>yəla?cači? (NL), dəlači? ači? (SL)</i>	1900	<i>ɣulub i kʷi χʷəł sbək'ʷači? (NL)</i>
70	<i>c'ukʷsači?</i>	2000	<i>sali?ači? sbək'ʷači?</i>
80	<i>təqači?ači?</i>	3000	<i>stixʷači? sbək'ʷači?</i>

Table 70: Cardinal numerals—plain series

Several of the forms in Table 70 are analyzable as consisting of a radical plus the lexical suffix *-ači?* ‘hand’. In both Northern and Southern Lushootseed, this suffix is used to indicate decades (that is, the interval corresponding to the number of fingers on both hands), while the word for 100, *sbək'ʷači?*, appears to contain the radical *vbəkʷ* ‘all’, suggesting an etymological source in an expression meaning ‘all hands’. The word for eight, *təqači?*, is based on the radical *vtq* ‘closed’, ‘closed hands’ perhaps being a reference to the number indicated by holding up both

¹⁰⁶ Literally, ‘ten and one (thing)’. In Southern Lushootseed, the form for eleven is *padac yəxʷ kʷi dəč'u?* (Hess & Hilbert 1976), which would have the same literal gloss.

¹⁰⁷ Tweddell (1950) reports 1,100 (given here in standardized transcription) as *padac sbək'ʷači? yəxʷ kʷi dəč'u? sbək'ʷači?*; however, this form does not follow the pattern for the other thousand-hundred forms found in the same work and in Hess & Hilbert (1976).

hands with the thumbs folded over the palms.¹⁰⁸ The Southern Lushootseed word for six, *dəlači?*, is based on *⁊vdəl* ‘turned, changed’, which probably derives from the fact that, when counting on one’s fingers, six requires the use of the fingers on the next hand. The words for 30, 40, 50, and 100 also begin with the nominalizing prefix *s-* (Section 2.2.1); this prefix is occasionally found with the decades from 60 to 90 as well.

Numbers that combine decades or centuries with digits such as the Northern Lushootseed words for 11 (*?ulub ?i kʷi dč'u?*), 21 (*sali?ači? ?i kʷi dč'u?*), or 101 (*dəč'u? sbək'ʷači? ?i kʷi dč'u?*) use the conjunction *?i* ‘and’ (*yəxʷ* is used in the Southern Lushootseed equivalents) and a determiner to connect the digits to the remainder of the expression. The choice of determiner is governed by the same considerations of specificity, uniqueness, and deixis that govern determiner choice in other contexts (see Section 2.4 above), *kʷi* being used as a default when one is counting in the abstract and not enumerating concrete objects. Orders of centuries are specified by combining words for digits and decades with *sbək'ʷači?* ‘100’, making the Lushootseed numerals between 100 and 10,000 the equivalent of those used in spoken English for numbers (e.g., *cəlac sbək'ʷači?* = *five hundred*, *?ulub ?i kʷi xʷəl sbək'ʷači?* = *nineteen hundred*), although in Lushootseed — but not in English — this pattern is extended to the even millennia (*?ulub sbək'ʷači?* ‘one thousand’ [lit. ‘ten hundred’]).¹⁰⁹

Lushootseed has a special series of numerals used specifically for counting people, given in Table 71:

1	<i>diič'u?</i>	8	<i>təqqači?</i>
2	<i>səsa?li?</i>	9	<i>xʷələl</i>
3	<i>lixʷixʷ</i>	10	<i>?ululub</i> (NL), <i>padadac</i> (SL)
4	<i>bəbu?s</i>	11	<i>?ululub ?i diič'u?</i> (NL) ¹¹⁰
5	<i>cələlac</i>	20	<i>sala?ači?i?</i> (SL)

¹⁰⁸ Hess & Hilbert (1976: 28) suggest the opposite pattern, counting down with the fingers until all are folded over the palm except the thumbs.

¹⁰⁹ Tweddell (1950: 72) also reports the borrowing *ta'wowsəd* [sic] ‘thousand’.

¹¹⁰ The form *padadači?* *yəxʷ kʷi diič'u?* is given for Snoqualamie-Duwamish by Tweddell (1950: 72), who reports the form *padadači?* ‘ten’ as being used in compound numbers from 11–19. The form *padadac* is used for 10 and as the initial member of compounds based thereon — e.g., *padadac bək'ʷači?* ‘1000’.

6	yələla?c (NL), dəlalaci? (SL)	100	diič'u? bəkʷ'ači? (SL)
7	c'ukʷukʷs	1000	padadac bəkʷ'ači? (SL)

Table 71: Cardinal numerals — human series

With the exception of the words for one, two, and four people, this series is formed from the plain-series numerals by Type III reduplication (Section 5.3.4). For numerals between 10 and 20 that combine the first decade with a digit, both numerals are taken from the human series:

- (355) ?ululub ?i diič'u?
 ?ululub ?i diič'u?
 ten:HMN and one:HMN
 'eleven people'

[LA Basket Ogress, line 56]

In Northern Lushootseed, the human series of numerals is only used up to 20, after which plain-series numerals are used. In Southern Lushootseed, the complex numerals for 100 and 1000 people are given in Tweddell (1950: 72) with the initial numerals in the corresponding human form, *diič'u? bəkʷ'ači?* '100 people' and *padadac bəkʷ'ači?* '1,000 people' (lit. 'ten hundred people'); the higher thousands such as 2,000 and 5,000 use only the plain cardinal forms (i.e., *sali?ači? sbəkʷ'ači?* '2,000 people' [lit. 'twenty-hundred people'] and *cəlacači? sbəkʷ'ači?* '5,000 people' [lit. 'fifty-hundred people']).

A third series of numerals is used for counting time or iteration:¹¹¹

1	<i>dəč'axʷ</i>	30	<i>stixʷači?at</i>
2	<i>cəbab</i>	40	<i>sbuusači?at</i>
3	<i>tixʷat</i>	50	<i>scəlacači?at</i>
4	<i>buusač</i>	60	<i>dəlači?at</i> (SL)
5	<i>cəlacač</i>	70	<i>c'ukʷači?at</i>
6	<i>yəla?cat</i> (NL), <i>dəlači?at</i> (SL)	80	<i>təqači?at</i>
7	<i>c'ukʷat</i>	90	<i>χʷəlači?at</i>
8	<i>təqači?at</i>	100	<i>dəč'u? sbəkʷ'ači?at</i>
9	<i>χʷəlači?at</i>	101	<i>dəč'u? sbəkʷ'ači?at yəxʷ kʷi dč'u?</i>
10	<i>?ulubač</i> (NL), <i>padacač</i> (SL)	200	<i>sali? sbəkʷ'ači?at</i>
11	<i>?ulubač ?i kʷi dč'u?</i> (NL)	700	<i>cukʷs sbəkʷ'ači?at</i>
12	<i>?ulubač ?i kʷi sali?</i> (NL)	1000	<i>padac sbəkʷ'ači?at</i> (SL)
20	<i>sali?ači?at</i>	1001	<i>padac sbəkʷ'ači?at yəxʷ kʷi dč'u?</i> (SL)
21	<i>sali?ači?at ?i kʷi dč'u?</i>	1100	<i>padac yəxʷ kʷi dč'u? sbəkʷ'ači?at</i> (SL)
22	<i>sali?ači?at ?i kʷi sali?</i>	2000	<i>sali?ači? sbəkʷ'ači?</i>

Table 72: Cardinal numerals—temporal-iterative series

¹¹¹ The forms higher than 20 in this table are Snoqualmie-Duwamish forms taken from Tweddell (1950: 72) and given here in standardized transcription.

The first of these forms, *dəč'axʷ* ‘once’, is commonly truncated to *č'əč'axʷ*. The second form *cəbab* ‘twice’ is based on a bound suppletive form of the radical. It usually appears in combination with certain lexical suffixes and varies with the independent form of the radical, *sali?*. Other than these two, the remainder of the temporal-iterative numerals are formed by combining the plain-series numeral with the lexical suffix *-at* ‘times’. For simple numerals, this suffix is simply added to the stem; for complex numerals, it appears as a suffix on the decade or century rather than on the digits. The same lexical suffix is also used to form the expressions *qahał* ‘many (*qa*) times’ and *dəixʷat* ‘first (*dəixʷ*) time’.

The temporal-iterative numeral series is also the basis of a few complex temporal expressions derived using the inchoative suffix *-il* to create verbs indicating the completion of an action a specified number of times:

- (356) a. ḥʷul' ?ubuusaḥil ti?iḥ shuyuds

ḥʷul' ?u-buus•aḥ-il ti?iḥ s=huyu-d=s
only PFV-four-times-INCH DIST NM=be.done-ICS=3PO
'she had just done it four times'

[MW Star Child, line 130]

- b. ?al kʷi stixʷaḥils, huy, kʷədabacdubutəxʷ ti?ə? ?əskikəwič

?al kʷi s=tixʷ•aḥ-il=s huy kʷəd•abac-dxʷ-but=əxʷ
PR REM NM=three-times-INCH=3PO SCONJ take•body-DC=REFL=now

ti?ə? ?əs-ki-kəwič

DIST STAT-ATTN=hunchbacked

'on the third time, well, the little hunchbacked one caught his body [on the snags]'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 57]

It may be, however, that this particular type of derivation is not limited to temporal-iterative numerals as there are two examples, given in (357), of inchoative verbs formed with a numeral and a different lexical suffix, *-gʷit* ‘canoe’:

- (357) a. ləcəbagʷiḥil ti?ə? ?əsχəkʷtxʷ əlgʷə? λ'əlay?

lə=cəb•a•gʷiḥ-il ti?ə? ?əs-χəkʷ-txʷ əlgʷə? λ'əlay?
PROG=two•CNN•canoe-INCH PROX STAT-overturned-ECS PL canoe
'it was coming to be that they had two canoes overturned'

- b. lə̥tixʷalgʷitil ti?ə? tasx̥okʷtxʷ həlgʷə? λ'əlay? dəxʷəsačʷəbabac
 lə̥tixʷ•al•gʷit•il ti?ə? tu=?as-x̥okʷ-txʷ həlgʷə? λ'əlay?
 PROG=three•CNN•canoe-INCH PROX PAST=STAT=overturned-ECS PL canoe
 dəxʷ=lə̥=sačʷəb•abac
 ADNM=PROG=jump•body
 ‘it was coming to be they had three canoes overturned that they were jumping over’
 (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 15)

This suggests that the numeral + lexical suffix + inchoative expression is more productive than its frequency in the corpus indicates, but this will have to remain an open question until subsequent textual analysis brings more examples to light.

Beyond this, numerals in all three series are surprisingly inert in morphological terms. Other than expressions of the type shown in (356), numerals seem only to appear as stems in two related sets of compound words formed with incorporative suffix *-ał* and the radical *√dat* ‘day’:

<i>cəbdat</i> ‘two days, second day’	<i>scəbdatil</i> ‘Tuesday’
<i>stixʷəłdat</i> ‘three days, third day’ ¹¹²	<i>stixʷəłdatil</i> ‘Wednesday’
<i>buusəłdat</i> ‘four days, fourth day’	<i>buusəłdatil</i> ‘Thursday’ (NL)
—	<i>scəlacəłdatil</i> ‘Friday’ (NL) ¹¹³

Table 73: Compound numeral expressions for days and days of the week

These seem likely to be recent formations introduced along with the European calendar. The fact that there are a maximum of four forms in each set follows from the naming practices for the days the week, the remainder of which are *č'itabac* ‘Saturday’ (from *√č'it* ‘near’ + *-abac* ‘body’), *x̥a?x̥a?ałdat* ‘Sunday’ (*√x̥a?x̥a?* ‘sacred, taboo’), and *bəłxʷəłdat* ‘Monday’ (*√bəłxʷ* ‘pass by, come after’). Furthermore, it seems possible that the words in the lefthand column of Table 73 are backformations from the (more morphologically complex) words in the righthand column, given the absence of potential forms for expressing periods of time in days that do not correspond to the Lushootseed names for days of the week that happen to be based on numerals. It should be noted, however, that there are two verbs — *tixʷəłdacut* ‘become three days’ and *buusałdalicut* ‘become four days’ (each attested only once in the corpus) — which appear to be

¹¹² This form is also glossed as ‘Wednesday’ in the *Lushootseed Dictionary* (p. 147).

¹¹³ The *Lushootseed Dictionary* records this form as *scəlacəłdat(il)* (p. 45), the parenthesis indicating that the word is also attested without the inchoative suffix but with the same gloss.

derived from *stixʷəłdat* ‘three days, third day’ and *buusəłdat* ‘four days, fourth day’, respectively. These two verbs are formed through a rather non-transparent use of reflexive morphology (-*cut* consisting of the event-internal causative *-t* and the reflexive marker *-sut*), and it remains to be seen whether they are representative of a more extensive set of older forms or if they are recent coinages of some kind.

All three series of numerals are used both as nominal quantifiers and as clausal predicates.

The former use is illustrated in (358):

- (358) a. hay gʷəł, tusulayitəbəxʷ ?ə ti?ił sali? sqʷiqliqʷəlał'əd
 hay gʷəł tu=sula-yi-t-əb=əxʷ ?ə ti?ił sali? sqʷiqliqʷəlał'əd
 SCONJ SCONJ PAST=centred-DAT-ICS-PASS=now PR DIST two ATTN=berry
 ‘and then he set before him two little berries’
 (Hess 1995: 152, line 21)

- b. gʷəł ?ahəxʷ ti?ə? səsali? sɬəładəy? ləqaladibid
 gʷəł ?a=həxʷ ti?ə? səsali? sɬəładəy? ləqaladibid
 SCONJ be.there=now PROX two:HMN PL-woman hear•CNN•ear-MAP-ICS
 ‘and there are two women who overhear it’

[HM Star Child, line 26]

- c. xʷu?əłə? ?əs?əxid cəlac sləxil kʷədi? tusaxʷəbtubs
 xʷu?əłə? ?əs?əxid cəlac sləxil kʷədi? tu=s=saxʷəb-txʷ-b=s
 maybe STAT-what.happen five day REM.DMA PAST=NM=run-ECS-PASS=3PO
 ‘maybe it was five days (since) they had been run off with (i.e., kidnapped)’
 (Hess 2006: 53, line 264)

Numerals are most frequently used with the singular form of nouns (358a and c), although the plural form is an option, particularly when referring to numbers of people (358b). As shown in these examples, numerals may be used in nominal argument phrases (358a and b) as well as in nominal predicate complements (358c).

As in many languages, the numeral ‘one’, *dəč'u?*, can be used to convey a sense of specificity or particularity:

- (359) a. gʷəl huy bəʔey'ədxʷəxʷ ti?ə? qa ti?ił s?uladxʷ əl ti?ił cədił dəč'u? stuləkʷ
 gʷəl huy bəʔey'ədxʷəxʷ ti?ə? qa ti?ił s?uladxʷ əl ti?ił
 SCONJ SCONJ ADD=found-DC=now PROX many DIST salmon at DIST

cədił dəč'u? stuləkʷ
 he one river

'and then he found a lot of salmon in this one river'

(Hess 1998: 66, line 23)

b. gʷəl dił xʷuʔəłə? tušac's ti?ił dəč'u? syəyəhub
 gʷəl dił xʷuʔəłə? tu=s=šac'=s ti?ił dəč'u? syəyəhub
 SCONJ FOC maybe PAST=NM=end=3PO PROX one story
 'and I guess that is the end of this one traditional story'

(Hess 1998: 76, line 279)

c. ?aləxʷ ti?ə? s?ahilsəxʷ ti?ə? sɬčils dxʷəl ti?ə? dəč'u? swətixʷtəd
 ?al=əxʷ ti?ə? s?=ah-il=s=əxʷ ti?ə? s=ɬč-il=s
 at=now PROX NM=be.there-INCH=3PO=now PROX NM=arrive-INCH=3PO

dxʷ-əl ti?ə? dəč'u? swətixʷtəd
 CNTRPT-at PROX one tree

'when (she) got to this one tree'

[MS Basket Ogress, line 38]

d. gʷəl λ'ubəkʷədad ti?ił bədəč'u? qʷay?
 gʷəl λ'u=bə=kʷəda-d ti?ił bə=dəč'u? qʷay?
 SCONJ HAB=ADD=taken-ECS DIST ADD=one stick
 'then she would take another one of her scratching sticks'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 118]

This use of the numeral is not textually infrequent, and finds a very close parallel in its literal English gloss.

Like other adnominal modifiers, numerals have some flexibility as to whether they precede the noun they modify (as in 358) or follow it, as in (360):

- b. sxa?hus tsi?ə? čəgʷas diič'u?
 sxa?hus tsi?ə? čəgʷas diič'u?
 sawbill PROX:FEM wife one:HMN
 'one wife [was] Sawbill'

(Hess 2006: 22, line 5)

Post-nominal ordering for numerals is rare (these are the only two examples in the current corpus) and it is not clear what conditions may apply to this ordering.

Also like other modifiers, numerals can be combined with additional adnominal elements in a single noun phrase:

- (361) a. sa? sali? sqʷəlačəd
 sa? sali? sqʷəlačəd
 bad two berry
 '[there were] two measly berries'

(Hess 1995: 152, line 26)

- b. dəč'u? ha?‡ syəyəhub
 dəč'u? ha?‡ syəyəhub
 one good story
 '[it is] a good story'

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 32)

The relative ordering of the numeral with respect to other adnominal modifiers appears to be relatively free, determined by considerations of style or communicative structure.

Numerals are often found as the heads of anaphoric nominal expressions:

- (362) a. kʷədad ti?ə? dəč'u?
 kʷəda-d ti?ə? dəč'u?
 taken-ICS PROX one
 'he took one (berry)'

(Hess 1995: 152, line 29)

- b. gʷəl bə?əsgʷədil tsi?i‡ dəč'u? ?al kʷi xʷqʷəqʷus
 gʷəl bə?əs-gʷəd-il tsi?i‡ dəč'u? ?al kʷi xʷqʷəqʷus
 SCONJ ADD=STAT-down-INCH DIST:FEM one at REM cliff
 'and one (sister) was sitting on the cliff'

[JS Basket Ogress, line 74]

These expressions only occur in contexts where the identity of the item(s) being counted is recoverable from discourse. Numerals also head NPs in constructions such as that in (363):

- (363) gʷəl ?əbsqʷəbqʷəbay? ?ə ti?ə? bəsali?
 gʷəl ?əs-bəs-sqʷəb-qʷəbay? ?ə ti?ə? bə=sali?
 SCONJ STAT-PROP-DSTR-dog PR PROX ADD=two
 ‘and (they) had two dogs, too’

(Hess 1998: 78, line 23)

This is a usual way of expressing the notion ‘X has a certain number of Y’ when the fact of possession, rather than the number possessed, is the focus of the utterance (cf. the sentences in 368 below).

Perhaps even more frequently that they are found inside nominal argument expressions, numerals occur in predicate position as the heads of clauses:

- (364) sali? kʷi ɬu?əλ'txʷ čɔxʷ č'λ'a?
 sali? kʷi ɬu=?əλ'-txʷ čɔxʷ č'λ'a?
 two REM IRR=come-ECS 2SG.SUB stone
 ‘the stones that you will bring [will be] two’

[AW Basket Ogress, line 80]

- b. sali? ti?iɬ ?əskʷədad
 sali? ti?iɬ ?əs-kʷəda-d
 two DIST STAT-taken-ICS
 ‘what he is holding [are] two (halibut)’

(Hess 2006: 55, 328)

- c. ɬixʷixʷ ti?ə? caadiɬ təlixʷ suqʷʷa?
 ɬixʷixʷ ti?ə? caadiɬ təlixʷ suqʷʷa?
 three:HMN PROX they blood.brother younger.sibling
 ‘these full-blood brothers [were] three’

(Hess 1998: 73, line 204)

Like other non-verbal predicates, numerals in this context regularly take clitics for mood and tense:

- (365) gʷəl gʷətusəsali? əlgʷə?
 gʷəl gʷə=tu=səsali? əlgʷə?
 SCONJ SBJ=PAST=two:HMN PL
 ‘and there would have been two of them’

(Hess 2006: 17, line 136)

There is also one example in the corpus of a numeral taking an aspectual prefix:

- (366) ?əsbuus kʷi tuhuyud əlgʷə?
- ?əs-buus kʷi tu=huyu-d əlgʷə?
 STAT-four REM PAST=make-ICS PL
 'what they made [was] four [moccasins]'

[DS Star Child, line 355]

However, the fact that there is a single occurrence of an aspect-marker on a numeral in the corpus suggests that this is a rather marginal construction. That it occurs on the numeral *buus* 'four' may not be coincidental, given that four is a culturally important numeral in Northern Lushootseed (Hess 1995),¹¹⁴ suggesting perhaps that *buus* might be a prime candidate for recategorization as a verb to express the notion of making/doing something in fours.

Like any other predicate, numerals can head yes/no interrogatives and can take ordinary matrix-clause subject markers:

- (367) a. səsali? ?u
- səsali? ?u
 two:HMN INT
 'were there two (children)?'

(Hess 2006: 43, line 37)

- b. tixʷači?əxʷ čəd ?i kʷi yəla?c
- tixʷači?=əxʷ čəd ?i kʷi yəla?c
 thirty=now 1SG.SUB and REM six
 'I'm thirty-six now'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 277)

As shown in (367b), complex numerals in predicate position are treated like other multi-word predicate phrase in terms of the placement of subject-markers and other sentence-second clitics.

Numerals in both argument and predicate phrases are frequently combined with lexical suffixes (Section 2.8) acting as numeral classifiers:

- (368) a. ... tusaxʷəbabacəd ti?ə? buusalgʷiɬ λ'əlay?
- tu=saxʷəb•abac-əd ti?ə? buus•al•gʷiɬ λ'əlay?
 PAST=run•body-ICS PROX four•CNN•canoe shovel.nose.canoe
 '... [they] jumped over the four shovel-nosed canoes'

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 16)

¹¹⁴ The number 4 is also culturally important in a number of neighbouring but unrelated languages, and the form **moos* proposed by Edward Sapir is a plausible early borrowing across languages of the area (Lushootseed having changed **m* to /b/ in the mid-Nineteenth Century). Among the Southern Lushootseed, the numeral is 5.

- b. cəbagʷiləxʷ kʷi ɬudəxʷsaxʷəbabacəds əlgʷə?
- cəb•a•gʷil=əxʷ kʷi ɬu=dəxʷ=saxʷəb•abac-əd=s əlgʷə?
- two•CNN•canoe=now REM IRR=ADNM=jump•body-ics=3PO PL
- ‘now what they were jumping over [was] two canoes’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 15)

- c. č'ə?ilc ti dtalə
- č'ə?-•ilc ti d-talə
- one•round SPEC 1SG.PO=dollar
- ‘I have one dollar’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 68)

- d. ?əṣtixʷulč ti ds?axʷu?
- ?əṣ-tixʷ•ulč ti d-s?axʷu?
- STAT=three•container SPEC 1SG.PO-clam
- ‘I have three clams’

(Hess 1995: 20)

The choice of suffix is largely semantic: lexical suffixes with very concrete, specific meanings are used in counting those objects which they designate (as in 368a and b), while others are used when counting objects that fit into the general class (in either shape or function) of object expressed by the suffix (as in 368c and d). The use of lexical suffixes as classifiers is discussed in more detail in Section 4.3 below. Also illustrated in (368b) and (c) are the alternate combining forms for the numerals one and two, č'ə?- and ‘one’ cəb- ‘two’, noted above in the context of the temporal-iterative series of numerals in Table 72. These forms seem to be in free variation with the regular stems, dəč'u? ‘one’ and sali? ‘two’ in enumerative constructions.

2.7.4 Directional particles

There are three directional particles in Lushootseed that are used to express direction of movement or point of origin — centripetal *dxʷ*, centrifugal *tul'*, and prolate *lił*. These particles may be used to modify verbal predicates and nouns phrases, as shown in the following example:

- (369) gʷəč'axʷadəxʷ čəxʷ ?ə kʷi tul' ti?ə? ha?ɬ bu?qʷ ?ə ti?ə? dχʷubt
 gʷəč'axʷa-d=əxʷ čəxʷ ?ə kʷi tul' ti?ə? ha?ɬ bu?qʷ ?ə
 SBJ=clubbed-ECS=now 2SG.SUB PR REM CNTRFG PROX good duck PR
 ti?ə? d-χʷubt
 PROX 1SG.PO-paddle
 'you could club them from [among] the good waterfowl with my paddle'
 (Hess 2006: 62, line 485)

Although the sense of *tul'* is difficult to capture in the English gloss, it is used here to convey the sense of the action originating from a point within the flock of waterfowl who, in the story, are attacking the people hosting the protagonists. Hess (p.c.) reports that uses of the directional particles as modifiers of nouns and verbs is not uncommon in ordinary speech; however, (369) is the only such example in the textual corpus used for this study. In Southern Lushootseed, *tul'* is used to introduce the standard of comparison in comparative constructions (Section 8.8):

- (370) ?əswələχʷ čəxʷ tul' ?əca
 ?əs-wələχʷ čəxʷ tul' ?əca
 STAT-strong 2SG.SUB CNTRFG I
 'you are stronger than I'
 (Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 49)

The Northern Lushootseed counterpart to this is the preposition *dxʷəlal*.

More commonly than they are used as independent lexical items, the directional particles are found compounded with words belonging to other lexical classes. In these uses, the directional particles are most frequent in the derivation of the various locative prepositions (Section 2.3.1), but they are also found associated with a few verbs expressing location (e.g., *vʔa* 'be there', *včit* 'nearby', *vlil* 'far'), locative adverbs (Section 2.5.2), and interrogative words (8.4.2 below). As with other quasi-inflectional morphology, directional particles do not alter the part of speech of the radical to which they are attached. Thus, interrogatives that take directional particles remain interrogatives and adverbs that take directionals remain locative adverbs, as in (371):

- (371) a. tul'čad kʷi skʷədxʷs əlgʷə?
- tul'-čad kʷi s=kʷəd-dxʷ=s əlgʷə?
 CNTRFG=where REM NM=taken-DC=3PO PL
 'from where did they manage to get it?'

(Hess 1998: 83, line 160)

- b. tuxʷit'lcut tul'šəq
- tu=xʷit'il-t-sut tul'-šəq
 PAST=come.down-ICS=REFL CNTRFG=high
 'she came down from above'

[DS Star Child, line 5]

Directional particles affixed to an interrogative or adverb appear immediately adjacent to the radical, inside the proclitic string.

- (372) a. ?a kʷi ḥ'ubəsliłt'aq'ts
- ?a kʷi ḥ'u=bə=s=lił-t'aq't=s
 be.there REM HAB=ADD=NM=PRLV-inland=3PO
 'there he would be up along the bank [i.e., just inland of the water]'

(Hess 1998: 67, line 54)

- b. stab kʷi gʷəcəxʷtəłəł dxʷgʷəd dxʷ?al ti tucəxʷtul'?a
- stab kʷi gʷə=d=dəxʷ=təłəł dxʷ-gʷəd dxʷ=?al ti
 what REM SBJ=1SG.PO=ADNM=arrive.safely CNTRPT-down CNTRPT-at SPEC
 tu=d=dəxʷ=tul'-?a
 PAST=1SG.PO=ADNM=CNTRFG-be.there
 'what way can I get down safely to where I am from?'

(Hess 2006: 28, line 144)

Because locative adverbs do not take aspectual or other types of prefix, directionals are not ordered relative to other prefixal morphemes.

The particle *dxʷ* 'centripetal [CNTRPT]' expresses motion towards a region or location.¹¹⁵

- (373) a. ḥu?ibəš čəd čəda ḥu?učʷ dxʷt'aq't
- ḥu=?ibəš čəd čəda ḥu=?učʷ dxʷ-t'aq't
 IRR=travel 1SG.SUB 1SG.COORD IRR=go CNTRPT-inland
 'I will travel and I will go up there inland'

(Hess 1998: 78, line 15)

¹¹⁵ Although the particle *dxʷ* 'CENTRIPETAL' is generally homophonous with the prefix *dxʷ-* 'contained', the latter has a voiceless alternate [*txʷ*] in rapid speech and may be realized as [*dəxʷ*] in casual but less rapid speech, while the former remains [*dxʷ*] in both contexts. Etymologically, the two prefixes clearly have different origins (Hess 1971).

- b. gʷəl ?iχʷitəb dxʷča?kʷ dxʷ?al qʷu?
 gʷəl ?iχʷi-t-əb dxʷ-ča?kʷ dxʷ-?al qʷu?
 SCONJ thrown.away-ICS CNTRPT-seaward CNTRPT-at water
 ‘and he threw him towards the sea [and] into the water’

(Hess 1998: 69, line 125)

- c. si? λ'ub tədəsəsλ'ip'ałəd čxa łułčil dxʷdi?a? ...
 si? λ'ub łu=ad=s=?os-λ'ip'-ał-əd čxa łu=łčil
 SCONJ well IRR=2SG.PO=NM=STAT=encircled-INCRP-ICS 2SG.CORD IRR=arrive
 dxʷ-di?a?
 CNTRPT-PROX.DMA
 ‘just so will you be clutching it firmly and you will arrive here’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 19)

In the last sentence here, (373c), the directional particle appears not on a locative adverb but on a demonstrative adverbial, *di?a?* ‘PROXIMAL’. As this is the only such example in the present corpus, it is not clear if *dxʷdi?a?* is a lexicalized form, or if the directionals are generally applicable to demonstrative adverbials.

In addition to appearing as adverbials as in the examples in (373), forms with *dxʷ* are also potentially clausal predicates, as in (374):

- (374) a. ti'ləb dxʷt'aq't ti?ił słalil ?ə ti?ił čxʷəlu?
 tiləb dxʷ-t'aq't ti?ił s=łalil ?ə ti?ił čxʷəlu?
 immediately CNTRPT-inland DIST NM=go.ashore PR DIST whale
 ‘right away Whale went way up on shore’
 (lit. ‘right away the going-ashore of Whale [was] inland’)

(Hess 1995: 141, line 31)

- b. dxʷt'aq't ti?ə? dsu?ibəš
 dxʷ-t'aq't ti?ə? d=s=?u-?ibəš
 CNTRPT-inland PROX 1SG.PO=NM=PFV-travel
 ‘where I am traveling [is] inland’

(Hess 1998: 79, line 45)

dxʷ also combines with the question word *čad* ‘where?’, to form another question word, *dxʷčad* ‘to where?’:

- (375) a. *dxʷčad ti?ə? uqadadid*
dxʷ-čad ti?ə? ?u-qada-di-d
 CNTRPT-where PROX PFV-stolen-SS-ICS
 ‘where had the one who stole from him gone to?’

(Hess 2006: 57, line 379)

- b. gʷəl ?u\xʷtubəxʷ ?ə kʷi stab dxʷčadəxʷ
 gʷəl ?u\xʷ-txʷ-b=əxʷ ?ə kʷi stab dxʷ-čad=əxʷ
 SCONJ go-ECS-PASS=now PR REM what CNTRPT-where=now
 'and something took him somewhere'

(Hess 2006: 27, line 121)

- c. lə=?ibəš bək'ʷ dxʷčad
 lə=?ibəš bək'ʷ dxʷ-čad
 PROG=travel all CNTRPT=where
 ‘he traveled to everywhere’

(Hess 1998: 65, line 14)

Like other question words, *dxʷčad* can also be used pronominally to mean ‘to somewhere’, as shown in (375b). It also combines with the adverb *bəkʷ* ‘all’ to express the meaning ‘everywhere’ (375c). In addition, *dxʷ* forms part of the centripetal preposition *dxʷ?al* ‘to, toward’, discussed in detail in Section 2.3.1.2 above.

The particle *tul'* ‘centrifugal [CNTRFG]’ is part of locative adverbial expressions describing motion away from a region or location:

- (376) a. tu᷊^w čəł p'ɑł'ał' tukʷədalikʷ tul'?a
 just 1PL.SUB worthless PAST=taken-ACT CNTRFG-be.there
 ‘we just took worthless bits from there’

(Hess 1998: 75, line 261)

- b. hədi?w'əxʷ ti?ə? bu?qʷ tul'šqalatxʷ
 hədi?w' =əxʷ ti?ə? bu?qʷ tul' -šq̥alatxʷ^w
 be.inside=now PROX waterfowl CNTRFG-high• house
 'the waterfowl entered the house from the roof'

(Hess 2006: 75, line 788)

These adverbs are used both as predicate modifiers, as in (376), and as predicates, as in (377):

- b. tul'q'ix^w ti?iɬ sa?sa?
 tul'-q'ix^w ti?iɬ sa?-sa?
 CNTRFG-upstream DIST DSTR-bad
 'it is bad upstream'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 208]

Like its centripetal counterpart *dxʷ*, *tul'* combines with the question word *čad* ‘where?’ to form the interrogative *tul'čad* ‘from where?’:

- (378) a. tul'čad kʷi adsu?ibəš sgʷəlub
 tul'-čad kʷi ad=s=?u=?ibəš sgʷəlub
 CNTRFG-where REM 2SG.PO=NM=PFV-travel pheasant
 'where are you traveling from, Pheasant?'

(Hess 1998: 79, line 43)

- b. gʷəl wiliqʷitəb tutulčadəs
 gʷəl wiliqʷitəb tu=tul-čad=əs
 SCONJ ask-ICS-PASS PAST=CNTRFG-where=3SBJ
 ‘and they asked him where he might be from’

(Hess 1998: 97, line 166)

As is to be expected, *tul'čad* has both interrogative and pronominal uses. The centrifugal particle is also part of the pronoun *tul'čal* 'from, out of' (Section 2.3.1.3).

The particle *lit* ‘prolative [PRLV]’ is used to express motion along a path or location throughout the region designated by its base. Stems formed with *lit*, like their bases, serve most commonly as predicate modifiers, as in (379):

- (379) a. gʷəl xʷul'əxʷ čələp p'əł'ał' ɬudxʷbəxʷiqad liłʔilgʷit
 gʷəl xʷul' =əxʷ čələp p'əł'ał' ɬu=dxʷbəxʷiqad liłʔilgʷit
 then only=now 2PL.SUB worthless IRR=scavenge PRLV-edge•waterway
 'so you guys will just scavenge like good-for-nothings along the shore'

(Hess 1998: 75, line 262)

- b. huy ?u?uxʷəxʷ lił'aq't
 huy ?u-?uxʷ=əxʷ lił-t'aq't
 SCONJ PFV-go=now PRLV-inland
 'he went along the bluff [i.e., just inland of the water]'
 (Hess 1998: 68, line 72)

It is also found as part of locative adverbs used as clausal predicates:

- (380) a. ck'ʷaqid čəd t̥uliłčəq
 ck'ʷaqid čəd t̥u=lił-šəq
 always 1SG.SUB IRR=PRLV-high
 'I will always be up top'
 [LA Basket Ogress, line 28]

- b. yaw' džəł bəliłč'it kʷi sədxʷluq'ʷucutigʷəds čxʷəlu?
 yaw' džəł bə=lił-č'it kʷi s=lə=dxʷluq'ʷucutigʷəd=s čxʷəlu?
 until PTCL ADD=PRLV-be.near REM NM=PROG=sound.in.body=3PO whale
 'as he drew ever closer Whale must have been making sounds in his body'
 [ML Mink and Tutyika, I line 24]

and the question word *liłčad* 'which way?'

- (381) t̥uliłčad čəxʷ
 t̥u=lił-čad čəxʷ
 IRR=PRLV-where 2SG.SUB
 'which way will you go?'
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 59)

The proiative is also part of the preposition *liłčal* 'via, through' (Section 2.3.1.4).

In addition to appearing in regular locative expressions like those in (379), the proiative is found in some lexicalized forms. Two of these of particular interest are *liłlaq* 'last [in line]' and *liłdžixʷ* 'first [in line]' (cf. the forms *?iłdžixʷ* 'first; better, best' and *?iłlaq* 'later, last' discussed in Section 2.1.1.8):

- (382) a. tuliłlaq ts'ił həbu? ti?ił λ'usuñaabs
 tu=lił-laq ts'ił həbu? ti?ił λ'u=s=?u-ħaab=s
 PAST=PRLV-last DIST:FEM pigeon DIST HAB=NM=PFV-cry=3PO
 'Pigeon, who was crying, came last'
 (Hess 2006: 32, line 255)

- b. ?əλ'ax^w ti?ił ?i sbiaw liłlaq
 ?əλ'=ax^w ti?ił ?i sbiaw lił-laq
 come=now DIST and coyote PRLV=last
 'she and Coyote came last'

(Hess 2006: 35, line 343)

- c. dił ti?ə? skikəwič ti?ə? liłdžix^w ti skʷədatəbs
 dił ti?ə? ski-kəwič ti?ə? lił-džix^w ti s=kʷəda-t-əb=s
 FOC PROX ATTN=hunchback PROX PRLV=first SPEC NM=taken-ICS-PASS=3PO
 'it was Little Hunchback who was the first one to be taken'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 42]

As shown by these examples, these two *lił* forms, like the other prolatives illustrated here, are locative adverbs which treat the relative order in which objects are arranged (i.e., their relative sequence) in a way analogous to the relative spatial locations expressed by locative adverbs. In addition, *lił* is used to form three special expressions for location in a canoe — *liłšəd^t* ‘in the bow’ (from *všəd^t* ‘bow’), *liłudəg^{wił}* ‘amidships’ (from *?udəg^w-* ‘middle’ + *-g^{wił}* ‘canoe’, and *lił?ilaq* ‘in the stern’ (from *v?ilaq* ‘stern’). In these forms, the prefix seems to have lost its proiative meaning of ‘via, through’. This also seems to be true of the expression *lił?al?al* ‘at home’ (from *?al?al* ‘house’), as well as the verbs *lił?a* ‘be there’ and *lił?atx^w* ‘put something there’ (based on *?a* ‘be there’), although these last two may express nuances that have been lost in the glosses of the sentences in which they occur.

2.7.5 Interjections and conjunctions

sconj attracting s2 clitics

- d. huy čələp ?uhəli?dubuł ?ə ti?ə? shuy čəł
 huy čələp ?u-həli?-dxʷ-buł ?ə ti?ə? s=huy čəł
 SCONJ 2PL.SUB PFV-alive-DC-1PL.OBJ PR PROX NM=be.done 1PL.PO
 'for you are the ones who healed us from what was done to us'

(Hess 2006: 66, line 595)

2.8 Compounding

True compounding — the lexicalized combination of one or more radicals into a new lexeme — is a marginal process in Lushootseed. There seem to be only seven true compound words, four of them nouns and three of them verbs:

<i>šəłbadəb</i> ‘stepfather’ (n)	(from <i>všəł</i> ‘make’ + <i>vbad</i> ‘father’ + <i>-əb</i> ‘middle’)
<i>šəłbəda?əb</i> ‘stepchild’ (n)	(from <i>všəł</i> ‘make’ + <i>vbaða?</i> ‘offspring’ + <i>-əb</i> ‘middle’)
<i>šəłtadəb</i> ‘stepmother’ (n)	(from <i>všəł</i> ‘make’ + * <i>vtað</i> ‘wife’ + <i>-əb</i> ‘middle’)
<i>šəłxəčəb</i> ‘law; will; intention’ (n)	(from <i>všəł</i> ‘make’ + <i>vxəč</i> ‘mind’ + <i>-əb</i> ‘middle’)
<i>sqəłalitut</i> ‘have a dream’ (v)	(from <i>%qəł</i> ‘stop’ + <i>-al</i> ‘connective’ + <i>v?itut</i> ‘sleep’)
<i>səsa?alitut</i> ‘have a nightmare’ (v)	(from <i>vsa?</i> ‘be bad’ + <i>-al</i> ‘connective’ + <i>v?itut</i> ‘sleep’)
<i>χəłəłxəč</i> ‘be sad, be sorry’ (v)	(from <i>vxəł</i> ‘sick’ + Type III reduplication + <i>vxəč</i> ‘mind’)

Table 74: Compound words

Even these words clearly belong to restricted sets that have obvious precedents in more productive processes. The first four nouns in this set are based on the verb *šəł* ‘make’,¹¹⁶ which in its more frequent use takes a bare nominal predicate complement (see Section 8.2.5 below); the *šəł* forms in Table 74 seem to be lexicalizations of frequent verb–complement sequences into a small set of analogous kinship terms. The next two forms, *sqəłalitut* ‘have a dream’ and *səsa?alitut* ‘have a nightmare’ appear to be compounds of two verbal radicals; however, the second member of each compound is a reduced form of the radical *v?itut* ‘sleep’, linked to the previous radical by a connective, *-al* (to this list might also be added *xʷalitut* ‘snore’, although the origins of the initial */xʷ/* are unknown). This is reminiscent of lexical suffixation (Section 2.1.6), and it may be the case that *-itut* could be treated as a lexical suffix, one that is (exceptionally) related etymologically to a synonymous free form. It certainly looks like a lexical suffix in the making. Only the final form in Table 74, *χəłəłxəč* ‘be sad, be sorry’ (also attested as *χəłxəč*), seems to be a true compound.

¹¹⁶ This verb is *čəł* in Skagit; all of the *šəł-* forms in Table 74 would begin with *čəł-* in Skagit.

3 Phrase-level clitics

3.1 Tense and mood

mood on a preposition

- (383) $\lambda'ub\text{əx}^w \check{c}\text{əx}^w \check{x}^w\text{ul}'\text{əx}^w \dot{\lambda}ub\text{ə}\check{sh}\text{əb}, \dot{\lambda}up'\text{a}\check{\lambda}'\text{a}\check{\lambda}', \dot{\lambda}usduk^w \dot{\lambda}u?\text{al tudi? } \check{c}\text{a}?k^w$
 $\lambda'ub=\text{əx}^w \quad \check{c}\text{əx}^w \quad \check{x}^w\text{ul}'=\text{əx}^w \quad \dot{\lambda}u=b\text{ə}\check{sh}\text{əb} \quad \dot{\lambda}u=p'\text{a}\check{\lambda}'\text{a}\check{\lambda}' \quad \dot{\lambda}u=sduk^w$
good=now 2SG.SUB only=now IRR=mink IRR=worthless IRR=riff.raff

$\dot{\lambda}u=?\text{al} \quad \text{tudi? } \check{c}\text{a}?k^w$
IRR=at DIST.DMA seaward

'You will be just a mink, a no-account, riff-raff down there by the water'

(Hess 1998: 69, line 122)

3.1.1 Past tense $tu=$

- b. $\lambda'ub \check{c}\text{əx}^w ?ubi\text{q}^w\text{yit}\text{əb} ?\text{ə tsi?ac}\text{əc tub}\text{əda?}_s$
 $\lambda'ub \quad \check{c}\text{əx}^w \quad ?u-\text{bi}\text{q}^w\text{yit}-b \quad ?\text{ə tsi?ac}\text{əc} \quad tu=b\text{əda?}_s$
well 2SG.SUB PFV-permit-PASS PR UNQ:FEM PAST=offspring-3PO
'you should be permitted the deceased's daughter'

(Hess 1998: 98, line 205)

3.1.2 Habitual mood $\lambda'u=$

3.1.3 Irrealis mood $\dot{\lambda}u=$

used in hortatives and polite imperatives

3.1.4 Subjunctive mood $g^w\text{ə}=$

softens requests

- (384) a. $g^w\text{ə}?e\check{\lambda}'tx^w \check{c}\text{əx}^w ?u$
 $g^w\text{ə}=?e\check{\lambda}'-tx^w \quad \check{c}\text{əx}^w \quad ?u$
SBJ=come-ECS 2SG:SUB INT
'would you bring it?'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 6)

- b. gʷət'ukʷtubš čələp ?u dxʷ?al ti xʷuyubal?txʷ
 gʷə=t'ukʷ-txʷ-bš čələp ?u dxʷ?-al ti xʷuyubal?txʷ
 SBJ=come-ECS-1SG.OBJ 2PL:SUB INT CNTRPT-at SPEC store
 'would you guys take me to the store?'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 8)

3.1.5 Negative mood *lə=*

3.2 Progressive clitic *lə=*

3.3 Additive clitic *bə=*

Temporal enclitic =axʷ two examples with -əxʷ first t(u)aswəli? kʷi dəxʷšukʷilqədəxʷs ?ə
 ti?il xʷ(h)udad

tu-?as-wəli? kʷi dəxʷšukʷilqədəxʷs ?ə ti?il xʷhudad
 past-stat-be.visible det np2-grey-inch-nose-ics-now Pr det ash
 It showed, so she grayed their noses with ashes [to cover the greasy remains of the food they had eaten].

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šələxʷs əlgʷə? ɬuʔələd

s-šəl-əxʷ-s əlgʷə? ɬu-?ələd

np-make-now-3po plural irr-eat

They [the brothers-in-law] made them into food for the future.SEAL HUNTERS 492
 SHOWS -S AFTER -əXʷ

BUT (many, many examples of -s first)

dəxʷsgʷa?səxʷgʷələxʷsqigʷac ti?ə? q'ədᶻaž ?ə tsıʔacəc p'ua'y' ?ə tə λ'usukʷic̕itəbs
 dəxʷ-s-gʷa?-s-əxʷ gʷəl-əxʷ sqigʷac ti?ə? q'ədᶻaž ?ə tsıʔacəc
 p'ua'y' ?ə tə λ'u-s-?u-kʷic̕i-t-əb-s
 np2-np-be.ones.own-3po-now belong-now deer det intestines Pr
 det:fem flounder Pr det hab-np-pfv-butcher-ics-pass-3po

bəsgʷa?səxʷ bəsəxʷi?xʷi?s kʷədi? sucutcuts

bə-sgʷa?-s-əxʷ bə-s-xʷi?xʷi?-s kʷədi? s-?u-cut-cut-s

add-one's.own-3po-now add-np-forage-3po det np-pfv-dstr-say-3po

It was his own game he was saying.

That's why Flounder has Deer's intestines when she is butchered.

χʷul'ul'əxʷ p'q'ac ?al kʷi tuščilsəxʷ

χʷul'-ul'-əxʷ p'q'ac ?al kʷi tu-s-łčil-s-əxʷ

exc-only-now rotten.wood Pr det past-np-arrive-3po-now

It was nothing but a rotten log when he arrived.

diłəxʷti?il tudəxʷutabs sxʷəłilsəxʷ

dił-əxʷ ti?il tu-dəxʷ-?u-tab-s s-xʷəłil-s-əxʷ

idn-now det past-np2-pfv-do-3po np-be.worked.up-3po-now

That is why he did it, [why] he was so worked up.

dililəxʷ tiʔil q’ədᶻač, t̥uq’ədᶻačsəxʷ tsiʔil, gʷəl sqigʷac q’ədᶻač
dił-il-əxʷ tiʔil q’ədᶻač t̥u-q’ədᶻač-s-əxʷ tsiʔil gʷəl sqigʷac q’ədᶻač
pl-idn-now det intestines irr-intestines-3po-now det:fem ASSC deer
intestines

Those very entrails belonging to Deer will be her entrails
dił tushuyutəbsəxʷ ?ə tiʔə? dukʷibəł
dił tu-s-huyu-t-əb-s-əxʷ ?ə tiʔə? dukʷibəł
idn past-np-finish-ics-pass-3po-now Pr det Changer

That is what Changer did to her

gʷəl (h)uy, t̥čisəxʷ
gʷəl huy t̥čil-s-əxʷ^w
conj intj arrive-dir-now

And then he came upon him

gʷəl təł bił’il tiʔil tudəxʷučaabəsəxʷ tsiʔil cədił s?ušəbabdxʷ
gʷəl təł bił’-il tiʔil tu-dəxʷ-?u-čaab-s-əxʷ tsiʔil cədił s-?ušəb-a-b-dxʷ^w
conj truly smashed-inch det past-np2-pfv-cry-3po-now det:fem he
np-pity-ds1-md-lc

And truly he became squashed which is why the poor dear was crying

4 Lexical suffixes

derivation of a bivalent intrans

?ubəčalq ?ə t[s]i?ə? sqigʷac
 ?u-bəč-alq ?ə tsi?ə? sqigʷac
 pfv-fall-game Pr det:fem deer

They brought down deer (Changer line 178)

?ixʷdup̚t ‘scatter’

?ixʷid ‘throw away’

q'x̚ad ‘insult’

q'x̚abacəd ‘insult physical appearance’

note that they seem to force schwa epenthesis in CC(V) stems -- k'wcha, tqa, tXwu, etc.

4.1 In verbs

“cognate objects” (also babysitting, addressing as man, etc.)

- (385) a. putəxʷ ləqʷup'qʷup'ači? ?ə ti?ə? sčətxʷəd
 put-əxʷ lə=qʷup'-qʷup'•ači? ?ə ti?ə? sčətxʷəd
 really-now PROG=DSTR-shrivel•hand Pr PROX bear
 ‘Black Bear’s hands [only] shriveled up [from the heat]’
 (Hess 1995: 154, line 81)
- b. ləsaxʷəbabac ?ə ti?ə? qʷla?y dxʷ?al ti?ił sčis ti?ə? ?a?yəds qaw'qs¹¹⁷
 lə=saxʷəb•abac ?ə ti?ə? qʷla?y dxʷ-?al ti?ił s=čil-s=s
 PROG=jump•body PR PROX log toward-Pr DIST NM=arrive-ALTV=3PO
 ti?ə? ?a?yəd-s qaw'qs
 PROX companion-3PO raven
 ‘he is jumping over the logs until he arrives at his friend, Raven’
 (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 25–26)
- c. ḥ'utu(u)?učʷəxʷ ḥ'utušč'ap ?ə kʷi sčəbid
 ḥ'u=tu=?u-?učʷ=əxʷ ḥ'u=tu=šč'•ap ?ə kʷi sčəbid
 HAB=PAST=PFV-go=now HAB=PAST=scorch•bottom PR REM fir.bark
 ‘she would go and she would scorch fir bark’
 [DS Star Child, line 173]

¹¹⁷ The word *qaw'qs* is given in the original source as *kaw'qs*, although Hess (p.c.) now considers this an error.

idiomatic verb with LS

?əshuygʷəsəxʷ ?ə ti?iѣ
 ?əs-huy•gʷəs=əxʷ ?ə ti?iѣ
 stat-be.done•pair=now Pr det

She is married to that one.

4.2 In nouns

4.3 In numeral classification

One function of lexical suffixes is to act as numeral classifiers:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (386) lixʷal?txʷ ‘three houses’ | buusal?txʷ ‘four houses’ |
| lixʷalgʷiѣ ‘three canoes’ | buusalgʷiѣ ‘four canoes’ |
| lixʷalps ‘three domestic animals’ | buusalps ‘four domestic animals’ |
| lixʷalič ‘three bundles’ | buusalič ‘four bundles’ |
| lixʷəlus ‘three squares (net), stitches’ | buusəlus ‘four squares (net), stitches’ |
| lixʷilc ‘three dollars’ ¹¹⁸ | buusilc ‘four dollars’ ¹¹⁸ |
| lixʷqs ‘three points’ | buusqs ‘four points’ |
| lixʷulč ‘three baskets, containers’ | buusulč ‘four baskets, containers’ |
- (Hess 1995: 20)

The choice of classifier is largely semantic: lexical suffixes with very concrete, specific meanings are used in counting those objects which they designate, while others are used when counting objects that fit into the general class (in either shape or function) of object expressed by the suffix:

- (387) a. lixʷagʷiѣ ti dsgʷa?
 lixʷagʷiѣ ti d-sgʷa?
 three•canoe SPEC 1SG.PO—one’s.own
 ‘I own three canoes’
- (Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 69)
- b. ?əslixʷulč ti ds?aχʷu?
 ?əs-lixʷ-ulč ti d-s?aχʷu?
 STAT-three•container SPEC 1SG.PO-clam
 ‘I have three clams’
- (Hess 1995: 20)

¹¹⁸ The lexical suffix *-ilc* is used in general to refer to round objects; however, when used as a numeral classifier it can only be used in counting money.

The lexical suffix is also used with the interrogative word *k'ʷid* ‘how many?’:

- (388) k'ʷidulč kʷ adsgʷa? adyiq'us
k'ʷid•ulč kʷi ad-sgʷa? ad-yiq'us
how.many•container REM 2SG.PO-one's.own 2SG.PO-cedar.root.basket
‘how many cedar-root baskets do you own?’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 68)

The use of lexical suffixes as numeral classifiers is optional; some lexical suffixes are used in this way occur only with numbers up to four, while others have an unlimited range.

The use of lexical suffixes as numeral classifiers is only attested in texts when the numeral is used as a clausal predicate or head of a referential expression rather than as an adnominal modifier, as in the following examples:

- (389) a. ḫʷul' buusał kʷi sp'ic'ids
ḥʷul' buus•ał kʷi s=p'ic'i-d=s
only four-times REM NM=wrung-ICS=3PO
‘just four times she wrung it out’

[HM Star Child, line 66]

- b. tutxudəxʷ ti?ił ?ə ti?ił buusał
tu=t̥xu-d=əxʷ ti?ił ?ə ti?ił buus•ał
PAST=stretched-ICS=now DIST PR DIST four-times
‘she pulled four times’

[DS Star Child, line 56]

In elicitation, however, numeral classifier expressions are also used as adnominal modifiers or the heads of referential expressions:

- (390) a. ti ḥixʷgʷił ḥ'əlay?
ti ḥixʷgʷił ḥ'əlay?
SPEC three•canoe shovel.nosed.canoe
‘three shovel-nosed canoes’
- b. ti ḥixʷgʷił
ti ḥixʷgʷił
SPEC three•canoe
‘three canoes’

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Comment: classifiers occur on either part of the numeral

In general, expressions of the type shown in (390b) are preferred over the type shown in (a) with an overt nominal head, (390a) being appropriate only in a situation where it is important to specify which type of canoe is being counted.

The lexical suffix *-at* ‘times’ illustrated in (389a) and (b) combines with numerals to form the base for certain more complex expressions. For instance, adding the inchoative suffix *-il* creates verbs indicating the completion of an action a specified number of times:

- (391) a. ḫʷul' ?ubuuṣaḥil ti?iḥ shuyuds

ᬁʷul' ?u-buus•aḥ-il ti?iḥ s=huyu-d=s
only PFV-four-times-INCH DIST NM=be.done-ICS=3PO
'she had just done it four times'

[MW Star Child, line 130]

- b. ?al kʷi slixʷaḥils, huy, kʷədabacdubutəxʷ ti?ə? ?əskikəwič

?al kʷi s=lixʷ•aḥ-il=s huy kʷəd•abac-dxʷ-but=əxʷ
PR REM NM=three-times-INCH=3PO SCONJ take•body-DC-REFL=now
ti?ə? ?əs-ki-kəwič
DIST STAT-ATTN-hunchbacked

'on the third time, well, the little hunchbacked one caught his body [on the snags]'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 57]

Similar constructions are formed from numeral bases combined both with *-at* and *-dat* ‘day’:

- (392) ?aləxʷ sbuusaḥatils kʷi suq'ila?kʷčups sp'ip'ic'ikʷ

?al=əxʷ s=buus•aḥ•dat-il=s kʷi s=?u-q'il•a?kʷ•čup=s
PR=now NM=four-times•day-INCH=3PO REM NM=PFV-aboard•group•fire=3PO

sp'ip'ic'ikʷ
Diaper.Child

'[it was] on the fourth day of Diaper Child's loading firewood'

[HM Star Child, line 102]

These expressions indicate the time in days that an event lasted or the number of days on which a repeated event occurred.

NOTE: WILL PROBABLY RE-ANALYZE -ALH ‘CLASSIFIER’ AS A LEXICAL SUFFIX, ≠ ‘TIMES’

Two of the interrogatives, *stab* ‘what?’ and *k’wid* ‘how many’, are regularly found associated with lexical suffixes acting as classifiers indicating the type of item being asked about. Of the two, *stab* seems to combine less freely with the lexical suffixes, having only three forms — *stabakwəbixw* ‘what group of people?’, *stabac* ‘what kind of tree?’, *stabidup* ‘what kind?’ — in addition to the generic construction with the classifier, *stabat* ‘what kind?’. *k’wid*, on the other hand, combines with a much wider (perhaps unrestricted) range of the lexical suffixes, giving forms such as *k’widalps* ‘how many animals?’, *k’wida?ltxw* ‘how many houses?’, *k’widalq* ‘how much game?’, *k’widg’it* ‘how many canoes?’, and *k’widilc* ‘how much money?’.

5 Reduplication

Reduplication in Lushootseed is a highly productive derivational process applicable to stems of a variety of lexical classes. Like many Salishan languages, Lushootseed has more than one reduplicative pattern, and different reduplicative patterns express different meanings — in total, there are three regular, productive reduplications, as well as two more restricted patterns, and these are used to express six different meanings. Two of the regular patterns, Type I C₁VC₂-reduplication (Section 5.1) and Type II C₁V- reduplication (5.2), each express a single meaning — ‘distributive’ and ‘attenuative’, respectively. On the other hand, Type III -VC₂ reduplication (5.3) is associated with four separate meanings — ‘diminished effectiveness’, ‘intensivity’, ‘exclusivity’, and ‘plurality’, depending on the lexical and semantic class of the base it is applied to. There are also two minor patterns, C₁ə- and -V₁- reduplication, used to express the plural of lexicalized sets of words. These will be discussed in Section 5.4, followed by an examination of the combinatorial potential of the different reduplicative patterns, some of which can co-occur on a single base (5.5). As will become clear in the discussion that follows, reduplicative processes in Lushootseed are very complex, and the current situation in the synchronic grammar may reflect an earlier stage of the language in which even more reduplicative patterns existed, some of which have become neutralized and collapsed into single semantic categories, with some individual words retaining idiosyncrasies inherited from what was once probably a distinct reduplicative process. Consequently, even for the most regular reduplications, there are many irregular forms, and there are many variations on the basic patterns that apply to what appear to be lexically-specified sets of stems. There have been a number of attempts in the literature to come to grips with these apparent irregularities (e.g., Bates 1986; Urbanczyk 1996a), and these have managed quite successfully to account for a number of the apparent irregularities in the system; however, a lot of this work rests on complex formal analyses that are beyond the scope of a descriptive grammar, and even the best approach still requires the specification of a large number of

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Comment: don't forget the reduplicative patterns of /ah and qah and other "h" final radicals

lexically-specified exceptions to the underlying generalizations. Rather than being presented in abstract terms or in the context of a theoretical model, the data in the discussion that follows will simply be presented in sets of related forms; the reader interested in pursuing the patterns further and untangling the on-going debates on reduplicated forms in Lushootseed is referred to the theoretical literature.

5.1 Type I reduplication C₁VC₂- ‘distributive’

One of the most common and regular of the reduplicative patterns is the Type I distributive [DSTR] reduplication. The semantic effect of Type I reduplication varies slightly depending on the lexical class of the stem. With nouns, this reduplicative pattern is the most common way of indicating plurality; with verbs, it indicates either locative distributivity or iteration of an action. In a few cases, it seems primarily to function as an indication of subject plurality, perhaps relying on the implication that an action performed by more than one person is done more than once in more than one location. The specific reading given to a verb that has undergone Type I reduplication is to a certain extent context-dependent, though all possible readings fit neatly under the abstract notions of locative and/or temporal distributivity.

Type I reduplication copies the first three segments of the base as a prefix:

(393) bəda?	> bədbəda? ‘children’
cut ‘speak’	> cutcut ‘say over and over’
d ^w ək ^w ‘wander’	> d ^w ək ^w d ^w ək ^w ‘wander all over’
ha? ^w ‘good’	> ha? ^w ha? ^w ‘many are good’
g ^w ədil ‘sit down’	> g ^w ədg ^w ədil ‘sit down all over (group)’
q ^w atad ‘lay something down’	> q ^w atq ^w atad ‘lay something down all over’
suq ^w a? ‘younger brother’	> suq ^w suq ^w a? ‘younger brothers’
tu ^w ud ‘stretch something’	> tu ^w tu ^w ud ‘stretch something out’
tu? ^w ad ‘spit something out’	> tu? ^w tu? ^w ad ‘spit something out over and over’
xa ^w is ‘fight something off’	> xa ^w xa ^w is ‘fight one thing off then another’
yubil ‘starve (human)’	> yubyubil ‘be starving all over (human) ¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ This verb is also used to mean ‘die’ when referring to animals.

If the first syllable of the base contains a long vowel, the second mora of the long vowel is copied instead of the coda consonant, as in *xaabi?* ‘cry (baby)’ > *xaax̥aab?* ‘cry and cry (baby)’. If the stem being reduplicated begins with a prefix, the prefix is ignored and reduplication starts at the left edge of the root (e.g., *dxʷləgʷləgʷəb* ‘youths’, *?əbsqʷəbqʷəbay?* ‘have dogs’). Note that this includes synchronically unanalyzable prefixes such as the initial /s/ in words like *sqʷəbay?* ‘dog’ (cf. *sqʷəbqʷəbay?* ‘dogs’).

When the first syllable of the base ends in /l/, the final segment of the reduplicand is glottalized, as in (394):

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| (394) qəladi? ‘snag, uprooted tree’ | > | qəl’qəladi? ‘snags’ |
| sali? ‘two’ | > | sal’sali? ‘two by two’ |
| sgʷəlub ‘pheasant’ | > | sgʷəl’sgʷəlub ‘pheasants’ |
| stuləkʷ ‘river’ | > | stul’tuləkʷ ‘rivers’ |
| təlawil ‘run’ | > | təl’təlawil ‘run and run’ |
| yəlab ‘sibling of deceased person’ | > | yəl’yəlab ‘ancestors, parents’ |

This may apply to other approximants as well, but attested examples are not found in the present corpus (see, however, the glottalization of approximants in some Type II reduplications, discussed in Section 5.2 below).

With CəC radicals that have been transitivized with the [-əd] allomorph of the internal causative suffix -t (Section 2.1.2.1), Type I reduplication causes the schwa of the suffix to be realized as /a/:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| (395) bəq’əd ‘swallow something’ | > | bəq’bəq’ad ‘many swallow something’ |
| dəšəd ‘set something on its side’ | > | dəšdəšad ‘many set somethings on their sides’ |
| tədəd ‘put somethings in a row’ | > | tədtədad ‘many put somethings in rows’ |
| xʷəbəd ‘throw something away’ | > | xʷəbxʷəbad ‘many throw somethings away’ |

The same applies to the internal causative forms of (non-epenthesizing) CC radicals (see Section 2), which also add an epenthetic schwa to the reduplicand:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| (396) šəqəd ‘raise something’ | > | šəqšəd ‘raise somethings’ |
| t’əq’əd ‘patch something’ | > | t’əq’t’əd ‘many patch somethings all about’ |
| χəλ’ ‘bite something’ | > | χəλ’χəλ’ad ‘many bite something’ |

The schwa-epenthesis in the reduplicand is probably attributable both to the need to break up a lengthy consonant cluster and the need to conserve the canonical CVC shape of the reduplicand.

5.2 Type II reduplication C₁V₁- ‘attenuative’

Another common reduplicative pattern is the Type II attenuative [ATTN] reduplication. With nominal bases, the meaning of this type of reduplication is that of a diminutive, expressing smallness in size and/or endearment. The meaning of this reduplication with verbal bases is a bit more diffuse, though it generally conveys the notion of a diminished action, one that is only just or partially completed, effected with less than normal force, or whose results are of reduced size or scope. With verbs in particular, the readings of Type II reduplications are highly-context specific and, in many of the textual attestations, the import of the reduplication has been lost or blurred by translation. This is of particular concern because many of the bases for reduplication discussed below have more than one form, and without more precise glossing and the intuitions of native speakers it is not always possible to be sure that these are synonymous forms rather than different lexical items created by slightly different reduplicative patterns.

In comparison with Type I reduplication, Type II is more variable and seems to be a part of a greater number of idiosyncratic, lexicalized stems. In its simplest form, Type II reduplication copies the first two segments of the base as a prefix:

(397) ?əs̪lič'txʷ ‘have something cut up’ >	?əs̪lič'ič'txʷ ‘have something cut up into bits’
?əs̪λ'ubil ‘become well’ >	?əs̪λ'uλ'ubil ‘become a bit better’
?ista?b ‘be like’ >	?i?ista?b ‘be a bit like’
?uχʷ ‘go’ >	?u?uχʷ ‘go on and on’
badil ‘mountain’ >	babadil ‘little mountain’
č’it ‘be near’ >	č’ič’it ‘be just here’
di?ucid ‘opposite side of river’ >	didi?ucid ‘just across the river’
luλ’ ‘be old’ >	luluλ’ ‘be a bit old’
λ’ac’apəd ‘belt’ >	λ’aλ’ac’apəd ‘small belt; ant’
λ’iq’šəd ‘sticky-foot’ >	λ’iλ’iq’šəd ‘sapsucker (lit. ‘little sticky-foot’)
λ’uil ‘grow thin’ >	λ’uλ’uil ‘grow a bit thin’
laq ‘be behind’ >	lalaq ‘be a bit behind’
ləli?xʷ ‘manage to change it’ >	lələli?xʷ ‘just manage to change it’

luλ'əb 'grow old'	> luluλ'əb 'grow a bit older'
saqʷʷ 'fly'	> sasaqʷʷ 'take flight'
saxʷəb 'jump, sprint'	> sasaxʷəb 'scamper off'
stubš 'man'	> stutubš 'boy'
suqwa? 'younger sibling or cousin'	> susuqwa? 'little younger sibling or cousin'
t'agʷt 'be on top'	> t'at'agʷt 'be just on top'
wiliqʷid 'ask someone'	> wiwiliqʷid 'quiz someone'
xiličtxʷ 'wage war on'	> xixiličtxʷ 'compete with'

As with Type I reduplication, the reduplicand is added directly to the root, ignoring any prefixes, such as the stative prefix *?əs-* in the first two forms in (397). This also includes synchronically unanalyzable instances of the nominalizing prefix, *s-* — e.g., *stubš* 'man' > *stutubš* 'boy'.

Frequently, Type II reduplication is accompanied by vowel reduction either in the base or in the reduplicand. In the following forms, the first vowel of the root is reduced to schwa:

(398) ?ayil 'hide'	> ?a?əy'il 'skulk around'
čalal' 'be short of goal'	> čičəlal' 'be just short of goal'
kʷid 'amount'	> kʷikʷəd 'small amount'
q'ila?kʷčup 'load wood on canoe'	> q'iq'əla?kʷčup 'load wood on canoe'
studəq 'slave'	> stutədəq 'little slave'
stuləkʷ 'river'	> stutələkʷ 'creek'
t'agʷaptxʷ 'place end on top'	> t'at'əgʷaptxʷ 'support part of load on top'
waq'waq' 'frog'	> waw'əq'waq' 'little frog' (Sk)
xiličtxʷ 'wage war on'	> xixəličtxʷ 'pick a fight with'
yubil 'animal dies'	> yuyəbil 'small animal dies'

Which bases undergo this reduction is not entirely predictable, although it has been linked to prosodic conditions and sonority (Bates 1986; Urbanczyk 1996a). The form *?a?əy'il* 'skulk around' glottalizes the /y/ of its base, *?ayil* 'hide', as well as reducing the vowel. Note also the form *waw'əq'waq'* 'little frog' (from *waq'waq'* 'frog'), which glottalizes the initial /w/ of the base and reduces both vowels to schwa (see also the form *waw'lis* in 399 below). This form is from a Skagit speaker — the attested form in Snohomish texts is *waw'q'waq'*. One form in this list, *xixəličtxʷ* 'pick a fight with', also appears with a slightly different gloss as *xixiličtxʷ* 'compete with' in the list in (397) of forms that do not undergo reduction.

Another set of reduplicated forms removes the first vowel of the base entirely:

(399) ?əsqʷatx 'have laid out'	> ?əsqʷaqʷtx 'have laid out'
--------------------------------	------------------------------

c'it 'be near'	> c'ič't 'be just here'
kʷat'ad 'mouse'	> kʷakʷt'ad 'little mouse'
χ'iq 'emerge'	> χ'ič'q 'emerge intermittently'
pastəd 'white person'	> papstəd 'white child'
sładøy? 'woman'	> sładøy? 'girl'
šukʷild 'grey something'	> šuškʷild 'grey something a bit'
t'isəd 'arrow'	> t'it'səd 'little arrow'
t'uc'il 'shoot something'	> t'ut'c'il 'shoot a little something'
walis 'frog'	> waw'lis 'little frog'
waq'waq 'frog'	> waw'q'waq 'little frog' (Sn.)

As noted in Hess & Hilbert (1976) and Hess (1998), the majority of forms that undergo this kind of syncope have bases with a voiceless consonant in both the onset and the coda of the first syllable of the base. However, there are some exceptions to this generalization (e.g., *waw'q'waq'* ‘little frog’), and not all bases of this form undergo syncope in Type II reduplication (cf., *λ'aλ'ac'apəd* ‘small belt; ant’ and *stutələkʷ* ‘creek’; also, note the form *č'ič'it* ‘be just here’, which co-exists with *č'ič't* ‘be just here’). Both Bates (1986) and Urbanczyk (1996a) point to sonority, stress-assignment, and other prosodic factors as conditions on syncope in this reduplicative pattern.

In at least two cases, the same base gives rise to separate lexemes, depending on whether the Type II reduplication is applied with or without syncope:

The first pair of examples shows a contrast between Type II reduplication triggering syncope of the first vowel of the base and Type II reduplication that leaves the base intact. The second pair contrasts a form showing syncope of the base with another form that reduces the base vowel to schwa.

There are also a few forms where the attenuative reduplicand is C₁ə-:

- (401) *gʷad* ‘speak’ > *gʷəgʷad* ‘chit-chat’
gʷaʷtxʷ ‘accompany someone’ > *gʷəgʷaʷtxʷ* ‘join someone’
q̥šabacəd ‘insult someone’s looks’ > *q̥əq̥šabacəd* ‘comment on someone’s looks’

¹²⁰ Cf. *?iſtələdəy?* ‘she who of the others is your woman’, formed with the partitive prefix.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>stalət</i> ‘nephew, niece’ | > <i>stətalət</i> ‘young nephew or niece’ |
| <i>šiqʷ</i> ‘hat’ | > <i>šəšiqʷ</i> ‘favourite hat’ |

While this list is not extensive, some of these lexical items are of relatively high frequency in the spoken language.

Another common variation on Type II reduplication uses C₁i- as the reduplicand rather than C₁V₁-. This pattern is predictable for most bases with initial CC clusters:

- (402) cqʷuɬ ‘post’ > ?oscicqʷuɬ ‘be sort of propped up’
 č'λ'a? ‘stone’ > č'ič'λ'a? ‘little stone’¹²¹
 gʷəλ'əlad ‘stop’ > gʷəλ'iλ'əlad ‘pause’¹²¹
 lčil ‘arrive’ > lčilčil ‘arrive near goal’
 q'xād ‘insult someone’ > q'iq'xād ‘call someone names’
 qʷlayulč ‘wooden dish’ > qʷiqliayulč ‘small wooden dish’
 qʷləy? ‘log’ > qʷiqliay? ‘stick’
 tčud ‘stretch something’ > titčud ‘stretch something a bit’
 xčq ‘be wrapped’ > xčičq ‘wrapped up a little’

There are, however, a number of other words which take a C₁i- Type II reduplicand:

- (403) bəč ‘be fallen’ > bibəč ‘drop by’
 buʔqʷ ‘waterfowl’ > bibuʔqʷ ‘small, useless bird’
 cəlac ‘five’ > cicəlac ‘five small items’
 čəgʷas ‘wife’ > čičəgʷas ‘dear wife’
 daʔac ‘call me’ > didaʔac ‘call lil’ ol’ me’
 gʷədil ‘sit down’ > gʷiġʷədil ‘sit down briefly’
 haʔt ‘good’ > hihaʔt ‘nice little’
 kʷət ‘be poured out’ > kʷikʷət ‘be trickling a bit’
 puʔtəd ‘shirt’ > pipuʔtəd ‘favourite shirt, thin shirt, baby’s shirt’
 p'a?cut ‘try to do it’ > p'ip'a?cut ‘try to do it over and over’
 p'uay’ ‘flounder’ > p'ip'uay’ ‘little flounder’
 qaw'qs ‘raven’ > qiqaw'qs ‘fledgling raven’
 sgʷəlub ‘pheasant’ > sgʷigʷəlub ‘fledgling pheasant’
 skəwič ‘hunchback’ > kikəwič ‘Little Hunchback (name)’
 sqʷəlałəd ‘berry’ > sqʷiqliəłəd ‘little berry’
 təbłusəd ‘put ochre on face’ > titəbłusəd ‘put a bit of ochre on face’
 təlawil ‘run’ > titəlawil ‘jog’

The only predictable members of this second list are those bases which have a schwa as the first vowel; however, there are a few stems which have a schwa in the first syllable that either take a C₁V₁- reduplicand (e.g., *lələli?* ‘just manage to change it’) or a C₁i?- reduplicand (*biʔbəda?*

¹²¹ The first syllable in these forms is the prefix *gʷə-* ‘dubitatively’ (Section 2.1.6).

‘small offspring’) (see below). A few stems combine C₁i- reduplication with syncope of the first vowel of the base:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (404) ?ələd ‘feed on something’ | > ?i?łəd ‘eat a bit of something’ |
| bəščəb ‘mink’ | > bibščəb ‘little mink’ |
| dəč’u? ‘one’ | > didč’u? ‘one small item; solitary’ |

Another common variant on C₁V₁- reduplication is C₁V₁?- reduplication:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| (405) lałlil ‘live there’ | > laʔlałlil ‘a few live there’ |
| lil ‘be near’ | > liʔlil ‘be a little ways off’ |
| luλ’ ‘be old’ | > luʔluλ’ ‘be a bit old’ |
| mad ‘be small’ | > maʔmad ‘be a bit small’ |
| saxʷəb ‘jump, sprint’ | > saʔsaxʷəb ‘scamper off’ |
| suqʷa? ‘younger sibling or cousin’ | > suʔsuqʷa? ‘little younger sibling or cousin’ |
| talə ‘money’ | > taʔtalə ‘a bit of money’ |
| ħayəb ‘laugh’ | > ħaʔħayəb ‘giggle’ |

Which bases undergo this type of reduplication is inherently unpredictable, and at least two words in this list — *saxʷəb* ‘run, sprint’ and *luλ’* ‘be old’ — also undergo plain C₁V₁-reduplication without any obvious difference in meaning.¹²² Like C₁V₁- reduplicands, C₁V₁?- reduplicands can also trigger reduction or syncope of the first vowel in the base:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| (406) lid ‘be tied’ | > liʔdahəb ‘trawl’ |
| kʷilid ‘peek at something’ | > kʷiʔkʷəl ‘take a little peek at something’ |
| sali? ‘two’ | > saʔsəli? ‘two little items’ |
| saqʷw ‘fly’ | > saʔsqʷw ‘fly just a bit’ |
| saxʷəb ‘jump, sprint’ | > saʔsxʷəb ‘run a few steps’ |
| siħʷid ‘make noise moving water’ | > siʔsħʷicut ‘go along in water making noise’ |
| stubš ‘man’ | > stuʔtəbš ‘one man among women’ |
| stuləkʷ ‘river’ | > stuʔtələkʷ ‘creek’ |

Of these forms, *saʔsqʷw* ‘fly just a bit’, *stuʔtələkʷ* ‘creek’, *stuʔtəbš* ‘one man among women’, and *saʔsxʷəb* ‘run a few steps’ have attested forms undergoing plain C₁V₁- reduplication without the glottal stop — *sasaqʷw* ‘take flight’, *stutələkʷ* ‘creek’, *stutubš* ‘boy’, and *sasaxʷəb* ‘scamper off’, respectively. Note that there are various reduplicated forms of *saxʷəb* ‘jump, sprint’ — *sasaxʷəb/saʔsaxʷəb* ‘scamper off’, *saʔsxʷəb* ‘run a few steps’, and *səʔsxʷab* ‘hop’. The same is

¹²² *saxʷəb* is also attested with the reduplicated form *səʔsxʷab*, glossed as ‘hop, Indian broad jump (game)’, which may be based diachronically on a now-unattested base *sxʷab.

true of *stubš* ‘man’ which has two different reduplicated forms, *stutubš* ‘boy’ and *stu?təbš* ‘one man among women’, which clearly have different meanings and belong to different lexemes. In the case of *sasaqʷ* ‘take flight’, which is given a slightly different gloss than *sa?sq’ʷ* ‘fly just a bit’, however, it is not clear in this case to what degree the difference in gloss is due to context or to the fact that the two words belong to different lexemes.

C₁V₁?- reduplication also has a *C₁i?*- variant:

(407) bəda? ‘offspring’	> bi?bəda? ‘little child’
bəlxʷəd ‘pass someone’	> bi?bəlxʷəd ‘pass someone by a little bit’
buus ‘four’	> bi?buus ‘four small items’
gʷəq’əd ‘open something’	> gʷi?gʷəq’əd ‘open something briefly’
luud ‘hear something’	> li?luud ‘hear a little bit of something’
ɬxʷubx̥ ‘sister of Basket Ogress’	> ti?ɬxʷubx̥ ‘sister of Basket Ogress’ (diminutive)
p’uay ‘flounder (fish)’	> p’i?p’uay ‘little flounder’
qəladi? ‘uprooted tree, snag’	> qi?qəladi? ‘Little Uprooted Tree (name)’
qʷu? ‘fresh water’	> qʷiqʷu? ‘small amount of freshwater’
sdəxʷił ‘hunting canoe’	> sdi?dəxʷił ‘little hunting canoe’
sqʷəbay? ‘dog’	> sqʷi?sqʷəbay? ‘puppy’
sxʷədi? ‘bullhead (fish)’	> sxʷi?sxʷədi? ‘little bullhead’
tsadi? ‘hit something on the side’	> ti?tsadi? ‘tap something on the side’

As with plain *C₁i-* reduplication, *C₁i?*- reduplication is largely predictable for bases derived from CC radicals (e.g., *ti?tsadi?* ‘tap something on the side’ from *vts* ‘hit something with fist’), as well as those beginning with consonant clusters (*ti?ɬxʷubx̥* ‘little sister of Basket Ogress’). One of these forms, *p’i?p’uay* ‘little flounder’, also has a plain *C₁i-* form, *p’ip’uay*.

The existence of so many apparently synonymous Type II reduplicated forms, as well as the unpredictability of which forms consistently require a glottal stop and which do not, has prompted some interesting theoretical work. In particular, Bates (1986) suggests the presence/absence of the glottal stop is due to prosodic factors and offers some arguments in support of this based on words that have synonymous *C₁V₁?*- and *C₁V₁*- reduplicated forms. However, many words that undergo *C₁V₁?*- reduplication are very frequent and are never attested without a glottal stop in spite of appearing in a wide variety of prosodic environments. It may

well be the case that for some words $C_1V_1?-$ (or $C_1i?-$) reduplication is partially or wholly prosodically-conditioned and for others it is lexically-specified. This seems even more likely in that there are a few cases like *stutubš* ‘boy’ vs. *stu?təbš* ‘one man among women’ in which C_1V_1- and $C_1V_1?-$ reduplications give clearly different meanings, perhaps an indication that these once were distinct reduplicative patterns in the language. These may have become neutralized for most words, giving rise to competing forms, and opening the door to a certain amount of variation across dialects and speakers. Likewise, vowel reduction and syncope in the base may be predictable in many cases, as suggested both by Bates (1986) and Urbanczyk (1996a), but it seems likely that at least some of these variations on Type II reduplication are, in fact, lexically-specified for their stems. Examples such as those in (400) may indicate that these, too, once represented separate patterns that collapsed during the historical development of the language.

5.3 Type III reduplication - V_1C_2

Type III - V_1C_2 reduplication involves infixing the first vowel and second consonant of the base after the first consonant. In comparison with other reduplications, especially Type II, Type III reduplication is formally very regular and presents few phonological complications. On the other hand, unlike Types I and II, Type III reduplication is not characterizable as expressing a single meaning or meanings belonging to a coherent semantic field: instead, it is associated with a variety of meanings, depending in part on the lexical and semantic class of the word it is applied to.

5.3.1 Diminished effectiveness

When applied to verbal bases expressing actions, Type III reduplication creates expressions of diminished effectiveness [DIM.EFF] — that is, expressions of activities performed randomly, ineffectively, or inconclusively, or of languid states:

- (408) ?ibəš ‘walk, journey’ > ?ibibəš ‘meander’

?ululūl ‘travel by water’	>	?ululul ‘paddle around’
č’axʷacut ‘hit oneself, club oneself’	>	č’axʷaxʷacut ‘thrash about’
d’aq’ ‘topple over’	>	d’aq’aq’ ‘teeter’
gʷədil ‘sit down’	>	gʷədədil ‘just sit around’
kʷalčcut ‘bend oneself backwards’	>	kʷalalčcut ‘bend oneself back a bit’
kʷwil ‘peer out from behind’	>	kʷwilil ‘peer about’
λ’iq ‘emerge’	>	λ’iqiq ‘emerge intermittently’
labəd ‘see something’	>	lababəd ‘look around for something’
ɬild ‘give food’	>	ɬilid ‘give a bit of food’
saqʷ ‘fly’	>	saqʷaqʷ ‘wheeling in the sky’
saxʷəb ‘jump, sprint’	>	saxʷaxʷəb ‘scurry about ineffectively’
tab ‘do’	>	tabab ‘carry on’
tašad ‘fix up a bit’	>	tašašad ‘fix something up a bit’
wəli?il ‘become visible’	>	wələli?il ‘become visible in glimpses’
χəf ‘be sick’	>	χəfχəf ‘be depressed’ ¹²³
yubil ‘human starves’	>	yububil ‘body is run down, feel unwell’

Judging by the glosses of a few of these forms, ‘diminished effectiveness’ may overlap somewhat with the attenuative (e.g., λ’iqiq ‘emerge intermittently’ vs. λ’iλ’q ‘emerge intermittently’; see also forms in both categories glossed as ‘X a bit’), though this may have more to do with the English translations than with the actual meaning of the forms. Most forms that have both an attested Type II and a Type III reduplication show the predicted difference in meaning (*saxʷaxʷəb* ‘scurry about ineffectively’ vs. *sasaxʷəb* ‘scamper off’; *kʷwilil* ‘peer about’ vs. *kʷi?kʷəl* ‘take a little peek at something’; *saqʷaqʷ* ‘wheeling in the sky’ vs. *sasaqʷ* ‘take flight’).

5.3.2 Intensivity

When applied to certain adverbs and certain verbs expressing states and locations, Type III reduplication expresses intensivity [INTNS]:

(409) ?a ‘be there’	>	?a?a ‘be right here’
bəkʷ ‘all’	>	bəkʷəkʷ ‘every last one’
dah ‘be thankful’	>	dahah ‘be very thankful’
day’ ‘especially, very, only’	>	day’ay’ ‘all, completely, only’
dił ‘just that one’	>	diňiň ‘just that very one’
qah ‘a lot’	>	qahah ‘really a lot’

David Beck 10-4-14 1:27 PM

Comment: remove /h/, explain epenthesis

¹²³ This reduplicated form is also found in the compound χəfχəfχəf ‘feel sad, sorry’ (lit. ‘a-bit sick mind (χəfχəf)').

tiləb ‘immediately’	> tililəb ‘suddenly, instantly’
tuχʷ ‘merely’	> tuχʷuχʷ ‘not much at all’
χʷul’ ‘only, just’	> χʷul’ul’ ‘nothing but, entirely’

In addition to these forms, there is *diʔlił* ‘thereupon, just as soon as’, formed from a slightly irregular Type III reduplication of *√diʔt* ‘all at once, suddenly’ which ignores the glottal stop in the non-reduplicated form, as well as *hagʷagʷəxʷ* ‘finally, at last’, formed from *√haʔkʷ* ‘for a long time’. This radical regularly voices its final consonant and loses the glottal stop when in non-final position (Section 2). The adverb *d̥ixʷ* ‘first, before’ has a regularly formed but idiomatic Type III reduplication — *d̥ixʷixʷ* ‘even more so’ — which fits semantically with the category of intensivity but doesn’t have a transparent semantic relationship to the meaning of its base. There is also a form *hayayəd* ‘figure out how to deal with something’ based on the bound radical *°vhay* ‘be known’ via an unattested intermediate form **hayəd* ‘know something’.¹²⁴ Finally, the radical *√təł* ‘be true’ has a form *təłəłtəł* ‘be really true’ that seems to combine Type I and Type III reduplication.

5.3.3 Exclusivity

When applied to a handful of pronouns and at least one noun, Type III reduplication has the effect of expressing exclusivity [EXC] or uniqueness:

- (410) cədil ‘he, she’ > *cədədił* ‘just him, just her’
dibəł ‘we’ > *dibibəł* ‘just us’
gʷəlapu ‘you guys’ > *gʷəłəlapu* ‘just you guys’
sładəy? ‘woman’ > *sładadəy?* ‘woman living alone’

This meaning is clearly related to the intensifying meaning of Type III reduplications seen with adverbs and locative verbs.

¹²⁴ There is, however, a form *hay'əd* ‘pay attention to’ which may be the synchronic reflex of **hayəd*.

5.3.4 Plurality

The fourth use of Type III reduplication is to create the plurals of two determiners and a few lexically-specified nouns:

(411) ?alš ‘cross-sex sibling’	> ?alalš ‘cross-sex siblings’
?ibac ‘grandchild’	> ?ibibac ‘grandchildren’
si?ab ‘noble person’	> si?i?ab ‘noble people’ ¹²⁵
stubš ‘man’	> stububš ‘men’
ti?ə? ‘this’	> ti?i?ə? ‘these’
ti?il ‘that’	> ti?i?il ‘those’

Type III reduplication is also used as a classificatory morpheme with numerals other than *sali?* ‘two’ and *buus* ‘four’ when counting humans (see also Table 71 in Section 2.7.2 above):

(412) lixʷ ‘three’	> lixʷixʷ ‘three people’
cəlac ‘five’	> cələlac ‘five people’
yəla?c ‘six’ (NL)	> yələla?c ‘six people’
dəlači? ‘six’ (SL)	> dəlalači? ‘six people’
c'ukʷs ‘seven’	> c'ukʷukʷs ‘seven people’
tqači? ‘eight’	> tqaqqači? ‘eight people’
χʷəl ‘nine’	> χʷələl ‘nine people’
?ulub ‘ten’ (NL)	> ?ululub ‘ten people’
padac ‘ten’ (SL)	> padadac ‘ten people’
salači? ‘twenty’	> salalači? ‘twenty’ (SL)

Note that the form *tqaqqači?* ‘eight people’ treats the initial consonant cluster of *tqači?* ‘eight’ as the first syllable of the base and uses a schwa as the vowel for the -V₁C₂ reduplicand. Type III reduplication expressing plurality is also applied to the interrogative word *kʷid* ‘how many?’ (Section 8.4.2) to form *kʷidid* ‘how many people?’.

5.4 Other plural reduplications

In addition to using Type I and Type III reduplications to express plurality, Lushootseed expresses the plurality of a number of words with idiosyncratic reduplicative patterns. One such group of words takes a prefixal C₁ə- reduplicand:

(413) dədis ‘tooth’	> dədədis ‘teeth’, ¹²⁶
---------------------	-----------------------------------

¹²⁵ The form si?i?ab ‘noble people’ is also attested with the meaning ‘head man’ (i.e., ‘most noble’), representing an intensive interpretation of the same reduplication (ML SH 576).

slədəy? ‘woman’	> sləladəy? ‘women’
studəq ‘slave’	> stətudəq ‘slaves’
sya?ya? ‘relative, friend’	> syəya?ya? ‘relatives, friends’
tagʷəxʷ ‘hunger’	> tətagʷəxʷ ‘many are hungry’
yubil ‘human starves’	> yəyubil ‘many humans starve’

Note that this list contains both verbs and nouns: with nouns, this reduplication expresses plural number; with verbs, it expressed the plurality of the subject. To the list in (413) we might also add *qʷqʷatil* ‘many are laid out’ (from *qʷat* ‘be lying; snow falls’), which seems to apply syncope to the schwa in the reduplicand, and the numerals missing from the list of numeral forms in (412) used for counting humans (cf. Table 70, Section 2.7.2) — *səsa?li?* ‘two people’ and *bəbu?s* ‘four people’, which both epenthize a glottal stop after the nucleus of the first syllable in their base.

Another plural reduplicative pattern involves the doubling of the first vowel in the base:

(414) cədit ‘he, she’	> caadil ‘they’
čəgʷas ‘wife’	> čaagʷəs ‘wives’
č’ac’as ‘child’	> č’aac’as ‘children’
č’əbas ‘in-law’	> č’aabəs ‘in-laws’ ¹²⁷
gʷədil ‘sit’	> gʷaadil ‘two or more sit’
si?ab ‘noble person’	> siia?b ‘noble people’
šəd’al ‘go outdoors’	> šaad’al ‘many go outdoors’
təd’il ‘go to bed, animal lies down’	> taad’il ‘many go to bed, animals lie down’

As seen in the first two forms, if the first vowel in the base is a schwa, it becomes /aa/ when reduplicated. Because the long reduplicated vowel attracts stress, this results in the reduction of the second vowel of the bases in some forms (*čaagʷəs* ‘wives’, *č’aabəs* ‘in-laws’), though not in others (*č’aac’as* ‘children’, *šaad’al* ‘many go outdoors’). The form *siia?b* ‘noble people’ also co-exists with the more frequent form *si?i?ab* ‘noble people’. This reduplication is also seen combined with attenuative reduplication in an alternate plural form for ‘girls’, *słaałədəy?* (from *sładəy?* ‘woman’), with the reduplication of *kʷələq* ‘other things’ — which is already plural —

¹²⁶ This form is also recorded as *dədədədis*.

¹²⁷ This term refers to cross-sex siblings-in-law and a woman’s sister-in-law, but not to a man’s brother-in-law.

to form *kʷaaləq* ‘other people’, and in the word *diič’u?* ‘one person’, the form of the numeral *dəč’u?* ‘one’ used for counting humans.

Some previous treatments of this reduplicative pattern (Hess & Hilbert 1976; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994) have characterized it as expressing an augmentative rather than a plural; however, in the present corpus there is only one form which has a clearly augmentative (or, more accurately, an intensifying) reading:

- (415) a. hay d^waak^wu?ex^w elg^wə? tatabtubex^w ?ə ti?i?i^h
 hay d^waak^wu?ex^w elg^wə? tatab-tx^w-b=ex^w ?ə ti?i?i^h
 SCONJ long.time:RDP=now PL speak-ECS-PASS=now PR DIST:PL
 ‘at long last they were spoken to by them’

(Hess 2006: 79, line 911)

- b. ... čex^wa d^waak^wu?ex^w g^wək^wədx^w ti ha?^h biacs
 čex^wa d^waak^wu?ex^w g^wə=k^wəd-dx^w ti ha?^h biac-s
 2SG.COORD long.time:RDP=now SBJ=taken-DC SPEC good meat
 ‘... finally then you can get its good meat’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 87)

This form, *d^waak^wu?* ‘at long last, finally’, is derived from the predicate particle *d^waak^wu?* ‘long (time)’ and expresses intensification (that is, a longer time). Hess & Hilbert (1976: II, 163) also provide an alternative gloss for *čaač’as* ‘children’, ‘still a child’, which might be a contextualized reading of an augmentative of child (cf. an English expression like ‘big baby’). These words may be an indication that at one time -V₁V₁- reduplication corresponded more generally to an augmentative meaning, but synchronically this seems to be restricted to only a few forms.

5.5 Multiple reduplications

In addition to having a great many different reduplicative morphemes, Lushootseed also allows for the combination of more than one reduplication on a single base; however, only certain types of multiple reduplications are allowed, and these always occur in a relative fixed order, as shown in Figure 5:

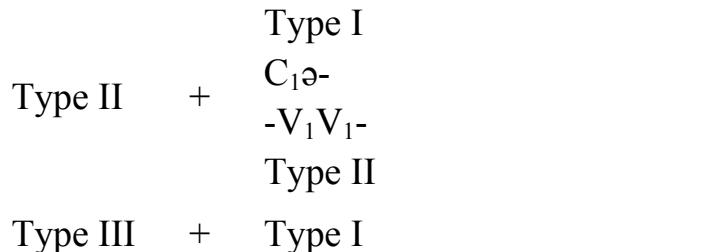


Figure 5: Ordering and possible combinations of reduplicands

As indicated in the table, Type II and Type III reduplications can be applied to bases formed by a previous reduplication. Type II reduplication can combine with Type I reduplication, two of the special plural patterns, and with bases that have already undergone Type II reduplication. Type III reduplication expressing diminished effectiveness can only be combined with Type I, and appears not to combine with any other pattern.

When combined with the Type I distributive reduplication, Type II attenuative reduplication gives a nominal base meaning ‘N’ the sense of ‘plural small or baby Ns’:

- (416) *bəda?* ‘offspring’ *bədbəda?* ‘children’ *bibədbəda?* ‘litter of animals; dolls’

pastəd ‘Caucasian’ *paspastəd* ‘Caucasians [derogatory]’ *papaspastəd* ‘Caucasian children’

sg^wəlub ‘pheasant’ *sg^wəl'g^wəlub* ‘pheasants’ *sg^wig^wəl'g^wəlub* ‘brood of pheasants’

When applied to verbal bases, the combination of Type I and Type II reduplication creates forms with plural subjects expressing attenuated states or activities:

- (417) *q'išəd* ‘uncover leg’¹²⁸ *q'isq'išəd* ‘uncover legs’ *q'iq'isq'išəd* ‘partly uncover legs’
sikʷalus ‘torn eye’ *sikʷsikʷalus* ‘torn eyes’ *si?sikʷsikʷalus* ‘eyes all but torn’
pəkʷ ‘flake off’ *pəkʷpəkʷ* ‘flake all over’ *pipəkʷpəkʷ* ‘flake a bit all over’

¹²⁸ From *√q* 'is' + *-šəd* 'lower leg'.

Although this combination of reduplicands is transparent, it is not textually frequent and seems in practice to be largely confined to one or two high-frequency forms (in particular, *bibədbəda?* referring to the children of anthropomorphic characters in traditional stories).

Type II attenuative reduplication combines to a limited degree with two pluralizing reduplicative patterns. The first combination covers three forms that combine the Type II reduplicand with the C₁ə- pattern for counting humans, illustrated in (412) above, to make special forms for counting children:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| (418) | <i>dəč' u?</i> 'one' | <i>dič' u?</i> 'one person' | <i>didədič' u?</i> 'one child' |
| | <i>səli?</i> 'two' | <i>səsa?li?</i> 'two people' | <i>si?səsa?li?</i> 'two children' |
| | <i>tič' w?</i> 'three' | <i>tič' wixw?</i> 'three people' | <i>tič' wixw?</i> 'three children' ¹²⁹ |

Of these forms, *didədič' u?* 'one child' appears to be based on an unattested C₁ə- plural form **dədič' u?*, which of course would be ruled out for semantic reasons; instead, the form is likely to have been created by analogy with *si?səsa?li?* 'two children' and *tič' wixw?* 'three children'. It is not known if there were once more forms of this type in the language.

The second combination consists of Type II plus -V₁V₁- pluralization:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (419) | <i>stubš</i> 'man' | <i>stutubš</i> 'boy' | <i>stuutubš</i> 'boys' ¹³⁰ |
| | <i>sladəy?</i> 'woman' | <i>slałdəy?</i> 'girl' | <i>slaalədəy?</i> 'girls' |

These are the only two attested forms that combine these two reduplicative patterns.

There are also a number of forms that contain multiple Type II reduplications, the effect of which is much like that of combining Type I and Type II reduplicands:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|---|
| (420) | <i>bəda?</i> 'offspring' | > <i>bibibəda?</i> 'many young offspring' |
| | <i>č'λ'a?</i> 'stone' | > <i>č'ič'iλ'a?</i> 'many small stone' |
| | <i>qʷič'ay?</i> 'log' | > <i>qʷič'qʷič'ay?</i> 'many little sticks' |
| | <i>sbadil</i> 'mountain' | > <i>sbabababil</i> 'many little mountains' |
| | <i>sgʷəlub</i> 'pheasant' | > <i>sgʷigʷigʷəlub</i> 'many fledgling pheasants' |
| | <i>ħa?ħayəb</i> 'giggle' | > <i>ħaħaħaħayħbħut</i> 'many make themselves giggle' |

¹²⁹ Also attested as *təli?xʷixw?*.

¹³⁰ Also *stuutububš*.

With the exception of the final form, all of the textual attestations of iterative Type II reduplication are on nouns; this last form, *ħaxħaxħaybcut* ‘many make themselves giggle’ (from *ħayeb* ‘laugh’) is also exceptional in that it appears to contain three repetitions of the reduplicand, although the stem *ħa?ħayeb* ‘giggle’ may be lexicalized enough to be considered the base for the subsequent reduplications. Because of the overlap in meaning of iterative Type II reduplication with combined Type II + Type I reduplication, forms like those in (420) have been treated as combinations of the attenuative and the distributive (Hess & Hilbert 1976); however, the existence of parallel forms such as *bibibada?* ‘many young offspring’ (Type II + Type II) and *bibedbada?* ‘litter of animals; dolls’ (Type II + Type I) makes it more likely that the former are in fact iterations of the Type II attenuative pattern, and that the iteration of the Type II pattern has taken on an idiomatic meaning.

Finally, Type III diminished effectiveness reduplication combines with Type I reduplication to create verbs with the sense of an action performed partially, or ineffectively over and over:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|---|
| (421) ?ibəš ‘travel’ | | |
| ?ib?ibəš ‘travel all over’ | | ?ibib?ibəš ‘meander all over’ |
| ?ulul ‘travel by water’ | | |
| ?ul?ulul ‘many travel’ | | ?ulul?ulul ‘many out boating’ |
| d̥alqcut ‘turn around’ | | |
| d̥ald̥alqcut ‘turn repeatedly’ | | d̥alalad̥alqcut ‘turn a bit repeatedly’, ¹³¹ |
| gʷad ‘speak’ | | |
| gʷadgʷad ‘talk a lot’ | | gʷadgʷad ‘converse’ |
| gʷədil ‘sit down’ | | |
| gʷədgʷədil ‘sit all over’ | | gʷədgʷədil ‘just sitting around’ |

¹³¹ This word is used most frequently in the context where it means to look back over one's shoulder repeatedly.

<i>k'ʷalčcut</i> ‘bend self backwards’		
<i>k'ʷalk'ʷalčcut</i> ‘bend back repeatedly’	<i>k'ʷalalk'ʷalčcut</i> ‘bend a bit repeatedly’	
<i>λ'iq</i> ‘emerge’		
<i>λ'iqλ'iq</i> ‘emerge all over’	<i>λ'iqiqλ'iq</i> ‘whales emerge all about’	
<i>saq'ʷ</i> ‘fly’		
<i>saq'ʷsaq'ʷ</i> ‘fly all over’	<i>saq'ʷaq'ʷsaq'ʷ</i> ‘birds wheel in sky’	
<i>saxʷəb</i> ‘jump, sprint’		
<i>saxʷsaxʷəb</i> ‘run all over’	<i>saxʷsaxʷəb</i> ‘run around for nothing’	
<i>xʷəb</i> ‘throw’		
<i>xʷəbxʷəb</i> ‘throw repeatedly’	<i>xʷəbəbxʷəb</i> ‘toss from side to side’	

This combination of reduplicands seems to be somewhat more common than Type II + Type I.

To the list in (421) we might also add *təłəłtəł* ‘be really true’ based on $\sqrt{təł}$ ‘be true’ via an unattested base **təłtəł*. There is also at least one example, *ₓalalₓal* ‘serves you right!’, which appears to be the product of Type III + Type I reduplication of the radical $^{\circ}\sqrt{xal}$ ‘get one’s just desserts’ where the Type III reduplication has the meaning ‘intensive’ rather than ‘diminished effectiveness’. This radical is poorly attested in the present corpus, however, and the contexts in which *ₓalalₓal* appear do not make it clear whether it is a productive use of a reduplicated verb stem or if it constitutes a lexicalized, fixed expression. Similarly, there is a single token in the textual corpus of Type II + Type III reduplication, *čə?čəlal'dxʷ* ‘almost catch something’ (based on *čaldxʷ* ‘catch up to someone’ from $\sqrt{čal}$ ‘be overtaken’). This form involves patterns of vowel reduction and an unusual glottalization of the final /l/ of the radical, and seems not to be a predictable or productive synchronic form.

6 Verbal inflection

6.1 Aspect-marking

One of the two exclusively verbal inflectional categories is aspect, which is marked by a set of prefixes that appear immediately to the left of the stem, preceding the radical and any derivational prefixes. The semantics of its aspectual system are at their core fundamentally in-line with aspectual systems found in a wide variety of the world's languages, and the language makes a distinction between three simple aspects — imperfective, perfective, and stative (6.1.1). However, the description of Lushootseed aspect-marking is complicated by the existence of the progressive proclitic *lə-* (Section 3.2), which co-occurs with the aspectual prefixes and interacts with them morphophonemically and expresses meanings often expressed by aspectual inflections in other languages. As a result, Lushootseed appears to have two additional “compound aspects” formed by the combination of the progressive clitic and the perfective and stative prefixes (6.1.2). Although these have all the trapping of fourth and fifth members of the aspectual paradigm their semantics and uses in discourse are transparently those of their separate component parts and from a strictly formal point of view need not be considered as separate values of the inflectional category of aspect.

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: also goes on question words

6.1.1 Simple aspects

The inflectional category of aspect in Lushootseed has three values — imperfective, perfective, and stative. Two of the aspects, the perfective and the stative, are clearly marked by single inflectional prefixes which immediately precede the verb stem, while the third simple aspect, the imperfective, is a zero:

Ø- ‘imperfective’
ʔu- ‘perfective’
ʔas- ‘stative’

Table 75: Simple aspects

The meanings of each of these aspects corresponds closely to their meanings in other languages.

The imperfective and perfective aspects in particular seem to conform to Comrie's (1976:4) characterizations, the perfective aspect looking "at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation" and the imperfective aspect looking "at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation." The stative aspect, on the other hand, treats the situation or event described by the verb (or its outcome) as an established fact or state of affairs without reference to its beginning or any potential endpoint. The three aspects are contrasted in (422):

- (422) a. haydx^w əlg^{wə?} stubš ti?ił

Ø–hay–dx^w əlg^{wə?} stubš ti?ił
IMPF–known–DC PL man DIST
'they know that he is a man'

[DS Star Child, line 131]

- b. tiləb ?uhaydx^w ?ulək^w?təb ti?ił ?alalš ?ə tsi sx^wiyuk^w

tiləb ?u–hay–dx^w ?u–lək^w–t–b ti?ił ?alalš–s ?ə
immediately PFV–known–DC PFV–eat–ICS–PASS DIST PL–siblings–3PO PR

tsi sx^wiyuk^w
SPEC:FEM Basket.Ogress

'right away he found out that his siblings had been eaten by the Basket Ogress'

[JS Basket Ogress, line 19]

- c. huy ?əsaydx^w tašəl̥yači?bid ti?ił suhuyuds

huy ?əs–hay–dx^w tu=?as–šəl̥•yači?–bi–d ti?ił
SCONJ STAT–known–DC PAST=STAT=make•hand–MAP–ICS DIST

s=?u–huyu–d=s
NM=PFV=made–ICS=3PO

'he knows how it is done with the hands to make it (shine)'

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 31)

The sentence in (422a) describes a situation in which two women, having discovered that an infant is a boy, are preparing to kidnap him. The narrator's focus here is on the women's state of mind (i.e., what they know) at the time of reference and the sentence

serves, in narrative terms, as background information motivating the subsequent action of the characters. In (422b), on the other hand, the use of the perfective aspect places the focus on the act of discovery (hence the gloss of *haydxʷ* ‘know’ as ‘find out’), and the “knowing” event is treated as an atomic whole which includes its beginning point (the transition from not knowing to knowing). The stative aspect marker in (422c), on the other hand, portrays the protagonist’s (Mink’s) knowledge as an established state of affairs at the time of reference. A more detailed discussion of the semantics of aspect in Lushootseed is somewhat beyond the scope of this grammar; however, some of their basic uses in narrative, as well as the morphophonemic behaviours of the non-zero affixes, are detailed in the sections below.

6.1.1.1 Imperfective aspect \emptyset -

6.1.1.2 Perfective aspect $?u$ -

6.1.1.3 Stative aspect $?as$ -

The phonologically basic form of the stative aspectual prefix is $?as$ -, although the vowel is unstressed in most word forms and so it most frequently reduced to schwa, giving the form $?əs$ -. The stative prefix also interacts morphophonologically with preceding clitics, as shown in (423):

- (423) a. cickʷəxʷ ɬ'astagʷəxʷi?ɬəxʷ čəd ?ə ti?i? dbibədbəda?
 cickʷ=əxʷ ɬ'u=?as-tagʷəxʷ•i?ɬ=əxʷ čəd ?ə ti?i?
 always=now HAB=STAT-hungry•child=now 1SG.SUB PR DIST

d–bi–bəd–bəda?
 1SG.PO–ATTN–DSTR–offspring
 ‘my little children usually go hungry’

(Hess 1998: 79, line 48)

b. ḫasxʷəxʷa?xʷa?əd čət ti?i?
 ḥu=?as-xʷəxʷa?xʷa?-d čət ti?i?
 IRR=STAT-lightweight–ICS 1PL.SUB DIST
 ‘we will make that be lightweight’

(Hess 1998: 90, line 81)

c. tastədᶻil ?al tsı?i? čəgʷas
 tu=?as-tədᶻil ?al tsı?i? čəgʷas=s
 PAST=STAT-lie.in.bed at DIST:FEM wife–3PO
 ‘he was in bed with his wife’

(Hess 2006: 14, line 89)

d. ḫʷul' basdukʷ ti?ə? səs̚xqaličtxʷs
 ᬁʷul' bə=?as-dukʷ ti?ə? s=?əs-ᬁq•alič-txʷ=s
 only ADD=STAT-anormal PROX NM=STAT-wrapped–ECS=3PO
 ‘what he had all bundled up was just worthless’

(Hess 1998: 88, line 271)

e. ?əs?əxidəxʷ kʷi ?aciłtalbixʷ gʷas?itutəs
 ?əs?=?əxid=əxʷ kʷi ?aciłtalbixʷ gʷə=?as=?itut=əs
 STAT=what.happen=now REM people SBJ=STAT-sleep=3SBJ
 ‘what happened that the people are asleep?’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 30)

As these examples show, when preceded by one of the phrasal proclitics (Section 3), the stative prefix loses its initial glottal stop and causes the elision of the vowel of the proclitic, giving us the following patterns:

- (424) $\lambda'u = + ?as \rightarrow \lambda'as$
 $\downarrow u = + ?as \rightarrow \downarrow as$
 $tu = + ?as \rightarrow tas$
 $b\vartheta = + ?as \rightarrow bas$
 $g^w\vartheta = + ?as \rightarrow g^was$

¹³² There is one exception to this pattern in the current corpus where $g^wə= + ?as- \rightarrow g^wəs-$:

When strings of proclitics appear before the stative prefix, the clitic adjacent to the aspectual marker follows the same pattern of coalescence:

- (425) x^wi?ex^w k^wi stabex^w g^waλ'asudx^w elg^wə? dx^w?al k^wədi? tuk^widəłdat
 NEG=now REM what=now SBJ=HAB=STAT-see-DC PL CNTRPT-at REM.DMA
 tu=k^wid•əł•dat
 PAST=how.many•CLS•day
 'they could not see anything for many days'

(Hess 2006: 53, line 263)

In this example, the final /s/ of the stative prefix is lost due to contact with the initial /š/ of the radical due to a more general phonological, as opposed to specific morphophonological, process.

When the stative prefix follows either of the nominalizing proclitics, *s=* or *dəx^w=*, it simply loses the initial glottal stop:

- (426) a. ɬiltəbəx^w tsı?ə? čəg^was ?ə ti?ə? ɬusəsq^wəls
 ɬil-t-b=ex^w tsı?ə? čəg^was-s ?ə ti?ə?
 give.food-ICS-PASS=now PROX:FEM wife-3PO PR PROX
 ɬu=s=?əs-q^wəl=s
 IRR=NM=STAT-cooked=3PO
 'his wife was given it for her to cook'

(Hess 1998: 84, line 166)

- b. dił cəx^wəsčəba? ti?ə? dsəsc'q^wib tsı?ə? ?u?u
 dił d=dəx^w=?əs-čəba? ti?ə? d=s=?əs-c'q^wib
 FOC 1SG.PO=ADNM=STAT-backpack PROX 1SG.PO=NM=STAT-get.in.on
 tsı?ə? ?u?u
 PROX:FEM little.bit
 'this little bit that I am backpacking is what I got in on'

(Hess 1998: 75, line 249)

- (i) wiliq^witəbəx^w tsı?ə? λ'aλ'ac'apəd g^wəsčaləs k^wi ɣəčs
 wiliq^wi-t-b=ex^w tsı?ə? λ'aλ'ac'apəd g^wə=?əs-čal=əs k^wi ɣəč-s
 ask-ICS-PASS=now PROX:FEM ant SBJ=STAT-how=3SBJ REM mind-3PO
 'Ant is asked what is on her mind'

(Hess 1995: 144, line 32)

The morphophonemic interaction of the stative prefix with the remaining proclitic, the progressive, will be discussed in Section 6.1.2 below.

The stative aspect marker also interacts morphophonemically with the propriative prefix *bəs-* (Section 2.1.5), losing its final /s/ and triggering elision of the schwa in the following prefix:

(Hess 2006: 3, line 2)

- b. huy čəxʷ tascutəb ?ə ti?ił tabsbəda?
 huy čəxʷ tu=?as-cut-t-b ?ə ti?ił tu=?as-bəs-bəda?
 SCONJ 2SG.SUB PAST=STAT=say-ICS-PASS PR DIST PAST=STAT=PROP-offspring
 'for he who had a daughter told you to'

(Hess 1998: 98, line 203)

The stative aspect is the most frequent aspect used with verbs formed with the propriative prefix, making the *?əbs-* form in (427a) the most common manifestation of the propriative. As shown in the final word in (427b), the stative prefix can interact simultaneously with morphemes on either side of it. In this case, interaction with the past proclitic preserves the /a/ vowel of the stative prefix, which in other respects interacts normally with the propriative prefix, losing its final /s/ and causing the elision of the schwa in the following syllable..

When it precedes the prefix *dxʷ(s)-* ‘contained’ (Section 2.1.1.1), the stative also loses its final /s/ and triggers the elision of the following /d/:

- (428) a. yəx̥i čəd huy ?əxʷəli?dubutəb
 yəx̥i čəd huy ?əs-dxʷ-həli?-dxʷ-but-b
 because 1SG.SUB SCONJ STAT-CTD-alive-DC-REFL-PASS
 ‘because I want to make myself well’

(Hess 1998: 58, line 50)

- b. yəx̥i ?əxʷcutəbidi ?ə kʷi suhuys
 yəx̥i ?əs-dxʷ-cut-əb-bi-d ?ə kʷi s?uhuys
 because STAT-CTD-say-DSD-MAP-ICS PR REM NM=PFV-made=3PO
 ‘because he thought there was something going on’

(Hess 2006: 14 line 82)

- c. huygʷasəxʷ tiʔacəc tubšədəd kʷi səxʷcutəbitəbs
 huygʷas=əxʷ tiʔacəc tubšədəd kʷi s=?əs-dxʷ-cut-əb-bi-t-b=s
 made-pair=now UNQ Sahaptin REM NM=STAT-CTD=say-DSD-MAP-ICS-PASS=3PO
 'he who is thought to be a Sahaptin is married'

(Hess 1998: 98, line 205)

The most frequent environment for this interaction is where the stative prefix co-occurs with the *dxʷ-* prefix when the latter forms a part of the desiderative (Section 2.1.1.7), as in (428a). Particularly common is the use of the stative with the idiomatic expression *dxʷcutəb* 'think' (lit. 'want to say') (428b). (428c) shows the reduction of the morphological sequence *s=?əs-dxʷ-* to *səxʷ-*, all that remains of the stative prefix being a schwa.

The frequent use of the stative aspect with *dxʷcutəb* 'think' stems from the fact that the stative aspect is often used with expressions of thoughts and mental or emotional states. In the examples in (429), for instance, the stative aspect applies to expressions of mental state:

- (429) a. gʷəl ?əsdzəł'bid gʷat kʷi sda? ?ə tsı?ə? sɬadəy?
 gʷəl ?əsdzəł'bid gʷat kʷi sda? ?ə tsı?ə? sɬadəy?
 SCONJ STAT-confused-MAP-ICS who REM name PROX:FEM PR woman
 'but he was confused about this this woman's name was'

[HM Star Child, line 117]

- b. ?əsqʷibəxʷ čəłəp
 ?əs-qʷib=əxʷ čəłəp
 STAT-ready=now 2PL.SUB
 'you guys be ready!'

(Hess 2006: 66, line 588)

Verbs of emotion are also commonly inflected for stative aspect:

- (430) a. ?əsħiciləxʷ tsı?ə? č'ač'as
 ?əs-ħicil=əxʷ tsı?ə? č'ač'as
 STAT-angry=now PROX:FEM child
 'the girl is angry'

(Hess 1998: 99, line 221)

- b. huy cickʷəxʷ ?əsjuʔiləxʷ
 huy cickʷ=əxʷ ?əs-juʔ-il=əxʷ
 SCONJ very=now STAT-enjoy-INCH=now
 'she is very happy'

[ML Basket Ogress line 77]

- c. ?əxʷaqʷigʷəd ?ə ti?ə? wiw'su
 ?əs-dxʷ-əxʷaqʷigʷəd ?ə ti?ə? wiw'su
 STAT-CTD-troubled•inside.body PR PROX children
 ‘he was annoyed by the children’
- (Hess 1998: 94, line 85)

The stative aspect presents emotions and state of mind as characteristics of the person being described at the time of reference, as opposed to the other aspects describe the emotional state or the coming thereinto as an event, often lending a genuine inchoative reading to the clause (i.e., ‘he got angry’, ‘he becomes angry’, etc.).

Expressions of physical states of being such as illness are also commonly inflected with the stative aspect:

- (431) a. hagʷəxʷ ?əsχət
 hagʷ=əxʷ ?əs-χət
 long.time=now STAT=sick
 ‘he was sick for a long time’
- (Hess 1998: 91, line 20)

- b. hay, tu?uχʷtubəxʷ ?ə kʷi tus?uχʷtubs tsi?ə? cədił tasq'ıł'q'ıł'
 hay tu=?uχʷ-txʷ-b=əxʷ ?ə kʷi tu=s=?uχʷ-txʷ-b=s tsi?ə?
 SCONJ PAST=go-ECS-PASS=now PR REM PAST=NM=go-ECS-PASS=3PO PROX:FEM
 cədił tu=?as-q'ıł'-q'ıł'
 s/he PAST=STAT-DSTR-wounded
 ‘so then this wounded one was taken by those who took her’

(Hess 2006: 20, line 206)

- c. yəχi ɬ'asxʷəlkʷəxʷ
 yəχi ɬ'u=?as-xʷəlkʷ=əxʷ
 because HAB=STAT=dizzy=now
 ‘because she is dizzy’

[ML Basket Ogress, line 83]

The perfective aspect of this type of verb invariably inchoative, lending itself to translations with English “got” (e.g., ?uχət ‘he got sick’).

As Hess (1995: 47) also notes, verbs of perception also frequently take the stative aspect:

- (432) a. ḫʷuləxʷ ʔəšuuc ti?ił ?ay'əds, sčətxʷəd
 xʷul=əxʷ ʔəs-šuł-c ti?ił ?ay'əd-s sčətxʷəd
 only=now STAT-see-ALTV DIST companion-3PO bear
 ‘he just looks at his buddy, Black Bear’

(Hess 1995: 154, line 90)

- b. ʔəsluud čəd
 ʔəs-lu-d čəd
 STAT-hear-ICS 1SG.SUB
 ‘I hear it’

(Hess 2006: 17, line 143)

- c. ḫʷul' ʔəstkʷadi? xʷu?ələ? ʔal kʷi dəxʷəshuys
 xʷul' ʔəs-tkʷadi? xʷu?ələ? ʔal kʷi dəxʷ=?əs-huy=s
 only STAT-deaf maybe at REM ADNM=STAT-made=3PO
 ‘he was simply deaf, I guess, to what was done’

(Hess 1998: 97, line 170)

The same verbs with the other other two aspects portray the event of perception in its entirety, including the inceptive phase of the act (the transition from non-perception to perception), whereas the stative aspect treats the perception as a mental state of the perceiver, as a fixed state of affairs at the time of reference.

The stative aspect also naturally lends itself to use with inherently stative radicals such as those in (433):

- (433) a. ʔəs?itut ti?ił sbiaw
 ʔəs-?itut ti?ił sbiaw
 STAT-sleep DIST coyote
 ‘Coyote is asleep’

(Hess 1998: 102, line 284)

- b. ʔəliqsəxʷ čəd ɬas?atəbəd
 ʔəliqs=əxʷ čəd ɬu=?as-?atəbəd
 even.if=now 1SG.SUB IRR-STAT-dead
 ‘even if I’ll have died’

(Hess 1998: 91, line 13)

- c. ʔəshuygʷəs ʔə təkʷtəkʷəlus ʔə tsı?ə? waq'waq'
 ʔəs-huygʷəs ʔə təkʷtəkʷəlus ʔə tsı?ə? waq'waq'
 STAT-made•pair PR owl PR PROX:FEM frog
 ‘Owl and Frog were married’

(Hess 2006: 3, line 7)

Stative verbs inflected for the stative aspect present the event as a description of the current situation or state of affairs. The stative is also used when describing the inherent properties of persons or objects:

- (434) a. huy ?əsq^wic[?]
 huy ?əs-q^wic[?]
 SCONJ STAT-lazy
 'as he is (so) lazy'

(Hess 1995: 144, line 51)

- b. put ?əsp^wil šqabac ti?ə? hik^w č'λ'a?
 put ?əs-p^wil šqabac ti?ə? hik^w č'λ'a?
 really STAT-flat high-body PROX big stone
 'this big rock is really flat on top'

(Hess 1995: 147, line 4)

It is also commonly found on verbs expressing position or location:

- (435) a. č'wul' ?əx^wpak^wahəb ti?ił sčətx^wəd
 č'wul' ?əsdx^wpak^wahəb ti?ił sčətx^wəd
 only STAT-lie.with.rear.up DIST bear
 'Black Bear just lies there with his butt in the air'¹³³

(Hess 1995: 144, line 36)

- b. č'wul' ?əsq'il ?al ti?ə? q'ił'bid
 č'wul' ?əsq'il ?al ti?ə? q'ił'bid
 only STAT-aboard at PROX canoe
 'it was just on board a canoe'

(Hess 1998: 92, line 38)

- c. ?əscq^wułtubəx^w ti?ə? biba?əd č'ač'as ?əskəki?i?i
 ?əs-cq^wuł-tx^w-b=əx^w ti?ə? biba?əd č'ač'as ?əs-kəki?•i?i
 STAT-post-ECS-PASS=now PROX small child STAT-cradleboard•child
 'the small child wrapped on a cradleboard is hung on a post'

(Hess 2006: 40, line 456)

Once again, the use of the stative aspect makes sentences such as these essentially descriptive statements about a state of affairs extant at the time of reference, as opposed to descriptions of

¹³³ Etymologically-speaking, the verb *dxʷpakʷahəb* contains the lexical suffix *-ah* 'rump', which is accompanied by the prefix *dxʷ-* 'contained'. Although the prefix continues to interact morphophonemically with the stative marker, the verb is not synchronically parseable.

the protagonist assuming a particular position or a construal of being in the position as an action or activity.

Because of this essentially descriptive function of the stative aspect, it is frequently used with environmental expressions, or to set the scene for a new discourse episode by specifying new or especially relevant conditions or the presence of particular people or things:

- (436) a. ?əsqʷšab
 ?əs-qʷšab
 STAT-foggy
 ‘it was foggy’

(Hess 2006: 53, line 262)

- b. ?əskʷət ?al ti?ił cədił x̌lay? dxʷgʷəd
 ?əs-kʷət ?al ti?ił cədił x̌lay? dxʷ-gʷəd
 STAT-spill at DIST s/he cedar CNTRPT-down
 ‘it (blood) is pouring down from that cedar’

(Hess 2006: 18, line 152)

- c. ?əsgʷaadil ti?acəc ?aciłtalbixʷ
 ?əs-gʷaad-il ti?acəc ?aciłtalbixʷ
 STAT-down:PL-INCH UNQ people
 ‘those very people were sitting there’

(Hess 1998: 78, line 20)¹³⁴

Indeed, the scene-setting function of the stative means that it is very commonly the aspect used in opening lines of stories:

- (437) a. ?əsɬatłil ti?ił, ?əsɬatłil ti?ił ?i sgʷəlub ?i ti?ə? qaw'qs
 ?əs-ɬatłil ti?ił ?əs-ɬatłil ti?ił ?i sgʷəlub ?i ti?ə? qaw'qs
 STAT-live DIST STAT-live DIST CONJ pheasant CONJ PROX raven
 ‘they live there, both Pheasant and Raven live there’

(Hess 1998: 78, line 1)

- b. ?əs?i?ista?b ti?ił sbəqʷwa? ?i tsı?ił x̌w'u?x̌ʷəy'
 ?əs-?i-?ista?-b ti?ił sbəqʷwa? ?i tsı?ił x̌w'u?x̌ʷəy'
 STAT-ATTN-be.like-MD DIST heron CONJ DIST:FEM Little.Diver
 ‘Heron and Little Diver are like this’

(Hess 2006: 10, line 3)

¹³⁴ This example is the second half of line 20 in the version of the story in Hess (1998), which was originally published with some added grammatical material. It has since been reanalyzed into two lines in accordance with the sentence as it is actually spoken on the tape, without the need for any editorial amendments. It is actually line 21 of the story in the lexical database.

The first formulation in particular, *?əstətlil ti?it* ... , is a standard opening to narratives somewhat on a par with the English “once upon a time ...”

When used with more dynamic radicals, the stative aspect presents the endstate of the event expressed by the radical as a factual state of affairs that holds at the time of reference, essentially presenting it as a given rather than as an event or occurrence that transpires during the time the speaker is focused on:

- (438) a. *dił cəxʷəsbəčalq ?ə ti?ił*
dił d=dəxʷ=?əs-bəč-alq *?ə ti?ił*
 FOC 1SG.SUB=ADNM=STAT-fallen•game PR DIST
 'that is how I could fell that game'

(Hess 1998: 85, line 209)

b. *tiləb ?ugʷəxagʷil ti?ə? tusəsčaba?s kʷagʷičəd*
tiləb ?u-gʷəx-agʷil ti?ə? tu=s=?əs-čəba?=s *kʷagʷičəd*
 immediately PFV=untied-AUTO PROX PAST=NM=STAT-backpack=3PO elk
 'immediately the elk he had been packing on his back got loose'

(Hess 1998: 87, line 253)

c. *diłəxʷ ti?ił dəxʷəsluutəbs tsı?ił cədił diver, xʷu?xʷey?*
dił=əxʷ ti?ił dəxʷ=?əs-lu-t-b=s *tsı?ił cədił diver*
 FOC=now DIST ADNM=STAT-hear-ICS-PASS=3PO DIST:FEM diver
 Little.Diver
xʷu?xʷey?
 'that is how Little Diver is heard (i.e., how she sounds)'

(Hess 2006: 13, line 57)

This use of the stative aspect often lends itself to English translations in the perfect aspect:

- (439) a. *gʷəl ləbəčad t̪i?ə? cədił sxʷi?xʷi?s t̪i?ə? səsliłtəbs*
gʷəl lə=bəča-d t̪i?ə? cədił sxʷi?xʷi?-s
 SCONJ PROG=fallen-ICS PROX s/he game-3PO
s=?əs-čil-t-b=s
NM=STAT=give.food-ICS-PASS=3PO
 'and next he sets down the game he has been given'
 (Hess 1998: 82, line 124)

- b. cəlul' ?əsqʷib
 cəlul' ?ə-sqʷib
 previously STAT-prepared
 'it has been prepared in advance'

(Hess 82, line 132)

- c. ?əstilič'tub ?ə ti?ə? ?aciłtalbixʷ
 ?əs-či-č'–txʷ–b ?ə ti?ə? ?aciłtalbixʷ
 STAT-ATTN-cut.up–ICS-PASS PR PROX people
 'these people have it cut up into little pieces'

(Hess 1998: 82, line 133)

This seems consistent with the semantics of both the perfect aspect, which focuses on the state of affairs resulting from an action or event as it is relevant at the time of reference, and the stative aspect, which presents an event or its outcome as a state of affairs in effect at the time of reference.

In addition to being a regular verbal inflection, the stative aspect also appears on question words, most commonly in questions that ask about the general situation or extant conditions at the time of reference:

- (440) a. gʷəl ?əscäl ti?ə? sčətxʷəd
 gʷəl ?əs-čäl ti?ə? sčətxʷəd
 SCONJ STAT-how PROX bear
 'and how is it with Black Bear?'

(Hess 1995: 144, line 35)

- b. ?əs?əxidəxʷ kʷi ?aciłtalbixʷ gʷas?itutəs
 ?əs-?əxid=əxʷ kʷi ?aciłtalbixʷ gʷə=?as=?itut=?s
 STAT-what.happen=now REM people SBJ=STAT=sleep=3SBJ
 'what happened that the people are asleep?'

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 30)

The sentence in (440a) comes for a context where it is used as a rhetorical device as the narrator shifts from a description of one of two of the story's protagonists, Ant, to her foil, Black Bear. The question in (440b) asks for a reason for the extant state of affairs (that the people are asleep during their normal waking time, because Raven has mishandled Daylight and made the day too short). When inflected for the stative aspect, the question word *stab* 'what?' seems to take on a slightly idiomatic indefinite or nonspecific meaning:

- (441) a. ?əstab kʷi gʷədsq'p'ucid
 ?əs-stab kʷi gʷə=d=s=q'p'u-t-sid
 STAT=what REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NOM=pay-ICS-2SG.OBJ
 ‘what should I pay you?’

(Hess 2006: 30, line 190)

- b. xʷi?əxʷ ti?i₡ tuha?i₡ tul?al tə ?a tubastab
 xʷi?=əxʷ ti?i₡ tu=ha?i₡ tul?-al tə ?a tu=bə=?as-stab
 NEG=now DIST PAST=good CNTRFG-at NSPEC be.there PAST=ADD=STAT=what
 ‘whatever was good (to eat) from there was gone’

(Hess 2006: 41, line 478)

In both sentences, *stab* refers to a set of things that are not clearly defined in context. In (441a), the speaker (Coyote’s Son, who has been stranded in the Sky World) is completely in the dark as to what the appropriate payment (to Spider, a supernatural being who has offered assistance) would be, or (as stated a few lines later) even if he can get his payment to his benefactor. In the second sentence (441b), *stab* refers to an undefined and heterogeneous class of things (things in the house that are good to eat).

Another idiomatic, or perhaps fossilized, use of the stative aspect is in certain expressions of wanting, desiring, or liking based on the nominalized radical *sxaλ* ‘desired one’ (Section 8.7):

- (442) a. həla?b čəxʷ dəsxaλ’
 həla?b čəxʷ d=?əs-s-xaλ’
 really 2SG.SUB 1SG.PO=STAT-NP=desire
 ‘I really want you’
- b. dəsxaλ’ kʷi biac
 d=?əs-s-xaλ’ kʷi biac
 1SG.PO=STAT-NP=desire REM meat
 ‘I like meat’

(Bates et al. 1994: 258)

The stative aspect would not normally be expected to appear on a lexical nominalization, and, as copiously illustrated above, follows rather than precedes the nominalizing clitic *s*=.

Hess (1995: 46) notes that the stative aspectual marker does not appear on a few verbs that express intrinsic qualities or properties—specifically, *haac* ‘long’, *luλ* ‘old’, and *xič’w* ‘ugly’.

However, two of the three verbs on this list are each attested once with stative marking in the analyzed data currently available:

- (443) a. dił səsaac ?ə ti?ił sdəxʷił
 dił s=?əs-haac ?ə ti?ił sdəxʷił
 FOC NM=STAT-long PR DIST canoe
 'that is the length of a duck-hunting canoe'

(Bates et al 1994: 106)

- b. gʷəl kʷatačtub ?ə tudi? šeq ?ə ti?ə? cədił ?əslu?luλ' qʷɬay?
 gʷəl kʷatač-txʷ-b ?ə tudi? šeq ?ə ti?ə? cədił ?əs-lu?-luλ'
 SCONJ climb-ECS-PASS PR DIST.DMA up.high PR PROX s/he STAT-ATTN-old
 qʷɬay?
 cedar
 'and he is taken way up this old cedar tree'

(Hess 2006: 27, line 212)

This probably indicate that, rather than there being a strict constraint against the use of the stative with these verbs, the difficulty of finding and eliciting such forms may be of a more pragmatic nature.

Hess also mentions two other words, *hikʷ* ‘big’ and *haʔɬ* ‘good’, that are classified in the grammar as lexical adverbs (see Table 59) as not taking the stative aspect. In fact, neither of these would be expected to take any aspectual inflection, although there is one instance in the corpus of *hikʷ* ‘big’ with an aspectual prefix on it:

- (444) ?əshigʷəxʷ ti?ə? šuλ'
 ?əs-higʷ=əxʷ ti?ə? šuλ'
 STAT-big=now PROX ebb.tide
 'it's a very low tide now'

(Hess 2006: 12, line 36)

This is the only instance in the corpus of an item from Table 59 taking aspectual marking.

?əsbuus kʷi tuhuyud əlgʷə?

?əs-buuus kʷi tu=huyu-d əlgʷə?
STAT-four REM PAST=made-ICS PL

‘They made four.’

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6.1.2 Compound aspects — *ləs-* and *ləcu-*

6.2 Passive voice

The passive voice in Lushootseed is formed on transitive stems by the addition of a morpheme *-b* ‘passive [PASS]’. The application of the passive suffix results in a form in which the PATIENT/ENDPOINT (the object of the transitive form) is realized as the subject of the passive form and the AGENT/INITIATOR (the transitive subject) is realized as an agentive complement (Section 8.1.7) introduced by the general preposition *?ə*:

(445) a. ?u?usil ti c'ičč'ič

?u-?usil ti c'ičč'ič
PFV-dive SPEC fish.hawk
‘the fish hawk dove’

b. ?u?usis ti s?uladxʷ

?u-?usil-s-b Ø ti s?uladxʷ
PFV-dive-ALTV 3SUB SPEC salmon
‘s/he/it dove after the salmon’

c. ?u?usisəb ?ə ti c'ičč'ič ti s?uladxʷ

?u-?usil-s ?ə ti c'ičč'ič ti s?uladxʷ
PFV-dive-ALTV-PASS PR DEF fish.hawk¹³⁵ DEF salmon
‘the salmon was dived after by the fish hawk’

(Hess 1995: 22, ex. 1a–c)

¹³⁵ Note that the pragmatic uses and discourse functions of the Lushootseed passive are quite different from those of its English counterpart, and so Lushootseed passives are often more idiomatically glossed as English actives. To avoid confusion, I have not followed this practice in all cases, even when the results are somewhat stilted English.

Sentences with both an overt subject NP and an agentive complement are rare in texts. When they do occur, the preferred order is that shown in (445c); however, either order of subject and agentive complement is accepted by speakers and attested in texts:

- (446) a. ?ugʷəč'ṭəb ?ə ti č'ač'as ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-gʷəč'-t-b ?ə ti č'ač'as ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-search-ICS-PASS PR SPEC child SPEC dog
 'the dog was looked for by the boy'

- b. ?ugʷəč'ṭəb ti sqʷəbay? ?ə ti č'ač'as
 ?u-gʷəč'-t-b ti sqʷəbay? ?ə ti č'ač'as
 PFV-search-ICS-PASS SPEC dog PR SPEC child
 'the dog was looked for by the boy'

(Hess 1995: 23, ex. 6a–b)

When the subject of the passive is first- or second-person, it is realized using one of the subject-markers (Section 8.1.1):

- (447) ?ut'ukʷ-tub čəxʷ ?u ?ə ti luλ'
 ?u-t'ukʷ-txʷ-b čəxʷ ?u ?ə ti luλ'
 PFV-go.home-ECS-PASS 2SG.SUB INT PR SPEC old
 'were you taken home by the old man?'

(Hess 1995: 24, ex. 10)

In these cases, the relative order of the subject and the agentive complement is invariant and the subject-marker follows the usual rules for its placement relative to the verb and other ad-verbal elements (Section 0).

Like the internal causative (Section 2.1.2.1) and the middle (2.1.1.3) suffixes, the passive shows a certain amount of morphophonemic interaction with its base. Because the vast majority of transitive stems in Lushootseed are formed (either synchronically or diachronically) from the combination of a radical and one of the valency-increasing suffixes (2.1.1.7), the morphophonemics of the passive *-b* is best described in terms of its interaction with this set of affixes. Affixation of the passive morpheme to a stem ending in *-txʷ* or *-dxʷ* causes the final /xʷ/ of the stem to be realized as /i/:

- (448) a. ?u-?əy'-dx^w čəd tsi č'ač'as
 ?u-?əy'-dx^w čəd tsi č'ač'as
 PNT-find-DC 1SG.SUB SPEC:FEM child
 'I found the girl'

(Hess 1995: 19)

- b. ?uʔey'dub čəd ?ə ti č'ač'as
 ?u-ʔey-̥d-xw̥-b čəd ?ə ti č'ač'as
 PNT-find-DC-PASS 1SG.SUB PR SPEC child
 'I was found by the boy'

(Hess 1995: 33)

With other suffixes, an epenthetic schwa occurs immediately before the passive marker:

- (449) a. ?ukʷədatəb ?ə tsı č'ac̥as ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-kʷəda-t-b ?ə tsı č'ac̥as ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-held-ICS-PASS PR SPEC:FEM child SPEC dog
 'the dog was taken hold of by the girl'

(Hess 1995: 22, ex. 5c)

- b. ?u?u\xw\cəb čəd ?ə ti č'ač'as
 ?u-?u\xw-c-b čəd ?ə ti č'ač'as
 PNT-find-ALTV-PASS 1SG.SUB PR SPEC child
 'I was gone after by the boy'

(Hess 1995: 33)

As noted in Section 2.1.2.1, the passive forms of verbs that exclusively take the [-əš] allomorph of the internal causative suffix tend to be idiosyncratic. These forms are summarized in Table 76:

?ištš ‘paddle ⊗ [canoe]’	?ištub ‘be paddled’
tałš ‘remove ⊗ from fire’	tałtəb ‘be removed from fire’
λ alš ‘wear ⊗’	λ alib ‘be worn’
tagʷš ‘buy ⊗’	tagʷib ‘be bought’
suxʷtaš ‘recognize ⊗’	suxʷtađ ‘be recognized’

Table 76: Passive forms of internal causative stems ending in -š

The passive forms of stems which take either the [-əš] or the [-t]/[-əd] allomorphs of the internal causative form their passives as [-tab].

In the single instance of the passive form of an inherently transitive, monomorphemic radical in the current corpus, schwa epenthesis does not occur:

- (450) a. ?ułəgʷəł čəł ti kikəwič
 ?u-łəgʷəł čəł ti kikəwič
 PFV-leave.behind 1PL.SUB SPEC ATTN-hunchback
 'we left Little Hunchback behind'

[LA Basket Ogress, line 121]

- b. hay łəgʷəlb, xʷul' ?osq'il ?al ti?ə? q'il'bid
 hay łəgʷł-b xʷul' ?os-q'il ?al ti?ə? q'il'bid
 SCONJ leave.behind-PASS only STAT-aboard at PROX canoe
 'and then [his corpse] was left, [it] was just aboard his canoe'

(Hess 1998: 92, lines 37–38)

In this example, the final /ł/ of the radical *łəgʷł* 'leave something behind' becomes /l/ as it assimilates in voicing to the passive suffix. However, given that this is the only form in which the passive immediately follows anything other than a valency-increasing suffix, it is impossible to generalize this process and treat it as anything but an idiosyncratic alternation.

In conservative speech, the passive voice has a special form, *-id*, used in some subordinate clauses, as shown in the following examples:

- (451) a. ?əxid dxʷ?al kʷi gʷəskʷədyitid ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? gʷəstubšəs
 ?əxid dxʷ-?al kʷi gʷəs=kʷəd-yi-t-id ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 happen CNTRPT-at REM SBJ=NM=held-DAT-ICS-PASS.SBRD PR PROX here

gʷəs=stubšəs
 SBJ=man=3SBJ

'it might happen that he'd be taken from her by them if [it was known] he was male'

[HM Star Child, line 15]

- b. gʷəł ckʷaqid xʷaslaždub ?ə tsi?ə? luł' ti?ə? tucuucid ?ə tsi?ə? bəda?s
 gʷəł ckʷaqid xʷu-?as-laž-dxʷ-b ?ə tsi?ə? luł'
 then always HAB-STAT-remember-DC-PASS PR PROX:FEM old
 ti?ə? tu=cut-c-id ?ə tsi?ə? bəda?-s
 PROX PAST=speak-ALTV-PASS.SBRD PR PROX:FEM offspring-3PO
 'and always this old woman would [try to] remember what her daughter would tell her'

[HM Star Child, line 18]

- c. ḫʷul' čəd ?ugʷəlaltəb ?ə ti dsluł'luł', ?ə ti?ə? ?uč'axʷaptid čəd
 xʷul' čəd ?u-gʷəlal-t-b ?ə ti d-s-luł'-luł'
 only 1SG.SUB PFV-punish-ICS-PASS PR SPEC 1SG.PO-NM-DSTR-old
- ?ə ti?ə? ?u-č'axʷ-ap-t-id čəd
 PR PROX PFV-clubbed-bottom-ICS-PASS.SBRD 1SG.SUB
 'I just got beaten by my elders, by those who paddled my bottom'
- (Hess 2006: 73, line 730)

The *-id* form of the passive is also used in nominalized clauses serving as predicates:

- (452) dił ḫudəxʷlaq'atid kʷi tatačubixʷ ?ə kʷi gʷat sɬadəy? ḫučəba?əd
 dił ḫu=dəxʷ=laq'a-t-id kʷi tatačubixʷ ?ə kʷi gʷat sɬadəy?
 FOC IRR=ADNM=set.out-PASS.SBRD REM game.animal PR REM who woman
- ᬁu=čəba?-d
 IRR=laden-ICS
 'what will be laid down is the game animal which will be brought by a woman'

This form of the passive, however, is relatively infrequent even in the speech of the speakers who still use it, and it is not clear from the present corpus what conditions govern its use — in fact, judging from the few attestations in the texts, it appears to be in free variation with the *-b* form, which is used exclusively by younger speakers in all forms of subordinate clause.

As a final note, it is worth mentioning that the passive voice in Lushootseed does not have the same restrictions on the person/number of the passive subject as are found in other Salishan languages:

- (453) a. ?utəlawisəb čəd ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-təlawil-s-b čəd ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-run-ALTV-PASS 1SG.SUB PR SPEC dog
 'I was run after by the dog'
- b. ?ugʷəč'təb čəł ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-gʷəč'-t-b čəł ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-search-ICS-PASS 1PL.SUB PR SPEC dog
 'we were looked for by the dog'
- c. ?u?y'dub čəłəp ?u ?ə tsı č'ač'as
 ?u-?y'dxʷ-b čəłəp ?u ?ə tsı č'ač'as
 PFV-find-PASS 2PL.SUB INT PR SPEC dog
 'were you guys found by the girl?'

- d. ?u?əλ'cəb čəxʷ ?u ?ə ti ?aciłtalbixʷ
 ?u-?əλ'-c-b čəxʷ ?u ?ə ti ?aciłtalbixʷ
 PFV-come-ALTV-PASS 2SG.SUB INT PR SPEC person
 'were you come for by the people?'

(Hess 1995: 24, ex. 11–14)

However, passives with first- or second-person agentive complements are impossible (Hukari 1976; Jelinek & Demers 1983), although passives with third-person pronouns as agentive complements are well attested. This issue will be dealt with further in the discussion of agentive complements in Section 8.1.7.

7 Referential expressions

7.1 Deixis

7.2 Possessives

Possessed nouns in Lushootseed are inflected for the person and (in the first- and second-person) number of their possessor by a rather heterogeneous set of elements which combines prefixes, suffixes, and (in the first-person plural) a particle from the matrix-subject series (Section 8.1.1). These are shown in Table 77:

	SG	PL
1	<i>d-</i>	<i>čət̪</i>
2	<i>ad-</i>	<i>-ləp</i>
3		<i>-s</i>

Table 77: Possessive markers

These markers are used both as possessive inflection on nouns and to express the subjects of nominalized clauses (Sections 7.3 and 8.1.1). When special emphasis is required, pronouns can co-occur with the first- and second-person possessive markers, as in the following example, although such sentences seem to be rare:

- (454) *t̪ub̪at̪ t̪ub̪at̪ laħd̪at̪ iħiħiħi ġoħiġi p̪ay'*
good=now just=now IRR=2SG.PO=entrails DIST:FEM you flounder
'it's better that they will just become your entrails, Flounder'

[M. Mink and Tatyka, line 18]

In conservative Lushootseed style, the third-person *-s* can also co-occur with the following possessor NP:

- (455) *xʷubts ti hədli*
xʷubt-s ti hədli
paddle-3PO SPEC Henry
'Henry's paddle'

The more frequent pattern found in recorded materials, however, makes use of the preposition *ʔə* to introduce the possessor:

- (456) ḫʷubt ?ə ti hədli
 paddle PR SPEC Henry
 ‘Henry’s paddle’

(Hess 1995: 59)

The third-person possessive suffix is not used in these constructions, which follow the obligatory order Possessed–Possessor. As with the person-markers (Sections 8.1.2 and 8.1.1), possessives in the third-person do not normally indicate nominal number. When disambiguation is considered necessary, the pluralizing particle *əlgʷə?* is used:

- (457) ?u?ɔy'dxʷ čəd ti sqʷəbay?̥s əlgʷə?
 ?u-?ɔy'dxʷ čəd ti sqʷəbay?̥s əlgʷə?
 PFV-find 1SG.SUB SPEC dog-3PO PL
 ‘I found their dog’

(Hess 1995: 61, ex. 8b)

The use of this particle is discussed further in Section *.*.

It should be noted that the affixes used to express possession in NPs are homophonous with the possessive-series of person-markers used for the subjects of nominalized predicate phrases (Sections 7.4.2 and 8.1.1). For the purposes of this grammar, the two sets of elements are treated as separate, based primarily on the fact that while possessive affixes in NPs are most frequently found associated with the phrasal head, even when this is not the first word (other than the determiner) in the phrase, the same is not true of the possessive-subject markers, which are (obligatorily) sentence-second clitics:

- (458) a. ti hikʷ adpišpiš
 ti hikʷ ad-pišpiš
 SPEC big 2SG.PO-cat
 ‘your big cat’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 131)

- b. tuxʷ čəł ḫaλ'txʷ kʷi sλ'ubləp ?əsqʷib ...
 tuxʷ čəł ḥaλ'-txʷ kʷi s=λ'ub=ləp ?əs-qʷib
 PTCL 1PL.SUB desire-ECS REM NM=well=2PL.PO STAT-prepared
 ‘we want you guys to be well-prepared ...’

(Hess 2006: 74, line 759)

However, as reported in Hess & Hilbert (1976), it is possible, albeit uncommon, for the possessive affixes to take up other positions in the noun phrase:

- (459) a. ti adhik^w pišpiš
ti ad-hik^w pišpiš
SPEC 2SG.PO-big cat
'your big cat'
- b. ti adhik^w adpišpiš
ti ad-hik^w ad-pišpiš
SPEC 2SG.PO-big 2SG.PO-cat
'your big cat'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 131)

While this is clearly clitic-like behaviour (particularly the potential for iteration — see the discussion of temporal and modal clitics in Section *.*), such constructions are reported by Hess Hilbert to be rare and are unattested in the present textual corpus. It may be that the possessive morphemes used in NPs are in transition from being true clitics drawn from the set of person-markers to being ordinary affixes, though for expository purposes it seems more practical to distinguish the two sets of morphemes in interlinear glosses to make clear their distinct (though by no means unrelated — cf. Beck 2000a, 2000b) functions — that of marking possession in NPs versus that of marking the person and number of subjects in nominalized clauses.

7.3 Modification, attributives, apposition, and coordination

- post-posed modifier
huy t'ukʷəxʷ ti?ə? cədił stubš luλ'
huy t'ukʷ=əxʷ ti?ə? cədił stubš luλ'
sconj go.home=now prox he man old

Then this man, the old fellow went home. [sh 109]

mod by both adv and RC

gʷa? λ'uləkʷəd ti?ə? λ'ułčiltub ha?i s?əłəd

gʷa? λ'u=?u-ləkʷ-d ti?ə? λ'u=łčil-txʷ-b ha?i s?əłəd
INTJ HAB=PFV-eaten-ICS PROX HAB=arrive-ECS-PASS good food

'But they would eat their good food that would be brought.'

SH line 92

ləkʷədał̥ ti?ə? tušiltəbs əlgʷə? tasqʷəł

ləkʷ-d=axʷ ti?ə? tu=s=łil-t-b=s əlgʷə?
eaten-ics=now prox past=nm=give.food-ics-pass=3po pl
tu=?as-qʷəł
past=stat-cooked

'They eat the cooked food they had been given.'

double RC SH40

gʷəł lildəxʷ ti?ił c[əd]jìł sa? dəxʷut'uc's

gʷəł lil-d=əxʷ ti?ił codił sa? dəxʷ=?u-t'uc'=s
SCONJ far-ICS=now DIST s/he bad ADNM=PFV-shot=3PO

'And they remove these bad things used as shot.'

SH 852

by PP, preposed

- b. xʷi?əxʷ ti?ił tuha?ił tul?al tə ?a tubastab
xʷi?=?əxʷ ti?ił tu=ha?ił tul?-al tə ?a tu=bə=?as-stab
NEG=now DIST PAST=good CNTRFG-at NSPEC be.there PAST=ADD=STAT=what
'whatever was good from there was gone'

(Hess 2006: 41, line 478)

7.3.1 Modification by adverbs

- (460) a. ?udzixid ti?ə? sčəbid ?al ti?ił luł' qʷłay?
?u-dzixi-d ti?ə? sčəbid ?al ti?ił luł' qʷłay?
PFV-break.down-ICS PROX fir.bark at DIST elder tree
'he broke off and pulled down the bark from an old tree'

(Hess 1998: 71, line 167)

- (461) huy qa, hikʷ qa biac ti?ił kʷagʷičəd
 huy qa hikʷ qa biac ti?ił kʷagʷičəd
 SCONJ much big much meat DIST elk
 'well, it was a lot, this elk was really a lot of meat'

(Hess 1998: 84, line 183)

- c. tučʷ huy hikʷhikʷ ha?t s?uləxʷ stabigʷs ...
 tučʷ huy hikʷ-hikʷ ha?t s?uləxʷ stabigʷs
 just SCONJ DSTR-big good NM=PFV-gathered possession
 'there were lots of good possessions to be gathered'

(Hess 2006: 60, line 437)

7.3.2 Noun–noun attributive constructions

Although less restricted than the use of lexical compounding (Section 2.8), the formation of noun-noun attributive constructions in Lushootseed is relatively rare, and (unlike English) is restricted to constructions in which the attributive noun stands in a equative or indexical semantic relationship to the head noun:

- (462) a. ti?ə? kiyuuqʷs stətudəq
 ti?ə? kiyuuqʷs stə-tudəq
 PROX seagull PL-slave
 'these seagull-slaves'

(Hess 1995: 91)

- b. gʷəl tuləshuyudəxʷ stətudəq ti?ə? di?ə? səsa?li? təlixʷ bi?bəda? ti?ə? qaw'qs
 gʷəl tu=ləs-huyu-d=əxʷ stə-tudəq ti?ə? di?ə? sə-sa?li?
 SCONJ PAST=PROG,STAT-made-ICS=now PL-slave PROX here PL-two
 təlixʷ bi?bəda? ti?ə? qaw'qs
 blood.brother ATTN-offspring PROX raven
 'and Raven has made slaves of these two small blood brothers'

[HM Star Child, line 98]

- c. gʷəł ḥʷulč swatixʷəd ti?ə? s?ačʷu?
 gʷəł ḥʷulč swatixʷəd ti?ə? s?ačʷu?
 ASSC sea land PROX clam
 'the clam belongs to the realm of the sea'

(Hess 1998: 33)

In the first two examples here, the attributive noun is equated with its head — thus, in (462a), the slaves (*stətudəq*) are seagulls (*kiyuuqʷs*), while in (462b) the little children (*bi?bəda?*) are blood brothers (*təlixʷ*). The attributive construction in (462c) expresses an indexical relationship, the

attributive *xʷulč* ‘sea’ indicating which land or realm *swatixʷəd* is being named. This rather restricted set of semantic relationships expressed by noun–noun attributive constructions parallels those associated with nominal predicates (Section 8.3.1); other types of semantic relationships between nouns are expressed using the associative particle *gʷəl* (Section 7.3.3).

As with other modifiers of nouns, attributive nouns show a certain amount of variable ordering with respect to their syntactic heads, although this is much more restricted than it is for words of other classes and it seems to be restricted largely to cases where — for semantic or morphological reasons — the head of the phrase is unambiguously identifiable:

- (463) a. *ti?ə? ɿił'tisu bəda?s*

<i>ti?ə?</i>	<i>ɿił-t'</i>	<i>isu</i>	<i>bəda?</i> —s
PROX	PRTV–younger.relative		offspring–3PO
‘his/her youngest son’			

(Hess 1995: 91)

- b. *ti?ə? bəda?s ɿił'tisu*

<i>ti?ə?</i>	<i>bəda?</i> —s	<i>ɿił-t'</i>	<i>isu</i>
PROX	offspring–3PO	PRTV–younger.relative	
‘his/her youngest son’			

(Hess 1995: 92)

Here, for example, the use of the possessive prefix on *bəda?* ‘offspring’ identifies this noun as head of the expression, while the partitive prefix *ɿił-* on *tisu* ‘younger relative’ also favours the interpretation of *ɿił'tisu* as an attributive. Other cases of apparent variation in attributive–head ordering may in fact reflect an actual reversal of syntactic governance:

- (464) a. *stubš č'ač'as*

<i>stubš</i>	<i>č'ač'as</i>
man	child
‘boy’ (lit. ‘man-child’)	

- b. *č'ač'as stubš*

<i>č'ač'as</i>	<i>stubš</i>
child	man
‘boy, young man, young male’	

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 68)

In this case, as indicated by the slightly different glosses given the two noun phrases in the source, the reversal of word-order seems to indicate a change in which of the two nouns is in fact the head of the construction: in (464a), the expression is headed by *č'ač'as* ‘child’ and the attributive classifies the child according to gender, while in (464b), the expression seems to be headed by *stubš* ‘man, male’ and *č'ač'as* ‘child’ tells us about the referent’s age. Given the fact that noun–noun attributive constructions most often express equative relationship, making the distinction between, say, *kiyuuqʷs stətudəq* ‘seagull slaves’ and *stətudəq kiyuuqʷs* ‘slave seagulls’ a subtle one, it may be the case that attributive–head ordering is more rigid than it appears at first glance, and it may be limited to cases such as (463) where morphological clues help to reduce potential ambiguities.

7.3.3 *gʷəɬ* ‘associative’

The particle *gʷəɬ* ‘associative [ASSC]’ takes nominal and bare nominal complements to form a particular type of restrictive modifying phrase that expresses an association between the referent of its complement and some other person, place, or thing, the nature of this association being semantically vague and context-dependent.¹³⁶ In many of their uses, *gʷəɬ*-phrases are analogous to and interchangeable with the true possessive constructions discussed in Section 7.2 above. In (465), for example, *gʷəɬ* is used as an expression of a possessor where one might expect the preposition *?ə*. Compare the following examples with, for example, the sentence in (456):

- (465) a. ti?iɬ q'ilbid gʷəɬ ti dsqa
 ti?iɬ q'ilbid gʷəɬ ti d-sqa
 DIST canoe ASSC SPEC 1SG.PO-older.brother
 ‘my older brother’s canoes’

¹³⁶ Hess (1998: 33) reports the full form as *gʷit*, presumably the citation form given by speakers when the word is elicited out of context; however, this form is unattested in the present corpus and the word is given as *gʷəɬ* in the *Lushootseed Dictionary*, a practice I will follow here.

- b. gʷəɬ ti dsqa ti?iɬ q'ilbid
 gʷəɬ ti d-sqa ti?iɬ q'ilbid
 ASSC SPEC 1SG.PO—older.brother DIST canoe
 ‘my older brother's canoe’

(Hess 1998: 33)

The difference between using *gʷəɬ* and the preposition *?ə* in this type of expression is reported by Hess & Hilbert (1976: II, 33) to be one of style; however, the two do not appear to be interchangeable in all constructions (see below). Note also that, unlike a prepositional phrase headed by *?ə*, the *gʷəɬ*-phrase is variably-ordered relative to the noun it modifies.¹³⁷ In this respect, modifying *gʷəɬ*-phrases resemble relative clauses (Section 7.4.1).

Another difference with prepositional *?ə*-phrases is that the complements of the *gʷəɬ*-phrases are frequently bare nouns without determiners

- (466) a. gʷəɬ bəkʷ stab kʷəlu? tulətagʷš
 gʷəɬ bəkʷ stab kʷəlu? tulətagʷš
 ASSC all what hide PAST=PROG=bought=ICS
 ‘it was all kinds of hides that they were buying’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 42, line 3)

- b. swatixʷəd gʷəɬ (ti) ?aciłtalbixʷ
 swatixʷəd gʷəɬ ti ?aciłtalbixʷ^w
 land ASSC SPEC native.people
 ‘land belonging to (the) native people’

(Hess 1998: 33)

- c. tułčil dxʷ?al ti swatxʷtəd gʷəɬ dxʷsλ'ab? ɬal kʷi tuha?kʷ
 tu=łčil dxʷ-?al ti swatxʷtəd gʷəɬ dxʷsλ'ab? ɬal ?al kʷi tu=ha?kʷ
 PAST=arrive CNTRPT-at SPEC land ASSC Clallam at REM PAST=long.ago
 ‘they arrived in the land of the Clallam in those days’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 42, line 2)

- d. ... ?al ti?ə? di?ə? swatixʷəd ?ilucid ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? gʷəɬ sqajət stuləkʷ
 ?al ti?ə? di?ə? swatixʷəd ?ilucid ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? gʷəɬ sqajət stuləkʷ
 at PROX here land river.mouth PR PROX here ASSC Skagit river
 ‘in the land around the mouth of the Skagit river (lit. ‘this here river of Skagit’)

[DM Basket Ogress, line 45]

¹³⁷ See example (474) below for a contextualized example of the less-frequent order shown in (465b).

The conditions on the use of the determiner seem to be the same as those at work in other environments where determiners are optional, depending on the specificity of the referent of the noun. When the complement of the *gʷət*-phrase refers to a particular thing or person as opposed to a generic class of things or general group of people, a determiner is used; otherwise, the expression is a bare noun phrase. True possessives with *?ə*, on the other hand, rarely have bare nominal complements other than proper names.

Phrases headed by *gʷət* can also serve as sentence predicates, in which case the noun that is modified in constructions such as those shown in (465) is expressed as the syntactic subject:

- (467) a. huy gʷət sqigʷac ti?i₧ adsəsčəba?
 huy gʷət sqigʷac ti?i₧ ad=s=?əs-čəba?
 SCONJ ASSC deer DIST 2SG.SUB=NM=STAT-laden
 ‘for what you are back-packing is of deer’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 201]

- b. hay, gʷətəxʷ sqigʷac ti?i₧ q'ədᶻaχʷ ?ə tsi?i₧ p'uay'
 hay gʷət=əxʷ sqigʷac ti?i₧ q'ədᶻaχʷ ?ə tsi?i₧ p'uay'
 SCONJ ASSC=now deer DIST intestines PR DIST:FEM flounder
 ‘so, now Flounder’s intestines are (the intestines of) deer’
 (lit. ‘so, the intestines of Flounder are of deer’)

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 249]

In these examples, the syntactic predicate is the *gʷət*-phrase *gʷət sqigʷac* ‘of deer’. This type of construction can only be formed with *gʷət*, possessive prepositional phrases headed by *?ə* being unattested as sentence predicates.

Another type of construction that requires *gʷət* consists of a *gʷət*-phrase headed by a determiner. Such expressions have the distribution of ordinary noun-phrases:

- (468) sali? kʷi gʷət sp'ic'ikʷ
 sali? kʷi gʷət sp'ic'ikʷ
 two REM ASSC Diaper.Child
 ‘those that belonged to Diaper Child were two’

[DS Star Child, line 356]

Again, these syntactic environments are not attested for phrases headed *?o* or any other preposition. Also unlike prepositional phrases, *gʷət*-phrases in such constructions, when modified, are treated as a single unit, as shown in (469):

- (469) sax̥adəčtəb ?o tsí?e? čögʷas ti?e? gʷət sqigʷac t̥usčəłsəxʷ s̥lagʷid
 sax̥•adəč-t-b ?o tsí?e? čögʷas-s ti?e? gʷət sqigʷac
 scrape.inside-ICS-PASS PR PROX:FEM wife-3PO PROX ASSC deer
 t̥u=s=čəł=s=eçʷid
 IRR=NM=make=3PO=now sleeping.mat
 ‘this of a deer which they’ll make into a sleeping mat was scraped out by his wife’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 64)

In this sentence, the modifying expression, *t̥usčəłsəxʷ s̥lagʷid* ‘what they will make into a sleeping mat’ takes scope over the entire construction, *gʷət sqigʷac* ‘of deer’, rather than simply over *sqigʷac* ‘deer’ — that is to say, the sleeping mat is to be made out of a part of the deer, rather than the deer itself. In this respect, in spite of being demonstrably multi-word syntactic constructions, *gʷət*-phrases form tight, coherent semantic units in a way reminiscent of the multi-word constructions formed with the nominalizing clitics *s=* and *dəxʷ=* (Section 7.4.2).

In terms of its meanings, *gʷət* is rather diffuse. As noted above, one of its most frequent functions is to express something akin to possession, leading to the gloss of *gʷət* in some sources as ‘belonging to’ (e.g., Hess & Hilbert 1976; Hess 1998):

- (470) a. dít gʷət ti?i? i wiłwił ?i s?adad
 dít gʷət ti?i? i wiłwił ?i s?adad
 FOC ASSC DIST and snipe and magpie
 ‘it (the weir) belonged to Snipe and Magpie’
 (Hess 2006: 37, line 376)
- b. xʷi?eçʷ kʷi bəstab gʷətugʷət ti?i? sč'istxʷs tusəsχədyids
 xʷi?eçʷ kʷi bəstab gʷətugʷət ti?i? sč'istxʷs
 NEG=now REM ADD=what SBJ=PAST=ASSC DIST husband-3PO
 tu=s=?əs-χəd-yi-d=s
 PAST=NM=STAT-push.aside-DAT-ICS=3PO
 ‘there was again nothing of what would have been her husband’s, whom it had been set aside for’
 (Hess 2006: 43, line 45)

In both of these examples, the choice of *gʷət* over a plain possessive expression using *?ə* seems to be syntactically-conditioned. (470a) shows a *gʷət*-phrase used as a syntactic predicate, a role that, as noted above, seems not to be open to prepositional phrase headed by *?ə*. The *gʷət*-phrase in (470b) acts as a modifier of *stab* ‘what’, indicating that the non-existent items (food provided for a family by the woman’s brothers) belongs to the husband. This line occurs in a context where the food that was to have been shared by the family (a portion of which would have gone to the husband), is divided up between the woman and her children, leaving nothing for the husband. Thus, the husband’s portion of the food is hypothetical, necessitating the use of the subjunctive proclitic *gʷə=*. In the indicative mood, the same expression might have been formed with *?ə* (i.e., *stab ?ə ti?it sč'istxʷs* ‘her husband’s’); however, the preposition *?ə* is not a legitimate host for the subjunctive proclitic.

A similar phenomenon occurs in (471), where the use of *gʷət* to express a type of possession is required by the presence of a true possessor of the same item:

- (471) *dił sda?*s, *gʷət* *?aciłtalbiłxʷ*, *həla?*b *sda?*s *tsi?*ił *k'a?*k'a?
 dił s-da?-s gʷət ?aciłtalbiłxʷ həla?b s-da?-s tsi?ił k'a?k'a?
 FOC NP-name-3PO ASSC native.people really NP-name-3PO DIST:FEM crow
 ‘that is her native-people’s name, the true name of Crow’

(Hess 1998: 57, line 23)

Here, the noun *sda?* ‘name’ (derived from the verbal radical $\sqrt{da?}$ ‘be named’) is marked for a third person possessor by the suffix *-s*, which refers back to Crow, the protagonist of the preceding discourse and the more immediate possessor of the name. At the same time, the speaker wishes to make it clear that this particular name of Crow is the native people’s name for her, and so *gʷət* is used to express the native people’s (less immediate) “possession” of the name.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Another possibility here is that there is a contrast between the use of the plain possessive to express the actant corresponding to the subject of the nominalized verb (in this case Crow, the one who is named) and the use of *gʷit* to express an entity that is not part of the core valency of the radical. Given the textual infrequency of *gʷit* in the present corpus, however, this will have to be left to the realm of speculation; even with a considerably larger corpus,

The use of *gʷəɬ* in (471) is also reminiscent of another frequent use of the particle in the specification of types or genera of items:

- (472) a. ti?ə? kʷəlu? gʷəɬ tatačubixʷ, kʷəlu?, diɬ shududs əlgʷə?
 ti?ə? kʷəlu? gʷəɬ tatačubixʷ kʷəlu? diɬ s=hudu=d=s əlgʷə?
 PROX hide ASSC game.animal hide FOC NM=burn=ICS=3PO PL
 ‘the hides of animals, hides, that is what they burned’

[DS Star Child, line 330]

- b. tsı?ə? ɬ'ugreen tə ɬ'ustababacs waw'lis ?i tsı?ə? di?ə? ɬ'ukʷakʷt'ad ɬəɬ ti
 tsı?ə? ɬ'u=green tə ɬ'u=s=tab•abac=s wa-w'lis ?i tsı?ə?
 PROX:FEM HAB=green NSPEC HAB=NM=do•body=3PO ATTN=frog and PROX:FEM
 di?ə? ɬ'u=kʷa-kʷt'ad ɬəɬ tiɬ'u=ɬʷiqʷac gʷəɬ ti?ə? woods
 here HAB=ATTN-mouse seemingly HAB=light.green ASSC PROX woods
 ‘Little Frog and Little Mouse’s body-covering is this green like the pale green of the
 woods’

[MW Star Child, line 79]

Similarly, in (473), *gʷəɬ* is used to specify which particular realm, of the various mystical realms in Lushootseed cosmology, the item in question (*s?axʷu?* ‘clam’) belongs to:

- (473) gʷəɬ ɬʷulč swatixʷəd ti?ə? s?axʷu?
 gʷəɬ ɬʷulč swatixʷəd ti?ə? s?axʷu?
 ASSC sea land PROX clam
 ‘the clam belongs to the realm of the sea’

(Hess 1998: 33)

Expressions such as these are generally amenable to translation with the English preposition *of* or, particularly in cases such as (472a) and (473) with bare nominal complements, as compounds (e.g., *animal hide*, *sea realm*).

Another use of *gʷəɬ* is to indicate affiliation or geographical point of origin:

it seems like final confirmation of this hypothesis would require extensive work with native speaker consultants who could verify the unacceptability of particular *gʷiɬ*-forms, whose absence from the corpus might be simply stylistic or accidental.

- (474) a. ba^{lg}was bu?q^w k^{wi} bək^w scāds ?ə ti bu?q^w g^{wət} x^{wəlč}, ti?it bəg^{wət} t'aq't, g^{wət} spałxad bu?q^w
 balg^{was} bu?q^w k^{wi} bək^w s=čad=s ?ə ti bu?q^w g^{wət}
 all.kinds waterfowl REM all NM=where=3PO PR SPEC waterfowl ASSC

 x^{wəlč} ti?it bə=g^{wət} t'aq't g^{wət} spałxad bu?q^w
 sea DIST ADD=ASSC inland ASSC tidal.flats waterfowl
 'there were all kinds of Duck People (waterfowl) that came from everywhere, Duck People from the sea and those from inland, Duck People from the tidal flats'
 (Hess 2006: 63, line 457)

b. huy stabig^ws ?al ti?ə? g^{wət} dibət ti?it s?uləx ?al ti?ə? g^{wət} ti?ə? dəx^w?as əlg^{wət}?
 huy stabig^ws ?al ti?ə? g^{wət} dibət ti?it s?uləx ?al ti?ə? g^{wət}
 SCONJ possession at PROX ASSC we DIST dentalia at PROX ASSC

 ti?ə? dəx^w=?a=s əlg^{wət}?
 PROX ADNM=be.there=3PO PL
 'but the dentalia in that place they come from are valuable when they are in our place'
 (lit. 'but the dentalia at the (place) of where they are are (valuable) possessions at ours')
 (Hess 2006: 66, line 576)

The example in (474b) also illustrates another use of *gʷət* with personal pronouns as complements, forming expressions that might be loosely translated as possessive pronouns:

- (475) a. g^{wət} dibət
 g^{wət} dibət
 ASSC we
 ‘ours’

b. g^{wət} g^{wat}
 g^{wət} g^{wat}
 ASSC who
 ‘whose’

c. g^{wət} stab
 g^{wət} stab
 ASSC what
 ‘its/something’s’

Although the glosses given here lead to the impression that such expressions are in competition with the true possessive pronouns (Table 69), it seems that the latter are restricted to genuine possessive contexts, whereas the *gʷəł* expressions appear when the relationship being expressed is more general than those covered by possessives.

The attributive particle can also be used to express other possessive-like relations, such as that between a story and that story's protagonist:

Clearly, the main character of a story resembles a possessor in the sense that it is a reference point for identifying which particular story is being referred to, but there is also a sense in which the semantic relation between the story and its protagonist falls outside the ordinary uses of the possessive construction.¹³⁹ The story is “about” Pheasant rather than “belonging to” him. Similarly, in the example in (477), *gʷəɬ* expresses a loose associative relationship between raccoons (*xa?xalus*) and the fact that they must be butchered, used to identify a particular point in time:

- (477) ?alil ti?ə? gʷəɬ xa?xalus
 ?alil ti?ə? gʷəɬ xa?xalus
 come.time PROX ASSC raccoon
 ‘when it came time to butcher the raccoons’
 (lit. ‘when it comes to this of the raccoons’)

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 101)

The interpretation of this sentence depends crucially on the addressee’s ability to make the associative link between the raccoons and their knowledge that, having been killed, they will be butchered; in another context, presumably, the same expression might be used to refer to the hides of the raccoons (cf. 471a), their intestines (467), or (perhaps in a story) their land or territory (466b). This seems typical of the uses of the attributive particle, which covers a broader and somewhat more diffuse semantic range than the true possessive construction. Consider another example, in which *gʷəɬ* is used to identify an unnamed object (the fletching on an arrow) through reference to an artifact with which it is associated (*q’čic* ‘bow’):

¹³⁹ However, it is possible to express the same idea using an ordinary possessive construction:

- (i) hay, ?a ti?ə? syəyəhub ?ə ti?ił sčətxʷəd ?i tsı?ił ɬ'aɬ'ac'apəd
 hay ?a ti?ə? syəyəhub ?ə ti?ił sčətxʷəd ?i tsı?ił ɬ'aɬ'ac'apəd
 SCONJ be.there PROX legend PR DIST bear and DIST:FEM ant
 ‘so, there is a traditional story about Black Bear and Ant’

(Hess 1995: 143, line 1)

The difference appears to be one of style (cf. English *the story of Bear and Ant* vs. *the story about Bear and Ant*).

(478) *gʷəł dił xʷuʔəłə? λ'ušəłs ḥəł ti tiʔił gʷəł q'čic gʷədəxʷut'uc'il, dəxʷuxʷiʔxʷi?* ?ə tiʔə? bədaʔs

gʷəł dił xʷuʔəłə? λ'ušəłs ḥəł ti tiʔił gʷəł q'čic
SCONJ FOC maybe HAB=NM=make=3PO seemingly DIST ASSC bow

gʷə=dəxʷ=?u-t'uc'il dəxʷ=?u-xʷiʔxʷi? ?ə tiʔə? bədaʔ-s
SBJ=ADNM=PFV-shoot ADNM=PFV-huntPR PROX offspring-3PO

'and (those red feathers), I guess, are what (Coyotes's) son apparently uses to make (fletching) for the bow he would shoot with, for his hunting'

(lit. 'and that, I guess, is what he, apparently would make that of the bow he_i would shoot with, for (Coyotes's) son_i's hunting')

(Hess 2006: 25, line 61)

Note that in this particular instance, the definitive relationship is not between the fletching and the arrow (*t'iṣəd*), but between the fletching and the bow — a relationship that is much more broadly associative rather than the specific, immediate relationship between part and whole or possessor and possessed. Likewise, in the following examples, *gʷəł* is combined with *sładəy?* 'woman' (479a) and *stubš* 'man' (479b) to form expressions that might best be translated as 'used for women' and 'used for men', respectively:

(479) a. *yəxi kʷi tuhaʔkʷ tuʔaciłtalbixʷ ?a kʷi gʷəł sładəy? saʔliʔił gʷəsładəy?os kʷi adbəda?*
yəxi kʷi tu=haʔkʷ tu=?aciłtalbixʷ ?a kʷi gʷəł sładəy?
because REM PAST=long.time PAST=people be.there REM ASSC woman

s-haʔl-iʔił gʷə=sładəy?=os kʷi ad-bəda?
'NP-stop.crying•child' SBJ=woman=3SBJ REM 2SG.PO=offspring
'because long ago people had child-comforting (speech) for girls if your child is a girl'

[DS Star Child, line 97]

b. *gʷəł stubš saʔliʔił tiʔił λ'usaʔliʔis*
gʷəł stubš s-haʔl-ił tiʔił λ'u=s=haʔl-ił-ił
ASSC man 'NP-stop.crying•child' DIST HAB=NM=stop.crying•child=3PO
'her comforting of the child was the child-comforting (speech) for boys'

[DS Star Child, line 124]

Here, the noun *saʔliʔił* 'child-comforting speech' is modified by a *gʷəł*-phrase which indicates which gender, male or female, the style of speech is appropriate for (reflecting the Lushootseed custom of care-givers using gender-specific expressions when caring for young children). As in the previous examples, the semantic relation between *sładəy?* or *stubš* and *saʔliʔił* is rather loose and contextually defined, resembling more than anything else the semantic relationship between

nouns in English noun-noun compounds. This relationship is either idiosyncratic or lexicalized for a particular pair of nouns (e.g., *post office*, *blockhead*) or is determined pragmatically by context and the semantic affordances of the component words (e.g., *alligator shoes* ‘shoes made from alligator skin’, ‘shoes worn by an alligator’, ‘shoes shaped like alligators’, etc., but not ‘shoes used to construct alligators’ [cf. *floor tiles*] or ‘shoes eaten by alligators’ [cf. *rabbit pellets*]). The variety of semantic relations between the parts of the latter, non-lexicalized type of compound bears a close resemblance to the variety of associative relations mediated by *gʷəɬ*, suggesting that this particle is, in effect, a way of doing the job of noun-noun compounding in a language that otherwise, as noted in Section 2.8 above, does not have a productive system of genuine compound formation and a restricted system of noun–noun attributive constructions (Section 7.3.2).

7.3.4 Appositive phrases

Lushootseed noun phrases also allow for modification by appositive noun phrases, such as those shown in (480)

- (480) a. ti?ə? tusč'istxʷ, tuq'iyax'əd
 ti?ə? tu=sč'istxʷ tu=q'iyax'əd
 PROX PAST=husband PAST=slug
 ‘her former husband, the late Slug’

(Hess 1995: 92)

- b. ?a tsi?iɬ qi?qəladi?, bəda?s
 ?a tsi?iɬ qi?qəladi? bəda?-s
 be.there DIST:FEM Qiqeladi offspring-3PO
 ‘there was Qiqeladi, her daughter’

[ML Basket Ogress, line 22]

Appositive nouns invariably follow the head of the noun phrase that contains them and are generally separated from it by a pause or some other prosodic boundary. In a few cases, a single noun phrase may contain more than one appositive:

- (481) cuucəx^w ti?ə? č'ač'as, bibəda?s, stutubš
 cut-c=əx^w ti?ə? č'ač'as bi-bəda?s stu-tubš
 say-ALTV=nnow PROX child ATTN-offspring-3PO ATTN-man
 'she said to her child, her little son, the little man'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 78]

As seen in these examples, appositives are generally bare nouns, although there are a few examples in the corpus of appositives introduced by determiners:

- (482) a. tsı?ə? čəg^was, tsı?ə? ḫ^wu?᷍^wey'
 tsı?ə? čəg^was-s tsı?ə? ḫ^wu?᷍^wey'
 PROX:FEM wife-3PO PROX:FEM helldiver
 'his wife, Helldiver'

(Hess 1995: 92)

- b. yəxi tu?əbsčəg^wasəx^w ?ə tsı?ə? di?ə?, tsı?ə? λ'uawaw'əq'wəq' k^wsi tučəg^was
 yəxi tu=?əs-bəs-čəg^was=əx^w ?ə tsı?ə? di?ə? tsı?ə?
 because PAST=STAT-PROP-wife=now PR PROX:FEM here PROX:FEM
 λ'u=waw'əq'wəq' k^wsi tu=čəg^was-s
 HAB=Little.Green.Frog REM:FEM PAST=wife-3PO
 'because he had as a wife this one, this Little Green Frog [who was] his wife'

[HM Star Child, line 183]

All the cases in the corpus involve the apposition of proper names; however, proper names can also be used appositively without determiners:

- (483) a. huy, puspusutəbəx^w ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? hik^w sładøy?, ?ax^wadus
 huy pus-pusu-t-b=əx^w ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? hik^w sładøy? ?ax^wadus
 SCONJ DSTR-throw-ICS-PASS=now PR PROX here big woman Basket.Ogress
 'well then, he was thrown at over and over by the big woman, Basket Ogress'

[DM Basket Ogress, line 38]

- b. pu'təx^w ?əsħuq^wač ti?ił bibščəb ?i ti?ił su?suq^wa?s, tətyika
 put=əx^w ?əs-ħuq^w•ač ti?ił bi-bščəb ?i ti?ił su?-suq^wa?-s
 really=now STAT-peeled•head DIST ATTN-mink and DIST ATTN-younger.sibling
 tətyika
 Tutyika
 'Young Mink and his little younger brother, Tutyika, were completely bald'

(Hess 1995: 142, line 45)

Given that, in general, appositive phrases are not used referentially to identify individuals so much as to qualify or reinforce the identity of an individual (the referent of the noun phrase in

which it is contained), it seems likely that the principles regulating the (non)-use of determiners with appositives is the same as the principles regulating the use of bare noun phrases discussed in Section 7.1). As far as the use of determiners with proper nouns is concerned, it seems likely that the distinction between expressions such as those in (482) vs. those in (483) has to do with whether or not the proper name is being used as a link between the referent of the larger noun phrase and some person previously named in discourse (in which case a determiner would be required), or whether the proper noun is simply being supplied as additional information about the referent.

Even though appositives tend not to have determiners, they are by no means always simple bare NPs; not infrequently, appositive nouns are possessed (as, for example, in 480b above) and can have their own modifiers, as in (484):

- (484) a. ti?i^l ta?^ltəmi, ha?^l sč'ač'as čč^l

ti?i^l ta?^l-təmi ha?^l s-č'ač'as čč^l
DIST ATTN-Tommy good NP-child 1PL.PO
'little Tommy, our good youngster'

(Hess 1995: 92)

- b. xʷəbtəbaxʷ ?əsqʷu? ?ə ti?acəc bibəda?s, mi?man' səsbəda?əbs tsi?i^l cədil waq'waq'

xʷəb-t-b=axʷ ?əs-qʷu? ?ə ti?acəc bi-bəda?-s
throw.away-ICS-PASS=now STAT-gather PR UNQ ATTN-offspring-3PO

mi?man' s=?əs-bəda?-b=s tsi?i^l cədil waq'waq'
small NM=STAT-offspring-MD=3PO DIST:FEM he frog

'Frog was thrown away together with her little baby, the little (one) that she had borne'

(Hess 2006: 8, line 124)

c. ?ahəxʷ ?al ti?it dəxʷəsciq'itəbs ?al ti?it hud dxʷ?al tus?atəbəds tsi sxʷəyuqʷ,
 sɬ'ålqəb dxʷ?al kʷi wiw'su
 ?a=oxʷ ?al ti?it dəxʷ=?əs-ciq'i-t-b=s ?al ti?it hud
 be.there=now at DIST ADNM=STAT-poke-ICS-PASS=3PO at PROX fire

dxʷ?al tu=s=?atəbəd=s tsi sxʷəyuqʷ sɬ'ålqəb dxʷ?al
 CNTRPT-at PAST=NOM=die=3PO SPEC:FEM Basket.Ogress monster CNTRPT-at

kʷi wiw'su
 REM children

'there was Basket Ogress, monster to the children, where she had been poked into the fire until she died'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 109]

The appositive noun in (484a), *sč'ač'as* 'youngster', is modified by *haʔt* 'good', while in (484b) the appositive *mi?man* 'small' (used here as a metonymic expression for a small person) is modified by an *s*=nominal (Section 7.4.2.1) formed on the verb phrase *?əsbədaʔəb* 'she has given birth'. The final example, (484c), shows an appositive noun, *sɬ'ålqəb* 'monster', modified by a following prepositional phrase, *dxʷ?al kʷi wiw'su* 'for (lit. 'towards') the children'. In general, the ordering of modifying elements in the appositive phrase seems identical to the ordering of modifiers in noun phrases in general.

7.3.5 Coordination

Coordinate noun phrases are formed using the conjunction *?i* 'and',¹⁴⁰ which is used to coordinate two full noun phrases, as in (485):

- (485) a. tuhuyucut ti?ə? qaw'qs ?i ti?ə? bibščəb
 tu=huyu-cut ti?ə? qaw'qs ?i ti?ə? bi-bščəb
 PAST=made-REFL PROX ravenand PROX ATTN=mink
 'Raven and Little Mink prepared themselves'
 (Hess 1995: 92)
- b. ?əsɬatlil ti?it ?əsɬatlil ti?it sgʷəlub ?i ti?ə? qaw'qs
 ?əs-ɬatlil ti?it ?əs-ɬatlil ti?it sgʷəlub ?i ti?ə? qaw'qs
 STAT-live DIST STAT-live DIST pheasant and PROX raven
 'they dwelled (there), Pheasant and Raven dwelled (there)'
 (Hess 1998: 78, line 1)

¹⁴⁰ Southern Lushootseed uses *yəxʷ* rather than *?i*.

- c. *łacəxʷłčiltxʷ dxʷ?al kʷsi adčəgʷas ?i kʷi adbədbəda?*
 _{IU=ad=dəxʷ=łčil-txʷ} _{dxʷ=al} _{kʷsi} _{ad-čəgʷas} _{?i} _{kʷi}
 IRR=2SG.PO=ADNM=arrive-ECS CNTRPT-at REM:FEM 2SG.PO-wife and REM
 ad-bəd-bəda?
 2SG.PO-DSTR-offspring
 'so that you can bring it to your wife and children'

(Hess 1998: 86, line 237)

While coordinated NPs with two members are the most frequent, longer lists can be formed with *?i*, which is repeated after every item in the list:

- (486) *ł'äl' bas?ista? dxʷ?al ti?ə? təbł? i?i?ił dəxʷudxʷliqʷusəbs ?i kʷədi? ł'u'dəxʷəsəqšads*
 ?i kʷədi? ł'u'dəxʷəsəqšads ł'u'dəxʷju?adads
 _{ł'äl' bə=as-?ista?} _{dxʷ=al} _{ti?ə?} _{təbł?}
 also ADD=STAT-be.like CNTRPT-at PROX ochre
 ?i ti?ił dəxʷ=?u-dxʷ-liqʷ•us-əb=s
 and DIST ADNM=PFV-CTD-paint•face-MD=3PO
 ?i kʷədi? ł'u=dəxʷ=?əs-əq•šad=s
 and REM.DMA HAB=ADNM=STAT-wrapped•leg=3PO
 ?i kʷədi? ł'u=dəxʷ=?əs-əq•l•ažad=s
 and REM.DMA HAB=ADNM=STAT-wrapped•CNN•arm=3PO
 ł'u=dəxʷ=ju?adad=s
 HAB=ADNM=regalia=3PO

'it is also the same for the ochre and that used for painting one's face and that used for wrapping the legs and that used for wrapping the arms, used in ceremonial regalia'

(Hess 1998: 92, line 32)

In terms of their distribution, coordinated NPs are identical to ordinary noun phrases and can be the arguments of verbs, as in (485a) and (485b), the complements of prepositions, (485c) and (486), and possessors of other nouns, as in (487):

- (487) *hay, ?a ti?ə? syəyəhub ?ə ti?ił sčətxʷəd ?i tsı?ił ł'ał'ac'apəd*
 hay ?a ti?ə? syəyəhub ?ə ti?ił sčətxʷəd ?i tsı?ił ł'ał'ac'apəd
 SCONJ be.there PROX legend PR DIST bear and DIST:FEM ant
 'so, there is the legend of Black Bear and Ant'

(Hess 1995: 143, line 1)

Coordinated appositive phrases (Section 7.3.4) are also attested:

- (488) kʷədubəxʷ ?ə ti tubə?alalšs, swuqʷad ?i ti?iɬ xəwawq'
 kʷəd-dxʷ-b=əxʷ ?ə ti tu=bə=?al-alš-s swuqʷad ?i ti?iɬ
 taken-DC-PASS=now PR SPEC PAST=ADD=PL-sibling-3PO loon and DIST

xəwawq'
 Big.Diver
 'both her brothers, Loon and Big Diver, got her'

(Hess 2006: 20, line 205)

As is typical of appositive phrases, the initial determiner introducing *swuqʷad* 'loon' is omitted here, although the second member of the coordinated NP maintains its determiner.

Coordinated NPs are also attested as syntactic predicates:

- (489) a. swuqʷadi? ?i xʷtis ?i stab
 swuqʷadi? ?i xʷtis ?i stab
 loon and silver.diver and what
 'there were loons and silver divers and other kinds'

(Hess 2006: 75, line 798)

- b. ti?ə?əxʷ sɬukʷalb ?i ti?ə? tɬukʷaɬ
 ti?ə?əxʷ sɬukʷalb ?i ti?ə? tɬukʷaɬ
 PROX=now moon and PROX sun
 '(they) now are the moon and the sun'

[MW Star Child, line 108]

As with the coordinated appositive phrases in (488), the principles governing the use/non-use of determiners are the same as those governing the use of determiners in other types of nominal predicate (Section 8.3.1).

In addition to coordinating full NPs, *?i* can also coordinate pronominal elements with NPs, as in (490), which shows the coordination of a pronominally-used determiner, *ti?iɬ* 'distal', and a common noun used as a proper name, *?adad* 'Magpie':

- (490) gʷəl lə?uχʷ ti?iɬ ?i ?adad
 gʷəl lə=?uχʷ ti?iɬ ?i ?adad
 SCONJ PROG=go DIST and magpie
 'and that guy and Magpie went'

(Hess 2006: 37, line 380)

An interesting property of coordinate structures formed with anaphoric elements is that when the referent of the anaphor is plural, the specific identity of one or all of its antecedent may be repeated as part of the subsequent list of coordinands:

- (491) a. ?əsɬət̪lil ti?i?i?i sgʷəlub ?i ti?i?i x̥ət̪x̥ətləds, ti?e? ?iikʷəlq
 ?əs-ɬət̪lil ti?i?i?i sgʷəlub ?i ti?i?i x̥ət̪-x̥ətləd-s ti?e? ?i?i-kʷəlq
 STAT-live DIST and pheasant and DIST DSTR-in.law-3PO PROX PRTV-others
 'they, Pheasant and his brothers-in-law (and) others, lived (there)'
 (Hess 2006: 42, line 1)

- b. gʷaχʷəxʷ ti?i?i?i həbu? ?i ti?i?i cədił sč'istxʷs
 gʷaχʷ=əxʷ ti?-i?i?i həbu? ?i ti?i?i cədił sč'istxʷ-s
 walk=now PL-DIST and pigeon and DIST he husband-3PO
 'they, Pigeon and her husband, walked'
 (Hess 2006: 35, line 339)

While the most natural translation of these particular examples into English is using an appositive phrase, the structure in Lushootseed takes the form of a coordinate NP whose first member is the anaphor and whose subsequent members are introduced by the conjunction *?i*. Given the optionality of nominal number in Lushootseed, third-person anaphoric heads of such constructions can be morphologically unmarked (491a) or have overt plural number (491b).

The conjunction *?i* can also form coordinate structures with other types of pronominal elements such as subject clitics:

- (492) a. tɬət̪lil čəł ?i tsı?i?i sləłday? ?al tudi?
 tɬ=tɬlil čəł ?i tsı?i?i sləłday? ?al tudi?
 IRR=live 1PL.SUB and DIST:FEM ATTN-woman at DIST.DMA
 'that girl and I will live over there'
 (Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 5)

- b. tušudxʷ čəł ?i mali
 tu=šuł-dxʷ-Ø čəł ?i mali
 PAST=see-DC-3OBJ 1PL.SUB and Mary
 'Mary and I saw it'
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert: 14)

- c. tušudx^w čəł əlg^{wə?} ?i mali
 tu=šuł-dx^w-Ø čəł əlg^{wə?} ?i mali
 PAST=see-DC-3OBJ 1PL.SUB PL and Mary
 'Mary and I saw them'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 141, ex. 3)

In these constructions, unlike those in (491), the use of the plural subject clitic (being non-third person) is obligatory. As can be seen in the example in (492c), the subject-clitic retains its mobility with respect to linear-ordering and maintains its preferred position as the second element in the clause, independently of the remainder of the coordinate NP. Presumably, such expressions in Lushootseed are slightly ambiguous between the first-person dual ('Mary and I') and first-person plural ('Mary and we') readings.

The same pattern, referred to as "attraction" by Hess (2006: 37, fn 95; see also Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 141), is also seen with the Ø third-person subject clitic, as in (493):

- (493) a. cick^{w=exw} s?ušəbabdx^w əlg^{wə?} ?i tsı?ił dčəg^{was}
 cick^{w=exw} s?ušəbabdx^w Ø əlg^{wə?} ?i tsı?ił d-čəg^{was}
 very=now poor.guy 3SUB PL and DIST:FEM 1SG.PO-wife
 'they (including) my wife are very poor'

(Hess 1998: 80, line 72)

- b. bəda?əbəx^w əlg^{wə?} ?i ti?ə? tək^wtək^wəlus ?ə ti?ə? mi?man' č'ač'as
 bəda?-əb=ex^w Ø əlg^{wə?} ?i ti?ə? tək^wtək^wəlus ?ə ti?ə?
 offspring-MD=now 3SUB PL and PROX owl PR PROX
 mi?-man' č'ač'as
 ATTN-small child
 'they had a little boy, [she] and Owl'

(Hess 2006: 3, line 10)

- c. tuhuhuyucutəx^w əlg^{wə?} ?i ti?ə? di?ə? suq^{wə?}s
 tu-hu-huyu-t-sut=ex^w Ø əlg^{wə?} ?i ti?ə? di?ə?
 PAST=DSTR-made-ICS-REFL=now 3SUB PL and PROX here
 suq^{wə?}s
 younger.sibling-3PO
 'he prepared himself and his younger brother'

[HM Star Child, line 157]

Just as with the non-third person subject clitics, the overt marking of plurality (using the plural marker əlg^{wə?}) appears to be obligatory in this type of coordinate construction, although it is not

normally an absolute requirement for the marking of plural subjects (or other types of plural arguments — Section *.*).

Coordination of this type is also possible with imperative subjects:

- (494) ?ux^w ?i tsi sxa?hus
 ?ux^w Ø ?i tsi sxa?hus
 go 2SG.IMP and SPEC:FEM sawbill
 'you and Sawbill go!'

(Hess 2006: 35, line 334)

Unlike the previous examples, however, in the case of imperatives it appears that plural number is not obligatory for the head of the coordination (which would otherwise be *ti* '2PL IMPERATIVE'). As this is the only example of a coordinate imperative subject in the corpus, it is not known whether the use of the singular subject is required or is optional (reflecting, say, the distinction between the English *you and Sawbill go!* and *you go with Sawbill!*).

Grammatical attraction of number applies not only to coordinate subjects and objects, but also is found in the expression of coordinate possessors:

- (495) stab kwi gwəsgwa? s əlgwə? ?i k'a?k'a? ?i qawwqs
 stab kwi gwə=sgwa?-s əlgwə? ?i k'a?k'a? ?i qawwqs
 what REM SBJ=ones.own-3PO PL and crow and raven
 'what belongs to Crow and Raven?'

(Hess 1998: 75, line 259)

Note that, as in many of the preceding examples, the list of possessors in the string of coordinands is exhaustive.

A similar construction to that seen in (495) is also seen with *s*=nominals (Section 7.4.2.1) whose possessors are coordinate, as in (496):

- (496) xʷi?əxʷ kʷi ɬadsuχʷubil ?i ti?ə? bi?bəda?
 xʷi?=əxʷ kʷi ɬu=ad=s=?u-χʷubil ?i ti?ə? bi?-bəda?
 NEG=now REM IRR=2SG.PO=NOM=PFV-be.quiet and PROX ATTN-offspring
 ‘you and your little baby will never be quiet’¹⁴¹
- (Hess 2006: 8, line 140)

The parallel between (495) and (496) is unsurprising, given that in most other respects the possessors of *s*=nominals follow the same pattern as possessors of ordinary NPs.

7.4 Relative, headless relative, and nominalized clauses

Target	Clause type
Subject	relative clause
Direct object	
3 inanimate object	relative clause
3 animate object	<i>s</i> =nominal
OblIQUE object	<i>s</i> =nominal
Adjunct	<i>dəxʷ</i> =nominal

Table 78: Types of modifying clauses

7.4.1 Modifying and headless relative clauses

Relative clauses in Lushootseed take the form of a fully inflected clause without any overt marker of subordination. When used as a modifier, the relative most usually follows its head:

- (497) a. tsi?ə? bəda? ?ə ti?ə? tusbiaw ?u?atəbəd
 tsi?ə? bəda? ?ə ti?ə? tu=sbiaw ?u-?atəbəd
 PROX:FEM offspring PR PROX PAST=coyote PFV-be.dead
 ‘the daughter of Coyote who has died’
- (Hess 1998: 97, line 181)

¹⁴¹ This is the gloss given in Hess (2006: 239); a more literal translation would be ‘you and the little child will never be quiet’. It is not clear if the use of the second-person possessive *your* actually reflects some feature of Lushootseed syntax that requires that the child be ‘your’ child in this type of construction or simply reflects the contextual knowledge of the translator that the child in question is indeed the addressee’s.

- b. huy, ?ibəšəx^w ti?ə? s?ušəbabdx^w ?ułiltəb
 huy ?ibəš=əx^w ti?ə? s?ušəbabdx^w ?u-łil-t-əb
 INTJ travel=now PROX humble.fellow PFV-given.food-ICS-PASS
 ‘then this humble fellow to whom food had been given traveled’

(Hess 1998: 82, line 112)

- c. ?ušudx^w čəx^w ?u ti?ił stiqiw ?uč'axʷč'axʷatəb ?ə ti ḫikʷ ləgʷəb
 ?u-šuł-dx^w čəx^w ?u ti?ił stiqiw ?u-č'axʷ-č'axʷa-t-əb
 PFV-see-DC 2SG.SUB INT DIST horse PFV-DSTR-club-ICS-PASS
 ?ə ti ḫikʷ ləgʷəb
 PR SPEC ugly youth
 ‘did you see the horse that was beaten by the ugly youth?’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 127)

In (497a) we see the intransitive verb *?atəbəd* ‘be dead’ following and modifying the noun *sbiaw* ‘coyote’. (497b) shows the passive form of the verb *iłd* ‘give food’ modifying the preceding noun, *s?ušəbabdx^w* ‘humble fellow’, while (497c) gives a more complex example of a passivized verb, *č'axʷč'axʷatəb* ‘be beaten’, in a relative clause containing an overt agentive complement, *?ə ti ḫikʷ ləgʷəb* ‘by the ugly youth’.

Post-nominal modifying relative clauses are often introduced by a determiner:

- (498) huy, džučʷatəx^w ?ə ti?ə? ḫʷul'ul'əx^w p'q'ac ti?ə? tusu?ələds
 huy džučʷat=əx^w ?ə ti?ə? ḫʷul'-ul'=əx^w p'q'ac
 SCONJ vomit=now PR PROX EXC-only=now rotten.wood
 ti?ə? tu=s=?u-?ələd=s
 PROX PAST=NM=PFV-eat=3PO
 ‘then he vomited up the rotten wood that he had eaten’

(Hess 1998: 88, line 277)

In this particular example, the determiner *ti?ə?* preceding the relative clause *tusu?ələds*, was not part of the sentence as it was given by the story-teller, but was added later as a “correction” during the transcription of this particular story. However, both the sentence with and without the determiner are judged as grammatical by consultants. The use versus non-use of the determiner seems to correspond to differences in register or formality.

Although post-nominal modifying relative clauses are more frequent, relative clauses based on monovalent intransitive verbs or on verbs without overt objects can precede the nouns they modify:

- (499) a. tucutəb čət ?ə ti?iɬ tu?atəbəd sbiaw
 tu=cut-t-əb čət ?ə ti?iɬ tu=?atəbəd sbiaw
 PAST=say-ICS-PASS 1PL.SUB PR DIST PAST=be.dead coyote
 ‘we were told by Coyote who died’

(Hess 1998: 98, 193)

- b. Ḵ'ulək'ʷəd ti?ə? Ḵ'učiltub ha?ɬ s?ətəd
 Ḵ'u=lək'ʷ-əd ti?ə? Ḵ'u=čil-txʷ-b ha?ɬ s?ətəd
 HAB=eat-ICS PROX HAB=arrive-ECS-PASS good food
 ‘she would eat the good food that would be brought’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 105)

The first example, (499a), shows the intransitive verb *?atəbəd* ‘be dead’ (cf. (497a) above) modifying the following noun, *sbiaw* ‘coyote’, while the second in (499b) shows the passive form of a transitive verb modifying *ha?ɬ s?ətəd* ‘good food’ (itself composed of a bare modifier and a noun). Note that the structure in (499b), resembles an internally-headed relative clause.

In addition to their uses as nominal modifiers, relative clauses are also very frequently (perhaps more frequently) used as full referential expressions without an overt nominal head. These headless relatives take the form of a full clause introduced by a determiner, and are interpreted as referring to one of the arguments of the subordinated verb phrase:

- (500) a. Ḵ'əł'iq'šəd tə Ḵ'u?uχʷ
 Ḵ'əł'iq'šəd tə Ḵ'u-?uχʷ
 sapsucker NSPEC HAB-go
 ‘the one who would go was Sapsucker’

(Hess 2006: 18, line 164)

- b. skəyu təɬ ti?iɬ ?ucucuuč čələp
 skəyu təɬ ti?iɬ ?u-cut-cut-c čələp
 corpse truly DIST PFV-DSTR-say-ALTV 2PL.SUB
 ‘that which you guys are talking about is truly a ghost’

(Hess 1998: 94, line 107)

The first two examples here show a particularly frequent use of the headless relative clause as the subject of a nominal predicate. These structures are identical to the relative clause constructions illustrated in (497) and (499) except for the introductory determiner (cf. 500a and *ti* *λ'əλ'iq'səd* *λ'uʔuxʷ* ‘the sapsucker who would go’). The subject phrase of (500a) is interpreted as referring to the syntactic subject of the embedded verb (‘sapsucker’), while the subject of (500b) refers to the direct object of the embedded verb *cuuc* ‘speak about something’.

As the examples in (500) show, relativization is possible for subjects and direct objects, although there are strict limitations on which argument of the verb can be relativized in a particular syntactic or discourse context. All other things being equal, in clauses with a third-person subject and a third-person object, only the subject can be relativized:

- (501) a. ?ušudxʷ čəł ti č'ač'as ?utəsəd ti?ił stubš
 ?u-šuł-dxʷ čəł ti č'ač'as ?u-təs-əd ti?ił stubš
 PFV-see-DC 1PL.SUB SPEC child PFV-hit-ICS DIST man
 ‘we saw the boy that hit the man’
 *‘we saw the boy that the man hit’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 125)

- b. ?ušudxʷ čəd ti sqʷəbay? ?uč'axʷatəb ?e ti?ił č'ač'as
 ?u-šuł-dxʷ čəd ti sqʷəbay? ?u-č'axʷa-t-əb ?e ti?ił č'ač'as
 PFV-see-DC 1SG.SUB SPEC dog PFV-clubbed-ICS-PASS PR DIST child
 ‘I see the dog that was hit with a club by the boy’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 124)

(501a) gives an example of an object-centred modifying relative clause with a third-person subject and a third-person object; in this case, the only interpretation of the sentence possible is that of a subject-centred relative clause. When the object-centred reading is desired, it is necessary to passivize the embedded clause as in (501b). The same holds for headless relative clauses like those shown in (502):

- (502) a. *wiw'su ti?ə? ?učalad ti?ə? sqʷəbay?*
wiw'su ti?ə? ?u-čala-d ti?ə? sqʷəbay?
 children PROX PFV-chased-ICS PROX dog
 'the ones who chased the dog [are] the children'
 *'the one who the dog chased [are] the children'

b. *sqʷəbay? ti ?učalatəb ?ə ti?iɬ wiw'su*
sqʷəbay? ti ?u-čala-t-əb ?ə ti?iɬ wiw'su
 dog SPEC PFV-chased-ICS-PASS PR DIST children
 'the one who was chased by the children is the dog'

In (502a), the only interpretation open to the sentence is the one where the headless relative clause identifies the subject of the embedded verb, in spite of the fact that the opposite interpretation, where the dog chases the children, is semantically and pragmatically quite plausible. Again, where this is the desired interpretation, the embedded clause appears in the passive, as in (502b).

Nevertheless, when discourse context leaves no room for ambiguity as to the syntactic roles of the third-person arguments of the verb in the embedded clause, object-centred relative clauses are possible:

- (503) a. taxʷčə́łb s?éłdə́? ʔə ti?ə? di?ə? stawixʷ? tasčə́ba?əd tul’?al tudi? ča?kʷ
 tu=?as-dxʷ-čə́ł-əb s?éłdə́? ʔə ti?ə? di?ə? stawixʷ? tasčə́ba?əd tul’?al tudi? ča?kʷ
 PAST=STAT-CTD-make-DSD food PR PROX here children

tu=?as-čə́ba?-əd tul’?-al tudi? ča?kʷ
 PAST=STAT-laden-ICS CNTRFG-at DIST.DMA waterward
 '[Basket Ogress] wanted to make food of the children she carried up from the water'
 [DM Basket Ogress, line 73]

b. tułiltubuł ?ə ti sqigʷəc tuqʷəxʷəd
 tu=lil-txʷ-buł ?ə ti sqigʷəc tu=qʷəxʷ-əd
 PAST=give.food-ECS-1PL.OBJ PR SPEC deer PAST=butchered-ICS
 'he gave us the deer which he had butchered'

(Hukari 1977: 53)

Even in such cases, object-centred relatives like these are unusual, the more common pattern being for the embedded verb being used in the passive voice, promoting the object to subject and allowing for a subject-centred relative clause.

When the subject of the embedded clause is first- or second-person, only object-centred relative clauses are possible:

- (504) a. ?ušudxʷ čəł ti č'ač'as ?utəsəd čəd
 ?u-šuł-dxʷ čəł ti č'ač'as ?u-təs-əd čəd
 PFV-see-DC 1PL.SUB SPEC child PFV-hit-ICS 1SG.SUB
 'we saw the boy that I hit'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 125)

- b. PROX one story short PROX PFV-sing-ECS 1SG.SUB

PR PROX night
 'this one story, that which I have sung this evening, is short'

[HM Star Child, line 194]

This is almost certainly a syntactic restriction, as the subject-markers are not themselves nominals and so cannot head an NP or be modified by a relative clause. There are no examples in the present corpus of first- or second-person pronouns heading a relative clause construction, but there are numerous examples of pronouns functioning as predicates of sentences with headless relative clause subjects. In these cases, the pronoun and the headless relative express the same semantic actant, and the verb embedded in the headless relative clause is in the third-person:

- (505) a. ?əca ti?ə? ləčalad tə sqʷəbay?
 ?əca ti?ə? lə=čala-d tə sqʷəbay?
 I PROX PROG=chased-ICS NSPEC dog
 'the one who is chasing the dog [is] me'

- b. dibəł ti ?ut'uc'utəb ?ə ti?ił šəbad
 dibəł ti ?u-t'uc'u-t-əb ?ə ti?ił šəbad
 we SPEC PFV-shot-ICS-PASS PR DIST enemy
 'the ones who were shot by the enemy [are] us'

(Hess 1995: 99)

- c. gʷəł dəgʷi kʷi łukʷədatəb d̥ixʷ
 gʷəł dəgʷi kʷi łu=kʷəda-t-əb d̥ixʷ^w
 then you REM IRR=held-ICS-PASS first
 'the one who will be taken first [is] you'

[LA Basket Ogress, line 26]

In these constructions, the headless relative clauses are obligatorily subject-centred, or at least are uniformly so in the present corpus. When expression of the PATIENT or ENDPOINT of the event is the sentence predicate, the subject-phrase appears in the passive voice, as in (505c).

7.4.2 Nominalized clauses

Although Lushootseed does not allow the relativization of oblique objects or adjuncts, it creates the structural equivalent of oblique- and adjunct-centred relative clauses through the formation of gerund- or participle-like constructions using one of the two nominalizing proclitics — *s=* or *dəxʷ=*. Such clausal nominals have essentially the same internal syntax as matrix clauses in terms of the valency and transitivity of the nominalized predicate; however, an important difference between the two clause types is that nominalized clauses mark their subjects with the possessive series of subject-marking clitics (Section 8.1.1), as shown in (506):

- (506) a. ḫʷul' čəd ḫulə?u᷑txʷ ti?ə? ḫad̥s?əłtxʷ
 ᷑ul' čəd ᷑u=lə=?u᷑w-txʷ ti?ə? ᷑u=ad=s=?əł-txʷ
 only 1SG.SUB IRR=PROG=go-ECS PROX IRR=2SG.PO=NOM=eat-ECS
 'I will just be taking [them] what you will feed [them] with'

(Hess 1998: 58, line 56)

- b. huyəxʷ ti?ił dṣyəhubtubicid, s?iab dṣya?ya?
 huy=əxʷ ti?ił d=s=yəhub-txʷ-bicid s?iab d-sya?ya?
 be.done=now DIST 1SG.PO=NOM=recite-ECS-2SG.OBJ noble 1SG.PO-friend
 'my telling to you is finished now, my noble friend'

(Hess 1995: 142, line 51)

In (506a) the subject of the nominalized clause *s?əłtxʷ* ‘feeding someone’ (based on the transitive verb *?əłtxʷ* ‘feed someone with something’) is expressed by the second-person singular possessive subject clitic, *ad=*. Similarly, in (506b) the subject of *syəhubtubicid* ‘telling to you’ is expressed by the first-person singular subject proclitic, *d=*. *dəxʷ=nominals* with first- and second-person subjects also use elements from the possessive-subject paradigm:

- (507) a. ləli?əx^w ti?ə? cəx^wu?ibəš
 ləli?=əx^w ti?ə? d=dəx^w=?u-?ibəš
 different=now PROX 1SG.PO=ADNM=PFV-travel
 ‘where I am traveling is different now’

(Hess 2006: 27, line 128)

- b. ḥ'uləbəłx^w ?al ti?ił čad dəx^w?aləp
 ḥ'u=lə=bəłx^w ?al ti?ił čad dəx^w=?a=ləp
 HAB=PRG-go.by PR DIST where ADNM=be.there=2PL.PO
 ‘he goes by there where you guys come from’

(Hess 2006: 66, line 592)

(507a) shows the first-person singular proclitic *d*= marking the subject of the nominalized clause *cəx^wu?ibəš* ‘where I travel’. The next example in (507b) contains a nominalized clause with a second-person plural subject acting as relative clause modifying *čad* ‘where’, which is in turn contained within an prepositional phrase acting as a locative adverbial modifier.

note on order of nominal wrt head, give normal case, preceding, then

If a pre-posed relative clause is complex — that is, it contains elements other than the verb — the additional elements can appear following the modified noun (although this is extremely rare):

- (508) ḥ'ul'əx^w ?ukʷəd(d)x^w ti?ə? di?ə? bəčəls bəda? tul'?al ti?ə? tuscəcik^w ?up'ic'i'd
 ḥ'ul'=?əx^w ?u-kʷəd-dx^w ti?ə? di?ə? bə=s=čəł=s bəda?
 only=now PFV-take-DC PROX here ADD=NM=make=3PO child
 tul'?-al ti?ə? tu=scəcik^w ?u-p'ic'i-d
 CNTRFG-at PROX PAST=DIAPER PFV-wrung-ICS
 ‘she just took this child made from the wrung out diaper’

[HM Star Child 69, line 69]

Here, the noun *bəda?* ‘child’ is modified by the nominalized clause *čəłls bəda? tul'?al ti?ə? tuscəcik^w ?up'ic'i'd* ‘made from a wrung-out diaper’, within which it corresponds to a nominal predicate complement (Section 8.2.5). The noun itself appears following the verb of the embedded clause but preceding the adverbial adjunct phrase *tul'?al ti?ə? tuscəcik^w ?up'ic'i'd* ‘from a wrung-out diaper’. This is an unusual construction (more common would be to post-pose the entire nominalized clause) and strongly resembles an internally-headed relative clause (see also example 499b above).

When the subject of either type of nominalized clause is third-person, it shows the same range of variation as the expression of the third-person possessor does, using the possessive subject enclitic $=s$ if there is no overt subject NP, or otherwise making use of a periphrastic possessive construction:

- (509) a. $\check{x}^wul' p'a\lambda'a\lambda' ti?i\check{t} s?abyids ti?i\check{t} \check{c}'\lambda'a?$
 $\check{x}^wul' p'a\lambda'a\lambda' ti?i\check{t} s=?ab-yi-d=s ti?i\check{t} \check{c}'\lambda'a?$
 only worthless DIST NM=extend-DAT-ICS=3PO DIST rock
 ‘what he gives to that rock is simply worthless’

(Hess 1995: 148, line 32)

- b. $ti?i\check{t} tus?uk^wuk^w ?o t\check{o} wiw'su$
 $ti?i\check{t} tu=s=?uk^wuk^w ?o t\check{o} wiw'su$
 DIST PAST=NOM=play PR NSPEC children
 ‘what the children were playing with’

(Hess 1998: 89, line 299)

In (509a) the subject is realized as simply the third-person possessive subject marker, $=s$, while in (509b) the subject is an overt NP, $t\check{o} wiw'su$ ‘the children’, and so the periphrastic possessive construction with $?o$ is used. The same two patterns are also observed with $d\check{o}x^w$ =nominals:

- (510) a. $\lambda'al' b\check{o}dit d\check{o}x^w?a ?o ti?i\check{t} d\check{o}x^w?ey'dubs ?o ti?i\check{t} sg^w\check{e}lub$
 $\lambda'al' b\check{o}=dit d\check{o}x^w=?a ?o ti?i\check{t} d\check{o}x^w=?ey'-dx^w-b=s$
 also ADD=FOC ADNM=be.there PR DIST ADNM=find-DC-PASS=3PO
 $?o ti?i\check{t} sg^w\check{e}lub$
 PR DIST pheasant
 ‘it was the very same place where they had been found by Pheasant’

(Hess 1998: 85, line 187)

- b. $?es\check{a}t\check{a}lil ti?i\check{t} ?aci\check{a}talbix^w d\check{o}x^w?a ?o ti?ac\check{e}c sbiaw$
 $?es-\check{a}t\check{a}lil ti?i\check{t} ?aci\check{a}talbix^w d\check{o}x^w=?a ?o ti?ac\check{e}c sbiaw$
 STAT-live DIST person ADNM=be.there PR UNQ coyote
 ‘people were living where Coyote was’

(Hess 1998: 91, line 1)

Again, here we see the use of the subject enclitic $=s$ when there is no overt subject NP present (510a), and the periphrastic construction with $?o$ used with an overt NP (510b). An alternative construction, the use of $=s$ with a full NP, is also possible, although it is largely confined to nominalized passive constructions. This will be discussed in more detail in Section 8.1.1 below.

Although the nominalizing proclitics *s*= and *dəxw*= appear adjacent to the stem, they are — like many other elements in Lushootseed grammar — in fact phrase-level proclitics rather than word-level prefixes. As such, they are obligatorily attached to the first element in the nominalized clause, whether or not this element is the sentence predicate, as shown in (511):

- (511) a. ?a əw'ə sixʷ ti?ił adsuhuy ti ḥ'ubəstiləbsəxʷ ḥ'ubəšəq
 ?a əw'ə sixʷ ti?ił ad=s=?u-huy
 be.there PTCL PTCL DIST 2SG.PO=NFM-PFV-be.done
- ti ḥ'u=bə=s=tiləb=s=əxʷ ḥ'u=bə=šəq
 SPEC HAB=ADD=NFM-suddenly=3PO=now HAB=ADD=high
 'There is something you do to make it suddenly go high again'
 (lit. 'what you do [so that] it suddenly goes high again is there [i.e., exists]')
 (Hess 2006: 26, line 102)
- b. ?əs?əxid əw'ə ts'i?ə? adčəgʷas dəxʷul's ?ubak'ʷacut ti?ə? qədxʷ-s
 ?əs?əxid əw'ə ts'i?ə? ad-čəgʷas dəxʷ=xʷul'=s
 STAT=what.happen PTCL PROX:FEM 2SG.PO-wife ADNM=only=3PO
- ?u-bak'ʷa-t-sut ti?ə? qədxʷ-s
 PFV-move.quickly-ICS-REFL PROX mouth-3PO
 'what is the matter with your wife that her mouth is just a-goin'?"
 (Hess 2006: 4, line 22)

The sentence in (511a) shows a nominalized clause *ti ḥ'ubəstiləbsəxʷ ḥ'ubəšəq* 'its suddenly going high again' acting as the subject of the verb *huy* 'be done, be made, be finished' (itself nominalized). Because the initial element of the clause is an adverb, *tiləb* 'suddenly', the nominalizing proclitic *s*= is attached to this word instead of to the clausal predicate, *šəq* 'high', as are the other clitics *ḥ'u*= 'habitual', *bə*= 'additive', *=s* 'third-person possessive subject', and *=əxʷ* 'now'. Similarly, in (511b) we see the proclitic *dəxw*= attached to an adverb, *xʷul'* 'only', which is also the initial element in the embedded clause (cf. the matrix clause, *xʷul' ?ubak'ʷacut ti?ə? qədxʷ-s* 's/he would only move her/his mouth'). Note also that in both cases the subject clitic goes along with the nominalizing proclitic and appears on the adverb rather than on the verb. In a few cases, the nominalizer appears on both the adverb and the clausal predicate:

- (512) ... tul'ʔal kʷi s̥d̥ixʷs tushuyutid ?o sp'ic'ikʷ ?i s̥lukʷalb
 tul'ʔal kʷi s̥d̥ixʷ=s tu=s=huyu-t-id ?o sp'ic'ikʷ
 PR REM NM=first=3PO PAST=NM=be.done=ICS-PASS.SBRD PR Diaper.Child

?i s̥lukʷalb
 and moon
 '... because of what was first done by Diaper Child and Moon'
 [DS Star Child, line 371]

In this respect, the nominalizing clitics behave like other phrase-level proclitics in that they can be iterated on more than one element of the phrase.

Although the internal syntax of both types of nominalized clause is similar, their distributions are quite different. The nominalizer *s*= is used primarily to form the equivalent of oblique-centred relative and headless relative clauses. The proclitic *dəx* =, on the other hand, has not only this function, but is also used to form a variety of adverbial expressions. The uses of the two types of clausal nominals will be discussed further in the remainder of this section.

7.4.2.1 *s*=nominals

The more common of the two nominalizers, *s*=, has two principal functions. The first of these is to form the equivalent of oblique-centred relative clauses. As with relative clauses, these may or may not have an overt nominal head:

- (513) a. gʷəl ləbəčad ti?ə? cədił sxʷi?xʷi?s səstiltəbs
 gʷəl lə=bəčad ti?ə? cədił sxʷi?xʷi?-s s=?əs-tił-t-əb=s
 then PROG=fallen-ICS PROX it game-3PO NM=STAT=give.food-ICS-PASS=3PO
 'then he set down his game that he had been given as food'

(Hess 1998: 82, line 124)¹⁴²

- b. day'əxʷ ha?‡ ti?ə? s?əsqʷəlb ?ə ti?acəc bəsčəb
 day'=əxʷ ha?‡ ti?ə? s=?əs-qʷəl-b ?ə ti?acəc bəsčəb
 really=now good PROX NM=STAT-ready.to-eat-CSMD PR UNQ mink
 'that roasting [salmon] of Mink's is really good'

(Hess 1998: 66, line 42)

¹⁴² This line appears in Hess (1998) with an editorial addition of the determiner *ti?ə?* introducing the relative clause, although this is not on the spoken version on tape. Both sentence as it is spoken by the narrator and as it appears in the written text are grammatical.

(513a) shows the nominalization of the passive form of a transitive verb, *tild* ‘give food’. This nominalized clause modifies the noun *sxi?xi?* ‘game’, which corresponds to an oblique object of the embedded clause (cf. *?astiltəb ?ə ti sxi?xi?* ‘he is given game’). In (513b), the reference of the nominal is the oblique object of the intransitive verb *q'wlb* ‘roast oneself something’ (cf. *q'wlb ?ə ti s?uladxw* ‘he roasted himself a salmon’). It should be noted that while nouns corresponding to oblique objects can be modified by *s*=nominalizations, nouns corresponding to agentive complements of passives can not: in these cases, the active form of the verb is used to form a subject-centred relative clause.

Nominalized clauses fill the same syntactic roles as relative clauses, either modifying a noun (513a) or acting as a syntactic argument (513b). Like a relative clause, a modifying nominalized clause can appear either following its nominal head as in (513a) or preceding it as in (514):

- (514) tiləb ?ugʷəxagʷil ti?=? tusčəba?s kʷagʷičəd
 tiləb ?u-gʷəx-agʷil ti?=? tu=s=čəba?=s kʷagʷičəd
 suddenly PFV-get.loose-AUTO PROX PAST=NM=laden=3PO elk
 ‘suddenly the elk that he'd carried on his back got loose’
 (Hess 1998: 87, line 253)

In this example, the nominalized clause *tusčəba?s* ‘what he'd been carrying on his back’ precedes its modificand, *kʷagʷičəd* ‘elk’, which corresponds to the oblique object of the bivalent intransitive verb *čəba?* ‘be loaded down with something’.

The second function of the *s*=nominalizer is to form *sentential nominals* (Beck 2000a), nominalizations of entire clauses whose reference is the event rather than a particular event-participant. Compare the nominalized clauses in (509) with those in (515):

- (515) a. tul't'aq't ti?=? su?əλ' ?ə ti?=? qʷu?
 tul't'aq't ti?=? s=?u-?əλ' ?ə ti?=? qʷu?
 waterward PROX NM=PFV-come PR PROX water
 ‘the coming of the water is waterward’
 (Hess 1998: 69, line 108)

- b. ?əsluud əlgʷə? ti?iɬ suɬ'əladi?s ?al kʷədi? t'aq't
 ?əs-luh-d əlgʷə? ti?iɬ s=?u-ɬ'əladi?=s ?al kʷədi? t'aq't
 STAT-heard-ICS PL DIST NM=PFV-make.noise=3PO at REM:DMA inland
 'they heard her making noise over there on shore'
 (Hess 2006: 17, line 134)

The nominalized clauses in these examples refer to entire events — the coming of the water in (515a) and the making of a noise in (515b). In neither case is the reference of the nominalized clause an argument of the verb (cf. (509), where the nominalized clause refers to an oblique argument of the verb). The syntactic role taken by such sentential nominals is restricted largely to that of syntactic argument, as in the examples in (515), or as the object of a preposition in an adverbial phrase (Section 8.2.7):

- (516) ?udzixč ?al ti?ə? tušołs hud
 ?u-dzixčič ?al ti?ə? tu=s=?u-šoł=s hud
 PFV-break.off•cover at PROX PAST=NM=PFV-make=3PO wood
 'he broke off the covering [i.e., cedar bark] when he was making firewood'
 (Hess 1998: 72, line 172)

As in (515), the reference of the nominalized clause here is the event, making firewood, rather than a particular event-participant. The contrast between an argument-centred headless relative clause, an argument-centred *s*=nominal, and a headless sentential nominal using *s*= is illustrated by the following pair of sentences:

- (517) a. ?ažadus əw'ə ti?ə? ?əslaħlil ?al ti?ə? di?ə? sbabdil
 ?ažadus əw'ə ti?ə? ?əs-laħlil ?al ti?ə? di?ə? sbabdil
 basket.ogress PTCL PROX STAT-live PR PROX here little.mountain
 'the one who lived in those little mountains was Basket Ogress'
 [AW Basket Ogress, line 44]

- b. sp'ic'ikʷ tə sda?̄s
 sp'ic'ikʷ tə s=da?̄=s
 Diaper.Child NSPEC NM=named=3PO
 'what he is named [is] Diaper Child'

[MW Star Child, line 118]

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: I think this is mis-analyzed. It is probably np-named-3po

- c. xʷi? ləha?kʷ ti?ə? səšlałlils
 xʷi? lə=ha?kʷ ti?ə? s=?əs-łallil=s
 NEG NEGP=be.long.time PROX NM=STAT-live=3PO
 ‘their living [together] has not for a long time’

(Hess 2006: 3, line 6)

In (517a), the referent of the headless relative clause, *ti?ə? ɬəšlałlil ?al ti?ə? di?ə? sbabdil* ‘the one who lived in those little mountains’ is its syntactic subject, *?ačadus* ‘Basket Ogress’. The referent of the *s*=nominal in (517b), *ta sda?*, however, is an oblique object of the verb *vda?* ‘be named something’, while in (517c), the nominalized clause refers to the event *səšlałlils* ‘their living there’. In these last two cases, the nominalizing proclitic *s*= is required. The same contrast is observed with transitive verbs such as *čalad* ‘chase something’:

- (518) a. wiw'su ti?ə? ?učalad ti?ə? sqʷəbay?
 wiw'su ti?ə? ?u-čala-d ti?ə? sqʷəbay?
 children PROX PFV-chased-ICS dog
 the ones the dog chased [are] the children’
 b. sqʷəbay? ti ?učalatəb ?ə ti?ił wiw'su
 sqʷəbay? ti ?u-čala-t-əb ?ə ti?ił wiw'su
 dog SPEC PFV-chased-ICS-PASS PR DIST children
 the one who was chased by the children [is] the dog’

(Hess 1995: 99)

- c. ?osxicil ti?ił č'x'a? ?ə ti?ił sučalads ti?ił sbiaw
 ?os-xic-il ti?ił č'x'a? ?ə ti?ił s=?u-čala-d=s ti?ił sbiaw
 STAT-angry-INCH DIST stone PR DIST NM=PFV-chased-ICS=3PO DIST coyote
 ‘Stone was angry as he chased Coyote’

(Hess 1995: 148, line 30)

Again, the desired reference for the headless relative clauses in (518a) and (b) are the subjects of the embedded clause, whereas the nominalized clause in (518c) refers to the whole event.

Although sentential nominals do not refer to event-participants, they are nonetheless nominals and fill the same nominal syntactic roles in sentences that headless relative clauses and oblique-centred *s*=nominals do — that is, as arguments of verbs and objects of prepositions. Both types of *s*=nominals also appear occasionally as sentence-predicates (see Section 8.3.1 below), particularly in conjunction with the focalizing element *dił* (11.2) and with verbs that take

subject-complements (8.2.5). Additionally, sentential nominals can act as adverbial clauses (9.5).

The reader is referred to the relevant sections for detailed discussion of these constructions.

7.4.2.2 *dəx^w=nominals*

The second nominalizing proclitic, *dəx^w=*, is used primarily for the nominalization of adjunct and circumstantial expressions, particularly (but not exclusively), instruments, locations, motivations, and manners, and will be referred to here as an *adjunctive nominalizer*. Like *s=nominals*, *dəx^w=* creates nominal expressions with the same distribution as relative and headless relative clauses. The following examples illustrate adjunctive nominals referring to instruments in the syntactic roles of predicate complement (519a) and relative clause (519b):

- (519) a. gʷəl dił dəxʷšəłtəbiłədtubs

gʷəl dił dəxʷ=šəł-təbiłəd-txʷ-b=s
then FOC ADNM=make-rope-ECS-PASS=3PO
'then these were made into rope'

(Hess 1998: 80, line 81)

- b. kʷədad ti?ə? qʷu? dəxʷuc'agʷači?bs ?ə ti?ə? sbałs

kʷəda-d ti?ə? qʷu? dəxʷ=?u-c'agʷ-ači?-b=s ?ə ti?ə? s=bał=s
taken-ICS PROX water ADNM=PFV-wash-hand-MD=3PO PR PROX NM=cure=3PO
'he took some water that he washed his hands with for the curing ceremony'¹⁴³

(Hess 1998: 57, line 36)

The examples in (520) show adjunctive nominals expressing locations, used as an argument and the object of a preposition, respectively:

- (520) a. hay gʷəl təhuuyutəbəxʷ č'it ti?ił dəxʷ?ibəš čəł

hay gʷəl təhu=huuyu-t-əb=əxʷ č'it ti?ił dəxʷ=?ibəš čəł
INTJ then IRR=be.done-ICS-PASS=now nearby DIST ADNM=travel 1PL.PO
'and then where we are traveling [to] will be made near'

(Hess 1995: 147, line 10)

¹⁴³ This sentence appears in the original source with an editorial amendment of *ti?ił* 'distal determiner' inserted between *qʷu?* 'water' and the nominalized clause. This word is not on the original recording and the sentence is correct without it. The form given here corresponds more closely to the structure of the English gloss.

- b. hay gʷəl bəłčiləxʷ dxʷ-al ti?ił bədəxʷłčils
 hay gʷəl bə=łčil=əxʷ dxʷ-?al ti?ił bə=dəxʷ=łčil=s
 INTJ then ADD=arrive=now CNTRPT-at DIST ADD=ADNM=arrive=3PO
 'and then he arrived at where he arrived'
 (Hess 1998: 66, line 22)

These last two types of adjunctive nominals are the most noun-like in the sense that their referents are physical entities (objects and locations). However, *dəxʷ=* is also used to form a wide variety of other expressions, one of the most common being expressions of motive:

- (521) a. stiłd čəł ti dəgʷi ti?ił dəxʷuwiliqʷid čəł
 s=tił-d čəł ti dəgʷi ti?ił dəxʷ=?u-wiliqʷi-d čəł
 NM=give.food-ICS 1PL.PO SPEC you DIST ADNM=question-ICS 1PL.PO
 'the reason that we questioned you [is] that we are giving you this food'¹⁴⁴
 (Hess 1998: 80, line 69)

- b. ?a ti?ił adəxʷłčəł, ḫənimulica?
 ?a ti?ił ad=dəxʷ=łčəł ḫənimulica?
 be.there DIST 2SG.PO=ADNM=sick ḫənimulica?
 'there is a reason that you are sick, ḫənimulica?'

(Hess 1998: 57, line 26)

In both of these sentences, the adjunctive nominal serves as the syntactic subject.

Another type of adjunctive nominal expresses manner:

- (522) a. gʷəl dił ti?ə? cəxʷkʷədxʷ ti?ə? ds?əłəd
 gʷəl dił ti?ə? d=dəxʷ=kʷəd-dxʷ ti?ə? d=s=?əłəd
 then FOC PROX 1SG.PO=ADNM=take-DC PROX 1SG.PO=NM=eat
 'than how I managed to get my food was that [way]'
 (Hess 1998: 83, line 164)

- b. hay, dił dəxʷhuyuds ?ušəbabdxʷ tsi?ə? ?alš ?ə ti?ə? su?əładəps
 hay dił dəxʷ=huyu-d=s ?ušəbabdxʷ tsi?ə? ?alš ?ə
 INTJ FOC ADNM=be.done-ICS=3PO poor.dear PROX:FEM cross.sex.sibling PR
 ti?ə? s=?u-?əładəp=s
 PROX NM=PFV-give.feast=3PO
 'so, that is how he made his sister poor when she gave a feast'

(Hess 1998: 63, line 66)

¹⁴⁴ This sentence appears in (Hess 1998) without the initial *s*=nominalizer on the sentence predicate *tiłd* 'give food'.

In the first sentence here, the clausal nominal serves as the syntactic subject of the copula *dit*, while in the second it serves as the complement of the same element (see Sections 8.2.5 and 11.2 below for discussion of these structures).

A less commonly-attested use of adjunctive nominals is to indicate purpose:

- (523) a. huy, huyudəx^w ti?it s̥ət dəx^w?al k^wi dəx^w̥ət ?o ts?i?o? ?alšs
 huy huyu=d-əx^w ti?it s̥ət dəx^w-?al k^wi dəx^w=̥ət
 INTJ be.done=ICS-now DIST NP-sick CNTRPT-at REM ADNM=sick
 ?o ts?i?o? ?alš-s
 PR PROX:FEM cross.sex.sibling-3PO
 ‘then he made a sickness so his sister got sick’
 (Hess 1998: 56, line 16)
- b. ... t̥uacəx^wt̥iltx^w dəx^w?al k^wsi adčəg^was ?i k^wi adbədbəda?
 t̥u=ad=dəx^w=t̥il-tx^w dəx^w-?al k^wsi ad-čəg^was
 IRR=2SG.PO=ADNM-arrive-ECS CNTRPT-at REM:FEM 2SG.PO-wife
 ?i k^wi ad-bəd-bəda?
 and REM 2SG.PO=DSTR-offspring
 ‘[you will pack it] so that you can bring it to your wife and children’
 (Hess 1998: 86, line 237)

In such expressions, the adjunctive nominal is accompanied by the preposition *dəx^w?al*, whose meaning ‘towards, motion to’ undoubtedly contributes to the purposive reading.

Even less frequent are adjunctive nominals that have a temporal reading:

- (524) hay, g^wəl, diłəx^w tudəx^wk^wədatəbsəx^w ti?o? cədił č'ət̥x
 hay g^wəl dił=dəx^w tu=dəx^w=k^wəda=t-əb=s=əx^w ti?o? cədił č'ət̥x
 INTJ then FOC=now PAST=ADNM=take-ICS-PASS=3PO=now PROX he kingfisher
 ‘well and then that is when they [almost] caught Kingfisher’
 (Hess 2006: 20, line 207)

The temporal aspect of such expressions may be as much as artefact of translation as the semantics of the expression (cf. the alternate translations as locatives “... where they caught Kingfisher,” “... the point at which they caught Kingfisher”). Alternatively, the few uses of *dəx^w=* in temporal contexts may represent a metaphorical extension from the more common

locative spatial usage into time. There are no more than a handful of such expression in the texts and so the temporal uses of adjunctive nominals appears to be a marginal function at best.

8 Predicative expressions

8.1 Grammatical relations

Like other Salishan languages, Lushootseed distinguishes three major argument types or grammatical relations in a clause — the two “direct” or “nuclear” arguments, subject and direct object, and a third argument type, the oblique object. The latter are realized by NPs or pronouns introduced by the “empty” preposition *?o*, whereas the former — subject and direct object — are realized either by means of bare noun phrases (that is, NPs introduced only by a determiner) or by person-markers which distinguish between the grammatical relations of subjects and direct objects as well as distinguishing different types of clauses. From a typological point of view these person-markers are interesting in that they seem to be intermediate in their properties between pronouns and agreement markers. Although they are clearly anaphora, they seem not to be pronouns in that their distribution does not parallel that of nouns (as opposed to the independent pronouns discussed in Section 2.7.1 above). Unlike agreement markers in most languages, the Lushootseed person markers do not co-occur with overt NP or pronominal arguments, as shown for the second-person singular object marker *-bicid* in the following example:

- (525) a. day' čəxʷ ɬu=?əλ' dxʷ?al ti?ił d?al?al čəda ɬu=?əłtubicid
day' čəxʷ ɬu=?əλ' dxʷ?al ti?ił d?al?al čəda
only 2SG.SUB IRR=come CNTRPT-at DIST 1SG.PO-house 1SG.COORD

ɬu=?əł-txʷ-bicid
IRR=eat-ECS-2SG.OBJ
'after a while you will come to my house and I will feed you'
(Hess 1998)
- b. ?i; ɬukʷic'yid čəł ti dəgʷi
?i ɬu=kʷic'-yi-d čəł ti dəgʷi
INTJ IRR=butcher-DAT-ICS 1PL.SUB SPEC you
'indeed, we will butcher it for you'
(Hess 1998)

By far the most typical manner of expressing the objects of transitive verbs is that illustrated in (525a), where the object is expressed only by an object-marking suffix. In sentences with first- or second-person objects represented by independent pronouns such as (525b), the corresponding object-marker is absent. If object-markers are to be treated as agreement, they would have to be treated as “deep” agreement with syntactic elements that are elided in the final surface form of the sentence and which are in complementary distribution with overtly realized objects (cf. the proposal in Hukari 1976). The same is true of subject-markers in matrix clauses and of first- and second-person subject clitics in subjunctive subordinate clauses, although third-person subject clitics in subjunctive subordinate clauses do co-occur with overt NP subjects — see example (533c) below. Likewise, third-person subjects of nominalized clauses, expressed morphologically by the third-person possessive suffix (Table 77), regularly co-occur with overt NP subjects/possessors in certain constructions. First- and second-person possessive subjects co-occurring with personal pronouns are not attested in the corpus to date.

As a result of these rather heterogeneous patterns, Lushootseed person-markers are (with a few exceptions) in complementary rather than overlapping distribution with overt nominal and pronominal arguments, and clauses with overt subjects and objects follow distinctly different syntactic patterns than those containing subject- and object-markers. Because of this, the different realizations of arguments will be dealt with separately, beginning with a discussion of subject-markers in Section 8.1.1 and object-markers in Section 8.1.2 and then moving on to a discussion of NP subjects and objects in Section 8.1.3. Section 8.1.6 ends the discussion of grammatical relations with an examination of oblique objects.

8.1.1 Subject-markers

Subjects of both transitive and intransitive (non=nominalized) verbs in Lushootseed are marked by one of five series of person-markers — matrix, co-ordinate, subjunctive, possessive,

or imperative — depending on the syntactic status of the clause. In matrix clauses, subject-markers are drawn from the set of elements given in Table 79:

	SG	PL
1	čəd	čəł
2	čəxʷ	čəłəp
3		Ø

Table 79: Matrix clause subject markers

Their use is exemplified in the following examples:

- (526) a. ?ugʷəč'əd čəd ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-gʷəč'-əd čəd ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-search-ICS 1SG.SUB SPEC dog
 'I looked for the dog'
- b. ?ugʷəč'əd čəł ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-gʷəč'-əd čəł ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-search-ICS 1PL.SUB SPEC dog
 'we looked for the dog'
- c. ?ugʷəč'əd čəxʷ ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-gʷəč'-əd čəxʷ ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-search-ICS 2SG.SUB SPEC dog
 'you_{SG} looked for the dog'
- d. ?ugʷəč'əd čəłəp ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-gʷəč'-əd čəłəp ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-search-ICS 2PL.SUB SPEC dog
 'you_{PL} looked for the dog'
- e. ?ugʷəč'əd ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-gʷəč'-əd Ø ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-search-ICS 3SUB SPEC dog
 'she/he/they looked for the dog'

(Hess 1995: 10, ex. a – e)

Any matrix clause lacking an overt subject marker (or an overt subject NP) is obligatorily interpreted as having a third-person subject co-referent with the current discourse topic (Section 11.2.2), making both the third-person singular and plural matrix subject-marker an analytical zero.¹⁴⁵ The neutralization of the singular/plural distinction in the third person is entirely

¹⁴⁵ Unlike many other Salishan languages, Lushootseed has no special marker for third-person subjects in transitive matrix clauses. Compare the Lummi example in (i) to the Lushootseed sentence in (526e):

consistent with the general Lushootseed treatment of nominal number. When is it considered essential by the speaker to indicate the plurality of a third-person subject, the plural particle *əlgʷə?* is used:

- (527) gʷəxalijəd əlgʷə?
 gʷəx-alič-əd əlgʷə?
 unwrap–bundle–ICS PL
 ‘they unwrapped it’

(Hess 1998: 82, line 129)

The same particle is used optionally to express the plurality of objects (Section 8.1.2) and subjects in other types of non-matrix clause.

The matrix subject-markers are used with all types of main clause, irrespective of the lexical class of the predicate:

- (528) a. xʷakʷwiləxʷ čəd
 xʷakʷwil=əxʷ čəd
 tired=now 1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m tired now’

(Hess 1995: 148, line 39)

- b. tukʷič’id čət ti?it kʷagʷičəd
 tukʷič’i-d čət ti?it kʷagʷičəd
 IRR=butcher–ICS 1PL.SUB this elk
 ‘we will butcher this elk’

(Hess 1998: 80, line 67)

Lummi

- (i) xči-t-s cə swəy?qə? cə swi?qo?ət
 know-TR-3 the the boy
 ‘the man knows the boy’

(Jelinek & Demers 1983: 168)

In addition to the absence of a third-person subject suffix on the verb, Lushootseed also differs from Lummi in that its syntax prohibits the realization of the subject NP in transitive clauses (see Section 8.2.2 for detailed discussion).

- c. skəyu čəd
 skəyu čəd
 ghost 1SG.SUB
 'I'm a ghost'

(Hess 1998: 94, line 98)

In the first example here, the predicate of the sentence is an intransitive verb, *xʷakʷiləxʷ* 'be tired', while in (528b) the predicate is a transitive verb, *kʷicʷid* 'butcher', and in (c) the predicate is a noun, *skəyu* 'ghost, corpse'.

As in many Coast Salishan languages, the matrix subject-markers are sentence-second (S2) particles. Thus, they typically follow the clausal predicate, as in (528), but may precede a verbal predicate when the clause contains an adverbial or other qualifying element:

- (529) cickʷ čəd ?əxʷ?učʷəb
 cickʷ čəd ?əs-dxʷ-?učʷ-ab
 very 1SG.SUB STAT-CTD-go-DSD
 'I very much want to go'

(Hess 1995: 90)

When another S2 particle appears in the same clause with a subject-marker, the subject marker generally precedes it and both precede the predicate, although there are some exceptions. The relative ordering of S2 particles will be discussed in more detail in Section 8.2.2.

The requirement for the matrix subject-marker to appear in sentence-second position also applies to subjects of multi-word non-verbal predicates:

- (530) a. tulʷal čəd sqajət
 tulʷal čəd sqajət
 from 1SG.SUB Skagit
 'I [am] from Skagit' (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 6)

- b. t̥uhikʷ čəd stubš t̥uluλ' iləd
 t̥u=hikʷ čəd stubš t̥u=luλ'-il=əd
 IRR=big 1SG.SUB man IRR=old-INCH=1SG.SBJ
 'I will be a big man when I grow old'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 109)

In example (530a), the first-person *čəd* appears inside the prepositional phrase, *tulʷal sqajət* 'from Skagit' while in (b) the person-marker separates the modifier *hikʷ* 'big' from its

modificand, *stubš* ‘man’, head of the nominal predicate, *hikʷ stubš* ‘big man’.¹⁴⁶ This is unusual from a syntactic perspective in that the subject-marker interrupts the constituency of the predicate phrase.

The second set of person-markers, the coordinate subject markers, is used in the second (and subsequent) clauses of coordinate structures. These are given in Table 80:

	SG	PL
1	<i>čəd</i>	<i>čəł</i>
2	<i>čəxʷ</i>	<i>čəłəp</i>
3		Ø

Table 80: Coordinate subject markers

While these are clearly derived diachronically from the matrix-subject markers in Table 79, the formative suffix *-a* is not found in other parts of the grammar or used with coordinate NP subjects, leading to the treatment of these elements as a separate series. The coordinate subject markers are used in sentences such as those in (531):

- (531) a. Ł'ub čəł ?uhudčup čla ?ukʷukʷcut
 Ł'ub čəł ?u-hud•čup čla ?u-kʷukʷcut
 well 1PL.SUB PFV-wood•fire 1PL.COORD PFV-cook
 ‘we should make a fire and cook’

(Hess 1995: 114)

- b. Łuhuyud čəł čla ləs̥qaličtxʷ čxʷa Łut'ukʷ-txʷ
 Łu-huyu-d čəł čla ləs̥-xq•alič-txʷ^w
 IRR-be.done-ICS 1PL.SUB 1PL.COORD PROG.STAT-bound•bundle-ECS
 čxʷa Łu=t'ukʷ-txʷ
 2SG.COORD IRR=go.home-ECS
 ‘we will fix it up and have it packaged and you will take it home’

(Hess 1998: 80, line 68)

Unlike the matrix subject-markers, the coordinate markers appear in front of their predicate, on the left edge of the clause.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ The placement of the unrealis prefix on the modifier, rather than the predicate head, is discussed in Section 3.1.

¹⁴⁷ As noted by Hess (1993: 146), this may indicate that the previous coordinate in the sentence in some sense “counts” as an element of the following clause, thereby requiring that the person-marker appear in its expected second position, although this is a somewhat novel situation in that it implies that the rightmost — rather than the leftmost — constituent is the head of the coordinate construction, in some sense “containing” the preceding clauses.

The third set of subject markers are used in certain types of subordinate clauses which are commonly termed in Salishan studies *conjunctive clauses* (Thompson & Thompson 1992; Bates 1997a; Kroeber 1999). The term conjunctive, however, is somewhat unfortunate in that it implies a coordinative function that these elements do not have, and which is in fact filled by the coordinate subject-markers just discussed. Instead, these markers are associated with subordinate clauses in a particular mood which corresponds (as also noted for Lushootseed by Hess and Hilbert 1976 and for Salishan in general by Kroeber 1999) in some respects to the subjunctive mood in Indo-European languages. Hence, I will instead adopt the term *subjunctive subordinate clause* (see Section 9.3), and refer to these markers as *subjunctive subject clitics*. These markers, while obviously etymologically related to the other two series, are quite distinct on a number of counts, reflecting their origins in a different part of the Proto-Salishan person-marking system than the matrix-subject series (Kroeber 1999; Davis 2000). The most obvious difference is that the subjunctive person-markers are bound enclitics rather than S2 particles, and each has two allomorphs; these are given in Table 81:¹⁴⁸

	SG	PL
1	=ad / =əd	=ati / =əti
2	=axʷ / =əxʷ	=aləp / =ələp
3	=as / =əs	

Table 81: Subjunctive subject clitics

The *a*-allomorphs occur when the clitic receives stress — that is, in those cases where they appear on a stem containing only schwa vowels:

- (532) a. *tuʔəłtxʷas ti ?aciłtalbixʷ*
tu=ʔəł-txʷ=as ti ?aciłtalbixʷ
 IRR=feed-ECS=3SBJ SPEC person
 ‘when/if she feeds the people’

¹⁴⁸ The first-person plural clitic given in Table 81 is a Northern Lushootseed form; in Southern Lushootseed the form is =*at̪ cəł*.

- b. *tu?*əħtubəs ti ?aciħtalbix^w
 *tu=?*əħ-tx^w-b=əs ti ?aciħtalbix^w
 IRR=feed-ECS-PASS=3SBJ SPEC person
 ‘when/if the people feed her’

(Hess 1995: 109)

The schwa forms occur when the clitic is added to a stem containing a non-schwa vowel (in which case stress falls on the leftmost non-schwa vowel in the stem), as shown in (533):

- (533) a. ħ'uhiiħ čət tu?uk^wuk^wəħi
 ħ'u=hiiħ čət *tu=?uk^wuk^w=əħi*
 IRR=happy 1PL.SUB IRR=play=1PL.SBJ
 ‘we are usually happy when we play’
- b. ?ut'iwiħtx^w čəd tuq'ilidəs
 ?u=t'iwiħtx^w čəd *tu=q'ili-d=əs*
 PFV-thank 1SG.SUB IRR=aboard-ICS=3SBJ
 ‘I asked him to give her a ride’

(Hess 1995: 71, ex. 3 – 4)

- c. xʷul' čəd gʷəqʷiqʷəbqʷəbay?cut gʷə=?əħ'as kʷi tubšədə?
 xʷul' čəd gʷə=qʷi-qʷəb-qʷəbay?-t-sut gʷə=?əħ'as kʷi tubšədə?
 just 1SG.SUB SBJ=ATTN-DSTR-bark-ICS=REFL SBJ=come=3SBJ REM warrior
 ‘I would just make myself sound like a dog if the warriors came’

(Bates 1997a: 320)

- d. ?əsħəc gʷəxʷit'iləs əlgʷə?
 ?əs-ħəc gʷə=xʷit'il-əs əlgʷə?
 STAT-afraid SBJ=fall-3SBJ PL
 ‘he is afraid they will fall’

(Hess 1967a: 76)

The subjunctive person-marker series differs from the matrix and coordinate series in that it has an overt third-person form (533b) which co-occurs with subject NPs (533c). As with matrix subjects, plural number for third-persons is optionally marked with the plural particle *əlgʷə?* (533d).

Like the matrix person-markers, the subjunctive clitics gravitate to second position in the sentence; however, unlike sentence-second particles, the subjunctive person-markers are bound enclitics that become phonologically dependent on the immediately preceding word:

- (534) a. *gʷəckʷaqidələp gʷučaləc*
gʷə=ckʷaqid=ələp gʷə-?u-čala-t-s
 SBJ=always=2PL.SBJ SBJ=PFV-chased-ICS-1OBJ
 if you folks always chase me'

(Hess 1967a: 52)

- b. *tučʷəxʷ stab gʷəl ?aləs tadi? siq'gʷas ?ə tə šəgʷt*
tučʷ=əxʷ stab gʷəl ?al=əs tadi? s-siq'•gʷas ?ə tə šəgʷt
 just=now what SCONJ at=3SBJ DIST.DMA NP=spread•pair PR NSPEC path
 '(they) are just where there is a fork in the path over there'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 99]

In the first example here, the subjunctive person marker appears in a clause introduced by an adverb, *ckʷaqid* ‘always’; because the adverb is clause-initial, the person-marker appears encliticized to this word rather than to the verb, thus maintaining sentence-second position. Similarly, the sentence in (534b) illustrates the same phenomenon with a clause predicated on a prepositional phrase. In this case, the person-clitic appears bound to the preposition, the initial element in the PP, creating a discontinuous constituent.

As shown in (535), when the person-markers co-occur with the bound enclitic =*axʷ* (Section 3.1.1), =*axʷ* precedes the subjunctive person-marker.

- (535) a. *huy xʷuʔələ? cutəbəxʷ ?ə tiʔə? təkʷtekʷəlus tsiʔə? čəgʷas gʷəλ'uhəʔliʔəxʷəs*
huy xʷuʔələ? cut-t-əb-əxʷ ?ə tiʔə? təkʷtekʷəlus tsiʔə?
 SCONJ maybe speak-ICS-PASS-now PR PROX owl PROX:FEM
čəgʷas-s gʷə=λ'u=haʔliʔiʔəxʷ=əs
 wife-3PO SBJ=HAB=stop.crying•child=now=3SBJ
 ‘then Owl must have told his wife that she should tend to the baby.’

(Hess 2006: 4, line 24)

- b. ... *gʷəʔučʷəxʷəhi*
gʷə=?učʷ=əxʷ=əhi
 SBJ=go=now=1PL.SBJ
 ‘... if we go now’

(Hess 1995: 70)

Combined with the attraction of the subjunctive person-markers to sentence-second position, this is good evidence that they are best considered clitics associated with the predication at the clausal level rather than as word-level markers of inflectional agreement.

The fourth series of subject-markers are homophonous with the possessive markers introduced in Table 77 in Section 7.2 above:

	SG	PL
1	<i>d</i> =	<i>čəł</i>
2	<i>ad</i> =	<i>=lap</i>
3		<i>=s</i>

Table 82: Possessive subject-clitics

These markers are used for the subjects of nominalized clauses such as those in (536):

- (536) a. tul'čad kʷi adsu?ibəš, sgʷəlub

tul'-čad kʷi ad=s=?u-?ibəš sgʷəlub
from-where REM 2SG.PO=NFM-PFV-travel pheasant
'Where are you traveling from, Pheasant?'

(Hess 1998: 79, line 43)

- b. hikʷ kʷagʷičəd ti?ił səstħild čəł ti dəgʷi

hikʷ kʷagʷičəd ti?ił s=?əs-ħil-d čəł ti dəgʷi
big elk DIST NM=STAT-give.food-ICS 1PL.PO SPEC you
'our gift of food to you [is] a big elk'

(Hess 1998: 81, line 110)

- c. ti?ił ?al?als λ'udəxʷ?uχʷs ?al ti?ił pədt'əs

ti?ił ?al?als λ'u=dəxʷ=?uχʷ=s ?al ti?ił pədt'əs
DIST house-3PO HAB=NFM=go=3PO PR DIST winter
'his house where he would go in the winter'

(Hess 1995: 143, line 7)

- d. tul'čad kʷi skʷədxʷs əlgʷə?

tul'čad kʷi s=kʷəd-dxʷ=s əlgʷə?
from-where REM NM=take-DC=3PO PL
'from where did they manage to get it?'

(Hess 1998: 83, line 160)

As seen in these examples, the possessive subject markers — including the first-person plural possessive clitic *čəł* borrowed from the matrix-subject series (536b) — are used for the subjects of clauses bearing the nominalizing proclitics *s*= (536a – b) and *dəxʷ*= (536c). When it is essential to mark the plurality of the third-person subject, the plural particle *əlgʷə?* is used, as it is when marking other types of third-person plural subjects (see 527 and 533d above) and possessors (457).

The fact that the possessive subject markers are S2 clitics rather than affixes is shown by the examples in (537) (see also the examples in 511 above):

- (537) tu^χ^w čəł̥ xəλ̥'tx^w k^wi sλ̥'ubləp ?əsq^wib ...
 tu^χ^w čəł̥ xəλ̥'-tx^w k^wi s=λ̥'ub=ləp ?əs-q^wib
 PTCL 1PL.SUB desire-ECS REM NM=well=2PL.PO STAT-prepared
 'we want you guys to be well-prepared ...'
 (Hess 2006: 74, line 759)

In this example, the clause λ̥'ub čəł̥ap ?əsq^wib 'you guys are well-prepared' appears as a subordinate clause nominalized by the proclitic *s*=. As a result of being nominalized, it requires the possessive subject-marking enclitic =ləp, which appears (along with the nominalizing proclitic) on the first element in the subordinate clause, the adverb λ̥'ub 'well', rather than on the head the verb phrase, *q^wib* 'prepared'. As with the nominalizer *s*= and the subjunctive proclitic *g^wə*=, the possessive subject-markers are another example of morphemes that have parallels on both the lexical and the phrasal level. Further evidence that the possessive subject markers are clitics can also be seen in the variable ordering of the third-person clitic =s relative to the bound enclitic =ax^w, discussed in Section *.*.

As noted earlier in Section 7.4.2, third-person subjects of nominalized clause have the same range of possible expressions as do third-person possessors:

- (538) a. tułəg^wč̥ čəł̥ ?al ti λ̥'usəs?itut^s
 tułəg^wč̥ čəł̥ ?al ti λ̥'u=s-?əs-?itut=s
 IRR=leave 1PL.SUB at SPEC HAB=NM-STAT-sleep=3PO
 'we will leave while he sleeps'

(Hess 1998: 101, line 271)

- b. dił̥ day' λ̥'usc^t?o ti?ił̥ sčətx^wəd
 dił̥ day' λ̥'u=s=cut ?o ti?ił̥ sčətx^wəd
 FOC only HAB=NM=say PR DIST bear
 'that was Black Bear's habitual saying'

(Hess 1995: 145, line 47)

(538a) shows the subject realized as the third-person possessive suffix, -s, while in (538b) the subject is an overt NP, *ti?ił̥ sčətx^wəd* 'that black bear' is expressed by a periphrastic possessive

construction (cf. (456) above). This is the preferred form for the expression of the subject of a nominalized clause; however, the possessive subject clitics can co-occur with overt third-person subjects, as in (539) (cf. 455):

- (539) a. stab k^wi suhuyitəbs ti adbad ti?i[‡] č'ač'as
 stab k^wi s=?u-huy-yi-t-əb=s ti ad-bad ti?i[‡] č'ač'as
 what REM NM=PFV-be.done-DAT-ICS-PASS=3PO SPEC 2SG.PO=father DIST child
 ‘what is your father making for that boy?’

(Hess 1995: 106)¹⁴⁹

- b. díłəx^w ti?i[‡] dəx^wəsluutəbs tsi?i[‡] cədił diver, x^wu?x^wəy?
 dít=əx^w ti?i[‡] dəx^w=?os-lu-t-əb=s tsi?i[‡] cədił
 FOC=now DIST ADNM=STAT-be.heard-ICS-PASS=3PO DIST:FEM her
 diver x^wu?x^wəy?
 diver helldiver
 ‘that is the way that Helldiver sounds’

(Hess 2006: 13, line 57)

The pattern in (539a) seems to be the required one for nominalized passive constructions, and it seems to be limited largely to these, at least for *s=nominals*. Clausal nominals formed with *dəx^w=*, however, can take this form even in the active voice:

- (540) g^wəl təł bił'il ti?i[‡] tudəx^wučaabəsəx^w tsi?i[‡] cədił s?ušəbabdx^w
 g^wəl təł bił'-il ti?i[‡] tu=dəx^w=?u-čaab=s=əx^w tsi?i[‡] cədił
 then truly crushed-INCH DIST PAST=ADNM=PFV-cry=3PO DIST:FEM she
 s?ušəbabdx^w
 poor.dear

‘then he truly got squashed, which is why the poor dear was crying’
 (Hess 1998: 72, line 173)

This pattern may represent something of an archaism, given that the same pattern in ordinary possessive constructions has been supplanted by the periphrastic construction in (456) and (539b).

¹⁴⁹ The analysis of this sentence presented here differs from that presented in Hess (1993), which analyzes the third-person possessive suffix -s on the verb as cross-referencing the clefted oblique object, *stab*, which is the THEME of the embedded clause. However, since the direct object of an applicative verb such as *huyid* ‘make something for someone’ is the RECIPIENT rather than the THEME, we would expect the RECIPIENT, *ti?i[‡] č'ač'as* ‘the boy’, to be the subject of the passive — and, therefore, the argument cross-referenced by the possessive subject-marker.

The final subject paradigm is the imperative subject paradigm, which has values only for the second person:

	SG	PL
2	Ø	ti

Table 83: Imperative subject markers

This paradigm presents a simple contrast between a zero singular and an overt plural, as shown in the sentences in (541):

(541) a. *lilcut*

lil-t-sut	Ø
far-ICS-REFL	2SG.IMP
'go away!'	

(Hess 1998: 83, line 152)

b. *lilcut ti*

lil-t-sut	ti
far-ICS-REFL	2PL.IMP
'go away, you guys!'	

(Hess 1998: 93, line 60)

Because the singular member of the paradigm is zero and second-person plural imperatives are textually infrequent (and possibly pragmatically dispreferred), little is currently known about the syntactic behaviour of the imperative subject clitics in the presence of preverbal elements such as adverbs and adverbial particles. It seems likely that they mimic the other subject-markers and would migrate to sentence-second position, but this will have to remain in the realm of conjecture until further examples are uncovered. Imperative constructions are discussed in detail in Section 8.5.

In summary, the five series of subject-markers are shown together in Table 84:

	MATRIX	COORDINATE	SUBJUNCTIVE	POSSESSIVE	IMPERATIVE
1SG	čəd	čəda	=ad	d=	—
1PL	čət	čla	=at	čət	—
2SG	čəxʷ	čxʷa	=axʷ	ad=	Ø
2PL	čələp	čələpa	=aləp	=ləp	ti
3	Ø	Ø	=as	=s	—

Table 84: Summary table of subject-markers

These markers are all clearly etymologically related and they have obvious cognates in other languages of the family. The history of the subject-markers in Salishan languages is discussed in a number of places in the literature, notably Newman (1969; 1977; 1979; 1980), Kroeber (1999), and Davis (2000).

8.1.2 Object-markers

Transitive verbs in Lushootseed are inflected for the person and (in first- and second-person) number of their direct objects. The object markers can be divided into two series, the *s*-series and the *b*-series,¹⁵⁰ one associated with verb stems formed with the [-*t*], [-*d*], and [-*əd*] allomorphs of the internal causative suffix, the other associated with stems formed with the other valency-increasing morphemes, -*txʷ*, -*dxʷ*, and -*s/-c*, as well as the [-*s̥*] allomorph of the internal causative. The two series of object markers are given in Table 85:

	<i>s</i> -series	<i>b</i> -series
1SG	- <i>s</i>	- <i>b̥s̥</i>
2SG	- <i>sid</i>	- <i>bicid</i>
1PL	- <i>ubut</i>	- <i>but</i>
2PL	- <i>ubutəd</i>	- <i>butəd</i>
3	Ø	Ø

Table 85: Object-markers

Example forms for *s*-series object-markers are given in (542):

- | | |
|--|---|
| (542) a. ?ukʷədac
?u-kʷəda-t-s
PFV–grab–ICS–1SG.OBJ
's/he grabbed me' | b. ?ukʷədacid
?u-kʷəda-t-sid
PFV–grab–ICS–2SG.OBJ
's/he grabbed you' |
| c. ?ukʷədatubuł
?u-kʷəda-t-ubuł
PFV–grab–ICS–1PL.OBJ
's/he grabbed us' | d. ?ukʷədatubułəd
?u-kʷəda-t-ubułəd
PFV–grab–ICS–2PL.OBJ
's/he grabbed you guys' |
| e. ?ukʷədad
?u-kʷəda-t-Ø
PFV–grab–ICS–3SG.OBJ
'she/he/they grabbed him/her/it/them' | f. ?ukʷədad čəd
?u-kʷəda-t-Ø
PFV–grab–ICS–3SG.OBJ
1SG.SUB
'I grabbed him/her/it/them' |

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Montler's (1996) S-object versus M-object distinction in Klallam.

As seen in (542a) and (b), the first- and second-person markers undergo phonological fusion with the transitivizing suffix whereby a /t + s/ sequence becomes a single phoneme, /c/.

The *b*-series object-markers also interact with the final segment of their stems, the results in this case depending on what exactly that final segment is. With the allative applicative, -*s/-c*, *b*-series object-markers are accompanied most cases by schwa-epenthesis:

- (543) a. ?utəlawisəbš
 ?u–təlawil–s–bš
 PFV–run–ALTV–1SG.OBJ
 ‘s/he ran after me’
- b. ?utəlawisəbicid
 ?u–təlawil–s–bicid
 PFV–run–ALTV–2SG.OBJ
 ‘s/he ran after you’
- c. ?utəlawisəbu‡
 ?u–təlawil–s–bu‡
 PFV–run–ALTV–1PL.OBJ
 ‘s/he ran after us’
- d. ?utəlawisəbułəd
 ?u–təlawil–s–bułəd
 PFV–run–ALTV–2PL.OBJ
 ‘s/he ran after you guys’
- e. ?utəlawis
 ?u–təlawil–s–Ø Ø
 PFV–run–ALTV–3SG.OBJ 3SUB
 ‘she/he/they ran after him/her/it/them’
- f. ?utəlawis čəd
 ?u–təlawil–s–Ø Ø
 PFV–run–ALTV–3SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I ran after him/her/it/them’

When the stems ends in *-txʷ* or *-dxʷ*, the final consonant of the stem (that is, /xʷ/) becomes /u/:

- (544) a. ?ubəčdubš
 ?u–bəč–dxʷ–bš
 PFV–fall–DC–1SG.OBJ
 ‘s/he knocked me down’
- b. ?ubəčdubicid
 ?u–kʷəda–dxʷ–bicid
 PFV–grab–DC–2SG.OBJ
 ‘s/he knocked you down’
- c. ?ubəčdubu‡
 ?u–bəč–dxʷ–bu‡
 PFV–fall–DC–1PL.OBJ
 ‘s/he knocked us down’
- d. ?ubəčdubułəd
 ?u–bəč–dxʷ–bułəd
 PFV–fall–DC–2PL.OBJ
 ‘s/he knocked you guys down’
- e. ?ubačdxʷ
 ?u–bəč–dxʷ–Ø Ø
 PFV–fall–DC–3SG.OBJ 3SUB
 ‘she/he/they knocked him/her/it/them down’
- f. ?ubəčdxʷ čəd
 ?u–bəč–dxʷ–Ø Ø
 PFV–fall–DC–3SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I knocked him/her/it/them down’

Because of the interaction of the final /xʷ/ with the first- and second-person plural object-markers, these affixes become homophonous with the corresponding forms in the *s*-series.

Stems formed with the [-š] allomorph of the internal causative also interact morphophonemically with object-markers, /-š/ becoming /i/ and taking a marker from the *b*-series, as in the following examples:

- (545) a. ?ułalš čəł tsi kia?ləp
 ?u-łal-š čəł tsi kia?-ləp
 PFV-remove.from.fire-ICS 1PL.SUB SPEC:FEM grandmother-2PL.PO
 ‘we took your grandmother out of the fire’
- [AJ Basket Ogress, line 105]
- b. łalibš ɬi wiw’su
 łal-š-bš ɬi wiw’su
 remove.from.fire-ICS-1SG.OBJ 2PL.IMP children
 ‘get me out of the fire, children!’
- [AJ Basket Ogress, line 101]

For those stems with both an -š and a -d variant (Table 21), the *b*-series object forms are only found on the stem formed with the [-š] allomorph, while the other form takes regular *s*-series object-markers.

Unlike the subject-markers (discussed in Section 8.1.1 above), the object-markers are compatible with and invariant for all clause-types. Thus, they appear in the forms given in Table 85 in matrix clauses,

- (546) a. Łut’ukʷʷtubicid čəd
 Łu-t’ukʷʷ-txʷʷ-bicid čəd
 IRR-go.home-ECS-2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I will take you home’
- b. Łu?ułʷʷtubuł čəłəp ?u
 Łu=?ułʷʷ-txʷʷ-buł čəłəp ?u
 IRR=go-ECS-1PL.OBJ 2PL.SUB INT
 ‘will you guys take us?’
- c. Łu?ułʷʷtubš čəłəp ?u
 Łu=?ułʷʷ-txʷʷ-bs čəłəp ?u
 IRR=go-ECS-1SG.OBJ 2PL.SUB INT
 ‘will you guys take me?’

- d. **ɬut'ukʷtubuɬəd čəł**
 $\ddot{\text{t}}\text{u}=\text{t}'\text{uk}^w-\text{tx}^w-\text{buɬəd}$ čəł
 IRR=go.home-ECS-2PL.OBJ 1PL.SUB
 ‘we will take you guys home’

(Hess 1995: 41, ex. 5 – 8)

as well as in subjunctive subordinate clauses (9.3),

- (547) a. **?əs̥əc čəd gʷəlaɬdubšəs**
 ?əs-̥əc čəd gʷə=laɬ-du-bš=əs
 STAT-afraid 1SG.SUB SBJ=remember-DC-1SG.OBJ=3SG.SBJ
 ‘I’m afraid he might remember me’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)

- b. **ɬ'ub dxʷ?al ?əca gʷəgʷabicəxʷ**
 ɬ'ub Ø dxʷ?al ?əca gʷə=gʷah-bi-t-s=əxʷ
 good 3SG.SUB for me SBJ=accompany-MAP-ICS-1SG.OBJ=2SG.SBJ
 ‘it’s okay with me if you accompany me’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 39)

and nominalized clauses (548),

- (548) a. **xʷi? kʷi ɬadswəli?tubuɬ**
 xʷi? kʷi ɬu=ad=s=wəli?-t-ubuɬ
 NEG REM IRR=2SG.PO=NOM=reveal-ICS-1PL.OBJ
 ‘you will not reveal us’

(Bierwert 1996)

- b. ... **ɬuswəli?cid čəł dxʷ?al ti?iɬ adyəł'yelab**
 ɬu=s=wəli?-t-sid čəł dxʷ?-al ti?iɬ ad-yəł'-yelab
 IRR=NOM=reveal-ICS-2SG.OBJ 1PL.PO CNTRPT-at DIST 2SG.PO-PL-forebear
 ‘our revealing of you to your older relatives’

(Bierwert 1996: 189, line 130)

- c. ... **čad ?al kʷi ɬudsčisəbuɬəd**
 čad ?al kʷi ɬu=d=s=čil-s-buɬəd
 where at REM IRR=1SG.PO=NOM=arrive-ALTV-2SG.OBJ
 ‘where I will go to for you guys’

(Hess 2006: 68, line 627)

In addition to being used in all types of clause, the object-markers are freely combinable with all

logically possible persons and numbers of subjects, as illustrated in the examples given above.

This makes Lushootseed different from a number of other closely-related languages which have

restrictions — particularly with second-persons — as to permissible combinations of person and number of subjects and objects in transitive clauses (Jelinek & Demers 1983).

As with subject- and possessive-markers, objects do not obligatorily distinguish number in the third person. When it is considered necessary to do so by the speaker, the plural particle *əlgʷə?* is used:

- (549) ?əšudxʷ čəd əlgʷə?
 ?əs-šuł-dxʷ čəd əlgʷə?
 STAT-see-DC 1SG.SUB PL
 'I see them'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, p. 87)

The fact that the plural particle can serve equally to pluralize objects, subjects, and possessors argues against its inclusion as a member of any one in particular of these person-paradigms.

8.1.3 Reflexive-markers

Like the transitive object-markers, the reflexive marker is attached to transitivized stems and has two forms, *-sut* and *-but*, which are distributed according to the final element of the stem to which they are attached. For words ending in the transitivizer *-t*, the form is *-sut*, as in (550):

- (550) a. gʷəl ləqʷu?cut ?ə ti?ə? caadił
 gʷəl lə=qʷu?-t-sut ?ə ti?ə? caadił
 then PROG=gathered-ICS-REFL Pr this they
 'then he joined them' (lit. 'he gathers himself to them')

(Hess 1998: 79, line 41)

- b. ?ut'uc'ucut čəxʷ ?u
 ?u-t'uc'u-t-sut čəxʷ ?u
 PFV-be.shot-ICS-REFL 2SG.SUB INT
 'did you shoot yourself?'

(Hess 1995: 43, ex. 11b)

Because of the fusion of the reflexive marker with the internal causative suffix, the reflexive marker surfaces as [cut]. As expected, radicals such as *vt'uc* 'be shot' in (550b) undergo the same alternations in the reflexive as in the active form — thus, the internal causative form of *vt'uc* is *t'uc'ud* 'shoot something' and the reflexive form is *t'uc'ucut* 'shoot oneself'. There is,

however, one stem — *jíq'cut* ‘soak oneself’ (cf. *jíq'id* ‘soak something’) — which is attested without the harmonic vowel.

Words ending in the transitivizers other than the internal causative take the *-but* form of the suffix:¹⁵¹

- (551) ?u?əłtubut čəd
 ?u-?əł-txʷ-but čəd
 PFV-feed.on-ECS-REFL 1SG.SUB
 ‘I fed myself’

(Hess 1995: 43, ex. 10c)

As is to be expected, the application of the reflexive marker to a verb stem renders that stem intransitive, precluding the appearance of object-markers or the realization of a direct object.

In addition to its regular use as a true reflexive, the reflexive morpheme appears in a few idiomatic expressions affixed to bases that are not attested on their own as transitive stems. Two of these are given in (552):

- (552) a. tuwəli?il ti?ə? swatixʷtəd ti?ił, tə tudəxʷ?əy'cuts
 tu=wəli?-il ti?ə? swatixʷtəd ti?ił tə tu=dəxʷ=?əy'-t-sut=s
 PAST=visible-INCH PROX country PROX SPEC PAST=ADNM=found-ICS-REFL=3PO
 ‘the land there, where they found themselves, became visible’

(Hess 2006: 75, line 779)

- b. huy, dəgʷa?cut
 huy dəgʷa?-t-sut
 SCONJ expert-ICS-REFL
 ‘then he did something clever’

[DM Basket Ogress, line 20]

The form in (552a), *?əy'cut* ‘find oneself in a place’, appears to be the reflexive of the unattested form **?əy'əd* ‘find something’ (from the radical *ʷ?əy* ‘be found’; cf. *?əy'dxʷ* ‘find something’). Although it calques nicely into idiomatic English, *?əy'cut* is not a transparent use of the reflexive and needs to be treated as a phraseologized form. Similarly, the verb *dəgʷa?cut* ‘do something

¹⁵¹ Reflexive forms of stems ending in the allative applicative *-c/-s* are unattested (Hess 1995: 43), but are presumed to follow this pattern in that they group with the *-txʷ* and *-dxʷ* transitivizers in taking the b-series object-markers. Note, however, that Gerdts (1988) has found that reflexives are not possible at all with the analogous applicative in Halkomelem.

clever, get smart' (cf. Spanish *ponerse listo*) represents a phraseologized use of a noun, *dəgʷa?* 'expert', which would not normally be expected to take the internal causative suffix *-t*. A list of other reflexive forms without corresponding transitives is given in :

?əlcut 'hurry'	(√?ət 'be fast')
?əy'cut 'find oneself in a place'	(°√?əy' 'be found'; cf. ?əy'dxʷ 'find something')
čala?cut 'distance oneself from ⊗'	(°√čala? 'not be recognized'; cf. čala?dxʷ 'not recognize ⊗')
č'itcut 'come close, approach'	(√č'it 'nearby')
ləli?cut 'change oneself'	(√ləli? 'be different')
p'ailicut 'come to one's senses'	(√p'ailil 'revive')
q'ił'cut 'injure oneself'	(√q'ił' 'be wounded')
xičq'cut 'talk back, argue'	(√xičq' 'insist')
χʷaxčʷaqʷcut 'be troubled, be worried'	(√χʷaxčʷaqʷ 'feel concern')

Table 86: Reflexive verbs without plain transitive forms

As noted in Hess (1967a: 22–23), there are also few stems such as *λ'əlabut* 'understand, be able to hear', *ləqalbut* 'understand, be able to hear', *šułabut* 'be able to see', *?itut* 'sleep', *qʷəscut* 'approach stealthily fluttering wings', and *xʷalitut* 'snore', that appear to contain the reflexive marker but which are not synchronically analyzable and which do not seem to contain a valency-increasing affix. Similarly, there are a few forms such as *da?cutbid* 'tell someone one's own name' (based on *√da?* 'be named') and *χalcutxʷ* 'take a picture' (from *√χal* 'be written') in which the reflexive form of the verb appears to have been lexicalized as the base for subsequent derivation. These forms present a bit of an etymological mystery, but are beyond the scope of a synchronic grammar.

8.1.4 Reciprocal-markers

The reciprocal suffix *-agʷəl* 'reciprocal [RCP]' follows transitive stems and occupies the slot normally occupied by the object-markers:

- (553) a. ?uqʷulutagʷəl
 ?u-qʷulu-t-agʷəl
 PFV-hugged-ICS-RCP
 ‘they hugged one another’

(Hess 1995: 43, ex. 16a)

- b. ?uččisagʷəl
 ?u-ččil-s-agʷəl
 PFV-arrive-ALTV-RCP
 ‘they come together’

(Hess 1995: 43, ex. 17)

When the reciprocal follows one of the two causatives ending in /xʷ/, this segment is elided:

- (554) a. ?uʔəħtagʷəl čəł
 ?u-ʔəł-txʷ-agʷəl čəł
 PFV-feed.on-ECS-RCP 1PL.SUB
 ‘we fed one another’

(Hess 1995: 43, ex. 13a)

- b. ?ušudagʷəl čəł
 ?u-šuł-dxʷ-agʷəl čəł
 PFV-see-DC-RCP 1PL.SUB
 ‘we saw one another’

(Hess 1995: 43, ex. 14a)

Like the reflexive marker, the reciprocal intransitivizes the verb stem to which it is attached.

Except in those cases where the verb stem contains no non-schwa vowels, the reciprocal marker is most frequently realized phonetically as [əgʷəl] due to normal processes of unstressed vowel reduction, although this reduction is not always recognized in transcription.

8.1.5 Subject, object, and direct complement noun phrases

When subjects and objects are not expressed by person-markers, they are expressed either by pronouns (Section 2.7.1) or full NPs (Section 7). Because Lushootseed lacks nominal case, the form of subject and object phrases is identical:

- (555) a. hay qłaxʷ tiʔił sčətxʷəd
 hay qł=axʷ tiʔił sčətxʷəd
 INTJ awaken=now DIST bear
 ‘well, Black Bear awoke’

(Hess 1995: 154, line 69)

- b. hay gʷəl tulaxdxʷəxʷ ti?iɬ sya?ya?s
 hay gʷəl tu=laχ-dxʷ=əxʷ ti?iɬ sya?ya?-s
 INTJ SCONJ PAST=remember-DC=now DIST relative-3PO
 'and then he remembered his relative'
 (Hess 1995: 151, line 2)
- c. hikʷ kʷagʷičəd ti?iɬ səst̥ild čəɬ ti dəgʷi
 hikʷ kʷagʷičəd ti?iɬ s=?əs-čil-d čəɬ ti dəgʷi
 big elk DIST NM=stat-give.food-ICS 1PL.PO SPEC you
 'what we give to you [is] a big elk'
 (Hess 1998: 81, line 110)

The normal position for subject and object NPs in Lushootseed is immediately following the sentence predicate, whether the predicate is a verb as in (555a) and (b) or an NP (555c). As discussed in Section 7.3 above, complex expression such as the headless relative clause in (555c) can and frequently do serve as subjects and objects. Arguments other than subjects and objects are expressed as oblique objects introduced by a preposition (Section 8.1.6).

A significant fact about clause structure in Lushootseed is the fact that a grammatical sentence can not contain more than one non-oblique NP. This pattern is also seen on other Salishan languages, though in less absolute form. As a result, the term “direct complement” or “direct argument” is frequently employed in Salishan studies to refer to the single non-oblique NP in a clause. This term has proven useful in discussions of the valency and orientation of verb-stems (see Section *.*.) and in the discussion of such process as relativization and clefting, which treat subjects and objects on a par and treat them differently from oblique objects. However, in the context of a discussion of grammatical relations, the term direct complement can be confusing, as it applies equally to all of the NPs in the following examples:

- (556) a. ?ibəšəxʷ ti?ə? sgʷəlub
 ?ibəš=əxʷ ti?ə? sgʷəlub
 travel=now PROX pheasant
 'Pheasant travels'
 (Hess 1998: 78, line 11)

- b. ?u?ux^wtxw tsi č'ač'as
 ?u-?ux^w-txw tsi č'ač'as
 PFV-go-ECS SPEC:FEM child
 '[he/she/they] took the girl'
- (Hess 1995: 33)

- c. ?ugwč'ob ti luč' ?ə ti sqəlalitut
 ?u-gwč'-ob ti luč' ?ə ti sqəlalitut
 PFV-look.for-CSMD SPEC elder PR SPEC guardian.spirit
 'the old man looked for a guardian spirit'
- (Hess 1995: 32)

As shown in (556), the term direct complement applies to the subject of a monovalent intransitive verb (a), the direct object of a transitive verb (b), and the subject of a bivalent intransitive verb (c). If the direct complement is replaced by a person-marker, the choice of paradigm is different in each case:

- (557) a. tux^w čəd λ'u=?ibəš
 tux^w čəd λ'u=?ibəš
 just 1SG.SUB HAB=travel
 'I'm just walking around'
- (Hess 1998: 79, line 44)

- b. ?u?ux^wtubš
 ?u-?ux^w-txw-bš
 PFV-go-ECS-1SG.OBJ
 '[he/she/they] took me'
- (Hess 1995: 42)

- c. ?ugwč'ob čəd ?ə ti sqəlalitut
 ?u-gwč'-b čəd ?ə ti sqəlalitut
 PFV-look.for-CSMD 1SG.SUB PR SPEC guardian.spirit
 'I looked for a guardian spirit'
- (Hess 1995: 32)

The direct complements in (557a) and (c) correspond to subject pronouns, while the direct complement in (b) corresponds to an object pronoun. Furthermore, the object pronoun in (557b) is compatible with both a matrix subject-marker (558a) and an NP (b), both of which express the agent of the event (as opposed to the NP in (556b), which expresses a patient):

- (558) a. *ɬuʔuχʷtubš ?u čəlop*
 $\begin{array}{lll} \text{ɬu=ʔuχʷ-txʷ-bš} & ?\text{u} & \text{čəlop} \\ \text{IRR-go-ECS-1SG.OBJ} & \text{INT} & \text{2PL.SUB} \end{array}$
 ‘will you guys take me?’

(Hess 1995: 41, ex. 7)

- b. *?uʔuχʷtubš tsi luχ'*
 $\begin{array}{lll} ?\text{u}-\text{ʔuχʷ-txʷ-bš} & \text{tsi} & \text{luχ'} \\ \text{PFV-go-ECS-1SG.OBJ} & \text{SPEC:FEM} & \text{elder} \end{array}$
 ‘the old woman took me’

(based on Hess 1995: 41, ex. 2b)

Thus, in the presence of an object-marker, the direct complement of a patient-oriented stem like *uχʷtxʷ* ‘take’ corresponds to a subject-marker, whereas in the absence of an object-marker is corresponds to an object-marker. It seems clear from these examples that the term direct complement does not refer to a grammatical relation but is instead a cover term for a non-oblique NP. The grammatical relation of this NP to the verb depends on the transitivity of the verb and the presence or absence of overt person-markers in the clause. Given that both third-person subject-markers and third-person object-markers are zero, this gives rise to a potential ambiguity in transitive clauses with a third-person direct complement such as (556b) (which could have either a zero object-marker or a zero subject-marker). This ambiguity in Lushootseed and other Salishan languages is resolved by a rule of conventional interpretation, the “One=nominal Interpretation” rule (Gerdts 1988), whereby the single non-oblique NP argument is always interpreted as the patient/direct object of the expression.

8.1.6 Oblique objects

Oblique objects are arguments that are part of the syntactic valency of the verb (that is, NPs that express semantic roles specified in the lexical meaning of the verb stem) but which are not subjects or objects. In Lushootseed, these are introduced by a preposition, in most cases the “empty” preposition *?ə*:

- (559) a. ?u?əłəd ti ?aciłtalbix ?o ti s?uladx^w
 ?u-?əłəd ti ?aciłtalbix ?o ti s?uladx^w
 PFV-eat SPEC people PR SPEC salmon
 ‘the people ate the salmon’
- (Hess 1995: 32)
- b. lecup’ayeq ?e ti?ił sdi?dex^{wił}
 lecu-p’ayeq ?e ti?ił sdi?dex^{wił}
 CONT-hew PR DIST ATTN-hunting.canoe
 ‘he was carving out a small hunting canoe’
- (Hess 1995: 141, line 34)
- c. huy pusiləx^w ?o ti?ə? sk^wup
 huy pusil=əx^w ?o ti?ə? sk^wup
 SCONJ throw=now PR PROX sucker.fish
 ‘and then he threw the sucker fish’
- (Hess 1998: 88, line 290)
- d. ?uq’wəlb tsi luł’ ?o ti s?uladx^w
 ?u-q’wəl-b tsi luł’ ?o ti s?uladx^w
 PFV-ready.to.eat-CSMD SPEC:FEM elder PR SPEC salmon
 ‘the old woman roasted herself a salmon’
- (Hess 1995: 32)

The sentences in (559) are examples of bivalent intransitive stems — *?əłəd* ‘eat, feed on’, *p’ayəq* ‘carve canoe’, *pusil* ‘throw’, *q’wəlb* ‘cook/roast something for self’ — whose non-subject argument appears as an oblique object immediately following the subject. The type of structure seen in (559d) is particularly common as this is the most regular effect on the valency of a verb root suffixed with the middle-marker *-b* (Section 2.1.1.3). As in the examples in (559a) and (d), the oblique object obligatorily follows an overt subject NP or (as in 562b below) first- or second-person subject-marker.

Because Lushootseed verbs can never have more than one non-oblique NP in a clause, verbs that are commonly ditransitive in other languages are monotransitive in Lushootseed, the third argument (the THEME) being realized as an oblique object:

- (560) a. *tildəxʷ ti?ə? bibədbəda?̥s ?ə ti?ə? ?udaw'*
tild=əxʷ ti?ə? bi-bəd-bəda?-s ?ə ti?ə? ?udaw'
give.food=now PROX ATTN-DSTR-child-3PO PR PROX tallow
'he gave his children tallow'

(Hess 1998: 82, line 135)

- b. *gʷəl ləkʷyic ?ə ti?iſ s?ətəd*
gʷəl ləkʷ-yi-t-s ?ə ti?iſ s?ətəd
then eat-DAT-ICS-1SG.OBJ PR DIST food
'then he ate the food on me'

(Hess 1998: 67, line 60)

Note that in (560b) — which has an applied object licensed by the presence of the dative applicative (Section 2.1.3) — it is the direct object of the root that is realized as the oblique object of the applicative stem and the applied argument which is the direct object.

As with other syntactic arguments, oblique objects can be simple noun phrases or more complex referential expressions, such as those shown in (561):

- (561) a. *kʷədalikʷəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? səsqʷəlb ?ə ti?ə? bəščəb*
kʷəd-alikʷ=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? s=?əs-qʷəl-b ?ə ti?ə? bəščəb
take-ACT=now PR PROX NM=STAT-roast-CSMD PR PROX mink
'he took of what Mink was roasting'

(Hess 1998: 67, line 48)

- b. *gʷəl ?ələdaxʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? cədiſ tuſiltəb̥s*
gʷəl ?ələd=axʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? cədiſ tu=s=t̥il-t-əb=s
then eat=now PL PR PROX he PAST=NM=give.food-ICS-PASS=3PO
'then they ate what food had been given to them'

(Hess 1998: 84, line 180)

By the same token, personal pronouns (Section 2.7.1) can also be oblique objects:

- (562) a. *gʷəl ləqʷu?cut ?ə ti?ə? caadiſ*
gʷəl lə=qʷu?-t-sut ?ə ti?ə? caadiſ
SCONJ PROG=gathered-ICS-REFL PR PROX they
'then he joined them' (lit. 'he gathers himself to them')

(Hess 1998: 79, line 41)

- b. *?əscuucoxʷ čət ti?iſ čxʷəlu? dxʷ?al gʷəlapu*
?əs-cut-c=əxʷ čət ti?iſ čxʷəlu? dxʷ?al gʷəlapu
STAT-speak-ALTV=now 1PL.SUB DIST whale PR you.guys
'we have told Whale about you guys'

(Hess 2006: 67, line 600)

Unlike direct objects, oblique objects in such constructions can not be promoted to subject by passivization.

Although oblique objects are commonly introduced by the preposition ?_{σ} , not all constituents introduced by ?_{σ} are oblique objects: some are agentive complements (see Section 8.1.7 below), while others are not objects at all but are adjunct adverbial expressions:

- (563) a. $\text{λ}'ub \text{ čəx}^w \text{ ?}_{\sigma} \text{ ti ads?u}x^w, sg^w\text{əlub}$
 $\text{λ}'ub \quad \text{čəx}^w \quad \text{?}_{\sigma} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{ad=s=?u}x^w \quad sg^w\text{əlub}$
 good 2SG.SUB PR SPEC 2SG.PO=NM=go pheasant
 'you will be all right as you go, Pheasant'
 (Hess 1998: 81, line 98)
- b. $\text{?abači?b} \text{ ti?}_{\sigma} \text{ sčətx}^w\text{əd} \text{ ?}_{\sigma} \text{ ti?}_{\sigma} \text{ ?i?la?x}$
 $\text{?ab-ači?-b} \quad \text{ti?}_{\sigma} \quad \text{sčətx}^w\text{əd} \quad \text{?}_{\sigma} \quad \text{ti?}_{\sigma} \quad \text{?i?la?x}$
 extend-hand-MD PROX bear PR PROX small.bowl
 'Black Bear extended his hands over a little bowl'
 (Hess 1995: 154, line 72)
- c. $\text{hay bəduk}^w\text{tubəx}^w \text{ ?}_{\sigma} \text{ ti?i?ił} \text{ ?}_{\sigma} \text{ ti?}_{\sigma} \text{ suhuys}$
 $\text{hay} \quad \text{bə=duk}^w\text{-tx}^w\text{-b=əx}^w \quad \text{?}_{\sigma} \quad \text{ti?i?ił} \quad \text{?}_{\sigma} \quad \text{ti?}_{\sigma} \quad \text{s=?u-huy=s}$
 INTJ ADD=anger-ECS-PASS=now PR PL-DIST PR PROX NM=PFV-be.done=3PO
 'so they got mad at him for what he had done'
 (Hess 1998: 89, line 298)

In the first example in (563a), ?_{σ} introduces a sentential nominal acting as an adverbial expression of temporal extension, while in (b) it introduces a noun expressing a location (or, more accurately, a spatial extension), and in (c) sentential nominal expressing motive. These are clearly not arguments of the verb in the sense of being the expressions of event-participants assigned semantic roles. Adjunct adverbial phrases such as these will be discussed in more detail in Section 8.2.7.

8.1.7 Agentive complements

Agentive complements are the agent-phrases of verbs in the passive voice (Section 6.2). Formally, they look like oblique objects introduced by the preposition ?_{σ} , although they have a

number of syntactic properties that distinguish them from ordinary obliques. One of these is their linear ordering with respect to other syntactic arguments in the clause:

- (564) a. kʷukʷucutyitəbəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? c’iħc’iħ ti?iħ sya?ya?s, sčətxʷəd
 kʷukʷucut-yi-t-əb=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? c’iħc’iħ ti?iħ sya?ya?-s sčətxʷəd
 cook-DAT-ICS-PASS=now PR PROX fish.hawk DIST relative-3PO bear
 ‘his relative, Black Bear, had food prepared for him by Fish-Hawk’
 (Hess 1995: 154, line 68)

- b. hay gʷəl, təčtəbaxʷ ti?ə? sčətxʷəd ?ə ti?ə? c’iħc’iħ
 hay gʷəl təč-t-əb=axʷ ti?ə? sčətxʷəd ?ə ti?ə? c’iħc’iħ
 INTJ SCONJ roll-ICS-PASS=now PROX bear PR PROX fish.hawk
 ‘so then Black Bear was rolled [over] by Fish-Hawk’
 (Hess 1995: 154, line 84)

As seen here, the agentive complement can either precede or follow the subject of the passive verb. The order shown in (564a) — with the agentive complement preceding the subject — is the preferred order, although both are attested in texts.

Like oblique objects, agentive complements can be both ordinary NPs, as in (564), complex referential expressions, as in (565):

- (565) ləcaq’atəb ?ə ti?iħ ləxʷəbtəb ?ə ti?iħ cədiħ ti?iħ
 lə=caq’-a-t-əb ?ə ti?iħ lə=xʷəb-t-əb ?ə ti?iħ cədiħ ti?iħ
 PRG-speared-ICS-PASS PR DIST PRG-thrown-ICS-PASS PR DIST he DIST
 ‘they were impaled by what was thrown at them by those ones there’
 (Hess 2006: 62, line 475)

However, unlike obliques, agentive complements can not be first- or second-person pronouns (Hukari 1976; Jelinek & Demers 1983). This seems to be the only vestige of more thorough-going restrictions on person and number of subjects and objects found in other Salishan languages (Czaykowska-Higgins & Kinkade 1998: 39). Agentive complements are also not legitimate targets for relativization, nor may they be “extracted” from *s*=nominalizations (i.e., structures such as **ti?iħ sləxʷəbtəbs ti?iħ* ‘those who they were throw at by’, based on 565 above, are ungrammatical for the intended gloss): instead, in situations that might require such

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Comment: the AgCo second order = introduction of a secondary topic?

constructions, the active voice of the embedded verb is used (cf., *ti?it sləxʷəbəd ti?it* ‘those who threw at them’). Once again, this restriction differentiates them from ordinary oblique objects.

8.2 Verbal predicates

8.2.1 Monovalent intransitive clauses

very complex subject

- (566) *gʷəl ləq'axʷ ti?ə? tu?al?al tudəxʷ?as gʷə?al?aləs, gʷəstabəs kʷi cədił tudəxʷ?as əlgʷə?*
gʷəl lə=q'axʷ ti?ə? tu=?al?al tu=dəxʷ=?a=s gʷə=?al?al=əs
 conj PROG=frozen PROX PAST=house PAST=NM-exist=3PO SBJ=house=3SBJ
gʷə=stab=əs kʷi cədił tu=dəxʷ=?a=s əlgʷə?
 SBJ=what=3SBJ REM he PAST=NM-exist=3PO PL
 ‘the house where he was, if it were a house, whatever it was, where they had been, froze’
 (Hess 1998: 101, line 279)

8.2.2 Transitive clauses

- (567) *?ugʷəč'əd ti sqʷəbay?*
?u-gʷəč'-t Ø ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-seek-ICS 3SUB PROX dog
 ‘he/she/it/they looked for the dog’
 *‘the dog looked for him/her/it/them’

(Hess 1995: 10)

Just as it regulates the interpretation of transitive clauses with both zero subject and object, subject-Topic alignment also plays a role in the interpretation of transitive clauses with a single overt argument, like that in (568c):

- (568) a. *hikʷ ?aciłtalbixʷ tsi?ə? sxʷi?uqʷ?*
hikʷ ?aciłtalbixʷ tsi?ə? sxʷi?uqʷ_i
 big person PROX:FEM Basket.Ogress
 ‘Basket Ogress; was a big person’
- b. *?u?učʷəxʷ lił?al ti?ə? lək'awk'aw ?ə ti?ə? bəkʷ stab*
?u-učʷ Ø_i lił?-al ti?ə? lə=k'aw-k'aw ?ə ti?ə? bəkʷ stab
 PFV-go 3SUB PRLV-at PROX PROG=DSTR=bump PR PROX all what
 ‘she_i is going along (through the brush) bumping into everything’

- c. t̪i's ti?ə? wiw'su
 t̪il-s-Ø Ø_i ti?ə? wiw'su
 arrive-ALTV-3OBJ 3SUB PROX children
 'she_i came upon the children'

[AJ Basket Ogress, lines 39 – 41]

As we saw in (722), this episode begins with an intransitive sentence with an overt NP subject, the referent of this NP becoming the Topic for the next few lines of discourse and the antecedent of the zero subjects in (568b) and (c). In the latter case, the Topicality of Basket Ogress and the alignment of Topic and subject guarantees the reading of the sentence as ‘Basket Ogress came upon the children’, rather than ‘the children came upon Basket Ogress’. This interpretative principle has become grammaticalized at the clausal level so that, even out of context, all transitive sentences with a single overt argument, that argument is obligatorily interpreted as the direct object.

8.2.3 Passive and bivalent intransitive clauses

8.2.4 Clauses with multiple objects

Because Lushootseed verbs can never have more than one non-oblique NP in a clause, verbs that are commonly ditransitive in other languages are monotransitive in Lushootseed, the third argument being realized as an oblique object:

- (569) a. ?u?abyid čəd ti č'ač'as ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-?ab-yi-d čəd ti č'ač'as ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-extend-DAT-ICS 1SG.SUB SPEC child PR SPEC dog
 'I gave the dog to the boy'
 (Hess 1995: 36, ex. 12a)
- b. ?u?abyitəb čəd ?ə ti č'ač'as ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-?ab-yi-t-əb čəd ?ə ti č'ač'as ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-extend-DAT-ICS-PASS 1SG.SUB PR SPEC child PR SPEC dog
 'I was given the dog by the boy'
 (Hess 1995: 36, ex. 12c)

The direct object in these expressions is the RECIPIENT rather than the THEME, which surfaces as an oblique object, making Lushootseed a primary object language in the terms of Dryer (1986).

Although it is possible to realize all three arguments in a single clause using a passive expression as in (569c), this is only the case when the subject is represented by a person-marker.

A non-oblique NP in such constructions is ungrammatical:

- (570) a. ?u?abyitəb ?ə ti luλ' ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-?ab-yi-t-əb ?ə ti luλ' ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-extend-DAT-ICS-PASS PR SPEC elder PR SPEC dog
 's/he was given the dog by the old man'

(Hess 1995: 35, ex. 9)

- b. ?u?abyitəb ?ə ti luλ' ti č'ač'as
 ?u-?ab-yi-t-əb ?ə ti luλ' ti č'ač'as
 PFV-extend-DAT-ICS-PASS PR SPEC elder SPEC child
 'the child was given it by the old man'

- c. ?u?abyitəb ti č'ač'as ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 ?u-?ab-yi-t-əb ti č'ač'as ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 PFV-extend-DAT-ICS-PASS SPEC child PR SPEC dog
 'the child was given the dog'

(Hess 1995: 35, ex. 10 – 11)

- d. *?u?abyitəb ?ə ti luλ' ti č'ač'as ?ə ti sqʷəbay?

Note that the restriction here is not against the realization of a particular grammatical role or roles, but seems to be a restriction against the absolute number of NP arguments in the clause.

- (571) a. t̄ut'ilibəxʷ čələp ?ə kʷi t̄u[s]əcuucləp
 t̄u=t'ilib=əxʷ čələp ?ə kʷi t̄u=s=lə=cut-c=ləp
 irr=sing=now 2PL.SUB PR REM IRR=NM=PROG=say-ALTV=2PL.PO
 'you will sing with [the words] you will say to him'

(Hess 1998: 99, line 228)

- b. huy č'axʷadəxʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?iļ xʷubt
 huy č'axʷa-d=əxʷ əlgʷə? ?ə ti?iļ xʷubt
 SCONJ club-ICS=now PL PR DIST paddle
 'then he clubbed them with that paddle'

(Hess 2006: 62, line 486)

- d. kʷaxʷatubuļ ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 kʷaxʷa-t-ubuļ ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 help-ICS-1PL.OBJ PR PROX here
 'help us with this!'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 114]

8.2.5 Clauses with nominal predicate complements

Certain verbs in Lushootseed take nominal predicate complements rather than (or in addition to) a full NP argument. Nominal predicate complements immediately follow the verb and precede other NP constituents, as shown in (572):

- (572) a. ?uhuyiləxʷ bəščəb
 ?u–huy–il=əxʷ bəščəb
 PFV–be.done–INCH=now mink
 ‘he became a mink’
 (Hess 1995: 118)

- b. hay, dił dəxʷhuyuds ?ušəbabdxʷ tsi?ə? ?alš ?ə ti?ə? su?əładəps
 hay dił dəxʷ=huju-d=s ?ušəbabdxʷ tsi?ə?
 SCONJ FOC ADNM=be.done–ICS=3PO unfortunate.one PROX:FEM
 ?alš-s ?ə ti?ə? s=?u–?əładəp=s
 cross.sex.sibling–3PO PR PROX NM=PFV=give.feast=3PO
 ‘so that is how he made his sister poor when she gave a feast’
 (Hess 1998: 63, line 66)

- c. yəxí tashuyutəbəxʷ əlgʷə? studəq ?ə ti?ə? qaw'qs
 yəxí tu=?as–huyu-t-əb=əxʷ əlgʷə? studəq ?ə ti?ə? qaw'qs
 because PAST=STAT–be.done–ICS=PASS=now PL slave PR PROX raven
 ‘because they had been made slaves of Raven’
 [HM Star Child, line 96]

Nominal predicate complements such as *bəščəb* ‘mink’ in (572a) or *?ušəbabdxʷ* ‘unfortunate person’ in (572b) are not introduced by determiners and may not be modified or quantified, although they can be possessed (572c). They immediately follow the verb and precede any other objects or adjuncts in the clause (such as *tsi?ə?* *?alš* ‘his sister’, the direct object of the verb in 572b). They also precede overt NP subjects (573a), but follow post-verbal subject-markers and other S2 particles when the verb is in first position in the sentence, as shown in (573b), and they remain in place when the particle appears in pre-verbal position (573c):

- (573) a. tiləb ?uhuyil p'q'ac ti?ił sdəubuds
 tiləb ?u–huy–il p'q'ac ti?ił s=dəubu–d=s
 right.away PFV–be.done–INCH rotten.wood DIST NM=kicked–ICS=3PO
 ‘right away what she kicked became rotten wood’
 [DS Star Child, line 142]

- b. ?uhuyil č̓od kia? ?al ti dukʷəłdat
 ?u-huy-il č̓od kia? ?al ti dukʷəłdat
 PFV-be.done-INCH 1SG.SUB grandmother at SPEC yesterday
 'I became a grandmother yesterday'

(Hess 1995: 118)

- c. ḥ'ub č̓əł t̓uhuyucutəxʷ t̓ukʷał
 ḥ'ub č̓əł t̓u=huyu-t-sut=əxʷ t̓ukʷał
 well 1PL.SUB IRR=be.done-ICS-REFL=now sun
 'we should make ourselves into suns'

[HM Star Child, line 159]

There are, however, a few examples where a predicate complement precedes its verb:

- (574) džixʷ ?aciłtalbixʷ tuhuyutəb
 džixʷ ?aciłtalbixʷ tu=?u-huyu-t-əb
 first person PAST=be.done-ICS-PASS
 'at first [the animals] were made to be like people'

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 260]

The environment for this fronting seems to be one of contrastive focus, although more contextualized examples would be needed to confirm this observation. There are also one or two examples of clefts formed from predicate nominals:

- (575) sləłəlwə?s te səshuy ?ə tə sbadil
 slə=łəlwə?s tə s=?əs-huy ?ə tə sbadil
 PL=sleeping.platform NSPEC NM=STAT-be.done PR NSPEC mountain
 'what the mountains are like [is] sleeping platforms'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 112)

Likewise, nominal predicate complements are also eligible targets for relativization:

- (576) ḥʷul'əxʷ ?ukʷədxʷ ti?ə? di?ə? bəčəłs bəda? tul'?al ti?ə? tuscəcikʷ ?up'ic'i'd
 ḥʷul'əxʷ ?u-kʷəd-dxʷ ti?ə? di?ə? bə=s=čəł=s bəda?
 only=now PFV-take-DC PROX here ADD=NM=make=3PO child
 tul'?al ti?ə? tu=scəcikʷ ?u-p'ic'i-d
 CNTRFG-at PROX PAST=diaper PFV-wrong-ICS
 'she just took this child made from the wrung out diaper'

[HM Star Child 69, line 69]

Not unsurprisingly, "extraction" of the nominal predicate complement requires the nominalization of the subject clause. This further differentiates nominal predicate complements from direct objects, which do not require nominalization.

David Beck 10-4-15 11:17 AM

Comment: neat example from the Changer story (line 121)
 ?u dəgʷi baščəb č̓wa ɬa-huyu-t-
 s ḥəł ti s?ukʷukʷ
 intj you mink 2sg.coord
 prog=made-ics-1sg.obj seem
 spec game
 [XEh ti] was added, but I think
 incorrectly

Nominal predicate complements also differ from direct objects in that they can not be passivized; they can also co-occur with overt direct object NPs, as in (572b) above, and appear in clauses with verbs bearing object- and reflexive-markers:

- (577) a. ?u^w, dəg^{wi} bəščəb čx^wa ləhuyuc s?uk^{wuk}^w
 ?u dəg^{wi} bəščəb čx^wa lə=huyu-t-s s?uk^{wuk}^w
 INTJ you mink 2SG.SUB PROG=be.done-ICS-1SG.OBJ game
 'oh, it's you, Mink, you are making fun of me'
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 112)¹⁵²

- b. huy huyucutəx^w q^{wi}q^wlay^w?ulč ?a
 huy huyu-t-sut=əx^w q^{wi}-q^wlay^w?ulč ?a
 SCONJ be.done-ICS-REFL=now ATTN-wooden.dish•container be.there
 'then he made himself into a little wooden dish right there'
 (Hess 2006: 37, line 377)

Nominal predicate complements also differ from NP arguments of a verb in that they are not normally referential, but instead have a generic reference, expressing a type of thing rather than identifying a particular individual or object. Consider the pair of examples in (578):

- (578) a. ?uhuyud čəd ti?ə? ḫ^wubt
 ?u-huyu-d čəd ti?ə? ḫ^wubt
 PFV-be.done-ICS 1SG.SUB PROX paddle
 'I made a paddle'
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 112)

- b. ?uhuyud čəd ḫ^wubt
 ?u-huyu-d čəd ḫ^wubt
 PFV-be.done-ICS 1SG.SUB paddle
 'I made it into a paddle'
 (Hess 1995: 118)

The first example here is an ordinary transitive sentence with an NP direct object, this object referring to a particular PATIENT that (actually or potentially) can be mapped onto an object in the real world. On the other hand, the same noun, ḫ^wubt 'paddle canoe', in (578b), does not identify

¹⁵² Note that this sentence appears in its original context in Hess (1998: 69, line 121) in amended form as ?u^w, dəg^{wi} bəščəb čx^wa ləhuyuc [xəl t̪i] s?uk^{wuk}^w 'oh, it's you, Mink, you are making me seem like a joke'. This is a stylistic adjustment — the construction as it appears in the *Lushootseed Dictionary* is what is heard on tape and is repeated in this form elsewhere in the same text. The construction as amended would be a more formal version of the same expression.

a PATIENT but instead describes the form which has been given to some (in this case, unnamed) material or object which would itself be the PATIENT and mapped onto an entity in the real world.

Although clauses with nominal predicate complements are not textually infrequent, there are only a handful of verbs that can take them. Four of these are based on the same radical *vhuy* ‘be done, be made, be finished’ and include the radical itself, its inchoative form *huyil*, its internal causative form *huyud*, and its dative applicative form *huyid* ‘make something for someone’:

- (579) a. dəgʷi kʷəda? kʷi gʷəλ'ub gʷəhuuyačʷ ɬukʷał
 dəgʷi kʷəda? kʷi gʷəλ'ub gʷəhuuyačʷ ɬukʷał
 you PTCL REM SBJ=well SBJ=be.done=now sun
 'maybe the one who should be the sun now [is] you'

[HM Star Child, line 172]

- b. ?əshuyiləxʷ studəq
 ?əs-huy-il=əxʷ^w
 PFV-be.done-INCH-now studəq
 ‘they had become slaves’ slave

(Hess 2006: 60, line 446)

- c. ləhuyutəb əlgʷə? sdukʷ
 lə=huyu-t-əb əlgʷə? sdukʷ
 PROG=be.done-ICS-PASS PL riff.raff
 ‘they were just made into nobodies [i.e., lower animals]’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 262]

- d. xʷɬub bəhikʷ ti?ił bəshuyitəbs əlgʷə? stuləkʷ, gʷəstuləkʷəs
 xʷɬub bə=hikʷ ti?ił bə=s=huy-yi-t-əb=s əlgʷə? stuləkʷ
 even ADD=BIG DIST ADD=NM=be.done-DAT-ICS-PASS=3PO PL river

gʷə=stuləkʷ=əs
 SBJ=river=3SBJ

‘an even bigger river was made for them, if it was a river’

(Hess 2006: 36, line 354)

As shown by these examples, the meanings of some of these verbs in nominal predicate constructions differs somewhat from their meanings in ordinary clauses. Thus, *huy* ‘be done, be made’ becomes ‘be as something’, *huyil* ‘be finished’ means ‘become something’, and *huyud* ‘make something’ becomes ‘make something like something, make something into something’. The *huyid* ‘make something for someone’ has the same English gloss in both types of clauses,

although when the patient is expressed as a nominal predicate complement it is interpreted as non-referential or generic. These four verbs, particularly *huyil* and *huyud*, account for the bulk of the predicate-complement constructions in the present corpus.

Another common verb that takes nominal predicate complements is *všəł* ‘make something’ (*cəł* in Skagit):

- (580) a. ?učəł čəd yiqʷus
 ?u-čəł čəd yiqʷus
 PFV-make 1SG.SUB cedar.root.basket
 ‘I made a cedar-root basket’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 63)

- b. ?uhəli?dub əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? sušəls əlgʷə? studəq
 ?u-həli?-dxʷ-b əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? s-?u-šəł-s əlgʷə? studəq
 PFV-alive-DC-PASS PL PR PROX NM=PFV-make=3PO PL slave
 ‘they were saved by those who they had made slaves’

(Hess 2006: 63, line 519)

Unlike *vhuy*, however, *všəł* does not take a direct object, but takes only a predicate complement expressing the object created by the agent; the material used in the creation is expressed as a prepositional phrase introduced by *tul?*?al ‘from’:

- (581) ?učəł čəd ḥʷubt tul?al tə luł' s̥əla?ṣ
 ?u-čəł čəd ḥʷubt tul?-?al tə luł' s̥əla?ṣ
 PFV-make 1SG.SUB paddle CNTRFG-at NSPEC old board
 ‘I made a paddle out of an old board’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 63)

As shown in (576) above, the predicate complement of *všəł* is accessible to relativization and requires the formation of an *s*=nominal. The prepositional phrase expressing the material is also accessible, although speakers vary between the formation of an *s*=nominal (582a) or a *dəx*=nominal (582b) in such expressions:

- (582) a. ?uhəli?dub əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? sušəls əlgʷə? studəq
 ?u-həli?-dxʷ-b əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? s=?u-šəł=s əlgʷə? studəq
 PFV-alive-DC-PASS PL PR PROX NM=PFV-make=3PO PL slave
 ‘they were given life by those they had made into slaves’
 (Hess 2006: 63, line 519)

- b. stigʷəd tə dəxʷučəł šəbəd
 stigʷəd tə dəxʷ=ʔu-čəł šəbəd
 cedar.withes NSPEC ADNM=PFV=make fish.trap
 'what is used to make fish traps is cedar withes'
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 63)

It is not known if this is a stylistic difference, a dialectal variant, or simply free variation.

Like *v/huy*, *všəł* serves as a base for deriving stems that also take predicate complements:

- (583) a. ?učəłdxʷ čəd pu?təd
 ?u-čəł-dxʷ čəd pu?təd
 PFV=make-DC 1SG.SUB shirt
 'I made him a shirt'

- b. ?əsčəłtxʷ əlgʷə? hud
 ?əs-čəł-txʷ əlgʷə? hud
 STAT=make-ECS PL fire
 'they have a fire going for it'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 64)

In these forms both *-dxʷ* (Section 2.1.2.3) and *-txʷ* (2.1.2.2), which normally act as causatives, serve as applicatives when combined with this radical, adding a BENEFICIARY/direct object rather than an AGENT/subject.

Very similar in its syntax to *všəł* is *vtxʷ* 'buy something':

- (584) tətəxʷ čəd səpləl
 tə=təxʷ čəd səpləl
 IRR=buy 1SG.SUB bread
 'I'm going to buy some bread'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 224)

Stems derived from *vtxʷ* also take nominal predicate complements:

- (585) a. lətəxʷtxʷ čəd ššiqʷ tsə d?alš
 lə=təxʷ-txʷ čəd ššiqʷ tsə d-?alš
 PROG=buy-ECS 1SG.SUB hat NSPEC:FEM 1SG.PO-cross.sex.sibling
 'I've come to buy my sister a hat'

- b. lətəxʷtxʷyid čəd ššiqʷ tsə d?alš
 lə=təxʷ-txʷ-yi-d čəd ššiqʷ tsə d-?alš
 PROG=buy-ECS-DAT-ICS 1SG.SUB hat NSPEC:FEM 1SG.PO-cross.sex.sibling
 'I've come to buy a hat for my sister'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 224)

As with $\sqrt{sət}$, the addition of valency-increasing suffixes to this base adds a BENEFICIARY/object to the valency of the stem.

The same patterns hold for $\sqrt{\lambda}'a$ ‘to somewhere’:

- (586) a. ləλ'a čəd ?al?al
 lə=λ'a čəd ?al?al
 PROG=go 1SG.SUB house
 ‘I’m going home’

- b. ləλ'atxʷ čəd ḥaču?, ḥut'it'əb
 lə=λ'a-txʷ čəd ḥaču? ḥu-it'it'əb
 PROG=go-ECS 1SG.SUB lake IRR-bathe
 ‘I’m taking her to the lake to bathe’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 150)

It should be noted, however, that the effect of adding the external causative suffix to $\sqrt{\lambda}'a$ is consistent with the effect of adding this suffix to other motion verbs (see Section 2.1.2.2 above for discussion).

A fourth verb that shows similar behaviour is $\sqrt{x^wət}$ ‘lack something’, probably historically derived from the negative adverb $x^wi?$ and the incorporative suffix $-ət$:

- (587) a. λ'asxʷət čət λ'udəxʷucilalikʷs
 λ'u=?as-xʷət čət λ'u=dəxʷ-?u-cil-alikʷ=s
 HAB=STAT-lack 1PL.SUB HAB=ADNM-PFV-dished.up-ACT=3PO
 ‘we lack something to serve food on’

(Hess 1998: 38, line 389)

- b. ?uxʷət̪iləxʷ əlgʷə? s?ət̪əd
 ?u-xʷət̪-il=əxʷ əlgʷə? s?ət̪əd
 PFV-lack-INCH=now PL food
 ‘they had run out of food’

[AW Basket Ogress, line 17]

$\sqrt{x^wət}$ is not attested combined with any of the valency-increasing suffixes, but does combine with the inchoative $-il$ to form the verb stem $x^wət̪il$ ‘run out of something’ shown in (587b).

An interesting feature of these last four verbs — $\sqrt{sət}$, $\sqrt{təx^w}$, $\sqrt{\lambda}'a$, and $\sqrt{x^wət}$ — is that the relevant ordering of the nominal predicate complement and a subject-marker or some other S2

particle in the same clause is variable, the predicate complement optionally coming immediately after the verb:

- (588) a. ?ušəɬ ?u xʷa?xʷa?čəd
 ?u-šəɬ ?u xʷa?xʷa?čəd
 PFV-make INT clam.basket
 'did you make a clam basket?'
- c. ?utəxʷ čəd səpləl
 ?u-təxʷ čəd səpləl
 PFV-buy 1SG.SUB bread
 'I bought bread'
- e. ?uλ'a čəɬ tawd
 ?u-λ'a čəɬ tawd
 PFV-go 1PL.SUB town
 'we went to town'
- b. ?ušəɬ xʷa?xʷa?čəd ?u
 ?u-šəɬ xʷa?xʷa?čəd ?u
 PFV-make clam.basket INT
 'did you make a clam basket?'
- d. ?utəxʷ səpləl čəd
 ?u-təxʷ səpləl čəd
 PFV-buy bread 1SG.SUB
 'I bought bread'
- f. ?uλ'a tawd čəɬ
 ?u-λ'a tawd čəɬ
 PFV-go town 1PL.SUB
 'we went to town'
- g. ?əsčəɬ čəɬ talə
 ?əs-čəɬ čəɬ talə
 STAT-lack 1PL.SUB money
 'we don't have any money'
- h. ?əsčəɬ talə čəɬ
 ?əs-čəɬ talə čəɬ
 STAT-lack money 1PL.SUB
 'we don't have any money'

(Hess 1995: 120)

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 252)

When immediately following these radicals,¹⁵³ the integration of the predicate complement to the verb stem is such that these complements have been considered incorporated elements on a structural par with incorporated nouns, and strings such as *təxʷsəpləl* 'buy bread' are often written as single words. In addition, there is at least one case in the corpus where a compound headed by one of these three bases is used as a stem for subsequent word-formation:

¹⁵³ Or stems derived there from:

- (i) ?učəɬil talə čəɬ
 ?u-čəɬ-il talə čəɬ
 PFV-lack-INCH money 1PL.SUB
 'our money is gone'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 252)

- (589) gʷəl dił dəxʷšəłt'əbiłədtubs
 gʷəl dił dəxʷ=šəł-t'əbiłəd-txʷ-b=s
 then FOC ADNM=make-rope-ECS-PASS=3PO
 'and then these were used to make into rope'

(Hess 1998: 80, line 81)

In the absence of further examples, however, it is difficult to say whether or not stem for the form in (589) in a lexicalized expression, the dependent member of the compound — *t'əbiłəd* ‘rope’ — more generally has incorporative properties (perhaps being on its way to becoming a lexical suffix), or whether the integration of the predicate complement to these four radicals represents true noun incorporation. A similar issue was raised in the discussion of the suffix *-əł* ‘incorporative’ (Section 2.1.4 above).

8.2.6 Clauses with verbal predicate complements

Some the verbs that can take nominal predicate complements — including *√huy* ‘be done, be made’ and its derivatives, and *√šəł/čəł* ‘make’ — can also take verbal predicate complements. These take the form of bare verb stems immediately following the main predicate and immediately preceding any NP arguments:

- (590) a. huy, λ'uhuy pədičədəxʷ ?ə kʷi stab tuxʷi?os ləšudub ti?ił
 huy λ'u-huy pəd•ič-əd=əxʷ ?ə kʷi stab tuxʷi?=os
 SCONJ HAB=be.done earth•covering-ICS=now PR REM what IRR-NEG=3SBJ
 lə=šuł-dxʷ-b ti?ił
 NEGP=see-DC-PASS DIST
 'then she would get them covered with dirt so that it would not be seen'

(Hess 2006: 45, line 96)

- b. xʷul' ?ubuuṣañl ti?ił shuyuds sp'ic'ids ti?ə? ci?ikʷ ?ə ti?ə? bəda?s
 xʷul' ?u-buus•ał-il ti?ił s=huyu-d=s s=p'ic'i-d=s
 only PFV-four-times-INCH PROX NM=be.done-ICS=3PO NM=wrung-ICS=3PO
 ti?ə? ci?ikʷ ?ə ti?ə? bəda?-s
 PROX diaper PR PROX offspring-3PO
 'just four times she did that wringing out of the diaper of her son'

[MW Star Child, line 130]

- c. huyucutəx^w ḫwul'ab ?ə ti?ił λ'uhihə?ł λ'uč'ač'as
 huyu-t-sut=əx^w ḫwul'ab ?ə ti?ił λ'u=hi-ha?ł λ'u=č'ač'as
 be.done-ICS-REFL=naw seem PR DIST HAB=ATTN-good HAB=child
 'he makes himself seem like a good little child'

(Hess 2006: 41, line 473)

(590a) illustrates a transitive stem, *pədičəd* 'cover something with dirt', serving as the predicate complement to *v/huy* and preceding the adverbial adjunct, *?ə kʷi stab tuxʷi?əs ləšudub ti?ił* 'so that it would not be seen'. The sentence in (590b) shows the verb *p'ic'iid* 'wring something out' acting as the predicate complement of *huyud* and taking its own direct object, *ti?ə? ci?ikʷ* 'the diaper'. Note that both verbs in the predicate complement construction here are nominalized and the possessive subject is overtly marked on both verbs. In (590c), the predicate complement is *ḥwul'ab* 'seem like something'. This verb is a bivalent intransitive verb which takes an oblique object introduced by the preposition *?ə*, in this case *ti?ił λ'uhihə?ł λ'uč'ač'as* 'the good little child'. As shown by both (590b) and (c), the valency and government pattern of verbs used as predicate complements remains the same as when they are used as main predicates.

Verbs which take verbal predicate complements in the active voice also take such complements in the passive:

- (591) hay gʷəl ᴹuhuyutəbəxʷ č'it ti?ił dəxʷ?ibəš čəł
 hay gʷəl ᴹu-huyu-t-əb=əxʷ č'it ti?ił dəxʷ=?ibəš čəł
 SCONJ then IRR-be.done-ICS-PASS=now be.near DIST ADNM=travel IPL.PO
 'and so where were traveling to will be made close by'

(Hess 1995: 147, line 10)

Here, the passive form of the verb *huyud* 'make something like something' taking the monovalent intransitive radical *vč'it* 'nearby' as a complement. This element immediately follows the main sentence predicate and precedes the subject, the adjunct nominal *ti?ił dəxʷ?ibəš čəł* 'where we are traveling'.

In the examples in (590) and (591), the main verb and the predicate complement share the same subject. It is also possible for the direct object of the main verb to be co-referential with the some other argument of the predicate complement, as in (592):

- (592) hay, ḫʷul'əxʷ ?uhuyud sa? ti?i₧ tus?əładəp ?ə tsı?ə? ?ušəbabdxʷ k'a?k'a?
 hay ḫʷul'=?əxʷ ?u-huyu-d sa? ti?i₧ tu=s?əładəp ?ə tsı?ə?
 SCONJ only=now PFV-be.done-ICS bad DIST PAST=feast PR PROX:FEM

?ušəbabdxʷ k'a?k'a?
 humble.person crow
 'so he simply made bad [i.e., ruined] the feast of poor Crow'

(Hess 1998: 64, line 90)

The sentence in (592) shows the transitive verb *huyud* 'make something like something' governing the monovalent radical *✓sa?* 'be bad'. The subject of this radical is the NP *tus?əładəp* ?ə tsı?ə? ?ušəbabdxʷ k'a?k'a? 'the feast of poor Crow', which also corresponds to the nominal predicate complement of the main verb. In this case, the direct object of the main verb follows the verbal predicate complement and is realized as a non-oblique NP (i.e., a direct complement). When the verbal predicate complement is transitive, however, the shared argument is realized as an oblique:

- (593) tučəłəxʷ ?aladẓi?łəd ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? λ'uluλ' λ'uqʷłay? λ'aslaq'
 tu=čəł=?əxʷ ?aladẓ•i?ł-əd ?ə ti?ə? di?ə? λ'u=luλ' λ'u=qʷłay?
 PAST=make=now care.for•child-ICS PR PROX here HAB=old HAB=log
 λ'u=?as-łaq'
 HAB=stat-fallen
 'she made a babysitter out of that old fallen log'

[MW Star Child, line 7]

In this sentence, the verbal predicate complement is the transitive stem *?aladẓi?łəd* 'babysit someone', whose AGENT (the subject of a main clause based on this verb) is *ti?ə? di?ə? λ'uluλ'* λ'uqʷłay? λ'aslaq' 'that old log that has fallen'. The subject of the main verb, however, is 'she' (the mother of Star Child in the text), and so rather than being realized as a non-oblique NP (as in cases of shared subjects like that in 591 above), the shared argument is expressed as an oblique object introduced by the preposition *?ə*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ It should be noted here that the number and variety of examples of verbal predicate complements of the type discussed here are somewhat limited in the present corpus (essentially, to the examples presented here). A good many more will have to be uncovered and analyzed before the syntax of these constructions is thoroughly understood.

8.2.7 Adverbs, locatives and adjunct phrases

ə?ibəš bəkʷw dxʷčad
lə-?ibəš bəkʷw dxʷ-čad
prg-travel all toward-where

He traveled everywhere Changer 14 (also bekʷw stab)

- (594) a. ?u?ukʷukʷ ?ə tə tib, gʷəl ləłaxil
 ?u-?ukʷukʷ ?ə tə tib gʷəl lə=łaxil
 PFV-play PR SPEC strong SCONJ PROG=night
 's/he played hard and evening came'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 50)

- b. hiqab čəd ?u?ibəš ?ə tə lil
 hiqab čəd ?u-?ibəš ?ə tə lil
 excessively 1SG.SUB PFV-walk PR SPEC far
 'I walked too far'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 51)

note word order:

- (595) a. gʷəl lild tul'ʔal ti?ə? skəki? ti?ə? di?ə? č'ač'as
 gʷəl lil-d tul'ʔal ti?ə? skəki? ti?ə? di?ə? č'ač'as
 SCONJ be.far-ICS CNTRFGT-at PROX cradleboard PROX here child
 'they remove the boy from the cradle board'

[HM Star Child, line 39]

8.3 Non-verbal predicates

8.3.1 Nominal and nominalized predicates

- (596) a. s?umən'i? čəd¹⁵⁵
 s?ubədi? čəd
 hunter 1SG.SUB
 'I am a hunter'

(Hess 1998: 85, line 208)

- b. s?uladxʷ ti?iɬ
 s?uladxʷ ti?iɬ
 salmon DIST
 'that is a salmon'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 7)

¹⁵⁵ This sentence was pronounced by the storyteller in Raven's stylized speech, which nasalizes voiced stops.

- (597) ti?ə? tə č'λ'a?
 ti?ə? tə č'λ'a?
 PROX NSPEC stone
 'the stone is this one'

(Hess 1995: 81, ex. 5)

- (598) wiw'su ti?ə? ?učalad ti?ə? sqʷəbay?
 wiw'su ti?ə? ?u-čalad ti?ə? sqʷəbay?
 children PROX PFV-chase-ICS PROX dog
 'those who chased the dog are the children'

(Hess 1995: 99)

predicate nominals

- (599) a. stabtəb ti?ə? stigʷəd
 stabtəb ti?ə? stigʷəd
 NM=do-ICS-PASS PROX cedar.withes
 'cedar withes were made'
 ha?kʷ s?ələds əlgʷə?
 ha?kʷ s-?ələd-s əlgʷə?
 long.time np-eat-3po plural
 'For a long time they ate.'

P&R 183

- adsəsbəčalq ?u qaw'qs
 ad-s-əs-bəčalq ?u qaw'qs
 2sg.po-np-stat-kill.game int raven
 'Is [that] game yours, Raven?''
 P&R line 206

gʷa(?) səshuyalcs
 gʷa? s-?əs-huy-alc-s
 intj np-stat-be.done-cstr-3po
 It is his doing.
 Coyote's son line 109

dił λ'usu?ələds
 dił λ'u=s=u-?ələd=s
 foc hab=nm=pfv-eat=3po
 That is what he would eat. 2 wives, line 210
 non-sentential predicate nominals
 [hə]la[?]b ha?ɬəxʷ stalxəxʷ
 həla?b ha?ɬ-əxʷ s-talx-əxʷ
 very good-now np-able-now
 [Meanwhile the baby] is really nicely capable now.

- (600) wi?^w, x^wul'^xox^w čod t^wusp'ic^wik^w
 wi? x^wul'^w=ox^w čod t^wu=sp'ic^wik^w
 declare only=now 1SG.SUB IRR=diaper.child
 'she declares, now I will have diaper child'

[DS Star Child, line 159]

- (601) *tu=titčulbix^w čəx^w*
tu=s=titčulbix^w čəx^w
 IRR=NM=small.animal 2SG.SUB
 'you are the one who will be a small animal'
 (Hess 2006: 8, line 136)

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: might be np, there's no possessive marker

- (602) *dsəs?*^d*sabiyitəb* ?_s *ti?*^t_i *dsqa* *ti?*_s *ə?* *di?*_s *ə?* *cəxʷ*^w*xixiliłtxʷ* *ti?*_s *ə?* *di?*_s *ə?* *stawixʷə?*_s
d=s=?s-^d*?ab-yi-t-b* *?*_s *ti?*^t_i *d-sqa*
1SG.PO=NM=STAT-extend-DAT-ICS-PASS PR DIST *1SG.PO-older.brother*

‘this is what my older brother has given me so I can compete with the children’

[MW Star Child, line 100]

yəx̥i d̥it tiʔə? səskikəwičs tiʔil dəxʷəs? ušəbitəbs
yəx̥i d̥it tiʔə? s-ʔəs-ki-kəwič-s tiʔil dəxʷ-ʔəs? ušəb-bi-t-əb-s

because idn det np-stat-attn-hunchback-3po det np2-stat-pity-ss-

ics-pass-3po

because he was a little hunchback, she had taken pity on him

Basket ogress, line 27

Nouns bearing possess

expressions with the exception of nouns with first-person plural possessors, which can not head predicative expressions:

- (603) a. adstaləł čəd
ad-staləł čəd
2SG.PO=nephew/niece 1SG.SUB
'I am your nephew'
- b. dstaləł čəx^w
d-staləł čəx^w
1SG.PO=nephew/niece 2SG.SUB
'you are my nephew'
- c. staləłs čəd
staləł-s čəd
nephew/niece=3PO 1SG.SUB
'I am his/her nephew'
- d. staləłs čəx^w
staləł-s čəx^w
nephew/niece=3PO 2SG.SUB
'you are his/her nephew'
- e. staləłłep čəd
staləł-ləp čəd
nephew/niece=2PL.PO 1SG.SUB
'I am your_{PL} nephew'
- f. *staləł čəł čəx^w
staləł čəł čəx^w
nephew/niece 1PL.PO 2SG.SUB
'*you are our nephew'

(Hess 1995: 60)

a very complex predicate indeed:

- (604) ḥ'ub ?a ?al kʷi čad ḥucəxʷəsbeč, ḥudəxʷ?atubšləp, ti?ə? s?əłəd
ḥ'ub ?a ?al kʷi čad ḥu=d=dəxʷ=?əs-beč
well exist at REM where IRR=1SG.PO=NM=STAT-fall

ḥu=dəxʷ=?a-txʷ-bš=ləp ti?ə? s?əłəd
IRR=NM=exist-ECS-1SG.OBJ=2PL.PO PROX food
'there should be food in the place where I am laid, where you folks will put me'
(Hess 1998: 92, line 31)

8.3.2 Other non-verbal predicates

8.4 Interrogatives

8.4.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are questions that can be answered “yes” or “no.” This type of question is formed in Lushootseed using the interrogative predicate particle *?u*, as in (605):

- (605) a. ḥ'ułčil ?u ti?ił ad?alalš
ḥ'u=łčil ?u ti?ił ad=?al-alš
HAB=arrive INT DIST 2SG.PO=PL-cross.sex.sibling
'have your brothers arrived?'
(Hess 2006: 45, line 88)

- b. ?u' λ'uc'qʷib ?u ti?ił s?ušəbabdxʷ sgʷəlub
 ?u λ'u=c'qʷib ?u ti?ił s?ušəbabdxʷ sgʷəlub
 INTJ HAB=get.in.on INT DIST poor.guy pheasant
 'oh, is poor Pheasant ever able to share in it?'

(Hess 2006: 45, line 84)

Like other predicate particles (Section 2.5.3), the interrogative appears immediately following a sentence-initial sentence predicate; with respect to other predicate particles, the interrogative always follows subject clitics, as in (606a), but generally (although not obligatorily — see 609b below) precedes most others (606b) with the exception of the particle *u?xʷ* (606c), which is always the first in any string of predicate particles:

- (606) a. luud čəxʷ ?u ti?ił suλ'əladi?s
 lu-d čəxʷ ?u ti?ił s=?u-λ'əladi?=s
 hear-ICS 2SG.SUB INT DIST NM=PFV-make.noise=3PO
 'do you hear that sound?'

(Hess 2006: 17, line 140)

- b. tulčiləxʷ ?u sixʷ
 tu=lčil=əxʷ ?u sixʷ
 HAB=arrive=NOW INT PTCL
 'have they arrived again?'

(Hess 2006: 44, line 58)

- c. ?əsχəł u?xʷ čəxʷ ?u
 ?əs-χəł u?xʷ čəxʷ ?u
 STAT-sick PTCL 2SG.SUB INT
 'are you still sick?'

(Hess 1995: 88, ex. 7)

As with any predicate particle, *?u* is fronted to follow sentence-initial adverbial elements:

- (607) a. λ'ub ?u tabəd
 λ'ub ?u tab-d
 well INT do-ICS
 'should it be done?'

(Hess 2006: 19, line 161)

- b. hikʷ čəd ?u λ'uχəłqid
 hikʷ čəd ?u λ'u=χəł•qid
 big 2SG.SUB INT HAB=sick•head
 'do you generally get severe headaches?'

(Hess 1995: 90, ex. 19)

- c. λ'ub čəł ?u xʷul' ḥu=t'ukʷ^w
λ'ub čəł ?u xʷul' ḥu=t'ukʷ^w
well 1PL.SUB INT only IRR=go.home
‘should we just go home?’

(Hess 1995: 90, ex. 22)

Beyond the presence of the interrogative particle, polar questions in Lushootseed are syntactically identical to the corresponding affirmative sentence.

The majority of polar questions are in the indicative mood. However, there are one or two examples of questions in the subjunctive mood:

- (608) gʷəyəyəhubəxʷ čəd ?u
gʷəyəyəhub=əxʷ čəd ?u
SBJ=tell.story=now 1SG.SUB INT
‘should I tell a traditional story now?’

(Hess 2006: 10, line 1)

In these cases, the choice of the subjunctive mood seems to indicate that the speaker is seeking permission or approval, rather than seeking confirmation that an event has occurred or is likely to occur in the future (cf. the future interrogative in the irrealis mood in 607c).

Polar questions can also be formed on non-verbal predicates such as numerals (609a), personal pronouns (609b), and *s*-nominals (609c):

- (609) a. buus ?ə sq'a?šəd kʷi λ'uc'əxʷ dxʷ?al kʷi ḥusqits əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? swatixʷəd
buus ?ə sq'a?šəd kʷi λ'uc'=əxʷ dxʷ-?al kʷi
four PR moccasin REM tied.in.bunch=now CNTRPT-at REM
 ḥu=s=qit=s əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? swatixʷəd
 IRR=NM=encircle=3PO PL PR PROX land
‘are there four moccasins that are bundled together so they will encircle the land?’

[DS Star Child, line 351]

- b. day' dᶻəł ?u ?əca kʷi ?əsɬuqʷ-ɬuqʷəyul'qid
day' dᶻəł ?u ?əca kʷi ?əs-ɬuqʷ-ɬuqʷ-əyul'qid
uniquely PTCL INT I REM STAT-DSTR-peeled•CNN•CNN•head
‘does it seem that I am the only one whose scalp has been peeled?’¹⁵⁶

[ML Mink and Tutyika II, line 89]

¹⁵⁶ The character is asking if he is the only one who is bald, he and his cousin having been swallowed by a whale and having lost their hair as a result.

- c. adsəsbəčalq ?u qaw'qs
ad=s=?əs-bəč•alq ?u qaw'qs
2SG.PO=NM=STAT-fall•game INT raven
‘is that your game, Raven?’
(lit. ‘is that the game that you have brought down, Raven?’)
(Hess 1998: 85, line 205)

Note that in (609b) the presence of the adverb *day* ‘uniquely’ causes the fronting of both the interrogative particle and the particle *dət*.

One common form of polar question found throughout the texts is a question formed on the focalizing adverb *dił*, asking for the confirmation of the identity of something:

- (610) a. dił ?u ti?ə? ha?‡
dił ?u ti?ə? ha?‡
FOC INT PROX good
‘is the good one this?’
- c. dił ?u ti?ə? di?ə? xʷi? gʷəsəs?iqʷʷs
dił ?u ti?ə? di?ə? xʷi? gʷəsəs?iqʷʷs
FOC INT PROX here NEG SBJ=NM=STAT-swept=3PO
‘is it this one that isn’t cleared?’

[AW Basket Ogress, lines 30–31]

In these constructions, the presupposition of the question is expressed as the syntactic subject, and the Rhematic element which would correspond to the answer to the question is left unnamed but is inferable from context. Less commonly, polar questions built on *dił* have an explicit Rheme and an elided subject:

- (611) dił ?u šac’s
dił ?u s=šac’=s
FOC INT NM=end=3PO
‘is that the end?’

[ML Basket Ogress, line 238]

In these cases, rather than asking for confirmation that a particular entity corresponds to some presupposed or topical identification, the speaker is seeking confirmation of their identification of a presupposed or topical element. These two patterns parallel exactly the non-interrogative uses of *dił*, which are discussed in more detail in Section 11.2.1.

8.4.2 Information questions

Information questions request specific information, as opposed to seeking an affirmative or negative answer. In Lushootseed, such questions take the form of sentences whose subject is the known or Given part of the utterance and whose main predicate is one of the interrogative words listed in Table 67 in Section 2.6 above. The simplest type of information question asks for the identity of someone or something, or requests information about its state:

- (612) a. gʷat ti?iɬ stubš
gʷat ti?iɬ stubš
who DIST man
'who is that man?'

- b. gʷat čəxʷ
gʷat čəxʷ
who 2SG.SUB
'who are you?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 97)

- c. stab əw'ə ti?iɬ titčulbixʷ
stab əw'ə ti?iɬ titčulbixʷ
what PTCL DIST small.animal
'what is that small animal?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216)

- d. gʷəl ?əsčal ti?ə? sčətxʷəd
gʷəl ?əs-čal ti?ə? sčətxʷəd
SCONJ STAT-how PROX bear
'and how is Black Bear?'

(Hess 1995: 144, line 35)

The first constituent in these clauses — the interrogative word — is the predicate, and the predicate is immediately followed by its subject, a simple NP. The mirative predicate particle *əw'ə* (Section 2.5.1) seen in (612c) expresses mild surprise and is frequently found associated with questions.

In addition to being modifiable by predicate particles, interrogative words can also be modified by adjunct phrases like those in (613):

- (613) a. gʷatəxʷ ?ə dibəł kʷi ɬu?uχʷtxʷ kʷi sləxil
 gʷat=əxʷ ?ə dibəł kʷi ɬu=?uχʷ-txʷ kʷi sləxil
 who=now PR we REM IRR=go-ECS REM day
 ‘which [lit. ‘who’] of us will take the daylight?’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 18)

- b. čad ?ə ti?ə? cədił ḥəp̚xpay?ac kʷi s?as
 čad ?ə ti?ə? cədił ḥəp̚-xpay?*ac kʷi s=?a=s
 where PR PROX he DSTR-cedar•tree REM NM=be.there=3PO
 ‘where in these cedars is she?’ [lit. ‘her location [is] where in these cedars?’]

(Hess 2006: 18, line 150)

- c. ?u?əxidəxʷ ?al tu'di? šeq ?ə tə ?əšab ti?ə? sucucuts
 ?u-?əxid=əxʷ ?al tudi? šeq ?ə tə ?əšab ti?ə?
 PFV-what.happen=now PR DIST.DMA high PR INDEF STAT-dry PROX
 s=?u-cut-cut=s
 NM=PFV-DSTR-say=3PO
 ‘what is she doing talking way over there up a dry [cedar tree]?’

(Hess 2006: 17, line 145)

In the first two sentences, the scope of the question being asked is restricted using a prepositional phrase introduced by the general preposition *?ə*. In the last, the question is made more specific with a prepositional phrase specifying a location. Note that in the examples in (613), the subject phrases are complex nominal expressions — specifically, a headless relative clause in (613a) and a nominalization in (613b) and (c).

Because the interrogative itself is the sentence predicate and the Given information is relegated to the subject phrase, the structures in (613b) are quite a common type of construction: the predicate of the sentence is an interrogative word whose target (the thing being asked about) is the referent of the complex nominal expression in the subject phrase. The syntax of the subject phrase follows the same pattern described for relative clauses and nominalizations in Section 7.3. If the referent of the subject phrase is the subject or object of the verb in the embedded clause, the subject phrase takes the form of a headless relative clause, as in (614):

- (614) a. gʷat kʷi ?u?əy'dxʷ ti sqʷəbay?
 gʷat kʷi ?u-?əy'dxʷ ti sqʷəbay?
 who REM PFV-find SPEC dog
 ‘who found the dog?’ (lit. ‘the one who found the dog [is] who?’)

- b. gʷat kʷi ?u?əłtxʷ čəłəp
 gʷat kʷi ?u-?əł-txʷ čəłəp
 who REM PFV-eaten-ECS 2PL.SUB
 ‘who did you guys feed?’ (lit. ‘the one who you guys fed [is] who?’)

(Hess 1995: 100)

- c. gʷat kʷi ?u?əy'dub ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 gʷat kʷi ?u-?əy'dxʷ-b ?ə ti sqʷəbay?
 who REM PFV-find-PASS PR SPEC dog
 ‘who did the dog find?’ (lit. ‘the one found by the dog [is] who?’)

(Hess 1995: 99)

The question in (614a) asks for the identity of the subject of the clause embedded in the subject phrase, a headless subject-centred relative clause, while (614b) asks for the identity of the direct object of the object-centred headless relative clause *kʷi ?u?əłtxʷ čəłəp* ‘the one that you guys fed’. Because the subject-phrase in questions of this type is a relative clause, it is subject to the constraint against the relativization of direct objects in clauses where both subject and object are third persons (Section 7.4.1); in these situations, the subject phrase must be passivized, as in (614c). Note that the same constraint prevents the potential ambiguity of (614a), which can not be interpreted as inquiring after the object of the subject-phrase (i.e., *‘who did the dog find?’).

In questions asking for the identity of an oblique argument, the subject phrase is nominalized by the proclitic *s*= (Section 7.4.2.1):

- (615) a. gʷatəxʷ kʷi ḥudsqʷu? ?al ti?ə?
 gʷat=əxʷ kʷi ḥu=d=s=qʷu? ?al ti?ə?
 who=now REM IRR=1SG.PO=NM=gathered at PROX
 ‘who will I get together with in this [place]?’
 (lit. ‘the one I’ll get together with here [is] who?’)

[DS Star Child, line 74]

- b. stab kʷi gʷəsu?əłəds
 stab kʷi gʷəs=?u-?əłəd=s
 what REM SBJ=NM=PFV-feed.on=3PO
 ‘what would he eat?’ (lit. ‘the one he would feed on [is] who?’)

(Hess 1995: 143, line 12)

- c. ?əstab k^wi g^wədsq'p'ucid
 ?əs-stab k^wi g^wə=d=s=q'p'u-t-sid
 STAT=what REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=pay-ICS-2SG.OBJ
 'what should I pay you?' (lit. 'what I should pay you with [is] what?')
 (Hess 2006: 30, line 190)

Nominalized subject phrases are also found with questions targeting predicate-complements of verbs like *huy* 'be done, be made, be finished' (Sections 8.2.5 and 8.2.6):

- (616) a. stab k^wi g^wəshuy čət
 stab k^wi g^wə=s=huy čət
 what REM SBJ=NOM=be.done 1PL.PO
 'what can we do?'
 (Hess 2006: 18, line 156)

- b. ḫasčaləx^w k^wi ḫushuy čət
 ḫu=?as-čal=əx^w k^wi ḫu=s=huy čət
 IRR=STAT-how=now REM IRR=NOM=be.done 1PL.PO
 'what are we going to do?'
 (Hess 2006: 53, line 279)

- c. ?əs?əxid, ?u dsuq^wsuq^wa?, k^wi g^wədshuy ?al ti
 ?əs-?əxid ?u d-suq^w-suq^wa? k^wi g^wə=d=s=huy
 STAT=what.happen INT 1SG.PO-DSTR-sibling REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NOM=be.done
 ?al ti
 at SPEC
 'what, my little brothers, can I do about this?'
 (Hess 2006: 23, line 25)

Unlike questions targeting oblique objects such as those in (615), which are always formed on *stab* 'what?' or *g^wat* 'who?', questions targeting predicate complements can take either *stab*, as in (338a), *čal* 'how?' (338b), or *?əxid* (338c). It is unclear at present what, if any, difference is made by the choice of interrogative word in such sentences.

Questions asking for circumstantial information such as motives, etc., that are normally expressed as adjuncts (Section 8.2.7) are also nominalized. In these cases, either of the two nominalizing clitics, *s=* (Section 7.4.2.1) or *dəx^w=* (7.4.2.2) may be used, depending on the type of adjunct being questioned. Questions based on the interrogatives *čad* 'where?' (that is, *čad*

‘where’, *dxʷčad* ‘to where?’, *tul’čad* ‘from where?’, and *liłčad* ‘which way?’), almost invariably take *s*=nominals as their subjects:¹⁵⁷

- (617) a. huy gʷəl čad kʷi s?oy'dubs ?ə ti?ə? cədiɬ
 huy gʷəl čad kʷi s=?oy'dxʷ=b=s ?ə ti?ə? cədiɬ
 SCONJ SCONJ where REM NM=find-DC=3PO PR PROX he
 ‘so then, where were they found by this one?’

(Hess 1998: 74, line 224)

- b. liłčad kʷi ładsu?ułxʷ
 lił-čad kʷi łu=ad=s=?u-?ułxʷ
 PRLV-where REM IRR=2SG.PO=NFM=PFV-go
 ‘which way will you go?’

(Hess 1995: 105)

- c. tul’-čad kʷi skʷədxʷs əlgʷə?
 tul’-čad kʷi s=kʷəd-dxʷ=s əlgʷə?
 CNTRFG-where REM NM=taken-DC=3PO PL
 ‘from where did they manage to get it?’

(Hess 1998: 83, line 162)

Questions relating to temporal adjuncts also generally take *s*=nominals as subjects, as in (618):

- (618) a. pədtab kʷi łudšudubicid
 pədtab kʷi łu=d=s=śuł-dxʷ-bicid
 when REM IRR=1SG.PO=NFM=see-DC=2SG.OBJ
 ‘when will I see you?’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216)

¹⁵⁷ There is one exception to this generalization in the present corpus:

- (i) čad swatixʷəd ti?ə? dəxʷ?atubs
 čad swatixʷəd ti?ə? dəxʷ=?a-txʷ-b=s
 where land PROX ADNM=be.there-ECS-PASS=3PO
 ‘where in the world had they been placed?’

(Hess 2006: 54, line 293)

However, the structure of this sentence is unclear, as its predicate appears to be composed of an interrogative word, *čad* ‘where?’ and a bare nominal, *swatixʷəd* ‘land, world’ which may be functioning as a predicate complement of some kind (see Section 8.2.5). However, there are no other examples of this type available, and any generalizations that might be drawn here would be little more than speculation.

- b. ḫʷul'əxʷ ?əs?əxid ti?ił s?a ?ə cədił tučəgʷas dxʷ?al t'aq't
 ḫʷul' =əxʷ ?əs -?əxid ti?ił s=?a ?ə cədił tu=čəgʷas-s
 only=now PFV=what.happen DIST NM=be.there PR he PAST=wife-3PO

dxʷ-?al t'aq't
 CNTRPT-at inland

'just how long was his wife there up from shore?'

(Hess 2006: 16, line 126)

Likewise, questions about the motives for an action usually have this type of subject as well:

- (619) a. bələčayɬəp kʷi s?u?uɬəp
 bə=łə=čayɬ=əxʷ ɬələp kʷi s=?u-?uɬəp
 ADD=PROG=go.for.what=now 2PL.SUB REM NM=PFV-go=2PL.PO
 'what business did you folks have in going there?'
 (Hess 1998: 93, line 80)

- b. ?əs?əxid əw'ə ti?ił ḥ'udsəsqəldub ?ə ti?ił cəxʷ?acəc sɬəładəy? dxʷ?al kʷi gʷəds?uɬʷ
 dxʷ?ista?ulgʷədxʷ gʷəšayiləd¹⁵⁸
 ?əs -?əxid əw'ə ti?ił ḥ'u=d=s=?əs-qəldxʷ-b ?ə ti?ił
 STAT=what.happen PTCL DIST HAB=1SG.SUB=NM=STAT-stop-PASS PR DIST
 d=dəxʷ=acəc sɬəładəy? dxʷ-?al kʷi gʷə=d=s=?uɬʷ
 1SG.PO=ADNM=be.located PL-woman CNTRPT-at REM SBJ=1SG.SUB=NM=go
 dxʷ-?ista?•ulgʷədxʷ gʷə=šayil=əd
 CNTRPT=same+land SBJ=hunt=1SG.SBJ
 'why do these women here stop me from going towards this same land when I hunt?'
 [HM Star Child, line 84]

There are also some examples of questions asking about means that have *s*=nominal subjects:

¹⁵⁸ Compare this sentence with the sentence in (i), which takes a subject in *dəxʷ=* rather than *s=*:

- (i) ?u', ?əs?əxid əw'ə ti?ił dəxʷxa?xa?tubs ?ə ti?ił sɬəładəy? gʷədsu?ibəš dxʷ?ałčadulgʷədxʷ ?ə ti?ił
 dsuxʷ?xʷi?
 ?u ?əs -?əxid əw'ə ti?ił dəxʷ=xa?xa?-txʷ-b=s ?ə ti?ił sɬəładəy?
 INTJ STAT=what.happen PTCL DIST ADNM=forbidden-ECS-PASS=3PO PR PL-DIST PL-woman
 gʷə=d=s=?u-?ibəš dxʷ-ałčad•ulgʷədxʷ ?ə ti?ił d=s=?u-xʷ?xʷi?
 SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=PFV-travel CNTRPT-downstream+land PR DIST 1SG.PO=NM=PFV-forage
 'oh, why is my travel in the land downstream forbidden by those women when I hunt?'
 [MW Star Child, line 34]

In this case, the use of *dəxʷ=* instead of *s=* may indicate that the focus of the question is on the cause of the women's prohibition rather than the motive for it, which is the focus in (619). This would make (i) an instance of the regular use of *dəxʷ=* in questions about causes, illustrated in (623) below.

(620) a. ?əsčaləxʷ kʷi tushuys

?əs-čal=əxʷ kʷi tu=s=huy=s
STAT-how=now REM IRR=NM=be.done=3PO
'how will he manage?'

(Hess 1995: 105)

b. gʷəl ?əsčaləxʷ həw'ə kʷi tushuys əlgʷə?

gʷəl ?əs-čal=əxʷ həw'ə kʷi tu=s=huy=s əlgʷə?
SCONJ STAT-how=now PTCL REM PAST=NM=be.done=3PO PL
'but how did they deal with it?'

(Hess 2006: 41, line 486)

However, questions asking about both time and means are also found with subjects nominalized

by the adjunct nominalizer, *dəxʷ=*:

(621) a. pədtab kʷi adəxʷəxʷcutəb gʷəščils

pədtab kʷi ad=dəxʷ=?əs-dxʷ-cut-əb gʷə=s=čil=s
when REM 2SG.PO=ADNM=STAT-CTD=say-DSD SBJ=NM=arrive=3PO
'when do you think he will arrive?'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 216)

b. ?əsčal kʷi dəxʷgʷəlaltəbs

?əs-čal kʷi dəxʷ=gʷəlal-t-əb=s
STAT-how REM ADNM=punished-ICS-PASS=3PO
'how was she punished?'

(Hess 2006: 80, line 924)

c. tasčaləxʷ kʷi tudəxʷ?ibəšəxʷ

tu=?as-čal=əxʷ kʷi tu=dəxʷ=?ibəš=s=əxʷ
PAST=STAT-how=now REM PAST=ADNM=travel=3PO=now
'how did they get there?'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 217]

In the first of these examples, the use of the adjunct nominalizer may follow from the fact that the interrogative word is questioning an adjunct of a complement of the main verb in the subject clause, *dxʷcutəb* 'think something', rather than an adjunct of the main verb itself (i.e., the question asks about the time of arrival, not the time of thinking). The uses of *dəxʷ=* in (621b) and (c) are more problematic, however, as they seem exactly to parallel the uses in the questions in (620). The parallelism may be a result of the translation into English, or it may simply be an

example of free variation. The resolution to this question will have to await the discovery of further sentences of this type with *dəx^w*=.

More consistently, the adjunct nominalizer *dəx^w*= is used in the subject-phrases of questions asking about other types of adjuncts, such as instruments:

- (622) a. stab ti?ə? dəx^wut'uc'utəbs ti?ə? q^wiq^wq^wistay'bix^w
 stab ti?ə? dəx^w=?u-t'uc'u-t-əb=s ti?ə? q^wi-q^w-q^wistay'bix^w
 what PROX ADNM=PFV-be.shot-ICS-PASS=3PO PROX ATTN-ATTN-dwarf
 'what have the dwarves been shot with?'
 (Hess 2006: 76, line 804)

- b. stabəx^w k^wi g^wədəx^wč'ax^walik^w čəl ?ə ti?ə? bək^w stab, ti?ə? stab, ti?ə? ha?ɬ ?ə ti bu?q^w
 stab=əx^w k^wi g^wə=dəx^w=č'ax^w-alik^w čəl ?ə ti?ə? bək^w stab
 what=now REM SBJ=ADNM=clubbed-ACT 1PL.PO PR PROX all what
 ti?ə? stab ti?ə? ha?ɬ ?ə ti bu?q^w
 PROX what PROX good PR SPEC waterfowl
 'what can we use to club all these things, these things, these good waterfowl?'
 (Hess 2006: 76, line 812)

Similarly, questions about causation are also formed with *dəx^w*=nominals as their subjects:

- (623) stab ti?ə? dəx^wu?atəbəds əlg^wə?
 stab ti?ə? dəx^w=?u-?atəbəd=s əlg^wə?
 what PROX ADNM=PFV-die=3PO PL
 'what was causing them to die?'
 (Hess 2006: 63, line 499)

Because the questions in (622) and (623) ask about the identity of specific things, the interrogative word used to formulate the question is *stab* 'what?'. While this is the most common case for asking about instruments (which are, after all, objects), causes are more often events, in which case the question word used is *?əxid* 'what happens?':

- (624) a. ?əs?əxid k^wi dəx^wəstag^wəx^w ?ə ti?ə? qaw'qs
 ?əs-?əxid k^wi dəx^w=?əs-tag^w=əx^w ?ə ti?ə? qaw'qs
 STAT-what.happen REM ADNM=STAT-hungry=now PR PROX raven
 'why is Raven hungry?'
 (Hess 1995: 105)

- b. ?u?əxid əw'ə ti?ił adəxʷ?itut
 ?u-?əxid əw'ə ti?ił ad=dəxʷ=?itut
 PFV=what.happen PTCL DIST 2SG.SPO=ADNM=sleep
 'why did you fall asleep?'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 95]

- c. ?u?əxid kʷi dəxʷxəł ?ə tsı?ə? xʷu?xʷəy?
 ?u-?əxid kʷi dəxʷ=xəł ?ə tsı?ə? xʷu?xʷəy?
 PFV=what.happen REM ADNM=sick PR PROX:FEM helldiver
 'how did Helldiver get sick?'

(Hess 2006: 11, line 7)

As shown in these examples, questions of this type are typically translated into English as *why?* (a word with no exact Lushootseed equivalent) or *how?*, although neither of these translations is appropriate for *?əxid* in isolation or in other contexts. The Lushootseed word that translates most directly as *how?*, *čal*, on the other hand, is much more frequently associated with questions about means that take *s*=nominals as their subject, such as those shown in (620) above.

8.5 Imperatives

Like all languages, Lushootseed has a variety of means of issuing commands and directives to second persons, the most direct of these being the use of the imperative mood, which is marked by a special set of subject markers (Section 8.1.1).¹⁵⁹ In the second person, the imperative subject marker is Ø, resulting in a surface form that is homophonous with the third-person indicative form:

- (625) a. lilcut

- lil-t-sut Ø
 far-ICS-REFL 2SG.IMP
 'go away!'

(Hess 1998: 83, line 152)

- b. hay qʷa?qʷab

- hay qʷa?qʷab Ø
 SCONJ bark.like.seal 2SG.IMP
 'so now bark like a seal!'

(Hess 2006: 48, line 165)

¹⁵⁹ The imperative mood seems to be largely restricted to the affirmative; negative commands take the form of negative assertions, and are discussed in the Section 8.6.5 under the general heading of negation.

- c. ?uha?li?
 ?u-ha?l-i?
 PFV-stop.from.crying•child Ø
 ‘tend to the baby!’

(Hess 2006: 5, line 71)

Imperatives are found only in the imperfective and perfective aspects, the vast majority being in the imperfective. Not infrequently, imperatives are accompanied by a vocative aimed at the addressee:

- (626) a. lilcut wiw'su
 lil-t-sut wiw'su
 far-ICS-REFL children
 ‘go away, children!’

(Hess 1998: 93, line 61)

- b. ?užalik^w ?o k^wi siq'wayu?, q?qəladi?, dəxʷłalš čəł tsi?ə? adskʷuy
 ?už-alik^w ?o k^wi siq'wayu? q?qəladi? dəxʷ=łal-š čəł
 go-ACT PR REM forked.stick Qiqeladi ADNM=remove.from.fire-ICS 1PL.PO

tsi?ə? ad-skʷuy
 PROX:FEM 2SG.PO-mother
 ‘go for a forked stick, Qiqeladi, so we can get your mother out of the fire!’

[ML Basket Ogress, line 101]

The vocative is generally set off prosodically, as indicated by the commas in (626b). (626b) also shows that non-subject arguments are realized normally, here as an oblique object in a prepositional phrase, following the verb but preceding the vocative. Direct objects are also realized in just as in indicative clauses, as either NPs directly following the verb (627a) or as object suffixes (627b):

- (627) a. ?əλ'tx^w k^wi adɬa?x
 ?əλ'-tx^w k^wi ad-ɬa?x
 come-ECS REM 2SG.PO-platter
 ‘bring your platter!’

(Hess 2006: 43, line 22)

- b. kʷaxʷatubuł? ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 kʷaxʷa-t-ubuł? ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 help-ICS-1PL.OBJ PR PROX here
 ‘help us with this here (thing)!?’

[AW Basket Ogress, line 114]

As in the previous examples, these forms are homophonous with indicative clauses with third-person subjects.

Imperatives directed at second-person plural addressees take the second-person plural imperative subject marker *hi*:

- (628) a. *lilcut hi*
lil-t-sut hi
far-ICS-REFL 2PL.IMP
‘go away, you guys!’

(Hess 1998: 93, line 60)

- b. *šuuc hi*
šuł-c hi
see-ALTV 2PL.IMP
‘look at it, you guys!’

- c. *hiwil hi*
hiwil hi
go.ahead 2PL.IMP
‘go on, you guys!’

(Hess 1998: 83, lines 147–148)

As with singular imperatives, plural imperatives can also have a vocative NP:

- (629) a. *?u, x’əld hi, dsuq’w suq’wa?*
?u x’əld hi d-suq’w-suq’wa?
INTJ ignore 2PL.IMP 1SG.PO-DSTR-younger.sibling
‘oh, never mind my younger brothers!’

(Hess 2006: 23, line 35)

- b. *čalibš hi wiw’su, ču?abaqtubučəd čəd*
čal-š-bš hi wiw’su ču=?abaq-t-ubučəd čəd
remove.from.fire-ICS-1SG.OBJ 2PL.IMP children IRR=return-ICS-2PL.OBJ 1SG.SUB
‘get me out of the fire, children, I will take you back (home)!’

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 102]

The non-subject arguments of plural imperatives, as well as their adjuncts, are also realized like objects in the indicative mood. The example in (629b), for instance, bears an object-marker. The examples in (630a) and (b) show plural imperatives with object NPs, while the example in (630c) illustrates a plural imperative with a locative PP:

(630) a. ?u^v, kʷədad̩ ɬi ti siq'wayu?

?u^v kʷədad̩ ɬi ti siq'wayu?
INTJ taken-ICS 2PL.IMP SPEC forked.stick
'oh, take the forked stick, you guys!'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 104]

b. ɬac̩'ad ɬi ti?iɬ hud, stawixʷa?

ɬac̩'a-d̩ ɬi ti?iɬ hud stawixʷa?
extinguished-ICS 2PL.IMP DIST fire children
'put out the fire, children!'

[LA Basket Ogress, line 76]

c. kʷaxʷac̩ ɬi dxʷ?al gʷədskiisdubut ?al ti?ə?

kʷaxʷa-t-s ɬi dxʷ?al gʷə=d=s=kiis-dxʷ-but ?al ti?ə?
help-ICS-1SG.OBJ 2PL.IMP CNTRPT-at SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=stand-DC-REFL at PROX
'help me so that I can stand up in here, you guys!'

[MS Basket Ogress, line 63]

As expected, the subject marker immediately follows the verb and precedes the object. Note also that the vocative in (630b) follows the direct object.

Occasionally, plural imperatives are found in a series. In these cases, the subject-marker appears only once, following the first verb:

(631) hiwil ɬi, šuuc

hiwil ɬi šuł-c
go.ahead 2PL.SUB see-ALTV
'go on, you guys, look at it!'

(Hess 1998: 83, line 146)

There are also attestations of sequential imperatives in the singular in the texts, but the fact that the singular imperative subject marker is zero makes these, barring a study of their prosody, indistinguishable from two commands contained in separate clauses (which is, in general, how they are transcribed, on separate line with exclamation marks following the gloss and, in some cases, the Lushootseed expression).

Aside from the true imperatives, a very frequent strategy for issuing commands to a singular addressee is through the use of the second-person singular indicative:

- (632) a. dzubalik^w čəx^w
 dzubalik^w čəx^w
 dance 2SG.SUB
 ‘you dance!’

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 86]

- b. qəl-iltx^w čəx^w tsı adčəg^was
 qəl-il-tx^w čəx^w tsı ad-čəg^was
 bad-INCH-ECS=now 2SG.SUB SPEC:FEM 2SG.PO-wife
 ‘you make your wife stop!’

(Hess 2006: 5, line 63)

Unlike true imperatives, this type of command can be issued in aspects other than the imperfective and perfective:

- (633) ?əsx^wəctx^w čəx^w ti?il adbita?s, ti?il adsəsčəqšad, ti?il adčəw^wlažad
 ?əs-x^wəc-tx^w čəx^w ti?il ad-bit-a?s ti?il
 STAT-removed-ECS 2SG.SUB DIST 2SG.PO-breechcloth DIST
 ad=s=?əs-čəq•šad ti?il ad-čəw^wlažad
 2SG.PO=NM=STAT-wrapped-leg DIST 2SG.PO-armbands
 ‘Take off your breechcloth, your leg wraps, your leg wrappings, your armbands.’

(Hess 2006: ?Coyote’s son 79)

It is not entirely clear what conditions govern the choice of mood in commands. It might be supposed that it has to do with politeness or indirection, although there are examples where an imperative and a indicative occur together in the same sentence:

- (634) a. hiwiləx^w čəx^wa təqad tə šəg^w!
 hiwil=əx^w Ø čəx^wa təqa-d tə šəg^w!
 go.ahead=now 2SG.IMP 2SG.COORD closed-ICS NSPEC door
 ‘go ahead and you close the door!’

- b. hiwiləx^w čəx^w təqad tə šəg^w!
 hiwil=əx^w čəx^w təqa-d Ø tə šəg^w!
 go.ahead=now 2SG.SUB closed-ICS 2SG.IMP NSPEC door
 ‘you go ahead and close the door!’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: I, 43)¹⁶⁰

In (634a), there are two clauses in a coordinate relation, the first being in the imperative mood and the second, introduced by the second-person singular coordinative subject-marker in the

¹⁶⁰ The (a) and (b) forms of the sentences reflect the possible variation noted in footnote 2. The transcription (čəx^wa instead of čəx^wa) has been revised to follow current practices.

indicative mood. (634b), on the other hand, has the first of the two verbs in the indicative mood and the second, apparently, in the imperative — although it could also simple represent a series of two verbs in the indicative mood “sharing” the second-person subject clitic (cf. Section 9.1).

Plain indicatives used as commands directed at plural addressees are much less frequent, but they are attested in the corpus:

- (635) a. ?əsqʷibəxʷ čələp

?əs-qʷib=əxʷ
STAT=prepared=now 2PL.SUB
'you folks be ready!'

(Hess 2006: 66, line 588)

- b. hay čələp ḥu?učʷcəxʷ čələpa ḥugʷiidəxʷ

hay čələp ḥu=?učʷ-c=əxʷ čələpa ḥu=gʷi-d=əxʷ^w
SCONJ 2PL.SUB IRR=go-ALTV=now 2PL.COORD IRR=invited-ICS=now
'next you guys will go and you guys will invite them'

(Hess 2006: 73, line 738)

Note that the example in (635b) consists of two clauses, both with imperative force, the first in the present indicative and the second in the future. This use of the future tense in imperative contexts is found quite frequently in texts directed at both singular and plural addressees, as are expressions with the adverb *λ'ub* ‘well’, which in these contexts takes on a modal sense of ‘should’ or ‘ought to’:

- (636) a. λ'ub čələp ?ušuuc

λ'ub čələp ?u-šuč-c
well 2PL.SUB PFV-see-ALTV
'you guys should look him over!'

(Hess 1998: 98, line 190)

- b. λ'ubəxʷ čəxʷ ?uhay'əd tsi ad?alš

λ'ub=əxʷ čəxʷ ?u-hay'əd tsi ad-?alš
well=now 2PL.SUB PFV-pay.attention.to SPEC:FEM 2SG.PO-sibling
'you had better pay attention to your sister'

(Hess 1998: 60, line 11)

This imperative force of *λ'ub* in such expressions, however, is purely pragmatically-determined, and the same adverb is found in contexts such as (637a), where the speaker is offering advice to

the addressee, and (637b), where the speaker is merely offering an opinion as to what ought to happen in a given situation:

- (637) a. *λ'ub čəxʷ ?ukʷədad*
λ'ub čəxʷ ?u-kʷəda-d
 well 2SG.SUB PFV-taken-ICS
 ‘you should take her’

(Hess 1998: 98, line 202)

- b. *λ'ub čəxʷ ?ubiqʷyitəb ?ə tsi?acəc tubəda?*
λ'ub čəxʷ ?u-biqʷyit-b ?ə tsi?acəc tu=bəda?-s
 well 2SG.SUB PFV-permit-PASS PR UNQ:FEM PAST=offspring-3PO
 ‘you should be permitted the deceased’s daughter’

(Hess 1998: 98, line 205)

Thus, *λ'ub* in and of itself can not be considered an imperative marker, but instead offers the speaker an alternative to issuing a direct command in the imperative mood. As with the use of the second-person indicative, the fact that *λ'ub* constructions with imperative force are textually more frequent with plural addressees than with singular addressees may well reflect issues of politeness and social restrictions on the use of the imperative and direct commands.

8.6 Negation

The primary marker of negation in Lushootseed is the negative adverb *xʷi?*, which — like other lexical adverbs — is attested both as a syntactic predicate and as an adverbial modifier. When used as a sentence predicate in its own right, it functions to negate the presence of the referent of its subject at a particular location:

- (638) a. *xʷi?čəxʷ tsi?ił čəgʷas*
xʷi?=čəxʷ tsi?ił čəgʷas-s
 NEG=now DIST:FEM wife-3PO
 ‘his wife was not there’

(Hess 2006: 8, line 144)

- b. *bəxʷi?čəxʷ ti?ił λ'udsəsqʷəladup s?əłəd*
bə=xʷi?=čəxʷ ti?ił λ'u=d=s=?əs-qʷəł•adup s?əłəd
 ADD=NEG=now DIST HAB=1SG.PO=NM=STAT-cooked•land food
 ‘again the food which I had baked in the ground is gone’

(Hess 2006: 39, line 413)

- c. *xʷi?əxʷ sixʷ ti tus?əłəd čəł*
xʷi?=əxʷ sixʷ ti tu=s?əłəd čəł
 NEG=now PTCL SPEC PAST=food 1PL.PO
 ‘again our food is gone’

(Hess 2006: 41, line 477)

In these environments, *xʷi?* is glossed along the lines of ‘not be there’, which is consistent with the meaning *xʷi?* has as the radical of derived forms such as *xʷi?il* ‘be gone, become not-there’:

- (639) a. *bəkʷ?uxʷi?il*
bəkʷ?u-xʷi?-il
 all PFV-NEG-INCH
 ‘it’s all gone’

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 252)

- b. *gʷəł څaxʷ ti ləxʷi?il ti?ił tusəstabs*
gʷəł څ=axʷ ti lə=xʷi?-il ti?ił tu=s=?əs-tab=s
 SCONJ seemingly=now PROG=NEG=INCH DIST PAST=NM=STAT-do=3PO
 ‘and it was as though what he had done was all gone’

(Hess 1998: 99, line 215)

The same meaning of the radical is also seen in a few other forms (e.g., *xʷi?alusbid* ‘feel the absence of something’) and with one use of *xʷi?txʷ* ‘cause not to be there’:¹⁶¹

- (640) *xʷi?tubəxʷ*
xʷi?-txʷ-b=əxʷ
 NEG-ECS-PASS=now
 ‘he is not here now (because of what happened)’

[HM Star Child, line 57]

However, other uses of *xʷi?txʷ* have a slightly different reading:

- (641) *xʷi?tubəxʷ ?ə tə pastəd. xʷi?txʷəxʷ kʷi tubəkʷ tus?əłəd*
xʷi?-txʷ-b=əxʷ ?ə tə pastəd
 NEG-ECS-PASS=now PR NSPEC white.person

- xʷi?-txʷ=əxʷ kʷi tu=bəkʷ tu=s?əłəd*
 NEG-ECS=now REM PAST=all PAST=food
 ‘the white people have caused it to be no more. There is no more (Indian) food left’
 (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 252)

¹⁶¹ Another use of this verb form in which the radical seems to contribute the more general negative sense is discussed in Section 8.6.5.

Here, *xʷi?**txʷ* means ‘cause not to be, cause not to exist’, the contribution of the negative radical being ‘not be’ or ‘not exist’ rather than ‘not be there’, as does the use of *xʷi?**txʷ* in the imperative mood to form negative commands or admonishments (see Section 8.6.5 below). These facts seem more in keeping with the uses of *xʷi?* as a general-purpose negator illustrated in the sections below, and may be an indication that etymologically-speaking *xʷi?* originated as some kind of negative adverb or locative expression, and underwent a metaphorical extension from ‘not be there’ to ‘not be’ and then finally took on the more general meaning ‘not’ in modern Lushootseed. With this final, most general meaning, *xʷi?* is found in a wide range of fairly specialized syntactic constructions, each of which will be discussed in more detail in the sections that follow.

8.6.1 Adverbial negation

The most straightforward negative construction in Lushootseed from the English perspective is adverbial negation, in which the negative *xʷi?* is used to negate the proposition expressed by the syntactic predicate, as in the examples in (642):

- (642) a. gʷəl xʷi? t̥uləx̥əb dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 gʷəl xʷi? t̥u=lə=x̥əb dxʷ-?al dəgʷi
 SCONJ NEG IRR=NEGP=heavy CNTRPT-at you
 ‘it will not be heavy for you’

(Hess 1998: 81, line 92)

- b. xʷi?əxʷ lət̥ild tsi?ə? čəgʷas
 xʷi?əxʷ lə=t̥il-d tsi?ə? čəgʷas-s
 NEG=now NEGP=give.food-ICS PROX:FEM wife-3PO
 ‘he didn’t give any of the food to his wife’

(Hess 1998: 84, line 168)

Like other adverbs, *xʷi?* appears in these constructions in pre-predicate position and attracts sentence-second clitics and predicate particles (Section 2.5.3) such as the matrix subject markers seen in (643a) and (b):

- (643) a. *x^wi?*_{EX^w} čəd ləšuuč
*x^wi?*_{EX^w} čəd lə=šuł-c
 NEG=now 1SG.SUB NEGP=see-ALTV
 'I am not to look at it'

(Hess 1998: 87, line 250)

- b. *x^wi?*_{ČƏX^w} bələčə?k^w
*x^wi?*_{ČƏX^w} bə=lə=ča?k^w
 NEG 2SG.SUB ADD=NEGP=seaward
 'don't you come down to the shore again!'

[JS Basket Ogress, line 37]

- c. λ'ubəx^w čələp x^wi? ləbəg^wəlald
λ'ub=_{EX^w} čələp x^wi? lə=bə=g^wəlal-d
 well=now 2PL.SUB NEG NEGP=ADD=hurt-ICS
 'you folks had better not punish him any more'

(Hess 2006: 73, line 748)

Note the different relative ordering of the additive and negative proclitics in (643b) in comparison with the example in (643c). As with other cases of variable ordering of clitics (Section 2.8), the conditions on the order of the proclitics are as yet undetermined.

In (643c), the negative adverb is preceded by another adverb, *λ'ub* 'well'. In such cases, pre-predicate particles and clitics follow the sentence-initial adverb and precede *x^wi?*. Although lexical adverbs are usually ordered freely with respect to one another, *x^wi?* seems to consistently follow other predicate-modifying words when these appear in the same clause. This is likely due to the fact that *x^wi?* can take scope over another adverb that immediately follows it; ensuring that *x^wi?* follows any other adverb it does not take scope over thereby avoids a potential structural ambiguity between clauses like that in (643c), where the negative takes scope only over the verbal predicate, and clauses like those in (644), where the negative actually does takes scope over the other adverb:

- (644) a. xəł ti x^wi? ləha?a?ł šuł sładøy? tsi?ił həbu?
xəł ti x^wi? lə=ha?a?ł šuł sładøy? tsi?ił həbu?
 seemingly NEG NEGP=DSTR see woman PROX:FEM pigeon
 'it seems that Pigeon was a not-good looking woman'

(Hess 2006: 22, line 9)

- b. huy ?usa?il əw'ə six^w ti?ə? x^wi? ləha?ɬ qaw'qs, ?əx^wk'ʷəl̥xqs
 huy ?u-sa?-il əw'ə six^w ti?ə? x^wi? lə=ha?ɬ qaw'qs ?əx^wk'ʷəl̥xqs
 SCONJ PFV=bad-INCH PTCL PROX NEG NEGP=good raven flared.nostriils
 'then this no-good, flared-nose Raven got into trouble'

(Hess 1998: 63, line 82)

In (644a), the negative adverbial has scope over the adverb *ha?* 'good', and the resulting phrase *x^wi? ləha?* takes scope over *ɬšut* 'appear, be visible'. The expression in (644b), a modifying phrase contained inside an NP (see Section 7.4.1 above), *x^wi? ləha?* 'no-good' is a common idiomatic expression found throughout the texts and is used to refer to a base, mean, or disreputable person.

Another indicator of the scope of *x^wi?* in adverbial negatives is the negative proclitic *lə=*, which attaches itself directly to the negated element, as illustrated in (645):¹⁶²

- (645) gʷəl x^wi? ləla?b ?aciłtalbix^w
 gʷəl x^wi? lə=la?b ?aciłtalbix^w
 SCONJ NEG NEGP=really person
 'so he was not really a person'

[DS Star Child, line 220]

Here, the negative adverb takes scope over the adverbial *la?* 'really' rather than over the main predicate of the clause *?aciłtalbix^w* 'person' (that is, the sentence means 'he was not-really a person' rather than 'he was really a non-person'), and so the negative proclitic appears on *la?* and not on *?aciłtalbix^w*. This is in direct contrast with the sentence in (646), where the scope of negation includes the predicate nominal, and the negative proclitic appears on the noun itself:

- (646) a. x^wi? čəd lə=?aciłtalbix^w
 x^wi? čəd lə=?aciłtalbix^w
 NEG 1SG.SUB NEGP=person
 'I am not an Indian'

(Kroeber 1999: 158)

¹⁶² This element has occasionally been glossed as the progressive prefix in earlier literature; however, it is shown to be a clitic by its position preceding the additive clitic *bə=* in (643c) above, and its semantics clearly separate it from the homophonous aspectual prefix.

As indicated by the full gloss of this sentence, the word *?acit̥talbixʷ* ‘person’ — like its equivalents in many North American languages — can be used to distinguish aborigines or people of in-group origin from outsiders (in this case, people of European descent).

The example in (646) also illustrates another property of the negative adverb, its ability to negate non-verbal predicates. This applies not only to nouns, as in (646) and (647a), but also to *s*=nominals (Section 7.4.2.1), as in (647b):

- (647) a. *xʷi?* ləpišpiš *ti?i₧*

xʷi? lə=pišpiš *ti?i₧*
NEG NEGP=cat DIST
'that is not a cat'

(Hess 1995: 94, ex. 5)

- b. *xʷi?* lədsgʷa?

xʷi? lə=d=s=gʷa?
NEG NEGP=1SG.PO=NOM=one's.own
'(they) are not mine'

(Hess 1998: 85, line 200)

The effect of applying the negative adverb to a nominal predicate is to create an expression negating the inclusion of the referent of the subject in the class denoted by the predicate nominal, or to negate its equivalence to the referent of the predicate nominal, as in (648b)

- (648) a. *di₧ sda?_s, gʷəl ?acit̥talbixʷ, həla?_b sda?_s tsᵢ?i₧ k'₧a?k'₧a?*

di₧ *sda?_s* *gʷəl* *?acit̥talbixʷ* *həla?_b* *sda?_s*
FOC name-3PO belong.to person truly name-3PO

tsᵢ?i₧ *k'₧a?k'₧a?*
DIST:FEM crow

'that is her name, belonging to the Native people, the true name of Crow'

- b. *xʷi?* lək'₧a?k'₧a?

xʷi? lə=k'₧a?k'₧a?
NEG NEGP=crow
'it (i.e., her true name) is not "Crow"'

(Hess 1998: 57, lines 23–24)

As is often the case with nominal predicates, the exact relationship between the subject and the predicate being asserted, or negated, is often dependent on context.

The negative adverb can also be used to negate other types of non-verbal predicates such as adverbs, as shown in (649):

- (649) a. *xʷi?* ləha?kʷ ti?ə? səsɬaɬlils
xʷi? lə=ha?kʷ ti?ə? s=?əs-ɬaɬlil=s
 NEG NEGP=long.time PROX NM=STAT-live.together=3PO
 ‘they had not been living together for long’

(Hess 2006: 3, line 6)

- b. gʷəɬčis čəxʷ ?al ti?ə? xʷi? ləlil čxʷa cuuc
gʷəɬčis čəxʷ ?al ti?ə? xʷi? lə=lil čxʷa cut-c
 SBJ=arrive-ALTV 2SG.SUB at PROX NEG NEGP=far 2SG.COORD say-ALTV
 ‘you can reach him at (a place that is) not far from here and speak to him’

(Hess 2006: 28, line 49)

Adverbial negation of non-verbal predicates is not restricted to matrix clauses, but is also found in various types of subordinate clause, as in the adverbial prepositional phrase headed by *?al* ‘at’ in (649b).

Not unexpectedly, *xʷi?* acting as an adverbial negator is also found in subordinate subjunctive clauses, such as that in (650):

- (650) tucutəb čəd tuxʷi?əd lədᶻalqʷus
tu=cut-t-b čəd tuxʷi?əd lə=dᶻalqʷus
 PAST=speak-ICS-PASS 1SG.SUB IRR=NEG=1SG.SBJ NEGP=turn•head
 ‘I have been told not to look over my shoulder’

(Hess 1998: 82, 116)

Note that in this example the negative adverb attracts both the irrealis proclitic and the enclitical subjunctive subject-marker. The negative proclitic, however, remains associated with the verbal predicate of the embedded clause, indicating the scope of negation.

8.6.2 Existential negatives

Existential negatives are propositions that negate the existence of something. Although the syntactic structure of these expressions in Lushootseed is somewhat obscure, it seems like the best way to analyze them is as impersonal subjectless constructions whose predicate is the

negative adverbial which in turn takes a nominal predicate complement bearing the subjunctive clitic:

- (651) a. xʷi? gʷəstutubš
 xʷi? gʷə=stu-tubš
 NEG SBJ=ATTN-man
 'there were no boys'

[LA Basket Ogress, line 119]

- b. xʷi? gʷəstabəxʷ
 xʷi? gʷə=stab=əxʷ
 NEG SBJ=what=now
 'there is nothing (left)'

[ML Mink and Tutyika II, line 101]

Quite frequently, the complement in these constructions is introduced by the remote/hypothetical determiner, *kʷi*:

- (652) a. xʷi? kʷi gʷəpišpiš
 xʷi? kʷi gʷə=pišpiš
 NEG REM SBJ=cat
 'there are no cats'

(Hess 1995: 95, ex. 3)

- b. xʷi? kʷi gʷəbiac kʷi gʷəstab
 xʷi? kʷi gʷə=biac kʷi gʷə=stab
 NEG REM SBJ=meat REM SBJ=what
 'there is no meat or anything'

(Hess 1998: 88, line 274)

- c. xʷi? u?xʷ kʷi gʷəstab ?ə ti?iħ dəxʷuxʷi?xʷi?s
 xʷi? u?xʷ kʷi gʷə=stab ?ə ti?iħ dəxʷ=?u-xʷi?xʷi?=s
 NEG PTCL REM SBJ=what PR DIST ADNM=PFV-forage=3PO
 'he still didn't have anything from his fishing'

(Hess 2006: 14, line 85)

Other than negating the existence of something, one of the principal uses of the construction with *kʷi* is the negation of possession:

- (653) xʷi? kʷi gʷədsqʷəbay?
 xʷi? kʷi gʷə=d-sqʷəbay?
 NEG REM SBJ=1SG.PO-dog
 'I don't have a dog'

(Hess 1998: 79, line 35)

In these contexts, the subjunctive complement of the negative predicate is a possessed noun, the utterance having a literal gloss along the lines of ‘there is nothing that would be my dog’. The exact semantic contribution of the determiner in the constructions in (652) and (653) is difficult to ascertain; however, in texts the construction with *kʷi* tends to appear in contexts where the non-existent object is something that was expected to exist or that was being looked for, whereas the constructions without the determiner in (651) are merely observations of something’s absence. This would be consistent with the use of *kʷi* in expressions denying possession of something, as such utterances would normally be restricted to contexts where negated item is something the speaker is expected to possess.

As noted above, the syntactic structure of the existential negative is rather obscure, particularly in constructions such as those in (652) and (653) where the NP following the negative predicate is introduced by a determiner and so potentially could be analyzed a syntactic predicate. There are, however, a number of advantages to analyzing the following NP as a predicate complement. The first of these is that it allows us to treat both types of existential negatives as the same type of syntactic construction, given that the absence of a determiner from expressions such as those in (651) militates against its interpretation as a syntactic subject. This analysis also allows for a clear distinction between the negative adverb used as a syntactic predicate with the meaning ‘not be there’ in (638) above, and used as the impersonal existential negator with the meaning ‘there is no’ shown in (651). Furthermore, treating the subjunctive element as a complement — and, hence, as part of the predicate — also avoids a violation of the Lushootseed constraint that subject be Thematic (Section 11.1), given that utterances such as those in (651) are, like their English counterparts, all-Rhematic. Evidence from the nominalization of existential negative clauses also seems to back up this analysis:

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: note that there is no subjunctive clitic here. see also line 3 of MW Star Child

- (654) ?u^wcəbəx^w ?ə sp'ic'ik^w ti?i^ł sqas ?ə ti?i^ł sx^wi? s k^wi g^wat ləšəqəd
 ?u^w-c-b=əx^w ?ə sp'ic'ik^w ti?i^ł sqas-s
 go-ALTV-PASS=now PR Diaper.Child DIST older.brother-3PO
 ?ə ti?i^ł s=x^wi? =s k^wi g^wat lə=šəq-d
 PR DIST NM=NEG=3PO REM who NEGP=be.high-ICS
 'Diaper Child went to his older brother when there was no one to put him up high'
 [DS Star Child, line 268]

In this example, the negative clause *x^wi? k^wi g^wat ləšəqəd* 'there is no one to put him up high' is nominalized and serves as the complement of the preposition *?ə* in an adverbial prepositional phrase (Section 9.5); the resulting *s*=nominal (Section 7.4.2.1) takes the third-person possessive subject clitic *=s*. If *k^wi g^wat ləšəqəd* were the subject of the nominalized clause, we would have expected the third-person clitic to be absent and for *k^wi g^wat ləšəqəd* to be introduced by the preposition *?ə*. As this is not the case, its treatment as a complement seems to be the most straightforward option.¹⁶³

8.6.3 Non-future negatives

When negating events in the past or the present, Lushootseed uses a construction very like the existential negative construction shown in (651) above, in which the negative adverbial acts as an impersonal negative predicate, taking a bare complement marked with the subjunctive clitic, only in these cases the complement is an *s*=nominal rather than a lexical noun

- (655) a. x^wi? u?x^w g^wəsła? ?ə ti?ə? čaləs
 x^wi? u?x^w g^wə=s=la? ?ə ti?ə? čaləs-s
 NEG PTCL SBJ=NM=arrive PR PROX hand-3PO
 'his hand still can not reach it'
 (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 23)
- b. x^wi?əx^w g^wəsxəabs dx^w?al sɬčil ?ə tsi?ə? bəda?̩s
 x^wi?=əx^w g^wə=s=xəab=s dx^w-?al s=ɬčil ?ə tsi?ə? bəda?̩s
 NEG=now SBJ=NM=cry=3PO CNTRPT-at NM=arrive PR PROX:FEM child-3PO
 'he isn't crying (even) when her daughter arrives'
 [HM Star Child, line 48]

¹⁶³ It should be noted, however, that this is far from definitive evidence, as the *=s* plus non-oblique NP realization of the subject of nominalized clauses is attested for some clause types (see Section 7.4.2.1).

- c. xʷi? gʷəλ'usu?idigʷat ?o tsi?o? waq'waq'
 xʷi? gʷə=λ'u=s=?u-?idigʷat ?o tsi?o? waq'waq'
 NEG SBJ=HAB=NOM=PFV=say.what PR PROX:FEM frog
 'Frog would not say anything intelligible'

(Hess 2006: 3, line 17)

The effect of these constructions is to negate the realization of the event expressed by the *s*=nominal. On the whole, this is the most common negative expression found in the textual corpus, although it has been neglected in the literature on negation in Lushootseed (e.g., Hess 1995, Davis 2005).¹⁶⁴

This negative construction is not restricted to matrix clauses, but is also found in subordinate subjunctive clauses such as those in (656):

- (656) a. qəldub gʷəxʷi?o? kʷi su?ukʷukʷs ɬuɬaxiɬo?̥
 qəl-dxʷ-b gʷə=xʷi?=o? kʷi s=?u-?ukʷukʷ=s ɬu=ɬax-il=o?
 stopped-DC-PASS SBJ=NEG=3SBJ REM NM=PFV=play=3PO IRR=dark-INCH=3SBJ
 'he was told not to play when it was dark'

[DM Basket Ogress, line 3]

- b. gʷətuləkʷəd bəkʷ ti?o? wiw'su gʷəxʷi?o? ti?o? sgʷəlaləbs
 gʷə=tu=ləkʷ-d bəkʷ ti?o? wiw'su gʷə=xʷi?=o? ti?o?
 SBJ=PAST=eaten-ICS all PROX children SBJ=NEG=3SBJ PROX

s=gʷəlal-t-b=s
 NM=harmed-ICS-PASS=3PO

'she would have eaten all the children if she hadn't been killed'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 111]

¹⁶⁴ Perhaps the primary reason for this arises from a transcription practice followed in the *Lushootseed Readers* (Hess 1995, 1998, 2006), whereby the remote determiner *kʷi* was consistently added to nearly all of the instances of negated *s*=nominals, although it is not heard on the tapes. The bulk of these transcriptions were made by Thom Hess with the help of Levi Lamont and may represent a form of hyper-correction; alternatively, it may have been done for pedagogical reasons. The pattern with *kʷi* does exist but, based on the patterns found in other texts (including texts from the principal speaker in the *Lushootseed Readers*, Martha Lamont, transcribed at a later date), it appears to be a separate construction (Section 8.6.4) and many of the amended forms in the *Readers* appear to have been correct as spoken in the recordings, without the determiner.

- c. gʷətu?a?a u?xʷ gʷəxʷi?os ti?e? tusgʷəlaltəbs tsi?i‡ sxʷəyuqʷ?i tsi?i‡ ?ay'əds
 gʷə=tu=?a-a u?xʷ gʷə=xʷi?=os ti?e?
 SBJ=PAST=INTNS-be.there PTCL SBJ=NEG=3SBJ PROX
- tu=s=gʷəlal-t-b=s tsi?i‡ sxʷəyuqʷ?i tsi?i‡
 PAST=NOM=harmed-ICS-PASS=3PODIST:FEM Basket.Ogress and DIST:FEM
- ?ay'əd-s
 companion-3PO
 'they would be right there if they hadn't killed the Basket Ogress and her friend'
 [ML Basket Ogress, line 186]

The first example in (656a) is a negative jussive clause in which the negation is of a future hypothetical event. In the next two clauses, the negative construction is used to express counterfactual condition.

This negative construction can also be nominalized, either by *s*=, as in (657),

- (657) a. t̥uhuyil sq'axʷ dxʷ?al gʷəsxʷi?os gʷəšədᶻaldubut⁹ ?o kʷi ha?kʷ
 t̥u=huy-il s-q'axʷ dxʷ?al gʷə=s=xʷi?=s
 IRR=be.done-INCH NP=frozen CNTRPT-at SBJ=NM=NEG=3PO
- gʷə=s=šədᶻal-dxʷ-but=s ?o kʷi ha?kʷ
 SBJ=NM=go.outdoors-DC-REFL=3PO PR REM long.time
 'it will become ice so that he can not get himself out of the house for a long time'
 (Hess 1998: 101, line 269)

- b. l̥ekiis dxʷ?al ti?i‡ sxʷi?os gʷəgʷədils
 l̥o=kiis dxʷ?-al ti?i‡ s=xʷi?=s gʷə=gʷəd-il=s
 PROG=stand CNTRPT-at DIST NM=NEG=3PO SBJ=down-INCH=3PO
 'he stood so as not to be underneath'
- [MS Basket Ogress, line 19]

or by *dəxʷ*= as in (658),

- (658) yəxi čəd ?əs?i tə dəxʷi?os gʷəds?ili⁹ kʷi ?əs?u?učʷ syəyəhub
 yəxi čəd ?əs?i tə dəxʷ=xʷi?=s gʷəd=s=?ili-d
 because 1SG.SUB slightly.ill NSPEC ADNM=NEG=3PO SBJ=1SG.PO=NOM=recite-ICS
- kʷi ?əs-u-učʷ syəyəhub
 REM STAT-ATTN-go legend
 'because I am indisposed is why I did not recite a traditional story which goes on and on'
 [HM Star Child, line 195]

Note that in both (657) and (658) the embedded negative is marked with the possessive subject clitic =s and the following *s*= or *dəxʷ*=nominal has no determiner, nor is it introduced by the

preposition ∂ , as would be expected if these elements were subjects rather than complements of the negative adverbial predicate.

8.6.4 Future negatives

While bare *s*=nominal complements are used in the general negation of events in the past and the present, negation of future events — that is, the assertion that some particular event or type of event will not occur — requires the introduction of the remote determiner *k^{wi}*, with or without the subjunctive clitic. When used without the subjunctive clitic, the negation is of a future event that is considered more or less definite or specific (that is, as a plausible or foreseeable potentiality):

- (659) a. xʷi? kʷi su?uχʷ čəɬ dxʷ?al ti?ə? ?iqʷ ſəgʷɬ
 xʷi? kʷi s=?u-?uχʷ čəɬ dxʷ?-al ti?ə? ?iqʷ ſəgʷɬ
 NEG REM NM=PFV-go 1PL.SUB CNTRPT-at PROX swept path
 'we will not go on the cleared path'

[AW Basket Ogress, line 38]

b. gʷəl tuðxʷcutəb həlgʷə?, ?u xʷi?əxʷ kʷi ?ahəxʷ gʷəčaldubuɬ
 gʷəl tu=dxʷcutəb elgʷə? ?u xʷi?=əxʷ kʷi ?a=əxʷ
 SCONJ PAST=think PL INTJ NEG=now REM be.there=now

gʷə=čal-dxʷ-buɬ
 SBj=chased-DC-1PL.OBJ

'and then they thought, oh, there will be nothing that can catch us'

(Hilbert and Hess 1977: 16)

c. xʷi? kʷi stiləb čəɬ tɬu'ukʷ
 xʷi? kʷi s=tiləb čəɬ tɬu='ukʷ
 NEG REM NM=suddenly 1PL.PO IRR=go.home
 'we will not go home right away'

(Hess 2006: 72, line 710)

When combined with the irrealis clitic *#u=*, the complement phrase negates a future state (660a) or a future activity (660b and c):

- (660) a. x^wi?əx^w k^wi ɬubəsəshuys ?aciɬtalbix^w
 x^wi?=əx^w k^wi ɬu=bə=s=?os-huy=s ?aciɬtalbix^w
 NEG=now REM IRR=ADD=NFM=STAT-be.made=3PO person
 'she (Owl) will not be a person anymore'

(Hess 2006: 9, line 155)

- b. x^wi?əx^w k^wi ɬudsux^wi?x^wi? ?ə k^wi sk^wi?x^w
 x^wi?=əx^w k^wi ɬu=d=s=?u-x^wi?x^wi? ?ə k^wi sk^wi?x^w
 NEG=now REM IRR=1SG.PO=NFM=PFV-forage PR REM bracken.fern.root
 'now I will not (have to) gather bracken fern roots'

[DS Star Child, line 164]

- c. x^wi?əx^w k^wi ɬadsuχ^wubil ?i ti?ə? bi?bəda?
 x^wi?=əx^w k^wi ɬu=ad=s=?u-χ^wubil ?i ti?ə? bi?bəda?
 NEG=now REM IRR=2SG.PO=PFV-be.quiet CONJ PROX ATTN-offspring
 'you and your little child will never be quiet'

(Hess 2006: 8, line 140)

In each of these datasets, the negation is of an event or state in the future relative to the speech act or the narrative present time of the utterance. The only exceptions to this generalization are constructions such as those in (661) where the complement of *x^wi?* is the verb *haydx^w* 'know something':

- (661) a. x^wi? k^wi səsaydx^ws gʷəsəskʷəčcuts
 x^wi? k^wi s=?os-hay-dx^w=s gʷə=s=?os-kʷəč-t-sut=s
 NEG REM NM=STAT-known-DC=3PO SBJ=NM=STAT-wild-DC-ICS=REFL=3PO
 'she did not know that she should be leery'

(Hess 2006: 40, line 444)

- b. x^wi? k^w səsaydx^ws əlgʷə? ti?ə? dəxʷɬaliltubs əlgʷə? ?ə ti?iɬ ɣpay'ac sčaɬa?s əlgʷə?
 swatixʷtəd
 x^wi? k^wi s=?os-hay-dx^w=s əlgʷə? ti?ə? dəxʷ=ɬalil-txʷ-b=s
 NEG REM NM=STAT-known-DC=3PO PL PROX ADNM=go.asshore-ECS-PASS=3PO
 əlgʷə? ?ə ti?iɬ ɣpay'ac s=čaɬa?=s əlgʷə? swatixʷtəd
 PL PR DIST:red.cedar NM=not.recognize=3PO PL land
 'they didn't know where the red cedar beached them so they didn't recognize the land'

(Hess 2006: 59, line 413)

In these cases, what is negated is whether or not the protagonist knows a particular fact, the knowing taking place in the narrative present. Without further attestations of the non-future use

of such negatives with the remote determiner, this will have to be treated as an idiomatic expression, particular to this type of complement.

The future negative with the remote determiner is also attested in a few cases with the subjunctive clitic *gʷə=*. In all, there are only four of these in the corpus over and above cases where *gʷə=* (or, in a few cases, *kʷi*) were added by editorial amendment (see footnote 164 above). Three of the four occur in contexts where a request or a refusal to comply with a command is being softened by the use of the subjunctive clitic:

- (662) a. x^wi? ?u k^wi g^wadsx^wit' ilc dx^wg^wəd
 x^wi? ?u k^wi g^wə=ad=s=x^wit'-il-t-s dx^w-g^wəd
 NEG INT REM SBJ=2SG.PO=NM=go.down-INCH-ICS-2SG.OBJ CNTRPT-down
 'will you not lower me down?'

(Hess 2006: 29, line 162)

- b. xʷi? xʷi? siʔi?ab kʷi gʷədsgʷiid
 xʷi? xʷi? siʔi?ab kʷi gʷə=d=s=gʷi-d
 NEG NEG PL-noble REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=call-ICS
 'no, no, noble sirs, I won't call them'

(Hess 1998: 79, line 32)

The second sentence here, spoken by Pheasant, a humble and respectful soul addressing some supernatural hunters, contrasts with the sentence in (663), spoken by the rude and deceitful Raven to his sister, Crow:

- (663) xʷi? gʷədsgʷiɪd əlgʷə?
 xʷi? gʷə=d=s=gʷi-d əlgʷə?
 NEG SBJ=1SG.PO=NM-call-ICS PL
 'I wouldn't invite them' (lit. 'I'm not inviting them')

(Hess 1998: 58; 55)

Although the sentence in (663) is framed as a negation of a past or present event (Section 8.6.3), it is effectively a refusal by Raven to comply with Crow's instructions (which are not in accordance with his scheme to steal her food).

The fourth attestation of this construction occurs in a context where the negated event is not a future event, but is rather the achievement of something that had been promised:

(664) xʷi?əxʷ kʷi gʷəshuydxʷs kʷi gʷəsaxʷəbs xʷul'ab ?o ti?iɬ ɬ'uscuts
 xʷi?=əxʷ kʷi gʷə=s=huy-dxʷ=s kʷi gʷə=s=saxʷəb=s xʷul'ab
 NEG=now REM SBJ=NM=be.done-DC=NM REM SBJ=NM=jump=3PO thus

?o ti?iɬ ɬ'u=s=cut=s
 PR DIST HAB=NM=say=3PO

'he has not been able to jump the way he was saying (he would)'

[ML Mink and Tutyika, line 69]

Unfortunately, the context of the sentence is not clear enough to give us a reliable sense of the exact temporal and modal interpretation of the utterance (specifically, the context would also allow an interpretation of this sentence as a future conditional — i.e., 'he will not be able to jump the way he says he will'), leaving us with only the tense and mood of the English translation to go on. This is not a reliable basis on which to draw inferences about the tense and mood of the Lushootseed sentence. Given the paucity of unequivocal examples of such sentences in the corpus to date, a fuller understanding of future negative constructions with subjunctive complements will have to await the uncovering of further textual attestations.

8.6.5 Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives can take a fairly wide range of forms, one of the most textually frequent of these being that of the future negative construction described in the preceding section:

(665) a. xʷi? kʷi adsdzalqʷusbid ti?iɬ adsəsčəba?
 xʷi? kʷi ad=s=dzalqʷ•us-bi-d ti?iɬ ad=s=?os-čəba?
 NEG REM 2SG.PO=NM=turn-MAP-ICS DIST 2SG.PO=STAT-laden
 'do not look over your shoulder at what you have on your back!'

(Hess 1998: 81, line 103)

b. xʷi? kʷi sxʷaacləp tsi staləɬləp
 xʷi? kʷi s=xʷaac=ləp tsi staləɬ=ləp
 NEG REM NM=deny=2PL.PO SPEC:FEM niece=2PL.PO
 'don't you folks deny your niece!'

(Hess 1998: 91, line 9)

- c. *xʷi?əxʷ kʷi bəs?uχʷləp*
xʷi?=əxʷ kʷi bə=s=?uχʷ=ləp
 NEG=now REM ADD=NM=go=2PL.PO
 ‘don’t you guys go again!’

(Hess 1998: 94, line 106)

The sentences in (665) are predicated on the negative adverbial *xʷi?* and take as complements *s*=nominals with second-person possessive subjects introduced by the remote determiner *kʷi*, making them effectively negations of a future event with a second-person protagonist

Negative imperatives are also found in the form of non-future negatives (Section 8.6.3):

- (666) a. *xʷi? gʷəs?uχʷləp*
xʷi? gʷə=s=?uχʷ=ləp
 NEG SBJ=NM=go=2PL.PO
 ‘don’t you guys go!’

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 5]

- b. *xʷi? gʷadsq'puc ?ə kʷi gʷəstab*
xʷi? gʷə=ad=s=q'pu-t-s ?ə kʷi gʷə=stab
 NEG SBJ=2SG.PO=NOM-pay-1CS-1SG.OBJ PR REM SBJ=what
 ‘don’t pay me anything!’

(Hess 2006: 30, line 191)

These expressions have the form of the negation of a non-future event expressed as an *s*=nominal in the subjunctive mood with a second-person subject. What exactly the semantic or pragmatic difference between the forms in (665) and those in (666) are is not apparent from the contexts in which the attestations are found and so will have to remain an open question until more informative examples are uncovered in texts.

There are also one or two examples in the corpus of negative imperatives that take the form of an ordinary adverbial negative in the indicative mood with a second-person subject:

- (667) *xʷi? čəxʷ bələča?kʷ kʷsi səsλ'ayayəlqəb*
xʷi? čəxʷ bə=lə=ča?kʷ kʷsi səsλ'ayayəlqəb
 NEG 2SG.SUB ADD=NEGP=seaward REM:FEM monster
 ‘don’t you come down to the shore again, monstress!’
 (lit. ‘you won’t come down to the shore again, monstress’)

[JS Basket Ogress, line 38]

This construction, like those shown in (665) and (666), is identical to the ordinary negative expression of its corresponding type, and any imperative force it has is apparently drawn only from context. This is in keeping with the general behaviour of imperatives in Lushootseed, which are frequently expressed as simple declarative sentences with second-person subjects (see Section 8.5 above).

In addition to the negative imperative types shown above, Lushootseed does have a special construction that might be characterized as a negative causative imperative, used to express negative commands or admonishments. These are based on the verb *xʷiʔtxʷ*, which normally means ‘cause not to be there’, but in this case forms a complex predicate with another verb meaning ‘V’ to form an expression meaning ‘not let V happen’, as in the following examples:

- (668) a. *xʷiʔtxʷ ləbakʷ*
xʷiʔ-txʷ-Ø Ø lə=bakʷ
 NEG-ECS-3OBJ 2SG.IMP NEGP=be.hurt
 ‘don’t let him get hurt!’
- b. *ie xʷiʔtubš ɬi ləxʷit’il*
ie xʷiʔ-txʷ-bš ɬi lə=xʷit’il
 INTJ NEG-ECS-1SG.OBJ 2PL.IMP NEGP=descend
 ‘don’t you folks let me fall!'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 252)

In these sentences, the verb *xʷiʔtxʷ* takes as a complement a verb bearing the negative proclitic *lə=*. As seen in (668b), the subject of the verbal complement becomes the direct object of *xʷiʔtxʷ*, whose subject is a second-person imperative subject-marker (Section 8.5). Unfortunately, this construction is not found in the present corpus, these de-contextualized examples from the *Lushootseed Dictionary* and a handful of sentences in Hess & Hilbert (1976), a pedagogical grammar, being the only attestations available to date.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ The *Lushootseed Dictionary* also gives the following sentence:

8.7 Desideratives

Periphrastic desiderative constructions are based on the verb *xaλ'txʷ* ‘want something, desire something’ (morphological desideratives are discussed in Section 2.1.1.7). Like the English verb *want*, *xaλ'txʷ* can be used as an ordinary transitive verb, expressing a desire for a particular object or thing:

- (669) a. *xaλ'txʷ kʷi sčəlus*

xaλ'-txʷ kʷi sčəlus
desire-ECS REM fish.tips
'he wanted fish tips'

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 26]

- b. *χʷul'ɔxʷ čəxʷ ?ukʷədad, gət, ta?a gʷəxaλ'txʷəxʷ, kʷi gʷəladst'ukʷtx*
χʷul'=ɔxʷ čəxʷ ?u-kʷəda-d gət ta?a gʷə=xaλ'-txʷ=ɔxʷ
only-now 2SG.SUB PFV-taken-ICS guy UNQ:DMA SBJ=desire-ECS=nw

kʷi gʷə=lu=ad=s=t'ukʷ-tx
REM SBJ=IRR=2SG.PO=NW=go.home-ECS
'you just take it, guy, if you want it, you should take it home'

(Hess 1998: 73, 191)

In these cases, the verb is an ordinary transitive stem and takes an NP object. In a desiderative construction, the same verb is used, but it takes an *s*-nominal complement expressing the desired event. The complement, generally in the subjunctive mood, is optionally introduced by the remote determiner *kʷi*:

- (i) *xʷi?txʷ gʷəl ?əstagʷəxʷ tadbəda?*

xʷi?-txʷ gʷəl ?əs-tagʷəxʷ ti ad=bəda?
NEG-ECS SCONJ STAT-hunger SPEC 2SG.PO=offspring
'do not let your son go hungry!'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 252)

This sentence apparently lacks the negative proclitic; however, the presence of the conjunction *gʷəl* at this place in the sentence seems unusual, and it is possible that what was actually said was *gʷəl(ə)?əstagʷəxʷ*, the verb bearing the subjunctive and the negative proclitics. This will have to remain an open question pending a closer phonetic examination of the audio recordings when these become available in digitized form.

- (670) a. *xaλ'tub ?ə ti?ə? sqʷəbqʷəbay?* (kʷi) *gʷəsxaλ'utəbs*
 $\check{x}a\lambda'$ -txʷ-b ?ə ti?ə? sqʷəb-qʷəbay? kʷi gʷə=s=xaλ'u=t-b=s
 desire-ECS-PASS PR PROX DSTR-dog REM SBJ=NM=desire-ICS-PASS=3PO
 ‘the dogs want that he get chewed up’
 (lit. ‘it is desired by the dogs that he be chewed up’)

(Hess 1998: 46)

- b. *xaλ'txʷ čət kʷi gʷadst'ilib, gʷadsdᶻubalikʷ dzixʷbid ?ə kʷi tədsqʷəltubuł*
 $\check{x}a\lambda'$ -txʷ čət kʷi gʷə=ad=s=t'ilib gʷə=ad=s=dᶻubalikʷ
 desire-ECS 1PL.SUB REM SBJ=2SG.PO=NM=sing SBJ=2SG.PO=NM=dance
 dzix-bid ?ə kʷi təu=ad=s=qʷəl-t-ubuł
 first-RNLN PR REM IRR=2SG.PO=NM=cooked-ICS-1PL.OBJ
 ‘we want you to sing and dance before you cook us’

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 84]

- c. *huy gʷəł xaλ'tubəxʷ ?ə tsı?ə? wiw'su kʷi gʷəsu?xʷs, gʷəsła?ș*
 huy gʷəł xaλ'-txʷ-b=əxʷ ?ə tsı?ə? wiw'su kʷi
 SCONJ SCONJ desire-ECS-PASS=now PR PROX:FEM children REM
 gʷə=s=?u-?učʷ=s gʷə=s=la?=s
 SBJ=NM=PFV-go=3PO SBJ=NM=arrive=3PO
 ‘the children wanted to go there, to arrive’
 (lit. ‘going there, arriving, was desired by the children’)

[AJ Basket Ogress, line 2]

The optionality of the determiner — indicated explicitly in (670a) and its absence on second of two sequential *s*-nominals in (670b) and (c) — indicates that the *s*-nominal is functioning as a complement of the verb rather than as its direct object. As shown by (670b), the protagonist of the desired action need not be the one who desires its realization; note also that in (670a), although the AGENTS of the desired action are the desirers, the *s*-nominal complement is in the passive voice and the expression of the AGENT is suppressed.

Although the nominalized complement of *xaλ'txʷ* appears more frequently in the subjunctive mood, there are examples in the corpus of complements in the indicative mood introduced simply by the remote determiner:¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ There are no examples in the current corpus of complements in the indicative mood without the remote determiner.

- (671) a. *xaλ'txʷ əlgʷə? kʷi səsqʷu?ləpəxʷ*
 $\check{x}a\lambda'$ -*txʷ* *əlgʷə?* *kʷi* *s=?os-qʷu?=ləp=əxʷ*
 desire-ECS PL REM NM=STAT-gather=2PL.PO=now
 ‘they want you guys to gather’

(Hess 2006: 73, line 737)

- b. *tuχʷ čəɬ xaλ'txʷ kʷi sλ'ubləp ?əsqʷib ...*
 $tu\chi^w$ $\check{c}\check{\epsilon}\check{l}$ $\check{x}a\lambda'$ -*txʷ* *kʷi* *s=\lambda'ub=ləp* *?os-qʷib*
 only 1PL.SUB desire-ECS REM NM=well=2PL.PO STAT-prepared
 ‘we just want you guys to be ready’

(Hess 2006: 74, line 759)

Without further attestations or the assistance of a native speaker, it is difficult to be sure what the difference between the two constructions is; based on the few examples available, however, the distinction seems to be one of control over the outcome of the event, the uncertainty of the subjunctive mood being associated with diminished control. Both the examples in (671) occur in a context where the action (or its outcome) is wished for both by the desirers and the actors who are to carry out the desire; thus, the desire is more likely to be realized, resulting in greater determinacy and control over the event on the part of the desirers. In (670a), the outcome of the desired action (being chewed on) is not wished for by the one who is to be chewed on, is likely to be resisted, and, in fact, ends up being thwarted by the dogs’ owners, while in (670b), the desirers are children about to be eaten by the Basket Ogress and begging of her a favour that she may or may not consent to grant. In (670c) the desirer and the potential actor are one and the same (the children), but the sentence occurs in a context where the children’s desired action has been forbidden by their parents, whose control over the situation is thus diminished by their children’s recklessness (which eventually leads to the predicament in 670b). While these are somewhat heterogeneous situations, they seem to follow the general patterns shown by the diminished control suffix (Section 2.1.2.3) in Lushootseed and the overall semantics of lack of or diminished control in other Salishan languages.

The verb *xaλ'txʷ* is based, at least etymologically, on the bound radical $\circ\sqrt{xa\lambda'}$ ‘desire’. On its own, this radical is attested only in nominalized form in the word *sxaλ'* ‘desired one’, which

is used like any noun as either a syntactic argument (672a) or as a syntactic predicate in expressions of desiring or liking, as in (672b) and (c):

- (672) a. ?u^w, di^t k^{wi} səs̥la^{χil} k^{wi} ds̥xa^χ
 ?u di^t k^{wi} s=?ɔs-ka^{χ-il} k^{wi} d=s-ka^χ'
 INTJ FOC REM NM=STAT-dark-INCH REM 1SG.PO=NP=desire
 'oh, the one that I desire is the dark one'

[DS Star Child, line 384]

- b. huy s̥xa^χ's ti?ɔ? tus̥c'istx^ws
 huy s-ka^χ'-s ti?ɔ? tu=s̥c'istx^w-s
 SCONJ NP=desire-3PO PROX PAST=husband-3PO
 'well, the one she likes is her late husband'

(Hess 2006: 33, line 285)

- c. s̥xa^χ's k^{wi} g^{wɔ}s̥x^wu^χ'utəbs
 s-ka^χ'-s k^{wi} g^{wɔ}=s=x^wu^χ'u-t-b=s
 NP=desire-3PO REM SBJ=NM=chewed-ICS-PASS=3PO
 's/he/they want that s/he/they get chewed up'
 (lit. 'it is his/her/their desire that s/he/they get chewed up')

(Hess 1998: 46)

As in (670a), the optionality of the remote determiner in (672c) indicates that the *s*-nominal is likely a complement of the nominalized radical rather than the syntactic subject of the sentence. The conditions governing the presence or absence of the subjunctive clitic on the complement are likely to be the same as those governing the presence of *g^{wɔ}=* on the complement of *xa^χ'tx^w*.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ The negation of expressions of this type takes the form of an existential negative (Section 8.6.2) based on the negative predicate *x^{wi?}*:

- (i) x^{wi?}ɔx^w g^{wɔ}ds̥xa^χ' k^{wi} g^{wɔ}abadsu?ɔ^χ', g^{wɔ}adsu?abaqɔd
 x^{wi?}=ɔx^w g^{wɔ}=d=s-ka^χ' k^{wi} g^{wɔ}=ba=ad=s=?u-?ɔ^χ'
 NEG=now SBJ=1SG.PO=NP=desire REM SBJ=ADD=2SG.PO=NW=PFV=come
 g^{wɔ}=ad=s=?u-?abaq-d
 SBJ=2SG.PO=NW=PFV=return-ICS
 'I don't want you to come (back here), (nor for) you to return her'
 (lit. 'it is not my desire that you come back here or that you return her')

(Hess 2006: 35, line 335)

The syntax of these expressions is potentially interesting, but there only a single attestation in the present corpus.

In a number of cases, *s̥xaλ'*, in spite of the fact that it has been nominalized, is attested with the stative aspectual prefix:

- (673) a. h̥ela?b čəxʷ dəs̥xaλ'
 h̥ela?b čəxʷ d=s=?əs-̥xaλ'
 really 2SG.SUB 1SG.PO=NM=STAT=desire
 'I really want you'

- b. dəs̥xaλ' kʷi dšudubicid
 d=s=?əs-̥xaλ' kʷi d=šuł-dxʷ-bicid
 1SG.PO=NM=STAT=desire REM 1SG.PO=see-DC-2SG.OBJ
 'I want to see you'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 258)

The aspectual prefixes are otherwise limited to verbs and questions words (Section 6.1).

The radical *°v̥xaλ'* is also the base for other expressions of liking or desiring. One of these, *̥xaλ'ildxʷ* ‘like someone, desire someone’ is formed by an idiosyncratic combination of the inchoative suffix *-il* and the diminished control suffix, *-dxʷ*:

- (674) a. ?u̥xaλ'ildxʷ čəd
 ?u-̥xaλ'-il-dxʷ čəd
 PFV=desire-INCH-DC 1SG.SUB
 'I got to liking him'
- b. ̥xaλ'ildxʷ ti?ił ləli? s̥təładəy?
 ̥xaλ'-il-dxʷ ti?ił ləli? s̥tə-ładəy?
 desire-INCH-DC DIST different PL-woman
 'he wants different women'
- c. ?acəc ti?ił tu̥xaλ'ildəgʷəl
 ?acəc ti?ił tu=̥xaλ'-il-dxʷ-agʷəl
 exist DIST PAST=desire-INCH-DC-RCP
 'there was a couple who fell in love'

(Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994: 258)¹⁶⁸

The second derivation based on *°v̥xaλ'* is formed with the internal causative suffix, *-t*:

¹⁶⁸ This form is analyzed in the original source as *̥xaλ'-il-d-agʷəl*, with the internal causative transitivizing the stem rather than the diminished control suffix; either combination of affixes would create the correct surface form, but given that (674c) is a transparent reciprocal of (674a) and (b), it seems better not to posit a new and otherwise unattested stem, *̥xaλ'ild*.

- (675) xi dił tadsxaλ'təb ?ə tadsxa?xa?
 yəxi dił tu=ad=s=xaλ'-t-b
 because FOC PAST=2SG.PO=NOM=desire-ICS-PASS PR SPEC ad-sxa?xa?
 'because it was your in-law who favoured you'
 (Hess 2006: 32, line 243)

There is only a single attestation of this stem, *sxaλ'əd* in the corpus to date and it is not listed in the *Lushootseed Dictionary*, so little can be said about its precise meaning or in what ways it differs from the other forms based on the same radical.

8.8 Comparatives

Comparative constructions are expressions which present the relative values of two objects for some scalar predicate or basis of comparison. When the two objects have different values for this predicate, the expression is a comparison of inequality, and when they have the same value, the expression is a comparison of equivalence. In Lushootseed, a comparison of inequality realizes the object of comparison or comparee as a syntactic subject and uses the partitive form of the expression of the basis of comparison as the syntactic predicate:¹⁶⁹

- (676) a. ?iɬluλ' čəd dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 ?iɬ-luλ' čəd dxʷ-?al dəgʷi
 PRTV-old 1SG.SUB CNTRPT-at you
 'I am older than you'
- b. ?iɬbəqʷ čəxʷ ?u dxʷ?al ti adsuqʷwa?
 ?iɬ-bəqʷ čəxʷ ?u dxʷ-?al ti ad-suqʷwa?
 PRTV-fat 2SG.SUB INT CNTRPT-at SPEC 2SG.PO-younger.sibling
 'are you fatter than your younger sibling?'
 (Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 48)
- c. lil čəxʷ ?iɬsadzəb dxʷ?al ?əca
 lil čəxʷ ?iɬ-sadzəb dxʷ-?al ?əca
 much 2SG.SUB PRTV-be.tall CNTRPT-at I
 'you are much taller than I'
 (Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 51)

The object being compared with the comparee, the standard of comparison, is realized in a prepositional phrase introduced here by *dxʷ?al* 'towards', the marker of standard. The comparee

¹⁶⁹ The terms "comparee," "standard of comparison," and "marker of standard" are drawn from Stassen (1984).

in these examples is expressed by a subject clitic, which (as is normally the case) obligatorily appears in sentence-second position, following the sentence predicate or a sentence-initial adverbial such as the predicate particle *lil* ‘much’ (etymologically-related to *lil* ‘be far’ — see Section 2.5.3 above).

When the comparee is a full NP, it usually follows the sentence predicate as well (677a), but in some cases may be preceded by the standard of comparison, as in (677b):

- (677) a. ?i^haac ti?ə? λ'əlay? dx^w?al ti?i^h λ'əlay? ?al tudi?
 ?i^h-haac ti?ə? λ'əlay? dx^w-?al ti?i^h λ'əlay? ?al tudi?
 PRTV-long PROX canoe CNTRPT-at DIST canoe at DIST.DMA
 ‘this canoe is longer than that canoe over there’
- (Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 48)
- b. ?i^hha?‡ dx^w?al k^wi p'aλ'aλ' ti dsg^wa?
 ?i^h-ha?‡ dx^w-?al k^wi p'aλ'aλ' ti d-sg^wa?
 PRTV-good CNTRPT-at REM worthless SPEC 1SG.PO-one's
 ‘mine is better than nothing’
- (Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 49)

Although there is no textual data available to allow us to be certain of the conditions governing this alternation, it seems likely that they are similar to those regulating the alternation in the word-order in passive constructions (see Section 11.1), in which the subject NP is realized to the right of the object agentive complement when the identity of the complement is part of the sentence Rheme. In (677b), the expression *?i^hha?‡ dx^w?al k^wi p'aλ'aλ'* ‘better than nothing’ forms a conceptual unit and, as a whole, constitutes the Rheme of the sentence, whereas in (677a) the Rheme is simply the fact that, of two Given and probably Topical Thematic elements (the two canoes), one is longer than the other, the sentence Rheme being simply *?i^haac* ‘longer’, the basis of comparison.

When the standard of comparison is close by as opposed to more removed from the speaker, *tul?*?al ‘from’ can be used as a marker of standard rather than *dx^w?al* ‘towards’:

- (678) a. ?iɬxəb ti?iɬ wəq'əb ?al tudi? tul'?al ti?ə? wəq'əb ?ə ti?a?
 ?iɬ-xəb ti?iɬ wəq'əb ?al tudi? tul'?al ti?ə? wəq'əb
 PRTV-heavy DIST box at DIST.DMA CNTRFG-at PROX box

?ə ti?a?
 PR PROX:UNQ.DMA

'that chest over there is heavier than this chest right here'

- b. ?iɬxəb ti?ə? wəq'əb ?al ti?a? dxʷ?al ti?iɬ wəq'əb ?al tudi?
 ?iɬ-xəb ti?ə? wəq'əb ?al ti?a? dxʷ?al ti?iɬ wəq'əb
 PRTV-heavy PROX box at PROX:UNQ.DMA CNTRPT-at DIST box
 ?al tudi?
 at DIST.DMA
 'this chest right here is heavier than that chest over there'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 118)

The same is true when the speaker is the standard of comparison:

- (679) a. ?iɬluɬ' čəxʷ tul'?al ?əca
 ?iɬ-luɬ' čəxʷ tul'?al dəgʷi
 PRTV-old 2SG.SUB CNTRFG-at I
 'you are older than I'

- b. ?iɬluɬ' čəd dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 ?iɬ-luɬ' čəd dxʷ?al dəgʷi
 PRTV-old 1SG.SUB CNTRPT-at you
 'I am older than you'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 118)

However, Hess & Hilbert (1976) note that this deictic distinction is not consistently maintained and *dxʷ?al* is frequently used simply as a default.

Hess & Hilbert (1976) also mention that there are some words which do not take the partitive prefix in comparatives, such as the Southern Lushootseed word *wələxʷ* 'strong':

- (680) ?əswələxʷ čəxʷ tul' ?əca
 ?əs-wələxʷ čəxʷ tul' ?əca
 STAT-strong 2SG.SUB CNTRFG I
 'you are stronger than I'

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: 49)

There is no indication of which other words follow this pattern. Note also the use of the centrifugal directional particle *tul'* (Section 2.7.4) as the marker of standard in place of *dxʷ?al/tul'?al* in this example; this is typical of Southern Lushootseed.

Comparative questions soliciting the difference between a comparee and a standard take the form of an ordinary question based on *?əxid* ‘what happened?’ (Section 2.6.8):

- (681) ?əs?əxid k^wi sləli? ?ə ti?i^l ha?ac dx^w?al s̥əp’ab
 ?əs-?əxid k^wi s=łəli? ?ə ti?i^l ha?ac dx^w-?al s̥əp’ab
 STAT=happen REM NM=differ PR DIST horse.clam CNTRPT-at cockle
 ‘how does a horse clam differ from a cockle?’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 74)

In these constructions, *dx^w?al* is used to introduce the standard of comparison.

In addition to the partitive construction illustrated above, there is another comparative based on the relational suffix *-bid* (Section 2.2.10):

- (682) a. hik^w?bid ?ə ti?ə? sxi?xa?a? ti?ə? s?až^wu?
 hik^w-bid ?ə ti?ə? sxi?-xa?a? ti?ə? s?až^wu?
 big-RLNL PR PROX ATTN-steamer.clam PROX butter.clam
 ‘the butter clam is bigger than the little steamer clam’

(Hess 1998: 44, ex. 7)

- b. ti?ə? swuk^wad g^wəl hik^w?bid dx^w?al ti?ə? x̥wətis
 ti?ə? swuk^wad g^wəl hik^w-bid dx^w-?al ti?ə? x̥wətis
 PROX loon SCONJ big-RLNL CNTRPT-at PROX silver.diver
 ‘as for the loon, it is bigger than the silver diver’

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 73)

In these expressions, the basis of comparison is formed with the relational suffix and the standard of comparison is contained in a prepositional phrase, the marker of comparison being either the “empty” preposition *?ə* or (as in the partitive construction) *dx^w?al*. According to Hess & Hilbert (1976), the difference between the two types of construction resides in the fact that the partitive-based construction is focused on the difference between the comparee and the standard, whereas the *-bid* construction is more a description of the comparee relative to the standard. It should be noted, however, that it is not clear how productive the comparative construction with *-bid* actually is; there are no attestations in the present corpus of *-bid* being used in a comparative with any base other than *hik^w* ‘big’, suggesting that this is a lexicalized idiomatic expression formed

(as noted by Hess 1998) by analogy with the productive relational use of *-bid* discussed in Section 2.2.10 above:

Comparatives of equivalence are formed using the verb *χʷul'ab* ‘be that way, be similar to’:

- (683) a. *luλ' čəxʷ χʷul'ab ?ə ?əca*
luλ' čəxʷ χʷul'ab ?ə ?əca
 old 2SG.SUB similar PR I
 ‘you’re as old as I am’ (lit. ‘you are old, similar to me’)

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 52)

- b. *χ'äl' bəqa ti yiq'us χʷul'ab ?ə ?əca*
χ'äl' bə=qa ti yiq'us-s χʷul'ab ?ə ?əca
 also ADD=many SPEC cedar.root.basket-3PO similar PR I
 ‘she also has as many cedar-root baskets as I have’
 (lit. ‘her cedar-root baskets are also many, similar to me’)

(Hess & Hilbert 1976: II, 53)

- c. *dəbəxʷ əw'ə ti?ił p'q'ac ti?ił səxqalikʷyitəbs χʷul'ab ?ə ti?ił tusəshuys*
dəbəxʷ əw'ə ti?ił p'q'ac ti?ił s=xq•alikʷ-yi-t-əb=s
 instead=now PTCL DIST rotten.wood DIST NM=bound•bundle-DAT-ICS-PASS=3PO

χʷul'ab ?ə ti?ił tu=s=?əs-huy=s
 similar PR PROX PAST=NM=STAT-be.done=3PO
 ‘so, instead it is a rotten log that is wrapped up for him as [the elk] had been’

(Hess 1998: 87, line 256)

In these constructions, *χʷul'ab* is placed in series with the predicate expressing the basis for comparison (*luλ'* ‘old’ in 683a), the standard of comparison being expressed by its oblique object (introduced by the “empty” preposition *?ə*). When the comparee is a first- or second-person, it is expressed by a subject clitic, as in (683a), and when it is expressed by an NP, it immediately follows the basis of comparison and precedes *χʷul'ab*, as in (683b). Unlike the comparison of inequality, the comparison of equivalence does not seem to be limited to scalar predicates but instead can use regular verbal expressions as a basis of comparison (683c).

8.9 Possession

Unlike English, Lushootseed does not have a specific verb expressing the notion of possession; instead, there are a variety of ways of expressing possession, the most frequent of

which (and the most closely comparable to *have* in terms of its uses) consists of a clause predicated on the verb *?a* ‘be there’ with possessed noun as a subject:

- (684) a. *?a ti dtalə*

?a *ti* *d-talə*
be.there SPEC 1SG.PO-money
'I have money'

(Hess 1998: 30)

- b. *?a tsi?iɬ čəgʷas*

?a *tsi?iɬ* *čəgʷas-s*
be.there DIST:FEM wife-3PO
'he has a wife'

(Hess 1998: 78, line 7)

- c. *?a? ti?iɬ dsqəlalitut ḫula?* *čəd gʷəl ḫuqʷšab ti?ə?* *swatixʷtəd*

?a? *ti?iɬ* *d-sqəlalitut* *ḥu=la?* *čəd* *gʷəl* *ḥu=qʷšab*
be.there DIST 1SG.PO-spirit.power IRR=localize 1SG.SUB SCONJ IRR=foggy
ti?ə? *swatixʷtəd*
PROX country

'I have a spirit power that I will locate and the world will be foggy'

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 28)

Such constructions would have a literal translation of ‘there is/exists Y’s X’, where Y represents the possessor and X the possessed item. These expressions are negated through existential negation (Section 8.6.2):

- (685) a. *xʷi? kʷi gʷədsxʷi?xʷi?*

xʷi? *kʷi* *gʷə=d-sxʷi?xʷi?*
NEG REM SBJ=1SG.PO-game
'I have no game'

(Hess 1998: 80, line 60)

- b. *xʷi? kʷi stab gʷubəq'čəd* *čəd gʷə?əɬəd*

xʷi? *kʷi* *stab* *gʷə=?u-bəq'-d* *čəd* *gʷə=?əɬəd*
NEG REM what SBJ=PFV-be.in.mouth-ICS 1SG.SUB SBJ=feed.on
'I have nothing to put in my mouth to eat'

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 20)

The *?a* possessive construction seems to be used in a wide range of contexts to express possession in the literal sense (that is, physical possession of an object), true ownership, and

certain types of inalienable possession such as social and kinship affinities (684b), possession of a spirit power (684c), etc.

When referring to possession in the future,¹⁷⁰ a figurative expression based on *?atx^w* ‘put something there’ (lit. ‘cause something to be there’) is used:

- (686) a. ḫ^wul'əx^w čəx^w ᴹu?atx^w tsi?i^t q'əd^za᷑ ?ə tsi?i^t sqig^wac
 ᳚wul'=əx^w čəx^w ᴹu=?a-tx^w tsi?i^t q'əd^za᷑ ?ə tsi?i^t sqig^wac
 only=now 2SG.SUB IRR=be.there-ECS DIST:FEM intestines PR DIST:FEM deer
 ‘you will just have those intestines of that Deer’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 210]

- b. bək^w čələp ᴹu?atx^w
 bək^w čələp ᴹu=?a-tx^w
 all 2PL.SUB IRR=PRLV-be.there-ECS
 ‘you guys will have everything along there’

(Hess 2006: 66, line 598)

Unlike the *?a* possessive, the *?atx^w* construction expresses the possessor as the subject of the verb and the (to be) possessed item as its direct object.

Possession is also occasionally expressed through “loose” predicate nominals in which the possessed item is realized as a predicate nominal and the possessor as a syntactic subject:

- (687) wi?, ḫ^wul'əx^w čəd ᴹu?sp'ic'ik^w
 wi? ḫ^wul'=əx^w čəd ᴹu=?sp'ic'ik^w
 declare only=now 1SG.SUB IRR=diaper.child
 ‘she declares, now I will have a diaper child’

[DS Star Child, line 159]

These constructions are extremely rare in the textual corpus (limited in fact to this single instance of reported speech), but are much more frequent in conversation (Hess, p.c.). Given the importance of context for the correct interpretation of such utterances, it seems likely that these are informal, pragmatically-marked expressions.

Another, more specific, method of building possessive constructions is through the use of the propriative prefix *bəs-* (Section 2.1.5):

¹⁷⁰ There are, in fact, no uses of the *?a* possessive construction in any tense except the present in the current corpus

- (688) a. ?əbsbəda? ?ə ti?ə? stubš
 ?əs-bəs-bəda? ?ə ti?ə? stubš
 STAT-PROP-offspring PR PROX man
 ‘they have a son’

- b. tabs?ic'əb čəd ?ə ti ḫʷiqʷəqʷ
 tu=?as-bəs-s?ic'əb čəd ?ə ti ᬁʷiqʷəqʷ
 PAST=STAT-PROP-blanket 1SG.SUB PR SPEC white
 ‘I have a white blanket’

(Hess 1998: 30)

This prefix is added to nouns meaning ‘X’ to form verbs meaning ‘have X’. Propriative verbs are generally confined to the expressions involving kinship, social relations, and ownership.

Possessive constructions can also be formed using noun phrases containing the particle *gʷəɬ* ‘associative’:

- (689) a. hay, gʷəɬəxʷ sqigʷac ti?iɬ q'ədzaɬ ?ə tsi?iɬ p'uay'
 hay gʷəɬ=əxʷ sqigʷac ti?iɬ q'ədzaɬ ?ə tsi?iɬ p'uay'
 SCONJ ASSC=now deer DIST intestines PR DIST flounder
 ‘so, Flounder’s intestines belong to Deer now’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 249]

- b. yəx̌i huy gʷəɬ sqigʷac
 yəx̌i huy gʷəɬ sqigʷac
 because SCONJ ASSC deer
 ‘because they were Deer’s’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 192]

However, *gʷəɬ* ‘associative’ itself is not so much as expression of possession as it is an expression of some sort of associative relationship that can be used to identify a particular item or type of item, one of the most salient relationships for such identification being possession. Noun phrases containing *gʷəɬ* are discussed in more detail in Section 7.3.3

9 Complex sentences

9.1 Verb series

- d. gʷəl xʷul' čəd gʷət'əba?agʷil čəda gʷə?učʷ, gʷə?usil, gʷət'ičib
gʷəl xʷul' čəd gʷə=t'əba?-agʷil čəda gʷə=?učʷ
then only 1SG.SUB SBJ=fall.in.water-AUTO 1SG.COORD SBJ=go

gʷə=?usil gʷə=t'ičib
SBJ=dive SBJ=swim
'then I would just jump in the water, I'd go and dive and swim [away]'
[ML, Mink and Tutyika, line 32]

9.2 Co-ordination

9.3 Subjunctive subordinate clauses and embedded interrogatives

- d. ḥ'ub ?a ?al kʷi čad ḥucəxʷəsbəč, ḥudəxʷ?atubšləp ti?ə? s?əłəd
ḥ'ub ?a ?al kʷi čad ḥu=d=dəxʷ=?əs-bəč
well be.there at REM where IRR=1SG.PO=ADNM=STAT-fallen

ḥu=dəxʷ=?a-txʷ-bš=ləp ti?ə? s?əłəd
IRR=ADNM=be.there-ECS-1SG.OBJ=2PL.PO PROX food
'there should be food wherever I am laid, wherever you guys will put me'
(Hess 1998: 92, line 31)

9.4 Sentential complements

haydxʷ əlgʷə? stubš ti?ił
haydxʷ əlgʷə? stubš ti?ił
know plural man det
she knew that he was a man.
tiləb ?uhaydxʷ ?uləkʷtəb ti?ił ?alalš ?ə tsi sxʷiyukʷʷ
tiləb ?u-haydxʷ ?u-ləkʷ-t-əb ti?ił ?al-alš ?ə tsi sxʷiyukʷʷ
suddenly pfv-know pfv-eat-ics-pass det pl-cross.sex.sibling Pr det:fem
Basket.Ogress
right away he found out that his silblings were eaten by the Basket Ogress.

JS Basket Ogress 19

9.5 Adverbial clauses

used as adverbial without determiner, Coyote and daughter line 273, 278, and

(690) a. ?uhuyud sup'ayəqs

?u-huyu-d s=?u-p'ayəq=s
PFV-be.done-ICS NM=PFV-carve.canoe=3PO
'he did his carving'

(Hess 2006: 47, line 125)

b. ?əskʷukʷcut ?ə ti?ə? sušəls səsqʷalc

?əs-kʷukʷcut ?ə ti?ə? s=?u-šəl=s s=?əs-qʷalc=s
STAT-cook PR PROX NM=PFV-make=3PO NM=STAT-boil=3PO
'he was cooking what he had put on to boil'

(Hess 1998: 94, line 91)

c. ti tusλ'iqači?btub čəł tħuhuyutəb čəł sqada?s¹⁷¹

ti tu=s=λ'iqači?-b-txʷ-b čəł tħu=huyu-t-əb čəł
SPEC PAST=NM=sticky•hand-MD-PASS 1PL.PO IRR=be.done-ICS-PASS 1PL.SUB

s=qada?=s
NM=steal=3PO

'our hands getting stuck would be what caused us to be stolen'

(Hess 2006: 71, line 706)

adverbial (OVERLAP WITH DEXW-)

cause/motive

tuləsc'udəxʷ kʷi tu(s)saxʷəbs
tu-ləs-c'ud-əxʷkʷi tu=s-saxʷəb-s
past=cont-weak-now det past=np-jump-3po

He had become weak from his running.

Little Diver line 118

χʷul' čəxʷ ?uhuyud ?əs?ista? stab kʷ(i) adsdᶻaλ'ad

χʷul' čəxʷ ?u-huyu-d ?əs-?ista? stab kʷi ad-s-dᶻaλ'ad
only 2sg.sub pfv-be.done-ics stat-be.like what det 2sg.po-np-confused-ics

You just make it like that [so] you confuse him.

Coyote's son line 32

location

λ'usugʷadgʷads kʷi λ'us?alils kʷi dəxʷgʷadgʷads
λ'u-s-?u-gʷadgʷad-s kʷi λ'u-s-?alil-s kʷi dəxʷ-gʷadgʷad-s
hab-np-pfv-speak-3po det hab-np-get.to.place-3po det np2-speak-3po
she is there chattering when she converses.
Owl line 184

¹⁷¹ The final verbs in this sentence is recorded in the original text with the possessive subject-maker =s; however, this marker would normally be required by the nominalization of the verb.

?əbil' čəxʷ bət'aq't ?al [ti] swatixʷtəd kʷi l(u)adsudᶻəkʷ^w
?əbil' čəxʷ bə-t'aq't ?al ti swatixʷtəd kʷi l'u-ad-s-?u-dᶻəkʷ^w
cond 2sg.sub add-ahsore Pr det country det irr-2sg.po-np-pfv-
wander

Perhaps you will go up into the high country too [where] you will wander around
Changer 240
temporal

łułax kʷi [s]cut[s], [kʷi s]ł'əladi?s
łu-łax kʷi s-cut-s kʷi s-ł'əladi?-s
irr-dark det np-say-3po det np-make.noise-3po
It will be night when he talks, when he makes noise.

no det
huy gʷəl dxʷcaq'aħadidəxʷ put (s)šəqlaħadəbs ?ə ti?il cədił č'ət̥x
huy gʷəl dxʷ-caq'-aħad-di-d-əxʷ put s-šəqlaħadəb-s ?ə ti?il cədił
č'ət̥x
intj conj ctd-spear-side-ss-ics-now really np-raise.arms-3po Pr det he
kingfisher
And he speared him in the side just as he raised his arms (wings)
little Diver line 91 (NO DET)

WITH PREPOSITIONS (DEXW ALSO USED THIS WAY)

temporal clause

gʷəl ləkʷədaxʷ ?ə ti?il sukʷic'yitəbs
gʷəl ləkʷəd-axʷ ?ə ti?il s-u-kʷic'-yi-t-əb-s
conj eat-now Pr detnp-pfv-butcher-ben-ics-md-3po
‘And he ate it as it was butchered for him.’

ł̥ʷul' ləcu?i?adəb ?ə ti?ə? sqʷəlałəd ?ə ti?il ł'usqʷəls
ł̥ʷul'ləcu-?i-?ad-əb ?ə ti?ə? sqʷəlałəd ?ə ti?il ł'u-s-qʷəl-s
only cont-dim-eat-pass Pr det berry Pr det hab-np-ripe-3po
He was [simply] eating berries [directly off the bush] as they ripened.

Bear and Ant, line 20
no det

xʷi?əxʷ gʷəbəsłʷubils dxʷ?aləxʷ sbiła?iləxʷ ?ə ti?ə? təkʷtəkʷəlus
xʷi?-əxʷ gʷə-bə-s-łʷubil-s dxʷ?al-əxʷ s-biła?il-əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? təkʷtəkʷəlus
neg-now sbj-add-np-be.quiet-3po towards-now np-be.fed.up-
now Pr det owl

She [would] not keep quiet until [finally] Owl got fed up.

d. gʷəl hikʷ ?uhiił əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? shəli?dubs əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ił sxʷəctəbs ti?ił
 dəxʷu?atəbəds əlgʷə?
 gʷəl hikʷ ?u-hiiłəlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? s-həli?-dxʷ-b-s əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ił s-
 xʷəc-t-əb-s ti?ił dəxʷ-?u-?atəbəd-s əlgʷə?
 conj big pfv-happy plural Pr det nm-alive-lc-pass-3po plural Pr
 det nm-extract-ics-pass-3po det np2-pfv-die-3po plural

And they were very glad for having been saved by the removal [of the quills] which had been why they had died. SH 491 + 64

(691) bałgʷas bu?qʷ kʷi bəkʷ sčads ?ə ti bu?qʷ gʷəł ḫʷəłč, ti?ił bəgʷəł t'aq't, gʷəł spałčad
 bu?qʷ

bałgʷas	bu?qʷ	kʷi	bəkʷ	s=čad=s	?	ə	ti	bu?qʷ	
all.kinds	waterfowl		REM	all			NM=where=3PO	PR	SPEC

gʷəł	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ASSC	sea	DIST	ADD=ASSC	inland	ASSC				

'there were all kinds of Duck People (waterfowl) that came from everywhere, Duck People from the sea and those from inland, Duck People from the tidal flats'

(Hess 2006: 63, line 457)

10 Locative and spatial expressions

10.1 Prepositional phrases

10.2 Locative and directional adverbials

10.3 Demonstrative adverbs

11 Communicative structure

Communicative Structure (Mel'čuk 2001), also known as Information Structure (Lambrecht 1994) or Information Packaging (Foley and van Valin 1985), may be loosely defined as those aspects of sentence structure that are conditioned by the communicative intent of speakers (as opposed to the semantic content of the utterance) and/or by the context in which the sentence is spoken. Although it is often left aside in grammatical descriptions of natural languages as being outside the domain of morphosyntax, Communicative Structure in fact has a profound influence on many aspects of Lushootseed sentence structure, including processes such as the selection of sentence predicates, the ordering of constituents, and the direct expression of communicative properties of utterances by lexical or syntactic means. The following sections will discuss those aspects of Lushootseed morphosyntax that are most relevant to the encoding of the Communicative Structure of sentences, concentrating in particular on two categories that pertain to Communicative Structure *per se* — Thematicity and Focalization — and a third aspect of the organization of discourse which is not proper to but rather derived from Communicative Structure — (discourse) Topicality.¹⁷²

Of these three, the communicative category of *Thematicity* is probably the most familiar, having been promoted by, among others, Halliday (1970) and being the equivalent of the widely recognized division of the sentence into Topic and Comment proposed by Sapir (2004). Thematicity entails the division of most sentences into two portions — the Theme, which is (loosely speaking) what the sentence is “about,” and the Rheme, which is what is being said “about” the Theme (Mel'čuk 2001: 95ff). *Focalization* (not to be confused with the term

¹⁷² Because the literature in this area is quite diverse and there is a lack of consensus in the field on a widely-accepted and well-defined terminology for its analysis, for the purposes of the discussion below I have adopted the definitions of terms proposed by Mel'čuk (2001). Although these definitions are presented somewhat informally in what follows, readers are referred to this work for detailed examination of the intricacies of the concepts and the technical details of their implementation in a comprehensive model of Communicative Structure, which necessarily includes many more considerations that can be dealt with within the limitations of the present work.

“Focus,” which as used by Lambrecht 1994 and others is a synonym for Rheme), on the other hand, refers to the designation of an event-participant or some aspect of an event (such as a place, time, or setting) as being “logically prominent” or the focal point of a speaker’s attention (Mel’čuk 2001: 181). Frequently, though not always, a Focalized element is in some way contrastive or in opposition to some other element (i.e., whatever is being said of the Focalized element is also being said to be explicitly not true of some other element of the discourse). Thematicity and Focalization are independent of one another, and a Focalized element may be a Theme, a Rheme, or some part of either one.

Both Thematicity and Focalization are sentence-level categories — that is, they are defined within the bounds of a single sentence. In contrast, a *discourse Topic* is defined over multiple sentences and/or entire discourse episodes: specifically, a discourse Topic is a Theme which is shared by a large number of sentences in sequence or within the bounds of a delimitable stretch of connected discourse (cf. Mel’čuk 2001: 209). This use of the term is different from the common use of “Topic” as (essentially) a synonym for Theme — indeed, the fact that discourse Topics are necessarily Themes at the sentence-level has led to a certain degree of confusion, as well as the common misapprehension that the two (Theme and discourse Topic) are the same. However, if Topics are necessarily Themes, it is not true that Themes are necessarily discourse Topics, and given that the definitions employed here define the Theme at sentence level and the Topic at the level discourse, it is important to keep the two distinct. This also means that, strictly speaking, discourse Topics are not elements of the Communicative Structure of individual sentence, but belong instead to the realm of text-planning; nevertheless, as we will see in Section 11.3 below, the notion of discourse Topic is crucial to the interpretation of Lushootseed utterances in context, and so has a major impact on sentence-level morphosyntax.

11.1 Theme and Rheme

The aspect of Communicative Structure that has the most profound influence on syntax is Thematicity — the division of the sentence between Theme and Rheme. The primary effect of Thematicity on syntactic structure manifests itself in a near-absolute constraint that clausal subject, especially third-person subjects, be Thematic and that sentence predicates be Rhematic.¹⁷³ This constraint manifests itself in a number of ways, both at the level of discourse and the contextual interpretation of sentences (see Section 11.3) and at the most basic level of clausal syntax, where it governs the selection of syntactic predicate. Where most languages select the lexical items used as sentence-predicates based largely on their part of speech (that is, they choose sentence predicates that are verbs), Lushootseed selects that element of the sentence that is Rhematic to be sentence predicate, irrespective of its part of speech. This pattern is illustrated by the contrast between the question-and-answer pairs in (692):¹⁷⁴

- (692) a. i. ?u?əxid kʷi kikəwič
?u-?əxid kʷi ki-kəwič
PFV=what.happen REM ATTN=hunchback
'what happened to Little Hunchback?'
- ii. ?u', X'äl' busaxʷəbdubut ti?iɬ kikəwič
?u X'äl' bə=?u-saxʷəb-dxʷ-but ti?iɬ ki-kəwič
INTJ also ADD=PFV-run-DC-REFL DIST ATTN=hunchback
'oh, Little Hunchback also managed to escape'
- [DM Basket Ogress, lines 79 – 80]
- b. i. stab ti ?učalatsb ?o ti?iɬ wiw'su
stab ti ?u-čala-t-əb ?o ti?iɬ wiw'su
what SPEC PFV-hit-ICS-PASS PR DIST children
'what was chased by the children?'

¹⁷³ Cf. Beck (2000b), where this is discussed using the term "Topic" instead of Theme. Kinkade (1990) makes the same observation for Salishan in general, also using the term "Topic." As noted in Section 11.3, the alignment of subject and Theme at the clause level coincides with an alignment of subject and Topic at the discourse level, resulting in a three-way alignment of Theme, subject, and discourse Topic.

¹⁷⁴ Question-and-answer pairs such as these are frequently-touted diagnostics for (or even definitions of) the Thematic divisions of sentence, the Theme being equated with the presupposed portion of the question (and its repetition in the answer) and the Rheme with the new information contained in the answer (and the interrogative element in the question).

- ii. **sqʷəbay?** ti ?učalatəb ?ə ti?ił wiw'su
 sqʷəbay? ti ?u-čala-t-əb ?ə PR DIST wiw'su
 dog SPEC PFV-hit-ICS-PASS children
 'the one chased by the children is a dog'
 (Hess 1995: 98 – 99)

The question in (692a-i) is a narratively-focused question asking about an event in which a particular Thematic event-participant, *kikəwič* ‘Little Hunchback’, is involved, and elicits a narratively-focused response with a Rhematic verbal predicate (692a-ii), recounting what it is that Little Hunchback did. The question in (692b-i), however, is an information question (Section 8.4.2) and asks for the identity of an unknown participant in a Thematic event (the children’s chasing), this event being expressed as a headless relative clause (*ti ?učalatəb ?ə ti?ił wiw'su* ‘what was chased by the children’) in subject position of a sentence whose predicate is the interrogative word *stab* ‘what?’ . The response in (692b-ii) mirrors this structure exactly, substituting the requested information (the identity of the chased even-participant, *sqʷəbay?* ‘dog’) for the interrogative word, giving us a sentence with a Rhematic nominal predicate of the type discussed in Section 8.3.1.

This constraint governing nominal and other types of non-verbal predication also holds outside of the context of questions, occurring in narrative and other discourse contexts, where the event itself is Thematic (and, generally, Given) and the Rheme is an event-participant or some other non-verbal element of the sentence, as in (693). This sentence occurs at a point in a story where the speakers, a pair of supernatural hunters, have rewarded the protagonist, Pheasant, for his modesty by giving him game, which they have packed and magically made light so that Pheasant can carry it. As they finished preparing the game, the hunters explain to Pheasant what they have done, and remind him why making the pack light was important:

- (693) **hikʷ kʷagʷičəd** ti?ił səstl̩d čəł ti dəgʷi
 hikʷ kʷagʷičəd ti?ił s=?əs-čil-d čəł ti dəgʷi
 big elk DIST NM=STAT-give.food-ICS 1PL.SUB SPEC you
 'what we haven given you is a big elk'

(Hess 1998: 81, line 110)

In (693), what is Rhematic is the nature of the gift, while the fact that the hunters are giving something to Pheasant is old news and entirely Thematic. As a result, the sentence predicate is the noun phrase *hikʷ kʷagʷičəd* ‘big elk’ and the syntactic subject is a sentential nominal formed on the expression of the event *ti?it səstild čət ti dəgʷi* ‘what we have given to you’. In spoken English, a sentence like this would probably be marked by prosody (*we are giving you a big elk*), and in writing such sentences tend to be translated as clefts.

The requirement that the Rhematic element of a sentence be the syntactic predicate thus has profound influence on the structure of Lushootseed sentences, and — in combination with the flexibility which Lushootseed shows with respect to which parts of speech are eligible syntactic predicates — is responsible for many of the exotic-looking structures with non-verbal predicates discussed in more detail in Section 8.3 above. In (694), for example, the Thematic organization of the sentence results in a complex structure with a sentential nominal as its syntactic predicate:

- (694) **dsəs?**^{abiyitəb} ?ə ti?i^t dsqa ti?ə? di?ə? cəxʷx̌iličtxʷ ti?ə? di?ə? stawixʷə?⁹
 d=s=?əs-?ab-yi-t-b ?ə ti?i^t d-sqa
 1SG.PO=NM=STAT-extend-DAT-ICS-PASS PR DIST 1SG.PO-older.brother
 ti?ə? di?ə? d=dəxʷ=xi-x̌ilič-txʷ ti?ə? di?ə? stawixʷə?⁹
 PROX he 1SG.PO=ADNM=ATTN-fight-ECS PROX he children
 'this is what my older brother has given me so I can compete with the children'
 [MW Star Child, line 100]

The context of the sentence is a situation where a character is explaining the nature of a particular item (tallow), expressed in the sentence as the subject of the matrix clause, *ti?ə? di?ə?* ‘this here’. Under these circumstances, the object being discussed (the tallow) is Topical and Thematic, whereas the Rheme is the speaker’s explanation of it — specifically, the fact that it was given to him by his older brother. The act of giving is expressed as a sentential nominalization (*dsəs?abyitəb ?ə ti?it dsqa*, literally ‘my being given-to by my brother’) which is used as a syntactic predicate. The nominalization of *?abyitəb* ‘be given something by somebody’

is required in that the gift, *ti?ə? di?ə?* ‘this here’, corresponds to an oblique object of the finite verb (Section 7.4.2).

The same principles lie behind the selection of other types of non-verbal predicate. The sentences in (695), for example, come from a point in a story where two brothers, Diaper Child and Moon, make (as part of the process of creating the world) some moccasins. The narrator goes on to explain how many they made, and how many belong to each brother:

- (695) a. **?əsbuus** k^wi tuhuyud əlg^wə?
- ?əs-buuus k^wi tu=huyu-d əlg^wə?
 STAT-four REM PAST=be.made-ICS PL
 ‘it is four (moccasins) that they made’
- b. **sali?** k^wi g^wəɬ sp’ic’ik^w
 sali? k^wi g^wəɬ sp’ic’ik^w
 two REM ASSC Diaper.Child
 ‘those belonging to Diaper Child [are] two’
- c. **sali?** k^wi g^wəɬ sɬuk^walb
 sali? k^wi g^wəɬ sɬuk^walb
 two REM ASSC moon
 ‘those belonging to Moon [are] two’

[DS Star Child, lines 355 – 357]

The predicates of these sentences are numerals — *buus* ‘four’ in (695a) and *sali?* ‘two’ in (695b) and (c). These numbers constitute the Rhematic portion of all of these sentences, the essential element of the communication being the number of moccasins (rather than the event of making the moccasins or the fact that it was moccasins that were made), and so they are used as the syntactic predicate.

Precisely the same conditions governing the selection of clausal predicates allows for the predicative use of other phrases-types, such as the prepositional phrase heading the clause in (696):

- (696) ?aləxʷ sbuusałdatils kʷi suq'ila?kʷčups sp'ič'ikʷ
 ?al=əxʷ s=buus•ał•dat-il=s Ø kʷi s=?u-q'il•a?kʷ•čup=s
 at=now NM=four•times•day-INCH=3PO 3SUB REM NM=PFV-aboard•group•fire=3PO
 sp'i-p'ič'ikʷ
 ATTN=Diaper.Child
 'it was (i.e., happened) on the fourth day as *Sp'ič'ikʷ* was loading firewood'
 [HM Star Child, line 102]

This sentence occurs at a point in the narrative where the story-teller has recounted the various tasks that the protagonist, who has been enslaved by Raven, is forced to carry out, one of which is loading firewood onto Raven's canoe. The line in (696) sets the scene for the subsequent discourse episode by specifying the time at which the events occurred, the Rhematic portion of the sentence being the temporal expression (the PP). As a result, the prepositional phrase *?al sbuusałdatils* 'on the fourth day' is the syntactic predicate.

The close alignment between Rhematicity and expression as syntactic predicate can also be seen to govern the syntax of lexical adverbs (Section 2.5.1), which can be used either ad-verbally as predicate modifiers (697a) or as syntactic predicates in their own right (697b):

- (697) a. ḥ'ub čəd ?əs?ista?b ?ə ti?ə?
 ḥ'ub čəd ?əs-?ista?b ?ə ti?ə?
 well 1SG.SUB STAT-same-MD PR PROX
 'I had better (stay) like this'
 (Hess 1998: 82, line 117)
- b. ḥ'ub čəxʷ ?ə ti ads?učʷ sgʷəlub
 ḥ'ub čəxʷ ?ə ti ad=s=?učʷ sgʷəlub
 well 2SG.SUB PR SPEC 2SG.PO=NM=go Pheasant
 'you will be all right as you go, Pheasant'
 (Hess 1998: 81, line 101)

The first sentence, which is "about" the speaker (making the first-person Thematic), tells the addressee what the speaker had better do, making the action and its qualification Rhematic. As part of the Rheme, *ḥ'ub* 'well', is included as part of the syntactic predicate — specifically, as an adverbial modifier of *?ista?b* 'be the same as something'. In the next example, however, the

assertion is that the addressee (the second person) will be well, making *λ'ub* Rhematic and requiring that it be syntactic predicate, while the Thematic second-person is expressed as subject.

Thematicity also underlies the structure of the existential negative (Section 8.5), which is used to negate the existence of something (698a) or its presence at a specific location (698b):

- (698) a. xʷi? kʷi gʷat gʷəhəli?
xʷi? kʷi gʷat gʷə=ḥəli?
NEG REM who SBJ=alive
'no one could survive'

(Hess 2006: 79, line 889)

- b. xʷi?əxʷ ti?ə? tubəda?s
xʷi?=əxʷ ti?ə? tu=bəda?-s
NEG=now PROX PAST=offspring-3PO
'her child was gone'

[MW Star Child, line 121]

In each of these cases, the sentences are “about” the Thematic subjects and the communicative import of the sentence is the negation. Thus, (698a) is a statement about potential survivors and asserts that there are none (i.e., that they don’t exist); (698b) is about a child and tells the addressee that the child is no longer there. In such cases, the negative adverb *xʷi?* is Rhematic and is the syntactic predicate, while the Thematic elements are subjects. The choice between the use of the existential negative construction and adverbial negation (discussed in Section 8.5 above) is governed by the same principles that govern the uses of adverbs illustrated in (697).

Because Lushootseed is, generally speaking, a predicate-initial language, the requirement that syntactic predicates be Rhematic means that Lushootseed is also effectively a Rheme-initial language. Another effect of Thematicity on constituent order can be seen in passive constructions (Section 6.2) which — rather unusually for Lushootseed — allow alternative orderings of their arguments, showing either agentive complement (AgCo) >> subject (Sub) order, as in (699a), or Sub >> AgCo order, as in (699b):

- (699) a. ?u-gʷəč'-t-b ?ə ti č'ac'as ti sqʷəbay?
PFV-seek-ICS-PASS PR SPEC child SPEC dog
'the dog was looked for by the boy'
- b. ?u-gʷəč'-t-b ti sqʷəbay? ?ə ti č'ac'as
PFV-seek-ICS-PASS SPEC dog PR SPEC child
'the dog was looked for by the boy'

(Hess 1995: 23, exx. 6a – 6b)

Although the expected order, following the general principle (for NP arguments) that the subject precedes other arguments of the verb, would be that in (699b), in elicitation (Hess, p.c.) and in texts the more common order is that shown in (699a).¹⁷⁵ Examination of the contexts in which the two orders occur suggests that the choice between the two is governed to a large extent by Thematicity, and falls out from the preference for Rheme-initial sentences, the AgCo >> Sub order occurring most frequently in situations where both the agentive complement and the verb are Rhematic, thereby maintaining the linear contiguity of the Rheme. This preference for contiguity of the Rheme outweighs the preference for the subject NP to immediately follow the matrix clause predicate that governs constituent-order in other sentence types, resulting in a non-canonical ordering of syntactic arguments.

The greater frequency of the AgCo >> Sub order in Lushootseed passives stems from the strong Lushootseed preference for Topical (and, hence, Thematic) subjects (see Section 11.3 below). Although Topical NPs are most frequently elided in Lushootseed discourse, there are certain contexts where it is necessary to make the Topic of discourse explicit. The most frequent of these in texts is a topic-setting construction like that shown in (700):

- (700) kʷukʷcut-ičitbəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? c'ičc'ič ti?ił sya?ya?s, sčətxʷəd
kʷukʷcut-yi-t-b=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? c'ičc'ič ti?ił sya?ya?-s sčətxʷəd
cook-DAT-ICS-PASS=now PR PROX fish.hawk DIST friend-3PO bear
'his_i friend Bear was cooked for by Fish Hawk_i'

(Hess 1995: 154, line 68)

¹⁷⁵ A rough count of matrix-clause passives with both an NP subject and an agentive complement phrase in the current corpus shows 14 examples of Sub >> AgCo order as opposed to 37 examples of AgCo >> Sub order.

This sentence occurs at the beginning of a discourse episode where the narrator is shifting Topic by making a statement “about” (Fish Hawk’s friend) Bear, asserting that he has had some food (a salmon caught in the previous episode) prepared for him by Fish Hawk. Bear, as the intended new discourse Topic for the following episode, is Thematic, and the Rhematic portion of this sentence includes both the event of food preparation and the fact that it was Fish Hawk who prepared the food. The order of constituents here thus ensures the contiguity of the Rheme, in spite of the fact that it violates the usual predicate >> subject pattern.

The alternative constituent-order, Sub >> AgCo, occurs typically in those cases where the entire sentence, including both the subject and the agentive complement, is Rhematic. In narratives, such sentences occur in contexts where an event involving participants that are not Topical at that point in discourse is introduced, usually at the beginning of a new discourse episode. In the excerpt in (701), for instance, the passive clause in (701d) introduces a new event involving two event-participants, the Dwarves and the Duck People, who are not mentioned in the previous three lines (which are concerned with the protagonists of the story, the Seal Hunters, who have been captured by the Dwarves):

- (701) a. huy, xʷu?ə?ə? xʷi? ləha?kʷ kʷi tushəd?iw's əlgʷə?
 huy xʷu?ə?ə? xʷi? lə=ha?kʷ kʷi tu=s=həd?iw'=s əlgʷə?
 SCONJ maybe NEG NEGP=long.time REM PAST=NM=be.inside=3PO PL
 ‘then, I guess, they [the seal hunters] had not been inside very long’
- b. gʷəl huy, huy, gʷəcutadəxʷ ti?i₄ tul'šəq
 gʷəl huy huy gʷəcutad=əxʷ ti?i₄ tul'–šəq
 SCONJ SCONJ SCONJ be.commotion=now PROX CNTRPT-be.high
 ‘and then, then there was noise from above’
- c. gʷəcutadəxʷ kʷədi? tul'šəq
 gʷəcutad=əxʷ ti?i₄ tul'–šəq
 be.commotion=now PROX CNTRPT-be.high
 ‘there was noise from above’

d. gʷəhaw'ə? ?ušidz̥təbəxʷ ti?ə? caadił qʷiqʷqʷistay'bixʷ ɬə ti?ə? bu?qʷ
 gʷəhaw'ə? ?u-šidz-t-b=əxʷ ti?ə? caadił qʷi-qʷ-qʷistay'bixʷ
 seemingly PFV-be.surprised-ICS-PASS=now PROX they ATTN-ATTN-dwarves

?ə ti?ə? bu?qʷ
 PR PROX waterfowl

'it seems that these dwarves were surprised by a sneak attack by the Duck People'
 (Hess 2006: 61, lines 453 – 456)

The sentence in (701d) has only a Rhematic portion and would be a felicitous answer to a question like "what happened next?", in which none of the elements of the answer are presupposed. Sentences such as this are frequently found at the beginning of discourse episodes and at points in narrative where the narrator's focus shifts between the actions of characters. Because this type of sentence lacks a Theme, there is no conflict between the requirement that the Rheme be linearly contiguous and the preference for predicate >> subject constituent order, giving us the Sub >> AgCo order seen in (701d).

The same constituent order is also found in another situation in which the subject and agentive compleative belong to the same Thematic division of the sentence — in cases where both are part of the Theme, as in (702):

(702) hay, c'əldub ti?ił sčətxʷəd ?ə ti?ił c'iħc'ix
 hay c'əl-dxʷ-b ti?ił sčətxʷəd ?ə ti?ił c'iħc'ix
 SCONJ defeated-DC-PASS PROX bear PR PROX fish.hawk
 'and so Bear was defeated by Fish Hawk'

(Hess 1995: 154, line 93)

With this sentence, found towards the end of Edward Sam's "ti?ił sčətxʷəd ?ə ti?ił c'iħc'ix" 'Black Bear and Fish Hawk', the narrator begins a wrap-up and summary of the story. In this particular context, both the subject, *sčətxʷəd* 'Black Bear' and the agentive complement, *c'iħc'ix* 'Fish Hawk', are Thematic, and the import of the sentence is to relate what happened to these two protagonists who have been well-established in discourse (the sentence in essence answering the question "what happened to Black Bear and Fish Hawk?"). Thus, (702) conforms to the general constituent-ordering constraint that the subject immediately follow the matrix predicate,

which expresses the Rhematic part of the utterance (that is, the narrator here is re-capping events), while maintaining the linear contiguity of the Rheme. As with the selection of the syntactic predicate of sentences discussed earlier, the alternation of constituent ordering in passives provides a good illustration of the centrality of Thematicity in the construction of Lushootseed sentences.

11.2 Focalization

Although the effects of Focalization on the structure of Lushootseed sentences are perhaps not as profound as are those of Thematicity, Focalization is an important component of Lushootseed grammar, both at the level of morphosyntax and at the level of text-planning and the organization of discourse. The discussion here will centre on two different means of expressing Focalization — the focalizing adverb *dił* (Section 11.2.1) and a construction involving the sentential conjunction *gʷəl* and the left-dislocation of the clausal subject (11.2.2).

11.2.1 Focalization with *dił* ‘just that one’

The most textually frequent means of implementing Focalization is through the use of the adverb *dił* ‘just that one’, which both focalizes a Thematic subject and particularizes the referent of that subject as the only entity in current discourse space to which the predicate of the sentence applies. Syntactically, *dił* belongs to the class of lexical adverbs (Section 2.5.1) and so may itself be the main predicate of a clause, as shown in (703):

- (703) a. dił ti?ił
dił ti?ił
FOC DIST
‘that is just the one’

(Hess 1998: 87, line 259)

- b. *diłit̥ əw'ə ti?ə? sa? luł'*
dił-it̥ əw'ə ti?ə? sa? luł'
 INTNS-just.that.one PTCL PROX bad old
 'that very bad old man is just the one'

(Hess 2006: 31, line 233)

- c. *dił ti?ə? ?ułčisəbš*
dił ti?ə? ?u-łčil-s-bš
 FOC PROX PFV-arrive-ALTV-1SG.OBJ
 'the one who came to me is just that guy'

(Hess 1998: 99, line 220)

(703a) shows *dił* as the predicate of a simple clause whose subject is the demonstrative *ti?it̥*. In (703b), *dił* — in Type III reduplicated form, indicating intensivity (Section 5.3.2) — is modified by the predicate particle *əw'ə*, which in the absence of modifying adverbs or adverbial particles, immediately follows the sentence predicate (Section 2.5.3). The sentence in (703c) shows *dił* acting as a predicate and taking a headless relative clause as its subject. When used in this way as the predicate of a sentence, *dił* indicates that some previous element of discourse — either the discourse Topic (704a) or the preceding set of events (704b) — corresponds to its subject:

- (704) a. *dił ti?ə? sc'istxʷs*
dił ti?ə? sc'istxʷ-s
 just.that.one PROX husband-3PO
 'her husband was *him* (Coyote's son)'

(Hess 2006: 33, line 288)

- b. *?u', diłəxʷ ti?ə? dəxʷ?əsčilsəxʷ*
?u dił=əxʷ ti?ə? dəxʷ=?əs-čc-il=s=əxʷ
 INTJ just.that.one=now PROX ADNM=STAT-red-INCH=3PO=now
 'oh, why he (Kingfisher) is red now is (because of) that'

(Hess 2006: 15, line 102)

The subject of (704a) is the NP *ti?ə? sc'istxʷs* 'her husband', which is linked by *dił* to the Topical event-participant (in this context, Coyote's son, who is recognized by Pigeon as her true husband, as opposed to Coyote, who has been impersonating his son in order to steal his wives). In (704b), the subject is an adjunctive nominal, *dəxʷ?əsčils* 'his reason for having become red', which is linked back to the preceding events in the narrative (specifically, that Kingfisher has been speared under the arm by Heron in retaliation for sleeping with Heron's wife).

As well as linking the subject to previous discourse and focalizing it, *dił* also attributes a certain uniqueness or particularity to the subject's referent, indicating that the referent of the subject and only that referent corresponds to a particular event-participant or sequence of events, as in (704):

- (705) a. dił kʷəł kʷədi? tubšədəd lədxʷ?al tsi?ə? bəda? ?ə ti?ə? tusbiaw ?u?atəbəd
 dił kʷəł kʷədi? tubšədəd lə=dxʷ-?al tsi?ə? bəda? ?ə
 FOC QTV REM.DMA Sahaptin PROG=CNTRFG-at PROX:FEM offspring PR

ti?ə? tusbiaw ?u-?atəbəd

PROX coyote PFV-die

'he is it seems the warrior coming for the daughter of the late Coyote who died'

- b. gʷəł dił ti?ə? tuča?kʷ

gʷəł dił Ø ti?ə? tu=ča?kʷ
 SCONJ FOC 3SUB PROX PAST=seaward

'he it is who has come to the coast'

(Hess 1998: 97, line 181 – 182)

The context for (704) is a point in a narrative where Coyote, who has faked his death as part of a ruse to marry his own daughter, returns to his village disguised as a Sahaptin warrior. Coyote had told the people beforehand that, if he died, his daughter was to be married to a warrior from inland, and in (704a), one of the characters declares that the stranger who has appeared among them must be the man foreseen in Coyote's prediction, then repeats in (704b) that this man from inland, and no other, must be the very one referred to by Coyote.

When used as an adverbial modifier of a verbal predicate, *dił* has essentially the same function. As expected of an adverb, *dił* appears in such cases in pre-verbal position, as shown in (706a), and attracts both sentence-second predicate particles (706b) and matrix subject-clitics (706c):

- (706) a. *dił λ'utuč^walik^w dx^wg^wəd*
dił λ'u=tuč^w-alik^w Ø dx^w-g^wəd
 FOC HAB=stretched-ACT 3SUB CNTRPT-down
 'he's the one who stretches things downwards'¹⁷⁶
- (Hess 2006: 28, line 151)
- b. *dił əw'ə hig^wəx^w ?udx^wqədidəx^w ti?ə? s?ušəbabdx^w sbəq'wa? ?ə tsı?ə? čəg^was, x^wu?x^wəy?*
dił əw'ə hik^w=əx^w ?u-dx^w-qəd-i-d=əx^w Ø ti?ə? s?ušəbabdx^w
 FOC PTCL big=now PFV-CTD-fornicate-SS-ICS=now 3SUB PROX poor.guy
sbəq'wa? ?ə tsı?ə? čəg^was-sx^wu?x^wəy?
 Heron PR PROX:FEM wife-3PO helldiver
 'indeed, he (Kingfisher) is the one who cuckolded poor Heron_i with his_i wife, Hell-diver'
- (Hess 2006: 14, line 77)
- c. *dił čəd ?əsbaliicəx^w ti?ił*
dił čəd ?əs-bali-c=əx^w ti?ił
 FOC 1SG.SUB STAT-forget-ALTV=now DIST
 'I forget which one it was (that found the monster)'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 220]

In (706a), the adverb modifies the verbal predicate *tuč^walik^w* 'stretch things', focalizing the Thematic subject (in this case, a zero third-person whose referent is Spider) and indicating that the referent of this subject is a particular, and unique, individual in the context in which the sentence is uttered. Likewise, in (706b) *dił* singles out and focalizes a particular individual (Kingfisher) playing a very specific role in the narrative context (the story of Heron's wife Helldiver and her adulterous affair with Kingfisher), while (706c) focalizes the forgotten individual, expressed as the distal demonstrative *ti?ił*, and singles it out from amongst a particular set of individuals (those characters in the story who might have found the monster *qi?qəl'adi?*). Similarly, the line in (707) comes from a point in a narrative where Mink, whose

¹⁷⁶ The gloss of this sentence as a cleft (taken from the published source) arises from the communicative function of *dił* as a marker of Focalization. As Focalization is frequently indicated in English through the use of clefts (Mel'čuk 2001), sentences with *dił* are often translated as clefts, although this is not an accurate reflection of their underlying structure. Likewise, the translations of (706b) and (c) reflect the communicative rather than the syntactic structure of the Lushootseed sentences.

roast salmon was stolen in the previous discourse episode, hears that Changer is traveling in the area and realizes that Changer must be the thief, leading Mink to exclaim:

- (707) *dił ?uqadadic*
dił ?u-qada-di-t-s Ø
 FOC PFV-steal-SS-ICS-1SG.OBJ 3SUB
 ‘he’s the one who robbed me of it’

(Hess 1998: 67, line 67)

Here, the adverb *dił* focalizes the Thematic subject, the Ø third-person pronominal whose antecedent is *Dukʷibət* ‘Changer’, thereby highlighting that event-participant for the addressee and singling out Changer him as the unique individual responsible for the theft.

In all of the sentences in (706) and (707), the adverb *dił* takes scope over the subject of the sentence, which in all four cases is some kind of anaphoric element whose antecedent is an event-participant from earlier in the discourse. Even in cases where the subject is an overt NP, such as (704a) above, this NP is co-referent with some Topical element in the preceding text. Because of the near-absolute coincidence between subject and Topic/Theme in Lushootseed discourse (Section 11.3), the scope of *dił* encompasses both the subject of the sentence and the Theme; however, in those cases where the subject is not Thematic, the scope of the focalizer can be shown to be determined by Thematicity rather than syntactically, as shown in (708):

- (708) a. *dił čəł gʷəkʷədad ti?ił*
dił čəł gʷəkʷəda-d ti?ił
 FOC 1PL.SUB SBJ=taken-ICS DIST
 ‘that guy’s the one we should get’

(Hess 2006: 18, line 167)

- b. *gʷəł dił čəd lagʷč'əd*
gʷəł dił čəd lə=gʷəč'-d-Ø Ø
 SCONJ FOC 1SG.SUB PROG=look.for-ICS-3OBJ 3SUB
 ‘they are the ones we are looking for’

(Bierwert 1996: 221, line 522)

(708a) is taken from a context where two brothers, who are looking for someone to help rescue their sister who is trapped in a tree, have been discussing the talents of a particular person

(*λ'əλ'iq'səd* ‘Sapsucker’). The subject of the sentence is the pronominal clitic *čət*, but the focalized element is clearly the demonstrative *ti?it*, used in this context as a pronominal whose antecedent is the current discourse Topic, Sapsucker, the person with the requisite abilities to rescue the sister. Similarly, (708b) occurs at a point in the text where the speaker is recapping an explanation, given in the two previous lines in response to a question, of who it is in particular that is the object of his search. The subject of the sentence is the first person, but the focalized element is the Topical, and Thematic, direct object (in this case, an anaphoric zero) whose identity has been established in the preceding two lines of text. Thus, it seems that in both cases the scope of the focalizer is determined by Thematic, rather than syntactic structure.

As well as modifying verbal predicates, *dił* is also very frequently used as a modifier of nominal predicates (Section 8.3.1) such as those in (709):

- (709) a. hay λ'ubəxʷ dił adčəgʷasəxʷ tsi?ił
 hay λ'ub=əxʷ dił ad-čəgʷas=əxʷ tsi?ił
 SCONJ good=now FOC 2SG.PO-wife=now DIST:FEM
 ‘well then that one is the one who should be your wife’
 (Hess 1998: 98, line 201)
- b. gʷa? dił bəds ti?ə? ?əshuygʷastxʷ
 gʷəl dił bad-s ti?ə? ?əs-huy•gʷas-txʷ
 SCONJ FOC father-3PO PROX STAT-be.done•pair-ECS
 ‘as the one to whom she had been married [was] her father’
 (Hess 1998: 99, line 224)
- c. gʷəl dił bəda?s əlgʷə? ti?ił ?uχaaχaab?i?
 gʷəl dił bəda?-s əlgʷə? ti?ił ?u-χaa-χaab•i?
 SCONJ FOC offspring-3PO PL DIST PFV-DSTR-cry•child
 ‘and it is their baby who cries on and on’
 (Hess 2006: 6, line 97)

In the sentences in (709), the first of the two nouns in each sentence functions as the predicate and the full NP introduced by the determiner is the subject. The focalizer *dił* appears in the expected position for a lexical adverb, preceding the clausal predicate, and has the effect of focalizing the Thematic subject. Note that in (709a) *dił* follows (rather than precedes, as in 706b)

another lexical adverb, *λ'ub* ‘well’, reflecting the relatively free respective ordering of lexical adverbs (Section 2.5.1).

Sentences with nominal predicates and focalized Themes tend to occur in contexts where the narrative highlights a particular person or thing, singling it out for special attention, as does the sentence in (710d):

- (710) a. k'əyiləxʷ
 k'əyil=əxʷ
 pretend=now
 ‘he pretends’
- b. ləsxʷil bad
 ləs-xʷɬ-il bad
 PROG.STAT-lack-INCH father
 ‘he does not have a father’
- c. k'əyiləxʷ
 k'əyil=əxʷ
 pretend=now
 ‘he pretends’
- d. dił tubads, tusbiaw, kʷi ?u?atəbəd
 dił tu=bad-s tu=sbiaw kʷi ?u=?atəbəd
 FOC PAST=father-3PO PAST=coyote REM PFV-die
 ‘the one who died, it was his father, Coyote’

(Hess 2006: 31, lines 224 – 227)

The lines in (710) occur at a point in a narrative where a character, Coyote, has faked his own death and is now impersonating his son (whom he has tricked into becoming lost in the Sky World). Beginning in (710a), Coyote, thus disguised, puts on a show of mourning for the supposedly deceased individual, singled out and focalized in (710d) as Coyote, ostensibly the mourner’s father. By using the adverbial *dił* in this sentence, the narrator converts what would be a simple statement of fact, ‘the one who died is his father, Coyote’, to a more emphatic statement identifying the deceased as a particular individual, whose specific identity holds special significance for the speaker and/or the narrative context.

In addition to modifying sentences that have simple nouns as their predicates, *dit* can modify more complex nominal predicates, such as those in the sentences in (711):

- b. dił shuys
 dił s=huy=s Ø
 FOC NM=made=3PO 3SUB
 'that is the end' (Hess 1995: 146, line 92)

The predicates of these sentences — in (711a), *dsəsbəkʷucid* ‘what I happened upon’ (lit. ‘what I have scavenged with the mouth’), and in (711b) *shuys* ‘its ending’ (lit. ‘its being done’) — are *s*-nominals. The role of *dit* in both sentences is to focalize the Thematic subject (*tiʔə? q'əd̓ax?* *tsi sqigʷac* ‘Deer’s intestines’ in 711a and the zero pronominal in 711b). The referent of the pronominal in the latter case is the traditional story the speaker has just told, this being a common way of terminating a Lushootseed narrative.

Like *s*-nominals, adjunct nominals are also found as predicates modified by *dit*:

- (712) a. *dił cəxʷəsčəba?* *ti?ə?* *dsəsc’iqʷib* *tsi?ə?* *?u?u*
 dił d=dəxʷ=?əs-čəba? ti?ə? d=s=?əs-c’iqʷib
 FOC 1SG.PO=ADNM=STAT-laden PROX 1SG.PO=NM=STAT-get.in.on
 tsi?ə? *?u?u*
 PROX:FEM a.bit
 ‘what I got in on, this little bit, is what I am loaded down with’

- b. di^t t^udəx^w?ə^teds ti^ti^t tu^tdəx^wciltubs
 di^t t^u=dəx^w=?ə^teds= ti^ti^t tu=dəx^w=cili-tx^w-b=s
 FOC IRR=ADNM=feed.on=3PO DIST PAST=ADNM=dish-ECS-PASS=3PO
 'that [thing] in which [food] was dished out is what he will eat with' (H, 2006, 28, line 100)

The predicate of (712a) is the *dəxʷ*=nominal *cəxʷəsčəba?* ‘what I am loaded down with’, while in (712b) the predicate is *tudəxʷətəds* ‘what he will eat with’. Again, the role of *dił* here is to focalize and particularize the Theme/subject of the sentence.

As in the above examples, nominal predicates modified by *dił* tend to be bare nominals without determiners; as with bare nominal predicates; however, it is also possible to find sentences with *dił* in which the predicate nominal is introduced by a determiner:

- (713) a. ?u, diłti?ił sa? luł' ti?ił ?ugʷəlald ti tudsc'istxʷ
 ?u dił-ił ti?ił sa? luł' ti?ił ?u-gʷəlald ti tu=d-sč'istxʷ^w
 INTJ INTNS-FOC DIST bad elder DIST PFV-kill SPEC PAST=1SG.PO-husband
 ‘oh, that very one who killed my husband is that bad old man’
- (Hess 2006: 31, line 232)
- b. gʷəhaw'ə dił ti?ə? tusč'istxʷs ti?ə? ?utəłəłdubutəxʷ
 gʷə=haw'ə dił ti?ə? tu=sč'istxʷ-s ti?ə?
 SBJ=PTCL FOC PROX PAST=husband-3PO PROX
 ?u-təłəł-dxʷ-but=əxʷ^w
 PFV-arrive.safely-DC-REFL-now
 ‘why this very one who safely arrived was her former husband!’
- (Hess 2006: 33, line 279)

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: is the RDP intns or exc?

The conditions determining whether or not the predicate complement takes a determiner are the same as those governing the presence/absence of a determiner with other predicate nouns (Section 8.3.1): essentially, the contrast resides in whether the sentence attributes membership in a type named by the predicate nominal, as in (709), or whether the subject is being identified with a specific referential entity, as in (713). In either case, the function of *dił* remains the focalization and particularization of the Thematic subject. When the predicate is a bare nominal, *dił* is used to indicate that the Theme/subject is the unique member of the type expressed by the predicate in the current discourse. When the predicate is introduced by the determiner, the role of *dił* is to emphasize that is it a particular individual — out of all the other potential candidates in the discourse — that is being identified with entity expressed by that predicate.

Although *dit* can be used in copular constructions with both a predicate nominal and a subject, *dit* frequently appears with only a predicate nominal, and the elided subject is interpreted as either a Topical event-participant or as referring to the immediately preceding events themselves, the elided or zero element acting much the way English *this* and *that* do in spoken and informal written discourse:

- (714) a. diłəxʷ t̥udsəsqʷuhu?
dił=əxʷ t̥u=d=s=?əs-qʷuhu?
FOC=now IRR=1SG.PO=NM=STAT=associate.with 3SUB
‘[she] is the one I will associate with’

(Hess 2006: 31, line 241)

b. dił s̥xał’s
dił s=xał’=s Ø
FOC NM=want=3PO 3SUB
‘that was what he wanted’

(Hess 1998: 92, line 33)

c. dił tushuyutəbsəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? dukʷibəł
dił tu=s=huyu-t-əb=s=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? dukʷibəł Ø
FOC PAST=NM=be.done-ICS-PASS=3PO=now PR PROX Changer 3SUB
‘that is what was done to her by Changer’

(Hess 1998: 75, line 256)

d. diłəxʷ dəxʷ?əsčcils
dił=əxʷ dəxʷ=?əs-čc-il=s Ø
FOC=now ADNM=STAT=red-INCH=3PO 3SUB
‘that [event] is why he [Kingfisher] is red’

(Hess 2006: 15, line 104)

The subject in (714a) is understood in context to be a character just named in discourse (Sawbill, the wife of Coyote's son whom the speaker, Coyote, has lusted after), while the subject of (714b) is the list of desires (the funeral arrangements being requested by the protagonist, Coyote) just enumerated by the storyteller. (714c) and (d) make concluding statements about preceding events, which are themselves the referent of the understood, Focalized subject.

11.2.2 Contrastive focalization using *gʷəl*

The second strategy for overtly marking Focalization is a specialized use of the conjunction *gʷəl* which places the focalized element, an NP or PP, at the beginning of the sentence, followed by *gʷəl*, as shown in (715):

- (715) a. ti?ił sbiaw gʷəl ?uχʷəxʷ
 ti?ił sbiaw gʷəl ?uχʷ=əxʷ
 DIST coyote SCONJ go=now
 ‘Coyote, well, he goes’

(Hess 1995: 148, line 45)¹⁷⁷

- b. ti?ə? swatixʷtəd gʷəl tasbosad ?al kʷi tuha?kʷ
 ti?ə? swatixʷtəd gʷəl tu=?as=bosad ?al kʷi tu=ha?kʷ
 PROX country SCONJ PAST=STAT=dark at REM PAST=long.time
 ‘the land, well, it was dark in the distant past’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977: 13)

Both of the sentences in (715) have verbal predicates whose subject NP appear clause-initially, followed by *gʷəl*, rather than immediately following the subject. *gʷəl*-focalization is also attested in sentences with non-verbal predicates as in (716a) — predicated on the negative adverb *xʷi?* — and (716b), which has a nominal predicate, *həla?b hikʷ s?aχʷu?* ‘really big clam’:

- (716) a. ti?ə? swatixʷtəd gʷəl xʷi? gʷəsəli?s
 ti?ə? swatixʷtəd gʷəl xʷi? gʷəsəli?=s
 PROX country SCONJ NEG SBJ=NM=alive=3PO
 ‘the land, well, it was not alive’

[DS Star Child, line 375]

- b. ha?əc gʷəl həla?b hikʷ s?aχʷu?
 ha?əc gʷəl həla?b hikʷ s?aχʷu?
 horse.clam SCONJ really big clam
 ‘the horse clam, well, it is a really big clam’

(Hess 1995: 122, ex. 1)

Frequently, sentences with focalized NPs are introduced by an additional instance of *gʷəl* in its role as a sentential conjunction (Section 2.7.5):

¹⁷⁷ In the published source, this sentence appears with an editorial amendment adding the perfective aspect marker to the verb, rather than with the verb in the imperfective aspect as it is spoken on tape. As either version would be correct, the original sentence from the recording is presented here.

- (717) a. gʷəl ti?ə? qaw'qs gʷəl ɬ'əl' ?əbsbibədbəda? ə? ti?ə? bəqa
 gʷəl ti?ə? qaw'qs gʷəl ɬ'əl' ?əs-bəs-bi-bəd-bəda?
 SCONJ PROX raven SCONJ also STAT-PROP-ATTN-DSTR-offspring

?ə ti?ə? bə=qə
 PR PROX ADD=many
 ‘and Raven, well, he also had children aplenty’

(Hess 1998: 78 line 8)

- b. gʷəl tsi?ə? ?iɬt'isu? gʷəl ɬ'uləqdxʷ tsi?iɬ luɬ'
 gʷəl tsi?ə? ?iɬ-t'isu? gʷəl ɬ'u=ləq-dxʷ tsi?iɬ luɬ'
 SCONJ PROX:FEM PRTV-younger SCONJ HAB=listen-DC DIST:FEM old
 ‘and the younger one, well, she overheard the old woman’

[DS Star Child, line 123]

In terms of textual frequency, the pattern shown in (717) is actually more common for sentences with focalized NPs than the simpler construction in (715). This is probably due to the coincidence of the role *gʷəl*-focalization plays in topic-setting (see 11.3.1 below) with the use of sentential conjunctions like *gʷəl* in the setting of episode and other boundaries in discourse (Cook 1999).

When the focalized element is an anaphor, it is expressed as a lexical pronoun (Section 2.7.1), as in (718):

- (718) a. gʷəl cədiɬ, gʷəl ɬʷul' ?up'ayəq
 gʷəl cədiɬ gʷəl ɬʷul' ?u-p'ayəq
 SCONJ he SCONJ only PFV-carve.canoe
 ‘him, well, he just carved canoes’

(Hess 2006: 42, line 8)

- b. gʷəl dəgʷi gʷəl ?ahəxʷ sixʷ gʷadsudzaluz
 gʷəl dəgʷi gʷəl ?a=əxʷ sixʷ gʷə=ad=s=?u-dzal-dzal•alus
 SCONJ you SCONJ be.there PTCL SBJ=2SG.PO=NM=PFV-DSTR-turn•eye
 ‘and you, well, you'd [still] be there going from end to end [of the canoe]’

[ML Mink and Tutyika I, line 114]

- c. dəgʷi gʷəl dəxʷəli? čəɬ, dəxʷp'əl'p'əlil čəɬ
 dəgʷi gʷəl dəxʷ=həli? čəɬ dəxʷ=p'əl'-p'əlil čəɬ
 you SCONJ ADNM=alive 1PL.PO ADNM=DSTR-revive 1PL.PO
 ‘you, well you're the reason we are alive, why we have revived’

(Hess 2006: 78, line 883)

As shown by the examples in (718b) and (c), the expression of the subject of the sentence as an affronted NP suppresses the expected expression of the subject as a matrix subject clitic — compare, for instance, (718b) and (719), which are syntactically parallel except in that the second-person subject is focalized in the former case but not in the latter:

- (719) *ᬁwul’əxʷ čəkʷ ɬuʔa kʷi ɬadsucut ɬal kʷi ɬuč’itəxʷ ɬuʔaciłtalbičʷ*
 $\ddot{x}wul’=ex^w \quad \dot{c}ekʷ \quad \dot{lu}=?a \quad k^w i \quad \dot{lu}=ad=s=?u-cut-cut$
 only=now 2SG.SUB IRR=be.there REM IRR=2SG.PO=NM=PFV-DSTR-sa

?al k̥i^w ɿu=čit=ox^w ɿu=?aci^wtalbi^x^w
 at REM IRR=near=now IRR=people
 'you will simply be there talking away when the future people arrive'

(Hess 2006: 7, line 117)

Here, the second-person subject — fronted because of the appearance of the adverb *χʷul'* ‘only’ — continues to be expressed by a subject clitic, as opposed to its expression by the lexical pronoun *dəgʷi* in (718b), indicating that focalization of the subject with *gʷəl* requires its expression as a pronominal.

In addition to focalizing NPs, *gʷəl* can be used to focalize adverbial prepositional phrases, such as those in (720):

- (720) a. ?al su?əħəðs ?ɔ ti?i? s?uladxʷs gʷɔł xʷi? kʷi gʷɔsbačʷdxʷs
 ?al s=?u?-əħəðd=s ?ɔ ti?i? s?uladxʷ-s gʷɔł xʷi? kʷi
 at NM=PFV-feed.on=3PO PR DIST salmon-3PO SCONJ NEG REM
 gʷɔ=s=bacʷ-w-dxʷ=s
 SBJ=NM=all-DC=3PO
 'as he ate the salmon, well, he couldn't manage to eat anymore'
 (Hess 1995: 152, line 23)

- b. ?aləxʷ slixʷəłdacuts kʷi s?a?s bibščəb gʷəł ?ułʷc ti?ə? sləxil
 ?al=əxʷ s=łixʷ•əł•dat-t-sut=s kʷi s?=a=s bi-bščəb
 PR=now NM=three•CLS•day-ICS=REFL=3PO REM NM=be.there=3PO ATTN=mink

gʷəł ?ułʷc ti?ə? sləxil
 SCONJ go-ALTV PROX day

‘on the third day that Little Mink is there, well, he goes after the daylight’

(Hilbert & Hess 1977:

- c. ?al kʷi tuha?kʷ gʷəl xʷi? gʷətusləxil
 ?al kʷi tu=ha?kʷ gʷəl xʷi? gʷə=tu=sləxil
 PR REM PAST=long.time SCONJ NEG SBJ=PAST=day
 'in the distant past, well, there was no daylight'
 (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 13)

As with NPs, the focalization of PPs places the adverbial at the beginning of the sentence followed by *gʷəl* and then the sentence predicate. Focalized PPs are frequently attested in a scene-setting function (Section 11.3.1).

The use of *gʷəl* discussed here overlaps in its use a great deal with the other focalizer, *dił*, although generally-speaking the two differ in that *gʷəl*-focalization is more directly contrastive and tends to fill a topic- or scene-setting function, whereas *dił* is more a particularizer that singles out a unique individual or event, and is not typically used to introduce new topics. There are, however, a few examples of copular constructions that make use of both focalizers, such as those in (721):

- (721) a. gʷəl tsi?ə? həbu? gʷəl dił čəgʷas
 gʷəl tsi?ə? həbu? gʷəl dił čəgʷas-s
 SCONJ PROX:FEM pigeon SCONJ FOC wife-3PO
 'and Pigeon, well, she was his true wife'
 (Hess 2006: 22, line 14)

- b. tsi?ił cədił gʷəl dił bəda?s
 tsi?ił cədił gʷəl dił bəda?-s
 DIST:FEM he SCONJ FOC offspring-3PO
 'her, she was the one who was her daughter'

[ML Basket Ogress, line 27]

Although these constructions are rare, it seems that their primary function is to combine the contrastive and particularizing functions of the two focalizing constructions. Thus, (721a) comes at a point in narrative where the storyteller is discussing the merits and shortcomings of the two wives of Coyote's son, Sawbill and Pigeon. Sawbill is beautiful and is lusted after by her father-in-law, Coyote, but — as (721b) makes clear — in contrast to Sawbill, Pigeon and Pigeon alone is Coyote's son's true wife. The contrast with Sawbill is signaled by *gʷəl*-focalization, while the

remainder of the sentence — which literally translated would simply mean ‘she was his wife’ — derives the particularizing sense of ‘true wife’ conveyed in the gloss through the use of *dit*.

11.3 Topic-alignment and reference-tracking

In addition to the strong preference for Thematic subjects, one of the principal organizing features of Lushootseed discourse is a constraint that the syntactic subject of a clause, which is generally Thematic, also be discourse Topic.¹⁷⁸ This constraint plays a crucial role both in the interpretation of clauses within a local context and in the structuring of conversation and narratives into episodes organized around a shared Thematic subject — that is, a discourse Topic. At the level of the individual clause, the alignment of subject and Topic ensures the unambiguous interpretation of sentences and stretches of discourse, even when these are third-persons expressed as zero subject pronominals; at the level of the narrative or text, the Topic-driven organization of Lushootseed discourse results in the arrangement of sets of utterances or lines into narrative or conversational episodes which share a common Thematic subject, as in (722):

- (722) a. *łčiləxʷ tsíʔə? sɬadəy?*
 łčil=əxʷ *tsíʔə?* *sɬadəy?*
 arrive=now PROX:FEM woman
 ‘the woman (Basket Ogress) arrives’

b. *?a haw'ə? ?al ti?iɬ*
 ?a *haw'ə?* *Ø_i* *?al* *ti?iɬ*
 be.there PTCL 3SUB at DIST
 she_i is right there’

c. *xʷi? gʷəsəsaydubs ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?*
 xʷi? *gʷəs=s=?əs-hay-dxʷ=b=s_i* *?ə* *ti?ə?* *di?ə?*
 NEG SBJ=NM=STAT-KNOWN-DC-PASS=3PO PR PROX he
 ‘she_i wasn’t known (i.e., seen) by the children’

¹⁷⁸ This pattern is the predominant pattern in the Salishan family in general, as discussed in detail for a variety of languages, including Lushootseed, in Kinkade (1990).

- d. t̪iləxʷ
 t̪il=əxʷ Ø_i
 arrive=now 3SUB
 'she_i arrives'
- e. gʷəl kʷədadəxʷ ti?ə? stawixʷa?⁹
 gʷəl kʷəda-d-Ø=əxʷ Ø_i ti?ə? stawixʷa?⁹
 SCONJ taken-ICS-OBJ=now 3SUB PROX children
 'then she_i took the children_j'
- f. kʷədabidəxʷ
 kʷəda-bi-d-Ø=əxʷ Ø_i
 taken-MAP-ICS-3OBJ=now 3SUB
 'she_i captured them_j'
- g. kʷədad ti?ə?
 kʷəda-d-Ø Ø_i ti?ə?
 taken-ICS-3OBJ 3SUB PROX
 'she_i took them_j'
- h. gʷəl lədəgʷaš
 gʷəl lə=dəgʷa-š-Ø Ø_i
 SCONJ PROG=inside-ICS-3OBJ 3SUB
 'she_i is putting them_j inside (her basket)'
- i. lədəgʷaš dxʷ?al ti?ə? xʷ?axʷa?ads
 lə=dəgʷa-š-Ø Ø_i dxʷ?al ti?ə? xʷ?axʷa?ad-s
 PROG=inside-ICS-3OBJ 3SUB CNTRFG-at PROX clam.basket-3PO
 'she_i is putting them_j inside her clam basket'
- j. ?ahiləxʷ ti?ə? kikəwič
 ?a-il=əxʷ ti?ə? ki-kəwič
 be.there-INCH=now PROX ATTN-hunchback
 'Little Hunchback ends up in there'

[MS Basket Ogress, lines 5 – 14]

The identity of the Topical event-participant, Basket Ogress, is expressed overtly only once in the first nine lines of text here, in (722a). Nevertheless, the interpretation of these sentences is unambiguous: once Basket Ogress is established as the discourse Topic, the alignment of Topic and subject ensures that this event-participant be interpreted as the subject of all of the sentences in the ensuing discourse. Thus, the subject of (722a) is the antecedent of the zero subject pronominal subject in (722b), the third-person possessive subject in (722c), and the zero subject

of the intransitive verb in (722d). It is also the antecedent of the zero subject pronominal of the transitive sentence in (722e), which introduces a new event-participant into the episode, *ti?ə?* *stawixʷa?* ‘the children’ as well. Even in the presence of the new event-participant, Basket Ogress remains the Topic of this episode and continues to be the antecedent of the zero subject anaphora in subsequent lines such as (722f). Even though both subject and object are zeroes in this and the next lines of the episode, their subjects refer back unambiguously to Basket Ogress, while their direct object is ‘the children’. This pattern is maintained up until line (722j), where a sentence with another overt subject NP — *ti?ə?* *kikəwič* ‘Little Hunchback’ — appears, supplanting Basket Ogress and setting the Topic for the subsequent discourse episode.

One important consequence of the need to align subject and Topic over specific discourse episodes is the frequent use of the passive voice to maintain Topical event-participants in subject position when they do not correspond to the subject of the active form of a particular verbal predicate. In following passage from the opening of “*bibščəb ?i ti?ił su?suqʷa?s, tətyika*” ‘Little Mink and his younger cousin, Tutyika’ as told by Mr. Edward Sam, for example, the speaker shifts into the passive voice mid-way through the episode as a new, non-topical event-participant is introduced and becomes the initiator of the subsequent action:

- (723) a. hay, ?uhi?dahəb ti?ił bibščəb ?i ti?ił su?suqʷa?s, tətyika
 hay ?u-4i?dahəb ti?ił bi-bščəb ?i ti?ił su?-suqʷa?-s tətyika
 SCONJ PFV-troll DIST ATTN-mink and DIST ATTN-younger.cousin Tutyika_i
 ‘well then, Little Mink and his younger cousin, Tutyika_i, went trolling’
- b. ?ułi?daab əlgʷə?
 ?u-4i?daab Ø_i əlgʷə?
 PFV-troll 3SUB PL
 ‘they_i went trolling’
- c. huy, šudxʷəxʷ ti?ił čxʷəlu?
 huy šuł-dxʷ-Ø=əxʷ Ø_i ti?ił čxʷəlu?
 SCONJ see-DC-3OBJ=now 3SUB DIST whale
 ‘well, they_i caught sight of Whale_j’

- d. huy, bapadəx^w əlg^wə?
- huy bapa-d-Ø=əx^w Ø_i əlg^wə?
- SCONJ annoyed-ICS-3OBJ=now 3SUB PL
- ‘well, they_i annoyed him_j’
- e. bapadəx^w əlg^wə? ti?iļ čx^wəlu?
- bapa-d-Ø=əx^w Ø_i əlg^wə? ti?iļ čx^wəlu?
- annoyed-ICS-3OBJ=now 3SUB PL DIST whale
- ‘they_i annoyed that Whale_j’
- f. huy, xʷak'ʷisəbəx^w ?ə ti?iļ čx^wəlu?
- huy xʷak'ʷil-s-b=əx^w Ø_i ?ə ti?iļ čx^wəlu?
- SCONJ get.sick.of-ALTV-PASS=now 3SUB PR DIST whale
- ‘well, they_i were gotten sick of that Whale_j’
- g. huy, bəq'təbax^w ?ə ti?iļ čx^wəlu?
- huy bəq'-t-b=ax^w Ø_i ?ə ti?iļ čx^wəlu?
- SCONJ be.in.mouth-ICS-PASS=now 3SUB PR DIST whale
- ‘well, they_i were swallowed by that Whale_j’

(Hess 1995: 140, lines 6 – 12)

The narrator begins in (723a) by setting a discourse Topic — *ti?iļ bibščəb ?i ti?iļ su?suq'ʷa?ṣs, tətyika* ‘Little Mink and his younger cousin, Tutyika’ — which becomes the antecedent for the zero subject anaphora of the sentences throughout the remainder of the episode. In sentence (723c) a new participant, Whale, is introduced as the direct object of the verb *šudx^w* ‘catch sight of somebody’. The next line (723d) has both a zero subject and direct object, but is unambiguous as Little Mink and his cousin remain the discourse Topic and so are interpreted as the subject/AGENT of the verb *bapad* ‘annoy somebody’. Line (723d) is repeated in line (723e) with an overt object NP (*ti?iļ čx^wəlu?* ‘Whale’). Up to this point, the actions in the narrative have been initiated by the topical participants, Little Mink and his cousin, but in (723f) the protagonist of the event is Whale, which would normally be the subject of the verb *xʷak'ʷis* ‘get sick of somebody’. However, in order to avoid violating Topic–subject alignment, the speaker uses the passive voice — *xʷak'ʷisəb* ‘be gotten sick of’, thereby allowing the topical event-participants, Little Mink and his cousin, to be maintained in subject position. The same thing happens in (723g), where the AGENT of the action, *bəq'əd* ‘swallow something’, is the non-topical event-

participant, Whale, again requiring the passive to promote the topical Little Mink and his cousin to subject and to maintain the necessary alignment.

The particular type of textual organization illustrated in (722) and (723) is, of course, but one (and the simplest) many variations on the same basic pattern — the instantiation of a single central (and usually animate) event-participant as discourse Topic over a short stretch of text. In conversation and discourse, speakers frequently describe situations involving multiple participants over episodes that are dozens of lines long, and manipulate their discourse saliency and Topicality in complex ways that are poorly understood even in familiar languages like English, and whose elucidation in Lushootseed would be well beyond the scope of this grammar. The organization of discourse at this level in fact interacts with and depends on a wide variety of factors including rhetorical and stylistic considerations, manipulation of the shared knowledge and cultural expectations of speaker and addressee, and individual story-teller's art,¹⁷⁹ much of which is regulated by processes well outside of the morphosyntactic machinery of a language. There are, however, certain features of the morphosyntax that do serve, as either their primary or secondary function, to encode specific features of discourse. Even if their functions belong more to the realm of text-planning than to that of morphosyntax, their form is by nature morphosyntactic, and so merit more detailed discussions in the sections below.

11.3.1 Topic- and scene-setting constructions

Because of the importance of Topics for the organization of discourse into episodes and for the interpretation of sentences in context, in texts it is often necessary to highlight event-participants that will become the discourse Topic for the subsequent episode — that is, to *topicalize* them. While Lushootseed lacks any one specific morphosyntactic construction

¹⁷⁹ On these topics, see Bierwert (1993, 1996), Langen (1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999), and Moses and Langen (2001).

dedicated to this kind of topicalization, it does employ a variety of different constructions in this function:

Non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal predicates are frequently found at the beginning of discourse episodes, their Rhematic portion becoming the Topic for subsequent lines of text. This is especially true of nominal predicates, which are frequently used to introduce new event-participants or previously-introduced event participants in novel relationships to events or other participants in the discourse. Consider (724b), which is from a discourse episode that introduces a new participant in discourse, *ti?iɬ bu?qʷ* ‘the Duck People’:

- (724) a. *gʷəcutadəxʷ kʷədi?* *tul'səqʷ*
gʷəcutad=əxʷ *kʷədi?* *tul'-səqʷ*
 be.commotion=now DIST.DMA CONTRFG-high
 ‘there was a commotion up there’
- b. *balgʷas bu?qʷ kʷi bəkʷ sčads ?ə ti bu?qʷ gʷəɬ xʷəlč, ti?iɬ bəgʷəɬ t'aq't, gʷəɬ spaɬxad bu?qʷ*
balgʷas bu?qʷ *Ø* *kʷi* *bəkʷ* *s=čad=s* *?ə* *ti* *bu?qʷ*
 all.kinds waterfowl 3SUB REM all NM=where=3PO PR SPEC waterfowl
gʷəɬ xʷəlčti?iɬ bə=gʷəɬ t'aq't gʷəɬ spaɬxad bu?qʷ
 belong sea DIST ADD=belong inland belong tidal.flats waterfowl
 ‘it was all kinds of Duck People from everywhere belonging to the sea, and belonging to the mountains, belonging to the tidal flats’
- c. *šidzəxʷ ti?iɬ bu?qʷ*
šidz=əxʷ *ti?iɬ* *bu?qʷ*
 attack=now DIST waterfowl
 ‘the waterfowl attack by stealth’
- c. *gʷəɬ šidzəxʷ*
gʷəɬ *šidz=əxʷ* *Ø*
 SCONJ attack=now 3SUB
 ‘they attacked by stealth’

(Hess 2006: 61, lines 456 – 459)

Previous to these lines, the narrator has related that the protagonists (two brothers who have been captured by the Dwarves) are in the long house of the Dwarves when they hear a commotion on

the roof (724a). The next line, (724b), reveals the identity of those making the noise, using a nominal predicate construction in which the people being identified (the Duck People) are the predicate and are introduced into discourse as new event-participants. This predicate then becomes the Topic and syntactic subject of the following lines of text, beginning in line (724c), which repeats the new Topic as an overt NP subject. This strategy of re-enforcing the Topicality of an event-participant introduced as a nominal predicate is also seen in (725):

- (725) a. *ti?it bibščəb ?i ti?it su?suqʷa?s*, tətyika, *ti?it łudsyoħubtubiciid*
ti?it bi-bščəb ?i ti?it su?suqʷa?-s tətyika,
 DIST ATTN-mink and DIST ATTN-younger.cousin-3PO Tutyika
ti?it ɬu=d=s=yəħub-txʷ-bicid
 DIST IRR=1SG.PO=NM=tell-ECS-2SG.OBJ
 ‘what I will tell you about [is] Little Mink and his younger cousin, Tutyika’

b. *hay, ?uħi?ħdahħeb ti?it bibščəb ?i ti?it su?suqʷa?s*, tətyika
 hay ?u-ħi?ħdahħeb ti?it bi-bščəb ?i ti?it su?suqʷa?-s tətyika
 SCONJ PFV-troll DIST ATTN-mink and DIST ATTN-younger.cousin Tutyika
 ‘well then, Little Mink and his younger cousin, Tutyika, went trolling’
 (Hess 1995: 140, lines 5 – 6)

Line (725a), which immediately precedes the full discourse episode given in (723) above, identifies quite explicitly for the addressee the main characters of the narrative, making these — *ti?it bibščab ?i ti?it su?suq’wa?s, tətyika* ‘Little Mink and his younger cousin, Tutyika’ — the predicate of the clause, the subject being the headless relative construction *ti?it t̄udsyaħhubtubicid* ‘what I am going to tell you’. The new, Rhematic participants in (725a) are repeated, verbatim, as the subject of (725b) and then become the antecedents of a long string of zero subjects over the next several lines of text (see 723 above). Although nominal predicate constructions are found on their own serving a topic-setting function, the pattern in (724) and (725), whereby the predicate of the non-verbal construction is repeated — either in paraphrase or verbatim — as the subject of the following line is quite common, and frequently serves to

distinguish a nominal predicate in its topic-setting function from a nominal predicate performing some other role in discourse.

Other types of non-verbal predicates, in particular those expressing locations or times, serve a similar function, though in these cases they might be better considered scene-setting rather than topic-setting constructions. Consider, for example, line (726a):

- (726) a. *čixʷə́dat ti?iɬ s=dəgʷ•abacilsəxʷ əlgʷə?* ?o ti?iɬ čxʷəlu?
- čixʷə́dat ti?iɬ s=dəgʷ•abac-il=s=əxʷ əlgʷə? ?o ti?iɬ čxʷəlu?
- three.days DIST NM=be.inside•body-INCH=3PO=now PL PR DIST whale
- ‘they are inside that whale for three days’
(lit. ‘their being inside that whale [is for] three days’)

- b. *huy, ?ibibišəxʷ ti?iɬ bibščəb*
- huy ?ib-?ibiš=əxʷ ti?iɬ bi-bščəb
- SCONJ DSTR-travel DIST ATTN-mink
- ‘then Little Mink paces back and forth’

(Hess 1995: 140, lines 13–14)

This line of text immediately follows the discourse episode in (723), at the end of which the protagonists, Little Mink and his cousin, are swallowed by Whale. By explicitly stating how long it is that Mink and his cousin are inside Whale in (726a), the scene is set for the ensuing action, beginning in (726b), which itself sets the discourse Topic for the rest of the episode (*ti?iɬ bibščəb* ‘Little Mink’ — see 729 below).

gʷəl-focalization

As described in Section 11.2.2 above, *gʷəl*-focalization involves the fronting of a Thematic sentence constituent, which is then followed by *gʷəl* and becomes the Focalized portion of the utterance. In terms of their uses in discourse, constructions of this type with *gʷəl* typically serve one of two functions, depending on the syntactic type of the fronted constituent — that is, whether it is an NP or a PP. In the former case, the fronted NP seems to be used in a contrastive way, in contexts where the speaker is emphasizing that the statement being made applies to one participant as opposed to some other participant present in the current discourse. An example of

this can be found at the beginning of the story “*ti?it sčətxʷəd ?i tsi?it λ'aλ'ac'apəd*” ‘Black Bear and Ant’ as told by Edward Sam. As indicated in its title, this story involves two main characters, introduced in the first line of the story:

- (727) a. *hay, ?a ti?ə? syəyəhub ?ə ti?it sčətxʷəd ?i tsi?it λ'aλ'ac'apəd*
 hay ?a ti?ə? syəyəhub ?ə ti?it sčətxʷəd ?i tsi?it λ'aλ'ac'apəd
 SCONJ be.there PROX legend PR DIST bear and DIST:FEM ant
 ‘so, there is a traditional story about Black Bear and Ant’
- b. *ti?ə? sčətxʷəd gʷəl̥ xʷul' λ'u?ib?ibəš*
 ti?ə? sčətxʷəd gʷəl̥ xʷul' λ'u=?ib=?ibəš
 PROX bear SCONJ only HAB=DSTR-travel
 ‘this Black Bear, well, he would just amble around’
- c. *xʷul' λ'u?ib?ibəš*
 xʷul' λ'u=?ib=?ibəš
 only HAB=DSTR-travel
 ‘he would just wander around’
- d. *gʷəl̥ tsi?it λ'aλ'ac'apəd gʷəl̥ dᶻəgʷa? dxʷ?ulus*
 gʷəl̥ tsi?it λ'aλ'ac'apəd gʷəl̥ dᶻəgʷa? dxʷ?ulus
 SCONJ DIST:FEM ant SCONJ expert steady.worker
 ‘and Ant, well she was a great one for working’

(Hess 1995: 143, lines 1 – 4)

After establishing the identities of the two main characters in line (727a), the narrator goes on to introduce those character’s defining characteristics — Black Bear is shiftless and lazy, while Ant is industrious and hard-working. Thus, line (727b) uses a focalizing construction with *gʷəl̥* to introduce Black Bear as the Theme of this and the subsequent line of text in contrast to Ant; in the next line following these, (727d), the narrator shifts the focus to Ant, whose characteristics are set up in contrast to those of Black Bear. Because of its contrastive function, *gʷəl̥*-focalization of NPs is used very frequently as a topic-setting construction in this way — in contexts where the new topic being introduced is one of two or more characters that have been previously introduced in a stretch of discourse, and the narrator is taking pains to clarify which of these is the topic of the subsequent episode.

Sentences with fronted PPs, on the other hand, often fill the discourse function of scene-setting in that the focalized adverbial specifies the spatial or (more often) temporal location for the action of the subsequent discourse, as in the following excerpt from “Stealing Daylight” as told by Harry Moses. These lines come at a point in the story where Mink is pretending to be an old man and, covered in ashes, takes up a post by the door of the longhouse where daylight is kept, waiting for his opportunity to steal it:

- (728) a. ?əšuučəb ?ə ti luł' ?əsbəč ləq'ałucid ?əspədəpədič ?ə ti q'ʷałčup
 ?əs-šuu-c-b ?ə ti luł' ?əs-bəč ləq'ał•ucid
 STAT-see-ALTV-PASS PR SPEC old STAT-lie on.the.way•mouth
- ?əs-pəd-pəd•ič ?ə ti q'ʷałčup
 STAT-DSTR-buried•covering PR SPEC ash•fire
 ‘the old fellow who is lying by the door covered in fine ash powder watches it’
- b. ?al bəł'ułač gʷəl bə?učʷcəb ?ə bibščəb
 ?al bə=ł'u=łač gʷəl bə=?učʷ-c-b ?ə bi-bščəb
 PR ADD=HAB=dark SCONJ ADD=go-ALTV-PASS PR ATTN=mink
 ‘when it would get dark again, well, Little Mink would go after it again’
- c. buusəłdat kʷi su?učʷcs ti?ə? słəxil gʷəl tuła?ači?bid
 buus•əł•dat kʷi s=?u-?učʷ-c=s ti?ə? słəxil gʷəl
 four•CLS•day REM NM=PFV-go-ALTV=3PO PROX day SCONJ
- tu=ła?•ači?-bi-d
 PAST=arrive•hand-MAP-ICS
 ‘on the fourth day he goes after the daylight, and his hand reached it’
- d. dił tuspəkʷibids ti?ə? słəxil gʷəl tusaxʷəbtəxʷ
 dił tu=s=pəkʷi-bi-d=s ti?ə? słəxil gʷəl tu=saxʷəb-txʷ
 FOC PAST=NM=snatch-MAP-ICS=3PO PROX day SCONJ PAST=run-ECS
 ‘thus it was that he snatched daylight from them and ran off with it’
- (Hilbert & Hess 1977: 24)

(728a) is the final line of the preceding discourse episode, which describes Mink’s first failed attempt to get his hands on the prize. The next line begins with a focalized PP setting the time for the next series of events, the successful theft of daylight, which then becomes the subject-matter of the following discourse episode. In such cases, the focalize PP is not in fact the Topic of ensuing discourse, but its setting, the backdrop against which the subsequent action takes place.

Prosodic phrasing and F0 reset

Although not strictly-speaking morphosyntactic strategies for topic-setting, prosodic and intonational processes are also employed for this purpose. One common way of using prosody to indicate a new discourse Topic is shown in (729a) in which the topicalized element is set off from the rest of the utterance by an intonational boundary (§), usually one that interrupts the normal patterns of prosodic phrasing (indicated here by parentheses):

- (729) a. (huy), (?ibibišəxʷ ti?ił) § (bibščəb)
huy ?ib-?ibiš=əxʷ ti?ił bi-bščəb
SCONJ DSTR-travel DIST ATTN-mink
'then Little Mink paces back and forth'
- b. (?ibibišəxʷ)
?ib-?ibiš=əxʷ Ø
DSTR-travel=now 3SUB
'he paces'
- c. (huy), (k'awdxʷəxʷ) (ti?ił sc'ali?ə) (ti?ił čxʷəlu?)
huy k'aw-dxʷ=əxʷ Ø ti?ił sc'ali? ə ti?ił čxʷəlu?
SCONJ bump-DC=now 3SUB DIST heart PR DIST whale
'then he bumps into Whale's heart'

(Hess 1995: 140, line 14 – 16)

These lines (which follow the lines in 723 and 726 above in the same narrative) recount what Mink does once he and his cousin have been swallowed by Whale (specifically, they find Whale's heart and start a fire next to it, killing him). Line (729a) marks the beginning of the discourse episode and consists of a full sentence containing an overt NP subject, *ti?ił bibščəb* 'Little Mink', which is the antecedent of the zero subject NPs in the following lines. Its status as a new discourse Topic is signaled here by the insertion of an intonational boundary between *ti?ił* and *bibščəb*, grouping the determiner into the preceding prosodic phrase (indicated by parentheses) rather than grouping it with *bibščəb*, which would be the expected phrasing (cf. the prosodic groupings in 729c).¹⁸⁰ The use of marked phonological phrasing thus sets apart overt

¹⁸⁰ The patterns of Lushootseed prosody and the principles governing prosodic phrasing are discussed in Beck (1999).

subjects used for topic-setting purposes from those introduced into discourse purely for reasons of disambiguation or reference-tracking.

Not surprisingly, marked intonational boundaries are routinely combined with the other more overtly marked topic-setting strategies discussed above, as shown in (730):

- (730) a. (ti?i^ł bibščəb ?i) (ti?i^ł su?suq^wa?^s), (tətyika), § (ti?i^ł t̥udsyəhububicid)
 ti?i^ł bi-bščəb ?i ti?i^ł su?suq^wa?^s tətyika,
 DIST ATTN-mink and DIST ATTN-younger.cousin-3PO Tutyika
 ti?i^ł t̥u=d=s=yəhub-tx^w-bicid
 DIST IRR=1SG.PO=NM=tell-ECS-2SG.OBJ
 ‘what I will tell you about [is] Little Mink and his younger cousin, Tutyika’
 (Hess 1995: 140, line5)
- b. (ti?i^ł sbiaw) § (gʷəl ?učʷəxʷ)
 ti?i^ł sbiaw gʷəl ?učʷəxʷ
 DIST coyote SCONJ go=now
 ‘Coyote, well, now he goes’
 (Hess 1995: 148, line 45)
- c. (hay), (c'əldub) (ti?i^ł) § (sčətxəd ?ə) (ti?ə? c'ic'ič)
 hay c'əl-dxʷ-b ti?i^ł sčətxəd ?ə ti?ə? c'ic'ič
 SCONJ defeated-DC-PASS DIST bear PR PROX fish.hawk
 ‘and so then Black Bear was defeated by Fish Hawk’
 (Hess 1995: 154, line 93)

(730a) has a non-verbal predicate which is offset from the subject NP by an intonational boundary; this predicate, the Rhematic portion of the sentence, then becomes the discourse Topic for the ensuing episode (see 725 above). In a similar vein, (730b) illustrates a case of *gʷəl*-focalization in which the fronted, topicalized NP is set off from the sentence predicate, while (730c) shows a passive sentence with the marked Subject >> AgCo order. In this case, the topicalized portion of the sentence is the Theme of the utterance, *ti?i^ł sčətxəd ?ə ti?ə? c'ic'ič* ‘Black Bear by Fish Hawk’, which encompasses both the subject and the agentive complement of the passive verb *c'əldub* ‘be defeated’. These elements are separated by an intonational boundary which also occurs in a marked position, separating *sčətxəd* ‘Black Bear’ from its determiner and violating the normal pattern of phonological phrasing. Although the combination

of prosodic and morphosyntactic strategies for topic-setting is common, it is not absolute: all of these constructions can be found in text without marked intonation, and marked intonational contours can sometimes be found with them (in particular, with non-verbal predicate constructions) when they are not being used for topic-setting.

A shift in discourse Topic is also frequently marked by ultra-high F0 reset (Beck & Bennett 2007). Declination in fundamental frequency is used in Lushootseed narrative as a means of grouping sentences into discourse episodes, while the reset of the declination marking the boundaries of narrative episodes and signaling such things as change of scene and change of action. The example in (731) illustrates F0 reset (↑) accompanying topic-shift and marking episodic boundaries:

- (731) a. ↑ huy ?ibəšəx^w ti?ə? sg^wəlub
 huy ?ibəš=əx^w ti?ə? sg^wəlub
 SCONJ travel=now PROX pheasant
 ‘then Pheasant traveled’
- b. ?i ?ibəšəx^w dx^wčad
 ?i ?ibəš=əx^w Ø dx^w-čad
 INTJ travel=now 3SUB CNTRFG=where
 ‘indeed, he traveled everywhere’
- c. pał'ał' ?u?ibibəš
 pał'ał' ?u-?ib-ibəš Ø
 worthless PFV-DSTR-travel 3SUB
 ‘he wandered around’
- d. xəł ti ḥ'astag^wəx^w əlg^wə?
 xəł ti ḥ'u=?as-tag^wəx^w Ø əlg^wə?
 seemingly HAB=STAT-hungry 3SUB PL
 ‘it seems they (his family) were always hungry’
- e. ↑ diiłəx^w kʷi s?adzqdxʷs ti?ə?
 di?ił=əx^w kʷi s=?adzq-dxʷ=s ti?ə?
 suddenly=now REM NM=meet-DC=3PO PROX
 ‘suddenly he met them’

- f. ?əsgʷaadil ti?acəc ?aciłtalbixʷ
 ?əs-gʷaad-il ti?acəc ?aciłtalbixʷ
 STAT-down-INCH UNQ people
 ‘these people were sitting there’
- g. səsa?li? ti?ə? ?aciłtalbixʷ huy § dxʷləgʷləgʷəb
 sə-sa?li? ti?ə? ?aciłtalbixʷ huy dxʷləgʷ-ləgʷəb
 HMN-two PROX people SCONJ DSTR-youth
 ‘there were two people and (they were) youths’
- h. gʷəl ?əbsqʷəbqʷəbay? əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? bəsali?
 gʷəl ?əs-bəs-sqʷəb-qʷəbay? Ø əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə? bə=sali?
 SCONJ STAT-PROP-DSTR-dog 3SUB PL PR PROX ADD=two
 ‘and they have two dogs, too’
- i. ↑ tiləbəxʷ ?udxʷs̥xʷuλ'utəbəb § ti?ə? sgʷəlub
 tiləb=əxʷ ?u-dxʷs̥-xʷuλ'u-t-b-əb ti?ə? sgʷəlub
 immediately=now PFV-CTD-chewed-ICS-PASS-DSD PROX pheasant
 ‘right away Pheasant was wanted to be chewed up (by the dogs)’
- j. lə?učʷ
 lə=?učʷ Ø
 PROG=go 3SUB
 ‘he is going along’
- k. xʷul' lə?ibəš
 xʷul' lə=?ibəš Ø
 only PROG=travel 3SUB
 ‘he is just walking around’
- l. ?udxʷs̥xʷuλ'utəbəbəxʷ ?ə ti?ə? sqʷəbqʷəbay?
 ?u-dxʷs̥-xʷuλ'u-t-b-əb=əxʷ ?ə ti?ə? sqʷəb-qʷəbay?
 PFV-CTD-chewed-ICS-PASS-DSD=now PR PROX DSTR-dog
 ‘he was wanted to be chewed up by the dogs’
- m. gʷəl huy ?učuλ'utəbəxʷ
 gʷəl huy ?u-čuλ'u-t-b=əxʷ Ø
 SCONJ SCONJ PFV-chewed-ICS-PASS=now 3SUB
 ‘and then he was chewed on’
- n. ↑ gʷəl huy ləcutəbəxʷ, gʷiid ti adsqʷəbay?, sgʷəlub
 gʷəl huy lə=cut-t-b=əxʷ gʷi=d ti ad-sqʷəbay? sgʷəlub
 SCONJ SCONJ PROG=say-ICS-PASS=now call-ICS SPEC 2SG.PO-dog pheasant
 ‘and he was spoken to, Call your dogs, Pheasant!’

(Hess 1998: 78 – 79, lines 16 – 30)

The first line in (731) begins with a resetting of the F0 from a low at the end of the preceding discourse episode, marking the line as the beginning of a new episode and its subject, *sgʷəlub* ‘Pheasant’, as the new discourse Topic which becomes the antecedent of the zero subjects in the subsequent lines in the episode (with the exception of 731d, which seems to represent an interjection on the part of the narrator). In the next line, (731e), the F0 is reset again as the scene is set for the next episode, which describes the people (supernatural hunters and their dogs) that Pheasant encounters in his wanderings. The next reset comes at line (731i), where the Topic once again becomes Pheasant, the subject of the passive verb *dxʷs̥ʷuƛ̥utəbəb* ‘be wanted to be chewed’; this Topic is maintained over the next few lines until (731n), where F0 reset is used to begin a new episode, recounting what the hunters said to Pheasant. As can be seen even in this short excerpt, F0 reset at episode boundaries can be the sole marker of the line as a topic-setter (as in 731a and i, which are morphosyntactically unmarked sentences), or it may combined with a more specialized structure used as an overt marker of a shift in Topic or change of scene, as with the non-verbal predicate construction in (731e). In fact, the interaction of F0 reset, the setting and manipulation of discourse Topics, and the various morphosyntactic devices used in Topic-setting and reference-tracking is an extremely complex one and depends profoundly on things such as style, narrative skill, and culturally-bound conventions of storytelling, all of which are issues well beyond the scope of this grammar.

11.3.2 Topical object marker *-agʷid*

In conservative Lushootseed style, the topical object marker *-agʷid* ([TOBJ]) is added to a verb with a third-person object co-referent with the discourse topic (Kinkade 1990; Hess 1995). Consider the text in (732):

- (732) a. ?ukʷədad̩ ti?ə? p'əč'əbulic'a?̩s
 ?u-kʷəda-d̩ Ø ti?ə? p'əč'əb•ulic'a?̩-s
 PFV-take-ICS 3SUB PROX bobcat•blanket-3PO
 ‘he (Bobcat) took his bobcat-blanket’
- b. gʷəl ?ald kʷədi? ?adzalus
 gʷəl ?al-d̩ Ø kʷədi? ?adzalus
 SCONJ at-ICS 3SUB REM:DMA beautiful
 ‘and he put it in a beautiful (place)’
- c. gʷəl ləgʷədil ?əxʷčəgʷ•us
 gʷəl lə=gʷəd-il Ø ?əs-dxʷ-čəgʷ•us
 SCONJ PROG=sit-INCH 3SUB STAT-CTNRPT-seaward•face
 ‘and he sat facing the water’
- d. di?it kʷi šudəgʷid ?ə ti?ə? č'ač'as
 di?it kʷi s=šuł-d-əgʷid ?ə ti?ə? č'ač'as
 suddenly REM NM=see-ICS-TOBJ PR PROX child
 ‘all of a sudden the boy saw him’
 (lit. ‘the sighting him of the boy [was] sudden’)
- e. diłəxʷ bayə?
 dił=əxʷ bayə? Ø
 FOC=now daddy 3SUB
 ‘that’s Daddy’
- f. diłəxʷ bayə?
 dił=əxʷ bayə? Ø
 FOC=now daddy 3SUB
 ‘that’s Daddy’
- g. dił ti p'əč'əb ti ?ucutəb ?ə ti?ə? sqaqagʷəł
 dił ti p'əč'əb ti ?u-cut-t-əb Ø ?ə ti?ə? sqaqagʷəł
 FOC SPEC bobcat SPEC PFV-speak-ICS-PASS 3SUB PR PROX noble.child
 ‘it was Bobcat whom the noble child spoke of’
 (lit. ‘the one spoken of by the noble child [was] this one, Bobcat’)

(Hess 1995: 118)

This text occurs in a discourse episode where the Topic is Bobcat. Bobcat corresponds to the zero third-person subject in every sentence in which he is an event-participant except in (732d). Here, the object of the nominalized verb *šudəgʷid* ?ə *ti?ə?* č'ač'as ‘the child’s sighting of him’, rather than the subject of the matrix clause, is co-referential with the topical Bobcat, and the verb is consequently marked with the topical object marker. Because *-agʷid* is found only in the

speech of the oldest speakers, the exact nature of this marker, its syntax, and morphological status are, at this stage, still somewhat uncertain, given its near-absence from the current corpus of analyzed texts. As this is expanded to include more material from the eldest generation of recorded speakers, it is to be hoped that more instances of *-agʷid* will be found and we will come to a better understanding of this suffix and its discourse functions.

Appendix 1: Forms based on free radicals

<i>√?a</i> ‘be there, exist’	? <i>a?</i> <i>əd</i> ‘put \otimes there’
	? <i>a?</i> <i>il</i> ‘come to be in a place’
	? <i>atx</i> ^w ‘put \otimes there’
	? <i>ayid</i> ‘put \otimes there for \circledcirc ’
	? <i>a?</i> <i>əb</i> ‘be in a certain place’
<i>√?alalus</i> ‘happen’	? <i>alalus</i> <i>tx</i> ^w ‘do to \otimes ’
<i>√?at</i> ‘be fast’	? <i>acut</i> ‘hurry up’
<i>√?əλ</i> ‘come’	? <i>əλ</i> ‘come after \otimes ’
<i>√?ibəš</i> ‘travel, walk’	? <i>əλ</i> <i>tx</i> ^w ‘bring \otimes ’
<i>√?igʷəla</i> ‘climb tree’	? <i>ibəš</i> <i>tx</i> ^w ‘make \otimes travel’
<i>√?il</i> ‘sing’	? <i>igʷəla</i> <i>ar</i> ‘climb after \otimes ’ (Sk.)
	? <i>ilalik</i> ^w ‘interpret \otimes ’
	? <i>ilid</i> ‘sing \otimes ’
	? <i>ilyid</i> ‘sing \otimes for \circledcirc ’
<i>√?ista?</i> ‘be the same’	? <i>ista?</i> <i>tx</i> ^w ‘do the same to \otimes ’
<i>√?ičw</i> ‘be thrown; have thrown to’	? <i>ičw</i> <i>id</i> ‘throw \otimes away’
<i>√?ukʷukʷ</i> ‘play, have fun’	? <i>ukʷukʷ</i> <i>bid</i> ‘make fun of \otimes ’
<i>√?uləx</i> ‘gather \otimes , forage for \otimes ’	? <i>uləx</i> <i>yid</i> ‘gather \otimes for \circledcirc ’
<i>√?up</i> ‘be seated on a lap’	? <i>up</i> <i>'bid</i> ‘sit on \otimes ’s lap’
	? <i>up</i> <i>'tx</i> ^w ‘sit a person on \otimes ’s lap; sit \otimes on a person’s lap’
<i>√?učw</i> ‘go’	? <i>up</i> <i>'ud</i> ‘seat \otimes one’s lap’
	? <i>učw</i> <i>c</i> ‘go to \otimes ’
	? <i>učw</i> <i>tx</i> ^w ‘take \otimes ’
<i>√bali</i> ‘be forgetful’	? <i>baliic</i> ‘forget about \otimes ’
<i>√bap</i> ‘be busy’	? <i>bapad</i> ‘pester \otimes ’
<i>√baqʷu?</i> ‘be snow-covered’	? <i>baqʷu?</i> <i>b</i> ‘snow’
<i>√bač</i> ‘be lying, be fallen from standing’	? <i>bačad</i> ‘set \otimes down’
	? <i>bačagʷil</i> ‘lie down’
	? <i>bačalik</i> ^w ‘bet \otimes , place a wager with \otimes ’
	? <i>dxʷbačəbagʷil</i> ‘go under water’
	? <i>dxʷbačəbəd</i> ‘sink \otimes ’
<i>√bəkʷ</i> ‘all, completely’	? <i>bək</i> ‘ <i>dxʷ</i> manage to get all of \otimes ’
	? <i>bək</i> ‘ <i>wil</i> ‘get used up, be done exhaustively’
	? <i>bək</i> ‘ <i>ildx</i> ^w ‘consume of all of \otimes ’
	? <i>bələčʷad</i> ‘pass \otimes ’
<i>√bələč</i> ‘be beyond’	? <i>buusil</i> ‘become four’
<i>√buus</i> ‘four’	? <i>caq'ad</i> ‘spear \otimes ’
<i>√caq'</i> ‘be speared, be impaled’	? <i>caq'aliq</i> ^w ‘spear \otimes , impale \otimes ’
	? <i>caq'šadx</i> ^w ‘lead \otimes ’
	? <i>dxʷcaq'ačəd</i> ‘spear \otimes in the side’
	? <i>ck'ab</i> ‘be taut’
	? <i>cilalik</i> ^w ‘dish \otimes (food)’
	? <i>cildxʷid</i> ‘serve \otimes to \circledcirc ’
	? <i>cilid</i> ‘dish \otimes out’
	? <i>cilyalik</i> ^w ‘dish up \otimes (food) for \circledcirc ’
	? <i>cilyid</i> ‘serve \otimes to \circledcirc ’
<i>√cukʷ</i> ‘be unique’	? <i>cukʷtx</i> ^w ‘make \otimes the only one’
	? <i>cugʷat</i> ‘be the last \otimes ’

<i>√cut</i> ‘speak’	<i>cut</i> ‘speak to \otimes ’ <i>cuuc</i> ‘speak to \otimes ’ <i>dxʷcutəbid</i> ‘catch on to \otimes ’ <i>c'agʷačiʔib</i> ‘wash hands’ <i>c'agʷad</i> ‘wash \otimes ’ <i>čagʷəb</i> ‘be at sea’ <i>čagʷəd</i> ‘take \otimes out to sea’ <i>čagʷil</i> ‘get out to sea’ <i>čaʔkʷdxʷ</i> ‘manage to get \otimes to sea’ <i>čaʔkʷtxʷ</i> ‘take \otimes out to sea’ <i>dxʷčaʔkʷtxʷ</i> ‘take \otimes seaward’ <i>čactxʷ</i> ‘hide \otimes ’ <i>čadɬil</i> ‘become hidden, hide self’ <i>čalad</i> ‘chase \otimes ’ <i>čalduxʷ</i> ‘catch up to \otimes ’ <i>čaltxʷ</i> ‘catch \otimes ’ <i>čəbaʔtxʷ</i> ‘pack \otimes on one’s back’ <i>čubaac</i> ‘go inland after \otimes ’ <i>čubətxʷ</i> ‘take \otimes ashore’ <i>č'axʷad</i> ‘club \otimes ’ <i>č'axʷalikʷ</i> ‘club \otimes ’ <i>č'axʷdxʷ</i> ‘manage to club \otimes ’ <i>č'älpačiʔid</i> ‘twist \otimes ’s wrist’ <i>č'itcut</i> ‘come close, approach’ <i>č'itil</i> ‘draw near’ <i>č'itis</i> ‘approach \otimes ’ <i>daʔad</i> ‘name \otimes ’ <i>dəgʷad</i> ‘put \otimes inside’ <i>diʔil</i> ‘go off a-ways’ <i>dukʷil</i> ‘become strange, become supernatural’ <i>dukʷildxʷ</i> ‘be dissatisfied with \otimes ’ <i>dukʷtxʷ</i> ‘get angry with \otimes ’ <i>dukʷud</i> ‘change \otimes ’ <i>dəakʷaab</i> ‘wag tail’ <i>dəakʷad</i> ‘rock \otimes ’ <i>dəakʷtəd</i> ‘rocking chair’ <i>dəalqəd</i> ‘turn \otimes around’ <i>dəalqʷusbid</i> ‘look over shoulder at \otimes ’ <i>dəəlaχādbid</i> ‘visit \otimes ’ <i>dəəlulčibid</i> ‘turn towards \otimes ’ <i>dəλ̥əd</i> ‘confuse \otimes ’ <i>dəλ̥əd'</i> ‘be confused by \otimes , forget \otimes ’ <i>dəλ̥əb</i> ‘get confused’ <i>dəəkʷud</i> ‘lead \otimes astray, mislead \otimes ’ <i>dixid</i> ‘break \otimes down, take \otimes apart’ <i>gəlk̥alikʷ</i> ‘knit \otimes ’ <i>gəlk̥əd</i> ‘wind \otimes ’ <i>gʷahbibid</i> ‘accompany \otimes ’ <i>gʷahtxʷ</i> ‘take \otimes along’ <i>gʷaagatxʷ</i> ‘speak to \otimes ’ <i>gʷaxʷtxʷ</i> ‘take \otimes for a walk’ <i>gʷədil</i> ‘sit down’ <i>gʷədiltxʷ</i> ‘sit \otimes down’ <i>gʷədilut</i> ‘go there to sit down’
<i>√c'aʔkʷ</i> ‘be washed’	
<i>√čaʔkʷ</i> ‘seaward’	
<i>√čac</i> ‘be hidden’	
<i>√čal</i> ‘be overtaken’	
<i>√čəba?</i> ‘be loaded down with \otimes ’	
<i>√čuba</i> ‘go inland’	
<i>√č'axʷ</i> ‘be hit with a stick’	
<i>√č'älp</i> ‘turn’	
<i>√č'it</i> ‘nearby’	
<i>√da?</i> ‘be named’	
<i>√dəkʷ</i> ‘be inside’	
<i>√di?</i> ‘on the other side’	
<i>√dukʷ</i> ‘be abnormal’	
<i>√dəakʷ</i> ‘be shaky, be shaking’	
<i>√dəal</i> ‘turn around, turn over’	
<i>√dəaλ̥</i> ‘be confused’	
<i>√dəəkʷ</i> ‘travel, wander’	
<i>√dixi</i> ‘be broken down, be fallen apart’	
<i>√galk̥</i> ‘be wound, be tangled’	
<i>√gʷa</i> ‘accompany, go along’	
<i>√gʷaagad</i> ‘speak’	
<i>√gʷaxʷ</i> ‘take a stroll’	
<i>√gʷəd</i> ‘down’	

<i>√gʷəħaw'ə</i> ‘apparently’	<i>gʷəħis</i> ‘sit down next to ⊗’
<i>√gʷəx</i> ‘be untied’	<i>gʷəħad</i> ‘blurt out ⊗’
	<i>gʷəħad</i> ‘untie ⊗’
	<i>gʷiħagʷil</i> ‘untie oneself’
<i>√gʷi</i> ‘make an invitation’	<i>gʷiħalikʷ</i> ‘ask for ⊗; seek compensation for ⊗’
	<i>gʷiħid</i> ‘invite ⊗, call to ⊗’
<i>√ha?l</i> ‘good’	<i>ha?ləb</i> ‘be nice [weather]’
	<i>ha?ħid</i> ‘make ⊗ good’
	<i>ha?ħil</i> ‘become good’
<i>√ħəd</i> ‘be hot’	<i>dxʷħəd</i> ‘be hot in container; be hot (weather)’
	<i>dxʷħədil</i> ‘heat up in container; get hot (weather)’
	<i>ħədači?ħəb</i> ‘warm up hands’
	<i>ħəħil</i> ‘warm up’
<i>√ħəd?iħw</i> ‘be inside a house’	<i>ħəħi?w'b</i> ‘go inside’
	<i>ħəħi?iħw'c</i> ‘go inside after ⊗’
	<i>ħəħi?iħw'dxʷ</i> ‘manage to get inside’
<i>√ħəli?</i> ‘be alive’	<i>ħəħi?ħəħi?w</i> ‘save the life of ⊗’
	<i>ħəħi?ħil</i> ‘become well, heal’
	<i>ħəħi?is</i> ‘live on ⊗’
	<i>ħəħi?txʷ</i> ‘cure ⊗’
<i>√ħiħi?</i> ‘be happy’	<i>ħiħibid</i> ‘be happy about ⊗’
<i>√ħikʷ</i> ‘big’	<i>ħiħixʷ</i> ‘respect ⊗’
	<i>ħiħid</i> ‘uphold ⊗, support ⊗’
	<i>ħiħil</i> ‘become noble’
	<i>ħiħild</i> ‘make ⊗ bigger’
<i>√ħiqab</i> ‘too much’	<i>ħiħiqabil</i> ‘become too much’
<i>√ħud</i> ‘burn’	<i>ħuħcupyid</i> ‘put ⊗ into the fire for ⊗’
	<i>ħuħyid</i> ‘make a fire for ⊗’
<i>√ħuy</i> ‘be done, be made, be finished’	<i>ħuħyalikʷ</i> ‘make ⊗, create ⊗’
	<i>ħuħydxʷ</i> ‘manage to do ⊗’
	<i>ħuħydxʷyid</i> ‘set up ⊗ for ⊗’
	<i>ħuħgʷastxʷ</i> ‘marry ⊗’
	<i>ħuħid</i> ‘make ⊗ for ⊗’
	<i>ħuħil</i> ‘become’
	<i>ħuħud</i> ‘make ⊗’
<i>√kiis</i> ‘stand up’	<i>kiħistxʷ</i> ‘stand ⊗ up’
<i>√kʷatač</i> ‘climb’	<i>kʷatačtxʷ</i> ‘carry ⊗ up tree’
<i>√kʷəd</i> ‘be held, be taken’	<i>kʷəħab</i> ‘take ⊗ for self’
	<i>kʷəħabid</i> ‘take ⊗ captive’
	<i>kʷəħabyid</i> ‘make ⊗ captive’
	<i>kʷadaciħalikʷ</i> ‘shake hands with ⊗’
	<i>kʷəħad</i> ‘take ⊗’
	<i>kʷəħalikʷ</i> ‘take ⊗ over and over’
	<i>kʷəħaħadid</i> ‘take ⊗ by the arm’
	<i>kʷəħbid</i> ‘steal from ⊗’
	<i>kʷəħdxʷ</i> ‘manage to take ⊗’
	<i>kʷəħdyid</i> ‘take ⊗ from ⊗’
<i>√kʷukʷcut</i> ‘cook ⊗’	<i>kʷukʷcuyid</i> ‘cook ⊗ for ⊗’
<i>√kʷəħt</i> ‘pour out, spill out’	<i>kʷəħtxʷ</i> ‘spill ⊗’
	<i>kʷiħalikʷ</i> ‘serve ⊗ (liquid)’
<i>√kʷiċ'</i> ‘butcher ⊗’	<i>kʷiċ'id</i> ‘butcher ⊗’
<i>√kʷil</i> ‘peek’	<i>kʷiħid</i> ‘peek at ⊗’
	<i>kʷiħil</i> ‘peer’
<i>√kʷiħit</i> ‘go down to shore’	<i>kʷiħitxʷ</i> ‘take ⊗ down to shore’

<i>√lab</i> ‘appear’	<i>labdxʷ</i> ‘see \otimes ’
<i>√laq</i> ‘be last’	<i>laqil</i> ‘become last’
<i>√laχ</i> ‘recall, remember’	<i>laqbid</i> ‘be behind \otimes ’ <i>laχbid</i> ‘remember \otimes ’s story’
	<i>laχ</i> ‘think of \otimes ’
	<i>laχdxʷ</i> ‘remember \otimes ’
	<i>laχtxʷ</i> ‘remind \otimes ’
<i>√ləkʷ</i> ‘be eaten’	<i>ləkʷwdxʷ</i> ‘manage to eat \otimes ’ <i>ləkʷwdxʷid</i> ‘manage to eat \otimes away from \circlearrowright ’ <i>ləkʷəd</i> ‘eat \otimes ’ <i>ləkʷyid</i> ‘eat \otimes away from \circlearrowright ’
<i>√lali?</i> ‘be different’	<i>lali?cur</i> ‘change oneself’ <i>lali?il</i> ‘become different’
<i>√ləq</i> ‘listen’ (Sk)	<i>ləqaladi?bid</i> ‘overhear \otimes ’ <i>ləqc</i> ‘listen to \otimes ’
<i>√ləχ</i> ‘be light’	<i>ləχil</i> ‘get light, get bright’ <i>ləχšadid</i> ‘light \otimes ’s way’
<i>√lil</i> ‘far’	<i>lild</i> ‘move \otimes away’ <i>lildxʷ</i> ‘draw away from \otimes ’ <i>lis</i> ‘go over to \otimes ’
<i>√luλ</i> ‘be old’	<i>luλ əb</i> ‘age’ <i>luλ il</i> ‘grow old, grow up’
<i>√ta?</i> ‘arrive at a specific place’	<i>ta?ači?bid</i> ‘touch \otimes with hand’ <i>ta?txʷ</i> ‘bring \otimes to a place’
<i>√tač</i> ‘go out (fire)’	<i>tač’alikʷ</i> ‘fight fire’ <i>tač’əd</i> ‘put out \otimes (fire)’
<i>√taq</i> ‘be fallen, be lying down’	<i>taq’ad</i> ‘put \otimes down’ <i>taw’tbid</i> ‘be new for \otimes ’
<i>√taw’t</i> ‘be new’	<i>taxil</i> ‘get dark’
<i>√taχ</i> ‘be dark’	<i>tzgʷəlbid</i> ‘leave \otimes behind, leave \otimes ’s presence’ <i>tzgʷəldxʷ</i> ‘manage to leave \otimes behind’
<i>√təgʷl</i> ‘leave \otimes ’	<i>tzgʷlyid</i> ‘leave \otimes for \circlearrowright ’ <i>tič’ib</i> ‘cut \otimes (cattails) for mats’ <i>tič’ibtxʷ</i> ‘bring \otimes to cut cattails’ <i>tič’id</i> ‘slice \otimes ’ <i>tič’šadid</i> ‘amputate \otimes ’s leg’
<i>√tid</i> ‘be tied’	<i>tidid</i> ‘tie \otimes ’ <i>tidtxʷ</i> ‘tie to \otimes ’ <i>tiʔida(hə)b</i> ‘troll’ <i>tild</i> ‘give food to \otimes ’ <i>tiłyid</i> ‘give \otimes (food) to \circlearrowright ’
<i>√t̥il</i> ‘make a gift of food’	<i>λ’al’yib</i> ‘add \otimes ’ <i>λ’al’dxʷ</i> ‘manage to get \otimes on’ <i>λ’alšədid</i> ‘put \otimes ’s shoes on him’ <i>λ’atəbalikʷ</i> ‘salt \otimes ’ <i>λ’axʷtxʷ</i> ‘bring up \otimes , raise \otimes ’ <i>λ’iqagʷil</i> ‘come out of’ <i>λ’iqid</i> ‘take \otimes out from within’ <i>λ’iq’acil?btxʷ</i> ‘make \otimes ’s hands sticky’ <i>λ’iq’acil?yibtxʷ</i> ‘make \otimes ’s hands sticky’ <i>λ’ubad</i> ‘agree to \otimes ’ <i>λ’ubil</i> ‘get better’ <i>λ’ubildxʷ</i> ‘manage to improve \otimes ’ <i>λ’ubtxʷ</i> ‘have \otimes fixed’
<i>√λ’al</i> ‘also’	
<i>√λ’al</i> ‘put \otimes on’	
<i>√λ’atəb</i> ‘be salty’	
<i>√λ’axʷ</i> ‘grow’	
<i>√λ’iq</i> ‘emerge’	
<i>√λ’iq</i> ‘sticky’	
<i>√λ’ub</i> ‘good, well’	

<i>√pəd</i> ‘be dirty, be buried’	<i>dxʷpədəb</i> ‘have dust or dirt inside’
<i>√pus</i> ‘be hit by \otimes (missile)’	<i>pədičəd</i> ‘dirty \otimes ’
<i>√p'ålil</i> ‘revive’	<i>pusdxʷ</i> ‘manage to hit \otimes with \otimes ’
<i>√p'ayəq</i> ‘carve canoe’	<i>pusilyid</i> ‘throw \otimes for \otimes ’
<i>√p'əq'</i> ‘drift’	<i>pusud</i> ‘throw at \otimes with \otimes ’
<i>√p'il</i> ‘be flat’	<i>p'alilcut</i> ‘come to one's senses’
<i>√qada</i> ‘steal \otimes ’	<i>p'ayəqbid</i> ‘hew \otimes , carve \otimes ’
<i>√qa</i> ‘be a lot’	<i>dxʷp'əq'</i> ‘be filled with drifting things’
<i>√qəł</i> ‘be awake’	<i>p'iləb</i> ‘go flat’
<i>√q'ił</i> ‘be wounded’	<i>qadabid</i> ‘steal \otimes ’
<i>√qiq</i> ‘be confined’	<i>qadadid</i> ‘steal \otimes from \otimes ’
<i>√qʷal</i> ‘be marked, be painted’	<i>qadadyid</i> ‘steal \otimes for \otimes ’
<i>√qʷat</i> ‘be lying; snow falls’	<i>qahii</i> ‘become a lot’
<i>√qʷib</i> ‘be ready’	<i>qəłdxʷ</i> ‘accidentally awaken \otimes ’
<i>√qʷiqʷw</i> ‘be strong’	<i>q'ił'cut</i> ‘injure oneself’
<i>√qʷiład</i> ‘yell’	<i>qiq'əd</i> ‘confine \otimes ’
<i>√qʷšab</i> ‘be foggy’	<i>dxʷqʷalusəb</i> ‘paint face’
<i>√qʷu?qʷa</i> ‘have a drink’	<i>qʷatad</i> ‘lay \otimes out’
<i>√q'axʷ</i> ‘be frozen’	<i>qʷatil</i> ‘become laid out’
<i>√q'əlb</i> ‘camp out’	<i>qʷibid</i> ‘prepare \otimes ’
<i>√q'əls</i> ‘cook with steam’	<i>qʷiqʷil</i> ‘become strong’
<i>√q'il</i> ‘be aboard; ride in canoe’	<i>qʷiʔaac</i> ‘call out to \otimes ’
<i>√q'p</i> ‘form a lump; cramp up (muscle)’	<i>qʷšabəd</i> ‘fog \otimes up’
<i>√qʷəl</i> ‘be cooked, be ripe’	<i>qʷu?qʷilul</i> ‘go for a drink’
<i>√saqʷw</i> ‘fly’	<i>qʷu?qʷad</i> ‘drink \otimes (liquid)’
<i>√sa?</i> ‘be bad’	<i>qʷu?qʷadid</i> ‘drink \otimes ’
<i>√sula</i> ‘be in the middle’	<i>q'axʷad</i> ‘freeze \otimes ’
<i>√šab</i> ‘be dry’	<i>q'əlbilul</i> ‘go camping’
<i>√šədžal</i> ‘go outside’	<i>q'əlsəd</i> ‘steam \otimes ’
<i>√šəł</i> ‘make \otimes ’	<i>q'ilag'əl</i> ‘climb aboard’
<i>√šidž</i> ‘launch sneak attack’	<i>q'ilb</i> ‘put \otimes on board one's canoe’
	<i>q'ilid</i> ‘put \otimes on board’
	<i>q'iltxʷ</i> ‘take \otimes by canoe’
	<i>q'pud</i> ‘gather up \otimes ’
	<i>q'ʷəlb</i> ‘cook \otimes for oneself’
	<i>q'ʷəld</i> ‘cook \otimes ’
	<i>q'ʷəlil</i> ‘get hot’
	<i>q'ʷəlilc</i> ‘warm stones to cook \otimes ’
	<i>q'ʷibid</i> ‘unload \otimes from conveyance’
	<i>q'ʷu?bidi</i> ‘be together with \otimes ’
	<i>q'ʷu?əd</i> ‘gather \otimes ’
	<i>saq'ʷtxʷ</i> ‘fly off with \otimes ; fly \otimes [airplane]’
	<i>sa?il</i> ‘get in trouble’
	<i>sa?txʷ</i> ‘dislike \otimes , hate \otimes ’
	<i>sulabid</i> ‘be in the middle relative to \otimes ’
	<i>sulayid</i> ‘set \otimes before \otimes ’
	<i>dxʷšab</i> ‘dry out (container or body of water)’
	<i>šabalikʷw</i> ‘dry \otimes (food)’
	<i>šabəb</i> ‘dry out’
	<i>šədžalidxʷ</i> ‘manage to get outside’
	<i>šədžaltxʷ</i> ‘take \otimes outside’
	<i>šəłt'əbitədtxʷ</i> ‘make \otimes into rope’
	<i>šidžəd</i> ‘attack \otimes by stealth’

<i>✓šq</i> ‘high’	<i>šəqəd</i> ‘move \otimes up high’
<i>✓šub</i> ‘disappear’	<i>šəqlaxədəb</i> ‘raise arms’
<i>✓šuk^w</i> ‘powder’	<i>šqil</i> ‘rise up’
<i>✓šul</i> ‘be in, be under’	<i>šubud</i> ‘make \otimes disappear; massacre \otimes ’
<i>✓šul^t</i> ‘appear, be visible’	<i>šuk^wil</i> ‘turn grey’
	<i>šulag^wil</i> ‘enter cramped space’
	<i>šulud</i> ‘pass underneath \otimes ’
	<i>dx^wšətəb</i> ‘look at \otimes through water’
	<i>šudx^w</i> ‘catch sight of \otimes ’
	<i>šutbid</i> ‘expect \otimes , keep an eye out for \otimes ’s arrival’
	<i>šuttx^w</i> ‘show to \otimes ’
	<i>šiuc</i> ‘look at \otimes ’
	<i>tag^wlik^w</i> ‘buy \otimes ’
	<i>tag^wxi</i> ‘buy \otimes ’
	<i>tayc</i> ‘come after \otimes in raid’
	<i>tajəd</i> ‘roll \otimes ’
	<i>təłtx^w</i> ‘make \otimes true, speak truth’
	<i>tolawitx^w</i> ‘run off with \otimes ’
	<i>tolewis</i> ‘run after \otimes ’
	<i>tolčib</i> ‘miss \otimes (throwing)’
	<i>tolčidx^w</i> ‘manage to arrive safely’
	<i>tx^wtx^wyid</i> ‘buy \otimes for \otimes ’
	<i>tq'ałdəlid</i> ‘slap \otimes in mouth’
	<i>t'ag^wil</i> ‘get on top’
	<i>t'ag^wtəd</i> ‘put \otimes on top’
	<i>dx^wt'aq'icuł</i> ‘take oneself to higher ground’
	<i>dx^wt'ag'ixw</i> ‘take \otimes ashore’
	<i>t'əba?ag^wil</i> ‘jump overboard’
	<i>t'ilibtx^w</i> ‘sing to \otimes ’
	<i>t'qalik^w</i> ‘make bread; plaster’
	<i>t'q'abid</i> ‘put stickum on \otimes ’
	<i>t'sq'əd</i> ‘patch \otimes ’
	<i>t'uc'ud</i> ‘shoot \otimes (target)’
	<i>t'uk^wtx^w</i> ‘take \otimes home’
	<i>wačbid</i> ‘watch \otimes ’
	<i>waližil</i> ‘become visible’
	<i>wiliq^wid</i> ‘ask of \otimes ’
	<i>x^wəł</i> ‘run out of \otimes ’
	<i>x^wił^wd</i> ‘refuse \otimes ’
	<i>x^wił^wil</i> ‘become non-existent’
	<i>x^wił^wtx^w</i> ‘refuse to allow \otimes ’
<i>✓x^wił^wił^wil^w</i> ‘hunt for \otimes , forage for \otimes ’	<i>x^wił^wił^wil^w</i> ‘go hunting/foraging’
<i>✓xal</i> ‘be written’	<i>ħalad</i> ‘write \otimes ’
<i>✓xayəb</i> ‘laugh’	<i>ħaltəd</i> ‘writing implement’
<i>✓xac</i> ‘be afraid’	<i>ħayəbtx^w</i> ‘smile at \otimes ’
<i>✓xəc</i> ‘think, feel, use one’s mind’	<i>ħəcbid</i> ‘fear \otimes ’
<i>✓xət</i> ‘be sick’	<i>ħčalik^w</i> ‘count \otimes ’
<i>✓xiliž</i> ‘be at war’	<i>ħəcbid</i> ‘intend \otimes ’
<i>✓xiži?</i> ‘be ashamed’	<i>ħəłdx^w</i> ‘injure \otimes ’
<i>✓xižq</i> ‘insist’	<i>ħiliħtx^w</i> ‘make war on \otimes ’
<i>✓xižal</i> ‘be unable, fail, lose’	<i>ħixibid</i> ‘be ashamed of \otimes ’
	<i>ħiħq'cut</i> ‘talk back, argue’
	<i>ħwal'bid</i> ‘be unable to manage \otimes ’
	<i>ħwal'dx^w</i> ‘get the better of \otimes ’

David Beck 10-2-7 2:19 PM

Comment: check to make sure there aren't BOTH an unaccusative and an unergative use

<i>✓xʷaq</i> ^w ‘be worried, be preoccupied’	<i>dxʷxʷaqʷaq</i> ^w ‘ <i>acut</i> ‘be troubled’
<i>✓xʷaχʷaq</i> ^w ‘feel concern’	<i>xʷaqʷad</i> ‘be concerned about ⊗’
<i>✓χʷac</i> ‘be sharp’	<i>χʷaχʷaqʷcut</i> ‘be troubled, be worried’
<i>✓χʷaxʷaʔxʷaʔ</i> ‘be lightweight’	<i>dxʷχʷadəb</i> ‘be tart, be strong (coffee)’
<i>✓χʷil</i> ‘be lost’	<i>xʷaxʷaʔxʷaʔad</i> ‘make ⊗ lighter’
<i>✓yabuk</i> ^w ‘(to) fight’	<i>χʷil'alcbid</i> ‘lose ⊗’
<i>✓yayus</i> ‘do work’	<i>yayusbid</i> ‘work on ⊗’
<i>✓yahaw</i> ‘only if; not until’	<i>yəhaw'txʷ</i> ‘go ahead with ⊗’
<i>✓yay'du?</i> ‘swing in a swing’	<i>yəy'duʔilul</i> ‘go for a swing’
<i>✓yiq</i> ‘be worked into tight place’	<i>yiq'ib</i> ‘make ⊗ (baskets)’
	<i>yiq'id</i> ‘weave ⊗ (basket)’

Appendix 2: Forms based on bound radicals

^o √?ab ‘be extended’	?abači?b ‘extend hands’
	?abalikʷ ‘give \otimes away as in a potlatch’
	?abəd ‘extend \otimes , give \otimes ’
	?abšədəb ‘extend legs’
	?abucidid ‘bring \otimes lunch’
	?abyid ‘give \otimes to \otimes ’
^o √?ac ‘centre’	?acigʷadil ‘be inside of’
^o √adʔq ‘be met’	?adʔqbid ‘meet \otimes ’
^o √?alad ^z ‘care for \otimes ’	?adʔqdxʷ ‘happen to meet \otimes ’
^o √?ay’ ‘be traded’	?alad ^z i?lyid ‘babysit \otimes for \otimes ’
^o √?ət ‘eat’	?ay’wa’səd ‘exchange \otimes ’
	?ətlilut ‘go out to eat’
	?ətlilulid ‘go to eat off of \otimes ’
	?ətəd ‘feed on \otimes ¹⁸¹
	?ətxʷ ‘feed \otimes ’
^o √?əqʷ ‘be open’	dxʷ?əq’yačadid ‘open \otimes (door)’
^o √?ɔy’ ‘be found’	?əy’cut ‘find oneself in a place’
^o √?i?ab ‘be wealthy’	?əy’dxʷ ‘find something’
	s?i?ab ‘noble person’
	?i?abil ‘become wealthy’
^o √udəgʷ ‘centre’	?udəgʷicil ‘get into middle of house’
^o √ul ‘sing’	?uli?l ‘sing lullaby’
^o √uqʷ ‘be unplugged’	?ululid ‘sing to \otimes ’
^o √baq ‘have in mouth’	?uqʷdxʷ ‘be left open to \otimes , be vulnerable to \otimes ’
^o √biλ ‘be smashed, be crumbled’	?uqʷwud ‘unplug \otimes ’
^o √biqʷ ‘be loose’	bəq’dxʷ ‘taste \otimes ’
^o √c’adʔax ^z ‘feel annoyance’	bəq’əd ‘swallow \otimes ’
^o √c’əb ‘clear land’	biλ’id ‘smash \otimes ’
^o √c’əl ‘be defeated’	biλ’il ‘get crushed’
^o √c’əs ‘be pecked’	biqʷid ‘loosen \otimes ; permit \otimes ’
^o √c’ic’əyikʷ ‘wink’	biqʷyid ‘permit \otimes to \otimes ’
^o √c’ix ‘be fried’	c’adʔaxt ^z w ‘bother \otimes ’
^o √c’uqʷ ‘be sucked on’	c’əbab ‘pick \otimes [berry]’
√čata? ‘not be recognized’	c’əbabilut ‘go berry-picking’
	c’əlalikʷ ‘defeat \otimes ’
	c’əld ‘defeat \otimes ’
	c’əldxʷ ‘manage to defeat \otimes ’
	c’əsəd ‘peck \otimes ; nail \otimes ’
	c’salikʷ ‘peck at \otimes ; nail \otimes ’
	c’ic’əyikʷalusbid ‘wink at \otimes ’
	c’ixalikʷ ‘fry \otimes ’
	c’ixid ‘fry \otimes ’
	c’uqʷači?b ‘suck on hand’
	c’uqʷud ‘suck on \otimes ’
	čata?cut ‘distance oneself from \otimes ’

¹⁸¹ This stem is bivalent intransitive; the [-əd] in this form is not synchronically the internal causative suffix.

^o /čc 'be red'	čala?dxʷ 'not recognize ⊗' čcil 'turn red' dxʷčəčəb 'be red (water)' xiččc 'red'
^o /č'a? 'be dug up'	č'a?alikʷ 'dig for ⊗ (edible roots)' č'a?əb 'dig for ⊗ (roots)' č'a?əd 'dig for ⊗ (roots)' č'ədžalikʷ 'stalk ⊗ (prey)' č'ədžəd 'sneak up on ⊗'
^o /č'əd? 'be stalked'	digʷid 'advise ⊗' dikʷdxʷ 'instruct ⊗' dxʷdigʷid 'advise ⊗' xʷdikʷ 'advice'
^o /dikʷ 'be advised'	daqad 'mourn ⊗' dəaqəbid 'mourn for ⊗' dəubalikʷ 'dance' dəubud 'kick ⊗'
^o /dəaq 'be in mourning'	gəqəb 'sun] shines' gəqil 'become dazzling; clear up [weather]'
^o /dəub 'be kicked'	g'əč'əlikʷ 'habitually seek ⊗' g'əč'əb 'seek ⊗ for self' g'əč'əd 'look for ⊗' g'əlalalikʷ 'kill ⊗, slaughter ⊗'
^o /gəq 'shining'	g'əlalald 'punish ⊗, kill ⊗' gʷuhəb 'bark' gʷuhud 'bark at ⊗' hayəd 'pay attention to ⊗' haydxʷ 'know ⊗'
^o /gʷəč' 'be sought'	haydxʷyid 'find out about ⊗ for ⊗' hiqid 'push ⊗' hiqil 'get pushed up'
^o /gʷəlal 'be hurt'	ju?il 'have a good time, be happy' ju?ilbid 'be happy for ⊗'
^o /gʷu 'bark (dog)'	kʷaxʷad 'help ⊗' kʷaxʷdxʷ 'manage to help ⊗'
^o /hay 'be known'	kʷa?d 'let go of ⊗' kʷa?dxʷ 'manage to let go of ⊗' k'awad 'chew'
^o /hiq 'be pushed'	k'awalikʷ 'chew ⊗'
^o /ju? 'be glad'	k'awadxʷ 'collide with ⊗' k'awqid 'bump head'
^o /kʷaxʷ 'be helped'	kʷatad 'examine ⊗' kʷəkʷəla'b 'be near-sighted'
^o /kʷa? 'be released'	kʷalč'əb 'bend self backwards' kʷalč'əd 'bend ⊗ backwards'
^o /k'aw 'be chewed'	kʷəλ'c 'miss ⊗ (target)' kʷəλ'gʷasbid 'miss meeting'
^o /k'aw 'be bumped'	la?ad 'locate ⊗' la?yid 'locate ⊗ for ⊗'
^o /k'wat 'look closely, peer'	ləc'əd 'step on ⊗' ləc'yid 'step on ⊗ affecting ⊗'
^o /k'walč' 'be bent backwards'	ləxʷdxʷ 'manage to stab ⊗'
^o /k'wəλ' 'miss'	
^o /la? 'be located'	
^o /ləc' 'have come down on'	
^o /ləxʷ 'be stabbed, be cut'	

^o /lu 'hear'	ləxʷud 'stab ⊗' ludxʷ 'happen to hear ⊗, hear about ⊗' luhəladi? 'hear ⊗' luuc 'listen to ⊗' luud 'hear ⊗'
^o /tal 'be removed from fire'	talil 'get out of fire' talš 'remove ⊗ from fire'
^o /tuq 'w 'be peeled'	tuqʷac 'be bald (lit. 'peeled head')' tuqʷud 'peel ⊗'
^o /λ'ac 'cinched up'	λ'ac'ahəb 'cinch up belt'
^o /λ'akʷ 'be stitched'	λ'agʷəb 'make ⊗ (mat)' λ'agʷəd 'stitch ⊗ (mat)'
^o /λ'ip 'be compressed'	dxʷλ'ip'alikʷ 'player in hand game'
^o /λ'uq 'w 'be crammed in'	λ'uqʷagʷil 'cram self into small space'
^o /pkʷ 'be broken off'	pqʷud 'break off ⊗'
^o /p'ic 'be wrung out'	pqʷyid 'break off ⊗ for ⊙'
^o /p't 'be stored'	p'ic'alixʷ 'milk (cow)' p'ic'id 'wring ⊗ out'
^o /pu? 'be blown on'	p't'ad 'store ⊗, tidy ⊗'
^o /qəd 'fornicate'	p't'alikʷ 'save ⊗' dxʷpuhigʷədid 'blow on ⊗'
^o /qʷc 'slide, slip'	puʔud 'blow on ⊗, blow ⊗ out'
^o /qʷq 'w 'be white'	dxʷqədəb 'have illicit sex with ⊗' qədəb 'have sex with ⊗ (spouse) of ⊙'
^o /q'al 'be fooled, be convinced'	qədəbtxʷ 'seduce ⊗ into adultery'
^o /q'p 'be compensated'	qʷcab 'slip'
^o /q'u 'be hung'	qʷcagʷil 'slide down'
^o /sub 'have odour'	qʷcagʷis 'slide down after ⊗'
^o /suxʷt 'be recognized'	qʷəcad 'slide ⊗'
^o /ta? 'be in place'	qʷəqʷil 'turn white'
^o /tatab 'speak'	xiqʷəq 'white'
^o /təq 'be slapped'	q'ad 'fool ⊗'
^o /tq 'be closed'	q'albid 'be fooled by ⊗'
^o /ts 'be punched'	q'p'alicʷtxʷ 'pay for a crime'
^o /tudəq 'be enslaved'	q'p'ud 'pay ⊗'
	q'it'id 'hang ⊗'
	q'italikʷ 'hang ⊗ (fish) up to dry'
	subalikʷ 'smell ⊗'
	subud 'smell ⊗'
	suxʷtəbid 'recognize ⊗'
	suxʷtəð 'recognize ⊗'
	taʔəd 'take ⊗ over there'
	?əstaʔtxʷ 'have ⊗ in place'
	tatabəd 'confer about ⊗'
	tatabtxʷ 'talk to ⊗'
	təq'əladiʔəb 'slap sides of head'
	təqdxʷ 'block ⊗'s path'
	tqad 'close ⊗, block ⊗ off'
	təsəd 'punch ⊗'
	tsalikʷ 'hammer ⊗, pound ⊗'
	studəq 'slave'

^o /tul 'be interpreted'	tudəqil 'become enslaved'
^o /tup 'be pounded'	tulalikʷ 'read ⊗; interpret ⊗'
^o /tučʷ 'be stretched'	tulud 'interpret ⊗'
^o /tčʷ 'be pulled'	tupud 'pound ⊗'
^o /t'iqʷ 'be smoky/murky'	tupyib 'pound ⊗ to prepare as food'
^o /t'iwl 'practice religion'	tučʷud 'stretch ⊗'
^o /t'ukʷ 'be measured'	tučʷalikʷ 'stretch ⊗'
^o /xʷac 'be hoisted'	xʷtučʷučalikʷ '(spider) stretches ⊗ (web)'
^o /xʷob 'be thrown'	tčʷgʷiH 'pull canoe'
^o /xʷš 'be thrown'	tčʷud 'pull on ⊗'
^o /xʷt 'be fallen, be descended'	dxʷt'iqʷəb 'be murky (water)'
^o /xʷuyub 'be sold'	dxʷt'iqʷwil 'get murky (water)'
^o /xʷad 'be pressed'	t'iqʷalikʷ 'smoke ⊗ (meat)'
^o /xʷč 'be bitten'	st'iwl 'religion'
^o /xʷib 'be grabbed, clawed'	t'iwlilut 'go to church'
^o /xʷid 'be growling'	t'ugʷud 'figure ⊗ out'
^o /xʷq 'be wrapped, be tied'	t'ukʷad 'tape measure'
^o /xʷadz 'be injured'	xʷacad 'carry ⊗'
^o /yač 'be dry'	xʷaʔxʷcab 'be rock-lifting'
^o /yac 'report on ⊗'	xʷəbagʷil 'throw oneself'
^o /yəhub 'tell legend'	xʷəbaladi'b 'toss head side to side'
	xʷəbalicbid 'toss ⊗ (pack) onto own back'
	xʷəbad 'toss ⊗'
	xʷəšəd 'throw ⊗; give away ⊗'
	xʷšalikʷ 'sow ⊗; give goods at potlatch'
	xʷit'il 'descend'
	xʷit'ild 'lower ⊗'
	xʷt'ad 'take ⊗ down'
	xʷt'agʷil 'climb down'
	xʷuyubtxʷ 'sell ⊗'
	xʷuyubtxyidʷ 'sell ⊗ for ⊙'
	χədačiči'b 'push hands away'
	χədəd 'push ⊗'
	χədyid 'set ⊗ aside for ⊙'
	χλ'alic 'bite into ⊗'
	χλ'ad 'bite ⊗'
	χibid 'grab ⊗ by throat'
	χibigʷs 'have one's things in hand'
	χidib 'growl'
	χidid 'growl at ⊗'
	χaqəd 'wrap ⊗'
	χaqšadəb 'wrap legs'
	χəqšadid 'bind legs of ⊗'
	χqagʷil 'tie oneself down'
	χqičyid 'bind ⊗ into a pack for ⊙'
	χʷadad 'punish ⊗, annihilate ⊗'
	χʷad-alikʷ 'slaughter ⊗'
	yač'ad 'scoop up ⊗ (water)'
	yač'əb 'carry water'
	yəcbid 'tell about ⊗'
	yacəb 'report on ⊗'
	yəcəd 'report ⊗'
	syəhub 'myth, legend'
	yəhubtxʷ 'recite legend for ⊗'

²yøl ‘pair’

yølac̩i?bid ‘use both hands on ⊗’

Appendix 3: Forms based on hypothetical radicals

*√ʔəy' 'be found'	ʔ?əy'dxʷ 'find ⊗'
*√ʔus 'head'	ʔ?us' 'dive'
*√ʔuš' 'pity'	?usis 'dive after ⊗'
*√bakʷ 'move quickly'	vakʷad 'move ⊗ quickly'
*√bat 'be cured by shamanism'	vatad 'cure ⊗ with shamanism'
*√biq' 'be pressed down'	biq'ad 'press ⊗'
*√bis 'be selected'	visad 'select ⊗'
*√cip' 'be shut (eyes)'	cip'lil 'shut eyes'
	cip'əlis 'ignore ⊗'
*√čədžq'ʷ 'be rubbed together'	čədžqʷad 'rub ⊗ together'
*√čətčʷ 'be gobbled up'	čətčʷad 'gobble ⊗ up'
*√d̥ili 'be despised'	d̥ilid 'despise ⊗'
*√gəq' 'be opened'	gəq'ad 'open something'
*√gʷəc 'wade'	gʷəcil 'wade'
	gʷəcis 'wade after ⊗'
*√hil 'obey'	hilid 'command ⊗'
*√hiq'ʷ 'be coveted'	hiq'ʷəb 'covet ⊗, lust after ⊗'
	hiq'ʷəbid 'lust after ⊗'
*√hiw 'be advanced'	hiwil 'proceed'
	hiwiltxʷ 'go ahead with ⊗'
*√ħal 'be ashore'	ħiħis 'approach ⊗, go after ⊗'
	ħħalil 'go ashore'
*√ħal 'removed from fire'	ħħalidxʷ 'manage to get ashore'
*√ħč 'be on the way'	ħħalitxʷ 'bring ⊗ ashore'
	ħħalis 'go ashore after ⊗'
	ħħalš 'remove ⊗ from fire'
	ħħeħil 'arrive'
	ħħeħldxʷ 'manage to arrive'
	ħħeħlxʷ 'arrive with ⊗'
	ħħeħlxʷyid 'bring ⊗ for ⊗'
	ħħeħlyid 'arrive with ⊗ for ⊗'
	ħħeħis 'arrive at ⊗'
	ħħeħibid 'visit ⊗ and inconvenience them'
*√ħaq'ʷ 'be ambushed'	ħħaq'ʷad 'lie in wait for ⊗'
*√ħač 'be laid out'	ħħačad 'lay ⊗ out'
*√ħaq' 'be scattered, distributed'	ħħaq'ad 'distribute ⊗'
*√ħit 'be aware'	ħħitħab 'pay attention, be aware'
	ħħitħabid 'pay attention to ⊗'
*√ħħix 'be insulted'	ħħħixad 'insult ⊗'
*√ħħol 'be turbid'	ħħħolħab '(to) rain'
	ħħħolħabil 'be turbid (water)'
*√ħħat 'be driven off'	ħħħatħad 'drive ⊗ (animal); drive ⊗ off'

* <i>√sax^w</i> ‘jump, run’	<i>√sax^wəb</i> ‘jump, sprint’
* <i>√sət'</i> ‘be raised’	<i>sax^wəbid</i> ‘run after \otimes or up to \otimes ’
* <i>√sač</i> ‘be scraped’	<i>sax^wəbtx^w</i> ‘run off with \otimes , kidnap \otimes ’
* <i>√t'ič</i> ‘wade’	<i>√sət'əd</i> ‘lift \otimes ’
* <i>√təb</i> ‘have a craving’	<i>√sačad</i> ‘scrape \otimes ’
* <i>√təd^z</i> ‘be in bed’	<i>√t'ičib</i> ‘wade’
* <i>√tud^z</i> ‘be bent forward’	<i>t'ičibtx^w</i> ‘make \otimes wade’
* <i>√tul</i> ‘cross river’	<i>√təbas</i> ‘crave \otimes ’
* <i>√xʷak^w</i> ‘be tired’	<i>√tədil</i> ‘go to bed’
* <i>√xʷalus</i> ‘be waved’	<i>təd̚iltx^w</i> ‘put \otimes to bed’
* <i>√xax^λ</i> ‘argue’	<i>təd̚is</i> ‘go to bed with \otimes ’
* <i>√xay</i> ‘laugh’	<i>√tud̚il</i> ‘bend forward’
* <i>√xʷub</i> ‘be quiet’	<i>tud̚is</i> ‘bend over to get \otimes ’
* <i>√xʷuλ'</i> ‘be chewed up’	<i>√tulil</i> ‘cross river’
	<i>tuliltx^w</i> ‘take \otimes across river’
	<i>√xʷakʷil</i> ‘be tired’
	<i>xʷakʷwilbid</i> ‘become disaffected with \otimes ’
	<i>xʷakʷis</i> ‘get tired of \otimes ’
	<i>√xʷalusəd</i> ‘wave \otimes ’
	<i>√xax^λil</i> ‘argue’
	<i>xaλ'is</i> ‘defend from \otimes ’
	<i>√xayəb</i> ‘laugh’
	<i>√xayəbid</i> ‘laugh at \otimes ’
	<i>√xʷubil</i> ‘be quiet’
	<i>xʷubis</i> ‘be quiet about \otimes ’
	<i>√xʷuλ'ud</i> ‘chew \otimes up’

Appendix 4: Texts included in the Lushootseed Corpus

bibščəb ?i ti?it su?suq’ʷa?̓s, tətyika ‘Young Mink and Tutyeka’ as told by Edward Sam to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 1995)

sčətxʷəd ?i tsit̓it̓ h̓aλ’ac’apəd ‘Black Bear and Ant’ as told by Edward Sam to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 1995)

sbiaw ?i ti?it̓ hikʷ č̓λ’ā? ‘Coyote and the Big Rock’ as told by Edward Sam to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 1995)

sčətxʷəd ?i ti?it̓ c’ixc’ix ‘Black Bear and Fish Hawk’ as told by Edward Sam to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 1995)

?əs̓x̓ət̓ tsit̓ə? k̓a?k̓a? ‘Crow was sick I’ as told by Martha Lamont to Leon Metcalf at Tulalip in 1953 (published in Hess 1998)

?əs̓x̓ət̓ tsit̓ə? k̓a?k̓a? ‘Crow is sick II’ as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 1998; Bierwert 1993)

dukʷibəl̓ ‘Changer’ as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 1998; Bierwert 1993)

sgʷəlub ?i ti?ə? qaw’qs ‘Pheasant and Raven’ as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 1998)

sbiaw ?i tsit̓ə? bəda? ‘Coyote and his daughter’ as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 1998)

?əslałlil ti?it̓ təkʷtəkʷəlus ‘Owl lived there’ as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 2006)

čəgʷas ?ə ti?ə? sbəq’ʷa? tsit̓ə? č̓wū?č̓wəy? ‘Little Diver was the wife of Heron’ as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 2006)

?əbsčəgʷas ti?ə? bəda? ?ə ti?ə? sbiaw ?ə tə səsa?li? ‘Coyote’s son had two wives’ as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 2006)

?əslałlil ti?it̓ ?i sgʷəlub ?i ti?it̓ č̓ət̓x̓əłtəd̓s ‘Pheasant and his wife’s brothers lived there’ as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess at Tulalip in the summer of 1963 (published in Hess 2006; Bierwert 1993)

Lady Louse as told by Elizabeth Krise to T. M. Hess

Star Child as told by Mary Willup to Leon Metcalf

Star Child as told by Harry Moses to Leon Metcalf

Star Child as told by Dora Salomon to Vi Taq’šəblu Hilbert

Mink and Tutyika I as told by Martha Lamont to Leon Metcalf

Mink and Tutyika II as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess

Basket Ogress as told by Dewey Mitchell to Leon Metcalf

Basket Ogress as told by Alice Williams to Leon Metcalf

Basket Ogress as told by Julie Siddle to Leon Metcalf

Basket Ogress as told by Martha Lamont to T. M. Hess

Basket Ogress as told by Agnes James to Leon Metcalf

Basket Ogress as told by Louise Anderson to Leon Metcalf

Basket Ogress as told by Martin Sampson to Leon Metcalf

Stealing daylight as told by Harry Moses to Leon Metcalf (published as “How Daylight was stolen” in Hilbert & Hess 1977)

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